

# THUCYDIDES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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IN FOUR VOLUMES

I

HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR  
BOOKS I AND II



LONDON  
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
MCMLVI



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# THUCYDIDES

## BOOK I



fighting with each other or with their own revolted allies, these two states prepared themselves well in matters of war, and became more experienced, taking their training amid actual dangers.

XIX. The Lacedaemonians maintained their hegemony without keeping their allies tributary to them, but took care that these should have an oligarchical form of government conformably to the sole interest of Sparta; the Athenians, on the other hand, maintained theirs by taking over in course of time the ships of the allied cities, with the exception of Chios<sup>1</sup> and Lesbos,<sup>2</sup> and by imposing on them all a tax of money. And so the individual resources of the [Athenians] available for this war became greater than those of themselves and their allies when that alliance was still unimpaired and strongest.

XX. Now the state of affairs in early times I have found to have been such as I have described, although it is difficult in such matters to credit any and every piece of testimony. For men accept from one another hearsay reports of former events, neglecting to test them just the same,<sup>3</sup> even though these events belong to the history of their own country. Take the Athenians, for example; most of them think that Hipparchus was tyrant when he was slain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton.<sup>4</sup> They do not know that it was Hippias, as the eldest of the sons of Peisistratus, who was ruler, and that Hipparchus and Thessalus were merely his brothers; further, that Harmodius and Aristogeiton, suspecting, on that very day and at the very moment of executing their plan, that information had been conveyed to Hippias by one of their fellow-conspirators,

<sup>1</sup> 514 B.C. On this digression, cf. Hdt. v. lv.; vi. cxxiii.; Arist. 'Aθ. Πολ. 17 f.

τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς προειδότες, βουλόμενοι δὲ  
 πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι,  
 τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόρειον  
 καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακο-  
 3 σμοῦντι ἀπέκτειναν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ  
 νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται, ὥσπερ τοὺς  
 τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ προσ-  
 τίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν, καὶ τὸν Πιτανάτην  
 λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε. οὕτως  
 ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀλη-  
 θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται.

XXI. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὁμῶς  
 τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἂ διήλθον οὐχ  
 ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ  
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων,  
 οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγω-  
 γότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέ-  
 λεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως  
 ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκκενικηκότα, ἠϋρῆσθαι δὲ ἡγησά-  
 μενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὡς παλαιὰ  
 2 εἶναι ἀποχρώντως. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ

<sup>1</sup> In the inner Ceramicus near the temple of Apollo Patrous.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus is doubtless one of the Hellenes here criticised. cf. vi. lvii., referring to the two votes; ix. liii., where he seems to have applied a term belonging to a *demos* (cf. Hdt. iii. lv.) to a division of the army.

held off from him as forewarned, but wishing to do something before they were seized and then take their chances, fell in with Hipparchus, who was marshalling the Panathenaic procession near the sanctuary called Leocorium,<sup>1</sup> and killed him. There are many other matters, too, belonging to the present and not forgotten through lapse of time, regarding which the other Hellenes<sup>2</sup> as well hold mistaken opinions, for example, that at Lacedaemon the kings cast not one but two votes each, and that the Lacedaemonians have the "Pitana company" in their army, which never at any time existed. So averse to taking pains are most men in the search for the truth, and so prone are they to turn to what lies ready at hand.

XXI. Still, from the evidence that has been given, any one would not err who should hold the view that the state of affairs in antiquity was pretty nearly such as I have described it, not giving greater credence to the accounts, on the one hand, which the poets have put into song, adorning and amplifying their theme, and, on the other, which the chroniclers have composed with a view rather of pleasing the ear<sup>3</sup> than of telling the truth, since their stories cannot be tested and most of them have from lapse of time won their way into the region of the fabulous so as to be incredible. He should regard the facts as having been made out with sufficient accuracy, on the basis of the clearest indications, considering that they have to do with early times. And so, even though men are always

<sup>3</sup> Public recitation was the ordinary mode of getting the works of the poets and early logographers before the people.

τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι τὸν παρόντα αἰεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων γεγενημένος αὐτῶν.

- XXII. Καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἡ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν ἐμοί τε ὦν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὥς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν μοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώ-
- 2 μης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται· τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ
- 3 ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθών. ἐπιπόνως δὲ ἠύρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπερὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας
- 4 ἡ μνήμης ἔχοι. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπεστερον φανεῖται· ὅσοι

inclined, while they are engaged in a war, to judge the present one the greatest, but when it is over to regard ancient events with greater wonder, yet this war will prove, for men who judge from the actual facts, to have been more important than any that went before.

XXII. As to the speeches that were made by different men, either when they were about to begin the war or when they were already engaged therein, it has been difficult to recall with strict accuracy the words actually spoken, both for me as regards that which I myself heard, and for those who from various other sources have brought me reports. Therefore the speeches are given in the language in which, as it seemed to me, the several speakers would express, on the subjects under consideration, the sentiments most befitting the occasion, though at the same time I have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said. But as to the facts of the occurrences of the war, I have thought it my duty to give them, not as ascertained from any chance informant nor as seemed to me probable, but only after investigating with the greatest possible accuracy each detail, in the case both of the events in which I myself participated and of those regarding which I got my information from others. And the endeavour to ascertain these facts was a laborious task, because those who were eye-witnesses of the several events did not give the same reports about the same things, but reports varying according to their championship of one side or the other, or according to their recollection. And it may well be that the absence of the fabulous from my narrative will seem

δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἔξει. κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρήμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυοῖν ναυμαχίαι καὶ πεζομαχίαι ταχείαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν. τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα πρὸς βῆ, παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ  
 2 Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρημώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων (εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ οἰκίτορας μετέβαλον ἀλίσκόμεναι), οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ  
 3 στασιάζειν. τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονεύόμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοὶ τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοὶ

<sup>1</sup> Artemisium and Salamis.

<sup>2</sup> Thermopylae and Plataea.

<sup>3</sup> As Colophon (III. xxxiv.), Mycalessus (VII. xxix.).

less pleasing to the ear; but whoever shall wish to have a clear view both of the events which have happened and of those which will some day, in all human probability, happen again in the same or a similar way—for these to adjudge my history profitable will be enough for me. And, indeed, it has been composed, not as a prize-essay to be heard for the moment, but as a possession for all time.

XXIII. The greatest achievement of former times was the Persian war, and yet this was quickly decided in two sea-fights<sup>1</sup> and two land-battles.<sup>2</sup> But the Peloponnesian war was protracted to a great length, and in the course of it disasters befell Hellas the like of which had never occurred in any equal space of time. Never had so many cities been taken and left desolate, some by the Barbarians,<sup>3</sup> and others by Hellenes<sup>4</sup> themselves warring against one another; while several, after their capture, underwent a change of inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> Never had so many human beings been exiled, or so much human blood been shed, whether in the course of the war itself or as the result of civil dissensions. And so the stories of former times, handed down by oral tradition, but very rarely confirmed by fact, ceased to be incredible: about earthquakes, for instance, for they prevailed over a very large part of the earth and were likewise of the greatest violence; eclipses of the sun, which occurred at more frequent intervals than we find recorded of all former times; great droughts also in some quarters with resultant famines; and lastly—

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.* Plataea (III. lxviii. 3), Thyrea (IV. lvii.).

<sup>2</sup> *e.g.* Sollium (II. xxx.), Potidaea (II. lxx.), Anactorium (IV. xlix.), Scione (V. xxxii.), Melos (V. cxvi.).

καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα  
 ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε  
 4 τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο. ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τρια-  
 κοντούτεις σπονδὰς αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐ-  
 5 βοίας ἄλωσιν. δι' ὃ τι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας  
 προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή  
 τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς  
 6 Ἕλλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην  
 πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
 ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέ-  
 χοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πο-  
 λεμεῖν· αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερόν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἰδ'  
 ἦσαν ἐκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς  
 τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XXIV. Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέ-  
 οντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν  
 2 Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. ταύτην  
 ἀπώκισαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, οἰκιστὴς δ' ἐγένετο  
 Φαλῖος Ἐρατοκλείδου, Κορίνθιος γένος, τῶν ἀφ'  
 Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς  
 μητροπόλεως κατακληθεῖς, ξυνώκισαν δὲ καὶ  
 Κορινθίων τινὲς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους.  
 3 προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ἐπι-  
 δαμνίων δύναμις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.  
 4 στασιάζαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὥς  
 λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρ-  
 βάρων ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς  
 5 ἐστερήθησαν. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ  
 πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατοὺς,  
 οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο







the disaster which wrought most harm to Hellas and destroyed a considerable part of the people—the noisome pestilence. For all these disasters fell upon them simultaneously with this war. And the war began when the Athenians and Peloponnesians broke the thirty years' truce,<sup>1</sup> concluded between them after the capture of Euboea. The reasons why they broke it and the grounds of their quarrel I have first set forth, that no one may ever have to inquire for what cause the Hellenes became involved in so great a war. The truest explanation, although it has been the least often advanced, I believe to have been the growth of the Athenians to greatness, which brought fear to the Lacedaemonians and forced them to war. But the reasons publicly alleged on either side which led them to break the truce and involved them in the war were as follows.

XXIV. There is a city called Epidamnus on the right hand as one sails into the Ionian gulf, and its next-door neighbours are a barbarian tribe, the Taulantians, of Illyrian race. The city was colonized by the Corcyraeans, and its founder was Phalius, son of Eratocleides, of Corinthian stock and a descendant of Heracles, who was invited from the mother-city according to the ancient custom; but some Corinthians and other Dorians joined the Corcyraeans in establishing the colony. As time passed the city of the Epidamnians became great and populous; but civil wars ensued, lasting, it is said, for many years, and in consequence of a war with the neighbouring barbarians they were crippled and stripped of most of their power. Finally, just before the Peloponnesian war, the populace expelled the aristocrats, and they, making common cause with the barbarians and

<sup>1</sup> 445 B.C.; cf. ch. cxv. 1.

## BOOK II

## B

I. Ἀρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθὲνδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις ζυμμάχων, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπεμίγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους καταστάντες τε ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν, καὶ γέγραπται ἐξῆς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγίγνετο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα.

II. Τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα μὲν ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακοντούτεις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερομένης καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι τέσσαρας μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ, ἅμα<sup>1</sup> ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων (ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν βοιωταρχοῦντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδου καὶ Διέμπορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδου) ἐσῆλθον περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ξὺν ὅπλοις ἐς Πλάταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας

<sup>1</sup> Hude's correction for ἕκτῳ καὶ ἅμα of the MSS. Lipsius suggested ἕκτῳ <καὶ δεκάτῳ> καὶ.

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<sup>1</sup> The mode of reckoning customary in the time of Thucydides, and continued long afterwards. In such a scheme the summer included the spring and the winter the autumn :

## BOOK II

I. At this point in my narrative begins the account of the actual warfare between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians and their respective allies. While it continued they ceased having communication with one another except through heralds, and when once they were at war they waged it without intermission. The events of the war have been recorded in the order of their occurrence, summer by summer and winter by winter.<sup>1</sup>

II. For fourteen years the thirty years' truce which had been concluded after the capture of Euboea remained unbroken; but in the fifteenth year, when Chrysis was in the forty-eighth year of her priesthood<sup>2</sup> at Argos, and Aenesias was ephor at Sparta, and Pythodorus had still four months to serve as archon at Athens, in the sixteenth month after the battle of Potidaea, at the opening of spring, some Thebans, a little more than three hundred in number, under the command of the Boeotarchs Pythangelus son of Phyleidas and Diemporus son of Onetoridas, about the first watch of the night entered under arms into Plataea, a

431 B.

the summer period was equal to about eight months, the winter to about four.

<sup>2</sup> The commencement of the war is fixed according to the forms of reckoning customary in the three most important Hellenic states.

- 2 οὐσαν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίδα. ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ  
καὶ ἀνέωξαν τὰς πύλας Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες, Ναυ-  
κλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενοι ἰδίας  
ἔνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς  
σφίσιν ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν
- 3 Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι. ἔπραξαν δὲ ταῦτα δι'  
Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου, ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων  
δυνατωτάτου. προῖδόντες γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅτι  
ἔσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος, ἐβούλουντο τὴν Πλάταιαν αἰεὶ  
σφίσι διάφορον οὐσαν ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ  
πολέμου μήπω φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος προκατα-  
λαβεῖν. ἥ καὶ ῥᾶον ἔλαθον ἐσελθόντες, φυλακῆς
- 4 οὐ προκαθεστηκυίας. θέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν  
τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς μὲν ἐπαγαγομένοις οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο  
ὥστε εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας  
τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γνώμην δ' ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασί τε  
χρήσασθαι ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ ἐς ξύμβασιν μᾶλλον  
καὶ φιλίαν τὴν πόλιν ἀγαγεῖν (καὶ ἀνεῖπεν ὁ  
κῆρυξ, εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάν-  
των Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς  
τὰ ὄπλα), νομίζοντες σφίσι ῥαδίως τούτῳ τῷ  
τρόπῳ προσχωρήσειν τὴν πόλιν.

III. Οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὡς ᾗσθοντο ἔνδον τε ὄντας  
τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ἐξαπιναίως κατειλημμένην  
τὴν πόλιν, καταδείσαντες καὶ νομίσαντες πολλῶ  
πλείους ἐσεληλυθέναι (οὐ γὰρ ἑώρων ἐν τῇ νυκτί)  
πρὸς ξύμβασιν ἐχώρησαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεξά-

town of Bocotia which was in alliance with Athens. They had been invited over by some Plataeans, Naucleides and his partisans, who opened the gates for them, intending, with a view to getting power into their hands, to destroy the citizens who were of the opposite party and make over the city to the Thebans. And they had conducted their intrigue through Eurymachus son of Leontiades, a man of great influence at Thebes. For, as Plataea was always at variance with them, the Thebans, foreseeing that the war<sup>1</sup> was coming, wished to get possession of it while there was still peace and before the war had yet been openly declared. And so they found it easier to make their entry unobserved, because no watch had been set to guard the city. And when they had grounded their arms in the market-place, instead of following the advice of those who had invited them over, namely to set to work at once and enter the houses of their enemies, they determined rather to try conciliatory proclamations and to bring the city to an amicable agreement. The proclamation made by herald was that, if anyone wished to be an ally according to the hereditary usages of the whole body of the Boeotians, he should take his weapons and join them. For they thought that in this way the city would easily be induced to come over to their side.

III. And the Plataeans, when they became aware that the Thebans were inside, and that the city had been taken by surprise, took fright, and, as it was night and they could not see, thinking that a far greater number had come in, they concluded to make terms, and, accepting the proposals

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the war between Athens and Sparta.



2 μειοι ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς οὐδένα  
 οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον. πρᾶσσοντες δέ πως ταῦτα  
 κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὄντας καὶ  
 ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθίμενοι ῥαδίως κρατήσειν· τῷ γὰρ  
 3 πλῆθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα  
 εἶναι καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διορύσσοντες τοὺς κοινούς  
 τοίχους παρ' ἀλλήλους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν  
 φανεροὶ ὦσιν ἰόντες, ἀμάξας τε ἄνευ τῶν ὑπο-  
 4 ζυγίων ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς καθίστασαν, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους  
 καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξήρτυον ἢ ἕκαστον ἐφαίνετο πρὸς  
 τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥς ἐκ  
 τῶν δυνατῶν ἐτοῖμα ἦν, φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα  
 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον ἐχώρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν  
 ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις  
 οὔσι προσφέροιντο καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γί-  
 γινονται, ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι ὄντες ἡσσοις  
 ὦσι τῆς σφετέρας ἐμπειρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.  
 προσέβαλόν τε εὐθύς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ  
 τάχος.

IV. Οἱ δ' ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἐξηπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέ-  
 φοντό τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς  
 2 ἢ προσπίπτοιεν ἀπεωθοῦντο. καὶ δις μὲν ἢ τρίς  
 ἀπεκρούσαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῷ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε  
 προσβαλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν  
 ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ  
 χρωμένων λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ βαλλόντων, καὶ  
 ὑετοῦ ἅμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπιγενομένου, ἐφο-

made to them, raised no disturbance, especially as the Thebans did no violence to anyone. But, as it happened, while they were negotiating the terms they perceived that the Thebans were few in number, and thought that by an attack they might easily overpower them; for it was not the wish of the majority of the Plataeans to withdraw from the Athenian alliance. So it was determined to make the attempt, and they began to collect together, reaching each other's houses by digging through the party-walls that they might not be seen going through the streets, and they placed wagons without the draught-animals in the streets to serve as a barricade, and took other measures as each appeared likely to be advantageous in the present emergency. And when all was ready as far as they could make it so, waiting for the time of night just before dawn, they sallied from their houses against the Thebans, not wishing to attack them by day when they might be more courageous and would be on equal terms with them, but at night when they would be more timid and at a disadvantage, in comparison with their own familiarity with the town. And so they fell upon them at once, and speedily came to close quarters.

IV. The Thebans, when they found they had been deceived, drew themselves up in close ranks and sought to repel the assaults of the enemy wherever they fell upon them. And twice or three times they repulsed them; then when the Plataeans charged upon them with a great uproar, and at the same time the women and slaves on the house-tops, uttering screams and yells, kept pelting them with stones and tiles—a heavy rain too had come on

βήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ τῶν διόδων ἢ χρὴ σωθῆναι (καὶ γὰρ τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν), ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν,<sup>1</sup> ὥστε διεφθεί-  
 3 ροντο πολλοί. τῶν δὲ Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας ἢ ἐσῆλθον καὶ αἴπερ ἦσαν μόναι ἀνεωγμέναι, ἐκλήσσε στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησά-  
 4 εῖναι. διωκόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλείους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν λαθόντες<sup>2</sup> διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί (αἴσθησις γὰρ ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο), ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλη τῆς πόλεως σποράδες ἀπώλλυντο.  
 5 τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν ξυνεστραμμένον ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς οἶκημα μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ<sup>3</sup> θύραι ἀνεωγμέναι ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, οἴόμενοι πύλας τὰς θύρας τοῦ οἰκήματος εἶναι  
 6 καὶ ἀντικρυς διόδον ἐς τὸ ἔξω. ὁρῶντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἀπειλημμένους ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν, ἐμπρήσαντες  
 7 τὸ οἶκημα, εἴτε τί ἄλλο χρήσονται. τέλος δὲ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν Hude deletes, after van Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ of MSS. after λαθόντες deleted by van Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> So Hude with CG ; αἱ πλησίον θύραι ABEFm<sub>2</sub>. Didot and Haase would transpose thus : τοῦ τείχους πλησίον καὶ αἱ θύραι.

during the night—they became panic-stricken and turned and fled through the city; and since most of them were unfamiliar with the thoroughfares by which they must save themselves amid the darkness and mud—for these things happened at the end of the month<sup>1</sup>—, whereas their pursuers knew full well how to prevent their escape, many of them consequently perished. One of the Plataeans, moreover, had closed the gates by which they had entered—the only gates which had been opened—using the spike of a javelin instead of a pin to fasten the bar, so that there was no longer a way out in that direction either. And being pursued up and down the city, some of them mounted the wall and threw themselves over, most of these perishing; others succeeded in getting out by an unguarded gate without being observed, cutting through the bar with an axe which a woman gave them—but not many, for they were soon discovered; and others got isolated in various parts of the city and were put to death. But the greater number, those who had kept more together than the others, rushed into a large building abutting upon<sup>2</sup> the wall whose doors happened to be open, thinking that the doors of the building were city-gates and that there was a passage right through to the outside. And the Plataeans, seeing that they were cut off, began to deliberate whether they should set fire to the building and burn them up without more ado or what other disposition they should make of them.

<sup>1</sup> When there would be no moon.

<sup>2</sup> Or, as most MSS. read, "a large building . . . whose doors near by happened to be open"; with Didot and Haase, "a large building near the wall whose doors . . ."

οὔτοι τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν Θηβαίων περιῆσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλανώμενοι, ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι παραδοῦναι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα χρήσασθαι ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται.

V. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐν τῇ Πλαταίᾳ οὕτως ἐπεπράγ-  
σαν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Θηβαῖοι οὓς ἔδει ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς  
παραγενέσθαι πανστρατιᾷ, εἴ τι ἄρα μὴ προ-  
χωροίη τοῖς ἐσεληλυθόσι, τῆς ἀγγελίας ἅμα καθ'  
ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς ῥηθείσης περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ἐπε-  
2 βοήθουν. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Πλάταια τῶν Θηβῶν  
σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ γενόμενον  
τῆς νυκτὸς ἐποίησε βραδύτερον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν.  
ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ἐρρῦή μέγας καὶ οὐ  
3 ῥαδίως διαβατὸς ἦν. πορευόμενοί τε ἐν ὑετῷ καὶ  
τὸν ποταμὸν μόλις διαβάντες ὕστερον παρε-  
γέγοντο, ἤδη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν διεφθαρμένων,  
4 τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἐχομένων. ὥς δ' ᾔσθοντο οἱ Θη-  
βαῖοι τὸ γεγενημένον, ἐπεβούλευον τοῖς ἔξω τῆς  
πόλεως τῶν Πλαταιῶν (ᾗσαν γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ  
κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ κατασκευή, οἷα ἀπροσδο-  
κῆτου τοῦ<sup>1</sup> κακοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γενομένου). ἐβού-  
λονται γὰρ σφίσιν, εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ὑπάρχειν  
ἀντὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ἣν ἄρα τύχασί τινες ἐζωγρημένοι.  
5 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διανοοῦντο· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ἔτι  
διαβουλευομένων αὐτῶν ὑποτοπήσαντες τοιοῦτόν  
τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ δείσαντες περὶ τοῖς ἔξω κήρυκα  
ἐξέπεμψαν παρὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους, λέγοντες ὅτι  
οὔτε τὰ πεποιημένα ὅσια δράσειαν ἐν σπονδαῖς  
σφῶν πειράσαντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τά τε  
ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ  
ἔφασαν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν οὓς ἔχουσι

<sup>1</sup> Added by Bredow and Baumeister.

But finally these and the other Thebans who survived and were wandering up and down the city came to an agreement with the Plataeans to surrender themselves and their arms, to be dealt with in any way the Plataeans wished.

V. The Thebans in Plataea had fared thus; but the main body of the Thebans, who were to have come in full force while it was still night, on the chance that things might not go well with those who had entered the city, received while on the way news of what had happened and were now hastening to the rescue. Now Plataea is about seventy stadia distant from Thebes, and the rain that had come on during the night delayed their coming; for the river Asopus was running high and was not easy to cross. And so, marching in the rain and crossing the river with difficulty, they arrived too late, some of their men having already been slain and others taken captive alive. And when the Thebans learned what had happened, they began to plot against the Plataeans who were outside the city—there were, of course, men in the fields and household property, as the trouble had come unexpectedly in time of peace—for they desired to have such men as they could lay hands on as hostages for those within, in case any of them had chanced to be taken captive. Such then were their plans; but the Plataeans, while the Thebans were still deliberating, suspected that something of the sort would be done, and fearing for those outside sent out a herald to the Thebans, saying that they had done an impious thing in trying to seize their city in time of peace, and they bade them do no injury outside the walls; if they did, they on their part would put to death

ζῶντας· ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
 6 ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας. Θηβαῖοι μὲν  
 ταῦτα λέγουσι καὶ ἐπομόσαι φασὶν αὐτούς·  
 Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθὺς  
 ὑποσχέσθαι ἀποδώσειν, ἀλλὰ λόγων πρῶτον  
 γενομένων ἦν τι ξυμβαίνωσι, καὶ ἐπομόσαι οὐ  
 7 φασιν. ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι  
 οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐκ  
 τῆς χώρας κατὰ τάχος ἐσεκομίσαντο, ἀπέκτειναν  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς. ἦσαν δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ  
 ἑκατὸν οἱ ληφθέντες, καὶ Εὐρύμαχος αὐτῶν ἦν,  
 πρὸς ὃν ἔπραξαν οἱ προδιδόντες.

VI. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔς τε τὰς Ἀθήνας  
 ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους  
 ἀπέδωκαν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 καθίσταντο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἢ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς.  
 2 τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἡγγέλθη εὐθύς τὰ περὶ τῶν  
 Πλαταιῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ Βοιωτῶν τε παρα-  
 χρήμα ξυνέλαβον ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ  
 ἔς τὴν Πλάταιαν ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα, κελεύοντες  
 εἰπεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐς  
 ἔχουσι Θηβαίων, πρὶν ἂν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ βουλευ-  
 3 σωσι περὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἡγγέλθη αὐτοῖς ὅτι  
 τεθνηκότες εἶεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ἐσόδῳ γιγνομένη  
 τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ πρῶτος ἄγγελος ἐξήει, ὁ δὲ δεύ-  
 τερος ἄρτι νενικημένων τε καὶ ξυνειλημμένων, καὶ  
 τῶν ὕστερον οὐδὲν ᾔδεσαν. οὕτω δὲ οὐκ εἰδότες  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέστελλον· ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀφικόμενος

the men whom they held captive, but if the Thebans withdrew from their territory they would restore the men to them. Now this is the account which the Thebans give, and they allege that the Plataeans confirmed their promise with an oath; the Plataeans do not admit that they promised to restore the men at once, but only that they would do so in case they should come to an agreement after preliminary negotiations, and they deny that they swore to it. At any rate, the Thebans withdrew from their territory without doing any injury; but the Plataeans, as soon as they had hastily fetched in their property from the country, straightway slew the men. And those who had been taken captive were one hundred and eighty in number, one of them being Eury-machus, with whom the traitors had negotiated.

VI. When they had done this, they sent a messenger to Athens, gave back the dead under a truce to the Thebans, and settled the affairs of the city as seemed best to them in the emergency. The report of what had been done in Plataea was made to the Athenians promptly; and they instantly apprehended all the Thebans who were in Attica and sent a herald to Plataea, bidding him tell them to take no extreme measures regarding the Thebans whom they held captive until they themselves should have taken counsel about them; for the news had not arrived that the men had been put to death. For the first messenger had set out at the time the Thebans were entering the city, the second immediately after their defeat and capture, and the Athenians knew nothing of later events. Consequently the Athenians sent their orders without knowing the facts; and the herald on his



4 ἡὔρε τοὺς ἄνδρας διεφθαρμένους. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες ἐς Πλάταιαν σῖτόν τε ἐσῆγαγον καὶ φρουροὺς ἐγκατέλιπον, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐξεκόμισαν.

VII. Γεγενημένου δὲ τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργου καὶ λελυμένων λαμπρῶς τῶν σπονδῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντες, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, πρεσβείας τε μέλλοντες πέμπειν παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ἄλλοσε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ ποθέν τινα ὠφελίαν ἤλπιζον ἐκότεροι προσλήψεσθαι, πόλεις τε ξυμμαχίδας ποιούμενοι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐκτὸς τῆς  
2 ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεως. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τὰ κείνων ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν<sup>1</sup> ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἐς τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίων νεῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἀργύριον ῥητὸν ἐτοιμάζειν, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχομένους μιᾷ νηὶ ἕως  
3 ἂν ταῦτα παρασκευασθῇ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ξυμμαχίαν ἐξήτ'αζον καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον μᾶλλον χωρία ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Κέρκυραν καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Ζάκυνθον, ὁρῶντες, εἰ σφίσι φίλια ταῦτ' εἴη

<sup>1</sup> ἐπετάχθη διακοσίας Hude, with Herbst (ἐπετάχθη σ').

<sup>1</sup> cf. ch. lxxviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Referring, in the one case, to the unsuccessful embassy of the Lacedaemonians to the King mentioned in ch. lxvii.;

arrival found the men slain. After this the Athenians, marching to Plataea, brought in food and left a garrison,<sup>1</sup> taking away the least efficient of the men along with the women and children.

VII. Now that the affair at Plataea had occurred and the treaty had been glaringly violated, the Athenians began preparing for war, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies also began; both sides were making ready to send embassies to the King and to the barbarians of any other land,<sup>2</sup> where either of them hoped to secure aid, and they were negotiating alliances with such cities as were outside of their own sphere of influence. The Lacedaemonians, on their part, gave orders to those in Italy and Sicily who had chosen their side<sup>3</sup> to build, in proportion to the size of their cities, other ships, in addition to those which were already in Peloponnesian ports, their hope being that their fleet would reach a grand total of five hundred ships, and to provide a stated sum of money; but as to other matters, they were instructed to remain inactive and to refuse their ports to Athenians if they came with more than a single ship, until these preparations had been completed. The Athenians, on the other hand, began to examine their existing list of allies and also sent embassies more particularly to the countries lying about the Peloponnesus—Corcyra, Cephallenia, Acarnania, and Zacynthus—perceiving that if they were sure of the friendship of these

in the other, to the connection of the Athenians with the Odrysian court mentioned in chs. xxix. and lxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to the Dorian colonies in Italy and Sicily (*cf.* III. lxxxvi. 2), which, however, contributed no ships till 412 B.C. (*cf.* VIII. xxvi. 1).

## THUCYDIDES

βεβαίως, περίξ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταπολεμή-  
 σοντες.

- VIII. Ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφότεροι,  
 ἀλλ' ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀπεικότως·  
 ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται,  
 τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλὴ μὲν οὔσα ἐν τῇ Πελο-  
 ποννήσῳ, πολλὴ δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἀκουσίως  
 ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἤπτετο τοῦ πολέμου. ἥ τε ἄλλη  
 Ἑλλὰς ἅπασα μετέωρος ἦν ξυνιουσῶν τῶν πρώ-  
 2 των πόλεων. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο,  
 πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἦδον ἔν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι  
 3 πολεμήσειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. ἔτι δὲ  
 Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, πρότερον  
 οὔπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται.  
 ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενή-  
 σεσθαι σημῆναι· εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο τοιουτότροπον  
 ξυνέβη γενέσθαι, πάντα ἀνεζητεῖτο.
- 4 Ἡ δὲ εὐνοια παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦσιν.  
 ἔρρωτό τε πᾶς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ πόλις εἴ τι δύναιτο  
 καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς· ἐν  
 τούτῳ τε κεκωλύσθαι ἐδόκει ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγ-  
 5 ματα ᾧ μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρέσται. οὕτως ἐν<sup>1</sup> ὀργῇ  
 εἶχον οἱ πλείους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ μὲν τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς ἀπολυθῆναι βουλόμενοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀρχθῶσι  
 φοβούμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> Added by Stephanus.

places they would be able to encircle the Peloponnesus and subdue it.

VIII. There was nothing paltry in the designs of either side; but both put their whole strength into the war, and not without reason, for men always lay hold with more spirit at the beginning, and at this time, in addition, the young men, who were numerous both in the Peloponnesus and in Athens, were unfamiliar enough with war to welcome it. All the rest of Hellas was in anxious suspense as its foremost cities came into conflict with each other. And many were the prophecies recited and many those which oracle-mongers chanted, both among the peoples who were about to go to war and in the Hellenic cities at large. Moreover, only a short time before this, Delos had been shaken, although it had not before been visited by an earthquake within the memory of the Hellenes.<sup>1</sup> This was said and believed to be ominous of coming events, and indeed every other incident of the sort which chanced to occur was carefully looked into.

The general good-will, however, inclined decidedly to the side of the Lacedaemonians, especially since they proclaimed that they were liberating Hellas. Every person and every state was strongly purposed to assist them in every possible way, whether by word or by deed, and each man thought that wherever he could not himself be present, there the cause had suffered a check. To such an extent were the majority of the Hellenes enraged against the Athenians, some wishing to be delivered from their sway, others fearful of falling under it.

<sup>1</sup> Probably an intentional contradiction of Hdt. VI. xeviii., where it is stated that an earthquake occurred shortly before the battle of Marathon, but none later.

IX. Παρασκευῇ μὲν οὖν καὶ γνώμῃ τοιαύτῃ ὥρμηντο. πόλεις δὲ ἑκάτεροι τάσδε ἔχοντες ξυμ-  
 2 μάχους ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίων μὲν οἷδε ξύμμαχοι· Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ  
 ἐντὸς ἰσθμοῦ πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν  
 (τούτοις δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν· Πελληνῆς δὲ  
 Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα  
 δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες), ἔξω δὲ Πελοποννήσου  
 Μεγαρῆς, Βοιωτοί, Λοκροί, Φωκῆς, Ἀμπρακιῶται,  
 3 Λευκάδιοι, Ἀνακτόριοι. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρεί-  
 χοντο Κορίνθιοι, Μεγαρῆς, Σικυνῶνιοι, Πελληνῆς,  
 Ἡλεῖοι, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, ἱππέας δὲ  
 Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆς, Λοκροί, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις  
 4 πεζὸν παρείχον.<sup>1</sup> αὕτη μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ξυμμαχία· Ἀθηναίων δὲ Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Πλα-  
 ταιῆς, Μεσσηνιοὶ οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, Ἀκαρνάνων  
 οἱ πλείους, Κερκυραῖοι, Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ ἄλλαι  
 πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὔσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε,  
 Καρία ἢ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Δωριῆς Καρσὶ πρόσοικοι,  
 Ἰωνία, Ἑλλησποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, νῆσοι ὅσαι  
 ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον  
 5 ἀνίσχοντα<sup>2</sup> πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας. τούτων  
 ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Κερκυραῖοι,  
 6 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πεζὸν καὶ χρήματα. ξυμμαχία μὲν  
 αὕτη ἑκατέρων καὶ παρασκευὴ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν.

X. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς  
 εὐθὺς περιήγγελλον κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Herbst deletes, followed by Hude.

<sup>2</sup> Before πλὴν C gives πᾶσαι αἱ Κυκλάδες, the other MSS. πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι Κυκλάδες. Deleted by Dobree.

IX. Such were the preparations and such the feelings with which the Hellenes went into the conflict. And the states which each side had as its allies when it entered the war were as follows. These were the allies of the Lacedaemonians: all the Peloponnesians south of the Isthmus with the exception of the Argives and Achaeans (these latter had friendly relations with both sides, and the Pellenians were the only Achaeans who at first took part in the war with the Lacedaemonians, though eventually all of them did), and outside of the Peloponnesus the Megarians, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians. Of these, the Corinthians, Megarians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambraciots, and Leucadians furnished ships, while cavalry was contributed by the Boeotians, Phocians, and Locrians, and infantry by the other states. These were the allies of the Lacedaemonians. Those of the Athenians were: the Chians, Lesbians, Plataeans, the Messenians of Naupactus, most of the Acarnanians, the Corcyraeans, the Zacynthians, and in addition the cities which were tributary in the following countries: the seaboard of Caria, the Dorians adjacent to the Carians, Ionia, the Hellespont, the districts on the coast of Thrace, and the islands which lie between the Peloponnesus and Crete toward the east, with the exception of Melos and Thera. Of these, the Chians, Lesbians, and Corcyraeans furnished ships, the rest infantry and money. Such were the allies of each side and the preparations they made for the war.

X. Immediately after the affair at Plataea the Lacedaemonians sent word around to the various

τὴν ἔξω ξυμμαχίδα στρατιὰν παρασκευάζεσθαι  
 ταῖς πόλεσι τά τε ἐπιτήδεια οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον  
 ἐκδημον ἔχειν, ὥς ἐσβαλοῦντες ἐς τὴν Ἀπτικήν.  
 2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκάστοις ἐτοῖμα γίγνοιτο, κατὰ τὸν  
 χρόνον τὸν εἰρημένον ξυνῆσαν τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ  
 3 πόλεως ἐκάστης ἐς τὸν ἰσθμόν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν  
 τὸ στράτευμα ξυνειλεγμένον ἦν, Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἠγεῖτο τῆς  
 ἐξόδου ταύτης, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν  
 πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ  
 ἀξιολογωτάτους παρῆνει τοιάδε.<sup>1</sup>

XI. “Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι,  
 καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλὰς στρατείας καὶ ἐν  
 αὐτῇ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἔξω ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ  
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἄπειροι πολέμων  
 εἰσίν· ὅμως δὲ τῆσδε οὐπω μείζονα παρασκευὴν  
 ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατω-  
 τάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πλείστοι καὶ  
 2 ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες. δίκαιον οὖν ἡμᾶς μήτε  
 τῶν πατέρων χεῖρους φαίνεσθαι μήτε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
 τῆς δόξης ἐνδεεστέρους. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα  
 τῇδε τῇ ὀρμῇ ἐπῆρται καὶ προσέχει τὴν γνώμην,  
 εὖνοϊαν ἔχουσα διὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἔχθος πρᾶξαι  
 3 ἡμᾶς ἂν ἐπινοοῦμεν. οὐκ οὖν χρή, εἴ τῳ καὶ  
 δοκοῦμεν πλήθει ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀσφάλεια πολλή  
 εἶναι μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡμῖν διὰ μάχης,  
 τούτων ἔνεκα ἀμελέστερόν τι παρεσκευασμένους  
 χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἠγεμόνα καὶ  
 στρατιώτην τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ προσδέχεσθαι ἐς

<sup>1</sup> Sintenis' correction for παρεῖναι τοιάδ' ἔλεξεν of the MSS.

states in the Peloponnesus and their confederacy outside the Peloponnesus to make ready such troops and supplies as it was appropriate they should have for a foreign expedition, their intention being to invade Attica. When everything was ready in the several states, two-thirds of the contingent of each state assembled at the appointed time at the Isthmus. And when the whole army was assembled, Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, who was to be the leader of this expedition, called together the generals of all the states as well as the chief officials and the most notable men, and exhorted them as follows :

XI. "Peloponnesians and allies, our fathers made many campaigns both in the Peloponnesus and beyond it, and the elder men also amongst us do not lack experience in warfare, yet never before have we taken the field with a greater armament than this ; but though we were never more numerous and puissant, it is also a very powerful state we now go against. It is but right, therefore, that we neither should show ourselves worse men than our fathers nor wanting to our own fame. For all Hellas is stirred by this enterprise of ours, and fixes her gaze upon it, and being friendly to us on account of their hatred of the Athenians hopes that we shall succeed in carrying out our designs. Therefore, even if some of us may think that we are going against them with superior numbers and that in all likelihood the enemy will not risk a pitched battle with us, we must not on that account be a whit less carefully prepared when we advance, but rather must officer and soldier of every state for his own part be always expecting to encounter



- 4 κίνδυνόν τινα ἤξειν. ἄδηλα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων,  
καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπι-  
χειρήσεις γίνονται· πολλάκις τε τὸ ἔλασσον  
πλήθος δεδιὸς ἄμεινον ἡμύνατο τοὺς πλέονας διὰ  
5 τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκεύους γενέσθαι. χρὴ  
δὲ αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους  
στρατεύειν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρεσκευάσθαι.  
οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν, πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι  
ἀσφαλέστατοι.
- 6 “Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω<sup>1</sup>  
πόλιν ἐρχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄριστα παρε-  
σκευασμένην, ὥστε χρὴ καὶ πάνυ ἐλπίζειν διὰ  
μάχης ἵέναι αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὥρμηνται ἐν  
ὧ οὐπω πάρεσμεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὀρώσιν  
7 ἡμᾶς δηοῦντάς τε καὶ τὰ κείνων φθείροντας. πᾶσι  
γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν  
πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργὴν προσπίπτει, καὶ οἱ  
λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι θυμῷ πλείιστα ἐς  
8 ἔργον καθίστανται. Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ πλεον τι  
τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, οἳ ἄρχειν τε τῶν  
ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι καὶ ἐπιόντες τὴν τῶν πέλας δηοῦν  
9 μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν. ὥς οὖν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην  
πόλιν στρατεύοντες καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι  
τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα  
ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ἔπεσθε ὅπῃ ἂν τις ἡγήται,  
κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι καὶ  
τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι· κάλλιστον

<sup>1</sup> οὕτω deleted by Hude, after Madvig.

some danger. For the events of war cannot be foreseen, and attacks are generally sudden and furious; and oftentimes a smaller force, made cautious by fear, overmatches a larger number that is caught unprepared because it despises the foe. One should, however, when campaigning in an enemy's country always be bold in spirit, but in action cautious and therefore prepared. For thus men will be most valorous in attacking their opponents and most secure against assault.

“And we are going against a city which is not so powerless to defend itself as some may think, but is perfectly prepared in all respects; we have therefore every reason to expect them to risk a battle, if they have not already set out before we are yet there, at any rate when they see us in their territory laying it waste and destroying their property. For with all men, when they suffer an unwonted calamity, it is the sight set then and there before their eyes which makes them angry, and when they are angry they do not pause to think but rush into action. And the Athenians are even more likely than most men to act in this way, since they are more disposed to claim the right to rule over others and to attack and ravage their neighbours' land than to see their own ravaged. Realising, then, how powerful is the city against which you are taking the field, and how great is the fame, for better or for worse, which you are about to win for your ancestors and for yourselves from the outcome, follow wherever your officers lead you, regarding good order and vigilance as all-important, and sharply giving heed to the word of command; for this is the fairest as well as the safest thing—for

γὰρ τόδε καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι.”

XII. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τὸν ξύλλογον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος Μελήσιππον πρῶτον ἀποστέλλει ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τὸν Διακρίτου, ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοίειν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώ-  
 2 τες σφᾶς ἤδη ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας. οἱ δὲ οὐ προσεδέ-  
 ξαντο αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν· ἦν γὰρ Περικλείους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα κή-  
 ρυκα καὶ πρεσβείαν μὴ δέχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεστρατευμένων. ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐκτὸς ὄρων εἶναι αὐθημερόν,  
 τό τε λοιπὸν ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἣν τι βούλονται, πρεσβεύεσθαι. ξυμ-  
 πέμπουσί τε τῷ Μελησίππῳ ἀγωγούς, ὅπως  
 3 μηδενὶ ξυγγένηται. ὁ δ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἔμελλε διαλύσεσθαι, τοσόνδε εἰπὼν ἐπορεύετο ὅτι “Ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μεγά-  
 4 λων κακῶν ἄρξει.” ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ στρατό-  
 πεδον καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδέν πω ἐνδώσουσιν, οὕτω δὲ ἄρας τῷ στρατῷ  
 5 προυχώρει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας παρείχοντο Πελοποννησίοις ξυστρατεύειν, τοῖς δὲ λειπομένοις ἐς Πλάταιαν ἐλθόντες τὴν γῆν ἐδήουν.

XIII. Ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ξυλληγομέ-

a great host to show itself subject to a single discipline."

XII. With these words Archidamus dismissed the assembly. He then first sent Melesippus son of Diocritus, a Spartan, to Athens, in the hope that the Athenians, when they saw that the Lacedaemonians were already on the march, might be somewhat more inclined to yield. But they did not allow him to enter the city, much less to appear before the assembly; for a motion of Pericles had already been carried not to admit herald or embassy after the Lacedaemonians had once taken the field. They accordingly dismissed him without hearing him, and ordered him to be beyond their borders that same day; and in future, they added, the Lacedaemonians must first withdraw to their own territory before sending an embassy, if they had any communication to make. They also sent an escort along with Melesippus, in order to prevent his having communication with anyone. And when he arrived at the frontier and was about to leave his escort, he uttered these words before he went his way, "This day will be the beginning of great evils for the Hellenes." When he came to the army, and Archidamus had learned that the Athenians would not as yet make any concession, then at length they broke camp and advanced into Athenian territory. And the Boeotians not only supplied their contingent<sup>1</sup> and the cavalry to serve with the Peloponnesians, but also went to Plataea with their remaining troops and proceeded to ravage the country.

XIII. While the Peloponnesian forces were still

<sup>1</sup> i.e. two-thirds of their full appointment; cf. ch. x. 2.

νων τε ἐς τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτίς, ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐσομένην, ὑποτοπήσας, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανε, μὴ πολλάκις ἢ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ παραλίπη καὶ μὴ δηώσῃ, ἢ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων κελευσάντων ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄγῃ ἐλαύνειν προεῖπον ἔνεκα ἐκείνου, προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος μὲν οἱ ξένος εἶη, οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῷ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας ἦν ἄρα μὴ δηώσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀφίησιν αὐτὰ δημόσια εἶναι, καὶ μηδεμίαν οἱ  
2 ὑποψίαν κατὰ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι. παρῆναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον, παρασκευάζεσθαί τε ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἔς τε μάχην μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντας φυλάσσειν, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἥπερ ἰσχύουσιν, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, τά τε τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου,<sup>1</sup> τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη καὶ  
3 χρημάτων περιουσία κρατεῖσθαι. θαρσεῖν τε

<sup>1</sup> τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου deleted by Hude, after van Herwerden.

collecting at the Isthmus and while they were on the march but had not yet invaded Attica, Pericles son of Xanthippus, who was one of the ten Athenian generals, when he realised that the invasion would be made, conceived a suspicion that perhaps Archidamus, who happened to be a guest-friend of his, might pass by his fields and not lay them waste, doing this either on his own initiative, in the desire to do him a personal favour, or at the bidding of the Lacedaemonians with a view to creating a prejudice against him, just as it was on his account that they had called upon the Athenians to drive out the pollution.<sup>1</sup> So he announced to the Athenians in their assembly that while Archidamus was indeed a guest-friend of his, this relationship had certainly not been entered upon for the detriment of the state; and that in case the enemy might not lay waste his fields and houses like the rest, he now gave them up to be public property, and asked that no suspicion should arise against himself on that account. And he gave them the same advice as before<sup>2</sup> about the present situation: that they should prepare for the war, should bring in their property from the fields, and should not go out to meet the enemy in battle, but should come into the city and there act on the defensive; that they should equip their fleet, in which their strength lay, and keep a firm hand upon their allies, explaining that the Athenian power depended on revenue of money received from the allies, and that, as a general rule, victories in war were won by abundance of money as well as by wise policy. And he bade them be of good courage, as on

<sup>1</sup> cf. I. cxxvii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> cf. I. cxliii.

ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων (τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτεΐδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη),  
 4 χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἓν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον, οὐκ  
 5 ἐλάσσοнос<sup>1</sup> ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἦν πάννυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσίοις· ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσίου ἀπέφθου καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω

<sup>1</sup> ἦν of the MSS., after ἐλάσσοнос, deleted by Abresch.

<sup>1</sup> About £120,000, or \$583,200. The original amount at the institution of the Confederacy of Delos was 460 talents (I. xevi. 2). The figure here given is an average amount, because the assessment was revised every four years at the Panathenaea.

These figures, and all other equivalents of Greek financial statements, are purely conventional, inasmuch as the purchasing power of money was then very much greater than now.

<sup>2</sup> The ordinary revenue, apart from the tribute, consisted of customs duties, tax on sales, poll tax on resident aliens,

an average six hundred talents<sup>1</sup> of tribute were coming in yearly from the allies to the city, not counting the other sources<sup>2</sup> of revenue, and there were at this time still on hand in the Acropolis six thousand talents<sup>3</sup> of coined silver (the maximum amount had been nine thousand seven hundred talents, from which expenditures had been made for the construction of the Propylaea<sup>4</sup> of the Acropolis and other buildings,<sup>5</sup> as well as for the operations at Potidaea). Besides, there was uncoined gold and silver in public and private dedications, and all the sacred vessels used in the processions and games, and the Persian spoils and other treasures of like nature, worth not less than five hundred talents.<sup>6</sup> And he estimated, besides, the large amount of treasure to be found in the other temples. All this would be available for their use, and, if they should be absolutely cut off from all other resources, they might use even the gold plates with which the statue of the goddess herself was overlaid.<sup>7</sup> The statue, as he pointed out to them, contained forty talents' weight of pure gold, and it was all removable.<sup>8</sup> This treasure they might use for self-preservation, but they must replace as much as they

rents of state property, especially the silver mines, court fees and fines.

<sup>1</sup> About £1,940,000, or \$9,428,400.

<sup>2</sup> Completed about 432 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Such as the Parthenon, the Odeum, and the Telesterion at Eleusis (see *Plut. Per.* xiii.).

<sup>4</sup> About £100,000, or \$486,000.

<sup>5</sup> The chryselephantine statue of Athena by Phidias in the Parthenon.

<sup>6</sup> According to *Plut. Per.* xxxi., Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, laid on the gold in such a way that it could all be removed and weighed.



6 ἀντικαταστήσαι πάλιν. χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτω  
 ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς· ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ  
 μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν  
 7 παρ' ἑπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. τοσοῦ-  
 τοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι  
 ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν  
 νεωτάτων καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλῆται ἦσαν. τοῦ  
 τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε  
 καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ  
 τεσσαράκοντα (ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον  
 ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ),  
 τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαρά-  
 κοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἕξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ  
 Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνιχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ  
 ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ὃν ἡμισυ τού-  
 8 του. ἰππέας δὲ ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους  
 ξὺν ἵπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους  
 τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας.  
 9 ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὐκ ἐλίσσω  
 ἕκαστα τούτων, ὅτε ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἔμελλε  
 Πελοποννησίων ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθί-  
 σταντο. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἷάπερ εἰώθει Περι-  
 κλῆς ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ.

XIV. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἀνεπίθοντό  
 τε καὶ ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ  
 γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἣ κατ' οἶκον

took. As to their resources in money, then, he thus sought to encourage them; and as to heavy-armed infantry, he told them that there were thirteen thousand, not counting the sixteen thousand men who garrisoned the forts and manned the city walls. For this was the number engaged in garrison duty at first, when the enemy were invading Attica, and they were composed of the oldest and the youngest<sup>1</sup> citizens and of such metics as were heavily armed. For the length of the Phalerian wall was thirty-five stadia to the circuit-wall of the city, and the portion of the circuit-wall itself which was guarded was forty-three stadia (a portion being left unguarded, that between the Long Wall and the Phalerian); and the Long Walls to the Peiraeus were forty stadia in extent, of which only the outside one was guarded; and the whole circuit of the Peiraeus including Munichia was sixty stadia, half of it being under guard. The cavalry, Pericles pointed out, numbered twelve hundred, including mounted archers, the bow-men sixteen hundred, and the triremes that were seaworthy three hundred. For these were the forces, and not less than these in each branch, which the Athenians had on hand when the first invasion of the Peloponnesians was impending and they found themselves involved in the war. And Pericles used still other arguments, as was his wont, to prove that they would be victorious in the war.

XIV. After the Athenians had heard his words they were won to his view, and they began to bring in from the fields their children and wives, and also

<sup>1</sup> The age limits were eighteen to sixty, those from eighteen to twenty (περίπολοι) being called on only for garrison duty within the bounds of Attica. The age of full citizenship was twenty.

- ἐχρῶντο, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν  
ξύλωσιν· πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια ἐς τὴν Εὐ-  
βοιαν διεπέμψαντο καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐπικει-  
2 μένας. χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι  
τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἢ ἰνά-  
στασις ἐγίγνετο. XV. ξυνεβεβήκει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐτέρων μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτο.  
ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἢ  
Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾤκειτο πρυ-  
τανεῖά τε ἐχούσας καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὁπότε μὴ  
τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνῆσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὥς τὸν  
βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολίτευον καὶ  
ἐβουλευόντο· καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐ-  
τῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς  
2 Ἐρεχθέα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενό-  
μενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τά τε ἄλλα  
διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλ-  
λων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς  
τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὔσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας  
καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνῴκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους  
τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠνάγκασε  
μὴ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢ ἀπάντων ἤδη ξυν-  
τελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη  
ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου  
Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῇ  
ποιοῦσιν.
- 3 Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἢ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὔσα πόλις

<sup>1</sup> Others render: "since all were now counted as belonging to it."

their household furniture, pulling down even the woodwork of the houses themselves; but sheep and draught-animals they sent over to Euboea and the adjacent islands. And the removal was a hard thing for them to accept, because most of them had always been used to live in the country. XV. And this kind of life had been the characteristic of the Athenians, more than of any other Hellenes, from the very earliest times. For in the time of Cecrops and the earliest kings down to Theseus, Attica had been divided into separate towns, each with its town hall and magistrates, and so long as they had nothing to fear they did not come together to consult with the king, but separately administered their own affairs and took counsel for themselves. Sometimes they even made war upon the king, as, for example, the Eleusinians with Eumolpus did upon Erechtheus. But when Theseus became king and proved himself a powerful as well as a prudent ruler, he not only re-organized the country in other respects, but abolished the councils and magistracies of the minor towns and brought all their inhabitants into union with what is now the city, establishing a single council and town hall, and compelled them, while continuing to occupy each his own lands as before, to use Athens as the sole capital. This became a great city, since all were now paying their taxes to it,<sup>1</sup> and was such when Theseus handed it down to his successors. And from his time even to this day the Athenians have celebrated at the public expense a festival called the Synoecia,<sup>2</sup> in honour of the goddess.

Before this<sup>3</sup> what is now the Acropolis was the

<sup>1</sup> "Feast of the Union," celebrated on the sixteenth of the month Hecatombaion.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. before the Synoecismus, or union of Attica under Theseus.

ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμ-  
 4 μένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ  
 ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ ἔξω  
 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται,  
 τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ  
 τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ  
 τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ<sup>2</sup> ποιεῖται  
 ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθη-  
 ναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἵδρυται δέ  
 5 καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ  
 νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτως σκευασάντων Ἐν-  
 νεακρούνῳ καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν  
 πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένη ἐκείνοί τε  
 ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν  
 ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα  
 6 τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. καλεῖται  
 δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρό-  
 • πολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

XVI. Τῇ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν  
 αὐτονόμῳ οἰκῆσει<sup>3</sup> οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
 ξυνωκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως  
 οἱ πλείους τῶν τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον

<sup>1</sup> Added by Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ δωδεκάτῃ deleted by Hude, after Torstrick.

<sup>3</sup> μετεῖχον, in the MSS. before οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, deleted by Dreissen.

<sup>1</sup> It is taken for granted that these temples were ancient foundations.

city, together with the region at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south. And the proof of this is as follows: On the Acropolis itself are the sanctuaries<sup>1</sup> of the other gods as well as of Athena,<sup>2</sup> and the sanctuaries which are outside the Acropolis are situated more in that quarter of the city, namely those of Olympian Zeus, of Pythian Apollo, of Earth, and of Dionysus in Limnae, in whose honour are celebrated the more ancient Dionysia<sup>3</sup> the twelfth of the month Anthesterion, just as the Ionian descendants of the Athenians also are wont even now to celebrate it. In that quarter are also situated still other ancient sanctuaries. And the fountain now called Enneacrunus,<sup>4</sup> from the fashion given it by the tyrants, but which anciently, when the springs were uncovered, was named Callirrhoe, was used by people of those days, because it was close by, for the most important ceremonials; and even now, in accordance with the ancient practice, it is still customary to use its waters in the rites preliminary to marriages and other sacred ceremonies. And, finally, the Acropolis, because the Athenians had there in early times a place of habitation, is still to this day called by them Polis or city.

XVI. Because, then, of their long-continued life of independence in the country districts, most of the Athenians of early times and of their descendants down to the time of this war, from force of habit, even after their political union with the city, continued

<sup>2</sup> A lacuna in the text is generally assumed; Classen would supply καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηνῶν after θεῶν ἐστί, and I translate this.

<sup>3</sup> The Anthesteria, contrasted with the Lenaea, which was also an ancient festival, but of less antiquity. The city Dionysia was of comparatively recent origin.

<sup>4</sup> Enneacrunus, *Nine Conduits*; Callirrhoe, *Fair Stream*.

μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικησία<sup>1</sup> γενόμενῳ  
 τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες, οὐ ῥαδίως τὰς ἀναστάσεις  
 ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνειλιφότες τὰς  
 2 κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά· ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ  
 χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες καὶ  
 ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια, δίαίταν τε μέλλοντες  
 μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος.

XVII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις  
 μὲν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς  
 ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρῆμα  
 τῆς πόλεως ὥκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρῶα  
 πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου  
 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν· τό τε  
 Πελαργικὸν<sup>2</sup> καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,  
 ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθι-  
 κοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε,  
 λέγον ὥς “Τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον,” ὅμως  
 2 ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωκλήθη. καὶ μοι  
 δοκεῖ τὸ μαντεῖον τούναντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσε-  
 δέχοντο, οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν παράνομον ἐνοίκησιν αἱ  
 ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλε-

<sup>1</sup> πανοικησία placed by Hude, following Lipsius, after ῥαδίως.

<sup>2</sup> With C and a popular decree found in 1830 (C.I.A., iv. 27 b); the other MSS. Πελασγικόν.

to reside, with their households, in the country where they had been born; and so they did not find it easy to move away, especially since they had only recently finished restoring their establishments after the Persian war. They were dejected and aggrieved at having to leave their homes and the temples which had always been theirs,—relics, inherited from their fathers, of their original form of government—and at the prospect of changing their mode of life, and facing what was nothing less for each of them than forsaking his own town.

XVII. And when they came to the capital, only a few of them were provided with dwellings or places of refuge with friends or relatives, and most of them took up their abode in the vacant places of the city and the sanctuaries and the shrines of heroes, all except the Acropolis and the Eleusinium and any other precinct that could be securely closed. And the Pelargicum,<sup>1</sup> as it was called, at the foot of the Acropolis, although it was under a curse that forbade its use for residence, and this was also prohibited by a verse-end of a Pythian oracle to the following effect:

“The Pelargicum unoccupied is better,”

nevertheless under stress of the emergency was completely filled with buildings. And the oracle, as it seems to me, came true, but in a sense quite the opposite of what was expected; for it was not on account of the unlawful occupation of the place that the city was visited by the calamities, but it was on

<sup>1</sup> A fortification built by the “Pelasgians” on the west side of the Acropolis, the only side accessible to an enemy. It was to the space below and above this fortification that the curse attached.



μον ἢ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκήσεως, ὃν οὐκ ὀνομάζον τὸ  
 μαντεῖον προήδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοι-  
 3 κισθησόμενον. κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὥς ἕκαστός που  
 ἐδύνατο· οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἢ  
 πόλις, ἀλλ' ὕστερον δὴ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη  
 ὥκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ  
 4 πολλά. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἤπτοντο, ξυμμάχους τε ἀγείροντες καὶ τῇ Πελο-  
 5 ποννήσῳ ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν ἐξαρτύοντες καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων  
 προῖων ἀφίκετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόνην πρῶτον,  
 ἥπερ ἔμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ὥς ἐκαθέζοντο,  
 προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησό-  
 2 μενοι μηχαναῖς τε καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· ἡ γὰρ Οἰνότης  
 οὔσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας  
 ἐτετείχιστο καὶ αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ἐχρῶντο ὅποτε πόλεμος καταλάβοι. τὰς τε οὖν  
 προσβολὰς ὑπὲρ ἐπίζοντο καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδιέτριψαν  
 3 χρόνον περὶ αὐτήν. αἰτίαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλαχίστην  
 Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς  
 Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτήδειος, οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως  
 πολεμεῖν· ἐπειδὴ τε ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατός, ἥ τε  
 ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> cf. i. lxxx.-lxxxv.

account of the war that there was the necessity of its occupation, and the oracle, although it did not mention the war, yet foresaw that the place would never be occupied for any good. Many also established themselves in the towers of the city walls, and wherever each one could find a place; for the city did not have room for them when they were all there together. But afterwards they distributed into lots and occupied the space between the Long Walls and the greater part of the Peiraeus. And while all this was going on, the Athenians applied themselves to the war, bringing together allies and fitting out an expedition of one hundred ships against the Peloponnesus. The Athenians then, were in this stage of their preparations.

XVIII. Meanwhile the army of the Peloponnesians was advancing and the first point it reached in Attica was Oenoe, where they intended to begin the invasion. And while they were establishing their camp there, they prepared to assault the wall with engines and otherwise; for Oenoe, which was on the border between Attica and Boeotia, was a walled town, and was used as a fortress by the Athenians whenever war broke out. So the Lacedaemonians went on with their preparations to assault the place, and in this and other ways wasted time. And it was for his conduct here that Archidamus was most severely censured, though it was thought that in the levying of the war, too, he had been slack and had played into the hands of the Athenians when he did not advise the Peloponnesians to make war with vigour.<sup>1</sup> Again, when the army was being collected, he was criticized for the delay which occurred at the Isthmus, and afterwards for the leisurely way in

ἄλλην πορείαν ἢ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν,  
 4 μάλιστα δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ Οἰνότη ἐπίσχεσις. οἱ γὰρ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ  
 ἐδόκουν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπελθόντες ἂν διὰ τά-  
 χους πάντα ἔτι ἔξω καταλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν  
 5 ἐκείνου μέλλησιν. ἐν τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀργῇ ὁ στρατὸς  
 τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ εἶχεν. ὁ δέ, προσ-  
 δεχόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς  
 ἔτι ἀκεραίου οὔσης ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ κατοκνήσειν  
 περιδεῖν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν, ἀνεῖχεν.

XIX. Ἐπειδὴ μέντοι προσβαλόντες τῇ Οἰνότη  
 καὶ πᾶσαν ιδέαν πειράσαντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν,  
 οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, οὕτω δὲ  
 ὀρμήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ<sup>1</sup>  
 γεγόμενα ἡμέρᾳ ὀγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα, θέρους καὶ  
 τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.  
 ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, Λακεδαι-  
 2 μονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἔτεμνον πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον καὶ  
 τροπὴν τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς  
 Ῥεῖτους καλουμένους ἐποιήσαντο. ἔπειτα πρου-  
 χώρουν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγάλεων ὄρος διὰ  
 Κρωπιᾶς ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀχαρνάς, χωρίον μέ-  
 γιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων, καὶ  
 καθεζόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν στρατόπεδόν τε ἐποιήσαντο  
 χρόνον τε πολὺν ἐμμεΐναντες ἔτεμνον.

XX. Γνώμη δὲ τοιαύδε λέγεται τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐπελθόντων Θηβαίων, in the MSS. after Πλαταίᾳ, deleted by Classen.

which the march was made, but most of all for the halt at Oenoe. For in the interval the Athenians continued to bring their property into the city and the Peloponnesians believed that but for his procrastination they could have advanced quickly and found everything still outside. Such was the resentment felt by the army toward Archidamus while they were sitting still. But the reason, it is said, why he kept holding back was that he expected the Athenians would make some concession while their territory was still unravaged and would be loath to see it laid waste.

XIX. When, however, after assaulting Oenoe and trying in every way to take it they were not able to do so, the Athenians meanwhile making no overtures, then at length they set off from there, about eighty days after the events at Plataea, when it was midsummer<sup>1</sup> and the corn was ripe, and invaded Attica, under the command of Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians. Making a halt they proceeded to ravage, first of all, the territory of Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, and they routed the Athenian cavalry near the streams called Rheiti; then they advanced, keeping Mount Aegaleos on their right through Cropia,<sup>2</sup> until they came to Acharnae, the largest of the demes of Attica, as they are called. Halting in the town they made a camp, where they remained for a long time ravaging the country.

XX. And it is said that the motive of Archidamus

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the Attic summer, which included spring. The date was about the end of May, the average time for cutting grain in Attica.

<sup>2</sup> A deme between Aegaleos and Parnes.

περί τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ὥς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον  
 μείναι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οὐ κατα-  
 2 βῆναι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἤλπιζεν, ἀκμάζοντάς  
 τε νεότητι πολλῇ καὶ παρεσκευασμένους ἐς πόλε-  
 μον ὥς οὐπω πρότερον, ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ  
 3 τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιιδεῖν τμηθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ οὖν  
 αὐτῷ ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον οὐκ  
 ἀπήντησαν, πείραν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς  
 4 καθήμενος εἰ ἐπεξίσσιν· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ  
 χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἅμα  
 δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως  
 (τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὀπλίται ἐγένοντο) οὐ περιόψεσθαι  
 ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα, ἀλλ' ὀρμήσειν  
 καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην. εἴ τε καὶ μὴ ἐπεξ-  
 ἔλθοιεν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδε-  
 ἔστερον ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὕστερον τό τε πεδῖον τεμείν  
 καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν χωρήσεσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ  
 Ἀχαρνέας ἐστερημένους τῶν σφετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως  
 προθύμους ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κινδυ-  
 5 νεύειν, στάσιν δ' ἐνέσεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ. τοιαύτη  
 μὲν διανοία ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ἦν.

XXI. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μέχρι μὲν οὐ περὶ Ἐλευσίνα  
 καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν καὶ τινα  
 ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐτοὺς μὴ προΐεναι,  
 μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Πανσανίου  
 Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, ὅτε ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττι-  
 κῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Θριῶζε στρατῷ Πελοπον-  
 νησίων πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα  
 ἔτεσιν ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐς τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι

in waiting about Acharnae with his troops ready for battle, instead of descending into the plain during this invasion, was as follows: He cherished the hope that the Athenians, who were at their very best as regards the multitude of their youth and prepared for war as never before, would perhaps come out against him and not look on and see their land ravaged. So when they did not come to meet him at Eleusis and in the Thriasian plain, he settled down in the neighbourhood of Acharnae, to make a test whether they would come out; for not only did that seem to him a suitable place for his camp, but also the Acharnians were an important part of the state, their hoplites numbering three thousand, and he thought that they would not look on and see their fields ravaged, but would urge the whole people also to fight. And even if the Athenians should not come out against him during this invasion, he would thenceforward proceed with less apprehension to ravage the plain and even advance to the very walls of the city; for the Acharnians, once stripped of their own possessions, would not be as eager to incur danger as before in behalf of the lands of the rest, and so a division would arise in the counsels of the Athenians. It was with this design that Archidamus stayed at Acharnae.

XXI. Now so long as the Peloponnesian army remained in the neighbourhood of Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, the Athenians retained hope that they would not advance nearer; for they remembered that Pleistoanax son of Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians, when fourteen years before this war he had invaded Attica with an army of Peloponnesians and proceeded as far as Eleusis and Thria, had advanced

προελθών (δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ἐκ  
 2 Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώ-  
 ρησιν). ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Ἀχαρνὰς εἶδον τὸν στρατὸν  
 ἐξήκοντα σταδίους τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχοντα, οὐκέτι  
 ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἰκός, γῆς  
 τεμνομένης ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί, ὃ οὐπω ἑώρακεσαν οἱ  
 γε νεώτεροι, οὐδ' οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πλὴν τὰ Μη-  
 δικά, δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις  
 καὶ μάλιστα τῇ νεότητι ἐπεξιέναι καὶ μὴ περι-  
 3 ορᾶν. κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ  
 ἔριδι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν κελεύοντες ἐπεξιέναι, οἱ δέ τινες  
 οὐκ ἑῶντες. χρησμολόγοι τε ἦδον χρησμούς  
 παντοίους, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο.<sup>1</sup>  
 οἱ τε Ἀχαρνῆς οἰόμενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ  
 ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ  
 γῆ ἐτέμνετο, ἐνήγουν τὴν ἔξοδον μάλιστα. παντί  
 τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸν Περικλέα  
 ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον, καὶ ὧν παρήνεσε πρότερον ἐμέ-  
 μνηντο οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὧν οὐκ  
 ἐπεξάγοι, αἰτιὸν τε σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντων ὧν  
 ἔπασχον.

XXII. Περικλῆς δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς  
 τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ οὐ τὰ ἄριστα φρο-  
 νοῦντας, πιστεύων δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν περὶ τοῦ  
 μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ  
 ξύλλογον οὐδένα, τοῦ μὴ ὀργῇ τι μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ  
 ξυνελθόντας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐφύλασσε

<sup>1</sup> With CEG ; ἔργητο ABM.

no farther but had gone back again. (And indeed this was the cause of his banishment from Sparta, since he was thought to have been bribed to retreat.) But when they saw the army in the neighbourhood of Acharnae, only sixty stadia from the city, they thought the situation no longer tolerable; on the contrary, it naturally appeared to them a terrible thing when their land was being ravaged before their eyes, a sight which the younger men had never seen, or even the older men except in the Persian war; and the general opinion, especially on the part of the younger men, was that they ought to go forth and put a stop to it. They gathered in knots and engaged in hot disputes, some urging that they should go out, others opposing this course. Oracle-mongers were chanting oracles of every import, according as each man was disposed to hear them. And the Acharnians, thinking that no insignificant portion of the Athenian people lived at Acharnae, insisted most of all upon going out, as it was their land that was being devastated. Thus in every way the city was in a state of irritation; and they were indignant against Pericles, and remembering none of his earlier warnings they abused him because, though their general, he would not lead them out, and considered him responsible for all their sufferings.

XXII. Pericles, however, seeing them exasperated at the present moment and that their intentions were not for the best, and convinced that his judgment was right about refusing to go out, would not convoke a meeting of the assembly or any gathering whatever, for fear that if they got together there would be an outbreak of passion without judgment that would end in some serious



- καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας μάλιστα ὅσον ἐδύνατο εἶχεν.
- 2 ἱππέας μέντοι ἐξέπεμπεν αἰεὶ τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν· καὶ ἱππομαχία τις ἐγένετο βραχεῖα ἐν Φρυγίοις τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσαν ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ μέχρι οὗ προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν· καὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοί, ἀνείλουντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀσπόνδους. καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔστησαν.
- 3 ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικὸν ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι,<sup>1</sup> Κρανώνιοι, Πυράσιοι, Γυρτώνιοι, Φεραῖοι. ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἐκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες.

- XXIII. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπεξῆσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μάχην, ἄραντες ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν ἐδήουν τῶν δήμων τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους.
- 2 ὄντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἃσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> Παράσιοι, in MSS. after Φαρσάλιοι, deleted by Heringa.

mistake; moreover he guarded the city, and as far as he could kept it free from disturbances. He did, however, constantly send out detachments of cavalry to prevent flying parties from the main army from raiding the fields near the city and ravaging them; and there was a cavalry skirmish at Phrygia between a company of Athenian horsemen, assisted by some Thessalians, and the Boeotian cavalry, in which the Athenians and Thessalians fully held their own, until their heavy infantry came to the support of the Boeotians, when they were routed. A few of the Thessalians and the Athenians were killed, but their bodies were recovered the same day without a truce; and on the next day the Peloponnesians set up a trophy. This auxiliary force of the Thessalians was sent to the Athenians in accordance with an ancient alliance,<sup>1</sup> and those who came were Larisaeans, Pharsalians, Crannonians, Pyrasians, Gyrtonians, and Pheraeans. And their leaders were, from Larissa, Polymedes and Aristonous, each representing his own faction, and from Pharsalus Menon; and the others had their own commander city by city.

XXIII. The Peloponnesians, on the other hand, when the Athenians did not come out to do battle with them broke up their camp at Acharnae and ravaged some of the demes which lie between Mt. Parnes and Mt. Brilessus.<sup>2</sup> But while they were still in their territory the Athenians sent out on an expedition round the Peloponnesus the hundred ships<sup>3</sup> which they had been equipping, and on

<sup>1</sup> cf. I. cii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> More generally known as Pentelicius, so called from the deme Pentele on its southern slope.

<sup>3</sup> cf. ch. xvii. 4.

καὶ τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Καρ-  
κίνος τε ὁ Ξενοτίμου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους  
3 καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀντιγένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄρα ντες  
τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ περιέπλεον, οἱ δὲ Πελο-  
ποννήσιοι χρόνον ἐμμεΐναντες ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅσου  
εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν, οὐχ  
ἦπερ ἐσέβαλον· παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν  
τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι  
Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδήλωσαν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς  
Πελοπόννησον διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι.

XXIV. Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ  
θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἔμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ  
πολέμου φυλάξειν· καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀπὸ τῶν  
ἐν τῇ ἄκροπόλει χρημάτων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐξαίρετα  
ποιησαμένοις χωρὶς θέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναλοῦν, ἀλλ'  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολεμεῖν· ἦν δέ τις εἶπη ἢ ἐπι-  
ψηφίση κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι,  
ἦν μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι νηίτη στρατῷ ἐπιπλέωσι τῇ  
πόλει καὶ δέη ἀμύνασθαι, θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέ-  
2 θεντο. τριήρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἐξαιρέτους ἐποιή-  
σαντο κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκατὸν τὰς βελτίστας  
καὶ τριηράρχους αὐταῖς, ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ  
ἐς ἄλλο τι ἢ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
κινδύνου, ἦν δέη.

<sup>1</sup> Named after the ancient town of Γραῖα (Hom. B 498).

them a thousand hoplites and four hundred archers; and the generals in command were Carcinus son of Xenotimus, Proteas son of Epicles, and Socrates son of Antigenes. So they set sail with this force and began their cruise; the Peloponnesians, on the other hand, remained in Attica for as long a time as they were provisioned and then withdrew through Boeotia, taking a different route from that by which they had entered Attica. They passed by Oropus and laid waste the district called Graïce,<sup>1</sup> which the Oropians occupy as subjects of the Athenians.<sup>2</sup> Then on their return to the Peloponnesus they were dismissed to their several cities.

XXIV. After the retreat of the Lacedaemonians, the Athenians set guards to keep watch both by land and sea, their purpose being to maintain a like guard throughout the war. They decided also to set apart one thousand talents<sup>3</sup> of the money stored on the Acropolis as a special reserve fund, and not to spend it, but to use the rest to carry on the war; and if anyone should make or put to vote a proposal to touch this money except in the one case that the enemy should attack the city with a fleet and they should have to defend it, death was to be the penalty. And along with this sum of money they set apart for special service each year one hundred of the very best triremes, appointing trierarchs to command them, and no one of these ships was to be used in any other way than in connection with this particular fund in dealing with the same danger should the emergency arise.

<sup>2</sup> This was written before 412/11, when Oropus was captured by the Boeotians.

<sup>3</sup> About £200,000, or \$972,000. This was part of the 6,000 talents stored on the Acropolis (ch. xiii. 3).

- XXV. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Κερκυραῖοι μετ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ προσβεβηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχων ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν περιπλέοντες καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀποβάντες τῷ τείχει προσέβαλον, ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ
- 2 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους Βρασίδας ὁ Τέλλιδος, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, φρουρὰν ἔχων, καὶ αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μετὰ ὀπλιτῶν ἑκατόν. διαδραμὼν δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ἐσκεδασμένον κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον, ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν Μεθώνην καὶ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐσδρομῇ ἀπολέσας τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τε πόλιν περιεποίησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος πρώτου τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
- 3 ἐπηνέβη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄραντες παρέπλεον, καὶ σχόντες τῆς Ἡλείας ἐς Φειὰν ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας καὶ προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἡλιδος τριακοσίους λογάδας καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος
- 4 Ἡλείων μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. ἀνέμου δὲ κατιόντος μεγάλου χειμαζόμενοι ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ περιέπλεον τὸν Ἰχθύν καλούμενον τὴν ἄκραν ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα, οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, οἱ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπιβῆναι, κατὰ γῆν χωρή-
- 5 σαντες τὴν Φειὰν αἰροῦσιν. καὶ ὕστερον αἱ τε νῆες περιπλεύσασαι ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξανάγονται ἐκλείποντες Φειάν, καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων ἡ πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβηθήκει. παρα-

XXV. Meanwhile the Athenians who had been despatched in the hundred ships around the Peloponnesus, together with the Corcyraeans, who had reinforced them with fifty ships, and some of their other allies in that quarter, were pillaging various places as they cruised about, and in particular disembarked at Methone in Laconia and assaulted its walls, which were weak and without adequate defenders. But Brasidas, son of Tellis, a Spartan, happened to be in that neighbourhood with a guarding party, and seeing the situation he set out with one hundred hoplites to relieve the garrison. Dashing through the army of the Athenians, which was scattered over the country and was occupied solely with the fortress, he threw his force into Methone, losing a few of his men in the rush, and thus saved the city. This daring exploit, the first of the kind in the war, was acknowledged at Sparta by a vote of thanks. The Athenians then weighed anchor and continued their cruise along the coast, and putting in at Pheia in Elis ravaged the land for two days, defeating in battle a rescue-party of three hundred picked men gathered from the lowlands of Elis and from the immediate neighbourhood of Pheia. But a heavy gale of wind arose, and since they were exposed to the storm in a harbourless region, most of them embarked on their ships and sailed round the promontory called Ichthys into the harbour at Pheia. Meanwhile the Messenians and some others, who could not get on board, marched overland and took Pheia. Afterwards, when the fleet had rounded the promontory, it took up these men, abandoned Pheia, and put out to sea, for meanwhile the main body of the Eleans had come to the rescue. The Athenians now resumed their voyage

πλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐδήουν.

XXVI. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ <sup>1</sup> Εὐβοίας ἡμα φυλακὴν· ἐστρατήγει  
 2 δὲ αὐτῶν Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου. καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος τῆς τε παραθαλασσίου ἔστιν ἃ ἐδήωσε καὶ Θρόνιον εἶλεν, ὁμήρους τε ἔλαβεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν Ἀλόπῃ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν μάχῃ ἐκράτησεν.

XXVII. Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι· καὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς  
 2 οἰκήτορας. ἐκπεσοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδωσαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι, κατὰ τε τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον καὶ ὅτι σφῶν εὐεργέται ἦσαν ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἡ δὲ Θυρεᾶτις γῆ μεθορία τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς ἔστιν, ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθήκουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ὥκησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐσπάρησαν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα.

XXVIII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους νομηνία κατὰ σελήνην, ὥσπερ καὶ μόνον δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> κατ' read by Hude, after Madvig.

along the coast, and visiting other places and the depredations.

XXVI. About this same time the Athenians sent out thirty ships to operate around Locris and at the same time to serve as a guard for Euboea. These were under the command of Cleopompus son of Clinias, who made descents upon various places along the seaboard and ravaged them, captured Thronium, some of whose inhabitants he took as hostages, and at Alope defeated in battle the Locrians who came to the defence of the town.

XXVII. In the course of this summer the Athenians also expelled the Aeginetans from Aegina, together with their wives and children, making it their main charge against them that they were responsible for the war in which they were involved; besides Aegina lay close to the Peloponnesus, and it was clearly a safer policy to send colonists of their own to occupy it. And indeed they soon afterwards sent thither the settlers. As for the Aeginetan refugees, the Lacedaemonians gave them Thyrea to dwell in and its territory to cultivate, moved to do this not only by the hostility of the Aeginetans towards the Athenians but also because the Aeginetans had done them a service at the time of the earthquake and the revolt of the Helots.<sup>1</sup> Now the district of Thyrea is the border country between Argolis and Laconia, extending down to the sea. There some of the Aeginetans settled, while some were scattered over the rest of Hellas.

XXVIII. During the same summer at the beginning of a lunar month<sup>2</sup> (the only time, it seems, when

<sup>1</sup> cf. I. ci. 2.

<sup>2</sup> August 3rd, 431 B.C.



δυνατόν, ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε μετὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη, γενόμενος μηνοειδὴς καὶ ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων.

XXIX. Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει Νυμφόδωρον τὸν Πύθεω, ἄνδρα Ἀβδηρίτην, οὗ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σιτάλκης, δυνάμενον παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον πολέμιον νομίζοντες πρόξενον ἐποίησαντο καὶ μετεπέμψαντο, βουλόμενοι Σιτάλκην σφίσι τὸν Τήρεω, Θρακῶν βασιλέα, ξύμμαχον  
 2 γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησεν· πολὺ  
 3 γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρακῶν. Τηρεὶ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίωνος ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶνσχόντι γυναιῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θράκης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλία τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς<sup>1</sup> ᾧκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρακῶν οἰκουμένης, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ  
 • ἔπραξαν (πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνοσ μνήμῃ Δαυλιάς ἢ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται), εἰκὸς τε καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίωνα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσούτου ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῖ. Τήρης δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχων βασιλεὺς<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deleted by Hude, after van Herwerden, as not read by the Scholiast.

<sup>2</sup> τε, in the MSS. after βασιλεὺς, deleted by Classen.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. their representative to look after Athenian interests in the country of Sitalces and Tereus. The latter had violated

such an occurrence is possible) the sun was eclipsed after midday; it assumed the shape of a crescent and became full again, and during the eclipse some stars became visible.

XXIX. In this summer, too, Nymphodorus son of Pythes, a man of Abdera, whose sister Sitalces had to wife, and possessing great influence with Sitalces, the Athenians made their proxenus<sup>1</sup> with that king, although they had hitherto regarded him as an enemy; and they summoned him to Athens, wishing to gain Sitalces, son of Teres and king of the Thracians, as their ally. Now this Teres, the father of Sitalces, was the first to found the great kingdom of the Odrysians, which extended over the larger part of Thrace; for a considerable portion of the Thracians are independent. This Teres is not in any way connected with Tereus who took from Athens to be his wife Procne the daughter of Pandion, nor indeed did they come from the same Thrace. Tereus dwelt at Daulia in the land now called Phocis, which was then occupied by Thracians, and it was in that land that the women<sup>2</sup> perpetrated their deed upon Itys. In fact many of the poets, when they refer to the nightingale, call it the bird of Daulia. Besides, it was natural for Pandion to contract the marriage alliance for his daughter at so short a distance as Daulia with a view to mutual protection, rather than among the Odrysians, who are many days' journey distant. Teres, however, whose name was not the same as the other's, was the first king to attain Philomela, sister of Procne, and cut out her tongue to prevent her telling of it; but she revealed it by weaving the story into a piece of tapestry.

<sup>2</sup> The women, i.e. Procne and Philomela, who murdered Itys, son of Procne.

- 4 πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο. οὐ δὴ ὄντα  
τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξύμμαχον ἐποιοῦντο,  
βουλόμενοι σφίσι τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καὶ  
5 Περδίκκαν ξυνεξελεῖν αὐτόν. ἐλθὼν τε ἐς τὰς  
Ἀθήνας ὁ Νυμφόδωρος τήν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου  
ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησε καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ  
Ἀθηναῖον, τὸν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεμον ὑπεδέχετο  
καταλύσειν· πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμπειν στρα-  
6 τιστῶν. ξυνεβίβασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοῖς  
Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Θέρμην αὐτῷ ἔπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι·  
ξυνεστράτευσέ τε εὐθὺς Περδίκκας ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας  
7 μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Φορμίωνος. οὕτω μὲν Σιτάλ-  
κης τε ὁ Τήρεω, Θρακῶν βασιλεὺς, ξύμμαχος  
ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου,  
Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς.

- XXX. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι  
ἔτι ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον Σόλλιόν τε Κοριν-  
θίων πόλισμα αἰροῦσι καὶ παραδιδόασιν Παλαι-  
8 ρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν  
νέμεσθαι· καὶ Ἀστακόν, ἧς Εὐάρχος ἐτυράννει,  
λαβόντες κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἐξελάσαντες αὐτὸν τὸ  
2 χωρίον ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεποιήσαντο. ἐπὶ  
τε Κεφαλληνίαν τὴν νῆσον προσπλεύσαντες  
προσηγάγοντο ἄνευ μάχης· κεῖται δὲ ἡ Κεφα-  
λληνία κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκίδα τετράπολις  
3 οὔσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Πρῶννοι. ὕστε-  
ρον δ' οὐ πολλῷ ἀνεχώρησαν αἱ νῆες ἐς τὰς  
Ἀθήνας.

great power among the Odrysians. And it was his son, Sitalces, whom the Athenians wanted to make their ally, wishing him to help in subduing the places on the coast of Thrace and Perdiccas. So Nymphodorus came to Athens, brought about the alliance with Sitalces, and got Sadocus son of Sitalces made an Athenian citizen; and he promised also to bring the war in Thrace to an end, saying that he would persuade Sitalces to send the Athenians a Thracian force of cavalry and targeteers. Moreover, he brought about a reconciliation between Perdiccas and the Athenians, whom he persuaded to restore Therme<sup>1</sup> to him. Perdiccas immediately joined forces with the Athenians under Phormio<sup>2</sup> and took the field against the Chalcidians. It was in this way that Sitalces son of Teres, king of the Thracians, became an ally of the Athenians, and also Perdiccas son of Alexander, king of the Macedonians.

XXX. Meanwhile the Athenians in the hundred ships, who were still operating on the Peloponnesian coast, took Sollium, a town belonging to the Corinthians, which they then handed over, the territory as well as the city, to the people of Palaerus in Acarnania, for their exclusive occupation. They also stormed Astacus, which Euarchus ruled as tyrant, drove him out, and incorporated the place in their confederacy. Sailing then to the island of Cephallenia, they brought it over to their side without a battle. Now Cephallenia lies over against Acarnania and Leucas and is a union of four communities, the Palians, Cranians, Samaeans, and Pronnians. And not long afterwards the ships withdrew to Athens.

<sup>1</sup> cf. I. lxi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> cf. I. lxiv. 2; lxx. 3.

XXXI. Περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους  
 τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μέ-  
 τοικοι, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα Περικλέους τοῦ  
 Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ οἱ περὶ Πελο-  
 πόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν  
 (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἤδη ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνα-  
 κομιζόμενοι) ὥς ἥσθοντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 πανστρατιᾷ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντας, ἔπλευσαν παρ'  
 2 αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυνεμείχθησαν. στρατόπεδόν τε  
 μέγιστον δὴ τοῦτο ἀθρόον Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο,  
 ἀκμαζούσης ἔτι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐπω νεοσηκυίας·  
 μυρίων γὰρ ὀπλιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἦσαν αὐτοὶ  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (χωρὶς δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ  
 τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν), μέτοικοι δὲ ξυνεσέβαλον οὐκ  
 ἐλάσσους τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ ὁ ἄλλος  
 3 ὄμιλος ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος. δηώσαντες δὲ τὰ  
 πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον  
 ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα καὶ ἱππέων  
 καὶ πανστρατιᾷ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἐάλω ὑπ'  
 Ἀθηναίων.

XXXII. Ἐπειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπὸ  
 Ἀθηναίων φρούριον τοῦ θέρους τούτου τελευτῶν-  
 τος, ἡ ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσος, ἐρήμη  
 πρότερον οὔσα, τοῦ μὴ ληστὰς ἐκπλέοντας ἐξ  
 Ὀπούντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Λοκρίδος κακουργεῖν  
 τὴν Εὐβοίαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ μετὰ  
 τὴν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀναχώρησιν  
 ἐγένετο.

XXXIII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Εὐ-  
 αρχος ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀστακὸν

XXXI. Toward the autumn of this year the Athenians with all their military forces, drawn both from the citizens and the resident aliens, invaded Megaris under the command of Pericles son of Xanthippus, who was general.<sup>1</sup> The Athenians of the fleet of one hundred ships operating around Peloponnesus, who happened to be at Aegina on their way home, when they heard that the whole military force of the city was at Megara, sailed over and joined them. This was the largest army of Athenians that had ever been assembled in one body, for the city was still at the height of its strength and not as yet stricken by the plague; the Athenians themselves numbered not less than ten thousand heavy infantry, not including the three thousand at Potidaea,<sup>2</sup> and there were three thousand heavy-armed aliens who took part in the invasion, and, besides, a considerable body of light-armed troops. After they had ravaged most of the Megarian country they retired. Later on in the course of the war still other invasions were made by the Athenians into Megaris every year, both with the cavalry and with the whole army, until Nisaea was captured.<sup>3</sup>

XXXII. Towards the end of this summer the Athenians also fortified and garrisoned Atalante, the island which lies off Opuntian Locris and had hitherto been unoccupied. Their object was to prevent pirates sailing from Opus and the other ports of Locris and ravaging Euboea. These were the events which took place during this summer after the withdrawal of the Peloponnesians from Attica.

XXXIII. But in the ensuing winter Euarchus the Acarnanian, wishing to return to Astacus, persuaded

<sup>1</sup> i.e. one of the ten generals elected annually.

<sup>2</sup> cf. I. lxi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> IV. lxvi.-lxix.

κατελθεῖν, πείθει Κορινθίους τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν πλεύσαντας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικούρους τινὰς προσεμισθώσατο· ἦρχον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς Εὐφαιμίδας τε ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου καὶ Τιμόξενος ὁ  
 2 Τιμοκράτους καὶ Εὐμαχος ὁ Χρύσιδος. καὶ πλεύσαντες κατήγαγον· καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀκαρνανίας τῆς περὶ θάλασσαν ἔστιν ἡ χωρία βουλόμενοι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πειραθέντες, ὥς οὐκ  
 3 ἐδύναντο, ἀπέπλεον ἐπ' οἴκου. σχόντες δ' ἐν τῷ παρίπλῳ ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὴν Κρανίων γῆν, ἀπατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξ ὁμολογίας τινὸς ἄνδρας τε ἀποβάλλουσι σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπιθεμένων ἀπροσδοκῆτως τῶν Κρανίων, καὶ βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

XXXIV. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρώτων ἀποθανόντων  
 2 τῶν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τὰ μὲν ὅστ' αὖ προτίθενται τῶν ἀπογενομένων πρότρυτα σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἣν τι βούληται·  
 3 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ᾗ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίνας ἄγουσιν ἅμαξαι,<sup>1</sup> φυλῆς ἐκάστης μίαν· ἔνεστι δὲ τὰ ὅστ' αὖ ἥς ἕκαστος ἣν φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἳ ἂν μὴ  
 4 εὐρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεισιν αἱ προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι.

the Corinthians to sail with forty ships and fifteen hundred heavy infantry and restore him to power, and for this purpose he himself hired some mercenaries. The commanders of the expedition were Euphamidas son of Aristonymus, Timoxenus son of Timocrates, and Eumachus son of Chrysis. They did in fact sail over and restore him; and wishing to acquire some other places along the seaboard of Acarnania they made the attempt but failed, and thereupon sailed for home. As they skirted the coast they touched at Cephallenia, where they made a descent upon the territory of the Cranians; here deceived by the inhabitants through some sort of agreement they lost a few of their men by an unexpected attack of the Cranians, and finally, after they had got out to sea with considerable difficulty, managed to get back home.

XXXIV. In the course of the same winter the Athenians, following the custom of their fathers, celebrated at the public expense the funeral rites of the first who had fallen in this war. The ceremony is as follows. The bones of the departed lie in state for the space of three days in a tent erected for that purpose, and each one brings to his own dead any offering he desires. On the day of the funeral coffins of cypress wood are borne on wagons, one for each tribe, and the bones of each are in the coffin of his tribe. One empty bier, covered with a pall, is carried in the procession for the missing whose bodies could not be found for burial. Any one who wishes, whether citizen or stranger, may take part in the funeral procession, and the women who are related to the deceased are present at the



- 5 τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν.
- 6 ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ, ἀνὴρ ἡρῆμένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὃς ἂν γνώμη τε δοκῇ μὴ ἀξύνετος εἶναι καὶ ἀξιῶσει προήκη, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον
- 7 τὸν πρέποντα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσιν· καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου,
- 8 ὅποτε ξυμβαίῃ αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῷ νόμῳ. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου ἡρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένοι, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ ὁμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

- XXXV. “Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσίᾳ παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι.
- 2 χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ

<sup>1</sup> The Outer Cerameicus, just outside the Dipylon gate. This street was to Athens what the Appian Way was to Rome.

burial and make lamentation. The coffins are laid in the public sepulchre, which is situated in the most beautiful suburb<sup>1</sup> of the city; there they always bury those fallen in war, except indeed those who fell at Marathon; for their valour the Athenians judged to be preëminent and they buried them on the spot where they fell. But when the remains have been laid away in the earth, a man chosen by the state, who is regarded as best endowed with wisdom and is foremost in public esteem, delivers over them an appropriate eulogy. After this the people depart. In this manner they bury; and throughout the war, whenever occasion arose, they observed this custom. Now over these, the first victims of the war, Pericles son of Xanthippus was chosen to speak. And when the proper time came, he advanced from the sepulchre and took his stand upon a platform which had been built high in order that his voice might reach as far as possible in the throng, and spoke as follows:

XXXV. "Most of those who have spoken here in the past have commended the law-giver who added this oration to our ceremony, feeling that it is meet and right that it should be spoken at their burial over those who have fallen in war. To me, however, it would have seemed sufficient, when men have proved themselves brave by valiant acts, by act only to make manifest the honours we render them—such honours as to-day you have witnessed in connection with these funeral ceremonies solemnized by the state—and not that the valour of many men should be hazarded on one man to be believed or not according as he spoke well or ill. For it is a hard matter to speak in just measure on an occasion where it is with difficulty that belief in the speaker's

δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται. ὃ τε γὰρ  
 ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὖνους ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδε-  
 εστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομί-  
 σιει δηλοῦσθαι, ὃ τε ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ  
 πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 φύσιν ἀκούοι. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί  
 εἰσι περὶ ἐτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἕκαστος οἷηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσεν·  
 τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ  
 3 ἀπιστοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως ἔδο-  
 κιμάσθη ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρὴ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον  
 τῷ νόμῳ πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεώς  
 τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον.

XXXVI. “Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων  
 πρῶτον· δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα  
 ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης  
 δίδοσθαι. τὴν γὰρ χώραν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες  
 διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἔλευ-  
 2 θέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι  
 ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν· κτησά-  
 μενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσῃν ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν  
 3 οὐκ ἀπόνως, ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον. τὰ  
 δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἶδε οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες  
 μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπηυξήσαμεν,  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς  
 4 πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην. ὧν ἐγὼ

<sup>1</sup> Those enumerated by Pericles in ch. xii.—money, army and navy.

accuracy is established. For the hearer who is cognizant of the facts and partial to the dead will perhaps think that scant justice has been done in comparison (with his own wishes) and his own knowledge, while he who is not so informed, whenever he hears of an exploit which goes beyond his own capacity, will be led by envy to think there is some exaggeration. And indeed eulogies of other men are tolerable only in so far as each hearer thinks that he too has the ability to perform any of the exploits of which he hears; but whatever goes beyond that at once excites envy and unbelief. However, since our forefathers approved of this practice as right and proper, I also, rendering obedience to the law, must endeavour to the best of my ability to satisfy the wishes and beliefs of each of you.

XXXVI. "I shall speak first of our ancestors, for it is right and at the same time fitting, on an occasion like this, to give them this place of honour in recalling what they did. For this land of ours, in which the same people have never ceased to dwell in an unbroken line of successive generations, they by their valour transmitted to our times a free state. And not only are they worthy of our praise, but our fathers still more; for they, adding to the inheritance which they received, acquired the empire we now possess and bequeathed it, not without toil, to us who are alive to-day. And we ourselves here assembled, who are now for the most part still in the prime of life, have further strengthened the empire in most respects, and have provided our city with all resources,<sup>1</sup> so that it is sufficient for itself both in peace and in war. The military exploits whereby

τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτῆθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ "Ελληνα πόλεμον<sup>1</sup> ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἡμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος, ἐάσω· ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ἐπὶ τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα ὁμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν.

XXXVII. "Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται, μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία  
2 κεκώλυται, ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζη-

<sup>1</sup> πόλεμον, Hude adopts Haase's conjecture πολέμιον.

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the Spartans, whose institutions were said to have been borrowed from Crete; in fact, throughout the whole speech the contrast is with Spartan conditions.

our several possessions were acquired, whether in any case it were we ourselves or our fathers that valiantly repelled the onset of war, Barbarian or Hellenic, I will not recall, for I have no desire to speak at length among those who know. But I shall first set forth by what sort of training we have come to our present position, and with what political institutions and as the result of what manner of life our empire became great, and afterwards proceed to the praise of these men; for I think that on the present occasion such a recital will be not inappropriate and that the whole throng, both of citizens and of strangers, may with advantage listen to it.

XXXVII. "We live under a form of government which does not emulate the institutions of our neighbours<sup>1</sup>; on the contrary, we are ourselves a model which some<sup>2</sup> follow, rather than the imitators of other peoples. It is true that our government is called a democracy, because its administration is in the hands, not of the few, but of the many; yet while as regards the law all men are on an equality for the settlement of their private disputes, as regards the value set on them it is as each man is in any way distinguished that he is preferred to public honours, not because he belongs to a particular class, but because of personal merits; nor, again, on the ground of poverty is a man barred from a public career by obscurity of rank if he but has it in him to do the state a service. And not only in our public life are we liberal, but also as regards our freedom from suspicion of one another in the pursuits of every-day life; for we do not feel resentment at our neighbour

<sup>2</sup> Possible allusion to the embassy sent from Rome in 454 B.C. to examine the laws of Solon (Livy, iii. 31).

μίους μέν, λυπηράς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστι-  
 3 θέμενοι. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες  
 τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν,  
 τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν  
 νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ  
 τῶν ἀδικουμένων κείνται καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες  
 αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσιν.

XXXVIII. “Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας  
 ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μέν  
 γε καὶ θυσίαις διетησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ  
 κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις  
 2 τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ  
 μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ  
 ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέρα τῇ ἀπολαύσει  
 τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι ἢ καὶ τὰ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

XXXIX. “Διαφέρομεν δὲ κὰν ταῖς τῶν πολε-  
 μικῶν μελέταις τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖσδε. τήν τε γὰρ  
 πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενη-  
 λασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάμα-  
 τος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν  
 ὠφεληθείη, πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Referring especially to the contests at the chief festivals, like the Panathenaea and Dionysia, which by their artistic setting and performance were recreations of mind and spirit quite as much as physical exercises.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides refers to the spiritual no less than to the physical products which the greatness of Athens attracts to her, to the poetry, music, and art which find there a con-

if he does as he likes, nor yet do we put on sour looks which, though harmless, are painful to behold. But while we thus avoid giving offence in our private intercourse, in our public life we are restrained from lawlessness chiefly through reverent fear, for we render obedience to those in authority and to the laws, and especially to those laws which are ordained for the succour of the oppressed and those which, though unwritten, bring upon the transgressor a disgrace which all men recognize.

XXXVIII. "Moreover, we have provided for the spirit many relaxations from toil: we have games<sup>1</sup> and sacrifices regularly throughout the year and homes fitted out with good taste and elegance; and the delight we each day find in these things drives away sadness. And our city is so great that all the products of all the earth flow in upon us, and ours is the happy lot to gather in the good fruits of our own soil with no more home-felt security of enjoyment than we do those of other lands.<sup>2</sup>

XXXIX. "We are also superior to our opponents in our system of training for warfare, and this in the following respects. In the first place, we throw our city open to all the world and we never by exclusion acts debar any one from learning or seeing anything which an enemy might profit by observing if it were not kept from his sight; for we place our dependence, not so much upon prearranged devices to

genial home as well as to articles of commerce. On these latter compare a passage in the pseudo-Xenophontic *Constitution of Athens* (ii. 7), written somewhat earlier than this portion of Thucydides' history: "Whatever desirable thing is found in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, the Pontus, the Peloponnesus, or anywhere else, all these things are brought together at Athens on account of her mastery of the sea."



πλέον καὶ ἀπάταις ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν.

2 τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑαυτούς, μεθ' ἀπάντων δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι, τὴν τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν·

3 ἀθρόα τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πω πολέμιος ἐνέτυχε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τε ἄμα ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιπεμψιν· ἦν δέ που μορίῳ τινὶ προσμείζωσι, κρατήσαντές τέ τινας ἡμῶν πάντας ἀνχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι καὶ νικηθέντες ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσσησθαι.

4 καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις.

XL. “ Φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Pericles here hints at his policy, outlined in ch. xiii. 2, of always acting on the defensive when the enemy forces are distinctly superior.

deceive, as upon the courage which springs from our own souls when we are called to action. And again, in the matter of education, whereas they from early childhood by a laborious discipline make pursuit of manly courage, we with our unrestricted mode of life are none the less ready to meet any equality of hazard.<sup>1</sup> And here is the proof: When the Lacedaemonians invade our territory they do not come alone but bring all their confederates with them, whereas we, going by ourselves against our neighbours' territory, generally have no difficulty, though fighting on foreign soil against men who are defending their own homes, in overcoming them in battle. And in fact our united forces no enemy has ever yet met, not only because we are constantly attending to the needs of our navy, but also because on land we send our troops on many enterprises; but if they by chance engage with a division of our forces and defeat a few of us, they boast that they have repulsed us all, and if the victory is ours, they claim that they have been beaten by us all. If, then, by taking our ease rather than by laborious training and depending on a courage which springs more from manner of life than compulsion of laws, we are ready to meet dangers, the gain is all ours, in that we do not borrow trouble by anticipating miseries which are not yet at hand, and when we come to the test we show ourselves fully as brave as those who are always toiling; and so our city is worthy of admiration in these respects, as well as in others.

XL. "For we are lovers of beauty yet with no extravagance and lovers of wisdom yet without weakness. Wealth we employ rather as an opportunity for action than as a subject for boasting;

πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 2 διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον. ἔνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ ἐτέροις<sup>1</sup>  
 πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς  
 γινῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα  
 οὐκ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν, καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ<sup>2</sup> ἦτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ  
 πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην  
 ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ  
 3 πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν, διαφερόντως  
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ  
 μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι·  
 ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ  
 ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν ψυχὴν δικαίως  
 κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα  
 γινγνώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι  
 4 ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἐνηντιώμεθα  
 τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ ἐρῶντες  
 κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας  
 τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὠφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ὧ δέδωκε  
 σῶζειν· ὁ δὲ ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ  
 ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ὥς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐτέροις < ἕτερα >, Hude.

<sup>2</sup> Hude reads οἱ αὐτοί.

<sup>1</sup> As contrasted with the Spartans, whose officials made the most important decisions.

and with us it is not a shame for a man to acknowledge poverty, but the greater shame is for him not to do his best to avoid it. And you will find united in the same persons an interest at once in private and in public affairs, and in others of us who give attention chiefly to business, you will find no lack of insight into political matters. For we alone regard the man who takes no part in public affairs, not as one who minds his own business, but as good for nothing; and we Athenians decide public questions for ourselves<sup>1</sup> or at least endeavour to arrive at a sound understanding of them, in the belief that it is not debate that is a hindrance to action, but rather not to be instructed by debate before the time comes for action. For in truth we have this point also of superiority over other men, to be most daring in action and yet at the same time most given to reflection upon the ventures we mean to undertake; with other men, on the contrary, boldness means ignorance and reflection brings hesitation. And they would rightly be adjudged most courageous who, realizing most clearly the pains no less than the pleasures involved, do not on that account turn away from danger. Again, in nobility of spirit, we stand in sharp contrast to most men; for it is not by receiving kindness, but by conferring it, that we acquire our friends. Now he who confers the favour is a firmer friend, in that he is disposed, by continued goodwill toward the recipient, to keep the feeling of obligation alive in him<sup>2</sup>; but he who owes it is more listless in his friendship, knowing that when he repays the kindness it will count, not as a favour bestowed, but as a debt

<sup>2</sup> This must be the meaning of the *ἄρα* clause, but something is perhaps wrong with the text.

5 σων. καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον  
λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινα  
ᾠφελοῦμεν.

XLI. “Ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν  
τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον  
δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ  
πλείστ’ ἂν εἶδῃ καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα ἂν  
2 εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι. καὶ  
ὥς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον  
ἢ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις τῆς  
πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκτησάμεθα,  
3 σημαίνει. μόνη γὰρ τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσων  
ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται, καὶ μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολεμίῳ  
ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ’ οἷον κακοπαθεῖ,  
οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν ὥς οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀξίων  
4 ἄρχεται. μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ  
τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι  
τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα,<sup>1</sup>  
οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε  
ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ’ ἔργων  
τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάβει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν  
μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ  
καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα  
5 κακῶν τε καὶ αγαθῶν αἰδία ξυγκατοικίσαντες. περὶ  
τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἶδε τε γενναίως δικαιούντες

<sup>1</sup> καὶ, before οὐδὲν in the MSS., deleted by Krüger.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Athenian colonies and cleruchies, which, according to the bearing of the natives, had been

repaid. And, finally, we alone confer our benefits without fear of consequences, not upon a calculation of the advantage we shall gain, but with confidence in the spirit of liberality which actuates us.

XLI. "In a word, then, I say that our city as a whole is the school of Hellas, and that, as it seems to me, each individual amongst us could in his own person, with the utmost grace and versatility, prove himself self-sufficient in the most varied forms of activity. And that this is no mere boast inspired by the occasion, but actual truth, is attested by the very power of our city, a power which we have acquired in consequence of these qualities. For Athens alone among her contemporaries, when put to the test, is superior to the report of her, and she alone neither affords to the enemy who comes against her cause for irritation at the character of the foe by whom he is defeated, nor to her subject cause for complaint that his masters are unworthy. Many are the proofs which we have given of our power and assuredly it does not lack witnesses, and therefore we shall be the wonder not only of the men of to-day but of after times; we shall need no Homer to sing our praise nor any other poet whose verses may perhaps delight for the moment but whose presentation of the facts will be discredited by the truth. Nay, we have compelled every sea and every land to grant access to our daring, and have everywhere planted<sup>1</sup> everlasting memorials both of evil to foes and of good to friends. Such, then, is the city for which these men nobly fought and died, deeming it their duty not to let her

attended with ill consequences for these (*e.g.* Oreos, and later Aegina) or good (*e.g.* on the Thracian coast).

μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν,  
καὶ τῶν λειπομένων πάντα τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν  
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν.

XLII. “ Δι’ ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πό-  
λεως, διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν  
εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μὴδὲν ὑπάρχει  
ὁμοίως, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ’ οἷς νῦν λέγω  
2 φανεράν σημείους καθιστάς. καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς  
τὰ μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε  
καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν  
πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε  
ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν  
ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία  
3 βεβαιούσα ἢ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή. καὶ γὰρ  
τοῖς τᾶλλα χεῖροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους  
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι.  
ἀγαθῷ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες κοινῶς μᾶλλον  
4 ὠφέλησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔβλαψαν. τῶνδε δὲ  
οὔτε πλούτου τις τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας  
ἐμαλακίσθη οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὥς καὶ ἔτι δια-  
φυγὼν αὐτὴν <sup>1</sup> πλουτήσκειν, ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ  
ἐποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθει-  
νοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε  
κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθησαν μετ’ αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτήν: Hude brackets.

be taken from them ; and it is fitting that every man who is left behind should suffer willingly for her sake.

XLII. "It is for this reason that I have dwelt upon the greatness of our city ; for I have desired to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those who do not enjoy such privileges in like degree, and at the same time to let the praise of these men in whose honour I am now speaking be made manifest by proofs. Indeed, the greatest part of their praise has already been spoken ; for when I lauded the city, that was but the praise wherewith ~~the brave deeds~~ of these men and men like them have already adorned her ; and there are not many Hellenes whose fame would be found, like theirs, evenly balanced with their deeds. And it seems to me that such a death as these men died gives proof enough of manly courage, whether as first revealing it or as affording its final confirmation. Aye, even in the case of those who in other ways fell short of goodness, it is but right that the valour with which they fought for their country should be set before all else ; for they have blotted out evil with good and have bestowed a greater benefit by their service to the state than they have done harm by their private lives. And no one of these men either so set his heart upon the continued enjoyment of wealth as to become a coward, or put off the dreadful day, yielding to the hope which poverty inspires, that if he could but escape it he might yet become rich ; but, deeming the punishment of the foe to be more desirable than these things, and at the same time regarding such a hazard as the most glorious of all, they chose, accepting the hazard, to be avenged



τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσκειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὀρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ<sup>1</sup> ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ<sup>2</sup> παθεῖν κάλλιον<sup>3</sup> ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ<sup>4</sup> ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχροὺν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

XLIII. “ Καὶ οἶδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῖδε ἐγένοντο· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν, ἣν ἂν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς<sup>5</sup> εἰδότας μηχανοί, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξη εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυρόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πείρα του σφαλεῖεν, οὐκ οὖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον

<sup>1</sup> So most MSS. Hude reads τῷ with CG.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ : Hude brackets.

<sup>3</sup> Dobree's correction for μᾶλλον of the MSS. Hude inserts δεῖν and retains μᾶλλον.

<sup>4</sup> Deleted by Hude.

<sup>5</sup> ὑμᾶς : Hude brackets.

upon the enemy and to relinquish these other things, trusting to hope the still obscure possibilities of success, but in action, as to the issue that was before their eyes, confidently relying upon themselves. And then when the moment of combat came, thinking it better to defend themselves and suffer death rather than to yield and save their lives, they fled, indeed, from the shameful word of dishonour, but with life and limb stood stoutly to their task, and in the brief instant ordained by fate, at the crowning moment not of fear but of glory, they passed away.

XLIII. "And so these men then bore themselves after a manner that befits our city; but you who survive, though you may pray that it be with less hazard, should resolve that you will have a spirit to meet the foe which is no whit less courageous; and you must estimate the advantage of such a spirit not alone by a speaker's words, for he could make a long story in telling you—what you yourselves know as well as he—all the advantages that are to be gained by warding off the foe. Nay rather you must daily fix your gaze upon the power of Athens and become lovers of her, and when the vision of her greatness has inspired you, reflect that all this has been acquired by men of courage who knew their duty and in the hour of conflict were moved by a high sense of honour, who, if ever they failed in any enterprise, were resolved that at least their country should not find herself deserted by their valour, but freely sacrificed to her the fairest offering<sup>1</sup> it was in

<sup>1</sup> *ἐπαινος*, a joint contribution, the regular term for a contribution made for mutual benefit, e.g. to a common meal, to a benevolent society, etc. Demosthenes (*cont. Mid.* 27) represents the state as a sort of benefit society to which every citizen owes a contribution.

- 2 αὐτῇ προϊέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες  
 ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν  
 τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ  
 καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ αἰείμνηστος κατα-  
 3 λείπεται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος,  
 καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπι-  
 γραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος  
 μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστω τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ  
 4 ἔργου ἐνδαιτᾶται. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες  
 καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ  
 εὐψυχον κρίναντες, μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμι-  
 5 κοὺς κινδύνους. οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες δικαιο-  
 τερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἂν τοῦ βίου, οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστιν  
 ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν  
 ἔτι κινδυνεύεται καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ  
 6 διαφέροντα, ἣν τι πταίσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ  
 ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ μετὰ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> μαλα-  
 κισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς  
 ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος.

XLIV. "Δί' ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας,  
 ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρα-  
 μυθήσομαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπί-  
 στανται τραφέντες· τὸ δ' εὐτυχές,<sup>2</sup> οἷ ἂν τῆς  
 εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν,  
 τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι  
 τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ, in some MSS. before, in others after, μετὰ τοῦ, deleted by Bredow.

<sup>2</sup> Hude reads τόδε εὐτυχές, following Abresch.

their power to give. For they gave their lives for the common weal, and in so doing won for themselves the praise which grows not old and the most distinguished of all sepulchres—not that in which they lie buried, but that in which their glory survives in everlasting remembrance, celebrated on every occasion which gives rise to word of eulogy or deed of emulation. For the whole world is the sepulchre of famous men, and it is not the epitaph upon monuments set up in their own land that alone commemorates them, but also in lands not their own there abides in each breast an unwritten memorial of them, planted in the heart rather than graven on stone. Do you, therefore, now make these men your examples, and judging freedom to be happiness and courage to be freedom, be not too anxious about the dangers of war. For it is not those that are in evil plight who have the best excuse for being unsparing of their lives, for they have no hope of better days, but rather those who run the risk, if they continue to live, of the opposite reversal of fortune, and those to whom it makes the greatest difference if they suffer a disaster. For to a manly spirit more bitter is humiliation associated with cowardice than death when it comes unperceived in close company with stalwart deeds and public hopes.

XLIV. “Wherefore, I do not commiserate the parents of these men, as many of you as are present here, but will rather try to comfort them. For they know that their lives have been passed amid manifold vicissitudes; and it is to be accounted good fortune when men win, even as these now, a most glorious death—and you a like grief—and when life has been meted out to them to be happy in no less than to

- 2 χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις  
 ἔχετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτε  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη οὐχ ὧν ἂν τις μὴ  
 πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν στερίσκηται, ἀλλ' οὗ ἂν  
 3 ἐθὰς γενόμενος ἀφαιρεθῇ. καρτερεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ  
 ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία τέκνωσιν  
 ποιεῖσθαι· ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ  
 ἐπιγιγνόμενοί τισιν ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν,  
 ἕκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ, ξυνοίσει·  
 οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλευέσθαι οἷ  
 ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι  
 4 κινδυνεύωσιν. ὅσοι δ' αὖ παρηβήκατε, τὸν τε  
 πλέονα κέρδος ὃν ἡτύχεῖτε βίον ἠγεῖσθε καὶ  
 τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ  
 κουφίξεσθε. τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγῆρων μόνον,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν,  
 ὥσπερ τινὲς φασι, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 τιμᾶσθαι.

XLV. "Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε ἢ  
 ἀδελφοῖς ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα (τὸν γὰρ οὐκ  
 ὄντα ἅπας εἶωθεν ἐπαινεῖν), καὶ μόλις ἂν καθ'  
 ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐχ ὁμοῖοι, ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χείρους

<sup>1</sup> No one could be a member of the Boule or Senate till he was thirty, when he was almost certain to be married; and, according to Deinarchus (§ 71), no man was allowed to speak in the Assembly until he had legitimate male issue (Zimmern).

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Simonides. cf. Plut. *Moral.* 786 b: Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπε-

die in. It will be difficult, I know, to persuade you of the truth of this, when you will constantly be reminded of your loss by seeing others in the enjoyment of blessings in which you too once took delight; and grief, I know, is felt, not for the want of the good things which a man has never known, but for what is taken away from him after he has once become accustomed to it. But those of you who are still of an age to have offspring should bear up in the hope of other children; for not only to many of you individually will the children that are born hereafter be a cause of forgetfulness of those who are gone, but the state also will reap a double advantage—it will not be left desolate and it will be secure. For they cannot possibly offer fair and impartial counsel who, having no children to hazard,<sup>1</sup> do not have an equal part in the risk. But as for you who have passed your prime, count as gain the greater portion of your life during which you were fortunate and remember that the remainder will be short; and be comforted by the fair fame of these your sons. For the love of honour alone is untouched by age, and when one comes to the ineffectual period of life it is not ‘gain’ as some say,<sup>2</sup> that gives the greater satisfaction, but honour.

XLV. “But for such of you here present as are sons and brothers of these men, I see the greatness of the conflict that awaits you—for the dead are always praised—and even were you to attain to surpassing virtue, hardly would you be judged, I will not say

στερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἡδονῶν ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἔτι γηροβοσκεῖται, τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν, *Simonides replied to those who charged him with love of money, that, deprived by old age of other pleasures, he is still comforted by one, that of gain.*

κριθεῖτε. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοία τετίμηται.

- 2 “Εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι, βραχείᾳ παραινέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἢ δόξα καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾒ.

- XLVI. “Εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρόσφορα, καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἤδη κεκόσμηται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίᾳ ἢ πόλιν μέχρι ἡβῆς θρέψει, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδέ τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγῶνων προτιθεῖσα· ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ  
2 ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσιν. νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει ἐκάστῳ ἅπιτε.”

- XLVII. Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ τάφος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ· καὶ διελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον  
2 ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ἐτελεύτα. τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθύς ἀρχομένου Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν (ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς), καὶ καθε-  
3 ζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν οὐ

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, the reading of ABFM[G]; τὸν ἀντίπαλον CE. Hude reads τῶν ἀντιπάλων, after Croiset.

their equals, but even a little inferior. For there is envy of the living on account of rivalry, but that which has been removed from our path is honoured with a good-will that knows no antagonism.

“If I am to speak also of womanly virtues, referring to those of you who will henceforth be in widowhood, I will sum up all in a brief admonition: Great is your glory if you fall not below the standard which nature has set for your sex, and great also is hers of whom there is least talk among men whether in praise or in blame.

XLVI. “I have now spoken, in obedience to the law, such words as I had that were fitting, and those whom we are burying have already in part also received their tribute in our deeds;<sup>1</sup> besides, the state will henceforth maintain their children at the public expense until they grow to manhood, thus offering both to the dead and to their survivors a crown of substantial worth as their prize in such contests. For where the prizes offered for virtue are greatest, there are found the best citizens. And now, when you have made due lament, each for his own dead, depart.”

XLVII. Such were the funeral ceremonies that took place during this winter, the close of which brought the first year of this war to an end. At the very beginning of summer the Peloponnesians and their allies, with two-thirds of their forces as before,<sup>2</sup> invaded Attica, under the command of Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians, and establishing themselves proceeded to ravage the country. And before they had been many days in

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the honours shown them throughout the rest of the ceremony, described in ch. xxxiv, as contrasted with the words of the eulogist.

<sup>2</sup> cf. ch. x. 2.



πολλάς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἡ νόσος πρῶτον  
 ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν  
 καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκήψαι καὶ περὶ  
 Λῆμνον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός  
 γε λοιμὸς οὐδὲ φθορὰ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμοῦ  
 4 ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν  
 τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοία, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μά-  
 λιστα ἔθνησκον ὅσω καὶ μάλιστα προσῆσαν,  
 οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεῖα τέχνη οὐδεμία· ὅσα τε  
 πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείοις καὶ τοῖς τοιού-  
 τοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῇ ἦν, τελευτῶντές  
 τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι.

XLVIII. Ἦρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέ-  
 γεται, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα  
 δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην κατέβη καὶ ἐς  
 2 τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων πόλιν ἐξαπιναίως ἐνέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶ-  
 τον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἤψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε  
 καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι  
 φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι  
 γὰρ οὐπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐς  
 τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλῶ  
 3 μᾶλλον ἤδη. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς  
 ἕκαστος γινώσκει καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης ἀφ'  
 ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν<sup>1</sup> γενέσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας  
 ἄστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς  
 εἶναι.<sup>2</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω καὶ ἀφ'  
 ὧν ἂν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ἐπιπέσοι,

<sup>1</sup> ἦν: Hude deletes.

<sup>2</sup> δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν, in the MSS. after εἶναι, deleted by Gesner; Hude deletes ἱκανὰς εἶναι and ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι, with F. Mueller.

Attica the plague<sup>1</sup> began for the first time to show itself among the Athenians. It is said, indeed, to have broken out before in many places, both in Lemnos and elsewhere, though no pestilence of such extent nor any scourge so destructive of human lives is on record anywhere. For neither were physicians able to cope with the disease, since they at first had to treat it without knowing its nature, the mortality among them being greatest because they were most exposed to it, nor did any other human art avail. And the supplications made at sanctuaries, or appeals to oracles and the like, were all futile, and at last men desisted from them, overcome by the calamity.

XLVIII. The disease began, it is said, in Ethiopia beyond Egypt, and then descended into Egypt and Libya and spread over the greater part of the King's territory. Then it suddenly fell upon the city of Athens, and attacked first the inhabitants of the Peiraeus, so that the people there even said that the Peloponnesians had put poison in their cisterns; for there were as yet no public fountains there. But afterwards it reached the upper city also, and from that time the mortality became much greater. Now any one, whether physician or layman, may, each according to his personal opinion, speak about its probable origin and state the causes which, in his view, were sufficient to have produced so great a departure from normal conditions; but I shall describe its actual course, explaining the symptoms, from the study of which a person should be best able,

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps impossible to identify the plague of Athens with any known disease. Grote describes it as an eruptive typhoid fever. It has perhaps more symptoms in common with typhus than with any other disease.

μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω αὐτὸς τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.

- XLIX. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὠμολογεῖτο ἐκ πάντων, μάλιστα δὴ ἐκείνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προύκαμνέ
- 2 τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ὑγιεῖς ὄντας πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς θέρμαι ἰσχυραὶ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθήματα καὶ φλόγῳσις ἐλάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς, ἥ τε φάρυξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθύς αἱματώδη ἦν καὶ πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες
- 3 ἠφίει· ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρμὸς καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατέβαιναν ἐς τὰ στήθη ὁ πόνος μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ· καὶ ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίζειν, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν
- 4 ὠνομασμένοι εἰσὶν ἐπῆσαν, καὶ αὐταὶ μετὰ ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης, λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπιπτε κενὴ σπασμὸν ἐνδιδούσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον.
- 5 καὶ τῷ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀπτομένῳ τὸ <sup>1</sup> σῶμα οὐτ' ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν οὔτε χλωρόν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, πελιτνόν, φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἐξηνηθὴν· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκαίετο ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάννυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μὴδ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι, ἥδιστα τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ρίπτειν (καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα) τῇ δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ ξυνεχόμενοι· καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει τό τε πλεόν καὶ ἔλασσον πο-

<sup>1</sup> Added by Hude.

having knowledge of it beforehand, to recognize it if it should ever break out again. For I had the disease myself and saw others sick of it.

XLIX. That year, as was agreed by all, happened to be unusually free from disease so far as regards the other maladies; but if anyone was already ill of any disease all terminated in this. In other cases from no obvious cause, but suddenly and while in good health, men were seized first with intense heat of the head, and redness and inflammation of the eyes, and the parts inside the mouth, both the throat and the tongue, immediately became blood-red and exhaled an unnatural and fetid breath. In the next stage sneezing and hoarseness came on, and in a short time the disorder descended to the chest, attended by severe coughing. And when it settled in the stomach, that was upset, and vomits of bile of every kind named by physicians ensued, these also attended by great distress; and in most cases ineffectual retching followed producing violent convulsions, which sometimes abated directly, sometimes not until long afterwards. Externally, the body was not so very warm to the touch; it was not pale, but reddish, livid, and breaking out in small blisters and ulcers. But internally it was consumed by such a heat that the patients could not bear to have on them the lightest coverings or linen sheets, but wanted to be quite uncovered and would have liked best to throw themselves into cold water—indeed many of those who were not looked after did throw themselves into cisterns—so tormented were they by thirst which could not be quenched; and it was all the same whether they drank much or little.

- 6 τόν. καὶ ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέκειτο διὰ παντός. καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσον περ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι, οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ, ὥστε ἡ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος) ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως, ἢ εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ ἐλκώσεώς τε αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης καὶ διαρροίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν διεφθείροντο.
- 7 διεξήκει γὰρ διὰ παντός τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον ἰδρυθὲν κακόν, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τῶν γε ἀκρω-
- 8 τηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαιεν· κατέσκηπτε γὰρ καὶ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ πολλοὶ στειρισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. τοὺς δὲ καὶ λήθη ἔλαβε τὸ παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ ἡγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους.

L. Γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἐκάστω καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὄν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἄπτεται πολλῶν ἀτάφων γενομένων ἢ οὐ προσήκει ἢ

2 γευσάμενα διεφθείρετο. τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν

They were also beset by restlessness and sleeplessness which never abated. And the body was not wasted while the disease was at its height, but resisted surprisingly the ravages of the disease, so that when the patients died, as most of them did on the seventh or ninth day from the internal heat, they still had some strength left; or, if they passed the crisis, the disease went down into the bowels, producing there a violent ulceration, and at the same time an acute diarrhoea set in, so that in this later stage most of them perished through weakness caused by it. For the malady, starting from the head where it was first seated, passed down until it spread through the whole body, and if one got over the worst, it seized upon the extremities at least and left its marks there; for it attacked the privates and fingers and toes, and many escaped with the loss of these, though some lost their eyes also.<sup>1</sup> In some cases the sufferer was attacked immediately after recovery by loss of memory, which extended to every object alike, so that they failed to recognize either themselves or their friends.

L. Indeed the character of the disease proved such that it baffles description, the violence of the attack being in each case too great for human nature to endure, while in one way in particular it showed plainly that it was different from any of the familiar diseases: the birds, namely, and the fourfooted animals, which usually feed upon human bodies, either would not now come near them, though many lay unburied, or died if they tasted of them. The evidence for this is that birds of this kind became

<sup>1</sup> Evidently as the result of gangrene, due to stoppage of circulation. This after-effect of typhus was of common occurrence in the outbreak in the Balkans in 1915.

τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλειψις σαφὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον αἴσθησιν παρείχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.

II. Τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας, ὥς ἐκάστω ἐτύγχανέ τι διαφερόντως ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον γιγνόμενον, τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ἰδέαν. καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ  
 2 γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμελείᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι. ἔν τε οὐδὲν κατέστη ἴαμα ὥς εἰπεῖν ὅ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν (τὸ γάρ τῳ ξυνενεγκὸν ἄλλον  
 3 τοῦτο ἔβλαπτε), σῶμά τε αὐτάρκες ὃν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυνήρει καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα,  
 4 δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ τε ἀθυμία, ὁπότε τις αἴσθοιτο κάμνων (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθὺς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῶ μᾶλλον προίεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον), καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἐτέρου θεραπείᾳ ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησκον· καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον  
 5 φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ ἔθελον δεδιότες ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἐρήμοι, καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορία τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο, καὶ μά-

noticeably scarce, and they were no longer to be seen either about the bodies or anywhere else; while the dogs gave a still better opportunity to observe what happened, because they live with man.

LI. Such, then, was the general nature of the disease; for I pass over many of the unusual symptoms, since it chanced to affect one man differently as compared with another. And while the plague lasted there were none of the usual complaints, though if any did occur it ended in this. Sometimes death was due to neglect, but sometimes it occurred in spite of careful nursing. And no one remedy was found, I may say, which was sure to bring relief to those applying it—for what helped one man hurt another—and no constitution, as it proved, was of itself sufficient against it, whether as regards physical strength or weakness,<sup>1</sup> but it carried off all without distinction, even those tended with all medical care. And the most dreadful thing about the whole malady was not only the despondency of the victims, when they once became aware that they were sick, for their minds straightway yielded to despair and they gave themselves up for lost instead of resisting, but also the fact that they became infected by nursing one another and died like sheep. And this caused the heaviest mortality; for if, on the one hand, they were restrained by fear from visiting one another, the sick perished uncared for, so that many houses were left empty through lack of anyone to do the nursing; or if, on the other hand, they visited the sick, they perished,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "no constitution was of itself strong enough to resist or weak enough to escape the attacks" (Jowett).



λιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ  
 ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους,  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τε-  
 λευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ  
 6 κακοῦ νικώμενοι. ἐπὶ πλέον δ' ὅμως οἱ διαπε-  
 φευγότες τὸν τε θνήσκοντα καὶ τὸν πονούμενον  
 ὠκτίζοντο διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν  
 τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι· δις γὰρ τὸν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ  
 κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐπελάμβανεν. καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ παραχρήμα περι-  
 χαρεῖ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον  
 κούφης μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι  
 διαφθαρῆναι.)

LII. Ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρ-  
 χοντι πόνῳ καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ  
 2 ἄστυ, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. οἰκιῶν  
 γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς  
 ὥρα ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ  
 κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνή-  
 σκοντες ἔκειντο καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ  
 περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἀπάσας ἡμιθνήτες τοῦ ὕδατος  
 3 ἐπιθυμία. τά τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν  
 πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνησκόντων· ὑπερβιαζο-  
 μένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ  
 τι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν  
 4 καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως. νόμοι τε πάντες ξυνεταρά-  
 χθησαν οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς,

especially those who made any pretensions to goodness. For these made it a point of honour to visit their friends without sparing themselves at a time when the very relatives of the dying, overwhelmed by the magnitude of the calamity, were growing weary even of making their lamentations. But still it was more often those who had recovered who had pity for the dying and the sick, because they had learnt what it meant and were themselves by this time confident of immunity; for the disease never attacked the same man a second time, at least not with fatal results. And they were not only congratulated by everybody else, but themselves, in the excess of their joy at the moment, cherished also a fond fancy with regard to the rest of their lives that they would never be carried off by any other disease.

LII. But in addition to the trouble under which they already laboured, the Athenians suffered further hardship owing to the crowding into the city of the people from the country districts; and this affected the new arrivals especially. For since no houses were available for them and they had to live in huts that were stifling in the hot season, they perished in wild disorder. Bodies of dying men lay one upon another, and half-dead people rolled about in the streets and, in their longing for water, near all the fountains. The temples, too, in which they had quartered themselves were full of the corpses of those who had died in them; for the calamity which weighed upon them was so overpowering that men, not knowing what was to become of them, became careless of all law, sacred as well as profane. And the customs which they had hitherto observed regarding burial were all thrown into confusion, and

ἔθαπτον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο. καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ καιόμενου ἄλλου ἐπιβαλόντες ἄνωθεν ὄν φέροιεν ἀπῆσαν.

LIII. Πρῶτόν τε ἤρξε καὶ ἐς τὰλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα. ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἂ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὀρώντες τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθύς δὲ τὰκείνων  
 2 ἐχόντων. ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἡξίουں ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τὰ τε σώ-  
 3 ματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν προταλαιπωρεῖν<sup>1</sup> τῷ δόξαντι καλῶ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται, ὅ τι δὲ ἤδη τε ἡδὺ πανταχόθεν τε ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον  
 4 κατέστη. θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὀρᾶν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> With CE, the other MSS. προσταλαιπωρεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. they concealed the fact that they were acting after their own pleasure (the μὴ being induced by the negative idea in ἀπεκρύπτετο).

they buried their dead each one as he could. And many resorted to shameless modes of burial because so many members of their households had already died that they lacked the proper funeral materials. Resorting to other people's pyres, some, anticipating those who had raised them, would put on their own dead and kindle the fire; others would throw the body they were carrying upon one which was already burning and go away.

LIII. In other respects also the plague first introduced into the city a greater lawlessness. For where men hitherto practised concealment, that they were not acting purely after their pleasure,<sup>1</sup> they now showed a more careless daring. They saw how sudden was the change of fortune in the case both of those who were prosperous and suddenly died, and of those who before had nothing but in a moment were in possession of the property of the others. And so they resolved to get out of life the pleasures which could be had speedily and would satisfy their lusts, regarding their bodies and their wealth alike as transitory. And no one was eager to practise self-denial in prospect of what was esteemed honour,<sup>2</sup> because everyone thought that it was doubtful whether he would live to attain it, but the pleasure of the moment and whatever was in any way conducive to it came to be regarded as at once honourable and expedient. No fear of gods or law of men restrained; for, on the one hand, seeing that all men were perishing alike, they judged that piety and impiety came to the same thing, and, on the other, no one expected that he

<sup>2</sup> Or, reading *προσταλαιπωρεῖν*, "to take trouble about what was esteemed honour."

δίκην γενέσθαι βιούς ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.

LIV. Τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπε-  
 σόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τ' ἔνδον θνησκόντων  
 2 καὶ γῆς ἔξω δηουμένης. ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ οἷα εἰκὸς  
 ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, φάσκοντες οἱ  
 πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ἄδεσθαι “Ἡξει Δωριακὸς πό-  
 3 λεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.” ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει  
 ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν, ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 παρόντος εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρω-  
 ποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν  
 δέ γε οἶμαί ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δω-  
 ρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμόν,  
 4 κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως ἄσονται. μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο  
 καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν,  
 ὅτε ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν  
 ἀνεῖλε κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ  
 5 αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρη-  
 στηρίου τὰ γιγνόμενα ἤκαζον ὁμοῖα εἶναι· ἐσβε-  
 βληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο  
 εὐθύς. καὶ ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὃ  
 τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν

<sup>1</sup> cf. I. cxviii. 3.

would live to be called to account and pay the penalty of his misdeeds. On the contrary, they believed that the penalty already decreed against them, and now hanging over their heads, was a far heavier one, and that before this fell it was only reasonable to get some enjoyment out of life.

LIV. Such then was the calamity that had befallen them by which the Athenians were sore pressed, their people dying within the walls and their land being ravaged without. And in their distress they recalled, as was natural, the following verse which their older men said had long ago been uttered :

“A Dorian war shall come and pestilence with it.”

A dispute arose, however, among the people, some contending that the word used in the verse by the ancients was not *λοιμός*, “pestilence,” but *λιμός*, “famine,” and the view prevailed at the time that “pestilence” was the original word ; and quite naturally, for men’s recollections conformed to their sufferings. But if ever another Dorian war should visit them after the present war and a famine happen to come with it, they would probably, I fancy, recite the verse in that way. Those, too, who were familiar with it, recalled that other oracle given to the Lacedaemonians, when, in answer to their inquiry whether they should go to war, the god responded that if they “warred with all their might victory would be theirs,” adding that he himself would assist them.<sup>1</sup> Now so far as the oracle is concerned, they surmised that what was then happening was its fulfilment, for the plague broke out immediately after the Peloponnesians had invaded Attica ; and though it did not enter the Peloponnesus to any extent, it devastated Athens most of all, and next

μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα.

LV. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ ἔτεμον τὸ πεδῖον, παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρείου, οὗ τὰ ἀργύρεια μέταλλά ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔτεμον ταύτην ἢ πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὁρᾷ, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν πρὸς  
2 Εὐβοιάν τε καὶ Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην. Περικλῆς δὲ στρατηγὸς ὢν καὶ τότε περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξί-  
έναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐσβολῇ.

LVI. Ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπὶ πλουν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
2 ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἀνήγετο. ἦγε δ' ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίτας Ἀθηναίων τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακο-  
σίους ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγοῖς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσαις· ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ  
3 καὶ Χῖοι καὶ Λέσβιοι πεντήκοντα ναυσὶν. ὅτε δὲ ἀνήγετο ἡ στρατιὰ αὕτη Ἀθηναίων, Πελοπον-  
νησίους κατέλιπον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντας ἐν τῇ  
4 παραλίᾳ. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τῆς Πελο-  
ποννήσου ἔτεμον τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλόντες ἐς ἐλπίδα μὲν ἦλθον  
5 τοῦ ἐλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι προυχώρησέ γε. ἀναγαγόμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου ἔτεμον τὴν τε Τροζη-  
νίδα γῆν καὶ Ἀλιάδα καὶ Ἑρμιονίδα· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Πελοποννήσου.  
6 ἄραντες δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, τῆς

to Athens the places which had the densest population. So much for the history of the plague.

LIV. The Peloponnesians, after ravaging the plain, advanced into the district called Paralus<sup>1</sup> as far as Laurium, where are the silver mines of the Athenians. And first they ravaged that part of this district which looked towards the Peloponnesus, and afterwards the part facing Euboea and Andros. But Pericles, who was general, still held to the same policy as during the earlier invasion, insisting that the Athenians should not take the field against them.

LVI. But before they had left the plain and entered the Paralus, Pericles had begun to equip a fleet of a hundred ships to sail against the Peloponnesus, and when all was ready he put to sea. He took with him on the ships four thousand Athenian hoplites and three hundred cavalry in horse-transports, then employed for the first time, which had been made out of the old galleys. The Chians and Lesbians also took part in the expedition with fifty ships. And when this armament of the Athenians put to sea, the Peloponnesians whom they left in Attica were already in the Paralian district. On reaching Epidaurus in the Peloponnesus the Athenians ravaged most of that land; they also attacked the city, but, though they at first had hopes of taking it, they did not succeed. Then, leaving Epidaurus, they went to sea again, and ravaged the territory of Troezen, Halieis, and Hermione, which are all on the Peloponnesian coast. Sailing next from this region they

<sup>1</sup> The plain referred to was that about Athens, while the Paralian district was the sea-coast, or south-eastern part, terminating in the promontory of Sunium.



Λακωνικῆς πόλισμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πόλισμα εἶλον καὶ ἐπόρθησαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν. τοὺς δὲ Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀνακεχωρηκότας.

LVII. Ὅσον δὲ χρόνον οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, ἡ νόσος ἔν τε τῇ στρατιᾷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐφθειρε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους δείσαντας τὸ νόσημα, ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν αὐτομόλων ὅτι ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶη καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἡσθάνοντο, 2 θᾶσσον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθεῖν. τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ ταύτῃ πλείστον τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον· ἡμέρας γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγένοντο.

LVIII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἀγνων ὁ Νικίου καὶ Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου, ξυστράτηγοι ὄντες Περικλέους, λαβόντες τὴν στρατιὰν ἥπερ ἐκείνος ἐχρήσατο ἐστράτευσαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Ποτειδαίαν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην, ἀφικόμενοι δὲ μηχανάς τε τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ προσέ- 2 φερουν καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπειρῶντο ἐλεῖν. προ- χῶρει δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἡ αἵρεσις τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τᾶλλα τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀξίως· ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ ἐπίεσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, φθείρουσα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας νοσῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς ξυν' Ἀγνωνι στρατιᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> On the expedition against the Peloponnesian coasts, cf. ch. lvi.      <sup>2</sup> cf. I. lxiv.

came to Prasiae, a town on the coast of Laconia, where they not only ravaged parts of the country, but also captured the town itself and pillaged it. After they had completed these operations they went back home, where they found that the Peloponnesians were no longer in Attica but had retired.

LVII. During this entire period, while the Peloponnesians were in Attica and the fleet of the Athenians was on the expedition, the plague was making havoc among the Athenians, both in their fleet and in the city. The statement was therefore made that the Peloponnesians left Attica in haste because they were afraid of the disease, since they not only heard from deserters that it was in the city, but also could see them burning their dead. In this invasion, however, they remained in Attica longer than at any other time, and also ravaged the entire country; indeed they were in Attica almost forty days.

LVIII. In the same summer Hagnon son of Nicias and Cleopompus son of Clinias, colleagues of Pericles, taking the armament which he had employed,<sup>1</sup> at once set out on an expedition against the Chalcidians in Thrace and against Potidaea, which was still under siege,<sup>2</sup> and on their arrival they brought siege-engines to bear upon Potidaea, and tried in every way to take it. But no success commensurate with the appointments of the expedition attended their efforts, either in their attempt to capture the city or otherwise; for the plague broke out and sorely distressed the Athenians there, playing such havoc in the army that even the Athenian soldiers of the first expedition,<sup>3</sup> who had hitherto been in good health, caught the infection

<sup>3</sup> The 3,000 soldiers of the first expedition; cf. ch. xxxi. 2 and I. lxi. 4.

χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας. Φορμίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι  
 3 καὶ χίλιοι οὐκέτι ἦσαν περὶ Χαλκιδέας. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν Ἄγνων ἀνεχώρησε ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὰς Ἀθή-  
 νας, ἀπὸ τετρακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν χιλίους καὶ  
 πεντήκοντα τῇ νόσῳ ἀπολέσας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα  
 μάλιστα ἡμέραις· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι στρατιῶται  
 κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν Ποτεί-  
 δαιαν.

LIX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐσβολὴν τῶν  
 Πελοποννησίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥς ἢ τε γῆ αὐτῶν  
 ἐτέτμητο τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο ἅμα  
 2 καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἡλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τὸν  
 μὲν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον ὥς πείσαντα σφᾶς  
 πολεμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκείνον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς περι-  
 πεπτωκότες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρ-  
 μηντο ξυγχωρεῖν· καὶ πρέσβεις τινὰς πέμψαντες  
 ὥς αὐτοὺς ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο. πανταχόθεν τε  
 τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι καθεστηκότες ἐνέκειντο τῷ  
 3 Περικλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα  
 χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ πάντα ποιούντας ἅπερ αὐτὸς  
 ἠλπίζε, ξύλλογον ποιήσας (ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει)  
 ἐβούλετο θαρσύναι τε καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζό-  
 μενον τῆς γνώμης πρὸς τὸ ἡπιώτερον καὶ ἀδε-  
 έστερον καταστήσαι· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

LX. “Καὶ προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς  
 ὑμῶν ἔς με γεγένηται (αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας)  
 καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τούτου ἕνεκα ξυνήγαγον, ὅπως  
 ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐμοὶ

from Hagnon's troops. Phormio, however, and his sixteen hundred men, were no longer in Chalcidice.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Hagnon took his fleet back to Athens, having lost by the plague in about forty days one thousand and fifty out of a total of four thousand hoplites; but the soldiers of the former expedition remained where they were and continued the siege of Potidaea.

LIX. After the second invasion of the Peloponnesians the Athenians underwent a change of feeling, now that their land had been ravaged a second time while the plague and the war combined lay heavily upon them. They blamed Pericles for having persuaded them to go to war and held him responsible for the misfortunes which had befallen them, and were eager to come to an agreement with the Lacedaemonians. They even sent envoys to them, but accomplished nothing. And now, being altogether at their wits' end, they assailed Pericles. And when he saw that they were exasperated by the present situation and were acting exactly as he had himself expected, he called a meeting of the assembly—for he was still general—wishing to reassure them, and by ridding their minds of resentment to bring them to a milder and less timorous mood. So he came forward and spoke as follows:

LX. "I have been expecting these manifestations of your wrath against me, knowing as I do the causes of your anger, and my purpose in calling an assembly was that I might address to you certain reminders, and remonstrate if in any case you are either angry

<sup>1</sup> cf. i. lxiv. 2. Phormio's departure must have occurred before the events described in ch. xxxi. 2, but is nowhere mentioned.

- 2 χαλεπαίνετε ἢ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς εἴκετε. ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθομένην ὠφε-  
 λεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν
- 3 εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. καλῶς  
 μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρο-  
 μένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἦσσον ξυναπόλλυται,  
 κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῶ μᾶλλον
- 4 διασφύζεται. ὁπότε οὖν πόλις μὲν τὰς ἰδίας  
 ξυμφορὰς οἷα τε φέρειν, εἷς δὲ ἕκαστος τὰς ἐκείνης  
 ἀδύνατος, πῶς οὐ χρή πάντας ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ, καὶ  
 μὴ ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε, ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακο-  
 πραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας  
 ἀφίεσθε, καὶ ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα πολεμεῖν  
 καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἳ ξυνέγνωτε δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε.
- 5 καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε ὃς οὐδενὸς  
 ἦσσων οἶομαι εἶναι γινῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ  
 ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολὶς τε καὶ χρημάτων
- 6 κρείσσω. ὃ τε γὰρ γνοὺς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας  
 ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη· ὃ τε ἔχων ἀμφότερα,  
 τῇ δὲ πόλει δύσνους, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως  
 φράζοι· προσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ  
 νικωμένον, τὰ ξύμπαντα τούτου ἐνὸς ἂν πωλοῖτο.
- 7 ὥστ' εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων  
 προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπείσθητε, οὐκ ἂν  
 εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην.

with me or are giving way to your misfortunes without reason. For in my judgment a state confers a greater benefit upon its private citizens when as a whole commonwealth it is successful, than when it prospers as regards the individual but fails as a community. For even though a man flourishes in his own private affairs, yet if his country goes to ruin he perishes with her all the same ; but if he is in evil fortune and his country in good fortune, he is far more likely to come through safely. Since, then, the state may bear the misfortunes of her private citizens but the individual cannot bear hers, surely all men ought to defend her, and not to do as you are now doing—proposing to sacrifice the safety of the commonwealth because you are dismayed by the hardships you suffer at home, and are blaming both me who advised you to make war and yourselves who voted with me for it. And yet I, with whom you are angry, am as competent as any man, I think, both to determine upon the right measures and to expound them, and as good a patriot and superior to the influence of money. For he who determines upon a policy, and fails to lay it clearly before others, is in the same case as if he never had a conception of it ; and he who has both gifts, but is disloyal to his country, cannot speak with the same unselfish devotion ; and if he have loyalty also, but a loyalty that cannot resist money, then for that alone everything will be on sale. If, therefore, when you allowed me to persuade you to go to war, you believed that I possessed these qualities even in a moderate degree more than other men, it is unreasonable that I should now bear the blame, at any rate, of wrongdoing.

## THUCYDIDES

- LXI. "Καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται  
 τᾶλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλὴ ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ'  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἷξαντας εὐθὺς τοῖς πέλας ὑπα-  
 κοῦσαι ἢ κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγῶν  
 2 τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος. καὶ  
 ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ  
 μεταβάλλετε, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη ὑμῖν πεισθῆναι μὲν  
 ἀκεραίοις, μεταμέλειν δὲ κακουμένοις, καὶ τὸν  
 ἐμὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης μὴ  
 ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη  
 τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκάστω, τῆς δὲ ὠφελίας ἄπεστιν  
 ἔτι ἢ δῆλωσις ἅπασι, καὶ μεταβολῆς μεγάλης,  
 καὶ ταύτης ἐξ ὀλίγου, ἐμπεσούσης ταπεινὴ ὑμῶν  
 3 ἢ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἂ ἔγνωτε. δουλοὶ γὰρ  
 φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ  
 πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖον· ὃ ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γεγένηται.  
 4 ὅμως δὲ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἐν ἡθεσιν  
 ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ τεθραμμένους χρεῶν καὶ ξυμ-  
 φοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐθέλειν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ  
 τὴν ἀξίωσιν μὴ ἀφανίζειν (ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι  
 δικαιοῦσι τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης αἰτιᾶσθαι  
 ὅστις μαλακία ἐλλείπει καὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης  
 μισεῖν τὸν θρασύτητι ὀρεγόμενον), ἀπαλγῆσαντας

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<sup>1</sup> Described by Pericles in the Funeral Oration, chs. xxxvii-xlii.

LXI. "For though I admit that going to war is always sheer folly for men who are free to choose, and in general are enjoying good fortune, yet if the necessary choice was either to yield and forthwith submit to their neighbours' dictation, or by accepting the hazard of war to preserve their independence, then those who shrink from the hazard are more blameworthy than those who face it. For my part, I stand where I stood before, and do not recede from my position; but it is you who have changed. For it has happened, now that you are suffering, that you repent of the consent you gave me when you were still unscathed, and in your infirmity of purpose my advice now appears to you wrong.' The reason is that each one of you is already sensible of his hardships, whereas the proof of the advantages is still lacking to all, and now that a great reverse has come upon you without any warning, you are too dejected in mind to persevere in your former resolutions. For the spirit is cowed by that which is sudden and unexpected and happens contrary to all calculation; and this is precisely the experience you have had, not only in other matters, but especially as regards the plague. Nevertheless, seeing that you are citizens of a great city and have been reared amid customs which correspond to her greatness,<sup>1</sup> you should willingly endure even the greatest calamities and not mar your good fame. For as all men claim the right to detest him who through presumption tries to grasp a reputation to which he has no title, so they equally claim a right to censure him who through faintheartedness fails to live up to the reputation he already enjoys. You should, rather, put away your grief for private ills



δὲ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.

- LXII. “Τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ γένηται τε πολλὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον περιγενώμεθα, ἀρκείτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ ἀπέδειξα οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον, δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὃ μοι δοκεῖτε οὐτ’ αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐτ’ ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις· οὐδ’ ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην κομπώδεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν, εἰ μὴ καταπεπληγμένους  
 2 ὑμᾶς παρὰ τὸ εἶκος ἑώρων. οἴεσθε μὲν γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων μόνων ἄρχειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαίνω δύο μερῶν τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν φανερών, γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ἐτέρου ὑμᾶς παντὸς κυριωτάτους ὄντας, ἐφ’ ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πλεόν βουλευθῆτε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πλεόντας ὑμᾶς οὔτε βασιλεὺς οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κωλύσει.  
 3 ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρεῖαν, ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἐστερηῆσθαι, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται· οὐδ’ εἶκος χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντας ὀλιγορῆσαι καὶ γινῶναι ἐλευθερίαν μὲν, ἣν ἀντιλαμβάνόμενοι αὐτῆς διασώσωμεν, ῥαδίως ταῦτα ἀναληψομένην, ἄλλων δὲ

<sup>1</sup> cf. ch. xiii and I. cxi-cxliv.

and devote yourselves to the safety of the commonwealth.

LXII. "As to the hardships involved in this war, and your misgivings lest they prove very great and we succumb after all, let those arguments suffice which I have advanced on many other occasions<sup>1</sup> in order to convince you that your fears are groundless. But there is one point I propose to lay before you on which, I think, you have never yourselves as yet reflected, in spite of the advantage it gives you as regards your empire and its greatness, and which I have never previously dealt with in my speeches, and should not have done so now—for it makes a somewhat boastful claim—had I not seen that you are unreasonably dejected. You think that it is only over your allies that your empire extends, but I declare that of two divisions of the world which lie open to man's use, the land and the sea, you hold the absolute mastery over the whole of one, not only to the extent to which you now exercise it, but also to whatever fuller extent you may choose; and there is no one, either the Great King or any nation of those now on the earth, who will block your path as you sail the seas with such a naval armament as you now possess. This power, therefore, is clearly not to be compared with the mere use of your houses and fields, things which you value highly because you have been dispossessed of them; nor is it reasonable that you should fret about them, but you should make light of them, regarding them in comparison with this power as a mere flower-garden or ornament of a wealthy estate, and should recognize that freedom, if we hold fast to it and preserve it, will easily restore these losses, but let

ὑπακούσασι καὶ τὰ προκεκτημένα<sup>1</sup> φιλεῖν ἐλασσοῦσθαι, τῶν τε πατέρων μὴ χείρους κατ' ἀμφοτέρα φανῆναι, οὐ μετὰ πόνων καὶ οὐ παρ' ἄλλων δεξάμενοι κατέσχον τε καὶ προσέτι διασώσαντες παρέδωκαν ὑμῖν αὐτά (αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι), ἰέναι δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμόσε μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 4 καταφρονήματι, αὔχημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχούς καὶ δειλῶ τινι ἐγγίγνεται, καταφρόνησις δὲ ὅς ἂν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων  
 5 περιέχειν, ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει.) καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἢ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἡσσον πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἢ ἰσχύς, γνώμη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιότερα ἢ πρόνοια.

LXIII. “Τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὥπερ ἅπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν· μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἐνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπή-  
 2 χθεσθε. ἥς οὐδ' ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνη

<sup>1</sup> So most editors with Gmc<sub>2</sub>; all other MSS. προσεκτημένα except M προσκεκτημένα.

men once submit to others and even what has been won in the past<sup>1</sup> has a way of being lessened. You must therefore show yourselves not inferior in either of these two respects to your fathers, who by their own labours, and not by inheritance, not only acquired but also preserved this empire and bequeathed it to you (and it is a greater disgrace to let a possession you have be taken away than it is to attempt to gain one and fail); and you must go to meet your enemies not only with confidence in yourselves, but with contempt for them. For even a coward, if his folly is attended with good luck, may boast, but contempt belongs only to the man who is convinced by his reason that he is superior to his opponents, as is the case with us. And, where fortune is impartial, the result of this feeling of contempt is to render courage more effective through intelligence, that puts its trust not so much in hope, which is strongest in perplexity, as in reason supported by the facts, which gives a surer insight into the future.

LXIII. "You may reasonably be expected, moreover, to support the dignity which the state has attained through empire—a dignity in which you all take pride—and not to avoid its burdens, unless you resign its honours also. Nor must you think that you are fighting for the simple issue of slavery or freedom; on the contrary, loss of empire is also involved and danger from the hatred incurred in your sway. From this empire, however, it is too late for you even to withdraw, if any one at the present crisis, through fear and shrinking from action does indeed

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading τὰ προσεκτημένα, "freedom and all that freedom gives" (= πρὸς τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ κεκτημένα, as Poppo explains).

ἀνδραγαθίζεται· ὥς<sup>1</sup> τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι  
 3 δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον. τάχιστ' ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐτέρους τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἄπραγμον οὐ σώζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν.

LXIV. “Ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε, ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνδιέγνωτε πολεμεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν μὴ ἐθελησάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ἐπιγεγέννηταί τε πέρα ὧν προσεδεχόμεθα ἢ νόσος ἦδε, πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγεννημένον. καὶ δι' αὐτήν οἶδ' ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι, οὐ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὅταν παρὰ λόγον τι εὖ πράξητε  
 2 ἐμοὶ ἀναθήσετε. φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἦν  
 3 νῦν τε μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ. γνῶτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτήν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μὴ εἴκειν, πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόρους ἀνηλωκέναι πολέμῳ, καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἣς ἐς αἰδίου τοῖς ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> Dobree deletes, followed by Hude.

seek thus to play the honest man; for by this time the empire you hold is a tyranny, which it may seem wrong to have assumed, but which certainly it is dangerous to let go. Men like these would soon ruin a state, either here, if they should win others to their views, or if they should settle in some other land and have an independent state all to themselves; for men of peace are not safe unless flanked by men of action; nor is it expedient in an imperial state, but only in a vassal state, to seek safety by submission.

LXIV. "Do not be led astray by such citizens as these, nor persist in your anger with me,—for you yourselves voted for the war the same as I—just because the enemy has come and done exactly what he was certain to do the moment you refused to hearken to his demands, even though, beyond all our expectations, this plague has fallen upon us—the only thing which has happened that has transcended our foresight. I am well aware that your displeasure with me has been aggravated by the plague; but there is no justice in that, unless you mean to give me also the credit whenever any unexpected good fortune falls to your lot. But the right course is to bear with resignation the afflictions sent by heaven and with fortitude the hardships that come from the enemy; for such has been the practice of this city in the past, and let it find no impediment in yourselves. And realize that Athens has a mighty name among all mankind because she has never yielded to misfortunes, but more freely than any other city has lavished lives and labours upon war, and that she possesses to-day a power which is the greatest that ever existed down to our time. The memory of

γιγνομένοις, ἣν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδῶμέν ποτε (πάντα  
 γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι), μνήμη καταλελεί-  
 ψεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἕλληνες πλείστων δὴ  
 ἦρξαμεν καὶ πολέμοις μεγίστοις ἀντέσχομεν πρὸς  
 τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἐκάστους, πόλιν τε τοῖς  
 4 πᾶσιν εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ᾠκήσαμεν. καί-  
 τοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγμων μέμψαιτ' ἂν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν  
 τι καὶ αὐτὸς βουλόμενος ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ  
 5 κέκτηται, φθονήσει. τὸ δὲ μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπη-  
 ροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ  
 ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἐτέρων ἠξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ  
 μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βου-  
 λεύεται. μῖσος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἡ  
 δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα  
 6 αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἕς τε τὸ μέλ-  
 λον καλὸν προγνόντες ἕς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν  
 τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ἀμφότερα κτήσασθε, καὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις μήτε ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε μήτε ἔνδηλοι ἔστε  
 τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς οἵτινες πρὸς  
 τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμῃ μὲν ἠκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ  
 δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ  
 ἰδιωτῶν κράτιστοί εἰσιν.”

LXV. Τοιαῦτα ὁ Περικλῆς λέγων ἐπειρᾶτο  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν τὴν γνώ-  
 2 μην. οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο  
 καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἔπεμπον  
 ἕς τε τὸν πόλεμον μᾶλλον ὥρμηντο, ἰδίᾳ δὲ

this greatness, even should we now at last give way a little—for it is the nature of all things to decay as well as to grow—will be left to posterity forever, how that we of all Hellenes held sway over the greatest number of Hellenes, in the greatest wars held out against our foes whether united or single, and inhabited a city that was the richest in all things and the greatest. These things the man who shrinks from action may indeed disparage, but he who, like ourselves, wishes to accomplish something will make them the goal of his endeavour, while every man who does not possess them will be envious. To be hated and obnoxious for the moment has always been the lot of those who have aspired to rule over others; but he who, aiming at the highest ends, accepts the odium, is well advised. For hatred does not last long, but the splendour of the moment and the after-glory are left in everlasting remembrance. Do you, then, providently resolving that yours shall be honour in ages to come and no dishonour in the present, achieve both by prompt and zealous effort. Make no overtures to the Lacedaemonians and do not let them know that you are burdened by your present afflictions; for those who in the face of calamities show least distress of spirit and in action make most vigorous resistance, these are the strongest, whether they be states or individuals."

LXV. By such words Pericles endeavoured to cure the Athenians of their anger toward him, and to divert their minds from their present ills. And as regards public affairs they were won over by his arguments, sending no further envoys to the Lacedaemonians, and were more zealous for the war; but



- τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐλυποῦντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων ὀρμώμενος ἐστέρητο καὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν<sup>1</sup> οἰκοδομαίαις τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλεκότες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης
- 3 ἔχοντες. οὐ μέντοι πρότερόν γε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐξημίωσαν
- 4 χρήμασιν. ὕστερον δ' αὖθις οὐ πολλῶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὄμιλος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν εἴλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν, ὧν μὲν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἕκαστος ἤλγει ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες, ὧν δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις προσεδεῖτο πλείστου ἄξιον νομί-
- 5 ζοντες εἶναι. ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προύστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐκείνου μεγίστη, ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν.
- 6 Ἐπεβίω δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ ἕξ μῆνας· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ
- 7 ἢ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτωμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη περιέσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε πάντα ἐς τοῦναντίον ἔπραξαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἴδια κέρδη κακῶς ἔς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Hude inserts ἐν with Madvig.

<sup>1</sup> Eighty talents, according to Diod. xii. xlv.; but according to Plut. *Per.* xxxv. estimates varied from fifteen to fifty

in private they were distressed by their sufferings; for the commons, having less to start with, had been deprived even of this, while the upper classes had lost their beautiful estates in the country, both buildings and costly furniture, and above all they had war instead of peace. Indeed one and all they did not give over their resentment against him until they had imposed a fine<sup>1</sup> upon him. But not long afterwards, as is the way with the multitude, they chose him again as general and entrusted him with the whole conduct of affairs; for they were now becoming individually less keenly sensible of their private griefs, and as to the needs of the state as a whole they esteemed him invaluable. For so long as he presided over the affairs of the state in time of peace he pursued a moderate policy and kept the city in safety, and it was under him that Athens reached the height of her greatness; and, after the war began, here too he appears to have made a far-sighted estimate of her strength.

Pericles lived two years and six months beyond the beginning of the war; and after his death his foresight as to the war was still more fully recognized. For he had told the Athenians that if they would maintain a defensive policy, attend to their navy, and not seek to extend their sway during the war, or do anything to imperil the existence of the state, they would prove superior. But they not only acted contrary to his advice in all these things, but also in matters that apparently had no connection with the war they were led by private ambition and private greed to adopt policies which proved injurious both

talents. The charge was embezzlement, according to Plato, *Gorg.* 576 A.

- ξυμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν τοῖς  
 ιδιώταις τιμὴ καὶ ὠφελία μᾶλλον ἦν, σφαλέντα  
 δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐς τὸν πόλεμον βλάβη καθίστατο.  
 8 αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνατὸς ὦν τῷ τε  
 ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς  
 ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέ-  
 ρως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς  
 ἤγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὴν  
 δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ'  
 9 ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν. ὁπότε γοῦν  
 αἴσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦν-  
 τας, λέγων κατέπλησσε ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ  
 δεδιότας αὖ ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 θαρσεῖν. ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία,  
 10 ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. οἱ δὲ  
 ὕστερον ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες  
 καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρώτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι  
 ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα  
 11 ἐνδιδόναι. ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε πολλά, ὥς ἐν μεγάλῃ  
 πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς  
 Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἀμάρ-  
 τημα ἦν πρὸς οὗς ἐπῆσαν, ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες  
 οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The reference is especially to the Sicilian expedition; the pernicious results were seen in the Decelean war.

as to themselves and their allies ; for these policies, so long as they were successful, merely brought honour or profit to individual citizens, but when they failed proved detrimental to the state in the conduct of the war.<sup>1</sup> And the reason for this was that Pericles, who owed his influence to his recognized standing and ability, and had proved himself clearly incorruptible in the highest degree, restrained the multitude while respecting their liberties, and led them rather than was led by them, because he did not resort to flattery, seeking power by dishonest means, but was able on the strength of his high reputation to oppose them and even provoke their wrath. At any rate, whenever he saw them unwarrantably confident and arrogant, his words would cow them into fear ; and, on the other hand, when he saw them unreasonably afraid, he would restore them to confidence again. And so Athens, though in name a democracy, gradually became in fact a government ruled by its foremost citizen. But the successors of Pericles, being more on an equality with one another and yet striving each to be first, were ready to surrender to the people even the conduct of public affairs to suit their whims. And from this, since it happened in a great and imperial state, there resulted many blunders, especially the Sicilian expedition,<sup>2</sup> which was not so much an error of judgment, when we consider the enemy they went against, as of management ; for those who were responsible for it, instead of taking additional measures for the proper support of the first troops which were sent out, gave themselves over to personal intrigues for the sake of

<sup>1</sup> For the history of this expedition, see Books VI and VII.

- δήμου προστασίας τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποίουν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον
- 12 ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλη τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῷ πλέονι μορίῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες ὁμῶς δέκα<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἔτη ἀντείχον τοῖς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι πολεμίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀφεστηκόσι, Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρείχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν<sup>2</sup> σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας δια-
- 13 φορὰς περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν. τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσε τότε ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥαδίως περιγενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ.

LXVI. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐς Ζάκυνθον τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται ἀντιπέρας Ἡλίδος· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄποικοι

2 καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυνεμάχουν. ἐπέπλεον δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων χίλιοι ὀπλίται καὶ Κνῆμος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐδήλωσαν τὰ πολλά. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ ξυνεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

LXVII. Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀριστεὺς Κορίνθιος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Ἀνήριστος καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Πρατόδαμος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. read *τρία*, but Hude follows Haacke in reading *δέκα*. So also van H., Cl., Stahl, F. Mueller, Croiset, Marchant. *ὁκτώ* is preferred by Shilleto, Aem. Mueller.

<sup>2</sup> Deleted by van Herwerden, followed by Hude.

gaining the popular leadership and consequently not only conducted the military operations with less rigour, but also brought about, for the first time, civil discord at home. And yet, after they had met with disaster in Sicily, where they lost not only their army but also the greater part of their fleet, and by this time had come to be in a state of sedition at home, they nevertheless held out ten years not only against the enemies they had before, but also against the Sicilians, who were now combined with them, and, besides, against most of their allies, who were now in revolt, and later on, against Cyrus son of the King, who joined the Peloponnesians and furnished them with money for their fleet; and they did not finally succumb until they had in their private quarrels fallen upon one another and been brought to ruin. Such abundant grounds had Pericles at that time for his own forecast that Athens might quite easily have triumphed in this war over the Peloponnesians alone.

LXVI. During the same summer the Lacedaemonians and their allies made an expedition with a hundred ships to the island of Zacynthus, which lies over against Elis. The Zacynthians are colonists of the Achaeans in the Peloponnesus and were in alliance with the Athenians. On board the ships were one thousand Lacedaemonian hoplites, and Cnemus a Spartan was admiral. And making a descent upon the land they ravaged most of it; but as the inhabitants would not come to terms they sailed back home.

LXVII. And at the end of the same summer 430 B.C. Aristeus a Corinthian, ~~three~~ Lacedaemonian envoys, Aneristus, Nicolaus, and Pratodamus, also Timagoras

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY  
RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD.,  
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK