

FUNERAL ORATION.

(1.) If I thought it to be possible, oh, you, who are present at these burial-rites, to adequately set forth in words the noble achievements of those who are lying here, I should blame those who bade me speak of those at a few days' notice, but since for all men all time would not be sufficient to prepare a speech doing justice to their deeds, therefore it seems to me that also the state, taking thought of those speaking here, issued the command at short notice, thinking that in this way especially they (*i. e.* the speakers) would meet with allowance on the part of the hearers. (2.) Still, my speech, indeed, (*is*) concerning these (*i. e.* the dead), but the contest (in which I shall be engaged) is not with their deeds, but with those who on former occasions have spoken of them. For their valor has furnished so great an abundance (of material) to those able to compose poems, and to those wishing to speak (*i. e.* to eulogize), that many beautiful things have been said about them by former (speakers), but (that) much has been omitted by them, and (that) it is possible for coming generations to say enough. For they were not ignorant of any land or sea, and every where and with all men those mourning at their own evils (or losses) sing of their valorous deeds.

(3.) First, I shall go through (or discuss) the contests (waged) by our ancestors, taking the record from tradition (*i. e.* with tradition as my source of information).

For it is right for all men to remember them too, celebrating them in songs, and honoring them on such occasions, (as these), and educating the living by the deeds of the dead.

(4.) Now, the Amazons were, in ancient times, the daughters of Ares dwelling by the river Thermodon, these alone of those (living) in their neighborhood being armed with iron (arms), the first of all to mount horses, by which unexpectedly, because of their ignorance, they overtook those of their adversaries who fled, and left behind those who pursued them, and on account of their valor they were considered men rather than women on account of their nature; for they were thought to surpass men more in valor, than to be inferior (to men) in outward form. (5.) And ruling many tribes, and actually having enslaved those (dwelling) around them, and by report hearing the great fame concerning this country, on account of glory and great expectation (*i. e.* because they were eager to gain fresh laurels and fully expected to be victorious), taking with them the most warlike of the tribes, they made an expedition against this city. But meeting with brave men, they became in spirit equal to their nature, and gaining a reputation opposite to the former one, they appeared to be women rather from the danger (*i. e.* from their cowardly conduct when in danger) than from their bodies. (6.) To them alone it happened not to become wiser in future, learning from their mistakes, nor, having gone home, to report their disaster and the valor of our ancestors; for here, meeting death, and paying the penalty of their folly, of this city they made the memory everlasting, through the valor (of its inhabitants) but made their own country nameless

through their misfortune here. Those, then, unjustly desiring the land of others, lost their own.

(7.) When Adrastus and Polyneices took the field against Thebes and were conquered in battle, the Cadmeans not allowing (them) to bury the slain, the Athenians, thinking that these, if they were guilty they (now) had the greatest punishment, being killed, and that those below (*i. e.* the spirits of the dead) were not receiving their own (*i. e.* their due), but that the gods of the upper-regions, their shrines being polluted, were sinned against,—at first sending heralds, they begged of them to grant the removal of the dead, (8.) thinking it to be (the part) of brave men to seek vengeance on one's enemies, while living, but (the part) of men distrusting themselves, to show their courage on the bodies of the dead,—(the Athenians) unable to obtain this (permission to remove the dead), took the field against them (*i. e.* the Cadmeans), although there existed before this no disagreement between (them and) the Cadmeans, and (the Athenians) not (because) trying to please the Argives, (9.) but (because) thinking it right that the dead in (times of) war should obtain the customary rites, exposed themselves to danger towards (*i. e.* fighting) the one party, in behalf of both (sides),—in behalf of these, in order that no longer, wronging the dead, they might offer insult to the gods, and in behalf of the others, in order that they might not go back to their country, without obtaining ancestral honor and deprived of (the privileges granted by) Hellenic law and having failed to obtain the common hope (*i. e.* that which the vanquished always expected to receive from the victors,—permission to bury their dead.) (10.) Having con-

sidered this, and thinking that the chances in war are common to all men, (although) making many enemies, yet having justice (on their side) as ally, they conquered them in battle. And not elated by their (good) fortune, did they desire for greater punishment from the Cadmeans, but they displayed to these in contrast to their impiousness their own valor, and they themselves taking with them the prize for which they had come, the bodies of the Argives, buried them in their own Eleusis. In this manner they conducted themselves concerning the dead of (the army of) the Seven against Thebes.

(11.) At a later time, when Hercules had vanished out of (the sight of) men, and when his children were fleeing from Eurystheus and were driven away by all Greeks, who were, indeed, ashamed of their acts (towards Hercules' children) but feared the power of Eurystheus, (Hercules' children) coming to this city sat down as supplicants at the altars. (12.) And Eurystheus demanding their surrender, the Athenians refused to hand them over, but they revered Hercules' valor more than they feared the danger to which they would expose themselves; but they thought it their duty rather to fight with justice on their side in behalf of the weaker party, than to hand over to the strong, (because) courting favor with them, those who were being wronged by them. (13.) And Eurystheus taking the field against them with those who at that time held the Peloponnese, they (the Athenians) did not change their mind becoming nearer to the dangers, but they had the same opinion as before, (although) privately in no way having been benefited by their father, and (although) not knowing what kind of men they (Her-

cules' children) would turn out. (14.) But thinking it to be just, (although) no previous enmity existed between (themselves and) Eurystheus, nor any (prospect of) gain was held out except good fame, they took upon themselves (*i. e.* exposed themselves to) so great a danger in their behalf, showing pity on those, being wronged, and hating the aggressors and trying to hinder these, and thinking it right to assist those, holding it to be a mark of liberty to do nothing against one's will, and (a mark) of righteousness to come to the rescue of those who are wronged, and (a mark) of valor to die, if necessary, fighting for both. (15.) And so proud were both parties that those with Eurystheus did not seek to obtain anything from willing men, and the Athenians did not think it right that Eurystheus, even if coming as a suppliant himself, should take away their suppliants. And drawing up themselves in private force (*i. e.* it was a purely Athenian force) they fought and conquered the army from the entire Peloponnese, and they placed the persons of the children in (a position of) safety, and freeing them from fear, they also liberated their souls, and on account of the great achievements of their father they crowned them (the children) by their (the Athenians') own peril. (16.) So much more fortunate the children became than their father (had been). For he, although being the cause of many benefits to all men, rendering his life toilsome, full of strife and of ambition for himself, he did punish the other wrong-doers, but Eurystheus being both his personal enemy and a man who had wronged him, he was not able to punish. But his children through this city on the same day saw their own safety and vengeance taken on their enemies.

(17.) On many occasions, now, did it befall our ancestors to fight for the (cause of) justice, using one opinion (*i.e.* with unanimity). For the origin of their life was just; for not, as the majority of men, having been gathered from all quarters and driving out others, did they inhabit (a country) belonging to others, but, being autochthonous they had the same land both as mother and as country. (18.) The first and only ones at that time, expelling the ruling families among them, they set up a democracy, thinking that the freedom of all was (*i.e.* insured) greatest concord, and making the hopes (*i.e.* reward) of their dangers common to one another they administered the government in a spirit of liberty, (19.) according to law rewarding the worthy and punishing the bad, believing it to be the part of wild beasts to be overcome by one another by brute force, but (believing) that it behooved men to define justice by law, and to persuade by speech, and in their actions to serve these (*i.e.* law and persuasion), being ruled by the law, and taught by the spoken word.

(20.) And, indeed, being of noble descent and entertaining like sentiments, the ancestors of those lying here did many noble and admirable deeds, and their descendants left behind ever to be remembered and great trophies, (found) everywhere, through their valor. For alone, in behalf of the whole of Greece, they hazarded all, facing many ten-thousands of the barbarians. (21.) For the king of Asia, not contented with the good things he possessed, but hoping to enslave Europe also, sent an army of five hundred thousand men. And they believing if they should make this city either a willing friend, or should subdue it against its will, would easily rule the other Greeks, landed at Marathon, think-

ing that (the Athenians) would thus be most destitute of allies, if they should bring about the dangerous conflict while Greece was still divided as to in what way they should defend themselves against the invaders. (22.) Besides such an opinion had taken hold among them about our city (arising) from its previous achievements that (they thought) that if they should march first against another city, they would have to fight those and the Athenians; for (they thought) they (*i.e.* the Athenians) would be there readily to aid those who were being wronged, but (they thought) if they would come here first, that no one else of the Greeks would dare, by trying to save others, to assume (the responsibility of) open enmity with them (the barbarians) in their (*i.e.* the Athenians') behalf. (23.) These, now, thought thus. But our ancestors not calculating the dangers in war, but thinking that a glorious death leaves behind an everlasting memory of brave men, did not fear the great number of their adversaries, but trusted rather in their own valor. And being ashamed because the barbarians were in their country, they did not wait until their allies should hear of it and come to their aid, nor did they believe that they should thank others for their deliverance, but that the other Greeks (should thank) them. (24.) Resolving this with unanimity they, few in numbers, went out to meet many. For they thought that in common with all men, they were destined to die, but (that it behooved them) to be brave with the few, and that their lives were not their own on account of death, but that as a result of the dangers (they would run) they would leave behind a memory (which would be) theirs. And they considered that whomever they could not conquer alone, they would

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