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Antiphon and Lysias

Antiphon · Lysias

ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΙ
ΛΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΙ

Antiphon and Lysias

Speeches for the Athenian Courts

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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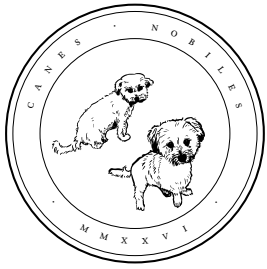

Volume 63 of the Canes Nobiles Greek interlinear texts

The Greek text follows Blass's Teubner Antiphon and Hude's Oxford Lysias. Lysias I, IV, VII, XII, and XIII are printed here and his other speeches in Greek 64; III (Against Simon), XIV (Against Alcibiades I), and XXXV (the Eroticus) are not printed.

Set from the Perseus Digital Library, with corrections

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
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Words the editors seclude are not printed; words they supply are printed without their brackets.

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ANTIPHON

ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΥΙΑΣ

Against the Stepmother

A young man, charged by his dying father to prosecute his murderers, accuses his stepmother of poisoning him, while his half-brothers defend her. Her son refused to let their slaves be examined under torture, so he cannot swear she is innocent; the slaves knew the father had once caught her with a drug, which she called a love-charm. Philoneos, the father's friend, lodged upstairs and meant to put his concubine in a brothel; the stepmother befriended the woman, promising a charm to win back both men, and Philoneos took the father to a sacrifice in the Piraeus.

Νέος μὲν καὶ ἄπειρος δικῶν ἔγωγε ἔτι, δεινῶς δὲ 1
young indeed and inexperienced of-lawsuits I-for-my-part still terribly and
καὶ ἀπόρως ἔχει μοι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὦ ἄνδρες,
and helplessly it-stands with-me about the matter O men
τοῦτο μὲν εἰ ἐπισκήψαντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς
this indeed if having-enjoined the father to-prosecute the
αὐτοῦ φονεῦσι μὴ ἐπέξειμι, τοῦτο δὲ εἰ ἐπεξιόντι
his-own murderers not I-prosecute this and if (to-me)-prosecuting
ἀναγκαίως ἔχει οἷς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἐν διαφορᾷ
necessarily it-stands with-whom least it-was-needful in dispute
καταστῆναι, ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοπατρίοις καὶ μητρὶ ἀδελφῶν.
to-be-set with-brothers of-the-same-father and with-mother of-brothers
Ἡ γὰρ τύχη καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἠνάγκασαν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τούτους 2
the for fortune and themselves these compelled for-me against these
αὐτοὺς τὸν ἀγῶνα καταστῆναι, οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν τῷ μὲν
themselves the contest to-be-set whom likely it-was to-the indeed
τεθνεῶτι τιμωροὺς γενέσθαι, τῷ δὲ ἐπεξιόντι βοηθούς. νῦν
dead-man avengers to-become to-the and (one)-prosecuting helpers now
δὲ τούτων τἀναντία γεγένηται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καθεστᾶσιν
and of-these the-opposite has-happened themselves for these stand
ἀντίδικοι καὶ φονῆς, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει.
opponents and murderers as also I and the indictment says

3 Δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐὰν ἀποδείξω ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς
I-ask and of-you O men if I-prove from plotting
καὶ προβουλῆς τὴν τούτων μητέρα φονέα οὖσαν τοῦ
and premeditation the of-these mother murderess being of-the
ἡμετέρου πατρός, καὶ μὴ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἤδη
our father and not once but many-times already
ληφθεῖσαν τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐκείνου ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ
having-been-caught the death the of-that-one in the-act
μηχανωμένην, τιμωρῆσαι πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς
contriving to-avenge first indeed for-the laws the
ὑμετέροις, οὓς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν προγόνων
your which from the gods and the ancestors
διαδεξάμενοι κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκείνοις περὶ τῆς
having-received in-accordance-with the same with-those about the
καταψηφίσεως δικάζετε, δεύτερον δ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ τεθνηκότι,
condemnation you-judge second and to-that the dead-man
καὶ ἅμα ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἀπολελειμμένῳ βοηθῆσαι.
and at-the-same-time to-me alone left-behind to-help

4 Ὑμεῖς γάρ μοι ἀναγκαῖοι. οὓς γὰρ ἐχρῆν τῷ μὲν
you for to-me (are)-kin whom for it-was-needful to-the indeed
τεθνεῶτι τιμωροὺς γενέσθαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ βοηθούς, οὗτοι τοῦ
dead-man avengers to-become to-me and helpers these of-the
μὲν τεθνεῶτος φονῆς γεγένηνται, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀντίδικοι
indeed dead-man murderers have-become to-me and opponents
καθεστᾶσι. πρὸς τίνας οὖν ἔλθῃ τις βοηθούς, ἢ ποῖ τὴν
stand to whom then should-go one (as)-helpers or whither the
καταφυγὴν ποιήσεται ἄλλοθι ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον;
refuge will-make elsewhere than to you and the just

5 Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἥντινά ποτε
I-wonder and I-for-my-part also at-the brother what ever
γνώμην ἔχων ἀντίδικος καθέστηκε πρὸς ἐμέ, καὶ εἰ νομίζει
judgment having opponent has-set-himself against me and if he-thinks

τοῦτο εὐσέβειαν εἶναι, τὸ τὴν μητέρα μὴ προδοῦναι. ἐγὼ δ'
this piety to-be the the mother not to-betray I and
ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ ἀνοσιώτερον εἶναι ἀφεῖναι τοῦ τεθνεῶτος τὴν
think much more-unholy to-be to-let-go of-the dead-man the
τιμωρίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐκ προβουλῆς ἀκουσίως
vengeance otherwise both and of-the indeed from premeditation unwillingly
ἀποθανόντος, τῆς δὲ ἑκουσίως ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτεινάσης.
having-died of-the and willingly from forethought having-killed(-him)
Καὶ οὐ τοῦτό γ' ἐρεῖ, ὡς εὖ οἶδεν ὅτι γ' οὐκ 6
and not this at-least he-will-say that well he-knows that at-least not
ἀπέκτεινεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἡμέτερον. ἐν
killed the mother his the father the our in
οἷς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἦν σαφῶς εἰδέναι,
which(-cases) indeed for to-him power there-was clearly to-know
παρὰ τῆς βασάνου, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν· ἐν οἷς δ' οὐκ
from the torture not he-was-willing in which(-cases) and not
ἦν πυθέσθαι, τοῦτο αὐτὸ προὐθυμήθη. καίτοι αὐτὸ τοῦτο
it-was to-learn this itself he-was-eager and-yet itself this
ἐχρῆν, ὃ καὶ ἐγὼ προὐκαλούμην, προθυμηθῆναι, ὅπως
it-was-needful which also I challenged(-him) to-be-eager that
τὸ πραχθὲν ᾖ ἀληθές, ἐπεξελθεῖν.
the(-thing) done might-be true to-prosecute
Μὴ γὰρ ὁμολογούντων τῶν ἀνδραπόδων οὗτός τ' εὖ 7
not for agreeing the slaves this(-man) both well
εἰδὼς ἂν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ἀντέσπευδε πρὸς ἐμέ, καὶ ἡ
knowing — would-defend-himself and would-strive-against against me and the
μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀπήλλακτο ἂν ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας. ὅπου
mother his would-have-been-acquitted — of-this the charge where
δὲ μὴ ἠθέλησεν ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι τῶν πεπραγμένων,
and not he-was-willing a-test to-make of-the(-things) done

πῶς περί γ' ὧν οὐκ ἠθέλησε πυθέσθαι, ἐγχωρεῖ αὐτῷ
how about at-least what not he-was-willing to-learn is-it-possible for-him
περὶ τούτων εἰδέναι, ὧν γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ εἴληφε;
about these-things to-know of-which at-least the truth not he-has-received

8 Τί ποτε ἀπολογήσεται μέλει μοι. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τῶν
what ever he-will-say-in-defense it-concerns me from indeed for the of-the
ἀνδραπόδων βασάνου εὖ ᾔδει ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν αὐτῇ
slaves torture well he-knew that not possible — it-was for-her
σωθῆναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ μὴ βασανισθῆναι ἡγεῖτο τὴν σωτηρίαν
to-be-saved in and the not to-be-tortured he-thought the safety
εἶναι· τὰ γὰρ γενόμενα ἐν τούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι ᾠήθησαν.
to-be the for things-done in this to-be-obliterated they-thought
πῶς οὖν εὔορκα ἀντομωμοκὼς ἔσται φάσκων εὖ
how then true-to-the-oath having-sworn-in-reply will-he-be saying well
εἰδέναι, ὃς οὐκ ἠθέλησε σαφῶς πυθέσθαι ἐμοῦ ἐθέλοντος τῇ
to-know who not was-willing clearly to-learn me willing the
δικαιοτάτῃ βασάνῳ χρήσασθαι περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος;
most-just torture to-use about this the matter

9 Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἠθέλησα μὲν τὰ τούτων ἀνδράποδα
this indeed for I-was-willing indeed the of-these slaves
βασανίσαι, ἃ συνῄδει καὶ πρότερον τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην,
to-torture who were-privy also before the woman this
μητέρα δὲ τούτων, τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ θάνατον
mother and of-these to-the father the our death
μηχανωμένην φαρμάκοις, καὶ τὸν πατέρα εἰληφότα ἐπ'
contriving by-poisons and the father having-caught(-her) in
αὐτοφώρῳ, ταύτην τε οὐκ οὖσαν ἄπαρνον, πλὴν οὐκ ἐπὶ
the-act her and not being denying except not for
θανάτῳ φάσκουσαν διδόναι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φίλτροις.
death claiming to-give(-it) but for love-charms

Διὰ οὖν ταῦτα ἐγὼ βάσανον τοιαύτην ἠθέλησα 10
because-of then these-things I torture such was-willing
ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, γράψας ἐν γραμματείῳ ἃ
to-make about them having-written in a-tablet what
ἐπαιτιῶμαι τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, βασανιστάς τε αὐτοὺς
I-charge the woman this torturers and them
τούτους ἐκέλευον γίγνεσθαι ἐμοῦ παρόντος, ἵνα μὴ
these I-bade to-become me being-present so-that not
ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἃ ἐγὼ ἐπερωτῴην λέγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἐξήρκει
being-compelled what I might-ask they-might-say but it-sufficed
μοι τοῖς ἐν τῷ γραμματείῳ χρῆσθαι· καὶ αὐτό
for-me the(-things) in the tablet to-use and itself
μοι τοῦτο τεκμήριον δίκαιον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ὀρθῶς καὶ
for-me this proof just to-become that rightly and
δικαίως μετέρχομαι τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρός· εἰ δὲ ἄπαρνοι
justly I-pursue the murderer of-the father if and denying
γίγνοιντο ἢ λέγοιεν μὴ ὁμολογούμενα, ἡ βάσανος
they-should-become or should-say not agreeing(-things) the torture
ἀναγκάζοι τὰ γεγονότα κατηγορεῖν· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ
would-compel the(-things) done to-accuse this for also
τοὺς τὰ ψευδῆ παρεσκευασμένους λέγειν τἀληθῆ
the(-ones) the false-things prepared to-say the-truth
κατηγορεῖν ποιήσει.
to-accuse will-make

Καίτοι εὖ οἶδά γ', εἰ οὗτοι πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθόντες, ἐπειδὴ 11
and-yet well I-know at-least if these to me having-come as
τάχιστα αὐτοῖς ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι ἐπεξίοιμι τοῦ πατρὸς
soon to-them it-was-reported that I-was-prosecuting of-the father
τὸν φονέα, ἠθέλησαν τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἃ ἦν αὐτοῖς
the murderer had-been-willing the slaves which were theirs
παραδοῦναι, ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ ἠθέλησα παραλαβεῖν, αὐτὰ ἂν
to-hand-over I and not had-been-willing to-receive very —

ταῦτα μέγιστα τεκμήρια παρείχοντο ὡς οὐκ ἔνοχοί εἰσι
these-things greatest proofs they-would-offer that not liable they-are
τῷ φόνῳ. νῦν δ', ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θέλων
to-the murder now and I for am this indeed the(-one) willing
αὐτὸς βασανιστὴς γενέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ τούτους αὐτοὺς
myself torturer to-become this and these themselves
κελεύων βασανίσαι ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, ἐμοὶ δή που εἰκὸς
bidding to-torture instead-of me for-me indeed perhaps likely
ταὐτὰ ταῦτα τεκμήρια εἶναι ὡς εἰσὶν ἔνοχοι τῷ φόνῳ.
the-same these proofs to-be that they-are liable to-the murder
12 Εἰ γὰρ τούτων θελόντων διδόναι εἰς βάσανον ἐγὼ μὴ
if for these willing to-give to torture I not
ἐδεξάμην, τούτοις ἂν ἦν ταῦτα τεκμήρια. τὸ αὐτὸ οὖν
had-accepted for-these — would-be these proofs the same then
τοῦτο καὶ ἐμοὶ γενέσθω, εἴπερ ἐμοῦ θέλοντος ἔλεγχον
this also for-me let-it-become if-indeed me willing a-test
λαβεῖν τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοὶ μὴ ἠθέλησαν δοῦναι. δεινὸν
to-take of-the matter themselves not were-willing to-give terrible
δ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ ὑμᾶς μὲν ζητοῦσι παραιτεῖσθαι
and to-me-at-least it-seems to-be if you indeed they-seek to-beg-off
ὅπως αὐτῶν μὴ καταψηφίσησθε, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
that them not you-condemn themselves and for-them- -selves
οὐκ ἠξίωσαν δικασταὶ γενέσθαι δόντες βασανίσαι τὰ
not thought-fit jurors to-become giving to-torture the
αὑτῶν ἀνδράποδα.
their-own slaves
13 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔφευγον
about indeed then these-things not unclear that themselves they-fled
τῶν πραχθέντων τὴν σαφήνειαν πυθέσθαι· ᾔδεσαν
of-the(-things) done the clearness to-learn they-knew
γὰρ οἰκεῖον σφίσι τὸ κακὸν ἀναφανησόμενον, ὥστε
for their-own for-them the evil about-to-come-to-light so-that

σιωπώμενον καὶ ἀβασάνιστον αὐτὸ ἐâσαι ἐβουλήθησαν.
kept-silent and untortured it to-let-be they-wished
ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὑμεῖς γε ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔγωγ᾽ εὖ οἶδα, ἀλλὰ
but not you at-least O men I-for-my-part well know but
σαφὲς ποιήσετε. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου· περὶ
clear will-make these-things indeed then up-to this about
δὲ τῶν γενομένων πειράσομαι ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι τὴν
and the(-things) having-happened I-will-try to-you to-relate the
ἀλήθειαν· δίκη δὲ κυβερνήσειεν.
truth justice and may-steer
Ὑπερῷόν τι ἦν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας, ὃ εἶχε Φιλόνεως 14
upper-room a there-was of-the our house which held Philoneos
ὁπότ᾽ ἐν ἄστει διατρίβοι, ἀνὴρ καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς
whenever in town he-spent-time a-man fine both and good
καὶ φίλος τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πατρί· καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παλλακή,
and friend to-the our father and there-was to-him a-concubine
ἣν ὁ Φιλόνεως ἐπὶ πορνεῖον ἔμελλε καταστῆσαι. ταύτην
whom — Philoneos to a-brothel was-about to-place her
οὖν πυθομένη ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐποιήσατο φίλην.
then having-learned the mother of-the brother made (her)-friend
Αἰσθομένη δ᾽ ὅτι ἀδικεῖσθαι ἔμελλεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλόνεω, 15
having-perceived and that to-be-wronged she-was-about by — Philoneos
μεταπέμπεται, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν, ἔλεξεν αὐτῇ ὅτι καὶ
she-sends-for(-her) and when she-came told her that also
αὐτὴ ἀδικοῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἡμετέρου· εἰ οὖν
herself was-wronged by the father the our if then
ἐθέλοι πείθεσθαι, ἔφη ἱκανὴ εἶναι ἐκείνῃ τε τὸν
she-would-be-willing to-obey she-said capable to-be to-that-one both —
Φιλόνεων φίλον ποιῆσαι καὶ αὑτῇ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα, εἶναι
Philoneos friend to-make and to-herself the my father to-be
φάσκουσα αὑτῆς μὲν τοῦτο εὕρημα, ἐκείνης δ᾽ ὑπηρέτημα.
claiming of-herself indeed this a-discovery of-that-one and a-service

16 Ἠρώτα οὖν αὐτὴν εἰ ἐθελήσοι διακονῆσαί οἱ, καὶ ἣ
she-asked then her if she-would-be-willing to-assist her and she
ὑπέσχετο ὡς τάχιστα, οἶμαι. μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτυχε τῷ
promised as quickly I-think after these-things it-happened —
Φιλόνεῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὄντα ἱερὰ Διὶ Κτησίῳ, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ
to-Philoneos in Piraeus being rites to-Zeus Ktesios the and father
ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς Νάξον πλεῖν ἔμελλεν. κάλλιστον οὖν ἐδόκει
the my to Naxos to-sail was-about best then it-seemed
εἶναι τῷ Φιλόνεῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι
to-be — to-Philoneos of-the same road at-once indeed to-escort
εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον ὄντα ἑαυτῷ,
to the Piraeus the father the my friend being to-himself
ἅμα δὲ θύσαντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἑστιᾶσαι ἐκεῖνον.
at-once and having-sacrificed the rites to-feast that-one

II · THE LIBATION

After dinner, following the stepmother's instructions, the concubine pours the poison into the libation, giving Philoneos more in the hope of more love. He dies on the spot; the father dies on the twentieth day. The concubine has been broken on the wheel; the woman who planned it, whom the speaker calls Clytemnestra, will pay if the jurors and the gods are willing. She showed her husband no pity and deserves none. The brother's oath is worthless, since poisoners act without witnesses, and their victims learn the truth only at the end; the dying father told his young son and charged him to avenge him.

17 Ἡ οὖν παλλακὴ τοῦ Φιλόνεω ἠκολούθει τῆς θυσίας ἕνεκα.
the then concubine — of-Philoneos followed the sacrifice for-the-sake-of
καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, οἷον εἰκός, ἔθυεν. καὶ
and when they-were in the Piraeus as likely he-sacrificed and
ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐτέθυτο τὰ ἱερά, ἐντεῦθεν ἐβουλεύετο ἡ
when for-him had-been-sacrificed the rites thereupon was-deliberating the

ἄνθρωπος ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς τὸ φάρμακον δοίη, πότερα
woman how — to-them the poison she-might-give whether
πρὸ δείπνου ἢ ἀπὸ δείπνου. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῇ βουλευομένῃ
before dinner or after dinner it-seemed then to-her deliberating
βέλτιον εἶναι μετὰ δεῖπνον δοῦναι, τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας
better to-be after dinner to-give — of-Clytemnestra
τῆς τούτου μητρὸς ταῖς ὑποθήκαις ἅμα διακονοῦσαν.
the of-this(-man) mother by-the instructions at-once serving
Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μακρότερος ἂν εἴη λόγος περὶ 18
and the indeed other(-things) longer — would-be a-speech about
τοῦ δείπνου ἐμοί τε διηγήσασθαι ὑμῖν τ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι·
the dinner for-me both to-relate for-you and to-hear
ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι τὰ λοιπὰ ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτοις ὑμῖν
but I-will-try the rest as in briefest(-words) to-you
διηγήσασθαι, ὡς γεγένηται ἡ δόσις τοῦ φαρμάκου. ἐπειδὴ
to-relate how happened the giving of-the poison when
γὰρ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, οἷον εἰκός, ὁ μὲν θύων Διὶ
for they-had-dined as likely the(-one) indeed sacrificing to-Zeus
Κτησίῳ κἀκεῖνον ὑποδεχόμενος, ὁ δ᾽ ἐκπλεῖν τε
Ktesios and-that-one receiving the(-other) and to-sail-out both
μέλλων καὶ παρ᾽ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ αὑτοῦ δειπνῶν, σπονδάς
being-about and with a-man companion his-own dining libations
τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ λιβανωτὸν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἐπετίθεσαν·
both they-were-making and frankincense on-behalf-of themselves were-putting-on
ἡ δὲ παλλακὴ τοῦ Φιλόνεω τὴν σπονδὴν ἅμα ἐγχέουσα 19
the and concubine — of-Philoneos the libation at-once pouring-in
ἐκείνοις εὐχομένοις ἃ οὐκ ἔμελλε τελεῖσθαι ὦ ἄνδρες,
for-them praying(-for-things) which not were-about to-be-fulfilled O men
ἐνέχει τὸ φάρμακον. καὶ ἅμα οἰομένη δεξιὸν ποιεῖν πλέον
pours-in the poison and at-once thinking clever to-do more
δίδωσι τῷ Φιλόνεῳ, ὡς, εἰ δοίη πλέον, μᾶλλον
gives — to-Philoneos as if she-should-give more more

φιλησομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλόνεω· οὔπω γὰρ ᾔδει ὑπὸ τῆς
going-to-be-loved by — Philoneos not-yet for she-knew by the
μητρυιᾶς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξαπατωμένη, πρὶν ἐν τῷ κακῷ ἤδη
stepmother the my being-deceived before in the evil already
ἦν· τῷ δὲ πατρὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἔλασσον ἐνέχει.
she-was to-the and father the our less she-pours-in

20 Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπειδὴ ἀπέσπεισαν, τὸν ἑαυτῶν φονέα
and they when they-had-poured-libation the their-own murderer
μεταχειριζόμενοι ἐκπίνουσιν ὑστάτην πόσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν
handling drink-off a-last draft the indeed then
Φιλόνεως εὐθέως παραχρῆμα ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ
Philoneos immediately on-the-spot dies the and father
ὁ ἡμέτερος εἰς νόσον ἐμπίπτει, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἀπώλετο
the our into illness falls from which also he-perished
εἰκοσταῖος. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ μὲν διακονήσασα καὶ
on-the-twentieth-day in-return-for which the indeed having-served and
χειρουργήσασα ἔχει τὰ ἐπίχειρα ὧν ἄξια ἦν, οὐδὲν
having-done-the-deed has the wages of-what deserving she-was in-no-way
αἰτία οὖσα — τῷ γὰρ δημοκοίνῳ τροχισθεῖσα
guilty being to-the for public-executioner having-been-broken-on-the-wheel
παρεδόθη—, ἡ δ' αἰτία τε ἤδη καὶ ἐνθυμηθεῖσα
she-was-handed-over the and guilty both already and having-conceived(-it)
ἕξει, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσιν.
will-have(-them) if you both and the gods are-willing

21 Σκέψασθε οὖν ὅσῳ δικαιότερα ὑμῶν δεήσομαι ἐγὼ
consider then by-how-much more-just(-things) of-you will-ask I
ἢ ὁ ἀδελφός. ἐγὼ μέν γε τῷ τεθνεῶτι ὑμᾶς
than the brother I indeed at-least for-the dead-man you
κελεύω καὶ τῷ ἠδικημένῳ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τιμωροὺς
bid and for-the wronged-one for-the everlasting time avengers
γενέσθαι· οὗτος δὲ τοῦ μὲν τεθνεῶτος πέρι οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς
to-become this(-man) and of-the indeed dead-man about nothing you

αἰτήσεται, ὃς ἄξιος καὶ ἐλέου καὶ βοηθείας καὶ τιμωρίας
will-ask who worthy both of-pity and of-help and of-vengeance
παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τυχεῖν, ἀθέως καὶ ἀκλεῶς πρὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης
from you to-obtain godlessly and ingloriously before the destined(-day)
ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν τὸν βίον ἐκλιπών,
by whom least it-was-needful the life having-left
ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀποκτεινάσης δεήσεται ἀθέμιτα καὶ 22
on-behalf-of and of-the woman-who-killed he-will-ask unlawful(-things) and
ἀνόσια καὶ ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἀνήκουστα καὶ θεοῖς
unholy(-things) and unaccomplishable(-things) and unheard-of(-things) both to-gods
καὶ ὑμῖν, δεόμενος ὑμῶν *** ἃ αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν οὐκ ἔπεισε
and to-you asking you (lacuna) which she herself not persuaded
μὴ κακοτεχνῆσαι. ὑμεῖς δ᾽ οὐ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ἐστὲ
not to-contrive-evil you and not of-the killers are
βοηθοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποθνῃσκόντων, καὶ
helpers but of-the(-ones) from forethought dying and
ταῦτα ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἀποθνῄσκειν. ἤδη
these-things by whom least it-was-needful them to-die now
οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτ᾽ ὀρθῶς διαγνῶναι, ὃ καὶ ποιήσατε.
then in you it-is this rightly to-decide which also do
Δεήσεται δ᾽ ὑμῶν οὗτος μὲν ὑπὲρ μητρὸς τῆς αὑτοῦ 23
he-will-ask and you this(-man) indeed on-behalf-of mother the his-own
ζώσης, τῆς ἐκεῖνον διαχρησαμένης ἀβούλως τε καὶ ἀθέως,
living the that-one having-made-away-with recklessly both and godlessly
ὅπως δίκην μὴ δῷ, ἂν ὑμᾶς πείθῃ, ὧν ἠδίκηκε·
that penalty not she-may-pay if you he-persuades for-what she-has-wronged
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τοὐμοῦ τεθνεῶτος αἰτοῦμαι,
I and you on-behalf-of father my dead ask
ὅπως παντὶ τρόπῳ δῷ. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅπως διδῶσι δίκην
that in-every way she-may-pay you and that may-pay penalty

οἱ ἀδικοῦντες, τούτου γε ἕνεκα καὶ δικασταὶ ἐγένεσθε
the wrongdoers of-this at-least for-the-sake both jurors became
καὶ ἐκλήθητε.
and were-called

24 Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπεξέρχομαι λέγων, ἵνα δῷ δίκην
and I indeed prosecute speaking so-that she-may-pay penalty
ὧν ἠδίκηκε καὶ τιμωρήσω τῷ τε πατρὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ
for-what she-has-wronged and I-may-avenge the both father the our
καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις· ταύτῃ καὶ ἄξιόν μοι
and the laws the your in-this also right(-it-is) for-me
βοηθῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω· οὗτος δὲ
to-help you all if true(-things) I-say this(-man) and
τἀναντία, ὅπως ἡ τοὺς νόμους παριδοῦσα μὴ
the-opposite that the(-woman) the laws having-disregarded not
δῷ δίκην ὧν ἠδίκηκε, ταύτῃ βοηθὸς καθέστηκε.
may-pay penalty for-what she-has-wronged to-her helper has-set-himself

25 Καίτοι πότερον δικαιότερον τὸν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτείναντα
and-yet whether more-just the(-one) from forethought having-killed
δοῦναι δίκην ἢ μή; καὶ πότερον δεῖ οἰκτεῖραι μᾶλλον τὸν
to-pay penalty or not and whether one-must to-pity rather the
τεθνεῶτα ἢ τὴν ἀποκτείνασαν; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τὸν τεθνεῶτα·
dead-man or the woman-who-killed I indeed think the dead-man
καὶ γὰρ δικαιότερον καὶ ὁσιώτερον καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς
and for more-just and holier and before gods and before
ἀνθρώπων γίγνοιτο ἂν ὑμῖν. ἤδη οὖν ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ, ὥσπερ
men it-would-be — for-you now then I think-it-right just-as
κἀκεῖνον ἀνελεημόνως καὶ ἀνοικτίστως αὕτη ἀπώλεσεν, οὕτω
that-one-too pitilessly and unmercifully she destroyed so
καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην ἀπολέσθαι ὑπό τε ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ δικαίου.
also herself this(-woman) to-be-destroyed by both you and the justice

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἑκουσίως καὶ βουλεύσασα τὸν θάνατον 26
she indeed for willingly and having-planned the death
ἀπέκτεινεν, ὁ δ' ἀκουσίως καὶ βιαίως ἀπέθανε. πῶς
killed he and unwillingly and violently died how
γὰρ οὐ βιαίως ἀπέθανεν ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅς γ' ἐκπλεῖν
for not violently he-died O men who at-least to-sail-out
ἔμελλεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε, παρά τε ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ αὑτοῦ
was-about from the land this at both a-man friend his-own
εἱστιᾶτο; ἡ δὲ πέμψασα τὸ φάρμακον καὶ κελεύσασα
was-being-feasted she and having-sent the poison and having-ordered
ἐκείνῳ δοῦναι πιεῖν ἀπέκτεινεν ἡμῶν τὸν πατέρα. πῶς
to-that-one to-give to-drink killed our the father how
οὖν ταύτην ἐλεεῖν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἢ αἰδοῦς τυγχάνειν παρ'
then her to-pity right is-it or respect to-obtain from
ὑμῶν ἢ ἄλλου του; ἥτις αὐτὴ οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἐλεῆσαι τὸν
you or of-other of-anyone who herself not thought-fit to-pity the
ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ἀνοσίως καὶ αἰσχρῶς ἀπώλεσεν.
her-own husband but unholily and shamefully destroyed(-him)
Οὕτω δέ τοι καὶ ἐλεεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις παθήμασι μᾶλλον 27
so and surely also to-pity for the involuntary sufferings rather
προσήκει ἢ τοῖς ἑκουσίοις καὶ ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικήμασι καὶ
it-is-fitting than for-the voluntary and from forethought crimes and
ἁμαρτήμασι. καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον αὕτη οὔτε θεοὺς οὔθ' ἥρωας
offenses and as that-one she neither gods nor heroes
οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὐδὲ δείσασ' ἀπώλεσεν, οὕτω
nor men having-felt-shame nor having-feared destroyed so
καὶ αὐτὴ ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἀπολομένη, καὶ μὴ
also she by you and the justice having-been-destroyed and not
τυχοῦσα μήτ' αἰδοῦς μήτ' ἐλέου μήτ' αἰσχύνης μηδεμιᾶς
obtaining neither respect nor pity nor shame any
παρ' ὑμῶν, τῆς δικαιοτάτης ἂν τύχοι τιμωρίας.
from you the most-just — she-would-obtain punishment

28 Θαυμάζω δὲ ἔγωγε τῆς τόλμης τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τῆς
I-wonder and I-for-my-part at-the daring of-the brother and the
διανοίας, τὸ διομόσασθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς εὖ εἰδέναι
intent the to-swear on-behalf-of the mother well to-know
μὴ πεποιηκυῖαν ταῦτα. πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις εὖ εἰδείη οἷς μὴ
not having-done these-things how for — one well could-know what not
παρεγένετο αὐτός; οὐ γὰρ δή που μαρτύρων γ' ἐναντίον
was-present himself not for indeed surely of-witnesses at-least in-presence
οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες τοὺς θανάτους τοῖς πέλας
the(-ones) plotting the deaths for-the(-ones) near
μηχανῶνταί τε καὶ παρασκευάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα
contrive both and prepare but as most
δύνανται λαθραιότατα καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπων μηδένα εἰδέναι·
they-can most-secretly and so-that of-men no-one to-know
29 οἱ δ' ἐπιβουλευόμενοι οὐδὲν ἴσασι, πρίν γ' ἤδη
the(-ones) and being-plotted-against nothing know before at-least already
ἐν αὐτῷ ὦσι τῷ κακῷ καὶ γιγνώσκωσι τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐν
in itself they-are the evil and recognize the destruction in
ᾧ εἰσί. τότε δέ, ἐὰν μὲν δύνωνται καὶ φθάνωσι πρὶν
which they-are then and if indeed they-can and are-in-time before
ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τοὺς σφετέρους
to-die both friends and kinsmen the their-
αὐτῶν καλοῦσι καὶ μαρτύρονται, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτοῖς
-own they-call and call-to-witness and tell them
ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλλυνται, καὶ ἐπισκήπτουσι τιμωρῆσαι σφίσιν
by whom they-are-destroyed and enjoin to-avenge for-them-
αὐτοῖς ἠδικημένοις·
-selves wronged
30 ἃ κἀμοὶ παιδὶ ὄντι ὁ πατήρ, τὴν ἀθλίαν καὶ τελευταίαν
which also-to-me a-boy being the father the wretched and last
νόσον νοσῶν, ἐπέσκηπτεν· ἐὰν δὲ τούτων ἁμαρτάνωσι,
illness being-ill enjoined if and of-these they-fail

γράμματα γράφουσι, καὶ οἰκέτας τοὺς σφετέρους αὐτῶν
letters they-write and household-slaves the their- -own
ἐπικαλοῦνται μάρτυρας, καὶ δηλοῦσιν ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἀπόλλυνται.
call-on (as)-witnesses and make-clear by whom they-are-destroyed
κἀκεῖνος ἐμοὶ νέῳ ἔτι ὄντι ταῦτα ἐδήλωσε καὶ ἐπέστειλεν
and-that-one to-me young still being these-things made-clear and charged(-me)
ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις.
O men not to-the his-own slaves
Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν διήγηται καὶ βεβοήθηται τῷ τε τεθνεῶτι 31
by-me indeed then it-has-been-told and help-has-been-given to-the both dead-man
καὶ τῷ νόμῳ· ἐν ὑμῖν δ᾽ ἐστὶ σκοπεῖν τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς
and to-the law in you and it-is to-consider the rest by
ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ δικάζειν τὰ δίκαια. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ θεοῖς
you- -selves and to-judge the just(-things) I-think and also for-gods
τοῖς κάτω μέλειν οἳ ἠδίκηνται.
the below to-be-a-care who have-been-wronged

ANTIPHON

ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ Α

First Tetralogy

In the First Tetralogy a man has been killed at night with his attendant. Clever men guard against suspicion, so the jurors must trust likelihoods. Robbers would have taken the cloaks; no drunken quarrel or mistaken blow explains it. The likeliest killer is the defendant, an old enemy who had lost many suits to the dead man and faced his indictment for two talents of sacred money; fear and revenge drove him. The attendant, found alive, named him. Acquitted, he would carry his pollution into the temples and onto the city.

Ὁπόσα μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων 1
as-many-as indeed of-the deeds by the ordinary(-men)
ἐπιβουλεύεται, οὐ χαλεπὰ ἐλέγχεσθαί ἐστιν· ἂν δ' οἱ
are-plotted not hard to-be-convicted it-is if and the(-men)
ἱκανῶς μὲν πεφυκότες, ἔμπειροι δὲ πραγμάτων ὄντες,
sufficiently indeed gifted experienced and in-affairs being
ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας καθεστῶτες ἐν ᾧ κράτιστοι
in and this of-the age having-arrived in which strongest
φρονεῖν αὑτῶν εἰσί, πράσσωσι, χαλεποὶ καὶ γνωσθῆναι
to-think of-themselves they-are should-act hard both to-be-detected
καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναί εἰσι.
and to-be-convicted they-are
Διὰ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν 2
because-of for the greatness of-the danger from long(-before) the
ἀσφάλειαν ὧν ἐπιβουλεύουσι σκοποῦντες, οὐ πρότερον
safety of-what they-plot considering not sooner
ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἢ πάσης ὑποψίας φυλακὴν ποιήσωνται.
they-attempt than of-all suspicion a-guard they-make
γιγνώσκοντας οὖν ὑμᾶς χρὴ ταῦτα, κἂν ὁτιοῦν εἰκὸς
knowing then you must these-things and-if anything likely
παραλάβητε, σφόδρα πιστεύειν αὐτῷ. ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ
you-receive strongly to-trust it we and the(-ones)

ἐπεξερχόμενοι τὸν φόνον οὐ τὸν αἴτιον ἀφέντες τὸν
prosecuting the murder not the guilty letting-go the
ἀναίτιον διώκομεν·
innocent are-pursuing

3 σαφῶς γὰρ οἴδαμεν ὅτι πάσης τῆς πόλεως μιαινομένης
clearly for we-know that all the city being-polluted
ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν διωχθῇ, τό τ᾽ ἀσέβημα ἡμέτερον
by him until — he-be-prosecuted the both impiety ours
γίγνεται, τῆς θ᾽ ὑμετέρας ἁμαρτίας ἡ ποινὴ εἰς ἡμᾶς
becomes of-the and your error the penalty onto us
τοὺς μὴ δικαίως διώκοντας ἀναχωρεῖ. ἅπαντος δὲ τοῦ
the(-ones) not justly prosecuting comes-back all and the
μιάσματος ἀναχωροῦντος εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα
pollution coming-back onto us as — we-can
σαφέστατα ἐξ ὧν γιγνώσκομεν πειρασόμεθα ὑμῖν δηλοῦν
most-clearly from what we-know we-will-try to-you to-show
ὡς ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄνδρα.
that he-killed the man

4 *** ἔχοντες γὰρ τὰ ἱμάτια ηὑρέθησαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν
(lacuna) having for the cloaks they-were-found no-one for —
τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κινδυνεύων ἑτοίμην
the utmost danger about the life running ready
καὶ κατειργασμένην τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀφῆκεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
and accomplished the gain would-have-let-go not indeed nor
παροινήσας οὐδεὶς διέφθειρεν αὐτόν· ἐγιγνώσκετο γὰρ ἂν
having-been-drunken any-one destroyed him he-would-be-known for —
ὑπὸ τῶν συμποτῶν. οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐκ λοιδορίας· οὐ γὰρ
by the fellow-drinkers nor indeed nor out-of abuse not for
ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἐλοιδοροῦντο.
at-an-untimely-hour of-the nights nor in solitude would-they-have-been-abusing

οὐδὲ μὴν ἄλλου στοχαζόμενος ἔτυχε τούτου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
nor indeed another aiming-at did-he-hit this(-man) not for —
σὺν τῷ ἀκολούθῳ διέφθειρεν αὐτόν.
with the attendant he-would-have-destroyed him
Ἀπολυομένης δὲ τῆς ὑποψίας ἁπάσης αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος 5
being-cleared-away and the suspicion all itself the death
ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀποθανόντα μηνύει αὐτόν. Ἐπιθέσθαι δὲ
from plotting having-died reveals him to-have-attacked and
τίνα μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστιν, ἢ τὸν μεγάλα μὲν κακὰ
whom rather likely is-it than the(-man) great indeed evils
προπεπονθότα, ἔτι δὲ μείζονα ἐπίδοξον ὄντα πάσχειν; ἔστι δ'
having-suffered-before still and greater expected being to-suffer is and
ὁ διωκόμενος οὗτος· ἐκ παλαιοῦ γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ
the(-man) being-prosecuted this(-man) from of-old for enemy being of-him
πολλὰς μὲν καὶ μεγάλας γραφὰς διώξας οὐδεμίαν εἶλεν,
many indeed and great indictments having-prosecuted none he-won
ἔτι δὲ μείζους καὶ πλείους διωχθεὶς οὐδεπώποτ' 6
still and greater and more having-been-prosecuted never
ἀποφυγὼν ἱκανὸν μέρος τῶν ὄντων ἀποβέβληκε,
having-been-acquitted a-sufficient part of-the property has-lost
τὰ δ' ἄγχιστα ἱερῶν κλοπῆς δυοῖν ταλάντοιν
the and latest of-sacred-things of-theft of-two talents
γεγραμμένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συνειδὼς μὲν αὑτῷ τὸ ἀδίκημα,
indicted by him conscious indeed with-himself the crime
ἔμπειρος δ' ὢν τῆς τούτου δυνάμεως, μνησικακῶν δὲ
experienced and being of-the of-this(-man) power bearing-a-grudge and
τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, εἰκότως μὲν ἐπεβούλευσεν, εἰκότως δ'
of-the former(-things) with-reason indeed he-plotted with-reason and
ἀμυνόμενος τὴν ἔχθραν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄνδρα.
requiting the enmity he-killed the man

7 Ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τῆς τιμωρίας ἀμνήμονα τῶν
the both for desire of-the vengeance forgetful of-the
κινδύνων καθίστη αὐτόν, ὅ τε φόβος τῶν ἐπιφερομένων
dangers made him the and fear of-the coming
κακῶν ἐκπλήσσων θερμότερον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπῆρε. ἤλπιζέ
evils terrifying more-hotly to-attack urged he-hoped
τε τάδε μὲν δράσας καὶ λήσειν ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν
both these-things indeed having-done both to-escape-notice having-killed him
καὶ ἀποφεύξεσθαι τὴν γραφήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπεξιέναι οὐδένα,
and to-be-acquitted-of the indictment nor for to-prosecute anyone
ἀλλ' ἐρήμην αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι·
but undefended it to-be

8 εἴ τε καὶ ἁλοίη, τιμωρησαμένῳ κάλλιον ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ
if both even he-should-be-convicted having-avenged-himself nobler seemed to-him
ταῦτα πάσχειν, ἢ ἀνάνδρως μηδὲν ἀντιδράσαντα ὑπὸ
these-things to-suffer than unmanfully nothing having-done-in-return by
τῆς γραφῆς διαφθαρῆναι. σαφῶς δ' ᾔδει ἁλωσόμενος
the indictment to-be-destroyed clearly and he-knew going-to-be-convicted-in
αὐτήν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνόμισεν
it not for — this the contest he-would-have-thought
ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι.
safer to-be

9 Τὰ μὲν βιασάμενα ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀσεβῆσαι αὐτόν.
the(-things) indeed having-forced these-things are to-commit-impiety him
μάρτυρες δ' εἰ μὲν πολλοὶ παρεγένοντο, πολλοὺς ἂν
witnesses and if indeed many had-been-present many —
παρεσχόμεθα· ἑνὸς δὲ τοῦ ἀκολούθου παραγενομένου, οἳ
we-would-have-presented one and the attendant having-been-present who
τούτου ἤκουον μαρτυρήσουσιν. ἔμπνους γὰρ ἔτι ἀρθείς,
him heard will-testify alive for still having-been-lifted
ἀνακρινόμενος ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τοῦτον μόνον ἔφη γνῶναι
being-questioned by us this(-man) alone he-said to-recognize

τῶν παιόντων αὐτούς. Ἐξελεγχόμενος δ' ὑπό τε τῶν
of-the(-ones) striking them being-convicted and by both the
εἰκότων ὑπό τε τῶν παραγενομένων, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οὔτε
likelihoods by and the (ones)-present in-no way neither
δικαίως οὔτε συμφερόντως ἀπολύοιτ' ἂν ὑφ' ὑμῶν.
justly nor expediently could-he-be-acquitted — by you
Οἵ τε γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀνεξέλεγκτοι ἂν εἶεν, εἰ 10
the both for plotters unconvictable — would-be if
μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενομένων μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν εἰκότων
neither by the(-ones) present nor by the likelihoods
ἐξελέγχονται· ἀσύμφορόν θ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τόνδε μιαρὸν καὶ
they-are-convicted inexpedient and for-you it-is this(-man) polluted and
ἄναγνον ὄντα εἴς τε τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν εἰσιόντα μιαίνειν
unclean being into both the precincts of-the gods entering to-pollute
τὴν ἁγνείαν αὐτῶν, ἐπί τε τὰς αὐτὰς τραπέζας ἰόντα
the purity of-them to both the same tables going
συγκαταπιμπλάναι τοὺς ἀναιτίους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων αἵ τ'
to-infect-together the innocent from for these-things the both
ἀφορίαι γίγνονται δυστυχεῖς θ' αἱ πράξεις καθίστανται.
crop-failures come-about unfortunate and the undertakings become
Οἰκείαν οὖν χρὴ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἡγησαμένους, αὐτῷ 11
your-own then one-must the vengeance considering on-him
τούτῳ τὰ τούτου ἀσεβήματα ἀναθέντας, ἰδίαν μὲν τὴν
this the of-this(-man) impieties having-laid personal indeed the
συμφοράν, καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καταστῆσαι.
misfortune pure and the city to-make

The defendant calls himself the unluckiest of men. A clever man would have foreseen that suspicion must fall on him. Robbers may have been frightened off before stripping the body, or the man may have seen another crime, and many hated him. The dying attendant, terrified, would agree with his masters, and slaves are not believed without torture. Murder was the greater risk: the indictment threatened only his property. He lists his property taxes, trierarchies, choruses, and sureties paid off for many, and asks for pity.

1 Οὔ μοι δοκῶ ἁμαρτάνειν ἀτυχέστατον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγούμενος
not to-me I-seem to-err most-unfortunate myself considering
εἶναι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων οἱ
to-be of-the all men of-the indeed for others the(-ones)
δυστυχοῦντες, ὁπόταν μὲν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πονῶσιν, εὐδίας
being-unlucky whenever indeed by storm they-suffer fair-weather
γενομένης παύονται· ὅταν δὲ νοσήσωσιν, ὑγιεῖς γενόμενοι
having-come cease when and they-fall-ill healthy having-become
σῴζονται· ἐάν τέ τις ἄλλη συμφορὰ καταλαμβάνῃ αὐτούς,
are-saved if and any other misfortune seizes them
τὰ ἐναντία ἐπιγιγνόμενα ὀνίνησιν.
the opposite(-things) coming-after benefit(-them)

2 Ἐμοὶ δὲ ζῶν τε ἄνθρωπος ἀνατροπεὺς τοῦ οἴκου ἐγένετο,
for-me and living both the-man a-subverter of-the house became
ἀποθανών τε, κἂν ἀποφύγω, ἱκανὰς λύπας καὶ φροντίδας
having-died and even-if I-am-acquitted sufficient griefs and cares
προσβέβληκεν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ βαρυδαιμονίας ἥκω, ὥστε
has-brought-on to this for of-misery I-have-come that
οὐκ ἀρκοῦν μοί ἐστιν ἐμαυτὸν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον παρέχοντα
not sufficing for-me it-is myself pure and just presenting
μὴ διαφθαρῆναι, ἀλλὰ κἂν μὴ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εὑρὼν
not to-be-destroyed but if-even not the killer having-found

ἐξελέγξω, ὃν οἱ τιμωροῦντες αὐτῷ ἀδύνατοι εὑρεῖν
I-convict whom the(-ones) avenging him unable to-find
εἰσίν, αὐτὸς καταδοχθεὶς φονεὺς εἶναι ἀνοσίως ἁλώσομαι.
are I-myself having-been-judged murderer to-be unholily I-will-be-convicted
Καὶ ἐμὲ ὡς δεινὸν μὲν παγχάλεπόν φασιν ἐλέγχεσθαι 3
and me as clever indeed very-hard they-say to-be-convicted
εἶναι, ὡς δ' ἠλίθιον ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν ἔπραξα φανερὸν
to-be as and foolish from the-very(-things) what I-did evident
εἶναι ἐργασάμενον τὸ ἔργον. εἰ γὰρ νῦν διὰ τῆς
to-be having-done the deed if for now because-of the
ἔχθρας τὸ μέγεθος εἰκότως ὑφ' ὑμῶν καταδοκοῦμαι, πρὶν
enmity the greatness reasonably by you I-am-suspected before
ἐργάσασθαι εἰκότερον ἦν προειδότα τὴν νῦν ὑποψίαν εἰς
to-do(-it) more-likely it-was foreseeing the now suspicion onto
ἐμὲ ἰοῦσαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τινα ἔγνων ἐπιβουλεύοντα
me coming and of-the others if anyone I-knew plotting
αὐτῷ, διακωλύειν μᾶλλον, ἢ αὐτὸν ἐργασάμενον εἰς
against-him to-prevent rather than myself having-done(-it) into
ἑκουσίους καὶ προδήλους ὑποψίας ἐμπεσεῖν· ἔκ τε γὰρ
voluntary and manifest suspicions to-fall from both for
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου φανερὸς γενόμενος ἀπωλλύμην, λαθών
itself the deed evident having-become I-was-perishing escaping-notice
τε σαφῶς ᾔδη τήνδε τὴν ὑποψίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἰοῦσαν.
and clearly I-knew this the suspicion onto me coming
Ἄθλια μὲν οὖν πάσχω μὴ ἀπολογεῖσθαι μόνον 4
wretched(-things) indeed then I-suffer not to-defend-myself only
βιαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας φανεροὺς
being-forced but also the killers evident
καταστῆσαι· ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιχειρητέον· οὐδὲν γὰρ
to-make nevertheless and also this must-be-attempted nothing for
πικρότερον τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔοικεν εἶναι. ἔχω δὲ οὐδαμῶς
more-bitter than-the necessity seems to-be I-can and in-no-way

ἄλλως ἐλέγχειν ἢ ἐξ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ κατήγορος
otherwise to-convict than from what the others the accuser
ἀπολύων αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατόν φησι μηνύειν ἐμὲ τὸν φονέα
acquitting itself the death he-says to-reveal me the murderer
ὄντα. εἰ γὰρ τούτων ἀναιτίων δοκούντων εἶναι ἐν ἐμοὶ
being if for these innocent seeming to-be in me
τὰδίκημα φανεῖται, τούτων ὑπόπτων ὄντων ἐγὼ δικαίως
the-crime will-appear these suspect being I justly
ἂν καθαρὸς δοκοίην εἶναι.
— pure would-seem to-be

5 Ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀπεικός, ὡς οὗτοί φασιν, ἀλλὰ εἰκὸς
it-is and not unlikely as these say but likely
ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν πλανώμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις
at-an-untimely-hour of-the nights wandering for the cloaks
διαφθαρῆναι. τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἐκδυθῆναι οὐδὲν σημεῖόν
to-have-been-killed the for not to-have-been-stripped no sign
ἐστιν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔφθησαν περιδύσαντες αὐτόν, ἀλλά
is if for not they-were-in-time stripping him but
τινας προσιόντας φοβηθέντες ἀπέλιπον, ἐσωφρόνουν καὶ
some approaching having-feared they-left(-him) they-were-sensible and
οὐκ ἐμαίνοντο τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ κέρδους προτιμῶντες.
not they-were-mad the safety to-the gain preferring

6 Εἰ δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις διεφθάρη, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους
if and not even for the cloaks he-was-killed but others
ἰδὼν ἄλλο τι κακὸν ποιοῦντας, ἵνα μὴ μηνυτὴς τοῦ
having-seen other some evil doing so-that not informer of-the
ἀδικήματος γένηται, ἀπέθανεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τίς οἶδε; Τοὺς
crime he-might-become he-died by them who knows the(-men)
δὲ μὴ πολὺ ἧσσον ἐμοῦ μισοῦντας αὐτόν — ἦσαν δὲ
and not much less than-me hating him they-were and
πολλοί — πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ἂν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον διαφθεῖραι
many how not likely was-it — than-me rather to-destroy

αὐτόν; ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ φανερὰ ἦν ἡ ὑποψία εἰς ἐμὲ ἰοῦσα,
him for-those indeed for evident was the suspicion onto me going
ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὑπαίτιος ἐσόμενος σαφῶς ᾔδη.
I and on-behalf-of those blamed going-to-be clearly knew
Τοῦ δὲ ἀκολούθου ἡ μαρτυρία πῶς ἀξία πιστεύεσθαί 7
of-the and attendant the testimony how worthy to-be-believed
ἐστιν; ὑπό τε γὰρ τοῦ κινδύνου ἐκπεπληγμένον αὐτὸν οὐκ
is-it by both for the danger terrified him not
εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας γνῶναι, ὑπό τε τῶν κυρίων
likely it-was the killers to-recognize by and the masters
ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον ἐπινεῦσαι ἦν εἰκός. ἀπιστουμένων δὲ
being-persuaded to-nod-assent it-was likely being-distrusted and
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δούλων ἐν ταῖς μαρτυρίαις — οὐ γὰρ ἂν
also the other slaves in the testimonies not for —
ἐβασανίζομεν αὐτούς — πῶς δίκαιον τούτῳ μαρτυροῦντι
we-would-torture them how just this(-one) testifying
πιστεύσαντας διαφθεῖραί με;
having-believed to-destroy me
Εἰ δέ τις τὰ εἰκότα ἀληθέσιν ἴσα ἡγεῖται καταμαρτυρῆσαί 8
if and anyone the likelihoods to-truths equal considers to-witness-against
μου τοὔργον, ἀντιλογισάσθω ὅτι με εἰκότερον ἦν
me the-deed let-him-reckon-on-the-other-side that me more-likely it-was
τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τηροῦντα φυλάξασθαι καὶ μὴ
the safety of-the plot keeping to-guard-against and not
παραγενέσθαι τῷ ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτον σφαττόμενον
to-be-present at-the deed rather than this(-man) being-slaughtered
ὀρθῶς γνῶναι.
rightly to-recognize(-me)
Ὡς δὲ τόνδε τὸν κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῦ ἀπὸ 9
that and this the danger not safer than-the from
τῆς γραφῆς ἡγούμην εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλάσιον, εἰ μὴ
the indictment I-thought to-be but many-times-greater if not

παρεφρόνουν, διδάξω. ἁλοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὴν γραφὴν τῆς
I-was-out-of-my-mind I-will-show convicted indeed for (in)-the indictment of-the
μὲν οὐσίας ᾔδη ἐκστησόμενος, τοῦ δὲ σώματος καὶ
indeed property I-knew going-to-be-deprived of-the and person and
τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀπεστερούμην, περιγενόμενος δὲ καὶ
of-the city not I-was-being-deprived surviving and even
λειφθείς, κἂν ἔρανον παρὰ τῶν φίλων συλλέξας,
having-been-defeated and a-contribution from the friends having-collected
οὐκ ἂν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα κακὰ ἦλθον· ἐὰν δὲ νῦν
not — to the utmost evils I-would-have-come if and now
καταληφθεὶς ἀποθάνω, ἀνόσια ὀνείδη τοῖς παισὶν ὑπολείψω,
having-been-caught I-die unholy reproaches to-the children I-will-leave
ἢ φυγὼν γέρων καὶ ἄπολις ὢν ἐπὶ ξενίας πτωχεύσω.
or having-fled old and cityless being on foreign(-soil) I-will-beg
10 Οὕτω μὲν ἃ κατηγόρηταί μου, πάντα ἄπιστά ἐστιν·
thus indeed what has-been-charged against-me all incredible is
ἀπολύεσθαι δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν, εἰ καὶ εἰκότως μὲν ὄντως δὲ
to-be-acquitted and by you if even plausibly indeed really and
μὴ ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα, πολὺ μᾶλλον δίκαιός εἰμι. ἐγώ
not I-killed the man much rather just I-am I
τε γὰρ φανερὸν ὅτι μεγάλα ἀδικούμενος ἠμυνόμην·
both for evident that great(-wrongs) being-wronged I-was-defending-myself
οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως ἐδόκουν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν· τούς τε
not for — reasonably I-would-seem to-have-killed him the both
ἀποκτείναντας καὶ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίαν ἔχοντας ἀποκτεῖναι
killers and not the(-ones) the-blame having to-have-killed
ὀρθῶς ἂν καταλαμβάνοιτε.
rightly — you-would-seize
11 Ἐκ δὲ παντὸς τρόπου ἀπολυόμενος τῆς αἰτίας ἔγωγε
from and every way acquitted of-the charge I-for-my-part
οὔτε εἰς τὰ τεμένη εἰσιὼν τὴν ἁγνείαν τῶν θεῶν μιανῶ,
neither into the precincts entering the purity of-the gods I-will-pollute

οὔτε ὑμᾶς πείθων ἀπολῦσαί με ἀνόσια πράσσω. οἱ
nor you persuading to-acquit me unholy(-things) do the(-men)
δὲ διώκοντες μὲν ἐμὲ τὸν ἀναίτιον, τὸν δ' αἴτιον
and prosecuting indeed me the innocent the and guilty
ἀφιέντες, τῆς τε ἀφορίας αἴτιοι γίγνονται, ὑμᾶς τε
letting-go of-the both barrenness guilty become you and
ἀσεβεῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πείθοντες καταστῆναι πάντων
impious toward the gods persuading to-become of-all
ὧν ἐμὲ ἄξιόν φασι παθεῖν εἶναι δίκαιοί εἰσι τυγχάνειν.
which me worthy they-say to-suffer to-be just they-are to-obtain
Τούτους μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀξίους ὄντας ἀπίστους 12
these indeed then of-these(-things) worthy being untrustworthy
ἡγεῖσθε· ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκ τῶν προειργασμένων γνώσεσθε οὔτε
consider me and from the former-deeds you-will-know neither
ἐπιβουλεύοντα οὔτε τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων ὀρεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ
plotting nor the not belonging(-to-me) reaching-for but
τὰ ἐναντία τούτων πολλὰς μὲν καὶ μεγάλας εἰσφορὰς
the opposite of-these many indeed and great property-taxes
εἰσφέροντα, πολλὰ δὲ τριηραρχοῦντα, λαμπρῶς δὲ
paying many(-times) and serving-as-trierarch splendidly and
χορηγοῦντα, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐρανίζοντα, μεγάλας δὲ ὑπὲρ
producing-choruses many and lending-to great and on-behalf-of
πολλῶν ἐγγύας ἀποτίνοντα, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν οὐ δικαζόμενον
many sureties paying-off the and property not by-lawsuits
ἀλλ' ἐργαζόμενον κεκτημένον, φιλοθύτην δὲ καὶ νόμιμον
but by-working having-acquired fond-of-sacrifice and and law-abiding
ὄντα. τοιούτου δὲ ὄντος μου μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδ' αἰσχρὸν
being such and being me nothing unholy nor shameful
καταγνῶτε.
condemn

13 Εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ ζῶντος ἐδιωκόμην, οὐκ ἂν μόνον ὑπὲρ
if and by (him)-living I-were-being-prosecuted not — only on-behalf-of
ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπελογούμην, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόν τε τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς
myself I-would-be-defending-myself but him both this(-man) and the(-ones)
τούτῳ μὲν οὐ βοηθοῦντας, παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ δὲ ὠφελεῖσθαι
him indeed not helping from me and to-be-benefited
ζητοῦντας ἐφ᾽ οἷς κατηγορεῖτέ μου, ἐπέδειξα ἂν ***
seeking for what you-accuse me I-would-have-shown — (lacuna)
ἀδικοῦντας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικέστερον ἢ δικαιότερον
wrongdoing these-things indeed then more-fairly than more-justly
παρήσω· δέομαι δ᾽ ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες τῶν μεγίστων
I-will-pass-over I-ask and of-you O men of-the greatest(-matters)
κριταὶ καὶ κύριοι, ἐλεήσαντας τὴν ἀτυχίαν μου ἰατροὺς
judges and masters having-pitied the misfortune my healers
γενέσθαι αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ συνεπιβάντας τῇ τούτων ἐπιθέσει
to-become of-it and not joining-in-attack at-the of-these assault
περιδεῖν με ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως διαφθαρέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν.
to-overlook me unjustly and godlessly destroyed by them

III · THE ACCUSER'S REPLY

The accuser answers point by point. The attendant, still conscious, would have named robbers; another crime would have been proclaimed. A slave's testimony stands: slaves are tortured when they deny a theft, not when they testify as he did. Absent or present, the defendant ran the same risk. While the dead man lived he had no hope of escaping the indictment, and he expected the killing to go unnoticed. His public services prove his wealth, not his innocence, and he asks only to turn his pollution on the jurors.

Ἥ τε ἀτυχία ἀδικεῖται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἣν προϊστάμενος 1
the both misfortune is-wronged by him which putting-forward
τῆς κακουργίας ἀφανίσαι τὴν αὑτοῦ μιαρίαν ζητεῖ· ὑπό
of-the crime to-make-vanish the his-own pollution he-seeks by
τε ὑμῶν οὐκ ἄξιος ἐλεεῖσθαί ἐστιν, ἀκούσιον μὲν τῷ
and you not worthy to-be-pitied he-is involuntary indeed on-the
παθόντι περιθεὶς τὴν συμφοράν, ἑκουσίως δὲ αὐτὸς
(man)-who-suffered having-put the calamity voluntarily and himself
εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους καταστάς. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἀπέκτεινε
into the dangers having-placed(-himself) that indeed then he-killed
τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ ἀπεδείξαμεν· ὡς δὲ
the man in the former speech we-showed that and
οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπελογήθη, νῦν πειρασόμεθα ἐλέγχοντες.
not rightly he-made-his-defense now we-will-try convicting(-him)
Εἴτε γὰρ προσιόντας τινὰς προϊδόντες οἱ ἀποκτείναντες 2
whether for approaching some having-foreseen the killers
αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπόντες ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες πρότερον ἢ
them having-left went-off fleeing before than
ἀπέδυσαν, οἱ ἐντυχόντες ἂν αὐτοῖς, εἰ καὶ τὸν
they-stripped(-them) the(-ones) coming-upon — them if even the
δεσπότην τεθνεῶτα ηὗρον, τόν γε θεράποντα, ὃς
master dead they-found the at-least servant who
ἔμπνους ἀρθεὶς ἐμαρτύρει, ἔτι ἔμφρονα εὑρόντες,
alive having-been-lifted was-testifying still conscious having-found
σαφῶς ἀνακρίναντες τοὺς ἐργασαμένους ἤγγειλαν ἂν
clearly having-questioned the doers would-have-reported —
ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐχ οὗτος ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν εἶχεν· εἴτε ἄλλοι
to-us and not this(-man) — the blame would-have-had or other
τινὲς ἕτερόν τι τοιοῦτον κακουργοῦντες ὀφθέντες ὑπ᾽
some another something such doing-evil having-been-seen by
αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθῶσι διέφθειραν αὐτούς, ἅμα
them so-that not they-might-be-recognized destroyed them at-once

τῷ τούτων φόνῳ τὸ κακούργημα ἂν ἐκηρύσσετο
with-the of-these murder the crime — would-have-been-proclaimed
καὶ εἰς τούτους ἂν ἡ ὑποψία ἦκεν.
and onto these — the suspicion would-have-come

3 Οἵ τε ἧσσον κινδυνεύοντες τῶν μᾶλλον ἐν φόβῳ
those both less being-in-danger than-the(-ones) more in fear
ὄντων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ·
being not I-know how — rather would-have-plotted against-him
τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὅ τε φόβος ἥ τε ἀδικία ἱκανὴ ἦν παῦσαι
the(-ones) indeed for the both fear the and injustice sufficient was to-stop
τῆς προμηθίας, τοῖς δὲ ὅ τε κίνδυνος ἥ τε αἰσχύνη
from-the forethought to-the(-others) and the both danger the and shame
μείζων οὖσα τῆς διαφορᾶς, εἰ καὶ διενοήθησαν ταῦτα
greater being than-the quarrel if even they-intended these-things
πρᾶξαι, ἀρκοῦσα ἦν σωφρονίσαι τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς γνώμης.
to-do sufficient was to-bring-to-sense the angry(-part) of-the mind

4 Οὐκ ὀρθῶς δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀκολούθου μαρτυρίαν ἄπιστον
not rightly and the of-the attendant testimony untrustworthy
λέγουσιν εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις μαρτυρίαις
they-say to-be not for in the such testimonies
βασανίζονται, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι ἀφίενται· ὁπόταν δὲ ἢ
they-are-tortured but free are-set whenever and either
κλέψαντες ἀπαρνῶνται ἢ συγκρύπτωσι τοῖς δεσπόταις,
having-stolen they-deny or conceal with-the masters
τότε βασανίζοντες ἀξιοῦμεν τἀληθῆ λέγειν αὐτούς.
then torturing we-think-it-right the-truth to-speak them

5 Οὐδὲ μὴν ἀπογενέσθαι ἢ παραγενέσθαι εἰκότερον αὐτόν
nor indeed to-be-absent or to-be-present more-likely for-him
ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ ἀπεγένετο, τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον τὸν αὐτὸν
is-it if for he-had-been-absent the indeed danger the same
ἔμελλε καὶ παρὼν κινδυνεύειν, πᾶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ληφθεὶς
was-about also present to-run every for of-them caught

τοῦτον ἂν τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα ἤλεγχεν ὄντα, τὸ
this(-man) — the plotter would-have-convicted being the
δ' ἔργον ἧσσον πράσσειν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις τῶν
and deed less to-do no-one for who of-the(-ones)
παρόντων οὐκ ἂν ὀκνηρότερος εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἦν.
present not — more-hesitant toward the action would-have-been
Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείζω τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς 6
that and not less but much greater the from the
γραφῆς κίνδυνον ἢ τόνδε ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, διδάξω. τὸ μὲν
indictment danger than this he-thought to-be I-will-show the indeed
ἁλῶναι καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐν ἴσαις
to-be-convicted and to-be-acquitted both the prosecutions in equal
ἐλπίσι θῶμεν αὐτῷ εἶναι. μὴ παραχθῆναι δὲ τὴν
hopes let-us-suppose for-him to-be not to-be-brought-to-trial and the
γραφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχε τούτου γε ζῶντος· οὐ
indictment no hope he-had this(-man) at-least living not
γὰρ ἂν ἐπέθετο αὐτῷ· εἰς δὲ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα
for — he-would-have-attacked him into and this the contest
ἤξειν οὐκ ἤλπισε· λήσειν γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀποκτείνας αὐτόν.
to-come not he-expected to-escape-notice for he-thought having-killed him
Ἀξιῶν δὲ διὰ τὸ φανερὰν εἶναι τὴν ὑποψίαν αὐτῷ 7
thinking-it-right and because-of the evident to-be the suspicion for-him
μὴ καταδοκεῖσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀξιοῖ. εἰ
not to-be-suspected by you not rightly he-thinks-it-right if
γὰρ τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις ὄντα ἱκανὴ ἦν ἡ
for him in the greatest dangers being sufficient was the
ὑποψία ἀποτρέψαι τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπεβούλευσεν
suspicion to-turn-away from-the attack no-one — would-have-plotted
αὐτῷ· πᾶς γὰρ ἄν τις τῶν ἧσσον κινδυνευόντων,
against-him every for — one of-the(-ones) less being-in-danger

τὴν ὑποψίαν μᾶλλον τοῦ κινδύνου φοβούμενος, ἧσσον
the suspicion rather than-the danger fearing less
ἢ οὗτος ἐπέθετο αὐτῷ.
than this(-man) would-have-attacked him

8 Αἱ δ' εἰσφοραὶ καὶ χορηγίαι εὐδαιμονίας μὲν ἱκανὸν
the and property-taxes and choregies of-prosperity indeed sufficient
σημεῖόν ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τἀναντία· περὶ γὰρ
sign is of-the and not to-have-killed the-opposite about for
αὐτῆς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τρέμων μὴ ἀποστερηθῇ, εἰκότως μὲν
itself the prosperity trembling lest he-be-deprived reasonably indeed
ἀνοσίως δὲ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄνδρα. Φάσκων δὲ οὐ τοὺς
unholily and he-killed the man saying and not the(-ones)
εἰκότως ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας φονέας εἶναι, περὶ μὲν
likely but the killers murderers to-be about indeed
τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ὀρθῶς λέγει, εἴπερ ἐγένετο φανερὸν
the killers rightly he-speaks if-indeed it-became evident
ἡμῖν τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἀποκτείναντες αὐτόν· μὴ δεδηλωμένων
to-us who were the killers him not having-been-revealed
δὲ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων, ὑπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἐλεγχόμενος
and the killers by the likelihoods being-convicted
οὗτος ἂν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ὁ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν εἴη. οὐ
this(-man) — and no other the (one)-who-killed him would-be not
γὰρ ἐπὶ μαρτύρων ἀλλὰ κρυπτόμενα πράσσεται τὰ τοιαῦτα.
for before witnesses but hidden are-done the such(-things)

9 Οὕτω δὲ φανερῶς ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπολογίας ἐλεγχθεὶς
thus and evidently from the his-own defense having-been-convicted
διαφθείρας αὐτόν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑμῶν δεῖται ἢ τὴν αὑτοῦ
having-destroyed him nothing other of-you he-asks than the his-own
μιαρίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκτρέψαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμῶν δεόμεθα
pollution onto you- -selves to-turn we and of-you ask
μὲν οὐδέν, λέγομεν δ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων
indeed nothing we-say and to-you if neither from the likelihoods

μήτε ἐκ τῶν μαρτυρουμένων οὗτος νῦν ἐλέγχεται,
nor from the(-things) testified this(-man) now is-convicted
οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι τῶν διωκομένων ἔλεγχος οὐδείς.
not there-is any-more of-the(-men) being-prosecuted proof any
Σαφῆ μὲν γὰρ τὸν θάνατον γιγνώσκοντες, φανερῶς δὲ 10
clear indeed for the death knowing evidently and
τὰ ἴχνη τῆς ὑποψίας εἰς τοῦτον φέροντα, πιστῶς δὲ
the tracks of-the suspicion to this(-man) leading faithfully and
τοῦ ἀκολούθου μαρτυροῦντος, πῶς ἂν δικαίως ἀπολύοιτε
the attendant testifying how — justly would-you-acquit
αὐτόν; ἀδίκως δ' ἀπολυομένου τούτου ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἡμῖν
him unjustly and acquitted this(-man) by you for-us
μὲν προστρόπαιος ὁ ἀποθανὼν οὐκ ἔσται, ὑμῖν δὲ
indeed (a)-suppliant-avenger the dead-man not will-be to-you and
ἐνθύμιος γενήσεται.
a-weight-on-the-mind he-will-become
Ταῦτα οὖν εἰδότες βοηθεῖτε μὲν τῷ ἀποθανόντι, τιμωρεῖσθε 11
these-things then knowing help indeed to-the dead-man punish
δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, ἁγνεύετε δὲ τὴν πόλιν. τρία γὰρ
and the killer purify and the city three for
ἀγαθὰ πράξετε· ἐλάσσους μὲν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας
good(-things) you-will-do fewer indeed the plotters
καταστήσετε, πλείους δὲ τοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιτηδεύοντας,
you-will-make more and the(-ones) the piety practicing
ἀπολύεσθε δ' αὐτοὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τούτου μιαρίας.
you-will-be-freed and yourselves from-the on-behalf-of this(-man) pollution

The defendant calls the accusation novel, if not villainous: unable to find the killer, they would kill him instead. Whoever came upon the dying men at night would have fled, not stopped to question them, and no one asked whether other criminals were proclaimed. A slave's testimony risks nothing for a false witness, and his masters are the defendant's enemies. He offers every slave he owns for torture, and will confess if he was not asleep at home that night, the night of the Dipolieia. His prosperity gave him reason to keep quiet, not to kill; and he warns that a wrong verdict is past curing by repentance.

1 Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ τῇ τε ἀτυχίᾳ, ἣν οὐ δικαίως αἰτιῶμαι, ὡς
behold I to-the both misfortune which not justly I-blame as
οὗτοί φασιν, ἑκὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἐγχειρίζω, τῇ τε τούτων
these say willingly myself hand-over to-the and of-these
ἔχθρᾳ, δεδιὼς μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς διαβολῆς αὐτῶν,
enmity fearing indeed the greatness of-the slander of-them
πιστεύων δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γνώμῃ τῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ τῶν
trusting and in-the your judgment in-the and truth of-the
ἐξ ἐμοῦ πραχθέντων. ἀποστερούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
by me things-done being-deprived and by them
μηδὲ τὰς παρούσας ἀτυχίας ἀνακλαύσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
not-even the present misfortunes to-lament before you
ἀπορῶ εἰς ἥντινα ἄλλην σωτηρίαν χρή με καταφυγεῖν.
I-am-at-a-loss to what other safety must me to-flee

2 Καινότατα γὰρ δή, εἰ χρὴ καινότατα μᾶλλον ἢ
most-novelly for indeed if one-must most-novelly rather than
κακουργότατα εἰπεῖν, διαβάλλουσί με. κατήγοροι γὰρ καὶ
most-villainously to-say they-slander me accusers for and
τιμωροὶ φόνου προσποιούμενοι εἶναι, ὑπεραπολογούμενοι
avengers of-murder claiming to-be defending-on-behalf-of
τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὑποψίας ἁπάσης, διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῦ
the true suspicion all because-of the lack of-the

ἀποκτείναντος αὐτὸν ἐμὲ φονέα φασὶν εἶναι, δρῶντες δὲ
killer him me murderer they-say to-be doing and
τἀναντία ὧν προστέτακται αὐτοῖς, φανερὸν ὅτι ἀδίκως
the-opposite of-what has-been-enjoined on-them evident that unjustly
ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦσιν ἢ τὸν φονέα τιμωρεῖσθαι.
me rather to-kill they-seek than the murderer to-punish
Ἐμὲ δὲ προσῆκεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πρὸς τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ 3
me and it-befitted nothing other than against the testimony of-the
ἀκολούθου ἀπολογηθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ μηνυτὴς οὐδ' ἐλεγκτὴρ
attendant to-defend-myself not for informer nor convicter
τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων εἰμί, ἀλλὰ διωκόμενος ἀποκρίνομαι.
of-the killers am-I but being-prosecuted I-answer
ὅμως δὲ περιεργαστέον, ἵνα ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τούτους
nevertheless and one-must-go-beyond so-that from every way these
τε ἐπιβουλεύοντάς μοι ἐμαυτόν τε ἀπολυόμενον ἐπιδείξω
both plotting-against me myself and freed I-may-show
τῆς ὑποψίας.
from-the suspicion
Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀτυχίαν ᾗ με διαβάλλουσιν, εἰς εὐτυχίαν 4
the indeed then misfortune with-which me they-slander into good-fortune
αἰτοῦμαι μεταστῆναι· ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἀπολύσαντάς με
I-ask to-change I-think-it-right and you having-acquitted me
μακαρίσαι μᾶλλον ἢ καταλαβόντας ἐλεῆσαι. Φασὶ δὲ
to-call-blessed rather than having-convicted to-pity they-say and
τῶν μὲν ἐντυχόντων παιομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐδένα ὅντινα
of-the indeed (men)-coming-upon being-struck them no-one whom
οὐκ εἰκότερον εἶναι σαφῶς πυθόμενον τοὺς διαφθείραντας
not more-likely to-be clearly having-learned the destroyers
αὐτοὺς εἰς οἶκον ἀγγεῖλαι, ἢ ἀπολιπόντα οἴχεσθαι.
of-them to home to-report than having-left(-them) to-go-off

5 Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδένα οὕτω θερμὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι
I and no-one so hot and brave a-man to-be
δοκῶ, ὅντινα οὐκ ἂν ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν νεκροῖς
think whom not — at-an-untimely-hour of-the nights corpses
ἀσπαίρουσι συντυχόντα πάλιν ὑποστρέψαντα φεύγειν
gasping having-met back having-turned to-flee
μᾶλλον ἢ πυνθανόμενον τοὺς κακούργους περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς
rather than inquiring-after the criminals about the life
κινδυνεῦσαι. τούτων δὲ ἃ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἦν δρασάντων,
to-risk these(-men) and what more likely it-was having-done
οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις διαφθείραντες αὐτοὺς οὐκ
the(-ones) indeed for the cloaks having-destroyed them not
ἂν ἔτι εἰκότως ἀφίοιντο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπήλλαγμαι τῆς
— any-more reasonably would-be-acquitted I and am-freed from-the
ὑποψίας.
suspicion

6 Εἰ δὲ ἐκηρύσσοντο ἢ μὴ ἄλλοι τινὲς κακοῦργοι ἅμα
whether and were-proclaimed or not other some criminals together-with
τῷ τούτων φόνῳ, τίς οἶδεν; οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐπιμελὲς ἦν
the of-these murder who knows to-no-one for a-care was-it
σκοπεῖν ταῦτα. ἀφανοῦς δὲ ὄντος τοῦ κηρύγματος, οὐδὲ
to-look-into these-things unknown and being the proclamation not-even
ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν κακούργων ἄπιστον διαφθαρῆναι αὐτόν.
by these the criminals incredible to-have-been-destroyed him

7 Τοῦ δὲ θεράποντος πῶς χρὴ πιστοτέραν τὴν μαρτυρίαν
of-the and servant how must-one more-trustworthy the testimony
ἢ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἡγεῖσθαι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀτιμοῦνταί
than that-of-the free consider they indeed for are-disfranchised
τε καὶ χρήμασι ζημιοῦνται, ἐὰν μὴ τἀληθῆ δοκῶσι
both and in-money are-fined if not the-truth they-seem
μαρτυρῆσαι· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔλεγχον παρασχὼν οὐδὲ βάσανον
to-have-testified he and not proof having-furnished nor torture

ποῦ δίκην δώσει; ἢ τίς ἔλεγχος ἔσται; ἀκινδύνως δὲ
where penalty will-pay or what proof will-there-be without-risk and
μέλλων μαρτυρεῖν οὗτός τε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἔπαθεν
about-to to-testify he both nothing surprising suffered
ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων ἐχθρῶν μοι ὄντων πεισθεὶς
by the masters enemies to-me being having-been-persuaded
καταψεύδεσθαί μου· ἐγώ τε ἀνόσι᾽ ἂν πάσχοιμι, εἰ
to-lie-against me I and unholy(-things) — would-suffer if
μὴ πιστῶς καταμαρτυρηθεὶς διαφθαρείην ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν.
not trustworthily testified-against I-were-destroyed by you
Μὴ παραγενέσθαι δέ με τῷ φόνῳ ἀπιστότερον ἢ 8
not to-be-present and me at-the murder more-incredible than
παραγενέσθαι φασὶν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων
to-be-present they-say to-be I and not from the likelihoods
ἀλλ᾽ ἔργῳ δηλώσω οὐ παραγενόμενος. ὁπόσοι γὰρ δοῦλοί
but in-fact I-will-show not having-been-present as-many-as for slaves
μοι ἢ δοῦλαί εἰσι, πάντας παραδίδωμι βασανίσαι· καὶ
to-me or female-slaves are all I-hand-over to-torture and
ἐὰν μὴ φανῶ ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν οἴκῳ καθεύδων ἢ
if not I-appear on-this the night in house sleeping or
ἐξελθών ποι, ὁμολογῶ φονεὺς εἶναι. ἡ δὲ νὺξ οὐκ
having-gone-out somewhere I-agree murderer to-be the and night not
ἄσημος· τοῖς γὰρ Διιπολείοις ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀπέθανε.
unmarked at-the for Dipolieia the man died
Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἧς ἕνεκα τρέμοντά μέ 9
about and the prosperity which on-account-of trembling me
φασιν εἰκότως ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, πολὺ τἀναντία ἐστί.
they-say reasonably to-have-killed him much the-opposite it-is
τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσι νεωτερίζειν συμφέρει· ἐκ γὰρ
for-the indeed for unfortunate to-make-innovations it-is-expedient from for
τῶν μεταβολῶν ἐπίδοξος ἡ δυσπραγία μεταβάλλειν αὐτῶν
the changes expected the misfortune to-change of-them

ἐστι· τοῖς δ' εὐτυχοῦσιν ἀτρεμίζειν καὶ φυλάσσειν τὴν
is for-the and fortunate to-keep-quiet and to-guard the
παροῦσαν εὐπραγίαν· μεθισταμένων γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων
present good-fortune being-changed for the affairs
δυστυχεῖς ἐξ εὐτυχούντων καθίστανται.
unfortunate from fortunate they-become
10 Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰκότων προσποιούμενοί με ἐλέγχειν, οὐκ
from and the likelihoods claiming me to-convict not
εἰκότως ἀλλ' ὄντως φονέα μέ φασι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι.
likely but really murderer me they-say of-the man to-be
τὰ δὲ εἰκότα ἄλλα πρὸς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἀποδέδεικται
the and likelihoods otherwise on-the-side-of me rather have-been-shown
ὄντα. ὅ τε γὰρ καταμαρτυρῶν μου ἄπιστος ἐλήλεγκται
being the both for (one)-testifying-against me untrustworthy has-been-proved
ὤν, ὅ τε ἔλεγχος οὐκ ἔστι· τά τε τεκμήρια ἐμά, οὐ
being the and proof not exists the both proofs mine not
τούτων ὄντα ἐδήλωσα· τά τε ἴχνη τοῦ φόνου οὐκ εἰς
theirs being I-showed the and tracks of-the murder not to
ἐμὲ φέροντα, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ἀπολυομένους ἀποδέδεικται
me leading but to the(-ones) being-acquitted have-been-shown
ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Πάντων δὲ τῶν κατηγορηθέντων ἀπίστων
by them all and the charges untrustworthy
ἐλεγχθέντων, οὐκ ἐὰν ἀποφύγω οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ ὧν
having-been-proved not if I-am-acquitted not there-is from what
ἐλεγχθήσονται οἱ κακουργοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐὰν καταληφθῶ,
will-be-convicted the criminals but if I-am-convicted
οὐδεμία ἀπολογία τοῖς διωκομένοις ἀρκοῦσά ἐστιν.
no defense for-the(-ones) prosecuted sufficient is
11 Οὕτω δὲ ἀδίκως διώκοντές με, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀνοσίως
thus and unjustly prosecuting me themselves indeed unholily
ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦντες καθαροί φασιν εἶναι, ἐμὲ δὲ ὃς εὐσεβεῖν
to-kill seeking pure they-say to-be me and who to-be-pious

ὑμᾶς πείθω, ἀνόσια δρᾶν λέγουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ καθαρὸς ὢν
you persuade unholy(-things) to-do they-say I and pure being
πάντων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ὑπέρ τε ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπισκήπτω
of-all the charges on-behalf-of both myself I-enjoin(-you)
αἰδεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων εὐσέβειαν, ὑπέρ
to-respect the of-those nothing wronging piety on-behalf-of
τε τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἀναμιμνῄσκων τὴν ποινὴν παραινῶ
and the dead-man reminding(-you-of) the penalty I-advise
ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀναίτιον καταλαβόντας τὸν αἴτιον ἀφεῖναι·
you not the innocent having-convicted the guilty to-let-go
ἀποθανόντος γὰρ ἐμοῦ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸν αἴτιον ζητήσει.
having-died for me no-one any-more the guilty will-seek
Ταῦτα οὖν σεβόμενοι ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ἀπολύετέ με, 12
these-things then revering holily and justly acquit me
καὶ μὴ μετανοήσαντες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν γνῶτε· ἀνίατος γὰρ
and not having-repented the error recognize incurable for
ἡ μετάνοια τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν.
the repentance of-the such(-things) is

ANTIPHON

ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ Β

Second Tetralogy

In the Second Tetralogy a father prosecutes. Agreed facts are settled by law; only the disputed come to court. The defendant does not deny it: the speaker's boy was struck through the ribs by this youth's javelin in a gymnasium and died on the spot. The killing was not deliberate, but the loss is no less. The dead boy carries no guilt, but the killing has laid it on the living, and the jurors must bar the killer from what the law bars him and keep the city pure.

Τὰ μὲν ὁμολογούμενα τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπό τε τοῦ νόμου 1
the indeed agreed(-parts) of-the matters by both the law
κατακέκριται ὑπό τε τῶν ψηφισαμένων, οἳ κύριοι πάσης
have-been-decided by and the (men)-who-voted who masters of-all
τῆς πολιτείας εἰσίν· ἐὰν δέ τι ἀμφισβητήσιμον ᾖ, τοῦτο
the polity are if and anything disputable be this
ὑμῖν ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται προστέτακται διαγνῶναι. οἶμαι
to-you O men citizens has-been-assigned to-decide I-think
μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ἀμφισβητήσειν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν διωκόμενον·
indeed then not-even to-be-going-to-dispute with me the defendant
ὁ γὰρ παῖς μου ἐν γυμνασίῳ ἀκοντισθεὶς διὰ τῶν
the for boy my in a-gymnasium having-been-speared through the
πλευρῶν ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ μειρακίου παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανεν.
ribs by this the youth on-the-spot died
ἑκόντα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπικαλῶ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἄκοντα δέ.
willingly indeed then not I-charge(-him) to-have-killed unwillingly and
Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσω τοῦ ἑκόντος ἄκων τὴν 2
for-me and not less than-the willing (one)-unwilling the
συμφορὰν κατέστησε. τῷ δὲ ἀποθανόντι αὐτῷ μὲν
calamity has-made to-the and dead-man himself indeed
οὐδὲν ἐνθύμιον, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσι προσέθηκεν. ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀξιῶ
no weight-of-guilt on-the and living he-has-added you and I-ask
ἐλεοῦντας μὲν τὴν ἀπαιδίαν τῶν γονέων, οἰκτίροντας δὲ
pitying indeed the childlessness of-the parents lamenting and

τὴν ἄωρον τοῦ ἀποθανόντος τελευτήν, εἴργοντας ὧν
the untimely of-the dead-man end barring from-what
ὁ νόμος εἴργει τὸν ἀποκτείναντα μὴ περιορᾶν ἅπασαν
the law bars the killer not to-overlook all
τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τούτου μιαινομένην.
the city by this(-man) being-polluted

II · THE FATHER'S DEFENSE

The defendant's father, a quiet man, is forced by misfortune to argue a case he can scarcely follow, and asks to be judged by the truth, not by skill in speaking. His son was practicing the javelin with his age-mates, throwing at the target, when the boy ran across under its flight. Had the javelin gone astray, they would have no answer; but the boy was struck because he moved, so the error and its penalty are his. He asks the jurors to pity father and son and acquit.

1 Νῦν δὴ φανερόν μοι ὅτι αὐταὶ αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ χρεῖαι
now indeed evident to-me that themselves the misfortunes and needs
τούς τε ἀπράγμονας εἰς ἀγῶνας καταστῆναι τούς τε
the both quiet into contests to-enter the and
ἡσυχίους τολμᾶν τά τε ἄλλα παρὰ φύσιν λέγειν
peaceable to-dare the and other(-things) contrary-to nature to-say
καὶ δρᾶν βιάζονται. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἥκιστα τοιοῦτος ὢν καὶ
and to-do force I for least such being and
βουλόμενος εἶναι, εἰ μὴ πολύ γε ἔψευσμαι, ὑπ' αὐτῆς
wishing to-be if not much at-least I-have-been-deceived by itself
τῆς συμφορᾶς ἠναγκάσθην νῦν παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον τρόπον
the misfortune was-compelled now contrary-to the other way
ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὧν ἐγὼ χαλεπῶς μὲν
about matters to-make-a-defense of-which I with-difficulty indeed

τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἔγνων, ἔτι δὲ ἀπορωτέρως διάκειμαι ὅπως
the exactness knew still and more-helplessly I-am-disposed how
χρὴ ὑμῖν ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα.
one-must to-you to-interpret these-things
Ὑπὸ δὲ σκληρᾶς ἀνάγκης βιαζόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν 2
by and harsh necessity being-forced and myself to the
ὑμέτερον ἔλεον ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ καταπεφευγὼς δέομαι
your pity O men jurors having-fled I-ask
ὑμῶν, ἐὰν ἀκριβέστερον ἢ ὡς σύνηθες ὑμῖν δόξω εἰπεῖν,
you if more-exactly than as accustomed for-you I-seem to-speak
μὴ διὰ τὰ προειρημένα δυσχερῶς ἀποδεξαμένους
not because-of the(-things) said-before with-displeasure having-received
μου τὴν ἀπολογίαν δόξῃ καὶ μὴ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν κρίσιν
my the defense by-opinion and not by-truth the judgment
ποιήσασθαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ δόξα τῶν πραχθέντων
to-make the indeed for opinion of-the(-things) done
πρὸς τῶν λέγειν δυναμένων ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια
(lies)-with the(-ones) to-speak able is the and truth
πρὸς τῶν δίκαια καὶ ὅσια πρασσόντων.
with the(-ones) just(-things) and holy(-things) doing
Ἐδόκουν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ταῦτα παιδεύων τὸν υἱὸν 3
I-thought indeed then I-for-my-part these-things educating the son
ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελεῖται, ἀμφοῖν τι ἡμῖν
from which most the commonwealth is-benefited for-both some to-us
ἀγαθὸν ἀποβήσεσθαι· συμβέβηκε δέ μοι πολὺ παρὰ
good to-turn-out it-has-happened and to-me much contrary-to
γνώμην τούτων. τὸ γὰρ μειράκιον οὐχ ὕβρει οὐδὲ
expectation of-these the for youth not by-insolence nor
ἀκολασίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μελετῶν μετὰ τῶν ἡλίκων ἀκοντίζειν
by-licentiousness but practicing with the age-mates to-throw-the-javelin
ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, ἔβαλε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἀπέκτεινε κατά
in the gymnasium struck indeed no-one nor killed according-to

γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὧν ἔπραξεν, ἄλλου δ' εἰς αὑτὸν
at-least the truth of-what he-did another and onto himself
ἁμαρτόντος εἰς ἀνοσίους αἰτίας ἦλθεν.
having-erred into unholy charges he-came
4 Τοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀκοντίου φορὰν ὑποδραμόντος
the for boy under the of-the javelin flight having-run-under
καὶ τὸ σῶμα προστήσαντος, ὁ μὲν ἐκωλύθη τοῦ
and the body having-put-in-front the(-one) indeed was-prevented the
σκοποῦ τυχεῖν, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τὸ ἀκόντιον ὑπελθὼν
target to-hit the(-other) and under the javelin having-gone-under
ἐβλήθη, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ἡμετέραν οὖσαν προσέβαλεν
was-struck and the blame not ours being cast-upon
ἡμῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀκόντιον ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς αὑτοῦ
us if indeed for the javelin outside the bounds of-the its-own
πορείας ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐξενεχθὲν ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν, οὐδεὶς
course at the boy carried had-wounded him no
ἂν ἡμῖν λόγος ὑπελείπετο μὴ φονεῦσιν εἶναι·
— to-us argument would-be-left not murderers to-be
5 διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑποδρομὴν βληθέντος τοῦ παιδός, τὸ
because-of and the running-under having-been-struck the boy the
μὲν μειράκιον οὐ δικαίως ἐπικαλεῖται, οὐδένα γὰρ ἔβαλε
indeed youth not justly is-accused no-one for he-struck
τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀφεστώτων· ὁ δὲ παῖς εἴπερ
of-the(-ones) from the target standing-away the and boy if-indeed
ἑστὼς φανερὸς ὑμῖν ἐστὶ μὴ βληθείς, ἑκουσίως δ'
standing evident to-you is not having-been-struck voluntarily and
ὑπὸ τὴν φορὰν τοῦ ἀκοντίου ὑπελθών, ἔτι σαφεστέρως
under the flight of-the javelin having-gone-under still more-clearly
δηλοῦται διὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ἁμαρτίαν ἀποθανών· οὐ γὰρ
is-shown through the his-own error having-died not for
ἂν ἐβλήθη ἀτρεμίζων καὶ μὴ διατρέχων.
— he-would-have-been-struck keeping-still and not running-across

Ἀκουσίου δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὑμῖν ὁμολογουμένου 6
involuntary and the killing by both to-you agreed
γενέσθαι, ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὁποτέρου αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ἔτι
to-have-been from the error of-whichever of-them it-is still
γε σαφέστερον ἂν ὁ φονεὺς ἐλεγχθείη. οἵ τε γὰρ
at-least more-clearly — the murderer would-be-convicted the(-ones) both for
ἁμαρτάνοντες ὧν ἂν ἐπινοήσωσί τι δρᾶσαι, οὗτοι
erring of-whatever — they-intend something to-do these
πράκτορες τῶν ἀκουσίων εἰσίν· οἵ τε ἑκούσιόν τι
doers of-the involuntary(-deeds) are the(-ones) and voluntary something
δρῶντες ἁμαρτόντες, οὗτοι τῶν παθημάτων αἴτιοι γίγνονται.
doing having-erred these of-the sufferings causes become
Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν μειράκιον περὶ οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν. 7
the indeed then youth about no-one nothing erred
οὔτε γὰρ ἀπειρημένον ἀλλὰ προστεταγμένον ἐξεμελέτα,
neither for forbidden but prescribed was-he-practicing
οὔτε ἐν γυμναζομένοις ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀκοντιζόντων
nor among (men)-exercising but in the of-the javelin-throwers
τάξει ἠκόντιζεν, οὔτε τοῦ σκοποῦ ἁμαρτών, εἰς τοὺς
rank he-was-throwing nor the target having-missed at the(-ones)
ἀφεστῶτας ἀκοντίσας, τοῦ παιδὸς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα
standing-away having-thrown the boy he-hit but all
ὀρθῶς ὡς ἐπενόει δρῶν ἔδρασε μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκούσιον,
rightly as he-intended doing did indeed nothing involuntary
ἔπαθε δὲ διακωλυθεὶς τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχεῖν.
suffered and being-prevented the target to-hit
Ὁ δὲ παῖς βουλόμενος προδραμεῖν, τοῦ καιροῦ διαμαρτὼν 8
the and boy wishing to-run-forward the moment having-missed
ἐν ᾧ διατρέχων οὐκ ἂν ἐπλήγη, περιέπεσεν οἷς
in which running-across not — he-would-have-been-struck fell-into what
οὐκ ἤθελεν, ἀκουσίως δὲ ἁμαρτὼν εἰς ἑαυτὸν οἰκείαις
not he-wished involuntarily and having-erred against himself with-his-own

συμφοραῖς κέχρηται, τῆς δ' ἁμαρτίας τετιμωρημένος
misfortunes he-has-met of-the and error having-punished
ἑαυτὸν ἔχει τὴν δίκην, οὐ συνηδομένων μὲν οὐδὲ
himself he-has the penalty not rejoicing-with indeed nor
συνεθελόντων ἡμῶν, συναλγούντων δὲ καὶ συλλυπουμένων.
willing-with us sharing-the-pain but also grieving-with
τῆς δὲ ἁμαρτίας εἰς τοῦτον ἡκούσης, τό τ' ἔργον οὐχ
of-the and error onto him having-come the both deed not
ἡμέτερον ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξαμαρτόντος ἐστί, τό τε πάθος εἰς τὸν
ours but of-the (one)-who-erred is the and suffering onto the
δράσαντα ἐλθὸν ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπολύει τῆς αἰτίας, τὸν
doer having-come us indeed frees from-the charge the(-one)
δὲ δράσαντα δικαίως ἅμα τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ τετιμώρηται.
and having-done(-it) justly at-once with-the error has-been-punished
9 Ἀπολύει δὲ καὶ ὁ νόμος ἡμᾶς, ᾧ πιστεύων, εἴργοντι
frees and also the law us which trusting-in forbidding
μήτε ἀδίκως μήτε δικαίως ἀποκτείνειν, ὡς φονέα με
neither unjustly nor justly to-kill as murderer me
διώκει. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος ἁμαρτίας
he-prosecutes by indeed for the himself the dead-man error
ὅδε ἀπολύεται μηδὲ ἀκουσίως ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν·
this(-youth) is-freed not-even involuntarily to-have-killed him
ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ διώκοντος οὐδ' ἐπικαλούμενος ὡς ἑκὼν
by and the prosecutor not-even being-accused that willingly
ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀμφοῖν ἀπολύεται τοῖν ἐγκλημάτοιν, μήτ'
he-killed of-both is-freed the charges neither
ἄκων μήτε ἑκὼν ἀποκτεῖναι.
unwilling nor willing to-have-killed
10 Ἀπολυόμενος δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν
being-freed and by both the truth of-the(-things)
πραχθέντων ὑπό τε τοῦ νόμου καθ' ὃν διώκεται,
done by and the law according-to which he-is-prosecuted

οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἵνεκα δίκαιοι τοιούτων
not-even of-the pursuits for-the-sake-of just such
κακῶν ἀξιοῦσθαί ἐσμεν. οὗτός τε γὰρ ἀνόσια
evils to-be-thought-worthy-of are-we this(-youth) both for unholy(-things)
πείσεται τὰς οὐ προσηκούσας φέρων ἁμαρτίας, ἐγώ τε
will-suffer the not belonging(-to-him) bearing errors I and
μᾶλλον μὲν οὐδέν, ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ ἀναμάρτητος ὤν, εἰς
more indeed not equally and with-him guiltless being into
πολλαπλασίους τούτου συμφορὰς ἥξω· ἐπί τε γὰρ τῇ
many-times of-this calamities I-will-come on both for the
τούτου διαφθορᾷ ἀβίωτον τὸ λειπόμενον τοῦ βίου διάξω,
of-this(-youth) destruction unlivable the remainder of-the life I-will-pass
ἐπί τε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπαιδίᾳ ζῶν ἔτι κατορυχθήσομαι.
on and the my-own childlessness living still I-will-be-buried
Ἐλεοῦντες οὖν τοῦδε μὲν τοῦ νηπίου τὴν ἀναμάρτητον 11
pitying then of-this indeed the child the guiltless
συμφοράν, ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦ γηραιοῦ καὶ ἀθλίου τὴν
calamity of-me and the old and wretched the
ἀπροσδόκητον κακοπάθειαν, μὴ καταψηφισάμενοι δυσμόρους
unexpected suffering not having-condemned(-us) ill-fated
ἡμᾶς καταστήσητε, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπολύοντες εὐσεβεῖτε. ὅ τε γὰρ
us make but acquitting(-us) be-pious the both for
ἁμαρτὼν συμφοραῖς περιπεσὼν οὐκ ἀτιμώρητός ἐστιν,
(one)-who-erred into-misfortunes having-fallen not unpunished is
ἡμεῖς τε οὐ δίκαιοι τὰς τούτων ἁμαρτίας συμφέρειν ἐσμέν.
we and not just the of-these errors to-share are
Τήν τε οὖν εὐσέβειαν τούτων τῶν πραχθέντων καὶ τὸ 12
the both then piety of-these the(-things) done and the
δίκαιον αἰδούμενοι ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ἀπολύετε ἡμᾶς, καὶ
justice revering holily and justly acquit us and

μὴ ἀθλιωτάτω δύο πατέρα καὶ παῖδα ἀώροις συμφοραῖς
not most-wretched two father and son into-untimely misfortunes
περιβάλητε.
cast

III · THE ACCUSER'S REPLY

The accuser regrets speaking only once against two speeches, and asks the jurors not to let clever words make plain facts false. The defense says the thrower neither wounded nor killed, and the boy drove the javelin through his own ribs. In fact the boy crossed at the trainer's call to pick up the javelins and met the youth's missile, thrown at the wrong moment. Unintended killing is still killing; if the boy shared the error, so did the thrower. Acquittal would bring the pollution on the jurors.

1 Ὅτι μὲν αὐτὴ ἡ χρεία παρὰ φύσιν καὶ λέγειν καὶ δρᾶν
that indeed itself the need contrary-to nature both to-speak and to-do
ἅπαντας ἀναγκάζει, ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ λόγῳ δοκεῖ μοι σημαίνειν
all compels in-deed and not in-word seems to-me to-signify
οὗτος· ἥκιστα γὰρ ἔν γε τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ἀναιδὴς
this(-man) least for in at-least the former time shameless
καὶ τολμηρὸς ὤν, νῦν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς συμφορᾶς ἠνάγκασται
and daring being now by itself the misfortune he-has-been-compelled
λέγειν οἷα οὐκ ἄν ποτε ᾠμην ἐγὼ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν.
to-say such(-things)-as not — ever would-have-thought I this(-man) to-say
2 Ἐγώ τε γὰρ πολλῇ ἀνοίᾳ χρώμενος οὐκ ἂν ὑπέλαβον
I both for great folly using not — I-would-have-supposed
τοῦτον ἀντειπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἕνα λόγον ἀντὶ δυοῖν
this(-man) to-reply not for — one speech instead-of two
λέξας τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμαυτὸν ἂν ἀπεστέρησα·
having-spoken the half of-the accusation myself — would-I-have-deprived
οὗτός τε μὴ τολμῶν οὐκ ἂν προεῖχε τῷ
this(-man) and not daring not — would-have-had-the-advantage by-the

διπλασίῳ μου, ἕνα μὲν πρὸς ἕνα λόγον ἀπολογηθείς,
double over-me one indeed against one speech having-defended(-himself)
ἃ δὲ κατηγόρησεν ἀναποκρίτως εἰπών.
what and he-accused unanswered having-said
Τοσοῦτον δὲ προέχων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἐν 3
so-much and having-the-advantage in the speeches over-us still and in
οἷς ἔπρασσε πολλαπλάσια τούτων, οὗτος μὲν οὐχ ὁσίως
what he-did many-times than-these this(-man) indeed not holily
δεῖται ὑμῶν συχνῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ· ἐγὼ
asks you repeatedly the defense to-receive his I
δὲ δράσας μὲν οὐδὲν κακόν, παθὼν δὲ ἄθλια καὶ
and having-done indeed no evil having-suffered and wretched(-things) and
δεινά, καὶ νῦν ἔτι δεινότερα τούτων ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ
terrible(-things) and now still more-terrible(-things) than-these in-deed and not
λόγῳ, εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον ἔλεον καταπεφευγὼς δέομαι ὑμῶν, ὦ
in-word into the your pity having-fled I-ask you O
ἄνδρες ἀνοσίων ἔργων τιμωροί, ὁσίων δὲ διαγνώμονες, μὴ
men of-unholy deeds avengers of-holy(-deeds) and discerners not
ἔργα φανερὰ ὑπὸ πονηρᾶς λόγων ἀκριβείας πεισθέντας,
deeds evident by wicked of-words exactness having-been-persuaded
ψευδῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πραχθέντων ἡγήσασθαι·
false the truth of-the(-things) done to-consider
ἡ μὲν γὰρ πιστότερον ἢ ἀληθέστερον σύγκειται, 4
the(-one) indeed for more-plausibly than more-truly is-composed
ἡ δ' ἀδολώτερον καὶ ἀδυνατώτερον λεχθήσεται. τῷ
the(-other) and more-guilelessly and more-feebly will-be-spoken in-the
μὲν οὖν δικαίῳ πιστεύων ὑπερορῶ τῆς ἀπολογίας· τῇ δὲ
indeed then justice trusting I-disregard the defense the and
σκληρότητι τοῦ δαίμονος ἀπιστῶν ὀρρωδῶ, μὴ οὐ μόνον
harshness of-the deity distrusting I-dread lest not only

τῆς χρείας τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποστερηθῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθέντην
the service of-the boy I-be-deprived-of but also (as)-slayer
προσκαταγνωσθέντα ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐπίδω αὐτόν.
condemned-in-addition by you I-see him
5 Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ τόλμης καὶ ἀναιδείας ἥκει, ὥστε τὸν
to this for of-daring and of-shamelessness he-has-come that the(-one)
μὲν βαλόντα καὶ ἀποκτείναντα οὔτε τρῶσαι οὔτε
indeed having-struck and having-killed neither to-have-wounded nor
ἀποκτεῖναί φησι, τὸν δὲ οὔτε ψαύσαντα τοῦ ἀκοντίου
to-have-killed he-says the(-other) and neither having-touched the javelin
οὔτε ἐπινοήσαντα ἀκοντίσαι, ἁπάσης μὲν γῆς ἁμαρτόντα,
nor having-intended to-throw of-all indeed earth having-missed
πάντων δὲ σωμάτων, διὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πλευρῶν διαπῆξαι
of-all and bodies through the his-own ribs to-have-fixed
τὸ ἀκόντιον λέγει. ἐγὼ δὲ ἑκουσίως κατηγορῶν ἀποκτεῖναι
the javelin he-says I and willingly accusing(-him) to-have-killed
αὐτὸν πιστότερος ἄν μοι δοκῶ εἶναι ἢ οὗτος, ὃς μήτε
him more-credible — to-me I-seem to-be than this(-man) who neither
βαλεῖν μήτε ἀποκτεῖναί φησι τὸ μειράκιον.
to-have-struck nor to-have-killed says the youth
6 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καλούμενος ὑπὸ
the(-one) indeed for at this the moment being-called by
τοῦ παιδοτρίβου, ὡς ὑποδέχοιτο τοῖς ἀκοντίζουσι τὰ
the trainer to take-up for-the throwers the
ἀκόντια, διὰ τὴν τοῦ βαλόντος ἀκολασίαν πολεμίῳ τῷ
javelins because-of the of-the (one)-who-struck recklessness by-hostile the
τούτου βέλει περιπεσών, οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ εἰς ἕν᾽ ἁμαρτών,
of-this(-man) missile having-fallen-in-with nothing nor against one having-erred
ἀθλίως ἀπέθανε· ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν τῆς ἀναιρέσεως
wretchedly died the(-other) and about the of-the taking-up
καιρὸν πλημμελήσας, οὐ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχεῖν ἐκωλύθη, ἀλλ᾽
moment having-blundered not the target to-hit was-prevented but

ἄθλιον καὶ πικρὸν σκοπὸν ἐμοὶ ἀκοντίσας, ἑκὼν μὲν οὐκ
a-wretched and bitter target for-me having-thrown willingly indeed not
ἀπέκτεινε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑκὼν ἢ οὔτε ἔβαλεν οὔτε ἀπέκτεινεν.
he-killed rather and willingly than neither struck nor killed
Ἀκουσίως δὲ οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ἑκουσίως ἀποκτείναντές μου 7
involuntarily and no less than voluntarily having-killed my
τὸν παῖδα, τὸ παράπαν δὲ ἀρνούμενοι μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι
the boy the altogether and denying not to-have-killed
αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καταλαμβάνεσθαί φασιν,
him nor by the law to-be-caught they-say
ὃς ἀπαγορεύει μήτε δικαίως μήτε ἀδίκως ἀποκτείνειν.
which forbids neither justly nor unjustly to-kill
ἀλλὰ τίνος μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ὁ φόνος; πότερον ἀνήκει εἰς
but whose rather is the killing whether does-it-belong to
τοὺς θεωμένους ἢ εἰς τοὺς παιδαγωγούς; ὧν οὐδεὶς
the spectators or to the tutors of-whom no-one
οὐδὲν κατηγορεῖ· οὐδὲ ἀφανὴς ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν φανερὸς
nothing accuses nor obscure but also very evident
ἔμοιγε αὐτοῦ ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν νόμον
to-me-at-least his the death is I and the law
ὀρθῶς ἀγορεύειν φημὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας κολάζεσθαι· ὅ
rightly to-proclaim say the killers to-be-punished the
τε γὰρ ἄκων ἀποκτείνας ἀκουσίοις κακοῖς περιπεσεῖν
both for unwilling having-killed into-involuntary evils to-fall
δίκαιός ἐστιν, ὅ τε διαφθαρεὶς οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἀκουσίως ἢ
just is the both destroyed no less involuntarily than
ἑκουσίως βλαφθεὶς ἀδικοῖτ' ἂν ἀτιμώρητος γενόμενος.
voluntarily harmed would-be-wronged — unavenged having-become
Οὐ δίκαιος δὲ ἀποφυγεῖν ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τῆς 8
not just and to-be-acquitted he-is because-of the misfortune of-the
ἁμαρτίας. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ *** μηδὲ δι' ἐπιμελείας τοῦ
error if indeed for by (lacuna) nor through care of-the

θεοῦ ἡ ἀτυχία γίγνεται, ἁμάρτημα οὖσα τῷ ἁμαρτόντι
god the misfortune happens an-error being for-the (one)-who-erred
συμφορὰ δικαία γενέσθαι ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ δὴ θεία κηλὶς
calamity just to-become it-is if and indeed divine stain
τῷ δράσαντι προσπίπτει ἀσεβοῦντι, οὐ δίκαιον τὰς θείας
on-the doer falls being-impious not just the divine
προσβολὰς διακωλύειν γίγνεσθαι.
visitations to-prevent from-happening

9 Ἔλεξαν δὲ καὶ ὡς οὐ πρέπει χρηστὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντας
they-said and also that not it-befits good(-things) practicing
αὐτοὺς κακῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι· ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶς ἂν πρέποντα
them evils to-be-thought-worthy-of we and how — befitting(-things)
πάσχοιμεν, εἰ μηδὲν ὑποδεέστερα τούτων μελετῶντες
would-we-suffer if nothing inferior to-these practicing
θανάτῳ ζημιούμεθα; Φάσκων δὲ ἀναμάρτητος εἶναι, καὶ
by-death we-are-punished claiming and guiltless to-be and
ἀξιῶν τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν ἁμαρτόντων εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἰς
thinking-it-right the misfortunes of-the (ones)-who-erred to-be and not onto
τοὺς ἀναμαρτήτους ἐκτρέπεσθαι, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λέγει. ὅ τε
the guiltless to-be-turned on-behalf-of us he-speaks the both
γὰρ παῖς μου εἰς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἁμαρτών, ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ
for boy my against no-one nothing having-erred by this the
μειρακίου ἀποθανών, ἀδικοῖτ' ἂν ἀτιμώρητος γενόμενος·
youth having-died would-be-wronged — unavenged having-become
ἐγώ τε τοῦδε μᾶλλον ἀναμάρτητος ὢν δεινὰ
I and than-this(-youth) more guiltless being terrible(-things)
πείσομαι, ἃ ὁ νόμος ἀποδίδωσί μοι μὴ τυχὼν παρ' ὑμῶν.
I-will-suffer what the law grants me not obtaining(-it) from you

10 Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς ἁμαρτίας οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀκουσίως ἀποκτεῖναι,
that and neither of-the error nor of-the involuntarily to-have-killed
ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀπολύεται, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ ἀμφότερα
from what themselves say he-is-freed but common both

ταῦτα ἀμφοῖν αὐτοῖν ἐστι, δηλώσω. εἴπερ ὁ παῖς
these-things to-both them are I-will-show if-indeed the boy
διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν φορὰν τοῦ ἀκοντίου ὑπελθεῖν καὶ
because-of the under the flight of-the javelin to-have-gone-under and
μὴ ἀτρέμας ἑστάναι φονεὺς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ δίκαιος εἶναί
not still to-have-stood murderer himself of-himself just to-be
ἐστιν, οὐδὲ τὸ μειράκιον καθαρὸν τῆς αἰτίας ἐστίν,
is not-even the youth pure of-the charge is
ἀλλ' εἴπερ τούτου μὴ ἀκοντίζοντος ἀλλ' ἀτρέμα ἑστῶτος
but if-indeed this(-youth) not throwing but still standing
ἀπέθανεν ὁ παῖς. ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δὲ τοῦ φόνου γενομένου,
died the boy from both and the killing having-come-about
ὁ μὲν παῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἁμαρτὼν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ
the indeed boy against himself having-erred more than according-to
τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὑτὸν τετιμώρηται, τέθνηκε γάρ, ὁ δὲ
the error himself has-punished he-has-died for the and
συλλήπτωρ καὶ κοινωνὸς εἰς τοὺς οὐ προσήκοντας τῆς
accomplice and partner against the not concerned of-the
ἁμαρτίας γενόμενος πῶς δίκαιος ἀζήμιος ἀποφυγεῖν ἐστιν;
error having-become how just unpunished to-be-acquitted is
Ἐκ δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν τῶν ἀπολογουμένων ἀπολογίας μετόχου 11
from and the of-themselves the (ones)-defending defense partner
τοῦ μειρακίου τοῦ φόνου ὄντος, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως οὐδὲ
the youth of-the killing being not — justly nor
ὁσίως ἀπολύοιτε αὐτόν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς, οἱ διὰ τὴν
holily would-you-acquit him neither for we the(-ones) because-of the
τούτων ἁμαρτίαν διαφθαρέντες, αὐθένται καταγνωσθέντες
of-these error destroyed slayers condemned
ὅσια ἀλλ' ἀνόσι' ἂν πάθοιμεν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· οὔθ' οἱ
holy(-things) but unholy(-things) — we-would-suffer by you nor the(-ones)
θανατώσαντες ἡμᾶς μὴ εἰργόμενοι τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων
having-put-to-death us not barred from-the not belonging(-things)

εὐσεβοῖντ' ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπολυσάντων τοὺς ἀνοσίους. πάσης δ'
would-be-pious — by the (men)-who-acquitted the unholy all and
ὑπὲρ πάντων τῆς κηλῖδος εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀναφερομένης, πολλὴ
on-behalf-of all of-the stain onto you being-carried much
εὐλάβεια ὑμῖν τούτων ποιητέα ἐστί· καταλαβόντες μὲν
caution for-you of-these must-be-made is having-convicted indeed
γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ εἴρξαντες ὧν ὁ νόμος εἴργει καθαροὶ τῶν
for him and having-barred from-what the law bars pure of-the
ἐγκλημάτων ἔσεσθε, ἀπολύσαντες δὲ ὑπαίτιοι καθίστασθε.
charges you-will-be having-acquitted and blameworthy you-become
12 Τῆς οὖν ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν νόμων
the then your piety for-the-sake-of and of-the laws
ἀπάγοντες τιμωρεῖσθε αὐτόν, καὶ αὐτοί τε μὴ μεταλάβητε
leading-off punish him and yourselves both not share
τῆς τούτου μιαρίας, ἡμῖν τε τοῖς γονεῦσιν, οἳ ζῶντες
the of-this(-man) pollution for-us and the parents who living
κατορωρύγμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, δόξῃ γοῦν ἐλαφροτέραν τὴν
have-been-buried by him in-belief at-least lighter the
συμφορὰν καταστήσατε.
calamity make

IV · THE FATHER'S REPLY

The father answers that a killer is the man convicted of the deed, not the one accused of it. He never said the boy threw the javelin, only that he ran under its flight; if the trainer called him across, the trainer is to blame. The youth missed the target no more than his fellows did; the boy alone left the spectators. The thrower could not see him, while the boy could see the throwers and stand still. The boy erred and paid at once, and the law acquits them.

Τοῦτον μὲν εἰκὸς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορίαν προσέχοντα 1
this(-man) indeed likely to the his-own accusation applying
τὸν νοῦν μὴ μαθεῖν τὴν ἀπολογίαν μου, ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή,
the mind not to-have-learned the defense my you and must
γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ ἀντίδικοι κατ' εὔνοιαν
knowing that we indeed the opponents in good-will
κρίνοντες τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως δίκαια ἑκάτεροι αὑτοὺς
judging the matter reasonably just(-things) each ourselves
οἰόμεθα λέγειν, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁσίως ὁρᾶν προσήκει τὰ
think to-speak you and holily to-look-at it-befits the(-things)
πραχθέντα·
done
ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια σκεπτέα αὐτῶν 2
from the(-things) said for the truth must-be-considered of-them
ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μέν τι ψεῦδος εἴρηκα, ὁμολογῶ καὶ τὰ
is I and if indeed anything false I-have-said I-agree also the
ὀρθῶς εἰρημένα προσδιαβάλλειν ἄδικα εἶναι· εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ
rightly said to-slander-besides unjust to-be if and true(-things)
μέν, λεπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκριβῆ, οὐκ ἐγὼ ὁ λέγων ἀλλ'
indeed subtle and and exact not I the (one)-speaking but
ὁ πράξας τὴν ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῶν δίκαιος φέρεσθαί ἐστι.
the (one)-who-did the hatred of-them just to-bear is
Θέλω δὲ πρῶτον ὑμᾶς μαθεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐάν τις φάσκῃ 3
I-wish and first you to-learn that not if anyone says
ἀποκτεῖναι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐλεγχθῇ. οὗτος
to-have-killed this is(-be) but if anyone be-convicted this(-man)
δὲ ὁμολογῶν τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἡμεῖς λέγομεν γενέσθαι, περὶ
and agreeing the deed as we say to-have-happened about
τοῦ ἀποκτείναντος ἀμφισβητεῖ, ὃν ἀδύνατον ἀλλαχόθεν
the killer disputes whom impossible from-elsewhere
ἢ ἐκ τῶν πραχθέντων δηλοῦσθαι.
than from the(-things) done to-be-shown

4 Σχετλιάζει δὲ κακῶς ἀκούειν φάσκων τὸν παῖδα, εἰ μήτε
he-complains and ill to-be-spoken-of saying the boy if neither
ἀκοντίσας μήτε ἐπινοήσας αὐθέντης ὢν ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ
having-thrown nor having-intended slayer being he-is-shown and
οὐ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπολογεῖται. οὐ γὰρ ἀκοντίσαι
not against the(-things) said he-defends-himself not for to-have-thrown
οὐδὲ βαλεῖν αὑτόν φημι τὸν παῖδα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὴν
nor to-have-struck himself I-say the boy but under the
πληγὴν τοῦ ἀκοντίου ὑπελθόντα οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου
blow of-the javelin having-gone-under not by the youth
ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἀτρεμίζων ἀπέθανε.
but by himself to-have-been-destroyed not for keeping-still he-died
τῆς δὲ διαδρομῆς αἰτίας ταύτης γενομένης, εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ
of-the and running-across cause this having-become if indeed by
τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καλούμενος διέτρεχεν, ὁ παιδοτρίβης
the trainer being-called he-was-running-across the trainer
ἂν ὁ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν εἴη, εἰ δ' ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πεισθεὶς
— the killer of-him would-be if and by himself persuaded
ὑπῆλθεν, αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διέφθαρται.
he-went-under he by himself has-been-destroyed

5 Θέλω δὲ μὴ πρότερον ἐπ' ἄλλον λόγον ὁρμῆσαι, ἢ τὸ
I-wish and not sooner to another argument to-set-out than the
ἔργον ἔτι φανερώτερον καταστῆσαι, ὁποτέρου αὐτῶν ἐστί.
deed still more-evident to-make of-whichever of-them it-is
τὸ μὲν μειράκιον οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον τῶν συμμελετώντων
the indeed youth than-none more of-the fellow-practicers
ἐστὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἁμαρτόν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τι
is the target having-missed nor of-the (things)-charged anything
διὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ἁμαρτίαν δέδρακεν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ
through the his-own error has-done the and boy not
ταὐτὰ τοῖς συνθεωμένοις δρῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ
the-same-things as-the fellow-spectators doing but into the path of-the

ἀκοντίου ὑπελθών, σαφῶς δηλοῦται παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ
javelin having-gone-under clearly is-shown through the his-own
ἁμαρτίαν περισσοτέροις παθήμασι τῶν ἀτρεμιζόντων
error to-greater sufferings than-those keeping-still
περιπεσών. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰς οὐδέν' ἂν ἥμαρτε,
having-fallen the(-one) indeed for against no-one — would-have-erred
μηδενὸς ὑπὸ τὸ βέλος ὑπελθόντος αὐτῷ· ὁ δ' οὐκ
no-one under the missile having-gone-under for-him the(-other) and not
ἂν ἐβλήθη μετὰ τῶν θεωμένων ἑστώς.
— would-have-been-struck with the spectators standing
Ὡς δ' οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον τῶν συνακοντιζόντων μέτοχός ἐστι 6
that and than-none more of-the fellow-throwers sharer he-is
τοῦ φόνου, διδάξω. εἰ γὰρ διὰ τὸ τοῦτον ἀκοντίζειν ὁ
of-the killing I-will-show if for because-of the this(-youth) to-throw the
παῖς ἀπέθανε, πάντες ἂν οἱ συμμελετῶντες συμπράκτορες
boy died all — the fellow-practicers accomplices
εἶεν τῆς αἰτίας· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀκοντίζειν
would-be of-the blame these for not because-of the not to-throw
οὐκ ἔβαλον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τὸ
not did-strike him but because-of the for-no-one under the
ἀκόντιον ὑπελθεῖν· ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος οὐδὲν περισσὸν
javelin to-have-gone-under the and young-man nothing more
τούτων ἁμαρτών, ὁμοίως τούτοις οὐκ ἂν ἔβαλεν
than-these having-erred equally with-these not — would-have-struck
αὐτὸν ἀτρέμα σὺν τοῖς θεωμένοις ἑστῶτα.
him still with the spectators standing
Ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦ παιδὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 7
is and not the error of-the boy alone but also
ἡ ἀφυλαξία. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα ὁρῶν διατρέχοντα,
the carelessness the(-one) indeed for no-one seeing running-across
πῶς ἂν ἐφυλάξατο μηδένα βαλεῖν; ὁ δ' ἰδὼν
how — could-he-have-guarded not-any to-strike the(-other) and having-seen

τοὺς ἀκοντίζοντας, εὐπετῶς ἂν ἐφυλάξατο μὴ βληθῆναι·
the throwers easily — could-have-guarded not to-be-struck
ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀτρέμα ἑστάναι.
it-was-possible for for-him still to-stand

8 Τὸν δὲ νόμον ὃν παραφέρουσιν, ἐπαινεῖν δεῖ. ὀρθῶς
the and law which they-bring-forward to-praise one-must rightly
γὰρ καὶ δικαίως τοὺς ἀκουσίως ἀποκτείναντας ἀκουσίοις
for and justly the involuntarily having-killed with-involuntary
παθήμασι κολάζει. τὸ μὲν οὖν μειράκιον ἀναμάρτητον
sufferings it-punishes the indeed then youth guiltless
ὄν, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁμαρτόντος κολάζοιτο·
being not — justly on-behalf-of the (one)-who-erred would-be-punished
ἱκανὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστι τὰς αὑτοῦ ἁμαρτίας φέρειν· ὁ
sufficient for for-him it-is the his-own errors to-bear the
δὲ παῖς ταῖς αὑτοῦ ἁμαρτίαις διαφθαρείς, ἅμα ἥμαρτέ
and boy by-the his-own errors destroyed at-once erred
τε καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκολάσθη. κεκολασμένου δὲ τοῦ
both and by himself was-punished punished and the
ἀποκτείναντος, οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ὁ φόνος ἐστί.
killer not unavenged the killing is

9 Ἔχοντός γε δὴ τὴν δίκην τοῦ φονέως, οὐκ ἐὰν
having at-least indeed the penalty the murderer not if
ἀπολύσητε ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐὰν καταλάβητε, ἐνθύμιον
you-acquit us but if you-convict a-weight-of-guilt
ὑπολείψεσθε. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίας
you-will-leave-behind the(-one) indeed for himself the his-own errors
φέρων, οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν προστρόπαιον καταλείψει· ὁ
bearing to-no-one nothing suppliant-avenger will-leave the(-one)
δὲ καθαρὸς τῆς αἰτίας ὅδε ἐὰν διαφθαρῇ, τοῖς
and pure of-the charge this(-youth) if he-is-destroyed for-the
καταλαμβάνουσι μεῖζον τὸ ἐνθύμιον γενήσεται. εἰ δὲ
(ones)-convicting greater the weight-of-guilt will-become if and

αὐθέντης ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὐχ ἡμεῖς
slayer from the(-things) said he-is-shown not we
αὐτῷ οἱ λέγοντες αἴτιοί ἐσμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ πρᾶξις τῶν ἔργων.
for-him the (ones)-speaking responsible are but the doing of-the deeds
Ὀρθῶς δὲ τῶν ἐλέγχων ἐλεγχόντων τὸν παῖδα αὐθέντην
rightly and the proofs proving the boy slayer
ὄντα, ὁ νόμος ἀπολύων ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας τὸν ἀποκτείναντα
being the law acquitting us of-the charge the killer
καταλαμβάνει. μήτε οὖν ἡμᾶς εἰς μὴ προσηκούσας
convicts neither then us into not belonging(-to-us)
συμφορὰς ἐμβάλητε, μήτε αὐτοὶ ταῖς τούτων ἀτυχίαις
calamities throw nor yourselves the of-these misfortunes
βοηθοῦντες ἐναντία τοῦ δαίμονος γνῶτε, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ
helping contrary of-the deity decide but as
ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον, μεμνημένοι τοῦ πάθους ὅτι διὰ
holy and just(-it-is) remembering the suffering that because-of
τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν φορὰν τοῦ ἀκοντίου ὑπελθόντα ἐγένετο,
the(-one) under the flight of-the javelin having-gone-under it-happened
ἀπολύετε ἡμᾶς· οὐ γὰρ αἴτιοι τοῦ φόνου ἐσμέν.
acquit us not for guilty of-the killing we-are

ANTIPHON

ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ Γ

Third Tetralogy

The Third Tetralogy opens with the accuser on why homicide trials demand scrupulous judges and witnesses. God gave mankind earth and sea for its living, so whoever kills unlawfully offends the gods, and the dead man's avenging spirits pursue all who judge or testify against justice. The defendant is no accidental killer: drunk and insolent, he struck and choked an old man until he died. The witnesses who saw him drunk have been heard, and the jurors must take his life in return and purify the city.

Νενόμισται μὲν ὀρθῶς τὰς φονικὰς δίκας περὶ πλείστου 1
it-has-been-established indeed rightly the homicide trials of most
τοὺς κρίνοντας ποιεῖσθαι διώκειν τε καὶ μαρτυρεῖν
the judges to-make to-prosecute both and to-testify
κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, μήτε τοὺς ἐνόχους ἀφιέντας μήτε
according-to the just neither the guilty letting-go nor
τοὺς καθαροὺς εἰς ἀγῶνα καθιστάντας.
the pure into trial bringing
Ὅ τε γὰρ θεὸς βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον 2
the both for god wishing to-make the human
φῦλον τοὺς πρώτους γενομένους ἔφυσεν ἡμῶν, τροφέας
race the first born begot of-us nourishers
τε παρέδωκε τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἵνα μὴ σπάνει
both he-gave the earth and the sea so-that not by-want
τῶν ἀναγκαίων προαποθνῄσκοιμεν τῆς γηραιοῦ τελευτῆς.
of-the necessities we-should-die-before the of-old-age end
ὅστις οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιωθέντων τοῦ βίου
whoever then of-the(-ones) by the god thought-worthy of-the life
ἡμῶν ἀνόμως τινὰ ἀποκτείνει, ἀσεβεῖ μὲν περὶ τοὺς
of-us lawlessly anyone kills he-is-impious indeed toward the
θεούς, συγχεῖ δὲ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
gods he-confounds and the customs of-the men

3 Ὅ τε ἀποθανών, στερόμενος ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ,
the both dead-man being-deprived of-what the god gave him
εἰκότως θεοῦ τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπει τὴν τῶν ἀλιτηρίων
reasonably of-god vengeance leaves-behind the of-the avenging-spirits
δυσμένειαν, ἣν οἱ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κρίνοντες ἢ
hostility which the(-ones) contrary-to the just judging or
μαρτυροῦντες, συνασεβοῦντες τῷ ταῦτα δρῶντι, οὐ
testifying joining-in-impiety with-the these-things doing not
προσῆκον μίασμα εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους εἰσάγονται·
belonging(-to-them) a-pollution into the their-own houses bring-in
4 ἡμεῖς τε οἱ τιμωροὶ τῶν διεφθαρμένων, εἰ δι' ἄλλην
we both the avengers of-the destroyed(-ones) if through other
τινὰ ἔχθραν τοὺς ἀναιτίους διώκοιμεν, τῷ μὲν
some enmity the innocent we-should-prosecute for-the indeed
ἀποθανόντι οὐ τιμωροῦντες δεινοὺς ἀλιτηρίους ἕξομεν
dead-man not avenging terrible avenging-spirits we-will-have
τοὺς τῶν ἀποθανόντων προστροπαίους, τοὺς δὲ καθαροὺς
the of-the dead suppliant-avengers the and pure
ἀδίκως ἀποκτείνοντες ἔνοχοι τοῦ φόνου τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις
unjustly killing liable for-the murder to-the penalties
ἐσμέν, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἄνομα δρᾶν πείθοντες καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου
we-are you and lawless(-things) to-do persuading also of-the your
ἁμαρτήματος ὑπαίτιοι γιγνόμεθα.
error blameworthy we-become
5 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν δεδιὼς ταῦτα, εἰς ὑμᾶς παράγων τὸν
I indeed then fearing these-things before you bringing the
ἀσεβήσαντα καθαρὸς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰμί· ὑμεῖς δὲ
(one)-who-was-impious pure of-the charges am you and
ἀξίως τῶν προειρημένων τῇ κρίσει προσσχόντες τὸν
worthily of-the(-things) said-before to-the judgment having-applied the

νοῦν, ἀξίαν δίκην τοῦ πάθους τῷ εἰργασμένῳ ἐπιθέντες,
mind fitting penalty of-the suffering on-the (one)-who-did(-it) having-laid
ἅπασαν τὴν πόλιν καθαρὰν τοῦ μιάσματος καταστήσετε.
all the city pure of-the pollution you-will-make
Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄνδρα, ἄξιος ἂν 6
if indeed for unwilling he-killed the man worthy —
ἦν συγγνώμης τυχεῖν τινός· ὕβρει δὲ καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ
he-would-be pardon to-obtain some by-insolence but and by-licentiousness
παροινῶν εἰς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην, τύπτων τε καὶ πνίγων
being-drunken against a-man old striking both and choking
ἕως τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεστέρησεν αὐτόν, ὡς μὲν ἀποκτείνας
until the life he-deprived him as indeed having-killed
τοῦ φόνου τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ἔνοχός ἐστιν, ὡς δὲ συγχέων
for-the murder to-the penalties liable he-is as and confounding
ἅπαντα τῶν γεραιοτέρων τὰ νόμιμα οὐδενὸς ἁμαρτεῖν,
all of-the elders the customs of-nothing to-fail
οἷς οἱ τοιοῦτοι κολάζονται, δίκαιός ἐστιν.
by-which the such(-men) are-punished just he-is
Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νόμος ὀρθῶς ὑμῖν τιμωρεῖσθαι παραδίδωσιν 7
the indeed then law rightly to-you to-punish hands-over
αὐτόν· τῶν δὲ μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, οἳ παρῆσαν
him the and witnesses you-have-heard who were-present
παροινοῦντι αὐτῷ. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ τῇ τε ἀνομίᾳ τοῦ
at-(him)-being-drunken him you and must the both lawlessness of-the
παθήματος ἀμύνοντας, τήν τε ὕβριν κολάζοντας ἀξίως
suffering warding-off the and insolence punishing worthily
τοῦ πάθους, τὴν βουλεύσασαν ψυχὴν ἀνταφελέσθαι αὐτόν.
of-the suffering the (that)-planned life to-take-away-in-return from-him

The defendant says the dead man brought it on himself: he started the fight, drunk, against a much soberer man, and the one who begins should suffer more. Nor did the blows kill him: he died days later through the bad treatment of a poor doctor, though other doctors had warned him, and the accusers had advised it. The law calls the man who planned a death the killer, and he planned only what was planned against him. If the jurors convict him unjustly, the dead man's wrath will fall on them.

1 Ὅτι μὲν βραχεῖς τοὺς λόγους ἐποιήσαντο, οὐ θαυμάζω
that indeed short the speeches they-made not I-wonder
αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς μὴ πάθωσιν ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἐστίν,
at-them not for that not they-may-suffer the danger for-them is
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐμὲ μὴ δικαίως δι' ἔχθραν διαφθείρωσιν. ὅτι δ'
but that me not justly through enmity they-may-destroy that and
ἐξισοῦν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐγκλήμασιν ἤθελον τὸ πρᾶγμα,
to-make-equal to-the greatest charges they-wanted the matter
οὗ ὁ ἀποθανὼν αὑτῷ αἴτιος καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγὼ
of-which the dead-man to-himself responsible and more than I
ἐγένετο, εἰκότως ἂν ἀγανακτεῖν μοι δοκῶ. ἄρχων γὰρ
became reasonably — to-be-indignant to-me I-seem beginning for
χειρῶν ἀδίκων, καὶ παροινῶν εἰς ἄνδρα πολὺ αὑτοῦ
of-hands unjust and being-drunken against a-man much than-himself
σωφρονέστερον, οὐχ αὑτῷ μόνον τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀλλὰ
more-sober not to-himself only of-the misfortune but
καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος αἴτιος ἐγένετο.
also to-me of-the charge responsible became

2 Οἶμαι μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὔτε δίκαια τούτους οὔθ' ὅσια δρᾶν ἐγκαλοῦντας ἐμοί. τὸν γὰρ ἄρξαντα τῆς
I-think indeed then I-for-my-part neither just(-things) these(-men) nor holy(-things) to-do accusing me the for (one)-who-began the

πληγῆς, εἰ μὲν σιδήρῳ ἢ λίθῳ ἢ ξύλῳ ἠμυνάμην
blow if indeed with-iron or with-stone or with-wood I-had-warded-off
αὐτόν, ἠδίκουν μὲν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως — οὐ γὰρ
him I-would-be-wronging indeed not-even — thus not for
ταὐτὰ ἀλλὰ μείζονα καὶ πλείονα δίκαιοι οἱ ἄρχοντες
the-same but greater and more just the beginners
ἀντιπάσχειν εἰσί—· ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τυπτόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
to-suffer-in-return are with-the and hands being-struck by him
ταῖς χερσὶν ἅπερ ἔπασχον ἀντιδρῶν, πότερα ἠδίκουν;
with-the hands what-very I-was-suffering doing-in-return whether was-I-wronging
Εἶεν· ἐρεῖ δέ 'ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος εἴργων μήτε δικαίως 3
so-be-it he-will-say and but the law forbidding neither justly
μήτε ἀδίκως ἀποκτείνειν ἔνοχον τοῦ φόνου τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις
nor unjustly to-kill liable of-the murder to-the penalties
ἀποφαίνει σε ὄντα· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ τέθνηκεν.' ἐγὼ δὲ δεύτερον
shows you being the for man has-died I and a-second
καὶ τρίτον οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναί φημι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν
and a-third(-time) not to-have-killed say if indeed for by the
πληγῶν ὁ ἀνὴρ παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν
blows the man on-the-spot died by me indeed
δικαίως δ' ἂν ἐτεθνήκει — οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ ἀλλὰ μείζονα
justly and — he-would-have-died not for the-same but greater
καὶ πλείονα οἱ ἄρξαντες δίκαιοι ἀντιπάσχειν εἰσί—·
and more the beginners just to-suffer-in-return are
νῦν δὲ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον μοχθηρῷ ἰατρῷ 4
now and many days later to-a-wretched doctor
ἐπιτρεφθεὶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἰατροῦ μοχθηρίαν καὶ οὐ
entrusted through the of-the doctor wretchedness and not
διὰ τὰς πληγὰς ἀπέθανε. προλεγόντων γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν
through the blows he-died foretelling for to-him the
ἄλλων ἰατρῶν, εἰ ταύτην τὴν θεραπείαν θεραπεύσοιτο, ὅτι
other doctors if this the treatment he-should-be-treated that

ἰάσιμος ὢν διαφθαρήσοιτο, δι᾽ ὑμᾶς τοὺς συμβούλους
curable being he-would-be-destroyed through you the advisers
διαφθαρεὶς ἐμοὶ ἀνόσιον ἔγκλημα προσέβαλεν.
destroyed on-me unholy a-charge he-has-cast
5 Ἀπολύει δέ με καὶ ὁ νόμος καθ᾽ ὃν διώκομαι.
frees and me also the law according-to which I-am-prosecuted
τὸν γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα κελεύει φονέα εἶναι. ἐγὼ μὲν
the for (one)-who-planned it-bids murderer to-be I indeed
οὖν πῶς ἂν ἐπεβούλευσά τι αὐτῷ, ὅ τι μὴ καὶ
then how — could-I-have-planned anything against-him what ever not also
ἐπεβουλεύθην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ; τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀμυνόμενος
I-was-planned-against by him with-the for same warding-off
αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ δρῶν ἅπερ ἔπασχον, σαφὲς ὅτι
him and the same(-things) doing what-very I-was-suffering clear that
τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπεβούλευσα καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθην.
the same I-planned and was-planned-against
6 Εἰ δέ τις ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τὸν θάνατον οἰόμενος
if and anyone from the blows the death thinking
γενέσθαι φονέα με αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖται εἶναι, ἀντιλογισάσθω
to-have-come murderer me of-him considers to-be let-him-reckon-on-the-other-side
ὅτι διὰ τὸν ἄρξαντα αἱ πληγαὶ γενόμεναι τοῦτον
that because-of the beginner the blows having-come-about this(-man)
αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου καὶ οὐκ ἐμὲ ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα·
cause of-the death and not me show being
οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠμυνάμην μὴ τυπτόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
not for — I-would-have-warded-off not being-struck by him
Ἀπολυόμενος δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ νόμου ὑπό τε τοῦ ἄρξαντος
being-freed and by both the law by and the beginner
τῆς πληγῆς, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ φονεὺς αὐτοῦ εἰμι, ὁ
of-the blow I indeed in-no way murderer of-him am the
δὲ ἀποθανών, εἰ μὲν ἀτυχίᾳ τέθνηκε, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀτυχίᾳ
and dead-man if indeed by-misfortune he-has-died the his-own misfortune

κέχρηται — ἠτύχησε γὰρ ἄρξας τῆς πληγῆς—, εἰ
he-has-met he-was-unfortunate for having-begun the blow if
δ' ἀβουλίᾳ τινί, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀβουλίᾳ διέφθαρται·
and by-thoughtlessness some by-the his-own thoughtlessness he-has-been-destroyed
οὐ γὰρ εὖ φρονῶν ἔτυπτέ με.
not for well thinking he-was-striking me
Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐ δικαίως κατηγοροῦμαι, ἐπιδέδεικταί μοι· 7
that indeed then not justly I-am-accused has-been-shown by-me
ἐθέλω δὲ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντάς μου πᾶσιν οἷς ἐγκαλοῦσιν
I-wish and the accusers my of-all which they-charge
ἐνόχους αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἀποδεῖξαι. καθαρῷ μέν μοι τῆς
liable themselves being to-show pure indeed me of-the
αἰτίας ὄντι φόνου ἐπικαλοῦντες, ἀποστεροῦντες δέ με τοῦ
charge being murder charging depriving and me of-the
βίου ὃν ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκέ μοι, περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβοῦσιν·
life which the god gave me toward the god they-are-impious
ἀδίκως δὲ θάνατον ἐπιβουλεύοντες τά τε νόμιμα συγχέουσι
unjustly and death plotting the both customs they-confound
φονῆς τέ μου γίγνονται· ἀνοσίως δ' ἀποκτεῖναι ὑμᾶς με
murderers and my become unholily and to-kill you me
πείθοντες καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας αὑτοὶ φονῆς εἰσί.
persuading also of-the your piety themselves murderers are
Τούτοις μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπιθείη τὴν δίκην· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ τὸ 8
on-these indeed then the god may-lay the penalty you and must the
ὑμέτερον σκοποῦντας ἀπολῦσαί με μᾶλλον ἢ καταλαβεῖν
your(-interest) considering to-acquit me rather than to-convict
βούλεσθαι. ἀδίκως μὲν γὰρ ἀπολυθείς, διὰ τὸ μὴ
to-wish unjustly indeed for acquitted because-of the not
ὀρθῶς ὑμᾶς διδαχθῆναι ἀποφυγών, τοῦ μὴ διδάξαντος
rightly you to-have-been-taught having-escaped of-the not having-taught
καὶ οὐχ ὑμέτερον τὸν προστρόπαιον τοῦ ἀποθανόντος
and not yours the suppliant-avenger of-the dead-man

καταστήσω· μὴ ὀρθῶς δὲ καταληφθεὶς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν
I-will-make not rightly and convicted by you on-you
καὶ οὐ τούτῳ τὸ μήνιμα τῶν ἀλιτηρίων προστρίψομαι.
and not on-this(-man) the wrath of-the avenging-spirits I-will-rub-off
9 Ταῦτ᾽ οὖν εἰδότες, τουτοισὶ τὸ ἀσέβημα τοῦτο ἀναθέντες,
these-things then knowing on-these the impiety this having-laid
αὐτοί τε καθαροὶ τῆς αἰτίας γένεσθε ἐμέ τε ὁσίως καὶ
yourselves both pure of-the charge become me and holily and
δικαίως ἀπολύετε· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καθαρώτατοι πάντες οἱ
justly acquit thus for — purest all the
πολῖται εἴημεν.
citizens we-would-be

III · THE ACCUSER'S REPLY

The accuser answers that the young are likelier than the old to start a drunken fight, made bold by pride and strength. The old man died without leaving a mark on his attacker, and hands are more a man's own than iron. The one who strikes the fatal blow, not the one who strikes first, plans the death. The law frees the doctor, and they took the man to him only because of the defendant's blows. The jurors must appease the avenging spirits and purify the city.

1 Τοῦτόν τε οὐ θαυμάζω ἀνόσια δράσαντα ὅμοια οἷς
him both not I-wonder unholy(-things) having-done like what
εἴργασται λέγειν, ὑμῖν τε συγγιγνώσκω βουλομένοις τὴν
he-has-done to-say you and I-pardon wishing the
ἀκρίβειαν τῶν πραχθέντων μαθεῖν τοιαῦτα ἀνέχεσθαι
exactness of-the(-things) done to-learn such(-things) to-endure
ἀκούοντας αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἐκβάλλεσθαι ἄξιά ἐστι. τὸν γὰρ
hearing from-him which to-be-cast-out deserving are the for
ἄνδρα ὁμολογῶν τύπτειν τὰς πληγὰς ἐξ ὧν ἀπέθανεν,
man admitting to-have-struck the blows from which he-died

αὐτὸς μὲν τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὔ φησι φονεὺς εἶναι, ἡμᾶς
himself indeed of-the dead-man not he-says murderer to-be us
δὲ τοὺς τιμωροῦντας αὐτῷ ζῶν τε καὶ βλέπων φονέας
and the(-ones) avenging him living both and seeing murderers
αὑτοῦ φησιν εἶναι. θέλω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παραπλήσια
of-himself he-says to-be I-wish and also the other(-things) similar
ἀπολογηθέντα τούτοις ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτόν.
having-defended(-himself) to-these to-show him
Εἶπε δὲ πρῶτον μέν, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ἀπέθανεν ὁ 2
he-said and first indeed if even from the blows died the
ἀνήρ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν· τὸν γὰρ ἄρξαντα τῆς
man that not he-killed him the for (one)-who-began the
πληγῆς, τοῦτον αἴτιον τῶν πραχθέντων γενόμενον
blow this(-man) cause of-the(-things) done having-become
καταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἄρξαι δὲ τὸν
to-be-caught by the law to-have-begun and the
ἀποθανόντα. μάθετε δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄρξαι καὶ
dead-man learn indeed first indeed that to-begin and
παροινεῖν τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰκότερόν
to-be-drunken the younger than-the older more-likely
ἐστι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἥ τε μεγαλοφροσύνη τοῦ γένους ἥ
is the(-ones) indeed for the both pride of-the birth the
τε ἀκμὴ τῆς ῥώμης ἥ τε ἀπειρία τῆς μέθης ἐπαίρει
and prime of-the strength the and inexperience of-the drunkenness urges
τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἥ τε ἐμπειρία τῶν
to-the anger to-indulge the(-ones) and the both experience of-the
παροινουμένων ἥ τε ἀσθένεια τοῦ γήρως ἥ τε δύναμις
drunken(-acts) the and weakness of-the old-age the and power
τῶν νέων φοβοῦσα σωφρονίζει.
of-the young frightening sobers

3 Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις ἠμύνατο
that and not-even with-the same but with-the most-opposite(-things) he-warded-off
αὐτόν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον σημαίνει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκμαζούσῃ
him itself the deed signifies the(-one) indeed for with-flourishing
τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν χειρῶν χρώμενος ἀπέκτεινεν· ὁ δὲ
the strength of-the hands using killed the(-other) and
ἀδυνάτως τὸν κρείσσονα ἀμυνόμενος, οὐδὲ σημεῖον οὐδὲν
feebly the stronger warding-off not-even a-sign any
ὧν ἠμύνατο ὑπολιπὼν ἀπέθανεν. Εἰ δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν
of-what he-warded-off having-left died if and with-the hands
ἀπέκτεινε καὶ οὐ σιδήρῳ, ὅσον αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ σιδήρου
he-killed and not with-iron as-much-as the hands than-the iron
οἰκειότεραι τούτῳ εἰσί, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον φονεύς ἐστιν.
more-his-own to-this(-man) are by-so-much more murderer he-is
4 Ἐτόλμησε δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ὁ ἄρξας τῆς πληγῆς καὶ μὴ
he-dared and to-say that the (one)-who-began the blow and not
διαφθείρας μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀποκτείναντος φονεύς ἐστι·
having-destroyed(-him) more than-the killer murderer is
τοῦτον γὰρ βουλευτὴν τοῦ θανάτου φησὶ γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ
this(-one) for planner of-the death he-says to-become I
δὲ πολὺ τἀναντία τούτων φημί. εἰ γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες ἃ
and much the-opposite of-these say if for the hands what
διανοούμεθα ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν ὑπουργοῦσιν, ὁ μὲν πατάξας
we-intend for-each of-us serve the(-one) indeed having-struck
καὶ μὴ ἀποκτείνας τῆς πληγῆς βουλευτὴς ἐγένετο, ὁ
and not having-killed of-the blow planner became the(-other)
δὲ θανασίμως τύπτων τοῦ θανάτου· ἐκ γὰρ ὧν ἐκεῖνος
and fatally striking of-the death from for what that-one
διανοηθεὶς ἔδρασεν, ὁ ἀνὴρ τέθνηκεν. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν
having-intended did the man has-died it-is and the indeed
ἀτυχία τοῦ πατάξαντος, ἡ δὲ συμφορὰ τοῦ παθόντος.
misfortune of-the (one)-who-struck the and calamity of-the (one)-who-suffered

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασεν ἐκεῖνος διαφθαρείς,
the(-one) indeed for from what did that-one destroyed
οὐ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πατάξαντος
not with-the his-own error but with-the of-the (one)-who-struck
χρησάμενος ἀπέθανεν· ὁ δὲ μείζω ὧν ἤθελε
having-met died the(-other) and greater(-things) than-what he-wished
πράξας, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀτυχίᾳ ὃν οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀπέκτεινεν.
having-done by-the his-own misfortune whom not he-wished killed
Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰατροῦ φάσκων αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ θαυμάζω 5
by and the doctor saying him to-have-died not I-wonder
ὅτι ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν συμβουλευσάντων ἐπιτρεφθῆναί φησιν
that by us the advisers to-have-been-entrusted he-says
αὐτὸν διαφθαρῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰ μὴ ἐπετρέψαμεν, ὑπ'
him to-have-been-destroyed and for — if not we-had-entrusted(-him) by
ἀθεραπείας ἂν ἔφη διαφθαρῆναι αὐτόν. εἰ δέ
want-of-treatment — he-would-have-said to-have-been-destroyed him if and
τοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰατροῦ ἀπέθανεν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ὁ
surely even by the doctor he-died as not he-died the
μὲν ἰατρὸς οὐ φονεὺς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀπολύει
indeed doctor not murderer of-him is the for law frees
αὐτόν, διὰ δὲ τὰς τούτου πληγὰς ἐπιτρεψάντων
him because-of and the of-this(-man) blows having-entrusted
ἡμῶν αὐτῷ, πῶς ἂν ἄλλος τις ἢ ὁ βιασάμενος ἡμᾶς
we to-him how — other any than the (one)-who-forced us
χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ φονεὺς εἴη ἄν;
to-use him murderer would-be —
Οὕτως δὲ φανερῶς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐλεγχόμενος 6
thus and evidently from every way being-convicted
ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰς τοῦτο τόλμης καὶ ἀναιδείας
to-have-killed the man to this of-daring and of-shamelessness
ἥκει, ὥστ' οὐκ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὑτοῦ
he-has-come that not sufficing for-him it-is on-behalf-of the his-own

ἀσεβείας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς, οἳ τὸ τούτου
impiety to-defend-himself but also us who the of-this(-man)
μίασμα ἐπεξερχόμεθα, ἀθέμιστα καὶ ἀνόσια δρᾶν φησι.
pollution prosecute lawless(-things) and unholy(-things) to-do he-says
7 Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν πρέπει καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι τούτων
for-him indeed then it-befits both these-things and still than-these
δεινότερα λέγειν, τοιαῦτα δεδρακότι· ἡμεῖς δὲ τόν
more-terrible(-things) to-say such(-things) having-done we and the
τε θάνατον φανερὸν ἀποδεικνύντες, τήν τε πληγὴν
both death evident showing the and blow
ὁμολογουμένην ἐξ ἧς ἀπέθανε, τόν τε νόμον εἰς τὸν
agreed from which he-died the and law onto the
πατάξαντα τὸν φόνον ἀνάγοντα, ἀντὶ τοῦ παθόντος
(one)-who-struck the killing referring on-behalf-of the (one)-who-suffered
ἐπισκήπτομεν ὑμῖν, τῷ τούτου φόνῳ τὸ μήνιμα τῶν
we-enjoin you with-the of-this(-man) killing the wrath of-the
ἀλιτηρίων ἀκεσαμένους πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καθαρὰν τοῦ
avenging-spirits having-appeased all the city pure of-the
μιάσματος καταστῆσαι.
pollution to-make

IV · THE FRIENDS' DEFENSE

The defendant has fled into exile, afraid of his accusers' zeal, and his friends defend him. Age proves nothing, and the witnesses say the dead man struck first: the one who began the blows forced the other to strike back and himself to go to the doctor. The defendant meant to strike, not to kill, and fought back more weakly than he suffered; the law punishes the man who strikes first, not the one who defends himself. The witnesses say the doctor killed him, and acquittal is the juster course.

Ὁ μὲν ἀνήρ, οὐ καταγνοὺς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ, 1
the indeed man not having-condemned himself of-himself
ἀλλὰ τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν κατηγόρων φοβηθείς,
but the zeal of-the accusers having-feared
ὑπαπέστη· ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ζῶντι ἢ ἀποθανόντι
withdrew for-us and the friends living or dead
εὐσεβέστερον ἀμύνειν αὐτῷ. ἄριστα μὲν οὖν
more-piously to-help him best indeed then
αὐτὸς ἂν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ ἀπελογεῖτο· ἐπεὶ
he-himself — on-behalf-of himself would-have-defended(-himself) since
δὲ τάδε ἀκινδυνότερα ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἡμῖν, οἷς
and these-things less-dangerous seemed to-be for-us to-whom
μέγιστον ἂν πένθος γένοιτο στερηθεῖσιν αὐτοῦ,
greatest — grief would-come deprived of-him
ἀπολογητέον.
one-must-defend(-him)

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι περὶ τὸν ἄρξαντα τῆς πληγῆς τὸ 2
it-seems and to-me about the (one)-who-began the blow the
ἀδίκημα εἶναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν διώκων οὐκ εἰκόσι τεκμηρίοις
crime to-be the indeed then prosecutor not by-likely proofs
χρώμενος τοῦτον τὸν ἄρξαντά φησιν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν
using this(-one) the beginner says to-be if indeed
γὰρ ὥσπερ βλέπειν μὲν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν, ἀκούειν δὲ
for as to-see indeed with-the two-eyes to-hear and
τοῖς ὠσίν, οὕτω κατὰ φύσιν ἦν ὑβρίζειν μὲν
with-the ears so according-to nature it-were to-be-insolent indeed
τοὺς νέους, σωφρονεῖν δὲ τοὺς γέροντας, οὐδὲν ἂν
the young to-be-sober and the old not-at-all —
τῆς ὑμετέρας κρίσεως ἔδει· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ἡλικία
of-the your judgment there-would-be-need itself for the age
τῶν νέων κατέκρινε· νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν νέοι
of-the young would-have-condemned(-them) now and many indeed young

σωφρονοῦντες, πολλοὶ δὲ πρεσβῦται παροινοῦντες, οὐδὲν
being-sober many and old-men being-drunken no
μᾶλλον τῷ διώκοντι ἢ τῷ φεύγοντι τεκμήριον
more for-the prosecutor than for-the defendant proof
γίγνονται.
become

3 Κοινοῦ δὲ τοῦ τεκμηρίου ἡμῖν ὄντος καὶ τούτῳ,
common and the proof for-us being also to-this(-man)
τῷ παντὶ προέχομεν· οἱ γὰρ μάρτυρες τοῦτόν
the whole we-have-the-advantage the for witnesses this(-man)
φασιν ἄρξαι τῆς πληγῆς. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου,
say to-have-begun the blow having-begun and this(-man)
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν κατηγορουμένων
also of-the other all the (things)-charged
ἀπολύεται τῆς αἰτίας. εἴ τε γὰρ ὁ πατάξας,
is-freed from-the charge if both for the (one)-who-struck
διὰ τὴν πληγὴν βιασάμενος ὑμᾶς ἐπιτρεφθῆναι
because-of the blow having-forced you to-be-entrusted
ἰατρῷ, μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀποκτείναντος φονεύς ἐστιν, ὁ
to-a-doctor more than-the killer murderer is the
ἄρξας τῆς πληγῆς φονεὺς γίγνεται. οὗτος γὰρ
(one)-who-began the blow murderer becomes this(-one) for
ἠνάγκασε τόν τε ἀμυνόμενον ἀντιτύπτειν τόν τε
compelled the both (one)-defending-himself to-strike-back the and
πληγέντα ἐπὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐλθεῖν. ἀνόσια γὰρ ἂν ὁ
(one)-struck to the doctor to-go unholy(-things) for — the
διωκόμενος πάθοι, εἰ μήτε ἀποκτείνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ
defendant would-suffer if neither having-killed on-behalf-of the
ἀποκτείναντος μήτε ἄρξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄρξαντος φονεὺς
killer nor having-begun on-behalf-of the beginner murderer
ἔσται.
will-be

Ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὁ διωκόμενος 4
is and not-even the planner at-all more the defendant
τοῦ διώκοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄρξας τῆς
than-the prosecutor if indeed for the(-one) indeed having-begun the
πληγῆς τύπτειν καὶ μὴ ἀποκτείνειν διενοήθη, ὁ
blow to-strike and not to-kill intended the(-other)
δὲ ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτεῖναι, οὗτος ἂν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας
and defending-himself to-kill this(-one) — the planner
εἴη. νῦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀμυνόμενος τύπτειν καὶ οὐκ
would-be now and both the (one)-defending-himself to-strike and not
ἀποκτεῖναι διανοηθεὶς ἥμαρτεν, εἰς ἃ οὐκ ἠβούλετο
to-kill having-intended erred into what not he-wished
πατάξας.
having-struck

Τῆς μὲν οὖν πληγῆς βουλευτὴς ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ 5
of-the indeed then blow planner he-became the and
θάνατον πῶς ἂν ἐπεβούλευσεν, ὅς γε ἀκουσίως
death how — could-he-have-planned who at-least involuntarily
ἐπάταξεν; Οἰκεῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τῷ ἄρξαντι
struck own and also the error to-the beginner
μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἀμυνομένῳ ἐστίν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
more than to-the (one)-defending-himself is the(-one) indeed for
ἃ ἔπασχεν ἀντιδρᾶν ζητῶν, ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου βιαζόμενος
what he-suffered to-do-back seeking by that-one forced
ἐξήμαρτεν· ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀκολασίαν
erred the(-one) and because-of the his-own licentiousness
πάντα δρῶν καὶ πάσχων, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς
all-things doing and suffering both of-the his-own and of-the
ἐκείνου ἁμαρτίας αἴτιος ὢν δίκαιος φονεὺς εἶναί
that-one's error cause being just murderer to-be
ἐστιν.
is

6 Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ κρεισσόνως ἀλλὰ πολὺ ὑποδεεστέρως
that and not-even more-strongly but much more-weakly
ὧν ἔπασχεν ἠμύνετο, διδάξω. ὁ μὲν ὑβρίζων
than-what he-suffered he-warded-off I-will-show the(-one) indeed being-insolent
καὶ παροινῶν πάντ᾽ ἔδρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἠμύνατο·
and being-drunken all-things was-doing and nothing warded-off
ὁ δὲ μὴ πάσχειν ἀλλ᾽ ἀπωθεῖσθαι ζητῶν,
the(-other) and not to-suffer but to-push-off seeking
ἅ τε ἔπασχεν ἀκουσίως ἔπασχεν, ἅ τ᾽ ἔδρασε
what both he-suffered involuntarily suffered what and he-did
τὰ παθήματα βουλόμενος διαφυγεῖν ἐλασσόνως ἢ
the sufferings wishing to-escape more-weakly than
κατ᾽ ἀξίαν τὸν ἄρξαντα ἠμύνετο, καὶ οὐκ
according-to desert the beginner he-warded-off and not
ἔδρα.
was-doing

7 Εἰ δὲ κρείσσων ὢν τὰς χεῖρας κρεισσόνως
if and stronger being in-the hands more-strongly
ἠμύνετο ἢ ἔπασχεν, οὐδ᾽ οὕτω δίκαιος ὑφ᾽
he-warded-off than he-suffered not-even so just by
ὑμῶν καταλαμβάνεσθαί ἐστι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
you to-be-convicted is-he for-the indeed for
ἄρξαντι πανταχοῦ μεγάλα ἐπιτίμια ἐπίκειται,
beginner everywhere great penalties are-laid
τῷ δὲ ἀμυνομένῳ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἐπιτίμιον
for-the and (one)-defending-himself nowhere any penalty
γέγραπται.
is-written

8 Πρὸς δὲ τὸ μήτε δικαίως μήτε ἀδίκως ἀποκτείνειν
to and the neither justly nor unjustly to-kill
ἀποκέκριται· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ
it-has-been-answered not for by the blows but by

τοῦ ἰατροῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ὡς οἱ μάρτυρες
the doctor the man died as the witnesses
μαρτυροῦσιν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ τύχη τοῦ ἄρξαντος
testify it-is and also the fortune of-the beginner
καὶ οὐ τοῦ ἀμυνομένου. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκουσίως
and not of-the (one)-defending-himself the(-one) indeed for involuntarily
πάντα δράσας καὶ παθὼν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τύχῃ κέχρηται·
all-things having-done and having-suffered another's fortune has-met
ὁ δὲ ἑκουσίως πάντα δράσας, ἐκ τῶν αὑτοῦ
the(-other) and voluntarily all-things having-done from the his-own
ἔργων τὴν τύχην προσαγαγόμενος, τῇ αὑτοῦ ἀτυχίᾳ
deeds the fortune having-brought-on by-the his-own misfortune
ἥμαρτεν.
erred

Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐδενὶ ἔνοχος τῶν κατηγορημένων ὁ 9
that indeed then to-nothing liable of-the (things)-charged the
διωκόμενός ἐστιν, ἀποδέδεικται. εἰ δέ τις κοινὴν μὲν
defendant is it-has-been-shown if and anyone common indeed
τὴν πρᾶξιν κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος
the action common and the misfortune of-them considering
εἶναι, μηδὲν ἀπολύσιμον μᾶλλον ἢ καταλήψιμον ἐκ
to-be nothing acquittable rather than condemnable from
τῶν λεγομένων γιγνώσκει αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὕτως
the(-things) said judges him being even so
ἀπολύειν μᾶλλον ἢ καταλαμβάνειν δίκαιός ἐστι.
to-acquit rather than to-condemn just he-is
τόν τε γὰρ διώκοντα οὐ δίκαιον καταλαμβάνειν,
the both for prosecutor not just to-condemn
μὴ σαφῶς διδάξαντα ὅ τι ἀδικεῖται· τόν τε
not clearly having-shown what (thing) he-is-wronged the and

φεύγοντα ἀνόσιον ἁλῶναι, μὴ φανερῶς ἐλεγχθέντα ἃ
defendant unholy to-be-convicted not evidently convicted of-what
ἐπικαλεῖται.
he-is-charged

10 Οὑτωσὶ δὲ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
thus and from every way of-the charges
ἀπολυομένου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἡμεῖς ὁσιώτερον ὑμῖν ἐπισκήπτομεν
being-freed the man we more-holily you enjoin
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ τὸν φονέα ζητοῦντας κολάζειν τὸν
on-behalf-of him not the murderer seeking to-punish the
καθαρὸν ἀποκτείνειν. ὅ τε γὰρ ἀποκτείνας τούτου
pure to-kill the both for killer this(-man)
ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἧσσον τοῖς αἰτίοις προστρόπαιος
having-died no less for-the guilty (a)-suppliant-avenger
ἔσται, οὗτός τε ἀνοσίως διαφθαρεὶς διπλάσιον
will-be this(-man) and unholily destroyed double
καθίστησι τὸ μήνιμα τῶν ἀλιτηρίων τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν
makes the wrath of-the avenging-spirits for-the killers
αὐτόν.
him

11 Ταῦτα οὖν δεδιότες, τὸν μὲν καθαρὸν ὑμέτερον ἡγεῖσθε
these-things then fearing the indeed pure yours consider
εἶναι ἀπολύειν τῆς αἰτίας, τὸν δὲ μιαρὸν τῷ χρόνῳ
to-be to-acquit of-the charge the and polluted to-the time
ἀποδόντες φῆναι τοῖς ἔγγιστα τιμωρεῖσθαι ὑπολείπετε·
having-given to-reveal(-him) to-the nearest to-punish leave
οὕτω γὰρ ἂν δικαιότατα καὶ ὁσιώτατα πράξαιτ'
thus for — most-justly and most-holily you-would-act
ἄν.
—

ANTIPHON

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΙΔΟΥ ΦΟΝΟΥ

On the Murder of Herodes

A Mytilenaean is charged with killing Herodes. He asks the jurors to forgive a slip of the tongue as inexperience and to credit what he says well to the truth. He was brought to trial unlawfully, denounced as a malefactor under a law meant for thieves, though the charge is murder. Homicide trials are held in the open air, the accuser under oath; he has been tried in the agora, and his accuser and the accuser's witnesses are unsworn. He could have stayed away and let the case go by default.

Ἐβουλόμην μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τὴν 1
I-could-wish indeed O men the power of-the speaking and the
ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἴσου μοι καθεστάναι
experience of-the affairs on equal(-terms) for-me to-have-been-established
τῇ τε συμφορᾷ καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς γεγενημένοις·
with-the both misfortune and with-the evils the having-come-about
νῦν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεπείραμαι πέρᾳ τοῦ προσήκοντος, τοῦ
now and of-the indeed I-have-experienced beyond the fitting of-the
δὲ ἐνδεής εἰμι μᾶλλον τοῦ συμφέροντος.
and lacking I-am more than-the advantageous
Οὗ μὲν γάρ με ἔδει κακοπαθεῖν τῷ σώματι 2
where indeed for me it-was-necessary to-suffer-hardship in-the body
μετὰ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς οὐ προσηκούσης, ἐνταυθοῖ οὐδέν
with the charge the not fitting there in-nothing
με ὠφέλησεν ἡ ἐμπειρία· οὗ δέ με δεῖ σωθῆναι
me helped the experience where and me it-is-necessary to-be-saved
μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰπόντα τὰ γενόμενα, ἐν τούτῳ
with the truth having-told the(-things) having-happened in this
με βλάπτει ἡ τοῦ λέγειν ἀδυναμία.
me harms the of-the speaking inability
Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τῶν οὐ δυναμένων λέγειν 3
many indeed for already of-the(-men) not able to-speak
ἄπιστοι γενόμενοι τοῖς ἀληθέσιν, αὐτοῖς τούτοις
untrustworthy having-become in-the truths by-the-very these

ἀπώλοντο, οὐ δυνάμενοι δηλῶσαι αὐτά· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν
perished not being-able to-make-clear them many and of-the(-men)
λέγειν δυναμένων πιστοὶ γενόμενοι τῷ ψεύδεσθαι, τούτῳ
to-speak able trustworthy having-become by-the lying by-this
ἐσώθησαν, διότι εὖ ἐψεύσαντο. ἀνάγκη οὖν, ὅταν τις
were-saved because well they-lied necessary then when anyone
ἄπειρος ᾖ τοῦ ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγόρων
inexperienced be of-the contending upon the of-the accusers
λόγοις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ
words to-be rather than upon the-very the deeds and the
ἀληθείᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων.
truth of-the matters

4 Ἐγὼ οὖν ὦ ἄνδρες αἰτήσομαι ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ
I then O men will-ask you not the-very-things the many
τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀκροᾶσθαι σφῶν αὐτῶν αἰτοῦνται,
of-the (men)-contending to-hear them- -selves ask
σφίσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπιστοῦντες, ὑμῶν δὲ προκατεγνωκότες
in-them- indeed -selves distrusting of-you and having-prejudged
ἄδικόν τι — εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐν ἀνδράσι γε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ
unjust something likely for among men at-least good also
ἄνευ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς φεύγουσιν,
without the request the hearing to-be-available to-the defendants
οὗπερ καὶ οἱ διώκοντες ἔτυχον ἄνευ αἰτήσεως—·
which also the prosecutors obtained without request

5 τάδε δὲ δέομαι ὑμῶν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐάν τι τῇ
these-things and I-ask of-you this indeed if in-anything with-the
γλώσσῃ ἁμάρτω, συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι
tongue I-err pardon to-have for-me and to-consider
ἀπειρίᾳ αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀδικίᾳ ἡμαρτῆσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ
by-inexperience it rather than by-injustice to-have-been-erred this and
ἐάν τι ὀρθῶς εἴπω, ἀληθείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δεινότητι εὖ
if anything rightly I-say by-truth rather than by-cleverness well

εἰρῆσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἔργῳ ἁμαρτόντα διὰ
to-have-been-said not for just neither in-deed having-erred through
ῥήματα σωθῆναι, οὔτ' ἔργῳ ὀρθῶς πράξαντα διὰ ῥήματα
words to-be-saved nor in-deed rightly having-acted through words
ἀπολέσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ῥῆμα τῆς γλώσσης ἁμάρτημά
to-perish the indeed for word of-the tongue error
ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῆς γνώμης.
is the and deed of-the mind
Ἀνάγκη δὲ κινδυνεύοντα περὶ αὐτῷ καί πού τι καὶ 6
necessary and (one)-being-in-danger about himself also somewhere something also
ἐξαμαρτεῖν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν λεγομένων ἀνάγκη
to-err not for only of-the(-things) said it-is-necessary
ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων· ἅπαντα γὰρ
to-consider but also of-the(-things) about-to-be all for
τὰ ἐν ἀδήλῳ ἔτ' ὄντα ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἀνάκειται
the(-things) in uncertainty still being on the fortune rather are-laid
ἢ τῇ προνοίᾳ. ταῦτ' οὖν ἔκπληξιν πολλὴν παρέχειν
than on-the forethought these-things then consternation much to-cause
ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τῷ κινδυνεύοντι.
necessary is for-the (one)-being-in-danger
Ὁρῶ γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ ἐμπείρους τοῦ 7
I-see for I-for-my-part also the very experienced in-the
ἀγωνίζεσθαι πολλῷ χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν λέγοντας, ὅταν
contending much worse than-themselves speaking when
ἔν τινι κινδύνῳ ὦσιν· ὅταν δ' ἄνευ κινδύνων τι
in some danger they-are when and without dangers anything
διαπράσσωνται, μᾶλλον ὀρθουμένους. ἡ μὲν οὖν αἴτησις
they-transact more succeeding the indeed then request
ὦ ἄνδρες καὶ νομίμως καὶ ὁσίως ἔχουσα, καὶ ἐν τῷ
O men both lawfully and holily standing and in the

ὑμετέρῳ δικαίῳ οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ· περὶ δὲ τῶν
your justice no less than in the mine about and the
κατηγορημένων ἀπολογήσομαι καθ᾽ ἕκαστον.
(things)-charged I-will-make-defense by each

8 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς παρανομώτατα καὶ βιαιότατα
first indeed then how most-lawlessly and most-violently
εἰς τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα καθέστηκα, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς διδάξω,
into this the contest I-have-been-brought this you I-will-teach
οὐ τῷ φεύγειν ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον, ἐπεὶ κἂν
not by-the to-shun — the multitude the your since even
ἀνωμότοις ὑμῖν καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμον μηδένα ἐπιτρέψαιμι
unsworn to-you and not according-to law no would-I-entrust
περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ διαψηφίσασθαι, ἕνεκά γε
about the person the my to-vote for-the-sake at-least
τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐμοί τε μηδὲν ἐξημαρτῆσθαι εἰς τόδε τὸ
of-the to-trust by-me both nothing to-have-erred against this the
πρᾶγμα καὶ ὑμᾶς γνώσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα
matter and you to-be-going-to-recognize the just(-things) but so-that
ᾖ τεκμήρια ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων τῶν
may-be proofs to-you also of-the other matters the
εἰς ἐμὲ ἡ τούτων βιαιότης καὶ παρανομία.
toward me the of-these violence and lawlessness

9 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κακοῦργος ἐνδεδειγμένος φόνου δίκην
first indeed for (as)-a-malefactor having-been-denounced on-a-murder charge
φεύγω, ὃ οὐδεὶς πώποτ᾽ ἔπαθε τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ
I-am-defendant which no-one ever suffered of-the(-men) in the land
ταύτῃ. καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐ κακοῦργός εἰμι οὐδ᾽ ἔνοχος τῷ
this and that indeed not a-malefactor I-am nor liable to-the
τῶν κακούργων νόμῳ, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι τούτου γε μάρτυρες
of-the malefactors law themselves these of-this at-least witnesses
γεγένηνται. περὶ γὰρ τῶν κλεπτῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν
have-become about for the thieves and cloak-stealers

ὁ νόμος κεῖται, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ προσὸν ἀπέδειξαν.
the law lies of-which nothing to-me belonging they-showed
οὕτως εἴς γε ταύτην τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν νομιμωτάτην καὶ
thus to at-least this the arrest most-lawful and
δικαιοτάτην πεποιήκασιν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀποψήφισίν μου.
most-just they-have-made for-you the acquittal of-me
Φασὶ δὲ αὐτό γε τὸ ἀποκτείνειν μέγα κακούργημα εἶναι, 10
they-say and itself at-least the to-kill a-great crime to-be
καὶ ἐγὼ ὁμολογῶ μέγιστόν γε, καὶ τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν καὶ τὸ
and I agree greatest at-least and the to-rob-temples and the
προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ χωρὶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἑκάστου
to-betray the city but separately about them each
οἱ νόμοι κεῖνται. ἐμοὶ δὲ πρῶτον μέν, οὗ τοῖς ἄλλοις
the laws lie for-me and first indeed where to-the others
εἴργεσθαι προαγορεύουσι τοῖς τοῦ φόνου φεύγουσι
to-be-excluded they-proclaim to-the(-ones) of-the murder defending
τὰς δίκας, ἐνταυθοῖ πεποιήκασι τὴν κρίσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ·
the cases there they-have-made the trial in the agora
ἔπειτα τίμησίν μοι ἐποίησαν, ἀνταποθανεῖν τοῦ νόμου
then an-assessment for-me they-made to-die-in-return the law
κειμένου τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, οὐ τοῦ ἐμοὶ συμφέροντος
lying the killer not of-the for-me advantage
ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λυσιτελοῦντος, καὶ
for-the-sake-of but of-the for-them- -selves profitable and
ἐνταῦθα ἔλασσον ἔνειμαν τῷ τεθνηκότι τῶν ἐν τῷ
here less they-assigned to-the dead-man than-the(-things) in the
νόμῳ· οὗ δ' ἕνεκα, γνώσεσθε προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου.
law of-what and for-the-sake you-will-know proceeding the speech
Ἔπειτα δέ, ὃ πάντας οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι, ἅπαντα τὰ 11
then and which all I-think you to-know all the
δικαστήρια ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ δικάζει τὰς δίκας τοῦ φόνου, οὐδενὸς
courts in the-open-air judge the cases of-the murder of-nothing

ἄλλου ἕνεκα ἢ ἵνα τοῦτο μὲν οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ ἴωσιν εἰς τὸ
other for-the-sake than that this indeed the jurors not may-go into the
αὐτὸ τοῖς μὴ καθαροῖς τὰς χεῖρας, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ διώκων
same with-the(-men) not pure the hands this and the prosecutor
τὴν δίκην τοῦ φόνου ἵνα μὴ ὁμωρόφιος γίγνηται τῷ
the case of-the murder so-that not under-the-same-roof he-may-become with-the
αὐθέντῃ. σὺ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρελθὼν τοῦτον τὸν νόμον
slayer you and this indeed having-passed-by this the law
τοὐναντίον τοῖς ἄλλοις πεποίηκας· τοῦτο δὲ δέον σε
the-opposite to-the others have-done this and it-being-needful you
διομόσασθαι ὅρκον τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, ἐξώλειαν
to-swear oath the greatest and strongest destruction
σαυτῷ καὶ γένει καὶ οἰκίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπαρώμενον, ἢ μὴν μὴ
on-yourself and family and house the your invoking truly indeed not
ἄλλα κατηγορήσειν ἐμοῦ ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν φόνον,
other(-things) to-accuse-of me than regarding itself the murder
ὡς ἔκτεινα, ἐν ᾧ οὔτ' ἂν κακὰ πολλὰ εἰργασμένος
that I-killed in which neither — evils many having-done
ἡλισκόμην ἄλλῳ ἢ αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι, οὔτ' ἂν πολλὰ
would-I-be-convicted other than by-itself the matter nor — many
ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένος τούτοις ἂν ἐσῳζόμην τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς·
good(-things) having-done by-these — would-I-be-saved the good(-things)
12 ἃ σὺ παρελθών, αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ νόμους ἐξευρών,
which you having-passed-by yourself for-yourself laws having-invented
ἀνώμοτος μὲν αὐτὸς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, ἀνώμοτοι δὲ οἱ
unsworn indeed yourself me accuse unsworn and the
μάρτυρες καταμαρτυροῦσι, δέον αὐτοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν
witnesses testify-against(-me) it-being-needful them the same
ὅρκον σοὶ διομοσαμένους καὶ ἁπτομένους τῶν σφαγίων
oath with-you having-sworn and touching the victims
καταμαρτυρεῖν ἐμοῦ. ἔπειτα κελεύεις τοὺς δικαστὰς
to-testify-against me then you-bid the jurors

ἀνωμότοις πιστεύσαντας τοῖς μαρτυροῦσι φόνου δίκην
in-unsworn having-trusted the (men)-testifying of-murder a-verdict
καταγνῶναι, οὓς σὺ αὐτὸς ἀπίστους κατέστησας παρελθὼν
to-pronounce whom you yourself untrustworthy made having-passed-by
τοὺς κειμένους νόμους, καὶ ἡγῇ χρῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν σὴν
the established laws and you-think it-needful for-them the your
παρανομίαν κρείσσω γενέσθαι αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων.
lawlessness stronger to-become than-themselves the laws
Λέγεις δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἂν παρέμεινα εἰ ἐλελύμην, ἀλλ' 13
you-say and that not — I-would-have-stayed if I-had-been-released but
ᾠχόμην ἂν ἀπιών, ὡσπερεὶ ἄκοντά με ἀναγκάσας
I-would-have-gone — departing as-if unwilling me having-compelled
εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην. καίτοι ἐμοὶ εἰ μηδὲν
to-come into the land this and-yet to-me if nothing
διέφερε στέρεσθαι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως, ἴσον ἦν μοι καὶ
it-mattered to-be-deprived of-this the city equal it-was to-me both
προσκληθέντι μὴ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐρήμην ὀφλεῖν εἶναι τὴν
summoned not to-come but by-default to-lose to-be the
δίκην, τοῦτο δ' ἀπολογησαμένῳ τὴν προτέραν ἐξεῖναι
case this and having-made-defense-in the first(-speech) to-be-allowed
ἐξελθεῖν· ἅπασι γὰρ τοῦτο κοινόν ἐστι. σὺ δέ, ὃ τοῖς
to-go-away for-all for this common is you and what for-the
ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι κοινόν ἐστιν, ἰδίᾳ ζητεῖς με μόνον
other Greeks common is privately seek me alone
ἀποστερεῖν, αὐτὸς σαυτῷ νόμον θέμενος.
to-deprive yourself for-yourself a-law having-made

The homicide laws, the oldest in Athens, have never been changed, yet the accuser has made a law for himself, leaving the speaker open to a second trial. He was imprisoned though he offered three sureties. He sailed from Mytilene with Herodes, he to his father at Aenus, Herodes to release captives to Thracians aboard who were ransoming them. A storm drove them into Methymnaean territory, where rain moved them to a decked ship, and they drank. Herodes went ashore and never came back; the speaker searched like the rest, and no one accused him until he had sailed.

14 Καίτοι τούς γε νόμους οἳ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν
and-yet the at-least laws which lie about the
τοιούτων, πάντας ἂν οἶμαι ὁμολογῆσαι κάλλιστα νόμων
such(-matters) all — I-think would-agree finest of-laws
ἁπάντων κεῖσθαι καὶ ὁσιώτατα. ὑπάρχει μέν γε αὐτοῖς
all to-lie and holiest it-belongs indeed at-least to-them
ἀρχαιοτάτοις εἶναι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἔπειτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς
oldest to-be in the land this then the same
ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι σημεῖον νόμων
always about the same(-things) which greatest is sign of-laws
καλῶς κειμένων· ὁ γὰρ χρόνος καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία τὰ
well lying the for time and the experience the(-things)
μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντα ἐκδιδάσκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὥστε οὐ
not well being teaches the men so-that not
δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κατηγόρου λόγων τοὺς νόμους
must you from the of-the accuser words the laws
καταμανθάνειν, εἰ καλῶς ὑμῖν κεῖνται ἢ μή, ἀλλ' ἐκ
to-learn whether well for-you they-lie or not but from
τῶν νόμων τοὺς τῶν κατηγόρων λόγους, εἰ ὀρθῶς
the laws the of-the accusers words whether rightly
καὶ νομίμως ὑμᾶς διδάσκουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ οὔ.
and lawfully you they-teach the matter or not

Οὕτως οἵ γε νόμοι κάλλιστα κεῖνται οἱ περὶ φόνου, 15
thus the at-least laws finest lie the(-ones) about murder
οὓς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐτόλμησε κινῆσαι· σὺ δὲ μόνος δὴ
which no-one ever dared to-move you and alone indeed
τετόλμηκας γενέσθαι νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα, καὶ
have-dared to-become lawgiver toward the worse and
ταῦτα παρελθὼν ζητεῖς με ἀδίκως ἀπολέσαι. ἃ δὲ
these-things having-passed-by you-seek me unjustly to-destroy which and
σὺ παρανομεῖς, αὐτὰ ταῦτά μοι μέγιστα μαρτύριά
you transgress-the-law-in very these-things for-me greatest testimonies
ἐστιν· εὖ γὰρ ᾔδεις ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἂν ἦν σοι
are well for you-knew that no-one — would-there-have-been for-you
ὃς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὅρκον διομοσάμενος ἐμοῦ κατεμαρτύρησεν.
who that the oath having-sworn me would-have-testified-against
Ἔπειτα δὲ οὐχ ὡς πιστεύων τῷ πράγματι ἀναμφισβητήτως 16
then and not as trusting the matter indisputably
ἕνα τὸν ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐποιήσω, ἀλλὰ
one the contest about the matter you-made but
ἀμφισβήτησιν καὶ λόγον ὑπελίπου ὡς καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς
dispute and argument you-left-over as also these the
δικασταῖς ἀπιστήσων. ὥστε μηδέν μοι ἐνθάδε πλέον
jurors going-to-distrust so-that nothing for-me here more
εἶναι μηδ' ἀποφυγόντι, ἀλλ' ἐξεῖναί σοι λέγειν ὅτι
to-be not-even having-been-acquitted but to-be-possible for-you to-say that
κακοῦργος ἀπέφυγον, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ φόνου τὴν δίκην·
(as)-a-malefactor I-was-acquitted but not of-the murder the case
ἑλὼν δ' αὖ ἀξιώσεις με ἀποκτεῖναι ὡς τοῦ
having-convicted(-me) and again you-will-claim me to-kill as of-the
φόνου τὴν δίκην ὠφληκότα. καίτοι πῶς ἂν εἴη τούτων
murder the case having-lost and-yet how — would-be than-these
δεινότερα μηχανήματα, εἰ ὑμῖν μὲν ἅπαξ τουτουσὶ
more-terrible contrivances if for-you indeed once these

πείσασι κατείργασται ἃ βούλεσθε, ἐμοὶ δ' ἅπαξ
having-persuaded is-accomplished what you-wish for-me and once
ἀποφυγόντι ὁ αὐτὸς κίνδυνος ὑπολείπεται;
acquitted the same danger remains

17 Ἔτι δὲ μάλ' ἐδέθην ὦ ἄνδρες παρανομώτατα
further and very-much I-was-put-in-bonds O men most-lawlessly
ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐθέλοντος γάρ μου ἐγγυητὰς τρεῖς
of-all men being-willing for me sureties three
καθιστάναι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, οὕτως οὗτοι διεπράξαντο
to-provide according-to the law so these accomplished
τοῦτο ὥστε μὴ ἐγγενέσθαι μοι ποιῆσαι. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ξένων
this that not to-be-possible for-me to-do(-it) of-the and other foreigners
ὅστις πώποτε ἠθέλησε καταστῆσαι ἐγγυητάς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε
whoever ever was-willing to-provide sureties no-one ever
ἐδέθη. καίτοι οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν κακούργων τῷ αὐτῷ
was-put-in-bonds and-yet the overseers of-the malefactors the same
χρῶνται νόμῳ τούτῳ. ὥστε καὶ οὗτος κοινὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
use law this so-that also this(-law) common to-the others
πᾶσιν ὢν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἐπέλιπε μὴ ὠφελῆσαι †τοῦδε κόσμου.
all being for-me alone failed not to-help of-this order

18 Τούτοις γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο συμφέρον, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς
to-these for was this advantageous first indeed as
ἀπαρασκευότατον γενέσθαι με, μὴ δυνάμενον διαπράσσεσθαι
most-unprepared to-become me not being-able to-transact
αὐτὸν τἀμαυτοῦ πράγματα, ἔπειτα κακοπαθεῖν τῷ σώματι,
myself my-own affairs then to-suffer-hardship in-the body
τούς τε φίλους προθυμοτέρους ἔχειν τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ τούτοις
the both friends more-eager to-have the my-own for-these
τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐμοὶ τἀληθῆ, διὰ τὴν
the false(-things) to-testify than for-me the-truth because-of the

τοῦ σώματος κακοπάθειαν. ὄνειδός τε αὐτῷ τε ἐμοὶ
of-the body suffering reproach and on-(my)self both me
περιέθεσαν καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς προσήκουσιν εἰς τὸν βίον ἅπαντα.
they-put and on-the my relatives for the life whole
Οὕτωσὶ μὲν δὴ πολλοῖς ἐλασσωθεὶς τῶν 19
thus indeed indeed in-many-things having-been-put-at-a-disadvantage of-the
νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων καὶ τοῦ δικαίου καθέστηκα εἰς τὸν
laws the your and the justice I-have-come into the
ἀγῶνα· ὅμως μέντοι γε καὶ ἐκ τούτων πειράσομαι
contest nevertheless however at-least even from these I-will-try
ἐμαυτὸν ἀναίτιον ἐπιδεῖξαι. καίτοι χαλεπόν γε τὰ
myself guiltless to-show and-yet hard at-least the(-things)
ἐκ πολλοῦ κατεψευσμένα καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, ταῦτα
from long(-before) falsely-alleged and plotted these
παραχρῆμα ἀπελέγχειν· ἃ γάρ τις μὴ προσεδόκησεν,
on-the-spot to-refute what for anyone not expected
οὐδὲ φυλάξασθαι ἐγχωρεῖ.
not-even to-guard-against is-it-possible
Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν μὲν πλοῦν ἐποιησάμην ἐκ τῆς Μυτιλήνης 20
I and the indeed voyage made from — Mytilene
ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ πλέων ᾧ Ἡρώδης οὗτος,
O men in the ship sailing in-which Herodes this
ὅν φασιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανεῖν· ἐπλέομεν δὲ εἰς τὴν
whom they-say by me to-have-died we-were-sailing and to —
Αἶνον, ἐγὼ μὲν ὡς τὸν πατέρα — ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὢν
Aenus I indeed to the father he-happened for there being
τότε—, ὁ δ᾽ Ἡρώδης ἀνδράποδα Θρᾳξὶν ἀνθρώποις
then the(-other) and Herodes slaves to-Thracian men
ἀπολύσων. συνέπλει δὲ τά τε ἀνδράποδα ἃ ἔδει
going-to-release sailed-with and the both slaves whom it-was-needful

αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι, καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ λυσόμενοι.
him to-release and the Thracians the(-ones) going-to-ransom(-them)
τούτων δ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.
of-these and to-you the witnesses I-will-present
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses

21 Ἡ μὲν πρόφασις ἑκατέρῳ τοῦ πλοῦ αὕτη· ἐτύχομεν δὲ
the indeed reason for-each of-the voyage this we-happened and
χειμῶνί τινι χρησάμενοι, ὑφ' οὗ ἠναγκάσθημεν κατασχεῖν εἰς
a-storm some meeting by which we-were-forced to-put-in into
τῆς Μηθυμναίας τι χωρίον, οὗ τὸ πλοῖον ὥρμει τοῦτο
of-the Methymnaean some place where the ship lay-at-anchor this
εἰς ὃ μετεκβάντα φασὶν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. καὶ πρῶτον
into which having-transshipped they-say to-have-died him and first
μὲν αὐτὰ ταῦτα σκοπεῖτε, ὅτι οὐ τῇ ἐμῇ προνοίᾳ μᾶλλον
indeed themselves these-things consider that not by-the my forethought rather
ἐγίγνετο ἢ τύχῃ. οὔτε γὰρ πείσας τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδαμοῦ
it-happened than by-chance neither for having-persuaded the man nowhere
ἀπελέγχομαι σύμπλουν μοι γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καθ'
am-I-convicted (as)-fellow-voyager to-me to-have-become but himself by
αὑτὸν τὸν πλοῦν πεποιημένος ἕνεκα πραγμάτων ἰδίων·
himself the voyage having-made for-the-sake-of affairs private
22 οὔτ' αὖ ἐγὼ ἄνευ προφάσεως ἱκανῆς φαίνομαι τὸν πλοῦν
nor again I without reason sufficient appear the voyage
ποιησάμενος εἰς τὴν Αἶνον, οὔτε κατασχόντες εἰς τὸ χωρίον
having-made to — Aenus nor having-put-in to the place
τοῦτο ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς οὐδεμιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ χρησάμενοι·
this from preparation no but by-necessity meeting
οὔτ' αὖ ἐπειδὴ ὡρμισάμεθα, ἡ μετέκβασις ἐγένετο εἰς τὸ
nor again when we-had-anchored the transshipment happened into the
ἕτερον πλοῖον οὐδενὶ μηχανήματι οὐδ' ἀπάτῃ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ
other ship by-no contrivance nor deceit but by-necessity

καὶ τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο. ἐν ᾧ μὲν γὰρ ἐπλέομεν, ἀστέγαστον ἦν
also this happened in which indeed for we-were-sailing undecked was
τὸ πλοῖον, εἰς ὃ δὲ μετέβημεν, ἐστεγασμένον· τοῦ δὲ ὑετοῦ
the ship into which and we-transshipped decked of-the and rain
ἕνεκα ταῦτ᾽ ἦν. τούτων δ᾽ ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.
for-the-sake-of these-things were of-these and to-you witnesses I-will-present

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετεξέβημεν εἰς τὸ ἕτερον πλοῖον, ἐπίνομεν. 23
when and we-had-transshipped into the other ship we-were-drinking
καὶ ὁ μέν ἐστι φανερὸς ἐκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου καὶ
and the(-one) indeed is evident having-gone-out from the ship and
οὐκ εἰσβὰς πάλιν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ
not having-gone-in again I and the altogether not went-out from the
πλοίου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀφανὴς
ship the night that on-the and next(-day) when missing
ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐζητεῖτο οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
was the man he-was-being-sought no at-all more by the others
ἢ καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ· καὶ εἴ τῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδόκει δεινὸν
than also by me and if to-anyone of-the others it-seemed terrible
εἶναι, καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ εἴς τε τὴν Μυτιλήνην ἐγὼ αἴτιος
to-be also to-me equally and to both — Mytilene I responsible
ἦ πεμφθῆναι ἄγγελον, καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ γνώμῃ ἐπέμπετο·
was to-be-sent a-messenger and by-the my judgment he-was-being-sent
καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐθέλοντος βαδίζειν, οὔτε τῶν ἀπὸ 24
and other no-one being-willing to-go neither of-the(-men) from
τοῦ πλοίου οὔτε τῶν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρῴδῃ συμπλεόντων,
the ship nor of-the(-men) himself — with-Herodes sailing-with
ἐγὼ τὸν ἀκόλουθον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ πέμπειν ἕτοιμος ἦ·
I the attendant the my-own to-send ready was
καίτοι οὐ δήπου γε κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ μηνυτὴν ἔπεμπον
and-yet not surely at-least against myself an-informer I-was-sending

εἰδώς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὔτε ἐν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφαίνετο
knowingly when and the man neither in — Mytilene appeared
ζητούμενος οὔτ' ἄλλοθι οὐδαμοῦ, πλοῦς τε ἡμῖν ἐγίγνετο,
being-sought nor elsewhere anywhere sailing both for-us became(-possible)
καὶ τἆλλα ἀνήγετο πλοῖα ἅπαντα, ᾠχόμην κἀγὼ πλέων.
and the-other set-sail ships all went-off I-too sailing
τούτων δ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας παρασχήσομαι.
of-these and to-you the witnesses I-will-present

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

25 Τὰ μὲν γενόμενα ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἤδη
the indeed things-that-happened these are from and these now
σκοπεῖτε τὰ εἰκότα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαί με
consider the likelihoods first indeed for before to-set-sail me
εἰς τὴν Αἶνον, ὅτε ἦν ἀφανὴς ὁ ἀνήρ, οὐδεὶς ἠτιάσατό με
to — Aenus when was missing the man no-one accused me
ἀνθρώπων, ἤδη πεπυσμένων τούτων τὴν ἀγγελίαν· οὐ γὰρ
of-men already having-learned these the message not for
ἄν ποτε ᾠχόμην πλέων. ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τὸ παραχρῆμα
— ever I-would-have-gone-off sailing but for indeed the immediate
κρεῖσσον ἦν τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ γεγενημένον τῆς τούτων
stronger was the truth and the having-happened than-the of-these
αἰτιάσεως, καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ ἔτι ἐπεδήμουν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγώ
accusation and at-once I still was-in-town when and I
τε ᾠχόμην πλέων καὶ οὗτοι ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς συνέθεσαν
both went-off sailing and these from plotting put-together
ταῦτα καὶ ἐμηχανήσαντο κατ' ἐμοῦ, τότε ἠτιάσαντο.
these-things and contrived against me then they-accused(-me)

The accusers say Herodes was killed on land with a stone by a man who never left the ship, yet two days' search found no witness, blood, or sign, and they cannot name the boat in which he was sunk. At Mytilene the blood they found proved a sheep's. The man tortured on the spot said nothing against the speaker; the slave, kept for days, tortured later and perhaps promised freedom, accused him and recanted when he knew he must die. They killed him before the speaker could return.

Λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐν μὲν τῇ γῇ ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνήρ, κἀγὼ 26
they-say and that on indeed the land died the man and-I
λίθον αὐτῷ ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν κεφαλήν, ὃς οὐκ ἐξέβην τὸ
a-stone on-him threw onto the head who not went-out the
παράπαν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀκριβῶς οὗτοι
altogether from the ship and this indeed exactly these
ἴσασιν· ὅπως δ' ἠφανίσθη ὁ ἀνήρ, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ εἰκότι
know how and vanished the man by-no argument likely
δύνανται ἀποφαίνειν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐγγύς που τοῦ
can-they show evident for that near somewhere the
λιμένος εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸ γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν μεθύοντος τοῦ
harbor likely it-was it to-happen this indeed being-drunk the
ἀνδρός, τοῦτο δὲ νύκτωρ ἐκβάντος ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου· οὔτε
man this and by-night having-gone-out from the ship neither
γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἴσως ἂν ἐδύνατο, οὔτε τῷ ἀπάγοντι
for himself to-master perhaps — could-he nor for-the (one)-carrying-off
νύκτωρ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἡ πρόφασις ἂν εἰκότως ἐγίγνετο·
by-night a-long road the pretext — plausibly would-be
ζητουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύο ἡμέρας καὶ ἐν τῷ λιμένι καὶ 27
being-sought and the man two days both in the harbor and
ἄπωθεν τοῦ λιμένος, οὔτε ὀπτὴρ οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη οὔτε αἷμα οὔτε
away-from the harbor neither eyewitness any appeared nor blood nor
ἄλλο σημεῖον οὐδέν. κᾆτ' ἐγὼ συγχωρῶ τῷ τούτων λόγῳ,
other sign any and-then I concede to-the of-these argument

παρεχόμενος μὲν τοὺς μάρτυρας ὡς οὐκ ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ
presenting indeed the witnesses that not I-went-out from the
πλοίου· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς μάλιστα ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου, οὐδενὶ
ship if and even as most I-went-out from the ship in-no
τρόπῳ εἰκὸς ἦν ἀφανισθέντα λαθεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
way likely it-was having-vanished to-escape-notice the man
εἴπερ γε μὴ πάνυ πόρρω ἀπῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης.
if-indeed at-least not very far he-went-off from the sea
28 Ἀλλ' ὡς κατεποντώθη λέγουσιν. ἐν τίνι πλοίῳ; δῆλον γὰρ
but that he-was-sunk-in-the-sea they-say in what ship evident for
ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λιμένος ἦν τὸ πλοῖον. πῶς ἂν οὖν οὐκ
that from itself the harbor was the ship how — then not
ἐξηυρέθη; καὶ μὴν εἰκός γε ἦν καὶ σημεῖόν τι
would-it-have-been-found-out and indeed likely at-least it-was also a-sign some
γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἀνδρὸς τεθνεῶτος ἐντιθεμένου καὶ
to-have-come-about in the ship a-man dead being-put-in and
ἐκβαλλομένου νύκτωρ. νῦν δὲ ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἔπινε πλοίῳ
being-thrown-out by-night now and in which indeed he-was-drinking ship
καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐξέβαινεν, ἐν τούτῳ φασὶν εὑρεῖν σημεῖα, ἐν
and from which he-was-going-out in this they-say to-have-found signs in
ᾧ αὐτοὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα· ἐν ᾧ δὲ
which themselves not agree to-have-died the man in which and
κατεποντώθη, οὐχ ηὗρον οὔτ' αὐτὸ τὸ πλοῖον οὔτε σημεῖον
he-was-sunk not they-found neither itself the ship nor sign
οὐδέν. τούτων δ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας παρασχήσομαι.
any of-these and to-you the witnesses I-will-present

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

29 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν φροῦδος ἦ πλέων εἰς τὴν Αἶνον,
when and I indeed gone was sailing to — Aenus
τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην ἐν ᾧ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ
the and ship came to — Mytilene in which I and —

Ἡρῴδης ἐπίνομεν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰσβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον
Herodes were-drinking first indeed having-gone-aboard into the ship
ἠρεύνων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ αἷμα ηὗρον, ἐνταῦθα ἔφασαν
they-searched and when the blood they-found there they-said
τεθνάναι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνεχώρει,
to-have-died the man when and for-them this not was-possible
ἀλλ᾽ ἐφαίνετο τῶν προβάτων ὂν αἷμα, ἀποτραπόμενοι
but it-appeared of-the sheep being blood having-turned-away-from
τούτου τοῦ λόγου συλλαβόντες ἐβασάνιζον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
this the argument having-seized they-tortured the men
Καὶ ὃν μὲν τότε παραχρῆμα ἐβασάνισαν, οὗτος μὲν 30
and whom indeed then on-the-spot they-tortured this(-man) indeed
οὐδὲν εἶπε περὶ ἐμοῦ φλαῦρον· ὃν δ᾽ ἡμέραις ὕστερον
nothing said about me bad whom and in-days later
πολλαῖς ἐβασάνισαν, ἔχοντες παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν
many they-tortured having(-him) with them- -selves the
πρόσθεν χρόνον, οὗτος ἦν ὁ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ
former time this(-man) was the (one)-persuaded by these and
καταψευσάμενος ἐμοῦ. παρέξομαι δὲ τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.
having-lied-against me I-will-present and of-these the witnesses
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses
Ὡς μὲν ὕστερον τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐβασανίσθη, 31
that indeed later by-so-much time the man was-tortured
μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν· προσέχετε δὲ τὸν νοῦν αὐτῇ τῇ βασάνῳ,
has-been-testified to-you apply and the mind itself the torture
οἵα γεγένηται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος, ᾧ ἴσως οὗτοι
what-kind it-has-been the indeed for slave to-whom perhaps these
τοῦτο μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπέσχοντο, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν
this indeed freedom promised this and on these it-was
παύσασθαι κακούμενον αὐτόν, ἴσως ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοῖν πεισθεὶς
to-stop being-ill-treated him perhaps by both persuaded

κατεψεύσατό μου, τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλπίσας οἴσεσθαι,
lied-against me the indeed freedom hoping to-win
τῆς δὲ βασάνου εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα βουλόμενος ἀπηλλάχθαι.
of-the and torture for the immediate wishing to-be-rid
32 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐφ' οἷς ἂν τὸ
I-think and you to-know this that on whom — the
πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς βασάνου, πρὸς τούτων εἰσὶν οἱ
greatest part of-the torture on-the-side-of these are the
βασανιζόμενοι λέγειν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνοις μέλλωσι χαριεῖσθαι·
(ones)-being-tortured to-say what ever — to-those they-are-likely to-please
ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ ὠφέλεια, ἄλλως τε κἂν μὴ
in this for for-them is the benefit otherwise both and-if not
παρόντες τυγχάνωσιν ὧν ἂν καταψεύδωνται. εἰ μὲν
present they-happen those-whom — they-lie-against if indeed
γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν στρεβλοῦν ὡς οὐ τἀληθῆ λέγοντα,
for I was-bidding him to-rack as not the-truth saying
ἴσως ἂν ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἀπετρέπετο μηδὲν κατ'
perhaps — in itself this he-would-have-been-turned nothing against
ἐμοῦ καταψεύδεσθαι, νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν καὶ βασανισταὶ
me to-lie now and themselves were both torturers
καὶ ἐπιτιμηταὶ τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμφερόντων.
and assessors of-the(-things) for-them- -selves advantageous
33 Ἕως μὲν οὖν μετὰ χρηστῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγίγνωσκέ
while indeed then with good the hope he-knew-himself
μου καταψευσάμενος, τούτῳ διισχυρίζετο τῷ λόγῳ· ἐπειδὴ
me having-lied-against to-this he-held-fast the story when
δὲ ἐγίγνωσκεν ἀποθανούμενος, ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τῇ ἀληθείᾳ
and he-knew-himself going-to-die there already the truth
ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι πεισθείη ὑπὸ τούτων ἐμοῦ
he-used and said that he-had-been-persuaded by these me
καταψεύδεσθαι.
to-lie-against

Διαπειραθέντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὰ ψευδῆ λέγειν, ὕστερον δὲ 34
having-tried and him the false(-things) to-say later and
τἀληθῆ λέγοντα, οὐδέτερα ὠφέλησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέκτειναν
the-truth saying neither helped but they-killed
ἄγοντες τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸν μηνυτήν, ᾧ πιστεύοντες ἐμὲ
leading-off the man the informer in-whom trusting me
διώκουσι, τοὐναντίον ποιήσαντες ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι.
they-prosecute the-opposite having-done than the other men
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τοῖς μηνυταῖς τοῖς μὲν ἐλευθέροις
the(-ones) indeed for others to-the informers to-the indeed free
χρήματα διδόασι, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἐλευθεροῦσιν· οὗτοι δὲ
money give the and slaves they-free these and
θάνατον τῷ μηνυτῇ τὴν δωρεὰν ἀπέδοσαν, ἀπαγορευόντων
death to-the informer the gift gave-back forbidding
τῶν φίλων τῶν ἐμῶν μὴ ἀποκτείνειν τὸν ἄνδρα πρὶν
the friends the my not to-kill the man before
ἐγὼ ἔλθοιμι.
I should-come
Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι οὐ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ χρεία ἦν αὐτοῖς, 35
clear then that not of-the body his need was to-them
ἀλλὰ τῶν λόγων· ζῶν μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
but of-the words living indeed for the man through the same
βασάνου ἰὼν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ κατήγορος ἂν ἐγίγνετο τῆς τούτων
torture going by me accuser — would-become of-the of-these
ἐπιβουλῆς, τεθνεὼς δὲ τὸν μὲν ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας
plot dead and the indeed proof of-the truth
ἀπεστέρει δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλυμένου, τοῖς
he-deprived(-me-of) through itself the body destroyed by-the
δὲ λόγοις τοῖς ἐψευσμένοις ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου ὡς ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν
and words the lied by that-one as true being
ἐγὼ ἀπόλλυμαι. τούτων δὲ μάρτυράς μοι κάλει.
I perish of-these and witnesses for-me call

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

36 Ἐχρῆν μὲν γὰρ αὐτούς, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, ἐνθάδε
it-was-needful indeed for them as I think here
παρέχοντας τὸν μηνυτὴν αὐτὸν ἀπελέγχειν ἐμέ, καὶ αὐτῷ
producing the informer himself to-refute me and with-itself
τούτῳ χρῆσθαι ἀγωνίσματι, ἐμφανῆ παρέχοντας τὸν ἄνδρα
this to-use (as)-a-weapon evident producing the man
καὶ κελεύοντας βασανίζειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι. φέρε γὰρ
and bidding to-torture(-him) but not to-kill come for
δὴ ποτέρῳ νῦν χρήσονται τῶν λόγων; πότερα ᾧ
indeed which now will-they-use of-the stories whether that-which
πρῶτον εἶπεν ἢ ᾧ ὕστερον; καὶ πότερ᾽ ἀληθῆ ἐστιν,
first he-said or which later and whether true is
ὅτ᾽ ἔφη με εἰργάσθαι τὸ ἔργον ἢ ὅτ᾽ οὐκ ἔφη;
when he-said me to-have-done the deed or when not he-said

37 Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος ἐξετασθῆναι δεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα,
if indeed for from the likelihood to-be-examined must the matter
οἱ ὕστεροι λόγοι ἀληθέστεροι φαίνονται. ἐψεύδετο μὲν
the later words truer appear he-lied indeed
γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι
for for benefit the his-own when and through the to-lie
ἀπώλλυτο, ἡγήσατο τἀληθῆ κατειπὼν διὰ τοῦτο σωθῆναι
he-was-perishing he-thought the-truth having-told through this to-be-saved
ἄν. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀληθείας οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ τιμωρὸς οὐδείς·
— of-the indeed then truth not was for-him avenger any
οὐ γὰρ παρὼν ἐγὼ ἐτύγχανον, ᾧπερ σύμμαχος ἦν ἡ
not for present I happened to-whom ally was the
ἀλήθεια τῶν ὑστέρων λόγων· τοὺς δὲ προτέρους λόγους
truth of-the later words the and earlier words

τοὺς κατεψευσμένους ἦσαν οἱ ἀφανιοῦντες
the lied there-were the(-men) going-to-make-vanish(-them)
ὥστε μηδέποτε εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς καταστῆναι.
so-that never into the truth to-come

IV · THE INFORMER KILLED

Elsewhere the accused make informers vanish; here the accusers did it. The slave said on the wheel that he helped the speaker lift and sink the body of a man the speaker had already killed, not that he helped kill him, and before the wheel and after it he cleared him. The free man tortured with him said throughout that the speaker never left the ship. No killer makes witnesses of his helpers, and a dying man at night would have been heard. The accusers killed the slave without a vote of the people, which not even a city may do.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, καθ' ὧν ἂν μηνύῃ τις, οὗτοι 38
and the indeed others against whom — informs anyone these
κλέπτουσι τοὺς μηνύοντας κᾆτ' ἀφανίζουσιν· αὐτοὶ
steal-away the informers and-then make-vanish(-them) themselves
δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἀπάγοντες καὶ ζητοῦντες τὸ πρᾶγμα
and these the (men)-arresting(-me) and seeking-out the matter
τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ μηνυτὴν ἠφάνισαν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν
the against me informer made-vanish and if indeed I the
ἄνδρα ἠφάνισα ἢ μὴ ἤθελον ἐκδοῦναι τούτοις ἢ ἄλλον
man had-made-vanish or not was-willing to-hand-over to-these or other
τινὰ ἔφευγον ἔλεγχον, αὐτοῖς ἂν τούτοις ἰσχυροτάτοις
any was-fleeing proof with-very — these strongest
εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἦν ταῦτα αὐτοῖς
for the matters they-would-use and would-be these-things for-them
μέγιστα τεκμήρια κατ' ἐμοῦ· νῦν δέ, ὁπότε αὐτοὶ οὗτοι
greatest proofs against me now and when themselves these

προκαλουμένων τῶν φίλων τῶν ἐμῶν ταῦτ᾽ ἔφυγον,
challenging(-them) the friends the my these-things fled
ἐμοὶ δήπου κατὰ τούτων εἶναι χρὴ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα τεκμήρια,
for-me surely against these to-be must the-same these proofs
ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπέφερον ἣν ᾐτιῶντο.
that not true the charge they-were-bringing which they-alleged
39 Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσιν, ὡς ὡμολόγει ὁ ἄνθρωπος
further and also these-things they-say that admitted the fellow
βασανιζόμενος συναποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐγὼ δέ φημι
being-tortured to-have-joined-in-killing the man I and say
ταῦτα μὲν οὐ λέγειν αὐτόν, ὅτι δὲ ἐξαγάγοι ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν
these-things indeed not to-say him that and he-led-out me and the
ἄνδρα ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου, καὶ ὅτι ἤδη τεθνεῶτα αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
man from the ship and that already dead him by me
συνανελὼν καὶ ἐνθεὶς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καταποντώσειε.
having-helped-take-up and having-put into the ship he-sank(-him)-in-the-sea
40 Καίτοι σκέψασθε ὅτι πρῶτον μέν, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν τροχὸν
and-yet consider that first indeed before onto the wheel
ἀναβῆναι, ὁ ἀνὴρ μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ
to-mount the man to the utmost necessity the truth
ἐχρῆτο καὶ ἀπέλυέ με τῆς αἰτίας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν
used and was-freeing me of-the charge when and onto the
τροχὸν ἀνέβη, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ χρώμενος ἤδη κατεψεύδετό
wheel he-mounted the necessity using then he-was-lying-against
μου, βουλόμενος ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς βασάνου·
me wishing to-be-rid of-the torture
41 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπαύσατο βασανιζόμενος, οὐκέτι ἔφη με τούτων
when and he-stopped being-tortured no-longer he-said me of-these
εἰργάσθαι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀπώμωξεν ἐμέ τε
to-have-done anything but the last he-lamented me both
καὶ αὑτὸν ὡς ἀδίκως ἀπολλυμένους, οὐ χάριτι τῇ ἐμῇ —
and himself as unjustly perishing not for-favor the my

πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κατεψεύσατο—, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκαζόμενος
how for who at-least had-lied-against(-me) but being-compelled
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαιῶν τοὺς πρώτους λόγους ὡς
by the truth and confirming the first words as
ἀληθεῖς εἰρημένους.
true spoken
Ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ 42
then and the other fellow the(-one) in the same
πλοίῳ πλέων καὶ παρὼν διὰ τέλους καὶ συνών μοι,
ship sailing and present to-the end and being-with me
τῇ αὐτῇ βασάνῳ βασανιζόμενος τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις καὶ
by-the same torture being-tortured with-the indeed first and
τοῖς ὕστερον λόγοις τοῖς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συνεφέρετο ὡς
with-the later words the of-the fellow agreed as
ἀληθέσιν εἰρημένοις, διὰ τέλους γάρ με ἀπέλυε, τοῖς
true spoken to-the end for me he-was-freeing with-the
δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ λεγομένοις, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον
and on the wheel spoken which that-one by-necessity rather
ἢ ἀληθείᾳ ἔλεγε, τούτοις δὲ διεφέρετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
than by-truth said with-these and he-disagreed the(-one) indeed for
ἐκβάντα μ᾽ ἔφη ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα,
having-gone-out me said from the ship to-have-killed the man
καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη τεθνεῶτα συνανελεῖν μοι· ὁ δὲ
and himself already dead to-have-helped-take-up with-me the(-other) and
τὸ παράπαν οὐδ᾽ ἐκβῆναί μ᾽ ἔφη ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου.
the altogether not-even to-have-gone-out me said from the ship
Καίτοι τὸ εἰκὸς σύμμαχόν μοί ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ δήπου 43
and-yet the likelihood (an)-ally to-me is not for surely
οὕτω κακοδαίμων ἐγώ, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν
so ill-starred I that the indeed to-kill the
ἄνδρα προὐνοησάμην μόνος, ἵνα μοι μηδεὶς συνειδείη,
man I-planned alone so-that with-me no-one might-be-privy

ἐν ᾧ μοι ὁ πᾶς κίνδυνος ἦν, ἤδη δὲ πεπραγμένου
in which for-me the whole danger was already and done
μοι τοῦ ἔργου μάρτυρας καὶ συμβούλους ἐποιούμην.
by-me the deed witnesses and advisers I-was-making
44 Καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὑτωσὶ ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης
and died indeed the man thus near the sea
καὶ τῶν πλοίων, ὡς ὁ τούτων λόγος ἐστίν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἑνὸς
and the ships as the of-these story is by and one
ἀνδρὸς ἀποθνήσκων οὔτε ἀνέκραγεν οὔτ' αἴσθησιν οὐδεμίαν
man dying neither did-he-cry-out nor perception any
ἐποίησεν οὔτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ οὔτε τοῖς ἐν τῷ
made neither to-the(-men) on the land nor to-the(-men) in the
πλοίῳ; καὶ μὴν πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλέον γεγωνεῖν ἔστι νύκτωρ
ship and indeed much on more to-be-heard it-is by-night
ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἐπ' ἀκτῆς ἢ κατὰ πόλιν· καὶ μὴν ἔτι
than by day on a-beach than in-a city and indeed still
ἐγρηγορότων φασὶν ἐκβῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου.
being-awake they-say to-have-gone-out the man from the ship
45 Ἔπειτα ἐν τῇ γῇ μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ἐντιθεμένου δὲ εἰς τὸ
then on the land indeed having-died being-put and into the
πλοῖον, οὔτε ἐν τῇ γῇ σημεῖον οὐδὲ αἷμα ἐφάνη οὔτε ἐν τῷ
ship neither on the land a-sign nor blood appeared nor in the
πλοίῳ, νύκτωρ μὲν ἀναιρεθέντος, νύκτωρ δ' ἐντιθεμένου εἰς
ship by-night indeed taken-up by-night and being-put into
τὸ πλοῖον. ἢ δοκεῖ ἂν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωπος δύνασθαι ἐν τοιούτῳ
the ship or seems — to-you a-man to-be-able in such
πράγματι ὢν τά τε ἐν τῇ γῇ ὄντα ἀναξύσαι καὶ τὰ
a-matter being the(-things) both on the land being to-scrape-up and the(-things)
ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἀποσπογγίσαι, ἃ οὐδὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄν τις
in the ship to-sponge-off which not-even by day — anyone

οἷός τε ἐγένετο, ἔνδον ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ πεφοβημένος,
able — would-have-been inside being of-himself and not frightened
τὸ παράπαν ἀφανίσαι; ταῦτα ὦ ἄνδρες πῶς εἰκότα ἐστίν;
the altogether to-make-vanish these-things O men how likely is-it
Ὃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐνθυμεῖσθε, καὶ μή μοι ἄχθεσθε, 46
which and also most consider and not with-me be-vexed
ἂν ὑμᾶς πολλάκις ταὐτὰ διδάξω· μέγας γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνός
if you many-times the-same I-teach great for the danger
ἐστι, καθ' ὅ τι δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ὀρθῶς γνῶτε, κατὰ
is according-to what ever and — you rightly decide according-to
τοῦτο σώζομαι, καθ' ὅ τι δ' ἂν ψευσθῆτε τἀληθοῦς,
this I-am-saved according-to what ever and — you-be-deceived of-the-truth
κατὰ τοῦτο ἀπόλλυμαι· μὴ οὖν ἐξέληται τοῦτο ὑμῶν
according-to this I-perish not then let-remove this of-you
μηδείς, ὅτι τὸν μηνυτὴν ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ διετείναντο αὐτὸν
no-one that the informer they-killed and strove him
μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδ' ἐμοὶ ἐγγενέσθαι παρόντι
not to-come before you nor for-me to-be-possible being-present
ἄξαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βασανίσαι αὐτόν.
to-lead the man and to-torture him
Καίτοι πρὸς τούτων ἦν τοῦτο. νῦν δὲ πριάμενοι τὸν 47
and-yet on-the-side-of these was this now and having-bought the
ἄνδρα, ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸν μηνυτήν,
man privately by them- -selves they-killed the informer
οὔτε τῆς πόλεως ψηφισαμένης, οὔτε αὐτόχειρα ὄντα τοῦ
neither the city having-voted nor perpetrator being of-the
ἀνδρός. ὃν ἐχρῆν δεδεμένον αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν, ἢ τοῖς
man whom it-was-needful in-bonds them to-guard or to-the
φίλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐξεγγυῆσαι, ἢ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις
friends the my to-release-on-bail or to-the magistrates the your
παραδοῦναι, καὶ ψῆφον περὶ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ
to-hand-over and a-vote about him to-take-place now and yourselves

καταγνόντες τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπεκτείνατε· ὃ οὐδὲ
having-pronounced the death of-the man you-killed(-him) which not-even
πόλει ἔξεστιν, ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι.
for-a-city is-allowed without Athenians no-one with-death to-punish
καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλως λόγων τῶν ἐκείνου τουτουσὶ κριτὰς
and of-the indeed idle words the of-that-one these judges
ἠξιώσατε γενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἔργων αὐτοὶ δικασταὶ ἐγένεσθε.
you-thought-fit to-become of-the and deeds yourselves jurors became
48 Καίτοι οὐδὲ οἱ τοὺς δεσπότας ἀποκτείναντες, ἐὰν
and-yet not-even the(-ones) the masters having-killed if
ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ληφθῶσιν, οὐδ' οὗτοι ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπ'
in the-act they-are-caught not-even these die by
αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόασιν αὐτοὺς τῇ
themselves the relatives but they-hand-over them to-the
ἀρχῇ κατὰ νόμους ὑμετέρους πατρίους. εἴπερ γὰρ
authority according-to laws your ancestral if-indeed for
καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἔξεστι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὸν
even to-testify is-allowed for-a-slave against the free(-man) the
φόνον, καὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἂν δοκῇ, ἐπεξελθεῖν ὑπὲρ
murder and for-the master if he-thinks-fit to-prosecute on-behalf-of
τοῦ δούλου, καὶ ἡ ψῆφος ἴσον δύναται τῷ δοῦλον
the slave and the vote equal has-power for-the a-slave
ἀποκτείναντι καὶ τῷ ἐλεύθερον, εἰκός τοι καὶ ψῆφον
having-killed and for-the free(-man) likely surely also a-vote
γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ μὴ ἄκριτον ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν
to-take-place about him it-was and not untried to-die him
ὑφ' ὑμῶν. ὥστε πολλῷ ἂν δικαιότερον ὑμεῖς ἐκρίνεσθε
by you so-that much — more-justly you would-be-on-trial
ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν φεύγω ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως.
than I now am-defendant by you unjustly

Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὦ ἄνδρες καὶ ἐκ τοῖν λόγοιν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν 49
consider and O men also from the two-accounts of-the two-men
ἑκατέροιν τοῖν βασανισθέντοιν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ εἰκός.
of-each-of-the-two the two-tortured the justice and the likelihood
ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος δύο λόγω ἔλεγε· τοτὲ μὲν ἔφη με
the indeed for slave two stories told at-one-time indeed he-said me
εἰργάσθαι τὸ ἔργον, τοτὲ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη· ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος
to-have-done the deed at-another and not he-said the and free(-man)
οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν εἴρηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ φλαῦρον οὐδέν, τῇ
not-yet even now has-said about me bad nothing by-the
αὐτῇ βασάνῳ βασανιζόμενος.
same torture being-tortured

V · THE LETTER TO LYCINUS

A consistent witness deserves more trust than one who changes his story, and a tie in the votes favors the defendant. Had he been guilty, he would have made both witnesses vanish. The letter to Lycinus reporting the murder appeared only after the first search and torture had failed, and the messenger would have known anyway. He had no motive. Nor had Lycinus, who could have prosecuted Herodes lawfully and did not, and who had no money to buy a killer; and the speaker, who would not pay seven minas to free Lycinus from prison, would hardly kill a man for him.

Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐλευθερίαν προτείναντας 50
this indeed for not it-was-possible him freedom offering
ὥσπερ τὸν ἕτερον πεῖσαι· τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς
as the other to-persuade this and with the truth
ἐβούλετο κινδυνεύων πάσχειν ὅτι δέοι, ἐπεὶ τό
he-wished running-the-risk to-suffer whatever might-be-needed since the
γε συμφέρον καὶ οὗτος ἠπίστατο, ὅτι τότε παύσοιτο
at-least advantage also this(-one) knew that then he-would-stop

στρεβλούμενος, ὁπότε εἴποι τὰ τούτοις δοκοῦντα.
being-racked whenever he-should-say the(-things) to-these seeming
ποτέρῳ οὖν εἰκός ἐστι πιστεῦσαι, τῷ διὰ τέλους τὸν
which then likely is-it to-believe the(-one) to-the end the
αὐτὸν ἀεὶ λόγον λέγοντι, ἢ τῷ τοτὲ μὲν φάσκοντι
same always story telling or the(-one) at-one-time indeed asserting
τοτὲ δ' οὔ; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνευ βασάνου τοιαύτης οἱ
at-another and not but also without torture such the(-ones)
τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγους λέγοντες
the same always about the same(-things) stories telling
πιστότεροί εἰσι τῶν διαφερομένων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.
more-trustworthy are than-the(-ones) differing with-them- -selves
51 Ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
then and also from the words the of-the fellow
μερὶς ἑκατέρων ἐγεγόνει, τούτων μὲν τὸ φάσκειν, ἐμοὶ
a-share for-each(-side) had-come for-these indeed the to-assert for-me
δὲ τὸ μὴ φάσκειν· ἔκ τε ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν τοῖν
and the not to-assert from and both the two-men the
βασανισθέντοιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔφησεν, ὁ δὲ διὰ
having-been-tortured the(-one) indeed for asserted the(-other) and to-the
τέλους ἔξαρνος ἦν. καὶ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐξ ἴσου
end denying was and indeed indeed the(-things) on equal(-terms)
γενόμενα τοῦ φεύγοντός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διώκοντος,
come-about of-the defendant are rather than of-the prosecutor
εἴπερ γε καὶ τῶν ψήφων ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἐξ ἴσου
if-indeed at-least also of-the votes the number on equal(-terms)
γενόμενος τὸν φεύγοντα μᾶλλον ὠφελεῖ ἢ τὸν διώκοντα.
having-come the defendant rather helps than the prosecutor
52 Ἡ μὲν βάσανος ὦ ἄνδρες τοιαύτη γεγένηται, ᾗ οὗτοι
the indeed torture O men such has-been in-which these
πιστεύοντες εὖ εἰδέναι φασὶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντα τὸν ἄνδρα.
trusting well to-know they-say by me having-died the man

καίτοι τὸ παράπαν ἔγωγ' ἂν εἴ τι συνῄδη ἐμαυτῷ
and-yet the altogether I-for-my-part — if anything I-was-conscious with-myself
καὶ εἴ τί μοι τοιοῦτον εἴργαστο, ἠφάνισ' ἂν τὼ
and if anything by-me such had-been-done would-have-made-vanish — the
ἀνθρώπω, ὅτε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἦν τοῦτο μὲν εἰς τὴν Αἶνον ἀπάγειν
two-fellows when in me it-was this indeed to — Aenus to-lead-away
ἅμα ἐμοί, τοῦτο δὲ εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον διαβιβάσαι, καὶ
together-with me this and to the mainland to-take-across and
μὴ ὑπολείπεσθαι μηνυτὰς κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς συνειδότας.
not to-leave-behind informers against myself the(-ones) privy
Φασὶ δὲ γραμματείδιον εὑρεῖν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ὃ 53
they-say and a-little-tablet to-have-found in the ship which
ἔπεμπον ἐγὼ Λυκίνῳ, ὡς ἀποκτείναιμι τὸν ἄνδρα. καίτοι
was-sending I to-Lycinus that I-had-killed the man and-yet
τί ἔδει με γραμματείδιον πέμπειν, αὐτοῦ συνειδότος
why was-it-needful me a-little-tablet to-send himself privy
τοῦ τὸ γραμματείδιον φέροντος; ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν
of-the(-one) the little-tablet carrying so-that this indeed
σαφέστερον αὐτὸς ἔμελλεν ἐρεῖν ὁ εἰργασμένος, τοῦτο δὲ
more-clearly himself was-about to-tell the (one)-who-had-done(-it) this and
οὐδὲν ἔδει κρύπτειν αὐτά· ἃ γὰρ μὴ οἷόν τε εἰδέναι τὸν
nothing was-needful to-hide them what for not possible — to-know the
φέροντα, ταῦτ' ἄν τις μάλιστα συγγράψας πέμψειεν.
carrier these-things — anyone most having-written-down would-send
Ἔπειτα δὲ ὅ τι μὲν μακρὸν εἴη πρᾶγμα, τοῦτο μὲν 54
then and what ever indeed long might-be a-matter this indeed
ἄν τις ἀναγκασθείη γράψαι τῷ μὴ διαμνημονεύειν
— one would-be-compelled to-write because-of-the not to-remember
τὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντα ὑπὸ πλήθους· τοῦτο δὲ βραχὺ ἦν
the messenger by quantity this and short was
ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὅτι τέθνηκεν ὁ ἀνήρ. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμεῖσθε ὅτι
to-report that has-died the man then consider that

διάφορον μὲν ἦν τὸ γραμματεῖδιον τῷ βασανισθέντι,
differing indeed was the little-tablet from-the tortured(-man)
διάφορος δ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ γραμματειδίῳ. ὁ
differing and the fellow from-the little-tablet the(-one)
μὲν γὰρ βασανιζόμενος αὐτὸς ἔφη ἀποκτεῖναι, τὸ δὲ
indeed for being-tortured himself said to-have-killed the and
γραμματεῖδιον ἀνοιχθὲν ἐμὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἐμήνυε.
little-tablet opened me the killer informed
55 Καίτοι ποτέρῳ χρὴ πιστεῦσαι; τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐχ
and-yet which must-one to-believe the indeed for first(-time) not
ηὗρον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ζητοῦντες τὸ γραμματεῖδιον, ὕστερον
they-found in the ship seeking the little-tablet later
δέ. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὔπω οὕτως ἐμεμηχάνητο αὐτοῖς· ἐπειδὴ
and then indeed for not-yet so had-been-contrived by-them when
δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ πρότερος βασανισθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔλεγε κατ'
and the fellow the earlier tortured nothing said against
ἐμοῦ, τότε εἰσβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον τὸ γραμματεῖδιον,
me then they-throw-in into the ship the little-tablet
ἵνα ταύτην γ' ἔχοιεν ἐμοὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν·
so-that this at-least they-might-have against-me the charge to-bring
56 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνεγνώσθη τὸ γραμματεῖδιον καὶ ὁ ὕστερος
when and was-read the little-tablet and the later
βασανιζόμενος οὐ συνεφέρετο τῷ γραμματειδίῳ, οὐκέτι
being-tortured not agreed with-the little-tablet no-longer
οἷόν τ' ἦν ἀφανίσαι τὰ ἀναγνωσθέντα. εἰ γὰρ
possible — it-was to-make-vanish the(-things) read if for
ἡγήσαντο τὸν ἄνδρα πείσειν ἀπὸ πρώτης
they-had-thought the man to-be-going-to-persuade from first(-off)
καταψεύδεσθαί μου, οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἐμηχανήσαντο τὰ
to-lie-against me not — ever they-would-have-contrived the(-things)
ἐν τῷ γραμματειδίῳ. Καί μοι μάρτυρας τούτων κάλει.
in the little-tablet and for-me witnesses of-these call

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Τίνος γε δὴ ἕνεκα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα; οὐδὲ γὰρ 57
of-what at-least indeed for-the-sake the man did-I-kill not-even for
ἔχθρα οὐδεμία ἦν ἐμοὶ κἀκείνῳ. λέγειν δὲ τολμῶσιν ὡς ἐγὼ
enmity any was to-me and-to-that-one to-say and they-dare that I
χάριτι τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα. καὶ τίς πώποτε χαριζόμενος
as-a-favor the man killed and who ever doing-a-favor
ἑτέρῳ τοῦτο εἰργάσατο; οἶμαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ δεῖ
to-another this did I-think indeed for no-one but must
μεγάλην τὴν ἔχθραν ὑπάρχειν τῷ τοῦτο μέλλοντι
great the enmity to-exist for-the(-one) this being-about
ποιήσειν, καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐκ πολλοῦ φανερὰν εἶναι
to-do and the forethought from long(-before) evident to-be
ἐπιβουλευομένην. ἐμοὶ δὲ κἀκείνῳ οὐκ ἦν ἔχθρα οὐδεμία.
being-plotted to-me and and-to-that-one not was enmity any
Εἶεν, ἀλλὰ δείσας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ μὴ αὐτὸς παρ᾽ ἐκείνου 58
so-be-it but having-feared about myself lest myself from that-one
τοῦτο πάθοιμι; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τῶν τοιούτων ἕνεκά τις
this I-should-suffer and for — of-the such(-things) for-the-sake-of one
ἀναγκασθείη τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. ἀλλὰ οὐδέν μοι τοιοῦτον
would-be-compelled this to-do but nothing to-me such
ὑπῆρκτο εἰς αὐτόν. Ἀλλὰ χρήματα ἔμελλον λήψεσθαι
had-begun toward him but money I-was-about to-take
ἀποκτείνας αὐτόν; ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ.
having-killed him but not there-was to-him(-money)
Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μᾶλλον ἐγὼ τὴν πρόφασιν ταύτην ἔχοιμ᾽ 59
but on-you rather I the pretext this could
ἂν εἰκότως μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναθεῖναι, ὅτι χρημάτων
— reasonably with the truth lay that of-money
ἕνεκα ζητεῖς ἐμὲ ἀποκτεῖναι, μᾶλλον ἢ σὺ ἐμοὶ
for-the-sake you-seek me to-kill rather than you on-me

ἐκεῖνον· καὶ πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ἁλοίης σὺ
(the-killing-of)-that-one and much — more-justly would-be-convicted you
τοῦ φόνου ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμοὶ προσηκόντων,
of-the murder me having-killed by the to-me related
ἢ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναγκαίων. ἐγὼ μὲν
than I by you and the of-that-one kinsmen I indeed
γὰρ σοῦ φανερὰν τὴν πρόνοιαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀποδείκνυμι,
for your evident the forethought against me show
σὺ δ' ἐμὲ ἐν ἀφανεῖ λόγῳ ζητεῖς ἀπολέσαι.
you and me in obscure argument seek to-destroy
60 Ταῦτα μὲν ὑμῖν λέγω, ὡς αὐτῷ μοι πρόφασιν οὐδεμίαν
these-things indeed to-you I-say as myself for-me pretext none
ἔχει ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα· δεῖ δέ με καὶ ὑπὲρ
there-is to-kill the man must and me also on-behalf-of
Λυκίνου ἀπολογήσασθαι, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ
Lycinus to-make-defense as it-seems but not on-behalf-of
αὐτοῦ μόνον, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον εἰκότως αἰτιῶνται. λέγω
myself only that not-even that-one reasonably they-accuse I-say
τοίνυν ὑμῖν ὅτι ταὐτὰ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ εἰς ἐκεῖνον
then to-you that the-same-things existed for-him toward that-one
ἅπερ ἐμοί· οὔτε γὰρ χρήματα ἦν αὐτῷ ὁπόθεν ἂν
which-very for-me neither for money was to-him whence —
ἔλαβεν ἀποκτείνας ἐκεῖνον, οὔτε κίνδυνος αὐτῷ
he-would-have-taken having-killed that-one nor danger to-him
ὑπῆρχεν οὐδεὶς ὅντινα διέφευγεν ἀποθανόντος ἐκείνου.
existed any which he-was-escaping having-died that-one
61 Τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον ὡς οὐκ ἐβούλετο αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι·
proof and greatest that not he-wished him to-destroy
ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ
it-being-possible for for-him in a-contest and danger great
καταστήσαντι μετὰ τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀπολέσαι
having-placed(-him) with the laws the your to-destroy

ἐκεῖνον, εἴπερ προωφείλετο αὐτῷ κακόν, καὶ τό τε ἴδιον
that-one if-indeed was-owed-before to-him evil and the both private
τὸ αὑτοῦ διαπράξασθαι καὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ χάριν
the his-own to-accomplish and to-the city the your favor
καταθέσθαι, εἰ ἐπέδειξεν ἀδικοῦντα ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ ἠξίωσεν,
to-lay-up if he-had-shown wronging that-one not he-thought-fit
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοῦτον. καίτοι καλλίων γε ἦν
but not-even did-he-go against this(-man) and-yet nobler at-least was
ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτῷ ***
the danger for-him (lacuna)

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν· οὗ δὲ ἔδει 62
but for there indeed he-let-go him where and it-was-needful
κινδυνεύειν αὐτὸν περί τε αὑτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα
to-run-risk himself about both himself and about me there
δ' ἐπεβούλευεν, ἐν ᾧ γνωσθεὶς ἂν ἀπεστέρει μὲν ἐμὲ
and he-plotted in which detected — would-be-depriving indeed me
τῆς πατρίδος, ἀπεστέρει δὲ αὐτὸν ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων
of-the fatherland would-be-depriving and himself of-sacred-things and holy-things
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἅπερ μέγιστα καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἐστὶν
and of-the other(-things) which-very greatest and of most are
ἀνθρώποις. Ἔπειτα δ' εἰ καὶ ὡς μάλιστα ἐβούλετο αὐτὸν
to-men then and if even as most wished him
ὁ Λυκῖνος τεθνάναι — εἶμι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν κατηγόρων
— Lycinus to-be-dead I-go for also to the of-the accusers
λόγον—, οὗ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἠξίου αὐτόχειρ γενέσθαι, τοῦτο τὸ
argument what himself not thought-fit perpetrator to-become this the
ἔργον ἐγώ ποτ' ἂν ἐπείσθην ἀντ' ἐκείνου ποιῆσαι;
deed I ever — would-have-been-persuaded instead-of that-one to-do

63 Πότερα ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἦ τῷ σώματι ἐπιτήδειος
whether as I indeed was in-the body fit
διακινδυνεύειν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ χρήμασι τὸν ἐμὸν κίνδυνον
to-run-the-risk that-one and with-money the my danger
ἐκπρίασθαι; οὐ δῆτα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν χρήματα, ἐμοὶ
to-buy-off not indeed to-the(-one) indeed for not was money to-me
δὲ ἦν· ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸ τοὐναντίον ἐκεῖνος τοῦτο θᾶσσον ἂν ὑπ᾽
and was but itself the-opposite that-one this sooner — by
ἐμοῦ ἐπείσθη κατά γε τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ
me would-have-been-persuaded according-to at-least the likelihood than I by
τούτου, ἐπεὶ ἐκείνός γ᾽ ἑαυτὸν οὐδ᾽ ὑπερήμερον γενόμενον
this(-man) since that-one at-least himself not-even overdue having-become
ἑπτὰ μνῶν δυνατὸς ἦν λύσασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ φίλοι αὐτὸν
seven minas able was to-release but the friends him
ἐλύσαντο. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς χρείας τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῆς
released and indeed indeed also of-the intimacy the my and of-the
Λυκίνου τοῦτο ὑμῖν μέγιστον τεκμήριόν ἐστιν, ὅτι οὐ σφόδρα
of-Lycinus this to-you greatest proof is that not very
ἐχρώμην ἐγὼ Λυκίνῳ φίλῳ, ὡς πάντα ποιῆσαι ἂν τὰ
I-used I Lycinus (as)-friend so-as all to-do — the(-things)
ἐκείνῳ δοκοῦντα· οὐ γὰρ δή που ἑπτὰ μὲν μνᾶς οὐκ
to-that-one seeming not for indeed surely seven indeed minas not
ἀπέτεισα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεδεμένου καὶ λυμαινομένου, κίνδυνον
I-paid on-behalf-of him bound and being-maltreated danger
δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀράμενος ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον.
and so-great having-undertaken a-man I-killed for that-one's-sake

How Herodes vanished is as hard for the jurors to guess as for him: the guilty have a story ready, the innocent only their ignorance. Many deaths go unsolved: Ephialtes' killers were never found. Time brings such truths to light, so the jurors should decide without anger. A slave boy once tried to kill his master and fled; had he dared to stay, no one would have suspected him, and everyone in the house would have died for it. And when the Treasurers of the Greeks were condemned in anger on a false charge about money, all died but Sosias, who was released when the truth came out.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ αὐτὸς αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πράγματος 64
that indeed then not myself responsible am of-the matter
οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος, ἀποδέδεικται καθ' ὅσον ἐγὼ δύναμαι
nor that-one has-been-shown according-to as-much-as I can
μάλιστα. τούτῳ δὲ χρῶνται πλείστῳ τῷ λόγῳ οἱ
most this and they-use most the argument the
κατήγοροι, ὅτι ἀφανής ἐστιν ὁ ἀνήρ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως περὶ
accusers that vanished is the man and you perhaps about
τούτου αὐτοῦ ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο εἰκάζειν
this itself long to-hear if indeed then this to-guess
με δεῖ, ἐξ ἴσου τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοί· οὔτε
me must on equal(-terms) this is both for-you and for-me neither
γὰρ ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι τοῦ ἔργου ἐστὲ οὔτε ἐγώ· εἰ δὲ δεῖ
for you responsible for-the deed are nor I if and one-must
τοῖς ἀληθέσι χρῆσθαι, τῶν εἰργασμένων τινὰ ἐρωτώντων·
the truths to-use of-the doers someone let-them-ask
ἐκείνου γὰρ ἄριστ' ἂν πύθοιντο.
of-that-one for best — they-would-learn
Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ μὴ εἰργασμένῳ τοσοῦτον τὸ μακρότατον 65
for-me indeed for the not having-done(-it) so-much the longest
τῆς ἀποκρίσεώς ἐστιν, ὅτι οὐκ εἴργασμαι· τῷ δὲ
of-the answer is that not I-have-done(-it) for-the and

ποιήσαντι ῥᾳδία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπόδειξις, καὶ μὴ ἀποδείξαντι
having-done(-it) easy is the proof and not having-shown(-it)
εὖ εἰκάσαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πανουργοῦντες ἅμα τε
well to-guess the(-ones) indeed for doing-villainy at-once both
πανουργοῦσι καὶ πρόφασιν εὑρίσκουσι τοῦ ἀδικήματος·
do-villainy and a-pretext find for-the crime
τῷ δὲ μὴ εἰργασμένῳ χαλεπὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν
for-the and not having-done(-it) hard about the obscure(-things)
εἰκάζειν. οἶμαι δ' ἂν καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον, εἴ τίς τινα
to-guess I-think and — also of-you each if anyone someone
ἔροιτο ὅ τι μὴ τύχοι εἰδώς, τοσοῦτον ἂν εἰπεῖν,
should-ask what (thing) not he-happened knowing so-much — to-say
ὅτι οὐκ οἶδεν· εἰ δέ τις περαιτέρω τι κελεύοι
that not he-knows if and anyone further something should-bid
λέγειν, ἐν πολλῇ ἂν ἔχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπορίᾳ δοκῶ.
to-say in much — to-be-held you by-perplexity I-think
66 Μὴ τοίνυν ἐμοὶ νείμητε τὸ ἄπορον τοῦτο, ἐν ᾧ μηδ'
not then to-me assign the perplexity this in which not-even
ἂν αὐτοὶ ηὐπορεῖτε· μηδὲ ἐὰν εὖ εἰκάζω, ἐν τούτῳ
— yourselves would-find-a-way nor if well I-guess in this
μοι ἀξιοῦτε τὴν ἀπόφευξιν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐξαρκείτω μοι
for-me think-it-right the acquittal to-be but let-it-suffice for-me
ἐμαυτὸν ἀναίτιον ἀποδεῖξαι τοῦ πράγματος. ἐν τούτῳ οὖν
myself guiltless to-show of-the matter in this then
ἀναίτιός εἰμι, οὐκ ἐὰν μὴ ἐξεύρω ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἀφανής
guiltless I-am not if not I-find-out in-what way vanished
ἐστιν ἢ ἀπόλωλεν ἀνήρ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ προσήκει μοι μηδὲν
is or has-perished the-man but if not concerns me nothing
ὥστ' ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν.
so-as to-kill him

Ἤδη δ' ἔγωγε καὶ πρότερον ἀκοῇ ἐπίσταμαι 67
already and I-for-my-part also before by-hearsay know
γεγονός, τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς
having-happened this indeed the dead this and the
ἀποκτείναντας οὐχ εὑρεθέντας· οὔκουν ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ
killers not found not-then — well it-would-be if
τούτων δέοι τὰς αἰτίας ὑποσχεῖν τοὺς συγγενομένους.
of-these it-were-needful the charges to-undergo the companions
πολλοὶ δέ γ' ἤδη σχόντες ἑτέρων πραγμάτων αἰτίας,
many and at-least already having-had of-other matters charges
πρὶν τὸ σαφὲς αὐτῶν γνωσθῆναι, προαπώλοντο.
before the clear-truth of-them to-be-known perished-before
Αὐτίκα Ἐφιάλτην τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν 68
for-instance Ephialtes the your citizen not-yet even now
ηὕρηνται οἱ ἀποκτείναντες· εἰ οὖν τις ἠξίου τοὺς
have-been-found the killers if then anyone thought-fit the
συνόντας ἐκείνῳ εἰκάζειν οἵτινες ἦσαν οἱ ἀποκτείναντες
companions of-that-one to-guess who were the killers
Ἐφιάλτην, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐνόχους εἶναι τῷ φόνῳ, οὐκ
of-Ephialtes if and not liable to-be to-the murder not
ἂν καλῶς εἶχε τοῖς συνοῦσιν. ἔπειτα οἵ
— well it-would-have-been for-the companions then the(-men)
γε Ἐφιάλτην ἀποκτείναντες οὐκ ἐζήτησαν τὸν νεκρὸν
at-least Ephialtes having-killed not sought the corpse
ἀφανίσαι, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ κινδυνεύειν μηνῦσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα,
to-make-vanish nor in this to-run-the-risk to-disclose the matter
ὥσπερ οἵδε φασὶν ἐμὲ τῆς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδένα κοινωνὸν
as these say me of-the indeed plot no-one partner
ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θανάτου, τῆς δ' ἀναιρέσεως.
to-make of-the death of-the and removal(-of-the-body)

69 Τοῦτο δ' ἐντὸς οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου παῖς ἐζήτησεν οὐδὲ
this and within not much time a-slave-boy sought not-even
δώδεκα ἔτη γεγονὼς τὸν δεσπότην ἀποκτεῖναι· καὶ εἰ
twelve years old the master to-kill and if
μὴ φοβηθείς, ὡς ἀνεβόησεν, ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν
not having-feared when he-cried-out having-left-behind the knife
ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ ᾤχετο φεύγων, ἀλλ' ἐτόλμησε μεῖναι,
in the throat he-had-gone fleeing but had-dared to-stay
ἀπώλοντ' ἂν οἱ ἔνδον ὄντες ἅπαντες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ
would-have-perished — the(-ones) inside being all no-one for
ἂν ᾤετο τὸν παῖδα τολμῆσαί ποτε τοῦτο· νῦν δὲ
— would-have-thought the boy to-dare ever this now and
συλληφθεὶς αὐτὸς ὕστερον κατεῖπεν αὑτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ περὶ
seized himself later denounced himself this and about
χρημάτων αἰτίαν ποτὲ σχόντες οὐκ οὖσαν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ
money a-charge once having-had not true as I
νῦν, οἱ Ἑλληνοταμίαι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἅπαντες
now the Treasurers-of-the-Greeks the your those indeed all
ἀπέθανον ὀργῇ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ, πλὴν ἑνός, τὸ δὲ
died by-anger rather than by-judgment except one the and
πρᾶγμα ὕστερον καταφανὲς ἐγένετο.
matter later evident became

70 Τοῦ δ' ἑνὸς τούτου — Σωσίαν ὄνομά φασιν αὐτῷ εἶναι —
of-the and one this Sosias (as)-name they-say to-him to-be
κατέγνωστο μὲν ἤδη θάνατος, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ οὔπω· καὶ ἐν
had-been-pronounced indeed already death he-had-died and not-yet and in
τούτῳ ἐδηλώθη τῷ τρόπῳ ἀπωλώλει τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ὁ
this was-revealed in-what way had-perished the money and the
ἀνὴρ ἀπελύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ὑμετέρου παραδεδομένος
man was-released by the people the your having-been-handed-over
ἤδη τοῖς ἕνδεκα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐτέθνασαν οὐδὲν αἴτιοι ὄντες.
already to-the Eleven the and others had-died nothing guilty being

Ταῦθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγὼ οἶμαι μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς 71
these-things of-you- -selves I think to-remember the
πρεσβυτέρους, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους πυνθάνεσθαι ὥσπερ
older(-ones) the and younger to-learn(-them) as
ἐμέ. οὕτως ἀγαθόν ἐστι μετὰ τοῦ χρόνου βασανίζειν τὰ
me so good it-is with the time to-test the
πράγματα. καὶ τοῦτ' ἴσως φανερὸν γένοιτ' ἂν ὕστερον,
matters and this perhaps evident would-become — later
ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τέθνηκεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. μὴ οὖν ὕστερον τοῦτο
in-what way has-died the fellow not then later this
γνῶτε, ἀναίτιόν με ὄντα ἀπολέσαντες, ἀλλὰ πρότερόν
recognize guiltless me being having-destroyed(-me) but before
γ' εὖ βουλεύσασθε, καὶ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ διαβολῆς,
at-least well deliberate and not with anger and slander
ὡς τούτων οὐκ ἂν γένοιντο ἕτεροι πονηρότεροι σύμβουλοι.
as than-these not — would-be other worse advisers
Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἂν ὀργιζόμενος ἄνθρωπος εὖ γνοίη· 72
not for there-is what ever — angry a-man well could-decide
αὐτὸ γὰρ ᾧ βουλεύεται, τὴν γνώμην διαφθείρει
itself for with-which he-deliberates the judgment it-destroys
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. μέγα τοι ἡμέρα παρ' ἡμέραν γιγνομένη
of-the man great surely a-day after a-day coming
γνώμην ὦ ἄνδρες ἐξ ὀργῆς μεταστῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν
judgment O men from anger to-change and the truth
εὑρεῖν τῶν γεγενημένων.
to-find of-the(-things) having-happened
Εὖ δὲ ἴστε ὅτι ἐλεηθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄξιός εἰμι μᾶλλον 73
well and know that to-be-pitied by you worthy I-am rather
ἢ δίκην δοῦναι· δίκην μὲν γὰρ εἰκός ἐστι διδόναι τοὺς
than penalty to-pay penalty indeed for likely is to-pay the
ἀδικοῦντας, ἐλεεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκως κινδυνεύοντας.
wrongdoers to-be-pitied and the(-ones) unjustly being-in-danger

κρεῖσσον δὲ χρὴ γίγνεσθαι ἀεὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον δυνάμενον
stronger and must to-become always the your able
ἐμὲ δικαίως σῴζειν, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενον
me justly to-save than the of-the enemies wishing
ἀδίκως με ἀπολλύναι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔστι
unjustly me to-destroy in indeed for the to-delay it-is-possible
καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἃ οὗτοι κελεύουσιν· ἐν
also the terrible(-things) these to-do which these bid in
δὲ τῷ παραχρῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς βουλεύεσθαι.
and the immediate not it-is-possible at-all rightly to-deliberate

VII · THE FATHER'S LOYALTY

He must also defend his father. Before Mytilene revolted, the father showed his goodwill to Athens; when the whole city erred, he was held by his children and property. Athens punished the guilty and he was not among them; since then he has served the city, producing choruses and paying taxes, and he lives at Aenus without shirking any duty. The plot against them is for money. The gods' signs support the speaker: every ship he sailed in had a fair voyage, and every sacrifice he attended went well. He asks for acquittal, since he was arrested under laws that do not fit his charge, and a lawful murder trial still awaits him.

74 Δεῖ δέ με καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολογήσασθαι.
one-must and me also on-behalf-of the father to-make-defense
καίτοι πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνον ὑπὲρ
and-yet much at-least more likely it-was that-one on-behalf-of
ἐμοῦ ἀπολογήσασθαι πατέρα ὄντα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολλῷ
me to-make-defense father being the(-one) indeed for much
πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῶν ἐμῶν πραγμάτων, ἐγὼ δὲ πολλῷ
older is than-the my affairs I and much
νεώτερος τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ τούτου
younger than-the by-that-one done(-things) and if indeed I him

ἀγωνιζομένου κατεμαρτύρουν ἃ μὴ σαφῶς ἤδη ἀκοῇ
being-on-trial testified-against(-him) what not clearly I-knew by-hearsay
δὲ ἠπιστάμην, δεινὰ ἂν ἔφη πάσχειν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ·
and I-knew terrible(-things) — he-would-say to-suffer by me
νῦν δὲ ἀναγκάζων ἐμὲ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὧν ἐγὼ πολλῷ 75
now and compelling me to-defend of-what I much
νεώτερός εἰμι καὶ λόγῳ οἶδα, ταῦτα οὐ δεινὰ
younger am and by-hearsay know these-things not terrible(-things)
ἡγεῖται εἰργάσθαι. ὅμως μέντοι καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐγὼ
he-thinks to-have-done nevertheless however according-to as-much-as I
οἶδα, οὐ προδώσω τὸν πατέρα κακῶς ἀκούοντα ἐν
know not I-will-betray the father ill hearing among
ὑμῖν ἀδίκως. καίτοι τάχ᾽ ἂν σφαλείην, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ὀρθῶς
you unjustly and-yet perhaps — I-may-fail what that-one rightly
ἔργῳ ἔπραξε, ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ λόγῳ μὴ ὀρθῶς εἰπών· ὅμως
in-deed did these-things I in-word not rightly having-told nevertheless
δ᾽ οὖν κεκινδυνεύσεται.
and then the-risk-will-be-run
Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν Μυτιληναίων γενέσθαι, 76
before indeed for the revolt the of-the-Mytilenaeans to-happen
ἔργῳ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐδείκνυε τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
in-deed the goodwill he-showed the toward you when and
ἡ πόλις ὅλη κακῶς ἐβουλεύσατο ἀποστᾶσα καὶ ἥμαρτε
the city whole badly deliberated having-revolted and failed-of
τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ἠναγκάσθη
the your judgment with the city whole he-was-compelled
συνεξαμαρτεῖν. τὴν μὲν οὖν γνώμην ἔτι καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις
to-err-with(-it) the indeed then judgment still even among those
ὅμοιος ἦν εἰς ὑμᾶς, τὴν δὲ εὔνοιαν οὐκέτι ἦν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ
like he-was toward you the and goodwill no-longer it-was in him
τὴν αὐτὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς παρέχεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν
the same toward you to-show neither for to-leave the

πόλιν εὐπόρως εἶχεν αὐτῷ· ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἦν τὰ ἐνέχυρα ἃ
city easily it-was for-him sufficient for were the pledges which
εἴχετο αὐτοῦ, οἵ τε παῖδες καὶ τὰ χρήματα· τοῦτο δ' αὖ
held-fast-to him the both children and the property this and again
μένοντι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ ἀδυνάτως εἶχεν ἰσχυρίζεσθαι.
remaining against the city for-him impossibly it-stood to-hold-out
77 Ἐπεὶ δ' ὑμεῖς τοὺς αἰτίους τούτων ἐκολάσατε, ἐν οἷς οὐκ
since and you the guilty of-these punished among whom not
ἐφαίνετο ὢν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Μυτιληναίοις
appeared being the my father to-the and other Mytilenaeans
ἄδειαν ἐδώκατε οἰκεῖν τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ
immunity you-gave to-dwell-in the their- -own not there-is what
τι ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἡμάρτηται, οὐδ' ὅ τι οὐ πεποίηται
(thing) later by-him has-been-erred nor what (thing) not has-been-done
τῶν δεόντων, οὐδ' ἧς τινος λῃτουργίας ἡ πόλις
of-the needful(-things) nor of-which any public-service the city
ἐνδεὴς γεγένηται, οὔτε ἡ ὑμετέρα οὔτε ἡ Μυτιληναίων,
lacking has-become neither the yours nor the of-the-Mytilenaeans
ἀλλὰ καὶ χορηγίας χορηγεῖ καὶ τέλη κατατίθησιν.
but also choregies he-produces and taxes pays
78 Εἰ δ' ἐν Αἴνῳ χωροφιλεῖ, τοῦτο οὐκ ἀποστερῶν γε
if and in Aenus he-loves-to-live this not depriving at-least
τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἑαυτὸν οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἑτέρας
of-the(-duties) toward the city himself of-any nor of-another
πόλεως πολίτης γεγενημένος, ὥσπερ ἑτέρους ὁρῶ τοὺς
city citizen having-become as others I-see the(-ones)
μὲν εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον ἰόντας, τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας ἐν
indeed to the mainland going the(-ones) and dwelling among
τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις καὶ δίκας ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων
the enemies the your and suits from treaties

ὑμῖν δικαζομένους, οὐδὲ φεύγων τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον,
with-you suing nor fleeing the multitude the your
τοὺς δ᾽ οἵους ὑμεῖς μισῶν συκοφάντας.
the and such-as you hating informers
Ἃ μὲν οὖν μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ 79
what indeed then with the city whole by-necessity rather than
γνώμῃ ἔπραξε, τούτων οὐ δίκαιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἰδίᾳ
by-judgment he-did for-these not just is the my father privately
δίκην διδόναι. ἅπασι γὰρ Μυτιληναίοις ἀείμνηστος ἡ τότε
penalty to-pay to-all for Mytilenaeans ever-remembered the then
ἁμαρτία γεγένηται· ἠλλάξαντο μὲν γὰρ πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας
error has-become they-exchanged indeed for for-great prosperity
πολλὴν κακοδαιμονίαν, ἐπεῖδον δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα
great misery they-saw and the their-own fatherland
ἀνάστατον γενομένην. ἃ δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὗτοι διαβάλλουσι τὸν
laid-waste having-become what and privately these slander the
ἐμὸν πατέρα, μὴ πείθεσθε· χρημάτων γὰρ ἕνεκα ἡ πᾶσα
my father not believe of-money for for-the-sake the whole
παρασκευὴ γεγένηται ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ κἀκείνῳ. πολλὰ δέ ἐστι
preparation has-been-made against me and-that-one many and are
τὰ συμβαλλόμενα τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
the(-things) contributing for-the(-ones) wishing the others'(-things)
ἐφίεσθαι. γέρων μὲν ἐκεῖνος ὥστ᾽ ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν, νεώτερος
to-grasp (too)-old indeed that-one so-as me to-help younger
δ᾽ ἐγὼ πολλῷ ἢ ὥστε δύνασθαι ἐμαυτῷ τιμωρεῖν ἱκανῶς.
and I much than so-as to-be-able myself to-avenge sufficiently
Ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς βοηθήσατέ μοι, καὶ μὴ διδάσκετε τοὺς 80
but you help me and not teach the
συκοφάντας μεῖζον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δύνασθαι. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ
informers more than-you- -selves to-be-able if indeed for
εἰσιόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς ἃ βούλονται πράσσωσι, δεδειγμένον
coming before you what they-wish they-accomplish shown

ἔσται τούτους μὲν πείθειν, τὸ δ’ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος
it-will-be these indeed to-persuade(-you) the and your multitude
φεύγειν· ἐὰν δὲ εἰσιόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς πονηροὶ μὲν αὐτοὶ
to-flee if and coming before you wicked indeed themselves
δοκῶσιν εἶναι, πλέον δ’ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν γίγνηται, ὑμετέρα
they-seem to-be more and for-them nothing comes yours
ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἔσται, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔχει.
the honor and the power will-be as also the justice holds
ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐμοί τε βοηθεῖτε καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ.
you then me both help and the justice

81 Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τεκμηρίων καὶ
as-many-as indeed then from the human proofs and
μαρτυριῶν οἷά τε ἦν ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἀκηκόατε· χρὴ
testimonies possible — it-was to-be-shown you-have-heard one-must
δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν σημείοις γενομένοις εἰς τὰ
and also by-the from the gods signs having-come toward the
τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἥκιστα τεκμηραμένους ψηφίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ
such(-matters) not least having-judged to-vote and for
τὰ τῆς πόλεως κοινὰ τούτοις μάλιστα πιστεύοντες
the of-the city common(-affairs) in-these most trusting
ἀσφαλῶς διαπράσσεσθε, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ εἰς τοὺς
safely you-accomplish this indeed the(-things) into the
κινδύνους ἥκοντα, τοῦτο δὲ εἰς τὰ ἔξω τῶν κινδύνων.
dangers coming this and into the(-things) outside the dangers

82 Χρὴ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ταῦτα μέγιστα καὶ
one-must and also toward the private(-affairs) these greatest and
πιστότατα ἡγεῖσθαι. οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι
most-trustworthy to-consider I-think for you to-know that
πολλοὶ ἤδη ἄνθρωποι μὴ καθαροὶ χεῖρας ἢ ἄλλο τι
many already men not pure in-hands or other some
μίασμα ἔχοντες συνεισβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον συναπώλεσαν
pollution having having-embarked-with into the ship destroyed-with(-them)

μετὰ τῆς αὑτῶν ψυχῆς τοὺς ὁσίως διακειμένους τὰ
with the their-own life the(-ones) piously disposed the(-things)
πρὸς τοὺς θεούς· τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ἑτέρους ἀπολομένους
toward the gods this and already others having-perished
μὲν οὔ, κινδυνεύσαντας δὲ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους
indeed not having-run-risk and the utmost dangers
διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους· τοῦτο δὲ ἱεροῖς
because-of the such men this and at-sacrifices
παραστάντες πολλοὶ δὴ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο οὐχ ὅσιοι
standing-by many indeed evident became not holy
ὄντες, διακωλύοντες τὰ ἱερὰ μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὰ νομιζόμενα.
being preventing the sacrifices not to-take-place the customary
Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὰ ἐναντία ἐγένετο. τοῦτο 83
to-me then in all these the opposite(-things) happened this
μὲν γὰρ ὅσοις συνέπλευσα, καλλίστοις ἐχρήσαντο πλοῖς·
indeed for as-many-as I-sailed-with finest had voyages
τοῦτο δὲ ὅπου ἱεροῖς παρέστην, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου οὐχὶ
this and where at-sacrifices I-stood-by not there-is where not
κάλλιστα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο. ἃ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ μεγάλα
finest the sacrifices came-out which I think-it-right great
μοι τεκμήρια εἶναι τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ μου
for-me proofs to-be of-the charge that not true(-things) me
οὗτοι κατηγοροῦσι *** τούτων μάρτυρες.
these accuse (lacuna) of-these witnesses

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ τάδε ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι εἰ μὲν 84
I-know and also these-things O men jurors that if indeed
ἐμοῦ κατεμαρτύρουν οἱ μάρτυρες, ὥς τι ἀνόσιον
against-me testified the witnesses that something unholy
γεγένηται ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἐν πλοίῳ ἢ ἐν ἱεροῖς, αὐτοῖς
has-happened me being-present in a-ship or at sacrifices them

γε τούτοις ἰσχυροτάτοις ἂν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ πίστιν τῆς
at-least these strongest — they-would-use and proof of-the
αἰτίας ταύτην σαφεστάτην ἀπέφαινον, τὰ σημεῖα τὰ ἀπὸ
charge this clearest they-would-show the signs the from
τῶν θεῶν· νῦν δὲ τῶν τε σημείων ἐναντίων τοῖς τούτων
the gods now and the both signs opposite to-the of-these
λόγοις γεγενημένων, τῶν τε μαρτύρων ἃ μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω
words having-come the and witnesses what indeed I say
μαρτυρούντων ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἃ δ' οὗτοι κατηγοροῦσι
testifying true to-be what and these accuse
ψευδῆ, τοῖς μὲν μαρτυροῦσιν ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς κελεύουσι,
false(-things) the indeed witnesses to-disbelieve you they-bid
τοῖς δὲ λόγοις οὓς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι πιστεύειν ὑμᾶς φασι
the and words which themselves speak to-believe you they-say
χρῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς
to-be-needful and the indeed other men by-the deeds the
λόγους ἐλέγχουσιν, οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα ζητοῦσιν
words test these and by-the words the deeds seek
ἄπιστα καθιστάναι.
untrustworthy to-make

85 Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατηγορηθέντων μέμνημαι
as-many-as indeed then from the (things)-charged I-remember
ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπολελόγημαι· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν ***
O men I-have-answered I-think and also of-you (lacuna)
ἀποψηφίσασθαι. ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἐμέ τε σῴζει, καὶ ὑμῖν
to-acquit(-me) the-same-things for me both saves and for-you
νόμιμα καὶ εὔορκα γίγνεται. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους
lawful(-things) and true-to-oath become according-to for the laws
ὠμόσατε δικάσειν· ἐγὼ δὲ καθ' οὓς μὲν ἀπήχθην, οὐκ
you-swore to-judge I and according-to which indeed I-was-arrested not
ἔνοχός εἰμι τοῖς νόμοις, ὧν δ' ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀγών
liable am to-the laws of-what and I-have the charge a-trial

μοι νόμιμος ὑπολείπεται. εἰ δὲ δύο ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀγῶνος
for-me lawful remains if and two from one trial
γεγένησθον, οὐκ ἐγὼ αἴτιος, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ κατήγοροι. καίτοι
have-come not I responsible but the accusers and-yet
οὐ δή που οἱ μὲν ἔχθιστοι οἱ ἐμοὶ δύο ἀγῶνας περὶ
not indeed surely the indeed most-hostile the to-me two trials about
ἐμοῦ πεποιήκασιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν δικαίων ἴσοι κριταὶ
me have-made you and the of-the just(-things) equal judges
προκαταγνώσεσθέ μου ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι τὸν φόνον.
will-prejudge me in this the trial the murder

VIII · TIME AND THE VERDICT

He asks the jurors to give time its due. A murder verdict, even wrong, binds more strongly than the truth, which is why homicide trials are so solemn. If they acquit him now, he can still be tried for murder under the proper oath; if they condemn him, nothing more can be done. Unjust acquittal is an error, unjust killing impiety, and some jurors have already repented of men they put to death. He came to Athens trusting a clear conscience.

Μὴ ὑμεῖς γε ὦ ἄνδρες· ἀλλὰ δότε τι καὶ τῷ 86
not you at-least O men but give something also to-the
χρόνῳ, μεθ᾽ οὗ ὀρθότατα εὑρίσκουσιν οἱ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν
time with which most-rightly find the(-ones) the exactness
ζητοῦντες τῶν πραγμάτων. ἠξίουν μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε
seeking of-the matters I-thought-it-right indeed for I-for-my-part
περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὦ ἄνδρες εἶναι τὴν δίκην κατὰ τοὺς
about the such(-matters) O men to-be the trial according-to the
νόμους, κατὰ μέντοι τούτους τὸ δίκαιον ὡς πλειστάκις
laws according-to however these the justice as most-often
ἐλέγχεσθαι. τοσούτῳ γὰρ ἄμεινον ἂν ἐγιγνώσκετο· οἱ γὰρ
to-be-tested by-so-much for better — it-would-be-known the for

πολλοὶ ἀγῶνες τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ σύμμαχοί εἰσι, τῇ δὲ
many trials to-the indeed truth allies are to-the and
διαβολῇ πολεμιώτατοι.
slander most-hostile

87 Φόνου γὰρ δίκη καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς γνωσθεῖσα ἰσχυρότερον
of-murder for a-verdict even not rightly given stronger
τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐστιν· ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς
than-the just and the true is necessary for if you
καταψηφίσησθε, καὶ μὴ ὄντα φονέα μηδ' ἔνοχον τῷ ἔργῳ
condemn(-him) even not being murderer nor liable to-the deed
χρῆσθαι τῇ δίκῃ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν τολμήσειεν
to-abide-by the verdict and the law and no-one — would-dare
οὔτε τὴν δίκην τὴν δεδικασμένην παραβαίνειν πιστεύσας
neither the verdict the judged to-transgress trusting
αὑτῷ ὅτι οὐκ ἔνοχός ἐστιν, οὔτε ξυνειδὼς αὑτῷ τοιοῦτον
himself that not liable he-is nor conscious with-himself such
ἔργον εἰργασμένῳ μὴ οὐ χρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ· ἀνάγκη δὲ
a-deed having-done not not to-abide-by the law necessary and
τῆς τε δίκης νικᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἀληθές, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ
by-the both verdict to-be-overcome contrary-to the true itself both the
ἀληθοῦς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ ὁ τιμωρήσων.
truth otherwise both and if not there-be the (one)-going-to-avenge

88 Αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων εἵνεκα οἵ τε νόμοι καὶ αἱ διωμοσίαι
of-the-very and these(-things) for-the-sake-of the both laws and the solemn-oaths
καὶ τὰ τόμια καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις, καὶ τἆλλα
and the victims'-parts and the proclamations and the-other(-things)
ὁπόσα γίγνεται τῶν δικῶν ἕνεκα τοῦ φόνου, πολὺ
as-many-as happen of-the trials for-the-sake the murder much
διαφέροντά ἐστιν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ
differing are than in the other(-cases) because also themselves the
πράγματα, περὶ ὧν οἱ κίνδυνοι, περὶ πλείστου ἐστὶν ὀρθῶς
matters about which the dangers of most it-is rightly

γιγνώσκεσθαι· ὀρθῶς μὲν γὰρ γνωσθέντα τιμωρία ἐστὶ τῷ
to-be-decided rightly indeed for decided vengeance is for-the
ἀδικηθέντι, φονέα δὲ τὸν μὴ αἴτιον ψηφισθῆναι ἁμαρτία
wronged(-one) murderer and the not guilty to-be-voted error
καὶ ἀσέβειά ἐστιν εἴς τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους.
and impiety is toward both the gods and toward the laws
Καὶ οὐκ ἴσον ἐστὶ τόν τε διώκοντα μὴ ὀρθῶς αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ 89
and not equal it-is the both prosecutor not rightly to-accuse and
ὑμᾶς τοὺς δικαστὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς γνῶναι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτων
you the jurors not rightly to-decide the indeed for of-these
αἰτίασις οὐκ ἔχει τέλος, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι καὶ τῇ δίκῃ· ὅ
accusation not has an-end but in you it-is and the verdict what
τι δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δίκῃ μὴ ὀρθῶς γνῶτε, τοῦτο οὐκ
ever and — you in itself the verdict not rightly decide this not
ἔστιν ὅποι ἄν τις ἀνενεγκὼν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀπολύσαιτο.
there-is whither — anyone having-referred the error could-free-himself
Πῶς ἂν οὖν ὀρθῶς δικάσαιτε περὶ αὐτῶν; εἰ τούτους τε 90
how — then rightly could-you-judge about them if these both
ἐάσετε τὸν νομιζόμενον ὅρκον διομοσαμένους κατηγορῆσαι,
you-will-let the customary oath having-sworn to-accuse
κἀμὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπολογήσασθαι. πῶς δὲ
and-me about itself the matter to-make-defense how and
ἐάσετε; ἐὰν νυνὶ ἀποψηφίσησθέ μου. διαφεύγω γὰρ οὐδ'
will-you-let(-it) if now you-acquit me I-escape for not-even
οὕτω τὰς ὑμετέρας γνώμας, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε οἱ κἀκεῖ
so the your judgments but you will-be the(-ones) there-too
περὶ ἐμοῦ διαψηφιζόμενοι. καὶ φεισαμένοις μὲν ὑμῖν ἐμοῦ
about me voting and having-spared indeed you me
νῦν ἔξεστι τότε χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούλησθε, ἀπολέσασι
now it-is-possible then to-use what ever — you-wish having-destroyed(-me)
δὲ οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι ἔτι περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐγχωρεῖ.
and not-even to-deliberate any-more about me it-is-possible

91 Καὶ μὴν εἰ δέοι ἁμαρτεῖν τι, τὸ ἀδίκως ἀπολῦσαι
and indeed if it-were-needful to-err somewhat the unjustly to-acquit
ὁσιώτερον ἂν εἴη τοῦ μὴ δικαίως ἀπολέσαι· τὸ μὲν
holier — would-be than-the not justly to-destroy the indeed
γὰρ ἁμάρτημα μόνον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον καὶ ἀσέβημα. ἐν
for error only is the and other also impiety in
ᾧ χρὴ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔχειν, μέλλοντας ἀνήκεστον
which one-must much forethought to-have (when)-about-to an-irreparable
ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἀκεστῷ πράγματι καὶ
deed to-do in indeed for a-remediable matter both
ὀργῇ χρησαμένους καὶ διαβολῇ πιθομένους ἔλασσόν
anger having-used and slander having-believed less
ἐστιν ἐξαμαρτεῖν· μεταγνοὺς γάρ τις ἔτι ἂν ὀρθῶς
it-is to-err having-changed-mind for one still — rightly
βουλεύσαιτο· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις πλέον βλάβος τὸ
could-deliberate in and the irreparable(-ones) more harm the
μετανοεῖν καὶ γνῶναι ἐξημαρτηκότας. ἤδη δέ τισιν ὑμῶν
to-repent and to-recognize having-erred already and to-some of-you
καὶ μετεμέλησεν ἀπολωλεκόσι. καίτοι ὅπου ὑμῖν τοῖς
also it-was-regretted having-destroyed(-men) and-yet where to-you the(-ones)
ἐξαπατηθεῖσι μετεμέλησεν, ἦ καὶ πάνυ τοι χρῆν
deceived it-was-regretted verily also very surely it-was-needful
τούς γε ἐξαπατῶντας ἀπολωλέναι.
the(-ones) at-least deceiving to-have-perished

92 Ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἔχει
then and the indeed involuntary of-the errors have
συγγνώμην, τὰ δὲ ἑκούσια οὐκ ἔχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσιον
pardon the and voluntary not have the indeed for involuntary
ἁμάρτημα ὦ ἄνδρες τῆς τύχης ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἑκούσιον τῆς
error O men of-the fortune is the and voluntary of-the
γνώμης. ἑκούσιον δὲ πῶς ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις,
judgment voluntary and how — would-it-be more than if anyone

ὧν βουλὴν ποιοῖτο, ταῦτα παραχρῆμα ἐξεργάζοιτο; καὶ
what plan should-make these-things on-the-spot should-carry-out and
μὴν τὴν ἴσην γε δύναμιν ἔχει, ὅστις τε ἂν τῇ χειρὶ
indeed the equal at-least force has whoever both — with-the hand
ἀποκτείνῃ ἀδίκως καὶ ὅστις τῇ ψήφῳ.
kills unjustly and whoever with-the vote
Εὖ δ' ἴστε ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἦλθον εἰς τὴν 93
well and know that not — ever I-would-have-come into the
πόλιν, εἴ τι ξυνῄδη ἐμαυτῷ τοιοῦτον· νῦν δὲ
city if anything I-were-conscious with-myself such now and
πιστεύων τῷ δικαίῳ, οὗ πλέονος οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄξιον
trusting in-the justice than-which more nothing is worth
ἀνδρὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, μηδὲν αὑτῷ συνειδότι ἀνόσιον
for-a-man to-have-as-fellow-combatant nothing with-himself conscious unholy
εἰργασμένῳ μηδ' εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἠσεβηκότι· ἐν γὰρ τῷ
having-done nor toward the gods having-been-impious in for the
τοιούτῳ ἤδη καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπειρηκὸς ἡ ψυχὴ συνεξέσωσεν,
such(-case) already even the body having-given-out the soul has-saved(-it)-along
ἐθέλουσα ταλαιπωρεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ξυνειδέναι ἑαυτῇ. τῷ
being-willing to-endure because-of the not to-be-conscious with-itself to-the
δὲ ξυνειδότι τοῦτο αὐτὸ πρῶτον πολέμιόν ἐστιν· ἔτι
and (one)-conscious this itself first hostile is still
γὰρ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἰσχύοντος ἡ ψυχὴ προαπολείπει,
for even the body being-strong the soul fails-first
ἡγουμένη τὴν τιμωρίαν οἱ ἥκειν ταύτην τῶν ἀσεβημάτων·
thinking the vengeance on-it to-come this of-the impieties
ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτῷ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ξυνειδὼς ἥκω εἰς ὑμᾶς.
I and with-myself such nothing conscious come before you
Τὸ δὲ τοὺς κατηγόρους διαβάλλειν οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστόν. 94
the and the accusers to-slander nothing is surprising
τούτων γὰρ ἔργον τοῦτο, ὑμῶν δὲ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τὰ μὴ
of-these for (the)-work this of-you and the not to-be-persuaded-of the not

δίκαια. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πειθομένοις ὑμῖν μεταμελῆσαι
just(-things) this indeed for me being-persuaded-by for-you to-repent
ἔστιν, καὶ τούτου φάρμακον τὸ αὖθις κολάσαι, τοῦ δὲ
is-possible and of-this cure the again to-punish of-the and
τούτοις πειθομένους ἐξεργάσασθαι ἃ οὗτοι βούλονται οὐκ
these being-persuaded-by to-accomplish what these wish not
ἔστιν ἴασις. οὐδὲ χρόνος πολὺς ὁ διαφέρων, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα
there-is cure nor time much the intervening in which these-things
νομίμως πράξεθ' ἃ νῦν ὑμᾶς παρανόμως πείθουσιν οἱ
lawfully you-will-do which now you lawlessly persuade the
κατήγοροι ψηφίσασθαι. οὔ τοι τῶν ἐπειγομένων ἐστὶ
accusers to-vote not surely of-the(-ones) hurrying are
τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ τῶν εὖ βουλευομένων. νῦν μὲν
the matters but of-the(-ones) well deliberating now indeed
οὖν γνωρισταὶ γίγνεσθε τῆς δίκης, τότε δὲ δικασταὶ τῶν
then examiners become of-the case then and jurors of-the
μαρτύρων· νῦν μὲν δοξασταί, τότε δὲ κριταὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν.
witnesses now indeed conjecturers then and judges of-the truths
95 Ῥᾷστον δέ τοί ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς περὶ θανάτου φεύγοντος τὰ
easiest and surely it-is of-a-man about death being-tried the
ψευδῆ καταμαρτυρῆσαι. ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ παραχρῆμα μόνον
false(-things) to-testify-against if for the immediate only
πείσωσιν ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ἅμα τῷ σώματι καὶ ἡ
they-persuade so-as to-kill(-him) together-with the body also the
τιμωρία ἀπόλωλεν. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φίλοι ἔτι θελήσουσιν
vengeance has-perished neither for the friends any-more will-be-willing
ὑπὲρ ἀπολωλότος τιμωρεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ βουληθῶσιν,
on-behalf-of (one)-perished to-avenge if and even they-wish
τί ἔσται πλέον τῷ γε ἀποθανόντι;
what will-be more for-the at-least dead

Νῦν μὲν οὖν ἀποψηφίσασθέ μου· ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ φόνου 96
now indeed then acquit me in and the of-the murder
δίκῃ οὗτοί τε τὸν νομιζόμενον ὅρκον διομοσάμενοι ἐμοῦ
trial these both the customary oath having-sworn me
κατηγορήσουσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους
will-accuse and you about me according-to the established
νόμους διαγνώσεσθε, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐδεὶς λόγος ἔσται ἔτι,
laws will-decide and to-me no argument will-be any-more
ἐάν τι πάσχω, ὡς παρανόμως ἀπωλόμην. ταῦτά
if anything I-suffer that lawlessly I-perished these-things
τοι δέομαι ὑμῶν, οὔτε τὸ ὑμέτερον εὐσεβὲς παρεὶς
surely I-ask of-you neither the your piety neglecting
οὔτε ἐμαυτὸν ἀποστερῶν τὸ δίκαιον· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ
nor myself depriving-of the justice in and the your
ὅρκῳ καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ σωτηρία ἔνεστι. πειθόμενοι δὲ τούτων
oath also the my safety is-contained being-persuaded and of-these
ὅτῳ βούλεσθε, ἀποψηφίσασθέ μου.
by-whichever you-wish acquit me

ANTIPHON

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΟΡΕΥΤΟΥ

On the Chorus Boy

A choregus is on trial for the death of a boy in his chorus. A man in danger needs most a clear conscience, so that any misfortune comes by chance. A wrong verdict in a homicide case binds more strongly than the truth. His accusers have built their case on slander. Appointed choregus for the Thargelia, he fitted out a training room and gathered the chorus without force; busy prosecuting Aristion and Philinus, he set his son-in-law Phanostratus over it, with Amynias and another man to gather the boys and Philippus to buy what the trainer asked for.

Ἥδιστον μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι μὴ 1
sweetest indeed O men jurors for-a-man being not
γενέσθαι μηδένα κίνδυνον περὶ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ εὐχόμενος
to-have-come any danger about the person and praying
ἄν τις ταῦτα εὔξαιτο· εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ ἀναγκάζοιτο
— one these-things would-pray-for if and after-all anyone also should-be-compelled
κινδυνεύειν, τοῦτο γοῦν ὑπάρχειν, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἐγὼ
to-run-risk this at-any-rate to-belong which greatest I
νομίζω ἐν πράγματι τοιούτῳ, αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ συνειδέναι
think in a-matter such himself with-himself to-be-conscious
μηδὲν ἐξημαρτηκότι, ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ συμφορὰ γίγνοιτο,
nothing having-erred but if any also misfortune should-happen
ἄνευ κακότητος καὶ αἰσχύνης γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τύχῃ μᾶλλον
without baseness and shame to-happen and by-chance rather
ἢ ἀδικίᾳ.
than by-injustice

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν νόμους οἳ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων 2
and the indeed laws which lie about the such(-matters)
πάντες ἂν ἐπαινέσειαν κάλλιστα νόμων κεῖσθαι καὶ
all — would-praise finest of-laws to-lie and
ὁσιώτατα. ὑπάρχει μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις εἶναι ἐν
holiest it-belongs indeed for to-them oldest to-be in

τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἔπειτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,
the land this then the same always about the same(-things)
ὅπερ μέγιστον σημεῖον νόμων καλῶς κειμένων· ὁ χρόνος
which greatest sign of-laws well lying the time
γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία τὰ μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντα διδάσκει
for and the experience the(-things) not well being teaches
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὥστ᾽ οὐ δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοῦ
the men so-that not must you from the words of-the
κατηγοροῦντος τοὺς νόμους μαθεῖν εἰ καλῶς ἔχουσιν
accuser the laws to-learn whether well they-are
ἢ μή, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοὺς τούτων λόγους, εἰ
or not but from the laws the of-these words whether
ὀρθῶς ὑμᾶς καὶ νομίμως διδάσκουσιν ἢ οὔ.
rightly you and lawfully they-teach or not

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν ἐμοὶ μέγιστος τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ
the indeed then contest for-me greatest for-the (one)-being-in-danger and
διωκομένῳ· ἡγοῦμαι μέντοι γε καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς δικασταῖς
being-prosecuted I-think however at-least also for-you the jurors
περὶ πολλοῦ εἶναι τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ὀρθῶς διαγιγνώσκειν,
of much to-be the homicide cases rightly to-decide
μάλιστα μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, ἔπειτα
most indeed of-the gods for-the-sake and of-the piety then
δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου
and also of-you- -selves there-is indeed for about the such(-a-case)
μία δίκη· αὕτη δὲ μὴ ὀρθῶς καταγνωσθεῖσα ἰσχυροτέρα
one verdict this and not rightly pronounced stronger
ἐστὶ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς.
is than-the just and the true

4 Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς καταψηφίσησθε, καὶ μὴ ὄντα φονέα
necessary for if you condemn(-him) even not being murderer
μηδὲ ἔνοχον τῷ ἔργῳ χρήσασθαι τῇ δίκῃ, καὶ νόμῳ
nor liable to-the deed to-abide-by the verdict and by-law

εἴργεσθαι πόλεως ἱερῶν ἀγώνων θυσιῶν, ἅπερ μέγιστα
to-be-barred from-city sacred-rites contests sacrifices which-very greatest
καὶ παλαιότατα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀνάγκην
and oldest for-the men so-great for necessity
ὁ νόμος ἔχει, ὥστε καὶ ἄν τις κτείνῃ τινὰ ὧν αὐτὸς
the law has that even if anyone kills anyone of-whom he-himself
κρατεῖ καὶ μὴ ἔστιν ὁ τιμωρήσων, τὸ νομιζόμενον καὶ
is-master and not there-is the (one)-going-to-avenge the customary and
τὸ θεῖον δεδιὼς ἁγνεύει τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀφέξεται ὧν
the divine fearing he-purifies both himself and will-keep-away from-what
εἴρηται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ἐλπίζων οὕτως ἂν ἄριστα πράξειν.
is-said in the law hoping thus — best to-fare
Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τὰ πλείω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ βίου ἐν ταῖς 5
are indeed for the more for-the men of-the life in the
ἐλπίσιν· ἀσεβῶν δὲ καὶ παραβαίνων τὰ εἰς τοὺς
hopes being-impious but and transgressing the(-things) toward the
θεοὺς καὶ αὐτῆς ἂν τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι τοῖς
gods even itself — the hope which greatest is for-the
ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἀποστεροίη. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν
men good himself himself would-deprive-of and no-one —
τολμήσειεν οὔτε τὴν δίκην τὴν δεδικασμένην παραβαίνειν
would-dare neither the verdict the judged to-transgress
πιστεύσας ὅτι οὐκ ἔνοχός ἐστι τῷ ἔργῳ, οὔτ' αὖ συνειδὼς
trusting that not liable he-is to-the deed nor again conscious
αὐτὸς αὑτῷ ἔργον εἰργασμένος τοιοῦτον μὴ οὐ χρῆσθαι
himself with-himself a-deed having-done such not not to-abide-by
τῷ νόμῳ· ἀνάγκη δὲ τῆς τε δίκης νικᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ
the law necessary and by-the both verdict to-be-overcome contrary-to the
ἀληθές, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, κἂν μὴ ὁ τιμωρήσων ᾖ.
true itself both the truth and-if not the (one)-going-to-avenge be

6 Αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων ἕνεκα οἵ τε νόμοι καὶ αἱ διωμοσίαι
of-the-very and these(-things) for-the-sake-of the both laws and the solemn-oaths
καὶ τὰ τόμια καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις, καὶ τἆλλα
and the victims'-parts and the proclamations and the-other(-things)
ὅσα γίγνεται τῶν δικῶν τοῦ φόνου ἕνεκα, πολὺ
as-many-as happen of-the trials of-the murder for-the-sake much
διαφέροντά ἐστιν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ
differing are than in the other(-cases) because also themselves
τὰ πράγματα, περὶ ὧν οἱ κίνδυνοι, περὶ πλείστου ἐστὶν
the matters about which the dangers of most it-is
ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκεσθαι· ὀρθῶς μὲν γὰρ γνωσθέντα τιμωρία
rightly to-be-decided rightly indeed for decided vengeance
ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, φονέα δὲ τὸν μὴ αἴτιον
is on-behalf-of the wronged(-one) murderer and the not guilty
ψηφισθῆναι ἁμαρτία καὶ ἀσέβεια εἴς τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ
to-be-voted error and impiety toward both the gods and
τοὺς νόμους. καὶ οὐκ ἴσον ἐστὶ τόν τε διώκοντα μὴ ὀρθῶς
the laws and not equal it-is the both prosecutor not rightly
αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δικαστὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς γνῶναι. ἡ
to-accuse and you the jurors not rightly to-decide the
μὲν γὰρ τούτου αἰτίασις οὐκ ἔχει νῦν τέλος, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑμῖν
indeed for of-this(-man) accusation not has now an-end but in you
ἐστι καὶ τῇ δίκῃ· ὅ τι δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς μὴ ὀρθῶς γνῶτε, τοῦτο
it-is and the verdict what ever and — you not rightly decide this
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἂν ἀνενεγκών τις τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολύσαιτο.
not there-is whither — having-referred anyone the blame could-free-himself

7 Ἐγὼ δὲ ὦ ἄνδρες οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχω περὶ τῆς
I and O men not the same judgment have about the
ἀπολογίας ἥνπερ οἱ κατήγοροι περὶ τῆς κατηγορίας.
defense which-very the accusers about the accusation
οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ τὴν μὲν δίωξιν εὐσεβείας ἕνεκά φασι
these indeed for the indeed prosecution of-piety for-the-sake-of they-say

ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ δικαίου, τὴν δὲ κατηγορίαν ἅπασαν
to-make and of-the justice the and accusation whole
πεποίηνται διαβολῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀπάτης, ὅπερ ἀδικώτατόν
they-have-made of-slander for-the-sake and of-deceit which most-unjust
ἐστι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὐκ ἐλέγξαντες, εἴ
is of-the(-things) among men and not having-proved if
τι ἀδικῶ, δικαίως με βούλονται τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ
in-anything I-do-wrong justly me they-wish to-punish but
διαβαλόντες, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικῶ, ζημιῶσαι καὶ ἐξελάσαι
having-slandered(-me) even if in-nothing I-do-wrong to-penalize and to-drive-out
ἐκ τῆς γῆς ταύτης.
from the land this

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀξιῶ πρῶτον μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος 8
I and think-it-right first indeed about itself the matter
ἀποκρίνεσθαι, καὶ διηγήσασθαι ἐν ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα
to-answer and to-relate before you the(-things) having-happened
πάντα· ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν οὗτοι κατηγοροῦσιν,
all then about the other(-things) of-which these accuse
ἐὰν ὑμῖν ἡδομένοις, βουλήσομαι ἀπολογήσασθαι. ἡγοῦμαι
if to-you pleased I-will-wish to-make-defense I-think
γάρ μοι τιμὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν αὐτὰ οἴσειν, τοῖς δὲ
for for-me honor and benefit them to-be-going-to-bring for-the and
κατηγόροις καὶ τοῖς ἐπηρεάζουσιν αἰσχύνην·
accusers and for-the (men)-insulting(-me) shame
ἐπεί τοί γε καὶ δεινὸν ὦ ἄνδρες· ἵνα μὲν ἐξῆν 9
since surely at-least also terrible(-it-is) O men where indeed it-was-possible
αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι ἠδίκουν ἐγὼ τὴν πόλιν ἢ ἐν
for-them if in-anything I-was-wronging I the city either in
χορηγίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις τισίν, ἀποφήνασι καὶ ἐξελέγξασιν
choregy or in other some(-things) having-shown and having-proved
ἄνδρα τε ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι,
a-man both enemy to-punish and the city to-benefit

ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οἷός τε ἐγένετο αὐτῶν οὔτε
there indeed no-one ever able — became of-them neither
μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα ἐξελέγξαι ἀδικοῦντα τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα
small nor great to-prove wronging this the man
τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι, φόνου
the multitude the your in and this the contest of-murder
διώκοντες καὶ τοῦ νόμου οὕτως ἔχοντος, εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ
prosecuting and the law so being to itself the
πρᾶγμα κατηγορεῖν, μηχανῶνται ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ λόγους ψευδεῖς
matter to-accuse they-contrive against me words false
συντιθέντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
putting-together and slandering the(-things) toward the city
καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλει, εἴπερ ἀδικεῖται, κατηγορίαν ἀντὶ
and for-the indeed city if-indeed it-is-wronged accusation instead-of
τιμωρίας ἀπονέμουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὧν τὴν πόλιν φασὶν
vengeance they-assign themselves and for-what the city they-say
ἀδικεῖσθαι, τούτων ἰδίᾳ ἀξιοῦσι δίκην λαμβάνειν.
to-be-wronged for-these privately they-think-it-right penalty to-take
10 Καίτοι αὗται αἱ κατηγορίαι οὔτε χάριτος ἄξιαι οὔτε
and-yet these the accusations neither of-thanks worthy nor
πίστεως. οὔτε γὰρ δὴ οὗ ἡ πόλις ἐλάμβανεν ἂν
of-belief neither for indeed where the city would-have-taken —
δίκην εἴ τι ἠδίκητο, ἐνταῦθα τὴν κατηγορίαν
penalty if in-anything it-had-been-wronged there the accusation
ποιεῖται, ὥστε χάριτος ἄξιον εἶναι τῇ πόλει· οὔτε ὅστις
he-makes so-that of-thanks worthy to-be to-the city nor whoever
ἄλλα κατηγορεῖ ἢ ἃ διώκει ἐν πράγματι τοιούτῳ,
other(-things) accuses than what he-prosecutes in a-matter such
πιστεῦσαι δήπου αὐτῷ ἀξιώτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀπιστῆσαι.
to-believe surely him more-worthy is than to-disbelieve
ἐγὼ δὲ σχεδὸν ἐπίσταμαι τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην, ὅτι οὔτ᾽
I and nearly know the your judgment that neither

ἂν καταψηφίσαισθε οὔτ' ἂν ἀποψηφίσαισθε ἑτέρου τινὸς
— would-you-condemn(-me) nor — would-you-acquit(-me) of-other any
ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος· ταῦτα γὰρ
for-the-sake rather than itself the matter these-things for
καὶ ὅσια καὶ δίκαια. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν.
both holy and just(-things) I-will-begin and from-here
Ἐπειδὴ χορηγὸς κατεστάθην εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ ἔλαχον 11
when choregus I-was-appointed for the-Thargelia and obtained-by-lot
Παντακλέα διδάσκαλον καὶ Κεκροπίδα φυλὴν πρὸς τῇ
Pantacles (as)-trainer and Cecropis (as)-tribe with the
ἐμαυτοῦ, ἐχορήγουν ὡς ἄριστα ἐδυνάμην καὶ δικαιότατα.
my-own I-was-producing as best I-could and most-justly
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διδασκαλεῖον ᾗ ἦν ἐπιτηδειότατον
and first indeed a-training-room where was most-suitable
τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασα, ἐν ᾧπερ καὶ Διονυσίοις
of-the my house I-fitted-out in which-very also at-the-Dionysia
ὅτε ἐχορήγουν ἐδίδασκον· ἔπειτα τὸν χορὸν συνέλεξα ὡς
when I-was-choregus I-trained then the chorus I-collected as
ἐδυνάμην ἄριστα, οὔτε ζημιώσας οὐδένα οὔτε ἐνέχυρα βίᾳ
I-could best neither fining anyone nor pledges by-force
φέρων οὔτ' ἀπεχθανόμενος οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἥδιστα
taking nor incurring-hatred with-anyone but as — most-pleasantly
καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατα ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίγνετο, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκέλευον
and most-suitably for-both happened I indeed bade
καὶ ᾐτούμην, οἱ δ' ἑκόντες καὶ βουλόμενοι ἔπεμπον.
and asked they and willingly and wishing sent(-their-sons)
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον οἱ παῖδες, πρῶτον μέν μοι ἀσχολία ἦν 12
when and came the boys first indeed for-me lack-of-leisure there-was
παρεῖναι καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἐτύγχανε γάρ μοι πράγματα
to-be-present and to-take-care it-happened for for-me affairs
ὄντα πρὸς Ἀριστίωνα καὶ Φιλῖνον, ἃ ἐγὼ περὶ πολλοῦ
being against Aristion and Philinus which I of much

ἐποιούμην, ἐπειδή περ εἰσήγγειλα, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως
made since indeed I-had-impeached(-them) rightly and justly
ἀποδεῖξαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις. ἐγὼ
to-prove to-the council and to-the other Athenians I
μὲν οὖν τούτοις προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν, κατέστησα δὲ
indeed then to-these was-applying the mind I-appointed and
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἴ τι δέοι τῷ χορῷ, Φανόστρατον,
to-take-care if anything were-needful for-the chorus Phanostratus
δημότην μὲν τουτωνὶ τῶν διωκόντων, κηδεστὴν δ'
fellow-demesman indeed of-these the prosecutors relative-by-marriage and
ἐμαυτοῦ, ᾧ ἐγὼ δέδωκα τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἠξίουν
my-own to-whom I have-given the daughter and I-thought-it-right
αὐτὸν ὡς ἄριστα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι·
him as best to-take-care

13 ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ δύο ἄνδρας, τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθῇδος
further and besides this two men the(-one) indeed of-Erechtheis
Ἀμυνίαν, ὃν αὐτοὶ οἱ φυλέται ἐψηφίσαντο συλλέγειν
Amynias whom themselves the tribesmen voted to-collect
καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστοτε, δοκοῦντα χρηστὸν
and to-take-care-of the tribe each-time seeming useful
εἶναι, τὸν δ' ἕτερον τῆς Κεκροπίδος, ὅσπερ ἑκάστοτε
to-be the(-other) and other of-the Cecropis who each-time
εἴωθεν ταύτην τὴν φυλὴν συλλέγειν· ἔτι δὲ τέταρτον
was-accustomed this the tribe to-collect further and a-fourth
Φίλιππον, ᾧ προσετέτακτο ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναλίσκειν εἴ
Philippus to-whom it-had-been-assigned to-buy and to-spend if
τι φράζοι ὁ διδάσκαλος ἢ ἄλλος τις τούτων, ὅπως
anything should-indicate the trainer or other any of-these so-that
ὡς ἄριστα χορηγοῖντο οἱ παῖδες καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνδεεῖς
as best might-be-equipped the boys and of-nothing lacking
εἶεν διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀσχολίαν.
might-be because-of the my lack-of-leisure

Καθειστήκει μὲν ἡ χορηγία οὕτω. καὶ τούτων εἴ 14
had-been-established indeed the choregy so and of-these if
τι ψεύδομαι προφάσεως ἕνεκα, ἔξεστι τῷ
in-anything I-lie of-pretext for-the-sake it-is-possible for-the
κατηγόρῳ ἐξελέγξαι ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ λόγῳ ὅ τι ἂν
accuser to-refute(-me) in the later speech what ever —
βούληται· ἐπεί τοι οὕτως ἔχει ὦ ἄνδρες· πολλοὶ τῶν
he-wishes since surely so it-is O men many of-the(-men)
περιεστώτων τούτων τὰ μὲν πράγματα ταῦτα πάντα
standing-around these the indeed matters these all
ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστανται, καὶ τοῦ ὁρκωτοῦ ἀκούουσι, καὶ
exactly know and the oath-administrator hear and
ἐμοὶ προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν ἅττα ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι, οἷς
to-me apply the mind what I answer to-whom
ἐγὼ βουλοίμην ἂν δοκεῖν αὐτός τε εὔορκος εἶναι καὶ
I would-wish — to-seem myself both true-to-my-oath to-be and
ὑμᾶς τἀληθῆ λέγων πεῖσαι ἀποψηφίσασθαί μου.
you the-truth telling to-persuade to-acquit me

II · THE CHALLENGE REFUSED

The speaker neither ordered the boy to drink the drug, nor forced him, nor gave it, nor was present when he drank. His accusers admit the death was not planned, and everything happened before many witnesses. Philocrates, the boy's brother, accused him on the day of the burial, to stop his prosecution of Aristion and Philinus. He at once challenged Philocrates to question the witnesses and torture any slave; they never came.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὔτε ἐκέλευσα πιεῖν τὸν 15
first indeed then I-will-show to-you that neither did-I-bid to-drink the
παῖδα τὸ φάρμακον οὔτ' ἠνάγκασα οὔτ' ἔδωκα καὶ οὐδὲ
boy the drug nor compel nor give and not-even

παρῆ ὅτ᾽ ἔπιεν. καὶ οὐ τούτου ἕνεκα ταῦτα οὕτω
was-I-present when he-drank and not of-this for-the-sake these-things so
σφόδρα λέγω, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν ἔξω αἰτίας καταστήσω, ἕτερον
very I-say that myself outside blame I-may-place other
δέ τινα εἰς αἰτίαν ἀγάγω· οὐ δῆτα ἔγωγε, πλήν γε τῆς
and someone into blame I-may-bring not indeed I-for-my-part except at-least the
τύχης, ἥπερ οἶμαι καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων αἰτία
fortune which-very I-think also for-other many of-men cause
ἐστὶν ἀποθανεῖν· ἣν οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ οὔτ᾽ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς οἷός τ᾽
is to-die which neither — I nor other any able —
ἂν εἴη ἀποτρέψαι μὴ οὐ γενέσθαι ἥντινα δεῖ ἑκάστῳ ***
— would-be to-avert not not to-happen which must for-each (lacuna)

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

16 Μεμαρτύρηται μὲν οὖν ὦ ἄνδρες περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἃ
it-has-been-testified indeed then O men about the matter what
ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὑπεσχόμην· ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων χρὴ σκοπεῖν
I to-you promised from very and these one-must to-consider
ἅ τε οὗτοι διωμόσαντο καὶ ἃ ἐγώ, πότεροι ἀληθέστερα
what both these swore and what I which more-truly
καὶ εὐορκότερα. διωμόσαντο δὲ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποκτεῖναί
and more-in-accordance-with-oath they-swore and these indeed to-have-killed
με Διόδοτον βουλεύσαντα τὸν θάνατον, ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ
me Diodotus having-planned the death I and not
ἀποκτεῖναι, μήτε χειρὶ ἐργασάμενος μήτε βουλεύσας.
to-have-killed neither by-hand having-done(-it) nor having-planned(-it)

17 Αἰτιῶνται δὲ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τούτων, ὡς †οὗτος ἐκέλευσε
they-accuse and these indeed from these that this(-man) bade
πιεῖν τὸν παῖδα τὸ φάρμακον ἢ ἠνάγκασεν ἢ ἔδωκεν· ἐγὼ
to-drink the boy the drug or compelled or gave I
δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν αἰτιῶνται οὗτοι ἀποφαίνω ὅτι οὐκ
and from very these which accuse these show that not

ἔνοχός εἰμι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκέλευσα οὔτ᾽ ἠνάγκασα οὔτ᾽ ἔδωκα· καὶ
liable am neither for did-I-bid nor compel nor give and
ἔτι προστίθημι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδὲ παρεγενόμην πίνοντι.
further add to-them that not-even was-I-present at-(him)-drinking
καὶ εἴ φασιν ἀδικεῖν εἴ τις ἐκέλευσεν, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀδικῶ·
and if they-say to-do-wrong if anyone bade I not do-wrong
οὐ γὰρ ἐκέλευσα. καὶ εἴ φασιν ἀδικεῖν εἴ τις ἠνάγκασεν,
not for I-bade and if they-say to-do-wrong if anyone compelled
ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀδικῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἠνάγκασα. καὶ εἰ τὸν δόντα τὸ
I not do-wrong not for I-compelled and if the (one)-who-gave the
φάρμακόν φασιν αἴτιον εἶναι, ἐγὼ οὐκ αἴτιος· οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκα.
drug they-say guilty to-be I not guilty not for I-gave(-it)
Αἰτιάσασθαι μὲν οὖν καὶ καταψεύσασθαι ἔξεστι τῷ 18
to-accuse indeed then and to-lie-against is-possible for-the
βουλομένῳ· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος τούτου κρατεῖ· γενέσθαι
(one)-wishing himself for each of-this is-master to-happen
μέντοι τὰ μὴ γενόμενα καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὸν μὴ ἀδικοῦντα
however the(-things) not having-happened and to-do-wrong the(-one) not doing-wrong
οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τούτων λόγοις ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ
not in the of-these words I-think to-be but in the just
καὶ τῷ ἀληθεῖ. ὁπόσα μὲν γὰρ λάθρᾳ πράττεται καὶ ἐπὶ
and the true as-many-as indeed for secretly are-done and for
θανάτῳ βουλευθέντα, ὧν μή εἰσι μάρτυρες, ἀνάγκη περὶ
death planned of-which not are witnesses necessary about
τῶν τοιούτων ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων τῶν τε τοῦ κατηγόρου
the such(-things) from themselves the words the both of-the accuser
καὶ τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ θηρεύειν
and of-the (one)-answering the decision to-make and to-hunt
καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ὑπονοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ εἰκάζοντας
and on small(-grounds) to-suspect the(-things) said and conjecturing
μᾶλλον ἢ σάφα εἰδότας ψηφίζεσθαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων·
rather than clearly knowing to-vote about the matters

19 ὅπου δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατήγοροι ὁμολογοῦσι μὴ
where and first indeed themselves the accusers agree not
ἐκ προνοίας μηδ᾽ ἐκ παρασκευῆς γενέσθαι τὸν θάνατον
from forethought nor from preparation to-have-happened the death
τῷ παιδί, ἔπειτα τὰ πραχθέντα φανερῶς ἅπαντα
to-the boy then the(-things) done openly all
πραχθῆναι καὶ ἐναντίον μαρτύρων πολλῶν, καὶ ἀνδρῶν
to-have-been-done and in-the-presence-of witnesses many both men
καὶ παίδων, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων, ἐξ ὧνπερ καὶ
and boys both free and slaves from whom-very also
εἴ τίς τι ἠδίκηκε, φανερώτατος ἂν εἴη, καὶ εἴ
if anyone anything has-done-wrong most-evident — would-be and if
τις μὴ ἀδικοῦντα αἰτιῷτο, μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἐξελέγχοιτο.
anyone not doing-wrong should-accuse most — would-be-refuted
20 Ἄξιον δ᾽ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὦ ἄνδρες ἀμφότερα καὶ τῆς
worth and to-consider O men both also the
γνώμης τῶν ἀντιδίκων καὶ οἵῳ τρόπῳ ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὰ
intent of-the opponents and in-what way they-come to the
πράγματα. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ οὐδὲν ὁμοίως οὗτοί τε πρὸς
matters from beginning for nothing alike these both toward
ἐμὲ πράττουσι καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς τούτους.
me act and I toward them
21 Ἔλεξε μὲν γὰρ Φιλοκράτης οὑτοσὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν
spoke indeed for Philocrates this-man having-gone-up onto the
ἡλιαίαν τὴν τῶν θεσμοθετῶν, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ὁ παῖς
Heliaea the of-the thesmothetae on-the day on-which the boy
ἐξεφέρετο, ὅτι ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείναιμι ἐγὼ
was-being-carried-out(-to-burial) that brother his I-had-killed I
ἐν τῷ χορῷ, φάρμακον ἀναγκάσας πιεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
in the chorus a-drug having-compelled(-him) to-drink when and
οὗτος ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἀναβὰς ἐγὼ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον
this(-man) these-things was-saying having-gone-up I into the court

τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἔλεξα ὅτι †τὸν μὲν νόμον οὐ δίκαιον
to-the same jurors said that the indeed law not just
οὐ προκαθισταίη Φιλοκράτης κατηγορῶν καὶ διαβάλλων
not established Philocrates accusing and slandering
εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, μελλόντων ἔσεσθαί μοι ἀγώνων πρὸς
into the court being-about to-be for-me trials against
Ἀριστίωνα καὶ Φιλῖνον αὔριον καὶ τῇ ἔνῃ,
Aristion and Philinus tomorrow and on-the day-after(-tomorrow)
ὧνπερ ἕνεκα τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγοι·
which-very for-the-sake-of the words these he-was-saying
ἃ μέντοι αἰτιῷτο καὶ διαβάλλοι, ῥᾳδίως ἐξελεγχθήσοιτο 22
what however he-accused and slandered easily would-be-proved
ψευδόμενος. εἶεν γὰρ οἱ συνειδότες πολλοί, καὶ ἐλεύθεροι
lying were for the (ones)-privy many both free
καὶ δοῦλοι, καὶ νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, σύμπαντες
and slaves both younger and older all-together
πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα, οἳ τούς τε λόγους τοὺς λεχθέντας
more than fifty who the both words the spoken
περὶ τῆς πόσεως τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα
about the drinking of-the drug and the(-things) done
καὶ τὰ γενόμενα πάντα ἠπίσταντο.
and the(-things) having-happened all knew
Καὶ εἶπόν τε ταῦτα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ προὐκαλούμην 23
and I-said both these-things in the court and I-challenged
αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τότε, καὶ αὖθις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐν τοῖς
him at-once then and again on-the next(-day) before the
αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς, καὶ ἰέναι ἐκέλευον λαβόντα μάρτυρας
same jurors and to-go I-bade(-him) taking witnesses
ὁπόσους βούλοιτο ἐπὶ τοὺς παραγενομένους, λέγων αὐτῷ
as-many-as he-wished to the(-ones) present telling him
ὀνόματι ἕκαστον, τούτους ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἐλέγχειν, τοὺς μὲν
by-name each these to-question and to-examine the indeed

ἐλευθέρους ὡς χρὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, οἳ σφῶν τ' αὐτῶν
free as befits the free who of-them- both -selves
ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἔφραζον ἂν τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ
for-the-sake and of-the justice would-have-told — the-truth and the(-things)
γενόμενα, τοὺς δὲ δούλους, εἰ μὲν αὐτῷ ἐρωτῶντι
having-happened the and slaves if indeed to-him questioning
τἀληθῆ δοκοῖεν λέγειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἕτοιμος ἦ ἐκδιδόναι
the-truth they-seemed to-tell if and not ready I-was to-hand-over
βασανίζειν τούς τε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντας, καὶ εἴ τινας τῶν
to-torture the both my-own all and if any of-the
ἀλλοτρίων κελεύοι, ὡμολόγουν πείσας τὸν δεσπότην
others'(-slaves) he-should-bid I-agreed having-persuaded the master
παραδώσειν αὐτῷ βασανίζειν τρόπῳ ὁποίῳ βούλοιτο.
to-hand-over to-him to-torture in-way whatever he-wished

24 Καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοῦ προκαλουμένου καὶ λέγοντος ἐν τῷ
and these-things me challenging and saying in the
δικαστηρίῳ, οὗ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ ἕτεροι
court where also themselves the jurors and other
ἰδιῶται πολλοὶ μάρτυρες παρῆσαν, οὔτε τότε παραχρῆμα
private-persons many (as)-witnesses were-present neither then on-the-spot
οὔτε ὕστερον ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ οὐδεπώποτε ἠθέλησαν
nor later in all the time never were-they-willing
ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν
to-come to this the just(-test) well knowing that not —
τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ ἔλεγχος ἐγίγνετο οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
for-these against me proof would-come-about this but for-me
κατὰ τούτων, ὅτι οὐδὲν δίκαιον οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἠτιῶντο.
against these that nothing just nor true they-were-accusing

Free men can be held to the truth by oaths and slaves by torture, and he offered both; his accusers refused every test, which is proof against them. For two days after the death the accusers kept company with him; on the third, at the burial, his enemies persuaded them to accuse him, since he was about to prosecute Aristion, Philinus, Ampelinus, and the under-secretary for theft, and a man so charged could not prosecute. The king-archon read them the laws and showed that there was no time left to register the charge; the speaker convicted the thieves, and his accusers asked to be reconciled.

Ἐπίστασθε δὲ ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι αἱ ἀνάγκαι αὗται ἰσχυρόταται 25
you-know and O men that the compulsions these strongest
καὶ μέγισταί εἰσι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ἔλεγχοι ἐκ
and greatest are of-the(-things) among men and proofs from
τούτων σαφέστατοι καὶ πιστότατοι περὶ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅπου
these clearest and most-trustworthy about the just where
εἶεν μὲν ἐλεύθεροι πολλοὶ οἱ συνειδότες, εἶεν δὲ δοῦλοι,
are indeed free many the (ones)-privy are and slaves
καὶ ἐξείη μὲν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὅρκοις καὶ πίστεσιν
and it-is-possible indeed the free by-oaths and pledges
ἀναγκάζειν, ἃ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μέγιστα καὶ περὶ πλείστου
to-compel which for-the free greatest and of most(-account)
ἐστίν, ἐξείη δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἑτέραις ἀνάγκαις, ὑφ᾽
are it-is-possible and the slaves by-other compulsions under
ὧν καὶ ἢν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι κατειπόντες, ὅμως
which even if they-are-about to-die having-informed nevertheless
ἀναγκάζονται τἀληθῆ λέγειν· ἡ γὰρ παροῦσα ἀνάγκη
they-are-compelled the-truth to-tell the for present compulsion
ἑκάστῳ ἰσχυροτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι.
for-each stronger is than-the(-one) being-about to-be

26 Εἰς πάντα τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα προὐκαλεσάμην τούτους,
to all then I these-things challenged these
καὶ ἐξ ὧν γε χρὴ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ
and from which at-least must a-man being the-truth and the
δίκαια πυνθάνεσθαι, ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς πυνθάνεσθαι, καὶ
just to-learn it-was-possible for-them to-learn and
πρόφασις οὐδεμία ὑπελείπετο. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ τὴν
pretext none was-left and I indeed the(-one) the
αἰτίαν ἔχων καὶ ἀδικῶν, ὡς οὗτοί φασιν, ἕτοιμος ἦ
charge having and doing-wrong as these say ready I-was
αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ παρέχειν ἔλεγχον τὸν δικαιότατον·
to-them against myself to-offer proof the most-just
οἱ δ᾽ αἰτιώμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι αὐτοὶ
the(-ones) and accusing and claiming to-be-wronged themselves
ἦσαν οἱ οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐλέγχειν εἴ τι ἠδικοῦντο.
were the(-ones) not willing to-test if in-anything they-were-wronged

27 Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ τούτων προκαλουμένων μὴ ἠθέλησα τοὺς
and if indeed I these challenging not had-been-willing the(-ones)
παραγενομένους ἀποφῆναι, ἢ θεράποντας ἐξαιτοῦσι μὴ
present to-show or attendants to-(them)-demanding not
ἤθελον ἐκδιδόναι, ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ πρόκλησιν ἔφευγον,
had-been-willing to-hand-over or other any challenge had-fled
αὐτὰ ἂν ταῦτα μέγιστα τεκμήρια κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐποιοῦντο
these-very — these greatest proofs against me they-would-have-made
ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἦν ἡ αἰτία· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐμοῦ προκαλουμένου
that true was the charge since and me challenging
οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ φεύγοντες τὸν ἔλεγχον, ἐμοὶ δήπου
these were the(-ones) fleeing the test for-me surely
δίκαιον κατὰ τούτων τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τεκμήριον γενέσθαι
just against these the same this proof to-become
ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἦν ἡ αἰτία ἣν αἰτιῶνται κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ.
that not true was the charge which they-allege against me

Ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ τάδε ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι εἰ μὲν τούτοις 28
I-know and also these-things O men that if indeed for-these
ἐμοῦ κατεμαρτύρουν οἱ μάρτυρες οἱ παραγενόμενοι,
against-me testified the witnesses the(-ones) present
αὐτοῖς ἂν τούτοις ἰσχυροτάτοις ἐχρῶντο καὶ πίστιν
very — these strongest they-would-use and proof
ταύτην σαφεστάτην ἀπέφαινον, τοὺς μάρτυρας τοὺς
this clearest they-would-show the witnesses the
καταμαρτυροῦντας· τῶν αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων μαρτυρούντων,
testifying-against the same and these testifying
ἃ μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἃ δὲ οὗτοι λέγουσιν,
what indeed I say true to-be what and these say
οὐκ ἀληθῆ, τοῖς μὲν μάρτυσι τοῖς ἐμοὶ μαρτυροῦσιν
not true the indeed witnesses the for-me testifying
ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς διδάσκουσι, τοῖς δὲ λόγοις οἷς αὐτοὶ
to-disbelieve you they-teach the and words which themselves
λέγουσι πιστεύειν ὑμᾶς φασι χρῆναι, οὓς ἐγὼ εἰ ἔλεγον
say to-believe you they-say it-is-needful which I if I-spoke
ἄνευ μαρτύρων, ψευδεῖς ἂν κατηγόρουν εἶναι.
without witnesses false — they-would-accuse(-them) to-be
Καίτοι δεινὸν εἰ οἱ αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες τούτοις μὲν ἂν 29
and-yet terrible if the same witnesses for-these indeed —
μαρτυροῦντες πιστοὶ ἦσαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μαρτυροῦντες ἄπιστοι
testifying trustworthy would-be for-me and testifying untrustworthy
ἔσονται. καὶ εἰ μὲν πάνυ μὴ παρεγένοντο μάρτυρες, ἐγὼ
will-be and if indeed altogether not were-present witnesses I
δὲ παρειχόμην, ἢ τοὺς παραγενομένους μὴ παρειχόμην,
and I-were-producing(-some) or the(-ones) present not I-were-producing
ἑτέρους δέ τινας, εἰκότως ἂν οἱ τούτων λόγοι πιστότεροι
other and some reasonably — the of-these words more-trustworthy
ἦσαν τῶν ἐμῶν μαρτύρων· ὅπου δὲ μάρτυράς τε
would-be than-the my witnesses where and witnesses both

ὁμολογοῦσι παραγενέσθαι, καὶ ἐγὼ τοὺς παραγενομένους
they-agree to-have-been-present and I the(-ones) present
παρέχομαι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ
produce and at-once from the first day both myself I
καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἅπαντες φανεροί ἐσμεν λέγοντες ἅπερ
and the witnesses all evident are saying the-very-things
νυνὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, πόθεν χρὴ ὦ ἄνδρες ἢ τἀληθῆ πιστὰ ἢ
now before you whence must O men either the-truths trustworthy or
τὰ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἄπιστα ποιεῖν ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων;
the not true untrustworthy to-make elsewhere than from the such(-things)
30 Ὅπου μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τις διδάσκοι περὶ τῶν
where indeed for by-word anyone should-teach about the(-things)
πραχθέντων, μάρτυρας δὲ μὴ παρέχοιτο, μαρτύρων ἄν τις
done witnesses and not should-produce of-witnesses — anyone
τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐνδεεῖς φαίη εἶναι· ὅπου δὲ μάρτυρας
the words these lacking would-say to-be where and witnesses
μὲν παρέχοιτο, τεκμήρια δὲ αὖ τοῖς μαρτυροῦσιν ὅμοια
indeed he-should-produce proofs and in-turn to-the testifying like
μὴ ἀποφαίνοι, τοιαῦτα ἄν τις ἔχοι εἰπεῖν, εἰ βούλοιτο.
not should-show such(-things) — anyone could to-say if he-should-wish
31 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν τούς τε λόγους ὑμῖν εἰκότας ἀποφαίνω,
I then the both words to-you likely show
καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς μάρτυρας ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τοῖς
and with-the words the witnesses agreeing and with-the
μάρτυσι τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τεκμήρια ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ
witnesses the deeds and proofs from themselves the deeds and
ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις δύο τὼ μεγίστω καὶ ἰσχυροτάτω, τούτους
further besides these two the greatest and strongest these
μὲν αὐτούς τε ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐξελεγχομένους καὶ ὑπ᾽
indeed themselves both by them- -selves being-refuted and by
ἐμοῦ, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπό τε τούτων καὶ ὑπὸ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολυόμενον·
me me and by both these and by myself being-acquitted

ὅπου γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐθέλοντος ἐλέγχεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἠτιῶντο 32
where for me wishing to-be-tested about what they-were-alleging
οὗτοι μὴ ἤθελον ἐλέγχειν εἴ τι ἠδικοῦντο, ἐμὲ μὲν
these not were-willing to-test if in-anything they-were-wronged me indeed
δήπου ἀπέλυον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μάρτυρες
surely they-were-acquitting themselves and against them- -selves witnesses
ἐγένοντο, ὅτι οὐδὲν δίκαιον οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἠτιῶντο. καίτοι
became that nothing just nor true they-were-alleging and-yet
εἰ πρὸς τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ μάρτυσι τοὺς ἀντιδίκους αὐτοὺς
if besides the my-own witnesses the opponents themselves
μάρτυρας παρέχομαι, ποῖ ἔτι ἐλθόντα δεῖ ἢ πόθεν
(as)-witnesses I-produce where further having-gone must or whence
ἀποδείξαντα τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολελύσθαι;
having-shown(-it) from-the charge to-be-acquitted
Ἡγοῦμαι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ 33
I-think indeed then also from the(-things) said and
ἀποδεδειγμένων ὦ ἄνδρες δικαίως ἄν μου ἀποψηφίσασθαι
shown O men justly — me to-acquit
ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπίστασθαι ἅπαντας ὅτι οὐδέν μοι προσήκει τῆς
you and to-know all that nothing to-me belongs of-the
αἰτίας ταύτης. ἵνα δ' ἔτι καὶ ἄμεινον μάθητε, τούτου
charge this so-that and still also better you-may-learn of-this
ἕνεκα πλείω λέξω, καὶ ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν τοὺς κατηγόρους
for-the-sake more I-will-say and I-will-show to-you the accusers
τούτους ἐπιορκοτάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀσεβεστάτους ἀνθρώπων,
these most-perjured being and most-impious of-men
καὶ ἀξίους οὐ μόνον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μισεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν
and worthy not only by me to-be-hated but also by you
πάντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τῆς δίκης ἕνεκα ταυτησί.
all and the other citizens the trial for-the-sake-of this-here

34 Οὗτοι γὰρ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἀπέθανεν ὁ
these for on-the indeed first day on-which died the
παῖς, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ᾗ προέκειτο, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ
boy and on-the next(-day) on-which he-was-laid-out not-even themselves
ἠξίουν αἰτιᾶσθαι ἐμὲ οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τούτῳ
thought-fit to-accuse me nor to-do-wrong in the matter this
οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ συνῆσαν ἐμοὶ καὶ διελέγοντο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ
at-all but they-were-with me and conversed on-the and third
ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἐξεφέρετο ὁ παῖς, ταύτῃ δὴ πεπεισμένοι
day on-which was-carried-out the boy on-this indeed persuaded
ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο
they-were by the enemies the my and they-were-preparing
αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ προαγορεύειν εἴργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων.
to-accuse and to-proclaim to-be-barred from-the customary(-rites)
τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ πείσαντες αὐτούς; καὶ τίνος
who then were the(-ones) having-persuaded them and of-what
ἕνεκα καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐγένοντο πεῖσαι; δεῖ γάρ
for-the-sake even eager became-they to-persuade(-them) it-is-needful for
με καὶ ταῦτα ὑμᾶς διδάξαι.
me also these-things you to-teach

35 Κατηγορήσειν ἔμελλον Ἀριστίωνος καὶ Φιλίνου καὶ
to-accuse I-was-about Aristion and Philinus and
Ἀμπελίνου καὶ τοῦ ὑπογραμματέως τῶν θεσμοθετῶν, μεθ'
Ampelinus and the under-secretary of-the thesmothetae with
οὗπερ συνέκλεπτον, περὶ ὧν εἰσήγγειλα εἰς τὴν βουλήν.
whom-very they-stole about what I-impeached into the council
καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐδεμία ἦν ἐλπὶς
and for-them from indeed the(-things) done no was hope
ἀποφεύξεσθαι — τοιαῦτα ἄρ' ἦν τὰ ἠδικημένα—· πείσαντες
to-be-acquitted such then were the crimes having-persuaded
δὲ τούτους ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ προαγορεύειν ἐμοὶ εἴργεσθαι
and these to-register(-a-charge) and to-proclaim to-me to-be-barred

τῶν νομίμων, ἡγήσαντο ταύτην σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι
from-the customary(-rites) they-thought this for-themselves to-be-going-to-be
σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἁπάντων.
safety and release from-the matters all
Ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὕτως ἔχει, ἐπειδάν τις ἀπογραφῇ φόνου 36
the for law thus stands when anyone is-registered on-a-murder
δίκην, εἴργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων· καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ οἷός τ'
charge to-be-barred from-the customary(-rites) and neither — I able —
ἦ ἐπεξελθεῖν εἰργόμενος τῶν νομίμων, ἐκεῖνοί
would-have-been to-prosecute barred from-the customary(-rites) those
τε ἐμοῦ τοῦ εἰσαγγείλαντος καὶ ἐπισταμένου τὰ πράγματα
and me the (one)-who-impeached and knowing the matters
μὴ ἐπεξιόντος ῥᾳδίως ἔμελλον ἀποφεύξεσθαι καὶ δίκην
not prosecuting easily were-about to-be-acquitted and penalty
οὐ δώσειν ὑμῖν ὧν ἠδίκησαν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ
not to-pay to-you for-what they-did-wrong and this not against me
πρῶτον ἐμηχανήσαντο Φιλῖνος καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
first they-contrived Philinus and the others but also
ἐπὶ Λυσιστράτῳ πρότερον, ὡς αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἠκούσατε.
against Lysistratus before as yourselves you heard
Καὶ οὗτοι τότε μὲν πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἀπογράφεσθαί με 37
and these then indeed eager were to-register me
εὐθὺς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ᾗ ὁ παῖς ἐθάπτετο, πρὶν τὴν
at-once on-the next(-day) on-which the boy was-buried before the
οἰκίαν καθῆραι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, αὐτὴν ταύτην
house to-purify and the customary(-rites) to-do itself this
φυλάξαντες τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἔμελλεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκείνων
having-watched-for the day on which was-about the first of-those
κριθήσεσθαι, ὅπως μηδὲ καθ' ἑνὸς αὐτῶν οἷός τε γενοίμην
to-be-tried so-that not-even against one of-them able — I-might-be
ἐπεξελθεῖν μηδ' ἐνδεῖξαι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τἀδικήματα·
to-prosecute nor to-show to-the court the-crimes

38 ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τούς τε νόμους ἀνέγνω, καὶ
when and to-them the king-archon the both laws read and
τὸν χρόνον ἐπέδειξεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη ἀπογράψασθαι καὶ
the time showed that not it-was-possible to-register(-the-charge) and
τὰς κλήσεις καλεῖσθαι ὅσας ἔδει, καὶ ἐγὼ τοὺς
the summonses to-serve as-many-as were-needed and I the(-men)
ταῦτα μηχανωμένους εἰσάγων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἷλον
these-things contriving bringing into the court convicted
ἅπαντας, καὶ ἐτιμήθη αὐτοῖς ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ
all and was-assessed for-them what you know and
οὗτοι ὧν ἕνεκα ἐλάμβανον χρήματα οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οἷοί
these which for-the-sake-of they-were-taking money nothing them able
τε ἦσαν ὠφελῆσαι, τότε δὴ προσιόντες αὐτῷ τ᾽ ἐμοὶ
— were to-help then indeed approaching myself both me
καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδέοντο διαλλαγῆναι, καὶ δίκην ἕτοιμοι
and the friends they-begged to-be-reconciled and penalty ready
ἦσαν διδόναι τῶν ἡμαρτημένων.
were to-pay for-the offenses

IV · PERJURED ACCUSERS

Persuaded by friends, the speaker was reconciled with his accusers before witnesses, and they talked with him everywhere, Philocrates even on the speakers' platform. They blame the king-archon for refusing the charge, but with only two months of his office left he could neither hold the three pre-trials a murder case needs nor hand it on, and Philocrates never accused him at his audit. Under the next king-archon they let more than fifty days pass without registering the charge while the speaker served as councilor and prayed in the council's shrines. These perjurers took thirty minas from the officials he had exposed before the council while presiding, to drive him from the council chamber.

Καὶ ἐγὼ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων διηλλάγην τούτοις ἐν 39
and I persuaded by the friends was-reconciled with-these in
τῇ πόλει ἐναντίον μαρτύρων, οἵπερ διήλλαττον ἡμᾶς
the city in-presence-of witnesses who-very reconciled us
πρὸς τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συνῆσάν μοι
at the temple — of-Athena and after this they-were-with me
καὶ διελέγοντο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ
and conversed in the sacred-places in the agora in the my
οἰκίᾳ, ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἑτέρωθι πανταχοῦ.
house in the their- -own and elsewhere everywhere
Τὸ τελευταῖον, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, Φιλοκράτης αὐτὸς 40
the last O Zeus and gods all Philocrates himself
οὑτοσὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς, ἑστὼς μετ᾽
this-man in the council-house in-presence-of the council standing with
ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἁπτόμενος ἐμοῦ διελέγετο, ὀνόματι
me on the platform touching me conversed by-name
οὗτος ἐμὲ προσαγορεύων, καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦτον, ὥστε δεινὸν
this(-man) me addressing and I him so-that terrible
δόξαι εἶναι τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπειδή μοι ἐπύθετο προειρημένον
to-seem to-be to-the council when to-me it-learned (it-had-been)-proclaimed
εἴργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων ὑπὸ τούτων, οὓς ἑώρων μοι
to-be-barred from-the customary(-rites) by these whom they-saw with-me
τῇ προτεραίᾳ συνόντας καὶ διαλεγομένους.
on-the day-before being-with and conversing
Σκέψασθε δὲ καί μοι μνήσθητε ὦ ἄνδρες· ταῦτα γὰρ 41
consider and and for-me remember O men these-things for
οὐ μόνον μάρτυσιν ὑμῖν ἀποδείξω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
not only by-witnesses to-you I-will-show but also from themselves
τῶν ἔργων ἃ τούτοις πέπρακται ῥᾳδίως γνώσεσθε ὅτι
the deeds which by-these have-been-done easily you-will-know that
ἀληθῆ λέγω. καὶ πρῶτον ἃ τοῦ βασιλέως κατηγοροῦσι
true(-things) I-say and first what the king-archon they-accuse

καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν σπουδὴν οὔ φασιν ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν
and because-of the my zeal not they-say to-be-willing him
ἀπογράφεσθαι τὴν δίκην, τοῦτο δὴ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τούτων
to-register the charge this indeed against themselves these
ἔσται τεκμήριον ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγουσι.
will-be a-proof that not true(-things) they-say

42 Ἔδει μὲν γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπειδὴ ἀπεγράψατο,
it-was-needful indeed for the king-archon when he-registered
τρεῖς προδικασίας ποιῆσαι ἐν τρισὶ μησί, τὴν δίκην δ᾽
three pre-trials to-hold in three months the trial and
εἰσάγειν τετάρτῳ μηνί, ὥσπερ νυνί· τῆς δ᾽ ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ
to-bring-in in-the-fourth month as now of-the and office for-him
λοιποὶ δύο μῆνες ἦσαν, Θαργηλιὼν καὶ Σκιροφοριών. καὶ
remaining two months were Thargelion and Sciropharion and
οὔτ᾽ εἰσάγειν δήπου οἷός τ᾽ ἂν ἦν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ,
neither to-bring-in surely able — — would-he-be in his-own(-term)
οὔτε παραδοῦναι φόνου δίκην ἔξεστιν, οὐδὲ παρέδωκεν
nor to-hand-over a-murder trial is-it-possible nor handed-over
οὐδεὶς πώποτε βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ. ἥν τινα οὖν
any ever king-archon in the land this which ever then
μήτε εἰσάγειν μήτε παραδοῦναι ἐξῆν αὐτῷ, οὐδ᾽
neither to-bring-in nor to-hand-over it-was-possible for-him not-even
ἀπογράφεσθαι ἠξίου παρὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους νόμους.
to-register did-he-think-fit contrary-to the your laws

43 Καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀδικεῖ αὐτούς, μέγιστον σημεῖον· Φιλοκράτης
and that not he-wrongs them greatest sign Philocrates
γὰρ οὑτοσὶ ἑτέρους μὲν τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἔσεισε καὶ
for this-man others indeed of-the(-men) subject-to-audit shook-down and
ἐσυκοφάντει, τούτου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅν φασι δεινὰ
informed-against of-this and the king-archon whom they-say terrible(-things)
καὶ σχέτλια εἰργάσθαι, οὐκ ἦλθε κατηγορήσων εἰς
and outrageous(-things) to-have-done not he-came going-to-accuse at

τὰς εὐθύνας. καίτοι τί ἂν ὑμῖν μεῖζον τούτου τεκμήριον
the audits and-yet what — to-you greater than-this proof
ἀποδείξαιμι, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδικεῖτο οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου;
could-I-show that not he-was-wronged neither by me nor by that-one
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὑτοσὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσῆλθεν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς 44
when and this-here the king-archon entered(-office) it-being-possible for-them
ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένοις τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος
from the first day having-begun of-the Hecatombaeon
μηνὸς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας συνεχῶς τούτων ᾗ τινι
month thirty days continuously of-these on-which ever
ἐβούλοντο ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἀπεγράφοντο οὐδεμιᾷ· καὶ αὖθις
they-wished to-register they-registered on-none and again
τοῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος μηνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας
of-the Metageitnion month from the first day
ἀρξαμένοις ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπογράφεσθαι ᾗ τινι
having-begun it-being-possible for-them to-register on-which ever
ἐβούλοντο, οὐδ' αὖ πω ἐνταῦθα ἀπεγράψαντο, ἀλλὰ
they-wished not-even again yet then did-they-register but
παρεῖσαν καὶ τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς †εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας· ὥστε αἱ
they-let-pass also of-this the month twenty days so-that the
σύμπασαι ἡμέραι ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖς πλέον ἢ †πεντήκοντα
all-together days came-to for-them more than fifty
ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν αἷς ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς
under this the king-archon in which it-being-possible for-them
ἀπογράψασθαι οὐκ ἀπεγράψαντο.
to-register not they-registered
Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὅσοις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως 45
and the indeed others all for-whom under the same king-archon
ὁ χρόνος μὴ ἐγχωρεῖ ***, οὗτοι δ' ἐπιστάμενοι
the time not is-possible (lacuna) these and knowing
μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἅπαντας, ὁρῶντες δ' ἐμὲ βουλεύοντα
indeed the laws all seeing and me being-councilor

καὶ εἰσιόντ᾽ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον — καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
and entering into the council-house and in itself the
βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς βουλαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς βουλαίας ἱερόν
council-house of-Zeus of-Counsel and of-Athena of-Counsel a-shrine
ἐστι, καὶ εἰσιόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ προσεύχονται, ὧν
is and entering the councilors pray of-whom
κἀγὼ εἷς ἦ, ὃς ταῦτα πράττων, καὶ εἰς τἆλλα ἱερὰ
I-also one was who these-things doing and into the-other sacred-places
πάντα εἰσιὼν μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος
all entering with the council both sacrificing and praying
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πρυτανεύσας
on-behalf-of the city this and besides these having-presided
τὴν πρώτην πρυτανείαν ἅπασαν πλὴν δυοῖν ἡμέραιν,
the first prytany whole except two days
καὶ ἱεροποιῶν καὶ θύων ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας, καὶ
and offering-sacrifice and sacrificing on-behalf-of the democracy and
ἐπιψηφίζων καὶ λέγων γνώμας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ
putting-to-the-vote and speaking motions about the greatest(-matters) and
πλείστου ἀξίων τῇ πόλει φανερὸς ἦ·
of-most worth for-the city evident was
46 καὶ οὗτοι παρόντες καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντες, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς
and these being-present and in-town it-being-possible for-them
ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ εἴργειν ἐμὲ τούτων ἁπάντων, οὐκ
to-register and to-bar me from-these all not
ἠξίουν ἀπογράφεσθαι· καίτοι ἱκανά γ᾽ ἦν ὑπομνῆσαι
thought-fit to-register and-yet sufficient at-least it-was to-remind
καὶ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, εἴπερ ἠδικοῦντο, ἀμφότερα καὶ σφῶν
and to-reflect if-indeed they-were-wronged both and of-them-
αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πόλεως. διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ
-selves for-the-sake and of-the city because-of what then not
ἀπεγράφοντο; δι᾽ ὅ τι συνῆσαν καὶ διελέγοντο·
were-they-registering because-of what ever they-were-with and conversed

συνῆσάν τε γάρ μοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες φονέα εἶναι, καὶ
they-were-with both for me not thinking (me)-murderer to-be and
οὐκ ἀπεγράφοντο τούτου αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα, οὐχ ἡγούμενοί
not they-registered of-this itself for-the-sake not considering
με ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν παῖδα οὐδ' ἔνοχον εἶναι τοῦ φόνου
me to-have-killed the boy nor liable to-be of-the murder
οὐδὲ προσήκειν μοι τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὐδέν.
nor to-belong to-me of-this the matter anything
Καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωποι σχετλιώτεροι ἢ ἀνομώτεροι 47
and-yet how — men more-outrageous or more-lawless
γένοιντο; οἵ τινες ἅπερ αὐτοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς οὐκ
could-become who ever what-very themselves them- -selves not
ἔπεισαν, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι πεῖσαι, καὶ ἃ αὐτοὶ ἔργῳ
persuaded these-things you think-fit to-persuade and what themselves in-deed
ἀπεδίκασαν, ταῦτα ὑμᾶς κελεύουσι καταδικάσαι· καὶ οἱ
acquitted these-things you bid to-condemn and the
μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς λόγους ἐξελέγχουσιν,
indeed other men by-the deeds the words test
οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ζητοῦσι τὰ ἔργα ἄπιστα καταστῆσαι.
these and by-the words seek the deeds untrustworthy to-make
Καίτοι εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο μήτε εἶπον μήτε ἀπέφηνα μήτε 48
and-yet if nothing else neither I-said nor I-showed nor
μάρτυρας παρεσχόμην, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἀπέδειξα,
witnesses I-produced but very these-things to-you I-proved
τούτους ὅπου μὲν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ἐπ' ἐμοί,
these where indeed money they-received against me
αἰτιωμένους καὶ προαγορεύοντας, ὅπου δὲ μὴ εἴη ὁ
accusing and proclaiming where and not there-should-be the
δώσων, συνόντας καὶ διαλεγομένους, ἱκανὰ ἦν καὶ αὐτὰ
(one)-going-to-give being-with and conversing sufficient it-was also very

ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας ἀποψηφίσασθαι καὶ τούτους νομίζειν
these-things having-heard to-acquit and these to-consider
ἐπιορκοτάτους καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτους πάντων ἀνθρώπων.
most-perjured and most-unholy of-all men
49 Οὗτοι γὰρ ποίαν δίκην οὐ δικάσαιντ' ἂν ἢ ποῖον
these for what case not would-they-judge — or what
δικαστήριον οὐκ ἐξαπατήσειαν ἢ τίνας ὅρκους οὐκ ἂν
court not would-they-deceive or what oaths not —
τολμήσειαν παραβαίνειν, οἵ τινες καὶ νῦν τριάκοντα μνᾶς
would-they-dare to-transgress who ever even now thirty minas
ἐπ' ἐμοὶ λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν πριστῶν καὶ τῶν πωλητῶν
against me having-taken from the providers and the sellers
καὶ τῶν πρακτόρων καὶ τῶν ὑπογραμματέων οἳ τούτοις
and the collectors and the under-secretaries who for-these
ὑπεγραμμάτευον, ἐξελάσαντές με ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου,
were-under-secretaries having-driven me from the council-house
ὅρκους τοιούτους διωμόσαντο, ὅτι πρυτανεύων πυθόμενος
oaths such swore because presiding having-learned
αὐτοὺς δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἐργάζεσθαι εἰσῆγον
them terrible(-things) and outrageous(-things) to-be-doing I-brought(-them)
εἰς τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ἐδίδαξα ὡς χρὴ ζητοῦντας
before the council and I-taught how one-must seeking-out
ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ πράγματι.
to-prosecute the matter
50 Καὶ νῦν δίκην διδόασιν ὧν ἠδικήκασιν αὐτοί τε
and now penalty they-pay for-what they-have-done-wrong themselves both
καὶ οἱ μεσεγγυησάμενοι, παρ' οἷς ἐτέθη τὰ χρήματα,
and the stakeholders with whom was-deposited the money
καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα φανερὰ γεγένηται, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἂν
and the(-things) done evident have-become so-that not-even if

οὗτοι βούλωνται ἀρνεῖσθαι ῥᾳδίως οἷοί τ᾽ ἔσονται· οὕτως
these should-wish to-deny easily able — will-they-be so
αὐτοῖς πέπρακται τὰ πράγματα.
by-them has-been-done the matters
Ποῖον οὖν δικαστήριον οὐκ ἂν ἔλθοιεν ἐξαπατήσοντες, 51
what then court not — would-they-come going-to-deceive
ἢ τίνας ὅρκους οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαιεν παραβαίνειν οὗτοι οἱ
or what oaths not — would-they-dare to-transgress these the
ἀνοσιώτατοι, οἵτινες καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδότες εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν
most-unholy who also you knowing most-pious of-the
Ἑλλήνων δικαστὰς καὶ δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἥκουσιν
Greeks jurors and most-just even against you come
ἐξαπατήσοντες εἰ δύναιντο, ὅρκους τοιούτους διομοσάμενοι.
going-to-deceive(-you) if they-could oaths such having-sworn

LYSIAS

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΦΟΝΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ

On the Murder of Eratosthenes

Euphiletus, on trial for killing Eratosthenes, asks the jurors to judge as if they had suffered the same. He must show that Eratosthenes seduced his wife, shamed his children, and insulted him in his own house, and that no other motive moved him. He trusted his wife once their child was born. At his mother's funeral Eratosthenes saw her and seduced her through the maid. One night she locked him in upstairs; the doors creaked, and at dawn her face was powdered. Then an old woman named the adulterer.

Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς 1
of much — I-would-make(-it) O men the such you
ἐμοὶ δικαστὰς περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι, οἷοίπερ
for-me jurors about this the matter to-become as-very
ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἴητε τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ'
— for-you- -selves you-would-be such(-things) having-suffered well for I-know
ὅτι, εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοιτε, ἥνπερ
that if the same judgment about the others you-should-have which-very
περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὅστις οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς
about you- -selves not — there-would-be anyone-who not at the(-things)
γεγενημένοις ἀγανακτοίη, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν περὶ τῶν τὰ
having-happened would-be-indignant but all — about the(-men) the
τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδευόντων τὰς ζημίας μικρὰς ἡγοῖσθε.
such(-things) practicing the penalties small would-consider
Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν εἴη μόνον παρ' ὑμῖν οὕτως 2
and these-things not — would-be only among you so
ἐγνωσμένα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι· περὶ τούτου γὰρ
judged but in all — Greece about this for
μόνου τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ
alone the crime both in democracy and oligarchy
ἡ αὐτὴ τιμωρία τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις πρὸς τοὺς τὰ
the same vengeance for-the weakest against the(-men) the

μέγιστα δυναμένους ἀποδέδοται, ὥστε τὸν χείριστον
greatest(-things) able has-been-granted so-that the worst
τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν τῷ βελτίστῳ· οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες,
the same(-things) to-obtain with-the best so O men
ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι δεινοτάτην ἡγοῦνται.
this the outrage all men most-terrible consider

3 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ζημίας ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς
about indeed then the greatness of-the penalty all you
νομίζω τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδένα οὕτως
I-think the same thought to-have and no-one so
ὀλιγώρως διακεῖσθαι, ὅστις οἴεται δεῖν συγγνώμης
carelessly to-be-disposed who thinks it-is-needful pardon
τυγχάνειν ἢ μικρᾶς ζημίας ἀξίους ἡγεῖται τοὺς τῶν
to-obtain or of-small penalty worthy considers the(-men) of-the
τοιούτων ἔργων αἰτίους· ἡγοῦμαι δέ,
such deeds responsible I-think and

4 ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτό με δεῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὡς ἐμοίχευεν
O men this me it-is-needful to-show that committed-adultery-with
Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἐκείνην τε διέφθειρε
Eratosthenes the wife the my and her both corrupted
καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ᾔσχυνε καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ὕβρισεν εἰς
and the children the my shamed and me myself outraged into
τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰσιών, καὶ οὔτε ἔχθρα ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐκείνῳ
the house the my entering and neither enmity to-me and to-that-one
οὐδεμία ἦν πλὴν ταύτης, οὔτε χρημάτων ἕνεκα ἔπραξα
any was except this nor of-money for-the-sake I-did
ταῦτα, ἵνα πλούσιος ἐκ πένητος γένωμαι, οὔτε ἄλλου
these-things so-that rich from poor I-might-become nor of-other
κέρδους οὐδενὸς πλὴν τῆς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τιμωρίας.
gain any except the according-to the laws vengeance

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ἐπιδείξω τὰ 5
I then from (the)-beginning to-you all will-show the
ἐμαυτοῦ πράγματα, οὐδὲν παραλείπων, ἀλλὰ λέγων
my-own affairs nothing leaving-out but telling
τἀληθῆ· ταύτην γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ μόνην ἡγοῦμαι σωτηρίαν,
the-truth this for for-myself the-only I-consider safety
ἐὰν ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα δυνηθῶ τὰ πεπραγμένα.
if to-you to-tell all I-be-able the(-things) done
Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξέ μοι γῆμαι καὶ 6
I for O Athenians when it-seemed-good to-me to-marry and
γυναῖκα ἠγαγόμην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον
a-wife I-brought into the house the indeed other time
οὕτω διεκείμην ὥστε μήτε λυπεῖν μήτε λίαν ἐπ᾽
so I-was-disposed so-that neither to-annoy(-her) nor too-much in
ἐκείνῃ εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ ποιεῖν, ἐφύλαττόν
that-one('s-power) to-be what ever — she-might-wish to-do I-was-guarding(-her)
τε ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν, καὶ προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς
both as possible — it-was and applied the mind as likely
ἦν· ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι παιδίον γίγνεται, ἐπίστευον ἤδη
it-was when and to-me a-child is-born I-trusted(-her) from-then-on
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐκείνῃ παρέδωκα, ἡγούμενος
and all the my-own to-that-one I-handed-over considering
ταύτην οἰκειότητα μεγίστην εἶναι.
this intimacy greatest to-be
Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, πασῶν ἦν 7
in indeed then the first time O Athenians of-all she-was
βελτίστη, καὶ γὰρ οἰκονόμος δεινὴ καὶ φειδωλὸς καὶ ἀκριβῶς
best and for a-housekeeper clever and thrifty and exactly
πάντα διοικοῦσα· ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησε, ἧ
all managing when and to-me the mother died who
πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἀποθανοῦσα αἰτία μοι γεγένηται, ***
of-all the evils having-died cause to-me has-been (lacuna)

8 ἐπ᾽ ἐκφορὰν γὰρ αὐτῇ ἀκολουθήσασα ἡ ἐμὴ γυνὴ ὑπὸ
at the-funeral for her having-followed the my wife by
τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὀφθεῖσα, χρόνῳ διαφθείρεται·
this the fellow having-been-seen in-time is-corrupted
ἐπιτηρῶν γὰρ τὴν θεράπαιναν τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν
watching-for for the maidservant the(-one) to the market
βαδίζουσαν καὶ λόγους προσφέρων ἀπώλεσεν αὐτήν.
going and proposals bringing he-ruined her

9 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ᾽
first indeed then O men it-is-necessary for also these-things
ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι) οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον
to-you to-relate a-little-house there-is to-me two-storied equal having
τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν καὶ
the upper(-rooms) to-the lower(-ones) according-to the women's-quarters and
κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνῖτιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἐγένετο
according-to the men's-quarters when and the child was-born
ἡμῖν, ἡ μήτηρ αὐτὸ ἐθήλαζεν· ἵνα δὲ μή, ὁπότε λοῦσθαι
to-us the mother it suckled so-that and not whenever to-wash
δέοι, κινδυνεύῃ κατὰ τῆς κλίμακος καταβαίνουσα,
it-was-needful she-might-risk(-falling) down the ladder coming-down
ἐγὼ μὲν ἄνω διῃτώμην, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες κάτω.
I indeed upstairs lived the and women downstairs

10 Καὶ οὕτως ἤδη συνειθισμένον ἦν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἡ γυνὴ
and so already accustomed it-was that often the wife
ἀπῄει κάτω καθευδήσουσα ὡς τὸ παιδίον, ἵνα τὸν τιτθὸν
went-off down going-to-sleep to the child so-that the breast
αὐτῷ διδῷ καὶ μὴ βοᾷ. καὶ ταῦτα πολὺν χρόνον
to-it she-might-give and not it-might-cry and these-things a-long time
οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε ὑπώπτευσα, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως
so happened and I never suspected but so

ἠλιθίως διεκείμην, ὥστε ᾤμην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα πασῶν
foolishly I-was-disposed that I-thought the my-own wife of-all
σωφρονεστάτην εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.
most-chaste to-be of-the(-women) in the city
Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἦκον μὲν 11
going-on and the time O men I-came indeed
ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐξ ἀγροῦ, μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ παιδίον
unexpectedly from (the)-country after and the dinner the child
ἐβόα καὶ ἐδυσκόλαινεν ὑπὸ τῆς θεραπαίνης ἐπίτηδες
cried and was-fretful by the maidservant on-purpose
λυπούμενον, ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇ· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἔνδον ἦν·
being-annoyed so-that these-things it-might-do the for fellow inside was
ὕστερον γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπυθόμην. καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν γυναῖκα 12
later for all I-learned and I the wife
ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευον καὶ δοῦναι τῷ παιδίῳ τὸν τιτθόν, ἵνα
to-go-off bade and to-give to-the child the breast so-that
παύσηται κλαῖον. ἡ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἤθελεν, ὡς
it-might-stop crying she and the indeed first(-time) not was-willing as
ἂν ἀσμένη με ἑορακυῖα ἥκοντα διὰ χρόνου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
— gladly me having-seen come after time when and
ἐγὼ ὠργιζόμην καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὴν ἀπιέναι, ‘ἵνα σύ γε’
I was-angry and bade her to-go-off so-that you at-least
ἔφη ‘πειρᾷς ἐνταῦθα τὴν παιδίσκην· καὶ πρότερον δὲ
she-said may-try here the slave-girl and before and
μεθύων εἵλκες αὐτήν.’ κἀγὼ μὲν ἐγέλων,
drunk you-dragged her and-I indeed laughed
ἐκείνη δὲ ἀναστᾶσα καὶ ἀπιοῦσα προστίθησι τὴν θύραν, 13
she and having-got-up and going-off closes the door
προσποιουμένη παίζειν, καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἐφέλκεται. κἀγὼ
pretending to-joke and the key draws-after(-her) and-I

τούτων οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος οὐδ' ὑπονοῶν ἐκάθευδον
of-these nothing considering nor suspecting slept
ἄσμενος, ἥκων ἐξ ἀγροῦ.
gladly coming from the-country
14 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦν πρὸς ἡμέραν, ἦκεν ἐκείνη καὶ τὴν θύραν
when and it-was toward day came she and the door
ἀνέῳξεν. ἐρομένου δέ μου τί αἱ θύραι νύκτωρ ψοφοῖεν,
opened asking and me why the doors by-night creaked
ἔφασκε τὸν λύχνον ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν παρὰ τῷ παιδίῳ,
she-said the lamp to-have-gone-out the by the child
εἶτα ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων ἐνάψασθαι. ἐσιώπων ἐγὼ καὶ
then from the neighbors to-have-lit(-it) was-silent I and
ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἡγούμην. ἔδοξε δέ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες,
these-things so to-be thought it-seemed and to-me O men
τὸ πρόσωπον ἐψιμυθιῶσθαι, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθνεῶτος οὔπω
the face to-be-powdered the brother dead not-yet
τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας· ὅμως δ' οὐδ' οὕτως οὐδὲν εἰπὼν
thirty days nevertheless and not-even so nothing saying
περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελθὼν ᾠχόμην ἔξω σιωπῇ.
about the matter having-gone-out I-went out in-silence
15 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου
after and these-things O men time meanwhile having-passed
καὶ ἐμοῦ πολὺ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν,
and me far left-behind of-the my-own evils
προσέρχεταί μοί τις πρεσβῦτις ἄνθρωπος, ὑπὸ γυναικὸς
approaches me some old-woman woman by a-woman
ὑποπεμφθεῖσα ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐμοίχευεν, ὡς ἐγὼ ὕστερον
sent-secretly whom that-one was-seducing as I later
ἤκουον· αὕτη δὲ ὀργιζομένη καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσα,
heard she and being-angry and to-be-wronged thinking

ὅτι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐφοίτα παρ᾽ αὐτήν, ἐφύλαττεν ἕως
because no-longer equally he-came to her watched until
ἐξηῦρεν ὅ τι εἴη τὸ αἴτιον.
she-found-out what (thing) might-be the cause
Προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἄνθρωπος τῆς οἰκίας τῆς 16
having-approached then me near the woman of-the house the
ἐμῆς ἐπιτηροῦσα, ‘Εὐφίλητε’ ἔφη ‘μηδεμιᾷ πολυπραγμοσύνῃ
my watching-for(-me) Euphiletus she-said by-no meddlesomeness
προσεληλυθέναι με νόμιζε πρὸς σέ· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ
to-have-come me think to you the for man the(-one)
ὑβρίζων εἰς σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα ἐχθρὸς ὢν ἡμῖν
outraging against you and the your wife enemy being to-us
τυγχάνει. ἐὰν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν θεράπαιναν τὴν εἰς ἀγορὰν
happens if then you-take the maidservant the(-one) to market
βαδίζουσαν καὶ διακονοῦσαν ὑμῖν καὶ βασανίσῃς, ἅπαντα
going and serving for-you and torture(-her) all
πεύσει. ἔστι δ” ἔφη ‘’Ερατοσθένης Ὀῆθεν ὁ ταῦτα
you-will-learn is and she-said Eratosthenes of-Oe the(-one) these-things
πράττων, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα διέφθαρκεν ἀλλὰ
doing who not only the your wife has-corrupted but
καὶ ἄλλας πολλάς· ταύτην γὰρ τέχνην ἔχει.’
also others many this for craft he-has
Ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπηλλάγη, ἐγὼ δ’ 17
these-things having-said O men she indeed went-away I and
εὐθέως ἐταραττόμην, καὶ πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσῄει,
at-once was-troubled and all my into the mind came
καὶ μεστὸς ἦ ὑποψίας, ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν ὡς ἀπεκλῄσθην
and full I-was of-suspicion considering indeed how I-had-been-locked-in
ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ, ἀναμιμνῃσκόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ
in the chamber recalling and that in that the
νυκτὶ ἐψόφει ἡ μέταυλος θύρα καὶ ἡ αὔλειος, ὃ οὐδέποτε
night creaked the inner door and the outer which never

ἐγένετο, ἔδοξέ τέ μοι ἡ γυνὴ ἐψιμυθιῶσθαι. ταῦτά μου
happened it-seemed both to-me the wife to-be-powdered these-things my
πάντα εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσῄει, καὶ μεστὸς ἦ ὑποψίας.
all into the mind came and full I-was of-suspicion

II · CAUGHT IN THE ACT

Euphiletus offers the maid the mill or pardon for the truth, and she tells all: how Eratosthenes approached her, how the wife was won, and how the wife went to the Thesmophoria with his mother. She promises to show him the man in the act. Some days later Eratosthenes comes in, and Euphiletus gathers what friends he can find, with torches from a tavern. They see him in bed with the wife. Euphiletus binds him and refuses his money: the city's law kills him, not he. The laws read out let a husband kill an adulterer and punish seduction more harshly than rape.

18 Ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε ἐκέλευον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι τὴν θεράπαιναν
having-come and home I-bade to-follow me the maidservant
εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀγαγὼν δ' αὐτὴν ὡς τῶν
to the market having-led and her to-the-house-of of-the
ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐγὼ πάντα εἴην πεπυσμένος
intimates one I-said that I all-things had learned
τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ· 'σοὶ οὖν' ἔφην 'ἔξεστι
the(-things) happening in the house for-you then I-said it-is-possible
δυοῖν ὁπότερον βούλει ἑλέσθαι, ἢ μαστιγωθεῖσαν
of-two-things whichever you-wish to-choose either having-been-whipped
εἰς μύλωνα ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ μηδέποτε παύσασθαι κακοῖς
into a-mill to-fall and never to-cease by-evils
τοιούτοις συνεχομένην, ἢ κατειποῦσαν ἅπαντα τἀληθῆ
such held-fast or having-confessed all the-truth

μηδὲν παθεῖν κακόν, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν τῶν
nothing to-suffer bad but pardon from me to-obtain for-the
ἡμαρτημένων. ψεύσῃ δὲ μηδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τἀληθῆ λέγε.᾽
offenses lie and nothing but all the-truth tell
Κἀκείνη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔξαρνος ἦν, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν 19
and-she the indeed first denying was and to-do bade
ὅ τι βούλομαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰδέναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγὼ
what ever I-wish nothing for to-know when and I
ἐμνήσθην Ἐρατοσθένους πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι
mentioned Eratosthenes to her and said that
οὗτος ὁ φοιτῶν εἴη πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐξεπλάγη
this(-man) the (one)-visiting was to the wife she-was-struck-with-fear
ἡγησαμένη με πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐγνωκέναι. καὶ τότε ἤδη
thinking me all-things exactly to-have-known and then at-once
πρὸς τὰ γόνατά μου πεσοῦσα, καὶ πίστιν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ
to the knees my having-fallen and a-pledge from me
λαβοῦσα μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακόν,
having-received nothing to-be-going-to-suffer bad
κατηγόρει πρῶτον μὲν ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτῇ 20
she-accused(-him) first indeed how after the funeral to-her
προσίοι, ἔπειτα ὡς αὐτὴ τελευτῶσα εἰσαγγείλειε καὶ
he-approached then how she finally carried-the-message and
ὡς ἐκείνη τῷ χρόνῳ πεισθείη, καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους οἷς
how that-one in-the time was-persuaded and the entrances by-what
τρόποις προσίοιτο, καὶ ὡς Θεσμοφορίοις ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγρῷ
ways she-admitted(-him) and how at-the-Thesmophoria me in the-country
ὄντος ᾤχετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐκείνου·
being she-went to the temple with the mother the of-that-one
καὶ τἆλλα τὰ γενόμενα πάντα ἀκριβῶς διηγήσατο.
and the-other the(-things) having-happened all exactly she-related

21 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα εἴρητο αὐτῇ, εἶπον ἐγώ, ‘ὅπως τοίνυν
when and all had-been-said by-her said I see-to-it then
ταῦτα μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πεύσεται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδέν σοι
these-things no-one of-men will-learn if and not nothing for-you
κύριον ἔσται τῶν πρὸς ἔμ’ ὡμολογημένων. ἀξιῶ
valid will-be of-the(-things) with me agreed I-think-it-right
δέ σε ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ ταῦτά μοι ἐπιδεῖξαι· ἐγὼ γὰρ
and you in the-act these-things to-me to-show I for
οὐδὲν δέομαι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον φανερὸν γενέσθαι,
nothing want of-words but the deed evident to-become
εἴπερ οὕτως ἔχει.’
if-indeed so it-is

22 Ὡμολόγει ταῦτα ποιήσειν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεγένοντο
she-agreed these-things to-do and after these-things passed
ἡμέραι τέσσαρες ἢ πέντε, *** ὡς ἐγὼ μεγάλοις ὑμῖν
days four or five (lacuna) as I by-great to-you
τεκμηρίοις ἐπιδείξω. πρῶτον δὲ διηγήσασθαι βούλομαι
proofs will-show first and to-relate I-wish
τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ. Σώστρατος ἦν
the(-things) done on-the last day Sostratus was
μοι ἐπιτήδειος καὶ φίλος. τούτῳ ἡλίου δεδυκότος ἰόντι ἐξ
to-me an-intimate and friend him the-sun having-set coming from
ἀγροῦ ἀπήντησα. εἰδὼς δ’ ἐγὼ ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ἀφιγμένος
the-country I-met knowing and I that at-that-hour having-arrived
οὐδένα καταλήψοιτο οἴκοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐκέλευον
no-one he-would-find at-home of-the intimates I-bade(-him)
συνδειπνεῖν· καὶ ἐλθόντες οἴκαδε ὡς ἐμέ, ἀναβάντες εἰς
to-dine-with(-me) and having-come home to me having-gone-up into
τὸ ὑπερῷον ἐδειπνοῦμεν.
the upper-room we-dined

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ εἶχεν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, 23
when and well with-him it-was that-one indeed going-off went
ἐγὼ δ' ἐκάθευδον. ὁ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰσέρχεται,
I and slept — and Eratosthenes O men enters
καὶ ἡ θεράπαινα ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.
and the maidservant having-woken me at-once tells that inside he-is
κἀγὼ εἰπὼν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιμέλεσθαι τῆς θύρας, καταβὰς
and-I having-told her to-take-care-of the door having-gone-down
σιωπῇ ἐξέρχομαι, καὶ ἀφικνοῦμαι ὡς τὸν καὶ τόν, καὶ τοὺς
in-silence go-out and arrive to this-one and that-one and some
μὲν οὐκ ἔνδον κατέλαβον, τοὺς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας ηὗρον.
indeed not at-home I-found others and not-even in-town did-I-find
Παραλαβὼν δ' ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν πλείστους ἐκ τῶν 24
having-taken-along and as possible — it-was most from the(-men)
παρόντων ἐβάδιζον. καὶ δᾷδας λαβόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐγγύτατα
present I-went and torches having-taken from the nearest
καπηλείου εἰσερχόμεθα, ἀνεῳγμένης τῆς θύρας καὶ ὑπὸ
tavern we-go-in having-been-opened the door and by
τῆς ἀνθρώπου παρεσκευασμένης. ὤσαντες δὲ τὴν θύραν
the woman having-been-prepared having-pushed and the door
τοῦ δωματίου οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι εἰσιόντες ἔτι εἶδομεν αὐτὸν
of-the chamber the indeed first going-in still saw him
κατακείμενον παρὰ τῇ γυναικί, οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἐν τῇ
lying-down by the woman the and later in the
κλίνῃ γυμνὸν ἑστηκότα.
bed naked standing
Ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, πατάξας καταβάλλω αὐτόν, καὶ τὼ 25
I and O men having-struck knock-down him and the
χεῖρε περιαγαγὼν εἰς τοὔπισθεν καὶ δήσας ἠρώτων
two-hands having-brought-round to the-back and having-bound I-asked
διὰ τί ὑβρίζει εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰσιών.
because-of what he-outrages into the house the my entering

κἀκεῖνος ἀδικεῖν μὲν ὡμολόγει, ἠντεβόλει δὲ καὶ ἱκέτευε
and-he to-do-wrong indeed admitted begged and and entreated
μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλ᾽ ἀργύριον πράξασθαι. ἐγὼ δ᾽ εἶπον
not to-kill(-him) but money to-exact I and said
ὅτι ‘οὐκ ἐγώ σε ἀποκτενῶ,
that not I you will-kill
26 ‘ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τῆς πόλεως νόμος, ὃν σὺ παραβαίνων περὶ
but the of-the city law which you transgressing of
ἐλάττονος τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐποιήσω, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλου
less than-the pleasures made and rather chose
τοιοῦτον ἁμάρτημα ἐξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν
such an-offense to-commit against the wife the
ἐμὴν καὶ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις
my and against the children the my than the laws
πείθεσθαι καὶ κόσμιος εἶναι.’
to-obey and orderly to-be
27 Οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκεῖνος τούτων ἔτυχεν ὧνπερ οἱ
thus O men that-one these-things met which-very the
νόμοι κελεύουσι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντας, οὐκ
laws bid the(-men) the such(-things) doing not
εἰσαρπασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν
having-been-snatched-in from the street nor to the hearth
καταφυγών, ὥσπερ οὗτοι λέγουσι· πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ὅστις
having-fled as these say how for — who
ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ πληγεὶς κατέπεσεν εὐθύς, περιέστρεψα δ᾽
in the chamber struck fell at-once I-twisted and
αὐτοῦ τὼ χεῖρε, ἔνδον δὲ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι τοσοῦτοι, οὓς
his the two-hands inside and were men so-many whom
διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ξύλον οὔτε ἄλλο
to-escape not he-could neither iron nor wood nor other
οὐδὲν ἔχων, ᾧ τοὺς εἰσελθόντας ἂν ἠμύνατο;
anything having with-which the (men)-entering — he-might-have-warded-off

Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι οἱ μὴ τὰ 28
but O men I-think also you to-know that the(-men) not the
δίκαια πράττοντες οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς λέγειν
just(-things) doing not admit the enemies to-speak
ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ψευδόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανώμενοι
true(-things) but themselves lying and the such(-things) contriving
ὀργὰς τοῖς ἀκούουσι κατὰ τῶν τὰ δίκαια πραττόντων
angers for-the hearers against the(-men) the just(-things) doing
παρασκευάζουσι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον.
they-prepare first indeed then read the law

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

law

Οὐκ ἠμφεσβήτει, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ὡμολόγει ἀδικεῖν, καὶ 29
not be-disputed O men but admitted to-do-wrong and
ὅπως μὲν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἠντεβόλει καὶ ἱκέτευεν, ἀποτίνειν
that indeed not be-should-die begged and entreated to-pay
δ' ἕτοιμος ἦν χρήματα. ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐκείνου
and ready was money I and to-the indeed of-that-one
τιμήματι οὐ συνεχώρουν, τὸν δὲ τῆς πόλεως νόμον ἠξίουν
assessment not agreed the and of-the city law thought-fit
εἶναι κυριώτερον, καὶ ταύτην ἔλαβον τὴν δίκην, ἣν
to-be more-authoritative and this I-took the penalty which
ὑμεῖς δικαιοτάτην εἶναι ἡγησάμενοι τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα
you most-just to-be having-considered for-the(-men) the such(-things)
ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐτάξατε. Καί μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.
practicing laid-down and to-me come-up of-these witnesses

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐκ τῆς 30
read and to-me also this the law the(-one) from the
στήλης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου.
pillar the from Ares' hill

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

law

Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ ἐξ
you-hear O men that itself the court the(-one) from
Ἀρείου πάγου, ᾧ καὶ πάτριόν ἐστι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν
Ares' hill to-which also ancestral it-is and in our(-time)
ἀποδέδοται τοῦ φόνου τὰς δίκας δικάζειν, διαρρήδην
has-been-given of-the murder the trials to-judge expressly
εἴρηται τούτου μὴ καταγιγνώσκειν φόνον, ὃς ἂν
it-has-been-said of-this(-man) not to-pronounce murder whoever —
ἐπὶ δάμαρτι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μοιχὸν λαβὼν ταύτην τὴν
upon wife the his-own an-adulterer having-caught this the
τιμωρίαν ποιήσηται.
vengeance takes

31 Καὶ οὕτω σφόδρα ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς γυναιξὶ
and so strongly the lawgiver for the wedded wives
δίκαια ταῦτα ἡγήσατο εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς
just these-things thought to-be that even for the concubines
ταῖς ἐλάττονος ἀξίαις τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην ἐπέθηκε. καίτοι δῆλον
the of-less worth the same penalty he-imposed and-yet clear
ὅτι, εἴ τινα εἶχε ταύτης μείζω τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς,
that if any he-had than-this greater vengeance for the wedded(-wives)
ἐποίησεν ἄν· νῦν δὲ οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν ταύτης ἰσχυροτέραν
he-would-have-made — now and not able — being than-this stronger
ἐπ' ἐκείναις ἐξευρεῖν, τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς
for those to-find the same also for the concubines
ἠξίωσε γίγνεσθαι. Ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον.
he-thought-fit to-be read and to-me also this the law

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

law

Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι κελεύει, ἐάν τις ἄνθρωπον 32
you-hear O men that it-bids if anyone a-person
ἐλεύθερον ἢ παῖδα αἰσχύνῃ βίᾳ, διπλῆν τὴν βλάβην
free or a-child shames by-force double the damage
ὀφείλειν· ἐὰν δὲ γυναῖκα, ἐφ᾽ αἷσπερ ἀποκτείνειν ἔξεστιν,
to-owe if and a-woman for which-very to-kill it-is-allowed
ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι· οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς
in the same to-be-liable thus O men the(-men)
βιαζομένους ἐλάττονος ζημίας ἀξίους ἡγήσατο εἶναι ἢ
using-force of-less penalty worthy he-thought to-be than
τοὺς πείθοντας· τῶν μὲν γὰρ θάνατον κατέγνω,
the(-men) persuading of-the(-ones) indeed for death he-pronounced
τοῖς δὲ διπλῆν ἐποίησε τὴν βλάβην,
for-the(-others) and double he-made the damage
ἡγούμενος τοὺς μὲν διαπραττομένους βίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν 33
considering the(-men) indeed accomplishing(-it) by-force by the
βιασθέντων μισεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πείσαντας οὕτως αὐτῶν
(women)-forced to-be-hated the(-men) and having-persuaded so their
τὰς ψυχὰς διαφθείρειν, ὥστ᾽ οἰκειοτέρας αὑτοῖς ποιεῖν
the souls to-corrupt that more-their-own to-themselves to-make
τὰς ἀλλοτρίας γυναῖκας ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ πᾶσαν
the others' wives than to-the husbands and whole
ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις τὴν οἰκίαν γεγονέναι, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας
in(-the-power-of) those(-men) the house to-have-become and the children
ἀδήλους εἶναι ὁποτέρων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, τῶν ἀνδρῶν
uncertain to-be of-which they-happen being of-the husbands
ἢ τῶν μοιχῶν. ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ὁ τὸν νόμον τιθεὶς
or of-the adulterers on-account-of which the(-one) the law making
θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησε τὴν ζημίαν.
death for-them made the penalty

The laws acquit Euphiletus and bid him take this vengeance. Even had he sent the maid to fetch Eratosthenes, as they charge, once the man had wronged him any way of taking him was just. He did not plan it: he had Sostratus to dinner and let him go home, and ran about at night looking for friends, some away, when he could have gathered them by day. There was no other enmity between them; he had never seen the man before that night. He acted for the whole city, and risks his life for obeying its laws.

34 Ἐμοῦ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐ μόνον
of-me then O men the indeed laws not only
ἀπεγνωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκελευκότες
having-acquitted(-me) are not to-do-wrong but also having-bidden(-me)
ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν· ἐν ὑμῖν δ' ἐστὶ
this the penalty to-take in you and it-is
πότερον χρὴ τούτους ἰσχυροὺς ἢ μηδενὸς ἀξίους
whether one-must these strong or of-nothing worth
εἶναι.
to-be

35 Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι πάσας τὰς πόλεις διὰ τοῦτο
I indeed for think all the cities because-of this
τοὺς νόμους τίθεσθαι, ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἂν πραγμάτων
the laws to-make so-that about what — matters
ἀπορῶμεν, παρὰ τούτους ἐλθόντες σκεψώμεθα ὅ
we-are-at-a-loss to these having-gone we-may-consider what
τι ἡμῖν ποιητέον ἐστίν. οὗτοι τοίνυν περὶ τῶν
(thing) for-us must-be-done is these then about the
τοιούτων τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τοιαύτην δίκην λαμβάνειν
such(-matters) to-the wronged such penalty to-take
παρακελεύονται.
urge

Οἷς ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν· εἰ 36
with-which you I-ask the same judgment to-have if
δὲ μή, τοιαύτην ἄδειαν τοῖς μοιχοῖς ποιήσετε,
and not such immunity to-the adulterers you-will-make
ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐπαρεῖτε φάσκειν μοιχοὺς
that even the thieves you-will-encourage to-claim adulterers
εἶναι, εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι, ἐὰν ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν περὶ
to-be well knowing that if this the charge about
ἑαυτῶν λέγωσι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φάσκωσιν εἰς τὰς
themselves they-say and on this they-claim into the
ἀλλοτρίας οἰκίας εἰσιέναι, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἅψεται. πάντες
others' houses to-go-in no-one them will-touch all
γὰρ εἴσονται ὅτι τοὺς μὲν νόμους τῆς μοιχείας
for will-know that the indeed laws of-the adultery
χαίρειν ἐᾶν δεῖ, τὴν δὲ ψῆφον τὴν ὑμετέραν
to-bid-farewell to-let(-them) one-must the and vote the your
δεδιέναι· αὕτη γάρ ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
to-fear this for is of-all the(-things) in the city
κυριωτάτη.
most-authoritative

Σκέψασθε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες· κατηγοροῦσι γάρ μου ὡς ἐγὼ 37
consider and O men they-accuse for me that I
τὴν θεράπαιναν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετελθεῖν ἐκέλευσα
the maidservant on that the day to-fetch bade
τὸν νεανίσκον. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δίκαιον μὲν ἂν ποιεῖν
the young-man I and O men just indeed — to-do
ἡγούμην ὡτινιοῦν τρόπῳ τὸν τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν
I-thought in-any-whatever way the(-man) the wife the my
διαφθείραντα
having-corrupted

38 λαμβάνων (εἰ μὲν γὰρ λόγων εἰρημένων ἔργου
seizing if indeed for words spoken deed
δὲ μηδενὸς γεγενημένου μετελθεῖν ἐκέλευον ἐκεῖνον,
and no having-happened to-fetch I-was-bidding that-one
ἠδίκουν ἄν· εἰ δὲ ἤδη πάντων διαπεπραγμένων
I-would-have-done-wrong — if and already all-things accomplished
καὶ πολλάκις εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν
and many-times having-entered into the house the my
ὁτινιοῦν τρόπῳ ἐλάμβανον αὐτόν, σωφρονεῖν ἂν ἐμαυτὸν
in-any-whatever way I-was-seizing him to-be-sensible — myself
ἡγούμην)·
I-would-consider

39 σκέψασθε δὲ ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ψεύδονται· ῥᾳδίως δὲ
consider and that also these-things they-lie easily and
ἐκ τῶνδε γνώσεσθε. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅπερ καὶ
from these-things you-will-know to-me for O men as-indeed also
πρότερον εἶπον, φίλος ὢν Σώστρατος καὶ οἰκείως
before I-said friend being Sostratus and intimately
διακείμενος ἀπαντήσας ἐξ ἀγροῦ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς
disposed having-met(-me) from (the)-country about of-the-sun setting
συνεδείπνει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, ἀπιὼν
dined-with(-me) and when well it-was with-him going-off
ᾤχετο.
he-went

40 Καίτοι πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνθυμήθητε· εἰ ἐν
and-yet first indeed O men consider if on
ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐγὼ ἐπεβούλευον Ἐρατοσθένει,
that the night I was-plotting against-Eratosthenes
πότερον ἦν μοι κρεῖττον αὐτῷ ἑτέρωθι δειπνεῖν
whether was-it for-me better myself elsewhere to-dine
ἢ τὸν συνδειπνήσοντά μοι εἰσαγαγεῖν; οὕτω γὰρ
or the (man)-going-to-dine-with me to-bring-in so for

ἂν ἧττον ἐτόλμησεν ἐκεῖνος εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν
— less would-have-dared that-one to-enter into the
οἰκίαν. εἶτα δοκῶ ἂν ὑμῖν τὸν συνδειπνοῦντα
house then do-I-seem — to-you the (one)-dining-with(-me)
ἀφεὶς μόνος καταλειφθῆναι καὶ ἔρημος γενέσθαι,
having-let-go alone to-be-left and deserted to-become
ἢ κελεύειν ἐκεῖνον μεῖναι, ἵνα μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν μοιχὸν
or to-bid that-one to-stay so-that with me the adulterer
ἐτιμωρεῖτο;
he-might-punish
Ἔπειτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἂν δοκῶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις 41
then O men not — do-I-seem to-you to-the intimates
μεθ' ἡμέραν παραγγεῖλαι, καὶ κελεῦσαι αὐτοὺς συλλεγῆναι
by day to-have-sent-word and to-have-bidden them to-assemble
εἰς οἰκίαν τῶν φίλων τὴν ἐγγυτάτω, μᾶλλον ἢ
into a-house of-the friends the nearest rather than
ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ᾐσθόμην τῆς νυκτὸς περιτρέχειν, οὐκ
as soon-as I-learned of-the night to-run-around not
εἰδὼς ὅντινα οἴκοι καταλήψομαι καὶ ὅντινα ἔξω;
knowing whom at-home I-will-find and whom out
καὶ ὡς Ἁρμόδιον μὲν καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἦλθον οὐκ
and to Harmodius indeed and the so-and-so I-went not
ἐπιδημοῦντας (οὐ γὰρ ᾔδη), ἑτέρους δὲ οὐκ ἔνδον
in-town not for I-knew others and not inside
ὄντας κατέλαβον, οὓς δ' οἷός τε ἦ λαβὼν
being I-found whom and able — I-was having-taken
ἐβάδιζον.
I-went
Καίτοι γε εἰ προῄδη, οὐκ ἂν δοκῶ ὑμῖν καὶ 42
and-yet at-least if I-had-foreknown not — do-I-seem to-you both
θεράποντας παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις παραγγεῖλαι,
servants to-have-prepared and to-the friends to-have-sent-word

ἵν' ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰσῄα (τί γὰρ
so-that as most-safely indeed myself I-might-go-in what for
ᾔδη εἴ τι κἀκεῖνος εἶχε σιδήριον;), ὡς μετὰ
did-I-know if any also-that-one had a-weapon so-that with
πλείστων δὲ μαρτύρων τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐποιούμην; νῦν
most and witnesses the vengeance I-might-make now
δ' οὐδὲν εἰδὼς τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτί,
and nothing knowing of-the(-things) going-to-be in-that the night
οὓς οἷός τε ἦ παρέλαβον. Καί μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων
whom able — I-was I-took-along and to-me come-up of-these
μάρτυρες.
witnesses

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses

43 Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες· σκέψασθε
the indeed witnesses you-have-heard O men consider
δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὕτως περὶ τούτου τοῦ
and among you- -selves so about this the
πράγματος, ζητοῦντες εἴ τις ἐμοὶ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένει
matter seeking if any to-me and to-Eratosthenes
ἔχθρα πώποτε γεγένηται πλὴν ταύτης. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ
enmity ever has-been except this none for
εὑρήσετε.
will-you-find

44 Οὔτε γὰρ συκοφαντῶν γραφάς με ἐγράψατο, οὔτε
neither for informing indictments me did-he-bring nor
ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεχείρησεν, οὔτε ἰδίας
to-expel from the city did-he-attempt nor private
δίκας ἐδικάζετο, οὔτε συνῄδει κακὸν οὐδὲν
suits did-he-sue nor was-he-privy-to evil any
ὃ ἐγὼ δεδιὼς μή τις πύθηται ἐπεθύμουν
which I fearing lest anyone should-learn desired

αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, οὔτε εἰ ταῦτα διαπραξαίμην,
him to-destroy nor if these-things I-should-accomplish
ἤλπιζόν ποθεν χρήματα λήψεσθαι· ἔνιοι γὰρ
did-I-hope from-somewhere money to-take some for
τοιούτων πραγμάτων ἕνεκα θάνατον ἀλλήλοις
of-such matters for-the-sake death against-each-other
ἐπιβουλεύουσι.
plot
Τοσούτου τοίνυν δεῖ ἢ λοιδορία ἢ παροινία ἢ ἄλλη 45
so-much then it-lacks either abuse or drunken-insult or other
τις διαφορὰ ἡμῖν γεγονέναι, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἑορακὼς ἦ
any difference to-us to-have-happened that not-even having-seen was-I
τὸν ἄνθρωπον πώποτε πλὴν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτί. τί
the man ever except on that the night what
ἂν οὖν βουλόμενος ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον ἐκινδύνευον,
— then wishing I such danger would-I-be-running
εἰ μὴ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἦ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
if not the greatest of-the wrongs I-had by him
ἠδικημένος;
been-wronged
Ἔπειτα παρακαλέσας αὐτὸς μάρτυρας ἠσέβουν, ἐξόν 46
then having-summoned myself witnesses was-I-impious it-being-possible
μοι, εἴπερ ἀδίκως ἐπεθύμουν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, μηδένα
for-me if-indeed unjustly I-desired him to-destroy no-one
μοι τούτων συνειδέναι;
with-me of-these to-be-privy
Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ 47
I indeed then O men not private on-behalf-of
ἐμαυτοῦ νομίζω ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ᾽
myself consider this to-have-been the vengeance but
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἁπάσης· οἱ γὰρ τοιαῦτα
on-behalf-of the city whole the(-men) for such(-things)

πράττοντες, ὁρῶντες οἷα τὰ ἆθλα πρόκειται τῶν
doing seeing what-kind the prizes are-set-before of-the
τοιούτων ἁμαρτημάτων, ἧττον εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους
such offenses less against the others
ἐξαμαρτήσονται, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην
will-offend if also you they-see the same judgment
ἔχοντας.
having

48 Εἰ δὲ μή, πολὺ κάλλιον τοὺς μὲν κειμένους νόμους
if and not much better the indeed established laws
ἐξαλεῖψαι, ἑτέρους δὲ θεῖναι, οἵτινες τοὺς μὲν φυλάττοντας
to-wipe-out others and to-make which the(-men) indeed guarding
τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ταῖς ζημίαις ζημιώσουσι, τοῖς
the their-own wives with-the penalties will-penalize for-the(-men)
δὲ βουλομένοις εἰς αὐτὰς ἁμαρτάνειν πολλὴν ἄδειαν
and wishing against them to-offend much immunity
ποιήσουσι.
will-make

49 Πολὺ γὰρ οὕτω δικαιότερον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων τοὺς
much for thus more-just than by the laws the
πολίτας ἐνεδρεύεσθαι, οἳ κελεύουσι μέν, ἐάν τις
citizens to-be-ambushed which bid indeed if anyone
μοιχὸν λάβῃ, ὅ τι ἂν οὖν βούληται χρῆσθαι, οἱ δ’
an-adulterer catch what ever — then he-wishes to-use(-him) the and
ἀγῶνες δεινότεροι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καθεστήκασιν ἢ
trials more-terrible for-the wronged have-become than
τοῖς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τὰς ἀλλοτρίας καταισχύνουσι
for-the(-men) contrary-to the laws the others’ disgracing
γυναῖκας.
wives

Ἐγὼ γὰρ νῦν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ 50
I for now both about the person and
περὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
about the property and about the other
ἁπάντων κινδυνεύω, ὅτι τοῖς τῆς πόλεως νόμοις
all am-in-danger because the of-the city laws
ἐπιθόμην.
I-obeyed

LYSIAS

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΚ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΣ, ΥΠΕΡ ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΝ ΑΔΗΛΟΝ

On a Wound by Premeditation

Before the Areopagus a man charged with wounding by premeditation answers his rival. They had quarreled over a slave woman they bought together, and had been reconciled; the accuser denies only that they agreed to share her. Had the speaker come to kill, he would have killed, not bruised; they came for the boys and flute-girls, bringing wine, not a weapon. The accuser refused to have the woman examined under torture, though she knew every fact in dispute. The speaker begs not to be exiled for a prostitute's sake.

Θαυμαστόν γε, ὦ βουλή, τὸ διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τούτου, 1
surprising at-least O council the to-contend about this
ὡς οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἡμῖν διαλλαγαί, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζεῦγος
that not happened for-us reconciliations and the indeed team
καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, καὶ ὅσα ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατὰ τὴν
and the slaves and as-much-as from (the)-country in the
ἀντίδοσιν ἔλαβε, μὴ ἂν δύνασθαι ἀρνηθῆναι ὡς οὐκ
exchange he-took not — to-be-able to-deny that not
ἀπέδωκε, φανερῶς δὲ περὶ πάντων διαλελυμένον
he-gave-back(-them) evidently and about all(-things) reconciled
ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, μὴ κοινῇ ἡμᾶς
to-deny the(-things) about the woman not in-common us
χρῆσθαι συγχωρῆσαι.
to-use to-have-agreed
Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀντίδοσιν δι' ἐκείνην φανερός ἐστι 2
and the indeed exchange because-of that-one evident he-is
ποιησάμενος, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἀπέδωκεν ἃ
having-made the and reason because-of which he-gave-back what
ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλην ἔχοι εἰπεῖν (βουλόμενος τἀληθῆ

λέγειν) ἢ ὅτι οἱ φίλοι περὶ πάντων ἡμᾶς τούτων
to-tell than that the friends about all us these-things
συνήλλαξαν.
reconciled

3 Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν μὴ ἀπολαχεῖν αὐτὸν κριτὴν
I-would-have-wished and — not to-have-failed-in-the-lot him (as)-judge
Διονυσίοις, ἵν' ὑμῖν φανερὸς ἐγένετο ἐμοὶ
at-the-Dionysia so-that to-you evident he-would-have-become with-me
διηλλαγμένος, κρίνας τὴν ἐμὴν φυλὴν νικᾶν· νῦν δὲ
reconciled having-judged the my tribe to-win now and
ἔγραψε μὲν ταῦτα εἰς τὸ γραμματεῖον, ἀπέλαχε
he-wrote indeed these-things on the tablet failed-in-the-lot
δέ.
and

4 Καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγω, Φιλῖνος καὶ Διοκλῆς
and that true(-things) these I-say Philinus and Diocles
ἴσασιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστ' αὐτοῖς μαρτυρῆσαι μὴ
know but not it-is-possible for-them to-testify not
διομοσαμένοις περὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἧς ἐγὼ φεύγω,
having-sworn about the charge on-which I am-defendant
ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ἔγνωτ' ἂν ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἦμεν
since clearly you-would-have-known — that we were
αὐτὸν οἱ κριτὴν ἐμβαλόντες καὶ ἡμῶν ἕνεκα
him the(-men) (as)-judge having-cast-in and of-us for-the-sake
ἐκαθίζετο.
he-sat

5 Ἀλλ' ἦν, εἰ βούλεται, ἐχθρός· δίδωμι γὰρ
but let-him-have-been if he-wishes an-enemy I-grant for
αὐτῷ τοῦτο· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει. οὐκοῦν ἦλθον
to-him this nothing for it-makes-a-difference then I-came
αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενῶν, ὡς οὗτός φησι, καὶ
myself him going-to-kill as this(-man) says and

βίᾳ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσῆλθον. διὰ τί οὖν
by-force into the house went-in because-of what then
οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα, ὑποχείριον λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα,
not did-I-kill(-him) under-my-hand having-taken the body
καὶ τοσοῦτον κρατήσας ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπον
and so-much having-prevailed that even the woman
λαβεῖν; φρασάτω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει
to-take let-him-tell to you but not he-can
εἰπεῖν.
to-say

Καὶ μὴν οὐδείς γε ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖ ὅτι θᾶττον ἂν 6
and indeed no-one at-least of-you is-ignorant that sooner —
ἐγχειριδίῳ πληγεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἢ πὺξ παιόμενος.
by-a-dagger struck he-would-have-died than with-fist beaten
φαίνεται τοίνυν οὐδ' αὐτὸς αἰτιώμενος τοιοῦτόν τι
he-appears then not-even himself accusing(-us) such anything
ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀστράκῳ φησὶ πληγῆναι.
having us to-have-come but with-a-potsherd he-says to-have-been-struck
καίτοι φανερὸν ἤδη ἐξ ὧν εἴρηκεν, ὅτι οὐ πρόνοια
and-yet evident already from what he-has-said that not premeditation
γεγένηται.
has-happened

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἤλθομεν, ἀδήλου ὄντος εἰ παρὰ 7
not for — so we-would-have-come uncertain being whether at
τούτῳ εὑρήσομεν ὄστρακον ἢ ὅτῳ αὐτὸν ἀποκτενοῦμεν,
this(-man's) we-will-find a-potsherd or with-what him we-will-kill
ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν ἔχοντες ἂν ἐβαδίζομεν. νῦν δὲ ὁμολογούμεθα
but from-home having(-it) — we-would-have-gone now and we-are-admitted
πρὸς παῖδας καὶ αὐλητρίδας καὶ μετ' οἴνου ἐλθόντες.
to boys and flute-girls and with wine having-come

ὥστε πῶς ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ πρόνοια; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι
so-that how these-things is premeditation I indeed for think
οὐδαμῶς.
in-no-way

8 Ἀλλ᾽ οὗτος ἐναντίως τοῖς ἄλλοις δύσερώς ἐστι, καὶ
but this(-man) opposite to-the others jealous-in-love is and
ἀμφότερα βούλεται, τό τε ἀργύριον μὴ ἀποδοῦναι
both wishes the both money not to-give-back
καὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἔχειν. εἶτα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου
and the woman to-have then by the woman
παρωξυμμένος ὀξύχειρ λίαν καὶ πάροινός ἐστιν, ἀνάγκη
provoked quick-handed too and drunkenly-violent he-is necessary
δὲ ἀμύνασθαι. ἡ δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ τοτὲ
and to-defend-oneself she and at-one-time indeed me of much at-another
δὲ τοῦτόν φησι ποιεῖσθαι, βουλομένη ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων
and this(-man) says to-make wishing by both
ἐρᾶσθαι.
to-be-loved

9 Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐκόλως εἶχον
and I indeed even from (the)-beginning easily was-disposed
καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχω· ὁ δ᾽ εἰς τοῦτο βαρυδαιμονίας
and now still am-disposed he and to this of-misery
ἥκει, ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τραύματ᾽ ὀνομάζων τὰ
has-come that not he-is-ashamed wounds calling the
ὑπώπια καὶ ἐν κλίνῃ περιφερόμενος καὶ δεινῶς
black-eyes and on a-couch being-carried-around and terribly
προσποιούμενος διακεῖσθαι ἕνεκα πόρνης ἀνθρώπου,
pretending to-be-disposed for-the-sake-of a-whore woman
ἣν ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ ἀναμφισβητήτως ἔχειν ἐμοὶ ἀποδόντι
whom it-is-possible for-him indisputably to-have to-me having-paid-back
τἀργύριον.
the-money

Καὶ φησὶ μὲν δεινῶς ἐπιβουλευθῆναι καὶ πρὸς 10
and he-says indeed terribly to-have-been-plotted-against and on
ἅπανθ' ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητεῖ, ἐξὸν δ' ἐκ τῆς
all(-points) with-us disputes it-being-possible and from the
ἀνθρώπου βασανισθείσης τὸν ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι οὐκ
woman tortured the proof to-make not
ἠθέλησεν· ἣ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτ' ἂν κατεῖπεν, πότερα
he-was-willing who first indeed this — would-have-told whether
κοινὴ ἡμῖν ἦν ἢ ἰδία τούτου, καὶ πότερα τὸ
common to-us she-was or private of-this(-man) and whether the
ἥμισυ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐγὼ συνεβαλόμην ἢ οὗτος
half of-the money I contributed or this(-man)
ἅπαν ἔδωκε, καὶ εἰ διηλλαγμένοι ἢ ἔτι ἐχθροὶ
all gave and whether reconciled or still enemies
ἦμεν,
we-were
ἔτι δὲ εἰ μεταπεμφθέντες ἤλθομεν ἢ οὐδενὸς 11
further and whether summoned we-came or nobody
καλέσαντος, καὶ εἰ οὗτος ἦρχε χειρῶν ἀδίκων
having-called and whether this(-man) began of-hands unjust
ἢ ἐγὼ πρότερος τοῦτον ἐπάταξα. τούτων καθ'
or I first this(-man) struck of-these by
ἓν ἕκαστον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἦν ὅ τι
one each and of-the others nothing was what (thing)
οὐ ῥᾴδιον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐμφανὲς καὶ τούτοις
not easy to-the both others evident and to-these
ποιῆσαι.
to-make
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὔτε πρόνοια ἐγένετο οὔτε ἀδικῶ 12
that indeed then neither premeditation happened nor do-I-wrong
τοῦτον, ὦ βουλή, ἐκ τοσούτων τεκμηρίων καὶ
this(-man) O council from so-many proofs and

μαρτυριῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιδέδεικται· ἀξιῶ δ' ὅσον ἂν
testimonies to-you it-has-been-shown I-think-it-right and as-much-as —
ἐγένετο σημεῖον τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν ἀληθῆ
would-have-become a-sign for-this(-man) toward the to-seem true(-things)
λέγειν φυγόντος ἐμοῦ τὴν βάσανον, τοσοῦτον ἐμοὶ
to-say having-shunned of-me the torture so-much for-me
τεκμήριον γενέσθαι ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι, διότι οὗτος
proof to-become that not I-lie because this(-man)
οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ποιήσασθαι τὸν
not was-willing from the woman to-make the
ἔλεγχον, καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἰσχῦσαι τοὺς τούτου
proof and not so-much to-prevail the of-this(-man)
λόγους, ὅτι φησὶν αὐτὴν ἐλευθέραν εἶναι. ὁμοίως γὰρ
words that he-says her free to-be equally for
προσήκει κἀμοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τὸ ἴσον καταθέντι
it-concerns me-too of-the freedom the equal having-paid-down
ἀργύριον.
money

13 Ἀλλὰ ψεύδεται καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγει. ἦ δεινόν γε,
but he-lies and not true(-things) says or terrible at-least
εἰ εἰς μὲν λύσιν τοῦ σώματος ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων
if for indeed (the)-ransom of-the person from the enemies
ἐξῆν ἄν μοι χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ ὅ τι ἐβουλόμην,
it-would-be-possible — for-me to-use her what ever I-wished
κινδυνεύοντι δέ μοι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι
being-in-danger and to-me about the fatherland not-even to-learn
παρ' αὐτῆς τἀληθῆ ἐκγενήσεται περὶ ὧν εἰς τὴν
from her the-truth will-be-allowed about which into the
κρίσιν καθέστηκα· καὶ μὲν δὴ πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον
trial I-have-come and indeed indeed much — more-justly
ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ αἰτίᾳ βασανισθείη ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκ
on this the charge she-would-be-tortured than for the from

τῶν πολεμίων λύσει πραθείη, ὅσῳ παρὰ μὲν
the enemies ransom she-would-be-sold inasmuch-as from indeed
ἐκείνων βουλομένων ἀπολῦσαι ἔστι καὶ ἄλλοθεν
those wishing to-release(-one) it-is-possible also from-elsewhere
εὐπορήσαντι κομισθῆναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς
for-(one)-having-raised-the-means to-be-brought-back in-the-power-of and the
ἐχθροῖς γενόμενον οὐ δυνατόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀργύριον λαβεῖν
enemies having-come not possible not for money to-take
προθυμοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβαλεῖν ἔργον
they-are-eager but from the fatherland to-expel (their)-business
ποιοῦνται.
they-make

Ὥσθ' ὑμῖν προσήκει μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ διὰ 14
so-that to-you it-befits not to-accept him because-of
τοῦτο οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος βασανισθῆναι τὴν ἄνθρωπον,
this not thinking-fit to-be-tortured the woman
ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐλευθέραν ἐσκήπτετο εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
because her free he-pretended to-be but much
μᾶλλον συκοφαντίαν καταγιγνώσκειν, ὅτι παραλιπὼν
rather informing to-condemn because having-passed-over
ἔλεγχον οὕτως ἀκριβῆ ἐξαπατήσειν ὑμᾶς ῥᾳδίως
a-test so exact to-be-going-to-deceive you easily
ᾠήθη.
he-thought

Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τήν γε τούτου πρόκλησιν πιστοτέραν 15
not for surely the at-least this(-man's) challenge more-trustworthy
ὑμᾶς νομίζειν δεῖ τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς
you to-consider must than-the our on what(-terms) the
αὐτοῦ οἰκέτας ἠξίου βασανίζεσθαι. ἃ μὲν γὰρ
his-own household-slaves he-thought-fit to-be-tortured what indeed for
ἐκεῖνοι ᾔδεσαν, ἐλθόντας ἡμᾶς ὡς τοῦτον, καὶ ἡμεῖς
those knew having-come us to this(-man's) also we

ὁμολογοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ μεταπεμφθέντες ἢ μή, καὶ
admit whether and summoned or not and
πότερον πρότερος ἐπλήγην ἢ ἐπάταξα, ἐκείνη μᾶλλον ἂν
whether first I-was-struck or I-struck she rather —
ᾔδει.
would-know

16 Ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν τούτου οἰκέτας ἰδίους ὄντας
further and the indeed this(-man's) household-slaves his-own being
τούτου εἰ ἐβασανίζομεν, ἀνοήτως ἄν τι τούτῳ
of-this(-man) if we-had-tortured foolishly — anything this(-man)
χαριζόμενοι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμοῦ
gratifying even contrary-to the truth against-me
κατεψεύσαντο· αὕτη δὲ ὑπῆρχε κοινή, ὁμοίως
would-have-lied she and was common equally
ἀμφοτέρων ἀργύριον κατατεθηκότων, καὶ μάλιστα ᾔδει·
both money having-paid-down and most knew
διὰ γὰρ ταύτην ἅπαντα τὰ πραχθέντα ἡμῖν
because-of for her all the(-things) done for-us
γεγένηται.
have-happened

17 Καὶ οὐ λήσει οὐδέν' ὅτι ταύτης ἔγωγ' ἄνισον
and not will-escape-notice anyone that from-her I-for-my-part not-equal(-chances)
εἶχον βασανισθείσης, ἀλλ' ἀπεκινδύνευον τοῦτο· πολὺ
had tortured but I-was-running-the-risk-of this much
γὰρ περὶ πλείονος τοῦτον ἢ ἐμὲ φαίνεται ποιησαμένη,
for of more this(-man) than me she-appears having-made
καὶ μετὰ μὲν τούτου ἐμὲ ἠδικηκυῖα, μετ' ἐμοῦ δ'
and with indeed this(-man) me having-wronged with me and
οὐδεπώποτε εἰς τοῦτον ἐξαμαρτοῦσα. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ
never against this(-man) having-offended but nevertheless I

μὲν εἰς ταύτην κατέφυγον, οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν
indeed to her had-recourse this(-man) and not trusted
αὐτῇ.
her
Οὔκουν δεῖ ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλή, τηλικούτου ὄντος 18
not-then must you O council so-great being
τοῦ κινδύνου, ῥᾳδίως ἀποδέχεσθαι τοὺς τούτου
the danger easily to-accept the of-this(-man)
λόγους, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος
words but considering that about the fatherland
μοι καὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν, ἐν ὑπολόγῳ
for-me and the life the contest is into account
ταύτας τὰς προκλήσεις ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μὴ ζητεῖτε
these the challenges to-take and not seek
τούτων ἔτι μείζους πίστεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμι
than-these still greater proofs not for — I-could
εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' ἢ ταύτας, ὡς οὐδὲν εἰς τοῦτον
to-say other(-ones) than these that nothing against this(-man)
προὐνοήθην.
I-premeditated
Ἀγανακτῶ δ', ὦ βουλή, εἰ διὰ πόρνην καὶ 19
I-am-indignant and O council if because-of a-whore and
δούλην ἄνθρωπον περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εἰς κίνδυνον
slave woman about the greatest(-things) into danger
καθέστηκα, τί κακὸν πώποτε τὴν πόλιν ἢ αὐτὸν
I-have-come what evil ever the city or himself
τοῦτον εἰργασμένος, ἢ εἰς τίνα τῶν πολιτῶν
this(-man) having-done or against which of-the citizens
ὁτιοῦν ἐξαμαρτών; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔμοιγέ ἐστι τοιοῦτον
in-anything having-offended nothing for to-me-at-least is such
πεπραγμένον, ἀλλ' ἀλογώτατον πάντων κινδυνεύω
done but most-absurd of-all I-run-the-risk

πολὺ μείζω συμφορὰν ἐμαυτῷ διὰ τούτους
much greater misfortune on-myself because-of these
ἐπαγαγέσθαι.
to-bring-upon
Πρὸς οὖν παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεῶν
by then children and wives and gods
τῶν τόδε τὸ χωρίον ἐχόντων ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς
the(-ones) this the place holding I-supplicate you
καὶ ἀντιβολῶ, ἐλεήσατέ με, καὶ μὴ περιίδητε
and entreat pity me and not overlook(-me)
ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενον μηδὲ ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ
in-the-power-of this(-man) having-come nor in-irreparable misfortune
περιβάλητε· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιος οὔτ' ἐγὼ φεύγειν
involve(-me) not for worthy neither I to-be-exiled-from
τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, οὔτε οὗτος τοσαύτην δίκην παρ'
the my-own nor this(-man) so-great penalty from
ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν φησιν ἠδικῆσθαι, οὐκ
me to-take for what he-says to-have-been-wronged not
ἠδικημένος.
having-been-wronged

LYSIAS

ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΚΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ

On the Olive Stump

A landowner is accused before the Areopagus of removing a sacred olive: first a tree, now, when none was found, a stump. The land was confiscated from Peisander, given to Apollodorus of Megara, and sold to Anticles, from whom the speaker bought it in peacetime, with neither olive nor stump on it. In the war much was ravaged and this land lay unsold for more than three years. He let it to Callistratus, Demetrius, Alcias, and Proteas, and the earlier tenants testify there was no stump.

Πρότερον μέν, ὦ βουλή, ἐνόμιζον ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, 1
formerly indeed O council I-thought to-be-possible for-the (one)-wishing
ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντι, μήτε δίκας ἔχειν μήτε πράγματα· νυνὶ δὲ
quiet leading neither lawsuits to-have nor troubles now and
οὕτως ἀπροσδοκήτως αἰτίαις καὶ πονηροῖς συκοφάνταις
so unexpectedly into-charges and wicked informers
περιπέπτωκα, ὥστ' εἴ πως οἷόν τε, δοκεῖ μοι δεῖν
I-have-fallen that if somehow possible — it-seems to-me to-be-needful
καὶ τοὺς μὴ γεγονότας ἤδη δεδιέναι περὶ τῶν
also the(-men) not born already to-fear about the(-things)
μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους οἱ κίνδυνοι
about to-be because-of for the such(-men) the dangers
κοινοὶ γίγνονται καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι καὶ τοῖς
common become both for-the(-men) nothing doing-wrong and for-the(-men)
πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκόσιν.
many(-things) having-erred

Οὕτω δ' ἄπορος ὁ ἀγών μοι καθέστηκεν, ὥστε 2
so and baffling the contest for-me has-become that
ἀπεγράφην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλάαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀφανίζειν,
I-was-denounced the indeed first an-olive-tree from the earth to-make-vanish
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐωνημένους τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν μοριῶν
and to the (men)-having-bought the fruits of-the sacred-olives
πυνθανόμενοι προσῆσαν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου
inquiring they-went when and from this the way

ἀδικοῦντά με οὐδὲν εὑρεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν, νυνί με σηκόν
doing-wrong me nothing to-find they-could now me a-stump
φασιν ἀφανίζειν, οἰόμενοι ἐμοὶ μὲν ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν
they-say to-make-vanish thinking for-me indeed this the charge
ἀπορωτάτην εἶναι ἀπελέγξαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐξεῖναι μᾶλλον
most-baffling to-be to-refute for-them and to-be-possible more
ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται λέγειν.
what ever — they-wish to-say

3 Καὶ δεῖ με, περὶ ὧν οὗτος ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς ἥκει,
and it-is-necessary me about what this(-man) having-plotted has-come
ἅμ' ὑμῖν τοῖς διαγνωσομένοις περὶ τοῦ πράγματος
at-the-same-time with-you the (ones)-going-to-decide about the matter
ἀκούσαντα καὶ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας
having-heard both about the fatherland and about the property
ἀγωνίσασθαι. ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμᾶς
to-contend nevertheless and I-will-try from (the)-beginning you
διδάξαι.
to-teach

4 Ἦν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο Πεισάνδρου τὸ χωρίον, δημευθέντων δὲ
was indeed for this of-Peisander the land confiscated and
τῶν ὄντων ἐκείνου Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς δωρεὰν παρὰ
the property of-that-one Apollodorus the Megarian (as)-a-gift from
τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγεώργει, ὀλίγῳ
the people having-received the indeed other time farmed(-it) a-little
δὲ πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Ἀντικλῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ πριάμενος
and before the Thirty Anticles from him having-bought
ἐξεμίσθωσεν· ἐγὼ δὲ παρ' Ἀντικλέους εἰρήνης οὔσης ὠνοῦμαι.
let(-it) I and from Anticles peace being buy(-it)

5 Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐμὸν ἔργον ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς,
I-think then O council my task to-show that
ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον ἐκτησάμην, οὔτ' ἐλάα οὔτε σηκὸς ἐνῆν
when the land I-acquired neither olive-tree nor stump was

ἐν αὐτῷ. νομίζω γὰρ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου χρόνου, οὐδ' εἰ
in it I-think for of-the indeed former time not-even if
πολλαὶ ἐνῆσαν μοριαί, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ζημιοῦσθαι· εἰ γὰρ
many were-there sacred-olives not — justly (I)-to-be-punished if for
μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς εἰσιν ἠφανισμέναι, οὐδὲν προσήκει περὶ
not because-of us they-are vanished nothing it-concerns(-us) about
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἁμαρτημάτων ὡς ἀδικοῦντας κινδυνεύειν.
the others' errors as doing-wrong to-be-in-danger
Πάντες γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν 6
all for know that the war both of-other many
αἴτιος κακῶν γεγένηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν πόρρω ὑπὸ
cause of-evils has-been and the(-parts) indeed far-off by
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτέμνετο, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων
Lacedaemonians were-ravaged the(-parts) and near by the friends
διηρπάζετο· ὥστε πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν τότε τῇ
were-plundered so-that how — justly on-behalf-of the then for-the
πόλει γεγενημένων συμφορῶν ἐγὼ νυνὶ δίκην διδοίην;
city having-happened misfortunes I now penalty should-pay
ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δημευθὲν
otherwise both also this the land in the war confiscated
ἄπρατον ἦν πλεῖν ἢ τρία ἔτη.
unsold was more than three years
Οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' εἰ τότε τὰς μοριὰς ἐξέκοπτον, ἐν ᾧ 7
not surprising and if then the sacred-olives they-cut-out in which
οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἐδυνάμεθα. ἐπίστασθε
not-even the our- -own(-things) to-guard we-could you-know
δέ, ὦ βουλή, ὅσοι μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμέλεσθε,
and O council as-many-as most of-the such(-matters) you-take-care-of
πολλὰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ δασέα ὄντα ἰδίαις καὶ
many in that the time thickly-planted being with-private and
μοριαῖς ἐλάαις, ὧν νῦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκκέκοπται καὶ
sacred olives of-which now the many(-parts) have-been-cut-out and

ἡ γῆ ψιλὴ γεγένηται· καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ
the land bare has-become and of-the same(-men) both in the peace
καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κεκτημένων οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε παρ᾽
and in the war having-possessed(-them) not you-think-it-right from
αὐτῶν, ἑτέρων ἐκκοψάντων, δίκην λαμβάνειν.
them others having-cut(-them) penalty to-take

8 Καίτοι εἰ τοὺς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου γεωργοῦντας
and-yet if the(-men) through all the time farming(-them)
τῆς αἰτίας ἀφίετε, ἦ που χρὴ τούς γ᾽ ἐν τῇ
from-the charge you-acquit surely I-suppose must the(-men) at-least in the
εἰρήνῃ πριαμένους ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀζημίους γενέσθαι.
peace having-bought from you unpunished to-become

9 Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, περὶ μὲν τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων
but for O council about indeed the(-things) before having-happened
πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἱκανὰ νομίζω τὰ εἰρημένα· ἐπειδὴ
many(-things) having to-say sufficient I-think the(-things) said when
δ᾽ ἐγὼ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον, πρὶν ἡμέρας πέντε γενέσθαι,
and I took-over the land before days five to-pass
ἀπεμίσθωσα Καλλιστράτῳ, ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος·
I-let(-it) to-Callistratus in Pythodorus archon

10 ὃς δύο ἔτη ἐγεώργησεν, οὔτε ἰδίαν ἐλάαν οὔτε μοριὰν
who two years farmed(-it) neither private olive-tree nor sacred-olive
οὔτε σηκὸν παραλαβών. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Δημήτριος οὑτοσὶ
nor stump having-taken-over in-the-third and year Demetrius this-man
ἠργάσατο ἐνιαυτόν· τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ Ἀλκίᾳ Ἀντισθένους
worked(-it) a-year in-the and fourth to-Alcias of-Antisthenes
ἀπελευθέρῳ ἐμίσθωσα, ὃς τέθνηκε· κᾆτα τρία ἔτη ὁμοίως
freedman I-let(-it) who has-died and-then three years likewise
καὶ Πρωτέας ἐμισθώσατο. Καί μοι δεῦρ᾽ ἴτε, μάρτυρες.
also Proteas rented(-it) and for-me hither come witnesses
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήκει, αὐτὸς γεωργῶ. φησὶ 11
since then the time this has-expired myself I-farm(-it) says
δὲ ὁ κατήγορος ἐπὶ Σουνιάδου ἄρχοντος σηκὸν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
and the accuser in Souniades archon a-stump by me
ἐκκεκόφθαι. ὑμῖν δὲ μεμαρτυρήκασιν οἱ πρότερον
to-have-been-cut-out to-you and have-testified the(-men) before
ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ μεμισθωμένοι μὴ
working(-it) and many years from me having-rented(-it) not
εἶναι σηκὸν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ. καίτοι πῶς ἄν τις φανερώτερον
to-be a-stump in the land and-yet how — anyone more-clearly
ἐξελέγξειε ψευδόμενον τὸν κατήγορον; οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε, ἃ
could-convict lying the accuser not for possible — what
πρότερον μὴ ἦν, ταῦτα τὸν ὕστερον ἐργαζόμενον ἀφανίζειν.
before not was these-things the later worker to-make-vanish
Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐν μὲν τῷ τέως χρόνῳ, ὅσοι με 12
I then O council in indeed the former time all-who me
φάσκοιεν δεινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἰκῇ καὶ
said clever to-be and exact and nothing — at-random and
ἀλογίστως ποιῆσαι, ἠγανάκτουν ἄν, ἡγούμενος μᾶλλον
thoughtlessly to-do I-would-be-indignant — thinking more
λέγεσθαι ἢ ὥς μοι προσῆκε· νῦν δὲ πάντας ἂν ὑμᾶς
to-be-said than as for-me was-fitting now and all — you
βουλοίμην περὶ ἐμοῦ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, ἵνα
I-would-wish about me this the opinion to-have so-that
ἡγῆσθέ με σκοπεῖν ἄν, εἴπερ τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπεχείρουν,
you-may-think me to-consider — if-indeed such deeds I-attempted
καὶ ὅ τι κέρδος ἐγίγνετο τῷ ἀφανίσαντι καὶ ἥτις
both what (thing) gain came to-the (one)-who-made-vanish(-it) and what
ζημία τῷ ποιήσαντι, καὶ τί ἂν λαθὼν διεπραξάμην
penalty to-the doer and what — escaping-notice I-would-have-accomplished
καὶ τί ἂν φανερὸς γενόμενος ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἔπασχον.
and what — evident having-become by you I-would-suffer

13 Πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ὕβρεως ἀλλὰ
all for men the such(-things) not of-insolence but
κέρδους ἕνεκα ποιοῦσι· καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς οὕτω σκοπεῖν,
of-gain for-the-sake do and you likely so to-consider
καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους ἐκ τούτων τὰς κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι,
and the opponents from these the accusations to-make
ἀποφαίνοντας ἥτις ὠφέλεια τοῖς ἀδικήσασιν ἐγίγνετο.
showing what benefit for-the wrongdoers came

14 Οὗτος μέντοι οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἀποδεῖξαι οὔθ' ὡς ὑπὸ πενίας
this(-man) however not — could to-show neither that by poverty
ἠναγκάσθην τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὔθ' ὡς τὸ χωρίον
I-was-compelled such deeds to-attempt nor that the land
μοι διεφθείρετο τοῦ σηκοῦ ὄντος, οὔθ' ὡς ἀμπέλοις
for-me was-being-ruined the stump being nor that to-vines
ἐμποδὼν ἦν, οὔθ' ὡς οἰκίας ἐγγύς, οὔθ' ὡς ἐγὼ ἄπειρος
in-the-way it-was nor that of-a-house near nor that I inexperienced
τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν κινδύνων, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔπραττον.
of-the before you dangers if anything such I-did

15 Πολλὰς γὰρ ἂν καὶ μεγάλας ἐμαυτῷ ζημίας γιγνομένας
many for — and great on-myself penalties coming
ἀποφήναιμι· ὃς πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξέκοπτον τὸν
I-could-show who first indeed by day was-cutting-out the
σηκόν, ὥσπερ οὐ πάντας λαθεῖν δέον, ἀλλὰ πάντας
stump as-if not all to-escape-notice being-necessary but all
Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναι. καὶ εἰ μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἦν μόνον τὸ
Athenians to-know and if indeed shameful was only the
πρᾶγμα, ἴσως ἄν τις τῶν παριόντων ἠμέλησε· νῦν
matter perhaps — anyone of-the passers-by would-have-neglected(-it) now
δ' οὐ περὶ αἰσχύνης ἀλλὰ τῆς μεγίστης ζημίας ἐκινδύνευον.
and not about shame but the greatest penalty I-was-in-danger

His servants, had they helped, would have become his masters, able to win their freedom by informing. Nor could he hide it from his tenants, passers-by, and neighbors, some of them enemies. Nicomachus says he stood by while his slaves cut the trunks and an ox-driver carried off the wood; then he should have called witnesses, even the archons or the Areopagus. The speaker has many sacred olives on other land, and the council's inspectors have never fined him; this plot is bare and overlooked on every side.

Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἦ ἀθλιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, 16
how and not — would-I-be most-wretched of-men all
εἰ τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ θεράποντας μηκέτι δούλους ἔμελλον ἕξειν
if the my-own servants no-longer slaves I-was-going to-have
ἀλλὰ δεσπότας τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, τοιοῦτον ἔργον συνειδότας;
but masters the remaining life such a-deed being-privy-to
ὥστε εἰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἰς ἐμὲ ἐξημάρτανον, οὐκ ἂν
so-that if even the greatest(-wrongs) against me they-did not —
οἷόν τ' ἦν δίκην με παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν· εὖ γὰρ
possible — it-would-be penalty me from them to-take well for
ἂν ᾔδη ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἦν καὶ ἐμὲ τιμωρήσασθαι
— I-would-know that in those('s-power) it-was both me to-punish
καὶ αὐτοῖς μηνύσασιν ἐλευθέροις γενέσθαι.
and for-themselves having-informed free to-become
Ἔτι τοίνυν, εἰ τῶν οἰκετῶν παρέστη μοι μηδὲν 17
further then if of-the household-slaves it-occurred to-me nothing
φροντίζειν, πῶς ἂν ἐτόλμησα τοσούτων μεμισθωμένων
to-care how — would-I-have-dared so-many having-rented
καὶ ἁπάντων συνειδότων ἀφανίσαι τὸν σηκὸν βραχέος
and all being-privy to-make-vanish the stump small
μὲν κέρδους ἕνεκα, προθεσμίας δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης τῷ
indeed gain for-the-sake-of limit-of-time and no being for-the

κινδύνῳ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἅπασι τὸ χωρίον ὁμοίως
danger for-the (men)-having-worked(-it) all the land equally
προσῆκον εἶναι σῶν τὸν σηκόν, ἵν' εἴ τις αὐτοὺς
it-being-incumbent to-be safe the stump so-that if anyone them
ᾐτιᾶτο, εἶχον ἀνενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ παρέδοσαν; νῦν δὲ
accused they-had to-refer(-it-to) the-one-to-whom they-handed(-it)-over now and
καὶ ἐμὲ ἀπολύσαντες φαίνονται, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἴπερ
both me having-acquitted they-appear and them- -selves if-indeed
ψεύδονται, μετόχους τῆς αἰτίας καθιστάντες.
they-lie partners of-the charge making

18 Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα παρεσκευασάμην, πῶς ἂν οἷός τ'
if then even these-things I-had-arranged how — able —
ἦ πάντας πεῖσαι τοὺς παριόντας, ἢ τοὺς γείτονας, οἳ
would-I-be all to-persuade the passers-by or the neighbors who
οὐ μόνον ἀλλήλων ταῦτ' ἴσασιν ἃ πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν,
not only of-each-other these-things know which for-all to-see it-is-possible
ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀποκρυπτόμεθα μηδένα εἰδέναι, καὶ περὶ
but also about what we-conceal no-one to-know even about
ἐκείνων πυνθάνονται; ἐμοὶ τοίνυν τούτων οἱ μὲν φίλοι
those they-inquire for-me then of-these the(-ones) indeed friends
οἱ δὲ διάφοροι περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες·
the(-others) and at-odds about the my(-affairs) happen being

19 οὓς ἐχρῆν τοῦτον παρασχέσθαι μάρτυρας, καὶ μὴ μόνον
whom it-was-needful this(-man) to-produce (as)-witnesses and not only
οὕτως τολμηρὰς κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι· ὅς φησιν ὡς ἐγὼ
so daring accusations to-make who says that I
μὲν παρειστήκη, οἱ δ' οἰκέται ἐξέτεμνον τὰ πρέμνα,
indeed stood-by the and household-slaves were-cutting the trunks
ἀναθέμενος δὲ ὁ βοηλάτης ᾤχετο ἀπάγων τὰ ξύλα.
having-loaded(-it) and the ox-driver went-off carrying-away the wood

Καίτοι, ὦ Νικόμαχε, χρῆν σε τότε καὶ παρακαλεῖν 20
and-yet O Nicomachus it-was-needful you then also to-call
τοὺς παρόντας μάρτυρας, καὶ φανερὸν ποιεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα·
the(-men) present (as)-witnesses and evident to-make the matter
καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἂν ἀπολογίαν ὑπέλιπες, αὐτὸς
and to-me indeed no — defense would-you-have-left yourself
δέ, εἰ μέν σοι ἐχθρὸς ἦ, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἦσθα
and if indeed to-you enemy I-was in this the way you-would-have
ἄν με τετιμωρημένος, εἰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα ἔπραττες,
— me punished if and of-the city for-the-sake you-were-acting
οὕτως ἐξελέγξας οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκεις εἶναι συκοφάντης,
thus having-convicted(-me) not — you-would-seem to-be an-informer
εἰ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἐβούλου, τότ᾽ ἂν πλεῖστον ἔλαβες· 21
if and to-profit you-wished then — most you-would-have-taken
φανεροῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην
evident for being the matter no other
ἡγούμην ἂν εἶναί μοι σωτηρίαν ἢ σὲ πεῖσαι. τούτων
I-would-have-thought — to-be for-me safety than you to-persuade of-these
τοίνυν οὐδὲν ποιήσας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἀξιοῖς
then nothing having-done through the your words you-think-it-right
με ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ κατηγορεῖς ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως
me to-perish and you-accuse(-me) that by the my power
καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει σοι μαρτυρεῖν.
and the my money no-one is-willing for-you to-testify
Καίτοι εἰ ὅτε φῂς μ᾽ ἰδεῖν τὴν μοριὰν ἀφανίζοντα τοὺς 22
and-yet if when you-say me to-have-seen the sacred-olive making-vanish the
ἐννέα ἄρχοντας ἐπήγαγες ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐξ
nine archons you-had-brought or others some of-the(-men) from
Ἀρείου πάγου, οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρων ἔδει σοι μαρτύρων·
Ares' hill not — of-other there-would-be-need for-you witnesses

οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σοι συνῄδεσαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντι,
so for — with-you they-would-have-known true(-things) saying
οἵπερ καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν ἔμελλον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.
who-very also to-decide were-about about the matter
23 Δεινότατα οὖν πάσχω, ὅσῳ εἰ μὲν παρέσχετο μάρτυρας,
most-terribly then I-am-treated inasmuch-as if indeed he-had-produced witnesses
τούτοις ἂν ἠξίου πιστεύειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν
these — he-would-think-it-right to-believe since and not there-are
αὐτῷ, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταύτην ζημίαν οἴεται χρῆναι γενέσθαι.
for-him for-me also this penalty he-thinks it-is-needful to-be
καὶ τούτου μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω· οὐ γὰρ δήπου συκοφαντῶν
and at-this indeed not I-wonder not for surely informing
ἅμα τοιούτων τε λόγων ἀπορήσει καὶ μαρτύρων·
at-the-same-time such both words he-will-lack and witnesses
ὑμᾶς δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ τὴν αὐτὴν τούτῳ γνώμην ἔχειν.
you and not I-think-it-right the same as-this(-man) judgment to-have
24 Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πολλὰς μοριὰς οὔσας καὶ
you-know for in the plain many sacred-olives being and
πυρκαϊὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χωρίοις, ἅς, εἴπερ
fire-stumps in the other the my lands which if-indeed
ἐπεθύμουν, πολὺ ἦν ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ἀφανίσαι καὶ
I-desired(-it) much it-was safer both to-make-vanish and
ἐκκόψαι καὶ ἐπεργάσασθαι, ὅσῳπερ ἧττον τὸ ἀδίκημα
to-cut-out and to-work-over by-as-much-as less the crime
πολλῶν οὐσῶν ἔμελλε δῆλον ἔσεσθαι.
many being was-about evident to-be
25 Νῦν δ' οὕτως αὐτὰς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι ὥσπερ καὶ
now and so them of much I-make as both
τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν, ἡγούμενος περὶ
the fatherland and the other property considering about
ἀμφοτέρων τούτων εἶναί μοι τὸν κίνδυνον. αὐτοὺς τοίνυν
both these to-be for-me the danger yourselves then

ὑμᾶς τούτων μάρτυρας παρέξομαι, ἐπιμελομένους μὲν
you of-these witnesses I-will-present taking-care indeed
ἑκάστου μηνός, ἐπιγνώμονας δὲ πέμποντας καθ' ἕκαστον
each month inspectors and sending by each
ἐνιαυτόν· ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐζημίωσέ μ' ὡς ἐργαζόμενον
year of-whom no-one ever fined me as working
τὰ περὶ τὰς μοριὰς χωρία.
the around the sacred-olives lands

Καίτοι οὐ δήπου τὰς μὲν μικρὰς ζημίας οὕτω περὶ 26
and-yet not surely the indeed small penalties so of
πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδύνους
much I-make the and about the person dangers
οὕτω περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς ἐλάας,
so of nothing I-consider and the indeed many olive-trees
εἰς ἃς ἐξῆν μᾶλλον ἐξαμαρτάνειν, οὕτω θεραπεύων
against which it-was-possible more to-offend so tending
φαίνομαι, τὴν δὲ μίαν μοριάν, ἣν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν
I-appear the and one sacred-olive which not possible — was
λαθεῖν ἐξορύξαντα, ὡς ἀφανίζων νυνὶ κρίνομαι.
to-escape-notice having-dug-out as making-vanish(-it) now I-am-judged

Πότερον δέ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν, ὦ βουλή, δημοκρατίας 27
whether and for-me better was-it O council democracy
οὔσης παρανομεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα; καὶ οὐ λέγω
being to-break-the-law or under the Thirty and not I-say
ὡς τότε δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς νῦν διαβεβλημένος, ἀλλ' ὡς
as then being-powerful or as now slandered but as
τῷ βουλομένῳ τότε μᾶλλον ἐξὸν ἀδικεῖν ἢ νυνί.
for-the (one)-wishing then rather it-being-possible to-do-wrong than now
ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οὔτε τοιοῦτο οὔτε
I then not-even in that the time neither such nor
ἄλλο οὐδὲν κακὸν ποιήσας φανήσομαι.
other any evil having-done I-will-appear

28 Πῶς δ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐμαυτῷ
how and — if not of-all men to-myself
κακονούστατος ἦ, ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐπιμελομένων ἐκ τούτου
most-ill-disposed I-were you so taking-care from this
τὴν μοριὰν ἀφανίζειν ἐπεχείρησα τοῦ χωρίου, ἐν ᾧ
the sacred-olive to-make-vanish would-I-have-attempted of-the land in which
δένδρον μὲν οὐδὲ ἕν ἐστι, μιᾶς δὲ ἐλάας σηκός, ὡς
tree indeed not-even one is of-one and olive-tree a-stump as
οὗτός φησιν, ἦν, κυκλόθεν δὲ ὁδὸς περιέχει, ἀμφοτέρωθεν
this(-man) says was all-round and a-road surrounds(-it) on-both-sides
δὲ γείτονες περιοικοῦσιν, ἄερκτον δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν
and neighbors dwell-around unfenced and also from-every-side
κάτοπτόν ἐστιν; ὥστε τίς ἂν ἀπετόλμησε, τούτων οὕτως
overlooked it-is so-that who — would-have-dared these so
ἐχόντων, ἐπιχειρῆσαι τοιούτῳ πράγματι;
being to-attempt such a-matter

III · THE TORTURE DECLINED

The council, charged with the sacred olives, never fined or accused him; Nicomachus, who neither farms nearby nor holds office, does. The speaker has served the city beyond what was required. He offered every servant he had for torture, and Nicomachus refused, though slaves who would accuse themselves would hardly shield masters they hate. Nicomachus has been put up by his enemies, hoping to extort money from him. Childless and alone, the speaker would be most wretched if exiled after many battles for the city and an orderly life under democracy and oligarchy alike.

29 Δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὑμᾶς μέν, οἷς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
terrible and to-me it-seems to-be you indeed to-whom by the city
τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον προστέτακται τῶν μοριῶν ἐλαῶν
the whole time it-has-been-assigned of-the sacred olives

ἐπιμέλεσθαι, μήθ' ὡς ἐπεργαζόμενον πώποτε ζημιῶσαί με
to-take-care-of neither as working-over(-them) ever to-have-fined me
μήθ' ὡς ἀφανίσαντα εἰς κίνδυνον καταστῆσαι, τοῦτον
nor as having-made-vanish(-one) into danger to-have-brought this(-man)
δ' ὃς οὔτε γεωργῶν ἐγγὺς τυγχάνει οὔτ' ἐπιμελητὴς
and who neither farming near happens nor overseer
ᾑρημένος οὔθ' ἡλικίαν ἔχων εἰδέναι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων,
elected nor age having to-know about the such(-matters)
ἀπογράψαι με ἐκ γῆς μοριὰν ἀφανίζειν.
to-denounce me from earth a-sacred-olive to-make-vanish
Ἐγὼ τοίνυν δέομαι ὑμῶν μὴ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους 30
I then ask you not the such words
πιστοτέρους ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων, μηδὲ περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ
more-trustworthy to-consider than-the deeds nor about what yourselves
σύνιστε, τοιαῦτ' ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων,
know such(-things) to-endure the my enemies saying
ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἐκ τῆς
considering(-it) both from the(-things) said and from the
ἄλλης πολιτείας.
other conduct-as-a-citizen
Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ ἐμοὶ προστεταγμένα ἅπαντα προθυμότερον 31
I for the(-things) on-me imposed all more-eagerly
πεποίηκα ἢ ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠναγκαζόμην, καὶ
have-done than as by the city I-was-compelled both
τριηραρχῶν καὶ εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρων καὶ χορηγῶν καὶ
serving-as-trierarch and property-taxes paying and producing-choruses and
τἆλλα λῃτουργῶν οὐδενὸς ἧττον πολυτελῶς τῶν
the-other public-services-performing than-none less lavishly of-the
πολιτῶν.
citizens

32 Καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν μετρίως ποιῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ προθύμως
and-yet these-things indeed moderately doing but not eagerly
οὔτ' ἂν περὶ φυγῆς οὔτ' ἂν περὶ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας
neither — about exile nor — about the other property
ἠγωνιζόμην, πλείω δ' ἂν ἐκεκτήμην, οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν
would-I-be-contending more and — I-would-have-acquired nothing doing-wrong
οὐδ' ἐπικίνδυνον ἐμαυτῷ καταστήσας τὸν βίον· ταῦτα
nor dangerous for-myself having-made the life these-things
δὲ πράξας, ἃ οὗτός μου κατηγορεῖ, ἐκέρδαινον
and having-done which this(-man) me accuses I-would-have-been-gaining
μὲν οὐδέν, ἐμαυτὸν δ' εἰς κίνδυνον καθίστην.
indeed nothing myself and into danger I-would-have-been-putting

33 Καίτοι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε δικαιότερον εἶναι τοῖς
and-yet all — would-agree more-just to-be the
μεγάλοις χρῆσθαι τεκμηρίοις περὶ τῶν μεγάλων, καὶ
great to-use proofs about the great(-matters) and
πιστότερα ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἅπασα ἡ πόλις μαρτυρεῖ,
more-trustworthy to-consider about what all the city testifies
μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ ὧν μόνος οὗτος κατηγορεῖ.
rather than about what alone this(-man) accuses

34 Ἔτι τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκέψασθε. μάρτυρας
further then O council from the other(-things) consider witnesses
γὰρ ἔχων αὐτῷ προσῆλθον, λέγων ὅτι μοι πάντες εἰσὶν οἱ
for having to-him I-went saying that to-me all are the
θεράποντες, οὓς ἐκεκτήμην ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον,
servants whom I-had-acquired when I-took-over the land
καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι, εἴ τινα βούλοιτο, παραδοῦναι βασανίζειν,
and ready I-am if any he-should-wish to-hand-over to-torture
ἡγούμενος οὕτως ἂν τὸν ἔλεγχον ἰσχυρότερον γενέσθαι
thinking so — the proof stronger to-become
τῶν τούτου λόγων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐμῶν.
than-the of-this(-man) words and the deeds the my

Οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἤθελεν, οὐδὲν φάσκων πιστὸν εἶναι τοῖς 35
this(-man) and not was-willing nothing saying trustworthy to-be in-the
θεράπουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ περὶ αὑτῶν μὲν οἱ
servants to-me and it-seems terrible to-be if about themselves indeed the
βασανιζόμενοι κατηγοροῦσιν, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι ἀποθανοῦνται,
(ones)-being-tortured accuse(-themselves) well knowing that they-will-die
περὶ δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν, οἷς πεφύκασι κακονούστατοι,
about and the masters to-whom they-are-by-nature most-ill-disposed
μᾶλλον ἂν ἕλοιντο ἀνέχεσθαι βασανιζόμενοι ἢ
rather — they-would-choose to-endure being-tortured than
κατειπόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν.
having-informed to-be-rid of-the present evils
Καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ βουλή, φανερὸν οἶμαι εἶναι πᾶσιν 36
and indeed indeed O council evident I-think to-be to-all
ὅτι, εἰ Νικομάχου ἐξαιτοῦντος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὴ
that if Nicomachus demanding the slaves not
παρεδίδουν, ἐδόκουν ἂν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδέναι·
I-was-handing(-them)-over I-would-seem — with-myself to-be-conscious(-of-guilt)
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐμοῦ παραδιδόντος οὗτος παραλαβεῖν οὐκ
when then me handing(-them)-over this(-man) to-receive(-them) not
ἤθελε, δίκαιον καὶ περὶ τούτου τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν,
was-willing just also about him the same judgment to-have
ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου οὐκ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις ὄντος.
otherwise both also the danger not equal for-both being
Περὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἔλεγον ἃ οὗτος ἐβούλετο, 37
about me indeed for if they-said what this(-man) wished
οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολογήσασθαί μοι ἐξεγένετο· τούτῳ
not-even — to-defend-myself for-me would-it-have-been-possible for-this(-man)
δ' εἰ μὴ ὡμολόγουν, οὐδεμιᾷ ζημίᾳ ἔνοχος ἦν. ὥστε
and if not they-agreed to-no penalty liable he-was so-that
πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦτον παραλαμβάνειν ἐχρῆν ἢ ἐμὲ
much rather this(-man) to-receive(-them) it-was-needful than me

παραδοῦναι προσῆκεν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίας
to-hand-over it-befitted I then to this of-eagerness
ἀφικόμην, ἡγούμενος μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἐκ βασάνων
came thinking(-it) with me to-be both from tortures
καὶ ἐκ μαρτύρων καὶ ἐκ τεκμηρίων ὑμᾶς περὶ τοῦ
and from witnesses and from proofs you about the
πράγματος τἀληθῆ πυθέσθαι.
matter the-truth to-learn

38 Ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ χρή, ὦ βουλή, ποτέροις χρὴ πιστεύειν
to-consider and one-must O council which one-must to-believe
μᾶλλον, οἷς πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν ἢ ᾧ
more those-for-whom many have-testified or one-for-whom
μηδεὶς τετόλμηκε, καὶ πότερον εἰκὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτον
no-one has-dared and whether likely more this(-man)
ἀκινδύνως ψεύδεσθαι ἢ μετὰ τοσούτου κινδύνου τοιοῦτον
without-risk to-lie or with so-great danger such
ἐμὲ ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ πότερον οἴεσθε αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ
me a-deed to-do and whether you-think him on-behalf-of
τῆς πόλεως βοηθεῖν ἢ συκοφαντοῦντα αἰτιᾶσθαι;
the city to-help or informing to-accuse

39 Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι νομίζειν ὅτι Νικόμαχος
I indeed for you think to-consider that Nicomachus
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεισθεὶς τῶν ἐμῶν τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα
by the enemies persuaded the my this the contest
ἀγωνίζεται, οὐχ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα ἐλπίζων ἀποδείξειν, ἀλλ᾽
contests not as doing-wrong hoping to-show(-me) but
ὡς ἀργύριον παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν. ὅσῳ
as money from me going-to-take expecting by-as-much-as
γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν ἐπαιτιώτατοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι τῶν
for the such(-men) are most-blameworthy and most-baffling of-the
κινδύνων, τοσούτῳ πάντες αὐτοὺς φεύγουσι μάλιστα.
dangers by-so-much all them shun most

Ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ βουλή, οὐκ ἠξίουν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ με 40
I and O council not thought-fit but since me
ἠτιάσατο, παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν ὅ τι βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι,
he-accused I-offered myself what ever you-wish to-use(-me)
καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τοῦ κινδύνου οὐδενὶ ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
and of-this for-the-sake the danger with-none I of-the enemies
διηλλάγην, οἳ ἐμὲ ἥδιον κακῶς λέγουσιν ἢ σφᾶς
was-reconciled who me more-gladly evil speak than them-
αὐτοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι. καὶ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐμὲ
-selves praise and openly indeed no-one ever me
αὐτὸς ἐπεχείρησε ποιῆσαι κακὸν οὐδέν, τοιούτους δὲ
himself attempted to-do evil any such(-men) and
ἐπιπέμπουσί μοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως πιστεύοιτε.
they-send-against me whom you not — justly would-trust
Πάντων γὰρ ἀθλιώτατος ἂν γενοίμην, εἰ φυγὰς ἀδίκως 41
of-all for most-wretched — I-would-become if exile unjustly
καταστήσομαι, ἄπαις μὲν ὢν καὶ μόνος, ἐρήμου δὲ
I-will-be-made childless indeed being and alone deserted and
τοῦ οἴκου γενομένου, μητρὸς δὲ πάντων ἐνδεοῦς οὔσης,
the house having-become mother and of-all lacking being
πατρίδος δὲ τοιαύτης ἐπ' αἰσχίσταις στερηθεὶς αἰτίαις,
fatherland and such on most-shameful deprived-of charges
πολλὰς μὲν ναυμαχίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς νεναυμαχηκώς,
many indeed sea-battles on-behalf-of it having-fought
πολλὰς δὲ μάχας μεμαχημένος, κόσμιον δ' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ
many and battles having-fought orderly and myself both
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ παρασχών.
in democracy and in oligarchy having-shown
Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, ταῦτα μὲν ἐνθάδε οὐκ οἶδ' 42
but for O council these-things indeed here not I-know
ὅ τι δεῖ λέγειν· ἀπέδειξα δ' ὑμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐνῆν
what (thing) one-must to-say I-showed and to-you that not was

σηκὸς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ μάρτυρας παρεσχόμην καὶ
a-stump in the land and witnesses I-produced and
τεκμήρια. ἃ χρὴ μεμνημένους διαγιγνώσκειν περὶ
proofs which one-must remembering to-decide about
τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ἀξιοῦν παρὰ τούτου πυθέσθαι ὅτου
the matter and to-think-fit from this(-man) to-learn of-what
ἕνεκα, ἐξὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ ἐλέγξαι, τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ
for-the-sake it-being-possible in the-act to-prove(-it) so-much time
ὕστερον εἰς τοσοῦτόν με κατέστησεν ἀγῶνα,
later into so-great me he-brought a-contest
43 καὶ μάρτυρα οὐδένα παρασχόμενος ἐκ τῶν λόγων ζητεῖ
and witness none having-produced from the words seeks
πιστὸς γενέσθαι, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις ἀδικοῦντα
trustworthy to-become it-being-possible by-themselves the deeds doing-wrong
ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἅπαντας διδόντος τοὺς θεράποντας,
to-show(-me) and me all offering the servants
οὕς φησι παραγενέσθαι, παραλαβεῖν οὐκ ἤθελεν.
whom he-says to-have-been-present to-take(-them) not he-was-willing

LYSIAS

ΚΑΤΑ ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ, ΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΛΥΣΙΑΣ

Against Eratosthenes

I · THE ARREST

Lysias accuses Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty. His father Cephalus came to Athens at Pericles' invitation and lived thirty years without a lawsuit. The Thirty decided to seize ten metics, two of them poor for appearance's sake, for their money. Lysias was arrested and handed to Peison, who swore to save him for a talent and then took everything in the chest. Held at Damnippus' house, Lysias escaped through a back door and fled to Megara. Eratosthenes arrested his brother Polemarchus, whom the Thirty made drink hemlock.

Οὐκ ἄρξασθαί μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες 1
not to-begin to-me it-seems without-means to-be O men
δικασταί, τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγοντι·
jurors of-the accusation but to-stop for-(one)-speaking
τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος
such(-things) by-them in-the magnitude and so-many(-things) in-the number
εἴργασται, ὥστε μήτ' ἂν ψευδόμενον δεινότερα
have-been-done that neither — (one)-lying more-terrible(-things)
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατηγορῆσαι, μήτε τἀληθῆ
than-the(-things) existing would-accuse nor the-truth
βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἢ τὸν
(one)-wishing to-tell all-of-it would-be-able but necessity either the
κατήγορον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ τὸν χρόνον ἐπιλιπεῖν.
accuser to-give-up or the time to-run-out
Τοὐναντίον δέ μοι δοκοῦμεν πείσεσθαι ἢ ἐν τῷ 2
the-opposite and to-me we-seem to-be-going-to-suffer than in the
πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔδει τὴν
before that time formerly indeed for it-was-needful the
ἔχθραν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἥτις εἴη πρὸς
enmity the(-men) accusing to-show what might-be toward
τοὺς φεύγοντας· νυνὶ δὲ παρὰ τῶν φευγόντων χρὴ
the(-men) defending now but from the(-men) defending one-must

πυνθάνεσθαι ἥτις ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχθρα,
to-learn what was to-them toward the city enmity
ἀνθ' ὅτου τοιαῦτα ἐτόλμησαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξαμαρτάνειν.
in-return-for what such(-things) they-dared against her to-offend
οὐ μέντοι ὡς οὐκ ἔχων οἰκείας ἔχθρας καὶ συμφορὰς τοὺς
not however as not having personal enmities and misfortunes the
λόγους ποιοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἅπασι πολλῆς ἀφθονίας οὔσης
words I-make but as for-all much abundance being
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων ὀργίζεσθαι.
on-behalf-of the private(-things) or on-behalf-of the public(-things) to-be-angry
3 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὔτ' ἐμαυτοῦ πώποτε
I indeed then O men jurors neither my-own ever
οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας νῦν ἠνάγκασμαι ὑπὸ
nor others' affairs having-managed now I-have-been-compelled by
τῶν γεγενημένων τούτου κατηγορεῖν, ὥστε πολλάκις
the(-things) having-happened him to-accuse so-that often
εἰς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν κατέστην, μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν
into great despondency I-fell lest through the inexperience
ἀναξίως καὶ ἀδυνάτως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ
unworthily and incompetently on-behalf-of the brother and myself
τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσομαι· ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς
the accusation I-will-make nevertheless but I-will-try you
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι δι' ἐλαχίστων διδάξαι.
from beginning as — I-can through fewest(-words) to-teach
4 Οὑμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπείσθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους
my father Cephalus was-persuaded indeed by Pericles
εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ἔτη δὲ τριάκοντα ᾤκησε,
into this the land to-come years and thirty he-dwelt
καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἐκεῖνος δίκην
and with-no-one ever neither we nor he lawsuit
οὔτε ἐδικασάμεθα οὔτε ἐφύγομεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ᾠκοῦμεν
neither prosecuted nor defended but so we-lived

δημοκρατούμενοι ὥστε μήτε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξαμαρτάνειν
living-democratically that neither against the others to-offend
μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι.
nor by the others to-be-wronged
Ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα πονηροὶ καὶ συκοφάνται ὄντες εἰς 5
when and the Thirty wicked and informers being into
τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, φάσκοντες χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων
the office were-established claiming it-was-needful of-the unjust(-men)
καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας
pure to-make the city and the remaining citizens
ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τραπέσθαι, τοιαῦτα λέγοντες
toward virtue and justice to-turn such(-things) saying
οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων, ὡς ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ
not such(-things) to-do they-dared as I about the(-things) my-own
πρῶτον εἰπὼν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναμνῆσαι
first having-spoken and about the(-things) yours to-remind
πειράσομαι.
I-will-try
Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ 6
Theognis for and Peison said among the Thirty about
τῶν μετοίκων, ὡς εἶέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι·
the metics that there-were some with-the government displeased
καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν,
finest then to-be pretext to-punish indeed to-seem
τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι· πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν
the but in-deed to-make-money in-every-way and the indeed city
πένεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων.
to-be-poor the but rule to-need money
Καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθον· ἀποκτιννύναι 7
and the(-men) hearing not with-difficulty they-persuaded to-kill
μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγοῦντο, λαμβάνειν
indeed for men as-of nothing they-thought to-take

δὲ χρήματα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς
but money of much they-made it-seemed then to-them
δέκα συλλαβεῖν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς
ten to-arrest of-these and two poor so-that for-them
ᾖ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων
there-might-be toward the others a-defense that not of-money
ἕνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ
for-the-sake these-things have-been-done but advantageous to-the government
γεγένηται, ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως πεποιηκότες.
have-happened as-if some of-the other(-things) reasonably having-done
8 Διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον· καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν
having-divided and the houses they-went and me indeed
ξένους ἑστιῶντα κατέλαβον, οὓς ἐξελάσαντες Πείσωνί με
guests entertaining they-caught whom having-driven-out to-Peison me
παραδιδόασιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἐλθόντες
they-hand-over the and others into the workshop having-come
τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἀπεγράφοντο.
the slaves registered
9 Ἐγὼ δὲ Πείσωνα μὲν ἠρώτων εἰ βούλοιτό με σῶσαι
I and Peison indeed asked whether he-wished me to-save
χρήματα λαβών· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν, εἰ πολλὰ εἴη. εἶπον οὖν
money having-taken he and said if much it-were I-said then
ὅτι τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἕτοιμος εἴην δοῦναι· ὁ δ' ὡμολόγησε
that a-talent of-silver ready I-was to-give he and agreed
ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἠπιστάμην μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὔτε θεοὺς
these-things to-do I-knew indeed then that neither gods
οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους νομίζει, ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
nor men he-respects nevertheless but from the(-things) present
ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν.
it-seemed to-me most-necessary to-be pledge from him to-take

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὤμοσεν, ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν 10
when and he-swore utter-destruction on-himself and on-the children
ἐπαρώμενος, λαβὼν τὸ τάλαντόν με σώσειν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς
invoking having-taken the talent me to-save having-entered into
τὸ δωμάτιον τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀνοίγνυμι· Πείσων δ' αἰσθόμενος
the chamber the chest I-open Peison and having-noticed
εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ ἐνόντα καλεῖ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν
comes-in and having-seen the(-things) inside calls of-the attendants
δύο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ λαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.
two and the(-things) in the chest to-take he-ordered
Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὡμολόγητο εἶχεν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, 11
when and not as-much-as had-been-agreed he-had O men jurors
ἀλλὰ τρία τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ τετρακοσίους κυζικηνοὺς
but three talents of-silver and four-hundred Cyzicenes
καὶ ἑκατὸν δαρεικοὺς καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς τέτταρας,
and a-hundred darics and cups silver four
ἐδεόμην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδιά μοι δοῦναι, ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν
I-begged him travel-money to-me to-give he and to-be-going-to-be-content
με ἔφασκεν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα σώσω.
me said if the body I-will-save
Ἐξιοῦσι δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχάνει Μηλόβιός 12
going-out and me and Peison meet Melobius
τε καὶ Μνησιθείδης ἐκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου ἀπιόντες, καὶ
both and Mnesitheides from the workshop coming-away and
καταλαμβάνουσι πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς θύραις, καὶ ἐρωτῶσιν
they-catch-us at very the doors and they-ask
ὅποι βαδίζοιμεν· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
where we-were-going he and said to the(-house) of-the brother
τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σκέψηται.
the my so-that also the(-things) in that the house he-might-inspect

ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευον βαδίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ μεθ' αὑτῶν
him indeed then they-ordered to-go me but with themselves
ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Δαμνίππου.
to-follow to Damnippus'
13 Πείσων δὲ προσελθὼν σιγᾶν μοι παρεκελεύετο καὶ
Peison and having-approached to-be-silent me urged and
θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἥξων ἐκεῖσε. καταλαμβάνομεν δὲ αὐτόθι
to-take-heart as going-to-come there we-find and there
Θέογνιν ἑτέρους φυλάττοντα· ᾧ παραδόντες ἐμὲ πάλιν
Theognis others guarding to-whom having-handed-over me again
ᾤχοντο. ἐν τοιούτῳ δ' ὄντι μοι κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει, ὡς
they-went-off in such and being to-me to-run-a-risk it-seemed since
τοῦ γε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος ἤδη.
the at-least to-die being-at-hand already
14 Καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιππον λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε,
having-called and Damnippus I-say to him these(-things)
'ἐπιτήδειος μέν μοι τυγχάνεις ὤν, ἥκω δ' εἰς τὴν σὴν
intimate indeed to-me you-happen being I-have-come and into the your
οἰκίαν, ἀδικῶ δ' οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ' ἕνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι.
house I-do-wrong and nothing of-money and for-the-sake I-am-perishing
σὺ οὖν ταῦτα πάσχοντί μοι πρόθυμον παράσχου τὴν
you then these-things suffering to-me eager furnish the
σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν.' ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο
your-own power for the my safety he and promised
ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ βέλτιον εἶναι πρὸς
these-things to-do it-seemed and to-him better to-be to
Θέογνιν μνησθῆναι· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἅπαν ποιήσειν αὐτόν,
Theognis to-make-mention he-thought for anything to-be-going-to-do him
15 εἴ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη. ἐκείνου δὲ διαλεγομένου Θεόγνιδι
if one silver should-give him and conversing with-Theognis
(ἔμπειρος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανον τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ᾔδη ὅτι
acquainted for being I-happened with-the house and I-knew that

ἀμφίθυρος εἴη) ἐδόκει μοι ταύτῃ πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι,
with-two-doors it-was it-seemed to-me this-way to-try to-be-saved
ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι, ἐὰν
reflecting that if indeed I-escape-notice I-will-be-saved if
δὲ ληφθῶ, ἡγούμην μέν, εἰ Θέογνις εἴη πεπεισμένος
but I-am-caught I-thought indeed if Theognis should-be persuaded
ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαμνίππου χρήματα λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἧττον
by — Damnippus money to-take no less
ἀφεθήσεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι.
to-be-going-to-be-released if but not likewise to-be-going-to-die
Ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἔφευγον, ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ θύρᾳ τὴν 16
these-things having-reflected I-fled them at the courtyard door the
φυλακὴν ποιουμένων· τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἃς ἔδει
watch keeping three and doors being which it-was-needful
με διελθεῖν, ἅπασαι ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς
me to-pass-through all opened they-happened having-arrived and at
Ἀρχένεω τοῦ ναυκλήρου ἐκεῖνον πέμπω εἰς ἄστυ, πευσόμενον
Archeneos' the shipowner him I-send to town to-inquire
περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ· ἥκων δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐρατοσθένης
about the brother having-come and he-said that Eratosthenes
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λαβὼν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι.
him in the road having-seized to the prison had-led-off
Καὶ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα πεπυσμένος τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς διέπλευσα 17
and I such(-things) having-learned the following night sailed-across
Μέγαράδε. Πολεμάρχῳ δὲ παρήγγειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα
to-Megara to-Polemarchus and announced the Thirty
τοὐπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα, πίνειν κώνειον, πρὶν
the-from them customary order to-drink hemlock before
τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν δι' ἥντινα ἔμελλεν ἀποθανεῖσθαι·
the charge to-tell on-account-of which he-was-about to-die
οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆναι καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι.
so much he-fell-short to-be-judged and to-make-a-defense

18 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπεφέρετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τεθνεώς, τριῶν
and when he-was-carried-out from the prison dead three
ἡμῖν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν οὐδ᾽ ἐκ μιᾶς εἴασαν ἐξενεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ
to-us houses being not-even from one they-allowed to-be-borne-out but
κλεισίον μισθωσάμενοι προὔθεντο αὐτόν. καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων
a-hut having-hired they-laid-out him and many being
ἱματίων αἰτοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔδοσαν εἰς τὴν ταφήν, ἀλλὰ τῶν
cloaks to-(us)-asking nothing they-gave for the burial but of-the
φίλων ὁ μὲν ἱμάτιον, ὁ δὲ προσκεφάλαιον, ὁ δὲ
friends one indeed a-cloak another and a-pillow another and
ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ταφήν.
what ever each happened-to-have gave for the his burial

II · ERATOSTHENES QUESTIONED

The Thirty took the family's shields, silver, gold, furniture, and slaves; Melobius tore the gold earrings from Polemarchus' wife's ears. The family had performed every choregy and ransomed many Athenians. Lysias questions Eratosthenes: he admits the arrest, pleading fear, and claims he spoke against the killing in the council. Then he spoke to save and arrested to kill, though he could have let Polemarchus go in the street. Others may blame the Thirty, but if one of the Thirty may plead the Thirty's orders, no one will ever be punished.

19 Καὶ ἔχοντες μὲν ἑπτακοσίας ἀσπίδας τῶν ἡμετέρων,
and having indeed seven-hundred shields of-the ours
ἔχοντες δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον τοσοῦτον, χαλκὸν δὲ
having and silver and gold so-much bronze and
καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ ἱμάτια γυναικεῖα ὅσα
both ornament and furniture and garments women's as-much-as
οὐδεπώποτε ᾤοντο κτήσεσθαι, καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἴκοσι
never-yet they-thought to-be-going-to-acquire and slaves twenty

καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν τὰ μὲν βέλτιστα ἔλαβον, τὰ δὲ
and a-hundred of-which the(-ones) indeed best they-took the(-ones) and
λοιπὰ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδοσαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπληστίαν
remaining to the treasury they-handed-over to such insatiability
καὶ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ αὑτῶν
and greed they-came and of-the character the their-own
ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαντο· τῆς γὰρ Πολεμάρχου γυναικὸς
proof made of-the for of-Polemarchus wife
χρυσοῦς ἐλικτῆρας, οὓς ἔχουσα ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον
golden earrings which having she-happened when the first
ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Μηλόβιος ἐκ τῶν ὤτων ἐξείλετο.
she-came into the house Melobius from the ears took-out
Καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου 20
and not-even in-respect-of the least part of-the property pity
παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν. ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς διὰ
from them did-we-obtain but so against us because-of
τὰ χρήματα ἐξημάρτανον, ὥσπερ ἂν ἕτεροι μεγάλων
the money they-offended as-if — others great
ἀδικημάτων ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, οὐ τούτων ἀξίους γε ὄντας
wrongs anger having not of-these deserving at-least being
τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ πάσας μὲν τὰς χορηγίας χορηγήσαντας,
to-the city but all indeed the choregies having-performed
πολλὰς δ᾽ εἰσφορὰς εἰσενεγκόντας, κοσμίους δ᾽ ἡμᾶς
many and property-taxes having-paid orderly and our-
αὐτοὺς παρέχοντας καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας,
-selves showing and the(-thing) ordered doing
ἐχθρὸν δ᾽ οὐδένα κεκτημένους, πολλοὺς δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἐκ
enemy and no-one having-acquired many and of-Athenians from
τῶν πολεμίων λυσαμένους· τοιούτων ἠξίωσαν οὐχ
the enemies having-ransomed of-such(-treatment) they-deemed-worthy not
ὁμοίως μετοικοῦντας ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο.
alike living-as-metics as they-themselves lived-as-citizens

21 Οὗτοι γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους
these for many indeed of-the citizens to the enemy
ἐξήλασαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀδίκως ἀποκτείναντες ἀτάφους
drove-out many and unjustly having-killed unburied
ἐποίησαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιτίμους ὄντας ἀτίμους κατέστησαν,
made many and enfranchised being disfranchised they-made
πολλῶν δὲ θυγατέρας μελλούσας ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐκώλυσαν.
of-many and daughters being-about to-be-given-in-marriage they-prevented
22 Καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτόν εἰσι τόλμης ἀφιγμένοι ὥσθ' ἥκουσιν
and to such they-are of-audacity come that they-come
ἀπολογησόμενοι, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐδ'
to-make-a-defense and they-say that nothing bad nor
αἰσχρὸν εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς
shameful having-done they-are I but would-wish — them
ἀληθῆ λέγειν· μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ τούτου
true(-things) to-say there-would-be-a-share for — also to-me of-this
τἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος.
the-good not least part
23 Νῦν δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει
now but neither toward the city to-them such(-things) belong
οὔτε πρὸς ἐμέ· τὸν ἀδελφὸν γάρ μου, ὥσπερ καὶ
nor toward me the brother for my as also
πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ
before I-said Eratosthenes killed neither himself privately
ἀδικούμενος οὔτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα,
being-wronged nor against the city seeing him-offending
ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίᾳ προθύμως ἐξυπηρετῶν.
but to-the his-own lawlessness eagerly ministering
24 Ἀναβιβασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν βούλομαι ἐρέσθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες
having-made-come-up and him I-wish to-ask O men
δικασταί. τοιαύτην γὰρ γνώμην ἔχω· ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τούτου
jurors such for judgment I-have for indeed the his

ὠφελείᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον περὶ τούτου διαλέγεσθαι ἀσεβὲς
benefit even to another about him to-converse impious
εἶναι νομίζω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου βλάβῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
to-be I-consider for but the his harm even to him
τοῦτον ὅσιον καὶ εὐσεβές. ἀνάβηθι οὖν μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναι,
himself holy and pious come-up then to-me and answer
ὅ τι ἄν σε ἐρωτῶ.
what ever — you I-ask
Ἀπήγαγες Πολέμαρχον ἢ οὔ; Τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων 25
did-you-lead-off Polemarchus or not the(-things) by the magistrates
προσταχθέντα δεδιὼς ἐποίουν. Ἦσθα δ' ἐν τῷ
ordered fearing I-did were-you and in the
βουλευτηρίῳ, ὅτε οἱ λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο περὶ ἡμῶν; Ἦ.
council-chamber when the speeches were-made about us I-was
Πότερον συνηγόρευες τοῖς κελεύουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι ἢ
whether did-you-speak-for the(-men) urging to-kill or
ἀντέλεγες; Ἀντέλεγον, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε. Ἡγούμενος
did-you-speak-against I-spoke-against so-that not you-might-die thinking
ἡμᾶς ἄδικα πάσχειν; Ἄδικα.
us unjust(-things) to-suffer unjust(-things)
Εἶτ', ὦ σχετλιώτατε πάντων, ἀντέλεγες μὲν ἵνα σώσειας, 26
then O most-wretched of-all you-spoke-against indeed so-that you-might-save
συνελάμβανες δὲ ἵνα ἀποκτείνῃς; καὶ ὅτε μὲν τὸ πλῆθος
you-arrested but so-that you-might-kill and when indeed the majority
ἦν ὑμῶν κύριον τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀντιλέγειν φὴς
was of-you master of-the safety the our to-speak-against you-say
τοῖς βουλομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ
the(-men) wishing us to-destroy when but on you alone
ἐγένετο καὶ σῶσαι Πολέμαρχον καὶ μή, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
it-depended both to-save Polemarchus and not to the prison
ἀπήγαγες; εἶθ' ὅτι μέν, ὡς φής, ἀντειπὼν οὐδὲν
you-led-off then because indeed as you-say having-spoken-against nothing

ὠφέλησας, ἀξιοῖς χρηστὸς νομίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ συλλαβὼν
you-helped you-claim good to-be-considered because but having-arrested
ἀπέκτεινας, οὐκ ἐμοὶ καὶ τουτοισὶ δοῦναι δίκην;
you-killed not to-me and to-these-here to-pay penalty

27 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πιστεύειν, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ
and indeed not-even this reasonable him to-believe if-indeed true(-things)
λέγει φάσκων ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς αὐτῷ προσετάχθη. οὐ
he-says claiming to-have-spoken-against that to-him it-was-ordered not
γὰρ δήπου ἐν τοῖς μετοίκοις πίστιν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον.
for surely in the metics pledge from him they-took
ἔπειτα τῷ ἧττον εἰκὸς ἦν προσταχθῆναι ἢ ὅστις
then to-whom less reasonable was it-to-be-ordered than who
ἀντειπών γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος;
having-spoken-against at-least happened and judgment having-declared
τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν ἧττον ταῦτα ὑπηρετῆσαι ἢ τὸν
whom for reasonable was less these-things to-serve than the
ἀντειπόντα οἷς ἐκεῖνοι ἐβούλοντο πραχθῆναι;
(man)-having-spoken-against (the-things)-which they wished to-be-done

28 Ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἱκανή μοι δοκεῖ
further and for-the indeed other Athenians sufficient to-me it-seems
πρόφασις εἶναι τῶν γεγενημένων εἰς τοὺς τριάκοντα
excuse to-be of-the(-things) having-happened to the Thirty
ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα, ἂν εἰς
to-refer the blame themselves but the Thirty if to
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρωσι, πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀποδέχεσθαι;
them- -selves they-refer how you reasonable to-accept

29 Εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὴ ἰσχυροτέρα, ὑφ᾽
if indeed for some was in the city office stronger by
ἧς αὐτῷ προσετάττετο παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἀνθρώπους
which to-him it-was-ordered against the just men
ἀπολλύναι, ἴσως ἂν εἰκότως αὐτῷ συγγνώμην εἴχετε·
to-destroy perhaps — fairly to-him pardon you-would-have

νῦν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ποτε καὶ λήψεσθε δίκην, εἴπερ
now but from whom ever even will-you-take justice if-indeed
ἐξέσται τοῖς τριάκοντα λέγειν ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν
it-will-be-permitted for-the Thirty to-say that the(-things) by the
τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα ἐποίουν;
Thirty ordered they-did
Καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, σῴζειν 30
and indeed indeed not in the house but in the road to-save
τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα παρόν,
both him and the(-things) by-these voted it-being-possible
συλλαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ πᾶσιν ὀργίζεσθε, ὅσοι
having-arrested he-led-off you and with-all are-angry as-many-as
εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἦλθον τὰς ὑμετέρας ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι
into the houses came the your search making
ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων τινός.
either of-you or of-the yours for-some(-one)
Καίτοι, εἰ χρὴ τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν 31
and-yet if one-must for-the(-men) for-the-sake-of the their-own safety
ἑτέρους ἀπολέσασι συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐκείνοις ἂν δικαιότερον
others having-destroyed pardon to-have to-those — more-justly
ἔχοιτε· κίνδυνος γὰρ ἦν πεμφθεῖσι μὴ ἐλθεῖν καὶ
you-would-have danger for there-was for-(men)-sent not to-go and
καταλαβοῦσιν ἐξάρνοις γενέσθαι. τῷ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένει
for-(men)-having-caught denying to-become — but for-Eratosthenes
ἐξῆν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐκ εἶδεν·
it-was-possible to-say that not he-met-him then that not he-saw
ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτε ἔλεγχον οὔτε βάσανον εἶχε, ὥστε μηδ'
these-things for neither refutation nor torture had so-that not-even
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλομένων οἷόν τε εἶναι ἐξελεγχθῆναι.
by the enemies wishing able — to-be to-be-refuted

32 Χρῆν δέ σε, ὦ Ἐρατόσθενες, εἴπερ ἦσθα χρηστός,
it-was-needful and you O Eratosthenes if-indeed you-were good
πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖσθαι
much rather for-the(-men) being-about unjustly to-die
μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἀδίκως ἀπολουμένους
informer to-become than the(-men) unjustly about-to-perish
συλλαμβάνειν. νῦν δέ σου τὰ ἔργα φανερὰ γεγένηται οὐχ
to-arrest now but your the deeds evident have-become not
ὡς ἀνιωμένου ἀλλ' ὡς ἡδομένου τοῖς γιγνομένοις,
as of-(one)-grieved but as of-(one)-pleased at-the(-things) happening
33 ὥστε τούσδε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων
so-that these from the deeds one-must rather than from the words
τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν, ἃ ἴσασι γεγενημένα τῶν
the vote to-cast (the-things)-which they-know having-happened of-the(-things)
τότε λεγομένων τεκμήρια λαμβάνοντας, ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρας
then said proofs taking since witnesses
περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρασχέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμῖν
about them not able — to-furnish not for only for-us
παρεῖναι οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' αὑτοῖς εἶναι,
to-be-present not was-it-permitted but not-even at their-own(-homes) to-be
ὥστ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ εἰργασμένοις
so-that in-the-power-of these it-is all the evil(-things) having-done-to
τὴν πόλιν πάντα τἀγαθὰ περὶ αὑτῶν λέγειν.
the city all the-good(-things) about themselves to-say
34 Τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ φεύγω, ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶ σοι, εἰ βούλει,
this however not I-avoid but I-agree with-you if you-wish
ἀντειπεῖν. θαυμάζω δὲ τί ἄν ποτ' ἐποίησας
to-have-spoken-against I-wonder and what — ever you-would-have-done
συνειπών, ὁπότε ἀντειπεῖν φάσκων ἀπέκτεινας
having-spoken-for when to-have-spoken-against claiming you-killed
Πολέμαρχον. Φέρε δή, τί ἄν, εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες
Polemarchus come now what — if also brothers being

ἐτυγχάνετε αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ υἱεῖς; ἀπεψηφίζεσθε ἄν; δεῖ
you-happened of-him or even sons would-you-acquit — it-is-needful
γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Ἐρατοσθένη δυοῖν θάτερον
for O men jurors Eratosthenes of-two the-one
ἀποδεῖξαι, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτόν, ἢ ὡς δικαίως
to-show either that not he-led-off him or that justly
τοῦτ' ἔπραξεν. οὗτος δὲ ὡμολόγηκεν ἀδίκως συλλαβεῖν,
this he-did he but has-agreed unjustly to-have-arrested
ὥστε ῥᾳδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν διαψήφισιν περὶ αὑτοῦ πεποίηκε.
so-that easy for-you the verdict about himself he-has-made

III · ERATOSTHENES' RECORD

Citizens and foreigners have come to see whether Athens punishes such men. The Athenians executed the generals of Arginusae, yet these men admit killing citizens untried. Let the defendant show where the Thirty killed as many enemies as citizens or took walls like those of their own city, which they razed with the forts of Attica. Eratosthenes worked against the democracy under the Four Hundred, and after Aegospotami he was one of the five 'ephors' of the clubs. His zeal was for Theramenes, not the people, and the Thirty quarreled only over who should rule.

Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων 35
and indeed indeed many both of-the townsmen and of-the foreigners
ἥκουσιν εἰσόμενοι τίνα γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἕξετε. ὧν
have-come to-learn what judgment about these(-men) you-will-have of-whom
οἱ μὲν ὑμέτεροι ὄντες πολῖται μαθόντες ἀπίασιν
the(-ones) indeed your being citizens having-learned will-go-away
ὅτι ἢ δίκην δώσουσιν ὧν ἂν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, ἢ
that either penalty they-will-pay for-what(-things) — they-err or
πράξαντες μὲν ὧν ἐφίενται τύραννοι τῆς πόλεως
having-succeeded indeed in-what(-things) they-aim-at tyrants of-the city

ἔσονται, δυστυχήσαντες δὲ τὸ ἴσον ὑμῖν ἕξουσιν· ὅσοι
they-will-be having-failed but the equal with-you they-will-have as-many-as
δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν, εἴσονται πότερον ἀδίκως τοὺς
and foreigners are-in-town will-know whether unjustly the
τριάκοντα ἐκκηρύττουσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ δικαίως.
Thirty they-proclaim-banished from the cities or justly
εἰ γὰρ δὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες λαβόντες
if for indeed themselves the(-men) badly having-suffered having-caught
ἀφήσουσιν, ἦ που σφᾶς γ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡγήσονται
will-let-go surely I-suppose them- at-least -selves they-will-consider
περιέργους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τηρουμένους.
officious on-behalf-of you keeping-watch

36 Οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς, οἳ ἐνίκων
not then terrible if the indeed generals who were-victorious
ναυμαχοῦντες, ὅτε διὰ χειμῶνα οὐχ οἷοί τ᾽ ἔφασαν εἶναι
fighting-at-sea when because-of storm not able — they-said to-be
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνελέσθαι, θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε,
the(-men) from the sea to-take-up with-death you-punished
ἡγούμενοι χρῆναι τῇ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀρετῇ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων
thinking it-was-needful for-the of-the dead valor from them
δίκην λαβεῖν, τούτους δέ, οἳ ἰδιῶται μὲν ὄντες καθ᾽ ὅσον
justice to-take these but who private-citizens indeed being as-far as
ἐδύναντο ἐποίησαν ἡττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς
they-could caused to-be-defeated (men)-fighting-at-sea when and into
τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἑκόντες πολλοὺς τῶν
the office they-were-established admit willingly many of-the
πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀποκτιννύναι, οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ
citizens untried to-kill not then is-it-needful them and
τοὺς παῖδας ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ζημίαις κολάζεσθαι;
the children by you with-the utmost penalties to-be-punished

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἠξίουν ἱκανὰ εἶναι τὰ 37
I then O men jurors thought sufficient to-be the(-things)
κατηγορημένα· μέχρι γὰρ τούτου νομίζω χρῆναι κατηγορεῖν,
charged up-to for this I-think it-is-needful to-accuse
ἕως ἂν θανάτου δόξῃ τῷ φεύγοντι ἄξια εἰργάσθαι.
until — of-death it-seems to-the defendant worthy(-things) to-have-done
ταύτην γὰρ ἐσχάτην δίκην δυνάμεθα παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ὥστ'
this for utmost penalty we-are-able from them to-take so-that
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πολλὰ κατηγορεῖν τοιούτων
not I-know what (reason) it-is-needful many(-things) to-accuse of-such
ἀνδρῶν, οἳ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν πεπραγμένων
men who not-even on-behalf-of one each of-the (deeds)-done
δὶς ἀποθανόντες ἱκανὴν δίκην δοῦναι δύναιντ' ἄν.
twice having-died sufficient penalty to-pay would-be-able —
Οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ προσήκει ποιῆσαι, ὅπερ 38
not for indeed not-even this to-him it-is-fitting to-do which
ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει εἰθισμένον ἐστί, πρὸς μὲν τὰ
in this the city customary is toward indeed the(-things)
κατηγορημένα μηδὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, περὶ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν
charged nothing to-defend about but them- -selves
ἕτερα λέγοντες ἐνίοτε ἐξαπατῶσιν, ὑμῖν ἀποδεικνύντες
other(-things) saying sometimes they-deceive to-you showing
ὡς στρατιῶται ἀγαθοί εἰσιν, ἢ ὡς πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων
that soldiers good they-are or that many of-the enemy
ναῦς ἔλαβον τριηραρχήσαντες, ἢ πόλεις πολεμίας οὔσας
ships they-took having-served-as-trierarchs or cities hostile being
φίλας ἐποίησαν·
friendly they-made
ἐπεὶ κελεύετε αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ὅπου τοσούτους τῶν πολεμίων 39
since bid him to-show where so-many of-the enemy
ἀπέκτειναν ὅσους τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ναῦς ὅπου τοσαύτας
they-killed as-many-as of-the citizens or ships where so-many

ἔλαβον ὅσας αὐτοὶ παρέδοσαν, ἢ πόλιν ἥντινα
they-took as-many-as they-themselves handed-over or city what
τοιαύτην προσεκτήσαντο οἵαν τὴν ὑμετέραν κατεδουλώσαντο.
such they-acquired-besides as the yours they-enslaved
40 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῶν πολεμίων τοσαῦτα ἐσκύλευσαν ὅσα
but for arms of-the enemy so-many they-stripped as-many-as
περ ὑμῶν ἀφείλοντο, ἀλλὰ τείχη τοιαῦτα εἷλον οἷα
— from-you they-took-away but walls such they-captured as
τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος κατέσκαψαν· οἵτινες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν
of-the their-own fatherland they-razed who also the around —
Ἀττικὴν φρούρια καθεῖλον, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐδὲ
Attica forts pulled-down and to-you made-plain that not-even
τὸν Πειραιᾶ Λακεδαιμονίων προσταττόντων περιεῖλον, ἀλλ᾽
the Piraeus with-Lacedaemonians ordering they-stripped but
ὅτι ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω βεβαιοτέραν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι.
because for-themselves the rule so more-secure they-thought to-be
41 Πολλάκις οὖν ἐθαύμασα τῆς τόλμης τῶν λεγόντων
often then I-wondered at-the audacity of-the(-men) speaking
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, πλὴν ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶ ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν
on-behalf-of him except whenever I-reflect that of-the same(-men)
ἐστιν αὐτούς τε πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς
it-is themselves both all the evil(-things) to-do and the(-men)
τοιούτους ἐπαινεῖν.
such to-praise
42 Οὐ γὰρ νῦν πρῶτον τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει τὰ ἐναντία
not for now first to-the your majority the opposite(-things)
ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν τῷ
he-did but also in-the-time-of the Four-Hundred in the
στρατοπέδῳ ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστὰς ἔφευγεν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου
camp oligarchy establishing he-fled from Hellespont
τριήραρχος καταλιπὼν τὴν ναῦν, μετὰ Ἰατροκλέους καὶ
trierarch having-left the ship with Iatrocles and

ἑτέρων, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν. ἀφικόμενος
others of-whom the names not-at-all I-need to-say having-arrived
δὲ δεῦρο τἀναντία τοῖς βουλομένοις δημοκρατίαν
and here the-opposite(-things) to-the(-men) wishing democracy
εἶναι ἔπραττε. καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι.
to-be he-did and of-these(-things) witnesses to-you I-will-present
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses

Τὸν μὲν τοίνυν μεταξὺ βίον αὐτοῦ παρήσω· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ 43
the indeed then intervening life his I-will-pass-over when and the
ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο, δημοκρατίας
sea-battle and the disaster to-the city happened democracy
ἔτι οὔσης, ὅθεν τῆς στάσεως ἦρξαν, πέντε ἄνδρες ἔφοροι
still being whence of-the faction they-began five men ephors
κατέστησαν ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἑταίρων, συναγωγεῖς
were-established by the so-called comrades assemblers
μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἐναντία
indeed of-the citizens leaders and of-the conspirators opposite(-things)
δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει πράττοντες· ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης
and to-the your majority doing of-whom Eratosthenes
καὶ Κριτίας ἦσαν.
and Critias were

Οὗτοι δὲ φυλάρχους τε ἐπὶ τὰς φυλὰς κατέστησαν, καὶ 44
these and tribe-leaders both over the tribes established and
ὅ τι δέοι χειροτονεῖσθαι καὶ οὕστινας χρείη
what ever must to-be-voted and whom it-should-be-necessary
ἄρχειν παρήγγελλον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πράττειν βούλοιντο,
to-rule they-gave-orders and if anything else to-do they-wished
κύριοι ἦσαν· οὕτως οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μόνων ἀλλὰ
masters they-were thus not by the enemies alone but

καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πολιτῶν ὄντων ἐπεβουλεύεσθε ὅπως
also by these citizens being you-were-plotted-against so-that
μήτ᾽ ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ψηφίσησθε πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε.
neither good nothing you-should-vote of-many and lacking you-should-be
45 Τοῦτο γὰρ καλῶς ἠπίσταντο, ὅτι ἄλλως μὲν οὐχ οἷοί τε
this for well they-understood that otherwise indeed not able —
ἔσονται περιγενέσθαι, κακῶς δὲ πραττόντων δυνήσονται·
they-will-be to-prevail badly but (you)-faring they-will-be-able
καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦντο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας
and you they-thought of-the present evils desiring
ἀπαλλαγῆναι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐκ ἐνθυμήσεσθαι.
to-be-freed about the(-things) coming not to-be-going-to-reflect
46 Ὡς τοίνυν τῶν ἐφόρων ἐγένετο, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι,
that then of-the ephors he-was witnesses to-you I-will-present
οὐ τοὺς τότε συμπράττοντας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην),
not the(-men) then acting-with-him not for — I-could
ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀκούσαντας.
but the(-men) himself Eratosthenes having-heard
47 Καίτοι εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν κατεμαρτύρουν ἂν αὐτῶν, καὶ
and-yet if they-were-sensible they-would-bear-witness — against-them and
τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν σφετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων σφόδρ᾽ ἂν
the teachers of-the their-own errors severely —
ἐκόλαζον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ
they-would-punish and the oaths if they-were-sensible not — for
μὲν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κακοῖς πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπὶ
indeed the of-the citizens evils binding they-would-consider for
δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς ῥᾳδίως παρέβαινον. πρὸς
and the of-the city goods easily they-would-transgress against
μὲν οὖν τούτους τοσαῦτα λέγω, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυράς μοι
indeed then these(-men) so-much I-say the and witnesses for-me
κάλει. Καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε.
call and you come-up

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον εἰς τὴν 48
the indeed witnesses you-have-heard the and last into the
ἀρχὴν καταστὰς ἀγαθοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς μετέσχεν, ἄλλων
office having-been-established of-good indeed nothing he-had-a-share of-others
δὲ πολλῶν. καίτοι εἴπερ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἐχρῆν
but many and-yet if-indeed he-was a-man good it-was-needful
αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν, ἔπειτα τῇ
him first indeed not lawlessly to-rule then to-the
βουλῇ μηνυτὴν γίγνεσθαι περὶ τῶν εἰσαγγελιῶν ἁπασῶν,
council informer to-become about the impeachments all
ὅτι ψευδεῖς εἶεν, καὶ Βάτραχος καὶ Αἰσχυλίδης οὐ τἀληθῆ
that false they-were and Batrachus and Aeschylides not the-truth
μηνύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα πλασθέντα
inform but the(-things) by the Thirty fabricated
εἰσαγγέλλουσι, συγκείμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν βλάβῃ.
they-impeach composed for the of-the citizens harm
Καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅσοι κακόνοι ἦσαν τῷ 49
and indeed indeed O men jurors as-many-as ill-disposed were to-the
ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον εἶχον σιωπῶντες· ἕτεροι γὰρ
your majority no less had being-silent others for
ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες ὧν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν
were the(-men) speaking and doing than-which not possible — was
μείζω κακὰ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει. ὁπόσοι δ' εὖνοί φασιν
greater evils to-happen to-the city as-many-as but well-disposed claim
εἶναι, πῶς οὐκ ἐνταῦθα ἔδειξαν, αὐτοί τε τὰ βέλτιστα
to-be how not there they-showed themselves both the best(-things)
λέγοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἀποτρέποντες;
saying and the(-men) erring turning-away

50 Ἴσως δ' ἂν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ὑμῶν
perhaps and — he-might-be-able to-say that he-had-been-afraid and of-you
τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἱκανὸν ἔσται. ὅπως τοίνυν μὴ φανήσεται
this for-some sufficient will-be see-that then not he-will-appear
ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐναντιούμενος· εἰ δὲ μή,
in the speech to-the Thirty opposing if but not
ἐνταυθοῖ δῆλος ἔσται ὅτι ἐκεῖνά τε αὐτῷ ἤρεσκε, καὶ
here clear he-will-be that those(-things) both to-him pleased and
τοσοῦτον ἐδύνατο ὥστε ἐναντιούμενος μηδὲν κακὸν παθεῖν
so-much he-had-power that opposing nothing evil to-suffer
ὑπ' αὐτῶν. χρῆν δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας
at their(-hands) it-was-needful but him on-behalf-of the your
σωτηρίας ταύτην τὴν προθυμίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὲρ
safety this the eagerness to-have but not on-behalf-of
Θηραμένους, ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς πολλὰ ἐξήμαρτεν.
Theramenes who against you many(-things) erred
51 Ἀλλ' οὗτος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, τοὺς
but this-man the indeed city hostile considered to-be the
δ' ὑμετέρους ἐχθροὺς φίλους, ὡς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἐγὼ
and your enemies friends that both these-things I
πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις παραστήσω, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους
by-many proofs will-establish and the toward one-another
διαφορὰς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γιγνομένας,
quarrels not on-behalf-of you but on-behalf-of themselves happening
ὁπότεροι ταῦτα πράξουσι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρξουσι.
which-of-two these-things will-do and of-the city will-rule

Had the Thirty cared for the people, Eratosthenes would have shown it when Thrasybulus took Phyle; instead they took three hundred men from Salamis and Eleusis and condemned them with one vote. When the democrats had reached the Piraeus, the town deposed the Thirty, all but Pheidon and Eratosthenes, and the men chosen in their place waged a worse war; Pheidon went to Sparta and asked for Lysander. Then Lysias turns to Theramenes: Themistocles built the walls, Theramenes tore them down. He made the Four Hundred, betrayed Antiphon and Archeptolemus, and promised a peace he would explain to no one.

Εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐστασίαζον, ποῦ 52
if for on-behalf-of the(-men) wronged they-were-in-faction where
κάλλιον ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι, ἢ Θρασυβούλου Φυλὴν
finer was-it for-a-man ruling than with-Thrasybulus Phyle
κατειληφότος, τότε ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν αὑτοῦ εὔνοιαν; ὁ
having-seized then to-display the his-own goodwill he
δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγείλασθαί τι ἢ πρᾶξαι ἀγαθὸν
but instead-of the to-offer something or to-do good
πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Φυλῆ, ἐλθὼν μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων
toward the(-men) at Phyle having-gone with the fellow-officials
εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ Ἐλευσῖνάδε τριακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν
to Salamis and to-Eleusis three-hundred of-the citizens
ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ αὐτῶν
he-led-off to the prison and by-one vote of-them
ἁπάντων θάνατον κατεψηφίσατο.
all death he-voted
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἤλθομεν καὶ αἱ ταραχαὶ 53
when and to the Piraeus we-came and the disturbances
γεγενημέναι ἦσαν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν οἱ λόγοι
having-happened had and about the reconciliation the talks
ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰς ἑκάτεροι ἐλπίδας εἴχομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
were-held many each-side hopes we-had toward one-another

ἔσεσθαι, ὡς ἀμφότεροι ἔδειξαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ
to-be-going-to-be as both showed the(-men) indeed for from
Πειραιῶς κρείττους ὄντες εἴασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν·
Piraeus stronger being allowed them to-go-away
54 οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα
the(-men) and to the town having-come the indeed Thirty
ἐξέβαλον πλὴν Φείδωνος καὶ Ἐρατοσθένους, ἄρχοντας δὲ
expelled except Pheidon and Eratosthenes as-rulers and
τοὺς ἐκείνοις ἐχθίστους εἵλοντο, ἡγούμενοι δικαίως ἂν
the(-men) to-those most-hostile they-chose thinking justly —
ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούς τε τριάκοντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς
by the same(-men) the both Thirty to-be-hated and the(-men)
ἐν Πειραιεῖ φιλεῖσθαι.
in Piraeus to-be-loved
55 Τούτων τοίνυν Φείδων γενόμενος καὶ Ἱπποκλῆς καὶ
of-these then Pheidon having-become and Hippocles and
Ἐπιχάρης ὁ Λαμπτρεὺς καὶ ἕτεροι οἱ δοκοῦντες
Epichares the Lamptrean and others the(-men) seeming
εἶναι ἐναντιώτατοι Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων
to-be most-opposed to-Charicles and to-Critias and to-the their
ἑταιρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, πολὺ
club when themselves into the office were-established much
μείζω στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ
greater faction and war against the(-men) in Piraeus
τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεως ἐποίησαν·
for-the(-men) from town made
56 ᾧ καὶ φανερῶς ἐπεδείξαντο ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν
by-which also openly they-showed that not on-behalf-of the(-men)
ἐν Πειραιεῖ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκως ἀπολλυμένων
in Piraeus nor on-behalf-of the(-men) unjustly perishing
ἐστασίαζον, οὐδ' οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν
they-were-in-faction nor the(-men) having-died them grieved

οὐδ᾽ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποθανεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μεῖζον
nor the(-men) about to-die but the(-men) more
δυνάμενοι καὶ θᾶττον πλουτοῦντες.
being-powerful and faster growing-rich
Λαβόντες γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμφοτέροις 57
having-taken for the offices and the city on-both
ἐπολέμουν, τοῖς τε τριάκοντα πάντα κακὰ εἰργασμένοις καὶ
they-made-war on-the both Thirty all evils having-done and
ὑμῖν πάντα κακὰ πεπονθόσι. καίτοι τοῦτο πᾶσι δῆλον ἦν,
on-you all evils having-suffered and-yet this to-all clear was
ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι δικαίως ἔφευγον, ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως, εἰ δ᾽ ὑμεῖς
that if indeed those justly were-exiled you unjustly if but you
δικαίως, οἱ τριάκοντα ἀδίκως· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἑτέρων ἔργων
justly the Thirty unjustly not for indeed of-other deeds
αἰτίαν λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεσον, ἀλλὰ τούτων.
blame having-incurred from the city they-were-thrown-out but of-these
Ὥστε σφόδρα χρὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι Φείδων αἱρεθεὶς 58
so-that vehemently one-must to-be-angry that Pheidon having-been-chosen
ὑμᾶς διαλλάξαι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων
you to-reconcile and to-restore of-the same deeds
Ἐρατοσθένει μετεῖχε καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ τοὺς μὲν
with-Eratosthenes shared and with-the same judgment the(-men) indeed
κρείττους αὑτῶν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἕτοιμος
stronger than-themselves on-account-of you badly to-treat ready
ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀδίκως φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀποδοῦναι
he-was to-you but unjustly exiled not he-was-willing to-give-back
τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλθὼν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς
the city but having-gone to Lacedaemon he-persuaded them
στρατεύσασθαι, διαβάλλων ὅτι Βοιωτῶν ἡ πόλις ἔσται,
to-march slandering that of-Boeotians the city will-be
καὶ ἄλλα λέγων οἷς ᾤετο πείσειν μάλιστα.
and other(-things) saying by-which he-thought to-be-going-to-persuade most

59 Οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν, εἴτε καὶ τῶν
not being-able and these(-things) to-obtain whether also the
ἱερῶν ἐμποδὼν ὄντων εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ βουλομένων,
sacrifices in-the-way being or also themselves not wishing
ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐδανείσατο, ἵνα ἔχοι ἐπικούρους
a-hundred talents he-borrowed so-that he-might-be-able mercenaries
μισθοῦσθαι, καὶ Λύσανδρον ἄρχοντα ἠτήσατο, εὐνούστατον
to-hire and Lysander as-commander he-requested most-well-disposed
μὲν ὄντα τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, κακονούστατον δὲ τῇ πόλει,
indeed being to-the oligarchy most-ill-disposed and to-the city
μισοῦντα δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ.
hating and most the(-men) in Piraeus
60 Μισθωσάμενοι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ
having-hired and all men for destruction
τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πόλεις ἐπάγοντες καὶ τελευτῶντες
of-the city and cities bringing-in and finally
Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὁπόσους ἐδύναντο πεῖσαι,
Lacedaemonians and of-the allies as-many-as they-could to-persuade
οὐ διαλλάξαι ἀλλ᾽ ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν πόλιν εἰ
not to-reconcile but to-destroy they-were-preparing the city if
μὴ δι᾽ ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, οἷς ὑμεῖς δηλώσατε παρὰ τῶν
not because-of men good to-whom you make-plain from the
ἐχθρῶν δίκην λαβόντες, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνοις χάριν ἀποδώσετε.
enemies justice having-taken that also to-those gratitude you-will-repay
61 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπίστασθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅ
these-things and you-know indeed also yourselves and not I-know what
τι δεῖ μάρτυρας παρασχέσθαι· ὅμως δέ· ἐγώ
(reason) it-is-needful witnesses to-furnish nevertheless but I
τε γὰρ δέομαι ἀναπαύσασθαι, ὑμῶν τ᾽ ἐνίοις ἥδιον ὡς
both for need to-rest of-you and for-some pleasanter as
πλείστων τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν.
from-most the same words to-hear

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ Θηραμένους ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι διὰ 62
come now also about Theramenes as — I-can through
βραχυτάτων διδάξω. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι ὑπέρ τ'
briefest(-words) let-me-teach I-ask and of-you to-hear on-behalf-of both
ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ μηδενὶ τοῦτο παραστῇ, ὡς
myself and the city and to-no-one this occur that
Ἐρατοσθένους κινδυνεύοντος οὐ προσηκόντως Θηραμένους
with-Eratosthenes being-in-danger not fittingly Theramenes
κατηγορῶ· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπολογήσεσθαι αὐτόν,
I-accuse I-learn for these-things to-be-going-to-plead him
ὅτι ἐκείνῳ φίλος ἦν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων μετεῖχε.
that to-that-man friend he-was and of-the same deeds shared
Καίτοι σφόδρ' ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους 63
and-yet very — him I-think with Themistocles
πολιτευόμενον προσποιεῖσθαι πράττειν ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται
engaging-in-politics to-pretend to-act so-that will-be-built
τὰ τείχη, ὁπότε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους ὅπως καθαιρεθήσεται.
the walls since also with Theramenes so-that they-will-be-pulled-down
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἴσου ἄξιοι γεγενῆσθαι· ὁ μὲν
but not for to-me they-seem of-equal worthy to-have-become he indeed
γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτά, οὗτος δὲ
for with-Lacedaemonians unwilling built them this-man but
τοὺς πολίτας ἐξαπατήσας καθεῖλε.
the citizens having-deceived pulled-down
Περιέστηκεν οὖν τῇ πόλει τοὐναντίον ἢ ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν. 64
has-come-round then to-the city the-opposite than as reasonable was
ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς Θηραμένους
right indeed for it-was also the friends — of-Theramenes
προσαπολωλέναι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐτύγχανεν ἐκείνῳ
to-perish-besides except if anyone happened to-him

τἀναντία πράττων· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶ τάς τε ἀπολογίας
the-opposite(-things) doing now but I-see the both defenses
εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφερομένας, τούς τ᾽ ἐκείνῳ συνόντας
to him being-referred the(-men) and with-him associating
τιμᾶσθαι πειρωμένους, ὥσπερ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίου ἀλλ᾽
to-be-honored trying as-if of-many goods cause but
οὐ μεγάλων κακῶν γεγενημένου.
not of-great evils having-become

65 Ὃς πρῶτον μὲν τῆς προτέρας ὀλιγαρχίας αἰτιώτατος
who first indeed of-the earlier oligarchy most-responsible
ἐγένετο, πείσας ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων
became having-persuaded you the in-the-time-of the Four-Hundred
πολιτείαν ἑλέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προβούλων
government to-choose and the indeed father his of-the Probouloi
ὢν ταὔτ᾽ ἔπραττεν, αὐτὸς δὲ δοκῶν εὐνούστατος
being the-same(-things) did he-himself and seeming most-well-disposed
εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι στρατηγὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ᾑρέθη.
to-be to-the affairs general by them was-chosen

66 Καὶ ἕως μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο, πιστὸν ἑαυτὸν τῇ πόλει
and as-long-as indeed he-was-honored faithful himself to-the city
παρεῖχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πείσανδρον μὲν καὶ Κάλλαισχρον
he-showed when but Peisander indeed and Callaeschrus
καὶ ἑτέρους ἑώρα προτέρους αὐτοῦ γιγνομένους, τὸ δὲ
and others he-saw ahead of-him becoming the and
ὑμέτερον πλῆθος οὐκέτι βουλόμενον τούτων ἀκροᾶσθαι,
your majority no-longer wishing to-them to-listen
τότ᾽ ἤδη διά τε τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους φθόνον καὶ τὸ
then already because-of both the toward them envy and the
παρ᾽ ὑμῶν δέος μετέσχε τῶν Ἀριστοκράτους ἔργων.
from you fear he-shared of-the of-Aristocrates deeds

Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει δοκεῖν πιστὸς εἶναι 67
wishing and to-the your majority to-seem faithful to-be
Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμον φιλτάτους ὄντας αὐτῷ
Antiphon and Archeptolemus dearest being to-him
κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ κακίας ἦλθεν,
accusing he-killed to such and of-wickedness he-came
ὥστε ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους πίστιν
that at-the-same-time indeed because-of the toward them faithfulness
ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς
you he-enslaved because-of and the toward you the
φίλους ἀπώλεσε.
friends he-destroyed
Τιμώμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιούμενος, αὐτὸς 68
being-honored and and of-the greatest(-honors) deemed-worthy himself
ἐπαγγειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε, φάσκων
having-promised to-save the city himself destroyed-it claiming
πρᾶγμα ηὑρηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον (ὑπέσχετο
a-thing to-have-found great and of-much worth he-promised
δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μήτε ὁμήρα δοὺς μήτε τὰ τείχη
and peace to-make neither hostages having-given nor the walls
καθελὼν μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδούς)· τοῦτο δὲ εἰπεῖν
having-pulled-down nor the ships having-surrendered this but to-tell
μὲν οὐδενὶ ἠθέλησεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν.
indeed to-no-one he-was-willing he-bade and him to-trust
Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πραττούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν 69
you and O men Athenians doing indeed the on
Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς σωτήρια, ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν
Ares' hill council saving(-things) speaking-against and many
Θηραμένει, εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τῶν
Theramenes knowing and that the indeed other men of-the
πολεμίων ἕνεκα τἀπόρρητα ποιοῦνται, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν
enemies for-the-sake secrets keep he but among

τοῖς αὑτοῦ πολίταις οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰπεῖν ταῦθ' ἃ
the his-own citizens not was-willing to-tell these(-things) which
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλεν ἐρεῖν, ὅμως ἐπετρέψατε
to the enemies he-was-about to-say nevertheless you-entrusted
αὐτῷ πατρίδα καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.
to-him fatherland and children and wives and your- -selves

V · THE PEACE AND THE ASSEMBLY

Theramenes persuaded the Athenians to pull down the Piraeus walls and dissolve their constitution, offering it to Sparta unasked. With Lysander's ships in harbor he proposed to entrust the city to thirty men, and told the protesting assembly that he cared nothing for its uproar; Lysander called them truce-breakers. The good men left or kept silent, and a few wicked ones voted as ordered. Theramenes later boasted of it before the council. The jurors must show no pity, since Eratosthenes was judge and accuser at once of those he tried.

70 Ὁ δὲ ὧν μὲν ὑπέσχετο οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, οὕτως δὲ
he and of-what(-things) indeed he-promised nothing did so and
ἐνετεθύμητο ὡς χρὴ μικρὰν καὶ ἀσθενῆ γενέσθαι
he-had-taken-it-to-heart that it-is-needful small and weak to-become
τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε τῶν
the city that about what(-things) no-one ever neither of-the
πολεμίων ἐμνήσθη οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν ἤλπισε, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς
enemies made-mention nor of-the citizens hoped these(-things) you
ἔπεισε πρᾶξαι, οὐχ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναγκαζόμενος,
he-persuaded to-do not by Lacedaemonians being-compelled
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῦ τε Πειραιῶς τὰ
but himself to-them offering of-the both Piraeus the
τείχη περιελεῖν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πολιτείαν καταλῦσαι,
walls to-pull-down and the existing constitution to-dissolve

εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι, εἰ μὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀποστερηθήσεσθε,
well knowing that if not of-all the hopes you-will-be-deprived
ταχεῖαν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν κομιεῖσθε.
swift from him the vengeance you-will-exact
Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ πρότερον εἴασε 71
and the last O men jurors not sooner he-allowed
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, ἕως ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων
the assembly to-take-place until the spoken-of by them
καιρὸς ἐπιμελῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐτηρήθη, καὶ μετεπέμψατο
opportunity carefully by him was-watched-for and he-sent-for
μὲν τὰς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου ναῦς ἐκ Σάμου, ἐπεδήμησε
indeed the with Lysander ships from Samos came-to-town
δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον.
and the of-the enemies camp
Τότε δὲ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ παρόντος Λυσάνδρου 72
then and these(-things) existing and being-present Lysander
καὶ Φιλοχάρους καὶ Μιλτιάδου, περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν
and Philochares and Miltiades about the constitution the
ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, ἵνα μήτε ῥήτωρ αὐτοῖς μηδεὶς ἐναντιοῖτο
assembly they-held so-that neither orator to-them any might-oppose
μηδὲ διαπειλοῖτο ὑμεῖς τε μὴ τὰ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντα
nor might-threaten you and not the(-things) to-the city advantageous
ἕλοισθε, ἀλλὰ τἀκείνοις δοκοῦντα ψηφίσαισθε.
might-choose but the(-things)-to-those seeming-good might-vote
Ἀναστὰς δὲ Θηραμένης ἐκέλευσεν ὑμᾶς τριάκοντα 73
having-stood-up and Theramenes bade you thirty
ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῆσθαι
to-men to-entrust the city and the constitution to-use
ἣν Δρακοντίδης ἀπέφαινεν. ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ὅμως καὶ
which Dracontides proposed you but nevertheless even
οὕτω διακείμενοι ἐθορυβεῖτε ὡς οὐ ποιήσοντες ταῦτα·
so disposed raised-an-uproar as not about-to-do these-things

ἐγιγνώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐν
you-knew for that about slavery and freedom on
ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἠκκλησιάζετε.
that the day you-were-holding-assembly

74 Θηραμένης δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, (καὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς
Theramenes and O men jurors and of-these(-things) you-
αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας παρέξομαι) εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλοι
-selves witnesses I-will-present said that nothing to-him it-mattered
τοῦ ὑμετέρου θορύβου, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίων
of-the your uproar since many indeed of-Athenians
εἰδείη τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας αὑτῷ, δοκοῦντα
he-knew the(-men) the like(-things) doing to-himself (things)-seeming-good
δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις λέγοι. μετ' ἐκεῖνον
and to-Lysander and to-Lacedaemonians he-was-saying after him
δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀναστὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ εἶπε καὶ
and Lysander having-stood-up other(-things) both many said and
ὅτι παρασπόνδους ὑμᾶς ἔχοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας
that truce-breakers you he-held and that not about constitution
ὑμῖν ἔσται ἀλλὰ περὶ σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσεθ' ἃ
for-you it-will-be but about safety if not you-will-do what(-things)
Θηραμένης κελεύει.
Theramenes bids

75 Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅσοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν,
of-the and in the assembly as-many-as men good were
γνόντες τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οἱ μὲν
having-recognized the preparation and the compulsion the(-ones) indeed
αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, οἱ δὲ ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες,
there staying quiet kept the(-ones) and went departing
τοῦτο γοῦν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνειδότες, ὅτι οὐδὲν κακὸν
this at-least to-them- -selves conscious that nothing evil

τῇ πόλει ἐψηφίσαντο· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ
for-the city they-voted few but some and wicked and
κακῶς βουλευόμενοι τὰ προσταχθέντα ἐχειροτόνησαν.
badly deliberating the(-things) ordered voted-for
Παρήγγελτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς δέκα μὲν οὓς Θηραμένης 76
it-had-been-announced for to-them ten indeed whom Theramenes
ὑπέδειξε χειροτονῆσαι, δέκα δὲ οὓς οἱ καθεστηκότες
indicated to-elect ten and whom the established
ἔφοροι κελεύοιεν, δέκα δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων· οὕτω γὰρ
ephors should-bid ten and from the(-men) present so for
τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ἑώρων καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν δύναμιν
the your weakness they-saw and the their-own power
ἠπίσταντο, ὥστε πρότερον ᾔδεσαν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν
they-understood that beforehand they-knew the(-things) about in
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πραχθήσεσθαι.
the assembly to-be-done
Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμοὶ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ· πάντα 77
these-things and not me one-must to-believe but him all
γὰρ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος
for the(-things) by me said in the council making-his-defense
ἔλεγεν, ὀνειδίζων μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν
he-said reproaching indeed the(-men) exiled that through him
κατέλθοιεν, οὐδὲν φροντιζόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὀνειδίζων
they-had-returned nothing caring Lacedaemonians reproaching
δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν, ὅτι πάντων τῶν
and the(-men) of-the constitution sharing that of-all the(-things)
πεπραγμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτὸς
done in-the stated ways by me himself
αἴτιος γεγενημένος τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις
responsible having-been such(-treatment) he-was-getting many pledges
αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ δεδωκὼς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅρκους εἰληφώς.
to-them in-deed having-given and from them oaths having-received

78 Καὶ τοσούτων καὶ ἑτέρων κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ πάλαι
and of-so-many and other evils and shameful(-deeds) both long-ago
καὶ νεωστὶ καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων αἰτίου γεγενημένου
and recently both small and great responsible having-been
τολμήσουσιν αὑτοὺς φίλους ὄντας ἀποφαίνειν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ
they-will-dare themselves friends being to-declare not on-behalf-of
ὑμῶν ἀποθανόντος Θηραμένους ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὑτοῦ
you having-died Theramenes but on-behalf-of the his-own
πονηρίας, καὶ δικαίως μὲν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δίκην δόντος (ἤδη
wickedness and justly indeed in oligarchy penalty having-paid already
γὰρ αὐτὴν κατέλυσε), δικαίως δ᾽ ἂν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ· δὶς γὰρ
for it he-dissolved justly and — in democracy twice for
ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, τῶν μὲν παρόντων καταφρονῶν,
you he-enslaved the(-things) indeed present despising
τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ ὀνόματι
the(-things) and absent desiring and the finest name
χρώμενος δεινοτάτων ἔργων διδάσκαλος καταστάς.
using of-most-terrible deeds teacher having-been-established

79 Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν Θηραμένους ἱκανά μοί ἐστι τὰ
about indeed then Theramenes sufficient to-me are the(-things)
κατηγορημένα· ἥκει δ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρός, ἐν ᾧ
charged has-come and to-you that the moment in which
δεῖ συγγνώμην καὶ ἔλεον μὴ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις
it-is-needful pardon and pity not to-be in the your
γνώμαις, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου
judgments but from Eratosthenes and the his
συναρχόντων δίκην λαβεῖν, μηδὲ μαχομένους μὲν κρείττους
fellow-officials justice to-take nor fighting indeed stronger
εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, ψηφιζομένους δὲ ἥττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν.
to-be than-the enemies voting but weaker than-the foes

Μηδ' ὧν φασι μέλλειν πράξειν πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς 80
nor for-what(-things) they-say to-be-about to-do more gratitude to-them
ἴστε, ἢ ὧν ἐποίησαν ὀργίζεσθε· μηδ' ἀποῦσι μὲν
feel than at-what(-things) they-did be-angry nor absent indeed
τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐπιβουλεύετε, παρόντας δ' ἀφῆτε· μηδὲ
the Thirty plot-against present but let-go nor
τῆς τύχης, ἣ τούτους παρέδωκε τῇ πόλει, κάκιον
than-the fortune which these handed-over to-the city worse
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσητε.
you- -selves help
Κατηγόρηται δὴ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου φίλων, 81
it-has-been-charged indeed of-Eratosthenes and the his friends
οἷς τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀνοίσει καὶ μεθ' ὧν αὐτῷ ταῦτα
to-whom the defenses he-will-refer and with whom by-him these-things
πέπρακται. ὁ μέντοι ἀγὼν οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου τῇ πόλει καὶ
have-been-done the however contest not from equal for-the city and
Ἐρατοσθένει· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος καὶ δικαστὴς
Eratosthenes he indeed for accuser and judge
αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν κρινομένων, ἡμεῖς δὲ νυνὶ εἰς
the-same(-man) was of-the(-men) being-tried we but now into
κατηγορίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν καθέσταμεν.
accusation and defense have-been-brought
Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, 82
and these indeed the(-men) nothing doing-wrong untried killed
ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀπολέσαντας τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν
you but the(-men) having-destroyed the city according-to the
νόμον ἀξιοῦτε κρίνειν, παρ' ὧν οὐδ' ἂν παρανόμως
law deem-it-right to-try from whom not-even — lawlessly
βουλόμενοι δίκην λαμβάνειν ἀξίαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὧν
wishing justice to-take worthy of-the wrongs which

τὴν πόλιν ἠδικήκασι λάβοιτε. τί γὰρ ἂν παθόντες
the city they-have-wronged could-you-take what for — having-suffered
δίκην τὴν ἀξίαν εἴησαν τῶν ἔργων δεδωκότες;
justice the worthy would-they-be of-the deeds having-paid
83 Πότερον εἰ αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείναιτε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν,
whether if them you-should-kill and the children their
ἱκανὴν ἂν τοῦ φόνου δίκην λάβοιμεν, ὧν οὗτοι πατέρας
sufficient — for-the murder justice should-we-take of-whom these fathers
καὶ υἱεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν; ἀλλὰ εἰ
and sons and brothers untried killed but if
τὰ χρήματα τὰ φανερὰ δημεύσαιτε, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι
the property the visible you-should-confiscate well — would-it-be
ἢ τῇ πόλει, ἧς οὗτοι πολλὰ εἰλήφασιν, ἢ τοῖς
either for-the city of-which these many(-things) have-taken or for-the
ἰδιώταις, ὧν τὰς οἰκίας ἐξεπόρθησαν;
private-persons of-whom the houses they-sacked
84 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πάντα ποιοῦντες ἱκανὴν δίκην παρ᾽ αὐτῶν
since then all(-things) doing sufficient justice from them
οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε λαβεῖν, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμῖν καὶ
not — could-you to-take how not shameful for-you even
ἡντινοῦν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἥντινά τις βούλοιτο παρὰ τούτων
any-whatever to-leave-out which anyone might-wish from these
λαμβάνειν; Πᾶν δ᾽ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τολμῆσαι, ὅστις νυνί,
to-take anything and — to-me he-seems to-dare whoever now
οὐχ ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν δικαστῶν ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν
not others being the jurors but themselves the(-men)
κακῶς πεπονθότων, ἥκει ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς
badly having-suffered has-come to-make-a-defense to themselves
τοὺς μάρτυρας τῆς τούτου πονηρίας· τοσοῦτον ἢ ὑμῶν
the witnesses of-the his wickedness so-much either you
καταπεφρόνηκεν ἢ ἑτέροις πεπίστευκεν.
he-has-despised or in-others he-has-trusted

῾Ων ἀμφοτέρων ἄξιον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένους 85
of-which both it-is-worthy to-take-care reflecting
ὅτι οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἐκεῖνα ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν μὴ ἑτέρων
that neither — those(-things) could-they to-do not others
συμπραττόντων οὔτ᾽ ἂν νῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐλθεῖν μὴ
acting-with-them nor — now would-they-have-attempted to-come not
ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι σωθήσεσθαι, οἳ οὐ τούτοις
by the same(-men) thinking to-be-going-to-be-saved who not to-these(-men)
ἥκουσι βοηθήσοντες, ἀλλὰ ἡγούμενοι πολλὴν ἄδειαν
have-come to-help but thinking much impunity
σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τῶν τε πεπραγμένων καὶ τοῦ
for-themselves to-be-going-to-be of-the(-things) both done and for-the
λοιποῦ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται, εἰ τοὺς μεγίστων
rest to-do what ever — they-wish if the(-men) of-greatest
κακῶν αἰτίους λαβόντες ἀφήσετε.
evils responsible having-caught you-will-let-go

VI · THE VERDICT

Lysias wonders at the men who will speak for the Thirty and never spoke for the people. Their witnesses accuse themselves: under the Thirty it was dangerous even to attend their victims' funerals. The jurors must show their judgment openly. He reminds the men of the town that they were forced to fight their own kin, and the men of the Piraeus that they lost their arms in peacetime, were exiled, and saw their kin dragged from the temples. He ends: you have heard, seen, suffered; you have them; judge.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συνερούντων αὐτοῖς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, 86
but also of-the(-men) going-to-speak-for them it-is-worthy to-wonder
πότερον ὡς καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ αἰτήσονται, τὴν αὑτῶν
whether as noble and-good(-men) they-will-ask the their-own

ἀρετὴν πλείονος ἀξίαν ἀποφαίνοντες τῆς τούτων
virtue of-more worth showing than-the their
πονηρίας (ἐβουλόμην μέντ' ἂν αὐτοὺς οὕτω προθύμους
wickedness I-should-wish however — them so eager
εἶναι σῴζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι ἀπολλύναι), ἢ ὡς
to-be to-save the city as these to-destroy-it or as
δεινοὶ λέγειν ἀπολογήσονται καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα πολλοῦ
clever at-speaking they-will-defend and the their deeds of-much
ἄξια ἀποφανοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν
worth will-show but not on-behalf-of you no-one of-them
οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια πώποτε ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν.
not-even the just(-things) ever attempted to-say

87 Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἄξιον ἰδεῖν, οἳ τούτοις μαρτυροῦντες
but the witnesses it-is-worthy to-see who for-these bearing-witness
αὑτῶν κατηγοροῦσι, σφόδρα ἐπιλήσμονας καὶ εὐήθεις
themselves accuse very forgetful and simple
νομίζοντες ὑμᾶς εἶναι, εἰ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους
thinking you to-be if through indeed the your majority
ἀδεῶς ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τριάκοντα σώσειν, διὰ δὲ
fearlessly they-think the Thirty to-be-going-to-save through but
Ἐρατοσθένη καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἦν καὶ
Eratosthenes and the fellow-officials his terrible it-was even
τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν.
of-the dead to the-funeral to-go

88 Καίτοι οὗτοι μὲν σωθέντες πάλιν ἂν δύναιντο τὴν πόλιν
and-yet these indeed having-been-saved again — could the city
ἀπολέσαι· ἐκεῖνοι δέ, οὓς οὗτοι ἀπώλεσαν, τελευτήσαντες
to-destroy those but whom these destroyed having-ended
τὸν βίον πέρα ἔχουσι τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίας.
the life beyond are of-the from the enemies vengeance
οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀδίκως τεθνεώτων οἱ φίλοι
not then terrible if of-the(-men) indeed unjustly having-died the friends

συναπώλλυντο, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσασι
perished-with-them themselves but for-the(-men) the city having-destroyed
δήπου ἐπ᾽ ἐκφορὰν πολλοὶ ἥξουσιν, ὁπότε βοηθεῖν τοσοῦτοι
surely to the-funeral many will-come when to-help so-many
παρασκευάζονται.
are-preparing

Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολὺ ῥᾷον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ὑπὲρ 89
and indeed indeed much easier I-think to-be on-behalf-of
ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐπάσχετε ἀντειπεῖν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν
what(-things) you suffered to-speak-against than on-behalf-of what(-things)
οὗτοι πεποιήκασιν ἀπολογήσασθαι. καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς
these have-done to-defend and-yet they-say that
Ἐρατοσθένει ἐλάχιστα τῶν τριάκοντα κακὰ εἴργασται,
by-Eratosthenes fewest of-the Thirty evils have-been-done
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦσι σωθῆναι· ὅτι δὲ
and because-of this him they-deem-it-right to-be-saved because but
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πλεῖστα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκεν,
than-the other Greeks most against you he-has-erred
οὐκ οἴονται χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι;
not they-think it-is-needful him to-perish

Ὑμεῖς δὲ δείξατε ἥντινα γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ τῶν 90
you but show what judgment you-have about the
πραγμάτων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου καταψηφιεῖσθε, δῆλοι
affairs if indeed for him you-will-condemn clear
ἔσεσθε ὡς ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις· εἰ δὲ
you-will-be as being-angry at-the(-things) done if but
ἀποψηφιεῖσθε, ὀφθήσεσθε τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμηταὶ
you-will-acquit you-will-be-seen of-the same deeds desirers
τούτοις ὄντες, καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε λέγειν ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ
with-these being and not you-will-be-able to-say that the(-things) by
τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα ἐποιεῖτε·
the Thirty ordered you-did

91 νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζει παρὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν
now indeed for no-one you compels against the your
γνώμην ψηφίζεσθαι. ὥστε συμβουλεύω μὴ τούτων
judgment to-vote so-that I-advise not them
ἀποψηφισαμένους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφίσασθαι. μηδ'
having-acquitted your- -selves to-condemn nor
οἴεσθε κρύβδην τὴν ψῆφον εἶναι· φανερὰν γὰρ τῇ πόλει
think secret the vote to-be visible for to-the city
τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ποιήσετε.
the your judgment you-will-make

92 Βούλομαι δὲ ὀλίγα ἑκατέρους ἀναμνήσας καταβαίνειν,
I-wish and few(-things) each-side having-reminded to-step-down
τούς τε ἐξ ἄστεως καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἵνα τὰς ὑμῖν
the(-men) both from town and the(-men) from Piraeus so-that the to-you
διὰ τούτων γεγενημένας συμφορὰς παραδείγματα ἔχοντες
through these having-happened misfortunes as-examples having
τὴν ψῆφον φέρητε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅσοι ἐξ ἄστεώς
the vote you-may-cast and first indeed as-many-as from town
ἐστε, σκέψασθε ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτω σφόδρα ἤρχεσθε
you-are consider that by these so vehemently you-were-ruled
ὥστε ἀδελφοῖς καὶ υἱέσι καὶ πολίταις ἠναγκάζεσθε πολεμεῖν
that with-brothers and with-sons and with-citizens you-were-compelled to-wage-war
τοιοῦτον πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ ἡττηθέντες μὲν τοῖς νικήσασι
such war in which having-been-defeated indeed with-the victors
τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε, νικήσαντες δ' ἂν τούτοις ἐδουλεύετε.
the equal you-have having-won but — to-these you-would-be-slaves

93 Καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους οὗτοι μὲν ἂν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων
and the private households these indeed — from the affairs
μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
great would-have-acquired you but because-of the with one-another
πόλεμον ἐλάττους ἔχετε· συνωφελεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ
war smaller you-have to-share-benefit indeed for you not

ἠξίουν, συνδιαβάλλεσθαι δ' ἠνάγκαζον, εἰς τοσοῦτον
they-deemed-it-right to-share-blame but they-compelled to such
ὑπεροψίας ἐλθόντες ὥστε οὐ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούμενοι
of-arrogance having-come that not of-the goods sharing
πιστοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐκτῶντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνειδῶν μεταδιδόντες
faithful you they-acquired but of-the reproaches giving-share
εὔνους ᾠοντο εἶναι.
well-disposed they-thought to-be

Ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐν τῷ θαρραλέῳ ὄντες, καθ' ὅσον 94
in-return-for which you now in the confidence being as-far as
δύνασθε, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ
you-can both on-behalf-of your- -selves and on-behalf-of the(-men) from
Πειραιῶς τιμωρήσασθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες μὲν ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων
Piraeus take-vengeance having-reflected indeed that by these
πονηροτάτων ὄντων ἤρχεσθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες δὲ ὅτι μετ'
most-wicked being you-were-ruled having-reflected and that with
ἀνδρῶν νῦν ἀρίστων πολιτεύεσθε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις
men now best you-live-as-citizens and with-the enemies
μάχεσθε καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως βουλεύεσθε, ἀναμνησθέντες
fight and about the city deliberate having-remembered
δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων, οὓς οὗτοι φύλακας τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς
and of-the mercenaries whom these as-guards of-the their-own rule
καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν.
and of-the your slavery in the acropolis established

Καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὲν ἔτι πολλῶν ὄντων εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα 95
and to you indeed still many(-things) being to-say so-much
λέγω. ὅσοι δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐστε, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν
I-say as-many-as but from Piraeus you-are first indeed of-the
ὅπλων ἀναμνήσθητε, ὅτι πολλὰς μάχας ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ
arms remember that many battles in the foreign(-land)
μαχεσάμενοι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων
having-fought not by the enemies but by these

εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀφῃρέθητε τὰ ὅπλα, ἔπειθ' ὅτι ἐξεκηρύχθητε
peace being you-were-deprived-of the arms then that you-were-banished
μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν,
indeed from the city which to-you the fathers handed-down
φεύγοντας δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξῃτοῦντο.
being-exiles and you from the cities they-demanded-the-surrender-of
96 Ἀνθ' ὧν ὀργίσθητε μὲν ὥσπερ ὅτ' ἐφεύγετε,
in-return-for which be-angry indeed as when you-were-in-exile
ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ἃ πεπόνθατε
remember and also the other evils which you-have-suffered
ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς δ'
at their(-hands) who the(-men) indeed from the agora the(-men) and
ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συναρπάζοντες βιαίως ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς
from the temples seizing violently killed the(-men)
δὲ ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες
and from children and parents and wives dragging-away
φονέας αὑτῶν ἠνάγκασαν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς
murderers of-themselves they-compelled to-become and not-even burial the
νομιζομένης εἴασαν τυχεῖν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν αὑτῶν ἀρχὴν
customary allowed to-obtain thinking the their-own rule
βεβαιοτέραν εἶναι τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας.
more-secure to-be than-the from the gods vengeance
97 Ὅσοι δὲ τὸν θάνατον διέφυγον, πολλαχοῦ κινδυνεύσαντες
as-many-as and the death escaped in-many-places having-run-risks
καὶ εἰς πολλὰς πόλεις πλανηθέντες καὶ πανταχόθεν
and to many cities having-wandered and from-everywhere
ἐκκηρυττόμενοι, ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οἱ μὲν
being-proclaimed-banished lacking being of-the necessities the(-ones) indeed
ἐν πολεμίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς παῖδας καταλιπόντες, οἱ
in hostile the fatherland the children having-left the(-ones)
δ' ἐν ξένῃ γῇ, πολλῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἦλθετε εἰς τὸν
and in foreign land many opposing you-came to the

Πειραιᾶ. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπαρξάντων
Piraeus many and and great dangers being-present
ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἠλευθερώσατε, τοὺς
men good having-become the(-ones) indeed you-freed the(-ones)
δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατηγάγετε.
and to the fatherland you-brought-back
Εἰ δὲ ἐδυστυχήσατε καὶ τούτων ἡμάρτετε, αὐτοὶ μὲν 98
if and you-had-failed and these(-things) you-had-missed yourselves indeed
ἂν δείσαντες ἐφεύγετε μὴ πάθητε τοιαῦτα οἷα καὶ
— having-feared would-have-fled lest you-should-suffer such(-things) as also
πρότερον, καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ἱερὰ οὔτε βωμοὶ ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους
before and neither — temples nor altars you being-wronged
διὰ τοὺς τούτων τρόπους ὠφέλησαν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς
because-of the their ways would-have-helped which even for-the(-men)
ἀδικοῦσι σωτήρια γίγνεται· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ὑμῶν, ὅσοι
doing-wrong saving become the and children your as-many-as
μὲν ἐνθάδε ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ὑβρίζοντο,
indeed here were by these — would-have-been-outraged
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μικρῶν ἂν ἕνεκα συμβολαίων
the(-ones) and on foreign(-soil) small — for-the-sake-of contracts
ἐδούλευον ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων.
would-have-been-slaves in-lack of-the(-men) going-to-help
Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλομαι λέγειν, 99
but for not the(-things) about to-be I-wish to-say
τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτων οὐ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν·
the(-things) done by these not being-able to-tell
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑνὸς κατηγόρου οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
not-even for of-one accuser nor of-two the-work is but
πολλῶν. ὅμως δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλέλειπται,
of-many nevertheless but of-the my eagerness nothing has-been-left-out
ὑπέρ τε τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ οὗτοι τὰ μὲν ἀπέδοντο
on-behalf-of both the temples which these the(-ones) indeed sold

τὰ δ' εἰσιόντες ἐμίαινον, ὑπέρ τε τῆς πόλεως, ἣν
the(-ones) and entering defiled on-behalf-of and the city which
μικρὰν ἐποίουν, ὑπέρ τε τῶν νεωρίων, ἃ καθεῖλον,
small they-made on-behalf-of and the dockyards which they-pulled-down
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων, οἷς ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ζῶσιν
and on-behalf-of the dead whom you since living
ἐπαμῦναι οὐκ ἐδύνασθε, ἀποθανοῦσι βοηθήσατε.
to-defend not you-could having-died help
100 Οἶμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν τε ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἴσεσθαι
I-think and them us both to-hear and you to-be-going-to-know
τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας, ἡγουμένους, ὅσοι μὲν ἂν τούτων
the vote casting thinking as-many-as indeed — of-these
ἀποψηφίσησθε, αὐτῶν θάνατον κατεψηφισμένους ἔσεσθαι,
you-acquit of-them death having-voted-against to-be-going-to-be
ὅσοι δ' ἂν παρὰ τούτων δίκην λάβωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
as-many-as but — from these justice take on-behalf-of them
τιμωρίας πεποιημένους. Παύσομαι κατηγορῶν. ἀκηκόατε,
vengeance having-made I-will-stop accusing you-have-heard
ἑοράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε· δικάζετε.
you-have-seen you-have-suffered you-have(-them) judge

LYSIAS

ΚΑΤΑ ΑΓΟΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΝΔΕΙΞΕΩΣ

Against Agoratus

I · THE PEACE OF THERAMENES

The speaker prosecutes Agoratus, who informed against the generals and taxiarchs under the Thirty and caused the death of his brother-in-law Dionysodorus. After the fleet was lost, Cleophon spoke against pulling down the Long Walls; Theramenes promised a peace that would keep them and stayed long in Sparta while Athens starved, and meanwhile the plotters had Cleophon tried and killed. Theramenes returned with one that pulled them all down and gave up the ships. The generals and taxiarchs resolved to resist, and the plotters chose Agoratus as their informer.

Προσήκει μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τιμωρεῖν 1
it-befits indeed O men jurors all you to-avenge
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ ἀπέθανον εὖνοι ὄντες τῷ
on-behalf-of the men who died well-disposed being to-the
πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, προσήκει δὲ κἀμοὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα·
majority the your it-befits and to-me-too not least
κηδεστὴς γάρ μοι ἦν Διονυσόδωρος καὶ ἀνεψιός. τυγχάνει
brother-in-law for to-me was Dionysodorus and cousin it-happens
οὖν ἐμοὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἔχθρα πρὸς Ἀγόρατον τουτονὶ καὶ
then for-me the same enmity toward Agoratus this-here and
τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ὑπάρχουσα· ἔπραξε γὰρ οὗτος
for-the majority the your existing he-did for this-man
τοιαῦτα, δι' ἃ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νυνὶ εἰκότως μισεῖται, ὑπό
such(-things) because-of which by me now reasonably he-is-hated by
τε ὑμῶν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, δικαίως τιμωρηθήσεται.
and you if god will justly he-will-be-punished
Διονυσόδωρον γὰρ τὸν κηδεστὴν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ ἑτέρους 2
Dionysodorus for the brother-in-law the my and others
πολλούς, ὧν δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀκούσεσθε, ἄνδρας ὄντας
many whose indeed the names you-will-hear men being
ἀγαθοὺς περὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον, ἐπὶ τῶν
good toward the majority the your in-the-time-of the

τριάκοντα ἀπέκτεινε, μηνυτὴς κατ᾽ ἐκείνων γενόμενος.
Thirty he-killed informer against them having-become
ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐμὲ μὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν
having-done and these-things me indeed privately and each of-the
προσηκόντων μεγάλα ἐζημίωσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κοινῇ
kinsmen greatly he-harmed the and city in-common
πᾶσαν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἀποστερήσας οὐ μικρά,
all of-such men having-deprived not little
3 ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, ἔβλαψεν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί,
as I think be-damaged I then O men jurors
δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν ἅπασι
just and holy I-consider to-be both for-me and for-you all
τιμωρεῖσθαι καθ᾽ ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται· καὶ ποιοῦσι
to-take-vengeance as-far as each is-able and for-(us)-doing
ταῦτα νομίζω ἡμῖν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
these-things I-think for-us both from gods and from men
ἄμεινον ἂν γίγνεσθαι. δεῖ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
better — to-be it-is-needful and you O men Athenians
ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἁπάντων ἀκοῦσαι,
from beginning of-the affairs all to-hear
4 ἵν᾽ εἰδῆτε πρῶτον μὲν ᾧ τρόπῳ ὑμῖν ἡ δημοκρατία
so-that you-may-know first indeed in-what way for-you the democracy
κατελύθη καὶ ὑφ᾽ ὅτου, ἔπειτα ᾧ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες
was-overthrown and by whom then in-what way the men
ὑπ᾽ Ἀγοράτου ἀπέθανον, καὶ δὴ ὅ τι ἀποθνήσκειν
by Agoratus died and indeed what (thing) to-die
μέλλοντες ἐπέσκηψαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς
being-about they-enjoined all for these-things precisely
ἂν μαθόντες ἥδιον καὶ ὁσιώτερον Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ
— having-learned more-gladly and more-piously Agoratus this-here

καταψηφίζοισθε. ὅθεν οὖν ἡμεῖς τε ῥᾷστα διδάξομεν
you-would-condemn from-where then we both most-easily we-will-teach
καὶ ὑμεῖς μαθήσεσθε, ἐντεῦθεν ὑμῖν ἄρξομαι διηγεῖσθαι.
and you you-will-learn from-there to-you I-will-begin to-narrate
Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι διεφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ 5
when for the ships the your were-destroyed and the
πράγματα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσθενέστερα ἐγεγένητο, οὐ
affairs the in the city weaker had-become not
πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον αἵ τε νῆες αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων
much time later the both ships — of-Lacedaemonians
ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀφικνοῦνται, καὶ ἅμα λόγοι πρὸς
to the Piraeus arrive and at-the-same-time talks with
Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγνοντο.
Lacedaemonians about the peace were-held
Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ οἱ βουλόμενοι νεώτερα 6
in and the time this the(-men) wishing new
πράγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι ἐπεβούλευον, νομίζοντες
affairs in the city to-happen plotted thinking
κάλλιστον καιρὸν εἰληφέναι καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἐν τῷ
finest opportunity to-have-got and most — in the
τότε χρόνῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐβούλοντο,
then time the affairs as they-themselves wished
καταστήσασθαι.
to-settle
Ἡγοῦντο δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι ἢ τοὺς 7
they-thought and nothing else to-them in-the-way to-be than the(-men)
τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας καὶ
of-the people leading and the(-men) being-generals and
ταξιαρχοῦντας. τούτους οὖν ἐβούλοντο ἁμῶς γέ πως
being-taxiarchs these then they-wished somehow at-least or-other
ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ῥᾳδίως ἃ βούλοιντο
out-of-the-way to-put so-that easily what(-things) they-might-wish

διαπράττοιντο. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Κλεοφῶντι ἐπέθεντο ἐκ
they-might-accomplish first indeed then Cleophon they-attacked in
τρόπου τοιούτου.
way such

8 Ὅτε γὰρ ἡ πρώτη ἐκκλησία περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγνετο καὶ
when for the first assembly about the peace was-held and
οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἥκοντες ἔλεγον ἐφ᾽ οἷς
the(-men) from Lacedaemonians having-come said on what(-terms)
ἕτοιμοι εἶεν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ
ready they-were the peace to-make Lacedaemonians if
κατασκαφείη τῶν τειχῶν τῶν μακρῶν ἐπὶ δέκα
there-should-be-demolished of-the walls the long for ten
στάδια ἑκατέρου, τότε ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ
stades of-each then you both O men Athenians not
ἠνέσχεσθε ἀκούσαντες περὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς κατασκαφῆς,
endured having-heard about of-the walls the demolition
Κλεοφῶν τε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπεν
Cleophon and on-behalf-of you all having-stood-up spoke-against
ὡς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οἷόν τε εἴη ποιεῖν ταῦτα.
that in-no way possible — it-was to-do these-things

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θηραμένης, ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ πλήθει
after and these-things Theramenes plotting-against the majority
τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, ἀναστὰς λέγει ὅτι, ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἕλησθε
the your having-stood-up says that if him you-choose
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα, ποιήσει
about the peace envoy with-full-powers he-will-make(-it)
ὥστε μήτε τῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν μήτε ἄλλο τὴν πόλιν
so-that neither of-the walls to-breach nor in-other-respect the city
ἐλαττῶσαι μηδέν· οἴοιτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ
to-diminish in-nothing he-thought and also other some good from
Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ πόλει εὑρήσεσθαι.
Lacedaemonians for-the city to-be-going-to-obtain

Πεισθέντες δὲ ὑμεῖς εἵλεσθε ἐκεῖνον πρεσβευτὴν 10
having-been-persuaded and you chose him envoy
αὐτοκράτορα, ὃν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει στρατηγὸν
with-full-powers whom in-the previous year general
χειροτονηθέντα ἀπεδοκιμάσατε, οὐ νομίζοντες εὖνουν εἶναι
elected you-rejected not thinking well-disposed to-be
τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ.
to-the majority the your
Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐλθὼν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ 11
he indeed then having-gone to Lacedaemon stayed there
πολὺν χρόνον, καταλιπὼν ὑμᾶς πολιορκουμένους, εἰδὼς
long time having-left you being-besieged knowing
τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐχόμενον καὶ διὰ τὸν
the your majority in helplessness held and because-of the
πόλεμον καὶ τὰ κακὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
war and the evils the many of-the necessities
ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας, νομίζων, εἰ διαθείη ὑμᾶς ὥσπερ διέθηκεν,
lacking being thinking if he-should-bring you as he-brought
ἀσμένως ὁποιαντινοῦν ἐθελῆσαι ἂν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι.
gladly any-whatever would-be-willing — peace to-make
Οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντες καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντες καταλῦσαι 12
the(-men) and here remaining and plotting to-overthrow
τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰς ἀγῶνα Κλεοφῶντα καθιστᾶσι,
the democracy into trial Cleophon bring
πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἀναπαυσόμενος,
pretext indeed that not he-went to the arms to-rest
τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἀντεῖπεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μὴ καθαιρεῖν τὰ
the but truth that he-spoke-against on-behalf-of you not to-pull-down the
τείχη. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν δικαστήριον παρασκευάσαντες καὶ
walls for-him indeed then a-court having-prepared and

εἰσελθόντες οἱ βουλόμενοι ὀλιγαρχίαν καταστήσασθαι
having-entered the(-men) wishing oligarchy to-establish
ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ.
killed-him on the pretext this
13 Θηραμένης δὲ ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος.
Theramenes and later arrives from Lacedaemon
προσιόντες δ' αὐτῷ τῶν τε στρατηγῶν τινες καὶ τῶν
approaching and him of-the both generals some and of-the
ταξιάρχων, ὧν ἦν Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Διονυσόδωρος,
taxiarchs of-whom was Strombichides and Dionysodorus
καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοοῦντες ὑμῖν, ὥς γ'
and others some of-the citizens being-well-disposed to-you as at-least
ἐδήλωσαν ὕστερον, ἠγανάκτουν σφόδρα. ἦλθε γὰρ φέρων
they-showed later were-indignant vehemently he-came for bringing
εἰρήνην τοιαύτην, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν·
peace such which we in-deed having-learned recognized
πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπωλέσαμεν,
many for of-the citizens and good(-men) we-lost
14 καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐξηλάθημεν. ἐνῆν γὰρ
and ourselves by the Thirty were-driven-out it-was-in for
ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν
instead-of indeed the for ten stades of-the long walls
διελεῖν ὅλα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη διασκάψαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ
to-breach whole the long walls to-dig-down instead-of and the
ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὑρέσθαι τάς τε ναῦς
other some good for-the city to-obtain the both ships
παραδοῦναι καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος περιελεῖν.
to-hand-over and the around the Piraeus wall to-strip-off
15 Ὁρῶντες δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ὀνόματι μὲν εἰρήνην
seeing and these the men in-name indeed peace
λεγομένην, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταλυομένην,
spoken-of in-the but deed the democracy being-overthrown

οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν ταῦτα γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες,
not they-said to-be-going-to-allow these-things to-happen not pitying
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ τείχη, εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδόμενοι
O men Athenians the walls if they-will-fall nor caring-for
τῶν νεῶν, εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις παραδοθήσονται (οὐδὲν γὰρ
the ships if to-Lacedaemonians they-will-be-handed-over nothing for
αὐτοῖς τούτων πλέον ἢ ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ προσῆκεν),
to-them of-these(-things) more than of-you to-each concerned
ἀλλ' αἰσθόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τούτου τὸ ὑμέτερον 16
but perceiving by the way this the your
πλῆθος καταλυθησόμενον, οὐδ', ὥς φασί τινες, οὐκ
majority about-to-be-overthrown nor as say some not
ἐπιθυμοῦντες εἰρήνην γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι βελτίω
desiring peace to-come-about but wishing better
ταύτης εἰρήνην τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ποιήσασθαι.
than-this peace for-the people the of-Athenians to-make
ἐνόμιζον δὲ δυνήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔπραξαν ἂν ταῦτα, εἰ
they-thought and to-be-going-to-be-able and would-have-done — these-things if
μὴ ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἀπώλοντο.
not by Agoratus this-here they-had-perished
Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα Θηραμένης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ 17
having-recognized and these-things Theramenes and the others the(-men)
ἐπιβουλεύοντες ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰσί τινες οἳ κωλύσουσι
plotting-against you that there-are some who will-prevent
τὸν δῆμον καταλυθῆναι καὶ ἐναντιώσονται ὑπὲρ τῆς
the people to-be-overthrown and will-oppose on-behalf-of the
ἐλευθερίας, εἵλοντο, πρὶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν περὶ τῆς
freedom chose before the assembly the about the
εἰρήνης γενέσθαι, τούτους πρῶτον εἰς διαβολὰς καὶ κινδύνους
peace to-take-place these first into slanders and dangers

καταστῆσαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐκεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους
to-put so-that no-one there on-behalf-of the your majority
ἀντιλέγοι. ἐπιβουλὴν οὖν τοιαύτην ἐπιβουλεύουσι.
might-speak-against plot then such they-plot

18 Πείθουσι γὰρ Ἀγόρατον τουτονὶ μηνυτὴν κατὰ τῶν
they-persuade for Agoratus this-here informer against the
στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων γενέσθαι, οὐ συνειδότα
generals and the taxiarchs to-become not sharing-knowledge
ἐκείνοις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδέν (οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἐκεῖνοι
with-those O men Athenians nothing not for surely they
οὕτως ἀνόητοι ἦσαν καὶ ἄφιλοι, ὥστε περὶ τηλικούτων ἂν
so foolish were and friendless that about such-great —
πραγμάτων πράττοντες Ἀγόρατον ὡς πιστὸν καὶ εὔνουν,
affairs acting Agoratus as faithful and well-disposed
δοῦλον καὶ ἐκ δούλων ὄντα, παρεκάλεσαν), ἀλλ' ἐδόκει
slave and of slaves being they-would-have-called-in but it-seemed
αὐτοῖς οὗτος ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μηνυτής.
to-them this-man suitable to-be informer

II · THE INFORMER

The plotters sent Theocritus to tell the council in secret of a conspiracy, and it voted to fetch Agoratus. In the Piraeus Nicias and Nicomenes stood bail for him; at the altar of Munichia his sureties offered to sail away with him, but he refused and left the altar willingly. Before the council he named his sureties, the generals and taxiarchs, and other citizens, and before the assembly at Munichia he named the generals and taxiarchs again. The decrees are read: he is their murderer, and after their arrest Lysander sailed in, the walls were razed, and the Thirty were set up.

Ἐβούλοντο οὖν ἄκοντα δοκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἑκόντα 19
they-wished then unwilling to-seem him and not willing
μηνύειν, ὅπως πιστοτέρα ἡ μήνυσις φαίνοιτο. ὡς δὲ
to-inform so-that more-credible the information might-appear that but
ἑκὼν ἐμήνυσε, καὶ ὑμᾶς οἶμαι ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων
willing he-informed also you I-think from the(-things) done
αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἰσπέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν Θεόκριτον
to-be-going-to-perceive they-send-in for into the council Theocritus
τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφοστίκτου καλούμενον· ὁ δὲ Θεόκριτος
the(-son) — of-Elaphostictus called — and Theocritus
οὗτος ἑταῖρος ἦν τῷ Ἀγοράτῳ καὶ ἐπιτήδειος.
this comrade was — to-Agoratus and intimate
Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡ πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα βουλεύουσα 20
the and council the(-one) before the Thirty sitting
διέφθαρτο καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπεθύμει, ὡς ἴστε, μάλιστα.
had-been-corrupted and oligarchy desired as you-know most
τεκμήριον δέ· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνης
proof and the(-men) for many the(-men) from that
τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ὑστέραν βουλὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν
the council the later council the(-one) in-the-time-of the
τριάκοντα ἐβούλευον. τοῦ δ' ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω ὑμῖν;
Thirty sat-in of-what and for-the-sake these-things I-tell you
ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὅτι τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς
so-that you-may-know that the decrees the(-ones) from that the
βουλῆς οὐκ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ
council not for goodwill the your but for overthrow of-the
δήμου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἅπαντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς τοιούτοις
people the your all came-about and as such
οὖσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν προσέχητε.
being to-them the mind you-may-apply

21 Εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς ταύτην τὴν βουλὴν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ
having-entered and into this the council in secret
Θεόκριτος μηνύει ὅτι συλλέγονταί τινες ἐναντιωσόμενοι
Theocritus informs that are-gathering some going-to-oppose
τοῖς τότε καθισταμένοις πράγμασι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα
the then being-established affairs the indeed then names
οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῶν ἐρεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον· ὅρκους τε γὰρ
not he-said of-them to-be-going-to-tell by each oaths both for
ὀμωμοκέναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις, καὶ εἶναι ἑτέρους οἳ
to-have-sworn the same with-them and there-to-be others who
ἐροῦσι τὰ ὀνόματα, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ποιῆσαι ταῦτα.
will-tell the names he-himself but not — ever would-do these-things
22 Καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμηνύετο, πῶς οὐκ ἂν
and-yet if not from preparation it-was-being-informed how not —
ἠνάγκασεν ἡ βουλὴ εἰπεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα Θεόκριτον καὶ
would-have-compelled the council to-tell the names Theocritus and
μὴ ἀνώνυμον τὴν μήνυσιν ποιήσασθαι; νῦν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ
not nameless the information to-make now but this the
ψήφισμα ψηφίζεται.
decree it-votes
ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.
decree
23 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐψηφίσθη, κατέρχονται
when then this the decree was-voted go-down
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγόρατον εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἱ αἱρεθέντες
for — Agoratus to the Piraeus the(-men) chosen
τῶν βουλευτῶν, καὶ περιτυχόντες αὐτῷ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐζήτουν
of-the councilors and having-come-upon him in agora sought
ἄγειν. παραγενόμενος δὲ Νικίας καὶ Νικομένης καὶ
to-take(-him) having-come-along and Nicias and Nicomenes and
ἄλλοι τινές, ὁρῶντες τὰ πράγματα οὐχ οἷα βέλτιστα
others some seeing the affairs not as best

ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντα, ἄγειν μὲν τὸν Ἀγόρατον οὐκ
in the city being to-take indeed — Agoratus not
ἔφασαν προήσεσθαι, ἀφῃροῦντο δὲ καὶ ἠγγυῶντο καὶ
they-said to-be-going-to-allow they-tried-to-rescue-him and and stood-bail and
ὡμολόγουν παρέξειν εἰς τὴν βουλήν.
agreed to-produce(-him) before the council
Γραψάμενοι δὲ οἱ βουλευταὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν 24
having-written-down and the councilors the names of-the(-men)
ἐγγυωμένων καὶ κωλυόντων, ἀπιόντες ᾤχοντο εἰς ἄστυ. ὁ
standing-bail and preventing departing they-went to town —
δὲ Ἀγόρατος καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν
and Agoratus and the sureties sit-down at the altar
Μουνιχίασιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκάθισαν, ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ
at-Munichia when and they-sat they-deliberated what one-must
ποιεῖν. ἐδόκει οὖν τοῖς ἐγγυηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν
to-do it-seemed then to-the sureties and to-the others all
ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀγόρατον ὡς τάχιστα,
out-of-the-way to-put — Agoratus as fast-as-possible
καὶ παρορμίσαντες δύο πλοῖα ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ παντὶ τρόπῳ 25
and having-moored-alongside two boats they-begged him in-every way
ἀπελθεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν συνεκπλευσεῖσθαι,
to-go-away from-Athens and themselves said to-be-going-to-sail-out-with(-him)
ἕως τὰ πράγματα κατασταίη, λέγοντες ὅτι, εἰ κομισθείη
until the affairs should-settle saying that if he-were-brought
εἰς τὴν βουλήν, βασανιζόμενος ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται
into the council being-tortured perhaps he-will-be-compelled
ὀνόματα εἰπεῖν Ἀθηναίων ὧν ἂν ὑποβάλωσιν οἱ
names to-tell of-Athenians whom — might-suggest the(-men)
βουλόμενοι κακόν τι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐργάζεσθαι.
wishing evil some in the city to-do

26 Ταῦτα ἐκείνων δεομένων καὶ παρασκευασάντων πλοῖα
these-things them begging and having-prepared boats
καὶ αὐτῶν ἑτοίμων ὄντων συνεκπλεῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε
and themselves ready being to-sail-out-with-him not was-willing
πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς Ἀγόρατος οὑτοσί. καίτοι, ὦ Ἀγόρατε, εἰ
to-obey them Agoratus this-here and-yet O Agoratus if
μή τί σοι ἦν παρεσκευασμένον καὶ ἐπίστευες μηδὲν
not something for-you was prepared and you-trusted nothing
κακὸν πείσεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ᾤχου καὶ πλοίων
evil to-be-going-to-suffer how not — would-you-have-gone both boats
παρεσκευασμένων καὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν ἑτοίμων ὄντων σοι
having-been-prepared and the sureties ready being for-you
συνεκπλεῖν; ἔτι γὰρ οἷόν τέ σοι ἦν, καὶ οὔπω ἡ
to-sail-out-with still for possible — for-you it-was and not-yet the
βουλή σου ἐκράτει.
council you had-power-over

27 Ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ οὐχ ὅμοιά γε σοὶ καὶ ἐκείνοις
but indeed indeed not alike at-least for-you and for-them
ὑπῆρχε. πρῶτον μέν γε Ἀθηναῖοι ἦσαν ὥστε οὐκ
it-stood first indeed at-least Athenians they-were so-that not
ἐδέδισαν βασανισθῆναι· ἔπειτα πατρίδα σφετέραν αὐτῶν
they-feared to-be-tortured then fatherland their- -own
καταλιπόντες ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν συνεκπλεῖν μετὰ σοῦ,
having-left ready they-were to-sail-out with you
ἡγησάμενοι ταῦτα μᾶλλον λυσιτελεῖν ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν
having-thought this rather to-profit than of-the citizens
πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσθαι. σοὶ
many and good(-men) by you unjustly to-perish for-you
δὲ πρῶτον μὲν κίνδυνος ἦν βασανισθῆναι ὑπομείναντι,
but first indeed danger was to-be-tortured having-remained
ἔπειτα οὐ πατρίδα ἂν σαυτοῦ ἀπέλιπες,
then not fatherland — your-own you-would-have-left

ὥστ᾽ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου σοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐκπλεῦσαι 28
so-that by every way for-you rather than for-them to-sail-away
συνέφερεν, εἰ μή τι ἦν ᾧ ἐπίστευες. νῦν δὲ
was-advantageous if not something there-was in-which you-trusted now but
ἄκων μὲν προσποιεῖ, ἑκὼν δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς
unwilling indeed you-pretend willing but many and good(-men)
Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτεινας. ὡς δὲ παρεσκευάσθη ἅπαντα ἃ
of-Athenians you-killed that but was-prepared all which
ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ μάρτυρές εἰσι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμα
I say both witnesses there-are and itself the decree
αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς καταμαρτυρήσει.
him the(-one) of-the council will-testify-against
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.
witnesses decree
Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἦλθον οἱ 29
when then this the decree was-voted and came the(-men)
ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Μουνιχίαζε, ἑκὼν ἀνέστη Ἀγόρατος ἀπὸ
from the council to-Munichia willingly stood-up Agoratus from
τοῦ βωμοῦ· καίτοι νῦν γε βίᾳ φησὶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι.
the altar and-yet now at-least by-force he-says to-have-been-taken-away
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἐκομίσθησαν, ἀπογράφει 30
when and to the council they-were-brought lists
Ἀγόρατος πρῶτον μὲν τῶν αὑτοῦ ἐγγυητῶν τὰ ὀνόματα,
Agoratus first indeed of-the his-own sureties the names
ἔπειτα τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, ἔπειτα δὲ
then of-the generals and of-the taxiarchs then and
καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν πολιτῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ αὕτη τοῦ παντὸς
also of-others some citizens the and beginning this of-the whole
κακοῦ ἐγένετο. ὡς δὲ ἀπέγραψε τὰ ὀνόματα, οἶμαι μὲν
evil became that but he-listed the names I-think indeed

καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ ἐγὼ
even himself to-be-going-to-agree if but not in the-act I
αὐτὸν ἐξελέγξω. Ἀπόκριναι δή μοι.
him I-will-convict answer indeed to-me

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ.

questioning

31 Ἐβούλοντο τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἔτι πλειόνων αὐτὸν
they-wished then O men jurors still of-more him
τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπογράψαι· οὕτω σφόδρα ἔρρωτο ἡ βουλὴ
the names to-list so vehemently was-bent the council
κακόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ οὗτος οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα
evil some to-do and this-man not seemed to-them all
τἀληθῆ πω κατηγορηκέναι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἅπαντας
the-truth yet to-have-denounced these indeed then all
ἑκὼν ἀπογράφει, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτῷ ἀνάγκης οὔσης.
willingly he-lists no to-him compulsion being

32 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνιχίασιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγίγνετο,
when and the assembly at-Munichia in the theater was-held
οὕτω σφόδρα τινὲς ἐπεμέλοντο ὅπως καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ
so vehemently some took-care that also in the people about
τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων μήνυσις γένοιτο
the generals and the taxiarchs information should-take-place
(περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέχρη ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μόνῃ γεγενημένη),
about but the others it-sufficed in the council alone having-taken-place
ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖ παράγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Καί μοι
so-that also there they-bring him before the people and to-me
ἀπόκριναι, ὦ Ἀγόρατε· οὐ γὰρ οἶμαί σε ἔξαρνον γενήσεσθαι
answer O Agoratus not for I-think you denying to-be-going-to-be
ἃ ἐναντίον Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων ἐποίησας.
(the-things)-which before Athenians all you-did

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ.

questioning

Ὁμολογεῖ μὲν καὶ αὐτός, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα 33
he-admits indeed also himself nevertheless but also the decrees
ὑμῖν τοῦ δήμου ἀναγνώσεται.
to-you of-the people will-read
ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.
decrees
Ὅτι μὲν ἀπέγραψεν Ἀγόρατος οὑτοσὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
that indeed listed Agoratus this-here of-the men
ἐκείνων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὰ
those the names both the(-ones) in the council and the(-ones)
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἔστι φονεὺς ἐκείνων, σχεδόν τι οἶμαι
in the people and is murderer of-those nearly somewhat I-think
ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι· ὡς τοίνυν ἁπάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος
you to-know that then of-all the evils cause
τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο καὶ οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς αὐτὸν προσήκει
to-the city he-became and not-even by one him it-befits
ἐλεεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ οἶμαι ὑμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἀποδείξειν.
to-be-pitied I I-think to-you in main-points to-be-going-to-show
Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι συλληφθέντες ἐδέθησαν, τότε καὶ ὁ 34
when for those having-been-arrested were-imprisoned then also —
Λύσανδρος εἰς τοὺς λιμένας τοὺς ὑμετέρους εἰσέπλευσε,
Lysander into the harbors the your sailed
καὶ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι Λακεδαιμονίοις παρεδόθησαν, καὶ
and the ships the your to-Lacedaemonians were-handed-over and
τὰ τείχη κατεσκάφη, καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν, καὶ
the walls were-razed and the Thirty were-established and
τί οὐ τῶν δεινῶν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο;
what not of-the terrible(-things) to-the city happened

The men were tried before the Thirty's council, not before the jury the people had voted. The Thirty sat on the prytaneis' benches and votes were cast openly; all were condemned except Agoratus. Before dying Dionysodorus sent for the speaker's sister, his wife, named Agoratus his killer, and charged the speaker, his own brother Dionysius, and all his friends to avenge him, and his wife, whom he believed pregnant, to tell the child. After the deaths of the men who had opposed the peace came the killings, the walls razed, and the ships surrendered; the decrees and the verdict prove he informed.

35 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οἱ τριάκοντα κατεστάθησαν, εὐθέως κρίσιν
when then the Thirty were-established immediately trial
τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐποίουν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὁ δὲ δῆμος
for-the men these they-held in the council the but people
'ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐν δισχιλίοις' ἐψήφιστο. Καί μοι
in the court with two-thousand had-voted and to-me
ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.
read the decree

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.
decree

36 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐκρίνοντο, ῥᾳδίως ἂν
if indeed then in the court they-had-been-tried easily —
ἐσῴζοντο· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἤδη ἐγνωκότες ἦτε
they-would-have-been-saved all for already having-recognized you-were
οὗ ἦν κακοῦ ἡ πόλις, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν
in-what was evil the city in which nothing any-longer to-help
ἐδύνασθε· νῦν δ' εἰς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ
you-could now but into the council them the(-one) in-the-time-of
τῶν τριάκοντα εἰσάγουσιν. ἡ δὲ κρίσις τοιαύτη ἐγίγνετο,
the Thirty they-bring the and trial such took-place
οἵαν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐπίστασθε.
as also you yourselves know

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὗ νῦν 37
the indeed for Thirty sat on the benches where now
οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται· δύο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν
the prytaneis sit two and tables in the front
τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκείσθην· τὴν δὲ ψῆφον οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους
of-the Thirty were-placed the and vote not into urns
ἀλλὰ φανερὰν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας ταύτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι,
but openly on the tables these it-was-needful to-place
τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν, ὥστε ἐκ τίνος
the(-one) indeed condemning on the latter so-that by what
τρόπου ἔμελλέ τις αὐτῶν σωθήσεσθαι; ἑνὶ δὲ λόγῳ,
way was-about anyone of-them to-be-saved in-one and word
ὅσοι εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσῆλθον κριθησόμενοι, ἁπάντων 38
as-many-as into the council-chamber entered to-be-tried of-all
θάνατος κατεγιγνώσκετο καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπεψηφίσαντο, πλὴν
death was-voted and of-no-one they-acquitted except
Ἀγοράτου τουτουί· τοῦτον δὲ ἀφεῖσαν ὡς εὐεργέτην
Agoratus this-here him but they-released as benefactor
ὄντα· ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὡς πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τούτου τεθνᾶσι,
being so-that and you-may-know how many by him have-died
βούλομαι ὑμῖν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἀναγνῶναι.
I-wish to-you the names of-them to-read

ONOMATA.

names

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, θάνατος αὐτῶν 39
when then O men jurors death of-them
κατεγνώσθη καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν,
was-voted and it-was-needful them to-die
μεταπέμπονται εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὁ μὲν ἀδελφήν, ὁ
they-send-for to the prison one indeed sister another
δὲ μητέρα, ὁ δὲ γυναῖκα, ὁ δ' ἥ τις ἦν ἑκάστῳ
and mother another and wife another and who ever was to-each

αὐτῶν προσήκουσα, ἵνα τὰ ὕστατα ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς
of-them related so-that the last(-farewells) having-embraced the
αὑτῶν οὕτω τὸν βίον τελευτήσειαν.
their-own so the life they-might-end

40 Καὶ δὴ καὶ Διονυσόδωρος μεταπέμπεται τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν
and indeed also Dionysodorus sends-for the sister the
ἐμὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν. πυθομένη
my to the prison wife his-own being having-learned
δ' ἐκείνη ἀφικνεῖται, μέλαν † τε ἱμάτιον ἠμφιεσμένη, ὡς
and she arrives black — and cloak having-put-on as
εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κεχρημένῳ.
fitting was for the husband her such misfortune having-experienced

41 Ἐναντίον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς Διονυσόδωρος τά
in-the-presence-of and the sister the my Dionysodorus the(-things)
τε οἰκεῖα τὰ αὑτοῦ διέθετο ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ
both domestic the(-things) his-own disposed as to-him it-seemed and
περὶ Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ αἴτιος ἦν τοῦ
about Agoratus this-here he-said that for-him responsible he-was for-the
θανάτου, καὶ ἐπέσκηπτεν ἐμοὶ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τουτῳί,
death and enjoined me and Dionysius this-here

42 τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὑτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πᾶσι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ
the brother the his-own and the friends all to-avenge on-behalf-of
αὑτοῦ Ἀγόρατον· καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ αὑτοῦ ἐπέσκηπτε,
him on-Agoratus and the wife the his-own he-enjoined
νομίζων αὐτὴν κυεῖν ἐξ αὑτοῦ, ἐὰν γένηται αὐτῇ παιδίον,
thinking her to-be-pregnant by him if there-be-born to-her a-child
φράζειν τῷ γενομένῳ ὅτι τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀγόρατος
to-tell the (one)-born that the father his Agoratus
ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ κελεύειν τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς φονέα
killed and to-bid to-avenge on-behalf-of him as murderer
ὄντα. ὡς οὖν ἀληθῆ λέγω, μάρτυρας τούτων παρέξομαι.
being that then true(-things) I-speak witnesses of-these(-things) I-will-present

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπ᾽ Ἀγοράτου 43
these indeed then O men Athenians by Agoratus
ἀπογραφέντες ἀπέθανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτους ἐκποδὼν
listed died when and these out-of-the-way
ἐποιήσαντο οἱ τριάκοντα, σχεδὸν οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι
had-put the Thirty nearly I-think you to-know
ὡς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο·
how many and terrible(-things) after these-things to-the city happened
ὧν οὗτος ἁπάντων αἴτιός ἐστιν ἀποκτείνας ἐκείνους.
of-which this-man of-all cause is having-killed those
ἀνιῶμαι μὲν οὖν ὑπομιμνήσκων τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς
I-am-grieved indeed then reminding-you-of the having-happened misfortunes
τῇ πόλει,
to-the city
ἀνάγκη δ᾽ ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐν τῷ παρόντι 44
necessity but it-is O men jurors in the present
καιρῷ, ἵν᾽ εἰδῆτε ὡς σφόδρα ὑμῖν ἐλεεῖν προσήκει
moment so-that you-may-know how vehemently for-you to-pity it-befits
Ἀγόρατον. ἴστε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος τῶν
Agoratus you-know indeed for the(-men) from Salamis of-the
πολιτῶν κομισθέντας, οἷοι ἦσαν καὶ ὅσοι, καὶ
citizens brought what-sort they-were and how-many and
οἵῳ ὀλέθρῳ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπώλοντο· ἴστε
by-what-sort-of destruction by the Thirty they-perished you-know
δὲ τοὺς ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, ὡς πολλοὶ ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ
and the(-men) from Eleusis how many this the misfortune
ἐχρήσαντο· μέμνησθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε διὰ τὰς
experienced you-remember and also the(-men) here because-of the
ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἀπαγομένους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον·
private enmities being-led-off to the prison

45 οἳ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὴν πόλιν ποιήσαντες ἠναγκάζοντο
who no evil the city having-done were-compelled
αἰσχίστῳ καὶ ἀκλεεστάτῳ ὀλέθρῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, οἱ
by-most-shameful and most-inglorious destruction to-perish some
μὲν γονέας πρεσβύτας καταλιπόντες, οἳ ἤλπιζον ὑπὸ
indeed parents old having-left who hoped by
τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν παίδων γηροτροφηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ
the their- -own children having-been-cared-for-in-old-age when
τελευτήσειαν τὸν βίον, ταφήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφὰς
they-should-end the life to-be-buried others and sisters
ἀνεκδότους, οἱ δὲ παῖδας μικροὺς πολλῆς ἔτι θεραπείας
unmarried others and children small much still care
δεομένους·
needing

46 οὕς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ποίαν τινὰ οἴεσθε γνώμην
whom O men jurors what-sort-of — do-you-think judgment
περὶ τούτου ἔχειν, ἢ ποίαν τινὰ ἂν ψῆφον θέσθαι, εἰ
about him to-have or what-sort-of — — vote to-cast if
ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις γένοιτο, ἀποστερηθέντας διὰ τοῦτον τῶν
in their(-power) it-should-be having-been-deprived because-of him of-the
ἡδίστων; ἔτι δὲ τὰ τείχη ὡς κατεσκάφη καὶ αἱ νῆες
sweetest(-things) further and the walls how were-razed and the ships
τοῖς πολεμίοις παρεδόθησαν καὶ τὰ νεώρια καθῃρέθη καὶ
to-the enemies were-handed-over and the dockyards were-pulled-down and
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἡμῶν εἶχον καὶ ἡ δύναμις
Lacedaemonians the acropolis our held and the power
ἅπασα τῆς πόλεως παρελύθη, ὥστε μηδὲν διαφέρειν
all of-the city was-broken so-that in-nothing to-differ
τῆς ἐλαχίστης πόλεως τὴν πόλιν.
from-the smallest city the city

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἀπωλέσατε, καὶ 47
in-addition and to-these the private estates you-lost and
τὸ τελευταῖον συλλήβδην ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα
the last all-together all by the Thirty
ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάθητε. ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ
from the fatherland you-were-driven-out these-things those the good
ἄνδρες αἰσθόμενοι οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν εἰρήνην,
men perceiving not they-said to-be-going-to-allow the peace
ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ποιήσασθαι·
O men jurors to-make
οὓς σύ, Ἀγόρατε, βουλομένους ἀγαθόν τι πρᾶξαι 48
whom you Agoratus wishing good something to-do
τῇ πόλει ἀπέκτεινας, μηνύσας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει
for-the city you-killed having-informed them against-the city
ἐπιβουλεύειν, καὶ αἴτιος εἶ ἁπάντων τῇ πόλει τῶν
to-plot and cause you-are of-all to-the city of-the
κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων. νῦν οὖν μνησθέντες καὶ τῶν
evils the having-happened now then having-remembered both the
ἰδίων ἕκαστος δυστυχημάτων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως
private each misfortunes and the common of-the city
τιμωρεῖσθε τὸν αἴτιον τούτων.
punish the cause of-these(-things)
Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅ τί ποτε 49
I-wonder and I-for-my-part O men jurors what (thing) ever
τολμήσει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπολογεῖσθαι· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν
he-will-dare before you to-plead it-is-needful for him
ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς οὐ κατεμήνυσε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων οὐδ'
to-show that not he-informed-against the men these nor
αἴτιος αὐτοῖς ἐστι τοῦ θανάτου, ὃ οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο
responsible for-them is for-the death which not — could
οὐδέποτε ἀποδεῖξαι.
ever to-show

50 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰ ψηφίσματα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐκ τῆς
first indeed for the decrees him the(-ones) from the
βουλῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ δήμου καταμαρτυρεῖ, διαρρήδην
council and the(-one) of-the people testify-against expressly
ἀγορεύοντα ‘περὶ ὧν Ἀγόρατος κατείρηκεν.’ ἔπειτα ἡ
declaring about whom Agoratus has-denounced then the
κρίσις, ἣν ἐκρίθη ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ἀφείθη,
trial which he-was-tried in-the-time-of the Thirty and he-was-released
διαρρήδην λέγει, ‘διότι’ φησίν ‘ἔδοξε τἀληθῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι.’
expressly says because it-says he-seemed the-truth to-have-reported
Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι.
and to-me read

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. ΓΝΩΣΙΣ.

decrees verdict

51 Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπέγραψεν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ δύναιτ’ ἂν
that indeed then not he-listed in-no way could —
ἀποδεῖξαι· δεῖ τοίνυν αὐτὸν ὡς δικαίως ἐμήνυσε ταῦτα
to-show it-is-needful then him that justly he-informed these-things
ἀποφαίνειν, ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς πονηρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ
to-declare seeing them wicked(-things) and not suitable for-the
δήμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πράττοντας. οἶομαι δ’ οὐδ’ ἂν τοῦτο
people the your doing I-think and not-even — this
αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀποδεικνύναι. οὐ γὰρ δήπου, εἴ τι κακὸν
him to-attempt to-show not for surely if some evil
τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἠργάσαντο, οἱ τριάκοντα, δεδιότες
the people the of-Athenians had-done the Thirty fearing
μὴ καταλυθείη ὁ δῆμος, τιμωροῦντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου
lest might-be-overthrown the people avenging on-behalf-of the people
ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἀλλ’ οἶμαι πολὺ τοὐναντίον τούτου.
— them they-would-have-killed but I-think much the-opposite of-this

Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως φήσει ἄκων τοσαῦτα κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι. ἐγὼ 52
but perhaps he-will-say unwilling so-many evils to-have-done I
δ᾽ οὐκ οἶμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐδ᾽ ἐάν τις ὑμᾶς
but not I-think O men jurors not-even if anyone you
ὡς μάλιστα ἄκων μεγάλα κακὰ ἐργάσηται, ὧν μὴ
as most unwilling great evils does of-which not
οἷόν τε γενέσθαι ἐστὶν ὑπερβολήν, οὐ τούτου ἕνεκα οὐ
possible — to-happen is excess not of-this for-the-sake not
δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι. εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων μέμνησθε,
to-be-needful you to-defend-yourselves then and also those(-things) remember
ὅτι ἐξῆν Ἀγοράτῳ τουτῳί, πρὶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν
that it-was-possible for-Agoratus this-here before to the council
κομισθῆναι, ὅτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐκάθητο Μουνιχίασι,
to-be-brought when on the altar he-sat at-Munichia
σωθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ
to-be-saved and for boats had-been-prepared and the sureties
ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν συναπιέναι.
ready were to-go-away-with(-him)

IV · MENESTRATUS AND ARISTOPHANES

Agoratus could have sailed away, but hoped to profit. Hippias and Xenophon, arrested on the same charge, died under the Thirty while he went free. Menestratus, whom he had named, informed in turn and was later executed by the people; Agoratus is guiltier still. Aristophanes, his surety, whom he then listed, chose to die rather than inform. Agoratus is a slave born of slaves, his brothers executed or dead in prison, and he himself was convicted of malicious prosecution and caught in adultery.

53 Καίτοι εἰ ἐκείνοις ἐπίθου καὶ ἠθέλησας ἐκπλεῦσαι
and-yet if those you-had-obeyed and had-been-willing to-sail-away
μετ᾽ ἐκείνων, οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἑκὼν οὔτε ἄκων τοσούτους
with them neither — willing nor unwilling so-many
Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτεινας· νῦν δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑφ᾽ ὧν
of-Athenians you-would-have-killed now but having-been-persuaded by whom
τότε ἐπείσθης, εἰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων
then you-were-persuaded if of-the generals and of-the taxiarchs
τὰ ὀνόματα μόνον εἴποις, μέγα τι ᾤου παρ᾽
the names only you-should-tell great something you-thought from
αὐτῶν διαπράξεσθαι. οὔκουν τούτου ἕνεκα δεῖ σε παρ᾽
them to-be-going-to-achieve not-therefore of-this for-the-sake must you from
ἡμῶν συγγνώμης τινὸς τυχεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ
us pardon any to-obtain since not-even those from
σοῦ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτυχον, οὓς σὺ ἀπέκτεινας.
you any obtained whom you killed

54 Καὶ Ἱππίας μὲν ὁ Θάσιος καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Κουριεύς, οἳ
and Hippias indeed the Thasian and Xenophon the Curian who
ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ αἰτίᾳ τούτῳ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μετεπέμφθησαν,
on the same charge as-him by the council were-sent-for
οὗτοι μὲν ἀπέθανον, ὁ μὲν στρεβλωθείς, Ξενοφῶν,
these indeed died the(-one) indeed having-been-racked Xenophon
ὁ δὲ Ἱππίας οὕτω, διότι οὐκ ἄξιοι ἐδόκουν
the(-other) and Hippias thus because not worthy they-seemed
τοῖς τριάκοντα σωτηρίας εἶναι (οὐδένα γὰρ Ἀθηναίων
to-the Thirty of-safety to-be no-one for of-Athenians
ἀπώλλυσαν)· Ἀγόρατος δὲ ἀφείθη, διότι ἐδόκει ἐκείνοις
they-were-destroying Agoratus but was-released because he-seemed to-them
τὰ ἥδιστα πεποιηκέναι.
the most-pleasing(-things) to-have-done

Ἀκούω δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Μενέστρατον ἀναφέρειν τι 55
I-hear and him also to Menestratus to-refer something
περὶ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τούτων. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μενεστράτου
about the lists these the and — of-Menestratus
πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο. ὁ Μενέστρατος οὗτος ἀπεγράφη
affair such was — Menestratus this was-listed
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγοράτου καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἐδέδετο· Ἀγνόδωρος
by — Agoratus and having-been-arrested was-in-chains Hagnodorus
δ᾽ ἦν Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς, δημότης τοῦ Μενεστράτου, Κριτίου
and was an-Amphitropaean demesman — of-Menestratus of-Critias
κηδεστὴς τοῦ τῶν τριάκοντα. οὗτος οὖν, ὅτε ἡ
brother-in-law the(-one) of-the Thirty this-man then when the
ἐκκλησία Μουνιχίασιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγίγνετο, ἅμα
assembly at-Munichia in the theater was-held at-the-same-time
μὲν βουλόμενος τὸν Μενέστρατον σωθῆναι, ἅμα
indeed wishing — Menestratus to-be-saved at-the-same-time
δὲ ὡς πλείστους ἀπογραφέντας ἀπολέσθαι, παράγει αὐτὸν
and as most listed to-perish brings him
εἰς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ εὑρίσκονται αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα
before the people and they-obtain for-him according-to the decree
τουτὶ ἄδειαν.
this-here immunity

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.
decree

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγένετο, μηνύει ὁ 56
when and this the decree was-passed informs —
Μενέστρατος καὶ προσαπογράφει ἑτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν.
Menestratus and lists-besides others of-the citizens
τοῦτον μέντοι οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα ἀφεῖσαν ὥσπερ Ἀγόρατον
him however the indeed Thirty released as Agoratus
τουτονί, δόξαντα τἀληθῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ πολλῷ
this-here having-seemed the-truth to-have-reported you but much

χρόνῳ ὕστερον λαβόντες ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ὡς ἀνδροφόνον
time later having-caught(-him) in court as murderer
ὄντα, θάνατον δικαίως καταψηφισάμενοι τῷ δημίῳ
being to-death justly having-condemned to-the executioner
παρέδοτε καὶ ἀπετυμπανίσθη.
handed-over and he-was-executed-on-the-plank
57 Καίτοι εἰ ἐκεῖνος ἀπέθανεν, ἦ που Ἀγόρατός γε
and-yet if he died surely I-suppose Agoratus at-least
δικαίως ἀποθανεῖται, ὅς γε τόν τε Μενέστρατον
justly will-die who at-least — both Menestratus
ἀπογράψας αἴτιος ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τοῖς
having-listed responsible for-him is for-the death and for-the(-men)
ὑπὸ Μενεστράτου ἀπογραφεῖσι τίς αἰτιώτερος ἢ ὁ
by Menestratus listed who more-responsible than the(-man)
εἰς τοιαύτην ἀνάγκην ἐκεῖνον καταστήσας;
into such compulsion him having-put
58 Ἀνόμοιος δέ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀριστοφάνει γενέσθαι τῷ
unlike and to-me he-seems to-Aristophanes to-have-been the
Χολλῃδῃ, ὃς ἐγγυητὴς τότε τούτου ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πλοῖα
Cholleidan who surety then for-him became and the boats
παρασκευάσας Μουνιχίασιν ἕτοιμος ἦν συνεκπλεῖν μετὰ
having-prepared at-Munichia ready was to-sail-out with
τούτου. καὶ τό γε ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ εἶναι ἐσώθης, καὶ οὔτ᾽
him and the at-least in his(-power) to-be you-were-saved and neither
ἂν Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα ἀπώλεσας οὔτ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς σὺ
— of-Athenians any you-would-have-destroyed nor — yourself you
εἰς τοιούτους κινδύνους κατέστης·
into such dangers would-have-come
59 νῦν δὲ καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα τὸν σαυτοῦ ἐτόλμησας ἀπογράψαι,
now but also the savior the your-own you-dared to-list
καὶ ἀπογράψας ἀπέκτεινας καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
and having-listed you-killed both him and the other

ἐγγυητάς. τοῦτον μέντοι ὡς οὐ καθαρῶς Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα
sureties him however as not purely Athenian being
ἐβούλοντό τινες βασανισθῆναι, καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν
wished some to-be-tortured and this-here the decree the
δῆμον ἀναπείθουσι ψηφίζεσθαι.
people they-persuade to-vote

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.
decree

Μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν προσιόντες τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει οἱ 60
after this then approaching — Aristophanes the(-men)
πράττοντες τότε τὰ πράγματα ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ κατειπεῖν
managing then the affairs begged him to-denounce
καὶ σῴζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἀγωνισάμενον τῆς
and to-be-saved and not to-run-risk having-been-tried of-the
ξενίας τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οὐδέποτε· οὕτω
alien-status the utmost to-suffer he but not said not-ever so
χρηστὸς ἦν καὶ περὶ τοὺς δεδεμένους καὶ περὶ τὸν
good was both toward the(-men) imprisoned and toward the
δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, ὥστε εἵλετο μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ
people the of-Athenians that he-chose rather to-die than
κατειπεῖν καὶ ἀδίκως τινὰς ἀπολέσαι.
to-denounce and unjustly some to-destroy

Ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοίνυν καὶ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀπολλύμενος τοιουτοσὶ 61
he indeed then even by you being-destroyed such-a-man
ἐγένετο· σὺ δ' οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις συνειδώς,
was you but nothing for-the men those knowing-against
πεισθεὶς δὲ ὡς σύ γε, ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόλωνται,
having-been-persuaded but that you at-least if those perish
μεθέξεις τῆς τότε πολιτείας καθισταμένης, ἀπέγραψας
you-will-share-in the then constitution being-established listed
καὶ ἀπέκτεινας Ἀθηναίων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς.
and killed of-Athenians many and good(-men)

62 Βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐπιδεῖξαι οἵων
I-wish and to-you O men jurors to-show of-what-sort
ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπεστέρησθε. εἰ μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλοὶ
men by Agoratus you-have-been-deprived if indeed then not many
ἦσαν, καθ' ἕκαστον ἂν περὶ αὐτῶν ἠκούετε, νῦν δὲ
they-were by each — about them you-would-hear now but
συλλήβδην περὶ πάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ στρατηγήσαντες
all-together about all the(-ones) indeed for having-been-generals
ὑμῖν πολλάκις μείζω τὴν πόλιν τοῖς διαδεχομένοις
for-you often greater the city to-the succeeding
στρατηγοῖς παρεδίδοσαν· οἱ δ' ἑτέρας μεγάλας
generals handed-over the(-ones) and other great
ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντες καὶ τριηραρχίας πολλὰς τριηραρχήσαντες
offices having-held and trierarchies many having-served-as-trierarchs
οὐδεπώποτε ὑφ' ὑμῶν οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν αἰσχρὰν ἔσχον.
never by you any charge shameful had
63 Οἱ δ' αὐτῶν περιγενόμενοι καὶ σωθέντες, οὓς οὗτος
the(-ones) and of-them having-survived and having-been-saved whom this-man
μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁμοίως καὶ θάνατος αὐτῶν κατεγνώσθη, ἡ
indeed killed likewise and death of-them was-voted the
δὲ τύχη καὶ ὁ δαίμων περιεποίησε, φυγόντες ἐνθένδε καὶ
but fortune and the deity preserved having-fled from-here and
οὐ συλληφθέντες οὐδὲ ὑπομείναντες τὴν κρίσιν, κατελθόντες
not arrested nor having-awaited the trial having-returned
ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τιμῶνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες.
from Phyle are-honored by you as men good being
64 Τούτους μέντοι τοιούτους ὄντας Ἀγόρατος τοὺς μὲν
these however such being Agoratus the(-ones) indeed
ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ φυγάδας ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίησε, τίς ὢν
he-killed the(-others) and exiles from-here made who being
αὐτός; δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι δοῦλος καὶ ἐκ δούλων
himself it-is-needful for you to-know that slave and of slaves

ἐστίν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε οἷος ὢν ὑμᾶς ἐλυμαίνετο. τουτῳὶ
he-is so-that you-may-know what-sort-of being you he-outraged to-this-man
μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ ἦν Εὐμάρης, ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ Εὐμάρης οὗτος
indeed for father was Eumares was and — Eumares this
Νικοκλέους καὶ Ἀντικλέους. Καί μοι ἀνάβητε μάρτυρες.
of-Nicocles and of-Anticles and to-me come-up witnesses
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses
Τἆλλα τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅσα κακὰ 65
the-other(-things) then O men jurors as-many-as evil
καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς τούτου ἀδελφοῖς
and shameful(-things) both by-him and by-the his brothers
ἐπιτετήδευται, πολὺ ἂν εἴη ἔργον λέγειν. περὶ δὲ
have-been-practiced much — it-would-be work to-tell about but
συκοφαντίας, ὅσας οὗτος ἢ δίκας ἰδίας συκοφαντῶν
informing as-many-as this-man either suits private informing
ἐδικάζετο ἢ γραφὰς ὅσας ἐγράφετο ἢ ἀπογραφὰς
he-brought or indictments as-many-as he-indicted or lists
ἀπέγραφεν, οὐδέν με δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν·
he-listed nothing me it-is-needful by each to-tell
συλλήβδην γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἐν
all-together for you all both in the people and in
τῷ δικαστηρίῳ συκοφαντίας αὐτοῦ κατέγνωτε καὶ ὤφλεν
the court of-informing him convicted and he-was-fined
ὑμῖν μυρίας δραχμάς,
by-you ten-thousand drachmas
ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ ὑμῶν ἁπάντων μεμαρτύρηται. 66
so-that this indeed sufficiently by you all has-been-witnessed
γυναῖκας τοίνυν τῶν πολιτῶν τοιοῦτος ὢν μοιχεύειν καὶ
women then of-the citizens such being to-seduce and
διαφθείρειν ἐλευθέρας ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ ἐλήφθη μοιχός· καὶ
to-corrupt free he-attempted and was-caught an-adulterer and

τούτου θάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐστίν. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω,
of-this death the penalty is that but true(-things) I-speak
μάρτυρας κάλει.
witnesses call
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses
67 Ἦσαν τοίνυν οὗτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τέτταρες
there-were then these O men jurors four
ἀδελφοί. τούτων εἷς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἐν Σικελίᾳ
brothers of-these one indeed the eldest in Sicily
παραφρυκτωρευόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ
signaling-by-fire to-the enemy having-been-caught by
Λαμάχου ἀπετυμπανίσθη· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος εἰς Κόρινθον μὲν
Lamachus was-executed-on-the-plank the and second to Corinth indeed
ἐντευθενὶ ἀνδράποδον ἐξήγαγεν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παιδίσκην αὖθις
from-here a-slave exported from-there and a-slave-girl again
ἐξάγων ἁλίσκεται, καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ δεδεμένος ἀπέθανε·
exporting is-caught and in the prison being-chained died
68 τὸν δὲ τρίτον Φαινιππίδης ἐνθάδε λωποδύτην ἀπήγαγε, καὶ
the and third Phaenippides here as-a-clothes-thief led-off and
ὑμεῖς κρίναντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καὶ καταγνόντες
you having-tried him in the court and having-condemned
αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἀποτυμπανίσαι παρέδοτε. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ
him to-death to-execute-on-the-plank handed-over that but true(-things)
λέγω, καὶ αὐτὸν οἶμαι ὁμολογήσειν τοῦτον καὶ μάρτυρας
I-speak also himself I-think to-be-going-to-agree this-man and witnesses
παρέξομαι.
I-will-present
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.
witnesses

Πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἅπασι προσήκει ὑμῖν τούτου καταψηφίζεσθαι; εἰ 69
how then not for-all befits you him to-condemn if
γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστος δι᾽ ἓν ἁμάρτημα θανάτου ἠξιώθη,
for of-these each for one error death was-deemed-worthy
ἦ που τοῦ γε πολλὰ ἐξημαρτηκότος καὶ
surely I-suppose of-the(-man) at-least many(-things) having-erred both
δημοσίᾳ εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἰδίᾳ εἰς ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, ὧν
publicly against the city and privately against each of-you of-which
ἑκάστου ἁμαρτήματος ἐν τοῖς νόμοις θάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐστί,
of-each error in the laws death the penalty is
δεῖ ὑμᾶς σφόδρα θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι.
it-is-needful you vehemently death against-him to-vote

V · THE KILLING OF PHRYNICHUS

Agoratus will say he killed Phrynichus and was made a citizen for it. In fact Thrasybulus of Calydon, plotting with Apollodorus of Megara, struck Phrynichus down; the decree names them, not Agoratus, who with others bribed the orator to have their names added. The Thirty, once of the Four Hundred, would never have released Phrynichus' killer. He will say he went to Phyle, but there Anytus alone saved him from the men he had ruined, no one would share a tent with him, and Aesimus drove him from the procession. For such wrongs there is no time limit.

Λέξει δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ ἐξαπατῆσαι ὑμᾶς 70
he-will-say and O men jurors and to-deceive you
πειράσεται, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων Φρύνιχον
he-will-try that in-the-time-of the Four-Hundred Phrynichus
ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον τὸν
he-killed and in-return-for this he-says him Athenian the
δῆμον ποιήσασθαι, ψευδόμενος, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί· οὔτε
people to-have-made lying O men jurors neither

γὰρ Φρύνιχον ἀπέκτεινεν οὔτε Ἀθηναῖον αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος
for Phrynichus he-killed nor Athenian him the people
ἐποιήσατο.
made

71 Φρυνίχῳ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, κοινῇ Θρασύβουλός
against-Phrynichus for O men jurors in-common Thrasybulus
τε ὁ Καλυδώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς
both the Calydonian and Apollodorus the Megarian
ἐπεβούλευσαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπετυχέτην αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι, ὁ
plotted when and they-came-upon him walking the(-one)
μὲν Θρασύβουλος τύπτει τὸν Φρύνιχον καὶ καταβάλλει
indeed Thrasybulus strikes — Phrynichus and knocks-down
πατάξας, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος οὐχ ἥψατο· ἀλλ' ἐν
having-struck-him the(-other) and Apollodorus not touched-him but in
τούτῳ κραυγὴ γίγνεται καὶ ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες. Ἀγόρατος
this a-shout arises and they-went-off fleeing Agoratus
δὲ οὑτοσὶ οὔτε παρεκλήθη οὔτε παρεγένετο οὔτε οἶδε τοῦ
but this-here neither was-called-in nor was-present nor knows of-the
πράγματος οὐδέν. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτὸ ὑμῖν τὸ
affair anything that but true(-things) I-speak itself to-you the
ψήφισμα δηλώσει.
decree will-make-plain
ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.
decree

72 Ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε Φρύνιχον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
that indeed not he-killed Phrynichus from itself the
ψηφίσματος δῆλον· οὐδαμοῦ γάρ ἐστιν ‘Ἀγόρατον
decree clear nowhere for is-it Agoratus
Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι' ὥσπερ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον·
Athenian to-be as Thrasybulus and Apollodorus
καίτοι εἴπερ ἀπέκτεινε Φρύνιχον, ἔδει αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ
and-yet if-indeed he-killed Phrynichus it-was-needful him on the

αὐτῇ στήλῃ, ἵνα περ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον,
same stele where (indeed) Thrasybulus and Apollodorus
Ἀθηναῖον πεποιημένον ἐγγεγράφθαι· τὰ μέντοι ὀνόματα
Athenian having-been-made to-have-been-inscribed the however names
διαπράττονται τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν, δόντες ἀργύριον τῷ
they-contrive the of-them- -selves having-given money to-the
ῥήτορι, προσγραφῆναι εἰς τὴν στήλην ὡς εὐεργέτας
orator to-be-added-in-writing on the stele as benefactors
ὄντας. καὶ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐλέγξει.
being and that true(-things) I-speak this the decree will-prove
ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.
decree
Οὕτω μέντοι οὑτοσὶ πολὺ ὑμῶν κατεφρόνει, ὥστε οὐκ ὢν 73
so however this-here-man much you despised that not being
Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ἐδίκαζε καὶ ἠκκλησίαζε καὶ γραφὰς τὰς
Athenian both he-sat-as-juror and attended-assembly and indictments the(-ones)
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγράφετο, ἐπιγραφόμενος Ἀναγυράσιος εἶναι.
from men he-brought styling-himself an-Anagyrasian to-be
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερον μέγα τεκμήριον ὡς οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε
then and also another great proof that not he-killed
Φρύνιχον, δι' ὃ Ἀθηναῖός φησι γεγενῆσθαι. ὁ
Phrynichus on-account-of which Athenian he-says to-have-become —
Φρύνιχος γὰρ οὗτος τοὺς τετρακοσίους κατέστησεν· ἐπειδὴ
Phrynichus for this the Four-Hundred established when
δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπέθανεν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἔφυγον.
and he died the many of-the Four-Hundred fled
Πότερον οὖν δοκοῦσιν ὑμῖν οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ 74
whether then seem-they to-you the Thirty and the council
ἡ τότε βουλεύουσα, οἳ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντες τῶν
the(-one) then sitting who themselves were all of-the
τετρακοσίων τῶν φυγόντων, ἀφεῖναι ἂν λαβόντες
Four-Hundred of-the(-men) having-fled to-release — having-caught

τὸν Φρύνιχον ἀποκτείναντα, ἢ τιμωρήσασθαι ὑπὲρ
the(-man) Phrynichus having-killed or to-take-vengeance on-behalf-of
Φρυνίχου καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἧς αὐτοὶ ἔφυγον;
Phrynichus and the exile which they-themselves fled
75 Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τιμωρεῖσθαι ἄν. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἀποκτείνας
I indeed think to-take-vengeance — if indeed then not having-killed
προσποιεῖται, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, ἀδικεῖ· εἰ δὲ ἀμφισβητεῖς
he-pretends as I say he-does-wrong if but you-dispute
καὶ φὴς Φρύνιχον ἀποκτεῖναι, δῆλον ὅτι μείζω τὸν
and say Phrynichus to-have-killed clear that greater the
δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κακὰ ποιήσας τὴν ὑπὲρ Φρυνίχου
people the of-Athenians evils having-done the on-behalf-of Phrynichus
αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπελύσω· οὐδέποτε γὰρ
charge before the Thirty you-cleared-yourself never for
πείσεις οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ὡς Φρύνιχον ἀποκτείνας
will-you-persuade no-one of-men that Phrynichus having-killed
ἀφείθης ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα, εἰ μὴ μεγάλα
you-would-have-been-released — by the Thirty if not great(-things)
τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ ἠργάσω.
the people the of-Athenians and incurable evils you-had-done
76 Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν φάσκῃ Φρύνιχον ἀποκτεῖναι, τούτων
if indeed then he-claims Phrynichus to-have-killed of-these(-things)
μέμνησθε καὶ τοῦτον τιμωρεῖσθε ἀνθ' ὧν ἐποίησεν·
remember and him punish in-return-for what he-did
ἐὰν δ' οὐ φάσκῃ, ἔρεσθε αὐτὸν δι' ὅ τι
if but not he-claims ask him on-account-of what (thing)
φησὶν Ἀθηναῖος ποιηθῆναι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃ ἀποδεῖξαι,
he-says Athenian to-have-been-made if and not he-can to-show
τιμωρεῖσθε αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ἐδίκαζε καὶ ἠκκλησίαζε καὶ
punish him because both he-sat-as-juror and attended-assembly and
ἐσυκοφάντει πολλοὺς ὡς Ἀθηναῖος τοὔνομα ἐπιγραφόμενος.
informed-against many as Athenian the-name styling-himself

Ἀκούω δὲ αὐτὸν παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὡς ἐπὶ 77
I-hear and him to-be-preparing to-plead that to
Φυλήν τε ᾤχετο καὶ συγκατῆλθεν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ τοῦτο
Phyle both he-went and returned-with(-them) from Phyle and this
μέγιστον ἀγώνισμα εἶναι· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιοῦτον. ἦλθεν
greatest feat to-be it-was and such came
οὗτος ἐπὶ Φυλήν· καίτοι πῶς ἂν γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος
this-man to Phyle and-yet how — could-there-be a-man
μιαρώτερος; ὅστις εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰσί τινες ἐπὶ Φυλῇ τῶν
more-abominable who knowing that there-are some at Phyle of-the(-men)
ὑπὸ τούτου ἐκπεπτωκότων ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν ὡς τούτους.
by him having-been-driven-out dared to-go to these
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν τάχιστα, συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν 78
when and they-saw him soonest having-seized they-lead
ἄντικρυς ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες, οὗπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
straight as going-to-kill-him where-indeed also the others
ἀπέσφαττον, εἴ τινα λῃστὴν ἢ κακοῦργον συλλάβοιεν.
they-butchered if any robber or criminal they-seized
στρατηγῶν δὲ Ἄνυτος οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς
being-general and Anytus not said it-was-needful to-do them
ταῦτα, λέγων ὅτι οὔπω οὕτω διακέοιντο, ὥστε τιμωρεῖσθαί
these-things saying that not-yet so they-were-placed as to-punish
τινας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν δεῖν αὐτοὺς
any of-the enemies but now indeed it-was-needful them
ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν· εἰ δέ ποτε οἴκαδε κατέλθοιεν, τότε καὶ
quiet to-keep if but ever home they-should-return then also
τιμωρήσοιντο τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.
they-would-punish the(-men) doing-wrong
Ταῦτα λέγων αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῦ ἀποφυγεῖν τοῦτον 79
these-things saying responsible he-became for-the escaping him
ἐπὶ Φυλῇ· ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν στρατηγοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι,
at Phyle necessity and was a-general man to-obey

εἴπερ ἔμελλον σωθήσεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἕτερον· οὔτε γὰρ
if-indeed they-were-going to-be-saved but another(-thing) neither for
συσσιτήσας τούτῳ οὐδεὶς φανήσεται οὔτε σύσκηνος
having-messed-with him anyone will-appear nor tent-mate
γενόμενος οὔτε ὁ ταξίαρχος εἰς τὴν φυλὴν κατατάξας,
having-been nor the taxiarch into the tribe having-enrolled(-him)
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀλιτηρίῳ οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ διελέγετο.
but as to-a-polluted-wretch no-one of-men with-him conversed
Καί μοι κάλει τὸν ταξίαρχον.
and to-me call the taxiarch

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

testimony

80 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ διαλλαγαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένοντο καὶ
when and the reconciliations with one-another took-place and
ἔπεμψαν οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς τὴν πομπὴν εἰς πόλιν,
sent the(-men) from Piraeus the procession to (the)-Acropolis
ἡγεῖτο μὲν Αἴσιμος, οὗτος δὲ οὕτω τολμηρὸς καὶ ἐκεῖ
led indeed Aesimus this-man and so bold also there
ἐγένετο· συνηκολούθει γὰρ λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συνέπεμπε
was followed for having-taken the arms and escorted
τὴν πομπὴν μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ.
the procession with the hoplites to the town
81 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἦσαν καὶ ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα,
when and at the gates they-were and grounded the arms
πρὶν εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ μὲν Αἴσιμος αἰσθάνεται
before to-go-in into the town — indeed Aesimus perceives-him
καὶ προσελθὼν τήν τε ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔρριψε,
and having-approached the both shield his having-taken threw-it-away
καὶ ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς κόρακας ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν. οὐ
and to-go-away bade to the-crows from the hoplites not
γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν ἀνδροφόνον αὐτὸν ὄντα συμπέμπειν
for he-said it-was-needful murderer him being to-escort

τὴν πομπὴν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ Αἰσίμου
the procession — for-Athena in-this the way by Aesimus
ἀπηλάθη. ὡς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.
he-was-driven-off that and true(-things) I-speak witnesses I-will-present

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

witnesses

Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ ἐπὶ Φυλῆ καὶ 82
in-this the way O men jurors both at Phyle and
ἐν Πειραιεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας διέκειτο· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ
in Piraeus toward the hoplites he-stood no-one for with-him
διελέγετο ὡς ἀνδροφόνῳ ὄντι, τοῦ τε μὴ ἀποθανεῖν
conversed as with-a-murderer being of-the(-fact) and not to-die
Ἄνυτος ἐγένετο αὐτῷ αἴτιος. ἐὰν οὖν τῇ ἐπὶ Φυλὴν ὁδῷ
Anytus became for-him cause if then the to Phyle journey
ἀπολογίᾳ χρῆται, ὑπολαμβάνειν χρὴ εἰ Ἄνυτος αὐτῷ
as-defense he-uses to-suppose one-must if Anytus for-him
ἐγένετο αἴτιος μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἑτοίμων ὄντων τιμωρεῖσθαι,
became cause not to-die ready being to-punish(-him)
καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτοῦ Αἴσιμος τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ οὐκ εἴα
and threw-away his Aesimus the shield and not allowed
συμπέμπειν τὴν πομπήν.
to-escort the procession

Μήτε οὖν ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἀποδέχεσθε, μήτ' ἐὰν λέγῃ ὅτι 83
neither then these-things from-him accept nor if he-says that
πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τιμωρούμεθα. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι οὐδεμίαν
much time later we-are-taking-vengeance not for I-think no
τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων προθεσμίαν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν
of-the such wrongs limitation to-be but I indeed
οἶμαι, εἴτ' εὐθὺς εἴτε χρόνῳ τις τιμωρεῖται, τοῦτον δεῖν
think whether at-once or in-time one takes-vengeance him it-is-needful
ἀποδεικνύναι ὡς οὐ πεποίηκε περὶ ὧν ἐστιν ἡ αἰτία.
to-show that not he-has-done (the-things)-about which is the charge

84 Οὗτος τοίνυν τοῦτο ἀποφαινέτω, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν
he then this let-him-declare either that not he-killed
ἐκείνους ἢ ὡς δικαίως, κακόν τι ποιοῦντας τὸν δῆμον τὸν
those or that justly evil something doing to-the people the
Ἀθηναίων. εἰ δὲ πάλαι δέον τιμωρεῖσθαι ὕστερον ἡμεῖς
of-Athenians if but long-ago it-being-needful to-take-vengeance later we
τιμωρούμεθα, τὸν χρόνον κερδαίνει ὃν ἔζη οὐ προσῆκον
take-vengeance the time he-gains which he-lived not befitting
αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τούτου οὐδὲν ἧττον τεθνήκασιν.
for-him the but men by him no less have-died

VI · THE VOTE AGAINST THE THIRTY

The warrant's endorsement "in the act" is no defense: his lists killed them, so he killed in the act. The oaths between the town and the Piraeus do not protect him, since he and his accusers were all of the Piraeus. He beat his natural father and harmed the people that adopted him. The dead charged all their friends to avenge them, and the jurors are their friends. To acquit him would condemn the dead again and vote with the Thirty, who released him; the jurors must vote the opposite of the Thirty and condemn him.

85 Ἀκούω δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τούτῳ διισχυρίζεσθαι, ὅτι
I-hear and him also on-this to-insist that
'ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ' τῇ ἀπαγωγῇ ἐπιγέγραπται, ὃ
in the-act on-the arrest-warrant it-has-been-written which
πάντων ἐγὼ οἶμαι εὐηθέστατον· ὡς εἰ μὲν τὸ ἐπ'
of-all I think most-foolish as if indeed the in
αὐτοφώρῳ μὴ προσεγέγραπτο, ἔνοχος ἂν ὢν τῇ
the-act not had-been-added liable — being to-the
ἀπαγωγῇ· διότι δὲ τοῦτο προσγέγραπται, ῥᾳστώνην
arrest because but this has-been-added relief

τινὰ οἴεται αὑτῷ εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔοικεν
some he-thinks for-himself to-be this but nothing else it-seems
ἢ ὁμολογεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι, μὴ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ δέ, καὶ
than to-agree to-have-killed not in the-act but and
περὶ τούτου διισχυρίζεσθαι, ὥσπερ, εἰ μὴ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ
about this to-insist as-if if not in the-act
μέν, ἀπέκτεινε δέ, τούτου ἕνεκα δέον αὐτὸν
indeed he-killed but of-this for-the-sake it-being-right him
σῴζεσθαι.
to-be-saved

Δοκοῦσι δ᾽ ἔμοιγε οἱ ἕνδεκα οἱ παραδεξάμενοι 86
seem and to-me-at-least the Eleven the(-men) having-accepted
τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν ταύτην, οὐκ οἰόμενοι Ἀγοράτῳ
the arrest this not thinking with-Agoratus
συμπράττειν καὶ τότε διισχυριζομένῳ, σφόδρα
to-act-with and then for-(him)-insisting very
ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι Διονύσιον τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν ἀπάγοντ᾽
rightly to-have-acted Dionysius the arrest making
ἀναγκάζοντες προσγράψασθαι τό γε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ·
compelling to-add-in-writing the at-least in the-act
ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὃς πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντίον
or how not — would-be-be who first indeed before
πεντακοσίων, εἶτα πάλιν ἐναντίον Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων
five-hundred then again before Athenians all
ἀπογράψας τινὰς ἀποκτείνειε καὶ αἴτιος γένοιτο τοῦ
having-listed some should-kill and cause should-become of-the
θανάτου;
death

Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτο μόνον οἴει τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ, 87
not for surely this only you-think the in the-act
ἐάν τις ξύλῳ ἢ μαχαίρᾳ πατάξας καταβάλῃ,
if anyone with-a-club or with-a-dagger having-struck knocks-down

ἐπεὶ ἔκ γε τοῦ σοῦ λόγου οὐδεὶς φανήσεται
since from at-least the your argument no-one will-appear
ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄνδρας οὓς σὺ ἀπέγραψας· οὔτε
having-killed the men whom you listed neither
γὰρ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἀπέσφαξεν, ἀλλ'
for struck them anyone nor butchered but
ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἀπέθανον.
having-been-compelled by the your listing they-died
οὐκ οὖν ὁ αἴτιος τοῦ θανάτου, οὗτος ἐπ'
not then the cause of-the death this-man in
αὐτοφώρῳ ἐστί; τίς οὖν ἄλλος αἴτιος ἢ σὺ
the-act is who then other cause than you
ἀπογράψας; ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ σὺ εἶ ὁ
having-listed so-that how not in the-act you are the
ἀποκτείνας;
(one)-having-killed

88 Πυνθάνομαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ
I-learn and him also about the oaths and
περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς παρὰ
about the covenants to-be-about to-say that against
τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἀγωνίζεται ἃς
the oaths and the covenants he-is-being-tried which
συνεθέμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἄστει οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ.
we-made with the(-men) in town the(-men) in Piraeus
σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἰσχυριζόμενος ὁμολογεῖ
nearly indeed then on-these(-things) insisting he-admits
ἀνδροφόνος εἶναι· ἐμποδὼν γοῦν ἢ ὅρκους ἢ
murderer to-be in-the-way at-any-rate either oaths or
συνθήκας ἢ χρόνον ἢ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ποιεῖται,
covenants or time or the in the-act he-puts

αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ πράγματι οὔ τι πιστεύει καλῶς
itself but in-the matter not at-all he-trusts well
ἀγωνιεῖσθαι.
to-be-going-to-contend
Ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ προσήκει περὶ 89
for-you and O men jurors not it-befits about
τούτων ἀποδέχεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἀπέγραψεν οὐδὲ
these(-things) to-accept-it but that not he-listed nor
οἱ ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσι, περὶ τούτων κελεύετε αὐτὸν
the men have-died about these(-things) bid him
ἀπολογεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας
to-make-defense then the oaths and the covenants
οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι προσήκειν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῦτον. οἱ γὰρ
nothing I-think to-concern us toward him the for
ὅρκοι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ
oaths for-the(-men) in town toward the(-men) in Piraeus
γεγένηνται.
have-been-made
Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὗτος μὲν ἐν ἄστει ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν 90
if indeed then he indeed in town we and in
Πειραιεῖ ἦμεν, εἶχον ἄν τινα λόγον αὐτῷ αἱ
Piraeus were would-have — some reason for-him the
συνθῆκαι· νῦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἦν καὶ
covenants now but also he in Piraeus was and
ἐγὼ καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες οἱ τοῦτον
I and Dionysius and these all the(-men) him
τιμωρούμενοι, ὥστε οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν οὐδέν·
prosecuting so-that not there-is for-us in-the-way anything
οὐδένα γὰρ ὅρκον οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τοῖς ἐν
no for oath the(-men) in Piraeus to-the(-men) in

Πειραιεῖ οὐδ' οἱ ἐν ἄστει τοῖς ἐν ἄστει
Piraeus nor the(-men) in town to-the(-men) in town
ὤμοσαν.
swore

91 Ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ οὐχ ἑνὸς
by every and way to-me-at-least he-seems not of-one
θανάτου ἄξιος εἶναι, ὅστις φησὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
death worthy to-be who says indeed by the
δήμου πεποιῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ δῆμον, ὃν αὐτός φησι
people to-have-been-made the but people whom himself he-says
πατέρα αὑτοῦ εἶναι, φαίνεται κακώσας, καθυφεὶς
father his to-be he-is-shown having-ill-treated having-given-up
καὶ προδοὺς ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος μείζων καὶ
and having-betrayed from which(-things) that greater and
ἰσχυρότερος ἐγίγνετο. ὅστις οὖν τόν τε γόνῳ πατέρα
stronger became who then the both by-birth father
τὸν αὑτοῦ ἔτυπτε καὶ οὐδὲν παρεῖχε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,
the his-own beat and nothing provided of-the necessities
τόν τε ποιητὸν πατέρα ἀφείλετο ἃ ἦν
the both adoptive father robbed (the-things)-which were
ὑπάρχοντα ἐκείνῳ ἀγαθά, πῶς οὐ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
belonging to-that-one goods how not also because-of this
κατὰ τὸν τῆς κακώσεως νόμον ἄξιός ἐστι θανάτῳ
according-to the of-the ill-treatment law worthy is with-death
ζημιωθῆναι;
to-be-punished

92 Προσήκει δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἅπασι τιμωρεῖν
it-befits and you O men jurors all to-avenge
ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἡμῶν ἑνὶ
on-behalf-of those the men equally as of-us to-one
ἑκάστῳ. ἀποθνήσκοντες γὰρ ἐπέσκηψαν καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς
each dying for they-enjoined both us and the

φίλοις ἅπασι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν Ἀγόρατον
friends all to-avenge on-behalf-of them- -selves on-Agoratus
τουτονὶ ὡς φονέα ὄντα, καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν καθ' ὅσον
this-here as murderer being and badly to-treat-him as far
ἂν ἔμβραχυ ἕκαστος δύνηται. εἰ τοίνυν τι ἐκεῖνοι ἀγαθὸν
— in-short each can if then any those good
τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον φανεροί εἰσι
the city or the majority the your evident are
πεποιηκότες, ἃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ὁμολογεῖτε, ἀνάγκη
having-done which also yourselves you agree necessity
ὑμᾶς ἐστι πάντας ἐκείνοις φίλους καὶ ἐπιτηδείους εἶναι,
for-you it-is all to-those friends and intimates to-be
ὥστε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ καὶ ὑμῶν ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ
so-that nothing more to-us than also of-you to-one each
ἐπέσκηψαν.
they-enjoined
Οὔκουν οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτε νόμιμον ὑμῖν ἐστιν 93
not-therefore neither holy nor lawful for-you is-it
ἀνεῖναι Ἀγόρατον τουτονί. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες
to-let-go Agoratus this-here you then O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, νυνὶ δή, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ἐν
Athenians now indeed since in the then time in
ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπέθνῃσκον, οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦστε ἐκείνοις
which those were-dying not able — you-were those
ἐπαρκέσαι διὰ τὰ πράγματα τὰ περιεστηκότα,
to-help because-of the affairs the surrounding(-you)
νυνί, ἐν ᾧ δύνασθε, τιμωρήσατε τὸν ἐκείνων φονέα.
now in which you-can avenge the of-those murderer
ἐνθυμεῖσθε δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ πάντων
consider and O men Athenians lest — of-all
ἔργον σχετλιώτατον ἐργάσησθε. εἰ γὰρ ἀποψηφιεῖσθε
deed most-wretched you-do if for you-will-acquit

Ἀγοράτου τουτουί, οὐ μόνον τοῦτο διαπράττεσθε,
Agoratus this-here not only this you-accomplish
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ὁμολογεῖτε
but also of-those the men whom you-agree
ὑμῖν εὖνους εἶναι, τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ ταύτῃ θάνατον
to-you well-disposed to-be by-the same vote this death
καταψηφίζεσθε·
you-vote

94 ἀπολύοντες γὰρ τὸν αἴτιον ὄντα ἐκείνοις τοῦ
acquitting for the cause being to-those of-the
θανάτου οὐδὲν ἄλλο γιγνώσκετε ἢ ἐκείνους δικαίως
death nothing else you-judge than those justly
ὑπὸ τούτου τεθνηκέναι. καὶ οὕτως ἂν δεινότατα
by him to-have-died and so — most-terribly
πάντων πάθοιεν, εἰ οἷς ἐπέσκηπτον ἐκεῖνοι
of-all they-would-suffer if whom they-enjoined those
ὡς φίλοις οὖσι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν, οὗτοι
as friends being to-avenge on-behalf-of themselves these
ὁμόψηφοι κατ᾽ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς τριάκοντα
voting-with against those the men with-the Thirty
γενήσονται.
will-become

95 Μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων,
in-no-way O men jurors by gods Olympian
μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ θάνατον ἐκείνων
neither by-art nor by-device any death of-those
τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταψηφίσησθε, οἳ πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ
the men vote who many and-good(-things)
ὑμᾶς ποιήσαντες διὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα
you having-done because-of these-things by the Thirty
καὶ Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἀπέθανον. ἀναμνησθέντες οὖν
and Agoratus this-here died having-remembered then

ἁπάντων τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῇ πόλει
all the terrible(-things) both the common to-the city
καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, ὅσα ἑκάστῳ ἐγένοντο ἐπειδὴ
and the private as-many-as to-each happened since
ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐτελεύτησαν, τιμωρήσατε τὸν αἴτιον
those the men died avenge the cause
τούτων. ἀποδέδεικται δ' ὑμῖν ἅπαντα καὶ ἐκ τῶν
of-these(-things) it-has-been-shown and to-you all both from the
ψηφισμάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
decrees and from the lists and from the
ἄλλων ἁπάντων Ἀγόρατος ὢν αὐτοῖς αἴτιος τοῦ
other(-things) all Agoratus being for-them cause of-the
θανάτου.
death

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ προσήκει ὑμῖν ἐναντία τοῖς τριάκοντα 96
further and also it-befits you opposite(-things) to-the Thirty
ψηφίζεσθαι· ὧν μὲν τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι θάνατον κατέγνωσαν,
to-vote whom indeed then those to-death condemned
ὑμεῖς ἀποψηφίσασθε· ὧν δ' ἐκεῖνοι θάνατον οὐ
you acquit whom but those to-death not
κατέγνωσαν, ὑμεῖς καταψηφίσασθε. οἱ τριάκοντα
condemned you condemn the Thirty
τοίνυν τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, οἳ ἦσαν ὑμέτεροι
then the indeed men these who were your
φίλοι, θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὧν δεῖ ὑμᾶς
friends to-death condemned whom it-is-needful you
ἀποψηφίζεσθαι· Ἀγοράτου δὲ ἀπεψηφίσαντο, διότι
to-acquit Agoratus but they-acquitted because
ἐδόκει προθύμως τούτους ἀπολλύναι· οὗ προσήκει
he-seemed eagerly these to-destroy whom it-befits
καταψηφίζεσθαι.
to-condemn

97 Ἐὰν οὖν τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς τριάκοντα ψηφίζησθε,
if then the opposite(-things) to-the Thirty you-vote
πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὁμόψηφοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γίγνεσθε, ἔπειτα
first indeed not voting-with the enemies you-become then
τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τετιμωρηκότες ἔσεσθε,
for-the your- -own friends having-avenged you-will-be
ἔπειτα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δόξετε δίκαια καὶ ὅσια
then to-the all men you-will-seem just(-things) and holy
ψηφίσασθαι.
to-have-voted