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De mysteriis

Andocides, Edgar Cardew Marchant
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DE MYSTERIIS

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DE REDITU

EDITED BY

E. C. MARCHANT, B.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF PETERHOUSE, CAMBRIDGE; FORMERLY
ASSISTANT MASTER AT ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

NEW IMPRESSION

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1906
TO

A. J. N.
PREFACE

Of the three genuine speeches of Andocides, the first and second, in many respects unlike, are nevertheless closely connected; the Mutilation of the Hermae forming the link which unites them. They present two dramatised versions—inconsistent and distinct—of the facts of that gross outrage. At the same time, if we view the history of the crime and its effects as a whole, from the summer of 415 B.C. down to the acquittal of Andocides in 399, the de Mysteriis and de Reditu form two interesting episodes in the story, both of them well worthy of greater consideration than they have hitherto received. It is in the hope of enlarging the number of the readers of Andocides that I have prepared this edition. I have throughout kept in view the needs of students at the Universities, and in the upper forms of Schools. At the same time, I venture to hope that this book may direct the closer attention of mature scholars to a valuable example of colloquial Attic, which—though deserving to be studied by admirers of Greek idiom, side by side with Aristophanes—has in this country been strangely neglected. The explanation of this neglect is probably to be sought in the technical nature of the subjects with which Andocides
deals. It appears to me that an annotated edition removes this objection in the case of Andocides, since, though there are many highly technical points dealt with, yet the treatment of them is so skilful that they are always made interesting. In preparing the Greek Index, I have taken pains to make it an adequate presentment of the vocabulary and diction of the "gentleman orator."

If these speeches are important as specimens of the every-day language of the Athenians at the best period, they are of still greater importance as sources of information on Athenian History. I have not thought it my business to enter into any speculations as to the authorship of the Mutilation of the Hermæ. The trial of Andocides in 399 ought to have cleared up the question. But the account then given by him in court most certainly does not correspond with the true circumstances. Sixteen years after the events he found it easy to put that complexion upon the facts which he wished they had really borne. In this weakness for pure romancing, which to a modern reader is sometimes amusing and more often annoying, Andocides is conspicuous even among Athenian orators. Notwithstanding that his disclosures before the initiated heliasts were subsequent to the writing of Thucydides' history, the historian's words are still true—τὸ δὲ σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οὔτε τὸτε οὔτε ὑστερον ἔχει εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν δρασάντων. The mutilation was undoubtedly the work of a conspiracy of some sort. "Though neither
the parties concerned, nor their purposes, were ever more than partially made out, the concert and conspiracy itself is unquestionable. It seems probable, as far as we can form an opinion, that the conspirators had two objects, perhaps some of them one and some of them the other—to ruin Alkibiades—to frustrate or delay the expedition.”¹ Whether, as Plutarch² had read that some supposed at the time, the Corinthians and Megarians prompted the deed, we have no means of judging. But the idea, also mentioned by Plutarch and supported among modern writers by Thirlwall and Gilbert, that the mutilation of nearly all the statues during one night was merely a drunken outrage which was turned to political account by oligarchs and extreme democrats, is out of the question.³ All that can, I think, be clearly made out, is that the ἐταυπεία of Euphiletus, including Andocides, took a considerable part in the plot. And, after all, this is as much as is to the purpose of the reader of Andocides. The de Mysteriis gives the only detailed account we possess of the restoration of democracy in 403 B.C., and affords us a glimpse of the inner life of Athens during the years

---

² Alcibiades, xviii.
³ Lipsius, Andocides, p. viii, speaks in high terms of Grote’s account of the outrage. The only points in that account which I have called in question are (1) the veracity of Andocides in stating that only one bust escaped (Grote vii. p. 5), (2) the statement about Androcles and the senate (ib. p. 34), (3) the note on the proposal to torture two senators (ib. p. 39), and (4) in part, the note about Speusippus (p. 44).
immediately following. The two speeches contain valuable scraps of autobiography. We realise what were the feelings, what the affections and jealousies of an Athenian gentleman of position and talent. We can see also—and this is a point of great interest—what kind of effect initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries produced upon the life of the believer. There is no sign that the candidate for admission into the secrets thought of anything except the benefits which he would receive by initiation. He would thus be brought into close communion with Demeter and Persephone—"the Madonna and Child of ancient Greece." ¹ He would be henceforth under their protection, and be the favoured object of an almost personal affection. He would be afraid to sin against them openly in future, lest he should forfeit the bright hopes which were his since first he gazed on the holy relics. But his own duties were purely negative; as long as he took part in the annual outing to Eleusis, and did nothing which could directly offend the two goddesses, he was their loyal servant, and deserving of all the bliss to which he looked forward after death. But neither Andocides' own character, as revealed in his speeches, nor his appeal to the jury (de Myst. §§ 31-33), who had themselves "seen the holy relics," entitle us to assume that initiation was any incentive to a godly life—if that term is not to mean mere abstinence from actions unworthy of a respectable citizen.

¹ Evelyn Abbott, Hist. of Greece, i. p. 464.
The text of this edition is based upon that of Professor Blass in the Teubner, and that of Professor Lipsius in the Tauchnitz, series; but, except in matters of spelling, it is rather more conservative than that of the former, and considerably more so than that of the latter, editor. Emending is always an attractive but dangerous pastime. Those distinguished scholars admit that it is especially dangerous in the case of so careless a writer as Andocides. Some of Lipsius' emendations, e.g. at de Myst. §§ 4, 81, 112, de Red. § 10, seem unnecessarily violent. In de Red. § 22, Dobree and Reiske in different ways first altered what I believe to be a sound passage. At de Myst. §§ 39 and 86, I am responsible for a new arrangement of the words, and at §§ 12, 133, 141 for new readings. I desire to acknowledge most fully the great debt which I owe to the works of Professor Jebb, and of the two German Professors already mentioned. All particular debts I have acknowledged in the notes. Further, I hope that, whenever I have expressed dissent from the views of those or of other recognised authorities, I have everywhere displayed that courtesy which has of late been somewhat out of fashion in the polemics of scholars.

I wish to offer my warm thanks to the High Master of St. Paul's School for the kind encouragement and

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1 "Ipse autem Lipsius id quidem confitetur, magna cautione opus esse, si quis in hoc oratore interpolationes indagare velit: etenim fuisse Andocidem ad verborum ambages natura propensiorum neque immerito a quibusdam veterum, Hermogene teste, nugatorem habitum esse."—Blass, Andocides, p. xi.
assistance he has given me in the preparation of this book: also to the Rev. J. H. Lupton, Sur-Master of St. Paul's, for a detailed criticism of the opening pages: also to Mr. R. A. Neil, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, for several valuable suggestions. Mr. A. W. Spratt, Fellow of St. Catharine's, after giving me the benefit of his advice throughout, has, in the scanty leisure of a busy term, read through the proofs, and has thus added a fresh kindness to the many that I had already received from him. As a former pupil, I feel that I owe much of what may be best in this book to him. There is, moreover, scarcely a page of the notes but bears upon it the results of his criticism.

I append a list of the works which I have most frequently consulted:

Baiter and Sauppe ("Turicensis")—Oratores Attici.
Zürich, 1850.


Blass, F., Attische Beredsamkeit, i., Edition ii., 1887.

Busolt, G., Griechische Geschichte, i. Gotha, 1886.


Dobree, Adversaria. Cambridge, 1833.


Jebb, Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus.


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Schömann, *de Comitiis Atheniensiibus.*
Reiske, Orotores Attici. Leipzig, 1770.
Shilleto, Demosthenes de Falsa Legatione. Cambridge, 1874.
Krüger, K. W., Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen.
Kühner, Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache.
Goodwin, Prof. W. W., Moods and Tenses, and Greek Grammar.
Rutherford, New Phrynichus.
Lexicographers: Pollux, Harpocration, Hesychius, Suidas, Dindorf's Stephanus, Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie, Liddell and Scott.

Professor Gildersleeve, who is one of the firmest friends of Andocides, remarks¹ that "an editor . . . should remember that it is his duty to make up for the lack of the accumulated labour of a long line of predecessors by the most unsparing toil." I trust that, as far as industry can make it so, this edition will be found worthy of the ingenious author of the de Mysteriis. It has been my aim to make the book complete in all respects. Yet that critics of keener scent than I will

PREFACE.

detect in it sins both of omission and commission, I do not doubt. I shall be obliged to any who will assist me to remove them, ever bearing in mind the orator's own words: καὶ εἰςων εὐτυχέστατοι μὲν οἱ ἔλαχιστα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, σωφρονέστατοι δὲ οἱ ἀν τάχιστα μεταγιγνώσκοι.

St. Paul's School,
March 1889.
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# CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

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I.

LIFE OF ANDOCIDES.

Sources: The Speeches, in which Andocides refers to details of his life, viz., De Myst. §§ 1, 4, 5, 17, 29, 37-45, 47-53, 61-65, 71, 101-103, 106, 110-112, 117-123, 132-137, 144-end; De Red. §§ 3, 7-16, 20-24, 26, 27; De Pace; The Grammarian's Hypothesis—the whole speech displays A.'s political opinions, esp. §§ 2-12; for other details, §§ 21-23, 29, 36; The Fragments; Thuc. 6, 60; Plutarch Alc. 21; Aristoph. Nub. 108, Vesp. 12, 69; [Lysias] κατ' Ἀνδοκίδου (6) §§ 6, 11, 21-31, 33, 35, 40, 43, 46-52; Pseud.-Plut. Life of Andocides, extremely inaccurate; Suidas s. v. φασιάδοι quotes Plato Com. and Eupolis, with regard to Leogoras; ib. s. v. Ἀνδοκίδης, for the family; C.I.A. i. 553, for the victory at the Dionysia.

Andocides, the son of Leogoras of the Cydathenaean deme, was born about 445 B.C.¹ He came of a great Eupatrid family which had made itself famous, not less by the vigour and ability which its members displayed in public life, than by its wealth and magnificence in private. This family traced back its line through Odysseus to Hermes.² Leogoras, great-grandfather of the orator, had fought with

¹ Taylor gives 468; Smith's D. of B. 467—following the pseudo-Plutarch. The impossibility of this date is shown in Pauly's Encyc.
² That the pseudo-Plutarch is wrong in saying that A. belonged to the family of the Cercyces is proved by Biaus Att. Bereds. i. p. 281, note; cf. Lipsius, Andoc. v.
distinction against Pisistratus' sons; Andocides, his grandfather, had gone as ambassador to Sparta to negotiate for the Thirty Years' truce (445 B.C.); Epilycus, his uncle, was one of those sent by Athens to settle the terms of peace (449 B.C.); Leogoras, his father, is ridiculed by the comic poets for his luxury and partiality for rare and curious birds.¹

Now such traditions—hatred of Tyranny, adherence to a policy of peace, friendship with Sparta, along with a love of ease and pleasure, were the traditions of the oligarchical party at Athens. The family, it would seem, belonged to that party, and, throughout his chequered life, Andocides remained at heart an oligarch. The odium into which his opinions brought him with both sections of the democratical party, and an unfortunate quarrel with his own side, to be described presently, robbed him of that success which his natural cleverness as a speaker, and his proved capacity for business, would otherwise in all probability have won for him. His own words best show with what section of politicians his sympathies really lay.

¹ The following *Stemma* is adapted from Dobree, *Adversaria* :—

```
          Leogoras.
             Andocides.
                     Glaucon m. Daughter.
          Tisander.  Epilycus.  Daughter m. Leogoras.
          m. Chrysiæs  m. 2. Callias, son Leager.  Daughter  Daughter  ANDOCIDES.  Daughter m. Callias, son of Telecles.
       Daughter of Hipponicus.  Daughter Hipponicus.  Son (§ 124, etc.)  m. Epilycus.
    1. Ischo-  Daughter  Daughter.
```
In a speech delivered before 417 B.C., he declares himself ashamed to mention Hyperbolus, the lamp-seller and demagogue. After his return to Athens in 411, the course of Athenian politics and the object he had in view—namely, to secure the restoration of his rights—made it necessary for him to profess democratical opinions, thus reversing the change of sides which similar circumstances had forced on Alcibiades in 415. Yet he was unable to conceal his true bias entirely. It was a disgrace to Athens, he cries in 399, that Cleophon, the lyre-seller, should have occupied the ancestral home of his great family while he was in exile. Very bitter it was to the orator; yet genuine democrats could scarcely think it was a disgrace to their country that Cleophon, who, as Lysias testifies, had suffered death rather than consent to a dishonourable peace, should have occupied the house of Andocides, banished for complicity in the mutilation of the Hermae, an impious outrage. In the same speech (de Myst.) Andocides applied the epithet ὁ καλὸς κάγαθος, by which oligarchs loved to describe their party, in irony to Agyrrhius, the demagogue. Equally ill-advised was his passing allusion to the resolution of the Lacedaemonians

---

1 Dr. Jebb remarks that after 415 Andocides cast in his lot with the democrats. It appears to me that his sympathies remained oligarchic, but, as Alcibiades, in political sympathy a democrat, was forced to profess himself an oligarch at Sparta and Samos, so Andocides, having disgusted the oligarchs by his disclosures in 415, and failed to conciliate them in 411, was constrained to reappear as a democrat in 410; hoping thus to secure the restoration of his rights, which he could not obtain in 411.
to "save the city," instead of destroying it, when Athens surrendered in 404,—a remark which could scarcely have fallen from a genuine democrat.

But his political bias comes out most strongly in his speech "On the Peace," delivered probably in the winter of 392-1. He shows in that speech (1) a strong belief in peace (§§ 2-12), (2) sympathy with Sparta, especially at § 21, where he praises Sparta for having refused to enslave Athens in 404 B.C., (3) hatred for Argos, and the government of Corinth which supported Argos (§§ 24-27, 31, 32.) Xenophon (Hell. 4, 4, 2) much misrepresents the facts to which Andocides here refers, and it is impossible to say for certain whether the government of Corinth was at the time a moderate oligarchy or a democracy. But this much is certain: Andocides speaks as a supporter of the party which had recently betrayed Corinth to the Spartans, and opposes the government, then in alliance with Argos and Athens. Indeed, his statements on this matter might have come from Xenophon himself, so tinged are they with oligarchical and laconising sentiment.

In his letter to the members of his political club, written probably somewhere between 420 and 418, he accuses the Athenians of having outraged the remains of Themistocles—a charge, as Plutarch with good reason remarks, merely made with a view to stir up oligarchic feeling against the democrats. Nor can we admire the almost jesting remarks (preserved in another fragment) upon the hardships endured by the farmers of Attica during the Lacedaemonian invasion.
It appears therefore that he was thoroughly identified with the wealthy young oligarchs before 415; and hence he joined the political club of Euphiletus. These clubs (ἐταλπειαὶ) are described by Thucydides as "confederacies for managing trials and elections," i.e. for procuring the control of the law-courts and elections in the interest of the oligarchs, who, harassed by continual prosecutions, and ignored by the government, were forced to resort to underhand means to attain their objects—friendship with Sparta and the establishment of an oligarchy at Athens.¹

In June 415 occurred the mutilation of the Hermae, a crime as shrouded in mystery at the time as it is at this day. But an endeavour was made to ruin Alcibiades by getting up a cry that he was aiming at a tyranny. Was it strange that his opponents—whether extreme democrats like Cleophon, or opportunists of the stamp of Thessalus, should really think or at least pretend to think that he had had dealings with the political clubs of the oligarchs? They, in fact, confused in their excitement two outrages which ought to have been kept distinct—the mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the mysteries. Of the former Alcibiades was innocent, but he was almost certainly guilty of the latter. The mutilation was the work of certain oligarchs, undertaken perhaps with a view to ruin Alcibiades, their successful enemy, by throwing suspicion on him. At any rate the club of Euphiletus, and Andocides ² as a member, were concerned

¹ With regard to these caucuses, see Arnold on Thuc. 8, 54.
² The extent of Andocides' guilt is uncertain. See Appendix.
in the crime. The profanation of the mysteries was probably merely a stupid freak on the part of Alcibiades and some boon companions; and Andocides had nothing to do with it. But the mutilation of the Hermæ caused evidence to be given of this other deed, and the two incidents combined lent colour to the cry of δῆμου κατάλυσις and the notion that Alcibiades was about to make a stroke for the tyranny, which he was with good reason suspected of desiring. Thus Alcibiades was driven out by the extreme democrats, aided by the oligarchs, the true originators of the mutilation, and the opportunists—all parties in fact combined against him.

Andocides, his father, his brother-in-law, three cousins, and seven other relatives were among the forty-two persons denounced by Dioclides as being amongst those who mutilated the Hermæ. Andocides, acting on the advice of his cousin Charmides, and trusting to the ἀδεία voted in his favour on the motion of Menippus, gave information incriminating himself and others. Now the hand of the democrats fell heavily on those oligarchs who were proved to have caused the mutilation. Though they had by that hazardous deed succeeded in getting rid of Alcibiades, yet they were not therefore to escape now that their guilt was certain. So even Andocides, though he had been duly rewarded for his disclosures, was driven out by the decree of Isotimides, enacting that any one who had confessed himself guilty of impiety should be excluded from the temples and market-place.

Andocides, finding his position intolerable, retired
from Athens to Cyprus in the autumn of 415, and engaged in trade. But a natural desire to regain his position, and, perhaps, some quarrel or misunderstanding with the King of Citium in Cyprus, the precise nature of which it is impossible to discern from the vague calumnies of his enemies, caused him to seize an opportunity of return which occurred in 411. The Sicilian disaster, the Decelean War, the intervention of Tissaphernes on behalf of Sparta, the revolt of the Athenian allies, and the intrigues of Alcibiades, combined to harass the democratical government and raise the hopes of the oligarchs. Matters culminated in the establishment of the Four Hundred through Pisander. Andocides no doubt looked for a recall of exiles by the new government. But though most other actions of the demos were reversed, their exiles were not restored, as the Four Hundred did not wish to see Alcibiades back. There were also men in the Four Hundred, as Pisander, who had been active in driving Andocides out, and his information had disgusted the oligarchs. Now Alcibiades had intrigued without success with the oligarchs at Samos to secure his return, and Andocides turned in the same direction. He was enabled through a friendly prince, Archelaus of Macedon, to furnish oars to the fleet at Samos, while from Cyprus he obtained provisions for the men's use. This act he thought would appease his enemies among the Four Hundred, and procure him the permission to return, which he could not have obtained under the democracy. It seemed that the Athenians at Samos had decided to
accept the oligarchy. But unfortunately for him, while he was on his way home, the fleet set up an opposition democracy, and despatched the Paralus to announce the change to Pisander. Consequently Andocides had scarcely arrived in Athens when his old enemy Pisander accused him of “supplying oars and provisions to the enemy,” i.e. the (now) democratic fleet at Samos.\(^1\) On such a charge, made before the Four Hundred, condemnation was certain: he says he only escaped being put to death by flying to the θοφόρεια Ευριβία, and thus the gods saved him. If the Four Hundred had been very anxious for his death, he could not have escaped thus, any more than Theramenes did by the same means in 404, and it is possible to discern other causes for Andocides’ escape in 411. The policy of the Four Hundred was not one of indiscriminate slaughter: they only put to death some few who were likely to prove dangerous to them (Thuc. 8, 70), and Andocides was obviously not one of these; indeed he might prove of service to them in their overtures to Agis at Decelea, and finally, it is likely enough, though Pisander was his enemy and he had offended many of the oligarchs, that he had private friends among the Four

\(^1\) Dr. Jebb and Dr. Lipsius however think A. really intended to help the democrats at Samos, and returned to Athens in ignorance of the establishment of the Four Hundred. But A. does not lead us to suppose he was ignorant of the change of government (de Red. §§ 11, 14 and [Lys.] 6, 27), and surely had this been the case he must have heard it as soon as he landed at Piraeus—in time to escape. The Four Hundred were already in power when he supplied the oars and provisions (de Red. § 11). See Sauppe on the fragment πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους.
Hundred for whose help he had looked when he returned to Athens. He was therefore merely imprisoned. The government of the Four Hundred broke down after about four months' rule, and Andocides either escaped, or, more probably, was released by the partially restored democracy in gratitude for his service to the fleet, for which he had suffered. But he was still an oligarch, still tainted with the suspicion of impiety, and the decree of Isotimides was still in force. He accordingly again left Athens.

Indeed Athens was not at the moment a very desirable home. In the early spring (411) Abydos had revolted; soon Byzantium and Chalcedon followed; thus the Hellespont and Euxine were closed to Athenian vessels, the dues paid to Athens by ships passing through the Bosphorus ceased, and no corn came from that quarter. In a few months the question of supplies grew still more serious, since Euboea revolted just as the Four Hundred were about to collapse. Thucydides says the revolt of Euboea, on which Athens depended for a great part of her supplies, especially now that the Euxine and Hellespont were blocked, filled the Athenians with the utmost consternation. The outlook must have been very gloomy when the limited democracy took up the government, and Andocides left Greece. He had failed to appease the oligarchs, but had nearly won favour with the democrats.

1 The Four Hundred were by no means all of one mind, owing to jealousy. Many were elected who had no sympathy with the extreme views of Pisander. Andocides may have been on good terms with some of Theramenes' followers.
For this reason he now sought an opportunity of securing their good-will.

He again went to Cyprus, where he arrived in the winter (411-10). Evagoras had lately obtained the throne of Salamis, and was doing his utmost to hellenize his kingdom. He therefore gladly received Andocides. Athens was threatened with famine, and apparently it did not seem likely that supplies would come from Cyprus;¹ but Andocides' influence was such that he succeeded in obtaining a promise of corn from that island. He at once set off to Athens to announce the promise to the Senate, and arrived about the time of the Battle of Cyzicus (spring of 410 ²). He reported the news to the Senate, and his reception by that body was sufficiently favourable to encourage him to request the Ecclesia to remove the ἄρμα from which he was suffering, and to give him the advantage of the ἀδεια voted to him in 415. But, though his enemies kept silence in the Senate when he only announced the coming supplies, there were many who were not prepared to receive back

¹ Perhaps Andocides exaggerates his personal services in Cyprus in the speech De Reditu, since Evagoras would surely have done what he could to help Athens—supposing it was from him the corn was sent. Pseudo-Lysias indeed (§ 20) goes so far as to say that A. had offended Evagoras, had been imprisoned, and had escaped to Athens. The truth doubtless lies between the extreme statements of Andocides and his accuser. The speech De Reditu was probably delivered soon after the Battle of Cyzicus, about the time that full democracy was restored (§ 27).

² With regard to the date of his second return, see "Introduction to De Reditu."
as a citizen a man guilty of impiety of a serious nature. Therefore, before he addressed the Ecclesia, several speakers came forward to warn the people against acceding to his prayer. The tone of Andocides' speech was humble and apologetic: he declared that he had been carried away in 415 by his youthful folly, and by the eloquence of the confederates in the plot to mutilate the Hermæ. He had indeed informed, but he had thus relieved the city from alarm, though he had incurred the hatred of the oligarchs; they had now suborned worthless persons to oppose his prayer to the Ecclesia, and prevent him from obtaining a just reward for his services in Cyprus. Yet the feeling against him among the democrats must have been still widespread, and his services must have appeared exaggerated; for the Athenians were always ready to weigh a man's services to the state against his guilt, and decide in his favour if the former appeared to preponderate over the latter. But Andocides' request was not granted, and he once more left Athens under the same conditions as in the previous year.

His trading operations now became extensive. He visited Sicily, Italy, the Peloponnese, Thessaly, the Hellespont, the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, and finally

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1 Pauly's Encyc. accepts the pseudo-Plutarch's statement that A. settled in Elis; but this statement is not probable after what we know of his previous exiles, nor does it agree with de Myst. §§ 4 and 132. He may have visited Elis when he went to the Peloponnese. No statement can be accepted on the sole authority of the pseudo-Plutarch.
settled once more in Cyprus. The wealth of his family was exhausted, but his speculations in merchant shipping were so prosperous during these years that he amassed a fresh fortune. Thus, while his country was passing through the terrible series of disasters which culminated in the government of the Thirty, Andocides lived as a prosperous merchant abroad, and made the acquaintance of several princes, and visited many cities.

Financial exhaustion caused the fall of Athens after the loss of her fleet at Aegospotami (405 B.C.). There had been no thought of surrender when the news of the disaster was received; but there was no money to build a new fleet, and the city, therefore, had no strength to resist when invested by Lysander. The settlement of Andocides in Cyprus, after several years of travel, is probably to be placed in 405,¹ after the battle of Aegospotami, as Evagoras' kingdom then offered a retreat to many Athenians besides Conon, and the seas were unsafe to an Athenian trader, and finally Lysander sent to Athens every Athenian he could lay hands on, in order to starve the city the sooner. Andocides and Conon therefore had both to wait in Cyprus and watch the turn of events.

The democracy was restored in 403 B.C., by the efforts of Thrasybulus; and, in consequence of the General Amnesty which followed, Andocides returned, apparently early in

¹ In [Lys.] 6, 49, A. is accused of doing nothing to help Athens in 405, though he had vessels and money at his command, and while many metics and foreigners were doing so much. See note on de Myst., § 144.
402 B.C., to Athens. He at once joined the party which it was to his interest to join—the party of Thrasybulus now in the ascendant, and supported by Cephalus, Anytus, and Archinus. This party was viewed with jealousy by another, which looked to the exiled Conon as its hope, and in Athens was now led by Agyrrhius, who at present found his sphere of activity in finance. The government was desperately in want of funds. The Ten who had succeeded the Thirty had borrowed largely from Sparta to carry on the war with the exiles, and on the restoration of democracy payment was demanded. Some argued that those who had remained in Athens (οἱ εἰς ἀορτεῖς) during the oligarchy ought to provide the sum due, but the Ecclesia decided to pay the money as a public debt. Two talents owed to Thebes were not forthcoming; nor could the city pay the contributions to Sparta’s war expenses now imposed on her. Athens lay without arsenal, fleet, docks, or walls—a humble and defenceless member of the Spartan confederacy.

Andocides was useful to the government. He stood well with Sparta, he must have been favourably regarded by Thrasybulus, who had led the opposition to Pisander in 411 and had obtained material assistance from Andocides in Samos, and he had money, which he was willing to spend on his country. Between 403 and 399, he was Gymnasiarch at the festival of the Hephaestia and Architheorus at the Isthmian and Olympian Games (May and July 400 B.C. respectively), and became Treasurer of the Sacred Moneys—a post of importance. In 400 he was
president of the company which farmed the tax of two per cent. on imports and exports. Agyrrhrius had been chief of the board the previous year, and had paid the state thirty talents for the privilege of farming the tax, but Andocides now offered thirty-six talents, and thus his company secured the contract, and Agyrrhrius was defeated. His disgust was so great that he joined in the attack on Andocides the following year.

The period from 403 to 392 B.C. forms the most successful portion of the orator's life. Oligarchs who remained in Athens during the reign of the Thirty had to choose between feigning conversion to democratic opinions and leaving Athens, unless they could keep in obscurity. The party was thoroughly discredited. But Andocides occupied the enviable position of belonging neither to "the City" nor "the Piraeus" faction. Like Conon, he had seen nothing of the struggle which gave rise to these new parties. Thus he had a fresh start when he returned in 402 B.C., and he turned his opportunity to good account. Yet he had enemies who were only waiting for a favourable moment for attacking him. There were oligarchs who regarded him as a turncoat, and he was viewed with disfavour by the extreme democrats, while with some he had serious personal differences. In 399 B.C. Cephisisus, Epichares, Meletus, Callias, and Agyrrhrius came to terms and indicted Andocides for impiety, and for exercising the rights of a citizen when he was under civil disabilities owing to the decree of Isotimides. The names of the prosecutors and
their supporters showed that political questions were involved in the case. Cephalus and Anytus, two of the chief supporters of Thrasybulus, joined Andocides against the combination. The speech delivered by the orator on this occasion before the heliasts was very different from his address to the Ecclesia in 410 B.C. He now stated that he had taken no part in the mutilation of the Hermae himself; he had only told the Senate what he had heard from Euphiletus, the leader in the plot; and he had only added four names to those given by Teucrus in his information. The lapse of eleven years and the novelty of success had emboldened the speaker, and instead of bewailing his guilt, he now protested his innocence. Whatever the heliasts may have thought on that point, they had good reasons for acquitting Andocides. They considered the services his family had rendered to the state in times past, the benefits he had himself of late conferred upon it,¹ the obvious malice of his opponents and their own crimes (from the consequences of which they were only protected by the very oaths which they were now urging the jury to break), above all, the serious blow which condemnation in this case would deal to a government whose watchword was the Amnesty. Such reasons were sufficient to justify Athenian jurymen in voting in favour of acquittal. The verdict for Andocides

¹ Lys. 30, § 1, says that even if a man appeared guilty, he was apt to be acquitted if he recalled the valiant deeds of his ancestors and proved that he had himself served the state well.
strengthened the hands of the government and proved the determination of the Courts to uphold the Amnesty.

At some date subsequent to the trial, Andocides was Choregus for his Tribe, the Pandionis, at the great Dionysia, and gained a victory with his Boys’ Chorus, the record of which is still preserved in an inscription.

In the winter of 395 B.C., Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos formed an alliance against Sparta. In 394 B.C. Conon’s influence was restored by the great victory of Cnidus, while that of Thrasybulus declined owing to the defeats sustained by the allies near Corinth and Coronea. Thus Agyrrhius also advanced in importance, and his financial measures this same year made him exceedingly popular. The defeat of the Corinthians and Argives at Lechaeum in 392, and the arrest of Conon by Tiribazus, made the cause of the allies appear so hopeless that an embassy was sent from Athens to Sparta in the winter to arrange a peace if possible. Andocides was selected for this mission as a friend of Sparta. The embassy was well received and another sent from Sparta to Athens, to return with an answer after an interval of forty days for discussion there. Andocides addressed the Ecclesia in support of the proposed peace. In his speech (On the Peace), he showed (1) that the demos had prospered through peace, suffered through war (De Pace, §§ 1-12): (2) there was no ground for continuing war ( §§ 13-16): (3) Sparta and Thebes desired peace ( §§ 17-23): (4) Argos and a section in Corinth desired war, but Argos had selfish motives; and Athens with Argos and Corinth
could not cope with Sparta and Boeotia united (§§ 24-27): (5) Athens was ever prone to ally herself with the weaker party,¹ and thus invite defeat (§§ 28-32): (6) he defended the course now adopted (§§ 33-36): and concluded with (7) a summary of the advantages to be gained by making peace with Sparta (§ 36-end). But the Corinthian and Argive Commissioners opposed him; the Athenians also feared that Sparta might again force on them an oligarchy, as in 404: for they viewed the proposed peace as a sign of the revival of the oligarchs. Some even whispered that Thrasybulus, whose haughty bearing gave offence, was ready to aid in establishing an oligarchy—an absurd rumour which received some colour from his connection with Andocides. Many also complained that the cleruchies abroad, lost in 405, were not to be restored to them by the peace. The conditions were therefore refused; and the success of Iphocrates in 390 seemed to justify the decision of the Ecclesia. Thrasybulus himself appears to have been dissatisfied with the conditions proposed by Sparta, and those who much wished for peace regarded the action of that great man on this occasion as that of a tiresome meddler.²

Andocides is not heard of after this failure. The influence of Thrasybulus revived for a short time in 390, but a fresh and more vigorous attack was presently made

¹ For a defence of this policy see Isocrates, 4 § 53.
² The obscure lines of Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae 193-203 point to some difficulty interposed by Thrasybulus, and also to the diminution of public confidence in him.
on him. On his death in 389, Agyrrhius became Strategus in his place. But he failed signally; for Persia joined Sparta, and on the Peace of Antalcidas in 387 the party which Conon and Agyrrhius had led collapsed. Andocides, if alive, must have viewed these events with equanimity. The year of his death is not known.

Andocides is a typical Athenian of the decline—clever, shifty, impulsive, living in the past rather than the future, more given to words than deeds, not over scrupulous about truth and honesty, incapable of dissociating political from personal interests. Thus in character he resembles Alcibiades. He lacked his splendid talents and his power of originating, but we discern in him the same pride of ancestry and the same self-assertion. He had something, too, of Alcibiades' power of fascinating strangers, and this power diminished the bitterness of his exile. But he had not the power of swaying men, and he had no military talent: he was, as it were, a foretaste of the next generation of Athenian statesmen, when the orator was no longer, as in former times, identical with the military leader,¹ and when Athens only "did battle with words."

It is curious that the strange alternations of prosperity and adversity in the life of Andocides synchronise so exactly with similarly varying phases of Athenian history. His youth was passed in a pleasant atmosphere of luxury and ease under the glorious sunshine of Pericles' administration. But in the year of the Sicilian Expedition, as

¹ See Butcher, *Demosthenes*, p. 19.
though his country's folly were casting its shadow upon him, he allowed himself to be led into an insensate conspiracy. The man was blinded by the pride of wealth, as the city was by the pride of power. Both transgressed the law of self-restraint imposed by heaven on mortals. Throughout the weary years of the Sicilian and Decelean Wars, Nemesis, herself unwearied, pursued her hapless victims. At times a ray of hope burst through the clouds. But though the gloomy goddess might depart for a season, it was only that she might gather fresh strength for a yet more terrible onset; while, in the meantime, against Athens she sent forth the hosts of Agis and Lysander to do her dread work, and against the orator the more subtle but not less formidable powers of Pisander and Isotimides. But at length the shadows departed. City and citizen, humbled and chastened by bitter suffering, received consolation. Very pathetic is their history during the years succeeding the Restoration. We watch them struggling manfully to redeem their lost honour. If Athens received back Andocides and frankly forgave him, he reciprocated her welcome with ample gifts. Yet as we turn from contemplating the evening of his life, we are conscious that his country is no longer what she was. Thrasybulus and his followers could do much, but they could never restore the Athens of Pericles.\footnote{The statement of the pseudo-Plutarch that A. was again banished after failing to induce the Athenians to accept the peace in 392-1 is, as Dr. Jebb points out, valueless. The writer merely made it in order to round off a sufficiently unfortunate career with a melodramatic close.
II.

INTRODUCTION TO "DE MYSTERIIS."

§ 1. Nature of the Case.

This speech was delivered in 399 B.C. (§ 132) before a court of heliasts, all of whom were initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries (§ 29 Notc); the president of this court was the Archon Basileus\(^1\) (cf. § 111), who had charge of the state religion, and presided in cases connected therewith. The method of procedure was by an ἐνδείξις, or indictment, which was lodged by Cephisius, the chief prosecutor, with the Archon Basileus at Eleusis during the last ten days of the month Boedromion, that is, during the celebration of the greater Mysteries, while all the initiated, including A. himself, were at Eleusis (see §§ 111 and 121). It set forth that A. had been guilty of ἀσέβεια in attending the Mysteries, whereas he was excluded by Isotimides' decree (de Myst. §§ 10, 29, 31, 58, 132; [Lys.] 6, §§ 5, 6, 10-12, 16, 17, 20, 30, 31, 52, 54, 55; [Plut.] Vit. And. § 3). There were two other prosecutors, Meletus and Epichares, who addressed the court after Cephisius (§ 92, et seq.), and among the most important witnesses on their side were Callias and Agyrrhius,

\(^1\) Cf. Hyperides pro Euw., 21, ἀσέβει τις τὰ λεπά γραφαὶ ἀσέβειας (εἰσι) πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. Dem. 22 § 27 τὴν ἀσέβεις ἔστω ἀπάγεων, γράφεσθαι, δικαίωσθαι πρὸς Ἑυμολπίδας, φράζεω πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. In that passage ἐνδείξις is not mentioned, but ἀπάγεω includes ἐνδείκνυαι, the two terms being not always clearly distinguished. See Alt. Proc., § 225. For part of this note I am indebted to Mr. W. F. Smith, Tutor of St. John's.
who had aided them in getting up the case. The speech of A. answers those of the three prosecutors. He was aided by two powerful politicians, who appeared as his σύνδικοι, viz., Anytus and Cephalus, besides members of the Pandionid tribe (§ 150). Hence A. did not himself occupy all the time allowed for the defence, since extra time was not granted for σύνδικοι to speak. The result was an acquittal, and it is not improbable that Cephasius failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes, in which case he had to pay a fine of 1000 drachmae, as did every prosecutor in a public case (γραφή) who did not obtain that proportion of the heliasts' votes, and he was also excluded from the Eleusinian shrine.

§ 2. The Case for the Prosecution.

The case then is an ordinary ἐνδείξεις ἀσέβειας. But the main count was backed up at the trial by others, and the whole case as stated before the court stood as follows. (1) A. was guilty of ἀσέβεια because he had attended the Mysteries (de Myst. § 3), and entered the Eleusinian shrine at Athens ([Lys.] 6, 42) when expressly excluded by the decree of Isotimides. (2) A. was guilty of ἀσέβεια because he had habitually entered holy places, from which he was excluded by the decree. Thus he had offended all the deities ([Lys.] 6, 9). (3) He had exercised the rights of a citizen and entered the Agora, when prohibited by the decree ([Lys.] 6, 9 and 33).

1 For the distinction between ἐνδείξεις and ἀπαγωγή, see § 8, Note. Cf. §§ 91, 105. 2 See Life of A., p. 6.
In order to prove any of these three charges it was necessary to show that A. was subject to the decree of Isotimides at the time. Accordingly evidence was put in with regard to (a) the mutilation of the Hermae, that A. had given information incriminating himself in the outrage in 415 B.C. (de Myst. § 34-71; [Lys.] 6, § 14 et seq.) (b) the violation of the Mysteries, that A. had given information incriminating himself and his father (de Myst. § 11-27). Therefore he had admitted that he was guilty of impiety in 415, and had been and was still subject to the decree of that year.

Now the prosecutors foresaw that A. would plead that the decree had been repealed in 403 by the measure passed after the restoration of the democracy, which abolished all previous laws but those expressly approved at that time, and that the charge violated the oaths taken by all the citizens at the time of the General Amnesty after the return of Thrasybulus, according to which all bygones were to be bygones. The prosecutors therefore dealt with this important point in their speeches. They argued that the reconciliation oaths and measures of 403 had nothing to do with A.'s case ([Lys.] 6, § 37). They had been entered into merely by two parties—οἱ ἐξ ἀστεως, those who remained in the city during the eight months' rule of the Thirty (April-Dec. 404), and οἱ ἐκ Περαιῶς—those who fled into exile during that period and returned with Thrasybulus. To neither of these did A. belong.

This argument requires examination. It appears from the text of the oath (de Myst. § 90), and the words of
Xenophon (*Hell. 2, end*) that the terms were intended to include every citizen except the Thirty and the Decarchy established by Lysander in Piraeus. But A. had nothing to do with either of the two contracting parties. It was a grave oversight that no special clause was inserted in the oath referring to men undergoing punishment for crimes committed before the overthrow of the democracy, and to those who had caused the death of others during the oligarchy. This omission caused much difficulty in the courts after 403, when some persons began to prosecute for acts prior to 403. The question had to be settled by the creation of precedents and by a liberal use of the "παραγραφή of Archinus," a measure passed in 403 to meet the difficulty, which enacted that any one prosecuted for crimes committed before that date, might plead that he was protected by the Amnesty. The argument employed by the prosecution, that the oaths, etc. were made as between two parties, those of the City, and those of the Piraeus, appears also in Lysias, 13 § 88 *et seq.*, where Agoratus the informer is prosecuted for his actions under the Thirty. The Athenian courts certainly discouraged such prosecutions as far as possible: probably the heliasts used discretion and acquitted wherever it was possible, and condemned only when punishment was obviously and loudly called for. As regards other persons who had fled in consequence of the decree of Isotimides, the question whether they ought to benefit by the oaths had scarcely arisen; for they had not ventured to set foot in Athens if they were notorious ([Lys.] 6 § 44); which
shows that there was considerable doubt about the universal application of the terms of the oath.

A.'s opponents felt that the question thus raised would depend on the construction of the court for its answer. They therefore brought forward a fourth charge independent of the decree of Isotimides, which arose out of circumstances which occurred at Athens shortly after the indictment had been lodged with the Archon Basileus. (4) A. deserved to die, because he deposited a suppliant branch in the Eleusinian shrine at Athens during the celebration of the Mysteries, and this was a breach of religious law, for which, they said, the penalty was death. Now Callias, in his official capacity as δαδούχος, had brought this matter before the notice of the Senate, and in support of his interpretation of the divine will had quoted a responsio of Hipponicus, his father (§ 110 et seq.). But Callias could produce no evidence that A. was responsible for the sin, and it appears that Cephalus at once refuted him by pointing out that Hipponicus and Callias, who belonged to the family of the Ceryces, had not the right of interpreting divine law.¹ Moreover, Callias was attempting to override a νόμος γεγραμμένος, which laid the penalty for the sin imputed to A. at 1000 drachmae, by a νόμος ἀγραφος. There seems to have been no reason whatever for renewing this charge against A. at the trial, and in doing so the prosecutors were guilty of gross συκοφαντία, and damaged their case.

¹ See § 115 Note.
INTRODUCTION TO "DE MYSTERIIS."

Of course the prosecution tried to make capital out of A.'s implication in the crimes of 415. Would not Athens punish a man who had admitted his guilt ([Lys.] 6 § 15)? A. had shown that he did not believe in the gods by adding insult to injury in daring to sail the seas (ib. § 19). Though the gods had not destroyed him then, they were but reserving their vengeance that it might be all the heavier when at last it did come (de Myst. §§ 137-139). The two goddesses had never failed to punish those who had offended them, nor would they fail now (de Myst. § 29, [Lys.] 6 §§ 1-3, 19, 20). A. had even outdone Diagoras, the notorious atheist. But A. in reply pointed out what was the true and obvious inference from the fact that he had come safely out of all his troubles. His opponents, in fact, still further damaged their case by such statements.

§ 3. Relations of A. with his accusers.

(a) Cephisius had in some year previous to 403 obtained from the πωληται the lease of the tax paid by the cultivators of land belonging to the state (§ 92). He collected 90 minae, but did not pay the sum due from him by the date fixed upon. He therefore became ἀτιμος as a debtor to the state, and left Athens. After 403 he was himself only protected by the Amnesty from an ἄνδειξις for exercising the rights of a citizen when ἀτιμος. It is possible that A. had recently called attention to the fact that money was owing to the treasury from Cephisius and others. At any rate, as the state was in great want of
money, some one connected with the government must have suggested the possibility of bringing some pressure to bear on such debtors, even if they could not be compelled to pay (§ 88). A. since his return had paid much attention to finance, and the prosecutors expected that he would refer to Cephisius' debt, and one of them clearly implied that some action would be taken against Cephisius ([Lys.] 6, § 42).

(b) Epichares had been a member of the Senate under the Thirty. He was an oligarch, and, remembering A. as he was in 415, must have been disgusted at his present success as a supporter of Thrasybulus, to whom A.'s disgrace would be a blow.

(c) Meletus was also a supporter of the Thirty, who hoped now to extricate himself from an unpleasant position. It was said that he had been responsible for the death of a democrat named Leon (§ 94), and he must have been in disfavour with the party of Thrasybulus. There is no reason for supposing that this man is identical with the accuser of Socrates, as some have thought.

(d) Callias had a private quarrel with A. over the possession of an "heiress" (ἐπίκληρος) and her inheritance (κληρος). A. declares (§ 121) that Callias gave Cephisius 1000 drachmae as his contribution towards the expenses of the prosecution, and this statement is probably true, as the sum would be a trifle to the spendthrift son of "the richest of the Greeks," and would indemnify Cephisius in case he failed to obtain a fifth of the votes. Cephisius no doubt thought the assistance of the δαδοῦχος
of considerable value. He had married A.'s first cousin, and was much disliked by him (§§ 124-131).

(c) Agyrrhiaus had a dispute with A. in 400 B.C. over the lease of the two per cent. tax (§ 133 et seq.). The former prided himself on his knowledge of finance. He was, moreover, in opposition now with the government, and wanted to displace Thrasybulus as Strategus. Politics after 403 became more and more a personal matter; and parties were the more jealous of one another because their professed objects were the same, viz., restoration of Athens' power. Hence the demagogue Agyrrhiaus, for selfish ends, was ready to join the oligarchs in an attack on the government.


His object was to prove that he was not guilty of ἀσέβεια. He admitted that he had attended the Mysteries; that he had entered the temples; that he had exercised the rights of a citizen. He denied that he was at the time ἄτιμος. In order to prove this, he states (1) that he had neither been guilty of ἀσέβεια nor admitted his guilt in 415: therefore the decree of Isotimides had nothing to do with him; (2) that, even supposing he had been guilty and admitted his guilt, the decree was no longer in force, since all Psephisms previous to 403 were abolished by the measures of that year. As to the fourth charge, it was an impudent fabrication on the part of Callias.

Analysis of the Speech.

§§ 1-7. Appeal to the jury to hear him with goodwill.
§§ 8-10. Introduction to his defence.
§§ 11-18. Complete narrative of the events arising out of the profanation of the Mysteries, showing that, from the declaration of Pythonicus to the victory of Leogoras over Speusippus, he had had nothing to do with the matter. 

§§ 19-28. The impossibility of his having informed in the matter of the Mysteries demonstrated.

(1) It was he who advised his father to remain and prosecute Speusippus after he was denounced by Lydus: how could he have done that if he had informed against his father? (19-21).

(2) Speusippus did not attempt to use the supposed information as a proof of Leogoras' guilt (22).

(3) Denunciation of his opponents' falsehood (23-24).

(4) Challenge to any one to refute him (25-26).

(5) There had been no question of rewarding him for his supposed μῆνυσις (27-28).

§§ 29-33. The Mysteries dismissed, and his innocence insisted upon.

§§ 34-47. Account of the informations arising out of the mutilation of the Hermae, prior to his own disclosures.

§§ 48-69. Explanation and defence of his own information. He only informed against four men not included by Teucrus.

§§ 70-91. The decree of Isotimides is not in force.

(1) All ἄτμοι had been made ἐπίτμοι (70-79).

(2) The various measures passed on the restoration of the democracy prove that previous Psephisms were no longer in force (80-89).
(3) The Athenians have sworn to bear no malice against any one for deeds committed before 403 (90-91).

§§ 92-98. It is only in virtue of these measures that Cephasius, Meletus, and Epichares, go unpunished for their crimes.


§§ 103-105. This is a test case as to whether the laws and oaths are to prevail or not.


§§ 110-116: The ἰερηπία was not placed in the Eleusinian shrine by himself, but by Callias, who trumped up the charge against him.

§§ 117-127. Account of his quarrel with Callias over the ἐπίκληρος.


§§ 132-136. Account of his quarrel with Agyrrhius.

§§ 137-139. If the gods were wroth with him, why had they not destroyed him at sea? Instead of that they had brought him safe through perils, and had not thought of delegating their vengeance to a wretch like Cephasius.

§§ 140-150. Appeal for a favourable verdict.

(1) The character of Athenians for unanimity is at stake (140).

(2) The services of his ancestors (141-143).

(3) The advantages which the state will reap if he is acquitted (144-146).

(4) The disasters to his family if he is condemned (147-end).
§ 5. Remarks on the Speech

A.’s occupies a peculiar position among the Attic Orators. He had not received a rhetorical training, and therefore was dependent on his natural talent. Important results follow from this. His speeches, if tested by the rules of rhetoric, are found wanting. Consequently ancient critics thought but little of A. The writer of his life remarked that he seldom employs “figures” (σχῆματα). Now there are three varieties of “figures”—viz. (1) figures of grammar (σ. λέξεως)—e.g. Zeugma (§§ 63, 132 Notes), attraction (§ 9 Note):—these are rare in A. (2) figures of language (σ. λόγου)—e.g. παρονομασία (de Red. § 22 ει μὲν βούλεσθε αἰτῶ, ει δὲ μη βούλεσθε ἀπαντῶ, ἴδ. § 1 κοινῇ ἑστὶ, . . . κοινά ἑστὶ. de Myst. § 1 καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀδικώς), ἀντίθεσις (de Myst. § 55 ἐμὲ μὲν δεῖ . . . ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ). These also are seldom used by A. (3) figures of thought (σχῆματα διανοίας)—e.g. προσωποποιία, or the personation of another (de Myst. §§ 4, 101), ἀποστροφή, addressing an opponent instead of the audience (de Myst. § 95, 99), ἀποστρωπῆσις (de Myst. §§ 80-81, 112—both passages altered by Lipsius), Irony (μυκτηρισμός) (ib, § 133, Ἄγυρριος . . . ὁ καλὸς κάγαθος), Question (ἐρώτησις) (ib. § 99, and often). This kind of figure (3) is frequently used by A. He is very defective in arrangement (τάξις); this speech has no arrangement whatever after § 92; the speaker deals with each point as it occurs to him. The musical

1 For a more detailed criticism of A.’s style, see Jebb’s Attic Orators i. 88 et seq.
qualities of rhetoric—harmony and rhythm—will be sought for in vain in A. The sentences are clumsy and careless.

In *technique* therefore A. is sadly lacking. But here detraction may cease. Though A.'s great speech would have found small favour with an audience of pedants, it is easy to understand why it produced such an excellent effect on a court of Athenian heliasts. In describing persons and events he is vigorous and telling. He treats a sombre subject with singular lightness of touch. Thus, though he is dealing with an intricate case, he never lapses into dulness. In personal abuse (so palatable to the Athenians) and story-telling he is admirable.

From A.'s lack of special training, it follows naturally that he speaks the language of everyday life. The "de Mysteriis" is a specimen of colloquial Greek, and should be far more widely studied than it is on that account. A. is fond of introducing snatches of poetry which occur to him (see § 53 *Note*): they do not seem in place, yet they show how completely he was at his ease.

§ 6. Athenian affairs in 399 B.C.

The position of political parties had been completely changed by the suppression and restoration of democracy. From 403, for a generation onwards, the chief parties were known as *οἱ ἐκ Ἀθηνᾶς* and *οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶν*—terms which have been already noticed. The Piraeus party was by this time split into two factions.¹ At present the

¹ See *Life of A.*, pp. 13, 14.
opposition between the two great parties came out chiefly in the courts. Whenever one of the City party attempted to obtain a share in the administration, he was attacked at his δοκυμασία as a supporter of the Thirty. Nicomachus, who had been on the board appointed to revise the laws after the restoration of democracy, was prosecuted this year for having grossly neglected his duties. The speech written by Lysias for the prosecution shows the terrible state of Athenian finance, and the scrupulous care with which the Athenians exacted outward conformity to the state religion (Lys. 30 §§ 17-25). The prosecution of Socrates brought Anytus again into the courts.

Between 402 and 398, Athens, as a member of the Spartan confederacy, sent a force to aid Sparta in her invasions of Elis, and had to contribute to the expenses of these campaigns and of those in Asia. The financial difficulties lasted from 407 to 394 B.C.

The speech several times referred to as [Lys.] 6 was delivered in this case against A. It followed the leading speech of Cephisius, and is therefore a δευτερολογία. It is discussed by Dr. Jebb, Attic Orators, i. p. 281.

III.

INTRODUCTION TO "DE REDITU."

§ 1. Date of Speech.

Dr. Jebb considers that the speech cannot have been delivered later than the summer of 410 B.C.¹ A. declares

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¹ Lipsius puts the speech a few years later on account of de Red. § 12. But see Note on that passage.
(§§ 20, 21,) that he has done much to relieve the anxiety about the corn supply. Now in 411 and the beginning of 410, the want of corn was acutely felt at Athens, but the danger disappeared on the victory of Cyzicus (early in 410). It was natural that A. should take the first opportunity of returning, and having succeeded in obtaining the promise of corn from Cyprus, he must have set out at once. This date (410) may therefore be accepted as fairly certain.

§ 2. The Speech

is a δημογορία in the Ecclesia praying for a restitution of the ἄδεια voted by the Ecclesia to A. in 415 on the motion of Menippus (§ 23), and release from the ἀτυπία under which he was at present suffering owing to the decree of Isotimides (§ 24). According to the pseudo-Lysias (§ 29) A. bribed the presidents to allow him a hearing, but this is probably untrue. A. had produced a good impression by his information to the Boule, and the presidents in the Ecclesia would be quite ready to hear him when it seemed probable that he was about to confer a solid benefit on the state in the supplies of corn which he said were coming.

§ 3. The opponents of A.

It was unlucky for him that, before he obtained a hearing, other persons rose and attacked him (§ 3). But he declared that those persons were not really responsible for the opposition (§ 4). It arose in reality from the
remnants of the Four Hundred (§ 27), that party from which he had suffered in the previous year (§ 14 et seq.). His enemies had been ashamed to oppose him openly in the Boule, for fear of showing their ill-will towards the democracy (§ 4) in disputing the statement of a man who announced that he had been able to confer an important service on the state. It had been the same all along: it was that party which had persuaded the Ecclesia to pass the decree of Isotimides in 415, and now the same party had bribed others to revive the charges against him (§ 5).

Is the view which A. took of the source from which the opposition to him sprang the true view? He had of course not asked in the Boule for his restoration: he had merely announced the coming supplies of corn. He says he gave such clear proofs of the truth of his statement that no one dared to dispute it. Possibly he came with despatches from Evagoras himself. It is at all events certain that the Boule cordially received his intelligence, and probably no one, in the present want, felt any wish to question what he said. But it must be noticed that he gave no proof that it was he who caused the supplies to be despatched; and also that the Ecclesia was not bound at all to receive him back as a citizen because he had announced coming supplies to the Boule. Further, the men who had already spoken were clearly not recognised oligarchs, for they, says A., were shameless persons who had been prompted by others (ταῦτα πράττουσιν . . . ἀν' ἄνδρῶν ἐπέρων § 4). He gives no proof of this: he merely says he sees a σημείον of it in the fact that no one opposed
him in the Boule, whereas shameless persons oppose him now. But the Ecclesia refused to remove the disabilities under which he was now suffering. Can it be supposed that a democratic assembly was moved to this refusal by reckless speakers who were, as it knew, suborned by the enemies of democracy?

The democrats themselves were opposed to A. He was trying to obtain permission to return from them, and he thought it would be an additional inducement to the Ecclesia to vote for him if he asserted that his cause was the cause of the democrats, and that the opposition to him sprang from the hated remnants of Pisander’s party. He is therefore careful to remind the citizens that the same people drove him out in 415 and 411 as assailed him now (§ 27). He refers of course to Pisander’s friends, but omits to mention that Pisander in 415 was regarded as an ardent democrat.\footnote{This misrepresentation of the facts is precisely the same as that in Isocrates de bigis, where Alcibiades’ son says that the same men drove out his father in 415 as established the Four Hundred in 411, and argues that therefore Alcibiades was banished by the oligarchs because he was faithful to the demos and refused to join in the plot. The speaker means Pisander, but presently refers (of course without mentioning names) to the demagogue Androcles’ σφαγελία against Alcibiades in the Boule, as though the oligarchs caused that.} A. admitted he had been guilty of mutilating the Hermae in 415, and had therefore participated in what was regarded as a plot to overthrow the democracy. It would appear then that the men who spoke against A. were really democrats, and not, as he pretended, the tools of the oligarchs.
§ 4. A’s answer to his opponents.

Before A. could ask for what he wanted from the Ecclesia, he had first to defend himself from the attacks of previous speakers: otherwise he had little chance of a favourable vote. For (1) they had revived the memory of his acts in 415, (2) then urged the Ecclesia not to receive him back as a citizen. Similarly in 415, when the Ecclesia was held to discuss the final arrangements for the Sicilian expedition, Nicias not only advised the Ecclesia to reconsider their decision, but also made a personal attack on Alcibiades. Consequently when the latter rose to reply, he first defended himself, and then spoke in favour of the expedition. The speech which Thuc. (6, 16) puts into his mouth on that occasion contains some passages closely resembling the de. Red. E.g. Thuc. l.c. § 1 compared with de Red. § 1 and § 27 init.; ib. §§ 2, 3, 6 with de Red. §§ 3, 8, 11, 16, 20; Thuc. 6, 17, § 1, ἡ ἐμὴ νεῶτης καὶ ἄνωτα, with de Red. § 7.

Analysis of the Speech.

§§ 1-3. Indignant surprise that previous speakers had ventured to oppose his application, when he had already proved before the Boule that he was anxious to benefit the state.

§§ 4, 5. Those speakers had been suborned by other persons, who had ventured to oppose him in the Boule.

§§ 6, 7. Begs the Ecclesia to take pity on him.

§§ 7-9. Explains the reasons why he gave his Information in 415. He had to choose between death for himself
and his father, and release; and by informing he relieved the citizens of their alarm.

§§ 10-16. An account of his sufferings from 415 to 411, designed to excite the compassion of the Ecclesia.

§§ 17, 18. Others were constantly rewarded for smaller services than his.

§§ 19-22. He tells, as far as he feels justified, the news which he had reported in secret to the Boule.

§§ 22, 23. For this service he asks only a small reward—a renewal of the ἀδεια voted to him in 415, but revoked by the decree of Isotimides.

§§ 24, 25. He has thoroughly repented of his former folly.

§ 26. His present honest goodwill towards the democracy represents the true Andocides.

§§ 27, 28. He bore no ill-will to the people for having deprived him of the ἀδεια. It was not surprising, since they were persuaded to do it by the same persons as induced them to accept slavery in place of democracy. As, therefore, they had revoked their decision in the one case, so they would, he hoped, do in the other.

§ 5. Remarks on the Speech.

A. does not display any of the confidence before the Ecclesia which he shows eleven years later in addressing the heliasts. The tone is that of a man who is neither sure of himself nor of the justice of his case. But in 410 he had not even citizen rights. In 399 he had lived as a successful public man for three years. A. also cannot as
yet have had much experience in speaking in the Ecclesia, and we have seen that he had not been trained as a professional orator. He may have been alarmed at the opposition with which he met, and his anxiety must have been considerably increased when he found that his audience was not in sympathy with him (§§ 1, 2).

The style is far more laboured and less colloquial than that of the de Mysteriis. A. keeps more closely to his subject, and his diction, while more studied, lacks the ease which delights us in the later speech. The sentences are less diffuse, and asyndeton, common in the de Myst. (e.g. § 82 ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσαντες), does not occur. In connection with this subject it may be noticed that a colloquial construction—viz., ὅτι with the exact words of the speaker in place of Oratio Obliqua occurs four times in the de Myst., but not at all in this speech; though once, in § 14, in the only place, as Dr. Jebb has remarked, in which “the dramatic force of A.’s true style flashes out,” he employs the O. Recta in place of the Obliqua. The following words and phrases, used metaphorically, are cited by Blass (Attische Bereds. i. p. 325):—περικάνται (§ 2 Note), ἱαθήναι (§ 9), ὅδον τε καὶ πόρον εὑθαρσεῖν (§ 16).

The speech, though it does not conform to any rhetorical plan, is well arranged. The Proem, which contains A.’s defence (§§ 1-4), and is not clearly separated from the main portion, is followed by a narrative of past services and undeserved sufferings. Upon this narrative is founded an a fortiori argument, showing that the speaker

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1 §§ 49, 63, 120, 135. See Note on § 49.
deserves to receive what he is about to ask for. Then comes a reference to fresh benefits which he is about to confer on his hearers. He ends with an epilogue in which he makes his request (§§ 24-end). But the reader will feel that the speech is inadequate to the occasion, and that it cannot have done much towards producing a favourable impression on the minds of an audience not predisposed in the speaker's favour. One argument only is advanced to prove he deserves consideration (§§ 17 and 18), and it cannot be said that much judgment is displayed in the asking of the favour, as a reference to the rather patronising language of § 27 will show. When A. has occasion to refer to himself he is unable to avoid arrogance (§§ 1, 3, 9, 12, 20).

§ 6. Athenian Affairs in 410 B.C.

At the opening of the year Athens was in great want of corn, and most of her allies were in revolt. The hopes of Athens, however, had lately considerably revived owing to the two naval victories off Cynossema (at the second of which Alcibiades was present). The earlier battle was followed by the recovery of Cyzicus.

The government was, during the first half of this year, the modified form of democracy established on the fall of the Four Hundred: there were nominally five thousand citizens, but probably, by this time at least (Jan. 410), that number was considerably exceeded.¹ There was no pay

¹ There cannot have been exactly five thousand citizens put on the list when the Four Hundred were abolished. See Grote Gk. Hist. vol. vii. p. 316, note.
for state services. Theramenes was now one of the chief men at Athens, but he did not enjoy the full confidence of the people. He was Strategus, as also were Thrasybulus and Alcibiades, the two latter having been elected by the fleet at Samos.

Early in the year Alcibiades gained the brilliant victory of Cyzicus over Mindarus. The distress at Athens at once disappeared; for corn came again from Thrace and the Hellespont, and Alcibiades re-established the Athenian dues in the Bosphorus. The Lacedaemonians were so disheartened that they applied for peace, but so good did the position of Athens appear that Cleophon persuaded the Ecclesia to refuse the terms.

On the return of the victorious fleet, full democracy was soon restored, and it was on this occasion that the Psephism of Demophantus was passed (de Myst. § 97). A board, on which Demophantus and Nicomachus\(^1\) served, had been appointed to revise the laws, but the work was interrupted before it was completed. Cleophon became very popular by carrying a measure re-establishing pay for state services, and his management of the financial affairs of Athens seems to have been marked by considerable ability and strict honesty.

Agis was still at Decelea, but he was mortified at finding the prospects of Athens so good, in spite of his proximity.

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\(^1\) Lys. 30 Aristoph. Ran. 1506. See Th. Kock, *Introd. to Ranae* p. 15. Nicomachus was on the board appointed in 411, and also on that appointed in 403. *Cf.* p. 32.
1.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΤΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ.

Τὴν μὲν παρασκευήν, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ὥστε μὲ κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἀφικόμην εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταυτηρί, σχεδὸν τι πάντες ἐπίστασθε, καὶ οὐδὲν δεὶ περὶ τούτων πολλοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι ἐγὼ δὲ, ὁ ἄνδρες, δεήσομαι ὑμῶν δίκαια καὶ ὑμῖν τε ῥάδια χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἄξια πολλοῦ τυχεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθυμηθήσομαι ὅτι νῦν ἔγω ἥκω οὐδὲμιᾶς μοι ἀνάγκης οὕς τινας παραμεῖναι, οὔτ' ἐγγυνητάς καταστήσας οὐθ' ὕπο δεσμῶν ἀναγκασθεῖς, πιστεύσας δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν, γνώσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ περίσφεσθαι με ἀδίκως ὕπο τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν διαφθαρέντα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον σῶσειν δίκαιως κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἕμετέρους καὶ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς οὓς ὑμεῖς ὁμόσαντες μέλλετε τὴν ψήφον οὔσειν. εἰκότως 3 δ' ἂν, ὁ ἄνδρες, τὴν αὐτήν γνώμην ἔχοιτε περὶ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν εἰς τοὺς κυνόνους καθισταμένων, ἦνπερ αὐτοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. ὡς ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὑπομεῖναι καταγγυόντες αὐτῶν ἀδίκιαν, εἰκότως τοι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν γνωσκετε οίᾳ περὶ καὶ
αυτοί περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐγνωσαν’ ὀπόσοι δὲ πιστεύ
σαντες μηδὲν ἄδικείν ὑπέμειναν, δίκαιοι ἔστε καὶ υμεῖς
περὶ τούτων τοιαύτην ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην οἶαν περ καὶ
αυτοῖ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔσχον, καὶ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν

4 ἄδικείν. αὐτίκα ἐγὼ πολλῶν μοι ἀπαγγελλόντων ὑμῖ
λέγοιεν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ οὐτ’ ἂν υπομείναιμ
οἰχήσομαι τε φεύγων, — “τί γὰρ ἀν καὶ βουλόμενος
Ἀνδοκίδης ἀγώνα τοσοῦτον ὑπομείνειν, ὃ ἔξεστι μὲν
ἀπελθόντι ἐντεῦθεν ἦκεν πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἦστι
δὲ πλεύσαντι εἰς Κύπρον, θοῦ περ ἢκει, γῆ πολλὴ
cαὶ ἀγαθὴ διδομένη καὶ δωρεὰν ὑπάρχουσα; οὔτος ἄρα
βουλήστεται περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ κινδυνεύσαι;
eἰς τὸ ἀποθέλψας; οὐχ ὀρᾷ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ὡς διά-
κεισται;” ἐγὼ δὲ, ὁ ἄνδρες, πολὺ τὴν ἐναντίαν τούτων
5 γνώμην ἔχω. ἀλλοθί τε γὰρ ἄν πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν
στερόμενοι της πατρίδος οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην, τῆς δὲ πό-
λεως οὕτω διακειμένης ὡσπερ αὐτοῖ οἱ ἐχθροὶ λέγουσιν,
πολὺ ἂν αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἐγὼ πολίτης δεξαίμην εἰναι ἡ
ἐτέρων πόλεων, ἢ ἵσως πάνω μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι εὐτυχεῖν. ἀπερ γιγνώσκων ἐπέτρεψα δια-
6 γνώναι υμῶν περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ. αὐτοῦμαι
οὐν ὑμᾶς, ὁ ἄνδρες, εὐνοιαν πλείω παρασχέσθαι ἐμοὶ
tῶ ἀπολογομένῳ ἡ τοῖς κατηγόροις, εἰδότας ὅτι καὶ εἶ
ἀποκράσθη, ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀπολογομένου ἔλαττον

§ 4. δωρεὰν ὑπ’] ἀγαθὴ διδομένη καὶ δωρεὰ (quod “pecunias"
nulla ratione interpretatur Dobr.) ἀγαθὴ δεδομένη ἐν δωρεᾶ ὑπ’

§ 5. ἂν Blass., typ. errore, quem tamen non sustulit Lips. μοι
secl. Bl.
Δ' έχειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐπιβουλεύσαντες καὶ συνθέντες, αὐτοὶ ἀνευ κινδύνων ἄντες, τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐπούσαντο· ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ δέος καὶ κινδύνου καὶ διαβολῆς τῆς μεγίστης τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιοῦμαι. εἰκός οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐστιν εὔνοιαι πλεῖω παρασχέσαται ἐμοὶ ἡ τοῖς κατηγόροις. ἐτι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐνθυμητέον, ὅτι 7 πολλοὶ ἦδη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορήσαντες παραχρῆμα ἐξηλέγχθησαν ψευδόμενοι οὕτω φαινομένως, ὡστε ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἄν ἦδον δίκην λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν κατηγόρων ἡ παρὰ τῶν κατηγορομένων· οἱ δὲ αὐ, μαρτυρήσαντες τὰ ψευδή (καὶ) ἀδίκως ἀνθρώπους ἀπολέσαντες, εἰάλοσαι παρ' ὑμῖν ψευδομαρτυρίων, ἡ μὲν οὖν ἤτι πλεόν τοῖς πεποιθοῦσι. ὅποτέ οὖν ἦδη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα γεγένηται, εἰκός ὑμᾶς ἐστίν μήπω τοὺς τῶν κατηγόρων λόγους πιστοὺς ἤγεισθαί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δεινὰ κατηγορήται ἡ μῆ, οὔτ' τε γνώναι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κατηγόρου λόγων· εἰ δὲ ἀληθῇ ταύτα ἐστίν ἡ ψευδή, οὔχ οἶνον τε ὑμᾶς πρότεροι εἰδέναι πρῶν ἐν καὶ ἐμὸν ἀκούσῃς ἀπολογομένου.

Σκοπῶ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼν, οὔ ἄνδρες, πόθεν χρῆ ἄρξασθαι 8 τῆς ἀπολογίας, πότερον εκ τῶν τελευταίων λόγων, ὡς παρανόμως με ἐνέδειξαν, ἡ περὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος τοῦ Ἰσοτιμίδου, ὡς ἀκυρῶν ἔστιν, ἡ περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν τῶν γεγενημένων, εἰτε καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμᾶς διδάξω τὰ γεγενημένα. δ' δε με ποιεῖ μάλιστ' ἀπορεῖν, ἐγὼ υμῶν ἔρω, ὅτι οὐ πάντες ὑπὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατηγορομένοις ὁμοίως ὀργίζεσθε, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸς τι υμῶν ἐχει πρὸς δ' ἄρξαιται ἐν με πρῶτον ἀπολογεῖσθαι· ἀμα δ' περὶ πάντων ἐπιτείν ἀδύνατον. κράτιστον οὖν μοι εἶναι δοκεῖ ἐξ ἀρχῆς υμᾶς διδάσκειν πάντα τὰ γεγομένα καὶ παραλυτεῖν
μηδὲν. ἂν γὰρ ὀρθῶς μᾶθητε τὰ πραχθέντα, ῥαδίως ἐγείρσεσθ' ἢ μου κατεψεύσαντο οἱ κατήγοροι. τὰ μὲν οὖν δίκαιαι ἡγομόνεις ὑμᾶς ἠγούμαι καὶ αὐτούς παρεσκευάσθαι, οὔτεπερ ἐγὼ πιστεύεσθα υπεμεινα, ὅρων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις περὶ πλείστου τοῦτο ποιουμένου, ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους· οὔτεπερ καὶ συνέχει μόνον τὴν πόλιν, ἀκόντων τῶν οὐ βουλομένων ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν· τάδε δὲ ὑμῶν δέομαι, μετ' εὐνοίας μου τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῆς ἀπολογίας ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μήτε μοι ἀντιδίκους καταστήσει μήτε ὑπονοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα μήτε ῥήματα θηρεύειν, ἀκροασμένους δὲ διὰ τέλους τῆς ἀπολογίας τότε ἤδη ψηφίζεσθαι τούτῳ ὅτι ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀριστον καὶ εὐφορκότατον νομίζητε εἶναι.

10 οὔστερ δὲ καὶ προείπον ὑμῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ πάντων ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς αὐτίας θ' ἐν περὶ ἡ ἐνδείξεις ἔγενετο, διότερος δὲ τῶν ἀγώνα τούδε κατέστησι, περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ὡς οὔτε μοι ἤσέβησε τοῦτο οὐδὲν οὔτε μεμήνυσε τοῦ ὀμολογητικα, οὔτε οἴδα τοὺς μυνόσαντας ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν οὔτε εἰ ψευδὴ οὔτε εἰ ἀληθῆ ἐμῆνυσαν ταῦτα ὑμᾶς διδᾶξο.  

11 Ἡν μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς εἰς Σικελίαν, Νυκία καὶ Δαμάχοι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδη, καὶ τρίηρης ἡ στρατηγία ἤδη ἐξώριμει ἡ Δαμάχου ἀναστὰς δὲ Πυθόνικος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἶπεν· "ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑμεῖς μὲν στρατιῶν ἐκπέμπετε καὶ παρασκευής τοσαύτης, καὶ κίνδυνον ἀρείσθαι μέλλετε· Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν τὰ μυστήρια ποιοῦντα ἐν οἰκία μεθ' ἑτέρων, καὶ εἰνὶ ψηφίσησθε ἄδειαν (ὁ) ἐγὼ κελεύω, θεράπτων ὑμῖν ἐνθάδε ἐνὸς τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἕμητος
δὲν ἔρει τὰ μυστήρια: εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρήσθε μοι ὅ τι ἀν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, εὰν μὴ τάληθθε λέγω." ἀντιλέγοντος δὲ Ἄλκηβιάδου πολλὰ καὶ ἐξάρνου ὄντος ἔδοξε τοῖς προτάνυσι τοὺς μὲν ἀμφότερους μεταστήσασθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἴηνε ἐπὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὃ ὁ Πυθόνηκος ἔκέλευε. καὶ φίλοντο, καὶ ἔγαγον θεράπουτα Ἄρχεβιάδου (τοῦ) Πολεμάρχου Ἀνδρόμαχος αὐτῷ ὄνομα ἦν. ἔτει δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἄδειαν, ἐλεγεν ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὀικίᾳ τῇ Πουλυτίγωνος γένοντο μυστήρια: Ἀλκῆβιάδην μὲν οὖν καὶ Νικιάδην καὶ Μελητον, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ποιωτάς, συμπαρείναι δὲ καὶ ὀρᾶν τὰ γυγνόμενα καὶ ἄλλους, παρεῖναι δὲ καὶ δούλους, ἔαντὸν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ἰκέσιον τὸν ἀνηλτὴν καὶ τὸν Μελητόν δούλον. πρῶτος μὲν οὗτος ταῦτα ἐμῆνυσε, καὶ ἀπέγραψε τοῦτος ὁ Πολύστατος μὲν συνελήφθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι φεύγοντες φίλοντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑμῖς θάνατον κατέγνωσε. Καὶ μοι λαβέ καὶ ἀνάγνωσθι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα.

ONOMATA. Τούσδε Ἀνδρόμαχος ἐμῆνυσεν Ἄλκηβιάδην, Νικιάδην, Μελητόν, Ἀρχεβιάδην, Ἀρχισσόν, Διογένη, Πολύστατον, Ἀριστομένη, Οἰωνίαν, Παν- αίτιον.


14 Πρώτη μέν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, μήνυσις ἐγένετο αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Ἀνδρομάχου κατὰ τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν. Καὶ μοι κάλει Διόγνητον.

'Ἡσθα ζητητής, ὃ Διόγνητε, ὡτε Πυθόνικος εἰσήγγειλεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου; Ἡν. Οἶνθα οὖν μηνύσαντα Ἀνδρόμαχον τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Πουλυτέωνος γυνώμενα; Οἶδα. Τὰ ὅνοματα οὖν τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐστὶ ταῦτα, καθ' ὅν ἐκείνος ἐμήνυσεν; Ἐστὶ ταῦτα.

15 Δευτέρα τούτων μήνυσις ἐγένετο. Τεύκρος ἦν ἐνθάδε μέτουκος, ὃς φοχότο Μέγαράδε ὑπεξέλθων, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται τῇ βουλῇ, εἰ οἱ ἀδειαν δοίεν, μηνύσεων περί (τε) τῶν μυστηρίων, συνεργός ὑπὲρ, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ποιοῦντας μεθ' ἔαυτού, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ερμῶν τῆς περικοπῆς ἃ ἦδει. ψηφισμάτως δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ἦν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ, φῶτον ἐπὶ αὐτὸν Μέγαράδε καὶ κομισθεὶς, ἀδειαν εὑρόμενος, ἀπογράφει τοὺς μεθ' ἔαυτοῦ. καὶ οὕτω κατὰ τὴν Τεύκρον μήνυσιν φῶτον φεύγοντες. Καὶ μοι λαβὲ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὰ ὅνοματα αὐτῶν.

ONOMATA. Τούσδε Τεύκρος ἐμήνυσεν Φαίδρου, Γυνι-φωνίδην, Ἰσόνομον, Ἡφαιστόδωρον, Κηφισόδωρον, ἔαυτον, Διόγνητον, Σμινδυρίδην, Φίλος ράτη, Ἀντι-φώντα, Τείσαρχον, Παντάκλεα.

Μέμηνθε δὲ, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ὁτι καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν προσ-ομολογεῖται ἀπαντα.
Τρίτη μήνυσις ἐγένετο. ἡ γυνὴ Ἀλκμεωνίδου, γενομένη δὲ καὶ Δάμωνος,—Ἀγαρίστη ὄνομα αὐτῆ—αὐτή ἐμήνυσεν ἐν τῇ οίκῳ τῆς Χαρμίδου τῇ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον μυστήρια ποιεῖν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ Ἀξίοχον καὶ Ἀδείμαντον καὶ ἔφυγον οὕτω πάντες ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ μηνύσει.

Ἐτὶ μήνυσις ἐγένετο μία. Δυὸς ὁ Φερεκλέους τοῦ Ἐμμακέως ἐμήνυσε μυστήρια γέγνεσθαι ἐν τῇ οίκῳ Φερεκλέους τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν Ἐμμακέως καὶ ἀπογράφει τοὺς τε ἄλλους, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἡφη τὸν ἐμὸν παρείναι μὲν, καθεύδειν δὲ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον. Σπεῦστποσ δὲ βουλεύων παραδίδοσιν αὐτοὺς τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. κατευθεῖα ὁ πατὴρ καταστήσας ἐγγυητὰς ἐγράψατο τὸν Σπεῦστπον παρανόμων, καὶ ἡγούμενον ἐν ἐξακολουθεῖν Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ μετέλαβε δικαστῶν τοσούτων οὐδὲ διακοσίας ψῆφους οἱ Σπεῦστπος. ὁ δὲ πείσας καὶ δεόμενος μεῖναι τὸν πατέρα ἐγὼ ἢν μάλιστα, εἴη δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι συγγενεῖς. Καὶ μοι καλεῖ Καλλίαν καὶ Στέφανον, κάλει δὲ καὶ Φιλίππον καὶ Ἀλέξιππον οὕτω γὰρ εἰσὶν Ἀκουμενοὶ καὶ Ἀὐτοκράτοροι συγγενεῖς, ὁ ἐφύγον ἐπὶ τῇ Δυσοῦ μηνύσει τοῦ μὲν ἄδελφιδος ἐστίν Ἀὐτοκράτωρ, τοῦ δὲ θείος Ἀκουμενοῦς οἷς προσήκει μισεῖν μὲν τὸν ἐξελάσαντα ἐκείνους, εἰδέναι δὲ μάλιστα δι’ ὄντως ἐφύγον. Βλέπετε εἰς τούτοις, καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Τὰ μὲν γενόμενα ἠκούσατε, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ ὑμῖν οἱ μάρτυρες μεμαρτυρήκασιν ὁ δὲ οἱ κατήγοροι ἐτόλμησαν.
eipœiv, anamnēσhθete. oútov gar kai dikaiov ἀπολογείσθαι, ἀναμμὴνζκοντα τοὺς τῶν καθηγόρων λόγους ἐξελέγχειν. ἔλεγαν γάρ ὡς ἐγὼ μηνύσαμι περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, ἀπογράψαμι τε τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ παρόντα, καὶ γενομένη μηνυτής κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ, λόγον οἷμαι πάντων δεινότατον τε καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον λέγοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπογράψας αὐτὸν Ὁδὸς ἢν ὁ Φερεκλέους, ὁ δὲ πείσας ὑπομειώναι καὶ μὴ οἰχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐγώ, πολλὰ ἰκετεύσας καὶ λαμβανό-μενος τῶν γονάτων. καίτοι τι ἐβουλόμην, εἰ ἐμήνυσα μὲν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς οὔτοι φασιν, ἰκέτευνον δὲ τὸν πατέρα μεῖναι τι παθεῖν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ; καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐπείσθη ἀγώνα τοιοῦτον ἀγωνίσασθαι, ἐν ὦ δυνοῖ τοῖν μεγίστοιν κακοῖν οὐκ ἦν αὐτῶν ἀμαρτείν; ἡ γὰρ ἐμὸ τὸ Δραγαντὸς τὰ ὁντα μηνύσαι κατ’ ἐκείνου ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ αὐτῶ σωθέντι ἐμὲ ἀποκτεῖναι. ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὕτως εἰχεν εἰ μὲν τάληθη μηνύσειε τις, εἶναι τὴν ἄδειαν, εἰ δὲ τὰ φευδή, τεθνάναι. καὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο γε ἐπίστασθε πάντες, ὅτι ἐσώθην καὶ ἕγω καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ. οἷον τε ὁ οὐκ ἦν, εἰπὲν ἐγὼ μηνυτῆς ἐγενόμην περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐμὲ ἢ ἐκείνων ἔδει ἀποθανεῖν. φέρε δὴ τοὺς, εἰ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐβούλετο ὑπομενεῖν, τοὺς φίλους ἄν οἴεσθη ἢ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ μένειν ἡ ἐγγυσάσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄν παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ δεῖσθαι ἀπείναι ὅπου [ἄν] ἐμελλεν αὐτῶς (τε) σωθήσεσθαι ἐμὲ τε οὖκ ἀπολεῖν; ἀλλὰ γάρ καὶ ὅτε Σπεύσιππον ἐδίωκεν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν παρανόμων, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐλεγεν, ὡς οὐδεπότε ἐλθοι

eis Θημακον ὡς Φερεκλέα· ἐκέλευε δὲ βασανίσαι τὰ ἀνδράποδα, καὶ μὴ τοὺς μὲν παραδιδόντας μὴ ἐθέλειν ἑλέγχειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἑθέλοντας ἀναγκάζειν. ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἔμου, ὅσοι ἀπαντῆσι, ίστε, τὴ ὑπελείπετο τῷ Σπευσίττφῳ λέγειν, εἰ ἀληθὴς οὔδε λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ "Ὡς Δεσφόρα, τί βούλει περὶ θεραπόντων λέγει; οὖχ ὁ ὦς οὔτοι μεμηνυκε κατὰ σοῦ, καὶ φησὶ σε παρεῖναι ἐν Θημακῷ; ἔλεγχε σὺ τὸν πατέρα, ἡ οὐκ ἔστι σοι ἀδεια." ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ἄν ὁ Σπευσίττφος, ὃς ἄνδρες, ἡ οὖ; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι. εἰ τοῖνυν ἀνέβην ἐπὶ 23 δικαστήριον, ἡ λόγος τίς περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐγένετο, ἡ μὴνυσίς τίς ἔμη ἐστιν ἡ ἀπογραφή, μὴ ὅτι ἐμὴ καθ' ἑτέρου, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς κατ' ἐμοῦ, ἐλεγχέτω με ὁ βουλόμενος ἀνταῦθα ἀναβάς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ λόγον ἀνοσιώτερον καὶ ἀπιστότερον οὐδένα πώποτε ἐγὼ ἐπέντα οἶδα, ὅτι τούτο μόνον ἡγήσαντο δεῖν, τολμῆσαι κατηγορῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἐλεγχήσωνται ψευδόμενοι, οὐδὲν αὐτοὶς ἐμέλησεν. ὥσπερ 24 οὖν, εἰ ἀληθῇ ἣν ταύτα ἀ μου κατηγορήσαν, ἐμοὶ ἄν ἀργίζεσθε καὶ ἢςοντε δίκην τήν μεγίστην ἐπιτιθέναι, οὔτως αξιώ ὑμᾶς, γνωρίσκοντας ὅτι ψεύδονται, πονηροὺς τε αὐτοὺς νομίζειν, χρῆσθαι τε τεκμηρίῳ ὅτι εἰ τὰ δεινότατα τῶν κατηγορηθέντων περιφανῶς ἑλέγχονται ψευδόμενοι, ἡ που τά γε πολλὸς φαυλότερα ῥαδίως ὑμῖν ἀποδείξοι ψευδόμενοὺς αὐτούς.


25 Ἀι μὲν μηνύσεις ὧδε περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο τέταρτες· δι’ δὲ ἐφυγον καθ’ ἐκάστην μῆνιν, ἀνέγγισιν ύμῖν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες μεμαρτυρήκασιν. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτους ἔγω πιστότητος ύμῶν ἐνεκα, ὃ ἄνδρες, τάδε ποιήσω. τῶν γὰρ φυγόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις οἱ μὲν τινες ἀπέθανον φεύγοντες, οἱ δ’ ἤκουσι καὶ εἰσίν ἐνθάδε καὶ πάρεισιν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ
26 κεκλημένοι. ἔγω οὖν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ δίδομι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἔμε ἐλέγξαί σοι ἐφυγε γέ τις αὐτῶν δι’ ἐμὲ ἢ ἐμήνυσά κατὰ τοῦ, ἡ οὖν ἐκαστον ἐφυγον κατὰ τὰς μηνύσεις ταῦτας ὡς ἐγὼ ύμῖν ἀπέδειξα. καὶ εὰν τὰς ἐλέγξει με ότι σεύδομαι, χρήσασθέ μοι ὃ τι βούλεσθε. καὶ σιωπῶ, καὶ παραχωρῶ, εἰ τις ἀναβαίνειν βούλεται.
27 Φέρε δὴ, ὃ ἄνδρες, μετὰ ταῦτα τί ἐγένετο ἡ ἐπείδη αἱ μηνύσεις ἐγένοντο, περὶ τῶν μηνύτρων, ἦσαν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ Κλευνύμου ψήφισμα χιλιαὶ δραχμαὶ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ Πεισάνδρου μύραι, περὶ δὲ τοῦτων ἡμισθήτου τῶν οὕτως τε οἱ μηνύσαντες καὶ Πυθώνικος, φάσκουν πρῶτος εἰσ-
28 αγγείσαι, καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τῷ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν δικαστηρίῳ τοὺς μεμηνυμένους, ἀκούσαντας τὰς μηνύσεις ἀς ἐκαστος ἐμήνυσε, διαδικάσαε. καὶ ἐγισθάντο πρῶτον μὲν Ἀνδρομάχῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ Τεύκρῳ, καὶ ἐλαβον Πανα-
θηναίων τῷ ἀγῶνι Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν μῦρίας δραχμάς, Τεύκρος δὲ χιλιας. Καὶ μοι καλεὶ τοῦτων τοὺς μά-
τυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

§ 27. ἡμισθήτου πρὸ ἡμίσι. restitui cum Lips. Vid. Ruth
Περὶ μὲν τῶν μυστηρίων, ὥς ἀνδρεῖς, ὧν ἠνεκά ἡ 29 ἐνδείξες ἐγένετο καὶ περὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ μεμνημένοι εἰσ- εληλύθατε, ἀποδεδεικταί μοι ὡς οὔτε ἦσέβησκα οὔτε μεμημένα καὶ περὶ οὔδενος οὔτε ὁμολογήσα μερίκων οὔτε ἔλαττον οὔδε ἐν. ὅπερ ἔμοι περὶ πλείουτον ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς πείσαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγοι τῶν κατηγόρων, (ὅδε) ταῦτα τὰ δεινὰ καὶ φρικώδη ἀνωρθίαζον, καὶ λόγους ἔποιον ὡς πρότερον ἐτέρων ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ ἀσεβησάντων περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὃι ἐκαστῶς αὐτῶν ἔπαθε καὶ ἐτιμωρήθη—τοῦτων 30 οὖν ἔμοι τῶν λόγων ἢ τῶν ἔργων τί προσηκεῖ; ἐγὼ γὰρ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κατηγόρῳ, καὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτο φημὶ δεῖν ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, ὅτι ἦσέβησαν, ἐμὲ δὲ σφίξθαι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἡμάρτηκα. ἡ δεινὸν γὰρ ἐν εἰς, εἰ ἔμοι ὄργιοισθε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐτέρων ἀμαρτήμασι, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ διαβολὴν εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν λέγεται, κρείττω τῆς ἀληθείας ἡγήσασθε. δῆλον ὅτι γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἡμαρτηκόσι τὰ τοιαύτα ἀμαρτήματα οὐκ ἔστων ἀπολογία όσι ὅσι ἐποίησαν ἡ γὰρ βασάνος δεινὴ παρὰ τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἔμοι δὲ ὁ ἔλεγχος ἥδιστος, ἐν οἷς ὑμῶν οὐδὲν μὲ δεὶ δεόμενον οὔτε παρατιτυμενὸν σωθήναι ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ αἰτίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐλέγχουτα τοὺς τῶν κατη- γόρων λόγους καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναμμυνήσκοντα τὰ γεγενημένα,

§ 29. καὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγοι, κ.τ.λ.] Locum diutius vexatum ea subtilitate emendavit Bl. additio o[ τ] ut hodie nihil non Andocidem purum putum sapiat.

§ 30. ἐκεῖνοι (ταύτα) κατηγόρων.] Bl. putide.

ἡγήσασθε. ἡγήσασθε Lips., quod falsum esse videtur.

δῆλον ὅτι γὰρ scripsi cum Kuehn. Lips. Malim tamen δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι. δῆλοντι, Bl. quod Atticia non licet.
31 οἱ τινες ὄρκους μεγάλους ὁμόσαντες οἶστε τὴν ψηφινν
περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀρασάμενοι τὰς μεγίστας ἀράς ύμιν τε
αὐτοῖς καὶ παισί τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν, ἡ μὴν ψηφίεισθαί
περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ δίκαια, πρὸς δὲ τούτους μεμύθησθε καὶ
ἐφόρακατε τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ἱερά, ἵνα τιμωρησῆτε μὲν τοὺς
32 ἀσέβθοντας, σῶξητε δὲ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. νομίσατε
τοῖς ἀσέβημα οὔδὲν ἔλαττον εἶναι τῶν μηδὲν ἡδικη-
κότων ἀσέβειν καταγνώσαι ἢ τοὺς ἡσθηκότας μὴ τιμω-
ρεῖσθαι. ὥστ' εἴγον ύμῖν πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν καθηγόρων
πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπισκύπτω, ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ εἶδετε,
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὦ τῇ ἑορτῇ ἑνέκα ἔρχονται
ἀδέρφοι εἰ μὲν τῇ ἡσθήκῃ ἢ ὑμολόγηκα ἢ ἐμήνυσα κατά
τινος ἀνθρώπων, ἡ ἀλλος τις περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἀποκτείνατε με'?
33 οὐ παραίτούμαι: εἰ δὲ οὔδὲν ἡμάρτηται μοι, καὶ τούτο
ὑμῖν ἀποδείκνυμι σαφῶς, δέομαι ύμῶν αὐτὸ φανερὸν
τοῖς Ἐλληνὶ πάσιν ζητήσαι, ὅσ αὐτίκως εἰς τόνδε τῶν
ἀγώνα κατέστην. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὰ πέμπτων
μέρος τῶν ψήφων καὶ ἀτυμωβῆ ὁ ἐνδείξας ἐμὲ Κηφίσιος
ὄντοσι, οὐκ ἐξείσαι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοὺς θεοῖν ἐσιέναι,
ἡ ἀποθανεῖται. εἰ οὖν ύμῖν δοκῶ ἰκανῶς περὶ τούτων
ἀπολογήσασθαι, δηλώσατε μοι, ἵνα προθυμώσετον περὶ
τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπολογῶμαι.
34 Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς περικοπῆς καὶ τῆς
μηνύσεως, ὅσπερ καὶ ὑπεσκόμην ύμῖν, οὕτω καὶ ποιήσων·
ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ύμᾶς διδάξω ἀπαντά τα γεγενημένα.

§ 31. ἐφόρακα τοῖς ἑωράκατε restituit Lips.
ad § 3.
ἐπειδὴ Τεύκρος ἦλθε Μεγαρόθεν, ἀδειαν εὐρόμενος μηνύει περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἣ ἦδει καὶ ἐκ τῶν περικοψάντων τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀπογράφει δυοῖν δεόντας εἰκοσικ ἄνδρας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτοι ἀπεγράφησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν φεύγοντες ἔχοντο, οἱ δὲ συλληφθέντες ἀπέθανον κατὰ τὴν Τεύκρου μήνυσιν. Καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωσθι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα.

ONOMATA. Τεύκρος ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς ἐμήνυσεν 35 Ἕνκτήμωνα, Γλαύκιππον, Εὐρύμαχον, Πολύευκτον, Πλάτωνα, Αὐτίδωρον, Χάρισπον, Θεόδωρον, Ἀλκισθένη, Μενέστρατον, Ἐρυξίμαχον, Εὐφίλητον, Εὐρυδάμαντα, Φερεκλέα, Μέλητον, Τιμάμηθη, Ἀρχίδαμον, Τελένικον.

Τούτων τούνων τῶν ἄνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἦκουσι καὶ εἰσίν ἐνθάδε, τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων εἰσὶ πολλοὶ προσήκουσι· ὃν δότης βούλεται, ἑν τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ ἀναβάς με ἐλεγχάτω ἡ ὁς ἐφονε τις δι' ἐμὲ τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἡ ὁς ἀπέθανεν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, Πείσανδρος καὶ Χαρικλῆς, 36 ὄντες μὲν τῶν ζητητῶν, δοκούντες δ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ εὑνοῦστατοι εἰναι τῷ δήμῳ, ἔλεγον ὡς εἴη τὰ ἔργα τὰ γεγενημένα οὐκ ὀλόγων ἄνδρων ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει, καὶ χρήματι ἐπίζητειν καὶ μὴ παύσασθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις οὕτως διέκειτο, δόστ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν βουλήν εἰς τὸ βουλευτηρίον ὁ κήρυξ ἀνείποι ήέναι


ἀ ἦδει καὶ Lips. corr. (καὶ) ἦδει ἑκ ... καὶ ἀπογράφει Bl. ἦδει καὶ τῶν π. ... καὶ ἀπογράφει Jebb.

καὶ τὸ σημεῖον καθέλοι, τῷ αὐτῷ σημείῳ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ
eis τὸ βουλευτήριον ἦε, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐφευγον,
37 δεδιότες ἐις ἐκαστος μὴ συλληφθεῖν. ἔπαρθες οὖν
tois τῆς πόλεως κακοῖς εἰσαγεῖλει Διοκλείδης εἰς
τὴν βουλὴν, φάσκων εἰδέναι τοὺς περικύψαντας τοὺς
Ἐρμᾶς, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐις τριακοσίους· ὡς δ' ἰδοι καὶ
περιτύχων τῷ πρώγματι, ἐλεγε. καὶ τούτοις, ὁ ἄνδρες,
δέομαι ἕμων προσέχοντας τῶν νοῦν ἀναμμηνεύεσθαι,
ἐὰν ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀλλήλους· ἐν ἕμων γὰρ
ήσαν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ μοι ὑμεῖς τούτων μάρτυρες ἔστε.
38 ἐφη γὰρ εἶναι μὲν ἀνδράποδον οἱ ἐπὶ Δαυρίῳ, δεῖν δὲ
kομίσασθαι ἄποφοράν. ἀναστὰς δὲ πρὸς ψευσθεῖς τῆς
ὅρας βαδίζειν εἶναι δὲ πανσέληνον. ἔπει δὲ παρὰ τὸ
προπύλαιον τὸ Διονύσου ἦν, ὀρᾶν ἄνθρωπους πολλοὺς
ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁδείου καταβαινομεν ἐις τὴν ὀρχήστραν
δείσας δὲ αὐτοὺς, εἰσελθὼν ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν καθέζομεθα
μεταξὺ τοῦ κίονος καὶ τῆς στήλης ἐφ' ἣ ὁ στρατηγὸς
ἐστιν ὁ χαλκοῦς. ὀρᾶν δὲ ἄνθρωποι ποιν μὲν ἀρίθμον
μάλιστα τριακοσίους, ἑστάναι δὲ κύκλῳ ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ
δέκα ἄνδρες, τοὺς δὲ ἀνὰ εἰκοσίων ὄρων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς
τὴν σελήνην τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν πλείστων γυνώσκειν.
39 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες, τοῦθ' ὑπέθετο,—δεινότατον
πράγμα, οἶμαι,—ὅπως εἰ ἐκεῖνος εἰς ὄντων βουλοῖτο
Ἀθηναίων φίλαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων εἶναι, ὄντων δὲ
μὴ βουλοῖτο, λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν. ἵδον δὲ ταύτ' ἐφη ἐπὶ

§ 38. μεταξὺ τοῦ.] μεταξὺ τοῦ L. 
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἄνδρες, τοῦθ' ὑπέθετο, δεινότατον πράγμα οἶμαι Δ.
toûth' ὑπέθετο δ. πράγμα, οἶμαι, Bl. L. Jebb.
Δαύριον ἵναι, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀκούειν ὅτι οἱ 'Ερμαὶ εἰς ἐν περικεκομμένοι γρῶναι οὖν εὐθὺς ὅτι τούτων εἰ ὁ ἄνδρῶν τὸ ἔργον. ἦκων δὲ εἰς ἄστυ ζητητάς τε 40 ἦδη ἤρημενους καταλαμβάνειν καὶ μήνυτρα κεκηρυγμένα ἐκατὸν μνᾶς. ἠδὼν δὲ Εὐφημὸς τὸν Καλλίου τού Τηλεκέλους ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκεῷ καθήμενον, ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον λέγειν ἀπερ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ εἰρήκα, ὅσ ἴδοι ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτί οὐκ οὖν δέωτο παρὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα λαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν, ὡσθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχειν φίλους. εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Εὐφημὸν ὅτι καλῶς ποιήσεις εἰπτών, καὶ νῦν ἦκεις κελεύσαι οἱ εἰς τὴν Δεσφόρον οἰκίαν, "ἐν ἐκεί συγγενή μετ' ἐμοῦ Ἀνδοκίδη καὶ εἴτεροι οἷς δεῦ." ἦκεις ἐφή τῇ 41 υστεραίᾳ, καὶ δὴ κόπτεις τὴν θύραν, τὸν δὲ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν τυχεῖν ἔξιόντα, καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ "ἀρά γε σὲ οἴδε περιμένουσι; χρὴ μέντοι μὴ ἀπωθείσθαι τοιώτους φίλους." εἰπόντα δὲ αὐτῶν ταύτα ὀιχεῖσθαι. καὶ τούτω μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν πατέρα μου ἀπόκλεις, συνειδότα ἀποφαίνων. εἰπεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς ὅτι δεδογμένων ἡμῶν εἰ ὁ δύο μεν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου διδόναι οἱ αὐτὶ τῶν ἐκατὸν μνῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ἦδον δὲ κατασχεῖν ἡμεῖς ἰ βουλόμεθα, ἕνα αὐτῶν ἡμῶν εἶναι, πίστιν δὲ τούτων δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι. ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ 42 αὐτὸς πρὸς ταύτα ὅτι βουλεύσοιτο ἡμᾶς δὲ κελεύειν αὐτὸν ἦκεις εἰς Καλλίου τού Τηλεκελέους, ὡν κάκεινος παρείη. τὸν δ' αὐτὸ κηδεστήν μοι ὦτος ἀπώλευν. ἦκεις ἐφή εἰς Καλλίου, καὶ καθομολογήσας ἡμῖν πίστιν

δούναι ἐν ἀκρόπολεί, καὶ ἡμᾶς συνθεμένους οἱ τὸ ἀργύριον εἰς τὸν ἐπίνατα μὴν δώσειν διαψεύδεσθαι καὶ οὐ διδόναι· ἢκειν οὖν μηνύσων τὰ γενόμενα.

43 Ἡ μὲν εἰσαγγελία αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἀνδρείς, τοιαύτη ἀπογράφει δὲ τὰ ὁνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁν ἔφη γρώναι, δύο καὶ τετταράκοντα, πρώτους μὲν Μαντίθεον καὶ Ἀψεφίωνα, βουλευτὰς ὄντας καὶ καθημένους ἐνδον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀναστάς δὲ Πείσανδρος ἔφη χρήσαι λύει τὸ ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίου ψήφισμα καὶ ἀναβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τὸν προχώ τους ἀπογραφέτας, ὅπως μὴ πρότεινυ νῦζ ἔσται πρὶν πυθεσθαι τους ἀνδράς ἀπαντάς. ἀνέ-

44 κραγεν ἡ βουλή ὡς εὖ λέγει. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα Μαντίθεοι καὶ Ἀψεφίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν ἐκαθέζοντο, ἰκετεύοντες μὴ στρεβλωθῆναι ἀλλ' ἐξεγγυηθέντες κριθήσαι. μόλις δὲ τούτων τυχόντες, ἐπεεἰ ὑπὸς ἐγγυητὰς κατέστησαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸντο ἀναβάντας ἔχοντο εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτομολήσαντες, καταλυσάντοι τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς, οὐδὲ ἔδει (ἐν) τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι ἐν οἴσπερ 45 οὐς ἐγγυησαντο. ἡ δὲ βουλή ἐξελθοῦσα εἰς ἀπορρήτῳ, συνέλαβεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔδησεν εἰς τοὺς ξύλους. ἀνακαλέσαντες δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀνευπεῖν ἐκέλευσαν 'Αθηναίων τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἅστει οἰκούντας ιέναι εἰς τὴν ἁγωρὰν τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας, τοὺς δ' ἐν μακρῷ τείχει εἰς τὸ Θησείον, τοὺς δ' ἐν Πειραιεὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδαμείαν ἁγωράν, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεάς ἔτι (πρὸ) νυκτὸς σημῆναι τῇ σάλπυγγε νῆκεν εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν εἰς

§ 43. αὐτῷ Lips. αὐτῷ Jebb, Bl. αὐτῶν codd.
Andreides de Mysteriis.

άκροπολιν ἰέναι κάκει καθεύδειν, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ἐν τῇ θόλῳ. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ πεπυσμένοι τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ἦσαν ἐξεστρατευμένοι. τὸν δὲ τῶν κακῶν τούτων αὐτῶν Διοκλείδην ὡς σωτῆρα ὄντα τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ ξεύγους ἤγγον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον στεφανώσαντες, καὶ ἔδειπνει ἐκεῖ.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, διὸ ἀνδρεῖς, ὁπόσοι ὑμῶν 46 παρῆσαν, ἀναμμηνησκεθεὶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκετε· εἰτα δὲ μοι τοὺς πρυτάνεις κάλει τοὺς τότε πρυτανεύσαντας, Φίλοκράτη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ.

Φέρε δὴ, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι τῶν 47 ἀνδρῶν ὧν ἀπέγραψεν, ἵν' εἴδητε ὅσους μοι τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολλυμένους, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν πατέρα, εἰτα δὲ τὸν κηδεστήν, τὸν μὲν συνεἰδότα ἀποδείκνυς, τού δ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ φάσκων τὴν σύνοδον γενέσθαι. τὸν δ' ἄλλων ἀκουσθεὶς τὰ ὀνόματα. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναγίγνωσκε.

Χαρμίδης Ἀριστοτέλους·

οὗτος ἀνεψίως ἐμός· ἦ μήτηρ ἡ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδελφόν.

Ταυρέας·

οὗτος ἀνεψίως τοῦ πατρός.

Νισαιός·

ὡς Ταυρέων.

Καλλίας ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος·

ἀνεψίως τοῦ πατρός.

Εὐφημος·

Καλλίου τοῦ Θηλεκλέους ἀδελφός.
Φρύνιχος ὁ ὀρχησάμενος·
ἀνεψιός.
Εὐκράτης ὁ Νικίων ἀδελφὸς·
κηδεστής οὗτος Καλλίου.
Κριτίας·
ἀνεψιός καὶ οὗτος τοῦ πατρός· αἱ μητέρες ἀδελφαί.
Τούτους πάντας ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἀνδράσιν ἀπέγραψεν.

48 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδεμέθα πάντες ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ νῦς τε ἦν καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνεκέκλητο, ἦκον δὲ τῷ μὲν·
μῆτρι τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῇ τῷ δὲ γυνῇ καὶ παιδεῖς, ἦν δὲ βοὴ
cαι οἶκτος κλαόντων καὶ ὀδυρομένων τὰ παρόντα κακά,
λέγει πρὸς με Χαρμίδης, ὅτι μὲν ἀνεψιός, ἤλικωτής δὲ
καὶ συνεκτραφεῖς εἰ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐκ παιδός, ὅτι
"Ἀνδοκίδη, τῶν μὲν παρόντων κακῶν ὅρας τὸ μέγεθος,
ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ οὐδὲν ἐδεόμην
λέγειν οὐδὲ σε λυπεῖν, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκάζομαι διὰ τὴν
παροῦσαν ἡμῶν συμφοράν. οἷς γὰρ ἐχοῦ καὶ οἷς
συνήσαθα ἀνεὶ ἡμῶν τῶν συγγενῶν, οὗτοι ἐπὶ ταῖς
αὐτίαις διὰ ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀπολλύμεθα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τεθνάσιν,
oi δὲ οἴχονται φεύγοντες, σφῶν αὐτῶν καταγνώτες
50 ἀδικείν. (φέρε δὴ τοίνυν) εἰ ἄκουσάς τι τούτοι τοῦ
πράγματος τοῦ γενομένου, εἰπέ, καὶ πρότον μὲν σεαυ-
tῶν σώσον, εἶτα δὲ τῶν πατέρα, ὃν εἰκός ἐστὶ σε
μάλιστα φιλεῖν, εἶτα δὲ τῶν κηδεστῆν, ὃς ἔχει σου τὴν
ἀδελφὴν ἦπερ σοι μόνη ἐστών, ἐπείτα δὲ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς
συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀναγκαίους τοσοῦτος οὕτας, ἔτι δὲ ἐμέ,
δὲ εἰν ἀπαντή τῷ βίῳ ἡμίσα σα μὲν σε οὐδὲν πώποτε,

§ 50. φέρε δὴ τοίνυν in lacuna xii. litterarum Suppl. Edd., of.
§§ 21, 90, 117, 128.
προθυμότατος δε εἰς σε καὶ τὰ σὰ πράγματα εἴμι, ὃ τι ἂν δέχῃ ποιεῖν.” λέγοντος δὲ, ὁ ἀνδρεὶς, Χαρμίδου ταύτα, 51 ἀντιβολοῦντος δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἰκετεύοντος ἔνοι ἕκαστον, ἐνεθυμῆθην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν “Ω πάντων ἐγὼ δεινοτάτη συμφορᾶς περιπετείων, πότερα περίδο τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ συγγενεῖς ἀπολλυμένους ἄδικως, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε ἀποθανόντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτῶν δημευθέντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἀναγραφέντας ἐν στήλαις ὡς οὕτως ἀληθείας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς οὐδένος αὐτοὺς τῶν γεγενη- μένων, ἔτι δὲ τριακοσίως 'Ἄθηναιοι μὲλλοντας ἄδικως ἀπολείπομαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐν κακοῖς οὕτων τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ ὑποψίαιν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντας, ἢ εἰπὼ 'Ἄθηναιοι ἄ περ ἢκουσα Ἑὐφιλήτου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιή- σαντος;” ἔτι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ τὸ δέ ενεθυμῆθην, ὁ 52 ἀνδρεὶς, καὶ ἐλογιζόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τοὺς ἐξημαρτη- κότας καὶ τὸ ἔργον εἰργασμένους, ὡς ὁι μὲν αὐτῶν ἡγή ἐτεθυνήσαν ὑπὸ Τεύκρου μηνυθέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἐχοντο καὶ αὐτῶν θάνατος κατέγνωστο, τέτταρες δὲ ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι δὲ οὐκ ἐμηνύθησαν ὑπὸ Τεύκρου τῶν πεποιηκότων, Παναίτιος Χαρίδημος Διάκριτος Δυσί- στρατος ὁ πάντων ἄπαντων καὶ ποίησαν ὑπὸ 53 αὐτῶν ἄνδρῶν οὕς ἐμήνυσε Διοκλείδης, φίλους ὀντας τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἡγή, καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδέπω βέβαιος ἢν ἡ σωτηρία, τοῖς δὲ ἐμοῖς οἰκεῖοι φανεροὶ (ο) ὄλεθρος, εἰ μὴ τις ἢρει 'Ἄθηναιοι τὰ γενόμενα. ἐδόκει ὁ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττοντας ἐνὶ τέτταρας ἄνδρας ἀπο- στερήσαι τῆς πατρίδος δικαίως, δὲ νῦν ἔσωσι καὶ κατε- ληκυθασι καὶ ἔχουσι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐκεῖνοις

54 ἀποθανόντας ἄδικος περιδείν. εἰ οὖν τινὶ ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες, (ἡ) τῶν ἀλλῶν πολιτῶν γνώμη τοιαύτη παρεισπήκει πρότερον περὶ ἑμοῦ, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ ἐμήνυσα κατὰ τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀπόλοιπον, ἐγὼ δὲ σωθεῖν — ἀ ἐλογοποίουν οἱ ἑχθροὶ περὶ ἑμοῦ, βουλόμενοι διαβάλανυ μὲ — σκοπεῖσθε ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν.

5 γεγενημένων. νῦν γὰρ ἐμὲ μὲν λόγον ξεδίδοναι τῶν ἑμοὶ πετραγμένων μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, αὐτῶν παρόντων οὕτε ἔμαρτον καὶ ἐφύγαν ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, ἵσασι δὲ ἀριστα εἰτε ψευδομαι εἰτε ἀληθή λέγω, ἔξεστι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐλέγχεισθαι μὲν τῷ ἑμῶ λόγῳ· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐφήμι· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ μαθεῖν τὰ γεγονόμενα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ, ὁ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο τοῦ ἁγίουν τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ μέγιστον, σωθέντι μὴ δοκεῖν κακῶν εἰναι, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλους ἀπαντᾷς μαθεῖν ὅτι οὔτε μετὰ κακίας οὔτε μετ’ ἀνανδρίας οὐδεμίᾶς τῶν γεγενημένων πέτρακται ὁπ’ ἑμοῦ οὐδενώς, ἄλλα διὰ συμφορὰν γεγενημένην μάλιστα μὲν τῇ πόλει, εῖτα δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἶπον δὲ ἡ ἰκουσα Εὐφηλήτου προσοικία μὲν τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων, προσοικία δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης, μετ’ ἀρετῆς ἀλλ’ οὐ μετὰ κακίας, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω. εἰ οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταύτα, σφησθαι τε ἀξίω

56 καὶ δοκεῖν ὑμῖν εἰναι μὴ κακῶς. φέρε δὴ — χρῆ γὰρ, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἀνθρωπίνως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεσθαι, ὡσπερ ἂν αὐτὸν οὕτα ἐν τῇ συμφορᾷ — τί ἂν ὑμῶν ἐκαστός ἐποίησεν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν δυνὸν τὸ ἐτέρους ἃλέσθαι, ἦ καλῶς ἀπολέσθαι ἢ αἰσχρῶς σωθήναι, ἔχοι

Αν τις εἰπεῖν κακίαν εἶναι τὰ γενόμενα· καίτοι πολλοί
άν καὶ τούτο εἴλουσιν, τὸ ξῆν περὶ πλείονος ποιησάμενοι
τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὅπου δὲ τούτων τὸ ἐναυτιστάτατον
ὑπέρ, σιωπήσαντε μὲν αὐτῷ τε ἁσχίστα ἀπολέσθαι
μηδὲν ἀσεβῆσαντε, ἐτί δὲ τῶν πατέρα περιδείν ἀπολο-
μενον καὶ τῶν κηδεσθήν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀνεψιοὺς
τοσοῦτοι, οὓς οὐδεὶς ἀπόλλυσεν ἢ ἐγὼ μὴ εἰπὼν ὡς
ἄτεροι ἢμαρτον; (Διοκλείδης μὲν γὰρ ψευσάμενος ἔδη-
σεν αὐτοῦ, σωτηρία δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλήθεια ὤν ἡ
πυθήσθαι 'Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ πραξάντα· φονεῖς
οὖν αὐτῶν ἐγκυμόνην ἐγὼ μὴ εἰπὼν ὑμῖν ἡ ἱκουσα.
ἐτί δὲ τριακοσίους 'Ἀθηναίων ἀπώλλυσον, καὶ ἡ πόλεις
ἐν κακῶι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦν
ἐμοῦ μὴ εἰπόντος: εἰπὼν δὲ τὰ διὰ αὐτὸς τε ἐσφρόμην
καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐσφῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς, καὶ
τὴν πόλιν ἐκ φόβου καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἀπήλ-
λαττον. φυγάδες δὲ δὲ ἐμὲ τέτταρες ἀνδρεῖς ἐγένοντο,
οὔτερ καὶ ἢμαρτον τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων, δὲ πρὸτερον ὑπὸ
Τεύκρου ἐμφυνθήσαν, οὔτε ἰήσουν οἱ τεθνεῖτες δὲ ἐμὲ
μᾶλλον ἐτέθνασαν οὔτε οἱ φευγόντες μᾶλλον ἐφευγον.)
60 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα σκοπῶν ἡρίσκον, δὲ ἀνδρεῖς, τῶν
παρόντων κακῶν ταῦτα ἐλάχιστα εἶναι, εἰπεῖν τὰ
γενόμενα ὡς τάχιστα καὶ ἐλέγξαι Διοκλείδην ψευςά-
μενον, καὶ τιμορήσασθαι ἐκείνον, δε ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπώλλυνεν
ἀδίκως, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εξηγητὰ, ταῦτα δὲ πολῶν μέγιστος

§ 58. τὸν κηδεσθήν καὶ τὸς σ. Fortasse τοὺς (ἄλλους) σ. καὶ
ἀναγκαίους ut § 50 legendum, quod monet in not. crit. Bl.

§ 60. καὶ τιμορήσασθαι. Ante haec, Bl. inser. (καὶ σώσαι τε
ἡμᾶς.) Furca expulerunt Jebb. Lips., quibus assentior.
ευεργέτης ἔδοξει εἶναι καὶ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. διὰ
61 ταῦτα εἶπον τῇ βούλῃ ὅτι εἰδεὶς τοὺς ποιήσαντας, καὶ
ἐξήλεγξα τὰ γενόμενα, ὅτι εἰσηγήσατο μὲν πινόντων
ἡμῶν τὰῦτη τὴν βούλην Ἐυφίλητος, ἀντείπον δὲ ἑγὼ,
καὶ τότε μὲν οὐ γένοιτο δι’ ἐμὲ / ὑστερον δ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν
Κυνοσάργη έπὶ πωλίον δ’ μοι ἦν ἀναβὰς ἐπεσον καὶ
τὴν κλεῖν συνετρίβην καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεύην, φερό-
μενός τε ἐπὶ κλίνης ἀπεκομίσθην οὐκαδε’ αἰσθόμενος δ’
Ἐυφίλητος ὡς ἔχοιμι, λέγει πρὸς αὐτῶς ὅτι πέπεισμαι
ταῦτα συμποιεῖν καὶ ὀμολογήμα αὐτῷ μεθέξειν τοῦ
ἔργου καὶ περικόψειν τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν παρὰ τὸ Φορ-
βαυτεῖον. ταῦτα δ’ ἔλεγεν ἐξαπατῶν ἐκείνους· καὶ διὰ
ταῦτα ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὃν ὅρατε πίπτες, ὁ παρὰ τὴν πατρῷαν
οίκιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὅν ἡ Ἁγγε利亚 ἀνέθηκεν, οὐ περικόπτη
μόνος τῶν Ἑρμῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς ἔμοι ποιῆσε
63 ποιήσαντος, ὡς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἐυφίλητος. οἱ δ’
αἰσθόμενοι δεινὰ ἐποίουν, ὅτι εἰδεὶς μὲν τὸ πράγμα,
πεποιηκός δὲ οὐκ εἶναι. προσελθόντες δὲ μοι τῇ
ὑστεραῖα Μέλητος καὶ Ἐυφίλητος ἔλεγον ὅτι "γεγέ-
νηται, δ’ Ἀνδοκίδη, καὶ πέπρακται ἡμῖν ταῦτα. σὺ
μέντοι εἶ μὲν ἄξιοις ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ σωπᾶν, ἔχεις
ἡμᾶς ἐπιτηδείους ὀστόπερ, καὶ πρότερον’ εἰ δὲ μή, χαλε-
πώτεροι σοι ἡμεῖς ἔχθροι ἐσόμεθα ἡ ἀλλοι τινές δι’
64 ἡμᾶς φίλοι." / εἶπον αὐτοῖς ὅτι νομίζομε μὲν διὰ τὸ
πράγμα Ἐυφίλητον ποιησόν εἶναι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐκ ἐμὲ
δεινὸν εἶναι, ὅτι οἶδα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον
πολλῷ, ὅτι πεποίηται, ὡς οὖν ἦν ταῦτ’ ἄληθη, τὸν τε
παίδα τὸν ἐμὸν παρέδωκα βασανίσας, ὃτι ἐκαμνον καὶ
οὐδ’ ἀνιστάμην ἐκ τῆς κλίνης, καὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας
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ἐλαβον οἱ πρυτάνεις, ὅθεν ὀρμόμενοι ταῦτ' ἐποίουν ἔκεινοι. ἐξελέγχουτε δὲ τὸ πράγμα ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ 65 οὐ ξητηταί, ἐπειδὴ ἢν ἢ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον καὶ ὀμολογεῖτο πανταχόθεν, τότε δὴ καλοῦσι τὸν Διοκλείδην καὶ οὐ πολλῶν λόγων ἐδέησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὀμολογεῖ τις φεύγεται, καὶ ἐδείτο σφίξεσθαι φράσασ τοὺς πείσαντας αὐτὸν λέγειν ταῦτα: εἶναι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν Φηνούσιον καὶ Ἀρμάντον τὸν Ἐξ Αἰγίνης. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δείσαντες 66 ὄχθοντο φεύγοντες· υμεῖς δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Διοκλεί-
δην μὲν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παραδόντες ἀπεκτείνατε, τοὺς
dὲ δεδεμένους καὶ μέλλοντας ἀπολείπασαν ἐλύσατε,
tοὺς ἔμοις συγκενείς, δὲ ἔμε, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας
cατεδέξασθε, αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ὑπλα ἄρχετε,
πολλῶν κακῶν καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγέντες. ἐν οἷς 67
ἐγὼ, οἱ ἄνδρες, τῆς μὲν τύχης ἢ ἐχρησάμεν ἀκαίως
dὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἔλεγεντες, τῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐνεκα
eἰκότως ἦν ἄνηρ ἀριστος δοκοις εἶναι, ὡστε εἰςηγη-
σαμένῳ μὲν Εὐφιλήτῳ πίστων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις
ἀπεισοτάτην ἡμαντώθην καὶ ἀντείπως καὶ ἐλοιδόρησα
ἐκείνων δὲν ἢν ἄξιοι, ἀμαρτώτων δὲ ἐκείνων τὴν ἀμαρτίαν
αὐτῶς συνέκρυψα, καὶ μηνύσαντος κατ' αὐτῶν Τεύκρου
οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπεθανοῦν οἱ δ' ἔφυγον, πρὶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ
Διοκλείδου δεθήναι καὶ μέλλειν ἀπολεῖσθαι. τότε δὲ

§ 66. τοὺς ἐμοὺς σ. uncis seclusit Lips.

§ 67. ἐλοιδόρησα ἐκείνων δὲν ἢν ἄξιοι scripserit. ἐλοιδόρησα ἐκείνων δὲν ἢν ἦν. libr. sed loi.dorèin cum dativo non Atticum. [ἐκείνω] Bl. uncis inclusum. ἐλοιδόρησα δὲν ἦν ἄξιος Hick. ἐκείνω ab interpre-
πετε additum esse suspicatus. ἐκείνων Ἀ. pr., quod ex ἐκείνω
corruptum esse arbitror. Idem Lipsio, quod mihi quoque ante
discrimination ejus editum ipsi in mentem venerat. ἐκείνω Jebb.
άπέγραψα τετταράς ἄνδρας, Παναίτιον Διάκριτον
68 Δυσαίστρατον Χαριέθημον· οὕτως μὲν ἔφυγον δι’ ἐμὲ, ὁμολογῶ· ἐσώθη δὲ γε ὁ πατήρ, ὁ κηδεστής, ἀνεφικτεῖσι, τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν ἐπτά, μέλλουσις ἀποβανεῖσθαι ἅδίκως· δι’ ψυχής τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς δι’ ἐμὲ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογούσιν· ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην συνταράξας καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κυδύνους καταστήσας ἐξηλέγχθη, ὑμείς δὲ ἀπηλλάγητε μεγάλων φόβων καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλων ὑποψίες. καὶ ταύτ’ εἰ ἄληθῆ λέγω, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἀναμμηνήσκεσθε, καὶ οἱ εἰδότες διδάσκετε τοὺς ἄλλους.
69 Σὺ δὲ μοι αὐτοὺς κάλε τοὺς λυθέντας δι’ ἐμὲ· ἀριστα γὰρ ἐν εἴδοτες τὰ γενόμενα λέγοιεν εἰς τούτους. Οὕτωσί δὲ ἔχει, ὃ ἄνδρες· μέχρι τούτου ἀναβῆσονται καὶ λέξουσιν ὑμῖν, ἐως ἂν ἀκροάσθαι βούλησθε, ἐπειτα δ’ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολογῆσομαι.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

70 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν τότε γενομένων ἀκηκόατε πάντα καὶ ἀπολογήσηται μοι ἰκανῶς, ὅς γ’ ἐμαυτὸν πείθω· εἰ δὲ τίς τι ὑμῶν ποθεῖ ἢ νομίζει τι μὴ ἰκανῶς εἰρήσθαι ἢ παραλέλουσθαί τι, ἀναστὰς ὑπομνησάτω, καὶ ἀπολογήσομαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο. περὶ δὲ τῶν νόμων ἠδη ὑμᾶς
71 διδάξω. Κηφίσιος γὰρ οὕτως ἐνεδείξε μὲν μὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῶν κείμενον, τὴν δὲ κατηγορίαν ποιεῖται κατὰ ψήφισμα πρότερον γενόμενον, δ’ εἶπεν Ἰσωτιμίδης, οὐ ἐμοὶ προσήκει υὐδέν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν εἰργασθαι τῶν

§ 68. ἐπτά.] Non scripsi πέντε cum Lips., aliquid mendosi apud § 47, obstare ratus.
ιερῶν τούς ἁσβηστάντας καὶ ὀμολογήσαντας, ἔμοι δὲ τούτων οὐδετέρα πεποίηται: οὔτε ἥσσεβηται οὔτε ὁμολογηται. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτο τὸ ψῆφισμα λέλυται καὶ 72 ἀκυρὸν ἔστιν, ἐγὼ ύμᾶς διδάξω. καίτοι λεγοντον ἁπολογίαν πέρι αὐτοῦ ποιήσομαι, ὅπου μὴ πείθων μὲν ύμᾶς αὐτὸς ξημιωθοῦμαι, πείσας δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἁπολεολογημένος ἔσομαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τάλαθη εἰρήσεται. ἐπεὶ γὰρ αἱ νῆες διεφθάρησαν καὶ ἡ πολιορκία ἐγένετο, 73 ἐβουλεύσασθε πέρι ὁμονοίας, καὶ ἔδοξεν ύμῖν τοὺς ἄτιμους ἐπιτίμησος ποιήσαται, καὶ εἰπε τὴν γνώμην Πατροκλείδης. οἱ δὲ ἄτιμοι τίνες ἦσαν, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἔκαστοι; ἐγὼ ύμᾶς διδάξω. οἱ μὲν ἀργύριον ὀφείλουσε τῷ δημοσίῳ, ὅποιοι εὐθυνας ὄφλον ἁρξαντες ἀρχας, ἢ ἐξούλας ἢ γραφας ἢ ἐπιβολας ὄφλον, ἢ ὁνάς πριάμων ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου μη κατέβαλον τὰ χρήματα, ἢ ἐγγύας ἡγγυήσαντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον τούτοις ἡ μὲν ἐκτείσης ἤν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, εἰ δὲ μή, διπλάσιον ὀφείλειν καὶ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν πεπράσθαι· εἰς μὲν τρόπος οὗτος ἄτιμα ἦν, ἄτερος δὲ ὃν τὰ μὲν 74 σώματα ἄτιμα ἦν, τὴν δ' οὕσαιν εἶχον καὶ ἐκέκτηντο· οὕτως δ' αὐ ἦσαν ὀπόσοι κλοπῆς ἢ δόρων ὄφλοιεν τούτων ἐδει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων ἄτιμους


§ 74. δὲν τὰ μὲν σώματα Bl. mss. δὲν μὲν τὰ σώματα Lips., quod non necessarium.
eiówna kai ópósoi lítōien tìn tákiv h àstratēias h
deilías h ànanymakhion óphloieiv h tìn àspída àpobálloiven,
h trís ñvndomarturión h trís ñvndoklêteías óphloieiv,
h tòous gounás kakòs pôioièn óútoï pàntes àtimoí ñsan
75 tà sómatà, tà de xhrímatà eîchon. álloiv aû káta
prostásieis, oûntes óu pàntapaisi àtimoí ñsan, állatta mérois ti aútówn, oûn oûi stratatiôtaî, oûs, óti èpëmeiunà
èpi tòn turaríonv èn tì pòlei, tà mé àllà ñn àper
tois állois pollaitais, eîpeîn dì en tò ðímov óûk èxìnv
aûtois oude boûleûsai. ótòtówn ñsan ouûto àtimoî
76 aûtì ñgár ñn tòtois próstasieis. ètérôois óûk ñn gráph-
asìaî, tôus de ènthèzai: tôus de àû ñanapleûsai eis
'Ellhíspouton, állois dè eis 'Iwôian, tôis dè eis tìn
àgorán mú ëisëíñai próstasieis ñn. taùtì ouûn ëphôfì-
sasèthe èxaleípsai pîntà tà ëphôsmata, kài aûtà kài
ëi poû ti àntígarofon ñn, kài pîstís állois perí
ðìmoniès doûnav èn àkropòlei. Kài ñoi ànàgnôthi tà
ëphôsmà tà Patroklêidov, kath' ò tàuta ègêneto.

77 ÏFÎSMA. Patroklêidov èîpèn. 'Expeidì ëphôfìsainto
'Ànthnaini tìn àdèiain perì (tòû àtimoû kai) tòû oûfi-
lòntov, òstè leûgîn èxèiçai kai ëptûphôfìsèn, ñphôfì-
sasèthe tòn ðímov tàûta àper ètè ñn tà Mêdikà, kai
sunëgynèken 'Ànthnaios èpti tà àmeinov. perì ò tàw
ënegýramménon eis tòûs pràktûras ñ tòûs tàmias tís
thèov kai tàw állois ðèwû ñ tòn bàsiléa, òi èi tis mú
ënegýrafh meîchi tís èxelhòusèn ñbülhû ëph' ñs Katílaç

§ 77. ònegýrammóv ouût. Lips.] ònegýrammóv.
ënegýrafh ouût. Lips.] ënegýrafh.
ANDOCIDES DE MYSTERIIS.

§ 78. ἰρχεν, δοι ατιμοὶ ὅσαι ὄφειλοντες, καὶ ὅσων εὐθυναὶ τίνες εἰσὶ κατεγνωσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων καὶ τῶν παρέδρων, ἡ μῆτα ἵστημενει αἰς τὸ δικαστήριον γραφαί τίνες εἰσὶ περὶ τῶν εὐθύνων, ἡ προστάξεις ἡ ἐγγύαι τίνες εἰσὶ κατεγνωσμέναι εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τούτων χρόνων καὶ ὅσα ὄνοματα τῶν τετρακοσίων τίνος ἐγγέγραπται, ἡ ἀλλὸ τι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλυμπρικῇ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ ποὺ ἔγραμμένου πλὴν ὅποσα ἐν στήλαις γέγραπται τῶν μὴ ἐνθάδε μενάντων, ἡ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγουν ἡ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἡ ἐκ πρωτανείου δικασθείσων ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν ἐπὶ φόνῳ τίς ἔστι φυγῇ ἡ σφαγάσαμεν ἡ τυραννίδος τὰ δὲ ἀλλα 79 πάντα ἐξαλείψαι τοὺς πράκτορας καὶ τὴν βουλήν κατὰ τὰ ἐφημενα πανταχόθεν, ὅποι τι ἔστιν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ εἰ ἀντίγραφον ποὺ ἐστὶν, παρέχειν τοῖς θεσμοθεταῖς καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀρχὰς. ποιεῖν δὲ ταύτα τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐπειδὰν δόξῃ τῷ δῆμῳ. ἡ δ' εἴρηται ἐξαλεῖψαι, ὡς κεκτήσατι ἕδρα μηδὲν ἐξεῖναι μηδὲ μνησικεκτῆσαι μηδέποτε εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐνοχὸν εἶναι τῶν παραβαίνοντα ταύτα ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐν οἴσπερ οἶ ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγουν φεύγοντες, ὅπως ἄν ὡς πιστῶτα ἔχῃ 'Αθηναίοις καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνων.

§ 78. ὄφειλοντες. ante hoc verb. ἦ del. Reisk.
καὶ τῶν n. corr. Lips.] ἦ.
tυτος seclus. Lips. Mox. ἢ (ei) ἀλλο τι id.

§ 79. μηδέποτε. Post hoc v. excidisse alicquid putat Lips.
Κατὰ μὲν τὸ ψῆφισμα τούτῳ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ἐποιήσατε· τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας οὔτε Πατροκλείδης εἶπε κατείναι οὐδ᾽ ἤμεις ἐψηφίσασθε. ἔπει δὲ σπονδαὶ πρὸς Δακεδαμονίους ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὰ τείχη καθείλετε, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατεδέξασθε, καὶ κατέστησαν εἰ τριάκοντα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Φυλὴ τε κατελήφθη Μονικίαν τε κατέλαβον, ἐγένετο (θ') ὡμίν ὅν ἐγὼ οὔδεν δέομαι μεμνησθαι οὐδ᾽ ἀναμμηνήσκειν ὡμᾶς τῶν γεγενημένων κακῶν—ἐπείδη δὲ ἐπανήλθετε ἐκ Πειραιῶς, γενόμενον ἐφ᾽ ὡμίν τιμωρεῖταί ἔγνωτε εἰάν τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ περὶ πλείονος ἐποίησασθε σφέξει τὴν πόλιν ἡ τὰς ἱδίας τιμωρίας, καὶ ἤδοξε μὴ μνημικαίων ἀλλήλοις τῶν γεγενημένων. δοξάτα δὲ ὡμίν ταῦτα εἰλεσθε ἄνδρας εἰκοσι τούτους δε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἦδοι αὐ τοῖς νόμοι τεθείεν τέως δὲ χρήσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς. ἐπείδη δὲ βουλὴν τε ἀπεκληρόσατε νομοθέτας τε εἰλεσθε, ἦπιρισκον τῶν νόμων τῶν τε Σόλωνος καὶ τῶν Δράκοντος πολλοὺς ὅντας οἷς πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐνοχοὶ ἦσαν τῶν πρότερον ἕνεκα γεγομένων. ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσαντες ἐβουλεύσασθε περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε, δοκιμάσαντας πάντας τοὺς νόμους, εἰτ' ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῇ στοά τούτους τῶν νόμων ὅλαν δοκιμασθῶσι. Καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψῆφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἕδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, Τεισαμενὸς εἰπε, πολυ-
τεῦσθαι Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, νόμοις δὲ
χρῆσαί τοῖς Σῶλοις, καὶ μέτροις καὶ στάθμοις,
χρῆσαί δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς, οἷσπερ
ἐχρώμεθα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. ὅποσών ὦ ἄν
προσδέχη, οἴδε ἡρμηνεύον νομοθέται ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς
ἀναγράφουτες ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέντων πρὸς τοὺς
ἐπωνύμους σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ παραδίδον-
τοι ταῖς ἁρχαῖς ἐν τῷ ἐπί μηνί. τοὺς δὲ παραδιδο-
μένους νόμους δοκιμασάτω πρότερον ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ
νομοθέται οἱ πεντάκοσιοι, οὕς οἱ δημάται ἐἶλοντο,
ἐπειδὴ ὁμομόκασιν. ἐξείναι δὲ καὶ ἴδιωτῇ τῷ βουλο-
μένῳ, εἰσοίντι εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συμβουλεύειν ὡς τι 
ἀγαθὸν ἐχθ' ἐπὶ τῶν νόμων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τεθῶσιν οἱ
νόμοι, ἐπιμελείσθω τῇ βουλῇ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πῶγον τῶν
νόμων, ὅπως ἀν αἱ ἁρχαὶ τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις ἥρω-
ται. τοὺς δὲ κυρωμένους τῶν νόμων ἀναγράφειν εἰς
τὸν τοίχον, ἵνα περ ἐπὶ πρότερον ἀνεγράφησαν, σκοπεῖν
τῷ βουλομένῳ.

'Εδοκιμάσθησαν μὲν οὖν οἱ νόμοι, ὁ ἄνδρες, κατὰ τὸ 85
ψῆφισμα τούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ κυρωθέντας ἀνέγραψαν εἰς τὴν
στοάν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεγράφησαν, ἐβέμεθα νόμον, ὃ
πάντες χρῆσατε. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωσθι τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ. Ἀγράφη δὲ νόμῳ τὰς ἁρχὰς μὴ χρῆσθαι
μηδὲ περὶ ἐνός.

Ἀρὰ γε ἐστιν ἐνταῦθι ὅ τι περιελείπετο περὶ ὅτοι
οίον τε ἢ ἁρχὴν εἰσάγειν ἢ ύμῶν πρᾶξαί τινι, ἀλλ' ἢ

§ 83. οἴδε. Sub hoc v. nescio quid mendosi latet. οἱ ἦδη Lips. πρὸς τοὺς ἑπτ.] πρόσθε τῶν ἐρωμένων Lips.
§ 86. τιν.] τινὰ Lips.
κατὰ τοὺς ἀναγεγραμμένους νόμους; ὅπου οὖν ἀγράφῳ νόμῳ οὐκ ἔξεστι χρῆσασθαι, ἤ που ἀγράφῳ γε (χρή-
σασθαι) ψηφίσματι παντάπασιν οὐ δεῖ [γε χρῆσασθαι].
ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν ἐφρῶμεν ὅτι πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν εἶν
συμφοραῖ, τοῖς μὲν κατὰ νόμους, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ ψηφίσ-
ματα τὰ πρότερον γενόμενα, τουτοὺς τοὺς νόμους ἐθέμεθα, ἀυτῶν ἕνεκα τῶν υἱῶν ποιουμένων, ἵνα τούτων μηδὲν γίγνηται μηδὲ ἐξή συκοφαντεῖν μηδενί. Καὶ
μοι ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς νόμους.

87 NOMOI. Ἀγράφῳ δὲ νόμῳ τὰς ἄρχας μὴ χρῆσασθαι μηδὲ περὶ ἐνός. ψηφίσμα τίς, μηδὲν μὴν βουλής μήτε δήμου νόμου κυριώτερον εἶναι. μηδὲ ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ
νόμου ἔξειναι θείαι, εάν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις, εάν μὴ ἐξακισχιλίοις δόξη κρύβην
ψηφιζομένους.

Τῇ οὖν ἦν ἐπίλοστον; οὕτως ὁ νόμος. Καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τούτου.

NOMOS. Τὰς δὲ δίκας καὶ τὰς διαίτας κυρίας εἶναι,
ὄπόσαι ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ τῇ πόλει ἐγένοντο. τοῖς
dὲ νόμοις χρῆσθαι ἀπὸ Εὐκλείδου ἀρχοντος.

88 Τὰς μὲν δίκας, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, καὶ τὰς διαίτας ἐποίησατε
κυρίας εἶναι, ὄπόσαι ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ τῇ πόλει

§ 86. ἀγράφῳ γε (χρῆσασθαι) να. † χρ. transulti, γε χρῆσασθαι in margine a librarīo quodam post verba ἀγράφῳ γε omissum esse χρῆσασθαι monente additum arbitratus.
ρε σασθαι seclusit Lips.: οὐ δεὶ [γε] χρῆσασθαι Bl.
tὸ πρότερον. † τὰ secl. Lips.


Φέρε δὴ τοίνυν, οἱ ὅρκοι ὑμῖν πῶς ἔχονσιν; ὡς μὲν 90 κοινὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπάση, ὡν ὀμομοίατε πάντες μετὰ τὰς διαλλαγάς, "καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐνδεκα (καὶ τῶν δέκα) οὔτὲ τούτων δὲ ἂν ἐθέλη εὐθύνας διδόναι τῇς ἀρχῆς ἃς ἥρξεν." ὡς τοῦν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τριάκοντα ὁμνυτε μὴ μνησικακήσειν, τοῖς μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίοις, εἰ διδοῖν εὐθύνας, ἡ ποι σχολὴ τῶν µε ἄλλων πολιτῶν τινὶ ἥξιοτε µνησικακείν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ αὐ η ἄει βουλευόνσα 91

τί ὄμνυσι; "καὶ οὐ δέξομαι ἐνδείξιν οὐδὲ ἀπαγωγὴν ἑνεκα τῶν πρῶτον γεγενημένων, πλὴν τῶν φυγόντων." ύμεῖς δ’ αὐ, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, τί ὁμόσαντες δικάζετε; "καὶ οὐ μηνισικακήσω, οὐδὲ ἀλλα πείσομαι, ψηφιοῦμαι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους." ᾧ χρή σκοπεῖν, εἰ δοκῶ ὁρθῶς ύμῖν λέγειν ὡς ὑπὲρ ύμῶν λέγω καὶ τῶν νόμων.

92 Σκέψασθε τοῖνυν, ο ἀνδρεῖς, καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοὺς κατηγόρους, τί αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουν ἐτέρων κατηγοροῦσι. Κηφίσιος μὲν οὔτοςι πριάμενος ἄνη̃ν ἐκ τοῦ δήμοσιον, τα̃ς ἐκ ταύτης ἐπικαρπίας τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ γεωργοῦντων ἐνενήκοντα μνᾶς ἐκλέξας, οὐ κατέβαλε τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφυγεν’ εἰ γὰρ ἦλθεν, ἐδέθετ’ ἀν ἐν τῷ ἔνθω. ο γὰρ νόμος οὔτος εἶχε, κυριάν εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, ὅσ ἄν πριάμενος τέλος μὴ καταβάλη, δεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔνθων. οὔτος τοῖνυν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις ἐνεφίσασθε ἀπ’ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος χρῆσθαι, ἀξιοὶ δ’ ἔχει ὑμῶν ἐκλέξας μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ νῦν γεγένηται ἀντὶ μὲν φυγάδος τολλής, ἀντὶ δ’ ἀτίμου συνοφάντης, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς νῦν κειμένοις χρῆσθε. Μέλητος δ’ αὐ οὔτοςι ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα Δέοντα, ὡς ύμεῖς ἀπαντήσεσθε ἢστε, καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖνοι ἀκρίτος καὶ τοῖς οὕτως ὁ νόμος καὶ πρῶτον ᾗ(καὶ) ὡς καλῶς ἔχων καὶ νῦν ἔστι, καὶ χρῆσθε αὐτῷ, τὸν βουλευσάντα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν τῇ χειρὶ ἐργασάμενον. Μέλητον τοῖνυν τοῖς παίσι τοῖς τοῦ Δέοντος οὐκ ἔστι φόνον διώκειν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις δεῖ χρῆσθαι ἀπ’ Εὐκλείδον ἄρχοντος, ἐπεὶ

§ 92. καὶ τοὺς νόμους. Pro his vv. kata t. νόμους post τι αὐτοῖς Lips.
δις γε οὐκ ἀπῆγαγεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγει. Ἐπιχάρης 95
d' οὕτοςί, ὁ πάντων πονηρότατος καὶ βουλόμενος εἶναι
τοιοῦτος, ὁ μιχησικῶν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ, — αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐβου-
λευν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα' ὁ δὲ νόμος τί κελεύει, ὃς ἐν
τῇ στῆλῃ ἐμπροσθέν ἐστὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου; "ὅς ἂν
ἀρξῇ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς δημοκρατίας καταλυθείσης,
υποποιεὶ τεθνάναι, καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα ὅσιον εἶναι
καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐξειν τοῦ ἀποθανόντος." ἀλλ' τι οὖν,
ὁ Ἐπίχαρε, ἢ νῦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας σε καθάρος τὰς χειρὰς
ἐσται, κατὰ γε τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον; Καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι 96
τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐκ τῆς στῆλης.

ΝΟΜΟΣ. Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Αἰαντῆς
ἐπροτάνευε, Κλεογένης ἐγραμμάτευε, Βοῦθος ἐπεσ-
tάτει. τάδε Δημοφάντος συνέγραψεν. ἀρχεῖ χρόνος
τοῦ τοῦ ψυφίσματος ἡ βουλὴ οἱ πεντακόσιοι (οἱ)
lαχάνες τῷ ἐναίμῳ, ὅτε Κλεογένης πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτ-
eυευ. Ἐὰν τίς δημοκρατίαν καταλύῃ τὴν Ἀθηναίον,
ἡ ἀρχὴ των ἀρχὴ καταλελυμένης τῆς δημοκρατίας,
πολέμιοι ἔστω Ἀθηναίοι καὶ νηποιεὶ τεθνάτω, καὶ
τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια. ἔστω, καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ
ἐπιδέκατον ὁ δὲ ἀποκτείνας τὸν ταῦτα ποιήσαντα
καὶ ὁ συμβουλεύσασας ὅσιος ἔστω καὶ ἐναγής.
ὁμόιας 97
ὥ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπάντας καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων, κατὰ
φυλὰς καὶ κατὰ δήμους, ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν ταῦτα ποιή-
sαντα. ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἔστω ὅδε: "κτενώ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ
ἔργῳ καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χειρί, ἀν δυνατὸς ὁ,
ὁ δὲ καταλύῃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν Ἀθηναίην, καὶ
ἐὰν τὸν ἄρξῃ τινὰ ἀρχὴν καταλελυμένης τῆς δημο-

κρατίας τὸ λοιπόν, καὶ ἕαν τις (ἐπὶ τῷ) τυραννεῖν ἔπαναστῇ ἢ τὸν τύραννον συγκαταστήσῃ. καὶ ἕαν τις ἄλλος ἀποκτείνη, ὅσιον αὐτὸν νομίζει καὶ πρὸς θεόν καὶ δαίμοναν, ὡς πολέμιον κτείναντα τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὰ κτήματα τοῦ ἀποθανόντος πάντα ἀποδόμενος ἀποδόσῳ ἡ ἥμισεα τῶν ἀποκτείναντι, καὶ οὐκ ἀποστερήσω οὐδὲν. ἐὰν δὲ τις κτείνον τινὰ τούτων ἀποθανύς ἢ ἐπιχειρῶν, οὐ ποιήσω αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς παιδας τοὺς ἐκείνου καθάπερ Ἀρμόδιον τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ τοὺς ἀπόγονους αὐτῶν. ὅπωσι δὲ ὁ ῥόκο ὁμώμονται Ἀθηναῖοι ἢ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἢ ἄλλαθι που ἐναντίοι τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, λύω καὶ ἀφίμη;" ταῦτα δὲ ὁμοσάντων Ἀθηναίων πάντες καθ’ ἱερὸν τελείων, τὸν νόμιμον ὅρκον, πρὸ Διονυσίων καὶ ἐπευχεσθαι εὐφροσύνῃ μὲν εἶναι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ, ἐπιορκοῦντες δὲ ἐξώλη αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ γένος.

Πότερον, ὃ συκοφάντα καὶ ἐπίτριπτον κίνασος, κύριος ὁ νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ οὐ κύριος; διὰ τούτο δὲ οἶμαι γεγενέται ἄκυρος, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις δεὶ χρῆσθαι ἀπ’ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος. καὶ σὺ ἐξὶ καὶ περιερχὴ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, οὐκ ἄξιος ὃν ὅς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ μὲν συκοφαντῶν ἔξος, ἐν διναρχίᾳ δὲ, ὡς μὴ ἀναγκασθείης τὰ χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι ὡς συκοφαντῶν ἔλαβες, ἐδούλευς τοὺς τριά-

κοντα. ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὕτως ἔτερον ἐτόλμη καταγγείλει, ὃ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τους ὑμετέρους οὐδ’ ἀυτῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

ἐστιν ἀπολογείςθαι. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὃ ἄνδρες, καθήμενος ἤνικα μου κατηγορεῖ, βλέπον τεὶς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα συνειλημμένοι ἐδοξα κρίνεσθαι. εἰ

§ 97. (ἐπὶ τῷ) Lips., Dobr. secentus.
γὰρ τὸτε ἤγωνυξόμην, τίς ἂν μου κατηγόρει; οὐχ οὖσις ὑπήρξεν, εἰ μὴ ἐδίδουν ἄργυριον; καὶ γὰρ νῦν. ἀνέκρινε δὲ ἂν με τίς ἄλλος ἡ Χαρικλῆς, ἔρωτόν, Ἐπεί μου ὦ Ἀνδοκίδη, ἦλθες εἰς Δεκέλειαν, καὶ ἐπετείχισας τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σεαυτοῦ; Οὐκ ἔγωγε. Τί δὲ; ἔτεμες τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἐλήσω ἡ κατὰ γην ἡ κατὰ θάλατταν τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς σεαυτοῦ; Οὔ δὴτα. Οὐδὲ ἑναμάχησας ἑναντία τῇ πόλει, οὐδὲ συγκατέσκαψας τὰ τείχη, οὐδὲ συγκατέλυσας τὸν δήμον, οὐδὲ βίᾳ κατηλθες εἰς τὴν πόλιν; Οὐδὲ τούτων πεποίηκα οὔδεν. Δοκεῖς οὖν χαρῆσειν καὶ οὖν ἀποθανεῖσθαι, ὡς ἔτεροι πολλοί; *Αρ' 102 (ὅτι) ἀδεσθε, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἄλλους τινῶν τυχεῖν με δι' ὑμᾶς, εἰ ἐλήφθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν; οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτων διὰ τούτῳ ἂν ἀπωλόμην, ὅτι εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν ἥμαρτον, ὡστε καὶ ἐτέρους ἀπέκτειναν, ἐν ὑμῖν δὲ κρυνόμενοι, οὐς οὐδὲν κακὸν πεποίηκα, οὐ σωθήσομαι; πάντως δῆτον ἡ σχολὴ γε τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων.

'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὃ ἄνδρες, τὴν μὲν ἐνδείξειν ἐποιήσαντο μου 103 κατὰ νόμον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ κατηγορίαν κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ πρότερον γεγενημένου περὶ ἐτέρων. εἰ οὖν ἐμοὶ καταψηφημεῖσθε, ὅρατε μὴ οὐκ ἐμοὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν προσήκει λόγον δοῦναι τῶν γεγενημένων, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἐτέρους μᾶλλον, τούτο μὲν οἷς ὑμεῖς ἑναντία μαχεσάμενοι δυσλάγητε καὶ ὅρκους ἀμώσατε, τούτο δὲ οὐς φεύγοντας κατηγάγετε, τούτο δὲ οὐς ἀτίμους ὄντας ἑπιτίμους ἐποιήσατε; δι' ἐνεκα καὶ στήλας ἀνείλετε καὶ νόμους ἀκύρους ἐποιήσατε καὶ ψηφίσματα ἐξηλεύσατε; δὲ νυνὶ μένουσιν εἰ τῇ πόλει πιστεύουσιν ὑμῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες. εἰ οὖν γνώσονται ὑμᾶς ἀποδεχομένους τὰς κατηγορίας 104.
τῶν πρῶτον γεγενημένων, τίνα αὐτούς οἶδες ἡγώμην ἔξειν περὶ σφόν αὐτῶν; ἦ τίνα αὐτῶν ἐθελήσειν εἰς ἀγώνας καθιστασθαι ἑνεκα τῶν πρῶτον γεγενημένων; φανήσονται γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐχθροὶ πολλοὶ δὲ συκοφάνται, ὁ καταστήσουσιν αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν εἰς ἀγώνα.

105 ἢκουσὶ δὲ νυνὶ ἀκροασόμενοι ἀμφότεροι, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχουσαν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἰσόμενοι εἰ χρή πιστεύειν τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κειμένους καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους οὓς ὁμόστατε ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ ἀποπειρόμενοι τῆς ύμετέρας γνώμης, εἰ αὐτοῖς ἐξέσται ἄδειας συκοφαντεῖν καὶ γράφεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδεικνύων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπάγειν. οὔτως οὖν ἔχει, ὁ ἄνδρες· ὁ μὲν ἁγὼν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῷ ἐμῷ καθεστήκεν, ἡ δὲ ψήφος ἡ ύμετέρα δημοσία κρινεῖ, πότερον χρή τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ύμετέρους πιστεύειν, ἡ τοῖς συκοφάνταις παρασκευάζεσθαι, ἡ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀπιέναι ὡς τάχιστα.

106 Ἰνα δὲ εἰςθε, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὅτι τὰ πεποιημένα υἱῶν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν οὐ κακῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα υἱῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπουθῆσατε, βραχέα βοῦλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰςεῖν. οἱ γὰρ πατέρες οἱ ύμετεροι γενομένων τῇ πόλει κακῶν μεγάλων, ὅτε οἱ τύραννοι μὲν εἶχον τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐφεύγει, νικήσαντες μαχόμενοι τοὺς τυράννους ἐπὶ Παλληνίῳ, στρατηγοῦν- τος Δεωγόρου τοῦ προπάππου τοῦ ἐμοῦ καὶ Χαρίου οὐ ἐκείνος τὴν θυγατέρα εἶχεν, ἦς ὁ ύμετερος ἢν πάππος, κατελθόντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δὲ φυγῆν κατέγνωσαν, τοὺς δὲ μένειν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐάσαντες ἡτίμωσαν. ὕστερον δὲ ἦν Βασίλειος ἐπεστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, γνώντες τῶν συμφορῶν τῶν
ἐπιούσιν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τὴν βασιλέως, ἔγνωσαν τοὺς τε φεύγοντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινῆν τὴν τε σωτηρίαν καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις ποιῆσασθαι. πρώξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ δόντες ἄλληλοις πίστεις καὶ ὄρκους μεγάλους, ἦξιον σφᾶς αὐτοῖς προτάξαντες πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἀπαντήσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις Μαραθώναδε, νομίζαντες τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν ἁρετήν ἵκανη εἶναι τῷ πλῆθει τῷ ἑκείνῳ ἀντιτάξασθαι: μαχεσάμενοι τε ἐνίκουν, καὶ τὴν τε Ἐλλάδα ἠλευθέρωσαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἔσωσαν. ἔργον δὲ τοιοῦτον ἐργασάμενοι, οὐκ ἦξιοι ταῖς τῶν πρὸ- 108 τερών γενομένων μνησικακήσατο. τουγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα, τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον παραλαβόντες ἱερά τε κατακεκαυ- μένα τείχη τε καὶ οἰκίαις καταπεπτωκιῶσας, ἀφορμὴν τε οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, διὰ τὸ ἄλληλοις ὀμονοεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατειργάσαντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν τοι- αύτην καὶ τοσαύτην παρεδόσαν. ὑμεῖς οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ 109 ὑστερον, κακῶν οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ ἑκείνους γεγενημένων, ἀγαθοὶ ἔξ ἀγαθῶν ὄντες ἀπέδωτε τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἁρετήν ἦξιόσατε γὰρ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι. τὰ οὖν ὑμῖν ὑπό- λοιπὸν ἐστὶ τῆς ἑκείνων ἁρετῆς; μὴ μνησικακῆσαι, εἰδώλας, ὅ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολὺ ἐλάττων ἁφορ- μῆς ἐν τῷ ἐμπροσθὲν χρόνῳ μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐγένετο· ἅ (καὶ) νῦν αὐτῇ ὑπάρχει, εἰ ἐθέλομεν οἱ πολίται σωφρονεῖν τε καὶ ὀμονοεῖν ἄλληλοι.

Κατηγόρησαν δὲ μου καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱκετηρίας, ὅς 110 καταβείνῃ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινῷ, νόμος δ' εἰη πάτριος, ὡς ἂν θῆ ἱκετηρίαν μυστηρίως, τεθυναί. καὶ οὕτως
εἰσὶ τολμηροί, ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ κατεσκεύασαν, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐ κατέσχον ἄπεβούλευσαν, ἄλλα καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐμοῦ ποιοῦνται ὡς ἄδικοιντος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἤλθομεν Ἐλευσινόθεν καὶ ἡ ἐνδείξεις ἐγεγένητο, προσήκει αὐτῶς τῶν ἔγενημένων Ἐλευσίνη κατὰ τὴν τελετήν, ὡσπερ ἔδω ἑστι, τοῖς προτάνεσι, οἳ δὲ προσάγεσιν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, ἐπαγγείλαι τ' ἐκείνουν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Κηφισίῳ παρέδωσαν ἐὰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνων. ἡ γὰρ βουλή ἐκεῖ καθεδείσθαι ἐμελλε κατὰ τὸν Σῴλωνος νόμον, ὡς κελεύει τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσίνω. καὶ παρήμεν κατὰ τὰ προερμένα. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπειδὴ ἦν πλήρης, ἀναστὰς Καλλίας ὁ Ἰππονίκον τὴν σκευὴν ἔχων λέγει ὅτι ἱκετηρία κείται ἔπει τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς. καθ' ὁ κηρυξ ἐκήρυττε τῆς τὴν ἱκετηρίαν καταθείση, καὶ οὕδεις ὑπῆκουν. ἡμεῖς δὲ παρέσταμεν, καὶ οὗτος ἡμᾶς ἑώρα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπῆκουν καὶ ἕχει εἰσίων ὁ ἐπεξελθὼν Ἐυκλῆς οὔτος — καὶ μοι κάλει αὐτῶν. Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ταῦτα εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω, μαρτύρησον, Ἐυκλείς.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

113 'Ως μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγω, μεμαρτύρηται πολὺ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐναντίον εἶναι ἢ οἱ κατήγοροι εἶπον. ἔλεξαν γὰρ, εἰ μέμνησθε, ὅτι αὐτῶ με τῷ θεῷ παραγόγοινεν


(δ) ἐπεξελθὼν Ed. ἐπεξελθὼν post οὗτος ἡμᾶς Lips., qui om. καὶ ante ἕχει.
άστε θείαι τὴν ἰκετηρίαν µὴ εἰδότα τὸν νόµον, ἵνα δῶ δίκην. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰ ὡς µάλιστα ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν οἱ κατήγοροι, ὑπ' αὐτοῖν µε φηµὶ τοῖν θείον σεσώσθαι.

εἰ γὰρ ἑθηκα µὲν τὴν ἰκετηρίαν, ὑπήκουσα δὲ µῆ, ἀλλο 114 τι ἡ αὐτὸς µὲν αὐτὸν ἀπώλευν τιθεὶς τὴν ἰκετηρίαν, ἐσφξόµην δὲ τὴ τύχη διὰ τὸ µῆ ὑπακούσαι, δήλον ὅτι διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ; εἰ γὰρ ἔβουλεσθην µὲ ἀπολλύναι τὸ θεόν, ἐχρῆν δὴπο µὴ θεία καὶ µῆ θέντα µε τὴν ἰκετηρίαν ὀμολογῆσαι. ἀλλ' οὕτε ὑπήκουσα οὕτ' ἑθηκα. ἐπειδὴ δ' 115 ἐλεγε τῇ βουλῇ Εὐκλῆς ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὑπακούσα, πάλιν ὁ Καλλίας ἀναστὰς ἐλεγεν ὅτι εἰ̄ θνόµος πάτριος, εἰ τις ἰκετηρίαν θείη ἐν τῷ 'Ελευσινίῳ, ἀκριτον ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ποτ' αὐτοῦ Ἰππόνικος ἐξηγήσατο ταῦτα Ἀθηναίοις, ἀκούσει µὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ θείη τὴν ἰκετηρίαν.

ἐντεῦθεν ἀναπηδά Κέφαλος οὕτος καὶ λέγει "Ω 116 Καλλία, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιώτατε, πρὸτον µὲν ἐξηγῆ Κηρύκων ὃν, οὐχ ὄσιον (δ') σοι ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἔπειτα δὲ νόµον πάτριον λέγεις, ἢ δὲ στήλη παρ' ἦ ἐστικας χιλίας δραχμας κελεύει ὀφείλειν, εάν τις ἰκετηρίαν θή ἐν τῷ 'Ελευσινίῳ. ἔπειτα δὲ τίνος ήκουσας ὅτι Ἀνδοκίδης θείη τὴν ἰκετηρίαν; κάλεσον αὐτὸν τῇ βουλῇ ἵνα καὶ ἡµεῖς ἀκούσωμεν." ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη ἡ στήλη κάκεινος ὃν εἰ̄χεν ἔπειτα ὅτου ἠκουσεν, καταφανῆ ἦν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτὸς θείος τὴν ἰκετηρίαν.

Φέρε δὴ τοιίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες — τάχα γὰρ ἀν αὐτὸ 117

βουλοισθη πυθέσθαι —, ὁ δὲ Καλλίας τῷ βουλόμενος ἐτίθει τὴν ικετηρίαν; ἐγὼ δὲ ὅμως διηγήσομαι διν υπ’ αὐτοῦ ένεκα ἐπεβουλεύθην. Ἐπίλυκος ὑν ὁ Τεισάν-δρος θείος μοι, ἀδελφὸς τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπέθανε τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἀπαίς ἀρρένων παίδων, θυγατέρας δὲ δύο καταλιπτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐγώνυντο εἰς τε ἐμὲ καὶ Δέαγρον.

118 τὰ δὲ πράγματα τὰ οὐκο πονήρως εἶχε τὴν μὲν γὰρ φανερὰν οὐσίαν οὖδὲ δυὸν ταλάντων κατέλιπε, τὰ δὲ οφειλόμενα πλέον ἢν τῇ πέντε τάξει. ὅμως δέ ἐγὼ καλέσας Δέαγρον ἐναντίον τῶν φίλων ἔλεγον ότι ταῦτ’ εἶσ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δεικνύναι τὰς ὀρκείστητας ἀλλήλοις. "ἡμᾶς γὰρ οὐ δικαιοῦν ἑστὶν ρύτε χρήματα ἐτερα οὔτ’ εὐνυχίαν ἀνδρὸς ἐλέσθαι, ὅστε καταφρονήσαι τῶν Ἐπίλυκου θυγατέρων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐξή Ἐπίλυκος ἢ τεθνείς πολλὰ κατέλιπε χρή-ματα, ἥξιούμεν ἂν γένει αὐτοῖς ἐγγυτάτω ἔχειν τὰς παιδασ. τοιαύτου ἐκεῖνα μὲν δι’ Ἐπίλυκον ἄν ἢν ἡ διὰ τὰ χρήματα’ νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν τἀδε ἑσται. τῆς μὲν οὖν σὺ ἐπιδικᾶξοι, τῆς δὲ ἐγὼ.” ὡμο-

119 λόγησε μοι, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς ἐπεδικασάμεθα ἀμφο τὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὀρμολογίαν. καὶ ἤς μὲν ἐγὼ ἐπεδικασά-μην, ἡ παίς τὐχῃ χρησαμενή καμοῦσα ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἐτέρα ἑστὶν ὑμὶ. ταῦτην Καλλίας ἐπείδη Δέαγρον, χρήματα ὑποχνοῦμενοι, ἐὰν αὐτῶν λαβεὶν αἰσθο-μενος δ’ ἐγὼ εὐθὺς ἔθηκα παράστασιν, καὶ ἔλαχον προτέρῳ μὲν Δέαγρο, ὅτι “εἰ μὲν σὺ βούλει ἐπιδικά-ξεσθαι, ἔχε τὐχῃ ἐγαθή, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐγὼ ἐπιδικάσομαι.”

§ 119. ἀνδρὸς (ἐτέρου), Λίμα.
ANDOCIDES DE MYSTERIIS.

ηνοῦς ταῦτα Καλλίας λαγχάνει τῷ ὑεὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς 121 ἐπικλήρου, τῇ δεκάτῃ ἱσταμένου, ὠνα μῆ ἐπιδικάσωμαι ἐγώ. ταῖς δ' εἰκάσαι, μυστηρίωις τούτωι, δοὺς Κηφισίων χιλίας δραχμαῖς ἐνδείκνυσί με καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄγωνα τούτον καθίστησιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐώρα με ὑπομένοντα, τίθησι τὴν ἱκετηρίαν, ὡς ἐμὲ μὲν ἀποκτενών ἀκριτων ἡ ἐξελῶν, αὐτῶς δὲ πείσας Δέαχρον χρήματι συνοικήσων τῇ 'Επιλύκου θυγατρὶ. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδ' ὡς ἄνευ ἄγώνος 122 ἐώρα ἐσόμενα τὰ πρόγματα, τότε δὴ προσιών Λυσί-στρατον, 'Ἡγήμονα, Ἐπιχάρη, ὀρὼν φίλους οὕτας ἐμοὶ καὶ χρωμένους, εἰς τοῦτο βελευρίας ἤλθε καὶ παρανο-μίας, ὡστε ἔλεγε πρὸς τούτον ὡς εἰ ἔτι καὶ νῦν βουλοίμην ἀποστῆναι τῆς 'Επιλύκου θυγατρὸς, ἐτοιμὸς εἰς παύσασθαι με κακῶς ποιῶν, ἀπαλλάξῃ δὲ Κη-φίσιων, δίκην δ' ἐν τοῖς φίλους δούναι μοι τῶν τεποιη-μένων. εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ παρασκευάζειν 123 ἀλλοὺς εἰ δ' ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀποφεύξομαι καὶ γινώσκοντα 'Ἀθηναίοι περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ δίκαια, ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οἴμαι περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ μέρει κινδυνεύσων. ἀπερ αὐτὸν οὐ ψεύσομαι, εἰὼν ὑμῖν, ὡ ἄνδρες, δοκῇ. Ἡμὶ δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ.

'Αλλὰ γὰρ τὸν ὄνο αὐτοῦ τούτον, φ λαχεῖν ἡξίωσε 124 τῆς 'Επιλύκου θυγατρὸς, σκέψασθε τῶς γέγονεν, καὶ

§ 121. ταῖς δ' εἰκάσαι, τοῖς μ. τούτοις ο. Jebb; sed τοῖς auctoritate caret.

πώς ἐποιήσατ' αὐτῶν' ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἄξιον ἀκούσας, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς. γαμεῖ μὲν Ἰσχοράχου θυγατέρα· ταύτῃ δὲ συνοικήσας οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ συνέκει ὁ πάντων σχετικῶτατος ἀνθρώπων τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ θυγατρί, ἱερεὺς ὁ τὸς μητρὸς καὶ τὴς θυγατρὸς,

125 καὶ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀμφοτέρας. καὶ οὕτως μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυνθη οὐδ' ἔδεισε τῷ θεῷ· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἰσχοράχου θυγάτηρ τεθνύναι νομίσασα λυσιτελεῖν ἥ την ὀρῶσα τὰ γηγομένα, ἀπαγχομένη μετέξει κατελύθη, καὶ ἔπειθή ἀνεβίω, ἀποδράσα ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἄχετο, καὶ ἐξῆλασεν ἡ μήτηρ τὴν θυγατέρα. ταῦτης δ' αὐτὶ διαπεπλησμένος ἐξέβαλε καὶ ταῦτην. ἡ δ' ἐφ' ἑκέχιν ἔξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔπειθη ἐτεκεν ὑὸν, ἔξαρνος ἵνα μὴ εἰναι ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ παιδίον.

126 λαβόντες δὲ οἱ προσήκουντες τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἡκον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Ἀπατουρίως, ἔχουντες ἱερεῖον, καὶ ἐκέλευον καταρφάσθαι τὸν Καλλίαν. ὁ δ' ἡρώτα τίνος εἶη τὸ παιδίον ἔλεγον "Καλλίου τοῦ Ἰππονίκου." "ἐγώ εἰμι οὕτως. " καὶ ἐστι γε σὸν τὸ παιδίον." λαβόμενος τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁμοσεν ἡ μὴ μὴ εἰναὶ (οἱ) ὕν ἄλλον μηδὲ γενέσθαι πώποτε, εἰ μὴ Ἰππονίκου ἐκ τῆς Γαλάκκους θυγατρός· ἡ ἐξωλη εἰναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὡσπερ 127 ἐσται. μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, υστέρῳ πάλιν χρόνῳ τῆς ἡγαίως τολμηροτάτης γυναικὸς ἀνηράσθη, καὶ κομίζεται αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ τὸν παίδα ἥδη μέγαν ὀντα εἰσάγει εἰς Κήρυκας, φάσκων εἰναι ὑὸν αὐτοῦ. ἀντεῖπτο ὁ Καλλίδης μὴ εἰσδέξασθαι, ἐγχρίσαντο δὲ οἱ Κήρυκες κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὃς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, τὸν πατέρα

§ 125. κατελύθη pro κατεκλήθη Bait. Turr. Lipm. κατεκλύθη

§ 126. ἡκον.] ἡγον Lipm.
ομόσαντα εἰσάγειν ἡ μὴν ὅντα ἑαυτοῦ εἰσάγειν. λαβόμενος τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁμοσεὶ ἡ μὴν τοῦ παιδα ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι γνήσιον, ἐκ Χρυσιάδος γεγονότα· δὲν ἀπόλμοσε. Καὶ μοι τούτων ἀπάντων τούς μάρτυρας κάλει.

ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ.

Φέρε ἰδὴ τοίνυν, ὁ ἄνδρες, σκεψόμεθα εἰ πώποτε ἐν 128 τοῖς Ἐλληνες πράγμα τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ὅπου γυναικά τις γῆμας ἐπέγιμα τῇ θυγατρὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἐξῆλασεν ἡ μήτηρ τὴν θυγατέρα· ταύτῃ δὲ συνοικῶν βούλεται τῇ Ἐπιλύκου θυγατέρα λαβεῖν, ἵν' ἐξελάσῃ τὴν τήθην ἡ θυγατριδὴ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρή τοῦνομα θέσθαι; οἴμαι γὰρ ἔγινε γοφοῦνα ὄντος ἁγάθον εἶναι 129 λογίζεσθαι, ὅστις ἐξευρήσει τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ. τριῶν γὰρ οὐσῶν γυναικῶν αἷς συνοικηκὼς ἔσται ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, τῆς μὲν ύος ἔστιν, ὡς φησι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφός, τῆς δὲ θεῖος. τῶν ἀν εἰ ὑοῦν; Οἴδιπος, ἢ Διηνισθος; ἢ τὰ χρής αὐτὸν ὑομάσαι;

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὁ ἄνδρες, βραχὺ τῇ ὑμᾶς ἀναμηνῆσαι περί 130 Καλλίου βουλομαι. εἰ γὰρ μέμνησθε, ὅτε ἡ πόλις ἦρχε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἦδαιμονες μάλιστα, Ἰππόνικος δὲ ἦν πλουσιότατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τότε μέντοι πάντες ἔστε ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς παιδαρίοις τοῖς μικροτάτοις καὶ τοῖς γυναικῶς κληρῶν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει κατείχεν, ὅτι Ἰππόνικος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀληθήριον τρέφει, ὁς αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέψει. μέμνησθε ταῦτα, ὁ ἄνδρες. πῶς 131 οὖν ἡ φήμη ἢ τότε οὖσα δοκεῖ υἱῶν ἀποβήματι; οἰόμενος γὰρ Ἰππόνικος ὑον τρέφειν ἀληθήριον αὐτῷ ἔτρεφεν, ὁς ἀνατέρπει τῇ ἐκείνου τοῦ πλούτου, τῆς σωφροσύνης, τῶν
άλλον βίον ἀπαντα. οὕτως οὖν χρὴ περὶ τούτου γυνω-
σκειν, ὡς οὖντο Ἰππονίκου ἀληθήιοι.

132 Ἄλλα γὰρ, ὡς ἄνδρες, διὰ τὲ ποτὲ τοῖς ἐμοὶ νυνὶ
ἐπιτιθεμένοις μετὰ Καλλίου καὶ συμπαρασκευάσασι
tὸν ἁγώνα καὶ χρήματα εἰσενεγκούσιν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τρία
μὲν ἐτη ἐπιδημῶν καὶ ἦκον ἐκ Κύπρου οὐκ ἀσέβειν
ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς, μυών μὲν Ἄ... ... Δελφῶν, ἔτι δὲ
ἀλλοις ξένους ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ εἰσιὼν εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνων
καὶ θύων, ὡσπερ ἐμαυτὸν ἄξιον νομίζω εἶναι ἀλλὰ
tοῦν αὐτῶν λητουργεῖν οὐτοὶ προβάλλουσιν, πρῶτον
μὲν γυμνασίαρχον Ὁφαυστίος, ἔπευτα ἀρχιθέωρον εἰς
Ἰσθμὸν καὶ Ὀλυμπίαζε, εἶτα δὲ ταμίαν ἐν πόλει τῶν
ἰερῶν χρημάτων νῦν δὲ ἀσεβῶ καὶ ἀδικῶ εἰσιὼν εἰς τὰ

133 ἑρᾶ; ἐγὼ όμοι ἐρῶ διότι οὖτοι ταῦτα νῦν γυνωσκοῦν.
Ἀγύρριος γὰρ οὗτος, ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἀρχήγος ἐγένετο
τῆς πεντηκοστῆς τρίτων ἐτῶν, καὶ ἑπτάτοιο τρίακοντα
ταλάντων, μετέσχον δ' αὐτῶ οὕτω πάντες οἱ παρα-
συλλεγέντες ὑπὸ τὴν λεύκην, οὐς ύμεῖς ἵστε οἷοι εἰσιον
ὅτι διὰ τούτο ἐμοίγει δοκοῦσι συλλεγήσαι ἐκεῖσε, ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἀμφότερα ἢ, καὶ μὴ ὑπερβαλοῦσι λαβεῖν ἀρ-

134 γύριον καὶ ὅλου πραθείσης μετασχεῖν. κερδάναντες
δὲ τρία ταλάντα, γράντες τὸ πράγμα οἶνον εἰς, ὡς πολλοῦ
ἄξιον, συνεστησάν πᾶντες, καὶ μεταδόντες τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἐωνύντο πάλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων. ἔπει δ' οὖκ
ἀντεανεῖτο οὖδεὶς, παρελθόν ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν βουλήν ὑπερ-

§ 132. Ὁφαυστίος restituit cum Lips. Ὁφαυστείος Bl., sed cf.
C. I. A. ii. 553.

§ 133. ὑπερβαλοῦσι corr.] ὑπερβάλλουσι Steph., Lips. ὑπερ-
βάλλωσι, codd. opt., i.q. Bl.

§ 134. τρία.] ἐς R., Lips. τρία Hick., quod in not. τωο Anglice
red.
ANDOCIDES DE MYSTERIIS.

έβαλλον, ἢς ἐπιρώμην ἦξ καὶ τριάκοντα ταλάντων. ἀπελάσας δὲ τούτους καὶ καταστήσας ὑμῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἐξέλεξα τὰ χρήματα καὶ κατέβαλεν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐξημώδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ βραχέα ἀπεκερδαῖονομεν οἱ μετασχόντες τούτους ἡ ἐποίησα τῶν ὑμετέρων μὴ διανείμασθαι ἦξ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ᾧ οὗτοι γνώντες ἐδοσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λόγον, ὅτι "ἀνθρωπος οὕτως οὖν ἄντε αὐτὸς λήπηται τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων οὐθ' ἡμᾶς εἰάσει, φυλάξει δὲ καὶ ἐμποδῶν έσται διανείμασθαι τὰ κοινά' πρὸς δὲ τούτους, ἵνα ἡμῶν ἀδικοῦντα λάβητε, εἰσάξει εἰς τὸ πλήθος τὸ Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἀπολεῖ. δεὶ οὖν τούτων ἐκποδῶν ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ὅ ἀνδρεὶς δικασταί, τοῦτοι ποιήσατε ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ γε (τὸ) ἐναντίον τούτων ὅσο γὰρ πλείστους εἶναι ὑμῖν ἤθελον ἄν τοιοῦτοι οἰόστερ ἤγο, τούτους δὲ μᾶλλον (μὲν) ἀπολογεῖται, εἰ δὲ μή, εἶναι τοὺς μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντας αὐτοῖς, οἰς καὶ προσήκει ἀνδράσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δικαίοις περὶ τὸ πλήθος τὸ ὑμετέρον, καὶ βουλόμενοι δυνησθοῦνται εἰς ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς. εἰγὼ οὖν ὑμῖν ὑπισχύομαι ἣ παύσειν τούτους ταῦτα ποιοῦντας καὶ βελτίως παρέξειν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσαγαγὼν κολάσεων τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτῶν.

Κατηγόρησαν δὲ μον καὶ περὶ τῶν ναυκληρῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμπορίας, ὃς ἁρα οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τούτο με ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων σώσειν, ἢν ἐλθὼν δεύρο, ὡς ἔοικες, ὑπὸ Κηφισίου ἀπολοίμην. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐκ ἠξίω τῶς θεοὺς τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχειν, ὡστ' εἰ ἐνόμιζομ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, λαμβανοῦντάς με ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις

κινδύνους μὴ τιμωρεῖσθαι τὰς γὰρ κίνδυνος μείζων ἀνθρώπων ἢ χειμῶνος ὀρα τὴν θάλατταν; ἐν οἷς ἔχουσι μὲν τὸ σῶμα τουμόν, κρατούντες δὲ τὸ βίον καὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς ἔμης, εἶναι ἐσφύζον; οὐκ εἳ ἄντων ποιησάμενοι μηδὲ ταφῆς τὸ σῶμα ἀξιωθῆναι; ἐτι δὲ πολέμου γενομένου καὶ τριήρων ἀεὶ κατὰ θάλατταν οὐσών καὶ ληστῶν, ὑφ’ ὀν πολλοὶ ληφθέντες, ἀπολέσαντες τὰ ὑπότα, δουλεύοντες τὸν βίον διετέλεσαν, οὐσῆς δὲ χώρας βαρβάρου, εἰς ὁ πολλοὶ ἦδη ἐκπεσόντες αἰκίας ταῖς μεγίσταις περιέπεσον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σώματα αἰκισθέντες ἀπέθανον,—εἰτα οἱ μὲν θεοὶ ἐκ τοσούτων κινδύνων ἐσφύζον με, σφόν δὲ αὐτῶν προὔπησαντο τιμωροῦ γενέσθαι Κηφήσιον τοῦ ποιητῶν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὃν οὐτὸς φησὶ πολίτης εἰναι οὐκ ἰν, ὃ οὐδ’ ὑμῶν τῶν καθημένων οὐδεὶς ἀν ἐπιτρέψειν οὐδέν τῶν ἱδίων, εἰδὼς τούτων ὁδὸς ἐστίν; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἡγοῦμαι χρήναι νομίζειν τοὺς τοιούτους κινδύνους ἀνθρωπίνους, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν θέιους. ἐξεπε οὖν δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὑπονοεῖν, πάνω ἄν αὐτῶν οἴμαι ἐγὼ οργίζεσθαι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν, εἰ τοὺς ὑφ’ ἐαυτῶν σφεκομένους ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλυμένους ὀρέην.

Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμων ἄξιον, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἐνθυμηθήναι, ὅτι νυνὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησπόν ἄνδρες ἐριστοὶ καὶ εὐβοι-λότατοι δοκεῖτε γεγενήσθαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν τραπέ-μενοι τῶν γεγενημένων, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τῶν πολιτῶν. συμφοραὶ μὲν γὰρ ἴδῃ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἐγέρνοντο οὖν ἐλάττους ἢ καὶ ἰμῆν τὸ δὲ τὰς γενομένας διαφορὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους θέσθαι καλῶς,
καὶ δεκαεύμονας ἀνήρ τῶν ἡγαθῶν καὶ σωφρόνων ἔργων εἶναι. ἐπειδή τοίνυν παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογομένως ταῦθ' ὤμων ὑπάρχει, καὶ εἰ τις φίλος δὲν τυγχάνει καὶ εἰ τις ἐχθρός, μη μεταγνώτε, μηδὲ βούλεσθε τὴν πόλιν ἀποστερήσατε ταύτης τῆς δόξης, μηδὲ αὐτοὶ δοκεῖν τύχη ταύτα μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμης ψηφίσασθαι.

Δέομαι οὖν ἀπάντατον (ὑμῶν) περὶ ἐμοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς 141 γνώμην ἔχειν, ἢπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων, ἵνα κἂν ἐγκείνησθαι ἐκείνους μημήσασθαι, ἀναμνησθέντας αὐτῶν ὧν ὄμοι τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις ἀγαθῶν αἰτίοις τῇ πόλει γεγονέναι, πολλῶν ἕνεκα σφᾶς αὐτοῦς παρέχοντες τοιούτους, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς εἰς ύμᾶς εὔνοιας, καὶ ὅπως, εἰ ποτε τις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν εὖ ἐκείνων τινὶ κίνδυνοι γένοιτο ἡ συμφορά, σφῶνουτο συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν τυγχάνοντες. εἰκότως δ' ἂν αὐτῶν μεμηχθῇ 142 καὶ γὰρ τῇ πόλει ἀπάση αἱ τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων ἀρεταὶ πλείστου ἄξιαι ἐγένοντο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς, αἱ νῆς διεφθάρησαν, πολλῶν βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν ἀνηκέςτοις συμφοραῖς περιβάλειν. Δακεδαιμονίου ἐγνωσαν ὅμως τὸτε ἔχθροι ὄντες σάζειν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς, δι' ὑπήρχαν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπάση τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐσώθη 143 δημοσίᾳ διὰ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀρετὰς, ὧξιὸ κἂν διὰ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἐμῶν ἀρετὰς σωτηρίαν γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, δι' ἀπερ ἡ πόλις ἐσώθη, οὖν ἐλάχιστον μέρος οἱ ἐμοὶ πρόγονοι συνεβάλοντο. ὡς ἔνεκα καὶ ἐμοὶ δίκαιον ὑμᾶς μεταδοῦναι τῆς σωτηρίας, ἢπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐτύχετε.

Σκέψασθε τοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ἀν με σώσητε, οἷον ἔξετε πολίτην ὃς πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ πλούτου, ὡσον ὑμεῖς ἤστε, οὐ δὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἂλλα διὰ τὰς τῆς πόλεως συμφορὰς εἰς πενίαν πολλὴν καὶ ἀπορίαν κατέστην, ἔστεια δὲ καίνον βίον ἐιργασάμην ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τοῖν χεροῖν τοῖν ἐμαυτοῦ. ἐτὶ δὲ εἰδότα μὲν οἴον ἔστι πόλεως τοιαύτης πολίτην εἶναι, εἰδότα δὲ οἴον ἔστι ξένον εἶναι καὶ μέτοικον ἐν τῇ τῶν πλησίον, ἐπιστάμενον δὲ οἴον τὸ σωφρονεῖν καὶ ὀρθῶς βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπιστάμενον δ᾿ οἴον τὸ ἀμαρτόντα πρᾶξαι κακῶς, πολλοῖς συγγενέοις καὶ πλείστων πειραθεῖς, ἀφ’ ὧν ἔμοι ξέναι καὶ φιλότητες πρὸς πολλοῖς καὶ βασιλέας καὶ πόλεως καὶ ἄλλους ἴδια ξένους γεγένηται, ἕν ἐμὲ σωσάστες μεθέξετε, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν χρήσασι τούτοις, ὅπου ἂν ἐν 146 καιρῷ τι ὑμῖν γένηται. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτως· εάν με νῦν διαφθείρετε, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἐτί λοιπὸς τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἡμετέρου οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ’ ὀξύται ταῖς πρόρριξιν. καίτοι οὐκ ὑμεῖς ὑμῖν ἔστιν ἡ Ἀνδοκίδου καὶ Δεσωγόρου οἰκία οὕσα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸτ’ ἦν ὑμεῖς, δι’ ἐμοῦ φεύγοντος Κλεοφῶν αὐτήν ὁ λυροποιὸς ἄκει. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτις πῶστε ὑμῶν παρὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀνεμισθῇ ἡ ἰδία τι ἡ δημοσία 147 κακοῦ παθῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων, δι’ πλείστασι μὲν στρατηγήσαντες στρατηγίας πολλὰ τρόπαια τῶν πολεμών καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑμῖν ἀπεδείξαν, πλείστασι δὲ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀρξαντες καὶ χρήματα διαχειρίζαντες τὰ ὑμέτερα οὐδένα πῶστε ὄφλοιν, οὐδ’ ἡμάρτηται

οὐδὲν οὔτε ἦμιν εἰς ὑμᾶς οὔτε ὑμίν εἰς ὑμᾶς, οἰκία δὲ πασῶν ἀρχαιοτάτη καὶ κοινοτάτη ἀεὶ τῷ δεομένῳ. οὔδ' ἔστιν ὅπου ἐκείνων τις τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταστᾶς εἰς ἀγώνα ἀπῆτησεν ὑμᾶς χάριν τοῦτον τῶν ἔργων. μὴ τοίνυπ, εἴ 148 αὐτοὶ τεθνάσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς ἐπιλάθησε, ἀλλ' ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν ἔργων νομίσατε τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὅραν αὐτουμένων ἐμὲ παρ' ὑμῶν σώσαι. τίνα γὰρ καὶ ἀναβιβάσσωμαι δεσομένου ὕπ' ἐμαυτοῦ; τὸν πατέρα; ἀλλὰ τέθνηκεν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς; ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶν. ἀλλὰ τῶν παῖδας; ἀλλ' οὔπω γεγένηται. ὑμεῖς τοίνυπ καὶ ἀντὶ πατρὸς ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀντὶ 149 ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀντὶ παῖδων γένεσθε εἰς ὑμᾶς καταφεύγω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ καὶ ἰκετευόμενοι ὑμεῖς με παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντισώμενοι σώσατε, καὶ μὴ βούλεσθε Θεταλοὺς καὶ Ἀνδρίους πολίτας ποιεῖσθαι δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ ὄντας πολίτας ὁμολογομένως, οίς προσήκει ἀνδράσιν ὑγαθοῖς εἶναι καὶ βουλόμενοι δυνῆσονται, τούτους δὲ ἀπόλλυτε. μὴ δήτα. ἐπευτα καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῶν δέομαι, εὔ ποιών ὑμᾶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμᾶσθαι. ὡστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν πειθόμενοι οὐκ ἀποστερεῖσθε εἴ τι ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ὑμᾶς εὔ ποιεῖν εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῖς ἔχοροῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖς πεισθήτε, οὐδ' ἀν ὑστέρφ χρόνῳ ὑμῖν μεταμελήσῃ, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον ποιήσετε. μὴ τοίνυπ μὴθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ 150 ἐλπίδων ἀποστερήσητε μὴτ' ἐμὲ τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς. ἄξιοὶ δ' ἤγγισε τούτους οὕτως ὑμῖν ἄρετής ἢδη τῆς μεγίστης εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον ἐλεγχον ἔδωσαν, ἀναβάντας ἐνταυθοὶ συμβουλεύοντες ὑμῖν ἀ γνωσκοῦσιν περὶ ἐμοῦ. Δεύτερο Ἀνυτε, Κέφαλε, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐφημένοι μοι συνδικεῖν, Θράσυλλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΑΣΣΟΤ ΚΑΘΩΔΟΤ.

1 Εἰ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐν ἔτερῳ τῷ πράγματι οἱ παριόντες μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχοντες πάντες ἐφαίνοντο, οὐδὲν αὐτὸν θαυμαστόν ἐνόμιζον· ὅποι μέντοι δὲ τῷ πόλει ἐμὲ τῷ ποιῆσαι ἄγαθον, ἢ εἰ τῇς ἐτέρας θυσίας ἐμοῦ κακῶν, δεινότατον ἀπάντων χρημάτων ἤγγισεν, εἴ τὸ μὲν δοκεῖ ταῦτα τῷ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ μὴ πᾶσιν ἀκούσας. Ἐπερ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἀπάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων κοινὴ ἐστί, καὶ τὰ 2 ψυχρόμενα δήποτε ἄγαθα τῇ πόλει κοινὰ ἐστὶ. τοῦτο τὸν τὸ μέγα καὶ δεινὸν πάρεστιν ὑμῖν ὁρᾶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πράττοντος, τοὺς δὲ τάχα μέλλοντας· καὶ μοι μέγιστον θαῦμα παρέστηκε, τὸ ποτὲ οὕτως οἱ ἄνδρες δεινῶς οὕτως περικάλλονται, εἰ τῇ μᾶς χρή ἄγαθον ἐμοῦ ἐπαιρέσθαι. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἢτοι ἀμαθεστάτους εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡ τῇ πόλει ταύτη δυσμενεστάτους. εἰ μὲν γε νομίζοντι τῆς πόλεως εὐ πρατησοῦσα καὶ τὰ ἱδία σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄμεινον ἀν φέρεσθαι, ἀμαθεστάτοι 3 εἰς τὰ ἔναντία νῦν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ὁφελείᾳ σπεύδουντες· εἰ


περικάλλονται.
δὲ μὴ ταύτα ἐγγὺς τα σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς συμφέρειν καὶ τῷ ὕμετέρῳ κομν., δυσμενεῖς ἄν τῇ πόλει εἰεν' οὖτινε εἰσαγείζοντος μου ἀπόρρητα εἰς τὴν βούλην περὶ [τῶν] πραγμάτων, δὲν ἀποτελεσθέντων οὐκ εἰσί τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ μείζους ὀφέλειαν, καὶ τούτων ἀποδεικνύντως μον τοῖς Βουλευταῖς σαφεῖς τε καὶ βεβαιός τας ἀποδείξεις, ἕκει μὲν οὔτε τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ παραγενόμενοι ἐλέγχουντες οἰοί τῷ ἥσαν ἀποδείξας εἰ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἐλέγετο, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, ἐνθάδε δὲ οὐν πειρώντας διαβάλλειν. σημεῖον οὖν τοῦτο ὅτι οὐτοί οὐκ ἀφ᾽ αὐτῶν ταύτα πράττουσιν—εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀν τότε ἦμαν τινῷ—ἀλλ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρων, οἰοί εἰσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, οὐδενοὶ ἀν χρήματος δεξάμενοι ύμᾶς τῇ ἀγαθῇ ἐξ ἐμοῦ πρᾶξαι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὗτοι οἱ ἀνδρεῖς οὐ τολμῶσι σφας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ μέσον καταστήσαντες διυισχυρίζεσθαι περὶ τούτων, φοβούμεναι ἐλέγχου διδόναι εἰ τι εἰς ύμᾶς τυχαίνουσι μὴ εὐθυγονίης ἐτέρους δὲ εἰσπέμπουσι, τουτούς ἀνθρώπους οἰς εἰςισμενοὶ ἤδη ἀναισχυντεύον οὐδὲν διαφέρει εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἄκουσαι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν. τὸ δ᾽ ἰσχυρόν τοῦτο μόνον 5 έφοι τις ἀν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, τὰς ἔμα πολυμορφῶς ἐπὶ παντὶ ὀνειδίζειν, καὶ ταύτα ἐν εἰδοσί δήτοι κάλλος ύμῖν, ὡστε ηὑτοὶ ἀν τούτων δικαίως τιμήν αυτοῖς τινα φέρειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, καὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ τούτῳ εἰπόντι ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ εἰρήσθαι, ὅτι πάντες ἀνθρώποι γύγνονται ἐπὶ τῷ εὑ καὶ κακῶς πράττειν, μεγάλη δὲ δήτοι καὶ

6 τὸ ἐξαμαρτεῖν δυσπραξία ἐστί, καὶ εἰςὶν εὔτυχέστατοι μὲν οἱ ἐλάχιστα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, σωφρονέστατοι δὲ ὅ ἂν τάχιστα μεταγγυνώσκοσι. καὶ ταύτα οὐ διακέκριται τοὺς μὲν γύνεσθαι τοὺς δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' ἐστίν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ πάσιν ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἐξαμαρτεῖν τι καὶ κακῶς πράξαι. δὲν ἔνεκα, ὅ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἀνθρωπίνως περὶ ἐμοῦ γυνώσκοντε, εἰπτε ἂν ἄνδρες εὐγνωμονέστεροι. οὐ γὰρ φθόνον μᾶλλον ὁ οἰκτοῦ ἀξιά μοι ἐστι

7 τὰ γεγενημένα ὅς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἠλθον [τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ] δυσδαμονίας, εἶτε χρή εἰπεῖν νεότητι τε καὶ ἀυλα (τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ), εἴτε καὶ δυνάμει τῶν πεισάντων με ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοιαύτην συμφορὰν τῶν φρενῶν, ὡστ' ἀνάγκην μοι γενέσθαι δυοῖν κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων θάτερον ἑλέσθαι, ἡ μὴ βουληθεῖντε κατευθεῖν τοὺς ταύτα ποιήσαντας οὐ περὶ ἐμοῦ μόνου ὄρρωδεῖν, εἴ τι ἐδει παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καί τὸν πατέρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα σὺν ἐμαυτῷ ἀποκτείναι— ὅπερ ἀνάγκη παθεῖν ἢν αὐτῷ, εἴ ἐγὼ μὴ βουλόμην ταύτα ποιῆσαι—, ἡ κατευθύντι τὰ γεγενημένα αὐτῶν μὲν ἀφεθέντα μὴ τεθνάναι, τοῦ δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ πατρὸς μὴ φονεά γενέσθαι. τὸ δ' ἂν οὐ πρὸ γε τούτου τολμήσειν

8 ἀνθρωπός ποιήσαι; ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν παρώνων εἰλόμην ταύτα, ἃ ἐμοὶ μὲν λύπας ἐπὶ χρόνων πλεῖστον οἴσειν ἔμελλεν, ὥμων δὲ ταχύστην τοῦ παρώνως τότε κακοῦ μετάστασιν. ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ ἐν οἴρῳ κινδύνῳ τε καὶ ἀμηχανία καθέστατε, καὶ ὅτι οὐτώ σφόδρα σφᾶς

(τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ) a duodamonia trasnuti cum Frohberg., id quod probant Eriks., Lips.
§ 8. ἐξήεστε corr. Lips.] ἐξήετε.
αὐτοῦς ἐπεφόβησθε, ὥστ' οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι ἔξηγε, ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν οἶμονος συλληφθῆσθαι. ταῦτα τόλμων δὲτε μὲν γενέσθαι τοιαῦτα, πολλοστὸν ὅτι τι ἐγὼ μέρος τῆς αὐτίας ηὐρέθην ἔχων, ὡστε μὲντοι παυθῆναι, ἐγὼ εἰς ὃν μόνος αὐτίος. καὶ ὃμως τὸ γε δυστυχέστατος εἶναι ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμὴ ἐκφεύγω, ὥστε δὴ προαιρομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ ταύτας τάς συμφορᾶς οὐδεὶς ἐμὸν ἡρχετο γύρνεσθαι δυσδαιμονότερος, μεθισταμένης δὲ τίλων εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀπάντων ἐγὼ ἄθλωστατος. ὁμων γὰρ κακῶν τοσοῦτον τῇ πόλει ἄδικατον ὑμ ταύτα ἰαθῆναι ἄλλως ἦ τῷ ἐμῷ αἴσχρῷ, ὥστ' ἐν αὐτῷ ὑγίει κακῶς ἐπράττων, ἐν τούτῳ ὑμᾶς σφέσεσθαι. χάριν οὖν εἰκός με, οὐ μίσος τῷ δυστυχήματι τούτῳ φέρεσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν.

Καίτοι ἐγὼ τότε αὐτὸς γνοὺς τὰς ἔμαντον συμφορὰς, ὃ τινι κακῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τι ἀπεγένετο, τὰ μὲν παρανοΐα τῇ ἔμαντοι, τὰ δ' ἀνάγκη τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἐγνων ἡδιστῶν εἶναι πράττειν τοιαύτα καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι ἐκεῖ, ὅπου ἦκιστα μέλλοιμι ὀφθησεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρόνῳ ἠστέρων εἰσήλθέ μοι, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἐπιθυμία τῆς τε μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτείας ἐκείνης καὶ διαίτης, ἐξ ἦς δευρί μετέστην, ἐγνων λυσιτελεῖν μοι ἦ τοῦ βίου ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἢ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἀγαθὸν τι τοσοῦτον ἐργάσασθαι, ὡστε ὑμῶν οὖν τότε τοῦτοι οὖν τοῦ σώματος οὖν τῶν ὑμῶν εἰμὶ ἐφεισάμην, ὅπου ἔδει παρακινδυνεῖν ἀλλ'
αὐτίκα μὲν τότε εἰσήγαγον εἰς στρατιὰν ὑμῶν οὕτων ἐν 
Σίμωρ κωπέας, τῶν τετρακοσίων ἤδη τὰ πρώγματα 
ἐνθάδε κατεληφότοι, οὗτος μοι Ἀρχελάου ξένου πα-
τρικοῦ καὶ διδόντος τέμνεσθαι τε καὶ ἐξώγεσθαι ὑπόσους 
ἔβουλόμην. τούτους τε εἰσήγαγον τοὺς κωπέας, καὶ 
παρόν μοι πέντε δραχμῶν τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν δέξασθαι 
οὐκ ἠθέλησα πράξασθαι πλέον ἣ ὅσον ἔμοι κατέστησαν,

12 εἰσήγαγον δὲ σίτον τε καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες 
ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τούτων παρασκευασμένοι εὑνίκησαν μετὰ ταύτα 
Πελοπονησίων ναυμαχούντες, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην 
μόνοι ἀνθρώπων ἔσωσαν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ. εἰ τοῖς 
μεγάλων ὑγαθῶν αἰτία ὑμᾶς εἰργάσαντο ἐκείνοι, μέρος 
ἐγὼ οὐκ ἤν ἐλάχιστον δικαίως ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας 
ἐχομεν. εἰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις τότε ἐπιτήδεια 
μὴ εἰσήχθη, οὐ περὶ τοῦ σώσαι τὰς Ἀθηναίας ὁ κίνδυνος 
ἡν αὐτοῖς μάλλον ἢ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ αὐτοῦς σωθῆναι.

13 Τούτων τοῖνοι οὕτως ἔχοντον οὐκ ὁλίγον μοι παρὰ 
γνώμην ὑπέρθη τὰ ἐνταῦθα πρῶγματα ἔχοντα. κατ-
ἐπλευσα μὲν γὰρ ὅσ ἐπανενεσόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνθάδε 
προθυμίας τε ἐνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῶν ὑπερήφων πραγ-
μάτων πυθόμενοι δὲ τινὲς μὲ ἡκοῦντα τῶν τετρακοσίων 
ἐχότουν τε παραχρῆμα, καὶ λαβούντες ἠγαγον εἰς τὴν

14 βουλήν. εὖθεν δὲ παραστάς μοι Πείσανδρος "ἄνδρες" 
ἐφ’ "βουλευταί, ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτον ἐνδεικνύω ὑμῖν 
οὕτω τε εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσαγωγόντα καὶ κωπέας."
καὶ τὸ πρῶγμα ἦδη πᾶν διηγεῖτο ὡς ἐπέπρακτο. ἐν δὲ 
tῷ τότε τὰ ἐναντία φρονοῦντες δήλοι ἦσαν ἦδη οἱ ἐπὶ

στρατιαῖς ὅτες τοῖς τετρακοσίοις. καὶ γὰρ, θάρυσσος γὰρ 15
dὴ τοιοῦτος ἐγίνετο τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνετο ἀπολούμενος, εὐθὺς προσπήδῳ πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν καὶ
λαμβάνομαι τῶν ἱερῶν. ὅπερ μοι καὶ πλείστουν ἄξιον
ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τότε εἰς ἡπείρος ἑχοῦσα ὁνείδη
οὕτω ἐμὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσίκασί κατελεῖσαι,
βουληθέντων τε αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι μὲ οὕτω ἔσαν οἱ
diασώσαντες. δεσμὰ τε ὑπεροῦ καὶ κακὰ ὅσα τε καὶ
οὰ τῷ σώματι ἤνεσχόμην, μακρὸν ἂν εἰη μοι λέγειν.
οὐ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔμαυτον ἀπωλοφυράμην ὅστις τοῦτο 16
μὲν ἐν ὧ ἔδόκει δὴ ὁ ὅμοις κακοῦσθαι, ἐγὼ ἀντὶ τοῦτο
κακὰ εἶχον, τούτο δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐφαίνετο εὑ ὑπὲρ
ἐμοῦ πεπονθός, πάλιν αὐ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ἀπωλλύμην ὡστε
όδον τε καὶ πόρον μηδαμῇ ἔτε εἰναὶ μοι εὐθαρσεῖν
ὅποι γὰρ τραπεῖμην, πάντωδεν κακὸν τι μοι ἐφαίνετο
ἀτοιμαζόμενον. ἂλλ' ὅμοις καὶ ἐκ τοῦτων τοιούτων
ἀντων ἀπαλλαγεῖς οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι ἑτερον ἔργον περὶ
πλείστων ἐποιοῦμην ἥ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἀγαθὸν τι
ἐργάσασθαι.

'Ορᾶν δὲ χρή, ὁ Ἄθηναιοι, ὅσο φα τα τοιαύτα τῶν 11
ὑπουργημάτων διαφέρει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὅσοι τῶν πολι-
tῶν τὰ ὑμέτερα πρόγματα διαχειρίζοντες ἄργοριον
ὑμῖν ἐκπορίζουσιν, ἀλλὸ τι ἢ τὰ ὑμέτερα υμὲν διδάσαι;
tοῦτο δὲ ὅσοι στρατηγοὶ γενόμενοι καλῶν τὴν πόλιν
κατεργάζονται, τι ἄλλο ἡ μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὑμετέρων
σωμάτων ταλαιπωρίας τε καὶ κινδύνων, καὶ έτε τῶν

κοινῶν χρημάτων δαπάνης, ποιοῦσιν ύμᾶς εἰ τι τυχεράνουσιν ἄγαθον; ἐν ὧ καὶ ἀν τι ἐξαμαρτωσιν, οὐκ αὐτόι τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν ἀμαρτίας δικήν διδοσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνων ἡμαρτημένων. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτωι στεφανοῦνται γε υφ' ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνακηρύσσονται ὡς ὄντες ἀνδρεῖς ἄγαθοι. καὶ οὐκ ἐρῶ ὡς οὐ δικαῖος μεγάλη γάρ ἔστιν ἀρετή, δοσὶς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πόλιν ὅποιον δύναται τρόπῳ ἄγαθον τι ἐργάζεσθαι. ἀλλ' σὺν γεγονό- σκεῖν γε χρὴ ὅτι ἐκείνοις ἂν εἰ ἡ πολὺ πλεῖστον ἄξιος ἀνήρ, δοσὶς τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ παρακινδυνεύων χρήματι τε καὶ σώματι τολμήθη ἄγαθον τι ποιεῖν τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ πολίτας.

19 Ἐμοὶ τούνω τὰ μεν ἡδή εἰς ύμᾶς πεπραγμένα σχεδὸν τι ἀπαντεῖς ἄν εἰδείτε, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντά τε καὶ ἡδή πρατ-τόμενα ἀνδρεῖς ύμῶν πεντακόσιοι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἱσασιν, ἡ βουλή ὅπο τολλῷ δήποτε εἰκὸς ἦτοιν ἄν τι ἐξαμαρ-τεῖν, ἢ εἰ ύμᾶς δέοι ἀκούσαστάς τι ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα τοῦ διαβουλεύσασθαι. οἱ μὲν γε σχολὴ περὶ τῶν εἰσαγγελλόμενων σκοποῦνται, ὑπάρχει τε αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν τι ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, αἰτιάν ἔχειν καὶ λόγον αἰσχρόν τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ύμῶν δὲ οὐκ εἰςων ἔτεροι υφ' ἄν αἰτιάν (ἀν) ἔχοιετε τὰ γάρ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐφ' ύμῶν δικαίως ἐστὶ καὶ εὗ καὶ κακῶς, εἰπεν βούλησθε, διαθέσθαι. 20 ἂ γε μέντοι ἐξω τῶν ἀπορρητῶν οἶνον τῆς μοι ἐστὶν εἰπείν εἰς ύμᾶς ἡδὴ πεπραγμένα, ἀκούσασθε. ἐπίστασθε γάρ που ὁς ἡγεῖθη ύμῖν ὃ δι' οὐ μέλλει ἐκ Κύπρου σύνος

§ 19. εἰδείτε corr. Lips.] εἰδείτη
(ἀν) post δὲν inser. Lips.
δὲ εἰς τειάνθη ἑγὼ τοῖς τοιούτοις τε καὶ τοσοῦτος ἐγενόμην, ὡστε τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ταῦτα βουλεύσαντας ἐφ’ ὑμῖν καὶ πράξαντας ψευδήναι τῆς αὐτῶν γνώμης. καὶ ὡς μὲν ταῦτα διεπράξθη, οὐδὲν προοργοῦ ἀκούσαι 21 ὑμῖν τὰ δὲ νυνὶ βούλημα ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι αἱ (μὲν) μέλλουσαι νῆς ἡδη συναγωγῇ καταπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ εἰσὶν ὑμῖν τέτταρες καὶ δέκα, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχθεισῶν ἤξουσιν ἀθρόαι οὐ πολὺ ύστερον. ἐδεξάμην δ’ (ἀν) ἀντί πάντων χρημάτων εἰναι ἐν ἀσφαλείν φράσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ εἰσῆγγειλα, ὅπως αὐτὸθεν προήδειτε. νῦν δὲ 22 ἐκείνα μὲν τὸτε ὅταν ἀποτελεσθῇ γνώσεσθε ἀμα καὶ ὑφεληθήσεσθε νῦν δὲ, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μοι βουληθεῖτε δοῦναι χάριν μικρὰν τε καὶ ἀπογον ὑμῖν καὶ ἁμα δικαίαν, πάντα ἂν μοι τούτο ἐν μεγάλῃ ἡδονῇ γένοιτο. ὡς δὲ καὶ δικαῖα ἐστίν, εἰσεσθε. ἃ γὰρ μοι αὐτοὶ γνώντες τε καὶ ὑποσχόμενοι ἐδοτε, ύστερον δὲ ἐτέροις πειθόμενοι ἀφελεσθε, ταυθ’ ὑμᾶς, εἰ μὲν βουλεσθε, αἰτῶ, εἰ δὲ μη βουλεσθε, ἀπαιτώ. ὅρω δὲ ὑμᾶς πολ-23 λάκις καὶ δούλους ἄνθρωποις καὶ ξένους παντοδαποῖς πολιτείαν διδόντας τε καὶ εἰς χρήματα μεγάλας ὁρεάς, ἵνα ὑμᾶς φαίνωνται ποιοῦντες τι ἀγαθὸν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ὀρθῶς ὑμεῖς φρονοῦντες δίδοτε οὕτω γὰρ Ἰν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἄνθρωπων εὑ πάσχουτε. ἑγὼ τοῖς τοιούτῳ ὑμῶν μόνον δέομαι τὸ ψῆφισμα ὁ Μενίσπου ἐπόντος ἐψηφίσασθε, εἰναὶ μοι ἁδειαν, πάλιν ἀπόδοτε.


G
ἀναγνώστει δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτῷ ἐτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

24 Τοιτὶ τὸ ψῆφισμα ὁ ἱκουσάτε ψηφισάμενοι μοι, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερον ἀφέελεσθε χάριν ἐτέρῳ φέροντες. πείθεσθε οὖν μοι, καὶ ἢδη παύσασθε εἰ τῷ ὑμῶν διάβολον τι ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ παρέστηκεν. εἰ γὰρ ὁσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι (τῇ) γνώμη ἀμαρτάνουσι, τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν μὴ αἰτίων ἔστω, ἐμοὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τυγχάνει ταύτων ἔτι ὅν, ὅπερ τῆς αἰτίας ἀπήλλακται, ἢ δὲ γνώμη ἀντὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐτέρᾳ νῦν παρέστηκεν. αὐτὲν οὖν ἔτι ὑπολείπεται ὅτι ἂν μοι δικαίως διαβε-

25 βλήσθη, ὁσπερ δὲ τῆς τότε ἀμαρτίας τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων σημεῖα ἔφατε χρήναι πιστότατα ποιούμενοι κακῶν με ἄνδρα ἰγκείθαι, οὔτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ νῦν εὐνοίᾳ μὴ ἤχθετε ἐτέραν βάσανον ἢ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν νυν ἔργων σημεῖα ὑμῖν γνηρόμενα. τοὺς δὲ μοι προσήκει ταύτα

26 μᾶλλον ἐκείνου καὶ τῷ γένει συνηθέστερα ἐστι. τάδε γὰρ οὐ ψευσαμένη μοι λαθείν οἶν τ' ἐστὶ τοὺς γε πρεσβυτέρους ὑμῶν, ὅτι ο τού ἐμοῦ πατρὸς πάππος Δεωγόρας στασιάζας πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου, ἔξον αὐτῷ διαλλαχθέντι τῆς ἔχθρας καὶ γενομένῳ κηδεσθῇ ἄρξαι μετ' ἑκείνων τῶν ἄνδρῶν τῆς πόλεως, εἰλετο μᾶλλον ἐκπεσεῖν μετὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ φεύγων κακοπαθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ προδότης αὐτῶν καταστήναι. ὡστ' ἔμουγε καὶ διὰ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα εἰκότος ὑπάρχει δημοτικῷ εἶναι, ἐπερ τῇ ἄλλᾳ νῦν γε φρονῶν τυγχάνω. ὅν καὶ ἕνεκα εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔδω
χρηστός δὲν ἀνήρ εἰς ὑμᾶς φαίνωμαι, προθυμότερὸν μου ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ πραττόμενα. τὸ δὲ δόντας ἐμοὶ 27 τὴν ἄδειαν ἀφελέσθαι ὑμᾶς, εὑρίσκετε ὅτι οὐδεπώποτε ἡγανάκτησα· ὃποι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνδρων τούτων αὐτοὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπείσθητε τὰ μέγιστα ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὡστε ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς δουλείαν ἀλλάξασθαι, ἐκ δημοκρατίας δυναστείᾳ καταστῆσαντες, τί ἂν τις ὑμῶν θαυμάξω καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ εἰ τι ἐπείσθητε ἐξαμαρτεῖν; βουλοῖμη μὲν ἂν, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν 28 πράγμασιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐξουσίαν ἐλάβετε, τὰς τῶν ἐξαιτητῆσαντός ὑμᾶς ἀκόροις ἔθετε βουλάς, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ὧν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐπείσθητε γνῶναι τὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον, ἀτελῆ τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι, καὶ μήτε ἐν τούτῳ μήτε ἐν ἐτέρῳ τῷ τοῖς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐχθίστοις ὀμόψηφοι ποτὲ γένησθαι.
** The references to classical authors are given according to the Teubner series, with the exception of Demosthenes de F. L., which is cited according to the sections of Bekker's Oxford Edition, on account of Shilleto's notes.
NOTES.

I.
DE MYSTERIIS.

Περὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων. The speech is always cited by this title, but Harp. s. v. ζητητής quotes Α. περὶ τῆς ἐνδείξεως. Pseud.-Plut. Vit. And. § 13-14 enumerates the speeches of Α. thus: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενον περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων εἰςίν, οἱ δὲ καθόδου δεομένου, σφίζεται δ’ αὐτῶι καὶ ο περὶ τῆς ἐνδείξεως λόγος καὶ ἀπολογία πρὸς Φαιάκα καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. Blass believes this is a blunder, and thinks the περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων and περὶ τῆς ἐνδείξεως are identical. Dr. Jebb, with Sauppe, considers them distinct, for (1) Pseud.-Plut. expressly distinguishes them, and could not make such an absurd blunder. [But, as the author of the Life stands convicted of considering Α. identical with his grandfather of the same name (see § 146), and of applying words used by Α. of himself to Leogoras, his father, we cannot lay much stress on this argument.] (2) [Lys.] 6 § 30 says των informations had been laid against Α. in the same year; the speech περὶ τῆς ἐν. probably answered the first indictment.

Μυστηρίων. The Mysteries were supposed to have been founded by Demeter, when she visited Eleusis in search of her daughter Persephone. Strict secrecy was enjoined on the μύσται, so that the exact nature of the rites is unknown. See C. R. Kennedy, Appendix to Demosth. on 'Athenian Festivals.' See Notes on § 110 and § 120; Isocr. 4 § 28.

§§ 1-10. Proem. A large part is taken from a collection of προοίμια, and occurs also in Lysias and Isocrates; cf. also the opening §§ of Demosth. de F. L.

§ 1. παρασκευήν. In Lys. 19 § 2, where this passage occurs again, the ἀπερία of the speaker is contrasted with his opponent's παρασκευή, cf. Lys. 30 § 4; Dem. 27 § 2, which passage is imitated from
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Isaeus 8 § 5, ἔστι μὲν οὖν χαλεπῶς πρὸς παρασκευά λόγων καὶ μάρτυρας οὐ τάλαθη μαρτυροῦντας εἰς ἄγωνα καθίστασθαι περὶ τηλικοίνων, παντάπασιν ἀπείρως ἔχοντα δικαστηρίων. The word has an invidious sense, implying the use of unfair means; cf. § 132 note. The contrast of π. with ἀπείρως was a commonplace with forensic speakers. A. wishes the jury to mark at the outset that a plot has been formed to ruin him, and break through the Amnesty; cf. Dem. 57 § 11 of τούτῳ παρασκευαζόμενοι, for which of τούτῳ συνεστῶτες is presently substituted. Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 1.

εἰ δρῆς with παρασκευήματι et συνήθει.

σχεδὸν τι πάντες, de Red. § 19.

περὶ τοιῶν. Kühner Gr. § 467, 7. οὖνος, οὖνος, τοιῶνος, τοιῶνος refer to what precedes: δε, δε, τοιῶνος, τηλικόδε to what follows. But the first fairly often refer to what follows. (See § 20 note.) Far less frequently the second refer to what precedes. (See § 25, δε.) See also Shilleto on Thuc. 1, 31.

λόγους παράστασις. For this Lys. 19 § 2 in the corresponding passage has λέγειν: cf. below § 6. Any verb may be resolved into παρασκευά with a noun.

χαρίσεθαι ερωτευτικ of ῥάδια, as τυχεῖν of ἀξία. For the antithesis here, cf. de Red. § 22.

§ 2. ἡκώ, 'am here.' Cf. Dem. 23, § 1; below § 105.

παραστάται, 'to remain on the spot.' Thuc. 5, 114; 6, 47. A. several times uses ὑπομένειν (§§ 3, 4, 9, 19, 21) = 'to remain at one's post,' or 'to stay and face danger,' either with or without Accus. of the danger to be faced. Cf. Thuc. 7, 23 and 42, and often [Lys.] 20 § 6, Isoc. 17 § 55, ib. 19 § 26. Hence υ. is sometimes contrasted with φεύγειν, as below § 4 and 19. Cf. Lys. 13 § 27 and 63; sometimes coupled with καρπεῖν (see L. & S.) Hesych. explains ὑπομονῆ by καρπεῖα.

οὖτι ἐγγυήτας κ. οὐθ' ἢτο δεσμῶν ἃ. This was unusual in an ἐνδειξει, and could only happen if (1) the prosecutor did not demand bail or imprisonment, (2) the magistrate did not think either necessary. Att. Proc. § 584. Cf. § 17 note.

τοὺς δήκους. Pollux 8. 122 gives the dicsasts' oath thus: περὶ μὲν δν νόμοι εἰςι, ψυχιστικαὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, περὶ δὲ δν μὴ εἰςι, γνώμη θ' δικαιοσκή, which apparently belongs to the 5th century B.C. For this, however, another form existed in the time of Demosthen. (Or. 24
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§ 149). There was a special clause in the oath for some years after B.C. 403. See Grote Gr. Hist. vol. viii. p. 100. It is given below § 91. Suidas gives as specimens of an oath οὔτω πώσι χρήσαμο

§ 3. ὑπόσοι μὴ ἔβλεπαν. A hypothetical rel. sentence: hence μὴ.
Krüger Gr. 67, 3; Goodwin M. & T. 61, 1.

ὑπομείναι: § 2 note, 'to stand a trial.'

καταγγὼντες αὐτῶν ἀδίκιαν, 'convinced of the badness of their case.'

[Lys.] 20 § 6: καταγγὼντες σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖν, for which construction cf. the end of this §, and § 32, § 49.

τοῖς implies that the speaker is convinced of the truth of his statement. 'Look you.'

προκαταγγέλσκειν ἀδίκειν, sc. αὐτῶν. [Does ἀδικεῖν=τὸ ἀδικεῖν or διὶ ἀδικοῦν;?] Cf. Thuc. 3, 53.

§ 4. αὐτίκα. 'For instance.' The earliest cases of the use of αὐτίκα in this sense are Antiph. 5 § 68, Aristoph. Av. 166 (B.C. 414). Later, εὐθὺς has the same meaning.

ὡς ἄρα. ἄρα is ironical = scilicet. For the change from ὑπομείναιμι ἀν to αἰχήσομαι, cf. § 30, note.


γῇ πολλῇ καὶ ἄγαθῇ κ.τ.λ. Isoccr. 9 § 51 says many Greeks settled in Cyprus, ἥγουμενοι κοινοφόροι καὶ νομοματέραν εἶναι τὴν Ἐναγόραν βασιλεῖαν τῶν οἰκῶν πολιτείῶν. Evagoras of Cyprus welcomed all Greeks to his kingdom, cf. [Lys.] 6 § 28. Trans.: 'while, if he sails to Cyprus, land in abundance and of good quality is offered to him, and ready for him free of charge.' It is one of A.'s tricks to make the most of his influence with foreign potentates, cf. § 145. He does not indeed assert that Evagoras has as yet given him any land at all, but he wishes the jury to mark that Evagoras would give much to get A. back in Cyprus. To this it might be answered that Evagoras was probably ready to give any Athenian of position land if he would settle in his kingdom. I see no need to alter διδομένη to δεδομένη with Lipsius, whose emendation here seems unnecessarily violent. Also it is hazardous to assume with Dr. Jebb, from the words of A., that he had actually land belonging to him in Cyprus. A. says merely that he has reason to suppose he will get land (probably some had been offered him already), if he
returns to Cyprus. For this use of ὑπάρχω, under certain conditions, cf. below, § 101, § 109 end; cf. Thuc. 5, 9, 9 (quoted at § 9).

diaphēn. So Reiske. Cf. προίκα. The 'appositional' accusative is very widely used in Greek. See § 39, τίνα τρόπον § 73. See Kühner Gr. § 410, 3, 7.

ἄρα τὴν πολίν ὃς διάκειται, 'with what hope in view? does he not see the state of public feeling?' Our knowledge of Athenian history from 403 to 395 B.C. is mainly derived from scattered ref. in the Orators, since Xen. devotes himself to Sparta and Agesilaus. Men with oligarchical leanings found their position unpleasant. Hence many such went off on foreign campaigns like that of Cyrus. 300 oligarch Knights went from Athens with Thimbron to Asia in 400 B.C. (Xen. Hell. 3, 1, 4). A. refers here (1) to the weakness of Athens in 399; (2) to the feeling against oligarchs, which some persons were bent on turning to account by reviving a system of prosecutions. See Isoc. 18 § 2, quoted below on § 8, and Introd. to this speech, end.

§ 5. ἀλλοθι τε γὰρ δὲν ... τῆς δὲ πόλεως. Here τε ... δὲ takes the place of τὲ ... τέ by a slight and not uncommon anacoluthon, τε δὲ being substituted for τὲ as though μὲν had preceded. In tragedy it is frequent, Aesch. Pers. 624. Ellendt Lex. Soph. s. v. τε. Poppo on Thuc. 4, 52 and Schäfer Ap. Crit. Demosth. ii. 579 explain τε γὰρ as = namque or etenim. See Shilleto on Dem. de F. L. § 176. But that is not the case here, nor yet in Thuc. 4, 52, where Arnold seems right. Kühner Gr. § 250, note 4, denies that τε γὰρ ever = namque, and holds that all passages in which τε is not answered by τὲ are anacoluthic. He adds, 'In many places the text is corrupt, τὲ being falsely written for δὲ or γέ, as Soph. Elect. 1417,' where the mss. give θ'. So Trachin. 1015; cf. Thompson on Plat. Gorg. 524 b.

ἐτέρων πόλεων, i.e. particularly Evagoras' kingdom—Salamis in Cyprus.

ἐπίτρεψα διαγώναι ὑμῖν, 'I have intrusted the decision concerning myself to you.' The student will observe that ἐπίτρεψα has two datives in this construction. See Monro, Hom. Gr., on the Infin., §§ 231, 242.

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εἰκός οὖν ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. repeats what has already been said at the beginning of the section, a common trick with Α. Cf. § 9. But it must be borne in mind that his 'speeches were meant to carry hearers along with them, rather than to be read and analysed at leisure.' Dr. Jebb Att. Or. i. p. 101. Α. 'was a gentleman orator, and not a professional.' Prof. Gildersleeve. See § 8, and Index s. v. ἀγαθόν.

§ 7. πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορήσαντες. 'After bringing many monstrous charges.' For κατ. without a gen. cf. Lys. 19 § 2, where this passage re-appears. Dem. de F. L. § 9 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δεινὰ ζῇων κατηγορεῖν, where see Shilleto.

εἶδοσαν ψευδομαρτυρίων, 'were convicted of giving false evidence.' There was no appeal from the verdict of the heliasts; but there were two means of getting an unjust decision reversed: (1) the process called τὴν ἐρήμην αὐτλαξεῖν, i.e. to obtain leave for a new action on the ground that judgment had been given against the applicant by default when his absence was justifiable. This application had to be made within two months of the judgment. See also § 74, note on ψευδοκλητείας. (2) an εἰπίκηψις ψευδομαρτυρίων, i.e. a prosecution for false evidence directed against one of the opposite party's witnesses. If he won such a case, the litigant had then to bring a δίκη κακοτεχνών (an action for suborning false witnesses) against his opponent, and only if he were successful in this latter action as well was the original verdict reversed. Harp. s. v. κακοτεχνῶν—δίκης δομα, ὑν οἱ διόντες τινα ψευδομαρτυρίων κατά τοῦ παρασχομένου αὐτοῦ εἶδοσαν. He refers to [Demosth.] κατὰ Τιμοθέου § 56, and [Demosth.] κατ' Εὐέργου καὶ Μησισβούλου § 2. Add Dem. (i) 29, §§ 7 and 10.

πρὶν ἀν ἀκούστη═priusquam audieritis. πρίν ἀν with Subj. and πρὶν with Opt. require a neg. in the principal clause. Prof. Gildersleeve (A. J. of Phil. vol. ii. p. 456 et seq.) points out that πρὶν is essentially (1) a comparative formation; and, as such, (2) negative. Hence here = μήπω ἐμοὶ ἀκούστης. Negatives tend to accumulate; hence πρότερον in addition to πρὶν ἀν here; cf. § 89. See also § 43 Note, and de Red. § 26 μᾶλλον . . . μᾶλλον ἦ.

§§ 8-10. Prothesis.

§ 8. ἐνδείξεως. Pollux 8. 48 ἐνδείξεως ἂν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοῦτα ὁμολογομενοῦ ἀδικήματος μὴνυσίς, οὐ κρίσεως ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας δοεμένον.
Harp. says the ἐ. was employed against those who, being legally excluded from any place or public function [as Andoc. is said to be], transgressed the order. Thus, there is no doubt Ἀ. entered the Eleusinian shrine, and attended the mysteries. The question is: had he a right to do so? The ἐ. is lodged in the absence of the accused, and hence Pollux contrasts it with ἀπαγωγή—ὅταν τις παρόντα ἐπ’ αὐτοφόρον λαβὼν ἀπαγώγη, i.e. takes him to the eleven, who kept him in prison or allowed him out on bail till the trial. See the words coupled below, §§ 88, 91, 105. The ἐνδείξις and ἀπαγωγή so nearly resembled one another that they are sometimes applied to the same case. Att. Proc. § 225.

τοῦ Ἰσομίδου. See § 71. This Psephism cancelled the ἄδεια voted to the various informers in 415, in the case of those who had incriminated themselves in their information. For ἄδεια, see § 11 note. Ἀ. nowhere admits that he gave his own name among the Hermocopids. Contrast Thuc. 6, 60. If Ἀ. had never admitted himself guilty, why had he left Athens on the Decree being passed?

ἀκυρον. Ἀ. implies that there was difficulty in maintaining the validity of the oath μὴ μνησικακεῖν (see Xen. Hell. 2, end, and below, § 90); Isocr. 18 § 2 ἐνίσχυς ἑσφάζετε τῶν πολιτῶν συνοφαντεὶν ὁρμημένους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας λύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας.

τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἄρκων. §§ 83, 85, 87, 90, 103, 105. The συνθήκαι and ἄρκοι are quoted also in Isocr. 18 §§ 20, 21.

πάντα τὰ γενόμενα . . . τὰ πρακτόντα. This change from the common τὰ γενόμενα to the less common τὰ πρακτόντα is merely for the sake of variety; cf. Thuc. 8, 87, 4 τριβῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνακωχῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ ναυτικόν οὐκ ἀγαγεῖν, φθοράς μὲν . . . ἀνισόφθεως δὲ, where φθορᾶς = τριβῆς, ἀνισόφθεως = ἀνακωχῆς. Dem. 57 § 11, quoted above, § 1, p. 102. Below, §§ 30, 130, de Red. § 28.

§ 9. καὶ αὐτοῖς, even without any special appeal, καὶ μὴ δεηθέντας, as Dem. de F. L. § 1 says. οἰσπερ refers to τὰ δίκαια. The point a litigant always impressed on the jury was that a verdict in his favour would be (1) δικαῖότατον, (2) εὐφόροτατον: cf. Ἀ.'s next words. Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 8, δίκαια καὶ εὐθρακα . . . ψηφιεσθε. Blass thinks some words have fallen out before οἰσπερ, in which mention was made of the oath.

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ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους: a passing compliment for the jury. So again below, § 109.

ἀκόνων τῶν ὧν ὁ β.: sc. ὄντων, but, in the gen. abs., ‘ἐκών and ἄκον are used without ὧν, probably to avoid the repetition of the syllable ὧν.’ E. H. Spieker, A. J. of Phil. vol. vi. On the Gen. Abs. So ὧν is constantly omitted with neut. adj.s in accus. abs. (e.g. Plat. ὃς καλόν often) when ὧν is inserted.

ὑμῶν δεόμαι ... ἀκροασμένους: cf. Aeschin. de F. L. § 1 δεόμαι ὑμῶν ... ὑπολογιζόμενοι, ib. § 7, 8 ὑμῶν ... μὴν προκατεγραφότας. Isocr. 15 § 17 δεόμαι ὑμῶν ... ἐνθυμούμενοι, ib. 14, § 6 δεόμεθ' οὖν ὑμῶν ... ἐνθυμηθέντας, Dem. de F. L. § 1; and for the change of case, the second word being put in the Accus. (instead of Gen. or Dat.) to suit the Infin., cf. § 109 below, τι ὑμῖν ὑπόλογον ἐστί; μὴ μνησικατάθανε, εἰδώτας κ.τ.λ.; also §§ 37, 89, 141. De Pace § 21 ἡμῖν πῶς ἔξετι τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι; ποιῶν τινῶν Λακεδαίμων τυχάνοντας; de Red. § 7. Isocr. 5 § 89, 19 § 49 ἔξετι τὴν ὑμῖν ... ἐνθυμηθέντας. Thuc. 5, 71, 3, τοῖς Σκυρίταις ... ἐσήμην ἐπεξεργαστεῖτας κ.τ.λ. ib. 8, 39 εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ ἀφικμένους. This change to Accus. is very common, but not necessary; see Thuc. 7, 20. Isocr. 17 § 29 says ἐμοὶ μὲν ... ἔξετι ... ποιήσαμεν, but 18 § 39 ἔξετιν αὐτῷ ... ἀφεῖναι. See below §§ 56 and 58. De Pace § 13 Βοιωταῖς δεδοκιμασθέντας εἰρήνην ἀφείσαι Ὀρχόμενον. I find no instance of this change to Accus. in Lysias, exc. 10 § 31. Thus Lys. 12 § 1, 23 § 10, 24 § 18, 31 § 16. The change may also be made when the word in question belongs (not to the Subject, but) to the Predicate, Krüger Gr. § 55 Note 7 quotes Eur. Hipp. 1080 τι δὴ βροτοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν τόδε, νέος δ' εἶναι καὶ γέροντας αὐτό πάλιν; but the Gen. or Dat. is then often kept, e.g. Thuc. 5, 9, 9 νομίσατε ὑμῖν ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχους κεκληθάναι, ἢ Ἀθηναίοι τε θυ δούλοις ... τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἑλληνες κολυταίς γενέσθαι ἐλευθερώσεως, and if an adj. is the Predicate, being connected with the foregoing word only by the Copula, the Gen. or Dat. must be kept. But in all cases the change to Accus. is simply due to the construction of the participle with the Infin., in lieu of the preceding Pronoun or Substantive, the Accus. being the natural case with the Infin. The Accus. with Infin. is an Accus. of Predication: the gain of the construction being that it suggests a subject without leaving you to supply one from the context.

μετ' εὐνοίας τὴν ἀκρίσιαν ποιήσασθαι. Lys. 19 § 11, Isaeus 6 § 2.
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υπονοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, 'view what is said with suspicion.' Phot. and Heaych. explain υποτεύω by υπονοώ. In § 139 υπονοεῖν = to conjecture, a sense which υποτεύω also has.

ῥήματα θηρεύειν, 'to catch up my words.' Imitated by A. from Antiphon 6 § 18 ἀνάγκη . . . θηρεύειν καὶ ἐπὶ σιμκρόν υπονοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, but Ant. used υπονοεῖν as Andocides does § 139. Cf. Plat. Theseet. 166 c, ὄνομάτων . . . θηρεύεις, where again the usage is different, ὄνομάτων being descriptive of θηρεύεις; ib. Gorg. 489 b. St. Luke xi. 54, εὐνερέωντες αὐτὸν θηρεύσαι τι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος. Cicero pro Caequina § 51, si verba inter nos auscupabimus; de Orat. i. 236, leguleius audiens syllabarum.

§ 10. πρώτον μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰρίας . . . περὶ τῶν μ. Here περὶ τῶν μ. is in opposition to περὶ αὐ. τῆς αἰρίας. Mr. Hickie wishes to insert εἰτα δὲ before the second περὶ. But (1) this would not describe what A. proceeds to do; for he deals with the Mysteries at the same time as the αἰρία, and the refutation of the charge is involved in his narration of the informations about the Mysteries. (2) Though πρώτον μὲν has no corresponding particle, this is natural, as A. at once deals with this first point. Then at § 29 he resumes this πρώτον μὲν with περὶ μὲν τῶν μυστηρίων, again stating that the ἐνδείξεις arises out of the Mysteries. This new μὲν is again left unanswered till § 34, where both § 10 and § 29 are dismissed in περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων. That this refers back to § 10 is clear from ἡσπερ καὶ ὑπεσχόμην ὑμῖν . . . ἵκ ἀρχής γὰρ ὑμᾶς διδάξω, the promise having been made § 8-10. So πρώτος μὲν οὕτος § 13 is resumed in πρώτη μὲν § 14, and both are dismissed in δεύτερα τοῖνυ, § 15; cf. § 120. This hurrying from point to point, as each occurs to him, is characteristic of A.

οὕτε μοι ἑπέβιβα. The agent is very often in the Dat. with the Perf. Pass., but rarely with other parts. Kühner Gr. § 427 c quotes Thuc. 1, 51, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις . . . οὐχ ἔφεροντο. The Dat. in this use contains also the force of an Ethic Dat. 'It shows that the act is done not merely by, but also for a person.' As every Athenian was in the habit of acting and speaking in his own interest, the agent is regularly in the Dat. with verbs akin to πράττω and λέγω in the Perf. Pass., but only when the subject is impersonal. E.g. Thuc. 6, 101 αὐτοῖς ἐξειργάστα, ib. 6, 2 ποιητὰς εἰρηταί, ib. 7, 62 ἡμῖν ἐκερμείνα ἡτοιμασταί. Meisterhans, p. 172. Yet ὑπό with Gen., even with this class of verbs, is fairly common. E.g. below § 56, Thuc. 8, 11;
8, 22. Lys. 14 § 19. Dem. de F. L. § 9. In Isocr. it occurs several times. E.g. 5 §§ 79 and 138; 6 § 60; 7 § 60; 12 §§ 74 and 127; 15 §§ 16 and 74. Contrast §§ 33, 55, 63, 71, 106 of this speech; de Red. § 19. With verbs other than πράττω and λέγω and their kindred words, ὑπὸ with Gen. is common, even if the nom. to the verb is impersonal. E.g. Thuc. 5, 42 Πάνακτον καθηρημένου ὑπὸ τῶν Βουστῶν, ib. 6, 96. Meisterhans p. 182 καταβεβρωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱδ. Isocr. 6 § 30, 12 § 237 τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γεγραμμένως, for which τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγραμμένων occurs immediately afterwards. (In both passages the case of the partic. seems to influence the construction of the agent. Cf. de Red. § 28 Note.) Ib. 15 §§ 10, 54. Letter 2 § 12. Aristoph. οἴες τὴν ὑπὸ ἑρώτευμα μεσαρχήν, where the metre would allow ἑρώτευμα. If the subject of the perf. pass. is personal, ὑπό and gen. is the regular construction. E.g. below §§ 25, 113. Thuc. 5, 40 τοὺς Βουστῶν πεπείσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων. Ib. 5, 60; 7, 85; 8, 56. Lys. 1 § 46; 28 § 17; 30 § 32; 32 §§ 3 and 10. Isocr. 5 § 137; 15 §§ 88, 33, 144. Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 30.

μεμηκταῖ. The μήκεσις is a private information to the Ecclesia (ἐν τῷ δήμῳ) or the Boule (ἐν τῷ βουλήν) given by a woman, slave, metic, or male citizen shrinking from bringing an ἐνσαγγελία. See §§ 14, 17, 20 Notes.

§§ 11-139. Narration Proof and Refutation.

§ 11. ἣν εἰκλησία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. An extraordinary Assembly (σύγκλητος εἰκλησία) summoned by the Prytanes at the request of the Strategi to settle details connected with the expedition. Thuc. says nothing of this Assembly, but this may be that to which he refers in 6, 27 (see below). No mention is made here of Androcles' εἰσαγγέλια almost at the same time in the Boule; but it is implied in § 27. No other authorities mention Pythonicus or Andromachus. See § 14, note.

ἀδεια, leave granted to a person to make a statement to Ecclesia or Boule without incurring those penalties to which he would render himself liable without it. It was required by Metics (e.g. Teucus § 15), slaves (e.g. Andromachus) and women (e.g. Agariste § 16), since they had not the right of speaking before Ecclesia or Boule; and lastly, by a male citizen who offered to give information about any crime in which he was himself implicated. Hence A. had to obtain ἀδεια (de Red. § 23. See Append.). Cf. Thuc. 6, 27 προσεῖτι ἐψηφίσαντο εἰ τις ἄλλο τι οἴδαιν ἀσέβημα γεγενημένον μὴ νῦν ἀδεια τῶν.
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§ 12. ἔξαρνον ὅτος. This is the only Adj. which in prose is often followed by an Accus., and in this construction έμι or γίγνομαι is always found with it. E.g. Lys. 32 § 20 τὰ μὲν ἔξαρνον γενέσθαι, τὰ δὲ διόμοισας ἔχειν. Cf. ib. 13 § 32. Isocr. 18 § 13, τὸν διαίταν ἔξαρνον εἶναι. Isaeus 5 § 26. It may also take περὶ with Gen. as Isocr. 17 § 7, or the simple Gen., as ib. 21 § 3.

ἕπι τὸ μειράκιαν, αὐτὸν ἰέναν, as in ἕπι θήραν ἰέναι.

Ἀ. αὐτὸ ὅνομα ἥν. Cf. § 16; Isaeus 6 § 20. The name is always in the same case as ὅνομα. See Krüger Gr. 48, 3, 6.

ὅτι . . . γίγνοτο . . . εἶναι. The change from ὅτι or ὅς to Accus. and Inf. is very common. E.g. Thuc. 5, 61 ἔκειν ὅτι οὐκ ὥρθωσ αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ γένουσα, καὶ νῦν ἀπεσθαί χρήναι. Ib. 5, 69, 1. Kühner Gr. § 550, 3 remarks that 'the opposite change is far rarer. . . . Thuc. 5, 65 ; 8, 78.' In the latter passage Thuc. has (1) ὅς, (2) Accus. and Inf., (3) ὅτι, all after διεβόλων.

§ 13. ἀπέγραψ. See § 15 Note.

Πολύστρατος. Ἡγαρ. ζ. ν. αἰτιαν ἵχων τοὺς 'Ερμᾶς περικόψαι ἀνθρέπθη ὑπὸ τοὺς Αθηναίον.

ONOMATA. The following names appear in a fragment of an Inscription (Hicks' Hist. Inscr. No. 55), giving the accounts of the sale of the Hermocopids' goods: Axiochus, Adimantus, Euphiletus, Oonias, Panetius, Polystratus, Cephasodorus. Of these, Oenias, Panetius and Polystratus appear in Andromachus’ list, Cephasodorus in Teucerus’ Mysteries list, Axiochus and Adimantus in Agariste’s, Euphiletus in Teucerus’ and Andocides’ list of Hermocopids.

§ 14. ζητῆται. Special commissioner, such as were occasionally appointed to examine evidence, and investigate serious crimes. Photius s. v. ἀρχή τις Αθήνης ἡ κατὰ καίρον καθισταμένη, εἰ ποτὲ τοὺς ἀδίκοντάς τι δημοσίᾳ δεοὶ ζητεῖν. Others were Charicles and Pisander (see § 36). This is the only example known. Cf. the extraordinary functions given to the consuls and curule aediles with regard to the Bacchanal conspiracy, B.C. 186. Livy 39, 14. See Att. Proc. § 112.
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εἰσάγγειλεν. (1) The εἰσαγγελία might be introduced either in the Boule or Ecclesia ἐπὶ δημοσίους ἀδίκημασι μεγίστοισι . . . ἕφ᾽ οἷς μήτε ἀρχὴ καθέστηκε μήτε νόμοι κεῖται (Harp.), τέτακται ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγράφων δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων (Pollux). C. R. Kennedy translates it 'Impeachment.' It is made publicly, whereas the μὴνοσία is a private information by a slave or metic, or woman, or by a citizen not inclined to bring an εἰσαγγελία. This distinction is not always kept up between εἰσ. and μὴν. The former, in a wider sense, includes the latter. See § 42, Note. Meier and Schömann Att. Proc. § 261 quote Lys. 13 § 50 ἡ κρίσις ἡ ἐκρίθη (Agoratus) ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ἀφείθη, διαρρήθην λέγει: διότι, φησίν, ἠδοξε τάληθε εἰσαγγελία. In § 49 of that speech κατεμήνυσε is used of Agoratus' information. The author of the εἰσαγγελία became prosecutor in a trial arising out of his εἰσαγγελία. See § 17 Note. But a μηνοσία did not act as prosecutor. His μηνοσία was merely put in as evidence. There was also another εἰσαγγελία before the chief archon for κάκωσις γόνεων. Cf. § 74, and de Red. § 21 Note. (2) It must, however, be noticed that εἰσάγγειλεν is used here and in § 27 in a loose sense. For Pythonicus merely made a declaration that he was prepared to bring forward a μηνοσία, and would not in a trial in a δικαστήριον arising out of this μηνοσία act as prosecutor. He only applies for ἄδεια for a slave. Still A. uses the term of Pythonicus because it was clearly to him that the first charge against Alcibiades was due. It was on this ground Pythonicus afterwards claimed the reward (§ 27). So in § 18 A. uses τὸν ἐξελάσαντα of Speusippus, whereas those who fled into exile strictly speaking ἕφυγον ἐπὶ τῇ Λυδοῦ μηνώσει.

§ 15. Τεύκρος. See § 34 Note. μέτοικος, Θεσυχ. οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ξένοι (whence C. R. Kennedy trans. 'denizens') τῇ πώλει καὶ τελοῦντες ἀνὰ δραχμὰς δώδεκα τοῦ ἐναντιῶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. Phot. s. v. μετοικὸν 'ὁ μὲν ἀνήρ δώδεκα δραχμὰς ἔτελε μετοικὸν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ (i.e. if independent) ἐξ. Manumitted slaves become μέτοικοι. Aristoph. Eq. 347 has κατὰ ξένον μετοικὸν, ξένος being added as a depreciatory epithet. Cf. § 144 below, ξένοι καὶ μέτοικοι. Every μ. was bound to choose a προστάτης (προστάτην ἐπιγράφεσθαι). The King Archon (who corresponds to the Praetor Peregrinus) had the care of metics and before him cases of ἀπροστάσιον (failing to obtain a προστάτης), and ἀπροστάσιον (leaving one) were tried. See L. & S. s. vσ. In Tragedy
u. = one who has migrated, with no political reference. Schol. on O. C. 934 εἰ μὴ τὴν τῆς χώρας θέλεις εἶναι βία. Suidas s. v. quotes Αγ. 57 γανόν ἤγεφδον τῶν ῥεῖ μ., and both note that μ. = ἐνοικος. Dindorf explains μ. 'qui sede sua expulsus in alium locum migrat.' Cf. Eumen. 999.

ἐπαγγέλλεται. ὑποχνεῖται, Pollux.

ψηφισμένης. Blass points out that the substance of this vote was that messengers should be sent to Megara to fetch Teucrus, promising him that if he came a vote of αδεια should be passed.

γάρ explains ψηφισμένης. The rule with regard to a μήνυσις or εἰσαγγελία made before the Boule was that the Boule might not decide any case itself, if the penalty to be imposed exceeded 500 drachmae. In this case, therefore, the Boule would certainly in ordinary circumstances have referred at once to a heliastic court (cf. § 17), or to the Ecclesia; but it was given full power to act by the Ecclesia itself. See note on § 28, where it is shown that Teucrus was probably induced to come forward by Androcles. It was certain that out of a μήνυσις with regard to the profanation of the Mysteries any case which arose must involve a higher penalty than a fine of 500 drachmae. A. explains how it was that the Boule consented to receive and decide upon such a μήνυσις as Teucrus proposed to make.

ἀνταξιοπάτωρ. On special occasions officials were made irresponsible, e.g. the three generals of the Sicilian Expedition. Ordinarily all officials were ἑπείθωνοι, including the Bouleutae. Aeschin. v. Oeis. § 20 τὴν β. ἑπείθωνον πεποίηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης. See § 78, Note on εἰθώναι.

ἀπογράφει. The word ἀπογραφή has three uses: (1) a Denunciation, as here; (2) a solemn Declaration, as Dem. 27 § 14 ἀπέγραψε ταύτα πρὸς Θηριππίδου ἱχννα ἑαυτῶν; (3) an Inventory, as Isocr. 17 § 49. This general sense is closely connected with a special sense of an information against a man declared to be in possession of property belonging to the State.

§ 16. ἡ γυνή. 'The wife of A., who had also been wife of Damon, I mean Agariste, gave information that A. A. and A. celebrated the Mysteries in the house of Charmides near the temple.' αὖθι is epanaleptic, resuming the sentence after the parenthesis. Cf. Isaæus 1 § 28 Κλέωνυμος θ᾽ ὃς ἤν ἡμῖν οἰκείοτατος . . . οὗτος κ.τ.λ. Isocr.
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4 § 36, ἰδ. 14 § 25. Krüger Gr. § 51, 5, 1 quotes Aristoph. Thea. 150 ἠρή τοι ποιητήν ἄνθρω πρὸς τὰ δράματα δὲ δεῖ ποιεῖν, πρὸς ταύτα τοὺς τρόπους ἔχειν. It most commonly occurs where a relative has preceded. Cf. the use of ταύτα ὁμίλιν to resume a participle after a parenthesis,—e.g. Thuc. 7, 42: ὅ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἠδών ὡς εἴπε τὰ πράγματα ... ταύτα ὁμίλιν ἀνακριβῶν ὡς. Cf. Dem. de F. L. § 49.

τῷ παρὰ τῷ Ὀλυμπιείων. Cf. § 62 τοῦ παρὰ τῷ νε. A verb of motion is not necessary with παρά in this use. It denotes 'what one sees when one goes past' the place. Dr. Jebb. Krüger Gr. § 68, 36, 2. But κατά is the ordinary word in this sense.

§ 17. § 17. δὲ βουλευόν κ.π.λ. 'S., then a member of the Senate, proposed to hand them over to the proper court,' i.e. the court of the King Archon. For the use of the pres. tense to express an attempt not carried out, cf. Dem. (!) 29 § 17 οὖσ' ἐμοὶ παραδίδωσιν (τῶν παιδα) παραλαθεῖν ἥβλησαν, quoted by Kühner Gr. § 382, 6. He shows that the Pres. and Imperf. is only used in this manner when the verb itself contains the notion of intention to do a thing, as well as the deed itself. Cf. Aristoph. Pax 408 προδίδοσον τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 'are ready to betray.' So δίδωμι often = I offer.

τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. The ordinary action for the βουλή to take when an εἰσαγγελία was made by one of its members, or a μήνυσις laid before it, was (1) if the case seemed slight, to deal with it, and impose a fine, limited to 500 drachmae; (2) (more often) if the case seemed serious, to refer it to the heliasts, the trial also being called εἰσαγγελία (just as A.'s case would be called ἄδειξις, as it arises out of an ἐν. before the King Archon). Cf. Pollux ν. ν. εἰσαγγελία' καὶ μὲν μέτρα ἀδικεῖν δοκῇ, ἢ βουλή ποιεῖται ζημίας ἑπιβολήν, ἢ δὲ μέτις, παραδίδωσιν δικαστηρίῳ; (3) refer the case to the Ecclesia, which in turn did not usually settle the matter, but referred it to the heliasts, as it usually did also when an εἰσαγγελία or μήνυσις was laid before it in the first instance. Dobree, not understanding παραδίδωσι above, asks how Speusippus could act as he did, and Grote, Gk. Hist. vii., p. 44, Note, is even inclined to doubt the statements of A. altogether; but on insufficient grounds. There is nothing extraordinary so far. Lydus made his μήνυσις to the βουλή. Speusippus, a Senator, having heard the μήνυσις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, proposed in the Boule that the case should go to the heliasts. He included Leogoras among those to be tried, though the latter denied that he had
been in the house of Ph. at all (§ 22), and even Lydus admitted that he had taken no part in the mock celebration. The injustice was so great that Leogoras adopted an extreme course, and gave notice of a γραφὴ παρανόμων against Speusippus. This notice prevented the proposal of Speusippus from being carried into effect until the γραφὴ π. had been decided. A similar γραφὴ π. is that brought against one Aristogiton for having proposed a ψῆφισμα containing a flagrantly false charge against the Priestess of Artemis (Att. Proc. § 737 Dinarch. v. Arist. § 12). This shameful attack of Speusippus on Leogoras is on a par with Pisander's proposal in the βουλὴ (§ 43) and is one among many proofs of the readiness with which the slightest charge was caught at during this reign of terror. With the proposal of Speusippus, cf. that of Satyrus in Lys. 30 § 10 Σ. ἐν βουλεύσιν ἐπείτε τὴν βουλὴν δήσαντας αὐτὸν (Cleophon) παραδοθῆναι δικαιοσύνῃ. This is referred to by Bergk in his letter appended to Schiller's Andocides.

βουλεύσις. The μηνύσις was not referred by the Boule to the Ecclesia, but Leogoras managed to bring forward the matter in the Ecclesia, by means of his ὑπωμοσία. See below on παρανόμων.

καταστήσας ἐγγυηθαί. Leogoras provided sureties for his appearance in case he should lose his γραφὴ π., in which case Speusippus' motion would take effect. The cases in which a citizen had to give bail were ἀπαγωγή, ἐνδείξεις, ἐφήγησις, εἰσαγγελία unless he were put in prison. Yet A. had neither been called on for bail nor yet been arrested (§ 2, Note), probably because the King Archon felt some difficulty about a case which revived crimes committed prior to the Amnesty, and therefore purposely allowed A. the chance of leaving Athens if he chose. The information of Lydus is the last concerning the Mysteries. But Thuc. 6, 61 shows that the proceedings with regard to the Mysteries were not concluded till after A.'s disclosures. Hence Leogoras' γραφὴ π. must have been tried after his release from prison in consequence of these disclosures; therefore, at a time when he was regarded as an injured man.

παρανόμων. The γραφὴ π. was announced by means of a ὑπωμοσία, —oath to stay proceedings. The ὑπωμοσία was not always made at the same stage: (1) sometimes when the βουλὴ had passed a προβουλεύμα, which had yet to be submitted to the Ecclesia, —e.g. Aeschines impeachment of Ctesiphon; (2) a γραφὴ π. could be brought at any time within a year after a Πασθίμως was passed. The proposal of
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Speusippus was apparently carried when Leogoras ὑπάμοσεν. Also the ὑπάμοσια only affected Leogoras himself. The other persons would have been tried before the heliasts, had they not fled as soon as they heard they were attacked by Speusippus.

ἐν ἐξαισισχιόις. For this use of ἐν—coram, cf. §§ 37, 102, 122, Kühner Gr. § 431, 1. This case is tried before the whole number of heliasts for the year—6000. It is so extraordinary that Grote doubts the statement. A. is guilty of many falsehoods, no doubt; but we cannot suppose that he lies merely animi causa. Further, Lipsius on Att. Proc. Bk. ii. § 139 points out that all the heliasts of the year who were initiated tried the question of the assignment of the rewards (§ 28). A court of 2500 heliasts occurs Dinarch. ν. Dem. § 52, of 2000 Lys. 13 § 38.

οὕτω διακοσιάς. This is not surprising, since Speusippus had made a grossly illegal proposal, and Leogoras had lately been declared innocent of the mutilation of the Hermæ as well. Isocr. 18 § 54 mentions a case where a man obtained no votes in a court of 700, though he had 14 witnesses, since the girl to whose death he swore was produced alive in court.

§ 18. οἱ ἐφυγον. They fled 'in consequence of Lydus' information,' but they have to thank Speusippus that flight became necessary; for they knew that if they were arrested with a view to their trial, death awaited them. Cf. the case of Polystratus § 13, Thuc. 6, 60 ὁ δήμος χαλεπῶς ἤν τότε καὶ ὑπάστη ἐς τόυς περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν τήν αἱτίαν λαβόντας. ἦν τοὺς καταπιθηκάς κρίσεις ποιήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν ὧν ξυνελήφθησαν.

tούτοις : sc. τοὺς δικαστάς.

§ 19. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον. You have heard my statement of the facts and the evidence in support of it: now call to mind my accusers' statements, which are at variance with mine. Mine being proved true, you have merely to hear theirs to know that they are false. There is no need for appeal or apology on my part, cf. § 30. The Refutatio is closely connected with the Narratio. οἴμαι, 'I take it,' as § 39.

πολλὰ ἱκατεύσας καὶ λαμβανόμενος, 'after many entreaties and while clapping his knees.'

§ 20. παθεῖν τι, a common meiosis for ἀποθανεῖν. Lys. 32 § 6 εάν τι πάθη, 'in case he die.' Cf. Dem. 23 § 7 ; 54 § 25.
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δυοίν τοίν μεγίστον. Shilleto on Dem. de F. L. § 166: ‘In an affirmative sentence we must say “to fail in one of two things,” but in a negative, “not to fail in both of two things,” obviously implies to succeed in one or the other.’ In an affirm. sentence θατέρον is necessary, cf. de Red. § 7, de Pace § 28 δεί δυοίν θατέρον ἐλέσθαι: below § 57: Lys. 12 § 34; Isaeus 1 § 22 δυοίν τοίν ἐναντιωτάτων θατέρα [see § 71] μέλλοντες. δυοίν θ. is also used parenthetically, e.g. [Lys.] 6 § 8, Isocr. 15 § 197. In a neg. sentence θατέρον is not required. Thuc. 1, 33 μηδὲ δυοίν φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν, ἡ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἡ σφαῖραν αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαί.

ἡ γάρ, ‘to face a struggle in which he was bound to meet with one of two terrible misfortunes, I mean either to be put to death by me, etc.’ For γάρ = that is, namely, see Kühner Gr. § 544 a. This is one of the many cases in Greek where γάρ is inserted or omitted at pleasure (cf. Isocr. 3 § 52 ὅ δε πάντων δεινότατον ὅταν γάρ κ.τ.λ., as contrasted with ib. 14 § 45 ὅ δέ π. δεινότατον εἶ τοῖς μέν, κ.τ.λ. So ib. 18, §§ 18 and 25). In Isocr. 14 § 34 we have ὃς δυοίν θατέρον ἀναγκαῖον ἔστω αὐτοῖς, ἡ μένοντας ἀποβηθήσειν ἡ φειγόντας ἀπορεῖν, cf. Thuc. quoted above. Dobree wished to substitute ἦν γάρ for ἡ γάρ, but the text is undoubtedly right.

αὐτῷ σωβεῖν. Contrast the Accus. in Isocr. 14 § 34, quoted in the last note. See § 9 Note.

ἐμει ἀποκτείνα, ‘to be the cause of my death’—the causative use of the active, as in § 66. If Leogoras proved A.’s information false, A. would be put to death. Cf. § 27 Note, and § 65.

ὁ νόμος. In the case of an εἰσαγγελία, the author of it, if it was referred to the heliasts, became the prosecutor. If he failed to substantiate his charge, he was subject (at this period) to no penalty. See Att. Proc. § 269. A case arising out of a μήνυσις was similar to one arising out of an εἰσαγγελία, except that in the former, the μηνυτής received a reward if the accused were convicted, and the gift of freedom, supposing he were a slave. The ἀδεια granted previous to the μήνυσις exempted an informer from punishment in case he incriminated himself. But if his information was proved to be false, the μηνυτής was put to death.

οὔτως εἰ amat. οὔτως refers to what follows, as often in this phrase, e.g. below § 146, Antiphon 6 §§ 9 and 14, Isocr. 4 § 163; Letter 8 § 7. ταῦτα is used of what follows below § 149. Contrast ὅδε below § 25 of what precedes. No authors are so strict in keeping to the arbitrary
rules (see § 1) about demonstrative pronouns as Thuc. See Shilleto on Thuc. 1, 31.

§ 21. ὃπου [ἄν] ἐμελλέν. Goodwin M. and T. § 61, 2. Dobr. Blass and Lips. reject ἄν. It is a mere repetition by a copyist from the preceding words, and would be contrary to Greek use. Cf. ἵνα and ὅπως with secondary tenses of Indic., Goodwin § 44, 3. Even with the Subjunc. there is a tendency to omit ἄν with relative and temporal words. See Kühner, Gr. § 398, 2, 2.

§ 22. ἀλλὰ γάρ, at enim. See Kühner Gr. § 509, 8 a. There is no ellipse in this phrase. γάρ strengthens ἀλλὰ.

βασανίσαι τὰ ἀνδράποδα. On Torture, see C. R. Kennedy Demosth. vol. iii. p. 382: ‘The most common of all challenges [προκλήσεις] were proposals for giving up slaves to be examined by torture.” No man could examine a slave without his adversary’s consent. There is no example of comments on answers drawn from slaves, and the challenge was made merely to enable the man who made it to comment on his adversary’s refusal to give up the slave. Dem. 30 § 37 βάσανον ἀκριβεστάτην παισῶν πίστεων νομίζετε, imitated from Isaeus 8 § 12 ὑμεῖς μέν τοῖν και ἴδια καὶ δημοσίᾳ βάσανον ἀκριβεστάτων ἐλεγχον νομίζετε. Cf. Isocr. 17 § 54 ὅρω δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὐδὲν πιστοτέρον οὐθ’ ἀληθέστερον βασάνον νομίζοντας. Aristoph. Ran. 628, Antiphon 5 § 31, however, throw doubt on the efficacy of torture to extract the truth. The truth on the question appears in Aristot. Rhet. 1, 15, 26 ἐάν τε ὑπάρχωσιν ολκαία (αἱ βάσανοι) αὐθεντές ἄτιν ὅτι ἀληθείς μόνα τῶν μαρτυριῶν εἴσην αὖτα: ἐάν τε ὑπεναντία ὀσὶ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀμφισβητοῦντος, διαλύον ὅν τις τάληθη λέγων καθ’ ὅλον τοῦ γένους τῶν βασάνων.

τοὺς μὲν παραδιδόντας. ‘Those who offered to give them up. See § 17 Note.


τί υπελείπετο. i.e. ‘Speusippus would surely have made some use of my information to force me to give evidence against my father at the trial: he did not refer to it: therefore I cannot have informed.’

§ 23. μὴ ὅτι ἐμ. ‘I do not say by me against another, but even by any one else against me.’ μὴ ὅτι . . . ἀλλὰ καί, ‘not only . . .
but also, is an alternative for οὐχ ὅτι... ἄλλα καί. This affirmative use must be distinguished from (1) the negative use of μὴ ὅτι=‘not only not,’ ‘so far from,’ an alternative for οὐχ ὅτις in the same sense, Lys. 30 § 26; (2) μὴ ὅτι... ἄλλα οὐδὲ, both members being negative, Aeschin. v. Ctes § 46 μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἄλλα οὐδὲ ἂν ἰδιώτης οὐδὲ εἶς, κ.τ.λ. (3) μὴ ὅτι=nequum. Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 35, of the excuse of the Generals for not rescuing the wrecked sailors after Arginusæ διὰ τὸν χειμώνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναρείσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας δυνατῶν ἦν. Kühner Got. § 525.


§ 24. ‘Therefore, just as you would be indignant with me, and would determine to impose a heavy penalty, if these charges they brought against me were true, so I request you, since you know that they lie, to think them unscrupulous and to use this as a proof, namely, that if they are evidently convicted of lying in the gravest of the charges, I shall of course easily prove that the rest of their charges, which are much lighter, are false.’ The proof that they are unscrupulous is that I have already shown the most serious charge to be false, and of course shall be able to disprove the rest.

πονηρός. The word is synonymous with μοχθηρός: the lexicographers explain them by one another, and they are interchanged in describing the same person. They are the opposite of καλὸς κἀγαθός: Isocr. 15 § 100 τῶν μὲν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν... εἰ δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν γεγόνασι: and of χρηστός, Aristoph. Eq. 1274 λοιπόν πάντως τοὺς πονηροὺς οὐδὲν ἐστ’ ἐπίφθονον, ἄλλα τιμὴ τοὺς χρηστοὺς. The original meaning of πονηρός is ‘toiling,’ as Hes. Frag. 152 πονηρῶτατος καὶ ἄριστος, and with μοχθηρός it was early used by Athenian Aristocrats to describe the lower classes. Hence the two words acquired a political signification when persons of mean birth began to enter into politics and they meant ‘radical,’ whereas the Aristocrats used καλὸς κἀγαθός and χρηστός to describe themselves. Prior to 400 B.C. the bad terms were only used of the extreme democrats: this must be borne in mind when Aristoph. Vesp. 466 makes the Chorus address Bdelycleon as ἄτομῳ πονηρῷ, in jest. As πονηρός was supposed to be the fitting epithet for an unscrupulous demagogue, a moral sense became attached
to it and its opposites, and began to predominate after 400 B.C. Hence Lys. 12 § 5 uses πονηρός of the Thirty, and the words can henceforward be used indiscriminately of any party according to the writer's opinion of its motives. For the meaning 'violent,' see Aristoph. Eq. 181 πονηρός καὶ ἄγορας εἰ καὶ βρασόν. Alcibiades uses it twice of the Athenian democracy—(1) in his speech at Sparta, Thuc. 6, 89 ἄλλοι δ' ἔσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πάλαι καὶ νῦν ὁ εἶπο τοποτέρα ἐξῆγον τὸν ἑχλον: (2) in his overtures to the fleet at Samos, Thuc. 8, 47 δι' ὐλιγαρχία βούλεται καὶ οὐ πονηρία οὐδὲ δημοκρατία . . . κατελθὼν . . . ἔμφυτενεύς. Cf. Isocr. 15 § 316 τοῖς μὲν καλοῖς καθαροῖς . . . ἐφόδουσαν, πονηρῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ μεστῶν βρασύτητος ἐπεθύμησαν. One instance of the words as applied to an extreme democrat must suffice, viz. Hyperbolus: Aristoph. Eq. 1303 ἄδρα μοχθηρῶν πολιτηρ, ἀξίην ὑπέρβολον. Pax 682, et al. Thuc. 8, 73, Υ. μοχθηρῶν ἀνδροποτός, ἀστρακεμένος διὰ πονηρίαν. Plut. Alc. 13; ib. Aristid. 7 μοχθηρία and πονηρός applied to him; ib. Níc. 11 διὰ μοχθηρίαν. For the confusion of morality with politics thus implied, cf. the treatise de Rep. Athen. i. 1-10, 14. At Athens, says the writer, τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἀτιμοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς ἀδίκουσι. Cf. the history of 'villain.'

§ 25. ἐπὶ τοῖς μ. The original, not immediate, cause of their flight. φεύγωντες. The tense is always kept: φεύγωντο = to be in exile, φυγών = to be exiled.

οἱ δ' ἱκουσι, i.e. having returned under the General Amnesty of 403 B.C. ἥκω, τέθει, stands here as the Perfect of κατέχομαι. For this use cf. Aristoph. Pax 275: and that ἥκω could be used in this way is clear from Euripides' objection to Aeschylus in Ran. 1157 ἥκω δὲ ταῖς ἐστὶ τῷ κατέχομαι, and Aeschylus' answer ib. 1165 φεύγων δ' ἀνήρ ἡκε τε καὶ κατέχεται, though in these places ἥκω = νεκρό, rather than νεκρό as here. Cf. §§ 35 and 40.

§ 26. ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ, i.e. ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὑδατί, 'during the time allotted to me.' Dem. de F. L. § 64, cf. Isocr. 18 § 51 οὐδ' ἀν διστοσοῦτον ὑδαιρ Ιλατοῦ διηγήσασθαι γένοιτο. Cf. §§ 35 and 36.

χρήσασθε μοι δ' τι β. 'Treat me as you choose,' inflict any punishment you like; cf. [Lys.] 6 § 32 ννι παραδέδωκεν αὐτὸν χρήσαται δ' τι τιν βούλησθε, οὐ τῷ μη ἀδικεῖν πιστεύων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δαιμονίον τινος ἀγόμενος ἀνάγκης.
Andocides de Mysteriis.

παραχωρῶ, τὸν βῆμαν. Cf. Isocr. 15 § 100 παραχωρῶ καὶ τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, ὁδ. 7 § 77 παραχωρῶ τοῖς βουλομένοις.

§ 27. κατὰ τὸ Κ. ψ. Thuc. 6, 27 μεγάλοις μηνύτροις . . . εξήγουντο. Apparently the reward proposed by Cleonymus did not produce satisfactory information: hence Pisander proposed a larger one.

Πεισάνδρου. P. took a leading part in the investigation. He was one of the ξηπηραί (§ 36), and was very bitter against those denounced (§ 44). At this time he professed himself an advanced democrat; hence his eagerness against the conspirators in an oligarch plot. He was among the greatest enemies of Andocides, and had him arrested in 411. He probably had something to do with the Psophism of Isotimides (de Red. § 27), by which A. was practically banished in 415. That his aims were purely selfish is evident from the leading part he took in 412 B.C., in overthrowing the democracy. See Lys. 25 §§ 8 and 9 οὐ Φρύνιχος μὲν καὶ Πεισάνδρος . . . ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ εἰς ύμᾶς ἔξημαρτον, τὰς περὶ τούτων δείσαντες τιμωρίας τὴν προτέραν ἀληθείαν κατέστησαν; For his burly person and cowardice, see Holden Ὑπονομητ. Aristoph. s. v. In the winter of 412 B.C. he urged at Athens that Alcibiades should be recalled, though, in 415, he had acted against him. Isocr. 16 § 4 διὰ τούς αὐτούς ἄνδρας ἢ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ κατεύθυν (Alcibiades) ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξημαρτον. (For the perversion of the true course of events in that passage, see Grote Gk. Hist. vii. p. 274 Note.) On the overthrow of the Four Hundred, P. fled to Decelea, and his property was confiscated.

Πυθώνικος . . . 'Ανδροκλῆς. Above § 11, Pythonicus' εἰσαγγελία was made in the Ecclesia. The first μήνυσις A. speaks of to the Boule is that of Teocrus. A. keeps Androcles in the background; yet he must have done much to collect evidence, especially after the departure of Alcibiades for Sicily. He was very active in securing Alcibiades' banishment. Thuc. 8, 65. Plut. Alc. 19 δούλους τινὰς καὶ μετοίκους προῆγαγεν 'Ανδροκλῆς, and they denounced Alcibiades among others. In the statement of Isocr. 16 §§ 5 and 6, οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τῷ δήμῳ . . . εἰσήγγειλον εἰς τὴν βουλήν, Androcles must be included, though he was certainly not among those who subverted the democracy in 411 B.C., as his murder was among the first of the conspirators' acts. But, as already pointed out, the facts are ingeniously distorted by Isocrates to suit his client.

πρῶτος εἰσαγγειλαί. See § 14 Note, and cf. the similar position of
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Demosthenes, Dinarch. v. Dem. § 95 (quoted by Lipsius), ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ... προσάγων καὶ κατασκευάζων ψευδὴ μηνυτὶν ὡς ἐπισκοπευμένων τῶν νεωρίων, γράφων μὲν οὐδὲν, αἰτίας δὲ ἑνεκα τοῦ παρώντος ἁγῶνος παρασκευάζων.

ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς. Grote Gk. Hist. vii. p. 34: 'Androcles contended that the Senate collectively ought to receive the money—a strange pretension, which we do not know how he justified.' But (1) Androcles could have no possible motive in claiming a reward for every Senator. (2) If he won in the διαδικασία, each Senator would have received 120 obols, if the larger reward were assigned to them; 12 obols, if the smaller—a ridiculous claim to refer to all the heliasts of the year who were initiated; and in either case, the share falling to Androcles would not have sufficed to pay his fees (προληψία), so that, in order to present each Senator with a few shillings, he would have been out of pocket. (3) The expression is possibly a Brachylogy for ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσαγγελίας. [More probably ὑπὲρ is confused with περί.—A. W. S.] This confusion is common in Demosth. See Kühner Gr. § 450 b. Androcles stood in the same relation towards the Boule as Pythonicus towards the Ecclesia. Both made their statements nearly at the same time: hence both claimed the money. But the heliasts decided that those whom they had induced to come forward, being the μηνυταί, should have the μηνυτα. It was not customary to reward any man for an εἰσαγγελία (which would have put a premium on συνοφαντία); but a μηνυτής had before him payment, if his information were believed, death, if it were proved false.

§ 28. ἐν τῷ τῶν θ. δικαστηρίῳ. The Thesmothetae (six minor Archons) had extensive judicial functions, since they presided in all cases not specially allotted to other magistrates. Pollux 8, 85-88. Their court was in the Agora. It is noticeable that in 415 b.c. they presided in two extraordinary courts, (1) the whole of the heliasts who were initiated, to try this διαδικασία; (2) the whole of the heliasts in the case of Leogoras v. Sperissus, as γραφαὶ παρανύμπων regularly came before them, e.g. Hyperides pro Bux. 21, παράνομα τις ἐν τῇ πολιεὶ γράφει' θεσμοθετῶν συνεδρίων ἐστι.

διαδικάσαι. The διαδικασία is a suit in which (1) each of two parties lays claim to the same thing, as here. (2) Each of two parties claims exemption from some state duty, and the court has to
decide which is to undertake it, de Repub. Athen. iii. § 4. (3) The word is used loosely in Dem. Or. 44, where the speaker calls his suit διαδικασία κλήρων, disputed claim to an inheritance, whereas that speech is, strictly, delivered in a δίκη υευνομαρτυρίων against an opponent who had interposed a διαμαρτυρία (evidence on oath) that the claim advanced to the inheritance was false; cf. Isæus Or. 6.

δευτέρα δὲ Τεῦκροφ. As Andromachus was induced to come forward by Pythonicus, so it is probable that Teucrus’ μὴνυσίς to the βουλή was due to Androcles, and that Teucrus is to be understood as one of those to whom Thuc. 6, 28 refers μηνύσται ἀπὸ μετοίκων τέ τινων καὶ ἀκολούθων, cf. Plut. Alc. 19 quoted above. Hence Androcles: Teucrus: Pythonicus: Andromachus. If Teucrus’ was the first evidence that came before the βουλή as the result of Androcles’ εἰσαγγελία there, we can understand the claim of Pythonicus and Androcles in the διαδικασία. (1) Pythonicus urged that he was the first to refer to the matter in the Ecclesia, and Andromachus’ μὴνυσίς was due to him. (2) Androcles, on the other hand, that he was the first to introduce the matter in the Boule and Teucrus’ information was due to him. The court had therefore to decide (1) whether Pythonicus or Androcles was first in the field. This would not be difficult, since the Boule did not sit when an Ecclesia was being held, and on days when the Ecclesia met apparently did not assemble at all until the Ecclesia was over (see § 36). This put Pythonicus indisputably first. But Androcles could still argue (a) that his εἰσαγγελία led to the account which was afterwards accepted as the true one—viz.: that of Teucrus; (b) that the Ecclesia had intrusted the whole matter to the Boule)—(2) whether Pythonicus and Androcles or Andromachus and Teucrus ought to receive the money. This note is at variance with the ingenious theory of Götz that Teucrus was in league with Alcibiades’ party.

§ 29. περὶ μὲν τῶν . . . περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων. The regular, but not universal, order when a preposition occurs with ὁ μὲν or ὁ δὲ is that the particle should follow the preposition immediately, e.g. Isocr. 2 § 18 ἵνα τὰς μὲν φεύγωσι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς προθυμότερον ἔκωσι. ἱθ. 3 § 33; 4 § 151; 5 § 80; 17 § 13. See also Kühner Gr. § 528, 1. Thuc. 6, 76, 4 has ὁ μὲν in a remarkable position.

ὁ μὲνυμένοις. Schoemann Antiq. of Greece (Eng. Trans.) 'The
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State 'p. 476: 'For the trial of certain classes of cases only Heliastae
of a specified category could sit: e.g. to try cases of violation of the
mysteries, only persons who had been initiated.'

ἀναρθηκται μοι. See § 10 Note. Here the Ethic force of the Dat.
is clear.

(1) οὕτε ... οὕτε ... οὕτε ... οὕτε. Cf. § 10. (2) οὕτε ... οὕτε
... οὕτε. A climax is always reached in οὕτε. For (1) cf. Plato
Rep. 426 b; for (2) Thuc. 8, 27. Cf. also Thuc. 8, 21. (The last
passage, however, does not justify Dr. Jebb in writing μήτε ... μήτε
... μήτε ... μήτε. Translations Ed. ii. p. 321.) For the emphatic
position of οὕτε ἐν cf. Thuc. 2, 51, ἐν τε οὕτε ἐν κατέστη ζαμα.

οἱ λόγοι τῶν κατηγώρων ... τούτων οὖν. An anacoluthon, charac-
teristic of A.'s impulsive style. For τούτων οὖν, see § 16 Note.

ἀναρθηκτον. Harp. and Suidas quote this passage, and explain d.
as ἀρν τοῦ ἄρθιον βιῶμεν, i.e. 'as regards the tales of my accusers,
who declaimed these terrible blood-curdling stories, and told tales
about others who in former times, for having been guilty of sins and
impiety against the goddesses, paid one and all a heavy penalty—well,
what have I to do with these tales or deeds?' With ἀναρθηκτον cf.
the use of τραγῳθεῖν in Demosth.

λόγους εἶτον. Here λόγος=a story, which may be true or false,
but suggests the mythical; cf. λογοποίω, below § 54, de Pace § 35
τὰ δ' οὖν δυνα λογοποιεῖν ὡς ἔτην. Lys. 16 § 11 λογοποιοῦντας καὶ
ψευδομένους. Lexx. quote Aristoph. Pax 148 μή ... Εὐρυτίθη λόγον
παρασχέτε, i.e. a plot; cf. Lycurg. § 23 ἵνα μὴ λόγον οἰσθείε ἐκναι,
ἀλλ' εἰδήτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν. So μῦθος=an anecdote, or a dramatic plot.
Archër-Hind on Phat. Phaed. 61 b, 'λόγος in its wider sense in-
cludes μῦθος.'

ὡς ... οἷα. For this frequent irregularity, Shilleto, Dem. de F. L.
§ 213, quotes instances of superfluous ὡς or ὡς; cf. Plat. Gorg. 481
ἡ, quoted by Kühner Gr. § 550, 1, 3, αἰσθάνομαι σον ὡς ... οὖ
δυνάμειν ἄνθλέγειν. Χαν. Ουγ. 5, 3, 30.

περὶ τῷ θέω, i.e. Demeter and Persephone, worshipped in the
Mysteries. Kühner Gr. § 363, 3 2. τῷ, τοῖν, τῶδε, τοῦν, τοῦτο,
toûtou are common in gender. The dual Fem. forms of pronouns
and participle are rare. Soph. Antig. 770, Aristoph. Thesm. 950. τά
and ταῖν are not Attic prose forms. Isocr. 4 § 41 (τῷ πόλη τοῖνω).
See § 144 Note. In Athens, the oath νη τῶ θεῶ was used by women,
e.g. Aristoph. Lys. 51, Eccles. 155. At Sparta, it was ναὶ τῶ σιώ, and
was a man's oath, denoting Castor and Pollux; e.g. Lys. 1095, 1711, Pax 214. At Thebes it denoted Amphion and Zethus.

§ 30. φημε δεῖν ... ἐμὲ δέ. See Index, s. accus. δεῖνῶν ἢν εἴη ἐλ ... ὁργίζουσθε ... ἡγησεσθε. Goodwin M. and T. § 54 (b). The vivid Fut. is substituted for the vague form. Lipsius unnecessarily reads ἡγησεσθε. 'It would be hard if you were to be indignant with me... and are going to think.' The difference between δεῖνῶν ἵσταται and δεῖνῶν ἢν εἴη is very slight. Hence the change.

δήλον ὧτι γάρ. Kühner Gr. § 557, 6, 1, quotes this passage, to which there is no exact parallel in classical literature, the nearest approach to it being Xen. Memorab. 3, 7, 1; 4, 2, 14; 4, 4, 23, where δήλον ὧτι ἐφη is used instead of δήλον ἐφη ὧτι. An additional point here is that γάρ is the third word, and ought to be second; hence Blass edits here δηλονότι, which is a Grammarian's word = scilicet. The instances quoted in L. and S. under δηλονότι in classical writers should be placed under δήλος. Below, § 114, δήλον ὧτι occurs again, but without γάρ. But, e.g. in Dem. de F. L. § 37, Isocr. 15 § 207, Plat. Rep. § 331 ε, δήλον γάρ ὧτι occurs (cf. Lys. 18 § 11), so that it is possible that δήλον γάρ ὧτι is the true reading here, and has been altered by a copyist who thought δηλονότι was the proper form. Kühner remarks that in classical writers δήλον ὧτι often approaches very nearly this use, as an explanatory adverb. As used here, (= satis constant, cf. Isocr. 3 § 47), it must be distinguished from its use in (1) parenthesis, as Plat. Gorg. 487 ὃ καὶ δῆλον ὧτι τούτων περί; (2) = scilicet, Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 55 ὃ δὲ ἄγωμεν χρόνων τὴν εἰρήνην, δήλον ὧτι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἑ... ὃ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἐγράφε τῶν πόλεων, where Franke wrongly reads δηλονότι, cf. Kühner Gr. § 548, 3. Compare εὖ οἶδ' ὧτι, e.g. Thuc. 6, 34, 7 and 8; 6, 38; 6, 68, etc. Aeschin. v. Tim. § 25 εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὧτι κ.τ.λ. δηλονότι is found in the Syracusan of Theocritus xi. 79 δηλονότι ἐν τά γά κ.τ.λ.

τὰ τοιαύτα δικήματα, i.e. 'crimina quorum existant certa indicia.' Dobree. For τοιούτος = 'such as I have described,' implying a notion suggested by a previous expression, cf. Cope on Arist. Rhet. Α. 5 § 6; he quotes Dem. F. L. § 103 χάρων, ἂν ταύτης ἀξίως ἦς καὶ τοιωνάτως ὄργην, ἄν τοιαύτα φαινήτωσι πεποιηκὼς, ποιεῖσθε, where Shilleto remarks that τοιαύτα = ὄργης ἀξία (the notion being suggested by ὄργην). Archer-Hind, Plat. Phaed. 80 c. The use is very common in Aristotle, and is one cause of the obscurity of his style.
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βάσανος . . . Ἀγγχος. 'For an inquiry is a terrible thing before those who know the facts; but to me an examination is most pleasant in a matter wherein there is no need for me to obtain an acquittal (cf. § 144) by beseeching you or apologising on a charge of this sort, but rather by refuting the statements of my accusers and reminding you of the facts, since you have sworn a solemn oath with regard to the verdict you will give concerning me, and have bound yourselves under the greatest imprecations on yourselves and your own children that you will give a just decision in my case, and, in addition to this, have been initiated, and have seen the sacred relics of the two goddesses, in order that you may take vengeance on the impious and protect the innocent.' From καὶ ἀρασάμενοι τὰ δίκαια is superfluous, merely repeating what precedes. So ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ αἵτια. βάσανος is here used as synonymous with Ἀγγχος, cf. de Red. § 25. So ἁσανίζειν = ἐλέγχειν Aristoph. Eq. 513.

παρὰ τοῖς εἰδόσω, ἢ.ε. παρὰ τοῖς μεμνημένοις.

§ 31. οἱ τινὲς = quippe qui. So ὁ δὲ γε, ἡ.γ. Isaues 1 § 26 and § 34. ὁρκοῦσα μεγάλουσ ὁμόσαστας οἴσετε, 'have taken a solemn oath with regard to the verdict which you will give.' The partic. is more important than the finite verb, as not unfrequently. Cf. Sandys on Demosth. 45 § 72.

παρεὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις. See § 2, Note on τοὺς ὁρκους.

τὰ ἱερὰ. What these were is unknown. C. R. Kennedy says 'solemn revelations assure the listeners, not only that sins duly expiated are forgiven, but that happier scenes awaited the departed good.' Cf. Isocr. 4 § 23.

Ἰνα τυμωρήσῃ. 'In all the orators without exception Ἰνα is the favorite final particle proper. After historical tenses, Ἄνδος uses the Subj. more freely than the Opt. with Ἰνα, with ὡς the Opt. alone.' Prof. Gildersleeve.

τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, 'the guilty' = οἱ ἀδικοῦντες (not Aorist). Kühner Gr. § 382 1, b. φεύγω, νικῶ, κρατῶ, ἠττῶμαι, προδίδωμι, and γίνομαι, are used in this manner.

§ 32. ἐπισκῆπτω. Harp. s. v. ἐπισκήψατο. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνέκαλεσε ψευδομαρτυρῶν . . . τὸ δὲ ἐπισκῆπτω ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ τινὸς ἐπιθεομαξοῦ λέγω καὶ οἶνον ἔδικω 'Ἀνδοκίδης τε . . . καὶ Λυσίας . . . εἰρήκασιν. For the first meaning, see note on § 7. For the meaning here, cf. Soph. O. T. 252 υμῖν ἄπαντα ταῦτ᾽ ἐπισκῆπτω τελεῖν. Ajax 566,
quoted by Suidas, who however explains the word wrongly. It is common in tragedy. Lys. 13 §§ 41, 42, 92, of the solemn behests of a dying man; ib. 32 § 6 ἐπίσκηψε δὲ, ἐὰν τι πάθη, τάλαπτων ἐπιδοῦναι τῇ γυναί. Cf. Pape Lex. s. v.

ἵππο τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Much importance was attached by Athenians to the opinion which Greeks in general had of their city; cf. below § 140. Hence, when strangers were at Athens in numbers, care was taken that nothing might happen to disgrace the city in their eyes. Cleon attacked Aristoph. for introducing a chorus of representatives of subject states of Athens grinding the mill of the Demos, in the Babylonians, produced at the Great Dionysia 426 B.C. The play awoke recollections of the fate of Mytilene, which had fallen in the previous year; cf. Acharn. 502 οὐ γάρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι | ξίνων παράντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω. Aristoph. was careful to produce his next play, the Acharnians, at the Lenaea, when no strangers were present; cf. Isocr. 8 § 14, [Lys.] 6 § 5 τίνα γυώμου ὑποθέτε τέτιν... τούσ Ἀλλοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ ἕνεκα ταύτης τῆς ἵππης ἔρχοντας ἢ θεῶν εἰς ταύτην τὴν πανήγυριν (the Mysteries) Βουλόμενοι ἢ θεωρεῖν; and in various parts of that speech the speaker refers to the horror of Greece in general at A.'s conduct.

§ 33. εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἡμάρτηται μοι. When ou follows εἰ, (1) it negates a single word, and with it forms one notion, as in οὐκ εἶθελω = I refuse, οὐ κελεύω = I forbid. Kühner Gr. § 512, 3; cf. Lys. 13 § 76 εἰς μὲν φάσκει Φρύνιχον ἀποκτείνας, τούτων μέμνησθε... εὰν δ' οὐ φάσκη ἔρεσθε αὐτὸν—σι ιγιτω affirmabiti... quod si factum negaverit (Müller): or (2) εἰ = εἰσι or ὅτι. Goodwin M. and T. § 47, 3, Note. Thompson Att. Syn. § 280. So here εἰ δὲ = εἰσι δὲ, and εἰ is repeated so that the two clauses εἰ μὲν and εἰ δὲ may exactly correspond. So Aeschin. n. Tim. § 112 εἰ μὲν τοῖν ἐν ὁ ἀγὼν οὔτοι εἰν πόλει ἐκλητῷ ὡμᾶς ἄν ἐγωγε ἦξωσα... εἰ δ' ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστων Ἀθήνης... εἰ μὲν ἀναμνήσκεις προσήκει, ο. since the trial is at A. For εἰ = ὅτι, see Dem. de Cor. § 28 εἰ δὲ Βουλεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις φίλην δεῖν τοῦτό μοι διαβάλλει (see Cope, Arist. Rhet. A. Append. C): or (3) the sentence is bi-membered, as below § 102, where see note: or (4) εἰ = whether, in an indirect question, e.g. Plat. Rep. 353 A συνθανόμενοι εἰ οὐ τοῦτα ἐκάστον εἰς ἔργον.

μὴ μεταλάβη. The ordinary penalties incurred by a prosecutor in a public action who failed to obtain a fifth of the votes were (1) a
fine of a thousand drachmae; (2) partial ἀμία, in that he was
debarrered from bringing similar actions (hence ἀτυμώθη). In the case
of an action for ἀδίσθεα he incurred an additional form of ἀμία, as
he was forbidden under penalty of death to enter the temples of
those deities whom he had wrongfully accused his opponent of insulting.
In the single case of an εἰσαγγελία there was no penalty for such
failure. See § 20 Note.

tὸ πεμπτὸν μέρος. For references to the consequences to oneself
or the opposite side of failing to obtain this proportion of the votes,
cf. Dem. 27 § 67; ib. § 69; 35 § 46.

§ 34. τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς π., i.e. τῶν Ἐρμῶν τῆς π. as § 15; cf. 62.
But in all other passages we have either (1) ἢ τῶν Ἐρμῶν π. and
ἐρμοκοπίας, and Schol. on Aristoph. l. c.) or (2) ἢ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων π.
(Thuc. 6, 28, etc.).

ὅσπερ καὶ ὅπ. § 8.

Τεύκρος. Plut. Alc. 20 quotes Phrynichus Com. (Hermes. log.)
φυλάξομαι: Τεύκρῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ βούλομαι | μὴν τρα βούλομαι τῷ παλαμναίς
ξένῳ. T. (§ 15) gave information about both Mysteries and Hermæ,
and his evidence in regard to the latter was afterwards corroborated
by A.

dοῦνα πένθος εἰκοσίν. Attic prose prefers the periphrastic forms
for 18 etc., 19 etc., especially the latter. Krüger Gr. § 24, 2, 9.
Goodwin Gr. § 77, 2 Note 2 (b); Thuc. 8, 7; 8, 17; 8, 25. ib. 8,
104 has δηκτα καὶ δηδοκίνητα, and ib. 7, 18 διδοῦν καὶ δεκατόν ἐτῶν
ἐτελεῖται, whereas in 8, 6 we find ἐνδει δεῦν εἰκοσίν ἐτῶν ἐτελεῖτα.

p. 34 disbelieves this statement, but A. seems to have the better of
Thuc., the Pseudo-Lys. and the Pseudo-Plut. on this point. A.'s
disclosures confirmed those of Teucer, but all but four persons
named by A. had already been put to death or gone into exile. So
Dr. Jebb.

§ 35. Εὐφιλήτων § 13 Note. ἦκουσι § 25 Note.

§ 36. Χαρικλῆς went in command of thirty ships to harass the
Peloponnese in 413 b.c. with Demosthenes, who was then on his way
to Sicily (Thuc. 7, 20). Like Pisander, he started as a democrat, but
went over to the oligarchs in 412 B.C., becoming one of the Four Hundred (below § 101). He fled to Decelea when the Four Hundred were deposed, and assisted in the ruin of Athens. He returned along with Critias and other exiles in 404 under the terms of peace imposed by Sparta. He was active in promoting the establishment of the Thirty, of whom he was a member. (Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 2. Harp. and Suidas s. v. Χαρικλῆς.) When Theramenes opposed the violent measures of Critias, and the Thirty split into two factions under these leaders, Charicles followed Critias (Lys. 12, 55 οἱ δοκούντες ἐναποκτάται Χαρικλῆς καὶ Κριτία καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἐταιρείᾳ). He shared with Critias the authorship of the worst deeds of the Thirty. (Isocr. 16 § 42.) His demeanour was servile to Lysander, but overbearing towards his countrymen.

ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δ. καταλύσει. Cf. Thuc. 6, 27 τὸ γὰρ ἐκπλοῦν οἰσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσία ἄμα νεωτέρων πραγμάτων καὶ δήμου καταλύσεως γεγενήθαι; ὑδ. 28. Cf. Diod. Sic. 13, 2, 4. Plut. Alc. 20. Suidas s. v. καταλύω. It was owing to this idea, that the outrages were the work of a band of conspirators anxious to overthrow the constitution, that Alcibiades and his associates were proceeded against by ἐισαγγελία,—the trial arising out of the μηνύσεις of Andromachus and the other informers. The prosecution of Alcibiades was undertaken by Cimon’s son, Thessalus. Plut. Alc. 22 quotes the impeachment. As Alcibiades had fled, judgment went against him by default. Thuc. 6, 61 ἐρήμη δικὴ διάναυον κατέγρωσαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἐκείνου. Hyperides ὑπὲρ Εὐξ. 22, quoting the Law relating to ἐισαγγελία (νόμος ἐισαγγελτικὸς): εάν τις τῶν δήμων τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατάληψη οὐ συνή ποι ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου ἢ ἐταιρικόν συναγάγῃ, he is liable to an ἐισαγγελία. It was not usual to deal with ordinary ἀδεία by means of an ἐισαγγελία (see Att. Proc. § 304), but the Ecclesia had decided in this instance to proceed by means of μηνύσεις and ἐισαγγελία. Cf. Thuc. 6, 27, 3.

ἐπείδη ὁ κήρυκς ἀνείπο. Opt. of Indef. frequency. Under ordinary circumstances, the Ecclesia met only at fixed intervals. The meetings were on the Pnyx, and immediately before and after a meeting, the neighbouring Agora was full of people. An ordinary meeting (κυρία ἐκκλησία) was not announced by any special summons, but a flag (τὸ σημεῖον) was hoisted somewhere in the Agora (ἐν τῷ θολευτήριον) when the Ecclesia was to meet, and removed when it broke up. The Boule sat daily (except on festival days). But of course
it could not be sitting when an Ecclesia was being held, since the Senators were present at the latter. On days when no Ecclesia was held, the ἐκθέτης announced the meeting of the Boule in the Agora. If an Ecclesia was held, the Herald, in addition to making the ordinary announcement, had to remove the flag. See L. and S. s.v. σημείων. Suidas ὅτε δὲ ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι ἐκκλησία σημείον ἔντιθετο. Cf. Aristoph. Thesm. 277. Trans. 'As soon as the Herald announced that the Senate was to go to the Senate-house, and removed the flag, at one and the same signal the Senate would go to the Senate-house, and the people in the market-place would rush from it.' (Cf. de Red. § 8.) The people filled the Agora as usual when the Ecclesia ended. But when they heard the meeting of the Senate announced, a panic seized them, each fearing he might be arrested by its order. It should be mentioned that Schömann takes a different view of the passage, and thinks that τὸ σημείον is not the Ecclesia flag at all, but a flag which flew on the Senate-house when the Boule was not sitting, and was taken down when it met. He does not think that an Ecclesia had been held at all on the occasions referred to by A. It should however be noticed, that if an Ecclesia was held (and I believe A. does here refer to sundry extraordinary meetings, συγκλητοῖς ἐκκλησίαις, held at this time), the removal of the flag was practically a signal that the Boule would now meet, the Ecclesia being over.

οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐφευγοῦν. For the attraction of the Prep. when used with the Article, see Kühner Gr. § 448. On Diocleses, Plut. Alt. 20 quotes Phryn. Com. ὁ φιλατθεὶς Ερμή καὶ φυλάσσον μὴ πεσον | αὐτόν παρακρούσῃ καὶ παράσχης δυσβαλήν | ἑτέρῳ Διοκλείδα βουλομένω κακῶν τι δρᾶν. D. afterwards confessed that his μήνυσις had been false and was put to death (below § 66). A comparison of this passage with Diod. Sic. 13, 2, 6 and Plut. i.e. that they refer to Diocleses when they say that one of the informers declared that he had seen the conspirators by the light of the moon, and was disbelieved because it was known to have been new moon on the night in question. See Grote Gk. Hist. vii. 36 Note for proofs of the falsehood of Diodorus' and Plutarch's statement.

§ 37. ἐπαρθεῖς οὐν. Cf. Isocr. 17 § 35 οίοις τεκμηρίοις ἐπαρθεῖς ἀποτερεῖ με τῶν χρημάτων.

φάσκων. This form frequently contains a suggestio falsi, as here, cf. § 47. See L. and S.
eis τριάκοσιος, ad trecentos, a rather rare use of eis, for which μάλιστα is substituted in § 38.
καὶ τούτοις . . . προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν ἀναμμηνήσκεσθαι. When a Participle and Verb which are followed by different constructions have only one object, the object follows the construction of the participle, e.g. Thuc. 4, 18 δοῦνα εἴπ' ἀ νῦν ἀφιγμένοι ύμᾶς αἰτούμεθα. 5, 5, 2 τούτοις ἐνυχώσων οὐκ ἠδίκησεν. 7, 53, 2 προσπεσόντες τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτρεψαν τρέποντι. But if the Partic. governs the Accus. while the verb takes another case, the object is apt to be repeated with the verb. Thuc. 5, 105, 2 ἑτέρος ὥστε θέντες τὸν νόμον ὥστε κειμένῳ πρῶτοι χρησάμενοι, διὰ δὲ παραλαβόντες καὶ ἐσόμενον ἐς δὲν καταλείποντες χρόμεθα αὐτῷ; cf. § 94. Similarly, if the sense requires that the object should be constructed to suit the verb, a pronoun is inserted to suit the participle. Thuc. 7, 43 καὶ αὐτοῖς οἰ. Α. ἐνυχώντες ἀμυνομένοις προσβύμως ἔτρεψαν.

διδάσκεις ἄλληλους. See § 46 Note.

§ 38. ἀνδράποδον ἐπὶ Δαυρίφ, in the silver mines, which were let out to private persons by the state on hereditary tenure. The lessee (ὁ ἀνωτέρους) paid a sixth of the proceeds as rent per annum. Schömann Antig. of Greece (E. Trans.), p. 448. Böckh P. E. of Athens, Append. of Eng. Trans.

οἱ. Cf. §§ 15, 40, 41, 42. This is the only case of the 3d personal pronoun at all frequent in prose. It is fairly common in Thuc. e.g. 6, 59; 6, 93; 7, 86; 8, 85. Blass (Att. Bereds.) remarks that even the Dat. is usually entirely avoided by orators. See Kühner Gr. § 455, 5, 9. Krüger § 25, 1, 5.

ἀποφοράν. Suidas, s.v. ἡ τελομένη παρὰ τῶν δοῦλων τοῖς δεσποτάσις.
It is the earnings of a slave let out by his master.

ἐπεί δὲ κτλ. 'When he reached the gateway of Dionysus, he saw a crowd of people going down from the Odeum to the Orchestra of the Theatre. Feeling uneasy about them, he went into the shade, and sat down between the column and the pedestal on which is the bronze statue.' (?) δείσας δὲ αὐτός, cf. § 66.

καθίσας = to sit down (καθήσας = to remain sitting.
ἔστάναι δὲ κύκλῳ, sc. τοῦς μέν.

§ 39. τοῦθ᾿ ὑπέθετο, δ. πράγμα, οἴμαι. 'Now first of all he took this fiction to work on—a most disgraceful business, I take it (cf. § 19)—so that it might be in his power to include any Athenian he chose among
these men, and exclude from the number any one he chose.' Dioclides knew he would be asked how he saw the men. He therefore concocted this story before giving the names. This formed the groundwork or foundation (ιπόθεσις) on which he built his μήνυσις. Hence τοῦθε refers back to the whole of § 38. I have placed a comma before δεινώτατον, because I feel compelled to differ from Dr. Jebb's interpretation (Attic. Or. Selections p. 225, 1888), according to which δεινότ. πράγμα ("an incredible affair") is in apposition with τοῦθε. Dioclides had invented a story, not adopted a course of action. δεινότ. πράγμα is, I believe, in apposition with the sentence, and what A. considers as most outrageous (as I understand it) is not the story, but the fabrication of the story. With θεολογία and μη β. sc. φάναι τῶν ἀνδῶν τούτων εἶναι. In the latter, μη goes in sense with φάναι, as λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν shows. Krüger Gr. § 67, 1, 5 quotes Thuc. 3, 47, 4 δὲ δὲ, καὶ εἰ ἦδικησαν, μη προσποιεῖσθαι, sc. ἀδικῆσαι; of. the Scotch phrase, 'you won't need to go;' you must not go.

§ 40. ἐκατὸν μ. The second reward, proposed by Pisander, § 27.

ιδὼν δὲ Εὐ. 'He saw Euphemus sitting in a smithy, took him to the temple of Hephaestus, and told him what I have told you, namely, that he had seen us on the preceding night. Now, he said, he had no wish to obtain money from the state rather than from us, so as to consider us his friends. So Eu. answered that he was obliged to him for the information, and urged him to have the kindness to come to L.'s house,' of 'ad Euphemum referri debet' Blass. Krüger Gr. § 48, 7, 10. The reason for taking him to a temple was to make the interview private and solemn.

§ 41. ἤκειν ἔφη. 'He said he was come on the next day, and was just knocking, when my father happened to be coming out, and said: Is it you our friends are expecting? One must not surely slight such friends. So saying, he was gone.' This showed Leogoras was in the plot, and supposed Dioclides had come to join it. ἀπώλλυε. Cf. § 17 Note παραδίδωσι. Kühner quotes Eur. Her. Fur. 538 καὶ τὰμ' ἐθνηκε τέκν', ἀπωλλύμην ἀ' ἔγω, liberi mei morituri erant, ego autem peritura: cf. for this use of the Imperf. of attempted but not completed action, of which A. is very fond, §§ 42, 47, 58, 59, 60.

ἦν δὲ κατάσχωμεν ἥμεισ & θεολόμεθα refers again to the idea that the constitution was in danger: cf. § 36, and Thuc. 6, 60, 1 και
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πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἐπὶ ἐυνωμοσία διλιγαρχία καὶ τυραννίᾳ πεπραγχθαι. This notion was encouraged by Diocles. The real object of the oligarchs who mutilated the Hermae was probably to ruin Alcibiades, and perhaps also to stop the Sicilian Expedition. See Life of A.

ἐνα αὐτῶν ἡμῶν εἰναι. The Pres. Inf. (where the Fut. might be expected) is constantly used thus in treaties, compacts, and official utterances, e.g. Thuc. 5, 23. Cf. Livy’s use of Stari. The reward agreed on included a post in the Oligarchy to be established. [This pres. probably reproduces the Imperat. of or. recta, and often=Lat. imperf. subj.; e.g. Thuc. 4, 50 πέμψαι=‘mitterent.’ A. W. S.]

πιστὶν δὲ τ. δοῦναι τε καὶ δεῖξαι. The Infns. still depend on δεδομέναν εἰπ. πιστὶν δοῦναι here = to give a pledge oneself (by taking an oath), π. δεῖξαι = to exact one from another. But the ordinary meaning of ‘διδόναι ὅρκον in Aristotle and the Orators is to offer or tender an oath, λαμβάνειν (or δείχνειν in the Orators), to accept or take it.’ Cope on Arist. Rhet. λ. 15, 27. The regular quotation is Aesch. Eumen. 407 ἀλλ’ ὅρκον οὐ δείκνυ’ ἄν, οὐ δοῦναι θέλει: cf. Dem. de F. L. § 164.

§ 42. ἐν ἀκρωπολείᾳ, ‘by taking an oath in one of the temples.’ Dr. Jebb.

ηκεῖν. The student will notice the large number of Infns. in the Oratio Obliqua from § 38 to this point which represent a Pres. Indic. in the Recta. They show the vivid picturesqueness of A.‘s style. See Jebb’s Attic Orators on this point.

μηνύσων. In § 37 εἰσαγγελλέει is used of Diocles, and § 43 εἰσαγ-γελία. See § 4 Note; εἰσ. in its wider sense includes μηνύσις.

§ 43. τὸ ἐπὶ Σ. ψήφισμα. ‘The decree passed in the Archonship of S.’ Videtur interdictisse nequis civis Atheniensis tormentis subiceretur. Reiske. Grote, Gk. Hist. vii. p. 39 note, praises the moderation of the Boule in that, though invested with full power, it did not accept this proposal. Yet, considering that even slaves were really seldom tortured, it appears monstrous that Pisander should have suggested that two senators should be tortured. It shows to what lengths the citizens were ready to go, that the Senate actually applauded the proposal, and that even when the accused rushed to the altar, they escaped with difficulty.

ὅτας μὴ . . . ἔτσι. ‘Quo facto nox non erit.’ Cf. § 89.

πρὶν πυθίσθαι. After a Neg. πρὶν with Infin. is rare in Attic, and
occurs only after words expressing fear (here the fear of night-fall), or where there is a marked contrast between 'before' and 'after,' Lys. 19 § 55. Notice also that πρὶν regularly takes Aor. Inf.; cf. § 67 and § 89. Prof. Gildersleeve in A. J. of Phil. vol. ii. p. 465, Sturm, Cons. mit πρὶν, p. 110.

§ 44. ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστιαν—as a supplian claiming the protection of Vesta. Harp. τὴν ἔστιαν τὴν βουλαίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἰδρυμένην. Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 52 of Theramenes. de Red. § 15.

ἐξεγγυηθεῖτες, 'to be allowed out on bail.' A citizen had to provide bail for his appearance in cases of εἰσαγγελία (as here), ἤνδειξις, ἀπαγωγή, and ἐφήγησις.

ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεισθαί, 'became liable to the same penalties as those for whom they had become sureties': cf. § 94, Lys. 1 § 32. In public cases, when a man who has provided sureties for his appearance fails to appear, the sureties then become liable to the penalty which would have been inflicted on the defendant if he had appeared, and been condemned. Att. Proc. § 519 Note. In case therefore there was a capital penalty hanging over the head of the defendant, the sureties themselves would go into exile at once. Thus in Lys. 13 § 23 et seq., Agoratus is to make a μὴνοις before the Boule, and certain persons have become sureties for his appearance. But they themselves suggest to him that he shall escape by sea, and propose to go with him, as they would be liable to be condemned to death, as Agoratus would have been had his μὴνοις been proved false. Hence in the present case, the flight of the Senators was probably followed by the flight of their sureties. In private cases, when a party bailed out did not appear, the bail was forfeited, and if the sureties did not pay, they became defendants in a suit for the sum.

§ 45. ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, 'retired and conferred in private,' f. de Red. § 3, § 21. The proceedings of the Boule were usually public, and any one might be present outside the barrier; cf. Dem. de F. L. § 19 τὸ Βουλευτήριον μεστὸν ἣν ἰδιωτῶν and 25 § 23.

ἀνείπτων ἐκλέγεσθαν. No order is given to the large part of the population outside the walls; what was feared was not an invasion, but an attempt to subvert the democracy by the oligarchs, and the movement of the Boeotians lent support to this idea. There was also a small Spartan force at the Isthmus. Thuc. 6, 61.

1. ἄγορᾶν—the Agora of the Piraeus. Ἀνάκειον—the temple of the
Dioscuri, in whose honour the festival of the Ἀράκεια was celebrated. Ἡ θόλος—ἐν ᾧ συνεδείπνουν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πεντάκοντα τῆς βουλῆς, ἦ προτατεύουσα φυλή. Pollux 8, 155. Dr. Jebb refers to Dem. de F. L. § 279, q.v.

ὑγέιο εἰς τὸ προτατεύον κ. τ. λ. The two rewards conferred on those who were considered to have done signal service to the state were (1) a front seat in the theatre; (2) maintenance in the Prytaneum at public expense. These were granted by a Psephism passed for the purpose. Aristoph. Eq. 574 καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐδ' ἄν εἰς | τῶν προ τοῦ σιτησιων ἄρησ· | νῦν δ' ἐαν μὴ προεδρίαν φέρωσι καὶ τὰ σιτία, | οὐ μαχείσθαι φασίν. ib. 702 (Cleon, log.) ἀπολῶ σε νὴ τῆν προεδρίαν τὴν ἐκ Πύλου. Suidas s. v. προεδρία, cf. Isocr. 15 § 95 δικαίως διὰ ἐχούσα οὐ πλεῖον χάριν ἢ τοῖς δὲ ἀρετήν ἐν προτατείῳ στιουάμενοι. Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 196. These honours were also usually conferred by a Psephism on foreign ambassadors; cf. Aristoph. Acharn. 125, Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 76 τὸ ψήφωμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας with Dem. de Cor. § 28. The ordinary seats in the theatre cost two obols.

στεφανώσαντες. The practice of crowning a man, as a reward for services to the state, was not as yet so common as in the age of Demosth., and the crown was an olive garland, not, as later, a gold crown. See Schömann Antiq. of G. (Eng. Trans.) p. 415. Thrasybulus was presented with an olive garland in 403 B.C.

46. ὁπόσοι ύμῶν παρῆσαν, ἀναμμήνησκεσθε, cf. Lys. 12 § 96 ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἄνατον διέφυγον . . . ἔλθετε εἰς τῶν Πειραιαί. Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 60 εἰ τινες ύμῶν ἤκουσιν . . . επινεύσατε μοι. This confusion of general and particular is found also in Lat. with quisquis. See Propert. 5, 5, 77; Tib. i. 6, 39. ὁπόσοι παρῆσαν practically = οἱ παρόντες.

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκετε, cf. §§ 37, 69, C. R. Kennedy Append. 6, Demosth. vol. iv.: 'As the Athenians never retired to consider their verdict, but gave their votes immediately after the termination of the speeches, they had not much opportunity of communicating with each other. If any juror possessed a private knowledge of the facts, he might whisper it perhaps to the man who sat next him, or he might indicate by some sign his assent to the speaker's statement. . . . It was a common trick for the parties to assume that certain facts, from their general notoriety, needed no proof.'
NOTES.

§ 47. ἀναγνώσομαι, 'nomina quoque vobis recitari curabo.' Müllcr, cf. below (to the γραμματεύς) καὶ αὐτοὶς ἀναγινώςκε.
ἀδελφοὶ, were brother and sister; cf. οὐ γονεῖς, οἱ τεκόντες, etc. Krüger Gr. 43, 1, 1 quotes this and other passages.

Φρύνιχος ὁ ὀρχησάμενος, 'Phrynichus the late dancer.' He had been very famous. See Aristoph. Vesp. 1302. This passage shows that he had retired before Dioclides informed. For the partic. to describe a man's business, cf. § 92; Dem. 21, § 71.

ἐν τοῖς τεταράκοντα: really δύο καὶ τεταράκοντα § 43.

§ 48. Χαρμίδης. Plutarch ALC. 21 wrongly gives the name of the man as Timaeus.

πρός με. As a rule, the non-enclitic forms of the pronouns are used with all prepositions. Exceptions are Isocr. 12 § 23 (περὶ μου and πρὸς με); ib. 15 § 32 περὶ μου. Krüger Gr. § 25, 1, 2 'πρὸς με is often found; seldom περὶ μου, ἐκ μου, εἰς με.'

§ 49. ὅτι . . . ὡσ. See Introd. to de Red. § 5 Note, and E. H. Speiker, A. J. of Phil. vol. v. p. 221. The construction is a colloquial one, limited to prose. Colloquial language always avoids O. Obliqua, and prefers the more vivid and simple Recta. Hence women and uneducated persons (in England) seldom use O. Obliqua; if they attempt it, they are incapable of carrying it on far without a relapse into Recta. 'The Greek language added another form of narration to its existing stock, one which is neither direct nor indirect, but mediates between the two, giving the actual words, but having the appearance of hypotaxis in being introduced by ὅτι or (seldom) ὡς.' Cf. §§ 63, 120, 135.

οἷς γὰρ ἔχω κ. τ. λ. 'Those with whom you were friendly and intimate, except us your kinsmen, have either been put to death on the charges on account of which we are to die, or have fled into exile, thus declaring themselves guilty.' ὃδοι and αὐτῶν are ep-analeptic. ἀπολλυμέθα=perituri sumus, cf. § 41.

§ 50. ἔχει σοι τὴν ἀδελφήν, 'is husband of your sister;' cf. § 120.

§ 51. δεινοτάτη σ. περιπεσών, a very common phrase. Isocr. 15 § 122 ταῖς ἐσχάταις σ. περιπεσεῖν. For ὅ with ἐγώ, see L. and S.
καὶ αὐτοὺς τε ἀποθανόντας. These words repeat what has been just said. This trick is common in this speech, but not in the more careful de Red. This § reappears in different words at § 58, where
again the repetitions are remarkable: συνθέσαι μεν... μη εἰπών ὡς ἐ. ἡμαρτον... μη εἰπών δ ἡκουσα... ἐμοῦ μη εἴποντος. Below μελλοντας δικας ἀπολεισθαι; again repeat these words.

τὰ χρήματα αὐτῶν δημευβέντα. An account of the goods confiscated from the Hermocopids is extant in the Inscription referred to § 13. Confiscated goods (δημιώπατα) were publicly sold by the πωληταί, and a considerable revenue was obtained therefrom. As for the goods confiscated from those who profaned the Mysteries, the accounts of them were set up at Eleusis. Pollux 10 § 97 ἐν ταῖς Ἀττικαῖσ σήμαι, αἱ κεῖναι ἐν Ἐλευσίν, τὰ τῶν ἀσεβησάντων περὶ τῶ θεῶ δημοσίᾳ πραβέντων ἀναγέραται.

ἀλτηρίους τόν θεῶν, 'sinners against the gods.' The rarer sense of ἀλτηρίους occurs §§ 130 and 131. Dr. Jebb compares the double use of ἀλάστωρ, προστρόπαως etc. ; cf. Lat. innocus and ignarus, where the Pass. sense is poetical. See Cook on Sallust Cat. 39, 2.

τριακοσίων refers to §§ 37, 38. A. does not mean that their names had all actually been given, but all were in danger, cf. § 58.

§ 52. ἐνεθυμήθην... ἐλογιζόμην. The Aor. is used of the thought that suddenly struck him.

τέταρτος δὲ ἦσαν. A.'s evidence on this point appears conclusive. Thuc. 6, 60 is mistaken in what he says of the consequences of A.'s information: τὸν μὲν μητρῆτιν εὐθὺς... Ἐλυσαν, τοὺς δὲ καταπαθέντας κρίσεις ποιήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν κ.τ.λ. Thuc. had not the means of learning the facts completely, and seems to combine the results of Teucrus' μῆνυσις with those of A.'s. So also [Lys.] 6 § 23. A. is here bent on proving that he never was subject to Isotimides' Decree, i.e. that he never admitted that he took part in the mutilation. He ought to produce evidence on this point, but cannot. Contrast § 10, where he is very emphatic about the Mysteries, since in that case he can show conclusively that he was innocent. Cf. §§ 23 and 32. See Appendix.

Παναϊτιὸς. His name occurred § 13. A. therefore is not quite accurate there when he says all but Polystratus fled when denounced by Andromachus; for below § 68 we find Panaetius did not go into exile till after A. denounced him as a Hermocopid.

NOTES.

s.v.) Demosth. uses it often, but generally as a term of reproach, of persons: 'homo obscuro et sordido loco natus aut contemptissimae sortis' Cobet. Var. lect. p. 246; e.g. Dem. 9 § 31 of Philip. In its regular meaning, it is an Epic and Trag. word, used in prose only for special effect. A. uses several expressions borrowed from Trag. in this speech. Blass (Att. Bereds.) notices § 29, § 67, § 69, § 99, § 146.

§ 54. ῥ ε τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. Cf. Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 56 ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, δοσὶ δὲ ἔξωθεν περιστάσι . . . ἀνακρίνουμε. Such reff. to the spectators, who attended the case out of curiosity or as friends of the parties, were permitted, cf. § 104. Though the heliasts were all initiated (§ 29), the general public was admitted to this trial.

κατὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, cf. § 61. The members of the club, ἑταιρεία, of Euphiletus.

ἀξιοποιοῦν, cf. de Pace § 35. As this case deals with events which happened sixteen years earlier and Α.'s associates in the outrage had mostly disappeared, mere assertions of either side must be received with caution. See § 29, Note.

§ 55. μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, i.e. τῆς ἀλ. ἐχόμενον. Cf. Antiph. 5, § 2. But with abstract nouns in such phrases the Art. is usually omitted, cf. § 56. Dem. 2, § 4; 24 § 34 ψηφίζεσθαι μετ' εἰσεβείας.

ὡς δὲ δεῖ answers ἡμεῖς μὲν: ἵσαι δὲ . . . ἔξωθη δὲ belong to óιτερ, the construction being paratactic.


ἀλλ' οὖ = and not, as often. So ἀλλὰ μή, de Red. § 1. Isocr. 13 § 8, 14 § 42, 15 § 60.

§ 57. ἀνθρωπίνως, cf. Thuc. 3, 40, 1; 'making allowance for human infirmity' (Dr. Jebb). ὁσπερ ἀν αὐτῶν particularises, and anticipates ἔκαστος.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἤν κ.τ.λ. 'Had it been possible, some one might now say.' The regular form would have been εἰ . . . ἢν, κακία ἢν ἢν, but for the Apod. A. substitutes 'one might say (if he chose),’ Goodwin M. & T. § 54, 1 (a) εἰπεῖν, 'to say,' is rare with infin.
§ 58. ὅπων δὲ. For the Apod. see § 60. Apod. sententiae per longissimas ambages circumductae, Reiske.

σιωπήσαντι μὲν is not answered by any corresponding δὲ. ἢτι δὲ refers to αὐτῷ τε, where δὲ answers τέ. See § 5 Note. Had not the sentence been interrupted by a long parenthesis, it would have run in this form: ὅπων δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῷ ἢ, σιωπήσαντι μὲν αὐτῷ τε ἀπολέσθαι . . . , εἰπώτι δὲ τὰ δυτικα ἀυτῷ τε σώζεσθαι . . . ἡμίσκοι ὁ τῶν π. κακῶν ταῦτα ἐλάχιστα ἱλιαί. Cf. Dr. Jebb 'Some remarks on an Art. by Prof. Mahaffy' p. 50.

ἀπόλλυσαν. 'Threatened with death.'—Dr. Jebb. So φονεῖς ἐγγυνόμην = interfecturus eram, A. presenting the situation in the most vivid form. Presently ἐδησεν is causative. See p. 116.

§ 60. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα. δὲ is put in resumendae orationi. τιμωρήσασθαι ἕκεινον. ἐ. resumes Διοκλείδην. Cf. below § 67 Ἐὐφρηλήθρ ἑναντιώθηκεν . . . καὶ ἑλεοσάρη ἑκεῖνον.

§ 61. εἰς ἰελέγξα τὰ γενόμενα 'distincte facta exposui' τὸ. Presently γένοιτο instead of ἐγένοτο shows A. quotes Euphiletus' own statement.

§ 62. τὸν παρὰ τὸ Φ. Ἐρρ. σ.ν. τὸ 'Ἀθήνης Φ. ἀνομάσθη ἀπὸ Φόρμανδος. Hesych. s. Φόρβας· 'Ἀττικὸς ἤρως. He was charioteer of Theseus.

ὁ 'Ε. ὃν ὃρατε. Ἰ. says this was the only bust not damaged. Thuc. says οἱ 'Ε. οἱ πλείστοι περικόπτουσαν, admitting more exceptions, and is more likely to be correct on this point, as nearer the time, and Ἰ. had a reason for his statement. See Appendix. Philochorus ap. Schol. on Aristoph. Lys. 1094 τὴν δ' αἰτιάν ταύτην οἱ μὲν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην προσέγραφον, ὡς Θουκίδης [6, 28, 1 ὃν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπηγιώντο] οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοις, ὡς Φιλόχροος· μόνον δὲ φησὶ περικόπτη
tὸν Ἀνδοκίδου 'Ε., where probably μόνον δὲ should be read. Plut. Alc. 21 ἐδόκει δὲ μισόδημος καὶ διλγαρχίκος ὁ Ἀνδοκίδης, ὑποτευ δὲ οὐχ ἤκιστα . . . ἐπιτίγχαν οἱ μέγας Ἰρμῆς . . . ἐν γὰρ ὁλίγοις πάντων ἐπιφανῶν μόνοις σχέσεων ἠκριβώς ἔμενε. Nép. Alc. 3, 2 is the only passage which agrees with Andoc. Diod. Sic., with characteristic exaggeration, allows no exceptions.

§ 63. δεινὰ ἐποίουν. Dr. Jebb quotes Thuc. 5, 42; Mr. Hickie
Aristoph. Ran. 1093. 'Declared it intolerable that I knew of the deed without having taken part in it.' The difference between δεινά ποιεῖν and δ. ποιεῖσθαι is the same as that between irum ferre and graviter aliquid ferre, the former being the outward expression of the latter.

ἀλεγον ὑπὶ γεγένηται κ.τ.λ. See § 49 Note.

χαλεπώτεροι σοί κ.τ.λ. χαλεπώτεροι must be repeated with δι' ὀργήν by Zeugma. 'Our enmity will damage you more than any others' friendship won through their hatred of us will avail you.' Wyttenbach (Bib. Crit. iii. p. 110) refers to § 81 περὶ πλείους ἐποιήσασθε σφήνα τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὰς ἱδίας τιμωρίας καὶ σφήνα. Cf. Aesch. Prom. V. 21.

§ 84. αὐτοὶ ... ἐκεῖνοι δὲ. See Shilleto on Thuc. 1, 132 (referred to by Dr. Jebb) for ἐκεῖνοι and αὐτοὶ of the same person. Cf. Thuc. 6, 61 κατέγυρσαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἐκεῖνον; 4, 73, 4. Plat. Rep. 343 c εὐδαιμόνα ἐκεῖνον ποιοῦσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες αὐτῷ. So hie and illc, Cic. de Fin., 4, 16, 43.

τὰς θ. ἕλασον. 'The presidents arrested the servants of the house from which the conspirators had started to set to work.'

§ 85. ἐδέσσαν, impersonal; cf. αὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ in Demosth. Α. τῶν Φ. This man had probably put forward Diocles to shield the other Alcibiades.

§ 86. τῷ δικαστηρίῳ π., cf. § 17. Death was the regular penalty for a man detected in making a false μνήμα. See § 20 Note. Cf. Thuc. 6, 60 end.

αὐτοὶ δὲ. See § 106 Note. The heliasts are addressed as though they were the Athenian people. For δῆλα, see § 45.

πολλῶν κακῶν κ.τ.λ. Thuc. 6, 60 ἡ μέντοι ἄλλη πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι περιφανὸς ὀφειλεῖτο, after A.'s disclosures.

§ 87. ἀπιστοτάτῃ. See § 57 Note. 'Of all pledges the most faithless,' because of the gross outrage on the national religion to which the ἐταιρεία thereby bound itself.

διοιδοφησα ἐκεῖνον διὸ ἦν ἄξιος. For the double object after λοιδορεῖν, see Kühner Gr. § 411, 3, 4. Plat. Phaedr. 241 ε ὅσα τῶν ἐτερον λεοιδοφακαμεν. For ἐκεῖνος repeating the object cf. § 60 Διοκλείδην . . . ἐκεῖνον.

πρὶν ἡμᾶς δεθήσαι καὶ μελλεῖν ἀπολεῖσθαι. See § 43 Note. μελλεῖν δ. 'and were in danger of being put to death.' The Pres. Inf.
used with πρὶν implies continuance or attempt. After their arrest they had the fear of death continually present.

§ 68. ἐσώθη δὲ γε. These particles cap a previous statement made (1) by one's adversary: as Thuc. 5, 109, in the Melian dialogue. Aristoph. Eq. 443 et al.; Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 28; or (2) by oneself: as Thuc. 6, 86, 5; Isocr. 15 § 91; Dem. de F. L. § 102. γε emphasises δὲ.

§ 69. οὕτωι δὲ ἔξει of what follows, as often. See § 20 Note. λέγουν εἰς τούτους, judicibus narrare, Lutz.

§ 70. ποθεί, desiderat, a strong word. Cf. Antiph. 5, § 64. For the perf. of λέγω transitivc, cf. Eur. Ell. 609.

§ 71. ἐνεδείξει με κατὰ τὸν ν. τὸν κείμενον. Cf. § 103. See Introd. to this speech, p. 20. [Lyas.] 6 §§ 9 and 24; de Red. § 24 for the decree of Isotimides. ὁ μὲν γὰρ sc. Isotimides.

τούτων οὐδὲτερα. On the constant substitution of Plur. for Sing. forms, see Shilleto on Thuc. 1, 7. Cf. § 51 πότερα.

οὕτε ἥνεβηται οὕτε ἁμολόγηται. Had this really been the case (1) A. would have had no need to go into exile in 415 B.C.; (2) to prove now that the decree which never applied to him is no longer in force. In the de Red. he admits he is subject to the decree, i.e. that he had admitted his guilt. See Append.

§ 72. τὸ ψ. λέλυται. Introd. § 2.

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. See §§ 92, 94, 95.

§ 73. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ νῆσες διεσφάρισαν, i.e. in the battle of Aegospotami 406 B.C. Athenian writers habitually avoid close references to the scene of a defeat, e.g. of this battle. Xen. Hell. 2, 2, 3 ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀλέγετο ἡ συμφορά. [Lyas.] 2 § 58 ἀπολομένων τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

Lys. 16 § 4 πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ἐ. συμφορᾶς, ib. 21 § 9. Isocr. 4 § 119. συμφορᾶ is constantly used for 'a defeat,' e.g. of the Sicilian disasters, Thuc. 7 § 29; Lys. 18 § 2; Dem. 20 § 42; Isocr. 16 § 15. For the battle of Aegospotami, see Xen. Hell. 2, 1, 24; Dem. 23 § 212.

τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ν. Xen. Hell. 2, 2, 11 of this Psephism, τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποίησαντες ἐκαρπέτουν.

οἱ δὲ ἀτίμους τίνες ἦσαν; This is the loc. class. on ἀτίμων, which includes any form of capitis diminutio. ἀργύρων ὀψείλουτε τῷ δ. Cf. Dem. 25 § 4 ὀψείλουτα τῷ δ. τούτων
καὶ ἐγγεγραμμένον ἐν ἀκροπολεῖ, and below § 77. The Parthenon was used as a State Treasury, and there the Practores (see § 77) kept a list of all state debtors. Hence the phrase ἐγγεγραμμένον ἐν ἀκρο-

πολεῖ.

εὔθυνας ἄφλον, cf. § 78 Note. 'All who had been condemned on their accounts after they went out of office.' The name of the suit is put in accus., the offence in gen.

ἐξούλας, 'were condemned in ejectment cases.' ἐ. is used in its widest sense. Ἡρπ. s.v. ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδιῶν ἐκβάλλομένον τάττεται τοῦνα καὶ οὗ μόνον τῶν ἐκ καταδίκης (i.e. after a judgment already given against a man) ὀφείλότων. The δίκη ἐξούλης is either (1) a suit complaining of ejectment; or (2) a suit demanding the ejectment of an opponent. In order to bring such a suit, the plaintiff must have been the victim of violence, though only of a technical nature (deductio moribus). Cf. Pollux. 8, 59 γίνεται ὅταν τὸν ἐκ δημοσίου πριάμουν μὴ ἐὰν καρποῦθαι δὲ ἐπίστοι, ἢ τοῦ νυκ-

ήσαντα (in a court) δὲ ἐνίκησον, ἀλλ' ἢ ἔχοντα ἐκβάλλει ἢ σχεῖν κολύσῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ ὀφλὼν ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. The δ. ἐξούλης was often employed by a plaintiff who had obtained a verdict against a defendant, but then could not get him to pay the damages, or to give up certain property. Thus when Demosth. obtained judgment for 10 talents against Aphobus, and the latter would not pay, Demosth. distrained on his property. He was however turned off a certain farm by Onetor, who asserted that Aphobus had mortgaged it to him. Demosth. then brought a δ. ἐξούλης against Onetor for the recovery of the farm. Attic Law was deficient in means for enforcing judgments given in δίκαι. The plaintiff had to get the damages or property as best he could. When a man lost a δ. ἐξούλης, he not only was ordered to give up the property in question, but also to pay the value of it to the state, and (as C. R. Kennedy points out) such debtors were not discharged by the state till they paid what was due to the plaintiff. Till then they were ἄγιμοι as state debtors.

γραφάς. A. only mentions that class of δίκαι in which the state enforced its judgments (see last note). In γραφαῖ, all judgments were enforced by the state by means of the πολυται, πράκτορες, and the dreaded ἄρμα. γραφάς ἄφλον doubtless refers also (though not, I think, exclusively, as Böckh supposes) to those accusers who, in consequence of having failed to obtain one fifth of the votes in a
γραφῆ, had to pay a fine of 100 drachmæ to the state, and were ἄτιμοι till they paid.

ἐπιβολάς, fines imposed by a court.

ὡνάς πρίαμενοι, 'or having obtained leases from the state, did not pay the sum due': cf. the case of Cephisius (§ 92). All state property was leased out to individuals, but the rent was not paid directly to the state, but to a middle-man who obtained a lease of the particular class of dues for a stipulated sum, by making the highest bid at the auction for the sale of state dues.

ἐγγύας ἐγγυητατο. In order to obtain a lease of any important tax or due, let out for a sum beyond the means of a single person, it was necessary to form a joint-stock company (ἐπανα), to provide the money. At the head was a president (ἀρχώντες or τελωνάρχης, cf. § 133), who personally entered into the contract on behalf of the company, and had to provide sureties for the payment of the sum for which he obtained the lease by the appointed date. If he failed to pay, the sureties became liable.

τούτοις, i.e. all those just mentioned. But 'these ἄτιμοι had to pay on (or before) the ninth prytany,' and if they did so they escaped from their temporary disfranchisement. 'If they failed to do so, their debt was to be doubled, and their possessions sold' by the πωληταί to defray the debt. For δημιουργα, see note on § 51. If the proceeds of the sale did not cover the debt, they remained ἄτιμοι, and their descendants too, till the whole was paid off: e.g. Aphobus alleged that Demoithenes' father was a debtor to the state and therefore ἄτιμος, because his grandfather had not paid a debt due. For the law with regard to the ἐγγυηταί Meier and S. (Att. Proc.) quote Dem. 53 § 27 οἱ νόμοι κελεύονται τὴν ούσιαν εἶναι δημοσίαν, ὅτε ἄν ἐγγυησάμενος τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως μὴ ἀποδίδῃ τὴν ούσιαν, and 24 § 40. The ἐγγυηταί who become sureties for those who take a lease from the state must be carefully distinguished from the ἐγγυηταί in δίκαι and γραφαι, for whom see § 44 Note.

διπλάσιον ἀδελφεῖα, because they had failed to pay by the second and latest date fixed by law: cf. Demosth. 37 § 22 κύριος ἐμοί γενόμενος ἐγγραφήναι τῷ διπλῶν τῷ δημοσίᾳ.

§ 74. ἃν, as though ἄτιμον instead of ἄτιμιας had preceded. For the use of a concrete ὁς or ὅτις after an abstract noun, see Krüger Gr. § 51, 13, 11; cf. de Red. § 18.
NOTES.

οὖτοι δ’ αὖ. ‘Now these included all who had been convicted of embezzlement or bribery.’ Athenians, like other Greeks, were seldom above taking money dishonestly (see Plat. Rep. 390 ε), but the distinction of having reduced bribery to a science is said to belong to our Anaxus. He invented some mathematical system by which the heliasts might be grouped into bodies of ten and tampered with. The details of his device are unknown, but doubtless a heliast would feel greater confidence if he knew that he had nine others sitting by him who had been bribed. Harp. s.v. δεκάζειν.

κλοπῆς. This was dealt with by a δίκη or γραφή, but whichever course was adopted, ἀτμιὰ was the penalty on conviction.

δώρων, ‘of taking bribes,’ not ‘of bribing others.’ See Pollux 8, 42. The offence was dealt with by a γραφὴ δωροδοκίας.

ἐκ τούτων. Here εκεῖνων would be more regular. See §§ 64 and 67 Notes. A. is probably citing the terms of a statute.

οἵτων λιπόειν τὴν τάξιν. Pollux 8, 40 enumerates γραφαῖ δῶρων, δεκασμοῦ, λιποστρατίου, λιποταξίου, ἀστρατείας, λιποναυτίου, ἀναμαχίου, τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀσπίδα: cf. Dem. 39 § 16 (ed. Paley and Sandys). Lys. 14 § 5 et seq. shows there was a statute dealing with ἀστρατείας, λιποταξίου (restored by Dobree), and δειλίας: cf. ib §§ 11 and 17; Aristoph. Eq. 443; Aeschin. v. Tim. § 29, v. Cles. §§ 7, 175. These references show that A., in enumerating these naval and military offences (1) omits λιποναυτίου (for which, see Lys. 12 § 42 ἔφευγεν ἐκ Ἐλληνσόντων τρῆραρχος καταλιπὼν τὴν ναῦν), i.e. desertion of one’s ship; (2) omits λιποστρατίου, which is properly distinct both from ἀστρατείας and λιποταξίου (see note on ἀστρατείας) and = desertion from the army; (3) repeats δειλίας in another form, νικ. τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβαλλον. Hence ρύψασις = a coward; but the law said ἀποβαλλεῖν τὴν ἀσπίδα, and A. here follows its terms (cf. last note). See Lys. 10 §§ 9-12. ρύψα τὴν δ. was a colloquial phrase.

λιπόειν τὴν τάξιν. Though λιποταξίου and δειλίας were distinguished in the law, the two terms were often identified. Thus Lys. 14 § 5 τοῦ νῦν κελεύειν ἐὰν τῆς λίπη τῆς τάξιν εἰς τούπισον δειλίας ἑνεκα, ib. § 7 οὐδὲ πάρεσθε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτόν τάξιν. Hence it= (1) to drop from one’s place into the rear in action; (2) not to put in an appearance to occupy one’s post when the army set out.

ἀστρατείας = failing to join, when one’s name was placed on the roll. Dem. 39 § 16 et seq. confuses d. with λιποταξίου. On the other hand, in Thuc. 6, 76 λιποστρατίου is used for ἀστρατείας, a
charge of evading service being brought by Athens against her allies generally.

*deilias* is the vaguest term of all, and may cover *ἀστραγείας*, *λιποταξίου*, and *λιποστρατίου*. But it was specially used of those who (1) threw away their arms in battle, (2) continued to serve in the cavalry instead of the (more dangerous) hoplites. See *Lys.* 14 § 7.

*ἀναμαχία*, ‘keeping their ship out of action,’ when trierarch. Suidas s.v. ὡς τοῦ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι (*ἀστραγείας*) καὶ τοῦ λιπείν τὴν τάξιν (*λιποταξίου*) καὶ τοῦ τὰ ὀπλα ἀποβαλεῖν (*δειλίας*) ζημία ἦσαν ἐφισμέναι ἐκ τῶν νίμων, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ μὴ ναυμαχήσαι. τούτο τὸ δφλημα ἀναμαχίαν ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς Ἀνδοκίδης.

*ψευδοκλητεία*. When the plaintiff had to summon the defendant himself, a summons had to be served on a party in the presence of witnesses (*κλητὴρες*), whose names appeared on the document. If judgment were given against a man by default, and he contended that the summons had never been served, he could bring a γραφὴ *ψευδοκλητεία* against the κλητήρ. For *ψευδομαρτυρίων*, see § 7 Note.

τοῦς γονίας κακῶς ποιούν. The offence called *κάκωσις γονίων* was severely dealt with at Athens. The only plea accepted as valid from those guilty was proof that their education had been neglected by the parents. *γραφὴ κακώσεως* were the only cases in which the time was not limited by the *κλεψύδρα* (Harp.). § 14, Note, Hyperid. pro *Eux.* 21.

§ 75. ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννων, i.e. the Four Hundred of 411 B.C. This partial disfranchisement of the soldiers, deprived of the right of speaking in the Ecclesia and sitting in the Boule, was one of the measures taken against the partisans of the Four Hundred. This penalty was apparently inflicted about a year after the fall of the Four Hundred, viz., soon after the restoration of full democracy in 410. (See below § 96.) *Lys.* 25 § 25 et seq. speaks of Epigenes, Demophanes and Clisthenes as having caused the Athenians, after the fall of the Four Hundred, to put some citizens to death unheard, to confiscate the property of others, and others to banish and disfranchise. He refers to 410 B.C., after the Psephism of Demophantus (§ 96), when radical demagogues again came to the front. At first in 411, only Archeptolemus and Antiphon were put to death for complicity in the oligarchy. (Lys. 12 § 67.) But later, *ἀρμοία* was freely inflicted. Hence Aristoph. *Ran.* 686 (produced
early in 405, before Patroclides' psephism) κεί τις ήμαρτε σφαλείς τι Φρονίκου παλαίσμασιν | ἐγγενέσθαι φημὶ χρήναι τοῖς δισθοῦσιν τότε | αἰτιάν ἐκθεσί λύσαι τὰς πρώτης ἁμαρτίας, | εἰτ' ἀτιμῶν φημὶ χρήναι μηδεν' εἰν' ἐν τῇ πόλει. This shows the dislike of the moderate democrats for the wholesale vengeance of the extreme party. Hence the μετριὰ ξύγκρασις praised by Thuc. 8, 97 did not last.

eἰπεῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ἵνα δημηγορεῖν, cf. Dem. de F. L. § 151 λέγοντας, ἐδοκιμοῦντας ἐν υἱῶν, where see Shilleto; cf. below § 77.

tοῦτων τοῦ εἰπεῖν καὶ βουλεύσαμ.—Dobr.

γράψασθαι . . . ἐνδείξαι, referring to prosecutors who had failed to obtain a fifth of the votes. See § 33 Note.

§ 76. ἀναπλέοντα εἰς 'Ε., ἵνα great restrictions were placed on their right of trading as merchants. For the choice of the Hellespont and the Ionic cities of Asia Minor for this purpose, cf. Life of Α., Isocr. 17 § 3, and C. R. Kennedy, Demosth. iv. Append. 5. For εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν, cf. the terms of Isotimides' decree.

ἐν ἀκρωπόλει, ἵνα in one of the temples. Cf. § 42.

§ 77. τὴν ἄδειαν. Cf. Dem. 24, § 46. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων.

Concerning those whose names had been registered as debtors before the Collectors (see § 73 Note) or the Stewards of the Goddess and the other deities, or the King Archon, or any not entered in the list of debtors up to the date on which the Senate of the year in which Callias was Archon went out of office: all who had been disfranchised as debtors, and all whose accounts have been condemned in the court of the logistae by the Auditors and their assessors, or against whom there are actions with regard to their accounts still pending before the heliasts, or who have been condemned to some partial loss of rights, or for not paying the sum for which they were sureties, up to the date aforementioned: and all names of members of the Four Hundred on the register, or anything else recorded anywhere with regard to anything done during the oligarchy: (excepting all names recorded on tablets of those who did not stay in the city, or any undergoing any term of exile after being sentenced in the court of the Areopagus or Ephetae or the Prytaneum by the King Archon for the time being for murder or manslaughter or treason): the rest the Collectors and Senate shall cancel as aforesaid wherever the record may be.' The Psephism deals with all ἀτιμῶν whose names were recorded on public registers, either because they were (1) publia
debtors, or (2) some Psephism had been passed against them. But there was no complete list of ἄτιμοι kept, and the others are all included in the words περὶ τῶν ἄτιμων above.

ψηφίσανται. So ἐξαλείψαι, παρέχειν, ἔξειναι, ἐνοχὸν ἔλαι. The Inf. in prayers, laws and treaties: cf. Thuc. 4, 16; 5, 18, etc. Kühner Gr. § 474, 6.

ἐπιψηφίζειν. Cf. Thuc. 8, 15 τῷ εἰσάντι ἐπιψηφίζειν. The President for the day (ἐπιστάτης) might refuse to put a motion, cf. Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 3. Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 18 says Socrates was ἐπιστάτης when the Generals were tried 406 B.C. and declined to put the motion.


eis τοὺς πράκτορας. The use of eis is the same as in the phrase eis τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰσιναι, and εἰσηγμέναι eis τὸ δικαστήριον below.

ἐγγεγραμμένων eis τοὺς ταμίας. The ταμία τῆς θεοῦ kept a register of persons who had failed to pay fines due to the sacred treasure of Athens. They were ten in number, chosen annually from the first property-class (Pollux 8, 97). The τ. τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, also ten in number, similarly looked after the fines due to other deities. The two boards were distinct, but are here mentioned together, as being closely connected in the matter of fines and dues. See Böckh P. E. of Athens i. p. 219, Ed. 2.

τὸν βασιλεία. That part of the money due to the state was looked after by the Practores: that part due to the gods by the Tamiae. The King Archon, as head of the state religion, also kept lists of certain fines, 'probably those due to the Heroes' Chapels.' Böckh P. E. of A. i. p. 211.

μὴ ἐνεγράφῃ. A man became ἄτιμος as soon as he failed to pay the money due within the time allowed by law. His name was not necessarily at once put on the list. Those who, while their day for payment had passed, had not yet been registered as public debtors, down to the date mentioned, are included.

τῆς ἐξελθοῦσας βουλῆς. The Senators entered on office and retired at the same time as the archons and other magistrates, viz. July.

Καλλιας. Archon Eponymous, July (Hecatombaeon) 406-405 B.C. This measure, passed in the autumn of 405, includes all who had lost their rights up to the end of the official year.

§ 78. ἐσθυναί. The accounts were examined in the office of the
logistae by the ten logistae. (If a man had not handled the state money when in office, the proceedings before them were merely formal.) They could not however discharge an ὑπείθυμα: this could only be done by a court of 501 heliasts. The examination by the logistae was thus a preliminary examination (ἀνάκρισις) only. A charge against the accounts might be brought (1) by any of the logistae; or (2) by ten euthyni, who were probably assessors to the logistae, and present with their twenty πάρεδροι at the ἀνάκρισις; or (3) (especially in the case where the man under examination had not handled state money) by any individual. In any of these cases, a γραφὴ περὶ τῶν εὐθύνων followed before the heliasts, and the logistae presided at the trial. If a private person had suggested the charge, he became prosecutor; and one of the methods by which demagogues harassed the government was by instituting prosecutions against newly retired officials in this manner. If the logistae or euthyni were responsible for the charge, the συνήγοροι—ten public prosecutors—who also attended the ἀνάκρισις—appeared to support it. See further Att. Proc. § 215.

cατεγευσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις, s. c. at the preliminary hearing. A γραφὴ is the result. This refers to charges with regard to money. See above (1) and (2).

μή πω εἰςεγεμέναι γραφαὶ τινές. This refers to charges other than those with regard to money. See above (3).

tῶν μὴ εὐθάλει μεινάτων—those who fled to Decelea when the Four Hundred were deposed, and all who had avoided trial by flight.

ἡ ἕξ Ἀρείου πάγου. From these words to τυραννίδα is taken by Patroclides from a law of Solon (a not unusual course, cf. § 97) quoted by Plut. Sol. 19 ἐπιτίμους εἰπαὶ πλὴν ὅσοι ἔγνω Ἀρείον π. ἤ ὅσοι ἐκ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἢ σφαγαίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐφευγόν. The court which sat in the Prytaneum probably consisted of the archons before Solon, they being then called πρυτάνεις, and presided over by the Archon Basileus. From Solon onwards the name ἀρχοντες was substituted for πρυτάνεις. Cf. Busolt Gr. Hist. i. p. 408. The Areopagus tried cases of wilful murder (φόνος ἐκ προνοίας) and wounding with intent to murder (πραώμα ἐκ προνοίας), and charges against any one not the actual murderer of inciting to murder (Συμπλήρωσις φόνου ἐκουσίου). See below § 94.

tῶν ἐφετῶν. The fifty-one Ephetae sat in four courts, viz., (1) that
held in the precincts of the Delphinium—the Temple of Apollo (τὸ ἐπὶ Δήλφινῳ δικαιώτ.;) (2) that held in the precincts of the Prytaneum (τὸ ἐπὶ πρυτανείῳ δ.;) (3) that held in the precincts of the Palladium (τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ δ.;) (4) that held in Phreatto, a part of Piræus close to the sea (τὸ ἐν Φρεαττῷ δ.;). In (1) murder cases in which justification was pleaded (φόνος δίκαιος) were tried. In (2) cases where the murderer was unknown, or where inanimate things had caused a man’s death, and religious scruples required that the Phylobasileis should solemnly cast out the thing from Athenian territory. In (3) cases of unintentional murder (φόνος ἀκούσιος) and those in which death had resulted from an injury inflicted at the instigation of the accused, but without intent to kill (βούλευς φόνου ἀκούσιον). See with regard to this Att. Proc. § 312. In (4) persons in exile for a previous murder, and now charged with another committed before they went into exile, were tried. They had to plead from the ship without landing. Dem. 23, §§ 65-79.

ἐκ πρυτανείου. This court sat in the Prytaneum. It is distinct from that known as τὸ ἐπὶ πρυτανείῳ above (which is included in the phrase τῶν ἔφεσῶν). Whether at this time it consisted of the Archons or of heliasts is unknown. Probability favours the latter, but this Court in the Prytaneum was a very ancient institution, and it may be doubted if it ever really sat in times when there were other methods of dealing with attempts against the Constitution. After ἐκ πρυτανείου, the mss. have ἡ Δήλφινου, which has been added by a copyist who thought ἐκ πρυτ. denoted τὸ ἐπὶ πρυτανείῳ.

ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν. The Archon Basileus presided in all the six courts mentioned, and announced the result of the voting of the court, and pronounced the verdict. Hence C. I. A. 1, 61 δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτῶν φόνου, i.e. τῶν δὲ βασιλεύωντα. He was originally the first, but after Solon the second Archon. He did not vote, except in the Areopagus. Busolt, Gk. Hist. i. p. 409.

ἐπὶ φόνῳ κ.τ.λ. It will be seen that φόνῳ answers to ἐξ Ἀρείου π. above, σφαγαίσιν τῶν ἔφεσῶν, and τυραννίδι τὸ πρυτανείου. This assumption is not necessary with regard to the original law of Solon, since in his days the Areopagus had extensive and varied judicial powers; but from 460 B.C. to 405 B.C. about the very time of Patrocles’ Psephism, the Areopagus only dealt with τὰ φοινικὰ δικήματα: therefore any persons in exile owing to a verdict of the Areopagus at the time of this Psephism must have been in exile for
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φόνος ἐκούσιος in some form. (See § 84 Note.) The Areop. had no jurisdiction in γραφαί τυρπανίδος during this period.

σφαγαίων understood by the Ecclesia in 405 B.C. to denote those cases tried by the four courts of the Ephetae. Solon used it to denote a massacre in civil strife.

tυρπανίδα. It is improbable that any one was in exile for this offence in 405 B.C. owing to a verdict of the Prytanum Court. δήμον κατάλυσις was then usually dealt with by εἰσαγγελία (e.g. the case of Alcibiades). Patrocles, however, follows the text of Solon’s law closely, even where it deals with a court now out of date. In 405 Oligarchy was more to be dreaded than Tyranny: in Solon’s time Tyranny was the chief danger. But the Athenians always confused the two: e.g. Thuc. 6, 60 ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσία διλγαρχίκη καὶ τυρπανική.

§ 79. τὰ δὲ ἄλα resumes after the parenthesis.

ποιεῖν δὲ ταῦτα. ‘This they are to do within three days of the passing of the resolution. Records to be cancelled as aforesaid, no person may keep in private possession, nor yet may any one ever revive the memory of past offences. Any one who does so shall be liable to the same penalties as those in exile by verdict of the Areopagus,’ i.e. they shall be liable to be tried for their life, like those who return home after (1) going into exile to avoid trial in the Areop. (2) being banished by it. [Lys.] 6 § 15, Dinarch. 1 § 44.

οἱ εἴ 'Α. φεύγοντες. ἐκ is not used here in place of ὑπό, but expresses the source from which the exile springs, as above—δικαίωσαί εἴ 'Α. ὑπὸ τῶν β. Very similar is the usage in ἐκ παντὸς τρόπον § 1.

§ 80. τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας. Only ἄτιμοι in the city were restored before the fall of Athens; the exiles were not restored till Lysander had taken possession of the city: cf. Xen. Hell. 2, 2, 11 and 23. Lys. 25 § 27 is not quite accurate on this point: τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας κατεδέξασθε, τοὺς δὲ ἄτιμοι ἐπιτίμους ἐποίηστε.

σπονδαῖ πρὸς Λ. Xen. Hell. 2, 2, 20 gives the terms of peace:
(1) τὰ τε μάκρα τείχη καὶ τῶν Πειραιῶν καθελόντας; (2) καὶ τὰς ναίς πλὴν δώδεκα (a concession granted by Lysander) παραδόντας; (3) καὶ τῶν φυγαίδας καθένας; (4) τῶν αὐτῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ φίλων νομίζοντας Δακεδαμονίων ἔτεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Among those who returned were Critias and the oligarchs who had fled to Decelea.

Φ. τε κατελήφθην. For the seizure of Phyle by Thrasylulus and his followers, see Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 2 et seq., and cf. Aristoph. Plut.
1146 μὴ μνησικακήσῃς εἴ ὁδοφύλην κατέλαβας. Lys. 13 § 78 et seq. From Phyle the exiles went to Piræus. Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 10; Lys. 16 § 4. Then they took up a position on rising ground at Munychia, Xen. l.c. Cf. Isocr. 8 § 108.

§ 81. ἐγένετο (θ'). The insertion was first made by Reiske. It gives a break in the sentence before ἐπειδὴ quite in A.'s style. (See Introd. on ἀποσιώπησις.) He gives a rapid sketch of the events from the passing of P.'s Psephism down to the General Amnesty. The 'evils' are all those endured by Athens from the battle of Aegospotami to the return of Thrasybulus. These remarks lead A. dangerously near to party politics, so he passes to a safer subject. The struggle between the exiles and the city party is included in the 'evils.'

ἐπειδὴ δὲ. From this point to § 90 we have the main authority for the events immediately succeeding the Restoration in 403 B.C.


τοῖς Δ. βεσμοῖσι. Solon abolished D.'s laws, with the exception of his regulations for the trial and punishment of murderers. These he adopted and set forth in his πρῶτος ἄξιον.

§ 82. βουλήν τε ἀπ. νομοθέτας τε εἴλεσθε. Here for τέ . . . τέ we might have had μὲν . . . δὲ. Kühner Gr. § 520: cf. Thuc. 2, 42 (where see Shilleto); 3, 82; here however the clauses are not, as there, adversative. These Nomothetae with the Boule were to revise the laws, which, during the rule of the Thirty, had been in abeyance. Meanwhile the laws of Solon were to be in force, along with Draco's laws with regard to murder. But it was at once found, when they began their work, that many had committed crimes in the past year which made them liable to punishment. Consequently, an Ecclesia was held and authority given to a certain number of the 500 Nomothetae selected by the Boule to prepare a fresh code, to be submitted to the Boule and whole body of Nomothetae.

νομοθέταις εἴλεσθε. The ordinary annual Nomothetae were elected by lot, probably by the Prytanes (Schömann de Com. Athen. p. 257) from the hellists of the year. But these 500 Nomothetae are distinct from those ordinary ones, and are elected by χειροτονία by the separate demes (§ 84). Their duties however (except the special
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committee appointed from them by the Boule) are the same as usual, viz. to revise the laws—i.e. those prepared by the Committee. See Schömann de Com. Athen. p. 270.

ἐκλησίαν ποιήσαντες. See p. 38, Index s.v. Asyndeton. [Perhaps a particle is lost between these words.—A. W. S.]

ἐπήφισανθε... δοκιμάσαντες. The Subj. of the Inf. is not identical with that of the main verb, but the two subjects are confused. The Boule and Nomothetae were to revise the laws, not the whole Ecclesia, cf. § 89. In both places the Accus. is required: the Nom. could only refer to the Ecclesia itself. Less clear is Isocr. Letter 9 § 16 ὥστε οἷς καὶ λέγειν ἐμοὶ προσήκειν... καὶ καλῶς βεβουλευθαὶ πρὸς σε ποιούμενον τοὺς λόγους, where ποιούμενον is rendered possible by the intervention of ἐμοὶ προσήκειν. See Index s.v. Accus.

ἐν τῇ στοά. See § 84 Note.

§ 83. Τεσσαμενός was one of the 500 Nomothetae, and on the revising committee. Lys. 10, § 28, attacks him with Nicomachus.

καὶ μέτροι καὶ σταθμοῖς. A modification of the Aeginetan scale introduced by Solon, according to which the Kotyle was reduced from '66 of a pint to '48, while the relative values of the various measures were retained according to the Aeginetan system, by which 192 κοτύλαι = 1 μέδιμνος.

οἶδε ἧμιμενοι νομοθεταί. No other instance is recorded of the Boule appointing Nomothetae, but the circumstances are entirely exceptional. This task of revision resumes that which had been begun in 411 b.c. but not completed. See Lys. 30, and Introd. § 6.

πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαυσάμους—the ten Attic heroes whose statues stood in the Agora, where proposed additions to the laws were habitually exposed to view. I see no need for Lipsius’ correction πρὸς τῶν ἐ., though no doubt that is the ordinary phrase. ἵσταναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐ., ‘to take them to the Eponymi and set them up there,’ seems a natural alternative.

ταῖς ἀρχαῖς—viz. the twenty special magistrates mentioned above § 81. Nicomachus pottered over the business for four years.

§ 84. ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ Ἀ. πάγου. Plut. Sol. 19 Solon τὴν ἄνω βουλήν (the Areopagus) ἐπιστήσατο πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν. Isocr. 7 § 37 says its function in ancient times was ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας: cf. ib. §§ 39 and 55. Ephialtes s.c. 460 deprived it of
its power, previously extensive, and left it only a criminal court to try certain cases of murder (§ 78 Note). But in 405 b.c., after the battle of Aegospotami, its assistance was invoked in the face of the alarm at Athens, just as after the Sicilian disaster the πράβοιλοι were appointed. Lys. 12 § 69 of this time: πραπτούσης τῆς ἐν 'Ἀρειῳ πόλει βουλῆς σωτηρία. The power of supervising the laws is recognised in the present Psephism.

εἰς τὸν τοίχον, i.e. the wall of the στοά βασιλείας (Paus. i. 3) in the Agora (cf. § 82): cf. Isocr. § 41 for the custom. Index, s.v. στοὰ.

§ 86. συμφοραί, Lat. calamitates. See Dr. Reid on Cic. pro Arch. § 9: a common euphemism for loss of rights: cf. de Red. § 10. See also de Red. § 7 Note. Thuc. 8, 81, 2

§ 87. ἀγρίφω δὲ νόμω, κ.τ.λ. Quoted also by Dem. 23 § 86; 24 § 59.

ψηφισμα δὲ μηδέν. A proposal to supersede any law in force would be met by a γραφή παρανύμων. On revision of the laws in general, see Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 38 et seq.; Dem. 24 § 27.

ἐν' ἀνδρὶ νόμων, a privilegium.

ξακισχίλλοις. For the requirement of 6000 votes in support of a proposal affecting an individual, see Dem. 24 § 45; and cf. the case of Ostracism. Lipsius cuts out εἰν ο. ο. ψηφισμάδες. See Schömann de Com. Athen. p. 273. This limitation no doubt existed before 403, to prevent the abuse of privilegia.

τὰς δὲ δίκας. Dem. 24 § 56. 'All decisions given in private suits and arbitrations in the time of the democracy shall be valid. But the laws are to date from the archonship of Euclides,' i.e. No law passed prior to that date (July 403) is valid, but the decisions specified are to be upheld.

§ 88. χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί. 'Novae tabulae,' enumerated by Isocr. 12 § 259 among the αἵκεστα κακά to which states are liable. See Dem. 24 § 149.

δίκαι ανάδικοι. 'That suits might not be re-opened.' There were strict limitations placed on such a course. See § 7 Note.

συμβολαίων, 'that loans might be recoverable.' All private agreements made before the reign of the Thirty were to be adhered to. With πράξεις cf. εἰσπραξίς. σύμβολον = a ticket, συμβολή = a contribution.
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\[ \text{\footnotesize \textit{f\acute{a}seis. Pollux 8, 49. \textit{de} \textit{h\^{e}n} \textit{t\^{o} f\acute{a}inein} \textit{tou\'s} \textit{peri t\^{a} m\'{e}tall\'{a}\ a\acute{d}ikov\'{u}ntas}, \textit{h\^{e} peri t\^{o} \textit{emup\'{o}riou} kakhourgou\'{u}ntas} \textit{h\^{e} peri t\^{a} t\'{e}ll\'{e}h} \textit{h\^{e} tou\'s} \textit{demov\'{i}n} t\'{i} nevov\acute{e}f\'{i}m\'{e}nous} (cf. Isocr. 18 \textit{\$} 6), \textit{h\acute{e}} svkof\acute{a}ntov\'{u}ntas} (all tried before the Thesmophoroi), \textit{h\acute{e}} peri tou\'s \textit{\\'{o}rfanov\'}s \textit{\\'{e}kamart\'{a}wntas} (i.e. fraudulent trustees tried before the Eponymus). Hence Cepheus escaped paying his debt to the state. See \textit{\$} 92 and \textit{Intro. \textit{\$} 3 (a)}. For \textit{\\'{e}ndev\acute{e}n} and \textit{\\'{a}p\acute{a}w\acute{o}g\'{e}}, see \textit{\$} 8.

\textit{pr\'{i}n E\acute{e}v. \textit{\\'{a}r\acute{f}\'{e}\acute{a}}. See \textit{\$} 7 and 43 \textit{Notes.}

\textit{\\'{o}p\'{o}n, \textit{by which.} See \textit{\$} 43 \textit{Note.}

\textit{\$ 90. \textit{kai ou\'s} \textit{\\'{m}n\'{e}i\acute{a}k\'{e}\acute{\i}n\'{e}w.} This oath was administered also to those partisans of the Thirty who subsequently returned from Eleusis. Xen. \textit{Hell. 2 end.}

\textit{\\'{p}l\'{h}v t\'{o}v\'n \textit{tr\'{i}k\'{o}nta k.t.l.} Even sons of the Thirty were all included in the Amnesty. See Dem. 40 \textit{\$} 32. The eleven criminal magistrates under the Thirty had been instruments in their hands.

\textit{kai t\'{o}v\'n \textit{d\'{e}k\'{a}. Not the Ten who ruled for a short time in Athens after the Thirty; but the Decarchy established by Lysander in the Piraeus, with the idea of separating the port completely from Athens. See Plut. \textit{Lys. 15}; Xen. \textit{Hell. 2, 4, 19 and 2, 4, 38 speaking of the Amnesty ap\'{i}nwai \textit{\\'{e}n t\'{a} \textit{\\'{e}a\acute{v}t\'{o}n} \textit{\\'{e}k\'{a}st\'{o}us} \textit{\\'{p}l\'{h}v t\'{o}v\'n \textit{tr\'{i}k\'{o}nta kai t\'{o}v\'n \textit{\\'{e}nd\'{e}k\'{a} kai t\'{o}v\'n \textit{\\'{e}n t\'{o} \textit{\\'{e}i\acute{e}nae} \textit{\\'{a}r\acute{f}\'{e}\acute{a}ntov\'n} \textit{d\'{e}k\'{a}} (deposed by Thrasybulus). Justin 5, 10 confines them with the Ten who succeeded the Thirty at Athens; so too \textit{Nepos Thras. iii.}

\textit{\\'{h} \textit{\\'{a}ei \textit{boule\acute{e}w\'{o}sa.} See \textit{\$} 78 on \textit{t\'{o}v\'n \textit{b\'{a}s\'{i}l\'{i}wv.}

\textit{\$ 91. \textit{\\'{p}l\'{h}v t\'{o}v\'n \textit{\\'{f}v\'{y}wntov, i.e.} those members of the City party who fled to Eleusis when Democracy was restored. For \textit{\\'{e}\\'{e}t\'{a}, see \textit{\$} 106 \textit{Note.}

\textit{ou\'s} \textit{\\'{m}n\'{e}i\acute{a}k\'{e}\acute{\i}n\'{e}w. This special clause in the heliasts' oath enhances the force of A.'s appeal to them to vote in accordance with it. See \textit{\$} 2 and 9.

\textit{\\'{a} \textit{\\'{e}k\'{o}pe\'{i}n k.t.l.} Mr. Spratt suspects some confusion here in the text. Perhaps the true reading is \textit{\\'{a} \textit{\\'{e}k\'{o}pe\'{i}n e\'{i} d\'{o}k\'{o} \textit{\\'{o}rb\'{o}w} \textit{\\'{i}\\'{r}v\'{i} \textit{\acute{e}g\'{e}wv}, \\'{e}s \textit{\\'{o}p\'{e}r \textit{\\'{i}\\'{w}wv} \textit{\\'{e}g\'{e}wv.}

\textit{\$ 92. \textit{kai t\'{o}v\'n \textit{\\'{n}\\'{o}m\'{o}v.}—cut out by some editors; but A. invites the jury to consider the position of his opponents \textit{in relation to the laws}: if measures prior to 403 B.C. are valid, as they imply when they use the decree of Isotim., then they are subject to heavy penalties under such laws. There is point in the words.} \]
πριάμενος ἁνήν. See Introd. § 3 (a) and § 73 Note. [Lys.] 6 § 42. τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ γῇ, i.e. occupiers of land belonging to the state, who paid a rent, which was farmed, like all state-dues, by a middleman.

§ 93. δειν ἐς τὸ ξίλου, i.e. in addition to his becoming a public debtor. This is the only instance of ἐς τὸ ξ.; elsewhere always ἐν τῷ ξ. δειν.

ἀντὶ μὲν φυγάδος. Soph. Aj. 1020 δοῦλος ἀντὶ ἔλευθέρον, Lys. 30 § 27 ἀντὶ μὲν δοῦλον πολίτης, ἀντὶ δὲ πτωχόν πλουσίον, ἀντὶ δὲ ὑπογραμματέως νομοθέτης.

§ 94. ἀπεθανεν ἐκεῖνος ἄκριτος. Isocr. 7 § 67 and 20 § 11 says that 1500 persons were put to death under the Thirty without a trial. Lys. 12 § 36 and § 83; ib. 26 § 13 πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ δεσματήριον ἀπήγαγεν καὶ ἄκριτοι ἀπελλυντο, ib. 13 § 38, all who were tried before the Thirty were condemned, except the informer Agoratus. Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 11; at first they only put to death those who had made a living out of vexatious prosecutions and had actively opposed the oligarchs (i.e. extreme democrats: see below on § 99); but when the Spartan garrison and harpest arrived, they arrested—σκέτη τοῦς πονηροὺς τε καὶ δίλιγον δίξιον, but all they thought dangerous to themselves. They especially singled out rich metics, Lys. 12 § 6, etc., among them Lysias and his brother; the latter was put to death, while Lysias escaped to Megara.

tὸν βουλεύσαντα ἐν τῇ αἰτῷ ἤ. i.e. a man guilty of βουλεύσις φόνου ἐκουσίου, for which see § 78 Note. Notice that ὁ βουλεύσας = ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας, and is contrasted with ὁ τῇ χειρὶ ἐργασάμενος, i.e. ὁ αὐτοχείρ. Cf. Antiph. Tetral. 3, β § 5, ἀπολύει δὲ μὲ καὶ ὁ νόμος τῶν γάρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα κελεύει φονέα εἶναι; ib. 6 § 16. The same rule applied to βουλεύσις φ. ἀκουσίου, for which, see § 78 on τῶν ἑφετῶν. Att. Proc. § 312.

§ 95. οὗτος γὰρ. This sudden break is due to ὁ μυσικακῶς αὐτὸς αὐ., which Α. at once explains; just as in § 58 the construction was broken by an explanation of the consequences of silence.

ἐβουλεύειν. Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 11. The Thirty, on being elected, βουλῆν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἑδόκει αὐτοῖς.

κατὰ γε τὸν 2. νόμον. According to this, Demophonatus Pseph., passed soon after the battle of Cyzicus in 410, is founded on a law of S. The revision of the laws was begun soon after the deposition of the Four Hundred: hence οὖν ἔγραψε, not εἰπε, of Demophonatus,
he being on the board of revision. See Lycurg. § 127, Dem. 20 § 159, where this pseph. is referred to and quoted. The limited democracy could not last after the victory of Cyzicus, won by the ναυτικός ὀχλος which at the time had no citizen rights. Full democracy was probably restored by this psephism.


τῆς θεοῦ. The tenth part for the goddess was handed over to the ναυτικός θεοῦ and placed in the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon amongst her treasure.

§ 97. εἶν τε τυραννεῖν ἐπαναστῆν, cf. § 78 end. This reference to τυραννεῖν is probably due to the law of Solon here adapted.

§ 98. Ἀθηναῖοι ἦν τῷ στρατωπέδῳ, 'at A. or in the camp' at Samos in 411 B.C. when the democracy was subverted through Pisander and his associates. καθ' ἵπτόν τ., 'shall swear by the full-grown victims.' Att. Proc. § 689.

πρὸ Διονυσίων, 'before the great Dionysia.'

§ 99. ἐπίτρεπτον κίναδον. See § 53 Note.

τὰ χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι. The meaning of this comes out in what Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 12 says of the Thirty: οῖς πάντες ἔδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφάντας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαδοις (i.e. the oligarchs) βαρεῖς δύνας (by instituting proceedings against them continually) συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου. A. charges Epichares with having supported the Thirty in their evil deeds lest he should himself receive the punishment he deserved. The opposite view of this proceeding of the Thirty will be found in Lys. 12 § 5, where the Thirty are themselves called συκοφάνται. Lysias in several places, e.g. 26 §§ 10, 13; 28 § 12 shows that speakers in court constantly referred to their opponents' conduct during the rule of the Thirty. Cf. above § 94.

§ 101. ὑπὸ τῶν τρ. συνειλημμένος. Lys. 13 § 37 completes this picture of a 'trial' under the Thirty. They sat in the Senate in place of the Presidentes. Before them were two tables, on which the senators placed their votes, on the one for condemnation, on the other for acquittal. The votes were given openly.

Χαρικλῆς. See § 36.
Andocides de Mysteriis.

§ 9. For the great injury inflicted on Athens by the fortification of Decelea, see Isocr. 14 § 31. Thuc. 7, 28. Athens after the fortification, "ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλεως εἶναι φρονήμον κατέστη.

ἐναμφαχησας i.e. at the battle of Aegospotami, when Adimantus, one of the Athenian Strategi, and others were beyond doubt guilty of treachery.

συγκατέσκαψας. See § 80. Xen. Hell. 2, 2, 23 when the peace was ratified Δύσανδρος τε κατέπλευ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατήγαι καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ’ αὐλητρίδων ('to the accompaniment of').

§ 102. ἄρ’ (ἂν) οἶσθε τυχεῖν. The insertion is necessary, as the aor. infin. alone with verbs of expecting=a fut. realistically; as Thuc. 5, 9, 8 ἔλεης αὐτούς μάλιστα φοβηθήναι.

δεινῶν, εἰ ... οὐ σωθήσομαι. See § 33 Note. Add this instance to those, quoted by Shilleto on Thuc. 1, 121 δεινῶν ἄν εἴη εἰ οἶ μὲν ... οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ... οὐκ ἁρὰ δαπανήσομεν. In a bi-membered sentence of this kind, (1) οὐ is regularly used in the 2d clause if the verb is in the Ind., especially if the Fut. Ind., (2) μή is used if the verb is in the Opt. Lastly, in sentences of only one member, μή is used. Here ὅποι μὲν κ.τ.λ. is not part of the hypothesis any more than οἴ μὲν ... οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν in Thuc. 1 c. 'If, while I should have been put to death by them, etc.' With πάντως δὴνον, sc. δεινῶν ἐσται. With ἥ σχολή γέ sc. σωθήσεται from οὐ σ. above. Cf. Dem. de F. L. §§ 46, 93.

§ 103. ὁρᾶσθε μὴ οὐ ... προσήκει. Mr. Hickie would not have corrupted προσήκει into προσήκη had he borne in mind Append. A. of Shilleto's Dem. de F. L.; cf. Eur. Ion 1523 ὅρα σὺ, μὴ ὑπὲρ, μὴ ... τῷ Θέῳ προστίθης τὴν αἰτίαν. 'For the purpose of marking the apprehension more vividly μὴ and μὴ οthenReturn joined with the Indic.' Kühner Gr. § 395, 6, 5; cf. Goodwin M. and T. § 46 Note 5. The Subjunct. after verbs of fearing always points to Fut. time. A. purposely represents a future contingency as though present. 'Beware lest it resteth not with me above all others to give account for the past, but rather with many others,' i.e. this is a test case; if the pesphism of Isotimides is still valid, then other measures passed before 403 B.C. are valid too, and will be revived against men guilty in the past of crimes greater than those with which I am charged.
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toûto mèn . . . toûto de: cf. de Red. §§ 16, 17, de Pace § 40. Isocr.
3 § 23, 4 § 21.
pollloi de συκοφάνται. Cf. Isocr. 18 § 2 for the vigorous efforts
to repress συκοφαντία after the amnesty; and for the variety of pro-
cesses by which συκοφάνται were proceeded against, Isocr. 15 § 313.

§ 105. τοῖς κειμένοις approved in the archonship of Euclides or
passed since that time. For the omission of τούς μὲν before συκο-
φαντείν, cf. § 38.
dημοσία κρινεῖ. For references to the spectators see § 54 Note.
Cf. Lys. 28 § 10. οὐκ ἔργαλης μόνος κρίνεται ἀλλ’ ἡ πόλεις ὡλή. ib.
1 § 47 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ νομίζω ταύτην γενέσθαι
tὴν τιμωρίαν ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης. ib. 12 § 35, a very
similar passage, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων ἡκουσιν εἰσόμενοι
κ.τ.λ. An attempt to widen the issue by showing that the case is a
test one. The argument is also used by Cicero often.

§ 106. οἱ γὰρ πατέρες. For this reference to Athenian history,
wherein the heliasts are treated as identical with the Athenian
people, cf. § 143. The use of such instances (παραδείγματα) is more
appropriate to δημιουργικοῖ than to δικανοκλον λόγοι. A. employs them
extensively in the de Pace (especially §§ 1-12). See Aristot. Rhet.
A. 2 §§ 8, 13, 19; B. 20.
οἱ τύραννοι. Hippias and Hiparchus. But Dr. Jebb Att. Or.
notices that A. here confuses the scene of a battle lost by the
Pisistratids (of which we have no other evidence) with that won by
Pisistratus near the temple of Athene Pallenis. Herod. 5, 64.

§ 107. ἤνικα βασιλέως. Neither audience nor orators ever tired of
this theme. For a conventional treatment of it, see [Plat.] Mene-
 Xenus.

νομίσαντες. Cf. de Pace § 25 ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης
ὅτε Βοιωτοῖς τίνα γνώμην ἔχοντες ταύτα ἐπρόττομεν. οὐχ οὐκ ἰκανήν
οὖσαν τὴν Ἡ. δύναμιν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν γενομένην κοινῆ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀμώνασθαι.

§ 108. τὴν ἄρχην τῶν Β. κατειργάσαντο: de Pace §§ 37 and 38
appears to be modelled on this passage; ταύτην λαβὼντες ἄφορμήν
. . . τὴν ἄρχην τῶν Β. κατειργασάμεθα. Athenians do not draw a
very pleasing picture of the manner in which they acquired their empire. Cf. Thuc. 2, 63 ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔχετε αὐτήν κ.τ.λ.


Δ νῦν ὑπάρξει εἰς ἑθελομεν. For εἰ with Opt. in Protasis, and primary tense of Indic. in Ἄποδ., see Goodwin M. and T. § 54, 2 (a) Cf. Isocr. 2 § 45 εἰ ἑθελομεν . . . εὐρήσομεν. ἢδ. 3 § 30. For this use of ὑπάρξει, see § 4 Note.

§ 110. ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ. Cf. [Lys.] 6 § 4, the Eleusinium at Athens. It stood at the foot of the Acropolis. C. I. A. 3, 5 ἐν τῷ Ἐλ. τῷ ὑπὸ (τῆ π)ἀλει. It was the centre of the Eleusinian festival at Athens, and probably the procession started from it to Eleusis on the 19th of Boedromion (Sept. | Oct.). Plut. Alex. 31, 3. See Bussolt Gk. Hist. i. p. 431.

§ 111. ὃ βασιλεὺς. One of his chief duties was to superintend the celebration of the Mysteries. Pollux 8, 90 μυστηρίων προέστηκε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν. Of these Epimeletae Harpocr. says ὅσιος ὃ δῆμος ἐχαρίτων: τέσσαρες ἡραν: δύο μὲν εἰς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, ἕν δὲ εἰς Εὐμολπίδων καὶ ἕν ἐκ Κηρύκων. In [Lys.] 6 § 4, the speaker asks what men would think were A. himself to become King Archon, and have charge of the Mysteries.

§ 112. τὴν σκεύην, 'in habitu Cerycum.' M. Cf. §§ 116, 124. The office of δαιδόχος was hereditary in the family of Hipponicus and Callias. Xen. Hell. 6, 3, 3. For the opposition of this family to the Tyrants, see Herod. 6, 121. The Hierophant was an Eumolpid. οὗτος εἰς Cephisius.

Εὐκλῆς is ὃ κηρυξ mentioned above. C. I. A. 2, 73. Cf. § 115. He gave such satisfaction as κηρυξ τῆς Βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου that the Boule passed a motion on his death, that the Ecclesia should be asked to appoint his son to the office. 'When E., who had gone out to inquire, was gone into the Senate.'

§ 113. 'That my account is true has been testified: but my account appears to be the very opposite of that of my accusers.' The Greek is very clumsy.
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aüth de μεν αυτον ἀπόλλυν. See de Red. § 8 Note. See § 30 Note.

ἐξηγήσατο. Stephan. s.v. respondere de legibus ad deos pers., interpretari quid jus fasque sit. [Lys.] 6 § 10 says A. escape from the consequences of his impiety, since impiety punished not only by statutes, but also τοῖς ἀγράφοις (νόμοις) Εὐμολπίδαι ἐξηγοῦνται οὐδεὶς πω κύριος ἐγένετο καθελεῖν ἤμεν ἀντιπεῖν. Callias was not a Eumolpid, but a Ceryx: utly Cephalus argued that he had no right to claim to divine will, since that was a privilege belonging only to the ds. That this answer was valid is shown by Busolt Ἐκ. p. 435, who quotes Dittenberger Syl. Ινσερ. Gr. i. 13 θύειν ὑγάτων πελάνω καθότι ἄν Εὐμολπίδαι ἐξηγητη(σα)νται.

ἐπιλυτος. See § 150. οὐχ ἐσφο. It was ἐσφον for a Ceryx to usurp the duty of ἐξηγητής, who was elected in the Ecclesia from the Eumolpids. C. I. A. 3, 267, 241, 720.

§ 116. ἢ δὲ στήλη. Cephalus opposed a νόμος γεγραμμένος to Callias' ν. ἀγράφος, which was based on a supposed opinion of Hipponicus.

§ 117. βούλοισθε πυθίσθαι—ὁ δὲ Κ. τι β. ἐτίθει; [Probably—should be cast out after πυθίσθαι. The sense appears to be, 'Perhaps the question may suggest itself to you, What motive had Callias, etc.' The sequence is then βούλοισθε πυθίσθαι τι δὲ κ.τ.λ., the order being slightly altered to make Callias prominent. For αὐτό perhaps αὐτοί should be read.—A. W. S.]

Ἐπιλυτος. See Life of Α.

ἀπαίς ἀρρενῶν παῖδων. Cf. Isocr. 12 § 126, Isaeus 3 § 1. The law was πάντας τοὺς γυναῖκας ἤγορον εἰναι τῶν πατρῴων. Isaeus 6 § 25. If a man had no legitimate sons to succeed him, he was free to make a will, and leave his property to any one he chose, by a law of Solon (Dem. 20 § 102). If a man left daughters only—as in this case, whether married or single, (1) if he had not made a will, they became 'heiresses' (ἐτίθησιν). The next of kin then claimed them 'before the chief Archon [the claim=λῆξις, ἐπιδικασία or ἀμφότεροις πολλήν]; public notice was given of the claim, and if no one appeared to dispute it, the Archon adjudged the heiress to him
ANDOCIDES DE MYSTERIIS.

(ἐπεδίκασεν αυτῷ τὴν ἐπίκληρον.) Sandys on Dem. 45 § 75. He then received the property with the heiress. But if any one appeared to dispute his claim, the rival claims were heard in a διαδικασία τοῦ κλήρου. The party who disputed the claim, if he himself claimed the ἐπίκληρος, had to deposit a fee of a drachma (παράστασις) and also one-tenth of the value of the property in dispute (παρακαταβολή). Hence the herald asked εἰ τις ἀμφισβητεῖν (to dispute the right of the claimant) ἡ παρακαταβάλλειν (as claiming her himself) βούλεται τῆς ἐπίκληρου. Cf. the law in Dem. 43 § 16. Att. Proc. § 460-471.

(2) The father might then make a will, according to Solon's law, leaving his property to any one he chose, but he was bound to assign his daughters to the legatees, whether the union took place in the father's lifetime or not. Isaeus 3 § 42.

ἐγίγνοντο εἰς ἐμέ. Cf. Isaeus 3 § 38 τῆς προκός εἰς αὐτὸν γιγνό-

μένις. Schömann explains it devenire ad aliquem.

ἐμὲ καὶ Δέαρον, as the next of kin, Epilcus not having made a

will. See Stemma, Life of A., p. 2.

§ 118. τὰ πράγματα πονηρῶς εἰχὲ. Cf. Isaeus 1 § 12 τῶν πραγ-

μάτων ἡμῖν πονηρῶς ἐχόμενων.

τὴν φανερὰν οὐσίαν. φανερός = what cannot be concealed, e.g. Isaeus 6 § 17 τὰς συμφορὰς φανερὰς καθέσταται. [Lys.] 20 § 33 ἕως μὲν εἰρήνη ἦν, ἡμῖν φανερὰ οὐσία, καὶ ἦν ὁ πατήρ ἀγαθὸς γεωργός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰσεβαλὼν οἱ πολέμοι, πάντων τούτων ἐστερημένης. Isoc. 14 § 5, φανερῶν καταστήσαι τὴν οὐσίαν παραμοίαν. Hence φανερῶν κατα-

στήσαι τὴν οὐσίαν = 'to make a return of one's property.' Lys. 32 § 23. Hence φανερῶς may be applied to the whole of one's property, and is not necessarily confined to realty. But, as a rule, land and houses were the only classes of property which were φανερὰ to the public: hence φανερὰ οὐσία visible, as opposed to ἀφανῆς οὐ. invisible, property. Trans. 'The available property,' i.e. his assets generally, with the exception of money out at interest, everything that Leager and A. found ready to hand on examining the estate.

§ 119. ἀνδρός sc. ἔτέρου, which Lipsius inserta.

τῆς μὲν οὖν: 'do you claim the one before the Archon, and I will

claim the other.'

§ 120. ἑθηκα παράστασιν, 'deposited a fee.' See § 117 Note. The girl claimed by A. having died before the Archon gave his
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decision, only Leager's claim to the other remained, but Leager agreed with Callias to withdraw, and not oppose his proposed claim. That Callias might not get her, A. began an action against Leager to compel him to support his claim, or else retire in A.'s favour. 

\[\text{προτερεψ } \mu\nu\nu.\] This is not regularly answered, but \[\text{ει } \delta \varepsilon \mu\nu \nu \sigma\nu.\] See § 10 Note.

\[\text{ρυχη } \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\eta.\] See L. and S. s. \[\text{ρυχη}.\] The phrase occurs in votes and lists often. Dem. 3 § 18.

§ 121. \[\text{λαγχανει } \tau\omega \ \upsilon\epsiloni, 'enters a claim to the heiress on behalf of his son, on the tenth, to prevent me from obtaining her, as A. would do unless Leager or some one else disputed the claim. Callias could not claim her for himself, since he was her grandfather, and therefore excluded by law; so he claimed her for his son, who was her uncle. See Stemma. Before the \text{διαδακσια} was heard, A. was indicted, and Callias did his best to get rid of him. After A.'s acquittal, the question as to the claims of A. and Callias' son remained. Leager and A., as Epilycus had no male descendants, and no brothers living, were the nearest of kin according to the law of succession \text{κατ' αγχστειαν}. The only claim Callias' son had was as the son of Chrysias, Epilycus' niece. But the fact that the \text{επικληρος} also happened to be daughter of this son's sister might be used by Callias effectively before the jury, though its legal value in determining who was entitled to the girl was nothing. For \text{λαγχανειν} with \text{dat.} = to claim an heiress for another, cf. Isaeus 6 §§ 46, 57, 58: see also § 117 above Note.]

\[\text{ταϊς } \delta \varepsilon \text{ εικασι. 'During the last ten days of the month, during the Mysteries, that is to say, he indicts me,' i.e. joins Cephisius in the } \text{ευδεξιες}. \text{ The month is Boedromion (Sept. | Oct.)}. \text{ See § 110 Note. The festival of the great Mysteries lasted for about the last twelve days of that month; the 20th was sacred to Iacchus, and was the most solemn day. On the morning of the 19th, the procession started from Athens, and slowly marched along the sacred way to Eleusis, which was not reached till after sunset. } \text{τουτοις is used δεικτικως. For } \text{εικαδες cf. Aristoph. } \text{Nub. 17.}]

§ 122. \[\text{οτι } \delta \upsilon \mu\nu \nu \kappa\alphai \delta\nuai. This and } \text{μη } \delta \upsilon \mu\nu \nu \kappa\alphai \delta\nuai \text{ are used in Attic prose.} \text{ ετι } \kappa\alphai \nu\nu, 'even at the eleventh hour,' cf. Thuc. 6, 40.

\[\text{δικην } \delta \varepsilon \text{ τοις φιλοις δεινων, 'to give compensation according to our friends' decision, i.e. submit to arbitration, } \text{επιρηψαι τοις φιλοις.}]

L
A private arbitration took place before one or more αἰρετοὶ διαμεταλῆα, and did not admit of an appeal to the heliasts. See C. R. Kennedy Appendix to Dem.

§ 123. καὶ καταγορεῖν, i.e. not to think of retiring from the ἐνδείξις or urging Cephasius to do so, as I had no intention of giving up my claim to the heiress. εἰσον = hortatus sum. See Poppo on Thuc. 8, 86, 8.

παρασκευάζειν ἄλλοις, 'to work upon others;' cf. Thuc. 3, 36, 4: a thrust at Callias. See § 1 on παρασκευή.

περὶ τοῦ σώματος threatens a γραφή αὐστερίας.


§ 124. ἄλλα γὰρ. For the following personalities, cf. the attack on Theramenes, Lys. 12 § 62 et seq., and on Aeschines Dem. de Cor.

ἐγεννήσατ' αὐτόν, 'became his father;' not 'adopted' him.

τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς θ.: referring to his official position as διδώκτος of the two Goddesses.

§ 125. εἰς εἰλασθεν ἡ μητρὶ τῆ θ., cf. § 128. For the repetition of the same phrase, cf. §§ 136 and 149, in the former of which Dobree wrongly proposed to cut out οἱ καὶ προσήκει... συνήσεται.

§ 126. ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν: the altar of Zeus Phratrius, on which the victim (μεῖον) was sacrificed.

Ἀπατούρεια. The Apaturia lasted three days and took place in Pyaneepion (Oct. | Nov.). On the third day (called κούφεωτις) the registration of children εἰς τοὺς φράτορας was effected. Children born within the year, or any not yet registered for some special reason, were brought by their father or κύριος (in this case the mother's προσήκοντες) to the altar with the victim (a goat or sheep), and if no one raised any objection, the child was duly registered (in the φράτορικὸν γραμματεῖον). The father or κύριος took a solemn oath that the child was the offspring of a legally married wife (ἢ μὴν ἔστωσαι καὶ ἐγγυητὴς γυναικὸς εἰσάγειν. Isaeeus 8 § 19; 6 § 21). Cf. below § 127.

ἱερείον, i.e. the μεῖον sacrificed for each child. If any member of the Phratry raised an objection to the registration, the victim was led away from the altar, and the grounds of the objection examined. Dem. 43 §§ 13 and 14.

κατάρρησθαι, sacra exordiri. M. Hesych. κατάρρ. τοῦ ιερείου. τῶν
τριχών ἀποσώπασε. The hair was cast into the fire on the altar, cf. Eur. El. 800.

Καλλίων τοῦ Ἰ. The full description of a man was (1) his name; (2) his father's name; (3) his deme (e.g. Ἀνδρόκιδης Διαγόρον Κυθηρεῖον). But at the Apaturia, the child's name was registered with only its father's name. A child received its own name the tenth day after birth; was recognised as the offspring of its father at the Apaturia; was recognised by the state (as a member of a deme) when eighteen.

§ 127. ἡδη μέγαν δύνα. It was not usual to delay the registration εἰς τοὺς φράτορας beyond the 4th year at latest. This is an exceptional case, as that of Pamphilus and Boeotus (Dem. 39 § 4) and Leochares, who was not enrolled in the Phratry till after he had been enrolled in the deme list. (Dem. Leoch. § 41.)

ἀντεῖπε μὲν Κ. See note on λεπέιον above. The Phratores, after investigating the objection, voted on the question of admittance.


§ 130. καὶ ἠθαμόνει. An early reference to the past greatness of Athens, such as became so common in the next generation.


ὅς αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνικείμενος. For Callias' extravagance, see Aristoph. Eccles. 810. Lysias 19 § 48. Gossip affirmed that Hippocrates' house was haunted: the ghost, says Α., was no other than Callias, who has indeed 'upset his father's table.'

ἀληθής, 'there was a story current that H. keeps an avenging spirit in his house.' For the Act. and Pass. meanings, see § 51 Note. Cf. the modern 'skeleton in the cupboard.' See Sandys on Dem. 36 § 58. Probably πλοῦτος is suggested by the secondary meaning of τράπεζα, 'a bank.'

§ 132. χρήματα εἰσενεγκούσαν. Cf. opening of the speech, and § 121 of Callias' contribution. A. means that his enemies had formed an ἑρανος (company) having for its object his ruin, and presided over by Cephasius for ἑραιπαρχος. Cf. Dem. 39 § 18 ἐφ οἷς ἐρανιζεῖ τούτοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν.
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adrois, § 16 Note. Epanaleptia.

μνόν, 'though I initiated,' i.e. being initiated himself he introduced for initiation certain of the foreigners with whom he had relations. Women and persons not Athenian citizens could not be initiated without the aid of a male citizen to act as προστάτης [Dem.] 59, 21. Of course μνόν does not mean that A. himself performed the rites, but he paid the expenses. That duty belonged only to the Caryces and Eumolpidae. Isocr. 4 § 157 Εὖ δὲ καὶ Κη, ἐν τῇ τελέτῃ τῶν μυστηρίων κ.τ.λ. C. I. A. 1, 1. See also Aeschin. v. Ctes. § 18.

dllā τούναστίων . . . χρημάτων. Parenthetical.

λητοργείν οὖντο προσβάλλοντο. The state services were allotted by the ψυλαῖ to their wealthy members in turn. But Böckh pointed out that προσβάλλοντο will not suit ταμιάν below, since the Treasurers were appointed by lot (see § 77 Note). Hence λαχεῖν εἶναι must be supplied with ταμιάν. For the zeugma, see § 63 Note. A. belonged to the tribe Pandionis. C. I. A. 2, 553.

γυμνασίαρχον. One of the annually recurring services (ἐγχύλαιον λητοργαι). The θεορία is one of these which recurred at longer intervals. For A.'s political life since 403 B.C., see [Lys.] 6 § 33. A. held the office of χορηγός, subsequent to this trial, at the Dionysia and gained a victory. C. I. A. l.c.

'Hφαιστίος. At the festival of Hephaestus, at which the Lam-padephoria took place.

tamian τῶν ἵ. ἄρ. Either ταμιάς τῆς θεοῦ or τ. τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. See § 77. ἐν πόλει, i.e. ἀκροπόλει.

§ 133. 'Αγύρρως. For his connection with A., see Introd. § 3. He was well known as a financier, and became very popular in 394 B.C., when he caused the fee for attending the Ecclesia (ἐκκλησιαστικών) to be raised from one to three obols; (2) caused the dole for amusements (θεαρισκών) to be restored. He was elected Strategus 388 B.C. Xen. Hell. 4, 8, 31. Plat. Com. frag. λαβοῦ λαβοῦ τῆς χειρός ὅσ τάχιστα μου | μέλλω στρατηγῶν χειροτονεῖν 'Αγύρρων. He was at some period in prison a long time as a debtor to the state—probably after 387 B.C. and as the result of a prosecution on his ἐθνωμ, in connection with the political reaction at Athens on the peace of Antalcidas. See Life of A. end, and Dem. 24 § 134.

ό καλὸς κάγαδος, ironical for πονηρός. See § 24 Note.
NOTES.

ἀρχώντης. See § 73 Note. Chairman of a company for farming the 50th.

τῆς πεντηκοστῆς—the tax of 2 per cent. on all imports and exports. It was generally let out in several portions, but Agyrrhius took a lease of the whole of the tax. See Böckh P. E. of A. E. trans. p. 317.

τρίτου ὑστος, 'two years ago,' i.e. 401 B.C.

μετέσχον: contributed to the joint-stock company, and shared the profits. Cf. Lycurg. § 58. οί παρασυλλεγέντες = 'who wrongfully assembled,' i.e. 'formed a ring.'

καὶ μὴ ἑπερβαλὸν, 'both to make money by not bidding higher and to share in the profits of the tax when let at a low price.' The two advantages are distinct: if all at the sale combine (1) there will be no competition of rival companies; hence each contributes less than he would have to do otherwise in order to get the lease. Each therefore gains something at once. (2) the tax will be sold for less, and therefore bring a larger profit for the members to share.

§ 134. εἰς τὴν βουλήν. The ten πολιταί sold the tax to the highest bidder. They (like the Practores and Apodectae) were officers of the Boule, which controlled both the receipt and expenditure of the revenue, and sanctioned the contracts granted. But the Ecclesia voted war supplies, had the final decision on all matters of finance, and devised extraordinary means of raising money when required.

καταστήσας ἐγγυητάς. § 73 Note.

§ 135. ἄρι ἄθρωπος οἰκοσι κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 49 Note.

εἰράζει, by means of a presentment (φάσις) for an offence against the revenue. See § 88 Note.

καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως. Cf. § 1. See Index, s.v. καὶ.

§ 136. ὑμῶν δέ γε, § 68 Note.

ἠθέλον ὥς. A somewhat arrogant expression, 'My will would be that you should have as many citizens as possible like myself, and that these people should, if possible, utterly perish.' (It cannot be right to translate as though A. had said ἐβουλόμην ὥς.) ἀπολλεῖν εἰς above.

καὶ βουλόμενοι, 'if they wish, they will be able to benefit you.' See § 125 Note. The relative is implied in this member of the relative clause.
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άς ἄρα. See § 4 Note.

πλεύς τὴν θ. [Lys.] l.c. ναυκληρία ἐπιθέμενος τὴν βυσσαταν ἐπλεί.

eita marks inconsistency, as often after a partic. e.g. Lys. 19 § 51: Isoc. 18 § 63 εἶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐμαντοῦ δεδαπανημένος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἴη
dόξαμα τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιθεισθείην. It is common in Tragedy.

§ 138. τριήρων . . . οὐσῶν καὶ ληστῶν. 'Very often it happens that one noun in the Gen. Abs. has several participles agreeing with it, and vice versa, though not so often, several nouns accompanying one partic. In the latter, as a rule, the partic. agrees with the nearest noun.' E. H. Spieler A. J. of Phil. vol. vi.

§ 139. οὐκ άν. See § 92. If Cephasius' case has any foundation, then he is ἅμιος as a state debtor, and not a citizen.

ὑπονοεῖ. § 9 Note.

§ 140-end. Epilogue.

§ 140. ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν κ.τ.λ.: an appeal for the maintenance of the amnesty.

παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογομἐνοι = ἄς παρὰ π. ὁμολογεῖται. For ὁμολο-

γεῖσθαι with παρά, in place of ὑπό, see Krüger Gr. § 52, 5, 1. For an

Adv. formed from a Partic. (generally the Perf. Pass.) constructed like the verb from which it is formed, cf. Isoc. 5 § 14 σοὶ κεχαρι-


μεμνημένθε. For this form of the Opt. cf. Plat. Rep. 518 A μεμνημὴν'


§ 142. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ νῆς δειφθάρησαν. A. used the phrase § 73.

See § 125 Note. The refusal of Sparta to destroy Athens is dwelt on de Pace § 21. Cf. Xen. Hell. 2, 2, 19. The Corinthians and Thebans were most urgent for the destruction of Ath. Ἀκεδαμάντων

δὲ οὐκ ἠφασαν πόλιν Ἐλλήνιδα ἀνδραποδίᾳ μέγα ἄγαθων ἐιργασμένη

ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κυδόνοις. This fine sentiment probably concealed a
desire on the part of Sparta to prevent the influence of Thebes from becoming paramount. For ἵππαρχοι with gen., see L. and S.

§ 143. τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων. See § 106 Note.

§ 144. ἢν μὲ σῶσητε. Below ἢν μὲ διαφθείρητε is contrasted with this. To introduce a personal appeal to the jury in the Peroration, and prove, if possible, that a favourable verdict was to their own advantage as much as the speaker's, was regular. See Aristot. Rhet. Γ. 19, 1. 'We have an appeal to feelings of a more objectionable kind when the jury are reminded of the benefit they would derive by deciding for the party addressing them?' C. R. Kennedy.

ἐκ πολλοῦ πλούτου: de Red. § 27 Note. See Life of A. init. A.'s property was apparently confiscated in 415 B.C. like that of the other Hermocopids, and his house was obtained by Cleophon.

диὰ τὰς τῆς πόλεως συμφοράς. A. does not show, even in de Red. §§ 11 and 18, that he had really been out of pocket in order to help Athens. He is, on the contrary, attacked in [Lys.] 6, 48 for doing nothing to help Athens in her need. He would probably have mentioned here the expenses he had incurred in detail had he incurred any. It was only subsequent to his final return in 403 B.C. that he freely spent money for his country.

τῶν χερών τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ. St. Keck (Ueber den Dual. p. 27) rejects the form τῶν. Inscr. only exhibit τῶν for the Fem. gen. and dat., and MS. authority is useless. The MSS. show much variation in the places where the Fem. dual occurs, e.g. Isocr. 4 § 73 περὶ τῶν πολέων; ib. § 139. In Isaean 6 §§ 6 and 39, read τῶν for τῶν.

εἰδώτα μὲν . . . εἰδώτα δὲ: cf. § 56 Note. This passage to κακὸς πρᾶξα is as regular as a sentence of Isocrates; but a return to the relativa construction of δὲ πρᾶξυν μὲν occurs at συγγενέμονος. §§ 144-149 form the most impassioned portion of the speech, the orator gradually working up to the climax, which occurs at the beginning of § 149. Then the speech finishes quietly, according to the Greek manner. See Cope on Arist. Rhet. Γ. 19. It is not surprising that A. is somewhat confused here. He wishes to urge three points: (1) he had lost his property 'through his country’s misfortunes'; (2) he had obtained fresh wealth and influence abroad, and would be able to benefit Athens; (3) he deserves pity for his prolonged and enforced sojourn in foreign lands. Points (2) and (3) are not quite consistent, and A. becomes involved in stating them.
§ 145. ἀμαρτώτα. A slip, for he has repeatedly protested his complete innocence. He means 'as an offender,' the partic. being realistic.

ἄλλος ἰδία ξένους; 'and private friends as well.' Shilleto on Dem. de F. L. § 94. 'The same use of ἄλλος as in the well-known instances τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, Plat. Gorg. 473 c; αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκεσίων 480 d.' Thompson Att. Syn. § 77 Note 3.

§ 146. οἰκεσία. See § 20 Note.

οἰκεσία πᾶν πρόδρομον, § 53 Note. But in Soph. Elect. 765 there is an important difference in the addition of the article—τὸ πᾶν πρόδρομον οἰκεσία γένεσις—the whole family, whereas here πᾶν οἰκεσία = it vanishes utterly, root and branch, πρόδρομον coming as a climax. On the use of πᾶς without article (in prose as well as poetry), see Shilleto on Dem. de F. L. § 86, and Dr. Jebb on Soph. Elect. 301. Cf. O.T. 823. For the pres. ζητῶν and οἰκεσία, of something fated to happen, cf. § 149 Note. Aristoph. Eq. 199. The use of the tense is the same as in § 41.

Κλεόφων. On the murder of Androcles (Spring of 411 B.C.) he became leader of the extreme democrats. Aristoph. Thesm. 805 (produced 411 B.C.). He had taken a considerable part in expelling the Hermocopi: this partly accounts for A.'s intense dislike. In 410, when full democracy was restored, Cleophon proposed and carried the reinstitution of the fees for state services, which had been abolished in 411. Aeschin. de F. L. § 76 attacks him for this, and for his warlike policy towards Sparta. In 410, after the battle of Cyzicus, and in 405 after that of Aegospotami, he persuaded the Athenians to refuse Sparta's terms. See Aristoph. Ran. 1533. He was condemned and put to death on a false charge shortly before the fall of Athens (Lys. 30 § 12) through the oligarchs. He died poor (Lys. 19 § 48). See Grote Gk. Hist. viii. p. 19.

δυνατοθύμως. For the dislike felt by moderate democrats and oligarchs for manufacturers who engaged in politics, see Grote, Gk. Hist. iii. p. 138 Note.

§ 147. χρήματα διαχειρίσασθα, 'handled your money,' i.e. when in office. Cf. Lys. 19 § 48; de Red. § 17.

οὐδείς πώποτε ἁφλος, 'were never declared liable for any,' i.e. were never condemned on their ἐθνωμα.
NOTES.

§ 148. σῶσα, ἐπαγωγικός of μέ. The most impassioned part of the Peroration is here reached and ends at μὴ δῆτα. See § 144, Note. (Aristotle states that one part of the peroration should consist ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὰ πάθη τῶν ἀκροατῶν καταστῆσαι—as here.) Dem. de Cor., the conclusion of which is highly animated, is a well-known exception to the rule.

ἄλλα τέθηκεν κ.τ.λ. Cf. de Pace. § 14 τῶν ἑνεκά πολεμήσωμεν, ἵνα ἡ πόλις ἐλευθερα ἡ; ἄλλα τούτο γε αὐτῇ ἐπάρχει. ἄλλ' ὅπως ἦμι τείχη γένηται; and so on. ἄλλα is used thus in answering the real or imaginary objections of an adversary. Aristoph. Acharn. 406 Εὖ. ἄλλ' οὐ σχολή. Δικ. ἄλλ' ἐκκυκλήθην'. Εὖ. ἄλλ' ἀδύνατον. Δ. ἄλλ' ἐμως. Cf. Antiph. 5 § 58.

§ 149. Ῥετάλος καὶ 'Α. πολίται. Cf. de Red. § 23. For οἱ προσήκει, see § 136 and § 125 Note.

tούτοις δὲ ἀπολλυτε. Cf. Isocr. 4 § 98 ὁ δὲ ἐστιν ἵδα καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἅξια . . . ταῦτα δ' ἐμῶν ἐργαν ἐστιν εἰπέωι for this ἐπαναληψις. See § 16 Note. In this phrase δἐ is used in apodosis. Krüger Gr. § 69, 16, 4.

ταῦτα: of what follows: § 20 Note.

ἐμοὶ μὲν πειθόμενοι κ.τ.λ. Here εἰ δυνήσομαι, and in the next sentence οὖδ' ἀν μεταμελήσῃ, are parenthetical. Hence there are not really two protases. οὐκ ἀποστερείσθε L. and S. consider Fut., but I have no doubt that it is a Present expressing danger in the future= 'you run no risk of being disappointed of any benefit I shall be able to do you': cf. the usage in § 146 Note. Goodwin M. and T. § 1, 7; Krüger Gr. § 53, 1, 9. ἀποστερείσθαι=to be disappointed of one's due, not to get what one ought to get.

§ 150. ἀξίω δ' ἐγώγε. Cf. the conclusion of Isocr. 20. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὅσι oías τ' ἦν εἴρηκα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. εἰ δὲ τὶς τῶν παρόντων ἔχει τί μοι συναπτέω, ἀναβάς εἰς ἱμᾶς λεγέω.

Ἀνωτ. This Α., one of Thrasybulus' chief supporters, enjoyed great power. Isocr. 18 § 23. He had been one of the leaders of the exiles at Phyle in 403 B.C. Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 44. Lys. 12 § 78. See § 80 Note. For his tactics in the courts, see § 74. But no hint is given of any bribery in this case.

Κέφαλε. Cephalus did much to raise Athens between 403 and 395 B.C. Being a demagogue, he was attacked by the comic poets.

οἱ φυλέται: members of the tribe Pandionis, to which A. belonged.
NOTES.

II.

DE REDITU.

περὶ τῆς ἑ. καθόδου. Harp. s. v. ὄρρωδεῖαν quotes this speech (§ 7) by the title περὶ τῆς ὁδείας, and the latter describes it more correctly. See § 23.

§ 1. εἶ μὲν . . . ὅπου μέντοι. Cf. de Myst. § 57.

ἡ εἶ τις ἔτερος βούλευτο. Blass rightly pronounces these words both redundant and arrogant. They mar the thought: for A. draws attention to the conduct of men who object to their country receiving benefits; no additional point is gained by this reference to his own importance—a matter entirely ἀπροσδιόνυσον. ‘Or supposing a worse man than I wished to do so.’ Presently ἀπάντων κοινὴ refers to the democratic principle, ἵσονομα. Thuc. 2, 37; 6, 39.

§ 2. τοὺς μὲν πρ., τοὺς δὲ τὰχα μελλοντας. For this use of μέλλειν, cf. § 19, Isocr. 4 § 136 τὰ μὲν ἔχει τὰ δὲ μέλλει.

παρέστηκε. Cf. de Myst. § 54; below § 24.

περικάονται . . . ἐπαυρέσθαι. The former does not occur elsewhere in good Attic, and this is the sole instance of ἐπαυρέσθαι in Attic prose. This passage must have amazed a trained orator, but both these words must have been in existence in colloquial language: otherwise it is inconceivable that A. could have used them in the Ecclesia. As for περικάονται, Suidas quotes it in the dream of Clearchus of Heraclea, when he came to Athens to hear Plato 368 B.C. If he drew from an Attic source, it shows the word was in use; though even then it might be an affectation of an old Ionic usage. For ἐπαυρέσθαι, see Kühner Gr. § 416, 3. Ruth. New Phryn. p. 30. ‘It is a distinct instance of an old word quite uncalled for.’

E.g. II. 6, 353. ἀπολαύων took its place in Attic.

ForResult, ἄμαθεστάτους κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thuc. 3, 42 τοὺς δὲ λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ διασκέδασθαι τῶν πραγμάτων γίνεσθαι, ἢ ἄξωντος ἔστω, ἢ ἰδία τι αὕτῳ διαφέρει. ιβ. 6, 36 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὅστις μὴ βουλεύεται κακῶς φρονήσαται ἢ δειλός ἔστω ἢ τῇ πόλει οὐκ εἴνοιε. Cf. ιβ. 6, 40.

§ 3. δυσμενεῖς ἄν εἶν—merely a polite form for δυσμενεῖς εἶστι, as the prot. shows. So constantly in Aristotle.


περὶ πραγμάτων. § 21.

ἀν ἀποτελεσθέντων is not gen. abs., but depends on μείκον. The Orators seldom use the rel. or interrog. pronoun as subject in the gen. abs. See E. H. Spieler in A. J. of Phil. vol. vi. ‘The early Orators, Antiphon and Andoc., use it [the gen. abs.] in a simple easy way; no cases of ὧν or of ἄν, or of rel. or interrog. pron. as subject.’

ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν. Cf. Thuc. 5, 60 ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν καὶ οὖ τοῦ πλῆθους κελεύ-σαν ἐλπιον. Kühner Gr. § 430, 1, d.

§ 4. ἡμᾶς τι ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἑμοῦ πράξαι. Reiske thought this expression so strange that he proposed to alter πράξαι. But εὖ πράττειν may be used with a preposition—ἀπό, ἐκ, παρά,—or with plain gen.; e.g. Soph. O. T. 1006. See Kühner Gr. § 417, 3. So ὑφελείσθαι with gen. occurs in Antiphon 5, 17 = to reap the benefit of, while ὑφελείσθαι with ἐκ or ἀπό is a regular construction. E.g. Plat. Buthyro. 15. But for εὖ, κακῶς πράττειν there are the alternative ἀγαθὸν τι, κακῶν τι πράττειν, e.g. Isocr. 2 § 20 πράξεων τι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἄγαθων. Cf. above § 1 τὴν πόλιν ἐμὲ τι ποιήσαι ἄγαθον. Kühner § 411, 5, cites Aristoph. Eccles. 108 for πράττειν in place of ποιέω—ἀντὶ ἀγαθὸν τι πράξαι τὴν πόλιν, but τὴν πόλιν is probably subject, not object, of ἄγαθον τι πράξαι, which = εὖ πράξαι, not εὖ ποιεῖσαι. πράττειν for ποιέω is poetical; e.g. Aesch. Choeph. 432. There are a few doubtful prose cases; e.g. Dem. 37 § 24.

§ 5. τὸ δ’ ἵσχυρόν τοῦτο. ‘But the only substance that can be found in their statements is this, that they reproach me at every turn with my misfortunes, and that too before you, who of course know better, so that none of these statements would justly bring them any credit.’ For this use of the Demonstrative to anticipate an Infinitive clause, see Kühner Gr. § 469, 3. Reiske inserted τὸ before τὰς ἡμᾶς, but it is not necessary.

ἐν εἰδίσκω. Cf. Thuc. 2, 36; 4, 59; 6, 77.

πάντες ἄθρωποι κ.τ.λ. ‘all men are apt to meet with good and bad luck.’ So γ. ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, ‘to reach,’ Thuc. 7, 84, 3. Cf. Thuc. 2, 87 ταῖς τόχαις ὑπεδέξησθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἄθρωπους. 3, 45 πεφύ-
καὶ τε ἄπαντες καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία διαρράνεων. 4, 18 γνώμη σφαλίστες ἐν ὁ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίος ὑπάρχει. 'Simonides: πάμπαν δ’ ἄμωμος οὕτως οὐ’ ἀκήρως. Sopater ap. Stobaeus p. 313 σύμφυτον τὸ ἀμαρτάνεων ἀνθρώποις.' Wass quoted by Poppo.

ἐπὶ τῷ εὖ καὶ κακῶς πράττειν. de Myst. § 145.

dυσπραξία not often used in prose. Cf. Isocr. 6 § 102. So εὐγνώμον. Vid. L. and S.

§ 7. δυνάμει. Dobree explains this by eloquentia, but it rather means the influence the other members of the Club had over A. Cf. de Myst. § 67 ὁτείπως καὶ ἀλοίπωρον, but A.'s scruples were at the time overwome. See Append.

συμφοράν τῶν φρενῶν. In history συμφορά is naturally commoner of the troubles of states than of individuals. See de Myst. § 73 Note. Shilleto on Thuc. 1, 140. It is used constantly of the disasters of war. E.g. Thuc. 5, chs. 14, 17, 28, 32, 111 ; 6, chs. 10, 89. Seldom in Thuc. of private misfortunes, 6, 16 ; 8, 81. It is a favourite word with the Orators, esp. Lysias, for raising the sympathy of the jury, either by dwelling on one’s own συμφορά, or, less frequently, on what one had done for others in theirs. Isocr. uses it often of Athens' troubles. Cf. de Myst. §§ 107 and 142. ib. § 140, of other communities; below § 9. For the rare use of φρήν in prose, see Ruth. New Phryn. p. 9. It is another Ionic survival, and only occurs in a few phrases.

ἡ μὴ βουληθέντι κατειπεῖν κ.τ.λ. The dilemma brings the participles into prominence. 'I had to choose between refusing to inform and so causing my father's death, and saving his life by turning informer.'

σῶν ἐμαντῷ. Xen. is the only prose author who uses σῶν constantly. It occurs in the Orators only when circumstance, not will, causes the connection. Cf. Antiph. Tet. A. a, § 4.

§ 8. σφᾶς αὐτοῖς instead of ύμᾶς αὐτοῖς. Cf. de Myst. § 114 αὐτὸς αὐτῶν for αὐτὸς ἐμαντῶν. In such cases the pron. denotes merely reflex action, and leaves the person indefinite. See Kühner Gr. § 455, b. See Index, s.v. σφᾶς.

§ 9. καὶ ὃμως. 'And yet I am quite unable to avoid being the most unlucky man on earth, since while the state was drifting into these disasters, no one was nearly becoming more ill-fated than I was, and when it was once more recovering its security, I became of all
men the most miserable.' A. refers to his disclosures, which had the double effect of relieving the state and causing his banishment. 
*Cf. de Myst. § 68.* Let the learner note the nominative δυνατέστατος.

_διε δὴ quoniam._ Kühner Gr. § 500, 6.

_οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ_ i.e. ἣ ἐγὼ ἡρχόμην γίγνεσθαι—for he nearly became 'his father's murderer.' Thuc. 2, 47.

§ 10. τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ. So *de Pace* § 37.

_πράττειν τε τοιαῦτα . . . οὖν._ Here οὖν = ἐν οἷς. *Cf. de Myst._ § 72 τοιαύτην ἀπολογισάντα ποιήσωμα, οὖν (i.e. ἐν ἤ); *ib._ § 128.

_τῆς τε μεθ ὑμῶν πολιτείας κ.τ.λ._ Dr. Jebb points out that ἐκείνης refers to Athens, δευτίριο της to Cyprus. Lipsius' emendation makes ἐξ ἦς δευτίριο μ. apply to A.'s return to Athens, but the alteration mars the picture of A.'s misery in his absence. _πολιτεία, public life,_ is contrasted with _diära, private intercourse,_ but there is no need to repeat the article when two words do not apply to the same thing: _cf. Thuc._ 1, 10 τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας. On the other hand, the article may be repeated when two words apply to the same thing, e.g. _de Myst._ § 1 τὴν παρασκευήν καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν. A. here recalls his thoughts in Cyprus. For his frame of mind when in Cyprus, see the opening of Chap. v. of Macaulay's *Hist. of Eng._

§ 11. 'Αρχελάου. King of Macedon 413-399 B.C. The timber of Macedon and Chalcidice was esteemed above all other for building, and especially ship-building. *Xen. Hell._ 6, 1, 11; *Thuc._ 4, 108.

_σιτῶν τε καὶ χαλκῶν, from Cyprus._

§ 12. _ναυμαχοῦτες_ refers to the first battle of Cynossema 411 B.C. The impression produced at Athens by that victory was exactly such as to give rise to A.'s language. *Thuc._ 8, 104. There is no reference to the battle of Cyzicus, as A., speaking in the summer of 410 B.C., could not use ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ of it.

_δ κίνδυνος ἤν._ *Cf. the use of the past tenses of κινδυνεύω without ἤν._ Goodwin *M. and T._ § 49, 2 (d). 'κ. περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ αὐτοὺς σωθήναι = κ. μὴ ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς σωθῆτεν, a risk lest not even they themselves should be saved.' Dr. Jebb. According to our ideas, μηδὲ should be καὶ, but a negative is sometimes inserted in Greek in the second member of a
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comparison, when the prevailing notion is negative. See Shilleto on the idiom μᾶλλον ἤ ὦ, Thuc. 2, 62.


τὰ ἐνταῦθα πράγματα. What A. failed to discover before reaching Athens was (not the establishment of the Four Hundred, of which he knew, § 11, but) the revulsion of feeling at Samos. Hence the unexpected reception to be met with at Athens.

ἡκοντα. See de Myst. § 25 Note.

εἰς τὴν θουλήν, i.e. before the Four Hundred, who then formed the Senate. Thuc. 8, 70.


οἱ εἰς στρατιάς. 'By that time it had become evident that the men on service were opposed to the Four Hundred'—which had not become clear when A. started for Athens. For εἰς στρατιάς, cf. Arist. Vesp. 354.

§ 15. προσπήδω πρὸς τὴν ἔστιαν: de Myst. § 44 Note.

§ 16. ἐμαυτὸν ἀπολογφράμην. Cf. Thuc. 8, 81; Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 27. ὁ δήμος κακοῦσθαι refers to the establishment of the Four Hundred, by whom A. was imprisoned.

ἐπειδὴ ἠθανατο κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 9; de Myst. § 68.

εὐθαρσεῖν [A harsh and unusual use of ἐνθαρ, without article, esp. in an oblique case. Cf. Thuc. 3, 40, ἔννομῳ ἅμαρτειν λήψοντα.

—A.W.S.]

§ 17. διὰ τὰ τουωτα. 'How far such conduct as this differs from ordinary services.' See de Myst. § 30 Note, for τουωτος.

εἰ ὑπεγχάνονσιν. Cf. § 4. A. must have thought of the recent battle of Cyzicus, and would probably have referred to it more distinctly were it not that he would thus have rendered this passage still more arrogant than it already is. εν φ. κ.τ.λ. See Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 14.

§ 18. στεφάνωνται. de Myst. § 45.

§ 19. τὰ μελλοντα. Cf. Thuc. 8, 73 τὰ μελλον = the scheme.
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η βουλή. For the apposition, cf. Thuc. 8, 86 τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους.

αἰτίαν ἔχει: i.e. when they rendered their accounts after going out of office. Cf. de Myst. § 15 Note.

§ 20. σίτος ... ἡμε. Cf. Thuc. 8, 90 τὸν ἐσπλέοντα σίτον.

βουλεύοντας εὖ ύμί, i.e. ἐπίβουλεύοντας ύμίν. Cf. de Myst. § 94; Lys. 3 § 42 ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐβουλεύσαν καὶ προνοήθησαν.


τῇ βουλῇ εἰσαγγείλα. L. and S. s.v. εἰσαγγελλεῖν quote this passage under the wrong heading. This is not the technical sense. The constructions of this verb are (1) ἐν τῷ δήμῳ (de Myst. § 14); (2) εἰς τὴν βουλὴν (ib. § 37) or τῇ βουλῇ; (3) πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα (cases of κάκως γονέων. (See de Myst. § 74.)

αὐτόθεν, 'at once': cf. Thuc. 1, 141, where see Shilleto.

§ 22. νῦν δὲ is carelessly repeated. Cf. a double οὖν in Thuc. 8, 57, 2; a double autem in Cic. de Fin. 3, 19. χάρω μικράν. Cf. de Myst. § 1.

γράφτες τε καὶ ἥ, i.e. τὴν ἄδειαν. This refers to the ἄδεια promised to all who should give information. (See de Myst. § 11.) A special vote however had to be passed in each case. See Append. (a), cf. § 23, and the case of Teucrus, de Myst. § 15.

εἰ μὲν β., αἰτῶ, εἰ δὲ μὴ β., ἀπατῶ. I think Lipsius errs in altering the text with Dobree, and that the latter is wrong in translating ἀπατῶ ... ἀιτῶ, reddite ... date. ἀπατῶ = (1) to demand back what has wrongly been taken away; (2) to ask for a reward for services rendered. The latter is the meaning here. Cf. de Myst. § 147; Plat. Rep. 394 A ὑπομιμήσκον καὶ ἀπατῶν, εἰ τι πώποτε ... κεχαρισμένον δωρήσατο. Trans. 'I ask you for what you gave me... and afterwards took away; or, if you refuse that, I claim it as a reward (viz. for the services mentioned above).

§ 23. δοῦλοι καὶ ξένοι. Cf. de Myst. § 149. These statements show whence Athens obtained men at the end of the war. When large numbers were enfranchised after the battle of Cyzicus, those who served on board in the battle—among whom were δοῦλοι and ξένοι—
no doubt received citizenship. The expedient was again adopted after the battle of Arginusae 406 B.C., before which all, slaves and free alike, capable of serving, were pressed into sea service. Aristoph. Ran. 693; Xen. Hell. 1, 6, 24.

Ever since the great plague, the population of Attica declined both in numbers and quality. The results of modern speculations will be found in Whibley's Political Parties in Athens.

τοσούτον: of what follows, in place of τοσούνθε.

§ 24. παρέστηκεν. Cf. de Myst. § 54.

diabeblήσθε. See de Myst. § 141 Note.


§ 26. ἐλετο μᾶλλον . . . μᾶλλον ἡ. Cf. Antiph. 5 § 59. The doubling of a comparative is very common; e.g. Isocr. 12 § 117 κρεῖττω . . . μᾶλλον ἡ. Cf. de Myst. § 7 Note.

dημοκρατία. Aristoph. Vesp. 710; Av. 1584. oi δ' = the constitutional party.

ἄλλα νῦν γε = πω, at least. See Jebb on Soph. O.C. 1276 ἄλλῃ ὑμεῖς γε. Cf. Lys. 10 § 15 ἄν πως ἄλλα νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος πανευθῆ, where Reiske unnecessarily inserted γ' before ἐπὶ.

§ 27. ἐκ δημοκρατίας δυναστείαν κ. Cf. Lys. 28 § 11 ὀλεγαρχίαν ἐκ δημοκρατίας καθίστησαι. Isocr. 5 § 89 ἀπασι συνήπεσαι ἐξ ἄδοξων μὲν γενίσται λαμπροῖς, ἐκ πενήτων δὲ πλουσίωσι. Δ. refers to the establishment of the Four Hundred 411 B.C., through Pisander and others. He disguises the fact that Pisander professed himself a democrat when the decree of Isotimides was passed. δυναστεία is the worst form of oligarchy. Thuc. 3, 62, 4.

§ 28. ἀκύρως ἄθετε βουλής. For the overthrow of the Four Hundred, see Thuc. 8, 97. τίθημι for ποιῶ is rare in prose, common in Homer, e.g. II. 6, 139.

ἀστῆ ὑμ. γ. ποιήσαι. Notice that ἀστῆ is synonymous with ἀκύρως, γνώμην with βουλής, ποιήσαι with ἄθετε. See de Myst. § 8 Note.

τούτω ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἑξεχθησόμεν. Here ἑξεχθησόμεν is a subst.: and so is constructed with genitive; cf. Thuc. 8, 46, 1. (Poppo Proleg. 122).

μήτε γένησθε— the mild request βουλώμην ἄν . . . ποιήσαι is exchanged for the more vigorous prohibition.

M
APPENDIX.

ON THE CONNECTION OF ANDOCIDES WITH THE MUTILATION
OF THE HERMAE.

My conviction that A. was an accomplice in one of the two
outrages of 415 B.C. will have been gathered from the Life of the
Orator. I will briefly set down the reasons which force this con-
viction upon me, in spite of A.'s statements in the de Myst.

That he had admitted his guilt is manifest, for the following
reasons:

(a) As he was a male citizen and a man of position, there was
nothing to prevent him from making an εἰσαγωγή in the Senate in
415 B.C.: or, even granting that he could not do this, as he was
himself suspected, there would have been no need for him to obtain
the promised vote of δῆμος, before making his μήπως, to secure
immunity from punishment. See note on de Myst. § 11.

(b) Had he not admitted his guilt, he would have had no need to
quit Athens in 415 B.C., since he would not have been subject to
the Decree of Isotimides. That he was obliged to quit Athens, he
hints even in the de Myst. (§§ 5, 144, 145).

The reasons for believing that this admission of his guilt corre-
sponded with the facts are the following:

1. The positive statement of Thucydides (6, 60) that A. was
thought to be among the most guilty. This only proves that there
was a general opinion that Diocles was right in denouncing A.,
and much stress must not be laid on it alone.

2. In the de Red. he admits the truth of this general opinion.
Why did he not assert his innocence if he wished to be released
from his penalties?

3. The account in de Myst. (§§ 61-64, § 71) will not bear ex-
amination:

(A) Euphiletus suggested the mutilation at a social gathering of
his club. A.'s opposition prevented the immediate execution of the
design. Subsequently, however, A. met with an accident, and was
laid up at home. Thereupon Euphiletus told the rest that A.'s
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objection had been overcome, and that he had agreed to take part in
the mutilation.

Hence, according to A., Euphiletus and the rest were eager to
carry out the design, and did so on the first opportunity.

Therefore (1) Euphiletus told a false story about A., who, though
injured, had not withdrawn his opposition. But A. would certainly
hear of the mutilation: besides being opposed to the plot, he had
been misrepresented by Euphiletus, and this A. also naturally heard
of from members of the club who were indignant that he had not
executed the part he had, according to Euphiletus, undertaken.
A. had therefore a twofold reason to be incensed with Euphiletus,
and the latter must have foreseen beforehand that this would be the
case. There would be a serious risk that A. would give information,
if only to square accounts with Euphiletus. Is it probable that
Euphiletus would be prepared to run such a risk, knowing how
serious would be the consequences of exposure in such a matter?
He would have been putting his neck in the halter by telling such a
tale as A. says he told.

(2) A. had all along been opposed to the plot, and had been
misrepresented by Euphiletus. Yet he allowed himself, his father,
relatives, and friends to be thrown into prison on a lying information,
when a few words from him could at once have prevented this. He
allowed two senators to be falsely denounced, and a gross outrage
to be inflicted on their rights. He said nothing to confute the
cock-and-bull story of Diocleides, though three hundred citizens were
in danger. These inferences follow directly from A.'s own words;
and he actually takes credit to himself for having concealed the facts
so long! (§ 67.) Are we to suppose that A. really did all this in
415 B.C., or that he misrepresented the facts in 399 B.C., when but
few members of Euphiletus' club were living?

(3) Since Euphiletus and the rest were determined to carry out
the mutilation, what was gained by delaying till A. was ill? His
opposition had not ceased. Euphiletus at least knew this, and the
rest would know it the next morning.

From these considerations I conclude that A. did not really oppose
the plot when Euphiletus suggested it, or, even if he did, his opposi-
tion was overcome. This tallies with his word over his 'youth and
folly' in the de Reditu § 7, and 'the influence of those who persuaded
him.'
Was A. present on the night in question?

(B) The Hermes which stood near his house was the only one that remained uninjured. A. refers to this (de Myst. § 62) in support of the truth of his story in 399 B.C., i.e. of his innocence in 415.

(1) It is not the case that this was the only Hermes uninjured. See § 62 Note.

(2) If it were true, or if it were merely an exaggeration, how would it be a σωματίω of his innocence? Evidently because Euphiletus pretended that A. had promised to mutilate that Hermes. But Euphiletus knew that A. would not mutilate the bust, being ill in bed and opposed to the plot. Surely Euphiletus would have taken steps to get this bust mutilated somehow, so that the falsity of his story might not become apparent the next morning.

(3) Hence it appears probable that A. really did undertake to mutilate this Hermes. Consequently, Plutarch says that the escape of this bust told against A. at the time; i.e. having undertaken to mutilate it, he shrank from an outrage on the image in the keeping of his family.

(4) In 415 B.C., A. declared himself guilty; in 399 B.C. he declared that he was laid up on the night in question. Now, if this were so, why did he not, when he returned to Athens in 411 and 410 B.C. adopt this line of defence, namely, that though he had been cognisant of the plot beforehand, still he had taken no part in carrying it out?

(5) What meaning can the words ἀμαρτώντα πρᾶξιν κακῶς (§ 145) have, except that A. had like others discovered that guilt was visited with punishment, that it was reserved τῷ δράσαμεν παθεῖν?

(6) Lastly, the statements on the matter in 410 B.C. are more likely to be true than those in 399 B.C., as they were nearer to the events with which they dealt, and A. had not then the shield of the Amnesty with which to defend himself against any threat of subsequent proceedings for having practically admitted that his μέριμνως in 415 B.C. was, at least in some respects, false.

Therefore I conclude that A. fully intended to be present at the mutilation, and that if he was not present, his absence was due to scruples at the last minute, or to the fear of detection. This conclusion renders more intelligible the extreme disgust of the oligarchs when A. made his disclosures.
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