Thesis

Andocides & Attic Oratory,

by

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Andocides de Mysteriis.

1. The array, gentlemen, and the zeal of my enemies, with a view to doing me ill in every way, whether justly or unjustly, forthwith upon my arriving in this city, you nearly all know, and it is not necessary to say much on that point. On my part, gentlemen, I shall ask of you things just, and easy for you to grant, and of much value to me to receive from you.

2. In the first place, then, that I am come and under no necessity to remain, as I had not given bail now was compelled by bonds, but trusting, first and foremost, in justice, afterward in you, to form a just
judgment and not permit my unjust destruction
at the hands of my enemies, but much rather to pre-
serve me in accordance both with your laws and the
oaths which you have taken (and conformable to which)
you are about to cast your vote. But perhaps you have the
same opinion about those who stand self-condemned as
they have about themselves. Perhaps you know such things
about those who were unwilling to remain, being under
self-condemnation, as they know about you. But in re-
gard to those who remained, believing themselves to have
done no wrong, it is proper that you should entertain
the same opinion of as they do about themselves, and not
prejudge them to be guilty. For example, although many
told me that my enemies were saying that I would not
await the trial, but would be off, — “for why would an-
decide wish to remain at a trial so dangerous, when
it is possible for him to go away and have all his pos
sessions, and, if he sails to Cyprus, whence he came, he has plenty of good land given as a free gift? So much, will he be willing to risk his life? With a view to what? Does he not see how the men of our city is disposed?“ But gentlemen, I hold a different opinion from these. For if deprived of my citizenship I would not care to have all my possessions on condition of living elsewhere, but granting that the state is in the condition my enemies say, I would much rather choose to be an inhabitant of it than of other states, which perhaps seem clearly to me to be fortunate just at present. Accordingly, I ask you to show more favor to me making my defense than to my accusers, knowing that if you hear both sides impartially it is unavoidable that the one who is making his defense be at a disadvantage. For a long time they have been conspiring and plotting against me, and have at last brought in an accusation, being them-
relief out of danger. But I, filled with fear, made my defense amid danger and great calumny. It is perhaps possible that you are more disposed to show favor to me than to my accusers. Still it must be said that many before now, having brought many dreadful accusations, straightway have been convicted of lying so openly, that you could much easier exact penalty from the accusers than from the accused, whilst others, having given false testimony and having unjustly ruined men, have been condemned before you by false witnesses, when it was no longer of any avail to the sufferers. Since, therefore, many such cases have happened in former times it is reasonable that you no longer regard the statements of my accusers as trustworthy. For whether or not mean charges have been made you may know from the words of my accusers; but whether the accusations be true or false you can not know before you hear my defense.
Gentlemen, it is a question with me where to begin my defence; whether with the last illegal words they spoke against me, or with the obsolete decree of Deistimene, or with the laws and the oaths of those who did the deed; or whether I shall inform you of all that occurred from the beginning. What causes me the greatest hesitancy, I may say to you, is that not all, perhaps, are similarly affected by the charges. Each of you may have something about which he wishes I would first reply. But I can not speak about everything at once. Therefore, it seems to me to be best to tell you everything which has occurred from the beginning, and omit nothing. So if you would learn correctly the whole proceedings you would have no difficulty in determining the falsehood of my accused.

Now I think you know what justice is, and are prepared to render a just decision, if your own accord even. Having implicit confidence in you I awaited trial, seeing
that you, both in private and in public matters, consider it a matter of the greatest importance to vote according to your oaths. This alone preserves the state, the disloyal not wishing these things to be. I beg this of you, with good will to listen favorably to my defense, and neither set yourselves in opposition to me, nor regard with suspicion the things I say, nor watch the phraseology, but to listen to the end of the speech and then to vote whatever you think best for yourselves and most in accordance with your oaths. But, as I said before, I shall make my defense by telling everything which happened from the beginning; first, about the accusation itself, whence the allegation, on account of which I am brought to trial; then concerning the mysteries that I have neither committed any impiety against them nor given any information in reference to them, nor do I know those who did lay the information before you about them, nor whether it was true or false. These matters I shall explain
A public assembly was held for the generals who were going to Sicily, namely, Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades. The flagship of Lamachus the general already was at anchor. Pythocerus arose in the assembly and said: "Athenians, you are sending out an army and this equipment, and are about to assume a risk. I will prove to you that Alcibiades the general practices the mysteries with others at his own house, if you vote immunity to the person I name, a servant of one of the men here will describe the mysteries to you, though he is uninitiated. If I am not telling the truth, do whatever you please to me." But when Alcibiades denied it and said many things in opposition it seemed best to the priests to order the uninitiated to withdraw, and for them to go in person to bring the lad whom Pythocerus mentioned. They went and
brought the servant of Polemarchus. When they voted immunity to him he said that the mysteries were practiced in the house of Polytion, that Alcibiades Nicias's son and Meletus were present, the very ones who practiced the mysteries; that others were present and saw what was going on; that the slaves were present, both himself, his brother, Nicias, the musician and the slave of Meletus. He himself was the first one to reveal the mysteries and to denounce those who practiced them. Of these last Polycrates was arrested and executed, but the others fled, and them you condemned to death. Take the records and read their names for me.

Alcibiades, Nicias, Meletus, Archibias, Archippus, Diogenes, Polycrates, Aristomenes, Dionysus, Panactius.

Gentlemen, this was the first information laid by Andromachus, against these men. Call up Dionysius for me.
Dioenetus, were you a commissioner when Pythoinous gave information in the demi about Alcibiades?

I was.

Do you know that Andromachus has disclosed the proceedings which occurred in the house of Polytion?

Yes.

What are the names of the men against whom he has given this information?

They are these:

Moreover, a second information occurred. Hence was there who secretly went to Megara and made a proposition to the senate that if they would grant him immunity he would give information about the profanation of the mysteries. Having been an active participant he would inform about the others who committed it in conjunction with himself. And he would also tell about the mutilation of the Hermac. When the senate
had so voted, for it had full power, they went to him in
Megara. Having returned and obtained immunity
he wrote the names of his colleagues. These also fled by
reason of Senes's information. I mention here the
names of those whom Senes informed against:
Oeadraus, Aniphonides, Leonomus, Hephaestodorus,
Cephisodorus himself, Diognetus, Smindypri-
des, Philocrates, Antiphan, Seisarchus, Pant-
taches.

You recall, men, that these all confessed to you.
The third information is now produced. The wife
of Alemeonides, who had been the wife of Damon, Ag-
arista by name, testified that Aleiabiades, Axiochus, and
Adimantus practiced the mysteries in the house of Char-
nonides, which stood near the temple of Zeus. All these
fled on hearing her testimony.

Still one more witness, Lydus, the slave of Pherecles,
from the deme Themaeus, testified that the mysteries had been practiced in the house of his master in Themaeus. He both denounced the others and said that my father was present but in bed asleep. Oenius, a member of the senate delivered them to the dicastry. Thereupon my father, having given bail, brought an accusation against Spenusippus for illegal proceedings, and defended the case before six thousand Athenians. Spenusippus did not receive two hundred votes of this whole number. But I was especially anxious that my father and the other relatives should remain, summoned some Dallias and Stephaneus also even Philippus and Alexippus; for these are relatives of Acontemenos and Autocrat. These fled when they heard the testimony of Tydes. Of the one, Autocrat is the nephew, of the other the uncle is Acontemenos. It behooves them to hate the one who banished them, and to know especially by whose assistance
they fled. Look at them and see whether I speak the truth.

Witnesses.

Gentlemen, you have heard what has happened, and what the witnesses have testified to you. But what the accusers have dared to say, treasure that up in your memories. For it is quite right to defend myself, to recall and refute the arguments of my accusers. So they say that I revealed the secret rites of the mysteries; that I have denounced my father for being present; that I have become an informer against him, a story, utterly fearful and impious. Now the one who informed against him was Sydus, the slave of Cherecles, while the one who persuaded him to remain and not betake himself to flight was myself, after much supplication and after grasping his knees. And yet why, if I informed against my father, as they say, did I wish him to remain
and suffer death through me, and urge it? And why was my father persuaded to join such an issue as that it was not possible for him to avoid one of two monstrous ills? For either I should appear to testify the truth against him, and so bring him to death, or, if he were saved, I should be put to death. For the law is as follows: if any one gives truthful information he is safe; if false, he is executed. Surely you all know very well that both I and my father are alive. This would not have been possible if I had been an informer against my father, for either he or I would of necessity have been put to death. Come now, if my father had wished to remain, do you suppose his friends would permit him to remain in the city, or go his bail, and not rather solicit and beg him to go where he would be safe, and I should not perish? But when my father prosecuted Spencepine for illegal action, he said this very thing, that at no time
whatever did he visit Pheraclea at Themistocles. He command
ed the slaves to be tortured; also, not to refuse to examine
those who delivered up their slaves, and to compel those
to do so who were not willing. When my father said these
things what was left for Spericus to say, if these told
the truth, except this: O Segorae, why do you want to talk
about servants? Has not your son informed against
you and does he not say that you were present at The-
maine? So you confute your father, or there is no immu-
nity for you." Gentlemen, would Spericus have
said these things or not? I think he would. Therefore, if
I went to the Dreacery, or if there was any report about
me, or if there is any information or denunciation
of mine, not to say against any other, but if even of
any other against me, let whoever desires come up
here and confute me. Hence; for I know no one who
has uttered a falsehood so impious and untrustworthy,
who deemed this alone needful, viz., to dare to make a charge. If they shall be convicted in their lying, they will gain nothing. If the things they accuse me of be true, you would be angry at me, and would consider me worthy of great punishment. In like manner I ask you who know they are liars to account them piteous and to take that fact as proof. Because if they, beyond a doubt, are convicted of lying in regard to the most formidable of their charges, I shall doubtless easily prove them liars in regard to their lighter charges.

In this way these four informations were given. And I read to you the names of those who fled at each instance and the witnesses who have testified. Out of confidence in you, men, I will do this in addition. For of those who fled in consequence of the profanation of the mysteries, some have died in exile, others have returned and are present in answer to my summons.
Accordingly, I grant to whoever desires it in the midst of my speech to prove that any one of them fled through me, or that I informed against anyone, so that each one did not flee by reason of those informations which I have indicated. And if some one doubts the truth of my word let him do to me whatever he pleases: I keep silent and yield my place if any one wishes to occupy it.

Well, men, what happened after this? When these informations were produced they disputed about the rewards for the discovery, (for there were, according to the decree of Cleonymes, one thousand drachmas, according to the decree of Peisander, a myriad,) about these, I say, both the informers and Pythonicus were disputing, the latter saying that he first brought the impeachment, and Androcles in behalf of the senate. Accordingly, it seemed best to the people that those who had been
initiated should decide the case in the dicastery after hearing the testimony given by each. They decided the case of Andromachus first, then the case of Sceuse. Andromachus received the myriad Machmas at the Panathenian festival; Sceuse received the 1000 Machmas. Call the witnesses to this.

Witnesses.

Gentlemen, concerning the mysteries for which the evidence has been produced and about which you as initiated ones have come into court to judge, it has been shown that I have neither acted impiously nor informed on any one, nor have I made confession about the mysteries. I have not, even once, in great or small degree, offended the two goddesses. Of which it is very important that I should persuade you. For the speeches of the accusers, who loudly stated things awful and terrible, and who delivered speeches setting
forth what horrible sufferings and punishments each
of them endured when others in former days comitted
offences, and acts of impiety toward the two goddess-
es — of these speeches or deeds, then, what one becomes
me? For I have much greater reason to accuse them.
For this reason I say that every one of them should be put
to death because they have acted impiously. But I
ought to be acquitted because I have done no wrong.
It would be a terrible thing for you to be enraged at
me on account of the offenses of others, and, know-
ing that my ill repute is uttered by my enemies think
it stronger than the truth. For it is evident that there is
no excuse for such evil deeds as they commit. Fortune
is a dread to those who are conscious of ill; but
to me it is very pleasant where in there is no need of
my beseeching or soliciting you to be saved on such
a charge, but of confuting my accusers' word and of
reminding you of what happened, you who have, some of you, sworn great oaths, and will cast a ballot on my case, and, having incurred awful curses upon you and your children that you surely would vote justly about me, and besides have been initiated, and have seen the services of the two goddesses in order, just, that you may punish the impious and protect the innocent. Therefore, think it no less impious to condemn those of impurity who have done no wrong, than not to punish wrongdoers. Wherefore, far more than my accusers, do I urge you in the name of the two goddesses, both on behalf of the sacred rites and on behalf of the Greeks who have come here to enjoy the festival, that if I have acted impiously in any way, or have confessed anything, or have given informations against any man, or any other concerning me, to put me to death.
I make no appeal for mercy. But since I have committed no offence, as I have plainly shown you, I ask you to proclaim to all Greece that I have been unjustly brought to trial. For if the fifth part of the votes are not cast for him, and this Cephasinus who informs against me is punished, he must not enter the temple of the goddess or he will die. If you think I have defended myself sufficiently well in these matters, pay so, in order that I, the more readily, may defend myself under the other charges.

I shall do what I promised in regard to the mutilation of the busts and the disclosure in regard to it. For I shall go over all that happened from the beginning. When Peneus came from Megara, under promise of protection, he testified about the mysteries and what he knew from those who mutilated the monuments, and denounced eighteen men. After
they were denounced some betook themselves to flight, some were arrested and killed on his statement. Read their names for me.


Now some of these men are present, some who have died have relatives here. Any of these men who please to do so may come up here while I am speaking and confute me, either that some of these fled on account of what I have said, or have died.

When this was said Aeisander and charcoal of the Commission of Inquiring, who at that time were considered to be favorable to the cause of the people, said that the
deed was not the work of a few men, but with a view to the destruction of the deme, and that the search ought to continue and not stop. The city was so aroused that when the herald issued the proclamation for the senate to go to the senate house, and had taken down the flag, at the same sign the senate proceeded to the senate house, and those in the agora fled, each one fearing lest he should be arrested. Diochile, therefore, being impelled to take this step by the misfortunes of the state, lays an information in the senate, saying that he knew those who mutilated the Hermæ, and that their number was three hundred. He stated how he had received his information. I beg of you while you are giving attention to these matters to call to mind whether I speak the truth and to instruct each other. For these words were spoken in your presence and you are my witnesses of them. He said he had a
slave at work in the mines at Samion, and he had
to fetch his earnings. He rose early by mistake, the full
moon shining so brightly. Notwithstanding this, he walked on. But when he was near the propylaeum of the
temple of Dionysius he saw a body of men descending
from the Odeum to the orchestra. Being afraid of
them, he went into the shadow and sat down between
the pillar and the stele, near which is the brazen sta-
tue of the general. He saw the men, about three hundred
in number, standing in groups of fifteen or twenty. By
the light of the moon he recognized the faces of most
of them. In the first place, gentlemen, I suppose he
engaged in this diabolical business in order that
it might be in his power to assert of whomever of
the Athenians he pleased that he was among those
men; and of whomever he did not please to make
this assertion to say that he was not among them. He
saw this when on his way to Scourion, and on the
following day he says he heard of the mutilation of the
Hermes. Therefore he immediately inferred that the
deed was done by these men. Returning to the city
he found the commissioners of inquiry already chosen
and a price heralded of one hundred minae. Seeing
Euphemius, son of Caleor, the son of Tellecles sitting in
the shop of a brazier, he took him to the Heracleum
and told him what I have told you — that he saw us
that night. He really had no need to receive money
from the state rather than from us in order to retain our
friendship, so Euphemius said that he had done well
to tell us, and directed him to come to the house of
Leogorus to meet Ancodicer and others whom it
would be proper to see. He said he came the follow-
ing day and was knocking at the door. My father
happened to come out, and said to him, "Are you the per-
son they are waiting for? Friends such as you are not to
be slighted." This he said and went on, in that man-
ner he destroyed my father, by making him a par-
ticipant. And he reported that we said we had decided
to give him two talents instead of the hundred mi-
nae he was to receive from the state, and if we should
succeed in our plot he would be one of us and that
we gave and received a pledge. He replied to this that
he would consider the matter. We bade him come to the
house of Callias, son of Tlepolemos, in order to have him
present. Again he thus destroyed my relative. He said
he came to the house of Callias and having come to
an agreement with us gave a pledge in the Acrop-
olos; and that we, after contracting to give him the
money the following month, thoroughly deceived him
and did not give it. So he came to tell what had
taken place.
Such, men, is the testimony given by him. Next he denounced the men whom he said he knew forty-two in number. First Mantithenas and Apepthon, both being senators sitting in his presence; after these, the others. Periander arose and said that it was necessary to repeal the decree of Leamandrius and put the accused on the rack, since it would be night before all the men could be examined. The senate enthusiastically agreed that he had spoken wisely. When Mantithenas and Apepthon heard this they threw themselves upon the altar beseeching that they be not tortured but be allowed to give bail and stand trial. Scarcely had this been granted them when they secured bail, mounted horses and fled to the enemy leaving their bondsmen to suffer the same penalty they would have suffered. But the senate, proceeding quietly, arrested us and bound us in the stocks. When the generals were called
they were commanded to give orders to the Athenians living in the city to arm and go into the agora; those in the Long Walls to go into the Theseum; those in the Peiraeus to the Hippodramian agora; the knights before evening to the Anaeleon; by trumpet to summon the senate to go to the Acropolis and sleep there, and the prytanes at the Tholus. The Boeotians having learned what was going on had already marched to our boundaries. Diocles who was the cause of these evils was taken to the Prytaneum upon a chariot and crowned as the savior of the state. They banqueted him.

First, then, gentlemen, as many of you as were present, call these things to mind and inform others about them, they summon for me those who were prytanes at the time, Philocrates and others.

Witnesses.
Come now, and I will read you the names of the men whom he proscribed so that you may know how many of my relatives he destroyed. First my father, then my brother-in-law, denouncing the one as an accessory, and saying that the meeting took place at the house of the other. But hear their names and remember them.

Charmides, son of Aristoteles. This was my cousin. His mother and my father were of the same family.

Faneas, my father's cousin.

Nicaeus, son of Faneas.

Callias, son of Alcmeon, cousin of my father.

Euphenes, brother of Callias, son of Sicyocrates.

Phrynichus, the play-actor, my cousin.

Encratet, brother of Nicias, who was a brother-in-law of Callias.

Critias, my father's cousin. Their mothers were sisters.

These were all among the forty men he denounced.
After we were all confined in the same prison, when night had come and the prison was closed, there came to one his mother, to another a sister, to another his wife and children. There was weeping and wailing, lamenting and lamenting the present evil. My cousin Charnidee said to me, one who was of the same age and had been reared with me from boyhood in the same home, "Andocidde, you see the magnitude of the present misfortunes. Previously I needed to say nothing, or to annoy you; but now I am compelled by reason of the present misfortunes to do so. Those whom you met and associated with, aside from us your kinsfolk, have, on account of the accusations through which we are perishing, in part died, in part gone into exile, thus condemning themselves of wrong-doing. If you have heard anything of this affair that has taken place, tell it and first save yourself, then your father whom pre-
surprisingly, you love best, then your brother-in-law, who married your only sister, then the other relatives and kinfolk, so many in number, and last of all me, who never in all my life annoyed you in any way, but am most zealous for you and your interests in whatever is needful to do." Gentlemen, when Charmides spoke these words and when the others were entreating me, each one for himself, I betook myself thus: "O, I am confronting a question more troublesome than all, whether I shall allow my own relatives to perish unjustly, not only be put to death themselves but have their property confiscated; in addition to this be inscribed on public steles as offenders against the gods. They are guilty of none of the misdeeds that have been committed. Three hundred Athenians are about to be put to death unjustly. The city is in great disturbance, all the citizens regard each other with suspicion.
Shall I allow all this or shall I tell the Athenians what I heard from Euphiletus, who personally committed the offence?" Furthermore, in addition to these matters, I reflected upon this, considering in my own mind those who had offended and had committed the deed. Some of them, those against whom Fucus had informed, were already dead, some had gone into exile and death had been decreed against them. Also, the names of four guilty ones were not revealed by Fucus, namely, Panactius, Chaidemus, Diceritus, and Lygistratus. It was fair to presume that these were as guilty as any of the men whom Diochides informed against, because they were friends of those who had already been put to death. And there was not yet certain deliverance for them, but there was certain destruction to my own household unless some one should tell the Athenians the true state
of affairs. It seemed to me, therefore, to be better to deprive the four men of citizenship justly who are now alive and have returned and have their own, than to allow others to be put to death unjustly. Therefore if any of you, or any of the citizens have previously held the opinion about me that I informed against my own relatives, allowing them to perish while I was spared—which stories my enemies told on me to misrepresent me—judge you the matter by the actual facts. For I must now give a true report of my doings while they are present who committed the offense and fled because they did, and they know best whether I lie or speak the truth. I give them liberty to confute me in the course of my remarks. You must hear about the facts. For with me the most important part of the trial is, not to be counted a reprobate, should I be acquitted. I desire you and
all the citizens to learn that I did nothing with any
crime or immorality; that these things took place
through a calamity to the state and to you. With
forethought for my relatives and friends, with
forethought for the welfare of the whole state, I told
you what I heard from Euphiletus. I can assure
you that I make these statements from good motives,
not from evil. If I represent matters correctly I
ought to be acquitted and considered worthy of your
confidence. Well then—for you must think about this
case in a humane spirit, precisely as you would do
were you in my place—what would each of you have done?
For if it were a matter of choice between two evils, to die
gloriously or to be spared in disgrace, some could say that
what I did was cowardice. And many would have acted
cowardly, considering life of greater importance than
a noble death. I was placed in circumstances which
strongly drew me in opposite directions. If I kept silent I would die a most disgraceful death, though I had committed no impious deed. Furthermore, I would allow my father to perish; also, my brother-in-law, cousins, and other relatives, whom no one except me was destroying because of not saying that others were in fault. For Diocles having deceived them, cast them into prison, and there was no other means of safety except for the Athenians to learn the facts. Therefore I would have become their murderer if I had not told you what I heard. Besides, they were on the point of destroying three hundred Athenians, and the city was in the direct evils. That, then was my portion if I had not spoken. But by speaking I saved my father and other relatives and released the state from fear and the worst evils. Contrariwise, through me four guilty men became fugitives. The others, those who had been denounced
by Fencer, by no means died through me, nor did the exile become such through me. Considering everything, I thought that to tell what occurred as quickly as possible would be the least of the present evils. I would thus convict Dioclesian of lying, save you, and avenge the one who was destroying you unjustly, delivering the whole state and while doing it seeming to be the greatest benefactor, and was receiving reward. For these reasons I told the senate that I knew the perpetrators of the deed. I made known what had taken place, namely, that Euphieltes proposed the plan at a wine-party, and that I opposed it. On account of my opposition the deed was not done at that time. Afterwards when I was riding on my colt in the Cynosarges I fell injuring my collar-bone and head and in consequence was carried home on a stretcher. When Euphieltes learned that I was disabled, he told the others that I had con-
sented to be an accomplice in the undertaking, that I had agreed to help him commit the deed, mutilate the Hermae near the Pharabanteion. He told this to decease the others. For this reason the statue you all see, the one standing near my house, the house inherited from my fore-fathers, was not mutilated. It was the bust the Agias set up, and is the only one in Athens which was not disturbed. This was on account of the impression that it had been assigned to me. Euphiletus had told them so. When they heard about it, they were enraged because I did not perform the part I knew to be mine. Approaching me the next day, Meletus and Euphiletus said: "Undoubtedly, this duty was assigned to you to be performed. However, if you will remain quiet and say nothing, you will be re-instated in our confidence, as formerly, but if not we will be to you very bitter ene-
64 mies, far more than others will be your friends." I told
them that I knew by this deed that Euphiletus was a villain, that I was no object of dread to them for knowing the facts, but much rather the deed was an object of dread because it was done. Now to prove the truth of this I submitted my plans for torture, because I was sick and could not get up from my bed. The Prytanes seized the female servant of the house, then went out and committed the deed. The Senate and commissioners of inquiry condemned the deed because there was a general agreement to my statements. Then they called Dioclides. Not many words passed before he acknowledged his falsehood, and begged to be spared on account of having told the names of those who persuaded him to say what he did. These were Alcibiades the Phegonian and Amianthus of Regis. These fled into exile through fear. When you heard this you slew Dioclides, surrendering him to the Dictators. Through my
instrumentally you released those who were in prison and were about to be put to death, they being my relatives. You received the fugitives when they returned. You yourselves took your arms and went away, having been relieved from many evils and dangers. Men, in these misfortunes which I have suffered, I might justly be pitied by all. But for events that occurred through me I might reasonably be accounted an excellent man. I sternly opposed Euphiletus because he was advocating a pledge the most untrustworthy known among men, and upbraided him as he deserved. While they were committing offenses I helped to conceal their evil deeds. When Tiberius informed against them some of them fled, some died before we were imprisoned and about to die at the hands of Diocletian. Then I denounced four men, Panaetius, Diocritius, Lysistatus, and Chaeretimus. These fled because I denounced them,
I acknowledge. But my father was spared, also, my brother-in-law, three cousins, and several other relatives, all of whom were about to be put to death unjustly. Through my influence these now enjoy the light of day. They themselves admit it. Having disturbed the whole city and exposed it to the greatest dangers, he is convicted while you are relieved of great fears and suspicions among each other. If I speak the truth, men, treasure up my words. Let those who know instruct others. Call to me those who have been released by me. For as they know what took place they are best prepared to state it to the senators. They will come before you and speak as long as you wish to hear. After that I will speak of the rest.

Witnesses.

You have heard everything about the occurrences. I have made ample explanation, as I persuade myself at least. But if any if you desire anything, or thinks that some
point has not been made sufficiently clear, or has been omitted, let him stand up and say so, and I will explain it also. I will now speak to you of the laws in the case.

Now, Ophelius laid an indictment against me according to the established law. He makes the charge according to the decree formerly passed, the one proposed by Isotimides. This decree does not concern me at all. He proposed to shut out from the sacred rites those who had committed any impiety, and those who confected impious deeds; neither had been done by me, neither deed nor confession. I shall show you that the decree has been repealed and is no longer in force. And yet I shall make such a defense for myself as that, if I fail to convince you, I shall be punished. If I convince you I shall have made a defense in behalf of my enemies. Yet the truth shall be spoken. When the fleet was destroyed
and the peace began you settled your disputes and determined to restore to full citizenship those who had been disfranchised. This was done at the suggestion of Patrocles. Now, I will show you who these were who had been deprived of their rights. Some of them belonged to the class who were in debt to the state. They had filled public offices and had not submitted their accounts to an examination. Some were in debt to the state for obtaining wrongful possession of property. Some owed for suits against themselves. Some had been fined by a court of justice. Some, having taken leases from the state, had not paid the fees. Some had been sentenced to the state. For there the indictment lay for the ninth part. If they did not pay then they were fined double and their possessions were confiscated. This was one kind of stamia. Another was, where bodily punishment followed, but the victim still owned and possessed his property. These were those held amenable for theft or bribery. They of course were disfranchised.
both themselves and their heirs. And as many as would desert the ranks in war, or were amenable for avoiding military service, or for cowardice, or for failure in military service, or for throwing away the shield, or were three times convicted of false testimony, or of false subscription (as a witness) or had treated their parents ill,—all these were at mini, but were allowed to hold property. Others, again, were subject to certain restrictions. Among these were classes not altogether disfranchised, but some part of them. For example, the soldiers whom they told in the assembly that it was not possible for them to become senators because they had remained in the city during the reign of the thirty tyrants. There were other charges against other citizens. They were disfranchised with respect to these points; for this was the ordinance affecting them. Others were not permitted to propose laws; others were not permitted to bring indictments; others were prohibited from sailing up the Hellespont, oth-
ers were prohibited from entering Soprà, others, from entering the agora. All these decrees, then, you voted to repeal, both the decrees and whatever duplicate copies existed anywhere. You determined to give each other a pledge of confidence in the Acropolis. Read the decree of Patrocles, in accordance with which these things were done.

The decree. Patrocles proposes, that when the Athenians voted security to the public debtors, so that it would be possible for one to speak and act as epistates, the same acts be put in force which were at the time of the Persian war and which resulted in so much advantage to the Athenians. Concerning those registered as debtors with the Exectors, or with the stewards of Athena, or the other gods, or with the King Archon, or if any one has not his name erased from the list of debtors up to the expiration of the archonship of Callias, whoever were disfranchised or were debtors, or such as have had some of their
accounts condemned at the logisteria by the Auditors or the Assessors, whose prosecutions for their accounts have not yet been brought into the Diakastery, or whose limitations or any secrecy have been disapproved in the same time; or such names of the Four Hundred we are still registered, or any other matter that took place in the times of the Thirty, that is anywhere written down; except those engraved on steles, as not having remained here either if condemned by the Areopagus, the Ephetae, the Prytaneeum, the Delphiniyum, or the King's archives, or if any has fled for murder, or has been sentenced to death either as homicide or as tyrants. But all other names let the Exactors and the senate correct utterly, wherever they may exist. And whatever duplicate copies may exist anywhere let the Themisothetae and the other magistrates hand them in to be cancelled. Let these things be done within three days, whenever the decree decrees what has been ordered for erasure, no private person may
possess, nor may he ever cherish resentment; otherwise the transgressors are accountable in these matters the same as those who were exiled by the Areopagus, so that there may be the most perfect, mutual confidence among the Athenians, both now and in all future time.

By this decree you made the disfranchised citizens Patrocleides neither propose that the exiles return, nor did you decree it. But when the treaties with the Sosadaemonians were made when you had pulled down the walls, when you had recalled the exiles, when the Thirty were established in power, when after this Phigale was captured and its captors took Munchia, then also happened to you what ills I have no need to remember or to remind you of—when, I say, you returned from the Peiraen and it was in your power to take vengeance, you determined to pass by the recent occurrences,
thinking it of greater importance to save the city than to wreak private vengeance, and decreed not to remember ill against each other for the past. When you decreed to pursue this course you chose twenty men who were to care for the state until laws were passed, and meanwhile to use Solon's laws and Draco's decrees. But when you chose a senate by lot and appointed homothea they found that there were many laws both of Solon and of Draco to which many of the citizens were amenable on account of the past disturbances. Concerning the assembly you counseled regarding them; you also made a decree that all the laws should be examined thoroughly and such as should be approved should be written in the stoa. Read to me the preceptor.

Preceptor. Resolved by the demos, on motion of Fei-
sumenea, that the Athenians carry on the government ac-
cording to former methods, and employ the laws of Solon
as to measures and weights and the decrees of Draco
which we used formerly. Let the nomotheita who
have been chosen by the senate write upon tablets such
additions as are needed and expose them to the pub-
ic view before the Epontaei, so that anyone who desires
may examine them, and let them be returned to the
senate this month. And let the senate, the five hun-
dred nomotheita chosen by the people, after they are sworn,
pass upon the laws so presented. Be it possible for any
private citizen to enter the senate and offer whatever
good advice he can about the laws. When the laws
are made let the Areopagite senate care for them, so
that the officers may use the established ones. Let them
write the ratified laws on the walls of the Stoa, so that
anyone who desires may compare them with those formerly
written there.

Accordingly the laws were examined according t
the terms of the decree and those which were approved were posted in the store. When they were posted we made a law which all adhered to. Read it for me.

Vomor. Officers shall not apply a single unwritten law.

Is there anything left here about which it is possible to summon an officer, or for anyone of you to act except in accordance with the posted laws? Therefore when it is not allowed to make use of an unwritten law, doubts as to the use of an unwritten pacifism is altogether prohibited. Now when we saw that there would be trouble for many of the citizens under the laws and pacifisms formerly passed, we made these laws for cases just like this, in order that they might not take place, nor any one be liable to play sycophant. Read to me the laws.

Laws. No officer shall make use of an unwritten law.

And let no decree have more authority from the senate or the
deme. Nor shall a law be made to apply to a single man, unless it applies to all the Athenians, unless it has been voted in secret session by the One Thousand.

What is left there? That is the law. Read the other.

Law. Let the judgments and arbitrations be valid which were made here during the democracy. Let the laws that date from the archonship of Eucleides be employed.

You made these judgments and arbitrations valid, men, which were enacted while the city was under democratic rule, in order that there might be neither any cancelling of debts nor suits to be retried, but the recovery of private bonds be maintained. But in the case of such public offenses as admit of common actions, indictments, or informations, or summary proceedings, you determined to employ the laws enacted since the archonship of Eucleides. Now when
you decreed these things; to examine the laws and publish those which were approved; to allow the officers to apply no unwritten law; that no precept of the senate or of the deme have greater authority than a law; that no law be enacted for one man's special case, but apply to all the Athenians alike; to enforce the unobserved laws from the archonship of Eucleides, — is there anything left either greater or less, of what precepts already existed before Eucleides was in office that should be in force? I think not. Examine the matter yourselves.

Well, how about your oaths? Especially the one common to the whole city which you all made after the treaties of peace, namely, I will not remember ill of any citizen except the Thirty and the Eleven; and not against these provided any of them wishes to stand a scrutiny for his official conduct." Therefore
when you swore not to remember ill against the thirty, guilty of great crimes, provided they pass the scrutiny, doubtless you will not be an ill-will against any other citizen. Father, what is the oath of the senate for the time being? This: "I will not receive an information nor summary process for former happenings, except in case of the banished." Again, Athenians, what is your oath on becoming jurors? This: "I will not allow malice to enter my mind nor yield to another who does, and I will vote according to the existing laws," — which you must look to and see whether I appear rightly to say that I speak in your interest and of the laws.

Therefore, men, consider the laws and the accuseere. See what there is in their favor that they should accuse others. Cephaline here, having bought a lease from the public and having collected the profits thereof from the
cultivators of the land to the amount of ninety, nine, did not pay it over to the state, but absconded. If he had made his appearance he would have been put into the stocks. For the law says that the senate is authorized, in case anyone has bought a lease and does not pay the revenue over to bind him in the stocks. Now, you voted to enforce the laws from the archonship of Ereclides, and this man expects not to pay back what he has from collections from you, and now turns up a citizen instead of an outlaw, a sycophant instead.

If atimos, because we use the laws now in force. Again, Meletus, in the time of the thirty, brought Scon before the magistrates, as you all know, and he was put to death without trial. Now, here is a good law, enforced by you. It existed formerly and exists to-day. "Let the person who advises the deed be liable to the same punishment as the person who committed the deed with his
own hand." Now, the children of Leon can not prosecute Meletus for this murder, because it is necessary to enforce the laws from the archonship of Cuculides. Meletus himself does not deny that he led him to death. But Epichares, the vilest of all and pleased to be so, took up ill against himself, for he was senator in the time of the Thirty. What does the law enjoin, the law written on the stele which stands near the bouleuterion? This: "He who held office in the state in the time of the Thirty let him be put to death with impunity. Let the executioner go free and have the property of the deceased." Would the man, Epichares, who killed you, be other than of pure blood because of Leon's laws? Read the law from the stele.

Law. Be it enacted by the senate and by the deme, tribe of Aias pytany, Cleogeneus, clerk, Boethus epistates, Demophantus, proposed this. The commencement of
This decree is to be from the time when the Senate of Five Hundred, chosen by lot when Cleon was secretary thereof for the first time. If any one destroy the Athenian democracy, or hold office when the democracy is destroyed, let him be an enemy of Athens. Let him be put to death with impunity. Let his property be confiscated and a tenth part be devoted to the goddess Athena. Let the executioner and the adviser be considered innocent and without guilt. Let all the Athenians swear, tribe by tribe, son by son, to play the one who commits such a crime. Let this be the oath: "I will destroy with word, with deed, with voice and with hand, if in my power, whoever seeks to destroy the democracy at Athens. If any one in all future time shall hold an office of the democracy when it has been destroyed, if any one shall aim at tyranny or assist in setting up
a tyrant— and if any one else kill such a one as either of these, I will hold him guiltless before the gods and demons, because he has slain the enemy of Athens. I will sell all the possessions of the man who has been killed, pay half to the man who killed him and not rob him in any respect. And if any one, while killing or attempting to kill any of the above, himself be killed, I will treat well both him and his children, just as I would treat Harmodius and Aristogiton, and their descendants. Whatever oaths I have made at Athens, either in camp or elsewhere against the people of Athens, I here by cancel and renounce." Let all the Athenians swear these lawful oaths by the sacred altar before the Dionysia. Let demand be prayed for the keeper of the oath and destruction to him and his race who breaks it.

Whether, you sycophant and cunning fox, is the
law supreme or not? I think it is obsolete for this reason, because it became necessary to enforce the laws from the archons and from Ephialtes. You are habit this city and walk about its streets, although you don't deserve such privileges. You who lived in the democracy as sycophants in the oligarchy became slaves to the Thirty because you were not compelled to return the property you seized while you were sycophants. Do you remind me of the political club and their speech evil of certain ones? You who to no one were comrade, for that would have been a benefit to you, and bribing whoever desired little return, you lived, as all there know, by the vilest doings and that too being so wretched in appearance. Yet this fellow dared to accuse others, who has no right, according to your laws, to apologize even for himself. But, men, when he was accusing me and I was
sitting and looking at him, I thought it was the same as being arrested and tried by the Thirty. For if I had been engaged in that contest, who would be accusing me? Wouldn't he, unless I bribed him? And now he is at it. Who else than Charicles would have had such a colloquy as this—"Dey, Andocides, did you go to Deceleia and fortify it against your fatherland?" I did not. "What then? Did you lay waste the country and plunder your fellow citizens either by land or sea?" Surely not. "Did you not conduct a fleet against the city, or assist in destroying the walls, or aid in subjugating the people, or lead an armed force against the city?" I have not done one of these things. When you expect to be held in favor, and not to perish, as many others have done?" Do you suppose, men, that I should have met any other reward through you if I had been taken by them? And is it not strange...
if by these I should be killed, because I did the state no wrong, as they killed others, and being judged before you, whom I have done no wrong, should not be saved. By all means, or certainly hardly any other man will. But, men, they have informed against on the basis of the existing law, whereas the accusation concerning others depends on the former precept. Therefore, if you condemn me, take care lest it be not incumbent on me to give an account of past events, but much more on many citizens, first, those whom you opposed in battle, but became reconciled to with oaths, and then those exiles whom you recalled besides the disfranchised whom you restored to their civic rights, on account of whom you abolished the decrees and made the laws of no effect, and erased the precept. Now there remain in the city having confidence in you, if they see that you are hearing accusations for what
formerly happened, what opinion do you think they will entertain about themselves? Or who of them will be willing to stand suit for what they once did? For many enemies and many hypocrites will turn up against them, who will bring every one of them to suit. Both are now to hear, but not with the same opinion as each other; but the one will find out whether they can trust the laws now in force and the oaths which you swore, the other testing your mind about their being hypocrites with immunity, and indicting to inform against some, to bring others before the Twelve. That's the way the case stands, men. The suit is concerned with my body; your ballot publicly testifies whether one may trust your laws, or must gain over the informers, or leave the city and go into exile forthwith.

"Men, in order that you may know that you ac-
tions have not produced bad results, but that you did things befitting and productive of harmony, I wish to speak briefly. For your fathers, when the state was in woe, during the thirty tyrants, the deme being banished, fought and conquered the tyrants at Pal- lenium. Leogone my grandfather being general, and Chares, who married his daughter from whom my father was born, (your fathers, I say) being restored, killed some and banished others. Afterward when the king of Persia invaded Greece you recognized the magnitude of the approaching danger and determined to receive the exiles, to restore to citizenship those who had been disfranchised, and to make com-
mon cause for safety and for dangers. Having done all these things and having bound themselves with mutual pledges and oaths, they considered them-
selves worthy to place themselves in the front rank
of all the Greeks in meeting the barbarians at Maratho,
demonstrating their own valor a sufficient match
for their numbers. They fought and were victorious.
Greece became free and the fatherland was saved.

Having done such a deed as this, they did not think
it becoming to bear ill-will against anyone for
what was past and gone. Therefore, for that reason,
finding the city laid waste, their temples burned, their
walls and houses in ruins, and having no resources,
by their unanimity they gained sovereignty over the Greeks,
and handed down to us a city of such character and
size as we possess. And you yourselves at a later time,
although your evils were not less than theirs, display-
ed your inborn valor, being noble descendants of
noble ancestors. You resolved to restore the exiles, and
to make outcasts re-enter their rights in the state. What,
then, is left over of their virtue? Not to cherish resent-
ment, knowing, O men, that the state, from a much less resource on a former occasion, became great and prosperous, and it will become so again if we are willing to be prudent and harmonious.

They have accused me about the suppliant branch. They say that I deposited it in the temple at Eleusis. The law of the land is, they say, that he who deposite such shall he put to death. They are so bold that what they themselves arranged they are not satisfied to have failed in, with its plot, but even accuse me as the guilty person. So when we came from Eleusis and the information had been laid, the king-archon, according to custom, came forward to make his report about what had occurred at the festival at Eleusis. The prytanies said they would take him to the senate, and ordered him to notify both me and Cephisias to be present at the Eleusinianum. The senate was
about to convene there under a law of Solon, which provides for a session there on the day following the mysteries at Eleusis. We were present in obedience to the summons. When the senate was full Callias, son of Hipponiens, arose and says that a branch lies upon the altar, and showed it to them. The herald made proclamation to ascertain who had deposited it. No one answered. He stood near and he saw us. But when no one answered and Eucles here, who had come forth, entered the senate— but call him for me. In the first place, if I speak the truth Eucles will confirm it—

Testimony.

What I do has been witnessed to and quite opposite him what the accusers said. For they said, as you remember, that, ignorant of the law, I was induced by the two goddesses to deposit the olive branch that I might be punished. However, men, if my accusers...
speak anything near the truth, I affirm that I shall be
spared by the two goddesses. For if I deposited the supplici-
ant branch and did not answer when called by the
herald, was I not bringing destruction upon myself
by thus depositing the suppliant branch? Not having
answered I was saved by chance, that is to say, through
the intervention of the two goddesses. For if they had
wished to destroy me I was certainly bound to confess
I had deposited the suppliant branch, even though I
had not done so. But I did not deposit the branch
neither did I respond. When Euclees said in the sen-
ate that no one answered, the aforesaid Callias more
and stated that if anyone should deposit a bough in
the temple at Eleusis he should be executed without trial,
and that his father Hippomimus then explained these
matter to the Athenians, and said that he heard I
deposited the bough. At that Cephalus sprang to his
just and spoke these words: "O Callias, you are the most wicked of all men. First, being a herald, you make revelations not lawful for you to make. Then you mention the ancient law, while the stele by which you are standing imposes a fine of a thousand drachmas upon anyone who deposits an olive branch in the temple at Eleusis. From whom did you hear that Andocides deposited one? Summon him to the senate that we may hear his testimony." When the stele was examined and he could not tell us from whom he heard it, it was evident to the senate that he himself had deposited the bough.

Come now, men, for perhaps you may like to hear it, why did this Callias deposit the bough? I will tell you why I was plotted against by him. Epicyrus, son of Leisander, was my uncle, my mother's brother. He died in Sicily leaving no male children. However,
he had two daughters who fell to the charge of me and

118. Affairs at home were in a bad condition, for
the real estate he left did not amount to two talents,
while the debts amounted to more than five. Then I

called Leagues and told him in the presence of friends
that "it is the part of good men to show their kindly
sentiments to each other under such circumstances.

119. For it is not right for us to prefer either the property or
good fortune of a man to that to make us despise
the daughters of Epilycus. For if Epilycus were alive, or
dead and had left much property we would expect,
being next of kin, to take the girls. Wherefore, they would
be ours through Epilycus or his money, and now they shall
be so by reason of our goodness. But you in a legal
claim to marry one of the daughters, I the other. The a-

120. greement was made, gentlemen. We did so according
to the mutual agreement. The one I took, by ill chance,
took sick and died. The other still lives. Callias, by the promise of money, persuaded Searges to let him take her. When I learned this I quickly paid the legal deposit and entered a suit against Searges, saying that if you wish to claim her, marry her and succeed attend you; otherwise I shall enter suit for her. Learning this Callias enters action for his own son to marry the heiress on the tenth of the current month that I might not enter suit for her. In the twenties, the time of the mysteries, he gave Cephius a thousand drachmas to lay an information and bring me to this suit. And when he saw me awaiting it, he deposits the olive branch as if about to kill me,untied, or drive me out, himself having persuaded Searges with money, in order to live with the daughter of Epileucus. But when he saw that this could not be accomplished without difficulty, he went to Sisyphatus, Hegemon, and Epichares, knowing
that they were my friends and on intimate terms with me. He came to such a pitch of viciousness and illegality that he said to them that if I still wished to let the daughter of Epilacus alone he was ready to cease persecuting me, to quiet Cephasius, and to do justice to me among my friends. I told them to go on with their accusations and frame others and if I should be acquitted and if the Athenians should give a just decision in my case, I thought that he, in turn, would be in great bodily danger. And I shall not disappoint him, if it is agreeable to you, men. I will prove by witnesses that I speak the truth.

Witnesses.

As for this son of his, for whom he demanded the daughter of Epilacus to pull, note how he was born and begotten. It is proper for you to hear this, gentlemen. He married the
daughter of Ischomachus. Before he lived with her a year he took her mother. This contemptible villain lived with both, being a priest for both, and had both of them there. He was not ashamed nor did he renounce the goddesses. The daughter of Ischomachus thinking it better to die than to live in her condition was barely restrained from hanging herself. When she revived she ran away from the house and the mother drove her out. Having become tired of her in turn he drove her away. She said she was pregnant by him. Giving birth to a son he denied that it was his own child. Her relatives brought the child to the altar at the Apaturian festival, with an offering. They ordered Callias to commence the ceremony. He inquired whose child it was. They said, "The child of Callias, son of Hipponicus." "That's me." "And this is your child." Taking hold of the altar he swore that he had no son, nor never had, except
Hippomenes by the daughter of Glaucon. If the oath was false he said that destruction might come upon him and his house, as it will. After this he became enamored of an old and shameless woman and took her into his house. His son, now being large, he introduced among the heralds, saying that he was his son. Callias opposed his admission. The heralds decided that by their law his father might introduce him provided he would swear that he was of a truth, introducing his own son. Seizing the altar he swore that this was his legitimate child born from Chryside, whom he had forsworn. Call for me the witnesses of all this.

Witnesses.

Come now, men, let us see whether among the Greeks any such law prevailed that, where one has married a woman, he can marry the mother over her, and
the mother drive out the daughter. While living with the mother, if he wants to marry the daughter of Epilycus, so that the grand daughter may drive away the grandmother. And what name can we place for his child? I think that no one is so wise that he could find out a name for him. There being three women with whom his father will have been living, and of one he is the son, of another the brother, and of another the grandchild: Who would he be? Oedipus or Agisthus? Or what name can we give him?

Men, I wish to call to your minds, briefly, something about Callias. As you remember, when this city ruled Greece, and was at the height of her prosperity, and it was commonly reported that Hippocionus was the richest man in Greece, everybody knew that there was a report abroad among all the people, extending even to the small boys and girls, to the effect that
Hipponicus keeps an avenging spirit in his house, which
is to upset his table. You remember those things. Then
how does that voice seem to you to have eventuated?
For Hipponicus, thinking he was supporting his son,
brought up an avenger who has squandered his
money, reputation, and everything that makes
life desirable. So, accordingly, it is necessary to
think of Hipponicus as the pest.

But why in the world did I not formerly appear
guilty of impunity to these men who with Callias
are now attacking me, who are furthering the suit and
contributing money against me? I have been liv-
ing in this country three years, having come from
Cyprus. I, who initiated A— and Delphina and other
guest-friends of mine, as I suppose I have a right
to, both going to the temple at Eleusis and sacrificed;
they, on the contrary, nominated me to discharge certain
public functions, first, as Gymnasiarch at the Hep-stream, and then, as chief of the sacred embassy to the
Ischmures and to Olympia, and then as steward in the state of the sacred treasures; whilst now I am
impious and criminal for entering into the temples. I will tell you for what reason they are now dis-
affected toward me. This Agrrippion, fine fellow that he is, was three years ago the chief farmer of the fif-
tieth, which he bought for thirty talents. All those who collected around him under the White Poplar shared
in the business. You know what sort of men they are. I think they all assembled there for this reason,
to receive money for not bidding higher and to share the profits when the bidding was low. Having
three talents they discovered it was a profitable business. Then they all combined and purchased a-
again for thirty talents, sharing the profits with the rest.
When no one bid against them I went to the senate and outbid them six talents. Then having driven away these persons and furnished you the securities I collected the revenue and paid it to the state. I did not lose by the speculation but the company even made a small profit. Thus I prevented them from dividing among themselves six hundred talents of your money. When they learned what I had done they said among themselves that this man will neither take the public funds himself nor allow us to do so; but he will watch us and hinder us from sharing the public moneys among ourselves. In addition to this, whomever of us he takes doing wrong he will lead before the Athenian people and destroy. Therefore we must get rid of him by fair means or foul. These things, gentlemen of the jury, they must do; but you the opposite. For I could wish that as many as possible should live who
are such as I, but of all things that these should perish. Otherwise, that these should be those to prevent them who should be true and good men toward you and will aid you if they will. Therefore I promise you to make them cease this business, and to furnish you better ones, or else to bring them forward and punish those who are criminal.

They accused me also about my shipowning and my merchantile pursuits, as if the gods, on that account, saved me that I might, on coming here, perish, as it seems, at the hands of Cephalus. But I do not think that the gods have such grace as not to punish me if they find me in the greatest risks if they believed they were Wronged by me. For what danger is greater for men than navigating the sea in winter, danger in which, having my body and master of my life and property they then saved me? Was it not in their
power to make even my body unworthy of burial? Besides, war was on, triremes and pirates always at sea, by which, many being caught and losing their all, became slaves for life; and there being barbarous coasts, on which many already have fallen, have met the greatest outrages, and have died after their bodies were tormented, from all this the gods saved me and set up Cephasine as their avenger, the vilest of the Athenians, of whom he says he is a fellow-citizen when it is not so, to whom not one of you sitting there would turn over any of his private affairs, because you know that the sort of man he is. I think, men, you ought to consider such dangers as mere human, but the dangers at sea to be divine. If it may be permitted to speculate concerning the deity, I think they would be exceedingly angry and annoyed if they see those whom they spared destroyed by men.
You should also note this, that you now appear to all
the Greeks to have been excellent and prudent men in
not seeking vengeance for what has happened, but safe-
ty for the state and concord among the citizens. Calami-
ties of no less magnitude than have happened to you
have happened to many others; but to settle amicably the
differences among each other, this surely appears the part
of good and wise men. Since this is the acknowledged
state of affairs among you, whether one is a friend or foe
do not change your minds nor wish to deprive the
state of this glory. Do not yourselves appear to have voted by
chance rather than by good judgment.

Therefore I beg of you all to have the same opinion of me
that you had of my ancestors; that it may be possible
for me to imitate them, remembering that my ancestors
were similar to those who have done the most and great-
est good to the state, and particularly remembering my
good will to you; then also in order that if ever any risk or misfortune should befall any one of them or their descendants he may be saved by receiving our compassion. Rightly you might remember them, for our ancestors were of much support to the entire city. For when the fleet was destroyed and many wished to involve the state in great misfortunes, the Lacedaemonians, who were our enemies, determined to save those men on account of their virtues, who initiated the liberty of all Greece. Now since the city was saved by public consent through the bravery of your ancestors, I think I expect for myself safety because of my forefathers' share therein. For my ancestors contributed no small part of the very deeds where by the state was saved. For this reason it is just that you should also give me a share of that salvation which you yourself received at the hands of the Greeks.

Now consider the kind of citizen you will have if you
acquit me. In the first place, as you all know, I fell from a position of great affluence to abject poverty and difficulty, not through any fault of my own, but through the misfortunes of the state. Then I earned a livelihood, honestly, with brain and hand. Furthermore, you will have a citizen who appreciates the privilege of being a citizen of such a city as this; who knows what it is to be a stranger and a metic in a neighboring country; who knows what it is to be prudent and give right counsel; who understands what it is to suffer adversity through one’s own transgressions; who has associated with many men and has had experience with many things, in consequence of which I have had a tie of hospitality and friendly relations with many, both kings and states, and private great friends besides. If you spare me you will have all these advantages, advantages which you can employ whenever any op
portunity comes to you. Men, this is the way the matter stands. If you execute me no remnant of my family will remain with you; it will be completely obliterated. Further, the dwelling of Andocides and Scogoras is no disgrace to you, but it was decidedly a disgrace that Cleophon the lyre-maker occupied it while I was an exile. Not one of you when passing the house is reminded of having suffered any ill, privately or publicly, by them who displayed to you many trophies from sea and land, when they commanded military expeditions, and who, although occupying other offices, and handling your funds, never were cast in any of their accounts, nor has any wrong been done by us against you, nor vice versa, and the house was the first one most open to the destitute. There is no instance on record when any of those men on being brought to suit asked a favor for their services. Do not, therefore, if they
are dead, be forgetful of what they did, but remembering their services deem that you see them in person entreat you to spare me. For whom can I bring forward to plead for me? My father? But he is dead. Brothers? They are no more. Children? I have none. Therefore, be you to me as a father, brothers, and children. I fly to you, I supplicate you, I entreat you. Do you on your own solicitation save me, and be unwilling to make those, who are confessedly citizens to whom it is proper to be good citizens, and who will be, if they consent—I say, do not destroy thee. By no means. Then I ask this of you, to be honored by you if I do well by you. Wherefore, in obedience to me, do not deprive yourselves of my help if I can serve you. If you yield to my enemies it will avail you nothing if you afterward change your minds. Therefore, do not deprive yourselves of any
helps you may have from me, nor me of those I may have from your decision. I solicit those who gave me testimony to come up here and tell you what they know about me. Neither Anytus, Cephalus, nor the other demeans, too, who chose me a syndic, Thrasyllos and the rest.
Explanatory Notes.

§ 1. After the mutiny of the Hermææ (see Historical notes) Andocides made two attempts to return from his banishment to Athens. The last time, in 403 B.C., was successful, a general amnesty having been proclaimed. He lived unmolested for three years, when his enemies renewed their charges against him.

§§ 3 and 4. The art of the orator appears in his compliments to the jury, that they are possessed of judicial fairness, that they will render a just decision in his case, some had fled when they were accused. Andocides, however, remained. He refers to this fact as an evidence of his in-
87. This is a strong plea for judicial fairness. It is the same argument used now againstlynch law—often an innocent person is executed.

88. His perplexity about a starting point is astute—it shows his wealth of materials. He determines upon a simple narration of all the facts in his possession. This gives historical interest to his oration.

89. Andocides denies that he committed any act of impiety. This probably differs from his first statement. Thucydides says that he impeached himself with others.

90. The events related here occurred fifteen years before the delivery of this oration, that is, in 415 B.C., the seventeenth year of the Peloponnesian war. The mutiny of the Hermæ occurred before the departure of the fleet on its disastrous expedition to Sicily. Before sailing, Andocides demanded an investigation of the charge against
him. This was not granted. Before the return of the expedition he was asked to appear for trial. Instead of returning he became a traitor by joining the Spartans.

The Mysteries were secret ceremonies practiced at Eleusis in honor of the goddess Demeter. The character of these secret rites has never been revealed with certainty.

§12. "The matter of fact alleged against Aleibades, — the mock celebration of the ceremonies — was not only in itself probable, but was proved by remarkably good testimony against him and some of his intimate companions."


Andromachus without doubt gave a description of the mysteries as Pythochoi (Pythian) had promised.

§15. Senece was a "metie," a resident alien.
Metics lived under the protection of the state, but had to pay a tax of twelve drachmas for permission to reside. Besides this, they paid a tax on property, which consisted chiefly of money and moveable possessions. Their number was very large at Athens; many of them became full citizens.

§16. Agariste. From her name we must suppose her to have been a kinswoman of Aesicles." — Thrall.

§17. "If this trial took place at all we cannot believe that it could have taken place until after the public mind was tranquilized by the disclosures of Andocides, — especially as Leogoras was actually in prison along with Andocides immediately before these disclosures were given in." — Grote, vii. 42.

§18. Andocides introduces witnesses, but their
testimony is not always given. These omissions cause the oration to seem incomplete.

§ 27. "Androcles, one of the senators, contended that the Senate collectively ought to receive the money—a strange pretension which we do not know how he justified." — Grote, II. 33.

§ 28. Of the nine archons three had specific duties assigned them. The remaining six, called thesmo-thetae, had no peculiar sovereign rights. They examined and collated the laws, removing therefrom all contradictions. They heard accusations assigned to no special court and presented cases for trial before the dieasts—a kind of grand jury system.

The Panathenian festival (Παναθηναίος) was a festival in honor of Athena, the patron goddess of Attica, from whom the capital city was named.
§ 29. Andocides excited sympathy by making such emphatic denials. But see note to § 10.

§ 30. Andocides proposed to narrate all the facts as they occurred, but he often turns aside to make a vigorous plea for his acquittal. His appeal in this section is hardly allowable.

§ 33. With this section he closes his argument about the profanation of the mysteries. Could he secure a decision from the jury on this count it would aid him in his next argument about the mutilation of the Hermæ.

§ 36. "The public distraction was aggravated by Peisander and Charicles, who acted as commissioners of investigation; furious and unprincipled politicians, at that time professing exaggerated attachment to the Democratic constitution, though we shall find both of them hereafter among the
most incorruptible agents in its subversion."

- Grote, vi. 34.

Andocide mentions the incident about the flag signal to show the promptness of the senate in assembling.

"The signal which summoned the meeting of the five hundred, before whom informations were commonly laid, scared the crowd from the market place, each fearing that he might be the next victim." - Thirwall.

§ 38. Diocleides when subsequently on trial retracted this story about the three hundred men. See § 65. It was new moon instead of full moon. "Sis (Andocide's) statements contradicted that of Dio- cleides. The two statements were compared and it was now for the first time remembered that the act had been perpetrated, not at the season of
the full moon, but at that of the new.” — Curtius, vi. 362-3.
The propylaeum of the temple of Διόνυσος was the fore-court.

§ 40. Ηφαίστειος = Uranus, the god of fire.
§ 42. The Acropolis was a steep rock in the middle of Athens, 150 feet high, 1150 feet long, 500 feet broad.
§ 45. Πειραιας was the seaport town of Athens. The Long Walls connected the city with the port.
The senate usually met in the senate house (Σουρευτήριον) at the north end of the Agora (market place).
The Phidus was a round building close to the senate house.
The Prytaneum was near the northeastern angle of the Acropolis. The Prytanes used to take their meals there.

§ 61. Androcles here fulfills his promise to relate minutely what happened.
Cynosarges was a gymnasion east of the city before the gate Dionea. It was for the use of those who were not of pure Athenian blood.

§ 64. "It appears that the torture was actually applied and that the Senators thus became satisfied of the truth of what Lindociles affirmed." — Grote, vi. 37.

§ 65. "Whatever else Alcibiades may have done, he was undoubtedly innocent of the mutilation of the Hermæ." — Grote, vi. 34.

§ 78. The Logistææ composed a board of ten, chosen by lot from the Boule. Magistrates whose official term had expired were required to submit their accounts to them within thirty days. They formed an auditing committee and were assisted by ten Euthunæ.

The Acraegagæ, the Mars Hill of the New Testament, gave its name to the venerable court which held its sittings on the summit under the open sky.
The Ephebæae constituted a court of fifty-one members, said to have been established by Draco to try cases of homicide. When the senate of the Areopagus was established it tried all cases of willful murder. The Ephebæae then tried minor cases of homicide in the four courts of Delphinion, Palladium, Pythaeum, and Phreatto.

§ 80. Mysychia was one of the seaport towns of Athens, at the foot of the hill in the harbor, strongly fortified. Peiraecus was another harbor town.

§ 82. Nomothetae were legislators. The term was applied to anyone who caused laws to be enacted. Solon was called διοροδήτης. At this time their duty was to revise the laws of Solon and Draco. A thorough revision had been contemplated for some time. When orators quoted these laws they were not understood because every sentence contained expressions that were obsolete.
lute or changed in meaning. "These documents were to be written out anew, and supplemented by such laws as were demanded by the circumstances of the present time. To perform this task, a college of 500 Honothetae, or legislators, was appointed and sworn in by the civic community." — Curtius.

A select committee of these drew up the supplementary laws.

§ 83. The Eponymi were the old ancestral heroes whose statues stood in the market place. Public notices were there posted.

§ 92. "All property, both of corporations and the state, such as was paced as well as such as was not, was leased out either permanently or for a term of years; and the rent accruing to the state was made over to a farmer-general."

§ 96. The goddess mentioned is of course Athena,
the patron goddess of the city. One-tenth of rents, fines, and prizes taken in war were given to her. The other gods received only one-fiftieth part.

§ 98. Harmodius and Aristogeiton were two intimate friends who planned to kill Hippia, the tyrant, and his brother Hipparchus. The plot being revealed they succeeded in slaying Hipparchus only. They were both executed for the deed, but succeeding generations regarded them as patriots and martyrs.

§ 111. The king-archon had charge of the ceremonies at Eleusis, and on religious occasions. Before him were tried those accused of profane and insipious deeds.

§ 118. Property, according to Athenian law, was divided into two classes, visible and invisible. The latter class included money, furniture, slaves, &c.
120. In Attic law the plaintiff was required to de-
posit a drachma at the commencement of a suit.
126. The Attarbanian festival was celebrated at
Athens. Sacrifices were offered to Zeus and Athena.
127. The O'rices was an ancient family from whom
Lindocider descended.
129. Odipus was the celebrated character in Gre-
cian mythology who slew his father and married his
mother unwittingly.
141. Lindocider had reason to be proud of his an-
cestors and their services to the state. This is a pathetic
appeal for leniency for their sake.
144. These last sections contain a strong personal
appeal. He urges that his personal qualities and
attainments will be of great service to the state—a
service which he will be glad to render at any
time. Above all he pleads that he may receive the
benefit of any doubts they may entertain—a prin-
ciple observed in modern courts.
Historical Notes.

Andocides was on trial under two charges—profaning the mysteries and mutilating the busts of the god Hermes.

The mysteries were secret ceremonies held at Eleusis in honor of the goddess Demeter. What these rites were has never been ascertained with certainty. They were celebrated at Eleusis while it was an independent deme. When it became subject to Athens, the festival became common to both cities. Stringent laws were passed to preserve the secrecy of the rites.

At Athens there were numerous busts of the god Hermes.
One night near the end of May, 415 B.C., nearly all the busts were disfigured, many of them thrown from their pedestals. Such an act of impiety spread consternation over the city. This may be realized when we consider that it was an act of religious desecration—it was a blow at the foundation of the most sacred institution of the state. It was plain that there was a conspiracy, how extensive no one knew. Doubt and distrust increased the excitement. A clue was found in the fact that the only undisturbed bust stood in front of the house of Leogoras, father of Andocides, with whom he lived. Both father and son were imprisoned, with several relatives. Andocides, having been promised freedom and protection, returned state's evidence against those whom he knew to be guilty. Notwithstanding this promise he was compelled to leave Athens. The reason is unknown. Some say it was for atinia. Brote says, "Andocides himself was pardoned,
and was for the time an object, apparently, of public gratification. But the character of a statue-breaker and informer could never be otherwise than odious at Athens. Cunodicer was either banished by the indirect effect of a disqualifying decree, or found that he had made so many enemies, and incurred so much obloquy by his conduct in this affair, as to make it necessary for him to quit the city. He went to Cyprus and engaged in commercial pursuits. He returned to Athens in 411, after the Four Hundred came into power. But at the instigation of Peisander, who was at the head of the oligarchy, Cunodicer was arrested. He succeeded in making his escape. In 410 the Four Hundred were deprived of power. Cunodicer ventured once more to return, but was not allowed to remain. After this it appears that he lived for several years at Elie, continuing his mercantile operations. The democracy continued in power until 404, when
the Thirty Tyrants gained possession of the government. They held power eight months and were succeeded by the Ten. They were deprived of power in September of the following year, 403. A proclamation of amnesty was then issued by which all exiles were permitted to return.

After his return Andocides held several state offices, as mentioned in this speech on the mysteries. After residing in Athens for three years his old enemies renewed their charges, claiming that he had not been released from his atonia legally. They at this time entered a new charge against him, that of profaning the mysteries. At the trial he made his defense in this portion "On the Mysteries." He was acquitted.

The long Peloponnesian war was brought to a close in 404. In 394 the Athenians and Spartans began another war. The Athenians gained a decisive victory at Cnidus. The Spartans offered advantageous terms of peace. Ando-
cides was a member of the embassy to Sparta. The Athenians failed to ratify the treaty made by the embassy. Cnidocides was arrested on a charge of illegal conduct in negotiating the treaty. He was convicted, banished, and never returned to Athens.
Attie Oratory.

Historical Development.

Why was Attica the most renowned state of ancient Greece? Why was her capital city Athens the home of so many arts, the birthplace of so many of the elements of modern civilization? All the Hellenic tribes were well endowed with capacity for civilization. Why did the Ionians of Attica become the leaders of Greece? My investigation shall extend only to the art of oratory. I enumerate two causes. 1. Geo-
graphical position, midway between the eastern and western colonies. 2. The stronger development, at Athens, of the idea that both sides of a controversy must be heard. The Greek remained a Greek however remote the location of his colony. Still it remains true that local influences affected him. It served my purpose to cite as examples the Ionian colonies in the east and the Sicilian colonies in the west. From these two sources came influences that affected the development of Attic oratory. So the soil of Attica came the rhetoric of Sicily and the practical culture of Asia Minor. Athens thus became a favorable place for the artistic treatment of language. From Sicily came ἐυ-ἔπειξις, correctness of diction; from Sicily came ἐυ-ἔπλεξις, beauty of diction. In their prose writings the Ionians had made no effort to rise above the case of ordinary conversation. There was needed something more precise than poetry, something
more firm and compact than the idiom of daily life.
The process of development was necessarily slow, re-
quiring the formation of many new language forms.
I have mentioned the fact that local influences
affected the development of language. Why was Sicily
the birthplace of rhetoric? The Sicilian Greeks possess-
ed a natural fondness for controversy. Besides this,
the occasion for controversy presented itself. After the
wars with the tyrants there were many conflicting
claims of land. The claimants argued their causes
"wherever the law had a seat." Teachers appeared who
assisted these claimants in marshaling facts and
in arguing probabilities. Among these teachers were
Empedocles and Heray. Their rhetoric was very crude,
yet it was a basis for future development.

The second reason given for the supremacy of At-
tic oratory was this: the development of the idea that
both sides of a controversy must be presented. Eastern despotism knew no such idea as this. The Greeks are the first people who teach us the art of ruling according to law. Pure democracies were early developed in the isolated valleys of Greece. At Athens the demos, the people, obtained absolute power. The law courts were committees of the Ecclesia, the archons its officers. In such a soil eloquence grew. Political and forensic oratory obtained a place among the fine arts.

My investigations lead me to divide the development of Attic oratory into three periods. This division considers that Attic oratory closes with the loss of political independence. It excludes the consideration of the New Oratory, whose schools flourished in Rhodes, in Asia, and in Rome. Atticism, however, flourished in these latter times, and was trans-
mitted through Rome to the modern world.

Gorgias was the founder of Greekian oratory, Antiphon of Athenian oratory. Gorgias was born in Sicily in 485 B.C., during the Persian wars. He possessed in a high degree the exuberance of the Sicilian rhetoric. His speech was poetical not only in language but in the use of a prose-rhythm. He believed that expression was power, and this view led him to extravagance in ornamentation. He spent his later years in Greece, and surprised the Athenians by the force of his oratory.

Gorgias became a standard of comparison for the later Attic orators. He was not Attic, and hence belonged to none of her oratorical periods. Indeed, of the ten Attic orators named in the canon, Antiphon, almost his contemporary, differs from him in style; in fact, represents the austere style, a style
furthest removed from the floridity of Gorgias.

Of the ten, then, Antiphon is the sole representative of the first period. The prose of Herodotus had Gorgian tendencies. Thucydides gave promise of a compromise in style. On the other hand, Thucydides was more austere than Antiphon. Antiphon was a pioneer in expression. His style was stately, dignified and periodic. The march of his phrases was without stage-glitter. His constant effort was "to pack his thoughts closely and bring them out roundly." He was the first to make rhetoric practical, though his periods were somewhat rude and unartistic. "That more artistic period of which the several parts resemble the mutually-supporting stones of a vaulted roof, and which leads the ear by a smooth curve to a happy finish has not yet been found."

Antiphon was an autocrat in politics and assisted
in establishing the rule of the Four Hundred. In 411 the
oligarchs were deprived of power and Critophon was
put to death.

In the second period belong Sphunias and Isocrates,
representatives of the plain and smooth styles. A
more minute analysis might place these in sepa-
rate periods, but their points of resemblance are
more important than their points of difference. Both
revolted against the poetical tendency of Gorgias;
both used a pure diction; both made use of the
"historical" period; both are fertile in invention; l-
Isocrates developed the Gorgian idea of prose-rhythm.
Gorgias had done a good service in accustoming the
Greek ear to a proportion between the parts of the sen-
tence. Isocrates completed the Gorgian theory. He held
that prose may not only be artistic, but that the ut-
terance of rhetoric ought to be a work of art as com-
ple as the utterance of poetry; that it has its own as
certainable laws of rhythm and harmony. Decrateres
also extended the range of oratorical subjects "to in-
clude the largest practical interests of Greek citizen-
ship." In this period, then, we find three kinds of ora-
tory: 1. deliberative, the debates in the ecclesia; 2. fo-
rensic, before the jury; 3. epideictic, the oratory of display,
the oratory closely identical with the national literature.

In the first period the oration was made an organ-
ism, distinct parts being performed by the proem,
the introduction, the narration, the argument, and the peroration. In the second period Lycas reduced
the parts to four, proem, narrative, proof, and epilogue.
The second period closed about 350, when the fame
of Demosthenes began.

A transition orator may be found in Isaeus. Af-

ter him arose the "strenuous political oratory" of De-
mosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Demaratus, and
Syrinus. The greatest representative of this period
was Demosthenes.

During this period no new types were developed.
The earlier types were continued, combined, and perfe-
ted. Hyperides combined the styles of Lysias and S-
pocrates; Syrinxus combined Isocrates and Antiphon.
Demosthenes combined Thucydides, Lysias and Isoc-
pocrates.

This period of matured civil eloquence extends
from 354 to 324, thirty years. Its brilliancy ceased
with the ascendancy of the power of Philip of Macedon
and his son Alexander. Demosthenes was the fiercest
opponent of the power of Philip. He represents the mid-
de type of oratory, but in the other types he excels its
special masters. He thus represents the final stage of
the development of Attic prose. He showed the master's
hand in making his rules of art yield to the occasion.

The loss of political independence was the downfall of oratory and the other fine arts.

Relation to other fine arts

The Greeks considered oratory a fine art. Its cultivation was honored with poetry, sculpture, and painting. They required a speech to possess a high degree of artistic finish, both in composition and delivery. The story is familiar, that a Greek audience would refuse to listen to a speaker whose articulation was inaccurate.

Greek oratory was rarely extemporaneous. The same care bestowed on a painting or a piece of statuary was
given to the oration. The patient use of chisel and brush
produced results pleasing to the eye; patient care in
the arrangement of words produced cadences har-
monious to the ear. After Plato’s death, a tablet was
found on which the first words of the Republic were
arranged in many different orders. Socrates
spent at least ten years in composing his Pan-
egyric oration. His striving for artistic effect explains
the Greek idea that “a thing can be well said once,
but can not be well said twice.” They considered that
a thought perfectly expressed was part of the world’s
wealth of beauty. Hence when they quoted or repeated
a thought it was rarely changed in form.

Kinds and characteristics.

Deliberative oratory, the debates in the ecclesia, flow-
ished in democratic Athens. Every free citizen possessed a voice in the government and zealously maintained his right to assist in framing the laws. The ekklesia, or general assembly, listened to the oratories of Socrates, the Philippics of Demosthenes and the replies of Aeschines.

Foraeus oratory, the speeches before juries, was in great demand at Athens. The diasteries furnished the Athenian mind a field for development peculiarly adapted to it. There were ten of these diasteries, or courts, employing, when all were open, six thousand jurors. The art of writing judicial orations became a profitable employment. In supplying the demands, moral and political philosophy were developed.

The oration of Aristotle, until after Aristotle, had a higher dignity in general estimation than either the forensic or the deliberative. This was the polished
literary address and became a part of the national literature.

Dionysius mentions three styles of writing, the austere, the smooth, and the middle. To these may be added the grand and the plain.

The austere style does not employ unimportant supplementary words to round out a sentence. It chooses the most dignified and majestic rhythms. It is haughty, straightforward, negligent of its beauty, and sometimes "ostensibly artificial." It is well represented in Antiphon.

In the smooth style the words are musical, smooth, and delicate, with no rough syllables and clashing sounds. Its figures are not majestic or rugged, but are luxuriant and voluptuous. The sentences are periodic and well rounded. Clause is closely knit to clause and the whole period is within the compass of
one full breath. This was the style used by Socrates.

In the plain style there is a free structure of clauses and sentences, with no straining after a rhythmical period. Its diction is marked by purity, clearness, and propriety. It made a sparing use of rhetorical figures. Lyrius was the founder of the plain style, and in it he was never excelled.

The grand style makes a constant effort to rise above the common idiom. The middle style is intermediate between the grand and the plain. It was first used by Thrasymachus, but Demosthenes was its most illustrious representative.

Relation to modern oratory.

Atticism has descended to the modern world, although there are modifications and added charac-
teristic. In general the Roman orators preferred Atticism, disliking the more florid rhetoric. Cicero, however, was more eclectic in his taste. Quintilian, an orator of the "Silver Age", attempted to reform the taste for showy declamation and rhetorical display. Modern oratory bears the Attic stamp, but it has added three characteristics: 1. The logical part is made more important than the ethical and the pathetic. 2. Modern speech is required to be extemporary — must seem to be, even if premeditated. 3. Modern oratory is marked by bursts of eloquence, or "flights." This is the most characteristic mark and was forbidden to ancient oratory, especially as an exordium.

The tendency of our later modern oratory is more than ever toward Atticism — toward the simple, unimpassioned style of Lysias and Curiophon.
The Style of Andocides.

A comparison with Sycias.

There were three styles of Attic oratory, the grand, the plain, and the middle. If we classify an orator's style by its predominant characteristic, both Andocides and Sycias must be called plain. Yet they are different. Sycias wrote the model plain style. Under him it reached its highest development. In its use no one ever excelled him. It seems that Andocides was not consciously guided by any rules of art. His style may be called plain, because in him the characteristics
of the plain style are more abundant than the characteristics of the grand and middle styles.

(a) In the structure of his clauses and sentences there is great freedom. He amplifies unnecessarily, and, as Jebb says, his sentences are constantly sprawling to a clumsy length.

(b) His diction is plain — he uses the language of daily life. This indicates that his diction lacks the quality of purity.

(c) He is sparing in the use of the "figures of language," but he uses extensively the so-called "figures of thought," irony, indignant question, etc.

Andocides and Syrias were both strong in narration. Syrias changed the structure of his sentences when he passed from narration to argument. In narration his sentences were longer and more loosely constructed. No such change is noticed in Andocides. He, however,
dramatized his narratives, — delighted to introduce persons speaking. In De Mysteriis the narrative is not kept distinct from the argument. Part of it is in hopeless confusion. His lack of conciseness and methodical arrangement may have been excused by his hearers; but readers wish that he had been more logical. The parts of his oration do not seem distinct as do the parts in Syrias. Here the proem, the narrative, the proof, and the epilogue have distinct duties to perform.

In constructing sentences Syrias made extensive use of antithesis. Andocides did not attempt this. This is one of the artistic elements he lacks. Syrias had three forms of antithesis. 1. A correspondence of clauses in length. 2. A correspondence of word with word in meaning. 3. A correspondence of word with word in sound.

In the quality of clearness the two orators are in con-
trust. The obscurity of Aesop's fables results, principally, from frequent parenthesis. He frequently breaks off the construction he has begun, introducing a parenthesis clause, then resumes the construction with δὲ, ὥσπερ, or ὥσπερ δὲ. Occasionally he does not resume his construction. On the other hand, Socrates, in his longest sentences, maintains clearness throughout. Aesop's fables lack elegance. "His language has neither splendor nor refined simplicity." He stoops to gossip and is prone to sink into low comedy. The crowning excellence of Socrates is his "charm," a charm arising from the elegance and rhythm of his language.

Aesop's fables cannot rank high as an orator, yet his speeches excel in graphic description, and have a certain impetus and vigor which assure us that they must have been still more effective for his hearers. His
speeches are prized mainly for their historical value.