

AGAINST AGORATUS.

1. It is fitting, Judges, for all of you to take vengeance in behalf of the men who died well disposed to the State, and for me not the least. For Dionysodorus was my brother-in-law and cousin. So I have the same hostility to Agoratus as your party. For he did things on account of which he is justly hated by you and me, and, if God wills, he shall be justly punished.

2. For my brother-in-law Dionysodorus and many others, whose names you shall hear, being men well disposed to your body, he put to death in the time of the Thirty witnessing against them. Doing these things he injured me not a little and all who have come here, and greatly injured the whole State in common, as I think, by depriving it of such men.

3. Therefore, Judges, I think it right by divine and human law for each one to take as much revenge as he can. And I think if you should do this we should fare better at the hands of gods and men.

4. But, Athenians, you must hear about his deeds from the very beginning that you may first learn in what manner your democracy was destroyed, then how these men were put to death by Agoratus and what were the last words of those about to die. On learning all this accurately you will more gladly and justly condemn this Agoratus. Therefore, where we can most easily teach and you learn, there I will begin the story.

5. When your ships were destroyed and the resources of

the State were in a bad way, not long afterwards the ships of the Lacedemonians arrived at the Piræus, and at the same time conferences were taking place with the Lacedemonians about peace.

6. During that period those who wished a revolution in the city laid their plans, thinking they had hit upon the right moment especially to establish things at that time as they themselves wished.

7. They thought nothing was in their way except the leaders of the people, the generals, and the taxiarchs. Accordingly they wanted to remove these in some way or other, that they might more easily arrange matters as they wished. First, then, they assailed Cleophon with this idea.

8. For when the first meeting about peace was in session, and those who had come from the Lacedemonians said on what terms the Lacedemonians were willing to make peace—if the long walls should be destroyed for ten stadia on both sides—then you, Athenian men, did not endure hearing about the destruction of the walls, and Cleophon, getting up in your behalf, said that it was not at all possible to do this.

9. Then, Theramenes, plotting against your body, rose and said if you would appoint him ambassador with full powers he would bring it about that the walls should not be destroyed, nor any other evil injure the State. He thought in some other way to benefit the city at the hands of the Lacedemonians.

10. And you, persuaded, chose as plenipotentiary him whom the year before you rejected after he was chosen general, not thinking him well disposed to your body.

11. He, therefore, going to Sparta, remained there a long time, leaving you in a state of siege, though he knew that

on account of the war and misfortunes your body was in need of the very necessities of life, thinking if he brought you to a very low state, as he did, that you would gladly make any sort of peace that he desired.

12. Those remaining here and planning to overthrow the government, led Cleophon into the assembly on the plea that he did not come to the camp to sleep, but really because he spoke against tearing down the walls. When they had packed the jury, and those who desired to set up an oligarchy had come in, they killed him on this charge.

13. Theramenes afterwards came from Sparta. Some of the generals and taxiarchs, among them Strombichides and Dionysodorus, and other citizens who were well disposed to you, as they afterwards showed, having gone to meet him, became exceedingly angry. For he came bringing a peace the nature of which we afterwards learned by actual experience. For we lost many good citizens and we ourselves were driven out by the Thirty.

14. For instead of destroying ten stadia of the long walls it was to destroy all the wall, and instead of finding some other good for the city it was to hand over the ships to the Lacedemonians and to destroy the walls about the Piræus.

15. These men, perceiving it was a peace in name but in fact the destruction of the democracy, refused to allow this to take place, not because they were sorry that the walls were to fall, nor that they minded giving over the ships to the Lacedemonians (for this was no more their concern than yours), (16) but learning that thus your party was to be destroyed: not (as some say) because they did not wish there to be peace, but because they wished to make a better peace than this for the people of Athens. They thought

they were able and would have done this if they had not been killed by this Agoratus.

17. Theramenes and others who were plotting against you, knowing that there were some who were opposed to the destruction of the democracy and would take an opposite stand for freedom, chose to bring against these men false accusations and to place them in danger before the assembly on peace was held, that no one there might raise objections in your cause.

18. Therefore they adopt the following plan. They persuade this Agoratus to become an informer against the generals and taxiarchs; not that he was in their secrets, Athenians, no indeed (for they were not so foolish and friendless, that, when they were engaged in an affair of this size, they would call Agoratus, a slave and a son of slaves, trustworthy and well disposed), but because it seemed to them that he was a necessary informer.

19. Therefore they wished him to seem to give testimony unwillingly and with reluctance, that he might seem to you somewhat more trustworthy. But that he testified willingly I think you know from the case. For they sent Theocritus, known as the son of Elaphostictus, to the senate, which was in session before the Thirty. And this Theocritus was a friend and relative of Agoratus.

20. But the senate in the time of the Thirty was tampered with, and as you know, greatly desired an oligarchy. And the proof is that those in that senate served in the last one under the Thirty. Why do I relate this to you? That you may know that the decision of that senate was not well disposed to you, but entirely for the destruction of your party, and that you may know them to be such.

21. Theocritus coming into the senate in secret session testified that some were together with the intention of rais-

ing opposition to the established government, but said he could not give their names individually, for he had sworn the same oaths with them ; that there were others who could tell, but that he personally would never do it.

22. If he did not testify according to a plot why did not the senate compel Theocritus to give their names and not to give testimony without names? But now this vote was passed.

23. When, therefore, the vote was passed, those chosen from the senate went to Agoratus at the Piræus, and falling in with him, sought to take him to the assembly. But Nicias and Nicomenes and a few others present, seeing that the thing was not best for the State, refused to let them take Agoratus, but took him from them and gave bail for him and pledged to bring him into the senate.

24. The councillors took the names of those who had given bail and stopped them, and then went away to the city. But Agoratus and the bondsmen sat down on the altar of Munychia. While they were there they planned what must be done. It seemed best to the bondsmen and to all the others to get Agoratus out of the way as soon as possible, (25) and as two boats were moored at Munychia they besought him by all means to get out of Athens, and said that they themselves were willing to go away with him until the matter was settled, saying that if he were brought into the senate he would perhaps be tortured and forced to tell the names of the Athenians which those who wished harm to the State had suggested to him.

26. Although these urged him in this way and prepared boats, and were ready to sail with him, this Agoratus was not willing to obey them. Agoratus, if there was nothing prepared for you and you were not sure of suffering no harm, why did you not go when boats were prepared for you, and

your neighbors ready to sail off with you? For you could have done so and the senate had not yet got you in their power.

27. But they and you were not in equal danger. For in the first place they were Athenians and did not fear being tortured; then leaving their own land they were ready to sail away with you, thinking this was better than that many citizens should be unjustly killed by you. But, first, if you remained there was danger of your being tortured, and then, too, you had no native land to leave.

28. So in every way it was easier for you to make yourself scarce than for them, unless there was something in which you trusted. Now you say you did it unwillingly, while the truth is you willingly put to death many good Athenians. There are witnesses that everything was prepared as I say and the vote of the senate will witness against you.

29. When this vote was passed and those from the senate came to Munychia, Agoratus willingly got up from the altar; now they say he was torn away by force. When he was brought into the senate (30) Agoratus first wrote down the names of his bondsmen; then of the generals and taxiarchs; then also of some other citizens. This was the beginning of all the evil. I think he himself confesses that he wrote down the names. But if he doesn't, I will convict him in the very act. Now answer me.

31. Accordingly they desired him, Judges, to hand in more names, so strongly determined was the senate to do evil, and he himself did not seem to them to tell all the truth. Thus, voluntarily, he gave in all these names, as they put no restraint on him at all.

32. When the assembly was held in the theatre at Munychia some were so very anxious that he should also testify

in the popular assembly against the generals and taxiarchs (but as for the others the testimony in the senate was enough) that they led him there into the assembly. Now answer me, Agoratus. But I do not think you should deny what you did against all the Athenians.

33. He himself confesses it, but nevertheless the votes of the people shall be read to you. That this man Agoratus wrote down the names of these men, some in the senate and some in the assembly, and that he is their murderer I think you are well aware. That he was the cause of all the evils which befell the State and is not worthy to be pitied by a single one, I think I can show you in a few words.

34. For when these were arrested and put in prison then Lysander sailed into your harbors, and your ships were surrendered to the Lacedemonians, and the walls were destroyed, and the government of the Thirty established, and indeed what evil was not done against the State?

35. When, therefore, the Thirty were established, they immediately made a trial for these men in the senate, but the people voted in the court before two thousand. Now read the vote to me.

36. If they had been tried in the court they could readily have been saved. For you all knew in what evil the state was, although you were not able to bring aid. But the fact was they brought them into the senate before the Thirty. And you know what a farce the trial was.

37. The Thirty sat on the seats where the Prytanes are now. Two tables were placed in front of the Thirty. It was necessary to deposit the vote, not in the urns, but in plain sight on the tables, the condemning vote on the further one . . . so how could any one of them be saved?

38. And with one vote all that came into the council chamber to be tried before the Thirty were sentenced to

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