

THUCYDIDES
THE PELOPONNESIAN
WAR
BOOK II

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one time, and many poets call the nightingale 'the bird of Daulis' (a Phocian town); (4) it is improbable that an Athenian king like Pandion would find any benefit in an alliance with such a distant land, rather than with nearby Phocis.

For Sitalces and his kingdom see further 95-101nn.

29.1 *δυνάμενον παρ' αὐτῶι μέγα* 'since he was very influential with him [Sitalces]'.
29.2 *ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἄλλης Θρακίης ἐποίησεν* 'extended farther than the rest of Thrace [i.e., the other Thracian kingdoms]'. For the Thracian tribes under Sitalces' control see 96-7nn.

29.3 *ἐν ἀηδόνοσ μνήμηι*: temporal, 'when they mention the nightingale'. For a list of such passages see D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A glossary of Greek birds* (2nd ed. Oxford 1936) 20.
τὸ κῆδος ... τῆς θυγατρὸς ... ἐπ' ὠφελίαι τῆι πρὸς ἀλλήλους 'a marriage alliance for mutual benefit involving his daughter', object of *ξυνάψασθα*.

διὰ τοσούτου ... μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ... ὁδοῦ 'extending over such a distance [as that from Athens to Phocis] rather than over a journey of many days to the Odrysians'. For *διὰ* + genitive of distance cf. 83.5, 97.2. For the word order *διὰ ... ὁδοῦ* see 13.2n. Note the effect of 'interlacing' (Introd. 28) produced by the *hyperbaton*.

οὔτε ... ἔχων ... βασιλεύς τε ... ἐγένετο: the clauses in *οὔτε ... τε* are logically parallel but grammatically inconsistent (anacoluthon), just as 5.5 and 47.3 (where see nn.).
29.4 *οὐ δῆ*: *δῆ* with the relative 'stresses the importance of the antecedent' (GP 218), here the *Thracian Teres*.
29.5 *Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον*: sc. ἐποίησε. For Sadocus' affection for Athens see 67.2; Ar. *Ach.* 145-7. He did not succeed to the throne (97.3n.).
πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμψειν: continuing ὑπεδέχετο. We would have expected πέμπειν (the reading of C), but the future is possible, see Guy L. Cooper III, *Zur syntaktischen Theorie* (cited 3.2n.) 117.

29.6 *ἐπείσειν*: sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. For Therme see 1.61.2.

30.1 Athenians in Acarnania. T. continues the story of the 100 ships which was broken off in 25.5; they proceed north (for a map and discussion see Kagan, *Archidamian war* 59-62), to an area which was to become an even greater scene of fighting the following year (2.80-92nn.).

31 Athenian invasion of the Megarid. We later learn (4.66.1) that these invasions took place twice yearly (cf. Plut. *Pericles* 29-32), so that it was easy for Pericles' opponents to take them as a sign of Pericles' irrational hostility to the city (59.1-2n.). For an exhaustive discussion of Pericles' attitude to Megara (arguing that T. has omitted important information) see de Ste Croix, *Origins* 225-89.
31.2 *χωρὶς δέ*: 13.4n.
οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίαι: 58.2n.
ψιλῶν: i.e. light-armed troops.
31.3 *Νίσαια ἐάλω*: in 424 (4.66-9).
32.1 *τοῦ μὴ ληιστάς ... κακουργεῖν*: 22.1n.
33.2 *ἔστιν ἔ*: 35.2n.
33.3 *σχόντες ... ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν*: 25.3n.
βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι 'after setting sail with considerable fighting'.

παραδιδόσιν ... νέμεσθαι: 4.7n.

Εὐαρχος: known only here and 33.1.

κατὰ κράτος 'in an all-out fight' (87.3n.).

προσποιεῖσαντο: 2.2n.

34-47.2 The Funeral Oration

In fifth-century Athens the bodies of those who died in wars abroad were burnt, and the remains (called *δοτᾶ* here) were gathered and sent home; there they were interred together in the same way as other dead, following a laying out (*πρόβεςις*) and funeral procession (*ἐκφορᾶ*). The ceremony was held at public expense, and culminated in a funeral oration delivered by a leading citizen. This practice is first alluded to by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 429-48; cf. Ar. *Birds* 393-9), and there survive *λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι* (or fragments of them) ascribed to Gorgias, Lysias, Plato (in the dialogue *Menexenus*), Demosthenes and Hyperides (cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 860-917). In the common elements of these we may see the traditional themes of an *ἐπιτάφιος*: praise of the ancestors, praise of the fallen warriors, exhortation to citizens, and consolation to relatives (see John Ziolkowski, *Thucydides and the tradition of funeral speeches at Athens*, New York 1981 and T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic literature (University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* 3 (1902) 150-7).

The present oration acknowledges such a pattern, but departs strikingly from it by subordinating all these themes to the glorification of contemporary Athens itself (τὴν πόλιν ὑμνησα, 42.2). On its function within the work as a whole see *Introd.* 19; on its authenticity, 16.

Special studies of the Thucydidean speech are offered by J. T. Kakridis, *Der thukydideische Epitaphios* and Hellmut Flashar, *Der Epitaphios des Perikles*; cf. G. P. Landmann, 'Das Lob Athens in der Grabrede des Perikles,' *M.H.* 31 (1974) 65-95; Konrad Gaiser, *Das Staatsmodell des Thukydides* (Heidelberg 1975). A complex but very perceptive study of the ideology implicit in this and other surviving funeral orations is Loraux, *Invention of Athens*.

Two treatises *On epideictic speeches* by imperial rhetoricians suggest rules (often derived from T.) for the composition of *epitaphioi*: Menander Rhetor 2.418.5-422.4 and [Dionysius] 277-83 (see D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981) 170-9, 331-6, 373-6).

34 The πατριος νόμος of public burial

For studies of the Athenian public burial see Jacoby, 'Patrios nomos' (highly speculative); R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* (Münster 1977); Clairmont, *Patrios nomos*; Pritchett, *Greek state at war* IV.106-24.

34.1 ταφᾶς ἐποίησαντο: the abstract noun ταφή becomes concrete in the plural, 'funerals' (Sm. 1000). ποιῆσθαι is frequent with nouns of action in periphrases (Sm. 1722), e.g. 42.1 διδασκαλίαν ... ποιούμενος = διδάσκων, 42.4 ἀναβολὴν ... ἐποίησαντο = ἀνεβάλλοντο, 44.3 τέκνωσιν ποιῆσθαι = τίκτειν (cf. 2.4, 11.1, 26.2, 53.2).

34.2 τὰ μὲν ὅσα προτίθενται: a reference to the πρόθεσις ('laying-out') of the remains, which would be a mixture of bones and ashes.

πρότριτα: adverb, 'on the third day beforehand'. Since days were counted inclusively in antiquity this actually means - like *ante diem tertium* - 'two days before', so that this πρόθεσις may have lasted two days rather than the traditional one (Erwin Rohde, *Psyche* (2nd ed. Freiburg 1898) 1.223; Margaret Alexiou, *Ritual lament* 207 n. 30; Loraux 19).

σκηνην ποιήσαντες: a law attributed to Solon prescribed that the πρόθεσις must take place ἐνδον (Dem. 43.62; Alexiou, *Ritual lament* 5).

ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος: 'everyone makes offerings to his kin'.

ἦν τι βούληται: sc. ἐπιφέρειν.

34.3 ἔνεστι δὲ τὰ ὅσα ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς: the antecedent φυλῆς is incorporated into the relative clause (Sm. 2536-8, cf. 44.4 δὲν ἠύτν-χεῖτε βίον and 44.2), and the whole expression is condensed: 'in it are the remains of [all the dead from] the tribe of which each was a member'.

οἱ ἂν μὴ εὔρεθῶσιν: the relative clause adds a more precise definition of ἀφανῶν.

34.4 ὁ βουλόμενος 'whoever wishes' (generic, Sm. 1124).

αἱ προσήκουσαι: women other than relatives were excluded from this and other funeral processions, perhaps because the taint of death was thought to harm child-bearing (West on Hes. *WD* 735), perhaps also to forestall extravagant lamentation (Alexiou, *Ritual lament* 5-6, 14-23). In an early fourth-century decree regulating public funerals from Thasos (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques: supplément* (Paris 1962) no. 64) mourning of any sort is forbidden.

πάρεσιν ... ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον: the dative would be expected, but the accusative is used because πάρεσι, after *συνεφέρεται*, implies motion (Sm. 1659b; cf. 95.3 ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας παραγενέσθαι): 'right up to the tomb'. The suggestion of Marchant (cf. Loraux 24), that women could be present at the tomb but were forbidden from the procession, is difficult to imagine in practice and not supported by the text.

34.5 τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα: the reports of Pausanias (1.29.4-14) and the archaeological remains (surveyed in detail by Clairmont, *Patrios nomos* 29-45) show that this term designates not a single structure, but an entire area (Loraux 350 n. 36); 'national cemetery' would be a more apt translation than 'public tomb'. Probably the war dead of each year were buried together, with a stele listing their names (see on 43.3).

ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου: Pausanias 1.29.4 says it was on the road leading north-west (c. 15 km long) from the Dipylon gate to the Academy.

αἰεὶ ... πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι: T. omits at least one other notable instance at Plataea (Hdt. 9.85.2; cf. Jacoby 40-7), but the difference may have been that Athens did not lead the army there (Loraux 18-19).

ἐκείνων δέ: δέ where γάρ would be expected, *GP* 169.

κρίναντες: causal.

αὐτοῦ 'on the spot' (the battlefield itself).

34.6 μὴ ἀξύνετος: litotes (Intro. 27), 'especially wise'.

ἀξιώσει προήκη: 'is pre-eminent in [public] esteem'. ἀξίωσις and ἀξίωμα (on the suffixes -σις and -μα see Intro. 22) both designate the personal popularity of politicians (1.130.1, 1.138.2, 2.37.1, 6.15.3, 8.73.3), in particular that of Pericles (here and 65.8).

34.7 ὧδε refers to what *precedes* (Sm. 1247), as do forms of ὄδε at 40.3, 41.2, 60.6, 63.2.

ὅποτε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς: sc. θάψαι (evidently some years there were few casualties). The optative is iterative (Sm. 2340).

34.8 δ' οὖν resumes the main topic (GP 463-4).

τοῖσδε: the current dead, as οἶδε is used throughout the speech (e.g. 36.4, 41.5, 42.2; contrasted with οἱ λειπόμενοι or οἱ λοιποὶ in 41.5, 43.1, 46.1). The stele listing their names was usually headed οἶδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον (e.g. M-L no. 33; Loraux 38 n. 89).

ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε 'when the moment arrived' (lit. 'came upon them', LSJ s.v. λαμβάνω 1.2.a). (Imperfect for aorist under the influence of the following verb ἔλεγε.)

ὕψηλόν: predicative with πεποιημένον, on which the purpose clause depends: 'made high, so that he could be heard ...'

ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ ὁμίλου: ὡς intensifies the superlative (Sm. 1663c note): 'over the greatest possible extent ...'

ἔλεγε τοιαύδε: on the imperfect with a verb of speaking see on 13.1. The choice of this pronoun to introduce most speeches might stress their less than perfect accuracy; but see Intro. 15 n. 48.

35 Difficulties confronting the speaker

Pericles begins by describing the magnitude of the task before him: unlike most orators he does not make light of his own abilities, but generalises about the impossibility of pleasing his audience on such an occasion - he is certain to be blamed either for inadequate praise or exaggeration. But he will undertake the speech none the less (in fact he proceeds to speak about Athens, and does not reach the praise of the dead until Chapter 42). The themes raised are traditional ones in encomiastic literature, especially victory poems:

καρὸν εἰ φθέγξαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις
ἐν βραχεῖ μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώ-
πων· ἀπὸ γὰρ κόρος ἀμβλύει

αἰανῆς ταχείας ἐλπίδας
ἀστῶν δ' ἀκόα κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύ-
νει μάλιστ' ἔσλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις.

'If one can speak in due measure and bring together the strands of many themes in a brief space, less criticism results from men; for irritating excess dulls their eager anticipation, and what citizens hear about other men's virtues galls them to secret anger.' (Pind. P. 1.81-5)

οὔτε τὸν αἰνήσω τόσον ἄξιος οὔτε λάθωμαι
- δείδια γὰρ δήμου γλώσσαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις -

'I shall neither praise him as much as he deserves, nor be forgetful - for in either case I fear public criticism.' (Call. fr. 384.57-8, from the Σωσιβίου Νίκη)

See Loraux 236-8; Tilman Krischer, 'Die enkomiasische Topik im Epitaphios des Perikles', *Mnemosyne* 30 (1977) 122-34.

35.1 τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων 'those who have already spoken here [at the σῆμα]'. In fact Pericles was himself one of this group, having delivered the ἐπιτάφιος after the conclusion of the Samian war in 439 (Plut. *Per.* 28 and Arist. *Rhet.* 1.407a; L. Weber, 'Perikles' samische Leichenrede', *Hermes* 57 (1922) 375-95).

τὸν προσθέντα κτλ.: neither the originator of the πάτριος νόμος nor the man who added the funeral oration to it is named by T.; speculations range from Solon (*FGrHist* 72 (Anaximenes of Lampsacus) F 24, probably since he was known for funeral legislation) and Cleisthenes (because the 10 tribes are a feature of the ceremony, 34.3), to the 460s, either in connection with the military success at Eurymedon (Page, *Further Greek epigrams* 878-81 pp. 271-2; cf. Paus. 1.29.14) or the massacre at Drabeskos (Paus. 1.29.4, where however πρῶτοι probably indicates position along the road, not chronological order (*pace* Pritchett, *Greek state at war* IV.112-13), ἐτάφησαν being preferred over τεθαμμένοι εἰσί) or political manoeuvres of Cimon (Clairmont 13) or Ephialtes (Loraux 56-64).

ὡς καλόν: sc. ὄν, accusative absolute with an impersonal expression (Sm. 2076). ὡς is causal (Sm. 2086d).

ἀγορεύεσθαι: passive (αὐτόν = λόγον).

ἀρκοῦν ... εἶναι = ἀρκεῖν (*MT* 830; W. J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* (Amsterdam 1965) 24).

ἐμοὶ ... ἂν ἐδόκει: ἂν with imperfect for potential of the past (*Sm.* 1784; K-G 1.212; cf. 49.5), 'I would have thought it to be sufficient ...' (with infins. δηλοῦσθαι and κινδυνεύεσθαι).

ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργωι γενομένων: the phrase ἀνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι is a euphemism in funeral orations and other patriotic contexts for death in battle (e.g. Aeschines *In Ctes.* 154; *Hdt.* 9.75; *Lys.* 12.97); cf. Rusten, 'The soldier's choice', 71-4, and cf. ἀνδραγαθίαν 42.3.

τιμάς, οἷα ... παρασκευασθέντα: the relative follows the logical rather than the grammatical gender of the antecedent (*Sm.* 2502d).

καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ ... ἀρετὰς ... κινδυνεύεσθαι ... πιστευθῆναι: 'that the virtues of many not be endangered by one man, as to being believed'. πιστευθῆναι would be less awkward taken as the subject (as if we had τὸ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς πιστευθῆναι κινδυνεύεσθαι), but for the mixed exexegetical construction cf. *Eur. Alc.* 278 ἐν σοὶ δ' ἔσμεν καὶ ζῆν καὶ μὴ (cf. *IT* 1057); *Hdt.* 7.52 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποῖσθαι (cf. *Plato, Prot.* 313A). The normally intransitive κινδυνεύεσθαι is used personally in the passive (*Sm.* 1749; K-G 1.126; cf. 43.5); ἐν + dative with a passive verb may be the virtual equivalent of an agent construction, cf. 64.2, 65.12, 7.8.2; *Hdt.* 8.100.4; K-G 1.465.

εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπὸντι 'who speaks well or poorly'. For τε ... καὶ here of alternatives = 'either/or' see *Sm.* 2976; *GP* 515. The comparative χεῖρον merely marks a contrast with the preceding positive adverb, cf. 37.1 μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας; 40.1 οὐκ ... αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ ... αἰσχρίον; K-G 1.24 n. 2; Otto Schwab, *Historische Syntax der griechischen Comparison* (Vol. 4 of M. Schanz, ed., *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache*, Würzburg 1893) 62-5.

35.2 ἐν ᾧ: temporal, 'when'.

ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας 'the appearance of truth', i.e. plausibility.

ὅ τε γὰρ ξυνεῖδώς ... ὅ τε ἄπειρος: τε ... τε virtually = μέν ... δέ (cf. 7.1); see on 39.1.

τάχ' ἂν: with or without optative = 'perhaps'.

ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἃ ... 'too sparingly, compared with what he wishes [to hear] and knows [to be true]'.

ἔστιν ἃ: lit. 'there are things which' = ἔνια (*Sm.* 2513-15; cf. 26.2, 39.1, 49.8), 'some things' (accusative subject of πλεονάζεσθαι).

πλεονάζεσθαι: sc. ἂν νομίσειε. Personal passive of a normally intransitive verb (as κινδυνεύεσθαι above).

διὰ φθόνον: the possibility of producing envy is a conventional concern of those intending to praise others (cf. also Gorgias' *epitaphios*, *VS* 82 v 6 p. 285 line 13). The statement here is contradicted by Pericles' later (equally conventional) assertion that there is no φθόνος towards the dead (45.1).

ὑπὲρ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν 'exceeding his own natural limitations'.

μέχρι ... τοῦδε ... ἐς ὅσον ἂν: correlative: 'are only endurable ... as long as ...'

αὐτός 'without help' (*Sm.* 1209a), with δρᾶσαι.

τῶι δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν 'the excess in them [the speeches of praise]' is object of φθονοῦντες. The neuter participle is used as a substantive with partitive genitive αὐτῶν (= τῶν ἐπαίνων), cf. 59.3 τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης (*Introd.* 22). The whole phrase = αὐτοῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι: 'but because they are jealous of them [praises] when they are excessive ...'

ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν: the verb is absolute; ἤδη is inferential (see on 48.2), καὶ is emphatic (*GP* 321): 'as a result they actually become incredulous'.

35.3 τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως ἐδοκιμάσθη ... 'since it was so approved by those of long ago, that this [a funeral oration] is good'. The accusative + infinitive expands οὕτως; for the dative see on 41.4.

ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεως τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν 'to attain what each of you wishes [to hear] and thinks [to be true]'. The two nouns correspond to βούλεται and ἐπίσταται, 35.2 above.

ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον 'as far as possible' (see on 34.8).

36 Athens' glorious past

Pericles divides Athenian history into 3 parts: (1) the ancestors (πρόγονοι, mostly mythical) who lived before the Persian war (although the phrase μέχρι τοῦδε suggests that their influence is still felt); (2) the preceding generation (πατέρες) who won the Persian war and established the empire; (3) the present generation (αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς etc.), who strengthened the empire and made the city self-sufficient. Most *epitaphioi* speak at length of the glories of the mythical past and the defeat of the Persians (Loraux 133-71, cf. K. Jost, *Das Beispiel und Vorbild der*

Vorfahren bei den attischen Rednern bis Demosthenes, Rhetorische Studien 19, Paderborn 1934), but Pericles brushes all this aside to move quickly to the present.

The final sentence gives his programme for the speech: he will ignore military exploits and sketch instead the greatness of Athenian life, government and character (37-41); then (42-6) he will speak of the achievement of the dead, and its meaning for the living.

36.1 *καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα* 'and also fitting.' *καὶ ... δέ* is a single connective (GP 201); on *καὶ ... ἅμα* see on 42.1.

ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε: temporal, 'on such an occasion as this'.

δίδοσθαι: passive.

οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες 'because the same people [i.e. Athenians, not foreigners] have always inhabited it', as in 1.2.5. A commonplace of patriotic orations (Lysias 2.17; Plato, *Menex.* 237B; Dem. 60.4; cf. Eur. *Erech.* fr. 360.5-13; Isocr. *Paneg.* 24-5; Hyperid. 6.7). This claim of 'autochthony' - unbroken rule over the same country since the beginning of history - was the centrepiece of Athens' propaganda, justifying the severe limitations placed on its citizenship in 450-1 to maintain the aristocratic 'purity' of the citizen body (see Loraux 149-50, and also her study *Les Enfants d'Athéna* (Paris 1981) 35-73).

διαδοχῆ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων: evidently 'through the succession [to rule] of following generations' (pleonasm, unless the expression merely = τοῖς διαδεχομένοις καὶ ἐπιγιγνομένοις, indirect obj. with παρέδοσαν).

36.2 *ἐκεῖνοί τε ... καὶ ... οἱ πατέρες* 'not only ... but also ...' (GP 515).

πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο: the antecedent of the relative is omitted, with attraction into its case (= πρὸς τούτοις ἅ, Sm. 2529-32).

οὐκ ἀπόνως: litotes: 'with great effort'.

36.3 *τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς ... ἐπηυξήσαμεν* 'most parts of it [the empire] we have augmented'.

αὐτοὶ ... ἡλικία: the extreme precision indicates that this generation is his primary concern: 'we ourselves here, those who are still alive today, more or less in the established time of life'. ἡ καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία is the age between 40 and 60 (see HCT II.105).

μάλιστα 'approximately' (LSJ s.v. μάλα III.5).

τοῖς πᾶσι 'in all respects' (cf. 11.6 and 64.3).

36.4 *ὧν ... ἔργα*: the relative is masculine (referring to all three groups enumerated in 36.1), and acts as a sentence connective (Sm.

2490; cf. 43.4): 'but their achievements in war ...' τὰ μὲν ἔργα contrasts with ἀπὸ δὲ οἴας ... ἐπιτηδεύσεως below.

οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτίθη: dative of instrument, 'through which individual gains were made'. This relative clause and the conditional one (εἰ ... ἡμυνάμεθα) are logically (though not grammatically) parallel, of offensive and defensive military success.

ἐάσω 'I shall omit.'

ἀπὸ δὲ οἴας τε ... καὶ μεθ' οἴας ... καὶ ... ἐξ οἴων: *variatio* (deliberate avoidance of parallelism, Introd. 26) in the choice of prepositions, all of which are causal (these three indirect questions are taken up again in ταῦτα below).

ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά: T. occasionally uses the neuter plural αὐτά to refer with a single substantive to groups of ideas just described (here the power whose growth is sketched in 36.2-3 κτησάμενοι γὰρ ... αὐταρκεστάτην); cf. 42.4 (ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν), 43.1 (αὐτὰ ἐκτίσαντο), 60.7 (μοι ... παρῆναι αὐτά), 6.10.2.

πρώτον: with δηλώσας.

τῶνδε: see on 34.8 (τοῖσδε).

οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῆ λεχθῆναι αὐτά: the adjective (in litotes) is predicative where English would use an adverb or prepositional phrase: 'that they would be said *very suitably*' (cf. 47.4 τελευτῶντες ('in the end'), 43.2 ἀείμνηστος ('eternally'), 2.3, 4.4, 5.2, 5.5, 41.3, 46.1, 63.2, Sm. 1042-3).

ἔυμφορον εἶναι: impersonal, with accus. and infin. (ὄμιλον ... ἐπακοῦσαι).

37-41.5 Athens today

Pericles praises first the city's public institutions (37-8), then its military readiness (39), and finally the character of its individual citizens (40)

37.1 Athenian democracy

Athens' government is presented as combining the best features of democracy (equality for all) and aristocracy (preference for merit) in a complex structure of antitheses. The patriotic speech of Theseus in Eur. *Supp.* 404-8 (de Romilly, *TAI* 134) parallels some of these claims, but with none of the balance and complexity of the Thucydidean description, which is recalled in the *Menexenus* (238c7-D2) and Isoc. *Panath.* 153.

For its critics, such a democracy was not a judicious mixture, but a motley aggregate of different systems, a 'supermarket of constitutions' (παντοπόλιον ... πολιτειῶν, Plato, *Rep.* 557D6). The pamphlet *On the Constitution of the Athenians* ascribed (falsely) to Xenophon gives a negative and sometimes ironic description of many of the themes of this and other *epitaphioi*, which are surveyed and compared by Loraux 202–20.

On the problems of 37.1 see H. Vretska, 'Perikles und die Herrschaft des Würdigsten', *Rh.M.* 109 (1966) 108–20; J. H. Oliver, 'Praise of Athenian democracy as a mixed constitution', *Rh.M.* 98 (1955) 37–40; and G. Vlastos, 'ἸΣΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ', in *Isonomia: Studien zur Gleichheitsvorstellung im griechischen Denken*, ed. J. Mau and E. G. Schmidt (Berlin 1964) 27–9 = *Platonic Studies* (Princeton 1973) 196–8.

37.1 οὐ ζηλώσῃ ... παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες ... ἢ μιμούμενοι: two characteristically Thucydidean techniques of antithesis are here combined: (1) negative–positive contrast ('not γ , but (δέ or ἄλλὰ) χ ') and (2) 'x rather than γ ' (Intro. 24). Here the first is followed by the second, to return to the original idea ('not γ but χ , rather than γ '). T. avoids parallelism by using the contrasting participles in different cases (αὐτοὶ emphasizes the shift in emphasis to the nominative, see on 40.2 below).

παράδειγμα ... ὄντες τινί: τισίν (adopted by Stuart Jones and de Romilly) would match the plural ἑτέροισι, but the variation is entirely Thucydidean (Ros 235 n. 12).

καὶ ὄνομα μὲν ... ἀφανεῖται κεκώλυται forms an extremely complex sentence (see the *notes complémentaires* in the edition of de Romilly, and Vlastos, 'ἸΣΟΝΟΜΙΑ' 28 (= 197) n. 124), composed of three antitheses: one major one in ὄνομα μὲν – μέτεστι δέ ('it is called democracy, but merit is in fact distinguished'), in the second element of which is the further antithesis κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους ... κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ('there is legal equality, but greater distinction for merit'); this in turn contains in its second part a final contrast ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμει ... οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πέναν ('according to recognised ability, and not wealth'). As Denniston notes (*Greek prose style* 21–2), each contrast opens out from the one preceding it, like a telescope:

ὄνομα μὲν –
μέτεστι δὲ
{κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους

κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν
{οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πέναν

There are further, less emphatic contrasts within the first ('not for the few, but the many') and third antitheses ('government not by yearly rotation of officers, but according to excellence').

'In name (μὲν) it is called a democracy, because we govern not for the few but the many; but (δέ), whereas (μὲν) before the law there is equality for all in private disputes, nevertheless (δέ) regarding popular esteem the individual receives public preference according to his recognised achievement in some field – not by rotation rather than by excellence – and furthermore (αὖ), should he be poor but able to perform some service for the city, he is not prevented by insufficient public recognition.'

ὄνομα μὲν: accusative of respect.

κεκώλυται: perfect with present meaning in generalisations, of an enduring result (Sm. 1946, cf. κεκώλυται below, 40.4 ἐνηντιώμεθα, 45.1 τετιμήται) 'has the name of ...'

διὰ τὸ ... οἰκεῖν: articular infinitive: 'because of the fact that we ...' οἰκεῖν here virtually = 'govern', as in 1.17.1, 3.37.3 and 8.67.1.

μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας 'not for the few, but for the many'. On the comparative πλείονας following the positive ὀλίγους, see on 35.1. Note that this is not 'majority rule', but 'rule in the interests of the majority' – T. will imply below that only the best are actually in control.

μέτεστι δὲ ... πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον: μέτεστι is usually impersonal (+ dat. of person and gen. of thing), but here τὸ ἴσον is subject: 'equality is shared by all'. The real point of the contrast with μὲν (that there are distinctions according to merit) is not given here, but in προτιμᾶται below.

κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους ... κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν: note the many additional contrasts in these two clauses: πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα / ἐς τὰ κοινά, πᾶσι / ἕκαστος, μέτεστι ... τὸ ἴσον / προτιμᾶται (for a similar concentration of contrasts see on 62.5).

ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμει: with προτιμᾶται.

οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεόν ... ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς: ἀπὸ μέρους means 'according to turn' (or 'rotation', LSJ s.v. μέρος II.2; Flashar 18), and refers (*pace* Vlastos, 'ἸΣΟΝΟΜΙΑ' 28 (= 197) n. 124) to the Athenian

practice of choosing most magistrates in a yearly lottery, which was often considered a major defect of Athenian democracy (W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Sophists* (Cambridge 1971) 319 n. 3); the real power, as noted by Pericles here (and Ps.-Xen. 3), was wielded by men of distinction, notably the στρατηγοί. The whole phrase οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους κτλ. is an expansion of ὡς ... εὐδοκιμεῖ.

ἐς τὰ κοινά: with προτιμᾶται: 'receives preference for public office'.

ἀξιώματος ἀφανεῖαι: causal dative with κεκώλυται. 'Obscurity of prestige' = 'humble status'.

κεκώλυται: see on κέκληται above.

37.2-3 *Tolerance for divergent lifestyles; rigorous public standards*

Pericles boasts that Athenian democracy offers unparalleled freedom for the individual (ἐλευθερία), and Nicias, in a speech to the Athenian army at Syracuse, appeals once again to this toleration (7.69.2). Even Plato, who was no friend to democracy, nevertheless allowed that because of its tolerance it 'might well be the most attractive system; just like a multicoloured cloak embroidered with every hue, a democracy, adorned with every lifestyle, might appear the fairest' (*Rep.* 557c2). Pseudo-Xenophon 1.10 complains that this toleration extends even to metics and slaves.

But liberty can easily degenerate into licence (cf. the saying ἐν Ἀθήναις πάντα καλὰ (i.e. 'anything goes'), Plut. *Lac. Arophi.* 236bc), so Pericles stresses that the populace is also especially obedient, not only to local magistrates and laws, but to the 'unwritten laws' which governed all human behaviour – on the development of this concept see R. Hürzel, 'Αγγραφος νόμος' (*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ph.-hist. Klasse*, 1903, Nr. 1); Guthrie, *The Sophists* 117-31; V. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* (Oxford 1954) 37-44.

That these two attitudes cannot be so easily reconciled is suggested by Pericles' later, less balanced arguments on the subordination of the individual to the state (60.2-4).

37.2 ἐλευθέρως: emphatic: 'it is with tolerance that we behave ...' Plato notes as the chief characteristics of democracy individual ἐλευθερία, παρησία and ἐξουσία ... ποιεῖν ὃ τί τις βούλεται (*Rep.* 557b3); Arist. *Pol.* 1310a29 (cf. 1317a40) makes majority rule and τὸ ἐλεύθερον (consisting in 'doing what one pleases') the essentials of the system. (Cf. on 65.8.)

τὰ τε πρὸς ... καὶ ἐς: the article (accus. of respect) goes with both prepositional phrases; τε is placed early so as not to separate preposition and object (*GP* 518): 'both in public affairs and in our suspicion about each other's daily activities'. The following statement about tolerance makes sense only in the context of the second prepositional phrase, the first being used (*pace HCT* π.114-15) primarily because T.'s thought often must advance through contrasts: from public (πρὸς τὸ κοινόν) to private (ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ... ὑποψίαν), and back again from private (τὰ ἴδια) to public (τὰ δημόσια).

τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν: on the concentration of attributes see *Introd.* 23. The natural tendency of fellow-citizens to mistrust, envy and secret hostility is remarked by Xerxes in Herodotus 7.237.

δι' ὀργῆς ... ἔχοντες: T. often uses ἔχειν with prepositions in periphrases: ἔχειν ἐν αἰτίας (59.2), δι' αἰτίας (60.4) = 'blame', ἔχειν ἐν ὀργῇ (18.5, 21.3, 65.3), δι' ὀργῆς (here and 64.1) = 'be angry at'; ἔχειν δι' ἡσυχίας (22.1) = 'stay quiet'; ἔχειν ἐν ὀρρωδίαι (89.1) = 'fear'; ἔχειν διὰ φυλακῆς (81.4) = 'keep guard'.

εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾷ 'if he does something as he pleases' (rather than as others do it), cf. 53.1. Divergent lifestyles (παντοδαποὶ ἄνθρωποι, Plato, *Rep.* 557c1) are tolerated in a democracy.

τῆι ὄψει ... προστιθέμενοι 'putting upon our faces' (cf. Solon fr. 34.5 West; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.27).

ἀζημίους μὲν, λυπηρὰς δέ ... ἀχθηδόνας 'attitudes of disappointment, which inflict no punishment but are nonetheless irritating'.

37.3 ἀνεπαχθῶς 'without being offended' (from ἐπαχθής).

τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες: concessive participle with accusative of respect: 'although in private matters we associate ...'

τὰ δημόσια: accusative of respect again, with παρανομοῦμεν.

μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν 'we are the most law-abiding' (*litotes*).

τῶν ... αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων 'whoever is in power'. In attributive position with an adjective or participle, αἰεὶ generalises, a use common in inscriptions (cf. 43.2).

ἀκρόασει: causal dative, explaining διὰ δέος: 'because of our obedience to ...' δέος is here a positive concept of restraint; cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1079, and see de Romilly, 'La crainte dans l'œuvre de Thucydide', *C.M.* 17 (1956) 119-27; Edmunds, *Chance and intelligence* 218 and 11.4-5n.

ἐπ' ὠφελίαι: of purpose (cf. 13.1, 29.3, 64.5).

ἀδικουμένων: masculine, passive.

ἄγραφοι ὄντες: concessive.

ὁμολογουμένην: passive, 'acknowledged', i.e. 'undisputed'.

38 Recreation: festivals, private furnishings, imported goods

Attica surpassed every other region in the frequency of its festivals (e.g. Soph. *OC* 1006; Ps.-Xen. 2.9, 3.2, 3.8; Dover on Ar. *Clouds* 310). Nearly every day of the year was the occasion of some festival or sacrifice; see J. D. Mikalson, *The sacred and civil calendar of the Athenian year* (Princeton 1975). Pericles (like Plato, *Laws* 653D, who recalls this passage) emphasises the social rather than religious value of these celebrations (cf. Plut. *Per.* 11).

For the propriety of spending wealth on homes and furnishings (such as Philocleon is taught to praise at a dinner party, Ar. *Wasps* 1214-15) see Arist. *EN* 1123a6. On the variety of consumer goods available in Athens and their sources see Ps.-Xen. 2.7; the hexameter catalogue from Hermippus' comedy *Φορμοφόροι* (fr. 63 Kassel-Austin); Victor Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes* 138.

38.1 καὶ μὴν καὶ 'furthermore' (GP 352).

τῆι γνώμηι: denotes the non-physical aspects of man (thus sometimes contrasted with ἔργον), including both the faculty of intellect and mental state. According to context it may be translated 'spirit' (as here, cf. 43.3, 51.4, 61.2, 64.6, 65.1), 'attitude' (9.1, 59.1, 59.3), 'intellect' (34.6, 62.4, 65.8, 65.11), or 'plan' (12.2, 20.1, 86.5). See in general Edmunds, *Chance and intelligence* 7-14; Pierre Huart, *ΓΝΩΜΗ chez Thucydide et ses contemporains* (Paris 1981).

ἀγῶσι μὲν ... ἰδίαις δέ: of public vs. private diversions. Note that the expensive public buildings on the Acropolis for which Athens was notorious (Plut. *Per.* 12-14) are excluded here - they do not serve recreational purposes (Flashar 20 n. 34).

νομίζοντες: modal participle, here = χρώμενοι, and like it governing the dative (Sm. 1509).

ὦν καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ τέρψις 'the daily delight in which ...'

τὸ λυπηρόν 'anxiety', Introd. 22.

38.2 ξυμβαίνει: impersonal, with καρποῦσθαι: 'it is our lot to enjoy...'

μηδὲν οικειότεραι τῆι ἀπολαύσει: dative of manner (see on 47.4),

with predicative position of the adjective for emphasis (see on 43.2): 'with an enjoyment by no means more personal than [that with which we use] the products of others' (i.e. other countries' products are as 'native' to us as our own).

αὐτοῦ: adverb, with γιγνόμενα: 'produced here'.

ἢ καί: καί introducing the second element of a comparison is untranslatable (GP 299).

39 Military training

Spartan secrecy (Thuc. 5.68.2), xenophobia (ξενηλασία Thuc. 1.144.2, Ar. *Birds* 1012-13, Xen. *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 14.4) and its harsh educational system (H. I. Marrou, *A history of education in antiquity* (tr. George Lamb, London 1956) 14-25) were notorious; yet the Spartan model had its admirers as well (notably Xenophon and Plato; see E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in classical antiquity* (Göteborg-Uppsala 1965) 155-6, 159-79, 252-60). Athens offered no universal military training at all until the ephebia was instituted in the fourth century, and the softness of Athens' 'new education' in general had its critics (e.g. Ar. *Clouds* 889-1114; on the older system see F.A.G. Beck, *Greek education, 450-350 B.C.* (London 1964) 72-146). Pericles does not attempt a detailed comparison, but boldly argues from the results: despite its rejection of militarism, Athens has not yet been shown inferior. See P. Vidal-Naquet, 'The Athenian hoplite', in *The black hunter* (tr. A. Szegedy-Maszak, Baltimore 1986) 89-90. (When it comes to naval training Pericles' attitude is the opposite: 1.142.5-8.)

39.1 τοῖσδε: neuter, 'in the following'.

τὴν τε ... πόλιν: contrasted with καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις below, so that τε ... καὶ virtually = μὲν ... δέ (Introd. 23).

κοινήν 'open', i.e. not purged by occasional expulsions of non-citizens (ξενηλασία). Such claims are parodied by Ar. *Birds* 38: (πόλιν) πᾶσι κοινήν ἐναποτεῖσαι χρήματα, 'open to all - to pay their fines here'.

ἔστιν ὅτε 'sometimes', see on 35.2.

οὐκ ... ἀπείργομέν τινα 'we do not keep anyone away from ...', with the following genitives.

ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν ... ὠφελῆθει: the relative pronoun belongs only to the participles (which are conditional), while the main verb is independent of it (Sm. 2543, cf. 17.2, 41.4, 48.3, 51.2, 65.11, 6.10.2;

cf. 2.84.2): 'which, if it should not be hidden and some enemy should see it, he would gain an advantage'.

οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεόν ... ἢ ...: antithesis by comparison, Introd. 24-5.

ἀπάταις: for Spartan deceit see Eur. *Andr.* 445 and the commentary of P. T. Stevens (Oxford 1971) ad loc.

τῶι ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳι 'our innate physical courage' (on the concentration of attributes see Introd. 23).

παιδείαις: the plural of abstract nouns may refer to a group of single instances (Sm. 1000; cf. 13.1 ἄγῃ, 41.1 χαρίτων, 44.2 εὐτυχίας, 65.7 φιλοτιμίας).

εὐθύς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται: oxymoron, 'right from their youth ... they train to be men', i.e. they never have a childhood; cf. the description of Hippomedon, Eur. *Supp.* 882-5 παῖς ὢν ... εὐθύς ... ἔχαιρε πρὸς τάνδρεῖον. (εὐθύς + participle as in 47.2, 54.5.)

ἀνειμένως 'relaxed' (an adverb derived from ἀνειμένος, the perfect passive participle of ἀνίμι).

διαιτώμενοι: concessive.

ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους 'equivalent dangers' (to those the Spartans face); for other possible interpretations see Loraux 400 n. 86.

39.2 οὔτε ... καθ' ἑαυτούς, μεθ' ἀπάντων δέ: negative-positive contrast (Introd. 24; δέ = ἄλλά), 'not by themselves, but with all [their allies, cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4].' οὔτε corresponds to τὴν τε τῶν πέλας and ἀθρόα τε τῇ δυνάμει below; on triple τε as a co-ordinating particle see Introd. 23-4.

αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες ... ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίαι ... μαχόμενοι: concessive participles, 'even though we attack unaided [αὐτός as in 35.2], fighting in foreign territory'.

οὐ χαλεπῶς ... τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους ... τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν 'we usually conquer without difficulty men who are fighting for their own possessions'. On the 'interlacing' word order see Introd. 28.

τὰ πλείω: adverbial accusative, 'usually'.

39.3 διὰ τὴν ... ἐπίπεμψιν: τε and καὶ join not separate reasons, but two parts of a single policy: 'because of our simultaneous (ἅμα) supervision of the navy and dispatch of our own citizens by land to many places'. On the attributive phrase see Introd. 23.

κρατήσαντες ... νικηθέντες: conditional participles.

ἀπεῶσθαι: perf. mid. infin., ἀπωθέω.

ἡσσησθαι: passive, sc. αὐχοῦσιν again, although its meaning is not strictly appropriate (*zeugma*, Sm. 3048; cf. 56.6).

39.4 καίτοι εἰ 'and since ...' (Sm. 2246). καίτοι here is not adversative, but 'marks the transition from premise to premise' (*GP* 561).

ῥαιθυμίαι ... πόνων μελέτηι: datives of manner (see on 47.4), corresponding in sense to ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι and ἐπίτινος ἀσκήσις in 39.1.

μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεόν ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας: the preposition perhaps governs ἀνδρείας (for the word order see Introd. 28), on which the earlier genitives (of cause, Sm. 1298) depend: 'not with courage from rules (which the Spartans have) rather than from character'. Cf. however μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων 5.69.2 (of Spartans encouraging each other before battle - not of music, see *HCT* IV.118) and μὴ μετὰ νόμων 3.62.4; for the enforcement of bravery by law at Sparta cf. 87.9, and Plato, *Laus* 625D. Ὁν μᾶλλον ἢ and μὴ ... τὸ πλεόν ἢ see Introd. 25.

περιγίγνεται: impersonal + dat. and infin.: 'it results for us that ...'

τοῖς ... μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς: neuter, causal dative: 'because of troubles that we anticipate'.

ἔλθοῦσι: masculine (with ἡμῖν), temporal: 'when we enter into them' (τὰ ἀλγεινά).

ἀτολμοτέρους: the dative and infinitive (περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν) is extended with accusative and infinitive (Sm. 1978; cf. 7.2, 11.7, 61.2).

ἄξιαν εἶναι: although this is logically a new idea (forming a transition to the next section) it remains grammatically dependent on περιγίγνεται.

40 *The Athenian character*

In his programme for the speech (36.4) Pericles announced he would consider the ἐπιτήδευσις, πολιτεία and τρόποι of his people; he now turns to the last of these, and discusses the qualities of Athenians as individuals, as his later summary makes clear (41.1 ξυνηλῶν τε λέγω τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ...).

'National character' was a frequent topos in ethnographic literature: see M. Göbel, *Ethnica: de Graecarum civitatum proprietatibus proverbio notatis* (diss. Breslau 1915) and F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des*

Herakleides (*Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ph.-hist. Kl.*, Vienna 1951, Vol. 227.2) 67-70, 179-82.

40.1-2 *The harmony of Athenian life*

First he surveys the excellence of the Athenians in a wide range of activities, in what is perhaps the most famous passage in Greek prose, yet one whose structure has been widely misunderstood. Pythagoras is said (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 5.8) to have compared life and human occupations to the Olympic games, where some men come to compete and win glory, others to buy and sell, still others — the most noble — to observe and study. This threefold division of human life is found in Plato (*Rep.* 9.580b), Aristotle (*EN* 1.5. 1095b14) and elsewhere, and Pericles adopts it here as well, in a lengthy sentence which is divided into three major sections by τε (see on 39.2): (1) φιλοκαλούμεν τε γάρ ... (καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ...); (2) πλούτῳ τε ... χρώμεθα (καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι); (3) ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια (καὶ ἑτέροις ...).

His occupational categories — lovers of wisdom (intellectuals), of wealth (businessmen) and of public service (politicians) — are meant as *alternatives*; it would be preposterous to ascribe to every single Athenian citizen the simultaneous pursuit of philosophy, wealth and political power, especially since in the case of wealth and politics an explicit reference is added to those *outside* these spheres as well (καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι ... καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις):

‘For in the first place (τε) we seek what is noble with moderation in expense, and seek wisdom without becoming soft; furthermore (τε), wealth is for us an opportunity to act rather than something about which to speak boastfully, and as for poverty, it is not a disgrace for anyone to admit to it, but it is a disgrace not to attempt actively to escape it; finally (τε), those who manage our city do the same for their households as well, and others, even though they pursue their trades, have a thorough knowledge of politics.’

The ‘three lives’ are usually invoked by philosophers wishing to praise one at the expense of the others. Pericles’ purpose is different: none of the three is rejected and each, it is implied, is of value only as far as it harmonises with Athenian society as a whole. (Note in particular that

references to personal wealth — μετ’ εὐτελείας, οἰκείων ... ἐπιμέλεια, πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις — occur in the first and third elements as well as the second.) But the life of service to the city (elaborated in 40.2-3) occupies the final and emphatic position. (See further Rusten, *C.Q.* 35 (1985) 14-19.)

Plato has this passage in mind when he ridicules the ‘democratic’ man as unable to concentrate on a single life (*Rep.* 561D): ‘therefore he lives for the day, gratifying whatever desire comes over him ... sometimes doing physical training, sometimes lying idle and caring for nothing, or sometimes pretending to engage in philosophy; often he takes up politics, and jumps up [in the assembly, cf. Cratinus fr. 378 Kassel-Austin] to say or do whatever occurs to him; if he is taken with warriors he is drawn in that direction, or if he likes businessmen, to this activity. His life possesses no order or direction whatsoever — and yet he continues to practise it, calling this life pleasant, free and blessed.’

40.1 Φιλοκαλούμεν: not ‘we love beauty’ (referring to the art of the Acropolis, which was anything but εὐτελής ‘inexpensive’), but ‘we love what is noble’ (cf. ἔραν τῶν καλῶν Pind. *P.* 11.50; Theognis 696), a virtual synonym of φιλοσοφοῦμεν (W. Burkert, ‘Platon oder Pythagoras? Zum Ursprung des Wortes “Philosophie”, *Hermes* 88 (1960) 174).

φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας: for the tendency of the philosophic temperament to become μαλακώτερον τοῦ δέοντος see Plato, *Rep.* 3.410E.

ἔργου ... καιρῶι ... λόγου κόμπῳι: predicative (Sm. 1509) with χρώμεθα. The contrast between λόγος and ἔργον is inescapable in T., sometimes neutrally (8.4), sometimes to the advantage of the latter (‘claim’ vs. ‘reality’ as here, 41.2, 42.2, 65.9), sometimes of the former (‘intellect’ vs. ‘action’ 40.2, 43.3). Cf. also ἔπη vs. ἔργα 41.4 and γνώμη vs. ἔργον 11.5, 43.3. See in general Parry, *Logos and ergon in Thucydides* (159-71 on the *epitaphios* in particular).

τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρόν: = οὐκ αἰσχρόν τινι ὁμολογεῖν τὸ πένεσθαι. τὸ πένεσθαι is equivalent to a simple infinitive (cf. 53.3, 6.14, 17.8), in indirect statement with ὁμολογεῖν (Sm. 2034g). With the emphatic initial placement of ‘wealth’ and ‘poverty’ here cf. 42.4 οὔτε πλούτῳι ... οὔτε πενίᾳς.

μὴ διαφεύγειν: sc. τὸ πένεσθαι.

διαφεύγειν ἔργῳι: contrasted with the second element of ὁμολογεῖν.

alternatives
wealth &
poverty!

αἰσχίον: the comparative marks the contrast with οὐχ ... αἰσχρόν (see on 35.1): 'it is not disgraceful to ... , but it is disgraceful not to ...' (On the negative-positive formulation see on 37.1.)

40.2 ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ... καὶ ἑτέροις: the second dative has been variously emended, in the mistaken belief that 'τοῖς αὐτοῖς in the first clause means the Athenians generally, and there is no "other class" of Athenians to oppose to them' (*HCT* π.121). But there are in fact two groups.

(1) τοῖς αὐτοῖς designates those whose primary task is to govern the city (without neglecting their own affairs); ὁ αὐτός here 'stresses the combination of two predicates [here the two objective genitives οἰκείων ἄμα καὶ πολιτικῶν] which as a rule apply only separately' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1000-1, cf. Jebb on *OT* 457), precisely as Latin *idem*. See Rusten, *C.Q.* 35 (1985) 18, and cf. 40.3 and 41.1.

(2) ἑτέροις ('the rest') designates those who work for themselves (while remaining knowledgeable about public affairs). Pericles here answers claims such as the Theban herald's in Eur. *Supp.* 420-3: γαπόνοσ δ' ἀνὴρ πένης, | εἰ καὶ γένοιτο μὴ ἀμαθής, ἔργων ὕπο | οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πρὸς τὰ κοῖν' ἀποβλέπειν.

οἰκείων ἄμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια 'the ability to supervise simultaneously both their own and the city's business'.

πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις: πρὸς (ἐπὶ, εἰς) ἔργα τρέπεσθαι = 'pursue one's own business' (L. Edmunds, 'Thuc. ii.40.2', *C.R.* 22 (1972) 171-2); the participle is concessive.

40.2-3 Balance of debate and action

For those who are ignorant of public policy we have nothing but contempt, while we ourselves always participate, either recognising good policies (of others) or actually formulating them. Despite Pericles' claim of Athenian uniqueness (μόνοι), the structure of his analysis is at least as old as Hesiod (*WD* 293-7):

οὔτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει,
φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἔς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω
ἔσθλος δ' αὖ καὶ κείνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται·
ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέηι μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὐτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνήρ.

Pericles gives the three categories a political rather than moral application and reverses the order, but they remain the same: αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει = ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς, εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται = κρίνομεν ὀρθῶς, μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέηι μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται = τὸν μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα. For both Hesiod and T. the last type is ἀχρήσιος (cf. ἄχρηστος in the constitution of Dreros (M-L no. 2, Loraux 408 n. 17); δμιλος ἀχρήσιος Hdt. 3.81.1).

Furthermore (40.3), the traditional incompatibility of careful planning and timely action does not apply to the Athenians as to other Greeks. (On this form of the λόγος/ἔργον antithesis see Parry, *Logos and ergon* 165-6 and Hans Dieter Kemper, *Rat und Tat* (diss. Bonn 1960) 50.) The speech of the Corinthians at the first congress of the Peloponnesian League (1.70) had drawn a vivid contrast between the excessive caution of the Spartans and the bold but rash activity of the Athenians; later (1.84) Archidamus had given a more positive view of Sparta's approach, and Pericles here does the same for Athens.

μηδέν: on the accusative with μετέχω see Sm. 1344 (not οὐδέν, because generic, Sm. 2734).

ἀπραγμονα: usually a complimentary term, 'unpolitical' (see Ehrenberg, *Polypragmosyne: a study of Greek politics*), and *HCT* π.122; on abstinence from politics as an ideal see W. R. Connor, *The new politicians of fifth-century Athens* (Princeton 1971) 175-94.

αὐτοί: the manuscripts C and G add the article, but this is unlike the adverbial use of ὁ αὐτός just above (τοῖς αὐτοῖς) and in 40.3 (οἱ αὐτοί); here there is a *disjunction* of two predicates, and αὐτοί alone marks the shift of emphasis from the accusative (τὸν ... μετέχοντα) to the nominative (κρίνομεν κτλ.) within the same sentence, as in 37.1 (χρῶμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούσῃ ... παράδειγμα δὲ μάλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες) and 11.1 (καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην ... καὶ αὐτοὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι).

ἦτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα: γε 'stresses the likelier member of the comparison' (L. Edmunds, art. cit. 40.2n. above, 171; see also Adam on Plato, *Rep.* 344E): 'we at least judge policy correctly even if we do not formulate it'.

οὐ τοὺς λόγους ... ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μάλλον: both noun and infinitive are predicates to βλάβην ἠγούμενοι (*variatio*, Introd. 26): 'not discussion ... but lack of advance information'. On the negative-positive contrast see Introd. 24.

λόγῳ ... ἔργῳ: see on 40.1 above.

ἔλθειν: with πρότερον ἢ (not with δεῖ).

40.3 διαφερόντως ... ἔχομεν = διαφέρομεν (39.1).

τόδε: accusative of respect, referring to the preceding statement (see on 34.7).

ὥστε τολμᾶν τε ... καὶ ... ἐκλογίζεσθαι 'so that the same people are not only especially daring but also [especially] analytical about what we undertake'. (τε ... καὶ as in 36.2.)

ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις: the relative is accus., 'in respect to which' (the choice between action and discussion); here (as in 3.12.1, cf. *HCT* iv.306 and *Eur. Ion* 245-6) it virtually = 'whereas'.

ψυχὴν 'in courage' (cf. τῷ ... εὐψύχῳ, 39.1).

σαφέστατα: adverb.

40.4-5 Friendship

A traditional definition of male ἀρετή consisted in 'outdoing one's friends in kindness and one's enemies in harm' (*Xen. Mem.* 2.6.35; cf. Plato, *Meno* 71E3 and Dover, *Greek popular morality* 180-4, 277), and the commonest model of friendship was one of indebtedness and repayment (Plato, *Rep.* 331E; G. Vlastos, 'Socrates' contribution to the Greek sense of justice', *Archaiognosia* 1.2 (1980) 304-7). Pericles generalises on the best sort of friend (see F. Dirlmeier, *Philos und philia im vorhellenistischen Griechenland* (diss. Munich 1931) 52-3) and claims that Athenians are more vigorous in friendship, even (or rather especially) when no equal return is expected (cf. the praise of Theseus, *Eur. HF* 1403-5; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 45; Pseudo-Dicaearchus 1.4 = Pfister, *Reisebilder des Herakleides* 74, 115; and M. Göbel, *Ethnica* (diss. Breslau 1915) 20).

The Spartans' attempt to apply such a generalisation to treaty negotiations in 4.19 (D. MacDowell, 'ἀρετή and generosity', *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963) 127-34) is patently unrealistic; Pericles the politician is not so naive, and his words here must not be misinterpreted as a claim about the Athenian policy to allies (pace J. T. Hooker, 'χάρις and ἀρετή in Thucydides', *Hermes* 102 (1974) 164-9; Loraux 81) - they would be a grotesque distortion of the nature of empire, which he later compares to a tyranny (63.2; see Flashar 24). Like all this section, they are meant to apply to the character of individual Athenians (see introductory n. to 40 above).

40.4 τὰ ἐς ἀρετήν: accusative of respect.

ἐνηντιώμεθα 'we are opposite to ...', a synonym for διαφέρομεν

and διαφερόντως ἔχομεν above (on the tense see on 37.1 κέκληται) δρώντες: sc. εὔ. Both participles are modal (Sm. 2063): 'not by receiving favours, but by doing them'.

βεβαιότερος ... ἀμβλύτερος 'more reliable [i.e. a firmer friend] ... less enthusiastic' (on the paired comparatives see K-G n.306). This sentence is not an explanation of the Athenian style of friendship (which would be contradicted by οὐ ... λογισμῶι below) but a parenthetical generalisation. The apparent paradox that a benefactor feels more affection than his beneficiary is discussed by Arist. *EN* 1167b17. ὁ δράσας: sc. εὔ (not with τὴν χάριν, as LSJ s.v. χάρις III.a).

τὴν χάριν ὥστε ... σώζειν: the emphatic word is placed even before the conjunction (hyperbaton, cf. 1.10.4 αὐτέρεται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν, and the edition of Thucydides 6 (Cambridge 1905) by A. W. Spratt, introd. xl). The sentence is a condensed result clause (pace *GP* 527), in which δι' εὐνοίας is emphatic: 'with the result that, through his goodwill [for the one] to whom he has given it [the favour], he keeps it [the gratitude] owed'.

τὴν χάριν ... ὀφειλομένην ... ὧι δέδωκε: χάρις is a reciprocal relationship in Greek, but must be translated differently in English depending on the idiom: χάριν δοῦναι = 'grant a favour'; χάριν ὀφείλειν = 'owe gratitude'.

ἀποδώσων: participle in indirect statement with a verb of perception (εἰδώς).

40.5 μόνος: the claim of uniqueness is traditional for *epitaphioi*, cf. 40.2, 41.3; Loraux 1 n. 3.

λογισμῶι ... πιστῶι: the datives are parallel only in form, not in meaning (see in general Ros 86-96), since the first is causal and the second modal: 'not because we calculate the advantage, but with confident independence'. (On the positive-negative formulation see *Introd.* p. 24.)

τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶι πιστῶι: for the neuter adjective with genitive (τὸ πιστόν again in 1.68.1, 6.72.4) see on 44.4, for ἐλευθερία see on 37.2.

ἀδεῶς 'fearlessly'.

41.1-4 The greatness of Athens

In 36.4 Pericles justified his praise of the Athenians as a description of the society and character which were the backbone of her power (ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας καὶ

τρόπων ἐξ οἴων μεγάλα ἐγένετο); to that power he now returns, and offers Athens' military and imperial might as an objective proof of the qualities he has just described.

The contrast between the objective evidence of Athenian domination and the fictions of poets not only returns to a theme of the preface (1.9-11, 21.1), but also recalls the report that Pericles belittled the Trojan war in comparison with his own reduction of Samos (Plut. *Per.* 28.7 = *FGrHist* 392 (Ion of Chios) F 16).

41.1 *Ἐυελών τε* 'in summary' (on *τε* as a summarising sentence connective, *Introd.* 23).

τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον: summing up the praise, first of the city's institutions in 37-9 (with *παίδεσις* here cf. *παράδειγμα* in 37.1) then of the Athenian character in 40.

δοκεῖν ἂν μοι ... ἐπὶ πλείστ' ἂν εἶδη ... μάλιστα' ἂν: all three instances of *ἂν* belong to *παρέχεσθαι*, which represents a potential optative in indirect statement (dependent on *δοκεῖν*).

τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα: see on 40.2 *τοῖς αὐτοῖς*.

παρ' ἡμῶν 'from among us' i.e. if he is an Athenian.

ἐπὶ πλείστ' ἂν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα' ἂν εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι: Pericles' attempt to summarise all his claims for the Athenian character in 40 produces an almost Aeschylean concentration of adverbial qualifications, using vocabulary in part ambiguous (on the meanings of *εἶδη*, *χάριτες*, *εὐτραπέλως*, and *σῶμα* see the notes below). The logical word order appears to be *παρέχεσθαι ἂν τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες ἐπὶ πλείστ' εἶδη, καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα' εὐτραπέλως*. *Variatio*, with a predicate adjective (*αὐταρκες ἐπὶ πλείστ' κτλ.*) parallel to an adverb + prepositional phrase (*μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα' ... εὐτραπέλως*); cf. *Ros* 182-8.

ἐπὶ πλείστ' ἂν εἶδη: with *αὐταρκες*. *εἶδος* here (without a dependent genitive) seems to mean 'kind of conduct' (cf. 6.77.2, 8.56.2; *Adam* on *Plato, Rep.* 572c21).

Plato must have this passage in mind when he remarks of the 'democratic' man (*Rep.* 561e): 'I think that he is full of variety and of the greatest number of personalities, and that this man is the fair and multicoloured one who corresponds to that city [described in 557c2, quoted in the *introd.* n. to 37.2-3], and many men and women would admire his life, since he exemplifies the widest range of constitutions and temperaments.'

μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα' ... εὐτραπέλως: perhaps of Athenian adaptability in general ('with the most versatile grace' - this suits the context), but *χάρις* (e.g. *Eur. Hipp.* 95) and *εὐτραπέλια* (e.g. *Arist. EN* 1108a24) generally describe a congenial personality ('with the most charming wit' - cf. *Plato, Rep.* 563a *εὐτραπέλιας τε καὶ χαριεντισμοῦ*; and the aristocratic assessment of Gelon (*Hdt.* 7.156.3) *δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον*). For the plural *χαρίτων* see on 39.1 *παιδείας*.

ἂν ... τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι 'would provide a self-sufficient individual', with predicative position of the adjective for emphasis (43.2n.). The phrase is striking, and attempts to normalise it by regarding *τὸ σῶμα* as merely equivalent to *ἑαυτὸν* are unfounded. In a study of *σῶμα* used of persons ('Die Person,' *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1914, Abh. 10, 6-28) Rudolf Hirzel cites no such use, noting rather (54, *Nachtrag*) that in this passage it designates the individual as opposed to a larger group, the city (cf. *Dem.* 18.100; *Thuc.* 8.91). This suits well the general parallelism (*τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον*), and gives special point to *αὐταρκες*: just as Pericles has declared his *city* to be *αὐταρκεστάτη* (36.3), so also are her *citizens* the most self-sufficient individuals. The analogy of personal *αὐτάρκεια* and that of a city or country is found again implicitly in Aristotle (with *Pol.* 1253a cf. *EN* 1177a27), and explicitly in *Hdt.* 1.32.8-9, to which T. alludes with *σῶμα αὐταρκες* here: *ὡσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῆι παρέχουσα ... ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἔν οὐδὲν αὐταρκές ἐστί*.

Finally, *σῶμα αὐταρκες* reappears in a thoroughly different context in 51.3, where the primary meaning is 'no physical type was resistant' to the plague, but the choice of the same phrase - like the placement of the entire plague narrative immediately after the *epitaphios* - seems almost to mock Pericles' initial optimism.

41.2 *ὡς*: introducing indirect statement, governed by *σημαίνει* below.

λόγων κόμπος ... ἔργων ... ἀλήθεια: pleonastic, 'verbal boasting ... true facts'. See on 40.1.

τάδε ... τῶνδε: referring to things said *previously* (see on *ὄδε* 34.7).

41.3 *τῶν νῦν*; partitive, with *μόνη*.

ἀκοῆς κρείσσων ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται: 'proves stronger than reported'. *ἀγανάκτησιν ... κατὰμειψιν*: verbal derivatives (*Introd.* 22) com-

bined with ἔχει as virtual passives (cf. on 61.2): 'is neither resented by the attacking enemy ... nor blamed by the subject'.

ὕψ' οἶων κακοπαθεῖ: dependent exclamatory clause, equivalent to a causal clause explaining ἀγανάκτησιν (Sm. 2687): 'because he is being harmed by such [i.e. such unimpressive] men'.

ὥς ... ἀρχεται: causal, explaining κατάμεψιν. *ind. st.*

41.4 μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων ... Ξυγκατοικίσαντες: this sentence contains only one main verb (θαυμασθησόμεθα), which is expanded (cf. Introd. 26) by four circumstantial participles in the nominative plural, one (παρασχόμενοι) preceding the main verb, the rest combined in a more elaborate structure of negative-positive contrast and antithesis:

1. οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι
 - A. οὔτε Ὀμήρου
 - B. οὔτε ὁστις
 1. ἔπεισι μὲν ... τέρψει
 2. τῶν δ' ἔργων ... βλάψει
2. ἀλλὰ ...
 - A. (μὲν) καταναγκάσαντες
 - B. (δὲ) Ξυγκατοικίσαντες

μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ τοὶ ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι: *variatio*, with a prepositional phrase (expressing means, K-G 1.506-7) parallel to a causal participle (cf. Ros 187, and cf. 53.2 and 89.2): 'through great proofs, and because we furnish power that is well-witnessed ...' (μάρτυρας παρέχεσθαι is a technical term of legal proof, LSJ s.v. παρέχω B.ii). δὴ strengthens the negative (GP 222), and τοὶ 'brings the point home to the person addressed' (GP 548, cf. 552).

τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα: the dative of agent with passives other than the perfect (Sm. 1490) is common in T. (7.2, 35.3, 46.1, 77.2, 101.5).

οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι 'having no need in addition [to our power] of ...'

ὁστις: as usual, the antecedent (τοιοῦτον or the like) is omitted. The relative acts as the subject of the first part of the antithesis (through τέρψει), but the second part (βλάψει) is independent of it, cf. on 39.1.

ἔπεισι μὲν ... τῶν δ' ἔργων: ἔργων is placed first to contrast with ἔπεισι (see on 40.1), but is actually dependent on ἀλήθεια (as in 41.2 above). By a praiser 'who will please for the moment with his verses, but whose intended meaning (τὴν ὑπόνοιον) the truth of what happened will work against' Pericles means someone like Choerilus of Samos, who wrote an account of the Persian war, and of the deeds of Lysander (H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin 1983) frs. 314-32).

μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κάγαθῶν 'memorials of our vengeance [cf. κακοπαθεῖ above] or aid'. The reading καλῶν (defended by F. Müller, *H.S.C.P.* 53 (1958) 171) would ignore the fact that before Socrates, the Greeks considered harming enemies as important a duty as helping friends (7.68.1; Dover, *Greek popular morality* 180-4; Adam on Plato, *Rep.* 331E; Page on Eur. *Med.* 809-10). μνημεῖα ... Ξυγκατοικίζειν has the same double meaning as *exegi monumentum* in Hor. *Odes* 3.30.1. ἀίδια 'eternal'.

41.5-43.6 *The achievement of the dead and its lesson for the living*

Pericles' next theme is more traditional in *epitaphioi*, indeed stretches back to Tyrtaeus (fr. 12 West): the reasons for dying for one's country. He takes the current dead as his exemplum, to convince the survivors that they must be prepared to do likewise.

The first part (41.5-42.3) is a skilful transition from the portrait of Athens to the role of these particular soldiers in its preservation, and ends with a generalisation: a decisive contribution to the common good outweighs a lifetime of individual failings, especially for those who show ἀνδραγαθία - a euphemism (as the use of ἀνήρ ἀγαθός elsewhere shows) for death in battle.

Next (42.4) comes a minute examination, written in T.'s most ambitious style, of these soldiers' thoughts in their last moments. (The theme is as old as Hector's monologue in *Il.* 22.96-130.) It presents them as reaching a complex, dignified and intensely rational *decision* to offer their lives: they must choose between the long life and material prosperity desired by the individual - T. sees these goals as entirely legitimate in themselves - and the claims of the state which must occasionally supersede personal desires (cf. in general the arguments of Pericles' last speech, 60.2-4, and Hermann Strasburger, 'Der einzelne und die Gemeinschaft' (cited 60.2-4n.).

Then (43.1-2) Pericles addresses his audience and exhorts them to develop the same resolution as the dead (διάνοιαν 43.1 and τῆς γνώμης 43.3 refer to the attitude described in 42.4), by reflecting not only upon the city's greatness but also on these soldiers' ultimate success (since their loss has been richly compensated with glory, 43.3-4); they should make for themselves the same decision - to fight and, if necessary, to die - that these men once reached (43.4).

He ends with an expansion of part of his opening words (42.1 μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μὴδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως): it is not the desperate, but the fortunate who should welcome death, since at the height of their prosperity they have the most to fear from the future (43.5-6).

On this section see Loraux 98-104 and Rusten, 'The soldier's choice' (where the studies of W. Kohl, *Gymnasium* 85 (1978) 128-43 and A. G. Tsopanakis, *Gymnasium* 93 (1986) 164-7 should be added to the bibliography).

41.5 οἶδε: see on τοῖσδε 34.8.

δικαιοῦντες ... αὐτήν 'because they thought it right that they not be deprived of her'. The causal participle interrupts the emphatic initial phrases περὶ τοιαύτης ... πόλεως and γενναίως, which belong in sense primarily to μαχομένοι ἐτελεύτησαν (*hyperbaton*, Introd. 28). (For another construction of ἀφαιρῆσθαι cf. on 44.2.)

πάντα τινά 'everyone' (Sm. 1267).

εἰκός: sc. ἐστίν.

42.1 δι' ὃ δὴ καί: 'for which very reason' (GP 219).

διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος ... καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ... καθιστάς: καί ... ἅμα connects the participles, and frequently indicates a connection of thought ('and ... also') rather than temporal simultaneity ('and ... at the same time'); here as often it encloses the first coherent word-group of the second clause (cf. 42.4 τιμωρίαν ποθεινότεραν ... λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες, 57.1 ἐπυνθάνοντο ... καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἠισθάνοντο, 90.3 ὃ δὲ ... ἐπλει ... καὶ ὁ πρὸς ἅμα ... παρεβόηθει. See also on 42.4 καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα. (On ποιούμενος see on 34.1 ταφάς ἐποιήσαντο.)

μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν ... καὶ οἷς: lit. 'that for us the contest is not for an equal prize as [for those] to whom ...' Comparative καί with ἴσος: GP 292; Sm. 1501a, 2875; cf. 60.6. (The antecedent of οἷς is omitted.) On warfare as an ἀγών in *epitaphioi* see Loraux 95; cf. μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα 45.1.

τὴν εὐλογίαν ... ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λέγω: omitted antecedent again, 'the eulogy [of those men] over whom I am now speaking'.

φανερὰν ... καθιστάς: the adjective is predicative, 'confirming'.

42.2 καὶ εἶρηται αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα 'and yet the most important parts of it [the eulogy] have already been spoken'. The transition is one of contrast (on καί in such cases see GP 292): καθιστάς had suggested that Pericles had thus far been laying the foundation for a more extensive praise of the soldiers, but now it is revealed to be nearly over.

ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε ... ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν: the relative is not an internal accusative, but a second accusative with a verb of saying or praising (Sm. 1622; K-G I.322); it also represents the object of ἐκόσμησαν (cf. κακόσμηται 46.1; LSJ s.v. κοσμέω π.3 is misleading): 'for it was their virtues that made beautiful the qualities which I have glorified in the city'.

πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων: dative of advantage (Sm. 1481).

ἰσόρροπος 'equivalent to', with τῶν ἔργων.

ὥσπερ τῶνδε: note the asymmetry with πολλοῖς: 'and not for many of the Greeks would reputation be manifestly equivalent to the facts, like theirs'. On λόγος/ἔργον see on 40.1; with the formulation here compare 1.69.5, καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι, ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει.

ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆν: without the article also at Plato, *Protag.* 325A and *Meno* 71E; in the latter it is contrasted with γυναικὸς ἀρετῆ (cf. γυναικείας ἀρετῆς 45.2 below).

πρώτη τε μὴνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιούσα: 'as either a first indication [if their virtue had not been known before] or a final confirmation [if it had]'. On τε ... καί of alternatives see on 35.1 εὐ τε καὶ χεῖρον.

42.3 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τάλλα χεῖροσι: dative of advantage and accusative of respect, 'for even for those who were worse in other things ...' What follows is a parenthetical generalisation (ὠφέλησαν and ἔβλαψαν are gnomic aorists); it casts no aspersions on the current dead, to whom Pericles returns with τῶνδε δέ in 42.4.

τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν: virtually = 'willingness to die in wartime for one's country', see on ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν 35.1.

προτιθεσθαι: passive with δίκαιον (sc. ἐστί): 'it is right that their ἀνδραγαθία ... be given preference [i.e. over their faults]'. (Bétant,

Lexicon Thucydideum s.v. is wrong to compare 3.64.4 ἀνδραγαθίαν προύθεσθε.)

ἀφανίσαντες: modal.

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων: = ἰδίαι. T. often uses prepositions with neuter adjectives (usually singular, but for the plural cf. 3.4 ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν) as adverbial phrases: ἴσον alone appears with ἀπό (89.2), ἐκ (3.4), ἐν (60.6), and περὶ (42.1); and cf. ἐξ ὀλίγου 11.4 ('suddenly'), ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου 44.3 ('equally'), ἐν τῷ ἔμφανει 21.2 ('openly'), ἐς αἰδίον 64.3 ('for ever').

42.4 Flashar 29 justly called this 'probably the most difficult sentence in T.'s history', and Dover (*Thucydides* 9-10) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thuc. idiom.* 16, 1.436 Usener-Radermacher) would agree. The text is not, however, corrupt. The long, complex sentence is built from a sequence of verbs describing the soldiers' decisions (προτιμήσας, ποθεινότεραν ... λαβόντες, νομίσαντες, ἐβουλήθησαν, ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀξιούντες, ἡγησάμενοι) and their corresponding actions (οὔτε ... ἑμαλακίσθη, οὔτε ... ἀναβολὴν ... ἐποίησαντο, αἰσχρὸν ... ἔφυγον, ἔργον ... ὑπέμειναν); these are arranged in several standard Thucydidean structural patterns (each of which is considerably varied in detail):

1. Antithesis: τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι / τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἑλπίδι μὲν ... ἐπιτρέψαντες / ἔργω δὲ ... ἀξιούντες ... τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον / τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν
2. Negative-positive contrast (Introd. 24): οὔτε ... ἑμαλακίσθη, οὔτε ... ἀναβολὴν ... ἐποίησαντο: τὴν δὲ ... ἐβουλήθησαν
3. καὶ ... ἅμα (see on 42.1): λαβόντες καὶ ... ἅμα ... νομίσαντες, ὑπέμειναν καὶ ... ἅμα ... ἀπηλλάγησαν.
4. Comparison (Introd. 24): τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ... ἢ τὸ ἔνδοντες σώζεσθαι, ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους.

The effect is of a swift series of calculations, by which the soldiers persuade themselves to place their lives at risk; after so much elaborately structured expression, the conclusion is given in the simple ἀπηλλάγησαν (cf. the similar use of ἀπέκτειναν to close the sentence on the tyrannicides, 1.20.2).

A free translation (for more detailed discussion of the many problems see nn. below, and Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 49-76):

'As for these men: of those who had wealth not one turned coward because he preferred to prolong its enjoyment, nor did

any pauper, hoping he could yet escape his poverty and become rich, postpone the dread moment. But taking the victory over their enemies to be more desired than that, and believing this the most glorious of risks, they were willing to pursue the victory at this risk, while delaying the rest, deciding to hope for prosperity in a future that was uncertain, but resolving to take in hand personally what confronted them now; and, recognising that resistance and death were involved in it rather than surrender and survival, they fled from disgrace, but faced up to their task with their lives; and through the fortune of the briefest instant, at the height of glory rather than fear, they departed.'

τῶνδε δέ: δέ = ἀλλά (on the pronoun see on τοῖσδε 34.8).

οὔτε πλούτου ... οὔτε πενίας: Pericles divides the Athenian citizens into two groups according to financial status, in much the same language as in 40.1-2 (πλούτῳ τε ... καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι ... διαφεύγειν). Each co-ordinating negative is followed immediately by the key word in its phrase, with some distortion of word order for emphasis (Introd. 28): πλούτου is separated from ἀπόλαυσιν on which it depends, and πενίας is placed before the clause with ὡς where it logically belongs (and where αὐτήν repeats it). The latter produces a vague genitive ('because of the hope connected with poverty, that ...'), but for similar cases cf. 1.61.1, 1.97.2; Sm. 2182b; K-G p.580).

τὴν ἐτι ἀπόλαυσιν 'the continued enjoyment'.

ἐλπίδι: causal dative, explained further by ὡς ... πλουτήσειεν.

κἂν ἐτι: with πλουτήσειεν (καί = 'even'). Adverbs are often placed early in their clauses for emphasis (cf. ἤδη 25.5, νῦν 44.1, ἄνω 83.1).

διαφυγῶν: conditional.

ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποίησαντο 'postponed what he feared' (see on 34.1).

τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ...: δέ = ἀλλά, introducing the positive side of the negative-positive contrast begun with οὔτε ... οὔτε above; but the statement of what the soldiers *did* do continues much longer (until ἀπηλλάγησαν, the final word of the sentence) than what they did *not*.

ποθεινότεραν αὐτῶν 'more desirable than them'. αὐτά combines the contents (enjoyment of existing wealth and escape from poverty) of both phrases above (cf. on ἡλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά 36.4).

λαβόντες: used as a verb of perception also at 3.38.4.

καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα . . . : καὶ ... ἅμα connects λαβόντες and νομίσαντες (42.1n.).

μετ' αὐτοῦ: referring back to κινδύνων ... τόνδε κάλλιστον (μετὰ κινδύνου (-ων) = 'at risk of their lives' 3.56.5, 5.107.1, 6.31.1, 6.72.4).

τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι: as above, the soldier's choice (usually between bravery or cowardice on the field) is presented as one between military action and personal prosperity. The resulting antithesis (τοὺς = the enemy, τῶν = wealth) is rather artificial, but the infinitive ἐφίεσθαι (attacked by Gomme) is sound: T. is careful to insist (with οὔτε ... προτιμήσας and ποθεινότεραν above, and ἐλπιδι ἐπιτρέψαντες below) that these soldiers continue to wish for prosperity, while thinking it less important than victory.

ἐλπιδι μὲν ... ἔργωι δέ: the datives appear at first to be parallel, but are grammatically unrelated: ἐλπιδι ... ἐπιτρέψαντες corresponds to σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι, while ἔργωι is dative of respect. This antithesis reproduces the last one (immediate action for victory vs. merely continuing to hope for wealth) in reverse order.

τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσθαι ... τοῦ ἤδη ὀρωμένου: grammatically disparate but logically parallel: future (κατορθώσθαι) vs. present (ἤδη) and invisible (ἀφανῆ) vs. visible (ὀρωμένου). On the neuter adjective with genitive (= 'uncertain success in the future') cf. on 44.4 τῷ ἀχρεῖωι τῆς ἡλικίας.

ἐν αὐτῷι τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μάλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σώιζεσθαι: this phrase has been judged corrupt by nearly every editor for the past century, but the problems do not seem insoluble.

(1) The manuscripts provide only one inferior variant, ἐν αὐτῷι τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι, which (a) necessitates further changes by modern editors (the version quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus may have arisen in this way), (b) is an easy error palaeographically (assimilation of endings), and (c) destroys the parallelism between the articular infinitives τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν = 'to keep fighting and suffer' (i.e. 'die') and τὸ ἐνδόντες σώιζεσθαι = 'to survive by surrendering' – the *variatio* which balances the infinitive ἀμύνεσθαι with the modal participle ἐνδόντες (in the nominative to agree with the subject of the sentence) is characteristically Thucydidean.

(2) These two articular infinitives are contrasted (in the common form 'x μάλλον ἢ γ', Introd. 25) in an indirect statement with ἡγησά-

μενοι (sc. εἶναι): 'considering that fighting and dying rather than surviving through surrender were ...' (Stahl's suggestion (still repeated in LSJ s.v. ἡγεύμαι π.4), that μάλλον ἡγεῖσθαι be taken together to mean 'prefer', is not supported by any true parallels.)

(3) We require then only a predicate, and the only possible one – and a very suitable one – is ἐν αὐτῷι (where αὐτῷι = τῷι ἤδη ὀρωμένωι which they have just decided to undertake). ἐν is often used in predications where 'one thing involves another' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 959; e.g. *Erech.* fr. 362 ἐν τῷι πένεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ἢ τ' ἀδοξία ... ἢ τ' ἀτιμία βίου), so that this phrase continues the soldiers' calculations: 'thinking that in it [the task confronting them] were involved fighting ... rather than surviving ...'

For fuller discussion see Rusten, 'The soldier's choice' 62–7.

τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου: see on 44.4 τῷι ἀχρεῖωι τῆς ἡλικίας.

ἔφυγον ... ὑπέμειναν: oxymoron (Introd. 27); the basic choice of the soldier is to flee or stand his ground, but the only thing these soldiers fled was the shame of being a φυγόμαχος.

καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῆι τῆς δόξης μάλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν: four basic Greek abstract concepts (καιρός, τύχη, δόξα and δέος) occur here in the genitive, without a clear indication of the grammatical relationship between them. The possibilities are numerous, and nearly every one has been argued by one interpreter or another (usually with some distortion of the basic meanings of these words). But an attention to structural patterns and usage can assist in sorting them out:

(1) The common pattern 'x μάλλον ἢ γ' suggests that δόξα and δέος are contrasted, which leads to the assumption (natural in any case) that both are dependent on ἀκμῆι. To say that the soldiers died 'at the height of their glory rather than their fear' is characteristically Thucydidean praise, expressed both positively and negatively and using an antithesis (fame vs. fear) of form rather than sense.

(2) ἀκμῆι is not governed by ἅμα acting as a preposition, but stands alone. (The normal phrase is ἐν ἀκμῆι + genitive, but cf. Pind. *P.* 4.64 φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμῆι; Plut. *Per.* 13.23 μιᾶς ἀκμῆι πολιτείας; *Quaest. Conv.* 659a12 ἀκμῆι σελήνης. ἅμα ἀκμῆι on the other hand seems never to occur elsewhere, not even in imitations of this passage.) Therefore ἅμα belongs to καὶ as a connective (for the pattern see on 42.1); in this case the words which καὶ ... ἅμα enclose, δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης, ought to comprise semantically a single phrase.

(3) καιρός and τύχη are natural partners (Plato, *Laws* 4.709B7; Dem. *Phil.* 3.38, *De fals. leg.* 317), but in δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης which genitive is the object of the preposition? De Romilly chooses the first (with διὰ temporal, 'dans le bref instant où le sort intervint', so also Loraux 386 n. 120), A. Croiset (*Thucydide, livres I-II* (Paris 1886) ad loc.) the second (διά of agent, 'par le hasard d'un instant'). The latter is preferable, not only because of T.'s penchant for introducing a dependent genitive between a preposition and its genitive object (cf. 13.2 ἀπὸ τούτων ... τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου, and Introd. 28), but also because τύχη is a common agent of death, one to which no reproach is attached because it is outside human control (e.g. Antiphon 6.15; Lysias 13.63; Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epigrams* 149-50). As an epigram (probably of the Persian wars) puts it (*A.P.* 7.253 = Page, *Further Greek epigrams* 710-1, p. 199): εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον, | ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τούτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη. For the phrase διὰ τύχης cf. Plato, *Laws* 709D.

(4) There remains the single verb ἀπηλλάγησαν (sc. τοῦ βίου, LSJ s.v. II.2). On the avoidance of ἀπέθανον in funeral orations see Loraux 341 n. 8.

43.1 προσηκόντως τῆι πόλει 'to match their city'. (τοιοῖδε = such as they were described in 42.4.)

χρῆ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι: from the following phrase sc. διάνοιαν ἔχειν: 'the rest of us must pray to have a resolve against the enemy that is less perilous, but be determined to have one that is no less courageous'.

σκοποῦντας ... θεωμένους ... γιγνομένους ... ἐνθυμουμένους: modal participles (with τοὺς δὲ λοιπούς) expanding ἀξιοῦν (Introd. 26).

σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ: negative-positive contrast with ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ... ἔργῳ θεωμένους (see on 37.1). For the futility of attempting to instil courage with a single speech, cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* 3.3.51.

πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδόμενοι 'present to you at length, although you know it just as well yourselves'. The emphatic words are placed between the preposition and its object (*hyperbaton*, cf. 6.76.4 περὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν σφίσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσεως, 6.87.4 ἐν παντὶ γὰρ πᾶς χωρίζω).

θεωμένους: a fragment of the mid fifth-century comic poet Lysippus (fr. 8 Kassel-Austin) states: εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθῶνας, στέλεχος

εἶ | εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι, μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος | εἰ δ' εὐαρεστών ἀποτρήχεις, κανθήλιος. ('If you haven't got to know Athens, you're a block-head; if despite your acquaintance you aren't captivated, you're a donkey; if despite your pleasure you leave, you're a pack-ass'.) Note that the object here is not τὴν πόλιν but τὴν ... δύναμιν.

ἐραστάς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς: for ἐραστής of political and other loyalties cf. Hdt. 3.53.4; K. J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality* (London 1978) 156-7; LSJ s.v. 2 (where this passage deserves to be added).

ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι: the main verb of the ὅτι-clause (ἐκτήσαντο) is expanded with modal participles (τολμῶντες, γινώσκοντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἀξιοῦντες and προίεμενοι) which recapitulate the claims in 37.3 (sense of public duty), 40.3 (τολμᾶν combined with γινώσκω), 42.4 (determination to sacrifice their lives if necessary).

ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις: the contrast is between γνώμη (implied in γινώσκοντες) and ἔργα (cf. 43.3 τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου).

αἰσχυνόμενοι 'keeping their honour intact'. αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνομαι denote properly the guilty shame for an act committed, αἰδώς and αἰδοῦμαι the inhibitory emotion which prevents such acts; but the distinction between them becomes blurred by the late fifth century, so that αἰσχύνομαι may be used positively here (cf. 5.9.9, and αἰσχύνη in 1.84.3, 2.51.5; Soph. *Aj.* 1079), and αἰδώς negatively (see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 244; the treatment of αἰσχύνομαι in LSJ needs revision).

αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο: we might have had αὐτὴν (= δύναμιν above), but see on 36.4 ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά.

ὁπότε ... σφαλεῖεν: iterative (Sm. 2340): 'whenever they failed in an attempt at something'.

οὐκ οὖν 'not on that account ...' On οὖν in an apodosis see GP 424.

οὐκ ... ἀξιοῦντες ... κάλλιστον δὲ ... προίεμενοι: negative-positive contrast (with δέ = ἀλλά), Introd. 24.

κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προίεμενοι: ἔρανος was a contribution collected for purposes that were charitable (corresponding to a modern foundation), social (a club) or financial (an investment syndicate); see in general Johannes Vendeling, *Ἐρανος* (diss. Utrecht 1961). Metaphorically it designates any service or favour, see C. Collard on Eur. *Supp.* 363 (Groningen 1975). Since, however, an ἔρανος could result in profit, the metaphor is applied specifically in κοινῇ ... διδόντες and ἰδία ... ἐλάβανον below.

43.2 τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ... τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον: μνημα can

be applied to both the actual tomb and the subjective memory of the dead (e.g. Page, *Further Greek epigrams* 881 p 272; P. E. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* nos. 6 and 10; Latimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epigraphy* 244, cf. the use of μνημεία in 41.4 above). T. takes up the less suitable synonym τάφος and extends the conceit: in addition to the actual oration and tomb, the dead receive an ἔπαινος and τάφος that transcend time and place. For the language compare Simonides' praise of the slain at Thermopylae (fr. 26 Page):

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότιμος,
βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτ' εὐρῶς
οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
Ἑλλάδος εἶλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας,
Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς
κόσμον ἀνάσιν τε κλέος.

ἐλάμβανον: the subject is still the ἀνδρες of the preceding sentence.

ἐπισημότερον: the predicative position of the adjective is equivalent to an emphatic attributive (Sm. 1169): 'the tomb, which is most conspicuous of all', (cf. 49.5 τῆι δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ, 38.2, 53.4, 62.1).

οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κείνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ...: negative-positive contrast, with μᾶλλον for emphasis in the first term (Introd. 24).

παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ ... καιρῶι 'on whatever occasion for speech or action arises' (for αἰεὶ cf. on 37.3).

αἰείμνηστος 'eternally' (see on οὐκ ἀν ἀπρεπῆ 36.4).

43.3 στηλῶν ... ἐπιγραφή 'an inscription on stelai', the normal way of commemorating war casualties; for examples see M-L nos. 33, 48. For a catalogue of all the surviving casualty lists from Athens and elsewhere see Pritchett, *The Greek state at war* IV.139-45.

οἰκείαι: sc. γῆι (as with τῆι μὴ προσηκούση).

σημαίνει 'indicates', 'identifies' (sc. τὸν τάφον).

ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ: for the conceit cf. W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin 1955) no. 1492 (Athens, c. 390-365): σῆς ἀρετῆς ἔστηκεν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πλείστα τροπαῖα | ἐν τ' ἀνδρῶν ψυχᾶς, οἷος ἔων ἔλιπες, | Νικόβολ', ἡλίου λαμπρὸν φάος ...

τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου '[a memory] of their resolution rather than their deed', repeating the stress laid on their attitude in the long sentence 42.4 rather than the fact of their deaths. For γνώμη see on 38.1, for ἔργον cf. 42.4 τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν and 43.1 γιγνώσκοντες ... ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. (But the range of these words' meaning is so wide that another possibility, with the genitives indicating substance, might be 'an intellectual memorial rather than a physical one', continuing the contrast in ἄγραφος.)

43.4 οὓς ... ζηλώσαντες: the relative acts as a sentence connective (cf. ὧν ἔργα 36.4).

τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον ... τὸ εὐψυχον: neuter singular adjectives used as abstract substantives, Introd. 22. The reasoning is 'happiness is freedom, and freedom is bravery [so to be happy, be brave]'. For a similarly abstract Spartan argument cf. Archidamus in 1.84.3: both self-restraint (σωφροσύνη) and courage (εὐψυχία) consist mainly of a sense of shame (αἰδώς/αἰσχύνη - see on αἰσχυνόμενοι 43.1 above), the implicit conclusion being that restraint = courage.

μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους: περιορᾶσθαι means 'to watch from the sidelines [without participating]', cf. 4.73.1, 6.93.1, 103.2, 7.33.2. (LSJ s.v. περιορᾶω v.1-3 needs revision.)

43.5 Another generalisation: the prosperous should not shrink from danger (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 597) but welcome it, since this is the best possible time for them to die - Pericles assumes, as the Greeks did generally (e.g. Solon in Hdt 1.32; cf. ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι ... ἐντελευτῆσαι 44.1 below), that the success of a life can only be estimated after it is over.

οὐ ... δικαιότερον ... ἀλλ': negative-positive contrast, with a comparative adverb instead of μᾶλλον (cf. Introd. 24).

οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ ... οἷς ἢ ἐναντία μεταβολή ... κινδυνεύεται: a precise antithesis between the two relative clauses would have required οἷς ἐλπίς [οὐκ] ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ ('those who can hope for improvement' vs. 'those who must fear deterioration'), and the deletion of οὐκ may in fact be worth considering (see the next note, and for the ἐλπίς of the unfortunate cf. 42.4, 3.45.5-6); but the text is defensible if the first clause is taken closely with οἱ κακοπραγούντες, which it defines: 'hopeless unfortunates'.

ἢ ἐναντία μεταβολή = ἢ ἐς τοῦναντίον μεταβολή 'reversal' (not 'the opposite change' from οἱ κακοπραγούντες, since these may *not* hope for improvement (οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ)).

ἐν τῷ ζῆν: temporal, 'while they live'.

ἐτι κινδυνεύεται 'is still at risk' (used personally in the passive, as in 35.1).

ἐν οἷς: equivalent to a dative of reference, 'in whose opinion' (see on 61.2).

μάλιστα μεγάλα: = μέγιστα (Sm. 1068).

τι πταίωσιν 'make some misstep' (internal accusative).

43.6 φρόνημα: here, as in 61.3 and 62.3 = 'courage'.

ἢ [μετά τοῦ] ἐν τῷ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις: one prepositional phrase seems to have intruded into the text as a gloss on the other (see *Introd.* 31), but which is original? Many editors (Stuart Jones, Popo-Stahl, de Romilly) delete the second, but 'the degradation involved in cowardice' (on ἐν where one idea involves another see on 42.4 ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνησθαι κτλ.) is equally good sense, and a typically Thucydidean variation for μετά βώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος in the parallel clause (see Ros 150).

καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα: see on 42.1 διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος ... καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ... καθιστάς.

ἀναίσθητος: predicative with γιγνόμενος (cf. 64.1 πρᾶγμα ... ἐλπίδος κρείσσον γεγενημένον): 'which happens imperceptibly'.

44-6 Conclusion: to the bereaved

The most suitable moment to comfort the relatives of the dead comes after the exposition of their eternal good fortune, and this section of the speech belongs nominally to the literature of consolation (see T. Eide, 'Thucydides' λόγος παραμυθητικός', *S.O.* 61 (1981) 33-45); yet as a glorification of collective public virtue, the *epitaphios* is ill-suited to personal consolation (see Rudolf Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolations-literatur* (Zetemata 18, Munich 1958) 40-5), and Pericles' attempt at one here (44.1) is brief and (as he admits) inadequate.

Another approach was to express pity for the relatives and offer them the state's help (cf. Lysias 2.71-6). Pericles begins to do this also (44.2), but his words become ever more austere and develop into admonition rather than sympathy. Greater compassion is found in the remark, quoted from Pericles' previous *epitaphios* (see on 35.1) by Arist. *Rhet.* 1.1365a, that the young men had been lost 'just as if the spring were removed from the year'.

The groups of survivors are considered one by one: the younger parents (44.3), the older ones (44.4), the older children and brothers (45.1) - each of these contains an exhortation supported by a generalisation - and finally the widows (45.2) and young children (46, who will not have been present). For the advice to the widows see 45.2 n.

44.1 νῦν: actually goes with πάρεστε (see on p. 165, κἄν ἔτι).

οὐκ δλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι 'I have no pity, but shall offer you comfort' (for the contrast by comparison see on 37.1).

τραφέντες: in indirect statement after the verb of perception ἐπίστανται.

οἱ ἄν ... λάχωσιν: the generalising relative clause = εἰ τινες (Sm. 2510; K. W. Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre* (5th ed. Berlin 1875-7) §51.13.11); cf. 2.62.4, 6.14, 6.16.3, 7.68.1: 'there is good fortune, if any receive ...'

τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης: modifies both of the following nouns, (μὲν) τελευτῆς and (δέ) λύπης (cf. 64.5 and 5.105.1): '[receive] what is most glorious - in their case, death; in yours, grief'.

ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ... καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι: compounded verbs with ἐν- were especially popular in the later fifth century (Denniston, *Greek prose style* 129), and these are infinitives of purpose (Sm. 2008) with ξυνεμετρήθη: 'for whom life has been measured out [allotted] equally to be happy in and to die in', i.e. the limit of their happiness was also the limit of their lives (see on 43.5 above) - second best was to have most of one's life (τὸν πλεονα βίον 44.4 below) be fortunate.

Ξυνεμετρήθη: note the change from generalising ἄν + subjunctive to the definite indicative.

44.2 χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν ... ὄν: contrasts with καρτερεῖν δὲ χρή below.

πεῖθειν: sc. 'that you and they have been fortunate'.

ὄν ... ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα: the relative pronoun is masculine as if περὶ τῶνδε had preceded, and = ἐπεὶ τούτων (cf. 1.68.3, 4.26.4; Soph. *OC* 263 with Jebb ad loc.): 'I know that it is difficult ... since you will often have reminders of them ...'

λύπη οὐχ ὄν ... ἀγαθῶν ... ἀλλ' οὐ: *variatio*: the first genitive (plural) has its neuter antecedent ἀγαθῶν incorporated into the relative clause (cf. on 34.3), the second is singular and has no antecedent. Note also the use of synonyms, πειρασάμενος and ἐθέας γενόμενος, στερῶσκηται and ἀφαιρεθῆ: 'grief [is felt] not for the good things of which

one has been deprived before trying them, but for what one has had taken away after becoming used to it'.

ἀφαιρεθῆι: in the passive ἀφαιρέειν may also take a genitive object ('be robbed of ...') like στερίσκηται (Sm. 1630; cf. on 41.5).

44.3 ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπιδι: causal dative, 'because they can hope for other children'.

οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία: dative of possessor, the antecedent (subject of καρτερεῖν) being omitted. (For τέκνωσιν ποιείσθαι see on 34.1.)

ἐκ τε τοῦ ... καὶ ἀσφαλείαι: both the prepositional phrase and simple dative are causal (*variatio*).

ξυνοίσει: impersonal, '[if you have children] it will benefit the city doubly ...'

ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου: see on 42.3.

παραβαλλόμενοι: modal with κινδυνεύωσιν, 'run a risk by staking their children equally'. The fourth-century speechwriter Dinarchus (*In Dem.* 71) charges that 'the laws require a politician or general who asks for the people's trust to beget children according to the laws'. Cf. παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα at Hd. 7.10.8' (where Artabanus *literally* wagers his children's lives on the soundness of his advice).

44.4 τὸν τε πλέονα κέρδος ὃν ἡτύχεῖτε βίον ἡγήσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσσεσθαι: the order is severely disturbed, because the most emphatic words in each clause are placed first (Introd. 28): 'consider that most of your life, during which you were fortunate, was profit, and that this part [the rest] will be short'.

ὃν ἡτύχεῖτε: accusative of time.

τόνδε: sc. βίον.

τὸ ... φιλότιμον: abstract noun, 'the love of honour'.

οὐκ ... τὸ κερδαίνειν ... μάλλον ... ἀλλὰ ...: see on 43.2.

τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὡς περ τινές φασι: cf. 2 *Henry IV* 1.ii.229 ('a man can no more separate age and covetousness than he can part young limbs and lechery') and Ter. *Ad.* 833; Cic. *De sen.* 18.65-6; Simonides *apud* Plut. *An seni resp. ger.* 786b.

ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας 'in useless [old] age', Introd. 22.

45.1 Παισὶ ... ἢ ἀδελφοῖς ὀρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα 'I realise that the children and brothers have a formidable task', cf. 89.10 and Ar. *Wasps* 533-5 ὀρᾶς γὰρ ὡς σοὶ μέγας ἔστιν ἀγὼν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπάντων.

καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς: 'because of their extreme virtue' (causal as in 27.2 κατὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον).

οὐχ ὁμοῖοι, ἀλλ' ὀλίγωι χεῖρους: negative-positive contrast, Introd. 24.

τοῖς ζῶσι: dative of possession with φθόνος.

πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον 'toward competition'.

τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν: μὴ because generic (cf. 40.2 above), 'whatever is not in their way' (i.e. the dead, contrasting with τοῖς ζῶσι preceding).

ἀνανταγωνίστωι εὐνοίαι: dative of manner, 'with a good will that involves no rivalry'. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.13-14; Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 386, and cf. on 35.2 above.

τετιμηται: with present meaning (see on κέκληται 37.1).

45.2 'If it is necessary to make some mention of the virtue of the women who will now be widows, I shall define it all in a brief admonition; for great is the glory for you not to be worse than your existing nature, and of her whose celebrity for virtue or reproach exists least among the males.'

Scholars of the last few decades have devoted an extraordinary hermeneutic effort to a new interpretation of this twofold admonition, turning it little by little into a sort of compliment: Gomme decided that the φύσις to which women must not prove inferior was 'noble, and something to be proud of'; P. Walcot ('The funeral speech, a study of values', *G. & R.* 20 (1975) 115) added 'it assumes the existence of a standard of excellence, and a high standard at that'; Dover (*Greek popular morality* 98 n. 7) compared 11.2 (μήτε τῶν πατέρων χεῖρους φαίνεσθαι) and suggested that the expression is only formally negative. The second clause (especially the striking ἀρετῆς περὶ ἢ ψόγου) was sanitised by W. K. Lacey ('Thuc. 2.45.2', *P.C.P.S.* 10 (1964) 47-49), who argued that the only conceivable activity for which a widow might become known was her mourning for her husband, and that we must limit Pericles' suggestion to the avoidance of grief that is excessive (ἀρετή) or deficient (ψόγος). In other words, what Pericles *says* may seem forbidding, but what he *means* is realistic, encouraging, even benevolent advice.

Few deductions illustrate so well the hazards of separating form and content in interpreting T. The topic of women's virtue is introduced at all only with reluctance, and the language of the two items of 'advice' is unrelievedly harsh, even cruel: in the first, an expression found in Herodotus (ἀμείνων τῆς φύσιος γίγνεσθαι, on which see p. 177) is converted into the purely negative injunction not to fall short of an innate

limitation (ἡ ὑπάρχουσα φύσις, cf. Arist. *HA* 608a21ff. quoted below); in the second, the paradoxical definition of a great δόξα in terms of the least possible κλέος implies that a good reputation for a woman is virtually a contradiction in terms.

One element of this advice, the injunction to invisibility ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι (not ἀνθρώποις or even ἀνδράσι), is completely traditional, since the proper activity of a woman was ἐνδον μένειν (see Headlam on Herodas 1.37), and in court they were usually left unnamed unless under attack (David Schaps, 'The woman least mentioned', *C.Q.* 27 (1977) 323–30). The fact that widows are addressed may also be partly responsible for such sternness, since their attempts to assert themselves against grown sons could lead to friction (e.g. Dem. 27.13–15, 29.26; Hyperides, *Lyc.* 1).

But what sets the passage apart is the complete absence of any positive role for women in it, and this is probably a reflection of the Funeral Oration's relentless exaltation of the city (see introductory n. to 41.5–43). In the ideological struggle that begins in Athens once the state challenges the family for supreme loyalty – a conflict as central to the *Oresteia* and *Lysistrata* as to *Antigone* – women seldom had the chance to choose sides. They were daughters, sisters or mothers who protected their blood at all costs, and any attempt to transform them into patriots (as in Euripides' chilling Praxithea, *Erechtheus* fr. 50 Austin) was bound to be unconvincing. T.'s representative of the city therefore advises women, in effect, to disappear; he does not seem to care what they do, provided it conforms to what can be expected from them and does not interfere with the world at large. That T. himself might agree is suggested by the absence of women elsewhere in his history (T. J. Wiedemann, 'Thucydides, women and the limits of rational analysis,' *G. & R.* 30 (1983) 163–70); whether the husband of Aspasia thought so is another matter entirely.

τῆ: internal accusative with μνησθῆναι, 'make some mention of ...'

δοῦσαι: the antecedent (γυναῖκες) is to be understood from the adjective γυναικείας; in order to be closer to it, the relative clause is placed between the verb μνησθῆναι and its object ἀρετῆς.

μεγάλη ἡ δόξα 'great is the glory ...' applies to both parts of the statement (τε ... καί), which are, however, dissimilar in every other way: dative plural personal pronoun (ὑμῖν) vs. genitive singular rela-

tive (ἧς), appositional infinitive (μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι) vs. conditional relative (ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ... ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾗ).

τῆς ... ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι: the infinitive in apposition to δόξα defines its nature (Sm. 1987), with dative χείροσι to agree with ὑμῖν. The standard phrase is 'be better than your nature' (i.e. than normal limits), cf. Hdt. 4.50.2 (in the winter, after receiving more water, the Danube μέζων τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται) and 5.118.2 (the Carians must fight with the river at their back ἵνα ... γενοίαιτο ἐπι ἀμεινονες τῆς φύσιος, cf. ἀμεινονες ἑωυτῶν Hdt. 8.86). Here the conception is reversed, and the addition of ὑπάρχουσα makes even clearer the sense of limitation. For female φύσις the *locus classicus* is Arist. *HA* 608a21ff.:

'in all the kinds in which male and female are found, nature (φύσις) makes more or less a similar differentiation in the character of the females as compared with the males. This is especially evident in humans ... for they have the most perfected nature, and so these dispositions are more evident ... Hence woman is more compassionate than man, more tearful, more envious and more querulous, more given to railing and to striking out. The female is more dispirited than the male, more despondent, more shameless and lying, more given to deceit, more retentive in memory, more wakeful, more shrinking, and in general more difficult to rouse to action than the male – and she needs less nourishment.' (Tr. adapted from G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, folklore and ideology* (Cambridge 1983) 98–9)

ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ... ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι: predicate, 'extends least far among the males'.

κλέος 'celebrity'. That δόξα is greatest where κλέος is least is a deliberate oxymoron, since the two are virtual synonyms and the latter is never pejorative. Arist. *Pol.* 1.1260a denies that women are capable of virtue in the same sense as men (see W. W. Fortenbaugh, 'Aristotle on slaves and women', in J. Barnes, M. Schofield and R. Sorabji (edd.), *Articles on Aristotle* II (London 1977) 135–9), but not every ancient author would agree: epitaphs celebrate women's virtues already in the fourth century (W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin 1955) nos. 488, 890, 1387, 1491, 1705), and Plutarch was moved by

this passage to collect stories in rebuttal *On the virtues of women* (Philip Stadter, *Plutarch's historical methods: the Mulierum virtutes* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965)).

ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου: *variatio*, 'for virtue or reproach', a polar expression (see on 51.3 ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας) which does not so much deny all female ἀρετή (cf. γυναικείας ἀρετῆς above) as 'for anything at all'.

46.1 Εἶρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ ... καὶ ἔργῳ ... τὰ μὲν ... τὰ δὲ ...: a transition from the end of his advice to the audience to a reminder of the orphans' public support (cf. Cratinus fr. 183 Kassel-Austin; Aeschin. 3.154; Plato, *Menex.* 249A; Loraux 26-7), effected with antitheses (cf. *Introd.* 23 n. 71):

1. As for words

A. I have given my speech.

2. As for deeds

A. These men have died

B. The city will educate their children.

τὰ μὲν is the object of ^{also verb} ἐκόσμηται (the middle used with no distinction from the active ἐκόσμησαν 42.2 - cf. on 9.3), τὰ δὲ is merely adverbial (Sm. 1111; cf. τὸ μὲν 53.4). εἶρηται and οἱ θαπτόμενοι are shifted forward in their clauses for emphasis (*Introd.* 28).

καὶ ἐμοί: 'by me as well [as previous speakers]', cf. καὶ ἐμέ 35.3.

πρόσφορα: predicative apposition (36.4 n.) 'what I could say suitably'.

τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε 'henceforth'.

ὠφέλιμον στέφανον ... προτιθεῖσα: an athletic victor was often rewarded with nothing but a garland; Pericles emphasises that the prize for defending one's country (τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων) has practical value. ἄλλα below (placed first for emphasis) continues the metaphor, which is perhaps suggested by funeral games held for the Athenian war dead (see Pritchett, *Greek state at war* IV.106-7).

οἷς ... κείται ... τοῖς δὲ ... πολιτεύουσιν: lit. 'those by whom [dative of agent, see on 41.4] ..., for them [dative of advantage, Sm. 1481]'; with 'apodotic' δὲ (*GP* 178) in the main clause: 'those who establish the greatest rewards for virtue, possess the best citizens'.

46.2 δὲν προσήκει ἐκάστῳ: sc. δλοφύρασθαι.

47.1 διελθόντος αὐτοῦ: i.e. τοῦ χειμῶνος, 'when it had passed'.

πρώτον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐτελεύτα: ~ 4.116.3, a much shorter formula than T. uses elsewhere (see *HCT* v.390); perhaps the intention here was to keep the Periclean narrative (Funeral Oration of 431, the plague of 430 and Pericles' death in 429 - anticipated in 2.65) as continuous as possible (see the *Introd.* 19).

47.2-54 The plague

Between the idealism of the Funeral Oration and the unyielding rationalism of Pericles' last speech lies the concentrated horror foreshadowed in 1.23.3, ἡ οὐχ ἦκιστα βλάψασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος. (In fact the plague continued for two full years, and recurred in 427/6, as we learn at 3.87.) The description proceeds from the specific symptoms and general character of the disease to the consequent erosion of social standards in general.

The extent and technique of this section clearly suggest an interest in medicine, but T.'s indebtedness to contemporary physicians has been greatly exaggerated. The vocabulary reveals many coincidences with Hippocratic writings; yet most of the terminology is consistent with everyday speech as well (precise English translations, which must inevitably be technical, are to this extent misleading), and the only explicit references to ἰατροὶ are dismissive (47.4, doctors were useless; 48.3, speculation about causes is left to others, καὶ ἰατρός καὶ ἰδιώτης; 49.3, declining to list the types of bile 'for which the doctors have found names').

T. also shows little interest in the prevailing climatic conditions, to which extant medical writings assign a vital role in causing disease (cf. the speculations in Diodorus Siculus 12.58, from Ephorus' account); on the other hand, he recognises two features of the plague - contagious infection and the conferral of specific immunity upon survivors - which are common to many diseases, but unknown to extant contemporary writings (see in general Vivian Nutton, 'The seeds of disease: an explanation of contagion and infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance', *Med. Hist.* 27 (1983) 1-34).

The scientific value of the description is less notable than its literary impact; here begins a tradition of plague-narratives stretching from Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 6.1138-1286 (often virtually a translation of T., as is Ovid, *Met.* 7.523-81), and Virgil (*Georgics* 3.478-566, a live-

stock plague) through Procopius (*De bello Persico* 2.22) and Boccaccio (*Decameron*, Proem) to Defoe's *Journal of the plague year*, Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig*, Camus' *La Peste* and Bergman's *The seventh seal*.

On vocabulary and style see D. L. Page, 'Thucydides' description of the Great Plague at Athens', *C.Q.* (1953) 97-119, and Adam Parry, 'The language of Thucydides' description of the plague', *B.I.C.S.* 16 (1969) 106-18; on literary influence see Raymond Crawford, *Plague and pestilence in literature and art* (Oxford 1914) and Alice Gervais, 'A propos de la "peste" d'Athènes: Thucydide et la littérature de l'épidémie', *Bull. Assoc. Guillaume Budé* 1972, 395-429. For the identity of the disease see on 49 below.

47.2-48 The magnitude and origins of the disease

The introduction wastes little time on any presumed source or possible treatments, and ends by declining to provide the sort of explanation (αίτια 48.3; cf. 1.23.5) to which T. aspires elsewhere. The reason can be deduced from 47.4: since all human skills (especially medicine) and divine appeals were equally useless (άνωφελή) against the disease, T. limits himself to what might be of use (cf. ώφέλιμα in the statement of purpose 1.22.4), a description of the disease (οίον ... έγιγνετο) and its symptoms for future reference.

47.2 εύθός άρχομένων 'as soon as it began', cf. 51.4, 54.5.

τά δύο μέρη 'two-thirds [of them]', in apposition to Πελοποννήσιοι και οι ξύμμαχοι.

ώσπερ και τό πρώτον: as in the first year, 10.2.

καθεζόμενοι 'occupying' (lit. 'sitting down in').

47.3 λεγόμενον μέν ... έγκατασκήψαι: the neuter participle does not introduce an accusative absolute (for which only the perfect εισημένον is used), but is nominative in agreement 'according to sense' with νόσος, which is viewed as a thing (Sm. 1013; cf. K-G 1.57 n. 3 and τιμάς, οία 35.1 above). The μέν clause with participle is answered by ού μέντοι γε (56.4 n.) which is, however, not grammatically parallel because it contains a main verb: on this type of anacoluthon see Sm. 2147c; GP 379.

και περι ... και έν: *variatio*; cf. also τοσοούτος (λοιμός) vs. ούτως (φθορά ... έμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι).

47.4 ούτε γάρ ιατροί ήρουν ... ούτε άλλη άνθρωπειά τέχνη ...

δσα τε ... ίκέτευσαν ... άνωφελή ήν: the subjects co-ordinated with (ού)τε (Introd. 23-4) set forth the areas from which help might have been expected: medicine, other sciences, and the gods.

θεραπεύοντες: causal; τό πρώτον goes with ήρουν, and contrasts with τελευτώντες below.

άγνοίαι 'ignorantly', dative of manner (Sm. 1527): 45.1 εύνοίαι ('with goodwill'), 85.2 όργήι ('angrily'), 11.7, 38.2, 62.3.

δσαι 'in proportion as', co-ordinates the two superlatives μάλιστα ... μάλιστα.

τέχνη ούδεμία: sc. ήρκει. Later biographical fiction (Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 383c; Galen, *De Theriaca ad Pisonem* 16, 14.280-2 Kühn) credited two famous physicians of different generations, Acron and Hippocrates, with having cured the disease; see Jody Rubin Pinault, 'How Hippocrates cured the plague', *Journ. Hist. Med.* 41 (1986) 52-75.

δσαι: internal accusative (4.6n.) with ίκέτευσαν and έχρήσαντο: 'the supplications they made at sanctuaries and the use they made of oracles and such were all to no avail'.

τελευτώντες 'in the end' (see on 36.4), contrasted with τό πρώτον above and referring to all the groups mentioned. τε here does not continue the series (ούτε ... ούτε ... δσα τε), but 'introduces a clinching or summing up of what precedes' (GP 500; cf. Introd. 23). 'Thus in the end they were defeated by their misfortune and gave up these attempts.'

48.1 ύπερ Αιγύπτου: i.e. south of Egypt.

βασιλέως: the Persian king.

48.2 ύπ' αύτών: i.e. the inhabitants of Piraeus.

φρέατα: here 'cisterns' (for collecting rainwater).

τήν άνω πόλιν: Athens itself.

έθνησικον πολλώι μάλλον ήδη: ήδη is inferential ≡ 'accordingly' (LSJ 1.4.2, e.g. 20.4, 35.1 here with μάλλον as in 1.49.7, 6.49.4, 59.2, 8.71.3): 'the deaths were as a result much more numerous [because of the larger population there].'

48.3 λεγέτω μέν ούν: answered by έγώ δέ below; each of the clauses contains a pair of indirect questions (άφ' ότου ... και όστινας, and οίον τε ... και άφ' ών).

περι αύτού: i.e. the plague, now neuter (see on λεγόμενον 47.3), as also in αύτό and οίον below.