Andocides was born not long before 440 BC. He was descended from a distinguished Athenian family. As a young man he became a member of a group of friends, including Euphiletus and Meletus, who shared a political interest. They held oligarchic opinions, in the sense that they disliked the Athenian democracy; they disapproved of the power of the mass of ordinary citizens in the Assembly and the demagogic politicians who led them.

In 415, during a period of peace in the middle of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta, the Athenians were preparing a great naval expedition against Syracuse in Sicily. The man who had persuaded them to undertake this was Alcibiades, the most flamboyant politician of the time. Some of them thought that they might even gain possession of the whole of Sicily. Alcibiades hoped to gain military renown for himself, and he was appointed to command the expeditionary force jointly with the cautious Nicias and the experienced Lamachus. But one day shortly before the force was due to sail from Piraeus it was found that most of the Hermes in Athens had been mutilated during the night. These were the images of the god Hermes standing in streets and outside houses. Each was a quadrangular stone pillar, carved with a bearded head at the top and a phallus at the front. The mutilation alarmed many Athenians: if the god of travelers took offense at it, might he not take his revenge by wrecking the ships or creating some other disaster for the men who were about to sail to Sicily?

A determined effort was made to discover the perpetrators. While the matter was being investigated, another religious scandal came to light. The Eleusinian Mysteries were the focal point of a festival held
annually in honor of Demeter and her daughter (sometimes called Kore or Persephone or Pherephatta), “the Two Goddesses.” A secret ceremony was held in the temple at Eleusis a few miles from Athens, conducted by priests who belonged to the two aristocratic families of the Erechtheidae and the Cory喜. It was believed that those who had been initiated in the ritual would enjoy a happy life after death, but they were strictly forbidden to reveal the secrets to the uninitiated. The scandal that emerged in 415 was that some men had been “doing the Mysteries” in private houses. This seems to mean that they had been acting out parodies of the secret ritual to entertain their friends, for fun rather than for any serious purpose; but the effect had been not only that religious belief was mocked, but also that the secrets of the Mysteries had been divulged to some men who had not been initiated and so were not entitled to know them.

There was panic in Athens, partly from fear of the gods and partly from fear that these audacious acts might be the prelude to a political revolution intended to subvert the democracy. Both the profanation of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Herms gave rise to many denunciations. Some men were condemned to death; others fled from Athens to avoid trial and probable execution. Among those accused was Alcibiades, but he protested his innocence. If the mutilation was really a scheme to deter the Athenians from sending the expedition to Sicily, Alcibiades cannot have been responsible for it, but it seems that he must have participated in the profanation of the Mysteries. He was allowed to set off for Sicily; soon afterwards he was recalled to stand trial, but escaped to the Peloponnese.

Also accused were Andocides, his father Leogoras, and other members of their family. Andocides’ speech On the Mysteries includes a vivid description of the imprisonment of himself and his relatives, and of how he agonized over the decision to reveal what he knew even though it meant betraying his friends (1.48–53). Finally he turned state’s evidence on being given immunity from prosecution. He relates how he reported that the mutilation was planned and carried out by Euphorbus and other members of their group, but not by Andocides himself, who was laid up with a riding injury at the time (1.61–64). Thus he admits that he knew of the plot but denies that he actually took part in carrying it out. He also denies that he was involved in the profanation of the Mysteries, and in particular he denies that he obtained his own release by denouncing his father for it. (Attacking one’s own parents was regarded by Greeks as the worst of crimes.)

Whether he was really guilty is one of the most intriguing criminal problems of the ancient world, and the evidence is not quite sufficient for solving it. The main evidence we have is his own speech, delivered about fifteen years later, but in it he is arguing for his life and we cannot take for granted that he is telling the truth. His account of the extent of his involvement in the mutilation does seem plausible, and may be cautiously accepted. His account of the profanation, on the other hand, seems to suppress some awkward facts. In particular, although he mentions four occasions when the Mysteries were profaned in private houses and gives some evidence of the men who were involved in them (1.12–18), it is notable that he does not mention another occasion of which documentary evidence is preserved by Pherarch (Alcibiades 22), when the Mysteries were profaned in Alcibiades’ house by Alcibiades, Pylus, and Theodorus. This arouses our suspicion that Andocides has deliberately suppressed information about that particular incident because it was one at which he himself was present. But the whole question of the guilt or innocence of Andocides in the religious scandals is too complex to be considered fully here; for detailed discussion readers should turn to the two editions of his speeches mentioned at the end of this Introduction.

The upshot in 415 was that Andocides was not condemned either for profanation of the Mysteries or for mutilation of the Herms, although he was widely suspected of being guilty of both. It was evidently in order to get at him that a decree, proposed by an otherwise unknown man named Isotimides, was passed by the Assembly. It laid down that anyone who was guilty of impiety and had confessed it should be excluded from the Agora and all sacred places. Since everyone else guilty of either the profanation or the mutilation had already been executed or had fled into exile, Andocides was probably the only person to whom the decree might be thought to apply. He bowed to this pressure and left Athens altogether. For the next few years he lived abroad, spending some of the time in Cyprus. He made two attempts to return to Athens, the second of which was the occasion of his speech On His Return; but both these attempts were unsuccessful.

In 404 the Peloponnesian War came to an end when Athens was besieged and beaten by Sparta. The oligarchic regime of the Thirty ruled
ANDOCIDES

oppressively in 404/3, but then there was civil war, and the Thirty
were expelled. Democracy was restored from the year in which Eu­
cleides was Archon (403/2), and the Athenians tried to make a fresh
start. They swore an oath to observe an amnesty for what they had
done to one another in the civil war. No one (except members of the
Thirty and their henchmen the Eleven) was to be prosecuted for any
offense committed before the Archonship of Euclidean. They author­
tized a review of all their laws; those which were to remain valid were
inscribed on stone, and any law not so inscribed was declared invalid.

So Andocides returned to live in Athens, assuming that he would
not now be penalized for his actions in 415. But three years later, prob­
ably in 400 or possibly in 399, he found himself prosecuted for in­
fringement of the decree of Isotimides. He defended himself with his
speech On the Mysteries, which is our principal source of information
about his life. He was acquitted, and thus was able to continue living
in Athens.

In 392/1 he was one of the members of an Athenian delegation sent
to Sparta to discuss a treaty, and on returning home he delivered his
speech On the Peace with Sparta, recommending acceptance of the
proposed terms. But he and the other delegates were accused of cor­
rup­tion and had to flee Athens. Presumably he never came back again;
nothing is known of his life after that.

For the first speech this translation follows the Greek text as printed
in Andokides, On the Mysteries, edited by Douglas MacDowell (Ox­
ford, 1962). For the other speeches it follows the text of Greek Orators,
those editions include introductions and commentaries which may be
consulted for more detailed discussion of Andocides' life and speeches.
In the present translation Greek names are generally given in Latin­
ized forms. This departure from my normal practice has been adopted
to conform to the policy of the whole series of translations.

1. ON THE MYSTERIES

In 403 or 402 BC Andocides returned to Athens, believing himself
to be protected by the recent amnesty and revision of the legal code.
But about three years later, probably in 400 or possibly in 399, he
was prosecuted by eneixis, a legal procedure for accusing someone of
exercising rights to which he was not entitled. He had attended the
Eleusinian Mysteries, and the prosecution alleged that he was forbid­
den to do so by the decree of Isotimides. Thus the case did not tech­
nically infringe the amnesty, which applied to offenses committed be­
fore 403; although the charge depended on the impious acts which he
was said to have committed in 415, the specific act for which he was
being prosecuted was attendance in the temple at Eleusis in 400 (or
399). There was also a secondary charge, that he had placed an olive­
branch of supplication on the altar of the Eleusinium in Athens at the
time of the Mysteries, which was illegal. The penalty demanded by
the prosecutors was death, but probably they hoped that he would
simply leave Athens, making a trial unnecessary. However, he stood
his ground, and the trial took place. We do not now have the main
speech for the prosecution, but a short speech, Against Andocides, is
preserved among the speeches of Lysias (no. 6). It is unlikely that
Lysias wrote it, but it does seem to be the genuine text of one of the
supporting speeches of the prosecution in the trial. Its arguments,
however, are mostly in general terms and give us only a little addi­tional
information.

The speech On the Mysteries is the one with which Andocides de­
fended himself. In the first half he argues that he was not guilty of
impiety in 415 and had not confessed it, so that even if the decree of
Isotimides were still valid, it would not apply to him. But he then goes
on to argue that the amnesty and the revision of the laws in 403 have made the decree of Isotimides no longer valid. It is not clear that he is legally correct here, since the decree was not a law and thus strictly was not invalidated by the measures of 403; but it probably had been generally assumed to be obsolete, and prosecution for infringement of it in 400 was contrary to the letter of the amnesty, which had been intended partly to protect men suspected of oligarchic sympathies.

In the later part of the speech he moves from defense to attack by making allegations against his prosecutors, who were Cephasinus, Meletus (a different man from the Meletus who had been a comrade of Andocides in 413), Epichares, and Agyrrhius. The first three, he says, had all committed offenses before 403 themselves, so that they too are open to prosecution if they do not accept the validity of the amnesty; and Agyrrhius is acting from personal spite against Andocides as a rival in the matter of the purchase of a tax-collecting right. But the sinister figure who emerges behind all these is Callias. Callias son of Hipponicuus (not to be confused with other men named Callias who are also mentioned in the speech) was a well-known member of the aristocratic family of Ceryces and himself held one of the hereditary priesthoods of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Andocides alleges that Callias wanted to get hold of a girl who was an orphaned relative both of Callias' son and of Andocides. In accordance with Athenian law of inheritance, the nearest male relative was entitled to claim her as his wife, and Andocides and his cousin Leagrus were the nearest; but Leagrus had withdrawn his claim, and if Andocides were driven out of Athens, Callias' son as the next nearest relative would be able to claim her and would then let her live with Callias. This lurid account of Callias' motives may or may not be true; we have no way of checking it. But in any case it provides some fascinating information about law and custom concerning Athenian families.

Evidently the speech had the desired effect on the jury, for we know that Andocides was acquitted. The text as we have it is not the work of an expert orator or stylist. Sometimes the wording is clumsy or repetitive. But it is the speech of a man fighting for his life, and he tells his version of the facts with force and vividness. The arrangement of topics is sufficiently clear and logical: after introductory remarks (1–10) he first deals with the events of 415, not in chronological order but taking everything concerning the profanation of the Mysteries (11–33) before everything concerning the mutilation of the Herms (34–70); then he turns to the decree of Isotimides and the reasons why the events of 403–403 have made it no longer valid (71–91); and that leads into the attacks on the prosecutors and on the motives of Callias (92–136), including a brief but effective rebuttal of the secondary charge about the suppliant-branch (136–16). The passages of narrative are always lucid and sometimes gripping. He is clever at using snatches of dialogue to bring them to life: "We've done it, Andocides, and carried it out. As for you, if you're willing to keep quiet . . ." (63). Above all, the account of the maneuvers of Callias and his son is a masterpiece of scornful humor: "Who can he be? Oedipus? Aegisthus? Or what name should we give him?" (129). Altogether it is one of the most absorbing and effective speeches surviving from ancient times.


1 Gentlemen: my opponents' plotting and keenness to do me harm in every way, whether justly or unjustly, ever since I first returned to Athens, are known to pretty well all of you: I don't need to speak at length about that. But I'm going to make you some fair requests. They're easy for you to grant, but worth a great deal for me to obtain from you. [2] First, I want you to bear in mind that I've come here today although nothing compelled me to remain in Athens (since
I'd neither provided sureties nor been imprisoned,1 because I put my trust above all in justice, and also in you, believing that you would reach a just verdict and not allow me to be unjustly destroyed by my opponents, but rather would give me just protection, in accordance with your laws and with the oaths which you who will cast your votes have sworn. [3] It's reasonable for you, gentlemen, to hold the same opinion about men who face danger voluntarily as they hold about themselves. When men refuse to stay in Athens to face trial, acknowledging their guilt, you reasonably concur with their own decision; but when men have stayed here, confident of their innocence, it's right for you too to hold the same opinion as they have held about themselves, and not to judge them guilty in advance.

[4] Thus in my case, when a lot of people were informing me that my enemies were saying I wouldn't stay but would certainly get away into exile—"What would be the point of Andocides' staying for such a serious trial? He can leave here and keep all his properties; and if he travels to Cyprus, where he's come from, he has plenty of good land offered to him, and a grant as well. So will he want to risk his own life? For what purpose? Can't he see how things are in Athens?" But in fact, gentlemen, my view is quite the opposite of this. [5] I couldn't bear to live somewhere else and keep all my property while losing my own country, even granting that the situation in Athens is as bad as my opponents say. I'd far rather be a citizen of it than of other cities which may seem to me very prosperous at present. It's because I take that view that I've entrusted my life to you.

[6] So I ask you, gentlemen, to show more sympathy to me, the defendant, than to the prosecutors, realizing that even if you give him an equal hearing, the defendant is bound to be at a disadvantage. They've brought the prosecution after putting their plot together over a long period, without any danger to themselves, whereas in making my defense I suffer from fear, danger, and the greatest prejudice against me. So it's reasonable for you to show more sympathy to me than to the prosecutors. [7] You should also bear in mind that often before now people have made serious accusations and then have immediately been proved to be lying so plainly that you'd have been much more pleased to punish the accusers than the accused. Others have caused people to be executed undeservedly by giving false evidence, and then you have convicted them of perjury when it was no longer any use to the victims. Since that kind of thing has often happened before now, it's reasonable for you to wait before believing the prosecution's statements. Whether the accusations are serious or not can be decided from what the prosecutor has said; whether they're true or false, you can't know before you've also heard my defense.

[8] I wonder, gentlemen, where I should begin my defense: from the end of the story, explaining how they brought the indictment (endeixis)2 against me illegally, or with the decree of Isotimides and how it's invalid, or with the laws and the oaths which have been taken, or should I explain the facts to you right from the beginning? My chief difficulty is this: you may not all feel equal indignation about all the accusations, but each of you may have some point on which he'd like me to defend myself first; but it's impossible to speak about everything at once. So I think it's best for me to explain all the facts to you from the beginning, leaving nothing out. If you understand correctly what happened, you'll easily realize what lies the prosecutors have told against me.

[9] To give a just verdict is, I'm sure, your intention anyway, and it was because I trusted you to do so that I stayed in Athens, seeing that in both private and public matters you attach the greatest importance to voting in accordance with your oaths (and that alone is what holds the city together, against the wishes of those who don't want it to be so). But I do ask you to give my defense a sympathetic hearing, and not to make yourselves my adversaries, nor treat my words with suspicion, nor pick on my expressions, but to listen to my defense from beginning to end, and only then vote for whatever you think is best for yourselves and most in accordance with your oaths. [10] As I said

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1 Normally a man prosecuted by endeixis (cf. 1.81) was either imprisoned or required to provide sureties to ensure that he did not abscond before trial. The fact that Andocides' opponents did not insist on this probably means that they were hoping that he would leave Athens voluntarily.

2 Endeixis was a prosecution procedure which involved pointing out to an official that a person had entered a place or performed an act from which he was prohibited.
to you before, gentlemen, I'll make my defense about everything from the beginning, first about the actual charge on which the indictment was based, for which I've been brought to trial today—about the Mysteries and how no impiety was committed by me, no information given, and no confession made, and I don't know whether the information that was given you about them was false or true; all this I'll explain to you.

There was a meeting of the Assembly for the generals appointed to Sicily, Nicias and Lamachus and Alcibiades, and Lamachus' flagship was already outside the harbor. Pythonicus stood up in the Assembly and said: "Athenians, you are sending out this great armed force, and you are going to incur danger. But Alcibiades the general, as I shall prove to you, has been performing the Mysteries with others in a private house; and if you vote to give immunity to the person to whom I tell you to, a servant of one of the men present here, though he is uninitiated, will tell you the Mysteries. If not, do whatever you like with me, if I'm not telling the truth." Alcibiades responded at great length, denying it; and the Prytaneis decided to clear the meeting of the uninitiated and to go themselves to fetch the young man whom Pythonicus told them to. They went, and they brought back a servant of Alcibiades named Andromachus. After they'd voted to give him immunity, he said Mysteries were performed in Pulytion's house; Alcibiades, Nicides, Meletus, Archibias, Archippus, Diogenes, Polystratus, Aristomenes, Oeoneias, Panaetius.

That was the first information given by Andromachus against those men. Please call Diognetus. Were you a commissioner of inquiry, Diognetus, when Pythonicus made his announcement in the Assembly about Alcibiades?

I was.

Do you know that Andromachus gave information about what was done in Pulytion's house?

I do.

Are those the names of the men against whom he informed?

They are.

A second information was then given. There was a man named Teucer, a metic in Athens. He departed secretly to Megara, and from there made an offer to the Council that, if they gave him immunity, he would give information concerning the Mysteries, being himself a participant, and about the others who performed with him, and would say what he knew about the mutilation of the Herms. The Council, which had authority to act, voted in favor, and they went to Megara to fetch him. When he was brought, having obtained immunity, he

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3A leading general and politician. He usually favored peaceful policies; he was largely responsible for the Peace of Nicias made between Athens and Sparta in 421, and he initially opposed Alcibiades' proposal to send the expedition to Sicily in 415.

4An experienced general mocked by Aristophanes in *Acharnians*.

5Immunity from prosecution, for a man giving evidence for the state.

6The presidents of the Assembly.

7Those who had not been initiated into the Mysteries could not be allowed to hear the evidence, because it might reveal the secrets.

8Andocides' friend (1.63), not his accuser (1.94).

9"You" addressed to an Athenian jury often means the Athenian people in the Assembly or in another jury, not necessarily the jurors in the present case.

10This sentence is addressed to the clerk of the court, who was responsible for reading documents aloud.

11Presumably a different Diognetus from the one denounced by Teucer soon afterwards (1.15).

12A metic was a free person who was not an Athenian citizen but had permission to reside permanently in Athens.
listed his companions, and they fled into exile following Teucer's information. Please take the list of their names and read it out.

**[Names]**

Teucer informed against the following: Phaedrus, Gnipphonides, Isonomus, Hephaestodorus, Cephisodorus himself, Diognetus, Smindyrides, Philocrates, Antiphon, Teisarchus, Pantales.

Remember, gentlemen, that the truth of all this is also admitted.

16 A third information was given. The wife of Alcmeonides, who was previously the wife of Damon (Agariste was her name), gave information that Mysteries were performed in Charmides' house near the Olympiæcum by Alcibiades and Axiocrus and Adeimantus. All these fled at that information.

17 One more information was given. Lydus, belonging to Phercles of Themacus, gave information that Mysteries were performed in the house of his master Phercles at Themacus. Among the others that he listed, he said that my father was present but asleep with his face covered. Speusippus, a member of the Council, had them sent for trial, and then my father gave sureties and prosecuted Speusippus for proposing an illegal decree. The trial was held before six thousand Athenians, and from all those jurors Speusippus got less than two hundred votes. And I was the person who most of all begged and

18 The friend of Socrates after whom Plato's *Phaedrus* is named.
19 A friend of Nicias the general. The third brother, Eucrates, was denounced by Diocleides (1.47).
20 A different man from Antiphon the orator.
21 This man is unknown, but his name suggests that he was connected with the aristocratic Alcmeonid family. At least two women in earlier generations of that family (the mother of Cleisthenes and the mother of Pericles) were named Agariste.
22 This is probably Damon the musician, who had been a friend of Pericles.
23 This is probably Charmides son of Glaucon, Plato's uncle, who appears in Plato's *Charmides* and Xenophon's *Symposium*.
24 The temple of Olympian Zeus, southeast of the Acropolis.
25 Alcibiades' uncle, after whom the dialogue *Axiocrus*, attributed to Plato, is named.
26 A friend of Alcibiades who became a general in the closing years of the Peloponnesian War.
27 Themacus was a deme (village) in Attica, but its exact location is unknown.

persuaded my father to stay in Athens, and his other relatives did too.

18 Please call Callias and Stephanus. Call Philippus and Alexippus too; they're relatives of Alcmeon and Autocrates, who fled because of the information Lydus gave (Autocrates is a nephew of one, and Alcmeon an uncle of the other), and it's appropriate for them to feel loathing for the man who banished those two and to know best who caused their exile. Face the jury, and state whether I'm telling the truth.

**[Witnesses]**

19 You've heard the facts, gentlemen, and the witnesses have given you their evidence. But think what the prosecutors were bold enough to say. (This is the right way to defend oneself, by recalling what the prosecutors said and refuting it.) They said that I gave information about the Mysteries, and listed my own father as having been present, and became an informer against my own father—of all things, surely a most dreadful and wicked thing to say! The man who listed him was Phercles' Lydus, while I was the man who persuaded him to stay in Athens and not flee into exile; I begged him at his knees again and again. But what was my aim, if I informed against my father, as they allege, and yet begged my father to stay and suffer the consequences of my act? And would my father have consented to face a trial like that, in which he couldn't avoid one or other of two disastrous results? Either I should cause his death, if it was decided that my information against him was the truth, or else, if he himself were saved, he would cause my death. For the law was that, if anyone gave true information, he was to have immunity, but if false, he was to be put to death. And of course you all know that my life and my father's were both saved. That couldn't have happened if I'd become an informer against my father; death for either me or him was inevitable. Then again, if my father had wanted to stay in Athens, do you think his friends would have let him stay or have stood surety for him? Wouldn't they have entreated and urged him to go away, so as to save his own life while not causing my death?

22 Furthermore, when my father was proceeding against Speusippus for his illegal decree, he actually said that he never went to The-
macus to see Pherecles, and he urged him to put his slaves to the torture to prove it, and not to refuse to examine people who offered their slaves for torture while compelling people who refused. When my father said this, as you all know he did, what could Speusippus say (if what they say is true) but: "Why do you mention servants, Leogoras? Hasn't your son here informed against you, saying you were present at Themacus? You, refute your father, or you have no immunity?" Would Speusippus have said that, gentlemen, or not? I think he would.

[23] If, then, I entered a lawcourt, or anything was said about me, or there's any information or list of mine, whether given by me against another man or by someone else against me, anyone who wishes may come up here and refute me. But in fact I've never known any men say anything more wicked and more incredible. They thought all they needed to do was to venture to make an accusation. They didn't care if they were proved to be lying. [24] Now, if their accusations against me had been true, I'm the man you'd have been angry with, and you'd have thought it right to impose the heaviest penalty on me. So, when you realize they're lying, I say you should consider them criminals themselves and infer that, if their most serious accusations are clearly proved to be lies, then it will be easy for me to demonstrate to you that their far more trivial ones are lies too.

[25] So that's how these four informations about the Mysteries were given. The names of the men who fled upon each information have been read to you, and the witnesses have given evidence. Besides this, I'll do something more to convince you, gentlemen. Some of those who fled in the case of the Mysteries died in exile, but others have returned and are in Athens and are present in court at my request. [26] So I'll give up time from my speech to anyone who wishes to prove that any of them went into exile because of me, or that I informed against him, or that they didn't each go into exile because of those informations I described to you. If anyone proves I'm lying, do what you like with me. I now pause and give way, if anyone wants to come up.

[27] Well now, gentlemen, what happened next? After the informations were given, there was a dispute about the rewards—1,000 drachmas according to Cleonymus' decree, 10,000 according to Peisander's—which were claimed by those informants, and by Pythonicus, who said he made the first announcement, and by Andocides on behalf of the Council. [28] So the Assembly resolved that those who had been initiated should decide between the claimants in the court of the Themistocles after hearing the information which they'd each given. They voted in favor of Andromachus first and Teucer second, and at the festival of the Panathenaea Andromachus got 10,000 drachmas and Teucer 1,000. Please call the witnesses of this.

[WITNESSES]

[29] As far as the Mysteries are concerned, gentlemen, for which the indictment was brought and which you initiates have come into court to hear about, I've demonstrated that I've neither committed impiety nor informed about anyone nor made a confession about them, nor am I guilty of a single offense, great or small, concerning the Two Goddesses. It's very important for me to convince you of this. For the speeches of the prosecution—they wailed on about those grisly horrors; and they told stories of how other people previously committed offenses and impieties concerning the Two Goddesses, and what punishment each of them suffered. [30] What have those stories and incidents to do with me? On the contrary, I accuse the prosecutors. I say they ought to be put to death for impiety themselves, while I ought to be let off because I've done nothing wrong. It would be shocking

25 The politician Cleonymus is now known to us mainly from Aristophanes' jokes about him as a fat coward.
26 See I.16n.
27 Six of the Archons, whose main responsibility was arranging and presiding over trials.
28 The awful consequences which the gods would inflict on Athens if those guilty of impiety were not duly punished. One of the stories, concerning a man who was unable to eat and died of starvation, is found in the surviving speech Against Andocides (Lys. 6.1).
29 Andocides means that the prosecutors, when they accuse him of impiety, are guilty of telling lies about a sacred matter.
otherwise, if you condemned me for other men’s offenses and, when you know the allegations against me come from my opponents, are going to prefer them to the truth. Obviously people who have committed offenses of this sort can’t defend themselves by saying they haven’t; trial before men who know the truth is a severe ordeal. But to me proof is a pleasure, since I can secure my acquittal on this serious charge by refuting my opponents’ speeches, and I don’t need to make any entreaties or appeals to you.

[31] You, whom I’m reminding of the facts, are men who, before casting your votes in my case, have sworn great oaths and invoked the most solemn curses on yourselves and your own children, undertaking to vote for a just verdict on me; and besides you’ve been initiated and you’ve seen the sacred rites of the Two Goddesses, so that you may punish the impious and protect the innocent. [32] You must then consider it no less impious to convict the innocent of impiety than to fail to punish those guilty of it. So I call upon you, much more earnestly than my accusers, in the name of the Two Goddesses, for the sake both of the sacred rites which you have seen and of the Greeks who come to Attica for the festival: if I’ve committed any impiety or confessed it or informed against any human being, or anyone else against me, execute me; I ask no mercy. [33] But if I haven’t committed any offense, and if I demonstrate this to you, I ask you to make it clear to the whole of Greece that I didn’t deserve to be brought to trial here; for if Cephisius here, my prosecutor, fails to get one-fifth of the votes, he’s not allowed to go into the Two Goddesses’ temple, or he’ll be put to death.

Now show me if you think I’ve made an adequate defense on this matter, to encourage me in making the rest of my defense.

[34] As for the mutilation of the images and the information given about it, I’ll do just as I promised you: I’ll explain all the facts to you from the beginning. When Teucer came from Megara after obtaining immunity, he gave the information he had not only about the Mysteries but also about the mutilators of the images, and he listed eighteen men. When they were listed, some of them fled into exile, while others were arrested and put to death on Teucer’s information. Please read their names.

[35] [NAMES] In the case of the Hermes Teucer informed against Euctemon, Glaucippus, Eurymachus, Polyeuctus, Plato,31 Ansidorus, Charippus, Theodorus, Alcisthenes, Menestras, Eryximachus,32 Euphiletus,33 Eurydamas, Pherecles, Meletus,34 Timanthes, Archidamus, Telenicus.

Now, some of those men have returned and are in Athens, and those who were put to death have left a number of relatives. Any of them who wishes may come up in the time allowed for my speech and refute me by showing that I caused the exile or death of any of those men.

[36] When that happened, Peisander and Charicles, who were members of the commission of inquiry and at that time were thought to be strong supporters of democracy,35 declared that what had been done was not the work of a few men but was aimed at the overthrow of democracy, and that the search must be continued and not given up. The city was in such a state that, whenever the herald proclaimed that the Council was to go to the Council-house, and took down the signal, at that same signal the Council would go to the Council-house and the people in the Agora would run away, each one terrified of being arrested!

[37] Encouraged by the city’s troubles, Diocleides made an announcement to the Council, claiming that he knew the men who mutilated the Hermes and that there were about three hundred of them. He said he saw the deed and happened to be there. Please pay close

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31Not the philosopher, nor the comic dramatist of this name.
32A doctor, who appears in Plato’s Symposium.
33Andocides’ friend; cf. 1.61–64.
34See 1.126n.
35Four years later, in 411, Peisander certainly and Charicles probably became members of the oligarchic regime of the Four Hundred. Charicles was also a member of the Thirty in 404.
attention, gentlemen, and recollect whether I’m telling the truth, and
tell one another about it; for the statements were made in your presen-
cence, and you’re my witnesses of them.

[38] He said he had a slave at Laurium and had to collect a pay-
ment.66 He got up early, mistaking the time, and started walking; 
there was a full moon.37 When he was passing the gateway of Dionysus,88 he saw a large number of people coming down from the Odeum 
into the orchestra,39 and being frightened of them, he went into the 
shadow and sat down between a pillar and the stone on which the
ence, and you’re my witnesses of them.

SUS, 38

into the orchestra, 39 and being frightened of
the next day he heard that the Herms had been
the brother of Callias son of Telodes, sitting in
men. But according to Plutarch (Alcibiades 20) this was what proved that his story was a lie, because the mutilation of the Herms actually took place on the last night of the month, when there was no moon.

35 The slave was hired out as a worker in the silver mines at Laurium in southeast Attica.

37 This detail was supposed to explain how he could see the faces of so many
men. But according to Plutarch (Alcibiades 20) this was what proved that his story was a lie, because the mutilation of the Herms actually took place on the last night of the month, when there was no moon.

38 The entrance to the theater of Dionysus, beside the Acropolis.

39 The chorus’s dancing area in the middle of the theater.

40 The temple still standing on the west side of the Agora, now commonly but wrongly called the Theseum.

they’re waiting for? Friends like you certainly mustn’t be turned away!”
Having said that, he went off. (In that way he tried to bring about my
father’s death, by showing that he was in the know.) We said (he went
on) that we’d decided to offer him two talents 41 of silver, in place of
the 10,000 drachmas from the treasury, and that if we got what we
wanted, he was to be one of us, and that we would exchange pledges
to do all this. [42] His answer to that was that he’d think about it, and
we told him to go to the house of Callias son of Telocles, to enable
him to be present too. (Thus he tried to bring about my brother-in-
law’s death.) 42 He said he did go to Callias’, and after giving his con-
sent pledged himself to us on the Acropolis; and though we agreed to
pay him the money at the end of the month then beginning, we broke
our word and didn’t pay. So now he’d come to give information about
what happened.

[43] Such was Diocleides’ statement, gentlemen. He listed the
names of the men he said he’d recognized, forty-two of them: first
Mantitheus and Apsephion, who were members of the Council and
were present at the meeting, and then the rest. Then Peisander stood
up and said the decree of the year of Scamandrius 43 should be repealed
and those listed should be put on to the wheel, to make sure that all the
men were discovered before nightfall. There was a shout of approval
from the Council. [44] When Mantitheus and Apsephion heard this,
they went to sit at the altar, 44 begging not to be tortured but to be
deserting to the enemy, leaving behind their sureties, who were to be
liable to the same penalties as the men whose presence they guaran-
teed. [45] At the end of its meeting the Council’s secret decision to
arrest us was carried out. We were put in the stocks in prison. They
called up the generals and told them to proclaim that Athenians living
in town were to go armed to the Agora, those in the Long Walls 45 to

41 talent = 6,000 drachmas.

42 Callias son of Telocles had married Andocides’ sister.

48 This decree forbade the torturing of Athenian citizens. Its date is not certain,
but may have been 510/09.

44 To take sanctuary.

45 The Long Walls ran on either side of the road linking Athens and Piraeus.
the Theseum, and those in Piraeus to the Agora of Hippodamus, and that a trumpet-signal should be given before daybreak for the cavalry to come to the Anaceum, and that the Council was to go to the Acropolis and sleep there, and the Prytaneis in the Tholos. The Boeotians had heard what was going on and were out in force on the frontier. And Diocleides, the man responsible for all this trouble, was being treated as the savior of the city; they were taking him to the Prytaneum in a carriage with a garland on his head, and he was dining there.

[46] So first, gentlemen, those of you who were present should recall what happened and tell the others about it. Then please call the Prytaneis who were in office at that time, Philocrates and the rest. Tell them about it.

[WITNESSES]

[47] Well now, I'll have the names of the men he listed read out to you, to show you how many of my relatives he put at risk of death: first my father and next my brother-in-law, by indicating that the one was in the know and alleging that the meeting took place in the house of the other; and you'll hear the names of the rest. Read out the list for them.

Charmides son of Aristoteles.

That's my cousin. His mother and my father were sister and brother.

Taureas.

That's my father's cousin.

Nisaeus.

Taureas' son.

Callias son of Alcmeon.

My father's cousin.

Euphemus.

The brother of Callias son of Telocles.

Phrynichus the former dancer.

A cousin.

Eucrates.

Nicias' brother. He was Callias' brother-in-law.

Critias.

He also was a cousin of my father's, their mothers were sisters. All those were among the forty men he listed.

[48] We were all imprisoned in the same place. Night came on, and the prison was closed up. One man had his mother there, another his sister, another his wife and children, and there were cries and moans from the men as they wept and carried on about the trouble they were in. Then Charmides, my cousin, who was my age and had been brought up with me in our house since we were boys, said to me:

[49] "Andocides, you see how serious the situation is. Up till now I didn't want to say anything to annoy you, but now I'm forced to by the trouble we're in. Some of your friends and companions, outside our family, have already been put to death on the same charges that we're facing, and others have gone into exile, condemning themselves as guilty. [50] So if you've heard anything about this business, say so, and save yourself first, and next your father, whom you naturally love.

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46 A temple of Theseus on the north side of the Acropolis.
47 The town-planner who designed Piraeus.
48 A temple of the Dioscuri on the north side of the Acropolis.
49 The Tholos, a round building next to the Council-house in the Agora, was the office of the Prytaneis.
50 Boeotia was regarded as an enemy of Athens, though war was not actually in progress at this time.
51 The Prytaneum was another official building on the north side of the Acropolis. Those who had performed special services for Athens were given dinner there.
52 This is the Critias who became the leader of the tyrannical regime of the Thirty in 404.
most, and next your brother-in-law, the husband of your only sister, and then all these other relatives and members of the family, and also me. I've never given you any trouble in my whole life, and I've always been ready to support you and your interests."

[51] When Charmides said this, gentlemen, and the rest begged me, and every one of them entreated me, I thought to myself: "I must be the unluckiest man in the world! Am I to do nothing while my own relatives are unjustly destroyed, being put to death and having their property confiscated, and are also recorded on monuments as sinners against the gods, when they're not responsible for any of what has happened? And while three hundred other Athenians are going to be put to death unjustly, and the city is in the greatest trouble and mutual suspicion? Or shall I tell the Athenians what was said to me by Euphiletus, the man who actually did it?" [52] And besides this, gentlemen, I also thought to myself and calculated that some of the guilty men, who did the deed, had already been put to death because of Teucer's information, while others had gone into exile and been condemned to death. But there were four left of those who took part, against whom Teucer didn't inform: Panaetius, Chaeredemus, Diacritus, and Lysistratus. [53] It was reasonable to assume that they above all were among those Diocleides had informed against, since they were friends of the men who were already dead. Their safety was doubtful anyway, while my relatives were obviously going to die if no one made the facts public. So it seemed to me better to deprive four men of their country justly (men who are now alive, and have returned to Athens, and are in possession of their property) than to let my relatives be unjustly put to death.

[54] If any of you other citizens, gentlemen, previously had the idea that I informed against my own comrades to secure their death and my own life (and that's the story my enemies spread about me, to damage my reputation), consider the actual facts. [55] The account I give of my actions now must be truthful, since it's given in the presence of men who actually committed the crime and went into exile because they did it, and who know best whether I'm lying or telling the truth (they can refute me in the time allotted for my speech; I'll permit them). It's important that you should understand what happened, [56] because for me, gentlemen, the essential thing in this trial is that I should be acquitted and have my reputation cleared. It's also important that everyone else should understand that none of my actions was discreditable or cowardly, but they were all due to the trouble which afflicted the city above all, and also afflicted us, and that my reason for reporting what Euphiletus had said to me was concern for my relatives and family and concern for the city as a whole, and I showed courage, not cowardice, in my opinion. So, if that's the case, I claim I should be acquitted and you should regard me as free from blame.

[57] I ask you, gentlemen, since you ought to reckon cases by human standards, as you would if you were in the trouble yourselves: what would each of you have done? If it had been possible to choose between honorable death and dishonorable survival, my action might be criticized—though a lot of people would have made the same choice even then, preferring life to an honorable death. [58] But where the choice was just the opposite of that, either, if I said nothing, to die myself in the greatest disgrace although I'd committed no impiety, and also to allow the death of my father, my brother-in-law, and all those relatives and cousins, for whose death no one but myself would be responsible if I failed to state that others were guilty (Diocleides, you see, got them imprisoned by his lies, and nothing could save them unless Athens learned the whole story; so I would be their murderer if I didn't report to you what had been said to me)—and I should also be responsible for the death of three hundred Athenians, and the city would be getting into a most serious situation. [59] That's what was going to happen if I said nothing. But if I stated the facts I should be saved myself, and I should save my father and any other relatives, and I should be putting an end to alarm and a most serious situation in Athens. Four men would be exiles because of me; but they were guilty. Of the rest, against whom Teucer informed earlier, the dead were surely not going to be any more dead because of me, nor the exiles more exiled. [60] Considering all this, gentlemen, I found that the least of the evils was to state the facts at once, and to prove that Diocleides had been lying and get him punished. He was causing us to be put to death unjustly, and he was deceiving Athens, and for doing so he was being regarded as a hero and was getting a reward.

[61] For these reasons I told the Council that I knew who had done it, and I revealed the facts. I said that Euphiletus suggested the plan while we were having a drink, and I spoke against it, and on that
occasion I was responsible for the plan's rejection. But later, while riding at Cynosarges on a pony of mine, I had a fall, and I broke my collar-bone and cut my head, and was carried home on a stretcher. When Euphiletus saw how I was, he said to them that I'd been persuaded to join in and had told him I agreed to take part and to mutilate the Herm near the shrine of Phorbas. But when he told them this, he was lying; and that's why the Herm you can all see, the one near our family home, set up by the Aegaeis tribe, was the only Herm in Athens not mutilated—because they thought I was going to do it, as Euphiletus had told them. When they realized, they made quite a fuss because I knew about the business but hadn't taken part. Next day Meletus and Euphiletus came to me and said: “We've done it, Andocides, and carried it out. As for you, if you're willing to keep quiet and say nothing, we'll be your friends as before. But if not, you'll suffer more from our enmity than you'll gain from any friends you acquire by what you say about us.” I told them I thought it was criminal of Euphiletus to do it, but that I was no danger to them because I knew about it; a far greater danger was the crime itself, just because it had been committed.

To show that this was true, I handed over my slave for torture to prove that I'd been ill and hadn't even been getting up from my bed; and the maidservants of the house which they used as their base were seized by the Prytaneis. The Council and the commission of inquiry examined the matter; and since it was as I said, and it was universally agreed, they then summoned Diocleides. Not many words were needed, but he immediately admitted he'd been lying, and asked to be let off if he stated who were the men who persuaded him to tell his story. They were Alcibiades of Phegus and Amiantus from Aegina. Those men were terrified and fled into exile. When you heard this, you handed Diocleides over to a lawcourt and executed him. You released my relatives who were in prison and were going to be put to death because of me, and you let those in exile return. You yourselves went home with your weapons, freed from a great deal of trouble and danger.

In all this, gentlemen, I deserve everyone's sympathy for what happened to me, and I can reasonably be praised for what I did. When Euphiletus suggested one of the most treacherous pledges that men could make, I opposed him, spoke against him, and scolded him as he deserved. After they committed the crime I helped them to conceal it, and it was because Teucer informed against them that some were executed and others went into exile; that was before we were imprisoned by Diocleides and were going to be put to death. Then I did list four men, Panaitius, Diocrates, Lysistratus, and Charesdemus. They went into exile because of me, I admit. But my father was saved, and my brother-in-law, three cousins, and seven other relatives, who were going to be executed unjustly. They owe it to me that they now see the light of day, and they themselves admit it. And the man who threw the whole city into confusion and brought it into the utmost danger was shown up, and you were freed from great alarm and mutual suspicion.

Recollect, gentlemen, whether what I say is true; and those of you who saw it, explain it to the others. And you, please call the actual men who were released because of me. They best know the facts and can tell the jury about them. It's like this, men of the jury: they'll come up and speak to you for as long as you want to listen to them, and after that I'll make my defense on the rest of the case.

Now you've heard everything, and I've completed my defense about what happened at that time—at least I believe so, but if any of you wants anything more or thinks some point hasn't been explained adequately, or if I've left something out, he has only to stand up and mention it, and I'll make my defense to that too. Now I'll explain to you about the laws.

A place to the east of the town, with a shrine of Heracles and a gymnasion.
One of the ten tribes in which Athenian citizens were organized, named after the legendary king Aegeus.
Not to be confused with the famous Alcibiades.

The mutilation of the Herms was a pledge, in the sense that mutual knowledge of their guilt would guarantee the conspirators' loyalty to one another.
These numbers do not fit the list in 1.47, and there may be some error in the text.
[71] Cephasius here used the existing law to prosecute me, but in presenting his case he’s using an earlier decree proposed by Isotimides, which has nothing to do with me. Isotimides proposed that those who had committed impiety and had confessed it should be excluded from the holy places. But I haven’t done either of those things; I’ve neither committed impiety nor confessed it. [72] Besides, that decree has been annulled and is invalid, as I’ll explain to you. But the peculiar thing about this defense is that, whereas I shall be punished myself if I don’t convince you, if I do convince you I shall have made a defense for my opponents. Still, the truth shall be told.

[73] After the navy was destroyed and the siege began, you had a discussion about unity. You decided to enfranchise the disfranchised, and Patrocleides proposed his decree. Who were the disfranchised, or who had committed impiety and had confessed it should be excluded from the treasury after they held office, or who had purchased tax-collating rights from the treasury, or who had acted as sureties to the treasury, or who had failed to pay the money, or who had been found guilty at the examination after they held office, or who had been found guilty of failing to pay a legal debt or of public offenses, or who owed fines, or who had purchased tax-collating rights from the treasury and failed to pay the money, or who had acted as sureties to the treasury (these had to pay during the Persian Wars, when it was beneficial to Athens. Concerning those registered with the Practores or with the treasurers of the Goddess and of the other gods or with the Basileus, or anyone whose name was not written down, up to the end of the term of office of the Council when Callias was Archon, all disfranchised persons and public debtors, and all who have been declared guilty of misconduct in office by the examiners and their assessors in the auditors’ offices, or who face prosecutions which have not yet come into court concerning the examination of their conduct in office, or who have been condemned to suffer specific restrictions or to forfeit securities, up to the same date, and all the names of any of the Four Hundred that are registered, or any other record anywhere of what was done.

[77] [Decree] Patrocleides proposed: Since the Athenians voted that it should be permitted to make proposals concerning disfranchised persons and public debtors and put them to the vote, the people are to vote the same decree as during the Persian Wars, when it was beneficial to Athens. Concerning those registered with the Practores or with the treasurers of the Goddess and of the other gods or with the Basileus, or anyone whose name was not written down, up to the end of the term of office of the Council when Callias was Archon, all disfranchised persons and public debtors, and all who have been declared guilty of misconduct in office by the examiners and their assessors in the auditors’ offices, or who face prosecutions which have not yet come into court concerning the examination of their conduct in office, or who have been condemned to suffer specific restrictions or to forfeit securities, up to the same date, and all the names of any of the Four Hundred that are registered, or any other record anywhere of what was done.
during the oligarchy—except for all names, inscribed on stone, of those who did not remain in Athens or who, having been tried by either the Areopagus or the Ephetae or at the Prytanæum or the Delphinium under the presidency of the Basileus, are in some exile for homicide or were condemned to death as murderers or tyrants—[79] all the other names mentioned shall be obliterated by the Practores and the Council from every place where any of them is recorded in public, and the Themosthenes and other officials shall produce any copy that exists anywhere. This is to be done within three days after the people's resolution. It shall not be permitted for anyone to keep a private record of the names whose obliteration has been ordered, nor ever to revive accusations; otherwise the transgressor of this rule shall be liable to the same penalties as those exiled by the Areopagus, so that there may be as much mutual trust as possible in Athens both now and in the future.

[80] By this decree you enfranchised the disfranchised. But Patrocles didn't propose, and you didn't vote, that exiles should return. After the truce was made with the Spartans, and you demolished the walls, and you accepted the return of exiles, and the Thirty were established, and then Phyle was seized, and they seized Munychia, you had experiences which I needn't recall, nor need I remind you of the troubles which followed.70 [81] After your return to Athens from Piræus,71 though it was in your power to take revenge, you decided to let bygones be bygones. You thought the preservation of Athens more important than personal vengeance, and you resolved not to revive accusations against one another for what had happened. On this resolution you appointed twenty men; they were to have charge of the city until fresh laws were made. Meanwhile the laws of Solon and the ordinances of Draco were to be employed.72 [82] After you had drawn lots for a Council and appointed lawmakers, they found that under many of the laws of Solon and Draco many citizens were liable to penalties for what they'd done earlier. You called an Assembly, discussed them, and voted that all the laws should be examined, and then those laws which were approved should be inscribed in the Stoa.73 Please read the decree.

[83] [DECREE] The people resolved, Teisamenus proposed: The Athenians shall conduct their public affairs in the traditional manner. They shall employ the laws of Solon and his weights and measures, and they shall employ also the ordinances of Draco, which we employed in former times. Such additions as are needed shall be inscribed on boards by the lawmakers appointed by the Council, and shall be exhibited in front of the tribal heroes74 for all to see and handed over to the officials within this month. [84] The laws which are handed over shall be examined first by the Council and by the five hundred lawmakers appointed by the members of the dromos, after they have taken the oath. Also any individual who wishes shall be permitted to come before the Council and make any good suggestion he can about the laws. After the laws are passed, the council of the Areopagus shall take care of the laws, to ensure that officials employ the laws which are in force. Those laws which are ratified shall be inscribed on the wall, where they were inscribed before, for anyone who wishes to read them.

[85] So the laws were examined in accordance with this decree, and the ones which were ratified were inscribed in the Stoa. When they'd been inscribed, we passed a law which is universally enforced. Please read the law:

[86] A law which has not been inscribed shall not be employed by officials on any matter whatever.

[86] Is there thus anything left about which an official could bring a case to court or anything of you could take action, except in accordance with the inscribed laws? Well then, where an uninscribed law may not be employed, still more must an uninscribed decree not be enforced at all. So, since we saw that a number of citizens were in trouble, some with laws and some with decrees previously passed, we passed these

68 The oligarchic leaders who fled into exile to avoid execution.
69 The courts which tried cases of homicide.
70 This sentence summarizes the events of 404/3. The pro-democratic party, opposing the Thirty, occupied Phyle in northern Attica and then Munychia near Piræus.
71 Andocides assumes that all his listeners were with the Thirty's opponents, who used Piræus as their base in the civil war which led to the restoration of democracy in 403.
72 These were the traditional laws of Athens, reputedly introduced by Draco in the late seventh century and Solon in the early sixth.
laws with a view to exactly what is now going on, so that none of this might happen and no one might be allowed to prosecute anyone maliciously. Please read the laws.

[87] **Laws** A law which has not been inscribed shall not be employed by officials on any matter whatever.

No decree of the Council or Assembly shall prevail over a law.

It shall not be permitted to pass a law applying to an individual unless the same law applies to all Athenians, unless it is resolved by six thousand voting by secret ballot.

What else was there? This law. Please read this one.

[Law] All judgments and arbitrations shall be valid which were given while the city was democratically governed. The laws shall be applied from the Archonship of Euriodis.\[85\]

[88] So, gentlemen, you made all judgments and arbitrations valid which were given while the city was democratically governed, so that debts might not be canceled nor cases retried, but agreements between individuals might be carried out.\[86\] For offenses dealt with by public prosecution (graphē) or denunciation (phasis) or indictment (endeixis) or arrest (apagōga)\[87\] you voted that the laws should be applied from the archonship of Euriodis.\[89\] So, when you had resolved that the laws should be examined, and that after being approved they should be inscribed, and that a law which had not been inscribed should not be employed by officials on any matter whatever, and that no decree of the Council or Assembly should prevail over a law, and that a law applying to an individual should not be passed unless the same law applied to all Athenians, unless it is resolved by six thousand voting by secret ballot.

[90] And now, how do your oaths go? There’s the one the whole city shared, which you all swore after the reconciliations: “And I will not revive accusations against any citizen except the Thirty and the Eleven,”\[88\] nor against any of them who are willing to undergo examination of their conduct in office.” When you swore not to revive accusations even against the Thirty, who were the greatest criminals, if they underwent examination, you can hardly have thought it right to revive accusations against any of the other citizens.\[91\] Again, what is sworn by the Council holding office each year? “And I will not accept any indictment or arrest for what happened earlier, except against those who fled into exile.” Again, what do you swear, Athenians, before sitting as jurors? “And I will not revive accusations nor accept those revived by anyone else, but I will vote in accordance with the laws in force.” You must consider these facts, to see whether you think I’m right when I tell you that I’m speaking in support of yourselves and the laws.

[92] Now, gentlemen, consider together the laws and the prosecutors, to see what their own position is while they’re accusing other people. Cephisius here purchased a tax-collecting right from the treasury, and after collecting the proceeds of this from the farmers of the land concerned, which amounted to 9,000 drachmas, he didn’t pay up to the city; and he fled into exile, because if he’d come to Athens he’d have been imprisoned in the stocks.\[93\] The law went like this: “The Council shall have authority to imprison in the stocks any purchaser of a tax who does not pay up.” Now, because you voted that the laws should be applied from the Archonship of Euriodis, this man thinks it right not to pay over your money that he’s collected. He’s now been transformed from an exile into a citizen, and from a disfranchised man into a malicious accuser, because you apply the laws now in force.

[94] Again, Meletus here arrested Leon in the time of the Twelve,\[89\]...
as you all know, and Leon was executed without trial. And the follow-
ing law not only existed in the past but also exists and is applied even
now, because it's a good one: "One who has planned an act shall be
liable to the same penalty as one who has committed it with his own
hand." So the reason why Leon's sons aren't allowed to prosecute Me-
letus for murder is that the laws have to be applied from the Archon-
ship of Eudeides; for not even the man himself denies that he made
the arrest.

[95] Epichares here, an utter scoundrel and pleased to be one, who
revives accusations against himself—! He was a member of the Coun-
cil in the time of the Thirty: but what does the law say, the one in-
scribed on stone in front of the Council-house? "Anyone who holds
office in the city when the democracy has been subverted may be
killed with impunity, and the killer shall be free from guilt and shall
possess the dead man's property." So isn't it the case, Epichares, that
anyone who kills you now will have untainted hands, according to
Solon's law? 80 [96] Please read the law from the stone.

[LAW] It was resolved by the Council and the Assembly, the Aiantis
tribe were Prytaneis; Cleigenes was secretary, Boethus was chairman;
Demophantus drew up the following proposal. This decree dates from
the Council of five hundred appointed by lot for whom Cleigenes was
the first secretary.

If anyone subverts the democracy at Athens or holds any office when
the democracy has been subverted, he shall be regarded as an enemy of
the Athenians and may be killed with impunity, and his property shall
be confiscated and a tenth part of it devoted to the Goddess; and he
who kills or helps to plan the killing of anyone who does that shall be
free from guilt and shall possess the dead man's property." [97] All Athenians shall swear over unblem-
ished sacrifices by tribes and by demes to kill anyone who does that.
The oath shall be as follows: "I shall kill, by word and deed, by vote
and by my own hand, if I can, anyone who subverts the democracy at
Athens, and anyone who holds any office after the democracy has been
subverted, and anyone who sets himself up to be tyrant or helps to set
up the tyrant. If anyone else kills him, I shall consider that man to be
pure in the sight of gods and divinities, because he has killed an enemy
of the Athenians, and I will sell all the property of the dead man and
give half to the killer and not keep any back. [98] If anyone dies while
killing or attempting to kill any such man, I will care both for him
and for his children, just as for Harmodius and Aristogeiton and their
descendants. 81 All oaths that have been sworn against the people of
Athens, at Athens or on campaign or anywhere else, I declare null and
void." All Athenians shall swear this oath over unblemished sacrifices
in the customary manner before the Dionysia, 82 and they shall pray
that he who keeps his oath may have many blessings, but that he who
breaks it may suffer destruction, both himself and his family.

[99] Tell me, you malicious accuser, you damned fox, is this law
valid or not valid? The reason why it's become invalid, surely, is that
the laws have to be applied from the Archonship of Eucleides. And so
you are alive, and walk around this city, though you don't deserve it.
Under the democracy you lived by accusing, and under the oligarchy,
to avoid being forced to pay back the money you got by accusing, you
groveled to the Thirty. [100] And then do you talk to me about friends
and find fault with people? You were not just one man's boy-friend
(you'd have been okay then); you let anyone pay you a small sum, as
the jury knows, and made a living by vice in spite of your ugly looks.
Yet this man dared to accuse other people, when by the laws of Athens
he can't even defend himself!

[101] As I sat here while he was speaking for the prosecution, gen-
tlemen, and as I looked at him, it seemed just as if I'd been arrested
and put on trial by the Thirty. If I'd been in court then, who'd be
accusing me? Wasn't Epichares there to do it, if I didn't buy him off?
So he is now. And who'd be doing the questioning but Charicles? 83
"Tell me, Andocides," he'd ask, "did you go to Deceleia 84 and for-

80 Andocides calls it "Solon's law" because it is one of the established laws of
Athens, even though the prescript of the law itself shows that it was passed in 410.

81 Harmodius and Aristogeiton in 514 assassinated Hipparchus, brother of the
tyrant Hippias, and they and their descendants were honored as tyrannicides ever
afterwards.

82 The festival of Dionysus, held in the spring of each year.

83 See 1.36n.

84 Deceleia in Attica was captured and fortified by the Spartans as a base for
operations against Athens in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War, and they
tify it against your country?" "No, I didn't." "Well, did you plunder the countryside, and rob your fellow-citizens by land or sea?" "No." "Didn't you even fight against Athens at sea, or help to demolish the walls, or help to subvert the democracy, or force your way back to Athens?" "No, I haven't done any of those things." "None at all? Then do you expect to get away without being put to death, as a lot of other people have been?" [102] Do you think I'd have got any other treatment than that, because of my loyalty to you, gentlemen, if they'd caught me? Then won't it be shocking if, although they would have put me to death like other people because I committed no offense against Athens, I'm not acquitted by you when I've done you no harm? Surely I will be; hardly anyone else will be, otherwise.

[103] Although, gentlemen, they used a law now in force to bring the indictment against me, in presenting the case they used the decree made earlier about other people. If you convict me, consider that it may be more appropriate for a lot of other citizens to give an account of their actions than it is for me: first, the men you fought against, with whom you swore oaths of reconciliation; second, the men you allowed to return from exile; third, the disfranchised men whom you caught me? Then won't it be shocking if, although they would have put me to death like other people because I committed no offense against Athens, I'm not acquitted by you when I've done you no harm? Surely I will be; hardly anyone else will be, otherwise.

[104] If they see you're accepting prosecutions for past acts, what do you suppose they'll think of their own position? Which of them do you think will be willing to face a trial for his past acts? Plenty of opponents and plenty of malicious accusers will appear, to bring every one of them to trial. [105] Both are now here in court to listen, but for different purposes. Some want to know whether they should rely on the laws now in force and on your mutual oaths. The others are gauging your intentions, to see whether they'll be allowed with impunity to make malicious accusations, by public prosecution (graphe) and by indictment (endeixis) and by arrest (apagoge). This is how it is, gentlemen: it's my life which is at stake in this trial, but the public in general will learn from your vote whether they should rely on the laws of Athens, or bribe the accusers, or leave Athens and get away from them as fast as possible.

[106] To show you, gentlemen, that the action you've taken to achieve unity isn't misguided, but appropriate and beneficial to yourselves, I want to say a few words about this too. Your ancestors, at a time when Athens was in a very serious situation, while the tyrants controlled the city and the democrats were in exile, defeated the tyrants in battle at Pallene. Among the generals were Leogoras, my great-grandfather, and Charias, the father of his wife, who was the mother of my grandfather. On their return to their own country your ancestors put some to death and condemned some to exile, and others they allowed to stay in Athens but disfranchised. [107] Later, when the King of Persia invaded Greece, realizing the immensity of the disaster which threatened them and the extent of the King's forces, they decided to allow the exiles to return, to enfranchise the disfranchised, and to share safety and dangers alike. After doing this and exchanging pledges and solemn oaths, they ventured to put themselves in the front line, before the whole of Greece, and face the barbarians at Marathon, believing that their own courage was sufficient to set against the large numbers of the enemy. They fought, and they won. They freed Greece, and they saved their own country. [108] And after this great achievement they decided not to revive accusations against anyone for past acts. It was for this very reason that, finding their city in ruins, temples burned down, and walls and houses demolished, and starting from scratch, because of their unity with one another they were able to establish their Greek empire and hand down to you this fine, great city. [109] Later you yourselves, in the face of hardship no less than theirs, were as good as your fathers and showed the generous spirit that was in you: you decided to allow the exiles to return and to en-

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86 Andocides may be confused about the historical details. The battle of Pallene, if that is what he means, was won, not lost, by the tyrant Peisistratus about 546, but he seems to be thinking of a battle in 510, when the descendants of Peisistratus were expelled.

87 Andocides has combined the two Persian invasions of Greece, in 490 and 480-479. The battle of Marathon was won by Athens in 490. The city of Athens was destroyed in 480; its rebuilding and the establishment of the Athenian Empire took place in the years following the repulse of the Persians in 479.
franchise the disfranchised. So what do you still have to do to equal your ancestors’ generosity? Not to revive accusations, gentlemen, remembering that in the old days Athens, starting from far smaller foundations, became great and prosperous. And she can do the same now, if we citizens would only act sensibly and live in unity with one another.

[110] They also accused me about the suppliant-branch. They said I placed it in the Eleusinium, but there was a traditional law that anyone who placed a suppliant-branch at the time of the Mysteries should die. And they’re so brazen that, when they themselves contrived the offense, it’s not enough for them that their plot failed, but they actually accuse me of committing it! [111] When we returned from Eleusis and the indictment had been brought, the Basileus came to report on the performance of the ritual at Eleusis, as is the custom. The Prytaneis said they would bring him before the Council, and they told him to give notice to Cephisius and me to be present at the Eleusinium. (The Council was to sit there in accordance with Solon’s law, which says it is to hold a session in the Eleusinium on the day after the Mysteries.) [112] We were there, as instructed. When the Council was full, Callias son of Hipponicus, wearing his official dress, stood up and said that a suppliant-branch was lying on the altar, and he pointed it out to them. Then the herald made a proclamation asking who placed the suppliant-branch, and no one answered. We were standing by, and this man could see us. When no one answered, and Eudes had gone inside after making the inquiry—and please call him. First give evidence whether I’ve been telling the truth, Eudes.

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[113] Evidence has been given that I’m telling the truth, and I think it’s quite different from what the prosecution said. They asserted, if you remember, that the Two Goddesses themselves dazed me so that I placed the suppliant-branch in ignorance of the law, in order that I might be punished. My reply, gentlemen, is that, even if the prosecution’s statement is absolutely true, it was the Two Goddesses themselves who saved me. [114] For if I placed the suppliant-branch there and then failed to answer the herald, wasn’t I causing my own death by placing the branch, and wasn’t it chance that saved me because I failed to answer, for which the Two Goddesses were obviously responsible? If the Goddesses had wanted to kill me, surely I should have admitted placing the branch even if I hadn’t done so. But I didn’t answer, and I didn’t place it.

[115] When Eudes told the Council that no one answered, Callias stood up again and said there was a traditional law that anyone who placed a suppliant-branch in the Eleusinium should be put to death without trial, and his father Hipponicus had once expounded this to the Athenians, and that he’d been told that I was the person who’d placed the branch. Then Cephalus here jumped up and said: [116] “I never heard such blasphemy, Callias! In the first place, you’re expounding religious law, but you, as a member of the Ceryces, have no right to expound it. And next, you talk about a traditional law, but the inscribed stone just beside you says that anyone who places a suppliant-branch in the Eleusinium is to be fined 1,000 drachmas. And next, who told you Andocides placed the branch? Call him before the Council, so that he can tell us too.” When the inscription was read out, and Callias couldn’t say who told him, it was obvious to the Council that he’d placed the branch himself.

[117] And now, gentlemen, perhaps you’d like to hear what Callias

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87 In 403 and 404, as explained earlier in the speech.
88 If Andocides had placed an olive-branch on an altar as a suppliant, that would have implied that he was imploring the gods’ forgiveness, and thus that he admitted he was guilty of an offense against them.
89 The temple in Athens of the Two Goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and her daughter.
90 At the end of the annual celebration of the Mysteries at Eleusis.
91 Cephisius, who was also waiting outside the Eleusinium. Andocides implies that Cephisius had not yet been told by Callias that Andocides was to be accused of placing the suppliant-branch, and therefore did not point him out to the herald.
92 Eudes was the herald of the Council and the Assembly.

93 Cephalus was a supporter of Andocides at this trial (1.150). He became a prominent politician in subsequent years.
94 The two aristocratic families of the Eumolpidae and the Ceryces had charge of the Eleusinian Mysteries, but only the former had the right to expound religious law.
was aiming at when he placed the branch. I'll explain to you why he devised his plot against me.

Epilycus son of Teisander was my uncle, my mother's brother. When he died in Sicily, he had no sons, but he left two daughters, who were to pass to Leagrus and me. His financial affairs were in a bad way; he left visible property amounting to less than 2 talents, but his debts were over 5 talents. Still, I invited Leagrus to meet me in the presence of the family, and said that in that situation the decent thing to do was to behave like relatives. "It's not right for us to prefer another estate or a successful man and look down on Epilycus' daughters. After all, if Epilycus were alive, or had left a large amount of money when he died, we should expect to have the girls because we're the nearest relatives. So whereas in that case we should have done so because of Epilycus or because of his money, as things are we'll do it because we're good men. You put in a claim for one, and I will for the other." [120] He agreed with me, gentlemen, and we both put in claims in accordance with our agreement. The girl I claimed happened to fall ill and die, but the other is still living. Callias tried to persuade Leagrus to let him take this girl, and promised him money. When I saw what was going on, I straightaway put down the court fee and got leave to make a claim, first of all saying to Leagrus: "If you want to continue your claim, keep her, and the best of luck! But otherwise I'll put in a claim." [121] When Callias realized this, he got leave to claim the heiress for his own son, on the 10th of the month; and to prevent me from making a claim, after the 20th, at the time of the recent Mysteries, he paid Cephisius 1,000 drachmas to bring an indictment against me and involve me in this trial. After he saw I was staying to face it, he placed the suppliant-branch. His aim was to get me executed without trial or drive me into exile, and to live with Epilycus' daughter himself, by bribing Leagrus. [122] But when he saw that even then he wasn't going to get his way without a trial, he finally went to Lysistratus, Hegemon, and Epichares, seeing that they were close friends of mine, and did something quite disgusting and illegal: he told them that if I was willing to give up Epilycus' daughter even now, he was ready to stop attacking me, call off Cephisius, and pay me compensation agreed by the family for what he'd done. [123] I told him to go ahead, both with the prosecution and with procuring other men to help him. "If I escape him," I said, "and the Athenians give a just verdict in my case, I think it will be his turn to find himself in danger." And if you so decide, gentlemen, I won't disappoint him in this. Please call the witnesses to confirm my statements.

[Witnesses]

[124] But let me tell you how this son of his, for whom he wanted to claim Epilycus' daughter, was born, and how he acknowledged him. It's certainly worth hearing, gentlemen. Callias married a daughter of Ischomachus; and after living with her for less than a year he took her mother, and the utter scoundrel went on living with the mother and the daughter (though he's a priest of the Mother and the Daughter!) and kept them both in his house. [125] He wasn't ashamed of himself, and showed no fear of the Two Goddesses. But Ischomachus' daughter thought it would be better to die than to live seeing what was going on. She tried to hang herself, but before she'd finished she was taken down and put to bed. After she recovered, she ran away from the house; and so the mother ousted the daughter. Later, when he'd had enough of her, he turned her out too. She said 

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95 Epilycus had been an Athenian delegate negotiating with the King of Persia; see 3.29.
96 Andocides and Leagrus, nephews of Epilycus, were his nearest surviving male relatives, and thus were entitled to claim his daughters in marriage, along with his property.
97 Callias' son was a more distant relative of Epilycus, but the exact relationship is uncertain.
she was pregnant by him, but when she gave birth to a son he denied that the baby was his. [126] The woman’s relatives took the baby and came to the altar at the festival of the Apaturia 102 bringing an animal for sacrifice, and told Callias to begin the ceremony. He asked who was the baby’s father. They answered “Callias son of Hipponicus.” “That’s me!” “Yes, and it’s your baby.” He put his hand on the altar and solemnly swore that he had no other son, and had never had, but Hipponicus by the daughter of Glaucn, or if he lied he and his family should be utterly destroyed—as they will be!

[127] Some time after this, gentlemen, he fell in love with the old battle-ax again and brought her back into his house, and he introduced the boy, who was quite big by now, into the Ceryces, asserting that he was his own son. Callicles 103 spoke against his acceptance, but the Ceryces voted, in accordance with their law, that the father should introduce him after swearing solemnly that he was introducing his own son. He put his hand on the altar and solemnly swore that the boy was his own legitimate son by Chrysilla—the boy he previously disowned on oath! Please call the witnesses to all this.

[WITNESSES]

[128] And now, gentlemen, let’s consider whether such a thing ever happened in Greece before. A man married a wife, and then married the mother after the daughter, and the mother ousted the daughter; and while living with her he wants to have Epilycus’ daughter, so that the granddaughter may oust the grandmother. 104 What ought we to call his son? [129] I shouldn’t think anyone is good enough at calculating to work out what to call him. There are three women with whom his father will have lived, and he’s the son of one (so he says), the brother of another, and the uncle of the third. Who can he be? Oedipus? Agisthus? 105 Or what name should we give him?

[130] But I want to remind you, gentlemen, of a small matter connected with Callias. If you remember, at the time when Athens ruled Greece and was at the height of her success, and Hipponicus 106 was the richest man in Greece, you all know that tiny children and silly women all through the city used to tell a tale that Hipponicus kept a devil in his house, who upturned his table. 107 You remember that, men of the jury. [131] Now how do you think that old story has turned out? When Hipponicus thought he was keeping a son, he was really keeping a devil for himself, who has upturned his riches, his frugality, and all the rest of his way of life. That’s how you ought to think of Callias, as Hipponicus’ devil.

[132] But, gentlemen, these men who are now supporting Callias in his attack on me, and helped him to procure the trial, and contributed money to deal with me—why is it that I’ve been in Athens for three years since my return from Cyprus without their thinking me guilty of impiety? I’ve initiated A... 108 the Delphian and other friends of mine, and I’ve entered the Eleusinium and made sacrifices, as I believe I have a right to do. But so far from thinking me impious, they proposed me for liturgies, first as Gymnasarch at the Hephaestia, 110 then as Architheorus at the Isthmus and at Olympia. 111 I was also a

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102 The annual festival of phratries (clans) and aristocratic families, at which babies were formally received into them. Callias himself was the presiding priest of his family, the Ceryces.

103 This reading is a conjectural emendation. The manuscript gives the name as Callicles, but no Athenian of that name is known in this period. If Callicles is right, this is the Callicles who appears in Plato’s Gorgias; he was put to death by the Thirty in 404/3 (Lys. 30.14, where likewise I emend Calliades to Callicles).

104 Epilycus’ wife was a daughter of Chrysilla and (presumably) Ischomachus, so that Chrysilla was the grandmother of Epilycus’ daughter.

105 In myth Oedipus married his mother, Jocasta, without knowing who she was, and Agisthus was the son of Thyestes and his daughter Pelopée. Neither of these cases is really parallel to that of Callias’ son; Andocides is being sarcastic.

106 Callias’ father.

107 In Greek this is a pun, because the word for “table” (trapeza) is also the word for “bank.”

108 The rest of the name of the man whom Andocides introduced to the Mysteries is lost.

109 Liturgies were expensive public services which wealthy men were called on to provide. These included service as a trierarch (sponsor of a trireme) or as a choregos (sponsor of a choral performance; cf. Ant. 6), as well as the less important positions mentioned in this sentence.

110 A Gymnasarch sponsored the runners for a torch-race, in this case at the festival of Hephaestus.

111 An Architheorus sponsored the Athenian representatives at one of the great
gentleman Agyrrhius was chairman of the purchasers of the 2 percent tax two years ago. He bought it for 30 talents. He shared it with all those men who foregathered with him under the poplar, you know what sort of men they are! I suppose the reason why they gathered there was to get two things: to be paid for not outbidding him, and to get shares in the tax-collection when it had been sold at a low price. They made a profit of 3 talents, and when they realized what the business was like, how valuable it was, they all combined, gave shares to the other bidders, and tried to buy it for 30 talents again. Since no one was competing with them, I myself went to the Council and kept outbidding them, until I bought it for 36 talents. Having ousted them, I provided sureties for the state, and then collected the money and paid it over. I didn't lose by it either, but my partners and I actually managed to make a small profit; and I prevented my opponents from distributing among themselves 6 talents of your money.

When they realized this, they reasoned to themselves: "This man won't lay his own hands on public money and won't let us do so either. He'll be on the look-out and prevent us from distributing public money among ourselves. Besides that, if he catches any of us committing an offense, he'll bring him before an Athenian court and ruin him. So he must be got out of our way, justly or unjustly." That's what they needed to do, gentlemen of the jury. But you need to do the opposite. I should like you to have as many men like me as possible, and my opponents to be eradicated, or at least to face some men who won't permit their activities. These should be men who are of good character and treat the people fairly, and they'll be willing and able to serve you well. So I promise you I'll either stop what Agyrrhius and his friends are doing and make them honest men, or bring before you for punishment those of them who are committing offenses.

They also accused me about my sea voyages and commerce. They said the reason why the gods preserved me in danger was, apparently, to let Cephisius bring about my death when I reached Athens. As for me, Athenians, I don't believe the gods intend any such thing. If they thought I'd done them wrong, they wouldn't have let me go unpunished when they had me in the greatest danger. When are people in greater danger than crossing the sea in winter-time? Did the gods have me in that situation, with complete control over my life and property, and then let me live after all? Couldn't they have seen to it that my body wasn't even given burial? And again, there was a war on. There were always triremes at sea, and pirates too; many people were taken prisoner, lost their possessions, and spent the rest of their lives as slaves. Then there's foreign territory; many people before now have been wrecked on it, and after suffering the most terrible physical injuries have been put to death. And did the gods keep me safe from these great dangers and then choose Cephisius to be their champion, the biggest scoundrel in Athens, who says he's an Athenian citizen when he isn't, whom none of you who sit here would trust with anything of your own, because you know what sort of a man he is? No, gentlemen; I think we must take the view that dangers like my present ones are caused by human beings, and the dangers of the sea by the gods. If I must speculate about the gods, I think they'd be very angry and indignant to see men whom they'd kept safe being killed by other people.

And you should also bear in mind, gentlemen, that at present the whole of Greece regards you as very generous and sensible men, because you didn't devote yourselves to revenge for the past, but to the preservation of the city and the unity of the citizens. Many others before now have suffered misfortunes just as bad as ours, but making

panhellenic festivals, such as the Isthmian games (held at the Isthmus of Corinth) and the Olympic games.

112 This is one of the earliest references to a man who became a prominent politician in the 330s.

113 Probably a tax on imports. The right to collect it was sold by the state by auction each year to an individual or a group of individuals. What Andocides now goes on to describe is the formation of a “ring” among the bidders to keep the price down illegally.

114 This location is unknown.

115 This argument of the prosecution is found in the surviving speech Against Andocides (Lys. 6.9).

116 If it were not for the amnesty, Cephisius would be disfranchised (1.92–93).
a satisfactory settlement of mutual disagreements has naturally been thought to be the thing for generous and reasonable men to do. So, since you possess these qualities, as is agreed by friend and foe alike, don’t change your policy; don’t deliberately deprive the city of this reputation or make people think you cast your votes more by chance than by judgment.

[141] I ask you all to take the same view of me as of my ancestors, and give me a chance to imitate them. Remember that they were equal to the city’s greatest heroes and benefactors. Of all their reasons for acting as they did, the most important were their patriotism and their wish that, if they or any of their descendants ever got into any danger or trouble, they would be protected and forgiven by you. [142] It would be natural for you to remember them, because the city as a whole also owed a great deal to your own ancestors. After the navy was destroyed, many people wanted to inflict permanent damage on Athens. But the Spartans, even though they were then our enemies, decided to preserve the city because of the brave actions of those men who laid the foundations of freedom for the whole of Greece. [143] So, since Athens as a whole was preserved because of the brave actions of your ancestors, I think the brave actions of my ancestors should lead to my salvation too. My ancestors made no small contribution to those very achievements for which Athens was preserved. Therefore it is just for you to give me too a share in the safety which the Greeks extended to you.

[144] Consider too what a good citizen you’ll be keeping, if you acquit me: one who first, after being very rich (you know how rich I was), became very poor and destitute, not through any fault of my own but because of the misfortunes of Athens, and later made myself a new living by honest means, with my own wits and my own hands; and also one who understands what it is to be a citizen of this great city, and understands what it is to be an alien living in a foreign country, [145] who knows the meaning of proper behavior and good sense, and knows the meaning of suffering for one’s errors. I’ve mixed with many people and had dealings with still more, and as a result I have ties of friendship with many kings, cities, and also private individuals abroad. If you acquit me, you’ll be able to share them and make use of them whenever it suits you.

[146] It’s like this, you see, gentlemen: if you put an end to my life today, you have no member of our family still left, but it perishes root and branch. Yet the house of Andocides and Leogoras is no disgrace to you by its existence. It was much more of a disgrace at the time when I was in exile and Cleophon the lyre-maker lived in it. None of you when passing by our house has ever been reminded of any harm the members of my family have done you, either personally or officially. [147] They’ve very often been generals, and have been responsible for a large number of memorials of victories over your enemies by land and sea. They’ve very often held other offices and handled public money, and have never been found guilty of misconduct. No offense has ever been committed by us against you or by you against us. Our house is among the oldest of all, and always open to anyone in need. And none of my family has ever been brought to trial and asked you to show gratitude for these services. [148] So don’t forget their achievements just because they themselves are dead. Remember their services, and imagine you can see them in person, asking you to save me. Who else can I bring forward to plead for me? My father? He is dead. My brothers? I have none. My children? They are not yet born. [149] You must be my father and brothers and children. It’s to you that I come for protection, and appeal, and plead. You must make the request to yourselves, and save me.

You’re ready to give Athenian citizenship to Thessalians and Andrians, because of the shortage of men. So don’t at the same time put to death acknowledged citizens, who should be men of good character and are willing and able to be so; don’t do that. And I also ask you to show your appreciation of what I do for you. If you do as I ask, you won’t lose any services I can do for you; but if you do as my opponents ask, even if you change your minds later on, it won’t be any good then.

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117 In 405, at the end of the Peloponnesian War.
118 In the Persian Wars, especially at the battle of Marathon in 490.
[150] So don't deprive yourselves of what you hope for from me, nor me of my hopes in you.

And now I'll ask these men, who have already given you proof of their outstanding patriotism, to come up here and advise you by giving their opinions about me. Come forward, Anytus and Cephalus, and also the members of my tribe appointed to support me, Thrasyllus and the others.

120 One of the prosecutors of Socrates in 399. He appears as a character in Plato's Meno.
121 See 1.115n.

2. ON HIS RETURN

The speech On His Return, though placed second in the principal manuscript of Andocides, is earlier in date than On the Mysteries. After going into exile in 415 BC Andocides made his first attempt to return to Athens in 411. Thinking that the best way to persuade the Athenians to forgive him was to do them some service, he obtained some Macedonian timber for oar-spars and sold it at cost to the Athenian fleet then stationed at Samos. He went on from there to Athens, hoping to receive pardon for his activities in 415, but he found that he had arrived at the wrong moment. The oligarchy of Four Hundred, headed by Peisander, had just seized power, and was repudiated by the democratic sailors at Samos, so that Andocides' good turn to the fleet was taken as a hostile act towards the Four Hundred. So far from rewarding him, Peisander had him imprisoned.

Eventually, perhaps at the downfall of the Four Hundred, he was released, but he had to go into exile again. Some time after the restoration of democracy in 410 he made another attempt. He came to Athens and persuaded the Prytaneis to allow him to address the Assembly. This was the speech On His Return. The exact date of the speech is not known, but it must be between 410 and 405.

It is notable that in this speech he is more inclined to admit some guilt than in On the Mysteries a few years later: for example, he speaks of "my own youthfulness and folly" (7); he says "a very small part of the blame was mine" (8), and "I was in disgrace with the gods" (15). But these admissions are in vague terms, and he gives no precise account of what he has done. The main point of the speech is to claim that, through his good offices, a large number of grainships will shortly reach Athens from Cyprus, and that this should be regarded as