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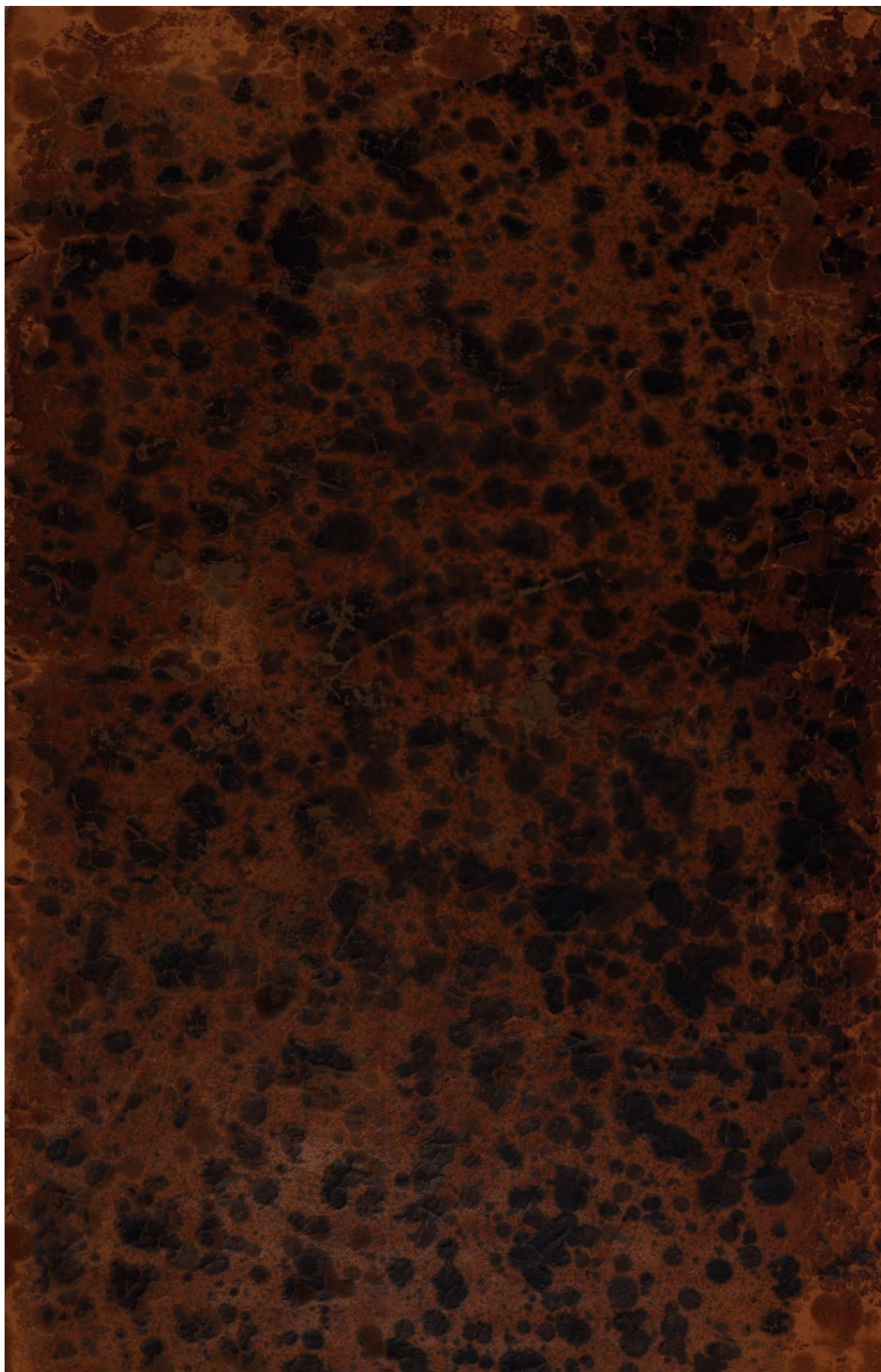
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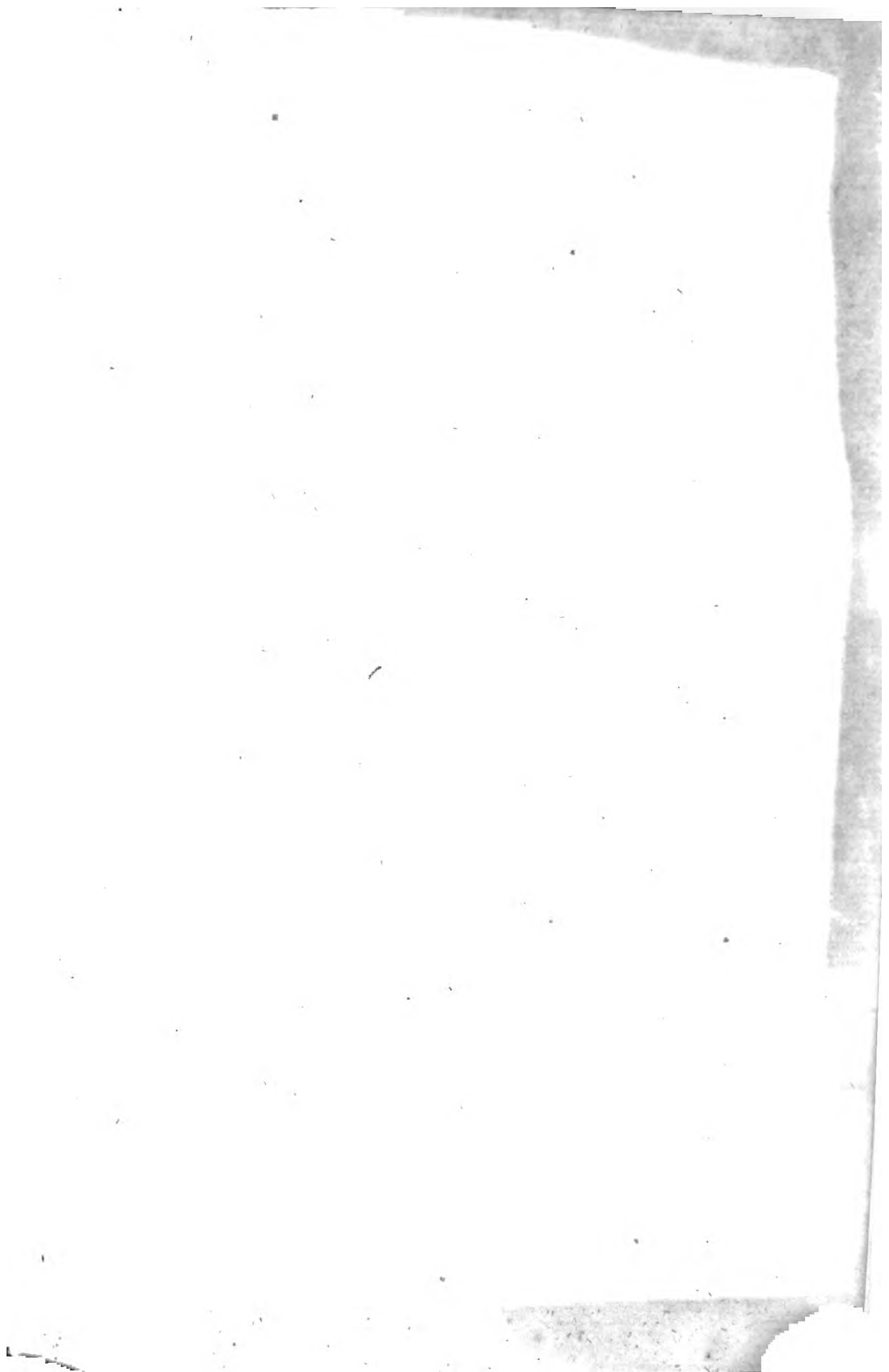
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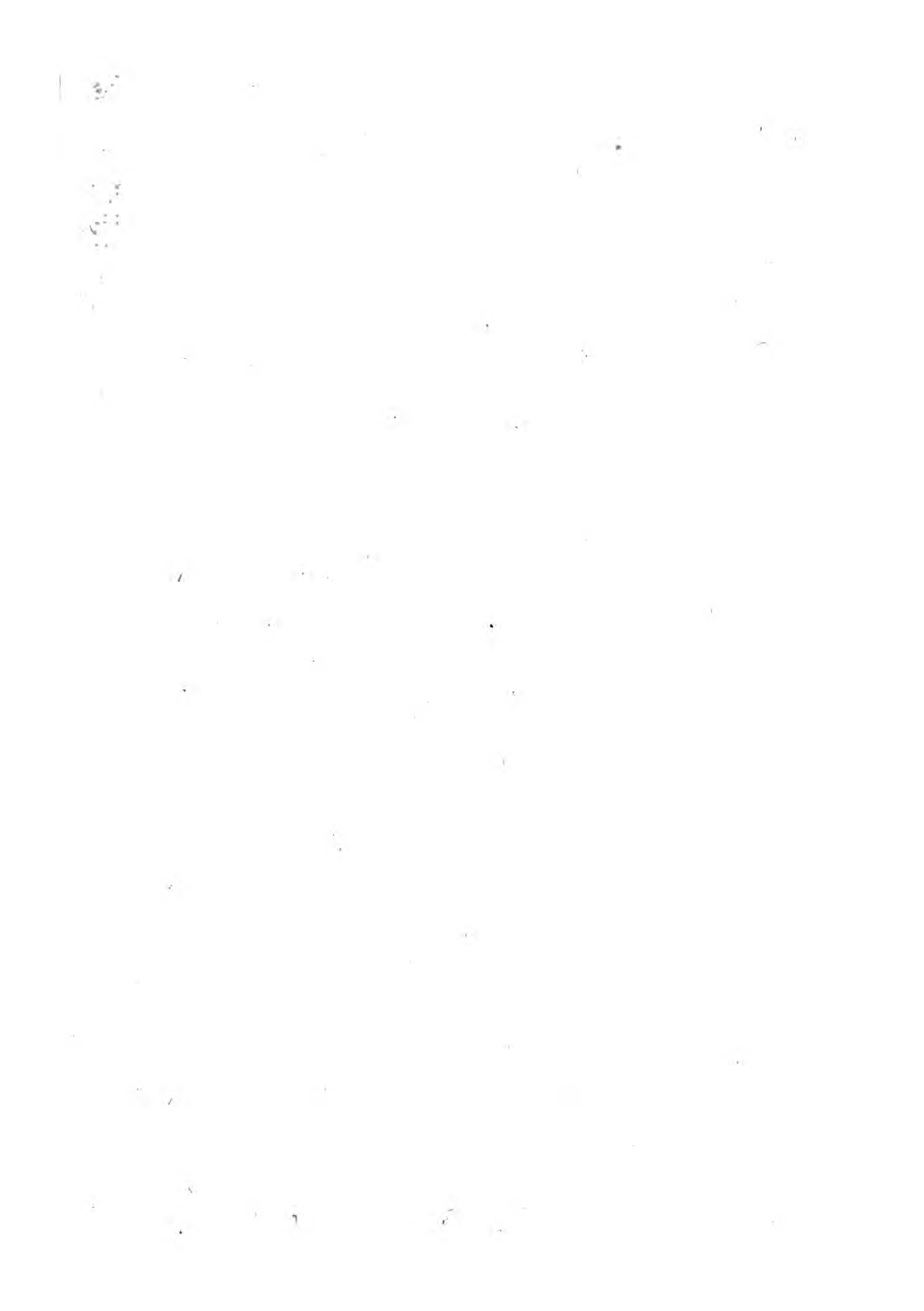


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Fund. 1882.









Memorandum

Τῶν Παλαιῶν,

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ, ΛΥΣΙΟΥ,

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ, ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΙ.



Εν ΟΞΟΝΙΑ,

Ἐτε αΨΞη'



397. 44.



# Funeral Eulogies

Upon MILITARY MEN

from

THUCYDIDES,      LYSIAS,  
PLATO,              XENOPHON.

In the Original Greek.

To which are added

*Extracts* from CICERO.

With Observations and Notes in English.

The Second Edition.

O X F O R D,

At the THEATRE. 1768.



H Gravelot inv

C Grignion Sculp

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

ΟΙΔΕ πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρως, εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο  
Οπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαι.  
Μαρνάμφοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος, οὐκ ἐστάωσαν  
Ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' αἰδῆν κοινὸν ἔθεντο βεράβην,  
Οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχέτι γένηται  
Δαλοσυῶνς τυχερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.  
Γαῖα ἣ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις ἧ πλεῖστα καμόντων  
Σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς οὐκ Διὸς ἠδὲ κείσις.  
Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ὅστι Θεῶν, καὶ πάντα καρθῶν  
Ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖρα δ' οὐτι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

\*

\*\*

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ.

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῆδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

\* \* \* \* \*

ὦ ξῆν', ἀγέιλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῆδε  
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

\* \* \* \* \*

Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεγίστα, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι  
Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναι ἀμειψάμενοι,  
Μάντιος· ὅς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένης σάφα εἰδώς,  
Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας περιλιπέειν.

\* \* \* \* \*

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
Εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ  
Πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφῳ  
Προσόνων τε μνάσις· ὁ δ' οἷτ' ὄϊον  
Ἐπαινος· ἐντάφιον ἢ τοῖδ' ἔστιν  
Οὐτ' εὐρῶς, οὐδ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ  
Ἀμαυρώσῃ χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.  
Ὁ ἢ σιχρὸς οἰκετῶν εὐδοξίαν  
Ἑλλάδος εἶλατο μαρτυρῆν ἢ Λεωνίδα  
Ὁ Σπάρτης βασιλεὺς, ἀρετῆς μέγαν  
Λελοίπῳ κόσμον, ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

Υ Π Ο Θ Ε Σ Ι Σ  
 ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Θεωδ. Ξυγγρ. Β. λδ'.

**Ε**Ν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρὶ  
 νόμῳ χρώμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφᾷ ἐποίησαν τῶν ἐν  
 τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἀποθανόντων, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τὰ  
 μὲν ὅσα πρῶτον ἀπογνομένων, πρῶτα σκηπὴν  
 5 ποίησαντες, καὶ ἑπιφέρει τῷ αὐτῷ ἕκαστος ἢ τι βέληται·  
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκφορά ἢ, λάρνακας κύπελαινας ἀγυ-  
 σιν ἅμαξαι, φυλῆς ἕκαστης μίαν. ἔνεστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἢς  
 ἕκαστος ἢν φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίτη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη  
 τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἱ δὲ μὴ εὐρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. Ξυκεφέρει  
 10 δὲ ὁ βυλόμυθος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων. καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεσιν  
 αἱ προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον, ὀλοφυσόμεναι. πιδέασιν  
 οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ πρῶ-  
 τῆς τῆς πόλεως. (καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τῆς ἐκ  
 τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. ἐκείνων δὲ ἄλλοι-  
 15 πρῶτον τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες, αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τάφον ἐποίησαν.)

Α

ἐπειδὴν

## 2 Π Ε Ρ Ι Κ Λ Ε Ο Υ Σ

ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρύψωσι γῆ, ἀνὴρ ἱρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πό-  
 λεως, ὅς ἂν γνώμη τε δοκῆ μὴ ἀξιώετος εἶναι, καὶ ἀξιώ-  
 ματι ᾤσθηται, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν ᾠρέποντα.  
 μετὰ δὲ τῆτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν γὰρ πύθοιο καὶ ἀφεί-  
 πωτος τῆ πολέμου, ὁπότε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῶ  
 νόμῳ. ὅτι δ' οὖν τοῖς ᾠρότοις τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξαν-  
 θίππος ἠρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, ᾤσθη-  
 τῶν ὑπὸ τῆ σήματος ὅτι βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως  
 ἀκούοιτο ὡς ὅτι πλείστοι τῆ ὀμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

10

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ πολλοὶ τ' εἰσάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῖσι τ'  
 ᾤσθητα τῶ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τοῖδε, ὡς καλὸν ὅτι τοῖς  
 ἐκ τῶν πολέμων γαπίοιμοις ἀγροεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δ'  
 ἂν ἀρκεῖν ἐδόκη εἶναι, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ δημοσίῳ, ἔργῳ  
 καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸ τάφον τόνδε 15  
 δημοσίᾳ ᾤσθησκυθαθέντα ὁρᾶτε καὶ μὴ εἰ ἐνὶ ἀνδρῶ  
 πολλῶν ἀρεταῖς κινδυνεύεσθαι, εὔτε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πισυ-  
 θῆναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὁ μετεῖως εἰπεῖν, εἰ ᾤ μάλιστα καὶ ἡ  
 δόκησις τ' ἀληθείας βεβαιῶσθαι. ὅ, τε γὰρ ξυμειδῶς εἰ  
 ἀκρατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεετέρως ᾤσθη εἰ βύλεία τε καὶ ὅτι 20  
 εἰ νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι. ὅ, τε ἀπειρος, ἔστιν ἂν καὶ πλεονά-  
 ζεσθαι, ἀφεί φρόνον, εἰ τι ὑπὲρ τιμῆ ἑαυτῆ φύσιν ἀκούοι  
 μέχει γὰρ τῶδε ἀνεκτοὶ (1) ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγό-  
 μενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχουτος οἴηται ἰκαστὸς εἶ) δρᾶ-  
 σά

## Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ. 3

σά τι ὦν ἤκουσε τῷ ἧ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες, ἤδη  
 καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλα ἔτις ἐδοκιμάσθη  
 ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρὴ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπόμῃνον τῷ νόμῳ, πει-  
 ρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν  
 5 ὡς ὄπιπλεύειν.

Ἀρξομεν ἧ ἀπὸ τῶν παρθένων παρθόν. δίκαιον γὰρ  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ φρέπον ἧ ἅμα εἰ τῷ τοιῶδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην  
 τῆς μνήμης δίδου. τὴν γὰρ χάριν αἰεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦν-  
 τες, ἀφαιδοχῆ τῶν ἐπιγνηνομένων μέχρι τῆδε ἐλευθέρων  
 10 δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδωκαν. καὶ ἐκείνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου, καὶ ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον (A) πατέρες ἡμῶν. κτησάμενοι γὰρ παρὰ οἷς ἐδέ-  
 ξασθε ὅσπιν ἔχομεν ἀρχαῖα, ἐκ ἀπὸνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν παροσ-  
 κατέλιπον. τὰ ἧ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἶδε, οἱ νῦν ἔτι  
 ὄντες μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπηυξήσαμεν, καὶ  
 15 ἔτι πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρέσκαυάσαμεν καὶ ἐς πῆλεμον καὶ ἐς  
 εἰρήνην ἀναρμεσάτην. Ὡν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν καὶ πολέμους ἔργα,  
 οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτέθη, ἧ εἴτι αὐτοὶ ἧ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν Βάρ-  
 βαρον ἧ Ἑλληνα πόλεμον ὄπιόντα παροθύμως ἡμυάμεθα,  
 μακρηγορεῖν εἰ εἶδόντι εἰ βυλόμην (B), εἶσω. ἀπὸ ἧ οἷας  
 20 τε ὄπιπλευσέως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ, καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολι-  
 τείας, καὶ τρέπων ἔξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐθήμετο, ταῦτα δηλώ-  
 σαι παρθόν, εἶμι καὶ ὄπι τὸν τῶνδε ἐπαινον, νομίζων ὄπι  
 τε εἰ παρὸντι εἰδὼν ἀν' ἀπρεπῆ λεχθῆναι αὐτὰ, καὶ ἔτι πάντα  
 ἧμιλον καὶ ἀγῶν καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπακῶσι.

Χρόμεθα

#### 4 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Χρώματα γὰρ πολιτεία ἔστι ζήλοσιν οὐτὸ πῶν πέλας νό-  
 μους, ὡς δὲ εἶμα ἢ αὐτοὶ μάλλον ὄντες τισὶν, ἢ μιμού-  
 μενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ'  
 ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν, Δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέτεσι δὲ, καὶ  
 μὲν τὰς νόμους, ὡς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, καὶ 5  
 δὲ τιμῶν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμῳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ  
 μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς προσημαῖται·  
 οὐδ' αὖ καὶ πεινία, ἔχον δὲ πῶν ἀγαθὸν δραῖσαι τιμῶν πόλιν,  
 ἀξιώματα ἀφανεία κεκάλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε ὡς  
 τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ὡς ἀλλήλους τῶν 10  
 καθ' ἡμέραν ὀπιτηδωμάτων ἑσπέρια, οὐδὲ ὀργῆς τὸν  
 πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δραῖ, ἔχοντες, ὅσδε ἀζημίους μὲν,  
 λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψι, ἀχθηδὸνας προσημαῖται. ἀνεπαχθῶς  
 δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσημαῖται, τὰ δημόσια ἀλλὰ δέῃ μάλ-  
 λιςτα ἔστι ὡς ἀνομιῶν, πῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσθαι, 15  
 καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπὶ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν  
 ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἀγραφοὶ ὄντες αἰσχύνῃ ὁμολογῶ-  
 μένῃ φέρουσι.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ  
 ἐποείσαμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζον- 20  
 τες, ἰδίαις δὲ καθ' ἡμέρας εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ  
 τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ ἀλλὰ μέ-  
 γαλον τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα· καὶ συμ-  
 βαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγα-

θά γηρόμνη καρπούσθαι, ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Διαφέρομεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν ἐκδητίων τοῖσδε. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν πρῆχομεν, καὶ  
 5 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείρησμέν τινα ἢ μαθήμασ, ἢ θεάμαίῃ, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἀν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν ἀφελήθει· πιστεύοντες οὐ γὰρ ὄψασκευαῖς τοπλέον καὶ ἀπάταις, ἢ ἔφ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχω. Καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις, Ὡ μὲν ὀπιπύω ἀσκήσθ, εὐδύς νέοι ὄντες,  
 10 τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται· ἡμεῖς δ', ἀνειδύως ἀφαιτώμενοι, ὅσθεν ἦσαν ὅτι τὴν ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωρῶμεν. τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑκάστοις, μὲν πάντων δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν φρατρεύσασ· τὴν τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς πρὸ τῶν  
 15 οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι ταπλείω κρατῶμεν. ἀθρόα τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πω πολέμησ ἐνέτυχ, ἀφ' ἧν τὴν ἔναυτικὸν τε ἅμα ὀπιμέλεια, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν ἐπίπεμψιν. ἦν δέ πρ μορίω πνὶ προσμίξωσι, κρατήσαντές τε πνὰς ἡμῶν, πάντας ἀγχῦσιν ἀπεώσθαι καὶ νικηθέντες, ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσῆσθ. καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη, καὶ μὴ μὲν νόμων τοπλείων ἢ τρύπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλοιμεν κινδυνύειν, πειγνείαι ἡμῶν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ πρσκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθῶσι, μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους ἢ αἰεὶ μοχθέντων φαίνεσθαι.

Καὶ



## 6 ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Καὶ ἐν τε τέτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶ) θαυμάζεσθαι, καὶ  
ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις. φιλοκαλοῦμεν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας, καὶ  
φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἀνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον ἐν  
καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα· καὶ ὁ πένεσθαι ἔχ' ὁμο-  
λογεῖν πῆναι αἰσχερὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀφαιρῆναι ἔργῳ, αἰσχίον. 5  
Ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ὀπιμέλεια, καὶ  
ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμυθίοις, τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς  
γινώσκαι. μόνοι γὰρ τὸν τε μηδ' ἐν τῶνδε μετέχοντα, ἐκ ἀπράγ-  
μονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κείνομεν γὰρ ἢ  
ἐπιθυμώμεθα ὁρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὰς λόγους τοῖς ἔρ- 10  
γοῖς βλάβῃν ἠγρούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ παραδιδάχθῃναι μᾶλλον  
λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. ἀφαιρέντως γὰρ  
θῆναι καὶ τὸδε ἔχομεν, ὅτι τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ  
πρὸς ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν, ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμα-  
θία μὲν δράσας, λογισμὸς δ' ὅκνον φέρει. κρείττους δ' ἂν 15  
τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἠδέα σαφέ-  
στα γινώσκοντες, καὶ ἀπὸ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ  
τῶν κινδύνων. Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἠνομιώμεθα τοῖς πολ-  
λοῖς· καὶ γὰρ πάροντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρωῖντες, κτώμεθα τὰς φί-  
λους βεβαίωτερος ἢ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν, ὅτι ὀφειλομένην 20  
δι' εὐνοίας ἢ δέδωκε σῶζειν· ὁ δ' ἀνὸ φείλων ἀμβλύτερος,  
εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσει.  
καὶ μόνοι οὐ τῆς συμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ, ἢ τῆς ἐλευ-  
θερίας τῶν πτωχῶν ἀδελῶς τινα ὠφελοῦμεν.

Ξυμελίων

## Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ. 7

Ζωελών τε λέγω, τήν τε πᾶσαι πόλιν ἢ Ἑλλάδ' (Θ'  
 παιδύσιν εἶ), καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρα  
 πρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείεσ' εἶδη, καὶ μὲν χαρίτων μάλισ' ἄν εὐ-  
 τραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐτάριτες πρ' ἔχουσα. καὶ ὡς ἔ' λόγων  
 5 εἰ τὰ παρόντι κόμπ' (Θ' τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ὅτιν ἀλήθεια,  
 αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις ἢ πόλεως ἢν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκ-  
 τησάμεθα, σημαίνει. μόνη γὰρ τ' ἴνυ ἀκοῆς κρείστων ἐς πεί-  
 ραν ἔρχε'· καὶ μόνη οὔτε ἔ' πολεμίῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτη-  
 σιν ἔχ' ὑφ' οἷον κακοπαθῆ, οὔτε τὰ ὑπικώω κατόμεμψιν  
 10 ὡς ἔχ' ὑφ' ἀξίων ἄρχε'. μὲν μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ  
 ἔ' δήτοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τήν δύναμιν παραχρόμιοι, τοῖς τε  
 ἴνυ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασιόμυθα· καὶ ὅθεν προσδεόμενοι  
 οὔτε Ομήρ' ἐπαιέτε, οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν ποσειδίκα τέρψ',  
 τ' δ' ἔργων τ' ὑπὸνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάψ'· ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν  
 15 μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ τόλμῃ καταναλ-  
 κέσαντες θμέαθ', πανταχόθ' ἢ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ αγαθῶν  
 αἶδια συγκατοικίσαντες. πρὶ τοιαύτης οἴω πόλεως οἶδε  
 τε θηναίως, δικαῖοντες μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν, μαχρόμιοι  
 ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τ' λειπομύων πρῶτα πινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν  
 20 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κίμνειν.

Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ πρὶ τ' πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν  
 τε ποιέμεθα μὴ πρὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς  
 πῶνδε μινδὲν ὑπ' ἀρχῆ ὁμοίως, καὶ τ' εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς  
 γῆν λέγω φθμερῶν σημείοις καθιστάς. καὶ εἰρη' αὐτῆς τὰ  
 μέγιστα

## 8 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

μέγιστα. ἂν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὑμνήσαι, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρετῶν ἐκόςμησαν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσθόρο-  
 πῶ, ὡς περ τῶνδε, ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανεῖται. δοκῶ δὲ  
 μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρῶς ἀρετῶν, περὶ τε μνηύουσα, καὶ τελευ-  
 ταία βεβαιῶσα, ἢ νῦν τῶνδε κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς 5  
 πᾶσι χεῖροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τὰς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προστίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῶν γὰρ κακῶν  
 ἀφανίσαντες, κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
 ἐβλάψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτου τις τιμὴ ἔτι σπύλαυσι  
 προστιμῆσας ἐμαλακίῃ, οὔτε πείρας ἐλπίδι, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ 10  
 ἀφρογῶν αὐτῶν πλεονέχουσι, ἀναβολῶν τῶν δεινῶν ἐπιεί-  
 σατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν τιμωρία πλεονεχέστερον αὐτῶν  
 λαβόντες, καὶ κινδύων ἅμα τῶνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες,  
 ἠβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι·  
 ἐλπίδι μὲν οὐκ ἀφορμῆς τῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐπιεικῶν, ἔργω 15  
 δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ἤδη ὀρωμῆς σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἀξιότιμος πεποιθέναι· καὶ  
 ἐν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀμύνασθαι καὶ παθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἠγασάμενοι, ἢ  
 τῶν ἐπιεικῶν σώζεσθαι, οὐ μὲν αἰχρὸν οὐκ ἔστι λόγος ἔφυγον, οὐ  
 δὲ ἔργον οὐκ ἔστι σώματι ὑπέμεινον, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου κειροῦ  
 τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῆ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν δέσας ἀπηνά- 20  
 γισαν.

Καὶ οἶδε μὲν προσκόντως τῆ πόλει τοιοῦδε ἐθμόν· τὰς  
 δὲ λοιπὰς χρὴ ἀσφαλετέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν  
 δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τῆ ἐς τὰς πολέμους ἀφάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκε-  
 πούντας

πῦν(αι μὴ λόβῳ μόνῳ τ' ἀφέλειαν· ἦν ἀντις πρὸς ὁδὸν  
 χεῖρον αὐτῆς ὑμᾶς εἰδότες μηκύνει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τῆς  
 πολεμίου ἀμύνασθ' ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς  
 πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωρῶντες, καὶ ἔρατὰς  
 5 γηρομένους αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξη εἶναι, ἐ-  
 θυμαρῶντες ὅτι πολμῶντες, καὶ γηρώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκλήσαντο· καὶ ὁπότε  
 καὶ πείρα τῆ σφαιλείουσαν, οὐκ οὐκ καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τ' σφε-  
 τέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶντες φείσκων, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ  
 10 πρῶσιέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τ' ἀγή-  
 ρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ὀπισημότατον, οὐκ  
 ἐν ᾧ κείνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ  
 ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ ἀείμνησθ' κατα-  
 λείπει). ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὀπισημῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφῳ, καὶ ἔπι-  
 15 λῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ὀπισημῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 μὴ πρῶσιμῶν ἀγραφῶν μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γλώσσης  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργου ἐνδαιτύεται. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες,  
 καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἰσχυρὸν, τὸ εὐψυχον  
 κρίναντες, μὴ φειοσθε τῆς πολεμικῆς κινδύνους. ἔστι γὰρ  
 20 ὁ κακοπραγούνης δικαιοτέρων ἀφειδοῖεν ἀντὶ τοῦ βίου, οἷς  
 ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστι ἀγαθῆ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐπιθυμία μεταβολὴ ἐν  
 τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται, καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ  
 ἀφαιρούμενα, ἦν τι πλάσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ γε  
 φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ ἐν τῷ μὲν τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις,

## 10 ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίαθῆτος θάνατος.

Διόπερ καὶ τοὺς πῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρετε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρεμυθήσομαι. εἰ πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ὀπίσταν) τραπεύετε. τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἀνὶ 5 τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχων, ὡσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν, τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς ἢ λύπης· καὶ εἰ οἷς εὐδαιμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ εὐτελευτῆσαι ξυμεμετρήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲν οἴω οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὧν καὶ πολλὰς ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα εἰ ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη ἔχ 10 ὧν ἄν τις μὴ πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν τείσκηται, ἀλλ' ἔσ' ἂν ἐγὰς θρόνον) ἀφαιρεθείη. καρτερεῖν ἢ χρὴ εἰ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἐπὶ ἡλικία τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη (α) ὀπιγνόμενοί πιν ἔσονται· καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν, ἕκ τε τῆ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ 15 ξυνοίσειν. ἔ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἰσὸν πῆ δίκαιον βυλάσθαι οἱ ἀν μὴ καὶ παῖδας εἰκ τῆ ὁμοίᾳ ὡδραλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. ὅσοι δ' αὖ πρῆβήκατε, τὸν τε πλείονα, κέρδος ὄν, εὐτυχεῖτε βίον· ἠγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχυῶ ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ πῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε. ὅ γὰρ φιλόπιμον ἀγῆρων μόνον· καὶ ἔκ 20 εἰ πῶ ἀχρεῖᾳ τῆ ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὡσπερ τινες φασί, μᾶλλον τέρπη, ἀλλὰ ὅ πμᾶσθαι.

Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι πῶνδε πάρετε, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς, ὀραθ μέλαι τ' ἀγῶνα. τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἴωθεν ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ μάλιστα

## Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ. Ι Ι

μόλις ἀν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς ἔχ' ὅμοιοι ἀλλ' ὀλίγω  
 χεῖρες κριθείητε. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπα-  
 λον· ὅ ἢ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀναβλαβήτως εὐνοία τετίμηται.

Εἰ δέ με δὲ καὶ γυναικείας τὴν ἀρετῆς, ὅσα νῦν ἐν χρεῖα  
 5 ἔσονται, μιμηθῆναι, βραχεία παραινέσθ' ἅπαν σημαίνω. ἴ-  
 τε γὰρ ὑπαρχέσθαι φύσεως μὴ χεῖροσι θμείω, ὑμῖν μεγάλη  
 ἡ δόξα, καὶ οἷς ἀν' ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ φύγε εἰ  
 τοῖς ἀρσεσι κλέος ἦ.

Εἴρη) καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρὸς φορα.  
 10 καὶ ἔργῳ, οἱ θαπτόμενοι, τὰ μὲν, ἤδη κεκόσμηται· τὰ δὲ,  
 αὐτῶν δὲ παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τῆδε δημοσία ἢ πόλις μέχρις  
 ἡβῆς θρέψῃ, ὠφέλιμον τέφαιον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομέ-  
 νοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προσπιθεῖσα. ἀθλα γὰρ οἷς κείτα  
 ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀεὶ τοὶ πολιτεύουσι. νῦν δὲ  
 ἀπολοφραγμένοι ὄν' προσήκη' ἐκάσῳ, ἀπίτε.

# Π Λ Α Τ Ω Ν Ο Σ

## Μ Ε Ν Ε Ξ Ε Ν Ο Σ,

Η,

### Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ Λ Ο Γ Ο Σ.

Σ Ω Κ Ρ Α Τ Η Σ, Μ Ε Ν Ε Ξ Ε Ν Ο Σ.

**Ε**Ξ ἀγοράς, ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; ΜΕ. ΕΞ ἀγοράς,  
ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆ βελούτιαι. ΣΩ. Τί  
μάλιτα σὺ πρὸς βελούτιαι; ἢ δηλαδὴ ὅτι παιδεύσεως  
καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τέλει ἠγάθῃ; καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρῶς ἤδη ἔχον,  
ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω ὅπτιοις τρέπεσθαι; καὶ ἄρχειν ἡμῶν, ὦ  
θαυμάσιε, ὅπτιοις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τηλικαῦτῶν ὄν,  
ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπη ἡμῶν ἢ οἰκία αἰεί τινα ἡμῶν ὅπτιοις  
πρὸς ἀρχαί; ΜΕ. Εὰν σύ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἕως καὶ συμ-  
βουλεύῃ ἄρχειν, πρὸς ἀρχαί; εἰ ἢ μὴ, ὦ. Νυνὲ μὲντοι  
ἀφικόμεθα πρὸς τὸ βελούτιαι, πρὸς ὅπτιοις ἢ βελούτιαι  
μέλλει αἰρεῖσθαι ὅστις ἐρᾷ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανῶσι. ταφὰς γὰρ  
οἶδ' ὅτι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν. ΣΩ. Πάνυ γε. ἀλλὰ τίνα εἴ-  
λοντο; ΜΕ. Οὐδένα. ἀλλὰ ἀνεβάλλοντο εἰς τίω αἴριον.  
οἶμα μάλιστα Ἀρχῆνον ἢ Δίωνα αἰρεθήσεσθαι. ΣΩ. Καὶ  
μὲν, ὦ Μενέξενε, πολλαχού κινδυνεύει καλὸν εἶ) τὸ εἰ 15  
πολέμῳ

πολέμῳ ἄποθνήσκει· καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς χαλῆς τε καὶ μεγα-  
 λοπρεπούς τυγχάνη· καὶ ἐὰν πένης τις ὢν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ  
 ἐπαίνεσ αὐτὸν ἔτυχῃ· καὶ ἐὰν φαῦλος ᾖ, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε  
 καὶ οὐκ εἰκῆ ἐπαινοῦμένων, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου λόγους  
 5 παρεσκευασμένων· οἱ οὕτω χαλῶς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ  
 φοροτόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ φεῖ ἐκάστω λέγοντες, κάλλιστα πως  
 τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποιικίλλοντες, ρητεύουσιν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς,  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζοντες καὶ πάντας πρόποισ, ἐπὶ τῆς  
 τετελευτηκότητος ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τοὺς φοροτόνοισ ἡμῶν  
 10 ἀπαντὰς τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐπιζῶν-  
 τας ἐπαινοῦντες. ὥσ' ἐγὼ γε, ὦ Μενέξενε, θηναίως πάνυ  
 ἀγαπῶμαι, ἐπαινέμεθα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐκάστω ἐστὶκα  
 ἀκροώμενος καὶ κηλούμεθα, ἡρώμενος ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα  
 μείζων καὶ θηναϊότερος καὶ καλλίων γεγονέναι. καὶ οἷα δὲ  
 15 τὰ πολλὰ αἰεὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ ξένοι τινὲς ἐπονίαι καὶ ξυμακρόων-  
 ται· πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ σεμνότεροισ ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα γίνο-  
 μαί. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ταυτὰ ταῦτα δοκῶσί μοι πάσχειν  
 καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν  
 αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρῶτερον, ὥσθ' τοῦ λέγοντο  
 20 ἀναπειθόμενοι. καὶ μοι αὕτη ἡ σεμνότης παραμυθὴ ἡμέ-  
 ρας πλείω ἢ πρῆϊς· οὕτως ἑναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθῆγος  
 πρὸς τῶν λέγοντο ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τε-  
 τάρτη ἢ πέμπτη ἡμέρα ἀναμνηστικῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ αἰ-  
 δάνομα οὐ γῆς εἰμί· τέως δὲ οἶμαι μονοῦκ ἐν μακάρων  
 ἵησοισ



νήσοις οἰκῆν. οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσὶ. ΜΕ. Αεὶ  
 σὺ περσασαίσεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς ῥήτορας· νῦν μέντοι  
 οἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν αἰρεθέντα ἔστανυ εὐπορήσειν· ἔξ ὑπογύψ  
 γὰρ παντράπασιν ἡ αἵρεσις γέγονεν· ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται  
 ἡ λέγων ὡσαυτὸν αὐτοχεδιάζειν. ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ γαθῆ; εἰσὶν 5  
 ἐκάστοις τῶν λόγων παρεσκευασμένοι· καὶ ἅμα ὁδὸν αὐτο-  
 χεδιάζειν τά γε τοιαῦτα χαλεπὸν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύο Αθηναίους  
 ἐν Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λέγειν, ἢ Πελοποννησίους ἐν Αθηναίοις,  
 ἀγαθοὺς ἀνὴρ ῥήτορας· δύο τοῦ πείσοντος καὶ εὐδοκμησόντος·  
 ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τῆτοις ἀγωνίζηται ὥσαυτὸν καὶ ἐπαινεῖ, ὁδὸν 10  
 μέγα δοκῆ εὖ λέγειν. ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἶψ, ὦ Σώκρατες; ΣΩ.  
 Οὐ μέντοι, μὰ Δία. ΜΕ. Ἡ οἶμαι οἶός τ' ἀν εἶναι αὐτὸς  
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δύο, καὶ ἔλοιτό σε ἡ βουλή; ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ  
 μέν γε, ὦ Μενέξενε, ὁδὸν θαυμαστὴν, οἶψ τ' εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ὦ  
 τυγχάνη διδάσκαλος οὕσα οὐ πάνυ φαύλη περὶ ῥητορικῆς, 15  
 ἀλλ' ἤπερ καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε ῥήτορας,  
 ἕνα δὲ καὶ ἀξιοφρόντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ξαν-  
 θίππου. ΜΕ. Τίς αὕτη; ἢ δηλονότι Ἀσασίαν λέγεις;  
 ΣΩ. Λέγω γὰρ καὶ Κόννον γε τὸν Μητροβίον. ἔτι γάρ  
 μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι· ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς· ἡ δὲ ῥητορικῆς. 20  
 οὕτω μὲν οἷον περὶ τὸν ἀνδρα ὁδὸν θαυμαστὴν δεῖν εἶναι  
 λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοὶ κάκιον ἐπαιδεύθη, μουσικῶν  
 μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρον παιδολογῆς, ῥητορικῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντι-  
 φωνίᾳ τῶν Ράμνυσίον, ὅμως καὶ ἔτι οἶός τ' εἶη Αθηναίους

γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινῶν εὐδοκίμειν. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί ἀν ἔχοις  
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δεοί σε λέγειν; ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν πρῶτον ἐμαυτοῦ  
 ἴσως ὁδῶν. Ἀσπασίας δὲ καὶ χθές ἠκροώμεν, περὶ τῆς  
 ὀπιτάφιον λόγον περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἄπερ σὺ  
 5 λέγεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἰρεῖσθαι τὸ ἐρῶντα. ἔπειτα τὰ  
 μὲν ἔκ τοῦ ὄραχρῆμα μοι διήψα, οἷα δεοί λέγειν, τὰ δὲ,  
 πρῶτον ἐσκεμμένη· ὅτε, μοι δοκῆ, σιωπῆσαι τὸν ὀπι-  
 τάφιον λόγον ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περιλείμματ' ἄτλα ἕξ  
 ἐκείνης συγκολλῶσα. ΜΕ. Ἡ καὶ μνημονεύσαις ἀνὰ ἔλε-  
 10 γει Ἀσπασία; ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. ἐμάνθανόν γε τοι  
 πρῶτον αὐτῆς· καὶ ὀλίγα πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελανθανόμην.  
 ΜΕ. Τί θ' ἔδιδίχθης; ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ μοι χαλεπαῖν  
 ἢ διδάσχαλος, ἀνὰ ἕξαιρέτως αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον. ΜΕ. Μη-  
 δαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' εἶπέ, καὶ πάνυ μοι χαλεπῆ, εἴτε  
 15 Ἀσπασίας βουλὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ὄραου· ἀλλὰ μόνον εἶπέ.  
 ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἴσως μου καταγελάσῃ, ἀνὰ σοὶ δόξω, πρῶτον  
 τῆς ὄρας, ἐπὶ παίζειν. ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ'  
 εἶπέ παντὶ πρόσω. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοὶ γε δεῖ χαλε-  
 20 πῆσαι· ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγου, εἰ με κελύβοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχή-  
 σασθαι, χαρῆσαι μὲν ἀνὰ, ἐπειδὴ γε μόνω ἐσμέν· ἀλλ' ἄκχε·  
 ἔλεγε γὰρ ὡς ἐγώ μιν, ἀρξάμεν λέγειν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν  
 περὶ τῶν, ἔτι σί.

ΕΡΓΩ, μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσηκόντα σφίσι  
 αὐτοῖς· (ἂν τυχόντες πορβόνται τὴν εἰμαρμένην πορείαν,  
 προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν οἰκείων) λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμενον κόσμον ὃ, τε νόμος  
 προσαίτη ἁποδιδύαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρή· ἔργων γὰρ εὖ  
 προχθέντων, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος τοῖς  
 προέξασι γίγνεται ὡσαύτῃ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δὲ δὴ τοιοῦτε  
 πῶς λόγου, ὅστις τὸς μὲν τέλειδουτικῶσαι ἰκανῶς ἐπαινέσε-  
 ται, τοῖς ἧ ζῶσιν εὐμειῶς ὡσαίνεσθαι· ἑκρήνοισ μὲν καὶ  
 ἀδελφοῖς μιμειῶσθαι τὴν τῶνδε ἀρετὴν παρακελευόμενος· πα- 10  
 τέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἰπινες τῶν ἀνωθεν ἐπιπρογόνων  
 λείπονται, τῆς δὲ παραμυθούμενος. Τίς οὖν ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν  
 τοιοῦτος λόγος φαιεί; ἢ πόθεν ἀνὴρ ὀρθῶς ἀρξάμεθα ἄν-  
 δρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινεῖν, οἱ ζῶντες τε τὸς ἑαυτῶν εὐφραι-  
 νον δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ζῶντων σωτηρίας 15  
 ἠλλάξατο;

Δοκῆ μοι χρῆναι, καὶ φύσιν, ὡσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐθήροντο, ἔγω  
 καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ὡσαύτῃ τὸ φῦμα ἐξ  
 ἀγαθῶν· τὴν εὐθύναι οὖν προῖτον αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζωμεν·  
 δεύτερον ἧ, προφῆν τε καὶ παιδείαν· ὅτι δὲ τέτοις, τὴν 20  
 τῶν ἔργων προέξιν ὀπιδείζωμεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τῶν  
 ἀπεφῆναντο.

Τῆς δ' εὐθύναις προῖτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἢ τῶν προγόνων  
 θύμισ, ὅτι ἐπιπλεῖ οὖσα, ἔδδ τὸς ἑκρήνοισ τῆς ἁπο-  
 φημαμένη

φηναιδῆ μετοικῶντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ τῶ ὄντι ἐν πατρῷδι οἰκούντας καὶ  
 ζώντας· καὶ τρεφομένους ὅσα ὑπὸ μητρῶας, ὡς ἄλλοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χώρας ἐν ἣ ὄκουν· καὶ νῦν κεί-  
 5 θα τελευτήσαντας ἐν οἰκείοις τόποις τῆ τέχνης καὶ θρε-  
 ψάσης καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης. Δικαιοτάτον δὲ κοσμησά-  
 μεθ' ἑσθ' ἑστὶν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ  
 ἡ τῶνδε εὐθῆρα κοσμουμένη. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ  
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἔ μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν· πολ-  
 10 λαχῆ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μεθ' ἑσθ' ἑστὶν καὶ μέγιστον, ὅτι τυχερῶς  
 οὔσα θεοφιλῆς. μαρτυρῆ ἡμῶν τῶ λόγῳ, ἡ τῶν ἀμφισ-  
 βητησάντων περὶ αὐτῆς Θεῶν ἕως τε καὶ κρίσις. ἦν ἡ Θεοὶ  
 ἐπίνεσαν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων δικαία  
 ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαινος δικαίως ἀν αὐτῆς εἶη,  
 15 ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῶ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδυ καὶ ἔφυ-  
 ζῶα παρθοδαπά, θηρία τε καὶ βοτᾶ, ἐν τῷ τῶ ἡμετέρα,  
 θηρίων μὲ ἀγρίων ἄγρονος καὶ καθαροῦ ἐφθῆρα ἐξελέξατο ἡ  
 τῶ ζῶων καὶ ἐθῆνησεν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ συνέσει τε ὑπερέχει τῆ  
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ Θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-  
 20 ριον τῷ τῶ λόγῳ, ὅτι ἡδε ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ ὅσῳ τῶνδε τε καὶ  
 ἡμετέρας παρθόνους· πάντων γὰρ ὃ τέκον προφῆν ἔχει ὅπι-  
 τηδεῖαν ᾧ ἀν τέκῃ. ᾧ καὶ γαῖῃ δῆλη τεκῆσά τε ἀληθῆς,  
 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, εἰ μὴ ἔχει πηγὰς τρε-  
 φῆς τῶ θηρομένων. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

ἰκανὸν τεκμήριον πῦρρον ὡς ἀνθρώπους γεννησαμένη. μὴ  
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ τρυφῇ προσβύ ἀνθρωπείαν ἤνεγκε τὴν  
 πυρῶν καὶ κριτῶν καρπὸν, ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τρέφεται  
 ὁ ἀνθρώπειον ἄνθρωπος, ὡς τῷ ὄντι τὸ ζῶον αὐτὴ γεννη-  
 σαμένη. μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς προσθήκη δέ- 5  
 χουσα τοιαῦτα τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναικὴ μεμίμηται  
 κούρη καὶ θυγάτηρ, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γυν. τὰτα δὲ τῶν καρπῶν  
 οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεμε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τὸτα  
 ἐλαίου ἡμέσιν, πόνων ἀρωγῶν, ἀνῆκε τοῖς ἐκρήνοισι. Δρε-  
 φαμένη ἢ καὶ αὐξήσασα πρὸς ἡβίω, ἀρχόνται ἐ δίδασ- 10  
 κάλους αὐτῶν Θεοὺς ἐπηγάγετο ὡν τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα τρέπῃ  
 ἐν τῷ τοιαῦτα ἔειν. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὴν βίον ἡμῶν κατασκευά-  
 σαν, πρὸς τε πλὴν καὶ ἡμέραν διαίταν τέχνας τρυφῆς  
 παιδούσάμενοι, καὶ πρὸς πλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας φυλακῶν  
 ὀπλων κτήσιν τε καὶ χρῆσιν διδασάμενοι. θυγηθέντες δὲ καὶ 15  
 παιδούθεντες ἕτως (1) πᾶνδε τρυφῆνοι, ὠκουν πολιτείαν  
 κατασκευασάμενοι, ἥς ὄρθως ἔχῃ ἀβραχέων ὀπμιμη-  
 αῖται. πολιτεία γὰρ, τρυφῇ ἀνθρώπων ὄβρι. καλὴ μὲν,  
 ἀγαθῶν· ἢ δὲ ἐνδρτία, κακῶν.

Ως οὖν ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐτράφησαν (1) τρυφῆνοι 20  
 ἡμῶν, ἀναγκάσιον διηλώσασθαι· διὸ ἦν δὴ κακῆνοι ἀγαθοί, καὶ οἱ  
 νῦν εἰσιν, ὡν οἶδε τυχεύουσιν ὄντες (1) τετελευτηκότες. ἢ  
 γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Αἰσοκρατία, ἐν ἣ  
 νῦν τε πολιτεύμεθα, καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χεῖρον ἔξ ἐκείνου ὡς  
 ταπολλά.

ταπολλά· καλῆ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτίω, Δημοκρατία, ὁ δὲ,  
 ἄλλο, ὧ ἀν χαίρη· ἐστὶ ἣ τῆ ἀληθεία μετ' εὐδοξίας πλή-  
 ρους Δειτοκρατία. Βασιλεῖς μὲ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν· οὗτοι  
 δὲ, ποτὲ μὲ ἐκ γένους, ποτὲ δὲ αἰρετοί. ἐγκρατές ἣ τῆς  
 5 πόλεως ταπολλά τὸ πλῆθος· τὰς δὲ ἀρχαίς δίδωσι καὶ  
 κρατῶ τοῖς αἰεὶ δόξασιν ἀρίστοις (εἶ). καὶ οὔτε ἀσθενεία,  
 οὔτε πεινία, οὔτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ἑσθῆεις,  
 ἑσθῆ τοῖς ἐσθμτοῖς τεπίμματα, ὡσπερ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν·  
 ἀλλὰ εἰς ὄρεσ, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς (εἶ), κρατῆ καὶ ἀρ-  
 10 χή. Αἰτία ἣ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἣ ἕξ ἴσθ γέ-  
 νεσις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα πόλεις ἐκ παρδδαπῶν κατεσ-  
 κευασμένα ἀνθρώπων εἰσι καὶ ἀνωμάτων· ὥτε αὐτῶν ἀνά-  
 μαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυραννίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι.  
 οἰκοῦσιν οἴω, ἔνοιοι μὲν δούλους, (α) δὲ δεασότας ἄλλήλοισ  
 15 νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς ἣ καὶ (α) ἡμέτεροι, μιᾶς μητρος πάν-  
 τες ἀδελφοὶ φύτες, οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν δούλοι ἑσθῆ δεασότα  
 ἄλλήλων εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἣ ἰσογονία ἡμᾶς ἣ κατὰ φύσιν ἰσονο-  
 μίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν καὶ νόμον, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλω ὑπέι-  
 κεν ἄλλήλοισ, ἣ ἀρετῆς δόξη καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν  
 20 πᾶσιν ἐλευθερία τετραμμύοι (α) πῶνδε πατέρες, καὶ (α)  
 ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔστοι, καὶ καλῶς φύτες, πολλα δὴ καὶ  
 καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφάναντο εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίαι καὶ  
 δημοσίαι· οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆ ἐλευθερίας καὶ Ἑλλησιν ὑπὲρ  
 Ἑλλήνων μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάροισ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶ Ἑλλήνων.

Εὐμόλπου μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ὀπιτρατευσάντων ὄπι-  
 τῶν χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἐπι περσίων, ὡς ἠμύνοντο, καὶ ὡς  
 ἠμῶν Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείους, καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς  
 Ἀργείους, ὅ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι, ποιη-  
 τὰ τε αὐτῶν ἤδη καλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν μουσικῇ ὑμνήσαν-  
 τες, εἰς πάντας μεμνύουσι. ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὀπιχειρῶμεν  
 τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ φιλῶ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' ἀν δόξασθαι φαινοί-  
 μεθα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄρα ταῦτα δοκῆ μοι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν. ὧν δὲ οὔτε ποιητὴς πῶ δόξασθαι ἀξίαν  
 ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβων ἔχει, ἐπι τέ βστι ἐν ἀμνησίᾳ, τῶν περὶ 10  
 μοι δοκῆ χρῆσθαι ὀπιμνησθῆναι, ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ πορνεύ-  
 μενον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐς ὧδας τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποίησιν αὐ-  
 τὸς γίνεσθαι, πορνεύωντος ἢ πορνεύοντων.

Ἐπι δὲ τῶν ὧν λέγω πορνεύονται Πέρσαις ἠγεμῶνας ἢ  
 Ἀσίας, καὶ δουραμένους τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχον 15  
 χώρας ἔκγονοι, γονεῖς ἢ ἡμέτεροι. ὧν ἔδίκαιον καὶ χρῆ  
 πορνεύον μεμνημένους, ἐπαινεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. Δὲ  
 δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλῃ τις καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 τῷ χρόνῳ ἠμῶν λόγῳ, ὅτε πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλευε  
 τρίτῳ ἤδη βασιλεῖ. ὧν ὁ μὲν πορνεύων, Κύρος, ἐλευθε- 20  
 ρώσας Πέρσαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολίτας τῷ αὐτοῦ φρονήματι,  
 ἅμα καὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν Μήδους ἐδούλευσεν, ἔτι τῆς ἄλλης  
 Ἀσίας μέχρις Αἰγύπτου ἤρξεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, Αἰγύπτῳ τε  
 καὶ Λιβύῃς, ὅσοι οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπιβάλλειν τρίτος ἢ Δαρείος,  
 πορνεύων

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ. 21

πρὸς μὲν μέγχι Σκυθῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὤρῳσατο, ναυσὶ δὲ,  
 τῆς τε θαλάττης ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν νήσων· ὥστε μηδὲ ἀ-  
 ξιοῦν ἀντίπαλον αὐτῷ μηδένα εἶναι. αἱ δὲ γῶμαι δεδουλω-  
 μέναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν. οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα  
 5 καὶ μάχμα θῆη καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή. Αἰ-  
 πιασάμηνος ἢ Δαρείος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερετρείας, Σάρδεσιν  
 ὀπιβουλεύσας παρφασιζόμενος, πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν  
 πεντήκοντα ἔντε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας,  
 Δάτην δὲ ἀρχόντα, εἶπεν ἤκειν ἄγωνα Ερετρείας καὶ Αθη-  
 10 ναίους, εἰ βούλοιο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ ἢ πλεύ-  
 σας εἰς Ερετρείαν ἐπ' ἀνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς  
 εὐδοκιμωτάτοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἔκ ὀλί-  
 γοι, τῆσδε ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις. διηρβήσατο  
 ἢ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι τοῖστω  
 15 πρόσω· ὅτι τὰ ὄρεα ἐλθόντες τῆς Ερετρεϊκῆς οἱ τραπιῶται  
 αὐτῶν, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θαλάτταν μεταστάντες, σιμάφουτες  
 τὰς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἀπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βα-  
 σιλῆϊ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔδει σφᾶς ἀποπεφύγως εἶναι. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ  
 μετανοία κατηγάγοντο ἐξ Ερετρείας εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς  
 20 ἔτοιμον σφίσι δὲ καὶ Αθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ  
 ζούσαντας Ερετρεῖουσιν, ἄγειν. τῆσδε δὲ, τῶν μὲν τρα-  
 χθέντων, τῶν δ' ὀπιχειρμένων, οὐτ' Ερετρεῖουσιν ἐβόηθη-  
 σεν Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς, οὔτε Αθηναίοις, πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων.  
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑπεραία τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. ὧ δ' ἄλλοι  
 πάντες



πάντες ἑκπεπληγμένοι, ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ πρῶτον  
 σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἤσθη. Ἐν τῷ δὲ ἄν τις γενόμενος  
 γροίη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχεμον ὄντες τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ Μαραθῶνι  
 δεξάμενοι τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων δυνάμιν, καὶ κολασάμενοι  
 τὴν ὑπερηφροσύνην ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ θεῶτοι γήσοφες  
 τρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡγεμόνες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις θρόνοι οἱ ὅτι ἕκ ἄμαχος εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ  
 πᾶν πλήθος καὶ ὡς πλεῖστον ἀρετῇ ὑπεείκη. Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐκείνοις τῆς ἀνδρείας φημὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν σωματίων τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων πατέρας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε  
 ἡμετέρας καὶ συμπαντῶν τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡπείρῳ. εἰς ἐκ-  
 εἶνο γὰρ ὁ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ ταῖς ὑτέρας μάχας  
 ἐτόλμισαν ἀφαινεῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας,  
 μαθητὰς τῆς Μαραθῶνι θρόνοι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀειτεία  
 τῷ λόγῳ ἐκείνοις ἀναθετόν· τὰ δὲ δουτεία, τοῖς αἰ-  
 15 Σαλαμίῳ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσιν καὶ νικῆσιν. καὶ  
 γὰρ τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν αἰ τις ἔχει διελθεῖν, καὶ  
 οἷα ὀπίοντα ὑπέμεναι κατὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ τῆν θάλασσαν, καὶ  
 ὡς ἡμῶν ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκείνων κάλλιστον  
 εἶναι, τὸ μνησθῆσθαι, ὅτι ὁ ἕξῃς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι  
 20 διεπεράσαντο. (1) μὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τοσούτοι μόνον ἐπε-  
 δείξαντο τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ὅτι τῆν γῆν οἷον τε ἀμύτασθαι τοὺς  
 Βαρβάρους, ὀλίγοις πολλούς· ναυσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ἦν ἀδύνατον. καὶ  
 δόξαν εἶχον Πέρσαι ἄμαχοι εἶναι τῆν θάλασσαν, καὶ πλεῖστον  
 καὶ

καὶ πλῆτω, καὶ τέχνη καὶ ῥώμη. τῆτο ἦ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν τῶν τότε ναυμαχισάντων, ὅτι τὸν ἐχόμενον φόβον  
 διέλυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἔπαυσαν φοβεμένους πλῆθος  
 νέων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἦ ξυμβαίνει, τῶν τε  
 5 Μααρθῶν μαχισαμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχισάν-  
 των, παιδοῦσθαι τὰς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας, Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν, καὶ  
 γὰρ, Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν, καὶ θάλατταν, μαθόντας καὶ ἐθισθεί-  
 τας μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὰς Βαρβάρους. Τείτον δὲ λέγω ὅ ἐν  
 Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ αἰδοῦν καὶ ἀρετῆς θύρα καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς  
 10 σωτηρίας· κοινὸν ἦδη τῆτο Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων.  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἤμυναν,  
 καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἦν τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκωμιάζονται,  
 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπίεστα χρόνον Ἐπὶ τῶν ὕστερον.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πολλὰ μὲν πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτε  
 15 ἦσαν μὲν ἔξω Βαρβάρων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἠγγέλλετο Βασιλεὺς ἀφ' ἑ-  
 νοῦσθαι ὡς ἔπιχειρήσων πάλιν ἔπι τὰς Ἑλλήνας. Δίχαιον  
 δὴ καὶ τούτων ἡμῶν ἔπιμνησθαι, οἱ τοῖς τῶν πρῶτων  
 ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέθισσαν, ἀνακαθηρέμενοι καὶ  
 ἔξελάσαντες πᾶν ὅ βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης. ἦσαν ἦ  
 20 οὗτοι οἱ τε ἐπὶ Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχισάμενοι, καὶ οἱ εἰς Κύ-  
 προν φρατῶσαντες, καὶ ἔτι εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες, ἔ-  
 ἄλλοσε πολλοῦσθαι ὡν χρὴ μεμνησθαι, καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς  
 εἰδέναι ὅτι Βασιλέα ἐποίησαν δέισμα, τῆ ἑαυτοῦ σωτη-  
 ρία τὸν νοῦν προσέχων, ἄλλα μὴ τῆ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-  
 βουλῆν

βουλύειν φθορᾶ. καὶ ἔτος μὲν δὴ πάση τῇ πόλει διηκλήθη ὁ πόλεμος, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοφώνων, πρὸς τῆς Βαρβάρου.

Εἰρήνης δὲ θρομβήσης, καὶ τῆς πόλεως τιμωμένης, ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ ἐκ πᾶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ φράττουσι προσπίπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν Ζήλος, ἀπὸ Ζήλου δὲ, φθόνος. ὃ καὶ τιώδε τὴν πόλιν ἀκροσθῆ ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστησε. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο θρομβήου πολέμου, σωθέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τολμάγρα, ὑπὲρ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι· ἀμφισβητησίμου δὲ τῆς μάχης ἰοθρομβήσης, δέκρινε ὃ ὑπερον ἔργον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὠχοντο ἀπίοντες, καταλιπόντες Βοιωτῆς οἷς ἐβοήθου· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τρίτη ἡμέρα ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις νικήσαντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως φθονοῦσαι δικαίως κατήγαγον. οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν τῆς Περσικῆς πόλεμου, Ἕλλησιν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας βοηθῶντες πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ θρομβήου, καὶ ἐλευθέρωσαντες οἷς ἐβοήθου, ἐν τῷδε τῷ μνήματι τιμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτοι ἐτέθησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πολλοὺς πολέμου θρομβήου, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτρατοσάντων, καὶ τιμώντων τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἀναξίαν χάριν ἐκτινόντων τῇ πόλει, νικήσαντες αὐτῆς ναυμαχίᾳ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτῶν τῆς ἡγεμόνας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ, ἕξον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιθεῖραι, ἐφείσαντο, καὶ ἀπέδσαν, καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐπαίησαντο· ἡγεμόνοι πρὸς μὲν τὰ ὁμόφυλον

θμόφυλον μέχρι νίκης δεῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ μὴ δι' ὀργῆν ἰδίαν  
 πόλεως τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διολλύειν· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς  
 Βαρβάρους, μέχρι θάφθρας. Τύττος δὲ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι  
 τῆς ἀνδραίας, οἱ τῆτον τὸ πόλεμον πολεμήσαντες, οἷα δὲ  
 5 κείνται, ὅτι ἐπέδειξαν, εἴτις ἄρα ἠμφισβήτη, ὡς εἰ τῶ  
 πρῶτῳ πόλεμῳ τῶ πρὸς τῆς Βαρβάρους ἄλλοι τινὲς  
 εἶεν ἀμείνους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἀμφισβητοῖεν. ὅτοι  
 καὶ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδειξαν, γασιασάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, φειγενο-  
 μένοι τῶ πολέμῳ, τῆς πρῆξιας τῶ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χει-  
 10 ρωσάμενοι, μεθ' ὧν τότε τῆς Βαρβάρους ἐνίκων κοινῆ, τού-  
 τος νικῶντες ἰδία.

Τεῖτον ἡ πόλεμος μὲν ταύτῃ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνέλπι-  
 στός τε καὶ δευὸς ἐγμέθ' εἰ ὡ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τελευτή-  
 σαντες, οἷα δὲ κείνται· πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεί-  
 15 στα πτόπαια γήσαντες, ὑπὸ τῆς Λεοντίων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς  
 βοηθῆντες ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρκου, ἐπλευσάν εἰς ὁκένας τῆς τό-  
 πους· (ἀπὸ δὲ μῆκος τῶ πλοῦ εἰς ἀπείαν τῆς πόλεως  
 κλάσασθαι, καὶ ἔδωκα ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τῆτω ἀπει-  
 πόντες ἐδυσύχησαν. ὧν ὁ ἐχθροὶ καὶ πρῶσσολεμήσαντες  
 20 πλείω ἐπαινον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἢ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων οἱ φίλοι·) πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς καθ'  
 Ἑλλήσσοντον, μιᾶ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐλόντες ναῦς, πολλὰς ἡ καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες. ὁ δ' εἶπον  
 δευὸν καὶ ἀνέλπιτον τῶ πολέμου γενέσθαι, τὸδε λέγω, ὅ

ΕΡΓΩ, μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσηκόντα σφίσι  
 αὐτοῖς· (ὣν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἰμαρμένην πορείαν,  
 προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν οἰκείων) λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμενον κόσμον ὅ, τε νόμος  
 προσηκόντων ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρηρῶν ἔργων γὰρ εὖ  
 προσηκόντων, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μήμητι καὶ κόσμος τοῖς  
 προῆξασι γίγνεται ὡραῖα τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δὲ δὴ τοιοῦτε  
 πῶς λόγου, ὅστις τῶν μὲν τέλειδουτικῶς ἰκανῶς ἐπαινεσε-  
 ται, τοῖς ἢ ζῶσιν εὐμειῶς ὡραϊνέσθῃ· ἐκρήνοισι μὲν καὶ  
 ἀδελφοῖς μιμνῶσθαι ἢ τῶνδε ἀρετὴν παρακελευόμενος· πα- 10  
 τέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἰπὴς τῶν ἀνωθεν ἐπιπροσγόνων  
 λείπονται, τῶνδε δὲ παραμυθούμενος. Τίς οὖν ἂν ἡμῖν  
 τοιοῦτος λόγος φαιεῖ; ἢ πόθεν ἂν ὀρθῶς ἀρξαιμένα ἄν-  
 δρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινεῖντες, οἱ ζῶντες τε τῶν ἑαυτῶν εὐφραι-  
 νον δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ ἢ τελευτηνὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ζώντων σωτηρίας 15  
 ἠλλάξαντο;

Δοκῆ μοι χρῆναι, καὶ φύσιν, ὡσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐθήκοιτο, ἔγω  
 καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ὡραῖα τὸ φῦμα ἐξ  
 ἀγαθῶν. ἢ εὐθύναι οὖν προῆξον αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζωμεν·  
 δούτερον ἢ, προφῆν τε καὶ παιδείαν· ὅτι δὲ τῶνδε, τὴν 20  
 τῶν ἔργων προῆξιν ὀπιδείξωμεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τῶν  
 ἀπεφῆσαντο.

Τῆς δ' εὐθύναις προῆξον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἢ τῶν προγόνων  
 θύμισι, ὅτι ἐπιλεγε οὐσα, ἔδὲ τῶν ἐκρήνοισι τῶνδε ἀπο-  
 φηναμένη

φθναίμεν μεδίκωνται ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων,  
 ἄλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ τῶ ὄντι ἐν πατρῷδι οἰκούντας καὶ  
 ζῶντας· καὶ προφορμῆς οὐκ ὑπὸ μητρῶας, ὡς ἄλλοι,  
 ἄλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χώρας ἐν ἣ ὄκουν· καὶ ἦν κεί-  
 5 θαι τελουτήσανται ἐν οἰκείοις τόποις ἔτεκόντες καὶ θρε-  
 ψάσθαι καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης. Δικαιοτάτον δὲ κοσμησά  
 παρθῶτον πλὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ  
 ἡ τῶνδε εὐθύναι κοσμουμένη. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ  
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἔμνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν· πολ-  
 10 λαχῆ μὲν καὶ ἄλλη, παρθῶτον ἢ καὶ μέγιστον, ὅτι τυχερῆ  
 οὔσα θεοφιλῆς. μαρτυρῆ ἢ ἡμῶν τῶ λόγῳ, ἡ τῶν ἀμφοσι-  
 βητησάντων παρὶ αὐτῆς Θεῶν ἕως τε καὶ κρίσις. ἦν ἢ Θεοὶ  
 ἐπίνεσαν, πῶς οὐκ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων δικαία  
 ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαινος δικαίως ἀν αὐτῆς εἶη,  
 15 ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῶ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδεν καὶ ἔφου  
 ζῶα πανδοαπα, θηρία τε καὶ βοτᾶ, ἐν τῷ τῶ ἡμετέρα,  
 θηρίων μὲ ἀγρίων ἀγρονος καὶ καθαροῦ ἐφθῆν· ἐξελέξατο ἢ  
 τῶ ζῶων καὶ ἐθῆνησεν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ συνέσει τε ὑπερέχει ἢ  
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ Θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-  
 20 ριον τῷ τῶ λόγῳ, ὅτι ἡδε ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ οὐδὲ τῶνδε τε καὶ  
 ἡμετέροις παρθῶνοις· πάντων γὰρ ὃ τεκόν παρθῶν ἔχει ὅπι-  
 τηδείαν ᾧ ἀν τέκη. ᾧ καὶ γαυὴ δῆλη τεκῶσα τε ἀληθῆς,  
 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχη πηγᾶς παρ-  
 φῆς τῶ θηρομένων. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

ἰκανὸν τεκμήριον πῦρρον ὡς ἀνθρώπους γεννησαμένη. μὴ  
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ τῷ τότε προσφύω ἀνθρωπείαν ἠνεγκε τὸ  
 πυρῶν καὶ κερῶν καρπὸν, ὃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἀριστα τρέφεται  
 ὁ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ὡς τῷ ὄντι τῆτο τὸ ζῶον αὐτῆ γεννη-  
 σαμένη. μάλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς προσθήκη δέ- 5  
 χασθαι τοιαῦτα τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναικὶ μεμύμηται  
 κησὶ καὶ θμησὶ, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γυνῶ. τῆτα δὲ τῶ καρπῶ  
 ὅσα ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεμε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τῆτο  
 ἐλαίου θῆσιν, πόνων ἀρωγῶν, ἀνῆκε τοῖς ἐκρήνοις. θρε-  
 ψαμένη ἢ καὶ αὐξήσασα πρὸς ἡβῶν, ἀρχόντας ἐ διδασ- 10  
 κάλους αὐτῶν Θεοὺς ἐπηγάγετο ὧν τὰ μὲ ὀνόματα πρέπη  
 ἐν τῷ τοιαῦτα ἔαν. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὸ βίον ἡμῶν κατασκύβα-  
 σαν, πρὸς τε πλὴν καὶ ἡμέραν διαίταν τέχνας πρὸς τῶ  
 παιδολογίαμοι, καὶ πρὸς πλὴν ὑπὲρ τὴ χώρα φυλακῶν  
 ὄπλων κτησῶν τε καὶ χρῆσιν διδασκάλιοι. θμηθέντες δὲ καὶ 15  
 παιδολογῶντες ἔπως (1) πᾶνδε πρὸς ἡμοι, ὠκουν πολιτείαν  
 κατασκύβασαμοι, ἥσ ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ ἀβραχέων ὀπμη-  
 σθῆσαι. πολιτεία γὰρ, πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὄβι. καλὴ μὲν,  
 ἀγαθῶν ἢ δὲ ἐνδρτία, κακῶν.

Ὡς οὖν ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπράφησαν (1) πρὸς ἡμοι 20  
 ἡμῶν, ἀναγκαῖον δηλώσασθαι δι' ἣν δὴ καὶ κείνοι ἀγαθοί, καὶ οἱ  
 νῦν εἰσιν, ὧν οἶδε τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες (1) τετελευτηκότες. ἢ  
 γὰρ αὐτῆ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Αἰσοκρατία, ἐν ἣ  
 νῦν τε πολιτολόγῶντα, καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρένον ἐξ ἐκείνου ὡς  
 ταπολλά.

ταπολλά· καλῆ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ, Δημοκρατία, ὁ δὲ,  
 ἄλλο, ᾧ ἂν χαίρη· ἐπὶ ἣ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλή-  
 ρους Δεισοκρατία. Βασιλεῖς μὲ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν· οὗτοι  
 δὲ, ποτὲ μὲ ἐκ γένους, ποτὲ δὲ αἰρετοί. ἐγκρατές ἣ τῆς  
 5 πόλεως ταπολλά τὸ πλῆθος· τὰς δὲ ἀρχαίς δίδωσι καὶ  
 κρατῶ τοῖς αἰεὶ δόξασιν ἀρίστοις εἶ)· καὶ οὔτε ἀσθενεία,  
 οὔτε πεινία, οὔτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ἑσθῆεις,  
 ἑσθῆ τοῖς ἐσθμῆτοῖς τεπέμνηται, ὡσπερ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν·  
 ἀλλὰ εἰς ὄρεσ, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶ), κρατῆ καὶ ἀρ-  
 10 χή. Αἰτία ἣ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἣ ἕξ ἴσθ γέ-  
 νεσις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα πόλεις ἐκ παρὰδραπῶν κατεσ-  
 κευασμένα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνωμάτων· ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνώ-  
 μαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυραννίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι·  
 οἰκοῦσιν οἴω, ἔνιοι μὲν δούλους, (α) δὲ δεσπότας ἑλλήλους  
 15 νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς ἣ καὶ (α) ἡμέτεροι, μιᾶς μητρὸς πάν-  
 τες ἀδελφοὶ φῶτες, οὐκ ἀξιῶμεθ δούλοι ἑσθῆ δεσπότηται  
 ἑλλήλων εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἣ ἰσογονία ἡμᾶς ἣ κατὰ φύσιν ἰσονο-  
 μίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν καὶ νόμον, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλω ὑπέι-  
 κειν ἑλλήλοισ, ἣ ἀρετῆς δόξη καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν  
 20 πάσῃ ἐλευθερία τετραμῆνοι (α) πῶνδε πατέρες, καὶ (α)  
 ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔστοι, καὶ καλῶς φῶτες, πολλὰ δὴ καὶ  
 καλά ἔργα ἀπεφῆναντο εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίαι καὶ  
 δημοσίαι· οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τ' ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἑλλησιν ὑπὲρ  
 ἑλλήνων μάχεσθ, καὶ Βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τ' ἑλλήνων.



Εὐμόλπου μὲ οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ὀπιστρατευσάντων ὅτι  
 πρὸ χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἐπι πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς ἠμύνητο, καὶ ὡς  
 ἠμύνην Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς  
 Ἀργείας, ὅ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι, ποιη-  
 τὰ τε αὐτῶν ἤδη καλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν μουσικῇ ὑμνήσαν-  
 τες, εἰς πάντα μεμνήσκασιν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὀπιχειρῶμεν  
 τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ φιλῶ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' ἂν δούτεροι φαινοί-  
 μεθα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δοκῆ μοι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ ἔχῃ τὴν ἀξίαν. ὧν δὲ οὔτε ποιητὴς πῶ δόξῃ ἀξίαν  
 ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβων ἔχῃ, ἐπι τέ ὅστιν ἐν ἀμνησίᾳ, τῶν περὶ 10  
 μοι δοκῆ χρῆσθαι ὀπιμνησθῆναι, ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ πρεσβυ-  
 μενον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐς ὧδὰς τε καὶ πρὸ ἄλλην ποιήσιν αὐ-  
 τὰς γίνασθαι, πρεσβυτέρων τ' πρεσβυτέρων.

Ἐπι δὲ τῶν ὧν λέγω πρεσβυτέρων Πέρσας ἠγεμνῶν τ'  
 Ἀσίας, καὶ δουραμένους τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχον 15  
 χώρας ἔκγονοι, γονεῖς δ' ἡμέτεροι. ὧν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ χρῆ-  
 πρεσβυτον μεμνημῶν, ἐπαινεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. Δὲ  
 δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλῃ τις καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 πρὸ χρόνῳ ἠμύνητον λόγῳ, ὅτε πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλευε  
 τρίτῳ ἤδη βασιλεῖ. ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβυτέρων, Κύρος, ἐλευθε- 20  
 ρώσας Πέρσας τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολίτας πρὸ αὐτοῦ φρονήματι,  
 ἅμα καὶ τῶν δεσποτάς Μήδους ἐδούλωσατο, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 Ἀσίας μέχρι Αἰγύπτου ἤρξεν· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, Αἰγύπτου τε  
 καὶ Βαβυλῶν, ὅσοι οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπιβαίνειν· τρίτος δ' Ἰ. Δαρείος,  
 πρεσβυτέρων

πρὸς τὴν μὲν μέγαν Σκυθῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὤρῳσατο, ναυσὶ δὲ,  
 τῆς τε θαλάττης ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν νήσων ὥστε μηδὲ ἀ-  
 ξιοῦν ἀντίπαλον αὐτῷ μηδένα εἶναι. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες δεδουλω-  
 μέναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν. οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα  
 5 καὶ μάχμα θῆναι καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή. Αἰ-  
 πιασάμηνος ἢ Δαρείου ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερετρείας, Σάρδεσιν  
 ὀπιβουλεύσαι παρφασιζόμενον, πέμπας μυριάδας μὲν  
 πεντήκοντα ἔντε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας,  
 Δάτην δὲ ἀρχόντα, εἶπει ἤκειν ἄγοντα Ερετρείας καὶ Αθη-  
 10 ναίους, εἰ βούλοιο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ ἢ πλεῖ-  
 στας εἰς Ερετρείαν ἐπ' ἀνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς  
 εὐδοκιμωτάτοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἔκ ὀλί-  
 γου, τῆς ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις. διηβλήσατο  
 ἢ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι τοῖς τῶ  
 15 πρὸς τὸν ὄρεα ἐλθόντες τῆς Ερετρείας οἱ στρατιῶται  
 αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θαλάτταν διασάντες, σωάφουτες  
 ταῖς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἀπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βα-  
 σιλῆϊ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔδει σφᾶς ἀποπεφυγῶς εἶναι. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ  
 διανοίᾳ κατηγάγοντο ἔξ Ερετρείας εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς  
 20 ἔτοιμον σφίσι δὴ καὶ Αθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνάκλι-  
 ζούσαντας Ερετρεῦσιν, ἄγειν. τῆτων δὲ, τῶν μὲν πρᾶ-  
 χθέντων, τῶν δ' ὀπιχειρῶντων, οὐτ' Ερετρεῦσιν ἐβόηθη-  
 σεν Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς, οὔτε Αθηναίοις, πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων.  
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑπεραίᾳ τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. ὧ δ' ἄλλοι  
 πάντες

πάντες ἄκπεπληγμοῖ, ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ πρῶτον  
 σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἦσαν. Ἐν τῷ δὲ ἄν τις γενόμενος  
 γροῖη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχευον ὄντες τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ Μαραθῶνι  
 δεξάμενοι τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων δύναμιν, καὶ κολασάμενοι  
 ἡ ὑπερηφάνειαν ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ πολλοὶ γήσομενοι  
 πτόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡγεμόνες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις θρόμοι οἷοι ἄμαχος εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ  
 πᾶν πλήθος καὶ πᾶς πλῆθος ἀρετῆ ὑπέεικε. Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὖν οὐκ οἶμαι τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ μόνον τῶν σωμάτων τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων πατέρας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε  
 ἡμετέρας καὶ συμπαάντων τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡπείρῳ. εἰς οὐ-  
 κείνο γὰρ ὅ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ τὰς ὑτέρας μάχας  
 ἐτόλμησαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας,  
 μαθηταὶ τῶν Μαραθῶνι θρόμοι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρετῆα  
 τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ οἶμαι ἀναγετέον· τὰ δὲ δουτεῖα, τοῖς περὶ  
 Σαλαμίνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσασιν καὶ νικήσασιν. καὶ  
 γὰρ τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἄν τις ἔχοι διελθεῖν, καὶ  
 οἷα ὀπίοντα ὑπέμειναν κατὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ  
 ὡς ἡμῶντα ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ οἶμαι κάλλιστον  
 εἶναι, τὴν μνησθῆσομαι, ὅτι ὁ ἕξῃς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι  
 διεπεράσαντο. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τοσούτον μόνον ἐπε-  
 δείξαντο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι καὶ γῆν οἷον τε ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς  
 Βαρβάρους, ὀλίγοις πολλούς· ναυσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ἦν ἀδύνατον. καὶ  
 δόξαν εἶχον Πέρσαι ἄμαχοι εἶναι καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ πλῆθος  
 καὶ

καὶ πλῆθος, καὶ τέχνη καὶ ῥώμη. τῆτο ἰ ἀξιὸν ἐπαινεῖν τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν τῶν τότε ναυμαχισάντων, ὅτι τὸν ἐχόμενον φόβον  
 διέλυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἔπαυσαν φοβεμένους πλῆθος  
 νεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἰ ξυμβαίνει, τῶν τε  
 5 Μαραθῶνι μαχισαμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχισάν-  
 των, παιδευθῆναι τῆς ἄλλοις Ἑλληνας, Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν, καὶ  
 γλῶσσοι, Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν, καὶ θάλατταν, μαθόντες καὶ ἐπισεί-  
 τας μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τῆς Βαρβάρου. Τεῖτον δὲ λέγω ὅ ἐν  
 Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ αἰθμῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς θμεῖσθαι τῆ Ἑλληνικῆς  
 10 σωτηρίας· κοινὸν ἦδη τῆτο Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων.  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἤμυναν,  
 καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτῃ τῆ ἀρετὴν νῦν τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκωμιάζονται,  
 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον Ἐπὶ τῆ ὑπεροχῆ.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πολλὰ μὲν πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι  
 15 ἦσαν μὲν τῆ Βαρβάρου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἠγγέλλετο Βασιλεὺς ἀνα-  
 νοεῖσθαι ὡς ὅτι χειρήσων πάλιν ὅτι τῆς Ἑλληνας. δίκαιον  
 δὴ καὶ τούτων ἡμῶς ὅτι μνησθῆναι, οἱ τοῖς τῶν προτέρων  
 ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέθησαν, ἀνακαθηρέμενοι καὶ  
 ἰξελάσαντες πᾶν ὅ βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης. ἦσαν ἰ  
 20 οὗτοι οἱ τε ἐπὶ Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχισάντες, καὶ οἱ εἰς Κύ-  
 προν στρατεύσαντες, καὶ ὁ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες, ὁ  
 ἄλλοσε πολλαχόσε ὡν χρὴ μεμνησθαι, καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς  
 εἰδέναι ὅτι Βασιλέα ἐποίησαν δέισμα, τῆ ἑαυτοῦ σωτη-  
 ρία τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-  
 βουλῆειν

βουλόμεν φθορᾶ. καὶ ἔτος μὲν δὴ πάση τῇ πόλει διηκλήθη ὁ πόλεμος, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοφώνων, πρὸς τὰς Βαρβάρους.

Εἰρήνης δὲ θρομβήσης, καὶ τῆς πόλεως τιμωρόσης, ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ ἅκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι παρασπίπην, πρῶτον μὲν ζῆλος, ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ, φθόνος. ὃ καὶ τῷδε τὴν πόλιν ἀκροσθῆναι ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστησε. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο θρομβήου πολέμου, σωβέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τυράγγρα, ὑπὲρ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι· ἀμφισβητησίμου δὲ τῆς μάχης ἰοθρομβήσης, δέκρινε ὃ ὑπερὸν ἔργον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄχοντο ἀπίοντες, καταλιπόντες Βοιωτὰς οἷς ἐβοήθου· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τρίτη ἡμέρα ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις νικήσαντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως φεύγοντας δικαίως κατήγαγον. οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν τῆς Περσικῆς πόλεμος, Ἕλλησιν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας βοηθῶντες πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ θρομβοί, καὶ ἐλευθέρωσθες οἷς ἐβοήθου, ἐν τῷδε τῷ μνήματι τιμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτοι ἐτέθησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πολλοὺς πολέμου θρομβήου, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτρατὸσάντων, καὶ τιμώντων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀναξίαν χάριν ἔκπινόντων τῇ πόλει, νικήσαντες αὐτὰς ναυμαχίᾳ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτῶν τὰς ἡγεμόνας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ, ἔξον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρῆσαι, ἐφείσαντο, καὶ ἀπέδσαν, καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐπαίησαντο· ἡγεμόνοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ ὁμόφυλον

θμύφουλον μέχει νίκης δειν πολεμῆιν, κ' μηδὲ ὀργῶν ἰδίαν  
 πόλεως τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διολλύει· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς  
 Βαρβάρους, μέχρι θάλαττος. Τύττος δὲ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι  
 τῆς ἀνδρίας, οἱ τῆτον τὸ πόλεμον πολεμήσαντες, οἷα δὲ  
 5 κείνται, ὅτι ἐπέδειξαν, εἴτις ἄρα ἠμφισβήτη, ὡς εἰ τῷ  
 πρῶτῳ πόλεμῳ τῷ πρὸς τῆς Βαρβάρους ἄλλοι τινὲς  
 εἴεν ἀμείνους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἀμφισβητοῖεν. ἔτι  
 γὰρ οἰκῶντα ἔδειξαν, γασιασάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, φειγνό-  
 μνοι τῷ πόλεμῳ, τῆς πρῆξῶτας τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χει-  
 10 ρωσάμενοι, μεθ' ὧν τότε τῆς Βαρβάρους ἐνίκων κοινή, τού-  
 τῆς νικῶντες ἰδίᾳ.

Τεῖτον δὲ πόλεμος μὲν ταύτῃ τὴν εἰρήνῃ ἀνέλπι-  
 φός τε καὶ δεινὸς ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τελευτή-  
 σαντες, οἷα δὲ κείνται· πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεί-  
 15 στα τρέπαια γήσαντες, ὑπὸ τῆς Λεοντίων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς  
 βοηθῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρκου, ἐπλευσθῆναι εἰς ἐκείνους τῆς τό-  
 πους· (ἀπὸ δὲ μῆκος τῆ πλοῦ εἰς ἄσπεραν τῆς πόλεως  
 κέραιας, καὶ ἔδωκα μὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τῶν ἀπει-  
 πόντες ἐδυσχέρισαν. ὧν αὖ ἐχθροὶ καὶ πρῶτοπολεμήσαντες  
 20 πλείω ἐπαινον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἢ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων οἱ φίλοι.) πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς κατὰ  
 Ἑλλάσσοντον, μιᾶ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐλόντες ναῦς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες. ὁ δ' εἶπον  
 δεινὸν καὶ ἀνέλπιτον τὸ πόλεμον γένεσθαι, τὸ δὲ λέγω, ὅ

εἰς τοσούτον φιλονεικίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἄλ-  
 λου Ελλήνας, ὥστε τολμήσωμεν τῷ ἐχθίσῳ ὀπτικηρυκόμενασθε  
 Βασιλεῖ, ἐν κοινῇ ἰξέβαλον μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἰδίᾳ τούτου πάλιν  
 ἐπάγομαι, Βάρβαρον ἐφ' Ελλήνας, καὶ συναθροίσωμεν ὅπτι  
 τῷ πόλιν πάντας Ελληνὰς τε καὶ Βαρβάρους· οὗ δὴ καὶ 5  
 ἐκφανῆς ἐφύετο ἢ τῆ πόλεως ῥώμη τε καὶ ἀρετῆ. οἰομένων  
 γὰρ ἤδη αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμηῖσθε, καὶ ἀπειλημμένων ἐπὶ  
 Μιτυλήνῃ τῶν νεῶν, βοηθήσαντες ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν, αὐτοὶ  
 ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἄνδρες θηρόθυμοι ὁμολογημέ-  
 νως ἀριστεῖ, νικήσαντες μὲν τῆς πολέμου, λυσάρμοι δὲ 10  
 τῆς φιλίας, ἀναξίου τύχης τυχόντες, ὅτε ἀναιρεθέντες  
 ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, κείναια εἰσάδε. ὧν χρὴ αἰεὶ μεμνηθῆσθαι  
 τε καὶ ἐπανεῖν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἀρετῇ ἐμικήσαμεν οὐ  
 μόνον τὴν τότε ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόλεμον·  
 δόξαν γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ πόλις ἔχει, μήποτ' αἰ καταπολεμη- 15  
 θῆναι μηδ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε. τῇ  
 δ' ἡμετέρας αὐτῆς διαφορᾶς ἐκκατήθημεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἄλλων. ἀήτητοὶ γὰρ ἔτε καὶ καὶ καὶ ὑπὸ γε ἐκείνων ἐσμέν·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν καὶ ἠτήθημεν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἰσυχίας θηρόθυμος, καὶ εἰρήνης πρὸς 20  
 τῆς ἄλλου, ὁ οἰκείος ἡμῖν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμήθη,  
 ὥστε εἴπερ εἰμαρμένον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις στασιάσαι, μὴ ἀν-  
 λως εὐξασθαι μηδένα πάλιν ἑαυτοῦ νοσήσαι. ὅτε γὰρ τῶν  
 Πειρακίως καὶ τῶν Ἀγροῦ ὡς ἀσμένως καὶ οἰκείως ἀλλήλοις

συνείμαζαν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ πρὸ ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ελ-  
 λησι, τότε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ελευσίῃ πόλεμοι ὡς μετρίως  
 ἔδειτο. καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων ὄσθεν ἄλλ' αἴτιον, ἢ τῷ ὄντι  
 ξυγγήμια, φιλία βέβαιον καὶ ὁμόφυλον οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ  
 5 πρῆχοντο. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τε-  
 λευτησάντων ἕκαστ' ἀλλήλων μείαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀφελλάττειν  
 αὐτοὺς ὡς δυνάμεθα, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς  
 κρατῶσιν αὐτῶν εὐχομένης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς διηλλαγμένα  
 ἔσθ' ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλων ἠφαιτο, ἔσθ' ἔχθρα, ἀλλὰ δυστυχία.  
 10 μάρτυρες δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐσμέν τούτων, οἱ ζῶντες. οἱ αὐ-  
 τοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐκείνοις θῆψ, συγγνώμῃ ἀλλήλοις ἔχομεν ὧν  
 τ' ἐποίησαμεν, ὧν τ' ἐπάθομεν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παντελῶς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν γενομένης, ἡσυ-  
 χίαν ἤβη ἡ πόλις, τοῖς μὲν Βαρβάροις συγγνώσκουσα, ὅτι  
 15 παθόντες ἕκαστ' αὐτῆς κακῶς ἰκανῶς, ὅτι ἐνδεῶς ἡμῖνοντο  
 τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησιν ἀγανακτοῦσα, μεμνημένη ὡς εὖ παθόντες  
 ὑπ' αὐτῆς, οἷαν χάριν ἀπέδοσαν, κοινωσάμενοι τοῖς Βαρ-  
 βάροις, τὰς τε ναῦς πειρομένοι, αἷ ποτ' ἐκείνους ἔσωσαι,  
 καὶ τείχη καθελόντες, ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κείνων ἐκωλύσαμεν  
 20 πεσεῖν. Διανοσμένη δὲ ἡ πόλις μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀμύνοι μήτε  
 Ἕλλησι πρὸς ἀλλήλων δουλουμένοις, μήτε ἕκαστ' Βαρβά-  
 ρων, οὕτω ὡς. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀφεισία ὄντων, ἡη-  
 σάμενοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀπικέρους  
 πεπρωκένοισι ἡμῶς, σφέτερον δὲ ἤδη ἔργον εἶ) καταδουλοῦ-



οθα τοὺς ἄλλους, ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. καὶ μηκύνειν μὲν τί  
 δῆ; ἔ ῥ' πάλαι οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότα λέγοιμ'  
 ἀν τὰ μὲν ταῦτα. αὐτοὶ ῥ' ἴσμεν ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἀφί-  
 κοντο εἰς χρείαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων ᾧ ᾤοντο  
 Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Κορίνθιοι· καὶ τότε θεϊότατον πάντων, 5  
 ὃ καὶ Βασιλέα εἰς τῆτο ἄπορίας ἀφικέσθαι, ὥστε περὶ στήναι  
 αὐτῷ μηδαμῶθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ σωτηρίαν ἡμέαδ' ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ ταύ-  
 τῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ᾤοντο ἀπώλλυ. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴ τις  
 βύλοιτο τῆς πόλεως κατηγορήσασθαι δικαίως, τῆτ' ἀν μόνον  
 λέγων ὀρθῶς ἀν κατηγορεῖ, ὡς αἰεὶ λίαν φιλοκτίρμων ὄντι, 10  
 καὶ τῷ ἥτινος θεραπίς. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἔχ  
 οῖατε ἐβλήθητο καρτερῆσαι, οὐδὲ ἀναφυλάξαι ἀ ἐδέδοκτο  
 αὐτῇ, τὸ μηδενὶ δουλομνῶ βοηθεῖν τῆς σφᾶς ἀδικησάν-  
 των· ἀλλὰ ἐκάμφθη, καὶ ἐβόηθησε, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἑλλήνας  
 αὐτῇ βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὡς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, 15  
 μέχρῃς ἔ ἄλλῃ αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς κατεδουλώσαντο. Βασιλεὺς  
 δὲ αὐτῇ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμισεν βοηθεῖν, ἀγχομένη τὰ πρῶ-  
 παια τὰτε Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς. φυ-  
 γάδας δὲ ἔ ἐβελονταῖς ἐάσασα μόνον βοηθεῖν, ὁμολογη-  
 μένως ἔσωσε. τειχισαμένη δὲ καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη, ἐκδέξα- 20  
 μένη ἔ πολέμον, ἐπειδὴ ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, ὑπὲρ Πα-  
 είων ἐπολέμη Λακεδαιμονίοις. φοβηθεὶς δὲ Βασιλεὺς τὴν  
 πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἔώρα Λακεδαιμονίους τῷ καὶ γάλατταν πο-  
 λέμῳ ἀπαρρεύοντας, ἄποσῆναι βεβλόμεναι, ἐξήτησε τοὺς

Ἑλλήνας

Ἑλληνας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, (οὕτως ᾤοντες Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι αὐτὰς ἕξέδοσαν, εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν ἡμῖν τε καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμαχοῖς,) ἠγάθην οὐκ ἐθέλησαν, ἵνα αὐ-  
 τὰς πρὸς φάσις εἴη τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων συμ-  
 5 μάχων ἐφύλαξεν (ἠθέλησαν γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐκδιδόναι, καὶ ξυνέθεντο  
 καὶ ὤμοσαν, Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι  
 σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χρήματα παρέξειν, ἐκδώσειν τοὺς ἐν  
 τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἑλληνας) μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἔτε  
 ἐκδοῦναι, οὔτε ὀμόσαι. Οὕτω δὲ τοι τότε τῆς πόλεως  
 10 θυμαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέλαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ὅτι, καὶ φύσιν μι-  
 σοβάραρον, διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῶς εἶναι) Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀμύβεις Βαρ-  
 βάρων. ἔστι γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κάδμοι, οὐδὲ Αἴγυπιοὶ τε καὶ  
 Δαναοὶ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, φύσιν μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες,  
 νόμῳ δὲ Ἕλληνας, σιωποῦσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας, οὐ  
 15 μισοβάραροι, οἰκῶμεν· ὅθεν καθαρόν τὸ μῖσος εἰτέτιθη  
 τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀλλοτρίας φύσεως. ὅμως δ' οὕτω ἐμοιῶθημεν  
 πάλιν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσα-  
 σθαι, Ἑλληνας Βαρβάρους ἐκδόντες.

Ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα ἕξ ἂν καὶ τοπρότερον κατεπο-  
 20 λεμήθημεν, σὺ Θεῶν ἀμεινον ἢ τότε ἐθέμεθα τὸν πόλεμον.  
 καὶ γὰρ ναῦς καὶ τείχη ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
 κίας, ἀπὸ πηλάγημεν τὸν πόλεμον. οὕτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπὸ πη-  
 λάττοντο καὶ ὁ πολέμοι. ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν  
 τῷ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτερήθημεν, τῶν τε ἐν Κορίνθῳ χρῆσα-  
 μένων

ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους, ταῦτ' ἐπράττει. καὶ μακύνει μὲν τί  
 δέ; ἔ γ' οὐκ ἔτι πάλαι οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων γνησιότα λέξιμι  
 αἱ τὰ μὲν ταῦτα. αὐτοὶ γ' ἴσμεν ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἀφί-  
 κονται εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων (1) Ἐσθῆτοι  
 Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ τότε δευτέρου πάντων, 5  
 ὃ καὶ Βασιλέα εἰς τῆτο ἀπειρίας ἀφικέσθαι, ὅτε ἑστῆσαν  
 αὐτῶν μηδ' ἀμύσει ἄλλοθεν ἢ σωτηρίαν ἡμέας ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ ταύ-  
 τῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ἑσθῆτος ἀπάλλυ. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴ τις  
 βούλοιο τῆς πόλεως κατηρησῆσαι δικαίως, τῆτ' αἰ μόνον  
 λέγειν ὀρθῶς αἰ κατηρησῆσαι, ὡς αἰεὶ λίαν φιλοκτίρμων ὄσει, 10  
 καὶ τῆ ἡπείρου θρακίς. καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ τῶ τότε χρόνῳ ἔχ  
 οἴατε ἐθήετο κατηρησῆσαι, οὐδὲ ἀφ' ἀφικέσθαι αἰ ἐδέδοκτο  
 αὐτῆ, τὸ μηδενὶ δουλομύθῳ βοηθεῖν τῶ σφῶς ἀδικησάν-  
 ται ἀλλὰ ἐκάμψθη, καὶ ἐβούθησε, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἑλλήνας  
 αὐτῆ βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὡς ἐλευθέρους (2), 15  
 μέχεις ἔτι πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς κατεδουλώσαντο. Βασιλεὺς  
 δὲ αὐτῆ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε βοηθήσαι, ἀγασσομένη τὰ πρῶ-  
 ταια τῆτε Μααθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῶνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς. φυ-  
 γάδας δὲ ἐθελονταὶ ἐάσασα μόνον βοηθήσαι, ὁμολογου-  
 μένως ἔσωσε. τειχισαμένη δὲ καὶ ναυπηγισαμένη  
 μὲν ἔτι πολέμον, ἐπειδὴ ἠναγκάσθη  
 εἶων ἐπολέμη Λακεδαιμονίοις.  
 πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἔωρα Λακεδαιμονίους  
 λέμῳ ἀπαγορεύοντας, ἔτι

Ελληνας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, (οὕτως ᾤοντο Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι αὐτῶν ἕξέδουσαν, εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχεῖσθαι ἡμῶν τε καὶ  
τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμαχοῖς,) ἠγέμενος οὐκ ἐθέλησεν, ἢ αὐ-  
τῶν πρῶτος εἶη τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων συμ-  
μάχων ἐψεύσατο (ἠθέλησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκδιδοῖναι, καὶ ζυυέμεναι  
καὶ ὄμοσαν, Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι  
σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χρήματα παρέξειν, ἐκδώσει τοὺς ἐν  
τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ελληνας) μόνον δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἕτε-  
ρεκδιδοῖναι, οὔτε ὀμοῦσαι. Οὕτω δὲ τοὶ τότε τῆς πόλεως  
ἰοθηναῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέβαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ὄντι, καὶ φύσιν μι-  
σοβάρβαρον, διὰ τὸ εὐκρινῶς εἶναι) Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀμειβῆς Βαρ-  
βάρων. ἔτι γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κάδμοι, οὐδὲ Αἴγυπιοὶ τε καὶ  
Δαναοὶ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, φύσιν μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες,  
νόμῳ δὲ Ἕλληνας, σιωποῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας, οὐ  
15 μισοβάρβαροι, οἰκῶμεν· ὅθεν καθαρόν τὸ μῖστος ἐτίθηκε  
τῇ πόλιν τῆς ἀλλοτριᾶς φύσεως. ὅμως δ' οὕτω ἐμοιῶσθημεν  
πάλιν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλοντες αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσα-  
σθαι, Ελληνας ἕτερεκδιδοῖναι.

ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ... ἕξ ὧν καὶ τοπρότερον κατεπο-  
... μινον ἢ τότε ἐθέμεθα τὸν πόλεμον.  
... ρόντες, καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
... ἔπολέμα. οὕτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπὸ  
... ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν  
... τῶν τε ἐν Κορίνθῳ χρῆσα-  
... μάνων

ἰκανὸν τεκμήριον πῶς ὡς ἀνθρώπους γεννησαμένη. μόνη  
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ πρώτη προσβύ ἀνθρωπείαν ἠνεγκε τὴν  
 πυρῶν καὶ κελῶν καρπὸν, ᾧ κάλλιστα καὶ ἀειστα πρέφεια  
 ὁ ἀνθρώπειον θῆμος, ὡς τῷ ὄντι τῆτο τὸ ζῶον αὐτὴ γεννη-  
 σαμένη. μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς προσήκει δέ- 5  
 χασθαι τοιαῦτα τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναικὴ μεμίμηται  
 κνήσῃ καὶ θνήσῃ, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γῆν. τῆτα δὲ τῶ καρπῷ  
 οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεμε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τῆτο  
 ἐλαίου θῆσιν, πόνων ἀρωγῆν, ἀνῆκε τοῖς ἐκρήνοις. θρε-  
 φαμένη ἢ καὶ αὐξήσασα πρὸς ἡβίω, ἀρχόντας ἐ διδασ- 10  
 κάλους αὐτῶν Θεοὺς ἐπηγάγετο ὧν τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρέπῃ  
 ἐν τῷ τοιαῦδε ἔαν. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὴν βίον ἡμῶν κατεσιδύα-  
 σαι, πρὸς τε πλὴν καὶ ἡμέραν διαίταν τέχνας πρῶτας  
 παιδουσίμμοι, καὶ πρὸς πλὴν ὑπὲρ τὴν χώραν φυλακῆν  
 ὄπλων κτησῆν τε καὶ χρῆσιν διδασκάλμοι. θνηθέντες δὲ καὶ 15  
 παιδουθέντες ἔπως (α) πᾶνδε πρῶνοι, ὠκουν πολιτείαν  
 κατασιδουσίμμοι, ἥς ὀρθῶς ἔχει διὰ βραχέων ὀπιμνη-  
 σθῆσαι. πολιτεία γὰρ, πρῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι καλὴ μὲν,  
 ἀγαθῶν ἢ δὲ ἐνδρῆτα, κακῶν.

Ὡς οὖν ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπράφισαν (α) πρῶθεν 20  
 ἡμῶν, ἀναγκάσιον δηλώσασθαι δι' ἣν δὴ κακῆνοι ἀγαθοί, καὶ οἱ  
 νῦν εἰσιν, ὧν οἶδε τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες (α) τετελευτηκότες. ἢ  
 γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Δεισοκρατία, ἐν ἣ  
 νῦν τε πολιτουσίμμοι, καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρένον ἔξ ἐκείνου ὡς  
 ταπολλά.

ταπολλά· καλῆ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ, Δημοκρατία, ὁ δὲ,  
 ἄλλο, ὧ ἂν χαίρη· ἐστὶ ἢ τῆ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλή-  
 γους Δεινοκρατία. Βασιλεῖς μὲ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν· οὗτοι  
 δὲ, ποτὲ μὲ ἐκ γένους, ποτὲ δὲ αἰρετοί. ἐγκρατὲς ἢ τῆς  
 5 πόλεως ταπολλά τὸ πλῆθος· τοῖς δὲ ἀρχαῖς δίδωσι καὶ  
 κρατὸς τοῖς αἰεὶ δόξασιν αἰετοῖς εἶ), καὶ οὔτε ἀσθενεία,  
 οὔτε πεινία, οὔτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ἑσθῆεις,  
 ἑσθῆ τοῖς ἐσθυτίοις τεπέμηται, ὡσπερ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν·  
 ἀλλὰ εἰς ὄρους, ὁ δόξας σοφός ἢ ἀγαθός εἶ), κρατὲ καὶ ἀρ-  
 10 χῆ. Αἰτία ἢ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἢ ἕξ ἴσθ γέ-  
 νεσις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα πόλεις ἐκ παρῶδαπῶν κατεσ-  
 κευασμένα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνωμάτων· ὥτε αὐτῶν ἀνώ-  
 μαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυραννίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι·  
 οἰκοῦσιν οὖν, ἔτιοι μὲν δούλους, (Α) δὲ δεσπότας ἑλλήους  
 15 νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς ἢ καὶ (Α) ἡμέτεροι, μιᾶς μητρὸς πάν-  
 τες ἀδελφοὶ φιώτες, οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν δούλοι ἑσθῆ δεσπότας  
 ἑλλήων εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἢ ἰσορροπία ἡμᾶς ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἰσονο-  
 μίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν καὶ νόμον, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπέι-  
 κειν ἑλλήοις, ἢ ἀρετῆς δόξῃ καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν  
 20 πάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ τετραμυθνοὶ (Α) πῶνδε πατέρες, καὶ (Α)  
 ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔστοι, καὶ καλῶς φιώτες, πολλαὶ δὴ καὶ  
 καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφάνησαν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ  
 δημοσίᾳ· οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἑλλῆσιν ὑπὲρ  
 ἑλλήων μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάροις ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶ ἑλλήων.

Εὐμόλπου μὲ οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ὀπιτρατευσάντων ὑπὲρ  
 τὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἐπι περτέρων, ὡς ἠμύνοντο, καὶ ὡς  
 ἠμῶν Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς  
 Ἀργείας, ὅ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι, ποιη-  
 τὰ τε αὐτῶν ἤδη καλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν μουσικῇ ὑμνήσαν-  
 τες, εἰς πάντα μεμνήχασιν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὀπιχειρῶμεν  
 τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ φιλῶ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' ἀν δύτεροι φαινοί-  
 μεθα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰ ταῦτα δοκῆ μοι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν. ὧν δὲ οὔτε ποιητὴς ποτὶ δόξαν ἀξίαν  
 ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβων ἔχει, ἐπι τέθειν ἐν ἀμνησίᾳ, τῶν περὶ 10  
 μοι δοκῆ χρῆσθαι ὀπιμνησθῆναι, ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ πορμῶ-  
 μενοι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐς ὧδας τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν αὐ-  
 τὰς γίνομαι, πορπῶντας τ' πορξάντων.

Ἐπι δὲ τῶν ὧν λέγω πορῶται Πέρσας ἠγεμῶνας τ'  
 Ἀσίας, καὶ δουραμένοας τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχον 15  
 χώρας ἔκγονοι, γονεῖς τ' ἡμέτεροι. ὧν καὶ δικαίον καὶ χρῆ  
 πορῶτον μεμνημῶνας, ἐπαινεῖσαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. Δὲ  
 δὴ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλῃ τις καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 πορ χρόνῳ ἠμῶν λόγῳ, ὅτε πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλβη  
 τρίτῳ ἤδη βασιλῆϊ. ὧν ὁ μὲ πορτῶ, Κῦρος, ἐλευθε- 20  
 ρῶσας Πέρσας τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολίτας πορ αὐτοὺς πορνήματι,  
 ἅμα καὶ πορ δασάστας Μήδοας ἐδούλβασατο, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 Ἀσίας μέχρῃς Αἰγύπτου ἠρξεν· ὁ δὲ ἕρὸς αὐτοῦ, Αἰγύπτῳ τε  
 καὶ Βαβυλῶνι, ὅσοι οἶον τε ἦν ἐπιβαίνειν τρίτος τ' Δαρεῖος,  
 πορξῆ

πρὸς ἣν μὲν μέχρι Σκυθῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὤρῳσατο, ναυσὶ δὲ,  
 τῆς τε θαλάττης ἐκράτισε καὶ τῶν νήσων ὥστε μηδὲ ἀ-  
 ξιούην ἀντίπαλον ἀπὸς μηδένα εἶναι. αἱ δὲ γῶμαι δεδουλω-  
 μέναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν. οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα  
 5 καὶ μάχιστα θῆκη καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή. Αἰ-  
 πασσάμνυθ' ἢ Δαρεῖος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερετρείας, Σάρδεσιν  
 ὀπιβουλεύσασθαι παρφασιζούμνυθ', πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν  
 πεντήκοντα ἔντε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ναῦς δὲ τεμαχοσίας,  
 Δάτην δὲ ἀρχόντα, εἶπεν ἠκεῖν ἄγοντα Ερετρείας καὶ Αθη-  
 10 ναίους, εἰ βούλοιο τ' ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ ἢ πλεύ-  
 σαις εἰς Ερέτρειαν ἐπ' ἀνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς  
 εὐδοκιμωτάτοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἔκ ολί-  
 γοι, τότες ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις. διηρβυήσατο  
 ἢ αὐτῶν πάσαι τ' χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι τοῖσ' τῶν  
 15 πρὸς τῶν ὄρεα ἐλθόντες τ' Ερετρεϊκῆς οἱ στρατιῶται  
 αὐτῶν, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θαλάτταν ἀφαικνύοντες, σωμαφόρως  
 ταῖς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἀπασαν τ' χώραν, ἵν' ἔχουσι τῶ βα-  
 σιλῆ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔδει σφᾶς ἀποπεφύγως εἶναι. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ  
 ἀφαικνύοντες κατηγάγοντο ἐξ Ερετρείας εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς  
 20 ἔτοιμον σφίσι δὲ καὶ Αθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνάκκη  
 ζεύξαντας Ερετρεῖυσιν, ἄγειν. τῶν δὲ, τῶν μὲν πρῶ-  
 χθέντων, τῶν δ' ὀπιχειρμένων, οὕτ' Ερετρεῖυσιν ἐβόηθη-  
 σεν Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς, οὔτε Αθηναίους, πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων.  
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑπεραία τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. (α) δ' ἄλλοι  
 πάντες



πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ἀγαπῶντες τιμὴν ἐν τῷ πρῶτον  
 σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἤθελον. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἄν τις γινόμενος  
 γροῖη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχευον ὄντες τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ Μαραθῶνι  
 δεξάμενοι τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων δύναμιν, καὶ κολασάμενοι  
 ἢ ὑπερηφροσύνην ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ θεῶτοι γήσομενες  
 τρέπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡγεμόνες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις θρόνοι οἷοι ἔκ ἀμαχῆς εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ  
 πᾶν πλήθος καὶ πᾶς πλῆθος ἀρετῆς ὑπέεικε. Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐκείνοις τὴν ἀρετὴν φημὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν σωμάτων τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων πατέρας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε 10  
 ἡμετέρας καὶ ἑσπερίων τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡπείρῳ. εἰς ἐκ-  
 εἶνο γὰρ ὁ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ τὰς ὑτέρας μάχας  
 ἐτόλμησαν ἀσπικινδυνεύειν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας,  
 μαθηταὶ τῶν Μαραθῶνι θρόνοι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρετῆα  
 τῷ λόγῳ ἐκείνοις ἀναθετέον· τὰ δὲ δεύτερα, τοῖς περὶ 15  
 Σαλαμίνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσασιν καὶ νικήσασιν. καὶ  
 γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἄν τις ἔχοι διελθεῖν, καὶ  
 οἷα ὀπίοντα ὑπέμειναν κατὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ  
 ὡς ἡμῶν ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκείνων κάλλιστον  
 εἶναι, τούτῳ μνησθήσομαι, ὅτι ὁ ἐξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι 20  
 διεπράξαντο. Ἐμὲ γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τοσούτον μόνον ἐπε-  
 δείξαντο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι καὶ γῆν οἷον τε ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς  
 Βαρβάρους, ὀλίγοις πολλούς· ναυσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ἦν ἄδηλον. καὶ  
 δόξαν εἶχον Πέρσαι ἀμαχοὶ εἶναι καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ πλῆθος  
 καὶ

καὶ πλῆθος, καὶ τέχνη καὶ ῥώμη. τῆτο ἦ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν οὗδ' τότε ναυμαχισάντων, ὅτι τὸν ἐχόμενον φόβον  
 διέλυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἔπαυσαν φοβουμένους πλῆθος  
 νεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἦ ξυμβαίνει, τῶν τε  
 5 Μααρθῶν μαχισαμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχισάν-  
 των, παιδούθῃναι τῆς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνας, Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν, καὶ  
 γὰρ, Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν, καὶ θάλατταν, μαθόντας καὶ ἐθισθεί-  
 τας μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τῆς Βαρβάρου. Τεῖτον δὲ λέγω ὅ ἐν  
 Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ αἰδομῶν καὶ ἀρείῃ θῆρας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς  
 10 σωτηρίας· κοινὸν ἦδη τῆτο Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων.  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἤμηναν,  
 καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἦν τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκωμιάζονται,  
 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπείτα χρόνον Ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερῶν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πολλὰ μὲν πέλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτε  
 15 ἦσαν μὲν ὅσων Βαρβάρου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἠγγέλλετο Βασιλεύς ἀνα-  
 νοεῖσθαι ὡς ὅτι χειρήσων πάλιν ὅπτι τῆς Ἑλλήνας. Δίκαιον  
 δὴ καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οἱ τοῖς τῶν προτέρων  
 ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέθισσαν, ἀνακαθηρέμενοι καὶ  
 ἰξελάσαντες πᾶν ὅσον βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης. ἦσαν ἦ  
 20 οὗτοι οἱ τε ἐπὶ Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχισόμενοι, καὶ οἱ εἰς Κύ-  
 προν φρατύσαντες, καὶ ὁ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες, ὅ  
 ἄλλοσε πολλαχόσε ὧν χρὴ μεμνησθῆναι, καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς  
 εἰδέναι ὅτι Βασιλέα ἐποίησαν δέισμα, τῆ ἑαυτοῦ σωτη-  
 ρία τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-  
 βουλεύειν

βουλῶν φθορᾶ. καὶ ἔτος μὲν δὴ πάση τῇ πόλει διηγήθη  
ὁ πόλεμος, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοφώνων, πρὸς  
τὰς Βαρβάρους.

Εἰρήνης δὲ δημοδύνης, καὶ τῆς πόλεως πτωχότητος, ἦλ-  
θεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ φράτ- 5  
τουσι προσπίπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν Ζήλος, ἀπὸ Ζήλου δὲ,  
φθόρος. ὃ καὶ τούτῳ τὴν πόλιν ἀκασσον ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς  
Ἕλλησι κατέστησε. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δημοδύου πολέμου,  
σωθέντων μὲν ἐν Τυράγγῳ, ὑπὲρ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας  
Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι· ἀμφισβητησίμου δὲ τῆς μάχης 10  
δημοδύνης, δέκρινε ὁ ὑπερὸν ἔργον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄχοντο ἀπύον-  
τες, καταλιπόντες Βοιωτὰς οἷς ἐβοήθου· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι  
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις νικήσαντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως φθ-  
νοντάς δικαίως κατήγαγον. οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν τῆς Περ-  
σικῆς πόλεμος, Ἕλλησιν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας βοηθῶν- 15  
τες πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δημοδύνοι, καὶ ἐλευθε-  
ρώσαντες οἷς ἐβοήθου, ἐν τῷδε τῷ μνήματι τιμηθέντες  
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτοι ἐτέθησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,  
πολλοῦ πολέμου δημοδύου, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-  
κρατοσάντων, καὶ τεμνόντων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀναξίαν χάριν 20  
ἐκπύοντων τῇ πόλει, νικήσαντες αὐτὰς ναυμαχίᾳ οἱ ἡμέ-  
τεροι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτῶν τὰς ἡγεμόνας Λακεδαιμονίους  
ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ, ἔξον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρῆσαι, ἐφείσαντο, καὶ  
ἀπέδσαν, καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐπαίησαντο· ἡγεμόνοι πρὸς μὲν τὰ  
ὁμόφυλον

ἑμφοροὶ μέχρι νίκης δεῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ μὴ δι' ὀργῶν ἰδίαν  
 πόλεως τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διολλύειν· ὡς δὲ τοὺς  
 Βαρβάρους, μέχρι ἀφροσύνης. Τύττος δὲ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι  
 τὴν ἄνδρας, οἳ τῆτον τὸν πόλεμον πολεμήσαντες, οἷα δὲ  
 5 κείνται, ὅτι ἐπέδειξαν, εἴτις ἄρα ἠμφισβήτη, ὡς οἱ τῶ  
 ὡσπότερον πόλεμον τῶ ὡς τὴν Βαρβάρους ἄλλοι τινὲς  
 εἶεν ἀμείνους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἀμφισβητοῖεν. ὅτοι  
 γὰρ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδειξαν, γασπασίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὡσπινό-  
 μενοι τῶ πόλεμον, τὴν ὡσπινότατος τῶ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χει-  
 10 ρωσάμενοι, μεθ' ὧν τότε τὴν Βαρβάρους ἐνίκων κοινή, τού-  
 τος νικῶντες ἰδίαν.

Τεῖτον ὅ ὡ πόλεμος μὴ ταύτιον τὴν εἰρήνιον ἀνέλπι-  
 σὸς τε καὶ δεῖνος ἐθμέτον οἱ ὡ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τελευτή-  
 σαντες, οἷα δὲ κείνται· πολλοὶ μὴ ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεί-  
 15 σα τρέπαια γήσαντες, ὡσπὶ τῆς Λεοντίων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς  
 βοηθῶντες ἀφ' τῆς ὄρκους, ἐπλευσῶν εἰς ὀκείνους τὴν τό-  
 πους· (ἀφ' δὲ μῆκος τῶ πλοῦ εἰς ἀπείαν τῆς πόλεως  
 κλάσας, καὶ ὡ διωαμῶντος αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τῶτον ἀπει-  
 πόντες ἐδυσύχησαν. ὡν ὡ ἐχθροὶ καὶ ὡσπασπολεμήσαντες  
 20 πλείω ἐπαινον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἢ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων οἱ φίλοι·) πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς καθ'  
 Ἑλλάσσοντον, μῆ μὲν ἡμέρα πᾶσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐλόντες ναῦς, πολλὰς ὅ καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες. ὅ δ' εἶπον  
 δεῖνον καὶ ἀνέλπιτον τῶ πόλεμον γενέσθαι, τῶδε λέγω, ὅ

εἰς τοσούτον φιλονεικίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἄλλοις  
 Ἑλλήνας, ὅτε τολμήσω τῷ ἐχθίστῳ ὀπικηρυκδύσααδς  
 Βασιλεῖ, ἐν κοινῇ ἔξέβαλον μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἰδίᾳ τῶτον πάλιν  
 ἐπάγειν, Βάρβαρον ἐφ' Ἑλλήνας, καὶ σωμαθεῖσαι ὅτι  
 τῷ πόλιν πάντας Ἑλληνας τε καὶ Βαρβάρους· οὐδὲ καὶ 5  
 ἐκφανῆς ἐθήμετο ἢ τὴν πόλεως ῥώμην τε καὶ ἀρετὴν οἰομένων  
 γὰρ ἤδη αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμηῖαδς, καὶ ἀπειλημμένων εἰ  
 Μιτυλήνῃ τῶν νεῶν, βοηθήσαντες ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν, αὐτοὶ  
 ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἄνδρες θηρόθυμοι ὁμολογημέ-  
 νως ἀριστεῖ, νικήσαντες μὲν τῆς πολεμίας, λυσάμενοι δὲ 10  
 τῆς φιλίας, ἀναξίου τύχης τυχόντες, οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντες  
 ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, κενῶν εὐχάδε. ὅτι χρὴ αἰεὶ μεμνηθῶν  
 τε καὶ ἐπαινῆν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἀρετῇ ἐμικήσαμεν οὐ  
 μόνον τὴν τότε ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόλεμον  
 δόξαν γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ πόλις ἔχει, μήποτ' ἀν' καταπολεμη- 15  
 θῆναι μηδ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε τῇ  
 ἡμετέρας αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῦ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἄλλων. ἀήτιοὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐσμέν·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν καὶ ἠτήθημεν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡσυχίας θηρόθυμος, καὶ εἰρήνης πρὸς 20  
 τῆς ἄλλοις, ὁ οἰκείος ἡμῖν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμήθη,  
 ὅτε εἴπερ εἰμαρμόνιον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις φασιάσαι, μὴ ἀν' ἄλ-  
 λως εὐξασθαι μηδένα πάλιν ἑαυτοῦ νοσήσαι. ὅτι γὰρ ὅτι  
 Πειρακίως καὶ τῶ Ἀγροῦ ὡς ἀσμένως καὶ οἰκείως ἀλλήλοις

συνέμιξαι οἱ πολῖται, καὶ πρὶ ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ελλ-  
 λησι, τότε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ελευσίῃ πόλεμον ὡς μετρίως  
 ἔθετο. καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων ὁδὸν ἄλλ' αἴτιον, ἢ τῷ ὄντι  
 ξυγγήμια, φιλία βέβαιον καὶ ὁμόφυλον οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ  
 5 πρὸς κοινόν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τε-  
 λευτησάντων ἕκαστ' ἀλλήλων μνείαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν  
 αὐτοὺς ὡς δυνάμεθα, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς  
 κρατῶσιν αὐτῶν εὐχομένους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς διηλλαγμένα  
 ἔσθ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀλλήλων ἡφαιτο, ἔσθ' ἔχθρα, ἀλλὰ δυστυχίαι  
 10 μάρτυρες δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐσμέν τούτων, οἱ ζῶντες. οἱ αὐ-  
 τοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐκείνοις θνήσκει, συγγνώμῃ ἀλλήλοις ἔχομεν ὡν  
 τ' ἐποίησάν, ὡν τ' ἐπάθομεν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παντελῶς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν γενομένης, ἡσυ-  
 χία ἦεν ἡ πόλις, τοῖς μὲν Βαρβάροις συγγινώσκουσα, ὅτι  
 15 παθόντες ἕκαστ' αὐτῆς κακῶς ἰσχυρῶς, ὅτι ἐνδεῶς ἡμῖνοιτο  
 τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησιν ἀγανακτοῦσα, μεμνημένη ὡς εὖ παθόντες  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, οἷον χάριν ἀπέδοσαν, κοινοσάμενοι τοῖς Βαρ-  
 βάροις, τὰς τε ναῦς παρελόμενοι, αἴ ποτ' ἐκείνους ἔσωσαι,  
 καὶ τείχη κατελόντες, ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τακείνων ἐκάλυψαμεν  
 20 πεσεῖν. Διανοσμένη δὲ ἡ πόλις μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀμύνη μήτε  
 Ἕλλησι πρὸς ἀλλήλων δουλουμένοις, μήτε ἕκαστ' Βαρβά-  
 ρων, οὕτω ὡς. ἡμεῖς οἶον ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀφαισίᾳ ὄντων, ἡγη-  
 σάμενοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀπιπέτους  
 πεπρωκένας ἡμῶς, σφέτερον δὲ ἡδὴ ἔργον εἶ) καταδουλοῦ-

ὄσων τοὺς ἄλλοις, ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. καὶ μηκύνειν μὲν τί  
 δὲ; ἔ γ' ἄλλα οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων γερονότα λέγουμι  
 ἂν τὰ μὲν ταῦτα. αὐτοὶ γ' ἴσμεν ὡς ἐκπεπλημύνοι ἀφί-  
 κοντο εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων (1) ὡσθ' οἱ  
 Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Κορίνθιοι· καὶ τότε θειότατον πάντων, 5  
 ὃ καὶ Βασιλέα εἰς τῆτο ἄπορίας ἀφικέσθαι, ὥστε ὡσεὶ ἤνικα  
 αὐτῷ μηδαμῶθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ σωτηρίαν θμεῖσθε ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ ταύ-  
 τῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ὡσθ' ἄλλως ἀπώλλυ. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς  
 βέλτοις τῆς πόλεως κατηγορήσασθαι δικαίως, τῆτ' ἂν μόνον  
 λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν κατηγορεῖ, ὡς αἰεὶ λίαν φιλοκέρμων ὄντι, 10  
 καὶ τῆ ἥτινος θραπίς. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἔχ  
 οἴατε ἐθρέτο καρτερήσασθαι, οὐδὲ ἀναφυλάξασθαι ἂ ἐδέδοκτο  
 αὐτῇ, τὸ μηδενὶ δουλομύθῳ βοηθεῖν τῷ σφᾶς ἀδικησάν-  
 των· ἀλλὰ ἐκάμφθη, καὶ ἐβοήθησε, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἑλλήνας  
 αὕτη βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὡς ἐλευθέρους (2) 15  
 μέχρ' ἔτι πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς καταδουλώσαντο. Βασιλεὺς  
 δὲ αὕτη μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν βοηθήσασθαι, ἀγχομένη τὰ πρῶ-  
 παια τότε Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς. φυ-  
 γάδας δὲ ἐξελονταὶ ἐάσασα μόνον βοηθήσασθαι, ὁμολογου-  
 μένως ἔσωσε. τειχισαμένη δὲ καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη, ἐαδέξα- 20  
 μένη ἢ πολέμον, ἐπειδὴ ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, ὑπὲρ Πα-  
 ρίων ἐπολέμη Λακεδαιμονίοις. φοβηθεὶς δὲ Βασιλεὺς πλὴν  
 πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἴωρα Λακεδαιμονίους τῷ καὶ θάλατταν πο-  
 λέμῳ ἀπαγορεύοντας, ἄποσῆνα βυλόμην (3), ἐξήτη τούς

Ἑλλήνας

Ἕλληνας τῆς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, (οὕτως ὡς ἄλλοι Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι αὐτῶν ἔξεδδσαν, εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν ἡμῖν τε καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμαχοῖς,) ἠγάθως οὐκ ἐθέλησεν, ἵν' αὐ-  
 τῶν πρῶτος εἴη τὸ σπασάσεως. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων συμ-  
 5 μάχων ἐφύλαξεν (ἠθέλησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκδιδόναι, καὶ ξυθέμενοι  
 καὶ ὤμοσαν, Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι  
 σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χρήματα παρέξειν, ἐκδώσειν τοὺς ἐν  
 τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἕλληνας) μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἔτε  
 ἐκδοῦναι, οὔτε ὁμοῖα. Οὕτω δὴ τοι τόγε τῆς πόλεως  
 10 θυμαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βεβαίον τε καὶ ὑγιές ὅστι, καὶ φύσιν μι-  
 σοβάρβαρον, διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῶς εἶναι Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀμειβῆς Βαρ-  
 βάρων. ἔστι γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κάδμοι, οὐδὲ Αἴγυπιοὶ τε καὶ  
 Δαναοὶ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, φύσιν μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες,  
 νόμῳ δὲ Ἕλληνας, σιωποῦσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας, οὐ  
 15 μισοβάρβαροι, οἰκῶμεν· ὅθεν καθαρόν τ' ἡμῖς ἐτίθηκε  
 τῇ πόλιν τὴν ἀλλοτρίας φύσεως. ὅμως δ' οὕτω ἐμοιῶθημεν  
 πάλιν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσα-  
 σθαι, Ἕλληνας Βαρβάρους ἐκδόντες.

Ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα ἔξ ἂν καὶ τοπρότερον κατεπο-  
 20 λεμήθημεν, σὺ Θεῶν ἀμεινον ἢ τότε ἐθέμεθα τὸν πόλεμον.  
 καὶ γὰρ ναῦς καὶ τείχη ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν σπαι-  
 κίας, ἀπηνάλαμμεν ἔτι πολέμου. οὕτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπηνά-  
 λάττοντο καὶ ὁ πολέμοι. ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν  
 τῷ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτερήθημεν, τῶν τε ἐν Κορίνθῳ χρῆσα-  
 μένων



μένων δυσχωρία, καὶ ἐν Λαχεΐῳ, πρῶτος. ἀγαθοὶ ἢ καὶ οἱ Βασιλεῖα ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης Λακεδαιμονίους. ὦν ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσκω, ὑμᾶς δὲ πρέπῃ ξυμπαίνειν τε καὶ κοσμεῖν τοίετους ἀνδρας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔργα ταῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐνθάδε κει- 5  
μένων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τετελευτή-  
κασι· πολλά μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα ἔκαλά, πολὺ δ' ἐπιπλείω  
καὶ καλλίω τὰ ὑπολειπόμῃνα· πολλά γὰρ ἂν ἡμέρα καὶ  
νύκτες οὐχ ἱκανοὶ φρονίῳ τῶν τὰ πάντα μέλλοντι φραίνειν.  
τέτων οὖν χρηρῶν μεμνημένοις, τοῖς τέτων ἐκγόνοις πάντ' 10  
ἀνδρα πρῶτα κελεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν πόλεμῳ, μὴ λείπειν  
τίω τάξιν τὴν τῶν πρῶτων, μηδ' εἰς τὰπίσω ἀναχωρεῖν,  
ἐπεισὶν καὶ κῆρη. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς παῖδες ἀνδρῶν  
ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τε πρῶτα κελεύομαι, καὶ ἐν τῶν λοιπῶν χρέων,  
ὅπως ἂν τῶ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναμνήσω καὶ ἀφαιρέ- 15  
σομαι πρῶτα μείω (ἢ) ὡς ἀείποισ. ἐν ἣ τῶ παρόντι δι-  
καιοσ εἰμὲ εἰπεῖν ἂ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπέσκηπτον ἀπαγγέ-  
λειν τοῖς λοιποῖς, ἐπιπάχοισιν, ἠνίκα κινδυνόβειν ἔμελ-  
λον. φράσω ἢ ὑμῶν ἄτε αὐτῶν ἠκούσα ἐκείνων, καὶ οἷα  
ἡνὶ ἡδέως ἂν εἴποιεν ὑμῶν, λαβόντες δυνάμιν· τειμαίε- 20  
μεν (Θ) ἔξ ὧν τότε ἔλεγον. ἀλλὰ νομίζω χρηρῶν αὐτῶν ἀ-  
κείων ἐκείνων ἂ ἂν ἀπαγγέλλω. ἔλεγον δὲ ταῦτα.

Ὡς παῖδες, ὅτι μὲν ἔστε πατέρων ἀγαθῶν, αὐτὸ μνησὶ  
τῶ ἡνὶ παρόν· ἡμῶν δὲ ἔξ ὧν ζῆν μὴ καλῶς, καλῶς αἰρού-

μεθα

## Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ. 31

μεθα μάλλον τελούται, πρὶν ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα εἰς  
 ὀνειδῆ καταστῆσαι, ἔπειτα τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρων καὶ πάντων  
 πρὸς θεὸν γένος αἰχμύλων ἡρώων τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰχμύ-  
 λωντι ἀβίωτον εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἕτερον ἀνθρώπων οὔτε  
 5 Θεῶν φίλον εἶναι, οὔτε ὅτι γῆς, οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆς, τελούται  
 σφραγισθῆναι. Χρὴ οὖν, μεμηνημένους τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, εἴαν  
 τι καὶ ἄλλο ἀσκήτε, ἀσκεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς· εἰδόμενοι ὅτι τέταρτον  
 λειπόμην πάντα καὶ κτήματα καὶ ὀπιτηδόμενα, αἰσθῆ-  
 καὶ χαρᾶς. οὔτε γὰρ πλεῖστος κάλλος φέρει τῶν κεκτημένων,  
 10 μετ' ἀνομιλίας· (ἄλλω γὰρ ὁ τοιούτων πλεῖστος καὶ ἕχεται  
 τῶν) οὔτε σώματος κάλλος καὶ ἰσχύς δειλῶ καὶ κακῶ  
 ξυνοικουῦντα, παρέπονθα φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἀπρεπῆ καὶ ὀπι-  
 φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἔχοντα, καὶ ἐκφαίνεσθαι δειλίαν· πᾶσα  
 τε ὀπιθήμη χειρομνή δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς,  
 15 παιουργία, καὶ σοφία φαίνεται. Ὡς ἔνεκα καὶ πρῶτον καὶ  
 ὑστατον καὶ ἀφαιρῶντων πᾶσαν πάντως πρῶτον πειραθῆ-  
 ῖν ἔχειν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν  
 πρῶτον εὐκλεία· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἴσθε ὡς ἡμῶν, ἀνὰ μὲν νικῶμεν  
 ὑμᾶς ἀρετῆς, ἢ νίκη αἰχμύλων φέρει, ἢ δὲ ἡττία, εἰν ἡττώ-  
 20 μεθα, εὐδαιμονίαν. μάλιστα δ' ἀνὰ νικῶμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς νι-  
 κῶντες, εἰ ἀφαιρῶσθε τῆ τῶν πρῶτων δόξῃ μὴ  
 καταχρησάμενοι, μηδ' ἀναλώσασθε αὐτῶν· γινόντες ὅτι  
 ἀνδρῶν οἰομένων πᾶσι εἶναι, ὅτι ἔστιν αἰχμύλων ἢ παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν  
 πρῶτον μὴ δι' ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξῃ πρῶτον. εἶ)

μὲν

μὲν γὰρ πικρὰς γνώων ἐκρήνοισι, καλὰς θησαυροὺς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς· χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τιμῆς θησαυρῶ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκρήνοισι ᾧσαδιδόναι, αἰχρὸν καὶ ἀνδροφρον, ἀπορία ἰδίων αὐτοῦ κτημάτων τε καὶ εὐδοξίων. καὶ εἰ μὲν ταῦτα ὀπιτηδύσητε, φίλοι ᾧσα φίλοις ἡμᾶς 5 ἀφίξεσθε, ὅταν δὴ ὑμᾶς ἡ παροσκήκουσα μοῖρα κομίση· ἀμελήσομεθα ἢ ὑμᾶς καὶ κακωσέναι, ὅσδεῖς εὐμυθῶς ὑποδέξεται. τοῖς μὲ οὖν παισὶ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθαι.

Πατέρας ἢ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσι, καὶ μητέρας εἰ χρὴ ᾧσα μωδεῖσθαι, ὡς χρὴ ῥάστα φέρειν τιμὴν συμφορῆν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα 10 ξυμβῆθ' ἡμέσας, καὶ μὴ ξυμοδύρεσθαι· (ὅ γ' ἂν τῷ λυπησίντος παροσδέησονται· ἰχμὴ γ' ἔσται καὶ ἡ θρομυθὴ τύχη τῷτο πορίζεται) ἀλλ' ἰωμένους καὶ παρᾶνόναι, ἀναμνήσκουσι αὐτῶς ὅτι ᾧν εὐχονται, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς ᾧ Θεοὶ ἐπήκουσι γυγόνασιν. ὅ γ' ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὐχόντο θμεσθαι, 15 ἀλλ' ἀγαθούς καὶ εὐκλεῖς· ᾧν ἔτυχον, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ᾧτων. πάντα δὲ οὐ ῥάδιον θητηθῶ ἀνδρὶ κτ' νοῦν εἰ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ ἐκβαίνειν. καὶ φέροντες μὲ ἀνδρείως τὰς συμφορὰς, δόξασιν τῷ ᾧντι ἀνδρείων παίδων πατέρες εἶ), καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖσδε· ᾧσείκοντες δὲ, ᾧσψίδου παφέξουσιν ἢ 20 μὴ ἡμέτεροι εἶναι, ἢ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπαινῶναι καταφύδεται. χρὴ ἢ ὁσδέτερα τῶτων· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μάλιστα πάντων, ἡμῶν ἐπαινέσαι εἶναι, ἔργῳ πῶρέχοντας αὐτοὺς φαινομύρους τῷ ᾧντι πατέρας ᾧντας ἀνδρας ἀνδρῶν. πάλαι γὰρ δὴ τὸ

ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ λεγόμενον, καλῶς δοκῆ λέγεσθαι.  
 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι εὖ λέγεται. ὅτῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτη)  
 πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέρουσα, ἢ ἐγγὺς τέτρα, καὶ  
 μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται, ἕξ ὧν ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς  
 5 παραξυμῶν πλημῶσθαι ἠνάγκασται, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃς τούτῳ  
 ἄεῖσα πρὸς πῶσθαι ζῆν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων, καὶ οὗτός  
 ὁ ἀνδρείος καὶ φρόνιμος. οὗτος, γνησιμῶν χρημάτων καὶ  
 παίδων, καὶ ἀγαφειρομῶν, μάλιστα πείσεται τῇ πα-  
 ρουσίᾳ. οὔτε γὰρ χαίρων οὔτε λυπέμενος ἄγαν φανήσεται),  
 10 ἀλλ' ὅ αὐτῷ πεποιθέναι. τοῖσδε δὲ ἡμεῖς γε ἀξιῶμεν καὶ  
 οὐδ' ἡμετέρας εἶ), καὶ βουλόμεθα, καὶ φάμεν. καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 αὐτῶς νῦν πρὸς φέρουσαι τοῖσδε, ὅτι ἀγανακτῶσθαι, ὅσδε  
 φοβούμεναι ἄγαν, εἰ δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. Δεό-  
 μεθα δὴ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ  
 15 χρωμένοις τὸν ὀπίλοιπον βίον ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ  
 θρηνηντες ἔδὲ ὀλοφύρομενοι ἡμᾶς ἡμῖν μάλιστα χερουῦται  
 ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἔβη τοῖς τελευτηκόσιν αἰσθησις τῶν ζώντων,  
 οὕτως ἀχάριστοι εἶεν ἀν μάλιστα, ἑαυτῶς τε κακοῦντες, καὶ  
 βαρέως φέρουσαι τὰς συμφορὰς. κούφως δὲ καὶ μετρίως,  
 20 μάλιστα ἀν χερουῦσθαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα τελευτῆν ἤδη  
 ἔξῃ, ἢ περ καλλίστη γίνεται ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε πρὸς αὐτὰ  
 μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν ἢ θρηνεῖν. γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ  
 παίδων ὀπιμελέμενοι, καὶ τρέφοντες, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν νοῦν

τρέποντες, τῆς τε τύχης μάλις' ἀν εἶεν εἰ λήθη καὶ ζῶεν  
κάλλιον καὶ ὀρθότερον, καὶ ἡμῖν προσφιλέστερον.

Ταῦτα δὴ ἰκανὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις πρ' ἡμῶν ἀγγέλλειν.  
τῇ δὲ πόλει προσκελευοίμεθ' ἀν ὅπως ἡμῖν καὶ πατέρων καὶ  
υἱέων ἐπιμελήσονται, τοὺς μὲν παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τοὺς δὲ  
δὲ γρηγοροφροῦντες, ἀξίως· νῦν ᾗ ἴσμεν ὅτι καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς  
προσκελευόμεθα, ἰσορῶς ἐπιμελήσεται.

Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ παῖδες καὶ γονεῖς τῶν τελευτησάντων,  
ἐκείνοί τε ἐπέσκηπτον ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς δύνα-  
μαι προσθυμότερα ἀπαγγέλλω· καὶ αὐτὸς δέομαι ὑπὲρ 10  
ἐκείνων, τῶν μὲν, μιμῆσθαι εὖ αὐτῶν· τῶν δὲ, γάρρειν  
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία γρηγοροφρο-  
σόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπιμελησομένων, ὅπου ἀν ἕκαστος ἐκάστω  
ἐπιτυχίῃ ὁφθαλμῶν τῶν ἐκείνων. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἴτε που  
καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὅτι νόμοις θεμελίῃ πρὸς τοὺς 15  
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖδας τε καὶ θνήσκοντας,  
ἐπιμελεῖται· καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν προσέ-  
τακται φυλάττειν ἀρχὴν ἢ περὶ μέγιστη ὅτιν, ὅπως ἀν (1)  
τέτων μὴ ἀδικῶνται πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες. τῶν δὲ παῖ-  
δας συνεκτρέφει αὐτῇ, προσθυμουμένη ὅτι μάλις' ἀδελφόν 20  
αὐτοῖς τιμὴν ὀφθαλμῶν θμεῖσθαι· ἐν πατρὸς οὐκ ἔστι κατα-  
στάσει αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ, ἐπὶ τε παισὶν οὖσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀν-  
δρὸς τέλος ἴωσιν, ἀποπέμψαι ὅτι τὰ σφέτερον αὐτῶν, πα-  
νοπλία κοσμήσασθαι· ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκουσα τὰ

τῶ πατρὸς ὀπιτηδύματα, ὄργανα τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς  
 διδύσα· καὶ ἅμα οἴωνοῦ χάριν ἀρχεσθαι ἵναμ' ὅπι τιῶ  
 πατρῴων ἐπίου, ἀρξόντα μετ' ἰσχύος ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένον.  
 αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας πᾶσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει  
 5 καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτῆ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιοῦσα κοινῇ  
 πᾶσιν, ἅπερ ἴδια ἐκάσῳ ἴδια γίγνεται. πρὸς ἢ τούτοις  
 ἀγῶνας γυμνικούς καὶ ἵππικούς πηγεῖσα, καὶ μουσικῆς πά-  
 σης· καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τῶ μὲν τελευτησάντων, ἐν κληρονομίᾳ  
 καὶ ὑέος μοίρα καθεστηκῆα, τῶν ἢ ὑέων, ἐν πατρὸς, γρ-  
 10 νέων ἢ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν ἐπιτροπῆ· πᾶσαν πάντων ὡρεῖ  
 πάντα χρόνον ἐπιμέλειον ποιεμένη. ὣν χρὴ ἐνθυμημένους,  
 πρῶτον φέρειν τὴν συμφροσίν. τοῖς γὰρ τελευτήσασιν καὶ  
 τοῖς ζῶσιν οὕτως ἀν' ὡροφιλέσασιν εἴητε, καὶ ῥᾶτοι θερα-  
 πύειν τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ἤδη ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοι  
 15 πάντες, κοινῇ χεῖρ' ἔχοντες τὸν νόμον τῆς τελευτηκότητας ἀπολοφου-  
 ράμενοι, ἀπιτε.

ΣΩ. Οὗτός σοι ὁ λόγος, ὦ Μενέξενε, Ασπασίας τῆς  
 Μιλησίας ὅστι. ΜΕ. Νὴ Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, μακαρίαν  
 20 γε λέγεις τὴν Ασπασίαν, εἰ γὰρ οὐσα τοιούτης λόγου  
 οἷα τ' ὅστι στυπθέναμ. ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πιστεύεις, ἀκο-  
 λήθῃ μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀκρόσῃ αὐτῆς λεγούσης. ΜΕ. Πολ-  
 λάκις, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ ἐντετύχηκα Ασπασίᾳ, καὶ οἶδα  
 οἷα ὅστι. ΣΩ. Τί οὖν; ὅτι ἀγάσῃ αὐτήν, καὶ νῦν χάριν  
 ἔχεις

36 ΠΛΑΤ. ΕΠΙΤΑΦ.

ἔχεις τὸ λόγου αὐτῆ; ΜΕ. Καὶ πολλῶν γε, ὦ Σό-  
 κρᾶτες, ἐγὼ χάριν ἔχω τῶν τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνη, ἢ ἐκείνων  
 ὅσις σοι ὁ εἰπὼν ὅτιν αὐτόν· καὶ πρὸς γε ἄλλων πολλῶν  
 χάριν ἔχω τῶν εἰπόντων. ΣΩ. Εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ  
 μὴ κατερεῖς, ἵνα καὶ αὐθίς σοι πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους  
 πρὸ αὐτῆς πολιτικῆς ἀπαγγέλλω. ΜΕ. Θάρρη, ἔ κατε-  
 ραῖ μόνον ἀπάγγελε. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔσται.

# Λ Υ Σ Ι Ο Υ

## Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ

Τ Ο Ι Σ

Κ Ο Ρ Ι Ν Θ Ι Ω Ν Β Ο Η Θ Ο Ι Σ .

**Ε**Ι μὲν ἠγάμην οἷόν τε εἶ), ὦ παρόντες, ὅτι τῷδε  
τῷ τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλώσαι τὴν τῶν εἰσάδε κειμένων  
ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν, ἐμεμφάμιω ἀν τοῖς ἐπαγγελίᾳσι ἐπ' αὐ-  
τοῖς ἕξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι ἀν-  
5 θρώποις ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἔχ' ἰσχυρὸς λόγον ἴσον ᾠδασκευά-  
σαι τοῖς τέτων ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ τῆτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκῶ,  
προνοσμένη τῆς εἰσάδε λεγόντων, ἕξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρῶτα-  
ξιν ποιῆσαι· ἠγαμένη οὕτως ἀν μάλιστα συγκνώμις αὐτοὺς  
ᾠδὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυχεῖν. ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λόγος  
10 μοι φεῖ τέτων, ὁ δ' ἀγὰν ἔ φεῖς τὰ τέτων ἔργα, ἀλλὰ  
φεῖς τὴς φεῖτερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκόσαι. τοσαύτῳ γὰρ  
ἀφθονίᾳ παρεσκεύασεν ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιῆν  
διωαμλῆοις καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουληθεῖσιν, ὥτε καλὰ μὲν  
πολλὰ τοῖς φεῖτεροις φεῖ αὐτῆς εἰρηόσαι, πολλὰ δὲ  
καὶ



καὶ ἐκείνοις ᾠδαλελείφθαι· ἰκανὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἑπιγνη-  
 μύοις ἔξῃνα εἰπεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ γῆς ἀπειροὶ οὔτε θαλάττης  
 οὐδεμιᾶς, πρὸς ἅς ἢ καὶ ᾠδαὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὧς τὰ  
 αὐτῶν πενθεῖντες κακὰ, ταῖς τέτων ἀρεταῖς ὑμνοῦσι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰς παλαιούς κινδύνας τῶν πορθῶντων 5  
 δεικνύμεν, μνήμην ᾠδαὶ τῆς φήμης λαβόν. ἀξιὸν γὰρ πᾶσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐκείνων μεμνηθῆναι, ὑμνοῦντες μὲν ἐν ταῖς ᾠ-  
 δαῖς, λέγοντας δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμασι, τιμῶντας  
 δ' ἐν τοῖς χειροῖς τοῖς ποίετοισι, παιδιδύοντες δ' ἐν τοῖς  
 πενθεῶντων ἔργοις τὰς ζῶντας. Αμαζόνες μὲν γὰρ, Ἀρεὸς μὲν 10  
 ποταλαῖον ἠσοῦν θαλάττης, οἰκῶσαι δὲ ᾠδαὶ τὸν Θερμώ-  
 δουσα ποταμόν, μόναι δὲ ὀπλισμέναι σιδήρῳ τῶν πολεῖ αὐ-  
 τὰς, πορθῶσαι δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵππων ἀναβάσαι, οἷς  
 ἀνελπίστως, δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἐναντιῶν, ἤρω μὲν τοὺς  
 φύροντας, ἀπέλειπον δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας· ἐνομίζοντο δὲ 15  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐφυλίαν μᾶλλον ἄνδρες, ἢ ἀλλὰ τὴν φύσιν γυ-  
 ναῖκες. πλέον γὰρ ἐδόκει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀφ-  
 φέρειν, ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. ἀρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν,  
 καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τὰς πολεῖ αὐτὰς καταδεδουλωμένα, λόγῳ ἢ  
 πολεῖ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀκούσαι κλέος μέγα, πολλῆς δὲ 20  
 ξηρῆς καὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος χάριν ᾠδαλαβοῦσαι τὰ μα-  
 χιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐφράττουσαι ἑπὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν.  
 τυχεῖσαι δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίως ἐκτήσαντο τὰς ψυχὰς  
 τῆ φύσιν, καὶ ἐναντίαν τὴν δόξαν τῆς πορθέρας λαβῶσαι,  
 μᾶλλον

μάλλον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ ἐκ τῶν σωματίων ἔδοξαν εἶναι  
 γυναικες· μόναις δ' αὐταῖς ὄγκ' ἔξεθμέτο ἐκ τῶν ἡμαρτη-  
 μῶν μαθούσαις πρὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀμεινον βουλόμεσθαι,  
 ἔδ' οἴκαδε ἀπελθέσαις ἀπαγγείλαι τιῷ τε σφετέρῳ αὐτῶν  
 5 δυστυχίῳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀρετιῷ. αὐτῶν  
 γὰρ σποθανῶσαι, καὶ δοῦσαι δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας, τῆσδε μὲν τὴν  
 πόλεως, ἄλλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἐποίησαντο,  
 ἣ δὲ ἐαυτῶν πατερίδα, διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε συμφροσὴν, ἀνώου-  
 μον κατέστησαν. ἐκείναι μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀλλοτριᾶς ἀδίκως ὄπι-  
 10 θυμήσασαι, ἣ αὐτῶν δικαίως ἀπώλεσαν.

Ἀδράστου ἣ καὶ Πολυεΐκης ὄπι' Θήβας φρατρίσάντων,  
 καὶ ἠπληθέντων μάχῃ, ὄγκ' ἐόντων τῶν Καδμείων θάπτεν  
 τῆς νεκρῆς, Ἀθηναῖοι ἠησάμενοι ἐκείνοισι μὲν, εἶπε ἠδίκην,  
 σποθανόντα δίκην ἔχειν τὴν μεγίστην, τῆς ἣ καὶ τὰ αὐ-  
 15 τῶν ἔκομιζέσθαι, ἱερῶν ἣ μαινομένων τῆς αἰῶ Θεῆς ἀσε-  
 βείας, τὸ μὲν προῖτον πέμφαντες κήρυκας, ἐδέοντο αὐ-  
 τῶν δοῦναι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν· νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἀγα-  
 θῶν (εἶ) ζῶντας τῆς ἐχθρῆς τιμωρήσασθαι, ἀπιστούντων δὲ  
 σφίσι αὐτοῖς, ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων σώμασι ἣ εὐψυχίῳ  
 20 ὄπι' δεικνυοσθαι. ἔδωκέμενοι ἣ τέτων τυχεῖν, ἐφράτευσαν  
 ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἔδεμῶς ἀφροσῆς πρὸς τὸν Καδμείους  
 ὑπαρχούσης, ἔδὲ τοῖς ζῶσιν Ἀρβείων χειζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῆς  
 τεθνεώτας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀξιουῶτες τῶν νομιζομένων τυ-  
 χάνειν, πρὸς τῆς ἐτέρους ἕσθ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκινδύνευσαν.  
 ἕσθ'

ὕψ' ἔμην πῶν, ἵνα μηκέτι εἰς τῆς τεθνεώσας ἔξαμαρτάνοντες, πλείω πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς ἔξυβρίσωσιν· ὕψ' δὲ τ' ἑτέρων, ἵνα μὴ πρῶτον εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι, πατρίδ' ἀτυχήσαντες, καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου φερθέντες, καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμαρτηκότες. ταῦτα ἀφρονήσαντες, 5 καὶ τοὺς ὅπτι τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας, κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτώμενοι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχον, εὐκλειῶν μαχόμενοι. ἔσ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τ' τύχης ἐπαρθέντες, μείζονος πρὸς Καδμείων πτωρίας ἐπεθύμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τ' ἑαυ- 10 τῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἄθλα ὥνπερ ἕνεκα ἀφίκοντο, τῆς Ἀργείων νεκρῶν ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν Ἑλευσίῃ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας πῶν ἐπιὰ ὅπτι Θήβας τοιοῦτοι γερύνασιν.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων 15 ἠφαιόθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφευγον μὲν Εὐρυπύθεα, ἔξηλαύνοντο δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αἰσχυνόμενων μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβουμένων δὲ τὴν Εὐρυπύθεως δυνάμιν, ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τὴνδε τ' πόλιν, ἰκέταί ἐπὶ τ' βασιλῆα ἐκαθέζοντο. ἔξαιτμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ Εὐρυπύθεως, Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐκ- 20 δουῖναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀρετὴν μάλλον ἠδῶντο, ἢ τὸ κίνδυνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ ἠξίου ὑπὲρ πῶν ἀσθενετέρων μὲν τοῦ δικαίου ἀφαιμάχου μάλλον, ἢ τοῖς δυναμένοις χαιρῶμενοι τοὺς ὑπὸ ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένους ἐκδουῖναι.

ἔγωγε. ὄπισθε τράσαντο θ' Ἰὼν Εὐρυαθέως μὲν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 τῷ χρόνῳ Πελοπόννησον ἔχόντων, οὐκ ἐγγὺς τῷ δεινῶν γε-  
 νόμῳ μετέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχον γνώμην ἢνπερ  
 πρῶτον· ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὸς αὐτῶν  
 5 πεποιθότες, ἐκείνοις τ' ὅκ' εἰδότες ὅπῃ οἱ τινες ἄνδρες ἔσονται  
 φρόνιμοι· δίκαιον δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὐ πρῶτον  
 ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Εὐρυαθέα, οὐδὲ κέρδους πρῶ-  
 κειμύα, πλὴν δόξης ἀγαθῆς, τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν ἤραστο· οὐ μὲν ἀδικημάτων ἐλεῖντες, τῶν δ' ὑβρί-  
 10 ζόντων μισθόντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν καλύειν ὀπιχειρήσεις, τοῖς  
 δ' ἐπικουρῆν ἀξιοῦντες. ἠγάμῳ ἐλευθερίας μὲν σημεῖον  
 εἶναι, μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄκοντας, δικαιοσύνης δ', τοῖς ἀδικου-  
 μένοις βοηθεῖν· εὐψυχίας δ', ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, εἰ  
 δέοι, μαχομένους ἀποθήσκειν. τοσοῦτον δ' ἐφρόνου ἀμ-  
 15 φότεροι, ὡς ἂν μὲν μετ' Εὐρυαθέως οὐδὲν πρῶτον ἔκόντων  
 ἐζήτου εὐείσκεισθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἠξίουσαν Εὐρυαθέα  
 αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντα τῶν ἰκέτων αὐτῶν ἕξειν. πρῶτα ξά-  
 μῳ δ' ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει τὴν ἕξ ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου στρα-  
 τὴν ἐλθῆσαν εἰκὼν μαχόμενοι. καὶ τῶν παίδων τὰ μὲν  
 σώματα εἰς ἀδελφὸν κατέστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ τῷ δέξασθαι  
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠλευθέρωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρε-  
 τὴν, ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύνοις ἐπεφάνασον. τοσοῦ-  
 τον δ' εὐτυχέστεροι παῖδες ὅντες ἐβλήθησαν τῷ πατρὸς· ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ, καίπερ ὢν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἴτιος ἀπάσει ἀνθρώποις,

ἐπίποιον καὶ φιλόπεικον καὶ φιλότιμον αὐτῶν κρατησῆσαι τὴν βίον, τὴς μὲν ἄλλης ἀδικουῦσας ἐκόλασεν, Εὐρυθέα δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἦν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, ἔχ οἷός τε ἦν πμωρήσασθαι. ① δὲ παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀφ' ἧς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν τῆ αὐτῆ εἶδον ἡμέρα τιῶν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρία, καὶ 5 τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πμωρίαν.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔπαρξε τοῖς ἡμετέροις παροῦσι μιᾷ νόμῳ χρωμένους πρὸς τὴν δικαίαν ἀφαιμάχου. ἢ τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῆ βίου δικαία. ἔ γάρ, ὡσπερ ① πολλοί, πανταχόθεν σμικελουμένοι, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐκβαλόντες, τὴν ἀλ-10 λοτείαν ἠέκασαν, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτιντο μητέρα καὶ πατέρα. παρῶν δὲ καὶ μόνον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκβαλόντες τὰς πόλιν σφίσι αὐτοῖς δυνατείας, Δημοκρατίαν κρατησάντες. ἡγήμενοι τὴν πάντων ἐλευθερίαν, ὁμόνοια εἶναι μεγίστην· κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰς 15 ἐκ τῶν κινδύων ἐλπίδας ποιήσαντες, ἐλευθερίας ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπολιτεύοντο· νόμῳ τὴς ἀγαθούς τιμῶντες καὶ τὴς κακοὺς κολάζοντες· ἡμισάμενοι θμείων μὲν ἔργον εἶ), ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων βία κρατεῖσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκειν, νόμῳ μὲν ὀρίσασθαι τὸ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πείσασθαι, ἔργῳ ἢ τέτοις ὑπη-20 ρετέειν· ὑπὸ νόμῳ μὲν βασιλευμενοῖς, ὑπὸ λόγῳ ἢ διδασκαλοῖς. καὶ γάρτοι καὶ φύντες χαλῶς, καὶ γόντες ὁμοία, πολλὰ μὲν χαλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ① παροῦσι τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων εἰργάσαντες· αἰμίματα ἢ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παιζα-

πανταχοῦ οἱ ἕξ ἐκείνων γηρονότες πρόπαια διὰ τῆ αὐτῶν  
 ἀρετὴν κατέλιπον. μόνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν Βαρβάρων δις ἐκινδύνισαν.  
 ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, οὗκ ἀγαπῶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν  
 5 ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην δουλώσασθαι,  
 ἔστειλε πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρατιάν. ἠησαμόρφοι δὲ, εἰ  
 τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ἐκοῦσαν φίλιον ποιήσαιντο, ἢ ἄκυσαν  
 κατασρέφαιντο, ῥαδίως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀρξέειν, ἀπέβη-  
 σαν εἰς Μαραθῶνα. νομίζοντες οὕτως ἀν' ἐρημοτάτης εἶναι  
 10 συμμάχων οὗτ' Ἑλλήνας, εἰ, ἐπιφασιαζόμενοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 ὦπτι χρὴ πρόπω τὸς ὀπίοντα ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν κίνδυνον ποι-  
 ῆσαιντο. ἐπι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων φεῖ τ' πό-  
 λεως τοιαύτη δόξα πρὸς αἰσθητικῆς, ὡς εἰ μὲν πρότερον ἐπ'  
 ἄλλῃ πόλιν ἴωσιν, ἐκείνοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολεμήσουσι  
 15 προθύμως γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἤξουσι βοηθήσοντες. εἰ δ'  
 ἐνθάδε προῖτον ἀφίξονται, οὐδένας ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 πολμήσειν, ἐτέρους σώζοντα, φανερὰν ἔχθραν πρὸς ἐκ-  
 εῖνοισι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καταθέσθαι. (α) μὲν τοίνυν ταῦτα  
 διανοῶντο οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ἔ' λογισμῶ εἰδότες τὸς  
 20 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνοισι, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν εὐκλεῆ  
 θάνατον ἀθάνατον φεῖ τ' ἀγαθῶν καταλείπειν λόγον, οὗκ  
 ἐφοβήθησαν τὸ πλῆθος τ' ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ  
 μᾶλλον ὀπίστευσαν. καὶ ἀγαυομόρφοι ὅτι ἦν οἱ Βάρβαροι αὐτῶν  
 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐκ ἀνέμειναν πυθέσθαι ἑδὲ βοηθήσασθαι τὸς συμμά-

χως· οὐδ' ᾤθησαν δεῖν ἑτέροις τῆ σωτηρίας χάριν εἶδέναι,  
 ἀλλὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὰς ἄλλας Ἑλληνας. ταῦτα μᾶλλον γνό-  
 μη πάντες γνόητες, ἀπὴντων ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς. εὐνομοῦν  
 γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς μὲν πάντων προσήκειν, ἀγαθοὺς δ'  
 εἶ) μετ' ὀλίγων· καὶ τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτριᾶς ἀφ' ἑ τῆ θά- 5  
 νατον κακτῆσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆ κινδύνων μνήμῃ ἰδίαν κα-  
 ταλείφειν. ἡξίου δ' οὐς μὴ μόνοι νικῶεν, εἰδ' ἂν μὲν συμ-  
 μάχων δύνασθαι· καὶ ἠπληθέντες μὲν, ὀλίγων τῶν ἄλλων  
 παραπολεῖσθαι, νικήσαντες ἤ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλους ἐλευθέρωσιν.  
 ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ θηρόμενοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἀφειδή- 10  
 σαιτες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆ ἀρετῆς οὐ φιλοψυχήσαντες, ἐ μάλ-  
 λον τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῖς νόμους αἰχμητόμενοι, ἢ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς  
 πολεμίους κίνδυνον φοβόμενοι, ἔστη μὲν πρόπαια ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ  
 χρημάτων εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτριᾶν ἐμβαλόντων πρὸς τοὺς ὄρ- 15  
 κοῦς. οὕτω ἤ διὰ ταχέων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐποίησαν, ὥστε ἅ  
 αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγειλαν τὴν εὐχάδε ἀφίξιν τῆ Βαρ-  
 βάρων καὶ τὴν τῶν προσηνῶν νίκην. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὁδοὶ τῆ  
 ἄλλων εἰδῆσεν ὑπὲρ τῆ μέλλοντος κινδύου, ἀλλ' ἀκέρ-  
 σαντες ὑπὲρ τῆ αὐτῆς ἐλευθερίας ἠόθησαν. ὥστε ὁδοὶν θαι- 20  
 ματον, παλαιῶν ἔργων γενημενῶν, ὡσπερ καινῶν ὄντων,  
 ἐπι καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζη-  
 λῶσθαι.

Μεταί

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, κα-  
 ταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐφεισμένος ἢ τῆ ἐλπίδος,  
 ἀπμαζόμενος ἢ τῷ γνημιδύω, ἀχθόμενος ἢ τῇ συμ-  
 φορᾷ, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀπαθῆς δ' ὢν κακῶν καὶ  
 5 ἀπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀλαθῶν, δεκάτῳ ἔτι πῶδρασκευασάμενος,  
 χιλίαις μὲν καὶ δεξακοσίαις ναυσὶν ἀφίκετο τῆς δὲ περὶ τῆς  
 στρατίας οὕτως ἀπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἤγει, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἔθνη  
 τὰ μετ' αὐτῷ ἀκολυθῆσαντα πολὺ ἀν' ἔργον εἶη καταλέξαι.  
 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σημεῖον τοῦ πλήθους ἕξον γὰρ αὐτῷ χιλίαις  
 10 ναυσὶ δεξαβιάσαι καὶ ὁ φειότατον τῶν Ἑλλησπόντων τῆ πε-  
 ρὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπῳ, ὅσα ἐδέ-  
 λησεν, ἠγόμενος τὴν δεξαβίαν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἔσεσθαι.  
 ἄλλ' ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τὰ φύσει πεφυκότα καὶ τὰ θεῖα πρᾶξι-  
 ματα, καὶ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας δεξανοίας, ὁδὸν μὲν διὰ τῆς θα-  
 15 λάσσης ἐποίησατο, πλουῦ δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠνάγκασε θμέ-  
 ρασθαι ζούξας μὲν τῆ Ἑλλάσποντον, δεξούξας ἢ τὸν Ἀθῶν ὑφι-  
 σταμῆν ἕδενός, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν, ἀκόντων ὑπακόντων, τῶν  
 δὲ, ἐκόντων παροδιδόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἰχθυοὶ ἦσαν ἀμύ-  
 νασθαι, (1) δ' ὑπὸ χρημάτων διεφθαρμένοι. ἀμφοτέρω  
 20 δ' ἦν αὐτὰς τὰ πείθοντα, κέρδος καὶ δέου. Ἀθηναῖοι δ'  
 ἔπειτα δεξακειμῆνης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς  
 εἰσβάντες, ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβόηθη, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 συμμάχων ἔνιοι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπήντησαν, ἠγόμενοι διὰ  
 τῆ φειότητος τῶν χερσίων τὴν πάροδον οἰοί τε ἔσεσθαι δεξαφυ-  
 λάξαι.



λάξαι. θρομόνους δὲ ἔκινδύνου καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὁδὸν ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς εἰδεῖς θρομόνους, ἀλλὰ ἔκ πληθους φθοραθέντες, καὶ  
 οὓς φυλάξεν ἄνευ, καὶ πρὸς οὓς κινδυνεύσειν ἔμελλον, ἔχ-  
 ῆθηθέντες τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλ' ἀποθρόνοντες ἔπερ ἐτάχθη 5  
 μάχα. τότε ἡ τῶν πρὸς τῶν μὲν δυστυχισάντων, τῶν  
 δὲ τῆς πρὸς δουλειῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο ὅτι τῆνδε  
 τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρὸς πύλοισι μὲν τὴν γε-  
 νημεδίω Λακεδαιμονίοις συμφραῖν, ἀπορωῦντες δὲ ταῖς  
 περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάγκαις, εἰδότες δ' ὅτι εἰ μὲν καὶ γὰρ ταῖς 10  
 Βαρβάρους ἀπαντήσονται, ὅτι πλοῦσαιτες χιλίαις ναυσὶν  
 ἐρήμην τὴν πόλιν λήψον· εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τελεῖρας ἐμβήσου-  
 νται, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τῆς στρατίας ἀλώσετα· ἀμφοτέρω ἡ δ'  
 δουλείῃ, ἀμύνασθαι τε καὶ φυλακὴν ἰσχυρὴν καταλιπεῖν.  
 οὖν δὲ πρὸς πύλοισι, ὅτερον χρὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλι- 15  
 πεῖν, ἢ μὲν τῶν Βαρβάρων θρομόνοισι καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας, ἢ θρομόνοισι κρείττον (εἶ) μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πενίας καὶ  
 φυγῆς ἐλευθερίαν, ἢ μετ' ὀνειδῶς καὶ πλούτου δουλείαν τῶν  
 πατρίδων, ἐξέλιπον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν πόλιν· ἵν'  
 ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέρω, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα 20  
 τὰς δυνάμεις κινδυνεύσωσι. ὑπεκτέμνοντο παῖδας καὶ γυ-  
 ναῖκας καὶ μητέρας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, σωήθηρον καὶ ὅ τῶν  
 ἄλλων συμμάχων ναυτικόν. οὐ πολλὰς δ' ὑπερὶ ἡμέραις  
 ἦλθε καὶ ἡ περὶ τῆς στρατίας, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν τὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων,  
 ὃ τίς

ὅ τις οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἐφοβήθη; οἷος μέγας καὶ δεινὸς τῆδε  
 τῆ πόλεως κίνδυνος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἠγωνί-  
 σθη; ποίαν δὲ γνώμην εἶχον ἢ οἱ θεώμενοι τῆς ἐν ταῖς  
 ναυσὶν ἐκείναις (οὔσης καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σωτηρίας ἀπίστου,  
 5 καὶ πρῶτον τῶν κινδύνου) ἢ οἱ μέλλοντες ναυμαχίσειν  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλοτίμου, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄθλων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμι-  
 νίοις; τοσούτον παύσασθαι φεικτικῆς πληθῶν πολεμίων,  
 ὥστε ἐλάχιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν τὸν θά-  
 ναον τὸν αὐτῆς, τῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον πρῶτον, μεγίστην δὲ συμφο-  
 10 ράν ἀπὸ τῆς Βαρβάρων εὐτυχισάντων τῆς ὑπεκτεθέντων  
 ἠλπίζον πείσασθαι.

Ἦκου, διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἄπορίαν, πολλάκις μὲν ἐδε-  
 ξιώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εἰκότως δὲ σφὰς αὐτὰς ὠλοφύραντο.  
 εἰδότες μὲν τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς ὀλίγας οὔσας, ὄρωντες δὲ  
 15 πολλὰς τὰς τῆς πολεμίων· ὄπτισάμενοι δὲ τιμὴν μὲν  
 πόλιν ἠρημιωμένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην, καὶ με-  
 τὰ τῆς Βαρβάρων· ἱερῶν δὲ κειομένων, ἀπάντων δ' ἐγγύς  
 ὄντων τῶν δεινῶν· ἀκούοντες δ' ἐν ταύτῃ συμμιγμένου  
 Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ παιᾶντος, πρῶτον κελευσμοῦ δ'  
 20 ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ κραυγῆς τῆς ἀφαιρουμένων, καὶ τῆς θα-  
 λάττης μετῆς τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν συμπιπτόντων, ἐ-  
 φίλιων καὶ πολεμίων ναυαγίων, ἀντιπάλου δὲ πολλὴν χρόνον  
 οὔσης τῆς ναυμαχίας· δοκοῦντες τότε μὲν νεικικένοι καὶ σε-  
 πῶσαι, τότε δ' ἠτήσασθαι καὶ ἄπολωλέναι. ἦκου, διὰ τὸν  
 παρόντα

παρόνται φόβον πολλά μὲν ᾤηθησ' ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον, πολλά  
 δ' ἀκῆσαι ὧν οὐκ ἤκησ'. ποῖα δ' ἔχ' ἱκετεῖα Θεῶν ἐγέ-  
 ροντο, ἢ θυσῶν ἀναμνήσεις; ἑλεός τε παίδων, καὶ γυναικῶν  
 πόθῳ, οἰκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μητέρων; λογισμός τε, εἰ  
 δυστυχῆσαι, ἢ μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν; τίς ἔκ' ἀν' Θεῶν 5  
 ἠλέησεν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κινδύου; ἢ τίς  
 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀν' ἐδάκρυσεν; ἢ τίς τῆς τόλμης αὐ-  
 τῆς ἔκ' ἀν' ἠγάθη; Ἡ πολλοὶ πλείστοι ἐκείνοι κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀρετῇ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δῖνελχαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς βουλευ-  
 μασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύοις. ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τ' 10  
 πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐσβούτες, τὰς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχὰς  
 ὀλίγας οὕσας ἀνπιτάξαντες τῷ πλήθει τῷ τ' Ἀσίας. ἐπέ-  
 δεῖξαν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ὅτι  
 κρείττον μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν,  
 ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν βασιλευμενῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρων δουλείας. 15  
 πλείστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἐκείνοι ὑπὲρ τ' ἢ Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθε-  
 ρίας συνεβάλοντο, στρατηγὸν μὲν Θεμισκλέα, ἰσχυρότατον  
 εἶπειν, καὶ γνώμην, καὶ προῖξαι ναῦς ἢ πλείους ἢ ἄλλων  
 ἀπάντων συμμάχων, ἀνδρας δ' ἐμπειροτάτους. καίτοι πί-  
 νες ἀν' ἑταῖοις ἢ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἤειρε γνώμη, καὶ πλήθει, καὶ 20  
 ἀρετῇ; ὅτε δικαίως μὲν καὶ ἀναμ' ρισοπητήτως ἀεγεία τῆς  
 ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον ὑπὲρ τ' ἢ Ἑλλάδος, εἰκότως ἢ τ' εὐτυ-  
 χῶν ὁμονοῦσαν τοῖς κινδύοις ἐκτίσαντο· γησίαν δὲ καὶ  
 αὐτόχθονα τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάρους τ' αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ  
 ἐπεδεί-

ἔπεδείξαντο. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιάυτης αὐτὰς πα-  
ραγρόντες, καὶ πολὺ πλείστον τῶν κινδύων μεταγρόντες, τῇ  
ἰδίᾳ ἀρετῇ κοινῶς τῶν ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκτί-  
σθητο.

5 Ὑστερον δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἀφαιριζόντων τὸ Ἰαθμόν, καὶ  
ἀγαπήτων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, νομιζόντων δ' ἀπιλλάχθαι τῷ  
καὶ θάλατταν κινδύνῳ, καὶ ἀφαιρισμάτων τῶν ἄλλοις Ελ-  
ληνας φειδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς Βαρβάροις δημοσίως, ὀργισθέντες  
Ἀθηναῖοι συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς, εἰ ταύτῃ τῶν γράμμι  
10 ἔξουσιν, φεῖ ἀπασαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον τεῖχος φειδα-  
λεῖν. εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων φροδιδόμενοι μὲν τῶν  
Βαρβάρων ἔσονται, οὔτ' ἐκείνοις δεήσειν χιλίων νεῶν, οὔτε  
τέτις ὠφελήσειν τὸ ἐν Ἰαθμῷ τεῖχος· ἀκινδύως γὰρ ἔσει-  
αξ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν τῷ Βασιλέως. διδασκόμενοι  
15 δὲ καὶ νομιζόντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀδίκᾳ τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς  
βουλεύεσθαι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δίκαιά τε λέγειν, καὶ τὰ βέλ-  
πιστα αὐτοῖς παραινέειν, ἐβόηθησαν εἰς Πλαταιάς· ἀποδράν-  
των δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πλείστον συμμάχων ἐκ τῶν τά-  
ξεων, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν  
20 καὶ Τεργάται τῶν Βαρβάρων ἐπέψοντο· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ  
Πλαταιεῖς πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπίκουρον μαχόμενοι τοὺς  
ἀπογρόντας τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὑπομείναντας τὴν δου-  
λείαν. ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καλλίστην τελευτήν τοῖς  
φροτέροις κινδύοις ὀπιθέντες, βέβαιον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθε-

ρίαν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κεραιράσαντα. εἰ ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις  
δόντες ἔλεγχοι τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μόνοι καὶ μεθ' ἑτέ-  
ρων, καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς Βαρ-  
βάρους καὶ πρὸς οὐδ' Ἑλληνας, ὑπὸ πάντων ἡξιόθιστον,  
καὶ μὴ ὧν ἐκινδυνεύουσι καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπολέμουσι, ἡγεμόνες τῆς  
ἡμετέρας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἰστέρον δὲ χρόνῳ Ἑλλήνων πολέμου κεραιράσαντος, διὰ  
ζῆλον τῶν γενημεθίων, καὶ φόνον τῶν πεπερασμένων, μέγα  
μὲν ἅπαντες φρονέοντες, μικρῶν δ' ἐκκλημάτων ἕκαστοι δεό-  
μενοι, ναυμαχίας Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Αἰγυπῆσιν καὶ τὸς Ἰο-  
εῖων συμμάχους δημοφύλης, ἐβδομήκοντα τεύχεα αὐτῶν  
ἐλάμβανον. πολιορκουμένων δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Αἰ-  
γυπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτῶν, καὶ τὸ ἡλικίας ἀπέσις εἴτε τῆς ναυῶν  
καὶ εἴτε τῆς πεζῶν στρατεύματι, Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἰσθμίων  
σύμμαχοι ἡγεμόνοι ἢ εἰς ἔρημον τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἢ εἰς  
Αἰγύπτου ἀξίον ὁ στρατόπεδον, ἔξελθόντες πανδημεὶ Γερθάνειαν  
κατέλαβον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, τῆς μὲν ἀπόντων, τῆς δ' ἐγγύς ὄν-  
των, οὐδένα ἐτόλμισαν μεταπέμψασθαι· τῆς δ' αὐτῶν ψυ-  
χαῖς πεδύσαντες, καὶ τῶν ὀπίστων κεραιράσαντες, οἱ  
γεραίτεροι καὶ οἱ τὸ ἡλικίας ἐντὸς γεννιότες, ἡξίω αὐτοὶ  
μόνοι τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσαντες· οἱ μὲν, ἐμπειρία τὴν ἀρε-  
τὴν, Ἰσθμίων δὲ φύσιν κεκτημένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν, αὐτοὶ πολλαχῶς  
ἀγαθοὶ γενημένοι, οἱ δὲ, ἰσθμίωνες μιμνήσκοντες τῆς μὲν πρεσ-  
βυτέρων ἀρχῆς ὀπίστων, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων ὁ ὀπίστων

μενον ποιεῖν δυναμένων. Μυρωνίδου οὖν στρατηγούντ<sup>Θ</sup>  
 ἀπορτήσαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρκίην, οἴκων μαχόμενοι  
 ἀπασθ<sup>Η</sup> δὴ δύναντι πῶς ἐκείνων· τοῖς ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι, καὶ  
 τοῖς οὐπω δυναμένοις, οὗτοι εἰς τὴν σφετέρην ἐμβαλεῖν ἀ-  
 5 ξιώσαντας εἰς τὴν ἄλλοτρίην ἀπαντήσαντες· τρέπαιον δὲ  
 τήσαντες, χαλλίστου μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔργου, αἰχμῆς δὲ τοῖς πο-  
 λεμίοις, οἳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, οἳ δ' οὐπω δυνά-  
 μενοι· τῶν δὲ ψυχῆς ἀμφοτέροι κρείττους ἡρόμενοι, μὲν χαλ-  
 λίστης δόξης εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀπελθόντες, αἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐπαι-  
 10 δεύοντο, οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐβλαλεύοντο.

Καθ' ἕνα μὲν οὖν ἔραδιον τὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν, κιν-  
 δουδθέντα ὑφ' ἑνὸς ῥηθῆναι, εὐδὲ τὰ ἐν ἀπορτί τῷ χρόνῳ  
 παραχθέντα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δηλωθῆναι. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ χρό-  
 νος, ἢ λόγος, ἢ ῥήτωρ ἰκανὸς ἡρόιτο μινύσαι τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε  
 15 κειμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετήν; μὲν πλείων γὰρ πόρων, καὶ φανερω-  
 τάτων ἀγώνων, καὶ χαλλίστων κινδύων, ἐλευθέρων μὲν ἐποίησεν  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μέγιστον δὲ ἀπέδειξαν τὴν αὐτῆς πατρίδα· ἐβ-  
 δομήκοντα μὲν ἔτη τῶν θαλάττης ἀρξάντες, ἀσασιάτους δὲ  
 20 ποσειδάωντες τῶν συμμάχων· καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τῶν πολλοῦς  
 δουλεύειν ἀξιώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἀπαντας ἀναλ-  
 κείσαντες· οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἀσθενεῖς ποιεῖντες, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ κείνοισι ἰσχυροῦς κερταίνοντες· καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν το-  
 σαύτῳ ἐπιδείξαντες, ὡς ὁ μέγας Βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλοτρίων ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ' ἐδίδοκε τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 λοιπῶν

λοιπῶν ἐφοβεῖτο. καὶ οὔτε τελήρεις ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπλευροῦν, οὔτε τύραννος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστη,  
 οὔτε Ἑλλήσις πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἠνδραποδίσθη.  
 τοσαύτῃ σωφροσύνη καὶ δέῃ ἡ τέτων ἀρετὴ πᾶσιν ἀν-  
 δρώποισι παρέχεν. ὧν ἕνεκα δὲ μόνος καὶ προσηλάται τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἠγεμόνας τῶν πόλεων γίνεσθαι.

Ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρε-  
 πτύ. Σπολεμδῶν γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, εἴτε ἠγε-  
 μόνος κακία, εἴτε Θεῶν ἀφροσύνη, καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης  
 μεγίστης δημοδύτης καὶ ἡμῶν τοῖς δυστυχίαισι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι πολλῶν χρόνων ὑπερὶ ὅτι ἡ τῆς  
 πόλεως δύναμις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν σωτηρία. ἐτέρων γὰρ  
 ἠγεμόνων γενόμενων, ἐνίκησαν μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς Ἑλλήνας  
 οἱ πρότερον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὄγκῳ ἐμβαίοντες, ἐπλευροῦν  
 δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην· ἀλλόθεν δὲ πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τύ-  
 ραννοι δ' ἐκαθίσταντο, οἱ μὲν, μὲν τὴν ἡμετέραν συμφορᾶν,  
 οἱ δὲ, μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν Βαρβάρων. ὡς ἄξιον ἦν ὅτι  
 τῶνδε τῶν τῶν τότε κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ πειρῆσαι  
 τὰς ἐνθάδε κειμύδας, ὡς συλκαταλαπτομένης τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευ-  
 θερίας τῇ τέτων ἀρετῇ· ὡς δυστυχῆς μὲν ἡ Ἑλὰς τοιούτων  
 ἀνδρῶν ὀρφανὴ δημομένη, εὐτυχῆς δ' ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς,  
 ἐτέρων ἠγεμόνων λαβόμενος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τέτων στερηθεῖση  
 δουλεία παρέστηκε, τῷ δ' ἄλλων ἀρξομένων ζῆλος ἐγγίνετο  
 τῶν προσηλάτων ἀφροσύνας.

Ἀλλὰ

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξήχθη ὑπὲρ πάσης ὀλοφύρεσθαι  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιον καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ  
 δημοσίᾳ μεμνηῆσθαι, οἱ φύροντες τὴν δαλείαν, καὶ πρὸς  
 δικαίᾳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας φασιάσαν-  
 5 τες, πόδας πολεμίας κεκτημένοι, εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κα-  
 τήλθον, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀνακασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς  
 φύσεως πεισθέντες, καινοῖς κινδύνοις τὴν παλαιὰν τῆς  
 γόνων ἀρετὴν μιμησάμενοι, ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κοινῶς τὴν  
 πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτησάμενοι, θάνατον μὲν ἐλευθερίας  
 10 αἰετούμενοι, ἢ βίον μετὰ δουλείας· ἔχῃ ἤτιον ταῖς συμφο-  
 ραῖς αἰχμυόμενοι, ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· μᾶλλον βε-  
 ληθέντες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν  
 οἰκοῦντες, συμμάχους μὲν ὄρκους καὶ συθήκας ἔχοντες,  
 πολεμίους δὲ τῆς φρότερον ὑπάρχοντες καὶ τῆς πολίτας  
 15 τῆς ἑαυτῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐναντίων φοβη-  
 θέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες,  
 τρέπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν  
 ἀρετῆς ἐγγύς ὄντας τῶδε τῷ μνήματος τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων  
 τάφοις παρέχονται. καὶ γάρτοι μεγάλῳ μὲν ἀντὶ μικρᾶς  
 20 ἀπέδειξαν τῆς πόλιν, ὁμονοῦσαν δὲ ἀντὶ φασιαζέσεως ἀπέ-  
 φηναν, τείχη δ' ἀντὶ τῶν καθηρημένων ἀνέστησαν. οἳ δ' ἀκα-  
 τεληθόντες αὐτῶν, ἀδελφὰ τὰ βυλεύματα τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν  
 εἰσάδε κειμένων ἐπιδεικνυάτες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν τῆς  
 ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπράποντο· καὶ  
 εἶπε



ἔτε ἐλαττώσας δυνάμεις, οὐτ' αὐτοὶ πλέον ἔχειν δεόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις δουλεύειν μετέδωκαν, τῆς δ' ἐκείνων δουλείας αὐτοὶ μετέχουν ὅσοι ἠξίωσαν. ἔργους δὲ μεγάλους καὶ καλλίστους ἀπελογίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐ κακία τῆ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀρετῆ τῶν πολεμίων πρῶτον ἐδυσχύνει ἡ πόλις. εἰ γὰρ φασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, βία παρόντων Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οἰοί τε ἐγίνοντο καταλθεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ῥαδίως ἀν ὁμοιοῦντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐδύναντο. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἀφ' ἑστέρας ἐν Πειραιῆ κινδύους ὑπὸ πόντων ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦν- 10 ται. Ἄξιον ἢ καὶ τῆς ξένου τῆς ἐσθλάδε κειμένους ἐπανέσαι, οἱ τῶν πλήθους βοηθήσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας μαχόμενοι, πατρίδα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἠγησάμενοι, τοιαύτην τῆ βίου τελειότητα ἐποίησαντο. ἀνδρῶν ἡ πόλις αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπένησε καὶ ἔθαψε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἔχειν αὐ- 15 τοῖς τὴν ἅπαντα χρόνον τοῖς αὐταῖς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀφοῖς.

Οἱ ἢ νῦν φασίμενοι, βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίοις ὑπὸ παλαιῶν φίλων ἀδικουμένων, καινοὶ σύμμαχοι φηόμενοι, οὐ μὴ αὐτὴν γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες, (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀγαθὴν αὐτοῖς ἐφθόρουσι, αὐτὰ δὲ ἀδικουμένους αὐτοὺς ἠλέουσι) 20 οὔτε τῆς πρῶτης ἐχθρας μεμνημένοι, ἀλλὰ πῶς παρῶσαν φιλικῶς πρὸς πολλοὺς ποσάμενοι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανεράν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο. ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ, μεγάλην ποιῶντες τὴν Ελλάδα, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας

σωτηρίας κινδυνώσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν. τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμα-  
 χοῖς πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο. νικήσαντες μὲν  
 οὗ, ἐκείνους τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίουσαν. δυστυχίσαντες ἤ, βέβαιον  
 5 πρὸ δουλείου τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ κατέλιπον. ἐκ-  
 εῖνοις μὲν οὖν οὕτω ἀφαικιδμοῖς ὁ βίος οἰκτρὸς καὶ ὁ θάνα-  
 τος εὐκτὸς· οὗτοι δὲ, καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες, ζη-  
 λῶταί· παιδουθέντες μὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν πατρῶν ἀγαθοῖς,  
 ἄνδρες ἢ θύμιοι, πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων δόξαν ἀφασώσαντες, καὶ  
 10 τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξαντες. πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ χαλῶν  
 αἵτιοι γεθῆνται τῇ ἑαυτῶν πατρῴδι, ἐπιπύρρωσαν δὲ τὰ  
 ὑπὸ ἑτέρων δυστυχίσαντα, πόρρω δ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεμον  
 κατέστησαν. ἐτελεύτησαν ἢ τὸ βίον ὡς περὶ χρὴ τὸς ἀγαθὸς  
 ἀποθνήσκειν, τῇ μὲν πατρῴδι τὰ προφῆα ἀποδόντες, τοῖς  
 15 ἢ θρήνασι λύπας καταλιπόντες. ὥστε ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τέ-  
 τας ποθεῖν, καὶ σφὰς αὐτὰς ὀλοφύρεσθαι, καὶ τὰς παροπί-  
 κοντας αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν ὅτι ἐπιλοίπυ βίου. τίς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπι-  
 ἠδογὴν καταλείπειαι, τοῖσδε ἀνδρῶν θαπτομένων, οἱ πάντα  
 πρὸ ἐλάττωτος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡγούμενοι, αὐτὰς μὲν ἀπετέρησαν  
 20 βίον, χήρας ἢ γυναικας ἐποίησαν; ὀρφανούς ἢ τὰς αὐτῶν  
 παῖδας ἀπέλιπον; ἐρήμοις δ' ἀδελφὰς καὶ πατέρας καὶ  
 μητέρας κατέστησαν; Πολλῶν ἢ καὶ δειῶν ὑπαρχόντων,  
 τὰς μὲν παῖδας αὐτῶν ζηλώ, ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσιν, ἢ ὥστε εἰδέ-  
 ναι οἷον πατέρων ἐτέρησαν; ἔξ ὧν δ' οὗτοι γεγόνασιν οἰκ-  
 τέρω,

τείρω, ὅτι φρεσύτεροι ἢ ὅτε ἔπιλαθέσθαι τὴν δυστυχίας τὴν  
 ἑαυτῶν. πῶς γὰρ ἀνὰ τέτων ἀναιρῶτερον θύοιτο, ἢ τεκεῖν μὲν  
 καὶ θρέψαι καὶ θάψαι τὰς αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γήρα ἀδυνα-  
 τος μὲν εἶναι τῷ σώματι, πασῶν δ' ἀπετερημῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων,  
 ἀφίλους καὶ σπόρους γενέσθαι; Ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φέρτε- 5  
 ρον ζῆλον, καὶ νεὺν ἐλεείας; ποθεινότερον δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι  
 τὴν θάνατον ἢ βίον; ὅσα γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμείνοιο ἦσαν, ποσὸν τῶν  
 τοῖς χαλαροπομῶν ὁ σείστος μείζον. πῶς δ' αὐτὰς χρὴ  
 λῆξαι τὴν λύπης; πότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει συμφοραῖς;  
 Ἄλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τὰς ἄλλους μεμῆσθαι. ἀλλ' ἴο  
 ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς; ἀλλ' ἰκανὸν λυπῆσαι, τὴν  
 μὲν σφετέρων τέκνων τετελευτηκότων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων σπο-  
 λαυόντων τὴν τέτων ἀρετῆς. Ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις;  
 ὅταν ὁρῶσι τὰς μὲν φέρτερον ὄντας φίλους, φεύγοντας τὴν  
 αὐτῶν σποδείον, τοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς, μέγα φρονουῦντας ἔπι 15  
 ταῖς δυστυχίαις ταῖς τέτων; μόνον δ' ἂν μοι δοκῶμεν ταύ-  
 τῳ τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμῶν σποδουῖν χάριν, εἰ τὰς μὲν  
 τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνοι φεῖ πολλοῦ ποιούμε-  
 θα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὕτως ἀσπασίμῳ ὡσπερ αὐτοὶ πα-  
 τέρες ὄντες· ταῖς ἢ γυναιξίν εἰ τοιάτῃς βοηθῆς ἡμᾶς αὐ- 20  
 τοὺς πρὸς εἰχοῖμεν οἷοίπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶντες ἦσαν. τίνας γὰρ  
 ἀνὰ εἰκότως μάλλον τιμῶμεν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμῶν; τίνας  
 δ' ἂν τῶν ζώντων δικαιοτέρων φεῖ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα, ἢ τὰς  
 τέτοις φροσῆκοντες; οἱ τὴν μὲν τέτων ἀρετῆς ὁ ἴσον τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις

ἄλλοις ἀπέλαυζ', ἀποθανόντων δὲ μόνοι γησιῶς τῆς δυσ-  
 χίας μετέχουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι δὴ τοιαῦτα ὀλο-  
 φύραζ'. ἔ γ' ἐλατθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς ὄλλες θνητοί· ὥστ'  
 τί δὲ, ἂ πάλαι προσεδοκῶμεν πείσεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων  
 5 νῦν ἀχθεσθαι; ἢ λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν ὅτι ταῖς τῆς  
 φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ὅπιταμθῆνους ὅτι ὁ θάνατος κοινὸς καὶ  
 τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις; οὔτε γὰρ τὸς πονηρῶς  
 ὑποφράζ', οὔτε τοὺς ἀγαθὸς θαυμάζ', ἀλλ' ἴσον ἑαυτὸν  
 πρέχει πάσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν τοῖς τὸς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ  
 10 λέμῳ κινδύους ἀφφυγῦσιν ἀθανάτους εἶναι τὸν λοιπὸν  
 χρόνον, ἄξιον ἦν τοῖς ζῶσι τ' ἀπαντα χρόνον περθεῖν τὸς  
 περθεῶτας. νῦν δὲ ἥτε φύσις καὶ νόσων ἤτιων καὶ γήρωσ,  
 ὅ, τε δαίμων ὁ πλὴν ἡμετέραν μοῖραν εἰληχῶς ἀπαραίτη-  
 τος. ὥστ' προσήκει τῆσδε εὐδαιμονεστάτης ἡγεῖσθαι, οἵτινες  
 15 ὑπὲρ μεγίστων καὶ χαλλίστων κινδυνύουσες, οὕτως τὸν  
 βίον ἐτελεύτησαν· οὐκ ὅπιτρέψαντες πρὸς αὐτῶν τῆ τύ-  
 χῃ, ὅσθ' ἀναμείδοντες τ' αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκ-  
 λεξάμενοι τὸν κάλλιστον. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ ἀγήραστοι μὲν αὐτῶν  
 αἱ μνήμη, ζηλωταὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ  
 20 τιμαί· οἱ περθεῶν δὲ ἀφ' τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοί, ὑμνῶνται  
 δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι ἀφ' τὴν ἀρετήν. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ θάπτοντες δη-  
 μοσίᾳ καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας  
 καὶ πλοῦτος, ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τὸς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελε-  
 λευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθρόατος τιμα-  
 σθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μαχαρίζω τ' ἰθάυτε καὶ

58 ΛΥΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦ.

ζηλώ, καὶ μόνοις τέτοις ἀνθρώπων οἴμα κρείττον ἐῖ) γενέσθαι, οἵτινες ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωμάτων ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀφ' ἧς ἄρείω αὐτῶν κατέλιπον. ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὴν πάτριον νόμον, ὀλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θαπτομένους. 5

ΥΠΕΡΙΔΟΥ τὸ σωζόμενον.

— Χαλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως ὅτι τῆς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄντας πάθεσι ὠδύμεναισθαί. τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοιμίζεται. ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου καὶ φιλία πρὸς τὴν τελευτήσαντα ὀρισμὸν ἔχει τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι. ὅμως δὲ χρῆσιον θάρρειν, καὶ τῆς λύπης πρᾶναι εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον· καὶ μεμνησθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ θανάτου τῆς τελευτηκότου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλελοίπασιν. ἔ γὰρ θρήνων ἀξία πεπόνθασιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων πεποιήχασιν. εἰ δ' ἡ γήρως θνητοῦ μὴ μετέχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον εἰλήφασιν, 15 εὐδαίμονές τε γηρόνασι καὶ πρῶτα. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπαιδές τελευτήχασιν, οἱ ὡσθὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαινοι παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἴσονται· ὅσοι δ' ἐπαῖδας καταλελοίπασιν, ἡ τῆς πατρὸς εὐνοία ὀπίτροπος αὐτοῖς τῶν παίδων κατὰσῆσεν. πρὸς δὲ τέτοις, εἰ μὲν ὅτι τὸ σπύρα- 20 νεῖν ὁμοίον τῶν μὴ θνέσθαι, ἀπηνελασμένοι εἰσὶ νόσων καὶ λύπης, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρῶτον πόντων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἰσθησις ἐν αἰσθῆσιν καὶ ἐπιμέλεια ὡσθὲν ἔσται δαιμονίῳ, ὡσπερ ἡπολαμβάνομεν, εἴη τοὺς ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν Θεῶν καταλυομένοις βοηθήσαντας, πλείστης εὐδαιμονίας ἡποδ' ἔσται δαιμονίῳ τυχεῖν.

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

περὶ τῶν Στρατηγῶν

ἀπολομύων. ΑΝΑΒ. Β΄.

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ δὴ στρατηγὸὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες, ἀνήχθησαν  
ὡς βασιλέα, καὶ ἀπολημθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν·  
εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος, ὁμολογημύως ἐκ πάντων τῶν  
ἐμπείρων αὐτῶν ἐχόντων, δόξας ἡμέτερος ἀνὴρ. ἔστι πολεμικὸς καὶ  
5 φιλοπόλεμος ἐχάτως. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς  
Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πρὸς μὲν ἐπεὶ δ' εἰ-  
ρήνη ἐβλήθη, πείσας τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θραῖκες ἀδικοῦσι  
τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ἄμυνος ὡς ἐδύνατο πρὸς τῶν  
Εφόρων, ἔξεπλεῖ ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρόνησος καὶ  
10 Πειρίου Θραξίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγρόντες πρὸς Ἐφοροί,  
ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτῶν, ἀποσρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἔξ Ἰοσμῶν,  
ἐνταῦθα ὁκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὄχετο πλέον εἰς Ἑλλή-  
σποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ  
τελῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἡδὴ δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρχεται πρὸς Κῦ-  
15 ρον καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἐπεισε Κῦρον, ἀλλαχῶς γέγραπ-  
ται. Δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ Κῦρος μυριάς δαρεικούς· ὁ δὲ λα-  
βὼν, ὁκ' ὅτι ῥαθυμίαν ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων πῶν  
χρημάτων συλλέξας γράτευμα, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Θραξίν· καὶ  
μάχη τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔφερε, καὶ ἤγει αὐτὸς· καὶ  
πολεμῶν

πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέγεις οὐ Κῦρος ἐδείδει ἔ στρατεύ-  
ματος· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πολεμήσων.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμῳ δοκῆ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅτις,  
ἕξον μὲν εἰρήνῃ ἔχειν ἀνὰ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται  
πολεμεῖν· ἕξον δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βέλῃ πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν·  
ἕξον δὲ χρῆματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα  
ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Εκείνος δὲ, ὡς περ εἰς παιδικὰ, ἢ εἰς ἄλ-  
λιου πια ἡδονῶν, ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν  
φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ταύτη (εἰ) εδοκῆ, ὅτι  
φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ὅτι τῆς πο- 10  
λεμίας, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς (α) παρόντες  
πανταχῶς πάντες ὁμολόγησαν. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγετο  
(εἰ), ὡς δυνατὸν, ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων πτόπῳ, οἷον καὶ ἐκείνος  
εἶχεν· ἰσχυρὸς μὲν γὰρ, ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως  
ἕξῃ ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀπιτηδέια, καὶ πρῶτα σκευάζειν ταῦ- 15  
τα· ἰσχυρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιοῖσθαι τοῖς πρῶτοις, ὡς οὐκ ἀπι-  
τέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐκ τῶν χαλεπῶν (εἰ).  
Καὶ γὰρ ὄραν τυγνὸς ἦν, καὶ τῆ φωνῆ τραχύς· ἐκόλαζέ τε  
αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνόοιε, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῶν μετὰ μέλειν ἔοδ'  
ἔτε. καὶ γνώμη δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστον γὰρ στρατεύματος 20  
οὐδὲν ἠγαῖτο ὄφελος (εἰ). Ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν,  
ὡς δεοὶ τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρχόντα ἢ τῆς  
πολεμίας, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλαχὰς φυλάξαι, ἢ φίλων ἀφέ-  
ξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπερφασίως ἵναμι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίας. Ἐν  
μὲν

μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤτελον αὐτῶν ἀκύνει σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἄλλον ἤρῃντο (A) στρατιῶται. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ φυλὴν τότε φαι-  
 δρῶν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐφαρῶν φαίνας, καὶ ὁ χαλε-  
 πόν, ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι· ὥστε σω-  
 5 τήριον καὶ ἔκει χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. Οὔτε δ' ἔξω ἔδει δεινὸν  
 γένοιτο, καὶ ἔξει πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπίεσαι, πολ-  
 λοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὁ γὰρ ὅτι πῆχαι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ  
 αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς καὶ ὠμὸς ἦν· ὥστε δέκεντο πρὸς αὐτὸν (A)  
 στρατιῶται, ὡς παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον· καὶ γὰρ οὖν  
 10 φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομύουσι οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἷτινες δὲ ἢ  
 ὑπὸ πλέως τεταγμένοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν δειῶν, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινι  
 ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι πείθεισάσιν αὐτῶν, σφόδρα πειθομένους  
 ἐχρήσθησαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν οὐκ αὐτῶν τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίους, μεγάλα ἤδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμως ποιῶντα εἶναι τοὺς  
 15 οὐκ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται· τὸ, τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους  
 παρὰ πλείους ἔχειν παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων τιμωρίαν  
 φοβεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιπέδων. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν δὲ ἀρ-  
 χῶν οὐκ ἀρχεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἔμμελλεν ἐλέγετο.  
 Ἦν γὰρ, ὅτε ἐτελεύτησα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πενήτηκοντα ἔτη.

20 Πρόξενος γὰρ ὁ Βοιωτὸς, εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὸν ὄν, ἐπεθύμησεν  
 θνήσκειν ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα περὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν. καὶ ἀφ' αὐ-  
 τῶν τὴν ὅτι πῆχαι ἐδόκει Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίῳ.  
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεβλήθη ἐκείνῳ, ἰσχυρὸς ἤδη νομισσας εἶναι καὶ ἀρ-  
 χῶν, καὶ φίλος ὢν τοῖς περὶ τῶν, μὴ ἠτιμᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλ-  
 λεν



Δει εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ὤετο κτήσεα  
 ἔκ τῶτων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, καὶ χρήματα  
 πολλὰ· τῶτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἐδήλον αὐτῷ καὶ τῆτο  
 εἶχεν, ὅτι τῶτων ἔδεν αἱ γέλοι κίᾳσθαι μὲν ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ  
 σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ὤετο δεῖν τῶτων τυγχάνειν, ἀνὸς 5  
 δὲ τῶτων μή. Ἀρχεῖν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἰχθμός ἦν·  
 οὐ μόντοι οὐδ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον  
 ἰχθμός ἐμποιοῦσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠγάμετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρα-  
 τιώταις, ἢ ὁ ἀρχόμενος ἐκείνων· καὶ φοβόμενος μᾶλλον ἦν  
 φθμερός ὁ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ ὁ στρατιώ- 10  
 ται τὸ ἀπειθεῖν ἐκείνῳ. Ὡς οὖν ἡ ἀρχεῖν πρὸς ὁ ἀρχεῖν  
 εἶ) καὶ δεκεῖν, τὸ μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικεῖντα  
 μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν  
 σιμώντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβόλευον, ὡς εὐμετα-  
 χερίσθαι ὄντι. Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν, ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν ὡς τεμάχοντα. 15

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θεπαιλός δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλείω  
 ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἀρχεῖν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι· ἐπι-  
 θυμῶν δὲ πικρῶσαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τ' ἐβόλετο  
 εἶ) τοῖς μέγστον δυναμύοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην.  
 Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοῖη, σιυτομωτάτῳ 20  
 ἔδον ὤελο εἶ) ἀφ' τῶν ἐπιπορκεῖν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἔξα-  
 πατᾶν· τὸ δὲ ἀπλῆν τε καὶ ἀληθές, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ  
 εἶναι. Σιτέρων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα· ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη  
 φίλῳ εἶ), τούτῳ ἐδήλῳ ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων. Καὶ πο-  
 λεμίῳ

λεμίῳ μὲν ὄθενός καταγέλα, τῆς δὲ σιμώντων πάντων  
 ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῆς πολε-  
 μίων κτήμασι οὐκ ἐπεβύλευε· (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾧέο εἶναι  
 τὰ τῶν φυλακιστῶν λαμβάνειν) τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾧέο  
 5 εἶδεναι ὅτι ῥᾶτον ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ὅσους μὲν ῥαδι-  
 νετο ὀπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ὀπλισμένοις ἐφοβείτο·  
 τοῖς δὲ ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο  
 χρῆσθαι. Ὡσαύτως δὲ τις ἀγάλλετο ὅτι θεοσεβεία, καὶ ἀλη-  
 θεία, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, οὕτω καὶ Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῶν ἑξαπα-  
 10 τῶν δυνάστων, τῶν πλάστων ψευδῶν, τῶν φίλους ἀγαγε-  
 λῶν· τῶν δὲ μὴ πανθῶρον, ἀπαίδουλον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι). Καὶ  
 πρὸ οἷς μὲν ἐπεχειρῆ ὡσπεύειν φιλίας, ἀγαβάλλων τοὺς  
 ὡσφύτας, τῶν δὲ ᾧέο δεινὴν κτήσασθαι. Τὸ δὲ πευδομένους  
 τῶν στρατιῶν πρῶτος, οὐκ εἶ σιμαδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμ-  
 15 χροῦσθαι. Τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπύεσθαι ἡξίως, ὀπιδευονύ-  
 μωσθαι ὅτι πλείους δυνάιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἀν ἀδικεῖν. Εὐερ-  
 γασίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὀπότε τις αὐτῷ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι χροῦ-  
 μωσθαι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφορμῆ  
 ἔξει περὶ αὐτῶν ψεύδεσθαι· ἀ δὲ ὡσφύτας ἴσασι, τὰ δὲ ὅσιν.  
 20 Παρὰ Λεισίππῳ μὲν, ἐπὶ ὡραῖος ὢν, στρατηγῶν διεπρά-  
 ξατο τῶν ξένων· Λεισίππῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μερακίοις  
 χαλκῶν ἠδέτο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν ἐθμετο· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 παιδικῶν εἶχε ὡραῖον, ἀθροῖσθαι ὢν θμεῶντα. Αποθη-  
 σκόντων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ὀπὶ βασιλέα σὺν

## 64 ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

Κύρω, τὰ αὐτὰ πεπονηκῶς οὐκ ἀπέθανε· μὲν δὲ τὸν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν, τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανε, ἔχ' ὡσαύτῃ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς· (ὡσαύτῃ κάλλιστος θανάτων ἐδόκει εἶναι) ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς οἴσιαιτον, ὡς πονηρὸς, λέγεται τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

Αἴας ἦ ὁ Ἀρχαῖς, καὶ Σιωχεῖν ὁ Ἀχαιῶς καὶ τότε ἀπεθανέτι· τῶν δὲ ὄσθεις ἔθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν χατεγέλα, οὐτ' ἐς φιλίαν αὐτῶς ἐμέμφετο. Ἡσθητε ἀμφὸς ἀμφὶ τετρακόντα ἔτη ἀπὸ θμεῶς.

# M. T. CICERONIS

*Sententiæ de iis honore augendis, qui  
periculum vitæ adierunt Reipub. causa.*

DE SER. SULPICIO *ornando*. PHILIPP. IX.

**V**ELLEM, dii immortales fecissent, Patres  
conscripti, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gra-  
tias ageremus, quam mortuo honores quærere-  
mus. —

Si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dole-  
5 rem quidem tanto reip. vulnere: mortem vero  
ejus non monumentis, sed luctu publico esse ho-  
norandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat,  
quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim  
ille mortem extulit: quam, si nobiscum reman-  
10 sisset, sua cura, optimi filii, fidelissimæque con-  
jugis diligentia vitare potuisset. — Reddite igi-  
tur, P. C. ei vitam, cui ademistis. Vita enim  
mortuorum in memoria vivorum est posita. Per-  
ficite, ut is, quem vos ad mortem inscii misistis,  
15 immortalitatem habeat a vobis. — Grati sumus  
in ejus morte decoranda, cui nullam jam aliam  
gratiam referre possumus. — Quas ob res ita  
censeo; CUM Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia, Ru-  
fus difficillimo Reipublicæ tempore, gravi, pericu-  
20 losoque morbo affectus, auctoritatem Senatus,  
salutemque Reipublicæ vitæ suæ præposuerit, con-

traque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut  
 in castra Antonii, quo Senatus eum miserat, per-  
 veniret: isque, cum jam prope castra venisset, vi  
 morbi oppressus, vitam amiserit in maximo Rei-  
 publicæ munere: ejusque mors consentanea vitæ <sup>5</sup>  
 fuerit, sanctissime, honestissimeque aetæ, in qua  
 sæpe magno usui Reipublicæ Ser. Sulpicius &  
 privatus, & in magistratibus fuerit: Cum talis  
 vir ob Rempublicam in legatione mortem obie-  
 rit; Senatui placere, Ser. Sulpicio statuam pe- <sup>10</sup>  
 destrem æneam in Rostris ex hujus ordinis senten-  
 tia statui; circumque eam statuam locum ludis,  
 gladiatoribusque, liberos posterosque ejus quo-  
 quoversus pedes quinque, habere; quod is ob  
 Rempublicam mortem obierit; eamque causam <sup>15</sup>  
 in basi inscribi: utique C. Pansa, A. Hirtius,  
 Consules, alter ambove, si eis videatur, Quæsto-  
 ribus urbanis imperent, ut eam basim, statuam-  
 que faciendam, & in Rostris statuendam locent:  
 quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemp- <sup>20</sup>  
 tori solvendam, attribuendamque curent. Cum-  
 que antea Senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum  
 fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, pla-  
 cere, eum quam amplissime supremo die suo ef-  
 ferri. Et, cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia, <sup>25</sup>  
 Rufus, ita de Republica meritis sit, ut his orna-  
 mentis decorari debeat, Senatum censere, atque  
 e Republica existimare, Ædiles curules edictum,  
 quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpicii Q. F.  
 Lemonia,

Lemonia, Rufi, funeri remittere : utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino Panfa Consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quoquo-versus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur. Quod  
5 sepulcrum, ipsius, liberorum, posterorumque ejus esset : uti quod optimo jure publice sepulcrum datum esset.

*De cæsis ad Mutinam. PHIL. XIV.*

IS demum est meâ quidem sententiâ justus  
10 triumphus ac verus ; cum bene de Republicâ meritis testimonium à consensu civitatis datur.

---CUM Supplicationes justissimas ex iis literis, quæ recitatae sunt, decernere debeamus, Serviliusque decreverit : augebo omnino numerum die-  
15 rum, præsertim cum non uni, sed communiter tribus ducibus sint decernendæ. Sed hoc primum faciam, ut Imperatores appellem eos, quorum virtute, consilio, felicitate, maximis periculis servitutis atque interitûs liberati sumus. —

20 *Quin* hoc ipso nomine & eos, qui jam devicti sunt, & eos qui supersunt, Hostes judico, cum victores appello Imperatores. Quomodo enim potius Panfam appellem ? etsi habet honoris nomen amplissimi ? Quo Hirtium ? est ille qui-  
25 dem consul : sed alterum nomen beneficii est populi Romani ; alterum, virtutis atque victoriæ.

Quid ?

Quid? Cæsarem, Deorum beneficio reipublicæ procreatum, dubitemne appellare Imperatorem? Qui primus Antonii immanem & fœdam crudelitatem, non solum à jugulis nostris, sed etiam à membris & visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei 5 quot & quantæ virtutes, Dii immortales, fuerunt!

Princeps enim omnium Pansa prælii faciendi, & cum Antonio configendi fuit, dignus Imperator legione Martia, digna legio Imperatore: 10  
cujus si acerrimum impetum cohibere Pansa potuisset, uno prælio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrænatus in aciem hostium irrupisset, ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus è 15 prælio, reipublicæ vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum Imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum Imperatorem judico: qui cum aut morte, aut victoria se satisfacturum reipublicæ spondidisset; alterum fecit, alterius Dii immortales omen 20 avertant!

Quid dicam de Hirtio? qui, re audita, è castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute: Quartam illam, quæ, relicto Antonio, se olim cum Martia legione conjunxit, & Septi- 25 mam, quæ constituta ex veteranis docuit illo prælio, militibus iis, qui Cæsaris beneficia servassent, senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse

ipse, aquilam Quartæ legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus, equitatuque conflixit, hostesque nefarios, huic Jovi maximo, cæterisque Deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Romani, nostræ vitæ sanguinique imminentes prostravit, fudit, occidit; ut cum admodum paucis, nocte tectus, metu perterritus, princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O solem ipsum beatissimum, qui antequam se abderet, stratis cadaveribus parricidarum, cum paucis fugientem vidit Antonium!

An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Cæsarem Imperatorem? Ætas ejus certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem virtute superavit ætatem. Ac mihi semper eo majora beneficia C. Cæsaris visa sunt, quo minus erant ab ætate illa postulanda: cui cum Imperium, eodem tempore, etiam spem nominis ejus deferebamus: quod, cum est secutus auctoritatem nostri decreti, rebus gestis suis comprobavit. Hic ergo adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ita trium Imperatorum virtute, consilio, felicitate, uno die locis pluribus respublica est conservata. Decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum Supplicationes: causas, ut honorificentissimis



centissimis verbis consequi potero, complectar sententia.

Est autem fidei, pietatisque nostræ, declarare fortissimis militibus, quam memores simus, quamque grati. Quamobrem promissa nostra, atque 5 ea, quæ legionibus, bello confecto, tributuros nos spondimus, hodierno senatus-consulto renovanda censeo. Æquum est enim militum, talium præsertim, honorem conjungi.

Atque utinam, Patres conscripti, civibus om- 10 nibus solvere nobis præmia liceret! Quanquam nos ea, quæ promissimus, studiose cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem restat, ut spero, victoribus, quibus senatus fides præstatur: quam quidem cum difficillimo reipublicæ tempore secuti 15 sunt, eos nunquam oportebit consilii sui pœnitere. Sed facile est bene agere cum iis, à quibus etiam tacentibus flagitari videmur. Illud admirabilius & majus, maximeque proprium senatus sapientis est, grata eorum virtutem memoria pro- 20 sequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt. Quorum de honore utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! duo certe non præteribo, quæ maxime occurrunt: quorum alterum pertinet ad virorum fortissimorum gloriam sempiternam; alterum ad 25 leniendum mœrorem & luctum proximorum.

Placet igitur mihi, Patres conscripti, legionis Martiæ militibus, & eis, qui una pugnantes occiderunt, monumentum fieri quàm amplissimum.

Magna

Magna atque incredibilia sunt in rempublicam  
hujus mèrita legionis. Hæc se prima latrocinio  
abrupit Antonii : hæc tenuit Albam : hæc se ad  
Cæsarem contulit : hanc imitata Quarta legio pa-  
5 rem virtutis gloriam consecuta est. Quarta vic-  
trix desiderat neminem. Ex Martia nonnulli in  
ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors ! quæ  
naturæ debita, pro patria est potissimum reddita.

Vos vero patriæ natos judico, quorum etiam  
10 nomen à Marte est : ut idem Deus urbem hanc  
gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga,  
fœda mors est ; in victoria, gloriosa. Etenim Mars  
ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet.  
Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad infe-  
15 ros pœnas parricidii luent. Vos vero, qui extre-  
mum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis  
sedem & locum consecuti. Brevis à natura nobis  
vita data est : at memoria bene redditæ vitæ sem-  
piterna. Quæ si non esset longior, quam hæc  
20 vita ; quis esset tam amens, qui maximis labori-  
bus & periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque  
contenderet ?

Actum igitur præclare vobiscum, fortissimi  
dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites,  
25 quod vestra virtus nec oblivione eorum, qui nunc  
sunt, nec reticentia posterorum insepulta esse po-  
terit ; cum vobis immortale monumentum suis  
pene manibus senatus populusque Romanus ex-  
truxerit. Multi sæpe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis,  
Italicis

Italicis bellis clari & magni fuerunt : nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam majora possemus, quandoquidem à vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe furentem Antonium avertistis : vos redire molientem repulistis. 5 Erit igitur extracta moles opere magnifico, incisæque literæ divinæ virtutis testes sempiternæ : nunquam de vobis, eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum, aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali conditione vitæ 10 immortalitatem estis consecuti.

Sed quoniam, Patres conscripti, gloriæ munus optimis, & fortissimis civibus monumenti honore persolvitur, consolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima est hæc quidem consolatio : parentibus, 15 quòd tanta reipublicæ præsidia genuerunt : liberis, quòd habebunt domestica exempla virtutis : conjugibus, quòd iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quàm lugere præstabit : fratribus, quòd in se, ut corporum, sic virtutum similitudinem esse confi- 20 dent. Atque utinam his omnibus abstergere fletum sententiis nostris, consultisque possemus ; vel aliqua talis his adhiberi publice posset oratio, qua deponerent mœrorem atque luctum, gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent ho- 25 minibus genera mortis, id genus, quod esset pulcherrimum, suis obtigisse, eosque nec inhumatos esse, nec desertos : (quod tamen ipsum pro patria non miserandum putatur :) nec dispersis bustis hu-  
mili

mili sepultura crematos, sed coniectos publicis operibus, atque muneribus, eaque extruptione, quæ sit ad memoriam æternitatis **ARA VIRTUTIS.**

5 Quamobrem maximum quidem solatium erit propinquorum, eodem monumento declarari, & virtutem suorum & pietatem, & senatûs fidem, & crudelissimi memoriam belli; in quo, nisi tanta militum virtus extitisset, parricidio M. Antonii  
10 nomen populi Romani occidisset. Atque etiam censeo, Patres conscripti, quæ præmia militibus promissimus nos, republica recuperata, tributuros, ea vivis, victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda: qui autem ex iis, quibus illa  
15 promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

Sed ut aliquando sententia complectar, ita censeo: **CUM C. Pansa, cos. Imperator, initium**  
20 **cum hostibus configendi fecerit, quo prælio legio Martia admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit; quod idem legiones tironum fecerint; ipseque C. Pansa cos. Imperator, cum inter media hostium tela verfa-**  
25 **retur, vulnera acceperit: Cumque A. Hirtius cos. Imperator, prælio audito, & cognito, fortissimo præstantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit, impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit, ejusque copias occisione**

occiderit, suo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum quidem militem desideraverit: Cumque C. Cæsar, Imperator, consilio, diligentiaque sua castra feliciter defenderit, copiasque hostium, quæ ad castra accesserant, profligarit, occiderit: ob eas res Senatam existimare, & judicare eorum trium Imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate, constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate, populum Romanum fœdissima crudelissimaque servitute liberatum. Cumque Rempublicam, urbem, 10  
templa Deorum immortalium, bona, fortunasque omnium, liberosque conservedimicatione, & periculo vitæ suæ: uti ob eas res bene, fortiter, feliciterque gestas, C. Panfa, A. Hirtius, Consules, Imperatores, alter ambove, aut, si aberunt, 15  
M. Cornutus, Prætor urbanus, Supplicationes per dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria constituat. Cumque virtus legionum digna clarissimis Imperatoribus extiterit: Senatam, quæ sit antea pollicitus legionibus, exercitibusque nostris, ea summo studio, republica recuperata, persoluturum. 20  
Cumque legio Martia princeps cum hostibus conflixerit, atque ita cum majore numero hostium contenderit, ut plurimos cæderent, caperent nonnullos: Cumque sine ulla retractatione pro patria 25  
vitam profuderint: Cumque simili virtute reliquarum legionum milites pro salute & libertate populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: Senatui placere, ut C. Panfa, A. Hirtius, Consules, Imperatores,

peratores, alter ambove, si his videatur, iis qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunisque populi Romani, pro urbe, templisque Deorum immortalium profudissent, monumentum quàm amplif-  
5 simum locandum, faciendum curent: Quæstores urbis ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere jubeant; ut extet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam, ad scelus crudelissimorum hostium, militumque divinam virtutem: utque, quæ præ-  
10 mia Senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus: eaque fratribus tribuantur, quæ militibus ipsis tribui oporteret, si illi vixissent, qui morte vicerunt.

# I N D E X.

- A.
- ΑΒΙΩΤΟΣ** 31. 4. *pro ἀβίωτος*  
βίος vita non vitalis, vita  
acerba et misera, seu ἀβίωτον  
ἔσθαι non esse vivendum.
- Αζαζή**. 9. 3. commoda. 55. 8.  
virtutes.
- Αζάχομαι**. 10. 10. oblecto me.
- Αζάζομαι**. 35. 24. — 48. 8. de-  
miror, laudo, veneror.
- Αζαπάω**. 22. 1. — 43. 4. 49. 6.  
contentus sum.
- Αζαπητῶς** 29. 22. cupidè, liben-  
ter.
- Άγειν καὶ φέρειν**. 59. 19. popu-  
lari. ἄγειν proprie de illâ dici-  
tur prædâ, quæ potest agi et  
incedere, seu de rebus animatis;  
φέρειν et ferre de inanimatis.
- Άγω ἡσυχίαν**. 22. 2. conquiesco.  
39. 19. quiesco, *tumultuari de-  
finens et nihil bellicum attentans  
aut moliens.*
- Άγνωσία**. 19. 7. ignobilitas.
- Άθνος**. 17. 17. infœcundus.
- Άγωνίζομαι**. 14. 10. me exerceo.  
47. 2. periclitor, discrimen a-  
deo.
- Άδεια**. 41. 20. securitas.
- Άδελφος**. *adjecit.* 53. 22. fimilis,  
congruens.
- Άδῶς**. 6. 24. absque metu.
- Άδηλος γίνεσθαι**. 34. 20. occultari.
- Άδικῶ**. εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. 15. 10.  
perperam ago.
- Άδύνατος**. 56. 3. invalidus.
- Άεί**. 4. 15. — 9. 13. *latine resol-  
vendum per particulas.* prout  
quisque, quotiescunque &c. 14.  
I &c. semper, plerumque.
- Άίναος**. \*\* 19. *apud poetas pro  
ἀίναος* perennis, perpetuus.
- Άθλον**. 40. 11. id de quo certatur.
- Άικιωδής**. 64. 5. excruciatas.
- Άιρέομαι**. \*\* 17. capio. *passim eli-  
go, designo.* 31. 1. — 53. 10.  
61. 2. antepono, malo. *Heb.*  
11. 25.
- Άιρέω**. 38. 14. cursu capio seu cur-  
rendo assequor et comprehendo,  
præverto.
- Άίρομαι κίνδυνον**. 41. 8. fuscipio,  
vel adeo periculum.
- Άισχύνομαι πη**. 40. 17. me pu-  
det cuiuspiam. 40. 21. — 62. 8.  
revereor. 43. 23. — 53. 11.  
*ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις.* 9. 7. verecundor  
inter agendum.
- Άντιόομαι**. 21. 6. criminor, ac-  
cuso.
- Άιωρέομαι**. 33. 4. suspendor *Ci-  
cerone vertente.* Tusc. III.
- Άκινδύνως**. 49. 13. citra pericu-  
lum.
- Άκμή**. 8. 20 *sc. καίριον*, articulus  
temporis quo res aliqua debet agi.  
*ἀκμή τύχης* summum discrimen  
*fortunæ bellicæ.*
- Άκόλαστος**. 60. 20. incaustificatus,  
*adeoque* dissolutus et inobe-  
diens.
- Άκη**. 7. 7. fama.
- Άκούειν**. 61. 1. audire *sc. cum  
effectu*, i. e. obtemperare.
- Άκρόασις**. 4. 15. auscultatio, obe-  
dientia.
- Άλίσθημα**. 46. 13. capior.
- Άλλάττομαι τι ἀντί τινος**. 21. 19.  
commuto i. e. unum alteri præ-  
fero.
- Άλόπος**. 44. 5.
- Άμοιράνως**. \* 9. in consiliis, cona-  
tibus, aut re aliquâ gerendâ  
frustror, infelici successu rem-  
gero. 40. 5. destituor. 39. 2.  
*ἡμωρητηρία* offensiones, opera  
seu

## I N D E X.

- seu actiones, quæ perperam facta sunt, *vel*, quæ non succedunt.
- Αμείρεται. 7. 11. non testatus, nullo teste comprobatus.
- Αμυρέω \*\*. 15. obscuro, obliero.
- Αμύλος έμι. 6. 21. *Cic. vertente, Tusc. Disp. III. §. 28.* obtorpei.
- Αμύλυτε. 6. 21. *metaph.* languidior, remissior, tardior.
- Αμείσομαι. \*\*. 6. pertranseo.
- Αμνησία. 20. 10. oblivio.
- Αμύνομαι. 5. 15. — 20. 2. dimico, me tueor. 45. 18. resisto.
- Αμύνομαι π. 3. 18. — 22. 19. — 23. 11. propulso, tueor me contra. 9. 3. — 22. 22. ulciscor, hostium injuriam propulso.
- Αμύνω πι. 20. 3. — 27. 20. suppetias eo, auxilior, succorro.
- Αμφισσητέω ωεί πνός. 17. 12. litigo, contendo *de hoc tanquam ad me pertinente.*
- Αμφισσητέω. 25. 5. controversor, controversiam moveo.
- Αμφισσητήσιμος. 24. 10. dubius, quod controversiam patitur.
- Ανάσσην ποιείω. 11. 11. differre.
- Ανάγκη, *passim.* necessitas.
- Ανάσσητον πύ άρεσεία. 30. 1. primas deferre oportet.
- Ανάσσεις. 1. 9. — 39. 17. sublatio cadaverum ad sepeliendum. jus sepulturæ.
- Ανάσσηλος. 10. 2. qui non sentitur.
- Ανάσσηβαίρομαι. 23. 18. persequor, *nisi forte referatur ad την θάλασσαν*, repurgo.
- Ανάσσηνω. 44. 1. expecto.
- Ανάσσησκω. 31. 22. utendo absumo, consumo, dilapido.
- Ανάσσησις. 48. 3. commonefactio, *seu actio commonefaciendi alium, et faciendi ut reminiscatur alicujus rei. ύπόμνησις. Hesych.*
- Ανάσσησσητήτως. 48. 21. sine ullâ controversiâ.
- Ανάσσησσηώνισος. 11. 3. cui nullus se in certamine opponit.
- Ανάσσησιος. 26. 11. indignus, diversus ab eo quod dignitas et merita postulant.
- Ανάσσησσηομαι. 33. 2. aptus sum *Cicerone vertente Tusc. V. pendeo.*
- Ανάσσησσηοδίζομαι. 52. 2. *de urbe*, in servitatem redigor, subjugor.
- πύ Ανάσσησιον. 5. 10. fortitudo virilis, *seu*, quæ viros decet.
- Ανάσσησσηένως. 5. 10. solutè et liberè.
- Ανάσσησσηός. 2. 23. tolerabilis.
- Ανάσσησσηπίσσηος. 25. 12. præter spem accidens.
- Ανάσσησσηπίσσηος. 38. 14. præter spem.
- Ανάσσησσηπαχθήως. 4. 13. non invidiose, non importune.
- Ανάσσησσηρός. 56. 2. mœrorem afferens, tristis, acerbus.
- Ανάσσησσησημι. 53. 21. erigo.
- Ανάσσησσηπαλος. 11. 2. adversarius, æmulus. 47. 22. anceps, æquo Marte certans. ένωμα 27. oblucari, repugnare.
- Ανάσσησσημελος. 19. 12. inæqualis.
- Ανάσσησσηνυμ. 39. 8. άδδξος H. nomine carens, *id est*, celebritate; ignobilis, obscurus.
- Ανάσσησσηιον. *passim.* dignum, par est, decet.
- Ανάσσησσηίω. 19. 16. dignor. 21. 2. audeo. 33. 10. — 50. 20. volo, peto, postulo *ut rem quam æquam esse judico.* 40. 22. — 41. 6. — 51. 20. dignum esse judico, æquum censeo. 44. 7. puto, existimo. τινά τινος. 55. 4. dignor, aliquid alicui permitto tanquam digno *qui* illud accipiat.
- Ανάσσησσηισμος. 2. 2. dignitas, auctoritas.
- Ανάσσησσηίωσις. 4. 6. existimatio honorifica,



# I N D E X.

- fica, quæ scilicet viam aperit ad dignitatem.*
- Αξύνειτο.** 2. 2. insipiens.
- Απαρξέυω.** 28. 24. fatisco, frangor, animum despondeo.
- Απαθής κακῶν.** 45. 4. inexpertus malorum, infuetus malis, adeoque impatiens.
- Απαλλάττομαι.** 8. 20. discedo sc. è vitâ. *passim.* liberor, solvor. 29. 22. digredior.
- Απυντάω.** 44. 3. — 51. 2. obviam procedo, *sensu militari.*
- Απαράιτητος.** 57. 13. inexorabilis.
- Απατη.** 5. 7. dolus.
- Απέπω.** 25. 18. renuntio, finem facio præ lassitudine.
- Απειρος.** 40. 4. — 38. 2. inexpertus, ὁ μὴ ἔχων πείραν, qui non habet peritiam ab experientia, rudis. 45. 5. ἀπειροῦ ἀνδρῶν ἰσοδῶν.
- Απειρος.** 45. 7. infinitus, immensus.
- Απλαύνομαι.** 19. 7. repulsam patior.
- Απεχθάνεσθαι τινός** odiosum esse, in alicujus odium incurrere.
- Απέχομαι τινός.** 60. 23. abstinenter me gero erga aliquem.
- ἐκ Απιστεῖον.** 60. 16. *idem quod ἀπειστεῖον* imperium minime detrectandum esse.
- Αποβαίνω.** 43. 8. descendo ex navī, copias expono.
- Αποζήνομαι.** 1. 4. absūm. *hic,* mortior.
- Απογνώσκω.** 49. 22. renuntio.
- Αποδεικνύω.** 51. 17. — 53. 20. reddo, efficio.
- Αποδράω.** 49. 17. subduco me, fugio.
- Αποδύομαι.** 15. 19. positus vestimentis me paro ad—
- Αποθνήσκω.** 64. 1. de morte violentâ.
- Απολαύω.** 56. 12. commodum seu fructum capio.
- Απολείπω.** 38. 15. relinquo post me.
- Απολογίζομαι.** 54. 4. ostendo argumentis, quasi relatis rationibus.
- Απορία.** 25. 17. difficultas, res perplexæ e quibus explicare nos non possumus.
- Αποροῦ.** 56. 5. inops, indigus; qui in ejusmodi difficultatibus constitutus est, ut ex iis se explicare nequeat.
- Αποφαίνω.** 53. 20. reddo, præsto.
- Απραΐμων.** 6. 8. quietus, iners, sc. *vir bonus et placidis moribus qui negotium aliis exhibere non solet, et simul qui sibi negotia non libenter exhibet.*
- Απρεπής.** 5. 23. sine dignitate. non indecorus.
- Απροφασίστως.** 60. 24. sine recusatione.
- Απύομαι.** 27. 9. aggredior, invado, manus infero.
- Απώθειω.** 5. 19. beneficentia. *passim* virtus. 58. 13. virtutis laus.
- Αριστεῖον.** 22. 14. præmium seu honorarium quod datur ei qui omnium fortissimè et strenuissimè se gerit.
- Αριστοκρατία.** 19. 3. *proprie* Optimatum principatus, *hic* optime constitutum imperium.
- Αρχή.** 34. 18. magistratus.
- Αρχω.** 12. 9. — 19. 9. magistratum gero. 12. 5. — 47. 5. impero, præsum.
- Αρχήμυροι** *sapientis* subditi. 61. 6. Duces.
- Αρχομαι.** 35. 2. incipio.
- Αρωγή.** 24. 6. auxilium, subsidium.
- Ασεβείομαι.** 39. 15. impiè contemnor.
- Ασθενεία.** 19. 6. tenuitas opum, paupertas.

# I N D E X.

**Ἀσκήω τι.** 31. 7. operam do alicui rei.  
**Ἀσκησις.** 5. 9. exercitatio.  
**Ἀσπιδώως.** 26. 24. lubenter.  
**Ἀσπάζομαι.** 56. 19. amicè excipio, amplector, amo.  
**Ἀσπασίαςτος.** 51. 18. à seditione immunis.  
**Ἀσπός.** 1. 10. Civis, *nomen peculiare Atheniensibus, quorum Urbs dicebatur* Ἄστυ.  
**Ἀσφάλεια.** 10. 15. securitas.  
**Ἀτεχνῶς.** 35. 8. planè, profecto. ἀπλῶς, κρητύπαξ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐνὶ λόγῳ, ἀληθῶς. *Schol. Aristoph. Plut. τεχνὴ Atticis est dolus; hinc ἀτεχνῶς, ἀνδρὶ τῆς τεχνῆς sine dolo, ergo verè, revera.*  
**Ἀτιμῶζω.** 45. 3. contumelia afficio.  
**Ἀὔ.** 13. 3. rursus, vicissim.  
**Ἀυτοκρίεστος.** 3. 16. rebus omnibus instructissimus, ita ut ei abunde suppetant omnia. qui suis præfidiis munitus non eget ope alterius.  
**Ἀυταρκής.** 7. 4. satis instructus.  
**Ἀυτόματος.** 57. 17. qui fortuito oritur, vel sponte naturæ venit.  
**ὁ Ἀυτός.** 54. 15. — 18. idem.  
**Ἀυτοσχιδιάζειν.** 14. 5. — 19. 1. ex tempore dicere.  
**Ἀυτόχθων.** 22. 12. eodem solo innatus quod quis incolit.  
**τὸ Ἀφανές τοῦ κρητορῶσιν.** 8. 15. incertus successus.  
**Ἀφανεία.** 4. 9. (*sensu metapharico ut et contrarium ei λάμπρότης*) obscuritas.  
**Ἀφανής.** 1. 9. non apparens, ab aspectu remotus.  
**Ἀφανίζω.** 40. 16. ab aspectu removeo, tollo ex oculis. ἠφανίσθη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων evanuit ex conspectu hominum.  
**Ἀφειδέω.** 9. 20. — 44. 10. non

parco vitæ *vel* corpori, exponens me facile cuivis periculo.  
**Ἀφθόνια.** 37. 12. copia, abundantia.  
**Ἀφίκομαι πρὸς.** 17. 10. adeo. 21. 24. pervenio.  
**Ἀφίστημι.** 28. 34. discedo, deficio a fide datà.  
**Ἀχάριστος.** 33. 18. injucundus, immoriger.  
**Ἀχθηδών.** 4. 13. dolor.

## B.

**Βάροσσοι.** 15. 17. *generatim* omnes, qui diverso ab aliis sermone utuntur. In Asiâ, ii qui erant in ditione Regis Persarum; In Europâ, Thraces, Getæ, Pæones, Epirotæ.  
**Βασιλεύομαι.** 42. 21. regor. 48. 14. dominatione opprimor.  
**Βασιλεύς.** *passim*, Rex Persarum. Cum enim Cyrus Assyriæ et Mediæ regna in Persas transtulisset & Asiam debellâisset, vocatus est μέγας βασιλεύς, a quo postea Persarum reges μεγάλους βασιλείας appellari se voluerunt.  
**Βιάζομαι.** adigor.  
**Βίος.** 55. 6. vita, victus.  
**Βλάβη.** 6. 11. damnum, detrimentum.  
**Βοηθίω.** *passim*. suppetias eo. 58. 25. venio ad auxiliandum, *περὶ* honores et majestas Deorum violentur.  
**Βοτόν.** 23. 7. pecus, bestia cicur.  
**Βυλδότηριον.** 12. 2. curia.  
**Βύλησις.** 3. 4. voluntas, votum.  
**Βυάτης.** \* 4. certaminis arbiter, judex.

# I N D E X.

## Γ.

- Γῆ. ὡς τῆ γῆ. 5. 17.  
 Γηροπρεφείω. 34. 12. alo aliquem  
 in senectute et ei necessaria sub-  
 ministro.  
 Γινώσκω. 31. 22. existimo, statuo.  
 44. 3. decerno. sic Rom. 6. 6.  
 hoc cogitantes eâque cogitatio-  
 ne excitati ad agendum pro  
 dignitate &c. γνώσις ὁμοία. 42.  
 22. sentio. 48. 17. iudicio.  
 Γνήσιος. 48. 23. germanus, inge-  
 nuus, originem habens legiti-  
 mam, non fucatus.  
 Γνώμη. 1. 1. — 9. 16. — 21. 3.  
 prudentia, mens, animus. 60.  
 20. certum animi iudicium.  
 τῆ Γνώμη. 4. 19. consulto, de in-  
 dustriâ.  
 Γοητεύω. 13. 7. præstigiis et in-  
 cantatione illicio, fallo.

## Δ.

- Δαιμόνιον. 58. 24. Deus supre-  
 mus, divinitas mundi modera-  
 trix.  
 Δαίμων. 57. 13. cuiusque Genius  
 præstes, conciliator fortunæ vel  
 bonæ vel adversæ.  
 Δεῖμα. \* 3. periculum.  
 Δεινός. ῥασσιπ, gravis. πρὸς Δεινά.  
 60. 11. res formidolosæ.  
 τὸ Δεινόν. 61. 5. periculum, ma-  
 lum imminentæ.  
 Δεινὸς λέγειν. 19. 16. peritus di-  
 cendi, qui arte dicendi valet.  
 Δεξιόμοι. 47. 12. dextram jun-  
 go, amplector.  
 Δέομαι. 50. 9. quæro.  
 Δευτερεῖον. 22. 15. præmium quod  
 datur iis qui secundum obtinent  
 locum.  
 Δεύτερος. 20. 7. inferior.

- Δέχομαι. 22. 4. sustineo impetum;  
 resisto.  
 Δηλαδή. 12. 3. an forte, videlicet.  
 Δημοκρατία. 19. 1. imperium po-  
 pulare.  
 Δῆρις. \* 1. pugna.  
 Διαγίγνεσθαι. perseverare, perma-  
 nere.  
 Διαδοχῆ. 3. 9. per successionem,  
 aliis succedentibus aliis.  
 Διατάομαι. 5. 10. vitam ago,  
 dego.  
 Διακινδυνεύω μόχην. 22. 13. peri-  
 culum subeo in bello.  
 Διακρίνω. 24. 11. aperio quod res  
 est; vel dirimo sc. contentio-  
 nem.  
 Διαλύειν φῶσον. 23. 3. discussio,  
 finio.  
 Διανοίομαι. sc. ἔτω πρὸς τῶτον ὡς  
 ἐπιχειρήσων. 23. 15. eo sum a-  
 nimo erga illum ut cogitem in-  
 vadere.  
 Διαυλώομαι. 24. 1. de bello, ex-  
 haurior.  
 Διαπέσσομαι. 59. 8. impetro.  
 Διασωζω. 55. 9. confervo, tueor.  
 Διατελέω. perfico in, persevero.  
 Διατριβή. 60. 9. mora.  
 Διαφέρειν. 19. 12. — 38. 17. an-  
 tecellere, præstare.  
 Διαφέρω. 5. 3. discrepo. μεγάλη  
 πρὸς ἀφῆροντ. 9. 23. magno-  
 pere interest.  
 Διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. 34.  
 17. egregiè præter cæteros.  
 Διαφθορά. 34. 11. internecio.  
 Διαφορά. 26. 17. diffidium. 39.  
 21. controversia.  
 Διάφορον. 4. 5. sc. πρῶτον. res  
 controversa, sive diffidium, con-  
 troversia.  
 Διδασκαλίαν ποιῶμαι. 7. 21. do-  
 ceo.  
 Δίδωμι ἔλεγον. 50. 2. demonstro.  
 Δίειμι. 38. 6. Percurro oratione,  
 narro.

## I N D E X.

- Διζέχουμαι.** commemoro per partes singulas.  
**Διερυνάουμαι.** 21. 13. peruestigo.  
**Διστήσιον.** 4. 20. per totum annum durans.  
**Δίσημι.** 21. 16. discedo, extendo me.  
**Δίκαιος ἐμὶ.** 30. 16. *idem quod δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ* æquum est me.  
**Δικαίον.** 15. 18. justum et æquum censeo.  
**Δίκην δέναι.** 39. 6. pœnas dare.  
 — ἐχειν. 39. 14. pœnas subire.  
**Διχόθεν.** 10. 15. bifariám.  
**Δοκίω.** Ἐ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε. 26. 16. et hæc vera videbantur, neque eos fefellit hæc opinio.  
**Δύναμαι σώματι.** 51. 7. valeo, valido sum corpore.  
**οἱ Δυνάμφοι.** 40. 24. potentiâ præditi, potentes.  
**Δυναστεία.** 42. 13. paucorum dominatio.  
**ὡς Δωατόν.** 60. 13. quàm maxime.  
**Δυσυχέω.** 25. 19. adversum fortunam experior.  
**Δυσυχηθέντα.** 55. 12. ea quæ infelicitate gesta sunt.  
**Δυσχευία.** 30. 1. difficultas locorum orta sive ab asperitate sive ab angustia.
- E.
- Ἐὰν μή.** 34. 6. si non, etiamsi non.  
**Ἐγκαθίστημι.** 52. 16. constituor.  
**Ἐγκλημα.** 50. 9. querela, criminatio.  
**Ἐγκρατής.** 19. 4. compos, qui in potestate habet.  
**Ἐγκωμιάζω.** 23. 12. laudo, celebroy.  
**Ἐθίς.** 10. 12. assuetus.  
**Ἐθελοντής.** 28. 19. miles voluntarius, qui sponte militat.
- Ἐθίζω.** 23. 7. assuefacio.  
**Ἐιδέω.** 33. 15. persuasum me habeo.  
**Ἐιδέναι χάριν.** 23. 22. habere gratiam.  
**Ἐιη.** 58. 24. credible esset, optandum foret.  
**οὐκ ἐκῆ.** 13. 4. non temere, non sine consilio.  
**Ἐικότων μάλλον.** 56. 22. merito magis, justius.  
**Ἐιλικρινῶς.** 29. 11. purè, sincerè, q. d. τῆ ἔλλη κρινόμενον, quoniam ad ἔλλην splendorem solis, τὰ μεμιγμένα ἢ τὰ ἀμιγῆ facile ἀκρίνεται.  
**Ἐίμαρται.** 20. 22. assignatum est fatali quâdam velut partitione, fato decretum est.  
**Ἐἶμι.** 3. 22. eo, ibo.  
**Ἐμὶ.** τὸν σὸς ὄντα. 10. 24. eum qui esse deficit, mortuum.  
**Ἐπιέν.** 37. 13. loqui disertè, eloqui. ἔπιν. 28. 8. pro imperio edixit, iussit.  
**Ἐπάσσει.** 13. 12. semper. ἀεὶ, παρ' ἑκαστα. *Hesych.*  
**Ἐπίνεταί.** 39. 2. licet, contingit, facultas datur.  
**Ἐπδέχουμαι.** 28. 20. expecto.  
**Ἐπλογίζουμαι.** 6. 14. subductis rationibus expendo, confidero.  
**Ἐκπλήσω.** 4. 22. *metaph.* excusatio.  
 ἐκπλήσομαι, *passim.* percellor, confternor.  
**Ἐκφέρω.** 15. 13. effero i. e. divulgoy, enuntio.  
**Ἐκφορά.** 1. 6. elatio funeris.  
**Ἐλαιον.** 18. 9. oleum.  
**Ἐλαττόουμαι.** 54. 1. diminuo.  
**Ἐλείω.** 55. 17. commiseror.  
**Ἐλευθερία.** 19. 20. ingenuitas, libertas.  
**Ἐλπίζω.** 47. 11. de malis timeo, suspicor.
- Ἐμῶσιν

# I N D E X.

- Εμπαίνω ἐς τὴν θάλατταν. 52. 14. navem conscendo.
- Εμπείρως ἔχειν πινός. 59. 4. aliquem usu cognoscere.
- τὸ μὴ Εμποδῶν. 11. 13. quod non contrarium est, quod non impedimento est.
- Εμποιῆν πνί. 60. 16. in animum alicujus indere. 62. 8. incutere pudorem.
- Ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκίμηστοῖς ἦσαν. 21. 12. erant celeberrimi.
- Ἐναντιόμαχ. 6. 18. contrario instituto utor.
- Ἐναντιος, ἢ ἐναντία μεταβολή. 9. 21. mutatio in contrarium, adversa commutatio, sc. ex prosperâ fortunâ ad adversam.
- Ἐναυλῶ. 13. 21. tinniens, id quo veluti post tibiaram cantum aures adhuc personant.
- Ἐνδεσέρως. 20. 2. minus quàm par sit. similiter Thuc. L. 1. Φαίνοισι' ἂν ὑποδέσσεσθε — δηλέται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδέσσεσθε ὄντα τ' φήμης — εἰς τὸ Ἐνδεχομένην τ' λύπης. 58. 11. in quantum vel quatenus luctus eorum admittit.
- μὴ Ἐνδεῶς. 6. 7. non insufficienter i. e. admodum peritè.
- Ἐνδραϊάομαχ. 9. 17. inhabito.
- Ἐνδίδωμι. 8. 18. cedo, non renitor.
- Ἐνι. 6. 6. pro ἔνεσι licet.
- Ἐντάφιον. \*\* 13. quicquid ad funus pertinet, *speciatim*, vestis, quâ mortuorum corpora honestè ad sepulturam involvebantur.
- Ἐνθήκω. 29. 15. infusus sum, penitus infigor, *metaphora sumpta ab iis quibus plumbum liquefactum infusum est, et ita inhæret ut eximi nequeat: quod in lapidum juncturis videre est.*
- Ἐντὸς τῆς ἡλικίας — 50. 20. infra ætatem militarem.
- Ἐντυγχάνω 5. 16. occurro.
- Ἐντυγχάνω. παρὰ τῶ ἐντυχόντι ἀπὸ — καιρῶ. 9. 13. quotiescunque occasio sese obtulerit. 34. 14. incido in aliquem. 35. 23. adeo, convenio.
- Ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν. 37. 4. post paucos dies. *vid. not.*
- Ἐξάγομαχ. 53. 1. avocor, digredior.
- Ἐξαίτιω. 28. 24. mihi dari peto, exproscō ad pœnam, *sic* ἔξαίτιομαχ. 40. 19.
- Ἐξαμαρτάνω εἰς. 40. 1. injuriosum erga. —
- ὁ Ἐξῆς. 22. 20. qui ordine proximus est, sequens.
- Ἐξόν. 24. 23. — 45. 9. 60. 4. cum liceret. *Attici impersonalium participia absolutè ponunt.* H.
- Ἐξουορίζω. 40. 2. insolentius effror, contumeliosus sum.
- Ἐπαγγέλλω. 37. 3. denuntio, edico. — κελεύω. H.
- Ἐπαινέω τῆτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 30. 14. hoc illis laudi potissimum duco.
- Ἐπακέω. 3. 24. audio *tanquam a præceptore.*
- Ἐπανορθῶ. 55. 11. emendo, restituo in integrum. Heb. 12. 12.
- Ἐπιμι. 3. 18. invado hostiliter.
- Ἐπηλυς. 16. 24. extraneus, peregrinus.
- Ἐπιόβλεψω. 21. 7. infidiose aliquid apparo contra. —
- Ἐπιόβλεψω φθρεῖ τινος. 24. 1. infidiose molior exitium alicujus.
- Ἐπιγίγνομαι. 3. 9. succedo, postnascor.
- Ἐπικηρυκεύομαχ. 26. 2. missis eaduceatoribus sollicito. *ἀπὸ Φιλίας καὶ διαπραγῶν κήρυξις πέμπειν.* Harpocr.
- Ἐπίκρηθ. 27. 23. auxiliator, *quæ oppugnatis auxilio venit.*

# I N D E X.

- Ἐπιμέλεια.** 58. 23. *cura, quæ habetur rerum humanarum a Deo.*
- Ἐπιμνάομαι πῆρι τινός.** 20. 11. *mentionem facio, commemoro.*
- Ἐπίπιμψις.** 5. 18. *missio.*
- Ἐπίπονος.** 5. 9. *laboriosus.*
- Ἐπίσημος.** 9. 11. *illustrius.*
- Ἐπισκήπιω.** 30. 17. — 34. 9. *obtestor, mando; usus hujus verbi est accommodatus extremis mandatis, hominumque morientium precibus, quippe ab amicis et necessariis hæredibusque contententium, quasque fidei ipsorum committentium.*
- Ἐπιτήδευμα.** 31. 8. — 35. 1. *studium, institutum, mores.*
- Ἐπιτήδευσις.** 3. 20. *studium, institutum, industria, disciplina.*
- Ἐπιτηδύω π.** 32. 5. *studiosè sector.*
- Ἐπίτροπος.** 58. 19. *tutor, quibus committitur cura liberorum adhuc impuberum, sive id fiat rogatu parentum morientium, sive sponte suscipiatur.*
- Ἐπιτρέπω.** 57. 16. *permitto.*
- Ἐπιφανής.** 31. 12. *conspicuus.*
- τὸ ἐπίχαρι.** 61. 7. *quod ad gratiam conciliandam aptum est.*
- Ἐπιχερέω πῆρι τινός.** 6. 14. *in manus aliquid sumo circa quod incumbam, aggredior. cum in fin. 12. 6. studeo. ἐπὶ πνά. 23. 16. adorior, invado.*
- Ἐπιών.** 22. 18. *invadens, irruens.*
- Ἐπομαι.** 3. 3. *sequor, obsequor.*
- Ἐρανος.** 9. 9. *collatio, contributio, quod quis pro virili parte confert.*
- Ἐράω.** *majorem in modum cupio.*
- Ἐργον.** 2. 14. *opus, factum, res. passim opponitur λόγω; includiturque alicubi ἔργῳ veritatis quædam significatio. 1 Pet. 3. 1. Raphael. ib. 8. 19. belli confictus. 27. 24. — 42. 18. munus, officium, partes. 42. 20.*
- opera, ministerium. πολὺ ἂν ἔργον ἄη. 45. 8. difficile, operosum esset.*
- Ἐρημος.** 46. 12. *desertus.*
- Ἐρχομαι.** *ἐς πέραν ἔρχεσθαι.* 7. 8.
- Ἐστία πατρῷα.** 35. 3. *domus paterna.*
- Ἐχάτως.** 59. 5. *maximè, summè.*
- Ἐὺ λέγειν τίνα.** 14. 8. *laudes aliqujus peragere.*
- Ἐὺ περαττείν.** 24. 3. *prosperâ fortuâ uti.*
- Ἐυγένεια.** 16. 23. *generis claritas, nobilitas.*
- Ἐυδοκίμειω.** 14. 9. *probor.*
- Ἐυδοξία.** 19. 2. *dignitas, bona existimatio. 32. 4. in plur.*
- Ἐυθύς adv.** 5. 9. *statim, extemplo.*
- Ἐυδῶς.** 16. 9. — 32. 7. *benivolè, amicè.*
- Ἐυμεταχείριστος.** 62. 14. *qui facile circumveniri potest.*
- Ἐυπορέω.** 14. 3. *habeo copiam et facultatem.*
- Ἐυρίσθημαι.** 41. 16. *nanciscor, impetro. Rom. 4. 1. Heb. 9. 12.*
- Ἐὺρως \*\*** 14. *situs, mucor.*
- Ἐυτέλεια.** 6. 24. *parsimonia.*
- Ἐυτραπέλωσ.** 7. 4. *dextrè. εὐκινήτως, ἐνδεξίως. Sch.*
- τὸ εὐψυχον.** 5. 8. *animositas, magnanimitas.*
- Ἐχω.** 21. 10. *habeo, retineo. — δι' ὀργῆς. 4. 12. irascor. — ἀγανάκησιν. 7. 8, 9. — κατὰ μέρησιν, προπαρέχω, præbeo causam indignationis vel querelæ. — 20. 15. cohibeo, reprimo. ἰσχυρῶς ἔχων. 12. 4. τὴν ἀξίαν sc. πμῆν 20. 8, 9. debitum honorem nanciscor. 21. 17. — 22. 17. possum. — ἔπαινον. 25. 20. — 22. 24. laudor. δόξαν. 26. 15. existimor, famâ ita inclaresco ut existimer. — τὴν γνώμην. 49. 9. habere sententiam.*

# I N D E X.

πελοπόννησον ἐχόντων. 41. 12. habito, incolo. — μνείαν. 27. 6. mentionem facio. — συγνώμην. 27. 11. habere veniam *tam de eo* qui veniam dat, *quæ* qui veniam impetrat — χάριν τινὸς πνί. 36. 2. gratiam habeo. — — δίκην. 39. 14. pœnas subire.  
 Ἐχόμενος φόβῳ. 22. 2. timor qui occupaverat, qui adhæserat; *vel* qui sequebatur deinceps *sem* inde oriebatur.

## Z.

Ζευγγύω. 45. 16. jungo, *sc.* ponte.  
 Ζηλοῦμαι. 44. 23. — 54. 10. laudor, ad imitandum proponor.  
 Ζήλος. 52. 23. æmulationis.  
 Ζηλωτής. 4. 1. æmulator. 55. 23. — 56. 6. — 58. 1. beatum prædico.  
 Ζηλωτός. 55. 7. beatus, cui merito quis invidet et æmuletur. 57. 19. expetendus.

## H.

Ἡγίωμα. *passim.* præsum, impero. — ὡς ἐλάττω. 55. 19. minoris æstimo.  
 Ἡδονή. καθ' ἡδονήν. 4. 12. pro libito.  
 Ἡλίθιος. stolidus.  
 Ἡλικία. 50. 13. Juventus, juvenum multitudo, *sc.* qui per ætatem in armis esse possunt. 50. 20. οἱ τῆς ἡλικίας ἄντρες νεωτέρους. impuberes. — καθεστηκυία. 3. 14. firma, firmata ætas, *vel* justa, plena ætas.  
 Ἡπιρος. *sc.* γῆ. 22. 11. terra continens.  
 Ἡττώμενος πνός. 46. 5. inferior e-  
 γαδο.

Ἡττων. 57. 12. minor, qui succumbit.

## Θ.

Θανατόω. 56. 13. Morti addico.  
 Θαυμάζω. 57. 8. suspicio, in admiratione habeo, magni habeo.  
 Θαυμάσιος. 12. 6. admirabilis, illustis. ὃ θαυμάσιε *ironicè.*  
 Θεός. 45. 13. a Deo constitutus.  
 Θεότατον. 28. 5. maxime admirandum. Θεῖον, τὸ ἐκ θεῶ ἀφικηρόν, κτ' τὸ ἄξιον λόγου, ὡς θαυμάζεσθαι. *Hesych.*  
 Θεοφιλής. 17. 11. Deo charus.  
 Θεραπέυω. *passim.* curo, famulor. — νόμον. 58. 4. obtempero, servo.  
 Θεραπίς. 28. 11. cultrix, ad præstandum obsequium paratissima.

## I.

Ἰδέα. 38. 18. forma. (*sc.* σώματος.) species.  
 Ἱερόν. 47. 17. templum.  
 Ἰσότης. 19. 17. æqualitas generis.  
 Ἰσονομία. 19. 17. æquabilitas juris.  
 Ἰστυλατεῖς κίνδυνοι. 5. 11. paria certaminum pericula.  
 Ἰσῆρος. 8. 2. æqualis, par.  
 Ἰσημι ἀπόπειαν πνός *i. e.* ἐπὶ πνός. 53. 17. tropæum de aliquo statuo.

## K.

Καθαίρω. 27. 19. everto, diruo, 53. 21. *passive.*  
 Καθαρός. 29. 15. impermixtus.  
 Καθεζομαι. 40. 19. sedeo.  
 Καθίσταμαι. 58. 20. fio, sum.  
 Καθίστημι. 39. 9. reddo, efficio.

# I N D E X

- εἰς ἀδείαν. 41. 20. perduco ad securitatem. 42. 1. instituo. — πόρρω. 55. 22. amoveo. καταστῆσαι pro καταστῆσαι ἐν γήματι. 34. 21. constituta in personâ, partes seu personam fumentis. 24. 8. conjicio in bellum.
- Καὶ γάρ τοι. 57. 21. etenim.
- Κακία. 27. 9. — 52. 9. improbitas, vitiositas.
- Κακοπραγείω. 9. 20. infelix sum, adversâ fortunâ utor.
- Κάκωσις. 9. 24. offensio.
- Κακός, 33. 18. affligo.
- Κάκωσις. 31. 10. dicitur de quâvis pulcritudine, de omni eo ἐφ' ᾧ τις κακίωνηται pulcrior aut honestior evadat et sibi ipse placeat. *speciatim* 21. 11. pro pulcritudine oris.
- Κάμνω. 7. 22. laborem suscipio.
- Καμῶντες. \* 7. mortui.
- Καρτερέω. 10. 12. forti animo sum. 28. 12. obfirmo animum, persevero in proposito.
- Καπίρωμα. 21. 19. deducor, descendendo, nave *appulsâ*.
- Καταδουλοῦμαι *passim*. subjugo.
- Καταλύομαι. 58. 25. evertor, destruo.
- βίον Κατασκευάζω. 18. 12. instruo vitam omnibus facultatibus seu rebus ad vitam necessariis.
- Κατασκευάζομαι τὴν πολιτείαν. 18. 17. instituo rempublicam.
- Κατασκευή. 4. 21. opificium ornamentum gratiâ instructum.
- Καταστροφή. 8. 5. exitus, finis, sc. vitæ.
- Καταπίημα φανεράν ἔχθραν. 43. 18. apertas inimicitias suscipio.
- Καταχρῆμα. 31. 22. abutor, uti aliorum quàm natura rei postulat, consumo.
- Καταψεύδομαι τινος. 32. 21. mendaciter confingo, ementior de aliquo.
- Κατεργάζομαι βέβαιον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. 50. 1. opera mea stabilio.
- Κατέρχομαι. 53. 5. descendendo, migro. 53. 21. — 54. 8. redeo ut *εκυί*.
- Κατερώ. 36. 5, 6. eloquar, prodam.
- Κατηγρέω. 28. 9. reprehendo.
- Κατηρόω. instauro, cum virtute ac laude aliquid facio.
- οἱ Κάτω. 39. 14. Manes.
- Κάμα. 4. 16. proponor, constitutor. sic *1 Tim.* 1. 9.
- Κέρασθαι. 52. 18.
- Κηλέομαι. 13. 13. permulceor, delinior.
- Κήρ. \*\* 7. in pl. fatum lethiferum, lethum.
- Κινδυνεύομαι. 2. 17. in periculum adducor. 9. 22. periclitor.
- Κινδύω. 46. 1. γυρομένης κινδύου, dimicatione facta. ποιῶν. 50. 21. suscipere periculum.
- Κινδυνεύω. 5. 22. pericula adeo, suscipio. 12. 15. videor. 51. 11. — 53. 16. belli discrimen adeo, dimico.
- Κλέω. \*\* 19. — 38. 20. fama, gloria.
- Κοιμίζομαι. 58. 9. sopior, demulceor, extinguo.
- Κοινοῦμαι πνί. 27. 17. communico cum aliquo rem agendam, comunico cum aliquo nostrum consilium.
- Κομίζομαι. 39. 14. consequor, obtineo.
- Κόμπος. 6. 4. — 7. 5. vana grandiloquentia, ostentatio et jactatio verborum.
- Κοσμέω. *passim*. orno, honesto.
- Κόσμος. \*\* 19. decus.
- Κρατέω. 19. 9. imperium obtineo, dominor. 46. 7. potior.
- Κράτος. 19. 6. imperium.
- Κράπτης. 6. 15. præstantissimus.
- Κρείστων



# I N D E X.

Κρείσσαν ἀκρῆς. 7. 7. præstantior  
famâ.  
κείδη. 18. 3. hordeum.  
Κτάομαι. 3. 11, 17. — 6. 19.  
— 48. 23. — 49. 3. acquirō,  
comparō. 38. 23. — 40. 7. —  
53. 5. comparō, acquirō, ac-  
cerſo mihi etiam quæ mala ſunt.  
53. 9. communem aliis ſecum  
procurantes civitatem. τὰς ψυ-  
χαῖς ἀποτρίας κεκτῆσθαι. 44. 6.  
*vid. not.*

## Α.

Ἀέων ἔχει *i. e.* ἔλασεν. 20. 10.  
Ἀεζήνω. 57. 13. ſortitō obtineo.  
Ἀεμδῶνω. ἐπιδη καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε  
(*ſc.* ἀρχὴν) occasione captâ. *for-*  
*ſan, formâ uſitatiorē, l. και-*  
*ρὸν.* Ἀετ. 24. 25. τὴν ἴ ἐναν-  
πίων πμωρίων ποθεινοτέρων αὐτῶν  
8. 12. reputo. Ἀεμδῶνω δύ-  
ναμιν. 30. 20. ſumo vires. Ἀεμ-  
δῶνωμαι τινος. 52. 22. nancif-  
cor.  
Ἀεμδῶνω ἄν. 57. 3. ignoro me  
eſſe.  
Ἀεμδῶνω. 1. 6. arca.  
πὸ δὲ Δέγω. 25. 24. hoc eſt quod  
velim, loquor hoc.  
Ἀεμδῶνω. 7. 19. — 11. 12. ſu-  
perſtites.  
Ἀεμδῶνω. 56. 9. deſinere facio.  
Ἀεμδῶνω. ſtatuo perſuaſione firmâ  
quæ quaſi rationibus ſubductis  
et explicatis concluſa ſit.  
Ἀεμδῶνω. 6. 15. cogitatio, deli-  
beratio. 6. 23. computatio. λο-  
γιſμῶ ἀδότες. 43. 19. ſecum re-  
putantes, ſecum ipſi pericula  
zeſtimantes.  
τὰ Λοιπαί. 51. 10. — 39. 3. fu-  
tura. 52. 1. reliqua.  
οἱ Λοιπαί. 8. 23. cæteri, ſuper-  
ſtites.

τὸ Λυπηρίον. 4. 22. trifititia.

## Μ.

Μάθημα. 5. 5. inſtitutio, doctri-  
na.  
Μακροζώνω τινος (ὑπὲρ) τιμος. 57. 25.  
beatum prædico, fortunatum ju-  
dico. *Luc.* 1. 48.  
Μαλακίζομαι. 8. 10. molleſco, ef-  
fæminor.  
Μάρτυροι. \* 3. μαρτύροι δ' ἀρε-  
τῆς καὶ δέμουτος pugnantes tam  
virtutis ingenitæ vi citati quàm  
periculi ſenſu quod reipublicæ  
imminebat.  
Μαρτυρίω. \*\* 17. — 17. 11. ſen-  
ſentiam teſtimonio comprobo.  
*Heb.* 10. 15.  
Μελέτη. 5. 3. cura, exercitatio,  
inſtitutum.  
ἐν Μέλοι. 60. 23. notat non ſo-  
lùm ſimpliciter aliquid eſſe ad-  
miniſtrandum ſed recte et cum  
ſucceſſu.  
ἐν Μέρει, 46. 20. per vices, alter-  
nis vicibus, ſeu diſcretim. δὲ  
μέρους. 4. 7. aliquâ ex parte,  
*nimirum oppoſitè* toti communi-  
tati civium.  
Μετός. 47. 21. plenus.  
Μεταγνώσκω. 59. 10. ſententiam  
muto.  
Μεταδίδωμι. 54. 3. communico.  
Μεταπέμπομαι. 50. 18. accerſo.  
Μετέρχομαι. 5. 10. perſequor ſum-  
mo ſtudio, conſector.  
Μέτεσι πάντι τὸ ἴσον. 4. 4. omnes  
ſunt participes æqui juris.  
Μέτεχω. 49. 2. particeps ſio.  
Μετοικῶν. 17. 1. inquilinus, *nimi-*  
*rum qui patriâ pulſus aut aliàs*  
*migrans aliò ſe contulit.*  
Μετρίως. 2. 18. modice, ita ut ſa-  
tis ſit. *συμμέτρως, ἀξίως. Sch.*  
Μέχρις οὗ ſub, χρόνος. uſque dum.

Μηκύνω.

# I N D E X.

**Μηκύνω.** 7. 21. pluribus verbis differo.  
**Μητρυιά.** 17. 3. noverca.  
**Μιαίνω.** 39. 15. polluo.  
**Μικρός.** 50. 9. futilis.  
**Μνᾶσις.** \*\* 12. memoria, monumentum.  
**Μνήμη.** 3. 8. mentio, commemoratio.  
**Μοῖρα.** 57. 13. fatum. 35. 9. ὡς μοῖρα πατρὸς καὶ θεσηκυῖα, in loco patris constituta, partes vel personam patris sumens.  
**Μουσική.** 14. 20. scientia modulorum concinnorum. 20. 5. Poësis. 35. 7. studia quæ dicuntur liberalia, literæ humaniores, *præcipue* poësis. Μουσικὴν, πᾶσαν τέχνην οἱ Ἀπτήνη. Hefych.

## N.

**Ναυάγιον.** 47. 22. pars fractæ navis.  
**τὸ Ναυτικόν.** 5. 17 res nautica.  
**Νῆσοι** sic emphaticè dicuntur *Cyclades* Insulæ Maris Ægei.  
**Νικάω ναυμαχίαν.** — πόλεμον. 26. 13. vinco navali prælio—bello.  
**τὰ Νομιζόμενα.** 35. 5. — 39. 23. iusta, ritus qui in more sunt positi.  
**Νομίζω.** 4. 20. moribus instituo. 17. 19. lege sancio, colo. 19. 15. — 38. 15. existimo.  
**Νοσέω.** 26. 23. male valeo, morbis civilibus laboro, *quales sunt intestine discordiæ et seditiones.*

## Ξ.

**Ξινηλασία.** 5. 5. ejectio peregrinorum.  
**Ξύμφορον.** 3. 24. utilis, commodus.

**Ξυναρῶ.** 7. 1. contraho in unum, complector paucis.  
**Ξυνοδύρομαι.** 32. 11. deploro *tantumquam socius doloris.*  
**Ξυνοικίω.** 31. 12. conjungor, adhæreo.

## O.

**Οικεῖος.** 6. 6. privatus. 4. 24. — 21. 5. propinquus, amicus. 22. 15. proprius, suus. 26. 21. intestinus.  
**Οικίω.** 14. 1. mansionem habeo, vivo, dego, *passim.* 18. 16. rem meam administro. 4. 4. 19. 14. gero rempublicam.  
**Οικητής.** \*\* 16. habitator, incola.  
**Οἶκτος.** 48. 4. ejulatus, commiseratio.  
**Οικτρός.** 55. 6. miserandus.  
**Οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλά.** 13. 14. sicut plerumque. Οἷος μέγας. 47. 1. quàm magnus. Οἷον τε ἦν. 57. 9. fieri posset. ὡς Οἷόν τε. 22. 22. quod possibile esset. Οἷος τ' ἐμί. *passim,* possum.  
**Οἶτος.** \*\* 12. interitus.  
**Οἰωνὲ χάριν.** 35. 2. auspicii gratiâ.  
**Οκνη.** 61. 5. metus adeundi laboris.  
**Ολοφύρομαι.** 1. 11. ejulo. 58. 5. comploratu prosequor. *πίνω.* 10. 4. — 47. 13. — 55. 16. commiseror, vicem alicujus miseror. 53. 1. — 57. 2. lamentor.  
**ὅτι ἔμοιρα.** 10. 17. ex æquo.  
**Ομολογεμένως.** 28. 19. manifeste, omnium consensu, sine controversiâ. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16.  
**Ομνοῶν.** 48. 23. consentaneus.  
**Οργίζομαι.** 53. 11. succenseo.  
**Ορισμὸν ἔχει.** 58. 10. statuere potest quousque seu quamdiu aliquis doleat.  
**Ορβανία.** 34. 21. Orbitas.  
**Ουτά.** 27. 22. *v. not.*

Πάσης.

# I N D E X.

## Π.

- Πάθος.** 58. 8. casus, perturbatio animi, vel ægritudo ex adversâ fortunâ oriunda.
- Παιάν.** 47. 19. *genus cantilenæ quod canebatur aut in belli congressu, aut in aversione malorum, sive morbi, sive belli.*
- Παιδεία.** 5. 9. institutio, instituendi ratio. disciplina i. e. morum gubernatio, quæ fit per assuefactionem, quotidiana exercitia, tempestivas castigationes et per exempla. *Ephes.* 6. 4.
- Παίδουσις.** 7. 2. disciplina.
- Παίζω.** 15. 17. ludo pueriliter et puerorum more.
- Πανδημέα.** 50. 16. cum universâ multitudine, *sc. militum.*
- Πανουργία.** 31. 15. calliditas. a *πανουργός*, qui nullâ non in re fit versatus, cujusmodi qui est, quoniam astutus et vaser esse solet, hinc fit ut pro fallaci et fraudulento accipiatur.
- Πανταχῶ.** 38. 3. ubique gentium.
- Παντελής.** 27. 13. universalis.
- Παντοδαπός.** 17. 16. omnigenus, omnis generis. 19. 11. qui est ex omni solo, omnifarius.
- Παρελπίδα.** 27. 1. præter expectationem et spem.
- Παραδοῦσθαι παίδας.** 10. 17. obijcio *sc. periculis.*
- Παραρηνέω.** 17. 9. — 58. 11. hortor. *πὶ πνί.* 49. 17. admoneo.
- Παρακελεύομαι.** 16. 10. adhortor.
- Παρακελεύσθαι.** 47. 19. adhortatio.
- Παραλαμβάνω.** 38. 21. assumo in societatem. *Act.* 15. 39.
- Παραμυθίζομαι.** 16. 12. consolor.
- Παρασκεινάζομαι.** 31. 21. me accingo, me comparo, do operam.
- ἐν τῷ Παρακρήμα.** 8. 11, 14. in ipsius rei actione, in præsentī, impræsentiarum. *ἐν τῷ Παρακρήμα.* 15. 6. extempore.
- Παρέχουαι.** 53. 19. exhibeo. *sic παρέχω.* 32. 23.
- Παρησέω.** 10. 18. consenesco, e flore ætatis egressus in senectutem vergo.
- Πάροδος.** 46. 7. transitus, transfundi copia.
- Πάρομαι ἀγαθόν.** 41. 5. *Πάσχω εὖ.* 6. 19. — 27. 16. commodo afficior, accipio beneficium. *πικρῶς.* 27. 15. malo mulctor. *ταῦτα.* 13. 17. eadem in me experior.
- Πατρίς.** 17. 2. patria.
- Πείρα.** 9. 8. conatus.
- Πενία.** 4. 8. inopia. *minus quam πτωχεία, et sæpe sensu honesto.*
- Περαίνω.** 30. 9. perduco ad finem, perficio.
- Περαίρομαι.** 27. 18. aufero, diripio.
- Περιβάλλω.** 49. 10. circumdo.
- Περιγίγνεται.** 5. 22. contingit, obvenit, *q. d.* illud bonum consequimur.
- Περίστημι.** 46. 10. circumsto. 52. 23. oborior. 28. 6. *ὡς περὶ σῆμα αὐτῷ sc. τὰ πρόγμματα,* ut ita res illi in contrarium cederent, et circumactæ essent, ut eo redactus esset ut —
- Περίλειμμα.** 15. 8. reliquix.
- Περιοράομαι.** 9. 19. negligo, negligenter fero.
- τὸ Πιστόν.** 6. 24. fiducia.
- Πλανόομαι.** 33. 5. erro, in errorem impellor, a veritatis nimirum tramite deturbatus, et velut locorum ignarus modo huc modo illuc appulsus.
- Πλεονάζεσθαι.** 2. 21. amplificari. *sc. supra verum.*

# I N D E X.

- Παῖθος.** *passim.* populus, respublica.
- Ποθέω.** 55. 16. desiderio afficio.
- Ποιεῖν.** 37. 12. facere carmina, Poetice scribere.
- Ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρῶσάξιν.** 37. 8. *idem* quod πρῶσάτιθεσθαι, præficere aliquem, imperium vel officium vel munus aliquod ei mandans vel delegans. τέκνωσιν. 10. 13. liberos procreo. τελευτὴν τῆ βίης. 54. 14. κίνδυνον. 43. 11. infero periculum. κίνδυνον. 45. 14. suscipio, *vel potius* exhaurio periculum. πρὸς πολλῶ. 54. 22. — 56. 18. — 56. 23. magni facio, æstimo.
- Ποικίλλω.** 13. 7. vario, vase vario.
- Πολιμειν.** 54. 9. concerto, belli discrimen adeo et sustineo — πολεμῶν. 24. 4.
- Πολίς.** 59. 7. incolæ civitatis.
- Πολιτεύω.** 11. 14. rempublicam rego. *pro* πολιτεύομαι, *secundum aliquos*, in republica verfor ejus legibus ac institutis vivens.
- Πολλαχόσσε.** 23. 22. ad multa loca.
- Πολλαχού.** 13. 15. multifariam, multimodum.
- Πολύς.** 24. 19. vehemens. 45. 8. πολὺ ἔργον difficile.
- Πολύτροπος.** 10. 4. varius, multimodus, multiplex.
- Πονηρός.** 57. 7. malus, instrenuus.
- Πορίζομαι.** 4. 20. excogito, comminiscor. *sive eâdem signif. ac κατασκευάζω*, paro, apparo.
- Πόρω.** \* 10. μήτιραν δ' οὐτι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ, neutiquam vero ratio excogitata mortem fugiendi cuivis suppetit.
- Πρώτῳ.** 28. 1. molior, studiosè in aliquo perficiendo incumbo.
- Προαστεῖον.** 1. 12. suburbium.
- Πρόσκα.** 2. 3. anteco, præsto.
- Προθυμέομαι.** 34. 20. cupio efficere. 12. 9. promptus sum, studeo, in animum induco.
- Προθύμως.** 3. 18. strenue, alacriter.
- Προκάμνω.** 5. 23. ante fatigor, ante debilitor.
- Προκειμένῳ.** 41. 7. propositus. *Heb.* 12. 1. 2.
- Προμνάομαι.** 20. 11. hortor, suadeo.
- Προνοέομαι.** 37. 7. provideo, consulo commodis alicujus.
- Προπέμπω.** 16. 3. deduco, comitor, prosequor.
- Πρός.** 2. 20. præ.
- Προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει.** 8. 22. ut conveniebat civitati.
- Προσήκω.** 9. 16. pertineo; *μη* πρῶσσηκῶν alienus. *Προσήκων.* 1. 11. — πρὸς *vel* πρὸς. 55. 16. — 56. 24. propinquus, affinis. πρὸς πρῶσσηκῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. 16. 1. debitus, consentaneus. ἢ πρῶσσηκῶσα μήτιρα. 32. 6. Sors divinitus tributa et ad quemlibet pertinens.
- οἱ πρῶσθεν ἡμῶν.** 24. 20. majores.
- Προσμιλέω πρὸς ἴδια.** 4. 14. *i. e.* ὀμιλέω πρὸς πρὸς ἴδια. in rebus privatis verfor, privatas res agito.
- Προσπαίζω τίνα,** 14. 2. illudo.
- Προσπάτης.** 52. 5. *v. not.*
- Προσθήμι.** 2. 12. addo, adjicio.
- Προσφιλής.** 35. 13. amans. *Προσφιλέστερον.* 34. 2. gratiùs.
- Πρόσφορῳ.** 11. 9. aptus, conveniens.
- Πρότερον elliptice.** 40. 3.
- Προπίθεμαι.** 1. 4. — 8. 7. in publico expono. ante oculos propono.
- Πρόπτεπι.** 1. 4. triduo ante.
- Προφασίζομαι.** 21. 7. prætexo, causâ loco affero.

# I N D E X

Πυθάνομα. 46. 8. rescisco, certior fio.  
 Πυρέας. 18. 3. triticum.

## P.

Ραθυμία. 5. 20. defidia, segnities.  
 Ρήμα. \*\*. relatione habitâ ad ῥή-  
 τασα, Laconica Mandata, ita dicta  
 Lex.  
 Ρητορικὴ. 14. 23.

## Σ.

Σαόω \* 3. parco servandi causâ.  
 Σεμνότης 13. 20. majestas.  
 Σεμνότερος. 13. 16. grandior, ex-  
 celsior, cum quodam fastu.  
 Σηκός. \*\*. 16. delubrum, fanum  
 heroibus sacrum.  
 Σκέπτομαι. 15. 7. expendo, me-  
 ditor.  
 Σπασιάζω. 43. 10. diffideo. 53. 4.  
 contendo, certo. 26. 25. — 8.  
 22. — 54. 6. factionibus con-  
 tendo, seditiose diffideo.  
 Στρέωννυμι. 1. 8. lectum suis oper-  
 culis superstratis, seu stragulis  
 tegere.  
 Σλυγνός. 60. 18. tristis, tetricus.  
 τὸ Σλυγνόν. 61. 2. acerba illa vul-  
 tûs severitas.  
 Συγγινομα τινί. 61. 23. consuetu-  
 dine alicujus (sc. diuturniore)  
 utor.  
 Συζηνώσκω 27. 14. agnosco.  
 Συνηγάω. 15. 9. compono, con-  
 cinno.  
 Συμβάλλομαι. 48. 17. confero.  
 Συμβάλλω. 24. 9. committo pug-  
 nam, prælior.  
 Συμμίγνυμι. 27. P. coalesco in  
 unum, conjungo me.  
 Συναθροίζω. 46. 22. congreγο.  
 Συνθήκη. 53. 13. pactum, conven-  
 tum.

Σφάλλομαι. 9. 8. frustror cōna-  
 mine, quum nimirum non prof-  
 perè succedit quod tentavimus.

Σχῆμα. 34. 21. habitus. ἐν χή-  
 ματι καθίστασθαι partes seu perso-  
 nam fumens.

Σώζω. passim. servo, juvo quo mi-  
 nus quis pereat aut vincatur.

## Τ.

Τάξις. 49. 18. locus in acie.

Ταυτὰ ταῦτα. 10. 17.

Ταφά. 12. 11. exequiæ. non ipse  
 aëus sepeliendi sed, celebritas  
 exequialis; sicut γάμοι Matt.  
 22. 2. non ipsum matrimonium,  
 sed celebritas nuptialis, maximè,  
 convivium.

Τάφος. 1. 15. sepulchrum.

Ταχ' ἂν. 2. 20. — 20. 7. forsan,  
 fortassis. Ἀφ' ταχείων. 44. 16.  
 brevi, celeriter.

Τεκμαίρομαι. 30. 20. conjicio,  
 conjecturâ assequor, conjectu-  
 ram facio.

Τελούττω τὸν βίον. 55. 13. — 57-  
 16. finio vitam. πλούττω. ab-  
 soluté. 59. 2.

Τέλος ἀνδρῶν. 34. 23. idem quod  
 τάγμα ordo, classis, agmen. vox  
 autem τέλειος sine adjèctione per-  
 tinet ad virilis ætatis significa-  
 tionem.

Τέλος. 12. 4. dignitas, princeps  
 locus. magistratus.

Τέμνω. τεμνίεις τὴν χώραν. 24. 20.  
 vasto et populor regionem se-  
 getibus arboribusque succifis.

Τέως. 13. 24. tamdiu.

Τηλικῆτος ἂν de ætate minore. 12.  
 24. quum ejus sis adhuc ætatis,  
 adeo junior.

Τίθεμαι τὸν πόλεμον. 27. 3. — 29,  
 29. depono bellum, bello ab-  
 sisto.

# I N D E X.

- fifto. ὄπλα εἰς δῆριν. \* 1. armis concerto.
- Τιμωρίομαι. 39. 18. persequor. ulciscor.
- Τί. 31. 23. *pro μέγα* ἢ aliquid non vulgare neque contemnendum. ἢ ἔναγ οἰομένα. v. Galat. 6. 3.
- Τολμάω. 22. 13. — 43. 17. audeo. 54. 23. sustineo, tolero, 29. 8. — 50. 18. sustineo, audeo. 28. 17. audeo, committo ut. 26. 2. *in malam partem*, audeo facinus.
- Τλῆμι. \*\* 8. in animum induco, sustineo.
- Τοιζάρτοι. itaque.
- Τοτέ μὲν — τοτέ δέ. 19. 4. — 47. 23. nunc quidem — nunc vero.
- Τρέπομαι. 53. 24. me converto, memet operâ et consiliis applico ad — 49. 20. in fugam verto, fundo et fugo.
- Τροπαῖα. 29. 12. signa barbarorum in fugam verforum.
- Τρόπος. 60. 13. ingenium, indoles.
- Τροφῆον. 55. 14. educationis præmium, quod pro nutritione et educatione alumnus suo nutritio rependit.
- Τυχεῖν ἂν. 22. 3. sum. Τυχεῖν πνος. *passim*. assequor, obtineo. 39. 20. impetro. 38. 23. in rem insperatam incurrere. 26. 11. *de eo* qui in rem malam eamque insperatam incurrit.
- Τύχη. 8. 20. fortuna bellica. 40. 8. eventus prosper. *passim*, casus, infortunium.
- Υ.
- Υβρίζων. 41. 8. injurius, contumeliosus, qui, nullâ aliorum habitâ ratione, quidvis sibi in quemvis licere putat. Rom. 1. 30.
- Υγιής. 29. 10. incorruptus, fincerus.
- Υμνέω. 57. 20. celebroy.
- Υπάρχω. nascor sum. 42. 7. obtingo, *i. e.* fortuna mea tulit. 22. 8. initium rei do, autor sum.
- Υπεκπήθημα. 46. 21. subductum periculo exporto *sc. nave exportatum in loco tuto expono.*
- τὸ ὑπέροαλλον (*sc. μέγ*⊕) 3. 1. quod superat (*sc. audientium captum.*)
- καὶ ὑπερολήν ἀρετῆς. II. 1. per incomparabilem exuperantiam. virtutis. 2 Cor. 4. 7.
- Υπερηφανία. 22. 5. superbia.
- Υπερορώ. 57. 8. despicio, aspicio ultra ita ut negligam —
- Υπηρετέω. *proprie* subremigo. 25. 18. subministro, suppetias fero. Act. 24. 23. 42. 20. subservio, operam navo.
- Υποάδομα. 17. 23. suppono, mihi quasi subdititium assumo.
- Υπόβιος. qui quasi in manibus est. instans. ἐξ ὑποβίου. 14. 3. subito.
- Υποδέχομαι. 17. 6. concipio.
- Υπολαμβάνω. 58. 24. existimo, animo præsumo, expecto.
- Υπόμνημα. 10. 9. monumentum, quod rei alicujus recordari facit.
- Υφίσταμαι. 45. 17. sustineo, obnitor.
- Φ.
- Φείδομαι. 24. 23. parco, do veniam, abstineo a cæde.
- Φέρειν ἐ ἀγειν. 59. 19. vid. Ασειν.
- Φέρω βαρέως ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς. 57. 5. graviter, molestè fero.
- Φεύγω. 24. 13. exulo.
- Φθονέω σοι πνός. 18. 8. invideo, seu, denego propter invidiam qua te prosequor, parcâ manu distribuo.

# I N D E X.

- distribuo. 54. 20. invido animo conor eripere.
- ὁ Φιλᾶ προσπίπτειν. 24. 5. affolet.
- Φιλοηλιέω. 6. 2. elegantiaē studio.
- Φιλονεικία. 21. 1. peticacia.
- Φιλονεικος. 42. 1. contentionis plenus, qui magno et velut pertinaci studio contendit rem aliquam efficere.
- Φιλότης. 47. 6. amor, necessitudo.
- Φρονέω. 50. 9. μέγα. 56. 15. sum animo elato, memet effero, infolesco. ποσῦτον ἐφρόνεν. 41. 14. tantam de se opinionem concipiebant, tantos spiritus gerebant.
- Φρόνημα. 20. 21. prudentia, magnanimitas. 9. 14. animi elatio, cogitatio, quæ ab elato animo proficiscitur.
- ὁ Φυγᾶς. 59. 14. exul, in exilium pulsus.
- Φυλάττω. 46. 4. tueor, confervo.
- Φύσις. 50. 22. — 57. 6. natura. 22. 1. — 19. 17. — 29. 15. origo, ortus. 11. 6. — 38. 16, 24. sexus. 53. 7. — 58. 9. indoles, ingenium. 2. 22. ingenii captus. 57. 12. natura nostra, seu substantia nostra.
- Φύω, φύσῃ πεφυκότα. 45. 13. quæ naturâ sunt constituta.
- Φύω καλῶς. 42. 22. bene nascor.
- χ.
- Χαλεπός. 60. 1. moribus asper, sævus.
- τὸ Χαλεπόν. 61. 3. illa morum durtities.
- Χαρίς. μετὰ χαρίτων. 7. 3. cum elegantia, decoré. Χάριν ἀδύναγ τῆς σωτηρίας. 44. 1. gratiam habere. 6. 20. ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν. qui beneficium contulit.
- Χειρόμαγ. 21. 13. — 25. 10. subigo, subjugo.
- Χείραν. 11. 6. deterior, pejor.
- Χερόμαγ — ἡσαυροῦ. 32. 2. utendo absumo. νόμα. 1. 1. fervo.
- Χωρέω ἐπί — 5. 11. tendo, obviam eo.
- ψ.
- Ψεύδωμαι τῆς ἐλπίδος. 45. 2. frustror spe. τῶ πλήθους ψευθέντες. 46. 3. fallor. falsa opinione concepta de multitudine.
- Ψιλὸς λόγος. 20. 7. nudus sermo.
- Ψυχή. 50. 18. — 51. 8. vivida vis animi. 53. 8. anima, vita.
- Ω.
- Ως. 26. 24. — 27. 2. quam maxime. 52. 20. admirationis interjectio quam! 59. 2. Atticè pro πρὸς. ad.

# F I N I S.

OBSERVATIONS

AND

NOTES

Upon the foregoing ORATIONS &c.





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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE world is in a manner agreed about the usefulness of Classical Authors for forming a just taste both of sentiment and stile.—Perhaps the truth of this observation would strike young Gentlemen more sensibly, and raise in them a spirit of closer application to their studies, if the subject-matter treated of in those Authors was now and then brought home to and enforced upon their apprehensions. The occurrences in common life afford frequent occasions of doing this; and passages may from time to time be selected sufficient to illustrate by their similitude what every man both sees and feels: And if they are pertinent and well worked up, the shortness of them ought to be no objection; since thereby they will neither burden the pocket, nor overcharge the attention.

The three following Orations were spoken, or supposed to be spoken, at *Athens*, making part of a noble and useful solemnity, instituted in honour of those who lost their lives in the service of their Country. *Thucydides*, B. ii. has given a particular account of the solemnity, which I have therefore prefixed by way of Argument to the Whole.

The *first* Oration was spoken by *Pericles* at the time of his having the administration of the *Athenian* affairs under his direction, after the first campaign of a long and bloody war, wherein all *Greece* and its neighbouring States were engaged, under the *Athenians* on the one side and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other: It contains a Panegyrick upon the *Athenian* people and government: The character to which that of the *Athenians* is put in contrast is intended for the *Lacedæmonians*. As it is not to be dissembled that the Orator does now and then deviate a little from truth in his reflections in order to flatter his Countrymen, so neither is it to be wondered that a speaker in *Pericles's* circumstances, before a popular audience, should take this method to enflame their passions of hatred and contempt towards a dangerous rival in power and glory.

The *second* and *third* Orations are to the same purpose; they contain moreover a sketch of the *Athenian* History regularly deduced, till about fifty-two years before the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*; by whom the fatal stroke was given to the Liberties of *Greece*.——They have ever been reckoned among the more valuable remains of *Greek* Learning: And the maxims of good sense and publick spirit with which they abound must give pleasure to every judicious reader.

It was from this consideration that I thought it not unbecoming my employment as a Tutor, during the War 1746, to publish them with explanatory Notes, Historical and Critical. Hereby, as by a striking example, I thought I was pointing out the usefulness of *Classical* Studies, and convincing young people

people of the substantial advantages to be derived from thence. For surely if they aim at energy or propriety of Diction, elegance of Disposition, or justness of Sentiment, they should habitually inure themselves to the accuracy of verbal criticism in the exercise of close translation: Hereby they will insensibly transfuse into their own compositions the beauties of the Classics. It was by this kind of working upon the *Greek* models, that the *Roman* writers formed their taste. I have in my notes pointed out several instances, wherein *Sallust* and *Cicero*, &c. have copied not only the sentiments, but the very expressions of these orations.—But the young Student must not rest here: He must at the same time pay a proper, a much greater, attention to other Studies; he must enrich his imagination, he must strengthen and correct his judgment, by the liberal sciences and modern histories. And using these means it will not be long before he may venture to enlarge his flight, and judge for himself, how far antient representations, whether historical or political, under a similitude of circumstances, may be adapted to the present times: Thence he will naturally proceed to draw forth into common use such precedents, as may be regarded with reverence, and followed with success: And in short, whenever there shall be a call for the exertion of great talents as speakers or actors, upon the scene of public transactions, such persons will exemplify in what they say and what they do, that rich vein of good sense and excellent observations with which Classical authors abound. And for their encouragement, we may appeal to many bright examples, in this and preceding ages, for the happy influence of these

studies in giving that superiority, both in debate and action, which persons thus educated have ever maintained.

But, prejudiced as I am in favour of the general plan and subject-matter of these Orations, I think proper to obviate some wrong impressions which may arise from them, and to hint at some advantages which We evidently enjoy beyond the celebrated Claflick times, whether *Grecian* or *Roman*.

Here then, a very just exception may be taken to the rough treatment, which *Pericles* is represented, towards the end of his Oration, as using towards the female part of his audience—a treatment not easy to be reconciled with that good sense, generosity, and politeness which the *Greek* historians represent to be leading parts in the character of *Pericles*. Be it that modesty and reserve \* were deemed so essential to a well-bred lady among the *Athenians*, that she rarely could make her appearance with decency beyond the limits of her own apartment, yet, on this melancholy occasion, mothers, daughters, and sisters were called forth into public view as it were by solemn invitation, and therefore had the public security for being protected from insult.—And highly disrespectful, if not insulting, it was in the Orator by a dark and ambiguous admonition to reproach them for giving a vent to that tenderness of affection, for which the female heart is peculiarly turned, and which it should seem to have been one considerable part of his busi-

\* *Materfamilias*—in *Græcia*—nec in celebritate versatur—neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ *gynæconitis* appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.—*Corn. Nepos* in *Præf.*

ness to excite and encourage. Add to this, that, none being so deeply affected in the happiness of their future lives by that calamity which the Orator had undertaken to deplore, every humane disposition would be apt to pity and excuse, if not commend them, for being hurried into a transport of grief, however irksome others might find it to behold. Let it then be a sufficient censure of this passage to say, that *Pericles* was one of those statesmen, who had got above the feelings of domestic tenderness; a character that sufficiently accounts for many of those distressing calamities which befell the *Athenians* in the *Peloponnesian* war during his administration.

Again, we may justly wonder that the wise *Socrates* should be introduced as speaking with so much futility as we find towards the beginning of *Plato's* Oration. (For though the Oration be represented in the Dialogue as coming from *Aspasia's* mouth, either He or *Plato* are answerable for the sentiments there adopted.)—All we can say is this, that a popular audience having their local prejudices, the Orator condescended to flatter them in that particular, and spoke frivolously, in order that he might appear not quite out of character as an *Athenian*.

The same apology must be made, so far as any can, for his encouraging his countrymen in their ambition and oppressiveness, and in the inveteracy of their hatred towards *Barbarians*; whom they first stigmatized with an opprobrious name, and then, in virtue of it, thought themselves at liberty to use them cruelly.—A maxim, which, by their horrid enormities and merciless devastations in war, one would think some nominal Christians too had adopted, thereby

thereby *disgracing that holy name whereby they are called!*—What other judgment can we form of the barbarities exercised by the *Spaniards* in *America*—by *Papists* in general, whenever they have power sufficient, against *Protestants*?—What, of those scenes of military execution that were exhibited throughout *Germany* near a century and half ago—which were afterwards renewed by the *French* in the *Palatinate*?—and What of many horrible exactions practised in the late Wars throughout *Germany*? But, be our enemies who they will; nay, be their provocations ever so great, *British* good-nature, and much more *Christian* charity, must shudder at those dreadful evils which the most necessary war brings on both parties. To say nothing of the toils and difficulties to which even the victorious are exposed, Who can reflect upon the miserable deaths of such multitudes of human creatures, upon the innumerable distresses of innocent families, the afflictions of relations and friends, the inhumanities, and wickednesses of every kind, which are the common attendants of war, and not burn with an honest indignation against the authors of such calamities; who have no bowels, no conscience to remonstrate against offering so costly a sacrifice to the idols of their own resentment, ambition and avarice! —That the lives of mankind should be no more valued than the ammunition which is employed for their destruction,—that they should be considered as a part of it, is indeed a mortifying consideration, altogether irreconcilable with the supposition of a real dignity in human nature.—But for our comfort, both Reason and Christianity conspire to assert this dignity: and in proportion as the contrary principle

is

is maintained, we commonly see the character of military men debased with every profligacy of Morals, the most abandoned impurity, the most relentless cruelty.

Again, with regard to *Athenian* liberty—the charms of which are so much heightened, and the love of which is so pathetically inculcated throughout these Oration—have we not sometimes seen men hurried into such visionary notions of Liberty as may endanger it to destruction, dissolving that union between the several parts of our happy constitution, to which we owe our hopes of its future stability, and from which we derive our present happiness?—such happiness! that with all the burthens we complain of and lament, there is not a nation upon earth with which any reasonable man amongst us can be willing, on reflection, to change conditions; at least a little experience would soon convince him of the badness of such a choice.

In the history of *Athens*, and particularly of that war in which the Oration of *Pericles* was spoken, we see much national wealth and many private conveniences much abused by luxury and extravagance:—Great men hereby bringing themselves into difficulties, and endeavouring to relieve their personal distresses by involving their country in greater. All having the same part in the legislature, we see ingenious men often vaunting themselves in specious and pompous appearances of public spirit; and thereby procuring shelter for selfish projects, for corruption and treachery. While All aspired to a larger share in the direction of public affairs, we see them losing all equitable temper one towards another, fierce in their contentions, dishonouring



honouring worthy characters, and driving them from their stations; and thereby bringing to themselves perpetual discomfort within, while exposed to most alarming dangers, till at length they were brought to ruin from without.

Well therefore may we rejoice in that excellent combination\*, whereby the several parts of the *British* constitution are peculiarly adapted to answer the great purposes of men's submitting originally to government; namely, the securing our public independence from foreign invasions, and our personal rights from mutual encroachments. Far from repining at our dependency as Subjects (which is indeed no more than our being referred as members of society in a beautiful subordination to our head—as the several individuals to a common centre of union) well may we honour the memories of those Princes who ascertained our present happy establishment, and have since made it their glory, by a mild and just government, to secure to us the perpetuity of these invaluable blessings.

But further, when we smile, as smile we must, to see the wise *Socrates*, with an air of seriousness, reciting the legendary tales of *Athenian* superstition, let it not be the disdainful smile of profaneness, pronouncing “all religions to be the same.” It is the height of ignorance and folly, not to know and feel the difference; of disingenuity, not to acknowledge it. Nay, *Socrates* himself, upon another more serious

\* We may with pleasure review the picture of our civil establishment, in that draught which *Polybius* (B. 6.) hath struck out in theory as the perfection of human government.

occasion,

occasion, is introduced \* lamenting the imperfection of that religion which he practised ; at the same time expressing his expectations that God himself, by a particular revelation in future time, would supply the defect. And it is our happiness to enjoy that object of his wishes,—a religious dispensation, the most rational and worthy of God, the most humane and beneficial to mankind ; confirmed by a variety of the strongest proofs ; full of purity in it's precepts, of awfulness in it's threatenings, and comfort in it's promises ; thus directing and supporting each person separately, and at the same time endearing the members of civil society to each other, by the union it enjoins of the same worship, with the profession of the same belief and the same hopes.

Yet upon the whole, notwithstanding the above-mentioned exceptions, there are few *British* readers but will take a pleasure in reviewing these monuments of *Athenian* patriotism ; happy if they go on † to invigorate and refine their own, upon christian principles!

Influenced by these, they will, amongst other fruits of them, thank God, for having from time to time supported our Sovereigns in the magnanimous resolution to vindicate the just rights of their subjects both Civil and Religious, under circumstances most discouraging and most affecting to every humane and generous disposition, and for having so often blessed those measures with important successes.

To those likewise, who have been to us the providential instruments of this security, will there be due

\* See *Plato's second Alcibiades*.

† Excellent helps for this purpose may be received from the *Sermons preached in the course of the war 1741, &c.* by Archbishop *Secker*.

a large tribute of thankfulness. Studious men especially, the more unable they feel themselves either to ward off the mischiefs of war, or to find support under them, the more hearty should they ever be to concur with their fellow-subjects in every proper act of gratitude towards military Commanders, of honour to their persons while living, and of reverence to their memories when dead.

Neither yet should the merit of inferior instruments, the common Soldiers and Seamen, pass unnoticed or unrewarded. Whatever compassionate regard can be shewn to them, in their season of toil and danger; whatever relief can be given, or comfort administered to their Wives and Children, these are duties incumbent on us from principles, I will not say merely of Christian charity, but of common justice.

The *British* legislature, by the largeness of it's stated provision, and by it's occasional bounties, to persons engaged in military service, hath given repeated testimony to the truth and importance of this sentiment.

If *Athens* shewed any true policy in the establishment of her *Prytaneum*; if *Rome*, in her many encouragements of valour and industry; particularly in making a judicious distribution of spoils taken from the enemy,—in assigning to emerit soldiers such portions of conquered countries as might at once afford to them the means of comfortable subsistence, and add security to her colonies,—in erecting monuments to the dead,—in votes of triumph and thanks to the living;—the same schemes of policy have been with equal wisdom, and more than equal generosity, adopted among ourselves. Princely fortunes have been raised, princely palaces have been built, sometimes by the express command and munificence of our legislature,  
—sometimes

—sometimes in virtue of that transfer which it hath solemnly made of those spoils, which by regular course of antient law and custom would have accrued to the public treasury ;——Votes of thanks—*a most honourable fame*—have been decreed ;—*Altars of virtue* have been erected to perpetuate the memory of eminently gallant commanders. And while the pompous edifices of *Chelsea* and *Greenwich* shall subsist, every Briton must reflect with pleasure that his Country is no less unrivalled in her care and gratitude towards her brave soldiers and seamen, than Foreigners, from frequent experience, have found reason to acknowledge them to be superior in the exertion of personal courage and activity.

Nor hath our Country, by any unmindful neglect, passed over the helpless Orphans and Widows of those to whom she owes her safety. The generosity and prudence of her appointments for the Widows of Officers, according to their several ranks, is well known. And the solemnity of her declaration, with respect to the lower classes, is worth attending to. 7 & 8 Will. c. 21. 1696.

*Whereas the strength and safety of his Majesty's realms and dominions do very much depend upon the furnishing and supplying his Majesty's royal navy with a competent number of able men for that service ;—and whereas the seamen of this kingdom have for a long time distinguished themselves throughout the world by their industry and skilfulness in their employments, and by their courage and constancy manifested in engagements for the defence and honour of their native country : And whereas, for an encouragement to continue this their reputation, and to invite greater numbers of his Majesty's subjects to betake themselves to his service by sea, it is fit and reason-*

*able that some competent provision should be made, that seamen, who by age, wounds or other accidents, should become disabled for future service, and shall not be in a condition to maintain themselves comfortably, may not fall under hardships and miseries, but be supported at the public charge, and that the children of such disabled persons, and also the widows and children of such as shall happen to be slain, killed or drowned in his Majesty's service, may, in some reasonable manner, be provided for and educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themselves, Be it therefore enacted, that every disabled seaman (qualified as in the Act is described) shall upon (due) certificate be admitted and placed in the said hospital, and shall have provided and allowed unto him during his life at the charges of the said hospital, and out of the revenues thereof, according to the rules, &c. thereof, fitting and convenient lodging, meat, drink, cloathing, and other necessaries and conveniencies; and also the widows of such seamen, and also their children shall be received into the said hospital, and there be provided for, and the children shall be educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themselves; all which shall be done so far forth as the said hospital shall be capable to receive them, and as the revenues thereof will extend for the purposes aforesaid, &c. &c.*

Can any thing carry a stronger evidence of reason—a higher praise of benevolence than this declaration of our common Parent? And doth it not contain a virtual exhortation, that, in whatever degree the public provision shall be found incompetent to answer the whole purpose which She graciously intends, her children, one amongst another should supply the defect, as proper objects of their pity and beneficence shall occasionally be presented to their views?

That

That *British* hearts are so remarkably exuberant in acts of beneficence we may justly ascribe to the purity of that benevolent religion which we profess:—the influence of which will make itself felt even by those who are less speculatively attentive to the evidence and reasons upon which it is founded.—But as to prudential methods of exerting this beneficence most effectually for the public service, these are to be derived, at least they may admit of great improvement, from the study of those institutions, which, upon trial, have approved their excellence, and which, for this amongst other reasons, recommend the histories of civilized people to our regard.

After all, though the martial spirit is in some degree vital to our Country, yet it may sometimes rise too high; it may be overbearing and arrogant; it may hurry young men of sprightly genius prematurely into its tide of fury and violence. With regard to this latter case, all ingenuous persons will suffer their youthful warmth to be moderated by the advice of judicious friends;—both for their own sakes, and for that of the Publick: for their own, that they may be assisted by them in chusing the most likely methods to obtain what they aim at; and for the Publick, in order to prevent the mischiefs, whereby well-meaning persons of no experience sometimes frustrate the very end which they intend to promote. And considering how much the happiness of other people may be affected by men, whose circumstances of birth and fortune place them in a high degree of eminence, it is a matter of public consequence, that such should always improve the precious opportunity of taking time to discipline both their understandings  
and

and morals, before they \* enter into military life. This privilege is perhaps one of the most valuable belonging to an ample fortune; and, if lost in its proper season, is scarce afterwards to be regained. The loss indeed is ever felt severely both by themselves and by their Country. For their minds having been defrauded of proper culture, they become self-opinionated and vehement: they learn to despise many valuable accomplishments for which they have no relish, and even to disregard some parts of our national constitution, merely because they do not understand it; unhappily in the mean time mistaking their own ignorance for largeness of thinking, and the perverseness, which arises from thence, for spirit and resolution. Certain it is, that history affords illustrious examples of men whose courage and conduct in battle have not been a whit less distinguished for their having first completed a course of literary education, before they entered the camp as Soldiers. Among the *Greeks* and *Romans* we have the memorable instances of *Xenophon* and *Lucullus*; and in our own country, though modern names might be brought into view, I content myself with mentioning the accomplished *Sir Philip Sidney*, with the gallant and renowned *Sir Walter Raleigh*, referring for others to *Lord Clarendon's* History of the Civil War.

It is undoubtedly for the Soldiers' (I mean the Officers') own comfort to have his mind cultivated by Science: This it is which must prepare him for Ac-

\* Μέχρι μὲν ἤθης κωφοτέρα γυμνασία προσοισέον. ὅταν δ' ἀφ' ἤθης ἔσῃ τρία τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γένηται. τότε ἀρμόττει τῆς πόνοις καταλαμβάνειν πᾶν ἔχομένην ἡλικίαν· ἅμα γὰρ τῆτε διανόια καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονῆν ἔδει.

*Aristot. Pol. l. 8. c. 4.*

tion, and afterwards, in the intervals of ease, supply him with matter of rational employment: this alone can temper that ferocity, which, (however necessary to be sometimes assumed in the course of military operations) if not mollified by Science, too commonly degenerates into Brutishness: It is This, which must convince him of the reasonableness of that subordination, in which the constitution of our Country hath placed the Military departments beneath the Civil.

Highly fitting it is surely, that those should principally direct this dreadful engine of war, who regard as their first object the welfare and not the destruction of mankind;—that the same hand which deals out the protection of Law should alone be intrusted to deliver out commissions for killing and destroying, and to controul the course of military operations, saying, Hitherto shall they proceed and no further, Here shall their proud ravages be stayed.

And indeed, Tyrants excepted, what Soldier, capable of reasonable reflection, doth not shudder at the work of his own employment? What generous mind, after finishing the largest range of Conquest, can help lamenting over the ruins of military devastation, or wishing for that happy time which shall restore the Arts of Peace, annul the dictates of arbitrary Power, and give to civil Laws their benign energy? For it is under the influence of these, that every kind of rational enjoyment attains its security: here alone can be felt unfulfilled pleasures of sympathizing with friends and families in the delights of domestick tenderness and mild affection. Nor let it be forgotten, that from this connexion with Civil Polity the Military character borrows its highest dignity,



nity,\* of being truly beneficial to mankind,——a dignity, which is vainly sought for in the glitterings of equipage, the pride of pomp and pageantry and parade,—and is no less vainly assumed by the terrors of fierce looks, insulting menaces, and overbearing outrage. Lastly, it is from this connexion alone, that the Soldier hath principles to justify his Profession, and satisfy his doubts concerning the lawfulness of his Calling. For thus he may reason, “ Shocking  
 “ as my employment appears, and hard to recon-  
 “ cile to the feelings of Humanity, yet I see its  
 “ warranty to be the same with that of Civil Go-  
 “ vernment. If Magistracy be the ordinance of God,  
 “ for the preservation of justice among fellow citizens,  
 “ using the military arm, for repelling the injurious  
 “ treatment of foreign enemies, cannot be sinful. The  
 “ Sword, which is delivered to the Magistrate by  
 “ God for this double Purpose, I accept from Him as  
 “ his Assistant in those salutary works of public Good.  
 “ Regulating my conduct therefore in all other respects  
 “ by Justice, Honesty and true Honour, I will keep  
 “ a Conscience void of offence towards God and to-  
 “ wards Man : My heart shall not reproach me with  
 “ doing violence, unnecessary, to any person : I will  
 “ humbly submit myself in the day of battle to the  
 “ disposal of God’s Providence : He will cover my  
 “ head, or reward my being faithful unto death,  
 “ by a crown of life in reversion.”

\* Δήλον ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας κάλας μὲν θετίου ἔχῃ ὡς τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατον, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνη χάριν ταύτης. *Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2.* See more to the same purpose, c. 15. Indeed the moral, political, and critical works of this Author cannot be too much recommended.

While the military Profession continues thus generous in its principle and guarded in its exercise, it is not condemned by Religion. And Self-love must lead us to honour it, from considering the want which we may have of its services: For, when the faculty of doing mischief is improved into an Art, it becomes necessary to counteract it in its own way.

We read of times, when men, confiding in their prowess, sallied forth from domestick quiet, professing to combat difficulties, to redress all wrongs, and indeed to take up every quarrel that they met with. Injured innocence, thus assisted, often rewarded these adventurers with wealth and pre-eminence; whose supposed disinterestedness gave a lustre to their employment.

If we go up to the fabulous Ages of *Greece*, we find instances of this in the Heroism of *Hercules*, &c. and in grateful returns which were made to him, and, for his sake, to his Descendants. From the same principle it was that Knights of old derived their honour and importance.—Not but that the soldier of fortune, Antient as well as Modern, often took upon himself to estimate the value of his services, insisted upon compensation, and enforced the sentence of his own pronouncing, by living, as the military phrase is, at discretion. And accordingly, as Justice hath not always the greatest ability to reward her advocates, and, as Tyrants, having the spoils of multitudes at command, are commonly the best pay-masters, the Courts of *Persia* and *Ægypt* were the marts most frequented by the *Grecian* Traders in war.

From *Xenophon's History of the Expedition of Cyrus*, I have given exemplifications of this character, varied

according to the several tempers and natural dispositions of different men, the Rough, the Liberal, and the Selfish. *Clearchus* is the downright Soldier; his aims and fortunes are all turned to Fighting for the sake of Fighting; punctual himself in the observance of military Discipline, rigorous in his exactions, imperious in command. *Proxenus* is a just object of our love and esteem, a good-natured and accomplished Gentleman, in whom the vehemence of the Soldier is subdued and softened by the meditation of the Scholar. *Meno* we must detest as a meer Mercenary, devoid of the principles of common justice and humanity, rapacious upon every occurrence of advantage, and brutish in the habit of Self-indulgence.

Unwilling to swell this Collection too much, I have with some reluctance omitted the character of the younger *Cyrus*. In him may be seen the true portrait of irregular Ambition, ever attentive to advancement, regardless of the ties of affection or obligations of duty; artful in liberality and insinuating in address; active in projecting of schemes, laborious and intrepid in their execution. *Xenophon's* own character is delineated throughout the same pleasing unaffected Narrative: But the reader is left to collect it from a simple detail of those curious adventures in which He was concerned as principal Conductor; and which well deserve consideration from those who betake themselves to the Profession of Arms. For they exhibit an illustrious display of prudence and dexterity as well as courage, and above all of mildness, modesty, and benevolence; which latter virtues, in the event of that Expedition appear no less productive of Success and Glory, than the other military qualities.

qualities, more commonly to be met with, of boisterousness and arrogance.

Many of the reflexions which I have made in the former part of this Preface are applicable to the extracts from *Cicero*; and therefore need not be repeated.

It may be presumed that the young reader of the foregoing Orations will be desirous of forming to himself a plan of the general History and Constitution of *Greece*, and of *Athens* in particular: I have therefore drawn out, for his assistance, a Chronological Table of the *Grecian Affairs*; marking with asterisks those which are alluded to. And, that he may not, in the mean time, be quite lost with respect to the thread of the *Sacred* and *Roman* Histories, I have from each inserted some principal matters to point out the mutual coincidence of their respective affairs. In my Notes I have also endeavoured to throw light upon particular passages by large references to other writers. In order to render them more useful, it should be observed that the accounts of the first ages of the *Grecian* History are represented with a mixture of so much fable, as to be better suited for the extravagancies of Poets, than for the gravity of Historians.

*Apollodorus*, an *Athenian*, who flourished *ante Chr.* 138. has left three books of his *Bibliotheca*, which contain a general view of the fabulous traditions concerning the *Athenian* Gods and Heroes before the *Trojan* war.

*Herodotus* is the most antient of the *Greek*, and indeed of all Writers of profane History, now extant. He lived about 456 years before *Christ*. His History

is contained in nine Books, intitled by the names of the nine *Muses*. Besides a narrative of the wars of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, he intermixes by way of digression, and that very largely, several curious accounts of Antiquities, both *Grecian*, *Assyrian*, and *Ægyptian*. He says but little of the antient state of *Greece*, and that is to be found chiefly in B. 1. c. 56, &c. and B. 5, c. 58, &c. The parts of his History referred to in the Orations of *Plato* and *Lysias* are to be met with in the six last Books, *viz.* from *Darius's* expedition into *Scythia*, to the victory obtained over the *Persians* at *Mycale* by *Cimon*.

*Thucydides* was cotemporary with, but about twenty years younger than *Herodotus*. His History is comprized in eight Books. The beginning of his first Book, *viz.* c. 2—19. is a sort of Introduction to his History, with a sketch of the antient state of *Greece*; the remainder of it contains the several transactions which gave occasion to the *Peloponnesian* war; which continued between 27 and 28 years. The seven last books of *Thucydides* comprehend almost 21 years of that time, and end about 411 years before *Christ*.

*Xenophon's Grecian* History is contained in seven Books, and includes the space of almost 50 years, beginning where *Thucydides* left off, *viz.* in the latter end of the 21st year of the *Peloponnesian* war.—The facts referred to in the foregoing Orations are to be met with in the five first Books.

*Diodorus Siculus* lived in the time of *Augustus Cesar*. His History is a large and laborious collection of Facts: it is now imperfect. He wrote it in forty Books. The five first are still remaining, and contain

tain an account of the *Ægyptian, Assyrian, Libyan, Grecian* affairs before the *Trojan* war.—The 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. are wanting. From the 11th to the end of the 20th, the work is intire: It begins with the account of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, and goes down to the year 354 before *Cbrist*.—The last 20 Books which carried the History on to the times of *Julius Cæsar* are lost. The parts, which may serve to illustrate the Orations, are B. 4, 11, 12, 13, 14.

*Strabo* flourished in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius Cæsar*, and throughout his *Geography* hath interspersed many historical *Memoirs* concerning *Greece*.

*Cornelius Nepos* may be consulted for his account of the several *Commanders*, who were principally concerned in the *Grecian* Affairs; and also *Plutarch*, who has preserved many rich and uncommon gleanings from Books of ancient History which are now lost:—particularly his *Life of Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias, Cimon* and *Pericles*, may illustrate part of *Herodotus*, and the first Book of *Thucydides*; those of *Alcibiades, Chabrias, Thrasylulus*, and *Nicias*, the other Books: with *Xenophon* may be read the lives of *Lysander, Agesilaus, Artaxerxes, Thrasylulus, Chabrias*, and *Conon*.

Of *Modern* Books, which have given judicious draughts of the *Grecian* History, the principal are,

*Sir Walter Raleigh's* History of the World.

*Archbishop Usher's* Annals.

*Dr. Edward Simpson's* Chronicon Catholicum.

*Dr. Howell's* General History.

*Mr. Hind* has carried the *Grecian* history down to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war.

*Mr. Stanyan*—to the death of *Philip*.

*Mr. Rollin*—'till the *Grecian* power was intirely sunk in that of the *Romans*.

*Dr.*

Dr. *Prideaux*, in his Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, was led to treat concerning the *Grecian* affairs, by the relation they bear to those of *Persia*.

*Universal History*, throughout.

The principal author who hath preserved the notices of *Grecian* Antiquities is *Pausanias*, by birth a *Cappadocian*, who died at *Rome*, as it is supposed, about the year of *Christ* 180. He was a great Traveller and was curious in collecting, all along as he went, accounts of persons, places and buildings.

*Johannes Tzetzes*, who flourished at *Constantinople* about *A. D.* 1170. hath written a comment upon *Lycophron*, under the name of his brother *Isaac*; which is a curious repository of *Grecian* learning.

The same may be said of several of the other *Scholiasts*, particularly upon *Aristophanes*, and *Apollonius Rhodius*.—A large collection from which kind of writers may be seen in *Suidas's* Lexicon. See also *Eustathius's* Comment on *Homer* and *Dionysius*.

*Johannes Meursius*, Professor of History at *Leyden*, died *A. D.* 1639. He was a large collector, out of different Authors, of such passages as relate to the *Grecian* History and Antiquities, which he has commonplaced under proper heads.

*Jac. Gronovius* hath collected and methodized a great number of detached pieces relative to this subject, in 13 volumes fol. *Ludg. Bat.* 1697.

See also *Ubbo Emmius* in his *Vetus Græcia*, &c.

*Car. Sigonius*, *de Repub. Atheniensium*.

*Sam. Petitus de Legibus Atticis*.

The marrow of these writers is judiciously exhibited in *Archæologia Græca*, by Archbishop *Potter*.

For

For an account of the *Athenian* Government may be consulted *Xenophon de Atheniensium repub. Aristoteles Polit. L. 5. c. 3. Plutarchus in Theseo & Solone. Rollin B. 5. Art. 8. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. Stanyan V. 1. p. 174, &c.* — of the *Lacedæmonian* Government, *Xenophon de Lacedæmon. repub. Plutarchus in Lycurgo. — in Lacon. Instit. Cragius de Rep. Lacedæm. Rollin B. 5. Art. 7. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 1. Stanyan V. 1. p. 73, &c.*

A full representation of *Roman* Antiquities may be seen in *Grævius's* noble Collection of Treatises relative to that subject in 12 vols. folio.—The general catalogue of which may be found at the end of the later Editions of *Dr. Kennet's* ingenious and accurate delineation of the Antiquities of *Rome*, 8vo.

Add *Sam. Pitisci Lexicon*, 2 vols. folio.

*Dr. Middleton's* Life of *Cicero*; from whence the Argument prefixed to the Notes on the Extracts from *Cicero* is borrowed.

The resolution of Grammatical difficulties in the Greek expressions will be further illustrated from

*Fr. Vigerus de Idiotismis Gr. Linguae.*

*Lambert. Bos de Ellipsis.*

*Devarius de particulis Gr. Ling.*

With respect to the *Chronological Table*, I leave it to Others to controvert the Dates of some particular Transactions; which are variously placed by different Chronologers. But I think proper to obviate a Doubt and Difficulty, which sometimes perplexes young Students. They are apt to wonder, that the sacred History of the Bible passes over in silence many transactions which are much celebrated by Classical Writers, and on the other hand, that in the Classics they see not a trace of those affairs which  
carry



carry great importance in Holy Scripture. They therefore should know that the Heathen compilers of general History are by no means silent in matters of Sacred History; though their narratives are very erroneous and imperfect; as may be seen in some parts of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Justin*.

But further, the very Dates of the principal transactions of the Old Testament shew that many of them were passed before the Æra of most Profane Histories begins. Add to this, that the Classical Histories are narratives of the transactions of particular nations; thus, *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* relate those of the Greeks; *Sallust*, *Livy*, &c. those of the Romans; and so, in the main, is the sacred History confined chiefly to the *Israelites*. But indeed those who are qualified for the search, will discover a surprising connexion between the Sacred History and the Profane; of which Dr. *Humph. Prideaux* has given many curious Instances.

Much more wonderful may it seem that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, separated by no great interval of distance, should know very little of those contemporary transactions, which, in their respective Regions, were greatly noised and celebrated. But it should be considered, that in former times there was no such regular intercourse of Intelligence between neighbouring countries as is now established; or, supposing the transactions not altogether unknown to each other, yet the Writers were not led to speak of them.

CHRIST-CHURCH,  
OXFORD.

EDW. BENTHAM.

# N O T E S

## Upon the foregoing EPIGRAMS.

**T**HE Epigrams are intended for a specimen of Greek Inscriptions in honour of military men. The *first* was inscribed upon the Tomb of those Athenians who were slain in the battle of *Chæroneæ*. (See *Demosth. ἐπὶ Στεφ.*)

3. Μαρνάμφοι — δειμῶτος] *sc.* ἐνεχε. Διὰ τὸ, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἀφουλάξαι, δειμῶ ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμποῖῃσαι. Or, μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δειμῶτος, by an exertion of bravery attended with danger, as, M. *Æmilio* potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio *Sallust.*

10 Μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγῆν ἔπειν.] *There was a fatality in this disaster which no bravery or prudence could prevent.*

Mr *Markland* gives a conjectural emendation, thus,

Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐπὶ Θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κατὰ θεῶν·

Ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγῆν ἔπειν. (*sc.* οἱ Θεοί.)

The *second* and *third* Epigrams were inscribed on Monuments erected, by order of the *Amphictyones* or great Council of Greece, to those *Lacedæmonians* who fell at *Thermopylæ*. They are preserved (as is the *fourth*,) by *Herodotus* B. 7. In the *third* some copies read Ω ξεῖν, ἀγγέλλειν — or Ω ξεῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν — putting the Infinitive absolute for the Imperative (or rather φημί being understood.) *Diodorus Siculus* hath ἀγκυραῖαι for τετρακισῖαιαι. He hath also πειθόμενοι νομίμοις for ῥήμοσι πειθόμενοι. And so the passage was read by *Cicero* as appears from his *Version. Tusc. Disp. B. 1.*

*Dic, Hospes, Spartæ, nos te hic vidisse jacentes,*

*Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.*

But there seems a peculiar propriety in ῥήμοσι as the *Spartan* edicts were termed Πῆτρα. The *fourth* and *fifth* were written by *Simonides*. *Diodorus Sic.* hath preserved the *fifth*, in B. 11. where he expatiates largely upon the celebrated Action which gave occasion to it. See Notes on *Lysias* p. 45. l. 22. and p. 10. l. 3. The Metrical disposition of the Greek is made according to *Fulvius Ursinus*. It may not be improper to subjoin a Latin version of it.

*His, qui ad Thermopylas cadebant,  
Sors celebris contigit, pulcrumque  
Fatum; Ara est tumulus  
Proavos recordans; exitium vero  
Laus. Funereum sed hunc amicum  
Nec situs, nec omnia edens  
Vorabit tempus, virorum fortium.  
Hæc vero ædicula incolarum laudem  
Græciæ cepit. Testis horum Leonidas  
Spartæ Rex, virtutis magnam  
Famam relinquens perpetuumque decus.*

N O T E S  
 U P O N  
 T H U C Y D I D E S.

B. II. §. 34.

THE Character given of *Thucydides* by *Cicero de Orat. B. 2. §. 56.* is this,

“*Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio, mea sententia, facile vicit:*  
 “*qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum*  
 “*sententiarum numero consequatur; ita porro verbis aptus & pressus,*  
 “*ut nescias, utrum res oratione, an verba sententiis illustrentur.*”

Tho' one cannot think of shewing the truth of this character of *Thucydides* from so small a specimen of his History as is here reprinted, yet it may be proper to apply the observations therein contain'd, if for no other reason than to apologize for some of the following notes.

I. The Reader must not mistake the *dicendi artificium*, which *Cicero* so justly admires in *Thucydides*, for Grammatical accuracy: for there is scarce any antient writer, who has more deviations from what we should apprehend to be regular Syntax, such as the many Elliptical, others Pleonastick expressions; Transitions from one number to another; Substitutions of one tense for another; Actives for Passives, and Passives for Actives; all which, tho' they are more or less to be met with in every *Attick* writer, certainly are anomalies, and (however called *Atticisms*) are not the *Atticisms*\* which we ought to admire and imitate; tho' I confess that this set of Authors shew so much of their *artificium dicendi*, that any attempt to correct those irregularities by presenting a sentence in its true Grammatical order, would be apt to injure the beauty of the composition, and lower its spirit. — My intention therefore in marking out these deviations is not to insinuate that *Thucydides* ought to have written otherwise, but to serve the purpose of mere explanation.

\* See *Cicero, de opt. gen. Orat.*

II. If it be true, that this Author *verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequitur*, it will shew that in rendring his meaning into any other Language, there is almost a necessity to use many more words than what occur in the original.

III. If his *verba sententiis illustrentur*, it will apprise the Reader not to think of hurrying on thro' an Author that is so very much crowded with sentiment: He must exercise a good deal of thought about the subject-matter of which he is reading, in order to come at the full meaning of the expressions: which still adds to the difficulty of translating *Thucydides*, and shews why translations of him are apt to fall short of the sense, as well as spirit, of the original. This is particularly the case of some ambiguous expressions; but this very ambiguity adds lustre to the composition, inasmuch as each of the senses, which the words are capable of bearing are manifestly to the purpose, and consequently might have been intended by the Writer.

I 1 *Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι*] *In the very same winter*, viz. that which followed the first campaign of the *Peloponnesian* war.

2 *δημοσίᾳ*] viz. γνώμη, *in pursuance of a resolution taken by the Publick*.

4 *τὰ μὲν ὄσῃ*] viz. the bones and ashes which remained after burning the bodies; which was the general custom of the *Athenians* (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 207.) and appears from *Thucyd.* B. II. to have obtained at this time; and indeed otherwise it is inconceivable how this solemnity could have been performed. The custom of burning the bodies of those who died in war, and of bringing home their bones is mention'd *Hom.* II. η. v. 333.

ἀπὸρ ἠετακῆομεν αὐτῆς  
 Τυφλὸν δ' ἀποπρὸ νεῶν, ὡς κ' ὄσῃα παισὶν ἐχθρῶς  
 Οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὐτὲ νεώμεθα πείριδα γαίαν.

ib. *πρὸπιδενται*] When persons died among their friends, who were ready at hand to perform their last offices, this order was inverted; the corpse was first wash'd, anointed and properly bedeck'd, and last of all *laid out* and *exposed to publick view*. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 184.

ib. *πρὸπείρα*. *πρὸ τέρτης τῆς ἡμέρας τ' ἐκκομιδῆς ἢ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*. Sch.

5 *ἐπιφέρει*] There was scarce any thing wherein the Antients in most nations, and particularly among the *Grecians*, were more sollicitous than to give ample testimony of their respect to deceased persons by funeral solemnities; and, previously thereunto, by the use of such Ceremonies, as anointing the corpse, adorning it with splendid cloaths, chaplets of flowers, ribbands, &c. and afterwards, when the corpse had been burnt, by washing the bones with wine. (*Archæol.* v. 2.

- I &c. and p. 218 &c.) thus (*Thuc. B. 3*) the *Platœans* speaking of the honours by them annually paid to those who fell in the *Median* war, specify the particulars thus, ἕς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μηδῶν κὶ πεφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐπιμῶμεν κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐοδήμοισι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις ὅσαι τε γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδοι ὡραῖα, πάντων ἐπιπεχῶς φέροντες —
- 5 τῶ αὐτῷ, viz. πεπεσί, or φίλω or ἡψ̄.
- 6 ὀκφοροῖ] This word and ἐκρημιδῆ are words appropriated to funerals, to denote the carrying the corpse forth. (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 189.*)
- ib. κωπελοσίνας] *made of Cypress*; this being a wood of all others supposed least liable to decay.
- 7 φυλῆς.] The number of Tribes at *Athens* at first was 4, at this time, 10. Afterwards under the *Macedonian* Government, 12. (*Archæol. v. 1. p. 49 &c.*)
- ib. ἔνεσι δὲ καὶ] Καὶ is redundant; inasmuch as there does not appear to have been any thing in the Coffers besides the bones.
- 8 ἐσπρωμένη] *with a carpet thrown over it.*
- 9 ἐς ἀναίρεσιν] *to have their bodies taken up, and brought home.*
- 11 αἱ ἀεθρήκιστοι] *Solon* wholly excluded all women under 60 years of age from bearing part in funeral solemnities; tho' Relations under that age seem to have been admitted. (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 192.*) Perhaps those women may be meant, whose profession it was to make publick lamentations at funerals, and on other sorrowful occasions, and who might be hired for that purpose. Such as were the *Præficæ* among the *Romans*. — Allusions to this Custom occur likewise frequently in *H. Scripture. Jer. 10. 17, 18. (& Lowth ad loc.) — 22. 18. — 48. 17. — Ezek. 28. 31. — Amos 5. 16. — 2 Sam. 1. 24. — 2 Chron. 35. 25. — Eccles. 12. 5. — Matt. 9. 23. comp. with Mar. 5. 28.*
- ib. ὀλοφυρομένη.] The ὀλοφυρομένη were properly songs sung at funeral processions, (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 205*) so called from the ejulations wherewith they were performed; and from thence the word may be used to comprehend the other most ordinary ways of expressing sorrow at funerals; of which see *Archæol. v. 2. p. 195 &c.*
- 12 ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα] Among the primitive *Grecians*, every family was wont to have their proper burying place: Their graves were nothing but caverns dug in the earth; but those of later ages were more curiously wrought: they were commonly paved with stone, had arches built over them, and were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living. (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 219.*) The δημόσιον σῆμα here mention'd does not seem to denote any particular monument that was called by that name, any further than as the

- I** the *Ceramicus*, a public suburb, was made use of for the purpose of burying such as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country; and in which place were several *δημόσια σήματα* or monuments erected by the Publick to the honour of great men, as may be seen in *Meursius's* piece intituled *Ceramicus*.
- ib. *περασεῖα*.] That part of *Athens*, which was called the *ἄστυ*, was really no other than the Citadel, at first call'd *Cecropia*, from its builder *Cecrops*, seated upon the top of a high rock about three furlongs in length and one half in breadth, in the midst of a large and pleasant plain. See *Dr Pococke's* Descr. of the East. V. 2. p. 160. Afterwards when the number of inhabitants was increased, the whole Plain was filled with buildings, which were called from their situation *ἡ κείτω πόλις* so that the word *περασεῖον* by no means carries so low an import as the word *suburb* commonly does in *English*.
- 13 *θῆπτεροι τὰς ἐν τῶν πολέμων*] The word *θῆπτεροι* is to be supplied from the word *θῆπτεροι*; and so in the next line *τοὺς ἐν Μαροθῶνι* — The expression is complete p. 2. l. 13.
- 15 *κρίνετες*] viz. the persons who lived at that time. Members of a civil society considered in their collective capacity are spoken of as always the same; tho' the Individuals are different.
- ib. *αὐτῆ καὶ τὸ πένθος* &c. so *Tellus* in consideration of his eminent courage, was buried in *Eleusis* upon the field of Battle where he fell. *Καὶ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν αὐτῆ τῆπερ ἔπεσε, καὶ ἐπέκησαν μεγάλως*. *Herodot.* L. 1. c. 30.
- 2** 1 *ἡρημένον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως*] The solemnity of a publick funeral was managed by a Committee of the Parents and Brethren and other Relations of the deceased, chosen by the publick assembly of the people for that purpose: and they regulated the Ceremonies, especially the entertainment afterwards. *Plato* places the election in the hands of the Senate of 500. p. 14. l. 13. They perhaps nominated, and the Commonalty approved. See *Demosth. de Coron.* §. 86. where he says, *ὁ Δῆμος ἐστὶ χειροτόνησε πρὸς ἐλθόντα* (very likely *ὑπὸ τῆς Βουλῆς*;) which perhaps may reconcile *Thucydides* with *Plato*.
- 2 *θῆπτεροι μὴ ἀξύνετοι*] In *English*, *no fool*, i. e. *a man of very good sense*. Instances of this kind of *μείωσις* are frequent. So *Plat.* *ἐπιπαιφ.* p. 14. l. 15. *ἐπὶ πάντων φαύλη*, i. e. *ἀγαθή*.
- 4 *θῆπτεροι*] The word comprehends all the several previous acts as well as the principal one of *interment*.
- 3 *ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πολέμων*] Throughout the whole course of this war, of which *Thucydides*, was writing — From *Plato* p. 35. l. 5. it seems that the Ceremony of a publick commemoration was then become anniversary, whether there was any war or no. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 227.

- 2 5 ὅποτε συμφορὰ αὐτοῖς] viz. τὴν δυσχερῆς, *when any accident or misfortune befell them.*
- 6 Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανδίππυ] For his Character see *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 7, 9 &c. *Stanyan* V. 1. 295, 2.
- 7 ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε] viz. ἀρχήν. Some copies have it καιρὸν ἐλάμβανε, *he took the convenient time*: we find a similar expression *AE.* 24, 25. see parallel expressions cited by *Raphael* from *Polybius*.
- 7 ὡς ἐπιπλεῖσιν] (viz. μέγῃ) τῷ ὀμίλῳ, *that as many might bear as possible.* — If ἀκούτο was used in a passive signification it should have been ὑπὸ τῷ ὀμίλῳ.
- 12 τὸν παρθένον τῷ νόμῳ] *Who to the institution of other funeral solemnities added this of a publick oration.* Some refer it to *Solon*; which account suits better with the expression p. 3. 1. 2. τοῖς πάλαι, than *Diodorus Siculus's* or *Dion. Halicarnassens's*, who place the original of it no higher than the *Persian* war: much less will that expression allow us to suppose *Pericles* himself to have been the introducer thereof immediately after the reduction of *Samos*.
- ib. ὡς καλὸν] viz. πρᾶγμα ὄν. (the Accusative absolute.) *as being an institution well contrived to do honour to the memories of such as are buried from the field of battle.*
- 14 ἔργῳ — οἷα] To make the construction compleat, τοῖς is to be supplied. N. B. the transition from the singular to the plural: the plural οἷα refers to the several particulars comprehended in the ἔργῳ or funeral solemnity. ἔργον and λόγῳ are in these Orations frequently opposed to each other even to a high degree of affectation. — See an instance of this opposed with great propriety, *2 Cor.* 10. 11.
- 16 δημοσίᾳ] viz. γνώμῃ; or rather παρεσκευαστῆ, implied in the participle παρεσκευασθέντα.
- 17 εὔτε καὶ χεῖρον ἐπόντι πισυθῆναι] viz. τῷ — πισυθ. *by being intrusted to the management of a single Orator, be it good or bad*: whereby the reputation of men who have given evidence of their bravery will certainly run some risque of being impaired.
- 18 χάλιπον γὰρ τὸ μετρίως ἐπιῖν] *to observe the true μέτρον dicendi, which is Truth*; or, *to hit the true medium in speaking, and give general satisfaction.*
- ib. ἐν ᾧ] Some refer it to ἀκροατῆ, i. e. *before a person in whom*: I should rather refer it to the τὸ μετρίως ἐπιῖν, viz. *in the doing which*; or else *on a subject, wherein the appearance of Truth can scarce be confirmed.*
- ib. ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ δοκῆσι τῆς ἀληθείας μάλιστα βεβαιῶται] *In doing which one can scarce answer or confirm the expectations with which the Hearers come prejudiced about the Truth.*

- 2 19 ξυειδώς] viz. τὰς ἀρετὰς. *The man who has been an eye-witness of their virtues, and in consequence thereof is become εὐνοῦς prejudiced in their favour.*
- 20 πρὸς ἃ βέλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται] *In comparison of what he wishes to hear said and what he knows ought to be said upon the occasion.*
- 21 ἄπειρος] *The man of no experience in military matters, or, be that is quite a stranger to the affair.*
- ib. ἔστιν ἃ] *some things.*
- ib. πλεονάζουσαι] Supply νομίσαιεν. Sch.
- 22 φύσιν] *His own natural abilities.*
- μέχει γὰρ τῷδε] *Sallust. Proœm. B.C. Quæ fibi quisque familia putat æquo animo accipit, supra ea, veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.*
- 24 αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἰκανὸς εἶναι] *Instead of ἕκαστος οἴηται ἑαυτὸν ἰκανὸν εἶναι.*
- 3 I φθονοῦντες] *N. the transition from the singular αὐτὸς to the plural.*
- 3 τοχεῖν] *Assequi, to obtain, or rather to hit the mark, not to miss of or disappoint your βέλησεως, that affectionate regard which You entertain of the persons deceased, in consequence of your δόξης, or the honourable opinion You have of their merit. See above, p. 2. l. 20. βέλεται καὶ ἐπίσταται.*
- 7 ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε] viz. καίρω or πρᾶγματι or ἐπαίνω.
- 8 ἢ γὰρ χάριαν &c.] *Cic. pro L. Flacco. Quæ vetustate eâ est, ut ipsa ex sese suos cives genuisse dicatur, et eorum eadem terra parens, altrix, patria dicatur.*
- ib. αἰεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ &c.] *They have all along continued possessors. There is scarce any people but what have shewn their vanity in endeavouring to carry the original ancestors of their country as high as possible. The Athenians would needs be thought Αὐτόχθονες, sprung from the earth, and to have derived their origin from no other nation. And thus much must be said, that Attica, being a rocky and barren country, was less molested than the neighbouring regions, which by their fruitfulness afforded more temptation to invaders. The original plantation of those parts of Greece is with reason supposed to have been made by Javan, the fourth son of Japhet; and it is certain also that they received colonies afterwards from Egypt. See Archæol. v. 1. p. 2, 3 &c.*
- 9 μέχει τῷδε] viz. ἔχουσιν.
- 10 ἄξιοι] Supply εἰσι.
- 11 πρὸς οἷς] i. e. πρὸς τούτοις ἢ ἐδὲξ.
- 12 σὺν δαπάνῃς may be referr'd either to κτησάμενοι, *it cost them some pains to acquire it,* — or to πρῶσκαλίλιπον, *it cost them pains to secure it to us.*
- 13 τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς &c.] *If the κτήσασθαι ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχῇ was owing to their Forefathers, how can it be said τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς*



- 3 τῆς ἐπισημασμένης? — The word ἀρχὴ may refer to the ancient Dominion of *Attica* itself: Or, the words πρὸ δὲ may be the Speaker's Oratorical correction of what he had just been saying. *Pericles* refers to the acquisitions which had been made during his administration by the reduction of *Eubœa* and *Samos*. See *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 311, 316.
- 14 οὗ τῆ κατ'ἑτησίαν ἡλικία] Who are as yet of the stated age of military service. The *Athenians* at 18 years of age began their military service by being appointed to guard the city, with the forts belonging to it: but were not sent to foreign wars 'till 20: the *Lacedæmonians* seldom 'till 30: After 60 it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them liberty to retire from further service. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 6. At *Athens* the whole season for military duty was 42 years, reckoning from 18 to 60. See *Taylor* not. ad *Lyfiam* p. 125.
- 15 καὶ πρὸς πόλιν &c.] The *Athenians* having done signal service to the common safety by repelling the attacks of the *Persians*, were now look'd upon as the most considerable State of *Greece*. And they did not fail to make advantage of this their reputation, by getting themselves invested with the power of providing for the common welfare, and for that purpose of levying tribute upon all their neighbours, and managing the publick treasure; which trust they discharged no less to their own than the publick advantage.
- 17 ἢ ἂν — ἡμεωσμένῳ] For ἡμεωσμένοι ἐποίησμεν.
- 18 Βαρσάρων ἢ Ἐλλήνων πόλεμον ἐπίοντα] For πόλεμον ὡς Βαρσάρων ἢ Ἐλλήνων ἐπίοντα.
- 20 ἐπιτηδεύσεις comprehends all that serves to render a man ἐπιτηδεύων: and inasmuch as education does in a more especial manner fit persons for their respective businesses, it comes to signify *Education*.
- 23 ἐπὶ τὰ παρόντα] viz. χρόνῳ, or πρῶτον, or ἐπαίνα.
- 25 ζύμφορον εἶναι ὅμιλον] For ὅμιλον — or, *imagining it to be useful that the whole assembly should hear*.
- 4 1 πολιτεία] *Solon* in settling the Constitution of the *Athenian* government endeavour'd to poise one part of State against the other: so that what the meaner sort of people wanted in wealth and honour was sufficiently made up to them in their share of the Government. See *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 181.
- ib. & ζήλοσιν] as that of *Lacedæmon* did; the laws whereof were borrowed from the *Cretans* and *Egyptians*. *Stan.* V. 1, 70, 72.
- 3 ὄνομα] Supply κατὰ.
- ib. Διὰ τὸ ἐς ὀλίγους οἰκῆν] *Because we do not manage the affairs of state with a view to the advantage of a Few*. οἰκῆν for διοικῆν, viz. πρὸς τῆς πόλεως. — The preposition ἐς determines the persons here spoken of to be the object of the administration of

- 4 of Government, and not the persons conducting it; in which latter case the *Greek* should have been ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλείονων οἰκείοιται.
- 5 ἴδια ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν] i. e. πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τοῖς ἰδιώταις, Sch. as to matters of private controversy. All Persons, without distinction of Quality, were capable of being appointed to sit in judgment, provided they were arrived to the age of 30 years, and had never been convicted of any notorious crime. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 108.
- 6 ἐν τῷ] For ἐν τῷ, viz. πρῶτον.
- 7 οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους] Τὸ τοῦ λέγει ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείδου βασιλεῶν τῶν Λακωνῶν, οἵτινες ἀπὸ μέρους ἤρχον, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τῶν εὐγένειαν, καὶ μὴ εἶχον τῶν ἀριτύων. Sch. not from partial views of family, wealth &c. but, as he says above, ὡς ἑκατοῦς &c. However 'tis to be observed, that tho' by *Solon's* constitutions the poorer Citizens were invested with the management and controul of all affairs of State equally with men of fortune, yet according to them, no man was eligible into the Archonship, except he was possessed of such a considerable estate in land as would produce 500 *Medimnas* of Grain. Several struggles were made by the Commonalty to get the government entirely into their hands; and in *Aristides's* time it was thought expedient to render the poorer sort capable of appearing as Candidates for the highest offices and preferments. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 13.
- 9 οὐδ' — κεκώλυται] The *Εκκλησία*, or publick Assembly for the management of state affairs, consisted of all such as were freemen of *Athens*, of what quality soever; wherein every man, except under the age of 30 or convicted of some heinous crime, had liberty to declare his sentiments concerning the state of the Common-wealth. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 91, 95, 96.
- 10 καὶ ἐς τὴν &c.] And as to the view in which we consider, or, the construction which we put upon the ἐπιτηδεύματα, the behaviour and conduct of one another in ordinary affairs, such as happen κατ' ἡμέραν.
- 12 ἔχοντες] For ἔχομεν.
- ib. δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες τὸν —] The same with ὀργιζόμενοι τῷ —
- ib. κατ' ἑαυτῶν] according to the bent of his own humour, be it ever so capricious.
- ib. οὐδ' ἀζημίως μὲν λυπηρῶς δὲ τῇ ὀψὲ ἀχρηδονίας πρῶτον] Nor using such severity of discipline, as tho' not intended by way of punishment is yet grievous to behold; Or, τῇ ὀψὲ may be refer'd to πρῶτον as the manner of giving uneasiness, by sour looks, which tho' they have not the nature of a punishment, yet are very teizing and vexatious. The *Lacædæmonians* were famous for the severity with which they treated their Child-

4 ren: A specimen whereof may be given in the yearly custom which they had of whipping their Boys at the altar of *Diana Taurica*, which they would bear patiently 'till the blood ran; and sometimes their emulation carried them on 'till they dy'd on the spot: This was not done by way of punishment, but in order to inure them to undergo hardships and fatigues. The same purpose was intended to be served by their going barefoot, with their heads shaven, and by their fighting with one another: Add to this, that they were constantly under the inspection of some one to exercise immediate command over them. And in this kind of minority they seem to have lived 'til they were 30 years of age. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 79 &c.

14 τὰ ἴδια] Supply κατὰ.

15 τῶν τε ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων] of those persons at all times, who happen to be invested with authority. So Xenoph. K. Π. Δ. ἵνα ἐδῶσι τὸ ἀεὶ καίριον. ut cognoscerent quid tempore quolibet fieri oporteret. and again K. Π. H. παρὰ τὰ ἀεὶ ὄντι βασιλεῖ, regi qui quovis tempore rerum potitur.

19 τῶν πόνων πλείους &c.] The Athenians seem to have outdone all other people in the number of their Festivals; nor did the frequency of them abate any thing of the solemnity and charges at their observation. Most of them were celebrated at the publick expence. *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 19, 20.

ib. τῇ γνώμῃ] upon deliberate principle — out of a principle of good policy.

20 θυσίαις] Of the Græcian sacrifices, see *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 4.

ib. διετησίαις] annual; or, throughout the year. The Scholiast has δὲ ὅλου ἔτους θύουσιν οἱ Ἀθῶναιοὶ καθ' ἑκάστῳ πλὴν μιᾶς ἡμέρας.

ib. νομίζοντες] the same as κατὰ τὰ πάτριε νόμιμα ἡμεῖς ἀσκοῦντες. Sch.

21 ὃν καθ' ἡμέραν] Supply γινομένων.

22 ἐκπλήσσει] banishes every vexatious uneasy thought.

ib. ἐπεισέρχεται ἢ ἐκ πίσεως γῆς τὰ πίνθη.] The Athenians greatly improved their trade and navigation by means of their colonies and settlements upon all parts of the sea coast, as well throughout *Asia minor*, and the Islands of the *Ægean Sea*, as in *Thessaly*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*: The consequence whereof was the introduction of Luxury in all its shapes. — At *Lacedæmon*, *Lycurgus* took effectual care to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as might tend to effeminacy and excess, by prohibiting the use of gold and silver-money. See *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 77.

- 5 4 ἐναντίων] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.
- 3 οὐκ ἔστιν (viz. χρόνος) ὅτε] *never* — *no instance can be produced*.
- ib. ξηνηλασίαι] *Lycurgus's* institutions discouraged the intercourse of Foreigners among the *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent their introducing a corruption of manners, and breaking in upon the constitution of the Government. *Staxyan V. 1. p. 78.*
- ib. μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος] *the privilege of our Schools or Theater, any kind of instruction or spectacle.*
- 6 ὃ μὴ κρυφθῆν] For οὐ μὴ κρυφθῆντ, or at least μὴ κρυφθῆν seems redundant; for ὃ ἂν τις ἰδῶν (μὴ κρυφθῆν) is sufficient.
- 7 ταῖς περισκεδαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις] The *Lacedæmonian* youth were carefully trained up at home to the politick part of war by being habituated to their Watches, Guards, Ambuscades, with other wiles and stratagems, to give them a notion of what they were afterwards to do in the field. *Staxyan V. 1. p. 80, 81, 84.*
- 9 ἐπιπύνα ἀσκήσθ] See p. 4. l. 13.
- 10 τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέχοντα] *follow after fortitude, τὸ τοῖς ἀνδράσι παύσπον.* Sch. Or, it may be, *pass on to the state of manhood* the same as τὸ ἀνδρῶν τέλος, *Plat. 34. l. 23.* Or, εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες, *in their youth undergo the service of men.*
- 11 τεκμήριον δὲ] more fully, *τεκμήριον δὲ τῶν ἐστίν, οἱ, τούτους ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις.*
- 12 κατ' ἐκάστας] *by separate parties and detachments.*
- ib. μετ' ὅλων] *with their whole united forces.*
- 13 τῶν πέλας] viz. ἀνθρώπων.
- 15 ἀπὸ τῆς διωμάδας] *any large and considerable body of our forces.*
- 17 ἐν τῇ γῆ] antithetical to ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ implied in the word ναυτικῶς.
- 18 ἐπίπεμψιν.] It was the constant practice of the *Athenians*, at first from necessity and afterwards from policy, to spread themselves in Colonies throughout the several coasts of *Thrace, Macedon, Thessaly, Peloponnesus, Asia Minor* and the *Isles* of the *Ægean Sea*: from which practice they derived immense advantages in commerce. Very early, *Strabo L. 8.* remarks, ἔγω πολυανδρῆσιν τὴν χώραν στείπειν τότε, ὡς καὶ δῶκεται τῶν Ἰώνων ἔσειλαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι. This policy of the *Athenians* is particularly to be regarded to see the force of *Demosthenes's* reasoning against *Philip*.
- 19 παρομιξῶσι] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.
- 20 νικηθέντες] Supply the word φασίν or λέγουσιν, which is implied in the word ἀρχῶσιν; for the word ἀρχῶσιν itself can not here be properly made use of.
- 21 εἰ ῥαθυμῖα μᾶλλον &c.] *If then we men of ease and pleasure (as the Lacedæmonians are pleased to call us) rather than habituated*

- 5 bituated to toil and hard service, can readily face danger, not so much out of a servile compliance with penal laws —
- 22 περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν] we have however, notwithstanding our ἰσχυρία, so much spirit and industry remaining.
- 23 μὴ ἀσθενήμεν] not to faint at the approach of future difficulties, Or, not to anticipate our future troubles by a course of previous hardships, so wearing out our strength and spirits before we encounter them.
- 25 μὴ ἀτολμοτέρεις] Regularly it should be ἀτολμοτέροις.
- 6 1 θανυμάζει] Supply φημι or περιγίγνεται.
- 2 φιλοκαλέμεν &c.] we have the art of appearing like Gentlemen of taste without extravagance, and as Scholars without effeminacy. Alluding to what is objected to the study of Philosophy, that it enervates the mind, and renders men unfit for active life. *Socrates* and *Xenophon* particularly distinguish'd themselves as Soldiers. *Stanyan* V. 2. p. 60, and 40. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 297, and 405.
- 4 ἢ λόγον κόμπω] rather than for ostentation to make ourselves talked of.
- 5 αἰχρὸν] Supply νομίζομεν.
- 7 πῶς ἔργα] to Trades and Husbandry; for as the former were called Ἐργαται, so the latter were Γεωργοί. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 50.
- 8 τὸν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα &c.] All Freemen of *Athens* were expected to give their attendance at the publick Assemblies, and when they became remiss in it, the Magistrates used their utmost endeavours to compell them, shutting up all the Gates of the City excepting that thro' which they were to pass to the place of the Assembly; and sometimes they proceeded so far as to fine those that behaved negligently, and to reward those that came thither early. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 94. This busy disposition continued to be their character in *St Paul's* time, *Act.* 17. 21. *All the Athenians spent their time in nothing but hearing and telling some new thing.*
- 9 οὐκ ἀπεργάμεθα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον] This principle was carried so far among the *Athenians*, that in the case of seditions and civil wars it was highly penal in any man to keep neuter, and not to join with one or other of the contending parties. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 182. See also *Letf. Lysiac.* c. 11.
- ib. καὶ αὐτοῖ] *And We* (not caring to trust to other people for the management of our publick affairs, *We ourselves* have all of us our full employment therein) ἡμεῖς κρείνομεν, either we exert ourselves, as Speakers, in debating and examining, ἢ ἐπιθυμῶμεθα ὁρθῶς τὰ πειράμεθα, or, as Hearers, in considering and forming a right apprehension of what we are to undertake.

- 6 10. λόγους] The *Lacedæmonians* were as remarkable for their taciturnity and few words, as the *Athenians* were for their love of publick harangues.
- 11 ἀλλὰ] Supply βλάβω ἡγέμεθα. — *Sallust. &c. de B. Jug.* At ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint, homines præposterī. Nam gerere quàm fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.
- 13 ὅτε πολυῶν &c.] *Sall. de B. Jug.* Ac sane, quod difficillimum imprimis, et præliō strenuus erat, et bonus consilio: quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.
- 14 ὃ] i. e. καθ' ὃ, in which particular.
- 17 Ἀφ' ὧν πάντων] i. e. Ἀφ' ὧν τὸ σαφέστατον γινώσκειν.  
ib. μὴ ἀποτρέπομενοι] for ἀποτρέπονται.
- 18 καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετῶν] i. e.] καὶ καὶ τὰ &c. as to the exercise of that, which particularly distinguishes the man of virtue, Beneficence.  
ib. οὐ γὰρ πάροντες εἶ &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* magisque dandis quàm accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. and again, *Cæsar* beneficiis ac munificentiâ magnus habebatur.
- 20 βεδοαιότερος ᾗ] i. e. φίλος ἐστίν.
- 21 ὅτε σώσει] ἵνα σώζη.  
ib. ἀμειλύτερον] q. d. the edge of his generosity is taken off and blunted.
- 22 εἰδώς — ἀποδώσων] i. e. εἰδώς ἑαυτὸν ἀποδώσειν.  
ib. σὺν ἐς χάριν] that it will not entitle him to thanks.
- 23 ἔμφροντος λογισμῶ] the computation of advantage.  
ib. τ' ἐλπίσθαι τῶν πιστῶ] in confidence of their generosity whom we oblige.
- 7 1 ξυμειλὼν] viz. πάντων, to sum up all, bring all to a point.  
ib. πῶν πάσαι πόλιν] that our City taken in the whole.  
2 καθ' ἕκαστον] each man in his single capacity.  
3 παρ' ἡμῶν] viz. ὑπάρχοντα, γινόμενον, &c. men that go out from among us, viz. to the publick Games of Greece.  
ib. ἐπὶ πλεῖσ' ἔδη] viz. in the several kinds of bodily exercises, such as Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, Wrestling, Racing. *Solon* to encourage the *Athenians* in these feats of activity enacted an allowance of 100 Drachms (3l 4s 7d) out of the publick Treasury to every *Athenian*, who obtained a prize in the *Isthmian* Games, and 500 to such as were victors in the *Olympian*. Afterwards the latter of these had their maintenance in the *Prytanæum*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 441. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. art. 2. §. 10. Such rule of good Policy is prescribed *Xen. K. Π. α.* Ἀλλὰ μέντοι τότε μελετήσθαι ἔμελλεν ἢ πολιτικῶν ἔργων, ἀγωνίας ἢ πινάσ μιν δοκῆν ὡς ἐπιπῶν ἐκά-

- 7 *τοῖς κὴ ἄλλα παροφθαίς, μάλιστα ἂν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεῖσθαι ἔκαστα, ὅτε, ὅποτε δεῖται, ἔχεν ἂν παροφθαίσιμοις χρῆσθαι.*  
 5 *ἐν τῷ παρόντι*] viz. *ἐπαίνῳ.*  
 7 *τῷ νῦν*] viz. *οὕτως.*  
 ib. *ἀκρῆς κρείσσων ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται*] upon being brought to the trial or test is found to exceed the character which it bears.  
 8 *ἀζανάκτησιν ἔχῃ*] i. e. *παρέχῃ*, affords ground to an Enemy to conceive an indignation, ὑφ' οἷων, at the meanness of the persons by whom he suffers.  
 9 *τῷ ὑπερήκῳ κατὰ μέρη*] ἔχῃ, i. e. *παρέχῃ*, affords just reason to its Vassals to complain.  
 10 *σημείων*] may be interpreted *proofs from fact*. — *μαρτυρες*, are living witnesses, vouchers, &c.  
 12 *ἐδὲν παροφθαίμοι*] for *κατ' ἐδὲν*, i. e. *ἐδαμῶς παροφθαίμεθα.*  
 13. *οὔτε Ομήρεσ ἐπαινεῖτε*] *Cic. pro Arch.* O Te felicem, qui Homerum virtutis tuæ præconem nactus es. The character which Homer gives of the Athenians Il. B. 546 &c. is certainly an advantageous one. He there speaks of their City, as *εὐκλήμενον* — of their Country, as fruitful, the seat of the Goddesses of Culture *Ἀρουρα*, *εἰς ἐνὶ πτόνι νηῶ* — and of the People, in the person of the first Former of their state, as *μεγαλήτορος* — *ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ.* — and in that of their General *Menestheus*, as scarce to be paralleled for military skill. But in the course of the Poem, *Menestheus* and his followers the Athenians are seldom mentioned; while several other *Græcian* Leaders have separate Books assigned them for the display of their achievements. And this may be a probable reason, why the Athenian Orator here seems to undervalue all the encomiums that *Homer's* Pen could give.  
 14 *τῷ δὲ ἔργων ὑπέροισα ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάβη*] for ἢ τῶν ἔργων ὑπέροισα βλάβη τὴν ἀλήθειαν, the too high opinion which a Poet may raise of the achievements, will hurt or impair the credit of what was really achieved. Or else, the truth as it will appear upon examination, will destroy the high opinion which the Reader of such a Poem may have preconceived.  
 15 *καταναγκάσαιτες*] For *καταναγκάσαιμεν*, and so *ξυγκρατοικίσαντες*.  
 18 *δικαιῶνες μὴ ἀφαιρέσθαι αὐτὴν*] i. e. *ἐ δίκαιον νομίζοντες ἀφαιρέσθαι αὐτὴν*, not thinking it right, that it should be deprived of those great advantages, which are just before mentioned, its *δύναμις* &c.  
 19 *πάντα πᾶν*] either each particular person of those who survive; or, that they who survive will be ready to undergo every thing that may happen.  
 23 *ὁμοίως*] For *ὁμοίον*; or rather supply *πεπραγμένον*.  
 8 2 *ισόρροπος* — ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων] The meaning seems to require *ισόρροπα τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἔργα*, the facts will not be found upon

- 8 upon enquiry to be equal to the commendation which is given of them.
- ib. ἰσῆροπος &c.] Sall. B. Cat. In primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta dictis sint exæquanda.
- 3 δοκεῖ δὲ δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν] seems to manifest the bravery of a man, i. e. a true manly bravery.
- 5 ἢ νῦν τῶνδε κατὰ τροφὴν] not barely the death, but the whole course of that military service, in which they lost their lives, this ἀρετὴ τε μηνύουσα, as it first discovered the bravery of these men, καὶ τελευταῖα βεβαιόουσα, so it gave to it the seal of final confirmation.
- 6 τοῖς τῶνδε χεῖροσι] οἷον, κλοπὴν, μοιχείαν κτ' τὰ τοιαῦτα. Sch.
- 7 κερὸν ἀφανίσουσι] wiping out the stain or memory of their misconduct.
- 8 ὠφέλησαν] For ὠφελήσασιν ἂν, they may do it more service; Or, in fact they have done their country more service.
- ib. ἰδίων] viz. ἀμνηστιαίων.
- 10 οὔτε πείνας ἐλπίδι] nor was induced by the hopes of poverty, i. e. the hopes which poor men are apt to indulge, that by continuing to flee from poverty, they may at length surmount the difficulties of it and grow rich.
- 12 πτωχείαν ποθεινότεραν αὐτῶν λαθόντες] considering the taking vengeance of their Enemies to be much more desirable than either those situations of life.
- 14 μετ' αὐτῶν] viz. τότε ἔκ κελύου τὸ κινδύαν.
- ib. τῶν δ'] viz. ἔκ πλάτης καὶ ἔκ φυγῆς τὴν πείναν ἐφίεσθαι, and make this their road to wealth.
- 15 ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς ἔκ κελύου εἰπετέψαντες] q. d. τὸ κελύου εἰπετέψαντες ἢ πείναν, τῶν δ' ἐν ἐλπίδι εἰπετέψαντο, success they knew to be a thing uncertain; this therefore they committed to hope, or contented themselves with hoping the best.
- 16 οὐδὲ ἔκ ὀρωμένων σφίσι αὐτοῖς] viz. the nature of their duty and the dangers attending it.
- 18 ἐνδύντες] viz. ἑαυτοῖς.
- 19 δι' ἐλαχίστου &c.] ἐν βραχεῖ κατὰ ἀκμάζοντες ἐν εὐδοξίᾳ καὶ ἐκ δειλίας, οἱ ἀκμάζοντες ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔκ νικῆσαι, μάχων ἤγεν ἔκ δέας καὶ ἔκ φυγῆς (ἀκμάζοντες) ἀπηλλάγησαν τὴν σφαγὴν δεξάμενοι, i. e. ἀπέθανον. Sch. in one moment of time, at the very turn and crisis of their fortune in battle they were released, rather from their apprehensions of hope than of fear, for whatever they had of the former, they had none at all of the latter.
- 23 ἀσφαλιστέραν] viz. τὴν πόλιν.
- 9 6 ἐνδυμαμένους] It should regularly be ἐνδυμαμένους, for it is a continuation of the reflection σκηπέναι, l. 1. and θεαρόμους, l. 4. the words ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξα εἴηαι are only parenthetical;



- 9 tical; yet the dative ὑμῖν therein influences the succeeding participle.
- ib. ὅτι τολμῶντες &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere — domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius.
- 9 ἀξιῶντες] For ἠξιῶντο, and so παρῖέρηροι, for παρῖέντες.
- ib. καλλίστην ἔργον] *the noblest contribution that could be made, viz. that of their own persons.* so Xenoph. Κ. Π. ζ.  
εἰς τίνα παρ' ἑν καλλίστου ἔργον ἀπὸ τῶν παρῶν ἐπιτελέσασθαι, ἢ εἰς τὸνδε; νῦν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς ἀνδράσι γυμνασίῳ πολλὰ καὶ γὰρ αἰ-  
λήλοισ ἐπενεγκῆν.
- 15 στήλων] It was common to beautify sepulchres with pillars of stone, which frequently contained Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever else was remarkable in the Deceased. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 221.
- 16 ἐν τῇ μὴ πατριᾷ] viz. χώρα, *a country which does not belong to them; it being reckon'd a great misfortune die, or at least to be buried in a foreign country.*
- 17 τῷ ἔργῳ] *any work, any such funeral solemnity as we are now performing* (as the word is used p. 2. l. 14. and also by Plato and Lysias) or, *any sepulchre erected with much labour.*
- 19 μὴ παρορῶμεν] *do not overlook, not think yourselves unconcern'd in.*
- 20 οἷς ἐλπίς ὄν &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* quibus — neque spes bona ulla.
- 21 ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή] *the contrary change, viz. from happiness to misery, from honour to disgrace.*
- ib. ἐν οἷς — μεγάλη τὴ διαφορὰ] *in whom the difference is truly great.*
- 23 ἀνδρὶ γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι] *a man of spirit.*
- 24 ἢ ἐν τῷ μὲν τῷ μεγαλειότητι κάκωσις] Q. whether it might not rather be written ἢ ἐν τῷ μὲν &c. (as p. 6. l. 1.) the suffering a diminution in any respect, especially if the doing so be attended with or occasioned by cowardice and effeminacy.
- ib. ὁ μὲν ἰσχύος — θάνατος] *death occasioned by the vigorous exertion of our strength and courage, or, arriving while we are in vigour.*
- 10 1 μὲν κοινῶς ἐλπίδῳ] *the common hopes either of coming in for a share of the solemnity of an honourable interment in their own country, together with their comrades who fell with them, (to which purpose the expression seems used by Lysias p. 40. l. 5.) or the common hopes of having served their country.*
- ib. ἄμα γυμνασίῳ ἀναίδητος] q. d. ὡς ἄμα τῷ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐστὶν ἀναίδητος.

- 4 ἐπίστανται τραφέντες] q. d. ἐπίστανται ἰαωτὲς τραφῆναι, *they know that by the course of (their breeding up and therefore of) human life, they are subject to a variety of misfortunes.*
- ib. τὸ εὐτυχές, οἱ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχων &c.] more distinctly thus, τὸ δ' εὐτυχές ἐπίστανται αὐτῶν εἶναι, οἱ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάτε πνὸς λάχων, ὡσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν εὐπρεπεστάτης ἔλαχον τελευτῆς, (ὁμῆϊς δὲ εὐπρεπεστάτης λύπης ἐλάχεται, parenthetically.)
- 6 καὶ ἐν οἷς &c.] *and whose happiness and life have been made commensurate to each other, they being no less happy in the circumstance of their deaths than in their lives.*
- 7 πείθειν] viz. ὑμᾶς μὴ ἀναμνησθῆναι ταῦτα.
- 9 ἐ λύπη] i. e. ἐ οἶδ' ὅτι λύπη ἐστ.
- 13 ἢ οὐκ ὄντων] *of those who are now no more.*
- 14 καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν] viz. οἱ ἐπιχειρόμενοι λήθη ἔσονται.
- 15 ἢ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἰσὸν π &c.] Agreeably hereunto it was one necessary qualification for being elected into the office whether of Στρατηγὸς or Πητὸς (*General in the Army or Manager of publick debates,*) that a man had children born in lawful marriage; they being look'd upon as the best security for their Parents good behaviour. *Dinarch. Orat. contra Demosth.*
- 16 ἐν τῷ ἀμύβῃ] viz. μέγας, or πρόσω.
- 17 κέρδος ὄν] because there were many chances against their ever arriving at old age.
- 18 ἡγάδατε ἐ τὸνδε βραχὺν &c.] *Cic. de Senect. Me ipse consolabar, existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. and again, de Amicit. Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo (Scipione) occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem: sed nec illa extincta sunt, alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoriâ meâ: et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi ætas ipsa solatium: diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum.*
- 19 τὰ γὰρ φιλότιμον] referring to the *love of honour* implied in τῇ ἡῶν εὐκλείᾳ κεφίζεσθε, q. d. for if you cherish in your minds this love of honour, as you must do, if you reflect with pleasure upon your Children's glory, this will secure you against the inconveniences of old age.
- 20 ἐν ἀρχαίῳ ἢ ἡλικίας] viz. μέγας, q. d. and indeed there is no comparison between the pleasure arising to the mind during that season of life, in which age disqualifies men from being further serviceable in the world, I say there is no comparison between the pleasure arising from the love of honour, and that arising from the gratification of avarice, that common infirmity of old people.

23 ὅρῳ μέγαν τ' ἀγῶνα] viz. Ἀθηναίοισιν.

24 καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς] supposing you had an extraordinary degree of virtue.

**I I** 1 φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον] for so long as men live they never fail regarding any Rival of theirs with envy.

3 Εἰ δὲ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι δρετῆς, ὅσῳ νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι] more fully thus, εἰ δὲ με δεῖ καὶ μνησθῆναι τ' ἀρετῆς τῆς ἀποσηκῆσθαι ταύταις γυναιξί, ὅσῳ νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται. The Scholiast has τῆς σωφροσύνης· μὴ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ τοῖς γυναιξίν ἐνεσιν. ἔ γὰρ ἀνδρεία, ἢ δικαιοσύνη, ἢ φρόνησις. — and agreeably hereunto Fr. Portus, *mulierum relictum institutum est domi se continere, pudice & honeste vitam agere &c.* But Q. whether the γυναικεία ἀρετὴ is not rather their natural proneness to the softer passion of pity and concern, which certainly argues a virtuous disposition, tho' it may be indulged too far: Such extravagant indulgence he cautions them against, by telling them τ' ὑπερχύσεως φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γίνεσθαι, that their not behaving on this occasion unworthy of their noble descent, their being Athenians by birth, (as the word φύσις intimates in Plato's Epitaph. p. 16. l. 17) would be much for their glory, καὶ οἷς (or as some copies read it ἡς) and especially as this was a particular in which the other sex had little opportunity to signalize themselves, whether to their credit or discredit. — Plutarch, in his treatise *Γυναικῶν Αρεταί*, refers to this passage: but, citing it I suppose by memory, misrepresents it, as if *Thucydides* was here describing the most excellent Woman to be her, ἡς ἂν ἐλάχιστος ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ψόξῃ περὶ ἢ ἐπαίνῃ λόγος. — *Xenoph.* K. II. 5. hath a similar expression. *Ἀρεκαδίας* — ἐφάνη μὲν κάλλιστος καὶ ἐλευθεριώτατος, ἅτε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπερχύσεως quippe qui liberalis esset etiam a naturâ

**I O** αὐτῶν τὰς παῖδας &c.] The Children of such as sacrificed their lives for the glory and preservation of the Athenian commonwealth were carefully educated at the publick charge, μέχρις ἡῶνος, 'till the age of eighteen years, when they commenc'd *Εφηβοί*. (*Archæol.* v. i. p. 48.) Two years after they were introduced at a publick meeting of the *Δημόται* (men of the same borough) and enter'd in a register called *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, containing the names of all persons of that borough who were of age to succeed to the *ληξίαι*, or inheritance of their Fathers. At this time they were presented with a compleat suit of armour, and brought forth before the people, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them, that hitherto in remembrance of their Fathers merits the Commonwealth had educated these young men, but now dismissed them so armed, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers examples; and for their further encouragement they had the honour of the first seats at

- II** at shews, and all publick meetings. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 116, 346.
- 10** τὸ δὲ τῶνδε] viz. τὸ χρόνον.
- ib.** δημοσίᾳ] viz. τέρφῃ, implied in the verb θρίψι.
- 11** στέφανον] Alluding to the Crowns usually bestow'd upon the victors in the *Olympick* Games; to which this glorious contest, who should deserve best of his Country, was analogous.
- 12** ἀσπρηΐσαι] *holding forth or setting before them*, by way of encouragement and incitement.

## N O T E S

## U P O N

## P L A T O and L Y S I A S.

**T**O commemorate the virtues of brave men is an employment no less worthy of the greatest Genius, than it is interesting to every Lover of his Country. To have this task assign'd him by publick Authority must be doubly pleasing a Man of Parts. But without expecting the honour of such a call, a man may naturally enough be led to exercise his thoughts upon the subject, whether out of emulation of other men's performances, or from the desire of doing justice to such valuable characters, as he thinks have not been successfully attempted by others.

To one or other or both of these principles we owe the funeral Oration of *Plato*, and those of *Isocrates* intitled Παινηγύειος and Παναθηναϊκός: the former of which is said to have cost him the labour of 10 or 15 years. Whether *Lysias's* was ever spoken in publick or no, is uncertain; 'tis probable it was not, at least by himself; for he did not enjoy the full rights of common Citizen at *Athens*, and wanted the ἀξίωμα, mention'd by *Thucydides*, p. 2. l. 2. be a necessary qualification for that honourable office: He therefore most probably compos'd it, either for the use of his Scholars, or for his own amusement, as a model for Orations of this kind; and in fact, *Isocrates* thought it worth his while to pursue the same plan even to a servile exactness. And to me there seems some ground to imagine that *Plato* in composing His funeral Oration, had a particular view to those performances of *Lysias* and *Isocrates*.

*Pericles* had exhausted what was to be said in praise of the *Athenian* people, and the constitution of their Government. *Lysias* therefore enters upon their History, a subject which was not so much

much as glanced at by *Pericles*. *Plato* seems to have approv'd of the plan, but to have thought that it might be pursued to greater advantage, especially by introducing a more particular detail of publick transactions: This he does with great conciseness and clearness; there being above double the number of principal facts refer'd to in *Plato's* Oration beyond what occur in that of *Lysias*. (Tho' here we must observe an oversight in *Plato*, that he makes *Socrates* in this funeral oration refer to some facts, which 'tis generally agreed happen'd after his death: This is usually plac'd in the year before *Christ* 399, whereas the peace of *Antalcidas*, evidently refer'd to, was not concluded 'till 13 years after.)

Several passages in the proeme plainly intimate that *Plato* had some or more Rhetoricians of his own time in view, p. 13. he ridicules their conceit of their own abilities, and the false kinds of eloquence into which they were betray'd, — the airs they gave themselves in putting off as extemporal harangues what had cost them great pains and premeditation to compose, p. 14. l. 6. — their vanity in keeping their rules of composition, and the copies they gave their scholars as mighty secrets, p. 15. l. 13. and p. 36. l. 5.

2. And as to this particular oration, what *Lysias* says by way of Apology for the imperfection of his performance, his being obliged ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λίγαν, p. 36. l. 4. is rallied by *Plato's* εἰσὶν ἐπιτάσις τέτων λόγοι περισπασμένοι.

3. *Plato*, p. 15. l. 21. intimates that an oration of this kind should begin from the point, viz. treating of the deceased themselves, and not, as *Lysias* does, with an Apology for the speaker.

4. The κῆρυξέ πως ὀνόμασι ποιηκόντες, which *Plato* rallies, p. 13. is justly enough applicable to *Lysias's* introducing antithetical expressions to a high degree of affectation.

5. What *Plato* says of the impropriety of condoling with the friends of the deceased, the ξυωδύρεσθαι, is a direct censure of what *Lysias* much enlarges upon, p. 55. ἄξιον τέτῳσ ποθεῖν, & σφῶσ αὐτῶσ ὀλοφύρεσθαι, καὶ τῶσ πρὸσῆκόντῶσ αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν & ἐπιλοίπεσ βίη.

To which may be added another circumstance, that *Plato* in another of his pieces (*Phædrus*) has a direct criticism or banter upon another oration of *Lysias*.

It must be confess'd after all, that there is not any oration of *Lysias* that seems less subject to exception than this Funeral one: And if we admit the justice of \* *Cicero's* character of him, he cannot fail of engaging our attention, being a most consummate master of Oratory, equally fitted to do justice to subjects of every

\* *Lysias* Disertissimus, *Cic.* de Orat. l. 1. 118. Egregie subtilis atque elegans. — Orator prope perfectus, pressus, enucleatus, limatus, grandis, incitatus, ornatus, elatus, gravis tam verbis quam sententiis. *Brut.* 17. Acutus facetus brevis. *ib.* 31. Venustissimus atque politissimus; nihil habet insolens aut ineptum. *Orat.* 15.

kind; the finest speaker, exquisitely delicate and elegant both in his expression and sentiments, close, perspicuous, polite, spirited, pompous, lofty, pointed, concise, full of humour or grave, as his subject requires.

*Plato* likewise is by *Cicero* no less recommended to our esteem. At the same time those, who are us'd to those high finish'd pieces, which *Cicero* has prefix'd to some of his *Dialogues* by way of *Proemes*, may perhaps be disgusted at that very great plainness and simplicity with which the *Dialogue-part* is here conducted; they may also censure that frivolous kind of reasoning which he falls into p.17. (tho' indeed all that could be offer'd in support of his Countrymen's favourite notion of being *αὐτόχθονες* must be frivolous.) — But whatever justice there may be in any of these strictures, both orations are well worthy the perusal, particularly that *Προσόροια* of *Plato*, p. 30. than which nothing can contain better sense, or be work'd up more oratorically.

I have only to add, that I have placed *Plato's* oration *second* in Order, altho' I suppose it to have been compos'd after *Lyfias's*; because he intimates, that it was a sort of supplement to *Pericles's* oration, p. 15. l. 7.

12 <sup>1</sup> Μενέξενος] *Socrates* had a son by his wife *Myrton* of this name, *Diog. Laert.* l. 2. 26. and *Suid.* — From the air of the *Dialogue*, and p.12. l. 7. it can scarce be his son who is introduced as speaking. I may here observe, that the Writers usually consulted upon such names as are here incidentally (*Ἀρχῆν* and *Δίων* p.14. *Κόννος*, and *Λαμπρός* and *Ἀνφῶν*) namely *Diogenes Laertius* and *Suidas*, afford no satisfactory account of either, more than what may be collected from the manner in which their names are here mention'd: excepting indeed as to *Ἀνφῶν*, who is generally celebrated as a man of distinguish'd eminence for his skill in oratory, contrary to what is intimated p.14.

ib. *Ἀγορῆς*] viz. the old Forum within the city, in which were frequently held the publick Assemblies of the people; though the chief design of it was for the purpose of buying and selling. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37.

ib. ἐξ *ἀγορῆς*] viz. ἔρχε.

3 *Βουλευτήρια*] In the old Forum there were several *Βουλευτήρια*, or publick Halls, where each Company of tradesmen met and consulted about their affairs. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37. — The *Βουλευτήριον* here mention'd is the *Senate-House*, where the Senate of 500 met to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the general assembly of the people, and to transact several things by their own authority. See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c. By *Menexenus's* being there it appears

- I 2** pears that the transactions and debates of that council were not kept private; for he was not yet *ἐν ἀρχῇ*.
- 3** *τί μάλιτα σὺ*] viz. *ἀγνοούμενος ἀφίκεσθε βελ.* what could induce you of all people in the world to—
- 4** *ἐπὶ τέλει — ἔναντι*] to have arrived at the last and highest stage of —
- 10** *ἢ βελῆ*] See *Thucyd.* p. 2. l. 1.
- 11** *ὅστις*] some body or other to speak.
- 13** *εἰς τὸ αὐτοῖον*] viz. *ἡμέραν.* this Senate met for the most part every day. *Archæol.* v. I. p. 99.
- 15** *πολλὰ καὶ κινδυνώδη καλὸν*] sure it must be a glorious and desirable thing καὶ πολλὰς τεσσάρων in many respects to—
- I 3** **5** *παρασκευασμένων*] used in the active sense; or else men who are prepared (καὶ) λόγους.
- 6** *καλλίστῃ πως ὀνόμασι ποιήσαντες*] diversifying and thereby embellishing their panegyrick with fine words.
- 12** *ἐκάστοτε*] upon every such occasion—
- 13** *ἐν τῷ παραχρησμῷ*] viz. *χρόνῳ.*
- 14** *καὶ οἷα ἢ πολλὰ, ἀεὶ*] Q. whether ἀεὶ is not a gloss for οἷα τὰ πολλὰ: or thus, *καὶ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ πρῶτα, ὡς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ, ἀεὶ,* and I have always upon this occasion, as I have upon many others, strangers in my company. see p. 18. l. 24.
- 19** *αὐτῇ ἢ σεμνότητι*] this high sense of my own importance and dignity —
- 20** *ἔτις ἔναυλος*] so musical and so enchanting, — or continues so to tingle in my ears.
- 23** *τέως*] during that interval.
- I 4** **2** *ἐξ ἰσχυρίας*] viz. *χρόνῳ.*
- 6** *εἰ μὴ γὰρ δεοὶ (τῶ ῥήτορα) Ἀθηναίους ἐν Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λείπειν.* If an Orator was to undertake the business of praising the Athenians in an assembly of Peloponnesians, who may be supposed naturally prejudiced in their disfavour.
- 9** *ἀγωνίζηται*] is to perform his part: for inasmuch as an Orator's reputation was so highly interested in the satisfaction which he gave to his Auditors, this business of speaking might properly be considered as an *ἄγων.* And agreeably hereunto the word *εὐδοκίμησεν* is used just above; which is an agonistical term signifying to acquit oneself with credit: in which sense *δοκίμος* occurs frequently in SS. 2 Tim. 2. 15. Jam. 1. 2. *ἀδοκίμος* the contrary 1 Cor. 9. 27.
- 17** *Ἀσασίαν*] She was born at *Miletus*; and is said by her wit and beauty to have gain'd the affection of the principal Grecians of *Ionia*, as she afterwards did that of *Pericles* at *Athens*; over whom she is said to have had so much influence, as caused him to engage the *Athenians* in a war against the *Samians*, who had got the better of the *Milesians* in a war about the city of *Priene*.

- 14 18 λέγω γδ] *yes, I do mean her.*  
 21 Μουσική] Tho' the word is often us'd in a more extended sense so as to comprehend all the politer arts, as being under the common patronage τῶν Μουσῶν, yet here it seems to refer to the art of *modulating* the voice, &c. as ῥητορικὴ does to the art of *composing* an oration.
- 15 7 μοι δεκῆ] viz. κατὰς μοι δεκῆ.  
 10 ὀλίγου] for ὀλίγου δεῖν, or more fully ὅτε δὲ μίχρῳ πρᾶγμα-  
 τῷ δεῖν.  
 11 ἀλλ' ὅπως] viz. δίδουσα or σκόπη, βλέπε, &c.  
 12 δαυδύνη] sc. ἰμάτια. Tho' Dancing in *Greece* was look'd on as a commendable accomplishment and made a constant part of liberal education, yet this like several others, became perverted to lascivious purposes, particularly what were call'd καρδαιισμοί, and therefore no wonder that Dancing, when prostituted by Buffoons, should be thought indecent in men of wisdom and character. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 201. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 16. C. 1. Ar. 2. §. 10.
- 16 1 οἶδ' ἔχουσι] In the Edit. it is οἶδ' ἢδ' ἔχουσι. In *Dion. Halicarn.* and *Longin.* ἢδ' is omitted. The former admires this passage for the harmonious running of the words; the latter observes a particular beauty in *Plato's* describing Death by the periphrastical expression of ἐμφορμένην πορείαν, and the discharging of the funeral solemnities by ὤσπεμφθέντες &c.  
 2 πρεσβύον' ἐμφορμένην πορείαν] Alluding to the opinion that Souls could not be admitted to the common receptacle 'till their bodies were duly interr'd. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 161. &c.  
 3 κρινῆ] viz. ὤσπεμψι implied in ὤσπεμφθέντες.  
 5 τῷ γρη] *and it is proper in itself.*  
 9 εὐμψῶς παραινέσεται] *exhort them in such a manner as to soothe their present sorrow.*  
 11 εἰ πινεσ ἢ ἀναγεν ἐπὶ ὤσγονων] as Grandfathers, Great Grandfathers, &c.  
 12 τέτους δέ] Tho' the particle δέ may seem redundant, yet this repetition is not uncommon in *Plato*, being more strongly determinative of the persons here spoken of.  
 16 ἠκάζαντο] *were contented to receive their own deaths in exchange, in order to purchase—*  
 17 κτ' φύσιν] *in respect of their nature or birth.*  
 32 ὑπεῖξε &c.] *a similar expression we have Thucyd. L. 1. οὐδ' αὖ ὤσφτοι τῷ τοιάτῃ ὑπάρξαντες—* autores fuimus. & *Andoc.* οἱ ὑπῆρξαν τ' ἐλευθερίας ἀπαίση τῇ Ἐλλαδί.
- 17 1 ὅσα ἐπηλυς ἔσσι] See *Περικλ.* p. 3. l. 8.  
 μετοικῆσιν] The *Athenians* were extremely jealous of their rights as freeborn Citizens, and were therefore particularly careful to keep up the distinction between themselves and the μέτοικη, or such as came from foreign countries and settled



tled in *Attica*; where, though they were admitted by the council of *Areopagus*, and enter'd in a publick register, yet they were kept from intermeddling in any business of a publick nature, or indeed from acting in any thing, unless by means of some Citizen, under whose patronage and protection they placed themselves. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 53 &c.

4 καὶ νῦν κείθαι τελευτήσαντας] viz. φημι αὐτὰς κείθαι τελ. for this infinitive can't properly be referr'd to ἡ γένεσις ἀποφηνάμενη, l. 1.

6 ὑποδέξαμένης.] which having first conceived them, as a Mother, hath now by their burial, received them back again to herself.

10 πολλαχῆ μὲν ἐ ἀλλῆ] viz. ἐπὶ μέλει.

ib. ἄσπρον ἢ καὶ μέγιστον.] sc. καὶ ἢ τὸ πρῶτον.

11 ἡ ἴσ' ἀμφισπησσάντων ἀπὸ αὐτῆς Θεῶν ἕως τε ἐ κρίσις] viz. between *Neptune* and *Minerva*, who should be declared Protector of *Athens*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 31, 91. *Hind.* p. 20, 21.

15 ἐν ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδα &c.] see *Lucret.* l. 5. v. 780 &c.

18 ἐβύνησεν] Alluding to the title in which the *Athenians* prided themselves, *Αὐτόχθονες*.

19 νομίζει] not only thinks there are, but κατὰ τοὺς νόμους σέβεται.

21 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τέκνον &c.] Notwithstanding the frivolousness of this reasoning, *Lucretius* seems to have alluded to it, l. 5. v. 805.

*Hinc ubi quæque loci regio opportuna dabatur,  
Crescebant usque terræ radicibus apti;  
Quos ubi tempore maturo patefecerat ætas  
Infantum fugiens humorem, aurasque petissens,  
Convertebat ibi Natura foramina terræ,  
Et succum venis cogebat fundere apertis  
Consimilem lactis; sicut nunc fœmina quæque  
Cum peperit dulci repletur lacte, —*

22 ᾧ καὶ γυνὴ τεκῶσσι τε] The participle here following the adjective is to be thus resolved, either ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐστὶ γυναῖκα τεκῶσιν ἀληθῶς, or δῆλον ἐστὶν ὡς γυνὴ ἔτεκεν —

23 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποδοξαμένη] viz. καὶ (δῆλη) μὴ (τεκῶσσι) ἀλλ' ὑποδ. i. e. καὶ δῆλον ἐστὶ γυναῖκα μὴ τεκῶσιν ἀλλ' ὑποδοξαμένην, or ὡς μὴ ἔτεκεν ἀλλ' ὑποδοξαμένην —

18 i μόνη γὰρ &c.] *Lucret.* l. 6. v. 1.

*Primæ frugiferos fœtus mortalibus ægris  
Dididerunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ:  
Et recreaverunt vitam, legesque rogarunt.*

2 ἐν τῷ τῶτι] viz. χρόνῳ.

- 18 8 *ὅσα ἐφθόνησεν ἀλλ' ἐνείμει &c.*] *It has been so far from dealing them out with a niggardly hand, that it hath imparted sufficient to serve the necessities of others.* As to the fact, *Attica* is on all hands agreed to have been very craggy, and to have had a very unfruitful soil, which, however disadvantageous in other respects, served to quicken the invention of the Inhabitants, and put them upon exerting themselves by trade and commerce. *Stan. V. 1. 11. Archæol. v. 1. p. 2. Rollin V. 2. B. 5. Art. 3.* In the reign of *Pandion I.* *Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* to sow and manure the ground, which art he learnt from *Ceres*, the same with the *Egyptian Isis*, who is thought at this time to have come into *Attica*. *Stan. v. 1. p. 141.*
- 11 *Θεὸς ἐπιγάλας*] *Cecrops* an *Egyptian* is said to have introduced a form of Religion among the *Athenians*, and to have erected Altars and Statues in honour of the Gods, particularly *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. *Stan. v. 1. p. 132. Archæol. v. 1. p. 184.*
- ib. *ὀνόμαζα πρὸς ἐᾶν*] Inasmuch as it would be descending too low to recount the several inventors of manual arts, and would be foreign to the purpose to be particular in the detail of any transactions but those of a military nature.
- 13 *τέχνας ᾠρεῖται*] *Cecrops* Navigation, *Triptolemus* Agriculture, *Theſeus* civil Polity. *Archæol. v. 1. p. 8, 9, 10. Pelasgus Building. Stan. p. 10.*
- 15 *ὀπλων κτήσιν*] See *Archæol. v. 2. B. 3. c. 4.*
- 17 *ἄφ' ἑσθέρων*] viz. *ρημάτων.*
- 22 *ὧν οἶδε τυγχάνεσιν ὄντες οἱ πετελοῦται*] instances whereof we have now before us in the persons here deceased.
- 23 *τότε ἢ καὶ νῦν (εἶναι) ἀριστοκρατία*] viz.] it was originally, as it now is, in reality according to the import of the name, an *Aristocracy*, the best constituted form of Government.
- 24 *ὡς τὰ παλαιά*] The Democracy was broke in upon several times; viz. by *Pisistratus*, — when the Government of the 400 was established, — when the thirty Tyrants had the Administration.
- 19 1 *ὁ δὲ, ἄλλο*] i. e. κατ' ἄλλο ὄνομα.
- 2 *μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους ἀριστοκρατία*] an *Aristocracy* extending to All the people, with no other distinction than that of their good repute or good desert. The Commonalty of *Athens* being by *Solon's* constitution invested with the supreme power in all affairs, as well publick as private, He to prevent the pernicious consequences that might arise from the rashness of an unthinking multitude, instituted a council of men of the best credit in the city to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the people; this Council at first consisted

19 consisted of 400, afterwards of 500. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c.

3 Βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ] *q. d.* And whereas the Lacedæmonians boast of the advantages of Regal government, we have always had something thereof in our constitution. The persons invested with that authority holding it sometimes by descent, at other times by election. After Codrus the name of King was no longer given to the supreme Magistrate, but that of *Archon*. The office was at first perpetual; then decennial; afterwards annual: After which last regulation there were 9 of them; and only one had the title of *Archon*: his authority, tho' much curb'd by his colleagues and by the councils, was however pretty nearly as extensive as that of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings. The next was call'd Βασιλεύς, but his jurisdiction related chiefly to religious matters. The third, Πολέμαρχος; and the six others, Θεισμῶνται. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 12, 76. See *Sy- nefius de Regno*. Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἔν κ' Βασιλεύς τις καλέμενος μι- κρὰ ἔπραττε, ἔ ὑπέθνηος ἦν, εἰς τοῦνομα τῷ Δήμῳ οἴμασι παίζοντος, ἀπὲ ὄντες ἀκρατῶς ἐλεύθεροι.

4 ἐγκρατὲς τῆς πόλεως] The Commonalty had a negative upon all proceedings of the Senate. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 95, 96. and therefore might be said to hold and restrain the Govern- ment within the bounds of moderation.

5 ἀρχαίς κ' κροῖται] The people had the disposal of all magis- tracies at *Athens*; and even those persons who owed their promotion to lot, were first approved by the people before they enter'd upon their office. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72.

6 κροῖτος] influence, authority.

ib. τοῖς αἰεὶ δὲξασιν ἀρίστους εἶναι] to men according as they appear distinguished by their viriue.

ib. ἀδενεία] (*viz.* ἐπὶ) for want of personal interest.

7 οὔτε πνίφα] See *Pericl.* p. 4. l. 9.

ib. οὐτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων] The *Athenians* were very jealous of their rights and privileges as Citizens, and obliged all fathers to enroll their sons in the register of their particular Φροῖτεια, call'd κρινὸν γραμματεῖον. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 47. so that ἀγνω- σία πατέρων only signifies their being men of no figure, or emi- nence in the state.

ib. ἀπελήλαται] is thought disqualified for, or rejected from.

8. τοῖς ἐναντίοις] (*ἐπὶ*) for the contrary qualifications.

9. εἰς ὅρας] the one and only mark of distinction is this.

ib. κροῖται] has influence.

10 τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης] of our thus conducting our publick af- fairs.

12 ἀνωμάλων] men of different rank and condition.

ib. ἀνάμειλοι πολιτείας] unequal administrations of government. ὁμοῦλος seu ὁμοῦλης planus, æqualis. ὁμοῦλης διαίτη æqualitas civilis;

- 12 civilis : cui *πλεονεξία* opponitur, seu plus habendi, acquirendique, cupiditas immodica, avaritiaque circumscribens, quæ sibi partem majorem justâ præcidit; est vitium ejus, qui in omni re præcipuum quippiam habere vult. *Budeus*.
- 13 *Τυραννίδες*] This was a term of reproach, as is also *Oligarchy* in the mouth of an *Athenian*, applied to all Monarchical and Aristocratical governments however administered.
- 14 *οικῶσιν ἐν, εἰσὶ μὲν δούλους, οἱ δὲ δεσπότας &c.*] This distinction likewise obtained at *Athens*; the Servants being the most numerous part of the inhabitants of *Attica*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 57 &c. But what he means is this, that in Monarchical and Oligarchical governments the bulk of the Citizens themselves are little better than *Slaves*; the *Men of fortune* look upon their inferiors as such.
- ib. *οικῶσιν οὖν*] *the consequence whereof is seen in private life, that — or — accordingly they live in such manner as to regard one another —*
- 16 *οὐκ ἀξιούμεν*] *We neither think so meanly of ourselves as to become the Servants, nor so highly as to Lord it over one another —*
- 18 *ζητεῖν*] *to exert ourselves in securing.*
- ib. *μηδέν ἄλλω*] i. e. *ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλω πρῶτον in no other respect, on no other account —*
- 21 *καὶ καλῶς φύντες*] *having the glorious advantage of being free-born —*
- 22 *ἀποφηνάντες*] *have displayed, have distinguished themselves by —*
- 20 1 *Εὐμόλπης καὶ Ἀμαζόνων*] It must not be supposed that these expeditions against *Athens* happen'd at the same time. see *Chronol. Tab.*
- ib. *Εὐμόλπης*] He was K. of *Thrace*, and assisted the *Eleusinians* in a war against *Athens* in the reign of *Eretheus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 124. *Hind.* p. 26.
- ib. *καὶ Ἀμαζόνων*] This war happened in the reign of *Ægeus*; the *Amazons* being provoked thereunto by his son *Theseus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 150. *Hind.* p. 57. See *Lyfias* p. 38. l. 10.
- 2 *ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ παλαιῶν*] *viz.* in the fabulous times preceding the date of these transactions.
- 3 *Ἀργείοις*] *viz.* when they assisted *Adrastus* against *Creon* in recovering the dead bodies of his friends who were slain before *Thebes*. For *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, sons of *Oedipus* K. of *Thebes*, quarrelling about the administration of their father's Government, the latter called in to his assistance *Adrastus* K. of *Argos*; the attack upon the city of *Thebes* was made under the command of *Polynices* and *Adrastus*, with five other Captains, commonly called *οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις*, who all fell, except *Adrastus*, with defeat of the army of the *Argives*. Upon this, *Creon* usurped the throne of *Thebes*, and would

- would not suffer the *Argives* to bury their Dead, till the *Athenians* under *Theseus* came at the request of *Adrastus*, and did it by force. *Hind* p. 66. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 127.
- 20 *Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς Ἀργείους*] viz. against *Eurystheus*. After the death of *Hercules*, *Eurystheus* continued his resentment and expressed it to his Children, by commanding *Hyllus* and the rest, being about 60 in number, as they grew up, to quit *Peloponnesus*. They not being in a capacity to resist him, betook themselves to *Athens*, where they were harboured and protected. *Eurystheus* finding them thus settled in a body, and carrying it high upon their own descent and their Father's merit, invaded *Attica*, with a design to extirpate them. But he himself and his sons were slain. The *Heraclidae* in their turn invaded *Peloponnesus* several times, but were obliged to desist, till the third generation; when they succeeded in their enterprise, and changed the face of affairs in *Peloponnesus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37. 58. *Hind* p. 49.
- ib. *πρὸς Καδμείους*] He calls the *Thebans* by this name, because they were yet under Kings of the race of *Cadmus*; Afterwards when their government became Democratical, they are called *Θηβαῖοι*.
- 4 ὅ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς διηγῆσαι] *the time would fail me, is too short to relate.*
- ib. ποιητῶν τε αὐτῶν] particularly as to the *Theban* war; *Antimachus* in *Plato's* time is said to have publish'd 24 books, only of the Preparations for the siege of *Thebes*. *Stan.* V. 1, p. 126. *Aeschylus* the Tragedian in his *ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις*. *Sophocles* in his *Ἐπιγῆνοι* and *Ἀνηζώνη*. *Euripides* in his *Φοινίσσας*. — As to the troubles of the *Heraclidae*, *Euripides* has a Tragedy with that title.
- 5 ἐν μουσικῇ] viz. τέχνη or ἐπιστήμη, in poetry.
- 6 μεμνημένωσιν] It was usual for Poets to recite their compositions at the publick Games of Greece. *Arthæol.* V. 1. p. 445.
- 7 λόγῳ ψιλῷ] in meer naked prose.
- ib. ταχ' ἂν δευτέρῃ φανοίμεθα] *I should doubtless make but a low and mean appearance.*
- 8 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν] (viz. μὲν) as justice hath been done to them — or although they merit it —
- 10 ἐπ' ἔστιν ἐν ἀμνησίᾳ] not absolutely so; for how then could he pretend to give an account of them? but in a way of being forgot for want of being celebrated by some eminent Genius.
- ib. λάττων ἔχει] i. e.] ἔλαττον.
- 11 μοι δοκεῖ — ἐπαινεῖν] N. B. the transition from the *Dative* to the *Accusative*.
- ib. ἐπιμνησθῆναι] to make mention of.
- ib. προμηνώμενον] exhorting, perswading.
- 14 ὡρεῖται] (viz. ταῦτα,)

- 14 Πέρσας ἡγεμένους τῆς Ἀσίας] particularly that part of *Asia minor* which was peopled by Grecian Colonies, *Æolia*, *Ionian*, *Caria* and *Doris*.
- 15 ἔχον] check'd the progress of —
- ib. οἱ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἑκτανοί] alluding to their favorite title *Ἀντοχθονες*.
- 17 μνησθέντες] viz. ἡμᾶς implied in the preceding ἡμέτεροι.
- 20 τελευτῶν ἤδη βασιλείῃ] viz. *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; for *Cyrus* was the founder of the *Persian* Monarchy; — to him succeeded *Cambyzes*; — and (after a short interval) *Darius*.
- ib. ἐλδυσσεύσας Πέρσας] see *Hind.* p. 237 &c. *Prideaux* Connect. P. 1. B. 2. *Rollin.* V. 2. B. 4. c. 1. who chiefly follow *Xenophon*. But *Plato* seems here principally to regard the account given by *Herodotus*: according to which, *Deiotes* was the founder of the *Median* Empire, and reigned 53 years; he was succeeded by *Phaortes* who subdued the *Persians*, and a great part of *Asia*, and died after a reign of 22 years. His son *Cyaxares* divided *Asia* into distinct provinces and governments, and carried his conquests into *Assyria*, but was for a time interrupted in them by an invasion of *Scythians* into *Asia*, and died after a reign of 40 years. His son *Astyages* reigned 35 years, and was dethroned by his grandson *Cyrus*; by whom the Empire of *Asia* was transferred from the *Medes* to his Countrymen the *Persians*. *Herodot.* L. 1. 95—131.
- 21 φρονήματα] courage, resolution, good sense. —
- 23 μέχρησι Αἰγύπτου] according to *Xenophon's* account, *Ægypt* likewise was render'd tributary to *Cyrus*.
- 23 ὁ ἢ ὑὸς αὐτῆ] viz. *Cambyzes*.
- ib. Αἰγύπτῳ] It is probable that after the death of *Cyrus* *Amasis* K. of *Ægypt* endeavoured to shake off the *Persian* yoke: but he and his son *Psammetitus* failing in the attempt, all *Ægypt* was reduced under the *Persian* Empire. *Rollin*, V. 2. B. 4. c. 2. &c. *Hind.* p. 249. *Prideaux*, V. 1. p. 235.
- 24 ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπιβαίνειν] alluding to the terrible destruction, which was made of his men in passing over the deserts of *Libya* by the torrents of sand which overwhelmed them; and to the great distresses which another army of his suffered, for want of provisions, in his expedition against the *Æthiopians*. *Prideaux* ib. p. 239 &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 4. c. 2.
- 21 ἰ πικρῇ] viz. δυνάμει.
- ib. μέχρησι Σκυθῶν] Against the *Thracians* and *Getæ* he succeeded, but was forced to retreat after an inglorious attempt against *Scythia*, or that Country which lies between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 208. *Hind.* p. 262. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 275 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 3.

- 2 τῆς τε βασιλείης ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν νόμων] *Prideaux* p. 287-291. *Stanlyan* V. 1. p. 215. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 1. c. 6. §. 6. The Islands of the *Ægean* sea seem 'till this time to have enjoyed each of them the benefit of their own Laws and Government.
- 3 αἱ γνώμαι δὲ δουλωμέναι ἦσαν] *their very souls were so much enslaved that no one had thoughts of resisting* —
- 4 οὕτω παλαιὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μέγιστα] Besides those already mentioned, *Darius* subdued *Ionia*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 5.
- 5 καταδουλωμένη ἦν] in an active sense, *had subdued* —
- 6 ἡμῶς τε καὶ Ἐρετριῶν] The *Athenians* did actually joyn with and assist the *Ionians* in their revolt from the K. of *Persia*, with twenty ships, being induced thereunto by *Artaphernes's* giving shelter to *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 283.
- ib. Ἐρετριῶν] They made themselves objects of the *Persians* resentment by sending 5 of their ships in conjunction with the *Athenians* in their expedition against *Sardes*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 212. *Hind* p. 276. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 294.
- 7 αἰτιασάμενοι] *having resolved to quarrel with us, to find something to accuse us* —
- ib. Σαρδεῖαν] *Sardes* was the metropolis of *Lydia*, and the usual place of residence to the *Persian* Satrapa. — The *Ionian* revolters in conjunction with the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* made themselves masters of the town; when an *Ionian* soldier setting fire to one house, the rest being built most of cane took fire and were reduced to ashes, the castle only excepted; into which *Artaphernes* had retired with his Garrison, upon the taking of the town by the revolters. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 284.
- 7 κεφαλαίον ἢ Σαρδεῖαν ἐπιχειροῦμεν] *alleging this as the particular pretext, that we had formed (or rather executed) a design against Sardes.*
- 8 πλοίοις καὶ ναυσί] the former *transport ships*, the latter *ships of war.*
- 10 εἰ βέλονται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν] *if he had any thoughts of, or inclination to save his head.*
- 11 αἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκίμοτατοῖς ἦσαν] *who were some of the most considerable people among the Grecians of that time for* —
- 13 ἐν ἑξήμισι ἡμέραις] Others say that for six days the *Persians* were repulsed with loss in their attempts to storm the City but that on the 17th it was betrayed into their hands, plundered, and burnt. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 221. *Hind.* p. 292. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 295.

- 15 *Ἐρετραιῶς*] *Eretria* was not the principal city of *Eubœa*, but only the next to *Chalcis*: It stood upon the *Euripus* on the western side of the Island, and by the expression *ἐν θαλάτῃς εἰς θαλάτῃαν*, it should seem that nearly half of the Island was under its Jurisdiction.
- 17 *ἴν' ἔχουσιν*] *that they might be able to* —
- 19 *κατηγάγοντο*] *were conducted viz. by Hippias, or simply descended from on shipboard into the plain of Marathon.*
- ib. *Μαραθῶνα*] ten miles distant from *Athens*.
- ib. *ὡς ἵτοιμον οφίσιν ὄν*] *viz. χώρον, as being the most convenient place, viz. for their Cavalry.* — or, it may be the Accusative absolute, the same with *ὡς ἵτοιμον ὄντ' ἡράματα* *as being an easy matter to bring* —
- 21 *ζεύξαντες ἔστειλῦσιν ἄγειν*] With this intent the *Persians* are said to have come provided with a great number of fetters and chains. *Rollin V. 3. c. 1.*
- 23 *ἔδειξεν πλὴν Λακεδαιμ.*] The *Platœans* excepted; for they furnished 1000 soldiers. The *Athenians* being sensible of the disproportion of their own forces to the *Persian*, dispatch'd messengers to *Lacedæmon* for their speedy assistance. The *Lacedæmonians* seemed very willing to assist; but not being permitted to stir by their laws till the Full of the Moon, came not into the field till the day after the battle. *Stan. V. 1. p. 221, 223. Hind. p. 292. Rollin V. 3. c. 1. §. 7.*
- 24 *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τ' μάχης*] *q. d. μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ὑστερον τ' μάχης.*
- 22 *ἠγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρίαν*] *being contented with saving their lives for the present.* — not considering the probable consequences of their Cowardice.
- 2 *ἐν τῷ*] *sc. χρόνῳ.*
- 4 *δεξιόμοι*] not that the *Athenians* waited to receive the enemy; but, small as their numbers were, (*viz. 10,000 against 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse,*) they gave the onset. *Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.*
- 5 *πρῶτοι ἔσαντες*] *viz. first of all the Grecians, who triumphed over the Persian forces.*
- 6 *ἔσαντες τρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων*] The Trophies of the Antients consisted chiefly of the armour and spoils of the vanquished enemy, hung upon the trunk of a tree and dedicated to some of the Gods. Sometimes Pillars of Stone were made use of. *Archæol. V. 2. p. 111, 113.* At this battle of *Marathon* the *Persians* thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had brought marble in order to erect a Trophy there. The *Grecians* took this marble and caused a statue to be made of it by *Phidias* in honour of the Goddess *Nemesis*. *Rollin. V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.*
- ib. *ἔσαντες τρόπαια τ' Βαρβάρων*] *viz. ἀπὸ αἰ κτ' τ' Βαρβ.*
- 8 *ἀλλὰ πᾶν*] *i. e. ἀπὸ πάντων.*



- 11 *ὦν τῆδε τῆ ἡπίερα* (viz. γῆ) in contradistinction to *Asia*.
- 12 *ἔργον*] *that action, that atchievement* —
- ib. *τοῖς ὑστέρας μάχαις*] viz. καὶ τοῖς &c.
- 13 *ἐτόλμησαν*] *had the courage, the resolution, to* —
- 14 *μαθηταὶ τῶ Μαροθῶνι*] viz. *Δικινδωνουσάντων*.
- ib. *ἀρεταῖα τῷ λόγῳ ἀναθετίον*] *The rewards of the first and principal honours therefore I am in this Oration to distribute to* —
- 15 *τοῖς ᾧ Σαλαμίνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ*] Of the two fights here referred to, that at *Artemisium* happened first. *Artemisium* was a promontory in the north part of *Eubœa*. The *Persians* had designed to surprize the *Grecian* fleet in the streights of *Eubœa* with a squadron of theirs; but by the advice of *Themistocles*, the *Grecians* set sail in the night, and by a counter-surprize fell in with them, took and sunk 30 ships and forced the rest to sea; where by streifs of weather they were all sunk or stranded. The next day the *Persians* bore down with the remaining part of their fleet upon that of the *Grecians*, which by the singular valour of the *Athenians* maintained the conflict, but was so shatter'd in the engagement, as to be forced to quit this station in order to refit. *Stan. V. 1. p. 242. Hind. p. 313. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.*
- 16 *ᾧ Σαλαμίνα*] After the foregoing engagement the *Persians* coming up with their fleet invaded *Eubœa* and the neighbouring Coasts. *Xerxes* at the same time marched thro' *Doris* and *Phocis* to *Bœotia* ravaging all before him. The *Grecian* confederates still continued upon the retreat, and the *Athenians* found themselves obliged to transport their wives and children and most valuable effects to *Trœzene*, *Ægina* and *Salamis*; at the latter of which places (being a little island over against and near *Attica*) was the rendezvous of the *Grecian* fleet. Here *Themistocles* partly by bullying the rest of the *Grecian* Commanders, and partly by stratagem, induced them to hazard an engagement with a much superior force of the *Persians*, and defeated them. *Stan. V. 1. p. 248. Hind. p. 321. Rollin V. 3. c. 2. §. 8.*
- 18 *οἷα ἐπίοντα ὑπέμειναν*] *what a series of dangers and difficulties, attacking them one after another, they sustained* —
- 20 *τὸ ἐξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαροθῶνι διεπράξαντο*] *seconded the blow that given by our Countrymen at Marathon.*
- ib. *ὅτι τὸ ἐξῆς ἔργον &c.*] viz. *τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σωτηρίας* as p. 23. l. 10.
- 21 *οἱ Μαροθῶνι*] i. e. *οἱ ἐπὶ Μαροθῶνι μαχησάμενοι.*
- 24 *πλήθει*] see *Lysias* p. 45. l. 7.
- 23 *τὸν ἐχόμενον φόβον*] *the fear which possessed them: or, which was near them; or, the fear which was connected with and arose from what is above mentioned, πλήθει ἔπλετο &c.*

23 9 τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον] After *Xerxes*'s retreat out of *Greece*, *Mardonius* stayed behind and wintered in *Thessaly*. In the spring he offered very advantageous terms of peace to the *Athenians*; which being rejected with disdain, he enter'd *Attica* with fire and sword; whereupon the *Athenians* a second time deserted their city, and retired to *Salamis*. The joint forces of *Greece* being now on their march towards him from *Peloponnesus*, he retreated into the plain-country of *Bœotia*, in order to put himself into a better posture of defence. The *Grecian* army was 120,000, under *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; The *Persians* were 350,000, or, as others, 500,000. These latter attacked the *Lacedæmonian* part of the army at a disadvantage, near the city of *Platæa*, but were repulsed with vigour and forced into their intrenchments; when the *Athenians* coming up rendered the victory compleat. The very same day the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* gave an entire defeat to another large army of *Persians* near *Mycale*, a promontory of *Ionia*, and burnt their shipping. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 255—266. *Hind.* p. 353 &c. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4 p. 340. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2.

ib. ἔργον — ἡ Ἐλληνικῆς σωτηρίας] viz. ὑπὲρ —

11 τὸ μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον (viz. πρῶτον) οὗτοι πάντες ἡμῶν] *These then, all of them warded off the greatest difficulty, namely, the danger with which the Persians threatened us —*

13 ὑπὸ ἡ ὑστερον] (viz. ἰσομένων ἐγκωμιαδῆσονται.)

14 πολλὰ μὲν πόλεις] The foregoing defeats of the *Persians* were followed by the revolt of all *Ionia*; which entering into a confederacy with the *Grecians*, by their help, maintained its liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire. Besides this, the *Grecians* equipped a strong fleet, of which *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* and *Aristides* the *Athenian* had the command; they sailed first to *Cyprus*, and the next year to the *Hellepont* and other places, and freed many cities from the *Persian* garrisons, and restored them to their liberty (*Prideaux* B. 4. p. 348, 352. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 2. §. 14.) But this giving liberty to the *Grecian* cities was chiefly effected by *Cimon* three years afterwards, who reduced several islands upon the coast of *Thrace*; and the next year after, sailing from *Athens* with a fleet of 200 sail, and augmenting it with 100 more from the *Asiatick* Allies, drove the *Persians* out of *Caria* and *Lycia*, destroyed their fleet in the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and the very same day landing his forces overthrew, and gained a compleat victory over their land army; He soon after surpris'd and destroyed 80 *Phœnician* ships which were coming to join the *Persian* fleet. And the next year reduced the *Thracian* Chersonesus

- 23 with several of the Isles adjacent. *Prideaux* B. 4. p. 358. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 3. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 265 and 289.
- 15 ἀνοήσθαι ὡς ἐπιχειρήσων] to be meditating a design of invading —
- 20 οἱ τε ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι &c.] the sea fight at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia* happened 7 years after one of their expeditions to *Cyprus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 272, and 290. *Hind.* p. 346, and 367. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 348, 356.
- 20 οἱ εἰς Κύπρον στρατεύσαντες ἢ οἱ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες] *Cyprus* was an island lying in the straits between *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*. As the possession of it would on all occasions be a curb to the *Persian*, the *Athenians* sent thither a fleet of 200 sail; and in order to secure to themselves a greater command in those parts, joined their forces with *Inarus* K. of *Lybia*, to support the *Egyptians* in their revolt from the *Persian*. Upon first landing in *Egypt* the *Athenians* routed the *Persians* and pursued them to *Memphis*, took two parts of the city, and blocked up the third. But after a siege of near three years they were obliged to desist, were themselves with their shipping blocked up in the *Nile*, and after great losses with difficulty retired home, having spent near six years in this fruitless expedition. *Prideaux* V. 2. B. 5. p. 371, 442. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 310. *Hind.* p. 377.
- 22 χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι ὅτι] to retain and express a grateful sense of their services, in that they —
- 24 ἀλλὰ μὴ &c.] Accordingly, after the conquests of *Cimon*, *Xerxes* gave over all thoughts of the *Grecian* war; nor were any more of his ships seen in the *Ægean* sea, nor any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 359.
- 24 <sup>1</sup> διητλήθη] *Virg.* *Æn.* 4.  
*Quæ bella exhausta canebat.*
- ib. πίσση τῇ πόλει] The city being obliged to exert her whole force in the *Persian* war.
- 2 ἰομόφωνων] *Æolis* in *Asia minor* was inhabited by a colony of *Dorians* of *Laconia* after their expulsion out of *Peloponnesus* by the *Heraclidae*; as was a great part of *Lesbos*. — *Ionia* by a colony of *Ionians*, who being likewise expelled *Peloponnesus* returned to *Athens* their original country, and in conjunction with other *Athenians* under *Nileus* and *Androcles* sons of *Codrurus*, seized upon that part of the coast of *Asia minor* which lies between *Caria* and *Lydia*. Other *Dorians* settled, some of them in *Crete*, but a much larger number in that part of *Asia minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and in the adjacent islands of *Rhodus*, *Cos*, &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 5. Tho' there was a difference in the language of the inhabitants of these several districts of *Asia minor* and the Islands,

24 as also between those of proper *Greece*, yet as they were all derived from and grounded upon the same original tongue, it proved a mighty cement to unite them in one common interest, as it suggested that they were all related to each other in their origin.

3 ὃ δὴ φιλαῖ — τοῖς εὐτυχίαισι προσπίπτειν] *what usually happens to persons in prosperity.*

6 πρῶτον μὲν ζῆλος &c.] Soon after the victories gained over the *Persians* at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, *Pausanias*, the chief commander of the *Lacedæmonian* forces, by his haughtiness gave the *Grecian* confederates such ill impressions of the *Lacedæmonian* dominion, that they all, except the *Peloponnesians*, put themselves under the protection of the *Athenians*, and gave them liberty to rate all the cities in such proportion of ships and money, as they thought necessary for the support of the war. This transferring of the command of *Greece* occasioned no small jealousy in the *Lacedæmonians*, and laid the foundation of such discontent and afterwards broke out into an open rupture; particularly on occasion of the *Lacedæmonians* dismissing in a fit of jealousy a body of *Athenians* from their service, whom they had sent for to assist them in quelling an insurrection of their slaves, as *Thucydides* relates B. 2. *Stan-yan* V. 1. p. 272 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 14.

9 σωίσταλον ἐν Τανάγρα] q. d. ἡμέτεροι πολίται (implied in τὴν πόλιν l. 8.) σωίσταλον (μύχην.) The quarrel which occasioned this engagement, lay between the *Phocians* and the *Dorians*; to the assistance of which latter, the *Lacedæmonians*, as being originally descended from them, sent 11500 men. These forces soon brought the *Phocians* to terms: but staying in *Bœotia* were attacked about *Tanagra* a city not far distant from *Thebes*, by the *Athenians*; the slaughter on both sides was considerable, and the victory turned in favour of the *Lacedæmonians*. About two months after this defeat, the *Athenians* marched into *Bœotia* under *Myronides*, and intirely routed the inhabitants with those *Lacedæmonian* forces, which were left, at a place called *Oenophyta*, or the Vineyards, took *Tanagra* by storm and demolished it and overran the greatest part of *Bœotia*, *Phocis* and *Locris Opuntia*. *Stan-* V. 1. p. 302, &c. *Hind*. p. 381.

ib. ὑπὲρ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας] The *Thebans*, who had for some time been under disgrace, upon account of their joining with *Xerxes* in the *Persian* war, and now found themselves despised and their authority disowned by the rest of the *Bœotians*, desired the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* to reduce all *Bœotia* under the Dominion of *Thebes*: promising them that, if they would assist them in that desire, they would maintain the war against the *Athenians* at their own charge.

The

24 The *Lacedæmonians*, by the forces which they then had at *Tanagra*, enlarged the extent of the city of *Thebes*, and forced the other cities of *Bœotia* to submit to her authority. This occasioned the *Athenians* to march out and engage the *Lacedæmonians* at *Oenophyta*. *Hind.* p. 382. — *Thucydides* gives another reason why the *Athenians* attacked the *Lacedæmonian* forces at *Tanagra*, viz. their having a design to second and support the attempts of some of their own citizens to subvert the *Democracy*, B. 2.

11 δίκρανε τὸ ὑπερον ἔργον] see not. l. 9.

ib. οἱ μὲν ὄχλητο ἀπίοντες &c.] This is agreeable to what *Thucydides* says, that the *Lacedæmonians* (I suppose the main part of them) went home after the battle at *Tanagra*.

12 Βοιωτὲς οἷς ἐστὶ] viz. the *Thebans* and their Party; for the *Athenians* likewise engaged ὑπὲρ Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας.

13 τρίτη ἡμέρα] *Diodorus Siculus*, who is very particular in his account of this expedition, has nothing which corresponds to this expression; *Thucydides* says that the *Athenians* set out upon this expedition δευτέρῃ καὶ ἐξηκστῇ ἡμέρῃ after the battle at *Tanagra*.

ib. τὰς ἀδίκως φεύγοντας] those that had been injuriously forced to fly their Country, in order to escape the tyranny of the *Thebans*.

14 ἀσπίδοι] N. B. the repetition of this word l. 18.

16 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ θηρομάχοι] *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of this action at *Tanagra* as little, if at all, inferior to those at *Marathon* and *Platea*.

18 πολεῖ πολέμῳ θηρομάχῃ] a great a general war arising — for the first grounds of the *Peloponnesian* war here referred to, see *Stan.* V. 1. p. 320, 326. *Hind.* p. 400, &c. 405, 411. *Rollin*, V. 3. B. 7 c. 1. §. 13, 14.

19 πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιστρατευσάντων] The *Lacedæmonians* had secured almost all *Peloponnesus* on their side, at the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war; together with the *Megareans*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians* and *Anactonians*: On the *Athenian* side were the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Platæans*, *Messenians* inhabiting *Naupactus*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyreans* and *Zacynthians*; besides great part of the *Asiatick Grecians* on the sea coast, several towns of *Thrace*, with most of the lesser Islands, and tributary cities in general. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 333. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 11.

20 πμόντων τὴν χώραν] for the *Athenians* not being able to face the *Lacedæmonians* with their land forces, by the advice of *Pericles* brought into *Athens* all their families and effects out of the country, together with the very timber of their houses, which they pulled down; and conveyed away their cattle into *Eubœa* and the neighbouring isles. So that the forces of  
the

- 24 the *Lacedæmonians* could make no other havock in the country but τέμνειν τὴν χώραν cutting down the trees, corn, &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 1. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 385.
- ib. ἀναξίαν χάριν ἐκπρόντων] making a very ungrateful return to —
- 21 ναυμαχία] The *Athenians* having at the commencement of the war a fleet of 300 Gallies, by *Pericles's* advice they placed their main confidence in exerting their maritime force, and with part of it layed waste the territories of *Laconia*, and with the rest overawed the allies on whom contributions were levied. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 344.
- ib. νικήσαντες αὐτὸς &c.] The action here hinted at was one of the most signal of all the *Peloponnesian* war, tho' the number of *Lacedæmonians* (being only 420) immediately concerned in it was but small: it happened in the 7th year of the war; when upon the *Lacedæmonians* endeavouring to dispossess the *Athenians* of *Pylus*, a naval engagement was fought, in which the *Athenians* were victorious and enclosed a select body of *Lacedæmonians*, who had thrown themselves into *Sphaacteria*, and reduced those, who survived the several skirmishes, (being 292) to the extremity of surrendering prisoners at discretion, and carried them to *Athens*. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 384. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 367.
- 23 ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ] *Sphagia* was another name of the island *Sphaacteria*, as we are informed by *Strabo* B. 8. For want of attending to this, the passage hath been usually translated as if the words had been ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ in *hæc clade*.
- 24 ἐρήνην ἐπιήσαντο] The *Lacedæmonians* sued to the *Athenians* for peace, when first their countrymen were blocked up in the island *Sphaacteria*, upon their finding themselves unable to relieve them: But the *Athenians* being very insolent in their demands, the *Lacedæmonians* chose to continue the war, and in two years got so much advantage, that the *Athenians* grew more moderate, and came to terms of peace for 50 years, the chief Articles being that "the Garrisons should be evacuated, and the Towns and Prisoners restored on both sides." During all this while the *Lacedæmonian* prisoners taken in *Sphaacteria* had remained prisoners at *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 365—382.
- 24 ἡγέμενοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ ὁμόφυλον &c.] *Cic. de Offic.* L. 1. Ea bella, quibus imperii gloria proposita est, minus acerbè gerenda sunt. Ut enim cum cive aliter contendimus, si est inimicus, aliter, si est competitor: cum altero certamen honoris et dignitatis est: cum altero capitis et famæ. Sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret &c. *Sall. B. Jug.* cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloriâ certare.

- 25 <sup>1</sup> μὴ δὲ ὀργὴν ἰδίᾳ τῆς πόλεως] This was remarkably the disposition of the *Athenians*, when *Themistocles* had formed a scheme to supplant the *Lacedæmonians* and burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the *Grecian States*; which motion was quashed upon the representation of *Aristides*, *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. And afterwards when *Epialtes* advised them to take an advantage of the distress into which the *Lacedæmonians* were thrown by the terrible Earthquake which layed waste most of the cities of *Laconia*, and by the insurrection of their slaves, *Cimon* supported the interest of *Lacedæmon*, and procured himself to be sent to its succour with 4000 men. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 8.
- 2 τὸ κρινόν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικώσῃ] *weaken, and so in effect destroy the common interest of the Grecians.*
- 5 ὅτι ἐπίδειξαν, ἕως] *Because they shewed, that if any one should dispute the matter and insist, that in the former war against the Barbarians some other people were braver men than the Athenians, they would insist upon what was not true.* N. the the transition from the singular number. l. 5. to the plural l. 7.
- 8 ἐκείνης τῆς Ἑλλάδος] *when Greece became divided within itself.*
- 11 εὐίων κρινῆ] viz. νίκη or δυνάμει.
- 12 Τεῖτον δὲ πόλεμος] He is speaking of the wars which the *Athenians* had with the other *Grecians*. The first whereof was between them and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Bœotians*, mentioned p. 24. l. 8; The *Peloponnesian* war p. 24. l. 18. is the second; the *Sicilian* (tho' it is usually reckoned a part of the *Peloponnesian*) the third.
- 13 ἀνέλπιστος τε καὶ δεινός] *terrible in it's consequences and contrary to all our hopes and expectations, the Athenians losing in it their best Generals, Fleets and Armies; which losses drew after them the ruin of Athens itself.* *Stan.* V. 1. p. 423. And this seems the most obvious and true reason why this expression is here used; tho' by an Oratorical turn another is assigned l. 23.
- 14 τελευτήσαντες ἐνθάδε κείντοι] *tho' they died in Sicily, yet the bodies of the dead might be, as they usually were, reduced to ashes, in order to be conveyed to their Relations and interred at home; or at least a Cenotaphium might be erected for them.* *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 102.
- 25 ὑπὲρ τῶν Λεοντίων] The quarrel in *Sicily* between *Syracuse* and *Leontium* began about 5 years before the peace concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*. Those cities formed their confederacies in order to carry on a vigorous war: And the *Leontines* on pretence of consanguinity (being originally of *Chalchis*, an *Athenian* colony) and ancient alliances

25 alliances, drew over the *Athenians* to their party. And the *Athenians* were glad to have a footing in the island upon any terms, both to hinder the transporting of corn from thence to *Peloponnesus*, and to try if there were any possibility of subduing it for themselves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 362. After the expedition against *Melos* they engaged in the war in earnest. *Nicias* the chief commander carried the victory in some actions against the *Syracusians*, and gained ground in the island, and was upon the point of carrying the city itself by siege; but *Gylippus* arriving with succours from *Lacedæmon*, a surprizing turn was given to the affair; and by repeated losses in several engagements the *Athenians* were forced to raise the siege, with the loss of all their shipping; and all the surviving soldiers being obliged to surrender Prisoners at discretion, were used with great hardships, and at length sold for slaves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 399—423. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 8. c. 1. §. 5. &c.

18 ἐδωκαμένῃς αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετήν] tho' the *Athenians* did send supplies according to the request of *Nicias*, yet they unfortunately came too late, *Nicias* himself having been defeated the day before, as the supplies were the day after. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 412.

19 ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.] ἔπαινον ἔχουσι for ἐπαινῶσι. *Whose moderation and courage our very enemies are more ready to praise, than other people are apt to do that of their friends.* This sentence is much embarrassed: the literal and common version *quorum hostes — majorem temperantiæ virtutisque laudem, quam amici aliorum habent* is not intelligible in the last part; and the former part is contrary to *Thucydides's* account, who represents the behaviour of the *Athenian's* Enemies on this occasion to have been excessively insolent and cruel B. 8. — Or it may be, ὧν (viz. δι' ὧν) οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c. by which misfortune our enemies gained (unjustly) a greater reputation for their moderation and courage, than the friends of the other party, i. e. than We, who out of a generous principle of friendship engaged in their defence.

21 ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς κατὰ Ἐλλάσποντον, μῖα μὲν ἡμέρα &c.] The great losses which the *Athenians* sustained in the *Sicilian* war, were followed by the revolt of several places towards the *Hellespont*. The *Athenians* for the recovery thereof sent out as good a fleet as they could equip; which under the command of *Thrasylus* and *Thrasymbulus*, fell in with *Mindarus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and defeated him at *Cynos Sema*: and not long after they gave the *Lacedæmonians* a second defeat near *Abydus*, whereby they not only recovered their



their own Gallies, but took thirty belonging to the **Enemy**. But the most decisive blow was struck by *Alcibiades* before the port of *Cyzicus*, whereby the *Athenians* took all the enemies ships, secured to themselves the *Hellepont*, and drove the *Lacedæmonians* out of all the other seas. *Scan. V. 1. p. 425—431.*

22 πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάοντες ναῦς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες.] *making themselves masters of all the ships, which the enemy had remaining, having before that time taken and destroyed many more.*

26 I τὸ εἰς τοσούτων &c.] The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* was followed by a general defection of their old Allies, and a confederacy of the other *Grecians* against them, having the *Lacedæmonians* at their head: and a league was concluded between the King of *Persia* and the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 424.* This good understanding was afterwards improved by the negotiations of *Lysander*, (see also p. 436.) who taking advantage of *Alcibiades's* absence from the *Athenian* navy gained an intire victory and took 15 *Athenian* Gallies. Upon which *Alcibiades* fell into disgrace, and was succeeded in his command by ten Generals, (the principal whereof was *Conon*.) *Lysander* was succeeded by *Callicratidas*; who pursued *Conon* into the port of *Mitylene* with 170 Sail, took 30 of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions; He soon after took ten more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the *Athenians* had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of 150 sail, he left 50 of the ships to carry on the siege of *Mitylene*, and with 120 met the *Athenians* near the *Arginusee* (Islands) over-against *Lesbos*. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral was sunk, and the rest fled: The *Peloponnesians* lost about 70 sail, and the *Athenians* 25, with most of the men in them. *Stan. V. 1. p. 436, &c. Rollin V. 4. p. 35.*

2 ὥστε πολυήσυχον ἐχθρῶ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι] *so as, in defiance of every thing that is virtuous, to send an Embassy to negotiate an alliance with our most inveterate enemy.*

οἰομένων γδ] viz. τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων p. 26. l. 2.

I1 ἀνάξις τύχης ὥστε ἀνααιρεθέντες ἐν τῆς θαλάσσης] After the fight at *Arginusee* the *Athenian* Admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, were accused of suffering their men, who were shipwrecked, to be lost, when they might have saved them: and eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them put to death. *Socrates*, into whose mouth *Plato* has put this expression, was utterly against this usage of the Admirals: and indeed the *Athenians* themselves afterwards repented

- 26 pented of what they had done. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 38, &c. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 438.
- 12 κἄντα ἐνθάδε] Qu. how could that be, if they were οὐκ ἀναστρέφοντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης? either their carcases might be taken up afterwards — or their having a Cenotaphium erected for them might answer the supposed purpose of giving rest to their departed shades. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 225. to clear the difficulty *Wesselingus*, by conjecture, inserts the particle & before κἄντα.
- 16 καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε] and such sentiments were well founded.
- 17 τῇ δὲ ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν ἀφορῇ ἐκρατήθημεν] referring to those advantages which the *Lacedæmonians* and their confederates made of the civil dissensions of the *Athenians*. *Thuc.* L. 8: c. 95.
- 19 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ &c.] The *Athenian* fleet sent out against *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, consisted of 180 sail, and several times offered him battle, which *Lysander* as oft declined; but he afterwards watched his opportunity of beginning his attack when the men were landed, and in the confusion made himself master of the whole Fleet and took 3000 Prisoners. This was followed by the siege of *Athens*, whereby the *Athenians* being reduced to the last extremity were forced to submit to the hard conditions offered by the *Lacedæmonians*; namely, to relinquish their fortresses; to demolish their walls; to deliver up all their ships but 12; to restore their Exiles; to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the *Lacedæmonians*, and to serve them in all their expeditions by sea and land. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 440, &c. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 51, &c.
- 22 ἔπερ ἐμφορμένον ἔην] if it should be the fate.
- 21 ὁ οἰκείος ἡμῖν πόλεμος &c.] After the surrender of *Athens*, *Lysander* quite altered the *Athenian* constitution and erected a Government commonly known by the name of the *Thirty Tyrants*, who having a guard assigned them from *Lacedæmon*, acted without controul in all kinds of violence and oppression: but this not seeming sufficient for their security, they imparted some share of their Authority to 3000 Citizens, and by their means disarmed the rest. This ill usage occasioned multitudes to leave the city and live in exile in different parts of *Greece*. *Thrasylbulus* at the head of a small party began the opposition by seizing upon *Phyle*, a strong castle on the frontiers of *Attica*; His numbers soon encreased; and some skirmishes he made with success. The *Thirty* being alarmed thereby, fortified *Eleusis* to serve them upon any sudden exigency, as a place of retreat; and to free themselves from any jealousy the inhabitants thereof might give them, they caused all that were able to bear arms, to pass

- 26 One by One, as it were to compute the strength of the garrison, and murdered them. — *Thrasylbulus* after this finding his numbers still encreasing, seized on the *Piræus*, and defeated the 30 who attempted to drive Him from thence. A truce ensuing *Thrasylbulus* expostulated with his opposers in so pathetic a manner, that the 3000 deposed the *Thirty*, and invested *Ten* men, one out of each tribe, with the administration: — these pursued the same measures of injustice and oppression, and joining counsels with the *Thirty* who had retired to *Eleusis*, determined the utter destruction of those in the *Piræus*; and in this scheme they were supported and aided by the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Athenians* in the *Piræus* were routed: and at length, at the instances of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* General, a peace between those in the city and those in the *Piræus* was established on condition that every man should return home except the *Thirty*, and *oi Evδηγοι*, and the *Ten* more who had commanded in the *Piræus*, and if any of the City apprehended themselves to be obnoxious, they might be free to retire with them to *Eleusis*: After which the Democracy was restored. — But the Faction at *Eleusis* still continuing to make fresh attempts against the city and that by means of foreign troops, the whole city went out against them, and having taken off their commanders, the rest were easily brought to an accommodation; and a general Amnesty was passed, whereby every man obliged himself by oath to bury what was passed in oblivion; which being religiously observed, the city was restored to its former tranquillity, and its members were again united into one body. *Stan. V. 2. p. 2—21. Rollin V. 4. p. 66, &c.*
- 23 νοήσω] Factions and Seditions are the *diseases* of the body Politick.
- 24 ὡς ἀσμένως ἢ οἰκείως] with the greatest readiness and friendliness came to a reconciliation with each other, and were again united into one body. see the pathetic speech of *Thrasylbulus*, which occasioned this reconciliation. *Xenoph. L. 2. ad finem.*
- 27 ἢ παρ' ἐλπίδα] (*viz.* ἐλπίζομένην) τοῖς ἄλλοις — contrary to the expectations of, or what was hoped for by the other —
- 5 τελευτησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων] It has been observed that this sedition proved more fatal to the *Athenian* state than the War: there were 1400 citizens put to death without hearing, and those chiefly men of note and condition; and on the whole, as many more lives were consumed in this eight month's fury, as in the *Peloponnesian* War of ten years. *Stan. V. 2. p. 22.*

- 27 7 ἀγαπάειν ἐνχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις] Men were thought to retain the same affections after death, which they had entertained while alive. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 240. and these honours of prayers and sacrifices, being offered by the friends of the deceased, were thought very acceptable to departed souls, and might therefore answer the purpose here mentioned of reconciling them to each other. Concerning the sacrifices and oblations offered upon this occasion, see *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 235.
- ib. ἀγαπάειν αὐτοῖς &c.] *do our utmost to bring them to a reconciliation, praying and sacrificing upon these occasions to those Powers, which have the command and direction over them; inasmuch as we ourselves are reconciled.* Platonis sententia est animis in vitalem hanc prodeuntibus lucem contribui Dæmonem, qui sit actionem inspector omnium, & cogitationum quoque diligens explorator; quique corporeo exolutis nexu assistat semper &c. *Cæl. Rhodigin. Lect. Antiq.* L. 2. c. 10.
- 9 ἐ γδ' ἡσυχία &c.] *Cic. pro Marcello.* Omnes enim qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo Reipub. misero funestoque compulsi.
- 9 ἀλλήλων ἠψάοντο] *used such violence towards each other.*
- 11 συζηώμενη ἔχομεν] *used in a double sense, are excused for what we did; excuse others παρεχομεν συγγν. for what we suffered.*
- 13 παντελής εἰρήνης] *Athens for some time continued very quiet with its neighbours, endeavouring to recover itself from its late confusions in the government at home.* *Stan.* V. 2. p. 54.
- 15 οὐκ ἐνδεῶς ἠμύνοντο] *made no inconsiderable or poor defence.*
- 18 τίς τε ναῦς ἀελοῦργοι] *viz. by the terms of the Peace which Lysander gave the Athenians.*
- ib. ποτ'] *viz. the fight at Salamis.*
- 19 ἀνδ' ὧν] *namely, by leaving their city a second time to be ravaged by Mardonius, when they might have made very advantageous terms for themselves, by giving up the Peloponnesians.* *Stan.* V. 1. 255.
- 22 οὕτως ὡκεί.] *formed its domestick administrations agreeably to that principle. the particle οὕτω seems to bear an emphatical reference to what went before, so Job. 4. 6. fedit ita ut — vel idcirco quia — lassus erat.*
- 24 σφέτερον ἢ ἤδη ἔργον ἄνω] *that now was the proper time of executing their scheme of enslaving others.*
- 28 1 ταῦτ' ἐπράττον] *exerted themselves in the execution of this scheme.*
- 2 ἐδὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων] *viz. ἀγ. in the same sense as when used with πολλῶν ἡμεῶν, or πολλῶν χρόνων.*
- 4 ἀφίγωντο εἰς χρεῖαν τ' πόλεως] *came to crave the assistance of our city. The truth was, that the K. of Persia, being alarmed by the formidable preparations of the Lacedæmonians against him*

- 28 him under so able a commander as *Agefilaus*, practised with the leading men of the principal cities of *Greece* to take advantage of their disaffection to the absolute and tyrannical government of the *Lacedæmonians*, and to make a diversion at home. The *Thebans* first came into the scheme; and after them the *Argives* and *Corinthians* with their dependents. The *Athenians* though they took no share of the *Persian* money were easily brought to engage in a rupture of this kind. *Stan. V. 2. p. 70.*
- 5 Εβλήτων οἱ πρῶτοι, Ἀργεῖοι] The *Argives* as we are informed by *Diod. Sic.* challenged to themselves a precedency among the States of *Greece*, on account of the great Antiquity and Wealth of their state.
- ib. πῶς θειότατον] *what was very extraordinary and surprizing.*
- 6 εἰς τῆτο ἀπορίας ἀφικέσθαι] *was reduced to such straits and difficulties, namely, by the great successes of Agefilaus in Asia.* *Stan. V. 2. p. 53, &c.*
- ib. ὥστε περιεῆναι αὐτῷ] viz. τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ so that his affairs received such an unexpected turn, that — *Thucyd.* more fully l. i. p. 78, κλέω, ἀ κελῶς δοκῶντα βουλδῶναι, εἰς τούτωντιον αἰχρῶς περιέση.
- 11 τοῦ ἤπλονθ ἱερραπίς] *the guardian and protector of the helpless* —
- ib. καὶ δὴ κῆ &c.] *And accordingly at that time, a juncture of such imminent danger to the liberty of Greece, it was unable to harden itself any longer in its determination* —
- 15 αὐτῆ βοηθήσασα] *Athens yet awhile acted only as an auxiliary,* see l. 21.
- 16 μέχευς εἰ] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*.
- 19 φουγάδας] *Conon* ever since his defeat at *Ægospotamos* had lived in voluntary exile; and during that time made it his business to ingratiate himself with the *Persians*, in hopes, by them, to gain an opportunity of retrieving the misfortunes of his country. And it was chiefly by his advice that the confederacy against the *Lacedæmonians* was spirited up. But the most signal service which he did his country, was by obtaining a joint command of the *Persian* fleet together with *Pharnabazus*, and thereby defeating the *Lacedæmonians* near *Cnidus*. *Conon* followed this blow by making a descent upon the maritime towns of *Laconia*, and ravaging the country. *Stan. V. 2. p. 67—81.*
- 19 ὁμολογημένως ἔσωσε] agreeably hereunto *Nepos*, observes in his life of *Conon*, *neque vero non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agefilaum Asiam Tauro tenus Regi fuisse erepturum.*
- ib. τειχισαμένη καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη] after the foremention'd achievements *Conon* sailed home, and, with the money, which he

- 28 he had procured from the *Persian* court, repaired the fortifications and rebuilt the walls of *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 81.
- 20 ἐκδέξαμένη τὸν πόλεμον] expecting to be attacked——
- 21 πολέμῳ] to declare war as a principal; which the *Athenians* do not seem to have done, till the sending out *Thrasylbulus* to secure the islands of the *Ægean* sea in the interest of the *Athenians*; which had thrown off the *Lacedæmonian* yoke immediately after *Conon's* victory at *Cnidus*; from which time both *Diodorus Siculus* and *Xenophon* date the fall of the *Lacedæmonian* empire at sea. The expedition of *Thrasylbulus* was about three years afterwards.
- ib. ὑπὲρ Παρίων] *Parus* was an Island in the *Ægean* sea, one of those called *Cyclades*; and was more considerable for its wealth and power than for its extent. What was the particular case of the *Parians* here referred to, is not said either by *Diodorus Sic.* or *Xenophon*. This island, tho' immediately after the retreat of *Darius* it baffled the attack of *Miltiades*, yet afterwards became dependent upon *Athens*, and had its polity regulated upon the *Athenian* plan; which, after *Lysander's* victory, gave place to that of *Lacedæmon*. *Conon*, as has been already observed, after his victory at *Cnidus* went round the isles of the *Ægean* sea and expelled from thence the *Lacedæmonian* Governours; which an *Athenian* might well call engaging in their defence ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. This passage more probably refers to something which gave immediate occasion either to the expedition of *Thrasylbulus*, or *Chabrias*; the latter of which is said to have gained a signal victory over the *Lacedæmonian* fleet between the islands *Naxus* and *Parus*. *Diod. Sic.* L. 15. and *Xenoph.* Ἑλλην. L. 5.
- 24 ἐξήτη] demanded to have given up to him.
- 29 ἡ ἕως ἄλλοτερον &c.] viz. in the 20th year of the *Peloponnesian* war they agreed to give up all the places, which had been held by the *K. of Persia* or by his ancestors; which was in effect to make him master of the greatest part of *Greece*. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 8. c. 2. and afterwards by the negotiation of *Antalcidas* they proposed to give up the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 82.
- 2 ἐν μέλλοι συμμνησθῆναι] as the condition of his continuing his alliance; Or, if it was expected that he should continue it.
- 4 τῶν μὲν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐψεύθη] He was mistaken in the rest of the allies.
- 6 Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωταί] *Xenophon* relates that they all were as much averse to a peace upon those terms, as the *Athenians*.
- 10 τότε ἡλιθαῖον καὶ ἐλευθέρων] this principle of generosity and freedom.
- 11 ἀλικελευῶς] without any mixture.

29 12 ἐ γὰρ Πέλοπος, ἐδὲ Κάδμου, ἐδὲ Αἴγυπτοῖ τε καὶ Δαναοῖ] This is said with respect to the people mentioned l. 4. *Pelops* was son of *Tantalus* K. of *Sipylus* in *Phrygia*: having been worsted in war by *Ilus* he fled for refuge to *Oenomaus* K. of *Pisa* in *Elis*; where he succeeded him in the Kingdom by marrying his daughter *Hippodamia*: by her he had a numerous issue, by whose marriages and a reign of 58 years, he got footing in most parts of the peninsula, calling it from himself *Peloponnesus*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 31.* *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were two Brothers; the latter upon account of ill usage fled into *Peloponnesus*, and seized the Kingdom of *Argos*; *Ægyptus* followed him thither; whose son *Lynceus* succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Stan. V. 1. p. 25.* *Cadmus* is well known to have come from *Phœnicia*, and to have fixed the seat of his power and dominion at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 121.*

11 ἀμιγῆς τῷ Βαρσάρων] see *Peric. p. 3. l. 8.*

15 ἐντέπηκε] is firmly rivetted and incorporated with —

19 ἐλθόντες εἰς ταῦτα] being reduced to the same circumstances and deserted by the rest of the Grecians.

ib. τοπρότερον ἐπολεμήθημεν] viz. by *Lysander*.

21 πῶς ἡμετέρας &c.] see *Chronol. Tab. 3618.*

22 ἀπηλάττημεν τὸν πόλεμον] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*. The Athenians were harassed on all sides by a kind of piratical war without bringing things to a general issue, sometimes infested by the people of *Ægina*, then insulted by some of the other Islanders, and then by the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan. V. 5. p. 89.*

ib. ἔτιωσ ἀγαπητῶς ἀπηλάττηντο] were no less glad to get rid of the war. For the *Lacedæmonians* had more garrisons than they could maintain, saw their confederates revolting from them, and were, as most of the other Grecian states were, drained of their men and money. *Stan. V. 2. p. 89.*

24 ἐν Κορινθῶν χησαμένων δυσχερῆ] Soon after the confederacy was formed against the *Lacedæmonians*, a battle was fought in the territories of *Corinth*, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* allies were almost entirely routed; but the *Lacedæmonians* themselves maintained their ground, and pressed so hard upon the *Athenians*, who were directly opposite to them, that they recovered the day and beat the *Athenians* with the loss only of eight men. *Stan. V. 2. p. 77.* which makes it probable that the defeat was occasioned, as is here intimated, by their *δυσχερῆ* having a great disadvantage in the ground.

30 1 ἐν Λεχαιῶν προδοσίᾳ] *Lechæum* was a haven belonging to and adjoining to *Corinth*. — The more wealthy part of the *Corinthians* soon grew tired of the war against the *Lacedæmonians* because the chief seat of it lay in their territories, and were

- were inclinable to a peace: This was opposed by the magistrates and others in the *Athenian* interest, by whose contrivance a massacre was made of several of the principal inhabitants: They who escaped, managed so as to let a party of the *Lacedæmonians* into *Lechæum*, who killed several of the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Bæotians*.
- 2 ἐκβαλόντες ἐν τῆς θαλάττης] first by *Conon*, and afterwards by *Iphicrates*.
- 10 μεμνημένους — πᾶν ἄνδρα] N. the difference of number.
- 13 ἔκγοντος κήκη] viz. τύχη yielding to the stroke of adverse fortune; Οἱ, γνώμη yielding out of cowardice.
- 17 δέχομαι ἐμὶ] I am obliged in justice to.
- ib. ἐπίσηκτον] solemnly enjoined us to —
- 22 Ω παῖδες &c.] *Demetrius Phalereus* cites this passage, as an instance of the great force which the *Prosopopœia* has in Oratory.
- ib. ἐστὶ πατέρων] viz. ὑοί.
- 3 I 1 τὸς ἔπειτα] viz. ἐσόμενος, posterity.
- 3 αἰχμῶν] *Hom. I. ζ. 208.* μηι μολὰ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλον  
 Αἰὲν ἀραστεύειν κὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμετρον ἄλλων  
 Μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰχμῶμεν —
- 7 τέτα] sc. πείσματ' viz. ἀρετῆς p. 31. l. 7.
- 9 κήκη φέρει τὸ κεκτημένον] brings with it any thing upon which a man can with reason value himself, ἐφ' ᾧ τις κηκδύνηται; the word κήκος is here opposed to τὰ αἰχμῶν: in l. 11. it is used in the common sense.
- 20 κὶ ὑμεῖς νικῶντες] viz. ἔητε.
- 25 μὴ δὲ ἑαυτὸν &c.] *Hom. II. ζ. 446. de Hestore.*  
 Ἀρνύμενος πικρὸς τε μέγα κλέος ἠδ' ἐμὸν αὐτῶ.
- 32 I 1 εἶνα γὰρ πικρὸς γένεων ἐκγονοῖς (ἐστὶ) κηλὸς θησαυρὸς] for it is a noble treasure to children to have the honours of their Ancestors to inherit.
- 7 ἐδδεις εὐμδρῶς ὑποδέξεται] alluding to the opinion that souls departed retained the same affections in the regions below, as when alive. thus *Dido* is represented *Æneid. B. 6. v. 467. Torva tuens* — solo fixos oculos averfa tenens, when *Æneas* spake to her; agreeably to the example of *Ajax's* behaviour towards *Ulysses* *Οδυσσ. λ. 592.*
- 9 ἐ κρη παρεμυθησάται] surrply φήμι ἔτως παρεμυθησάται or παρεμυθησάται. or from l. 8. τῆτο ἐρησάτω.
- 11 ξυωδύρεσθαι] join with them in their lamentations; thereby aggravating their grief.
- 15 ἐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους &c.] *Cic. de Amic.* Nisi enim (quod ille minime optabat) immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non est adeptus, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam &c. & *Sall. B. Jug.* Neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni, honestique vitam exigent.



- 18 καὶ φέροντες] viz. καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν αὐτὸς ὅτι φέροντες —  
 22 καὶ δὲ ὑδύπερα τῶν] viz. γένεσθαι, ἀλλὰ (καὶ) εὐεργετοῦ &c.
- 33 1 Μηδὲν ἄγαθον] Many names are cited for the Author of this prudential maxim. see *Erasmi Adagia*, Ne quid nimis.  
 2 ὅτι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ &c.] Cic. *Parad.* II. Nemo potest non beatissimus esse, qui est totus aptus ex sese, quique in se uno sua ponit omnia. Cui spes omnis et ratio et cogitatio pendet ex fortunâ, huic nihil potest esse certi.  
 7 ἕτος, γιγνομένων &c.] Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* B. 5. renders the passage as if it stood thus, ἕτος γιγνομένων καὶ ἀφαιρεομένων χρημάτων, καὶ μάλιστα παίδων, πείσεται &c. hic, & nascentibus & cadentibus cum reliquis commodis, tum maximè liberis, parebit &c. and then adds, Ex hoc Platonis quasi quodam sancto augustoque fonte nostra omnis manabit oratio.  
 10 τοῖς δὲ &c.] *Hom.* II. ζ. 210.  
 Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι.  
 19 κέρως ἢ ἐμετρίως] supply φέροντες —
- 34 5 ἐπιμελήσονται] N. the transition from the plural to the singular ἐπιμελήσεται I. 7.  
 ib. τὰς μὲν παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τὰς δὲ γεστοφάντες ἀξίως] It was one of *Solon's* laws, that the Parents and Children of such as were cut off in war should be taken care of. If Parents were killed, their children were put to school at the publick charge; and when come to maturity of age, were presented with a whole suit of Armour, and settled every one in his respective calling, and honoured with the first seats in all publick places. — And in general, the care of the Publick was extended to the children of all such as had been eminently serviceable to the Publick. *Archæol.* V. I. p. 136, 138. V. 2. p. 119, 275, 346.  
 18 ἀρχὴ ἢ περὶ μεγίστη ἐστίν] viz. the *Arebans*; more especially the *Πολέμαρχος*. *Archæol.* V. I. p. 77.  
 ib. φυλάττειν — ὅπως ἂν οἱ τῶν μὴ ἀδικούντων] Such as had received the honour of any privilege from the city of *Athens* were under its more particular care and protection; and the injuries done them, were resented as publick affronts to the commonwealth; insomuch that whosoever did affront, strike, or speak ill of any such person, was by the Law declared *Infamous*. *Archæol.* V. I. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 199.  
 20 συνεταξίφθαι αὐτῇ] viz. in the *Prytaneum*. The being entertained at the publick expence was a compliment occasionally paid in consideration of services done to the Publick, and was reputed one of the highest honours at *Athens*. In what manner or under what regulation this publick maintenance was exhibited does not appear. In general, there seems to have been a publick Table kept for the *Prytanes*, or the standing Committee of the Council of 500 for managing affairs of State.

34 State. Their common fare is said to have been frugal enough; consisting of a sort of cakes or puddings called *μαΐζα*. Upon holidays they had an allowance of bread: and as for flesh, the tenths of all the bellies of animals offered in sacrifice were always reserved for them. see *Archæol.* V. 3. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 119. Tho' it should seem from some bantering expressions of *Aristophanes*, that the ordinary diet was not always the most frugal, nor bestowed merely in consideration of publick services. But, that the publick provision in general was moderate, we may collect from what was paid to the Outpensioners, or such as had been disabled in the wars; which was more or less, according to the exigency of publick affairs, and the circumstances of particular persons; sometimes 3 *Oboli* (or almost 4*d.*) sometimes 2 *Oboli* (or a little more than 2*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) and sometimes 1 *Obolus* (or 1*d.* *qu.*) a day; and this on supposition that they had not a yearly estate of three Attick *Minæ* (or 9*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*) In *Demosthenes*'s time the *σπαρτίσιον* or subsistence money of a common foot soldier was two *Oboli*, *per diem*. Phil. 1. §. 10. The whole pay of a foot Soldier four *Oboli*. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 8, 9.

ib. *πεσοθυμαμίην ὅτι μάλιστα ἄδηλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀρφανίαν γηϊόδαμ]* being desirous to have them rendered as little sensible as may be, of their Orphan-state —

23 εἰς ἀνδρῶς τέλει] to the rank of manhood. viz. at the age of 20 years.

24 *πανοπλίᾳ κρημύσασθαι]* see p. 11. l. 12. and p. 34. l. 5. At the time of performing this ceremony the following oath was taken by the *Ephēbi*. “ I’ll never do any thing to disgrace  
“ this armour; I’ll never fly from my post, nor desert my  
“ General; but I’ll fight for my country and religion, in an  
“ army or single combat; I’ll never be the cause of weak-  
“ ning or endamaging my country, and if it be my fortune  
“ to sail on the seas, my country thinking fit to send me in a  
“ colony, I’ll willingly acquiesce, and enjoy that land which  
“ is allotted me. I’ll firmly adhere to the present constitu-  
“ tion of affairs, and whatsoever enactions the People shall  
“ please to pass, I’ll see no body violate or pervert them;  
“ but I’ll either singly by myself, or by joining with others,  
“ endeavour to revenge them. I’ll conform to my country’s  
“ Religion. If occasion require, I’ll lay down my life for  
“ my native country. My endeavours to extend the domi-  
“ nions of *Athens* shall never cease, while there are wheat,  
“ barley, vineyards, and olive-trees without its limits. *Ar-  
chæol.* V. 1. p. 151.

35 3 ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴων ἐσίαν] to take possession of their paternal house and estate. — It is probable, and this expression seems to imply, that this Ceremony was not observed, at least with those

35 those particular marks of solemnity, with regard to all the Athenians indiscriminately, but only to young persons of superior fortunes.

5 καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπέστειλεν ἐπιαιετῶν] Cicero asserts that this very Oration of Plato was recited publicly upon every return of this anniversary solemnity (I suppose in his time.) *Orator* §. 151. *Platonis Oratio, qua mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos, qui sint in præliis interfecti, — sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illo die recitari necesse sit.*

ib. τὰ νομιζόμενα] The care of funeral rites among the Grecians was looked upon as a debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accursed: hence they were called *δικαία, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα, ἔθιμα, ὅσια* &c. and, among the Romans, *justa*; all which words imply an inviolable obligation upon the Living to take care of the obsequies of the Dead. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 161.

7 ἀγῶνας γυμνακῆς καὶ ἵππικῆς — καὶ μουσικῆς παιῶν] These Games were not intended merely to serve the purpose of amusement to idle persons, but principally to raise a spirit of emulation in all valuable accomplishments; for the particulars here referred to were constant parts of a liberal education in Greece. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 227. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. §. 10.

ib. μουσικῆς παιῶν] of all the liberal arts, particularly Oratory and Poetry; nor was the practical part of Musick excepted: for the more solemn performance whereof *Pericles* built a magnificent *Odeum*, or Musick-Theatre at Athens.

12 πᾶσιν πάντων παρὰ πάντων] Schema dict. Latine *conjunctum*. thus Xenoph. K. Π. Η. *δικαίως δικαίως δικαζόμενος*, Rom. 12. 3. μη ἐπεφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δὲ φρονεῖν ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν. and 2 Cor. 9. 8. Δωρεῖτός ἡ ὁ Θεὸς πᾶσαν χάριν περισσεύουσα εἰς ὑμᾶς. ἵνα ἐν παντὶ πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐταρκείαν ἔχοντες, περιουσίητε εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν.

36 3 πῶς ἄνω] but above all —

4 ἢ ὅπως] ἢ καὶ (viz. ὅπως, βλέπετε ὅτι σκοπεῖ) ὅπως.

6 πολιτικῆς] alluding to his love of politicks, which *Socrates* banters at the beginning of the Dialogue. p. 12. l. 5 &c.

# NOTES

## UPON

### L Y S I A S.

- 37 <sup>3</sup> **Ε** <sup>3</sup> **Ἐ** ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν] viz. διελεύσων) at a short warning of a few days. so l. 7. ἐξ ὀλίγου, viz. χρόνου διελεύστος.
- 4 τοῖς ἐπισηλεύσασιν] see *Thucyd.* p. 2. l. 1.
- 38 <sup>2</sup> ἀπειροί] see *Thuc.* p. 7. l. 15.
- 6 μνήμην παρὰ τῆς Φήμης λαβῶν] taking my account from tradition. The Grecians for a long while followed only their first guide Tradition, in tracing back the footsteps of former ages. Some fix the Attick æra at the flood of Ogyges. *Plutarch* makes an excuse for beginning so high as *Theseus*: *Dionysius Halicarn.* says there was nothing certain before the Trojan war: *Varro* calls the beginning of the Olympiads the *Historical Times*: *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is writ of Greece before the reign of *Cyrus*; and Others place the most antient Historians but a little before the descent of the *Persian*. *Stan.* Pref. V. 1.
- 7 ᾠδαῖς] viz. those solemn Odes, which were sung in honour of the victors in the Olympick games, and other great men in the more august feasts and ceremonies of Religion, particularly at the festival of *Panathenæa*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 420. *Rollin.* V. 4.
- 8 ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμασι] in the commemorations of brave men, whose praises were upon solemn occasions celebrated in set harangues: this expression relates to prosaic compositions, as the foregoing does to poetical.
- 9 καίτοις τοῖς τοιαῖσι] viz. οἷσι γυν εἶσι) upon such solemn occasions as these.
- 10 Ἀμαζόνες] Some place the country of the *Amazons* in *Scythia*, (and agreeably thereunto make *Thermadon* a river in *Scythia*, because the *Amazons* are by All agreed to have dwelt near it.) Others in *Cappadocia*. *Herodotus* B. 4. c. 100, &c. gives an account how a great many of them came to be transported from their original settlements of *Cappadocia* into *Scythia*. — The *Amazonian* war was occasioned by *Theseus's* taking a romantick voyage into the *Euxine* sea, and bringing off from among the *Amazons* his wife *Antiope*, or, as others called

ed her, *Hippolyte*. These warlike women upon this came from their habitations, and gave the *Athenians* battle. But this war is so differently related, that some have fancied that there were two expeditions of that kind, and that *Antiope* and *Hippolyte* were two different women. *Stan. V. l. p. 150.*

10 *Ἄγροι — θυρατίτες*] as all other warlike people were supposed to derive their pedigree from *Mars*.

23 *τυχεῖσσι δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν* happening contrary to their expectation to meet with brave men.

ib. *ὀμγίας ἐκτίσαντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῆ φύσιν*] they had upon this occasion souls befitting their sex i. e. they shewed forth no more courage than what might be expected from the female sex.

24 *ᾗ ἐναντίαν τὴν δόξαν ἔσχετο λαοῦσσι*] and gaining a reputation quite contrary to what they had hitherto maintained i. e. losing their reputation for courage.

39 *Ἰ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ ἐκ τῶν σωματίων ἰδοῦσαν εἶναι γυναῖκας*] shewed themselves to be Women more from the dangers (i. e. the manner in which they behaved under dangers) than by their bodies, which being *ὀπλισμένα σιδήρῳ* p. 38. l. 12. looked as terrible as those of any Men could do.

3 *περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*] viz. *παραγμάτων* with regard to their future conduct.

11 *Ἀδράς &c.*] see *Plat.* p. 20. l. 3.

15 *τὰ αὐτῶν ἢ κημιζέσθαι*] The duties belonging to the Dead were thought of greater importance, and the neglect of them to be a crime of a blacker character than those required by the Living. And even among the most Barbarous nations it was reckoned an unpardonable crime to defraud them of any due respect; it was thought a sign of a cruel and inhuman disposition to prosecute revenge beyond the grave, and a great provocation to the infernal Gods (as also to *τοῖς ἕνω Θεοῖς* p. 39. l. 15.) and such as would call up certain vengeance, to neglect any opportunity, which offered of paying this debt of burial to any carcase, which a person accidentally met with, even tho' a stranger. *Archæol. V. 2. p. 160, 162.*

23 *τῶν κημιζομένων*] see *Plato* p. 35. l. 5.

40 *5 κρινῆς ἐλπίδες*] the hopes, which all men may reasonably indulge, of having their funeral rites duly performed. — or, of being relieved by the assistance of those common friends to the distressed, the *Athenians*. — or the common hope of resting after Death, to which rest Interment was necessary.

*Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est* &c. *Virg. Æn. 1v. 134* &c.

11 *λαβόντες τὰ ἀθλά*] Contenders in the Grecian games were said *ἀμείβεσθαι, κατὰ λαμβάνειν* &c. the *ἀθλον*, or prize, which was thus called in respect of the *Ἀθλητής* who received it, catching

- 40 catching it or taking it from the top of the goal after the *βαρβευται* or judges had passed sentence that it belonged to the victor. — in respect of the *βραβευται* the prize was called *βραβειον*. so *Phil.* 3. 12. see *Hammond.* 1 *Cor.* 9. 24.
- 11 *παιδα*] viz. the bodies of the slain.
- 13 *ἐξ ἑπτα ἐπι Θησας*] viz. *πραξιπαιδων*.
- 16 *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφανίσθη*] a Hero so celebrated as *Hercules* could not be supposed to die a common death; much less would it be proper for the Orator to hint at either of the only determinate accounts what became of him, viz. that he fell a sacrifice to the jealous resentment of his mistresses by poison, or that he burnt himself in a fit of phrenzy: and therefore by this ambiguous expression he has left it to his Audience to suppose him to have been honoured with a sort of assumption into the assembly of the Gods, in consideration of his beneficial services to mankind. He is supposed to have died about the 52 year of his age. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37.
- ib. *οὐδὲ παιδες*] about sixty in number. see *Plato* p. 20. l. 3.
- ib. *Ευρυθεία*] The relation between *Eurystheus* and *Hercules* is settled in this manner. — *Perseus* K. of *Mycenæ* left several sons behind him: among others *Alceus*, *Sthenelus* and *Electryon*. *Alceus* was the Father of *Amphitryon*; *Sthenelus* of *Eurystheus*; and *Electryon* of *Alcmene*. *Amphitryon* married *Alcmene*, upon whom *Jupiter* begat *Hercules*. — *Perseus* was succeeded in his Kingdom successively by *Electryon*, *Sthenelus* and *Eurystheus*. *Rollin.* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 4.
- 18 *τοῖς ἔργοις*] viz. this cruel usage of *Eurystheus*.
- 19 *ἱεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν*] Temples, Statues, and Altars of the Deities were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting offenders was granted; so that if any malefactor fled to them it was accounted an act of sacrilege to force him thence; not that all Temples were sanctuaries, but only such as received that privilege from the manner of consecration. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 198, 201. But this probably was the case in aftertimes, when the number of Temples &c. was so much increased, as must have, without such limitation, entirely obstructed the execution of justice upon malefactors. This Altar at *Athens*, whether it was now erected by the *Heraclidæ*, or whether it was one that they took refuge at, became one of the most celebrated *Asyla* of antiquity. see *Hospinian.* de *Templis.* B. I. c. 13.
- 41 *ἰ μετα ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ &c.*] for upon the Descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus* the whole government of all the several kingdoms of it, excepting *Arcadia*, was transferred into new hands; and many of the inhabitants were likewise obliged to quit their settlements and remove into different parts. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 58, &c.

- 41 5 ἐκείνους τ' οὐκ εἰδότες ὅπως τις ἀνόσιτος ἴστανται θύομενοι] This manifestly refers to the ingratitude of the Descendants of the *Heraclidæ* afterwards; who, notwithstanding the assistance they had received from the *Athenians* in gaining possession of *Peloponnesus*, invaded *Attica* on pretence that the *Athenians* received the fugitives which they had driven from thence. *Stan.* V. I. p. 154. tho' from the wording of it *viz.* p. 40. l. 16. οἱ παῖδες and 41 l. 5. ἀνόσιτος θύομενοι one would think that *Lysias* intimated that the same individual persons, who had been so much obliged in their childhood, proved ungrateful when arrived to years of maturity.
- 13 τοῦτον δ' ἐφρόνουν] Both sides were so high spirited —
- 15 οἱ μετ' Εὐρυθύω (viz. φρατρυόωντες) *Eurystheus* and his Party.
- 42 1 φιλόπῳρον αὐτῷ χρησιμότητος τὸν βίον] Besides the twelve Labours which *Hercules* performed chiefly at the instigation of *Eurystheus*, there were several others which he undertook of himself; particularly, in protecting the weak, and repressing violence, subduing the most notorious robbers, murderers and tyrants, which, like so many *Pests* and *Monsters* of mankind, at that time infested the world; and this perhaps was the real import of his famous twelve Labours likewise. *Stan.* V. I. p. 34.
- 3 εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμειβόμενοι] particularly by keeping the crown from *Hercules*, which by right of primogeniture belonged to Him. see p. 40. l. 16.
- 7 Πολλὰ μὲν ὑπῆρχε ταῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις] And indeed there were many circumstances that favoured or contributed to form this disposition in our ancestors.
- 9 Ἐβίε] the beginning of our political life i. e. the first foundation of our state.
- ib. & γὰρ ὅσαυτε οἱ πολλοὶ] — see *Thucyd.* p. 6. l. 24.
- 13 ἐν εἰκάνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ] — Not certainly at the first original of the *Athenian* people; for a long time they were governed by Kings. *Theseus* traced out the plan of Popular government, and began the execution of it; tho' it could scarce be called properly a popular state 'till the establishment of the nine *Archons*. It was *Solon* after all, who confirmed this sort of Government by his wise laws. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 299.
- ib. ἐκκαλόντες] particularly in the case of *Pisistratus*, and his sons. *Stan.* V. I. 192, and 200. and afterwards of *Isagoras*. p. 294.
- 15 πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὁμόνοιαν εἶναι μίσην] that the liberty of All was likely to be the strongest cement of civil union and agreement —
- 16 κινήσας δὲ ἀκλήλους τις ἐκ τῶν κινδύων ἐλπίδας πενήσαντες.] And having made the hopes attending the dangers common to each other

- 42 other respectively, i. e. And thus each man finding himself to have a common interest to support by engaging in the dangers—  
 23 γρόντες ἄργια] influenced by principles suitable to their noble birth.
- 43 3 μόνοι — δὲ] viz. at Marathon by Land, against the forces of Darius; and at Artemisium at Sea, against the navy of Xerxes.  
 10 στασιάζουσας τῆς Ἑλλάδος] It does not appear that the Grecian States were divided in their several sentiments upon this occasion; tho' they remarkably were so afterwards, before the fight at Salamis. The Athenian Generals indeed were not unanimous in their resolutions; tho' at length they all yielded to Miltiades. Herodot. L. 6. c. 109.  
 19 ἔ λογισμῷ εἰδότες] not computing the danger, which must have discouraged them from attacking such superiority of numbers.  
 21 λόγῳ] referring to λογισμῷ above.  
 24 ἐκ ἀνέμεναν πωδέσθαι] not to wait for the good effects of their sollicitation; for in fact they did send to Lacedæmon. Herod. L. 6. c. 106. ἐδὲ βοηῆσαι, nor to wait till they actually sent supplies: for supplies were sent, tho' too late for the action. ib.
- 44 5 πῶς μὲν ψυχᾶς ἀπορίας κεκτηθῶν] The sentiment seems to denote no more than that by losing their lives they secured to themselves renown. The expression indeed is very affected and made use of probably for the sake of the Antithesis between ψυχ. ἀπορίας & μνημ. ἰδίαν. If the meaning be, that "they looked on their Lives as not their own, but their Fame as their own for ever" compare it with Luke 16. 12. "If ye have not been faithful in what you are not intitled to keep, how can ye expect the true and lasting happiness to be conferred on You?" *Isocrates* has used a similar expression, ὡς περ ἐν ἀπορίας ψυχᾶς μέλλοντες κινδυνώσκειν. Πανηγ. p. 136. *Thucydides* before them both, B. 1. had, ἐπ' τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀποτριωπίταις ὑπὲρ πόλεως χρώνται.
- 11 ἔ φιλοψυχόσαντες] not entertaining an unseasonable, ill-timed love of their own lives —
- 12 τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους] see particularly the oath taken by the Ephēbi, *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 151. *Plat.* 34. 24. and *Lyf.* 53. 13.
- 15 παρὰ τὰς ὄγκους] If there was any Treaty between *Persians* and *Athenians* hereby violated, it was probably that which was entered into immediately after the restoration of *Clisthenes*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 205. In other editions it is παρὰ τοὺς ὄγκους ἢ χώρους, passing over those boundaries whereby nature seemed to have limited the Persian territory, namely, the *Ægean* sea.



- 44 16 ἔτι αὐτῶν παχίων] viz. χρόνων with so much expedition.  
 ib. τὴν κίνδυνον ἐπιπέσαντο] i. e. ἐκινδυνώσαντο. they went thro' the danger: this expression occurs again, p. 50. l. 21. In a different sense, the Persians are said, p. 43. l. 11. κίνδυνον ποιεῖσθαι, to strike terror, namely by bringing on the danger.
- 19 ἄλλων] the rest of the Grecians —
- ib. ἔδεισαν ὑπὲρ τῆς μέλλοντος κινδύνου] were put to any painful apprehensions about the impending danger.
- 20 ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες—ἠέδυσαν] but the first news they heard brought with it joy for the deliverance of their liberties.
- 23 ζῆλοῦσθαι] is proposed as the model and pattern for their ambition and emulation to copy after —
- 45 2 κατὰ φρονήσεως τῆς Ελλάδος] see the debates in Xerxes's council to this purpose. Herodot. L. 7. c. 8, 9, 10, 11. and Stan. V. 1. p. 230. Rollin B. 6. c. 2.
- 3 ἀπεμύζοντο τῷ γελοιομένῳ] thinking himself and his imperial dignity disgraced by the check that had been given to his father.
- 4 ἀπειθῆς κακῶν] unused to misfortunes, and consequently insolent.
- 5 ἀπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν] having as yet had no experience of the bravery of the men whom he was going to encounter. referring to the honest counsel given him on this occasion by Artabanus, which he rejected with disdain. Herod. L. 7.
- ib. δεκάτῳ ἔτει] i. e. in the tenth year after the defeat at Marathon, but in the fifth year of his reign. Rollin V. 3. B. 6: c. 2. §. 2.
- 6 χιλίας μὲν καὶ ἀκροστίας ναυσὶν] a round number for 1207 galleys, all with three banks of oars and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried 200 men, natives of the country which fitted them out, besides 30 more either Persians, Medes, or Saccæ, and in all 277,610 men. The European nations added 120 vessels carrying each 200; in all 24000. Besides these there were small galleys of 30 and 50 oars; transport-ships, victuallers and tenders, to the number of 3000; in each of which supposing 80 men, the amount is 240,000. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 3.
- 7 πεζῆς στρατῶς ἀπειρον πλῆθος] In Thrace Xerxes found his land-army, brought by him out of Asia, consisted of 1700,000 foot and 80,000 horse; less than 20,000 to take care of the carriages and camels can't well be supposed: 300,000 joined him after passing the Hellespont; so that all his land-forces amounted to 2,100,000 men. When arrived at Thermopylæ his land and sea-forces together made up the number of 2,641,610 men, without including women, servants, sutlers, &c. of which the number was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of souls in Xerxes's expedition amounted to 5,283,220. This is Herodotus's account, in which

- 45 which *Isocrates* and *Plutarch* agree. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, and *Ælian* fall much short of this number in their calculations. *Rollin* *ib.* *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 334.
- 10 [ἀπὸ τῆς πλάτους] (viz. χάλας) the breadth was about 7 furlongs or near an *English* mile.
- 13 [ὑπερβαδὼν τὰ φύσιν πεφυκῶτα] *Sall. de Matello B. Jug.* Omnes asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. and again, Naturam ipsam cæteris imperitantem industriâ vicerat. *Xenoph. K. Π. ε' Βασιλεὺς μὲν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖσιν αὐτῶν φύσιν πεφυκῶτα.* — and ἡ πειρὴς μὴ νόμιζε φύσιν φύσεσσι ἀνθρώπων.
- 16 [ζυγῶσιν μὲν τῶν ἑλλήσποντον] viz. by two bridges of galleys tyed together, and so well anchored that they resisted the winds. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 233. see them described out of *Herodot.* B. 7. c. 33. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 2.
- ib. [διουξίας ἢ τῆς Ἀθῶν] *Athos* is a peninsula of *Macedonia* projecting a great way into the sea: The Isthmus whereby it is joined to the land is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile over. In *Darius's* first expedition, conducted by *Mardonius*, his fleet attempting to double this peninsula, in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was greatly shattered by a tempest to the loss of 300 ships, and 20,000 men. *Xerxes* upon this pretext gave orders for cutting thro' this mountain; and the passage then made was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars pass through it abreast. *Rollin* V. 3. *ib.*
- 17 [ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν &c.] The greatest part of *Bœotia* and *Thessaly*, with other petty states, which lay most exposed, declared for the *Persians*: and the *Argives*, partly out of fear, partly out of inveterate hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, held secret intelligence with the enemy. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 235.
- 18 [ἐμύνασθαι] *Sal. B. Cat.* ad defendendum (sc. ad prohibendam audaciam) opes minores sunt.
- 21 [αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔς ναῦς ἐμψάντες] The chief dependence as sea was upon *Athens*; *Themistocles* had by exerting himself increased their navy to near 200 sail; these together with the fleet of the confederates made 280. *Hind.* p. 302. *Stan.* V. p. 237.
- 22 [Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἑταίροι.] The number of men dispatched to oppose the *Persians* was 6000, under *Leonidas* one of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings: In this body there were but 300 *Lacedæmonians*; the rest consisting of *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Arcadians*, and several other lesser states, who each of them furnished such proportions as they were able to raise in the present exigency, assigning particular captains to their own troops; but *Leonidas* had the command of the whole. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 236.

- 24 ἀπὸ τῆν στενότητι] The streights of *Thermopylae* were a narrow pass of 25 foot wide, between the mountains, which divided *Thessaly* from the rest of *Greece*. There were in it the remains of a wall with gates to it; which the *Phocians* had formerly built to secure themselves against the incursions of the *Thessalians*: And from these Gates, and some *Hot Baths*, which were at the entrance into the *Pass*, it obtained the name of *Thermopylae*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 236.*
- 46<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν εὐίκαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ] The fight at and about *Artemisium* continued two days, in both which the *Greeks* suffered very much by reason of the superior number of the *Enemy's* shipping; but as the *Enemy* left the sea and the wreck and spoils to the *Greeks*, the victory might be adjudged to them. *Hind. p. 314, 315. Stanyan V. 1. p. 242.*
- 3 ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλεόντος ψευδέντες &c.] *Leonidas* maintained his post at *Thermopylae* with great bravery and success for 3 days; But finding himself likely to be attacked in the rear, he gave leave to the rest of the confederates to go off; upon which he was deserted by the rest except 300 *Lacedaemonians* with some *Thebians* and *Thebans*, in all about 1000 men; who, after making a carnage of 20000, were overpowered by numbers. *Hind. p. 311. Stan. V. 1. p. 232. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.*
- 5 οὐκ ἠτήρητες] viz. ἐτελεύτησαν, for there is no verb in the sentence.
- 13 ἀλώσεται] viz. ἡ πόλις.
- 19 ἐξέλιπον &c ] see *Plato 22. 15. and 23. 9.*
- 47<sup>1</sup> οἱ μίγας καὶ δεινός &c.] *Xerxes* after he had burnt *Athens* marched down toward the sea to act in conjunction with his fleet, which was come to *Phalerus*, an *Athenian* Port. And whilst he was concerting measures with his Officers, the *Grecians* near *Salamis* were much dispirited and divided in their councils; the *Lacedaemonians* and others being for abandoning *Salamis* and making their stand at the *Isthmus*. But by the stratagem of *Themistocles* the engagement was brought on before the *Grecian* fleet separated; and by his conduct, and the courage and skill of the *Athenians*, a compleat victory was obtained. *Hind. p. 321, &c. Stan. V. 1. p. 245, &c.* So that during that season of debate among the *Grecians*, when their divisions in council had nearly proved fatal to them, there is fair room for imagining the scene which is here so oratorically described.
- 6 ἄλλων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνίοις] their wives and children were the prize for which they were to contend. The *Σαλαμῖνιοι* therefore upon this occasion might be considered as the *βορβουταὶ* of this glorious contest.

- 47 9 τῶ αὐτῶν προειδέναι] *because they foresaw it to be, as it were, inevitable*: And therefore being thus prepared for it, the evil of it lessened in their apprehensions.
- 19 παῖνος] Before the *Grecian* armies adventured to join their enemies they endeavoured by prayers, vows, and sacrifices to engage Heaven to their assistance, and sung an Hymn to *Mars* called Παιῶν ἐμπατήριος, as that sung to *Apollo* after a prosperous battle was termed Παιῶν ἐπινίκιος. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 76. In *Xen.* K. Π. ζ. p. 482. the *Pæan* is distinguished from the Hymn to *Mars*. Κύρος — ἐξήρχε παιῶνα, σιωπήχουσα δὲ πᾶσι ὁ στρατός. Μετὰ δὲ τῆτο τῶ Εὐναλίῳ τε ἄμφο ἱπηλάλαξαν — see also *Xenoph.* K. Π. γ. p. 195. *Hutch.* not. Besides Hymns of a religious kind, it has been customary with all armies, as well those of civilized nations as barbarous, at the time of coming to an engagement, to endeavour to strike terror into their enemies, and to encourage their friends, by the shouting repetition of some certain words peculiar to themselves; instances whereof are cited in great variety. *Lipsius de militiâ Romanâ*, L. 4. Dial. 11. *Neque frustra antiquitus institutum est, ut signa undique concinerent, clamoremque universi tollerent: quibus rebus et hostes terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt.* *Cæsar de Bell. civil.* L. 3.
- 48 3 θυσιῶν ἀναμνήσεις] *the recital of the sacrifices*, which they had formerly offered, such as *Chryses* makes *Il.* α. 40. — Or. *Vows of future sacrifices*; which is agreeable to *Plutarch*, who informs us, that *Pericles* summoned all the *Grecians* to *Athens* to consult concerning the sacrifices, which they were indebted upon the vows they made to the Gods for the safety of *Greece*, when they fought against the *Barbarians.* *vit. Pericl.*
- 17 Θεμιστοκλέα] see his character distinctly drawn. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 281, &c.
- 18 γνῶναι ἱκανώτατον] *of exquisite wisdom and foresight.*
- 21 ἀριστία τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος] After their victory at *Salamis*, *Themistocles* and the rest of the commanders of the *Grecian* navy went and exacted contributions of the several Islands which had favoured the *Persians*: And afterwards upon a general rendezvous of the confederates at the *Isthmus*, the Generals were unanimous in their praises of *Themistocles*; and the *Lacedæmonians* themselves gave him marks of extraordinary esteem, carrying him with them to *Lacedæmon*, crowning him with olive, presenting him with a rich chariot, and at his return home conducting him to the confines of their territories with 300 Horse. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 254.
- 23 τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὀμνοῦσαν τοῖς κινδύοις] *a happiness great in proportion to the dangers which they had undergone.*

- 49 <sup>5</sup> Πελοποννησίων ἀγαχιζόντων τὴν Ἰσθμὸν.] All along from the first attempt of *Xerxes*, it was the favorite scheme of the *Lacedæmonians* to place their only confidence in the defence of *Peloponnesus*, and thereby to secure *Laconia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 253. *Hind.* p. 302. With this view, when *Mardonius*, who had been left by *Xerxes* to prosecute the war, invaded *Attica*, and took the city of *Athens* a second time, the *Lacedæmonians* still continued intent upon their old scheme of fortifying the *Isthmus* at *Corinth* by a wall, regardless of the repeated remonstrances of the *Athenians* to march out and face the common danger; till the *Athenians* threatened them to join with the enemy and leave them to shift for themselves. Upon which the *Lacedæmonians* sent a reinforcement of 5000 men besides 7000 *Helots*; and gave the *Athenians* leave to levy 5000 more. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 257, &c. *Hind.* p. 332. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 9.
- 6 ἀγαπώντων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ] contented with the mean thought of securing their lives, regardless how much their honour and reputation would suffer by such conduct.
- 12 οὐτ' ἐκείνοις δεήσει χιλίων νηῶν] that they (the Barbarians) would not want 1000 ships i. e. they would have enough to make an invasion upon the Coasts of *Peloponnesus*. the sense seems to require a transposition. viz. τέτοις — ἐκείνους.
- 13 ἀκινδύως] without his running any hazard either to obtain or preserve it — without striking a blow.
- 17 ἐσοθήσων εἰς Πλαταιάς] see *Plato* 23. 9.
- 18 ἀποδράντων ἢ ὑπὸ νύκτι τῶν πλείων συμμάχων &c.] The two armies continued near *Plataea* for 11 or 12 days, which were spent only in slight skirmishes and traversing each others motions. The *Grecians* supposing things could not be presently brought to an issue, thought it necessary to remove their camp for the convenience of water; but breaking up in the night, were pretty much dispersed, and some of them missed their way. In the morning *Mardonius*, imputing their disorder to cowardice, pursued them with great violence; and charged their Rear, which consisted chiefly of *Lacedæmonians*. But they being assisted by the *Tegeans* maintained their ground with great slaughter of the Enemy; and some other *Grecian* troops coming up completed the victory. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 261. *Hind.* p. 336. *Rollin*.
- 22 τὸς ἀπεργονίας τ' ἐλευθερίας] the *Thebans* and *Thessalians* sided with the *Persians*, and in a body of 5000 men endeavoured to intercept the *Athenians*, who were making all the haste they could to have a share in the action. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 337. *Rollin*.

- 50 7 Ἰστῶν δὲ χρόνῳ] viz. about 23 years afterwards.
- 10 ὡς Αἰγινήτας &c.] The *Æginetans* had always made a considerable figure in Greece for their skill in sea-affairs; and it was chiefly in their bickerings with them that the *Athenians* layed the foundation of their greatness. *Stan. V. 1. p. 220.* They had likewise gained great reputation by their service against the *Persians*, and could ill bear the excessive growth of the *Athenians*, who having defeated them at sea made a descent and blocked up their city. The *Peloponnesians* sent 300 men to it's relief: And the *Corinthians* took this opportunity, whilst the *Athenian* forces were divided betwixt *Ægypt* and *Ægina* to make incursions into *Megaris*, and seized upon the fortress of *Geranea*. But the *Athenians* marched out of the city to a man against them under the conduct of *Myronides*. In the first battle the *Corinthians* without reason pretended to have the better: but upon coming to erect a trophy, a second ensued, wherein they were intirely defeated. *Stan. V. 1. p. 302.*
- 12 πολιορκέντων — Αἴγυπτον] viz. the city *Memphis* in *Ægypt*. see *Plato 23. 21.*
- 13 ἢ ἡλικίας] those who were of age for military service. see *Thucyd. 3. 1. 14.*
- 16 Γεραίνειαν] a fortress situate upon the summit of a high hill in the territory of *Megara*, commanding the passage to the *Isthmus*.
- 18 ἐδύνατο ἐτόλμησαν μετ' ἀπέμψασθ] had too much spirit and resolution to send for a single man of them —
- 51 10 οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐπαιδάζοντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς τὰ λοιπῶν ἐπαλεύοντο] They all betook themselves to their proper business respectively, the young men returning to their former exercises and course of discipline, the aged to consult for the good of the State —
- 17 ἐδδμήσαντο ἔτη] The *Athenian* Empire began soon after the defeat of the *Persians* at *Plataea* and *Mysale*, and continued till the demolition of the walls of *Athens* by *Lysander*, i. e. about 73 years. *Stan. V. 2. p. 2.*
- 19 τοῖς ὀλίγοις τὰς πόλεις δελοῦειν] alluding to that earnestness with which the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to establish their own model of *Oligarchical* government where-ever they obtained influence.
- 20 ἀναγκάζοντες] The *Athenians* no less exerted themselves in establishing, and obliged others to use, the *Democratical* form.
- 24 ἀπ' ἐδιδε τῶν] (i. e. π' ἑ) ἑαυτῶ. see l. 22.
- 52 1 ἐν οὐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ] during that period of time. — After the repeated victories of the *Athenians* under *Cimon*, the *Persians* were glad to treat upon any terms: and a peace was concluded extremely honourable on the *Grecians* side, the chief articles being, “ That the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* should be

52 “be left in the quiet enjoyment of their liberty; and that  
 “both the land and sea forces of the *Persians* should be kept  
 “at such a distance from the *Grecian* seas, as not to give any  
 “umbrage.” *Stan.* V. 1. p. 291. the words of the treaty  
 as recited by *Diodor. Sic.* L. 12. are, αὐτονόμους ἕσται πᾶσι καὶ  
 τῶν Ἀσίων Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀπάσας, τὰς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν σατραπείας  
 μὴ καταβάλλειν ἐπὶ θαλάσσιον κλιωτέρων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, μηδὲ ναῶν  
 μακροῦν πλεῖν ἐκτὸς Φασήλιδος καὶ Κυανείων.

5 αἰσχυροί] Προστάται was the appellation of such citizens of  
*Athens* as undertook the care and protection of the Μίτοιχοι  
 or *Sojourners*; who were obliged to choose out of the body  
 of Citizens some Patron in whose name all their business was  
 to be transacted, and who in consideration thereof was al-  
 lowed to demand several services of them. *Archæol.* V. 1.  
 p. 55. The expression therefore implies, that the *Athenians*  
 ought to be considered in the same rank of superiority above  
 the rest of the *Grecians*, as these Προστάται were at *Athens* in  
 respect of the Μίτοιχοι. so *Demosthenes* *Olynth.* 2. uses the  
 word of those great Statesmen *Aristides*, *Miltiades* &c. un-  
 der whose Patronage and Conduct the affairs of *Athens* were  
 carried to the highest pitch of grandeur — Τότε μὲν δὴ τῶ-  
 τον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ πρᾶγματα οὐκ ἀνοίσι χρημῆροι οἷς εἶπον αἰ-  
 σχυροίς — §. 9.

5 ἂν ἐνεχε δὲ μόνες &c.] for which reason, they, the *Athenians*,  
 have the justest pretensions to be considered as the principal of  
 the *Grecian* States,

8 ἀπολομένον γὰρ τῶν νεῶν] *Adimantus* one of the *Athenian* Ad-  
 mirals was thought to have betrayed the fleet to *Lysander*.  
*Stan.* V. 1. p. 441.

10 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν] inasmuch as they were now exposed to  
 the insolence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and no power remained  
 sufficient to oppose the *Persians*, as is implied afterwards;  
 tho' what ground there was for such intimation does not ap-  
 pear: No one certainly could be a greater curb upon the  
*Persians* than *Agefilaus* was.

13 ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων ἡγομένων] for Others, viz. the *Lacedæmo-*  
*nians*, being now at the head of the affairs of Greece —

ib. ἐνίκησαν μὲν ναυμαχῶντες τὰς Ἑλλήνας] *Isocrates*, whose *Pan-*  
*gyrick* is drawn upon much the same plan with this Oration  
 of *Lysias*, specifies these victories of the *Persians* more parti-  
 cularly, ἐνίκησαν μὲν οἱ Βάρβαροι ναυμαχῶντες, ἤρξαν δὲ τῆς θα-  
 λάσσης, κατέχον τὴν πλείστα τῶν νήσων, ἀπέσπασαν δὲ εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν,  
 Κύθηρα καὶ καὶ Κόρινθον εἶλον, ἀπάσαν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον κακῶς  
 ποιῶντες ἀπέπλευσαν, p. 145. Edit. *Cant.* But it may be ob-  
 served, that this was done under the conduct of *Corona*, who  
 was so far from oppressing the *Grecian* Islands, &c. that he  
 turned out the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, and set them free  
 upon

- 52 upon the Democratical plan of Government: All this happened (according to *Xenophon* Ελλην. L. 4.) after the transactions, which *Lysias* proceeds to discuss upon in the next paragraph: and therefore he properly enough makes use of the word ἐξήχθην *I have been carried out of the regular order of time*, p. 53. 1.
- 18 κείραδ' τὴν Ἐλλάδα] 'Tis well known to have been the custom among the *Greeks*, for those, who thought themselves obliged to express their grief or concern, to tear, or cut off their hair, and to shave their heads; and this was sometimes practised by whole cities and commonwealths. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 197.
- 20 ὡς δυστυχῆς] *so unhappy was* —
- 22 ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαοκόμηται] *having got, or to do with, other commanders of Greece.*
- 53 4 σωσάσαντες] see *Plat.* 26. l. 21.
- 5 πάντας πολεμικὰς κεκτημένοι] referring to the smallness of their numbers, who engaged in the attempt to recover their liberty: According to *Nepos* they were at first only 30. according to *Xenophon* 70. *Xenoph.* Κ. Π. ζ. Ὡς γὰρ μέντοι ἦλθεν ἡ δεινὴ ἀγγελία, τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους (c. i. quàm plurimos) ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συλλέγεσθαι.
- 6 ὅσα ἰσθ' ὁ νόμος ἀναγκασθέντες] inasmuch as the Constitution was subverted, and the law had thereby lost its proper efficacy.
- 9 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] viz. for those who had gone into voluntary exile to avoid the Tyranny of the xxx.
- 10 πῶς συμφοραῖς ἀίχλωρδοί] *actuated with a generous shame* (as p. 43. l. 23. *at their misfortunes*; namely, that the *Lacedæmonians* should be able to reduce them to so low a condition.
- 13 συμμάχους μὲν ὄρκους] see the Oath taken by the *Ephēbi*. Note on *Plato* p. 34. l. 24. All the *Athenians* in the several tribes took the following Oath. "I will endeavour, with my own hands, to kill that man, who shall dissolve the *Athenian* Republick, or after its subversion shall bear any office; and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from guilt, in respect of the Gods or Dæmons, who shall take away his life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the distribution of his goods, I'll pass my vote that the slayer shall have half; and he, that in the attempt shall have the misfortune to lose his life, shall with his heirs have due respect and honour from me." *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 155.
- ib. καὶ σωθήσεται] When *Lysander* proposed to erect the Oligarchy of the xxx Tyrants at *Athens*, *Theramenes* alledged in opposition to his proposal, and read over the σωθήσεται, the articles of capitulation, upon which *Athens* has surrendered to him,



- 53 him, one of which was ὅτι τῇ πατρῷῳ σωσιφάνησε πολιτεία. *Diod. Sic. L. 14. ad Olymp. 94. 1.*
- 14 πολυμίξες τὰς ἀσπίδας ὑπάρχοντας] for the *Lacedæmonians* kept in *Attica* a standing force to support the Oligarchy which they had established.
- 18 τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους] Those *Lacedæmonians*, who fell in this war, had the privilege of being buried in the most honourable place of sepulture thro' the interest of their Countrymen, who supported the Government then established in *Athens*. This honour was granted likewise by the opposite party to some *Thebans*. p. 54. l. 11. 16.
- 21 τείχη] see *Plat.* 28. 20.
- 23 οὐκ ἐπὶ πτωχείᾳ] see *Plat.* 27. 13. not.
- 54 4 ἀπλογίσαντες] vindicated themselves from the imputation of wanting true bravery and virtue.
- 7 βία παρόντων Πελοποννησίων] *Lysander* was sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to support the Oligarchy established at *Athens*, who together with his brother *Libys* the Admiral blocked the *Piræus* by sea and land; and thereby greatly distressed those who had fled thither. *Pausanias* likewise was sent with another body of men to support *Lysander*. see *Plato* 26. 21. — 29. 24.
- 8 τῆν αὐτῶν] viz. πόλιν.
- 11 τὰς ξείνας] Those *Thebans* who assisted the Exiles against the 30 Tyrants.
- 12 τὸ πλῆθος] for tho' the number which *Thrasylbulus* had with him was comparatively but small, yet it was the cause of the πλῆθος which he defended.
- 17 βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίοις] see *Plat.* 28. 5. — 29. 24.
- 18 πικραίων φίλων] The *Corinthians* had in most instances been fast friends and allies to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Hind.* p. 141, 153, 410.
- 21 ἡ ἀσπίς ἔχθρας] viz. in the *Peloponnesian* war, when they acted against the *Athenians*.
- 55 2 τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχοις] supply σύμμαχοι θύοιμοι, as l. 3.
- 3 νικησάντες μὲν γὰρ οἰκείας τῶν αὐτῶν ἕξις] for it was always usual with them when they came off victorious to admit others to the same privileges of freedom with themselves.
- 5 κατέλιπον] whenever they miscarried in their enterprizes, the consequence was always fatal to the liberty of the *Peloponnesian* States.
- ib. οἰκείους] the *Corinthians*.
- 7 ἔσται] The *Athenians* who went to their relief.
- 11 ἐπηρώδησαν] viz. in the *Corinthian* war under the command of *Iphicrates*; by whose extraordinary conduct and skill in military

- 55 military affairs a stop was put to the progress of the *Lacedæmonian* arms. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 8.
- 12 δυσυχηθέντα] see *Plat.* 40. 6.
- ib. πόρρω δ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν] (viz. χώρου) for the seat of the war lay chiefly about *Corinth*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 79.
- 19 πάντα ὡς ἐλάττωτος τῆ ἀρετῆς] cuncta putas unâ virtute minorâ. *Hor.*
- 22 πολλῶν κὶ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων] notwithstanding that age is exposed to a variety of sad inconveniences, ζηλῶ I think them happy in this respect that —
- 56 9 ὥστερον ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς; ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μεμνησθαι] q. d. shall I endeavour to alleviate their concern by representing, that the calamity is not at all peculiar to themselves, but extended to the whole community as well as them? but this will be endeavouring to procure a remedy to one evil by running into another, it will raise in the rest of my audience the uneasy remembrance of those misfortunes.
- 18 ὡς περ ἐκείνοι] show the same regard and value for them as they, viz. their own children, would have done.
- 57 2 σὺ οἶδ' ὅτι δεῖ] i. e. οἶδ' ὅτι εἰ δεῖ.
- 3 εἰ γὰρ ἐλαυθάνομεν &c.] *Cic. Tuscul. Disput.* L. 3. Anaxagoram ferunt nuntiata morte filii dixisse, Sciebam me genuisse mortalem. Vid. *Ælian.* Var. Hist. L. 3. c. 2.
- 4 ἀ πάλαι προσεδουκῶμεν &c.] *Cic. ib.* Quoniam multum potest provisio animi et præparatio ad minuendum dolorem, sint semper omnia homini humana meditata.
- 5 ἢ λίαν ἔτω &c.] *Hom.* II. ζ.  
 Δαίμωνίη, μή μοι τε λίην ἀκηχίζω θυμῶ  
 Οὐ γάρ τις μ' ὑπερ αἴτων ἀνὴρ αἰεὶ παρῆσσι.
- 7 οὔτε γὰρ τὰς πενήτας &c.] *Hom.* de *Hectore.* ib.  
 Μοῖρα δ' ἐπανάφημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμερα ἀνδρῶν,  
 Οὐ κενόν, εἰδὲ μ' ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶν ταπρῶτα γήνηται.
- 12 ἢ φύσις κὶ νόσων ἤτων κὶ γήρας] our Nature is such as must necessarily yield to the attacks of diseases and old-age.
- 22 ἀγωνες — ῥώμης, κὶ σοφίας] see *Plato* p. 35. 7.
- 23 καὶ πλέττε] referring to the great charges which private persons were at in celebrating these festivals, vying with each other in the splendour of their preparations.
- ὡς ἀξίως] N. Accus. absolute.
- 24 ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τὰς ἀθανάτους] — the same honours, as the immortal Gods —
- 25 τῶ θανάτῳ] (viz. ἐνεκα.)

58 *HYPERIDES* was an *Athenian* Orator, contemporary with *Demosthenes*, but supposed not to have been so hearty in the real interest of his country (see *Stan.* V. 2. p. 252.) However, he was very active in its service upon the death of *Alexander*, and was appointed to speak the funeral Oration over *Leosthenes* and those who fell in the *Lamian* war, as we learn from *Diod. Sic.* B. 18. Four years after he was seized by the command of *Antipater*, and put to death.

The fragment here reprinted is preserved by *Stobæus* Serm. 123. with *Hyperides*'s name affixed to it in the margin. Whether it was part of the Funeral oration above-mentioned is uncertain: From the expression τὸς πρῶτῃς τῶν Θεῶν κατελευσμένης βοηθήσαντας it should seem to refer to some war undertaken upon a *religious* account. One of which kind happened in his time, namely, the *Phocian* or *Sacred* War; in which the zeal of one side was inflamed by the cry of *Religion*, and of the other by that of *Liberty*. The *Athenians* indeed took the latter party; but if the character of *Hyperides*, above referred to, be a just one, there is no improbability of his having in his younger years been a Panegyrist upon those who fell in support of the *Phocian* interest, which had its advocates, as *Demosthenes* represents also *Philip* to have had, among the then *Athenian* Orators.

The funeral Oration under the name of *Demosthenes* is thought to be spurious. (see *Taylor Lect. Lysias.* p. 681.)

# NOTES

## UPON

### The Extracts from *Xenophon*.

**CYRUS**, the younger, being killed in his attempt to dethrone his elder brother *Artaxerxes*, K. of *Persia*, the *Grecian Mercenaries*, who attended *Cyrus* in that Expedition, were reduced to great difficulties by the treachery of their Asiatick Comrades, who immediately went over to *Artaxerxes*, and inveigled almost all the *Grecian Commanders* into the hands of the *Persians* under pretence of a truce and pacification : By whom they were put to death.

- 59 5 ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν &c.] viz. in the war which was terminated by the victories of *Lysander* about 3 years before.
- 8 ἀδικῶσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα] The *Lacedæmonians*, having ruined the power of the *Athenians* by *Lysander*, now affected the title of Guardians and Protectors of *Greece*. The whole coast of *Thrace* was lined with *Grecian Colonies* settled there for the advantage of Commerce. No wonder therefore if we hear of mutual jealousies and injuries passing between the old inhabitants and these new settlers.
- 9 Εφόρων] The *Ephori* were Magistrates at *Lacedæmon*, five in number (*Suid.*), appointed originally to be Inspectors under the Kings, and the supreme Council of State, as the Tribunes were among the Romans; but by degrees their Authority rose so high as to controul them and all other Officers whether Military or Civil. Their Sentences were final and admitted of no appeal, and were by them immediately carried into execution. see *Xenoph. περὶ Λακεδαιμ. πολιτείας*, *C. Nepos* in *Pausan.*
- 13 πέλων] the *Spartan Magistrates*. The Scholiast. on *Tbucyd.* B.1. gives this for the reason of the appellation, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν τελεῶν τοῖς πράγμασι πύθουσι.
- 15 ἀπαρχῆ] viz. in the first B. of the *Ἀνάβασις*.
- 16 μνηστὴρ Δαρεϊκός.] The *Daric* was a piece of money so called from *Darius*, named in Scripture *Darius the Median* (the same with *Cyaxares*, Father in Law to *Cyrus* the Elder.) It is probable that he caused it to be made at *Babylon* out of the vast quantity of Gold which had been brought into his Treasury,

68 Notes upon the Extracts from *Xenoph.*

- 59 fury, as the spoils of war which He and *Cyrus* had been long engaged in; from whence it became dispersed all over the East and also throughout *Greece*; where it was of great reputation; the Gold being exceeding pure with very little alloy in it. It weighed according to *Dr. Bernard* 2 grains more than one of our *Guineas*, but, on account of its fineness, might be worth 25*s.* see *Dr. Prideaux Connest.* P. I. B. 2.
- 19 ἀπὸ τῆς ἱφίης ἐ ἦσαν αὐτῆς.] *After that* (after having conquered them in battle) *he harassed and plundered them.* so in Latin *Ferre et Agere.* H.
- 60 7 ἐς παιδικὰ] τῆτο πνὶς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ ἔρωτῳ, πνὶς δὲ ἐπὶ αἰσχροῦ λαμψάνουσι. *Schol. ad Thucyd.* L. 1. — ἐπὶ θηλειῶν κὶ ἀρρένων ἔρωμίνων πύττεται ἢ λείξαις — ὡς δὲ ἐπιπολὺ, ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἔρωμίνων. *Phavorin.* Hæc autem dictio (v. *Budæum Comm.* L. G. p. 177.) ab amoribus puerorum ad honestum amorem et voluptatem inculpatam translata est: adeo ut alicujus tam res quælibet quàm homo dicatur παιδικῶ, quam quémve in deliciis habet. *Hutch.* see also *Potter Archæolog.* B. 4. Ch. 9.
- 8 πολεμικῶς] i. e. ἰκανὸς πολεμίζειν *Bello idoneus.* Adjectiva, quæ terminationem hanc sortita sunt, id plerumque denotant ad quod suscipiendum perficiendumque subjecta sunt idonea, apta, propensa. sic ἀρχικῶς est ἀρχεῖν ἰκανός. v. *Hutchinson ad l.*
- 13 ἀρχικῶς — ὡς δυνατὸν. ἐκ τῆ τοιάυτε πτόπου οἶον κὶ ἐκείνῳ εἶχεν] *fitted for Government and Command, extremely so, in consequence of his turn of mind and temper.*
- 20 καὶ γνώμη ἢ ἐκόλαζεν.] *tho' he was sometimes passionate and excessively severe in his punishments, yet he inflicted them upon a settled determined principle —*
- 61 22 Γοργίας] *Gorgias of Leontium, in Sicily, was celebrated for his principles of Policy and for his address in applying the powers of Oratory. After having signalized himself at Athens by pleading the cause of the Syracusans and successfully imploring the aid of the Athenians (Diodor. Sic. B. 12.) he was much resorted to as a treasury of useful and polite learning, and at great premiums communicated his knowledge in Eloquence and Policy. His pay was sometimes no less than 100 Minæ or 10000 Drachms; (322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*) Isocrates was one of his Scholars. See the character of his Oratory given by Cicero. Orat. n. 175. Cicero reports that after displaying his Oratory in the Olympick and Pythian Games he had a golden statue erected to his honour at Delphos.*
- 24 μὴ ἠτλοῦσαι εὐεργετῶν] *having qualified himself by real abilities and services to make an ample return to any Great men, who should admit him to their friendship.*

Notes upon the Extracts from *Xenoph.* 69

- 62 3 τέτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν — αὖ —] *But however earnestly desirous he was of these things — yet —*
- 23 εἶργων δὲ φανερός &c.] *He manifestly shewed himself to have no such thing as real affection for any person —*
- 63 1 κατεγέλα] *he despised — or treated with contempt —*
- 4 μόνος ὡς εἶδεναι —] *unus omnium existimavit se scire —*  
*prided himself upon his having a peculiar address and abilities to —*
- 7 ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσχεῖσιν] *men of conscience, acting under the awful reverence of a supreme Being, and steering their conduct by the maxims of Truth.*
- 8 ἀγάσσεται] *rejoices in.*
- 11 μὴ πανῆρην] *a man that had his scruples about carrying an affair thro' sitch, right or wrong —*
- 15 ἤξις] *he claimed, asserted his pretensions to a superior degree of Honour and Respect —*
- 17 κατέλεγεν] *he threw it in his teeth, he reproached him with this as a kindness actually conferred, that in employing him in his service, he had not contrived so as to destroy him.*
- 12 ἔξει —] *it may be, that false accounts have been given of some of the more secret parts of his life and conversation.*
- 20 Αριστιππῶ] *Of this Aristippus some account is given Ανασ. B. 1. He was a man of superior note, and aimed at Despotism in his district, but being opposed in his ambitious aims, in order to retain his superiority, he applied himself to Cyrus, who assisted him by a liberal donation, sufficient for raising an Army of 4000 men; which he intended, afterwards, should serve his own purposes.*
- 20 διεπράξατο] *he procured (insinuating that he did it by some shameful compliances,) for himself a General's command, tho' he was but a stripling, ἀραῖος —*
- 24 ἀποθνήσκουσιν τῶν στρατῶν] *When the Generals were put to death —*
- 64 5 ὡς πονηρός as a Villain —
- 6 πελοτύης τυχεῖν] *obtained his release from life —*

# NOTES

UPON

The Extracts from *Cicero*.

PHILIPPIC. IX.

THE whole set of Orations, which *Cicero* spoke against *M. Antonius* upbraiding him with his personal vices, and pernicious designs against the common Interests of his Country, have had this name given to them in allusion to those Orations, whereby *Demosthenes* endeavoured to animate the *Athenians* against *Philip* of *Macedon*, as having projected and well nigh executed the plan for conquering and enslaving *Greece*.

By way of Argument to the foregoing extracts it may be proper to premise thus much, that,

Soon after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, *M. Antonius*, a soldier and favourite of his, found himself prompted both by his Ambition and Expensiveness to form a scheme of succeeding Him in his Sovereign Dominion, and in the oppression of his Country's Liberty: This he conducted with surprizing vigour and address.

*D. Brutus*, a man of large fortune, and one who, having been highly favoured by *Cæsar*, was regarded with particular abhorrence by the enemies of liberty for the share he took in *Cæsar's* Assassination, exerted himself to the utmost to defeat the schemes of *M. Antonius*. — He had been nominated by *J. Cæsar* to the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina*: To this he retired soon after the death of *Cæsar*, and declared hostilities against *M. Antonius* by forbidding him entrance into it. But finding himself unable to oppose *Antonius* in the field, he threw himself with all his forces into the strong Town of *Mutina*, which was thereupon besieged by *Antonius*. — An Embassy was appointed to carry to him the peremptory commands of the Senate to quit the siege of *Mutina*, and to desist from all hostilities: The persons nominated thereunto were *S. Sulpicius*, *L. Piso*, and *L. Philippus*. — *Ser. Sulpicius* was at that time in a very declining state of health, and died when they were just arrived at *Antonius's* camp. — Soon after, *Pansa*, one of the Consuls, called the Senate together to deliberate on some proper honours to be decreed to the memory of

of *S. Sulpicius*: He advised to pay him all the honours, which had ever been decreed to any, who had lost their lives in the service of their Country; a publick funeral, sepulchre, and statue: In this motion he was supported by *Cicero* (*Phil.* 9.) and in this resolution the Senate concurred.

*D. Brutus*, who continued near four months besieged in *Mutina*, was reduced to great straits, but defended it with the greatest resolution. *Hirtius*, one of the Consuls, had already marched to his relief at the head of a brave army, and particularly of the *Martial* and *Fourth* Legions, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole. *Octavius Cæsar* had the year before been very active in soliciting his uncle *Jul. Cæsar's* soldiers into his service, and had drawn together a firm and regular army of Veterans completely furnished with all the necessaries for present service. The command of which was afterwards assigned to him by authority of the Senate, upon condition that he should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of *D. Brutus* and his Accomplices. Accordingly he joined his forces to those of *Hirtius*; and not long after, the other Consul *Pansa* set out to join them with his new raised army, consisting of four Legions. But when he was advanced within a few miles of *Hirtius's* camp, *Antonius* privately drew out some of his best troops with design to surprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. Upon which a general action ensued, wherein *Antonius* lost the greatest part of his Veteran troops, two Eagles, and sixty standards; but however he regained his Camp, hoping to make himself master of *Mutina*, as the place was reduced to great extremity, and his works seemed strong enough to prevent any relief being thrown into it. But *Hirtius* and *Octavius* attacked him in his intrenchments and forced him to a general battle, wherein he was at length defeated and the place relieved.

*Ser. Galba*, one of the Conspirators against *Cæsar*, gave *Cicero* a particular account of the first Action, *Ep. Fam. X.* 30. Other Letters also arrived severally from the two Consuls and *Octavius*, which raised an incredible joy at *Rome*; and the day following, the Senate being summoned by *Cornutus* the Prætor, to deliberate upon the Letters of the Consuls and *Octavius*, *Cicero* delivered his Opinion as it stands in the fourteenth Philippick; which was ratified by the Senate. See *Dr Middleton's Life of Cicero*.

65 6 luctu publico] It was usual with the *Romans* on any disastrous event, by which the common welfare was endangered, to testify their sense of it, and thereby to rouse one another up to compensate the mischief by extraordinary



65 nary efforts of Patriotism. This was a rational, and, probably, the original design of Publick Mourning.

18 cenſeo] This was the legal term made uſe of by *Roman Senators*, when they had formed their Opinions into a Motion.

ib. Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemoniâ, Rufus.] Moris fuit, ut cum aliquis civis Romanus oſtendendus fit, ſignificaretur aut a Prænomine ſuo, aut a Nomine, aut a Cognatione, aut a Tribu in quâ cenſeretur, (*adde et a Cognomine*) aut a Curia, aut a Cenſu. *Aſcon. in Cic.* We have this account here exemplified in the 5 firſt particulars. *Servius* (Prænomen, quod ſingulorum proprium eſt) *Sulpicius* (Nomen gentilitium, multis Gentis et Familiæ cauſâ commune;) *Q. F.* (Quinti Patris Filius) *Lemoniâ* (Tribu Lemoniâ, in quâ cenſebatur. Tribûs autem nomen ablativo caſu plerumque ponitur.) This was one of the Ruſtick Tribes ſo called from the Village of *Lemo* not far from the *Porta Capena*, in which *Sulpicius* probably poſſeſſed ſome eſtate. *Rufus* (Cognomen, quod plerumque ab actione aliquâ, vel a corpore, vel a moribus inditum eſt.) vid. *Pitiſci. Lexic.*

20 Auctoritatem Senatûs] Auctoritas in genere eſt cum aliorum conſiliis, juſſis, voluntati libenter obedimus. Sometimes *Auctoritas Senatûs* ſtands contradistinguished from the *Senatûs conſultum*: viz. when the Act was patronized indeed by a Majority of the Senators, but was hindered from paſſing into an Obligatory Act, either by the interpoſal of a Negative by a Tribune &c. or for want of a proper number to ratify the Act.

66 10 ſtatuum pedestrem in Roſtris] in that part of the Forum where the *Roſtra* ſtood; which as being moſt frequented and moſt conſpicuous was the moſt honourable ſpot of ground that could have been choſen.

12 circum eam ſtatuum locum ludis gladiatoribusque] ſc. *ludis gladiatoribusque ſpectandis*. Five feet round the Statue in all directions might be ſufficient for the purpoſe of Seeing fights, but very incompetent for exhibiting them. Excepting in the caſe of ſome peculiar privilege granted by the Senate, Places at publick Games were ſeized promiſcuouſly without any regard to Rank and Station. — The practice of aſſigning to perſons diſtinct places in the Theatres according to their Rank as Patricians Knights and Plebeians, was introduced A. U. C. 559. — The *Circus* was ſtill left open to All.

19 locent) contract with ſome Artiſt or Undertaker.

20 redemptori] Redemptores ſunt, qui cum quid publice faciendum aut præbendum conduxerant effecerantque, tum denique pecunias accipiebant. *Festus*.

- 66 <sup>24</sup> *quam ampliffimè*] with all the pomp and grandeur of ceremony that was made use of at the interment of most eminent persons. see Kennet. *Antiq.* P. 11. B. 5. and the Authors there referred to.
- ib.* *supremo die suo*] In the case of indictive and publick Funerals the carrying forth of the Body to its Funeral was performed on the 8th day after the Person's death. *Serv.* in *Ænoid.* v. 65.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ædiles Curules edictum*] These *Ædiles* chosen out of the Nobility (it is well known) had the inspection and regulation of publick Games and other matters of publick Ceremony.
- 67 <sup>6</sup> *uti quod optimo jure &c.*] a quaint formality of Law-expression to give validity to the Grant.
- <sup>12</sup> *Supplicationes ex literis*] After obtaining any remarkable advantage in War, the General commonly gave the Senate an account of it by Letters wreathed about with Laurel, in which he desired the favour of a *Supplicatio* or solemn procession to the Temples of the Gods; this being granted for a set number of days, the Senate went in a solemn manner to the Temples; Sacrifices were offered, with publick Festivities. *Kennet* P. 2. B. 4.
- <sup>17</sup> *Imperatores appellem*] Though this Title was given, upon any remarkable success, to the General by the Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Camp, yet to ensure the Title a Decree of the Senate was necessary. *ib.*
- <sup>21</sup> *Hostes judico*] as no longer deserving the name of Citizens, but Enemies to their Country. — The *Roman* Senate often by a Vote fixed this appellation as a stain of Ignominy on those who took up arms against their Country, deserted its Interests and service, or attempted to overturn the Constitution.
- <sup>25</sup> *alterum nomen beneficii &c.*] *viz.* that of Consul.
- 68 <sup>10</sup> *legione Martiâ — Quarta — &c.*] Legions for distinction's sake were denominated either from the Order in which they were raised, First, Second &c. or from the Place where they were stationed, *Germanica, Britannica &c.* or from the Generals, as, *Augusta, Claudia &c.* or from some particular Character, *Martia, Vibrix, Ferrea, Fulminatrix &c.*
- <sup>27</sup> *qui Cæsaris beneficia servâssent*] who had managed their domestick concerns so well as to have preserved the Largeesses given them by Cæsar, and not squandered them away. It was usual with Generals in the Provinces to reward such of their Soldiers as deserved well, with Donations of Land &c. and to secure their title at their return to Rome, *referre eos in beneficiis ad ærarium* to register them in the publick Treasury.

74 Notes upon the Extracts from *Cicero*.

fury: No one was more liberal in this particular than *Julius Cæsar*. But those Soldiers, whose title was thus confirmed, were at liberty to part with their property.

69 <sup>1</sup> Hirtius ipse aquilam] In cases of extraordinary difficulty it was not unusual for the General himself to take the Standard into his own hands and lead the Soldiers onward to the Enemy — nothing appearing so disgraceful to the Roman Soldiery as to suffer their Standard to be taken by the Enemy see *Cæsar. de B. Gall. L. 4.*

<sup>4</sup> huic Jovi Maximo] the Senate at this time was assembled in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

<sup>14</sup> Ætas certe ejus &c.] *Octavius* (afterwards *Augustus*) *Cæsar* was at the time here spoken of about 20 years old, having been born A. U. C. 690. This motion of *Cicero's* was made A. U. C. 710.

<sup>29</sup> monumentum amplissimum] *Monumentum* differt a *Sepulcro*, in quo corpus conditum est; *Monumentum* est quodcunque opus aut ædificium transmittendæ ad Posteris memoriæ causâ factum: cujusmodi hodie Romæ extat *C. Cestii* Monumentum e Marmore quadrato. v. Pitisc. Lex.

71 <sup>13</sup> Mars in acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet] sibi quasi suos assumere. Nam in acie fortissimi quique moriuntur. Manut.

<sup>14</sup> nunc vero sanctissimi] By this solemn Act of the Senate they were, in a manner, Sainted and Deified. *Sancti* was one of the Attributes of the Gods.

72 <sup>29</sup> dispersis bustis crematos] the *Puticuli* without the Esquilian gate were the place allotted for burying of the Bones and ashes of persons of the lowest rank, who had no private place of their own for burial.

contectos] the honour of being buried within the City was not granted to any (the Vestal virgins excepted) but by a publick Decree of the Senate.

73 <sup>3</sup> Ara virtutis] cui inscribetur elogium, eorum virtutem immortalitati consecrans. Solebant enim in locis, ubi victoria erat parta, locari Aræ, quibus inscribebantur res in illo loco gestæ, & illorum laus, quorum virtute res gestæ erant. *Græv.* This is a true account of the matter of fact. But *Cicero's* thought in the use of this expression is much more spirited. The virtues of these brave men had, he tells his hearers, in a manner deified them, and justified the erecting Altars to their honour.

<sup>13</sup> cum tempus venerit] 'tis probable from the subsequent successes of *Antonius* that the time of putting these Decrees of the Senate in execution never came.

- 73 <sup>23</sup> *Legiones tironum*] Legions formed out of Recruits newly raised : — tho' these undoubtedly included likewise many Veterans, to instruct the novices in their military duty.
- 24 *occisione occiderit*] thoroughly routed and destroyed.
- 74 <sup>16</sup> *Prætor urbanus*] The Consuls being at this time absent, the *Prætor urbanus*, or One of them was possessed of the Supreme Jurisdiction. Probably the *Prætor Primus* or He who was first Elected. At first there was but *One*, elected by the People voting in their Centuries ; Afterwards, as the Dominion and Affairs of *Rome* encreased, the number was gradually enlarged to *Eight* ; and by *Julius Cæsar* to *Sixteen*.
- 75 <sup>5</sup> *monumentum locandum*] see p. 66. 19.
- ib. *Quæstores urbis*] as having the charge of the Publick Treasury, and being intrusted with Receipts and Disbursement of Publick Monies.

*To the Catalogue of Books proper to be consulted for Athenian and Roman Antiquities might be added, two Others, which are now antiquated, but in their times were not undeservedly wellesteemed, and are still very useful for Classical Expressions relative to those subjects, viz. Seven Books of the Attick Antiquities by Fran. Rous and Zach. Bogan. 4to.*

*An Exposition of the Roman Antiquities by Tho. Godwin. 4to.*

# A Chronological Table.

<i>Year of the World.</i>		<i>Year before Christ.</i>
1656	<b>N</b> OA H is preserved in the Universal Deluge.	2348
1988	Abraham born.	2016
2107	The Destruction of Sodom.	1897
2244	From the first peopling of <i>Attica</i> 'till the time of <i>Ogyges</i> , we have no account of any thing that passed there. — And of his times we know little more than that <i>Attica</i> was wasted so much by a deluge as not to recover itself for near 200 years.	1760
2370	<i>Joseph</i> dies.	1634
2428	<i>Moses</i> born.	1576
2448	<i>Cecrops</i> an <i>Egyptian</i> , having married the daughter of <i>Athaus</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , built the City; which was afterwards the Citadel, calling it <i>Cecropia</i> . He introduced a Form and Ceremonial of Religion into the Country.	1556
	The number of Kings in <i>Attica</i> is reckoned to be 17; they reigned in all 487 years.	
2492	<i>Deucalion's</i> flood.	1512
	<i>Amphictyon</i> the son of <i>Deucalion</i> , having married the daughter of <i>Cranaus</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , deposed him and usurped his throne; and was 10 or 12 years after himself deposed by <i>Eriethonius</i> , a foreigner, who introduced the use of silver money.	
2508	<i>Israelites</i> depart out of <i>Ægypt</i> .	1496
2547	<i>Moses</i> dies.	1457
2550	<i>Cadmus</i> fl.	1454
2568	<i>Pandion</i> son of <i>Eriethonius</i> , was the first king who held the throne in right of succession.	1436
2608	* <i>Eretheus</i> succeeded <i>Pandion</i> . He had war with the <i>Eleusnians</i> , who were assisted by <i>Eumolpus</i> king of <i>Thrace</i> .	1396
2657	<i>Cecrops</i> II. gathered the people of <i>Attica</i> into twelve burroughs: to him succeeded	1347
2698	<i>Pandion</i> II. and to him	1306
2723	<i>Ægeus</i> .	1281
2772	<i>Carthage</i> built by a Colony of <i>Tyrians</i> .	1234

# A Chronological Table.

77

<i>Year of the World.</i>		<i>Year before Christ.</i>
2781	* <i>Theseus</i> new modelled the State, and brought the inhabitants of <i>Attica</i> into one City, which he named <i>Athenæ</i> . In his time happened the <i>Theban</i> and the <i>Amazonian</i> war.	1223
2785		1219
2797		1207
2788	* <i>Hercules</i> dies.	1216
2801	* <i>Eurystheus</i> is slain.	1203
2821	The <i>Trojan</i> war ended.	1183
2816	<i>Jeptha</i> judges <i>Israel</i> .	1188
2823	<i>Æneas</i> comes into <i>Italy</i> .	1181
2900	* The <i>Heraclidæ</i> by means of the <i>Athenians</i> recover possession of <i>Peloponnesus</i> .	1104
2904	<i>Samuel</i> judges <i>Israel</i> .	1100
2934	* The <i>Heraclidæ</i> invade <i>Attica</i> . <i>Codrus</i> king of <i>Athens</i> throws away his life for the welfare of his country.	1070
2936	After which the supreme Magistrate in <i>Athens</i> was no longer called <i>King</i> , but <i>Archon</i> . <i>Medon</i> , the son of <i>Codrus</i> was the first of this title. There were 13 of them in succession during 312 years.	1068
2944	<i>David</i> begins his reign.	1060
2960	* The <i>Athenians</i> sent out large Colonies on the maritime coasts of <i>Asia minor</i> .	1044
2988	<i>Solomon</i> begins building the Temple.	1016
3093	<i>Homer</i> dies.	911
3122	<i>Lycurgus</i> gives Laws to the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .	882
3228	The vulgar <i>Æra</i> of the <i>Olympiads</i> . (But N.B. this was really the 1st year of the 28th Olympiad, or 108 years after the restitution of the Olympian Games by <i>Iphitus</i> .)	776
3248	The <i>Athenians</i> reduce the administration of the <i>Archons</i> to a <i>decennial</i> office. — Of those, who bore it, there were seven. The first named <i>Charops</i> , in last <i>Eryxias</i> .	756
3252	<i>Rome</i> built.	752
3281	The Captivity of the ten tribes of <i>Israel</i> .	723
3318	The office of <i>Archon</i> is reduced to an annual office, executed by nine persons; one of them bearing the Title: The first who bore it was <i>Creon</i> .	686
3381	<i>Draco</i> prescribes his Laws, remarkable for their severity.	623
3396	The Captivity of <i>Judah</i> .	608
3411	* <i>Solon</i> undertakes to reform the State and the Laws of <i>Athens</i> .	593
3432	<i>Anacreon</i> flourishes.	572
3441	<i>Æsop</i> put to death at <i>Delphi</i> .	563

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

3444	<i>Pisistratus</i> takes advantage of the factions into which the state of <i>Athens</i> was divided, and seizes the Government; which he did not get quiet possession of 'till sixteen years afterwards; He held it 17 years by himself; as his sons did 18 more after him.	560
3456	* <i>Cyrus</i> brings all <i>Asia minor</i> under his Dominion, having been called out of <i>Persia</i> by his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> king of <i>Media</i> to assist him against the <i>Babylonians</i> .	548
3460	* — subdues <i>Syria</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Arabia</i> .	544
3462	* — marches into upper <i>Asia</i> , and reduces it.	542
3465	* — returns into <i>Assyria</i> , and takes <i>Babylon</i> : then placing his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> (called in Scripture <i>Darius the Mede</i> ) on the throne of <i>Babylon</i> , he makes an expedition into <i>Syria</i> .	539
3467	* <i>Cyaxares</i> dies; and <i>Cyrus</i> succeeds in the whole Empire; and releases the <i>Jews</i> from their Captivity; issues a Decree to rebuild the Temple.	537
3475	* <i>Cyrus</i> dies; and is succeeded by his son <i>Cambyfes</i> .	529
3478	* <i>Cambyfes</i> invades <i>Ægypt</i> ; and conquers the whole Kingdom.	526
3480	* <i>Cambyfes</i> makes an expedition against the <i>Æthiopians</i> , and returns his loss.	524
3482	— dies. — The <i>Magians</i> seize the Kingdom. * <i>Hipparchus</i> , who succeeded his father <i>Pisistratus</i> in the Tyranny of <i>Athens</i> , is slain by <i>Harmodius</i> and <i>Aristogiton</i> : and is succeeded therein by his brother <i>Hippias</i> .	522
3483	* The <i>Magians</i> are slain; and <i>Darius</i> son of <i>Hystaspes</i> is chosen king of <i>Persia</i> .	521
3484	<i>Pindar</i> born.	520
3489	The second Temple finished.	515
3491	* <i>Darius</i> invades <i>Scythia</i> ; and loses half his army: but subdues <i>Thrace</i> .	513
3494	The <i>Scythians</i> ravage <i>Thrace</i> , and drive <i>Miltiades</i> out of the <i>Chersonesus</i> .	510
3495	* <i>Hippias</i> is driven from <i>Athens</i> .	509
3498	* <i>Darius</i> sends a fleet down the <i>Indus</i> to discover <i>India</i> ; which he afterwards invades and conquers.	506
3501	* The <i>Persians</i> under the command of <i>Aristagoras</i> of <i>Miletus</i> make a fruitless attempt upon <i>Naxos</i> .	503
3502	* The <i>Athenians</i> enter into a Confederacy with	502

# A Chronological Table.

79

<i>Year of the World.</i>		<i>Year before Christ.</i>
	the <i>Ionians</i> against <i>Darius</i> ; and the next year equip a fleet of 20 sail in conjunction with 5 Gallies of <i>Eretria</i> ; and burn <i>Sardes</i> .	497
3507	The <i>Persians</i> reduce the revolters in <i>Ionia</i> .	497
3509	They reduce the <i>Hellepont</i> and parts thereabout, and force <i>Miltiades</i> to flee from thence to <i>Athens</i> .	495
3510	* <i>Mardonius</i> is sent by <i>Darius</i> to make war against <i>Greece</i> , but miscarries in the expedition.	494
	<i>Sophocles</i> born.	
3511	* <i>Darius</i> continues his preparations against <i>Greece</i> ; and sends a large force under <i>Datis</i> and <i>Artaphernes</i> , who possess themselves of the <i>Cyclades</i> , and storm <i>Eretria</i> .	493
3513	* They invade <i>Attica</i> , but are defeated at <i>Marathon</i> .	491
	* <i>Miltiades</i> is sent to chastise the Islands, which sided with the <i>Persians</i> .	
3520	* <i>Darius</i> resolves to invade <i>Greece</i> in person; but dying leaves the prosecution of the war to his son and successor <i>Xerxes</i> .	484
3519	<i>Euripides</i> born.	485
3521	<i>Herodotus</i> the Historian born.	483
3524	* <i>Xerxes</i> passes in <i>Hellepont</i> , and marches into <i>Greece</i> : is opposed at <i>Thermopylae</i> ; but at length forces his passage, and wastes <i>Attica</i> with fire and sword. — His numerous fleet receives a defeat from the confederate fleet of <i>Greece</i> at <i>Salamis</i> under <i>Themistocles</i> : — as afterwards did his Land-army near <i>Plataea</i> . — In <i>Ionia</i> the <i>Persian</i> force are defeated by those of <i>Greece</i> , on the very same day on which the battle was fought at <i>Plataea</i> , near <i>Mycale</i> by land; and afterwards at <i>Aegos-potamos</i> by sea.	480
3525		479
3526	* The <i>Athenians</i> reconvey their families from <i>Salamis</i> into <i>Attica</i> , and rebuild their walls, and fortify their harbour of <i>Piræus</i> .	478
3527	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> jointly pursue the war against the <i>Persians</i> .	477
	* The <i>Ionians</i> having revolted from the <i>Persians</i> put themselves under the protection of the <i>Athenians</i> .	
3534	* <i>Cimon</i> scours the <i>Asiatick</i> seas, and defeats the <i>Persian</i> fleet at the mouth of the river <i>Eurymedon</i> : and the same day landing his men routs their Land-army; and afterwards makes	470



Year of the World.		Year before Christ.
3535	many other conquests on the <i>Hellepont</i> . * The <i>Athenians</i> employ part of their fleet in the service of <i>Inarus</i> king of <i>Libya</i> , who had drawn <i>Aegypt</i> to revolt against the king of <i>Persia</i> . — and proceed with success.	469
3538	<i>Themistocles</i> poisons himself.	466
3541	<i>Xerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	463
3546	<i>Lyfias</i> born.	458
3547	( <i>Exra</i> comes to <i>Jerusalem</i> .)	457
3547	* The <i>Athenians</i> have frequent skirmishes with the <i>Corinthians</i> and <i>Aeginetans</i> ; under <i>Myronides</i> the intirely defeat the <i>Corinthians</i> . * They engage with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> near <i>Tanagra</i> , and are worsted: — but soon after return the blow at a place called the <i>Oenophyta</i> or <i>Vineyards</i> .	457
3548	* They likewise subdue <i>Agina</i> , and render it tributary.	456
3549	* Under <i>Tolmides</i> they harafs the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and <i>Corinth</i> : but in <i>Aegypt</i> their forces are distressed and vanquished.	455
3551	* <i>Cimon</i> , after a banishment of five years, is recalled home, and makes up a peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .	453
3554	The <i>Decemviral</i> is Authority established at <i>Rome</i> , and abrogated within two years.	450
3555	* The <i>Athenians</i> send <i>Cimon</i> with a great fleet to <i>Cyprus</i> , where he engages the <i>Persian</i> forces both by sea and land with great success; and dies.	449
3556		448
3559	* The <i>Athenians</i> are insulted from various quarters; reinstated by <i>Pericles</i> .	445
3561	<i>Nehemiah</i> succeeds <i>Exra</i> in the Government of <i>Jerusalem</i> .	443
3563	<i>Hærodotus</i> publicly recites his history. <i>Euripides</i> fl.	441
3564	* The <i>Athenians</i> under the conduct of <i>Pericles</i> subdue the <i>Samians</i> .	440
3566	* The <i>Corinthian</i> war.	438
3573	* The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war begins. — The <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates invade <i>Attica</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> exert themselves chiefly at sea against the coasts of <i>Peloponnesus</i> , with success. — and after the return of the <i>Peloponnesians</i> out of <i>Attica</i> invade <i>Megaris</i> . <i>Pericles</i> speaks his funeral Oration. — dies.	431
3576		428

## A Chronological Table.

81

<i>Year of the World.</i>		<i>Year before Christ.</i>
3577	* <i>Lesbus</i> revolts from the <i>Athenians</i> — The	427
3578	<i>Athenians</i> recover it by besieging <i>Mitylene</i> ; seize their shipping, raze their walls and confiscate the estates of the revoltors. The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make reprisals upon the inhabitants of <i>Plataea</i> . * The <i>Athenians</i> engage on the side of the <i>Leontines</i> in their quarrel against <i>Syracuse</i> .	426
3580	* They seize <i>Pylus</i> in <i>Laconia</i> , and distress the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> in the island <i>Sphaacteria</i> . <i>Aristophanes</i> flourishes.	424
3583	<i>Brasidas</i> gives a successful turn to the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> affairs. — They and the <i>Athenians</i> come to terms; but the rest of the <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates being disgusted therewith, the quarrel is renewed.	421
3586		418
3590	* The <i>Athenians</i> , by the advice of <i>Alcibiades</i> , undertake an expedition against <i>Syracuse</i> .	414
3592	They are defeated and pursued with great slaughter. * The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> conclude a league with the king of <i>Persia</i> , which is followed by the revolt of the principal cities of <i>Ionia</i> from <i>Athens</i> .	412
3593	* Several places on the <i>Hellepont</i> likewise revolt; but are soon reduced to their obedience.	411
3594	* The <i>Athenians</i> , in order to carry on their military affairs with more dispatch in those distressing times, consent to alter the Constitution of their Government, and place it in the hands of 400, who abuse their power in acts of tyranny and oppression. This is followed by various factions and tumults in the City, and by the revolt of <i>Eubæa</i> . * The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> take an advantage of these difficulties. But the <i>Athenians</i> recovering from their disorder and consternation, fit out a fleet under <i>Thrasyllus</i> and <i>Thrasylbulus</i> , and defeat the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> in three several sea-engagements, at <i>Cynossena</i> , <i>Abydus</i> and <i>Cyzicus</i> .	410
3596		408
3598	A fleet is sent out under <i>Alcibiades</i> ; which being defeated by <i>Lysander</i> in his absence from it, he falls into disgrace. * <i>Conon</i> in commission with 9 others succeeds him in his command, and defeats <i>Callicratidas</i>	406
3599	the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> at <i>Arginusæ</i> .	405
3600	* <i>Lysander</i> taking advantage of <i>Conon's</i> absence,	404

<i>Year of the World.</i>		<i>Year before Christ.</i>
3601	entirely defeats the <i>Athenian</i> fleet at <i>Ægos-potamos</i> ; and soon after marches to <i>Athens</i> , and besieges it, and reduces it to a surrender: demolishes their fortifications, establishes an <i>Oligarchical</i> government of 30 persons; commonly known by the name of the 30 <i>Tyrants</i> . <i>Theramenes</i> exerts himself in opposition to the <i>Tyrants</i> ; but is put to death.	403
3603	* <i>Thrasylbulus</i> raises a party against them, and at length effects the restoration of the <i>Democracy</i> .	401
3604	* <i>Cyrus</i> (the younger) his Expedition against his Brother <i>Artaxerxes</i> : is killed.	400
3605	<i>Socrates</i> is put to death.	399
3907	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> quarrel with the <i>Eleans</i> for siding with the <i>Athenians</i> against them.	397
3609	* <i>Agefilaus</i> makes a successful expedition into <i>Asia</i> against the <i>Persians</i> .	395
3610	* The <i>Persians</i> , in order to divert the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> from pursuing their conquests in <i>Asia</i> , spirit up a Confederacy of <i>Thebans</i> , <i>Argives</i> and <i>Corinthians</i> , and, at length, the <i>Athenians</i> against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> . — The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> gain two Victories over the Confederates by land, one near <i>Sicyon</i> not far from <i>Corinth</i> ; and the other under <i>Agefilaus</i> near <i>Coronea</i> in <i>Bœotia</i> . — But <i>Conon</i> at the head of the <i>Persian</i> fleet defeats them by sea near <i>Cnidus</i> .	394
3611	* Some of the <i>Corinthians</i> inclining to peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , civil diffensions insue, with mutinies and massacres. — <i>Agefilaus</i> and <i>Teletias</i> for a time carry all before them on the side of the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> ; but <i>Ipbicrates</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> General, defeating the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> forces at <i>Lechæus</i> , recovers the ground that had been lost.	393
3612	* At this time the Cities of <i>Asia</i> , under the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> jurisdiction, expell the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> Governours.	392
3613	<i>Pharnabazus</i> and <i>Conon</i> make a descent on the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and ravage them. — <i>Conon</i> afterwards sails to <i>Athens</i> , repairs the Haven of <i>Piræus</i> , and rebuilds the walls.	391
3614	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> finding the war at their own doors, and the <i>Athenians</i> likely to reap the advantage of it, send <i>Antalcidas</i> to treat with the	390

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

	<p><i>Persians</i> about a Peace; offering to give up the <i>Grecian Cities</i> in <i>Asia</i>. — The <i>Athenians</i> and their Allies taking the Alarm endeavour to counteract their designs: The <i>Persians</i> play them one against the other.</p>	
3615	<p>The banishment of <i>Camillus</i> from <i>Rome</i>.  <i>Thrasylbulus</i> is killed in his expedition to <i>Rhodes</i>; after having reduced several places in the <i>Hellepont</i> &amp;c. for the security whereof <i>Ipbicrates</i> is sent out by the <i>Athenians</i> with a considerable force.</p>	389
3616	<p><i>Rome</i> burnt by the <i>Gauls</i>.  <i>Chabrias</i> subdues the <i>Æginetans</i>: and is sent to the assistance of <i>Evagoras</i> K. of <i>Cyprus</i>. — The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make their advantage of his absence; and surprize and sink several of the <i>Athenian</i> ships in their harbour.</p>	388
3618	<p>* By this time the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> were so far tired with harassing each other, that they acquiesced in a peace upon the following terms, that "All the cities of <i>Asia</i> with the islands of <i>Clazomenæ</i> should be under the jurisdiction of <i>Persia</i>: That the islands of <i>Lemnus</i>, <i>Imbrus</i> and <i>Scirus</i>, as having time immemorial been subject to <i>Athens</i>, should continue so; and that all other Cities of <i>Greece</i> should be free."  The <i>Lacedæmonians</i>, under the notion of Guarantees of the Peace, behave insolently towards several States who had taken part against them in the late wars.</p>	386
3621	<p>(<i>Aristotle</i> born.)</p>	383
3623	<p>They seize the Citadel of <i>Thebes</i>, which they held four years, and with it the Dominion over <i>Bœotia</i>; but were then dispossessed by the bravery of <i>Pelopidas</i>.</p>	381
3624	<p>(<i>Demosthenes</i> born.)  The <i>Athenians</i> are exasperated against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> for their having laid a design to surprize the <i>Piræus</i>; they enter into a confederacy with the <i>Thebans</i>, and send <i>Chabrias</i> to traverse the designs of <i>Agefilaus</i> in <i>Bœotia</i>, in which he succeeds by keeping upon the defensive: — and afterwards defeats the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> by sea: as did the next year</p>	380
3632		372
3633	<p><i>Timotheus</i> the son of <i>Conon</i>.</p>	371

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

	The <i>Thebans</i> take advantage thereof, and drive the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> out of <i>Bœotia</i> ; and joining with the <i>Athenians</i> restore several cities of <i>Greece</i> , particularly in <i>Peloponnesus</i> , to their independency.	
	The <i>Athenians</i> grow jealous of the <i>Theban</i> power, and propose a general accommodation. But disputes arising, the <i>Thebans</i> are excluded; and the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> left at liberty to turn their whole force upon them.	
3634	An engagement insues near <i>Leutra</i> , in which the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> are routed by the conduct of the <i>Theban</i> General <i>Epaminondas</i> .	370
3637	The <i>Thebans</i> , upon the credit of this victory, draw several other lesser States into their alliance, and carry their arms into <i>Peloponnesus</i> against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .	367
3636	The <i>Athenians</i> oppose a second attempt of <i>Epaminondas</i> to enter <i>Peloponnesus</i> : He forces the pass of the <i>Isthmus</i> ; but is soon after driven back by <i>Chabrias</i> the <i>Athenian</i> General.	368
3642	The <i>Thebans</i> are again called into <i>Peloponnesus</i> , by a party of the <i>Arcadians</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> oppose them with their united forces, but lose the victory in a general engagement near <i>Mantineæ</i> .	362
	<i>Epaminondas</i> the <i>Theban</i> General is slain, and with him sinks the <i>Theban</i> power and greatness.	
	A general peace throughout <i>Greece</i> .	
3643	<i>Agefilaus</i> K. of <i>Lacedæmon</i> dies.	361
3645	<i>Xenophon</i> dies. — <i>Philip</i> is declared K. of	359
3646	<i>Macedon</i> . — defeats the <i>Athenians</i> at <i>Methone</i> , and seizes <i>Amphipolis</i> , <i>Pydna</i> and <i>Potidæa</i> .	358
3647	The <i>Athenians</i> reduce <i>Eubœa</i> . — <i>Chabrias</i> is killed.	357
3648	The <i>Phœcian</i> or <i> sacred</i> war breaks out.	356
3649	<i>Alexander</i> the Great is born.	355
3650	<i>Demosthenes</i> begins to signalize his Talents of Oratory.	354
3657	<i>Plato</i> dies.	347
3659	The <i>Phœcian</i> war ended by <i>Philip's</i> interposition.	345
3662	<i>Aristotle</i> comes to the court of <i>Philip</i> and is made Præceptor to his son <i>Alexander</i> .	342
3667	<i>Isocrates</i> dies.	337
	<i>Philip</i> defeats the <i>Athenians</i> at <i>Chæronea</i>	

# A Chronological Table.

85

<i>Year of the World.</i>		<i>Year before Christ</i>
3669	<i>Philip</i> is killed.	335
3681	<i>Alexander</i> dies.	323
3686	<i>Demosthenes</i> dies.	318
3725	<i>Pyrrhus</i> victorious over the <i>Romans</i> .	279
3744	The <i>Romans</i> build a fleet of Ships, and the next year obtain a victory at sea over the <i>Carthaginians</i> .	260
3786	<i>Hannibal</i> passes over the <i>Alpes</i> into <i>Italy</i> .	216
3802	<i>Scipio</i> vanquishes him in <i>Africa</i> .	202
3814	<i>Antiochus</i> conquered by <i>M. Æmilius</i> .	190
3822	<i>Hannibal</i> poisons himself.	182
3829	( <i>History of the Maccabees</i> begins.)	175
3836	<i>Perseus</i> K. of <i>Macedonia</i> subdued.	168
3858	<i>Carthage</i> destroyed by <i>Scipio Æmilianus</i> .	146
3871	<i>Attalus</i> leaves his Dominions by Will to the <i>Romans</i> .	133
3883	<i>Polybius</i> the Historian dies.	121
3897	<i>M. T. Cicero</i> born.	107
3901	<i>Marius</i> triumphs over <i>Jugurtha</i> .	103
3905	<i>C. J. Cæsar</i> born.	99
3916	<i>L. Sylla</i> distinguishes his military talents.	88
3918	<i>M. Cicero</i> pursues his Oratorical studies under <i>Molon</i> .	86
3919	<i>L. Sylla</i> brings <i>Mitridates</i> to terms.	85
3923	<i>C. Julius Cæsar</i> distinguishes his military Genius in <i>Asia</i> .	81
3927	<i>M. Cicero</i> after spending some time at <i>Athens</i> goes into <i>Asia</i> to improve himself in Oratory.	77
3928	<i>Julius Cæsar</i> goes to <i>Rhodus</i> for the same purpose.	76
3933	<i>L. Lucullus</i> sent against <i>Mitridates</i> and conquers him.	71
3935	—— subdues <i>Tigranes</i> .	69
3938	<i>Cn. Pompeius</i> sent to succeed <i>Lucullus</i> .	66
3941	<i>Cicero</i> frustrates the traiterous Conspiracy of <i>Cataline</i> .	63
3946	—— is banished by the <i>Clodian</i> Faction but recalled.	58
3956	<i>J. Cæsar</i> gains a compleat victory over <i>Pompey</i> at <i>Pharsalia</i> .	48
3960	—— is killed Id. i. e. 15 <i>Mar</i> .	44
3961	<i>M. Cicero</i> speaks his fifth and other <i>Philippicks</i> , and is soon after assassinated by Order of the <i>Triumviri</i> , <i>Octavius</i> , <i>Antonius</i> and <i>Lepidus</i> .	43
	7 Id. i. e. 7 <i>Dec</i> . Aged 64.	

F I N I S.



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T H E  
**ORATION of *PERICLES***

Taken from the  
**TRANSLATION of THUCYDIDES,**

By Dr. *S MITH*, Dean of *Chester*.

T H E  
**ORATION of *PLATO***

Translated by the late  
**GILBERT WEST, LL.D.**

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1950

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT  
530 SOUTH EAST ASIAN AVENUE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FROM THE PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

A R G U M E N T  
F R O M  
T H U C Y D I D E S,  
B O O K II.

*I*T was the established custom of the Athenians every winter, in war-time, to solemnize a public funeral for those who had fallen in battle, in the manner as follows.—

The bones of the slain were brought to a tabernacle erected for the purpose three days before, and all were at liberty to deck out the remains of their friends at their own discretion. But, when the grand procession was made, ten cypress-coffins were drawn on carriages, one for every tribe, in each of which were separately contained the bones of all that belonged to that tribe. One sumptuous bier was carried along empty for those that were missing, whose bodies could not be found amongst the slain. All who were willing, both citizens and strangers, attended the solemnity; and the women, who were related to the deceased, took their station

A

near

*near the sepulchre groaning and lamenting. They deposited the remains in the public sepulchre, which stood in the finest suburb of the city;—for it had been the constant custom there to bury all who fell in war, except those at Marathon, whose extraordinary valour the Athenians judged proper to honour with a sepulchre on the field of battle. As soon as they were interred, some one selected for the office by the public voice, and ever a person in great esteem for his high understanding, and of high dignity amongst them, pronounced over them the decent panegyric—and this done, they departed.*

**T H E**

THE  
FUNERAL ORATION  
OF  
PERICLES.

**M**ANY of those, who have spoken before me on these occasions, have commended the author of the law, which we are now obeying, for having instituted an oration to the honour of those who sacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it sufficient for men, who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by such as you see the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and—that the virtues of Many ought not to be endangered by the management of any One person, when their credit must precariously depend on his oration, which may be good, or may be bad. Difficult indeed it is judiciously to handle a subject, where even probable truth will hardly gain assent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce every thing unfavourably expressed, in respect to what he wishes and what he knows;—whilst the

#### 4 FUNERAL ORATION

stranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of those deeds, which he is conscious are above his own atchievement. For the praises bestowed on others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do those feats, they hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it false. Yet, as this solemnity hath received its sanction from the authority of our ancestors, it is my duty also to obey the law, and to endeavour to procure, so far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I SHALL therefore first begin with our forefathers, since both justice and decency require we should on this occasion bestow on them an honourable remembrance. In this our country they kept themselves always firmly settled, and through their valour handed it down free to every since succeeding generation. Worthy indeed of praise are They, and yet more worthy are our immediate Fathers; since, enlarging their own inheritance into the extensive empire which we now possess, they bequeathed *that* their work of toil to us, their Sons. Yet even these successes we ourselves here present, we who are yet in the strength and vigor of our days, have nobly improved, and have made such provisions for this our Athens, that now it is all-sufficient in itself to answer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite those martial exploits by which these ends were accomplished,

plished, or the resolute defences we ourselves and our fathers have made against the formidable invasions of Barbarians and Greeks — your own knowledge of these will excuse the long detail. But — by what methods we have rose to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I shall first endeavour to shew; and then proceed to the praise of the deceased. These, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occasion: the discussion of them must be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of Strangers.

WE are happy in a form of Government, which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours:—for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the *Few*, but to the whole body of the people, is called a *Democracy*. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general Equality our laws are fitted to preserve,—and superior Honours, just as we excell. The public Administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not an hindrance; since whoever is able to serve his country meets with no obstacle to preferment from his first obscurity. The Offices of the *State* we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not  
angry

## 6 FUNERAL ORATION

angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains, tho' it cannot punish:— so that in private life we converse together without diffidence or damage, whilst we dare not on any account offend against the Public, through the reverence we bear to the Magistrates and the Laws, chiefly to those *enacted* for redress of the injured, and to those that are *unwritten*, a breach of which is allowed disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care, by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens causeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth, than of those of other nations.

IN the affairs of War we excell those of our enemies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general resort, nor ever drive any stranger from us, whom either improvement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is never concealed. We place not so great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us to  
action.

action. In point of Education, the youth of some people are inured by a course of laborious exercise to support toil and hardship like men; but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, since the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united strength of all their confederates. But, when we invade the dominions of our neighbours, for the most part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country those who fight in defence of their own habitations. The strength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced; because it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our service by land. But, if any-where they engage and defeat a small party of our forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly over-powered by our united strength. What though, from a state of inactivity rather than laborious exercise, or with a natural rather than an acquired valour, we learn to encounter danger?—this good at least we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and, when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured to it. In these respects our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.



### 3 FUNERAL ORATION

IN our manner of living we shew an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philosophy without enervating the mind. We display our wealth in the season of beneficence, and not in the vanity of discourse. A confession of poverty is disgrace to no man; no effort to avoid it is disgrace indeed. There is visibly in the same persons an attention to their own private concerns and those of the Public; and in others, engaged in the labours of life, there is a competent skill in the affairs of Government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in state-affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we pass the soundest judgments, and are quick at catching the right apprehensions of things; not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions, but rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate, before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein consists our distinguishing excellence, that in the hour of action we shew the greatest courage, and yet debate before-hand the expediency of our measures. The courage of others is the result of ignorance: deliberation makes them cowards. And those undoubtedly must be owned to have the greatest souls, who, most acutely sensible of the miseries of war and the sweets of peace, are not hence in the least deterred from facing danger.

IN acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preserve friends, not by receiving,  
but

but by conferring obligations. For he, who does a kindness, hath the advantage over him, who by the law of gratitude becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more insipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment, not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains, by only adding—that our Athens in general is the school of Greece; and that every single Athenian amongst us is excellently formed, by his personal qualifications, for all the various scenes of active life, acting with a most graceful demeanor, and a most ready habit of dispatch.

THAT I have not on this occasion made use of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height, to which by such a conduct this *State* hath rose, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report;—the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the blush of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no discontent, as if subject to men unworthy to command. That we deserve our power, we need no evidence to manifest. We have great and signal proofs of this, which intitle us to the admiration of the present and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praise; no poet to deck off a

history with the charms of verse, where the opinion of exploits must suffer by a strict relation. Every sea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have every-where left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendship.

IN the just defence of such a *State*, these victims of their own valour, scorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely died. And every one of those who survive is ready, I am persuaded, to sacrifice life in such a cause. And for this reason I enlarged so much on national points, to give the clearest proof, that in the present war we have more at stake, than men whose public advantages are not so valuable; and to illustrate by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them, who are now my subject, and the greatest part of which they have now received. For the encomiums, with which I have celebrated the *State*, have been earned for it by the bravery of *these*, and of men like *these*. And such compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if passed on any Grecians, but *these* alone. The fatal period, to which these gallant souls are now reduced, is the surest evidence of their merit—an evidence begun in their lives, and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of justice to pay superior honours to men, who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, tho' inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their  
last

last service effaceth all former demerits;—it extends to the public: their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of these was induced to shrink from danger, through fondness of those delights which the peaceful affluent life bestows:—not one was the less lavish of his life, through the flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One passion there was in their minds much stronger than these—the desire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the most honourable prize of dangers, they boldly rushed towards the mark, to glut revenge, and then to satisfy those secondary passions. The uncertain event they had already secured in hope; what their eyes shewed plainly must be done, they trusted to their own valour to accomplish, thinking it more glorious to defend themselves and die in the attempt, than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice indeed they fled, but presented their bodies to the shock of battle; when, insensible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they instantly dropt—and thus discharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for You, who now survive them—it is your business to pray for a better fate—but to think it your duty also to preserve the same spirit and warmth of courage against your enemies, not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man, indulging a flow of

words, may tell you, what you yourselves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly against your enemies—but rather making the daily-increasing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamoured of it. And, when it really appears great to your apprehensions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were sensible of shame; who, whenever their attempts were unsuccessful, thought it dishonour their country should stand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and so made it the most glorious *present*. Bestowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praise that will never decay, a sepulchre that will always be most illustrious—not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preserved, to be on every occasion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; nor is it the inscription on the columns in their native soil alone that shews their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inscriptions, in every foreign nation, repositied more durably in universal remembrance, than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating these noble patterns, placing your happiness in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be lavish of life is not so noble in those  
whom

whom misfortunes have reduced to misery and despair, as in men who hazard the loss of a comfortable subsistence, and the enjoyment of all the blessings this world affords, by an unsuccessful enterprize. Adversity, after a series of ease and affluence, sinks deeper into the heart of a man of spirit, than the stroke of death insensibly received in the vigor of life and public hope.

FOR this reason, the *Parents* of those who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail,—I shall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happiness belongs to men who have reached the most glorious period of life, as these now have, who are to you the source of sorrow,—these whose life hath received its ample measure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its conclusion. I know it in truth a difficult task to fix comfort in those breasts, which will have frequent remembrances, in seeing the happiness of others, in what they once themselves enjoyed. And sorrow flows not from the absence of those good things which we have never yet experienced, but from the loss of those to which we have been accustomed. They who are not yet by age exempted from issue, should be comforted by the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to some, in causing them to forget such as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their  
country,

## 14 FUNERAL ORATION

country, in preventing its desolation, and providing for its security. For those persons cannot in common justice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expose to danger for its safety.—But You, whose age is already far advanced, compute the greater share of happiness your longer time hath afforded for so much gain, persuaded in yourselves, the remainder will be but short, and enlighten that space by the glory gained by *These*. It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honour.—

To You, the *Sons* and *Brothers* of the deceased, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him, who no longer is, every one is ready to commend; so that, to whatever height you push your deserts, you will scarce ever be thought to equal, but to be somewhat inferior to these. Envy will exert itself against a competitor, whilst life remains; but when death stops the competition, affection will applaud without restraint.

If after this it be expected for me to say any thing to *You*, who are now reduced to a state of Widowhood, about female virtue, I shall express it all in one short admonition:—It is your greatest glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your sex, and to give the Men as little handle as possible

possible to talk of your behaviour, whether *well* or *ill*.

I HAVE now discharged the province allotted me by the laws, and said what I thought most pertinent to this assembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children, from this day till they arrive at manhood, shall be educated at the public expence of the *State*, which hath appointed so beneficial a meed for these and all future relicts of the public contests. For, wherever the greatest rewards are proposed for virtue, there the best patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one respectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

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FUNERAL ORATION  
OF  
PLATO.

WHATEVER was requisite to be *done* for these brave men, hath been performed on our part: They have received their *Dues*, and are now proceeding on their *fated Journey*, dismissed with these public Honours paid to them as well by the whole State, as by their own Families and Friends. But to make these honours complete, something remains to be *said*, which not only the Laws require to be rendered unto them, but Reason also. For an eloquent and well-spoken Oration impresses on the minds of the audience a lasting admiration of great and virtuous actions. But the present occasion demands an Oration of a particular kind; an Oration that may at one and the same time do justice to the Dead; animate and soothe the Living; excite the Children and Brethren of the Deceased to an imitation of their virtues; and administer comfort to the Fathers and the Mothers, and whoever of their remoter Ancestors are yet alive. And where shall

we

## FUN. ORAT. OF PLATO. 17

we find an Orator equal to such a task? Or with what Topic shall we begin the praises of those brave men, who when living made their friends happy by their virtues; and with their deaths purchased the safety of all who now survive?

As they were in some measure indebted to nature for their virtue, it is in my opinion necessary to begin their Panegyric with an account of their original: for that they were virtuous was owing to their being sprung of virtuous Ancestors. Let us then celebrate, in the first place, their noble Birth; and in the second, their Nature and Education; and afterwards, by exhibiting their Actions to view, make it appear that *these* also were virtuous, and such as corresponded to all those advantages.

FIRST then, as to the nobility of their descent: They are sprung from a race of Ancestors, not adventitious, not transplanted from I know not where, but *natives of the soil*, dwelling and living really and properly in their own country; nursed, not like other nations by a step-mother, but a parent, the very land which they inhabited; in which they now lie buried; the soil which bred, which nursed them, and which, as her own, has again received them into her bosom. It is highly reasonable therefore to bestow some encomiums on this Mother; and the rather, because the nobility of these her Children will at the same time, and in

the same proportion, be illustrated and adorned. This Country indeed deserves to be celebrated by all mankind, not only by us her Children, and that upon many accounts, but principally because she is a favourite of Heaven, of which the rivalry of the Gods, who contended for her, and the decision that followed thereupon, is a clear evidence. And how can any mortal reasonably pretend to refuse praise to that country, which the Gods have vouchsafed to honour? Another topic of Panegyric is this, that at the very time when the earth bred and produced animals of all kinds, both wild and tame, This Country of ours preserved her purity; refused to bring forth savage beasts; and among all animals chose to produce Man only, who surpasses the rest in understanding, and who alone hath instituted Laws for the observation of Justice, and the worship of the Gods. To what I here advance, that this earth is the genuine parent of our Forefathers, I must observe, that every thing that brings forth is provided with nourishment for what it has produced; and that a Woman is proved to be really and in fact a mother from her being supplied with native fountains of nourishment for the sustenance of the child. The like substantial evidence of her having brought forth Man hath this our Country and Mother; for she alone at the same time, and she *first* produced the useful grain of wheat and barley, the proper and the best food of man: so that it is evident she was the parent of this species of Animals; and to her these  
these

these proofs hold more strongly than to a Woman. For this great Mother did not most certainly, in breeding and producing, copy after her Daughters, but they after her: neither did she grudge the world these her fruits, but generously dispensed them to other nations. For her children she in the next place brought forth the olive, the support of toil; and after she had thus nourished and reared them up to manhood, she brought them Deities for their Governors and Instructors, whose names it is unnecessary to mention in this place.

WE all know who furnished us with the necessaries and securities of life; who instructed us in the arts requisite for our daily support; who gave us, and who taught us the use of arms for the defence of our Country. Our Ancestors, thus born and thus brought up, framed a Government, of which it may not be improper to speak a few words. For Government is the nurse of men; a good one, of virtuous men; a bad one, of wicked men. That those who went before us were educated under a good government, is necessary to shew; for indeed it was owing to the advantage of being bred under a good government, that both they and their descendants, the fathers of the deceased, became virtuous. The form of Government then was, as it now is, an *Aristocracy*: Under this form of Government we still live, and for the most part have done so from that time to this. Let others call it a *Democracy*, or by what name

they please: It is in truth an *Aristocracy* founded on the good-will of the People. We have always had Magistrates invested with kingly power, some of whom were hereditary, others elective: but the People were generally the most powerful, and they always bestowed the authority and power of the state upon those whom they judged the most worthy. No man was excluded for the meanness, the obscurity, or the poverty of his family; nor advanced for the contrary qualifications of his Ancestors, as is practised in other states. Their choice was limited to one point. Whoever was esteemed to be wise and good, he had the authority, and he the power. The cause of this equal government among us was the equality of our original. For other states are composed of men of every country, and of different extractions; whence their governments are unequal; *Tyrannies* or *Oligarchies*, in which one part of the people look upon the other as Slaves, and They upon them as Masters. But we, who are all Brethren, born of one and the same parent, disdain to be the Slaves or the Lords of one another. On the contrary, the natural equality of our births compelled us to seek after a legal equality in our government, and forbad us to yield any subjection among ourselves, excepting only to the Wise and Virtuous. Hence it came to pass, that all our ancestors, the fathers of the deceased, and they themselves, being thus nobly born, thus nursed up in liberty, exhibited in all their conduct, as well private as public, a  
number

number of great and glorious Actions for the service of mankind; thinking it their duty as well to protect *Grecians* against *Grecians*, as to maintain the general liberty of Greece against all foreign invaders. How they repelled the invasions of *Eumolpus*, of the *Amazons*, and of other enemies before them, and in what manner they defended the *Argives* against the *Thebans*, and the *Heraclides* against the *Argives*, the time will not permit me fully to relate: besides, their virtues having been finely celebrated by the poets in their melodious songs, the world hath been already acquainted with them; so that we should but disgrace ourselves in attempting the same subjects in simple prose. For these reasons therefore I think proper to pass over these matters. Justice hath been done to their merits. But I think myself obliged to recall the memory of those exploits, which, worthy as they were, the poets have not thought worthy of their notice, and which are now almost buried in oblivion; that, by setting forth the praises of the great men who performed them, I may woo the poets to admit them into their songs and verses. The chief of these are the actions of our forefathers, the children of this soil, who held the hands of those Lords of *Asia*, the *Persians*, when they attempted to enslave *Europe*; whose virtues therefore in the first place deserve to be commemorated, and to be praised. To give their merit its proper lustre, we ought to take a view of it in that period of time, when all *Asia* was in subjection  
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to the third king of the *Persian* race. The first of these was *Cyrus*, who by his own great abilities freed his countrymen the *Persians*, enslaved the *Medes* his Masters, and brought under his dominion the rest of *Asia* as far as *Ægypt*. His son subdued *Ægypt*, and as much of *Libya* as was accessible, by his arms. *Darius*, the third king, extended the limits of his empire by his land-forces as far as *Scythia*, and by his fleets made himself master of the sea, and of the islands, infomuch that no one durst stand up in opposition to him. The very opinions of mankind seem to have been subdued; so many, so powerful, and so warlike were the nations which were bowed to the Persian yoke. This *Darius*, accusing us and the *Eretrians* of an attempt upon *Sardis*, made that a pretence for sending an army of 500000 men on board his ships and transports, and a fleet of 300 sail; over which he appointed *Datis* to be general, ordering him, under the forfeiture of his head, to bring back the *Eretrians* and *Athenians* captive. *Datis* failing to *Eretria*, against a nation, which of all the *Greeks* had at that time the greatest reputation for valour, and was moreover very numerous, subdued them in three days; and that none of them might escape, he took this method of searching the whole *Island*. Causing his troops to march to the utmost limits of the *Eretrians*, and extend themselves from sea to sea, he ordered them to join their hands, and sweep the country, that he might be able to assure the king, that not a man  
had

had escaped him. With the like design he passed from Eretria to Marathon, imagining he had nothing to do but to clap the same inevitable yoke upon the neck of the Athenians, and carry them off, as he had done the Eretrians. During these transactions, part of which were accomplished, and part yet in execution, no nation of the Greeks offered to stir to the assistance either of the Eretrians or the Athenians, except the Lacedæmonians, and they did not join us till the day after the battle. The rest, struck with terror, and preferring their present safety, kept quiet at home. By this one may form a judgment of the bravery of those men, who received the attack of the Barbarians at Marathon, chastised the arrogance of Asia, and were the first who erected trophies for their victory over a barbarous enemy; by their example instructing others, that the power of Persia was not invincible, and that wealth and numbers must yield to virtue. I call those men, therefore, not our *natural*, but our *civil* Fathers also, the fathers of our liberty, and of the liberty of all Europe. For the Grecians, surveying this day's work, were taught by their Marathonian masters to hazard new battles in the defence of their country. Upon these, therefore, ought we in reason to bestow the first Palm, and give the second to them, who afterwards fought and conquered in the sea-fights of Salamis and Artemisium. He who would go over the several actions of these brave men, enumerate the many difficulties they had to struggle with,

both



both by Sea and Land, and tell how they surmounted them, would have much to say. But I shall only mention what appears to me to be the greatest exploit after that of Marathon. For by that victory the Greeks had been only taught, that upon land it was possible for a small number of Grecians to overcome a multitude of Barbarians; but that at sea they were able to effect the same thing, was not yet evident. The Persians had the reputation of being invincible at sea, by the superiority of their numbers, their riches, their naval skill, and strength. Now what is most praiseworthy in those brave men, who signalized themselves at sea, is, that they did thereby, as it were, loosen those bands of terror, which had held the Grecians so fast bound, and caused them no longer to stand in awe of numbers, whether of ships or men. From these two actions, this of Salamis and that of Marathon, all Greece was instructed and accustomed not to be afraid of the Barbarians, either by land or sea. The third great exploit for the deliverance of Greece, as well in order as in degree, is the action of Plataea; in the glory of which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an equal part. This great, this arduous enterprize was atchieved, I say, by these two nations, and for this their merit they are now celebrated by us, and will be by our posterity to the latest times. After this many states of Greece still sided with the Barbarian, and the King himself was reported to have a design of invading Greece once more.

It would then be highly unjust not to take notice of those also, who completed the work of their forefathers, and put the finishing hand to our deliverance, by scouring the seas of every thing that had the name of Barbarian, and driving them within their own limits. These were they, who were engaged in the naval fight at Eurymedon, in the expeditions to Cyprus, to Ægypt, and many other places. These ought we, therefore, to commemorate, and to acknowledge our obligations to them, for having taught the great king to fear, to attend to his own safety, and not to be plotting the overthrow of Greece. This war against the Barbarians did our commonwealth, with her own forces only, draw out to the very dregs, for her own security, and that of her Allies. Peace being made, and Athens being now in her highest glory, there fell upon her, what is most commonly the lot of the successful, first a rivalry in some other states of Greece, and from thence jealousy, which drew her, tho' unwilling, into a war against Grecians: upon the breaking out of which war, the Athenians fought a battle with the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra for the liberties of Bœotia. Tho' the issue of this battle was doubtful, yet the following Action proved decisive: for some of the Allies of the Bœotians having deserted those to whose assistance they came, our Countrymen having on the third day after obtained a victory, we recovered to a sense of their duty those who without reason had fallen off from it. These brave men

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having

having fought against Grecians for the liberty of Grecians, and delivered those whose cause they had undertaken to defend, were the first after the Persian war, upon whom the Commonwealth conferred the honour of being buried in this public Cœmety. After this the war became more general; all Greece fell upon us at once, and ravaged our country, ill requiting the favours they had received from this City. But the Athenians having defeated their enemies in a sea-fight, and taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria their leaders the Lacedæmonians, when it was in their power to have put them to death, spared their lives, forgave them, and made peace with them; thinking, that altho' in a war against Barbarians nothing less than their utter ruin should be aimed at, yet that in a war between Grecians and Grecians the contest should be carried on as far as victory indeed, but that the common interest of Greece ought not to be sacrificed to any particular resentment. Are not these brave men, therefore, worthy to be praised, who were engaged in that war, and who now lie buried here? They, who made it appear, if indeed it was a question, whether in the first Persian war another nation was not at least equal to the Athenians: they, I say, who made it appear that such a question was intirely groundless. These men made the superiority of the Athenians sufficiently evident, by their coming off victorious in that war, in which all Greece took part against them, and worsting in battle, with the forces of  
Athens

Athens only, those who had set themselves up for the Chiefs of Greece, tho' they could pretend to no more than an equal share with the Athenians in their victories gained over the Barbarians. After the peace arose another horrible and unexpected war, in which many brave men fell, who here lie buried. Some of these erected many trophies in Sicily; to which country they had sailed in order to protect the Leontines in their liberties, whom we were bound to assist by solemn treaties. But before they could arrive, the passage being long, the Leontines were reduced to extremities, and disabled from yielding them any assistance; for which reason they gave over the attempt, and were unfortunate; tho' it must be owned, their enemies, those against whom they came to fight, behaved with such virtue and moderation, that they deserved far greater praise than some who were only confederates in that war. Others signalized themselves in the Hellespont, by taking all the ships of the enemy in one day, and by several other victories. I styled this a horrible and unexpected war, because some of the states of Greece carried their enmity to this city so far, as to presume to send an embassy to the king of Persia, their and our most inveterate enemy, to invite, upon their own particular views, that Barbarian into Greece, whom, for the common cause, they had formerly joined with us to drive out of Europe; thus uniting in a league against Athens all the Greeks and Barbarians. Upon which occasion the strength and

valour of this state became most conspicuous. For our enemies looking upon Athens as already vanquished, and having seized some of our ships at Mitylene, These gallant men (for so they confessedly were) whom we now commemorate, went to their relief with sixty sail, and boarding the enemy's ships, gained a victory over them, and delivered their own allies, but met with a lot unworthy of their valour; for their bodies were not, as they ought to have been, taken up out of the sea, but had their burial there. And surely they deserve to be remembered ever with praise and honour. For by their valour we came off victorious, not in that engagement only, but throughout the whole war; and through their bravery was it that our commonwealth gained the reputation of being invincible, though attacked by the united forces of all mankind. Neither hath this reputation been falsified in fact. For we were conquered, not by our enemies, but by our own dissensions. As to Them we remain invincible even to this day. But we have vanquished, have subdued ourselves. After these transactions, a calm ensuing, and a peace betwixt us and other nations, a civil war broke out, which was carried on in such a manner, that, if by the decree of heaven dissensions must necessarily arise, a man would pray that his country might be so and no otherwise distempered. For how easily, how much like friends and fellow-citizens, did the people of the Piræus, and those of the City, run into a reconciliation with each other! and with  
how

how much moderation did they lay aside their hostility against those of Eleufis, contrary to the expectations of all Greece! All which is to be afcribed to no other caufe than their confanguinity, the natural basis of firm and real friendship. We ought not therefore to pafs over in filence even thofe, who in this war were flain on either fide; but, as far as in us lies, endeavour to reconcile them to each other; praying and facrificing upon thefe occasions to thofe Dæmons who have the command and direction over them, inasmuch as we ourfelves are reconciled. For they did not attack each other out of hatred and malice, but from the malignity of their Fortune. Of this we ourfelves are living evidences, who, being of the fame common original with them, have forgiven each other, both what we did, and what we fuffered. After this the city had reft, and enjoyed a profound peace, eafily pardoning the Barbarians, who having been ill enough treated by this ftate, returned it but as they ought. But ſhe could not help refenting the behaviour of the Greeks, when ſhe called to mind the benefits they had received, and the retribution they made, by uniting with the Barbarians, depriving us of our ſhips, to which they formerly owed their own deliverance, and pulling down our walls, in return for our having faved theirs from ruin. The city then having taken the refolution not to give for the future any affiftance to the Greeks, whether oppreffed by Grecians or Barbarians, remained quiet: upon which the  
Lacedæmonians,

## 30 FUNERAL ORATION

Lacedæmonians, imagining that Athens, the Patroness of liberty, was fallen, and that now was the time for them to pursue their proper business, the enslaving of others, set immediately about it. I need not enlarge upon what followed. Those transactions are neither of an ancient date, nor perplexed by a variety of Actors. We all know in what a consternation the chief states of Greece, the Argives, the Bœotians, the Corinthians, applied to this city for succour; and what was the greatest miracle of all, that the king of Persia himself was reduced to such a strait, as to have no hopes of safety from any other quarter, than from this very city, whose destruction he had so eagerly pursued. And, indeed, if Athens can be justly accused of any thing, it is of having been always too compassionate, too much inclined to salve the wounds of the afflicted. For at this very time she was not able to persevere, and to keep to her resolution, of not assisting those in the preservation of their liberties, who had maliciously and designedly injured her. She yielded, she assisted them, and by that assistance rescued them from slavery, and gave them their liberty, till they should think fit to enslave themselves again. She had not indeed the assurance to act so preposterous a part, as to send the king of Persia any succours; she bore too great a reverence to the trophies of Marathon, of Salamis, and Plataea: yet by conniving at the assistance given him by Fugitives, and such as voluntarily entered into his service, she was confessedly

feffedly the cause of his preservation. At this time she repaired her fortifications and her fleets, and prepared again for war; finding herself under the necessity of entering into one with the Lacedæmonians, for the protection of the Parians. The king of Persia, on his part, as soon as he saw the Lacedæmonians had given over all thoughts of carrying on a war by sea, took umbrage at the Athenians; and resolving to break the peace, demanded those Grecian states, which were upon the continent of Asia, to be delivered up to him (those very states which the Lacedæmonians had formerly consented to give up) as the condition of his continuing his amity with us and our allies. This Demand he did not imagine would be complied with, and he made it only that he might, upon its being rejected, have a fair pretence for breaking the treaty. But he was mistaken as to some of his Allies; for the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Bœotians determined to comply with his demand, and even entered into a treaty with him, which they confirmed upon oath, to give up the Greeks upon the continent of Asia, provided he would furnish them with money. But we, and we alone, had not the assurance to abandon those states, much less to swear to such a treaty. That the city of Athens is so spirited and so frank, so constant and so hearty in the common cause, and as it were by nature so averse to the Barbarian, must be ascribed to her being wholly Greek, without any mixture of foreign alloy. For none of your  
foreign



32 FUNERAL ORATION

foreign Heroes, Pelops, Cadmus, Ægyptus, Danaus, and many others, who, though living under Grecian Laws, were Barbarians by extraction; none of these, I say, are of the number of our Citizens. We are genuine Greeks, no Half-Barbarians. Hence proceeds the genuine and undiluterated enmity of Athens to all Barbarians. Wherefore we were once more left alone, for refusing to do an action so infamous and so impious, as that of delivering up Grecians into the hands of Persians. But being restored to what we had been deprived of in the former war, by the assistance of Heaven we prosecuted this with more success. For becoming once again masters of a fleet, having rebuilt our walls, and recovered our colonies, we were soon freed from a war, which our enemies were very glad to get rid of. In this war we lost indeed many gallant men, some at Corinth by the disadvantage of their situation, others at Lechæum by treachery. Nor were they less gallant, who saved the king of Persia, and drove the Lacedæmonians out of the seas. These are the men I would call to your remembrance, and in honouring and praising such as These it becomes all of you to join.

SUCH were the exploits of those brave men, who here lie buried; such were the exploits of those others also, who, though unhappily deprived of burial, died like them in the service of their country: exploits many and great indeed, as hath been related;

lated; but more and still greater yet remain untold; to enumerate all which many whole days and nights would scarce suffice. It is the duty therefore of all and of every particular man to bear these things in mind, and, as in battle, to exhort the children of such Fathers not to quit their rank, in which their ancestors have placed them, by a base and cowardly retreat. Accordingly, I myself, O ye Sons of virtuous men, do now exhort you, and, as long as I shall remain among you, will never cease reminding and exhorting you, to use your utmost endeavours to surpass them in virtue. But upon this occasion it is my duty to tell you what your Fathers, when they were going to expose their lives for their country, commanded us to say to those whom they left behind, in case any accident should befall themselves. I will repeat to you what I heard from their own mouths, and what, if I may judge from the discourse they then held, they would now gladly say to you themselves, were it in their power. Imagine therefore you hear them speaking. These were their words:

“ O CHILDREN! That ye are Sons of virtuous Fathers, is evident from our present circumstances. For having it in our option to live with dishonour, we have generously made it our choice to die, rather than bring ourselves and our posterity into disgrace, and reflect infamy back upon our parents and forefathers; persuaded as we were, that the life of one who dishonours his family, is not worth  
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34 FUNERAL ORATION

living, and that such a man can have no friend either here upon Earth among mankind, or among the Gods hereafter in the realms below. It behoves you therefore to bear these our words in remembrance, to the end that all your undertakings may be accompanied with virtue; assuring yourselves, that without virtue every acquisition, every pursuit is base and infamous. For wealth can add no dignity to an unmanly mind. The riches of such an one are for others, not for himself. Neither are beauty and strength of Body, when joined with baseness and cowardice, to be deemed ornamental, but disgraceful rather; since, if they make a man more conspicuous, they at the same time make the baseness of his Soul conspicuous also. Wisdom, in like manner, separated from Justice and the rest of the virtues, is not Wisdom, but Cunning. Wherefore in the first place, and in the last, and throughout the whole course of your lives, it is incumbent upon you to labour with all your faculties to surpass us and your progenitors in glory. Otherwise be well assured, that in this contest of virtue, if we remain victorious, the victory will cover us with confusion, which, on the contrary, if obtained by you, will make us happy. The most effectual way for you to surpass us, and obtain this victory, is so to order your conduct, as neither to abuse nor waste the glory left you by your Ancestors. For can any thing be more ignominious for a man, who would be thought something, than to receive honour, not  
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from his own merit, but from the reputation of his forefathers? Hereditary honour is indeed a noble and splendid Patrimony. But to enjoy a fair estate either in fame or money, or for want of a proper supply of wealth and glory of your own, not to be able to transmit it to your posterity is infamous and unmanly. If you endeavour after these things, you will be welcome to us and we to you, whenever your respective fates shall conduct you to us in the world below: but if you disregard them, and become profligate, not one of us shall be willing to receive you. Thus much be spoken to our Children: But to our Fathers and our Mothers, if any of them should survive us, and it should be thought necessary to administer comfort to them, say, that it is their duty patiently to bear misfortunes, whenever they happen, and not to give themselves up to grief: otherwise they will never be without sorrow; for the ordinary occurrences of life will afford sufficient matter for affliction. They should seek to heal and mitigate their troubles in the remembrance, that, as to the most considerable point, the Gods have heard their prayers. For they did not pray that their Children might be immortal, but virtuous and renowned. And This, the greatest of all blessings, they have obtained. It is not easy for mortal man to have every thing fall out according to his wishes in this life. Besides, by bearing their misfortunes with resolution and fortitude, they will gain the opinion of being the genuine parents of magnanimous children, and

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36 FUNERAL ORATION

of being themselves men of courage and magnanimity; whereas, by sinking under their sorrows, they will raise a suspicion of their not being our Fathers, or Those who shall praise us will be thought to have most grossly flattered us; neither of which things ought to come to pass. They themselves rather should bear chief testimony to our praise, shewing by their actions that they are indeed Men, and the Fathers of Men. The old proverb, *Not too much of any thing*, seems to be well said, and in fact it is so. For he, who hath within himself all that is necessary to happiness, or near the matter, and who doth not so depend upon other men, as to have himself and his affairs in a perpetual fluctuation, according to their good or ill conduct, He, I say, is best provided for this life; He is moderate, He is prudent, He is a Man; and He upon all occasions, whether he obtains or loses an estate or children, will pay the greatest regard to this Proverb: for, placing all his confidence in himself, he will neither be too much elevated with joy, or too much depressed with sorrow. Such men we should think worthy to be our Fathers; such we wish them to be, and such we affirm they are; such likewise are we now proved to be, by neither murmuring nor trembling at death, tho' we were to meet it this instant. And this same state of mind do we now recommend to our Fathers and our Mothers; intreating them to make use of such sentiments as these thro' the remaining part of their lives; and to be persuaded, that they will  
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do us the greatest pleasure, by not weeping and lamenting for us; that, if the Dead have any knowledge of what passes among the Living, their afflicting themselves, and bearing their misfortunes heavily, will be very unacceptable to us; whereas, on the contrary, their bearing their afflictions lightly, and with moderation, will be most pleasing. Our lives and actions are now going to have an end; but such an end, as among Men is deemed most glorious; which therefore ought rather to be graced with honour, than sullied with lamentations. By taking care of our wives and children, by educating the latter, and turning themselves and their minds wholly to such-like employments, they will the more readily forget their misfortunes, and lead a life more exemplary, more agreeable to reason, and more acceptable to us. Let this suffice to be spoken on our part to our relations and friends. To the Commonwealth we recommend the care of our Parents and Children; beseeching Her to give These an honourable education, and to cherish Those in their old age, in a manner worthy of them: but we are sensible that, without this recommendation, all proper care will be taken of them."

THESE things, O Children, and ye Parents of the deceased, have they given me in charge to say to you on their part; and I have most willingly, and to the best of my power, executed their commands. On my own part, and for their sakes, I

### 38 FUNERAL ORATION

befeech you, ye Sons! to imitate your Fathers; You, Fathers, to take comfort for the loss of these your Sons; assuring yourselves, that both in our public and in our private capacities, we will take care of you and cherish your old-age, as the respective duties and relations of every one of us may require. Ye yourselves well know what provisions the Commonwealth hath made; that by exprefs laws she hath ordered care to be taken of the children and parents of those, who die in battle; and hath given it in charge to the chief magistrate, to take them, above all others, into his particular protection; that the latter may be guarded from all injuries, and the former not be sensible of their orphan state, nor feel the want of a father, whose place the commonwealth supplies, by assisting in the care of their education while they are children, and, when they are grown up to manhood, dismissing them to their several vocations with an honourable present of a complete suit of armour. And this she does, not only with a view of intimating to them, and reminding them of the occupations of their fathers, by presenting them with those implements of valour, which their fathers had so gloriously employed; but also that being arrived to the full strength, and furnished with the armour of a Man, when they first go to take possession of their Household-Gods, they may set out with a good omen. Moreover, she fails not from time to time to pay these anniversary honours to the Deceased; taking upon her to perform

form in general, with regard to them, whatever is due to each from their respective relations; and to complete all, by exhibiting games of different kinds, equestrian and gymnastic, musical and poetical, she effectually supplies the offices of Sons and Heirs to Fathers, of Fathers to Sons, and that of Guardians and Protectors to their Parents and Kindred; discharging at all times all and every part of the duties that belong to All. Learn, therefore, by reflecting upon these things, to bear your afflictions with more patience; for by so doing you will act the most friendly part as well to the dead as to the living, and be better able to give and receive comfort, to cherish and assist each other. And now having jointly paid the tribute of your sorrow to the Deceased, as the law directs, you may all depart.

*F I N I S;*





