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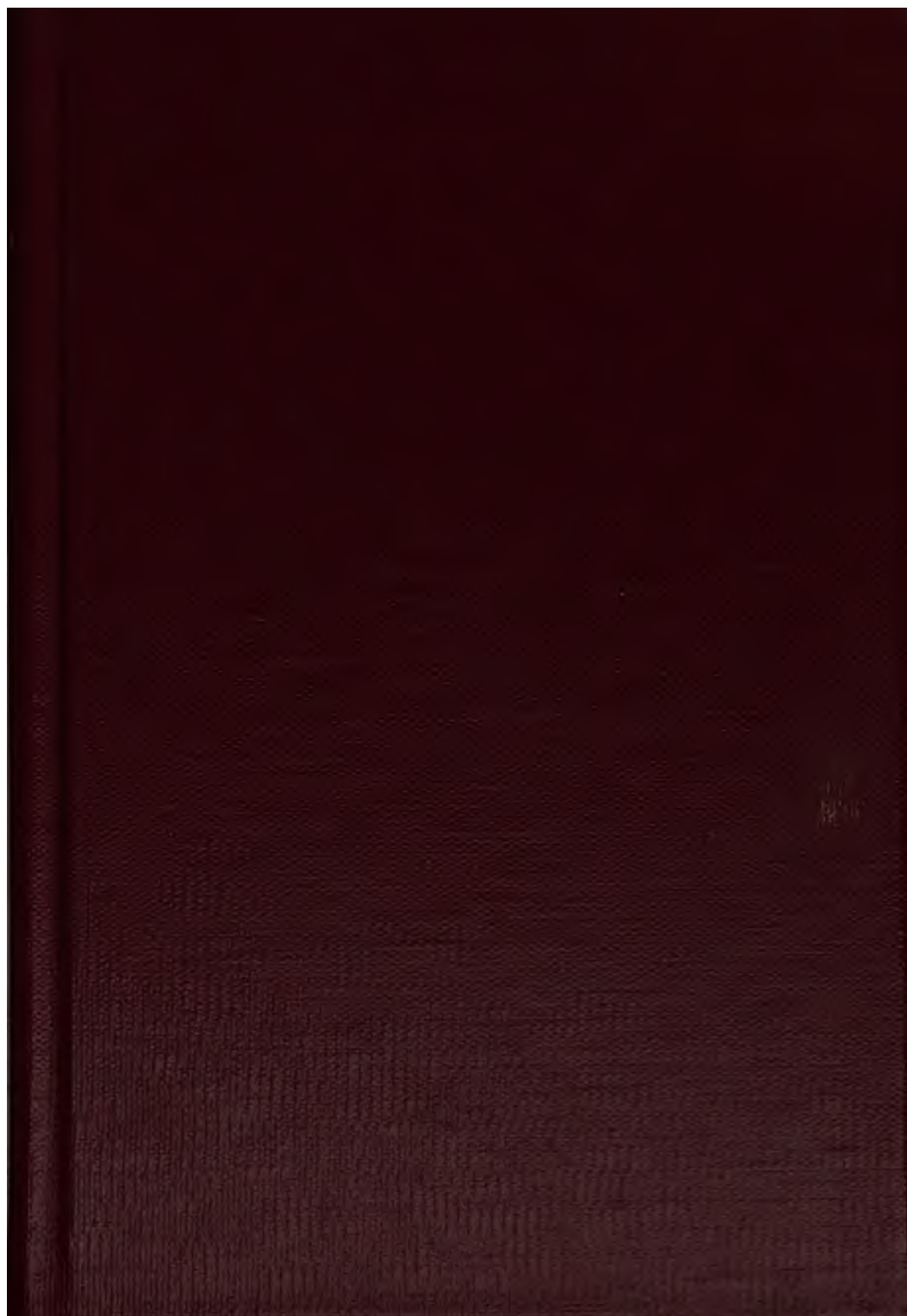
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“THUCYDIDES”
BOOK I

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

W. H. FORBES, M.A.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

With Maps

PART I—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

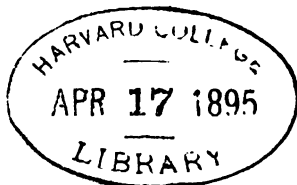
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PREFACE

THE notes in this edition are for the use of readers of Thucydides in the upper forms of schools and in universities and university colleges. The introductions are intended rather for teachers. To avoid repetition, remarks on grammar and on the use of particular words have been as far as possible thrown into the grammar notes and glossary at the end of vol. ii.

In the notes on the text, not more than one way, or at the most two, of interpreting a disputed passage has been given. Such passages are seldom very important for the history; the difference in the sense made by difference of interpretation is often small; and no great profit is to be got by arguing about them in print. As, however, the interpretation preferred in the notes may seem wrong to some readers, alternative explanations have been given in the footnotes and in the appendix to the notes, together with discussions on points of Greek antiquities which are too long for insertion in the notes themselves.

The notes are printed separately from the text, in accordance with the plan of the series in which the edition appears. I hope to proceed with other books of Thucydides in the same or a somewhat different form.

I have not sufficient knowledge of MSS. to attempt anything like a critical edition. But the departments of

interpretation and textual criticism are sufficiently independent of each other to justify a certain division of labour; and for nine readers of a school and college edition out of ten, anything beyond a minimum of textual criticism is unnecessary. I have therefore retained Bekker's text, with a very few changes in punctuation. These have mostly been indicated in the footnotes, together with some of the most important various readings and a few well-known emendations of passages presenting obvious difficulties. Something of this kind is necessary if only to remind the reader that the received text of an author at any given time does not represent any single MS., and that no single MS. can possibly represent the work as it came from the author's hand.

But, although for these reasons critical questions have not been treated fully in the course of the notes, I should be sorry to underrate their importance as subsidiary to the work of interpretation, or the valuable contributions which have been made by recent discussions of them to the next really great critical edition of Thucydides, which may be destined to supersede Bekker as Madvig's *Livy* has superseded earlier texts. In particular, some expression of opinion, however unauthoritative, may be expected about the view that the text of Thucydides has been extensively corrupted by 'glosses,' or more properly 'adscripts'; viz. marginal or interlinear notes, which have accidentally been written out by copyists as part of the text; a view chiefly associated with the name of Cobet, and recently maintained at length in this country by Dr. Rutherford and Professor Marchant¹.

1. It is quite certain, from a comparison of the MSS. and the scholia, that, in some MSS. at least, explanatory words

¹ For criticisms on these opinions by scholars who write with authority, see Herbat, *Ueber Cobet's Emendationen zu Thukydides*, and *Zu Thukydides, Erklärungen und Wiederherstellungen*; Hude, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1890, i. p. 801; and the Introduction to Professor Goodhart's *Thucydides*, Book viii.

have found their way into the text (Marchant, Thucydides, Book ii. p. xxxvii). It is impossible to deny that this may be the case in many passages where it cannot be proved; and there are good grounds for believing it in certain definite groups of cases where words or phrases of a particular kind frequently occur both in the scholia and in the text, and are occasionally redundant or awkward in the text¹.

E. g. 'the text of Thucydides' may very possibly be 'dotted over with *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* and *Ἀθηναῖοι* in every case and every construction, none of which he ever wrote' (Rutherford, Thucydides, Book iv. p. xlvii). And it is highly probable that some of the passages dealing with geography, customs, constitutional details, and the like, which embarrass the commentator², may owe their complexity to accidental insertions, and not to what can only be called clumsiness on the part of the historian.

2. Where the grammar, not the sense, of a passage renders the text suspicious, certainty is less attainable. It will always be disputed how far it is likely or unlikely that Thucydides used expressions which strict logic or grammar would forbid³, or departed from the syntax or vocabulary which are described as 'Attic' by ancient or modern grammarians. For 'Attic Greek,' whatever may be said of 'Greek,' has after all been a dead language for 2,000 years: a foreign language it certainly is; and in dealing with Sophocles or Thucydides the greatest of scholars is, as Professor Campbell remarks (Sophocles, vol. i. p. 106), in the position of a foreigner criticising an English classic. There can be no doubt however that much time has been wasted over subtle explanations

¹ But each case of this kind must be judged on its own merits, for it is obvious that a short explanatory clause is likely to be expressed in the same kind of language, whether it be inserted by the author or added as a note by a commentator.

² E. g. i. 93, ll. 11, 18; 96, ll. 5-9 (?); 126, ll. 18-21.

³ See, for illustrations, Part ii. pp. 153-155.

of passages in our Thucydides which, whether he wrote them or not, are blemishes in the work and exceptions to his usual style. Where there is no difficulty in the translation or real difference in the sense I have passed over without comment words which may very well be 'adscripts¹,' nor have I stopped to defend words which have been bracketed without sufficient cause in good editions; being unwilling to overload a small edition with disputable matter of minor importance. But in judging of Thucydides' style as a whole, the uncertainty of the MS. tradition must be borne in mind; and good service has been done by the attention recently called to it.

3. It is unlikely that much can be done by the method in question for really difficult passages. Where such a passage is corrected, and the original reading professedly restored, on the supposition, not merely that an adscript has been inserted, but that the insertion has caused successive omissions or alterations (deliberate or accidental) in the original text, we find ourselves in a region of sheer guess-work, where the uncertainty of each link in the chain of hypotheses fatally weakens the whole, and where no light is thrown by an argumentative note either on the facts of the case or on the style of the author. The aim of the ordinary student in such cases should be to see what the actual difficulties of the place are, and what the author probably meant to say: if he tries to do more, he will either confuse himself, or acquire a habit of mistaking guesses for facts and theories for certainties.

An edition like the present must necessarily be under great obligations to preceding commentators, and to the

¹ One of Cobet's best suggestions on Book i may be mentioned here. In ch. 129, l. 11, Xerxes is represented as writing to Pausanias, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὗς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας κείται σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ οἰκῇ ἔσται ἀνάγραφτος. Cobet (*Variae Lectiones*, p. 435) says, 'Si ἐκ Βυζαντίου addidisset, πέραν θαλάσσης scribere non potuisset. Rex Persarum τὸ Βυζάντιον ne nomine quidem noverat.' This last we may doubt, but certainly ἐκ Βυζαντίου spoils the effect of πέραν θαλάσσης.

historians of Greece and Greek literature. Constant use has been made of the following among others:—Arnold, Classen, and Krüger, and, most of all, Stahl's edition of Poppo's Thucydides, and the introduction and critical notes in Croiset's edition of Books i and ii; Grote's, Holm's, Busolt's and Abbott's Histories, and various works of Professor Mahaffy and the late Professor Freeman, as well as of articles on Thucydides in German periodicals, most of which are quoted in the introduction or notes; in particular those of Herbst, Schöne and Wilamowitz-Möllendorf. I wish to acknowledge a special obligation to the late Herr H. Müller-Strübing¹. His immense learning and his determination to make out exactly what Thucydides meant and what really happened, and to take nothing on trust from previous writers, have really advanced the study of Thucydides. Like many others he is too fond of taking likelihood and unlikelihood, in matters of which we know little or nothing positive, as a test of truth or falsehood: hence his 'wild hypotheses' and his readiness to suspect Thucydides of deliberate misrepresentation on the slightest grounds. But he makes us *think* far more than many soberer and more cautious writers; and his influence has shown once more that 'truth arises sooner out of error than out of confusion.'

It is difficult to speak adequately of what I owe to the privilege of many years' work with the late Master of Balliol; as well as to his published translation of Thucydides with Notes. In the last year of his life, notwithstanding failing health and pressing engagements, he read over carefully the proof-sheets of the notes and appendix; and many corrections in them are due to his sound common-sense and delicate tact in dealing with questions of language.

¹ Aristophanes und die Historische Kritik, 1873; Polemische Beiträge zur Kritik des Thukydides, 1879; Thukydideische Forschungen, 1881, and articles in the Neue Jahrbücher.

I have also to thank heartily Mr. E. A. Wells, late of St. John's College, Oxford, Head Master of Highfield School, Southampton, and Mr. H. L. Withers, late of Balliol College, Principal of the Borough-Road Training College, for assistance in reading the proof-sheets; the Rev. M. J. Glazebrook, Head Master of Clifton College, for carefully revising some time ago a rough draft of the notes on grammar; and Mr. E. Abbott, Fellow of Balliol College, for constant and unwearied help in dealing with historical and other questions, as well as in passing the work through the Clarendon Press. As one instance of assistance derived from working some time since with pupils in Thucydides, I should like to say that the explanation of οὐχ ἦσαν ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων in i. 142, as referring to Naupactus and the other fortified cities of the Athenian empire, is due to Mr. Howard Pease of Arcot Hall, Northumberland, author of 'Borderland Studies.'

OXFORD,
August, 1894.

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INTRODUCTION

I.

THE LIFE AND MIND OF THUCYDIDES.

WE have not sufficient materials for a biography of Thucydides, § 1. Facts but he tells us incidentally a little about himself. His father's of his life. name was Olorus (iv. 104). He was old enough at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431) and not too old at its close (B.C. 404), which he survived, to observe and study attentively passing events¹. He was attacked by the Plague of 430-426, and saw others suffering from it (ii. 48). In the late autumn or winter of 424, soon after the battle of Delium and the expedition of Brasidas to the north for the purpose of raising revolt among the Athenian allies on the coast of Thrace, at a critical moment of the war when the hopes of Athens had begun to wane, Thucydides was one of the ten annually elected 'generals²,' and with a colleague Eucles was in command in that region. He was in the neighbourhood of Thasos, when news suddenly came from the important city of Amphipolis, half a day's sail off, where Eucles was stationed, that the place was on the point of falling into the hands of Brasidas who had appeared under the walls. Thucydides hastened with seven ships to save if possible Amphipolis, or in any case Eion at the mouth of

¹ ἐπεβίαν δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ, αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ προσέχων τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅπως ἀκριβὲς τι εἰσομαι (v. 26).

² The election of στρατηγοί took place, in the next century, in or about February, 'as soon after the beginning of the seventh prytany as the weather was auspicious'; Athen. Polit. 44. 4. The date in the fifth century is not known with certainty; nor the time at which, after election, the generals entered upon office. Athen. Polit., 31. 2, points to the beginning of the Attic year (July or August).

the Strymon, Amphipolis being three or four miles higher up the river.

He arrived late the same evening, and found that Amphipolis had already surrendered. Brasidas, he tells us, had been anxious to secure it before his arrival from Thasos, hearing that Thucydides 'possessed the right of working gold mines in that part of Thrace,' and was influential with the chief men on the mainland: he might therefore be expected by the people of the place to bring an allied force from the sea and from Thrace, and save them. Thucydides, finding that Amphipolis had surrendered (the inhabitants not expecting that help would arrive so soon), put Eion into a state of defence against immediate or future peril; and received the fugitives, Athenians or Athenian sympathisers, whom Brasidas had allowed to leave Amphipolis. Brasidas promptly attacked Eion by land and river, but was successfully repulsed.

Not in connexion with his failure, but elsewhere (v. 26), in order to show that he knew what he was writing about, Thucydides tells us that he lived in exile for twenty years 'after' his command at Amphipolis, doubtless in consequence of its loss; and that he was thus enabled to see what went on as well on the Peloponnesian as on the Athenian side, and to observe at his leisure the course of events¹. Whether his punishment was deserved or not, we cannot tell. Insufficient precautions appear to have been taken at Amphipolis, but it is impossible to say whether Thucydides as well as Eucles was responsible for this, or whether there was or was not a good reason for the absence of Thucydides with his ships at Thasos: he may have gone to collect reinforcements. The absence of any defence on his own part may be due to a consciousness of error, to the reserve of his character, or to a feeling that a history of the war was not the proper place for such a defence, which he may have made, if at all, in some other form.

§ 2. Inferences from

From these and other passages we can safely infer a little

¹ Καὶ ξυνήβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἑμαντοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένην παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγὴν, καθ' ἥσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μάλλον αἰσθεσθαι (v. 26).

more about Thucydides : our inferences must often take the somewhat tedious form of suggesting various possibilities, among which the truth may or must lie : but this is better than stating as a fact what is only a hypothesis, and supporting it against equally probable hypotheses by inconclusive arguments. the words
of Thucy-
dides.

To judge by what he says of his own age, he was not under twenty-five, or much over forty at the beginning of the war¹, that is to say, he was born between 471 and 456. He must have remembered well the loss of Megara and Boeotia and the Thirty Years' Peace in 445 : he was a boy or a young man when Cimon died in 449; and his recollections may have gone back to the conquest of Aegina and Boeotia, the victories over Corinth, and the disasters in Egypt (460-455). He may have been born some time before Themistocles died, but cannot have seen him before he quitted Athens for the last time (B.C. 471 ?)²; except as a mere child, if an improbable story in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* be true, see Part ii. p. 86. In any case his youth and early manhood were spent during the time when Athens, under the undisputed leadership of Pericles, was at the height of her

¹ If he was forty years old in 431, he would have been sixty-seven in 404: the words *αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ* would be in most cases less appropriate after seventy than before. If he was under twenty-five in 431 he would have been only just over thirty when elected general in 424. We do not know for certain that a minimum age of thirty was still required for generals as it seems originally to have been (Athen. Polit. 4, 2-3), and as it was for jurymen (Athen. Polit. 63, 3) and members of the Council (Xen. Mem. i. 2. 35). But such was probably the usage. Alcibiades does not appear to have held his first generalship till he was over thirty, and four years later he is taunted by Nicias as young for such a position (Thuc. vi. 12).

Aulus Gellius (second century A.D.), quoting Pamphila an authoress of Nero's time, says that Hellanicus 'seems' (videtur) to have been fifty-six, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. But we do not know whether this precise statement rests on tradition or on a mere estimate from probability. Marcellinus, p. 6, l. 31 (Bekker), says that he is said to have been 'over fifty' when he died.

² We naturally tend to under-estimate the length of the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. The Chorus in the *Achamians* (425) are called *Μαραθωνομάχαι* : but any actual survivor of the battle of Marathon must then have been aged eighty-five or more.

political, intellectual, and artistic greatness, and 'under the influence of that new intellectual world which broke upon the Greeks in the fifth century before Christ, and which is never sufficiently appreciated by us because we have inherited it and habitually live in it'.¹

Election to στρατηγία. He must have been elected *στρατηγός* (see footnote 2 on p. xi) in the first half of 424, when, as we see from the Knights of Aristophanes (February of that year), the hopes of the Athenians, soon to be overclouded, were at their brightest. Among his colleagues on the board of *στρατηγοί* were Nicias, Demosthenes and Lamachus. The banishment of Eurymedon and Sophocles and the infliction of a fine on Pythodorus on a charge of receiving bribes from the Sicilian cities seems to have taken place during his term of office; and in his apology for them, and his condemnation of the unreasonable expectations of his countrymen (iv. 65), we may perhaps trace the natural feelings of one who had suffered in a similar way.

Connexion with Thracian mines. Thucydides nowhere says, as has often been said of him by ancient and modern writers, that he was the owner of gold mines in Thrace, but only that he 'possessed the right of working' gold mines (*κτήσιν ἔχει τῶν χρυσείων μεταλλῶν ἐργασίας ἐν τῇ περὶ ταῦτα Θράκη*)². They may have been the mines of Scapte Hyle (Hdt. vi. 46), on the mainland opposite Thasos, given up to Athens after the revolt of that island (Thuc. i. 102), or those of Mount Pangaeus (Hdt. vii. 112), a little to the west; they may also have been the gold mines of Crenides³ (later the site of Philippi) further inland⁴. If the first, Thucydides' expression may mean that he rented the right of working them from the Athenian state. In that case there is no foundation for the suggestion that in 424 he was neglecting his duty at Amphipolis

¹ Jowett, Thucydides, Introduction, p. xiii.

² One of his ancient biographers reflects his language accurately, τὰ περὶ Θάσον πιστευθεὶς μέταλλα (Vit. Anon. p. 13. l. 6).

³ Strabo, vii. exc. 34: the mines of Datum (Hdt. ix. 75) were near to, or identical with, those of Crenides.

⁴ The expression ἐν τῇ περὶ ταῦτα Θράκη just after the mention of Thasos might be used of any of these. Thucydides' ancient biographers, whatever their testimony may be worth (see below), speak only of Scapte Hyle.

by lingering about Thasos for the protection of his own private property.

We do not know whether, on his failure to save Amphipolis, Exile, he returned to Athens and was formally tried and condemned to exile, like Pythodorus and Sophocles (iv. 65), or whether, like Demosthenes for a short time after his defeat in Aetolia (iii. 98), he remained in voluntary exile 'fearing the Athenians.' (In this case he may or may not have been tried in his absence.) Nor do we know whether, if tried at all, he was charged with mere negligence, or with *προδοσία*, the penalty of which was death and confiscation of goods¹. Voluntary or involuntary, his twenty years' exile began at the end of 424 or the beginning or early part of 423. Thus it ended during the eventful years 404-403; after the fall of Athens (about April, 404), and during the power of the thirty tyrants, or possibly after the restoration of the democracy (autumn of 403).

The circumstances of his recall are unknown; the period of Recall. his sentence may have expired; he may have been recalled by a special vote of the Assembly², or (as the coincidence of the date may perhaps suggest) he may have been included in the amnesty passed at the beginning of the siege of Athens, in the recall of the exiles demanded by Sparta at the Peace, or in the amnesty passed after the restoration of the democracy. We know however from passages in the Orators that these amnesties excluded certain classes of definitely convicted persons³.

That after the expiration of twenty years Thucydides returned to Athens is almost necessarily implied in his own words, *ἐνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμᾶντοῦ πατρίδα εἴκοσι ἔτη*: and by an expression in i. 93, where he says of Themistocles' fortification of the Piræus, *καὶ ἐκκοδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πᾶχος τοῦ τείχους*

¹ A passage in Aristophanes, *Wasps* (acted in the spring of 422, rather more than a year later), l. 289, can hardly have failed to remind the spectators of the fate of Thucydides. The Chorus summons the old Dicast to the court with the words—

*καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ παχὺς ἦκει
τῶν προδόντων τὰπὶ Θράκης·
ὃν ὅπως ἐγχευμεῖς*

('and mind you dish him').

² See Appendix C, p. xl.

³ See Herbst, *Philologus*, 1890, p. 346.

ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ : an expression most naturally explained by supposing that Thucydides had seen with his own eyes the ruins of the Themistoclean walls after they had been overthrown by Lysander.

How far an
eye-wit-
ness.

From i. 22 we know that he himself heard some of the speeches and saw some of the events which he relates. Which they were (apart from the Plague and the affair of Amphipolis), we cannot tell. The words *γεγόμενος παρ' ἀμφοτέροισι τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγὴν* (v. 26) justify the supposition that he was at Sparta or with the Peloponnesian forces at some time between 424 and the end of the war. In describing the apparent size of the armies at Mantinea he says *τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μείζον ἐφάνη* (v. 68) : this has been thought to indicate that he was an eye-witness of the battle. But we cannot safely argue thus : the expression may have come from an informant. Much less can we argue from the life-like character of any particular part of his narrative that he was present at the scene which he describes (Pylos, Syracuse, Olympia, v. 50). The description of the departure of the Athenian fleet for Sicily (vi. 30, 32) is as graphic as any of them ; and Thucydides, then an exile, cannot possibly have been at the Piræus on that memorable day.

Composi-
tion of the
History.

Save for the rare cases in which Thucydides mentions a difficulty in getting information on particular points (pp. cvii, cviii), we know no details of the manner in which he wrote his history. He tells us that he began it as soon as the war began : to what extent, if any, he proceeded beyond the collection of materials, or when he worked up into a final or nearly final form the successive stages of the history, it is impossible to say with certainty. Some passages were certainly written after the fall of Athens (i. 23 ; ii. 62, 65 ; v. 26), and even bear traces of the impression produced on him and throughout Hellas by the well-deserved unpopularity of the Spartan dominion (i. 76, 77 ; probably iii. 82). Other passages in the earlier books gain greatly in force if we suppose them to have been written with a knowledge of the Sicilian expedition, the occupation of Decelea, and the end of the war ; especially those anticipations of the future in the speeches which are more definite than they could naturally have been at the time when the speeches were delivered (see

Part ii. p. 107). We naturally imagine him as living and working for some little time after the end of the war, although with no more definite internal grounds than these.

That Thucydides took advantage of the break in the war after the Peace of Nicias to put into shape what he had already composed in the rough is not unlikely in itself: he could not have divined at once that the war would break out afresh. But the internal evidence is quite insufficient to show that Books i—v. 25, or the greater part of them, form a separate section of the history, written, excepting a few definite insertions, in the interval between the Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian expedition¹. The passages mentioned above render it

¹ This theory was first put forward by Ullrich (*Beiträge zur Erklärung des Thukydides*) in 1846. It was well worth suggesting that there was a kind of break in Thucydides' work after 421, which may account for the fresh start which he makes in v. 26 (*γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θεουκιδίδης Ἀθηναῖος, κ.τ.λ.*). But the existence in the first four books of passages which must have been written before the Sicilian expedition and cannot have been written afterwards is insufficiently supported. It is said that the words of Thucydides in ii. 1 *ἀρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθὲνδε ἤδη . . . ἐν ᾧ οὗτε ἐπεμύγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους καὶ καταστάντες ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν*, can only refer to the first ten years of the war, and not to the whole war which was interrupted by the Peace of Nicias: that Thucydides cannot have described the second Peloponnesian invasion of Attica as the longest and most calamitous (ii. 37; iii. 26), if he were writing after the occupation of Decelen, which he also calls an *ἐσβολή*: that he cannot have called the Plague the greatest blow to the Athenian power (iii. 87), if he were writing after the Sicilian expedition: that he cannot have spoken of two distinct occasions as the greatest panic known at Athens during the war (ii. 94; viii. 96). But such arguments expect an unreasonable degree of 'legal accuracy' in Thucydides, and hardly make allowance for the common sense of the reader.

There is rather more reason for supposing that, in a few places in the earlier books, Thucydides uses the expression 'this war' for what he elsewhere calls 'the first war,' viz. the war down to the Peace of Nicias. In one of the most definite cases however (iv. 48), this interpretation, if admitted (and the only ground for it is a comparison of the passage in Thucydides with one in Diodorus, xiii. 48), points to the words having been written after 410. So that Thucydides, if he spoke of 'this war' in the alleged sense, seems to have done so after the renewal of the second war; and if so, the expression proves nothing as to the date at which the earlier books were completed.

xviii *Introduction: Part I, §§ 2-4.*

far more probable that the whole work took its present form, roughly speaking, after the end of the war; though some traces of incomplete revision may remain¹.

Date of death.

In iii. 116 Thucydides, purporting to enumerate the eruptions of Etna, says nothing of one which, if we can trust Diodorus (xiv. 59) whose chronology is often wrong, happened in 396. Hence it is probable that this part of the history was not revised much after 396, and therefore that Thucydides died before or not long after that date.

The imperfect state and abrupt conclusion of the eighth book seem to show that Thucydides was at work on it when he was interrupted by death. That he did not live to hand down to us the battles of Arginusae and Aegospotami and the surrender of Athens, is a loss which can hardly be estimated, not only to ancient history, but to the perfection of a great work of art.

§ 3. Traditions about Thucydides.

'But,' it may be asked, 'is this really all that we know about Thucydides? Is it not a fact that as a boy he was moved to tears by hearing Herodotus read his History? Was he not a pupil of Anaxagoras and of Antiphon? and a relative of Miltiades and Cimon, and perhaps connected with the Pisistratidae? Was not his banishment due to the influence of Cleon? Was he not recalled on the proposal of a certain Oenobius? Did he not live during his exile at Scapte Hyle in Thrace—where consequently the gold mines which he worked must have been—and did he not meet with a violent death in Thrace or at Athens?'

Some or most of these statements may be true, and they are not likely to be all false; but none of them are certain; and they must not be confused with what we can be said positively to know about Thucydides. They are taken from various writers, the earliest of whom, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, lived in the Augustan age, nearly 400 years later than Thucydides' death, and most of whom are later than 100 A.D. Nor do the earlier writers whom they quote, perhaps inaccurately², carry us back

¹ There is one pretty clear case in ii. 23 *τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραιεὶν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὀρόπιοι, Ἀθηναίων ἐπήκοοι, ἐδῆσαν*. This cannot have been revised after 411, when Oropus was lost to Athens (viii. 60).

² The 'Lives' of Thucydides make mistakes in their references to

(as far as any valuable information is concerned) to within 100 years of Thucydides.

These traditions are contained in (1) two essays on the style § 4. Authorities of Thucydides by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (2) a passage of Plutarch (Life of Cimon, ch. 4), who wrote about 100 A.D., (3) a passage of Pausanias (i. 32), who wrote towards the end of the second century A.D., (4) the 'Lives' of Thucydides usually printed at the beginning of our editions. They are found in the Palatine MS. of Thucydides (eleventh century) and in some others. One of them, headed 'Marcellinus : From the Scholia to Thucydides, on the life of Thucydides himself and his manner of writing,' seems from the repetitions and contradictions which it contains, to be made up of three different essays on the life of Thucydides. (5) There is, besides, a short 'life' in Suidas' Lexicon; and (6) some scattered remarks in Scholia and various late authors¹.

Now, in dealing with a body of traditions like this, we may of course dwell on the possibility that memoirs of Thucydides were written soon after his death, that the learned men of Alexandria tried to preserve all that was known of him, and that their accounts, even when not quoted by name, have come down to us in the 'Lives' and other sources. We may then weigh each several statement, distinguish between the more and less probable, the earlier and later, those likely to have been invented and those likely to be genuine; we may guess at the origin of different stories and the elements of fact which they seem to contain, and so put together a connected and plausible account². But the more we try to do this with the stories about Thucydides,

passages in Thucydides himself and in Herodotus, where we can check them. See Appendix A, p. xxxiii.

¹ The story of the effect produced on Thucydides as a boy by hearing Herodotus read his history occurs only in the latest sources (Suidas, Photius, and Marcellinus) and is not mentioned by Lucian (second century A.D.) where he describes the effect of Herodotus' readings at Olympia and his fame in Greece (Luc. Herodotus s. Action. i).

² All that learning and ingenuity can do to maintain the credit of the 'Lives' and to construct a connected account of Thucydides from them will be found in Herbst's articles in *Philologus*, 1890, pp. 134-180, 338-375.

the less credit do they seem to deserve. If there is any exception to this, it is Plutarch's statement that the historian was related to Cimon and Miltiades and that his tomb was to be seen at Athens among the tombs of their family: possibly also that of Pausanias, that he was recalled from banishment on the proposal of Oenobius¹. Every other definite statement about him is either suspicious in itself, or rests upon the mere authority of the 'Lives,' and their authority must be rated very low.

§ 5. Character of the 'Lives' of Thucydides.

They are very discursive, not written with any discrimination or intelligence; and either very corrupt, or full of blunders, or both. The earlier the authorities whom they quote, the more confused or improbable are their statements². The most varying traditions were current about Thucydides' exile, death and burial. One account implies that he died in exile, which is almost absolutely incompatible with his own words (see p. xv above). He is said to have spent his banishment in Aegina (which is impossible, for Aegina was part of the Athenian dominions until the end of the war), in Thrace³, in Italy, to have died a natural death, to have been killed in Thrace or in Attica or in Italy. From these discrepancies it would seem that when learned men began to be interested in discovering the facts of his life, no certain knowledge was to be had about them⁴.

On the whole then we cannot be sure of anything about Thucydides save what he tells us himself. Of the many stories which have been so often repeated about him some are indeed more likely to be true than others. For instance, a comparison between the speeches of Antiphon and the History of Thucydides

¹ See Appendix C, p. xxxvii.

² These earliest authorities are Cratippus and Zopyrus, who may have been contemporaries of Thucydides; and Timaeus and Praxiphanes who wrote within 100 years of his death. See Appendix B, p. xxxvi.

³ Dionysius, our earliest actually extant source of information, says (De Thuc. Hist. Jud. 41) that after his banishment he lived in Thrace during the whole of the rest of the war (*ἐξελθεὶς τῆς πατρίδος πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον ἐν Θράκῃ διέτριψεν*). This statement is inconsistent with the historian's own words, *γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι*: see pp. xii, xvi above.

⁴ Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Hermes*, xii. Die Thukydides-Legende, from whom many of these criticisms are taken.

makes it probable that Antiphon had some influence upon his style¹: Cleon was at the height of his power when Amphipolis was lost, and it is more likely than not that he abused Thucydides violently in the Assembly and had something to do with his voluntary or involuntary exile. But the statements that Antiphon was Thucydides' teacher (Marcell. p. 4, l. 31) or that Cleon's abuse was the cause of his banishment (Marcell. p. 9, l. 8) add little or nothing to these probabilities. No one would trust similar authorities when they tell us that Thucydides after his exile, when living in Aegina, ruined the inhabitants by lending money at exorbitant interest (Vit. Anon. p. 14, l. 28; cp. Marcell. p. 5, l. 11), or that he wrote his history 'under a plane-tree' (Marcell. p. 5, l. 14).

So much for the circumstances of Thucydides' life; for our knowledge of his mind and character we are thrown back upon his writings, and notwithstanding their reserved and impersonal tone, we are at no loss to form from them, within certain limits, a definite idea of what he was.

The resolution to write his History was a far more important epoch of his life than the failure to save Amphipolis. Impressed by the greatness of the impending struggle, he is mastered by the idea of writing a history in a manner never before attempted; a history based on accurate inquiry, not adorned by interesting fables, but keeping close to the truth, whatever trouble it may cost: not inaccurate in chronology, like that of Hellanicus: dating events not merely by the magistrates in whose term of office they occurred—for this does not tell you in what part of the year any given event took place—but by summer and winter, the natural divisions of the year (v. 20). He is offended by the loose way in which unfounded traditions are accepted, and history written, not to be a permanent guide to the truth, but to afford a momentary pleasure to the hearer. He fixes upon somewhat trivial instances of inaccuracy in previous writers or contemporary opinion (i. 20; ii. 29): he has a passion for setting people right about Hippias and Hipparchus, and twice goes out of his way to do so at length (i. 20; vi. 54-58). He is so keenly alive to the greatness of the present that he is rather less than just to the Persian war; and in his distrust of myths he makes

¹ See Mure's History of Greek Literature, vol. v. App. xi.

a somewhat prosy and unappreciative use of the Homeric and other legends; although, in quoting in full a passage from the Hymn to Apollo as proof of a small point about the history of the Ionian festival at Delos, he seems to be influenced by its poetic beauty (iii. 104). Where others saw the 'tale of Troy divine' and a bright vista of ancestral heroes and Gods, he sees a comparatively small expedition hampered by want of supplies, and a feeble poverty-stricken form of primitive society resembling that of the barbarians or the most backward of the Greeks of his day. He has no 'philosophy of history' beyond the belief that human nature is always much the same, and that therefore what has happened is likely to happen again, and that the past, if accurately recorded, will serve as a guide to the future. This conviction he expresses in particular about his own record of the Plague and the Corcyraean revolution: it may be noticed that a pestilence like that at Athens is known to have recurred but once (if at all), in the time of M. Aurelius; while subsequent revolutions have only too faithfully reproduced the features of the troubles at Corcyra.

§ 7. Interest in cities, persons, and things.

Thucydides is singularly capable of setting forth opposite views of a situation and opposite conceptions of national character; but he rarely decides between them (he may have felt, with the Chorus in the Agamemnon, *ὄνειδος ἦκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνειδούς, δῶσμάχα δ' ἐστὶ κρίναι*). He is deeply sensible of the charm of Athenian life and its combination of liberty and law¹, but not blind to the occasional weakness of character and preference of words to deeds with which his fellow-citizens might justly be charged. He is an admirer of Spartan political stability and appreciates the grandeur of the typical Spartan character, yet he presents in the strongest light its actual defects, and limitations; its irresolution, unscrupulousness, and insincerity.

He admires Pericles beyond any other man of whom he has to write, and regards as the fatal turning-point in the history of Athens, not constitutional changes, or external disasters, but the demoralisation caused by the Plague, and the change from the commanding influence of one great man to the quarrels of many smaller men.

¹ ii. 37: vii. 69 πατρίδος τε τῆς ἐλευθερωτάτης ὑπομνήσκων καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνεπιτάκτου πᾶσιν ἐς τὴν δαίταν ἐξουσίας.

He takes a kind of personal interest in Demosthenes, Brasidas, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Hermocrates; in Antiphon, Phrynichus, and the other leaders of the oligarchic revolution of 411; in the Chians and their most excusable but unsuccessful revolt (viii. 24); in the short-lived compromise between oligarchy and democracy, which was the best government enjoyed by the Athenians in his day (viii. 97). He forgets his habitual calmness, it may be his habitual fairness (see p. cxxix ff.) in speaking of Cleon.

He has a curious habit, which almost amounts to a mannerism, of noting, not only the largest armies or navies or the greatest battles by land and sea which have taken place within a given time, but also the greatest calamities (iii. 113; vii. 24, 29, 30), the greatest panics (ii. 94; v. 66; viii. 1), the greatest conflagration (ii. 77), the most violent earthquake (viii. 41) which he has to record; 'the very finest men who fell in this war' (iii. 98), the greatest display of activity on the part of the Lacedaemonians (v. 64), the best defence on a capital charge (viii. 68), and even 'the most durable counter-revolution effected by the smallest numbers' (iv. 74).

Thucydides, unlike his great contemporary Socrates, did not believe in oracles, omens, and the like. He speaks with disapprobation of Nicias' attachment to such things¹. He knows of one oracle only which justified the confidence of those who accepted it². He sees that an oracle may be after a fashion justified by the event without anything more than ordinary foresight on the part of its originator³. He is alive to the ambiguity of current oracles (iii. 96) and the readiness with which they may be twisted to suit the issue⁴. Still his tone

§ 8. Oracles and omens.

¹ ἦν γάρ τι καὶ ἀγαν θειασμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσκείμενος (vii. 50: cp. v. 103).

² ὥστε . . . εὐρήσει τις . . . τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν τι ἰσχυρισσάμενός μόνον δὴ τοῦτο ἐχυρῶς ξυμβάν· αἰὲ γὰρ ἔγωγε μέμνημαι, καὶ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μέχρι οὗ ἐτελεύτησεν, προφερόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὅτι τρίς ἐννέα ἔτη δύο γενέσθαι αὐτόν (v. 26).

³ καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μαντεῖον (τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἀμεινον) τοῦναντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσεδέχοντο· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν παράνομον ἐνόκησιν αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκίσεως, ὃν οὐκ ὀνομάζον τὸ μαντεῖον προῆδαι μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθησόμενον (ii. 17).

⁴ ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς (στ' λιμὸς) ἔμ' αὐτῷ (ii. 54).

about them is not one of mere contempt, as for a foolish popular superstition. He is interested in them and curious about them, and sometimes goes out of his way to mention them in detail. We may imagine that he had not made up his mind to reject this generally-received means of penetrating the darkness of the future, without some thought and inquiry.

§ 9. Sympathy with customs and feelings of his day.

He sympathises much more fully with several other sentiments of his time, founded partly on common human feelings shared by ourselves, partly on ideas and beliefs which have since given place to others. In the rites of burial and the honours paid to the dead, which held so large a place in the minds of his contemporaries, he takes a well-marked personal interest. He describes in detail and with a certain impressive dignity the ceremonies of a public funeral at Athens (ii. 34), and there is a note of real indignation and almost horror in his account following immediately (ii. 52) of the violation of the ceremonies of sepulture during the confusion of the Plague. He tells us of the enforced honour which the Spartans at the bidding of Apollo paid to the body of Pausanias, and of the secret burial of Themistocles at his own request in the country which he had betrayed (i. 134, 138); of the burial of Brasidas with full military honours, and the half-worship paid to him as a hero and founder by the grateful people of Amphipolis (v. 11); and of the refusal of a place of burial to the Spartan Lichas, in consequence of a difference of policy, by the Milesians (viii. 84). The insult to the Spartans, buried in Plataean soil, who will henceforth be deprived of their annual ceremonies, and will have to lie in the land of the Thebans against whom they fought, is one of the strongest pleas of the Plataeans before the Spartan judges (iii. 38); and the Athenians, leaving the bodies of their friends unburied in the camp before Syracuse, feel not grief only, but fear at the possible consequences of so terrible a neglect of duty (vii. 75).

Thucydides is interested too in the appeals of the Plataeans and Archidamus to the local Gods and heroes of the city (ii. 71-74), in the question debated after the battle of Delium between the Athenians and Boeotians, as to the propriety of demanding retreat from a temple unlawfully occupied as a condition of restoring the dead (iv. 97-99); in the foundation of cities and

the relations of mother-city and colony; in the cruel profanation (iii. 81¹), unavoidable occupation (ii. 17; iv. 98), or accidental burning (iv. 133) of a temple. He feels deeply the hard necessities of war, which lead kindred cities, Dorian or Ionian, founders and colonists, to fight against each other (vii. 57, 58). He takes a curious interest in the repeated purifications of Delos, perhaps because the first of them was undertaken by Pisistratus (i. 8; iii. 104; v. 1; viii. 108). He records not without sympathy the distress of the Athenian country gentlemen at leaving, when the war began, not only their homes, but their local shrines (ii. 16). And, finally, he knows that 'on the eve of a great struggle' men are not afraid of seeming 'commonplace and old-fashioned' if they appeal to others in the name of 'their wives and children and their fathers' Gods' (vii. 69).

His interests as a historian, though not so wide as those of § 10. Re-
Herodotus, were by no means confined to the Hellenic world. marks on
Instances of this are his digression on the administration and 'barba-
customs of the Odrysian kingdom and his remarkable observa- rians.'
tion on the Scythians, who are only prevented by want of union
and civilisation from being the strongest (barbarian) nation in
Europe or Asia (ii. 97); his striking description of barbarian as
opposed to civilised warfare (iv. 126, 127; cp. ii. 81); his elaborate
and almost humorous study of the character of the Persian
'pachia' Tissaphernes; and his remarks about the Thracians,
who are most bloody when they have least to fear (vii. 29), and
the 'Spaniards and other most warlike barbarians' of the west
(vi. 90). We may add what he says of the Hellenic Eurytanes,
the largest tribe of the Aetolians, 'whose language is the most
unintelligible, and who are said to eat raw flesh' (iii. 94). He
cannot have foreseen that, in a far distant future, Athens
and Sparta would be 'laid desolate,' not by 'another Dorian
war,' but by invaders, more formidable than the hordes of
Sitalces, from these same northern regions. But his frequent
references to the dim barbarian world which surrounded Hellenic

¹ Here Thucydides, speaking in his own person, says as a proof of the extraordinary horrors of the Corcyraean revolution, καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λεγόντων ἀπισπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ λεγῶν ἀπέθανον· οὕτως ἀμὲν στάσις προέχρησεν, κ.τ.λ.

civilisation on the Mediterranean coast have a strong interest for us moderns.

§ 11. Natural phenomena.

Thucydides, like many other thoughtful men of his own and somewhat earlier times (see p. li), is keenly interested in various natural phenomena; in the effects of the Plague on dogs and birds of prey as well as men (ii. 50), in spontaneous 'forest fires' (ii. 77), in the silting up of the mouth of the Achelous (ii. 102), in the volcano of Stromboli (iii. 88), which the inhabitants 'believe to be the forge of Hephaestus,' and in the recorded eruptions of Aetna (iii. 116). He repeatedly chronicles solar eclipses and earthquakes, and has an opinion of his own about the cause of the overflow of the sea which sometimes accompanies the latter (iii. 89), as well as on the cause of the whirlpool of Charybdis (iv. 24), 'by which Odysseus is said to have sailed through.' One reason why the Peloponnesian War is to be considered greater than any other he finds in its accompaniments of famine and pestilence, eclipse and earthquake (i. 23).

§ 12. 'Cases of conscience.'

Professor Campbell in his Introduction to the 'Antigone' says, 'It is obvious to the student of Thucydides how continually in that age individuals must have been distracted between their obligation to the state and sentiments which seemed to have an ethical and religious sanction, and which, if not absolutely universal, had become deeply implanted in the heart of every Greek. That which in public discussion was the opposition of *δίκαιον* and *ξυμφέρον* must often have been felt by individuals as a conflict of feeling against public duty. The religious Spartan, who, at the command of his generals, put to the sword the Plataeans who were suppliants at his own fathers' tombs; the Ionian in Sicily taking part with Dorians against his own race; the high-born Corcyraean compelled to do battle against the mother-state; the religious Athenian, if there were any such, at Melos; the Spartans who slew the enfranchised Helots after they had been presented crowned in the temples, must have experienced scruples which were deeply rooted in the Hellenic nature.' A few passages in Thucydides may be quoted to illustrate these true and suggestive remarks; it is not his way to mention such individual feelings except in the rare cases where they influenced the course of events. There is the dilatoriness of the rowers who were charged with the first and all but fatal

message to Paches at Mitylene, τῆς μὲν προτέρας νεὼς οὐ σπουδῇ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον, and a little earlier there is the repentance, as we should call it, of an individual Mitylenaeon who was sorry for having informed against his countrymen, and did his best to repair what he had done (iii. 4 ὃ μετέμελεν ἤδη). Of a rather different character is the reaction in the minds of the Athenian people against their monstrous resolution (τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιά τις εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναλογισμός, ὧμὸν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα ἐγνώσθαι, πόλιν δὲ διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους), and the remorse of the Lacedaemonians (when things began to go wrong with them) for having begun the war (vii. 18). The possibility of individual scruples, about an unjust alliance (i. 36) or an 'imperial policy' (ii. 63; iii. 40), is alluded to with some scorn in the speeches of the Corcyraeans, Pericles, and Cleon; and, more seriously, in the matter of going to war about a supposed trifle, by Pericles (i. 140). More characteristic of Thucydides are the pictures of Pericles calmly facing the popular indignation because he had made up his mind that he was right (ii. 22), and of Nicias before Syracuse, knowing how desperate the situation was, and in his own mind 'still wavering and considering'; but hiding his irresolution under a mask of decision, and arguing in brave and angry words against the wiser counsel of Demosthenes (vii. 48, 49).

Much has been written about the moral and religious ideas of Thucydides. The simple truth is that, unlike Herodotus and Xenophon, he has told us next to nothing about them¹. We must not, however, conclude that, because he did not believe in legends or oracles, and because he thought that the historical events with which he had to do could be sufficiently explained without supposing other than natural causes for them, he therefore rejected the simpler and more profound beliefs of his countrymen².

¹ No importance can be attached to the remark quoted in Marcellinus, 4, 28 ἤκουσε δὲ διδασκάλων Ἀναξαγύρου μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἔθεν, φησὶν Ἀντυλλος, καὶ ἄθεος ἥρεμα ἐνομίσθη, τῆς ἐκείθεν θεωρίας ἐμφορηθείς. Antyllus is spoken of as a good authority by the author of the anonymous Life of Thucydides, but his date is unknown.

² A remarkable passage in Thucydides' contemporary, the physician Hippocrates, shows that we must not argue too hastily from a rejection

§ 13. Indications of his moral and religious ideas.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Thucydides sympathised with the cynical observations of the Athenians in their speeches at Sparta and Melos, about the hollowness of justice and the universal rule of grasping self-interest (οὐδ' ἄν κρατῇ, ἄρχειν), 'among men as we know, and among the Gods as we believe.' It would be an equal mistake to dwell upon the striking expression which he twice puts into the mouth of the Melians, ἡ τύχη ἐκ τοῦ θείου, or to apply it to the conception of τύχη as it occurs elsewhere in him. We may with more plausibility find an expression of his own feeling in the utterance which he ascribes to Pericles (ii. 64) φέρειν τε χρὴ τὰ τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκάως τὰ τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως. There are, however, only three places where he speaks at all of such matters in his own person.

The
Plague.

Describing the Plague (ii. 52-54) he tells us how, 'when they were afraid to visit each other, the sufferers died in their solitude, so that many houses were empty because there had been no one left to take care of the sick; or if they ventured they perished, especially those who aspired to heroism (οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι). For they went to see their friends without thought of themselves, and were ashamed to leave them.' He also tells us how, besides the disregard of funeral ceremonies, 'there were

of superstitious explanations of particular phenomena. Speaking of a malady prevalent among some of the Scythians, he says οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιχώριοι τὴν αἰτίην προστιθέασι θεῶν, καὶ σέβονται τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ προσκυνέουσι, δεδουκότες περὶ γὰρ ἐαυτῶν ἕκαστοι. ἔμοι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν δοκεῖ ταῦτα τὰ πάθεα θεῖα εἶναι καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἑτέρου θεϊώτερον, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοῖα καὶ πάντα θεῖα· ἕκαστον δὲ ἔχει φύσιν τῶν τοιούτων καὶ οὐδὲν ἄνευ φύσιος γίγνεται. After giving a simple explanation of the disease in question, and ironically remarking that if it were more 'divine' than others, the rich who can afford to appease the Gods with sacrifices would not suffer from it, he continues ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἔλεξα, θεῖα μὲν καὶ ταῦτά ἐστι ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις· γίγνεται δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἕκαστα. (De Aere, etc., 29—one of the treatises recognised as genuine by Littré: quoted in Mahaffy, Greek Classical Literature, Prose Writers, Part i. p. 48. Cp. ch. 1 of the treatise περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου, probably by some member of the school of Hippocrates.) Thucydides may, though we do not know, have thought of events what Hippocrates thinks of maladies, that though all 'human' and 'natural,' they were also 'divine'—not of course that the word meant to the men of that day all that it means to us.

other forms of lawlessness which the plague introduced at Athens. Men who had hitherto concealed their indulgence in pleasure now grew bolder. For seeing the sudden change—how the rich died in a moment, and those who had nothing immediately inherited their property—they reflected that life and riches, under the circumstances, were alike transitory, and they resolved to enjoy themselves while they could, and think only of pleasure. Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honour (*προσταλαίπωρὲν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ*), when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honour? The pleasure of the moment and any sort of thing which conduced to it took the place both of honour and expediency. No fear of Gods or law of men deterred a criminal. Those who saw all perishing alike, thought that the worship or neglect of the Gods made no difference. For offences against human law, no punishment was to be feared; no one would live long enough to be called to account. Already a far heavier sentence had been passed, and was hanging over a man's head; before that fell, why should he not take a little pleasure?

Again, speaking of the Corcyraean sedition, he says among other things (iii. 82, 83), 'In peace and prosperity both states and individuals are actuated by higher motives, because they do not fall under the dominion of imperious necessities; but war which takes away the comfortable provision of daily life is a hard master, and tends to assimilate men's characters to their conditions. . . . He who could outstrip another in a bad action was applauded, and so was he who encouraged to evil one who had no idea of it. . . . The seal of good faith was not the divine law, but fellowship in crime¹. . . . In general the dishonest more easily gain credit for cleverness than the simple for goodness²; men take a pride in the one, but are ashamed of the other

¹ καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θεῷ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομῆσαι. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (De adm. vi. dicendi in Dem., 1) seems to have read τῷ θεῷ καὶ νομῷ. Expressions like *θεῶς νόμος* occur in Heraclitus, Fr. 91, and Gorgias, see pp. lii, lvi.

² This sentiment is noteworthy from a critical and intellectual mind like that of Thucydides: we may think of his evident appreciation of the simple character of Archidamus with his maxim οὐ πολὺ διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου.

Neither faction cared for religion¹, but any fair pretence which succeeded in effecting some odious purpose was greatly lauded.' These passages show how very far Thucydides was from being 'cynical' or indifferent about questions of right and wrong: they show too that he regarded the breaking down of the restraints of the popular religion as one of the worst evils of plagues or revolutions: and in the second of them he quietly speaks of 'the divine law' as a real thing, which ought to have kept men faithful to their oaths, though, in this extremity, ineffective. It may, however, be observed that the motive which generally failed in the Plague, though it proved operative in a few cases, is not what we should call conscience or religion in the higher sense, as Socrates might have felt it, but regard for an honourable reputation (*αἰσχύνη* or *τὸ δόξαν καλόν*), or fear of immediate punishment from the Gods.

The undeserved fate of Nicias.

One more passage remains to be noticed. In the Plague, as we have seen, the good and bad perish alike, or the good more than the bad. The confident appeals to the justice of heaven which Thucydides puts into the mouth of the Plataeans, the Melians, and Nicias on the retreat from Syracuse do not avail to save them². The tacit thought or feeling which the historian betrays here seems to be more fully expressed when, besides merely recording the fate of Nicias, he says, 'No one of the Hellenes in my time was less deserving of so miserable an end, for he lived wholly in the practice of virtue³.'

¹ *Ἐδσίβεια*, meaning, as the context and the common use of the word show, the 'piety' which will not break an oath taken in the name of a God.

² Professor Jebb in 'Hellenica,' p. 301.

³ vii. 86 καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτη ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτία ἐτεβήκει, ἥμιστα δὲ ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γ' ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν. There is a 'harder reading' of at least equal manuscript authority, διὰ τὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν, which must mean 'because he lived in the observance of recognised obligations' (*νενομισμένην = νομίμην*). If these were Thucydides' words, he must be understood to feel the injustice of such a fate ending so scrupulous and well-regulated a life—a sentiment less impressive to our minds but perhaps more Greek (Müller-Strübing, Aristophanes, p. 638), and showing the same feeling of a claim upon the justice of the Gods.

Thucydides has been called 'cold' and 'cynical,' because he does not pass judgment on the crimes which he records. It is true that he often mentions without comment the cruel but recognised severities of Greek warfare¹. He is reserved and to some degree hard (a truth more often exaggerated than overlooked): he is the very reverse of 'sentimental': and his contempt for weakness or miscalculation or plans well conceived but feebly carried out, is more obvious than his disapprobation of wrong-doing². But the tone of his narrative leaves us in no doubt as to what he thought of exceptional cruelty or meanness, like that of Alcidas (iii. 32), Paches (iii. 34), Menedaeus (iii. 109), Tissaphernes (viii. 108), or the treacherous massacre of the bravest Helots by the Spartans (iv. 80). Often, as in the story of the final massacre at Corcyra or the miseries of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse, the pity which he knows so well how to awaken for the sufferers makes all comment on the deed superfluous.

About the fate of the Plataeans there is not much to be said after Thucydides has given us their own plea. The conduct of the Thebans in the matter would certainly not have seemed so unjustifiable to the ancients as it does to us. Plataea was, from the ancient point of view, their 'colony,' though founded in what we should call semi-legendary times, and they hated it as

¹ We must remember that modern history is written by civilians or by soldiers for civilian readers: the distinction did not exist in the days of Thucydides, who like any other *στρατηγός* might have been called upon to order a conquered population to be put to the sword, and the women and children to be sold for slaves. The massacre or execution of the wretched remnant of the Aeginetans (iv. 57) probably took place during his *στρατηγία*, though he may by that time have started for the coast of Thrace.

² Diodotus in pleading for the people of Mitylene appeals to interest, and in one place (iii. 47) to gratitude and justice (*πρῶτον μὲν ἀδικήσετε τοὺς εὐεργέτας κτείνοντες*), not at all to mercy and human feeling; and conclusions have been drawn from the circumstance about the hard-heartedness of the historian or the Athenian people at this period. But Diodotus (or Thucydides putting 'the appropriate arguments' into his mouth) wanted to convince the waverers who had been influenced by Cleon's most effective though unscrupulous harangue, and that could not be done better than by affecting to disregard all higher considerations.

Corinth hated Corcyra. Nor would it have occurred to a Greek, as it does to every modern schoolboy who is moved to indignation by the story, that the Plataeans deserved consideration simply for their gallantry against overwhelming odds. Of the hypocrisy and moral cowardice of the Spartans, Thucydides hints his disapprobation in two words (*ἤξιον δὴθεν αὐτοὺς ἡσυχάζειν* and *περὶ Πλαταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὕτως ἀποτετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο Θηβαίων ἕνεκα*). In the case of the Melian massacre, no condemnation that the historian could have pronounced could possibly have added to the effect of the 'Melian Dialogue' standing where it does; just before the story of the Sicilian expedition.

§ 15. ἐλ-
πίδι ἥσσαν
πιστεύει
(ἡ ξύνε-
σις), γνώμη
δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
ὑπαρχόν-
των, ἥς βε-
βαιότερα
ἢ πρόνοια.

The picture which we draw for ourselves of the mind of a great and reticent writer like Thucydides will vary at different times and with different readers: *λεγέτω περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἕκαστος* (iii. 83), *γνώμη* *γνωώσκει*. But his most heart-felt conviction, and one which he is never weary of expressing, is the supreme value of rational foresight; a 'commonplace' no doubt, but a commonplace which is ever receiving, in the pages of Thucydides as in the experience of life, a new interest from the neglect of it by 'states and individuals.' Chance (that is, the operation of unknown causes) is strong, the future is hard to foresee, hope is dangerous; we must look facts in the face whether we like them or not, and 'think it out.' Such is his most characteristic utterance about human things, recurring over and over again both in the speeches, and in his own observations. We should wish to think of his own character as answering to it, and also to his words (iii. 83) about the simplicity which is the chief element in a noble nature. There are some persons in whom strong common sense and keen insight exist in so unusual a degree that they seem to indicate the presence of qualities greater than themselves, and attract, not admiration only, but affection. The genius of Thucydides as expressed in his writings has the power of characters like these.

APPENDIX A.

READERS of Thucydides may sometimes have wondered what credit is to be given to the lives of him which are printed at the beginning of Bekker's and other editions, and to the numerous stories about him, derived from these sources, which are to be found in Dictionaries of Biography and Histories of Greek Literature. An enumeration of the errors or improbabilities in the 'Lives' will show that their authority is not high.

Marcellinus (p. 3, l. 9)¹, says that Miltiades 'when the Persians came against Hellas' (meaning when they attacked the shores of the Hellespont after the Ionic Revolt), sent most of his family away in safety from the Thracian Chersonese, but that a ship was taken in which some of his children were: 'But they are released by the King, if Herodotus is not mistaken.' What Herodotus really says (vi. 41) is that Miltiades' eldest son was taken and that the King treated him kindly and gave him a house and property and a Persian wife; his children being counted as Persians.

Marcellinus (p. 5, l. 21) charges Herodotus with having for personal reasons accused the Corinthians of cowardice at Salamis. Herodotus gives this indeed as a story told by the Athenians, but clearly implies his disbelief in it (viii. 94).

Marcellinus (p. 9, l. 25)² says that Thucydides wrote with a view to accuracy rather than entertainment, *καὶ γὰρ ὠνόμασεν ἀγώνισμα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ξυγγραφὴν*. Cp. Thuc. i. 22 *κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται*. Marcellinus (p. 5, ll. 5-9) makes two mistakes in giving Thucydides' account of the loss of Amphipolis. He says that Thucydides 'having been sent to Amphipolis'³—meaning having been sent by the

¹ The references are to Bekker's text.

² This is apparently from the second of the three Lives combined under the name of Marcellinus. The author is not so inaccurate as the writers of the first and third Lives, but he tells us few facts, confining himself chiefly to criticism on the language and style of Thucydides.

³ The writer may have been thinking of Thuc. v. 26 *μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν*.

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Athenians to the Thracian coast, or sent for by Eucles to Amphipolis—failed to save it and was blamed, but that though he missed Amphipolis he ‘took’ Eion, meaning that he kept Eion¹.

§ 17. Mistakes, improbabilities, or corruptions in the ‘Lives.’ Marcellinus says that Miltiades, when he received the Dolonci (according to the story in Hdt. vi. 35), was ‘sitting before the frontiers of Attica’ (p. 2, l. 21 note): that the tomb of *Herodotus* and Thucydides is shown among the tombs of the family of Cimon (p. 3, l. 32): that Thucydides shows his impartiality by not reviling Cleon or Brasidas who were the cause of his misfortunes (p. 5, l. 17), whereas he does ‘revile’ Cleon, so far as he can be said to revile anybody: that after his banishment he lived in Aegina, which, as we have seen (p. xx), was impossible. A writer named Zopyrus (but see below, p. xxxvii) seems to be quoted for two inconsistent statements, viz., that Thucydides died in (a) Thrace, (b) Attica (Marc. p. 6, ll. 12, 23). The author of the anonymous Life carelessly says, after giving the correct account, that Amphipolis ‘revolted’ from Athens after the battle in which Cleon was killed; and confuses Thucydides the historian with Thucydides son of Melesias (14. 12 ff.). Some of the biographers or the authorities whom they quote seem to have got hold of the idea that Thucydides died in exile, and are sorely exercised to account for his having been buried in Attica (p. 6, l. 18; p. 11, l. 15).

¹ Cicero, Brutus xii. 47, affords a curious illustration of a loose reference to Thucydides which might easily give rise to error. ‘Antiphonem Rhamnensium . . . quo neminem unquam melius ullam oravisse capitis causam cum se ipse defenderet, *se audiente*, locuples auctor scripsit Thucydides.’ Cicero is thinking of Thuc. viii. 68 med. *δριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ . . . θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος*. But he only just avoids saying—perhaps for the moment he thought—that Thucydides was present at the trial of Antiphon, which of course took place during his exile.

² Bekker accepts the conjecture *πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν καθεζομένης τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκίας* (Hdt. loc. cit., *ἐν τοῖσι προθύροις τοῖσι ἐαυτοῦ*) for the manuscript reading *πρὸ τῶν ὄρων καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς*. But as Stahl says of a similar case, the correction of *ἐπὶ πλατάνῳ* into *ὑπὸ Παργαίῳ* in p. 5, l. 14, ‘frustra est tales fabellas ad rationem velle revocare.’

Two of the best known stories about Thucydides are stated, § 18. Some by two of the late writers who record them, in such a form as of the traditions to make us suspect that they were only conjectures intended to look like mere account for the little that was really known of him. guesses.

Thus, in the 'Lives of the Ten Orators,' ascribed to Plutarch, we read (p. 832, c. § 6) Καικίλιος δ', ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ ('Antiphōnos) συντάγματι, Θουκυδίδου τοῦ ξυγγραφέως μαθητὴν τεκμαίρεται γεγονέναι, ἐξ ὧν ἐπαινείται παρ' αὐτῷ ὁ 'Antiphōn—'Caecilius' (a rhetorician of the Augustan age) 'concludes that Antiphon was a pupil of Thucydides the historian¹, from his praises of Antiphon' (viii. 68).

Marcellinus (p. 3, l. 20), after quoting the assertion that Thucydides was 'descended' from Miltiades, continues, καὶ μέγιστον τεκμήριον νομίζουσι τὴν πολλὴν περιουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χρήματα καὶ. . . μέταλλα χρυσᾶ. This looks as if the connexion of Thucydides with Miltiades and Cimon was invented or improved upon to account for Thucydides' supposed property in Thrace. Marcellinus elsewhere (p. 4, l. 9) accounts for it by his marriage with a rich Thracian wife.

In both these cases we find a discrepancy in the story, and something that looks like a guess on the way to becoming a positive assertion.

Similarly it has been supposed that Thucydides' violent end may have been a hypothesis intended to explain the unfinished state of his work: that his relationship with the Pisistratidae may have been suggested by the interest which he takes in the tyrants, and his claim to special information about them²: that the various stories about the place and manner of his death may have been different ways of accounting for a 'mast' (ἱκρίον) said to have been set up over his tomb³.

¹ The converse statement, that Thucydides was a pupil of Antiphon, is more common (Vit. Anon. p. 12, l. 24; and elsewhere).

² vi. 55 ὅτι δὲ πρεσβύτατος ὢν Ἰσπίας ἤρξεν εἰδὼς μὲν καὶ ἀκοῇ ἀκριβέστερον ἄλλων ἰσχυρίζομαι. The earliest authority cited for the relationship of Thucydides with the Pisistratidae is Hermippus (a writer of βίαι in the third century B. C.), Marc. p. 4, l. 4 ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν αὐτὸν λέγει τῶν τυράννων ἔλκειν τὸ γένος, διὸ καὶ διαφθεροῦν αὐτόν φησιν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τοῖς περὶ Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογέιτονα.

³ Marc. p. 6, l. 7 οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν ἐν θαλάσῃ καὶ

APPENDIX B.

§ 19. The
earliest
authorities
quoted.

THE earliest writers who are quoted as saying anything about Thucydides are Praxiphanes and Timaeus, who lived within a century after his death, and Zopyrus and Cratippus who appear to have been his contemporaries. What do they tell us?

Of Praxiphanes, a philosopher and a pupil of Theophrastus, who lived towards the end of the fourth century, B.C., we have a fragmentary extract (Marc. p. 5, l. 38), which may refer to a poet named Thucydides and not to the historian. He tells us that 'Thucydides' was contemporary with Plato (the comic poet), Agathon, Choerilus, and two other poets; and that 'while Archelaus lived, he was on the whole without renown, but afterwards was marvellously admired.' This Archelaus is the king of Macedonia who succeeded Perdiccas and whose energetic administration is praised by Thucydides (ii. 100): Euripides and other literary men, including several of the poets mentioned by Praxiphanes, resided at his court. Praxiphanes does not say, and we cannot conclude from his words, that Thucydides did so too.

Timaeus, the Sicilian historian, is quoted as having said that Thucydides lived in Italy during his exile and (as others said also) that he was buried there: one of many contradictory stories, as we have seen; and vehemently rejected by 'Marcellinus'.¹ This is unfortunate, for on external grounds we should be inclined to trust the evidence of Timaeus. He brought his history of Sicily down to the year 264; he may have been born as early as 352, and he spent fifty years of his life at Athens.

Cratippus is called by Dionysius of Halicarnassus a contemporary of Thucydides, and the same date is implied by Plutarch (De Glor. Ath. 1, p. 345 e). He is mentioned in Marcellinus as approving a statement of a certain Zopyrus, who must therefore have also been a contemporary of Thucydides.

διέτριβε φυγάς ἔν. καὶ φέρουσι μαρτύριον τοῦ μὴ κείσθαι τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἱερὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφρου κείσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

¹ P. 5, l. 14; p. 6, l. 25.

Dionysius (De Thuc. Hist. Jud. 16) says that Cratippus continued Thucydides' history from the point where he left it, and that he accounted for the absence of speeches in the eighth book on the ground that the historian found that they were wearisome to his readers:—which valuable statement who will venture to affirm or deny?

The passage of Marcellinus (p. 6, ll. 10-27) in which Cratippus and Zopyrus are quoted is so confused as to be almost worthless. Zopyrus is quoted (1) as having said according to Didymus¹ that Thucydides died at Athens, (2) by Marcellinus himself as having said that he died in Thrace. Marcellinus considers the latter opinion 'nonsense,' though supported by Cratippus². Thus the simplest facts about Thucydides, and those for which the earliest authorities are quoted, are given in contradictory form and have become matters of angry controversy.

APPENDIX C.

THE passages in which Plutarch and Pausanias mention Thucydides are rather more worthy of credit than the 'Lives,' especially because they refer to monuments which existed in the age of the writers. The passage in Plutarch is the more important as well as the earlier in date (end of the first century A.D.).

In his Life of Cimon, c. 4, he says, 'The mother of Cimon § 20. Pas-
son of Miltiades was Hegesipyle, a Thracian by birth, the sage in
daughter of King Olorus; as is recorded in the poems of Plutarch.
Archelaus and Melanthius, written in honour of Cimon himself.
Hence it was that the father of Thucydides the historian, who
was related to the family of Cimon, was called Olorus (deriving
that name from his ancestor), and that Thucydides possessed

¹ Didymus was the voluminous scholar of Cicero's time to whom the foundation of our collections of scholia is ascribed.

² The passage can only be reduced to good sense by two doubtful suppositions: (1) that τοῦτο in p. 6, l. 13, τοῦτο δὲ φησι Ζώπυρον ἰστορεῖν, means the statement that Thucydides died in Thrace, i. e. is loosely put for ἐκείνο: (2) that this tradition, given by the contemporaries of Thucydides, was set aside, and other statements put forward by later writers because they wrongly took Thucydides' words in v. 26, συνέβη μοι φεύγειν ἤν η̄ μαινοῦ ἐν ἐξοῇ, to mean that he died in exile.

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the gold mines in Thrace. He is said to have died by violence at Scapte-Hyle, a place in Thrace; but his remains were conveyed to Attica, and a monument to him is shown among the tombs of the family of Cimon, hard by the tomb of Elpinice, Cimon's sister. But Thucydides was of the deme Halimus, whereas the family of Miltiades were Laciadae¹.

The same story with slight variations appears in Suidas and in the 'Lives'; especially in Marc., p. 4, l. 2, where 'Polemo, in his work *On the Acropolis*,' is quoted as the authority for the existence of a tomb of Thucydides among those of Cimon's family, testifying to a relationship with them.

Thucydides
probably
connected
with Mil-
tiades and
Cimon.

Polemo was a geographer of 200 B.C. or a little later, who paid special attention to monuments and inscriptions; we have therefore some reason for attaching weight to his evidence. And we know that Olorus was really the name both of the father of Thucydides (Thuc. iv. 104 fin.) and of the Thracian father-in-law of Miltiades (Hdt. vi. 39).² We need not then reject as unsupported the tradition that Thucydides belonged to the same γένος as Miltiades and Cimon³, and had a tomb or monument among the tombs of their family⁴.

¹ Plutarch's scepticism is unwarranted: there is no reason why members of the same γένος should not have been assigned to different demes, either at the original establishment of the demes by Cleisthenes, or whenever fresh demes were formed, if they were formed, later. (See, on this and other points, Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 282 ff.) In a *μαρτυρία* in [Dem.] c. Neaer. 61, members of six different demes belong to the same γένος: the *μαρτυρία*, though it may be spurious, is as good evidence for a point of this kind as Plutarch.

² We cannot rely with the same certainty on the name Hegesipyle ascribed to the mother of Thucydides in Marc. p. 1, l. 12.

³ Dem. in Eubulid. 28 (32) shows that only members of the same γένος were admitted to share the family sepulchre.

⁴ On the other hand (1) the inscription on the tomb, Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου Ἀλιμουσίου ἐνθάδε κεῖται, is given in various forms: it was disputed whether the name was Ὀλόρου or Ὀρόλου, and whether the words ἐνθάδε κεῖται were genuine or not. (2) There was plenty of time for the successful forgery of an inscription between the death of Thucydides and the date of Polemo: for instances of famous inscriptions forged or tampered with at an earlier period than this, see Jowett's *Thucydides*, vol. ii., p. xxvii., note on viii. 92, 2. (3) We have it on good authority (Athen. Polit. 28, 2; cp. Plut. Per. 11) that Thucydides, son of

But beyond this bare fact we cannot safely go. The *γένος* was not a 'family' in our sense, connected by ties of blood and marriage, but an association bound together by common rites, a common cemetery, and traditions of a common ancestor: how nearly Thucydides was related to Cimon in the modern sense, if at all, we cannot say.

Nor can we argue with certainty from the name Olorus that, as often asserted, and implied by Plutarch, Thracian blood ran in the veins of Thucydides. It is often taken for granted that Olorus, the father of Thucydides, was a Thracian, of the family of Olorus the Thracian king; that he had (like the Thracian Sadocus, ii. 29) become an Athenian citizen; and that the relationship with Miltiades and Cimon was a consequence of the marriage of Miltiades and Hegesipyle¹. Some of our authorities take this view, but others speak of an 'ancient' connexion between the families of Miltiades and Thucydides, as if the connexion were independent of the Thracian marriage of Cimon. Supposing this to have been so, we can only say that the 'barbarian' name Olorus is more likely to have come into the family by the marriage of one of Thucydides' ancestors, direct or collateral, with a lady of Thracian or half-Thracian birth than merely through some tie of adoption, business, or politics, as Spartan names sometimes came into Athenian families, and vice versa². E. g. Thucydides' grandfather or his grandfather's brother may have married a daughter of Miltiades and Hegesipyle.

Not necessarily of Thracian descent.

Pausanias (i. 23. 9), writing towards the end of the second § 21. Pausanias attributes his

Melesias, who is, as we have seen (p. xxxiv), sometimes confused with the historian, was related by marriage to Cimon; the whole story may have arisen from this.—See also p. xxxv.

¹ If the *γένος* was at this time confined to real or imaginary 'agnates,' i.e. descendants in the male line of a common male ancestor, this theory would not account for the burial of Thucydides in the tomb of the family of Miltiades.

² See note on i. 45, l. 4, and cp. viii. 6, med., where however the words—*ὄθεν καὶ τοῦνομα Λακωνικὸν ἢ οἰκία αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ξενίαν ἔσχετ'*—*Ἐσθίος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο*—are suspected by Classen and others on internal grounds.

xi *Introduction: Part I, Appendix C.*

recall to
Oenobius.

mentions a figure of the Trojan Horse, and a statue of one Epicharinus. The bases of both have been discovered; that of the second suggests some inaccuracy in Pausanias' description. He then continues Οἰνοβίου δ' ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐς Θουκυδίδην τὸν 'Ολόρου χρηστὸν ψήφισμα γὰρ ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατελθεῖν ἐς 'Αθήνας Θουκυδίδην, καὶ οἱ δολοφονηθέντι ὡς κατῆι μνημα ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτιδῶν. 'And there is a good deed of Oenobius towards Thucydides, son of Olorus. For Oenobius carried a decree for the restoration of Thucydides to Athens: he was assassinated on his way back, and there is a monument to him not far from the Melitid Gate.'

There is considerable obscurity about the passage, for Pausanias does not say what the statue actually was, in connexion with which he mentions Thucydides: was it of Thucydides or Oenobius? And the last words contain a highly suspicious statement; we have seen above (p. xv) that Thucydides was almost certainly at Athens after his recall, and therefore cannot have been killed 'on his way back from exile' (ὡς κατῆι). It may very well be true that Oenobius proposed his recall, though we cannot assert it with confidence¹.

¹ Müller-Strübing and others have pointed out that the name Oenobius (a very uncommon one) occurs in inscriptions in close connexion with the name of Eucles, Thucydides' colleague on the coast of Thrace, and with the Thracian district. For an Oenobius is a στρατηγός at Neapolis opposite Thasos in 409 (C. I. A. iv. Pt. i. 51); and a '[E]ucles son of Oenobius' occurs on an inscription of the fourth century (C. I. A. ii. Pt. ii. 1023). If the names ran in the family in the usual Greek manner, there is some reason for thinking that Oenobius was the son of the Eucles mentioned in Thuc. iv. 104, and that he really proposed the recall of his father's colleague.

II.

GREEK PROSE LITERATURE PREVIOUS TO OR CONTEMPORARY WITH THUCYDIDES.

WHEN Thucydides made up his mind to write the history § 22. Prose of the impending war (435-431 B.C.), the work of Herodotus was not yet completed in the form in which we have it, although it may already have become known by reading or publication¹. Prose writing had existed in Hellas for at least seventy and perhaps for more than 100 years. Much of it was of a historical character, though it dealt chiefly with legendary times and with the chronicles of particular places, that is to say, it was rather mythological or antiquarian than properly historical. There also existed maps and geographical works in the form of lists of towns and peoples arranged in order, together with some account of them (*περίοδοι γῆς, περιπλοῖ*); and several philosophers had written books, including not only abstract arguments on the nature of the universe or of 'Being,' but physical theories of particular phenomena, and thoughts on men and things. There is even said to have been an early prose work, by Theagenes of Rhegium, on the interpretation of Homer; but this rests only on late authority. Much too had been written in poetry about subjects for which prose would seem to us a more natural expression—Solon's and Theognis' reflexions on politics and

¹ Herodotus speaks of the Propylaea at Athens, which were not finished till 431, as if he had seen them (v. 77); of the surprise of Plataea by the Thebans in 431 (vii. 233); and of the capture and execution of Aristeus and the Spartan envoys, which happened in 430 (vii. 137; cp. Thuc. ii. 67). How long after 430 Herodotus was writing we do not know; arguments from his silence about incidents which 'he must have mentioned' are very weak.

society, the supposed traveller Aristean's description of Scythia (Hdt. iv. 13-16), the philosophy of Xenophanes, Empedocles, and Parmenides.

The Ionian cities of Asia Minor, especially Miletus and her colonies, the islands of the Aegean, and the cities of S. Italy, were the chief homes of this literature. At Athens itself, where poetry had flourished more than prose, there had written, or were writing, besides Herodotus, a voluminous chronicler and mythologist Pherecydes (of Leros), and two authors of memoirs or recollections of Athenian statesmen of the present or past generation—Stesimbrotus of Thasos and Ion of Chios. We must not forget that by this time there were thousands of inscriptions, laws, decrees, treaties, etc., scattered over Hellas, dating in part from far earlier days than any of the writers referred to, in which a form of Greek prose had been fixed in writing before there was any Greek prose literature.

§ 23. Prose
writers,
431-400.

Between Thucydides' first conception of his history and its interruption by his death (not long after B. C. 400?) a great deal more Greek prose literature had been written. Herodotus' history had been completed. Hellenicus had written, in his 'Athenian History,' not only about mythical times, but about the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. Antiochus of Syracuse had brought a history of Sicily down to the year 424. Other chroniclers, beginning a little before the Peloponnesian war, had continued their work in various parts of Hellas. Sophists (also beginning before the Peloponnesian war) like Protagoras and Hippias had written on the most various subjects. Rhetoric (about which a treatise seems to have been written in Sicily in the previous generation) had been introduced to Athens by Gorgias of Leontini in 427. Our earliest complete specimen of Attic prose literature, the *De Republica Atheniensium* (wrongly ascribed to Xenophon), had been written before the Sicilian expedition, perhaps before the Peace of Nicias, by an Athenian oligarch¹: possibly by

¹ The arguments for this date far outweigh the very slight difficulties which have led some critics to put the work later. 'No political philosopher examining the constitution of Athens after 403 B. C. . . . could, I think, have contrived to make us live so absolutely in the days of the Peloponnesian war.' (Dakyns, *Xenophon*, vol. ii. p. lxxii.)

*Writers on Mythology, Geography, Biography, History,
Politics.*

- Circ. 560-530 . . . Cadmus of Miletus.
Acusilaus of Argos (Boeotia).
Pherecydes of Syros.
- Circ. 500-480 . . . HECATAEUS of Miletus.
Dionysius of Miletus.
Scylax of Caryanda (Caria).
Hippys of Rhegium.
- Before the Pelopon- CHARON of Lampsacus.
nesian War (480- PHERECYDES of Leros and Athens.
440). Eugaeon of Samos.
Deiochus of Proconnesus.
Bion of Proconnesus.
Eudemus of Paros.
Democles of Pygela (Ionia).
Amelesagoras of Chalcedon.
Simonides of Ceos (not the poet).
- Shortly before and XANTHUS of Sardis.
during the Pelopon- HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus and Athens.
nesian War (440- STESIMBROTUS of Thasos.
400). ION of Athens.
HELLANICUS of Mitylene.
ANTIOCHUS of Syracuse
Damastes of Sigeum.
Xenomedes of Chios.
Glaucus of Rhegium.
Anaximander of Miletus (not the philosopher).
Herodorus of Heraclea.
Author of the DE REPUBLICA ATHENIENSIIUM.
CRITIAS of Athens.
THUCYDIDES of Athens.

[Thucydides, Book I.]

7. *Writers on Philosophy, Science: Poets writing on Prosaic
Sophists, Rhetoricians, and Orators. Subjects.*

Anaximander of Miletus.
Anaximenes of Miletus.
Theagenes of Rhegium (?).

Aristeas of Proconne-
sus (?).
Solon of Athens (fl. 600-
560).

HERACLITUS of Ephesus.

Xenophanes of Colophon
and Sicily (lived 570-
480).
Theognis of Megara (fl.
550-500?).

Parmenides of Elea.
Empedocles of Acragas.

ZENO of Elea (Italy).
ANAXAGORAS of Clazomenae and Athens.
Melissus of Samos.
PROTAGORAS of Abdera.
Metrodorus of Lampsacus.

HIPPOCRATES of Cos.
Diogenes of Apollonia.
Philolaus of Tarentum and Thebes.
PRODICUS of Ceos.
GORGIAS of Leontini.
Hippias of Elis.
DEMOCRITUS of Abdera.

ANTIPHON
ANDOCIDES } Athens.
LYSIAS }

Phrynichus, or by the famous Critias of whom a few interesting prose fragments survive. The speeches of Antiphon and some of those of Andocides and Lysias had been delivered, and (unlike those of Pericles) preserved in writing. And two great contemporaries of Thucydides (perhaps beginning earlier and continuing later than he) had written numerous works which unfortunately exist only in a doubtful or fragmentary condition—Hippocrates the 'father of medicine,' and the physicist, moralist, and philosopher, Democritus.

The accompanying table of prose writers of the sixth and fifth centuries will show how numerous were the predecessors and contemporaries of Herodotus and Thucydides.

Two cautions are necessary in dealing with the early history of Greek literature : (1) We are too apt to think of great writers or of different classes of literature as succeeding each other like kings or dynasties ; one dying before the other begins. And (2) the perfectly correct and necessary distinctions which we draw between different classes of writers are probably a good deal sharper to us than they were to the ancients.

(1) There was no great gulf between the 'age of Herodotus' and the 'age of Thucydides' : Herodotus, as we have seen, had not completed his history in its present form until after Thucydides, *αποθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, had begun to write. The difference between the two is rather one of intellectual character than of epoch, and is not greater than may often be observed between older and younger contemporaries : probably (see Professor Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, p. 361 ff.) the average Athenian citizen at all times was more in sympathy with Herodotus than with Thucydides. Again, it is natural to think of Hellanicus as one of an obscure set of people called 'logographers,' who were all dead before 'the first real page of Greek history' was written by Thucydides. As a matter of fact, Hellanicus' history must have been written after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War : it is said to have contained references to the mutilation of the Hermae, and the battle of Arginusae : and other works of much the same class were written during the war : just as epic poetry of a kind continued to be written long after the introduction of lyric poetry.

§ 24. Un-
real or ex-
aggerated
distinctions
between—
(1) 'the
age of
Herodotus',
and the
'age of
Thucy-
dides.'

(2) historians and philosophers.

Again (2), we very naturally print and read the fragments of the early Greek historians and those of the early Greek philosophers in different books: but we must not exaggerate the distinction, as it must have appeared to their contemporaries or immediate successors, between those who wrote *περί φύσεως* and those who wrote *Ἀργολικά* or *γενεαλογία*. We do not know that Thucydides had ever read Heraclitus, or Democritus, or Hippocrates, but in some ways they were far more of kindred spirits to him than Hecataeus or Hellanicus.

(3) historians and 'logographers.'

Another distinction, real enough, but not drawn by contemporaries, is sometimes made by speaking of the early Greek historians, other than Herodotus and Thucydides, as 'logographers.' The word is never used by ancient authors in this sense: in Thuc. i. 21, l. 4 (see note) it simply means 'prose writers.' Thucydides very likely includes Herodotus among those of whom he speaks. Herodotus applies the allied word *λογιστοί* not only to Hecataeus (ii. 143), but to Aesop as the supposed writer of a collection of fables in prose (ii. 134). We do not add to our knowledge of Antiochus of Syracuse (who is interesting because Thucydides may have used him) either by disparaging him as an 'old chronicler,' or by speaking highly of him on the ground that an ancient critic calls him 'a *συγγραφεύς* and not a *λογογράφος*.'

§ 25. Character of the earliest Greek history.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus prefaces his criticism of Thucydides¹ with a valuable account of the historical writers who preceded him, or who lived into his time. The earliest group, among whom he specifies Cadmus of Miletus and Aristeas of Proconnesus, were to him as they are to us mere names: their writings, he says, were mostly lost, and the authenticity of those which survived was disputed². Of the somewhat later writers, whose works he had before him, while we know them only in fragments, he says, speaking of Hecataeus and Hellanicus among

¹ De Thuc. Hist. Jud. 5, 23.

² Two fragments from a work called by the unintelligible name *ἐπτάμυχος*, said to have been theological in character, i. e. a cosmogony, and ascribed to one of these shadowy writers, Pherecydes (the earlier) of Syros, may be quoted:—Diogenes Laertius (I. xi. 6) says that it began *Ζεὺς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἔσσει καὶ Χθὼν ἦν. Χθονὶ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γέρας διδοί*. Clement of Alexandria (741) quotes

others, that their object in writing and their abilities were much alike. They wrote of particular cities, Greek or Barbarian, and did not attempt a general history like Herodotus. They wished to make commonly known, without adding or taking away, the records of these cities, sacred or secular (εἴτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί). Among these were many legends and 'theatrical catastrophes,' which seem 'very silly to men of our time.' Their style is generally simple, clear, straightforward, concise, matter of fact; with a sparing use of metaphors or rhetorical figures. There is a kind of bloom and grace about them, 'which has helped to preserve their writings to this day,' but they lack the elevation and the impressiveness of Herodotus. They wrote either in the Ionic dialect or in the 'old Attic,' which nearly resembled the Ionic¹.

We shall appreciate Herodotus and Thucydides better, if we Specimens
read the few remaining fragments of the nearest approach to of:—
history written before or about their time, ridiculous as many of them are. Here are specimens, literally translated, of Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Charon, Xanthus, and Pherecydes of Leros².

the words Ζῆς ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει γῆν καὶ ὠγυγὸν (ἁκεανὸν) καὶ τὰ ὠγυγῶς δώματα.

¹ Strabo (I. ii. 6) remarks that the earliest prose-writers imitated the poets in every respect except metre, while their successors gradually wrote in a less poetical way (πρώτιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν· εἴτα ἐκείνην μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τᾶλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά, συνέγραφαν οἱ περὶ Ἑκάδομον καὶ Φερεκύδη καὶ Ἑκαταῖον· εἴτα οἱ ὑστερον, ἀφαιροῦντες δέ τι τῶν τοιούτων, εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατήγαγον, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ ὕψους τινός). The existing fragments do not confirm this statement, except in so far as some of them are like paraphrases of the more prosaic parts of Homer and Hesiod. Strabo's remark occurs in the course of an argumentative passage intended to minimise the difference between poetry and prose.

² Nothing of interest is known about any of these writers except Hecataeus, the Ionian traveller and statesman, who advised his countrymen not to revolt against Persia, 'recounting all the nations which Darius ruled, and his power' (Hdt. v. 26), and gave them other wise counsels which were rejected. He, as well as Anaximander the philosopher, is said to have constructed a map of the world: perhaps it was Hecataeus' map which Aristagoras showed to Cleomenes (Hdt. v. 49 ἔχων χάρτεον πίνακα, ἐν τῇ γῆς ἀνάσσης περίοδος ἐνετέμνητο, καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα, καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες: cp. Hdt. iv. 36). Xanthus is called a

xlvi *Introduction: Part II, §§ 26-28.*

§ 26. Hecataeus. 'Orestheus the son of Deucalion came to Aetolia to receive a kingdom¹, and a bitch of his brought forth a stump. And he ordered it to be buried, and there grew from it a vine of many clusters. Wherefore also he called his son Phytius (*φυττός*, plant). Now he begat a son, Oeneus, being so called from the vines; for the ancient Greeks called vines *οἴναι*. And Oeneus begat Aetolus.'

HECATAEUS, *Fr.* 341, quoted in Athenaeus, ii. 1, p. 35, B.

'There was a boar in the mountain, and he did the Psophidii much mischief.'

HECATAEUS, *Fr.* 344, quoted by Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ψωφίς*.

'But Hecataeus the chronicler says that Geryon, against whom Heracles of Argos was sent by Eurystheus to drive away the cows of Geryon and bring them to Mycenae, had nothing to do with the country of the Iberians, nor was Heracles sent to an island, Erytheia, outside the great sea (i. e. the Mediterranean): but Geryon was king of the mainland about Ambracia and the Amphilochians, and from this part of the mainland it was that Heracles drove off the cows: and even this was no small task to set him.'

HECATAEUS, *Fr.* 349, quoted by Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 16, 5.

'And Ceyx, indignant at this, immediately ordered the descendants of Heracles to leave the country. For I am not able to defend you. That therefore you may not perish yourselves and at the same time injure me, begone' (*or* 'that they must begone') 'to another people.'

HECATAEUS, *Fr.* 353, quoted by Longinus, *περί ὑψους*, 27, to illustrate a well-known rhetorical figure.

'Hecataeus the Milesian, describing an Arcadian dinner in the third book of his Genealogies, says it is barley-cakes and pork.'

HECATAEUS, *Fr.* 355, Athenaeus, iv. 31, p. 148, F.

'Hecataeus the Milesian says of the Peloponnese that barbarians dwelt in it before the Greeks.'

HECATAEUS, *Fr.* 356, Strabo, vii. 7, 1.

Lydian (whether by birth or not we cannot be sure), and was said by Ephorus, the historian of the fourth century B. C., to have 'given the original impulse' or 'furnished the material' to Herodotus, whatever this means (Athenaeus, xli. 11, p. 515, E *ἀρ...* 'Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδοκός').

¹ Correcting *ἐν βασιλείᾳ* into *ἐν βασιλείᾳ* (Müller).

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'The Athenians set sail with twenty triremes to help the § 27. Chae-
Ionians, and made an expedition against Sardis. And they took ^{ron.}
everything about Sardis except the royal fort. And having
done this they retreat to Miletus.'

CHARON, *Fr.* 2, quoted by [Plutarch] *de Malign. Herod.* 24, 3. 4.

'The Bisaltians invaded Cardia, and won the victory. But
the general of the Bisaltians was Onaris¹. And he when a boy
had been sold in Cardia, and being made the slave of a Cardian
became a barber. And the Cardians had an oracle saying that
the Bisaltians would attack them: and they talked much about
it as they sat in the barber's shop. And having run away from
Cardia to his own country he led the Bisaltians against the
Cardians, being appointed general by the Bisaltians. But the
Cardians had all taught their horses to dance at their banquets
to the sound of their flutes: and they used to stand on their
hind legs and dance with their fore legs, understanding the
music. Now Onaris knowing this got a flute-girl from Cardia;
and the flute-girl coming to the Bisaltians taught a number of
flute-players: now with these he makes war on Cardia. And
when the battle had begun he ordered them to play the tunes
which the horses of the Cardians knew. And when the horses
heard the sound of the flute, they stood up on their hind legs and
began to dance. But the strength of the Cardians was in their
cavalry. And so they were beaten².'

CHARON, *Fr.* 9, quoted by Athenaeus, xii. 19, p. 520, D.

Charon also tells two curious 'fairy tales' about Hamadryads
being saved from destruction by a mortal, who props up or
protects from a river the oak-tree with which their life is bound
up: *fr.* 12, 13.

'From Lydus spring the Lydians, and from Torrhebus the § 28. Xan-
Torrhebeans. Their language differs but slightly, and even to ^{thus.}
this day they plunder (σνλοῦσι) many words from each other,
like the Ionians and Dorians.'

ΧΑΝΤΗΟΣ, *Fr.* 1, quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* i. 28, p. 73.

¹ Or Naris (Cobet).

² The reader of Thackeray's minor works will recollect a comic
parallel.

'Xanthus says that in the time of Artaxerxes there was a great drought, so that rivers and lakes and wells failed; and that he knew himself that in many places, a long way from the sea, there were shell-shaped stones, and the comb-like things, and impressions of scallop-shells; and a salt lake among the Armenians and the Matieni and in Lower Phrygia: for which reasons he was persuaded that the plains had once been sea.'

XANTHUS, *Fr.* 3, quoted by Strabo (l. 3. 4) at second-hand from Eratosthenes.

'Xanthus in his *Λυδία* says that Cambles who reigned over Lydia was a great eater and drinker and indeed a ravenous glutton. One night he cut up and ate his own wife. In the morning he found his wife's hand in his mouth, and when the matter was noised abroad he cut his throat.'

XANTHUS, *Fr.* 12, Athen. x. 8, p. 415, C.

§ 29. Hel-
lanicus.

'Pelops, who had a son Chrysippus by a former wife, married Hippodameia daughter of Oenomaus, by whom he begat many children. But as he loved Chrysippus exceedingly, the step-mother and her sons became jealous, fearing that Pelops would leave his sceptre also to him, and Atreus and Thyestes, the eldest of these sons, contrived his death. When Chrysippus had been killed, Pelops found it out, and banished his sons who were guilty of the murder, invoking a doom upon them and their race that they should fall by each others' hands. So they were banished from Pisa and went to different places. When Pelops died, Atreus being the elder came with a great army and conquered the country. The story is in Hellanicus.'

Fr. 42, Schol. Hom. *Il.* B, 105.

'Some Thracians once made an expedition against the inhabitants of Orchomenus of the Minyae in Boeotia, and drove them out. They, when they had departed, came to Athens in the time of King Munychus. He allowed them to dwell in the parts lying round Munychia, which received its name from them in honour of the King.'

HELLANICUS, *Fr.* 71, quoted by ULPIAN (ad Dem. *De Cor.* p. 73, C) at second-hand from Diodorus.

'I know also that Hellanicus in his "Namings of Nations" says that some of the Nomad Libyans have no possessions

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except a¹cup and a knife and a pitcher. And that they have little houses made of reeds just enough to give them shade, which they carry about with them wherever they go.'

HELLANICUS, *Fr.* 93, quoted in Athenaeus, xi. 6, p. 462, B.

'Hellanicus relates that before Heracles entered Troy, Telamon threw down a part of the wall and entered it. When Heracles began to draw his sword upon him, Telamon, who had noticed Heracles' vexation at what he had done, began to heap up stones around him. He said, "What is this for?" Telamon said, "I am going to build an altar to Heracles the averter of evil." And so the anger of Heracles is appeased, and he gives him as a prize Hesione, who is also Theanira.'

HELLANICUS, *Fr.* 138, quoted by Tzetzes *ad Lycoph.* 469.

'He "scrambles" up to the tree-top like a monkey.'

HELLANICUS, *Fr.* 178. SUIDAS, s. v. ἀναπυλασθαι.

'A city on the river, Tindion by name. Here is an assembly of the Gods, and a great and holy temple of stone in the midst of the city, and gates of stone. Inside the temple grow white and black thorn-bushes. On the top of them are placed the garlands twined of the flower of the thorn and the flower of the pomegranate and of the vine. And they are always in bloom. The Gods placed the garlands in Egypt when they heard that Babys was king, who is Typho.'

HELLANICUS, *Fr.* 150, quoted by Athenaeus, xv. 25, p. 679, F.

The fragments of Hellanicus show that he must have treated § 30. of many points in the early history of Hellas to which Thucydides also refers. Matters common to Thucydides and Hellanicus.

He spoke of an early immigration into Attica caused by war (*Fr.* 71; cp. Thuc. i. 2), of changes in the names of the countries called Thessaly and (perhaps) Boeotia and of the autochthonous character of the Arcadians (*Fr.* 8, 28, 77; cp. Thuc. i. 2). He identified Corcyra with the Homeric Phaeacia (*Fr.* 45; cp. Thuc. i. 25).

He spoke of Hellen, son of Deucalion, king of Thessaly, and of his sons Xuthus, Aeolus, and Dorus: and of Pelasgus (*Fr.* 10, 15, 37; cp. Thuc. i. 2): of Minos (*Fr.* 73; cp. Thuc. i. 4),

1 *Introduction: Part II, §§ 30-32.*

of the Cyclopes (*Fr.* 176, Thuc. vi. 2) : of Pelops (*Fr.* 42, Thuc. i. 9) and of Theseus (*Fr.* 74 ; cp. Thuc. ii. 15). He said a good deal about the early history of Sicily, the immigration of the Siceli, and the foundation of some of the Greek cities. He mentioned the origin of the Helots (*Fr.* 67 ; cp. Thuc. i. 101), and of the Spartan constitution, though differing here from Thucydides (see Part ii. p. 6, footnote 3).

§ 31.
Specimens
of Phere-
cydes (the
younger).

'Heracles drew his bow against him, to shoot him, and the Sun asked him to stop. But he is afraid and stops. But the Sun in return for this gives him the golden cup which carried him and his mares, when he sets, through the Ocean all night to the East where the Sun rises. Then Heracles travels in this cup to Erythea. But when he was on the open sea, Ocean, to try him, appears to him and rocks the cup on the waves. But he is about to shoot Ocean with his bow. And Ocean is afraid and asks him to stop.'

PHERECYDES, *Fr.* 33 h., quoted in Athenaeus, xi. 39, p. 470, C.

'Pelias was sacrificing to Poseidon, and gave notice to all men to come. And Jason came with the rest of the citizens. And he happened to be ploughing near the river Anaurus. And he crossed the river without his sandals. And when he had crossed it he puts his sandal on the right foot but forgets to put it on the left. And so he comes to the feast. But Pelias seeing him recognises the fulfilment of the oracle. And at the time he said nothing. But on the next day he asked him what he would do if he received an oracle that he should be killed by one of the citizens. But Jason said that he would send him to Aea, for the golden fleece, to bring it from Aetes. But this Here puts into Jason's mind in order that Medea might come to bring woe upon Pelias.'

PHERECYDES, *Fr.* 60, quoted in the Scholia to Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 133.

'Pherecydes says that Thersites was one of those who made war upon the Calydonian boar, but that he was frightened and shrank from the fight with the boar and was thrown down a precipice by Meleager ; and that was why he was deformed.'

PHERECYDES, *Fr.* 82, Schol. Hom. *Il.* B. 212 (Bekker).

These fragments are, indeed, on a different level from § 32. Early Herodotus and Thucydides. Yet the obscurer 'fathers of history,' have some tendencies in common with their more famous countrymen. They sometimes attempt to explain legends, or to render them less marvellous. Hecataeus for instance (*Fr.* 346) says that the 'dog of Hades' which Heracles brought to Eurystheus was really a dreadful serpent, called the dog of Hades because his bite was fatal, who lived on Mount Taenarus (cp. *Fr.* 349, quoted above, p. xlv). Hellanicus (*Fr.* 61) and Pherecydes (*Fr.* 32) both said that the Stymphalides were not women but birds, whom Heracles frightened with a rattle: Hellanicus also denies the commonly-received story that the rattle was made by Hephaestus; 'Heracles made it himself.' There are similar explanations of myths, some of them remarkably silly ones, in a writer contemporary with Thucydides, Herodorus of Heraclea.

The interest in natural phenomena which is noticeable in Herodotus and Thucydides, and which was so strong in the early 'philosophers',¹ was shared by some of the chroniclers. Xanthus not only argued from the existence of fossils (*Fr.* 3, quoted above), but mentioned the frequent physical changes which had taken place in the *κατακεκαυμένη* or volcanic country adjoining Mysia (*Fr.* 4). Another writer, Democles of Pygela in Ionia, earlier than the Peloponnesian War, seems to have noticed earthquakes which had occurred in Lydia and Ionia, and resulting inundations (*Fr.* 1). There are traces of an interest in astronomy and physics in a Hippys of Rhegium, perhaps the same with the earliest historian of Sicily (*Fr.* 1, 5, 6): see p. lxxiv.

Some trifling etymologies in Pherecydes of Leros show the

¹ Besides their explanations of the heavenly bodies, rainbows, lightning, etc., and their growing interest in physiology, we are told that Xenophanes mentioned the occurrence of shells inland or on mountains, and of the impression of 'a fish and of seals in the quarries of Syracuse, of an anchovy at Paros deep down in the rock, and the caudal pinnae (*πλάγες*) of marine animals at Malta,' whence he concluded that earth and sea had once been mixed, 'and the impressions had dried in the mud' (Ritter and Preller, 86 a). Anaxagoras too 'predicted' (we may suppose that he noticed or recorded) the fall of a meteoric stone near Aegospotami in 469 B.C. (Ritter and Preller, 118 a). See Professor Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy*.

etymology beginning of an interest in language. And finally the titles of
and chrono- a book of Charon, *πρωταίους ἢ ἀρχόντας Λακεδαιμονίων*, and one of
logy. Hellanicus, *ἱστορίαι αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ*, indicate the earliest attempts at
historical chronology, founded on lists of priests or magistrates.

§ 33. We may complete our picture of Greek prose before and
Specimens during the Peloponnesian War by a few extracts from the
of early remains of the early philosophers: not of course as bearing
philoso- directly on Thucydides, but as correcting the impression of
phers. the limited capacities of early Greek authors which we derive
from the fragments of the chroniclers just quoted.

Heraclitus. When we turn from these fragments to those of the earliest
great writer of Greek prose, Heraclitus of Ephesus, the con-
temporary of Hecataeus, it is like entering on a new world.
'The King, whose is the oracle in Delphi, neither tells, nor
conceals, but indicates.' 'Seekers after gold dig up much
earth and find little gold.' 'This one system of all things no
God made and no man, but it always was and is and will be,
an everliving fire, kindled in measures and put out in measures.'
'Common to all is thought; we must speak with reason and
hold strongly by the common (law) of all things as a city
by the law, and much more strongly. For all human laws are
nourished by the one divine (law), for it rules as much as it
will and is sufficient for all and more than sufficient.' 'The
people ought to fight for the law as for a fortress.' 'Insolence
must be put out sooner than a fire.' 'The Ephesians had
better hang themselves every grown man of them and leave
the city to the boys: for they drove out their best man,
Hermodorus, saying, There shall be no best man of us, or,
if there is, let him be so somewhere else and with other people.'
'For what sense or mind have men? they go after bards, and
make the crowd their teacher; not knowing that many are bad
but few good. For even the best of them choose one thing
above all, eternal glory among mortals, but the many fill them-
selves like cattle.' 'And to these images they pray, just as if
a man were to chat to the house, not knowing Gods or heroes,
who they are.' 'There await men when they die things which
they do not expect or think.'¹

¹ Fr. 11, 8, 20, 91, 100, 103, 114, 111, 126, 122 (Bywater).

Even earlier than Heraclitus, prose books had been written and earlier by Anaximander of Miletus, who is said to have been sixty-four ^{writers.} years of age in 546 B. C., and by his successor Anaximenes, also of Miletus. The late writers who mention them speak of the poetical character of an expression in Anaximander¹, and of the simple and unadorned Ionic prose of Anaximenes. Thus we find the elements of philosophy and natural science—the two were not yet distinguished—treated of in prose writing even before we have any certain trace of the elements of history.

After Heraclitus, the practice of writing philosophy in verse, §34. Philosophers contemporary with Thucydides. introduced by Xenophanes his contemporary², was followed by Empedocles and Parmenides; hence the next important prose writings of this kind are contemporary with Thucydides' earlier life.

Here are some famous fragments of Anaxagoras, the friend of Pericles:—‘All things were together, infinite both in number and smallness,’ or as the same passage (said to be the opening of Anaxagoras’ book *περὶ φύσεως*) is quoted by Diogenes Laertius, ‘All things were together: then mind came and arranged them.’ (Ritter and Preller, 120, 122.)

‘Existing things in the universe, which is one, are not separated or cut off with an axe, neither heat from cold nor cold from heat.’ (R. P., 123, c.)

‘The Greeks do not think rightly about becoming and perishing. For nothing either comes into being or perishes, but everything is mingled together and separated out of things already

¹ ‘He said that things pass away into that from which they arose’ (viz. τὸ ἀείρον, infinity or unbounded space), ‘as it is due, for they give each other satisfaction and recompense for their injustice according to the order of time, speaking of them thus in somewhat poetical language’ (Simplicius, the Aristotelian commentator of the sixth century A. D.). If the date and the quotation can be trusted (see Ritter and Preller, 12, and Burnet, pp. 49, 50), we have here the earliest extant piece of Greek prose literature.

² Xenophanes may be called a philosopher because Plato and Aristotle give him a place in the development of philosophy; but his poems, besides their well-known assaults on the popular mythology, contained descriptions of social life: and he may perhaps be compared to Epicharmus of Syracuse (first half of fifth century), who said much about philosophical subjects in his satirical comedies. See Abbott, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. 13. 17, and Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, pp. 112, 113, 183.

existing. And so they would be right in calling "becoming," "mingling," and "perishing," "being separated." (R. P., 119.)

Melissus. Here again is a specimen of a class of arguments introduced by Zeno, the Eleatic, which have left their trace upon Plato. It is a fragment of Melissus of Samos, one of the commanders of the fleet which fought against Pericles after the revolt of Samos. 'So that it is eternal, and boundless, and One, and all alike: and it cannot perish or increase, or change its form, and does not suffer pain or grief. For if any of these things happened to it, it would not be One any more. For if it is altered, "that which Is" cannot be alike (always), but that which formerly was must perish and that which was not must come into existence. Now if the All were to be altered by a single hair in ten thousand years, it would perish in infinite time.' (R. P., 113 a.)

Diogenes of Apollonia. Such were the writers whom Thucydides must have read or heard talked of in his youth and early manhood, if he was interested in philosophy at all. Only one of the philosophers of his time bears any resemblance to him in point of style—Diogenes of Apollonia in Crete, apparently a younger contemporary of Anaxagoras. He is said, like Anaxagoras and Socrates, to have got into trouble at Athens, *διὰ μέγαν φθόρον*. The long sentences of Diogenes, his argumentative and critical manner of writing, and his anxious care that the reader shall follow him in every step, produce a very different effect from the reserved and almost mystical utterances of some of his predecessors.

Diogenes Laertius quotes the opening of one of his books: 'In beginning any argument, I think we ought to make the beginning incontrovertible, and the expression simple and dignified' (R. P., 160). Another fragment is—

'Besides these, there are the following strong arguments. Men and other animals, breathing as they do, live by the air. And this is life and thought to them, as has been clearly shown in this book. And if this departs, they die, and thought leaves them' (R. P., 163)¹.

§ 35. Sophists.

It is singular that of the Sophists, apart from Gorgias, who was rather a teacher of rhetoric than a sophist, hardly any

¹ Λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκέει μοι χρεὺν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἐρμηνεῖν ἀπλὴν καὶ σεμνήν.

Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλα σημήνια· ἄνθρωποι γὰρ καὶ τὰ

fragments remain. Hippias of Elis dealt with historical subjects (cp. Part ii. p. 6), and is quoted (*Fr.* 7) as saying that the word *τύραννος* was not used in Hellas until Archilochus' time. Two or three famous sentences of Protagoras and Gorgias show that they could express, in a brilliant and forcible manner, the intellectual difficulties which called forth the constructive genius of Socrates and Plato. 'About the Gods I am not able to know either that they are or that they are not: for many things hinder our knowing, the obscurity of the matter and the shortness of men's life.' 'Man is the measure of all things, of things which are, that they are; and of things which are not, that they are not' (Protagoras: see Ritter and Preller, 177, 178). 'Nothing exists: if it does, it is unknowable; if it is knowable, it cannot be explained to others' (Gorgias: the words are probably intended as a 'reductio ad absurdum' of previous philosophies: see Ritter and Preller, 184).

The extraordinary performance known as the Funeral Oration § 36. of Gorgias (of which a long extract is given, in a late scholium, ^{Funeral} from a work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus), shows us the ^{Oration of} source of the antithetical and artificial style which disfigures Gorgias. the Funeral Oration of Thucydides, and which exercised so pernicious an influence on much of later Greek oratory and literature. We have no means of knowing whether it was actually spoken in the Ceramicus by some Athenian citizen for whom Gorgias wrote it, or whether he merely wrote it to show what he could do if he had the chance.

'For what was wanting to these men of what men ought to have? and what had they of what men ought to lack? May I be able to say what I wish, and wish to say what is right, eluding the vengeance of God, and escaping the ill-will of men. Divine was the worth which they possessed; human alone was their mortality. Far above stubborn Justice they set gentle Equity: and soundness of argument far above strictness of law; for they

ἀλλὰ ζῆα ἀναπνέοντα ζῶει τῷ ἄλρι, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖσι καὶ ψυχὴ ἐστὶ καὶ νόησις, ὥς δεδῆλωται ἐν τῇδε τῇ συγγραφῇ ἐμφανέως, καὶ ἐὰν τοῦτο ἀπαλλαχθῇ, ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ ἡ νόησις ἐπιλείπει. Cp. 161 (R. P.), where the machinery of the argument (ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, τὸ μὲν εὔμπαρ εἰπεῖν) somewhat reminds us of Herodotus and Thucydides: and also the long fragment of Melissus in R. P., 115.

held it the most divine and the most universal law to say and not to say, to do and not to do, what due was in due season; and two good things they had practised above all, mind and might (*γνώμην καὶ ῥώμην*), one in counsel, the other in accomplishment. For they were champions of those who unjustly suffered, and chastisers of those that unjustly rejoiced: stubborn at the call of expediency, calm at the call of propriety: by the wisdom of mind putting down the folly of might: insolent were they to the insolent, courteous to the courteous, fearless to the fearless, terrible among the terrible. In witness whereof they planted trophies over their enemies that they might be gifts pleasing to Zeus, and votive offerings of their own: not unknown to them were either inborn Valour or lawful loves, either strife in arms or art-loving peace: reverent were they to the Gods in due observance, and pious to their parents in tendance: just to their countrymen in equality, and conscientious towards their friends in faith. And therefore, though they died, loving sorrow died not with them, but immortal in bodies bodiless it lives though they live not¹.

Fine as some of Gorgias' thoughts are, the whole passage lacks the very elements of the simplicity and sincerity due to the subject: one old-fashioned Athenian inscription like *Μελέτη ἐνθάδε κεῖται, γυνὴ ἀγαθή, ἢ ἐνθάδε Ἀρίστυλλα κεῖται, παῖς Ἀρίστωνός τε καὶ Ῥοδὶλλης, σώφρων γ', ὃ θύγατερ*, is worth it all. It may be true, among the many imperfections of the world of letters, that Gorgias' pompous antitheses helped to introduce a needful element into prose style. Yet, on the whole, Aristophanes and Plato, and with them no doubt many a sensible Athenian who could not have said all he thought about it, were right in concluding that this Art of Rhetoric 'would never do.'

Memoirs
and
treatises.
§ 37. Ion.

Several memoirs or treatises of a historical or political character were written at Athens or about Athenian affairs during Thucydides' life-time. Ion of Chios and Stesimbrotus of Thasos were his older contemporaries; we should have rated the historical

¹ *Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπείθωνεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ἐν [οὐκ] ἄσωμάτοις σώμασι ζῆν οὐ ζήντων.* The 'bodies bodiless' mean the imagined forms of the dead in the memory of the living. The original will be found in Thompson's *Gorgias*, pp. 175, 176.

value of their works more highly than we do if we knew less about them. Ion, who was also a tragic and lyric poet of some eminence, probably died a little before 421. He wrote a *Χίου κτίσις*, dealing, as appears from a fragment, with the mythology and early history of his native island: and a book called *ἐπισημύαι*, 'visits,' apparently containing anecdotes of famous men whom Ion had met. One long fragment tells a story of Sophocles, whom he met at Chios when Sophocles was one of the *στρατηγοί* on the expedition against Samos; another, a story of Cimon (*Fr.* 4; *Plut.*, Cimon, 9). 'Ion said that when he was quite a lad, after coming from Chios to Athens, he met Cimon at a dinner-party at Laomedon's. After the libations he was asked to sing, and sang rather pleasantly. The company complimented him and remarked that he was more accomplished than Themistocles, who said that he had never learnt singing or the lyre, but that he did know how to make a city great and wealthy. Then, as was natural over their wine, their conversation glided on to the great things that Cimon had done. The chief of them were mentioned, and Cimon himself told them what he thought his cleverest piece of generalship. The allies had taken many barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium, and ordered Cimon to divide them. He put the men themselves on one side, and their fine clothes and ornaments on the other: this, they said, was not a fair division. 'Take whichever you like,' said he; 'the Athenians will be satisfied with the other.' Herophytus of Samos recommended them to choose the Persians' belongings sooner than the Persians themselves: so they took the finery and left the prisoners to the Athenians. Cimon went away, and for a time the laugh was against him: there were the allies carrying off golden anklets and bracelets and collars and fine mantles and purple robes, while the Athenians only got naked fellows who had had no training to make them fit for work. But soon the friends and relations of the prisoners came down from Lydia and Phrygia, and paid high ransoms for every one of them: so Cimon got four months pay for his crew to begin with, and there was a large sum left over for the treasury.'

Two other fragments of a similar 'gossiping' character may be quoted (*Fr.* 6 and 5).

‘Cimon, as Ion the poet says, was of no unhandsome appearance, but tall and had plenty of curly hair.’ (Plut., Cimon, 5.)

‘The poet Ion says that Pericles was impudent and conceited in society, and that there was a strong touch of arrogance and contempt for others in his loftiness; but he speaks highly of the courtesy and the easy and cultivated manner of Cimon in ordinary intercourse. Enough, however, of Ion, who said that “goodness, like a tetralogy, should by all means have a satyric element.”’ (Plut., Pericles, 3.)

Plutarch (Cimon, 16) also quotes from him the expression by which Cimon urged the Athenians to send help to Sparta after the revolt of the Helots—ὁ δ’ Ἴων ἀπομνημονεύει καὶ τὸν λόγον ᾧ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκίνησε, παρακαλῶν μίτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα χωλὴν μίτε τὴν πόλιν ἑτερόζυγα περιῦδεν γεγενημένην.

§ 38. Stesimbrotus.

Stesimbrotus of Thasos must have been writing after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, for he mentions the death of Xanthippus, Pericles’ son, in the Plague. He wrote a book *περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου* (the son of Melesias) καὶ Περικλέους. Such a work, by a contemporary of Thucydides and Pericles, might be expected to be of the greatest value, but Plutarch, who frequently quotes Stesimbrotus, seems to rate his authority very low. Plutarch may have been offended by the scandals about Pericles’ private life which Stesimbrotus retails, but the fragments tend to confirm his judgment. Stesimbrotus tells a story about Themistocles (see p. lxxiii) which we may be sure that Thucydides, if he knew of it, did not credit. He appears to have lauded Cimon as a plain honest man, and to have abused Pericles.

‘According to Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Cimon had never been properly taught either music or any other liberal accomplishment common among the Greeks. He was perfectly free from Athenian sharpness and loquacity. There was much nobility and sincerity in his character, and the features of the man’s soul were rather Peloponnesian than Athenian.’ (Fr. 3, Plut., Cimon, 4.)

‘Cimon took every opportunity of glorifying Lacedaemon to the Athenians, and especially when he was blaming them or provoking them, according to Stesimbrotus, and used to say, “Why, the Lacedaemonians are not like that” (οὐ γὰρ οἱ γε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιοῦτοι).’ (Fr. 6, Plut., Cimon, 16.)

Again, 'Stesimbrotus tells us that Pericles, pronouncing a panegyric on the platform over those who had fallen at Samos, said that they had become immortal like the Gods, "for we do not see the Gods themselves, but by the honours they enjoy and by the good things they bestow, we infer their immortality: this is true also of those who die for their country."' (*Fr.* 8, *Plut.*, *Pericles*, 8.)

The anonymous *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* (see p. xlii) is, notwithstanding its diffuseness, more like Thucydides in style than any Greek writing except the speeches of Antiphon. Three extracts from it, not the most interesting passages, but akin to Thucydides in matter, will show how closely it bears on the history of Athens during the Peloponnesian war. The work is a short ironical defence of the Athenian constitution as admirably calculated, however bad in itself, to serve the ends of the populace.

Chapter 1, 14-18, is our chief authority for the system by which the suits of the allies were tried at Athens. The passage illustrates also the popularity of the Athenian empire with the people ('the rascals') in the allied cities (*Thuc.* iii. 47, viii. 48), and the real meaning of Aristophanes' profession that he and his party are the champions of the allies: 'the allies' means the oligarchs or 'honest men,' in the allied cities whom they supported against the people.

'As for the Allies, those who sail out from Athens cheat (as the impression is), and show their hatred to honest men, because they know that the ruler is bound to be hated by the ruled in any case, but that if the rich and powerful are to have the power in the cities, the rule of the Athenian people will last a very short time. This is why they disfranchise honest men and take away their property, and exile them and put them to death, and promote rascals. But the honest among the Athenians are the preservers of the honest men in the allied cities, knowing that it is a good thing for them always to preserve the best men in the cities. Some one may say that it is the strength of the Athenians that the allies should be able to pay them money (*Thuc.* iii. 46). But the democrats think it better that individual Athenians should have the allies' money, and that the allies should have only enough to live upon and work their land, and be unable to intrigue against them.

§ 39. 'Constitution of Athens' [*Xenophon*].

Athens and the Allies.

Judicial
arrange-
ments.

'Another point in which the Athenian people is supposed to be wrong is that they compel the allies to sail to Athens for the settlement of lawsuits. But they reply by enumerating all the advantages which the Athenian people gain by this. First, they get their pay as jurymen from the court fees all the year round. Then they administer the allied cities sitting quietly at home without ships sailing out; and they preserve the men of the popular party and destroy the men of the other party in the lawcourts. If each of the allies decided their suits at home, the Athenians being unpopular with them, they would destroy such among themselves as were most friendly to the Athenian people. Besides this there are other advantages which the Athenian people gain from the allies having their suits tried at Athens. First, the duty of one per cent. levied at the Piraeus brings in more to the city. Then, any one who has lodgings to let gets on better, so does any one who has a pair of animals or a slave who can be hired out. Then the court officials get on better because the allies have to stay at Athens. Besides, if the allies did not come to Athens for trial, they would pay respect only to such of the Athenians as sailed out to them, the generals and the trierarchs and envoys. As it is, every one of the allies individually is forced to flatter the Athenian people (Thuc. iii. 11), knowing that he must, if he is plaintiff or defendant in a trial, come to Athens and appear before the people and none other, such being the Athenian law; and he is compelled to supplicate before the lawcourt, and, when any one comes in, grasp his hand. In this way the allies are rendered more completely slaves of the Athenian people.'

Sea and
land
powers
compared.

In chapter 2. 2, the writer points out that the Athenians have a far stronger hold over their allies than the Lacedaemonians over theirs.

'Those who are subjects of a land empire can form larger communities from small cities and fight in one army¹; those who are subjects of a marine empire, if they are islanders, cannot bring their cities together—the sea intervenes; but those who rule them are masters of the sea: if it were possible

¹ As the allies of Sparta in the Peloponnese were always trying to do. Olynthus (Thuc. i. 58) and Mitylene (iii. 2) are instances of the same policy on the part of Athenian allies.

for the islanders to come together into one island without being detected, they would die of famine. As for the various cities on the mainland which are under the empire of Athens, the great are ruled by fear, the quite small through their necessities; for there is no city which does not need either importation or exportation. Now both will be impossible, if it be not obedient to the masters of the sea. In the next place, the masters of the sea can do what the masters of the land cannot; they can sometimes ravage the lands of stronger powers, for they can coast along wherever there is no enemy or only a few; if the enemy come up, one can embark and sail away (Thuc. ii. 25); one who does this finds less difficulty than he who marches up on foot. Again, those who hold an empire by sea can go as long a voyage as you like from their own country (Thuc. ii. 62); but their rivals on land cannot go many days' journey from their own country; their marches are slow, and as they go on foot they cannot take provisions for a long time (Thuc. i. 141, iv. 6). And he who goes on foot must go through a friendly country or else win battles; but he who goes by sea can make a descent where he is stronger, but (where he is weaker he can) coast along until he comes to a friendly country, or to enemies who are inferior to himself. Again, those who are strongest on land are heavily smitten by failure of the harvest which comes from Zeus; more lightly those who are strong by sea; for every country is not affected at one time, so that supplies are brought from countries where the harvest is good to those who are masters of the sea.'

(2. 14, 16.) 'One thing they lack. If the Athenians dwelt in 'If Athens an island (Thuc. i. 143) as well as being masters of the sea, ^{had been} they would be able to do evil to others if they wanted, but suffer ^{an island.} none themselves as long as they ruled the sea; their land would not be ravaged, and they would not have to await invasion. But as it is the farmers and the wealthy Athenians are readier to submit to the enemy (Thuc. ii. 63), but the people, knowing that they have nothing for them to burn or ravage, live without fear and without any thought of submitting to them. There is further another dread of which they would be relieved, if they inhabited an island; that of the city being betrayed by a few, or the gates being opened and the enemy entering (Thuc. i. 108, vi. 61, viii. 90); for how could such things happen, if they

inhabited an island? Nor would they have to fear any insurrection against the people, if they inhabited an island; for, as it is, if an insurrection were raised, it would be with hope in the enemy, and the intention of inviting him in by land. But if they inhabited an island, they would have no fear of this either. Now since they had not the luck to inhabit an island originally, what they do is this: they deposit their property in the islands (Thuc. ii. 14), trusting in their empire by sea; but they think nothing of the ravaging of Attica, knowing that if they take compassion on it (Thuc. ii. 62), they will be deprived of other and greater advantages.'

§ 40.
Critias.

The fragments of Critias, the Athenian oligarchic statesman, and one of the Thirty Tyrants, are disappointingly trivial, though there is a personal and characteristic tone in them which is somewhat attractive. One fragment of a *Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία* (Fr. 3; Athen. xi. 66, 483 B, Kaibel) says 'Besides, as to the smallest matters of daily use, the Lacedaemonian sandals are the best; their dress (cp. Thuc. i. 6) is the pleasantest and most convenient to wear; the Lacedaemonian mug is the most suitable kind of cup on a campaign, and the handiest to pack in a knapsack. The reason for its use in soldiering is that one must often drink water which is not clean. Now first (in one of these Lacedaemonian cups) you cannot see very clearly what you are drinking; then the mug has 'ambos' (*ἄμβωσας*, ? hollows inside the cup), in which it deposits the impurities.'

(Fr. 8; Aelian, V. H. x. 17.) 'Critias says that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, had three talents inherited property before he came forward in politics; but after he had become head of affairs, and then had been banished and his property confiscated, he was discovered to possess a property of more than 100 talents. So too Cleon, before he came forward in public, was heavily burdened in his private property, but he left a fortune of fifty talents.'

(Fr. 9; Plut., Cimon, 16.) When Ephialtes protested against sending help to Sparta in the blockade of Ithome, 'Critias says that Cimon, thinking less of the aggrandisement of his country than of the interests of the Lacedaemonians, turned the minds of the people, and went out to help them with many hoplites.'

(Fr. 12; Aelian, V. H. x. 13.) Critias finds fault with Archilochus for speaking very badly of himself. 'If he had not,' says

Critias, 'spread abroad such a report of himself among the Greeks, we should not have learnt either that he was the son of the slave-woman Enipo, or that he was forced to leave Paros by poverty and distress, and so came to Thasos, or that he quarrelled with the Thasians, or again that he spoke evil of friends and foes alike. Besides all this, we should not know that he was an adulterer, if he had not told us, or that he was sensual and brutal, or what is most shameful of all, that he threw away his shield.'

Hippocrates of Cos and Democritus of Abdera are seldom present to our minds in connexion with Thucydides; they worked on subjects of a very different nature; and there is an element of uncertainty about the genuineness of the works attributed to Hippocrates, as is so often the case with the founder of a school, while those of Democritus are preserved to us only in fragments. But they were among the very greatest of the writers contemporary with Thucydides¹; and the fragments of Democritus are sufficient to show that he looked at politics and human nature in somewhat the same way as Thucydides.

With regard to Hippocrates, Littré (*Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, § 41. Hippocrates. vol. i. p. 474) says, 'The slightest occupation with literary studies will show what an air of resemblance and of brotherhood is presented by writers belonging to the same period, of whatever subject they may treat: *facies non omnibus una, Nec diversa tamen*. We still have the writings of one of the most illustrious contemporaries of Hippocrates; and in them the justice of this observation seems to me to be fully confirmed. Thucydides lived and wrote at the same time as the physician of Cos: the more I have reflected on the style of the two, and sought to penetrate into its processes, its form, and its feeling, the more fully am I convinced that a close affinity existed between these writers; an affinity arising from the law that the authors of a given period all draw from the common spring of thought, expression, and style, which supplies a whole epoch. It is to Thucydides, therefore, that Hippocrates must be compared: in both we have a grave way of speaking, a style full of vigour,

¹ They are both said to have been born about 460; and to have survived till about 370.

a choice of phrases full of meaning, and a use of the Greek language which, though great pains have been taken with it, is nevertheless less flowing than in Plato.'

One passage, of a less technical nature than ordinary, may be quoted from Hippocrates¹ (see also p. xxviii, above) :

Contrast
between
Europeans
and
Asiatics.

'As to faint-heartedness and cowardice in mankind, the unwarlike and tame character of Asiatics as compared to Europeans is chiefly caused by the seasons, which in Asia do not change greatly in the direction either of heat or cold, but are very similar. There are no shocks to the mind, no violent revolutions in the body, such as are likely to produce savage dispositions and, rather than a more equable temperature, to inspire men with inconsiderate passion. For it is change more than anything else which stimulates men's spirits and does not suffer them to remain inactive. For these reasons, I think, the Asiatic race is unwarlike, and also because of their institutions, most of Asia being ruled by kings. Now, where men have no power over their own selves, nor independence, but are under a master, their minds are not set on warlike training, but on showing themselves unfit for service. The dangers are not equally shared : the subjects will naturally have to march out and suffer hardship and death under compulsion for the sake of their masters, away from their wives, children, and friends : and any brave and gallant action which they perform turns to the profit and increase of their masters, while their only harvest is danger and death. Moreover, the land of these men must needs be wasted by the enemy and by want of husbandry. Consequently, even if any one is brave and courageous by nature, his disposition is perverted by institutions. A strong proof of this is that all the Asiatics, whether Greek or barbarian, who are not subject to masters, but are independent and suffer hardships on their own account, are most warlike of all ; because they run risk for their own benefit and win the prizes of their own valour, and likewise pay the penalties of their own cowardice. Even among Asiatics, however, you will find a difference, some being better and some worse ; this is due to the changes of the seasons as I have explained above. So much for the inhabitants of Asia.'

¹ *Περὶ αἰμάτων, ὕδατων, τόπων*, c. 16 : Littré, vol. ii. p. 62.

Democritus, had all his writings been preserved, might have §42. Demo-
had hardly less interest for us than Plato or Aristotle. We are critus.
not concerned here with his contributions to philosophy, ethics,
and science¹, or with his works on Homer, music, and grammar.
But in the fragments of his writings there are many reflexions
on politics and human life which are in the same vein as those
of Thucydides; and they suggest some considerations on the
relation of Thucydides to the ideas of his time. For Demo-
critus was perhaps the greatest representative—greater than
the Sophists or Euripides—of the 'Aufklärung' of the fifth
century B. C., a movement parallel to that of our own eighteenth
century, with the difference that in Hellas we find the spirit of
the Elizabethan poets and of the philosophy and poetry of our
own century, as well as that of Rousseau and the Encyclo-
pedists, alive at one time in older and younger contemporaries.
Now Thucydides had too strong an individuality, he was too
much interested in action and fact, he sympathised too much
with the older ideas and customs of Hellas and the simple and
natural human feelings which they represented (see p. xxiv), to
be carried away by the 'sophistic' tendency; and doubtless he
was less open than he might have been to some of its humaner
elements: we cannot imagine him feeling deeply about the
rights of women and slaves like Euripides and some of the
Sophists, or discussing the rights of animals like Democritus².
But, just as the rhetoric of the day affected without seriously
deforming his style, so the better side of the sophistic tendency
has left traces on the phraseology and the subject-matter of his
'speeches.' In particular, the general arguments of Hermo-
crates against war, and of Diodotus against undue severity
in punishment, show the humanity and common sense of the
new ideas at their best. There is quite an 'eighteenth-
century' ring about these speeches (iii. 42-48; iv. 59-64): we

¹ See Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. i. pp. 612-615, 618-19, 624-627. It may be noticed, as connecting Democritus with Hippocrates and Thucydides, that one of the medical works ascribed to him is entitled *περὶ λοιμῶν ἢ λοιμικῶν κακῶν*.

² *Fr.* 158 (206), Beloch, p. 626. The fragments are quoted by the numbers in Natorp's *Die Ethica des Demokritus*, followed by those of Müllach's *Fragmenta Phil. Graec.*

are reminded of a well-known weak point of eighteenth-century speculation when we find Diodotus supporting his most just and rational conclusion that the people of Mitylene should not be massacred, by the sadly unhistorical argument that capital punishment had only been resorted to by mankind because milder measures had been found ineffectual¹. It is like French writers before the Revolution protesting against flagrant oppression on the ground of a primitive 'social contract.'

The fragments of Democritus give us the impression of a good, wise, and thoughtful man, lacking the genius and inspiring force of Socrates and Plato, and not without a 'doctrinaire' and perverse element².

§ 43. Par-
allels be-
tween Thu-
cydides and
Demo-
critus.

One curious passage finds a parallel in the speech of Diodotus just mentioned. 'It is quite impossible,' says Democritus, *Fr.* 167 (205), 'under the present system, that magistrates, even if they are the best of men, should not commit' (or 'suffer') 'injustice. For it is a singular thing' ('it is like nothing but itself') 'that the same man should fall under the power of different people' (i.e. that magistrates when they go out of office should be under the power of their successors). 'The matter should somehow be so arranged that he who commits no injustice, however strictly he deals with the unjust, should not fall under their power' (when his term of office comes to an end), 'but that some law or something else should defend the just doer.' The querulous and somewhat unpractical tone of this protest against the principle of Greek democracy, *ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐν μέρει*, reminds us of Diodotus' words in *Thuc.* iii. 42: the adviser of the people who proves right should have no additional honour; he who proves wrong should escape not merely punishment, but discredit.

There is a more vigorous tone about another political fragment, 166 (204), 'Men remember what is wrongly done' (by those in office) 'more than what is rightly done; and this is

¹ *Thuc.* iii. 45 καὶ εἰς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων μαλακωτέρας κείσθαι (τὰς ζημίας). If murder could be atoned for by a fine in Homeric society, it was not from motives of humanity.

² He says, *Fr.* 181 (188), that adopted children, whom you can choose for yourself, are better than children of your own, whom you have to make the best of, however they may turn out!

just. As the man who returns a deposit should not be praised but he who fails to do so should be thought badly of and punished, so with a ruler. For he was not elected to do evil, but to do good.'

Another fragment, 134 (212), is identical in sense with a fine place in one of Pericles' speeches¹ (Thuc. ii. 60), 'A man should consider the affairs of the State and its good management more important than anything else. He should neither be obstinate beyond what is reasonable, nor seek to invest himself with more power than the good of the commonwealth requires. For the good management of the State is the greatest of advantages; everything depends on this; when this is maintained, everything is maintained; when this is lost, everything is lost.' Cp. *Fr.* 135 (43) ἀπορίη ξυνή τῆς ἐκάστου χαλεπωτέρῃ· οὐ γὰρ ὑπολείπεται ἐλπίς ἐπικουρίας.

Pericles' remark about the meaning of τύχη, i. 140, διόπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅσα ἂν παρὰ λόγον ξυμβῇ, εἰώθαμεν αἰτιᾶσθαι, and the common opposition of γνώμη and τύχη in Thucydides, find a parallel in Democritus 29, 30 (14) ἀνθρώποι τύχης εἰδωλὸν ἐπλάσσαντο πρόφασιν ἰδίης ἀγνοίης. φύσει γὰρ γνώμη τύχῃ μάχεται² τὰ δὲ πλείστα ἐν βίῳ εὐξύνετος δξυτερκίη κατιθύνει. These last words might serve as a motto to Thucydides' whole work.

The expression of *Fr.* 64 (15) is very Thucydidean, τύχη μεγαλόδωρος, ἀλλ' ἀβέβαιος, φύσις δὲ αὐτάρκης. διόπερ νικᾷ τῷ ἥσσονι καὶ βεβαίῳ τὸ μέζον τῆς ἐλπίδος. So is that of *Fr.* 157³ μικρὰ διδόναι βούλου μᾶλλον ἢ μεγάλα ἐγγυᾶν. ὃ τε γὰρ κίνδυνος ἴππεστι, καὶ ὁ λαβὼν ἔργου οὐ λόγου χάριν ἔχει.

Fr. 225 (158) σμικραὶ χάριτες ἐν καιρῷ μέγισται τοῖς λαμβάνουσι, is like Thuc. i. 41 ἢ γὰρ τελενταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχουσα, κἂν ἔλασσον ᾗ, δύναται μείζον ἐγκλημα λῦσαι.

Several Thucydidean 'commonplaces' occur also in Democritus: the folly of losing what you have by hoping for and striving after more; enmity shown in design as well as act; the necessity of watching an enemy's designs and retaliating if they

¹ Πόλις γὰρ εὖ ἀγομένη μεγίστη ὄρθωσίς ἐστι· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάντα ἐνι, καὶ τούτου σωζομένου πάντα σώζεται, καὶ τούτου φθειρομένου τὰ πάντα διαφθείρεται. Cp. Thuc. ii. 60.

² There is some uncertainty about the text here.

³ Considered spurious by Natorp.

lxviii *Introduction: Part II, §§ 43, 44.*

are carried into effect; oaths taken under stress of necessity and afterwards broken; generosity without hope of reward¹. *Fr.* 140 (196) contains similar ideas to those in the conclusion of Thucydides' remarks on the Corcyraean sedition (iii. 84, a chapter rejected by most critics, but very likely genuine)².

These parallels are not sufficient to prove any direct connexion between Thucydides and Democritus. We may fancy, if we please, that they had met each other in Thrace or at Athens³, or that one of the two had read the works of the other; but it is more probable that the resemblances between them merely illustrate the manner in which, as remarked by Littré, the same ideas are 'in the air' at a given epoch.

§ 44. Reading and criticism in 450—400:—

The existence of so much prose writing in the days of Thucydides does not necessarily imply a corresponding amount of reading. Greek poetry was meant to be listened to rather than read, and the same thing may have been true of prose. This is indicated by expressions like that of Thucydides in his Preface (i. 22) *καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερεστέρον φανέται* (although the word need not be confined to the hearing of 'readings' given by the author himself⁴): and by the various traditions, though they cannot always be trusted in particular cases⁵, of the 'publication' of works by reading aloud or recitation.

¹ *Fr.* 59, 60 (21, 31); 39 (110); 153 (201); 162 (126); 226 (160). *Fr.* 168 (223), *ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ πᾶσα γῆ βατή· ψυχῆς γὰρ ἀγαθῆς πατρὶς ὁ ξύμπας κόσμος*, may be quoted for its resemblance in form to an equally famous saying in Thuc. ii. 49 *ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος*.

² *Οὐκ ἂν ἐκάλουν οἱ νόμοι (τῇν ἑκαστον κατ' ἰδίην ἐξουσίην, εἰ μὴ ἕτερος ἕτερον ἐλυμαίνετο. φθόνος γὰρ στάσις ἀρχὴν ἀπεργάζεται.*

³ *ἦλθον ἐς Ἀθήνας, καὶ οὐτις με ἔγνωκεν*, says Democritus (Müllach, E. 7. 1, Diog. Laert. ix. 7. 36). The last words must surely mean, 'and yet nobody knows me,' not, as usually taken, 'and nobody there knew me' (ἐγνώ or ἐγνώκει).

⁴ Cp. Isocrates, Panath. 84, 86, 233, 251 (91, 93, 252, 274). He speaks first of readers, then of hearers, *ἀκροαταί*, then of some friends to whom he read the book to see whether it should be suppressed or published (*πότερον ἀφανιστέος παντάπασιν εἴη ἢ διαδοτέος τοῖς βουλομένοις λαβεῖν*). One of these spoke to him of the few Spartans who would care to make acquaintance with it 'if they got some one to read to them,' *ἢν λάβωσι τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντα*.

⁵ The earliest of the many famous stories about Herodotus' reading

But it seems probable that, within a comparatively narrow —common circle, there was more reading, more talk about books, more interest among authors in the writings of other authors, in Greece and especially at Athens in the last half of the fifth century B. C., than, since the great difference made by the invention of printing, we are inclined to think. within limited circle.

The famous passage of the *Phaedrus* (274 C ff.), in which Plato makes Socrates disparage writing and reading in comparison of talking and memory, represents Plato's own prophetic feeling, not that of the average cultivated Athenian of the day, nor even that of Socrates, if we judge from *Xen. Memorabilia*, i. 6. 14. Here Socrates, speaking of the means by which he liked to gain friends, says, 'The treasures of the wise men of old, which they wrote down in books and left behind them, I unroll and peruse with my friends; and if we see any good thing we pick it out; and think it a great gain if we prove of use to each other.' Elsewhere (iv. 2. 1, 10) we hear of a 'collection of many works of the most famous poets and wise men', including all the poems of Homer, made by a very young man in preparation for a public career; and Socrates in talking to him incidentally mentions the existence of 'many writings of physicians.' In the *Phaedo*, 97 B—98 C, we hear of Socrates when a young man first 'hearing some one reading out' a book of Anaxagoras, and then with all speed procuring and reading it. According to the most probable interpretation of *Apol.* 26 D, E, Anaxagoras' books could be bought for a drachma (10*δ.*) at most; Socrates in any case talks—but perhaps ironically?—as if their contents might be expected to be known to a popular jury. References to books and reading.

Booksellers and bookshops (*οὗ τὰ βιβλία ἔστιν*, *Eupolis, Fr.* 304, *Kock*) are mentioned by writers of the Old Comedy. *Aristophanes (Fr.* 490, *Kock*) speaks in very modern fashion of a man who 'has been ruined by a book or by Prodicus or some of those lazy chatterboxes.' *Euripides (Frogs, 943, 1409)* effects a judicious reduction in the superfluous bulk of tragedy by 'doses of essence of twaddle extracted from books'; yet his

his history aloud is traceable to, though not actually to be found in, *Diyllus*, an Attic historian of the years 330–290, *Müller*, vol. ii. p. 360.

¹ *Σοφιστῶν* here is explained by *τῶν λεγομένων σόφων ἀνθρώπων γεγενῆσθαι*, § 8.

whole establishment, books and all, is not worth two lines of Aeschylus. Dionysus on board ship, at the time of the battle of Arginusae, reads Euripides' 'Andromeda,' acted six years before (l. 53). Two incidental references to books (Birds, 1288; Frogs, 1114) give us the impression that 'reading,' though a comparatively recent growth, was a delightful and popular thing at Athens between 415 and 400. Finally, Xenophon¹ speaks of 'many books' as having been found in 400 B.C. among the spoils of some Thracian wreckers on the dangerous coast of Salmydessus near the entrance to the Black Sea: they may have been on their way to the Greek cities on its shores².

§ 45. Early tokens of a critical spirit.

It is further noticeable how much there is in early Greek writers of critical remarks on the opinions of others; the spirit thus shown must have led to a good deal of reading as soon as facilities for it were at hand. Herodotus quotes by name about a dozen poets, and though he mentions no prose writer by name except Hecataeus, he frequently refers to and refutes current opinions. Hecataeus himself begins his *Γενεαλογίαι* with the words (*Fr.* 332) 'Εκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθέεται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι ἀληθέα δοκίει εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὥς φαίνονται, εἰσίν.' The early philosophers are full of refutations and criticisms. In the fragments of Heraclitus (about 500 B.C.) we find references to Homer, Hesiod, Pythagoras, Hecataeus, Xenophanes, Archilochus, and Bias of Priene. One fragment (16) is very remarkable for the critical spirit which it shows at so early a period of literature. 'Learning does not teach sense: else it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, and also Xenophanes and Hecataeus³.'

¹ Xen. Anab. vii. 5, 14 ἐνταῦθα ηὐρίσκοντο πολλοὶ μὲν κλίται, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλὰ δὲ βιβλοὶ γεγραμμέναι, καὶ τᾶλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροὶ ἄγουσιν. The word *γεγραμμέναι* is supported by most of the better MSS., though absent from many of the inferior ones, and is retained in Cobet's edition. *βιβλοὶ* by itself might mean 'rolls of papyrus' for accounts or other business purposes.

² For information on the whole subject see Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, ch. ix; Jevons, *History of Greek Literature*, pp. 41-48.

³ Πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὐτὶς τε Ξενοφάνεια καὶ Ἐκαταῖον. This of course shows nothing about the prevalence of *reading* in the time of Heraclitus. With the opinions of Pythagoras, who is not known to have written

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There is no anachronism therefore in supposing that Thucydides read the works of his predecessors and contemporaries, historians and perhaps other writers as well, somewhat as a cultivated man of our own day would do : though it would of course be an anachronism to infer that he consulted all available authorities for his subjects (when he had to deal with earlier times), in the manner which is possible to, and expected of, a modern historian.

Possibility of Thucydides having read many books :—

From his actual words, however, next to nothing can be made out as to any use which he may have made, in particular places, of earlier writers. He only mentions one fellow-historian by name, Hellanicus (i. 97). 'I have written of it,' he says, speaking of the rise of the Athenian empire, 'and have digressed from my story, for the reason that all my predecessors left out this part of the subject and wrote either about Greek affairs before the Persian War, or about the Persian War itself : while Hellanicus, who did set hand to this period in his Attic history, made a brief and chronologically inaccurate mention of it'.¹ This shows that Thucydides knew enough of his predecessors to be aware that they had not, with one exception, treated of the period in question ; and that his account of it (must be derived from his own inquiries and recollections). But there is another conclusion to be drawn from his words. The fragments of Stesimbrotus, Ion, and Critias show that they mentioned several incidents of the period here referred to (see p. lvii ff.). That Thucydides says nothing of any one but Hellanicus, indicates that if he knew, as he probably did, the works of these writers, he did not regard them as 'history,' or their references to historical facts as better suited to supply a gap in the history of

though he scarcely ever cites authorities. (a) Rise of Athenian empire. Hellanicus.

from H

anything, he may have become acquainted through Pythagoras' disciples ; Xenophanes and Hecataeus were his contemporaries and, for a time at least, his neighbours ; Hesiod he may have read or have heard recited.

¹ Ἐγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην διὰ τὸδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἡ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ συνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ· τούτων δ' ὥστερ καὶ ἤφατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ συγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμήσθη.

Greece than those which Herodotus incidentally makes to the same period.

§ 47. (b)
The Intro-
duction.
Pelopon-
nesian tra-
dition.

There is one other passage in which Thucydides refers to an authority (other than poetical), but without naming the authority. In i. 9, after stating his own opinion, that Agamemnon's power, and not the oaths taken by the suitors of Helen, enabled Agamemnon to muster the expedition against Troy, he confirms it by the account of the accession of Agamemnon's house in the person of Atreus to the throne of Mycenae, which is given by 'those of the Peloponnesians who have received the most accurate accounts by tradition from former generations'.¹ Now among the fragments of Hellanicus there is one (see p. xlviii) which relates the banishment of Atreus, by his father Pelops, for the part which he had taken in the murder of Chrysippus, a circumstance referred to incidentally by Thucydides as showing how Atreus came to Mycenae. And the titles of some of Hellanicus' works show that he dealt with the ancient legends of the Peloponnese. The most natural interpretation however of Thucydides' words is that they refer to *Peloponnesian* authorities, whether written or oral, whereas Hellanicus was a Lesbian².

Hellanicus
and others?

That Thucydides had written as well as oral authority for what he says of the early history of Hellas in his Introduction, especially for the dates which he gives, is highly probable. He mentions several points of which we happen to know that Hellanicus wrote (see p. xlix). There is some reason for thinking that in what he says of the Trojan War he refers to other poets besides Homer (see note on i. 11, l. 4). After telling us (i. 13) that Ameinocles the Corinthian built four ships for the Samians, he adds *ἐτι δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόνσια ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθεν*. The expression, 'when Ameinocles came to Samos,' looks rather as if Thucydides' information came from a source which gave the incident and the date as part of the history of Samos, not of Corinth; but, considering how many writers of early history there were in the

¹ *Λέγονσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μῆμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι, Πέλοπά τε πρῶτον, κ.τ.λ.*

² See note on i. 9, l. 4, and Appendix. If *Πελοποννησίων* can be taken after *τὰ σαφέστατα*, not after *οἱ ... δεδεγμένοι*, the reference may be to Hellanicus.

Prose writings in Thucydides' time. lxxiii

Greek cities of Asia we cannot safely point to Eugaeon of Samos¹ as the authority.

Some of Thucydides' statements about Greek navies,—e.g. Herodotus² that the Sicilian tyrants and the Corcyraeans had a considerable number of triremes shortly before the Persian War, and that Polycrates and the Phocaeans previously had few triremes but considerable fleets consisting of penteconters and war-galleys—partially agree with statements in Herodotus³ (i. 163 ; iii. 39, 44 ; vii. 158, 168), and may have been derived from them or influenced by them. But it is quite impossible to say how many or how few of such sources Thucydides employed, or how far his conclusions were gained by personal inquiry, or rested on oral tradition or monuments. We only know that he presents to the reader his general conclusions about the earlier state of Hellas, not as founded on, but as more trustworthy than, the accounts of 'poets and prose writers' (i. 21 οὐτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ... οὐτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον).

We know from Thucydides' own words that his account of § 48. (c) Hipparchus was derived from oral tradition, confirmed by reference to monuments (vi. 54, 55). How far his accounts of Theseus, of the conspiracy of Cylon (in which he seems to take the opportunity of correcting an error of Herodotus), and of the fate of Pausanias and Themistocles come from oral tradition or from written sources, there is nothing to show. The story of Themistocles offers one or two interesting points of contact with other accounts which we know to have been current as early as Thucydides himself. Plutarch (Them. 24) says that Themistocles after taking refuge with Admetus, fled, according to Stesimbrotus, to Hiero in Sicily, and asked for the hand of his daughter, undertaking to put Hellas under his power: being rejected by Hiero he went on to the King. This, as Plutarch

¹ Schöne in Bursian's Jahresbericht, 1874-5, p. 837. It is worth notice that Pliny (vii. 57) mentions another early chronicler, Damastes of Sigeum, as having ascribed the construction of biremes to the Erythraeans.

² See U. Köhler, Ueber die Archäologie des Thukydides; and the criticism of his too definite conclusions by Herbst, Philologus 40 (1881), p. 347 ff.

Earlier Attic history.

Stesimbrotus?

says, is a very unlikely story: he observes that Stesimbrotus had just before related how Themistocles' wife had joined him in Epirus. Thucydides, if he had ever heard the story, certainly did not credit it¹.

Charon of Lampsacus, like Thucydides, represented Artaxerxes as being King of Persia when Themistocles arrived at the Persian coast: while Ephorus (fourth century, B. C.) and other later historians said that he came during the lifetime of Xerxes (Plut. Them. 27). It was natural that the tale which brought Themistocles into personal relations with his great adversary should prevail.

Thucydides' account of the message sent by Themistocles to Xerxes after the battle of Salamis differs from that in Herodotus, and is clearly not taken from it (see Appendix to note on i. 138, l. 24).

Π 135

§ 49. (d)
Early history of Sicily:—

Thucydides' account of the earliest inhabitants of Sicily, Barbarian and Greek (vi. 1-3), is curiously like his Introduction in the expressions of impatience with unfounded traditions which it contains. 'As for the Cyclops and Laestrygonians, I cannot possibly tell who they were, whence they came to Sicily, or where they went to: we must be content with the words of the poets and with our own individual conclusions.' The Sicani call themselves 'autochthones,' but the 'ascertained truth' proves that they came from Iberia (ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια εὕρισκεται, Ἰβηρες ὄντες). 'The Sicels may very likely, according to the story, have crossed the strait from Italy on rafts . . . but perhaps they came into the country in some other way:' i. e. the story is credible enough in itself, but lacks authority; any one who likes can conjecture that they came in boats or by a longer route.

—had been treated of by—

Now there is a certain *a priori* probability that a narrative of remote times, so full of facts as Thuc. vi. 1-5, and containing several dates, is partly derived from previous writers; and Hippias of Rhegium, Hellanicus, and Antiochus of Syracuse, had all written about the early history of Sicily.

—Hippias

Hippias of Rhegium is said by Suidas to have been the first historian of Sicily, and to have written a *κρίσις Ἰταλίας* and three

¹ There is no real indication that Thucydides borrowed any part of his narrative from Stesimbrotus, as maintained by Adolf Schmidt, Das Perikleische Zeitalter, though of course he may have used him. *for what?*

books of Σικελικά, besides five of Χρονικά and three of Ἀργολικά. The few extant fragments afford no definite point of contact with Thucydides.

Hellanicus, who as we have seen frequently covers the same — Hellanicus— ground as Thucydides, spoke of the coming of the Sicels from Italy into Sicily, and of the foundation of Naxos by Thucles. The citations (*Fr.* 50, 51, 53) are from the *Ἱέρειαι αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ*, which seems to have been a chronicle of events happening under each priestess of Here at Argos.

Antiochus of Syracuse is said by Diodorus (xii. 71) to have — Antiochus— written a history of Sicily coming down to the year 424–3. Now 424 was the year of the congress at Gela, at which Hermocrates persuaded the Sicilian cities to make peace (Thuc. iv. 63). Hence Antiochus' history may have ended with this event. Dionysius of Halicarnassus several times cites with respect another work of his, the *Ἱταλίας οἰκισμός*. Two places are worth quoting (*Dionys. Ant. Rom.* i. 12, 35; Antiochus, *Fr.* 3, 4) :

'Antiochus of Syracuse a very ancient historian, in his "Settlement of Italy," relating the occupation of various parts of the country by the oldest inhabitants, tells us that the Oenotri were the earliest recorded settlers in it, saying, "Antiochus, son of Xenophanes, wrote these things about Italy, being the most trustworthy and certain out of the ancient traditions. This land which is now called Italy, was in ancient times inhabited by the Oenotri." Then, relating in what manner they were governed, and how in time Italus became a king among them, from whom they took the new name of Italians, he adds, "Thus they became Sicels and Morgetes and Italiats, being (originally) Oenotri¹."

In another passage Antiochus describes this old king Italus much as Thucydides does Theseus in ii. 13, and with the same

¹ Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος, συγγραφεὺς πάνυ ἀρχαῖος, ἐν Ἱταλίας οἰκισμῷ τοὺς παλαιστάτους οἰκητόρας διεξίαν, ὡς ἕκαστοί τι μέρος αὐτῆς κατεῖχον, Οἰνωτροὺς λέγει πρώτους τῶν μνημονομένων ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικῆσαι, εἰπὼν δὲ "Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε ξυνέγραψε περὶ Ἱταλίας, ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα. Τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν Ἱταλία καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν Οἰνωτροί." Ἐπειτα διεξελθὼν ἐν τρόπῳ ἐπολιτεύοντο καὶ ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἱταλὸς ἀπὸ χρόνον ἐγένετο, ὃς οὐ μετὰνομάσθησαν Ἱταλοὶ . . . ἐπιφέρει ταυτί: "Οὕτω δὲ Σικελοὶ καὶ Μόργητες ἐγένοντο καὶ Ἱταλίητες, ὄντες Οἰνωτροί."

tendency to attribute modern motives and circumstances to legendary times which may be observed in Thucydides. 'Antiochus of Syracuse says that Italus being brave and wise, and persuading some of the neighbouring tribes by argument while he brought over others by force, reduced under his own power' the whole of 'Italy' in the limited sense which the word then bore.

§ 50. Did Niebuhr first suggested that Thucydides borrowed from Thucydides use Antiochus? Antiochus of Syracuse: the hypothesis has been ingeniously supported by Wölfflin¹, and has been so often repeated as if it were a positive fact on which further conclusions may be based, that it is worth while to give in detail the evidence on which it rests.

Evidence from (a) agreement in facts. If we examine the facts which Antiochus and Hellanicus, as well as Thucydides, recorded, we find that Thucydides agrees slightly more with Antiochus than with Hellanicus. But this proves little; for the accidental preservation of a few more fragments of Antiochus or Hellanicus (or Hippys) might have put the matter in quite a different light. Antiochus, like Thucydides, derived the word 'Italy' from the mythical king Italus; Hellanicus, on the other hand (*Fr.* 97), derived it from 'vitulus,' a calf. All three writers told the story of the coming of the Sicels from Italy to Sicily, and as far as we can make out they all told it differently². Hellanicus, like Thucydides, mentioned the change of name from Sicania to Sicelia. Antiochus may have done so too for all that we know. Antiochus (*Fr.* 2) described the Liparaean Islands and their settlement in a passage

¹ Antiochos von Syrakus und Coelius Antipater; Winterthur 1872 (Teubner).

² Hellanicus says that the Sicels crossed from Italy in two separate divisions, one fleeing from the Oenotri, the other from the Iapygians. Antiochus (*Fr.* 1) says they fled from the Opices and the Oenotri: Thucydides speaks only of the Opices.

Hellanicus dates the occurrence 'in the third generation before the Trojan War, in the twenty-sixth year of Alcyone priestess at Argos: Thucydides apparently after the Trojan War and 300 years before the arrival of the Hellenes: Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* i. 22; *Ant. Fr.* 1) says that Antiochus gave no date for it; of course Dionysius may only have known Antiochus' book about Italy, and the date may have been taken by Thucydides from his book about Sicily (Wölfflin).

Prose writings in Thucydides' time. lxxvii

quoted by Pausanias (x. 11, 3, 4), and Thucydides may have taken from it his description in iii. 88. Hellanicus (*Fr.* 50, see Freeman's Sicily, vol. i. p. 570) ascribed the foundation of Naxos in Sicily to Thucles accompanied by Chalcidians and Naxians: Thucydides mentions only the Chalcidians; though the presence of Naxians, if a fact, would account for the name of the settlement. Thucydides, i. 101, says that the descendants of the enslaved Messenians formed 'the greater part' of the Helots: Antiochus (*Fr.* 14) says that those who did not join the Lacedaemonians in the war with the Messenians 'were judged slaves and called Helots': there need not be any discrepancy between the accounts, as both writers may mean that those of whom they respectively speak were degraded to the Helot class. Hellanicus (*Fr.* 67) only mentions the derivation of the word *Ελωτης* from the town *Ἐλος*. He also dates the origin of the Spartan constitution earlier than Thucydides (see Part ii. p. 6).

The argument from peculiar expressions occurring in Thucydides vi. 1-5 is very inconclusive indeed. Much has been said of an Ionic construction, *ὅστις* = *ὅς*, which appears nowhere in Thucydides except vi. 3, and which also appears in Antiochus, *Fr.* 3¹. But this construction might have occurred in any one writing in Ionic, the favourite literary dialect for history, and occurs as a matter of fact in Hellanicus, *Fr.* 71². *ἐγγύς* or *ἐγγύτατα* is four times used in the opening chapters of Book vi to qualify round numbers; Thucydides elsewhere uses *μάλιστα* for the purpose. But he uses *ἐγγύτατα* to qualify other expressions: the variation here may be accidental; in any case there is nothing to connect it with Antiochus. Thus the arguments from language only faintly strengthen the probability that Thucydides had *some* documentary source before him here.

¹ Thuc. vi. 3 *Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου βαμὼν ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστίν, ἰδρύσαντο*: Ant. *Fr.* 3 *τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν Ἰταλία καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἰνωτροί.*

² *Ὁ δὲ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς οικῆσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν περὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν, ὅστις ἐπανομάσθη παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως.* — The aorist participle *κληθεῖσα*, *κληθέντας*, for which, when used with the article and substantive, Thucydides nearly always has *καλουμένη*, *καλουμένους*, occurs three times in places relating to Sicily (iv. 24; vi. 4 *δὲς*), but also in i. 3 (*κληθέντες*) and in Hellanicus, *Fr.* 45; not in the fragments of Antiochus.

lxxviii *Introduction: Part II, §§ 50-52.*

(c) the chronology of Thuc. vi. 1-5. In vi. 1-5, Thucydides dates from the foundation of Syracuse the foundations not merely of her own colonies, Acrae, Casmenae and Camarina, but of Leontini, founded from the Ionian Naxos (this however is mentioned immediately after Syracuse) and of Gela, founded direct from Rhodes and Crete. This may perhaps be more easily explained if we suppose that Thucydides had the work of a Syracusan historian before him; but he may also have taken as a convenient era the foundation of the great city with whose fortunes the next two books are to deal. It is far more curious that he should never have mentioned the date of the foundation of Syracuse herself¹. This real difficulty however is by no means removed if he were using Antiochus the Syracusan².

(d) *a priori* probability. Thus the evidence consists of a number of small points, each proving little in itself, but perhaps possessing a certain cumulative weight which will be estimated differently by different readers. Granting that Diodorus' date for the conclusion of Antiochus' history, 424, is correct, and remembering the *a priori* probability that for a remote period, about which books had certainly been written, Thucydides would consult them; allowing also some weight to Dionysius' description of Antiochus' book on Italy as dealing with 'the foundations and constitutions' of the Italian cities—just the points which Thucydides mentions about the Sicilian—though most earlier

¹ The traditional date, 734 B.C., comes from Eusebius; it agrees with, and may have been founded on, data given by Thucydides, which, leaving an interval of apparently a few years, connect the foundation of Syracuse with the destruction of the Hyblaean Megara by Gelo, almost within living memory (Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 241).

² Wölfflin thinks that the whole passage is a 'freies Excerpt' from Antiochus, who gave the date somewhere else, and that Thucydides excerpted straight away without noticing that he had left out the key to the chronology. This is going far beyond our evidence. The foundations of Zankle and Messene and of Himera are not dated either: Thucydides may have been unable to find what he considered good authority for the exact dates in all these cases and have contented himself as to Syracuse with the approximate date which his narrative implies; see preceding note, and cp. vol. ii. p. 83. There is no independent evidence to show when Antiochus dated the foundation of Syracuse: we only know that he connected it (*Fr.* 11) with that of Croton, which Dionysius, 400 years later, puts in 710 B.C.

Prose writings in Thucydides' time. lxxix

histories probably did the same—we may think that it is rather more probable than not that Thucydides read and used Antiochus; though there is no reason why he should not have used Hippys, Hellanicus, and his own investigations as well. The tone of Book vi. c. 2 (see p. lxxiv above) shows that he was as wideawake and critical as usual when he wrote the passage in question. Or we may say more cautiously with Freeman (History of Sicily, vol. i. p. 436), 'The case is of the usual kind. It may be so; it is perfectly likely; one has no strong reason to say that it is not so; but one cannot say that it is convincingly proved that it is so.' The slightest piece of positive evidence would settle the question either way, only there is none.'

As we really know nothing about the trustworthiness of § 51. Un-Antiochus, except that Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls him *οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων τις*, and that we cannot but be favourably *certainty of the dates in Thuc. vi. 1-5.* impressed with the resemblance of the opening words of his book on Italy to those of Thucydides, we can hardly say that Thucydides' possible dependence on Antiochus affects the trustworthiness of Thucydides himself one way or the other. But it is true in any case, as Professor Mahaffy infers from the dependence which he regards as established (Greek Classical Literature, Epic and Lyric Poets, pp. 97 ff., and elsewhere), that the precise dates given by Thucydides for the foundations of the Sicilian cities cannot, being so early, be accepted with confidence. Thucydides, or an authority on whom he depended, may have calculated them on some *a priori* system which approved itself to the chronologists of the day; various accounts differing from his were certainly current in antiquity.

This survey of the less familiar prose writers who were extant in Thucydides' day, however slight or conjectural their connexion with Thucydides, may serve to supplement the impressions which we derive from Herodotus, the earlier Orators, and the poets, of the world of thought and language in which he lived and wrote. It shows us too in what respects he resembled his contemporaries, and in what he stood alone.

The two great subjects to which the early prose writers of Hellas turned their attention—apart from special treatises like those of Hippocrates—were philosophy—that is to say,

§ 52. General conclusion.

something which was afterwards disentangled into philosophy and natural science—and history, or in most cases the materials for history; mythology, chronicles, and memoirs. The remaining fragments of the second class of writers are sufficient to show that Herodotus and Thucydides towered far above the rest, and found their intellectual equals only in the fathers of philosophy and science.

Thucydides' interest in politics and human nature was not peculiar to him; we have found something resembling it in Heraclitus, Hippocrates, Democritus, and others. But no other author as far as we know had so directly applied political principles to facts, or to the relations of states with each other. His interest in natural phenomena was no personal fancy of his, but was shared by several of his predecessors and contemporaries. His grave and rational conception of history is his own: so is his dignified and weighty style. Except for the influence of Gorgias, Antiphon, and perhaps Prodicus, and some analogies in the author of the *De Republica Atheniensium*, and Diogenes of Apollonia, his mode of expression is quite peculiar to him; while there is no parallel at all in earlier or contemporary prose either to the concentration and force of his writing, or to its occasional irregularities and harshnesses: in both these respects he is more like the poets than the prose writers of his time.

III.

THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THUCYDIDES AS A HISTORIAN.

NO historian who has ever lived produces a stronger im- § 53.
pression than Thucydides of perfect truthfulness. He seems to Nature of
have no other motive than the desire to tell us exactly what the evi-
dence.
happened, neither more nor less.

But there is hardly any independent evidence, of an equally early date, by which we can test his statements. Hence our belief in him must be regarded as a kind of personal impression such as we might entertain about the trustworthiness of an acquaintance. His accuracy and credibility cannot be positively proved or disproved.

An instance will illustrate the fulness of material which is at our command for testing the accuracy of a modern writer dealing, like Thucydides, with contemporary events. M. Taine (*La Révolution*, vol. iii. p. 599) says, 'In the National Archives¹ the series F⁷ contains hundreds of despatch boxes full of reports "on the situation," "on the state of public opinion," in each department, city, or canton of France from the year III to the year VIII (1795-1800). I have worked at them for several months; I cannot transcribe my extracts here for want of room. In these boxes will be found the actual history in detail of the last five years of the Republic. *The general impression is exactly given by Mallet du Pan in his "Correspondence with the Court of Vienna," and in his "British Mercury."*'—There is a difference indeed between these 'hundreds of boxes' and all the knowledge which we have, from any other source, of the facts recorded by Thucydides.

Contemporary inscriptions and geographical and archaeological facts are the only evidence, having an equal *a priori*

¹ In the 'National Library' at Paris.

claim on our consideration, by which we can test the accuracy of Thucydides. Next comes the comparison of Thucydides with Aristophanes and occasional passages in Herodotus, Xenophon, the contemporary Orators, and fragments of contemporary historians, of whom the most important was Philistus of Syracuse, (died 356), an eye-witness of the siege of his native city. This, as might be supposed, leads to very little: Aristophanes from the difference of his point of view, other writers from the fewness and slightness of the points at which they touch Thucydides, leave it open to us to choose which account we will. On the whole it may be said that Aristophanes tends to confirm Thucydides, sometimes by his comic pictures of the general situation, sometimes by single phrases indicating the character of persons or political parties.

As for later writers, any doubts which may be entertained of Thucydides' desire or ability to tell the truth may much more justly be entertained about them¹. The only exception is the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* which may directly or indirectly be the work of Aristotle, and which certainly gives us an instance of vigorous criticism on Thucydides, written within eighty years after his death: the two authors differ in their accounts (a) of the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (Thuc. i. 20, vi. 54-59; 'Αθ. Πολ. 18); (b) of the revolution of the Four Hundred (Thuc. viii. 67; 'Αθ. Πολ. 29-31)².

Leaving for other essays or for discussion on particular

¹ See Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. ii. Part i, pp. 116-120; Abbott, vol. ii. Appendix ii.

² (a) Apart from minor details, Thucydides says that Hipparchus gave the provocation which led to the conspiracy; Aristotle (to call him so for convenience) clearly implies that it was Thessalus the younger brother of Hipparchus. Thucydides says that the conspirators were few; Aristotle that they were many. Thucydides says that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were in the Ceramicus when they saw one of the conspirators talking to Hippias and took the alarm, and that they rushed *into* the city to kill Hipparchus; Aristotle says that they were in the Acropolis: both agree that Hipparchus was killed in the Leocorion. Finally, Thucydides says that the Panathenaea was chosen for the rising because the citizens who marched in the procession could then appear in arms without attracting suspicion; and that Hippias after the fall of Hipparchus quietly told the people to lay aside their arms, and then

Trustworthiness of Thucydides. lxxxiii

passages the relation (1) of Thucydides to Aristophanes, (2) of passages in him to passages in contemporary or nearly contemporary writers¹, as well as (3) minute or *a priori* questions of the probability of some of his statements, we will speak here (1) of the Inscriptions as far as they can be said to invalidate or confirm his authority, (2) of difficulties presented by his account of Pylos and Plataea, (3) of some improbable statements with which he has been charged, (4) of the completeness or incompleteness of his historical treatment of the war, (5) of his political impartiality, and the question of his fairness or unfairness to Cleon.

There is a certain want of due proportion in entering upon § 54. This inquiry, which from the nature of the case will often admit of no positive result, without reminding ourselves of the qualities which give Thucydides a place among the great historians of the world: his descriptive power, and grasp of situations, his reserved and manly sympathy with human action and suffering, his unflinching energy and dignity, his insight into the character and motives of public men and into the life and working of states. A full discussion of the qualities of his genius and their corresponding defects, and also of the limitations of ancient as compared with modern historians, and of the degree in which

apprehended the guilty; Aristotle, who here only refers to the account of Thucydides, says that this last statement is false (ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος λόγος οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἐστίν), and that the bearing of arms in the procession was instituted later by the democracy. We cannot tell which story is the truer, and the probabilities which may be alleged on either side are not decisive. (The subject is discussed by Hude in the *Neue Jahrbücher* 1892, i. p. 170 ff.) (δ) In the account of the provisional constitution drawn up by the Four Hundred, Aristotle differs from Thucydides in two definite points. In one of these Aristotle, in the other Thucydides, goes more into detail, and in each case the detailed account seems more worthy of credit. Thuc. viii. 67 says that ten *εὐγγραφεῖς* were appointed to draw up the new constitution; Aristotle, 29. 2, says thirty: and adds the important fact that ten of these were the already existing *πρόβουλοι* (Thuc. viii. 1; cp. p. cxxiii.). Thuc. viii. 67, however, gives a fuller and clearer account than 'Aθ. Πολ. 31. 1 of the manner in which the Four Hundred were selected. See Goodhart, Thucydides, Book viii. pp. xxi-xxvi.

¹ For some differences between Thucydides and Herodotus or the Orators, see p. cxii; and Part ii. pp. 25, 75, 133, 134-135.

lxxxiv *Introduction : Part III, §§ 54-57.*

Thucydides transcends these limitations, must be reserved for another place. It is perhaps better to begin by examining, as far as the evidence admits, into his possession of the elementary qualities of a historian, accuracy and impartiality, his claim to fulness and completeness, and the extent to which any defect in these latter qualities impairs his credit.

§ 55. In-
scriptions.

Greek treaties, laws, decrees, and public accounts were not published in newspapers and preserved on paper or parchment in offices ; they were engraved on marble blocks or tablets and put up in temples or public places. When no longer wanted they were thrown into rubbish heaps, or used as building materials, or they shared in the partial or total ruin of the cities in which they stood. They are found in all kinds of places, above ground and below, in the beds of rivers or built into cottage floors : one important record of Athenian finance in the fifth century B.C. owes its complete state of preservation to its use as the altar of a Greek church. Very few of this date are anything like complete ; most are broken into fragments which have to be imperfectly pieced together ; often we miss the few letters wanting to complete a proper name or a technical term, or to supply a date which might give the key to the whole inscription and enable us to connect it with facts already known. In one case a single word is wanting to settle a troublesome little question about the chronology of Thucydides ; in another there is just enough of a word left to make it possible that it was ' Pericles ' ; many pages have been written about one half-effaced letter which bears on the completeness of Thucydides' narrative in Book v (see Part ii. pp. 125-126, and pp. xci-xcii below).

A full account of the inscriptions connected with Thucydides will be found in the introduction to the second volume of Jowett's Thucydides : we are concerned with them here only so far as they affect the question of the historian's trustworthiness.

§ 56.
General
relation of
the inscrip-
tions to
Thucy-
dides.

If Niebuhr or Dr. Arnold could have been told that hidden away on Attic soil there were many thousand lines of inscriptions contemporary with Thucydides, they would have expected them to touch his narrative at innumerable points and to furnish something like a commentary upon their favourite historian :

by some such fancy as this we may realise the subtle difference which the discovery of these monuments has made in our view of Thucydides. For what these great scholars might naturally have expected has proved to be by no means the case. The inscriptions bring home to us the complexity of Athenian public life and the many details of it which neither Thucydides nor any other historian has touched. They show that much must have happened bearing indirectly, and some things bearing directly, on the foreign relations of Athens which we do not learn from him, and thus they modify the exaggerated view which has sometimes been expressed as to his fulness and completeness. They impugn his positive accuracy in a single definite point only, and that a small one: they confirm it in many, but in a general way, presenting very few minute or striking coincidences with the details of his narrative. It is of less moment that the inferences drawn from his words sometimes conflict with inferences drawn from the inscriptions; this, when we realise their fragmentary character and the difference between a military history and imperfect public records, is natural enough. We could not expect to find many minute resemblances between a modern history of a war and a series of charred and tattered fragments of Parliamentary reports and Budget speeches covering the same period: we should not be surprised if a comparison of the two raised several questions which we could not solve.

The inscriptions which bear directly on the narrative of Thucydides fall under the head of (1) finance, (2) military expeditions and sepulchral monuments, (3) treaties.

A series of inscriptions referred to in the note on i. 96, l. 8, § 57. The of which the first belongs to 454 B.C., and the last actually dated tribute to 421, enables us to calculate the amount of tribute paid by the allies. The record is more or less imperfect for 454-448; for 447-440 it is much more complete: after 440 and for the early years of the Peloponnesian war it is very incomplete and fragmentary¹. 161² 245

¹ The Thracian tribute for what is supposed to be the year 428 is nearly complete: Potidaea, which had been by this time retaken and occupied by Athenian *καταπονεῖται* who paid no tribute, is naturally missing; so are many Thracian cities, probably those which revolted in 432.

lxxxvi *Introduction: Part III, §§ 57, 58.*

Now we cannot speak of an actual discrepancy between these lists and Thucydides' statements (1) that the tribute assessed at the foundation of the Delian League (478-7 B.C.) amounted to 460 talents, and (2) that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Athenians were receiving on an average 600 talents: for we have no inscription for 477 or 431. But from the inscriptions of 446-440 we can gather with certainty that the sum paid in these years was not much over 430 talents. If we had only the text of Thucydides, we should argue with some confidence that it must by that time have been considerably over 460 talents: not only because many cities were still subject to Persia in 478, but because some cities belonging to the league contributed at that time not money but ships, which were afterwards commuted for money, and must have increased the amount of tribute.

If again we compare the 430 talents of 446-440 with the 600 talents spoken of by Pericles as coming in on the average in 431, we should expect to find traces of the increase even in the imperfect inscriptions of 439-432. But nothing like sufficient indications of such an increase are to be found.

In this last case a very simple explanation is possible: the statement of Pericles may include the indemnity which Samos, after her revolt in 440-439, was compelled to pay by instalments (Thuc. i. 117). Some equally simple explanation of the other difficulty might suggest itself if we knew more of the relations between Athens and her allies from 478-446. Many cities had certainly paid a higher tribute in years previous to 446 than they did in 446-440¹. Again the 460 talents of 478 B.C. are the sum *assessed*, not the sum *paid*. It is possible that this particular estimate included tribute to be received from the cities, still subject to Persia, which the league hoped or meant to liberate: it very likely included not only the tribute of such allies as paid tribute, but also the cost of equipping ships in the case of the allies who as yet paid no tribute². In any case, 460 talents even in the earliest days of the League, was not an

¹ Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 506) estimates the amount paid in 454-450 at 520 talents.

² The curious expression used by Thucydides i. 99 is quite com-

Trustworthiness of Thucydides. lxxxvii

excessive sum to demand from the cities which had joined it, whether it be compared with Herodotus' account of the ships which they contributed to the fleet of Xerxes (Hdt. vii. 93-95) or with the probable cost of fitting out a trireme and paying its crew¹. It may have been the sum thought necessary for the prosecution of the war against Persia, and, as the cities of Thrace and Caria came in, the original total may have been kept up and the contributions of the particular cities lowered 'pro rata'.

A famous inscription (C. I. A. 37) of 425, the year of Cleon's victory at Sphacteria, contains fragments of some evidently considerable measure relating to the tributary allies and of an estimate of tribute to be paid by them (*τάξις φόρου*, not a record of tribute received). It does not show, as often asserted, that 'the tribute was doubled' in that year, and that Thucydides has omitted the fact; but it does show that more than half the island tributaries (being all those extant in the inscription which we can compare with previous lists) were assessed at about twice

§ 58. 16 17.63
Partial or
total in-
crease of
the assess-
ment in
425.

patible with, and perhaps slightly supports, this supposition: *οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν . . . χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν*.

¹ Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 245, c. xvii. 'With a yearly payment of 460 talents about 66 triremes' (not much over one-third of the Athenian triremes at Salamis) 'could be maintained. Was that too much to demand of the cities and islands from Ceos to Byzantium, and back again to Miletus and Rhodes?'

² The objection to this suggestion is that the tribute levied ἐν Ἀριστείδου is contrasted in later authors with the less equitable amount levied afterwards. But the contrast may be between the assessment of Aristides and the much larger sums which seem to have been raised after 425 B.C. (see below), not between it and the fluctuations of the years which immediately followed. It is impossible to draw any definite conclusion from Thuc. v. 18, where Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, and Spartolus, stipulate that they shall pay to Athens only the tribute paid ἐν Ἀριστείδου. These cities must have been half ruined by Xerxes' expedition: the previous inhabitants of Olynthus had been massacred by Artabazus in 479 (Hdt. viii. 127): Argilus was close to Eion, which the Persians held when the confederacy was established. Hence the first assessment of these cities may well have been exceptionally low.

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as much as they had previously paid, their tribute being raised in various proportions : and that several island tributaries found on no previous list were added ¹.

There are also a few fragments of the ordinary tribute lists, of unknown date, which show a large rise in two Ionian and six Carian cities : these are usually dated after 425, and it is supposed that the change was made in this year.

Previous to the discovery of the *τάξις φόρου* and the quota lists, we only had vague statements in the Orators and in later writers, to the effect that at some time after the beginning of the war the Athenians doubled the amount of the tribute. Some of them assign the measure to Alcibiades, whose public life had hardly begun in 425 ; Plutarch (Aristides, c. 24) says that the demagogues raised the sum 'little by little.' The truth may be that a considerable increase was made not only in 425 but upon other occasions, and that the amount coming in during the Peace of Nicias was about twice what it had been before the War.

Even if this be the case, the silence of Thucydides is noteworthy. It is certain that changes in the tribute took place, whether at one time or not, which must have materially affected Athenian finances and the loyalty of the allies ² : we cannot argue from his silence (as Grote did with confidence, before the discovery of the *τάξις φόρου*) that no reliance can be placed on the statements in the Orators.

¹ The details of the rest of the inscription are as follows :—The Thracian figures are lost ; the mere fragment of the Ionian and Carian *τάξις* shows no increase. The total estimate of the Hellespontian tribute (which has to be pieced out from another fragment of uncertain date, but remarkably coinciding with it) reaches the immense sum of 295 talents, the greatest sum previously paid being 70-80 talents. This may be an estimate of what the Athenians hoped to gain from the cities of the Pontus (cp. Thuc. iv. 75), traces of which occur in the inscription. But it raises a doubt whether the whole estimate was more than an ambitious design which was not fully carried out : see Busolt, *Philol.* 41, p. 704.

² Cp. Part ii. p. 51 (Potidaea and Spartolus). Scione which revolted in 423 had its tribute raised from four to nine talents between 428 and 425 : there are other more doubtful cases of the same kind.

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Thucydides in ii. 8 says that all the islands in the Aegean § 59. Melos and Thera. were allies of Athens except Melos and Thera. Melos was unsuccessfully attacked in 426 (iii. 91) and finally reduced in 416, and the inhabitants put to death or sold into slavery: Thera is never mentioned again. We are surprised to find Melos assessed at fifteen talents (the same amount as Naxos, Andros, and Eretria) in the *ράξις φόρου* of 425. The Athenians probably inserted the island in the estimate as a pledge of their intention to conquer it as soon as they could.

But Thucydides is convicted of a curious little piece of negligence by the fact that Thera is not only assessed at five talents in the *ράξις φόρου*, but actually pays a quota answering to a sum of three talents in a tribute-list of 427 or 426: the name also occurs in a decree of uncertain date joined with that of the Samians, some permission or favour being granted to both¹. The island must have submitted to or been conquered by Athens between 431 and 426 (perhaps in the latter year when Melos was unsuccessfully attacked) and Thucydides, after mentioning Thera as not allied with Athens in 431, has neglected to chronicle the fact. ||

Several of the inscriptions contain records of sums paid from § 60. Payments to the state treasury to generals in command of expeditions; and these expeditions can often be identified with those which commanders of expeditions. Thucydides mentions.

Thus, we have an expenditure of 1404 talents on what is clearly the revolt of Samos (C. I. A. 177): a payment to a general Eucrates² for service in Macedonia in the second Prytany³ of a year, probably the archonship of Pythodorus, 432-431; traces of further operations against Potidaea and Macedonia, and of the expedition under Carcinus, Proteas and General agreement with Thucydides.

¹ C. I. A. 38.

² Eucrates is not mentioned by Thucydides. He has been thought to be one of the colleagues of Archestratus or Callias (i. 60, 61), but the uncertainty of the chronology here makes positive identification difficult.

³ When the dates are preserved they give the Prytany and the day of the Prytany in which the payment took place. A Prytany was one-tenth (35 or 36 days) of the Attic year, which began about July.

Socrates round the coast of the Peloponnese in the first year of the war. In the sixth and seventh Prytany of another year we have money spent on Sicily and a trace of 'Demosthenes of Aphidnae' (C. I. A. Suppl. i. 179 a-d). The date is probably 426: Laches had been sent to Sicily in the previous autumn, and in the spring or early summer Demosthenes and Procles were sent with thirty ships round the Peloponnese. In C. I. A. 273 we find a hundred talents paid to Nicias on the fifteenth day of the ninth Prytany of the archonship of Stratocles: i.e. early in the summer of 424: probably for the expedition against Cythera, which Thucydides (iv. 53) records about this time. In another inscription (180-183) there are traces of Nicias' expedition against the Chalcidians and Amphipolis (v. 83) which was rendered abortive through the treachery of Perdiccas; and of the blockade of Perdiccas in Macedonia in the following winter. We also have the names of the generals commanding the expedition against Melos, Tisias the son of Tisimachus, and Cleomedes the son of Lycomedes (Thuc. v. 84), and among the payments of the next year there is repeated mention of the *στρατηγοὶ ἐς Σικελίαν*, Alcibiades, Lamachus, and Nicias.

C. I. A. 273, ll. 16 ff., contains an expression which, if we knew more about the date at which the *στρατηγοί* were elected (p. xi) might indicate either a coincidence with, or a difference from, Thucydides. We have a payment of thirty talents made, not for the blockade of Sphacteria itself, for the season is too late;—it is dated the third day of the fourth Prytany of the archonship of Stratocles—i.e. about November 425;—but probably for the establishment and pay of a garrison including the Messenians in Pylos. The money is paid *στρατηγοῖς περὶ [Πε]λοποννήσου Δημοσθένει Ἀλκισθένους Ἀφιδναίῳ*: i.e. to the generals on service about Peloponnesus and to Demosthenes. The usual formula, employed everywhere else in the inscription, would be *Δημοσθένει Ἀλκισθένους Ἀφιδναίῳ καὶ ξυνάρχουσιν*. Demosthenes, as Thucydides expressly tells us, was not a 'general,' *στρατηγός*, when he induced Eurymedon and Sophocles, whom he accompanied with a kind of roving commission, to fortify Pylos (iv. 2). Thucydides iv. 29, however, shows that he was elected *στρατηγός* before Cleon's arrival at Pylos (*τῶν τε ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἓνα προσελόμενος Δημοσθένην*). Something

exceptional in Demosthenes' appointment, perhaps indicated by Thucydides' narrative, may account for the variation.

Before proceeding to two inscriptions of this kind which raise more difficult questions, we may mention two rather closer coincidences between the narrative of Thucydides and the inscriptions.

Thucydides, vi. 94, tells us how the Athenians in Sicily, after wintering at Catana and making two short expeditions 'at the very beginning of spring,' found waiting for them on their return to Catana the supplies which they had asked for from Athens including 300 talents. The dispatch of these 300 talents (M M M) for the army in Sicily is recorded in some detail at the end of C. I. A. 180-183 quoted above: and the dates exactly fit the indications of time in Thucydides. § 61. Particular correspondences with Thucydides.

A second small coincidence is presented by the occurrence, at the end of the *τάξις φόρου* in a class by themselves, under the head of [ἀκ]ραῖαι πόλεις, of three cities, two of which are Ἀνταν- [δρος] and Ποῖρε[ιον]. Thuc. iii. 50 shows why they occupied an exceptional position in 425. They had belonged to Mitylene until the revolt and reduction of Mitylene in 428-7, hence they were not included in any of the five (now four) tributary districts. In 427 they were taken over by the Athenians, but Thucydides does not say that they were distributed among κληροῦχοι like Lesbos itself¹.

So far we have found among the inscriptions relating to expeditions a general and on a few points a special agreement with Thucydides. One item, however, in C. I. A. 180-183 does not square so exactly with Thucydides; and C. I. A. 179 convicts him with high probability of a definite mistake.

We have in C. I. A. 180, l. 5, the words *ἴους* or *ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Δημοσθένους*: and a few lines further down *ἴργος* (or *ὄως*) *τοῖς μετὰ Δημ[οσθένους]* in connexion with payments for military purposes. The second payment is made in the second prytany of an Attic year; the first is made shortly before; and the year § 62. Possible omission of the name of Demosthenes.

¹ In 424 Antandrus and Rhoeteum were taken by some Mitylanaean fugitives, who hoped to 'set free' all the cities τὰς Ἀκταίας καλουμένας (iv. 52). Athens recovered Antandrus in the course of the same summer (iv. 75).

as appears from the names of other officers mentioned in the inscription is Ol. 90; the second prytany of which would be the late summer or early autumn of 418. These words cannot refer to the employment of Demosthenes in that year for the purpose of bringing the Athenian garrison back from their fort in the territory of Epidaurus; for this did not take place till some time after the beginning of winter, much too late for the second prytany. The end of the summer, corresponding to the date of the inscription, was taken up with the battle of Mantinea; soon after which a reinforcement of 1,000 Athenians arrived at Argos. Finding the battle over, they invaded with the allied force the territory of Epidaurus and tried to blockade the city by a wall. The other allies soon tired of the work: the Athenians persevered and completed a fortified place on a promontory in which the allies left a guard. Argos soon made peace with Sparta, and it was no use to try to hold this fort any longer: Demosthenes was sent to withdraw the garrison.

Now the letters *-ργος* in the inscription quoted above can hardly stand for anything but 'Argos'; and Muller-Strübing's conjecture¹ is tempting—that Demosthenes was the commander of the 1,000 who went from Athens after the battle, and that in the despatch with which the Athenians fortified the Epidaurian promontory we have a characteristic of the man who fortified Pylos. No plausible reason can however be conjectured why Thucydides does not mention Demosthenes' name, a general whom he seems to take a particular pleasure in making the most of.

§ 63. Prob- C. I. A. 179 and Suppl. gives the names of the generals who
able error commanded the two expeditions to Corcyra, mentioned Thuc.
in the name i. 45, 51. The commanders of the first were, as he says, Lacedaemonius and Diotimus, and the third name given by him,
of a com- Proteas, just fills a gap. The second expedition was commanded
mander :— not by 'Glaucou son of Leagrus and Andocides son of Leogoras,'
but by Glaucou and two others, the name of the second ending
in *-ένης* and that of the third beginning with *Δρακόντι*: the names

¹ Rhein. Mus. xxxiii. (1878), p. 78 ff.

of Metagenes and Dracontides suggested by Müller-Strübing¹ just fill up the gap and are accepted by Kirchhoff. We may of course alter the text, or suggest that as Thucydides does not call the commanders of the second expedition *στρατηγοί*, something may have happened to Metagenes and Dracontides after they had received the money for the expedition, and that Andocides was actually in command with Glaucon (*ἡρχον*) when the twenty ships made their way up 'through the floating wrecks and corpses.' But as there is no evidence for either supposition and neither has any special probability, it is better to admit the discrepancy; and there is no question but that Thucydides is more likely to be in error than the contemporary and official records. This is the single absolute misstatement which has hitherto been found in him. The inscription is given in Part ii. p. 125.

This same inscription fixes the sending out of the first expedition to 433. Had we only the text of Thucydides we should have argued from i. 46 and from the words *μετὰ ταῦτα εὐθὺς* in i. 56 that it probably took place in 432: an indication that he does not always use words with the precision which might have been expected: see Part ii. p. 52.

A probable but not certain mistake indicated not by inscription § 64.—and
tions but by remains on the site, about the character of Themis- about the
tocles' fortification of the Piræus is fully discussed in Part ii. wall of the
Piræus.
pp. 79, 80.

We have many sepulchral inscriptions containing long lists of § 65.
Athenians who had fallen in battle (*οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ* Sepulchral
σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή Thuc. ii. 43): but in many cases we cannot inscrip-
identify the name of the battle. Only C. I. A. 433 has any close tions.
connexion with the narrative of Thucydides. It is the famous
monument which begins—'Of the Tribe Erechtheis, there fell
in the war, in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, at Halieis, in
Aegina, at Megara, within the same year,'—then follow 168 names.
The year was probably Ol. 80, 2, including the last half of 459 and
the first half of 458: the places indicated are all referred to in
Thuc. i. 104, 105 except Phoenicia. A battle or skirmish on or
near the Syrian coast must have formed part of the operations
against the Persians in Cyprus or Egypt. C. I. A. 432, a long

¹ Aristophanes, pp. 598-600.

list of fallen, has ἐν Θάσσῳ as the heading of two columns (Thuc. i. 100). C. I. A. 442 gives us a few lines of very poor poetry, but interesting as the epitaph of those who fell 'about the gates of Potidaea' (Thuc. i. 61). C. I. A. 443, 444, 446 belong to the first half of the Peloponnesian war, but cannot be precisely identified (see Jowett on iv. 129)¹.

§ 66. A comparison between the treaties of which fragments survive
Treaties: and the narrative of Thucydides illustrates the imperfection of the inscriptions and suggests some rather curious omissions on the part of the historian.

Of the treaties of primary importance such as the Thirty Years' Peace, the Peace of Nicias and the subsequent alliance with Sparta, the forced peace and alliance between Sparta and Argos, only a fragment of one survives: the rest have perished or maybe still await discovery. We have the ends of twenty-five lines of the treaty which the Athenians concluded in 420 with Argos and the malcontent members of the Peloponnesian league (Thuc. v. 47; C. I. A. Suppl. i. 46 b). It is remarkable that in this fragment amounting to one-seventh of the whole, there are, apart from mere differences of construction or spelling, three places where the names of the contracting cities appear in a different order to that in our text of Thucydides, two in which our text omits words which occur in the inscription, and one in which the expression must have varied. These variations make no difference to the sense; they may be of some interest to the textual criticism of Thucydides: but cannot be said to affect his historical accuracy. For we cannot tell whether they are due to his informant, or to the copyists of the MSS., or whether Thucydides' own copy may not have been taken accurately from a column erected at Argos, Elis, or

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¹ C. I. A. 441 too is interesting because it confirms a detail in Pausanias about the battle of Tanagra not given by Thucydides. Pausanias (i. 29, 7) says that a detachment from Cleonae fought along with the Argives (whom Thucydides mentions) as allies of Athens at Tanagra, and that their dead were buried in the Ceramicus: the inscription, though found at Athens, contains Doric names, and (on a fragment more recently discovered) the letters ἀργα λα: very probably part of ἐν Τανάργῃ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμάχοντο or the like.

Mantineia, which did not correspond exactly with that put up at Athens.

In i. 114, Thucydides, speaking of the reduction of Euboea, says § 68.—with
καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογίαν κατεστήσαντο, ἔσταιαι δ' ἐξοικίσαντες Chalcis,
αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον. A very complete and interesting record exists (C. I. A. Suppl. i. 27 a) of the arrangement made on this occasion with the people of Chalcis. It contains the names of two Athenians, Archestratus and Anticles, which occur in the history of the period in a different connexion (Thuc. i. 57, 117) and probably belong to the same men. Another but much more fragmentary inscription (C. I. A. 38, 39) gives us the regulations made as to the Athenian settlers in Hestiaea.

About the middle of the eventful years 427 (Mitylene, Plataea, § 69.—with
 Corcyra) and 425 (Sphacteria) the Athenians were compelled to Perdiccas,
 negotiate with their worthy ally Perdiccas in order to prevent him from ill-treating their city of Methone (C. I. A. 40). We need not be surprised that Thucydides makes no mention of this. In 423 Perdiccas, who had for a time joined Brasidas but quarrelled with him, made an agreement (*ὁμολογία*) with Nicias and the other Athenian generals in Thrace (iv. 132). This agreement appears from C. I. A. 42 to have been confirmed by a formal alliance. Several names elsewhere mentioned by Thucydides occur in it: Archelas (Archelaus) son and successor of Perdiccas; Arrhibaeus king of the Lyncestae (Thuc. iv. 79, and elsewhere), a son of Philip brother of Perdiccas (Thuc. i. 57), perhaps Pausanias (Thuc. i. 61). This alliance is not mentioned as such by Thucydides; but its existence gives more point to v. 6, where Cleon sends an embassy to Perdiccas *ὅπως παραγένειτο στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν*, and to v. 83 *ἔψευστο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν (ὁ Περδίκκας)*.

C. I. A. 50, 52, 71 (Suppl. i.) are fragments of treaties with § 70.—with
 Argos, Spartolus (the chief city of the Bottiaei), Halieis. That Argos,
Spartolus,
Halieis,
 with Argos may very well be that of Thuc. v. 82. Spartolus was one of the cities which by the Peace of Nicias were to be allies of neither side unless they chose of their own accord to enter into alliance with Athens. Spartolus may have done so; if this happened before 410, Thucydides has not mentioned the fact; he represents the revolted cities generally as continuing unsubdued by Athens. The fragments of the treaty with Halieis,

like the preceding, are later than 420; and Athens is not very likely to have made a treaty with Halieis after the Sicilian expedition. We do not know that the treaty had much result, but there is some reason for thinking that it was one of the attempts of the Athenians to strengthen themselves in the Peloponnese during the interval of doubtful peace, and that Thucydides has omitted it in Bk. v.

§ 71.—with Rhégium and Leontini, just before the war. Of greater interest than any of these is a treaty made in the archonship of Apseudes (433-432) with embassies from Rhégium, the southernmost city of Italy, and Leontini one of the Ionian cities of Sicily, which, when it was later overthrown by Syracuse, Athens tried to restore with such fatal effects. Of the exact date we only know that the treaty was not concluded in the first prytany of the year, and therefore not till after the alliance with Corcyra of 433. This treaty throws light upon the value attached to Corcyra as a stepping-stone to Italy and Sicily (see note on i. 36, l. 10) and on the eagerness of Lacedaemon to get help in its turn from the Dorian cities of Sicily at the beginning of the war (ii. 7). Thucydides, speaking of the application of Leontini at Athens in the autumn of 427, says that the allies of Leontini, who included the Rhégines, asked for help *κατὰ παλαιὰν συμμαχίαν*. These words may quite well refer to a treaty made five or six years before; they need not suggest that the treaty of 433-432 was merely the renewal of an old treaty¹. In any case it is remarkable that Thucydides nowhere definitely mentions it.

§ 72. Topography. The difficulties raised by details of topography in Thucydides, especially what he says about distances between places, are too numerous to be removed by correcting the text or supposing changes in the surface of the country. Some deficiency in the branches of knowledge subordinate to history, such as geography and chronology, may be expected in an ancient historian. This subject has been fully dealt with in the Essay on the Geography of Thucydides in vol i. of Jowett's translation. It will be

¹ C. I. A. Suppl. ii. 22, &c., seemingly belonging to 454 B.C. points to an early relation of some sort between Athens and another Sicilian city, Egesta. The word *παλαιός*, however, is used of comparatively recent events in v. 30, 80.

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sufficient to mention here only such difficulties as seem to involve erroneous conceptions of naval or military movements.

'The island of Sphacteria makes . . . the entrances to the § 73.
harbour narrow, the one adjoining Pylos affording a passage Sphacteria.
for two ships, that adjoining the mainland on the other side (to
the south) affording a passage for eight or nine. These entrances
the Lacedaemonians intended to close up fast with ships placed
prow outwards' (i. e. abreast of each other). So Thucydides
describes the harbour of Sphacteria in iv. 8. As a matter of
fact, the northern entrance to the harbour is 150 yards across
(but may have altered in the course of time owing to local
reasons), and the southern entrance to the harbour is 1,400
across, and, the soil being rocky and the channel deep, is very
unlikely to have altered. It has been observed that Thucydides
only describes the intention of the Lacedaemonians; hence the
error is not so serious as if he had described them as actually
closing up the harbour. But it is strange that Thucydides
should have been wrong in a case where he could so easily
have got fuller information from Athenians or Lacedaemonians
who had taken part in the action, or from some of the Athenian
garrison who afterwards occupied Pylos.

The recent careful examination of the site of Plataea, first by § 74.
the American School of Archaeology, and then by Mr. G. B. Plataea.
Grundy¹, of Brasenose College, Oxford, removes many of the
difficulties which have been found in Thucydides' account of the
blockade and the escape of the besieged. If the city, or the
defensible part of it, stood at that time on the N.W. portion of
the plateau occupied by the vestiges of the ancient town, then

¹ I have to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Grundy (Head Master
of the Cowley Military College) in allowing me to consult him personally,
and to use his most interesting work (The Battle of Plataea, published
by John Murray for the Royal Geographical Society), to which the reader
may be referred for details with regard to the siege and the battle of
Plataea. I have also to thank Dr. Waldstein for kindly sending me the
Report on the American excavations (printed in the American Journal
of Archaeology, vol. vi. no. 4), and to Mr. Henry S. Washington, of
the American School of Archaeology, for taking much trouble to answer
inquiries about the site.

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every incident narrated by Thucydides may perfectly well have taken place, and some points which on general grounds appeared puzzling receive minute confirmation (though one of the historian's expressions is somewhat misleading). The natural strength of the position, e. g., explains how it could be defended by so small a garrison : the slight depth of soil on part of the plateau explains why the besiegers, in spite of their great advantage in numbers, could not bring up and pile earth upon the mound which they constructed so fast as the besieged could draw it away ; the character of the soil immediately under the plateau explains how the double wall of circumvallation could for the greater part of its length, and certainly at the point nearest the road to Thebes, where the escaping party must have crossed it, have been built of bricks taken from trenches on either side of it. Only one difficulty remains. The wall of circumvallation must have crossed the plateau on which the city stands at a point where the depth of earth is comparatively small, and here there can hardly have been trenches on each side of it¹. Consequently the latter part of Thucydides' statement (ii. 78), *περιτεΐχισον τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ . . . τάφος δὲ ἐντὸς τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἐξ ἧς ἐπλανθεύσαντο*, cannot have been true of the whole extent of the wall.

If indeed it should ever be proved that the city defended by the Plataeans was at the S. and not the N.W. end of the 'plateau, there would be the gravest difficulties in Thucydides' narrative ; the position is much less defensible, and arrows or stones could have been shot into it from the adjoining slope of Cithaeron.

But, accepting the other hypothesis, we have a somewhat unlikely narrative confirmed in minute particulars by facts which the historian does not himself mention ; and this inclines us to trust his facts in other places where similar difficulties arise : while it shows how very different his conception of history was from that of the modern military historian.

For no one could ever have imagined from his narrative that Plataea stands, not on a level plain, but on a plateau nearly fifty

¹ There appears to be some difference of opinion on the point whether there is likely to have been more or less earth covering the rock in antiquity than there is now.

feet at the north end, where it is highest, 'and probably sixty or more in antiquity,' above the immediately surrounding ground : or that a few additional facts about the locality would have made the incidents of the siege so much easier to comprehend.

It would seem that Thucydides' account was taken from eye-witnesses, very likely from both sides (i. 22) who described their experiences vividly and correctly on the whole, but that neither they nor the historian took much interest in the strategic details of the siege ; and it appears certain that Thucydides never cared to go and see the place, which he might have done at any time during his exile.

But there is one striking fact which shows that Greek readers of Thucydides would not have been so exacting in their demands as we are. A certain Aeneas Tacticus who wrote a work which has come down to us, *τακτικὸν ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ πολιορκουμένους ἀντίχειν*, or a 'Military Guide to the Defence of Besieged Places,' quotes largely from Thucydides' description of the siege of Plataea : if a military author who wrote within forty years of Thucydides' death (soon after 360 is the supposed date of his work) thought Thucydides worth quoting as a guide, we need not be hypercritical.

The objections which have been made to some of Thucydides' § 75. statements on grounds of antecedent improbability are far less important than those which we have been considering. Occasional improbabilities in Thucydides. The value of such 'internal evidence' is obviously doubtful unless the improbabilities pointed out are either numerous or glaring. Some of those which have been detected in Thucydides are quite trivial. The critics who have thrown doubt upon the narratives of the escape from Plataea or the Corcyraean sedition, because they occasionally suggest questions which we cannot answer, appear hardly to realise the character of such scenes, or how, in the excitement of war or revolution, things which seem obvious are neglected, and things which seem impossible are done. Such *a priori* improbabilities as are at all serious are very few in comparison to the generally clear and coherent mass of narrative: and they do not so much throw doubt on the truth of Thucydides' statements as they illustrate a defect

c *Introduction: Part III, §§ 75-78.*

from which he cannot be said to be free, that of omitting necessary explanations¹.

§ 76.

Athenian
speech at
Sparta:
Themisto-
cles and
the King.

Two instances of improbable statements are discussed in the notes to i. 72 (Part ii. p. 64) and i. 138, l. 24 and Appendix. It is possible that Thucydides extended his free handling of the speeches which he reports², so far as to colour his account of the manner in which the Athenian remonstrance was delivered at Sparta in 432. And we cannot be sure that the revenues of Lampsacus and Myus were actually 'given' as Thucydides says by the King to Themistocles after 465.

§ 77.

Sparta and
the fortifi-
cation of
the Piræus.

The latest historian of Greece³ rejects the whole story of the Lacedaemonian protest against the fortification of Athens as an 'anecdote' invented during the Peloponnesian war, intended to illustrate the diplomatic ability of Themistocles, and antedating the relations existing at that time between the Greek states. Sparta was on the best of terms with Athens in 479, and no conceivable ground for her objections can be imagined.

But Thucydides' own account of the Lacedaemonian motives is perfectly reasonable: τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν ὀρώντες μήτ' ἐκείνους μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλεόν τῶν συμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην (i. 90). Aegina had been at war with Athens down to the eve

¹ Many of the numbers mentioned by Thucydides give rise to difficulties, but here we may suspect corruption of the text.

² Thucydides seems to have allowed himself a similar liberty in reporting Nicias' letter in vii. 11-15. The letter must have been deposited in the Athenian archives, and the historian could in all probability have procured an authentic copy; but the style is thoroughly Thucydidean. We may compare Tacitus' abbreviated and improved version of the speech of the Emperor Claudius at Lyons, which we can compare with the original on an inscription (Hist. xi. 24; see Furneaux); also Macaulay's translation into his own style of the peroration of Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings. The characteristic letters of Pausanias, Xerxes, and Themistocles (i. 128, 137) may very well, as far as internal evidence goes, be genuine translations of the originals, though we can of course feel no confidence about this.

³ Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, p. 458. I am sorry not to have been able to consult this valuable and interesting work until after the Notes were printed.

of the Persian war : Corinth indeed had been a hearty friend of Athens only a few years before, and had helped her against Aegina ; but a great commercial state like Corinth must have looked with very different eyes on a powerful neighbouring city when it asked for a loan of ships (Hdt. vi. 89, Thuc. i. 41), and when it had just supplied a fleet more than four times as numerous as its own to the confederate navy. No Greek state, we may be sure, imagined in 479 that a reign of perpetual peace had set in, or was likely to forget the maxim—

ἐς τε τὸν φίλον
τοσαῦθ' ἵπουργῶν ἀφελεῖν βουλήσομαι
ὥς αἰὲν οὐ μενοῦντα.

Several difficulties, small and great, have been found in Thucydides' account of the revolt of Lesbos : only one of them is really of any weight. That the slaughter at Athens of more than a thousand of the rebels really took place there is no reason to doubt¹, and it is a striking fact that, overshadowed maybe by the still more appalling massacre which was so narrowly averted, it is alluded to among the crimes of the Athenian people but two or three times in the whole of ancient literature. There are a few obscure expressions in the speeches of Cleon (see p. cxv), and Diodotus which however cast no doubt on the truth of the narrative. But it seems to be clearly made out that the rent of two minae paid yearly by the Lesbians for each lot of land to the Athenian κληροῦχοι after the revolt was remarkably low. The natural inference from Thucydides' words in iii. 50 is that the whole annual rent of the large and fertile island of Lesbos (except the Methymnaean territory) was no more than

¹ Müller-Strübing, *Thukydeische Forschungen*, pp. 149 ff., 219 ff., rejects most of Thuc. iii. 50 as interpolated or altered, partly objecting to the credibility of the narrative, partly on the ground of what he supposes to be the total silence of ancient authors as to the fact. But his discussion has the merit of calling attention not only to one real difficulty, but to the true character of what must have taken place. He reminds us (p. 180) that among the oligarchical conspirators must have been some of the richest and most cultivated inhabitants of Lesbos ; probably men connected by ties of friendship with leading Athenians ; men who had served with Pericles against Samos thirteen years before, and on the coast of Peloponnesus four years before.

100 talents : and this is so little as to justify a suspicion, either that what was really assigned to the κληροῦχοι was the land of the executed oligarchs only, or, which is more likely, that Thucydides has omitted some material circumstance¹.

§ 79.
Corcyra.

Lastly, Thucydides' statement that the Corcyraean sedition was only the first of a series of still greater horrors² has been objected to, not indeed as improbable in itself, but as unconfirmed by our knowledge of other revolutions. But we really do not know that the atrocities of Corcyra were not surpassed in the numerous revolutions which took place later. Apart from those which occurred during the actual course of the war, both before and after the termination of Thucydides' narrative, the revolutions which accompanied the overthrow of the Athenian empire, and the cruelties and outrages committed by the oligarchical 'dekarchies' directed by the Lacedaemonian harmosts—under the immediate impression of which Thucydides very likely wrote this section of his work—may well have out-done the Corcyraean massacre of 427. There is quite enough in Xenophon (whose narrative is much less detailed than that of Thucydides), and in later writers to accredit the expressions of Thucydides: and Isocrates, writing it is true as an enemy of Sparta, and covering a later period as well as that immediately following the war, speaks of the crimes of the 'dekarchies' as out-doing anything which had taken place under the Athenian empire³.

§ 80.
Doubtful
complete-

The question of Thucydides' fulness and completeness is of a different character to that of his accuracy. If we examine

¹ It may be suggested that the 300 lots 'selected' for the Gods (τραπεσίους τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἐξέλκον) were larger or more fertile than the rest. No doubt the income from them, though part of the sacred treasury, could, as in other cases, be borrowed for public purposes.

Müller-Strübing's conclusions are discussed by Holzapfel and Stahl, Rhein. Mus. xxxvii, pp. 448-464, xxxviii, pp. 143-148; and Herbst, Philologus, 42, p. 692 ff.: cp. 46, p. 573.

² οὕτως ἡμῇ στάσις προύχρησε· καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ὑστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, κ.τ.λ. (iii. 81, 82).

³ Panegy. (iv.) 110-114 (127-132) μικρὰς μὲν ποιήσαντες δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀδικίας: see Grote, c. lxxii.

his book simply as a history of the war—not finding fault with him for leaving out things which he never dreamt of writing about—we shall find many remarkable omissions, and be led by what he says to ask many questions to which no answers can be given.

ness of
Thucy-
dides' nar-
rative.

There are a few obvious inconsistencies and difficulties in the narrative which can only be accounted for by the omission of some necessary explanation. In vi. 7, the Athenians ravage the lands of Perdiccas. In vii. 9, Perdiccas assists an Athenian general in an attack upon Amphipolis. The measure must have been successful, and he must have come round to the Athenians in the interval; but Thucydides, perhaps occupied with the Sicilian expedition, has forgotten to say so. We are never told how Achaea first became a member of the Athenian league, or why it was mostly neutral at the beginning of the war, or when it joined the Peloponnesian confederacy afterwards (see ii. 9, and note on i. 111 l. 13). The narrative of Phormio's second sea-fight off Naupactus (ii. 90) is incomplete; fifty-seven Peloponnesian ships drove nine Athenian ships ashore; the remaining eleven Athenian beat the remaining twenty Peloponnesian; how the fifty-seven were compelled to retreat we are not told. Clear and striking as the general narrative of the Sicilian expedition is, a few points are obscure, probably from the omission of some simple explanatory circumstance, e.g. the details of the Athenian night attack: were the Athenians in front of or behind the Syracusan wall? and the meaning or precise position of the so-called 'κύκλος.' 'It may be said of Thucydides' descriptions generally, as of most early descriptions, that they are graphic rather than accurate. When we try to reproduce them in the mind, something is wanting' (Jowett, vol. ii. p. lxxix).

Omissions
proved by
inconsis-
tencies.

These are small matters but they are definite and certain. There are other cases where Thucydides shows a tendency to omit pieces of information which we should be glad to have. In iii. 7 the death of the gallant Phormio, soon after his victories, is implied¹, but it is not mentioned, any more than the

§ 81. Omission of interesting facts.

¹ There is hardly sufficient ground for supplementing or correcting this passage by the story in Pausanias i. 23. 10 and a scholium on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 347 (from Androtion fourth century B.C.) about

death of Archidamus. We are told that Pericles survived the beginning of the war two years and a half, but we are told nothing of the precise date of his recall to power or of his influence on public affairs after it. The suicide of Paches before a jury after the revolt of Lesbos, may perhaps be accepted on the authority of Plutarch, Nicias, 6 : if it is a fact, Thucydides' omission of it is remarkable¹. The trial of Laches for peculation in Sicily (Aristophanes, Wasps) is probably left unmentioned because Laches was acquitted. The fate of the Athenians, Siceliot and Italiots who were left in the quarries of Syracuse when the other captives were sold into slavery is not told us (vii. 87) : we can only gather that some change in their condition, and some change for the better, took place at the end of eight months².

§ 82.
Scanty
treatment
of treaties
or pro-
posals of
peace.

Thucydides, as we have found reason to suspect already from a comparison of the inscriptions, is rather chary of details about treaties or proposals for treaties. The provisions of the Thirty Years' Peace or other agreements are referred to incidentally and obscurely (i. 67 ; v. 31, 39). The numerous treaties of Books iv and v are given simply as they stand, with no comment on their provisions, and no explanation of obscurities in them. We are not told what were the terms of peace offered by Athens to Sparta in 430 (ii. 59), or by Sparta to Athens in 425 (iv. 41).

§ 83. of
military
statistics,

Again, there are subjects of which a knowledge is required if we are really to understand the course of the war, and which Thucydides deals with in places but does not give us continuous and satisfactory information about : especially the numbers of the contending parties, finance, and the material effects of the war on the combatants. He carefully enumerates the number

Phormio's inability, in consequence of debts or a fine, to go and help the Acarnanians at their request, and the removal of the disability.

¹ Plutarch's mention of the trial and suicide, as an illustration of the unjustifiable 'jealousy' of the Athenians, looks as if the sensational story told in an epigram of the sixth century A. D. was unknown to him. According to this story, Paches had outraged two Mitylenaeen women whose husbands he had killed.

² Diodorus, who is worthy of more respect than usual here because he may be dependent on Philistus, says that they were 'set to work in the prison.' See Freeman, Sicily, vol. iii. p. 716 ff.

of the Athenian forces both by land and sea at the beginning of the war in ii. 13, but he does not trace their diminution during the course of the war, or enable us to estimate their increase during the Peace of Nicias. We have to judge of this as well as we can from his incidental mention of the numbers carried off by the plague (iii. 87) or engaged at the battle of Delium (iv. 94), or usually present at a meeting of the Assembly (viii. 72). Similarly he never gives us an estimate of the numbers which the Peloponnesian confederacy could put into the field. Yet a knowledge of the amount of the forces which invaded Attica during the first years of the war, and which were engaged against Plataea, is certainly important for a right understanding of the war. In v. 57, 60, he does not tell us the number of the 'finest Greek army that had ever mustered,' but only of the Boeotian and Corinthian contingents.

Finance is of course a subject closely connected with war, as the Corinthians in Thuc. i. 121 and Pericles in i. 141, ii. 13, point out. Yet Thucydides takes but a kind of intermittent interest in the Athenian finances. He tells us about the original assessment of the tribute (i. 96), the amount of it at the beginning of the war (ii. 13), the income-tax which brought in 200 talents annually (iii. 19), the mishaps which occasionally befel ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες (iii. 19; iv. 75), the arrangement with certain allies at the peace of Nicias about paying the tribute as fixed by Aristides (v. 18), and the substitution for the tribute of an import and export duty of five per cent. (vii. 28 fin. : a measure, the details and execution of which it is hard to realise). We can further infer from viii. 48, 63 the important fact that the financial burdens of the war fell heavily upon the wealthy classes. But we have scarcely any details of the cost of particular operations¹: no details of the variations in the tribute which we gather from the inscriptions and no account at all of the means by which the Peloponnesian confederacy paid its way. —and of finance.

¹ Thucydides gives the cost of the Syracusan war to Syracuse up to a particular point of the siege as 2,000 talents (vii. 48): vi. 31 conveys the impression that he had tried to calculate the expense, public and private, of the first expedition to Syracuse, and had found it impossible to do so.

§ 84. Again, we have no sketch of the internal order of the Athenian army such as we have of the Lacedaemonian army in v. 66: and for want of some such description iv. 4 (*ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας*) is obscure to us. In this case we can easily see that Thucydides describes the Lacedaemonian organisation because it was elaborate and exceptional in Hellas. Facts which were matters of common knowledge to himself and his Athenian readers, however necessary to a proper comprehension of his narrative by us, he disregards, and may have considered trivial. When his armies get into the field, or his fleets into 'blue water,' then he is eager to tell us all that happened: in the routine work which was necessary to pay for them and fit them out he is not much interested.

§ 85. Occasional difficulties about causes or motives. Of greater importance are the passages in which Thucydides leaves us in some doubt as to the motives of the actors in the history. No one can describe men's motives with a surer hand: we need never be at a loss about 'the causes of this great war' (i. 23), or about the general character and the reasons for the action of Nicias, Demosthenes, or Alcibiades. But here and there questions arise, of which some at least must have arisen equally in the minds of contemporaries, and to which we get no answer. Why did the Athenians make no attempt, if not by force yet by negotiation (as they had an excellent opportunity of doing when they caught Salaethus, iii. 36), to save Plataea as they had promised? Why, after failing to renew hostilities on the termination of the one year's armistice, were the people 'persuaded' by Cleon to attack Amphipolis (v. 2)? Why did they, as Grote says, 'part irrevocably with their best card' by releasing the prisoners from Sphacteria, before getting any prospect of recovering Amphipolis, and when the Spartans were bound by the issue of the lot to surrender their gains first? or if the release of the prisoners was an understood condition of the alliance, was it worth while to make the alliance at all? Why did the people refuse to relieve Nicias at his own request of the command in Sicily, which he was physically incapable of holding with effect? Why did Demosthenes, who started for Sicily 'at the very beginning of spring' (vii. 20), not arrive till within one or at most two months of the fatal eclipse of

August 27? These difficulties reach a climax in the extraordinary delays and hesitations of both Athenians and Lacedaemonians in Book v, and the retreat of King Agis when he had Argos at his mercy. What can the two Argives have told him (v. 60) which induced him to retreat?

To many of these questions more or less plausible answers can be given; but it is not the business of a historian like Thucydides to leave such questions to be answered by his readers. What explanation can be given of these omissions, and of the other flaws and gaps in the narrative which have been pointed out?

Some things no doubt which puzzle us required less explanation to the readers of Thucydides. He is speaking all through, not of regular armies acting regularly and loyally under the orders of a monarch or a representative government, but of the citizen armies of Athens who practically ordered themselves out, and must have been disposed to think twice before doing so, or of the Spartans who, as has been well said, were more military than warlike. The delay of Demosthenes just mentioned is probably accounted for by the difficulties of collecting from allies an armament which was intended to be overwhelming (vi. 17). Other things Thucydides would probably have liked to mention but could not find them out or satisfy himself of the correctness of his information. There are several passages in which he alludes to difficulties of this kind.

§ 86.
Possible
explanations
of
some diffi-
culties.

Character
of citizen
armies.

Speaking of the battle of Mantinea he definitely says that he cannot give the numbers of the two armies—*τὸ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων πλῆθος διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν ἡγροεῖτο, τῶν δ' αὖ διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπῶδες ἐς τὰ οἰκεία πλήθη ἡπιστεῖτο* (v. 68): and, speaking of the numbers of the slain on the same occasion (v. 74)—*αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πυθέσθαι, ἐλέγοντο δὲ περὶ τριακοσίου ἀποθανεῖν*. Probably this cause explains his silence on other occasions: a similar motive may be gathered from iii. 113. He refuses to give the numbers of the Ambraclots slain at Olpae, because 'the multitude which is said to have perished is incredible compared with the size of the city': meaning of course that he did not credit it himself, not that he feared it would seem incredible to his readers¹. There is a

Defective,
untrust-
worthy, or
contra-
dictory
informa-
tion.

¹ Herbst, *Erklärungen*, vol. ii. p. 25.

curious passage in the speech of Alcibiades (vi. 17) urging the Sicilian expedition which seems to be an expression of Thucydides' own judgment: *καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὀπλίται οὐτ' ἐκείνοις ὅσοι περ κομποῦνται, οὔτε οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες διεφάνησαν τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι ἕκαστοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἠρίθμουν, ἀλλὰ μέγιστον δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐψευσμένη ἢ Ἑλλὰς μόλις ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἱκανῶς ὥπλισθη.*

Another passage must be borne in mind, not only where we read it in the Introduction, but throughout the work, i. 22 *ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὐρίσκειτο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἑκατέρῃ τις εἰννοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι.* Thucydides very seldom gives us two different versions of a story, as in ii. 5 he gives the Plataean and Theban accounts of the slaughter of the Theban prisoners, and in viii. 87 with unusual diffuseness¹ the various possible motives of Tissaphernes for not bringing up the Phoenician fleet to the help of the Peloponnesians—*λέγεται δὲ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά, οὐδὲ ῥάδιον εἰδέναι τίτι γνῶμη παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσπενδον καὶ παρελθὼν οὐκ ἤγαγε τὰς ναῦς.* Hence we may imagine him pondering long over parts of his narrative in which he could only get inconsistent accounts, and perhaps repeatedly seeking fresh information by letter or word of mouth. We all know how often, when we try to get information on any matter, our informant leaves out just the point which we require to clear up a difficulty or form a consistent picture in our own minds.

vii. 44 shows another class of difficulties which Thucydides must have met with in a part of his work—namely, the descriptions in detail of engagements—which seldom leaves us in much doubt: *καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ ἐγίγνοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦν οὐδὲ πυνθέσθαι ῥάδιον ἦν οὐδ' ἀφ' ἐτέρων, ὅτῃ τρόπῃ ἕκαστα ξυνηνέχθη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ σαφέστερα μὲν, ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ παραγενόμενοι πάντα, πλὴν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος μόλις οἶδεν' ἐν δὲ νυκτομαχίᾳ . . . πῶς ἂν τις σαφῶς τι ᾔδει;*

We must not make too much of the difference between ancient and modern times as adding to Thucydides' difficulties; against the imperfect means of communication we may set the comparative simplicity of war and politics. His exile, after 424-3, though it must have hampered him in getting information of

¹ This may be one of the passages which would have been cut down on revision; so unlike is it to Thucydides' general way of writing.

what went on at Athens, made it easier, as he says himself, to ascertain what took place on the other side. But the few observations which the historian permits himself to make on the difficulties of his task, may remind us how much time and work must have gone to the writing of passages which generally hang together without a flaw or a difficulty, and only now and then betray marks of imperfect knowledge.

Such commonplace explanations account for many omissions, § 87. but not for all. Various reasons of a more conjectural and subtle kind have been given for the 'silence of Thucydides': some of them quite inadmissible without positive evidence to support them: it has been supposed for instance, though there is no real ground for the supposition, that the Athenians made serious attempts to recover Amphipolis between the peace of Nicias and the Syracusan expedition, and that Thucydides has only given us slight and misleading hints of them because he could not bear to speak of the scene of his own failure! No single hypothesis gives a key to any large number of the omissions. No hypothesis which affects the historian's character for honesty is sufficiently plausible in itself or supported by facts to make us regard his own professions of accuracy as false—*προσέχων τὴν γνώμην ὅπως ἀκριβὲς τι εἶσομαι* and *τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἤξιωσα γράφειν οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθών*. But it should be definitely admitted that his method of writing history lacked one necessary element which we take for granted in all good modern historians, and to which the first steps in ancient history were taken by a writer of far inferior literary genius, Polybius. This admission is due to something more important than our conception of what Thucydides was: it is due to our conception of what history ought to be.

Thucydides started with the idea of writing a definite, clear, § 88. and absolutely correct account of the Peloponnesian War. His native genius gave him the power of telling a great story greatly, and putting details in their right places. He also knows how to tell us, in the artificial form of 'speeches,' how the Greeks of his day thought and reasoned about politics, home and

Aresiduum
of unex-
plained
omis-
sions:—

which point
to Thucy-
dides' chief
defect as a
historian.

foreign. But only here and there, and with respect to particular points, does he satisfy our sense of the fact that a war cannot be understood without a great deal more than a vivid narrative of the war itself—without a circumstantial account of the internal economy and politics of the contending countries. Greek history, in Thucydides quite as much as in Herodotus or Xenophon, compared to modern or even Roman history, is a picture without a background. The passages in Thucydides which are really the most striking, more even than the great speeches or the great descriptions, are those where he shows us, with the hand of a master, the general state of things which lay behind particular incidents¹. That he has not done so more often, that he leaves so many questions unanswered, is his real defect as a historian.

§ 89.
Omissions
of other
kinds.

These considerations are forced upon us even when we consider Thucydides' history simply as what it professes to be : a narrative of the facts of the Peloponnesian War. They are confirmed if we proceed to another class of omissions, less definite and less capable of proof, but not merely imaginary, and not always admitting of a satisfactory explanation.

Some indeed of the omissions for which Thucydides has been criticised are perfectly simple and natural : they are due either to the difference between ancient and modern ideas or to his personal character. There is no reason whatever why he should have told us more about 'Greek art,' or why he should have 'mentioned Socrates'—until he came to the trial² of the

¹ Such are his vivid pictures of armies on the eve of a battle, composed of ruling and subject peoples, or leaders and followers in an alliance, full of their traditions of the past, their present grievances, or their hopes for the future (v. 69, vi. 69, vii. 53 ff.) : of peoples about to engage in war (ii. 8) or in a struggle for independence (iv. 108) or in new alliances (v. 29) ; dismayed by a great catastrophe (iv. 53, vii. 28, viii. 1, 96), or animated by the revival of confidence in themselves (vii. 18, viii. 2, 106) : of barbarian empires (ii. 97, 100), or tyrannies maintained for a time by ability and deference to public opinion (vi. 54, 55) : of the influence of a great man over a free people and its temporary overthrow (ii. 65). Such above all are many parts of the Introduction ; and the accounts of the revolutionary movements at Corcyra, and at Athens in 415 and 411.

² He might or might not have recorded how a certain Athenian who

generals in 406—or why he should have told us anecdotes about the private life of Pericles or other great men¹. Some of us may wish that he had been more like Herodotus, but on the whole we would much rather have Thucydides than a second Herodotus. Such omissions are worth pointing out because they illustrate the limitations of Thucydides as a historian, but they require no explanation.

It is rather different with the occasional obscurity of his references to institutions, constitutional details, and the party politics of Athens. Many passages show that he had a keen eye for such matters; e.g. the details of the 'division' in the Spartan assembly (i. 87); the distinction between a mission to the Council or to a select body, and a mission to the Assembly, which was twice played off with effect against a Spartan embassy (iv. 22; v. 45), and in which the oligarchical Corinthians instructed the leaders of the Argive democracy (v. 27, 28); the vote by ballot, which made it easier for the Acanthians to decide publicly for revolt from Athens and the safety of their vintage (iv. 88), and the open vote, which enabled the ultra-oligarchs of Megara to get a constitutional sanction for a perfidious massacre (iv. 74); the contempt of the Syracusan executive for the wranglers of the Assembly, and their confidence that they can make the country safe if they are let alone (vi. 31, ch. 72). We should be glad to have more such views of the inner working of Greek politics as Thucydides' description of the trick by which Cleon's unguarded boast in the Assembly was made the means of thrusting distinction upon him (iv. 27 ff.); of the misplaced confidence of the Boeotarchs in the 'Four Councils,' who for once would not shut their eyes and vote as they were told, and who by using their minds spoilt the whole design of their own party (v. 38); and of the enthusiasm of the irregular Assembly at Samos, when their leaders proclaimed to them that Athens had

§ 90. Constitutional details and party struggles: often fully described.

happened to be *ἡμετέρας* refused to put the question to the vote: as Socrates' refusal did not affect the result he might have said nothing about it.

¹ As Holm remarks (*Griechische Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 501), there is only one 'anecdote' in Thucydides: the unfeeling question of the Athenian ally to the Spartan prisoner in iv. 40.

revolted from them, not they from Athens—'posse rempublicam alibi quam Athenis fieri.'

Thucydides again describes, with great fulness, the two occasions on which internal movements at Athens exercised an important influence on the conduct of the war: the revolutionary excitement about the mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the mysteries; and the overthrow of the democracy by the Four Hundred.

We can compare his account of the first with the two speeches of Andocides, 'De Reditu' (410) and 'De Mysteriis' (399); and the comparison shows how many details Thucydides has naturally omitted, while it confirms his striking picture of the state of agonized suspicion into which the city was thrown, and the relief afforded by the confession of Andocides¹.

We have seen that there are discrepancies between Thucydides' account of the Revolution of the Four Hundred and that in the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία: we can hardly estimate their importance without further knowledge (pp. lxxxiii; cxxiii). The latter account gives a better idea of the extent to which the conspirators veiled their intentions under constitutional forms; but, as a piece of history, which it hardly professes to be, it is flat and dead compared with the story as told by Thucydides, who nowhere displays more powerfully his ability to describe constitutional changes and party struggles. He enables us to understand better than we should ever have done from Aristotle alone how so strange an event came about; he shows us the ease with which the ordinary man is frightened and bewildered by able and

¹ Thucydides and Andocides differ about two or three points of fact. Andocides cannot be trusted for a moment where it was to his interest to speak falsely, and where he could hope to do so successfully. Thucydides' statement that the informer, whom he does not name, confessed his own guilt at the time is indirectly confirmed by the admissions of Andocides, though he asserts his innocence hesitatingly in the first speech and boldly in the second. With regard to some minor points, we cannot tell which is right: it may be Andocides, for 'it concentrates a man's mind wonderfully' when he is in imminent danger of drinking the hemlock; and Andocides' recollections may be more correct than the information procured by Thucydides (see Jowett on Thuc. v. 60. 3; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, vol. i. pp. 122-124; Marchant, *Andocides*, pp. 127, 136).

unscrupulous intriguers in revolutionary times, and how timidly the moderate party, both leaders and followers, even when driven to desperation, begins to resist them (viii. 53, 54; 65, 66; 92): and the masterly picture of a 'reign of terror' is completed by such touches as the undignified exit of the Council, whose pay is handed to them at the door; the combination of 'concealed daggers' and the 'hundred and twenty young men who were employed when violence was necessary,' with 'the customary prayers and sacrifices'; the distinction between the imaginary Five Thousand and the very real Four Hundred; and the final restoration of Demus to his familiar seat in the Pnyx.

There is certainly no ground for the suspicion, entertained by § 91. No some writers, that there were constitutional changes during the war of which Thucydides has avoided mention; or that the annual election of *στρατηγοί*, of which he says so little, or any other elections, were of the same kind or degree of importance as elections among ourselves; or that the leading demagogues exerted their influence not merely through the Assembly, but through election to office or a seat in the Council. The necessity for such suppositions has been removed, partly by the discovery of the *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*, which shows that a writer not indisposed to criticise Thucydides, and specially interested in the constitutional history of Athens, has nothing more to tell us about the period of the Peloponnesian war down to 410 than Thucydides himself; and partly by a clearer appreciation of the extent to which the management of affairs at Athens turned upon the actual votes of the sovereign people assembled in the Pnyx, which never delegated its powers to anything resembling a President or a Ministry, and exerted from month to month, and almost from day to day, the unlimited power which is vested in the English or American people at the time of a general or Presidential election¹. Still, there are also passages in which Thucydides leaves matters of constitutional interest obscure to us, and others in which there is some reason to suppose that we should understand the course of the Peloponnesian War better, if he had told us more about the internal affairs of Athens.

¹ See Mr. J. W. Headlam's *Election by Lot at Athens*: perhaps the best existing explanation of the actual working of the Athenian constitution.

§ 92. We have seen above (p. lxxxvii ff.) that there were probably considerable changes in the tribute raised during the war, affecting the loyalty of the allies and the finance of Athens, of which Thucydides does not tell us: especially in 425, when after Cleon's return from Sphacteria the tribute of the islanders was about doubled, and when, as appears probable from allusions in Aristophanes¹, the daily pay of the jurors was raised to three obols. All this looks like a connected set of measures, carried through by the influence of Cleon, which no modern historian would have thought himself justified in omitting in a history of the war.

§ 93. (b) Again, it is clear that both at Athens and at Sparta there were constant struggles between the supporters of a peace policy and a war policy, such as those which are so vividly placed before us in the debates at the beginning of Book vi. We cannot help thinking that, if we knew more of them, some of the hesitations or changes of purpose to which Thucydides refers, without explanation, would be clearer to us, e.g. the attack on Amphipolis some time after the expiration of the year's armistice (v. 2), and the delays and hesitations which marked the time preceding the battle of Mantinea. Now Plutarch, in his account of the ostracism of Hyperbolus, represents it as the result of a struggle between Nicias (or Phaeax) and Alcibiades as the advocates of a peace and a war policy: the leaders of the two contending parties, each fearing to be ostracised himself, combined their forces and secured the ostracism of Hyperbolus, which Thucydides only mentions incidentally much later². How much of the story is true we cannot tell, and the exact date of the ostracism (418-416) is too uncertain to justify us in using

¹ Cleon in the Knights (spring of 424) takes credit for the *τριώβολον*, which is not mentioned in the Acharnians (spring of 425), though recurring frequently in the later comedies. The pay of the dicasts was instituted by Pericles ('*Αθ. Πολ.* 27. 3): there is nothing really to show whether it was one or two obols: the latter sum is mentioned in scholia on Aristophanes, Wasps 300, Frogs 141.

² There is no discrepancy between Plutarch's story (Arist. 7, Alcib. 13, Nic. 11) and Thucydides' scornful expression in viii. 73 *ὡστρακισμένον οὐ διὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην τῆς πώλεως*: Hyperbolus was the kind of man on whom such a trick as Plutarch describes could be played.

it as an explanation of any particular event in the war; but, if there be anything in Plutarch's account, Thucydides' omission of a fact which would have thrown so much light on the feelings of the Athenians about the war is a striking illustration of his incompleteness. The ostracism of Hyperbolus was a kind of fiasco; the two parties remained much as they were before: it led to no actual military operations, although it may have caused delays; and therefore Thucydides, we may suppose, followed what appears to have been his usual principle and said nothing about it, or the quarrels which preceded it. For he seems to mention such fluctuations of opinion only when they led immediately to important results: e.g. the new train of diplomatic intrigues initiated by the change of ephors at Sparta in the winter of 421 (v. 36), or the fall of Pericles from power (ii. 65); here we may remark that Thucydides, by his lively description of the embittered feelings of 'rich and poor,' gives a much more satisfactory explanation of the results than if he had spoken of 'a coalition of the opposing parties against Pericles.'

It is only fair to add here that Thucydides' expressed contempt for Cleon and Hyperbolus (p. cxxix, below) may justify a suspicion that he avoided saying more about them than he could help. But we really do not know enough about the direct bearing of Cleon's measures, or the position of Hyperbolus, on the war to be certain about them.

There are, however, some places in Thucydides which seem definitely to show a lack of interest in internal affairs. In ii. 22 he throws no light on the obvious difficulty by what authority, or stretch of authority, Pericles as *στρατηγός* refused to summon any kind of assembly during the Peloponnesian invasion in the first year of the war. Neither in iii. 36, nor in vi. 14, where the question is raised of bringing a matter before the people a second time for consideration, can we clearly make out from his words whether it was positively illegal to do so or not. We do not know exactly (cf. p. ci) what Cleon meant by 'the law' or 'the previous decision' which the Athenians would break if they spared the Mitylenaeans¹.

§ 94. Constitutional points left obscure.

¹ The words which he uses have to be somewhat strained if he means the *ψήφισμα* passed for their destruction; Cleon cannot have contended,

cxvi *Introduction: Part III, §§ 94-97.*

Again, Thucydides often prefers general to particular expressions when constitutional action is in question. He constantly says that 'the Athenians,' 'the Lacedaemonians,' 'the allies,' did a thing, without informing us through what body or what magistrate they acted: he speaks of τὰ τελεῖ, οἱ ἐν τελεῖ, or the like, especially when Sparta is concerned, not of the ephors or whatever the particular authority was: he gives us no idea how the representatives (πρέσβεις) of the allies in the assembly of the Peloponnesian confederacy were chosen: and though we gather a great deal from him about the arrangements of the Athenian empire, and the Peloponnesian confederacy, it is nearly all from incidental and sometimes obscure references.

§ 95.
Omission
of names of
persons.

Thucydides' omission of names which he must have known is a curious feature in his work. In vi. 25, 'one of the Athenians came forward' and demanded from Nicias a statement of the number of troops which he required for the expedition to Sicily: the name, according to Plutarch, Nic. 12, confirmed by Aristoph. Lys. 391, was Demostratus. In vi. 60 neither Andocides nor Charmides are mentioned by name, although we know from Andocides' own words that he was the man who, as described by Thucydides, was persuaded by his cousin, Charmides, to disclose what he knew about the mutilation of the Hermae¹. The real name of the informer must have been notorious, and Thucydides cannot have been actuated by any tenderness for Andocides, or he would not have thrown doubt upon the truth of his information.

§ 96.
Omissions

Finally, there is one part of Thucydides' work in which his in the debate at which it was carried, that a 'previous decision' must not be departed from; iii. 40 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πρῶτον καὶ νῦν διαμάχομαι μὴ μεταγνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδεδογμένα.

¹ In viii. 92 Thucydides names neither the actual assassin of Phrynichus nor his accomplice whom he calls an Argive. After the fall of the 400, when a reward was offered to the murderers, it was claimed by Thrasybulus of Calydon and Apollodorus of Megara; and the statements of the orators as to the facts of the assassination are at variance with those of Thucydides. It may be that Thucydides did not believe the assertions of Thrasybulus and Apollodorus: the whole matter is a tangle of perplexities, which are not removed by a contemporary inscription. See Lysias, c. Agor. 71-73 (76-78): Lycurgus. c. Leocrat. 111-115 (113-117): C. I. A. i. 59: and Jowett on Thuc. viii. 92, 2. }

preference for external over internal history is so strongly in i. 98-
marked that we are prepared to admit traces of it elsewhere. ^{118.}
In the digression on the rise of the Athenian empire (i. 98-118) only one fact about the internal affairs of Athens is mentioned, ↓
the intrigues, with a Peloponnesian army in Boeotia, of a party at Athens who hoped to put down the democracy and stop the building of the Long Walls (i. 107). There is nothing about the political measures of Ephialtes or Pericles, nothing about the division of opinion on the question of sending help to the Spartans at Ithome: nothing about the ostracism of Cimon or the political activity of Thucydides, son of Melesias: events either closely connected with external affairs, or so important that they might have seemed to demand mention in the most cursory sketch of the period. Even matters which formed part of the organisation of the empire itself, the establishment of many cleruchies, the expedition of Pericles to the Pontus, the foundation of Amphipolis by Hagnon (which is mentioned later, iv. 102¹) seem to be merely summed up in the words of c. 118 *τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο*.

We have found reason to admit the existence of a good deal of incompleteness in the narrative of Thucydides. Can any motive be found for it apart from the difficulty of procuring information, the familiarity of his readers with things of which we require explanation, and a lack of interest in internal and political matters?

Thucydides, like every other historian writing with a sense of § 97-
artistic form, and aware how often the half is greater than the Thucydides' ad-
whole, must constantly have been met by the question 'where to herence to

¹ Similarly the report that Pleistoanax was bribed to retreat from Attica in 446 is not mentioned in i. 114, but briefly in ii. 22, and more fully in v. 16 in connexion with the exile and recall of Pleistoanax: the part taken by Androcles the demagogue in the intrigues against Alcibiades in 415 is mentioned in viii. 65 as one motive for his assassination. In lesser matters Thucydides' method is similar: the deceptions practised by Brasidas on the Acanthians, and by the Egestaeans on the Athenians, and the outrageous claims of the Persians in the treaties with the Lacedaemonians, are exposed by him not when they first occur, but afterwards in the course of the narrative (iv. 85, 108; vi. 8, 46; viii. 18, 37, 43).

cxviii *Introduction : Part III, §§ 97-98.*

principles
of com-
position
may some-
times have
excluded
explana-
tions.

stop': and how best to preserve the unity of his work and the impression on the reader. It is unfortunate for us that he did not draw the line at unimportant military operations and tell us more about quite other matters: but this simply was not the man's nature: he wanted to write a history of the war 'in order, as each thing took place, by summers and winters' and not a history of Athens. He must have found that he could not account for everything that happened without continual digressions; and we can imagine him laying down, more or less consciously, various rules for the composition of his work:— to say as little as possible about home politics, except when it was worth while to do it thoroughly as in the sixth and eighth books: not to enter at all into complicated and doubtful matters, like the intrigues of oligarchs and demagogues against Alcibiades; to be silent when he could find no satisfactory explanation; to avoid the comparison of differing accounts as much as possible (cf. p. cviii): to say little or nothing about any action or event which came to little or nothing. The character of Thucydides' mind and its self-imposed restrictions, perhaps too narrow and too strictly adhered to, is more likely to give the clue to omissions in him than more recondite or historically more interesting theories¹. It is certainly more probable, considering both what he leaves out and what he puts in, than the view, sometimes suggested to explain his 'silence,' that he was actuated by party-spirit.

Are his
omissions
to be
explained
by party-
spirit?

It is not uncommon to speak of Thucydides' 'oligarchical prejudice,' or 'party-spirit.' Now we can be more certain of Thucydides' general impartiality than of his accuracy: for the former can be proved from a comparison of various passages, while for the latter we must depend on our own impression of his character as a writer. (1) It is absolutely certain that Thucydides was not actuated by oligarchical prejudice. (2) It is nearly

¹ Possibly the fifth and probably parts of the eighth book show us something of Thucydides' work 'in the rough.' We cannot of course assume that this cause has operated only in the later books. Passages may have been marked, at the time of his death, for revision, insertion and correction, in the earliest: just as there are 'unfinished lines' in the [first] *Aeneid*.

as certain as a negative can be that if he had any other strong party sympathies his history has not been coloured by them in the way of omission. But (3) our conviction of Thucydides' impartiality must be qualified by a grave doubt whether it extended to the two 'demagogues' Cleon and Hyperbolus.

(1) We know a good deal about the Athenian oligarchical party from the early plays of Aristophanes (Acharnians and Knights), from the fragments of the Old Comedy, especially Cratinus, and from the *De Republica Atheniensium* [Xenophon]. But the worst that we know of them comes from Thucydides. It is clear that he had a personal admiration for Antiphon (whom, we know, he considered to be 'as good a man as any of his time'), Phrynichus, and their associates, and a respect for the ability with which they accomplished a task of enormous difficulty (viii. 27, 68): it has been said that he seems to have thought them men of greater force of character than their opponents. But this only brings out into stronger relief the remorseless energy with which he exposes their cruelty, treachery, and selfishness in public life. They put out of the way by secret assassination those who were 'inconvenient' to them (viii. 65). They would have preferred to keep the empire, or at least Athens, safe if they could: but sooner than risk their personal security by permitting the restoration of the democracy, they would have betrayed empire, ships, and walls to the enemy¹. Their ablest leader, Phrynichus, told them in private conclave (viii. 48) that their pretensions to be the champions of the allies were a sham. The allies did not want oligarchy, they wanted independence: they expected worse trouble from the rule of the so-called 'gentlemen' (τοὺς καλοὺς παγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους) than from the people; for it was they

§ 98.
Thucydides was certainly no 'oligarch.'

¹ (ἰβούλοντο) καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσαγαγόμενοι ἀνευ τειχῶν καὶ νεῶν ἐνυμβῆναι καὶ ὁπασσοῦν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχειν, εἰ τοῖς γε σώμασι σφῶν ἄδεια ἔσται (viii. 91 fin.). The *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* suggests a milder view by the statement (32. 3) that the negotiations of the Four Hundred with Sparta broke down because they would not 'surrender the command of the sea.' There is perhaps an indication of a conflict in Thucydides' own mind in viii. 94. 'Perhaps the Spartan admiral was cruising about Epidaurus by agreement (with the oligarchs), but he may very well have been hovering about in view of the civil discord at Athens, hoping to come up at the right moment.'

who for their own selfish ends put the people up to mischief¹. The oligarchs would let them be put to death without trial; the people were their refuge and brought the oligarchs to their senses!

These are strange expressions and revelations in the mouth of a 'prejudiced oligarch': but, more unkindly still, Thucydides coolly puts his finger on the fatal weakness which made oligarchy an impossible government for Athens, and which marked the moderate as well as the extreme members of the party, namely the personal rivalries and jealousies of the oligarchs; who, as soon as democracy is overthrown, all begin fighting to be first, though under a democratical form of government they will accept the decision of their 'inferiors'² (viii. 89).

But if Thucydides' history had unfortunately been interrupted in the middle of the eighth book we should still see clearly enough that he was no oligarch. The one fact of internal history mentioned in the digression on the rise of the Athenian empire is, as we have seen (p. cxvii), a piece of oligarchic treason. Pericles' funeral oration³ is one of the noblest ideals of democracy within ancient limitations which has ever been drawn, and not free from some democratic weaknesses⁴. Some of the expressions in

¹ This is an accusation which our knowledge of facts hardly enables us to verify.

² The best commentary on this disputed passage is Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, iii.-iv. 7-11: Cicero consoles *Laterensis* for his defeat in a popular election by reminding him that non-election is no disgrace, that the people, and not his opponent, are to blame, and that if they were wrong, they were exercising an undoubted power to which the worthiest have had to submit.

³ It must be remembered that some writers of aristocratic tendencies, Aristophanes in his younger days, and Cratinus (not Eupolis), perhaps we may add Plato, dated the political decadence of Athens not from Cleon, but from Pericles.

⁴ The summary of the speeches addressed to the *παντιος δχλος* at Samos, viii. 76, is hardly less impressive in its practical way than the speech of Pericles itself: it has lost nothing by not being put into the form of formal harangues. The tinge of modern political expression, which here and there seems out of place in Grote's great work, is on this occasion thoroughly in harmony with the narrative; it was 'a great democratical manifestation of the most earnest and imposing character,' and Thucydides sympathised with it.

ii. 65, about the causes which led to the final defeat of Athens after the death of Pericles, seem to point to the faults of the oligarchic as well as the democratic faction. And in the discussion of the Corcyraean *στάσις* Thucydides gives no hint that there was anything whatever to choose between the upholders of 'political equality before the law' and 'the soberness and discretion of aristocracy,' or, if he does, the scale turns in favour of democracy. The political clubs (*ἐταιρίαι*, τὸ *ἐταιρικόν*), which formed a tie stronger than kinship or established law, were for the most part oligarchical associations, and were the instruments by which the power of the Four Hundred was established: the 'simplicity' (*εὐθύθεια*), whose disappearance from political life was so fatal, was more a quality of the democrats than of the oligarchs, whom no one could have described as 'the stupid party'; the expressions about perjury and unrighteous condemnation by vote find an illustration in the proceedings of the ultra-oligarchs at Megara in iv. 74.

In the face of such passages as these we cannot explain any of Thucydides' omissions by oligarchic prejudice in the proper sense of the term, unless we are to neglect on conjectural grounds the plainest and most obvious features of his work.

(2) Of course Thucydides was not an enthusiastic democrat: § 99. he notices the weaknesses of democracy as much as those of oligarchy, and the passages in which he does so have attracted more attention. The sudden revulsion of feeling in favour of Pericles contrasted with his temporary disgrace¹: the light-heartedness with which the assembly enforced the challenge of Nicias and insisted on Cleon going out as general to Sphacteria²: the rashness of the Syracusan populace in desiring their generals to attack Catana³, which made them the readier to fall into the trap laid for them by the Athenians: the 'amenability' of the Athenian people 'to discipline' in their panic after the Syracusan

Thucydides' criticisms of democracy not surprising.

¹ ὕστερον δ' αὖθις οὐ πολλῶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν εἰλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν (ii. 65).

² οἱ δέ, ὡς ὅχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέων ὑπέφευγε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ ἐλαγχάριε τὰ εἰρημένα, τόσῳ ἐπεκελεύοντο τῷ Νικίᾳ παραδιδόναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβόαν πλεῖν (iv. 28).

³ καὶ ἤξιον τοὺς στρατηγούς, ὡς δὴ ὅχλος φιλεῖ θαροῆσας ποιεῖν, ἀγῶν σφᾶς ἐπὶ Κατάνην, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐκείνοι ἐφ' αὐτοὺς ἔρχονται (vi. 63).

disaster¹: these are the chief occasions on which he finds fault with democracy. We may wish that he had divided the blame of Cleon's commission between the people and Nicias; but the four places taken together express a sense which a patriotic Athenian might well have felt—not of the objection to democracy in itself, but of the difficulty with which a thoroughly democratic government carries on a war except under the influence of a great man or in the presence of a great crisis.

But Thucydides is not more adverse to democracy than nearly all the great writers of Athens were. None of them were so enthusiastic about it as many of us are in the present day. To them it was an established form of government whose defects they knew by experience; and for many centuries after them the 'flowing tide' was not with democracy but with monarchy or imperial government. No Athenian writer could be expected to realise—Thucydides² and Aristotle come nearest to it—the intense interest which would be felt in Athenian character and institutions when the great experiment of popular self-government came to be tried once more, and with what hopes and fears mankind would turn to it again after a long experience of the shortcomings of governments based upon ideals more like those of Plato than those of Pericles.

§ 100.

True
political
position of
Thucy-
dides. τὰ
μέσα τῶν
πολιτῶν.

There was a numerous body of citizens at Athens who were very far from being democrats like Cleon or oligarchs like Phrynichus or Critias. They were loyal to the constitution³, but they thought that it had faults: their views were probably met by the appointment of πρόβουλοι in 413⁴ and by the constitution

¹ πάντα τε πρὸς τὸ παραχρῆμα περιδείξ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν, ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν εὐτακτεῖν (viii. 1).

² ii. 36 ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἡλοθόμεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, and 41 τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμάσθησόμεθα. Cp. the reasoned defence of democracy put into the mouth of Athenagoras in vi. 39.

³ Cp. vi. 11, where Nicias, who is sometimes supposed to have been an 'oligarch,' says ἡμῖν . . . ὁ ἀγὼν . . . ὅπως πόλιν δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ὁξέως φυλαξόμεθα.

⁴ We may infer from the story in Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 18. 6 that the πρόβουλοι approved, one of them at least with reluctance, the establishment of the Four Hundred: and we are told in *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 29. 2, what

of 411-410, which Thucydides so highly commends¹, abolishing payment of juries and public offices generally and restricting the franchise to those who could provide themselves with arms. If we call them a 'party,' we must not be led by modern associations to think of electoral organisations and enthusiasm for a regular 'programme.' During the greater part of the Peloponnesian war there was little thought of constitutional change and no thought at all of what we call social reform: the questions which dominated all others were executive—military and financial—whether an attempt to secure peace or a vigorous prosecution of the war was the immediate object to be pursued, and who were the persons best fitted to carry on the business of the State, home and foreign, under the immediate supervision of the all-powerful Assembly. If again we call them a 'middle party,' we must remember that they were less of a compact body than the 'centre parties' which are occasionally formed to meet special emergencies in modern politics, but more accustomed to united action than the unorganised mass of voters who go over from one side to the other at our general elections.

Such persons are referred to by Thucydides as τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν, who in revolutionary times are assailed by both extremes because they will not join them, or because they have no business to preserve their existence². Euripides, who was no oligarch, says (Suppl. 238 ff.):—

τρεις γὰρ πολιτῶν μερίδες· οἱ μὲν ὀλβιοὶ
ἀνωφελεῖς τε πλείονον τ' ἐρῶσ' αἰεὶ·
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ σπανίζοντες βίου,
δεινοί, νέμοντες τῷ φθόνῳ πλείον μέρος,

we should not have supposed from Thucydides, that they formed part of the commission which drew up the oligarchic constitution. That they had paved the way for it from their institution (Thuc. viii. 1) is an unwarranted inference: but Thucydides may have been reluctant to admit the extent to which they were made the tools of the extreme party.

¹ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γ' ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες· μετρία γὰρ ἦ τε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ πονηρῶν τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένην τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀτήνεγκε τὴν πόλιν (viii. 97).

² τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἢ ὅτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο, ἢ φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι, διεφθείροντο (iii. 82).

cxxiv *Introduction: Part III, §§ 100, 101.*

ἐς τοὺς ἔχοντας κέντρ' ἀφίαισιν κατὰ,
 γλώσσαις ποτηρῶν προστατῶν φηλούμενοι·
 { τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἢ 'ν μέσῳ σώζει πόλιν,
 { κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὄντιν' ἐν τάξῃ πόλιν.

The drama is ascribed on internal grounds to the year 421 or 420: the preceding lines remind us of the manner in which Nicias a few years later is represented as referring to Alcibiades and his young adherents:—

νέους παραχθείς, ὅτινες τιμώμενοι
 χαίρουσι, πολέμους τ' ἀξάνουσ' ἀνεν ὅλης,
 φθείροντες ἀστούς, ὃ μὲν ὅπως στρατηλατῇ,
 ὃ δ' ὡς ὑβρίζῃ δύναμιν ἐς χεῖρας λαβάν,
 ἄλλος δὲ κέρδους οὐνεκ', οὐκ ἀποσκοπῶν
 τὸ πλῆθος εἰ τι βλάπτεται πᾶσχα τάδε.

On the other hand, the author of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (28. 3) must include the *μέσοι* when he says that Nicias was the leader of *οἱ ἐπιφανεῖς* ('the notables') against the *ἄνθος* led by Cleon: and thus roughly identifies them with the party (*οἱ γνώριμοι*) led by Miltiades, Themistocles and Aristides; by Cimon (*οἱ εὐποροί*) against Ephialtes; by Thucydides, son of Melesias, against Pericles; and later on by Theramenes. This shows that they and the *ὀλίγοι* must sometimes have acted together: no doubt the *ὀλίγοι*, when they could not venture to work as a party in public, acted with them; and no doubt their enemies did all they could to identify the two. Of their leaders 'Aristotle' says that Thucydides son of Melesias and Nicias were 'almost universally' admired: the reputation of Theramenes was more doubtful.

With this section of the citizens¹ Thucydides the historian appears, from his words cited above, to have sympathised more than with any other². We recognise them in his pages as those

¹ The description of them here is mainly taken from Whibley's *Political Parties at Athens*, p. 91 ff.; and Goodhart's *Thucydides*, Book viii. p. xv ff.; see also Headlam's *Election by Lot at Athens*, p. 33 ff., and Jowett on Thucydides, viii. 97, vol. ii. pp. 528-530. The use of the words *οἱ μέσοι* and the like is not fixed enough in a political, as distinct from a social, sense to justify us in speaking of 'the middle party.'

² Aristophanes in his later plays did so likewise, though retaining a kindness for his old friends the oligarchs.

who prevented the sailors at Samos from stoning the envoys of the Four Hundred, and implored them not to ruin the cause of Athens when the enemy's fleet was lying in wait so near (viii. 75)¹; and again, where he describes one of the most attractive scenes, and one of the most creditable to Athens, in the history of the city—how an outbreak of civil war, after great provocation, was averted by the personal appeals of chosen members of the Four Hundred to the patriotism of the more reasonable among the rank and file of the hoplites; how they quieted their excited comrades; and how, after many conversations between man and man, it was agreed to hold an assembly for the restoration of concord (viii. 93).

Now sympathies and tendencies such as these were less § 101. likely to give Thucydides, as a historian, a partisan bias than if he had been a strong adherent of oligarchy or democracy. But ^{Was}Thucydides ^{biased by} it is clear that he thought peace with Sparta highly desirable for Athens after the death of Pericles, and that he had a great ^{love of} admiration for the personal character of Nicias. There are ^{peace, or} three places in his history where his expressions or omissions ^{admiration} for Nicias? have been with some reason criticised, and where they may be explained from these motives, coupled (in two cases) with his violent dislike to Cleon (see below). But in all three places there is no question of facts, but only of policy or feeling. Whereas there are positive grounds for the belief that neither a strong feeling in favour of peace (not unnatural in a patriotic Athenian who had lived through the years 413 and 404) nor sympathy with Nicias, have coloured Thucydides' record of facts.

(a) Müller-Strübing observes with some justice² that Thucydides has not given us, in accordance with his usual practice, ^{Cleon's war} a 'speech' of Cleon, or any one else, in opposition to the Lacedaemonian ambassadors who came to sue for peace after the ^{policy.} blockade of Sphacteria, or in favour of the renewal of the war after the termination of the one year's truce in 422.

(b) It is impossible to justify the conduct of Nicias in taking ^{Nicias and} advantage of Cleon's foolish expression to thrust upon him the ^{Cleon.} command of Athenian troops in a dangerous attack which was

¹ Cp. the action of Thucydides of Pharsalus in viii. 92.

² Aristophanes, pp. 441, 442.

regarded almost as a forlorn hope. We might suppose that Thucydides left so obvious a remark to be made by his readers, as it is by Plutarch¹, but that he almost justifies Nicias by going on to describe the complacency with which 'reasonable men' accepted the alternative of capturing Sphacteria or 'getting rid of Cleon'; an advantage which in the natural course of things could not be obtained without getting rid of a good many fellow-citizens.

Nicias and
Demo-
sthenes.

(c) Thucydides has often been criticised, and most impressively by Grote, for making no comment on the death of Demosthenes, while he breaks through his habitual reserve to commiserate the 'undeserved' fate of Nicias (vii. 86). Now, without discussing here the merits or demerits of Nicias as a statesman or general², we can see many reasons why the fate of Nicias should have appeared more tragical to Thucydides than that of Demosthenes. The disastrous incompetency of Nicias and his responsibility for the fate of the whole army, including that of Demosthenes, are perfectly obvious from the whole of Thucydides' narrative, and the contrast between the wisdom of Demosthenes and the weakness of Nicias is forcibly emphasised (vii. 42, 49): but, taking his whole career together, he had clearly impressed Thucydides as one of the best men he had

¹ Comparatio Niciae cum Crasso, 3 τῇ Κλέωνος ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητι ναῦς καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ὄπλα καὶ στρατηγίαν ἐμπειρίας ἀκρας δεομένην παραδιδούς, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προίεται δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν.

² Two things must, however, be remembered, if we are to do justice to the confidence which the Athenian people continued to repose in Nicias. (1) His successes in the summers of 425-424, which naturally seem small to us in comparison with the great disasters which followed, were important at the time. The capture of Cythera was among the causes which almost reduced Sparta to despair (iv. 55): the Athenian victory *on land* over Corinthian troops, and the capture of the fortified Thyrea deserted by a Lacedaemonian garrison, must have produced a great effect. (2) The conduct of Nicias during the retreat from Syracuse (cp. vi. 102) disposes us to believe that his previous behaviour on less important campaigns had been such as to inspire his men with affection and confidence (cp. Delbrück, *Strategie des Perikles*, pp. 201-205). Such qualities as he then showed are not easily extemporised in sickness and disaster.

ever known ; and we may imagine in the historian's farewell to Nicias a reflexion of the personal feelings with which he must have heard in his exile the news of the catastrophe in Sicily. Demosthenes, as Thucydides has just remarked, was the greatest enemy of Sparta at Athens ; Nicias her best friend ; which lent an additional pathos in his case to the failure of Gylippus to save either of them. Demosthenes was a great soldier ; Nicias had done considerable if not great things both in peace and war, until he was forced against his will to undertake and retain a responsibility too heavy for him. Demosthenes' career had been chequered by disaster (iii. 98 ; iv. 89, 101) ; Nicias' had been one of uniform good fortune (*πλείστα τῶν τότε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις*, v. 16), and this meant more to a Greek than it does to us¹.

Now these are matters of opinion on which our judgment may vary : there are, however, two positive reasons for thinking that Thucydides, if he was unduly partial to Nicias, has not suffered his partiality to affect his history where we cannot check his account.

(a) As with the oligarchs, so with the peace party and Nicias himself, the worst that we know of them we know from Thucydides. He clearly displays in Book v the disastrous confidence which the Athenians, under the leadership of Nicias, reposed in the promises of Sparta : as shown in the surrender of the prisoners and the withdrawal of the Messenians and Helots from Pylos² ; and there is further a distinct tone of irony in the description of his final mission to Sparta, where he could secure no concession which might have averted the Argive alliance, and had to content himself with inducing the Spartans to 'renew their oaths' (v. 46). There is no attempt made to conceal the break-down of Nicias before Syracuse ; and what is more there is no attempt to apologise for it³. The historian

¹ Cp. Marchant, Thucydides, Book vii. p. xxxvii.

² v. 23, 35 ; cp. vii. 86. A fuller statement than Thucydides has given us of the motives of the Athenians for concluding an alliance as well as a peace with Sparta (see p. cvi) might have tended rather to exculpate than to incriminate Nicias and his friends.

³ The words in ii. 65, *οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιτεγνώσκειν*, do not mean 'failing to vote necessary assistance' to the Sicilian

§ 102.
Thucydides does not hide the errors of Nicias or his friends,

ccxxviii *Introduction: Part III, §§ 102-104.*

lays no stress himself on the obvious and, to a great degree, valid excuse of disabling illness: he need not be supposed to endorse Nicias' own complaints (vii. 14, 41)¹, which are part of the whole characteristic picture of a sensitive man in a false position: we seem to have the whole situation, inward and outward, before us, and can draw our own conclusions.

§ 103.—
and is fair
to his rival
Alcibiades.

(b) Thucydides, as far as we can see into the tangled maze of Athenian politics, is scrupulously fair to Nicias' great opponent Alcibiades. He explains that Alcibiades, while mainly actuated by pique in pressing the Argive alliance, really thought it the better thing for Athens (v. 43): he calls attention to one occasion at least on which he did good service to his country (viii. 86); and he carefully explains that his outrageous personal conduct was indirectly and not directly ruinous to Athens, because in consequence of it the citizens refused to entrust the conduct of the war to the ablest man they had (vi. 15), and so—οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔσφηλαν τὴν πόλιν. Thus he avoids saying of Alcibiades what he indirectly but unmistakably says of Nicias, describing, in words of tragic irony, his motives for concluding peace:—Νικίας μὲν βουλόμενος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπαθὴς ἦν καὶ ἡξιούτο, διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαύσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφήλας τὴν πόλιν διεγένετο (v. 16)².

expedition; but as the context shows are much more general: the reference is to the civil strife which must have diverted the attention of the Athenians from the war, and above all to the recall of Alcibiades with its fatal consequences.

¹ Nicias' attempts to throw the blame of his failure on the Athenians at home when compared with Thuc. vii. 2, are too palpably weak for Thucydides to have intended them to be valid. There is more to be said for his terror of returning to face the anger of the people: a greater man would have gone back, as Nicias himself, too late, made up his mind to do: but we cannot help thinking what good service Nicias might have done for a city which would have been ready to 'thank him for not having despaired of the republic.'

² There is a curious parallel to this passage in the still more terrible irony of the prayer which Tacitus puts into the mouth of Tiberius (Annals, iv. 38) 'Proinde socios cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietam et intelligentem humani divinique iuris

(3) The reason why we cannot be confident of the impartiality § 104. of Thucydides towards Cleon is a very simple one. We need not speculate on the share which Cleon may very likely have had in Thucydides' banishment. We need not here discuss the question whether Cleon's domestic policy can be defended, or whether his foreign policy was such as Pericles would have recommended had he been alive (to be sure Pericles was not there to carry it out, which makes a difference in our estimate of Cleon's opponents). We may point out that Cleon's conduct at Amphipolis indicates the accidental character of his success at Sphacteria¹: we may remember that if we had all lived at the time we should certainly have been divided in opinion as to his merits, and we may urge that Thucydides is as likely to have been right as any one. But the fact remains, that our main reason, in the lack of contemporary and corroborative evidence, for trusting Thucydides is the confidence inspired by his tone and manner; and that this ground of confidence entirely fails us when he writes of Cleon (and Hyperbolus). For his manner in writing of them is singularly unlike the rest of his history.

When the gravest and calmest of historians, who scarcely ever passes judgment on the character of individuals, and on the greatest crimes only by his manner of describing them (see p. xxxi), says of one man that he was 'the most violent of the citizens²,' that his undertaking to capture the garrison of Sphacteria within twenty days, though accidentally successful, was that of a madman³, and that it was his interest to keep up the war, because in times of peace his mischievous actions would be more easily detected, and his abusive charges less credible⁴:

mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur.'

¹ Delbrück, *Die Strategie des Perikles*, pp. 200 ff.

² βιαίωτος τῶν πολιτῶν (iii. 36). The word is used by Thucydides of Pausanias (ἤδη δὲ βιαίον ἔντος αὐτοῦ, i. 95), and by the Corinthians of the Corcyraeans (i. 41).

³ καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιώδης οὔσα ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη (iv. 39).

⁴ γενομένης ἡσυχίας καταφανέστερος νομίζων ἂν εἶναι κακουργῶν καὶ ἀπιστότερος διαβάλλων (v. 16). κακοῦργοι and the allied words are used in Thucydides either of 'criminals' or robbers, or of mischief

when he says of another, *à propos* of his assassination, that he was a rogue who had been ostracised, not for fear of his power and standing, but because he was a villain and a disgrace to Athens¹: the question is, not whether such language was justified by facts, which is possible, but whether Cleon and Hyperbolus were so much worse than Phrynichus, Antiphon, and Alcibiades. Thucydides, while stating fairly the crimes and treacheries of men like these, calls attention to their ability, personal good qualities, or occasional public services; in speaking of Cleon and Hyperbolus he uses the same kind of language, which he puts into the mouth of violent partisans in his 'speeches.' Such language is strong *prima facie* evidence against the fairness of Thucydides to Cleon and Hyperbolus. If we proceed to speculate on the reasons for his intense dislike of them, we are on more doubtful ground; had he lived to write of Cleophon we might have discovered them. Thucydides' 'party feelings,' such as they were, may in this one case have broken loose: if so, he does not seem to have had, what has often been attributed to him, the art of concealing them. The motive may conceivably have been 'aristocratic feeling' in a more personal sense, such as Plato so strangely displays when, contrasting on the loftiest grounds 'the philosopher' with 'the lawyer,' he complains that the latter 'cannot put on his cloak like a gentleman'². It may have been a strong

done to an enemy in war, or as a term of abuse in speeches; of the Corcyraeans by the Corinthians (i. 37), and of the Syracusan oligarchs by Athenagoras (vi. 38).

¹ *Τιέρβολον . . . τινὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡστρακισμένον οὐ διὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποκτείνουσι* (viii. 73). *μοχθηρός* occurs nowhere else in Thucydides, but is applied to Hyperbolus by Aristophanes (Knights, 1304). *πονηρία* is used as a cant term of abuse for democracy by Alcibiades (viii. 47; cp. vi. 92); the only other place where Thucydides applies the words *πονηρός* and *πονηρία* to persons is in speaking of the character of the witnesses on whose evidence some respectable citizens were imprisoned on suspicion of being concerned in the mutilation of the Hermae (vi. 53). Euripides in the passage cited p. cxxiv, speaks of demagogues such as Hyperbolus as *πονηροὶ προστάται*.

² Theaet. 175 E.; cp. Aristoph. Birds, 1567-1571.

sense of the mischief which the demagogues were doing in politics, both by the actual measures which they proposed, and by their whole tone and manner in public life¹. 'The demagogue,' like 'the tyrant' before him, was a kind of portentous novelty to thoughtful Greeks. We are familiar with him by this time, and we know how much good he may do in a stable State, with a strong executive and a healthy public opinion to control him; and we can see, with Grote, how useful he may have been at Athens as a critic and prosecutor. But, in order to be just to contemporary opinion, we must remember that, by the machinery of the Athenian constitution, any demagogue who was τῷ δήμῳ πιθανώτατος could carry the gravest executive decisions (though not constitutional changes) by a vote of the Assembly, without a possibility of modification or repeal save by the Assembly itself.

We have found singularly little in the way either of positive § 106. contradiction or positive confirmation of Thucydides: we are General thrown back on probabilities of various degrees of force, and on conclusion. the impression made by his own words. The general result is something of this kind:—The positive accuracy of what he tells us there is no reason to doubt. The idea that his work is a full and complete history of Athens during the period which it covers is an illusion: and it is possible that among the facts which he omits to mention may be some which bore immediately upon the history of the war which he professes to give, though the significance of these facts must be a matter of conjecture. His dislike of Cleon and Hyperbolus was so strong that it may have affected, at least in the way of omission, his record of facts, here the witness of his own language against himself lends some importance to conjectural criticism. But in regard to the general conflicts of Greek politics his 'grand impartiality' is proved by his appreciation of the noble side of Athenian democracy, and by his crushing exposure of the weakness of his favourite leader Nicias and the criminal treachery of the

¹ This is the view of the author of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, who says of Cleon *ὅτι δοκεῖ μάλιστα διαφθεῖραι τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐδημογόρησε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων* (28. 3).

~ cxxxii *Introduction: Part III, § 106.*

oligarchical party. It is not true that 'no period of history stands so clearly before our eyes as the first twenty-one years of the Peloponnesian war in the work of Thucydides.' But it is true that we are guided through them by one of the most clear-sighted, rational, and honest of historians.

THUCYDIDES.

BOOK I.

- 1 Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελο- Greatness
ποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, of the War.
ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσ-
θαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος
5 ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ
πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκα-
τέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. κίνησις γὰρ
αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν
βαρβάρων, ὥς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων.
- 10 Τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν Weakness
εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλήθος ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ of Greece
μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα times.
νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.
- 2 Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως Constant
οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ migrations.
ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες βιαζόμενοι ὑπό
τινων αἰεὶ πλειόνων. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπι-
5 μιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης,
νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν
χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἀδελον δν ὁπότε
τις ἐπελθὼν—καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων—ἄλλος ἀφαι-

1. 5. ἦσαν] Οἱ ἦσαν.

ρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἀν
 ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ 10
 οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ.

The most
 fertile
 countries
 were the
 least
 settled.

Μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη αἰὲ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
 οἰκητόρων εἶχεν, ἥ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ Βοιω-
 τία Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας, τῆς τε
 ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα. διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἶ τε δυνάμεις 15
 τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποιοῦν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθει-
 ροντο, καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. τὴν
 γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων
 ἀστασίαστον οὔσαν ἀνθρώποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ. καὶ
 παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι, διὰ τὰς 20
 μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξήθηναί· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς
 ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμφῃ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ'
 Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὥς βέβαιον ὄν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ
 πολῖται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν
 πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον 25
 ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.

No com-
 mon action
 before the
 Trojan
 War; and
 no common
 name till
 long after
 it.

Δηλοὶ δὲ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐχ 3
 ἥκιστα· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον
 κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἢ Ἑλλάς, δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, οὐδὲ τούνομα
 τοῦτο ζύμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλληνος τοῦ
 Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάντῃ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ κλησὶς αὕτη, κατὰ 5
 ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ'
 ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι, Ἑλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν
 παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων
 αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν
 ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἑλληνας, οὐ μέντοι 10
 [πολλοῦ γε χρόνου] ἡδύνατο καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι. τεκμη-
 ριοὶ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος· πολλῶ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι καὶ τῶν
 Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενος σὺδαμὸς τοὺς ζύμπαιτας ὠνόμασεν, οὐδ'

2. 20. διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξήθηναί· Ullrich con-
 jectures διὰ τὰς μετοικήσεις τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξήθηναί.

ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, ὅπερ καὶ
 15 πρῶτοι Ἕλληνες ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ
 Ἀργεῖους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους
 εἶρηκε διὰ τὸ μὴδὲ Ἑλληνάς πω, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον
 εἰς ἐν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι. οἱ δ' οὖν ὥς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες
 20 κατὰ πόλεις τε, ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν, καὶ ζύμπαντες
 ὕστερον κληθέντες, οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν
 καὶ ἀμικξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἐπραξαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην
 τὴν στρατείαν θαλάσση ἤδη πλείω χρώμενοι ξυνήλθον.

4 Μίνως γὰρ παλαίτατος ὦν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτῆσατο, The first navy, that of Minos, arose before the Trojan War.
 καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκράτησεν,
 καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἡρξέ τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν
 πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κῶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας
 5 ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας· τό τε ληστικόν, ὥς εἰκός, καθήρει
 ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἡδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους
 μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ.

5 Οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τε ἐν Pirates.
 τῇ ἡπειρῷ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ
 ἡρξαντο μᾶλλον περαιούσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐτρά-
 5 ποντο πρὸς ληστείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτά-
 των κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι
 τροφῆς, καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ
 κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἡρπάζον καὶ τὸν πλείστον τοῦ βίου
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνῃ τούτου τοῦ
 ἔργου, φέρουτος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον· δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε
 10 ἡπειρωτῶν τινὲς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν,
 καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων
 πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λησταὶ εἰσιν, ὥς οὔτε ὦν
 πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἴη
 εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδίζόντων. ἐλήϊζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον Robbers.
 15 ἀλλήλους. καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ
 τρόπῳ νέμεται περὶ τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς
 καὶ Ἀκαρῶνας, καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἡπειρον.

The practice of carrying arms.

Τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς 6
παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκεν· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσι-
δηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε οἰκῆσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς
παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους, καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων
ἐποιήσαντο ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα 5
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτὲ καὶ ἐς πάντας
ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων.

Changes in dress at Athens and Sparta.

Ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθευτο
καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν.
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδύει- 10
τον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοὺς ἐπαύσαντο
φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδού-
μενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς
πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ
κατέσχευε. μετρίῳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρώτοι 15
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς
οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδύαιοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν.

Use of girdles by athletes.

Ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρώτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἀποδύντες
λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἡλείψαντο· τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν
τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ 20
ἀθληταὶ ἡγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπνυται.
ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς
Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωσμένοι
τοῦτο δρῶσιν. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ
παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώ- 25
μενον.

Inland sites of older cities.

Τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ὤκισθησαν καὶ ἤδη 7
πλοῦμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τεύχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς
ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς
προσοίκους ἑκαστοὶ ἰσχύος· αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν 5
ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ὤκισθησαν,

7. 6. ἀντισχοῦσαν] Most MSS. ἀντισχοῦσαι.

αἶ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις (ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν), καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνγκισμένοι εἰσίν.

- 8 Καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν λησται ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται Κᾰρές τε ὄντες Carian and
καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ᾤκισαν. Phoenician
μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν the islands.
τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν ὅσαι ἦσαν
5 τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς Κᾰρες ἐφάνησαν,
γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένη καὶ τῷ
τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσιν.

Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλοῖμώτερα ἐγένετο Increase of
παρ' ἀλλήλους· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν wealth
10 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτε περ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατῴκιζεν. καὶ οἱ Minos and
παρὰ θάλασσαν ἀνθρώποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρη- the Trojan
μάτων ποιοῦμενοι βεβαιότερον ᾤκουν, καὶ τινες καὶ τείχη War.
περιεβάλλοντο ὥς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι· ἐφιέ-
μενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἱ τε ἦσσοις ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν
15 κρεισσόνων δουλείαν, οἱ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἔχοντες
προσεποιούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις. καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν
ἐστράτευσαν.

- 9 Ἀγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προύχων καὶ The real
οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Τυνδάρειω ὄρκοις κατειλημμένους τοὺς sources of
'Ελένης μνηστῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι. λέγουσι δὲ Agamem-
καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμη παρὰ τῶν power.
5 πρότερον δεδεγμένοι Πέλοπά τε πρῶτον πλήθει χρημάτων,
ἃ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους, δύνανται
περιποιησάμενοι τὴν ἐπωρυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλύτην ὄντα
ὅμως σχεῖν, καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐγγόνοις ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆ-
ναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀπο-
10 θανόντος, Ἀτρείως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ
ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτευσεν, Μυκῆνας τε καὶ
τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεΐ· τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν

φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον, καὶ ὥς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεύς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν, καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα 15 εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα, τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεύς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρεΐα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήναι.

Ἄ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα ἐπὶ πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας, τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ 20 πλείον ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ νανσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ὥς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῃ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκῆπτρου ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει εἶρηκεν αὐτὸν πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν· οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων 25 ἔξω τῶν περιοικίδων (αὗται δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλὰ εἴησαν) ἡπειρώτης ὦν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ οἷα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς.

The small size of Mycenae does not prove that the expedition was small.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα 10 νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς ἂν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίῃ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἷ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασιν καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ 5 καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοῖρας νέμονται, τῆς τε ξυμπάσης ἡγούνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν· ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης 10 πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα), Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων διπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανερᾶς ὄψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἔστιν. 15

Οὐκοῦν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν

ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην But Homer himself shows that this was the case.
 δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὀμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρηὶ κἀνταῦθα
 20 πιστεύειν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσ-
 μῆσαι, ὅμως δὲ φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα. πεποίηκε
 γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν, τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι
 καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτῆτου πεντήκοντα, δηλῶν,
 ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας· ἄλλων γοῦν
 25 μεγέθους πέρι ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη. αὐτερέ-
 ται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτῆτου
 ναυσὶ δεδήλωκεν· τοξότας γὰρ πάντας πεποίηκε τοὺς προσ-
 κώπους. περιnéως δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς πολλοὺς· ζυμπλεῖν ἔξω
 τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 30 μέλλοντας πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν,
 οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφρακτα ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ παλαιῷ
 τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας
 δ' οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ
 φαίνονται ἐλθόντες ὥς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ
 35 πεμπόμενοι.

11 Αἵτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ The small-
ness of the
force was
 ἀχρηματία. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορία τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω
 ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν, due to the
poverty of
the times ;
 ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δῆλον δέ· τὸ γὰρ
 5 ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο), φαίνονται δ' so was the
length of
the siege.
 οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ ληστείαν τῆς
 τροφῆς ἀπορία. ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρ-
 μένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντεῖχον βίᾳ τοῖς αἰὲ ὑπολειπομένοις
 10 ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες. περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς
 καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ζυνεχῶς τὸν
 πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥαδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον, οἳ γε
 καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἰὲ παρόντι ἀντεῖχον· πολι-

ορκία δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονι τε χρόνῳ καὶ
 ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἶλον. ἀλλὰ δι' ἀχρημασίαν τὰ τε ¹⁵
 πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενή ἦν καὶ αὐτὰ γε δὴ ταῦτα ὀνομαστότατα
 τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδέεστερα ὄντα
 τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου
 κατεσχηκότος, ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι
 μετανύστατό τε καὶ κατφκίζετο ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασα αὖξη- ²⁰
 θῆναι.

Even after the Trojan war, Hellas had no rest or growth. The migra-
 tions con-
 tinued. Ἡ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία ¹²
 γενομένη πολλὰ ἐνέδχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὥς
 ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτουτες τὰς πόλεις ἐκτίζουν.
 Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου θλώσιν ἐξ
 Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν ⁵
 πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν
 καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς
 Ἰλίον ἐστράτευσαν), Δωριῆς τε ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει ζῦν
 Ἑρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον.

In time Hellas became more settled. The first colonies.
 Μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἢ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως ¹⁰
 καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψεν, καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν
 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ
 καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλείστον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τε ἑλλης
 Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν αἱ χωρία. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν
 Τρωϊκῶν ἐκτίσθη. ¹⁵

Tyrannies and navies. Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρη- ¹⁸
 μάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ
 πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσό-
 δων μειζόνων γιγνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς
 γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι), ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἢ Ἑλλάς, ⁵
 καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο. πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι
 λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσασθαι τὰ περὶ
 τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τριήρεις πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ναυπηγηθῆναι. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίσις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κο-
 ρίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ ¹⁰

Corinth.

- μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε [704]
 Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίους ἦλθεν. ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτη ὧν
 ἴσμεν γίνεταί Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους· ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα
 καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ [664]
 15 χρόνου. οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ
 Ἴσθμοῦ ἀεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ
 πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς
 Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους
 ἐπιμισγόντων, χρήμασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ τοῖς παλαι-
 20 οῖς ποιηταῖς δεδῆλωται· ἀφνειὸν γὰρ ἐπυνόμασαν τὸ
 χωρίον. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλώϊζον, τὰς ναῦς
 κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν, καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν.
 καὶ Ἴωσιν ὕστερον πολὺν γίνεταί ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ Κύριον Ionians,
 25 Περσῶν πρώτῳ βασιλεύοντος καὶ Καμβύσου τοῦ υἱέος
 αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ' αὐτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες [546-543]
 ἑκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. καὶ Πολυκράτης Σάμου τυραννῶν Polycrates,
 ἐπὶ Καμβύσου ναυτικῷ ἰσχύων ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπεκ- [532-521]
 οὺς ἐποίησατο, καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι
 30 τῷ Δηλίῳ. Φωκαῆς τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονί- Phocaea.
 οὺς ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες. [600!]
 14 Δυνατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦν. φαίνεται δὲ Triremes
 καὶ ταῦτα, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, were few,
 τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ until
 πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα. ὀλίγον τε πρὸ shortly
 5 τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου, ὃς μετὰ Καμ- before the
 βύσῃ Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριήρεις περὶ τε Σικελίαν τοῖς death of
 τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις· ταῦτα Darius. [485]
 γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Εἰρῆς στρατείας ναυτικὰ ἀξιό-
 λογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη. Αἰγιωνῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι,
 10 καὶ εἰ τινας ἄλλοι, βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ τούτων τὰ
 πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὅψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους [483!]
 Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεισεύει Αἰγιωνῆταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ

βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἰσπερ
καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ αὐται οὕτω εἶχον διὰ πάσης κατα-
στρώματα.

15

Though
the cities
which had
navies
became
strong,
wars by
land were
small;
leagues
had hardly
arisen.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικά τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοιαῦτα ἦν, τὰ τε **15**
παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον γιγνόμενα. ἰσχνὴν δὲ περιεποιή-
σαντο ὅμως οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οἱ προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρημά-
των τε προσόδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ· ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς
νῆσους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῇ εἶχον 5
χώραν. κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρε-
γένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν, ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο,
πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐκάστοις, καὶ ἐκδήμους στρα-
τείας πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ οὐκ

ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὐ γὰρ ξυνεστήκεσαν πρὸς τὰς με- **10**
γίστας πόλεις ὑπήκοοι, οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰσῆς κοινὰς
στρατείας ἐποιούντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὥς ἕκαστοι
οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν. μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ
[700-650] γενόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριέων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ζυμμαχίαν ἐκατέρων διέστη.

15

The
Persians,

Ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι, **16**
καὶ Ἰώσιν προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων Κῦρος
καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία Κροῖσον καθελούσα καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς
Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ
[546-543] ἡπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσεν, Δαρείος δὲ ὕστερον τῷ Φοινίκων 5
[495-490] ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ τὰς νῆσους.

and the
policy of
the tyrants,

Τύραννοι δὲ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι, τὸ **17**
ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορῶμενοι ἐς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν
ἴδιον οἶκον αὖξιν δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα
τὰς πόλεις ᾤκουν, ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιό-
λογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις· οἱ 5
γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμει. οὕτω
πανταχόθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο μήτε
κοιῇ φανερόν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ πόλεις τε ἀτολ-
μοτέρα εἶναι.

kept
Hellas
weak and
divided.

- 18 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης At length
Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυράννευθείσης οἱ πλείστοι the Lacedae-
(καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ) ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων nians put
κατελύθησαν (ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν down the
5 ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριέων ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον tyrants.
στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ εὐνομήθη καὶ ἀεὶ
ἀτυράννευτος ἦν—ἔτη γὰρ ἔστι μάλιστα τετράκοσια καὶ
ὀλίγῃ πλείῳ ἐς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ [804]
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται—καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
10 δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν), μετὰ
δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολλοῖς
ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη Μήδων πρὸς The Athe-
'Αθηναίους ἐγένετο. δεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν αὐθις, ὁ nians con-
βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος Marathōn,
15 ἦλθεν. καὶ μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐπικρεμασθέντος οἱ τε Λα- the Athe-
κεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο Lacedae-
δυνάμει προύχοντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων monians,
διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς at Salamis.
τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο.
- 20 Κοινῇ τε ἀπώσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον, ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ But they
διεκρίθησαν πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ τε soon
ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἑλλήνες καὶ οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες. and the
δυνάμει γὰρ ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη· ἴσχυον γὰρ οἱ μὲν rest of
κατὰ γῆν οἱ δὲ ναυσίν. καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ Hellen
25 ὁμαιοχμία, ἔπειτα δὲ διενεχθέντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ other.
'Αθηναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους·
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινές που διασταῖεν, πρὸς
τούτους ἤδη ἐχώρουν. ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τόνδε
ἀεὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ἡ
30 ἀλλήλοισι ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις εὖ παρε-

18. 2. 'οἱ πλείστοι (καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ)], Bekker of πλείστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ].

18. 7. ἦν—] and 9. χρῶνται—], Bekker ἦν—] and χρῶνται.].

N

The two
leagues
became
very strong
in different
ways.

σκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ
κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου 19
τοὺς συμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες, Ἀθη-
ναῖοι δὲ ναὺς τε τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαβόντες πλὴν
Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν. 5
καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ
μείζων ἢ ὥς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς συμ-
μαχίας ἦνθησαν.

These in-
dications
of the
character
of early
times
cannot all
be trusted,
for tra-
dition is
often
careless.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εἶρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ 20
ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς
τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἣν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ἦ, ὁμοίως
ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται. Ἀθηναίων γοῦν τὸ
πλήθος Ἱππαρχον οἶονται ὑφ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος 5
τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἱππίας μὲν
πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἤρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱών, Ἱππαρχος
δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὑποτοπήσαντες δέ τι
ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρῆμα Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότην σφίσιν Ἱππία μεμνησθαι τοῦ μὲν 10
ἀπέσχοντο ὥς προειδότες, βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι
δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι, τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες
περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον, καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν
διακοσμοῦντι ἀπέκτειναν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες 15
οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶονται, ὥσπερ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας
μὴ μίᾳ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἀλλὰ δυοῖν, καὶ τὸν
Πιτανάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, δὲ οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε.
οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. 20

[514]

But they
give a
truer view
than either

Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἂν τις 21
νομίζων μάλιστα ἂ διήλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὥς
ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασιν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες

μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ poets or
 5 προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὅντα ἀνεξέ- prose
 λεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ writers.
 μυθῶδες ἐκνευικηκότα, εὐρήσθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων, ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι, ἀποχρώντως.
 καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν No war so
 10 πολεμῶσι, τὸν παρόντα ἀεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων great as
 δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων this.
 σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων γεγενημένος αὐτῶν.

22 Καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ I have
 ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῇ τῶν λεχθέν- given the
 των διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν, ἐμοὶ τε ὦν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς general
 ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ sense of
 5 ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, what was
 ἐχομένην ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς said;
 λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται. τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν the exact
 τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἤξιωσα truth, as
 γράφειν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν, καὶ far as
 10 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου possible, of
 ἐπεξελθών. ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὐρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς what was
 ἔργοις ἑκάστοις οὐ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς done.
 ἐκατέρῃ τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχει. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν
 ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανέϊται· ὅσοι δὲ
 15 βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν
 μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιούτων καὶ
 παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως
 ἔξει. κτήμ' αὖτε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρήμα
 ἀκούειν ζύγκεται.

23 Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, The war
 καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυεῖν ναυμαχίαι καὶ πεζομαχίαι ταχέϊαν was longer
 τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα Persian than the
 προύβη, παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ war, and
 5 Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις accom-
 panied by

great
calamities.

τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρημώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων (εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλίσκόμεναι), οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. τὰ τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα 10 ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονεύμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὔχοι τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοί, 15 καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο. ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεϊς σπονδὰς αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν. διότι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς 20 αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαι ποτε ἐξ οὗ τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ 25 πολεμεῖν αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερόν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἰδ' ἦσαν ἐκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

Epi-
damnus
applies to
Corcyra for
help [435
or 434].

Ἐπίδαμνος ἔστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἴόνιον 24 κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. ταύτην ἀπώκισαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, οἰκιστὴς δ' ἐγένετο Φαλῖος Ἐρατοκλείδου Κορίνθιος γένος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως 5 κατακληθεῖς. ξυνώκισαν δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων τινὲς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος· στασιάζσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὥς λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων ἐφθάρησαν καὶ 10

τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα
 πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς
 δυνατοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἀπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήϊζοντο
 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν
 15 τῇ πόλει ὄντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἐπιέζοντο, πέμπουσιν ἐς
 τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις ὥς μητρόπολιν οὔσαν, δεόμενοι μὴ
 σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας
 ξυναλλάξει σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον κατα-
 λῦσαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἰκέται καθεζόμενοι ἐς τὸ Ἑρᾶιον ἐδέοντο.
 20 οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν ἰκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπράκτους
 ἀπέπεμψαν.

- 25 Γινόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι σδέμείαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας and, being
 τιμωρίαν οὔσαν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν, καὶ refused, to
 πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήρουντο εἰ παραδοίεν Corinth.
 Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὥς οἰκισταῖς καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ
 5 πειρῶντ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνείλε παρα-
 δοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι
 ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν,
 τὸν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα καὶ
 τὸ χρηστήριον δηλοῦντες, ἐδέοντό τε μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν
 10 διαφθειρομένους ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι. Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατὰ τε τὸ The Cor-
 δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἦσαν inthians
 ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ Κερκυραίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μίσει irritated by
 τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἄποικοι the in-
 σὺτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ solence of
 15 νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν the
 ἱερῶν ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς powerful
 καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον ὁμοία Coreya,
 τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ
 δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῶ δὲ καὶ πολὺν προέχειν ἔστιν ὅτε
 20 ἐπαιρόμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενολήκῃσιν τῆς

25. 17. καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες] Hünnekes conjectures καὶ ἐν
 χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες.

send a
colony and
garrison to
Epi-
damnus.

Κερκύρας κλέος ἔχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς—ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον
ἐξηρτύνοντο τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ
εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἤρχοντο πολεμεῖν—
πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοιτες οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον **26**
ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὠφελίαν, οἰκήτορά τε τὸν
βουλόμενον ἵεναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Λευκα-
δίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουρούς. ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ περὶ ἐς
Ἀπολλωνίαν, Κορινθίων οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, δέει τῶν Κερκυ- **5**
ραίων μὴ κωλύνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι.
Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἦσθοντο τοὺς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ
φρουροὺς ἦκοντας ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν τε ἀποικίαν
Κορινθίοις δεδομένην, ἐχαλέπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς
πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ ὕστερον ἐτέρῳ στόλῳ τοὺς τε **10**
φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον κατ' ἐπὶ ἥρειαν δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς (ἦλθον γὰρ
ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδες, τάφους τε
ἀποδεικνύτες καὶ ζυγγένειαν, ἣν προῖσχομενοὶ ἐδέοντο σφᾶς
κατάγειν) τοὺς τε φρουροὺς οὓς Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμψαν καὶ
τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀποπέμπειν. οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν **15**
ὑπήκουσαν. ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι
τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὥς κατάζοντες, καὶ
τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς προσλαβόντες. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὴν
πόλιν προείπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς
ξένους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὥς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι. **20**

The Cor-
cyraeans
blockade
Epi-
damnus.

The Cor-
inthians
prepare to
relieve and
colonize it,
and man
a fleet of
their own
and their
allies.

Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι (ἔστι δ' ἰσθμὸς
τὸ χωρίον) ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν, Κορίνθιοι δ', ὥς αὐτοῖς **27**
ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου ἦλθον ἄγγελοι ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται,
παρεσκευάζοντο στρατίαν, καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπί-
δαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον
ἵεναι· εἰ δέ τις τὸ παραντίκα μὲν μὴ ἐθέλοι ζυμπλεῖν, **5**
μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποικίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς
καταθέοντα Κορινθίας μένειν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείοντες
πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰργύριον καταβάλλοντες· ἐδεήθησαν δὲ
καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφᾶς ζυμπροπέμψειν, εἰ ἄρα

10 κωλύονται ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλεῖν· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο
αὐτοῖς ὀκτὼ ναυσὶ ζυμπλεῖν, καὶ Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων τέσ-
σαρσιν. καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐδεήθησαν, οἱ παρέσχον πέντε,
Ἑρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ Τροιζήνιοι δύο, Λευκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ
15 Ἀμπρακιῶται ὀκτώ. Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ᾗτησαν καὶ
Φλιασίους, Ἡλείους δὲ ναῦς τε κενὰς καὶ χρήματα. αὐτῶν
δὲ Κορινθίων νῆες παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι
ὀπλίται.

28 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευήν, The Cor-
ἐλθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυωνίων cypaeans
πρέσβειν, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευον Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν arbitration:
Ἐπιδάμνῳ φρουροὺς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν ὥς οὐ μετὸν they are
5 αὐτοῖς Ἐπιδάμνου. εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιούνται, δίκας ᾗθελον willing to
δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν ἀμφοτέροι blockading
ζυμβῶσιν ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν δικασθῇ εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν, Epidamnus
τούτους κρατεῖν. ᾗθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαρτυρεῖ if Corinth
ἐπιτρέψαι. πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἶναι ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐ- withdraws
10 τοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων, φίλους her gar-
ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον rison; or
ᾠφελίας ἔνεκα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἦν to suspend
τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπάγωσι, hostilities.
βουλεύσεσθαι· πρότερον δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν πολιορ-
15 κείσθαι αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον,
ἦν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσῃν
ταῦτα· ἐτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ
χώραν, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἡ δίκη γένηται.

29 Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις The Cor-
αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆες καὶ οἱ ζύμμαχοι παρήσαν, προπέμψαντες inthians
κήρυκα πρότερον πόλεμον προερούντα Κερκυραίοις, ἄραντες refuse.
ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίοις τε ὀπλίταις The Cor-
ἔβδωμήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίοις τε ὀπλίταις cypaeans
5 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπιδάμνον, Κερκυραίοις ἐναντία πολεμήσοντας· defeat
Actium, them off

28. 18. 31] Bracketed by Bekker, and perhaps not read by the writer of
a Scholium, but is found in all the MSS. and should probably be retained.

and on the
same day
force Epi-
damnus to
surrender.

ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν νεῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Πελλίχου καὶ
Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ Τιμάνθους, τοῦ δὲ
πεζοῦ Ἀρχέτιμος τε ὁ Εὐρυτίμου καὶ Ἰσαρχίδας ὁ Ἰσάρχου.
ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ τὸ
ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρα- 10
κικοῦ κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κήρυκά τε προέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς
ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἀπεροῦντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅμα
ἐπλήρουν, ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὥστε πλοῖμους εἶναι
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες. ὥς δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ τε ἀπήγ-
γειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον παρὰ τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆες 15
αὐτοῖς ἐπεπλήρωντο οὐσαι ὀγδοήκοντα (τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ
Ἐπίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκουν), ἀνταναγόμενοι καὶ παραταζάμενοι
ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ
ναῦς πεντέκαίδεκα διέφθειραν τῶν Κορινθίων. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦντας 20
παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογία ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ λυδας ἀποδό-
σθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆσαντας ἔχειν ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ.

The Corcy-
raean fleet
harasses
the allies
of Corinth
until
checked
by a
Corinthian
fleet.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες 30
ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμῃ τῆς Κερκύρας ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
οὓς ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆσαντες
εἶχον. ὕστερον δὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ζύμμαχοι
ἡσσημένοι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τῆς θαλάσσης 5
ἀπάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι,
καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐς Λευκάδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν τῆς γῆς
ἔτεμον, καὶ Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἡλείων ἐπίνειον ἐνέπρησαν, ὅτι
ναῦς καὶ χρήματα παρέσχον Κορινθίοις. τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν
πλείστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐκράτουν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ 10
τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἐφθειρον, μέχρι
οὐ Κορίνθιοι περιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ στρατιάν,
ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ζύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπ'
Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος φυλακῆς
ἐνεκα τῆς τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσαι σφίσι 15

30. 12. περιόντι τῷ θέρει] Read περιόντι τῷ θέρει with one good MS.

φίλιαί ἦσαν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμνῃ ναυσὶ τε καὶ πεζῷ. ἐπέπλεόν τε οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἑκάτεροι.

- 31 Τὸν δ' ἐναντὶν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλον, ἕκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μισθῷ πείθοντες. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κέρκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ (ἦσαν γὰρ οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἔνσπονδοι οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο ἑαυτοὺς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων) ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἔλθουσιν ὥς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχόντας γενέ-
10 σθαι καὶ ὠφελίαν τινὰ πειρᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐρίσκεισθαι. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυνθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ τὸ Ἀττικὸν προσγενόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ βούλονται. καταστάσης δὲ ἐκκλη-
15 σίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.

- 32 “ Δίκαιον ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προϋφειλομένης ἦκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἐπικουρίας ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν δεησομένους ἀναδιδᾶναι πρῶτον, μάλιστα μὲν ὥς καὶ ξύμφορα δέονται, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι
5 γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἔπειτα δὲ ὥς καὶ τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν· εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ἦν ἀτυχῶσιν. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἐχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς. τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν
10 χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον. ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἐκούσιον γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἦκομεν, καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἐρήμοι δι' αὐτὸ

καθέσταμεν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον
 σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας 15
 γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη.
 τὴν μὲν οὖν γενομένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ἀπε-
 σάμεθα Κορινθίους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ Πελο-
 ποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὤρμηται καὶ
 ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι δρῶμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περι- 20
 γενέσθαι, καὶ ἅμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς,
 ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι, καὶ
 ξυγγνώμῃ εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ τῇ
 πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία τολμῶμεν.

Yet we
 have much
 to offer:
 a good
 cause,
 eternal
 gratitude,
 a large
 navy.

Γενήσεται δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ ξυntychia κατὰ 33
 πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις
 καὶ οὐχ ἑτέροισι βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε,
 ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας δεξάμενοι ὥς ἂν
 μάλιστα μετ' ἀειμνήστου μαρτυροῦ τὴν χάριν καταθεῖσθε, 5
 ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλείστον. καὶ
 σκέψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς τοῖς πολεμίοις
 λυπηροτέρα, εἰ ἢν ὑμεῖς ἂν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ
 χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὕτη πά-
 ρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα 10
 ἑαυτήν, καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετήν,
 οἷς δ' ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἰσχύν· ἃ ἐν τῷ
 παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγοις δὴ ἅμα πάντα ξυνέβη, καὶ ὀλίγοι ξυμ-
 μαχίας δεόμενοι οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον
 οὐχ ἡσσαν διδόντες ἢ ληψόμενοι παραγίγνονται. 15

You are
 in danger
 yourselves
 from Lace-
 daemon:
 through us
 the Cor-
 inthians

Τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν περ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἴμεν, εἰ τις
 ὑμῶν μὴ οἶται ἔσεσθαι, γνώμης ἁμαρτάνει καὶ οὐκ αἰσθά-
 νεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμῶντι
 καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς
 ὄντας καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν 20

33. 5. καταθεῖσθε] is Bekker's conjecture. MSS. καταθήσθε or κατά-
 θησθε. Read καταθήσθε (Krüger and others).

ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθῃ κατ' αὐτῶν μετ' ἀλλήλων (who in-
 στώμεν, μηδὲ δυοῖν φθᾶσαι ἀμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ ^{stigate} them) are
 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι. ἡμέτερον δ' αὖ ἔργον προτε- ^{attacking}
 ρῆσαι, τῶν μὲν διδόντων ὑμῶν δὲ δεξαμένων τὴν ^{you.} ζυμμαχίαν,

25 καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν.

34 Ἦν δὲ λέγωσιν ὥς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους ἀποίκους It may be
 ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ὥς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πάσχ- ^{said that}
 οῦσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριούται ^{'Corinth}
 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίοι τοῖς λειπομένοις ^{is our}
 5 εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. ὥς δὲ ἡδίκουν, σαφές ἐστιν ^{mother-} προκλη- ^{city.'} But
 θέτες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ^{that gives}
 ἴσῳ ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν. καὶ ὑμῖν ἔστω ^{her no} domineer
 τι τεκμήριον ἂν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρῶσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτῃ ^{over us;}
 τε μὴ παράγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, δεομένοις τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ^{and, if she}
 10 ὑπουργεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρί- ^{had not}
 ζεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοῖη. ^{been in} the wrong,
^{she would}
^{have}

35 Λύσετε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς δεχόμενοι ^{accepted}
 ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων ὄντας ^{arbitration.} ζυμμάχους· εἰρηται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, ^{As for 'the}
 τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ζυμμαχεῖ, ἐξεῖναι ^{Peace,' it}
 παρ' ὁποτέρους ἂν ἀρέσκηται ἐλθεῖν. καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε ^{allows neu-}
 5 μὲν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ ^{trals like}
 προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ^{to join}
 ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ζυμ- ^{either side.}
 μαχίας εἰρξουσὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ὠφελίας, εἴτα ^{And you}
 ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἂν δεόμεθα. πολὺν ^{have al-}
 10 δὲ ἐν πλείονι αἰτία ἡμεῖς μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν· ἡμᾶς ^{ready}
 μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας ἀπώσσεσθε, ^{allowed}
 τῶνδε δὲ οὐχ ὅπως κωλυταὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐπιόντων ^{Corinth}
 γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς δύναμιν ^{to enlist}
 15 προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε ἢν οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἢ κἀκέλων ^{recruits}
 κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους, ἢ καὶ ἡμῖν πέμ- ^{among}
 πειν καθ' ὃ τι ἂν πεισθῇτε ὠφελίαν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ^{your sub-}
 προφανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν. ^{jects: help}
^{neither or}
^{both.}

It is your interest to help us, and ours to be faithful allies.

Πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπέπομεν, τὰ ζυμφέρουτα ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἱ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἦσαν, ὅπερ σαφειστάτη πίστις, καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς ἀλλ' ἱκανοὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς ζυμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὁμοία ἢ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἔαν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅστις ἐχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν.

25

The enemy will not ask whether you are scrupulous, but whether you are strong. War is certain.

Καὶ ὅψι τάδε ζυμφέρουτα μὲν δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, φοβεῖται 36 δὲ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ πειθόμενος τὰς σπουδὰς λύσῃ, γνῶτω τὸ μὲν δεδιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὄν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἅμα οὐ περὶ τῆς 5 Κερκύρας νῦν τὸ πλεόν ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν βουλευόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς προνοῶν ὅταν ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν ἐνδοιάξῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν δ μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν οἰκειοῦνται τε καὶ πολεμοῦνται. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς 10 παράπλου κείται, ὥστε μήτε ἐκεῖθεν ναυτικὸν ἔασαι Πελοποννησίοις ἐπελθεῖν τό τε ἐνθένδε πρὸς τὰκεῖ παραπέμψαι, καὶ ἐς τὰλλα ζυμφορώτατόν ἐστιν.

Corcyra is the key of Italy and Sicily.

'Shall our fleet be yours or the enemies?' that is the whole point.

Βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ, τοῖς τε ζύμπασιν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε, τρία μὲν ὄντα 15 λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων· τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταῦτόν ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε, δεξάμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις 20 ἀγωνίζεσθαι." τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι εἶπον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μετ' αὐτοὺς τοιάδε.

Corinthian Speech.

The Corcyraeans

"Ἀναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τῶνδε οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῦ δέξα- 37 σθαι σφᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε

- ἀδικούμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας shun all-
 πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον ances, lest
 λόγον ἔναι, ἵνα τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε ἀξίωσιν ἀσφαλέστεροι· their mean-
 προειδῆτε καὶ τὴν τῶνδε χρεῖαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπόσσηθε. ness should
 φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι· come to
 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν, ξύμμαχόν light.
 τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰδικήματα οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν,
 οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅμα, They ill-
 αὐτάρκη θέσιν κειμένη, παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὧν βλά- treat
 πτουσί τινα μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ weather-
 ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους bound
 ἀνάγκη καταίρουτας δεχέσθαι. visitors, and fear no
 15 ἄσπονδον οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν ἐτέροις προβέβληνται, reprisals
 ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατ- because
 ῶσι βιάζονται, οὗ δ' ἂν λάθωσι πλεόν ἔχωσιν, ἣν δέ πού they do
 τι προσλάβωσιν ἀναισχυντώσιν. καίτοι εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες not visit
 ὥσπερ φασὶν ἀγαθοί, ὅσῳ ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, others.
 20 τοσῶδε φανερωτέραν ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν διδοῦσι καὶ
 δεχομένοις τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι.
- 38 Ἄλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοῦδε εἰσὶν, 'We are
 ἀποικοὶ δ' ὄντες ἀφεστᾶσί τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσι, attacking
 λέγοντες ὥς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν ἐκπεμφθείησαν. our own
 ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβρίζεσθαι colony.'
 5 κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα But they
 θαυμάζεσθαι. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ have
 μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι εἰ τοῖς insulted
 πλέοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ' ἂν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς their own
 ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερ- mother-
 10 ὄντως τι ἀδικούμενοι. καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, city:—
 τοῖσδε μὲν εἰζαί τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὀργῇ, ἡμῖν δ' αἰσχροὺς βιάσασθαι
 τὴν τούτων μετριότητα· ὕβρει δὲ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ πλοῦτον above all
 πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασιν καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν by taking
Epidamnus.

οὖσαν κακουμένην μὲν οὐ προσεποιούντο, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν
ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ἐλόντες βίᾳ ἔχουσιν.

15

'They offered arbitration.' But they blockaded Epidamnus first. They did not offer you their alliance till they were in danger.

Καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκη πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι, ἣν γε οὐ 39
τὸν προύχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλούμενον λέγειν
τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τὰ τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς
λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα. οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν
πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ πε- 5
ριόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο. καὶ
δεῦρο ἡκούσιν οὐ τὰ κεῖ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιούντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν καὶ δια-
φόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς· οὐς χρῆν, ὅτε ἀσφα-
λέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν 10
ἡδικήμεθα οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσιν, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε
δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαβόντες τῆς ὀφελείας νῦν
μεταδώσετε, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ'
ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύνα-
μιν κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν.

15

'Neutrals may join either league.' Yes, if they can do so without betraying their founders, and dragging their new friends into war.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων 40
ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἷδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσὶ, δεδήλωται
ὥς δ' οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε, μαθεῖν χρή. εἰ γὰρ
εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὀποτέρους τις τῶν
ἀγράφων πόλεων βούλεται ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἐτέρων 5
ιοῦσιν ἢ ξυνθήκῃ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστε-
ρῶν ἀσφαλείας δέεται, καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ
σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσῃ· δ' νῦν ὑμεῖς
μὴ πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε ἄν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε μόνον ἐπί-
κουροι ἂν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ ἐνσπῶνδων πολέμοι· 10
ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἴτε μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἀνευ ὑμῶν
τούτους.

39. 15. Some, mostly inferior, MSS. add (after κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν) ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων ἀμετόχους οὕτως τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοιναίνειν. The words are obscure in construction and unimportant to the sense.

- Καίτοι δίκαιοι γ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκποδῶν στήναι ἀμφο-
 τέροις, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸυναντίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν ἵεσθαι
 15 (Κορινθίοις μὲν γε ἔνσπονδοί ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ δι'
 ἀνακωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε), καὶ τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι But do
 ὥστε τοὺς ἐτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς not help
 Σαμίων ἀποστάντων ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν We voted
 ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμένων εἰ χρή αὐτοῖς against
 20 ἀμύνειν, φανερώς δὲ ἀντείπομεν τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐνμάχους helping
 αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρῶντας δεχό- Samos
 μενοι τιμωρήσετε, φανέται καὶ ἃ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω [440].
 ἡμῖν πρόσσεισι, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' And some
 ἡμῖν θήσετε. of your
 41 Δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν ἱκανὰ κατὰ We have
 τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους, παραίνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος claims on
 τοιάνδε, ἣν οὐκ ἔχθροί ὄντες ὥστε βλάπτειν, οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι your good
 ὥστ' ἐπιχρῆσθαι, ἀντιδοθῆναι ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φάμεν feeling too.
 5 χρῆναι. νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές ποτε πρὸς τὸν Aegina
 Αἰγινητῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι [about 491
 ναῦς ἐλάβετε· καὶ ἡ εὐεργεσία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ or 489] as
 δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίου αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθήσαι, παρέσχεον well as
 ὑμῖν Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ἐπικράτησιν Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐν in the
 10 καιροῖς τοιούτοις ἐγένετο οἷς μάλιστα ἀνθρώποι ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς critical
 τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντες τῶν πάντων ἀπερίοπτοί εἰσι παρὰ τὸ occasions.
 νικᾶν· φίλον τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἦν καὶ
 πρότερον ἐχθρὸς ἦ, πολέμιόν τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα, ἦν καὶ τύχη
 φίλος ὢν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεία χεῖρον τίθενται φιλονεικίας
 15 ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα.
 42 Ὦν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου
 αὐτὰ μαθὼν ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ
 νομίση δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ξύμφορα δέ, εἰ πολεμήσει,
 ἄλλα εἶναι. τό τε γὰρ ξυμφέρουν ἐν ᾧ ἂν τις ἐλάχιστα The great
 5 ἁμαρτάνῃ μάλιστα ἔπεται, καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου .ᾧ war may
 φοβούμεντες ὑμᾶς Κερκυραῖοι κελεύουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐν ἀφανεί never
 come: do

not incur
our certain
enmity :
we have
not for-
gotten
Megara.

ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανεράν ἐχθραν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας σῶφρον ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον· ἡ γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχουσα, 10 καὶ ἐλάσσων ἢ, δύναται μείζον ἐγκλημα λῦσαι. μηδ' ὅτι ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδόσῃ, τούτῳ ἐφέλκεσθε· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐχυρωτέρα δύναμις ἢ τῷ ἀντίκα φανερῷ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ κινδύνων τὸ πλέον ἔχειν.

15

Ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ 43 προεῖπομεν, τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολάζειν, νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιούμεν κομίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ ὠφεληθέντας τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἡμᾶς βλάψαι. τὸ δ' ἴσον ἀνταπώδοτε, γνόντες τοῦτον ἐκείνῳ εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν 5 ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε ὑπουργῶν φίλος μάλιστα καὶ ὁ ἀντιστὰς ἐχθρὸς. καὶ Κερκυραίους τούσδε μήτε ξυμμάχους δέχεσθε βίᾳ ἡμῶν μήτε ἀμύνετε αὐτοῖς ἀδικούσιν. καὶ τότε ποιούντες τὰ προσήκοντά τε δράσετε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα βουλευσέσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς." τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

10

The Athenians make a merely defensive alliance with Corcyra.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δις 44 ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ οὐχ ἦσσαν τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξατο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίοις ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν (εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον 5 σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ξυμπλεῖν, ἐλύνοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους σπονδαί), ἐπιμαχίαν δ' ἐποιήσαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, ἂν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἦῃ ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὥς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο 10 μὴ προσέσθαι Κορινθίοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν τοσοῦτον, ξυγκρούειν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ἀσθενεστέροις οὔσιν, ἦν τι δέῃ, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται. ἅμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας

15 καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῃ
κεῖσθαι.

45 Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Κερκυραίους προσ- Ten ships
δέξαντο, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπελθόντων οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον sent [433],
δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν βοηθοὺς· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν with orders
Λακεδαιμόνιος τε ὁ Κίμωνος καὶ Διοτίμος ὁ Στρομβίχου καὶ not to fight
5 Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους. προείπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν unless
Κορινθίοις, ἣν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀπο- Corcyra is
βαίνειν, ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων· οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν directly
κατὰ δύναμιν. προείπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύνειν ἔνεκα τὰς attacked.
σπονδάς.

46 Αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, οἱ δὲ A great
Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Corinthian
Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. ἦσαν δὲ Ἡλείων fleet sails
μὲν δέκα, Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων δέκα, Ἀμ- to Chime-
5 πρακιωτῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακτορίων μία, αὐτῶν rium; and
δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνευήκοντα· στρατηγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν μὲν the Corcy-
καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ Ξενοκλείδης ὁ fleet to
Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος αὐτός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσέμιξαν τῇ κατὰ Sybota
Κέρκυραν ἡπείρῳ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες, ὁρμίζονται ἐς [433 or
432].

10 Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς.

Ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κείται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
ἐν τῇ Ἑλαιατίδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη. ἔξεισι δὲ παρ'
αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρω-
τίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ
15 τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός, ὁρίζων
τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ
Χειμέριον.

47 . Οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς ἡπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονται τε
καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο, οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι ὥς ᾗσθοντο
αὐτοὺς προσπλέοντας, πληρώσαντες δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς,
ὧν ἦρχε Μεικιάδης καὶ Αἰσιμίδης καὶ Εὐρύβατος, ἐστρατοπε-
5 δεύσαντο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων αἱ καλοῦνται Σύβοτα· καὶ αἱ

Ἄττικαὶ δέκα παρήσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Λευκίμνῃ αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἦν καὶ Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται βεβροθηκότες. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων παραβεβροθηκότες· οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἡπειρώται ἀεὶ ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσιν.

10

Battle of
Sybota
[433 or
432].

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκευάστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, λαβόντες τριῶν 48 ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνήγοντο ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χειμερίου νυκτός, καὶ ἅμα ἔφ' πλείοντες καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλεούσας. ὥς δὲ κατεῖδον ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Κερ- 5 κυραίων αἱ Ἄττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπέειχον τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ὧν ἤρχε τριῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου εἰς. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο, Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακίωτιδες, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ζύμμαχοι ὥς ἕκαστοι 10 εὐώνυμον δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖς ἀριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον.

No man-
oeuvres :
they
boarded
and fought
on the
decks as if
on land.

Ἐνυμίζαντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέροις ἦρθη, ἐναν- 49 μάχουν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφοτέρω ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων, πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρότερον ἔτι παρεσκευασμένοι. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερὰ, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχίᾳ δὲ τὸ 5 πλεόν προσφερὲς οὖσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσβάλλοιεν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥαδίως ἀπελύοντο ὑπὸ τε πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπλίταις ἐς τὴν νίκην, οἱ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο ἡσυχάζουσῶν τῶν νεῶν· διέκπλοι δ' οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ τὸ 10 πλεόν ἐνανυμάχουν ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ. πανταχῇ μὲν οὖν πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ ταραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Ἄττικαὶ νῆες παραγινόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυραίοις εἴ πῃ πιέζοντο, φόβον μὲν παρείχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. μά- 15

λιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει· οἱ γὰρ The Cor-
 Κερκυραῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι καὶ καταδιώ- inthian
 ξαντες σποράδας ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου allies
 πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησάν τε τὰς σκηναὶς defeated.
 20 ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσθῶντό τε
 καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν· ἢ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, The Cor-
 ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι inthians
 νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν. completely
 25 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους μᾶλλον victorious.
 ἤδη ἀπροφασίστως ἐπεκούρουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι The Athe-
 ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο λαμ- nians
 πρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὴ ἔργου πᾶς εἶχετο driven to
 ἤδη καὶ διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ζυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο engage
 30 ἀνάγκης ὥστε ἐπιχειρήσαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ the Cor-
 Ἀθηναίους. inthians.

50 Τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη μὲν οὐχ
 εἰσκον ἀναδόμενοι τῶν νεῶν ἃς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ζω-
 γρεῖν, τοὺς τε αὐτῶν φίλους, οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι ἦσσαν οἱ
 5 ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρῳ, ἀγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν
 οὐσῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν,
 ἐπειδὴ ζυνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥαδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν
 ἐποιοῦντο ὁποῖοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο· ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη
 Ἑλλησι πρὸς Ἑλληνας νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ
 10 ἐαυτῆς γαίνηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Κερκυραίους The Cor-
 οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐς τὴν γῆν, πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς inthians,
 τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν after se-
 ὥστε προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἱ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν curing their
 στρατὸς τῶν βαρβάρων προσεβεβηθήκει· ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύ- dead, come
 15 βοτα τῆς Θεσπρωτικῆς λιμῆν ἐρήμος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες on again,
 αὐθις ἀθροισθέντες ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κερκυραίοις. οἱ δὲ ταῖς and are
 πλοίοις καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν καὶ about to
 force a
 landing :—

αὐτοὶ ἀντέπλεον, δέισαντες μὴ ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν πειρώσιν ἀποβαίνειν.

when 20
more
Athenian
ships come
up, and
the Cor-
inthians
retire.

Ἦδη δὲ ἦν ὁψὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιώνιστο αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, 20 καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλεύσας· ὥς ὕστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθοὺς ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέισαντες ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ αἱ σφέτεραι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν ὦσιν. ταύτας οὖν προῖδόντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ 51 ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι οὐχ ὅσας ἐώρων ἀλλὰ πλείους ὑπανεχώρουν. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις (ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς) οὐχ ἐωρώντο, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους πρύμναν κρουομένους, πρὶν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον 5 ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσιν. τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν (ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη) καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτραπόμενοι τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποιήσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. τοῖς Κερκυραίοις δὲ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμνῃ αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες αἱ 10 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐται, ὧν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου, διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ ὤφθησαν. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι (ἦν γὰρ νύξ) ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ πολέμια ὦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ 15 ὥρμισαντο.

The Cor-
cyraeans
and Athe-
nians offer
them
battle.

Τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμεναι αἱ τε Ἀττικάι τριάκοντα 52 νῆες καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὅσαι πλοῖμοι ἦσαν ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὥρμουν, βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι εἰ ναυμαχήσουσιν. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους ἡσύχαζον, 5 ναυμαχίας οὐ διανοούμενοι ἄρχειν ἐκόντες, ὀρώντες προσγεγενημένας τε ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ σφίσι πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα, αἰχμαλώτων τε περὶ φυλακῆς

51. 6. ἀνεχώρουν (ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη) καί], Bekker ἀνεχώρουν· ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καί]



οὓς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχον, καὶ ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὔσαν τῶν νεῶν
 10 ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ. τοῦ δὲ οἴκαδε πλοῦ μᾶλλον διεσκόπουν
 ὅπῃ κομισθῆσονται, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίσαντες λε-
 λύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς διότι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, οὐκ ἐῴσι σφᾶς
 ἀποπλεῖν.

53 Ἐδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐμβιβάσαντας The Cor-
 ἄνευ κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πείραν inthians
 ποιήσασθαι. πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιάδε. “ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ ascertain
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύνοντες that they
 5 ἡμῶν γὰρ πολέμους τοὺς ἡμετέρους τιμωρουμένοις ἐμποδῶν unmo-
 ἴστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. εἰ δ’ ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστὶ κωλύειν tested.
 τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ ἄλλοσε εἴ ποι βουλόμεθα πλεῖν,
 καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύετε, ἡμᾶς τούσδε λαβόντες πρῶτον χρή-
 σασθε ὥς πολέμοις.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ
 10 Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν, ἀνεβόησεν
 εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
 τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο. “οὔτε ἄρχομεν πόλεμον, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Πελοποννήσιοι, οὔτε τὰς σπονδὰς λύομεν, Κερκυραῖοις δὲ
 τοῖσδε ξυμμάχοις οὔσι βοηθοὶ ἦλθομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοσε
 15 ποὶ βούλεσθε πλεῖν, οὐ κωλύομεν· εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλεν-
 σείσθε ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, οὐ περιουσίμεθα κατὰ
 τὸ δυνατόν.”

54 Τοιαῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι Both sides
 τὸν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ’ οἴκου παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τροπαῖον claim
 ἔστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Συβότοις· οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι the victory.
 τὰ τε ναύαγια καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνείλυντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐξενεχ-
 5 θέντα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ βροῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς γενόμενος τῆς νυκτὸς
 διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ, καὶ τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν ἐν
 τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοις ὥς νενικηκότες. γνώμῃ δὲ
 ἐκάτεροι τοιᾶδε τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο. Κορίνθιοι μὲν
 κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτὸς ὥστε καὶ ναύαγια
 10 πλείστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσκομίσασθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες
 αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων, ναῦς τε καταδύσαντες

περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔστησαν τροπαῖον· Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναῦς μάλιστα διαφθείραντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναύαγια καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε προτεραίᾳ πρύμναν κρουόμενοι ὑπεχώ- 15 ρησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἀντέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβότων, διὰ ταῦτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν.

The Corinthians on their way home take Anactorium. Why the Corcyraean prisoners were well treated at Corinth.

Οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι νικᾶν ἤξιον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀποπλέ- 55 οντες ἐπ' οἴκου Ἀνακτόριον, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, εἶλον ἀπάτη (ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκεῖνων) καὶ καταστήσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰκήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὀκτακο- 5 σίους μὲν οἱ ἦσαν δοῦλοι ἀπέδοντο, πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίους δῆσαντες ἐφύλασσον καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσειαν· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶτοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ 10 τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ αὐτῆς· αἰτία δὲ αὕτη πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.

Athens takes steps to secure her tributary Potidaea, a colony of Corinth [433 or 432].

Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι Ἀθη- 56 ναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων πρᾶσσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται αὐτούς, ὑποτοπήσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ποτιδαίτας, οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης, Κορινθίων ἀποί- 5 κους, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρου ὑποτελεῖς, ἐκέλευον τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι, τοὺς τε ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ δέχεσθαι οὓς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ὑπὸ τε Περδίκκου πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τοὺς τε ἄλλους 10 τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης ξυναποστήσωσι ξυμμάχους. ταῦτα δὲ 57 πρὸς τοὺς Ποτιδαίτας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεσκευάζοντο εὐ-

[illegible]

22° Long. E. of Greenwich. 30'
Forbes' Thucydides, Book I.

- θὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρα ναυμαχίαν οἳ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι
 φανερώς ἤδη διάφοροι ἦσαν, Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Perdiccas,
 5 Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐπεπολέμωτο, ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ having a
 φίλος ὢν. ἐπολεμώθη δὲ ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ quarrel
 καὶ Δέρδῳ κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναντιούμενοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Athens,
 ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησαντο. δεδιώς τε ἐπρασσεν ἐς τε τὴν incites
 Λακεδαίμονα πέμπων ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται αὐτοῖς πρὸς Sparta and
 10 Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Corinth to
 Ποτιδαίας ἔνεκα ἀποστάσεως· προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς war, and
 ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοιτταίοις ξυναποστήναι, νομί- urges Po-
 ζων, εἰ ξύμμαχα ταῦτα ἔχοι ὅμορα ὄντα τὰ χωρία, ῥῶον ἂν tidaea to
 τὸν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὢν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθό- revolt.
 15 μνοι καὶ βουλόμενοι προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς
 ἀποστάσεις (ἔτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἀποστέλλοντες καὶ
 χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκο-
 μήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγούντος) ἐπιστέλλουσι τοῖς
 ἄρχουσι τῶν νεῶν Ποτιδαιατῶν τε ὁμήρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ
 20 τείχος καθελεῖν, τῶν τε πλησίον πόλεων φυλακὴν ἔχειν
 ὅπως μὴ ἀποστήσονται.
 58 Ποτιδαῖαται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσ- Archestra-
 βεις, εἰ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν μηδέν, tus sent
 ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων, against
 [ἐπρασσον] ὅπως ἐτοιμάσαιντο τιμωρίαν, ἣν δέη, ἐπειδὴ Perdiccas
 5 ἐκ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν ἤβρυντο and Po-
 ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφῶς tidaea.
 ὁμοίως ἐπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο Sparta pro-
 αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐπὶ Ποτιδαίαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν mises an
 ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται μετὰ invasion
 10 Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοιτταίων κοινῇ ξυνομόσαντες. καὶ Περδίκ- of Attica
if Potidaea
is attacked.
Potidaea
revolts.

57. 18. μετ' ἄλλων δέκα] The number cannot be right. Krüger conjectures μετ' ἄλλων τεσσάρων.

58. 4. [ἐπρασσον] is in all the MSS., but complicates the construction. Either omit it, or put ἐλθόντες δὲ . . . ἣν δέη in a parenthesis.

κας πείθει Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας
καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπον μίαν τε πόλιν
ταύτην ἰσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τ' ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε
νέμεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ᾗ. καὶ οἱ μὲν 15
ἀνψκίζοντό τε καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον
παρεσκευάζοντο· αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφι- 59
κνοῦνται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾷκης, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Ποτί-
δαιαν καὶ τὰλλα ἀφεστηκότα. νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ
ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρὸς τε Περδίκκην πολεμεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνά-
μει καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακε- 5
δονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐξεπέμποντο, καὶ κατα-
στάντες ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Δέρδου ἀδελφῶν
ἀνωθεν στρατιᾷ ἐσβεβληκότων.

Arche-
stratus
makes war
first on
Perdiccas.

Aristeus of
Corinth
comes to
the help of
Potidaea.

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἀφεστηκυίας καὶ 60
τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν, δεδιότες περὶ
τῇ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκίῳ τὸν κίνδυνον ἡγούμενοι πέμπουσιν
ἑαυτῶν τε ἐθελοντὰς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων μισθῷ
πείσαντες ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς πάντας ὀπλίτας καὶ 5
ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. ἐστρατήγει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ
Ἀδεμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλείστοι
ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο· ἦν γὰρ τοῖς
Ποτιδαίαιταις αἰεὶ ποτε ἐπιτήδειος. καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τεσσα-
ρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θρᾷκης ἢ Ποτίδαια ἀπέστη. 10

Callias
joins
Arche-
stratus.
Their com-
bined
force
patches up
a peace
with
Perdiccas,
(who im-
mediately
breaks it),

Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων 61
ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσιν καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὥς ᾗσθοντο καὶ τοὺς μετ'
Ἀριστεῶς ἐπιπαρόντας, δισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίτας καὶ τεσ-
σαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν Καλ-
λιάδου πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν, οἱ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακε- 5
δονίαν πρῶτον καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους
Θέρμην ἄρτι ἡρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν πολιορκοῦντας. προσκαθ-
εζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἔπειτα
δὲ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν

61. 3. [ἐπιπαρόντας] Better read ἐπιπαρόντας, Ullrich's conjecture.

10 *Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν ἡ Ποτιδαία καὶ ὁ Ἄρισ-* and
τεὺς παρεληλυθώς, ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ approaches
ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κἀκείθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες καὶ πειρά- Potidaea.
σαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἐλόντες ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ
γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτιδαίαν, τρισχιλίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν,
 15 *χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων πολλοῖς, ἵππευσι δ' ἐξακοσίοις*
Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Πausanίου· ἅμα δὲ
σῆς παρέπλεον ἐβδομήκοντα. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες
τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνα καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.

62 *Ποτιδαῖαι δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστέως Πελοποννήσιοι* Battle of
προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς Potidaea :
᾽Ολύνθῳ ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπε- the Athe-
ποίητο. στρατηγὸν μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ζύμμαχοι nians vic-
ἤρηντο Ἀριστεά, τῆς δὲ ἵππου Περδίκκαν· ἀπέστη γὰρ torious on
εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοῖς Ποτιδαῖα- one wing,
ταις, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα. ἦν δὲ ἡ Aristeus
γνώμη τοῦ Ἀριστέως τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον on the
ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἣν ἐπίωσιν, other. He
καὶ Χαλκιδέας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν makes his
παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἵππων ἐν ᾽Ολύνθῳ μένειν, καὶ way into
ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρῶσιν, κατὰ νότον βοηθοῦν- Potidaea
τας ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Καλλίας δ' αὖ through
ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ ξυνάρχοντες τοὺς μὲν the sea.
 15 *Μακεδόνας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ ᾽Ολύνθου*
ἀποπέμπουσιν, ὅπως εἰργασί τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ
δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτιδαίαν.
καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους
παρασκευαζομένους ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο καὶ αὐτοί,
 20 *καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ξυνέμισγον. καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ*
Ἀριστέως κέρας, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ἐκείνον ἦσαν Κορινθίων τε

61. 12. *κἀκείθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες*] Pluygers conjectures *κἀκείθεν ἐπὶ*
στρέψαν. But the whole passage is full of difficulties.

62. 2. *πρὸς ᾽Ολύνθῳ*] Better read *πρὸς ᾽Ολύνθου* with two good MSS.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λογάδες, ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐπέξ-
 ἤλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολὺ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον τῶν
 τε Ποτιδαϊατῶν καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡσούτο ὑπὸ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγεν. ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ 63
 Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, ὡς ὄρᾳ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα
 ἡσσημένον, ἠγόρησε μὲν ὅποτέρῳσε διακινδυνεύσῃ χωρήσας,
 ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ξυ-
 αγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον δρόμῳ 5
 βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, καὶ παρήλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν
 διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλίγους μὲν
 τινὰς ἀποβαλὼν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας.

The troops
at Olyn-
thus, who
were to
have taken
the
Athenians
in the rear,
do not fight.

Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλύνθου τοῖς Ποτιδαϊαταῖς βοηθοὶ (ἀπέχει
 δὲ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους καὶ ἔστι καταφανές), ὡς ἡ 10
 μάχη ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη, βραχὺ μὲν τι προήλθον
 ὡς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἱππῆς ἀντιπαρετάξαντο
 ὡς κωλύουσιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατεσπάρσθη, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς
 τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππῆς 15
 δ' οὐδετέροις παρεγένοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον
 ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέ-
 δοσαν τοῖς Ποτιδαϊαταῖς· ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτιδαϊατῶν μὲν καὶ
 τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δ'
 αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός. 20

Potidaea
blockaded.

Τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτει- 64
 χίσαντες ἐφρούρουν. τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐν τε τῷ ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν καὶ ἐς
 τὴν Παλλήνην διαβάντες τειχίζειν, δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν οἱ
 Ποτιδαϊαταὶ καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι γιγνομένοις δίχα ἐπιθῶνται. 5
 καὶ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην
 ἀτείχιστον οὔσαν, χρόνῳ ὕστερον πέμπουσιν ἐξακοσίους καὶ
 χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἑαυτῶν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίου στρα-
 τηγόν· ὃς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ Ἀφύτιος

Arrival of
1600 fresh
troops
under
Phormio.

63. 4. δ' οὖν] is Poppo's conjecture: MSS. γοῦν.

10 ὁρμώμενος προσήγαγε τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ βραχὺ προΐων καὶ κείρων ἅμα τὴν γῆν, ὥς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπεξῆει ἐς μάχην, ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τείχος. καὶ οὕτως ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἡ Ποτιδαία ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐφορμούσαις.

65 Ἀριστεὺς δὲ ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐλπὶδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχων σωτηρίας ἦν μή τι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἢ ἄλλο παράλογον γίνηται, ξυμβούλευε μὲν πλὴν πεντακοσίων ἀνεμονηρήσασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεόν ὁ σίτος ἀντι-
5 ισχῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελε τῶν μενόντων εἶναι· ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ^{Aristeus gets out, and carries} βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐξωθεν ^{on the campaign in Chalcidice.} ἔξει ὥς ἄριστα, ἐκπλουν ποιεῖται λαθὼν τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ παραμένων ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσι τὰ τε ἄλλα ξυνεπολέμει καὶ Ἑρμυλίων λοχήσας πρὸς τῇ πόλει πολλοὺς δι-
10 ἐφθειρεν, ἔς τε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐπρασσεῖν ὅπῃ ὠφέλεια τις γενήσεται. μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας τὴν ἀποτείχισιν Φορμίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν ἐδήλου, καὶ ἔστιν ἂ καὶ πολίσματα εἶλεν.

66 Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις αἰτίαι μὲν αὐταὶ ^{So far, war between Athens and Corinth only.} προσγεγέννητο ἐς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις ὅτι τὴν Ποτιδαίαν ἑαυτῶν οὖσαν ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄνδρας Κορινθίων τε καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντας ἐπολιόρκουν, τοῖς δ' Ἀθη-
5 ναίοις ἐς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὅτι ἑαυτῶν τε πόλιν ξυμμαχίδα καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῇ ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες σφίσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐμάχοντο μετὰ Ποτιδαιατῶν· οὐ μέντοι ὁ γε πόλεμός πω ξυνερρώγει, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνακωχὴ ἦν· ἰδίᾳ

67 γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Κορινθιοὶ ἐπραξαν. ^{The Corinthians summon the allies to Sparta, and with the Aeginetans denounce} πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας σὺν ἡσύχαζον, ἀνδρῶν τε σφίσιν ἐνόντων καὶ ἅμα περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ δεδιότες· παρεκάλουν τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα τοὺς ξυμμάχους, καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθη-
5 ναίων ὅτι σπονδὰς τε λελυκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελο-

65. 9. Ἑρμυλίων] Or, better, Ξερμυλίων.

66. 2. προσγεγέννητο] Or προεγεγέννητο.

the Athenians.
The Lacedaemonian assembly called.
The Megarians and others speak before it: and last the Corinthians.

πόννησον. Αἰγινήται τε φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι, δεδιότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνήγον τὸν πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσπαρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων τε καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἡδίκησθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθη- 10 ναίων, ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες τὸν εἰωθότα λέγειν ἐκέλευον. καὶ ἄλλοι τε παριόντες ἐγκλήματα ἐποι- ούντο ὥς ἕκαστοι καὶ Μεγαρήs, δηλοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα, μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε εἰργεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆs Ἀττικῆs ἀγορᾶs παρὰ τὰς 15 σπονδάς. παρελθόντες δὲ τελευταῖοι Κορίνθιοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσαντες πρῶτον παροξύναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεῖπον τοιάδε.

You have neglected our warnings till almost too late. The Athenians, in preparation for a war, have got at Corcyra, and are blockading Potidaea.

“Τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶς ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῆs καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς 68 πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἣν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησιν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχετε, ἀμαθίᾳ δὲ πλέονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα χρήσθε. πολλάκις γὰρ προαγορευόντων ἡμῶν ἃ ἐμέλλομεν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων 5 βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἐκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε ὥς ἕνεκα τῶν αὐτοῖs ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων λέγουσιν· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρακαλέσατε, ἐν οἷs προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα 10 εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀφανεῖs που ὄντες ἡδίκουν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διδασκαλίας ἂν ὥs οὐκ εἰδόσι προσέδει· νῦν δὲ τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν τοὺs μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὁρᾶτε, τοῖs δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούs, 15 καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖs ἡμετέροιs ξυμμάχοιs, καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ προπαρασκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε πολεμήsονται. οὐ γὰρ ἂν

87. 9. τῶν ξυμμάχων τε καὶ] (three good MSS.) Οἱ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ.

88. 2. ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἣν τι λέγωμεν] Porpo punctuates ἀπιστοτέρους, ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἣν τι λέγωμεν.

Κέρκυραν τε ὑπολαβόντες βίᾳ ἡμῶν εἶχον καὶ Ποτῖαιαν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ
20 Θράκης ἀποχρῆσθαι, ἣ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἂν μέγιστον παρέσχε Πελοποννησίοις.

69 Καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, τό τε πρῶτον ἔασαντες αὐτοὺς They are
τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῦναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰ μακρὰ attacking
στήσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε ἀεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς your allies,
ὑπ' ἐκείνων δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέ- and yet
5 ρους ἤδη ξυμμάχους· οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνά- you call
μενος μὲν παῦσαι, περιορῶν δέ, ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾷ, εἴπερ yourselves
καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα the cham-
φέρεται. μόλις δὲ νῦν τε ξυνήλθομεν, καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ pions of
φανεροῖς. χρὴν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' freedom!
10 ὃ τι ἀμυνοῦμεθα· οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ You are
διεγνωκότας ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται. καὶ ἐπιστά- always un-
μέθα οἷα ὁδῶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ ready, as
τοὺς πέλας. καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον against
ὑμῶν ἦσσαν θαρσύνουσιν, γνόντες δὲ εἰδότας περιορᾶν ἰσχυρῶς Persia,
15 ἐγκλείσονται. ἡσυχάζετε γὰρ μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὦ Λακεδαι- so now;
μόνιοι, οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινα ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι, trust in you
καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὐξήσιν τῶν ἔχθρῶν διπλα- has often
σιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες. καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι, ruined your
ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. τόν τε γὰρ Μῆδον αὐτοὶ allies.
20 ἴσμεν ἐκ περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλ-
θόντα ἢ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξίως προαπαντήσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς
'Αθηναίους οὐχ ἑκάς ὥσπερ ἐκείνον ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ὄντας περιο-
ρᾶτε, καὶ αὐτῇ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι βούλεσθε μάλ-
'λον ἐπιόντας, καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῶ δύνατωτέρους
25 ἀγωνιζόμενοι καταστήναι, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον
αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς
'Αθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μάλ-
λον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν τιμωρίᾳ περιγεγενημένους, ἐπεὶ αἱ γε

ὕμέτεροι ἐλπίδες ἤδη τινὰς που καὶ ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι ἐφθειραν. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἐχθρὰ τὸ πλεόν ἢ 30 αἰτία νομίση τάδε λέγεσθαι· αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἁμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων.

They are adventurous and hopeful, you are cautious and despondent: they are always abroad, you are always at home.

Καὶ ἅμα, εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, ἄξιοι νομίζομεν εἶναι 70 τοῖς πέλας ψόγον ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγάλων τῶν διαφερόντων καθεστώτων, περὶ ὧν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε, οὐδ' ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς οἷους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ὡς πᾶν διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγὼν 5 ἔσται. οἱ μὲν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοήσαι ὀξείς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ὃ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγινῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. αὐθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνεύται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον 10 τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πράξαι, τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι, τῶν τε δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἰεσθαι ἀπολυθῆσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μέλλητας καὶ ἀποδημηταὶ πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους· οἴονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἂν τι κτᾶσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα ἂν 15 βλάψαι. κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέρχονται, καὶ νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρώνται, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, οἰκεία στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται, ἃ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα 20 τυχεῖν πράξαντες. ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ πείρα σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρεῖαν· μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσί τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι, διὰ τὸ ταχέϊαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν γνῶσιν. καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ 25 πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι' ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσιν, καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγείσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράξαι, ξυμφορὰν τε οὐχ ἥσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ

To them a failure is a loss, and a success is as nothing: duty is their holiday.

30 ἀσχαλίαν ἐπίπονον· ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πε-
φυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀνθρώπους ἔαν, ὁρθῶς ἂν εἴποι.

71 Ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκυίας πόλεως ὧ Peace can-
Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαμέλλετε, καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τού- be secured
τοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρκεῖν οἱ ἂν τῇ μὲν παρα- by waiting
σκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἣν ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι· till you are
5 ὥσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους καὶ hurt: and
αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε. μόλις δ' you are
ἂν πόλει ὁμοίᾳ παροικούντες ἐτυγχάνετε τούτου· νῦν δ' ὅπερ old- fashioned,
καὶ ἄρτι ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀρχαιοτρόπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα while
πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔστιν. ἀνάγκη δ' ὥσπερ τέχνης αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπι- rivals are
10 γιγνόμενα κρατεῖν· καὶ ἡσυχασούσῃ μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα practical.
νόμιμα ἄριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζομένοις λέναι πολλῆς
καὶ τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. διόπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται.

Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὠρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτῆς· νῦν δὲ If you do
15 τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, καὶ Ποτιδαίαις, ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε, βοη- not help
θήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵνα μὴ Potidaea
ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τοῖς ἐχθρίστοις προήσθε καὶ by invading
ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθυμίᾳ πρὸς ἐτέραν τινα ζυμμαχίαν Attica as
τρέψητε. δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἀδικον οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν you pro-
20 ὀρκίων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων· λύουσι γὰρ mised, we
σπονδὰς οὐχ οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ must seek
βοηθοῦντες οἷς ἂν ξυνομόσωσιν. βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν new allies.
προθύμων εἶναι μενούμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὅσια ἂν ποιοῖμεν μετα-
βαλλόμενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους ἂν ἄλλους εὖρομεν. πρὸς
25 τάδε βουλευέσθε εὖ, καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειράσθε μὴ
ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδωκαν."

72 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Some
ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεῖα πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ περὶ Athenian
ἄλλων παρούσα, καὶ ὥς ἦσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς accident-

ally present παριτητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλη-
at Sparta, μάτων περί μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένων ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐνεκάλουν, 5
are allowed δηλῶσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντός ὡς οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς βουλευ-
to speak. τέον εἶη, ἀλλ' ἐν πλείονι σκεπτέον. καὶ ἅμα τὴν σφετέραν
πόλιν ἐβούλουντο σημῆναι ὅση εἶη δύναμις, καὶ ὑπόμνησιν
ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις ὧν ᾗδεσαν καὶ τοῖς νεω-
τέροις ἐξήγησιν ὧν ἄπειροι ἦσαν, νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἂν 10
αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ πρὸς
τὸ πολεμεῖν. προσελθόντες οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφα-
σαν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ
ἀποκωλύοι. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευόν τε ἐπιέναι, καὶ παρελθόντες οἱ
'Αθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιάδε. 15

Athenian
speech.

We are not “Ἡ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέ- 73
bound to ροις ζυμμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπεμψεν
to defend αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καταβοῇ οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἡμῶν παρήλθο-
ourselves μεν, οὐ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες (οὐ γὰρ
before you; παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε τούτων οἱ λόγοι ἂν 5
but we γίνωντο), ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ῥαδίως περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων
wish to τοῖς ζυμμάχοις πειθόμενοι χεῖρον βουλευσῆσθε, καὶ ἅμα
warn you βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντός λόγου τοῦ ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος
and justify δηλῶσαι ὡς οὔτε ἀπεικότως ἔχομεν ἀκεκτῆμεθα, ἢ τε πόλις
our power. ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστίν. / καὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ 10
Remember our services δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ζύνιστε, εἰ καὶ
in the ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστίν. / καὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ 10
Persian λέγειν, ὧν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἢ ὄψεις τῶν
War. ἀκουσομένων ; τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ζύνιστε, εἰ καὶ
δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν.
καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν, ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο, ἥς τοῦ μὲν
ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντός, εἴ τι 15
ὠφελεῖ, στερισκώμεθα. ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παραιτήσεως
μᾶλλον ἐνεκα ἢ μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς ὅλαν ὑμῖν
πόλιν μὴ εὖ βουλευομένοις ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται.

Φαμέν γὰρ Μαραθῶνί τε μόνοι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ,
καὶ ὅτε τὸ ὕστερον ἦλθεν, οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντες κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσ- 20

θαι, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς πανδημεὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυνναυμαχ-
ῆσαι, ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν
Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς
ἀλλήλοισι ἐπιβοηθεῖν. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν·
25 νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ναυσίν, ὥς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίᾳς οὕσης τῆς
δυνάμεως, κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν.

74 Τοιούτου μέντοι ξυμβάντος τούτου, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος We sent a
ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ larger fleet
ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμὸν τε νεῶν πλείον- and an
τον καὶ ἀνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνο- abler com-
5 τάτην, ναῦς μὲν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῃ ἐλάσσους δύο mander
μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ than all
ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα, the rest ;
καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἀνδρα and we
ξένον τῶν ὥς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων. προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺν τολ- sacrificed
10 μηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οἱ γε, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς our city
ἐβοήθει, τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλευόντων, ἡξιώσα- and land.
μεν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεία διαφθείραντες μηδ'
ὥς τὸ τῶν περιλοίπων ξυμμάχων κοινὸν προλιπεῖν, μηδὲ
σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς
15 ναῦς κινδυνεύσαι καὶ μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ προετιμωρή-
σατε.

Ὡστε φαμέν οὐχ ἦσσαν αὐτοὶ ὠφελῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἢ τυχεῖν We did
τούτου. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τε οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων more for
καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐδείξατε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν you than
20 καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλεόν, ἐβοηθήσατε (ὅτε γοῦν ἡμεν ἐτι you for us.
σῶοι, οὐ παρεγένεσθε)· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς οὐκ οὕσης ἐτι
ὀρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὕσης κινδυ-
νεύοντες ξυνεσώσαμεν ὑμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. εἰ
δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν πρότερον τῷ Μήδῃ, δείσαντες ὥσπερ
25 καὶ ἄλλοι περὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ μὴ ἐτολήσαμεν ὕστερον ἐσβῆναι

ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὡς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι ἕδει ὑμᾶς μὴ ἔχοντας ναῦς ἱκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἂν αὐτῷ προεχώρησε τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐβούλετο.

Why should we be hated for our empire? Your inaction made the allies offer it to us: its growth was natural: to give it up was impossible.

Ἄρ' ἄξιοι ἔσμεν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας ἕνεκα τῆς 75
τότε καὶ γνώμης ξυνέσεως ἀρχῆς γε ἧς ἔχομεν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδ' ἐλάβομεν οὐ βιασάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐβελήσαντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελ- 5
θόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας καταστήναι· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου κατηναγκάσθημεν τὸ πρῶτον προαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τιμῆς, ὕστερον καὶ ὠφελίας. καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπηχθημένους, καὶ τινων καὶ ἡδῶ 10
ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων, ὑμῶν τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φίλων ἀλλ' ὑπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὄντων, ἀνέντας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγίνοντο. πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων εὖ τίθεσθαι.

15

You, or any other men, in our position, would have been as unpopular.

Ἰμεῖς γοῦν ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ 76
πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγείσθε· καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομείναντες διὰ παντὸς ἀπήχθησθε ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἦσσαν ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ἂν ἢ 5
ἀρχεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδυνεύειν. οὕτως οὐδ' ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πεποιήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπέλου τρόπου, εἰ ἀρχὴν τε διδομένην ἐδεξάμεθα, καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνεῖμεν ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὠφελίας, οὐδ' αὖ πρῶτοι τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ 10
καθεστῶτος τὸν ἦσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι, ἄξιοι τε ἅμα νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες μέχρι οὗ τὰ ξυμφέροντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρηθῆσθε, δυν οὐδεὶς πω παρατυχὸν ἰσχύϊ τι κτήσασθαι προθεὶς τοῦ μὴ πλεον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο. ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε ἄξιοι οἷτινες χρη- 15

σάμενοι τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει ὥστε ἐτέρων ἀρχειν, δικαιο-
τεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γεγένηνται. ἄλλους
γ' ἂν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα
εἰ τι μετριάζομεν.

- 20 Ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἀδοξία τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔπαινος We con-
cede legal
77 οὐκ εἰκότως περιέστη. καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυ- rights to
βολααῖς πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς our allies :
ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν and they
δοκοῦμεν. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθι που accuse us of
ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἡσσαν ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις chicanery :
οὔσι, διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ, they ought
δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς to be grate-
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλεῖν, ἦν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἴεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ ful that
γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐλασσω- they are
10 θῶσω, οὐ τοῦ πλεόνος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, not ruled
ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης by force.
ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερώς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν. ἐκείνως δ'
οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ χρεῶν τὸν ἡσσω τῷ κρα-
τοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν. ἀδικούμενοί τε, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἀνθρωποι
15 μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου
δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος καταναγκά-
ζεσθαι.

Ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἡμεῖς- Any rule is
οντο, ἢ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰκότως· τὸ a grievance
at the time:
20 παρὸν γὰρ ἀεὶ βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. ὑμεῖς γ' ἂν οὖν εἰ you would
καθελόντες ἡμᾶς ἀρξαιτε, τάχ' ἂν τὴν εὐνοίαν ἦν διὰ τὸ soon lose
favour if
ἡμέτερον δέος εἰλήφατε μεταβάλοιτε, εἴπερ οἶα καὶ τότε you suc-
ceeded us.
πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δι' ὀλίγου ἡγησάμενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοίᾳ
καὶ νῦν γνώσεσθε. ἑμικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς
25 νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε, καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἕκαστος ἐξῶν
οὔτε τούτοις χρήται οὐθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς νομίζει.

- 78 Βουλευέσθε οὖν βραδέως ὥς οὐ περὶ βραχέων, καὶ μὴ Settle your
differences
ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκεῖον πόνον

with us
by arbitra-
tion, as
the treaty
enjoins.

προσθήσθε, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὸν παράλογον, ὅσος ἐστί, πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προδιάγνωτε· μηχανόμενος γὰρ φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιστάσθαι, ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχομεν καὶ 5 ὁποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται. ἴοντες τε οἱ ἀνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἔργων πρότερον ἔχονται, ἢ χρῆν ὕστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἤδη τῶν λόγων ἄπτονται. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πω τοιαύτῃ ἀμαρτίᾳ ὄντες οὐτ' αὐτοὶ οὐθ' ὑμᾶς ὀρώμεν λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφο- 10 τέροις ἢ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς μὴ λύειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκη λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνηθήκην. ἡ θεοὺς τοὺς ὀρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρασόμεθα ἀμύνεσθαι πολέμου ἀρχοντας ταύτῃ ἢ ἂν ὑφηγήσθε."

The allies
and Athe-
nians retire
from the
Assembly.

Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν τε ζυμ- 79 μάχων ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ ἔλεξαν, μετασθησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων. καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἰ γινώμει ἔφερον, ἀδικεῖν 5 τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐν τάχει· παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχιλάμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνητὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Speech of
Archila-
mus.

This is not
a war with
our Pello-
ponnesian
neighbours.
The Athe-
nians are
strong in
money, in
ships, in
tributaries:
we have but
a poor
navy, and
no common
fund.

"Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἐμπειρὸς εἰμι, ὦ Λακε- 80 δαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄρῳ, ὥστε μήτε ἀπειρίᾳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινα τοῦ ἔργου, ὅπερ ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ πάθοιεν, μήτε ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα. εὐρίοιτε δ' ἂν τόνδε περὶ οὗ νῦν βουλευέσθε οὐκ ἂν ἐλάχιστον γενόμενον, 5 εἰ σωφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζοιτο. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ ἀστυγείτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκή, καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἷόν τε ἐφ' ἕκαστα ἐλθεῖν· πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας οἱ γῆν τε ἐκὰς ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί 10 εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται, πλοῦτ' τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐνὶ γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ

80. 7. καὶ ἀστυγείτονας] Nearly all MSS. read καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας.

ξυμμάχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελείς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρή πρὸς
τούτους ῥαδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας
15 ἀπαρασκευάτους ἐπειχθῆναι; πότερον ταῖς ναυσίν; ἀλλ'
ἥσους ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ μελετήσομεν καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα,
χρόνος ἐνέσται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῶ ἔτι
πλέον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν καὶ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε
ἐτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν.

81 Τάχ' ἂν τις θαρσολή ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει It is true
ὑπερφέρομεν, ὥστε τὴν γῆν δηοῦν ἐπιφοιτῶντες. τοῖς δὲ that we
ἄλλῃ γῇ ἐστὶ πολλὴ ἡς ἄρχουσιν, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν have
δέονται ἐπάγονται. εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφιστάναι more hop-
5 πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν τὸ πλέον lites, and
οὔσι νησιώταις. τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ can ravage
ἡ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν Attica. But
τὸ ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλέω. κὰν τούτῳ that will
οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι not end the
10 μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνη γε τῇ ἐλπίδι to revolt.
ἐπαιρώμεθα ὥς ταχὺ πανθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος ἢν τὴν γῆν
αὐτῶν τάμωμεν. δέδοικα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν
αὐτὸν ὑπολίπωμεν· οὕτως εἰκὸς Ἀθηναίους φρονήματι μήτε
τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι μήτε ὥσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγῆναι τῷ
15 πολέμῳ.

82 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀναισθητῶς αὐτοὺς κελεύω τοὺς τε ξυμμά- Letus nego-
χους ἡμῶν ἔαν βλάβειν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ καταφωρᾶν, tiate, and
ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ καὶ αἰτιάσθαι μήτε meanwhile
πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ' ὥς ἐπιτρέψομεν, κὰν τούτῳ strengthen
5 καὶ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ years we
καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθέν τινα ἢ ναυτικοῦ ἢ threaten
χρημάτων δυνάμιν προσληψόμεθα (ἀνεπίφθονον δέ, ὅσοι war.
ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, μὴ Ἑλλη-
νας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι),
10 καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκπορίζόμεθα. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐσακούσωσί
τι πρεσβευομένων ἡμῶν, ταῦτα ἄριστα· ἦν δὲ μή, διελθόν-

των ἐτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν ἄμεινον ἤδη, ἣν δοκῇ, πεφραγμένοι ἴμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

But if we begin by ravaging their land, we throw away our best chance of gaining our end.

Καὶ ἴσως ὁρῶντες ἡμῶν ἤδη τήν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῇ ὁμοία ὑποσημαίνοντας μᾶλλον ἢ εἰκοιεν, καὶ 15 γῆν ἔτι ἄτμητον ἔχοντες καὶ περὶ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐπω ἐφθαρμένων βουλευόμενοι. μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ δμηρον ἔχειν, καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ὅσφ ἄμεινον ἐξείργασται· ἥς φείδεσθαι χρὴ ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπονοίαν καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀληπτοτέρους ἔχειν. εἰ 20 γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν, ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ αἰσχίον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσφ πράξομεν. ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν οἶόν τε καταλύσαι· πόλεμον δὲ ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἔνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, ὃν οὐχ 25 ὑπάρχει εἰδέναί καθ' ὃ τι χωρήσει, οὐ ῥᾶδιον εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι.

It is no cowardice not to fight; war is a question of money.

Καὶ ἀνανδρία μὴδενὶ πολλοὺς μὴ πόλει μὴ ταχὺ ἐπελ- 83 θεῖν δοκεῖτω εἶναι. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐλάσσους χρήματα φέροντες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλεόν ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους. πορισώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον 5 αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαιρώμεθα, οἷπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλεόν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προϊδωμεν.

Our tardiness, which the Corinthians blame, is the secret of our greatness. Our discipline gives us bravery, and

Καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν, μὴ 84 αἰσχύνεσθε. σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ σχολαίτερον ἢ παύσαισθε διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐγχειρεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς νεμόμεθα, καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι. μόνοι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ εὐ- 5 πραγμαίais τε οὐκ ἐξυβρίζομεν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἥσσον ἐτέρων εἰκομεν· τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυνόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἣν τις ἄρα

ζῶν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνε- that true
 10 πείσθημεν. πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ εὐβουλοὶ διὰ τὸ εὐκοσμον wisdom,
 γιγνώμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, which is
 αἰσχύνῃς δὲ εὐψυχία, εὐβουλοὶ δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων content to
 τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι καὶ ζῶν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέ- obey the
 στερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεΐα ζυνετοὶ law, and
 15 ἄγαν ὄντες, τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς to fight
 μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξίεναι, νομίζω δὲ τὰς τε instead of
 διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπι- criticising
 τούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς. ἀεὶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὐ βου- the enemy.
 λευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔργῳ παρασκευαζόμεθα· καὶ οὐκ
 20 ἐξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἀμαρτησομένων ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπιδας, ἀλλ'
 ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προνοουμένων. πολὺ τε διαφέρειν
 οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπου, κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι
 ὅστις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται.

85 Ταύτας οὖν ὥς οἱ πατέρες τε ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν μελέτας καὶ Do not be
 αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς ὠφελούμενοι ἔχομεν, μὴ παρῶμεν, μηδ' in a hurry:
 ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεὶ μορίῳ ἡμέρας περὶ πολλῶν σωμάτων and re-
 καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης βουλευσώμεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' member
 5 ἡσυχίαν. ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἐτέρων διὰ ἰσχύιν. καὶ that the
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμπετε μὲν περὶ τῆς Ποτιδαίας, πέμ- Athenians
 10 ππετε δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ ξύμμαχοί φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε are willing
 καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων αὐτῶν δίκας δοῦναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ to accept
 πρότερον νόμιμον ὡς ἐπ' ἀδικοῦντα ἵνα. παρασκευά- arbitration.
 15 ζεσθε δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ κράτιστα βουλεύ-
 σεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις φοβερῶτατα." καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδα-
 μος τοιαῦτα εἶπεν· παρελθὼν δὲ Σθενελαΐδας τελευταῖος, Speech of
 εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὢν, ἔλεξεν ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὧδε. Sthenelaidas.

86 "Τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ γιννώ- We cannot
 σκω· ἐπαινέσαντες γὰρ πολλὰ ἑαυτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἀντεῖπον ὡς arbitrate or
 οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς ἡμετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννη- delay when
 10 σον· καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δ' the Athe-
 nians are

84. 19. παρασκευαζόμεθα] Οἱ παρασκευαζόμεθα.

actually
ill-treating
our allies.

ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ζημίας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, ὅτι αὐτ' ἀγαθῶν 5
κακοὶ γεγέννηται. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμοῖοι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐσμέν,
καὶ τοὺς ζυμμάχους, ἣν σωφρονῶμεν, οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικον-
μένους οὐδὲ μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κα-
κῶς πάσχειν. ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες
καὶ ἵπποι, ἡμῖν δὲ ζύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς 10
'Αθηναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ
καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ
σθένει. καὶ ὥς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλευέσθαι ἀδικουμένους μηδ-
εὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει
πολὺν χρόνον βουλευέσθαι. ψηφίζεσθε οὖν ὧς Λακεδαιμόνιοι 15
ἄξιως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μήτε τοὺς 'Αθηναίους
ἐᾶτε μείζους γίνεσθαι, μήτε τοὺς ζυμμάχους καταπροδιδῶ-
μεν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας."

The as-
sembly by
a large
majority
resolves
'that
Athens has
broken the
treaty.'
The allies
are to be
summoned
to decide
on peace
or war.

Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέξας ἐπεψήφισεν αὐτοὺς ἐφορος ὧν ἐς τὴν 87
ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ (κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῇ καὶ
οὐ ψήφῳ) οὐκ ἔφη διαγιγνώσκειν τὴν βοήν ὁποτέρα μείζων,
ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερώς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν
γνώμην ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ὀρμῆσαι ἔλεξεν "ὅτῳ μὲν 5
ὑμῶν ὧς Λακεδαιμόνιοι δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ
οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον"
δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς, "ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκοῦσιν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ
θάτερα." ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν, καὶ πολλῷ πλείους
ἐγένοντο οἷς ἐδόκουν αἱ σπονδαὶ λελύσθαι. προσκαλέσαν- 10
τές τε τοὺς ζυμμάχους εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν ἀδικεῖν
οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πάντας ζυμμάχους
παρακαλέσαντες ψήφον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως κοινῇ βουλευσά-
μενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται, ἣν δοκῇ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπε-
χώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναίων 15
πρέσβεις ὕστερον, ἐφ' ἃπερ ἦλθον χρηματίσαντες. ἡ δὲ
διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι,
ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν τριακοντουτίδων
σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκυῶν, αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά.

[432.]

[445.]

- 88** Ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι Fear of Athens was the real motive.
καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων πεισθέντες
τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον
δυνηθῶσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπο-
5 χεῖρια ἤδη ὄντα.
- 89** Οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα Origin of the Athenian empire.
ἐν οἷς ἠϋξήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώ-
πης νικηθέντες καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οἱ
καταφυγόντες αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Μυκάλην διεφθάρησαν, [479-]
5 Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ
ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ Ἑλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἔχων
τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ξυμμάχους, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ The Athenian fleet takes
ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες
ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομέναντες Σηοτὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων Sestos.
10 ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν
βαρβάρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου
ὥς Ξεαστοὶ κατὰ πόλεις. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ The Athenians at home com-
αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο
εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιού-
15 σαν κατασκευὴν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο
καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει, καὶ
οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς
αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν. [479-8].
- 90** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβεῖα, The Lacedaemonians try to dissuade them.
τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες μὴτ' ἐκείνους μὴτ' ἄλλων
μηδένα τείχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλεόν τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων
καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλήθος,
5 ὁ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν
γενομένην. ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω
Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἰστήκει συγκαθελεῖν μετὰ
σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς
γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥς δὲ τοῦ βαρ-

90. 7. εἰστήκει] Οἱ ξυνεῖσθήκει.

βάρου, εἰ αὖθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχουτος ἀπ' ἐχυροῦ ποθέν, 10
ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἐρμᾶσθαι· τήν τε Πελοπόννησον
πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησιν τε καὶ ἀφορμῇν.

Themisto-
cles is sent
to Sparta
to explain.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμῃ τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαι-
μόνιους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας, ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν ὥς
αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπήλλαξαν· ἑαυτὸν 15
δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὥς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν
Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ
εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ
τείχος ἱκανὸν ᾤρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιο-
τάτου ἔνθους· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας ^{πάνδημι} τοὺς ἐν τῇ 20
πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους
μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία
ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιρούντας πάντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ταῦτα διδάξας, καὶ ὑπειπὼν τὰλλα ὅτι αὐτοὺς τάκει πράξοι,
ῥῆξετο. καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ προσήει πρὸς 25
τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προϋφασίζετο. καὶ ὅποτε τις
αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων ὃ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ
κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς συμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δὲ τινος
οὔσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι μέντοι ἐν τάχει
ἦξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὥς οὕτω πάρεισιν. 30

He puts
off his ex-
planation
until the
wall is
built.

Οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπείθοντο διὰ 91
φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς
κατηγορούντων ὅτι τειχίζεται τε καὶ ἤδη ἔνθος λαμβάνει,
οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρῆ ἀπιστήσαι. γνοὺς δ' ἐκείνος κελεύει
αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν 5
αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστῶς ἀπαγγελοῦσι
σκεψάμενοι. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμισ-
τοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὥς ἥιστα
ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφείναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν
κομισθῶσιν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἤκου αὐτῷ οἱ συμπρέσβεις, Ἀβρώ- 10
νιχὸς τε ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσισμάχου,

90. 19. ἄρωσιν] MSS. αἴρωσιν.

ἀγγέλλοντες ἔχειν ἱκανῶς τὸ τεῖχος· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὅποτε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, οὐκ ἐτι ἀφῶσιν.

Οἱ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη *‘Athens can decide for herself;*
 15 κατεῖχον, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις *and must be fortified,*
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερώς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετε- *if she is to main-*
 χισται ἤδη ὥστε ἱκανῇ εἶναι σῶζειν τοὺς ἐνοικούντας, εἰ δέ *tain her*
 τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι *equality*
 παρὰ σφᾶς, ὥς πρὸς διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν λέναι τά *with the*
 20 τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά. τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν *other cities*
 ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι, *of the con-*
 ἄνευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὐ μετ’ *federacy.’*
 ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι, οὐδενὸς ὑστεροὶ γνώμη φανῆναι.
 δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἐαυτῶν πόλιν
 25 τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας
 ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τ’ εἶναι μὴ
 ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν
 βουλευέσθαι. ἡ πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρῆναι ξυμ-
 μαχεῖν ἢ καὶ τάδε νομίζειν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν.

92 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ *The Lace-*
 ἐποιούντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ ἀλλὰ *daemo-*
 γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἅμα δὲ *nians are*
 καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον *annoyed,*
 5 προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστ’ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον), τῆς μέντοι βουλή- *but conceal*
 σεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο. οἱ τε πρέσβεις *their an-*
 ἐκατέρων ἀπήλθον ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως. *noyance.*

93 Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν *Traces of*
 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτι *hurry in*
 κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων *the work,*
 ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἐστὶν ἢ, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἑκαστοί
 5 ποτε προσέφερον, πολλὰ τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι
 εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος παν-
 ταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὁμοίως
 κινούμεναι ἤπείγοντο.

Fortifica-
tion of the
Piraeus
[478, first
begun
482?].
Themisto-
cles first
made
Athens a
sea-power.

Ἐπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου 10 ἀρχῆς ἢς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν) νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφνεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικούς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτή- 15 σασθαι δύναμιν· τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὥς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύ- 15 αζεν. καὶ ὑποδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· δύο γὰρ ἄμαξαι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον. ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλις οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξυμφκοδομημένοι μεγά- 20 λοι λίθοι καὶ ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ 20 ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδῳ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἡμῖσι μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ διανοεῖτο. ἐβούλετο γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ 25 πάχει ἀφιστάναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλὰς, ἀνθρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν ὀλίγων καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέσειν τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβήσεσθαι. ταῖς 25 γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσέκειτο, ἰδὼν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῆς βασιλείας στρατιᾶς τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐφοδὸν εὐπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ γῆν οὔσαν· τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε 30 τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἦν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς 30 ναυσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτειχίσθησαν καὶ τᾶλλα κατεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

The allied
navy under
Pausanias
takes Cy-
prus and
Byzantium
[478].

Πανσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος στρατηγὸς 94 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ Πελο- 35 πονήσου· ξυνέπλεον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πλῆθος. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέψαντο, καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάν- 5 35 τιον Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ.

93. 23. ἐπιβουλὰς] Or ἐπιβολὰς (Schol. ἐπιθέσεις).

- 95** Ἡδὴ δὲ βιαίου ὄντος αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο The Ionians and others
καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ βασιλείῃς νεωστὶ complain
ἡλευθέρωντο· φοιτῶντές τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤξιον of him to
αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ the Athenians (see
5 Πανσανίᾳ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἣν πού βιάζεται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ch. 130);
ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς λόγους καὶ προσεῖχον τὴν γνώμην ὥς οὐ he is re-
περιψόμενοι τᾷ τᾷ κατὰσθησόμενοι ἢ φαίνονται ἄριστα called to
αὐτοῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετεπέμποντο Παν- Sparta: the
σανίαν ἀνακρινούσας ὧν περὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἀδικία non-Peloponnesian
10 πολλὴ κατηγορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἄφικνου- allies
μένων, καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο μίμησις ἢ στρα- transfer
τηγία. ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαι τε ἄμα καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους themselves
τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει παρ' Ἀθηναίους μετατάξασθαι πλὴν τῶν from
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατιωτῶν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Λακεδαί- Sparta to
15 μονα τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων εὐθύνθη, τὰ δὲ Athens
μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν· κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ [478-7].
ἥκιστα μηδισμὸς καὶ ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνων
μὲν οὐκέτι ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, Δόρκω δὲ καὶ ἄλλους
τινὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ πολλήν· οἷς οὐκέτι
20 ἐφίεσαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
- Οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι ὕστερον The
ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ Lacedae-
ἐξιόντες χεῖρους γίνωνται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πανσανίᾳ monians
ἐνεῖδον, ἀπαλλάττειν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, καὶ accept the
25 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντας ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν situation.
ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδεύουσιν.
- 96** Παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ The
τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πανσανίου μίσος, Athenians
ἔταξαν ἅς τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα πρὸς τὸν organize
βάρβαρον καὶ ἅς ναῦς· πρόσχημα γὰρ ἦν ἀμύνασθαι ὧν their con-
5 ἐπαθον δηοῦντας τὴν βασιλείῃς χώραν. καὶ ἐλληνοταμίαι federacy.
τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἱ ἐδέχοντο τὸν

φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ταμειῶν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίνοντο.

10

I will describe the growth of the Athenian power up to the Peloponnesian war: a subject neglected by most historians.

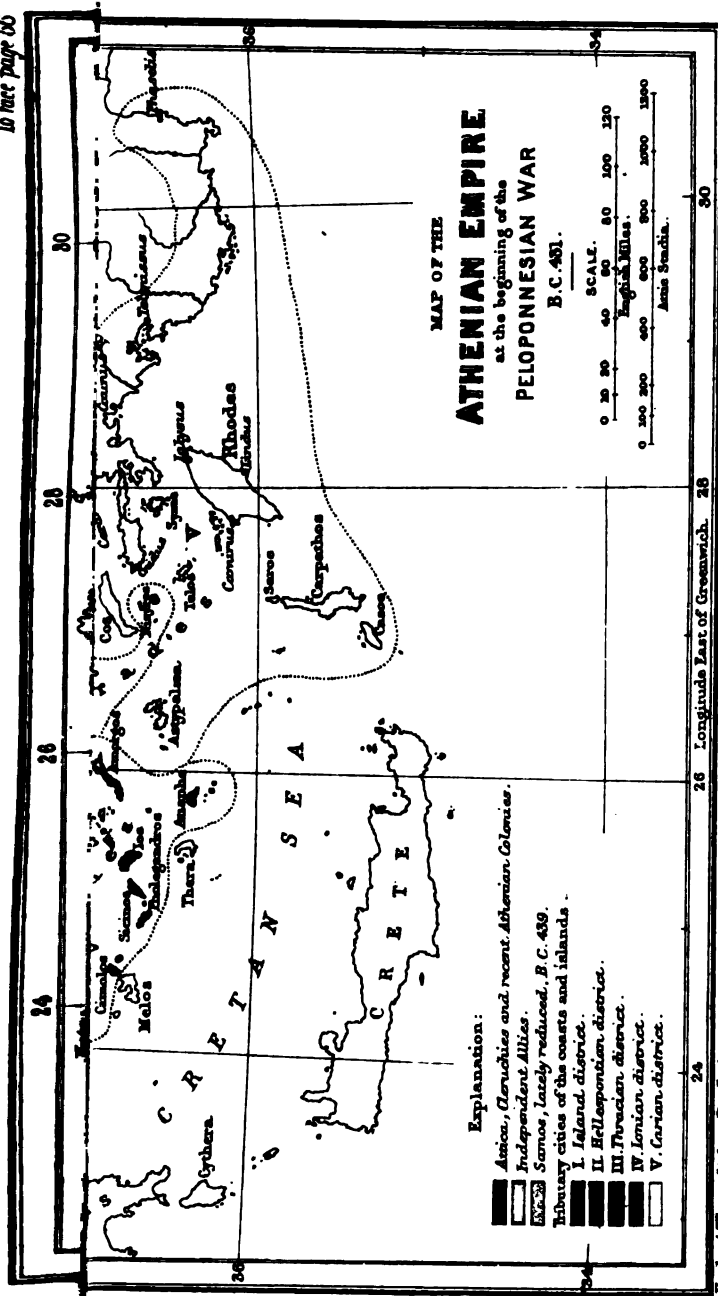
Ἑγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν συμμάχων καὶ 97 ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον πολέμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἃ ἐγένετο πρὸς τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους συμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας καὶ 5 Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ἀεὶ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐπιδησάμεν διὰ τὸδε ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ· τούτων δ' ὅσπερ καὶ ἦψατο ἐν τῇ 10 Ἀττικῇ συγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷα τρόπῳ κατέστη.

[477-466] Eion, Scyros, Carystus.

Πρῶτον μὲν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων 98 πολιορκίᾳ εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπύδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος. ἔπειτα Σκύρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νήσον, ἣν ᾤκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπύδισαν καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτοί. πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτοῖς ἀνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων πόλεμος 5 ἐγένετο, καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν. Ναξίους δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκίᾳ παρεστήσαντο, πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστῆκος ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη.

Naxos [about 466] and other allies revolt, and are reduced to dependence. This was their own fault, for they weakened themselves by committing their naval

Αἰτίαι δ' ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων καὶ μέγισται 99 αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἐκδειαί, καὶ λειποστράτιον εἶ τῳ ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς ἐπρασσον καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν οὐκ εἰωθόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις τालαιπωρεῖν προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας. ἦσαν δὲ πῶς καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 5 οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἀρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσου ῥάδιόν τε προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφιστα-



φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ταμειῶν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίνοντο.

10

I will describe the growth of the Athenian power up to the Peloponnesian war: a subject neglected by most historians.

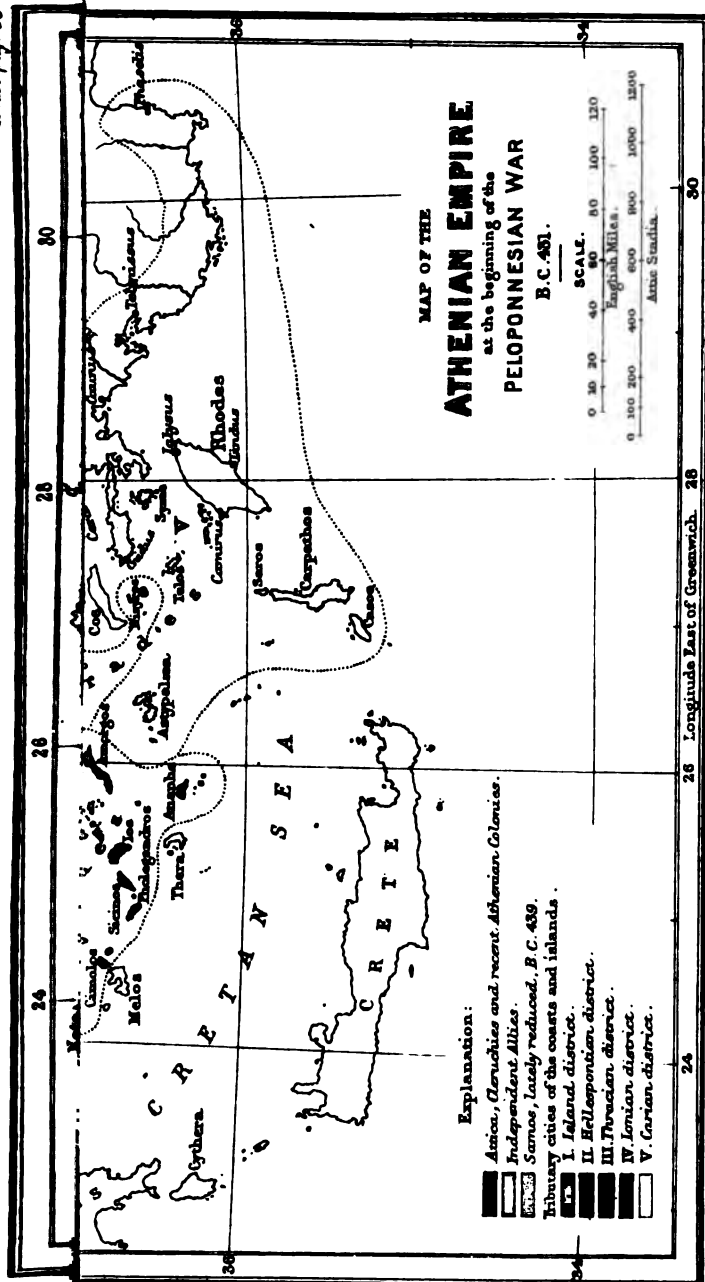
Ἑγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν συμμάχων καὶ 97 ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον πολέμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἃ ἐγένετο πρὸς τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους συμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας καὶ 5 Πελοποννησίων τοὺς αἰεὶ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην διὰ τὸδε ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἄπασιν ἐκλίπετο τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ· τούτων δ' ὅσπερ καὶ ἦψατο ἐν τῇ 10 Ἀττικῇ συγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷα τρόπῳ κατέστη.

[477-466] Eion, Scyros, Carystus.

Πρῶτον μὲν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων 98 πολιορκίᾳ εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος. ἔπειτα Σκύρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νήσῳ, ἣν ᾤκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτοί. πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων πόλεμος 5 ἐγένετο, καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν. Ναξίους δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκίᾳ παρεστήσαντο, πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη.

Naxos [about 466] and other allies revolt, and are reduced to dependence. This was their own fault, for they weakened themselves by committing their naval

Αἰταίαι δ' ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων καὶ μέγιστα 99 αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἐκδειαί, καὶ λειποστράτιον εἴ τῳ ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν οὐκ εἰωθόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ταλαιπωρεῖν προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας. ἦσαν δὲ πῶς καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 5 οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσου ράδιόν τε προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφίστα-



- μένους. ὦν αὐτοὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ^{service for} ἀπόκνησιν ταύτην τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ^{payment} ^{of tribute.}
- 10 ἀπ' οἴκου ὦσιν, χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνού-
μενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤϋζετο τὸ
ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ
ὅποτε ἀποσταῖεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
καθίσταντο.
- 100 Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ Cimon's
ἐν Παιμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ^{victory at}
ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφό- ^{the Eury-}
τερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούντος, καὶ ^{medon}
5 εἶλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πάσας ἐς τὰς ^{[about}
διακοσίας. χρόνῳ τε ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν ^{Revolt of}
ἀποστήναι, διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θράκῃ ^{Thasos}
ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ἃ ἐνέμοντο. καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ ^{[about}
Θάσον πλεόνσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐς ^{465].}
10 τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους
οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρό- ^{Failure to}
νους ὥς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἐννέα ὁδοὺς νῦν ^{colonize}
δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς ^{Ennea}
εἶχον Ἡδωνοί, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἐς μεσόγειαν ^{Hodoi;}
15 διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῃ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ^{loss of}
ξυμπάντων, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ κτιζό- ^{10,000}
μενον. ^{men}
^{[465-4].}
- 101 Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες μάχαις καὶ πολιορκούμενοι Λακεδαι- ^{The Lacedae-}
μόνους ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἐπαμύναι ἐκέλευον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς ^{monians}
τὴν Ἀττικὴν. οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ^{promise}
καὶ ἐμελλον, διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ^{the Tha-}
5 ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Ἐλῶτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιόικων Θουριᾶται ^{sians to}
τε καὶ Αἰθελεῖς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν ^{invade}
^{Attica.}
^{Earth-}

100. 5. ἐς τὰς διακοσίας] Or ἐς διακοσίας.

100. 16. ξυμπάντων] Poppo, on the authority of Valla's translation (1432), reads ξύμμαντες.

58 *Growing enmity of Athens and Sparta. I. 101-103.*

quake and
revolt of
the Helots
[about
464].
Thasos
surrenders
[about
463].

Blockade
of Ithome.
Athenian
troops sent
for, but
soon
dismissed.
Athens
renounces
her alli-
ance with
Sparta, and
allies her-
self with
Argos and
Thessaly
[about
461].

Ithome
surrenders
[455, or
461?].

Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλω-
θέντων ἀπόγονοι· ἢ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος καθειστήκει Λακε-
δαιμονίοις, Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῃ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὤμολόγη- 10
σαν Ἀθηναίοις τεῖχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες,
χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ
λοιπὸν φέρειν, τήν τε ἡπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ ἐμῆκ- 102
νετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο ξυμμάχους καὶ
'Αθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἦλθον Κίμωνος στρατηγούontos πλήθει οὐκ
ὀλίγῃ. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν
ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστη- 5
κυίας τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο· βίᾳ γὰρ ἂν εἴλον τὸ χωρίον.
καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις
καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερά ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βίᾳ οὐχ ἠλίσκετο, δέισαντες τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων τὸ τολμηρὸν καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ ἀλλοφύλους 10
ἄμα ἡγησάμενοι, μή τι, ἣν παραμεινῶσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν
Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων
ἀπέπεμψαν, τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐ δηλοῦντες, εἰπόντες δ'
ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται αὐτῶν ἔτι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν
οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τινος 15
ὑπόπτου γενομένου· καὶ δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιώ-
σαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ
ἀνεχώρησαν, ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμ-
μαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀργείοις τοῖς ἐκείνων πολεμίοις
ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς ἄμα ἀμφοτέροις 20
οἱ αὐτοὶ ὄρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία κατέστη.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῃ ἔτει, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, 103
ξυνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐξίσαιεν ἐκ
Πελοποννησίου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς·

102. 5. τοῖς δὲ] Or τῇ δέ, inferior MSS.

103. 1. δεκάτῃ ἔτει] Krüger conjectures τετάρτῃ.

- ἦν δέ τις ἀλίσκηται, τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι δοῦλον. ἦν δέ τι The gar-
 5 καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν rison set-
 ἰκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα ἀφιέναι. ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ Naupactus.
 καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατ'
 ἔχθος ἦδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατ'έκισαν, ἣν
 ἔτυχον ἥρῃκοτες νεωστὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων.
- 10 Προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Megara
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς revolts
 ὄρων πολέμῳ κατέϊχον· καὶ ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρον καὶ from Cor-
 Πηγάς, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἔκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἀπὸ inth and
 τῆς πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν, καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί. καὶ Κοριν- joins
 15 θίοις μὲν οὐχ ἦκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος ἦρξατο Athens.
 πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι. Enmity
 between
 Athens and
 Corinth.
- 104 Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμίτιχου Λίβυς, βασιλεὺς Λιβύων τῶν Revolt of
 πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου the EGYPT-
 πόλεως ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλέω ἀπὸ βασιλείας Ἀρτα- Persia
 ξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων γενόμενος Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγετο. [462?].
 5 οἱ δὲ (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι ναυσὶ διακοσμίατς Athens
 αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων) ἦλθον ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον, helps them
 [about
 459].
 καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον, τοῦ τε
 ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες καὶ τῆς Μέμφιδος τῶν δύο μερῶν,
 πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὃ καλεῖται Λευκὸν τεῖχος ἐπολέμουν·
 10 ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτόθι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ
 Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες.
- 105 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ναυσὶν ἀποβάσιν ἐς Ἀλιᾶς πρὸς Κοριν- Athens at
 θίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων Κορίνθιοι. war with
 καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κεκρυφαλείᾳ Πελο- Corinth
 5 ποννησίῳ ναυσὶν, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. πολέμου δὲ and Aegina
 [about
 459-8];
 5 καταστάντος πρὸς Αἰγινῆτας Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ ταῦτα ναυ- defeat and
 μαχία γίνεταί ἐπ' Αἰγινῇ μεγάλῃ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Αἰγινητῶν, two vic-
 καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέροις παρήσαν, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι tories at
 καὶ ναὺς ἐβδομήκοντα λαβόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν sea.
 καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, Λεωκράτους τοῦ Στρούβου στρατηγοῦντος.

Athens
blockades
Aegina,
and
perseveres
in the
blockade
though at-
tacked by
Corinth.

ἔπειτα Πελοποννήσιοι ἀμύνειν βουλόμενοι Αἰγινήταις ἐς 10
μὲν τὴν Αἰγίαν τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας πρότερον Κορινθίων
καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐπικούρους διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς
Γερανίας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν Κορίν-
θιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους ἔσεσθαι 15
Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ Αἰγίῃ ἀπούσης
στρατιᾷ πολλῇ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἦν δὲ καὶ βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ’
Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν
πρὸς Αἰγίῃ στράτευμα οὐκ ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δ’ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
ὑπολοίπων οἳ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι ἀφικνούνται
ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα Μυρωνίδου στρατηγούontos. καὶ μάχης γενο- 20
μένης Ἰσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους διεκρίθησαν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων,
καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ.
καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὁμῶς μᾶλλον) ἀπελ-
θόντων τῶν Κορινθίων τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· οἱ δὲ Κορινθιοὶ
κακίζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ παρα- 25
σκευασάμενοι ἡμέρας ὕστερον δώδεκα μάλιστα, ἐλθόντες
ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥς νικήσαντες. καὶ οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τοὺς τε τὸ
τροπαῖον ἰστάντας διαφθεῖρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμβαλόν-
τες ἐκράτησαν. 30

Great de-
feat of Cor-
inthians in
the Megarid
[about
458].

Οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ 106
ὀλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσέπεσεν ἐς
τοῦ χωρίου ἰδιώτου, ᾧ ἔτυχεν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιείργον καὶ
οὐκ ἦν ἐξοδος. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες κατὰ πρόσωπόν
τε εἶργον τοῖς ὀπλίταις καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς 5
ψιλοὺς κατέλευσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας, καὶ πάθος
μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίοις ἐγένετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησεν
αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ’ οἴκου.

Beginning
of Long
Walls.

Ἦρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ 107
τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε
καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. καὶ Φωκῶν στρατευσάντων ἐς Δωριᾶς
τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν, Βοιὸν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ

- 5 Ἐρινεόν, καὶ ἐλόντων ἐν τῶν πολισμάτων τούτων, οἱ Λακε- Lacedae-
 δαιμόνιοι, Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακ- monian ex-
 τος τοῦ Πανσωνίου βασιλέως νέου ὄντος ἐτι ἡγουμένου, against
 ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἑαυτῶν τε πεντακοσίοις καὶ [about
 χίλοις ὀπλίταις καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων μυρίοις, καὶ τοὺς 457].
- 10 Φωκέας ὁμολογίᾳ ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν
 ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν αὐτούς, διὰ
 τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου εἰ βούλονται περαιοῦσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι
 ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες ἔμελλον κωλύσειν· διὰ δὲ τῆς
 Γερανίας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων
- 15 Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς πορεύεσθαι. δύσοδός τε γὰρ ἡ Γερανία
 καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο ἀεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τότε ἡσθάνοντο
 αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ ταύτῃ κωλύσειν. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν
 Βοιωτοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῃ τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα
 διαπορεύονται. τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπήγον Treason at
 20 αὐτοὺς κρύφα, ἐλπίσαντες δῆμόν τε καταπαύσειν καὶ τὰ Athens.
 μακρὰ τεῖχη οἰκοδομοῦμενα. ἐβοήθησαν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ The Athe-
 Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ καὶ Ἀργείων χίλιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων nians at-
 ξυμμάχων ὥς ἕκαστοι· ξύμπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο τετρακιςχι- tack the
 λιοι καὶ μύριοι. νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν Lacedae-
 15 ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως monian
 ὑποψία. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις force in
 κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, οἳ μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς Boeotia.
 Λακεδαιμονίους.
- 108 Γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐν Τανάγρα τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων Athenian
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο ἀμφο- defeat at
 τέρων πολὺς. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα Tanagra
 ἐλθόντες καὶ δεινδοτομήσαντες πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἶκον [about
 457].
- 5 διὰ Γερανίας καὶ Ἰσθμοῦ· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δευτέρῃ καὶ ἐξ- Victory at
 κοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Βοιωτοὺς Oenophyta
 Μυρωνίδου στρατηγούντος, καὶ μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς [about
 457].
 Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας Boeotia
 καὶ Φωκίδος, καὶ Ταναγραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον, καὶ and Phocis
 subject.

Long Walls completed. Conquest of Aegina. Expedition of Tolmides. Sicyon attacked [about 456]. Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλου- 10 σιωτάτους ἔλαβον, τὰ τε τείχη τὰ ἐαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἐπετέ- λεσαν. ὠμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. καὶ Πελοπόν- νησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Τολμῖδου τοῦ Τολμαίου 15 στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν εἶλον, καὶ Σικυνώλους ἐν ἀπο- βάσει τῆς γῆς μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.

The Athe- nians and allies in Egypt. Fruitless embassy of the King to Sparta. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπέμενον, 108 καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς πέμπει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ χρημάτων ἔχοντα, ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν πεισθέντων τῶν 5 Πελοποννησίων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπαγάγοι Ἀθηναίους. ὥς δ' αὐτῷ οὐ προυχῶρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, ὃ μὲν Μεγάβαζος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκομίσθη, Μεγάβυζον δὲ τὸν Ζωπύρου πέμπει ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς· ὃς ἀφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν 10 τοὺς τε Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μάχῃ ἐκράτησεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξήλασε τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέκλησεν, καὶ ἐπολιόρκει ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἑξ μῆνας, μέχρι οὗ ξηράνας τὴν διώρυχα καὶ παρατρέψας ἄλλη τὸ ὕδωρ τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ 15 ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἤπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἶλε τὴν νῆσον περὶ.

The Athe- nians on the Nile blockaded and taken [about 453]. Egypt re- conquered by the King. Οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη, ἑξ ἔτη 110 πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι διὰ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἀπώλοντο. Αἰγυπτος δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ ἐγένετο πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως· τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθός τε τοῦ 5 ἔλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, καὶ ἅμα μαχिमώτατοί εἰσι τῶν

Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔλαιοι. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Λιβύων βασιλεὺς, ὃς
τὰ πάντα ἔπραξε περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς
ἀνεσταυρώθη. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχι-
10 δος πεντήκοντα τριήρεις διάδοχοι πλέουσai ἐς Αἴγυπτον
ἔσχον κατὰ τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγενη-
μένων οὐδέν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τε γῆς ἐπιπесόντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἐκ
θαλάσσης Φοινίκων ναυτικὸν διέφθειραν τὰς πολλὰς τῶν
νεῶν, αἱ δ' ἐλάσσους διέφυγον πάλιν. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν
15 μεγάλην στρατείαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς Αἴγυπ-
τον οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

Defeat of
Athenian
reinforce-
ments.

111 Ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλλίας Ὁρέστης ὁ Ἐχεκρατίδου υἱὸς τοῦ
Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως φεύγων ἔπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἑαυτὸν
κατάγειν· καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας
ξυμμάχους Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλλίας ἐπὶ Φάρ-
5 σαλον. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ
ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων (οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἶργον), τὴν
δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἶλον, οὐδ' ἄλλο προνχῶρει αὐτοῖς οὐδέν
ὦν ἔνεκα ἐστράτευσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν πάλιν Ὁρέστην
ἔχοντες ἀπρακτοί. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον χίλιοι
10 Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες (εἶχον
δ' αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγάς) παρέπλευσαν ἐς Σικυῶνα Περικλέους
τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυωνίων
τοὺς προσμύζαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. καὶ εὐθὺς παραλα-
βόντες Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ διαπλεύσαντες πέραν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας
15 ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐ μέντοι εἰλόν
γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον.

Naval ex-
pedition
under Peri-
cles.
Attacks on
Sicyon and
Oeniadae
repulsed
[about
453].

112 Ὅστερον δὲ διαλιπόντων ἑτῶν τριῶν σπονδαὶ γίνονται
Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πενταετείς. καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ
μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς δὲ Κύπρον ἐστρατεύοντο
ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων Κίμωνος
5 στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ ἐξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπ'
αὐτῶν ἔπλευσαν, Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς
ἐλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι Κίτιον ἐπολιόρκουν. Κίμωνος
Truce for
five years
[about
450];
Cimon
leads a
fleet to
Cyprus.
Death of
Cimon;
victory off

- Salamis in Cyprus [about 449]. δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου, καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμίνοσ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοίνιξι καὶ Κίλιξι ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν ἅμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφοτέρω ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν αἱ ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ παρέδωκαν Δελφοῖς· καὶ αὖθις ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν στρατεύσαντες καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδωκαν Φωκεῦσιν. 10
- Quarrel about Delphi. Καὶ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιωτῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἐχόντων Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα χωρία τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν μὲν χιλοῖς ὀπλίταις τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ὥς ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πολέμια ὄντα, Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγούντος. καὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐλόντες [καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες] ἀπεχώρουν φυλακὴν καταστήσαντες. πορευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων φυγάδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν, καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦνται. καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο. 15
- Risings in Boeotia. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὐβοία ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφέστηκε καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μέλλουσιν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον· ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικωνίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρήϊς. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Ὀρίῳ ἐσβαλόντες 10
- Defeat at Coronea, and loss of Boeotia [447-6].
- Revolt of Euboea and Megara [446].
- The Peloponnesians invade

ἐδῆωσαν Πλειστοόνακτος τοῦ Πανσανίου βασιλέως Λακε- Attica but
 δαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλεόν οὐκέτι προελθόντες retreat.
 ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς Εὐβοίαν Pericles
 διαβάντες Περικλέους στρατηγούντος κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν, reconquers
 Euboea.
 15 καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο, Ἑστιάϊς δ'
 ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον.

115 Ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον σπον- The Thirty
 δας ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους Years'
 τριακοντούταις, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζήνα [445]. Peace
 καὶ Ἀχαΐαν ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων.

5 Ἐκτῷ δὲ ἔτει Σαμίσις καὶ Μιλησίοις πόλεμος ἐγένετο The Athe-
 περὶ Πριήνης, καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ nians, hear-
 παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων. ξυν- ing com-
 ἐπελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σάμου ἄνδρες ἰδιῶται plaints
 νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν. πλεύσαντες οὖν against the
 10 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα δημοκρατίαν κατ- Samian
 ἔστησαν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πεντήκοντα μὲν govern-
 παῖδας ἴσους δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λήμνον, καὶ ment, esta-
 φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων The bish a
 ἦσαν γὰρ τινες οἱ οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἄλλ' ἐφυγον ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, exiled oli-
 15 ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ Πισ- garchs re-
 σοῦθι τῷ Ὑστάσπου ξυμμαχίαν, ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεϊς τότε, turn and
 ἐπικούρους τε ξυλλέξαντες ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, διέβησαν ὑπὸ head a
 20 νύκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν revolt
 καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὁμήρους κλέ- [440].
 ψαντες ἐκ Λήμνου τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς φρου-
 ροὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ ἦσαν παρὰ
 σφίσις ἐξέδωσαν Πισσοῦθι, ἐπὶ τε Μίλητον εὐθὺς παρε- Byzantium
 σκευάζοντο στρατεύειν. ξυναπέστησαν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Bu- also
 ζάντιοι. revolts.

116 Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥς ᾔσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα Pericles
 ἐπὶ Σάμου ταῖς μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο leads an
 (ἔνυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κάρλας ἐς προσκοπὴν τῶν Φοινισ- to Samos.

Athenian
victory off
Tragia :
blockade
of Samos.

The Phoe-
nician fleet
expected.

Successful
sally from
Samos in
the absence
of Pericles.

Surrender
of Samos
and Byzan-
tium [439].

The quar-
rels with
Corinth
happened

σῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περια-
γέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν), τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ καὶ τέσσαρσι 5
Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς
Τραγίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσὶν ἐβδομήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν
αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες· ἔτυχον δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Μιλήτου
πλέουσai. καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. ὕστερον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐβόη-
θησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ 10
Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἀποβάντες καὶ κρατοῦντες
τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσ-
σης ἄμα. Περικλῆς δὲ λαβὼν ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐφορμουσῶν ᾤχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Κάνυου καὶ Καρίας,
ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν 15
ᾤχετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Σητσαγόρας καὶ
ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἐξαπιναίως ἐκπλουν ποιησάμενοι 117
ἀφράκτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες τὰς τε προφυλακίδας
ναῦς διέφθειραν καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς ἀνταναγομένας ἐνί-
κησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκράτησαν
ἡμέρας περὶ τεσσαρσκαίδεκα, καὶ ἐσεκομίσαντο καὶ ἐξε- 5
κομίσαντο ἃ ἐβούλοντο. ἐλθόντος δὲ Περικλέους πάλιν
ταῖς ναυσὶ κατεκλήσθησαν. καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὕστερον
προσεβοήθησαν τεσσαράκοντα μὲν αἱ μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ
Ἀγνωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος νῆες, εἴκοσι δὲ αἱ μετὰ Τληπο-
λέμου καὶ Ἀντικλέους, ἐκ δὲ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου τριάκοντα. 10
καὶ ναυμαχίαν μὲν τινα βραχείαν ἐποίησαντο οἱ Σάμιοι,
ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ἐνὰ τῷ μηνὶ
καὶ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ, τεῖχός τε καθελόντες καὶ
ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες καὶ χρήματα τὰ
ἀναλωθέντα κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι. ξυνέβησαν 15
δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκοοι εἶναι.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίνεταί οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον 118
τὰ προειρημένα, τὰ τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτιδαματικὰ καὶ
ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη. ταῦτα δὲ ξύμ-

- παντα ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ^{not long afterwards}
 5 τὸν βάρβαρον, ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα μεταξὺ ^{(ch. 23 ff.).}
 τῆς Εἰρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου·
 ἐν οἷς Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμει, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ^{The Lacedaemonians}
 αἰσθόμενοι οὐτε ἐκώλουν εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε ^{were in-}
 10 τὸ πλεον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ^{active until}
 ἵεναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοντο, τὸ δέ τι καὶ ^{their allies}
 πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν ^{were}
 Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἦρετο καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἦπτοντο. ^{meddled with.}
 τότε δ' οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο. ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρητέα
 15 ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ καθαιρετέα ἡ ἰσχύς, ἣν
 δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν ^{Having}
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο λελύσθαι τε τὰς σπονδὰς ^{decided for}
 καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀδικεῖν, πέμψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ^{war them-}
 ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται· ὁ δὲ ^{selves}
 20 ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ^{(ch. 87),}
 ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος ^{they con-}
 καὶ ἄκλητος. ^{sult Apollo,}
 119 Αὐθις δὲ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς παρακάλεσαντες ψῆφον ἐβού- ^{They sum-}
 λοντο ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν ^{mon the}
 πρέσβων ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ ξυνόδου γενομένης οἳ τε ^{assembly}
 ἄλλοι εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο, κατηγοροῦντες οἱ πλείους τῶν ^{of the}
 5 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ ^{allies.}
 Κορίνθιοι δεηθέντες μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἐκάστων
 ἰδίᾳ ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες περὶ τῇ
 Ποτιδαίᾳ μὴ προδιαφθαρῇ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τελευ- ^{Speech of}
 120 τὰ τοῖς ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε. ^{the Corin-}
 120 "Τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὧ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, οὐκ ἂν ^{War is}
 ἔτι αἰτιασάμεθα ὥς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν ^{in the}
 εἰσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνήγαγον. χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ^{interest of}
 ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ^{the inland,}
 5 ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. ἡμῶν δὲ ^{as well as}
^{the mari-}
^{time, cities}

of the con-
federacy.

οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν, οὐχὶ διδαχῆς δέονται
ὥστε φυλάσθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον
καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατφικμένους εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι, τοῖς κάτω
ἢ μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἔξουσιν τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν
ῥαίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὧν ἡ θάλασσα τῇ ἡπείρῳ 10
δίδωσιν, καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὥς μὴ
προσηκόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω
προεῖντο, καὶ μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεῖνδον προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ
αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσουν νῦν βουλευέσθαι. διόπερ καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν
δεῖ αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν. 15

We must
fight now;
but we will
make peace
again as
soon as
ever we
can.

Ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μὲν ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖτο, ἥσυ-
χάζειν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν,
εὖ δὲ παρασχὼν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ζυμβῆναι, καὶ μήτε τῇ
κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε τῷ ἡσυχίᾳ τῆς
εἰρήνης ἡδόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι. ὃ τε γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν 20
ὀκνῶν τάχιστ' ἀν ἀφαιρεθείη τῆς βραδύτητος τὸ τερπνὸν δι'
ὅπερ ὀκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι, ὃ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχία πλεονάζων
οὐκ ἐντεθῦμται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος. πολλὰ γὰρ
κακῶς γνωσθέντα ἀβουλοτέρων τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντων
κατωρθώθη, καὶ ἔτι πλέω ἢ καλῶς δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι 25
ἐς τοῦναντίον αἰσχροῦς περιέστη· ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδεὶς
ὁμοῖα τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀσφαλείας
μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν.
ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν καὶ 121
ἱκανὰ ἔχοντες ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα Ἀθηναίους,
καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ.

✓
We have
numbers,
skill, and
discipline.
With loans
from tem-
ples, we
can equip

Κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι, πρῶτον μὲν
πλήθει προύχοντας καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικῇ, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως 5
πάντας ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἴοντας. ναυτικόν τε, φ
ἰσχύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε ἐκάστοις οὐσίας ἐξαρτυ-

120. 24. τυχόντων] Οἱ τυχόντα.

120. 27. ὁμοῖα] Reiske conjectures ὁμοίᾳ.

121. 7. ἐξαρτυσόμεθα] Οἱ ἐξαρτυσώμεθα.

σόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων a fleet,
 δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἷοι τ' ἐσμέν μισθῷ and attract
 10 μείζονι τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας. ὠνητὴ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων scamen,
 ἢ δύναμις μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία· ἢ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἦσσαν ἀν τοῦτο who are
 πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλεόν ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασιν. aliens, by
 high pay.

Μιᾷ τε νίκη ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀλίσκονται· εἰ δ' If one de-
 ἀντίσχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ τὰ does not
 15 ναυτικά, καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσωμεν, crush them,
 τῇ γε εὐψυχίᾳ δὴ πού περιεσόμεθα. ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν we can
 φύσει ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο διδαχῇ· ὁ δ' ἐκείνοις train our
 ἐπιστήμῃ προύχουσι, καθαιρετέον ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μελέτη. χρή- navy, and,
 ματα δ' ὥστ' ἔχειν ἐς αὐτά, οἴσομεν· ἢ δεινὸν ἀν εἴη εἰ οἱ like their
 20 μὲν ἐκείνων ζύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ allies,
 ἀπεροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ maintain a
 αὐτοὶ ἅμα σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ fund.
 μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς τούτοις κακῶς
 πάσχειν.

122 Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὁδοὶ πολέμου ἡμῖν, ζυμμάχων We can
 τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὔσα τῶν προσόδων make their
 αἷς ἰσχύουσιν, καὶ ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλα τε ὅσα volt, fortify
 οὐκ ἀν τις νῦν προῖδοι. ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς posts
 5 χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾶται πρὸς τὸ against
 παρατυγχάνον· ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας their terri-
 βεβαιοτέρως, ὁ δ' ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει. tory, &c.

Ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἡμῶν ἐκάστοις πρὸς It will
 ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς ὅρων διαφοράι, οἷσδὲν ἀν ἦν· νῦν δὲ require a
 10 πρὸς ζύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν a great and
 ἔτι δυνατώτεροι, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ a united
 ἕκαστον ἄστυ μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀμυνσόμεθα αὐτούς, δίχα γε ὄντας effort.
 ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρώσονται. καὶ τὴν ἦσσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινόν
 τῷ ἀκούσαι, ἴστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσιν ἢ ἀντικρὺς δουλείαν·

121. 18. καθαιρετέον] Οἱ καθαιρετόν.

122. 7. περὶ αὐτόν] Οἱ περὶ α. τόν.

But the
tyrant city
must be
put down.

ὁ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι αἰσχροῦν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ 15
πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν. ἐν ᾧ ἡ δικαίως
δοκοῖμεν ἂν πάσχειν ἢ διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ τῶν
πατέρων χεῖρους φαίνεσθαι, οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡλευθέρωσαν
ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦμεν αὐτό, τύραννον δὲ
ἐῷμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δ' ἐν μιᾷ μονάρχους ἀξιοῦ- 20
μεν καταλύειν. καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν
μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ
ἀμελείας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους
δὴ βλάβασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς
σφάλλειν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται. 25

The God
has pro-
mised help.
The Athe-
nians, not
we, have
broken the
treaty.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένα τί δεῖ μακρότερον ἢ ἐς ὅσον 123
τοῖς νῦν ξυμφέρει αἰτιάσθαι; περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόν-
των τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρῆ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν· πάτριον
γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι· καὶ μὴ μετα-
βάλλειν τὸ ἔθος, εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον 5
προφέρετε (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἢ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτῆθαι τῇ περισυσίᾳ
ἀπολέσθαι), ἀλλὰ θαρσύνοντας ἰέναι κατὰ πολλὰ ἐς τὸν
πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποσχομένου
ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος πάσης ξυναγωνιου-
μένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δ' ὠφελίᾳ. σπονδὰς τε οὐ λύσετε 10
πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παρα-
βεβάσθαι, ἡδίκημέναις δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε· λύουσι γὰρ
οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀλλ' οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες.

The Poti-
daeans and
our other
allies must
be suc-
coured at
once, and
the subjects
of Athens
set free.

Ὡστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ 124
ἡμῶν τάδε κοινῇ παραινούντων, εἴπερ βεβαιότατον τὸ ταῦτα
ξυμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ιδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ μέλλετε Ποτι-
δαίαιταις τε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν οὔσι Δωριεῦσι καὶ ὑπὸ
Ἰώνων πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ πρότερον ἢν τοῦναντίον, καὶ 5
τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται
περιμένοντας τοὺς μὲν ἤδη βλάπτεσθαι, τοὺς δ', εἰ γνω-

123. 4. ἡμῖν] Οἱ ἡμῖν.

124. 2. ταῦτα] Οἱ ταῦτά (a correction in one good MS.).

σθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες,
μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν· ἀλλὰ νομίσαντες ἐπ'
10 ἀνάγκην ἀφίχθαι, ὧ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ὅμα τάδε ἄριστα
λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ φοβηθέντες τὸ
αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείονος εἰρήνης ἐπι-
θυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον βεβαιούται,
ἀφ' ἥσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκινδυνον. καὶ
15 τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλιν τύραννον ἡγασάμενοι
ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθεστάναι, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἤδη ἄρχειν
τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι, παραστησώμεθα ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἀκινδύνως τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους
Ἕλληνας ἑλευθερώσωμεν." τοιαῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

- 125 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἀφ' ἀπάντων ἤκουσαν γνώμην, War voted
ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἅπασιν ὅσοι παρήσαν ἐξῆς, by a large
καὶ μέλζον καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο Preparations
πολεμεῖν. δεδογμένον δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἦν begun,
5 ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπαρασκευαίους οὖσιν, ἐκπορίζεσθαι δὲ ἐδόκει ἐκά-
στοις ἅ πρόσφορα ἦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέλλησιν. ὅμως δὲ καθισ-
ταμένοις ὧν ἔδει ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ, πρὶν
ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερώς.
- 126 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπρεσβεύοντο τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη- and
ναίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅπως σφίσιν ὅτι μεγίστη complaints
πρόφασις εἴη τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἦν μὴ τι ἑσακούσιν. καὶ made at
πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον Athens, in
5 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄγος ἦν order to
τοιοῦνδε. justify the
war.

Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν πάλαι The expul-
εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός, ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους sion of the
Μεγαρέως ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει demanded.
10 Μεγάρων. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ Story of
θεὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Cylon.
Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν He seized
λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὀλύμπια the Acro-
[632?], and polis

was block-
aded there.

τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὥς ἐπὶ
 τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ 15
 αὐτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ
 ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι
 κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθη-
 ναίοις Διδασία ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη,
 ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα 20
 ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια), δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν ἐπεχεί-
 ρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν
 τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι
 ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυ-
 χόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεῖα ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες 25
 τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι
 διαθεῖναι ἢ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσιν· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ
 τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ
 τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ
 ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ 30
 ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥς ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τινας καὶ
 ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἱκέται
 τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, ὥς ἑώρων ἀπο-
 θνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, 35
 ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δὲ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο.
 καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγείς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκείνοι τε
 ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν
 καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγείς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεο- 40
 μένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασια-
 ζόντων, τοὺς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ
 ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατῆλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ
 γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

He
 escaped;
 his fol-
 lowers were
 enticed
 from the
 altars and
 killed.

The mur-
 derers and
 their de-
 scendants
 were twice
 expelled.

126. 20. θύουσι,] Bekk. θύουσι].

126. 37. Dobree omits ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς.

- 127** Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευον ^{Pericles}
 δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα ^{was one}
 τὸν Ξανθίππου προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ^{of these;}
 νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥῶον σφίσι προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ ^{hence his}
 5 τῶν Ἀθηναίων. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἤλπιζον παθεῖν ἂν ^{expulsion}
 αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅσον διαβολὴν οἴσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ^{is de-}
 ὥς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφορὰν τὸ μέρος ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος.
 ὦν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν
 ἡφαντιοῦτο πάντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐκ εἶα ὑπέεικεν
 10 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὄρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
- 128** Ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ ^{The Athe-}
 ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστή- ^{nians reply}
 σαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ^{by similar}
 τῶν Εἰλώτων ἱκέτας ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν, διὸ δὴ καὶ ^{demands.}
 5 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν γενέσθαι ἐν
 Σπάρτῃ.
- Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ‘The curse
 ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε. ἐπειδὴ Πανσανίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸ ^{of Athene}
 πρῶτον μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ^{of the}
 10 ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ καὶ κριθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ^{Brazen}
 δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξεπέμφθη, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρῃ λαβὼν ^{House.'}
 Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλησποντον, ^{Pausanias,}
 τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ^{after his}
 τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ^{recall}
 15 ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. ^{[478-7,}
 Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο ^{ch. 95],}
 καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο· Βυζάντιον ^{went back}
 γὰρ ἔλων τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀνα- ^{to the}
 χώρησιν (εἶχον δὲ Μῆδοι αὐτό, καὶ βασιλέως προσήκοντές ^{Hellespont}
 20 τινες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς [οἱ] ἐάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ) τότε τούτους ^{and re-}
 οὓς ἔλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, ^{newed an}
 τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ ^{intrigue}
^{King,}
^{begun after}
^{the fall of}
^{Byzantium}
^{[478,}
^{ch. 94].}

128. 20. [οἱ] though bracketed by Bekker is in all the MSS.

Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἑρετριώως, ὅπερ ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ· ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε ἐν αὐτῇ, ὥς 25 ὑστερον ἀνευρέθη. "Πανσανίας ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης τοῦσδε τέ σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀποπέμπει δορὶ ἐλὼν, καὶ γνώμην ποιῶμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι καὶ σοὶ Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πρᾶξαι 30 μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι' οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα."

[Xerxes
had gladly
accepted
his
proposals.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου, Ξέρξης δὲ ἦσθη τε τῇ 129 ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν τὴν τε Δασκυλίῳ σατραπείᾳ παραλαβεῖν, Μεγαβάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα ὃς πρότερον ἦρχεν, καὶ παρὰ Πανσανίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίθει 5 αὐτῷ ὥς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἀποδείξαι, καὶ ἦν τι αὐτῷ Πανσανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν ὥς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ εἶρητο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν· ἀντεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε. "ὦδε λέγει 10 βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης Πανσανίᾳ. καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας κείτῃ σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἔσται ἀνάγραφτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. καὶ σε μήτε νῦν μήθ' ἡμέρα ἐπισχέτω ὥστε ἀνείναι πράσσειν τι ὃν ἐμοὶ ὑπὸ σπονδῇ, μηδὲ χρυσοῦ 15 καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνῃ κεκωλύσθω, μηδὲ στρατιᾷς πλήθει, εἴ ποὶ δεῖ παραγίνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἀρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὃν σοὶ ἐπεμψα, πρᾶσσε θαρσύνειν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ ὅπῃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔξει ἀμφοτέροις."

Pausanias
had
adopted
Persian
habits, and

Ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Πανσανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὃν καὶ πρότερον 130 ἐν μεγάλῳ ὀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Πιλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῶν τότε μάλλον ἦρτο, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο

ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ σκευάς τε Μη- had be-
 5 δικὰς ἐνδύμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξήκει, καὶ διὰ τῆς Θράκης insufferable
 πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν, τρά- to the allies,
 πεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν who had
 οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἐργοῖς βραχέσι προυδήλου ἂ τῇ γνώμῃ seceded
 μειζύνως ἐσέπειτα ἐμελλε πράξειν. δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν from Sparta
 10 παρείχεν, καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρήτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως in conse-
 ὥστε μηδὲνα δύνασθαι προσιέναι· διόπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς quence.]
 Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη.

131 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον δι' αὐτὰ After going
 ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι νηὶ τὸ out again
 δεύτερον ἐκπεύσας οὐ κελυσάντων αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο he was
 ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίβ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορ- expelled
 5 κηθεῖς ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς δὲ Κολωνὰς from By-
 τὰς Τρωάδας ἰδρυθεὶς πρᾶσσω τε ἐσηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς πρὸς zantium
 τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν ποιοῦμενος, [470 ?]
 οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ ἔφοροι and settled
 καὶ σκυτάλην εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, in the
 10 πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος Troad, but
 ὥς ἥκιστα ὑποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν was again
 τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἐς recalled
 μὲν τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐσπίνπει τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων (ἐξεστι to Sparta.
 δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο), ἔπειτα δια-
 15 πραζόμενος ὕστερον ἐξῆλθε, καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς κρίσιν
 τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχειν.

132 Καὶ φανερόν μὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν οἱ Σπαρτιάται σημεῖον, οὔτε His old
 οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἂν πιστεύσαντες βεβαίως offence in
 ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντα καὶ ἐν inscribing
 τῷ παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα (Πλείσταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωνίδου his own
 5 ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιὸς ὦν ἐπετρόπενεν)· ὑπο- name on
 ψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρείχε τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν the tripod.
 βαρβάρων μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παρούσιν, τά τε

132. 7. τά τε] Ullrich conjectures καὶ τά τε.

ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπου, εἴ τί που ἐξεδεδιήτητο τῶν καθε-
στῶτων νομίμων, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν
Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκρο- 10
θίνιον, ἤξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγείον τόδε,

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,

Παυσανίας Φοῖβφ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγείον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλασαν εὐθὺς
τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς 15
πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνά-
θημα· τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι,
καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον
πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρουσίᾳ διανοίᾳ.

He incites
the Helots
to rise.
The
Ephors
still hesi-
tate,
until—

Ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Εἰλωτας πρᾶσσειν τι αὐτόν, 20
καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθέρωσιν τε γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς
καὶ πολιτεῖαν, ἣν ξυπεπασσάτωσι καὶ τὸ πᾶν ξυγκατεργά-
σωνται. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν μηνυταῖς τισὶ
πιστεῦσαντες ἤξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, χρώ- 25
μενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ περ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς
εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἀνευ ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρ-
ῶν βουλευσαί τι ἀνῆκεστον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὥς λέγεται,
ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτά-
βαζον κομεῖν, ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικά ποτε ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ 30
πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, μηνυτῆς γίγνεται, δείσας κατὰ ἐνθύμη-
σίν τινα ὅτι οὐδεὶς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν
ἀφίκετο, καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγίδα, ἵνα ἦν ψευσθῇ
τῆς δόξης ἥ καὶ ἐκείνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ μὴ ἐπιγνῶ,
λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ὑπονοήσας τι τοιοῦτο προσ-
επεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτὸν εὖρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν. 35

on the in-
formation
of a
confidential
slave a trap
is laid for
him,—

Τότε δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον 133
μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουλευθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ
Παυσανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἰκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν

132. 17. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει] Struve conjectures καὶ τοτ' ἐδόκει.

5 διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν [τε] ἐφόρων ἐντός τινος and his
ἐκρυψε, καὶ Παισανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος treason
τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας ᾗσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς, αἰτιωμένου becomes
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὰ τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τὰλλ' ἀπο- manifest
φαίνοντος καθ' ἕκαστον, ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς
10 πρὸς βασιλείᾳ διακοναῖς παραβάλοιτο, προτιμηθείη δ' ἐν
Ἰσφ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν, κἀκείνου αὐτὰ
ταῦτα ξυνομολογούντος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἐώντος
ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδόντος τῆς ἀνα-
στάσεως καὶ ἀξιούντος ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ

15 πρᾶσσόμενα διακωλύειν.

134 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἑφοροι, He escapes
βεβαίως δὲ ἤδη εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποι- to the
οῦντο. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ξυλληφθῆσεσθαι ἐν τῇ temple of
ᾄδῳ, ἐνδὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος ὡς εἶδε, He is
5 γυνῶναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχάρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεί χρησαμένου walled up
καὶ δηλώσαντος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Χαλκιοῦκου χω- there, and
ρῆσαι δρόμῳ καὶ προκαταφυγεῖν ἣν δ' ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος. brought
καὶ ἐς οἶκημα οὐ μέγα δ' ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθόν, ἵνα μὴ [468?].
ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροῖη, ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν
10 ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν
ὄροφον ἀφείλουν καὶ τὰς θύρας, ἐνδοῦ ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν
καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω, ἀπφοδόμησαν, προσκαθεζόμενοι τε
ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ. καὶ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποψύχειν ὥσ-
περ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι, αἰσθόμενοι τε ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ
15 ἱεροῦ ἐτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα, καὶ ἐξαχθεῖς ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα.

Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν, οὐπὲρ τοὺς Apollo is
κακούργους, ἐμβάλλειν· ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατο- angry and
ρῆσαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τὸν τε τάφον ὕστερον commands
ἐχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὐπὲρ ἀπέθανεν to Athene.

133. 5. τε is hard to explain and does not affect the meaning.
It is therefore bracketed here.

134. 11, 12. θύρας,] εἴσω,] Bekker θύρας] εἴσω].

(καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὃ γραφῇ στήλαι 20
δηλοῦσιν) καὶ ὥς ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὃν τὸ πεπραγμένον δύο
σώματα ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τῇ Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ποι-
ησάμενοι χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάντας δύο ὥς ἀντὶ Πανσανίου
ἀνέθεσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος κρίναντος, 135
ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτό.

Themis-
tocles, now
ostracised,
[471 ?] is
implicated
in the trea-
son of
Pausanias.

Τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πανσανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις
πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο καὶ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα, ὥς εὗρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πανσανίαν ἐλέγχων, 5
ἔξιλουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες
(ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δλαιταν μὲν ἐν Ἀργεῖ,
ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον) πέμπουσι
μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἀνδρας
οἷς εἰρητο ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν. 10

Pursued
by the
Athenians
and Lacedae-
monians, and
refused
protection
at Corcyra,
he finds
refuge with
Admetus,

Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοπον- 136
νήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὃν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. δεδιέναι δὲ
φασκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίοις
καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέχθεσθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν
ἡπειρον τὴν καταντικρὺ. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προσ- 5
τεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν ἢ χωροίῃ, ἀναγκάζεται κατὰ τι
ἄπορον παρὰ Ἀδμήτῳ τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα ὄντα αὐτῷ
οὐ φίλον καταλῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ
δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὸν
παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν. καὶ ἐλ- 10
θόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστιν,
καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων
δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου
πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναῖον
δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὁμολοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἅμα 15
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι
ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἂν, εἰ ἐκδοίῃ αὐτόν, (εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν

136. 14. ἀσθενεστέρου] Or ἀσθενέστερος (a correction in one MS.,
adopted by Porpo and others).

- καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται) σωτηρίας ἀν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερηῆσαι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος, ὥσπερ
 20 καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο,
 137 καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις who sends
 ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει him to the
 βουλόμενον ὥς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασ- King.
 σαν περὶ ἐς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου.
 5 Ἐν ᾗ ὀλκάδος τυχὼν ἀναγομένης ἐπ' Ἴωνίας καὶ ἐπιβὰς He escapes
 καταφέρεται χεიმῶνι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ὃ ἐπο- the Athe-
 λιάσκει Νάξον. καὶ (ἦν γὰρ ἀγνώστῳ τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηϊ) δεῖσας which is
 φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει, καὶ εἰ besieging
 μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἔφη εἶναι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν Naxos.
 10 ἄγει· τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς
 νεῶς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται· πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν
 ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ
 ἀποσαλεύσας ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἐφεσον.
 15 Καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων He writes
 δόσει (ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν to Arta-
 φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργεῶς ἃ ὑπεξέκειτο) καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω xerxes
 Περσῶν τινὸς πορευθεὶς ἄνω ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ὥς βασιλέα (who had
 Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. ἐδήλου δ' Xerxes)
 20 ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι "Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν [465] men-
 πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἰργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον tioning his
 χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμυνόμεν, πολὺ services to
 δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ Xerxes
 δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἢ ἀποκομιδῇ ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μοι εὐερ- after
 25 γεσία ὀφείλεται" (γράφας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν Salamis.
 τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσ-
 ποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν), "καὶ νῦν ἔχων σε
 μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πάρεμι, διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν
 30 αὐτός σοι περὶ ὧν ἦκω δηλῶσαι."

Artaxerxes
receives
and
honours
him.

Βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν **138**
καὶ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν οὕτως. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε
τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν
ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὐδεὶς πω Ἑλλήνων **5**
διὰ τε τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ
ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
πείραν διδοὺς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι.

Themis-
tocles'
originality
and force
of cha-
racter.

Ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν
δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος **10**
θαυμάσαι· οἰκεῖα γὰρ ξυνέσει, καὶ οὔτε προμαθῶν ἐς αὐτὴν
οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐπιμαθῶν, τῶν τε παραχρήμα δι' ἐλαχίστης
βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖσ-
τον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής. καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ
χείρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε, ὧν δ' ἄπειρος εἴη, **15**
κρίναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο· τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν
τῷ ἀφανεί ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ζῦμπαν εἰπεῖν,
φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ
οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.

His death
and burial.

Νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ **20**
ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα
εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο. μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν
αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· ταύτης
γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν
μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε πεντήκοντι τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, **25**
Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον (ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυοινώτατον τῶν τότε
εἶναι), Μυοῦντα δὲ ὄψον. τὰ δὲ δοτᾶ φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ
οἱ προσήκοντες οἵκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι
κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὡς
ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πανσανίαν τὸν **30**
Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, λαμπροτά-
τους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων, οὕτως ἐτε-
λεύτησεν.

- 139 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας τοιαῦτα The Lacedaemonians demanded the raising of the blockade of Potidaea, the independence of Aegina, and above all, the repeal of the 'Megarian decree';
- ἐπέταζάν τε καὶ ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσεως· ὕστερον δὲ φοιτῶντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ποτιδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκέλευον καὶ Αἰγίαν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι, 5 καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προύλεγον τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελούσι μὴ ἂν γίνεσθαι πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τὰλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν, ἐπικα- 10 λούντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων. τέλος δὲ ἀφικυμένων τῶν τελευταίων πρέσβεων ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, Ῥαμφίου τε καὶ Μελησίππου καὶ Ἀγησάνδρου, καὶ λε- γόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν πρότερον εἰώθεσαν, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰδε 15 ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι βούλονται τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἴη δ' ἂν εἰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονομῶς ἀφείτε, ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προυτίθεσαν, καὶ ἐδόκει ἀπαξ περὶ ἀπάντων βουλευσαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα γιγνόμενοι 20 ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ ὥς χρὴ πολεμεῖν καὶ ὥς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης ἀλλὰ καθελείν, καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶ- 25 τος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατότατος, παρήνει τοιάδε. Speech of Pericles.
- 140 “Τῆς μὲν γνώμης ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι, μὴ εἴκειν Πελοποννησίοις, καί περ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ 30 πράσσοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπ- ομένους. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁμοῖα καὶ παραπλήσια ξυμ- βουλευτέα μοι ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους ὑμῶν δικαίῳ τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν, ἣν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, βοηθεῖν, ἢ 35 μηδὲ κατορθοῦντας τῆς ξυνέψεως μεταποιεῖσθαι. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥσσον ἀμαθῶς χω-

ρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διόπερ καὶ τὴν 10
τύχην, ὅσα ἂν παρὰ λόγον ξυμβῇ, εἰώθαμεν αἰτιῶσθαι.

The Lace-
daemo-
nians reject
arbitration.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρότερόν τε δῆλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλευόντες
ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἥκιστα. εἰρημένον γὰρ δίκας μὲν τῶν
διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ ἐκατέ-
ρους ἃ ἔχομεν, οὔτε αὐτοὶ δίκας πω ἤτησαν οὔτε ἡμῶν 15
διδόντων δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγους
τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοιτες ἤδη καὶ οὐκέτι
αἰτιώμενοι πάρεισιν. Ποτιδαίας τε γὰρ ἀπανίστασθαι κε-
λεύουσι καὶ Αἴγιαν αὐτόνομον ἀφίεναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων
ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οἷδε ἦκοντες καὶ τοὺς 20
Ἕλληνας προαγορεύουσιν αὐτονόμους ἀφίεναι. ὑμῶν δὲ μη-
δεὶς νομίση περὶ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν, εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων
ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα προύχονται, εἰ καθ-
αιρεθεῖ, μὴ ἂν γίνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· μὴδ' ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς
αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε ὥς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε. τὸ γὰρ 25
βραχύ τι τοῦτο πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαίωσιν καὶ πείραν
τῆς γνώμης. οἷς εἰ ξυγχωρήσετε, καὶ ἄλλο τι μείζον εὐθὺς
ἐπιταχθήσεσθε ὥς φόβῳ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντες· ἀπ-
ισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσαιτε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἴσου ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεισθαι. 30

If for the
sake of
peace you
give way
about
Megara,
you may
as well do
all you are
told.

Αὐτόθεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρῶν τι βλαβήναι, ἢ 141
εἰ πολεμήσομεν, ὥς ἔμοιγε ἄμεινον δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ
μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ ὁμοίως προφάσει μὴ εἰζόντες μὴδὲ
ζῶν φόβῳ ἔξοντες ἃ κεκτήμεθα· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται
δούλωσιν ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν 5
ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη.

Our
enemies
have no
source of
wealth but
their own
labour;
personally
brave, they

Τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ὥς
οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξομεν, γνῶτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες.
αὐτουργοὶ τε γὰρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὐτ'
ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα χρόνιων πολέμων 10
καὶ διαποντίων ἀπειροὶ διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους
ὑπὸ πενίας ἐπιφέρειν. καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ναὺς πληροῦντες

- οὔτε πεζὰς στρατίας πολλάκις ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν cannot face the ex-
pense of a
 ἰδίῳν τε ἅμα ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες καὶ long and
distant
war.
- 15 προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι· αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσιν. σώμασί τε ἐτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πο-
 λεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κὰν περι-
 γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν, ἄλλως
- 20 τε κὰν παρὰ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ μῆ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἑλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοπον-
 νήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ They have
no standing
council :
 ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρήμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελώσιν, πάντες τε they are
divided in
interests ;
they will
lack money
- 25 ἰσότηφι ὄντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος and will
miss
chances,
and war
waits for
no man.
 σπεύδῃ· ἐξ ὧν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελεῖς γίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὥς μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαι τινα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἥκιστα τὰ οἰκεία φθείραι. χρόνιοι τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεί miss
chances,
and war
waits for
no man.
 μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλέονι τὰ οἰκεία
- 30 πρᾶσσουσιν. καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἴεται βλάψειν, μέλειν δέ τινα καὶ ἄλλῃ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι προῖδεῖν, ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματι
- 142 λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον. μέγιστον δὲ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται, ὅταν σχολῇ αὐτὰ ποριζόμενοι διαμέλλωσιν· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί.
- Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιτείχισις οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἄξιον They may
raise forti-
fied posi-
tions
against our
territory,
but we can
do the
same to
them, by
help of
our fleet.
- 5 φοβηθῆναι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσασθαι, ἢ που δὴ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων. φρούριον territory,
but we can
do the
same to
them, by
help of
our fleet.
 δ' εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἂν τι μέρος κατα-
 δρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολαῖς, οὐ μέντοι ἱκανόν γε ἔσται ἐπιτείχ-
 10 ῖν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων καὶ ἡπὲρ ἰσχύομεν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι· πλέον γὰρ ἡμεῖς our fleet.
 ἔχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐκείνοι
 ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἡπείρου ἐς τὰ ναυτικά.

Their navy
can never
equal ours,
which will
keep them
off the
seas; and
a navy
cannot be
trained at
odd times.

Τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθαι οὐ ῥαδίως
αὐτοῖς προσγενήσεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μελετῶντες αὐτὸ 15
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐξείργασθε· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ
καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἐασόμενοι
διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἀεὶ ἐφορμείσθαι, ἄξιον
ἂν τι δοῦνεν; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμούσας κἂν δια-
κινδυνεύσειαν, πλήθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασύνοντες, πολλαῖς 20
δὲ εἰργόμενοι ἡσυχάζουσιν καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἄνυν-
ετώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὀκνηρότεροι. τὸ δὲ
ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστὶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται,
ὅταν τύχη, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴδὲν
ἐκεῖνυ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι. 25

They are
not likely
to win over
our alien
seamen by
higher pay:
if they do,
we can
man the
fleet our-
selves.

Εἴ τε καὶ κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρη- 143
μάτων μισθῷ μείζονι πειρῶντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ξένους
τῶν ναυτῶν, μὴ ὄντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων, ἐσβάντων
αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων, δεινὸν ἂν ᾦν· νῦν δὲ τότε τε
ὑπάρχει, καὶ ὅπερ κράτιστον, κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας 5
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους ἢ πᾶσα ἡ
ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν
ξένων τὴν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἡσσοнос ἄμα
ἐλπίδος, ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἕνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως,
ἐκεῖνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι. 10

If they
ravage
Attica, we
can re-
taliate with
our ships;
we have
land else-
where.
Treat the
city as an
island in
the sea;
for the sea
is our's:
do not risk
a battle to

Καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἔμοιγε τοιαῦτα καὶ παρα-
πλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τούτων τε ὧν περ ἐκεῖνοις
ἐμεμφάμην ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μεγάλα
ἔχειν. ἦν τ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν περὶ ἴωσιν, ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ
τὴν ἐκεῖνων πλευσούμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμόλου ἔσται 15
Πελοποννήσου μέρος τι τμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπασαν·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἄλλην ἀντιλαβεῖν ἀμαχεί, ἡμῖν δ'
ἐστὶ γῆ πολλή καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον. μέγα γὰρ
τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος. σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἡμεν
νυσιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀληπτότεροι ᾗσαν; καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι 20
ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίαν ἀφεί-

ναι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν, καὶ save houses
and lands.
 Πελοποννησίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὀργισθέντας πολλῶ πλείοσι
 μὴ διαμάχεσθαι (κρατήσαντές τε γὰρ αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι
 25 μαχούμεθα, καὶ ἦν σφαλῶμεν, τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅθεν ἰσ-
 χύομεν, προσάπολλυνται· οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν
 ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν), τὴν τε ὀλόφουρσιν μὴ
 οἰκῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ τάδε
 τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα κτῶνται. καὶ εἰ ὥμην
 30 πείσειν ὑμᾶς, αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐξελθόντας ἐκέλευον αὐτὰ δηῶσαι
 καὶ δεῖξαι Πελοποννησίοις ὅτι τούτων γε ἕνεκα οὐχ ὑπα-
 κούσεσθε.

144 Πολλά δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, ἣν ἰ fear our
ἐθέλητε ἀρχήν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα πολεμοῦντες καὶ own errors
κινδύνους αὐθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι· μάλλον γὰρ πεφό- most.
βημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων
διανοίας.

'Αλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις Tell them
 δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τοῦτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν, that our
 Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἐάσομεν ἀγορᾷ καὶ λιμῆσι χρῆσθαι, ἣν Megarian decree ' is
 καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε no more
 τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύει ἐν ταῖς to the
 σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε), τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονομίους ἀφή- treaty than
 σομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονομίους ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα, καὶ ὅταν their 'alien
 ἀκείνοι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀποδώσι πόλεσι μὴ σφίσιν τοῖς Λακε- acts,' that
 δαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδεύωσι αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις our allies
 ὥς βούλονται· δίκας δὲ ὅτι ἐθέλομεν δοῦναι κατὰ τὰς are as
 ξυνθήκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυν- free as
 ούμεθα. ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρόποντα ἅμα τῇδε τῇ they were
 πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι. before the
 treaty, or
 as their
 own are ;
 and that
 we appeal

144. 10. *καλύνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς*] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (a critic of the Augustan age) reads *καλύνει ταῖς σπονδαῖς*, and explains *καλύνει* as = *καλύπτεται*.

144. 13. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, perhaps a gloss on σφίσι as suggested by a scholium here.

But war
must come.

Εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν· ἣν δὲ ἐκούσιοι
μᾶλλον δεχόμεθα, ἥσσον ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους 20
ἔξομεν· ἐκ τε τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι καὶ πόλει καὶ
ἰδιώτῃ μέγισται τιμαὶ περιγίγνονται. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν
ὑποστάντες Μήδους, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὀρμώμενοι ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλιπόντες, γνώμη τε πλείονι ἢ τύχῃ
καὶ τόλμῃ μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει τὸν τε βάρβαρον ἀπεώσαντο 25
καὶ ἐς τὰδε προήγαγον αὐτά. ὦν οὐ χρὴ λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
τούς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνο-
μένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι."

The Athe-
nians reply
accord-
ingly.

‘Ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν, οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες 145
ἄριστα σφίσι παραινεῖν αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο ἃ ἐκέλευεν, καὶ
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκεῖνου γνώμῃ, καθ’
ἑκαστά τε ὥς ἔφρασεν, καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι
ποιήσειν, δίκη δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνηθῆκας ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι διαλύεσθαι 5
περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ.

War im-
minent but
not for-
mally de-
clared.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ’ οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὕστερον 146
ἐπρεσβεύοντο, αἰτίαι δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμ-
φοτέροις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμεναι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν
Ἐπιδάμνῃ καὶ Κερκύρᾳ· ἐπεμύγνυντο δὲ ὅμως ἐν αὐταῖς
καὶ παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων, ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ 5
οὐ· σπονδῶν γὰρ ξύγχυσις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις
τοῦ πολεμεῖν.

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(FOUNDED ON BEKKER AND VON ESSEN.)

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THUCYDIDES
BOOK I

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

With Maps

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NOTES



BOOK I

THUCYDIDES' Introduction (ch. 1-23) is not a sketch of early Greek history leading up to the Peloponnesian War. It is only an elaborate proof that Hellas was at no previous time so strong, and that no previous war was so great. True, the historian is continually passing beyond the limits of his meagre theme; and ch. 18, 19 are a real history, in outline, of the period just before the war. But the comparative weakness of early Hellas is the main point throughout.

Thucydides' treatment of mythical or half-mythical stories, both in the Introduction and elsewhere when he has occasion to mention them, rests, not on any strict examination of them according to rules of evidence, but on his own ideas of likelihood and human nature¹. He accepts the probable and drops the improbable parts of the old legends; although the evidence is really the same for both. He takes Minos, Atreus, Agamemnon, Theseus, Pandion, as historical personages, and assigns prosaic instead of poetical motives to their actions: Minos has to protect his revenue, as the Athenian people had: Atreus 'courts the multitude' like an Athenian demagogue: Pandion, the old king of Attica (ii. 29), is much more likely to have found a husband for his daughter in Daulis, which was near enough to Attica for purposes of mutual defence, than in the distant Thrace: and so on. The Homeric 'catalogue' is used as though it were a perfectly authentic, though very likely exaggerated, piece of statistics. In fact, Thucydides distinguishes what is historical from what is unhistorical by his own estimate of its intrinsic character and not by the nature of the evidence. And consequently he draws no line (the first thing that a modern historian

¹ 'Like Herodotus, and still more than Herodotus, Thucydides was under the pressure of two conflicting impulses. He shared the general faith in the mythical antiquity, yet at the same time he could not believe in any facts which contradicted the laws of historical credibility or probability:' Grote, Part i. ch. xvi., where the treatment of legendary times by Thucydides and other Greek authors is fully discussed.

Book I. Notes.

tries to do) between legendary, semi-legendary, and historical times¹, but passes smoothly (ch. 12) from the legendary Trojan War to the Dorian conquest of Peloponnese (a historical fact, though the details, including the 'return of the Heracleidae,' are legendary) and the earliest Greek colonies; and mentions in the same sentence (ch. 12) the colonization of Ionia and that of Sicily.

These considerations will account for the puzzled feeling which arises when we compare Thucydides' Introduction with the first chapters of a modern history of Greece. They are alike in tone and character (they are in a way more akin to each other than either of them is to the opening chapters of Herodotus), but Thucydides' aim is narrower and his criterion of truth is somewhat different.

The Introduction not always to be trusted:

Concerning the times when there were no contemporary written records—we may say roughly the times before the first Olympiad, B. C. 776, for then first we have any sort of ground for believing such to have existed²—Thucydides knew no more than we do, because he had no more evidence: and we are not bound by his authority as a historian of his own times to accept what he says about Minos or the Trojan War. About these early times the accounts which he had before him must have varied greatly³. We may imagine him taking some pains to choose the truest (cp. *οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μῆμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδωγμένοι*, ch. 9), but he cannot be assumed to have compared and sifted

¹ It has been observed that Thucydides dates the settlement of Boeotia and the Dorian conquest from the fall of Troy, but the visit of Aminocles to Samos (ch. 13) and the foundation of the Lacedaemonian constitution (ch. 18) from the end of the Peloponnesian War. But this does not show that he drew a definite line between the two sets of events: it may be mere accident that he has not, like Herodotus and Hellanicus, shown that he believed himself to know the date of the Trojan War. In v. 112 he makes the Melians say that their city was founded '700 years ago' (i. e. about 1116 B. C.). In vi. 2 he says that the Sicels arrived in Sicania (Sicily) about 300 years before the Greeks (i. e. about 1035 B. C.).

² I. e. the lists of the victors, which may have been contemporary, or may rest in part on contemporary evidence. But, as they can be traced to no earlier authority than the Sophist Hippias of Elis, who lived at the same time as Socrates (Plutarch, Numa, ch. 1), the date of their commencement cannot be taken as certain. See Professor Mahaffy, *Problems in Greek History*, p. 58, 217 ff.

³ Herodotus gives an independent and not quite consistent account of the relation between Minos and the Carians (i. 171), and discriminates between Minos the hero and the man Polycrates better than Thucydides (iii. 122; cp. Grote, Part i. ch. xii.). The most varying accounts were current in antiquity about the first settlement in Boeotia (see Grote, Part i. ch. xviii., § 2), and Thucydides' words in ch. 12 look like an attempt to reconcile two such accounts. Hellanicus, quoted by Strabo, viii. 5. 5, makes the Lacedaemonian constitution coeval with the Dorian conquest; Thucydides in ch. 18 puts its establishment long after.

Ch. 1—23.

all accessible authorities in a way that would satisfy a modern critic. It must be remembered too that what he gives us is not popular tradition in its simple form, but various popular traditions which have already been interpreted, rationalised, harmonised, by poets and chroniclers.

Here is a case in which we are not bound to follow Thucydides. He clearly implies in ch. 2 of the Introduction and elsewhere that among the early tribes of Greece only the 'Hellenes' of Thessaly spoke the Hellenic language; that the rest, among whom the Pelasgians were the most widely spread, learnt it from the Hellenes, from whom originally they were quite distinct; and that the process was not complete until after the Trojan War¹. Herodotus says somewhat the same thing in more guarded terms (i. 56—58). But all this is probably a theory, and a mistaken theory. Who the Pelasgians really were, or why they interested early Greek historians so much, we can only conjecture², but *if* they were a widespread race they cannot have been very different from the Hellenes: there is nothing to show that the early Greeks were divided by sharp distinctions of race and language.

If Thucydides' Introduction were our sole authority for the historical period preceding the Persian Wars, our acquaintance with it would be very imperfect. We should imagine that the Homeric monarchies were immediately succeeded by tyrannies, and should know nothing of the old aristocracies. We should have a very inadequate idea, if we judged by his disparaging remarks on early land warfare in ch. 15, of the ancient power of Argos, or of the extent to which Sparta and Athens aggrandised themselves by successful fighting: Sparta especially by the conquest of Messenia; Athens by that of Chalcis. Again, if we knew no more of the tyrants than Thucydides tells us, we should never imagine that Gelo of Syracuse by his great victory over the Carthaginians and their barbarian allies at Himera saved Sicily from a danger hardly less than that which threatened Greece at the same time from the Persians. From Thucydides alone we should know but little of the colonising energy of early Hellas; he clearly intends only to give a few instances of it, for he says nothing here of the Aeolian and Dorian colonies in Asia, or the colonies of Miletus and Chalcis, though he alludes to many of them elsewhere.

¹ In iv. 109 a Pelasgian race is described as *βάρβαροι διγλωσσοι*: in ii. 68 the Amphilochoian Argives, whose chief city was founded by Amphilochous from Argos after the Trojan War, all spoke a barbarian language until some of them learnt Greek from the Ambraciot colonists of Corinth. So Thucydides must have thought that the men of Argos who fought at Troy spoke a different language from the Hellenes under Achilles.

² Grote, Part ii. ch. ii; cp. Abbott, vol. i. 2, 3; Oman, pp. 20, 21.

Book I. Notes.

True value
of the In-
troduction.

We must not then look to these chapters for a sort of authorised version of early Greek history. But they are of the greatest value and interest as the first extant attempt of a powerful intellect to deal with the early history of a country as a whole and simply in a spirit of thoughtful criticism. It was a great advance upon previous writers to start with a bias in favour, not of the past, but of the present. And (not to speak of the conception of history set forth in ch. 20-22) Thucydides shows his real greatness where—as in the general picture of primitive Hellas (ch. 2), in the account of the growth of navies and of political confederacies, and in the account of the rise and fall of tyrannies—he seeks to connect a number of previously unconnected facts and to trace their causes and effects: or where, rising above his general level, he tries to sift truth from falsehood about legendary times by the use of the proper critical means—the comparison of peoples contemporary with himself but still in an early stage of growth (ch. 5), the evidence of archaeology (ch. 8), and of poetry, treated as evidence not of facts but of ideas and manners (ch. 5). The use which he makes of the possibility that Athens and Sparta might some day be in ruins (ch. 10) is a fine piece of historical imagination.

Ch. 1.

1. 3. ἀρξάμενος, 'making a beginning': i. e. collecting materials, and perhaps writing down such a connected account of what was going on as could be written at the time. Many passages in the History must have been written long after the events to which they relate, and some after the end of the War.

1. 4. ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, 'memorable above all preceding wars'.

1. 4. τεκμαιρόμενος, 'this he inferred, because.'

1. 5. ὅτι ἀκμάζοντες τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ. = ὅτι τε ἀκμάζοντες παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἦσαν (= ἦσαν²) ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἄλλο 'Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος, κ.τ.λ.

1. 7. τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς, κ.τ.λ. = τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐνιστάμενον τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον ἐνίστασθαι, 'a part also thinking of taking sides' with Athens or Sparta, like the Sicilian Greeks (ii. 7, iii. 86), the Cephallenians (ii. 30), the Argives, and most of the Achaeans (ii. 9).

11. 7-9. κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη, κ.τ.λ. Not 'this movement,' but (literally) 'this, as a movement, was the most violent.' αὕτη = τοῦτο by 'assimilation' of the gender³. Translate 'this was the most violent movement.'

1. 8. μέρει τινί implies an appreciable or considerable part, as in i. 23 μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος, vii. 30 τῶν δὲ καλησίων μέρος τι ἀπαναλώθη. (Arnold.) Among the barbarian armaments set in

¹ Thompson, Greek Syntax, § 127, n. 6.

² ἦσαν, another reading, goes with ἀκμάζοντες.

³ Thompson, § 26. 1, Kutherford, First Greek Grammar, Syntax, § 51.

Ch. 1, l. 3—Ch. 2, l. 7.

motion by the war were the army of Sitalces, said to number 150,000 Ch. 1, l. 8. (ii. 98), and the King's Phoenician fleet of 147 sail (viii. 87).

l. 9. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων is parallel to μεγίστη. This war (a) was the very greatest disturbance which ever affected the Greeks and a considerable part of the barbarians, and (b) speaking roughly, extended furthest of any over the world: κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη (a) μεγίστη δὴ ἐγένετο (b) ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγένετο. (Appendix.)

l. 9. ὥς εἰπεῖν means, not 'so to speak,' as if used to qualify a metaphor, but 'it may be said,' implying that a statement is only approximately true. Thucydides will not positively say that the influence of (e. g.) the Persian War was not more widely felt.

l. 10. σαφῶς μὲν εὐρεῖν, κ.τ.λ., 'although (Notes on Grammar, § 21) it was impossible to make out their character clearly.'

l. 11. ἀδύνατα ἦν = ἀδύνατον ἦν¹.

l. 11. ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεύσαι ξυμβαίνει, κ.τ.λ., 'yet, from such evidences as I find that I can trust when I carry my enquiry farthest back,' 'which, however far I go back, I can still trust': i. e. from such evidence as is trustworthy about times so distant; cp. ch. 21, l. 7 εὐρησθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων, ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι, ἀποχρώντως. Thucydides means such evidence as the absence of a common name like Hellenes or the prevalence of migration and piracy, contrasted with the evidence of traditions (like those, e. g., of the wars against the men of Atlantis and the Amazons), which, referring to times so remote, could not be trusted.

ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντι gives, not a reason for trusting the τεκμήρια, but a circumstance in spite of which they may be trusted.

ὧν is put by 'assimilation' for ἃ after σκοποῦντι² or for οἷς after πιστεύσαι³.

l. 4. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας, κ.τ.λ. The early Greeks were very ready to Ch. 2. migrate, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπαισίσταντο, l. 10. For (A) trade and intercourse were impossible: each little community was isolated, and so (B) they kept to their own ground, and got out of it *only* enough to live on (δοσον ἀποζην); they had no motive to accumulate wealth for purposes of exchange, nor had they capital invested in the ground in the shape of vineyards or olive-gardens. So there was nothing to keep them in one place, especially as (C) they could get the little they wanted just as well anywhere else.

Clause A gives the reason for the first part of clause B. Clause B begins with νεμόμενοί τε, clause C with τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν. τε after νεμόμενοι is best connected with καὶ before περιουσίαν.

l. 7. γῆν φυτεύοντες, planting fruit-trees, opposed to growing corn.

l. 7-9. ἄδηλον δὲν . . . ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται is parenthetical. καὶ

¹ Th. § 29. 6.

² Rutherford, § 41.

³ Th. § 75, Goodwin, Greek Grammar, § 153 n. 2.

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Ch. 2, 1.8. *ἀτειχίστων ἕμα ὄντων*, 'especially as there were no fortifications' ('things were unfortified'). *τις* and *ἄλλος* go together.

l. 9. *ἀναγκαίου*, 'just sufficient,' 'bare.' Glossary.

l. 10. *ὁ αὐτό* = *διὰ τοῦτο*.

l. 13. *ἥ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ Βοιωτία: ἡ νῦν καλουμένη* applies to *δοιὴ* countries¹.

l. 16. *πιοι*, particular persons (i. e. classes or families) in the more fertile countries.

l. 18. *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον*, 'from the remotest times,' *ἴτε*, 'from that which reaches farthest back.'

l. 19 ff. Thucydides has just said 'In early times, fertility was a source of civil strife and depopulation.' He now confirms this seeming paradox by the negative instance of Attica, in which poverty of soil actually encouraged population. (a) In Attica at all events (*γούν*, Glossary), which was barren, there was no civil strife, and the population was stable. And (b) what is more, Attica actually gained in population at the expense of more fertile countries.

ll. 20, 21. *καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι, διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι*.

τόδε refers to the clause following, *διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα² μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι*. *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον* = *μέγιστον* (Grammar, § 22). With *αὐξηθῆναι* supply *τὴν Ἀττικὴν*. *μετοικία* must mean 'the presence of *μέτοικοι*,' and not 'migration' generally. 'And here is a very strong proof by example of what I am saying, — in the fact that Attica, because of the settlement of aliens there, advanced much more (*μὴ ὁμοίως*, Grammar § 25) in other respects (*ἐς τὰ ἄλλα*);' i. e. 'the general progress of Attica in population and power, which was out of all proportion to the barrenness of her soil, is a strong proof of my main point, the connection between fertility and unsettlement.'

l. 24. *πολιταὶ γινόμενοι*. Thucydides means that the ruling classes in early Attica readily admitted aliens to their number³; as seems also to have been the case in early Rome. The words 'becoming citizens' of another state meant more to his readers than they do in modern days, when 'naturalization' is a mere matter of residence and legal formalities. The extension of citizenship to aliens was one of the greatest difficulties which presented themselves to ancient states, and one which Athens never solved while Rome ultimately did.

¹ Boeotia had formerly been called *ἡ Καδμηΐς γῆ* (l. 12), Thessaly, *ἡ Αἰολίς* (Hdt. vii. 176): or according to later writers *Ἀθμονία*.

² If Ullrich's conjecture *διὰ τὰς μετοικήσεις τὰ ἄλλα* be adopted, we can translate 'that the migrations were the cause why the rest of Hellas did not increase so fast': and the clause explains *τοῦ λόγου*. See Appendix.

³ For the legends referred to, see Abbott, vol. i. 4. 4, ix. 6; Oman, p. 55.

Ch. 2, l. 9—Ch. 3, l. 18.

l. 1. τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν, not 'the weakness of' (τὴν ἀσθένειαν) Ch. 3. but 'weakness in, the ancients.'

l. 5. εἶναι, *scil.* δοκεῖ.

l. 6. κατὰ ἔθνη . . . Ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικόν is virtually the subject to παρέχουσαι, being equivalent to ἔθνη ἄλλα τε καθ' ἑκάστα καὶ τὸ Πελασγικόν. 'Different tribes, and the Pelasgians most widely of all, gave their own names to different parts of the country.' Grammar, § 27.

l. 8. ἐπαγομένων, *scil.* τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 'when people called them in,' not Ἕλληνας καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ.

l. 10. τῇ δμῳίᾳ, 'through their intercourse' with the Hellenes proper of Phthiotis.

l. 13. ὠνόμασεν, *scil.* Ἕλληνας.

l. 16. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, κ.τ.λ. 'Nor indeed has Homer anywhere spoken of "barbarians," because the word "Hellenes" had not yet, I think, got separated off either' (any more than the word 'barbarians') 'in opposition as one name,' i. e., was not yet used as a collective name in opposition to 'barbarians'.¹ ἀντίπαλον is neuter, and in apposition with Ἕλληνας, which means not 'the Greeks' but 'the word Greeks.'

In Il. ii. 867 the Carians are called βαρβαρόφωνοι. Thucydides may have forgotten the passage²: but his general assertion is quite true, and is not necessarily contradicted by it, for βαρβαρόφωνος may have meant, to the author of the Catalogue, merely 'speaking a strange language.' There is no opposition between Hellenes and Barbarians in Homer: the Trojans are not regarded as Barbarians, or as speaking a different language from the Achaeans. But we have an approach to the later distinction in Il. iii. 2, iv. 437, where the Trojan allies speak various languages and the clamour and disorder of the Trojan host is contrasted with the silence and good order of the Achaeans.

l. 18. οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἑκάστοις Ἕλληνας κατὰ πόλεις τε, δοσι ἀλλήλων ξυνίσταν, καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες, κ.τ.λ. 'To conclude however, those who in one way or another came to be called Hellenes, first city by city in so far as at any given time (impf.) they spoke the same Hellenic language, and afterwards collectively, did nothing, as one people, before the Trojan War³.

The kernel of the sentence is—not οἱ ὡς ἑκάστοις Ἕλληνας, but—οἱ ὡς ἑκάστοις κληθέντες Ἕλληνας οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, 'those who severally,' i. e. one by one, successively, 'acquired the Hellenic name.' Thucydides explains that, when he speaks of 'Hellenes' before the Trojan War, he means all those whose descendants afterwards bore the name, whether or no they were at that time among the particular communities who, one

¹ For οὐ μὴν οὐδέ see Grammar, § 26.

² Strabo, p. 661, xiv. 2. 28, notices the apparent contradiction between Homer and Thucydides.

³ For δ' οὖν and ὡς ἑκάστοις see Glossary; for the aor. κληθέντες see Grammar, § 7.

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Ch. 3, after the other, acquired from Hellen and his sons the Hellenic name
1. 18. and language. (Appendix.)

1. 19. ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνέειπον implies 'in times when, among those who are now called Hellenes, only those who spoke Hellenic were called Hellenes, and not those who spoke Pelasgian, etc.': ὅσοι has a limiting force, 'being *only* those who.' Cp. p. 7, footnote 1.

1. 22. θαλάσση ἤδη πλείω χρώμενοι, 'only when' or 'not until they had begun to take to the sea more.'

Ch. 4. 1. 3. ἔρξε, 'became ruler of.' Grammar, § 7.

1. 5. ὥς εἰκόσ, 'as was natural,' not 'as was fitting.'

1. 6. τοῦ . . . ἵνα, gen. of purpose¹.

Ch. 5. With ch. 5 begins a long digression, extending to the middle of ch. 8 (ᾧ νῦν ἐτι θάπτουσιν), where Thucydides returns to the epoch of Minos. The digression gives some particulars of the rude state of the early Hellenes ('who in many ways resembled the Barbarians of to-day') and of the steps by which they passed out of it, Athens and Sparta already, as in later times, taking the lead.

1. 4. οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων = τῶν δυνατωτάτων (Grammar, § 22).

1. 6. πόλειςιν ἀτειχίστοις (without the article) = 'cities which were unwallled.'

1. 7. κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις means that the πόλις, or community under one βασιλεὺς, consisted of a mere village or of several villages near together but not contiguous.

1. 10. καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, 'well,' 'properly,' i. e. skilfully; as in vi. 12 init. οἷς τό τε ψεύσασθαι καλῶς χρήσιμον².

1. 11. τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων, κ.τ.λ., 'everywhere alike, in the questions put to strangers landing, asking "whether they are pirates," —implying that the persons asked were not in the habit of disowning (or were not likely to disown) the occupation, and that those who were concerned to know did not censure it.'

In the Odyssey (iii. 71) Nestor asks this question of Telemachus after first showing him hospitality; and (ix. 252) the Cyclops of Odysseus: in the Hymn to Apollo (l. 452) Apollo asks it of the Cretan sailors whom he has brought to Delphi.

ὦ ξείνοι, τίνας ἔστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;

ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν, ἢ μακιδίως ἀλάλησθε,

οἳά τε ληϊστήρες ὑπεῖρ ἅλα, τοί τ' ἀλδωνται

ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῦσι φέροντες;

Though Thucydides' conclusion is fair enough, it is worth observing that the question is more indirect than his blunt εἰ ληστοὶ εἰσιν; and in two out of the three passages preserved to us is not asked by an

¹ Th. § 148. 2. c.; G. § 173. 1. n. 1, 262. 2; R. § 315.

² Cp. also v. 111 fin., vi. 41 med.

Ch. 3, l. 19—Ch. 6, l. 13.

ordinary human being, or in the matter-of-fact way which Thucydides Ch. 5, imagines. And Eumaeus in Od. xiv. 85–88 implies a different view l. 11. where he says that ‘even marauders fear the wrath of the Gods.’

καὶ μὲν δυσμενέες καὶ ἄνδρες, οἳ τ’ ἐπὶ γαίῃς
ἀλλοτρίῃς βῶσιν καὶ σφι Ζεὺς ληΐδα δάη.
πλησάμενοι δέ τε νῆας ἔβαν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι,
καὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐπιδὸς κρατερὸν δέος ἐν φρεσὶ πίπτει.

l. 8. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι, not ‘first of all,’ but ‘first,’ or ‘among the first,’ Ch. 6. ‘as soon as any.’ Grammar, § 2.

l. 10. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ. αὐτοῖς is ‘dat. of interest’¹, *lit.* ‘they had or saw their older men of the prosperous classes ceasing to wear,’ etc.

l. 10. διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον goes, not with ἐπαύσαντο—for not the giving up but the wearing of the linen tunics was the mark of refinement—but with χιτῶνας λινοῦς φοροῦντες, κ.τ.λ.: ‘Their older men of the prosperous classes, in their refined way, used to wear linen tunics and to fasten up their hair in a knot by inserting golden grasshoppers; a habit which they only gave up quite recently’—i. e. after the Persian Wars.

l. 11. χιτῶνας λινοῦς. The χιτῶν (tunic or vest under the ἱμάτιον or loose outer garment) usually worn at Athens at the time of Thucydides was of wool and reached to the knee. The older linen tunic here spoken of was probably the longer form of tunic reaching to the ankles or feet, whence the Ionians derived their epithet of ἑλκεχιτῶνες². See Appendix.

l. 12. χρυσῶν τεττίγων. Aristophanes mentions these grasshopper-brooches or hairpins as a mark of old-fashioned gentility (like wigs in Scott’s Antiquary)³. Demos transformed (Knights, 1325, 1331) appears οὗτος περ’ Ἀριστείδην πρότερον καὶ Μιλτιάδην ξυνεστίει . . . τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός, and the principles of the δίκαιος λόγος in the Clouds (984) are taunted by his irreverent assailant as ἀρχαία . . . καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμυστα.

The κρόβυλος cannot with certainty be identified with any of the different forms of wearing the hair which appear on ancient monuments⁴.

l. 13. ἀφ’ οὗ, ‘and in consequence of this habit,’ i. e. the Athenians who colonised Ionia carried the costume with them, as they did the festival of the Anthesteria (ii. 15)⁵.

¹ Th. § 118; G. § 184. 3, notes; R. § 149, 154.

² Il. xiii. 685, where the Athenians seem to be meant, cp. 689; Hymn to Apollo, 147, referring to the old Ionian gathering at Delos described in Thuc. iii. 104.

³ ‘Thae fallows that are the democraws, as they ca’ them, that are again’ the king and the law, and hairpowder and dressing o’ gentlemen’s wigs—a wheen blackguards.’

⁴ See however Dict. Ant., s. v. ‘Coma,’ vol. i. p. 497.

⁵ Herodotus (v. 88), speaking of the corresponding ‘Ionian’ chiton

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Ch. 6. l. 15. *μετρίῳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι*, κ.τ.λ. Thucydides does not make it clear whether the Lacedaemonians adopted a simple form of dress, like that of his own day, as soon as they gave up carrying arms (what rude kind of dress they wore previously he does not say), or whether they first, like the Athenians, adopted a more cumbersome dress and then took the lead in adopting a simpler form. (Appendix.)

Ch. 7. l. 1. *δοῖαι μὲν*, κ.τ.λ. This clause (down to *ἑκαστοι ἰσχύος*) is really subordinate to *αἱ δὲ παλαιαί*, κ.τ.λ., and anticipates ch. 8. 'Whereas the most recent cities,' etc. (Grammar, § 21.)

l. 6. *ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν* (or *ἀντισχουσάν*), 'which long prevailed'.

l. 7. *ἔφερον*. The nominative is not *δοῖαι ὅντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι*, but 'the pirates of those days,' supplied from *διὰ τὴν ληστείαν*.

l. 8. *τῶν ἄλλων δοῖαι = τῶν ἄλλων τούτους δοῖαι*. *θαλάσσιοι* = not 'on the coast,' but 'sea-faring.'

Ch. 8. l. 1. *οὐχ ἥσσον ληστοί* here = *μᾶλλον ληστοί* (Grammar, § 22). Not 'the islanders were no less piratical than the people of the mainland,' for the preceding words refer to the islands as well as to the mainland; but 'the islanders were of the two the worse pirates.'

l. 4. *τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν* may mean 'when the graves were taken up,' i. e. 'dug up'; or 'when the coffins were taken up' (Classen)².

l. 6. *τῇ . . . σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένη* = 'by the fact that their arms were buried with them.' *ἡ σκευὴ τῶν ὅπλων* probably means 'their equipment in the way of arms,' not 'the fashion of their arms': for *σκευή* in Thuc. is always concrete, not abstract.

What the peculiar Carian mode of burial was is not known. Thucydides here employs one of the most useful methods of later 'ethnographical' research³.

worn by women, implies that it was originally brought, not from Athens to Asia Minor, as Thucydides says, but *vice versa*. For he says that it came 'from Caria not from Ionia.' On a matter of this kind Herodotus is at least as good an authority as Thucydides.

¹ Most MSS. read *ἀντισχοῦσαι*. But this would mean that the oldest cities 'after long holding out' against the pirates removed from the coast to inland sites,—a very unlikely thing.

² The phrase is used in the same connection iii. 104 init., v. 1.

³ So Bent, Cyclades, ch. 16, argues from the numerous graves in Antiparos to the existence of a large prehistoric population, not Phoenician, in the Cyclades. In the *Classical Review*, vol. iii. No. 9, he points out that the multitude of Phoenician graves in the Bahrein Islands of the Persian Gulf confirms to some extent the traditions in Herodotus and Strabo connecting the Phoenicians with those regions.

Plutarch, Solon, c. 10, mentions various modes of burial, the use of which in Salamis was made an argument in the quarrel between Athens and Megara for the possession of the island.

Ch. 6, l. 15—Ch. 9, l. 11.

l. 13. *ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι* is not a mere repetition of Ch. 8, *μᾶλλον ἢδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι*: *ὡς* implies 'considering that they were wealthier than they had ever been before' (Classen); i.e. that they now had something to lose.

ll. 13, 14. *ἐφίεμένοι γάρ, κ.τ.λ.* γάρ introduces the means by which the wealth just spoken of was gained, the submission of weaker to stronger communities, which made enterprises like the Trojan War possible.

l. 1. *Ἀγαμέμνων τε, κ.τ.λ. προύχων, κατειλημμένους*, are emphatic Ch. 9. (Grammar, § 10). 'Now Agamemnon succeeded, I think, in mustering the expedition because he was the most powerful man of his day, and not because the suitors of Helen were bound to follow him by the oaths which Tyndareus had made them swear.'

Tyndareus, the supposed father of Helen, had made all her suitors swear to defend against wrong the man of them whom he should choose to marry her: the place where the oath was believed to have been administered was still shown near Sparta in Pausanias' time, the 2nd century A.D. (Pausanias, iii. 20. 9).

l. 4. *οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα, κ.τ.λ.*, 'those of the Peloponnesians who have received the truest accounts from their predecessors by tradition.' *Πελοποννησίων* is gen. after *οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα δεδεγμένοι*. (Appendix. For *τὸ σαφές* = 'the truth,' see Glossary, and for the possible reference to Hellenicus here see Introduction II. to Part i, p. lxxii).

The story of Pelops is as follows:—Pelops, son of Tantalus, came from Lydia to the Peloponnesus (then the 'Apian Land'), where he became king of Pisa in Elis. His daughter Nicippe married Sthenelus, son of Perseus and king of Mycenae; where their son Eurystheus in due time succeeded to the throne.

Pelops was also the father of Atreus, Thyestes, and Chrysippus. Atreus with his brother Thyestes slew Chrysippus¹ out of jealousy, was banished by his father from Pisa, and took refuge with his sister's son Eurystheus at Mycenae. Eurystheus, having in vain demanded from the king of Athens the surrender of the children of Heracles, attacked Attica, but was defeated in a battle at the Scironian rocks and killed. So Atreus became king of Mycenae.

l. 7. *τὴν ἱππωνίαν, κ.τ.λ.*, 'that he being only an immigrant... nevertheless had the naming of the country, and that afterwards still greater fortune fell to the lot of his descendants.' *σχεῖν, ξυνεχέσθηναι, τυγχίνειν, παραλαβεῖν, καταστήναι*,—all depend on *λέγουσι*.

l. 11. *ἐπιτρίψαντος Εὐρυσθέως*. The change of subject and the departure from chronological order appear clumsy. But Thucydides is

¹ A scholium here gives a different version, *Pelops* killed his own son Chrysippus, and Atreus fled in fear for his own life. Thucydides' words will bear either interpretation. There are many other variations in the legend, and we cannot tell exactly which the historian adopted. Grote, Part i. ch. vii., traces the growth of the story.

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Ch. 9, not telling the old legend over again for its own sake; he is marking

1. 11. emphatically the circumstances which favoured Atreus. 'Eurystheus was dead—Atreus was his uncle—Eurystheus had left Mycenae in charge of Atreus. Now Atreus had come to Mycenae because he had been compelled to fly from Pisa,' etc.

1. 19. καὶ ναυτικῶς τε ἄμα. *τε* meaning 'also' occurs in Hdt. and perhaps the dramatists¹, never elsewhere in Thucydides. We may here neglect the *τε* as one of several unaccountable instances of *τε* in Thucydides; or we may read καὶ ναυτικῶς δὲ ἄμα. For καὶ . . . δέ, καὶ . . . δὲ ἄμα, 'and moreover,' or 'and in fact,' cp. i. 132, l. 21; ii. 36 init.; vi. 71 fin.; vii. 56 med.

1. 20. οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ = φόβῳ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ χάριτι. Grammar, § 24.

1. 22. Ἀρκέσι προσπαρασχόν: II. ii. 612-614.

1. 24. ἐν τοῦ σκῆπτρου . . . τῇ παραδόσει, in the place about the 'Handing down of the Sceptre': II. ii. 108.

1. 26. αὐτὰρ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλὰ εἴησαν, 'would not be "many"': i. e. would not be called 'many' by the poet. Not 'would not *have been* many'.

1. 27. εὐκείων δὲ χρόν καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ, κ.τ.λ., i. e. 'if the expedition to Troy was not very great, much less can any previous action have been so.' καί, Grammar, § 19.

- Ch. 10. 1. 1. ὅτι μὲν . . . εἰ τι . . . depend on σημείῳ. 'The argument that Mycenae' (judging from the present appearance of its site) 'was but a small place, or the insignificant appearance which some of the cities of the heroic times may present, give no solid ground for doubting that the armament was as great,' etc. (Appendix.)

ἦν refers to the supposed small size of Mycenae in the times of the Trojan War. It might have been argued—'Mycenae and other places (Pylos, Amyclae, Orchomenus, etc.) must have been small because they have left such scanty traces. Therefore they cannot have sent out so large a fleet.' Thucydides gives up this argument and refutes it, although it supports his general conclusion.

Mycenae was not inhabited when Thucydides wrote: later historians tell us that it was destroyed by the Argives about thirty-five years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War: recent excavations show that the site was re-occupied before Roman times. The famous Lion Gate and massive walls on the Acropolis, the sepulchral chamber commonly called the 'treasury of Atreus,' and the recent discoveries of buried

¹ Hdt. (i. 58, 125; vii. 175; viii. 101); Aesch. (Choeph. 489); and Soph. (Aj. 1310, Cl. 1416). See note in Jowett.

² What is really meant by the 'many islands' in II. ii. 108 we cannot say: perhaps, after all, only the small islands near what was later called Argolis. The line does not agree with the description of Agamemnon's realm in the Catalogue, ii. 569 ff.

Ch. 9, l. 19—Ch. 10, l. 18.

bodies and treasure (Abbott, vol. i. 3. 12) show that the fame of the place was based on fact : and we are surprised that Thucydides speaks of it as giving a mean impression of the heroic age. Pausanias likewise describes the site without any expression of admiration (ii. 16. 5), though he ranks the similar 'Cyclopiæ' walls of Tiryns with the Pyramids (ix. 36. 5). Strabo (viii. 6. 10) actually says *κατεσκάφησαν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων, ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὑρίσκεισθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως*. But the remains, such at least as are contiguous, occupy but a small space, viz. the Acropolis (a triangle having a base of about 1000 feet and sides of about 800 feet), and a ridge of rock beneath it about half-a-mile in length. Curtius (Peloponnesus, ii. p. 400) describes the insignificant appearance which, in contrast with Argos, Mycenæ presents : the Acropolis being at first sight hardly visible against the high mountains which rise close behind it.

l. 4. *Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.* 'The only Hellenic ruin of any note that survives at Sparta is a spacious theatre. The prophecy, therefore, of Thucydides, with respect to the probable remains of Athens and of its rival city, has been fully verified. No one who looks upon these fragments would suppose that the city to which they belong had ever held the sway of Greece' (Wordsworth's Greece, p. 419).

l. 6. *κατασκευή*, 'buildings.' Glossary.

l. 8. *τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας* : two-fifths of the actual area, not 'two of the five divisions.' For the language of Thucydides always implies the ordinary division of the Peloponnese into six parts ; Argolis, Achæa, Elis, and Arcadia, besides Laconia and Messenia.

l. 9. *τῆς . . . ξυμπόλης ἡγούνται*. This assertion that Sparta had the leadership over the whole of the Peloponnese was most likely written after the final defeat of Athens. For Thucydides can hardly have left out of sight the case of Argos¹, and Argos was never during the war under the leadership of Sparta, except for a few months in 417, but either neutral or an ally of Athens.

l. 10. *οὕτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως*. We should expect *τῆς πόλεως*. But the meaning is, not 'since the city (Sparta) is not built continuously,' but 'when a city (as in the case of Sparta) is not built continuously.'

l. 13. *φαίνου' ἂν ὑποδεστέρα*, *scil. ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς, εἰ ἐρημωθείη*.

l. 14. *εἰκάζεσθαι ἂν* is governed by *οἶμαι* above, l. 6.

l. 15. *ἀπὸ τῆς φανεράς δόξης*, 'from the notable or striking appearance².'

l. 18. *μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι*. The clause with *μὲν* gives the conclusion which follows from the preceding words : the clause with *δέ* gives the more important conclusion about to be drawn : 'that the army,

¹ After Aegospotami, much more after the end of the war, Argos cannot have been independent of Sparta. Yet her position is not certain : she sent no troops under Sparta to the siege of Athens (Xen. Hell. iii. 2. 7) nor, if we trust Pausanias iii. 9. 1, with Agesilaus to Asia in 396.

² Cp. i. 17 *μήτε κοινῇ φανερόν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι*, i. 37, l. 20 ; iv. 11 med.

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Ch. 10, while greater than any before it, fell short of those of our own day.' The statement, if meant literally, is exaggerated; see note on l. 33 below.

- l. 18. *ἦν εὐκός*, *scil.* *στρατιάν*, not *πολεόν*.
 l. 21. *πεποίηκε*, 'the poet has made the fleet consist of,' etc.
 l. 25. *αὐτερέται δέ*, κ.τ.λ. Thucydides means that the distinction between the rowers in a trireme and the fighting men (*ἐπιβάται* or others), so familiar in his time, when the fighting men only served as rowers in cases of emergency (iii. 18 fin.; vi. 91 med.) was unknown to Homer.
 l. 27. *τοξότας γάρ*, κ.τ.λ. *Iliad* ii. 719-720.
 l. 30 and l. 31. *ἔχοντας*, *μέλλοντας*, grammatically agree with *περιμένει*, but really refer to the fleet generally and = *μελλόντων αὐτῶν*, *οὐδ' ἔχόντων*.
 l. 32. *ληστυκώτερον*, 'more like piratical craft than like ships of war,' i. e. those of Thucydides' own day. *ληστυκώτερον* may mean 'without decks; and deep in the hold that the crew might be better concealed.' (Schol. here.)
 l. 33. *οὐ πολλοί*. The number on Thucydides' estimate would be 102,000, a far larger host than any single Greek force sent out during the Peloponnesian war¹, except that of Lysander to which Athens yielded. But the context shows that Thucydides is comparing it with the combined forces of the whole of Hellas: and the land forces of the Peloponnese alone are estimated at 100,000². Herodotus says (ix. 30) that the Greek army at Plataea numbered just 110,000.

- Ch. 11. l. 3. *ὅσον ἤλπιζον*, 'only as great as,' 'not larger than.'
 l. 4. *εἴηλον δέ*· *τὸ γὰρ ἔργον* . . . 'and it is clear that they did win a fortified battle; for otherwise they would not have built'—i. e. would not have been able to build—the fortification.'

The only such fortification mentioned in the *Iliad* is the wall built by Nestor's advice in the tenth year of the war (Il. vii. 436 ff.). We must remember that Thucydides probably, like Herodotus (ii. 117), knew the 'Cypria,' one of the so-called 'cyclic' epics, telling the story of the Trojan War down to the point at which the *Iliad* begins³. Either, then, Thucydides may have forgotten that the fortification formed part of the story of the *Iliad* (not of the Cypria), and therefore occurred in the tenth year of the war: or the Cypria or some other poem may have represented the camp as having been fortified immediately on landing⁴.

¹ See vi. 31 init., v. 60 med.; cp. 68. In vii. 75 med. the mere remains of the Athenian armament leaving the camp at Syracuse after the battle in the harbour amount to 40,000: but this number must include many non-combatants.

² Beloch, *Bevölkerung der Griechisch-Römischen Welt*, p. 153.

³ From this or some similar source he must have derived the idea that the Achaean army tilled the Chersonese to obtain supplies, for it does not occur in the *Iliad*; cp. the mention of *οἱ ποιηταί* in the plural, ch. 10 and end of ch. 11.

⁴ The scholia here take this view: their author or authors may have had access to epics now lost. *μάχην ἐκράτησαν* τῇ τῆς ἀποβάσεως εἰς

Ch. 10, l. 20—Ch. 12, l. 12.

l. 5. φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ; δέ 'in apodosi.'

Ch. 11,

l. 5.

l. 13. πολιορκία δ' ἂν, κ.τ.λ. 'And again, if they had besieged Troy in the way of a blockade' or 'had engaged in a steady blockade, they would have taken it,' etc. πολιορκία προσκαθεζόμενοι is opposed to μάχη κρατούντες. Had the whole Achæan force remained before Troy, and not been broken up, they might easily have taken Troy in one of two ways, (α) by superiority in the field and by an immediate assault (as Achilles thought of trying to do after the fall of Hector, II. xxii. 378 ff.), or again, they would have taken Troy sooner and more easily than they did if (β) they had established a regular blockade and prevented any one going out or in.

This seems to be the meaning intended; but we should expect ἢ καὶ πολιορκία προσκαθεζόμενοι instead of πολιορκία δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι¹.

l. 16. καὶ αὐτὰ γε δὴ ταῦτα, 'and, what is more, the Trojan War itself.'

l. 1. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις, κ.τ.λ. τε, καί, distinguish the troubles connected with the return from Troy, as in the legends of Teucer, Diomedes, Amphilochnus (ii. 68), etc., from other changes which had nothing to do with the Trojan War : ἀφ' ἧν refers to both. τὰς πόλεις, the well-known cities so founded, distinct from ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

Ch. 12.

l. 6. ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ. The Homeric Catalogue (II. ii. 494-510) represents the Boeotians as sending to Troy fifty ships from nearly all the great cities of Boeotia, and therefore as fully settled there before the Trojan War. The tradition followed here by Thucydides, that the Boeotians did not settle in the country called Boeotia till sixty years after the fall of Troy, is inconsistent with the Homeric tradition : the idea of a 'division' of the Boeotians having preceded the main body may be an attempt, not very successful, to harmonise the two (cp. p. 6, footnote 3).

l. 7. ἀφ' ἧν καί, 'some of whom also.'

l. 12. Ἰταλίας . . . τὸ πλεῖστον. 'Italy,' in Thucydides' time, meant Bruttii and southern Lucania². The chief Peloponnesian founders of Sicilian and Italian cities were the Corinthians who founded Syracuse and, through Syracuse, Camarina, the Megarians who founded the Hyblæan

τὴν ξηρὰν τῶν νεῶν, ἐν ᾗ Πρωτεσίλαος πίπτει. τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα] ἔρυμα λέγει νῦν οὐκ ὅπερ ἐν τῇ ᾗ λέγει Ὅμηρος γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μικρότερον διὰ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομὰς. ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν] ἂν ἡγήτο' Ἀκάμας καὶ Ἀντίλοχος.

¹ The interposition of the clause οἱ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι μέρει τῷ δὲ παρόντι ἀντίχων makes δέ less harsh. Other renderings have been proposed (see Jowett), but are not more satisfactory. The place may be corrupt in some way: Krüger proposed to omit the first εἶλον and δέ after πολιορκία.

² Antiochus ap. Strabo vi. i, 4: Thuc. vii. 33. Antiochus did not include Tarentum in Italy; though Herodotus, iii. 136, does: Thucydides does not include Iapygia and Messapia.

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Ch. 12. Megara and, through Megara, Selinus : the Achaeans who founded Sybaris and Croton, and some Lacedaemonians who founded Tarentum.

1. 14. ἔστιν ἡ χώρα. Chiefly the colonies of Corinth in W. Hellas; Corcyra, Leucas, Ambracia, and others.

Ch. 13. 1. 2. ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον refers back to ch. 8.

1. 3. τῶν προσόδων μαιόνων γιγνομένων defines more closely the increase of wealth just mentioned : the incomes of particular citizens grew larger and enabled them to become tyrants, according to Thucydides' view.

1. 4. ἐπὶ βῆτοῖς γέρας πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι, 'hereditary monarchies enjoying (*lit.* existing on the condition of) fixed prerogatives' : these were, according to Aristotle (Pol. iii. 14, 12) the offices of general and judge, and the regulation of sacrifices. We may add the Homeric θέμιστες or dues, Il. ix. 156 καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ σῆπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.

Thucydides says nothing of the aristocracies which as a rule followed the heroic monarchies, and which were in many cases overthrown by the tyrants who professed to protect the people against the nobles. But he is not giving a history of early Hellas : he is confuting the prevalent belief that great deeds were done in early Hellas : he may therefore have passed over the aristocracies because there was no widespread belief, as in the case of the kings and the tyrants, that they had done great deeds.

1. 15. γάρ refers to the general subject of the preceding sentences, 'Corinth naturally had the first real navy, for she was always a great commercial city.'

1. 16. ἀεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, 'must from the very first have had a centre of commerce there.'

1. 19. τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς. Hom. Il. ii. 570
ἀφνειὸν τε Κόρινθον εὐκτιμέναν τε Κλεωνάς.

1. 23. ἀμφότερα, both by sea and by land.

1. 29. Πήγειαν ἑλάν : cp. iii. 104 init.

1. 30. Φωκαῖς τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες, κ.τ.λ. Hdt. i. 166 mentions a doubtful victory won by the Phocaeen fugitives, after the capture of Phocaea by the Persians (about 546 B.C.), over a Carthaginian and Etruscan fleet. But the foundation of Marseilles is placed on good authority about fifty years earlier : so the victory or victories (ἐνίκων) here mentioned as coeval with its foundation, if Thucydides is correct, are also earlier.

Ch. 14. 1. 1. δυνατότατα γάρ, κ.τ.λ. γάρ gives the reason, not for what has just been said, but for the writer's saying it. 'I mention these navies, for they were the strongest in Hellas.' So ταῦτα γάρ τελευταῖα below, 1. 7.

1. 4. πλοῖοις μακροῖς. These vessels are called μακρά, opposed to στρογγύλα, 'round', to indicate their build and use in war, and πλοῖα

¹ Cp. Hdt. i. 163 οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλῆσι μακρῆσι πρώτοι

Ch. 12, l. 14—Ch. 16, l. 5.

not *νήες*, to indicate their comparatively small size and rude construction. *νήες μακραί* would have suggested triremes. Ch. 14, l. 4.

l. 10. *ἐλ τινες ἄλλοι* e.g. the Thasians (*νέας ναυπηγούμενοι μακράς*, Hdt. vi. 46), Lesbians (iii. 39), Naxians (*πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλά*, v. 30), and Sicyonians (vi. 92).

l. 10. *βραχέα*, 'only a few.' Yet Herodotus, vi. 89 (cp. 132), 92, says that the Athenians had fifty ships of their own besides twenty which they borrowed from the Corinthians (Thuc. i. 42), and the Aeginetans seventy: and this was before the advice of Themistocles to the Athenians.

l. 11. *ὅψέ τε ἄφ' οὗ*, literally 'it was late since,' a blending of 'it was late when,' *ὅψέ τε ἦν ἐπειδή*, and 'it is not long since,' *οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐστὶν ἄφ' οὗ*.

l. 12. *Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας*. Hdt. vi. 87 ff. It is uncertain whether this war, which lasted several years, began before (as Hdt. vi. 94 implies) or not till after the battle of Marathon: the building of the ships (Hdt. vii. 144) was in any case shortly before Salamis, in the archonship of Nicodemus, B.C. 484, or more probably 483¹.

l. 13. *αἵσπερ καὶ ἐνανυμάχισαν*, 'with which they actually fought at Salamis.' Grammar, § 18.

l. 4. *ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντο* seems to refer to the colonies of Athens and Corinth, and the conquest of Salamis by Athens. Ch. 15.

l. 6. *κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, κ.τ.λ.* The order of the words and the emphatic use of *καί* with *δύναμις* and *ἐγένοντο* (Grammar, § 20) should be noticed. 'Wars by land, at least wars by which anything like power was gained², none arose. All that did arise were border wars between particular states: foreign and distant expeditions of conquest the Hellenes never undertook.'—Such border wars were the Sacred War in which Cirrha was destroyed, and the wars of Sparta with Messene, Argos, and Tegea (cp. p. 7).

l. 11. *αὐτοί*, 'of themselves,' 'spontaneously.' Grammar, § 3.

l. 14. *Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριέων*. The Milesians helped Eretria, the Samians Chalcis (Hdt. v. 99). Later writers³ mention the Thessalians and the Chalcidian colonies in Thrace as also helping Chalcis. The date of the war is unknown, it may have taken place about 650⁴.

l. 1. *ἐπεγένετο δέ, κ.τ.λ.* *ἴωσι* seems (from the position of *τε* after Ch. 16, ἄλλοις) to be governed by *ἐπεγένετο*, but is really governed, as the sentence finally stands, by *ἐπεστράτευσεν*. Grammar, § 30.

l. 5. *Δαρεῖος δὲ ὕστερον . . . καὶ τὰς νήσους*. The statement that

Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο . . . ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσί, ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροις, and Hdt. vii. 97 *ἰσπαγαγὰ πλοῖα μακρά*.

¹ Aristotle, *Athen. Polit.* 22, 7 and Kenyon's note.

² For another possible rendering see Appendix.

³ Plutarch and Aristotle (perhaps not the philosopher) ap. Plutarch.

⁴ Busolt, vol. i. (1st ed.) p. 314.

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Ch. 16. Cyrus enslaved the cities on the mainland and Darius the islands is

1. 5. somewhat misleading, for Chios and perhaps Lesbos had already submitted to Cyrus, though it is true that none of the Cyclades had done so¹. Chios and Lesbos were reconquered after the Ionic revolt, and other islands were conquered between the Ionic revolt and the battle of Marathon². All of them except a few of the Cyclades were compelled to fight under Xerxes at Salamis³.

Ch. 17. 11. 1-3. τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, 'their own interest': σῶμα, 'their personal safety'; see Glossary: δι' ἀσφαλείας ᾗκουν, 'managed in the way of caution,' i. e. governed on a safe policy⁴: ἀσφάλεια, 'security,' is often used where we should say 'caution.'

1. 5. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, κ.τ.λ. γὰρ explains the necessity for the insertion of the qualification εἰ μὴ εἰ τι πρὸς παρρησίους, κ.τ.λ. 'For the tyrants in Sicily (who did fight against their neighbours) attained the greatest power of any.'

Instances are Hippocrates of Gela, Thero of Agrigentum, and above all Gelo and Hiero of Syracuse.

Ch. 18. 1. 2. ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννεύεσθαι, 'for a long time before Athens.' Pisistratus seized power at Athens in 560; but Cypselus at Corinth in 655, Orthagoras at Sicily in 670 (according to the received dates which rest mainly on Aristotle); Phidon at Argos perhaps long before.

11. 2, 3. οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ. The words οἱ πλείστοι naturally suggest the question, Who were the other tyrants? i. e. those who were not put down by Sparta? The answer is given by πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, which goes with τελευταῖοι alone, not with πλείστοι: καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ being parenthetical.

1. 4. ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόν, κ.τ.λ., i. e. Sparta, after passing through a longer period of faction than any other city of Hellas, enjoyed a longer period of stable government. στασιάζουσα probably refers to the traditional quarrels (Hdt. vi. 52) between the two hereditary kings, εὐνομία to the establishment of the constitution ascribed to Lycurgus.

1. 10. καθίστασαν (impf.) does not come after ἀφ' οὗ but is parallel to ἀτυράννευτος ἦν and refers to the time when the tyrants were put down by Sparta. (Abbott, vol. i. xiv. 7.)

1. 16. τῶν συμπολεμήσαντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο, 'took the lead of the Greeks who formed the confederacy.' Grammar, § 7.

¹ Hdt. i. 169, cp. v. 30 fin.

² Hdt. vi. 31, 44, 96-99.

³ Hdt. viii. 46. Thucydides may mean by 'the islands' the Cyclades only as in vii. 57 ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κεῖοι καὶ Ἄνδροι καὶ Τήριοι, ἐκ δ' Ἰωνίας Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σάμοι καὶ Χίοι. But in that case the opposition of 'the islands' to 'the mainland' in the passage here is incorrect.

⁴ Th. § 269, A. 3 fin. G. § 191, iv. 1. d.

Ch. 17, l. 1—Ch. 19, l. 6.

l. 17. *ἱπόντων τῶν Μήδων* is subordinate to *διανοηθέντες . . . καὶ* Ch. 18, *ἀνασκευασάμενοι*, and the two latter words to *ἐς τὰ ναῦς ἐμβάντες* l. 17. *ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο*. Grammar, § 11.

l. 21. *οἱ . . . ἀποστάντες βασιλείᾳ Ἕλληνες* are those cities on the coast of Asia and in the islands which revolted from the King after the war; *οἱ συμπολεμήσαντες* are those who fought in the confederacy against him (cp. *τῶν συμπολεμήσαντων Ἑλλήνων* above), chiefly Corinth and the other Peloponnesian cities which were not, like Argos, neutral. *πρὸς Ἀθηναίους* is true chiefly of the former, *πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους* of the latter. The sentence refers only in part to the same persons as *ἀπασάμενοι* at the beginning of it, which should be *ἀπασαμένων*, Grammar, § 30.

l. 23. *διεφάνη*, stood forth strongest of all: *δια-*, in distinction to the rest.

l. 25. *διενοχθέντες*, see i. 102 fin.

l. 26. *ἐπολέμησαν*, see i. 107.

l. 2. *τοὺς συμμάχους* is governed by *ἔχοντες*, not by *ἡγοῦντο*, which Ch. 19. usually takes a genitive.

l. 2. *κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δέ, κ.τ.λ. = θεραπεύοντες δὲ ὅπως κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν πολιτεύουσι, ἐπιτηδείας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς* (to the Lacedaemonians) *μόνον*: the emphatic words are put first.

Cp. v. 81, where the Lacedaemonians make the government of Sicyon (already their ally) more oligarchical, and overthrow the democracy of Argos (which had just been forced into alliance with them). But there were exceptions to this line of policy: Megara was allowed to remain a democracy for some time, though an ally of Sparta and watched by a Spartan garrison (iv. 66): Mantinea (Thuc. v. 29) was also a democracy, and probably Elis.

l. 5. *καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάζαντες φέρειν*: *τοῖς πᾶσι* cannot include Chios and Lesbos, for these were independent allies of Athens, and paid no tribute: it is meant to include, not Chios and Lesbos, which are still excepted, but those among the Athenian allies which had originally contributed ships but were deprived of them and compelled to pay money like the rest.

l. 6. *καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.*, 'And (so) the power which Athens wielded as her own (*ἰδίᾳ*) in this war came to be greater than what she had when she flourished at her strongest with the unimpaired forces of her confederacy at her side:' i.e. the force which the Athenians (*αὐτοῖς*) had got into their hands by making their allies subject and tributary¹, as just described, was greater than the forces of Athens and her confederates together while the latter were independent.

ἰδίᾳ is opposed to *μετὰ τῆς συμμαχίας*: *ἀκραφνῆς* means 'before the independence and power of the confederates was interfered with by Athens.' Athens in fact was stronger as the head of an empire, than

¹ *μείζων*] *ἐκ τῶν φόρων δηλονότι* (Schol.).

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Ch. 19, she had ever been as the leader of a confederacy: a fact to which
 1. 6. Thucydides frequently recurs, i. 97; 118, l. 7; ii. 36 init. See Appendix.

Ch. 20. 1. 1. τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εἶρον, χαλεπὰ δὲτα παντὶ ἐξῆς
 τεκμηρίῳ πιστεύσαι. 'Such,' i.e. so unimportant as compared with the
 present, 'did I find the events of early times, although their nature
 makes it difficult to trust each several piece of evidence': *literally*,
 'being difficult for any one to trust every piece of proof one after the
 other':—because, as Thucydides proceeds to explain, men take so
 little pains to report facts correctly.

χαλεπὰ δὲτα πιστεύσαι = χαλεπὰ δὲτα ὥστε τινα πιστεύσαι¹. ἐξῆς
 does not necessarily mean 'in regular order'; παντὶ τεκμηρίῳ does
 not mean, as often translated, 'every link in the chain of evidence.'
 For Thucydides does not establish the weakness of early Hellas by
 a *chain* of proofs each dependent on the other and forming a single
 connected argument; but by a series of independent arguments confirm-
 ing each other.

The sentence is taken up again at the beginning of ch. 21, all that
 intervenes being parenthetical.

1. 3. ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως, 'with the same carelessness about testing
 what they hear,' as if the events were not told of their own country.

1. 6. τύραννον δὲτα ἀποθανεῖν, 'that Hipparchus was tyrant when he
 was killed.' Grammar, § 10.

1. 8. ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, 'were only his brothers.'

1. 9. ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ goes with ὑποτοπήσαντες, 'conceiving a sus-
 picion on that very day all in a moment,' because they saw one of the
 conspirators talking familiarly to Hippias, vi. 57. τὶ is the subject
 of μεμνησθαι: καὶ emphasises παραχρήμα.

1. 11. βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι,
 'wishing, before they were apprehended, to do something worth risking
 their lives for,' or 'not wishing to take their chance of death without
 first doing something,' i.e. before they were apprehended.

πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι follows not κινδυνεύσαι but δράσαντές τι (Gram-
 mar, § 10), which expresses what they wanted to do. Similarly the
 author of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* describing the same event, 18, 3, says
 βουλόμενοι τι δρᾶσαι πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως².

1. 15. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλλήνες, opposed to Ἀθηναίων τὸ πλῆθος above.

¹ Cp. iii. 13 (Peile in Shepherd and Evans) τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις
 καὶ αἰτίας . . . σαφεῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀκούουσι γνῶναι ὥς εἰκότως ἐδράσαμεν,
 where σαφεῖς γνῶναι is not 'plain to perceive,' but 'plain to our hearers
 so that they can perceive something else.' So here χαλεπὰ δὲτα πιστεύ-
 σαι is not 'hard to believe,' but 'making it hard to trust' the τεκμήρια.

² For καὶ ('so and not otherwise') see Grammar, § 18: for the strong
 sense of κινδυνεύσαι see Glossary. For the emphatic δράσαντες compare
 iii. 53 ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ εἶναι εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν, 'to say a word
 before we face our doom.'

Ch. 20, l. 1—Ch. 21, l. 6.

l. 17. μή μὲν ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι, scil. τὴν γνώμην or αὐτόν. It is Ch. 20, probable though not quite certain that Thucydides is here criticising 1. 17. Herodotus. Herodotus mentions the Πιτανάτης λόχος as present at the battle of Plataea (ix. 53)¹. And in describing the prerogatives of the Spartan kings he says (vi. 57) that when they were absent from the meetings of the γέροντες or senate, the two members of the senate most nearly related to them 'had their prerogatives, giving two votes and a third for themselves (ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δέ, τὴν ἑαυτῶν). But this, though not clearly expressed, probably means that each proxy gave one vote, and then voted on his own account: not that each gave two votes for each of the kings and then his own. So that there is no exact correspondence between the two authors in this point. There are, however, several other places² in which Thucydides introduces without any obvious motive details which are at variance with statements in Herodotus. This makes it more likely that Herodotus is referred to as mistaken about 'the division from Pitane': the mistake about the vote of the Spartan kings, if not really made by Herodotus in vi. 37, may have been read into his words by Thucydides; it may also have occurred in some other writer or in common belief.

l. 19. οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος, κ.τ.λ. Aristoph. Danaides (Fragm. 254, Kock) οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀταλαιπώρος ἡ ποίησις δέκετο. The date of the Danaides is unknown; but the resemblance between the two passages cannot be accidental, and Aristophanes must have taken the phrase from Thucydides, not Thucydides from Aristophanes.

l. 1. ἐκ δέ, κ.τ.λ., answers to the beginning of the last chapter, τὰ μὲν Ch. 21. οὖν παλαιά, κ.τ.λ.

l. 2. οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι is the main verb of the whole sentence ending with ἀποχρώντως (l. 8), and νομίζων, πιστεύων, and ἡγησάμενος depend on οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι and are parallel to each other. 'But a man will not be wrong if he accepts my conclusions . . . about the times of which I have been speaking, and does not prefer the exaggerations of poets or the attractive legends of prose writers, but makes up his mind that,' etc.

l. 4. λογογράφοι here means prose writers, writers of λόγοι, not of ἔπη, and is opposed to ποιηταί. The word has various other meanings, 'historians,' 'professional writers of speeches,' etc.; but it never in any ancient author is used as a special name for the Greek chroniclers or historians who preceded Herodotus, though modern writers have often given it this sense (G. Curtius, Kleine Schriften, Part ii. pp. 240 ff.).

l. 6. αὐτῶν, gen. after τὰ πολλά. ἀπίστως is loosely used: 'in such a manner as to become incredible,' not 'incredibly.'

¹ He had himself visited Pitane, one of the villages which made up the city of Sparta (iii. 55).

² l. 89, l. 16; 126, l. 17: ii. 8 med. 97 fin.

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Ch. 21. 1. 7. ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων, 'from the clearest indications' available. The reader must content himself with the conclusions which can be made out from the more obvious facts about so remote a past.

1. 8. ὥς παλαιά εἶναι, 'for a state of things so long past,' refers to the subject of εἰρήσθαι, viz. the facts about early Hellas. For the infinitive cp. ἐκὼν εἶναι, etc.¹.

1. 9. ἐν ᾧ ἂν πολέμῳσι, 'as long as they are at war,' opposed to πανσαμένων δέ: ἐν ᾧ is an adverb of time, not a relative pronoun agreeing with τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον.

Ch. 22. 1. 2. ἐν αὐτῷ, *scil.* ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

1. 3. ἐμοὶ τε ὧν αὐτὰς ἤκουσα, κ.τ.λ. ὧν, *scil.* τὴν ἀκριβείαν αὐτὴν ἐκείνων ἔ, κ.τ.λ.

1. 4. ἀλλοθεν, 'from any quarter,' not 'from any other quarter,' just as in the well-known use of ἄλλος.

1. 4. ὥς δ' ἂν ἰδῶκουν ἐμοί, κ.τ.λ. ἂν goes with εἰπεῖν and μάλιστα with ἰδῶκουν ἂν εἰπεῖν, not with τὰ δέοντα.

1. 5. τὰ δέοντα, 'what was wanted,' what was appropriate to each occasion, i. e. what *to the best of Thucydides' own judgment* the circumstances called for; under the limitation only of keeping to the 'general sense of what was actually said.' τὰ δέοντα then means the best arguments for peace or war, or for severity or mercy to revolted allies; the most appropriate praise or blame for Athens or Sparta, Thebes or Plataea, etc., etc., on any given occasion.

Thucydides here promises very little real or minute accuracy in his 'speeches': contrast ὥς . . . ἰδῶκουν ἐμοί with οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ ἰδόκα, 'not according to my own ideas,' below, 1. 9, where he is speaking of facts.

It has been well remarked that we can see what Thucydides meant by ἡ ἐνυμπῶσα γνώμη of a speech from those passages in which he gives a mere outline of what was said on a particular occasion, e. g. ii. 13: vi. 47-49, 72: vii. 5, 21, 48: viii. 27, 45, 48, 76.

1. 7. τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων is opposed to ὅσα λόγῳ εἶπον above, 'the facts' or realities 'of what was done and suffered.'

1. 9. ἀλλ' οἷς τε, κ.τ.λ., i. e. ἀλλ' ἡξίωσα γράφειν τὰ ἔργα (μόνον) οἷς οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρήν (= αὐτός τε παραγενόμενος) and καὶ ἐπεξελθὼν are parallel to each other (Grammar, § 29). 'I wrote of what I had seen myself or (of what I learnt from others) only after careful inquiry.' ἐπεξελθὼν, having the sense of 'careful inquiry' (Glossary) and being supported by πυνθανόμενος just above, takes παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων after it.

1. 13. ἐκατέρῳ, dat. after εὐνοίας.

1. 14. τὸ μὴ μυθεῖσθαι αὐτῶν. μὴ (not οὐ) speaks of the book as it would appear to a hearer, 'the absence of legend which may be noticed.'

¹ Th. § 146. 2. π. 3; G. § 268; R. §§ 340, 341.

Ch. 21, l. 7—Ch. 23, l. 12.

l. 15. τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν = 'to contemplate the exact truth (Glossary) Ch. 22, of the past.' τῶν μαλλόντων is not 'of the future,' opposed to τῶν 1. 15. γνομένων, but governs ἵσασθαι, 'of that which at some future time (ποτὲ αὐθαί) is likely, as human things go', nearly or quite to resemble the past.'

l. 17. ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτά. The construction is τούτους (*scil.* δοσι βουλήσονται, κ.τ.λ.) κρίνειν αὐτὰ ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, ἀρπυζόντας ἐμοὶ ἔχει: 'that they should pronounce my work to be of use will satisfy me.'

l. 18. κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, 'an abiding' or 'everlasting possession,' opposed to a 'prize composition which is heard and forgotten,' *lit.* 'composed for the immediate hearing.' Such competitions were familiar at Athens, ranging from the contests for dramatic and dithyrambic prizes to the disputations of sophists (like that in Plato's Euthydemus), to the lookers-on at which Cleon compares the Athenian public in iii. 38 fin.

The History is 'a possession for ever,' among other reasons, because it will serve as a guide to the future. Compare ii. 48 fin., iii. 82 init., where Thucydides says that future plagues or revolutions may resemble those of Athens or Corcyra.

l. 1. τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων takes up the argument from the end of Ch. 23. ch. 21. δέ is here a weak δ' οὖν (Glossary).

l. 2. Δυεῖν ναυμαχίαι. The battles are Artemisium and Salamis; Thermopylae and Plataea, or Plataea and Mycale. κρίσιν with the gen. = 'its decision which consisted in.'

But Thucydides' arguments here are special pleading: the Persian War was greater and more important than the Peloponnesian. It has been noticed that Thucydides incidentally expresses a truer feeling when he says of the Spartans on Sphacteria, γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συμπτύματι, ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλῃ εἰκάσαι, τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις (iv. 36).

l. 3. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μήκος τε μέγα προύβη. 'This war had a length which went on far,' i. e. this war was very long protracted.

l. 6. ἡρημάθησαν . . . ὑπὸ βαρβάρων. Colophon, and partly (vii. 30 fin.) Mycalessus: ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν, Plataea, Thyrea, Leontini, Hyccara: οἰκίτορας μετέβαλον ἀλυσκόμεναι, Potidaea, Aegina, Scione, Melos, Sollium and Anactorium: φυγαὶ ἀνθρώπων, as of the Corcyraean and Lesbian oligarchs, the Boeotian and Megarian democrats and many others, including the historian himself.

l. 11. οἱκ ἀπιστα κατέστη, i. e. stories formerly 'repeated on hearsay,' but rarely confirmed by facts, about earthquakes, eclipses, etc., were now credited, because such things happened within men's own experience.

l. 12 σεσμῶν τε περί . . . ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, 'what was reported

¹ Not 'in all human probability,' which conveys a different shade of meaning.

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Ch. 23. about earthquakes;—eclipses of the sun (which were reported),¹ a trifling
l. 12. variation in the construction.

l. 13. πικνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονεύεσθαι. As a matter of fact there were six noticeable solar eclipses visible at Athens during the twenty-seven years of the War; four or perhaps five during the thirty years preceding it; and five during the earlier period 493–463, some of them more remarkable than any during the War itself. As we do not know that all the visible eclipses were actually noticed, and as the difference in the numbers is so small, we are not justified in claiming scientific accuracy for Thucydides' statement: he probably records the popular impression. But the facts, if we may suppose that two eclipses just before the War were counted as 'falling upon Hellas together with it,' show how easily the popular impression may have arisen. From 462 to 435, twenty-seven years had passed with only three (perhaps two) noticeable eclipses. There was an eclipse both in 434 and 433, not indeed during the War, but after the outbreak of hostilities between Corinth and Corcyra, and no doubt regarded as ominous of worse troubles to come: and during the first eight years of the War there followed three more. The great eclipses of 493–463, remembered from the preceding generation, were probably in Thucydides' mind when he speaks of 'traditions of eclipses rarely confirmed by facts but now accredited'.¹

l. 15. αὐχμοί, λιμοί. Of droughts, and of famines resulting from them, Thucydides gives no instance.

l. 16. μέγας τι, 'a great number.' See on ch. i. l. 8.

l. 20. μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἔλθουσιν, i. e. 'after the recovery of Euboea' in 446 by Athens when the island had revolted, ch. 114.

l. 23. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστέρην πρόφασιν, κ.τ.λ. For πρόφασιν see Glossary. τὴν πρόφασιν seems intended to be predicated of τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μεγάλους γιγνομένους (=τὸ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μεγάλους γίγνεσθαι), but as the sentence proceeds τοὺς Ἀθηναίους becomes the subject of ἀναγκάσαι; Grammar, § 30. 'For (and this was the truest cause, though least was said about it) I think it was the growing greatness of Athens, and the alarm which it caused the Lacedaemonians, that forced them into war.'

l. 26. αἰτίαι, 'grievances,' see Glossary.

CORINTH, CORCYRA, AND EPIDAMNUS (Ch. 24–55).

Difference between Greek and modern 'colonies.' A Greek colony was connected with its mother city partly by ties of ancient religious usage, partly by ties of interest and sentiment: not necessarily by any political or constitutional tie at all. No Greek city was thought to have a right to govern any of her colonies, simply because

¹ See further in Appendix. For the facts contained in the note, and for the Appendix, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. E. Plummer, M.A., Astronomer to the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.

Ch. 23, l. 13—l. 26.

they were her colonies. There are cases indeed in which a political relation existed between a 'metropolis' and a colony; Corinth sent magistrates of some kind annually to Potidaea (i. 56), and many cities which were supposed to be colonies of Athens were also her dependencies. In these cases, however, the colonies were not only colonies but something more.

In modern times, a political connexion of some kind is necessary to constitute a colony. In the case of our own Empire, there remain the machinery and appearance, if not the reality, of a control over the colonies: for this might be substituted a system of federation which would equally form a political bond; or the colonies might become independent, and would then cease to be called 'colonies': meanwhile, any citizen of Canada or New South Wales is *ipso facto* a citizen of Great Britain, and *vice versa*. But in Greece no constitutional form whatever united Corinth and her colony Syracuse; a citizen of Syracuse was not on that account a citizen of Corinth. According to Greek ideas, the United States would have been just as much 'colonies' of Great Britain after the War of Independence as they were before.

The obvious and natural common-places about the reciprocal duties of mother-countries and colonies may be illustrated from Hdt. iii. 19, where the Phoenicians refuse to sail against their Carthaginian 'children' at the bidding of Cambyses; from Hdt. viii. 22, where Themistocles reminds the Ionians in the fleet of Xerxes of the 'injustice' which they are committing in making war upon their 'fathers' (cf. Thuc. vi. 82 fin.); and from Plato, Laws 754 A: 'the city which founds a colony is father and mother to it; and though there has been and will be again many and many a quarrel between colonies and founders, yet young colonies, like young children, will love and be loved by the parent state.'

The Corinthians (ch. 38) claim from Corcyra not only 'due respect' (τὰ ἐκτὸν θαυμάζεσθαι), but acceptance of their leadership (ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονίᾳ εἶναι): meaning that they expected their colonies to follow their lead in matters of peace and war. This is the nearest approach to a political connexion. But there were obviously no means except actual violence of enforcing the claim.

That Thucydides fully shared the feelings of his countrymen on this matter is clear from the tone of vii. 57, 58. Just before describing the crisis of the Sicilian Expedition, when enumerating the cities engaged on both sides, he dwells emphatically on the cases in which colonists fought against their mother cities, and on the circumstances which drove them to do so.

Harder for us to appreciate are the ancient religious usages which connected colonies and their founders.

(1) The sacred fire in the Prytaneum of the colony was kindled from

Ties of religious usage:—

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- (1) The sacred fire. the hearth of the Prytaneum in the parent state¹. The origin and meaning of the ceremony is obscure, but it was probably connected with the sacredness of the domestic hearth in the life of the family, and implied that the special Gods of the old city were also the Gods of the new, and that the life of the new city was a continuation of that of the old².
- (2) The oracles. (2) It was the regular custom to consult the God at Delphi before a colony was sent out: to the neglect of the ceremony by Doricus before he set out from Sparta to Sicily Herodotus (v. 41) traces his subsequent misfortunes. In Thucydides iii. 92, the Lacedaemonians consult Apollo before founding Heraclea, and the God sanctions the enterprise which turns out a total failure.
- (3) The founder. (3) The *oikourch* or leader of the colonists bore a religious as well as a merely practical character. When a city which was herself a colony founded a colony in her turn, the oecist was generally summoned from the original mother city (i. 24). Thucydides carefully mentions an exception to this rule in the case of Catana founded from Naxos: the citizens of Catana chose an oecist themselves (vi. 3). And in vi. 3-5, in his account of the foundation of the various Siceliot cities he generally gives the name of the oecist. In v. 11 we are told that, after the victory and death of Brasidas, the people of Amphipolis, whom he had delivered from the 'Athenian yoke,' made him their oecist instead of Hagnon (the Athenian general who had founded Amphipolis fifteen years before), and yearly offered sacrifices to him and celebrated games in his honour³.
- (4) Sacrifices, &c. (4) We know from an inscription⁴ that the people of Brea, an Athenian colony in Thrace, founded shortly before the Peloponnesian War, were bound to bring an ox and two sheep to be sacrificed at the Panathenaea; and a scholium on Aristophanes (Clouds, 386) says that every Athenian colony brought an ox on the same occasion. This is

¹ The only direct authorities for this custom are some scholia on Aristides, who himself wrote in the second century A. D. (Aristid. Pan. p. 103), and an anonymous article in a lexicon (Etym. Magnum, *πρυτανεία*); but the fact is sufficiently attested by Hdt. i. 146, where he describes the Ionic colonies in Asia as *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀρυθηέρες*: and it is probably referred to as part of the founding of a colony in Ar. Av. 43, where Peisthetairos and Euelpides, on their way to settle among the Birds, take fire with them in an earthen vessel as well as the other necessities for sacrifice—*καρὸν ἔχοντε καὶ χύτραν καὶ μύρρινας*. Cp. Virg. Aen. ii. 296.

² Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, Book iii. c. 5, 6. Cp. Polyb. ix. 27, 8; Strabo, iv. 1. 4.

³ It is possible, though not likely, that Hagnon was dead at the time and that similar honours had been paid to him.

⁴ C. I. A. i. 31.

Ch. 24—31.

the nearest parallel to the customs alluded to in Thuc. i. 36 as neglected by the Corcyraeans.

We can now better understand that, when Corcyra refused Corinth these customary marks of respect, it was something more than a mere act of rudeness: it was an offence against Greek religious feeling.

The peculiarity in the case of Epidamnus was that both Corinth and Corcyra had a certain claim upon its loyalty as a colony. It would appear from Thucydides that the question was considered a difficult one at the time. We find elsewhere some distant parallels to the troubles which arose from it. Potidaea (i. 57), though part of the Athenian empire, was a colony and in some sense a dependency of Corinth¹. Plataea was considered to be a colony of Thebes (cp. iii. 61), and on this circumstance the Thebans founded their claims to its alliance; but it preferred to ally itself with Athens. In v. 51, 52, the Boeotians, to save Heraclea from falling into the hands of Athens, take possession of it themselves, much to the indignation of the original founders the Lacedaemonians: though their oecists had grievously mismanaged it².

Corcyra is said to have been founded by Corinth either in 734 or in 705: and Herodotus, when speaking of the savage enmity between Periander, tyrant of Corinth, and the Corcyraeans (rather before 585), says 'the Corcyraeans and Corinthians have been quarrelling with one another ever since the island was settled' (iii. 49). In 664 the first Greek sea-fight was fought, Thucydides tells us (i. 13), and it was between Corinth and Corcyra³.

Under what circumstances Corinth and Corcyra joined in founding Epidamnus we do not know: the date is given as 625, in the times of the tyrants Cypselus or Periander, but on the late authority of Eusebius. Once at least the two cities united with good effect, when their joint intercession saved Syracuse, daughter of Corinth and sister of Corcyra, from subjection to Hippocrates of Gela⁴. And we read with pleasure

¹ Anactorium (i. 55), like Epidamnus, was founded in common by Corinth and Corcyra: Chalcis and Molycrium (i. 108, iii. 102), like Potidaea, were colonies of Corinth and subjects of Athens.

² In Thuc. vi. 4, 5 we have colonies founded jointly by two cities—Gela by Rhodes and Crete:—Zancle by Cyme and Chalcis in Euboea:—Himera by the Chalcidians of Zancle and some Syracusan exiles. In such cases it must have been necessary, in order to avoid future quarrels, to make some definite arrangement or compromise about the institutions of the new state: and accordingly Thucydides tells us that at Gela the Dorian institutions of the Rhodian founder prevailed, and at Himera the Chalcidian, though the language was partly Dorian.

³ A full account of their quarrels, which are related to have been struggles for independence on the part of Corcyra, will be found in Abbott, vol. i. 11, 12, 14; 12. 12-19.

⁴ About 492 B. C., Hdt. vii. 155. See Freeman's Sicily, vol. ii. p. 118.

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(Plutarch, Timoleon, c. 8), that about ninety years after the present quarrel Corcyra sent two ships with the little squadron despatched by Corinth under Timoleon, and so took part in the deliverance of Syracuse and Sicily from tyranny and from the Carthaginians.

Character
of the Cor-
cyraeans.

What we know of Corcyra confirms the disagreeable impression conveyed in the Corinthian speech (Thuc. i. 37); especially the story of the great *στάσις*. Herodotus (vii. 168) gives a lively description of the hypocritical conduct of the Corcyraeans in the Persian War. They promised help in the warmest terms to the envoys of the united Greeks: and then sent sixty ships to cruise off the Laconian coast and join the Persians if victorious. After the victory of the Greeks they declared that the N. E. winds had prevented them from weathering Cape Malea. Thucydides in i. 136 seems to intend a contrast between the ingratitude of the Corcyraeans towards the fugitive Themistocles and the generosity of the Molossian Admetus.

Form of
govern-
ment.

Corcyra was a democracy at the time of the *στάσις*¹; whether it was so at the time of the war with Corinth, there is no positive evidence to show. It is natural in any case that in a wealthy mercantile community the richest class should have had great influence: this may give a sufficient reason why the Corcyraeans took part with the exiled oligarchs, and not with the people, of Epidamnus (i. 26, l. 12, note).

Chrono-
logy of
Thuc. i.
24-55.

Corinthian defeat near Actium . . .	435 (or beginning of 434 †).
Embassies to Athens and despatch of first Athenian squadron to Corcyra	} Soon after midsummer, 433.
Despatch of second Athenian squadron and battle of Sybota	
	433 (last half) or 432 (first half).

The date at which the first Athenian squadron of ten ships was sent to Corcyra, immediately after the Corcyraean and Corinthian embassies, is known from an inscription² to have been thirteen days after the beginning of the archonship of Apsudes, summer 433—summer 432. We should naturally infer from Thuc. i. 46 that the battle of Sybota followed very soon afterwards; but this, though probable, is not quite certain: as the language of ch. 56 may point to a later date. See p. 52.

- Ch. 24. 1. 1. 'Επίδαμνος ἔστι πόλις. Not 'Epidamnus is a city' but 'There is a city, Epidamnus': cp. *Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης*, i. 126.
1. 4. τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλείους, i.e. a man of the great ruling family of Corinth, overthrown by Cypselus, better known as the Bacchiadae.

¹ iii. 81 τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν.

² C. I. A. i. 179 and iv. Part i. 179 (see Appendix to ch. 51, l. 11).

Ch. 24, l. 1—Ch. 25, l. 17.

l. 9. *ὡς λέγεται* probably refers to *ἔτη πολλά*, and *ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς* Ch. 24, goes with *ἐφθάρησαν*.
l. 9.

l. 2. *ἐν ἀπόρῃ εἰχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρὲν*, 'were at their wits' end,' Ch. 25. (*lit.* were held in a perplexity) 'how to deal with the affair.'

l. 6. *ἡγεμόνας*: Glossary.

l. 14. *οὕτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν*. The participles *διδόντες*, *προκαταρχόμενοι*, *περιφρονούντες*, have no finite verb following them. The sentence should strictly speaking have ended with some words meaning 'had incurred the anger of the Corinthians'; *αἰτίαν εἰχόν πρὸς τῶν Κορινθίων*, or the like; but it is left unfinished, and a new beginning made in *πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι*, ch. 26 init.

The *κοινὰ πανηγύρεις* are the four great Games, especially, we may suppose, the Isthmian held at Corinth. There may have been other religious gatherings at Corinth which were attended by her colonists, similar to the Great Dionysia or the Panathenaea at Athens. The 'privileges' would be places of honour (*προεδρίαί*, Schol. here), animals for sacrifice presented by the colony to the mother city¹, the sending of *θεωροί* to Corinthian festivals², or the like.

The meaning of *Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν* is quite uncertain. *κατάρχεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν* is a technical term for the ceremonies usual at the commencement of a sacrifice; lustration, sprinkling the victim's head with barley-grain or meal, and cutting a lock of hair from its forehead. *ἀνδρὶ* is probably a 'dative of interest,' dependent in meaning on the *προ-* in *προκαταρχόμενοι*; and we may translate 'not giving a first place to a representative of Corinth when they began their sacrifice.' The 'man of Corinth' may have been a Corinthian resident, or any Corinthian who might happen to be present at the public sacrifices of the city of Corcyra. (See further in Appendix.)

l. 17. *καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες . . . ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις*. The words will hardly construe as they stand; *ὁμοῖα* must be an adverb, 'equally,' and has nothing to depend on. *καὶ ἐν* may be read for *καὶ* or *ὁμοῖοι* for *ὁμοῖα*.

καὶ before *χρημάτων δυνάμει* answers to *καὶ* before *τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ*, and both clauses give the reason for *περιφρονούντες αὐτούς*. 'The Corcyraeans thought little of the Corinthians, because they were

¹ Diod. xii. 30. 4 *τοὺς δὲ Κερκυραίους μισούντες διὰ τὸ μόνους τῶν ἀποίκων μὴ πέμπειν τὰ κατειθισμένα ἱερεῖα τῇ μητροπόλει* (cp. Thuc. v. 53). Of course Diodorus is no authority for such details; but we may use him to illustrate the possibilities of the case. Cp. also Aristides Eleusin. p. 416 (Dind.), *ἀπάγειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν ἐκάστοτε Ἀθήνας* (in allusion to the story of the introduction of corn-growing by Demeter and Kore). See p. 30 (4) for closer parallels.

² Krüger, who compares Thuc. vi. 3 init.

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Ch. 25, just then strong in pecuniary resources (as much so as the richest of the

1. 17. Greeks), and were more powerful (than the Corinthians) in military force.'

It is very unlikely that Corcyra was as rich as Athens¹: but it is not implied here; for Thucydides may be comparing Corcyra not with his own city, but only with the other states of Hellas (Jowett).

1. 19. ναυτικῶς δὲ καὶ πολὺ προέχον ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προνομίην, 'and in their navy they at times flattered themselves' that they were very far superior, not forgetting either that they had been preceded in Corcyra by the Phaeacians, who were famous for their seamanship.'

The ancient belief that Corcyra was the Homeric Scheria has nothing to rest upon in the Odyssey. From iii. 70 we see that Alcinoüs had a sacred τέμενος in Corcyra, i. e. was worshipped as a hero there.

The minute difficulties of the passage are not, after all, important: and do not obscure the general sense. Corcyra, proud of her mythical renown and material prosperity, and at times aspiring to a leading place among the Hellenic powers, neglects the ceremonial compliments to the mother city which were consecrated by Greek religion, while Corinth, irritated by the presumption of her ungrateful colony, is glad to seize the opportunity of doing her an ill turn.

Ch. 26. 1. 4. φρουρούς, Glossary.

1. 5. Apollonia is on the coast of Illyria, about forty-five miles below Epidamnus and some three hundred miles from Corinth by land.

1. 11. κατ' ἐπήρσαν goes with ἐκέλευον.

1. 12. τάφους τε ἀποδεικνύοντες καὶ συγγένειαν. 'It was the Epidamnian oligarchy who were principally connected with Corcyra, from whence their forefathers had emigrated, and where their family burial-places as well as their kinsmen were still to be found, while the Demos, or small proprietors and tradesmen of Epidamnus, may perhaps have been of miscellaneous origin, and at any rate had no visible memorials of ancient lineage in the mother island.' (Grote, c. xlviii.)

1. 17. καὶ τοὺς Ἰαλυρίους προσλαβόντες. καί = 'also': the Illyrians are the Taulantians of ch. 24.

¹ Cp. Xen. Hell. vi. 2. 9 ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλὴν γε Ἀθηνῶν οὕτε ναὺς οὕτε χρήματα πλείονα ἂν γενέσθαι — in the mouth of a Corcyraean asking help from Athens in 373. In Thuc. viii. 45 fin., the Chians are indviduously called by Alcibiades 'the richest of the Hellenes.'

² As the words stand, ἐπαιρόμενοι ('being uplifted') is best taken in the sense 'thinking proudly': followed first by infin. προέχειν and then by κατὰ τὴν προνομίην, (a) 'flattering themselves that they were superior at sea and (b) pluming themselves on the fact that they had been preceded by the Phaeacians.' But this is very doubtful Greek. There is probably some corruption of the text.

Ch. 25, l. 19—Ch. 28, l. 18.

1. 4. ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσῇ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἵνα, 'that any one who liked might go and have similar and equal rights,' probably with the other colonists; a necessary announcement, as Corinth was an oligarchy. Ch. 27.

1. 6. πενήκοντα δραχμαὶ ... Κορινθίαις. The Corinthian drachma was equivalent in weight to about 6*d.* of our money; its purchasing power was of course greater. (Dict. Ant. *s. v.* Pondera, ii. pp. 451, 452.)

The money thus paid down in lieu of personal service was no doubt spent in defraying the expenses of the expedition: the result must have made it a dead loss to the depositors.

1. 8. βεῖβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων, κ.τ.λ. Corinth, we see, could make war on her own account with Corcyra, and get help from other members of the Peloponnesian confederacy without sanction from Sparta or from the federal assembly: similarly Corcyra could retaliate on Elis for helping Corinth by burning the Elean docks at Cyllene (ch. 30), without involving herself in war with the confederacy.

1. 2. μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικωνίων πρέσβων. πρέσβων cannot mean accredited 'ambassadors' from these states: for the Lacedaemonians cannot formally have declared the Corcyraeans in the right against their own allies the Corinthians. The πρέσβεις can only have been private persons, willing to lend their influence whatever it was worth to the Corcyraean government and to testify afterwards if necessary to what had been said on either side¹. Ch. 28.

1. 5. εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, scil. τῇς Ἐπιδάμου. τι is adverbial.

1. 6. αἷς δὲ, κ.τ.λ. = παρ' αἷς δὲ δίκας δοῦναι ἀμφοτέροις συμβῶσιν.

1. 8. ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖα ἐπιτρέψαι. Either the Corcyraeans had not heard that the oracle had already taken a side by telling the Epidamnians to give up their city to Corinth: or, if they had, they must be supposed to have offered arbitration merely as a means of getting out of the affair with dignity.

1. 9. πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἰς ποιεῖν, 'but they warned the Corinthians not to (*lit.* would not allow the Corinthians to) bring on a war' (ποιεῖν πόλεμον, not 'make war,' ποιῆσθαι πόλεμον, Grammar, § 6).

1. 11. τῶν νῦν ὄντων, the Corinthians and other Peloponnesians, whom as Dorians, the Corcyraeans are still willing to call their 'friends,' as opposed to the Athenians whom they threaten to join.

1. 18. σπονδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι. It is best to retain δέ with all the MSS. and supply ποιεῖν ταῦτα after ἐτοίμοι εἶναι. 'They were also prepared, they said, to enter upon arbitration on condition that the forces on both sides at Epidamnus remained where they were, but made an armistice until the award was given.' But the Corinthians would hear of nothing but the unconditional withdrawal of the Corcyraeans from Epidamnus, their own garrison remaining there.

¹ Schol. ἵνα αὐτοῖς ᾗσι μάρτυρες τῶν λόγων, ἢ ἵνα αὐτοὺς αἰδεσθῶσιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι. For πρέσβεις see Glossary.

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- Ch. 29. 1. 4. *δυσχολίους ὁπλίταις*. Why the remaining 1000 (ch. 27 fin.) were not taken, we do not know.
1. 12. *ἀπεροῦντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφῶς*, i. e. warning them that any further advance would be deemed an act of aggression, and would be resisted.
1. 13. *ζεύξαντες τὰς παλαιάς*, 'bracing' or strengthening the old ships, probably with new cross-beams from side to side¹. *ζεύγνυμι*, *ζυγόν*, generally imply 'joining by a cross piece.'
1. 21. *τοὺς ἐπὶ ἑλκιδας*, the Ambraciots and Leucadians of ch. 26. l. 3.
- Ch. 30. 1. 9. *τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν* means 'for most of the rest of the season' (or, time available for naval operations) 'after the sea-fight,' and before the winter.
1. 12. *περιέοντι τῷ θερί*. *περιέοντι τῷ θερί* should be read with one good MS., 'at the turn of the summer,' or 'when the summer was drawing to an end' (Appendix). *τὸ θέρος τοῦτο* at the end of ch. 30 = 'for the rest of this summer.' The whole chapter refers to the same summer as that in which the battle was fought, 435 or 434 B. C.
- Ch. 31. 1. 1. *τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον*, i. e. if the battle was in 435, summer 435—summer 433: if it was in 434, which is much less probable, part of 434 and part of 433².
1. 2. *ὀργῇ φέροντες*, 'carrying on with passion' (Classen), not 'irritated by.'
1. 5. *μισοφὸς πείθοντες* is subordinate to *ἀγείροντες*: Grammar, § 11.

CORCYRAEAN AND CORINTHIAN EMBASSY (32-43).

Critical position of affairs at this time.

When the quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra broke out, the 'Thirty Years' Peace' had lasted about ten years. The power, and with it the unpopularity, of Athens was steadily increasing. She had about five years since, after a desperate struggle, reduced Samos, one of her few remaining independent allies, to subjection. The revolt of Samos had almost led to a general war. The representatives of the Peloponnesian confederacy had met at Sparta, and a vote had been taken on the question, whether Samos should not be assisted and the power of the 'tyrant city' overthrown. Corinth, from whatever motive, had taken the side of peace, and Athens had been allowed to punish

¹ *ζεύγνυμι* would have been used had the reference been to *ὑποζύματα* (Dict. Antiq. ii. 224 a) or cables fastened round a ship from stem to stern. Nor is the reference here to *ζυγά* in the sense 'benches' (see Cartault, La Trière Athénienne, p. 42.) The benches of triremes appear to have been removable, and replacing them in ships before they sailed out would be a matter of course and not worth special mention.

² See p. 32.

Ch. 29, l. 4—Ch. 31, l. 5.

her own ally. But it would be a very different matter if Athens meddled with the allies of Sparta¹,—above all with Corinth, the real working leader of the Peloponnesian confederacy, who had hated Athens (i. 103 fin.) ever since the two disastrous and humiliating defeats which she had sustained from her some twenty-five years back.

Hence the difficulty of the question which was now brought, not as it would be brought in modern days, before a few experienced statesmen meeting in private, but before some thousands of Athenians assembled in the Pnyx. Corinth had got into a quarrel with a strong neutral power which was a colony of her own, had been badly beaten, and was preparing to revenge herself; could Athens assist that power and mortally offend Corinth without bringing on at once 'the war' which was impending over Hellas?

The most definite questions discussed in the Corcyraean and Corinthian speeches are (1) Which city has right on its side in the war about Epidamnus? (2) Will Athens violate the Thirty Years' Peace by letting Corcyra become her ally? (3) Will Athens risk immediate war thereby? (4) Is the accession of Corcyra worth the risk? The rights of the case:—

(1) Corinth would appear to have been thoroughly in the right down to the point at which Corcyra proposed arbitration. Corcyra, after refusing to help Epidamnus herself, could not fairly blame Corinth for doing so; and by attacking Epidamnus and the Corinthian settlers and garrison, she made it impossible for Corinth not to fight. (1) as to the quarrel about Epidamnus;

But Corcyra when threatened with war was ready to make all but complete amends for her precipitate action. She offered to submit the question to arbitration—and to arbitrators who were certain to be favourable to Corinth². When this offer was rejected, she expressed her willingness to raise the blockade of Epidamnus if the Corinthian settlers and garrison were withdrawn, or to suspend hostilities if they would do the same. This last offer the Corinthians quite leave out of sight when they deal with the point at the beginning of ch. 39. They apparently wanted the Corcyraeans to withdraw from Epidamnus while they themselves remained in possession. The Corcyraeans on the other hand seem to have been thoroughly alarmed by the menaces of Corinth, and to have really wanted a good excuse for retreating.

(2) A scholium on ch. 35 says that the Athenians were justified in accepting the alliance of Corcyra according to the letter, but not according to the spirit of the Peace³. And this is about the truth. The Athens

¹ Πρὶν δὲ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἤρετο καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἤπταντο. τότε δ' οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιούντο i. 118, l. 12.

² Ch. 28 δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς ἀν ἀμφοτέροις ἐμβάωσιν . . . ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖϊ ἐπιτρέψαι.

³ Τὸ μὲν βήτην ὁ Κερκυραῖος τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ὁ Κορίνθιος.

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under the terms of the Peace. Treaty allowed any neutral state to join which confederacy it pleased, and Corcyra was a neutral state. But the treaty did not fairly cover the case of a neutral state actually at war with a member of one of the confederacies. So far the argument of ch. 40 is justified.—But when the Corinthians imply (see note on *ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποσπέρειν* ch. 40. l. 6) that Corcyra, simply because it was their colony, was not a neutral state in the sense of the treaty, they prove too much; for many of the neutral states, e.g. the Sicilian cities, were colonies of cities which had taken sides already, and it cannot have been intended to prevent them from joining which confederacy they pleased.

(3) Risk of immediate war. (3) The Corinthians naturally warn the Athenians of the danger of bringing on war at once if they receive Corcyra. But as a matter of fact, the outbreak of hostilities over Potidaea, and the most energetic action at Sparta on the part of Corinth, were necessary before Sparta could be worked up to fight. So it is clear that the decision of Athens, in which we seem to recognise the caution of Pericles, though it brought war nearer, did not of itself make war inevitable.

(4) Value of the Corcyraean alliance. (4) Corcyra did very little after all for Athens in the war; but this was partly owing to circumstances which could not have been foreseen. To begin with, 70 out of 110 ships were disabled in the sea-fight of Sybota; they might have been saved if the second Athenian reinforcement had come up a few hours earlier. The Corcyraeans, moreover, could not be expected to be very active when 250 of their citizens were hostages in the hands of the Corinthians. However, they sent 50 ships to join the Athenian fleet of 100, which ravaged the Peloponnesian coast in the first year of the war (ii. 25 init.); otherwise, until the great *στάσις* of 427, they did nothing for Athens. In 426 they sent 15 ships for a short time to help Demosthenes in his attack on Leucas (iii. 94, 95). The troubles of 427 and 425 were productive of nothing but annoyance to Athens. In 415 Corcyra formed the rendezvous for the disastrous Sicilian expedition. It sent 15 ships and some hoplites with Demosthenes and Eurymedon¹. And Thucydides, in his list of the forces which took part in the battle in the harbour at Syracuse, mentions the Corcyraeans who, fighting against their Corinthian founders and their Syracusan kinsmen, followed the Athenians 'under a decent appearance of constraint, but gladly, because they hated Corinth.'

Ch. 82. ll. 3, 4. *ἀναβιδάσαι*, Glossary. *πρῶτον* answers to *ἔπειτα δέ*, and *μάλιστα μὲν* to *εἰ δὲ μή*.

¹ The Dorian paean raised by the Corcyraeans and Argives in the Athenian army, being mistaken for that of the enemy, helped in the discomfiture of the Athenians on Epipolae (vii. 44 fin.).

Ch. 32, l. 3—Ch. 33, l. 4.

l. 6. εἰ . . . τούτων μηδὲν . . . καταστήσουσι, 'if they have no prospect of establishing'; Grammar, § 13. Ch. 32,
l. 6.

l. 9. τετύχηκε δέ, κ.τ.λ. 'But we have had a practice which proves to be at once, as towards you, in view of our request, inconsistent' (χρεία strictly = 'the expression of our need,' Grammar, § 1), 'and at the present crisis, in view of our own interests, disastrous.'

l. 14. καὶ περίστηκεν, κ.τ.λ. For σωφροσύνη, γνώμη, see Glossary.

l. 16. φαινομένη (participle, not adjective) is opposed to δοκούσα and loosely joined with περίστηκεν, 'has come round to show itself folly and weakness'; i. e. 'has changed its character and proved to be.'

l. 17. τὴν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ. For μὲν οὖν, 'now' (not 'nay rather'), see Glossary. τὴν ναυμαχίαν, a free use of the 'internal' or cognate acc.¹ after ἀπεσπάμεθα Κορινθίους.

l. 21. μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος, κ.τ.λ., 'we may expect the worst if we are to fall into their hands.' Glossary, κίνδυνος.

l. 22. καὶ ξυγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας δόξης δι' ἄλλων ἁμαρτίαν, κ.τ.λ.

μὴ μετὰ κακίας, not in a mean and selfish spirit, such as the Corinthians impute to them, ch. 39. δόξης ἁμαρτίαν, not 'by an error of judgment,' but 'because we have proved mistaken in our opinion.' For their 'previous inaction' was the error of judgment, not their 'bold change of policy.' 'If, not from base motives but rather because our expectations have been disappointed, we boldly take a course inconsistent with our former inactivity.' ἁμαρτίαν is dat. of cause² with τολῶμεν. See Appendix.

l. 24. ἀπραγμοσύνη: see Glossary.

l. 1. ἡ ξυντυχία is not merely 'the occurrence,' but 'the occurrence at a particular time.' 'Our request, coming at such a time, will be an admirable thing for you in more ways than one if you grant it.' Ch. 33.

l. 4. ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, κ.τ.λ. οἷ must be supplied again after ἔπειτα. καταθείσθε is a correction for κατάθησθε³, and ὡς ἂν μάλιστα καταθείσθε = ὡς ἂν μάλιστα καταθέσθε, καταθείσθε ἂν. καταθέσθε has also been proposed, and gives a better parallel to ποιήσθε.

κατατίθεσθαι χάριν is (*lit.*) to 'invest' an act of kindness in the hope of getting it repaid with interest.

l. 4. ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μετ' ἀμνήστου μαρτυρίου = 'in the way most certain to leave a witness in our memories for ever.' The gravity of the danger from which the Corcyraeans hope to be delivered will perpetually

¹ Th. 83 B; G. 159; R. 71, 72.

² Th. 122 C; G. 188. 1.

³ There are traces of καταθείσθε in three MSS. (καταθήσθε or κατάθησθε, with η as a correction in the place of two letters). ὡς ἂν κατάθησθε could only mean 'in whatever way you store up,' which makes no sense here.

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Ch. 33. recur to their minds, and will be a standing witness to the generosity of
 1. 4. Athens.

1. 8. εἰ ἦν ὑμεῖς ἀν . . . δύναμιν, κ.τ.λ., 'if a powerful state, whose accession you would have valued above much money and gratitude,' i. e. 'for whose assistance you would have given any sum and would have been grateful into the bargain.'

1. 11. ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετὴν, 'a name for generosity (Glossary) with the world.'

1. 12. οἷς δ' ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν. The future means 'from those whom you are about to help.'

1. 17. γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει, 'he misses a right judgment,' or as we say, 'makes a mistake.'

1. 18. φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, 'through fear of you'; like ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν just below.

1. 22. μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμῶς ἢ σφῆς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι. *Literally*, 'and that they may not miss two things (that is), the securing them in time,' i. e. 'and that they may secure while they can one of two advantages,—either crippling us' (by destroying the Corcyraean fleet), 'or strengthening themselves' (by frightening the Corcyraeans into joining them). Cp. note on ch. 44. l. 11.

φθάσαι is an explanatory infinitive after δυοῖν ἀμάρτωσιν. But as Krüger says, we should expect μηδὲ δυοῖν ἀμάρτωσι φθάσαι.

With δυοῖν meaning 'one of two,' commentators compare i. 122 οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τὰδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπῆλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας¹. 'Not to miss both of two' = 'to secure one of two.'

1. 25. προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν, 'forestall their attack instead of being content to retaliate.' Glossary, ἐπιβουλεύειν.

Ch. 34. 1. 5. ὥς δὲ ἡδίκουν takes up ἀδικουμένη just above.

1. 8. τι τεκμήριον, 'a clear warning.' Glossary, τις.

1. 9. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως goes with δεομένοις.

Ch. 35. 1. 8. εἰ . . . εἰρξονσι, 'if they are to . . . try to exclude us': if it means 'exclude us,' there is an inconsistency with πεισθέντων ὑμῶν below.

1. 12. οὐχ ὅπως κωλυταί . . . γενήσεσθε, 'so far from trying to stop them' ('to say nothing about your trying to stop them').

1. 14. ἦν οὐ δίκαιον = ἦν οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι περιρᾶν αὐτοὺς προσλαβεῖν: and with κωλύειν, πέμπειν supply δίκαιόν ἐστι.

κἀκείνων κωλύειν, 'as well as refusing help to us'; καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν, 'as well as helping them.' πέμπειν ὠφελίαν refers to secret or 'semi-official' assistance, thus implying less than ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς βοηθεῖν.

1. 18. ἐπείπομεν, 'intimated.'

1. 20. ᾗσαν, 'were shown to be,' the past tense referring back to ch. 33, l. 19. σαφιστάτη πίστις, 'the plainest possible assurance.'

¹ Also Soph. El. 1319; Andoc. i. 20.

² R. § 411.

Ch. 33, l. 8—Ch. 36, l. 11.

1. 20. καὶ οὗτοι, κ.τ.λ. The Corcyraeans argue that they will be kept faithful to Athens by fear of the vengeance of the Corinthians, powerful enemies whom they would have irretrievably offended by deserting them. Ch. 35, l. 20.

1. 22. οὐχ ὁμοία ἢ ἀλλοτρίωσις, 'it is a very different thing to reject it.'

1. 23. The infinitive εἶν depends on some such idea as δεῖ implied in οὐχ ὁμοία ἢ ἀλλοτρίωσις = ἦσαν δεῖ ἀλλοτριοῦν ναυτικὴν ξυμμαχίαν.

1. 2. γνῶτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ. An over-scrupulous Athenian objects that, if he receives the Corcyraeans into alliance, he will have broken the treaty, and a bad conscience will make him afraid¹. 'No,' replies the Corcyraean, 'your scruples, with the Corcyraean fleet on your side, will dismay not you but the enemy. And your consciousness of rectitude, *without* the Corcyraean fleet, though it may re-assure you, will create very little alarm in him.' The hesitating Athenian, the proper subject of the sentence, is sarcastically identified with his own feelings of anxiety or confidence; the words may be thus paraphrased — γνῶτω ὅτι ἦν μὲν ἰσχὺν ἔχῃ, καίπερ αὐτὸς δεδιὸς, τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβήσῃ, ἢν δὲ μὴ δεξιόμενος ἀσθενὴς ᾖ πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς, κἀν θαρσύνῃ, ἀδείεστερος αὐτοῖς ἔσται. Grammar, § 12. Ch. 36.

γνῶτω, 'let him be assured': Glossary. τὸ δεδιὸς refers to the same 'fear' as φοβεῖται μὴ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ, but to a further stage of it, the supposed anxiety of the Athenians after accepting the alliance of Corcyra.

1. 5. ἀδείεστερον ἐσόμενον, 'less alarming' than if it were strong, i. e. 'not alarming at all'; ἀδείεστερον really = ἀδεὲς μᾶλλον.

1. 7. ὅταν . . . τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν ἐνδοιάξῃ, κ.τ.λ. ὅταν, with a negative idea such as οὐ τὰ κρᾶτιστα προνοῶν preceding, may be translated 'as long as'.²

1. 8. τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν = 'looking anxiously to the immediate consequences,' i. e. the advantage which might be taken by Sparta of the alleged breach of the treaty.

1. 9. μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν, 'with the greatest advantages' to one side or the other; i. e. with the most momentous consequences to you for good or ill.

1. 10. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας, κ.τ.λ., 'lies well for the coasting voyage,' or simply 'for the voyage,' to Italy and Sicily³. Glossary, παράπλους.

Athens already had political interests in Italy and Sicily. Ten years earlier she had taken a leading part in the foundation of Thurii, and within a year after the Corcyraean embassy she made alliances with Rhegium and Leontini (C. I. A. iv. Part i. 33, 33 a).

1. 11. Πελοποννησίους ἐπελθεῖν, 'come to help the Peloponnesians.'

¹ vii. 18 gives an instance of such feelings; the Lacedaemonians were ill at ease during the first part of the war because they thought they had broken the treaty.

² Cp. i. 141, l. 23; 142, l. 2.

³ For the gen. see Th. § 111; G. § 168, n. 3; R. §§ 96, 97.

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Ch. 36. l. 12. τὸ τε ἐνθένδε, *scil. ναυτικόν*. The subject of παραπέμψαι is τὸ χωρίον, i.e. Corcyra: 'to assist the despatch of.'

l. 12. 1. 14. βραχυτάτω δ' ἂν κεφαλᾷ, κ.τ.λ. τοῖς τε ξύμπτωσι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον is in apposition to βραχυτάτω κεφαλᾷ and τῷδε, and = τοῖς τε ξύμπτωσι καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον (Grammar, § 27). 'By this, the shortest possible summing up, which is the whole and each particular of what we have to say, you may learn not to reject us.'

l. 15. τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἔξια, κ.τ.λ. It is difficult to say by what verbal idea the accusative τρία ὄντα ναυτικά is governed: hardly by μάθετε, supplied from μάθουσ' ἂν, or by περιόψεσθε. The sense is plain enough: 'there are only three navies worth mentioning in Greece; and if you let two of them,' etc. There is probably some slight error in the text. Classen and others take ὄντα with ἔξια and supply ἐστί. But can Thucydides have omitted ἐστί and inserted ὄντα?

l. 19. ναυμαχήσετε, 'you will *have to* fight' two navies at once.

l. 20. πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις, 'with more ships on your own side.'

Ch. 37. l. 1. 'If our opponents had kept to the point, we should have done the same; as they have not done so, we must reply to their wanton attack'—is a regular common-place with Thucydides in the opening of a reply. Cp. the Athenians in i. 73, the Thebans in iii. 61, the Athenians at Camarina in vi. 82.

l. 3. μνησθέντας ... περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ... οὕτω καὶ ... λέναι, 'to touch upon both points before we proceed': Grammar, § 10.

ll. 5, 6. ἐξίωσιν, (reasonable) 'claim.' χρεῖαν (mere) 'request.' ἵνα ... ἀσφαλέστερον προειδήτε, 'that you may have a more solid appreciation of the claim which we are going to make.' μὴ ἀλογίστως is to be taken closely together; 'and may have a good reason for rejecting.'

l. 8. τὸ before δέ = a more emphatic αὐτό (ἐπετήδυνσαν αὐτό) or τοῦτο: cp. i. 81, 2 τοῖς δὲ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἐστί πολλή².

l. 8. ξύμμαχόν τε, κ.τ.λ. τε (as the words stand) answers to οὔτε before παρακαλοῦντες³, and οὐδὲ μάρτυρα = 'not even as a witness' against them, i.e., an ally who might possibly denounce them later.

l. 10. παρακαλοῦντες, i.e. when they claimed the assistance of their ally in some unjust action. The Corcyraeans knew that they would be always doing things in which they could not without shame ask an ally to help them: and, if he did consent to help them, his knowledge

¹ Most MSS. read ὑμετέρας, 'with ships more by (the addition of) ours,' 'with a navy reinforced by ours.'

² Th. 36. 1; G. 143; R. 1-3.

³ There is no parallel to τε followed by οὔτε, though οὔτε is sometimes followed by τε. Here, however, the construction may be defended because ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα = οὔτε ξύμμαχόν τινα. Or τε may answer to καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἄμα and a comma may be substituted for a full stop after παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι.

Ch. 36, l. 12—Ch. 38, l. 7.

of their proceedings (even if he offered no opposition to them at the Ch 37, time) might be awkward for them afterwards. 1. 10.

1. 11. αὐτόρκτη θέσιν κειμένη. θέσιν is a cognate accusative, κειμένη being in sense a passive of τίθημι.

1. 11. παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὡς βλάπτουσι τινα μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυθῆκας γίνεσθαι, 'enables them to act as arbitrators (*lit.* jurors) when they injure others, instead of arbitrators being appointed according to (previous) agreements.' γίνεσθαι, *scil.* δικαστὰς.

We may suppose a Corinthian or Lacedaemonian merchant-vessel to be driven into Corcyra by stress of weather. The Corcyraean authorities exact extravagant harbour-dues, or the inhabitants cheat or misuse the crew. If the same thing had happened in any other Greek state, there would have been ξυθῆκαι or ξύμβολα (cp. note on i. 77), providing for such cases, in force between it and the state aggrieved, and jurors would have been appointed, in accordance with these agreements, to try the point. But Corcyra, owing to her distance from other Greek cities, her fertility, and her trade with the Illyrian coast and perhaps with Italy, seldom needed to send her ships into other Greek ports¹; and therefore, needing no protection for her own citizens, had never entered into such covenants, and could do as she pleased.

1. 14. κὰν τούτω = 'quae cum ita sint.'

1. 15. οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν ἑτέροις . . . ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι. The aorist implying 'any crime at all,' goes naturally with the negative clause; the present, implying 'habitual crime,' with the positive clause: 'not to avoid complicity in the crimes of others, but to pursue their own criminal courses by themselves.'

1. 17. πλεον ἔχωσιν, 'get an advantage,' opposed to 'commit violence.' ἦν δέ ποῦ τι προσλάβωσιν is not a third possibility added to the other two, but sums up the consequences of both, 'and that, whatever gain they may make (by force or fraud), they may not be put to shame.'

1. 2. ἀφιστάσθαι, not here 'have been in a state of revolt,' but 'have Ch. 38. renounced all ties with us.' Or rather, the Corinthians unfairly speak of the hostility of a colony in terms appropriate to the revolt of a dependency.

1. 4. οὐδ' αὐτοὶ φάμεν, κ.τ.λ. αὐτοὶ goes with κατοικῆσαι, not with φάμεν: 'that we too did not found Corcyra to be insulted by her.'

1. 6. αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι include Syracuse, Ambracia, Anactorium, Leucas, Sollium.

1. 7. μέλιστα ἐπὶ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα, 'no other metropolitan city is regarded with so much affection by her colonists.'

¹ It seems probable in itself and from this passage, that Corcyra served as a kind of emporium for the goods of the Adriatic coast, to which the ships of other Greek cities resorted. Cp. iii. 74, where χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπορέων are said to have been stored in the houses round the ἀγορά of Corcyra.

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Ch. 38, l. 9. *ἂν* . . . *ἀπαρέσκοιμεν*, following *εἰ* . . . *ἴσμεν*, is nearly equivalent to an indicative; 'it cannot be with justice that they alone are dissatisfied with us.' Grammar, § 16.

l. 9. *οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἄδικοί-μενοι*. 'And that we are not making war upon them in this exceptional way without being signally wronged by them.' *ἐπιστρατεύομεν*, as well as *ἀν ἀπαρέσκοιμεν*, is governed by *δήλον ἐστι* (l. 7). The Corinthians admit that their action in making war upon one of their own colonies is irregular and needs excuse. *ἐκπεπῶς* and *διαφερόντως* are emphatic¹.

l. 10. *καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν*, 'and even if we had been in the wrong, it would have been the honourable course for them to bow before our anger,' etc.²

l. 11. *ἡμῖν δ' αἰσχρόν, κ.τ.λ.*, is meant to imply 'and if they had shown a conciliatory spirit we should not have used force at all.'

l. 15. *ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ*, to help Epidamnus (Glossary). *βίᾳ* goes with *ἐλόντες*.

Ch. 39. l. 1. *καὶ φασὶ δὴ, κ.τ.λ. πρότερον*, before taking Epidamnus, not before attacking it, which would not have been true: see ch. 28.

l. 1. *ἦν γε οὐ τὸν προῤῃχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, κ.τ.λ.* *τόν* goes not with *προῤῃχοντα* but with *προκαλούμενον*, which is qualified by *προῤῃχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς*. 'But an offer of arbitration cannot be taken seriously from one who is in a commanding position and has nothing to lose by it; but only from one who,' etc. *λέγειν τι*=to speak to the purpose, opposed to *οὐδὲν λέγειν*.

l. 3. *ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τὰ τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα. οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, κ.τ.λ.* 'He only offers arbitration in a real sense, who makes his actions fair equally with his words before he enters on the contest,' i.e. on an arbitration. 'But the Corcyraeans offered arbitration, not before they blockaded Epidamnus, but only when they saw that we meant to interfere.' This last sentence, to correspond in form with the first, should have run 'But the Corcyraeans blockaded Epidamnus' (did not 'act as well as speak with fairness') 'before they offered arbitration'.

¹ Ullrich's conjecture *ἐπιστρατεύομεν, scil. ἂν* supplied from *ἀπαρέσκοιμεν ἂν*, accounts better for *μὴ* with *ἀδικοίμενοι*, and gives a rather easier sense: 'nor should we be attacking them in this exceptional way,' etc. (Schol. *εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἡδικοῦμεθα περιφανῶς, οὐκ ἂν προδήλως ἐστρατεύομεν*.) As the text stands, *μὴ ἀδικοῦμενοι = ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἀδικοῦμεθα*. For another interpretation see Appendix.

² For *καλὸν ἦν*, see Th. 198. 2; G. 222. 2; R. 282. For *εἰ καί*, see Th. 226, where it is shown that the distinction often drawn between *εἰ καί*, 'although,' and *καὶ εἰ*, 'even if,' does not hold good.

³ If we interpret *πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι* by *πρὶν πολιορκεῖν*, and translate 'before appealing to arms,' the meaning will be 'he who makes his

Ch. 38, l. 9—Ch. 40, l. 7.

It is simplest to take *διαγωνίζεσθαι* of an appeal to arbitration, not to **Ch. 39**, arms; disregarding as merely verbal the parallelism of *πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι* 1. 3. and *πρὶν πολιορκεῖν*. (See, however, Appendix.)

1. 5. *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡγήσαντο*, not 'when they thought,' but 'when they conceived,' or 'perceived.' Grammar, § 8.

1. 6. *τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο*, 'put forward the fair show of arbitration,' i. e. made their plausible offer of arbitration.

1. 14. *πάλαι δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν*, κ.τ.λ. 'They should long ago have given you a share in their power, if they now expect you to share the consequences' (of their exercise of it).

1. 15, note. *ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων*, κ.τ.λ. These words must represent something like *οὐδ' ὑμᾶς χρή, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀμετόχους ὄντας, οὐτω πάντων τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων τῶν Κερκυραίων κοινωνεῖν*, 'nor ought you, who have no share in the crimes charged against the Corcyraeans, to share in all the consequences of their actions.' But the clause is not worth the trouble spent upon it: the only matter of interest is how it got into any of the MSS. (Appendix).

1. 5. *τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἑτέρων ἰούσιν*, i. e. those who, like the Cor- **Ch. 40**. cyraeans, are at war already with a state belonging to one of the two confederacies, and who join the other confederacy in order to injure their enemy.

1. 6. *ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν*, κ.τ.λ. The clause in the treaty is meant to apply only to states which want to secure their safety, and can do so without 'defrauding another state of their services,' (for *ἀποστερῶν*, see note on ch. 69, l. 3). Corcyra was bound, as a colony of Corinth, to side with her mother city in matters of external policy, and by joining the Athenian league she was defrauding Corinth.

1. 7. *καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἄντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει*. The treaty, again, only covers the case of states 'which will not involve in war those who receive them if the latter are sensible,' i. e. 'supposing prudence on the part of the latter.' It would always be a dangerous step, requiring the utmost caution, for Athens or Sparta to receive a new ally, and thus disturb the existing balance of the two confederacies. Still, there were cases in which such an alliance would not involve in war a state which was prudent and did not let the accession of strength, or the wishes of their new ally, tempt them to infringe the rights of the other confederacy¹. But if Athens received Corcyra,

actions and words alike fair'—who offers arbitration which in that case is a fair arbitration—'before he appeals to arms' (i. e. seizes an unfair advantage). But then *πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι* merely repeats *τὸν ἐς ἴσον τὰ ἔργα καθιστάντα*; for the meaning is *τὸν ἐς ἴσον τοὺς λόγους καθιστάντα ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι ὄντων τῶν ἔργων, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ, πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι*.

¹ The Corinthians are of course speaking in general terms; but an

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Ch. 40. no subsequent prudence on the part of Athens could avert war. (For 1. 7. another interpretation, see Appendix.)

1. 15. Κορινθίους μὲν γὰρ ἑνσπονδοί ἐστιν. Because the Corinthians, as allies of Sparta, were included in the Thirty Years' Peace.

1. 18. Σαμίων ἀποστάντων, i. 115-117, and p. 36.

1. 22. φανείται καὶ ἡ τῶν θυμέτρων, κ.τ.λ. The Lesbians had long been dissatisfied, and, at some time previous to the war, asked Sparta to assist them in a revolt (iii. 2. 13). The Potidaeans, Chalcidians, and Bottiaeans revolted about a year after the present time.

1. 22. οὐκ ἐλάσσων, 'quite as many.' Grammar, § 22.

Ch. 41. 11. 1, 2. δικαιώματα, Glossary. παραίνεσιν, as well as ἐφίσαν, governs χάριτος (cp. αἱ παραίνεσις τῶν ξυναλλαγῶν, iv. 59). 'These are our positive pleas . . . ; we would also counsel you to show toward us a gratitude which we may reasonably claim.'

11. 3, 4. ἢν οὐκ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες, κ.τ.λ. βλάπτειν = wish, or try, to injure. ἐπιχρησθαι, 'to use each other's services,' without claiming them as the repayment of a debt. 'Not being friends who freely give and take.' Jowett.

1. 5. τὸν Αἰγινήτων ὑπὲρ τὸ Μηδικὸν πόλεμον: see on ch. 14, l. 12. τὰ Μηδικὰ may mean Salamis only and not Marathon (Appendix).

1. 14. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεία, κ.τ.λ., 'and no wonder, when the immediate excitement of the strife makes them neglect their own interests.'

Ch. 42. 1. 5. τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ πολέμου. not 'the future of the war,' but 'the probability of war'; 'whether war will come or not.'

1. 9. διὰ Μεγαρέας probably refers to the revolt of Megara from the Lacedaemonian to the Athenian alliance, caused by the attacks of the Corinthians about 461 (ch. 103, l. 10). The Corinthians (to whom Megara had gone back in 446, ch. 114) remind the Athenians that they have once before encouraged Corinthian allies to revolt. We do not know that the 'decree against the Megarians' (ch. 139), which has been thought to be referred to, had been passed at this time (middle of 433).

1. 14. διὰ κινδύνων, *lit.* 'in the way of dangers'; 'by entering on a dangerous course' (cp. δ' ἀσφαλείας ch. 17, l. 3).

Ch. 43. 1. 1. περιπεπτωκότες οἷς . . . αὐτοὶ προείπομεν, κ.τ.λ., i.e. περιπεπτωκότες τούτοις ἃ προείπομεν, 'now that we have fallen under the rule which we ourselves laid down'

instance may make their meaning clearer. If Leontini or Rhegium joined Athens (n. on ch. 36, l. 10), this would not involve Athens in a breach of the treaty if Athens had the prudence not to let them persuade her to attack Syracuse. The kind of 'prudence' intended is shown by the refusal of the Athenians to kill the Corinthian messenger at the request of the Corcyraeans, ch. 53, l. 11.

Ch. 40, l. 15—Ch. 49, l. 4.

1. 2. οὐχ ἥσσον, 'rather more': Grammar, § 22.
1. 4. ξυμμαχίαν, 'offensive and defensive alliance.' *ἑπυμαχίαν*, 'defensive alliance.'
1. 5. εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον, κ.τ.λ.
σφίσι (the Corcyraeans) is governed by *ξυμπελεῖν*: supply *αὐτοὺς* (the Athenians) after *ἐκέλευον*, which cannot take the dative *σφίσι*.
 'For (supposing the Athenians to have made an offensive and defensive alliance) if the Corcyraeans had proceeded to require them to attack Corinth, they would thereby have become involved in a breach of the treaty.' The words, though expressing the motive of the Athenians, are spoken from the point of view of Thucydides: hence *εἰ ἐκέλευον, ἐλθόντ' ἂν*, not *εἰ κελεύειν . . . λύεσθαι ἂν*.
1. 9. ἰδούκει γὰρ ὁ . . . πόλεμος καὶ ὥς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὥς is not 'even in that case'—'even if they allied themselves with Corcyra' (for the meaning must be, 'even if they did *not* ally themselves with Corcyra'): but 'in any case,' 'as matters stood.' Glossary, καὶ ὥς.
1. 11. The opposition between *προέσθαι Κορινθίοις* and *ξυγκρούειν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις* shows that the Athenians were afraid that Corcyra would submit to Corinth with little or no resistance.
1. 4. Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ Κίμωνος, son of the great statesman, who is said to have named him thus from his own friendship for Sparta (Plut. Cim. 16). Compare the name of a Lacedaemonian in iv. 119, 122 'Ἀθηναῖος Περικλείδα.
1. 7. ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, 'to some of the places belonging to the Corcyraeans,' i. e. Epidamnus (Schol.) or the Corcyraean territory on the adjoining mainland (iii. 85).
1. 11. πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κεῖται, κ.τ.λ. Why is this mentioned? Ch. 46. Probably because there was no town, but only a roadstead, at Chimerium itself; Ephyre is mentioned as the town to which the harbour belonged. *ρεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός* simply means 'there is also another river, the Thyamis' *ἂν ἐντός*, 'between which rivers.'
- We may rewrite the passage thus, 'Chimerium, where the Corinthians stationed themselves, is a roadstead near the town of Ephyre and close to the promontory also called Chimerium, which lies between the mouths of the Acheron and Thyamis: the former running through Thesprotis and the Acherusian lake; the latter separating Thesprotis from Cestrine.'
1. 7. The Zacynthians (who were allies of Athens) seem to have joined the Corcyraeans since their reception by Athens, as the Corcyraeans had previously held aloof from both confederacies.
1. 4. τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ, κ.τ.λ., 'still equipped for action in a somewhat clumsy way, which was the ancient fashion.'
1. 4. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πελομαχίᾳ δὲ τὸ πλεον προσφερέῃς οὔσα. 'The battle was stoutly contested, not

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Ch. 49, so much in point of skill, but rather as resembling an infantry engagement.

1. 4. 'Not so much in point of skill, as after the manner of a land fight, which it much resembled.' Jowett. Strictly speaking, some idea like 'being contested' must be supplied with *τέχνη* from *καρτερὰ ἦν*: a battle could hardly be said to be *καρτερὰ τέχνη*.

1. 6. *προσβάλλοιεν* ... *ἀπαλύοντο*, opt. and impf. of 'repeated action' in the past¹.

1. 7. *ὑπὸ τε πλῆθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν ναῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον τι πιστεύοντες*, κ.τ.λ. *ὑπὸ πλῆθους* and *πιστεύοντες* are parallel clauses in different constructions, both giving a reason for *ὁ βολίως ἀπελύοντο*, 'because of the numbers and crowding of the ships, and because they trusted.' Grammar, § 28.

1. 9. *καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο*, 'settled down and fought,' i.e. 'fought steadily,' or 'made a regular battle of it.'

1. 10. *διέκπλοι*. Glossary.

11. 14. 15. *μάχης... οὐκ ἤρχον*, 'would not strike the first blow' (Grammar, § 6). *τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, 'their instructions from Athens.'

1. 29. *διέκριντο οὐδὲν ἔτι*, i.e. no more distinctions were observed between threatening and actually striking the Corinthian ships.

1. 29. *ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὥστε*, κ.τ.λ., *lit.* 'things came to such a pitch of necessity that.' Thucydides describes with emphasis and highly wrought expression what was practically the first blow struck in the Peloponnesian war: 'And now the Athenians, seeing the distress of the Corcyraeans, began to help them with less reserve. They had at first refrained from actually charging a Corinthian ship. But as soon as the Corcyraeans turned and fled outright and the Corinthians pressed hard upon them, then every man set his hand to the work in earnest; all distinctions were forgotten: the hour had come when Athenians and Corinthians were driven to fight.'

Ch. 50. 1. 2. *ἀς καταδύσκειαν* (for the opt. see on *προσβάλλοιεν*, ch. 49, l. 6). *καταδύειν* here, as the context shows, means 'sink to the water-line,' not sink outright: so Hdt. viii. 90. It means more than 'disable,' cp. vii. 34 med. *κατέδυ μὲν οὐδεμία ἀπλῶς, ἑπτὰ δὲ τινες ἀπλοὶ ἐγένοντο, ἀντίπρῃροι ἐμβαλλόμενοι καὶ ἀναρραγίσαι τὰς παρεφεφείσας*.

1. 3. *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεῦν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγεῖν*.

φονεῦν is the rare infinitive of purpose², after *πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο* (perhaps assisted by *πρὸς*, which suggests the construction *πρὸς τὸ φονεῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο*)³. *διεκπλέοντες* has not the strict technical sense.

¹ Th. § 210 B; G. § 229; R. § 297; cp. § 283.

² G. § 265; cp. R. 336.

³ Krüger compares vi. 69 fin. *μαχομένοι περὶ τε τῆς ἀλλοτρίας οἰκίαν σχεῖν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μὴ βλάψαι ἡσώμενοι*.

Ch. 49, l. 4—Ch. 51, l. 15.

l. 7. ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμειξαν ἀλλήλοις, 'when they had once engaged,' goes Ch. 50, with the following, not with the preceding clause. l. 7.

l. 7. οὐ ῥαδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὅποιοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο, 'found it hard to distinguish by any visible difference (in appearance or equipment) between those on the winning and those on the losing side': *Ht.* to distinguish what kind of men were conquerors or conquered¹. The meaning is, that the Megarians and Ambraciots on the Corinthians' own right wing, who, though actually defeated, 'were on the conquering side,' were indistinguishable from the Corcyraeans (Stahl).

l. 8. ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη . . . μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ ταυτῆς. Cp. notes on ch. 1, ll. 4, 7-9.

l. 17. ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ as distinguished from ταῖς πλοῖμοις means the ships which had not been engaged in the battle.

l. 21. καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο, *when* the Corinthians, etc.'

l. 1. προῦδόντες, 'catching sight of them.'

Ch. 51.

l. 4. ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς. The Athenian ships may have been hidden from the Corcyraeans (who were putting out from their own coast, ch. 50, l. 11) by Amphipagus, the S. E. headland of Corcyra.

l. 6. νῆες ἐκείναι ἐπιπλέουσιν, 'yonder are ships coming up!' (not ἐκεῖναι αἱ νῆες).

l. 9. ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα is used because the full expression would be 'lasted till night and then stopped.'

l. 11. ὃν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου.

A contemporary inscription² shows that the στρατηγοὶ commanding the squadron were Glaucon and two others, probably Metagenes and Dracontides: not Andocides. It has been noticed that Thucydides says ἦρχε, and does not use the word στρατηγός. But we cannot lay much stress on this: and the authority of the inscription must be preferred to that of the historian.

l. 12. διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων. This is not said merely for the sake of picturesque effect as it might be in a modern historian, but probably indicates the obstacles which delayed the advance of the Athenians, and made its rapidity (οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ ὠφθῆσαν) more remarkable. Cp. Hdt. viii. 12, speaking of the Persian fleet after the first battle off Artemisium and the storm which followed; οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφειάς, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πύργους τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπῶν.

l. 15. ἔγνωσαν καὶ ὤρμισαντο. Both verbs probably refer to the Corcyraeans. στρατοπεδενομένοις just above (l. 10) therefore means

¹ Not 'which side (ὁπότεροι) were winning or losing,' for that was clear.

² C. I. A. i. 179 and Suppl. iv. Part i. The text is given in the Appendix.

Book I. No

Ch. 49, so much in point of skill, but rather a
1. 4. ment.' 'Not so much in point of skill

fight, which it much resembled.' Jews
like 'being contested' must be supplied
a battle could hardly be said to be

1. 6. προσβάλλοιεν... ἀπελύοντο
in the past¹.

1. 7. ὑπὸ τε πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου
κ.τ.λ. ὑπὸ πλήθους and πιστεῖται
constructions, both giving a reason
of the numbers and crowding
Grammar, § 28.

1. 9. καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο.
steadily,' or 'made a regular

1. 10. διεκρίτο. Glossar:

11. 14. 15. μάχης... οὐκ ἦρχε

§ 6). τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν

1. 29. διεκρίτο οὐδὲν
between threatening and

1. 29. ἐνέπρεσεν ἐς τοῦ
such a pitch of necessity

highly wrought expression
in the Peloponnesian

of the Corcyraeans, but
at first refrained from

soon as the Corcyraeans
pressed hard upon

earnest; all distinction
Athenians and Cor

Ch. 50. 1. 2. ὡς καταδύ

καταδύειν here, not sink outright

cp. vii. 34 med. ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβ

1. 3. πρὸς δὲ
ἢ ζωγρεῖν.

φονεύειν
ἐτράποντο

πρὸς τὸ φοι
strict techn

¹ Th. 3

² G. §

³ Krii
σχεῖν κο

... a move-

... Cp.

... ἀποσπένονται.

... as if on a sub-

... this point) how

... and surmounted by

... represented on

... Hybins, etc.)². The

... without a 'flag of truce,'

... war with Athens: thus

... light (ch. 55, l. 13).

... in commencing

... 'the treaty' cp. on

... within hearing.' ἐπακούει

... might hear (ii. 36 fin.).

... ελεῖν. The Athenians

... in the mouth of the

... to Corinth.'

... Classen remarks that

... the dead without asking for a

... victory on sea than it was on land.

... 300 slaves must have been rowers,

... It has been thought unlikely

... taken should have been 'among

... but perhaps the richer men

... in the land army which was not

... speaking of the Chians at the

... καὶ ἐπ' ἐκάστης αὐτῶν

... ἐπιβατεύοντας. The terrible

... these prisoners are told in iii. 70 ff.

... ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐγγίνομεν τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς

... goes with αἰτία, not with τοῦ

... the first ground for the war which the Corinthians

... 10. 8' compares i. 68, l. 7 τῶν λεγόντων

... αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόραν λέγουσιν: Plato,

... ἀλλήλων, δὲ τι λέγομεν.

... Baumeister, Denkmäler, vol. i. p. 681.

Ch. 52, l. 8—Ch. 55, l. 12.

FL. WITH CORINTH ABOUT POTIDAEA (56-65).

Like Corcyra earlier, and Plataea later, became a cause of Potidaea. Both sides had certain claims upon it. It is said to have been taken by Periander, the famous tyrant of Corinth. The inhabitants are said to have paid six talents (more than £1,200) tribute annually, which about 436 B.C. was raised to fifteen talents. Olynthus and Bottiacci, living in and near the town of Spartolus, were also subjects of Athens; and the tribute of Spartolus had been raised at the same time as that of Potidaea.

The Chalcidian cities, situated on the peninsulas of Pallene and The Chalcidic, and a small part of Acte, had been founded from Chalcidians. Eretria in Euboea, in the days of their greatness, perhaps about 500 B.C.

The Bottiaccans, though they acted so readily with the Hellenes of The Bottiaccans, and though there were strange traditions of their Bottiaccans. Bottiaccans, are not known to have been a Hellenic race, but were probably akin to the Thracians. They had lived originally in Bottia or Bottiacea at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, had been expelled by the Macedonians, and had settled near Olynthus, their new home being called Botticè.

The Hellenic or half-Hellenic monarchy and barbarian people of Perdiccas. Macedonia,—destined within less than a hundred years from this time to overthrow the power both of Athens and of Persia—now first appear in the story of Thucydides. It was the natural policy of Athens, in the interest of their tributaries on the coast, to weaken the growing strength of the Macedonian kings as much as possible, and to support their internal or external enemies; as in this case they had, at some time previous to the battle of Sybota, alienated Perdiccas by supporting Derdas (probably a kind of vassal prince) and Perdiccas' own brother Philip against him.

Perdiccas' action in strengthening Olynthus might ultimately have proved fatal to the ambition of his successors, if the Greeks had had the wisdom to maintain Olynthus and the neighbouring cities, which she twice gathered round her in a kind of federation, against the power of Macedon—if Sparta had not fought against her in 379 and Athens had not delayed helping her till too late before her fall in 347.

¹ Plutarch, Theseus, xvi. Qu. Gr. xxxv. quotes a statement from Aristotle, that the Bottiaccan maidens at their sacrifices sang *Ἰαμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας*: and also a story, in explanation of the custom, according to which they were partly Cretans, partly descendants of the Athenian children sent from Athens to Minos and spared by him.

Book I. Notes.

Chrono-
logy of
Thuc. i.
36-65.

The battle of Potidaea, according to Thuc. ii. 2, took place about six months before the surprise of Plataea by the Thebans¹, that is to say, about September, 432. We have seen (p. 30) that the battle of Sybota took place either soon after midsummer 433, or between then and the middle of 432. If the former date is correct, as is more probable², the words at the beginning of ch. 56 (*μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι*) are rather misleading³, and must be interpreted by the opening words of ch. 57 *ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ποτιδαίτας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρασκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρα ναυμαχίαν*: the battle of Potidaea was about a year after the battle of Sybota, but the original demand of the Athenians which led to it followed 'immediately': then came the long negotiations (*ἐκ πολλοῦ πρᾶσσοντες*, ch. 58, l. 5) of Potidaea with Athens and also with Sparta; then the expedition of Archestratus who 'found Potidaea already revolted': forty days after the revolt the Corinthians arrived, and soon after the Athenian force moved from Pydna to Potidaea.

Ch. 56. l. 7. τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν. In iv. 51, the Athenians, owing to similar suspicions, demand the destruction of a new fortification from their sole remaining independent allies, the Chians.

The Athenians, being strong on the sea, wish Potidaea to be defenceless on the side towards the sea: contrast viii. 16, where the Teians and their allies destroy the wall which the Athenians had built on the *landward* side of Teos (Classen).

l. 7. ἐπιδημουργούς. These officers may have had the same administrative authority in Potidaea as the *ἐπίσκοποι* in the subject cities of Athens or the *ἀρμοσταί* in those of Sparta.

The simple *δημουργός* occurs as a name for magistrates, of what precise nature we cannot tell, at Mantinea (Thuc. v. 47), and (in inscriptions) in many cities throughout Hellas⁴.

l. 11. οἱ, τὰ, ἐπὶ Θράκης, the fringe of Greek cities on the coast of Thrace. See Glossary, *ἐπὶ Θράκης*.

Ch. 57. l. 18. μετ' ἄλλων δέκα cannot be right: for we never hear of more *στρατηγοί* than the regular number of ten; and the word is never used

¹ The difficulties caused by this date both here and i. 125, l. 7 (see note) have suggested the possibility of some MS. error in *ἐκτῷ μηνί*, ii. 2. But if *ἐκτῷ μηνί* is wrong, we cannot tell what is right.

² Freeman, *History of Sicily*, vol. iii. p. 624: 'One must suppose either the action at Korkyra or the action at Potidaea to have taken a longer time than one would think at first sight. Of the two alternatives I prefer the second.'—See also Appendix to ch. 51, l. 11.

³ Compare the use of the word *ἀπρι* in iii. 3 init., 68 fin., to indicate intervals of three and four years since the beginning of the war. Such expressions are natural if written towards or after the end of the war.

⁴ Gilbert, *Handbuch der Griechischen Alterthümer*, ii. p. 327.

Ch. 56, l. 7—Ch. 61, l. 9.

by Thucydides, speaking of Athenians, in any but its technical sense. Ch. 57, The five στρατηγοί sent out soon afterwards (ch. 61, l. 5) belong to the 1. 18. same year of office, which would make sixteen in all. τεσσάρων (8, which might have been mistaken for δέκα), or δυοῖν, have been proposed.

1. 1. Ποτιδαῖται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν, κ.τ.λ. The four clauses of this Ch. 58. long sentence, introducing the main verb, l. 9, τότε δὲ . . . ἀφίστανται (and ending severally at—νεωτερίζειν μηδὲν,—τιμωρίαν, ἣν δέη,—ὁμοίως ἔπλεον, and—ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν), would be perfectly regular if ἔπρασσον in the second of them were omitted. If ἔπρασσον (which is in all the MSS.) be genuine, the second clause must be construed as a parenthesis (the comma after Κορινθίων being omitted).

It is clear that the negotiations here described took place between the original demand on Potidaea (ch. 56, l. 6) and the sending of Archestratus to enforce it.

1. 5. ἤυροντο, 'found for themselves' = 'obtained.'

1. 6. ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως ἔπλεον, 'but the fleet intended to attack Macedonia was to sail just as much against themselves¹.'

1. 7. τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων: probably the Ephors.

1. 13. τῆς αὐτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας, the so-called 'partitive' genitive².

1. 14. ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, 'to cultivate and live from' (Glossary); not necessarily 'to inhabit.' Perdiccas allowed the new inhabitants of Olynthus to draw their supplies from the fertile region lying N. of the city.

1. 6. καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν: see note on i. 49, l. 9 above.

Ch. 59.

1. 8. ἦν γὰρ τοῖς Ποτιδαῖταις ἀεὶ ποτε ἐπιτήδειος. γὰρ refers to Ch. 60. ἑστρατήγει, not to the intervening sentence κατὰ φίλιαν τε αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ., which is subordinate to the preceding. Adeimantus, the father of Aristeus, was the commander of the Corinthian fleet at Salamis.

1. 1. ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων δτι ἀφίστανται, 'the news of the revolt Ch. 61. of the cities.'

1. 3. ὡς ᾔσθοντο καὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀριστέως ἐπιπαρόντας. It is more likely that the Athenians sent fresh troops when they heard that the Corinthians were coming than (some forty days after the revolt) when they heard that they had come. And the arrival of the Corinthians is mentioned as a fresh stage in the narrative, l. 10 (δ' Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθώς). ἐπιπαρόντας should therefore be read for ἐπιπαρόντας (Ullrich).

1. 9. ἀναγκαίαν, Glossary.

¹ But two very good MSS. omit αἱ before ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, which gives a simpler meaning, 'the fleet was sailing as much against them as against Macedonia.'

² Th. § 96: G. §§ 161, 170: R. § 101.

Book I. Notes.

Ch. 61, 1. 12. A glance at the map will show how unlikely it is that the

1. 12. Athenians, who were in a hurry to reach Potidaea, went to Beroea on the way. Beroea, moreover, was in Macedonia; which makes the words ἀπαιστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας just above very awkward. Besides, as the text stands, the Athenians committed an unaccountable breach of faith in attacking the town; the order of the words (κακῶθεν ἐπιστρέφαντες καὶ περάσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου) is eccentric; and finally Gignonus, the next place mentioned, is sixty miles from Beroea, and could not possibly have been reached in three days' slow march (κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον, l. 18).

Pluygers' most ingenious conjecture, ἐπὶ Στρέψαν¹, for ἐπιστρέφαντες, does not explain the détour to Beroea: and unfortunately we do not know where Strepsa was; but only that it was a tributary of Athens in the Thracian district. In fact there is a slight presumption against its having been near the Thermaic Gulf and three days' slow march from Gignonus, for it is not mentioned by Herodotus in his list of Greek cities round the Thermaic Gulf (vii. 123)². Nor is Brea, which was suggested by Bergk for Βέρεια, known to have lain between Pydna and Gignonus; in fact, the little evidence there is points to its having lain among the Bisaltae, a long way to the East.

Other conjectures might be mentioned. But the matter is not very important; we may be content to suppose that the Athenians attacked without success an unknown town between Pydna and Gignonus, which must have been one of their revolted tributaries, and may have been Strepsa. If the name of the town lurks in ἐπιστρέφαντες, 'Beroea' may be a mistake for some city on the coast to which the Athenians went by sea from Pydna (Therma has been suggested): proceeding, after the attack on the 'unknown town,' by land (κατὰ γῆν, l. 13).

Ch. 62. ll. 2, 3. πρὸς Ὀλύνθον ἐν τῷ ἱσθμῷ. πρὸς Ὀλύνθου, 'on the side toward Olynthus,' should be read, with two good MSS., for πρὸς Ὀλύνθου³, 'close to Olynthus.'

1. 3. καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίητο. 'The city' is Potidaea, not Olynthus. The object was to prevent the troops leaving the camp and dispersing into the city to get what they wanted—a common, and often disastrous, tendency in Greek armies.

¹ Cobet, Nov. Lect. p. 382.

² Müller-Strübing (Neue Jahrbücher, 1883), who conjectures ἐπὶ Σκάψαν, Campsa or Scapsa being mentioned in Hdt. vii. 123. But Campsa was probably less than three days' march from Gignonus (Stahl).

³ πρὸς Ὀλύνθον is inconsistent with ἐν τῷ ἱσθμῷ. 'And Aristeus cannot have drawn up his own troops "close to Olynthus" and those of the Chalcidians, etc., "in Olynthus," for in that case (α) he would have left Potidaea, which was his base of operations, undefended; and (β) he could not have carried out his intention of placing the Athenians between two fires: ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολέμους, 62, l. 13' (Jowett).

Ch. 61, l. 12—Ch. 65, l. 9.

l. 7. Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα, i.e. Iolans was to govern Macedonia in the absence of Perdiccas. Ch. 62, l. 7.

l. 10. Χαλκιδῆας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους, the Chalcidians and the other allies of Potidaea beyond the isthmus, i.e. the Bottiæans.

l. 12. ἐπὶ σφῶς: against the troops under Aristeus on the isthmus.

l. 3. ὁποτέρῳσσι . . . χωρήσας go together; 'which way to choose for a desperate rush.' Ch. 63.

l. 6. παρήλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. χηλή, a breakwater, or heap of stones, thrown down under a sea-wall to protect it from the waves (so a scholium here'), sloping down like the front of a horse's hoof, whence the name. In vii. 52, viii. 90, the top of the χηλή is clearly above water. παρὰ here probably means by the side of the breakwater, in the shallow water. The shallowness of the sea round Potidaea is indicated by the story in Herodotus viii. 129: Artabazus, the Persian general, tried to get into Potidaea through the sea, which owing to an unusual ebb 'had become a swamp' (τέταγος): the sea rose again and all his men who could not swim were drowned.

l. 20. αὐτῶν, the Athenians themselves as distinct from their allies.

l. 8. Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίου, the same who three years later won the two great victories at the mouth of the Corinthian gulf. Ch. 64.

l. 2. ἦν μὴ τι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἢ ἄλλο παράλογον γίνεσθαι. Aristeus seems to have rated at its true value the prospect of a speedy fulfilment of the Spartan promise (ch. 58, l. 7). Ch. 65.

l. 6. τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν, *lit.* 'to take the measures which came after this,' which were rendered necessary by the refusal of the garrison to adopt his plan, 'wishing to do the best he could.'

l. 9. Ἐρμυλίων¹ . . . πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν. Sermyle appears to have remained faithful to Athens.

THE LACEDAEMONIAN ASSEMBLY (66-87).

The Peloponnesian war was a struggle, not, as we are apt to think of it, between two great cities, but between a well-organised empire and a loosely-knit confederacy. Athens was the head of the empire, and Athens meant the sovereign people assembled in the Pnyx, swayed at present by one great man. Of the confederacy, Sparta was officially the head, Corinth was the life and spirit. Had Athens wished to begin the

¹ There seems to be no ancient authority for deriving this meaning of χηλή from the sense 'claw.' The ends of a breakwater may project like claws into the sea at the entrance to a harbour, but need not do so.

² Σερμυλίων (from Σερμυλιεύς) is the right form. The MSS. vary between Ἐρμυλίων and Σερμυλίων.

Book I. Notes.

war, a speech from Pericles and a vote in the assembly would have been enough; it would not have been necessary to consult her allies or subjects, Corcyra or Chios or Miletus. As it was, the impulse to war came from Corinth: and Corinth had to persuade, first the Lacedaemonian government and assembly, and then the general assembly of the representatives of the free allies, when the Lacedaemonian authorities had consented to summon them. This assembly represented conflicting interests (cp. p. 92), and every city in it, large or small—Pellene or Lepreum, as well as Corinth, Thebes or Mantinea—had an equal vote.

First then the Corinthians stir up the Lacedaemonian government to fulfil the promise of invading Attica which it had given to Potidaea. Thucydides speaks, as his manner is, in general terms of 'the Corinthians,' 'the Lacedaemonians,' 'the allies,' without explaining who are meant by these terms, how far their action was formal or informal, and how far it required the sanction of the councils or people of their respective states. We only know that 'the Lacedaemonians' means the five Ephors acting by themselves or in concert with the Senate which included the two Kings. The Assembly, consisting of all citizens over thirty years of age, had little power, and might be overruled by the Ephors, though on an occasion like the present, when there was a difference of opinion between a King and an Ephor, its decision must have been, as Grote points out (Part II, ch. vi), of real importance.

It must be remembered that the speeches of the Corinthians and the Athenians were delivered, not before an assembly of the representatives of the Peloponnesian confederacy; that came later (ch. 119-125)—but before the ordinary Lacedaemonian assembly: Archidamus and Sthenelaidas speaking after the Athenians, Corinthians, and other strangers had withdrawn.

The Corinthian speech.

The point of the Corinthian speech is: 'Athens is no longer content with oppressing her own allies; she is attacking yours—ourselves the Corinthians; our colonies Corcyra and Potidaea; Megara.'

The famous comparison between the Athenian and Spartan characters should be read with the narrative of ch. 89-117 fresh in the memory. For the last forty-eight years the Athenians had pursued various objects with untiring energy through success and failure: the Lacedaemonians had mostly let their allies fight their battles for them; and had only been stirred to action outside the Peloponnese when their 'metropolis' in Doris or their rights over the temple at Delphi were assailed.

The contrast drawn by the Corinthian orator between the two peoples has nothing to do with the contrast—so often present to the modern mind, and suggested by the English equivalents of *νεορεπονοί*, *ἀρχαϊστροφία*, *τὰ δεινὰ νόμιμα*—between 'conservative' and 'liberal' or 'progressive' tendencies in legislation or in the development of a constitution. The Corinthians are thinking of 'foreign affairs' and of the

Ch. 66, l. 1—Ch. 67, l. 9.

executive branch of government, especially in diplomatic, military, and naval concerns : and they contrast Spartan routine in these departments with the readiness of Athens to adopt new ways of doing things, new allies, and the new practical expedients which she had learnt from her wide experience. Governments like those of Philip of Macedon, or Sulla, or Julius Caesar, in ancient times ; and in modern times Prussia under Frederick II or Bismarck and Moltke, and France under the Convention or Napoleon I, however different from each other, would all be *νεωτεροποιοί* in the sense in which the Corinthians use the word.

l. 1. *Πελοποννήσιοι* in l. 1 and l. 5 means the Peloponnesian confederacy. Athens had a 'casus belli' against the Peloponnesian confederacy owing to the action of Corinth. But there was, so far, actual war between Athens and Corinth only ; for Corinth had acted *ἰδίᾳ*, i.e. not in concert with the rest of the confederacy or with Sparta its head, and her action might conceivably be disowned by the rest.

l. 2. *προεγγίνηντο*, in addition to the Athenian alliance with Corcyra and the battle of Sybota, ch. 55 fin.¹

l. 5. *ὅτι σπονδὰς τε λευκότες εἰεν*. *σπονδὰς* may be general, 'a treaty,' or may refer to the Thirty Years' Peace, being used as a kind of proper name without the article². Ch. 67.

l. 7. *κρύφα δέ, scil. πρεσβευόμενοι* (insert a comma after *κρύφα δέ*). The Aeginetans had been conquered (ch. 105) and become tributary members of the Athenian empire twenty-four years before this time (456). What were the provisions of the Thirty Years' Peace on which they based their claims to 'autonomy' we do not know³. Nor do we know how the treaty was supposed to forbid the exclusion of the Megarians from Athenian harbours and markets ; Pericles (ch. 144) treats the supposition with contempt.

l. 9. *προσπαρακάλεσαντες τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ εἰ τίς τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων*. It has been thought strange that the Lacedaemonians should summon any one but their own allies. But the Aeginetans (just mentioned) were not members of their alliance ; and

¹ *προεγγίνηντο* would mean 'such were the first grievances,' or 'grievances which had arisen thus far': cp. ch. 23.

² So *πατήρ*, *πόλις*, and other familiar words (Th. §§ 46–48, R. § 10). There is no exact parallel to the case of *σπονδαί*, but there may be indications of such a use in Thuc. i. 53, l. 4 (see Jowett's note), 55, l. 13 ; 78, l. 11 ; 123, l. 10, and v. 36 init.

³ The payment of tribute was not by itself inconsistent with 'autonomy.' Busolt, vol. ii. 556, illustrates this claim on the part of Aegina by the special terms which in the Peace of Nicias were guaranteed to the revolted cities of Thrace, *ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι* (v. 18).

Book 1. Notes.

Ch. 67, they may have been willing to hear complaints from other subjects of
1. 9. Athens besides the Aeginetans¹.

1. 14. λιμένων τε εἶργεσθαι, see note on i. 139.

Ch. 68. 1. 1. τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῖν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς
ἄλλους, ἢν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησιν.

The point really is 'you Lacedaemonians trust each other so much (in home affairs public and private) that you are inclined to trust your enemies too.' But Thucydides gives a more antithetical turn to the phrase; 'You trust each other so much that you are inclined to distrust us others (i.e. your allies), if we have anything to say (against your enemies whom you trust).'

So with Bekker's punctuation the words must be construed. But then Thucydides' meaning is very imperfectly expressed. It is better to punctuate with Poppo ἀπιστοτέρους, ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἢν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησιν, and translate 'makes you inclined to distrust, if we have anything to say against others.' For the order of the words, cp. (with Krüger) iii. 37 init. διὰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδελῆς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους τὸ αὐτὸ ἔχετε.

1. 4. ἀμαθίᾳ πλείονι, 'more than you would otherwise have had.'
'This unsuspecting temper may give you dignity (σαφροσύνη, Glossary), but it makes you blunder in your conduct of foreign affairs.'

1. 6. οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν, κ.τ.λ., 'instead of ever taking the trouble to see what we were continually trying to point out to you, you preferred to suspect personal motives on the part of the speakers.'

1. 6. τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε means ἐμανθάνετε² with a slightly heightened force, 'you would not learn.'

1. 7. τῶν λεγόντων, genitive after the clause ὡς ἔνεκα, κ.τ.λ., 'suspected this in the speakers, namely that,' etc. See on ch. 52, l. 10.

1. 14. τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν, scil. ἡμῶν, ὧν, κ.τ.λ., 'why should we speak at length, when you see some of us,' etc.

1. 15. τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους, especially Aegina, Corcyra: τοῖς δέ, Corinth herself, Megara: ξυμμάχους, Potidaea and her allies.

1. 16. ἐκ πολλοῦ προπαρεσκευασμένους: i. e. their aggressions have been made upon a deliberate plan; they will all be of use to them in the event of a war with the Peloponnesian confederacy.

1. 17. οὐ γὰρ ἂν Κέρκυραν τε ὑπολαβόντες, κ.τ.λ. The Corinthians calmly ignore their own quarrel with Corcyra and the fact that Corcyra herself had applied to Athens; also that Potidaea was an Athenian tributary which they themselves had induced to revolt.

1. 20. πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀποχρήσθαι, i. e. ὥστε ἀποχρήσθαι αὐτοῖς (τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης), not τῷ χωρίῳ, Potidaea. Lit. 'as regards the cities

¹ Bekker may therefore be right in retaining τε after ξυμμάχων with three good MSS., though most editors, taking καί = 'also,' omit it.

² R. §§ 189, 199.

Ch. 67, l. 14—Ch. 69, l. 26.

on the Thracian coast, for making the best of them' as dependencies. Ch. 68, Cp. for the construction note on ch. 50, l. 3. 1. 20.

1. 1. τό τε πρῶτον answers to ἐς τότε τε αἰεὶ, not to καὶ ὕστερον, Ch. 69. which is subordinate to τὸ πρῶτον.

1. 3. ἀποστεροῦντες, 'defrauding'¹ not 'depriving'; ἀποστερεῖν and its derivatives are regularly used with the odious sense of 'cheat.'

1. 6. αὐτὸ δρᾷ, scil. δουλοῦται. εἴπερ καί, not 'especially if' (ἄλλως τε καί). 'If at the same time he enjoys a reputation for generosity as the champion of Hellenic freedom.' εἴπερ καί shows that ὁ δυνάμενος above, though general in form, really means 'Sparta.'

1. 8. μέλις δι' νῦν τε² ξυνήλθομεν, καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. ἐπὶ φανεροῖς is not exactly 'with a clear issue before us,' but 'on a clear understanding.' They had not made up their minds yet whether Athens was in the wrong: they should by this time have taken for granted that she was.

1. 9. χρῆν, nearly equivalent to ἐχρῆν ἄν, is said, not only of 'something which ought to have happened, but did not,' but of 'something which ought to be happening now, but is not.' So here, χρῆν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν = 'we ought not to be still considering as we are, whether we are wronged!'

1. 10. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι, κ.τ.λ. οἱ δρῶντες, 'the active party,' i. e. the Athenians referred to under a general form of words, like the Spartans in ὁ δυνάμενος παῦσαι above.

1. 10. βεβουλευμένοι is opposed to οὐ διεγνωκότας. ἤδη goes with βεβουλευμένοι, and καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες is opposed to βεβουλευμένοι ἤδη: cp. ch. 42, ll. 7, 8 φανερὰν ἐχθρὰν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσαν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι. ἤδη must not be taken with διεγνωκότας as if the meaning were πρὸς οὕτω διεγνωκότας, 'against men who have not yet made up their minds.'

1. 12. οἱα δδφ . . . καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὄλγον go together: Grammar, § 28.

1. 13. οἰόμενοι, 'as long as they think.'

1. 14. γνόντες, 'when they sec.'

1. 17. διπλασιουμένην, pres. 'when it is being doubled,' 'fast doubling.'

1. 18. ἀσφαλεῖς, 'men that can be relied upon,' 'sure men.'

1. 19. ὧν ἄρα, κ.τ.λ. = ἀλλ' ὧν ἄρα (ὧν may = ἀλλ' αὐτῶν as well as καὶ αὐτῶν): λόγος, 'reputation': ἔργου, 'reality,' or true character.

1. 23. αὐτοὶ with ἐπελθεῖν. Grammar, § 3.

1. 24. πρὸς πολλῶν δυνατωτέρους, κ.τ.λ., 'because you close with them when they are far stronger than they were.'

1. 26. περὶ αὐτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα, scil. 'stumbled over himself,' or

¹ Shilleto, note ad loc.

² It is not necessary to alter τε to γε: νῦν before τε really means 'late': ὅψι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ φανεροῖς is the idea.

³ Th. § 198. 2, 3; G. § 222. n. 2: R. § 282.

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Ch. 69, 'tripped himself up': so 'owed his fall more to his own blunders than to you.'

1. 27. τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν, e.g. the Egyptian expedition; the Athenian action with regard to Boeotia (see notes on ch. 111, l. 3; 113).

1. 29. αἱ ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες. See on φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, ch. 33, l. 18.

1. 29. διὰ τὸ πιστεύσαι goes closely with ἀπαρασκεύους. 'For as to hoping in you, we all know that people have been ruined in that way before now; their confidence had left them quite defenceless.' Thasos (ch. 101), Euboea (ch. 114) are cases in point.

1. 30. ἐπ' ἐχθρῶ, 'in a spirit of enmity, and not rather of reproof.'

1. 31. φίλων ἀνδρῶν, 'is meant for friends who,' etc.

Ch. 70. 1. 1. ἄξιοι. Not 'we, if any one, are worthy,' but 'we, if any one, are the right persons to'—because Corinth had suffered most.

1. 2. τῶν διαφερόντων, probably 'interests,' not 'differences' as in διαφέροντας below. A Greek reader would not have noticed the use of the same word in different senses, any more than in ch. 78, ll. 11, 12 (λύειν and λύεσθαι).

1. 4. ὑμῖν depends on ὁ δὲ γὰρ ἔσται.

1. 6. νεωτεροποιοί, cp. i. 102, l. 10.

1. 7. τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν, supply ὅξεϊς in an ironical sense from the preceding words.

1. 8. τέναγκαῖα, not 'what is necessary,' but 'what is barely sufficient,' 'indispensable.' Glossary.

1. 8. ἐξικέσθαι, 'come up with,' 'rise to.'

1. 9. παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνεύειν, 'venturesome beyond their better judgment.' γνώμη must have the same sense as τῆς γνώμης just below.

1. 15. τῷ ἐπελθεῖν, 'aggression,' involving absence from home.

1. 17. καὶ νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν. ἀναπίπτειν generally means to 'fall backwards': here, as the antithesis to ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέρχονται shows, it means 'fall back,' 'give ground.' Instances are the perseverance of the Athenians in the wars against Aegina (ch. 105) and Samos (ch. 117), the colonization of Amphipolis after the disaster of ch. 100, the battle of Oenophyta 'on the sixty-second day' after Tanagra (ch. 108), the repeated attacks on Sicyon (ch. 108, 111).

1. 17. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις, κ.τ.λ., 'they treat their bodies in their country's cause, as if they had nothing whatever to do with them (i.e. throw away their lives as recklessly as if they belonged to some one else), but their spirit (or their wills) they treat as most peculiarly their own to be used in her service.' The γνώμη of an Athenian is the spirit just described, the spirit of enterprise, audacity, and unflinching hope. He would give up his body to wounds or death, but would jealously guard, and never give up, the best qualities of his heart and will¹. γνώμη is not exactly 'mind'; the word is used

¹ Or (perhaps better) 'their bodies they put at the disposal of the enemy: over their spirit they retain the most perfect mastery.'

Ch. 69, l. 27—Ch. 71, l. 2.

too much of *intellectual* qualities, whereas Thucydides is thinking chiefly of the *will*: 'spirit' is slightly ambiguous. Glossary, γνώμη. Ch. 70, l. 17.

l. 20. καὶ δὲ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, κ.τ.λ. For ἐξέλθωσιν with acc. see Glossary (ἐπεξίεναι). The three clauses describe the feelings of the Athenians, (1) when their plans are never carried out at all, (2) when they succeed, (3) when they fail.

l. 21. ὀλίγα . . . τυχεῖν πράξαντες, 'that what they have just done is little'; hence as Classen 'that they have done but little this time'; or 'that they have really done little,' i.e. 'have done little after all.'

l. 22. του, after πείρω, 'in attempting anything.'

l. 23. ἐπλήρωσαν, 'iterative' aor.¹

l. 28. ἡγεῖσθαι (as well as κτᾶσθαι) is governed by διὰ τό, and ἡγεῖσθαι itself governs ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα as well as ἄλλο τι.

Pericles, in ii. 38, 39 fin., gives a picture of the Athenians exactly opposite to that given of them by the Corinthians here: καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις νομίζοντες, κ.τ.λ., and καίτοι εἰ βαθυμῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη . . . ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν. The oligarchic author of [Xen.] Athen. Polit. (iii. 2) says that the feasts at Athens threw all business into arrears.—The Corinthians colour their description of Athens by way of a lesson to their hearers the Lacedaemonians; who had thrice during the Persian wars neglected their duty in order to keep a festival—the new moon at Marathon, the Carneia before Thermopylae, the Hyacinthia before Plataea.

Jowett quotes some interesting parallels to the thought. 'Burke, Speech on American Taxation (of Lord Grenville), "He took public business, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure which he was to enjoy." The same thought occurs, a little exaggerated, in the "Letter to a Noble Lord." Speaking of his own son, Burke says, "He was made a public creature; and had no enjoyment whatever but in the performance of some duty."

'Cp. also Shakespeare, Macbeth i. 4, "The rest is labour, which is not used for you": and Goethe, Pandora (end):

"Prometheus—Was kündest du für Feste mir? Sie lieb ich nicht;
Erholung reichet Müden jede Nacht genug.
Des echten Mannes wahre Feier ist die That!"

l. 2. καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, κ.τ.λ. 'Instead of respecting your neighbour's rights, and defending your own in a manly way, you think of nothing but his susceptibilities and your own immediate interests.' Such

¹ Th. § 142. 3; G. § 205.

² Bekker (ed. 1821) quotes a curious application of the passage from Origen, c. Celsum, viii. 392 Δῆλον, ὅτι οἱ τὸ θεῖον ἐξητασμένοι σέβειν θέλοντες εὐλογόν τι πράττειν, μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν δημοτελῶν ἑορτῶν. ἑορτὴ γάρ, ὡς φησὶ τις καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σοφῶν, καλῶς λέγαν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν.

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Ch. 71, is the general meaning. There is an awkwardness in the expression :

1. 2. for the position of *οὐ* before *τούτοις* (not before *οἷσθε*) shows that the sentence should really have concluded, *ἀλλὰ τούτοις οἱ ἄν' ἄλλους τε μὴ λυπῶσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτωνται*, or the like. *Literally*, 'You hold that peace lasts longest, not for such men as on the one hand do (only) what is just with their armed force, but by their spirit on the other hand show clearly—in case they are wronged—that they will not put up with it; but you measure out equality on the basis of not annoying others, and yourselves avoiding actual harm by self-defence' (i. e. defending yourselves only against actual harm)¹.

1. 3. *τῇ παρασκευῇ*, 'with their material force.'

1. 4. *τῇ γνώμῃ*, 'by the spirit or character which they show.'

1. 4. *ἣν ἀδικῶνται* in sense follows *μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες*.

1. 5. *ἐπὶ τῷ*, 'on the principle of.'

1. 6. *τὸ ἴσον νόμιτε*, 'You deal out to your neighbours what is fair,' i. e. 'observe fairness in your dealings with them.' See further in Appendix.

1. 9. *ἀνάγκη δ' ὥσπερ τέχνης δεῖ τὰ ἐπιγυγνόμενα κρατεῖν*, i. e. *ὥσπερ τέχνης* (as in the case of an art) *οὕτω καὶ τούτων τὰ ἐπιγυγνόμενα*: 'the last improvement in the conduct of affairs, as in an art' (we might say a manufacture or a business) 'must always prevail.' *τέχνης* is an extension of the primary sense of the genitive²: *lit.* 'within the sphere of art'; or we may supply *τὰ ἐπιγυγνόμενα*. For *τέχνη* (not 'fine art') see Glossary.

1. 10. *τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα*. *νόμιμα* means not laws, but usages, 'the traditions of government': cp. Glossary, *νόμος*.

1. 11. *πρὸς πολλὰ δέ, κ.τ.λ.* 'Those who have to meet many calls must employ many new (*ἐπι-*) devices.'

1. 14. *μέχρι . . . τοῦδε ὀρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτή = μέχρι τοῦδε προελθοῦσα ὀρίσθω*, cp. note on ch. 51, l. 9.

1. 15. *ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε*, only with *Ποτιδαίοις*, cp. ch. 58, l. 7.

1. 18. *πρὸς ἑτέραν τινα ξυμμαχίαν τρέψητε*, probably the alliance of the Argives (Schol.): Argos was the only state outside the Peloponnesian alliance, except Athens, which stood on a level with Sparta. Eleven years later the Corinthians, dissatisfied with the Peace of Nicias, did ally themselves with Argos. This highly probable allusion gives

¹ Cp. Seeley's *Life of Stein*, vol. i. p. 231, 'Prussia allowed Napoleon to introduce a French army into the heart of the Empire' (1803), 'and Haugwitz wrote . . . "The King is determined once for all to show to all Europe in the most open manner that he will positively have no war unless he is himself directly attacked." This does indeed assert in words that Prussia had still spirit enough left for a war of self-defence: but when self-defence is so rigidly interpreted as to exclude the defence of one's nearest neighbours and of those whose safety is intimately involved with one's own, it becomes almost a word without meaning.'

² R. § 86.

Ch. 71, l. 3—l. 26.

more point to οὗτοι ξυνηθεστέροις, l. 24; for Argos, unlike Corinth or Sparta, was a democracy. Ch. 71,
l. 18.

l. 19. οὐτε πρὸς θεῶν, κ.τ.λ., 'neither before the Gods who witnessed our oaths, nor before men who take notice of our actions¹'; 'whose eyes are upon us' (Jowett).

l. 23. οὐτε γὰρ δὴ αὖ ποιοῦμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι. Supply 'in that case,' i.e. βουλομέναν ὑμῶν προθύμην εἶναι. Otherwise there would be a contradiction with δρῶμεν δ' ἂν δίκον οὐδέν above.

l. 26. μὴ ἐλάσσῃ ἐξηγείσθαι. μὴ ἐλάσσῃ is proleptic: 'strive that the Peloponnese may not be weaker under your leadership.'

The speech of the Athenians is, as they observe with much dignity themselves, in no sense an answer to the Corinthian or other attacks. They rightly decline to plead their cause before the citizens of Sparta, and content themselves with arguing that the strong and wide-spread feeling against their empire² is unreasonable. They do not attempt to establish any community of interest between themselves and their allies; to show, as Nicias does (vii. 63), that the allies were benefited by Athenian rule, or even to point out, as Thucydides himself does (i. 99), that the tributary allies were themselves to blame for their dependent position. They speak³ only of their own services in the Persian war; of the voluntary offer of leadership to them by the allies, and of the historical necessity which had forced empire upon them. They plead, almost as frankly as in the Melian dialogue itself, the laws of human nature which make it inevitable that the strong should rule and that the weak should grumble, and which make the appeal to justice a mere hypocrisy. And they employ the paradoxical and by no means conciliatory argument that their allies were in fact spoilt by overkindness. In the concluding appeal to arbitration under the terms of the Peace, repeated finally by Pericles (ch. 144), they are on ground which cannot be shaken, as the Lacedaemonians themselves felt when the war began to turn against them (vii. 18).

The prediction (end of ch. 76), afterwards realised, that the Spartan dominion would prove worse than the Athenian, probably represents not what was said at the time, but the experience of the Hellenic world in 404-396⁴.

¹ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων cannot mean 'intelligent men': αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, v. 26, is no parallel.

² Thuc. ii. 8 ἡ δὲ εὐνοία παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦσιν.

³ Compare throughout Euphemus' defence of the Athenian empire at Camarina, vi. 82-85.

⁴ See Grote, ch. lxxii.

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Historical doubts.

But was any speech of the kind ever delivered before the Lacedaemonian assembly at all? Thucydides' narrative (ch. 73), taken in its natural sense, implies that while the assembly was going on the Athenians heard of the Corinthian and other speeches, applied for leave to speak themselves, obtained it, and came forward. This is not impossible (especially if the assembly took up more than one day), but it is very unlikely. We can hardly suppose that Thucydides has invented the whole affair as a device for introducing as early as possible a telling apology for the Athenian empire; he may however be writing from an imperfect report, or an imperfect recollection, of the manner in which the Athenian remonstrance was delivered.

There is nothing suspicious in the accidental presence of the Athenian envoys at Sparta at this juncture. Various matters of business must have continually been arising between the two states. There is a similar incident in Xen. Hell. v. 4. 22; where some Lacedaemonian envoys happen to be at Athens at the time when Sphodrias, the Spartan harmost in Thespieae, is bribed by the Thebans to invade Attica.

Ch. 72. 11. 1-3. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτιχες γὰρ πρεσβεία . . . καὶ ὥς ᾔσθοντο τῶν λόγων, κ.τ.λ. τῶν Ἀθηναίων is genitive under the influence of πρεσβεία following; and καὶ is used before ὥς ᾔσθοντο as if γὰρ had not preceded. Cp. ch. 115, l. 13 τῶν δὲ Σαμίων ἦσαν γὰρ τινες¹, κ.τ.λ. Grammar, § 30, b.

1. 4. τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων περὶ, κ.τ.λ. Partly because they were not bound to answer these charges before the Lacedaemonian assembly (ch. 73 init.): partly no doubt because a premature and unauthorised answer might have compromised Athens in subsequent negotiations.

1. 13. εἰ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύοι does not apparently differ in meaning from εἰ μὴ τι ἀποκωλύοι.

1. 14. ἐπίνειν, come before, or into, the assembly, opposed to παρελθόντες, coming forward, 'rising' to speak.

Ch. 73. 1. 4. οὐ γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ., ἡμῶν and τούτων are gen. after δικασταῖς—'you are not a court to try our case or theirs, that we should defend ourselves before you.'

1. 7. χεῖρον βουλευέσθητε (aor.), 'take an ill-advised resolution.'

1. 8. τοῦ παντός λόγου, κ.τ.λ. 'The general outcry that has been raised against us,' or, in modern phrase, 'the general prejudice against us.'

1. 10. τὰ πάντα παλαιά, such favourite topics as the victories of Athens over the Amazons, and over Eumolpus: her kindness to the Heracleidae (Schol.), etc.

1. 11. ὧν ἀκοαὶ μάλλον λόγων, κ.τ.λ., 'for they are attested by mere

¹ In this parallel passage there is no 'irregular' καὶ before συνθέμενοι, l. 15; but the meaning would have been clearer if anything had there been one.

Ch. 72, l. 1—Ch. 74, l. 8.

hearsay, not by the eye-witness of those to whom we are about to speak.' Ch. 73, l. 11.

l. 12. ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνετε, 'all that you know as well as we.'

ll. 12, 13. αἱ καὶ δι' ἔχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται αἱ προβαλλομένοις¹, 'even if (p. 44, footnote 2) as we are always talking about them, we are likely to find (ἔσται) that they are a positive annoyance to you' (μᾶλλον, an annoyance and not a pleasure). προβαλλομένοις, according to this translation is 'dat. of interest' with ἔσται, not dat. after δι' ἔχλου. Such is probably the meaning, but the Greek as it stands will hardly bear it. (See Appendix.)

The sense 'an annoyance to us because we are always putting them forward' is too arrogant for the opening of a speech, and does not suit the tone of the following words.

l. 14. ἧς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου, κ.τ.λ., 'in the reality of which,' etc.

l. 17. μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως: a setting forth in evidence, a formal protest. μαρτύρομαι, i. e. 'call to witness,' often = 'protest.'

l. 19. Μαραθῶνι τε μόνου προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κ.τ.λ. τῷ βαρβάρῳ is dative because προκινδυνεύσαι involves μάχεσθαι. For μόνου προκινδυνεύσαι compare the famous adjuration Dem. De Cor. 208 (263) μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταφάμενους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας.

l. 23. ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων, 'when it would have been impossible'; as in ch. 1, l. 11 ἀδύνατα ἦν.

l. 25. ὁμοίως, i. e. 'what it was before.'

l. 5. ναὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγη ἔλασσον δύο μυριάδων. If Ch. 74. the text is correct², Thucydides has put into the mouth of the Athenian speaker a violent exaggeration. Rather less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 400 would be nearly 266; but no writer says that the Athenians had more than 200 ships at Salamis. Aeschylus gives the whole number of ships as 310 (Persae, l. 338). Herodotus says 378 (viii. 48)³, of which the Athenians sent 200, including twenty which they lent to the Chalcidians. Ctesias says the number of Athenian ships was 110 out of a total of 700 (Pers. 26)!

l. 8. ὑμεῖς δὲ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἀνδρὰ ξένον, κ.τ.λ. Whereas the Spartans usually discouraged strangers. See Hdt. viii. 124: Themistocles

¹ Classen's suggestion προβαλλόμενα removes all difficulty. But if genuine, how did it get corrupted into προβαλλομένοις?

² Herodotus (vii. 139) expresses the same opinion in very strong terms. Had not Athens stood firm, Sparta would have been lost: Athens (not Sparta) was the deliverer of Hellas.

³ Four bad MSS. read τριακοσίας: a reading which would remove all difficulty and agrees with the estimate current in the Orators, e.g. Dem. De Cor. 238 (297) τριακοσίαν οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πῶλιν παρέσχετο. τριακοσίας is too like a correction to be confidently accepted: but possibly it may be genuine, and τετρακοσίας may be a thoughtless correction by some one who remembered Herodotus' number, 378.

⁴ The separate items of his catalogue make up only 366.

Book I. Notes.

Ch. 74, was presented with an olive-wreath and with the finest chariot in Sparta,

l. 8. and escorted on his departure by a picked corps of 300.

l. 26. οὐδὲν ἂν ἐτι εἶεν ὁμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., 'you would not any longer have had to fight,' because it would have been no good—two ideas which often run into each other¹.

Ch. 75. l. 1. ἂρ' ἀξιοί ἐσμεν, κ.τ.λ., here, 'do we *not* deserve . . . not to be—i. e. do we deserve to be—so very odious in men's eyes, merely because we have an empire?'

l. 2. γνώμης ξυνέσεως, 'our sagacity of judgment,' or 'the good sense of our resolution.' γνώμης is genitive after ξυνέσεως.

l. 2. ἀρχῆς depends on ἐπιφθόνως διακείσθαι².

l. 5. τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου, 'what was still to be destroyed of the Barbarian power,' i. e. his posts in Europe, and his power of injuring the Greek cities on the coast of Asia, or of attacking Greece again.

l. 7. εἰς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἔργου, κ.τ.λ. Here the Athenians enter upon the real difficulties of their apology. What they had received at the request of the allies was the ἡγεμονία—the leadership of a free confederacy—not the ἀρχή or government of tributaries.

l. 7. τὸ πρῶτον corresponds to καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐτι εἶδέναι εἶναι (l. 9). The Athenians were first driven to turn their ἡγεμονία into an ἀρχή properly so called by 'motives of fear, honour, and interest,' and after that they could not endanger themselves by relaxing the strictness of their rule (with ἀνέντας, supply αὐτήν, τὴν ἀρχήν, from l. 8 above).

l. 10. καὶ τινων καὶ ἤδη ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων, 'and what is more, after we had had to reduce some who had revolted.' ἀποστάντων is subordinate to κατεστραμμένων; Grammar, § 11. καὶ before ἤδη qualifies the whole sentence: ἤδη goes with κατεστραμμένων.

l. 13. καὶ γὰρ ἂν . . . ἐγίγνοντο, 'would have been,' not 'would now be'; Grammar, § 17.

l. 14. τῶν μεγίστων περὶ κινδύνων, 'when the greatest dangers were concerned,' i. e. in the face of the greatest dangers.

l. 14. τὰ συμφέροντα . . . εὖ τίθεσθαι, 'to make the best of the advantages which offered.' The expression is overloaded; τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι would have been more natural. In the corresponding place, vi. 83, the Athenians say πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπιφθονον τὴν προσήκουσαν σωτηρίαν ἐκπορίζεσθαι.

Ch. 76. ll. 3, 4. ἀπήχθησθε ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ . . . λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. ἀπήχθησθε refers to the unpopularity which the Lacedaemonians would have had to incur in the natural course of things, had they

¹ Cp. a similar use of χρή, iii. 53 init. προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης ἢ χρή ἀντειπεῖν: 'which we must answer' almost = 'which we can answer': ii. 51 init., iv. 34 fin.

² Th. § 101; G. § 173. 1; R. § 100. 1. All but five bad MSS. have ἀρχῆς τε, but γε is clearly right.

Ch. 74, l. 26—Ch. 77, l. 1.

remained active leaders of the whole confederacy: *λυπηροὺς γενομένους* Ch. 76, refers to the vexatious measures which would further have been forced upon them by their unpopularity itself.

l. 13. τῷ δίκαιῳ λόγῳ τὴν χρῆσθε, not 'the just argument' but 'the argument from justice,' opposed to δ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος λόγος.

l. 14. τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπητο. μὴ expresses more fully the negative implied in ἀπετράπητο¹.

l. 15. χρησόμενοι, 'indulging.'

ll. 1-3. καὶ ἐλασσόμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους Ch. 77. δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκούμεν.

καὶ before ἐλασσόμενοι is not 'and,' but emphasizes ἐλασσόμενοι, 'for the very reason that we put ourselves at a disadvantage,' just as καὶ in the preceding line emphasizes ἐκ τοῦ ἐπεικούς, 'through our very moderation.' καὶ before παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς = 'and'; and introduces an explanation of ἐλασσόμενοι. ποιήσαντες, 'having instituted,' not ποιούμενοι, 'holding': Grammar, § 6. 'For, just because we waive our advantage in our suits with our allies, regulated as these suits are by treaty, and have instituted courts to try them before our own juries' and under impartial laws, we have a reputation for chicanery.' ξυμβόλαιαι δίκαι, either 'suits relating to contracts' (ξυμβόλαια) or, more probably, 'suits conducted in accordance with a treaty' (ξυμβολον) = δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων.

The best explanation of this passage is as follows:—Cases between Athens or an Athenian citizen on the one hand and a subject city or a citizen of a subject city on the other hand appear to have been tried according to fixed regulations (ξυμβολα or ξυμβολαί) at Athens by Athenian dicasteries. To suits thus tried was extended the phrase δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων², usually applied to suits between the citizens of two independent states, relating in great part to matters of commerce, and tried according to the terms of a previous treaty. But see Appendix.

The expression of the Athenian speaker here, ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις, shows that he is not referring to the well-known arrangement by which criminal suits involving certain penalties (e.g. all capital cases), and probably some civil suits, between citizens of the

¹ Th. § 298 A; G. § 263. 1, § 283. 6; R. § 332.

² Cp. παρὰ δικασταῖς ἡμῖν, ch. 73, l. 5.

³ δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων, or ξυμβολαί, seem to be mentioned on imperfect inscriptions relating to Selymbria, a subject ally of Athens (C. I. A. iv. Part i. 61 a): and to Mitylene after its reduction (C. I. A. iv. Part i. 96): as well as on a later one relating to an independent ally Phaselis (C. I. A. ii. 11). This confirms a statement of Hesychius ἐδικάζον Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τοῦτο ἦν χαλεπὸν: another lexicon (Bekker. Anecd. I. 436. 1) says Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἐδικάζον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης. Cp. Pollux, viii. 63.

Book I. Notes.

Ch. 77, subject states, had to be brought up to Athens for trial¹. This arrangement was indeed the real grievance and the reason why the Athenians were considered litigious: but it could hardly, even by a cynical speaker,

1. 1. have been produced as evidence of Athenian moderation: it is probably referred to below in the words *ἦν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἰεσθαι χρήναι ἢ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν*. The Athenian speaker only points out that cases between Athenians and allies were not settled as they might have been by Athenian officers on the spot, but decided by law before Athenian law courts according to fixed agreements: the allies forget this concession and think only of their grievances, including the decision of their own suits, in some cases, at Athens.

1. 4. *ἄλλοθι πού*, 'in certain other places.' This cannot refer to the Peloponnesian confederacy, the members of which were not *ὑπήκοοι*. A scholium rightly says *ὅλον Πέρσαις, Σκύθαις*. We may add the Carthaginians and Thracians, and compare *ἐπὶ . . . τοῦ Μήδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο* below, 1. 18. The Persians, Scythians, and Carthaginians are cited as ruling powers by Socrates (Xen. Mem. i. 1. 11).

1. 6. *διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναδίδεται βιάζεσθαι γάρ*, κ.τ.λ. 'None of them thinks what the reason is why this reproach is not brought against others. The reason is that,' etc.

1. 7. *οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι*, κ.τ.λ. *οἱ* is not the article but the pronoun: 'but they, accustomed as they are, etc.' Cp. note on ch. 37, 1. 8.

1. 8. *παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἰεσθαι χρήναι*. *οὐκ οἶμαι χρήναι* (cp. *οὐ φημι χρήναι*) = 'I think it wrong.' Accordingly *παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἰεσθαι χρήναι* = 'regardless of their impression that it is wrong,' i. e. that they are treated with injustice.

1. 9. *ἢ γνώμῃ ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν*, 'through a decision' of the Athenian people in the Assembly, or in the dicasteries, 'or through the power which our empire gives us'. A subject city might be compelled to dismantle a fortification or to pay higher tribute, or might have its trade interfered with by a decree of the assembly, or one of its citizens might lose a case which had been tried at Athens against a member of the same or another city. Or again (*δυνάμει*) an Athenian *στρατηγός* or *ἐπίσκοπος* might levy troops, make requisitions, suppress oligarchical clubs, etc., and it would be unsafe to offer any resistance.

1. 9. *καὶ ὁπωσοῦν*, 'in any way whatever,' i. e. 'however slightly.'

1. 10. *οὐ τοῦ πλείονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἑνδεσθός χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν*, κ.τ.λ. 'Instead of being grateful to us

¹ In many cases, perhaps in all, formal treaties, regulating (*inter alia*) the trial of these suits also, were made with the allied states; we possess portions of several such agreements, being those with Chalcis, Miletus (C. I. A. iv. Part i. 27 a, 22 a), and Erythrae (C. I. A. i. 9), Abbott, vol. ii. pp. 346, 371, 372.

² *Lit.* 'which we have because of our empire' (see on i. 83, 1. 4).

Ch. 77, l. 4—Ch. 78, l. 14.

for not depriving them of the greater part (of their rights), they are more irritated about their wrongs than if,' etc. Ch. 77, l. 10.

l. 11. τοῦ ἑνδεοῦς, *lit.* 'their inferiority' or position of disadvantage in certain points: τοῦ ἑνδεοῦς is opposed not to τοῦ πλείονος, but to τοῦ πλείονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι¹. μὴ στερισκόμενοι = εἰ μὴ στερίσκονται.

The genitive τοῦ ἑνδεοῦς depends on χαλεπωτέρων φέρουσιν. Cp. ii. 62 med. χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν, 'to be vexed about them.'

l. 15. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ., 'for the one appears to be a case of cheating between equals, the other, an act of coercion exercised from a stronger position.' πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, καταναγκάζεσθαι are best explained as equivalent to πλεονέκτημα εἶναι, ἀνάγκη εἶναι (Jowett): they are, as it were, infinitives of the impersonal verb, 'there is an act of cheating,' etc.

l. 23. οἷα ὑπεβίβατε refers to the outrageous conduct of Pausanias, i. 130. εἴπερ . . . γνῶσεσθε, 'if you mean to carry out a policy like that which,' etc.: Grammar, § 13.

l. 5. ἐς τύχας . . . περιίστασθαι, ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχομεν καὶ ὑποτέρως Ch. 78. ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται. ὧν ἴσον, κ.τ.λ., 'from which we and you are equally removed,' i.e. 'to which you are as much exposed as we.'

ὑποτέρως ἔσται is dependent on ἐν ἀδήλῳ. ὧν goes with ἐν ἀδήλῳ as well as with ἀπέχομεν: *lit.* 'and about which we are in the dark—as to which of the two ways things will go—when we take the risk': i.e. 'A prolonged war is apt to turn out a mere affair of chances: neither of us is safe from them, and which side they will take we cannot tell when we make our venture.'

l. 12. κατὰ τὴν ξυνήκην. This shows that the Thirty Years' Peace contained a provision by which disputed points were to be referred to arbitration.

l. 14. ἀμύνεσθαι πολέμου ἀρχοντας, 'to repel your aggression': Grammar, § 6.

l. 14. ταύτῃ ἢ ἂν ὑφ' ἡγήσθε, 'following your lead,' i.e. by repelling your attack, in whatever way it may be made, with equal energy.

The speech of Archidamus is full of personal dignity and political wisdom rightly applied: and is all the more impressive when we remember that a Spartan king had very little of his own way because of the power and jealousy of the ephors; and that Archidamus' own counsel was rejected. He makes the obvious and reasonable suggestion that the next thing to be done was to send an embassy to Athens and complain of the definite grievances brought forward by the allies. Speech of Archidamus, ch. 80-85.

¹ Stahl, in order to preserve the antithesis between τοῦ πλείονος and τοῦ ἑνδεοῦς, takes τοῦ ἑνδεοῦς = τοῦ ἐλάττονος, 'the small part' of their rights which they lose, and supplies στερισκόμενοι with it.

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This would at all events gain time, of which Sparta stood in greater need than Athens; and Sparta need not positively commit herself to war just yet (*μήτε πόλεμον δγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ' ὥς ἐπιτρέψομεν*, ch. 82, l. 4). His forecast of the war, a natural but not altogether true one, may be compared with that of the Corinthian envoy in ch. 120 ff. and that of Pericles in ch. 141 ff. (see p. 107).

Ch. 84 is a picture of the Spartan character, not a direct reply to the Corinthian attack: 'We have not been trained,' he says, 'to criticise our enemies': and 'we must not trust to the hope that they will make mistakes.' The Corinthians had not criticised, and certainly had not underrated, the Athenians' power of fighting: some of Archidamus' words might seem more in place as an answer to the Corinthians' next speech, ch. 120 ff. But in fact he is replying, like the Athenians, to the general prejudice against his countrymen—whether in the minds of open enemies or of 'candid friends.' The well-known national character of Sparta is supposed to be present to the mind of the hearer (or reader) throughout: and this explains the abruptness with which Archidamus passes from one trait of the model Spartan to another. 'Our dilatory ways have been the secret of our greatness. No compliments and no reproaches shall turn us from our path. We are obedient to orders, and our discipline gives us that sensitive spirit of honour which is the essence of bravery: we are obedient to our laws, for our education has taught us neither to criticise nor to disobey them. We may not have the useless ability of an Athenian or Corinthian orator: we may not be able to criticise our enemies' weak points so well; but we can take advantage of them on the battle-field. Our wisdom is to know that our neighbour's character is much the same as our own, and that the future is incalculable ('a few strong instincts and a few plain rules')¹. We take for granted that our enemy is no fool, and we do our best to be ready for him. Fine distinctions of national character are of no real use: one man is much the same as another: if there is an advantage on either side, it is on ours, because our training is simple and severe.'

Ch. 80. 1. 2. τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄρω, *scil.* πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἐμπείρους ὄντας².

Archidamus probably came to the throne as early as 469; hence he may have taken part not only in the war with the Helots after the

¹ Compare the noble lines of Ion of Chios (fr. 63, Nauck):—

οὐ γὰρ λόγοις δάκρυα πυργοῦται πόλις
ἀλλ' εὖτ' ἀν' Ἀρης νιοχμὸς ἐμπύση στρατῷ
βουλή μὲν ἀρχει, χεὶρ δ' ἐπεξεργάζεται:—

and Thuc. v. 66, 69 fin. 70.

² Cp. ch. 78, l. 10 οὐδ' ἑμᾶς ὄρωντες, *scil.* ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀμαρτίᾳ ὄντας.

Ch. 80, l. 2—Ch. 82, l. 6.

earthquake, and in the battle of Tanagra, but in the earlier wars with Argos and Arcadia (see Table of Dates opposite p. 85). Ch. 80,
1. 2.

l. 4. ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα is parallel to ἀπειρία, and is to be taken with ἐπιθυμήσαι τοῦ ἔργου.

l. 6. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ ἀστυγείτονας, κ.τ.λ. The 'Peloponnesians' include the 'neighbours,' the Argives, Arcadians, and Eleans¹. ἀλκή here = 'manner of fighting,' not, as often, 'prowess.'

l. 11. καὶ ὄχλῳ ὅσος, κ.τ.λ., refers to the mass of the Athenian population who served as seamen, and who might have been (though as a matter of fact they were not, iv. 94) used as light-armed troops. Hence the words do not contradict ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερφέρωμεν below, which refer to the heavy-armed forces of the two confederacies, not to the population of Athens.

l. 15. ἐπειχθῆναι. ἐπείγασθαι (cp. 82, l. 21, 85, l. 3.) means, 'to be in a hurry,' 'to let ourselves be hurried by . . .,' not 'to be provoked.'

l. 18. οὐτὲ ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν (not ἐν τῷ κοινῷ), 'we have none in a common fund,' referring to the fact that the Peloponnesian confederacy had no regular treasury or system of tribute like the Athenians².

l. 5. δεήσει καὶ τοῖς ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν. καὶ qualifies τοῖς: 'it will be necessary to support them also with our fleet,' besides ravaging Attica, etc. The inaccuracy in the use of καὶ is very slight, because the sense of 'help' is not prominent in βοηθεῖν: see Glossary. Ch. 81.

l. 8. βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλεον, 'we shall suffer more than the enemy.'

l. 1. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, 'not however that': Grammar, § 26. The construction is οὐ κελεύω (ὑμᾶς) ἀναισθήτως εἶναι τε αὐτοὺς βλέπειν τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ καταφαιρᾶν αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοῖς. Ch. 82.

ll. 4, 5. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερά αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι. ἐν τούτῳ here = 'meanwhile.' τὰ ἡμέτερά αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι is simply 'to make full preparation on our own part.' The two ways in which this is to be done are indicated by (a) ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ, (b) καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκπορίζόμεθα, l. 10, 'let us develop our own resources to the utmost,' meaning those of the confederacy as opposed to aid from external allies.

l. 6. καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων . . . ἢ ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων. The Greek allies are probably the cities of Sicily (ii. 7), the barbarians are the Persians. A Persian envoy had been at Sparta with money about twenty-three years back (ch. 109): Sparta and perhaps Athens—Thucydides' words are ambiguous—thought of getting help from the King

¹ Hence the reading of the better MSS., τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, is very awkward.

² Aristotle, however, Pol. ii. 9. 36 οὐτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν οὐδέν, seems to have taken this place (and ch. 141, l. 10) in the sense 'we have none in our treasury.'

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Ch. 82. just before the outbreak of the war (ii. 7), and Sparta tried to do so

1. 6. two years later (ii. 68; cp. iv. 50). The same idea was familiar at Athens in 426-5 (as we see from the 'Acharnians'), and there is some reason, independently of Thucydides, to think that Athens, as well as Sparta, tried to get the King's help early in the war¹. It is noticeable that Thucydides represents Archidamus as commending this policy.

1. 18. οὐχ ἥσσον, 'the more so': Grammar, § 22.

1. 22. ὁρᾷτε ὅπως μὴ, κ.τ.λ., 'see that we do not come off with more dishonour and embarrassment to the Peloponnesians than we shall inflict on Athens,' or 'than we are said to be involved in now.'

1. 24. καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν, 'of cities as of individuals.'

1. 25. ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, 'to support the interests of individual members of the confederacy,' like Corinth.

1. 26. εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι, 'to settle creditably,' hence 'to terminate with credit.'

Ch. 83. 1. 2. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις, κ.τ.λ. Not 'they have as many allies paying tribute as we have,' for the Peloponnesian allies paid no regular tribute (i. 19), but 'they have as many allies as we, and they pay them tribute.'

1. 4. δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ. There is really very little difference in meaning between 'expenditure by means of which arms avail' (δι' ἣς), and 'expenditure because of which arms avail' (δι' ἣν), i. e. 'command of money, which is the secret of success in fighting.'

1. 7. ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, κ.τ.λ., i. e. ὥσπερ ἐξομεν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι τὸ πλεονεκτήσιον αἰτίας τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, 'the greater share of the responsibility for the consequences in either direction,' for good or ill.

1. 8. τι αὐτῶν, 'some of the consequences,' by a litotes (Classen), as we might say, 'let us, while we have time, give a little forethought to them,' meaning, 'as much as we can.' (Glossary, τίς.)

Ch. 84. 1. 3. καὶ ἄμα, κ.τ.λ., i. e. it is our 'tardiness and procrastination' which have so long given to the city in which we have part her freedom and her great name.

11. 4, 5. καὶ δύναται μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ. τοῦτο and δι' αὐτό both refer to τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μάλλον. 'These qualities may above all others be really good sense and wisdom.' δύναται = 'can,' not 'means,' as the addition of εἶναι shows.

¹ The jest in the 'Acharnians' is a very much better one if an embassy was really sent, and not merely talked about: and a passage in Strabo (i. 3. 1) makes it possible that Diotimus, son of Strombichus (Thuc. i. 45; archon in 428), went on an embassy to Susa (Müller-Strübing, Aristophanes, p. 699 ff.). Whether the mission of Callias, son of Hipponicus, to Susa (Hdt. vii. 151) belongs to this period (see Herbst, Auswärtige Politik Spartas, pp. 47-51) is very doubtful.

Ch. 82, l. 18—Ch. 84, l. 19.

l. 9. ἀνεπέσθημεν, iterative aor. (cp. ἐπλήρωσαν, ch. 70, l. 23).

Ch. 84,

l. 11. τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνῃς δὲ εὐψυχία, κ.τ.λ. l. 9.

τὸ μὲν, scil. πολεμικοί. The speaker argues from σωφροσύνη (= τὸ εὐκοσμον) to αἰδῶς or αἰσχύνῃ¹ (respect for the opinion of others), and from αἰσχύνῃ to εὐψυχία. 'Men loyal to discipline are sure to be sensitive to reproach, and men who are sensitive to reproach are sure to be brave.' The connection is slightly obscured to us, because αἰδῶς, not σωφροσύνη from which the argument starts, comes first; also because the neuter or passive verb μετέχει is used, and not an active verb, τὸ μὲν ὅτι σωφροσύνη αἰδῶς ἐμποιεῖ πλείστον, αἰσχύνῃ δὲ εὐψυχίαν, or the like. Literally, 'We are warlike, because a sense of shame has a great deal to do with (i.e. is largely made up of) a spirit of loyal obedience, and bravery with a sense of shame.' More freely, 'because a spirit of submission to authority goes far to inspire men with a sense of honour, and a sense of honour to make them brave.' Cp. Glossary, σωφροσύνη.

'The connection of ideas recalls the familiar passage of Burke: "Never, never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart (σωφροσύνη), which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. . . . It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage while it mitigated ferocity." (αἰδῶς and εὐψυχία.)

'The idea of the connection between αἰδῶς and the discipline of an army is as old as Homer; Il. v. 531—

αἰδομένων δ' ἀνδρῶν πλείονες σόοι ἢ ἐπέφανται.' (Jowett.)

l. 14. καὶ μὴ τὸ ἀχρεΐα ξυνητοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες, κ.τ.λ., i.e. καὶ παιδεύομενοι ὥστε μὴ, κ.τ.λ.

l. 16. ἀνομοίως, 'not so well,' contrasted with καλῶς. ἔργῳ is adverbial, not dat. after ἐπεξίεναι. ἐπεξίεναι is to 'follow up' our criticism in action, or simply, 'to go into action' (Glossary).

l. 17. παραπλησίους, 'like our own.' καὶ τὰς, κ.τ.λ., 'and that the chances which befall men cannot be precisely set forth' (lit. distinguished)² 'in speech'; i.e. that it is no use drawing distinctions between our national character and that of the Athenians, or calculating in a speech the chances of a war.

l. 19. ἔργῳ παρασκευαζόμεθα is opposed to λόγῳ διαιρετής above. παρασκευαζόμεθα gives a much better sense than παρασκευάζόμεθα. Archidamus is here describing Spartan theory and practice: not till ch. 85,

¹ σωφροσύνη, αἰσχύνῃ are qualities, or feelings; τὸ εὐκοσμον, αἰδῶς are habits: there is no particular stress here on the distinction.

² Cp. Hdt. vii. 50, where διαιρετής is used in a similar connexion: 'Ἀρτάβαγε, οἰκίτως μὲν σύ γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαιρεῖαι· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο, μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο.

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- Ch. 84, l. 1, does he proceed to formal exhortation (Stahl)¹. But καί (as the text stands) is feeble: we should expect καὶ ῥᾶπ, 'and rightly, for as a matter of fact confidence should not be placed in the prospect of their mistakes,' etc.

For the thought, compare Moltke's maxim, 'Act on the supposition that the enemy will make the move best for himself.'

l. 23. ὅστις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται, 'who has had as little superfluous education as possible,' so as not to be τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυγεγὸς ἄγων (Glossary). Or, 'who is trained under the strongest compulsion,' i. e. 'in the severest school.'

- Ch. 85. l. 4. βουλευόμεν, aor. 'let us come to a decision.' Grammar, § 8. So ὅπως μὴ . . . χεῖρον βουλευέσῃ, ch. 73, ll. 6, 7.

l. 6. πέμπετε μὲν, κ.τ.λ. The case of Potidaea, as being of more pressing importance, and involving the honour of Lacedaemon, is distinguished from the other matters about which Corinth, Megara, etc., had complained.

Speech of
Sthenelaidas.

The short speech of Sthenelaidas is to be compared with that of the Syracusan στρατηγός in vi. 41, who like him, but in more official and refined language, closes a debate by saying that it is time for deeds, not words. These two speeches (and the dialogue with the Ambraciot herald in iii. 113) are far more dramatic than anything else in Thucydides. We can readily understand that Sthenelaidas represented a large body of public opinion at Sparta, which seems constantly to have been divided into a peace and a war party (cp. iv. 108 fin.; v. 36). He may well have been one of the magistrates who promised help to Potidaea.

- Ch. 86. l. 4. καίτοι, 'but surely.' Glossary.

l. 7. ἢν σωφρονώμεν, 'if we behave like reasonable men.' Glossary.

l. 12. αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους. αὐτοὺς probably refers to the allies, agreeing with οὗς, in spite of the intervening clause οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριντέα. The accusative is assisted by the partially active sense of this clause. 'And we must not decide about them by words and arbitration, unless they are being injured in word too.'

- Ch. 87. l. 1. ἐπεψήφισεν αὐτὸς ἕφορος ὧν. What the order of precedence among the five ephors was, or why Sthenelaidas presided on this

¹ Stahl feels so forcibly the awkwardness of the passage that he supposes a line, εἰ εἰδότες διὰ ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ ἐπιτρέπειν, or the like, to have fallen out before καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνων, the original sense having been 'we always make preparations in act as against a prudent enemy [*knowing that we should leave nothing to chance*], and [*that*] we should not place our confidence in the prospect of their mistakes,' etc. This suggestion exactly meets the difficulty of the expression, though in the absence of any indication of a hiatus in the MSS. it cannot be accepted with confidence.

Ch. 84, l. 23—Ch. 87, l. 19.

particular occasion, we do not know. A scholium on ch. 86 says 'ἐν Ch. 87, *διαδοχῇ τε ἦσαν*.' From Thuc. ii. 1 init., v. 25 init., we see that one of 1. 1. them gave his name to the year.

Thucydides certainly seems to mean that the 'division' by going to different sides was a novelty introduced on this critical occasion by Sthenelaidas: else why does he describe it so elaborately?

1. 18. τῶν τριακοντούτιδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκυῶν. *προκεχωρηκυῶν* must mean 'which had gone on only so far,' *scil. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος*. The word expresses imperfectly the idea that the Peace had not run its full time: it is however sufficiently supported by phrases in the Inscriptions like *δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρωτανείας ἐσεληλυθυίας*.

1. 19. μετὰ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὰ, after the revolt and recovery of Euboea, ch. 114. The course of the narrative is now broken off until resumed in ch. 118.

RISE OF ATHENIAN POWER (Ch. 88–118).

Thucydides has thus far been explaining the avowed causes of the Plan war. He now goes on to the real cause—the alarm of Sparta at the of ch. growth of Athenian power. This growth had two stages. First, the 88–118. fortification of Athens and the rejection of Spartan headship by all the allies outside the Peloponnese put the Athenians at the head of a great confederacy. This is the subject of ch. 89–96, Thucydides taking up the narrative where Herodotus had dropped it. He then goes on to the second stage and tells us how the Athenians so improved their position as to become masters of an empire (ch. 97–118).

Where the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides meet, there are a Discrep- few slight or apparent inconsistencies. (a) If we had only Thuc. i. 89 ancies before us, we should infer that Leotychides and the Peloponnesians sailed between home immediately after Mycale, whereas Herodotus (ix. 114) describes Herodotus them as accompanying the Athenian fleet to the Hellespont, though they and Thu- went away before the siege of Sestos. (b) Thucydides naturally calls cydides. the Ionians and Hellespontians, who were fighting at the side of the Athenians, their *ἐθνῆμαχοι*: Herodotus, whose narrative is not quite coherent at this point—for he has just told us how the Athenians rejected the proposal of the Peloponnesians to transport the Ionians to Greece (ch. 106), and we should expect him to tell us what became of the Ionians—mentions the formal reception into the alliance of the Islanders alone. (c) It has been inferred, perhaps wrongly, from Herodotus' description of the blockade at Sestos that it was over before mid-winter¹; Thucydides i. 89 (*καὶ ἐπιχειμήσαντες εἰλον αὐτήν*) implies that

¹ Hdt. ix. 117, 121 *μετὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο*. But Herodotus seems to reckon the year from spring to spring: see Abbott on vi. 31.

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it lasted till the spring. (d) Herodotus says that Mardonius, when he burnt Athens the second time, 'made every part of the walls, houses and temples that had been left standing into a heap of ruins'¹ Thucydides rather goes out of his way to say that some small part of the wall and some houses were left². This may possibly be an intentional correction of Herodotus' strong expression.

The action
of Sparta
about the
fortifica-
tions of
Athens.

Sparta, it must be remembered, was at this time the head of the Hellenic confederacy which had just defeated the Persians; Athens was a member of the confederacy. This gave Sparta a right to 'recommend' the Athenians not to rebuild their walls: her action, though irritating enough, was not quite so insolent as it appears.

Moreover, there was a curious vein of sentiment on the subject in ancient Greece, which has at times re-appeared in the modern world³. Sparta herself was unwalled, and Plato, constructing an ideal city (Laws vi. 778 D), objects on principle to walls, because they make the citizens cowardly. Aristotle, Polit. vii. 11. 8, refutes him: 'the cities which prided themselves on this fancy have been confuted by facts'; he has been thought to refer to the extreme danger of Sparta herself after Leuctra, when however the Thebans did not dare to attack the city.

But, lest we should underrate the effrontery of the Spartans in making the demand, and of their allies (among whom we can easily suppose the Corinthians to have been foremost) in urging them to make it, we must also remember that the Peloponnesians had taken very good care to fortify the Isthmus of Corinth against the Persians, and had twice imperilled the common interests, and neglected those of the states beyond the Isthmus, by their eagerness to secure themselves thus—once before Salamis (Hdt. viii. 40, 60), and once before Plataea (Hdt. ix. 8, 9).

Chrono-
logy of
ch. 89-97.

The battle of Mycale was in 479. The 'Athenian Constitution' (23, 5) tells us that the tribute paid by the Athenian allies was first fixed in the archonship of Timosthenes, i.e. between midsummer 478 and midsummer 477, probably in the winter between these two years, or the early part of 477.

¹ Hdt. ix. 13 Μαρδόνιος . . . ὑπεξεχώρει ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἰκου τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχύσας.

² Thuc. i. 89, l. 15 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκεύαζοντο καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει, καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

³ Heine, Französische Zustände, Part II, ch. xxx, mentions the opposition of Louis Blanc and other extreme Republicans to the fortification of Paris by the government of Louis Philippe in 1841, on the pretext that 'the Revolution' should not trust to such 'material defences': but should imitate the Convention, which had 'decreed victory' instead of taking precautions against defeat.

Ch. 89, l. 1—Ch. 91, l. 2.

We have, then, the end of 479 for the siege of Sestos and the beginning of the rebuilding of Athens and her walls. The two went on simultaneously, for the rebuilding began 'immediately' after the Persians had left Attica (ch. 89). The next summer (478) was taken up by Pausanias' conquest of Cyprus and Byzantium.

l. 1. ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ἡξήθησαν, 'came to the task,' Ch. 89. or 'attained the position, in which they rose to greatness,' i.e. became the head of a confederacy which they made into an empire.

l. 12. ὡς ἑκαστοί. Glossary.

l. 14. ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο = ἐκεῖθεν ὅποι ὑπεξέθεντο¹. The places of refuge were Salamis, Aegina and Troezen, Hdt. viii. 41.

l. 15. κατασκευήν. Glossary.

ll. 17, 18. ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν, κ.τ.λ.: 'in which the Persians of the highest rank had lodged.' Grammar, § 5.

l. 5. ὁ πρὶν οὐχ ἐπὶ ἤρχεν, *scil.* πλῆθος, not merely *ναυτικόν*: cp. ch. 14. Ch. 80.

l. 7. εἰσθήκει², *scil.* τὰ τεῖχη, supplied from the general sense.

l. 8. τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον, κ.τ.λ. Grammar, § 12.

l. 9. ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους goes with τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποστον τῆς γνώμης, not with οὐ δηλοῦντες. ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, κ.τ.λ., goes with ἡξίου above, and is parallel to τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον . . . οὐ δηλοῦντες: 'but on the ground that the barbarians,' etc. Grammar, § 29.

l. 19. ἀρῶσιν (aor.), a conjecture of Bekker's: all the MSS. have αἰρῶσιν (pres.)³. ἀναγκαιοτάτου, Glossary.

l. 20. τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, probably opposed to those who were away at Sestos with the fleet. For a question about the reading see Appendix.

l. 24. ὑπειπὼν, 'intimating.' τέλλα, acc. after πράξοι.

l. 25 ff. οὐ προσήκει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς refers to a formal and official visit. ὅποτε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων, to casual questions in the market-place, or the like: τὰς ἀρχάς, probably the ephors: οἱ ἐν τέλει ὄντες may include others, e.g. members of the senate: τὸ κοινόν is more general, 'the government.'

l. 1. διὰ φιλάν αὐτοῦ: Themistocles had been an honoured guest Ch. 81. at Sparta about a year earlier: see on ch. 74, l. 8.

l. 2. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων, κ.τ.λ. The article cannot be translated in English; it merely points the contrast between Themistocles and everybody else who came from Athens. Cp. the well-known use of the

¹ Th. § 75 n; G. § 153, n. 3.

² Most MSS. have *ἐνιστήκει*, which, if genuine, means little more than *εἰστήκει*, 'ξύν adding an idea of strength or firmness' (Jowett).

³ *ἕως ἂν αἰρῶσιν* would mean not 'until they have raised,' but 'until they find they are raising the wall to a sufficient height,' and may very well be genuine.

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Ch. 91, article with numerals, expressing a definite part of a whole, e.g. ch. 116,

1. 2. 11. 1, 2 πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα . . . τοῖς μὲν ἑκατάδικα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο.

1. 11. Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου. If Aristides the Just was an accomplice in the trick played on the Lacedaemonians, we may be sure that no other Greek saw much harm in it. Aristides may not have known exactly what Themistocles was going to do at Sparta (δπειπὼν τᾷλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τᾷκεῖ πράξει, ch. 90, l. 24), but it is no great reflection on him to suppose that he 'could have given a very good guess.'

1. 16. ἔνταῦθα δὲ φανερώς εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ. Themistocles in his reply still affects to take the Lacedaemonian embassy as intended merely to offer advice. He does not directly expose their unfriendly purpose: he merely says, 'We do not want advice from you, we can decide for ourselves.'

1. 22. ἀνευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμήσαι, 'we took our resolve, and acted on it boldly without consulting you'¹.

1. 23. οὐδενὸς ὑστεροὶ γνώμῃ φανήναι refers to the advice of Themistocles to fight in the straits, in opposition to Adeimantus and others.

1. 24. καὶ νῦν δμεινον εἶναι, 'and so too now.'

1. 25. καὶ ἰδίᾳ, κ.τ.λ., i.e. καὶ ὀφελιμώτερον εἶναι τοῖς πολίταις, (1) ἰδίᾳ, (2) καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας συμμαχοῦν, 'more advantageous to the people of Athens on their own account and relatively to their allies generally': the second clause is explained by the words which follow. Themistocles does not mean that the walls would be 'advantageous to the allies,' but that by them the Athenians would be placed on an equality with their allies (Classen)².

1. 27. ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον, 'of equal weight or worth'; there is practically no difference between the words.

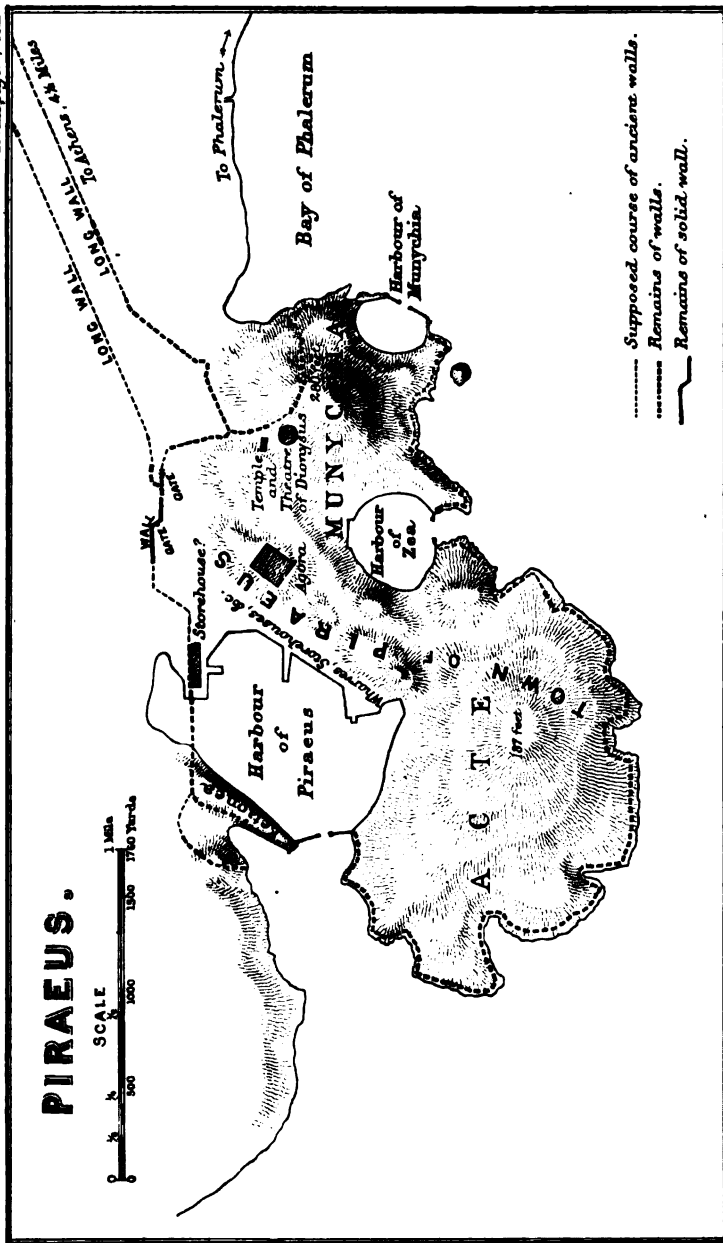
1. 28. ἢ πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρήναι συμμαχεῖν really means, 'you Lacedaemonians had better destroy your own fortification at the Isthmus' (see p. 76). The Lacedaemonian embassy had only suggested the demolition of all fortifications *outside the Peloponnese*.

Ch. 92. 1. 3. γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ, i.e. ἐπὶ τῷ γνώμῃ παραινέειν τῷ κοινῷ, 'ostensibly in order to suggest an idea to the Athenian people.'

Ch. 93. 1. 5. πολλαὶ τε στήλαι, κ.τ.λ. Fragments of such sepulchral monu-

¹ ἔφασαν is difficult. Krüger brackets it, thinking it to have been inserted to supply a verb before γνόντες τολμήσαι. Or it may be part of Themistocles' words (ὅτι being supplied as in ὅτι τετελείχεται, l. 16 above) meaning 'the Athenians said when they sent me to Sparta.'

² It should be observed however that, as the words stand, καὶ ἰδίᾳ has to do duty for καὶ ἰδίᾳ τε. Cp. ch. 132, ll. 7, 8.



Ch. 91, l. 11—Ch. 93, l. 7.

ments have been found among what are probably the remains of the Ch. 93, Themistoclean walls: c. g.— 1. 5.

(C. I. A. i. 479) Σῆμα φί[λ]ου παιδὸς τόδε . . . κατ[έ]θηκεν,
Στησίου, δὲν θάνατος [δακρυ]δαίς κατέχει.

483) Ἀντιδότου
Καλλωνίδης ἐποίησε
δ Δεινίου.

IV. i. 477. b.) Σῆμα πατὴρ Κλείβουλος ἀποφθιμένῳ Ξενοφάντῳ
θήκε τόδ' ἀντ' ἀρετῆς ἥδ' αἰσφροσύνης.

perhaps IV. ii. 477. h.) Ἀνθρακί, δ[ε] στείχε[ι]ς καθ' ὅδον φρασίν (φρεσίν)
ἀλ(λ)α μενοινῶν,
στῆθε καὶ οἰκτιρον (οἰκτεiron) σῆμα Θράσανος ἰδόν.

1. 6. μέζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος, κ.τ.λ. τῆς πόλεως goes with περίβολος, not with μέζων.

1. 7. πάντα ὁμοίως κινουῦντες ἡπείγοντο, 'in their haste (Grammar, § 10) they laid hands upon everything alike.' κινεῖν is often used of that which under ordinary circumstances ought not to be touched, as a reserve fund (ii. 24), or the treasures (i. 143, vi. 70), or holy water (iv. 98), of a temple.

Thucydides says that the wall of the Piræus built by Themistocles The fortifi- after Salamis was of solid stone, with no mortar or rubble inside. Now cation of there are still considerable remains of walls round the Piræus¹, not of the Piræus. indeed of the Themistoclean walls which were destroyed after the end of the Peloponnesian war², but of the walls built by Conon in 393. Possible error of Thucy- which stood until the capture of Athens by Sulla in 86. A small part dides. of these remains, and that the most important part (marked WALL on the map opposite), on the flat ground north of the Piræus towards the mainland whence an invading enemy would come, answers exactly to Thucydides' description of the earlier wall; it is of solid stone and over 25 feet thick. But most of the other remains³ are just what Thucydides

¹ G. von Alten in Curtius and Kaupert, Karten von Attika (1881); C. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen. ii. 1, p. 13 ff. (1890).

² That some traces of them remained is implied (independently of Thuc. i. 93, l. 17) by Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 11 ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὅν πολλὰς φυλακῆς ἰδοῦκε δεισθαι.

³ Von Alten says positively that the remains of the inland wall on the flat ground are solid, and that the wall round the coast is not: he says little of the remains on Munychia. West of the solid part of the wall as far as the harbour no traces of the wall survive. Wachsmuth says that the fortifications of Eetionea are solid in some places and not in others. Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, of Queen's College, Oxford, who has specially examined the remains of walls on Munychia, kindly informs me that there is no trace anywhere of a solid wall of the age of Themistocles: the walls which remain are everywhere filled in with earth or pieces of stone.

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says the wall of the Piræus was not: they consist—like part of the wall of Athens itself and other Greek fortifications—of two outer faces of stone, and the intermediate space is filled with rubble and earth. And a curious circumstance makes it probable that any earlier wall on the same site was constructed in the same way. The two outer faces are built into trenches hewn in the rock: the rock between the trenches (on which the rubble and earth lie) is not cleared away. Had the earlier wall been solid, the rock between the trenches must have been cut away for the foundation:—supposing always that the earlier wall was on the same site, as it probably was, for the site is carefully chosen for defensive purposes.

Thus it is highly probable that Thucydides examined, after the overthrow of Themistocles' wall, only the most important part of it, which was solid, and erroneously concluded that it was all solid. Still, as the wall itself has perished, we cannot be quite certain on the point. And after all he only speaks of τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ (ch. 93, l. 9): if the part previously fortified by Themistocles was Munychia¹ and if Thucydides was thinking mainly (as the tone of the passage indicates) of the landward defences, the inaccuracy is small.

Doubtful
nature of
Themis-
tocles'
policy.

The conception of Athenian power, put forward by Themistocles and afterwards enlarged upon by Pericles (ii. 62), is a magnificent one. But Athens appears to have suffered from relying too exclusively upon her maritime power. Her attempts to strengthen herself by conquest or alliance on the mainland towards the north were not sufficiently energetic or sustained; and Demosthenes, shortly before the battle of Chaeronea, was forced to try and supplement the policy of Pericles, when it was too late. For this is really the meaning of his boast in the De Corona, that he had 'fortified Attica—not merely Athens or the Piræus²—not with stone or brick but with infantry and cavalry, ships, and cities, and strong places, and harbours, and men to defend them.'

Political
importance
of the
Piræus.

The policy of Themistocles was supposed in antiquity to have had a political as well as a military significance, and Themistocles may have thought of politics as well as war when he 'considered the Piræus more useful than the upper city.' μάλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν τὸ ἄστυ (Aristotle, Pol. v. 3. 15; cp. vi. 7. 2 ἡ δὲ ψιλὴ δύναμις καὶ ναυτικὴ δημοκρατικὴ πάντα, showing that a sailor force was connected with democracy in Greek politics³). The oligarchical party at Athens afterwards plotted to prevent the completion of the Long Walls. There

¹ Hippias had attempted to fortify Munychia. Athen. Polit. 19, 2.

² Dem. de Cor. 299, 300 (370, 371) τοῖς ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστυος.

³ But to this rule there were striking exceptions, e.g. Corinth and Aegina.

is an interesting passage in Plutarch showing the ideas of later times (Them. xix.) Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὐχ, ὥς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν (Equit. 815) ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάσσης· ὃ καὶ τὸν δῆμον πῆξεν κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ θράσους ἐπέλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελυστάς καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικρομένης.

l. 10. ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' Ch. 93. ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξεν, i. e. ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὀδοῦς, ἦν, κ.τ.λ., 'a beginning of it had been made during the yearly office of archon, which he held at Athens.' But see Grammar, § 30, c.

The date of Themistocles' archonship is probably 482, the year following that in which he persuaded the people to build ships (l. 14) ¹.

l. 13. καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγεννημένους μέγα προφέρειν εἰς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. The emphatic αὐτοὺς is opposed to τὸ χωρίον above. προφέρειν is best taken as neuter: 'the situation was excellent, with its three natural harbours (Piræus, Munychia, and Zea), while the Athenians themselves having become a naval people had great advantages (he thought) for the attainment of power,' and therefore could make full use of a first-rate harbour ².

l. 15. καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύαζεν, 'and (thereby) at once helped to lay the foundation of the Athenian empire,' the rise of which Thucydides is tracing. εὐθὺς refers to the time indicated in ἐπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ . . . οἰκοδομεῖν.

l. 17. ὅπερ νῦν ἐτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. The walls of the Piræus were destroyed by order of Lysander after the surrender of Athens in 404. This passage is most naturally explained of the appearance which the ruins of the wall, 'down at the Piræus,' presented to the eye of Thucydides after his return from his twenty years' exile.

l. 18. ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις = 'meeting and passing each other' on the wall ³ as it gradually rose. Two waggons (or a number of pairs of waggons?) went along the top of the wall in opposite directions, laying the stones (which were deposited on the ground below), and taking up more at

¹ Athen. Polit. 22, 7, and Kenyon's or Sandys' note.

² The sense would be slightly improved by taking προφέρειν active, in the sense of 'promote, advance,' governing αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγεννημένους, and by supplying as a subject 'the possession of a good harbour.' But προφέρειν is neut. in Thuc. (except in the sense of 'bring forward' or 'mention') and the active use is rare generally.

³ The average width of the ancient cart-tracks cut in the rocky roads in many parts of Greece is given (C. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, ii. 1, p. 18) as 1.60 metres, or rather over five feet: the breadth of the existing wall of the Piræus varies from five feet in the narrowest place at Eetionea to just under ten feet in the narrowest part of the coast-wall, about sixteen feet at Eetionea and twenty-six or twenty-seven feet at the most important place, referred to at the foot of p. 79.

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Ch. 93, each end. We may suppose that there were sloping wooden construc-

1. 18. tions¹, or mounds of earth for carting or pulling up the stones, which were raised higher against the end of the wall as it rose; and smaller ones to get the waggons over the edges of the new layers of stone².

1. 18. ἐντὸς δὲ οὐτε χάλις οὐτε πηλὸς ἦν. ἐντὸς means 'inside the outer face of the wall' (τὰ ἑξωθεν, below). There was no rubble (between the two outer faces of stone) and no mortar (between the stones themselves)³, but simply great blocks cut square (*lit.* angular or squared in the way of cutting), and fitted together.

1. 20. σιδήρεαι . . . καὶ μολύβδευαι, iron clamps kept in their places by melted lead poured round them.

Ch. 94. 1. 6. ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, i.e. under the leadership of Pausanias: before the Athenians had taken the place of the Spartans as leaders (ἡγεμόνες) of the non-Peloponnesian allies.

Between ch. 94 and 95, comes, in the order of events, the narrative of ch. 128, l. 16—ch. 130; the details of Pausanias' treachery, luxury, and violence.

Ch. 95. 1. 4. κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές, i.e. as their mother-city; cp. ch. 12, ll. 11, 12.

1. 5. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, κ.τ.λ. 'The Athenians accepted their proposals and took the matter up, with a determination to endure Pausanias' conduct no longer, and to settle the affairs of the confederacy as seemed best for their interests.'

1. 11. καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο μίμησις ἢ στρατηγία⁴. 'His behaviour was not like that of a general, but an affectation of despotism.' A subject to ἐφαίνετο must be supplied from the previous sentence.

1. 15. εὐθύνθη: he was punished (by a fine or the like) for his wrong-

¹ iv. 112 init., where some of Brasidas' troops get into Torone not by the gate but κατὰ δοκούς τετραγώνους, αἱ ἔτυχον τῷ τείχει πεπτωκότες καὶ οἰκοδομουμένῳ πρὸς λίθων ἀνολκὴν προσκείμεναι.

² The only other interpretations possible, and very weak ones, are (a) 'two waggons used to bring up the stones from opposite sides of the wall,' i.e. the wall required twice as much 'plant,' for the conveyance of material, as an ordinary wall: and (b) 'two waggons which met and passed each other brought up the stones' which were then laid outside the two waggon-tracks, and the space between filled up with solid stone. We may fairly blame the historian, if the sentence is not a gloss, for the obscurity with which so simple a matter is stated. For a full discussion of the place, see C. Wachsmuth (Stadt Athen, ii. 1. pp. 13-25), who alters the text to avoid the supposition of an error in Thucydides; and (better) W. Jüdeich in Neue Jahrbücher, 1890, i. p. 723 ff.

³ The meaning may also be, that there was neither rubble nor loose earth between the two outer faces.

⁴ One good MS. has ἡ στρατηγία, 'his action as general was more like an affectation of despotism.'

Ch. 93, l. 18—Ch. 96, l. 9.

doings towards particular persons; referring to *ἀδικία πολλή κατηγορεῖτο* Ch. 95, αὐτοῦ above. *ἐθύνω* may mean 'punish,' as well as 'call to account.' l. 15.

l. 3. *ἔταξαν ὡς τε ἰδεῖν*, κ.τ.λ., i. e. *ἔταξαν τὰς πόλεις ὡς ἰδεῖν χρήματα* Ch. 96. *παρέχειν καὶ ὡς ἰδεῖν ταῦς παρέχειν*.

l. 4. *πρόσχημα γὰρ ἦν* explain *πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον*. *ἀμύνασθαι ὡν ἔπαθον*, scil. *ἐκείνων ἃ ἔπαθον*, 'to take revenge for their sufferings.'

l. 5. *ἑλληνοταμίαι* . . . *ἀρχή*, 'the Hellenotamiae as an office,' the office of Hellenotamias. The name, 'controller of the treasury to the Hellenes' was a standing witness to the universality of the alliance and the independence of the allies, in theory at least; cp. *Ἑλλανοδίκαί*, the judges at the Olympic games. Sophocles held the office in 443, as we know from an inscription (C. I. A. i. 237). *[Σ]Ο[Φ]ΟΚΛ[ΗΣ] ΚΟΛΩ[ΝΗΘΕΝ] ἙΛΛΑΗΝΟΤΑΜΙΑ[Σ] ΗΝ.*

l. 6. of *ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον*: *φόρος* not 'tax,' but 'tribute.' The word became so odious that when the second Athenian empire was founded, *σύνταξις*, 'contribution,' was substituted for it¹.

When the tribute was diverted from federal purposes and treated simply as a branch of Athenian revenue, of which it formed far the largest part, the Hellenotamiae, who received it, became, under the control of the Ecclesia and Council, one of the chief financial Boards at Athens².

l. 8. *ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τέλαντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα*, i. e. *ὁ φόρος ὁ πρῶτος ταχθείς*, the tribute as it was first assessed. The lists (giving the quotas of *ἀπὸ* paid to Athenè) from which the amount of the tribute is calculated³, do not begin till 454, and are not at all complete until about 447-440. The largest sum which we can be certain from the lists was paid is 432 talents. Now, from this figure we should *a priori* expect a much smaller amount of tribute than 460 talents at the foundation of the confederacy in 478-7 before the expulsion of the Persian garrisons from Thrace, or the battle of the Eurymedon, which liberated Caria and Lycia from the Persians. But considering how little we know about the intervening period, that Thucydides gives the sum not 'paid' but 'assessed,' and that the amount is not unreasonable in itself, we have no sufficient ground for rejecting it. See further in Introduction iii. to Part I.

l. 9. *ταμειὸν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς*. The old custom of holding a festival for the Ionian race at Delos (iii. 104), and the central position of the island, made it a natural place for the purpose. The treasury was removed to Athens at some time unknown before the outbreak of the war, perhaps in or a little before 454, when the lists begin⁴.

Harpocration, s. v. *σύνταξις*: cp. C. I. A. ii. 17, containing the terms of the new alliance, l. 21 *μήτε φόρον φέροντι*.

² Headlam, Election by Lot at Athens, p. 131 ff.

³ See Abbott, vol. ii. Appendix I.

⁴ Ib. p. 369.

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- Ch. 97.** 1. 2. *τοσάδε ἐπέλθον*. *τοσάδε* refers to the whole scope of the narrative which follows: we should say simply 'made great advances.'
1. 4. & *ἐγένετο* refers to *πραγμάτων*, 'by their management of affairs which they had with the Barbarian,' etc.
1. 6. *Πελοποννησίων τοὺς αἰεὶ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἑκάστῳ*, 'such of the Peloponnesian powers as from time to time on various occasions crossed their path,' e.g. the Corinthians on the occasion of the defection of Megara (i. 103).
- The general meaning is 'The Athenians, although at first merely "primi inter pares," by arms and policy gradually improved their position to an extent which the following digression will show.'
1. 7. *αὐτά* refers to *τοσάδε*.
1. 10. For Hellanicus see Introduction ii. to vol. i.
- ὅσων καὶ ἤψατο*, 'who did touch' (or as our idiom has it—cp. *ἐγρέψα* just above—'has touched') upon them.' For *καὶ* see Grammar, § 20.
1. 12. *ἀπέδεικνεν ἔχειν*, *scil.* *ταῦτα* supplied from *τοῦτων*.

THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE WARS (Ch. 98—118, l. 16).

Incom-
pleteness of
Thucy-
dides'
treatment.

The period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars is intrinsically as important and interesting as the Peloponnesian war itself. Had Thucydides or Herodotus dealt with it in detail, the Eurymedon, the Egyptian expedition, Ephialtes, and the revolt of Samos would have been as real to us as Salamis, the Syracusan expedition, Cleon, and the revolt of Lesbos, are now.

As it is, Thucydides has given us a mere sketch of the most definite events in the external affairs of Athens: saying nothing about the motives or policy (cp. notes on ch. 105, 111) of the expeditions which he records, nothing about the internal affairs of the Peloponnese, and scarcely anything about the internal politics of Athens. He seems to have intentionally kept to his strict purpose of filling up a gap in history by a kind of skeleton chronicle, which, valuable as it is, is very unlike the rest of his work, and which we must supplement from other, and often less trustworthy, sources, and indeed from our imagination, if we are to form a living picture of the history of the time.

A table of events and dates will be found opposite, which may assist the reader in connecting this part of Thucydides with the more continuous and complete story as read in modern histories of Greece.

The aims
of Athenian
external
policy.

The thread of Thucydides' own narrative will be best disentangled by bearing in mind that Athens had during this period four great objects as regards external policy: (1) the liberation of the Aegean and its shores from Persian influence and from such minor enemies as the pirates of Scyros and the Barbarians of Thrace; (2) the extension of her influence north of the Corinthian gulf, especially by the subjugation of

10

11

<i>Date</i>	<i>Athens and the Barbarians.</i>	<i>Athens and her allies.</i>	<i>Athens and the Peloponnese.</i>
480	Salamis	.....	.....
479	Plataea and Mycale	.....	.....
477	Capture of Elion	Foundation of Athenian Confederacy	.....
475	.....	.....	.....
471	.....	.....	.....
469	.....	.....	.....
468	Battle of the Eurymedon	Reduction of Naxos	.....
465	Artaxerxes succeeds Xerxes	Revolt of Thasos	Lacedaemonians promise invasion of Attica. Earthquake and revolt of Helots
464	Disaster at Ennea Hodoi	.....	.....
463	.....	Reduction of Thasos	.....
462	.....	.....	.....
461	.....	.....	Breach with Sparta. Alliance with Argos and Megara
460	.....	.....	.....
459	Egyptian expedition	.....	War with the Peloponnese
457	.....	.....	Blockade of Aegina
456	.....	.....	Tanagra. Reduction of Aegina
454	.....	Tribute lists begin	.....
453	Annihilation of Athenian army on the Nile	Greater development of Cleruchies	.....
451	.....	.....	.....
450	.....	.....	Five Years' Peace
449	Expedition to Cyprus	.....	.....
448	Death of Cimon	Revolt of Euboea	Revolt of Megara and Peloponnesian invasion of Attica
446	.....	Recovery of Euboea	Thirty Years' Peace
445	.....	.....	.....
440	.....	Revolt of Samos	.....
439	.....	Reduction of Samos	.....
437	.....	Foundation of Amphipolis	.....
435	.....	.....	.....
433	.....	.....	.....
432	.....	.....	.....
431	.....	.....	Peloponnesian War

N.B.—From 477 to 435, none of these dates are absolute.]

<i>Chronol.</i>	<i>Athens and the northern Greek states.</i>	<i>Internal affairs of Athens.</i>	<i>Internal affairs of the Peloponnese.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
	.....	.....	.....	480
	.....	.....	.....	479
	.....	.....	.....	477
	.....	.....	War of Sparta with Tegea and Argos? <i>συνολικισμός</i> of Elis?	475
	.....	Ostracism of Themistocles?	.....	471
	.....	.....	Accession of Archida- mus. War with Arcadia	469
	.....	.....	.....	466
	.....	.....	.....	465
	.....	.....	.....	464
	.....	.....	.....	463
	.....	Changes in Areopagus	.....	462
	Alliance with Thessaly	Ostracism of Cimon?	.....	461
	.....	Influence of Pericles begins	.....	460
	.....	.....	.....	459
	Tanagra. Oenophyta.	Oligarchical plots with Sparta	.....	457
	Submission of Boeotia and Phocis	Long Walls. Recall of Cimon	.....	456
	.....	.....	.....	454
	.....	.....	.....	453
	.....	.....	Thirty Years' Peace be- tween Sparta and Argos	451
	.....	.....	.....	450
	.....	.....	.....	449
	Coronea. Loss of Boeo- tia and Phocis	.....	.....	446
	.....	.....	.....	445
	.....	.....	Help refused to Samos	440
	.....	.....	.....	439
	.....	.....	.....	437
	Quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra	.....	.....	435
	Battle of Sybota	.....	.....	433
	Battle of Potidaea	.....	.....	432
	Surprise of Plataea	.....	.....	431

solately fixed except 465-464, 462, 454, 451, 445, 440, and 437.

Part II. To follow p. 84.

Ch. 97, l. 2—l. 12.

Boeotia ;—here Athens failed, with disastrous consequences for the future :—(3) The keeping in check of her enemies in the Peloponnese, especially of Sparta and Corinth ; the enmity of Athens and Corinth explains the activity of Athens in the Corinthian gulf :—(4) The organisation of her empire, and the strengthening of the really vital points of her dominion in or close to Attica—by the construction of the Long Walls, the conquest of Aegina, and the recovery of Euboea. The one weak point was Megara which, in spite of many efforts, she lost and failed to recover : had Megara and the passes of Geraneia been permanently held, the invasion of Attica would have been impossible and the course of history changed.

The interval between the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars may be divided into three periods. The first, of 20 years, during which Athens and Sparta preserved the appearance of friendship, extends from 480 to 461. The second, of rather more than 15 years, extends from the quarrel arising out of the dismissal of the Athenian force at Ithome, 461, to the Thirty Years' Peace, 445, and includes 9 or 10 years of war between Athens and the Peloponnesian powers, followed by a five years' truce. Lastly, we have the 14 years (445-431) during which the Thirty Years' Peace was kept.

Thucydides blames Hellenicus for being 'loose in his chronology' : meaning probably that Hellenicus was wrong about the order of events or gave a false impression of the interval between them. At least these are the points to which Thucydides himself pays attention : he does not here absolutely fix the date of a single event during the period except the Thirty Years' Peace and the revolt of Samos.

Apart from these, the only fixed dates in the period are (1) that of the death of Xerxes and accession of Artaxerxes, which is fixed by various evidence agreeing pretty well to 465 : (2) that of the attempt to colonize Ennea Hodoi, when 10,000 men were killed at Drabescus, which by a comparison of Thuc. iv. 102 with other writers we can assign to 465-4¹ : (3) a peace between Argos and Sparta (451, Thuc. v. 14) : (4) a few dates for internal events at Athens given in the 'Athenian Constitution,' and that of the beginning of the tribute-lists.

The 'Athenian Constitution' puts the foundation of the Athenian confederacy, as we have seen, in 478-7 ; and the curtailment of the power of the Areopagus in the archonship of Conon (462-1). The

¹ Thucydides here says that there were three attempts to colonize Ennea Hodoi, the second commencing thirty-two years after the first in which Aristagoras fell, and the third which was successful being in the twenty-ninth year after the second. The date of the third (the archonship of Euthymenes, 437-6) rests only on Diodorus and a scholium on Aeschines, but it agrees well with Herodotus' account of the death of Aristagoras (v. 126, cp. Stein's note on v. 33. 1).

Book I. Notes.

latter event is not mentioned by Thucydides, but the date suits well with his narrative. For in 462-1 Cimon would have been absent at the blockade of Ithome, and Plutarch (Cimon, c. 15) plausibly assigns the attack on the Areopagus to a time when he was away from Athens.

But are we to accept the statement of the 'Athenian Constitution' that Themistocles was at Athens in 462-1 and took part in the attack on the Areopagus? If so, Thucydides (I. 137, l. 19), in saying that Artaxerxes had 'lately' come to the throne when Themistocles wrote to him upon arriving in Asia, speaks loosely (cp. however p. 52, n. 3), and must be wrong in asserting that the Athenian fleet which Themistocles escaped during his flight was blockading Naxos. For the revolt of Naxos (i. 98) precedes the disaster at Drabescus and this we have seen was almost certainly in 465-4. We cannot without further evidence accept the story, especially as it is suspicious on other grounds¹.

Ch. 98. 1. 4. *ἦσαν αὐτοί*: Grammar, § 4. The settlement was not an ordinary colony but a 'cleruchy,' i.e. the Athenians (*αὐτοί*) who received lots of land in it remained full Athenian citizens.

1. 8. *πρώτη τε αὕτη, κ.τ.λ.* 'This was the first allied city which, contrary to recognised principles of right, was enslaved,' i.e. became tributary and fell under the control of Athens in internal as well as external affairs. Thucydides' use of the invidious word *ἐδουλώθη* shows that he shared the ordinary Hellenic sentiment about the absolute right of every city to complete independence, a sentiment which goes far to account for the brilliant but short-lived character of Greek political liberty.

1. 9. *τὸν ἄλλον* is gen. after *ἐκάστη*. *ὡς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη*, 'as it befel each,' i.e. in different ways.

Ch. 99. 1. 3. *ἐπράσσαν*, 'dealt with them,' not *ἐπράσσοντο*, 'exacted the tribute.'

1. 4. *οὐδὲ βουλομένοις*, 'and who certainly did not wish.'

προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας, 'applying coercion': the plural is used merely because coercion was applied on many distinct occasions.

1. 5. *καὶ ἄλλως* is connected with what precedes, not with what follows.

1. 6. *οὐτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου*, i.e. 'the Athenians no longer joined in expeditions as equals among equals'; in joint expeditions the Athenians no longer merely supplied one out of several contingents.

1. 10. *τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα, λίτ.* 'the expense which fell to them,' 'the due expense,' i.e. a sum equivalent to the expense of furnishing their proper number of ships.

Ch. 100. 1. 5. *εἰλον . . . καὶ διέφθειραν* go closely together. *ἐς τὰς διακοσίας*² implies that they captured or sunk the whole fleet, amounting to 200 triremes.

¹ Abbott, vol. ii. Appendix II. Sandys on Athen. Polit. 25, 3.

² The MSS. are divided between *τὰς πένσας ἐς τὰς διακοσίας* and *τὰς*

Ch. 98, l. 4—Ch. 102, l. 3.

l. 8. & ἐνέμοντο, 'of which they enjoyed the profits': Glossary. Ch. 100,
καὶ ναυοὶ μὲν, κ.τ.λ. There is a change of subject from ναυοὶ l. 8,
πλείσαντες to πέμψαντες (referring to the Athenians at home), and
again from πέμψαντες to ἐκράτησαν αὐτοί. Grammar, § 30.

l. 13. αὐτοὶ simply opposes the colonists to the previous inhabitants:
Grammar, § 5.

l. 16. οἱς πολέμιον ἦν¹, 'who were threatened by.'

l. 5. τῶν περιοίκων, i.e. the movement among the *Helots* spread to Ch. 101.
only two townships among the *Perioeci* or free Lacedaemonians who
were excluded from citizenship. Their revolt would have been a more
serious matter than that of the *Helots*.

l. 6. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐγένοντο, κ.τ.λ. πλείστοι is predicate,
οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων . . . ἀπόγονοι subject; but we may translate
'the *Helots* were mainly composed of the descendants,' etc.

l. 7. τότε, 'in former times': see Glossary.

l. 8. ἥ καὶ Μεσσηνῆσι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες, 'whence all who revolted
were called *Messenians*,' is probably intended to justify expressions like
'the *Messenians* of Naupactus,' 'the third *Messenian* war,' etc.

l. 9. πρὸς μὲν οὖν . . . καθίστηται . . . Θάσιοι δὲ . . . κ.τ.λ., 'while the
Lacedaemonians were thus engaged in war with the men in *Ithome*,
the *Thasians*,' etc.

l. 10. ἀμολόγησαν . . . τεῖχος τε καθελόντες, κ.τ.λ. This is one of
the passages which indicate that the aorist participle does not necessarily
denote a time prior to the time of the main verb (Grammar, § 9).
Cp. similar phrases in 108, l. 12; 115, l. 3; 117, l. 13.

l. 12. ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς probably governs ἀποδοῦναι and φέρειν. Cp. 117,
l. 15. The *Thasians* arranged to pay a fixed sum at once and to become
tributary allies (paying φόρος) in future, probably instead of contributing
ships.

l. 2. συμμάχους. The Athenians were still the allies of Sparta, Ch. 102.
because the old alliance against Persia under the headship of Sparta
had never been formally abandoned. We find the *Plataeans* (who also
sent help to Sparta on this occasion, iii. 54) appealing to it some thirty-
five years later.

l. 3. πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῃ. 4,000 hoplites, if we can trust *Aristophanes*'
probably exaggerated account (Lys. 1143).

πᾶσας ἐς διακοσίας, 'two hundred in all,' the latter implying nothing as
to the total number of the fleet. There is no trustworthy evidence
about the number, which later writers exaggerate.

¹ Some editors read *ἐμψαντες* for *ἐμπάντων* just above, on the
authority of Valla's translation (*omnes interempti sunt*) and because
other authors (including Hdt. ix. 75) attribute the destruction of the
colony to the *Edonians* only.

Book I. Notes.

- Ch. 102.** 1. 5. τοῖς δὲ πολιορκίας μακρὰς καθιστηκυίας τούτου ἔνδεα ἔφαινετο·
 1. 5. βίβη γὰρ ἂν εἶλον τὸ χωρίον. 'Whereas they (the Lacedaemonians), finding themselves engaged in a long blockade, perceived that they lacked skill in siege-operations¹; else they would have taken the place by assault' (instead of having to be content with a tedious blockade)².
 1. 9. βίβη οὐχ ἡλίσκετο (impf.), 'was no nearer being stormed.'
 1. 11. ἡγησόμενοι, 'considering,' or 'remembering, that they were aliens.'
 1. 12. νεωτερίζαν here signifies nothing less than 'going over to the enemy.' Glossary.
 1. 15. οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ, 'not for an honourable reason'; the article and the comparative are used because there is a contrast between δ βελτίον λόγος and δ κακίον λόγος implied in the next clause.
- Ch. 103.** 1. 1. δεκάτῳ ἔτει. If this is correct, Thucydides must be supposed to anticipate the course of events by some six years in order to finish off the siege of Ithome; and to return in προσεχώρησαν καὶ Μεγαρή below to the point at which he has arrived at the end of ch. 102. The Megarian alliance with Athens certainly belongs to the same time as the Argive; and this was probably about four years after the earthquake at Sparta, and the Helot rising. But we should almost certainly, with Krüger, read τετάρτῳ for δεκάτῳ. See Appendix.
 1. 14. ἐφροῦρον αὐτοί, 'put an *Athenian* garrison in them,' as in Pegae (ch. 111), Mende (iv. 130): perhaps from a distrust, in this case well founded (ch. 114), of their new allies. Grammar, § 4.
- Ch. 104.** 1. 2. Μαρίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου πόλεως. 'The city of Marea opposite the island of Pharos.' Marea is close to the spot where Alexandria was afterwards founded.
- Ch. 105.** 1. 1. ναυσὶν ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Ἀλιεῖς. The quarrel with Sparta and the alliance with Megara now led to a regular war between Athens and the Peloponnesian confederacy. The town of Halieis ('Fishermen') lay on the South point of the Argive peninsula: some of the inhabitants of Tiryns, lately expelled by the Argives, are said to have taken refuge there. The Athenians as we may infer from Thucydides' brief words,

¹ Compare Hdt. ix. 70, about the storming of the Persian camp after Plataea: προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκει σφι τειχομαχίῃ ἡρωμενεστέρη. ἔως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο, καὶ πολλῶ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμέναν τειχομαχεῖν· ὅς δὲ σφι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρῇ ἐγένετο τειχομαχίῃ καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον, τῇ δὲ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

² Or τοῖς δὲ may refer to the Athenians who on their arrival proved deficient in their reputed skill.

Ch. 102, l. 5—Ch. 109, l. 16.

made an attempt to establish themselves there, or to gain the place for their new allies, the Argives; Corinth and Epidaurus, in the absence of an Athenian fleet in Egypt, resisted, and war began. **Ch. 105, l. 1.**

l. 13. *κατάλαβον, scil. Κορίνθιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, ποτ Πειλοποννήσιοι.*

l. 19. *οἱ . . . πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι.* Not necessarily those below or above the age for military service; i.e. under eighteen or over sixty: the words need only mean the *περίπολοι*, men of eighteen to twenty, usually employed in training or on garrison duty within the frontier, and men of fifty to sixty, who were not often called out.

l. 22. *ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι, κ.τ.λ., scil. ἑκότεροι ἐνόμισαν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔλασσον εἶχειν:* 'each side deemed that they had the advantage themselves.'

l. 6. *Νικομήδους, κ.τ.λ., i.e. Nicomedes, son of Cleombrotus, commanded in lieu of the King, Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias; Pleistoanax being still a minor.* **Ch. 107.**

l. 11. *ἀπεχώρουν,* 'thought of retreating.'

l. 12. *Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἔμελλον καλύσειν = 'they knew that the Athenians meant to stop them.'*

l. 13. *ναυὶ περιπλεύσαντες.* It would seem that the Peloponnesian forces had crossed the Corinthian gulf by sea (from Corinth?). They cannot have come by the Isthmus (unless it were by a surprise) for *ἡ Γερανία . . . ἐφρουρεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων, l. 16.*

l. 16. *καὶ τότε ᾤσθάνοντο αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ. τότε* is opposed to *δεῖ*, 'and on this occasion in particular.'

l. 21. *ἔβηθησαν,* merely = 'marched out': Glossary.

l. 22. *τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὡς ἑκαστοί,* 'contingents of their other allies.'

l. 24. *νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπορεῖν, κ.τ.λ. νομίσαντες (not ἐπεστράτευσαν) and ἐπομίεα* are the emphatic words: Grammar, § 10.

l. 5. *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, κ.τ.λ.* **Ch. 108.** The troops who were victorious at Oenophyta were only the survivors of those defeated at Tanagra. For the expedition to Tanagra had been a levy *en masse* (*πανδημεί*) of those who were not engaged at Aegina and in Egypt, and 'the slaughter had been great on both sides.'

l. 16. *τὸ νεώριον τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων:* Gythium, on the Laconian Gulf.

l. 2. *πολλὰι ἰδέαι πολέμων, i.e. alternations of victory and defeat,* **Ch. 109.** and of land and river fighting, concluding with the accidental loss of nearly fifty ships (c. 110).

l. 9. *τὸν Ζωπύρου.* Zopyrus was the hero of the capture of Babylon (Hdt. iii. 160).

l. 13. *τὴν νῆσον,* between a branch of the Nile and a canal (*τὴν διώρυγα*).

l. 16. *τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἤπειρον, scil. ἐποίησε.*

Book I. Notes.

- Ch. 110.** 1. 2. *πολεμήσαντα* would imply a confusion between the 'Greek cause' and the 'Greek forces.' But Cobet's correction *πολεμησάντων* should probably be accepted.
- Ch. 111.** 1. 1. *τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως*. Echeocrates was probably the last king of united Thessaly; at least we hear of none after his death (cp. Thuc. ii. 22; iv. 78), until the time of Jason of Pherae.
1. 3. *παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκίας ὄντας ξυμμάχους*, 'their new allies'; a rash course, which may in part account for the disaffection and speedy loss of Boeotia and Phocia.
1. 10. *εἶχον δ' αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγάς*, see note on ch. 103, l. 14.
1. 13. *παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς*, 'taking some Achaean troops with them.' *παραλαμβάνω* is continually used, as in l. 3 above, of a fleet or army 'taking up' contingents of allied forces. Hence Achaea must have on or before this occasion joined the Athenian league.
1. 14. *τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας* is genitive after *Οἰνιάδας*, not after *πέραν*.
- Ch. 112.** 1. 9. *πλείσαντες ἐπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος . . . ἐναυμάχησαν*, 'after setting sail they fought off Salamis,' etc.
- Ch. 113.** 1. 2. *τῶν φευγόντων*, i. e. members of the anti-Athenian and oligarchical party, who had left or been expelled from the Boeotian cities when the Athenians conquered Boeotia; cp. l. 10 *ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν*¹.
- Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 3. 5, supplements Thucydides' account by telling us the internal causes of the change: the democracy in Thebes 'after the battle of Oenophyta' was badly administered and the rich despised the anarchy into which it fell.
1. 11. *τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον*. Anxiety to recover these prisoners, such being always a powerful motive in the Greek states where it may be said that 'everybody knew everybody else,' and the political disaffection of the Boeotian cities, account for the great effects produced by a defeat so small in itself compared with that of Tanagra.
1. 14. *οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες* may mean 'the rest of the Boeotians,' or 'the Phocians and Opuntian Locrians' who had been conquered at the same time with the Boeotians and now regained their independence.
- Ch. 114.** 1. 6. *Κορινθίους καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους*. Corinth and Epidaurus had been recently at war with Athens, and the Sicyonians had been twice attacked in their own territory and defeated.
1. 10. *Θρίῳζε*, to the deme Thria or Thrio, in the 'Thriasian plain,' near Eleusis.
1. 13. *ἀπεχώρησαν*. Pleistoanax was suspected of having been bribed to retreat, ii. 21.
1. 16. *αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον*. See note on ch. 98, l. 4.

¹ In l. 6 [*καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες*], bracketed by Bekker, is only in a few of the MSS.

Ch. 110, l. 2—Ch. 118, l. 10.

l. 3. ἀποδόντες . . . Ἀχαΐαν. See note on ch. 111, l. 13. For Nisaea Ch. 115. and Pegae, see ch. 103, l. 12–14. Troezen on the North coast of the Argolic peninsula must have been occupied by an Athenian garrison at some time since the outbreak of the war in 459.

l. 12. ἐς Λήμνον. Lemnos was occupied by Athenian κληρούχοι, and therefore appeared a safe place to deposit the hostages in.

l. 15. τοῖς δυναταῖς, 'the most influential,' and so in a political sense 'the leading aristocrats' or party of the δυνατοί: who were not, of course, under the present circumstances 'the most powerful men' in Samos.

l. 16. εἶχε Σάρδεα, 'held Sardis,' i.e. was satrap of Lydia, of which Sardis was the capital.

l. 21. τοὺς ἀρχοντας οἱ ἦσαν παρὰ σφίσιν: these may have been the Athenian administrative and judicial officers' called ἐπισκοποί, now engaged in regulating the new democratical government at Samos.

l. 14. ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, 'in the direction of Caunus in Ch. 116. Caria.'

l. 15. ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλείουσιν probably means 'against the Athenians,' not 'to help the Samians.'

l. 2. ἀφράκτῃ τῇ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες, i.e. on the blockading Ch. 117. fleet which was not protected by palisades or the like.

l. 3. τὰς ἀνταγομίνας ἐνίκησαν, 'the ships which were putting out to meet them,' implying that the Athenian ships had not time to get into proper order of battle.

l. 8. μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ἀγνώου καὶ Φορμίωνος. Who this Thucydides was is not known: Hagnon was the founder of Amphipolis; Phormio was the famous admiral. An immense number of ships was sent at different times against Samos, 215 in all.

l. 16. ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. The Byzantines 'became subject as before,' unlike the Samians who had been independent allies before, and now became subjects for the first time.

l. 1. οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτισιν ὕστερον. 439—435 or 434.

Ch. 118.

l. 8. αὐτοί, Athens herself, as opposed to her dependent allies.

l. 10. ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς λέναι. There is no apparent reason why μὴ, which simply negatives ταχεῖς, should be used instead of οὐ¹.

¹ Aristoph. Birds, 1050: cp. Abbott, vol. ii. 10. 10.

² 'It may be difficult to find a better explanation of the anomalous μὴ than . . . that τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς λέναι had a more natural sound than τοῦ οὐ ταχεῖς λέναι, although neither τοῦ nor the negative has anything to do with the infinitive. So some people say *between you and I* merely because *you and me* sounds vulgar.' Goodwin, Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses, § 685.

Book I. Notes.

ASSEMBLY OF THE ALLIES AT SPARTA.

Ch. 118, 1. 16. αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ. See ch. 87. The narrative after a long digression goes back to the decision of the Lacedaemonian assembly after the speech of Sthenelaidas.

1. 21. αὐτὸς ἔφη συλλήψεσθαι: αὐτός goes with συλλήψεσθαι, not with ἔφη.

καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ δαίητος. A God would often promise help on condition that certain vows or sacrifices were offered to him. Pan (Hdt. vi. 106), while declaring that he is and will be a friend of Athens, complains that the Athenians pay no attention to him: Apollo (Livy xxiii. 11) tells the Romans by what rites they are to obtain his help in the Second Punic War. Here Apollo promises unconditional help.

Ch. 119. 1. 2. τῶν πρέσβων, 'representatives' or 'deputies' (not in our sense 'ambassadors') of the allied states. Glossary, πρεσβευτής.

Ch. 120. 'We have nothing to say against the Lacedaemonians this time: for they have done their duty as the head of a confederacy: they have paid due attention to their own interests by discussing and resolving upon war in their own assembly, and they have taken thought for the common interests of the confederacy by calling us together. Neither need we urge to war those members of the confederacy who know by experience what the Athenians are (Megara, Boeotia, Phocis, Epidaurus, Sicyon, etc.). But to those who may think that their interest in the question is but slight, we would say two things. First, interest as well as honour demands war. Secondly, you need not fear that you are embarking on an enterprise of unlimited extent. We are quite aware that no success will justify us in prolonging the war a moment longer than is necessary.'

For the correct forecast of the war contained in the remainder of the speech, see below, p. 108. In c. 120 we notice a trace (a) of the influence of commercial motives on politics (χαλεπωτέρων ἔξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὀρεῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὅτι ἡ θάλασσα τῇ ἡμείρων δίδωσιν), and (b) of the division of interests between the maritime members of the Peloponnesian confederacy and those situated inland or remote from the highways of traffic. Some of the latter (e.g. Tegea and Mantinea) may have formed the minority who voted against the war¹.

Ch. 120. 1. 3. χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, κ.τ.λ. 'This time we cannot blame

¹ The inability of the Athenians to get at these inland states is the point of the joke in Aristoph. Eq. 798, where the 'extension of the jury system to Arcadia' is the promised reward of Athenian perseverance.

Ch. 118, l. 16—Ch. 121, l. 17.

the Lacedaemonians' = 'we can only praise the Lacedaemonians': Ch. 120, hence γάρ. 'For the duty of the heads of confederacies is, while giving a just share of attention to their own interests (as the Lacedaemonians have done), to guard the interests of the whole,' and thus merit their place of honour. τὰ ὅσια, τὰ κοινά, answer to καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ ἡμᾶς above.

νέμεν = 'manage', 'attend to.' καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις = 'generally,' 'on ordinary occasions,' i. e. where it is not a question of τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, 'where their privileges and not, as here, their duties are concerned' (Jowett.)

l. 8. εἰδέναι χρή, κ.τ.λ. χρή governs μὴ κακοῖς κριτὰς . . . εἶναι and προσδέχεσθαι below. βουλευέσθαι (l. 14) is governed by χρή; or by ἡγεῖσθαι involved in προσδέχεσθαι, 'to remember that they are deliberating.' κακοῖς κριτὰς (l. 11), careless or indifferent judges.

l. 16. εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, 'if they are not wronged.' The optative is used only because ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων ἐστὶν ἡσυχάζειν = ἄνδρες σώφρονες ἡσυχάζουσιν ἄν. Grammar, § 15.

l. 24. ἀβουλοτέρων τῶν ἐναντίων τυγχόντων. τυγχάνω is occasionally found in prose, as here, with an adjective and without a participle³.

l. 26. ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδαὶς ὁμοία, κ.τ.λ. 'What a man *purposes* in his confidence is very unlike what he practically goes on to *do*' or 'what he really does.' The single phrase ἐργῇ ἐπεξέρχεται (Glossary) is opposed to ἐνθυμεῖται: τῇ πίστει and ἐργῇ do not precisely correspond.

l. 2. ὅταν ἀμυνόμεθα, aor. not pres.

Ch. 121.

l. 7. ἑκάστοις, each member of the confederacy.

l. 10. ἀνητὴ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἡ δύναμις μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία, κ.τ.λ. ἀνητὴ — hired, mercenary (ποῖ 'capable of being bought'). δύναμις is first concrete, 'forces,' then, when supplied with ἡ ἡμετέρα, abstract, 'power'; as the words τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλεον λαχόνουσα ἢ τοῖς χρημασιν show. ἥσσαν ἂν τοῦτο πάθει refers, not to ἀνητὴ, but to ἐπολαβεῖν οἰοί τ' ἐσμέν, 'is not so liable to this danger.'

l. 13. εἰ δ' ἀντίσχοιεν, 'but supposing them to hold out.' Grammar, § 14.

l. 17. ὃ δ' ἐκείνοι ἐπιστήμῃ προύχουσι, κ.τ.λ., 'the superiority which skill gives them, we must acquire (καθαίρετον) by practice⁴.'

¹ Cp. viii. 70 med. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐνεμον κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν.

² προ-, in προσκοπεῖν, expressing 'forethought,' does not answer to προ- in προτιμῶνται.

³ τυχόντα, the reading of some inferior MSS., is very likely right, 'meeting with enemies who are better advised.'

⁴ ὁμοία gives as good a sense as the correction ὁμοίᾳ.

⁵ καθαίρετον might also mean 'destroy,' 'cancel,' as in ch. 118, l. 15 above, but the opposition to οὐκ ἂν γίνοιτο makes the meaning 'attain,' though rarer, more suitable here. Stahl compares Hdt. vii. 50 μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνοισι ἐθέλει καταίρεσθαι. καθαίρετον would mean 'we can,' ποῖ must, 'acquire.'

Book I. Notes.

- Ch. 121.** 1. 19. χρήματα δ' ἔσσι' ἔχων ἐς αὐτά, οἴσομεν refers to the maintenance, not to the establishment of a fleet; the latter has been dealt with already, ll. 7-9.
1. 23. αὐτοῖς τούτοις, 'suffer by means of this same wealth,' 'see our own property used to our hurt.'
- Ch. 122.** 1. 4. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, 'on stated terms,' 'according to programme.'
1. 6. ἐν ᾧ δ' μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας, κ.τ.λ. ἐν ᾧ, 'and this being so.' βεβαιότερος, 'safer than the hasty man.' οὐκ ἐλάσσου goes with περὶ αὐτόν, 'through his own fault as much as anything'; or, as we say, 'the man who retains his self-command in dealing with war is *the safest*': he who loses his head has *only* himself to blame for his disaster¹.
- ὀργή is excitement or 'flurry' generally; not only loss of temper. 'If you do not keep cool, you will miss the opportunities which cannot be foreseen, but which always come in the course of a war.'
1. 9. ἀντιπάλους, not 'enemies' but 'equals in strength.' οἷόν τιν' ἂν ᾦν, 'we might put up with it,' means, as the opposed clause, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι, κ.τ.λ., shows, 'we might sit still.'
1. 11. καὶ ἄθροοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη, κ.τ.λ., 'both the whole confederacy, and every race (Dorians, Aeolians, Achaeans, etc.), and every single town in it' (δορυ, locally, not πόλις, which would mean every political community)².
1. 16. ὑπὸ μᾶς κακοπαθεῖν refers, not to the prospective miseries of political slavery, but to the way in which the confederacy was at the present moment letting itself be ill-treated ('bullied') by Athens. ἐν ᾧ ἡ δικαίως, κ.τ.λ. 'And, things being so, we cannot but be thought (δοκοῦμεν ἂν) either to be getting no more than we deserve (i.e. to keep still because we know we are in the wrong), or to be submitting out of cowardice; and showing ourselves inferior to our fathers,' etc.
1. 23. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. 'For we cannot suppose (i.e. we strongly suspect) that you have shunned these errors only to take up with that most calamitous spirit of contempt (the only other possible explanation of your patience) which,' etc.
1. 24. καταφρόνησιν . . . ἀφροσύνη. The meaningless play on words is an instance of the element of weakness in Thucydides' writing, due to the influence of contemporary rhetoricians and sophists. See vol. i. Intr. ii.
1. 24. κευκήκατε is addressed to the assembled allies: though here, and throughout this part of the speech, the Corinthians are thinking mainly of the Lacedaemonians.
- Ch. 123.** 1. 2. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μαλλόντων, κ.τ.λ. 'With a view rather to

¹ Or, reading περὶ αὐτόν (τὸν πόλεμον) or περὶ αὐτῶν (these matters), each with a good MS., 'he who loses his head over a war gets most falls.'

² Cp. vi. 44 med. τῶν πόλεων οὐ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾷ οὐδὲ δορυ.

Ch. 121, l. 19—Ch. 125, l. 7.

the future, we must work hard in the service of the present.' *ἐπι- Ch. 123,*
ταλαιπωρεῖν, lit. 'toil over,' spend our labour in meeting the needs of 1. 2.
the present.

1. 3. *πάτριον γὰρ ἡμῖν . . . εἰ δὲ αὖ . . . προφέρεται*: similarly the speaker changes from the 1st pers. *ἔωμεν, ἀξιοῦμεν*, to the 2nd *κεχωρήκατε* above¹.

1. 8. *αὐτοῦ*, with *ξυλλήψεσθαι*, not with *ὑποσχομένον*.

1. 10. *ὠφέλια*, 'motives of advantage.' Grammar, § 1.

1. 10. *σπονδὰς . . . ἃς γὰρ* may be 'the treaty which,' or 'a treaty, which,' etc. See on ch. 67, l. 5.

1. 2. *ἡμῶν τὰδε κοινῇ παραινούμενων*. As the whole speech is ad- Ch. 124.
dressed, in form at least, to the allies (*ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι*, l. 10 below),
ἡμῶν . . . κοινῇ must mean 'we, in the name of Corinth.'

εἰπερ βεβαίωτατον τὸ ταῦτα ξυμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις εἶναι, κ.τ.λ., 'seeing that it is most assured that this course (war: *ταῦτα* = *τὰδε* above = *τὸ πολεμεῖν*) is to our interest both as states and as individuals,' not 'to the interest both of states and individuals' generally².

1. 5. *οὐ πρότερον ἢν τοῦναντίον*, 'for times have changed.' (Jowett.) The reference is to the boasted superiority of Dorians in war or to the expulsion of the Ionians from Peloponnese in consequence of the Dorian invasion:—'legendary' to us, historical to the Corinthians and Thucydides:—not to any previous siege of Ionians by Dorians.

1. 7. *εἰ γνωσθησόμεθα*, 'if it is to go abroad that.' Grammar, § 13.

1. 12. *τῆς . . . διὰ πλείονος ἐρήνης* is opposed to *τὸ αὐτίκα δευρόν*, 'setting your hearts upon the peace, though still distant, which it will bring,' *lit. 'at a longer interval.'*

1. 14. *οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον*. Remaining at peace, in our case, 'is not (really) so safe' as making war for the sake of ulterior peace.

1. 7. *ἐναντὶς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ*. About six months Ch. 125.
passed between the battle of Potidaea and the surprise of Plataea (ii. 2) and nearly three months (eighty days, ii. 19) between the surprise of Plataea and the invasion of Attica. Between the battle of Potidaea and the time at which Thucydides has now arrived, the allies had been invited to address the Lacedaemonian assembly and had dispersed again, the Delphic oracle had been consulted, and the assembly of the allies had been convened. So the time spoken of in *ἔλασσον δέ*, if the dates given in our present text of Thucydides are correct, is only seven or eight months: and the clause must be taken to lay stress on the rapidity, not the slowness, of the Peloponnesian preparations. 'They could not

¹ But many good MSS. read *ὑμῖν*.

² But it is better to read *ταῦτά* (a correction in one good MS.), 'since community of interest (*τὸ ταῦτά ξυμφέροντα εἶναι*) is the safest ground of action for states as for men,'—therefore, help against Athens those whom it is your interest to help.

Book I. Notes.

fight at once, but they meant to have no delay; delay, however, there was, but not of a whole year¹.

NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE THE WAR (126-146).

Ch. 126. If Thucydides had always written as he has done in ch. 126-138, no one would ever have called him 'harsh' or 'obscure' or even 'concise.' 'Some, admiring the perspicuity of the narrative about Cylon, have said, "here the lion smiled" (*λέον ἐγέλασεν ἐνταῦθα*),' remarks a scholium on 126-7. The grace and sympathy with which the stories of Cylon, Pausanias, and Themistocles are told, and the manner in which Thucydides strings them on the thread of the negotiations between Athens and Sparta, passing easily from one episode to another without regard to the order of time, remind us of Herodotus. The fate of Themistocles has nothing to do with the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and is related simply as a parallel to that of Pausanias. The concluding words of ch. 138 show how deeply Thucydides was moved by the tragic interest of the story, and the similarity between the life and death of the two great traitors who had once saved Hellas. 'Such was the end of Pausanias the Lacedaemonian and Themistocles the Athenian, the two most famous Hellenes of their day.'

Greek religious ideas.

These chapters also bring vividly before us the ancient feeling about the sacredness of suppliants, the 'corporate responsibility' of a city polluted by a crime, and the means by which the pollution might be removed: compare the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and the alarm caused at Athens by the outrages on the Hermæ and the Mysteries.—There is a curious passage in Lycurgus the orator, in which he expresses approval of the execution of Pausanias, and thus shows greater zeal for the honour of the Gods than Apollo himself, who insisted on the expiation of the deed².

It is strange that the Spartan government should, even as a preliminary to more serious negotiations, have made diplomatic representations to Athens about the connexion of Pericles with the Alcmaeonidae

¹ This rendering of *ἐλάσσον δέ* has been supported by Hdt. vii. 39 *τὴν μὲν δέξιν οὐ λάμψαι, ἐλάσσον δὲ τῆς δέξιν*, where, as the context shows, the meaning is 'considerably less than your deserts.' But, though not impossible, it is very harsh; going by the present passage alone we should certainly translate 'a whole year did not elapse, but nearly a whole year,' implying more than seven or eight months. This is the second time in Bk. i in which a difficulty is caused by the words *ἐπεφ' μηνί* in ii. 2, and we are led to suspect their genuineness. Cp. p. 52, footnote 1.

² Lycurg. c. Leocr. 129, p. 166 *καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπίσημον ἐποίησαν τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὅτι οὐδ' αἱ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίαι τοῖς προδόταις βοηθοῦσιν, εἰκότας οὐδὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβοῦσι, τῶν πατρῶων νομίμων αὐτοὺς ἀποστεροῦντες.*

Ch. 126, l. 5—l. 18.

or should have expected to produce any impression whatever on the minds of men who were by this time *εὐθείης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένοι μάλλον*. They probably judged of the Athenians by themselves, and we know from Thuc. v. 16 med., that the irregular restoration of the Spartan king Pleistoanax was used by his enemies, whenever anything went wrong, to work upon the scruples of the people, *ὥς διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον παρανομθεῖσαν ταῦτα ξυμβαίνει*.

l. 5. τὸ ἄγος ἱλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ, 'to drive away the curse of the Goddess,' by expelling the men who had brought her curse upon the land.

l. 7. Κύλων ἦν, 'there was one Cylon,' etc. See Abbott vol. i. 9. 15, 16; Oman, p. 104¹.

l. 13. Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. There was a festival called the 'Olympia' also at Athens, and in Macedonia.

l. 16. αὐτῷ τι προσήκειν, 'had some connexion with himself,' 'was after a manner *his* day.'

l. 17. οὐκ ἐκέλευε εἶτι κατενόησε . . . οὐκ ἐβήλου, 'he did not stop to make out, and the oracle never told him,' or 'left untold.'

l. 18. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους Διάσια δὲ καλεῖται Διὸς ἱερὰ τῇ Μελιχίῳ μεγίστη, 'for the Athenians also have a Diasia, which is called 'the greatest festival of Zeus Mellichios.' So the words must be translated as they stand: but the sense required is, 'The Athenians also have a festival of Zeus, the Diasia, in honour of Zeus Mellichios, which is called "the greatest festival of Zeus."' In this and the following passage the explanations of commentators may have got mixed with the original text. *Διάσια* implies, by its derivation, 'feast of Zeus'; so that the want of logic in the καὶ (implying that the Olympian festival was also called *Διάσια*) is hardly felt. We must either leave out *Μελιχίου* or suppose that there were other festivals of Zeus Mellichios besides the Diasia.

The Diasia was an old festival which had already lost some of its importance since the time of Cylon, perhaps because newer worships, e.g. of Dionysus, and of Demeter and Persephone, had become popular².

¹ The first complete sentence of [Aristotle] Athen. Polit. § 1 (*καταγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀγο[υ]ς [αὐ]τοὶ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἐφυγεν δειφύγλαν*) puts the banishment of those implicated in the death of Cylon's adherents before the legislation of Draco, which is assigned on late authority to about 621. Hence the attempt of Cylon may be assigned to 632 or 628; it was in any case in an Olympic year, as Thucydides' narrative shows. See further n. on ch. 126, l. 39.

² A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, pp. 379–386. In Aristophanes, *Clouds* 407, 864, the Diasia appears in a more homely light as a festival at which Strepsiades gets singed by the bursting of a haggis which he meant to enjoy at a family party; and at which he buys his little boy a toy-cart with the first obol which he ever got for sitting on a jury.

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Ch. 126, Meilichios, 'gentle' or 'reconciled,' was a title given to other deities as well as to Zeus. The epithet may be euphemistic like *Εὐμενίδες*¹.

l. 18.

l. 20. *πανδημί* means that the festival was kept by the whole people together; not by particular clans or demes, or by the whole people in their several districts.

l. 21. *θύματα ἐπιχώρια*². A scholium here says that these were 'cakes made into the shape of animals.' If this is correct, *πολλοί* may refer to the poorer citizens, and we may compare, with Arnold, Hdt. ii. 47, where 'the poorer Egyptians sacrifice dough figures of swine to the Moon'.³

l. 21. *ὀρθῶς γινώσκων*, 'that he understood correctly' the meaning of the oracle.

l. 26. *αὐτοκράτορι διαθεῖναι*, i. e. the archons were to be solely responsible for the blockade and for disposing of Cylon and his followers when taken. This detail is mentioned, because it shows that the guilt of what followed lay with the archons and not with the Athenian people. Megacles the Alcmaeonid was one of these archons, according to Plutarch, Solon, c. 12.

l. 27. *τότε δέ, κ.τ.λ.* In later times, the functions of the archons were mostly transferred to the *στρατηγοί* and other magistrates who were elected, and not, like the archons, chosen by lot.

Herodotus says (v. 71) that 'the heads of the Naucrari', who then administered the affairs of Athens, raised up the suppliants, who were to be liable to any punishment short of death, but as for their slaughter, the Alcmaeonidae are charged with that.' So his account

¹ Xen. Anab. vii. 8. 4-6, relates how he came back from the famous Retreat so poor that he had to sell his horse; how he met a sooth-sayer who was led by bad omens to ask him whether he had sacrificed during his absence to Zeus Meilichios, 'as I used to do for you all at home'; how Xenophon confessed that he had not, but promptly did so, and how on that very day money came for himself and his army and he recovered his horse through the kindness of some friends.

² Pollux, an encyclopaedic writer of the end of the second century A. D., says (i. 26) *τὰ δὲ ἀρώματα καὶ (also) θυμιάματα καλεῖται*. *Θουκυδίδης δ' αὐτὰ εἰρηκεν ἀγνὰ θύματα πρὸς* (in opposition to) *τὰ αἱμάσσοντα καὶ σφαττόμενα*. Hence some editors read *ἀλλ' ἀγνὰ θύματα* in the text of Thucydides here. Plato, Laws 782 C, uses the expression *ἀγνὰ θύματα*. Pollux may have quoted Thucydides by a slip for Plato, as he quotes Xenophon for Thucydides (iv. 121 *ἐταιρίων*) in iii. 152; but if so, he must have misunderstood Plato, who is referring, not to incense (*θυμιάματα*) but to meat-offerings and drink-offerings.

³ Dict. Ant. s.v. 'Sacrificium,' pp. 582, 583, gives interesting instances of the substitution of lifeless for living sacrifices, or of animals and things for human beings.

⁴ *οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων*. The 'naucrari' were financial officers; one for each of the forty-eight 'naucrariae,' or divisions of the four old tribes (Athen. Polit. 8, 3; Abbott, vol. i. 9. 16).

Ch. 126, l. 20—Ch. 127, l. 8.

differs from that of Thucydides. He is probably giving the version of the story least unfavourable to the Alcmaeonidae, whom he elsewhere vigorously defends from the charge of Medism. **Ch. 126, l. 27.**

l. 32. ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν: probably the altar of Athene Polias in the old Erechtheum, the most ancient sanctuary of Athene at Athens, destroyed in the Persian war.

l. 36. καθεζομένους δέ τινας, κ.τ.λ. ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ, 'as they were being led by,' and all the words preceding it, go with καθεζομένους, not with διερχόμενοι. 'Some of them too, who took sanctuary in the presence of the Awful Goddesses at their altars' as they were passing by, they put to death.' ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ could not be said of the murderers, who must have followed their victims to the altar, not killed them in passing. The altar of the Eumenides was probably that at their famous shrine near the Areopagus, west of the Acropolis.

l. 39. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ. Thucydides gives the facts very briefly. The first expulsion of the Alcmaeonidae appears from the detailed account in Plutarch, confirmed by Athen. Polit. § 1, cited above, to have taken place some years after their crime. The second expulsion mentioned by Thucydides was that of Cleisthenes and others in 508, quickly followed by his recall and the completion of his political reforms (Abbott, vol. i. 15. 19, Oman, p. 160). Thucydides has no occasion to mention the intermediate exile of the Alcmaeonidae after the final establishment of the power of Pisistratus, because it had nothing to do with the guilt attaching to them. For the connexion between Pericles and the Alcmaeonidae, see further in Appendix.

l. 41. μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, 'with a party of the Athenians who were at strife with the rest,' i. e. Isagoras and the aristocratic party.

l. 42. τοὺς τε ζῶντας, κ.τ.λ. 'Both banishing the living, and they took up and cast out the bones of the dead': a slight change of construction. The Athen. Polit. § 1 shows that τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ δαστὰ ἀνελάοντες below was true of the first and not only of this second expulsion.

l. 2. ὅθεν here emphasizes the words which follow it.

Ch. 127.

l. 8. ἔγων τὴν πολιτείαν, directing the whole affairs of the city.

Thucydides takes up the story of Pausanias where he left it at ch. 95, after his first recall from the Hellespont in 478, but immediately digresses into a fuller account of his treasonable correspondence with the King and of the arrogance which led to his recall. **Ch. 128.**

The dates of his departure from Sparta in the 'ship of Hermione,' of his expulsion from Byzantium (put, on weak authority, about 470), and of his second recall are quite uncertain. If the denunciation of Themistocles to the Athenian government followed soon after Pausanias' death,

Chronology of Pausanias' last years.

¹ ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς adds nothing to ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν and is probably a gloss, as suggested by Dobree.

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as we may perhaps infer from ch. 135, his death was not earlier than the ostracism of Themistocles, which is assigned on late authority to 471: this gives at least seven years of residence under suspicion in Sparta, Byzantium, Colonaë, and Sparta again.

His relations to Sparta and Athens.

In Thucydides' narrative the personal interest prevails over the historical, and we seek in vain for an answer to the question, What were his exact relations with the Spartan government? and what were the circumstances of his expulsion from Byzantium by the Athenians? He went out without the authority of the ephors (*ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς . . . ἀνευ Λακεδαιμονίων . . . οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν*, ch. 128, ll. 11, 12; 131, l. 3), but he was all the time a Spartan magistrate (as regent and guardian of Plistarchus; ch. 132, l. 4; note on ch. 131, l. 14), for how else should he have read a *συντάλη* or secret despatch to which Spartan officials only held the key (ch. 131, l. 9)? He seems to have wished, as far as he could without actually breaking with the home government, to assume the position of a private adventurer, such as Histiaeus maintained for a time before him, and Alcibiades later.

The words *ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίβη ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκηθείς* (ch. 131, l. 4) imply a forcible expulsion, of which we should like to know more, but we have no right to assume, on very doubtful and indirect evidence, that he installed himself in full possession of Byzantium and was regularly besieged by the Athenian forces¹. Thucydides uses the same strong word (*ἐξεπολιορκησαν λιμῇ*) of his starvation in the temple of Athene.

Ch. 128. l. 1. τὸ ἀπὸ Ταϊνάρου ἄγος, 'the pollution coming upon them from—incurred upon—Mount Taenarus.' ἀπὸ Ταϊνάρου just below is local after *ἀναστήσαντες*, 'raising them up from,' implying a pledge of safety.

l. 26. ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης, 'commander of the forces of Sparta.' Glossary.

l. 28. γινώμην ποιεῖμαι, 'I propose.' Glossary, s.v. γινώμην ποιεῖσθαι.

Ch. 129. l. 3. Δασκυλίην, of Dascylium.

l. 6. τὴν σφραγίδα ἀποδειξάι, 'show him the royal seal,' that is to say, through the messenger whom he sent. The same ceremony is mentioned in connexion with the reading of a letter from the King, Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 1. 30, vii. 1. 39.

l. 12. εὐεργεσία² means the kindness which the King owed to Pausanias; hence the genitive τῶν ἀνδρῶν, 'Not only is a kindness in return for the men whom thou sentest safely over sea to me from Byzantium set down as thy due in a record in our house for ever.'

¹ See Abbott, vol. ii. p. 262, note.

² Cp. ch. 128, l. 16 εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλεία κατέθετο: 137, l. 24 καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὑφίκειται.

Ch. 128, l. 1—Ch. 132, ll. 7, 8.

l. 13. ἀνάγραφτος refers to the Persian custom mentioned in Hdt. **Ch. 129**, viii. 85 εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη, and in the Book of Esther l. 13. ii. 21–23; vi. 1–3¹.

l. 5. διὰ τῆς Θράκης. The Persian garrisons had not yet been expelled from Thrace: Pausanias may have communicated with them; in any case he behaved as if he were a Persian governor, like Boges or Mascames (Hdt. vii. 106, 107), and were holding Byzantium under the King, and not for the Greeks.

l. 7. κατέχων τὴν διάνοιαν, 'restrain his ambition.' τῇ γνώμῃ below, 'in his intention,' goes with ἐμελλε.

l. 2. ἀνεκάλεσαν, translate, 'had recalled him.' Thucydides re- **Ch. 131**. capitulates after a long digression.

l. 9. τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι, 'to come back at once along with the herald.'

l. 14. τὸν βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο, 'to the king himself,' much more to Pausanias, who was only the king's cousin and guardian. αὐτόν may easily have dropped out before τόν.

l. 2. οὔτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις. The distinction corresponds **Ch. 132**. to the private and public charges against Pausanias already mentioned, ch. 95 τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων εὐθύνῃ, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν.

l. 7. μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσιν, 'that he wished to rise above—was not contented with—his position' as a magistrate of a free state. A departure from established usage was no trivial matter in a powerful Greek citizen: the constitution of the πόλις was unstable to a degree which it is hard for us in a great modern state to realize.

ll. 7, 8. τὰ τε ἄλλα . . . καὶ ὅτι = καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα . . . καὶ ὅτι². The distich was the work of Simonides. The bronze stand which supported the tripod (and which Thucydides does not distinguish from it) still exists in the hippodrome at Constantinople, having inscribed on it the names of the cities which joined in the Persian war³. It is eighteen feet high, in the form of three serpents twisted together; a place where the surface of one of the coils has apparently been scraped flat may possibly be a trace of the erasure of Pausanias' inscription.

¹ 'On that night could not the king sleep; and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles, and they were read before the king. And it was found written, that Mordecai had told of Big-thana and Teresh, two of the king's chamberlains, of those that kept the door, who had sought to lay hands on the king Ahasuerus.'

² Cp. p. 78, footnote 2.

³ See Hdt. ix. 81; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. 17; Röhl, I. G. A. 70; Abbott, vol. ii. §. 16; Hicks, Manual of Gk. Inscriptions, 11,

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- Ch. 132.** 1. 14. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔλεγαιον . . . τοῦ μόντοι Πανσανίου. *μόντοι* means that, even after the offending inscription had been erased, Pausanias remained under a cloud.
1. 14. 1. 17. καὶ τοῦτο . . . καὶ ἐπειδή, 'not only did this action (τοῦτο) look like a crime on the part of Pausanias, but when he had become involved in the present charge' (ἐν τούτῳ)¹, etc.
1. 18. πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ, 'the action received a far darker colour from its likeness to his present design,' *lit.* 'seemed to have been done much more like his present design.' Of course the inscription on the tripod could not 'seem like his present design' at all, before the latter was formed, so that πολλῷ μᾶλλον is slightly incorrect; but Thucydides only means 'seemed much more treasonable, as his present design was.'
1. 21. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως, 'and it really was so' (note on ch. 9, l. 19).
1. 29. παιδικὰ ποτε ὦν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, 'a former favourite of his, and most trusted by him,' αὐτοῦ and ἐκείνῳ both referring to Pausanias.
1. 32. καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγίδα, κ.τ.λ. καὶ joins, not δείσας and παραποιησάμενος, but μηνυτῆς γίγνεται and λυεῖ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, though λυεῖ τὰς ἐπιστολάς *in point of time* precedes μηνυτῆς γίγνεται.
- Ch. 133.** 1. 1. τότε δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι, κ.τ.λ. The main verb of the whole sentence is ᾗσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς. The circumstances which led to the discovery are expressed in a series of genitives absolute, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς (by arrangement) οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου . . . , καὶ Πανσανίου ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος.
1. 3. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is not genitive after παρασκευῆς. διπλὴν διαφράγματι = 'divided by a partition.'
1. 5. ἐς ἣν τῶν [τε] ἐφόρων ἐντός τινος ἔκρυψε. *τέ* can have no grammatical connexion with the καὶ beginning the next clause, which is completely outside and independent of the short relative clause ἐς ἣν . . . ἔκρυψε. It should be neglected in translation².
1. 10. προτιμηθεῖν ἐν ἴσῳ is an ironical contradiction in terms: 'his preferment was to be treated like the rest, and be put to death.'
1. 13. πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ δίδοντας τῆς ἀναστάσεως, 'offering him a pledge in the form of raising him from his place in the sanctuary.'
- Ch. 134.** 1. 11. ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἶσω, 'Making sure that he was within, and cutting off his retreat.'

¹ καὶ τότε, a correction for καὶ τοῦτο (Struve), gives a better opposition to καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθίστηται. It also avoids the awkwardness of τοῦτο and ἐν τούτῳ referring to two different things.

² It may very well have been written because Thucydides thought for a moment of the presence of the ephors and Pausanias in the same place; although he did not complete the expression of the idea by writing ἦλθε καὶ ἡρώτα for ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος in the next clause.

Ch. 132, l. 14—Ch. 136, l. 18.

l. 14. αλοθόμενοι τε ἐξάγουσιν ... καὶ ἐξαχθείς, κ.τ.λ. τε ... καὶ and Ch. 134, the repetition ἐξάγουσιν, ἐξαχθείς mean, 'no sooner had they perceived l. 14. it and brought him out, than he straightway died.'

l. 17. ἔπειτα ἵδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι, i. e. near the Caeadas, which was a ravine near the city like the βάραθρον at Athens.

l. 23. ἀνδριάντας δύο. These two statues (of Pausanias) were still to be seen at Sparta in the time of Pausanias the geographer and antiquarian (iii. 17. 7), more than six centuries later.

l. 7. γάρ explains πέμπονσι which follows, not πεισθέντες. The circumstances of Themistocles' ostracism can only be conjectured; 471 is Ch. 135. probably the date. For the different versions of his story, none of which are preferable to that in Thucydides, though some of them are earlier, see Intr. ii. to Part i; Abbott, vol. ii. 7. 12, 13.

Argos, it should be remembered, had incurred suspicion by remaining neutral in the Persian war, and was about this time engaged in war with Sparta, as were other states in the Peloponnese (Hdt. ix. 35). Hence the Spartans had very good reason for objecting to the residence of Themistocles there and his visits to other places.

l. 2. ὃν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. According to a scholium on this passage, Ch. 136. he had prevented the Greeks from destroying Corcyra for her neutrality in the war with Persia; according to Plutarch (Themist. 24) he had decided for Corcyra when called upon to settle a dispute with Corinth.

l. 6. κατὰ πίστιν ἢ χωροίη: lit. 'according to inquiry which way he was going.'

l. 6. κατὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, 'in consequence of a difficulty'; an accident, a flooded river, or the like.

l. 12. οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, 'claims,' or 'requires, of him not to,' etc.

l. 13. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἰσχυρότερος ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναῖον δὲ εἶναι τοῦτο ὁμοίους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. 'I,' says Themistocles, 'might suffer, in my helpless condition, at the hands of one far less strong than you'¹ (ὅτι ἀνδρὸς πολλῷ ἰσχυρότερος ἢ ἐκείνός ἐστι), 'whereas honour bids us revenge ourselves upon our equals only when we are equally matched': i. e. it is ungenerous to take at a disadvantage those who are as good as ourselves (fellow Greeks and freemen, or, men of similar standing in other states).

l. 16. χρεῖας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, 'in the matter of a request.' ἵνεκα is generally found governing such genitives. τό goes with σώζεσθαι, not with σῶμα. (Shilleto.)

l. 18. σωτηρίας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερήσαι, may here mean 'would meanly refuse him the preservation of his life': see note on ch. 69, l. 3.

¹ But ἰσχυρότερος (l. 14), which is found as a correction in one MS., gives a far simpler and better sense. 'If you ill-treat me now, you ill-treat one far weaker than yourself.'

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- Ch. 136.** 1. 19. ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθήζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο.
1. 18. The first καὶ is not connected with the second, but goes with ὥσπερ. καὶ μέγιστον . . . τοῦτο is parenthetic. καὶ ὕστερον follows ἀνίστησί τε.

- Ch. 137.** 1. 4. τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, as we should say 'in Macedonia,' of which Alexander was at this time king.

1. 22. τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπὶόντα ἑμοί. Themistocles talks as if he stood in the same relation to Greece as the Great King to Persia.

1. 25. γράψας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως. These words probably refer to a message sent by Themistocles immediately after the battle of Salamis to the King, 'warning him to retreat' as quickly as possible, for fear the Greeks should break down the bridges over the Hellespont. We know nothing of such a message except from Plutarch and other late authors; but Thucydides' words here imply that he believed something of the kind to have taken place. The passage cannot without difficulty be supposed to refer to either of the messages said by Herodotus to have been sent by Themistocles to the King—one before the battle of Salamis, warning him that the Greek fleet meant to retreat, and one from Andros (not Salamis) telling him that he might retreat at his leisure. See Appendix.

1. 26. ἦν ψευδὴς προσποιήσαστο. It was true that Themistocles had dissuaded the Athenians from going and breaking down the two bridges over the Hellespont: how then can Thucydides say that he *falsely* claimed the credit of saving the bridges? Because he had, to begin with, urged the whole Greek fleet to go and break them down; the Spartans and Corinthians rejected the proposal, but the Athenians wished to go by themselves: then, and not till then, Themistocles dissuaded them. The credit which he claimed really belonged to the Spartans and Corinthians. (Hdt. viii. 108–110.)

- Ch. 138.** 1. 1. τὴν δianoian. 'The character' of the man as shown in the letter and in the boldness of his action.

1. 6. τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν—τὴν ἐλπίδα ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ, δουλώσειν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ, 'about all the Hellenes.' δουλώσειν (act. not neut.), 'that he,' Themistocles, 'would bring them into slavery to the King.'

1. 9. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, κ.τ.λ. The reader should observe (a) the emphasis on φύσεως, which is the keynote of the whole passage, and the rough and almost clumsy energy of expression in διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἀξιος θαυμάσαι¹: (b) the elaborate antithesis in the sentence τῶν τε παραχρήμα . . . οὐκ ἀπὸλλακτο.

¹ Cp. ii. 60 fin. εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἑτέραν προσεῖναι αὐτά (where 'even in a moderate degree more than others' is like 'in a special degree more than others' here): iv. 3 fin. τῷ δὲ διάφορον τι ἰδῶκει εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἑτέρου μᾶλλον: viii. 68 med. παρέσχε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φρίνυχος ταυτὸν πάντων διαφερόντως προθυμώτατον ἐς τὴν ἐλιγαρχίαν.

Ch. 136, l. 19—Ch. 138, l. 24.

ll. 9. 10. ἦν γὰρ . . . δηλώσας, 'was a man who had displayed'.

Ch. 138,

l. 11. οὕτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐπιμαθὼν. 'By his native wit, which was unassisted by knowledge acquired either previously or at the time.' ἐπι- = 'after the occasion for action had arisen.' Themistocles would take the right course without previous knowledge of the circumstances and without 'getting them up' on the spur of the moment. He 'saw into the heart of the situation,' and did not have to go round asking questions about people's characters or otherwise making sure of his ground¹.

l. 9.

l. 12. τῶν παραχρήμα is governed by γνώμων: τῶν μελλόντων by εἰκαστής. 'No one could more ably judge of the present with less time for thinking: no one could better guess the secrets of the remotest future' ('of the future to the utmost of what was coming').

l. 14. καὶ ἂ μὲν μετὰ χειρὸς ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε, κ.τ.λ. 'Whatever he had in hand,' and therefore knew something about, is rather imperfectly and indirectly opposed to ὃν ἀπειρος εἶη, 'what he had no experience of.' 'He could explain to others what he was doing, and was not unable to pass a sound judgment on what he had never done himself.' Thucydides often has in mind the distinction between ability to do a thing and to explain it (ἐξηγήσασθαι); and again, between ability to originate a course of action, and to give a sound judgment on it when proposed by others².

l. 16. τὸ τε ἀμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ἐτι προεώρα μάλιστα, i.e. the better result which would follow from one line of action—the worse result which would follow from another—when he had to choose between them: the prospective advantages or disadvantages of a given policy (Jowett).

l. 18. φύσει μὲν δυνάμει μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι, 'by force of intellect; with little time for preparation': two different senses, as we should express it, of the dative.

l. 24. δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν . . . Λάμψακον . . . Μυσοῦντα. Lampsacus was on the coast of the Hellespont; Myus was very near the sea and close to Miletus. How can Artaxerxes have 'given them' to Themistocles at a time later than 465, long after Ionia and the Hellespont had been freed from the Persians? The simplest explanation, though we know nothing positive, is that the revenues of cities

¹ Or a comma may be placed after Θεμιστοκλῆς and δηλώσας, and καί may emphasize διαφερόντως.

² It seems to be over-refining to suppose that Thucydides intends by these words to contradict Herodotus' story (viii. 57), according to which Themistocles did not realize the importance of the Greek fleet remaining at Salamis until it was suggested to him by Mnesiphilus.

³ Cp. for the first, ii. 60 ὅς οὐδενὸς οἶμαι ἦσαν εἶναι γνώσας τε τὰ θέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα; and for the second, ii. 40 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κρίνμεν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα.

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Ch. 138, which were at the time in the hands of the Greeks were assigned to Themistocles, to be enjoyed by him when he could conquer them for the King¹. We know (Thuc. viii. 5), that after the Sicilian expedition the King demanded from a satrap the tribute which he had been unable, 'because of the Athenians,' to exact from the Greek cities in his satrapy. This shows that the Persian court maintained, in theory at least, its right over the Greek cities. See further in Appendix.

There is no difficulty about Magnesia, the only town from which Thucydides mentions a definite sum of money as coming in to Themistocles: for Magnesia on the Maeander, above Myus, is some twenty miles from the sea.

l. 27. *ἄψον*, anything besides bread².

Ch. 139. The 'Megarian decree' was a measure of great importance; for the Megarians might, by commercial disadvantages, have been induced to rejoin the Athenian alliance, the passes of the Megarid might have been permanently occupied, and a Peloponnesian invasion by land rendered impossible. The precise date of the decree is unknown, but it must have been passed between the Thirty Years' Truce (445) and the autumn of 432, when the Megarians complained of it at Sparta (i. 67), and was probably passed not long before the outbreak of the war (Aristoph. *Ach.* 515-539).

Serious
demands
of Sparta.

There is a story (Plut. *Pericles*, 30, and other late authors) of an Athenian herald, Anthemocritus, who was sent to demand reparation from the Megarians, and so roughly handled that his subsequent death was attributed to them. There was apparently a statue of Anthemocritus at Athens commemorating his fate. The silence of Thucydides need not cause any difficulty. He describes the matters of Potidaea and Corcyra at length because they led to actual fighting: he dismisses the affair of Megara (equally a pretext for the war) in a few words because it did not.

l. 10. *τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀόριστου*. We do not know whether the 'consecrated ground' and the 'uninclosed ground' were the same or, as the repetition of the article rather indicates, different. *ἀόριστος* again may mean 'not inclosed as private property,' or 'not included in the boundaries either of Attica or Megara'; a 'neutral zone.'

¹ Busolt. vol. ii. pp. 394, 395; so Abbott, vol. ii. p. 286, note 1.

² There is a curious illustration of the wide meaning of the word in Xen. *Cyropaedia*, i. 2. 11, where the young Persians, on their hunting expeditions, have as *ἄψον* to their bread, *either* the game or venison which they take, *or* the 'cress' which they have brought with them. (*καὶ ἄψον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν οἱ τηλικούτοι δ' τι ἂν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ κάρδαμον*).

Ch. 138, l. 27—Ch. 139, l. 22.

l. 11. ἀνδραποδῶν ὑποδοχὴν. We have no warrant for seriously connecting this passage with the story in Aristophanes, *Ach.* 525, about Pericles and Aspasia's slave-girls stolen by the Megarians; one of the many pieces of scandal current about Pericles, or perhaps a mere joke of the poet, not intended to be believed. Ch. 139, l. 11.

l. 14. ὃν πρότερον εἰσέθεσαν, is explained by φοιτῶντες in l. 3 above. The Lacedaemonians had sent several embassies.

l. 22. πρότερος Ἀθηναίων, κ.τ.λ. Pericles has already been mentioned, *ch.* 127. But he is more formally introduced to the reader, as Athens' 'greatest orator and statesman' by way of preface to his first reported speech.

We have already had in Book I two forecasts of the coming war: one from Archidamus (*ch.* 80-83), and one from the Corinthians (*ch.* 121, 122). We now have a third from Pericles. A comparison of them with the actual course of the war will show with what dramatic propriety Thucydides has put before us the reasonable fears of Archidamus, the reasonable hopes of Pericles, both belied by the event, and the sagacious and accurate estimate of the Corinthians. The three forecasts of the War in Book I.

The Peloponnesian war was an equal and protracted struggle, in which first one side then the other was brought to the verge of overthrow by unforeseen and often accidental disasters; such as the plague, the occupation of Pylos and the loss of the Spartans on Sphacteria, the battle of Delium and the loss of Amphipolis, the Sicilian disaster, the near approach to civil war at Athens in 411; the Peloponnesian defeat at Cyzicus; the help given to Lysander by Cyrus, and finally the almost incredible carelessness or treachery which brought about the catastrophe at Aegospotami.

Now the speeches delivered at the beginning of the war, though in places they are coloured and made more definite by Thucydides' knowledge of subsequent events, are not allowed by him to anticipate anything which could not in some measure have been anticipated in 432. They may very well 'keep to the general sense of what was actually said': in any case they do not correspond in all respects with the actual course of events.

(i) Archidamus assumes as a matter of course that his hearers are unwilling to engage in 'a long war': and he never contemplates the possibility of the Peloponnesians making up their deficiencies in ships and money during its course, although he urges them to do so before they begin it. Now we know that, thanks to the Syracusans and Corinthians, the Peloponnesians raised their navy to an equality both in numbers and skill with that of Athens. And of financial difficulties (though this may be accidental), we hear less on their side than on the Athenian side. In the same way, Archidamus takes for granted that no serious attempt (i) Archidamus.

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will be made to raise a revolt among the Athenian allies. He is anticipating the action of men like Alcidas, and his ridiculous dash across the Aegean to relieve Mitylene (iii. 29. 33), not men like Brasidas and his march through Thessaly to Chalcidice (iv. 78).

(ii) Pericles.

(ii) Just as Archidamus in his forecast of the war takes for granted that the Spartan character and mode of warfare will remain, for good and evil, what they have been in the past, so does Pericles (i. 140-144) promise success to Athens only if his own cautious policy is maintained: 'I dread our own mistakes more than the designs of the enemy' (ch. 144). And he says many things which were true, but which, as it happened, were not decisive. The Peloponnesians *were* hampered by the difficulties of which he speaks—want of unity in their confederacy (which at one time, after the peace of Nicias, fell to pieces), defective seamanship, the sloth by which they lost so many chances; but they persevered and brought the war to a triumphant close in spite of them all. Pericles maintains that an *ἐπιεικής* cannot do so much harm to Athens as the Athenians can do to the Peloponnesians by ravaging the coast. It is true that such incursions (combined with other disasters) almost brought the Spartans to despair in 424 (iv. 55). But the mischief thus done is not to be compared with the blow inflicted on Athens by the fortification of Decelea in 414. When however the Spartans fortified Decelea and maintained a permanent garrison there till the end of the war, it was under circumstances which Pericles would have regarded with horror could he have foreseen them: the best part of the strength of Athens had been imperilled and lost in Sicily; the most important cities in the empire were disaffected or had revolted; and (after 411) there was a revolution or an angry and unreconciled oligarchical party at home (ii. 65 fin.).

Lastly, neither Archidamus nor Pericles (either here, ch. 141, l. 31, or in the Funeral Oration, ii. 39) are represented as fully realising the immense advantage which the Peloponnesian confederacy possessed, at some of the most critical points of the war—Delium, Mantinea, and above all in the night battle at Epipolae, vii. 43 fin.)—in the numbers and steadiness of the Boeotian and Spartan infantry.

(iii) The Corinthians.

(iii) The speech of the Corinthians (i. 120-124) seems to be intended by Thucydides for a forecast as nearly accurate as possible of the actual result. Archidamus and Pericles are only so far correct that in the first ten years of the war neither side could conquer the other. The Corinthians foresee more remote contingencies, they lay stress on the very things which proved decisive—the superior numbers and discipline of the Peloponnesians, the possibility of revolt among the Athenian allies and of an *ἐπιεικής*: they point out the necessity and possibility of improvement in seamanship; and while admitting the difficulty they insist on the value of unity among the various members of the league. Their

Ch. 140, l. 4—l. 25.

anticipations, largely through their own exertions, were realised, and their prediction that a single defeat at sea would overthrow Athens, though not literally correct, proved not far wrong; and is a striking instance, if it was not actually spoken, of the dramatic art of Thucydides.

We do not know that, except under the peculiar circumstances of the Sicilian expedition (vii. 13) the Athenian navy suffered much from desertion (i. 121). Lysander (Hell. i. 5. 4) asks Cyrus to increase the pay of the Peloponnesian seamen on the ground that it will induce the Athenian sailors to desert.

Nor is it certain how the Peloponnesians succeeded in paying their way during the war before they gained the help of Cyrus. We never hear of the loans from Delphi and Olympia suggested by the Corinthians. Probably their other suggestion was adopted, and although no regular 'tribute' was imposed (i. 19) payments in money and kind, such as Thucydides occasionally mentions, were levied from the allies¹ when required.

l. 4. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς, κ.τ.λ. Not 'misfortunes' but 'what Ch. 140. happens' to them; much as in τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων below.

l. 7. ἢ μὴδὲ κατορθοῦντας, κ.τ.λ., 'or equally, if they succeed, not to claim,' etc.

l. 8. ἐνδέχεται γάρ, κ.τ.λ. γάρ explains why failure does not always condemn a policy. 'For the course of events may well be quite as wayward and unintelligible as the minds of men' (to whose unreasonable changes of temper Pericles has just been referring) 'and this is the reason why we usually charge upon fortune all that contradicts our expectations': i. e. because so much happens which cannot be accounted for by any known cause.

l. 23. εἰ καθαιρεθείη, μὴ ἂν γίνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον is in 'oratio obliqua' explaining δπερ, for it is what the Lacedaemonians say when they 'make so much of the decree': 'telling us that if it were rescinded, the war would never come.'

l. 25. αἰτίαν, 'self-reproach': Glossary.

τὸ γὰρ βραχὺ τι, κ.τ.λ. 'For this one small point means all that can confirm and that can try your resolution: if you do what they want,' etc. Thucydides says 'confirmation and trial,' not (which might seem more forcible) 'trial and confirmation' because as the following words show, he really means 'confirmation or overthrow' of your purpose²: 'trial' suggests 'failure.'

Pericles is represented by Thucydides as exactly divining the intention

¹ Thuc. ii. 10; vii. 18; viii. 2. There is also evidence of such payments, perhaps however at an earlier date, in an inscription (see Appendix).

² Such apparent inversions cannot really be explained by a phrase like 'hysteron-proteron': there is generally some logical or rhetorical reason for them.

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Ch. 140, of the Lacedaemonians : they had made up their minds to fight, whatever concessions Athens might make (ch. 126, ll. 1-3).

l. 25. *καὶ τοῦτο*, 'this first point.' Grammar, § 19.

Ch. 141. l. 1. *αὐτῶν δὲ διανοήθητε*, κ.τ.λ. *διανοήθητε* takes two different constructions after it—first *ἀπακούειν*, then *μὴ εἰζόντες*, the participial construction expressing the firmer resolution 'not to yield.' Grammar, § 29.

l. 5. *ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων*, masc., 'coming from equals': *πρὸ δίκης*, before, i. e. without, offering or accepting arbitration.

l. 7. *τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου*, κ.τ.λ., 'as to the prospects of the war, and as to our respective resources generally.'

l. 9. *αὐτουργοί*, i. e. not keeping slaves, but working on their farms with their own hands.

l. 10. *οὐτ' ἐν κοινῷ*, 'nor in any public treasury': cp. note on ch. 80, l. 18.

l. 11. *διὰ τὸ βραχέως*, κ.τ.λ., 'because they are too poor to do more than carry on war in person, against each other (i. e. without employing mercenaries, and within the limits of the Peloponnese) and for short periods.'

l. 12. *οὔτε ναὺς πληροῦντες*, κ.τ.λ. *ἐκπέμπειν* governs *ναῦς* as well as *στρατιάς*. *πληροῦντες* = *πληροῦντες αὐτάς*.

l. 13. *ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων*, κ.τ.λ. They cannot send out a succession of fleets and armies : they will have to spend their own money (not receiving state pay) at the very time when their farms are suffering from their absence¹. They will be cut off from commerce by our cruisers, so that nothing can be imported by sea. They will be unable to accumulate money (as we have done) : forced exactions will be their only resource : these never come to much, and will be very unpopular. A population of yeomen will fight bravely enough in the field, for they are not afraid of death ; but they will soon tire of the expense of war, and be anxious lest their resources should be exhausted before victory comes within sight.

l. 19. *ἄλλως τε κἂν παρὰ δέξαν*, κ.τ.λ., 'especially are they likely to be anxious about the drain upon their resources if they find that the war in which they are engaged goes on longer than they expected ; as it very well may.' The clause *ἄλλως τε κἂν*, κ.τ.λ., is a reflection of the speaker's, not, like *προαναλάβειν*, part of the fears of men like the Peloponnesians, in which case there would be an absurd contradiction in terms : 'they are afraid that their money may all be spent, especially if the war goes on longer than they expect, which is very likely.'

l. 21. *μάχη μὲν γὰρ μὴ . . . πολεμεῖν δέ*. Contrast what Tacitus, Annals ii. 88, says of Arminius, 'proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus.'

¹ Cp. iii. 15 *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐγὼμαχοι βροδείας τε συνελέγοντο, καὶ ἐν καρποῦ ἐγυγκομῇ ἦσαν καὶ ἀρρωστία τοῦ στρατεύειν*.

Ch. 140, l. 28—Ch. 142, l. 17.

l. 23. ὀδόναντοι, δταν, κ.τ.λ. δταν with a negative preceding may be translated 'as long as.' Cp. on ch. 36, l. 7. Ch. 141, l. 23.

l. 31. τι προῖδαιν, 'exercise a little forethought': see Glossary, τις.

l. 32. τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματος. ὑπὸ ἀπάντων and ἰδίᾳ depend on the verb implied in the verbal substantive δοξάσματος.

l. 5. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν, κ.τ.λ. 'For the one (*scil.* an ἐπιτείχισις) Ch. 142. it is difficult to establish in the form of a rival city, even in peace: much more so in a country exposed to hostilities, and when we, just as much as they, are established in fortifications of our own against them.' τὴν μὲν γὰρ is answered by τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθαι (l. 14): πόλιν ἀντίπαλον (in apposition to τὴν μὲν) is opposed to φρούριον δ' εἰ ποιεῖσονται, 'if they are only going to raise a fort.'

An ἐπιτείχισις might take two forms: (a) a regular city, founded as a rival to, and check upon, an enemy's city: (b) a mere detached fort¹.

l. 6. ἐν πολέμῳ does not mean exactly 'in an enemy's country'; a rival city would not necessarily be that; but 'in a country exposed to the attack of an enemy,' because war is going on: the ordinary meaning of the word being qualified by the opposition to ἐν εἰρήνῃ².

l. 7. οὐχ ἦσαν ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτεταχισμένων refers either to the fortified cities of the Athenian empire and allies, Naupactus, Amphipolis, Corcyra, Plataea, which 'held the field' already, and were a standing threat to any new city which Sparta might endeavour to set up: or to the fortifications of Athens herself, which made Athens more of a 'rival city' to the unfortified Sparta than any new city would ever be to Athens. (Appendix.)

l. 11. ἀμύνεσθαι, 'defend our new ἐπιτείχισις'—as the Athenians had to do at Pylos. The next sentence explains why they may hope for success in the operations by land, as well as by sea, which the erection of a fort on Peloponnesian territory would involve. (Appendix.)

l. 12. ἐμπειρίας is genitive after πλείον: τοῦ κατὰ γῆν is genitive after ἐμπειρίας. 'We have more experience of land-service from our naval service than they of naval operations from their warfare on the mainland.' ἐμπειρία refers to the occasional descents on land which had formed part of the operations of Athenian navies.

l. 17. οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἐασόμενοι. ἐασόμενοι is passive in sense. μελετῆσαι means the continual cruising about, which was necessary to keep

¹ Instances of the first are Naupactus (i. 103), Heraclea (iii. 92, 93), Anaea and Antandrus (iv. 57, 75). Instances of the second are Pylos (iv. 3), Delium (iv. 90), Atalante (ii. 32), and a place on the Laconian coast, fortified by Demosthenes (vii. 26).

² Thus Naupactus, though garrisoned by Athens in the friendly territory of the Locri Ozolae, was exposed to the attacks of the Aetolians; and Heraclea founded by Sparta in Trachis, to those of the Oetaeans (iii. 93, 102).

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Ch. 142, crews and ships effective. How much the word can mean may be seen from iii. 115, where the Athenians send out forty ships to active service in Sicily partly 'because they wanted to exercise their fleet,' *βουλόμενοι μέλειν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιεῖσθαι*.

l. 21. ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετᾶντι. Grammar, § 12.

l. 22. τὸ δὲ ναυτικόν, κ.τ.λ. 'Sea-craft is a matter of trained skill like other things.'

l. 24. ὅταν τύχη, 'at odd times.'

Ch. 143. l. 1. κινήσαντες, cp. note on ch. 93, l. 7.

l. 3. ἐσβάντων, κ.τ.λ., means 'if' or 'when' we citizens and our μέτοικοι embark: for this was only done on exceptional occasions (iii. 16). Pericles does not mean that the sailors in the fleet were mostly citizens.

l. 4. νῦν δέ, κ.τ.λ. 'The argument is (a) that the pilots of the fleet ('and this is the main point') are Athenian citizens. (b) That the sailors, whether citizens or not, are the best and most numerous in Hellas, and that therefore the possible loss of a few hired sailors will not matter. And (c) that the ξένοι themselves will be less likely to desert because of the danger of fighting against so superior a force.' (Jowett.)

l. 7. ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ, 'in face of the danger.'

l. 8. τὴν . . . αὐτοῦ φύγαν. Entering the Peloponnesian service would entail banishment from any city in the Athenian empire.

l. 8. μετὰ τῆς ἥσσονος ἡμέρας. This is a natural utterance in the mouth of Pericles; but Thucydides elsewhere says that at the beginning of the war no one in Hellas thought that the Athenians could possibly hold out more than three years (vii. 28 med.).

l. 9. μεγάλου μισθοῦ is genitive after δόσεως, and ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν after μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως.

l. 13. ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μέγала, 'others quite on a different scale,' i.e. very much greater. 'Not equally great' means in English, 'smaller,' in Greek either 'smaller' or 'greater.' Grammar, § 25.

l. 15. οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται, κ.τ.λ., 'it will no longer be the same thing,' i.e. 'it will be quite a different thing.' ἐστὶ is here logical, not temporal.

l. 24. οὐκ ἐλάσσοι μαχοῦμεθα, 'we shall have to fight against a large an army.' Grammar, § 22.

l. 28. οὐ γὰρ τάδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα κτάνται. Cp. a story of the siege of Valenciennes in the French Revolutionary War, 1793. 'Un bourgeois très riche, apprenant la chute de sa cinquième maison, demanda si quelqu'un était blessé. Rassuré à cet égard, il dit en riant: Voilà qui est pour le mieux; les hommes font les maisons, et les maisons ne font pas les hommes¹.'

¹ Louis Blanc, History of the Revolution, vol. xi. p. 36. There is a parallel of a different kind in Plato, Apology, 30 B λέγων ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ

Ch. 142, l. 21—Ch. 146, l. 6.

1. 6. *καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ λόγῳ*, no doubt the words of Thucydides, not of **Ch. 144**. Pericles: a reference to the speeches in ii. 13, 62 ff.

1. 8. *ἦν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι*. Strangers were not forbidden to reside at Sparta altogether; but their residence there was restricted in some way: probably the Ephors might expel them whenever they thought advisable¹. For the act. *ποιῶσι* see Grammar, § 6.

1. 10. *κωλύει*, impersonal, 'For nothing in the treaty forbids' (*lit.* it does not forbid in the treaty) 'our decree against Megara any more than your exercise of the right of expelling strangers.' This use of *κωλύει*, an extension of the common *οὐδὲν κωλύει*, is paralleled by Aristoph. Birds, 463 *ὃν διαμίσσιν οὐ κωλύει*: Liddell and Scott compare Aristotle, Phys. 3. 3, 5 *οὔτε μίαν θυοῖν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι κωλύει*².

1. 14. *αὐτονομεῖσθαι* is used ironically instead of *πολιτεύειν*. Cp. ch. 19, l. 3.

1. 16. *ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους*. 'We do not mean to strike the first blow, but if you take up arms we shall retaliate.' Grammar, § 6.

1. 4. *οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσιν*, 'that they would do nothing upon **Ch. 145** dictation,' or 'on compulsion': *lit.* 'because they were ordered.'

1. 6. *σπονδῶν γὰρ ξύγχυσις*, κ.τ.λ., 'the situation was such as to **Ch. 146**. abrogate the treaty, and to give sufficient cause for war.'

χρημάτων ἀρετὴ γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ.

¹ Something of the kind is implied by the constant use of the plural *ξενηλασίας*, by the use of the present active *ποιῶσι* in this passage ('enforce from time to time'), by the use of the words *ἔστιν ὅτε* in ii. 39, and by other places where the practice is mentioned. See Dict. Ant. s. v.

² The reading of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Thuc. Propr. 7.) *οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνο κωλύει ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε*, if correct, must have the same meaning, 'there is no hindrance to the one or the other by the treaty': *κωλύει* cannot = *κωλύεται* as Dionysius interprets it, nor can *κωλύειν* take a dative.

APPENDIX TO NOTES.

BOOK I.

κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ Ch. 1.
τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων. l. 9.

ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων is usually taken as parallel, not to *μεγίστη*, but to *τοῖς Ἑλλησιν* and *μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων*, implying that these two classes formed 'a very large part of mankind.' If the words are taken thus, *ἐγένετο* only, and not *μεγίστη ἐγένετο*, may be supplied with *μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων* and *ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων* (Arnold): 'it was shared by many of the Barbarians, and might be said to affect even the world at large.'

καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι, διὰ τὰς μετακίτας Ch. 2.
ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, κ. τ. λ. ll. 20, 21.

The sense given by Ullrich's correction, διὰ τὰς μετακίτας τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι, is better: 'that the rest of Greece did not increase so fast because of the migrations,' a repetition, needed for the sake of clearness, of Thucydides' main thesis, τοῦ λόγου: τόδε will then be explained by ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος.

The MS. reading cannot be translated so as to give the same sense, 'that Greece in its other parts did not increase as fast as Attica because of the migrations': not only because *μετακίται* means 'settlements of resident aliens' and not merely 'migrations,' but because, as the sentence stands, τὴν Ἀττικὴν and not 'Hellas' must be the subject of αὐξηθῆναι.

οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἑκαστοὶ Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε, ὅσοι ἄλλήλων ξυνέσαν, Ch. 3.
καὶ ἑμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες, κ. τ. λ. l. 18.

We may also translate, 'The several Hellenic tribes, I mean all who, while dwelling in separate communities, understood each other's language, and who afterwards had a common name.' Thucydides would then be explaining his anticipatory use of the term 'Hellenes' for all who afterwards bore the name: and would imply that he conceived the Pelasgians and other tribes who 'gave their own names to different parts of Greece' to have spoken the same language as the original Hellenes. But (a) in two other places (iv. 109; ii. 68, cited on p. 7, footnote 1) he clearly implies that the Pelasgians and the Amphilocheians (colonized from Argos

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Ch. 3, soon after the Trojan War) spoke a 'barbarian language': and (*δ*) there
l. 18. is no difficulty as a matter of Greek, in taking "Ἕλληνες as predicate to *κληθέντες* and so referring *ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνέεισαν* to the gradual spread of the Hellenic language under the influence of the Hellenes proper of Phthiotis. Otherwise we might suppose that Thucydides had not formed a consistent and definite idea on the question. It was disputed in antiquity, as we know from Hdt. i. 57, whether the Pelasgians spoke a Hellenic or a barbarian language.

Ch. 6, Full discussions of this passage, in connexion with what is known or
l. 11 ff. conjectured about early Greek dress, will be found in Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos* (pp. 115-121, 162-170); Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Altgriechischen Tracht*, p. 18 ff. See also Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, vol. iv. *Privat-Alterthümer* (§§ 42-56).

Two or three other passages in ancient writers describe the old Ionian dress. Pausanias (i. 19) ascribes something of the kind to Theseus (*χιτῶνα ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ποδήρη καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρεπὲς οἱ τῆς κόμης*), and tells how on his arrival at Athens he was ridiculed for his girlish dress. In a fragment of Asius, an early epic poet, quoted in Athenaeus

xii. 515 f., the festival of the Samian Herè is described:—
οἱ δ' αὖτως φοίτεσκον, ὅπως πλοκάμους πτενίσαιιντο,
εἰς Ἑρῆς τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἵμασι καλοῖς,
χιονίοις τε χιτῶσι πέδον χθονὸς εὐρέος εἶχον¹,
χρῶσαι δὲ πόρφυραι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, τέττιγες ὥς
χαῖται δ' ἔρραον² ἀνέμφ' χρυσοῖς ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς.

A Samian inscription of the fourth century mentions *κεῖθνες* *Αὔδιοι* and *τέττιγες* *ἐπίχρυσοι* among the treasures of the same goddess.

Duris of Samos, fr. 50 (circ. 300 B.C.), after giving the story contained in Hdt. v. 38, says *αὐτοὶ τε ἐκόμην, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκείροντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι ποδήρεις ἦσαν οἱ χιτῶνες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐβρύαζον ταῖς Δωρίαις στολαῖς*. Athenaeus, xii. 512 c, gives a rhetorical description from Heraclides Ponticus (a pupil of Aristotle) of the luxury combined with bravery of the old Athenians.

Some fragments of the 'Chirons' of Cratinus (238, 239, 231. Kock, *Fr. Com.*) help us to complete Thucydides' picture of the Athenian gentleman in the 'good old days'—

238 *μακάριος ἦν ὁ πρὸ τοῦ βίος*
βροτοῖσι πρὸς τὰ νῦν, ὃν εἶχον ἄνδρες
ἀγανόφρονες ἡδυλόγῳ σοφίᾳ βροτῶν περισσοκαλλεῖς.
 239 *ἀπαλὸν δὲ σισύμβριον ἢ βόδον ἢ*
κρίνον παρ' οὓς ἐθάκει
μετὰ χερσὶ δὲ μῆλον ἔχων σκίπανά τ' ἡγέραζον.
 231 *οἷς ἦν μέγιστος ὄρκος*
ἀπαντὶ λόγῳ κύων, ἔπειτα χῆν, θεοὺς δ' εἰσίγαν.

¹ 'Covered,' or *ἴκον* e conj. 'reached to.'

Ch. 6, l. 11—Ch. 10, l. 1.

Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, pp. 116–121 discusses at length the ancient monuments of various kinds on which the long and short forms of chiton appear. The former is found on some of the earliest Spartan reliefs, as well as on Corinthian and other Dorian vases: hence, he thinks, Thucydides means that the more luxurious form of dress was in vogue among the richer classes of Lacedaemonians for some time, and was then given up in favour of a simpler dress. Neither on Dorian nor on Ionian monuments does the long chiton prevail exclusively: it is the dress of the greater Gods, old men, persons celebrating festivals, and the like, and is always accompanied by the short chiton as the ordinary dress.

οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων . . . δεδεγμένοι. The imitations of the phrase by Dio Cassius, fr. 5. 13, 5 οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Σαβίλων *ειδότες*, and by Dionysius Hal., Ant. Rom. 5. 18 οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων σαφέστατα *ἐξηλεκότες*, do not necessarily show that these writers took Πελοποννησίων as gen. after τὰ σαφέστατα, 'the most accurate traditions (among the traditions) of the Peloponnesians.' For a writer may imitate a phrase of a favourite author which 'runs in his head' without thinking precisely of the construction. Much less does it follow that the words *ought* to be so taken.

καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἰ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιώχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. Ch. 10, l. 1.

μικρὸν ἦν has been explained 'was a small place before its destruction by Argos.' But, for Thucydides' purpose, it is immaterial whether Mycenae existed at the time or only its ruins. The argument which he is refuting is drawn from the appearance of the sites of cities, whether the cities are standing or not (Poppo).

Classen may be right in taking εἰ τι τῶν τότε, κ.τ.λ. as parallel to Μυκῆναι and as making up, with Μυκῆναι, the subject of ἦν: ὅτι {Μυκῆναι τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν τότε πολισμάτων ὅσα νῦν μὴ ἀξιώχρεω δοκεῖ εἶναι} μικρὰ ἦν. But the use of εἰ in the second clause in place of ὅτι may merely serve to mark off from Mycenae, the centre of Agamemnon's power, an indefinite number of other cities.

The destruction of Tiryns and Mycenae by the Argives rests on late and somewhat contradictory accounts in Diodorus and Pausanias: but Herodotus' mention of Mycenaeans at Thermopylae and Mycenaeans and Tirynthians at Plataea (vii. 202, ix. 28: cp. vii. 137 and note on Thuc. i. ch. 105, l. 1) shows that the cities survived till after the Persian War. It has been maintained (Professor Mahaffy in *Hermathena*, iii. 1879, p. 60 ff., 277 ff.) that the non-occurrence at either place of remains belonging to the period 660–460 shows that they had really been destroyed at a much earlier period, and that the 'Mycenaeans' and 'Tirynthians' spoken of by Herodotus must have been the descendants of the expelled inhabitants (like the 'Messenians' of Naupactus in

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Ch. 10, Thucydides) settled at the time of the Persian War in some other part of Greece. But the last supposition cannot be accepted without strong

1. 1. evidence that the natural meaning of Herodotus' words is impossible. And Professor Percy Gardner (New Chapters in Greek History, 1892, p. 94) says 'Of course if it could be proved from archaeological evidence that Mycenae and Tiryns were entirely ruined long before the Persian Wars, we should thus be compelled to correct Pausanias; but this is not the case. Even if no remains belonging to the seventh and sixth centuries had come to light in the upper part of the citadel, they might still remain underground in the lower part of the citadel which has not yet been explored. But as a matter of fact a Doric capital has already been found at Tiryns, which is given by Mr. Ferguson to about B.C. 600.'

Ch. 15, κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παραγένετο, οὐδεὶς
1. 6. ξυνέστη.

These words may also mean, not 'whence any power accrued,' but 'which brought any considerable force into the field.' παραγίγνομαι is very common in Thucydides in the sense 'come into the field,' and is never used by him in the sense of προσγίγνομαι, 'accrue.' On the other hand παραγίγνομαι is found in the sense of προσγίγνομαι in other Attic prose authors (see Liddell and Scott): and the use of ὅθεν here (not ὅφ' ὃν or ἐφ' ὃν) and the parallel in sense with ἰσχυρὸν δὲ περιπαύσαντο δυνάμεις οὐκ ἐλαχίστην just above are in favour of the interpretation 'power accrued.' Stahl proposes to read περιγένετο, a slight change which removes all difficulty.

Ch. 19, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδίᾳ παρασκευὴ μείζων
1. 6. ἢ ὥς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἦνθησαν.

The interpretation given in the Notes (Stahl, partly after Herbst) is the best which has been offered of this disputed passage. The only objection to it is that the words τὰ κράτιστά ποτε look as if Thucydides was stating a kind of paradox: they seem to indicate a time when the power of Athens might reasonably be supposed to have been greater than it was just before the Peloponnesian War. Whereas it is not at all surprising that Athens was stronger after the reduction of her independent allies than before.

It is worth while to mention the older interpretations which are free from this objection.

(a) Thucydides may intend to say either that the Athenian forces alone or that the forces of the Athenian empire and the Lacedaemonian confederacy separately were greater than those of both together and their allies, while the alliance against Persia remained unbroken. But it is almost incredible as a matter of fact that this can have been so. The land-forces of the Athenian empire cannot have approached the numbers who fought at Plataea; much less can the actual naval force of the

Ch. 15, l. 6—Ch. 23, l. 13.

Peloponnesian confederacy have approached the number of ships which fought at Salamis—even if we suppose that Thucydides did not accept Herodotus' total of 110,000 for the former and 378 for the latter, and allow for the probability that some of the marines engaged at Salamis were also engaged at Plataea and not with the fleet at Mycale. Moreover the words μετ' ἀπαιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας after the repeated mention of the ξύμμαχοι of Athens and Sparta refer much more naturally to the ξύμμαχοι of Athens than to the alliance against Persia, which Thucydides has described by the terms δμμαχμία and ξυμπολεμήσαντες. Ch. 19, l. 6.

(b) 'The Athenians were stronger at the beginning of the war than when their body of allies was unimpaired,' i. e. before the revolt of Boeotia, Phocis, and Megara in 447-6. But these events are not present to the mind of the reader: there is nothing about them in the context, and Thucydides nowhere marks them as an epoch in the history of Athenian dominion. Nevertheless these chapters (18, 19) are so brief and allusive, and would be so obscure without an independent knowledge of the events related (see notes on 18, l. 4; 19, l. 5) that this rendering may after all be correct.

Mr. W. E. Plummer, M.A., writes in answer to inquiries: 'It is interesting to compare the statement of Thucydides with the results derived from the Lunar Tables now in use, which represent well-observed phenomena with considerable accuracy. The lunar eclipses recorded by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* as occurring between the dates 523 and 383 B.C. are all fairly well represented, as well as those before and after these dates. No large error can therefore be admitted in the representation of the phenomena of the less satisfactorily recorded eclipses of the Sun. Admitting the accuracy of the astronomical data we find in the thirty years preceding 432 B.C. that the Athenians were not likely to have noticed and remembered other solar eclipses than those of Ch. 23, l. 13.

B.C. 433, March 30.
" 434, Oct. 4.
" 439, Dec. 27.
" 455, May 31¹.
" 458, Aug. 2.

The first of these (if not the second also) is so near to the date of the Peloponnesian War, occurring too after the hostilities between Corinth and Corcyra had actually broken out, that popular feeling and Thucydides as well may have reckoned it among the troubles which 'fell upon Hellas together with the war.' It is doubtful whether the eclipse of 439 could have been seen at Athens, but it might have been seen in the Mediterranean and the Greeks could have heard of it.

¹ 'With regard to the eclipse of B.C. 455, May 31, I am indebted to the Rev. S. J. Johnson, Vicar of Melplash, Bridport, Dorset, for calling my attention to the fact that the penumbra passed over Greece.'

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Ch. 23, But the question may be raised whether τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου
 1. 13. *μνημονεύμενα* does not include all times within living memory: and in the period from 493 to 463 we have the following eclipses which might well have been remembered or recorded:—

B.C. 463, April 30.
 „ 478, Feb. 17.
 „ 480, Oct. 2.
 „ 488, Sept. 1.
 „ 493, Nov. 24.

Of these, although the eclipses of 463, 478, and 488 were far more impressive than any at the time of the Peloponnesian War; yet the number (if we reckon in the war the eclipse of 433 and exclude a very considerable one which occurred four or five months after the conclusion of peace, on Sept. 3, 404) falls short by two of those that could possibly have been observed during the war.

For this latter period we have—

B.C. 433, March 30 (?)
 „ 431, Aug. 3 (Thuc. ii. 28).
 „ 426, Nov. 4.
 „ 424, March 21 (Thuc. iv. 52).
 „ 418, June 11.
 „ 411, Jan. 27.
 „ 409, June 1.

We do not know whether adverse meteorological conditions prevented the observation of many of these eclipses, but it is only fair to assume that such conditions would operate equally in the two cases, and therefore it would seem that Thucydides' remark applies rigorously to the period immediately preceding the war, and happens to apply as a matter of fact to an earlier period, though we cannot be sure that Thucydides' remark is based upon accurate observation or tradition.

Ch. 25, οὐτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα
 1. 14. οὐτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, κ. τ. λ.

The 'dative of interest,' *Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ*, is very awkward; and Gölter's interpretation accepted by Arnold but rejected by later commentators may after all be right: *Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ* may be dative after *διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα*. 'They neither gave the customary privileges (to the Corinthians) in the religious festivals common to Corinth and Corcyra, nor did they give them to a representative of Corinth when they commenced (προ-, or 'by commencing through him') 'the initiatory rites of sacrifice' at the public festivals of Corcyra.

There is no parallel which really throws light on the meaning.
 Il. iii. 273:—

ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τρίχας· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νείμαν ἀρίστοις,

quoted by Classen, describes a covenant, not an ordinary sacrifice.

Ch. 25, l. 14—Ch. 32, l. 22.

Classen's explanation, founded on this passage and on a scholium to Ch. 25, *προκαταρχόμενοι* (*διδόντες τὰς καταρχάς*) is 'giving the hair cut from the victim's forehead to a Corinthian that he might throw it on the sacrificial fire.' 1. 14.

Another scholium says *ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἀρχιερέας ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως λαμβάνειν*: the writer seems to have taken *ἀνδρὶ Κορινθίῳ* as = *ἂν ἀνδρὶ Κορινθίου*, which it cannot mean.

περιφρονούντες δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι. 1. 16.

The received text may be construed, but only by supposing a very clumsy order of words and an involved thought, 'being more powerful than the Corinthians both in pecuniary resources, equally with the wealthiest of the Hellenes, and in military power': or else by supplying (rather harshly) *δυνατοί* with *ὁμοῖα* from *δυνατώτεροι* below. So Herbst (Zu Thukydides, Erklärungen, 1892, vol. i. p. 19), who ingeniously explains τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις of the Corinthians themselves, and points out the climax in the three clauses, *ὁμοῖα, δυνατώτεροι, καὶ πολλὰ πρόχειν*.

Or we may change, with Stahl, *ὁμοῖα* to *ὁμοίᾳ* (a reading of which a trace may be preserved in It. Vat. *ὁμοία*), 'being more powerful than the Corinthians both in their pecuniary resources—which were equal to those of the wealthiest of the Hellenes—and in military power.' But the order of the words is still objectionable.

περιόντι, or περιόντι, τῷ θέρει.

Ch. 30,

The probabilities of the case, and the words *τοῦ χρόνου τὸν πλείστον* above and *τὸ θέρος τοῦτο*, end of ch. 30, make it unlikely that *περιόντι τῷ θέρει* can refer to the *next* year, 'when the summer came round.' 1. 12.

Nor can the words mean 'when the summer came round after the spring in which the battle took place'; for *θέρος* in Thucydides includes spring as well as summer.

There is no difficulty in the use of the dative participle as a predicate, if *περιόντι τῷ θέρει*, 'in what remained of the summer,' be retained, cp. Hdt. vii. 20 *πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάταις*: Thuc. iii. 20 *ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπέζοντο*: vii. 9 *ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι*. And *περιόντι* leaves us more time for *τὸ θέρος τοῦτο* below: Herbst for this reason decidedly rejects the reading *περιόντι*. But *τοῦ χρόνου τὸν πλείστον* above, and *μέχρι οὗ*, leading us to expect mention of a definite point of time, are strongly in favour of *περιόντι*.

περιόντι τῷ ἐναντῷ occurs in Xen. Hell. iii. 2. 25, but the difficulties of reading and interpretation there are similar.

καὶ συγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ τῇ Ch. 32, *πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνη ἐναντία τολμῶμεν.* 1. 22.

δόξης ἁμαρτίᾳ cannot mean, as often translated, 'because of an error of

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Ch. 32, judgment,' i.e. because of the Corcyraeans' previous policy of isolation :

1. 22. it can only refer to the 'disappointment of their expectations' when they discovered the consequences of their policy (*καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῖν πρότερον σωφροσύνη . . . τὴν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινόμενη*). For the 'dative of cause,' which is seldom much more than the 'dative of circumstance'¹, can only be used of a direct, not of an indirect, cause. We can say for instance *τὴν συμμαχίαν μετανοοῖα ποιοῦμαι*, 'because I change my mind,' but not *τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀμαρτία ποιοῦμαι*, 'because I was wrong,' for the words would then mean, not that the previous neutrality, but that the alliance itself was a mistake.

Ch. 38, οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικοῦμενοι.

1. 9. Another interpretation makes the Corinthians, instead of admitting that their action in making war is exceptional, deny that it is improper; and supposes a not unnatural confusion of thought in the second part of the clause; 'nor do we make war upon them unbecomingly, *as we should be doing* if we were not signally wronged by them.' This satisfies the meaning of *ἐκπρεπῶς* better (cp. iii. 55 med. *ἐν μέντοι τῷ πολέμῳ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐπάθετε οὔτε ἐμελλήσατε*) and there are two pretty clear instances of a similar confusion in Thucydides². But the order of words (not οὐδ' ἐκπρεπῶς ἐπιστρατεύομεν) and the use of *καί* before *διαφερόντως* make it more likely that the charge implied in *ἐκπρεπῶς* is admitted by the speaker. *ἐκπρεπῶς* contrasts the hostility between Corinth and Corcyra with the friendship between Corinth and her other colonies just referred to.

Ch. 39, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τὰ τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν δια-

1. 3. αγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα. οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, κ. τ. λ.
If we interpret *διαγωνίζεσθαι* in the natural sense as in the footnote, 'before appealing to arms,' the whole clause becomes obscure and overloaded: for, instead of the simple 'who offers arbitration before fighting,'

¹ In Thuc. i. 11, l. 2 *τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία . . . τὸν στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἡγαγον*, we have this commoner use: in Thuc. iii. 98 fin. *Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύπακτον . . . ἐπελείφθη, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους* we have the strict dative of cause.

² iii. 11 med. *ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίᾳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν τοὺς γε ἰσοψήφους ἄκοντας εἰ μὴ τι ἥδίκουν οὗς ἐπῆσαν, ξυστρατεύειν*. 'They pointed to the fact that a city which had an equal vote with them would not join in their expeditions unwillingly, *as would be the case* unless those whom they attacked were in the wrong.' iv. 86 med. *οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν, εἰ τὸ πάτριον παρὲς τὸ πλέον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τὸ ἐλάσσον τοῖς πᾶσι δουλώσαιμι*. 'And I do not consider that I am bringing you liberty in a questionable form, *as I should do* if I were to enslave the many to the few or the few to the people.' (*ἀσφαλῆ* with a few MSS., or *ἂν σαφῆ*, may be read here.)

Ch. 38, l. 9—Ch. 39, l. 15.

we have 'who makes his actions fair equally with his words before Ch. 39, fighting,' i.e. who makes his words fair before his actions are unfair, 1. 3. that is before fighting.

As a parallel to the misleading correspondence in sound without a correspondence in sense between *πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι* and *πρὶν πολιορκεῖν* we may quote vi. 60 *βεβαιότεραν γὰρ αὐτῷ σωτηρίαν εἶναι δολογήσαντι μετ' ἀδείας, ἢ ἀρηθέντι διὰ δίκης ἐλθεῖν*, where not *ἀρηθέντι* but *διὰ δίκης ἐλθεῖν* corresponds in sense to *δολογήσαντι*.

There is no reason why *διαγωνίζεσθαι*, a word of quite general meaning, *ἀγών* signifying originally a contest in the games, should not be used of contending at law as well as contending in arms. There is however a passage in [Dem.] de Halon. 8, where *διαγωνίζεσθαι* is opposed to *δικάζεσθαι*: *πὺς ὑμεῖς οὐκ . . . ἐπιδείκνυτε ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν διαγωνιείσθε, εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οὐ φατέ λσχεῖν, μὴ διαγωνιείσθε ἀλλὰ δικάζεσθε*;

On the whole it is impossible to decide with certainty between the two renderings: this is one of the passages in which Thucydides has expressed a simple idea in an obscure and difficult way.

Of course the words cannot mean, as sometimes explained, that the Corcyraeans should have given up Epidamnus before fighting: for they could not give it up before they had got it! The meaning might be that they should have withdrawn their blockading force from it before offering arbitration, or before 'proceeding to fight it out'—the original demand of the Corinthians, ch. 28, l. 13; but there is no reference, as in that case there ought to be, to their non-compliance with this demand, in the sentence which follows here: *οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, κ.τ.λ.*

ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων ἀμετόχους οὕτως τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων l. 15, note. *μὴ κοινωνεῖν.*

μόνων is an awkward anticipation of *οὕτως τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοινωνεῖν*. 'You ought not—when the grounds of accusation against them are thus the only things in which you do not share—this being so (*οὕτως*) to share in the consequences of their actions. There is a very harsh change of subject from the Corcyraeans, the subject of the previous clauses, to the Athenians.

No MS. of any importance has the words except the Munich MS. (Bekker's G). The Laurentian (C) has the word *ἐγκλημάτων* only: as it omits *ἐγκλημάτων* at the beginning of the next chapter the word may have been accidentally transposed (Croiset). In some of the inferior MSS. in which the words occur they are on the margin only. And the readings vary between *μόνων* and *μόνον*, *ἀμετόχους* and *ἀμετόχως*. As it is no habit of the MSS. of Thucydides to omit clauses simply because they are obscure, we may safely conclude that Thucydides never wrote these words at all. (See further in Classen's critical note.)

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Ch. 39, Two alternative reasons may be suggested for their insertion in 1. 15, note. a few MSS.

(1) The Corinthians have just said 'The Corcyraeans ought not to apply to you when (A) you who never shared their power will give them aid, and (B) you who never shared their crimes will share their responsibility. They should (C) have shared their power with you if you are now to share the consequences with them.' Clause C answers in sense both to A and B: at first sight it seems to answer to A only. The words *ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων*, κ. τ. λ., may be an attempt to supply a fourth clause answering to B.

Or (2) the words may have arisen out of glosses, on some of the clauses preceding, which were mistaken for part of the text, and added to and altered so as to make some kind of sense. E. g. there may have been a note *ἐγκλημάτων ἀμέτοχοι οὐ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι*, and another *τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων κοιναίνειν οὐ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν*.

Ch. 40, καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσῃ. 1. 7.

It is unnecessary to explain *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι* as an illogical addition properly forming part of another sentence. The confusion of thought thus attributed to the writer would be far greater than in places like those quoted just above, p. 122, footnote 2. We should have to suppose that Thucydides meant 'the treaty only applies to men who will not involve in war those who receive them (*and will not receive others*), if they are prudent.'

The position of *μὴ* after, not before, *ὅστις* and the parallelism with the preceding clause, *ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν ἀσφαλείας δέιται*, show that the Corinthians are thinking of the case of an ally who may safely be received, and consequently not of the prudence which would prevent the reception of an ally altogether, but of the prudence which in some cases would make it safe to receive him¹.

Ch. 41, τὰ Μηδικὰ clearly in one or two passages means the great war of 1. 6.

480-479 only, and does not include Marathon. In i. 14, l. 5 *ὀλίγον τε πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου*, the addition of the words 'before the death of Darius' (485) would be unmeaning if τὰ Μηδικὰ included the events of 490 as well as of 480: and *πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν* seems to be explained by *πρὸ τῆς Ἑβέρου στρατείας* just below.

¹ It is possibly worth suggesting that *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι* may mean, not 'if they are prudent,' but, like *ἢν σωφρονώμεν* in the speech of Sthenelaidas, i. 86, l. 7, 'if they are honest' and do their plain duty to their new allies, not trying to back out of their engagements. If the word can bear this sense here, when the context suggests so strongly that of 'prudence,' the meaning will be clear, 'not one who will involve those who receive him, if they are honest men, in war.'

Ch. 40, l. 7—Ch. 51, l. 11.

Cp. i. 23, l. 1 τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, Ch. 41, where the reference is clearly as the context shows to the events of 1. 6. 480–479 only.

Hence in i. 41, l. 5, the words πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινήτων ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον do not settle the vexed question as to whether the war referred to between Athens and Aegina began before the battle of Marathon or not.

In i. 73, l. 12 however τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἐνύμιστε, opposed to τὰ πάντα παλαιά, includes Marathon which is mentioned below. In no place does τὰ Μηδικὰ include any of the battles with the Medes later than 479: cp. i. 69, l. 1 τὸ τε πρῶτον ἐξάσαντες αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῶναι.

The inscription relating to the two Athenian fleets sent to Corcyra, Ch. 51, C. I. A. 179, vol. i. with Müller-Strübing's additional filling-up, C. I. A. 1. 11. 179, vol. iv. Part i., is as follows:—

- A. 1 [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλ]ωσαν ἐς Κόρκ[υραν τὰδε. Ἐπὶ Ἀ]
[ψεύδους ἀρχο]ντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ᾧ Κ-
[ριτιάδης Φαείνου] Τειθράσιος πρῶτος ἐγραμμά-
[τενε, ταμίαι] ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναί-
5 [ας ἐκ Κερ]αμίων καὶ ξυνάρχοντες, οἷς
[Κράτης Ναύτ]ωνος Λαμπτρέως ἐγραμμάτενε
[παρέ]δοσαν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κόρκυραν τοῖς
[πρώτοις ἐκ]πλέουσι, Λακεδαιμονίῳ Λακιά-
[δῃ, Πρατίῳ] Αἰζωνεῖ, Διοτίμῳ Εὐωνυμεί,
10 [ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ν]τίδος πρυτανείας πρώτης πρυ-
[τανευούσης, τ]ρεῖς καὶ δέκα ἡμέραι ἐσεληλυ-
[θείας] ΓΤ (¹).
- B. [Ἐπὶ Ἀψεύδους] ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς,
[ᾧ Κριτιάδης] Φαείνου Τειθράσιος πρῶτος ἐ-
15 [γραμμάτενε, ταμίαι] ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀ-
[θηναίας,] τῆς Ἐρχιεὺς καὶ ξυνάρχον-
[τες, οἷς Εὐθίας Αἰ]σχρανος Ἀναφλύστιος
[ἐγραμμάτενε, παρέ]δοσαν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κόρ-
19 [κυραν τοῖς δευτέρ]οις ἐκπλέουσι, Γλαύκωνι
[ἐκ Κεραμίων, Μεταγ]ένει Κουλεῖ, Δρακοντί-
[δῃ Βατῆθεν, ἐπὶ τῆς] Αἰαντίδος πρυτανείας
[.] τῆς (²) πρυτανευούσης τῇ τελευ[ταίᾳ ἡμέ-
[ρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας? . . .]

¹ Six talents: πέντε(Π) τάλαντα(Τ) + τάλαντον(Τ).

² The imperfect state of this word and of the name of the Prytany in l. 10, gives rise to the chronological difficulty discussed on pp. 32, 52. If we fill up πρώτης here and Αἰαντίδος there, the two fleets were dispatched at an interval of about three weeks. If we fill up τρίτης ὀγδόης or

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Ch. 71, καὶ ἀεσθε τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ τοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρεῖν
1. 2. οἱ δὲ τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκανα πρόσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἣν ἀδικῶνται, θῆλοι
δοῖσι μὴ ἐπιτρέφοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε.

ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν, κ.τ.λ., may also mean 'on the principle of not annoying others and not incurring damage by defending yourselves,' i.e. 'and putting up with anything sooner than face the expense and loss of self-defence'; a satirical and exaggerated description of Lacedaemonian sloth. But this would probably have been expressed by ἐπὶ τῷ μὴτε λυπεῖν ἄλλους μὴτε αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι βλάπτεσθαι¹: as the sentence stands μὴ is so placed as not to influence ἀμυνόμενοι: the Corinthians do not deny that the Lacedaemonians sometimes fight in self-defence.

There is much to be said for Classen's translation: 'You attach an equal value to not annoying others and to avoiding the damage which would be incurred in defending yourselves': you go on as if the two principles were identical and make the former an excuse for acting on the latter. But τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν ἄλλους, not ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν ἄλλους, would be required².

For τὸ ἴσον νέμετε as translated in the Notes, 'you measure out equality' or 'deal out international justice,' cp. vi. 16 med. τὰ ἴσα νέμεω τὰ ὁμοῖα ἀνταφιστάμαι.

Ch. 73, αἱ καὶ δ' ὄχλου μέλλον ἔσται δὲ προβαλλομένης.
II. 12, 13. These words can hardly be anything but an apology for the repetition of the old story of the Persian War. But there are objections to every way of getting this meaning out of them. The rendering suggested in the Notes, according to which ὅμῳ is supplied after δ' ὄχλου ἔσται and προβαλλομένης is a dative of interest referring to the Athenians, might be defended by iv. 10 med., where a dative of interest is used close to a verb which ought to govern it but does not: ἀποχωρήσαντι δέ, καί τινες χαλεπὸν ὄν εὐτοχοῦν ἔσται: 'if we give ground, we shall find that the position though difficult in itself is easy to the enemy'.³ But it is hard to believe that in either place Thucydides would have written in so ambiguous a manner.

ἐνάτης here, we must fill up Δεσπιδῆς there (the only other tribe whose name has the right number of letters); and the interval was much longer (Holzapfel, Berliner Studien, vol. vii. 3, 88). A 'Prytany' was the tenth part of a year, i.e. about five weeks, during which the members of a given tribe formed the Standing Committee of the Council of 500.

¹ Wilkins, *Speeches from Thucydides Translated*, ad loc.

² As in the parallels quoted by Classen, iii. 3 init. μᾶλλον μῖστος νέμεσθαι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι: iii. 48 init. μῖστε αἵ τε καὶ ἐλπίον νέμεσθαι μῖστε ἐπεικαίειν.

³ The place in iv. 10 is quoted and the difficulty of the dative specially remarked on by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc. Prop.* 12), so that we cannot be confident that the text is corrupt.

Ch. 71, l. 2—Ch. 77, l. 1.

Krüger and Stahl, both excellent authorities on grammatical points, Ch. 78, take *προβαλλομένοις* in a passive sense referring to the persons who would be expressed by a dative after the active verb *προβάλλω*, 'to men who are always having our exploits flung in their faces.' They rely on the analogy of *πιστεύομαι* and isolated uses of *ἐπιτιμῶμαι*, Isocr. 12. 149 (160), and *ἀπειλοῦμαι*, Xen. Symp. 4. 31. But this passive use of *προβάλλομαι* is very doubtful, and as Boehme says, the idea would inevitably have been expressed by *προβαλλόμενα*.

Perhaps it is best to cut the knot by reading *προβαλλόμενα*, and supposing that *προβαλλομένοις* is a mere slip of the pen by some early copyist.

καὶ ἑλασσοῦμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους Ch. 77, δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἑμὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. l. 1.

Something is known about the institution commonly called *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*¹: something is also known about the judicial arrangements in force between Athens and her subject allies². But it must be admitted that the evidence for asserting that the name *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* was applied to trials in which Athens and her subject allies were concerned, though it has a certain weight, is far from conclusive. It is therefore impossible to say with confidence whether the *δίκαι ξυμβόλαιαι* spoken of in Thuc. i. 77 were *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, or 'suits relating to contracts,' 'civil suits.'

The word *συμβόλαιος*³ may be derived either from *σύμβολον* (or *συμβολή*), an agreement between two states for regulating trials of cases between them or citizens of them, or either state and a citizen of the other; or else from *συμβόλαιον*, a contract.

The places in the Inscriptions mentioned in the Notes on p. 67, footnote 3, as evidence of the existence of *σύμβολα* between Athens and her dependent allies are too fragmentary to be quite satisfactory.

¹ See Inscriptions cited p. 67, footnote (3); also Hicks, Manual of Greek Inscriptions, pp. 43–45 (Aeanthia and Chalcis, fifth century), pp. 127–129, p. 250 § 6, p. 255 (*συνθήκαι* between Teos and Lebedus, end of fourth century); Aristotle, Politics, iii. 1. 4; 9. 6, 7; Demosthenes or Hecaeus his contemporary, de Halon. 9–13 (very important); [Andoc.] c. Alcib. 18; [Aristotle] Athen. Polit. 59. 6; Harpocrat. s. v. *ξυμβολαίαι*.

² [Xen.] Polit. Athen. i. 16–18 (important; translated in Part i. Introd. ii. p. lix); Antiph. de Caed. Herod. 47: Thuc. here and viii. 48; and Inscr. cited on p. 68, footnote 1; also C. I. A. IV. i. 22 a; Ar. Av. 1420–1460; Athenaeus, ix. p. 407 B.

³ Hesychius has a notice, *ξυμβολιμαίας δίκαις*: 'Ἀττικοὶ τὰ κατὰ συμβόλ[αι]α: whence Cobet, Nov. Lect. p. 168, reads *ξυμβολιμαίας* here for *ξυμβολαῖαις*. But as Hesychius does not quote Thucydides by name we cannot use his words as an argument either way.

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Ch. 77, C. I. A. IV. i. 61 a, referring to Selymbria after its revolt and reduction
 1. 1. by Alcibiades, is as follows¹:

ἴσα δ' ἀ]λλα ξυμβόλα[ι]α προτοῦ ἦν τοῖς ἰ-
 [διώταις πρ]ὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτα[ς] ἢ ἰδιώτῃ πρὸς τὸ κ-
 [οιὸν ἢ (τῷ) κοι]νῷ πρὸς ἰδιώτη[ν] ἢ ἰάν τι ἀλ[λ]ο γίγ-
 [νηται, δια]λύειν π[ρ]ὸς ἀλλήλους· ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἀμφισβη-
 [τῶσι, δικά]ς εἶναι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων.

These words do prove our point for one subject city. The treaty provides for the settlement of existing business contracts (*ξυμβόλαια*) by *δίκαι* ἀπὸ *ξυμβόλων*, which *ξύμβολα* had therefore been in force between Athens and Selymbria before its revolt, when it was a dependent ally.

C. I. A. IV. i. 96, referring to Mitylene after its reduction, contains the words—

[. . . δι]κας διδόν[τε(οι α)]ς πρὸς Ἀθην[αίων] τοὺς ἐπισκεῖτου-
 ς κα[ὶ] τὰς ξυ[μβο]λὰς αἱ ἡσα[ν] πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου².

Without laying stress on the inserted words *πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου*, the words αἱ ἡσα[ν] show that the reference is to *ξύμβολαι* in force before the reduction of Mitylene when it was an independent ally: that they were to continue in use for the future and for new law-suits is only a probability.

The positive statements from Hesychius and the other lexicons, quoted on footnote 3 to p. 67, which, if true, would prove the point, may be inaccurate references to [Aristotle] Athen. Polit. 59. 6. Speaking of the *θεσμοθέται*, the last six Archons, the author says *καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι κυροῦσι καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων εἰσάγουσι*. The statements in the lexicons, one of which refers to the authority of Aristotle, may be taken from this passage: and if so, they are unfounded. For they clearly refer to the notorious grievances of the subject-allies under the *first* Athenian empire; this is shown by the words *τοῖς ὑπηκόοις* in two of them, for the allies under the *second* empire were not *υπηκοοί*, and by the words in the citation from Hesychius, *καὶ τοῦτο ἦν χαλεπόν*. But the passage in the Athen. Polit. describes the state of things existing when the treatise was written: i. e. soon after 328. It cannot therefore refer to the first empire which had long vanished, or even to the second, which the Athenians had been forced to relinquish in 338 after the battle of Chaeronea, with the exception of the cleruchies in Samos, Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros³; τὰς πόλεις must therefore refer

¹ Adopting Stahl's filling up of the first line (De Sociorum Atheniensium Iudiciis, Münster, 1882). Kirchhoff reads τὰ δὲ ἀ]λλα ξύμβολα [τ]ὰ προτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἰ[διώταις]. But ξύμβολα ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώταις makes no sense.

² The restoration *τοὺς ἐπισκεῖτους* cannot be considered certain.—It is difficult to gather anything certain from C. I. A. ii. 11, referring to Phaselis, partly owing to gaps which have to be filled up: partly from the doubt whether it refers to a normal or to an exceptional case.

³ Athen. Polit. 62. 2.

Ch. 77, l. 1.

wholly or mainly to independent cities with whom the Athenians contracted *σύμβολα*. The statements in the lexicons probably, therefore, refer to some other passage in Aristotle, and may stand for what they are worth, confirmed as they are by the fragmentary inscriptions above quoted. Ch. 77,
l. 1.

Such is the external evidence for the theory that *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* were in force between Athens and her subject-allies in the time of the Peloponnesian war. There are, however, objections to the theory, chiefly arising from what we know about *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* generally.

(1) In all cases known to us they were between independent states, such as Carthage and Etruria, Athens and Macedonia. This, however, is not conclusive¹. The phrase may in the case of Athens have been a form intended to conciliate the subject-allies and preserve the shadow of independence. As Athens probably had *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* with her independent allies while they retained their independence—Samos, Chios, and Lesbos—and as all the allies were originally independent, the circumstances of the case and the inscription relating to Mitylene quoted above suggest that the name *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* was retained when they were reduced to subjection. The expression in formal treaties of the terms on which they were to be connected with Athens for the future (footnote 1 to p. 68) proves that some show of independence was maintained.

(2) The usual rule with *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* was that they were tried in the defendant's court². It is difficult to suppose that if an Athenian or the Athenian state sued a citizen of Abdera or Naxos or Ephesus the case was tried in the latter city³, and such a practice is inconsistent with *παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς* in this passage of Thucydides as here taken (see below).

(3) In the defence composed by the orator Antiphon for the Mitylæan charged with the murder of Herodes (§ 78), the speaker is represented as saying, in proof of the loyalty of his father to Athens, that he did not like others quit Mitylene for the lands of 'your enemies' on the

¹ [Dem.] de Halon. 12, shows that *σύμβολα* might be conceived of as in force with a dependent and tributary state, such as the orator assumes Macedonia to have been.

² This is a probable conclusion from [Dem.] de Halon. 13 ἀλλ' ὁμῶς . . . οὐκ ἐλυσσινέλει σύμβολα ποιησαμένους οὐτ' ἐκ Μακεδονίας πλεῖν Ἀθήναζε δίκας ἀνηφομένους (i.e. as plaintiff; δίκας δίδοναι would be said of the defendant) οὐτ' ἡμῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν. Cf. Dict. Ant. vol. ii. l. 734 b (3).

³ We cannot safely argue a priori that Athenians were more likely to do wrong to, than to suffer wrong from, citizens of subject states, so that Athenians would mostly be defendants in suits, and the majority of trials would take place at Athens. We might argue with equal plausibility that the litigious Athenians would constantly prosecute.

Notes.

Athenians or the Athenian state)
 obvious inference is that no *σύμβολα*
 Mitylene—a direct contradiction to
 Mitylene above.
 time and must not be pressed too
 meaning if *δικαὶ ἀπὸ συμβόλων* could
 under more favourable conditions
 independent states than while they
 And what can Antiphon mean by
 mainland' (unless it be Thrace)?
 with Macedonia at this time ([Dem.]
 of the Euxine were not 'enemies'
 cannot have had such treaties with
ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων must in any case be
 question of suits between Athens and
 actually at war. A passage labouring under
 a decisive weight.
 surrounding the theory which has been adopted

Notes.
 that all suits arising between Athenians
 no fixed regulations were called *δικαὶ ἀπὸ*
 to meet the difficulty that these suits
ἀπὸ συμβόλων, have been tried in the courts
 quite different interpretation of the passage,
 deserves mention. A distinction is made
 to in the two clauses: *καὶ ἐλασσόμενοι ἐν*
ἐν πολεμίοις *δικαὶ* being referred to *δικαὶ ἀπὸ*
 limited sense between Athens and her allies;
 ἐν τοῖς ὁμοῖς νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις to
 cases—whether with Athens or between their
 the subject allies. In this case *καὶ*—*καὶ* must
 The supposition is that there were *δικαὶ ἀπὸ*
 limited sense (hardly extending beyond the trial
 mercantile suits²) between Athens and her allies
 and that these suits were simply left on the
 the allies were reduced to subjection (see above).
 suits requiring speedy settlement may very possibly

natural explanation of Pollux viii. 63, whatever his
 worth: *ἐμπορικὰ δὲ καὶ ἐμνηροὶ, αἱ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἢ τῶν*
ἐμνηρῶν δὲ, ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐδικάζοντο.
 given for this is [Dem.] de Halon. 12. Countries
 each other as Athens and Macedonia, if they had
 need *σύμβολα*. But it is obvious that no safe
 drawn as to the limited nature of *δικαὶ ἀπὸ συμβόλων*
 closely connected as Athens and her allies.

Ch. 77, l. 1—Ch. 103, l. 1.

have been tried in the city of the defendant even when he was a member of an allied state. We must then translate, 'For, though we (*a*) put ourselves at a disadvantage in such of our suits with our allies as are regulated by treaty, and (*δ*) have established' (i.e. for the allies)¹ 'the (well-known) courts at Athens itself under impartial laws, we are accused of chicanery.' But there is no indication in the Greek of so important a distinction between the institutions referred to in the two clauses: we should expect at least *ελασσούμενοι μὲν γὰρ—παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς*. The second clause looks far more like an explanation of the first, *τὰς κρίσεις* being the decisions of the *ἐμβόλαιαι δίκαι* themselves.

The same objection holds against referring (with Classen) the first clause to suits with the still independent allies, Chios and Lesbos. For the subject allies are referred to throughout chs. 76, 77, not the independent allies. The Athenians are defending themselves against the charges to which the *subjection* of their allies had exposed them².

ταχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας. Ch. 90, l. 1.

A scholium on the passage runs—*πάντας πανδημεὶ τὸ πάντας, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας. τὸ δὲ πανδημεὶ, μηδενὸς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπολειπομένων*. Hence it has been supposed that the words *καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας* are a gloss which has crept into the text from this or some similar note. No doubt there are many places where the occurrence of certain words both in our present text and in a scholium shows that the author of the scholium could not have read them in the text, and points to the source whence they arose³. Here however the expression is a forcible one in itself, and the scholium may only mean that the words *καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας* in the text themselves explain *πάντας*.

οὗ δ' ἐν ἑξάμηναι δέκατῃ ἔτει . . . ἐνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, Ch. 103, l. 1.

Krüger's emendation *τετάρτῃ* is highly probable. If *δέκατῃ* is right, Thucydides anticipates the course of events by five or six years in order

¹ It is impossible to separate *αὐτοῖς* from *ἡμῶν* (with some editors) and translate the word 'for the allies'; because *αὐτοῖς* is required to emphasize *ἡμῶν*, 'before our own juries.'

² A. Fränkel, *De Condicione, &c., Sociorum Atheniensium*: a very complete discussion of the whole subject, which has been followed in many points, though not in all, in the above note. See also *Dict. Ant.* vol. ii. s. v. *Symbola*. There is an interesting article dealing generally with the judicial rights of the Athenian allies and the inscriptions or passages which throw light on them, and taking in the main the view of Thuc. i. 77 here regarded as less probable, by the late Professor Morris, in the *American Journal of Philology*, v. (1884) p. 298 ff.

³ See Marchant's *Thucydides*, Book ii. p. xxxvii.

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Ch. 108, to complete the account of the siege of Ithome, going back when he has done so to the alliance of Megara with Athens, which must have followed closely on the Argive alliance. But why should Thucydides have hesitated to interrupt the account of the blockade of Ithome, as he has done before (ch. 101), and as he interrupts the narrative of the blockades of Thasos and Aegina and of the Egyptian expedition? There is no parallel in this section of his work to an 'anticipation' like this.

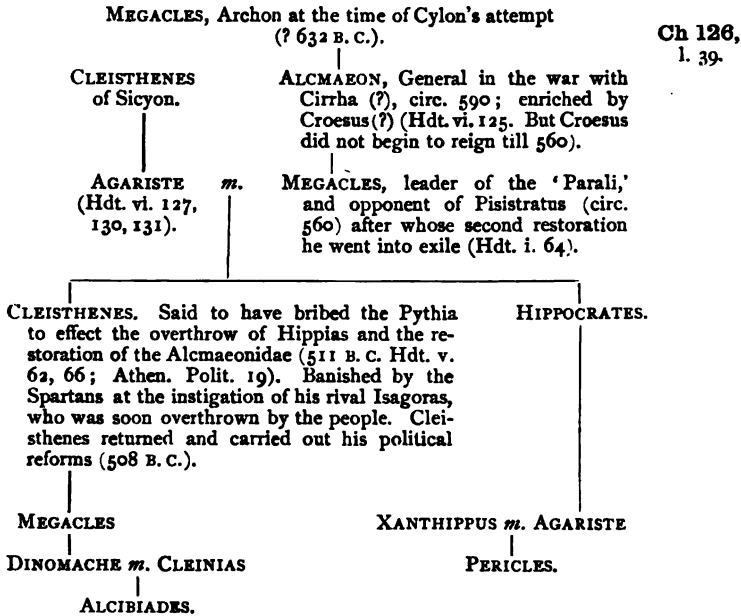
A far more serious objection to *δεκάτῃ* is that if it were genuine, the expedition of 1500 Lacedaemonians and 10,000 allies to Doris, which led to the battle of Tanagra, must have taken place during the blockade of Ithome—a display of energy on the part of Sparta worthy of Athens herself, and quite incompatible with the language of Thucydides in ch. 118, l. 9 *ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλεον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοντο, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκίους ἐξεργάζεσθαι*.

Abbott, History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 322, further cites [Xen.] Rep. Athen. iii. 11. The writer, an earlier authority than Thucydides, pointing out the ill-success of the Athenians on the occasions when they had given assistance to the aristocratic parties in foreign states, says: *ὁποσάκις δ' ἐπεχείρησαν αἰρεῖσθαι τοῖς βελτίστοις, οὐ συνέφεγκεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ὁ δῆμος ἐβούλευσεν . . . τοῦτο δὲ ὅτε εἰλοντο Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Μεσσηνίων, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστρεψόμενοι Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναίους*. The words *ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου* show that the reference is to the battle of Tanagra, not to the beginning (more than thirty years after the help given to Lacedaemon) of the Peloponnesian war, during the earlier part of which the treatise was in all probability written.

It should be mentioned that Diodorus (xi. 64. 4) describes the blockade of Ithome as lasting ten years: he may therefore have read *δεκάτῃ* in Thucydides, but we cannot be sure, and as a historical authority he is worth little, and outweighed by Pausanias, who (iv. 24. 7) speaks as if the settlement in Naupactus of the garrison of Ithome followed immediately on the dismissal of the Athenians and the Argive alliance.

If *δεκάτῃ* be retained, it is still quite certain that in what follows Thucydides goes back five or six years to the events immediately succeeding the dismissal of the Athenians. For the intervals of time mentioned by him give over twenty-eight years between the Argive alliance and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war: hence the Argive alliance was earlier than 459 B. C., and this does not allow ten years for the blockade of Ithomé which began about 464.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ALCMAEONIDAE.



N.B.—No ancient writer mentions the return of the Alcmaeonidae after their first banishment (*δειφύλια*). Plutarch (Solon, 11) says that the records at Delphi called Alcmaeon the general of Athens in the war with Cirrha. If this be so, they must have been recalled by that time, i. e. about 590 B. C.

See Abbott, Herodotus v. vi. p. 137 ff., p. 316: and Prof. J. H. Wright's excellent study of Cylon and the earlier history of the Alcmaeonidae, reprinted from Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. iii. 1892. He gives reasons for thinking (1) that Cylon was a young man when he made his attempt, which therefore occurred not long after his Olympic victory (640, if we can trust the lists of victors), perhaps as early as 636: (2) that *πρωτεύεις* was an old name for *ἀρχοντες*, and that the discrepancy between Herodotus and Thucydides may have arisen from the use of the word *πρωτεύεις* for the Archons in the authority used by Herodotus and from a misinterpretation of it by Herodotus who added *τῶν ναυκράπων*.

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Ch. 137, "καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται" (γράψας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προ-
I. 25. ἀγγελισιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσ-
εποίησατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν).

The words τὴν . . . προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως might in themselves mean either 'the previous notice to the King of the retreat of the Greeks' or 'the warning to the King to retreat'.¹

It is however quite impossible that the words can refer to the famous notice of the intended Greek retreat sent by Themistocles to mislead the King before the battle of Salamis. This interpretation is excluded by the sharp opposition between the harm which Themistocles did to Xerxes *while Xerxes was attacking him* and the good he did him *when Themistocles was safe and Xerxes in danger*.² The former message, if Themistocles meant to admit his responsibility for it at all, must be among the *πλείστα κακὰ* for which he apologizes.

But Thucydides speaks of a message *from Salamis* 'warning the King about his retreat.' Herodotus speaks of a message *from Andros*, telling the King that he might retreat at leisure, as Themistocles had dissuaded the Greeks from breaking down the bridges at the Hellespont. Which is right?

Plutarch (Themist. 16, cp. 28) says that after the battle of Salamis Themistocles sent to the King, apparently from Salamis itself—Andros is not mentioned—warning him to retreat as quickly as he could, since the Greeks intended to make for the Hellespont and break down the bridges: he, meanwhile, would try to delay them. This account exactly fits in with Thucydides' incidental reference, and may represent what really happened. Herodotus may very well have got hold of a mistaken account. His imputation of treasonable motives to Themistocles' message is improbable in itself, and may indicate that his whole account is coloured by the natural feelings of patriotic Athenians after the open treason of Themistocles at a later time.³

It must be admitted that Plutarch's authority as an independent witness is worthless. For in the Life of Aristides, 9, he agrees in the essential point with Herodotus, i. e. he says that Themistocles told the King not that the bridges would be broken down, but that he had dissuaded the Greeks from breaking them down. But that in the passage from the Life of Themistocles he is following some earlier account is indicated by the fact that nearly all the other late writers (three of them earlier than Plutarch at the end of the first century A. D.) who

¹ They could not so well mean 'the notice to the King about his retreat,' i. e. that he might retreat at leisure.

² We need not therefore discuss the further question whether Themistocles can have hoped 'barbato imponere regi' by representing his first message as meant for the best.

³ See Abbott, Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. 4. 22.

Ch. 137, l. 25—Ch. 138, l. 24.

retail the story agree with Thucydides and Plutarch's Themistocles:— **Ch. 137, l. 25.** Cornelius Nepos, the friend of Cicero (Them. 5. 9), Diodorus (xi. 19. 5) and Trogus in the so-called epitome of him by Justin, ii. 13. 3–7 (Diodorus and Trogus lived in the Augustan age), Frontinus, ii. 6. 8 (end of first century A.D.), Polyænus, i. 30. 3 (middle of second century). Herodotus' version is found however in Aristides the rhetorician, vol. ii. p. 293 (Dindorf), towards the end of the second century, quoting from a Socratic dialogue of Aeschines, the disciple of Socrates.

We may therefore take the words of Thucydides in the sense indicated by Plutarch, and reject the story of the message as given by Herodotus.

δότος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα Ch. 138, τέλαρτα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον (ἔδδκει γὰρ πολυοινοτάτου τῶν τότε εἶναι), Μυοῦντα δὲ ὄψον. **l. 24.**

The suggestion, originally made by Köhler¹, that the King made Themistocles a present of Myus and Lampsacus though they were at the time in the hands of the Greeks, to be enjoyed by him when he could get them, is by far the least unsatisfactory explanation of this puzzling statement. For if the fact was so, we can understand better than on any other theory why Thucydides after his manner (see Introd. iii. to Part i.) leaves the statement unexplained. Busolt quotes as a parallel the case of Myrina and Gryneum. These were, like Lampsacus, Aeolian cities on the sea-coast which are known to have paid tribute to Athens. But Xenophon says that they were presented by Xerxes to Gongylus the Eretrian who (Thuc. i. 128) took Pausanias' letter to him, and—a fact about which Xenophon cannot have been mistaken—that they were in the possession of Gongylus' son when Xenophon himself returned with the Ten Thousand (Xen. An. vii. 8. 8; Hell. iii. 1. 6).

Several other explanations are possible, but they present great difficulties.

(1) The statement may be simply false. It has been suggested that Thucydides took it hastily from Stesimbrotus of Thasos (Introd. ii. Part i.) or some other source hostile to Themistocles; whose political enemies no doubt took a pleasure in filling in the details of his subserviency to the King. Thucydides' evident admiration for Themistocles and the obvious regret with which he records his apostasy is strongly against the supposition. And the statement, if not a malicious invention but a mere error, was a very obvious one, which Thucydides, interested as he was in the beginnings of the Athenian league (i. 89 *οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου σύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως*) was unlikely to make or to repeat.

(2) Improbable as it seems in face of the words just quoted, we cannot

¹ Abhandl. der Berlin. Akademie, 1869, p. 114.

Book I. Appendix to Notes.

Ch. 138, pronounce it absolutely impossible that the liberation of the Greek cities on the coast of Asia was a slow process, and that a few places in the position of Lampsacus and Myus remained in the King's power for fifteen or twenty years after the formation of the Delian league. The Ionian cities at least were unwall'd (Thuc. iii. 33); and Colophon, which was close to, though not on, the sea and had been a tributary of Athens, fell into Persian hands owing to internal dissensions in 430 B. C. Thucydides (iii. 34) only mentions the fact incidentally: if he had passed it over and if we found a stray notice implying that Colophon belonged to the King in that year, we should not be disposed to believe it. Again Thucydides (ii. 97) informs us that the Greek cities in Thrace paid tribute to Seuthes, who succeeded Sitalces in 424 B. C., as well as his own barbarian subjects; probably during the weakness of Athens after the Sicilian expedition. Something similar may conceivably have been the case on the coast of Asia in the early days of the league.

Hdt. vi. 42 says of the settlement of the Ionian cities by Artaphernes after the revolt, *φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἱ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφέρνηος*. It is quite impossible that the tributes were paid, though no doubt (Thuc. viii. 5) they were recorded in the King's books or the like: but Herodotus' words taken as they stand imply more than this, and point to something which we cannot fully explain in the relation of the Greek cities in Asia to the Persian King.

(3) This passage of Herodotus might suggest that the quotas of defaulting Greek cities were raised from other parts of the satrapies to which they belonged, and that what Themistocles really obtained from the King was the sum at which Myus and Lampsacus were assessed. But if this were so, Thucydides quite misrepresents the state of the case. He speaks, not of the revenues of these cities, but of the cities themselves, assigned to Themistocles 'for wine and meat,' according to the well-known Persian practice¹: and he alludes to the fruitful vineyards of Lampsacus (*ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυνότατον τῶν τότε εἶναι*) as the reason why Lampsacus in particular was presented to him.

Ch. 140, There exists a copy of an inscription², itself lost, said to have been found at Tegea, but in the Spartan dialect, recording contributions of money as well as ships, and apparently provisions, 'for the war' (*ποττόν πόλεμον*). The Melians contribute twenty minae, so that the inscription

¹ Xen. An. i. 4. 9 αἱ δὲ κῶμαι, ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν, Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζῆνην δεδομέναι: Plato, Alcib. i. p. 123 B χώραν πάνων πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν . . . ἦν καλεῖν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ζῆνην τῆς βασιλείας γυναικός εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἦν αὐτὴν καλεῖσθαι καλύπτραν, κ.τ.λ., καὶ ὀνόματα ἔχειν ἐκάστους τῶν τόπων ἀπὸ ἐκάστου τῶν κόσμων.

² Röhl, I. G. A. 69; Hicks, Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions, 43. The names [X]ίος and Ἐφέσιοι in the inscription are uncertain and so do not help to fix the date.

Ch. 140—Ch. 142, ll. 5–11.

must be earlier than 416 when Melos fell into the hands of the Ch. 140, Athenians. It may, however, be earlier than the Peloponnesian War: footnote 1. Busolt ascribes it to the time of the Persian wars.

Thuc. ii. 7 speaks of fixed sums of money which were demanded from (but never that we know of paid by) the Sicilian allies of Sparta; ii. 10 mentions requisitions of provisions (τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἐξοδὸν ἐκδημον εἶχειν), and vii. 18 mentions requisitions of iron for the fortification of Decelea. And Agis (viii. 3), ὁρμηθεὶς στρατῷ τινὶ ἐκ Δακελείας τὰ τε τῶν ξυμμάχων ἡργυρολόγησεν ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν.

These indications are slightly confirmed by definite mention of sums of money paid or about to be paid by the allies of Sparta in Plut. Apophth. Lac., Archidamus 7, Diod. xiv. 17.

τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσαι· Ch. 142, σθαι, ἢ που δὴ ἐν πολέμῳ τε καὶ οὐχ ᾗσσαν ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτε- l. 5. ταχισμένων.

It is better to suppose some definite reference as suggested in the Notes than to take the words as a vague threat, meaning no more than 'two can play at that game': 'much more will it be hard in a country exposed to attack, and when we are (as I presume by that time we shall be) fortified in a πόλις ἀντίπαλος opposed to Sparta.'

But there is something unsatisfactory in supposing (with most editors) πόλιν ἀντίπαλον to be in apposition with τὴν, or in making τὴν an 'accusativus pendens,' 'as to the one, it is difficult to establish an opposition city.' It is possible that πόλιν ἀντίπαλον, 'an equally-matched city,' may be the subject, not the object, to παρασκευάσασθαι: in that case, just as ἐν πολέμῳ answers to ἐν εἰρήνῃ, so οὐχ ᾗσσαν ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτεταχισμένων, 'when we are better¹ fortified against them than they against us' (whether in Athens herself or in the fortified cities of the empire) will answer to πόλιν ἀντίπαλον. We lose, it is true, the opposition (solid in fact, but imperfectly expressed) between πόλιν ἀντίπαλον and φρούριον. But the first clause may very well refer to ἐπιτείχισις in the widest sense of the word, while φρούριον, 'a mere fort' (implying a fort such as might be built by the enemy in Attica or by the Athenians in the Peloponnesus; cp. the following words: τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἂν τι μέρος, and πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων), may define more precisely, and with some contempt, the general term ἐπιτείχισις.

ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι is generally translated 'retaliate with our l. 11. ships.' But then the words merely anticipate ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλευσούμεθα, ch. 143, l. 14.

¹ οὐχ ᾗσσαν = μᾶλλον: Grammar, § 22.

NOTES

ON THE GRAMMAR OF THUCYDIDES

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS CHIEFLY FROM BOOK I.



THE name of a thing is sometimes used for the idea of it, or for § 1. the expression of the idea. E.g. *δρετή* (i. 33, l. 11) = reputation for Substantive generosity; *χρεία* (i. 32, l. 10) expression of need, request; *τιμή* (i. 75, l. 9), love of honour; *ἀφελία* (i. 75, l. 9; 123, l. 10), motives of expediency; *ἀσφάλεια* (i. 17, l. 3), regard for safety, caution.

ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις. Not 'the very first,' but simply 'first,' or 'as soon § 2. as any' (i. 6, l. 8). So *ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις* (iii. 17 init.) 'as numerous as Adjectives. any,' or 'among the most numerous.'

These phrases are nearly equivalent to the ordinary superlatives, *πρώτοις*, *πλείστοις*, to which they are often parallel. And just as *βέλτιστος* may mean either 'best,' or 'very good,' *πλείστος* 'most,' or 'very numerous'; so *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις*, *ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις*, etc., may have a stronger or a weaker sense, as the following passages will show.

In viii. 90 init. *Ἀρίσταρχος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ*, the meaning must be, 'a very great enemy of the people'; not 'the very greatest enemy,' for, as a matter of fact, there were greater enemies of the people. So iii. 17 init., vii. 24 med., viii. 68 fin. Here we have the *weaker* sense.

In Plato Symp. 178 B, we have the *stronger*: *οὕτω πολλαχόθεν ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Ἔρως ἐν τοῖς πρεσβύτατος εἶναι πρεσβύτατος δὲ ὢν, μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἡμῖν αἴτιος ἐστίν*. Plato has just quoted the line of Hesiod,

πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσαστο πάντων,

'the oldest,' or 'as old as any.' So Thuc. iii. 81 fin.

As to the origin of the phrase, the existence of the weaker sense shows that *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις* cannot stand for *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις πρώτοις*. Probably a participle should be supplied with the article from the context; cp. viii. 68 fin. *ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύουσι τὸν δῆμον πρώτος ἦν*.

Masculine or neuter nouns being the commonest, and the expression having come into use with them, the masculine or neuter, *τοῖς*, was

§§ 2-6.

... or participles; hence expres-
... mt.

... by himself, of himself,' and so
... be like.

... τὰς μέγιστας πόλεις ὑπῆκοι,
... ἀναγκασθέντες ἐνκοῦντο: 'uncompelled.'
... βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπιόν-

... have a historical bearing: (a)
... of Lacedaemonians opposed to their
... used, e.g., in cases where they take
... cities or strong points in them

... Μεγαρά και Πηγάς, και τὰ μακρὰ
... αὐτοί (see note). So iv.

... και τῶν μετοίκων (citizens and

... ἡδρανόδιον και ὥκισαν αὐτοί,
... Athenian citizens,' i.e. cleruchs) or

... who turn out the previous
... occupy it 'themselves.'

... αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ὡς εἶχον Ἕθαιοί:
... αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἐσχον.

... οἱ δυνάται τῶν Περσῶν may be ex-
... 'just the chief men,' 'the men of

... 3 ἐν' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς, 'right
... ἐπὶ νύκτα και αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον,

... of anything done to or in the interest
... proceeds from oneself, of an action,

... middle as it has been called¹ explains
... meanings of the same verb in the active
... ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, 'to fight first of two armies,'

... given in Rutherford, §§ 190, 194; there
... in act. and middle in Thompson,
... § 52, 8; Barton and Chavasse, Thuc.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 6-7.

'to strike the first blow': ἀρχεσθαι πολέμου, 'to begin fighting': i. 144, l. 16 πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἀρχομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνόμεθα.

Cp. ii. 8 init. ἀρχόμενοι . . . πάντες ὑψύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται, 'when they are making a beginning.'

ποιεῖν πόλεμον or ναυμαχίαν, in i. 28, l. 9 πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἶπεν ποιεῖν, ii. 86 fin. βουλόμενοι ἐν τάχει τὴν ναυμαχίαν ποιῆσαι, means not 'to fight,' but 'to cause a war,' of the authorities of a state—'to bring on a sea fight,' of the commanders of a fleet. Cp. iv. 91 fin. Παγώνδας ὁ Αἰολάδου . . . βουλόμενος τὴν μάχην ποιῆσαι . . . ἐπειθε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἵνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸν δῶνα ποιείσθαι.

ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν is 'to summon an assembly,' ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖσθαι, 'to meet in an assembly.' In viii. 76 ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς οἱ στρατιῶται, the sailors of the fleet at Samos who have revolted from the Four Hundred, not only *meet in* the assembly, but are the only authority who can *convene* it: Thucydides describes them as 'convening' it.

In i. 77 ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις is not 'conducting the trials' (ποιούμενοι), but 'having constituted the system of trials' or 'the courts': cp. Xen. Hell. v. 2. 35 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε . . . Ἰσμηρίας κρίσιν ποιῆσαι.

Similarly in i. 144, l. 8 ἦν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων, 'do not order the formal expulsion of'; ποιῶνται would mean 'formally expel.'

There are cases where it is not clear why the active or the middle is used: e.g. ii. 15 med. καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῇ ἑορτῇ δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσι (not ποιῶνται): perhaps 'hold' as a people, not 'keep' as individuals.

The Aorist indicative usually speaks of a past event without regard § 7. to the time which it occupied, or rather considers it as having occupied a single point of time (even when it really occupied more, e.g. Aorist. i. 13, l. 26 τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον).

But in the case of verbs which in themselves denote a continued action or a permanent state, e.g. βασιλεύειν, to be a king, ἀρχεῖν to be a ruler, the aorist sometimes indicates the point of time at which the action or state began.

E.g. i. 4, l. 3 ἤρξε, 'conquered'; i. 18, l. 15 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο, 'took the lead of the Greeks who had formed the confederacy'; cp. vi. 2 med. ὁμοροὶ τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκίσαντες ξύμπαντες μὲν Ἑλυμοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, 'they settled near the Sicani, and all together took the name of Elymi.'

In i. 3, l. 18 οἱ . . . ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες . . . κληθέντες = 'those who came to be called Hellenes,' not, 'who were called Hellenes.'

Krüger (Greek Grammar, § 53, 5, 1) quotes a good instance of this idiom, οὐδεὶς . . . εὐρεθήσεται κάλλιον . . . λαβὼν Εὐαγόρου τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ τούτοις ἐκείνως ἂν τις μάλιστα πιστεύσειεν, εἰ . . . ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειρήσειεν

Notes on Grammar, §§ 7-9.

ὅπως ἑκαστος ἐτυράννευσεν Isocrates ix. 39 (43, 44). Here ἐτυράννευσεν is shown to mean 'became tyrant' by the words λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν¹.

- § 8. This 'inceptive' aorist requires particular notice with verbs of thinking or considering.

E.g. i. 39, l. 5 ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιέψεσθαι, 'when they realised that we would not endure it':

102, l. 10 ἀλλοφύλους ἄμα ἡγησάμενοι, not 'thinking' but 'bethinking themselves' or 'remembering, that they were aliens':

124, l. 9 νομίσαντες ἐπ' ἀνάγκην ἀφίχθαι, 'making up your minds that you have no choice':

138, l. 21 ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο, 'finding it impossible.'

Under the same head probably falls the use of βουλεύειν, βουλευόμεναι in the aorist for 'coming to a conclusion,' 'forming a plan,' 'making up one's mind':

i. 73, l. 6 ὅπως μὴ βῆδ' ἐπεὶ περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων . . . χεῖρον βουλευέσθαι:

85, l. 2 μὴδ' ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεὶ μορῇ ἡμέρας περὶ πολλῶν σωμαίων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης βουλευέσμεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν.

- § 9. There are four places in Thucydides i. where the use of the aorist participle presents a difficulty, because it seems to denote an action subsequent to, not prior to, the action of the main verb: i. 101, l. 10 θάσσοι δὲ τρίτῃ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὁμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις τεῖχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, χρήματά τε ὅσα εἶδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τὴν τε ἡπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες: cp. 108, l. 12 ὁμολόγησαν . . . τεῖχ' ἐπεὶ περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι: 115, l. 1 σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο . . . ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγάς, κ.τ.λ.: 117, l. 13 προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ, τεῖχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες καὶ χρήματα . . . ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι.

These passages are alike in meaning, and are partly to be explained by the natural idea that the treaty in each case did not come into full operation until the conditions had been fulfilled. But the phrase could not have been used were it not that the aorist participle is in some cases independent, in point of time, of the verb; denoting a simultaneous or even later action, which is 'timeless,' or past only from the point of view of the speaker or writer. This is the case (a) in certain common

¹ This 'inceptive' use of the aorist is mentioned in the Grammars: e.g. Thompson, § 140, 1, and note 6; Goodwin, § 200, note 5 (b); Rutherford, § 208: but it is of such importance that a note on it here seems desirable. It frequently colours the meaning of an aorist where it is too subtle to be reproduced in translation.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 9-11.

constructions, *φθάσας ἦλθε οἱ ἐφθασεν ἰλθών, ἔτυχεν ἰλθών, περιορῶν τὴν γῆν τμηθεῖσαν*, etc.¹: (δ) in a few isolated passages. Professor Goodwin quotes a decisive one from Herodotus vii. 106 *κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοῖνδε Μασσαίων γενόμενον*—referring to a later action on the part of Mascames. Cp. Thucydides ii. 68 init. *Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχιδὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἐκτίσε μετὰ τὰ Τροικὰ οἰκαδε ἀναχωρήσας . . . Ἀμφιλοχος δ' Ἀμφιαρίω . . . δμάννυμον τῇ ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας*: and iv. 112 init. *καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας ἰδὼν τὸ ζήτημα ἔθει δρόμον, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐμβοήσαντά τε ἀθρόον καὶ ἐκπληξιν πολλὰν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει παρασχόντα*: here *ἐμβοήσαντα* is subordinate to *ἀναστήσας* and simultaneous with it or later in point of time.

The leading idea in a sentence is often expressed, not by the finite § 10.
verb, but by a participle which is in form subordinate to it.

E.g. i. 19, l. 1 *καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρον* Emphatic participle.
τοὺς συμμαχοὺς ἡγοῦντο: 'the allies who were under the Lacedaemonian headship were not liable to tribute.'

20, l. 5 *Ἰππαρχον οἰόνται . . . τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν*, 'was tyrant when he was killed.'

20, l. 11 *βουλόμενοι . . . δρᾶσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι*, 'wishing to do something worth the risk' (see note).

93, l. 7 *πάντα ὁμοίως κινούμεντοις ἡπείγοντο*, 'in their haste they spared nothing whatever.'

107, l. 24 *νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν ἐπιστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς*, not 'thinking that the enemy were at a loss they set out against them'—for the starting of the expedition has been already mentioned; but 'the expedition was made under the impression that the enemy were at a loss.'

See also notes on i. 9, l. 1; i. 145, l. 4 *οὐδὲν καλεούμενοι ποιήσιν*.

vi. 16 med. is a good instance: *ἢ τὰ ἴσα νέμων τὰ ὁμοῖα ἀνταξιοῦμαι*, 'or, if he claims equality, he must concede it.'

With *οὕτω καὶ* this use is particularly emphatic. i. 37, l. 1 *ἀναγκαῖον . . . μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἵνα*, 'we too are compelled to deal with both points before we proceed with our plea.'

Participles are often subordinate to each other, as well as to finite § 11.

verbs. When two or more participles unconnected by a conjunction are used in connection with the same verb, their relation to each other must be carefully noticed in translating:— Participles subordinate to participles.

¹ See Goodwin, *Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses*, §§ 143-152, for a full discussion of the subject; Rutherford, § 220, for a different view; also Goodwin, *Grammar*, § 204, note 2; Thompson, § 140, note 5; F. Carter, in the *Classical Review*, vol. v. pp. 3 ff., 249 ff., and on the other side R. Whitelaw, id. p. 248. Many instances quoted do not apply.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 11, 12.

i. 18, l. 17 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων διανοσθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασμένοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο, 'the Athenians, on the approach of the Medes, resolved to leave their city and removed their goods, and finally, going on shipboard, became seamen.' Here ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων is subordinate to the participles which follow, and διανοσθέντες . . . καὶ ἀνασκευασμένοι is subordinate to ἐμβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο.

i. 31, l. 4 ἐκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μισθῷ πείθοντες, 'whom they attracted by offers of pay.'

i. 49, l. 16 οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι εἰκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεφόμενοι καὶ καταδιώξαντες σποράδας ἐς τὴν ἡπειρὸν μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησαν . . . τὰς σκηναὶς ἐρήμους: here τρεφόμενοι and καταδιώξαντες are subordinate to πλεύσαντες and ἐπεκβάντες.

i. 75, l. 10 καὶ τινων καὶ ἤδη ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων, 'when some had actually revolted and been reduced.'

i. 143, l. 3 μὴ ὕντων ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων, ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετόικων, δεινὸν ἂν ᾔην, 'if we were not a match for them *when we embarked*':

§ 12. Thucydides is particularly fond of a peculiar use of the neuter participle of intransitive verbs.

Neuter participle for abstract substantive.

i. 36, l. 3 γνῶναι τὸ μὲν δεδοὺς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβήσων, τὸ δὲ θαρσεῖν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὄν, κ.τ.λ., 'his fear, . . . his confidence.'

i. 90, l. 8 τὸ μὲν βουλομένον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες, 'the meaning and the mistrust of Athens in their proposal.'

i. 142, l. 20 πολλαῖς δὲ (ναυσὶν) εἰργόμενοι ἡσυχάσουσι καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀδυνετώτεροι ἔσονται, 'with want of practice.'

iii. 10 init. ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων καθίστανται, 'in divergencies of principle.'

Perhaps iii. 43 med. χρηὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦντι¹ ἡμᾶς περαιτέρω προσοῦντας λέγειν ὑμῶν τῶν δι' ὀλίγου σκοποῦντων, 'although such sentiments prevail.'

v. 9 med. ὥς οὖν . . . τοῦ ὑπαπέναι πλέον ἢ τοῦ μένοντος . . . τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀναιμένῳ αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης καὶ πρὶν ξυнтаχθῆναι μᾶλλον τὴν δόξαν, κ.τ.λ., 'while they are thinking more of slipping away than of standing firm.'

vi. 24 init. τὸ μὲν ἐπιθύμουν τοῦ πλοῦ οὐκ ἐξηρέθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀχλώδους τῆς παρασκευῆς.

vii. 68 init. ἀποκλήσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον.

Such expressions seem to arise, partly from Thucydides' love of personification, partly from a desire to express abstract ideas in as concrete

¹ There is a very subtle analysis of various 'accumulations of participles' in Krüger, Greek Syntax, § 56, 15. 1-6.

² Reiske and Krüger propose and most edd. read ἀξιοῦν τι.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 12-14.

a form as possible: the participle employed is one more appropriate to persons than to things. And in all the cases, an abstract substantive, or the infinitive of the verb employed, might quite easily take the place of the participle. Hence it will not do to explain the usage from 'the difficulty of expressing abstract ideas.' It is an experiment in language, to which we see an approach in simpler phrases like ii. 61 init. *ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης*; ii. 87 init. *τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δὲ τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιλογίαν*, and *τὸ ὑποπτον, τὸ ἀνειμένον τῆς γνώμης* in i. 90, v. 9 quoted above: in these however adjectives or *passive* participles are generally used: ii. 87 shows the transition to the use of an *active* participle.

Böhme, on i. 36, quotes parallels from Antiphon, Tetral. i. 3, 3 *τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς γνώμης*, de Caed. Herod. § 73 *τὸ ὑμέτερον δυνάμενον . . . τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενον*, Plat. Phaed. 72 B *τὸ ἀνεγείρεσθαι . . . γιγνώμενον ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδοντος (= τοῦ καθεύδειν)*. There are several instances in Sophocles, chiefly in the later plays¹. Cp. also Xen. Mem. ii. 6. 23 *τὴν ὀργὴν καλύειν εἰς τὸ μεταμελησόμενον προίεναι*.

εἰ with fut. indic., and a present tense or its equivalent in the § 13. apodosis², is always an expressive construction implying a shade of Conditional contempt, indignation, fear, etc.

i. 32, l. 6 *εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ἦν ἀτυχῶσιν*, 'if they cannot hope to establish.'
Conditional sentences: *εἰ* with fut. indic.

i. 35, l. 4 *καὶ δεῖνόν ἐστι τοῖσδε μὲν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς, κ.τ.λ.*, 'if they are to be allowed to man.'

i. 124, l. 7 *εἰ γνωσθισόμεθα ξυελθόντες μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες*, 'if it is to go abroad that.'

i. 141, l. 2 *εἰ πολεμήσομεν*, 'if we mean to fight.'

There are one or two really 'irregular' conditional sentences in § 14. Thucydides, where *εἰ* with the optative in the protasis is followed by Optative (not indic.) a (present or future) indicative in the apodosis. after *εἰ*.

i. 121, l. 13 *μᾶ τε νίκη ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀλίσκονται· εἰ δ' ἀντισχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλείοσι χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά*.

The confident tone of the speaker makes the alternative of the Athenians continuing to resist very faintly present to his mind, or (which in

¹ See further Campbell's Sophocles, vol. i. Introduction, § 30 A, and cp. Thompson, § 150 A, note 2; Krüger on Thuc. i. 36.

² In iii. 47 init. *εἰ διαφθερεῖτε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Μυτιληναῖον . . . ἀδικήσετε τοὺς εὐεργέτας κτείνοντες* is different: here there is a future in the apodosis, and *εἰ διαφθερεῖτε*, 'if you really kill, if you will kill,' is like *ἐὰν διαφθείρητε*, but more energetic. The cases above are variations of the *εἰ τι ἔχει, δίδωσι* construction: this, of the *ἐὰν τι ἔχῃ, δώσει*. See Goodwin, § 221 note, § 223, note 1; Thompson, § 194, 1, 2; and cp. Rutherford, § 285.

probable: hence *εἰ* 'if'
they hold out' instead

καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμον
περγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς
ἀλλοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέροις
ἐθέλομεν (if genuine)¹
our Spartan detractors
a light heart, we have the

the same principle: for in
which the speaker is only
contrasting with the actual case.
because the clause with *εἰ*
the clause with indicative.

ἐστὶν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχά-
τους πολεμεῖν, κ.τ.λ. Here *ἀνδρῶν*
καὶ παρρησιᾶς ἡσυχάζοιεν ἄν.

ἐστὶν, εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
κατακτείνεσθαι ἴσθαι μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ ὅντες καὶ
ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι ἀξίως ἐστὶν = καὶ οὐκ ἂν
εἰ τύχοιεν, κ.τ.λ. So that here there

Neu-
tic;
abs-
sul-
tive

ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς) ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποχωρήσαι
with *εἰ* and the optative precedes,
because ἐστὶν ὑποχωρήσαι ἡμῖν

an indicative in the protasis, and
analysis vanishes when we remember that
a conditional sentence or not) is con-
of some kind². Such sentences are
near only a superficial resemblance to

ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείοσι ἀρέσκοντες ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ'
ὅπου οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἀπαρέσκειμεν ἂν is a

ἐθέλομεν and ἐθέλομεν, but Dionysius
12 (in the Augustan age) comments
shows clearly that he read it.
indicative; much less to an expression

not 'we shall be thought,' but 'we
Thompson, § 196; Goodwin, § 226, 2.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 16-19.

slightly more argumentative form of οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἀπαρέσκομεν, 'it cannot be right that they alone should be dissatisfied with us.'

i. 142, l. 7 φρούριον δ' εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἂν τι μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, 'if they go and build a fort, then they may injure a good part of our land,' etc.

ii. 60 fin. ὥστ' εἰ μοι καὶ μέσας ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπέσθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φερόιμην, i.e. οὐκ εἰκός ἐστι, τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν ἐμὲ νῦν αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι.

iii. 40 med. εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι ὁρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ χρεῶν ἀρχοιτε, i.e. οὐκ ἔρα χρὴ ὑμᾶς ἀρχειν, 'you must be wrong in holding empire.'

In three of these four instances the words ὁρθῶς, εἰκότως, χρεῶν, suggest indicative sentences¹: i. 142, l. 7, is like the cases mentioned p. 145, footnote 2. ✓

ἂν with impf. in the apodosis of a conditional sentence may § 17. refer to *past* as well as to *present* time; although the imperfect always ἂν with im- has some special force: e.g. i. 75 fin. καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς perf. indic. ὑμᾶς ἐγίγνωτο, 'for our allies who revolted would (always) have revolted to you?' Cp. note on ch. 44, l. 5.

καί, 'also' or 'even' (οὐδέ, μηδέ, 'not ... either,' or 'not even'), § 18. is in Thucydides, as in other Greek authors, constantly used to emphasize Particles, a leading idea, and must be carefully noticed in translation. καί, οὐδέ, καί ('also') may imply 'accordingly,' 'consequently,' 'actually,' or emphatic the like.

i. 14, l. 11 ὅψι τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν ... τὰς ναῦς ποήσασθαι αἵσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν ('actually').

i. 20, l. 11 βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν φυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι, (lit.) 'so and only so to take the risk.'

ii. 93 med. ὥς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθὺς, 'the plan having been adopted, they accordingly started at once' ('this plan they promptly executed').

When καί is used, as in the instances just given, with the *latter* § 19. of two ideas (the latter in the order of time or thought, a result, con- καί em- clusion, or the like), there is no great difficulty. But it is sometimes used phatic with with the *former* of two ideas,—with the antecedent, not the consequent. the ante- cedent. Where we should say, 'Because a man has had a piece of unexpected fortune, he craves for *still* more,' Thucydides says (iv. 17 fin.) ἀεὶ γὰρ τοῦ πλεόνος ἐλπίδι ἐρέγονται διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀδοκῆτως εὐτυχεῖναι: where καί might be accurately but clumsily translated 'to begin with.'

Where we should say 'We must gather from the character of Agamemnon's expedition what earlier expeditions *too* were like,' Thucydides

¹ For other instances, see Thompson, § 200; Goodwin, § 227, 1.

² Th. § 197, G. § 222, R. § 281. This is often forgotten in translating.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 19-21.

says, 'from the character of this expedition to begin with'; *ελάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ ὅλα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς* i. 9, l. 27.

i. 140, l. 27 *οἷς ἐι φυγχωρήσετε, καὶ ἄλλο τι μείζον εὐθὺς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε ὡς φόβῳ καὶ τούτῳ ὑπακούσαντες*, 'if you are going to agree to this, then (§ 18) you will promptly have something greater demanded of you, under the impression that this *first* concession was made through fear.' So iv. 62 fin. *τιμωρία γὰρ οὐκ εὐνυχεῖ δικαίως, ὅτι καὶ ἀδικεῖται*, 'vengeance, because it is taken upon a wrong, is not *therefore* as fortunate as it ought to be.' This idiom is very common, especially in the phrase *ὥσπερ καί*, and can hardly ever be literally translated.

Very often *both* ideas, both clauses of a sentence, antecedent and consequent, are emphasized by *καί*.

i. 77, l. 22 *εἴπερ ὅλα καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον . . . ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοῖα καὶ νῦν γινώσεσθε*: here we can translate *καί* only with *νῦν*, not with *τότε*, 'now too,' 'once more.'

i. 83, l. 7 *οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλεόν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τῆς αἰτίας ἔχομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προΐδωμεν*, 'let us who will have to bear the responsibility *begin by* considering the consequences,' or 'as we shall bear the responsibility, *so* let us consider the consequences.'

καί emphatic = 'at all.'

§ 20. A peculiar use of *καί* ('even'), emphasizing the word which follows it, is best translated by italics or 'at all.'

i. 15, l. 6 *κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ἐνέστη* πάντες δὲ ἦσαν, ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο, πρὸς ὁμούςους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐκάστοις, 'anything that amounted to power,' 'all that occurred at all.'

Cp. i. 20, l. 17 *τὸν Πιτανάτην λόχον . . . ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πάποτε*, 'which never even existed at all.'

i. 97, l. 10 *τούτων δ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἤφατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγγραφῇ Ἑλλάδικος*, 'Hellenicus who really did touch upon this period,' whereas others did not.

Cp. vi. 38 fin. *τί καὶ βούλεσθε, ὦ νεώτεροι*, 'what can you want?' 'what ever do you want,' implying that they ought not to want anything¹.

§ 21. *μὲν . . . δέ*. Of two clauses introduced by *μὲν* and *δέ*, the first *μὲν* and *δέ* is sometimes subordinate to the other, and *μὲν* must be translated 'although,' 'while,' 'whereas.' Thus in i. 1, l. 10 *τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν . . . σαφῶς μὲν εἶρεῖν . . . ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μέγала νομίζω γενέσθαι*. It was not of course the uncertainty of early history but the weakness of early times which, in spite of that uncertainty, convinced Thucydides of the comparative greatness of the Peloponnesian war.

¹ Cp. Krüger, Greek Grammar, § 69, 32, 16; Riddell's Apology, p. 168.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 21-23.

In i. 7, l. 1 *τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα φηίσθησαν*, κ.τ.λ., the corresponding *αἱ δὲ παλαιαί* is four lines further down. 'Only the cities latest founded were built close to the shore; the ancient cities (of which I am speaking) were established inland.'

iii. 94 fin. *τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους . . . οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπείφαινον . . . καταστραφῆναι*, 'the Aetolians, numerous and warlike though they were, dwelt only in unwall'd villages and would not therefore be difficult to conquer.'

οὐχ ἥσσον, 'not less,' often, though not always, implies *μᾶλλον*, § 22. 'more' (*οὐχ ἥσσον ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον*). So *οὐχ ἥκιστα* may = *μάλιστα*¹: Negatives. *οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατάτατων* (i. 5, l. 4) = *τῶν δυνατάτατων*. This is an extension of the very common idiom by which, e.g. in i. 25, l. 2 *καὶ ἥσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι* means 'they were anything but weak.'

This use is proved by passages like i. 82, l. 17 *μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσῃτε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ ὀμηρον εἶχειν, καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ὅσῳ ἀμεινον ἐξείργασται*.

i. 68, l. 10 *ἐν οἷς προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν*².

In i. 54, l. 11 *οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων* is shown a few lines further down to mean, in exact figures, 1050.

But in i. 33, l. 14 *ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κύσμον οὐχ ἥσσον διδόντες ἢ ληφόμενοι*, the Corcyraeans cannot intend to say that they offer to Athens security and honour *in a higher degree* than they hope to receive them; the meaning is simply 'not less.'

So with *οὐ τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον*, 'not so much . . . as,' or 'not . . . § 23. but.'

In viii. 45 med. *οὐ τοσοῦτον περίῳ ὅσον ἵνα αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ ναῦται, ἐκ τῶν... ὅσον. πεμονσίας ὑβρίζοντες*, κ.τ.λ., the meaning is 'not from poverty, but to check extravagance.'

But on the other hand, i. 127, l. 4, the Lacedaemonians indirectly demand the banishment of Pericles *νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥῆον σφίσι προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*. *οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἤλπιζον παθεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν τούτῳ ὅσον διαβολὴν οἴσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν*, κ.τ.λ. Here *οὐ τοσοῦτον* must mean 'not so much,' because the words *νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ* would have no sense at all unless the Lacedaemonians had thought it just possible for their demand to take effect.

In i. 11, l. 1 *αἷτιον δ' ἦν οὐκ ἢ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἢ ἀχρηματία*, the meaning is just the same as in English 'not so much the want of men as the want of money.'

¹ Cp. Hdt. ii. 43, and elsewhere, *οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα*.

² In i. 44, l. 2 *οὐχ ἥσσον* probably = *μᾶλλον*: cp. *μετέγνωσαν*, l. 3; so *οὐκ ἐλάσσων* i. 40, l. 22: cp. *μᾶλλον* l. 23.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 23-27.

§ 24. Similarly οὐ μάλλον . . . ἢ, οὐ τὸ πλέον . . . ἢ may mean 'not so much . . . as,' or 'not . . . but.'

οὐ μάλλον . . . ἢ. In i. 9, l. 20 οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ means that Agamemnon succeeded in getting together the expedition against Troy 'not mainly by favour but (mainly) by fear.'

In i. 83, l. 3 καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπως τὸ πλεον ἄλλα δαπάνης, the meaning is simply 'not so much as.'

In v. 8 fin. οὐ μάλλον is clearly = 'not . . . but !'

§ 25. οὐχ ὁμοίως, οὐχ ὅσος, κ.τ.λ. The corresponding English expressions 'not like,' 'not as great as' usually mean 'smaller than,' 'less than'; 'the enemy's fleet is not like ours' or 'not equal to ours' means that it is smaller. In Greek, οὐχ ὁμοίως, οὐχ ὅσος, οὐκ ἴσος, may mean either 'smaller' or 'greater.'

Cp. i. 51, l. 1 ταύτας οὖν (τὰς ναῦς) προϊδόντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑποτῆσαντες ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων εἶναι οὐχ ὅσος ἔωσαν ἄλλα πλείους, 'not the number (only) which they saw but more.'

i. 132, l. 5 ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρείχε . . . μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσιν (ἀλλὰ μείζον τῶν παρόντων); so vi. 16 med. οὐδὲ γε ἀδικον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μέγα φρονούντα μὴ ἴσον εἶναι.

i. 143, l. 13 ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μεγάλα clearly means 'other and far greater advantages.'

But in i. 73, l. 25 ὥς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὐσης τῆς δυνάμεως, 'not like what it had been' means *less*.

§ 26. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ has (a) a weaker and (b) a stronger sense: (a) 'nor again,' (b) 'not however that.' For (a) cp. i. 3, l. 16 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἰρηκε: vi. 55 med. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀν κατασχέιν μοι δοκεῖ ποτε Ἰππίας τὸ παραχρήμα ῥαβδίας τὴν τυραννίδα. For (b) cp. i. 82, l. 1 οὐ μὴν οὐδέ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεύει τοὺς . . . ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν ἑὼν βλάπτειν, 'not however that I would have you tamely permit them to injure our allies': ii. 97 fin. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐνεσίαν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται.

§ 27. Adverbial phrases like καθ' ἕκαστον, καθ' ἑκάστους, ἐπὶ πλεον are often used either as parallel or as actually equivalent to a case of a substantive, a nominative, dative, or accusative²: a similar construction is not unfrequent in Herodotus (see Stein on Hdt. i. 9, l. 11).

καθ' ἕκαστον, etc., used as substantives.

¹ Thuc. vii. 36 med. ἐνόμισαν γὰρ οἱ Συρακόσιοι—πρὸς ἑαυτῶν ἕσσεσθαι is interesting as a study of these negative constructions.

² In fact ὅσος means not 'as great as' but 'of the same size as': cp. i. 2, l. 6; ii. 1, l. 3; and notes.

³ See Krüger, Greek Grammar, § 60, 8, who compares such simple

Notes on Grammar, §§ 27-29.

i. 3, l. 5 *κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ' αὐτῶν (δοκεῖ) τὴν ἰκονομίαν παρέχειν*. Here *κατὰ ἔθνη ἄλλα* is a nominative, and equivalent to *ἔθνη ἄλλα καθ' ἕκαστα*. (*κατὰ ἔθνη* might be explained as adverbial, and an indefinite subject, 'the old inhabitants of Hellas,' supplied with *παρέχειν*; but the comparison of other passages shows that this is unnecessary.)

i. 36, l. 14 *βραχυτάτῃ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ, τοῖς τε ξύμπτῃσι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, τῷ δ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμῶς μάθοιτε*. Here *καθ' ἕκαστον* = τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον.

Cp. ii. 64 med. *καὶ πολέμοις μεγίστοις ἀντέσχομεν πρὸς τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους* (= πρὸς ἑκάστους).

vii. 8 init. *ἀγγέλλων πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ἄλλοτε καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων* (= ἕκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων οἱ τὰ γιγνόμενα καθ' ἕκαστα).

vii. 64 med. *καὶ ἐνθυμείσθε καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ ξύμπαντες*. (Here *καθ' ἑκάστους* = ἕκαστοι¹.)

Thucydides is fond of dovetailing as it were his clauses into each § 28. other by inserting into one clause a word or words belonging to an Order of adjoining clause: or of separating two parallel clauses by part of an- words. other clause².

E.g. in i. 70, l. 25, where it might seem clearer to write *καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μετὰ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δι' ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι*, Thucydides writes *καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι' ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι*.

Cp. i. 37, l. 14 *κἂν τούτῃ τὸ εὐπεπὲς ἀσπονδον οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσασιν ἑτέροις προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι, κ.τ.λ.*

ii. 15 init. *ἐπὶ γὰρ Κίερος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς θησέα δὲ κατὰ πόλεις εἰκείτο*.

Thucydides, like Tacitus, is fond of expressing two parallel clauses § 29. in two different constructions, each regularly subordinate to the same Variation of main word³.

Cp. i. 63, l. 6 *καὶ παρήλθε παρὰ τὴν χερσὶν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς*—where a participle and an adverb are parallel to each other and both subordinate to *παρήλθε*. construction.

So in i. 49, l. 7 *οὐ βραδίως ἀπελύοντο ὑπὸ τε πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν, καὶ μάλλον τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπλίταις ἐς*

expressions as *ξυμβοήθησαν εἰς εἰκοσι μάλιστα ἡμέρας, διέφθειραν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους*.

¹ Cp. ii. 77 fin., v. 68 init., vi. 15 fin., 67 fin., vii. 75 init., viii. 50 fin.

² Classen (Introd. p. lxxxii) who quotes several instances from i. 69. Cp. i. 21, l. 2, and note.

³ There is no question here of irregularity or 'change of construction'; which only occurs where two constructions are used inconsistently to express one idea: see § 30.

Notes on Grammar, §§ 29-30.

τὴν νίκην, where ὑπὸ πλῆθους and πιστεύοντες both give in different forms the reason for οὐ βραδίως ἀπελύοντο.

i. 22, l. 9 (see notes) is a more complicated case: ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρὴν (ἤξιασα γράφειν), καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖς περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελέθην. Here the constructions would have been parallel if αὐτὸς τε παραγενόμενος had been written for οἷς αὐτὸς παρὴν or ἂ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεξελέθην for παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεξελέθην.

Other instances in Book i. are—

69, l. 11 καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἷα ὀδῶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χαροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας, *lit.* 'by what steps they attack their neighbours, and that they do so by degrees.'

90, l. 6 ἤξιουν αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν . . . τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς γράμης οὐ δηλοῦντες . . . ὥς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου . . . οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος, κ.τ.λ., 'they requested them not to build walls, not revealing their suspicions, but only on the plea that,' etc.

141, l. 1 αὐτόθεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρὶν τι βλαβῆναι, ἢ . . . μὴ εἰζόντες, 'resolve either to submit . . . or never to yield.' The construction διανοήθητε μὴ εἰζόντες is not found elsewhere, so that this instance approaches an anacoluthon.

§ 30. *Anacolutha or changes of construction.*

Changes of construction: (a) slight: (a) There are a good many very slight changes of construction or grammatical irregularities in Thucydides which present no difficulty whatever; any reader who is thinking more of the sense than the words will pass them over without notice; and they have seldom been referred to in the Notes (e.g. 10, ll. 30, 31; 16, l. 1; 126, l. 42).

Such are i. 49, l. 12 αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες . . . μάχης οὐκ ἦρχον, δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

i. 13, l. 5 ναυτικά τε ἐξηγνύετο ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο (*scil.* οἱ Ἕλληνες).

i. 57, l. 8 δεδιὼς τε ἔκρυσσεν ἐς τε τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα πέμπων ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται αὐτοῖς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἕνεκα ἀποστάσεως.

i. 59, l. 5 ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐξεπέμποντο.

(b) real breaks in construction.

(b) Sometimes however such irregularities cause some difficulty in making out the sense, especially when they involve changes in the subject of a sentence. Such difficulties are certainly commoner in Thucydides than in Plato¹ or the Orators, even contemporary orators like Antiphon

¹ Some parallels in Plato will be found among the instances quoted in Riddell's *Apology*, *Digest of Platonic Idioms*, §§ 270-286. But they are much more like deliberate and artistic imitations of the easy flow of conversation—not always in accordance with grammatical rules, but nearly always graceful and transparently clear.

Notes on Grammar, § 30.

and Lysias : and we do not find them in what we have of other contemporary prose writers, the philosophers, Gorgias, Critias, the 'De Republica Atheniensium,' etc.¹ We find more analogies to them in Aeschylus and Sophocles. They seem (apart from the chance of corruption in the MSS.; see p. 155 (c)) to arise chiefly from the character of Thucydides' mind, partly also from the fact that, *being what he was*, he 'wrote in an ante-grammatical age.' This means of course, not that the facts and tendencies just beginning to be formulated in rhetorical and grammatical rules did not exist, but that the interest in these rules and their embodiment in formal treatises had not begun to react upon expression, i.e. check either conscious experiments in language or unconscious forcing of language in the attempt to express ideas.

Such places are ch. 18, l. 20 *κοινῇ τε ἀπώσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον, ὕστερον οὐ πολλὰ διεκρίθησαν πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλείῳ Ἕλληνας καὶ οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες*. This is not a mere case of widening or contracting the subject, like i. 49 quoted above; 'those who revolted from the King' were not among those who 'repelled the Barbarians,' in fact they fought on the Barbarian side.

So in 100, l. 8 ff. *καὶ ναυαὶ μὲν ἐπὶ Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, κ.τ.λ., οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*, the subject of the long sentence which follows, means (a) an Athenian expedition, (b) the Athenian people, (c) a larger Athenian expedition.

Under the same head come several passages in which the form of the sentence changes under the writer's hands. It is perhaps misleading to speak of a *mixture* of two constructions, because that may be taken to mean that two constructions were definitely present to the mind of the writer : but such places are a *confusion* of two constructions, and—though this is one of the points on which no certainty is possible and people will never agree—it is probable that Thucydides sometimes forgot how he had begun his sentence before he finished it. He knew what he was going to say when he began, and he knew what he had said when he was ending, but he did not know or care exactly how he had said it. This seems a more natural explanation of many places than correction of the manuscript reading (even where correction is easy), or than the supposition of some unusual or awkward construction.

Two clear instances in Book i. are ch. 25, l. 14 ff. *οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα (οἱ Κερκυραῖοι) οὔτε Κοριν-*

¹ Dionys. Hal. De Thuc. Hist. Jud. 51 *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον ἀναφέροντας τὴν Θουκυδίδου διάλεκτον, ὥς δὴ τότε ὠσθράποι οὖσαν συνήθη, βραχὺς ἀπέχρη μοι λόγος καὶ σαφής, ὅτι, πολλῶν γενομένων Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον βητόρων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν κέχρηται ταύτῃ τῇ διαλέκτῳ, οὐδ' οἱ περὶ Ἀνδοκίδην καὶ Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Λυσίαν ῥήτορες, οὐθ' οἱ περὶ Κριτίαν καὶ Ἀντισθένη καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, Σακρατικοί. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντων δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ πρῶτος ἐπιτετηθευκὺς ταύτην τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, ἵνα διαλλάξῃ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγραφείς.*

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θίφ' ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, . . . περιφρονούντες δὲ αὐτούς, κ. τ. λ. . . πάντων οὖν τούτων ἱγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κόρινθοι ἔπεμπον ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμον δαμένοι τὴν ὠφελίαν: and ch. 71, l. 2 ff. καὶ οἰεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρεῖν οἱ ἄν, κ. τ. λ. . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε.

A more doubtful instance is ch. 23, l. 23 τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανιστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. We may easily save the grammar by taking πρόφασιν as an 'accusativus pendens' or an accusative 'in apposition to the whole sentence,' but it is simpler to suppose that πρόφασιν was meant for the predicate of the sentence which afterwards receives another predicate in ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν.

Three other less difficult passages illustrate the same principle, viz., the use of a construction suiting, not the expression actually used in the preceding words, but another way in which they might have been expressed.

In i. 35, l. 21 καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς συμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὁμοία ἢ ἀλλοτριώσις, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἱὼν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς, it is difficult to help supplying δει, from the sense of the preceding clause, with ἱὼν¹.

In i. 72, l. 1 τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ ἄλλων παρούσα, καὶ ὥς ᾔσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παριτηγία ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, the omission of καί, which is used as if γάρ had not preceded, would improve the strict grammar but not the expression (cp. iv. 132): the words that follow contain one or two more slight irregularities such as those mentioned above (a).

Finally in ch. 132, l. 32, Thucydides could not have written ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος μηνυτῆς γίγνεται, καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγίδα λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς: for Pausanias' slave opened the letter first and revealed the plot afterwards. But the long participial sentence which follows μηνυτῆς γίγνεται, explaining the fears of the slave for his life, makes the καὶ quite natural, for it connects 'in sense, though not in grammar,' the fears of the slave with the opening of the letter to which they led.

(c) confusions arising

(c) There is a third class of expressions which cannot fairly be explained in this way: for they involve not merely negligence of expression, but actual blundering and confusion of thought. Such an instance

¹ Stahl's objection 'ex οὐχ ὁμοία ad ἄλλα nihil aliud repeti potest quam ὁμοίων ἔστιν' sounds conclusive, unless we read the whole context and realise the circumstances: then it does not. It is a far harsher explanation to take ἱὼν as infinitive in an imperative sense, on the strength of one very dissimilar passage in v. 9 med. οὐ δὲ Κλεαρίδα ὑστέρων . . . αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἐπακθεῖν, καὶ ἐπείγεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα συμμεῖναι.

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is the sentence inserted by some MSS. at the end of i. 39 *ἐγκαλημάτων* from *cor-
δὲ μόνων ἀμετόχους οὕτως τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοιναίνειν*. If it rruption of
were in all the MSS., we should still have a right to say that Thucydides MSS.
cannot have deliberately written it as it stands, any more than the
sentence at the end of v. 111 *καὶ ἐνθυμείσθε πολλάκις ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος
βουλευέσθε, ἣν μῦς περὶ καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορ-
θώσασαν ἔσται* (or *ἴσται*). Such places are not 'anacolutha,' they are
hopeless confusions: though our certainty that they are mistakes of
some kind does not make it possible to say with confidence how they
got into the text or what Thucydides wrote.

Now and then too, in places where the meaning is perfectly clear there
will be some inaccuracy of expression hardly worth discussing at length,
but more likely to be the result of error than to be an exact copy of
what Thucydides wrote. Such places in Book i. are ch. 25, l. 17
δυνάμει ὄντες ὁμοῖα: perhaps 36, l. 15 *τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἀξία τοῖς
Ἑλλήσι ναυτικά*: 91, l. 22 *έφασαν* (see note), 93, l. 10 *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου
ἀρχῆς ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξεν*: for Themistocles cannot really
be said, because the archonship was an annual office, to have held it
'annually': 110, l. 1 *οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη, ἐξ ἑτῇ
πολεμήσαντα* (Cobet, *πολεμησάντων*)¹. This last passage suggests an
important limitation to the possibility of explaining by 'anacoluthon
passages which present difficulties of grammar or meaning. There
cannot really be a 'confusion between the Greek cause and the Greeks'
within so few words, any more than in ii. 29 med. *Τήρης δὲ οὕτε τὸ αὐτὸ
ὄνομα ἔχων, βασιλεὺς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο*, Thucydides
is likely to have changed the construction between *ἔχων* and *ἐγένετο*,
and left the participle *ἔχων* 'hanging in the air' without a finite verb.

¹ Hdt. vii. 9 fin. *οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα*,
is a much more natural expression, and occurs at the end of an im-
passioned harangue; hence it cannot be said to support *πολεμήσαντα* in
Thucydides.

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GLOSSARY.

αἰτία (blame), applied to states or factions = *grievance* (i. 66, 146; iii. 13); applied to individuals = *self-reproach* (i. 140; iii. 53).

ἀναγκαῖος, may mean, not 'necessary' in the sense of 'requisite,' but 'connected with a position of necessity': i. e. '*what one is forced to do*,' or '*what one is forced to be content with*.'

E. g. i. 2 τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς, 'food just sufficient for each day'; i. 61 ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν, 'a forced alliance'; ii. 70 βράσεως περὶ ἀναγκαίας = 'under stress of famine'; i. 90 ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιότητος ὕψους, 'from a position just high enough and no more,' 'the most barely sufficient height'; i. 84 ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιότατοις παιδένεται, see note. Cp. v. 8; vi. 37; vii. 60, 69.

ἀναδιδάσκειν, 'to convince' of something in opposition to a previous opinion or feeling; i. 32 δίκαιον . . . τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προφειλομένης ἤκοντας παρὰ τοὺς

πέλας ἐπικουρίας . . . δεησομένους ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον . . . ὧς, κ. τ. λ. The word is used absolutely in this sense viii. 86 οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δήλου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πρεσβευταί, οὗς τότε ἐπεμψαν παραμυθησομένους καὶ ἀναδιδάσκοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, 'to correct the ideas of, *explain the real state of affairs to*,' the democrats at Samos.

ἀναπεῖθαι is used in much the same way; i. 126, of Cylon, τοὺς φίλους ἀναπέσας, *overcoming the objections* of his friends: cp. i. 84 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνείσθημεν, 'we are not provoked into *changing our ideas*.'

ἀπραγμοσύνη, 'abstinence from business' is one of those neutral words which have acquired a strongly coloured and almost a party meaning. At Athens, where democracy and the character of the people made it the rule and not the exception to be a politician, ἀπράγμων, ἀπραγμοσύνη, were applied specially to *abstinence from public business*, and were natu-

Glossary (ἀπαρτησις — ἐκ.)

used as complimentary or complimentary terms according to circumstances: either quiet sensible folks, who mind 'their own business,' or, in Swift's ironical phrase, 'ignorant and ill commonwealthsmen, preferring their own ease and sloth before the general improvement of their country.' In Thuc. ii. 40, Pericles alludes satirically to the favourable use of the word: μέντοι γὰρ τὸν . . . μαχρὴν τὴν μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπαρτίζοντο δὲ ἀρχαῖον νομίζοντες.

The word is generally applied by Thucydides not to individuals but to states or policies in a state: retaining its associations of praise or blame, generally blame²; and referring to 'non-*interference*' with the affairs of other states, *indifference* to foreign affairs, *a policy of inactivity*, 'indolent neutrality' (132).

in. i. το *φρονίαν ἀπραγμόνα*
is 'a life of peace and quiet-
ness', generally, opposed to
ἀγυμνία *ἐπιμελίας*, 'toilsome
business'.

general word for
 answering to *dynabōs*.
 "character" are some-
 times used for the right trans-
 lation of *dynabōs*. "character,"
 however, is not used.
 "character" often are.
 "character" to the good
 which make people
 to others it is the
 answering.

It is often used of states or public men to denote conformity to the Greek standard of public or international duty; hence *ἀμενέως* or *ἀμενως* in i. 37, where it is immediately preceded by *ἐκείνη ἀμενία*, and is explained by *ἐλευθερία καὶ ὁμοφροσύνη καὶ δίκαιον*; and in iii. 10 *πρὸς ἀμενίαν* *ἀμενέως ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶν*. It also means 'generosity' or 'goodness' in the narrower sense, as in ii. 40: iv. 19: the *goodness* or 'uprightness' of Brasidas in iv. 81: the 'virtues' or 'faithful services' *ἀρεταὶ* or *patriotism* of the Plataeans in iii. 53, 56, 57.

Some difficulty is caused by the application of the word to Pisistratus and his family, vi. 54; and to Antiphon, one of the leaders in a conspiracy which was carried out by treachery and wholesale assassination, viii. 68. No doubt in both places Thucydides is emphasizing an opinion of his own with a certain bravado against the more popular view. But when he says *καὶ ἐλευθέρουσαν ἐνὶ πλείστον δι' τράνους οὗτοι ἀρετῇ καὶ ζήτει*, he means that 'for tyrants' the Pisistratidae acted generously and uprightly in public life and, as he goes on to say, respected the political rights of the citizens. Antiphon again 'was one of the very best men in Athens' (*ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺν ἀρετῇ ὁμότερος ὑπεριος*) in force of character and professional ability, and could do his friends more

Socrates, Apcl. 31 C, 36 B ff.,
... rejected the charge of expyromony in public life.

Glossary (ἀρετή—γνώμη).

service than any one else by writing speeches for them. Bétant rightly classes this passage with i. 2 δι' ἀρετὴν γῆς: ii. 37 δι' ἀρετῆς προτιμάται (capacity, ability).

In ii. 45 ἀρετῆς περί η' ψόγου (character for good or evil), we have an approach to the use in i. 33, when ἀρετή = 'reputation for generosity'.

βοηθεῖν and its compounds do not necessarily imply 'going to the rescue,' but may be applied to any forward movement of an armed force:—considered of course 'as going to the help of' your city or your side, though even this vestige of the primary meaning at times almost disappears.

Cp. in i. 105 βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν, with οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τοὺς τε τὸ τρωαῖον ἰσθάντας διαφθείρουσι, 'advancing': and in i. 107 ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν with ἐβοήθησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεῖ, and ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς below in the same sense. In iii. 24 οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο, τῆς βοηθείας πανσάμενοι, βοηθεία is the 'pursuit' of the Plataeans.

γινώσκω (pres.) means, not 'I know,' but 'I perceive' or 'I resolve': though the future or past tenses or the present, when it denotes repeated action, or

when 'know' = 'come to the knowledge of,' may often be translated by 'know.'

In i. 36 γνώτω is 'let him understand,' or 'make up his mind'; so i. 43, 141: in i. 8, γνωσθέντες = 'known' or 'recognised': in i. 126 δοκῶν ὁρθῶς γινώσκειν = 'thinking that he rightly understood' the oracle.

In i. 70 ὃ δ' ἂν γνῶσι or ἂν γνῶσι = 'their plans'; in i. 120 πολλὰ κακῶς γνωσθέντα = 'many bad plans': in i. 77 εἶπερ . . . ὁμοία καὶ νῦν γνῶσεσθε = 'if you mean to take similar resolves,' i.e. 'to pursue the same policy' (cp. on γνώμη below): i. 91 ἀνευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμήσαι, 'we made up our minds and dared without you.'

γνώμη may refer² either (1) to the intellect, 'mind,' 'intelligence,' or, (2) to the will, 'spirit,' 'resolution.' Further, it may refer not only to a general quality, but to a particular action (3) of the intellect, 'an opinion, a judgment,' or (4) of the will, 'a resolve,' 'an intention,' 'a policy.' These distinctions are useful in understanding the meaning of the word in particular places, though they cannot always be applied precisely.

In i. 22 τῆς συμπαθῆς γνώμης τῶν λεχθέντων, γνώμη = 'meaning,' 'intention': in i. 32 τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ἐνυκιδυνεύειν,

¹ Cp. Grammar § 1, and Soph. Phil. 1419 (Heracles):

ὅσους πονήσας καὶ διεφελθὼν πόνους
ἀθάνατον ἀρετὴν ἔσχον, ὥς πάρεσθ' ὁρᾶν.

² See Classen's excellent analysis, *Introd.* p. lxi.

Glossary (γνώμη—δ' οὖν).

'the policy' of a neighbour; in i. 78 ἄλλοτρίαις γνώμας καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες, 'by other people's *opinions* (or *principles*) and accusations.' In i. 70 (see note, l. 17) γνώμη is opposed to σῶμα, but means '*spirit*' in the sense of 'resolution, energy,' rather than 'mind.'

In i. 70 παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνεύεται, . . . τῆς γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι, γνώμη is opposed to δύναμις and means 'wisdom,' 'judgment': in i. 77 ἦν τι . . . γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . ἐλασσυνῶσι, γνώμη may be 'a resolution,' 'a vote,' or 'an exercise of our superior intelligence,' as δυνάμει is 'an exercise of our superior power.'

In i. 33 γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει, 'he comes short of wisdom' or 'of a right judgment.'

In i. 91 οὐδενὸς ὑστεροὶ γνώμην φανῆναι, 'wisdom' or 'counsel': in i. 75 γνώμης ἐνέσεως (τῆς τότε): 'for the sagacity of our judgment,' ἐνέσις being abstract and γνώμη concrete.

In i. 71 τῇ γνώμῃ, 'by their spirit' or 'by the temper which they show,' is opposed to τῇ παρασκευῇ, 'in the use of their force.'

γνώμην ποιεῖσθαι, to *propose*: i. 128 γνώμην ποιῶμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι, κ.τ.λ.: so ii. 2; vii. 72. In iii. 36 περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποιούντο, 'they made proposals' = 'they deliberated': like γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προτίθεσαν i. 139.

γοῦν, 'at least,' 'certainly,' intro-

duces a reason for a foregoing statement, not absolutely conclusive, but going some way to prove it. E.g. i. 10, 'Homer says in the Catalogue that the Boeotians contained 120 men and the ships of Philoctetes 50;,' δηλῶν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους περὶ . . . οὐκ ἐμνήσθη.

διέκπλουε, περίπλουε. The great object in an ancient sea-fight was to ram the enemy's vessel in flank or astern, not prow to prow. The object of the διέκπλουε (breaking the enemy's line) and περίπλουε (dashing round an enemy's ship or ships) was to charge him with this advantage. The words should therefore be translated, 'breaking the line before striking' or 'rowing round before striking.'

δικαίωμα (i. 41), δικαίωσις (i. 141), a claim founded on right (in the opinion of the person putting it forward): the distinction between δικαίωμα, 'claim put forward,' and δικαίωσις, 'act of claiming,' can hardly be rendered in English.

δικαίῳ (i. 140) 'I have a right to demand,' is rather stronger than ἀξίῳ; cp. v. 26 τὴν διὰ μέσον εὐμβασιν εἴ τις μὴ ἀξιώσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικαίωσει: 'if any one chooses to maintain . . . he will be wrong in his contention.'

δ' οὖν marks a return from a longer or shorter digression: 'however that may be,' ii. 5 fin.: 'So then,' 'to conclude however,' i. 3, where

Glossary (δ' οὖν—ἐπιβουλεύειν).

δ' οὖν winds up a long argument after a short digression: 'anyhow, in any case,' i. 109: 'however,' i. 63 (a conjecture for γοῦν), after a slight break in the narrative.

ἐπεξεῖναι, ἐπεξελεῖν. The commonest meaning of these forcible but difficult words is 'to take the field,' 'go out to battle.' They are used, with a participle, of vigorous action in pursuit or the like, i. 62 ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπεξῆλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολὺ, 'followed up the pursuit a long way,' cp. iii. 26 ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ πολλὰ τέμνοντες, 'carried devastation far and wide over nearly all the country.' They are used (absolutely or with a dat. or cognate acc.) of following up a victory, iv. 14:—ἐξέρχονται (or, as some bad MSS. read, ἐπεξέρχονται) is similarly used in i. 70 κρατούντες τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέρχονται: cp. iii. 108, where there is a similar difference of reading:—of the *active prosecution of inquiry*, i. 22 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελεῖν¹: of *pursuing punishment or vengeance to the utmost*, iii. 38, 40, 82; vi. 38: of *pushing an accusation vigorously*², iii. 67: and in a curious passive sense of *endurance to the utmost*, v. 100.

There is a difficulty in three places where the meaning may either be the simple one of 'going into action' or that of 'vigorously carrying out' a purpose implied but not actually expressed in the context: i. 84 μὴ τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες, τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξεῖναι, 'back up our words but feebly in action,' *lit.* 'carry out our purpose in action in a way unlike our words': i. 120 ἐνθυμείται γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμοίᾳ τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται, 'carries out his purpose in action': v. 9 ἐγὼ τε δείξω οὐ παραινέσαι οἷός τε ὂν μᾶλλον τοῖς πέλας ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ ἐπεξελεῖν, 'carry out my own advice,' 'do as I say myself.' In all three places ἔργῳ is adverbial, not dative after ἐπεξεῖναι.

ἐπιβουλεύειν must often be translated by some other word than 'plot,' which is naturally used in English of individuals or small bodies of men, not of the 'intrigues' or 'hostile designs' of states as ἐπιβουλεύειν often is. Moreover 'plot' implies secrecy, whereas ἐπιβουλεύειν is often used of a perfectly open proceeding, though the ultimate design of it may be disguised.

E. g. ii. 5 ἐπεβούλεον τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τῶν Πλαταιῶν: vi. 88

¹ Schol. ἔρευναν. Cp. Plato, Rep. 437 A ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκαζώμεθα πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ἀμφισβητήσεις ἐπεξιόντες καὶ βεβαιούμενοι ὡς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς οὐσας μηχανεύειν. Soph. Fr. 659 (Dind.):

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ θεῖα κρυπτόντων θεῶν
μάθοις ἂν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντ' ἐπεξέλοις σκοπῶν.

² In the orators ἐπεξεῖναι means simply to prosecute: see Liddell and Scott.

Glossary (ἐπιβουλεύειν—καὶ ὥς).

ο . . . τῶν Σαρακισίων . . . πρόσ-
βεις τοὺς . . . Ἰταλῶτας ἄμα
παραπλόντες ἐπειρῶντο πείθειν
μὴ περιορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, ὥς καὶ ἐκείνους ὁμοίως
ἐπιβουλεύόμενα. Compare i. 82
ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ καταφαιρᾶν,
with i. 140 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρό-
τερόν τε δῆλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλεύον-
τες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἥκιστα.

So, in iii. 39 τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ἢ
ἐπεβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐπατέστησαν
μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν; the stress
is on the unprovoked and aggres-
sive character, not on the secrecy,
of the Mitylenaeen preparations
for revolt.

ἡγεμὼν, ἡγεμόνες = (1) *the leaders
of a confederacy*, e.g. the Athen-
ians or Spartans (i. 25, 38, 120;
iii. 67, etc.), (2) *the leaders of
an armed force*; but in various
special senses. In ii. 11 ἡγεμὼν
is used, in a speech, of persons
who are called στρατηγοί as
the more technical term in the
narrative (ii. 10 fin.). In i. 128
Pausanias uses it of himself as
a finer word for στρατηγός, 'com-
mander'; often of the commander
of allied troops in a barbarous
or foreign country, ii. 95; iii.
105, 107; vii. 58 med.: cp. i. 4.

Θράκης (τὰ ἐπὶ, οἱ ἐπὶ), 'the
Thracian border,' means the
Greek colonies which fringed
the coast of Thrace. The same
meaning might have been ex-
pressed by Θρακιδῶται on the
analogy of Σικελιδῶται, Ἀμπρα-
κιδῶται, κ.τ.λ., the Greek inhabi-
tants of Sicily, Ambracia, etc.
ἐπὶ in τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης may mean
'bordering on' (v. 34 Δέπρον . . .

κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ
τῆς Ἠλείας) or may be used
as with the gen. after verbs of
motion, meaning 'towards,' 'on
the way to.'

Thucydides does not happen
to use the expression of any
place E. of Thasos, but that it
might have been used of any
place on the Thracian coast is
shown by Herodotus, vi. 33
εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἵδε τοῦ
Ἑλλησπόντου Χερσόνησός τε . . .
καὶ Πέρματος καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ
Θρηάκης καὶ Σηλυβρίῃ τε καὶ
Βυζάντιον.

καίτοι, though it sometimes, like
ἀλλά, directly opposes two con-
ceptions (i. 10, iv. 85), often
implies no opposition to the
preceding words, but merely
carries on the argument: 'but
surely,' 'yet surely.' Cp. i. 86;
ii. 39, 64; iii. 39; vi. 80.

κατασκευή = ταῦτα οἷς κατασκευά-
σται τι. Hence in i. 10 τῆς κατα-
σκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, 'the foundations
of the buildings,' κατασκευή =
'that with which a site is fitted
out or furnished'; in ii. 5, 14,
16, 38, 65, 97; vi. 17, 31, 46
it means that with which a
house or palace, estate, ship,
temple, country is fitted out;
furniture, stock or farm-build-
ings, ornaments, treasure, means
of defence.

καὶ ὥς, 'even in that case' some-
times = 'in any case,' and refers
to a case not mentioned in the
context but indirectly implied in
it: sometimes even the opposite
of 'the case' just mentioned.

Glossary (καὶ ὥς—νέμειν).

See note on i. 44, l. 9 : and compare viii. 51 καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν τειχισμόν τε παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου καὶ ὥς μέλλουσα ('even if nothing of the kind had happened') Σάμος θάσσον ἐτειχίσθη.

In vii. 74 καὶ ὥς has the natural meaning 'even thus,' i.e. 'after waiting till the morning': in iii. 33; viii. 56, 87 the meaning may be 'even thus,' but 'in any case' gives a better sense.

κίνδυνος, κινδυνεύω, may be applied to all degrees of danger from the greatest to the least : but in a few passages of Thucydides the words are used where we should have expected some stronger word, and imply imminent peril of destruction. κίνδυνος is properly not 'danger' but 'putting to the risk,' 'taking the chance of' something, and so 'crisis': hence it may mean in any particular context 'risk of the worst.'

So i. 20 βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν συλληφθῆναι δράσαντες τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι : κινδυνεύσαι means 'take the chance of death,' not of capture which Harmodius and Aristogeiton took for granted : i. 32 μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, 'we may fear the worst if we once fall into their hands'; not 'there is great danger of falling into their hands': iii. 59 διότι καὶ τοῦ βίου δὲ κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, the Plataean speakers are in 'danger of their lives' already, but mean that when they have finished their speech the ques-

tion of life or death will be finally decided.

So ii. 11 ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἔξειν, 'find themselves in some critical position'; cp. ii. 100: ii. 24 περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου, 'in case of the same crisis,' i.e. an attack on Athens by sea : iii. 28 εἰ τ' ἀπομονωθήσονται τῆς συμβάσεως, κινδυνεύουσιν, 'their position would be critical,' i.e. 'they would be in great peril.'

μὲν οὖν in Thucydides does not mean 'nay rather'; the two particles have each a distinct meaning, μὲν answering to a δέ (or μέντοι) following, and οὖν connecting what follows with what precedes : as μὲν can seldom be translated, the expression means simply 'so then,' 'therefore,' 'now,' or the like. E.g. i. 32 τὴν μὲν οὖν γενομένην ναυμαχίαν, κ.τ.λ. : i. 49 ταῦτη μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἐύμαχοι ἡσώωντο, 'in this quarter then.'

νέμειν, νέμεσθαι, mean strictly speaking to enjoy, reap the fruits of; not necessarily to inhabit or to possess; though of course οἱ νέμοντες or οἱ νεμόμενοι are often used of the actual inhabitants or possessors; as in i. 2, 'cultivating': i. 84, 'enjoy the blessings of': i. 100, 'enjoyed the profits,' of markets and mines.

The precise meaning may be seen from i. 58 τοῖς τ' ἐκλιποῦσι τοῦτοις τῆς αὐτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἥος ἂν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ᾖ; 'to

Glossary (*νέμειν*—*νόμος*).

live from'; the Chalcidians dwelt in Olynthus but had the use of land belonging to Perdiccas; *νέμεσθαι* limits *ἔδωκε*. The distinction between *νέμειν* and *οἰκεῖν* is clear from v. 42 *μηδετέρους οἰκεῖν τὸ χωρίον ἀλλὰ κοινῇ νέμειν*: cp. ii. 27; iii. 88; the distinction between *νέμεσθαι* and *ἔχειν* or *κεκτήσθαι* is clear from the sense of passages like v. 31 *Ἡλείω παραληθόντων ὑπὸ Λακωνικῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμοσίᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ λυσάντων τὸν πόλεμον, Ἡλείοι τὴν γῆν νεμομένους αὐτοῖς τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς τάλαντον ἔτασαν τῇ Διὶ τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀποφέρειν*; cp. iii. 68 *ἐνεμοντο Θηβαίοις*, some Theban citizens farmed the land from the Theban state; iv. 92; v. 41.

νέος, νεώτερος, νεωτερίζω, νέον, νεώτερον, have in Pindar, Aeschylus and Herodotus begun to acquire the meaning 'strange,' 'evil.' Hence innocent-looking words like *νεωτερίζω*, to innovate, 'act with some degree of novelty,' are used in Thucydides and later writers by a quaint litotes for all kinds of violent or revolutionary actions on the part of individuals or states¹. Here as in many other cases the impossibility of translating adequately is apt to make us insensible to the delicacy and subtlety of the Greek expression.

Such phrases are often used of the revolt of an Athenian dependency or the reduction of

a free dependency to subjection, i. 58, 97; iii. 11; iv. 51, 108; of a revolt of the Helots and the possible overthrow of the Lacedaemonian state, iv. 41, 55, 80; v. 14; of deserting an alliance and going over to the enemy, i. 102; ii. 73.

In i. 132 οὐδ' ὅς... *ἤξισαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν*, 'to take any unusual measure against Pausanias' means to put him in prison: in v. 50 *ἔδοκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι*, 'something serious was expected,' means the forcible breaking up of the Olympic games by the Lacedaemonians: in vii. 87 *αὶ νύκτες ἐπιγεγρόμεναι τοῦναντίον μετοπωρινὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ τῇ μεταβολῇ ἐς ἀσθένειαν ἐνεωτέρισον*, 'the autumn nights were cold and the extremes of temperature engendered violent disorders'² relates to the miseries of the Athenian captives in the quarries at Syracuse; in ii. 6 *μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν*, 'do nothing rash about their Theban prisoners,' = not to kill them on the spot.

νόμος, νόμιμον, παρανομεῖν, κ.τ.λ. νόμος (which does not occur at all till Hesiod, though we find *εὐνομία* in Hom. Od. xvii. 487) means originally not law but custom; and long after it had become common in the sense of 'law' it was used in all manner of less formal senses, *custom, institution, unwritten law, principle*, etc.

¹ The landlord hoped we should have a fortunate journey, and meet with no novelty on the road. A "novelty" in Spanish countries means a misfortune.' Tylor, *Anahuac*, p. 34.

² Jowett's translation.

Glossary (νόμος—πρεσβευτής).

Often we cannot say whether the law referred to was written or unwritten; e.g. i. 24; ii. 52; iii. 37 (cp. ii. 37 ἀποδόσει... τῶν νόμων καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες, κ.τ.λ.).

νόμιμα in i. 71, 77; v. 105, refers not to laws but to the ways and traditions of Athenian or Spartan administration, see pp. 56, 57, and note on i. 71, l. 10. τὸν νόμον in i. 77 (cp. iii. 46) is 'the reign of law' in the dealings of Athens with her allies.

νόμος and its derivatives are frequently applied to unwritten rules of international morality, i. 85 ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν δίδοντα (δικας) οὐ πρότερον νόμιμον ὥς ἐπ' ἀδικούντα ἵναί: iii. 58 ὁ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ κτείνειν τούτους.

In ii. 37, iii. 62, νόμοι or οἱ νόμοι = 'institutions' or 'a constitution': i. 40 τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἑτέραν ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι = 'to establish the precedent.'

In i. 132 τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων = only 'established customs': in v. 105 τὸν νόμον (οὗ ἂν κρατῇ ἄρχειν), is a principle or rule of conduct: in vi. 16 νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ τιμῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα, νόμος means no more than 'common sentiment,' almost 'convention': in iii. 9 τὸ καθεστὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησι νόμιμον is the sentiment commonly entertained towards states who desert old allies for new.

παράπλους, like παραπλεῖν, seems everywhere in Thucydides to mean 'a coasting voyage,' see vii. 50, where ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ, παραπλεύσαντες are used of a

voyage along the N. coast of Libya, and περαιωθέντες of crossing to Sicily.

In i. 36 τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται (ἡ Κορκύρα), cp. i. 44, this meaning seems inappropriate, as the voyage to Italy and Sicily was not a 'coasting voyage' after Coreyra; and παράπλους might be translated 'reaching by sea' as πάροδος in iii. 92; iv. 82, 108, means 'reaching by land.' But here too παράπλους probably means 'the way to Sicily along the coast of Greece' as far as Coreyra, opposed to the direct voyage from the Peloponnese across the 'Sicilian sea'; cp. vi. 13 τοὺς Σικελιάτας οἷσπερ νῦν ὁροῖς χωριζόμενος πρὸς ἡμᾶς... τῷ τε Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ παρὰ γῆν ἦν τις πλῆθ, καὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ διὰ πελάγους.

πρεσβευτής, plur. πρέσβεις, is used in a much wider sense than our 'ambassador' or even 'envoy.' Every Greek city was in theory an independent and sovereign state: yet many of them, as in the Athenian empire and the Peloponnesian confederacy, were bound by closer political ties than the 'countries' of modern Europe are.

Thus πρέσβεις is used not only of 'ambassadors' between e.g. Athens and Sparta, but of 'commissioners' sent from Athens to her independent allies (to Mitylene, iii. 3, 5), or of a 'deputation' from a dependent ally to Athens (from Potidaea, i. 58, or from Mitylene

Glossary (πρεσβευτής—σαφής).

after its capture, iii. 28, 36, 49): and it is the regular word for the 'deputies' or 'representatives' of the Peloponnesian allies who formed the council of the confederacy.

Further, πρέσβεις is applied to 'a deputation' sent by the oligarchical conspirators at Samos to the home government, viii. 49, 53; and is used of 'commissioners' sent by the oligarchical government at home to the revolted fleet at Samos, viii. 76. πρέσβεις may be sent simultaneously from the victorious and the defeated and exiled party in a revolution, as at Argos, v. 82; they may be sent from or to, not a government, but a general in command of an expedition, iii. 32; v. 84; vi. 81; viii. 32; or they may be sent in secret to an enemy to make complaints or propose defection, i. 67; viii. 5.

Once more, πρέσβεις is used of persons not officially accredited at all; i. 28, l. 2, where see note: cp. ii. 67, where a citizen of a neutral state (Ἀργεῖος Ἰδὴρ Πόλλης), who is not actually called a πρεσβευτής, accompanies Spartan and Corinthian envoys who are seeking help from the King.

πρεσβευτής must not be confounded with κήρυξ: πρέσβεις were not inviolable even in the states to which they were sent, cp. iii. 72, where the Athenians

imprison the πρέσβεις from the new oligarchical government in Corcyra. A formal 'embassy' in our sense was accompanied in time of war by a 'herald'; cp. the phrase κήρυκα καὶ πρεσβείων μὴ προσδέχεσθαι (ii. 12; v. 80).

πρόφασις is twice used emphatically for the *real*, as opposed to the *pretended*, motive or cause¹, i. 23 τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανειστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, κ.τ.λ.: vi. 6 ἐφίεμενοι μὲν τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει τῆς πάσης ἄρξεως, βοηθεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς εὐπρεπῶς βουλόμενοι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐυγγεσίαι.

In other places, πρόφασις means, quite as emphatically, 'pretext,' 'excuse': e.g. vi. 33 πρόφασιν μὲν Ἐγεσταίων ζυμμάχια καὶ Λεοντίνων κατοικίσεις, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές Σικελίας ἐπιθυμία.

In others again where there is nothing in the context to colour the proper meaning, it is simply 'plea' or 'motive' alleged truly or falsely: e.g. i. 133 ἐρωτῶντες τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἰκετείας: iii. 13 τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας . . . ἀπέστημεν.

σαφής means 'manifest,' 'clear,' 'certain,' but with the article, τὸ σαφές, it means 'the truth': i. 22 ὅσοι δὲ βουλῆσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφές σκοπεῖν, κ.τ.λ.: iii. 29 βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφές εἰδέναι κατέπλευσαν ἐς Ἐμβάτον τῆς Ἐρυθραίας . . .

¹ The idea in these places probably is 'if they had openly said what they really meant'; of course πρόφασις cannot mean 'real motive.' Cp. Dem. De Cor. 156 (201), probably an imitation of Thucydides, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων . . . ἀνεκρύπτειν.

Glossary (σαφής—σωφροσύνη).

πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς ἐβουλευόντο ἐκ τῶν παρόντων : vi. 60 τὸ δὲ σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οὔτε τότε οὔτε ὕστερον ἔχει εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν δρασάντων τὸ ἔργον . . . ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀσμενὸς λαβὼν, ὡς φέτο, τὸ σαφές, κ.τ.λ. (Bétant).

σῶμα, σώματα ('lives,' 'men,' 'persons') is used in Thucydides with the associations of—

- (1) *personal service* ; i. 121 τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλεόν ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασιν : i. 141 σώμασι τε ἐτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολεμεῖν :
- (2) *life or personal security* ; i. 17 τύραννοι . . . τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι ἐς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον ἀΐζειν, κ.τ.λ., i. 136 καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῃ χρεῖας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι :
- (3) *personal enjoyment or indulgence* : vi. 15 φοβηθέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ (Alcibiades) οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σώματος παρανομίας ἐς τὴν διαίταν : —This may also be the meaning in i. 17 quoted above :—
- (4) *personal equipment* ; vi. 17 οὐδεὶς . . . οὔτε τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅπλοις ἐξήρτυται οὔτε τὰ ἐν τῇ χάρᾳ νομίμοις κατασκευαῖς.

σωφροσύνη, σῶφρων, σωφρονεῖν.
The original idea of these words is 'sound-mindedness.' They are applied in Thucydides (a)

rather to states than to individuals¹, (δ) rather to intellectual than to moral virtue. Often we can hardly avoid the translation 'wisdom' or 'prudence': but σωφροσύνη means more than these : it is the wisdom or prudence which not only sees the right course, but is not drawn away from it by any violent feeling. There is perhaps no Greek word which it is so impossible to translate by any one English word² : and whether an English word is right or wrong in any particular place depends on the colour given by the context.

σωφροσύνη in the Corcyraean speech, i. 32 ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ἐνγκεινδυνεύειν : cp. i. 37 φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενὸς πῶς δέεσθαι = the *discretion* or *wise moderation* or *calm good-sense* which leads a country to renounce the advantages of an alliance in view of the embarrassments to which it may lead.

In i. 84 σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων, the name given by Archidamus to what the Corinthians called sluggishness, is 'true good sense and discretion'.³ Further on, in the words τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, and ἐν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον (παιδευόμενοι) ἢ ὥστε (τῶν νόμων) ἀνηκουστεῖν (note, l. 11),

¹ Σωφροσύνη is the characteristic virtue of an aristocratic form of government, iii. 62, 82 ; viii. 24, 53, 64.

² 'Self-control' (compare ἑγκράτεια) is really a modern equivalent, not a translation, and emphasises an idea which is latent in the Greek. 'Soberness' comes nearest.

³ Jowett's translation.

Glossary (σωφροσύνη — τότε).

σωφροσύνη is 'dutifulness' or 'the spirit of loyalty' which knows its place and submits to discipline¹.

καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην ἔχετε in i. 68 means 'your simple confidence in other people gives you sobriety (as a state): i.e. it makes you dignified in your action; you are calm when others would be restless and 'alarmist'.

In i. 79, where it is said of Archidamus *ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυετός· δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων* there is a slight contrast, as between two qualities which are not always combined, 'both able and prudent' or 'wise'; i. 120 *ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῦντο, ἡσυχάζειν* — 'reasonable men will remain at peace': *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι* in i. 40 is 'if they are discreet': but it is not easy to see exactly what Sthenelaidas means by *ἦν σωφρονώμεν* in i. 86: he is certainly not recommending prudence or discretion. The simple meaning, 'if we are of a sound mind,' here implies either, 'if we behave like reasonable men,' or 'if we are honest' or 'true-hearted': or, as we should say, 'if we do our duty.'

τέχνη is used in Thucydides of the 'professional skill' of the physician (ii. 47) or, as often, of the seaman. In i. 71 *ἀνάγκη δ' ὥσπερ τέχνης δεῖ τὰ ἐπιτηγνόμενα κρατεῖν, ὥσπερ τέχνης* = 'as in

a profession': in 142—*τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστὶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, — τέχνης ἐστίν* = 'is a matter of trained skill'.

τέχνη means not 'art,' which suggests what we call 'the fine arts,' but 'the arts'; *ἱππική, γεωργική, ἰατρική*, and so on.

τιμωρία in Thucydides has the older meaning 'help,' as well as that commoner in later writers, 'vengeance' or 'punishment': cp. i. 25, 38, 124, etc.

τις. *τι* is used, chiefly in the phrase *τι αὐτῶν*, with some emphasis or irony, as we say 'a little' when we mean 'a good deal'.

i. 34 *καὶ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν τι τεκμήριον ἃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐγγυγενεῖς δρῶσιν*, 'a pretty clear indication'; i. 76 *ἄλλους γ' ἂν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα εἰ τι μετριάσομεν*, 'whether we are reasonable or not': i. 83 *οἷπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποθανόντων τὸ πλεον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας τῆς αἰτίας ἔφομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προῖδωμεν*, 'take a little thought for the consequences.'

τότε frequently in Thucydides cannot be translated 'then,' but refers to an earlier occasion presumed to be in the recollection of the reader and nearly always mentioned previously—often a long way back—by the writer: 'once' or 'as mentioned above.'

¹ In Xen. Oecon. 7, 14, where the young wife says *ἐμὸν δ' ἔφησεν ἡ μήτηρ ἔργον εἶναι σωφρονεῖν*, and the husband replies, *καὶ μὰ Δῖ, ὃ γύναι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁ πατήρ*, the meaning is simply 'to be good.'

Glossary (τότε—ὡς ἕκαστος).

ἰ. 101 πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι is one of the strongest instances. We may suppose that τότε had come to have an idiomatic sense, 'priore illo tempore' or 'noto illo tempore': or we may refer τότε to some slight hint of time (as here to παλαιῶν) in the preceding or following words: see Jowett on viii. 62, 3.

φρουροί means not only a garrison in a fortified place, but troops sent to protect any town or district: e.g. Leucadia in iii. 94; in v. 2 φρουροί is used of the Athenian force blockading Scione. Thus in i. 26 φρουροί are sent from Corinth to Epidamnus before there is any fear of the place being blockaded by the Corcyraeans. φρουρὰν φαίνειν is a regular phrase in Xenophon for 'proclaiming a levy' at Lacedaemon.

ὡς ἕκαστος, ὡς ἕκαστοι, 'severally,'

'gradually,' 'in various ways,' differs in meaning according to the context: from which a verb is to be supplied.

So in i. 3 οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες . . . κληθέντες = οἱ (ὡς ἕκαστοι) ἐκλήθησαν Ἕλληνες) κληθέντες Ἕλληνες, 'those tribes who one by one acquired the name of Greeks': i. 15 κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγέτονες ἐπολέμουν, 'made war independently.'

The origin and meaning of the phrase may be gathered from passages in which a verb is actually supplied: Hdt. i. 29 ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις . . . ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφίσται . . . ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων: Thuc. i. 98: v. 1 καὶ οἱ μὲν Δῆλιοι Ἀτραμύντιον Φαρνάκου δόντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ῥέκησαν, οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο: i. 93 οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἤ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοὶ ποτε προσέφερον.

GREEK WORDS AND GRAMMAR.

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N.B.—*The Arabic numerals refer to the pages of Part II; the Roman numerals to the pages of the Introduction to Part I.*

- Accusative, cognate, or internal, 39, 43; 'accusativus pendens,' 42.
 Anacoluthon, 151 ff.; *see* Construction, changes of.
 Antithesis, imperfect, 105.
 Aorist, inceptive, 11, 12, 22, 74; *see* 141-142; iterative, 61, 73; opposed to present, 43; used of continuous action, 141; = English perfect, 84; = English pluperfect, 101; aorist participle, time indicated by, 87; *see* 142-143.
 Article, substantive without the, 11, 12, 17, 50, 57; points a contrast, 77, 88; position of, 44, 103.
 Assimilation or attraction, 8, 9, 77, 83.
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 ἄγος, τὸ τῆς θεοῦ, 97.
 ἀδύνατα = ἀδύνατον, 9.
 αἰσθάνεσθαι, 63.
 αἰτία, 28, 109; *see* 156.
 ἀκταῖαι πόλεις, xcī.
 ἄλλοθεν, 26.
 ἄλλος, 93.
 ἀλλότριος, 60.
 ἄν with optat., 16, 44, 94; *see* 146-147; ἄν with impf. indic., 47, 66; *see* 147.
 ἀναγκαῖος, 10, 60, 74; *see* 156.
 ἀναδιδάσκειν, 156.
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 ἀνῆμ, 66.
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Constructions, blending or confusion of, 21, 48, 58; *see* 153.

Constructions, parallelism of different, 26, 48, 71, 77, 110; *see* 151-152.

γάρ, reference slightly obscure, 15, 20, 22, 53, 93, 109; anticipatory, 103.

γέρας, 20.

γινώσκω, 159.

γνώμη, 60, 60-61, 62, 66; *see* 158-159.

γνώμην ποιείσθαι, 100; *see* 159.

γνώμης ἀμαρτάνειν, 40; *see* 159.

γούν, 10; *see* 159.

Dative, of circumstance or cause, 11, 39; *see* 122; of interest, 13, 65, 126; other senses of, 42, 65; different senses of, parallel, 105.

'Dynamic' use of middle, 140.

δέ, 19; = δ' ὅν, 27. *See* μέν.

δεῖν, 66.

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εἰ καὶ and καὶ εἰ, 44.

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εἴπερ καί, 59.

ἐκείνος, without article, 49.

ἐκπολιορκεῖν, 100.

ἐκπρεπῶς, 122.

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ἐν φ', 26, 94.

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- tions of, 40, 41 (cp. 154), 43, 58-59, 93; for imperative, 154.
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- καθαιρετός, καθαιρετός, καθαιρεῖν, 93.
καθ' ἑαστον, etc., used as cases of substantives, 151.
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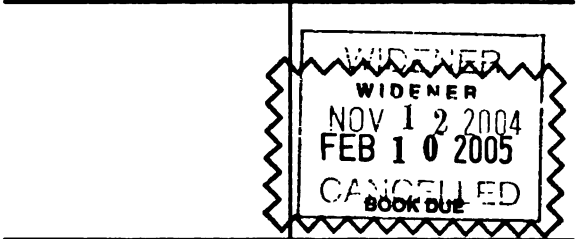
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