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THUCYDIDES

BOOK I
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EDITED BY

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PREFACE

The Greek text of this book I. is reprinted, by kind permission, from that of Mr. Stuart Jones in the Oxford series. Some years ago I prepared a text; but, on comparing the Oxford text with my own, I found that mine seldom differed from it, and it seemed better to follow the new text as it stands, merely noting the few passages in which I am unable to agree with Mr. Stuart Jones. For the permission so readily accorded I tender my best thanks.

Fifteen years have passed since the first instalment of this school edition was published. It was intended to include books I., II., III., and the Sicilian Expedition. In this long period blind admiration of the author has sobered down into a clearer appreciation, as I hope, both of his greatness and of his defects. I do not think now that the adverse portions of Dionysius' criticism can be dismissed as absurd. Where he goes wrong, he is misled by his rhetorical instinct, as when he makes the startling statement that the
Proem would have been better if it had consisted of the head and the tail without the body. This is perhaps about the most disturbing thing that he says; and, after all, if Thucydides had been making a speech, even that criticism would have been quite true. Dionysius did not understand how history should be written; but he did most thoroughly understand the qualities of the austere style in composition; and he appreciated the best qualities of Thucydides on the artistic side—his consummate power in narrative, his fertile invention in the speeches, his dignity and unsurpassed pathos. Modern editors, even Poppo, owe a debt to him that they do not always acknowledge.

In the introduction to this book I have only attempted to suggest lines of thought or investigation; and so I have touched on those points that seem to me, at least, to be the most interesting. In writing the notes, my sole object has been to arrive at a clear understanding of the text myself, and to present what I take to be the meaning as clearly as possible and in a simple form. I could wish that my notes might be thought illuminating; but have no ambition whatever that any one should think them learned.
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INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE OF THUCYDIDES

The sources of information about his life are:

1. References to himself in the Histories. Owing to his reserved and impersonal manner these references are but few.

2. Traditions.

(a) Three ancient 'biographies,' two of which are found in some MSS. of the Histories, while the third is in the lexicon of Suidas. Of the first two the longer is ascribed to an unknown Marcellinus; but it consists of three separate parts by different writers arbitrarily joined together, perhaps in the sixth cent. A.D. The shorter life, which is anonymous, adds nothing of moment, and is a mere collection of excerpts. The writer confuses the historian with Thucydides son of Melesias. Suidas uses good

1 Schumann, de Marcellini quae dicitur vita Thucydidis (Colmar 1879), points out inconsistencies between §§ 26 and 46, §§ 53 and 56, §§ 31-33 and 46, 56. Of the three parts the first ends at § 44, the second at § 53. It is assumed that the first part is by Marcellinus, and his date is placed by some in the third, by others in the fifth, cent. A.D. Marcellinus cites good authorities, e.g. Hellanicus, Androtion, Philochorus, Demetrius of Phalerum, Hermippus, Polemon; but it is thought that he did not know these authors at first-hand.
authorities, but he too gives little that is not found in 'Marcellinus.'

(b) Statements about Thucydides' family, his death, and his tomb are found in Plutarch's *Life of Cimon* c. 4.

(c) A statement about his recall from exile and assassination occurs in Pausanias i. 23.

1. What we know of Thucydides from his own statements is as follows:—

He was the son of an Athenian citizen named Olorus. He had an interest in Athenian gold-mines in Thrace. He was in the full vigour of life, during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.), and was engaged throughout the period on his history. He suffered from the plague at Athens (430-428 B.C.). In 424 he was one of the ten strategi, and commanded a squadron off the coast of Thrace. He failed to relieve Amphipolis, which was pressed by Brasidas; but he succeeded in saving Eion. From 423 to 403 B.C. he was in exile—presumably in consequence of the loss of Amphipolis. During his exile he was able to observe all that was done by both sides.

From these facts we may draw the following inferences:—The youth and early manhood of Thucydides were passed during the period of Pericles' supremacy. We know from his book that he felt a profound admiration for Pericles as the πρωτός ἄνηρ, though we should judge from his attitude towards the Athenian democracy that he cannot have approved of all Pericles' internal administration. The life of Pericles closed in 429 B.C. But alike in style and opinion Thucydides belongs always to the Periclean era. Partly in consequence of his exile, and partly

1 So far as concerns opinions, the fact is much the same with Sophocles, who lived till 406 B.C.
as the result of his detached, independent habit of thought, he remained outside the current of Athenian politics, and he was unaffected by the rapid progress of Attic style and thought. Thucydides wrote at a time when Attic prose was not yet fully developed; and during the long period of his exile he was shut out from participation in the intellectual life of Athens. Consequently he owes nothing to any one whose \textit{floruit} falls later than the peace of Nicias, unless we except Antiphon, who equally with him belonged to the older school. It is difficult to realise that Lysias and Isocrates were already before the public when Thucydides was still writing.\footnote{Dionysius naturally connects Pindar, Aeschylus, Antiphon, and Thucydides as representative of the \textquoteleft austere\textquoteright style. See Jebb, \textit{Attic Orators} i. 22.}

2. As for the three \textquoteleft biographies,\textquoteright their claims to authenticity have been disposed of by Petersen\footnote{\textit{De vita Thucydidis disputatio}, Dorpat 1873.} and Wilamowitz.\footnote{\textquoteleft Die Thukydid slegende,\textquoteright \textit{Hermes} 12 p. 326.} All three consist of inferences drawn from the statements of Thucydides himself, from the unfinished condition in which he left his work, and from his style. One other important piece of evidence was available, and was used for at least as much as it was worth. The grave of Thucydides stood hard by those of Cimon and his sister Elpinice in the quarter called \textit{Koîλη}, lying SW. of the Acropolis, and was seen by Plutarch there (\textit{Cimon} 4). On the grave was the inscription \textit{Θουκυδίδης Ολόρου Αλιμούσιος ἐνθάδε κεῖται}. From the inscription and the locality of his grave we know that he belonged to the deme Halimus, on the coast between Phalerum and Colias, and we may safely infer that his father Olorus must have been nearly connected with a
Thracian prince of that name, whose daughter Hegesipyle was married to the great Miltiades and became mother of Cimon. The latter inference is stated as a fact by Plutarch, and may be accepted as such. More doubtful is the statement of Pausanias, that a decree for the recall of Thucydides from exile was carried on the motion of one Oenobius. It happens that the names Oenobius and Eucles occur as those of father and son. A strategus named Eucles was in command with Thucydides on the Thracian coast; and it has been plausibly suggested that the Oenobius who proposed the recall of Thucydides was son of this strategus.
II. PREDECESSORS AND CONTEMPORARIES OF
THUCYDIDES

1. It is true that Thucydides began to write before Attic prose style was completely developed, and that for the rules of composition—the grammar, as they say, of style—he is indebted to Gorgias, Antiphon, and Prodicus, and perhaps in a less degree to his own study of the poets. As regard peculiarities of his syntax, it is a mistake to suppose that his freedom is accounted for by calling him 'a primitive.' It is not true that he lived 'before the age of grammar' in any other sense than the statement is true of Xenophon or of any other of the classical writers. Of course Thucydides is answerable for his own manner of writing. That his genius was unique, without predecessor and not to be imitated, is best realised by comparing with his work the first two books of the Hellenica, in which Xenophon evidently meant to write like him. Xenophon is a writer possessed of great and varied talents; but he is altogether unequal to the task of writing in the manner of his great predecessor; and where so accomplished a man failed it is not to be supposed that any one else would have succeeded.

1 Of course mere slavish copyists of Thucydides need not be considered.
2. The following dates will help us to understand where Thucydides comes in the history of Greek literature:—

(a) For tragedy, three convenient dates are—
B.C. 468, the first victory of Sophocles, aged 28.
458, production of the *Oresteia*, the last work of Aeschylus.
448, production of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, say half a century before Thucydides ceased writing.

(b) Rhetoric and Sophistic; here we may notice—
465, the rise of Rhetoric at Syracuse. Corax writes the first τεχνη, or treatise on Rhetoric, and distinguishes the parts proper to a speech—introduction, discussion, peroration (probably also narration, which follows the introduction).
455 onwards, *floruit* of Protagoras, the founder of the study of grammar.
435 onwards, *floruit* of Prodicus, first to lay stress on precision in the use of words.
427, Gorgias of Leontini visits Athens (perhaps not his first visit).
417, earliest *extant* speech of Antiphon (but he was born c. 480).

3. That Thucydides was well acquainted with the works of earlier writers on history we know from several statements of his: e.g. c. 97 τοίς πρὸ ἑμοῦ ἀπασίν ἐκλειπέσ τοῦτο ἤν τὸ χρόνον κτλ. The opinion that he had formed of his predecessors was not high:—

(a) They possessed no critical faculty, and accepted traditions without taking the trouble to investigate their truth, c. 20.
(b) They were too anxious to please their audience, c. 21.
(c) They did not exclude myths, c. 22, 4.

4. Of these predecessors only Hellanicus of Mitylene is mentioned by name. Referring to his 'Ἀττικὴ Ἑυγγραφή' Thucydides remarks (c. 97) that his account of the period between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars lacked chronological exactitude. In style he did not differ from the many other Ionian 'logographers' who lived earlier than or about the same time as himself. They all wrote simply, without artificial ornament, but with a certain attractive naïveté, to which Dionysius attributes the survival of their works to his own time. The scanty fragments of Hellanicus show that he touched on many matters that are mentioned also by Thucydides. The only other historical writer before Herodotus who is important to us is Hecataeus of Miletus, author of *Genealogies* and a *Description of the Earth*. He was born about 540 B.C., and lived through the Persian wars. He was a great traveller; he treated the myths already in a rationalising spirit; and his style was clear and at times graceful.

5. Herodotus and Thucydides.

(a) Though Thucydides nowhere mentions Herodotus, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he was acquainted with his history. Two of the errors corrected in i. c. 20 occur in Herodotus. The account of Cylon's conspiracy in c. 126, 7 is an amplified and corrected version of Herodotus v. 71,

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1 The quantity of the ' in the name is doubtful.

2 Compare the opening words of his *Genealogies*, quoted by Demetrius: 'Hecataeus of Miletus speaks as follows: I write these things as they seem true to me; for the accounts of the Greeks are many, and, as it seems to me, ridiculous.'

3 The arguments of Dahlmann, K. O. Müller, and others of the older critics have been abundantly refuted by Krüger, Lemcke, etc.
the conduct of the Alcmaeonidae being put in a less favourable light by Thucydides. As regards the corrections made in c. 20: they are (1) The idea that each of the Spartan kings gave two votes—this comes in Herod. vi. 57; the text there may mean that the kings jointly gave two votes, and not that each voted twice. (2) that a Πετανάτης λόχως exists in Sparta—this is in Herod. ix. 53, who may have meant that the λόχως was a body raised only on one occasion, and not a permanent unit of the army.

The other mistake, namely that Hipparchus was older than Hippias and was actually tyrant at the time of his murder does not occur in Herodotus. He narrates the famous events in v. 55 f., but his version of the story tallies with Thucydides so far as the seniority and position of Hippias are concerned.

(b) The Pentecontaetia (c. 89) begins just where Herodotus leaves off, and this can scarcely be a coincidence.

(c) Sparta demanded that Athens should ‘drive out the curse.’ Thucydides explains that this is an allusion to the attempt of Cylon to seize the tyranny, and he relates the story of the attempt. Athens retaliated by calling on Sparta to drive out her ‘curse’; and this demand gives occasion to Thucydides to relate, at greater length than his ostensible purpose required, the treason and fate of Pausanias. This passage may very well have been intended to supplement Herodotus, whose history does not extend so far. The appendix about Themistocles (see below p. xxxii) in one aspect fulfils a similar object. But it is also intended, in all probability, as a correction. Herodotus belittles the
services of Themistocles to Athens and to Greece, and he emphasises the weak points in his moral character; he failed, in short, to appreciate Themistocles. Thucydides had not the moral bias of Herodotus. Faults of character he does not disguise; but they do not lead him to underestimate a man's intellectual greatness.

(d) On the famous sentence κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκοῦειν ἐγκεκεῖται the Scholiast remarks αἰνίττεται τὰ Μηδικᾶ Ἡροδότου, 'a hint at the Persian wars of Herodotus.' Lucian also states that Thucydides intended a criticism of Herodotus in this passage. Dionysius on the contrary considers that the λογογράφοι are meant; but it is not unlikely that Thucydides regarded Herodotus as one of these. What accounts for a criticism so unjust to Herodotus is that the two writers regard history from a wholly different standpoint. Philosophy and epic have never found each other congenial company.

1 See especially Stein's note on Herod. viii. 4; and cf. the note on c. 14 § 3 below.
III. Analysis of the First Book (after Poppo)

i. Προομισον, cc. 1–23:—
1. The reason for writing this history: the war was ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν προγεγενημένων.
2. Importance of this war: proof drawn from a comparison of the early condition of Greece
   (a) before τὰ Τρωϊκά, cc. 2–8.
   (b) during τὰ ,, cc. 9–11.
   (c) after τὰ ,, cc. 12–19.
   (Cf. Schol. on c. 12 τριχῶς διείλε τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν, εἰς τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά, εἰς τὰ ἔχομαινα αὐτῶν.)
3. Men too readily accept the accounts of poets and annalists, and admire τὰ ἀρχαία: character of the period, and the manner in which it is dealt with.

ii. Causes of the war, cc. 24–65; 88–118.
A. Causes alleged, cc. 24–66.
   1. τὰ Κερκυραῖκα, cc. 24–55.
      (a) War between Corinth and Corecyra, cc. 24–31.
      (b) Speech of Corecyrean ambassador at Athens, cc. 32–36.
      (c) Speech of Corinthian in reply, c. 37–43.
      (d) Intervention of Athens in the war, cc. 43–55.
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2. Ποτιδαίας ἀπόστασις, cc. 56–65.
   (a) Corinth sends help to Potidaea, c. 60.
   (b) Athenian victory over Potidaeans and a Peloponnesian force, cc. 62, 63.
   (c) Potidaea invested, cc. 64, 65.

iii. A. The Lacedaemonians decide on war.
   (a) Congress at Sparta, cc. 66, 67.
   (b) Speech of the Corinthian envoy, cc. 68–71.
   (c) Speech of Athenian in reply, cc. 72–78.
   (d) Speech of Archidamus, cc. 79–85.
   (e) Speech of Sthenelaidas, c. 86.
   (f) Vote of the Lacedaemonians, c. 87.

ii. Causes of the war.
B. The true cause was the growth of Athenian power and the envy it excited, cc. 88–118.
   2. Development "", cc. 97–118.

iii. B. The Peloponnesian confederacy decides on war.
   (a) Second congress at Sparta, c. 119.
   (b) Speech of the Corinthian envoy, cc. 120–124.
   (c) Vote of the confederates, c. 125.

ii. C. Negotiations preceding the war.
   1. τὸ Κυλλών εἰς ἄγος, cc. 126, 127.
   2. τὸ ἀπὸ Τανάρον καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιώκον ἄγος, cc. 128–134.
      (a) Treason and death of Pausanias, cc. 128–134.
      (b) Flight and death of Themistocles, cc. 135–137.

3. Other demands of the Lacedaemonians.
   iii. C. The Athenians decide on war, c. 140–end.
      (a) Speech of Pericles, cc. 140–144.
      (b) Vote of the Assembly, and its effect, cc. 145, 146.
**Note on Analysis of the Proem.**—The period of Greek history that Thucydides contrasts with the Peloponnesian War and considers insignificant is denoted by the words τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτη παλαιότερα (c. 1). In the following chapters it is clearly implied that under this period he includes (a) τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν (c. 3); (b) τὰ Τρωϊκά (c. 4); (c) τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά (c. 12). It is clear that the last phrase is not meant to take in the years between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. For Thucydides was of opinion that the history of all these periods was obscure and difficult to discover (c. 1, § 2); and this was certainly not his opinion about the history of the years that separated the battle of Plataea from the Peloponnesian War, which he has himself described in the *Pentecontaetia.* But are the Persian wars included in the ‘obscure’ and ‘insignificant’ period? Probably not. Though the Persian wars form the subject of c. 18, an attentive reading will show that this passage (c. 18) stands outside the main line of the argument, and forms a sort of appendix to what has preceded, quite after the manner of Thucydides, who is much given to after-thoughts. The argument that has run through all the Proem down to c. 17 is dismissed for the time being in the last sentence of that chapter—οὗτῳ πανταχόθεν Ἡ Ἑλλάς κατείχετο κτλ. It will be noticed also that nothing is said about the relative insignificance of the Persian wars in c. 18. If Thucydides meant to include them in the period described as τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά, the absence of any such reference would be inexplicable. At c. 23 he recurs to the Persian wars, and here only he points out (a) that the struggle with Xerxes was

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1 Compare, for example, the relation of the passage in which the last years of Themistocles are described to what precedes it.
the greatest effort of the Greeks before the Peloponnesian War, and (b) that even that struggle, in certain definite respects, does not compare with this war.¹

i. The *Exordium* (Προοίμιον),² cc. 1—23.

1. The name Αρχαιολογία is often given to cc. 2—23. This name occurs in the scholium on c. 12. Dionysius (περὶ τοῦ Θουκ. χαρακτῆρος c. 20) hazardsthe startling criticism that it would have been better if the whole of the Ἀρχαιολογία (cc. 2—21 init.) had been omitted: after οὐτε ἐστὶν ἄλλα (c. 1 end) Thucydides should have continued οὐτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ἠμνηκασι ete. (c. 21). This criticism does not mean that Dionysius undervalued the Αρχαιολογία. In the preceding chapter he well describes the Ἐξορθίον as ἰστορία της αὐτῆς καθ' αὐτὴν. But all his criticism of Thucydides is for us vitiated because it is written entirely from the standpoint of a rhetorician. From the rhetorical standpoint a large part of the Ἐξορθίον really is irrelevant; for the object of the exordium in oratory is to secure the goodwill of the audience and, if need be, to indicate the subject³ of the speech.

2. Echoes of the 'Ἀρχαιολογία'⁴ are heard in several ancient authors. Though Aristotle nowhere

¹ This note was written without knowledge of Herbst's article in Philologus 38; he argues (a) that τὰ παλαιά occupy cc. 2—17, and (b) that the adverse criticism in cc. 20—22 applies only to the writers who dealt with τὰ παλαιά, and thus he excludes Herodotus from the authors to whom the adverse criticism applies. In his first point I believe that he is right.
² The title προοίμιον occurs first in Dionysius (reign of Augustus), and is applied also by Lucian.
³ Contrast the praise that Dionysius bestows on the προοίμιον of Lysias because they are entirely προ有意α (de Lys. c. 17).
⁴ Schrader, de archaeologiae Thuc. apud veteres auctoritate, Hamburg 1891.
mentions Thucydides by name, many passages in his works show that he was well acquainted with the Proem—and this fact lends additional importance to the differences in the accounts given of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in c. 19 and Ath. Pol. c. 18. Aristotle does not accept a statement made in the Ἀρχαῖολογία without independent investigation. Thus Thucydides (c. 11) speaks of the wall built by the Greeks round Troy (see Iliad vii. 436 f. τοτε δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἐδειμαν κτλ.); whereas Aristotle declared that this wall was a fiction! Probably, however, Thucydides was really thinking here of some other wall, built at some time long anterior to that at which the action of the Iliad begins. Several passages in the Politics take us back to Thucydides (see note on c. 6 § 1; Pol. p. 1285 b; 1271 a; 1311 a). The only other writers of the first rank who are known to have made use of the Ἀρχαῖολογία are Sallust and Lucian.

3. The historian's purpose is not to give a summary of early Greek history, but to bring out the transcendent greatness of this war by contrasting with it the previous doings of the Greeks. Hence we have here a compressed philosophy of early history rather than history proper. From the knowledge that he had gathered from poets and 'logographers' and increased by personal observation, he has by reflexion extracted the lesson that he seeks to convey. Thucydides is a philosopher as well as a historian. Having a passion for truth, he omits nothing that is part of the war, however trifling. But when an event has no significance from the philosopher's standpoint, he narrates it in a summary fashion, and lapses into the bare manner of an annalist. Dionysius finds fault with him for
dwelling on some events at undue length, and passing rapidly over others. The explanation of this seeming disproportion is that it is not on the mere occurrence that Thucydides will lavish all his powers. He selects for full treatment what is somehow typical or illustrative of opinion, of a people, or of a movement. Even the most splendid descriptions, the parts of his history that every one remembers, such as the plague at Athens, the troubles at Corcyra, the departure of the fleet for Sicily, the last battle in the Great Harbour, are intended not for pleasure but for edification: these are events importing something, they 'end in a moral' which, however, is more often implied by the writer than expressed.

4. The Subject.—What Dionysius says about this is to the following effect: 'The first, and one may say the most necessary, task for writers of history is to choose a noble subject, and one pleasing to their readers. In this Herodotus seems to me to have succeeded better than Thucydides. He has produced a national history of the conflict of Greeks and barbarians . . . Thucydides, on the other hand, writes of a single war, and that neither glorious nor fortunate; one which, best of all, should not have happened, or (failing that) should have been ignored by posterity, and confined to silence and oblivion.' This criticism suffers from the defect that mars all Dionysius' work on Thucydides: it is written from the rhetorician's standpoint, not from the historian's. Little is to be gained, in any case, from a comparison of two histories in respect of their subject matter; but it must

1 Thuc. would scarcely have assented to the well-known dictum in Aristotle's Poetics, that Poetry is more philosophical than History.
2 The translation follows Prof. Rhys Roberts' version.
certainly be conceded that Herodotus had by far the fairer (καλλιών) subject to treat than Thucydides. Moreover, the latter certainly exaggerated the importance of the Peloponnesian War. At the very beginning of it he formed the opinion that it would prove ἄξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, more remarkable than any that preceded it. This anticipation was only confirmed by the course of the war; events, as he holds, justified his forecast. Exaggeration there is; but we must not over-estimate it.

(a) The past fifty years had seen a great increase in the strength of Athens and Sparta (c. 14, 3; 18, 3); Thucydides in making his estimate thinks only of the strength of the Greek states involved, and of the length of the war. He does not take into consideration the magnitude of the interests involved. He is fully aware that the very existence of the Greeks had been involved in the Persian War. But the war was short: for τὰ Μηδικά, τὸ Μηδικὸν in this connexion refer only to the conflict with Xerxes (cf. c. 14, 2; 18, 2); and that struggle was decided 'by four battles.'

(b) In the Persian War a large part of the Greek world had remained passive. In the Peloponnesian War all the Greeks were conscious that they were interested.

Still we can see that Thucydides was trying to find reasons for magnifying his subject; and no doubt, in doing this, he was influenced partly by tradition and partly by the sophists, who were careful to insist on the importance of the lesson they had to teach and who were skilled in making the weaker argument appear the stronger.

5. *Attitude towards Myth and Tradition.*—Thucydides is not the earliest author to throw doubt
on the myths. The 'logographers' until Herodotus had subordinated fact to myth. Herodotus adopts a tolerant attitude towards prehistoric traditions, neither affirming nor denying their truth: \( \text{εγω δε περι μεν τουτων ουκ έρχομαι έρεων \ ως ουτων \ η } \) 
\( \text{αλλως κως ταυτα έγενετο (i. 5)} \) is what he says about them. But belief waned; philosophy declared against tradition; the sophists preached scepticism; Anaxagoras turned myth into allegory. Comedy did not shrink from parodies on the stories of the gods, and Euripides did at least as much to bring them into disrepute. Thucydides has no liking for \( \tau δ \ \muυθωδες \). Yet he does not reject myth entirely. Agamemnon and Pelops, Hellen, Pandion, Tereus are to him real persons; but he believes in the accounts of them only so far as the accounts appear to him credible. What is incredible is due to the poet's exaggeration and his desire to please. Sometimes, without expressing any opinion, he just gives the story: as in iv. 24 \( \epsilonπιν \ η \ Χάρυβδες \ κληθεισα τουτο, \) 
\( \) 
\( \text{η 'Οδυσσεις λέγεται διαπλεισαι.} \) Such cautious statements come when he can base no probable conclusion on the poet's words, and can apply no test to them. What is really scientific in his treatment of the myths is this, that he never draws any conclusion from them that would not be justified even on the assumption that they were altogether fictitious. For example, from the story of the siege of Troy he correctly infers the early method of warfare among the Greeks. The wealth of Corinth in early times, affirmed by the poets, is rightly accounted for (c. 13). The soundness of his method in deriving con-

1 Cf. Herod. vii. 26 τδν (Μαρούαν) υπο Φρυγων λόγος έχει υπ' Απόλλωνος εκδαρέντα ανάκρημασθηναι. Xen. Anab. i. ii. 8 ενταύθα λέγεται Απόλλων εκδείραι Μαρούαν.
elusions from Homer may best be tested by reading cc. 9-11 from this point of view. The example of Thucydides was not followed by the historians who came after. Xenophon, indeed, kept on the safe side by avoiding mythology altogether. But Philistus, who is said to have imitated Thucydides, introduced legends for their own sake. Ephorus did not go back beyond the 'return of the Heraclidae'; but Theopompus, we are told, revelled in anecdotes, fables, and local legends. In later ages only Polybius, and apparently Posidonius, who numbered Cicero among his pupils, and stood to Polybius in the same relation as Xenophon to Thucydides, rigidly kept legend out of history.\footnote{This is what we should expect of Posidonius, who was a 'man of science' in the modern sense, and conducted his varied investigations in the Baconian spirit.}

6. Composition of the history.—Thucydides tells us that he began to work on his history immediately the war broke out. Was the first book as we have it put into shape after the end of the whole war, or was it written during the peace of Nicias? In other words, are we dealing in the Proem with the twenty-seven years' war or with the ten years' (or, as it was called in later times, the 'Archidamian') war only?\footnote{Cf. v. 24 ταύτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος γέγραπται.} Round this question a controversy has raged ever since 1846, when F. W. Ullrich published a remarkable work,\footnote{Whether the main thesis of this book is true or not, it marks an epoch in the criticism of Thucydides.} in which with great skill he sought to prove that Thucydides regarded the war as terminated by the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.), and wrote his history down to the middle of the fourth book under that impression. We
cannot do more than indicate the nature of the controversy. Classen's opinion was that the first book was not written before the fall of Athens. Among those who maintain that the history of the Archidamian War was written during the Peace of Nicias, there are some who think that the 'Αρχαιολογία and Πεντηκονταετία (cc. 97–118) were added, and the rest revised, after 404 B.C. The problem admits of no certain solution; but it is worthy of notice, that the three speeches in this book that give forecasts of the course which the war will take almost certainly contain some examples of 'prophecy after the event'; and at least the passages about ἐπίτείχεισις and the desertion of Athenian slaves seem to have been written after the fortification of Decelea in 413 B.C. It is to be noticed that some parts of the history show much greater elaboration than others; and I cannot help thinking that Thucydides worked on different parts at different times. The famous condensation of Thucydides in his highly wrought passages gives an effect of great rapidity; but it is not likely that this concentration of thought and language was achieved rapidly. In the speeches, in particular, we seem to have the work of a laborious and careful writer; the very complication of the grammar is the outcome not of haste, but of elaboration. A hasty writer does not pen tortuous periods.

1 G. Meyer, Quibus temporibus, etc. Ilfeld, 1880. The bibliography of this controversy is very extensive.

2 Archidamus, cc. 80–83; Corinthian envoy, cc. 121–122; Pericles, cc. 140–144.

3 The unfinished eighth book is perhaps in its first state. This is probably the simple reason why it contains no speeches. The episode of the Four Hundred may be more finished than the rest.
ii. Causes of the war: the *Pentecontaetia*.

1. As to the alleged causes of the war, Thucydides says (c. 23, 6) τὰς άιτίας προάγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς. The true cause, however, he adds, was the growth of Athenian power, which alarmed the Lacedaemonians. The danger is put bluntly by the ephor Sthenelaidas (c. 86)—μὴ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐὕτε μείζονς γίγνεσθαι. At c. 88 the true cause is related. The Lacedaemonians, we read, decided in favour of war, not so much because they were convinced by the arguments of their allies, but rather because they feared the Athenians would wax yet stronger. It is here that Thucydides goes at length into the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις, taking occasion to write the passage (cc. 89-118) known to ancient commentators as the πεντηκονταετία. The πεντηκονταετία was probably added after the main part of the book had been written, for in c. 146 we again read άιτίαι αὕται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, and in this brief summary of the causes we miss a reference to the long account of the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις. First it occurred to Thucydides to insert, after c. 88 an explanation how the Athenians came by the hegemony—ἡλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ήξέθησαν. This explanation extends from c. 89 to c. 96. Then he decided that it was desirable to state what passed between the beginning of the Athenian hegemony and the outbreak of the war. At c. 23, where he first mentions the ‘true cause,’ he would probably have told us that he intended to go into the matter after stating the alleged causes, but at that point he

1 Dionysius is mistaken when he blames Thuc. for not dealing with the ‘true’ cause first. When Thuc. wrote c. 23, 6 he considered that he had said enough about this cause. Later on he changed his opinion, and inserted the *Pentecontaetia*. 
had not any intention of doing so, and at a later time, when he decided to add the Pentecontaetia after c. 88, he did not modify either c. 23 or c. 146.

2. An indication is not wanting that the second part of the Pentecontaetia (cc. 96–118) is added as an after-thought to the first part. In c. 89, 2 the account of the transference of the hegemony starts from the battle of Mycale. Thucydides did not then notice that he was about to deal with a period bordering on fifty years, and so he started at the natural place, viz. where Herodotus had left off. Now when he has arrived at the end of his survey of events down to the war, he recapitulates; and in order that he may be able to put the number of years that he has covered in the two parts of the Pentecontaetia at the round figure of fifty, he shifts the terminus a quo from the battle of Mycale to the retreat of Xerxes after Salamis. And he concludes as if he had given a complete list of events from the earlier date! In reality, of course, his list only begins with 476 B.C., the formation of the confederacy of Delos (c. 98); contrast c. 118, 2 ταῦτα δὲ ξύμποντα δόσα εὑραξαν οἱ Ἑλληνες, etc.

3. The Pentecontaetia.

The chief events noticed are as follows:—

B.C.

480 Battle of Salamis; flight of Xerxes.
479 Battle of Mycale. Siege of Sestos.
478 Athens rebuilt and fortified.
477 The fleet under Pausanias takes Byzantium.
476 Treachery of Pausanias; the hegemony transferred to Athens. Formation of the Confederacy of Delos.
475 Capture of Eion by Cimon.
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B.C.
466 (very doubtful). Naxos reduced to subjection.
466 Battle of Eurymedon.
465 Death of Xerxes.
   Revolt of Thasos.
   Beginning of third Messenian War.
461 Athens breaks with Sparta, and forms alliance with Argos and Thessaly.
459 Athens helps Inaros in his revolt from Persia.
457 Reduction of Aegina.
   Battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta.
453 Destruction of Athenian force in Egypt.
450 Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta.
449 War resumed against Persia.
   Death of Cimon.
448 Sacred War in Phocis.
447 Battle of Coronea.
446 Revolt of Euboea and Megara.
445 Thirty years' peace.
440 Revolt of Samos and Byzantium.

Most of these dates are more or less uncertain, because Thucydides has not fixed the date of any of the events, except the thirty years' peace (ii. 2 τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἐτη ἐνέμειναν αἰ τριακοντού- τεις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἀλωσιν), and the revolt of Samos and Byzantium (i. 115). And even the former event is not dated in the Pentecontaetia, but only fixed relatively to the other events. Indeed, we might almost apply to Thucydides the very criticism that he makes on Hellanicus, the one author who had dealt with the period: τοὺτων βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη. The
chronology would have been much clearer if he had adopted fully the annalistic method, and catalogued the events under the names of the archons. We must suppose that Hellanicus had got some of the events in the wrong order.

A want of proportion has been noticed in this εκβολὴ τοῦ λόγου. Small and big events are treated alike; nay, the battle of Eurymedon is dismissed in a sentence, whereas much more room is given to the Egyptian affair (c. 104; 109), and to the third Messenian War. Dionysius with good reason expresses surprise that Thucydides says so little of Eurymedon. No adequate account of the battle or battles existed, and it was left for Ephorus and Theopompus to fill the gap.

4. The object for which the two sides fought is stated incidentally in several places; nowhere more clearly than by Pericles in his speech before the war and by the Corinthian envoy at Sparta. We have in these the final speech delivered on either side before the war. But at Sparta—two votes were taken, one from the Lacedaemonians only (c. 87) and another shortly afterwards from the whole of the confederate cities. The Athenians were resolved μὴ ἔννοιαν φόβω ἔχειν ἀ κέκτηνται. In his ‘laconic’ speech Sthenelaidas puts the matter from the Spartan point of view. The Peloponnnesians determined to ensure their security from Athens and the liberation of those already ‘enslaved.’ In other words the Athenians fought for ἀρχή, the Peloponnnesians—so they declared—for ἐλευθερία. The catch-word of the Peloponnnesians brought them the εὐνοία of the

1 The account of Ephorus is partly extant in the Στρατηγήματα of Polyaeus i. 34. Theopompus was the chief authority used by Plutarch in the Life of Cimon.
majority in the Greek world; but it did not bring their confederacy any marked accession of support. For the Greek world knew well enough that in reality Sparta was the controlling force on the confederate side as soon as it came to war, and that ‘both leaders,’ as Herodotus puts it (vi. 98), ‘were fighting for empire.’ The Athenians stated their object frankly, too frankly indeed for their own interests; the Spartans, on the contrary, wrapped up their selfish purpose in fine words, which did not deceive many outside the Peloponnesian alliance. The contrast between this Athenian candour and this Spartan deception runs all through the earlier part of Thucydides. From the beginning of the κίνησις Sparta played the part of a hypocrite. Xenophon, who seldom soars, who hated Thebes and had strong reasons for taking a favourable view of the Spartan ἄρχή, rises to impassioned eloquence when, through the mouth of a Theban envoy at Athens, he tells of the nemesis that followed on this career of deception. Surely he was thinking of Thucydides when he wrote of Sparta the burning words: ἀλλὰ μέν καὶ οὕς ἐμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἔξιστατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτῶς δουλείαν παρεσχήκασιν.

5. The end of Pausanias is narrated at greater length than is warranted by the occasion. Ostensibly Thucydides brings in the passage to explain what was meant by τὸ τῆς Ἐκλεισίκου ἄγος (c. 128). But from the mass of detail that he gives, we can see that

1 Compare the Melian dialogue, and the ὡς ἑρμήδα ἦδη ἔχετε αὐτήν (i.e. τὴν ἄρχήν) ἦν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἄφειναι δὲ ἐπικινδύνων (ii. 63) with the speech of the Mitylenaeans, especially μὴ ἔξιν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς (τοὺς “Ἐλλήνας) μετ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ ξυνελευθεροῦν (iii. 13).
he must have gained new information on the subject from Spartan sources. This information he is anxious to give to his countrymen. But, if the account of Pausanias' end is lengthened out until it becomes practically independent of the main narrative, what are we to say of the appendix about Themistocles? This is wholly irrelevant; and one of the motives for bringing it in is plainly revealed in the sentence with which the passage concludes: τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν . . καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα, λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ’ έαυτούς Ἐλλήνων οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. 

Having arrived at the death of Pausanias, Thucydides wanted to round off the passage by relating the last events in the life of his great contemporary.

The chronology and the details of the flight of Themistocles are uncertain. Plutarch (Themistocles 27) tells us that according to Ephorus and many other authors Themistocles went to the court of Xerxes. But Thucydides and one of the λογογράφοι (Charon of Lampsacus) represent him as arriving at the Persian court after the death of Xerxes. Plutarch finds the dates as given by Thucydides more probable; but he says they are not settled. The death of Xerxes is placed in 465 B.C. But Thucydides (c. 137, 2) says that the Athenian fleet was blockading Naxos when Themistocles crossed the Aegean. Unfortunately the date of the siege of Naxos can only be inferred from c. 99. But it is quite plain that Thucydides supposed it to have occurred a considerable time before the revolt of Thasos and the Athenian disaster at Drabescus (c. 100). Now we happen to know from iv. 102 that this last affair occurred twenty-nine years before the foundation of Amphipolis, i.e. before 437 B.C. Therefore the disaster at Drabescus happened about
465 B.C., or about the time of Xerxes’ death. It is impossible that the siege of Naxos can have happened so late as 466 B.C.; and so Themistocles must have fled from Argos some time before the death of Xerxes. Thucydides had obtained his information from the relatives of Themistocles (c. 138, 6); and it is evident that we cannot rely on the details. For example, there is no ground for supposing that the letter of Themistocles¹ (c. 137, 4) is genuine. Evidently Thucydides had no Persian source of information to draw upon (cf. c. 138, 1 βασιλεὺς δὲ, ὡς λέγεται). All indications point to 470 B.C. as the date of Themistocles’ flight²; and if this be so, we must place the reduction of Naxos in that year, and conclude that Thucydides is wrong in saying that Artaxerxes was king when Themistocles arrived at the court.

iii. The two Debates at Sparta.

1. The influence of Corinth in the Peloponnesian league is so great that she has it in her power to force the hand even of Sparta. A bustling, trading city, in close contact with the outer world, she contrasted strongly with the supine, self-centred leader of the league; and, as the natural champion of the more active members of the league, and especially of the cities on the coast, she was bent on compelling Sparta to show herself determined to counteract the aggressive spirit of Athens.³ Her

¹ The text of it differs in Plutarch, but the drift of the letter is the same.

² Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen i. 144 f. Themistocles, as W. points out, cannot have been regarded as a traitor up to the time when the Persae was produced, i.e. 472 B.C. It is unfortunate that the date of the Prometheus Vinctus is uncertain: Hermann’s opinion that 1068–70 τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μυσεῖν ἐμαθον κτλ. allude to Themistocles is highly probable.

³ Already in 524 B.C. Corinth had impelled Sparta, though reluctant, to send an expedition against Samos. Corinth was then
hatred of Athens was traditional. It arose, according to Thucydides, out of an event connected with Megara, and at a time when Corinth and Megara were enemies (c. 103, 4). After Megara revolted from Athens in 445 B.C., she naturally threw in her lot with Corinth, and actually fought on her side in the battle of Sybota (c. 114). The Megarian decree was, of course, a menace to Corinthian trade. It is strange that no direct allusion to Megara is put into the mouth of the Corinthian speaker in either of the two debates at Sparta. Already during the Persian wars Corinth had opposed Athenian policy; she had been especially violent in her opposition to Themistocles before the battle of Salamis. The opposition may, even so early as that, have been a tradition; but it may be that the notices of it in Herodotus are to some extent influenced by later events, and especially by that later-born σφοδρῶν μίσος of Corinth towards Athens, the origin of which is told by Thucydides.

2. How far do the speeches stated to have been delivered in these debates tell us what was really said? Take the first debate. An Athenian envoy must, of course, have intervened in it. But we cannot suppose that he was capable of delivering, on the spur of the moment, any such speech as Thucydides puts into his mouth. Neither can he have used arguments of such a general character as

influenced by anxiety about her trade. She again opposed Sparta, and gained the support of the Peloponnesian allies, when there was a project at Sparta to restore the tyrant Hippias.

1 Of the speeches in general Thuc. says he gives τὴν ξύμπασαν γνώμην τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων. The ξύμπασα, which is so often contrasted with καθ' ἐκαστον, shows that we must not expect that the separate arguments he puts into the mouth of a speaker shall in any case be those that were actually used by him.
are attributed to him. He must have replied with definite answers to the particular complaints of the previous speakers. Thucydides has elevated the discussion into a conflict of opposing ideals and incompatible temperaments. We are reminded of the rhetorical battles in Euripides, where the combatants are really embodied abstractions—Theseus for Λόγος δίκαιος, Herald for Λόγος ἁδικός. Of the several attacks delivered by the allies in this battle of words we witness only the last. It is directed at the policy both of Athens and of Sparta. And so it must needs be repulsed by an Athenian and a Spartan orator. Neither of them alludes to the particular grievances laid before the assembly by the representatives present. And even among the general and common complaints only one, that referring to the restriction of the right of litigation which was imposed by Athens on her allies, is answered.

At the time of the second debate no Athenian envoys were conveniently present in Sparta. Had Xenophon been describing the scene, no doubt he would have recorded the speech delivered by the representative of some city opposed to the war, an Elean perhaps or Mantinean. Opposition there was to the declaration of war, and it was not merely silent (c. 119). But Thucydides is too philosophical to trouble himself with the words of those whose actions did not count in the result. Therefore in the scene as he represents it, the speaking parts are confined to the leading characters; the others remain silent, and so the speech of the Corinthian is not answered. But if Thucydides was to make clear the attitude of Athens, a reply to the speech was imperatively called for. Accordingly, as the reply could not be given as part of the debate at Sparta,
it is put into the mouth of Pericles, who spoke at Athens; and, although he cannot in reality have known just what the Corinthian envoy had said, he is represented as replying to his forecast of the war step by step. This speech of Pericles is singled out from among many that were delivered at the same meeting (c. 139).
IV. Mind and Style

It is very difficult to arrive at a just appreciation of a genius so complex as Thucydides; and to deal adequately with so large a subject in a few pages is of course impossible. All that we can attempt here is to lay down lines of approach towards an understanding of his excellences. His faults are clear enough and strike even superficial readers who remain blind to the magnificence of his descriptions, the appropriateness and depth of his moral maxims, the pathos that so impressed the Greek critics, and even his originality. The judgment of Dionysius was warped by his rhetorical training. Yet on the whole no fairer criticism of Thucydides' style has been penned than a passage in the περὶ τοῦ Θουκιδίδου χαρακτήρος¹ in which he rises for a moment above details and takes a comprehensive view of the matter. After blaming Thucydides for his frequent use of the 'figures of language' (see p. xlv), Dionysius says:—

'What is most conspicuous in him and most characteristic is the attempt to express the greatest number of facts in the smallest number of words, to

¹ This passage is repeated in the second letter of Dionysius to Ammaeus, which may be consulted in Prof. Rhys Roberts' edition. Cf. Marcellinus §§ 50, 51.
combine many thoughts, and to leave a listener in the lurch while he is expecting to hear something further: in consequence his brevity becomes obscure. Putting the matter shortly, I say that there are four instruments by which Thucydides fashions his style: the use of poetical words, variety of construction, roughness of composition, brevity of narrative. The "colours" of his style are harshness, succinctness, pungency, austerity, gravity, vehemence—but above all these the power of stirring the emotions.'

The brevity of Thucydides\(^1\) manifests itself in various ways. It is much more frequent with him than with other authors to leave words to be 'supplied' from the context: e.g. c. 70 ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἡμιχείαν μήτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἢν (sc. ἔχειν αὐτὴν); c. 90 ἡξίουν αὐτοὶς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἄλλα καὶ . . ὅσοις ἐξειστῆκει (sc. τὰ τείχη) ἐγκαθελεῖν. This is the grammatical figure called ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. But often a whole clause is condensed into a single word, generally an adverb, as in c. 21 τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως (=οὕτως ὡστε ἀπιστα ἐναὶ) ἐπὶ τὸ μυθός ἐκκεννηκότα; c. 140 ἐνδέχεται τὰς ἔμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ὥστε ἤσον ἀμαθῶς (=ὡστε μὴ προμαθεῖν αὐτὰς τῶς ἄνθρωποις) χωρῆσαι. As for obscurity it results most commonly from compression, and especially from his habits of omitting a step in an argument, and of suggesting ideas without developing them. For a clause omitted take c. 120 χρὴ γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόνας . . τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, which follows immediately on τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίους . . οὐκ ἀν ἐτι αἰτιασαίμεθα ὡς οὗ καὶ

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\(^1\) e.g. Cicero, de Oratione ii. 56 ita creber est rerum frequentia ut verborum prope numerum sententiārum numero consecuatur. Every one knows Quintilian's densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides.
αὐτοὶ ἐψηφωμένοι τὸν πολέμον εἰσὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνῆγαγον. Between the two sentences, in order to complete the sense, we have to supply: ‘In acting thus they are only doing their duty.’ This kind of ellipse is, of course, especially frequent with γάρ. The other principal cause of obscurity is touched on under the section on the speeches.

Examples of Poetical and Ionic forms and words:¹ pref. pass. 3rd plur. in -αται, pluperf. in -ατο, found also in Herod.; ἐπειρασάμην beside ἐπειράθην, epic, Herod.; ἐμέμψηθην beside ἐμεμψάμην, poets, Herod.; ἀλκή, poets, Herod., Xen.; ἡμιφορά = ‘occurrence,’ drama, Herod.; ὁμαίχμια Herod.; τιμωρία = ‘help,’ Herod., Hippocrates; πολέμιος = ‘belonging to war,’ Herod., Hippocrates; νεοχμοῦν Herod.; ἐπτρόπω poetics, Herod.; φονεύω, Herod., Xen.; Ἐλλάς as adjectives for Ῥωικός, Ἑλληνικός, poets, Herod. Among poetical constructions ² may be mentioned the dative with verbs of motion, giving the goal, as c. 13 ὅτε Ἀμενοκλῆς Ἐμύοις ἡλθε; dat. with ἐπὶ, of hostile intent, c. 102 τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ἡμιμαχίαν; dat. of agent with other tenses than perf. and pluperf. see c. 44, 7; 51, 3; neut. plur. of adjectives and especially of verbal in -τεος as predicate; neut. sing. of partit. with article as abstract noun, e.g. τὸ δεδίος c. 36; τὸ βουλόμενον c. 90.

The rough, archaic style of composition (τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἀρμονίας) allows of harsh sounds and hiatus, arranges the words in a sentence according to their importance, without regard to the ear,³ ‘so that each word may be seen conspicuously’; does not strive

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¹ O. Diener, de Sermone Thucydidis, Lips. 1889.
³ Blass, Attische Beredsamkeit 222.
after a rounded period, but places the short clauses side by side. All prettiness, τὸ κομψόν, is foreign to its nature, and so when Thucydides indulges in the mere mechanical ‘figures of language,’ πάρωσα and παρομοίωσις (p. xlii) he is making a concession to a prevalent bad fashion. As a rule it is not by sentences, but by the effective position of single words that he strives to give dignity to his style. Closely bound up with the prevailing disregard of sound and form is the variation of construction that appears in many forms. A characteristic example occurs already in c. 3, 2, where the moods change rapidly (see note). The co-ordination of dissimilar clauses is very common, as in c. 1 ὅτι... ὑσαν καὶ... ὅρων. The thought is more important to him than the form. From this preference of the sense arise the numerous small irregularities of grammar such as (a) the enlargement or contraction of the subject in the course of a sentence, as in c. 49, 4; and (b) the ‘anacoluthic’ δὲ, generally after a parenthesis, as in c. 11 ἐπειδὴ δὲ... ἐκρατήσαν... φαίνονται δὴ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα κτλ.; but sometimes without parenthesis, as in ii. 65 ἐπεί τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοὺς τὸν δύναμιν. (c) Here we may place the habit of joining two forms of construction as in c. 72 τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεῖα... παροῦσα, καὶ ὁς ἤσθοντο κτλ.; c. 14 ὅψε τε ἀρ’ οὖ... ἐπεισεν... τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. Constructions of the kind called κατὰ σύνεσιν are naturally frequent. A good example of these may be found in the freedom with which a nominative partic. is used, where strictly a gen. abs. is required, and conversely a gen. abs. for the nom. or other case: contrast, for instance, iii. 34 ὁ δὲ Πάχης προκαλεσάμενος ἐσ λόγους 'Ιππίαν... ὁ μὲν (Hippias) ἔξηλθε παρ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνον ἐν φιλακῇ
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ἀδέσμω εἰξεν, with iii. 13 βοηθησάντων δὲ ὦμῶν προθύμως, πόλιν προσλήψεσθε, or i. 114 διαβεβηκότος Περικλέους . . ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ.

As an illustration of the 'colours of style' enumerated by Dionysius, we shall refer to one sentence only. It contains all the qualities mentioned—disregard of smoothness, a pregnant brevity, incisiveness, grave dignity; and for its tragic solemnity it could not have been intensified by the addition of any detail. Any one can test Dionysius' list by thinking over c. 23, 2 οὐτὲ γὰρ πόλεις . . . στασιάζειν.¹

¹ Especially the emphasis thrown on the long words ἣρμηνεύσαν, ἦλιοκόμεναι, ἀντιπολεμοῦντων, στασιάζειν, and the intrusion of the parenthesis which breaks the symmetry should be noticed. Thuc. makes his greatest effect by apparently simple means.
V. THE SPEECHES

1. Already in ancient times Thucydides is commended as the first historian who composed true speeches—δημηγορία. He has told us what method he followed: 'I have made every speaker say what seemed to me most appropriate on each occasion, taking care to keep as close as I could to the spirit of what was actually said.' If it is asked why Thucydides inserts these set speeches, the true answer is probably that oratory was in his day advancing rapidly in importance and in technical excellence, and that the δημηγορία, the λόγος, held in Athenian life a place as important as that held by the πραξις or ἐργον. Already in Herodotus the persons speak, but in an informal, conversational manner. Direct speech in history was but a legacy received from epic poetry. Naturally, influence and power of political discourse were enormously enhanced by the appearance of rhetoric. The age of Pericles did not regard Themistocles as a great orator (see c. 138, 3); even Pericles did not, so Plutarch says, write out his speeches for the assembly; but he was probably the last great statesman who did not do so. Rhetoric found direct speech already existing in Ionic history;

1 αἱ δημηγορίαι αὐτοῖ, ἐν αἷς ὄλονται τὰς τὴν ἀκρα τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι δύναμιν Dionys. περὶ τοῦ Ἐουκ. Χ. c. 34.

xliii
and naturally it exerted as powerful an influence in the domain of Attic history as it exerted on Attic oratory.

2. In manner, too, Herodotus had followed the usage of epic. His speeches and dialogues have the simplicity and grace of the Homeric discourses; even the longer ones 'have the conversational tone rather than the rhetorical.' It cannot be said that there is no display of rhetoric in the discourses of Herodotus; but it is quite clear that his preference was for the ample colloquial manner of the epic heroes. He professes to give the actual words of the speakers; and in the main he makes them talk not that he may present in this way an analysis of motives, but that he may diversify the narrative and retain the attention of his listeners. Thucydides was the first writer to introduce δημηγορίαι proper into history; and the writers on rhetoric regarded him, and him alone, as an orator as well as a historian, thus bearing emphatic testimony to the importance of his speeches in the history of their art.

3. The speeches in Thucydides occupy more than a fifth of the whole work. The occasion chosen for their introduction is always a notable conjuncture in the development of the war; not necessarily, as Sir R. Jebb points out, an occasion of much importance in relation to the war; but always, as we should expect to find in Thucydides, the occasion of some event that he can treat as 'typical of its kind.' In the first book, indeed, all the occasions on which a speech is inserted are in themselves of the first importance. But here, as always, he makes the speeches the means of affording us an insight into the inner motives of action, or into the character and policy of

1 Jebb in Hellenica p. 169.
whole states or of political parties. He condenses in a single speech or in the speeches of opposed orators all the reflections that he thinks appropriate to the situation; and thus the speakers become personifications of that political idea which inspired them. The words in which they express the idea are for the most part supplied by Thucydides; the form, the topics, and the structure alike are largely dependent on the popular rhetoric of the day.

4. As regards the form, it is easy to blame Thucydides for the excessive use of the rhetorical figures of language. These are the σχήματα Γοργίεως remarked by the Scholiasts and the ancient commentators in general; μερακλώδεις σχηματισμοί and θεατρικά σχήματα Dionysius calls them. The commonest of these figures is, of course, the antithesis: a conspicuous example of its use is c. 70. Now it is hardly reasonable to complain just because this figure is frequent in Thucydides; and perhaps nobody would do so had it not received a bad name as one of the 'Gorgian' tricks. Thucydides deals with a subject that is full of contrasts. There is the contrast between Ionian and Dorian, Athenian and Spartan; between pretence and reality, promise and fulfilment; and Thucydides was bound to bring these contrasts out. But in the speeches where all the 'figures' are naturally most frequent, he sometimes lets a feeling

1 Poppo's statement has not been improved upon and is specially appropriate to the speeches of the first book: 'Consilium Thucydidis in eo positum erat, ut orationes vere habitas imitarentur et vitam publicam exprimerent. Continentur enim iis aut descriptiones civilatum formarum atque commodorum et incommodorum ex iis orientium aut adumbrationes ingeniorum atque morum populorum et vironrum principum, aut expositiones cur aliquid susci piendum et quomodo laetus eius eventus sperandus . . . omnino, quae commentatus est scriptor de rerum rationibus hominumque consiliis.'
for antithesis carry him into verbal contrasts that contain little or no substance. It was the fashion of the day, and Thucydides followed it at times only too faithfully. Unfortunately, too, he does not always rest content with the antithetic form pure and simple. With antithesis he occasionally combines those less desirable 'figures,' such as *paromoiosis* or jingle in the sound of whole clauses, and *parisosis* or equality in the length of clauses; but such trivialities are less common in him than in Antiphon, for example, or Isocrates, and they are certainly not numerous enough to warrant us in saying that Thucydides deliberately aimed at them. It would be fairer to say that he does not always avoid them. One of the minor figures, *paronomasia*, or jingle in the sound of words, is undoubtedly common even in the descriptions. But it must be remembered that in all Greek literature, from Homer downwards, this *paronomasia* is common. The practice is so notorious and constant that it may be enough here to point out that ὀδύνσομαι occurs in Homer only and always as in *paronomasia* with the name Ὀδύσσειός. On the whole, in spite of Gorgias, the minor 'figures

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1 Dionysius, as Blass says, declares the figures to be unworthy of the grave, austere dignity of Thucydides. They can hardly be excused altogether on the ground that fashion required them. This excuse makes the κτήμα ἐς αἰεὶ into an ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρήμα! On the other hand, I do not think we can say that antithesis is foreign to the nature of the grave style. We must distinguish between this and the minor ὀχήματα λέξεως.

2 E.g. C. 70 καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τομηταί | καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κυνωνεται.

3 E.g. C. 33 καὶ προεπιβουλέων αὐτῶς μᾶλλον ἡ ἀντεπι-βουλέων.

4 Nieschke, de Thucydide Antiphontis discipulo, Münden 1885.

5 II. iv. 140 Προθόσος θοῦσ; but by no means only with proper names: e.g. II. xviii. 541 πλειράν ἄροναν εὐρείαν; Od. ix. 415 ὀδύνων ὀδύνησον.
of language' are no commoner in Thucydides than they are in Homer. Of course Gorgias did not invent the figures; he first taught them. Suidas mentions books περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμηρῷ σχημάτων ῥητορικῶν: Aristotle in the Rhetoric goes to Homer (Il. ix. 526) for his example of paronomoiosis: and in the tract de vita et poesi Homeri, attributed to Plutarch, several examples of the minor figures are collected from the Iliad and Odyssey. As for the other class of 'figures,' the figures of thought, such as irony, the rhetorical question, asyndeton, anaphora, they are so seldom used by Thucydides that they do not count as characteristic of his style.

5. In the choice and arrangement of his subject matter he is never the slave of rhetoric. He gives us, of course, the ordinary exordium (προοίμιον), argumentatio (ἀγωνισμος), and peroratio (ἐπιλογος). He uses too the rhetorical commonplaces, such as honour (τὸ καλὸν), interest (τὸ συμφέρον), justice (τὸ δίκαιον); and in handling these he has always at command an extraordinary abundance of arguments and aphorisms that surpasses anything to be found elsewhere in Greek oratory. His power of invention wrings from Dionysius an emphatic eulogy; to us it becomes at times actually wearisome, the same materials being grouped again and again in different shapes, as in a kaleidoscope.

Ipsae illae contiones, says Cicero of Thucydides' speeches, ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intelligantur. In the speeches much more often than the narrative, ἀφαίης γίνεται τὸ βραχύ. The sentences are overloaded with ideas, they are compli-

1 This may be omitted to produce an effect of abruptness and vehemence, as in the case of Sthenelaidas' 'laconic' speech, c. 86.
2 Cf. Mahaffy, Greek Prose Literature.
cated by the intrusion of numerous clauses which stand in various relations to the main construction. It is not that he is incapable of writing clearly when he comes to write a speech; nothing, for example, could be more clearly expressed than the last speech in his history, the magnificent address delivered by Nicias during the retreat from Syracuse. But unfortunately he shows too often a preference for the complicated over the simple form of expression; he likes to write in long, straggling, ill-balanced periods that contrast strangely with their machine-turned antithesis, and the rhymes and jingles in the clauses.
VI. MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT

The seven MSS. that are of importance for determining the text of Thucydides fall into two groups:

1. Laurentianus, C, in the Laurentian library at Florence, on parchment, 27 lines to the page. Date between 900 and 950, the oldest MS., and, on the whole, the best. The first six pages, down to c. 15, 1 νότους are by a later hand.

Monacensis, G; in Munich library, quarto on paper. 13th century. The upper margin of the page is destroyed; hence the sign [G] means that in the place referred to, the reading of this MS. is lost.

2. Vaticanus, B; in the Vatican library; small folio on parchment, 30 to 32 lines on a page. 11th century. Not decisively inferior to C, but with its companions derived, in the first two books, from a different recension of the text. From iii. to vi. c. 92 it does not differ nearly so often (the proportion is 1 to 4) from the C group, and is probably a descendant of the same recension. From vi. c. 92 to the end B differs widely from all the other MSS.

Augustanus, F, large folio on parchment. Dated 1301. Formerly at Augsburg, now at Munich.

Cisalpinus or Italus, A; at Paris, large folio on parchment. 11th or 12th century. It was lost.
from 1815 to 1869, and rediscovered by R. Prinz in the National Library.

*Palatinus, E,* at Heidelberg; large folio on parchment. 11th century. The only good MS. that contains the two Lives.

*Britannicus, M,* in the British Museum, quarto on parchment, 27 lines to the page. 11th century. This MS. belongs on the whole to the second group, but it often agrees with the first against BAEP.

In fixing the text, the readings of B and C are of course the most important. It happens that C is more often confirmed by the text of Dionysius than B; and there is a suspicion that readings peculiar to B are sometimes the result of conjecture. In a passage where CG have one reading, BAEPFM another, it is best to choose the reading of CG if both are equally acceptable; and if, as sometimes happens, E or M agrees with CG, the claims of the reading to preference are strengthened.

The other sources from which the text can be occasionally corrected are the long quotations in Dionysius, the Scholia (only a small portion of which are of any considerable authority), and the numerous citations from Thucydides or else imitations in later writers, rhetoricians, grammarians and the Scholia to Homer, Aristophanes, and other authors. There is no sufficient reason for supposing that the MSS. of Thucydides are specially corrupt. There are very numerous small mistakes; the insertion or omission of short words, such as τέ, ἐ, ὃς, is frequent. But the MSS., are an average lot; not one of them is of great merit—there is nothing like the Bodleian Plato, for example, or the Paris *Anabasis*; but we may be confident that they yield between them a very fair text exhibiting in general only those forms
of error that become familiar to readers of Greek manuscripts. The present editor, at least, readily confesses that a larger acquaintance with MSS. has caused him to withdraw entirely from the opinion of those who detect incessant interpolations and wholesale corruptions in these very ordinary MSS.
ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Α

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναίος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον 1 τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Ἑλλήνους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθιστάμενου καὶ ἑλπίζας μέγαν τε ἑσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγειμένων, τεκμαίρομενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντες τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτῶν ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῆ ἡ πάση καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὅρῶν ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἐκατέρως, τὸ μὲν 10 εὐθὺς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. κίνησις γὰρ 2 αὐτῆς μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων ἄνθρωπων. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν 3 καὶ τὰ ἐτὶ παλαίτερα σαφῶς μὲν εὑρεῖν διὰ 15 χρόνου πλήθος ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων

The reason for writing this history. This war is greater than any that preceded it.

c. 1. 1—c. 15. 1 κατεστρέφοντο suppl. c foll. ii–vii

c. 1. 1—c. 3. 2 τοῦτο suppl. m fol. i

11. δὴ μεγίστη F Dion. Hal. 15. ἀδύνατον F1G Dion. Hal.
δὲν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντι μοι πιστεύσαι ξυμβαίνει οὗ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὕτε
2 κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὕτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα. φαί-
νεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὗ πάλαι
βεβαιῶς οἰκουμένη, ἄλλα μετανα-
στάσεις τε οὕσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ
βαδίως ἐκαστοὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολεί-
pontes βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινῶν αἰὲὶ πλείονων.
2 τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὖσης, οὖθ᾽ ἐπιμυγνύντες
ἀδεῶς ἄλληλοις οὗτε κατὰ γῆν οὕτε διὰ
θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοι τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκαστοὶ
ὅσον ἀποζήν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ
ἐχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἀδηλοῦ ὃν ὅποτε
τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἁμα ὅντων ἄλλος
ἀφαιρῆσηται, τῆς τε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίον
τροφῆς παντάχοι ἃν ἴδομενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ
χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ οὕτε μεγέθει
3 πόλεων ἴσχυον οὕτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ. μάλιστα
δὲ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη αἰὲὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
οἰκητῶν εἴχεν, ἢ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη
καὶ Βοιωτία Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλῆ-
ν Ἀρκαδίας, τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα.
4 διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἳ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζονις
ἐγγεγυμόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποίουν ἔξ ὃν ἐφθείροντο,
καὶ ἁμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μάλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο.
5 τὴν γοῦν Ἄττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἕπτα πλείστον διὰ τὸ
λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὕσαν ἄνθρωποι ὄκουν
6 οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ. καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου
οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ

11. ἑαυτῶν Schol. 29. μετοικίας ἐς] μετοικήσεις Ullrich
...ιστοριών A (1–3)

...μη ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἡ στάσει ἐκπίπτουτες παρ’ Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατῶτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὁν ἀνεχόμεν, καὶ πολίται γυγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἐτὶ ἐποίησαν πλῆθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε καὶ ἐς Ἰούλιαν ὑστερον ὡς οὐχ ἵκανης οὐσίς τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξε-πεμφαν. 

Δηλοῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν 

...οὐχ ἡκιστα. πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῆ ἐργα-σαμένη ἡ Ἐλλάς: δοκεὶ δὲ μοι, οὔδὲ τοῦνομα τούτο ἐξυμπασά πω εἴχεν, ἄλλα τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἐλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὔδε εἶναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῆ, κατὰ ἕθη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι, Ἐλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτούς ἐπ’ ὥφελια ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ’ ἑκάστους μὲν ἣδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλείσθαι Ἐλληνας, οὐ μὲντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου [ἐδύνατο] καὶ ἀπασίν εὐκινήσασιν. τεκμη-ροὶ δὲ μάλιστα Ὁμήρος: πολλῷ γὰρ ύστερον ἐτὶ καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενος οὖδαμον τοὺς ἀξιόπαντας ὁνόμασεν οὐδ’ ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ’ Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οὔπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἐλληνες ἤσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπέστι καὶ Ἀργείος καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ

18. Ἐφιώτιδ: Ἐφιώτιδα cett. 22. ἐδύνατο om. M 
23. ὑστερος γρ. Schol.
Minos the first to possess a fleet. ‘Ελληνικής θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλείστων ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νῆσων ἦρξε τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κάρας ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἡγε-μόνας ἐγκαταστήσας· τὸ τε ληστικόν, ὡς εἰκός, καθήρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐδύνατο,

Piracy in early Greece.

8. ἐξυπερήφανον Cobet: ἐξυπήρθον cord. : exierant Valla
15. καταστάσας G (corr. G) M || ληστρικόν GM
αἰσχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἑργοῦ, φέροντος δὲ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον· δηλούσι δὲ τῶν τε ἡπειρω-2 τῶν τινες ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δράν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἡ τοιοῦτος5 τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτώντες εἰ λησταὶ εἰςιν, ὡς οὔτε ὃν πυθάνονται ὑπαξιόντων τὸ ἑργον, οἷς τε ἐπιμελεῖς εἰη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδίζοντων. ἐλήξοντο δὲ καὶ 3 κατ’ ἡπειρον ἀλλήλους. καὶ μέχρι τούτῳ πολλᾶ10 τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νῦμεται περί τε Δακροὺς τοὺς ’Οξόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ τὴν ταύτη ἡπειρον. τὸ τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκεν· πᾶσα γὰρ 615 ἡ Ἑλλᾶς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφάρκτους τε οἰκήσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους, καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν διαίτην μεθ’ ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο ὁσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. σημείων δ’ 2 ἐστὶ ταύτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτὶ οὕτω νεμόμενα10 τῶν ποτε καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαίτημάτων.20 'Εν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ ’Αθηναῖοι τόν τε σίδηρον 3 κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνεμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερότερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν 25 εὐδαιμονίων διὰ τὸ ἄβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτώνας τε λινοὺς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττάγων ἐνέρσει κροβύλον ἀνα- δούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν· ἀφ’ οὐ καὶ ’Ιώνων τοὺς πρεσβύτερους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιγενέσε27. ἐν ἔρσει (vel ἔρσει) EG Schol.
4 ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτὴ ἡ σκεῦη κατέσχεν. μετρία δ’ αὐ ἐσθήτη καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Δακε- 
δαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τους 
pολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἱσοδιαίτοι 
5 μάλιστα κατέστησαν. ἐγγυμνόθησαν τε πρῶτοι 5 
καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ 
γυμνάζεσθαι ἥλειψαντο· τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν 
τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ ἀγώνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ 
tὰ αἴδοια οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἤγωνύζοντο, καὶ οὐ 
pολλὰ ἐτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν 10 
tοὺς βαρβάρους ἔστιν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα 
tοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἀθλα τίθεται, 
6 καὶ διεξόμενοι τοῦτο δρόσων. πολλὰ δ’ ἄν 
καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξει τὸ παλαιὸν Ἐλληνικὸν 
ὄμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτόμενον. 15 
7 Τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὡσαί μὲν νεώτατα ψύκουσαν 
καὶ ἢδη πλωμωτέρων ὄντων, περιου-

Origin of walled 
cities.
λησται ἦσαν οἱ νησιώται, Κάρες τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ ἡ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νῆσων ὥσκησαν. μαρτύριον δὲ Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρο-
μένης ύπὸ Ἀθηναίων εὖ τοῦ τῶ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώ-
tων ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμίσιν Κάρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκέψῃ τῶν ὑπλων ἐνυπτε-
θαμμένη καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ὃ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσιν. καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλωμῶτερα 2
εγένετο παρ ἀλλήλους (οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νῆσων κακούργων ἀνέστησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὀτεπερ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατφκιζέ), καὶ οἱ παρὰ 3
θάλασσαν ἀνθρωποὶ μᾶλλον ἣδη τὴν κτήσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιότερον ὥσκουν,
καὶ τινες καὶ τείχῃ περιεβάλλοντο ὡς πλου-
sιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γυγυμένοι· ἐφείμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἱ τε ἡσους ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρει-
σῶν δουλείαν, οἱ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἐχοντες προσπειούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἑλάσσους
πόλεις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἣδη 4
ὀντες ύστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν.
Ἀγαμέμνων τὲ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν τότε δυνάμει 9
προὐχων καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἐν
Τυνδάρεω ὄρκοις κατειλημμένων 25
tοῦς Ἐλένης μενήστηρας ἄγων τὸν
στόλον ἁγείραι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφὲ- 2
στὰτα Πελοποννησίων μνήμη παρὰ τῶν πρό-
tερον δεδεγμένοι Πελοπᾶ τε πρῶτον πλήθει

3. ψκισαν ὘ 15. ὡς... γιγνόμενοι add. G in marg., om. Ῥ
χρημάτων, ἀ ἦλθεν έκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλὺν ὅντα ὄμως σχεῖν, καὶ ὑστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἔτει μείζων ἐξυπερεχθήναι, Ἐὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἄδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἐὐρυσθέως, ὅτε ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἄρχην κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρέω (τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον), καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχόρησεν Ἐὐρυσθέως, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλείδῶν καὶ ἀμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὄσων Ἐὐρυσθέως ἢρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς

3 Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήναι. ἅ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνον παραλαβόν καὶ ναυτικὸ [τε] ἀμα ἐπὶ πλέου τῶν ἄλλων ἱσχύσας, τὴν στρατεύον οὔ χάριτι τὸ πλέου ὡς φόβῳ ἐξυπαγαγὼν ποιη- σασθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσὶ τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσταρασχών, ὡς ὁμηρὸς τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἰ τῷ ἰκανὸς τεκμηριώσαι. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκῆπτρου ἀμα τῇ παραδόσει εἴρηκεν αὐτὸν πολλῇς νήσοις καὶ Ἀργεί παντὶ ἀνάσσειν· οὐκ ἄν οὐν νήσων ἕξω τῶν περιοίκίδων (αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄν πολλαὶ εἶνεν)

Ηπειρώτης δὲν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἰχεν. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτη τῇ στρατείᾳ οίᾳ ἥν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἰ τι 10 τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξίοχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεί ἂν τις σημεῖο χρώμενος ἁπιστοὶ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλου τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὐ τε ποιηταί εἰρήκασι καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. Δακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ 2 ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθεὶς, λειφθεὶς δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὰν ἂν οἶμαι ἁπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τῶν ἑπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε 15 τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς τε εὐμπάσης ἕργῳνται καὶ τῶν ἕξω εὐμμάχων πολλῶν ὅμως δὲ οὔτε εὐνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἐλλάδος τρόπῳ 20 οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοντ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα), Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο παθόντων διπλασιὰν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανερᾶς ὅψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἑστίν. οὖκουν ἁπιστεῖν εἰκὸς, 3 οὐδὲ τὰς ὅψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπο- μένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὄμηρον αὐτοὺς ἑι

τι χρή κανταύθα πιστεύειν, ἢν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμῆσαι, ὂμως δὲ
φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα. πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλιῶν καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν, τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν
eίκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτήτου 5
πεντήκοντα, δηλὸν, ός ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας
καὶ ἐλαχίστας. ἀλλων γοὺν μεγέθους πέρι ἐν
νεῶν καταλάγον ὦκ ἐμνήσθη. αὐτερέται δὲ
ὁτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἐν ταῖς Φιλο-
kτήτου ναυσὶ δεδήλωκεν· τοξότας γὰρ πάντας 10
πεποίηκε τοὺς προσκόπους. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ
εἰκὸς πόλλους ἐξυπνάθειν ἐξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ
tῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ μέλλοντας
πέλαγος περαιώσεθαι μετὰ σκενῶν πολεμικῶν,
οὐδ’ αὐτά πλοία κατάφαρκτα ἔχοντασ, ἀλλὰ 15
τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευα-
5 σμένα. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας δ’ οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας
ναύς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαινοῦνται
ἐλθόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῆ
πεμπόμενοι.

11 Αὐτίον δ’ ἢν οἷς ἡ ὀλγιανθρωπία τοσοῦτον

Had the expedition been on a

large scale, Troy

would soon have been taken.

фессον ἡ ἄχρηματία. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς

ἀπορία τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω

ἥγαγον καὶ ὡςον ἢλπιζον αὐτόθεν

πολεμοῦντα βιοσεύσειν, ἐπειδή δὲ ἀφικόμενοι 25

μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δὴλον δὲ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ

στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο), φαίνονται δ’

οὖν ἑνταύθα πάση τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι,

ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονῆσσου τραπό-

17. δ’ οὖν Bekker: οὖν M: γοῦν cett. 19. ἐξειλθόντες G
μενοὶ καὶ ληστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία. ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρώες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἐτη ἀντεἶχον βία, τοῖς αἰεὶ ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες. περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον 2 ἐχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥαδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἴλον, οὐ γε καὶ ὦν ἁθρόοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἰεὶ παρόντι ἀντεἶχον, πολιορκία δὲ ἂν προσκαθέζομενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονι τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονύτερον τὴν Τροιαν ἐἴλον. ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀχρηματίαν τὰ τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενῆ ἥν καὶ ἀυτὰ γε δὴ ταῦτα, ὄνομαστό-τατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα, δηλοῦται τοῖς ἐργοῖς ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ 10 αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος· ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἔτι μεταν- ἤστατό τε καὶ κατωκίζετο, ὅστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξηθῆναι. ἦ τε γὰρ ἄναχρον ἡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία 12 Γερμανίαν πολλὰ ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεισιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀφ’ ὅν ἐκπλήττοντες τὰς πόλεις ἐκτίζον. Βοιωτοὶ τε 3 γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἐτεὶ μετὰ Ἰλίου ἀλωσιν ἐξ Ἀργον ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θέσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν 25 μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρῶτερον δὲ Καδμηνίδα γῆν καλουμένην ὕκισαν (ἡν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπο- δασμός πρῶτερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ’ ὅν καὶ

13 Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γυνομένης τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς κτήσεως ἐτί μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιομένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειξόνων γυνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἤθετος γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι), ναυτικὰ τε ἐξηρτύετο ἢ Ἐλλάς, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο.

2 Advance made by Corinth.

3 πρῶτον τῆς Ἐλλάδος ναυπηγηθήναι. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγός ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἐτή δ᾿ ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἤλθεν. ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτῃ ἄν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους· ἐτή δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξήκουτα καὶ διακόσια ἐστὶ μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ

χρόνου. οἴκοιντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι 5 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τὲ ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἐξ, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων, χρήματι τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ως καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδῆλωταί· ἀφεινὸν γὰρ ἐπονόμασαν τὸ χωρίον. ἐπειδή τε οἱ Ἐλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλάζον, τὰς ναύς κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν, καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφότερα δυνατήν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ Ἰωσίων ἕπτερον πολὺ 6 γίγνεται ναυτικῶν ἐπὶ Κύρου Περσῶν πρώτου βασιλεύοντος καὶ Καμβύσου τοῦ νίεσι αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. καὶ Πολυκράτης Σάμου τυραννῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου ναυτικῷ ἰσχύων ἄλλας τε τῶν νῆσων ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ρήνειαν ἐλῶν 15 ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνῳ τῷ Δηλίῳ. Φώκας τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδόνιοι εὐκές ναυμαχοῦντες· δυνατῶτατα γὰρ ταύτα τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦν. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταύτα πολλαῖς γενεάς ὑπέστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν τριήρεις 20 μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ’ ἐτί καὶ πλοῖοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὦσπερ ἑκείνα. ὀλίγον τε πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου 2 θανάτου, δὲ μετὰ Καμβύσην Περσῶν ἐβασιλεύσε, τριήρεις περὶ τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραῖοις· ταύτα γὰρ 25 30 ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραῖοις· ταύτα γὰρ
τελευταία πρὸ τῆς Εὐρήκου στρατείας ναυτικά

Late origin of the Athenian sea power.

The wars inconsiderable.
"Ερετριῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἐλληνικὸν ἐς ἔμμαχίαν ἐκατέρων διέστη. ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις 16 τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μῆ αὐξηθήναι, καὶ ἵωσι προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ
5 μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία Κροίσου καθέλουσα καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐπεστάτευσε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσε, Δαρεῖος τε ὑστερον τῷ Φοινίκων ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ
tὰς νῆσους. τυραννοὶ τε ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς 17 Ἐλληνικαῖς πόλεσι, τὸ ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν μόνον προσρώμενοι ἐς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἰδιον οἶκον αὐξεῖν δὲ ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς
15 πόλεις ἄκοιν, ἐπράξθη δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἰ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις· οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως· οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἡ Ἐλλὰς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο μὴτε κοινὴ φανερὸν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ
20 πόλεις τε ἀπολμοτέρα εἶναι.
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλῆν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ 
25 Δακεδαμονίων κατελύθησαν (ἡ γὰρ Δακε-
δαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικοῦντων

16. cf. om. ABEGM 27. κτήσιν ABcfGM

Growth of Persian power.
The Greek despots did nothing con-
siderable.
Beginning of the Persian wars.
The invasion of Xerxes. The Greeks make common cause.

5. ὁφ' οὗ] ἂ Μ Hermogenes: ὁφ' οὗ ΑΒ[G] 19. εὐ-
βάντες ABEGM 24. δὴ ἐφάνη Stephanus 27. post
ἐπείτα add. δὲ ABEGM || post καὶ add. οἷς ΑΕΜ Suid.

"The invasion of Xerxes. The Greeks make common cause."
'Αθηναίοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἄλληλους· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων The unanimity was short-lived. εἴ τινές που διασταίειν, πρὸς τούτους ἢ δὲ ἐχώρουν. ὡστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τώνδε 5 αἰεὶ τῶν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι, τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ἢ ἄλληλοις ἢ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις εὑ παρεσκευάσαντο τά πολέμια καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιοῦμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δακε-

dαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἐχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγούντο, κατ’ ὀλυγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδεύοις ὅπως πολιτεύουσιν θεραπεύοντες, 'Αθηναίοι δὲ ναῦς τέ τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαβόντες πλην Χίων καὶ

15 Λεσβίων, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πάσι τάξανες φέρειν. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τώνδε τῶν πόλεμον ἡ ἕδια παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὡς τὰ κράτιστα ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοὺς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἦνθησαν.

20 Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα ἦνρον, χαλεπὰ 20 ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεύσαι. General character of early Greek history.

οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρωποί τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προηγενημένων, καὶ ἦν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ἵνα ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ’ ἄλληλον δέχονται. 'Αθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος Ἰππαρχοῦ 2 οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ οἱ ο�이ντα ὑφ’ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἱσασιν ὥστι Ἰππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὧν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου νιέων, Ἰππαρχοῦ δὲ καὶ Θεσ-

12. πολιτεύσωσι ABEGM
σαλὸς ἀδελφὸς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὑποτοπῆσαντες δέ τι ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρήμα Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων σφίσιν Ἰππία μεμνύσθαι τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς προειδότος, βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντες τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι, τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Δεσκόρειον καλοῦμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ἀπε-κτειναν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἄμμηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἐλλήνες οὐκ ὦρθῶς οἴονται, ὡσπερ τοὺς τε Δακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιὰ ψήφῳ προσ-τίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον, ἄλλα διοῦν, καὶ τὸν Πυτανάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἴναι, ὃς οὐδὲ ἐγένετο πώποτε. οὗτος ἀταλαίπτωρς τοῖς πολλοῖς ᾧ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοίμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὦμοις τοιαῦτα ἀν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἀ διήλθον οὐχ ἀμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκρασεῖ ἢ ἀληθέστερον, οὔτα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλά ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκκενεκηκότα, ἡγησάθαι δὲ ἡγησά-μενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὡς 2 παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρόντως. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὖτος, καίτερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὧ μὲν ἄν πολεμώσῃ τὸν παρόντα αἰεὶ

7. περὶ] παρὰ Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. 18. 3 ( nisi ad vi. 57. 3 spectat)
μέγαστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὡμοίς μείζων γεγενημένος αὐτῶν.

22. Καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἐκαστοὶ τὸν πολέμησειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἢδη ὄντες, χαλεπον την ἁκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεκθέντων διαμνημονεύσαι ἢν ἐμοὶ τε ὑπὸ αὐτὸς ἦκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοθέν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἐκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δεόντα μάλιστ' εἰπείν, ἔχομεν ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεκθέντων, ὁὕτως εἰρηται. τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραξθέντων εν τῷ πολέμῳ ὅπε ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυρβανόμενος ἡξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀλλών ὅσον δυνατὸν ἁκρίβεια περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθῶν. εἰπτόνως δὲ ηὐρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταὐτά περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατέρων τις εὔνοιας ἡ μνήμης ἔχοι. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἁκρόασιν ἵσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀπερπέστερον φανείται: ὅσοι δὲ 20. αὐτὸν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὐθίς κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων 25. Βουλήσανται τοῖς τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὐθίς κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων

Τών δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράξθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τούτο ὁμώς δυνών ναυμαχίαν καὶ πεζομαχίαν ταχείαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα προύβη, παθήματά τε ἐξυπνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἐλλάδι οία οὐχ ἐτερὰ ἐν ἱσῳ χρόνῳ. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαίδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρμώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων (εἰσὶ δ' αἰ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλισκόμεναι), οὔτε φυγαί τοσαίδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φῶνας, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. τὰ τε πρότερον ἀκοὴ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργω δὲ σπανιώτερον ἐβεβαιώμενα οὐκ ἀπίστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οὗ ἔτε πλεῖστον ἀμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἵσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἥλιον τέ ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονεύμενα ἐξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοί τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἢκιστα βλάψασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἢ λουμώδης νόσος· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ἀμα ἐξυπετέθετο. Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδὰς αἱ αὐτοὶς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Ἐυβοίας ἀλώσων. διότι δ' ἐλυσαν, τὰς αὐτίας ὡς αὐτῶν ἐργῶν μέγιστον ἐπράξθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τούτο ὁμώς δυνών ναυμαχίαν καὶ πεζομαχίαν ταχείαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα προύβη, παθήματά τε ἐξυπνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἐλλάδι οία οὐχ ἐτερὰ ἐν ἱσῳ χρόνῳ. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαίδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρμώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων (εἰσὶ δ' αἰ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλισκόμεναι), οὔτε φυγαί τοσαίδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φῶνας, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. τὰ τε πρότερον ἀκοὴ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργω δὲ σπανιώτερον ἐβεβαιώμενα οὐκ ἀπίστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οὗ ἔτε πλεῖστον ἀμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἵσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἥλιον τέ ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονεύμενα ἐξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοί τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἢκιστα βλάψασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἢ λουμώδης νόσος· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ἀμα ἐξυπετέθετο.
προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή
tινα ξητήσαι ποτε ἐξ ὦτον τοσοῦτος πόλεμος
tοῖς "Ελλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεσ- 6
tάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς
5 Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ
φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίως ἀναγ-κάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν· αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερὸν
λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἰδ' ἦσαν ἑκατέρων, ὡς ἐν
λύσαντες τὰς σπουδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέ-
10 στησαν.

'Επίδαμνος ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐςπλέοντι 24
ἐς τὸν 'Ιόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι
δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι,
'Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. ταύτῃ ἀπόκισαν μὲν Κερκυ- 2
15 ραίοι, οἰκιστής δ' ἐγένετο Φαλίος 'Ερατοκλείδου
Κορίνθιος γένος τῶν ἃφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὴ
tὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως κατα-
κληθείς. ξυνόκισαν δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων τινὲς
καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους. προελθόντος 3
20 δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων
δύναμις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάρησασαι· στασία-
4 σαντες δὲ ἐν ἄλλῃ λοιπῇ ἐτη πολλά, ὡς λέγονται,
ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοικὸν βαρβάρων
ἐφθαρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς
25 ἐστερηθῆσαν. τὰ δὲ τελευταία πρὸ
tούδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν

1. έγραψα CG 2. τινας CGm Dion. Hal. (altero loco)
πόλις EM : τ.λις ABF γρ. c
εξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήξοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
κατὰ τὲ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες ἑπιείδη ἐπτίηξοντο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρ-
κυραν πρέσβεις ὡς μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρο-
μένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον κατα-
λύσαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἴκεται καθεξῆς 10 ἐς τὸ "Ὑπαίον ἑδέοντο. οἱ δὲ Κερκυ-
ραῖοι τὴν ἴκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέσαντο, ἀλλὰ ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψαν.

Those in Epidamnus sent to Coreya asking for help.

The request refused.

25 Γνώντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας τιμωρίαν οὖσαν ἐν 15 ἀπόρως εἰχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν, καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἑπτήροντο εἰ παραδοῦσιν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκισταῖς καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ πειράντ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὦ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλε 20

The Epidamnians then appealed to Corinth.

2 παραδοῦναι καὶ ἤγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κορίνθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποκινάν, τὸν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δηλοῦντες, ἑδέοντό τε μὴ 25 σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλ' ἐπαμύναται.

3 Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατὰ τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο

1. ἐπελθόντες Haase: ἀπελθόντες coild. 18. ἐπηρώτων
ABEF
ὅποιοι ἕως τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἐξετάζοντο, ἵνα ἐπανειληφθήση τὰ τοιαύτα ἐκεῖνα ἐν τῷ Κερκυραίῳ ἱερῷ, δὲ καὶ μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἄποικοι· οὗτε γὰρ ἐν 4

πανηγύρεσι ταῖσ κοινῶις διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομίζομενα οὕτως Κορινθίοι ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν διότι άλλαι ἄποικαι, περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτούς καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ’ ἐκείνου τῶν χρόνων ὀμοία τοῖς Ελλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῶ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προὔχειν ἐστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φαλάκων προεοίκησιν τῆς Κερκυρᾶς κλέος ἔχοντων τὰ περὶ τᾶς ναῦς (ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηρτύνοντο τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ εἶκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν υπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἢρχοντο πολεμεῖν), πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλῆματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπεμποὺν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμμον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὅφελίαν, οἰκήτορά τε τῶν Βουλόμενον ἴεναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακκιώτῶν καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουροῦς. ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιαν, Κορινθίων 2 οὕσαν ἄποικιάν, δειν τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ καλύωνται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιώμενοι.

25 ᾳτρινος τούτοις τε ἐπειδή ἦσθοντο τοὺς τε οἰκή- 3
toras καὶ φρουροῦς ἕκομας ἐς τὴν 'Επίδαμμον τὴν τε ἄποικιάν Κοριν-


5 The request granted. 10 'Ελλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῶ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προὔχειν ἐστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φαλάκων προεοίκησιν τῆς Κερκυρᾶς κλέος ἔχοντων τὰ περὶ τᾶς ναῦς (ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηρτύνοντο τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ εἶκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν υπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἢρχοντο πολεμεῖν), πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλῆματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπεμποὺν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμμον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὅφελίαν, οἰκήτορά τε τῶν Βουλόμενον ἴεναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακκιώτῶν καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουροῦς. ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιαν, Κορινθίων 2 οὕσαν ἄποικιάν, δειν τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ καλύωνται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιώμενοι.

Κερκυραίοι δὲ ἐπειδή ἦσθοντο τοὺς τε οἰκή- 3
toras καὶ φρουροῦς ἕκομας ἐς τὴν 'Επίδαμμον τὴν τε ἄποικιάν Κοριν-

θίοις δεδομένην, ἐχαλέπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ ἐξκοσι υάυσι καὶ ύστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον κατ' ἑπτήρειαν δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς (ἤλθον γὰρ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδες, τάφους τε ἀποδεικνύντες καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ἤν προϊσχόμενοι ἐδέοντο σφᾶς κατάγειν) τοὺς τε φρουροὺς οὖς Κορίνθιοι ἐπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκίτοράς 4 ἀποστέπμειν. οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὔδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπῆκουσαν, ἀλλὰ στρατεύοντο ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ 10 Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς κατάξουντες, καὶ τους Ἰλλυρίους 5 προσλαβόντες. προσκαθεξόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν προεύπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπίεναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὡς 15 πολεμίους χρήσεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι (ἐστὶ δ' ἴσθιμος τὸ χωρίον) 27 ἐπολιορκοῦν τὴν πόλιν, Κορίνθιοι δ', ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαμνίων ἦλθον ἄγγελοι 6. ἐπιδεικνύντες B ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται, παρεσκευάζοντο 20 στρατεύαν, καὶ ἀμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαμνίων ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσθ. καὶ ὧν νὰ τὸν βουλόμενον ἴναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν μὴ ἐθέλει ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βοῦλεται τῆς ἀποκίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταβέντα 25 Κορίνθιας μένειν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πλέοντες 2 πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τάργυριοι καταβάλλοντες. ἐδεή- 7. post ἐδέοντο add. τε ΑΒΕΦΜ 16. χρῆσθαι C: χρῆσαθαι cett. 21. στρατιάν ΑΒΕ 24. ἐθέλει C: ἐθέλοι cett. Phot.
θησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφάς ξυμπροπέμψαι, εἰ ἄρα κολύωντο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλείν· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ὁκτὼ ναυσὶ ξυμπλείν, καὶ Παλής Κεφαλλήνων τέσσαριν. καὶ Ἕπιδαυρίων ἔδεεθησαν, οἱ παρέσχον πέντε, Ἐρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ Τροιζήνωι δύο, Δενκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ Ἄμφρακτωτα ὁκτώ. Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ἤτησαν καὶ Φλειασίους, Ἡλείους δὲ ναύς τε κενὰς καὶ χρήματα. αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων νῆς παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι ὀπλίται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευήν, ἐθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυωνίων πρέσβεως, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευσαν Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν Ἕπιδαυρίῳ φρουροὺς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν, ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς Ἕπιδαμμον. εἰ δὲ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, δίκας ἦθελον δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι ἡμιβῶσιν· ὀποτέρων δὲ ἀν δικασθῇ εἰναι τὴν ἀποκλίαν, τούτους κρατεῖν. ἦθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. πόλεμον δὲ 3 οὐκ εἰὼν ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκεῖνων βιαζόμενων, φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οὗς οὐ βούλονται ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὀντων μᾶλλον ὡφελίας ἑνεκα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἂν τάς τε ναύς καὶ τοὺς ἐμπότας ἀπὸ Ἕπιδαμμον ἀπαγάγωσι, θεοὺς·


25. ῥαβδάρους ἀπὸ Ἕπιδαμμον ἀπαγάγωσι, βουλεύ-
σεσθαί· πρότερον δ' ού καλῶς ἐξειν τούς μὲν 5 πολιορκεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ δικαζεσθαί. Κερκυ-
ραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἤν καὶ ἐκείνοι τοὺς ἐν 'Επιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσειν ταύτα· ἐτούμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὡστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ 5
χώραν, σπουδᾶς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἔως ἂν ἡ δίκη
29 γένηται. Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπήκοον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆς καὶ
οἱ ἐξύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, προτέμψαντες κήρυκα
πρότερον πόλεμον προεροῦντα Κερκυραίοις, 10
ἀραντες ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχελίοις
τε ὀπλίταις ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν 'Επίδαμνον Κερκυ-
2 οirus ἐναντία πολεμήσοντες· ἐστρατήγηε δὲ
tῶν μὲν νεῶν Ἀριστεύς ὁ Πελλίχων καὶ
Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίων καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ 15
Τιμάνθους, τοὺ δὲ πεζοῦ Ἀρχέτιμος τε ὁ
3 Εὐρυτίμου καὶ Ἰωσάρχιδας ὁ Ἰσάρχου. ἐπειδὴ
d' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ὁκτίῳ της Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὐ
tὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τὸ
στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακίου κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραίοι
κήρυκα τε προὐπερψαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ
ἀπεροῦντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφάς καὶ τὰς ναῦς
άμα ἐπιλήρουν, ξεύζαντες τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὡστε
πλωίμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάζαντες.
4 ὡς δὲ ὁ κήρυξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρήναιον 25
παρὰ τῶν Κορίνθιων καὶ αἱ νῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπε-
πλήρωντο οὔσαι ὑγιόδήκοντα· (τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ
'Επίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκον), ἀνταναγαγόμενοι καὶ

2. έαυτοὺς [CG] 4. ἀπάγωσι CG 5. δὲ secl. Poppo
17. ἐπεῖ CG (corr. G') 28. ἀνταναγαγόμενοι Classen: ἀντανα-
γόμενοι codd.
Παρατηθήκαμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ ἑνίκησαν οἱ 5
Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ ναῦς
πέντε καὶ δέκα διέθειραν τῶν
Κορινθίων. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα
5 αὐτοῖς ξυνεβή καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμμον πολιορ-
κοῦντας παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογίᾳ ὡστε τοὺς
μὲν ἐπήλυσας ἀποδόσθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δή-
σαντες ἔχειν ἔως ἀν ἄλλο τί δόξη. μετά δὲ
τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τροπαίον στή-
10 σαντες ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ τῆς Κερκυραίας
ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὐς ἔλαβον
αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, Κορινθίους δὲ δή-
σαντες εἰχον. ὑστερον δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κορίνθιοι 2
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσημένοι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώ-
15 ροῦν ἐπὶ οἴκου, τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτουν
τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, καὶ
πλεύσαντες ἐς Λευκάδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν
τῆς γῆς ἐτεμον καὶ Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἡλείων
ἐπίνειον ἐνέπρησαν, ὅτι ναῦς καὶ χρήματα
20 παρέσχων Κορινθίοις. τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν 3
πλείστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐπεκράτουν τῆς
θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξύμμαχος
ἐπιπλέοντες ἐφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι
περιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ
25 στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνον, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ
Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς

2. post ναῦς add. τε CG 10. Λευκίμμῃ CG (et sic semper) ||
οίητι Reiske: περιόντι codd.
τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν πόλεων ὀσαί

4 σφίσι φίλιαι ἦσαν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραίοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκήμμη ναυσί τε καὶ πεξφ. ἐπέπλεον δὲ οὐδέτεροι ἄλληλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τούτῳ ἀντικαθεξόμενοι χειμῶνος 5 ἦδη ἀνεχορήσαν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἐκάτεροι.

31 Τὸν δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυ-

καὶ τὸν ὑστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὁργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρε-

σκενάζοντα τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλουν, ἐκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μυσθῷ πεῖ-

2 θοντες. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κερκυραίοι τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ (ἧσαν γὰρ 15 οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐνστοινδιο οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο ἕαυτος οὔτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπουδὰς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων) ἔδοξεν αὐτοὶς ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξιμμάχους γενέσθαι καὶ ὡφειλάν τινὰ πειράσθαι ἅπ᾽ αὐτῶν εὐρίσκεσθαι. 20

3 οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν προσγενόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται 4 θέοθα οἱ πόλεμον ἱ βουλουντα. καταστάσεις 25 δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραίοι ἐλέξαν τοιάδε.

32 "Δίκαιον, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μὴτε ἐνεργεσίας

μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προφειλομένης ἕκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἐπικουρίας, ὥστεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, δεσμομένους ἀνα- διδάξει πρῶτοι, μάλιστα μὲν ὁ 5 καὶ ξύμφορα δέονται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἐπείτα δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἐξούσιν· εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφές καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργί- ζεσθαι ἤν ἀτυχῶσιν. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ μετὰ

10 τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταύτα πισ- τεύοντες ἔχορα ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς. τετύχκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδειμα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἄξυμφορον. 15 ξύμμαχοι τε γὰρ οὐδενὸς πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐκούσιοι γενόμενοι νῦν ἀλλων τοῦτο δεσμόμενοι ἦκομεν, καὶ ἄμα ἐς τῶν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἔρημοι δι' αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν. καὶ περέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον

20 σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμη ἐξηγκινδυνεῦειν, νῦν ἄβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη. τὴν μὲν οὖν γενο- 5 μένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζον παρασκευὴ ἀπὸ 25 Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁρμητάι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὀρὼμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἄμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα υπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι,

Speech of the Coreyan envoy. 'Our principle of holding aloof from alliances has turned out a mistake and has caused our present weakness.'

16. χρόνῳ C: om. cett.
καὶ ξυγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτία τῇ πρῶτον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία τολμῶμεν.

33 "Γενήσεται δὲ ύμῖν πειθομένοις καλῇ ἢ ξυντυχίᾳ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις καὶ οὐ χήτερος βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε, ἐπείτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κυιδυνεύοντας δεξαμενοὶ ώς ἄν μάλιστα μετὰ αἰειμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήσεσθε. ναυτικοὺς τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ’ ύμίν πλείστον. καὶ σκέψασθε τὸς εὔπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τὸς τοὺς πολεμίους λυπηρότερα εἰ ἴνα ἴμεις ὁ ἐν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ύμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὐτῇ πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος ἀνεν κυιδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα ἐαυτῆν, καὶ προσέτε φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄρετήν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμμυνεῖτε χάριν, ύμῖν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἵσχυν. ἃ ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὅλγοις δὴ ἢ ἀμα πάντα ἄνεβη, καὶ ὅλγοι ἀμμαχίας δεόμενοι οἰς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον οὐχ ἱσσον διδόντες ἢ ληφώμενοι παραγίγνονται. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι’ ὄντερ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἴμεν, εἰ τὶς ύμῶν μὴ οἴεται ἐπεσθαί, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ

8. ἐπείτα—c. 37. 2 οὐδένα suppl. m fol. viii 11. κατάθησες Krüger: καταθήσεθε vel κατάθησε codil. 24. διόπερ ABEF
Ἀντιγόνη, 32–35

ὑμετέρῳ πολεμησείόντας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς οὖντας καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθει καὶ αὐτοῖς μετ’ ἀλλήλων στῶμεν μηδὲ δυνῶν φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφάς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι. ἡμέτερον δὲ γ’ αὖ ἐργον προτερῆσαι, τῶν μὲν διδόντων, ὑμῶν δὲ δεξαμένων τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ προεπιβουλεῦειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ ἀντεπιβουλεῦειν.

"Ἡν δὲ λέγωσιν ὡς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους ἀποίκους ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, μαθόντων ὡς πάσα ἀποικία εὐ μὲν πᾶσχουσα τιμᾶ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριοῦται. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοὺς λειτουργεῖς εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. ὡς δὲ ἡδίκουν σαφές ἐστιν προκληθέντες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἡ τῷ ἰσω ἐβουλήθησαν τα ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν. καὶ ὑμῖν ἐστώ τι τεκμήριον ἀ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρόσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτη τε μὴ παράγεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δεομένοις τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ὑποργεῖν. ο γὰρ ἔλαχιστας τὰς μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἀν διατελοῖ. λύσετε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπουδὰς δεχόμενοι ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων οὖντας ξυμμάχους. εἰρηταὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, τῶν Ἐλληνίδων πόλεων ἡτὶς μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ, "You will not be acting unjustly.

2. αὐτῶν F[G] 7. γ’ om. ABEF
εξείναι παρ' ὁποτέρους ἄν ἄρεσκηται ἐλθεῖν.
3 καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖς ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνσπόντιῶν ἑσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ἦμας δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκεί-μένης τε ἐξυμμαχίας εὕρησοι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλοθέν ποθεν ὀφελίας, εἴτα ἐν ἀδικήματι
4 θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἄ δεόμεθα. πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλεον αἰτία ἦμεῖς μὴ πείσαντες ἦμας ἐξομεν. ἦμας μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ 10 ἐχθροὺς ὄντας ἀπώσεσθε, τῶνδε δὲ οὐχ ὡς κωλυται ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐπιόντων γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἄρχῆς δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν περίοψεσθε. ἂν οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἦ κάκεινων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας 15 μισθοφόρους ἥ καὶ ἦμων πέμπειν καθ' ὅτι ἂν πεισθήτε ὀφελίαν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προ-
5 φανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν. πολλὰ δὲ, ὡσπερ Recapitulation of the advantages. ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπείπομεν, τὰ ἐξυμμέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἱ 20 τε αὐτοὶ πολέμοι ἦμων ἦσαν, ὡσπερ σαφεστάτη πίστις, καὶ οὕτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἀλλ' ἴκανοι τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς ἐξυμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὡμοὶ ἦ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, ἐι 25 δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἐὰν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς, ἐι δὲ μή, ὀστὶς ἐχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἐχεῖν.

Kal oti tade xumfreonta men dokei 36
lýgeosteai, febeita di mè di autà
peithomenos tas spoudas lysis, gnwstov
to men dedios auton ischyn exon toux
5 evantious mallon phoboun to de tharsoin mì
dezamenon òstheves on pros iskhontas toux
èxhrous adeésteroen esomenon, kai ama ou peri
tis Kerkyras un to pléon ëi kai ton 'Athenon
boulevomenos, kai ou ta kràtiesa autaìs
provon, ótan es ton mellonta kai òson ou
paronta polemon to autika perisskopôn
èndouíasì xwriou prosolabein ò metà megístow
kaíron oikeioutai te kai polemotai. tìs te 2
ýar 'Italiaas kai Sikeliás kalós paruplon
10 keita, òste meite èkeíthen vautikon èsai
Peloponnesios èpelleïen to te ènèndè pros
takei parapémyai, kai es talia xumforotatóv
èstìn. braxutatòv ò an kefalaiw, tois te 3
èmpasa kai kat' èkaston, tôd' an mì proesðai
15 ëmàs màthoite. tría men ònta logou àxia tois
"Ellhsi vautikà, to par' úmín kai to ëmèteron
kai to Korinthesis toútow de eì perioýesethe
tà duo es taútov èlthein kai Korinthisi ëmàs
prokatallýsontai, Kerkyraïois te kai Pelop-
povnesios ìma naimachissete, dezámenoi de
ëmàs èxete pros autous pleiosei vauosi taís
èmetérais ìgwniçesmai.
20 toiauta men oì Kerku-4
raíoi èipon. oì de Korinthisi met' autonù toíaide.
16. ènèndè| ènteðon CG 22. tò] tôn ABEF 23. tò
autò CG 27. èmetérais CG (corr. G1)
"Ἀναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τόνδε οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῦ δέξασθαι σφᾶς τῶν λόγων ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὑτοὶ οὗκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μηποθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων 5 οὔτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἴσιν, ἵνα τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε ἄξιωσιν ἀσφαλέστερον προειδήτε καὶ τὴν τῶνδε χρείαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπώσησθε.

2 "Φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σώφρον οὐδενὸς πτω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακοῦργία καὶ οὗκ ἀρετὴ ἐπετήδευσαν, ξύμ- μαχον τε οὐδένα βουλόμενου πρὸς τάδικήματα οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν εἴ 

3 οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀμα αὐτάρκη θέσιν κειμένη 15 παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς διν βλάπτονοι τῶν μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ ξυνθῆκας γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἢκιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη καταίροντας δέχεσθαι.

4 καὶ τούτο τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἀστούνδου οὐχ ἣνα μὴ 20 ξυναδικῶσιν ἑτέροις προβεβληταὶ, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἁδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν ἐφ' μὲν ἀν κρατῶσι βιαζωνταί, οὔτ' ἦν λάθωσι πλέον ἐξωσιν, ἦν δὲ ποῦ τι προσλάβωσιν ἀναίσχυν- 5 τῶσιν· καίτοι εἰ ἡσαν ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ φασίν, 25 ἀγαθοί, ὁσφ' ἀληττότεροι ἡσαν τοῖς πέλασ, τόσῳ δὲ φανερωτέραν ἔξην αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν

9. δὲ] δη Krüger 20. καὶ τούτω ABEMFG 21. ξυνα-

τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι. ἢμᾶς τοιοῦτος ἐίσαιν, ἀποικοὶ δ' ὄντες ἀφεστάσι τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ νῦν
πολεμοῦσιν, λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν ἐκπεμφθεῖν. ἢμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ 2
φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑβρίζεσθαι, κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ
eἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι. ιο γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι 3
τιμῶσιν ἢμᾶς, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων
στεργόμεθα· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τοῖς πλέοσιν 4
ἀρέσκοντες ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ' ἀν μόνοις οὐκ ὄρθως
ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδ' ἐπεστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς
μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι. καλὸν δ' 5

ἡν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, τοῖσδε μὲν εἰξαί τῇ
ἡμετέρᾳ ὁργῇ, ἢμῖν δὲ αἰσχρὸν βιάσασθαι τῇ
τούτων μετρίοτητα· ὑβρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐξουσία
πλούτου πολλὰ ἐσ ἢμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι
καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν οὕσαν κακομείνην

μὲν οὐ προσεποιοῦντο, ἔλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ
τιμωρίᾳ ἐλούτες βία ἔχουσιν.

"Καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκη πρὸτερον ἐθελῆσαι 39
κρίνεσθαι, ἢν γε οὐ τὸν προὔχοντα
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλοῦ-

μενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ
τὸν ἐσ ἵθον τὰ τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ

τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα

οὕτω δὲ οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' 2

13. ἐπεστρατεύομεν, ut videtur, legit Schol., bellum intulimus
Valla
ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο. καὶ
dεύρο ἦκουσιν οὐ τὰκεῖ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἀμαρτότους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς νῦν ἄξιοντες οὐ
ξυμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν καὶ διαφόροις 5

3 ὅτας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς· οὐς χρήν, ὅτε ἁσφαλέστατον ἦσαν, τότε προσέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἡδικήμεθα, οὕτω δὲ κινδυνεύοις, μὴ ἐν ὧν ἡμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν
tότε οὐ μεταλαβόντες τῆς ὀφελίας νῦν μεταδώσετε καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι
tῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἱσον ἔξετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινωνάντας τὴν δύναμιν κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν.

40 “Ὡς μὲν οὐν αὐτοὶ τε μετα προσηκοντων 15

'You will act unjustly if you consent.'

ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἴδε
βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσὶ δεδήλω-
tαι· ὡς δὲ οὖν ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε

2 μαθεῖν χρή. εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαίς
ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὀποτέρους τις βούλεται τῶν

ἀγράφων πόλεων ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβη
ἐτέρων ἱσοῦν ἡ ἐξυθῆκη ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ

ἀλλον ἑαυτόν ἀποστερῶν, ἁσφαλείας δεῖται καὶ

ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι,

πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει· ὃ νῦν ἡμεῖς μὴ

ABEF (corr. F1) [G] 14. post ἔχειν add. ἐγκλημάτων C,
ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνον ἀμετόχους οὕτως τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων
καὶ κοινωνεῖν cG 16. ἐγκλημάτων om. C: τοῦ δικαίου κεφα-
λαίων πρὸς ὑμᾶς vel similia cGm 20. τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων
βούλεται ABEFM 23. ἔλλων cG || αὐτῶν B: αὐτῶν ΔΕΜ
πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε ἂν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε 3 μόνον ἐπίκουροι ἄν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ ἐνσπόντων πολέμιοι· ἀνάγκῃ γὰρ, εἰ ἦτε μετ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἀνευ ὑμῶν τούτους. καίτοι δίκαιοί γ’ ἐστε μάλιστα μὲν 4 ἐκποδῶν στήναι ὑμφοτέροις, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῦναντίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ’ ἡμῶν Ἰέναι (Κορινθίοις μὲν γε ἐνσπόντοι ἦστε, Κερκυραῖοι δὲ οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνοκωχῆς πώποτ’ ἐγένεσθε), καὶ τὸν νόμον 10 μὴ καθιστάναι ὡστε τοὺς ἐτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων 5 ψήφον προσθέμεθα ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν ἀλλων Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμένων εἰ χρή αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, φανερῶς δὲ ἀντείπομεν τοὺς προσήκοντας ξυμμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολάζειν. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακὸν τι δρόντας δεχόμενοι 6 τιμωρήσετε, φανεῖται καὶ ἂ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσον ἡμῖν πρόσεις, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μάλλον ἢ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν θήσετε.

"Δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ύμᾶς 41 ἔχομεν ἴκανα κατὰ τοὺς ‘Ελλήνων νόμους, παραίνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος τοιάνδε, ἢν οὐκ ἐχθροῖ ὄντες ὡστε βλάπτειν οὐδ’ αὐ φίλοι ὡστ’ ἐπι-

χρήσθαι, ἀντιδοθήναι ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φαμέν χρῆναι. νεὼν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές 2 ποτε πρὸς τὸν Λιγνιντῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἰκοσὶ ναῦς ἐλάβετε· καὶ ἡ ἐνεργεσία αὐτη τκαὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ

1. πάθοιτε eF1g: πάθητε cett. 5. γ’ om. CG
δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθήσαι, παρέσχεν ύμῖν Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ἐπικράτησιν, Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐν καιρῶς τοιούτως ἐγένετο ὅσ μᾶλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ ἐχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἴοντες τῶν ἀπάντων ἀπεριόττοι. 3 εἰσὶ παρὰ τὸ νικάν· φίλον τε γὰρ ἤγονται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἢ ν καὶ πρότερον ἐχθρὸς ἢ πολέμιον τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα, ἢ καὶ τύχῃ φίλος ὅν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χείρον τίθενται φιλονικίας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα.

42 "Ὡν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεότερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτὰ μαθῶν ἄξιοῦτο τοῖς ὁμοίως ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ νομίσῃ δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ἔξυφορα δὲ, εἰ πολεμήσει, 15 ἄλλα εἶναι. τὸ τε γὰρ ξυμφέρου ἐν ὃ ἂν τις ἐλάχιστα ἀμαρτάνῃ μᾶλιστα ἐπεται, καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου ὃ φοβοῦντες ύμᾶς Κερκυραίοι κελεύοντο ἂδικεῖν ἐν ἀφανεὶ ἐτί κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανερὰν ἐχθραν ἢδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσαν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτῆσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας σώφρον ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον (ἡ 3 γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχοιςα, κἂν 4 ἐλάσσων ἢ, δύναται μεῖζον ἐγκλήμα λύσαι), 25 μηδε ὅτι ναυτικοὶ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδόασι, τοῦτο ἐφέλκεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἄδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐχυρωτέρα δύναμις ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα 5. ἀπάντων C Schol.: πάντων cett. [G] 13. ἀμύνεσθαι] ἀμείβεσθαι γρ. Schol. 27. ἐφέλκεσθε AFM
παντοσ ἔπαρθεντας διὰ κινδύνων τὸ πλέον ἔχειν. ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπετειωκότες οίς ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι αὐτοῖ προείπομεν, τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολάζειν, νῦν παρ' ὕμων τὸ αὐτὸ ἄξιοῦμεν κομίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡφίσθησίτας τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡμᾶς βλάψαι. τὸ δὲ ἰσον ἀνταπόδοτε, γυνόντες τοὺτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ὧ δὲ τε ὑποργῆν φίλος μάλιστα καὶ ὁ ἀντις τὸ ἔχθρος. καὶ Κερκυραίους τοὺς δέ μὴτε ξυμμάχοις δέχεσθε βία ἡμῶν μὴτε ἁμύνετε αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν. καὶ τάδε ποιοῦντες τὰ προσήκοντά τε δράσετε καὶ τὰ ἀριστα βουλεύσεσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς."

Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. 44  
"Αθηναίοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρα οὐχ ἵσον τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους,  
ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπεραία μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίους ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιῆσασθαι ὡστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν (εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραίοι ξυμπλεῖν, ἐλύσαντ' ἀν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Πελοποννήσιον σπουδαῖς), ἐπιμαχίαν δ' ἐποιήσαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεία, ἑάν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἦ ἢ 'Αθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτους ξυμμάχους. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννήσιους πόλεμος.
καὶ ὃς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς Κορινθίοις ναυτικῶν ἔχουσαν τοσοῦτον, ξυγκρούειν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ἄσθενεστέροις οὔσιν, ἢν τι δέ, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικῶν ἔχουσιν ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται.

3 ἀμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλω κείσθαι.

45 Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη οἱ 'Ἄθηναιοι τούς Κέρκυραιοὺς προσεδέξαντο, καὶ τῶν 10 Κορινθίων ἀπελθόντων οὐ πολὺ ύστερον δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν βοηθούς:

1. Πρωτέας ὁ Ἑπικλέεως. προεῖπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίοις, ἤν μὴ ἔπι Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλοσιν ἀποβαίνειν ἢ ἐσ τῶν ἑκείνων τι χωρίων· οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν κατὰ δύναμιν. προεῖπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἑνεκα τὰς στοιχάς. οἱ ἐν δὴ νῆσε ἀφίκουσιν- 20 ταῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν, οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, ἐπλεον ἔπι τὴν Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ἦσαν δὲ Ἡλείων μὲν δέκα, Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων δέκα, 25 Ἀμπρακιωτῶν δὲ ἐπτα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακτορίων μία, αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνενήκοντα· στρατηγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ Ἑσυκλείδης ὁ 2. τοῖς om. ABEFM 5. post ἄλλοις add. τοῖς Bekker
Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος αὐτὸς. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέ- 3
μείζον τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἦπείρῳ ἀπὸ Δευκάδος
πλέοντες, ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρω-
tίδος γῆς. ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ 4
5 αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ 'Ελαιάτίδι
tῆς Θεσπρωτίδος 'Εφύρη. ἐξῆγοι δὲ παρ' ἀυτὴν Ἀχεροσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσ-
βάλλει ἐς αὐτήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
ἐχει. ρεῖ δὲ καὶ Θάμις ποταμός, ὁρίζων τὴν
Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ἦν εντὸς ἡ ἀκρα
ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι 5
tῆς ἦπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονταί τε καὶ στρατό-
πεδον ἐποίησαντο. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι ὡς 47


Coreyra mans 110 ships.

Arrangement of the squadrons.
2 Χειμερίου νυκτός, καλ ἄμα ἔως πλέοντες καθὸρῶσι τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους
3 τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλεούσας. ὡς δὲ κατείδου ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν
κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ ἀλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπείχον τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες
τῶν νεῶν, ὃν ἦρχε <τῶν> τριῶν στρατηγῶν
4 ἔκαστον εἰς. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραίου ἐτάξαντο, Κορινθίους δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγα-
ρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακιώτιδες, κατὰ
dὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἐκαστοί·
eὐώνυμον δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορινθιοὶ ταῖς
ἀριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον.

49 ξυμμείξαντες δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρως

The battle of Sybota. The tactics were old-
fashioned
ἐναυμάχουν ἡ ἐπιστήμη. πανταχῆ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ
πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ παραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία,
ἐν ᾗ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγμηνόμεναι τοῖς
Κερκυραίοις, εἰ πὴ πιέζοιτο, φόβου μὲν
παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐναυτοῖς, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον
dediōtes οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν
Ἀθηναίων. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξίον κέρας τῶν
Κορινθίων ἐπόνει· οἱ γὰρ Κερκυ-
ραίοι εἶκοσι ναυσίν αὐτούς τρεψά-
5 μενοι καὶ καταδιώκαντες σποράδας ἐς τὴν ὑπειρον καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου
πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησαν
τε τὰς σκηνὰς ἔρημους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρ-
πασαν. ταύτη μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορινθιοὶ
10 καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσωντο [τε] καὶ
οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν· ἦ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ
Κορινθιοὶ, ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνικῶν, τοῖς
Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἶκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος
πλῆθους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρούσων. οἱ δὲ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ὄρῶντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους
15 πιεζομένους μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπροφα-
σίστως ἐπεκούρουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι
ὁστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τυη· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ
ἐγένετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορινθιοὶ,
20 τότε δὴ ἔργον πάς εἰχετο ἢδη καὶ διεκέκριτο
οὐδὲν ἐτὶ, ἀλλὰ ἄνωτες ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἀνάγκης
ὁστε ἐπιχειρήσει ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθιοὺς
καὶ Ἀθηναίους.

The right wing
of the Corinthians
broken and
pursued.

Their left wing
is successful.

Intervention of
the Athenian
fleet.

50 Τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορινθιοὶ τὰ σκάφη μὲν οὐχ εἶλκον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν νεῶν ἀς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἡ ζωγρεῖν, τοὺς τε αὐτῶν φίλους, οὐκ ἤσθημένοι ὅτι ἂποκριντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα, 2 ἀγροῦντες ἐκτεινοῦν. πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὕσων ἀμφότερων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχωσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμειζαν ἄλληλοις, οὐ γραίων τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιούντο ὁποῖοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο· ναυμαχία γὰρ αὐτὴ "Ελλησ πρὸς "Ελλήνας νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν 3 πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγένηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεδώξαν τοὺς Κερκυραίους οἱ Κορινθιοὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν, πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν ὅστε προσκομίσασα πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν βαρβάρων προσεβεβηθήκει· ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἔρημος· τούτο δὲ ποιή- 4 sauntes αὐθίς ἀθροισθέντες ἐπέπλευον τοὺς Κερκυραίους. οἱ δὲ ταῖς πλωίμοις καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λυπαῖ μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντεπέπλεον, δεῖ- sauntes μή ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν 25 πειρῶσιν ἀποβαίνειν. ἤδη δὲ ἢν ὑψὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιῶν ἱστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ 6. αἰσθημένοι ABEFM 13. αὐτῆς G: ἀυτῆς cett. 17. ὃς CG 24. ἀντεπέπλεον C: ἀντεπέπλεον cett. 27. ἐπε- paiánisto cf: ἐπεπαιῶντο codd.
Κορίνθιοι ἔξαπίνησε πρῶμαν ἐκρούντο κατι-
δόντες εἰκοσι ναύς Ἀθηναίων προσπλεώσας,
ἀς ύστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθοὺς ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ
Ἀθηναίοι, δείσαντες, ὀπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν
5 οἱ Κερκυραίοι καὶ αἱ σφέτεραι δέκα νῆσε
علامة αμύνονιδίν. ταύτας οὐν προϊδόντες 51
οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑποτοπῆσαντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἰναι οὐχ ὅσας ἐώρον
ἀλλὰ πλείους ὑπανεχῶρον. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυ-
10 ραίοις (ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανός)
οὐχ ἐωρῶντο, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους
πρῶμαν κρονομένους, πρὶν τίνες ἱδόντες εἰπον
ὅτι νῆσε ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλεώσαν. τότε δὲ καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἄνεχώρουν (ἐγνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἡδῆ), καὶ
15 οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτραπόμενοι τὴν διάλυσιν
ἐποιήσαντο. οὔτω μὲν ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο 3
ἀλλῆλων, καὶ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα.
τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις στρατοπεδευμένοις ἔτι 4
τῇ Λευκίμμη αἱ εἰκοσι νῆσε αἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν
20 αὐταί, ὅν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Δεάγρου καὶ
Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Δεωγόρου, διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ
ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἡ ὀφθαλμαν. οἱ
δὲ Κερκυραίοι (ἡν γὰρ νὺξ) ἐφοβήθησαν 5
25 μὴ πολέμιαι ὅσιν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐγνωσαν, καὶ
ὦρίσαντο.
Τῇ δὲ ύστεραια ἀναγαγόμεναι αἱ τε 52

15. ἀπο-
tραπόμενοι ABEF[G]
17. Κερκυραίοι δὲ ABEFM[G] 19. αἱ
ἐκ] ἀπὸ ABEFM[G]
21. Ἀνδοκίδης] Δρακοντίδης in titulo
(C.I.A. i. 179) nominatur 27. ἀναγαγόμεναι ABEFM
Next day the Corinthians decline to renew the fight.

2 eidevai ei vaumakhi'sousin. oi de tais men navs 5 arantes apdo tis gis kai paratazamevoi meteoroous hsi'chazou, vaumakias ou diannouvmevoi archeiv ekoynes orwntes prosgenevmenas te navs ek ton 'Athenon akraifneis kai sfisi polla ta apora xumbebhekota, aixmalwton te peri fylakhi's ou's en tais navsin elxou, kai episkenein ouc oustan ton neon en xorfi' erimw 10

3 tou de oikade plo mou mallon diekstopoun opti komwthi'oun, dediotes mi o'i 'Athenaioi vnomi'santas lelysthai tais spoudas, diei ti es xei'ras

53 hlloun, ouc eosi vfas apotpleiv. edoxen ou'n

They send a protest to the Athenians.

2 pemi'antas te eleugon toiade. 'a'dikeite, o 20 an'dres 'Athenaiou, politeum arxontes kai spoudas luyntes. hymiv gar polemious tous hymetereus tirmoroumevois e'mpoden 'ostasbe opta antairomevoi. ei de u'min gnwmi' esti kaloivn te hymas epi Kerkuvar h allaose ei 25 tou boulomeba pleyin kai tas spoudas lute, hymas tou'sede prwtous la'vontes chr'iasaste 0's

17. eumibdsanta AB (-es) CG Lex. Vind., Greg. Cor. 18. protemei CM Greg. Cor. 25. y CG Lex. Vind. 27. la'vontes prwtou ABEFM
πολεμίως." οί μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ 3
Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκου-
σεν ἰνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο.
5 "οὔτε ἄρχομεν πολέμου, ὡς ἄνδρες Πελο-
πονήσιοι, οὔτε τας σπουδὰς λύσομεν, Κερκυ-
ραίοις δὲ τοίς δὲ ξυμμάχοις οὐσί βοηθοὶ
ηλθομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλοσὲ τοι βούλεσθε
πλεῖν, οὐ καλύμεν. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν
10 πλευσεῖσθε ἣ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, οὐ
περιοψόμεθα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν."
Τοιαύτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων οί 54
μὲν Κορίνθιοι τὸν τε πλοῦν τὸν
ἐπ’ οἶκον παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ
15 τροπαίον ἐστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ
Συβότοις· οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὰ τε ναυάγια καὶ
νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἔξενεχθέντα
ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς γενόμενος τῆς
νυκτὸς διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ, καὶ
20 τροπαίον ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ
Συβότοις ὡς νενικηκότες. γνώμῃ δὲ τοιάδε 2
ἐκάτεροι τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο· Κορίνθιοι
μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτὸς,
ὡστε καὶ ναυάγια πλείστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσ-
25 κομίσασθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτους
οὐκ ἔλασσος χιλίων ναύς τε καταδύσαντες
περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐστησαν τροπαίον. Κερκυ-
ραίοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναύς μάλιστα διαφθεί-

18. τε om. ABF 22. ἐκάτεροι τοιάδε ABEFM
rantes, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι
tά κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς νανάγια καὶ νεκροὺς,
kαὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶς τῇ τε προτεραίᾳ πρύμναν
κρουόμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν οἱ Κορινθιοὶ ἴδοντες
tὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἰ
Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἀντεπέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβοτῶν,
διὰ ταύτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. οὔτω μὲν
ἐκάτεροι νικᾶν ἤξιον· οἱ δὲ Κορινθιοὶ
The Corinthians
ἀποτελέοντες ἐπὶ οἴκου Ἄνακτόριων,
ὁ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμ-
πρακίκοι κόλπου, ἐλλοὺ ἀπάτη (ἡν δὲ κοινὸν
Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ) καὶ καταστήσαντες
ἐν αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰκήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ
οἴκου, καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὀκτάκοσίους μὲν
οἱ ἢσαν δούλοι ἀπέδουτο, πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ
diakosίους δήσαντες ἐφύλασσον καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ
ἐλχών πολλῆς, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τῇ Κέρκυρᾳ
ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσειαν· ἐτύχανον δὲ
καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶτοι οὔτε
2 τῆς πόλεως. ἦ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω
This was the
περιγύμνησατο τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν
Kορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆς τῶν Ἀθη-
naiou ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ αὐτής· αἰτία
de αὐτῇ πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς
Kορινθίων ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι σφῖσιν ἐν
25 σπονδαίς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.

56 Μετὰ ταύτα δ’ εὖθυς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη
genvésthai tois Ἀθηναίοις kai Πελοποννησίοις
6. οὐκ αντέπλεον EG: οὐ κατέπλεον ABFM 23. τοῖς om. ABEFM
διάφορα ἐσ τὸ πολεμεῖν. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων ἡ πρασσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται αὐτούς, ὑποτοπῆσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι Ποτειδατάς, οἱ οἰκούσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης, Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, ἔαντον δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρον ὑποτελεῖς, ἐκέλευον τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὀμήρους δοῦναι, τούς τε ἐπιδημιούργοις ἐκπέμπτειν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ δέχεσθαι οὐς κατὰ ἔτος ἐκαστὸν Κορίνθιοι ἐπεμπτώσετε, διέσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ὑπὸ τε Περδίκκου πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἔτι Θράκης ξυναποστήσωσιν ξυμμάχους. ταύτα δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ποτειδατάς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι προπαρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ναυμαχίαν· οἱ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι φανερῶς ἦδη διάφοροι ἦσαν.

57


Immediately after the battle, a second difference occurred. Potidaea, a colony of Corinth and ally of Athens, was ordered to give securities of its loyalty to Athens.
θίουσ προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτειδαίας ἑνεκα
5 ἀποστάσεως· προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἔπι
Θράκη Χαλκιδεύσι καὶ Βοστιαίοις ξυναπο-
στήναι, νομίζων, εἰ ξύμμαχα ταῦτα ἔχοι ὀμορα
ὅντα τὰ χωρία, βᾶον δὲ τὸν πόλεμον μετ' 5
6 αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. δὲν οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι
καὶ Βουλόμενοι προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων
τὰς ἀποστάσεις (ἐτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα ναὸς
ἀποστέλλοντες καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν
γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Δυκομίδους μετ'
5 ἀλλῷον δέκα + ὀστηρηγοῦντος) ἐπιστέλλοντος
τοῖς ἄρχοντι τῶν νεῶν Ποτειδατῶν τε
ὁμήρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ τείχος καθελεῖν, τῶν
τε πλησίον πόλεων φυλακῆν ἔχειν ὅπως μὴ
ἀποστήσονται.

58 Ποτειδαταί δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ'
'Αθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἰ πως πει-
σειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν
μηδέν, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Λακε-
δαιμονίαν μετὰ Κορινθίων, [ἐπτρασσοὺν] 20
ὁπως ἑτοιμάσαντο τιμωρίαν, ἢν δὲ, ἑπειδή
ἐκ τε 'Αθηνῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν
ηὐρόντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆς αἱ ἐπὶ
Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως ἐπλεον, καὶ
τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, 25
ἡν ἐπὶ Ποτειδαίαν ὑσσίν 'Αθηναιοὶ, ἐς τὴν
'Αττικὴν ἐσβάλειν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καίρὸν

C? (corr. c) G
τούτου ἀφίστανται μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων κοινῆ ξυνομόσαντες. καὶ Περδίκκας 2
πείθει Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς
"Ολυνθόν μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἴσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι· τοῖς τ’ ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς
ἐαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἐδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἔως ἃν ὁ πρὸς
'Αθηναίοις πόλεμος γ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνακιζωτό
10 τε καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον
παρεσκευάζοντο· αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆς τῶν
'Αθηναίων ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, καὶ
καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν τε Ποτειδαίαν καὶ τάλλα
ἀφεστηκότα. νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ 2
15 ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρὸς τε Περδίκκαν πολέμειν τῇ
παρούσῃ δυνάμει καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία
τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ’ ὅπερ καὶ
tὸ πρῶτον ἐξεπέμπτοντο, καὶ καταστάντες
ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Δέρδου
20 ἀδελφῶν ἀνωθεν στρατιὰ ἐσβεβληκότων. καὶ
ἐν τούτω οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῆς Ποτειδαίας ἀφε-
stηκύνας καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν
περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν, δεδίτες
περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκεῖον τὸν κίνδυνον
25 ὑγούμενοι πέμπουσιν ἐαυτῶν τε ἐθελοῦντας καὶ
tῶν ἀλλῶν Πελοποννησίων μισθῷ πείσαντες
ἐξακοσίους καὶ χελίους τοὺς πάντας ὀπλίτας
καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. ἔστρατηγεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν 2
'Αριστεὺς ὁ 'Αδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτῶν
όυχ Ἡκιστὰ ὦ πλείστοι ἐκ Κορινθίου στρατιῶ-
ταί ἔθελονταί ἔξωσποντο· ἢ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς
3 Ποτειδεάταις αἰεὶ ποτὲ ἐπιτήδειος. καὶ ἀφ-
ικοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῆ ἴμερὰ ύστερον ἐπὶ
Θράκης ἢ Ποτείδαια ἀπέστη.
61 Ἔλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ
ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὑπὶ ἀφεστάζῃ,
καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὡς ἦσθοντο καὶ
τοὺς μετ᾿ Ἀριστέως ἐπιπαριόντας,
δισχίλιους ἐαυτῶν ὀπλίτας καὶ
τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφε-
στῶτα, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν Καλλιάδου πέμπτον
2 αὐτῶν στρατηγόν, οἱ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακεδονίαν
πρῶτοι κατάλαμβάνουσι τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους
Θέρμην ἄρτη ἰρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν πολυορ.
10 κοῦντας. προσκαθεξόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν
Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξυμβαζο
ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἐξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς
τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατῆπευγεν ἡ
Ποτείδαία καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθὼς,
3 κοῦντας. προσκαθεξόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν
Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξυμβαζο
ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἐξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς
τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατῆπευγεν ἡ
Ποτείδαία καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθὼς,
20 ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἀφικό-
μενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κάκειθεν ἐπὶ Στρέφαν καὶ
πειράζαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ
ἐλόντες ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν
Ποτείδαιαν, τρισχίλιοι μὲν ὀπλίταις ἐαυτῶν,
25 χωρίς δὲ τῶν ἐρμάχων πολλοῖς, ῥπεῦσι δὲ
ἐξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ

5. Ἡ f: Ἡ cett.: Ἡ Ἡ Herwerden 9. ἐπιπαριόντας
Ullrich: ἐπιπαριόντας codd. 22. ἐπὶ Στρέφαν Pluygers:
ἐπιστρέψαντες codd.
Παυσανίου: ἀμα δὲ νῆς παρέπλεον ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ ὁλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγαντον καὶ ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 

Ποτείδαται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστέως 62

5 Πελοποννήσιοι προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑστρατοπεδεύνοντο πρὸς Ὀλύμπον ἐν τῷ ἱσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγοράν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίητο. στρατηγὸν μὲν οὖν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἠρμότο Ἀριστέα, τῆς δὲ ἱπποῦ Περδίκκαν ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοὺς Ποτείδαταίς, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα. ἦν δὲ ἡ γυμνή 3 τοῦ Ἀριστέως τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐγχοιτ ἐν τῷ ἱσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἦν ἐπίωσιν, Χαλκιδεὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἱσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἱππὸν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ μένειν, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ σφάς χωρώσι, κατὰ νότου βοηθοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Καλλίας 4 δ' αὐ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός καὶ οἱ ξυνάρχουτες τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἱππεὰς καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ Ὀλύμπου ἀποπέμπουν, ὅπως εἰργωσθήν οὐ τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτείδαιαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς 5 τῷ ἱσθμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους παρασκευαζομένους ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο

καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὠστερον ἔστησαν
καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἅριστεώς κέρας καὶ ὅσοι
περὶ ἐκείνου ἓσαν Κορινθίων τε καὶ τῶν
ἀλλων λογάδες ἐτρεψαν τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
ἐπεξήλθον διόκοντες ἐπὶ πολὺ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο
στρατόπεδον Ποτειδατῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων
ἥσσατο ὕπό τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
κατέφυγεν.

63 Ἕπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἅριστεύς ἀπὸ τῆς
ὁλύθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτειδαίαν· ἐδοξεῖ δὲ ὅν ἐκ
ἐνυπαγόντι τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτοῦ ώς ἐς ἐλάχιστον
χωρίον δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτειδαίαν, καὶ
παρῆλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλῆν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης
βαλλόμενος τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλύνους μὲν τινάς
2 ἀποβαλῶν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας. οί δ’ ἀπὸ
tῆς Ὁλύθου τοῖς Ποτειδαταῖς βοηθοὶ (ἀπέχει
de ἐξήκοντα μᾶλιστα σταδίους καὶ ἐστὶ 20
καταφανές), ως ἡ μάχη ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ
σημεία ἡρῆθη, βραχὺ μὲν τι προῆλθον ὡς
βοηθῆσοντες, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἵππης ἀντι-
παρετάξαντο ὡς κολύσουσι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ
tάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ 25
σημεία κατεστάθη, πάλιν ἔπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ
teίχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους·

6. post stratópedon add. τῶν τε ABEF, τῶν M
7. post kal add. τῶν ABEFM
10. ἐώρα cG
13. δ’ οὖν Poppo: γαὸν codd.[G]
14. ἐαυτοῦ ABEFM[G]
15. els (sic) afM: om. cett.[G]
19. ἀπέχε ABEFM[G]
ιππής δ' οὐδετέρους παρεγένωτο. μετὰ δὲ τὴν 3
μάχην τροπαίων ἐστησάν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς
Ποτειδεάταις· ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτειδεατῶν μὲν
καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὁλίγη ἔλασσος τριακοσίων,
'Αθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν
καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ 64
ισθμοῦ [τείχος] εὗθυς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτείχι-
σαντες ἑφρύρουν· τὸ δ' ἐσ τῇ

Ποτιδαία block-
ad, at first
from the north,
and presently
from the south
also.

10 Παλλήνην ἀπείχιστον ἦν· οὐ γὰρ
ἰκανὸι ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐν τῇ τῷ
ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην
diabάντες τείχίζειν, δεδότες μὴ σφίσιν οἱ
Ποτειδεάται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι γενομένοις δίχα
ἐπίθωνται. καὶ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει 2
'Αθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην ἀπείχιστον οὗσαν,
χρόνῳ ὑστερου πέμπουσιν ἔξακοσίους καὶ
χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἑαυτῶν καὶ Φορμίωνα τῶν
'Ασαπτίου στρατηγοῦ· δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν

20 Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ 'Apolloς ὄρμωμενος προσή-
γαγε τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ βραχὺ
προΐόν καὶ κείρων ἀμα τὴν γῆν, ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς
ἐπεξῆγε ἐς μάχην, ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς
Παλλήνης [τείχος]. καὶ οὗτος ἦδη κατὰ 3

κράτος ἦ Ποτειδαίᾳ ἀμφότερωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο
καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσίν ἀμα ἐφορμούσας.
'Αριστεὺς δὲ ἀποτείχισθεὶς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπίδα
οὐδεμίαν ἐχων σωτηρίας, ἦν μὴ τι ἀπὸ Πελο-

24. τείχος secl. Herwerden
ποινήσου ἢ ἄλλο παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται, ξυνε-

Aristeus, the Corinthian general, escapes but remains in Chalcidice to encourage war against Athens.

Thus 'ill-feeling between Corinth and Athens was increased.

1. παρὰ λόγον Krüger: παράλογον cod. 10. ἐπολέμει CG || Ἐρμυλίων ΑΒ
The Corinthians bring about a congress at Sparta of allies and others having complaints against Athens.

Speech of the Corinthian envoy. 'You have been indifferent to our warnings and complaints.'

"Τὸ πιστὸν ύμᾶς, ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆς καθ' ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἃς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἦν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησιν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχετε, ἀμα-

14. τε om. ABEFM || ἄλλος Reiske 16. ἄλλα τε CG: ἄλλοτε ABF
θία δὲ πλέον πρὸς τὰ ἐξω πράγματα χρῆσθε. 2 πολλάκις γὰρ προαγορεύόντων ἡμῶν ἄ ἐμέλλο-
μεν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὄν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἐκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε,
ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε ὡς ἕνεκα 5 τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδία διαφόρων λέγουσιν· καὶ δι'
αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρεκαλέ-
σατε, ἐν οἷς προσῆκε τῇ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἡκιστα εἶπεῖν,
όσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἑχομεν ὑπὸ μὲν 10 Ἀθηναίων υβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελού-
μενοι.

3 "Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀφανείς ποι ὄντες ἡδίκοντι τὴν
μακρηγορεῖν ὃν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὑπὸ τοῖς δὲ ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούς, καὶ οὕτω ἡ κυρία
τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐναρμόνοις, καὶ έκ πολλοῦ
κακοπαρασκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα πολεμή-
σονται; οὔ γὰρ ἐν Κέρκυραν τέ ὑπολαβόντες 20
βιά ἡμῶν εἰχον καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἐπολιόρκον,
οὐ τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ
Θράκης ἀποχρῆσθαι, ἢ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἄν μέγιστον
49 παρέσχε Πελοποννησίοις. καὶ τῶν ὡς ὑμεῖς
αἰτιοῖ, τοῖ τε πρῶτον ἐάσαντες 25

24. post παρέσχε add. τοῖς BCG
ἀποστεροῦντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνουν διευθυνόμενους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἤδη ξυμμάχους· οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παύσαι περιορῶν

5 δὲ ἀληθεστέρον αὐτὸ δρᾷ, εἴπερ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἁρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται, μόλις δὲ νῦν γε ξυνήθηκομεν καὶ 2 οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. χρῆν γὰρ οὐκ εἶ ἀδικούμεθα ἐτὶ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὁ τι ἀμνούμεθα: οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται. καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οία ὅδ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὁλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας. καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον ὑμῶν ἤσσον θαρσοῦσι, γνώντες δὲ εἰδότας περιορὰν ἵσχυρῶς ἐγκείσονται. ἤσυχάζετε γὰρ 4 μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὃ Δακεδαμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινά, ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλῆσει ἀμνούμενοι,

15 καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὐξήσιν τῶν ἑχθρῶν διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες. καίτοι 6 ἑλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἰναι, ὡν ἂρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἐργοῦ ἐκράτει. τὸν τε γὰρ Μήδον αὐτοὶ ἵσμεν ἐκ περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόν-

20 νησον ἐλθόντα ἢ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξίως προαπαντῆσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἐκάς, ὡσπερ ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ὄντας περιο-

rάτε, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἁμώνεσθαι

βουλεσθε μαλλον επιντας, καὶ ἐς τὺχας πρὸς πολλῳ δυνατωτέρους ἁγωνιζόμενοι καταστήματα, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βαρβαρὸν αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ τὰ πλεῖω σφαλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἦμας ἢδη τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ’ ύμων τιμωρία περιγεγενημένους, ἐπεὶ αἱ γε ὑμετέραι ἐλπίδες ἢδη τινὰς ποὺ καὶ ἀπαρακενοὺς διὰ τὸ πιστεύσαι ἐφθειραν. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ’ ἔχθρα τὸ πλέον ἢ αἰτία νομίσῃ τάδε λέγοντες· αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν ἀμαρτανόντων, κατηγορίᾳ δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδίκησάντων.

70 "Καὶ ἀμα, εἴπερ τυνὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, ἄξιοι νομιζόμεν εἶναι τοῖς πέλας ψόγοιν ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγάλων τῶν διαφέροντων καθεστῶτων, περὶ δὲν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε, οὐδ’ ἐκλογίσασθαι πῶς ποτὲ πρὸς οἶνους ύμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ύμῶν καὶ ὃς πᾶν διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγών ἐσταί. οἱ μὲν γε νεωτεροτοι καὶ ἐπινοήσαν ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἐργῷ ἄν γνώσων· ύμεῖς δὲ τὰ ύπάρχοντά τε σφέξειν καὶ ἐπιγνώναι μηδὲν καὶ ἐργῷ οὐδὲ τάναγκαι ἐξικέσθαι· αὕτις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμῆται καὶ παρὰ γνώμῃ κυνυδυνεύται καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμετέρον

τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἑνδεῖ πρᾶξαι τῆς conservative, 
τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαιοῖς 
πιστεύσαι τῶν τε δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἶσθαι slow to move, 
ἀπολυθησεθάι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἁοκνοὶ πρὸς 4 
5 ὑμᾶς μελλήτας καὶ ἀποδημηταί πρὸς ἐνδημο- 
τάτους. οἴονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἂν τι 
κτάσθαι, ύμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα 
ἀν βλάψαι. κρατοῦντες τε τῶν ἑχθρῶν ἐπὶ 5 
πλείστον ἔξέρχονται καὶ νικώμενοι ἐπὶ ἐλά- 
χιστὸν ἀναπτίπτουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν 6 
ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρώνται, τῇ 
δὲ γνώμῃ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐστὶ τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ 
ἀυτῆς. καὶ ἄ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξ-7 
ἔθωσιν, οἰκείων στέρεσθαι ἥγουνται, ἢ δ᾽ ἂν 
10 ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὡλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα 
τυχεῖν πράξαντες. ἢν δ᾽ ἀρα τούτοι καὶ πείρα 
σφαλώσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπιλήρωσαν 
τὴν χρείαν: μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσί τε ὁμοίως καὶ 
ἐπιτίσουσιν ἢ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν 
15 τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι δὲν ἂν γνώσιν. καὶ 8 
ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι᾽ 
ὁλου τοῦ αἰώνος μοχθοῦσι, καὶ ἀπολαύοντον 
ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ κτάσθαι 
καὶ μῆτε ἐορτήν ἀλλο τῇ ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ 
19 δέοντα πρᾶξαὶ ξυμφορᾶν τε οὐχ ἥσου 
ησυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον. ὥστε ἐὰ 
14 τὰς αὐτοὺς ξυνελῶν φαίη πεφυκέναι 9 
ἐπὶ τῷ μῆτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε 

7. εξελθεῖν Ullrich 12. γνώμη δὲ ABF 13. ἐξέλ-
θωσιν ABF 14. οἰκεία ABF
τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἕαν, ὅρθως ἂν εἴποι.

71 "Ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκώιας πόλεως, δὲ Δακεδαίμονιοι, διαμέλλετε καὶ οἶεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλείοντον ἀρκείων οἱ ἂν τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἢν ἄδικωνται, δῆλοι δὲι μὴ ἐπιτρέψουντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἱσον

2 νέμετε. μόλις δ' ἂν πόλει ὁμοία παροικοῦντες ἐτυγχάνετε τούτοις. νῦν δ', ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀρχαῖοτροπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔστιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ ὡσπερ τέχνης αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπιγνομένα κρατεῖν καὶ ἡσυχαζοῦσῃ μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἀριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζομένοις λέναι πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. δι' ὅπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπερίας

3 ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαλύγωται. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦτο δρᾶσθω νῦν ἡ βραδυτής· νῦν δὲ τοῖς τοῖς τὰ ἀλλοις καὶ Ποταίδεσταις, ὡσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε, βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἵνα μὴ ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐχθρίστους προῆσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀθυμία πρὸς ἐτέραν τινὰ ξυμ-μαχίαν τρέψητε. δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἄδικοις οὐδέν οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὀρκίων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώ-πων τῶν αἰσθανομένων· λύουσι γὰρ σπουδαία

9. τοῦς om. ABEFM 18. τής om. ABEFM
οὐχ οἱ δὲ ἐρημίαν ἄλλους προσιόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ βοηθοῦντες οἷς ἂν ξυνομόσωσιν. Βουλο-6
μένων δὲ ύμῶν προθύμων εἶναι μενούμεν· οὔτε
γὰρ ὡσια ἂν ποιοῦμεν μεταβαλλό-
5 μενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους ἂν ἄλλους
εὐροίμεν. πρὸς τάδε βουλεύεσθε εὖ
καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω
ἐξήγεισθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ύμῶν παρέδοσαν.”
Τοιαύτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. τῶν δὲ 72
10 Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία
πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ
ἄλλων παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς ἦσθοντο
tῶν λόγων, ἐδοξέων αὐτοῖς παριτητέα
ἐσ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλη-
15 μάτων πέρι μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένους ὅλοι
ὑπὸ τοὺς ἅγελαν, δηλώσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς
ὡς οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς βουλευτέον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν
πλέονι σκεπτέον. καὶ ἁμα τῆν σφετέραν
πόλιν ἐβουλοῦντο σημῆναι ὅτι εἴη δύναμιν, καὶ
20 ύπόμνησιν ποιῆσασθαι τοὺς τε πρεσβυτέρους
ἀν ἦδεσαν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐξήγησιν ὅλῳ
ἀπεροὶ ἦσαν, νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκ
tῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἱστοχάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ
πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν. προσελθόντες οὖν τοῖς
25 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφασαν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἐσ τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἰ τι μὴ ἀπο-
κῳλῦν. οἱ δὲ ἐκέλευόν τε παριέναι, καὶ
παρελθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιάδε.
12. καὶ secl. Krüger 20. ποιῆσασθαι Cg: ποιῆσασθαι
ἐπὶ. (-πο M) 26. ἀποκωλύει F: ἀποκωλύῃ ABEM[G]
27 εἶπεν ABEFM γρ. G
"Ἡ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἡμιμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ δὲν ἡ πόλις ἐπεμψεν· αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ καταβοῦν οὐκ ὁλίγην οὖσαν ἡμῶν παρῆλθομεν οὐ 5 τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες (οὐ γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε τούτων οἱ λόγοι ἂν γίγνοντο), ἀλλὰ ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων τοῖς ἡμιμάχοις πειθόμενοι χείρον βουλεύσησθε, καὶ ἀμα 10 βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τοῦ ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος δηλώσαι ὃς οὔτε ἀπεικότως ἔχομεν ἀ κεκτήμεθα, ἢ τε πόλις ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστίν.

2 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεὶ λέγειν, 15 ὃν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν ἀκουσομένων; τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δὲ ὅχλου μᾶλλον ἐσται αἰεὶ προβαλλομένοι, ἀνάγκη λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἔδρομεν, 20 ἐπὶ ὥφελία ἐκκυνδυνεύετο, ἢς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντὸς, εἰ 3 τι ὥφελεῖ, στερισκώμεθα. ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παρατήρεως μᾶλλον ἐνεκα ἡ μαρτυρίον καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς οὐαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ 25 4 βουλευομένοις ὃ ἄγων καταστήσεται. φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνὶ τε μόνοι προκυνδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ ὅτε τὸ ύστερον ἤλθεν, οὐχ ἰκανοὶ ὄντες κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐσβάντες ἐς 4. αἰσθήμενοι ABEFM 23. ὥφελει Ε


τὰς ναῦς πανδημεῖ ἐν Σαλαμῖν ξυναναμαχῆσαι, ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἄν ὄντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἄλληλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

5 τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν· νυκτεῖς 5 γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὡς οἰκέτι αὐτῷ ὑμῖν αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν. τοιούτων μὲν τούτων ξυμβάντος, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς 10 ναυσὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ ὠφελιμῶτα εἰς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμόν τε νεόν πλείστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ἤθυντότατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην ναῦς μὲν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγοι ἐλάσσοντι 15 τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὅς αὐτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῶ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τούτο ὑμεῖς ἐτιμήσατε μάλιστα. δὴ ἄνδρα ξένου τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων· προθυμίαν 20 δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οὐ γε, ἐπειδὴ ἦμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὕτως ἐβοήθει, τῶν ἀλλῶν ἦδη μέχρι ἦμῶν δουλευόντων ἥξιόσαμεν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείραντες μηδ' ὅσ' τὸ τῶν περιοίπων ξυμμάχων 25 κοινῶν προλιπεῖν μηδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἄχρειοι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς κινδυνεύσαι καὶ μὴ ὄργισθήναι ὅτι ἦμῖν οὐ

3 προτυμωρήσατε. ὡστε φαμὲν οὐχ ἦσον αὐτοὶ ὠφελήσαι ύμᾶς ἢ τυχεῖν τοῦτον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τε οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδή ἐδείσατε ὑπὲρ ύμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἤμων τὸ πλέον, ἐβοηθήσατε 5 (ότε γοῦν ἦμεν ἔτι σῶοι, οὗ παρεγένεσθε). ἦμεις δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς οὐκ οὕσης ἔτι ὀρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐπίτιδι οὕσης κινδυ- νεύοντες ἤνεσσώσαμεν ύμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ 4 ήμᾶς αὐτοὺς. εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν πρὸ τοῦ 10 τῶν Μῆδων δεῖσαντες, ὠσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι, περὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἡ μη ἐτολμήσαμεν ὑστερον ἑσβῆναι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὡς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐδει ἐτι ύμᾶς μή ἔχοντας ναύς ἰκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἂν αὐτῶ προνύφησε τὰ 15 πράγματα ἤ ἐβούλετο.

75 Ὁ Ἀρ’ άξιοὶ ἔσμεν, ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας ἐνεκα τῆς τότε καὶ γνώριμας ξυνέσεως ἄρχῆς γε ἦς ἔχομεν τοῖς Ἐλληνικὸ οὐτῶς ἂγαν ἐπὶ- 20

2 φθόνοις διακείσθαι; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐλάβομεν οὐ πασάμενοι, ἀλλ’ ύμῶν μὲν οὐκ ἔθελσάντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελθόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεσθέντων ἡγεμόνας 25

3 καταστήναι: ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐργοῦ κατημαγκάςθημεν τὸ πρῶτον προσαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέος, ἐπείτα καὶ τιμῆς,

6. σφ in Lexicis nonnullis scribitur 13. ἐτι ἔδει ABEFM 15. προσεχωρήσε B Schol. 19. γε recce.: τε codd. 28. post ἐπείτα add. δὲ ABEFM
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ὑστερον καὶ ὑφελίας. καὶ οὐκ ἄσφαλες ἐτὶ εἴδοκε εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπηχθημένους, καὶ τινῶν καὶ ἡδή ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων, ύμῶν τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι ὀμοίως φίλων, ἀλλ' υπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὑντων, ἀνέντας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ἃν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ύμᾶς ἐγίγνοντο. πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων εὐ τίθεσθαι. ὑμεῖς γοῦν, ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ύμῖν ὡφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγείσθε· καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομείναντες διὰ παντὸς ἀπήχθησθε εὐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, ὁσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὑ ἵσμεν μὴ ἃν ἢσσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ἃν ἡ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδυνεύειν. οὗτος οὐδ' ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν 2 πεποιήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου, εἰ ἄρχην τε διδομένην ἕδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνείμεν ὡπὸ τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὑφελίας, οὐδ' αὐτῶν τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθεστῶτος τῶν ἢσσον ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατώτερου κατείργησθαι, ἄξιοι τε ἀμα νομίζουντες εἰναι καὶ ύμῖν δοκοῦντες μέχρι οὗ τὰ ξυμφέροντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρῆσθε, ὦν·


"Had Sparta retained the hegemony, she would have found it necessary to adopt similar measures.

"We have done nothing unusual, and we have been moderate in the use of our power."
οὐδεὶς πώς παρατυχὸν ἵσχύν τι κτήσασθαι προθεὶς τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπητον.

3 ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε ἄξιοι οὕτως χρησάμενοι ἥν ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσει ὡστε ἐτέρων ἁρχεῖν δικαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν 5 γένωνται. ἄλλους γ’ ἄν οὐν οἴομεθα τὰ ἥμετερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἄν μάλιστα εἰ τί μετριάζομεν· ἥμων δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἀδόξια τὸ πλέον ἢ ἐπαινοῦν οὐκ εἰκότως περιέστη.

77 Ὁσαπροσόμονεοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἔμμεθαλαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ἐμμάχους δίκαιοι καὶ παρ’ ἧμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίως νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικείν δοκοῦμεν. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ 15 αὐτῶν τοίς καὶ ἄλλοις ποιοὶ ἁρχὴν ἔχουσι καὶ ἱσσον ἥμων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίους οὕς ἰδίτι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ 3 οἴσ ἄν ἐξῆ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἧμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου ὀμιλεῖν, 20 ἢν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὀνέσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἁρχὴν καὶ ὀπωσοῦν ἑλασσοθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεικός χαλεπῶτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν 25 νόμον φανερῶς ἐπελεσθετοῦμεν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ’ ἄν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ χρεῶν τῶν

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ήσσω τῷ κρατοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν. ἀδικοῦμενοί 4
tε, ὡς ἐοικεν, οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται
ἡ βιαζόμενοι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱσου δοκεῖ
πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος
καταναγκάζεσθαι. ὑπὸ γονὸν τοῦ Μῆδου δεινό- 5
tερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἦνείχοντο,
ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ
eἶναι, εἰκότως· τὸ παρὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ
βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. ἦμείς γ᾽ ἀν οὖν εἰ 6
καθελόντες ἠμᾶς ἄρξατε, τάχα ἀν
τὴν εὔνοιαν ἦν διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος
eἰλήφατε μεταβάλοντε, εἰπερ οία
καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δι’ ὀλύγου ἠγησά-
μενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὀμοῦα καὶ νῦν γνώσεσθε.
15 ἂμεικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ’ ἠμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα
tοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἔκαστος
ἐξιδὼν οὔτε τούτως χρῆται οὔθ’ οίς ἡ ἀλλή
Ἐλλάς νομίζει.

"Βουλεύσθη σοι βραδέως ὡς οὐ̣ περὶ 78

βραχέων, καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίας γνώμαις
καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκεῖον
πόνον πρόσθησθε. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου
τῶν παράλογων, ὡς οὖν ἐστὶ, πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ
γενέσθαι προδιάγνωστε· μηκυνόμενοι γὰρ φιλεῖ 2
20 ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περίςτασθαι, ἄν ἱσον τε
ἀπέχομεν καὶ ὀποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἰδῆλῳ κινδυ-
νεύεται. ιόντες τε οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐς τοὺς 3
πολέμους τῶν ἔργων πρότερον ἔχονται, ἀ χρῆν
ὕστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἡ ἡδὴ τῶν

10. ἄρξετε CG 23. ó Classen
4 λόγων ἀπτονται. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τω τοιαύτῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ ὑπτεῖς οὔτ' αὐτοὶ οὕθ' ὑμᾶς ὀρῶντες λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἐως ἐτὶ αὕθαϊρετος ἀμφοτέρους ἢ εὐβουλία, σπονδάς μὴ λύειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὄρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκη λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην. εἰ δὲ μὴ, θεοὺς τοὺς ὄρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρα- σόμεθα ἁμόνεσθαι πολέμου ἁρχοντας ταύτη ἦ ἀν υφηγήσθε.

79 Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἴπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων ἡκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ ἐστοι Ἀθηναίους καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄ ἑλέσαι, μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύσοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ 15 τῶν παρόντων. καὶ τῶν μὲν πλεονῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἴ γνῶμαι ἑφερον, ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡδῆ καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐν τάχει- παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνετὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, ἑλέξει τοιάδε.

80 "Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἡδῆ πολέμων ἐμπειρός εἰμι, ὡς Λακεδαίμονιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὀρῶ, ὡστε μήτε ἀπειρίᾳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινα τοῦ 25 ἔργου, ὅπερ ἄν οἱ πολλοὶ πάθοιεν, μήτε ἡγαθον καὶ ἁσφαλὲς νομίσαντα. εὑροίτε δ' ἄν τόνδε περὶ οὗ νῦν βουλεύσεθε οὐκ ἄν ἐλάχιστον

6. οἱ ἐν 
10. prius δὲ] μὲν cGM
28. post τόνδε add. τὸν πολέμου CG
γενόμενον, εἰ σοφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζομαι. 
πρὸς μὲν γὰρ Πελοποννησίους καὶ 
τοὺς ἀστυνεῖτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν 
ἡ ἀλκή, καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἴον τε 
5 ἔφ' ἐκαστὰ ἐλθεῖν. πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας 
οὗ γῆν τε ἐκαὶ ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι 
θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοι εἰσὶ καὶ τοῖς 
ἀλλοις ἀπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυται, πλοὺτῳ τε 
10 ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἐποίους καὶ 
ὁπλοῖς καὶ ὀχλῷ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐνὶ 
γεραίῳ Ἐλληνικῷ ἐστίν, ἐτί δὲ καὶ ἐξωμάχους 
πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρῆ 
πρὸς τοῦτοι δρᾶτος πόλεμον ἀρασθαί καὶ τίνι 
πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθηναι; πό-
15 τερον ταῖς ναυσίν; ἄλλα ἴσων ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ 
μελετήσωμεν καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα, χρόνος 
ἐνέσται. ἄλλα τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἄλλα πολλῷ 
πλέον ἐτί τούτῳ ἐλλειπόμεν καὶ οὕτε ἐν 
κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὕτε ἔτοιμος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων 
20 φέρομεν. τάχ', ἀν τις θαρσοῦ ὃτι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς 
αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει ὑπερφέρομεν, ὡστε τῇ 
ηυ ὅροιν ἐπιφοιτῶντες. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλῃ γη 2 
ἐστι πολλῇ ἦς ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν 
δενταί ἐπάξονται. εἰ δ' αὐ τοὺς ἐξωμάχους 
25 ἀριστάναι πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτων 
ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν τῷ πλέον οὕσι νησιώτασι. τίς 
4 ὄν ἐσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ 
μή γὰρ ἡ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἴ τ.xx 
προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ 
2. post γὰρ add. τοὺς ABEFGM 18. ἔτι πλέον ABEFM[G]

'We are ill prepared to face an enemy who lives at a distance, is the greatest naval power, and is in all respects better equipped than we.'

'We shall suffer much, and the war will last long.'
ναυτικού τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλεῖω. καὶ
tοῦτο οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἐτὶ καλῶν, ἀλλῶς τε καὶ
ei δόξομεν ἀρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς.

μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνη γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα
ός ταχὺ παυσθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος, ἢν τὴν γῆν
αὐτῶν τέμωμεν. δέδοικα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ
tοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν ὑπολίπωμεν. οὕτως εἰκὸς
Ἄθηναίων φρονήματι μήτε τῇ γῇ δουλεύσαι
μήτε ὀσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγήναι τῷ
πολέμῳ.

"Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεῦω
tοὺς τε εὐμμάχους ἡμῶν ἔαν
βλάπτειν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ
catatrophαν, ἀλλὰ ὅταν μὲν μήπω
κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ καὶ αὐτίσθαι
μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλούντας μήθ᾽ ὥς ἐπι-
τρέφομεν, κἀν τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ἤμετερ' αὐτῶν
ἐξαρτύεσθαι εὐμμάχων τε προσαγωγῆ καὶ
Ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθὲν τινα ἡ
ναυτικοῦ ἡ χρημάτων δύναμιν προσληψόμεθα
(ἀνεπίθθων δὲ, ὡσοι ὦσπερ καὶ ἤμεις ὑπῷ
Ἄθηναιῶν ἐπιβουλεύομεθα, μη Ἐλλήνας μόνου,
ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασω-
2 θὴναι), καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἄμα ἐκποριζόμεθα. καὶ
ἂν μὲν ἐσακούσι τι πρεσβευομένων ἡμῶν,
ταῦτα ἁριστα. ἢν δὲ μὴ, διελθοῦντων ἐτῶν δύο
καὶ τριῶν ἁμεινὸν ἔδη, ἢν δοκῇ, πεφραγμένοι

6. τέμωμεν Cobet: τάμωμεν codd. 24. αὐτῶν F?: αὐτῶν
cett. 25. ἐσακούσωσι AE: ἐπακούσωσι G 26. post ἐτῶν
add. καὶ ABEM
ιμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. καὶ ἵσως ὀρθωτες ἥμων ἡδη 3
tὴν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆ
ὅμοια ὑποσημαίνοντας μᾶλλον ἄν εἰκοιεν, καὶ
γῆν ἐτι ἅτμητον ἐχοντες καὶ περὶ παρόντων
5 ἁγαθῶν καὶ οὖπω ἐφθαρμένων Βουλευμένοι.
μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ 4
ὀμηρον ἐχειν καὶ οὖχ ἡσουν ὅσω ἀμεινον
ἐξείργασται· ἢς φείδεσθαι χρῆ ως ἐπὶ
πλείστον, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστήσαντας
αὐτοὺς ἀληπτοτέρους ἐχειν. εἰ γὰρ ἀ-
5 παράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλημασιν
ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτῆν, ὀρατε ὅπως μὴ
ἀισχιον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ
πράξουε. ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων 6
15 καὶ ἰδιωτῶν οἶον τε καταλύσαι· πόλεμον δὲ
ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἐνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, ὄν οὖν
ὑπάρχει εἰδέναι καθ' ὁ τι χωρῆσει, οὐ ῥαδιον
ἐνύπρετος θέσθαι.
"Καὶ ἀνανδρία μηδενὶ πολλοὺς μιὰ πόλει 83
20 μὴ ταχὺ ἐπελθεῖν δοκεῖτω εἶναι. *It is not coward-
eis γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὖν ἑλάσσους
χρῆματα φέροντες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ
ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὖχ ὅτι τὸ
πλέον ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἢν τὰ ὅπλα ὅφελει,
25 ἀλλως τε καὶ ἰπειρώτας πρὸς θαλασσίους.
pορισόμεθα οὖν πρῶτον αὐτῆν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς 3
tῶν ξυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαρώμεθα,
οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλέον ἐτ'
ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας ἐξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ'
84 ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προϊδωμεν. καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὅ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἦμῶν, μὴ αἰσχύνεσθε. σπεύδοντες τε γὰρ σχολαίτερον ἄν παύσαισθε· διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκευον ἐγχειρεῖν, καὶ ἀμα 5 ἐλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς 2 νεμόμεθα. καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι· μόνοι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ εὐπραγίας τε οὐκ ἔξυβρίζομεν καὶ ἐμφοραῖς ἥσσον ἔτέρων· εἴκομεν· τῶν τε ἐὰν ἐπάινυ 10 ἐξοτρυπόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρά τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῆ, καὶ ἢν τις ἀρα ἐξὶν κατηγορία παροξύνῃ, οὐδὲν δὴ μᾶλλον 3 ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπείσθημεν. πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ εὐβούλοι διὰ τὸ εὐκοσμον. γυγόμεθα, τὸ μὲν 15 ὅτι αἰδώς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία, εὐβούλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδεύομενοι καὶ ἐὰν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὡστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστείν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἄχρεια ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν 20 ὄντες τὰς τῶν πολεμιῶν παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξεῖναι, νομίζειν δὲ τὰς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπιτούσας τύχας 4 οὐ λόγῳ διαρετάς. αἰεὶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὗ 25 βουλευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίον ἔργῳ παρασκευαζόμεθα· καὶ οὐκ εξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἀμαρτησο-
μένων ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂμων αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προνοούμενων. πολύ τε διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου, κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι ὅστις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοτάτοις παϊδεύεται.


Speech of Sthenelaidas. "We must not stand by and see our allies break away from our tradition. Send to Athens and prepare for war."
injured: our strength is in them. Πελοπόννησον καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς
Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἄγαθοι τότε, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς
κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ξημιάς ἄξιοὶ εἰσιν, ὅτι
2 ἀντ’ ἄγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγένηται. ἡμεῖς δὲ δὲ
ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔσμεν, καὶ τοὺς
ξυμμάχους, ἣν σωφρονώμεν, οὐ περιοψόμεθα
ἀδικομένους οὐδὲ μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖν. οὐ δὲ
3 οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν. ἄλλοις μὲν
γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῖθες καὶ ἅπτοι, ἡμῖν
dὲ ξύμμαχοι ἄγαθοί, οὐσ οὐ παραδοτέα
tois Ἀθηναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαιος καὶ λόγοι
διακρίται μὴ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους,
ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει.
καὶ ὅς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλευέσθαι ἀδικομένους
μηδείς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν
μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλευέσθαι.
5 Ἑπιθύμησε οὖν, ὅ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἄξιος τῆς
'Let us promptly check Athenian
power.' Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μήτε
tois Ἀθηναίοις ἐάτε μείζους γίγνε-
σθαι μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδιδόμεν,
ἀλλὰ ἔνν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἀδικούντας.'

87 Τοιαῦτα λέξας ἐπεψηφίζειν αὐτὸς ἐφορος
A division was
then taken, and
the majority
were for war.
dὲν ἐς τὴν ἐκκαλήσαν τῶν Δακεδαι-
μονίων. ὃ δὲ (κρίνοντι γὰρ θοῖ
καὶ οὐ Ψήφῳ) οὐκ ἡ ἄφη διαγγελ-
σκευ τὴν θοῖν ὀποτέρα μεῖζον, ἀλλὰ

10. πολλά om. CG 22. ἐπι] πρὸς ABEFM 24. post
τοιαῦτα add. δὲ ABEFM 28. ποτέρα CG
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βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερῶς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ πολέμειν μᾶλλον ὀρμήσαι ἔλεξεν "ὅτῳ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπουδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἁδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον," δειξας τῷ χωρίῳ αὐτοῖς, "ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκοῦσιν, ἐς τὰ ἔπι θάτερα." ἀναστάντες δὲ διεστησαν,3 καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐγένοντο οἳ ἔδοκοιν αἱ σπουδαὶ λελύσθαι. προσκαλέσαντες τε τοὺς 4 ξυμμάχους ἐπον ὅτι σφίσε μὲν δοκοῖν ἁδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψήφου ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιώντα, ἢν δοκή, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν 5 ἐπὶ οἴκον διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πρέσβεις ύστερον ἐφ᾽ ἄπερ ἡλθον χρηματίσαντες: ἢ δὲ διαγνώμη αὐτὴ τῆς 6 ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπουδὰς λελύσθαι, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἐτει τῶν τρια-

κοντουτίδων σπουδῶν προκεχωρηκιῶν, αἳ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Ἕβῳδικα. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ 88 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπουδὰς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φαβοῦμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὀρῴτες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἐκλάδου ὑποχείρια ἦδη ὄντα.

It was not so much the request of the allies as the fear of Athenian power that influenced Sparta.

19. τῷ om. C[G]  
I  
E
89 Οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τουτοῦ ἢλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ηὐξῆθησαν. ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑυρώπης νικηθέντες καὶ ναυὶ καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἐλλῆνων καὶ οἱ κατα-5 φυγόντες αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Μυκάλην διεσφάρησαν, Δεωτυχίδης μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὀσπερ ἤγείτο τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ Ἐλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπὶ οὐκοῦ ἔχων τους ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου 10 ἐμμαχοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἐλλησσόντων ἐμμαχοὶ ἥδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομείναντες Σηστὼν ἐπολύρκουν Μῆδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μετὰ 15 τούτῳ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἐλλησσόντων ὡς ἑκαστῶν 3 κατὰ πόλεις. Ἀθηναῖων δὲ τὸ κοινὸν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας 20 καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευὴν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, 25 ὅλων δὲ περιῆγαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνωσαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

90 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἴσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον

26. ἐσκήνωσαν C: ἐσκήνωσε GM: ἐσκήνωσαν ABEF
Ἱλθον πρεσβεία, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἀν ὀρώντες μὴ ἐκεῖνος μὴν ἄλλον ἡμένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλέον τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυπῶντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ
5 αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὁ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπηρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τῶν Μηδικῶν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην. ἥξιον τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 2 ἐξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοι εἰστήκεις ἐυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ
10 μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτὸν τῆς γυώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὖθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ ποθεν, ὦσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ᾴβων, ὀρμάσθαι· τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν
15 ἀναχώρησιν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν ἰκανὴν εἶναι. οἱ 3 δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γυώμη τοὺς μὲν Δακεδαμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀποκρινόμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν ὅσα αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὄν λέγουσιν εὐθὺς ἀπῆλλαξαν· ἐαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευν
20 ἀποστέλλειν ὃς τάξιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἐαυτὸ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσοῦτον ἔως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἰκανὸν ἄρωσιν ὡστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ
25 ἀναγκασιοτάτου ύψους· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει [καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναικας καὶ παιδάς], φειδομένους μὴ ἰδίου

μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὁθεν τις ὑφελία ἔσται ἐσ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλά καθαιροῦντας πάντα.  
καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπὼν τὰλλα  
ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξει φύχετο. καὶ ἐσ τὴν  
Δακεδαίμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ προσῆκε πρὸς τὰς  
ἀρχὰς, ἀλλὰ διήγε καὶ προφασίζετο. καὶ  
ὅποτε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων  
ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν, ἐφ' ὁς  
ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δέ τινος  
ὑπηκοοὺς αὐτοῦ οὐπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι  
μέντοι ἐν τάχει ἦξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὡς ὄντω  
πάρεισιν. οἳ δὲ ἄκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεὶ  
ἐπείθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων  
ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγοροῦντων ὅτι  
teixίζεται τε καὶ ἕδη ψύσο λαμβάνει, οὐκ  
2 εἶχον ὅπως χρή ἀπιστήσαι. γνούς δὲ ἐκεῖνος  
kελεύει αὐτοῖς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι ἢ  
πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οὕτως χρηστοί καὶ  
3 πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι. ἀποστέλ- 
λουσίν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
tοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς  
ήκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι  
πρὸν ἀν αὐτοῦ πάλιν κομισθώσιν (ἐδὴ γὰρ  
kαὶ ἦκον αὐτῶ) οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις, Ἀβρόνιχος τε  
ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστέιδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου,  
25 ἀγγέλλουτες ἐχεῖν ἰκανῶς τὸ τεῖχος), ἐφοβείτο  
γὰρ μὴ οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι σφᾶς, ὅποτε σαφῶς  
4 ἄκούσειαν, οὐκέτι ἄφωσιν. οἳ τε οὖν Ἀθηναίοι  
tοὺς πρέσβεις, ὡσπερ ἐπεστάλη, κατείχον, καὶ

19. ἀπαγγελόντας ΑΒΕΜ Suid.
ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαίμονιοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερῶς εἶπεν ὅτι ἢ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχοσατ  ἢδη ὡστε ἱκανὴ εἶναι σφίζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ δὲ τι βούλονται Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς, ὡς πρὸς διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἱέναι τά τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν 5 ἀμεινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰς ναὺς ἐσβῆναι, ἀνευ
10 ἐκείνων ἐφασαν γρόντες τολμῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτ
μὲν ἐκεῖνων βουλεύεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ὦστεροι
γνώμη φαινῆαι. δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν 6 ἀμεινὸν εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν τείχος ἐχειν, καὶ ἱδία τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας
15 ξυμμάχους ὥφελιμώτερον ἔσσεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ 7 ὁλὸν τ’ εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευής ὁμοίῳν τι ἢ ἵσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλεύεσθαι. ἡ πάντας οὖν ἀτείχιστος ἐφη χρήναι ξυμμαχεῖν ἡ καὶ τάδε νομίζεων ὅρθως ἐχειν. οἱ δὲ
20 Λακεδαίμονιοι ἀκούσαστες ὄργην μὲν φανερὰν ὅπι ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κολύμη, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παρανεύσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἀμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον
25 προθυμιάν τὰ μάλιστ’ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον), τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἡχ-
θοντο. οἱ τε πρέσβεις ἐκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ’ ὦδ’ οἰκον ἀνεπικλήτως.

1. ὁ om. ABEFM 3. σφῶν] αὐτῶν CG 4. post ἐνοικοῦντας add. ἐν αὐτῷ CG 6. προδιαγ(γ)ρώσκοντας BGM
11. ὦστεροι IG: ὦστερον codd.
93 Τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. καὶ δὴ ἤ οἰκοδομὴ ἢ οἰκοδομὰ ἦτο καὶ νῦν ἦστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοῖοι λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὗ ξυνειργασμένων ἦστιν ἢ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔκαστόν ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαὶ τε στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθου εἰργασμένου ἐγκατελέγησαν. μεῖζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξηχθῇ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα τὰ ὀμοίως κινοῦντες ἡπτείγοντο. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ He also persuaded the A. to fortify the Piraenas, and insisted on the paramount importance of the harbours and the fleet.

Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπήρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἢς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίους ἥρξε) νομίζων τὸ τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν (τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτὸλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστὶ), καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἐξυγκατεσκεύαζεν. καὶ φιλοδομοῦσαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὀπερ νῦν ἦτι δὴ λόν ἦστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιὰ. δύο γὰρ ἀμαξὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον. ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε τηλὸς ἢν, ἀλλὰ ἔξωφικοδομημένου μεγάλου λίθου καὶ ἐντομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἐξωθεῖν καὶ μολύβδῳ δεδεμένου. τὸ δὲ ύψος ἦμισυ μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ διενοεῖτο. ἐβούλετο γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πάχει ἀφιστάναι τὰς τῶν ἔν τομῇ AFGM
πολεμίων επιβουλάς, ἀνθρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν ὀλέγων καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέσειν τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβήσε-σθαι. ταῖς γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσέκειτο, ἱδῶν, ἦς ἑμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῆς βασίλεως στρατιᾶς τὴν κατὰ θύλασσαν ἔφοδον εὕπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ γῆν οὕσαν· τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ ὕφελιμωτέρον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἀνώ πόλεως, καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρῆνε, ἣν ἁρὰ ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθώση, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ ὅυτως ἐτειχίζθησαν καὶ τάλλα κατεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακε- 94
δαίμονος στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ ἐκκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· χυςεπέλεον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν ἀλλών ξυμμάχων πλῆθος. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν ἐς 2 Κύπρον καὶ αὐτής τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέψαντο,
καὶ ὑστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. ἦδη δὲ 95

βιαίου ὑντος αὐτοῦ οἳ τε ἄλλοι Ἐλληνες ἦχθοντο καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα οἱ Ἐωνες καὶ ὡσι ἀπὸ βασιλεως
νεωτὲ ἡλευθέρων· φοιτῶντες τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤξιουν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ

1. ἐπιβολάς Herwerden (ἐπιθέσεις interpretatur Schol.) 21. verba ἐν τῇ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ cum sequentibus coniungit Stephanus, qui ἐν τῇ τῇ δὲ transp. Hude (tentavit Poppo) 27. γενέσθαι ABEFM[G]
ξυγγενές καὶ Παυσανία μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἢν ποι

2 βιάζεται. οῖ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς

λόγους καὶ προσεῖχον τὴν ἴμωμιν ὡς οὐ περι-

οφόμενοι ταλλά τε καταστησόμενοι ὡ φαινοιτο

3 ἀριστα αὐτοῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Ἀκαδαιμῶνοι 5

μετεπέμπουντο Παυσανίαν ἀνακρινόντες ὡν πέρι

ἐπιυθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἄδικα πολλὴ κατη-

γορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἀφικνου-

μένων, καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο μίμησις

4 ἡ στρατηγία. ξυνέβη τε αὐτοῦ καλείσθαι τε 10

άμα καὶ τοὺς ἰμμένως τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει

παρ’ Ἀθηναίους μετατάξασθαι πλὴν τῶν ἀπὸ

5 Πελοποννήσου στρατιωτῶν. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Λακε-

dαιμονα τῶν μεν ἵδια πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων

ηὐθύνῃ, τα δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἄδικεῖν· 15

κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα μηδισμὸς καὶ

3 ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκέτι

ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, Δόρκιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους

tινὰς μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ πολλήν·

οίς οὐκέτι ἐφίεσαν οἱ ἰμμαχοὶ τὴν ἴμηρονίαν. 20

7 οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι

ὕστερον ἐξῆπτεμψαν οἱ Ἀκαδαιμῶνοι, φοβοῦ-

μενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξίσοντες χεῖρος γίγνωσται,

ὁπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Παυσανίᾳ ἐνείδου, ἀπαλλα-

ξείοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς 25

Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντες ἰκανοὺς ἐξηγείσθαι καὶ

σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδείους.

96 Παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὴν ἴμηρονίαν

tou'tw tō tróspō ēkōntw tōn xumμákhōn diā
to Pau̇sanión μísoς, ētazan ās
5
tē ēdei parēxei tōn pōleōn xhrē-
matā prōs tōn bárbarou kai ās vānś· prōs-
χhma γάρ ēn ēmúnēsθαι òw ēpatoθ dēōntas
6
tēn basiλēwς χώrān. kai Ἐλληνοταμίαι tōtē 2
prōtōn 'Athanaiōs katēstē arχh, οū ēdēkhoη
tōn fōroν· ouτw γάρ ὄνομάσθη tōn xhrēmātōw
7
η fοrā. ēn d' ὁ prōtōs fōroς tachēi̇̄̃̄̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃"
98 Πρώτων μὲν 'Ηιόνα τὴν ἑπὶ Στρυμόνι Μῆδων 
Capture of Elion
on the Strymon,
reduction of
Scyrus and
Carystus.
2 πόδισαν καὶ ὄκισαν αὐτοί. πρὸς δὲ Καρυ-
stίοις αὐτοῖς ἀνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων πόλεμος
έγενετο, καὶ χρῶνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ’ ὀμολογίαν.
3 Revolt and
subjugation of
Naxos, which
receives harsh
treatment.
4 Ἀθήναι οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη. αἰτίαι
Athens became
oppressive and
unpopular
among her allies,
who were
allowed to com-
 pound for
personal service
by money; and
this enabled
Athens to keep
them in sub-
 jection.
5 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη. αἰτίαι
δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων
καὶ μέγισται αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ
νεῶν ἐκδειαὶ καὶ λυποστάτιον εἴ
tο ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι ἀκρι-
βῶς ἐπρασσόν καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν
οὐκ εἰσοδόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένους
ταλαιπωρεῖν προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνα-

99 ἡγεσ. ήσαν δὲ πῶς καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναίοι
οὐκέτι ὄμοιοι ἐν ἡδονῇ ἀρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε
ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ράδιον τε προσ-
ἀγοσθαὶ ἦν αὐτίς τους ἀφισταμένους. οὕν
3 αὐτοὶ αἰτίοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι. διὰ γὰρ
τὴν ἀπόκυνσιν ταύτην τῶν στρατευοῦν οἱ πλείουσ
αὐτῶν, ἢν μὴ ἀπ’ οὐκου ὅσι, χρήματα ἐτά-
ξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἵκνουμενον ἀνάλομα

20. προσαγαγόντες ABEF[G]
φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ηὔξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἦν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ, ὅποτε ἀποσταίειν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἀπειροὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίστοντο.

'Εγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Εὐρυ-μέδοντι ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μέσοιοι καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μῆδους, καὶ εὐνικοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἠμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναίοι Κύμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ εἴλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας. χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον ξυνέβη 2 Θασίων αὐτῶν ἀποστήναι, διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρα Θράκη ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ἅ ἐνέμοντο, καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ναυμαχίας ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ 3 Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὡς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἐυνέα ὄδους, νῦν δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν Ἐυνέα ὀδῷν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον Ἡδωνοὶ, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἐς μεσόγειαν διεθάρησαν ἐν Δραβησκῷ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ξυμπάντων, οἰς πολέμιοι ἦν τὸ χωρίον [αἱ

'Εννέα άδοι] κτυζόμενον. Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες μάχη καὶ πολιορκούμενοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεκαλύντο καὶ ἐπαμύνειν ἐκέλευον ἐσβαλόντας ὡς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἱ δὲ ὕπεσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐμελλόν, διεκωλύσαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ὕπο καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριαται τε καὶ Αἰθανῆς ἐσ Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιών Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγοιν. ἦ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. 3 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμην πόλεμος καθειστήκει Λακεδαιμονίοις, Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὄμολόντισαν Ἀθηναίους τεῖχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, κρήματά τε ὅσα ἐδει ἀποδούναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τὴν τε ἥπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες.

101

102 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμη ἐμηκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο ἔμμαχους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἠλθον Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντο πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ. 25 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τεῖχομαχεῖν ἐδόκοισι δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ πολιορκίαις
μακράς καθεστηκυίας τούτου ἐνδεὰ ἐφαίνετο·
βία γὰρ ἂν εἶλον τὸ χωρίον. καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ 3
ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίωις
καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερὰ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βία ὅν ἤλι-
σκετο, δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ τολμηρόν
καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἁμα
ήγησάμενοι, μὴ τι, ἢν παραμείνωσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐν Ἰθώμη πεισθέντες νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν
ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν, τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐ
dηλούντες, εἴποντες δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται
αὐτῶν ἐτι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ἐγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ 4
τῷ βελτίων λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι,
ἀλλὰ τινος ὑπόπτου γενομένου, καὶ
δεινον ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιω-
sαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο
παθεῖν, εὖθες ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν,
ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ
Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀργείοις τοῖς
ἐκεῖνων πολεμίως ξυμμαχοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς
Θεσσαλοὺς ἁμα ἀμφοτέρους οἱ αὐτοὶ ὅρκοι καὶ
ξυμμαχία κατέστη.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰθώμη δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὡς οὐκέτι 103
ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ᾿ ὃ ἐξίσιν
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ
μηδέποτε ἐπεβήσονται αὐτής· ἢν δὲ
τις ἁλίσκηται, τὸν λαβόντος εἶναι δοῦλον. ἢν 2

9. νεωτεροποιήσωσι CG 23. δεκάτῳ] τετάρτῳ Krüger
25. post ψ add. τε ABEFM

This conduct so greatly incensed the Athenians
that they abandoned the alliance with Sparta, and
formed one with Argos and Thessaly.

End of the Messenian war.
The helots settled at Naupactus by Athens.
δὲ τι καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν ἵκετην τοῦ Δίδος τοῦ
3 Ἰθωμῆτα ἀφιέναι. ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
dεξάμενοι κατ’ ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσ 5
Ναύπακτον κατῳκίσαν, ἣν ἐτυχον ἄρηκότες
4 νεωστὶ Δοκρῶν τῶν Ὁξολῶν ἐχόντων. προσε-
χῶρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς
Megara revolts
to Athens.
Occupation of
Pegae and
Nisaea.

Egypt revolts
from Persia;
Athens sends
aid to Egypt.

Egypt revolts
des Aigyptou τὰ
πλεῖω ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς
2 ἄρχων γενόμενος Ἀθηναίοις ἐπηγάγετο. οἱ δὲ
(ἐτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι ἐνας
diaκοσίαι αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐμμάχων) ἤθησαν 25
ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ
cratοῦντες καὶ τῆς Μέμφιδος τῶν δύο μερῶν
πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὁ καλεῖται Δευκόν

104. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμητίχος, Λίβυς, βασιλεὺς

4. οἱ C: om. cett.
τείχος ἐπολέμουν· ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτῶι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες.

Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ναυσίν ἀποβάσων ἐς Ἀλιάς

5 πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἑπιδαυρίους μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων Κορίνθιοι.

καὶ ὑστερον Ἀθηναίοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κεκρυ- 

φαλεία Πελοποννησίων ναυσί, καὶ ἐνίκων

'Ἀθηναίου. πολέμου δὲ καταστάν-

10 τος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας 'Αθηναίοις μετὰ 

tαῦτα ναυμαχία γίγνεται ἐπὶ Αἰγίνη 

μεγάλη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Αἰγινητῶν,

καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐκατέροις παρῆσαν, καὶ ἐνίκων

'Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα λαβόντες

15 αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιορκοῦν,

Ἀθηναίων τοῦ Στροβοῦ στρατηγοῦντος. 

ἑπείτα Πελοποννησίοι ἄμύνειν βουλόμενοι

3 Αἰγινήταις ἐς μὲν τὴν Αἰγιναν τριακοσίως 

ὀπλάτας πρὸτερον Κορινθίων καὶ Ἑπιδαυρίων

ἐπικούρους διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἀκρα τῆς 

Γερανείας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα 

κατέβησαν Κορινθίοι μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων,


νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους ἐσεθαί 'Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν 

τοῖς Μεγαρέυσιν ἐν τε Αἰγίνῃ ἀπούσης στρα-

20 τίας πολλῆς καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἡν δὲ καὶ 

βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. 

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ στράτευμα 

οὐκ ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπο-


λοίπων οὐ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι 

ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα Μυρωνίδου στρα-
5 τηγοῦντος. καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἵσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους διεκρίθησαν ἀπ’ ἄλληλων, καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν εἰς τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὁμοὶος μᾶλλον) ἀπεπλάσσαν τῶν Κορινθίων τροπαίον ἐστησαν· οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοι κακίζομενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων καὶ παρα-σκευασάμενοι, ἡμέραις ὑστερον δώδεκα μᾶλιστα ἔλθοντες ἀνθίστασαν τροπαίον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς νικήσαντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τοὺς τε τὸ τροπαίον ἵσταν- τας διαφθείρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν. οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι ὑπε- χώρουν, καὶ τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὁλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὅδου ἔσεσθεν ἐς τοῦ χωρίου ἰδιώτου, ὃ ἐτυχεν ὁρυγμα μέγα περιείργου καὶ οὐκ ἢν ἐξοδος.

2 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι γινόντες κατὰ πρόσωπον τε εἰργον τοῖς ὀπλίταις καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς ψιλοὺς κατέλευσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόν- τας, καὶ πάθος μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίους ἐγένετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχωρήσεν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ’ οἶκον.

106 Defeat of the Corinthians by Myronides.

107 Ὑπέμαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη Ἀθηναίοι ἐς θάλασσαν οἰκοδομεῖν, τὸ τε Φαλη-2 ῥόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιὰ. καὶ Φωκέων στρα-τευσάντων ἐς Δωρίας τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μη-

8. ἡμέραις f: ἡμέρας codd. 10. ἐκβοηθήσαντες CG Schol.

25. ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναίοι ABEFM
τρόποιν, Βοιών καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεών, καὶ ἐλόνων ἐν τοῖς πολισμάτων τούτων, οἱ Λακε—
δαμόνιοι Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως νέον
5 ὄντος ἔτι ἡγομένου ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἐαυτῶν τε πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλῖταις
καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων μυρίοις, καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ὀμολογία ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν 3

αὐτοῦς, διὰ τὸν Κρισαίον κόλπου εἰ Βούλοιντο περαιοῦσθαι, Ἀθηναίοι
ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες ἐμελλὼν κωλύ—
σειν. διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς ἔφαινε το "Ἀθηναίων ἔχοντων Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγᾶς
πορεύεσθαι. δύσοδὸς τε γὰρ ἡ Γερανεία καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο αἰεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸτε ἡσθα—
νοῦντο αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ ταύτη κωλύσειν. ἔδοξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτῶι περι—
μεᾶναι σκέψασθαι ὅτι τρόπῳ

ἀσφαλέστατα διαπερεύσονται. τὸ
δὲ τί καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἐπήγον αὐτοὺς κρύφα, ἐλπίσαντες
δημὸν τε καταπαύσειν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ
tείχη οἰκοδομοῦμενα. ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦς 5

οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πανδημεῖ καὶ Ἀργείων
χιλιοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὡς ἔκαστοι: ξύμπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο
τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπο—

10. κωλύειν ABEFM 14. ἔφαινε το αὐτοῖς ABEFM[G]
15. πορεύεσθαι, ut videtur, non legit Schol., secl. Hude 22

12. ἐπήγον αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων C

The Spartans help the Dorians against the Phocians.

The Athenians having occupied the pass of Geranea, the Spartans wait in Boeotia considering how to return, and intrigue against the democracy.

A strong Athenian force marches out to oppose them.
ρεῖν ὅπη διέλθωσιν ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ 7 τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποψία. ήλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππης τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ ξύμμαχηκόν, οὐ μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ 108 παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. γενομένης δὲ máχης 5 ἐν Τανάγρᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμονίου καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο ἀμφοτέρων πολύς. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐλθόντες καὶ δενδροτομήσαντες 10 πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ’ οἶκον διὰ Γερανείας καὶ Ἰσθμοῦ. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ δευτέρα καὶ Ἑλληνίδαι ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν máχην ἐστρατεύσαν ἐς Βωιωτίας Ἐλευσίνης καὶ máχη ἐν τοῖς Μυρωνίδοις στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ máχη ἐν 15 Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος καὶ Τανάγραιων τὸ τέιχος περιέβου καὶ Δοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντιῶν ἐκατόν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἐλαβον, τά τε τείχη ἑαυτῶν 20 τὰ μακρὰ ἀπετέλεσαν. ὠμολογήσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀιγυπτίων μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε 5 ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἐπειτὰ χρόνον. καὶ Πελοπόννησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναίοι Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τὸ νεώριον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Χαλκίδα Κορωνιαί.
θιών πόλιν εἴλον καὶ Σικυωνίους ἐν ὀποβάσει τῆς γῆς μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἁγύπτῳ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ·
μαχοί ἐπέμενον, καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ 5 ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Ἁγύπτου οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς πέμπτες ἐς Δακε-
daίμονα Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην χρήματα ἔχοντα, ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἁπτικήν ἐσβαλεῖν πει-
σθέντων τῶν. Πελοποννησίων ἄπ τῇ Ἁγύπτου ἀπαγάγοι Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ προ-
χὼρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀνήλοιτο, ὁ μὲν Μεγάβαζος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, Μεγάβυζον δὲ τὸν
10 Ζωτύρου πέμπτες ἄνδρα Πέρσην μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς. δὴ ἄφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν τοὺς τε 4 Ἀγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρωπους μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξῆλασε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπότιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέ-
15 κλησε καὶ ἐπολύρκει ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἔς μῆνας, μέχρι οὗ ἔγραφε τὴν διώρυχα καὶ παρατέργας ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑδαῖ τάς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς νῆσου τὰ πολλὰ ἢπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἶλε τὴν
20 νῆσον πεζῆ. οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη ἐς ἐτῇ πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὅλιγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευό-
25 πατεριακὸν ἐκ Περσίας κατεπράτησαν. Αἰγύπτιοι πολλοί ἐπεμένον εἰς ἱπποῖν, καὶ ἐκδόθην ἐς τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἱπποῖν εἰς ἱπποῖν εἰς ἱπποῖν εἰς ἱπποῖν

1. τῶν om. C 4. ἐτὶ ἐμενον C: ἐτὶ ἐπέμενον G
suprascr. G

End of the Egyptian war. The Athenian force destroyed.
μενοι διὰ τῆς Διβύνης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ
2 δὲ πλείστοι ἀπώλοντο. Αἰγυπτός δὲ πάλιν
υπὸ βασιλέα ἐγένετο πλὴρ 'Αμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν
τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως· τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθος
tε τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἔλειν, καὶ ἀμα 5
μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔλειοι.
3 ᾗνάρως δὲ ὁ Διβύων βασιλεὺς, οὐ τὰ πάντα
ἐπράξε περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, προδοσία ληφθεὶς
4 ἀνεσταυρώθη. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς
ἀλλῆς ξυμμαχίδος πεντήκοντα τριήρεις διάδοχοι 10
πλέουσαι ἐς Αἰγυπτοὺ ἐσχον κατὰ τὸ Μεν-
δῆσιον κέρας, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγονότων οὐδέν·
cal αὐτοῖς ἐκ τε γῆς ἐπιτεσσόντες πεζοὶ καὶ
ἐκ θαλάσσης Φοινίκων ναυτικῶν διέφθειραν τὰς
πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν, αἱ δ' ἐλάσσους διέφυγον 15
πάλιν. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν
Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ
οὐτως ἑτελεύτησεν.

111 Ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας Ὠρέστης ὁ Ἐχεκρατίδου

Unsuccessful invasion of Thessaly.

γων ἐπέσεισ Ἀθηναίους ἐαυτὸν
κατάγειν· καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ
Φωκέας ὄντας ξυμμάχους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑστρα-
tευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον. καὶ
tῆς μὲν γῆς ἑκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ 25
ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὅπλων (οἱ γὰρ ἑπτής τῶν Θεσσαλῶν
eἰργον), τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἶλον, οὐδ' ἄλλο
προχώρει αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν δων ἑνεκα ἑστράτευ-

12. ΒΕΔF Μ 23. οἴ om. ΒΕΓΜ
σαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν πάλιν 'Ὀρέστην ἔχοντες ἀπρακτοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον 2 χίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναὸς τὰς ἐν Πηγαίς ἐπιβάντες (εἴχον δ' αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγὰς) παρέ-
πλευσαν ἐς Σικυώνα Περικλέους τοῦ Ἐαυθίππου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυωνίων τοὺς προσμείζαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. καὶ εὐθὺς 3 παραλαβόντες 'Αχαιοὺς καὶ δια-
pλεύσαντες πέραν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας

10 ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστρατεύσαν καὶ ἐπολιορκοῦν, οὐ μέντοι εἰλὸν γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον.

"Τοιοτέρον δὲ διαλυπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν σπου- 112
dαι γίγνονται Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πεντέτεις. καὶ Ἐλληνι-

15 κοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ἐς δὲ Κύπρον ἐστρατεύοντο ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ εξήκοντα μὲν νῆς ἐς Αἰγυπτίου ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰ

πλευσαν, Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι Κίτιον ἐπολιορκοῦν. Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ 4 λιμοῦ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κίτιον, καὶ πλεύσαντες υπὲρ Σαλαμίνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοίνιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεξομάχησαν ἁμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμ-

φότερα ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον καὶ αἱ ἐξ Ἀἰγυπτίου νῆς πάλιν [αἰ] ἐλθοῦσαι 5 The Sacred

War. μετ' αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστρά-

24. καὶ Κυπρίοις οἰμ. AB EphM 27. αἱ secl. Classen
τευσαν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἑν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ παρέδοσαν Δελφοῖς· καὶ αὖθις ὕστερον Ἦθηναιοι ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν στρατεύσαντες καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδοσαν Φωκείσων.

113 Καὶ χρόνον ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθη-

ναίοι, Βωιωτῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἔχον-
tῶν 'Ορχομενών καὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ ἀλλ' ἄττα χωρία τῆς Βωιωτίας, ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν μὲν χίλιοι ὀπλίταις, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχου ὡς ἐκάστους ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πολέμια ὤντα, Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐλόντες καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν ὕματι κην καταστήσαντες. πορευομένους δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἳ τε ἐκ τῆς 'Ορχομενοῦ φυγάδες Βωιωτῶν καὶ Δοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων φυγάδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γυνώμης ἠσαν, καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν 3 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς δὲ ξόντας ἐλαβον. καὶ τὴν Βωιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναίοι πάσαν, σπου-δᾶς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ὃ τοὺς ἀνδρας κομιοῦνται. 4 καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες Βωιωτῶν κατελθόντες καὶ οἱ ἀλλοι πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

114 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὐβοϊα ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐς αὐ-
tὴν διαβεβηκότος ἦδη Περικλέους στρατιά Ἀθηναίων ἡγείλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφέστηκε καὶ Πελο-

13. καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες om. ABEFM 14. ἐγκαταστήσαντες Herwerden
ποννήσιοι μέλλονσιν ἑσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσίν ὕπο Μεγαρέων, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἄπε- φυγοῦν· ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Ἑπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρίς. ο ὁ περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἑύβοιας. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἑλευσῖν καὶ Ὑμηρίῳ ἑσβαλόντες ἐδήσαν Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἠγομένου, καὶ τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπε- χώρησαν ἐπὶ ὁἴκουν. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς 3 Ἑύβοιαν διαβάντες Περικλέους στρα- τηγοῦντο κατεστρέφαντο πᾶσαν,

10 καὶ τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ὀμολογίας κατεστήσαντο, Ἑστιαίας δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοῖ τήν γῆν ἔσχον. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπ' Ἑύβοιας οὐ πολλὸν 115 ύστερον σπουδᾶς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τριακοντούτεις, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγᾶς καὶ Τροιζήνα καὶ Ἀχαίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ εἴχον Ἀθηναίοι Πελοποννήσιων.

'Εκτὸς δὲ ἐτεὶ Σαμίωσι καὶ Μιλήσιοι πόλε- 2 μος ἐγένετο περὶ Πρήνης, καὶ οἱ 25 Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων. ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σάμου ἄνδρες ἰδιώται νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολι-
δυσμεναίτης οὐν 'Αθηναίοι ἐς Σάμων ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πεντήκοντα μὲν παίδας, ὤσοι δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λήμνου, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνε- 5
χάρησαν. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων ἤσαν γὰρ τινες οἱ σὺν ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ Πισσοῦνθη τῷ 'Στάσπον ξυμμαχίαν, ὅς ἔδειξε Σάρδεις τότε, ἐπικούρους τε ξυλεύσαντες 10 ἐς ἐπτακοσίους διέβησαν ὑπὸ νῦκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμου, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἐκρατήσαν τῶν πλείστων, ἐπειτα τοὺς ὁμήρους ἐκκλέψαντες ἐκ Λήμνου τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς 'Αθηναίων καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ ἤσαν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐξέδοσαν Πισσοῦνθη, ἐπὶ τε Μίλητον εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν. ξυναπέστησαν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Βυζάντιοι.

'Αθηναίοι δὲ ὡς ἦσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσίν 20

Pericles sent to Samos.

ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ Σάμου ταῖς μὲν ἐκ- (ἐτυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐς προσκοπὴν τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθείν), τεσ- 25
σαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ καὶ τέσσαρι Περικλέους ἐκκάτω αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντο ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς Τραγίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσίν ἐβδομήκοντα,

7. ὑπέμενον AB EFM 14. κλέψαντες AB EFM 18. post παρεσκευάζοντο adi. μετ' αὐτοῦς C, μετ' αὐτοῦ G
ὅν ἦσαν αἱ ἐικοσὶ στρατιώτεides (ἐτυχον δὲ αἱ πάσαι ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πλέουσαι), καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναίοι. ὥστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν ἐκ 2 τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ 5 Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ ἐίκοσι, καὶ ἀποβάντες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιορκοῦν τρισὶ τείχοις τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἁμα. Περικλῆς 3 δὲ λαβὼν ἐξήκοντα ναύς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμούσων ὕχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, 10 ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν. ὕχετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Στηθαγόρας καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοίνισσας. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἐξαπιναίοις ἐκπλουν 117 ποιησάμενοι ἀφάρκτω τῷ στρα-

χώρησαν ὀμολογία, τεῖχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναὸς παραδόντες καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα ταξάμενοι κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδοῦναι. ἦνεβησαν δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὄστεροι καὶ πρότερον ὑπῆκοι εἶναι.

118 Ἔτσι τάδε ἡ ἡδὴ γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς

Resumption of the main subject (c. 88).
The Spartans receive encouragement from Delphi.

10 ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἐλληνες πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βαρβαρὸν ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μᾶλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ἑρέξου ἀναχωρῆσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατε- τήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως, οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυνοι εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχὺ, ἱσύχαζον τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἦναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, ἢν μὴ ἀναγκαζότα, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ πολέμους οἰκείους ἐξειργόμενον, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἤρετο καὶ τῆς ἐυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἦπτοντο. τὸτε δὲ ὦκέντη ἀνασχέτον ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπι- χειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάση προθυμία καὶ 25 καθαριτέα ἡ ἰσχῦς, ἢν δύνανται, ἀραμένους

3. κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ABEFM 13. τε om. ABEFM
14. οἱ om. ABEFM 20. ἢν μὴ ἀναγκαζότα C Dion. Hal.: 
el μὴ ἀναγκαζόντα G: el μὴ ἀναγκαζόντω cett. 21. τὸ δὲ τὶ] 
τότε δὲ τὶ Dion. Hal.: τότε δὲ τὶ Reisko
τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν τοῖς 3 Δακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο λελύσθαι τε τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τούς Ἀθηναίους ἀδικεῖν, πέμψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν 5 εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἁμείνον ἐσται· ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ ἡξυλιόνσεσθαι καὶ παρακαλοῦμενος καὶ ἀκλητός. αὕτης δὲ τοὺς 119 ἐξμμάχοις παρακαλέσαντες ψήφον
10 ἐβούλοντο ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρῆ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξμμαχίας καὶ ἐξυάλων γενομένης οἱ τε ἄλλοι εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο, κατηγοροῦντες οἱ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πόλεμον 15 ἄξιούντες γίγνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεσπότες μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἐκάστων ἴδια ὡστε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες περὶ τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ μὴ προδιαφαρῇ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες ἐλεγον τοιάδε. 20 "Τοὺς μὲν Δακεδαιμονίους, ὁ ἄνδρες ξύμ- μαχοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασάμεθα ὡς οὗ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμον εἰσὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ἐπινήγαγον. χρῆ γὰρ τοὺς 25 ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἐσοῦ νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὡστε καὶ ἐν ἄλλως ἐκ πάντων προτείνεσθαι. ἡμῶν δὲ ὡσοι μὲν 2 Ἀθηναίοις ἢδη ἐνηλικίσασαν οὐχὶ διδαχήσ

δέονται ὡστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτοὺς· τοὺς δὲ τήν μεσογείαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ εὖ πόρῳ κατω-κημένους εἰδέναι χρὴ ὦτι, τοῖς κάτω ἢν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἐξοσὶ τὴν κατακομβὴν τῶν ὁραίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὃν ἢ 5 θάλασσα τῇ ἕπείρῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὡς μὴ προση-κόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δὲ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω πρόωντο, κἂν μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἔσον νῦν 10 3 Βουλεύεσθαι. δι’ ὅπερ καὶ μὴ ὁκνεῖν δὲι αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ’ εἰρήνης μεταλαμ-βάνειν. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μὲν ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἁδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζειν, ἄγαθῶν δὲ ἁδικού-μένους εκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εῦ δὲ παρα- σχὼν εκ πολέμου πάλιν ἐμβηναί, καὶ μὴτῇ τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχία ἐπαίρεσθαι μὴτῇ τῷ 5 ἡσύχῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔδομεν αἰδικεῖσθαι. ὅ τε γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ὁκνῶν τάχιστ’ ἀν ἀφαιρεθεὶν τῆς ῥαστώνης τὸ τερπνύν δι’ ὅπερ ὁκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι, ὃ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πλεονάζου οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ 20 ἐπαιρόμενοι. πολλὰ γὰρ κακῶς γνωσθέντα αἱβουλοτέρων τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντα καταφθάνῃ, καὶ ἔτι πλεῖο καλῶς δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι ἐς τοῦναντίςιν αἰσχρῶς περιέστη· ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδὲις ὀμοία τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξερχεται,
άλλα μετ’ ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἑρμῷ ἐλλεῖπομεν.

"Ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλε- 121

μον ἐγείρομεν καὶ ἰκανὰ ἔχοντες
5 ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνόμεθα
‘Αθηναίους, καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν
καίρῳ. κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρα-
2 τῆσαί, πρῶτον μὲν πλήθει προὐχοντας καὶ
ἐμπειρία πολεμικῆ, ἐπειτὰ ὀμοίως πάντας ἐς
10 ὅτα παραγγελλόμενα ἰόντας, ναυτικόν τε, ὅ 3
ἰσχύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε ἐκάστοις
οὐσίας ἐξαρτυσόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς
καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων· δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησά-
μενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἷοι τ’ ἑσμὲν μισθὸ μείζονι
15 τούς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας. ὅπηθὶ γὰρ ἡ
’Αθηναίων δύναμις μᾶλλον ἡ οἰκεία· ἢ δὲ
ἡμετέρα ἡγοῦν ἀν τοῦτο πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι
τὸ πλέον ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασιν. μιᾶ τε 4
νίκῃ ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκός ἀλισκονταί· εἰ
20 δ’ ἀντίσχοιμεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἥμεις ἐν πλέον
χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά, καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην
ἐς τὸ άσον καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐφυχια
δῆπον περιεσόμεθα. δ’ ἄρα ἥμεις ἔχομεν φύσει
ἀγαθὸν, ἐκείνους οὐκ ἄν γένοιτο διδαχῆ. δ’ δ’
25 ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιστήμη προὔχουσι, καθαρετὸν ἡμῶν
ἐστι μελέτη. χρήματα δὲ ὅστε ἔχειν ἡς αὐτὰ, 5
οὐσομεν. ἡ δεινὸν ἀν εἴη εἰ ἕν ὁ μὲν
ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλεία τῇ

25. καθαρετῶν C: καθαρετέων cett. (corr. G)
αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπερεόσθιν, ἤμεις δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τιμωροῦμεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμα
σφέζονται οὖκ ἀρα δαπανήσουμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
μή ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς
122 τούτων κακῶς πάσχειν. ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ
ἀλλαὶ ὅδοι τοῦ πολέμου ἡμῶν, ξυμ.
μάχων τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα
παραίρεσις οὖσα τῶν προσόδων
αῖς ἱσχύσουσι, καὶ ἐπιτείχισμος τῇ
χώρᾳ, ἀλλὰ τε ὀσα οὖκ ἀν τις νῦν προϊόντω.
ἡκοστα γὰρ πόλεµος ἐπὶ ρητοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς
dὲ ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνάται πρὸς τὸ
παρατυχάμον. ἐν ὃ ὁ μὲν εὐφρήτως αὐτὸς
προσομιλῆσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὁργιόθεις περὶ
αὐτὸν οὖκ ἔλασσον πταίει.

2 "Ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἡμῶν ἴσαν
ἐκάστοις πρὸς ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς
όρων αἱ διαφοραί, οἰστὸν ἃν ἡμ.
νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντᾶς τε ἡμᾶς
'Αθηναίοι ἰκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἐτὶ δυνα
tότεροι, ὡστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθροῖ καὶ κατὰ
ἐθνὴ καὶ ἐκαστὸν ἀστυ μιὰ γνώμη ἀμυνοῦμεθα
αὐτοὺς, διὰ γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρόσον
tαι. καὶ τὴν ἴσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινὸν τῷ ἄκοδοις,
ἰστο οὖκ ἄλλο τι φέρονσαν ἡ ἀντικρυς
3 δουλείαν· ὁ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθήναι αἰσχροῦ
tῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ πόλεις τοσάδε
υπὸ μᾶς κακοπαθεῖν. εἰν ὃ ἥ
dικαίως δοκοῖμεν ἃν πάσχειν ἡ διὰ

16. καὶ om. CG || ἴσαν ἡμῶν ABEFM 18. αἱ om. ABEFM

We can induce their allies to revolt; and establish a hostile post in their country.

We must unite and work together to pull down the tyrant.

We have been remiss and foolish in not interfering.
δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τῶν πατέρων χείρος
φαίνεσθαι, οἳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἥλευθέρωσαν. ἦμεὶς
δὲ οὐδ’ ἦμιν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦμεν αὐτῷ, τύραννον
δὲ ἐδώμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν μιᾷ
5 μονάρχοις ἄξιοιμεν καταλύειν. καὶ οὐκ ἵσμεν ἄ
ὄπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν
ἀπήλλακται, ἄξιονσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας.
οὐ γὰρ δὴ-πεφευγότες αὐτᾶ ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους
δὴ βλάψασαι καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἢ ἐκ
10 τοῦ πολλοὺς σφάλλειν τὸ ἐναντίον ὅνομα
ἀφροσύνη μετωπόμασται. τὰ μὲν οὖν προ-
γεγενημένα τί δεὶ μακρότερον ἢ ἐς
ὁσον τοῖς νῦν ξυμφέρει αὐτιᾶσθαι;
περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπειτα μελλόντων
15 τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρῆ ἐπιταλαίπωρεῖν
(πάτριοι γὰρ ύμίν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς
κτάσθαι), καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλειν τὸ ἐθος, εἰ ἃρα
πλοῦτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε
(οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἃ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτήθη τῇ
15 περιουσίᾳ ἀπολέσθαι), ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντας ἴέναι
κατὰ πολλὰ ἐς τῶν πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ
χρῆσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποσχομένου ξυλλή-
ψεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ξυν-
αγωγομένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὑφελία.
20 σπουδᾶς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἂς γε καὶ ὁ 2
θεὸς κελεύων πολέμειν νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι,
ἡδικημέναις δὲ μάλλον βοηθῆσετε. λύσουι γὰρ
οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀλλ’ οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες.

fGM: θαρσοῦντες cett. 23. πάσης ABEFM
"Ωστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν καὶ ἡμῶν κοινὴ τάδε παραίνουντον, εἴπερ βεβαιοτάτον τὸ ταύτα ξυμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἱδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ μέλλετε Ποτεί-5 δεάταις τε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν οὐσὶ Δωριένσι καὶ ὑπὸ 'Ἰώνων πολιορκομένους, οὐ πρότερον ἡν τούναντιον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται περιμένον-τας τοὺς μὲν ἡδὴ βλάπτεσθαι, τοὺς δ', εἰ γνωσθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες μὲν, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες, μὴ πολὺ ύστερον τὸ αὐτὸ 2πάσχειν· ἀλλὰ νομίσαντες ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίχθαι, ὡς ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἀμα τάδε ἀριστα λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν πόλεμον μὴ φοβηθέντες τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ πλεῖονος εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέ-μου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον βεβαιούται, ἀφ' ἡπαχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὀμοίως ἀκιν-3 δυνοὺν. καὶ τὴν καθεστηκυίαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλιν τύραννον ἢγησάμενοι ἐπὶ πάσιν ὀμοίως καθεστάναι, ὡστε τῶν μὲν ἡδὴ ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διανείσθαι, παραστησάμεθα ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἀκινδύνως τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκώμεν καὶ τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους "Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθερώσω-25 μεν." τοίαυτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔσπον.

125 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπείδῃ ἄφ᾽ ἀπάντων

The majority is for war. Preparations were begun, but took nearly a year.

An embassy sent to Athens to demand the expulsion of 'the accursed.' Origin of this affair: the story of Cylon.

An embassy sent to Athens to demand the expulsion of 'the accursed.' Origin of this affair: the story of Cylon.

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An embassy sent to Athens to demand the expulsion of 'the accursed.' Origin of this affair: the story of Cylon.
φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ἰ Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἐορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν 6 Ὀλύμπιαι νευκηκότι. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἦ 5 ἀλλοθι που ἡ μεγίστη ἐορτὴ ἐϊρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἐτι κατενόησε τὸ τε μαντείον οὐκ ἐδήλουν (ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια ἀ καλεῖται Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη ἐξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἦ πανδημεῖ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ ἰερεία, ἀλλ' ἁγιὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια), δοκῶν 7 δὲ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἐργῷ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε παν- δημεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθ- 8 εξόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐγγυνομένου 15 οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρίᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἀρχοῦν τὴν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορι διαθεῖναι ἵ ἐν ἀριστα διαγγελόμενον. τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἀρχοῦντες 20 ἐπρασσόν, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορ- κούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος 10 ἀπορία. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἄδελφός αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδάσκουσιν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὃς ἐπιεξούστου καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, 25 καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἵκεται τὸν ἐν τῇ

ακροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν 11 Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐώρων ἀποθνῄσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ᾽ ὧν μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσοντι, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπείκονοι καθεξομένους δὲ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν τοὺς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ ἀπεχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔναγεῖς καὶ ἀληθευον τῆς θεοῦ ἐκείνοι τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων. ἦλπον μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι 12 τοὺς ἔναγεῖς τούτους, ἦλπον δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τοὺς τε ξύντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθυευτῶν τὰ ὀστά ἀνελόντες εξέβαλον, κατήλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἐτὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἄγος 127 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευσαν ἐλαύνειν δήθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα τὸν Ἐανθίππου προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ νομίζοντες ἐκπεσοῦντος αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἄν σφίσιν προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. οὐ μέντοι 2 τοσοῦτον ἡλπίζον παθεῖν ἀν αὐτῶν τούτο ὡς καὶ διαβολῆν οἴσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφοράν τὸ μέρος ἐσται ὁ πόλεμος. ὥν γὰρ δυνατῶτατος τῶν καθ᾽ έαυτὸν καὶ ἄγον τὴν πολεμεῖαν ἡναντιότω πάντα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέ ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὁμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

128 'Αντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν· οἱ γὰρ Δακεδαι-
ymονιοὶ ἀναστήσαντες ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος [ἀπὸ Ταινάρου] ἐ
tῶν Εἰλῶτων ἰκέτας ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν, διὸ δὴ καὶ σφίσων αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τῶν μέγαν σεισμὸν γενέσθαι 2 ἐν Σπάρτῃ. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιοῦτο. 10 3 ἐπειδὴ Παυσανίας ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος τὸ πρῶτον μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ κριθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπελύθη μὴ ἄδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι εξε-
pέμψθη, ἵδια δὲ αὐτὸς τριήμην λαβὼν Ἐρμιονίδα 15 ἀνευ Δακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλησπον-
τον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν, ὠσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν, 4 ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. εὐεργεσίαν 20 δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο. 5 Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἐλών τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσία μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν (εἰρ χὸν δὲ Μήδοι αὐτὸ καὶ βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινες 25 καὶ ἔγγενείς οἱ ἐάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ) τότε τούτους οὖς ἔλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα

5. ἀπὸ Ταινάρου secl. Herwerden 17. Ἑλληνικὸν] Μηδικὸν Gebhardt 18. post ἔργῳ add. Βουλήμενος CG 19. ἐν-
(ecellσσεν ABEF
τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετρίως, φορέο ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῶ. ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς ὑστερον ἀνηρέθη: "Παν-7

sανίας ὁ ἡγεμών τῆς Σπάρτης τούσδε τέ σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενον ἀποπέμπει δορὶ ἑλὼν, καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τῇ σῇ γῆς καὶ σοι Σπάρτην τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδα ὑποχειριων ποιῆσαι. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πράξαι μετὰ σοῦ βουλεύομενον. εἰ οὖν τῇ σε τούτων ἀρέσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι᾽ οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα." τοσάντα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδίδουν, 129

Xērxes accepted his proposals. 10. τὴν om. CG 11. τῇ om. CG

Xērxes writes to Xerxes.

Pausanias writes to Xerxes.
This greatly encouraged Pausanias in his arrogance and Persian ways, and led to the allies going over to Athens.
προσέναι· δι’ ὁπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἦκιστα ἡ εὐμμαχία μετέστη.
Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαίμονιοι αἰσθήμενοι τὸ τε 131 πρῶτον δι’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν 5 αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἐρμιονίδι
νηλ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας οὐ κελευ-
σάντων αὐτῶν τοιαύτα ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βια- ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκη-
θεὶς ἐσ μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς 10 δὲ Κολωνᾶς τὰς Τρράδας ἱδρυθεὶς πράσσον
τε ἐσπηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν πολούμενος, οὕτω δὴ ὑ
ουκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ ἐφοροὶ καὶ σκυτάλην εἴπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ ἱ
λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρταῖς προαγορεύειν. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς ἦκιστα 2
ὕποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύειν χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην.
καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἰρκὴν ἐσπέπτει τὸ πρῶτον 20 ύπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων (ἐξεστὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν
βασιλέα δράσαι τοῦτο), ἐπειτα διαπραξάμενος ὑστερον ἐξῆλθε καὶ καθίστησιν ἐκατὸν ἐς
κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγχειν.
καὶ φανερὸν μὲν εἴχον οὐδὲν οἱ 25 Ἐπυτριάται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ ἔχθροι
οὔτε ἡ πάσα πόλις, ὅτε ἂν πιστεύ-
σαντες βεβαιῶς ἐτιμωρῶντο ἄνδρα
γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὁντα καὶ
ev τῷ παρόντι τιμήν ἔχοντα (Πλει-

11. ἐς] πρὸς ΑΒΕΦ 23. αὐτῶν C Schol.: αὐτῶν cett. [G]
σταρχων γὰρ τῶν Δεωνίδου ὄντα βασιλεὰ καὶ
2 νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιός ὄν ἐπετρόπευεν), ὑποψίας δὲ
pολλὰς παρείχε τῇ τε παρανομία καὶ ξηλώσει
tῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἴσος βουλεσθαί εἶναι τοῖς
παρούσι, τὰ τε ἀλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν, εἶ τί
που ἐξεδείχητο τῶν καθεστῶτων νομίμων,
καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς,
δὲν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ "Ελληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μῆδων
ἀκροβίνιον, ἥξιωσεν ἐπηγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδία
τὸ ἑλεγεῖον τόδε·

'Ελλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπει στρατὸν ὀλεσε Μῆδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

3 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἑλεγεῖον οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκό-
λαγαν εὐθὺς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο
καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὁνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι
15 ξυγκαθελοῦσαί τῶν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνά-
θημα· τοῦ μὲν τοῦ Παυσανίου ἁδίκημα καὶ τοῦ
ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπεῖ γε δὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθε-
στήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι
4 ἔφανετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ. ἐπισυνάντωτο δὲ
καὶ ἐς τὸς Ἐἰλωτας πράσσειν τι αὐτὸν, καὶ
ἡν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθερώσων τε γὰρ ὑπισχεῖτο
ἀυτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἡν ξυνεπαναστῶσι καὶ
5 τὸ πᾶν ξυγκατεργάσωνται. ἀλλ' οὗτ᾽ ὥς
οüδὲ τῶν Ἐἰλωτῶν μηνυταῖς τισι πιστεύσαντες
25 ἥξιωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτοῦ, χρώμενοι
τῷ τρόπῳ ὅπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφάς αὐτούς, μὴ
tαχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτον ἄνευ
17. τὸτ' Στρυνε: τὸν' codd. 18. ἐπεὶ γε δὴ C: ἐπείδὴ cett.
άναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλεύσατι τι ἀνήκεστον, πρίν γε δή αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεί ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομιεῖν, ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παίδικά ποτε ὅν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκεῖνος, μηνυτὶς γίγνεται, δείσας κατὰ ἐνθύμησιν τινὰ ὅτι οὐδεὶς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ παρασημηνάμενος σφραγίδα, ἱνα, ἥν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνὸς τι μεταγράψῃ αὐτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῷ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ἐν αῖς ὑπονόσας τι τοιοῦτον προσεπεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτῶν ήπρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν. τότε δὴ οἱ ἐφοροι 133 δείχαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοι δὲ βουληθέντες ἑτὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Παυσανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευὴς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταῖναρον ἱκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλὴν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἥν τῶν [τε] ἐφόρων ἑντὸς τινας ἐκρυψε, καὶ Παυσανίου ὡς αὐτοῦ ἑλθόντος καὶ ἑρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας ἓθισθοντο πάντα σαφῶς, αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τάλλ' ἀποφαίνοντος καθ' ἐκαστον, ὡς οὐδὲν πῶς τοις τά 15 αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοντο, προτιμηθείη δ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν, κάκεινον αὐτά τε

The ephors contrived to overhear a treasonable conversation between Pausanias and the messenger.

ταῦτα ξυνομολογοῦντος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος
οὖν ἔδωτος ὄργιεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ
ἰεροῦ διδόντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀξιόντως
ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ πρασόμενα
dιακωλύειν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν 5
ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἑφοροὶ, βεβαιῶς δὲ ἡ ἡδή
εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ᾧ λὴψιν
ἐποιούντο. Λέγεται δὲ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα
ξυληθῆσεθαι ἐν τῇ ὄδυ, ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν
ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος ὡς εἶδε, γυνώσαι ἐφ' ὃ ἐχώρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεὶ
χρησάμενος καὶ δηλώσαντος εὕνοια πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν
τῆς Χαλκιοικοῦ χωρῆσαν δρόμῳ καὶ προκατα-
φυγεῖν· ἦν δὲ ἐγχύσ τὸ τέμενος. καὶ ἐς οἶκημα
οὐ μέγα δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθὼν, ἵνα μὴ 15
2 ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροῖ, ἡσύχασεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ
παραντικά μὲν ύστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ δὲ
tοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τῶν ὁροφοῦ ἀφείλουν
καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐνδόν οὕτα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν
καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εὑσω ἀπωκοδόμησαν, προσ- 20
3 καθεξῆς ὡμοίον τε ἐξεπολιορκησαν λιμῷ. καὶ
μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποφύγειν ὡσπερ ἔχειν ἐν
τῷ οἰκήματι, αἰσθομένοι εξαγωγοῦντω ἐκ τοῦ
ἱεροῦ ἐπὶ ἔμπνουν ὄντα, καὶ ἐξαχθεὶς ἀπεθάνειν
4 παραχρήμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλησαν μὲν ἐς τῶν
25 Καιάδαν, [ὡς περὶ τῶν κακούργου] ἐσβάλλειν·
ἐπειτα ἐδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὦ δὲ

4. τὰ om. CG
23. post αἰσθομένοι add. te ABEF
26. [ὡς περὶ τῶν κακοúργου] ut videtur, non legit Schol., seclusi ||
eἰλθασιν (C) vel eiλθασιν (-εισαν) vel ante vel post ἐσβάλλειν
add. CFG supraser. AB: ἐμβάλλειν ABEF: ἐμβάλλειν E
θεος ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τὸν τε τάφον ὑστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκείν οὐπερ ἀπέθανε (καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὁ γραφή στήλαι δηλούσι) καὶ ὥς ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὅν τὸ τεπραγμένον δύο σώματα ἅνθ᾽ ἐνὸς τῇ Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδούναι. οἱ δὲ ποιησάμενοι χαλκοὺς ἑνδριάντας δύο ὃς ἀντὶ Παυσανίου ἄνθεσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος κρίναντο, ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτὸ.

Τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Παυσανίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρόσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῳντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὃς ηύρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παυσανίαν ἔλεγχων, ἥξιον τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες (ἐπιχε γὰρ ἀστρακισμένοι καὶ ἔχον διαίταν μὲν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οίς εἶρητο ἄγειν ὅπου ἄν περιτύχωσιν. δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθομενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοπόννησου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὅπως ἀυτῶν εὐεργέτης. δεδιεναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὡςτε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπεχθέσθαι, διακομίζεται ὅπτ’ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἕσπερον τὴν καταντικρύ. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστεταγμένων κατὰ πῦστιν ἥ χωριῇ,

It was found that Themistocles was involved. He had been ostracised.

ἀναγκάζεται κατά τι ἄπορον παρὰ Ἀδμήτου τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα ὄντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον 3 καταλύσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθέξεσθαι 5 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν. καὶ ἔλθοντος οὐ πολὺ ύστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δῆλοι τε ὃς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἄξιοι, εἰ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντείπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ’ ἑκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρον ἐν τῷ παρόντι 10 κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναίοι δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἄρα αὐτὸς μὲν ἑκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σώμα σῴζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἑκείνοι δ’ ἂν, εἰ ἐκδολὴ αὐτὸν (ἐπὶ τὸν ὕφ’ ὄν καὶ ἐφ’ ὃ διώκεται), 15 σωτηρίας ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερῆσαι. ὁ δὲ ἄκοιμας ἀνίστησι τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ νιέος, ἄσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέ- ξετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἢν ἱκέτευμα τούτο, καὶ ύστερον οὐ πολλῷ τοῖς τε Δακε- δαυνοίς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδοσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀποστέλλει βουλό- μενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν πεζῷ ἐς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου. 2 ἐν ὧ δικάδος τυχῶν ἀναγωμένης ἐπ’ Ἰωνίας 25 καὶ ἐπιβάς καταφέρεται χειμῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναῖων στρατόπεδον, Ὠ ἐπολιορκεῖ Νάξον. καὶ (ἂν

γὰρ ἀγνῶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηλί) δείσας φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὡστὶς ἔστὶ καὶ δὲ ἄντρευε, καὶ εἶ μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἐφ' ἐρείν ὅτι χρήματο πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἁγεῖ· τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα

5 ἐκβίβαιε ἐκ τῆς νεῶς μέχρι πλοῖσ γενήται· πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσθησαι ἄξιαν. ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας ἥμεραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπέρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς ᾿Εφεσον. καὶ ὁ Θεομίστοκλῆς 3

10 ἐκείνου τε ἐθεραπεύεις χρημάτων δόσει (ὅλθε
γὰρ αὐτῷ ύστερον ἐκ τε ῎Αθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν
φίλων καὶ ἐξ ᾿Αργους ἑ ὑπεξέκειτο) καὶ μετὰ
tῶν κάτω Περσῶν τινὸς πορευθές ἄνω ἐσπέρμησε
γράμματα πρὸς βασιλέα ᾿Αρταξέρξην τὸν ᾿Ερξον
15 νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι 4

“Θεομίστοκλῆς ἦκι παρὰ σέ, ὅσ κακὰ μὲν
πλεῖστα ᾿Ελλήνων εἰργασμαί τὸν ὑμέτερον
οἶκον, ὡς τοῦ χρόνου τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιώντα
ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἥμυνόμην, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι πλεῖω
20 ἀγαθά, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἔμοι, ἐκεῖνῳ
dὲ ἐν ἐπικυνδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγένετο.
καὶ μοι ἐνεργεσία ὀφείλεται (γράψας τὴν τε
ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προαγγελσίν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως
καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδός προσεποίη-
25 σατο, τότε δὲ αὐτῶν οὐ διάλυσαι), καὶ νῦν
ἐχὼν σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πάρειμι διωκό-
μενος ὑπὸ τῶν ᾿Ελλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν.

6. ἀπομνησθήσοντα L. Dindorf || post ἀπομνησθήσοντα add.
καὶ C, κατ' Hude 14. πρὸς] eis ABEF 22. τοι oμ. ABEF
βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτός σοι περὶ δὲ ἦκω δηλώσαι." βασιλεὺς δὲ, ὡς λέγεται, έθαύμασε τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἐκέλευεν ποιεῖν οὕτω. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὄν ἐπέσχε τῆς τε Περσίδος γλώσσης 5 ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενώπισε καὶ τῶν 2 ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας. ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὖδεὶς πῶ 'Ελλήνων διὰ τε τὴν προϋπ- ἀρχοσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, 10 ἦν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοὺς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι.

3 Ἡν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἵσχυν δηλώσας καὶ διαφε- ῥόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου 15 ἀξίως θαυμάσαι· οἰκεία γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὕτε προμαθῶν ἐς αὐτὴν οὖδὲν οὕτ' ἐπιμαθῶν, τῶν τε παραχρήμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γειησυμένου ἀριστος εἰκαστής· καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ 20 χείρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἶδος τε, ὅν δ' ἀπειρὸς εἴη, κρίναι ἰκανός οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο- τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χείρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεὶ ἐτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ἕμμαπαν εἴπειν φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύπητι 25 κράτιστος δὴ οὕτος αὐτοσχεδιάξειν τὰ δέοντα 4 ἐγένετο. νοσήσας δὲ τελευτά τὸν βίον· λέγουσι δὲ τινὲς καὶ ἐκουσίων φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀδύνατον νομίζαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ

Α νυπέσχετο, μνημείον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν 5 Μαγνησία ἔστι τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ·
tαύτης γὰρ ἥρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως
αὐτῶ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε
5 πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον
dὲ οἶνον (ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυουσώτατον τῶν τότε
εἶναι), Μυστίτα δὲ ὄψον. τὰ δὲ ὀστὰ φανέ
κομισθήναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἰκαδε κελεύ-
σαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθήναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων
10 ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, οὗ γὰρ ἔξην θάπτειν ὡς ἐπὶ
προδοσία φεύγοντος. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν 6
tῶν Δακεδαμόνων καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ
'Ελλήνων, οὕτως ἔτελεύτησεν.

15 Δακεδαμόνων δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης
προσβείας τοιαύτα ἐπέταξαν τε καὶ
ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγών τῆς
ἐλάσεως: 'ὑστερον δὲ φοιτώντες παρ'
Ἀθηναίους Ποτειδαίας τε ἀπανιστασθαί ἐκέλευν
20 καὶ Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι, καὶ μάλιστά
γε πάντως καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προὔληγον τὸ περὶ
Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελούσι μὴ ἄν γίγνεσθαι
πόλεμον, ἐν φ' εἰρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρήσθαι τοῖς
λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ
25 Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι οὔτε τάλλα 2
ὑπήκουν οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν, ἐπικα-
λούντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεύσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς
καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχῆν τῶν
ἀφισταμένων. τέλος δὲ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευ-
ταίων πρέσβεων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, Ἡραμφίου
tε καὶ Μελησίππου καὶ Ἀχισάνδρου, καὶ
λεγόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὔδὲν ὃν πρότερον εἰώθεσαν,
αὕτα δὲ τάδε ὅτι "Λακεδαίμονοι βούλονται τὴν
eἰρήνην εἶναι, εἰδή δὲ ἄν εἰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας 5
αὐτοῦμονοι ἄφειτε," ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ
Ἀθηναίοι γνώμασ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προντίθεσαν,
καὶ ἔδοκε άπαξ περὶ ἀπάντων βουλευσαμένους
ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ
ἐλέγον ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα γνωρόμενον ταῖς γνώμαις
καὶ ὡς χρή πολεμεῖν καὶ ὡς μὴ ἐμπόδιον
εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης, ἄλλα καθελείν, καὶ
παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ἐανθίππου, ἀνήρ καὶ
ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν
τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατον, παρῄνει τοιandidate. 15
“Τῆς μὲν γνώμης, οὗ Ἀθηναίοι, αἰεὶ τής

Pericles spoke
against
compliance.
Exordium.

140
"Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρότερον τε δῆλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὖχ ἦκιστα. εἰρημένον γὰρ δίκας μὲν τῶν διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις διδόμαι καὶ δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ ἐκατέρους ἄ ἐξομεν, οὔτε αὐτοῖ δίκας πω ἦτησαν οὔτε ἡμῶν διδόντων δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμοι μᾶλλον ή λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσουντες ἢδη καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτιώμενοι πάρεισιν. Ποτει- 
10 δαίας τε γὰρ ἀπανίστασθαι κελεύονσι καὶ Αἰγυπτιαν αὐτόνων ἀφίεναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαρεῖν· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οίδε ἢκοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας προαγωρεύονσιν αὐτονύμους ἀφίεναι. ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ.
15 περὶ βραχέος ἃν πολεμεῖν, εἱ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα προὔ- χονται, εἰ καθαρεθείη, μὴ ἄν γῆνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, μηδὲ ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε ώς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε. τὸ γὰρ βραχὺ 
20 τί τοῦτο πάσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαιώσιν καὶ πείραν τῆς γνώμης. οἷς εἰ εὐνχωρήσετε, καὶ ἀλλο τι μείζον εὐθὺς ἑπιταχθήσεσθε ὡς φόβῳ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντες· ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφές ἂν καταστήσατε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱσον ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεσθαι. αὐτόθεν δὴ δια- νοήθητε ἡ ὑπακούειν πρὶν τι βλαβήναι, ἢ εἰ πολεμήσομεν, ὡσπερ ἔμοιγε ἀμείνον δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλη καὶ ἐπὶ βραχεία ὑμοίω 
25 141 καταστήσετε AEF: καταστήσατε C (corr. c) [G] ὡσπερ] ὡς ABEF

24. καταστήσετε AEF: καταστήσατε C (corr. c) [G] 27. ὡσπερ] ὡς ABEF
προφάσει μή εἰξοντες μηδὲ ξὺν φόβῳ ἐξοντες ἀ κεκτήμεθα· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν ἢ τε μεγίστῃ καὶ ἐλαχίστῃ δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοὺς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη.

2 "Τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἐξομεν γνώτε καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀκοῦντες. αὐτουργοὶ τε γὰρ εἰσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οὔτε ἴδια οὔτ’ ἐν κοινῷ χρήματα ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα χρονίων πολέμων καὶ διαποντίων ἀπειροὶ διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτὸι ἐπὶ ἄλλης ὑπὸ τενίας ἐπιφέρειν. καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες οὔτε πεζῶς στρατιὰς πολλάκις ἑκπέμπτειν δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδιων τε ἁμα ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανώντες καὶ 3 προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι· αἰ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μάλλον ἢ αἰ βλαιοὶ ἐσφοράι ἄνεχονσιν. σώμασι τε ἐτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολέμειν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἐχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προανα- λώσειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, 4 ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκώνται. μάχη μὲν γὰρ μᾶ ἀρ πρὸς ἀπαντάς Ἐλληνας δύνατοι Πελοπον- νήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχέιν, πολέμειν δὲ 5 πρὸς ὀμοίων ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἅδυνατοι, ὅταν μὴ τε βουλευτηρίῳ εἰν χρόμενοι παραχρήμα τι δέεως ἐπιτελώσι πάντες τε ἱσόψηφοι ὄντες καὶ

3. post καὶ add. ἢ CG 13. πληροῦν Herwerden 15. αὐτῶν Stephanus: αὐτῶν codd. 25. ἀντίσχειν Krüger
οὔχ ὀμόφυλοι τὸ ἑφ᾽ ἐαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς σπείδης·
ἐξ ὧν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελεῖς γίγνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαί τινα
βούλουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἦκιστα τὰ οἰκεία φθείραι.
5 χρόνοι τε ἔμνιστοι ἐν βραχεῖ μεν μορίῳ
σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῇ δὲ πλέονι τὰ
ἐαυτῷ πρᾶσσοντοι, καὶ ἐκαστὸς οὐ παρὰ τὴν
ἐαυτὸν ἀμέλειαν οὐσεῖ βλάψει, μέλεον δὲ τῶν
καὶ ἄλλω ύπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ τι προίδειν, ὅστε τῷ
10 αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἵδια δοξάσματι λανθάνειν
τὸ κοινὸν ἀδρόνο φθειρόμενον.

"Μέγιστον δὲ, τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει 142
κωλύσονται, ὅταν σχολῇ αὕτα πορι-
ζόμενοι διαμέλλωσιν· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου
15 οἱ καροὶ οὐ μενετοί. καὶ μὴν οὗδ᾽
ἡ ἐπιτείχισις οὔδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἄξιον
φοβηθῆναι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν
3 εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον κατασκευάσασθαι, ἡ
ποιῇ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἦσον ἐκεῖνος
20 ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτειχισμένων· φρουρίοι δ᾽ εἴ 4
ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἀν τὶς
καταδρομαίς καὶ αὐτομολίας, οὐ μέντοι ἰκανόν
γε ἐσται ἐπιτείχισειν τε κωλυὲν ἡμᾶς πλεύ-
25 σαντικα ἐς τὴν ἐκείνον καὶ, ἢπερ ἵσχυμεν, ταῖς
ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι· πλέουν γὰρ ἡμεῖς
ἐχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἡπειροῦν ἐς τὰ
ναυτικα. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἑκάλασσης ἐπιστήμονας 6

γενέσθαι οὐ ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς προσγενήσεται. 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μελετῶντες αὐτὸ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐξείργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετήσαι εἰσόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν πολλαῖς 5 ναυσὶν αἰεῖ ἐφορμεῖσθαι, ἄξιον ἂν τι δρέφειν; 8 πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμοῦσα κἀν διακιν-

dυνέσειαν πλῆθε τῇ ἀμαθίαν θρασύνοντες,
pολλαῖς δὲ εἰργόμενοι ἱσυχάσουσι καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετώντι ἄξυνετῶτεροι ἔσονται καὶ δι’ 10 9 αὐτὸ καὶ ὁκηνρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἔστιν, ὡσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδεχεται, ὅταν τὰς, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι.

143 "Εἰ τε καὶ κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἡ 15 Δελφοῖς χρημάτων μισθῶ μεῖζον πειρῶντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ἐξένους τῶν ναυτῶν, μὴ ὄντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοικῶν δεινόν ἂν ἢν· νῦν δὲ τόδε τε ὑπάρχει, 20 καὶ, ὅπερ κράτιστον, κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολῖτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους 2 ἡ ἀπασα ἡ ἄλλῃ Ἐλλάς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν ἐξένων τὴν τε αὐτῶν ἑφύσει καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἱσσυνος ἀμα ἐλπίδος 25 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἑνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως ἑκείνος ἐξουσιοδοθεῖσθαι.

3 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἐμογε τοιαῦτα

καὶ παραπλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα
tούτων τε ὄντερ ἐκείνως ἐμεμψάμην ἀπηλ-
λάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τού ἱσοῦ μεγάλα
ἐχεῖν. ἂν τε ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν πεζῷ ἱσοῖν, 4
ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλευσούμεθα,
καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται
Πελοποννήσου τε μέρος τι τυμῆναι καὶ τὴν
'Ἀττικὴν ἀπασαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἔξουσιν
ἀλλὰ ἀντιλαβεῖν ἀμαχεῖ, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστὶ γῇ
τολλῇ καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ᾽ ἦπειρον· μέγα εἰ
gὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος. σκέψασθε δὲ:
eἰ γὰρ ἢμεν νησίωταί, τίνες ἄν ἀληπτότεροι
ἡσαν; καὶ νῦν χρή ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων
dιανοηθέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφεῖναι,
τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ πόλεως φυλακῆς ἐχειν,
cαὶ Πελοποννησίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ὅργισθέντας πολλῷ πλέοσι μὴ διαμά-
χεσθαι (κρατήσαντες τε γὰρ αὐθείς οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι
μαχοῦμεθα καὶ ἢν σφαλῶμεν, τὰ τῶν ἥμαμάχων,
οὗτοι ἰσχύομεν, προσαπόλλυται· οὐ γὰρ ἴσω-
χάσουσι μὴ ἰκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς
στρατεύειν), τὴν τε ὀλόφυρσιν μὴ οἰκίων καὶ
γῆς ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ
τάδε· τοὺς ἀνδράς, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα
κτῶνται. καὶ εἰ ἡμὴν πείσειν ὑμᾶς, αὐτοὺς ἄν
ἐξελθόντας ἐκέλευσον αὐτὰ δηώσαι καὶ δεῖξαι
Πελοποννησίως ὅτι τούτων γε ἑνεκα οὐχ
ὑπακούσεσθε.

7. τε ομ. ABEF 16. Πελοποννήσιος (sic) C: Πελο-
pοννήσιος cett.
"Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ άλλα ἔχω ἐς ἑλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, ἢν ἔθελητε ἀρχήν τε μὴ ἐπικτάσθαι ἀμα πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδύνους αὐθαίρετους μὴ προστίθεσθαι· μᾶλλον γὰρ πεφόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοιας. 2 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἀμα τοῖς ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τοῦτοι ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν, Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι εὔσωμεν ἀγορὰ καὶ λιμέσι χρῆσθαι, ἢν καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἔνεντασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μῆτε ἡμῶν μῆτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλυεί ἐν ταῖς σπουδαίς οὔτε τόδε), τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα, καὶ ὅταν κάκευνοι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδώσι πόλεις μὴ σφίσι [τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις] ἑπιτηδείως αὐτονομείσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις ὁς βούλονται· δίκας τε ὅτι ἔθελομεν δοῦναι κατὰ τὰς ἕξυνθήκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα. 20 ταύτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα ἀμα τῇ ἡ ἐν 3 πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι. εἰδέναι δὲ χρῆ ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν (ἡν δὲ ἐκοῦσιν μᾶλλον δεχόμεθα, ἢσσον ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἑαυτίους ἐξομεν), ἐκ τε τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι καὶ πόλει καὶ 25 ἰδιώτῃ μέγιστα τιμαὶ περιγύνονται. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑποστάντες Μήδους καὶ οὐκ ἤπο

τοσόνδε ὀρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλύποντες, γυώμη τε πλέον ἢ τύχη καὶ τόλμη μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει τῶν τε βαρβαρον ἀπεώσαντο καὶ ἐς τάδε προῆγαγον αὐτά. διν οὖ χρῆ λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσοι παραδοῦναι.

Ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα ἐλεπεν, οἱ δὲ ἑκέλευε, καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκείνου γυώμη καθ’ ἐκαστὰ τε ὡς ἐφρασε καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν, οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσειν, δίκη δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἐτοίμως εἶναι διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἔπι ἴση καὶ ὀμοίᾳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ’ οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὑστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο· αἰτιάν δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμενοι εὐθὺς ἄπο τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμμῳ καὶ Κερκύρᾳ ἐπεμείγνυντο δὲ ὀμῶς ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἑφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὐ. σπουδῶν γαρ ἔγχυσις τὰ γυνώμενα ἢν καὶ πρόφασις τοῦ πολέμειν.

During the events preceding the war there had been much suspicion, but communication had been kept up.

11. post τοῖς add. τε ABEF
NOTES

Page 1.

1. Ὑουκοῦδής κτλ.—a formal method of opening, after the manner of the gnomic poets, not due, as Bloomfield imagined, to 'the modesty of our author.' Cf. Herod. init.; Intr. p. xv.

ξυνέγραψε—a characteristic word of Thuc., who is known to the ancient critics as ὁ συγγραφέως, much as Homer is ὁ ποιητής. It denotes the bringing together in one work of many occurrences—composing in its etymological sense. (How some find a reference to the hunting up of materials is not clear.)

3. ὡς ἐπολέμησαν—'namely, how,' i.e. 'showing how they waged war.' Of course different from δι' ει., which would be absurdly tautological. The aorist is called complexive.

4. ἀργάμενος (τοῦ ξυγγράψαι) κτλ—we are to understand that as soon as the war broke out Thuc. began to put down what occurred, and kept a sort of diary of the war.

εὖθὺς καθισταμένου—supply τοῦ πολέμου.

5. ἑλπίσας—'expecting.' On the relation of the participles here see Intr. p. xli. This first sentence is very characteristic of Thuc., in whose periods form is constantly subordinated to sense. O. Müller well says that Thuc. has two favourite forms of period, (a) the main predication, followed by clauses giving the circumstances and reasons, which may in turn be explained in similar clauses; and (b) the reasons, circumstances in participial and other clauses followed by the resulting fact or opinion, as in c. 2, 2.

ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν π. —the illogical form of comparison, as in c. 10, 3, cf. 'fairest of her daughters Eve': Tac. Agric. 34 ceterorum fugacissimi. It is frequent in Greek.
6. τεκμαρόμενος—‘inferring this,’ adding the grounds of the εὐπτις. These grounds are (1) δι’ ἀκμαζόντες . . ., (2) ὁρών . . . Thus the clause with δι’ is co-ordinate with a partic. of cause; cf. Xen. Sympr. 8, 11 τεκμαρώμαι τῷ καλοκαγάθῳ καὶ ὁρώ σε ὁρώ.

7. ἀκμαζόντες . . παρασκευή—‘at the height of their military power.’ That ἣσαν, not ἦσαν, is the true reading there cannot be a doubt; for λέναι ἐσ in this pregnant use see L. & S.

8. τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικόν—including the Greeks outside Greece proper. Cf. τὸ ληστικόν, τὸ βαρβαρικόν, τὸ ἕνικόν, and many others.

10. καὶ διανοούμενον—sc. ἐνυστασθαί, the ellipse of an infin. with διανοεῖθαί being common, as in 124, 3. The καὶ serves to bring διανοούμενον into connexion with ἐνυστάμενον; we should put ‘actually’ with τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς. The Sicilian Greeks are a good example.

γάρ—as ‘the movement’ meant by κίνησις must be (1) the war itself, and (2) the unrest that preceded it, γάρ cannot introduce the reason of the expectation that the war would be important, but must be epexegetical.

12. μέρει τοῖν—‘a considerable part,’ as, for example, Thrace and Macedon. Supply ἐγένετο, ‘affected.’

ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν—qualifying πλεῖστον. Note that ὡς (ἔπος) εἰπεῖν never apologises for a metaphor, but always limits a sweeping or universal statement. Hence ‘(it extended, ἐγένετο), one might almost say, over the greatest part of mankind’; i.e. it affected perhaps a greater part of mankind than had been affected by any previous commotion. Of course the possible exception is the Persian wars.

(Whatever be the exact construction of μεγλοτη δῆ . . . ἀνθρώπων—and the words are variously interpreted—Thuc. over-estimates the importance of the war. If we supply μεγλοτη δῆ ἐγένετο το μέρει τοῖν and ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, the exaggeration is extreme. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον is taken by Classen and others to mean ‘the greatest part of the (known) world’; but this involves a very great exaggeration of a fact ascertainable; and it is unlikely that Thuc. would make such a sweeping statement. It looks also as if πλεῖστον, ‘more than before,’ were meant to be parallel to μεγλοτη, ‘greater than before.’ The text has no appearance of being corrupt or interpolated.)

13. τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν—‘the events that preceded this disturbance (κίνησις).’ The neut. αὐτά is frequently used by Thuc. with reference to the details of the subject he is dealing with.
NOTES

(This phrase cannot refer to events that immediately preceded the war; for (a) διὰ χρόνον πλήθος would then be absurd, (b) Thuc. himself gives an account of the fifty years preceding the war as a period well known, (c) the Persian wars could not be included in οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους (cf. c. 18, 2). Thuc. must be thinking of the period of the Trojan war and of that between the Trojan war and the Persian war, i.e. to the end of the Tyrants. But the words are very inexact; cf. Intr. p. xx).

14. τὰ ἐτη παλαιέρα—events preceding the Trojan war.

15. ἀδύνατο—Thuc. frequently uses the neut. plur. of the verbal or of an adj. for the sing. where the subject is an infin. or a sentence. The use is mainly poetical.

τεκμηρίων—these ‘evidences’ are detailed in cc. 2-17: (1) migrations were frequent; (2) there was no common name; (3) weakness by sea; (4) the expeditions by land were on a small scale and were confined to border-fighting; (5) the tyrants hampered Greece proper, and Persia hampered Ionia.

Page 2.

1. ἰτε belongs to πιστεύεις, and is probably attracted from ἰ. Chambry quotes Soph. Ο.Τ. 646 πιστεύουν, Οἰδίπους, τάδε, for the accus. with πιστεύεις.

ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντι—‘by carrying my inquiry to the farthest limit (of the past).’ ἐπὶ μακρότατον of time also in Herod. i. 171, in a similar connexion.

5. οἰκονομενη—this and the following participles are imperfect.

6. οὐσαι—sc. φαίνονται.

τὰ πρότερα—the adverbial accus. in plur. is common in Thuc., but is seldom found in other prose authors.

8. βιαζόμενοι—the pres. and imperf. of this verb in a passive sense are far less common in other prose authors than in Thuc.

ὑπὸ τινῶν αἰεί πλειόνων—what is noticeable here is that αἰεί (‘from time to time’) occurs with τινῶν, and not with τῶν, which—as the older critics note—is the usual form of expression.

9. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας κτλ.—see note on p. 1 l. 6. The causes to which the readiness to migrate are ascribed are (1) absence of commerce and intercommunication: τῆς γὰρ . .
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\( \text{θαλάσσης} \): (2) low state of agriculture and absence of capital sunk in the land: \( νεμόμενοι \ τε \ldots \ φυτεύοντες \): (3) absence of demand for anything beyond the necessaries of life, which could be procured anywhere: \( τῆς \ τε \ldots \ επικρατεῖν \).

\( \text{ἐπιμπληγώντες} \)—the mid. is used in the same sense, e.g. in c. 146. At a period when the tribes of Greece regarded one another as enemies, it was impossible that \( \text{ἐπιμικρία} \) should exist, \( \text{ἐπιμικρία} \) being based upon treaties. In later times \( \text{ἐπιμικρία} \) terminated as soon as a state of war existed.

10. \( \text{διά} \)—the sea as the \( \text{medium} \) of intercourse.

11. \( \text{νεμόμενοι} \)—the word is used of \( \text{enjoyment of profits derived, which may be combined with occupation} \). The following participles—\( \text{ἐχοντες} \), \( \text{φυτεύοντες} \)—are circumstances explanatory of the degree of 'enjoyment' attained. (\( \text{νέμεσθαι ὡς τὸ πολὺ τὸ λαμβάνειν πρόσοδον παρὰ Θουκυδίδης, Photius.} \)

\( \text{τὰ αὐτῶν} \)—what they had acquired by adverse possession.

12. \( \text{δοὺν} \)—i.e. \( \text{τοσοῦτον} \), \( \text{δοὺν} \), where \( \text{δοὺν = ὡστε} \), and is assimilated to the adverbial accus. \( \text{τοσοῦτον} \).

\( \text{ἀποτήρι} \)—this word occurs nowhere else in Attic, but is used by late writers (Lucian, Aelian, etc.), some at least of whom think it means 'to live poorly,' inferring the sense implied in this passage.

\( \text{περιουσίαν κτλ.} \)—had they accumulated stores for the purpose of barter, and had they planted trees, it would have been less easy to migrate.

13. \( \text{ἀδηλον ὅν} \)—accus. abs.

14. \( \text{ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτελχίστων ἀμα δ.} \)—(1) alternative explanations, seldom desirable, are here clearly called for: (2) taking \( \text{ἀτελχίστων ὄντων} \) first: the sense is, 'as they were without walls.' The simplest way is to suppose this \( \text{masc.} \) and dependent on \( \text{ἀφαιρῆσαι} \). This involves making \( \text{καὶ} \ldots \text{ἀμα} \) almost equivalent to \( \text{ἄλλος τε καὶ} \). \( \text{καὶ} \), we are told, does not = 'and,' but \( \text{καὶ} \ldots \text{ἀμα} = \text{particularly},' as in 102, 3 and elsewhere. But (3) this makes it impossible to explain why \( \text{τις} \ldots \text{ἄλλος}, \) which go together, are separated, because \( \text{ἐπελθὼν} \ldots \text{ὄντων} \) is not then one expression. (4) This objection is diminished if \( \text{καὶ} \ldots \text{ὄντων} \) is taken as a \( \text{parenthetical gen. abs.}\), either (a) \( \text{masc.}, \) with \( \text{ἄτοι} \) supplied, or (b) \( \text{neut.}, \) with subj. supplied from context, like \( \text{πλωματέρων ὄντων} \). c. 7. (5) The objection disappears if \( \text{καὶ} = \text{‘and,’ ἐπελθὼν καὶ} \ldots \text{ἄμα ὄντων} \) giving the two circumstances leading to loss—\( \text{ἀφαιρῆσαι} \). Though one circumstance
is modal—ἐπελθὼν—the other causal, it is like Thuc. to connect them by καί.

15. ἀναγκαίον—of what will just suffice, as in necessarius cibus. ἀναγκαῖος is frequently fem. in Plato. βίαιος and βέβαιος always have two terminations in Thuc.

16. πανταχοῦ—'anywhere.' The sense any frequently belongs to πᾶς and words from it.

17. δι' αὐτό—'accordingly '; Thuc. often uses αὐτό (-ἄ) in reference to a previous statement.

μεγέθει—of the number of inhabitants, as in c. 10.

18. παρασκευή—naval and military resources, as distinct from κατασκευή, the external adornment of a city.

19. ἡ ἀριστή—cf. τῆς γῆς οὐ πολλὴν ἔτεμον vi. 7. The attraction is most common with πολὺς, but is fairly frequent with other adjectives.

20. νῦν . . καλούμενη belongs to both nouns. In early times the districts had no general name.

22. Ἀρκαδίας—the exemption was due to the isolated character of Arcadia, the consequence of its mountains. ἀρκτος, 'Bear-land'; cf. ἀρκεῖος. The Arcadians were unaffected by the Dorian migration. They prided themselves on being autochthones (cf. Xen. Hell. vii. i. 23), and on their primeval antiquity (cf. L. & S. under προσέληνος).

κράτιστα—'best,' the regular meaning of κράτιστος when applied to land.

23. ἀρετή—'fertility.' When Greece was in the village stage, (1) the inhabitants of some districts grew (comparatively) wealthy, and as a consequence there were disputes between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'; (2) these fertile districts excited the cupidity of other clans.

25. μᾶλλον—more than communities whose land was not so fertile.

26. γοῦν—'at any rate' the immunity of Attica was due to its barrenness; it is therefore likely that the troubles of other districts were due to their fertility.

τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον, 'the remotest time.' ἐπὶ πλείστον, adverbial ('extending farthest back'), has the art. like τὸ πρὶν, etc.

τὸ λεπτόγεων—(1) the constant use of neut. adj. or partic. for a subst. is a feature of Thuc.'s style; (2) the soil of
Attica is in general stony and dry. The Attic Plain is watered by the Ilissus and Cephissus, but in summer the former is almost dry and the latter "μειούται τελέως": the land yields a return only to diligent cultivation. Of course in these early times the land was not scientifically dealt with; and it is noteworthy, as bearing on Thuc.'s point, that it looks more barren than it is.

28. τοράδενγμα— the meaning of this term in Greek rhetoric is not merely 'example,' but 'an example used to support an argument.'

tόδε— referring to the sentence that follows, ἐκ γάρ κτλ.

tοῦ λόγου— explained by διά, etc.

29. διά τὰς μετοικίας κτλ.— 'that it was owing to the habit of settling elsewhere (to which I have referred) that Greece in other respects (besides population and security) had not advanced so fast (as Attica). 'μετοικίας is used exactly as in Aesch. Ἑνου. 1019, where the Furies refer to their μετοικία to and in Athens. 1. That ἐκ γάρ κτλ. explains τόδε is proved by the usage of Thuc. 2. διὰ . . αὐξηθήναι is beset with difficulties. With the ms. reading τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἀλλα three explanations have been proposed: (a) 'Attica did not grow in other respects so fast as in population.' But this does not fall in with the general line of the argument. (b) 'Attica through the presence of μετοικία advanced much more (μῦ ὀμολως) in other respects.' But neither is this the argument, nor is there any proof that μῦ ὀμολως can in such a connexion as this mean 'much more.' (c) With regard to the rendering given above, it is denied that Greece can be the subject of αὐξηθήναι. But, if we examine c. 2 as a whole, this does not appear impossible. The chapter deals with the early condition of Greece in general— ἡ νῦν 'Ελλάς καλομένη— the smallness of the communities (ὀστὲ μεγέθει πόλεων ἵσχυν) and their weakness. To these conditions the very fertility of the soil contributed. Attica, which was barren, was an exception in both respects. It did not lose inhabitants by στάσις: it did not excite the cupidity of strangers. On the other hand, strangers settled in Attica because it offered security; and thus the population of Attica was still further increased, and it was able to colonise. These last facts lend further support to my general argument (ὁ λόγος), viz. that the weakness of the early Greeks in all respects is largely accounted for by the shifting nature of the population. ἡ 'Ελλάς is in the writer's mind throughout. ἐς τὰ ἀλλα is explained by many 'with reference to its other parts'; but it more naturally means 'in other respects than those points to
which I have specifically referred.’ A striking example of this (ex contrario) is the colonising energy of Attica, the consequence of freedom from migration. Some take ἐσ ὑδα ἄλλα with μετώπικας—migrations to other parts; but ὑδα is then wrong. Ullrich’s emendation, according to which ὑδα ἄλλα, ‘other parts of Greece,’ is subject of αὐξηθῆναι—see crit. n.—is generally accepted; but it is not absolutely necessary.

Page 3.

2. πολέμω—referring to ὑπὸ ἄλλοφίλων ἐπεβουλεύοντο.

3. οἱ δυνατῶτατοι—limiting apposition to οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες. This kind of apposition is common in Thuc.—The most conspicuous instance is that of the Alcmaeonidae from Pylos.

ως βεβαιον ὅν—taken as (1) accus. abs., with ἀναχωρεῖν παρ’ Ἀθηναίουs implied; (2) by Classen as governed by παρά, in a loose apposition to Ἀθηναίουs. The second, though loose in grammar, gives a better sense.

4. πολίται γιγνόμενοι—the imperf. partic. points to the many instances in which citizenship was bestowed. Of course this system of conferring civic rights belongs to a time when only the Eupatrids had any political power. They admitted new families freely. In later days, on the contrary, when Athens had attained power and the demos ruled, the Ecclesia was very jealous of the citizenship. Yet this welcome of political exiles remained an honourable tradition, as we see from the plays of Euripides.

εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ with ἐποίησαν, but εὐθὺς belongs to ἀπὸ π., being equivalent to ἄρξάμενοι εὐθὺς: cf. c. 142, 146 and 7.

7. εξεπεμψαν—sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. The colonising activity of Attica is supposed to have begun in the eleventh cent. B.C.

9. δηλοὶ—second proof of weakness, viz. lack of communication.

τῶν παλαιῶν—neut., like τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐτὶ παλαίτερα in c. 2. Here τὰ παλαῖδ is explained to mean τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν. The lit. trans. is ‘insignificance in our early history.’

11. πρότερον—this merely repeats the sense of πρό, as in οὐ πρότερον . . πρὶν κτλ.

12. δοκεῖ δέ μοι—(1) at first parenthetical, afterwards (2) δοκεῖ ἡ ἐπικλησις οὐδὲ εἶναι, (3) δοκεῖ ἄλλα (nom.) . .
παρέχεσθαι, (4) δοκεῖ "Ελληνας καλείσθαι, (5) ἀπεραιολογητικά, before ἔδωκα. When a verb can take more than one construction, Thuc. sometimes combines alternative constructions in the same sentence without repeating the verb.

13. τὰ πρὸ "Ελληνος—adv. accus., as τὰ πρῶτερα c. 2, τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐφημερίᾳ iii. 54, 9. Hellen was son of Deucalion and Pyrrha; and Hellenes from Phthiotis accompanied Achilles to Troy. How the name came to be extended to all the Greeks is unknown.

14. καὶ πάνυ—emphasised by being separated from εἶναι. Cf. Xen. Anab. i. 5 καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλοφοῦ, Demosth. 5, 15 καὶ πάνυ φησὶ τις αὐτοῦς ἀνασηθήσεις εἶναι, and so with οὗ (μὴ) πάνυ not unfrequently. We should rather expect οὗ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ οὖδ᾽ εἶναι.

εἶναι—this and the infs. that follow are imperfect.

15. κατὰ ἐθνη—distributive. This forms subject to παρέχεσθαι = ‘various tribes,’ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Π., ‘among others the P. tribe,’ being in apposition to κ. ἐθνη. Adverbial phrases are frequent in Thuc. as equivalent of a case of a subst.: as in vi. 39 τοῦτα καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ ἐξουσιάζει.

16. τὸ Πελασγικόν—a tribe of aborigines, whom Homer speaks of as dwelling in Asia Minor and Crete as well as in Greece. For the facts and theories about them see Abbott, Hist. Greece i. p. 27 fol. “When the Pelasgii became established [in literature] as an ancient tribe, those nations which laid claim to great antiquity, as the Athenians and Arcadians, became Pelasgians.” (This is enough to know.)

ἐπὶ πλεῖστον—this belongs to τὸ Πελασγικόν, meaning that the name of the P. was more widely extended than that of any other tribe.

17. παρέχεσθαι—sc. ‘to the country.’

18. ἱσχυσάντων—ingressive aor., ‘having become mighty.’

19. ἐπαγομένων—sc. τιμῶν.

ἐπὶ ὥφελεα—‘to aid them.’ ὥφελεα often = βοήθεια; cf. p. 64 l. 21.

20. καθ’ ἐκάστος—subject of καλείσθαι: ‘the several tribes more and more (ἡδη μᾶλλον) began to be called Hellenes in consequence of their intercourse’ (with the Hellenes).

21. πολλοὺ χρόνου—time within which (partitive), less commonly found in positive sentences.
NOTES

22. [ἐδέματο]—se. ὁ καλείσθαι Ἑλλήνας. Shil. quotes Eur. Phoen. 12 καλοῦσι δ’ Ἰσακίστην με, τοῦτο γάρ πατήρ ἔμετο. The edéma is probably spurious, because, though the constr. of δοκεῖ shifts (see on l. 12), the two clauses καθ’ ἐκάστοις μὲν . . . οὐ μέντοι should have the same form, just as τὰ μὲν . . . κατὰ ἐδέμα δὲ have. Even if the constr. were again changed here, we should probably have ἐξενίκησε.

25. ἀνάμαιςεν—se. Ἑλλήνας.

οὔδ’ ἄλλους—i.e. Hellas in Homer is Phthiotis, B 684. It has been pointed out that in a 344, ἄ 726, 816, o 80 Ἑλλάς with Ἀργος denotes Greece in general. The lines are perhaps spurious.

26. τὰ ἔπη—‘the poems.’

27. ἄνακαλεῖ—‘distinguishes them as.’ ἄνακαλῶ is ‘call by a distinctive, official name.’

οὐ μὴν οὔδε—‘not even’; οὐ μὴν ἄλλα = ‘not but what.’

PAGE 4.

1. ἑρίκης—‘mentioned barbarians, because not yet had the Hellenes either been distinguished under one name in opposition’ (to them). There is a difficulty as to the construction of ἀντιπαλον. (1) Eustathius, followed by Stahl and Steup, made it agree with δνομα, despite the order; and the adj. is occasionally separated by a prep. from its subst. ; (2) Classen thought it an adverb like τοιναντίνον: the absence of art. is one reason against this; (3) Böhme made it internal accus. to ἀποκερδόθαι, ‘to have undergone an opposing separation,’ and Krüger favours this; (4) Mr. Forbes says it is in apposition to Ἑλλήνας, which means ‘the word Greeks.’ But should we not even so require ἀντιπάλοις or Ἑλληνες?—The edd. note that Thuc. neglects the epithet ἑρίκης, of the Carians, in II. ii. 867. But this simply means ‘speaking an unknown tongue,’ and the statement of Thuc. is substantially correct. The Greeks could not be conscious that they were a separate people before they were conscious that they were one people.

3. ὧν —resuming after the digression of which § 3 consists.

οἱ . . . ὡς ἐκαστοι . . . κληθέντες—the main subject is ὧν Ἑλλήνες κληθέντες, ‘those who came to be called Η.’ This is divided into (a) ὡς ἐκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι α. ἡπλεσαν,
referring to καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν ἥδη . . "Ελληνας § 2 ; (b) καὶ ἔμπαντες ὑστερον, referring to οὗ μέντοι . . ἀπασὶν ἐκκιδήσαι. In (a) τε = both is misplaced, the irregularity being explained by the fact that κατὰ . . ἐκκιδήσαν is added to ὃς ἐκαστοι as an afterthought. Possibly, however, τε = and, but it is hard to see any distinction between ὃς ἐκαστοι and κατὰ π. The sentence is overloaded, since ὑστερον, i.e. long after the Trojan War (cf. § 3), is combined with a statement of what happened πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν. Observe also that this apparent recapitulation (οἱ δ’ ὅλν κτλ.) does not agree entirely with the statements made in § 2, where nothing is said about a common language. Thuc., as others have noticed, does not seem to have a clear view of the matter.

8. The ms. ἐκκιδήσων will not do: ἔρχομαι, ἔσμεν with accus. are not rare in Attic prose in a military sense; but ἔρχομαι, εἶμι are not used so.

9. Μίνως γάρ—from this point to c. 8 Thuc. deals with the gradual growth of maritime enterprise, and the 'barbarian character of the early Greeks.' For Minos see Abbott, Hist. Greece i. p. 122.

παλαιτατος—'was the first to.' This does not belong to τῶν Κυκλάδων . . ἐγένετο, and perhaps not to τῆς νῦν . . ἐκφάτησε.

10. τῆς . . θαλάσσης—this may depend on ἐπὶ πλείστον, or on ἐκφάτησε.

12. ἠρέξε—'became ruler.'

13. πρῶτος—later the Athenians colonised the islands, and after that an Athenian would be honoured as οἰκιστὴς. See c. 12, 4.

15. ἐγκαταστήσας—this partic. is of course not antecedent in time to the main verb ἐγένετο. It is aor. merely because it is the explanation ὅν ἐγένετο οἰκιστῆς, the partic. being equivalent to καὶ+aor. ind. (This use of the aor. partic. in Thuc. disposes of the passages discussed by Mr. Forbes, Thuc. i. p. 142.)

ἀς εἰκός—'as was natural' (in one who ruled the sea).

16. καθήρει—used of destroying, putting an end to a power, as in c. 16, 1.

17. τοῦ . . λέναι—purpose, generally with μῆ. Tac. imitates this in An. ii. 59 Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis, etc.

21. ἐπ'—'to,' not 'against.'
NOTES

23. οὗ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων = τῶν δυνατωτάτων.

κέρδους ἕνεκα—a frequent phrase. Notice the place of ἕνεκα, which is usual when it applies to two nouns, as e.g. Antiphon 6, 7 διαβολῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀπάτης, Lys. 32, 10 καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἕνεκα καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. But the rule is not absolute.

24. τοῖς ἀσθενείς τροφῆς—cf. Demosth. i. § 22 τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς ἥψοις. ἀσθενείς = 'weak.'

25. πόλεων ἀτελχύστοις—i.e. village communities. We cannot help thinking of the great aphorism in vii. 77, 7 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλεις καὶ οὗ τείχη.

27. βίον—'livelihoo.' ἐποιούντο = 'would get,' a sense more familiar in the corresponding passive forms, ὁ βίος ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς.

ἐποιούντο—see L. & S. A. II. 2.

ἐχοντος—synonymous with φέροντος: ii. 37, 3 (ῥμων) δούν αἰσχύνην φέρονι, ib. 41, 3 τῷ πολεμῷ ἀγανάκτησιν ἐχει.

PAGE 5.

2. δηλοῦσι—i.e. show the truth of the preceding statements: there is even in the present day evidence for what I have said.

τῶν ἰτειρωτῶν τινες—i.e. those dwelling in the coast towns of the mainland.

3. καλώς—'cleverly,' as often in καλῶς λέγειν.

τούτο δρᾶν—a regular expression for referring to a previous verb.

4. οἱ παλαιοὶ—sc. δηλοῦσι.

τὰς πῦστες .. ἔρωτώντες—lit. 'everywhere agreeing in putting the stock question to strangers who come by sea, 'are you pirates?''' thus showing that the persons addressed were not accustomed to disown the occupation, and that those who made it their business to know did not censure it.' Of the old poets' Homer is one (Od. iii. 71 and ix. 252); and there is the Hymn to Apollo l. 452; but of course Thuc. knew other passages. The wording of the sentence has been questioned; but Thuc. seems to have had in mind ἣ πῦστις τῶν καταπλεῦσιν ἔστιν εἰ λησταί εἰσον. The poets are said to ask the question: for the characters are the mouthpiece of the poet.
6. οὕτε ... τε frequently correspond, as in Lat. neque ... et.

πυθαγόνται ... ἐπιμέλεσ εἰτ— the forms of the recta and oblique are combined, as frequently in Xen. = ὅν πυθαγόνται ... ὦν ἐπιμέλεσ γ. It expresses the thought of the poets. (Others seem to consider πυθαγόνται as hist. pres. and εἰτ as pure iterative opt.)

8. καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον— i.e. they not only carried on piracy at sea, but plundered one another on land as well. κατ' ἡγ. κατὰ γῆν. That Thuc. is thinking here of the towns near the coast is shown by c. 7 § 5 ai δὲ παλαιαὶ (πόλεις) διὰ τὴν λῃστείαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης φιλίσθησαν.

10. τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ— i.e. κατὰ κώμας φιλισθένα καὶ ἄρπαζόμενα.

περὶ— ‘in the parts about.’ The names of the people are used by Thuc. indifferently with the place-names.

12. τε— ‘and so.’

13. σιδηροφορεῖσθαι— below we have the act.: the mid. means ‘to provide one’s self with, see that one has.’ Such compounds of φορέω (cf. κανθαρόεω, χρυσοφορέω) are not ordinarily used in mid.; but cf. Arist. Pol. 1268 b.

16. οἰκησεῖς— ‘settlements,’ the πόλεις of c. 5, 1.

17. (διὰ ταῦς) ... ἐφόδους— ‘their hazardous intercourse.’

ἐπιθέτη κτλ. = ἐπιθέτης ἐπιθέτωτο.

19. ταῦτα ... ἄτι οὕτω νεμόμενα— ‘the fact that in these parts of Greece men still live in this way.’ This predicative use of the partic. is less common in Gk. than in Lat. (see M. T. 829 b). It is most often found with prepositions, and especially in phrases indicating time, with μετά, ἐπί, ἀμα. With certain well-defined exceptions, it does not occur unless the noun and verb yield sense without the partic.; i.e. the partic. was felt to be separate from the noun.

20. ἐσ πάντας ὀμολογου— lit. ‘extending in similar form to all,’ like ἐσ δύλουσ οἰκεῖν in ii. 37, 1. The substitution of the noun διαστήματων for the verb inf. τοῦ ... διαστάσθαι with suitable constrn. is characteristic of the old style.

21. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι— the undoubted exx. of this idiom in Thuc. are, besides this place (where Prof. Tucker wrongly says the evidence favours πρώτως), iii. 82, 1 (στάσις) ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο: vii. 24, 3 μεγίστον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι: ib. 71, 3 ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα: viii. 90, 1 ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα. In vii. 19, 4
the MSS. give \( \varepsilon \nu \tau \iota \iota \iota \iota \upsilon \pi \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \upsilon \) (not \( \pi \rho \omega \tau \omicron \iota \omicron \upsilon \)): ib. 27, \( \varepsilon \nu \tau \iota \iota \iota \iota \pi \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \omicron \upsilon \) (not \( \pi \rho \omega \tau \omicron \iota \omicron \upsilon \) or \( \pi \rho \omega \gamma \tau \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \upsilon \)). Pre-eminence is not necessarily implied in any example, and Herbst is perhaps right in saying that prominence only is meant. If so, it may be that the nom. is due only to attraction to the subject; the principle being naturally extended to the adverb.

22. \( \acute{\alpha} \nu \iota \nu \epsilon \mu \mu \epsilon \eta \tau \iota \eta \) — dat. of manner.

24. \( \alpha \upsilon \tau \iota \iota \iota \iota \) — ethic dat., very common in Thuc. where the gen. might be used.

25. \( \epsilon \upsilon \delta \alpha \alpha \iota \mu \omicron \omega \nu \nu \) — in the popular meaning.

\( \delta \alpha \: \tau \omicron \alpha \upsilon \delta \rho \delta \omicron \iota \alpha \iota \omicron \upsilon \) — with \( \phi \omicron \rho \omicron \alpha \upsilon \upsilon \iota \tau \omicron \sigma \upsilon \epsilon \). For the long linen (Ionian) \( \chi \iota \omicron \omega \nu \) worn by Ionians, Carians, Lydians see Gardner and Jevons, Gk. Ant. p. 49. Cf. Aesch. \( \Pi \epsilon \omicron \sigma \alpha \epsilon 41 \alpha \beta \rho \delta \omicron \iota \alpha \iota \omicron \upsilon \nu \delta \chi \omicron \omega \nu \). After the Persian wars the short (Dorian) \( \chi \iota \omicron \omega \nu \) of wool was substituted for it.

\( \omicron \upomicron \: \pi \omicron \lambda \omicron \upsilon \uomicron \ \chi \rho \omicron \nu \omicron \upsilon \ \omicron \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \eta \) — 'no long time ago.' \( \alpha \phi \: \omicron \upsilon \), \( \epsilon \xi \: \omicron \upsilon \), \( \epsilon \pi \epsilon \), \( \omega \iota \), \( \delta \tau \epsilon \) are all found in such phrases.

27. \( \chi \rho \omicron \upsilon \omicron \nu \ \tau \epsilon \tau \iota \iota \iota \iota \nu \) seem to be pins with figures of grasshoppers at the end. Several might be used, apparently, for one \( \kappa \rho \omicron \beta \omicron \upsilon \omicron \upsilon \)os, like hairpins. Helbig, however, thinks that metal spiral ornaments through which the 'tail' of the hair was passed are meant, and Studniczka supports this view; but it does not seem probable. The \( \kappa \rho \omicron \beta \omicron \upsilon \omicron \upsilon \)os—which doubtless took different forms—is perhaps to be recognised on ancient monuments, since Xen. \( \Lambda \nu \alpha \beta \) v. iv. 13 speaks of leather helmets adorned with a \( \kappa \rho \omicron \beta \omicron \upsilon \omicron \upsilon \)os and resembling a tiara (the various forms of which are well known). \( \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \), twist, favours 'coil'; but, if the pins had a bend in them, we can understand \( \epsilon \nu \epsilon \rho \epsilon \sigma \iota \sigma \iota \). (The v.l. \( \epsilon \nu \ \epsilon \rho \sigma \epsilon \iota \) is prob. a false division like \( \epsilon \nu \ \tau \omicron \upsilon \gamma \) for \( \epsilon \nu \tau \omicron \omega \upsilon \gamma \), c. 93, 5.) Cf. Aristoph. \( \Upsilon \gamma \). 1325, \( \Nu \iota \upsilon \). 984.

28. \( \alpha \phi \: \omicron \upsilon \) — 'from this circumstance.' It is likely that Thuc. is mistaken in saying that the Athenians carried the fashion to Asia Minor, and that it spread rather from the Ionians (Carians, Lydians) to the Athenians. Cf. Herod. v. 88.
4. ἵσοδίαιτοι with πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς. τὰ μελῶ, which is unusual for τὰ πλεῖον, is thought to refer to the fact that land was the sole form of wealth in early Sparta.

6. ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες—ἐς τὸ φ. is a standing phrase for 'openly,' 'in public,' with verbs of motion, or suggestive of motion. The simplest form of phrase is such as ἐς τὸ φ. ἐνεγκεῖν (Hyperid. i. v. 3), but Thuc., as so often, strains the use of the prep.

λίπα—'with oil,' frequent in Homer. It is generally explained as instrumental case, but K.W. Krüger calls it internal accus.

μετὰ τοῦ—in company with, i.e. 'when they . . .', as iii. 59, 3 βίον κίνδυνος ἔγγυς μετ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ τελευτῶν λόγου).

7. ἁλείψαντο—reflective mid. like λούσαμαι, ὀπλίζομαι, and other words of the toilet.

8. διαξόματα—II. 23, 683 ἥμαδε ὁ πρῶτον παρακάβαλεν.

10. πεπανταί—sc. τὸ διαξόματα ἔχοντας ἠγωνίζοντοι.

The order is ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς β. ἔστιν ὁλοὶ (=ἐνλοις), καὶ μάλιστα (ἐν) τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς. In the nom. plur. always εἰσὶν οἱ, αἱ; in oblique cases always ἔστιν ὁν etc. in Thuc., unless words intervene, as in vii. 25 ἔσαν τῶν σταυρῶν ὁσ. in company with, i.e. 'when they . . .', as iii. 59, 3 βίον κίνδυνος ἔγγυς μετ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ τελευτῶν λόγου).

12. ἄθλα τίθεται καὶ ἄθλων τιθεμένων.

13. πολλαὶ . . . ὀμοιότροπα—internal accus. to διανύωμεν.

16. ὁσαὶ μέν κτλ. —"This clause (down to ἐκαστοὶ ἵσχυοι) is really subordinate to αἱ δὲ παλαιάι κτλ. 'Whereas the most recent cities,' etc.," Forbes.

17. πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων—'when navigation was easier,' imper. gen. abs. corresponding to πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο 8, 2. It is a question whether περιουσίας . . . ἐχουσαῖ goes closely with πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, so that καὶ joins νεώτατα to ἐχουσαῖ, or belongs to ἐκτίζοντο: c. 8 καταστάντος τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο (i.e. as early as Minos) favours the former; but c. 8 § 3 seems to show that Thuc. uses νεώτατα here vaguely of cities founded since Minos purged the seas.

20. ἄπελάμβανον—'occupied,' cutting them off from the mainland with walls. The change of subject from the place-names to their inhabitants is common, e.g. vi. 48; 74, 1; 75, 2; 88, 8; 94, 1.

21. ἐκαστοὶ—in this place because it goes closely with πρὸς τοὺς προσολκοῦν. On the order of ἐνεκα see 5, 1.
22. ἐπὶ πολὺ—temporal.
23. On ἀντισχοὺσαι (= διὰ τὸ τὴν λ. ἀντίσχειν) see 6, 2 l. 19.
24. καλ ἐν—the art. not repeated, as often in Thuc. (6, 1), even when the two members are contrasted.
25. ἐφερον—sc. οἱ λατρεύοντες. They plundered not only another but those who, though not sea-farers, lived on the coasts (= παραθαλάσσιοι ἤσαν).

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1. οἱ νησιώται—the island barbarians were pirates ὅχ ἤσσον ἦ οἱ "Ελληνες.
3. φίλησαν—previous to the time of Minos.
Δὴλου—in 426 B.C.; iii. 104. The 'proof' applies only to the Carians, whence it may be inferred that the presence of Phoenicians in the islands was questioned by none.
6. ύπερ ἡμισύ—subject, = πλείου τῶν ἡμίσεων (though of course it might be taken as adverbial).
7. τῇ σκέυῃ τῶν δπλων—lit. 'their equipment (consisting) of arms,' not 'the style of their arms.'
9. Here Thuc. resumes from c. 4.
πλωμάτερα ἐγένετο—the neut. plur. as in 7, 1.
10. ἐκ τῶν νήσων—ἐκ for ἐν by (the regular method of) attraction to the verb.
11. οὔτεπερ—'namely, when,' referring back to c. 4.
12. οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν—cf. οἱ παρ' ἐπαλξίν ii. 13, 5, παρὰ with dat., not being used of inanimates except when persons are clearly implied.
15. τείχη περιβάλλοντο—referring to cities already in existence, but hitherto without walls: hence not as in c. 7.
ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἐαυτῶν γ. —the omission of αὐτοί in this idiom is rare: 'as was natural, since they were now growing wealthier than they had been hitherto.'
16. γάρ refers to βεβαιότερον φίλον. The double τε presents the same process under two different aspects.
18. δούλειαι—'dependence,' as often; so with δουλεύειν. The weaker states became tributaries of the stronger.
περιονυσίας ἐχοντες—usually rendered 'because they had wealth at their command' and used it to extend their power:
but more probably, 'having funds in hand' and being anxious to increase them. The more the funds increased, the more eager would they be to increase them still further.

20. ἐν τούτῳ . . . δυνατός—'when they had now advanced to this condition,' i.e. navigated the seas and were grown richer.

21. ὕστερον χρόνῳ—'in course of time.'

22. 'Α. τέ μοι δοκεῖ—'and so it seems to me that it was because,' etc.

23. οὗ τουσούτου (δον προίχων) with ἀγων, 'not so much because he was leader of . . . they being bound by their oaths to T.' Tyndareus, Helen's supposed father, made her suitors swear to protect the rights of that one whom she should choose.

26. Thuc. supports his view by reference to the origin of the kingship in Atreus' house.

27. Πελοπονησίων—masc., with οί, 'those of the Pel. who have received the truest account by tradition.' For the order of the gen. edd. compare c. 48, 4; 126, 11. It is supposed that Thuc. means the Argives, whose legends the Lesbian historian Hellanicus related. A fragment of H. gives the story here referred to.

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3. τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν . . σχείν—lit. 'secured the naming of the country after himself, though a stranger.'

ἐπηλύνε—there is no authority for the form ἐπηλύνῃς in Attic. The passage in Xen. Occ. cited in L. & S. is corrupt.

4. μεῖζω—neut. plur.; ξυνενεχθήναι, 'fell to the lot of,' as often in Herod.; after Thuc. not found in Attic.

5. Εὖρυσθέως μέν κτλ.—the relationship of the persons mentioned is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perseus</th>
<th>Pelops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sthenelus m. Nicippus</td>
<td>Chrysippus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurystheus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ἐν τῷ Ἀττικῇ—according to the story, Eurystheus was killed in the Megarid (Euripides represents him as taken prisoner) when at war with Demophon, king of Athens, from
whom he had demanded the surrender of the Heraclidae. The Megarid was then part of Attica.

7. καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐ.—there is parataxis here for 'Ατρεὶ δὲ μὴ τρόσ ἀδελφῶ δειν ἐπιτρέψαντος.

10. Χρυσίπποι—Atrens and Thyestes conspired and murdered Ch. their half-brother.

12. καί παραλαβεῖν—co-ordinate with ἐτὶ μείζων ἐξενεχθήναι . . 'Ατρεῖ.

13. καὶ ἀμα—the καί joins δοκοῦντα το βουλομένων.

δυνατῶν—i.e. in point of wealth.

17. ἀ—the wealth and power of the two families.

18. καὶ ναυτικῶ—the MSS. give καὶ ναυτικῶ τε, and two explanations are suggested: (1) τε = τοῦ, Shilleto; and (2) τε = and, while καὶ emphasises ναυτικῶ. vi. 44 καὶ πρὸς τε τοῦ 'Ρηγίνου, viii. 68, 2 καὶ αὐτὸς τε, ib. 76, 5 καὶ έαυτοῖς τε give rise to a similar question. The use of τε is supported by examples in Herod. and tragedy; but the MSS. variants and certain examples of corruption in the case of τε are so numerous that it is very doubtful if the passages can be relied on. On the whole καί . . δὲ = and moreover is more probable.

19. ἵσχυσας—progressive.

20. οὐ . . τὸ πλέον ἦ = ἠσον η.

χάριτι . . φόβῳ—for the contrast cf. Demosth. 20 § 16 μείζων δ τοῦ μέλλοντος φόβοι τῆς παράβολης χάρις, but there it is the fear and good-will felt; here it is the feelings inspired.

21. φαίνεται γάρ—the passages referred to are Η. ii. 576 τῶν ἐκαθόν νεὼν ἰδιχε κρείσων 'Αγαμέμνων, and ii. 610 ff. αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν 'Αγαμέμνων | νῦν, and so on.

23. ὁς . . τοῦτο—Shilleto refers to Plat. Theaet. 193 D ὁ ὑ ὑ τοῦτο πρόσθεν οὕτως ἔλεγον for a similar redundancy.

τῳ—′in any one's opinion.' To τεκμηρίωσαι supply τοῦτο: it is only with ref. to the details that Thuc. suggests a doubt.

24. ἐν τοῦ σκῆπτρου τῇ παραδόσει—in the passage where the sceptre of Agamemnon is said to have been transmitted through his family; Η. ii. 101 ff. For this method of referring to passages in times before the division into books, etc. was made cf. c. 10, 4; St. Mark xii. 26 ἐπὶ τῆς βασίλειας; Ep. Rom. xi. 2.

26. οὐκ ἄν . . ἐκράτει—'he would not have been ruler' (as
he was). Classen's version, 'he would not be (in the *Iliad*) ruler,' is less likely.

27. οὐκ ἀν ἔλεν—*M.T.* §238.

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2. καὶ ταύτη τῇ στρατείᾳ—i.e. this expedition itself was not on a very large scale: all the more insignificant must have been those undertakings that preceded it.

4. δὴ μὲν—lit. 'that M. was a small place, or if any of the towns of those days seems now insignificant—(this) could not be considered a valid argument for refusing to believe that,' etc. (1) The clauses introduced by δὴ and et form the object to χρώμενος. (2) The μὲν is not regularly answered, but is resumed in οὐκ ὅπερ ἀπιστεύχ χρῆ (§3) after a long parenthesis. (3) ἤμ may mean 'was before its destruction,' which is said by later writers to have occurred in 468 B.C. (there is no sufficient ground for doubting the statement). This is supported by νῦν δοξεῖ which refers to towns still in existence. Or it may be 'was in heroic times,' and this is supported by τῶτε. But, whichever be meant, the argument is not affected. The simple explanation of the insignificance of Mycenae—now of prime importance to the archaeologist—is that the only part that could be called 'city' was the acropolis, and that was occupied by the castle of the chief. The rest of the settlement consisted of the villages of the clans; and there is no sign that in historic times the villages ever gave way to a city. Thuc. represents the fact correctly.

9. λόγος κατέχει—*fama obtinet*; 'tradition affirms.'

Δακεδαιμονίων γὰρ—there were no signs of magnificence about Sparta until after the triumphs of Lysander. Even then, its appearance, remote from the world and unfortified, must have been comparatively insignificant. It does not seem clear that Thuc. wrote this passage before 404 B.C.

11. κατασκευῆς—κ. includes everything that makes a place habitable and usable. Here 'buildings.'

13. πρὸς—'in comparison with.'

14. τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μ.—'two-fifths.' ('Two of the five divisions' is, as Mr. Forbes remarks, wrong.) Of course Messenia is included in Laconia. Notice the way in which fractions are expressed. The gen. is omitted when the denominator is one higher than the numerator—as τὰ τρία μέρη = $\frac{3}{4}$.

15. τῆς ξυμπάσης—roughly speaking. In ii. 9 Thuc. ex-
pressly notes that Argos was not under the leadership of Sparta. But the omission here is of no importance, because we do not want an exact statement, but a general account of the power of Sparta.

16. τῶν ἔξω ἔ—'their allies beyond P., who are many.'

17. πόλεως—for τῆς πόλεως, 'since the city was not compactly built.' For the omission of art. Steup compares iv. 18, 3 and viii. 95, 2. (Mr. Forbes's rendering 'when a city is not built continuously' is disproved by the fact that ἕ διναμις Λακεδαιμονίων—and not the power of any city—must be supplied to φαίνοντι δν. Herbst's view that πόλεως is predicative—'since it has not been brought together into a compact city'—is inconsistent with Λακεδαιμονίων ἕ πόλις above.)

18. κατασκευαῖς—the plur. in concrete sense, as in ii. 65, 2.

21. διπλασίαι—ἡ—these compds. are constructed as comparatives: πολλαπλάσιοι τῶν ἐναντίων iv. 94; πολλαπλάσιοι ἡ ἡλθον ib. 127; διπλάσια δοῦναι ἡ ἄλλω τινι Λύσιας 19.

22. εἰκάζεσθαι depends on οίμαι.

ἀπὸ τῆς φ. διψεως—not 'from the notable or striking appearance' (Forbes), but 'from the mere (external) appearance.' φανερός is, as usual, what is seen, and δῆς is the appearance in contrast with the reality, as in vi. 31 τῇ δῆς ἀνεθάρσουν (where my rendering 'by the sight' is also wrong).

26. μεγάλτην μέν γ.—'proved, it is true.' δέ—'and yet.' For τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς cf. 1, 1.

λεπτομένη with gen. as vi. 72 οὐδενὸς λεπτόμενος.

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1. ἤν—rel. to στρατείαν. According to the regular principle in Greek, the following clause, to which the nom. is supplied from ἤν, is without the rel. In the second clause the rel. is often replaced by the required case of αὐτός or οὗτος—ii. 4, 5, δ ἤν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ θύραι ἀνεωμέναι ἐτύχον αὐτοῦ. vii. 29, δ ἄρτης μέγιστον ἤν καὶ ἄρτη ἐτύχον οἱ παῖδες εἰσελθεῖτοι. It is the repetition of the rel. that is unusual, as in vi. 4, 3 τὸ χωρίον οὗ νῦν ἕ πόλις ἐστι καὶ δ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη. If, however, the first clause is neg. and the second pos., the rel. must be repeated, as in ii. 43, 2 οὐκ ἐν ἐφ' ἐνταὶ μᾶλλον, ἀλ' ἐν ἐφ' ἤ δόξα καταλείπεται. The same omission or substitution is frequent in Lat., as Liv. xxiii. 8 cum quo steterat nec cum patria majestos sententia deminerat. In Engl. cf. Hooker, Eccles. Pol. 'Whom though to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name.'
Johnson, Tour in Heb. 'we treated her with great respect, which she received as customary, and was neither elated by it, nor confused.' Macaulay, Warren Hastings 'To whom she seemed to listen, but did not hear them.'

ἐπὶ τῷ μεῖζον κοσμήσατε—'exaggerate by using his fancy.'

3. ἐνδειστέρα—'comparatively insignificant.'

πεποίηκε γάρ—'out of a fleet of 1200 ships the poet has described those of the B. as carrying 120 men (ἐν δὲ ἐκάστῃ κούρῳ Βοιωτῶν ἐκατόν καὶ εἴκοσι βαῖνον Ηλ. ii. 510), and those of Ph. as carrying 50 (ἐρέται δ’ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πεντήκοντα | ἐμβέβαζαν, τὸξων ἐν εἰδότες ἥψα μάχεσθαι ib. 719), specifying the largest and the smallest.' ἀνδρόν is gen. of measure, as in τεῖχος ἐπὶ σταδίων, almost confined to expressions of magnitude. The absence of a second art. with ἐλάχιστα is interesting: Shilleto rightly compares Aesch. Ag. 314 νική δ’ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταίος δραμῶν, where the reference is to a team, of which every member wins; just as here the two things combined are items of one fleet. As to the numbers, in Thuc.'s time the average complement of a trireme was 200. Therefore a fleet of 1200 would require 240,000 men: but the rationalistic calculation of Thuc. gives about 103,000 for the Trojan War. Of course 103,000 is a far larger number than was sent out by any one state in the time of Thuc. The number of men who sailed for Sicily in 415 B.C. may be roughly set down as 36,000. But § 5 shows that Thuc. thinks of the combined forces of all Greek states, and the forces in the field during the Peloponnesian War would exceed his calculation for the Trojan War. (It seems, nevertheless, that Thuc. has not made out a very satisfactory case: τῶν νῦν in § 3 should have been qualified.)

7. ἄλλων depends on μεγέθους.

8. αὐτερέται—the fighting men served also as rowers. This was quite unusual in Thuc.'s day. See Ηλ. 719 quoted above.

9. ἐν—as ἐν ... παραδόσει c. 9, 4, and ἐν νεῶν καταλύγω above.

11. περίνεως—the only passengers would be the kings and those immediately under them.

13. μέλλοντας . . ἐχοντας—though these agree with περίνεως, they apply in sense equally to all the Greeks. We should expect gen. abs.

14. μετὰ σκέυῶν—the want of space is what Thuc. alludes to. The room not taken up by the rowers would be filled with materials.
15. κατάφαρκτα—i.e. the boats had no gangways projecting along them. These gangways (πάροδοι) were used only in ships with a deep draught, and Thuc. means that, as there were none in 'Homeric' ships, those ships can have had only a small draught, and therefore there was not much room in them. At intervals along the πάροδοι were upright posts, and the open spaces between could be closed with curtains (παραρρύματα) in battle or rough weather, and thus served in a trireme to protect the bodies of the thranitae (top set of rowers). The word is generally explained 'decked'; but so far as one can judge, the only connexion between κατάστρωμα, the deck from end to end, and κατάφαρκτα is that only ships that were κατάφαρκτα had καταστρώματα. The Homeric ships, it is true, had no καταστρώματα, but this is not the point here.

16. ληστικώτερον—'more like pirate craft' than warships.

17. πρός—'as compared with.' σκοτσούντι is dat. of the person judging, a frequent use of a partic. ; cf. c. 21, 2.

19. ὡς—'considering that.'

21. αὐτοῦ—this predicate, so often in neut. sing. whatever be gender and number of the subject, is practically a noun.

23. τε—answered by ἐπειδὴ δὲ, as e.g. in vi. 83, 1; vii. 81; and c. 25, 3.

24. ὅσον—'only so large as.' αὐτόθεν with βιοτεύσει, 'support itself in the (enemy's) country.'

25. ἄφικόμενοι—'on their arrival,' i.e. immediately after they landed. (This passage, from this word to the end of § 2, is much disputed.)

26. μάχῳ ἐκράτησαν—the conjecture ἐκράτησαν reduces the words τοῖς αἰεί . . ὑπερτερεῖσθαι κρατοῦντες would have to be changed to κρατήσαντες. The Greeks were able to raise a rampart because they had won a victory.

τὸ γάρ—'for otherwise.' This rampart is not that referred to in II. vii. 336 and 433 as built in the tenth year by the counsel of Nestor, but one built immediately after the arrival of the Greeks, though this does not necessitate inserting εἰπότις after ἦν with Dittrich. Similarly the γεωργία τῆς Χερσονήσου below is not heard of in the II. Thuc. doubtless got these details from a poem that related the earlier events of the war. Cf. the Schol. here: ἐρυμα λέγει νῦν οὐχ ὅπερ ἐν τῇ ἦ λέγει Ἀιμηρός γενόεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μικρότερον διὰ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδοσιάς. (Strabo quotes the opinion of Aristotle
that the τεῖχος of II. 7, which was so promptly destroyed by Poseidon, was in reality never built. It seems impossible that Thuc. can have had that τεῖχος in mind.

27. φαίνονται δέ—this is δέ in apodosis, and it is here apparently suggested by the contrast set up by the parenthesis: though they fortified a camp, they did not employ their whole force. This δέ generally follows a parenthesis; but not in ii. 65, 1 ἐπείδη τὸ πόλεμος κατέστη, δ' δὲ φαίνεται καὶ εἰν τούτῳ προγνοῦ τὴν δύναμιν.

28. ἐνταῦθα—before Troy; and consequently the Trojans held out.

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2. αὐτῶν—'of their own accord.'
τὰ δέκα ἐτη—'those ten years.'

3. βῆ—'in the field.' They were not penned up in the city.

ὑπολειπομένοις—imperf., 'who at any given time were left behind.'

7. ἡδίως ἄν μάχη . . Τρολαν εἶλον—does this passage refer to 'the two natural stages of the expedition'—battle followed by siege, or two alternative means of taking Troy,—either by pitched battle outside the gates, or by siege? Those who adopt the first, either (a) bracket the first εἶλον with Krüger as spurious, and explain the δ' after πολιορκία as (a violent) apodotic δέ, or, with Krüger bracket it; or else (b) make the first εἶλον mean, not 'capture (Troy),' but, with Herbst, 'defeat (the Trojans).'. Those who adopt the second with Bauer, make μάχη κρατοῦντες = 'by superiority in the field,' and not 'being as they were superior in the field'; and πολιορκία προσκαθεξόμενοι = 'by a regular siege,' instead of 'by persisting in a siege.' But the difficulties involved in this are insuperable; for—apart from the extraordinary way in which the supposed alternative methods are expressed, and joined by δέ instead of ἦ— the sense obtained, though at first sight attractive, makes περιουσίαν ἐχοῦσες προφής and ἐνεχώς τὸν πόλεμον διεφερον pointless in so far as the first method—superiority in the field + assault—is concerned; it necessitates forcing the meaning 'by an immediate assault' (κατὰ κράτος) into μάχη κρατοῦντες, and thus making this wholly distinct from μάχη ἐκράτησαν in § 1; and it strains no less the meaning of πολιορκία προσκαθεξόμενοι. We therefore prefer the
first plan, but slightly modified; if the first εἰκών is genuine, it is probably a mere anticipation of the second. Trans. 'If they had . . . carried on the war persistently, they would easily have continued superior in the field and have taken the city, seeing that . . . : if, then, they had persisted in a siege, they would have taken Troy.' προσκαθεξεῖτοι governs πολιορκή.

11. ἀλλά—in contrast with περιουσίαν εἰ ἡλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς. τούτων—i.e. τῶν Τροικάων.

13. τῶν πρών—c. 1, 1; 10, 3.

gενόμενα—'though it proved.'

15. κατεσχηκότος—attributive. When an attributive partic. is itself further defined—διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς κατ.—it is frequently placed outside the art. This idiom is by no means confined to Thuc.

16. μετανίστατο—'Greece (i.e. the Greeks) was still occupied with migration and settlement, so that the country did not quiet down (ingressive) and so increase.' Ἑλλάς here is used as in c. 6, for the Greek nation—ἡ Ἑ. ἐοικήροφόρει—and this explains (a) the use of μετανίστατο, (b) the accus. ἱσχ־

17. ὥστε μὴ ἡ. αὐξηθῆναι—the μὴ belongs to both partic. and infin., and ὥστε . . αὐξηθῆναι expresses ἀγωνισματία.

20. ἐνεοχμωσε=ἐνεωτέρας. In sense this is pluralιν. The verb occurs in Herod., but only here in Attic. Thuc. thought of the fate of Agamemnon, Teucer, and other heroes.

καὶ στάσεις—two things are not clear, (1) whether the disturbances alluded to are intended to be connected with the return from Troy, or merely to be an explanation of ὥστε μὴ ἱσχάσασαν αὐ.; (2) how Βοιωτόλ τε γὰρ is connected with what precedes. The passage is commonly referred to as though γὰρ introduced an illustration of the στάσεις, but Steup (who thinks γὰρ spurious) rightly points out that we hear nothing of στάσεις in the matter of the migrations referred to. If γὰρ is retained, we must assume that the migrations are introduced as an illustration of the general unrest that continued; i.e. the γὰρ refers rather to § 1 than to the immediately preceding sentence.
21. ὁς ἐπὶ πολύ—'for the most part,' 'in most cases.'

αὖ—'as the result of which,' referring to στάσεις.

22. τὰς πόλεις—prob. the article is distributive = cities in each instance. (Others, 'the well-known cities': but this is rightly objected to by several edd. as a strange assumption of knowledge and as clashing awkwardly with ἐν ταῖς πόλεισιν.)

23. οἱ νῦν—meaning not that the Boeotians had changed their name, but the Boeotians 'as we know them now,' i.e. as inhabiting all Boeotia, instead of dwelling partly in Thessaly and partly in Boeotia.

ἐξηκοστῷ ἐτεί—the instances seem to be chosen in order to show that disturbances continued for a long period after the war.

μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν—the art. replaced by a gen., as in διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος c. 1, 2.

26. ἀποδασμός—i.e. a part that had voluntarily separated from the main body, not ἀνάστασις, like the rest. The word only here in Attic; but cf. Φωκ. ἀποδάσμοι Herod. i. 146.

27. ἀὖ—'the plur. κατὰ σύνεσιν. The ref. is to II. ii. 494, where the Boeotians, however, possess the chief cities of Boeotia.

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2. ἐσχον—cf. σχεῖν, c. 9, 2.

3. ἡσυχάσασα βεβαιες—'gaining unbroken rest and no longer subject to violent changes.' Notice the ingressive aor. and imperf. combined.

5. Ἰωνας—the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. νησιωτῶν—the Cyclades; cf. c. 4. Isocr. Panath. 43.

6. Ἰταλίας—i.e. the modern Calabria, the peninsula reaching to the Liris on W. and to Metapontum on E. 'The chief Peloponnese founders of Sicilian and Italian cities were the Corinthians who founded Syracuse, and through Syracuse, Camarina [Acrae and Casmenae], the Megarians who founded the Hyblaean Megara, and through Megara, Selinus: the Achaeans who founded Sybaris and Croton, some Lacedaemonians who founded Tarentum,' (Forbes). But (1) Megara is not part of the Peloponnese (ii. 9), see next note; (2) it is not clear that Tarentum is reckoned in Italy.

8. ἐστιν ἄ χωρία—it is supposed that the colonies of Corinth in the W., Coreyra, Leucas, Ambracia, etc. are referred
If so (1) τὸ πλείστον above is an exaggeration: (2) Ἐλλὰς is here used for all the country ultimately inhabited by Greeks—as in Thuc.'s time: but Ἐλλὰς was not so used above: (3) the vagueness of the reference to these colonies is strange. Steup gets over all these difficulties by taking ἐστὶν ἄ χωρία as nom., so that the Megarian (see last note), Locrian and Chalcidian colonies would be included. This is tempting, and for the use of χωρία we might compare vii. 14 τὰ πρέφοντα ἡμᾶς χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅρωντα ἐν ὧ ἐσμεν. But it must be confessed that (1) ἐστὶν ἄ looks like an antithesis to τὸ πλείστον: (2) πάντα δὲ πάντα appears to refer to ἐστίν ἄ χωρία as well as to the colonies mentioned before. Perhaps Thuc. writes somewhat vaguely here.

11. ἕτι . . ἡ πρότερον—referring to c. 8, 3.

12. τὰ πολλὰ—'in most cases.'

13. τῶν προσόδων μ. γιγνομένων—this goes closely with καθίσταντο, 'tyrannies were established where the revenues (of the government) increased.' But ὄννατωτέρας . . ποιομένης is a general statement with regard to Greece, and qualifies the whole sentence down to ἀντέχοντο. Thuc. means that a tyranny was generally established in a city enjoying a large revenue, which one man, whether a member of the governing class or not, succeeded in getting into his hands as the result of political agitation.

14. πρότερον δὲ—not necessarily immediately before, for in most cases oligarchy preceded tyranny, but 'in earlier days' where one man ruled, his power was limited.

ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι—'with' (under the condition of) 'fixed prerogatives,' viz. as priest, judge and leader (Arist. Pol. iii. 14, 12). The purpose of this parenthesis is to point out that the rule of a single man, though it was known before the age of the tyrants, had been of a wholly different character. The age of the tyrants synchronises with an advance in Greece: yet the deeds even of the tyrants were relatively insignificant. As to tyranny, Aristotle agrees with Thuc.: ἐπὶ δὲ χείρων γενόμενα ἐχρηματιζόντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν, ἐντεῦθεν πολεμεὶν εὐλογον γενέσθαι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας . . ἐκ δὲ τούτων πρῶτον εἰς τυραννίδας μετεβάλον.

17. ἐγγύτατα—superlative of ἐγγύς. Cf. prope and propius.

18. μεταχειρίσαι—Thuc., like Herod., uses the act. of this word, whereas other authors use mid.

19. καὶ . . ναυπηγηθήναι—καὶ = 'and in fact,' the building of a trireme marking a climax in naval affairs (τὰ περὶ τὰς ναύς).
22. *naus*—whether these were triremes or not does not appear.

23. *toude tou polému*—the dates given are circ. 704 and 684 B.C. (or, if the Archidamian War is meant, see Introd. p. xxvi, circ. 721 and 681 B.C.).

24. *ote*—‘since.’

Σαμίοις ἥλθε—the dat. after (simple) verbs of motion is common in tragedy, but does not occur in Attic prose outside Thuc.; cp. c. 27, 1; 61, 1; 107, 7.

25. *γίγνεται*—‘turns out to be.’

26. *kai taútp*—lit. ‘this too reckons 260 years.’ The *kai* brings the battle into relation with the event above. (Thuc. seems to be maintaining the priority of Corinth against some other claimant.) The *taútp* is possessive dat., as Herod. ii. 145 'Ἡρακλεί δοσα φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασίν.

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1. *tín polin*—‘their city.’

2. *aiel ði poré*—as ði poré means ‘in the past’ (frequent in tragedy), so aiel ði poré = always in the past, i.e. ‘from the earliest times.’

3. *taw Ellhíon . . . epitumagónων*—two points are made: (1) the early commerce of the Greeks was carried on mainly by land, (2) the Isthmus was on the high-road between oi ἑντός and oi ἑξω II. The sentence would be much clearer with a partic. like πορευομένων, as proposed by Steup, after 'Ελλήνων, so that ἐν would mean ‘and.’

7. *áfneîon*—we have only one instance, II. ii. 570.

9. *mállon épíwzoun*—cf. c. 8, 2.

τάς *naus*—the ships referred to in § 2. These enabled Greece to extinguish piracy, and thus to further her commerce; and the outcome of that, it is implied, was the formation of a considerable fleet.

11. *ámphótera* with *па́реховтес*, ‘in both ways,’ i.e. as the
context shows, by sea and land. ἀμφότερα and κατ' ἀμφότερα do not of themselves mean 'on both elements,' but show the same accns. as τοῦτον τῶν τράτων, and κατὰ πολλοὺς τράτους. It is the context that gives the special meaning.

ἐσχαν—ingressive.

12. Ἰωσίν—those of Asia Minor, among whom the Phocaeans and Samos are specially mentioned.

13. ἐπὶ Κύρου—556–529 B.C.

16. Κυρω πολεμοῦντες—they were ultimately reduced by Harpagus. Cf. c. 16.

17. ἐπὶ Καμβύσου—C. reigned 529–521 B.C. Polycrates ruled 532–521 B.C. According to Herod. iii. 164, Samos was πολίων πασέων πρώτη Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων in the time of Polycrates.

19. Ῥηνελαν ἑλῶν—Herod. iii. 39 assigns far more imposing achievements to Polycrates: cf. ib. 122 ἔδε ἀνθρωπίνης (i.e. not 'heroic,' like Μίνως) λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης πρώτος, ἐπίδαις πολλάς ἔχων Ἱωνίης τε καὶ νῆσων ἄρξειν. This gift was made to the Delian Apollo as the Ionian deity.

21. Μαυσολαῖον οἰκίζοντες—'at the time when they founded Massilia.' Herod. i. 166 gives an account of a victory of the Etruscans and Carthaginians about 546 B.C., the time of which Thuc. is here speaking. But Eusebius and others placed the foundation of Marseilles 600 B.C.: there is plainly a discrepancy in the dates given for its foundation. (Classen in the 3rd ed. took ἐνίκων to mean 'gained victories,' and referred them to 600 B.C.; but Thuc. is plainly referring to circ. 546 B.C. See Steup's appendix.)

22. ταῦτα γάρ—'these, in fact, were the strongest navies,' i.e. the strongest possessed by Ionians (cf. § 6).

23. φαίνεται with χρώμενα and ἐξηρτύμενα: 'though these fleets were built . . we find,' etc.

25. πεντηκοντόροι—Gardner and Jevons, p. 652. It is plain from Herod. i. 163 that penteconters counted as νῆς μακρά, and stand in contrast to νῆς στρογγύλαι, merchant-ships (cf. Thuc. ii. 97, 1). Therefore the πλοὰ μακρά are doubtless long ships of larger and smaller size than penteconters. To their resemblance in size to merchant-ships the word πλοὰ seems to point.

26. ἐκεῖνα—those existing in the time of the Trojan War.

27. τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου—485 B.C. ἐβασιλεύε, 'reigned,' rather than 'became king.'
29. *περὶ τε Σικελίαν*—for the vague use of *περὶ* cf. Isoer. v. 111 ἔχε μεγίστην δύναμιν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν. This is the age of the great Sicilian tyrants—Thero, Gelo, Hiero.

30. *ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο*—'reached a considerable number'; probably the lit. sense is 'came to.'

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3. *εὗ τινες ὀλλοι*—sc. ἐκέκτηντο ναυτικά.

4. *βραχέα*—sc. ναυτικά, 'small fleets.' This sense of βραχύς is frequent in Thuc.

5. *τὰ πολλὰ*—'the greater part of these consisted of.'

6. *ὑπὲ το ἀφὸ οὖ*—sc. ἥν, 'it was late when.' For ἀφὸ οὖ we should expect ὅτε: but instead of saying 'already when they started to build,' it was so late that they could not get a strong fleet before the invasion of Xerxes,' he says 'from the time that they started' etc. The building of the ships took place in 483–82 B.C., the archonship of Nicodemos, and the invasion in 480 B.C. Herod. vii. 144 does not say that Them. looked forward to a Persian invasion when he advised the building of the ships. It is thought that Herod. wanted to belittle Them.

9. *ἰναυμάχησαν*—at Salamis.

διὰ πάσης—'throughout,' an adverbial expression like ἀπὸ τῆς ῥῆς ῥῆς c. 15; ἀπὸ (τῆς) πρώτης, etc. (This is better than supplying νεώς.)

10. *καταστρώματα*—the Homeric ship was covered only fore and aft, the part in which the men rowed being open. (Cf. on c. 10, 4.)

12. *τὰ παλαιὰ*—i.e. the early fleets mentioned in c. 13. τὰ ύστερον γενόμενα—i.e. those mentioned in c. 14 § 3.


αὐτοῖς—τοῖς ναυτικοῖς.

Χρημάτων προσόδῳ—see c. 13 § 5. The possession of a fleet enabled them still further to increase their trade.

16. *τὰς νῆσους κ.*—'began to' or 'endeavoured to reduce the islands.' The enterprise of Athens and Corinth is alluded to, as in (ἐκεῖνοι) δοσιν ῥῆ.

18. *ὁθεν τις*—'as the result of which any considerable force was brought together,' or 'from which any considerable power was gained.' This seems to be the meaning, corresponding
to ἵσχεν δὲ κτλ. above. But παραγίγνομαι in Thuc. of troops regularly means 'be assembled in the field,' and with dat. 'come to the support of.' 'To be added to' is προσγίγνομαι. Hence many edd. render 'in consequence of which any considerable force was collected.' ὑδε is then strange.

ἐνευστη—frequently used in this connexion from Herod. downwards.

22. οὐ γὰρ ἐνευστήκεσαν—'they were not joined to the strongest states as subjects, nor yet did they of their own accord unite on an equal footing for a campaign.'

23. κατ' ἄλληλους—inter se.

ὁς ἐκάστοι—cf. c. 3 § 4. Strictly ἐπολέμων is supplied with ὁς, but the phrase practically becomes a distributive numeral.

27. Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετρίων—the date of this war, fought for the possession of the Lelantian plain, is unknown. Herod. says that Samos helped Chalcis and Miletus helped Eretria, and of course both sides must have attracted many other allies. The ultimate cause of the war was commercial rivalry. (Busolt i. p. 313.)

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1. καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἐ—'the rest of the Greeks also took sides as allies of the one or the other.'

2. ἐπεγένετο—often of unfavourable occurrences, especially of anything sudden and unexpected, such as natural phenomena.

3. ἄλλοθι—'in different parts.'

μὴ—according to the constr. with verbs of hindrance (M. T. 749, 807), though κωλύω generally has the simple infin.

4. καὶ—'and in particular.'—Ηωσι is governed both by προχωρησάντων and by ἐπεστράτευε. There is an anacoluthon at ἐπεστράτευε, for strictly ἐπεγένετο should govern Ἴωσι with an abstract noun parallel to κωλύματα for its subject.

6. βασιλεία—mss. authority is altogether in favour of this against ἐξουσία, and ἐξουσία does not seem to occur before Aristotle in this sense. Stahl thinks βασιλεία is a gloss on ἐξουσία. But it is possible that ἐξουσία itself is a gloss. The matter is complicated by the fact that both βασιλεία and ἐξουσία have a double sense (ἐξουσία, 'power to do a thing,' a 'power'; cf. βασιλεία τῷ ἔξωμα καὶ τῷ ἔθνος βασιλευόμενον, Suidas). Of course here the sense is concrete.
THUCYDIDES I

Kροϊσσο — the destruction of the Lydian monarchy was 546 B.C., Herod. i. 87 etc.

ὅσα — a part. of eιμι is constantly omitted after ὅσος.

ἐντὸς Ἀλυσικὸν μοναρχῶν — ἐντὸς from the Greek point of view. When μοναρχῶν is added the art. is regularly inserted before the name of a river in Attic. But Herod. does not use the art., and Thuc. omits it in six passages. The only other known exx. are Isocr. 7, 80 (also ἐντὸς Ἐλυσικὸν π.) and Xen. Anab. iv. 7, 18.

9. καὶ τὰς νῆσους—according to Herod. i. 169, when the Ionian cities of the mainland submitted to Harpagus, the islands also gave in; but no doubt the submission of the islands was incomplete. Otherwise the rise of Polycrates would be unaccountable. Thuc. alludes to their reduction after Lade, 494 B.C.

10. τῷ σανν — see c. 13 § 1. The course of the argument was there broken by the reference to the fleets, which were first dealt with.

11. τὸ ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτῶν — 'their own interests.'

12. τὸ σῶμα — 'with regard to their personal good and the increase of their own estate.' σῶμα includes safety and enjoyment.

14. δὴ ἀσφαλείας . . μάλιστα = ὅσον ἐδύναμτο ἀσφαλέ-στατα. 'Had the utmost regard for security in the administration of their cities,' i.e. 'pursued a cautious policy' by avoiding great enterprises. δὴ ἀσφαλείας is an adverbial phrase, like those with which ἔχειν is usually found, as δὲ ἐπιμελείας, δὲ ἰσχύς, δὲ φυλακῆς.

15. ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν — 'on their part.'

16. εἰ μὴ εἶ τι — εἰ μὴ εἰ, nisi si, only here in Thuc. (see crit. note). εἰ μὴ becomes an adverb. Μ.Τ. 476, 4.

17. οἱ γάρ — for the use of γάρ cf. c. 14, 1. 'The Sicilian tyrants in fact attained to the greatest power,' i.e. greater power than any other of the tyrants (and they fought against their neighbours). The sense of πλείστον here is that of c. 1 § 2 εἰ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων. There is no need for excision.

18. οὔτω πανταχόθεν — summing up the whole from c. 13.

19. κατείχετο — 'was held in check,' 'constrained.' Cf. c. 16; but the second clause, κατὰ πόλεις τε shows that κατείχετο is felt here not as a verb of prevention, but of compulsion.

22. Ἀθηναῖων — the overthrow of Hippias, 510 B.C.
23. οἱ ἐκ τῆς—the prep. by attraction to κατελύθησαν.

ἐπὶ πολὺ κτλ.—lit. ‘which over a large area had been under tyrants even before Athens.’ The earliest instance was at Sicyon, where Orthagoras became tyrant circ. 670 B.C.

24. οἱ πλείστοι . . Ἐκείνη—limiting apposition to οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ . . Ἐκείνη explaining πλείστοι, ‘most of them, the last in fact except those in Sicily.’ In Syracuse the tyrants lasted till 466 B.C., when Thrasybulus was expelled.

25. ὑπὸ Δακεδαμονίων—the Spartans were called μισοτύραννοι. Cf. Aristotle, Pol. v. 10 Πλ. πλείστας κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας. But their traditional policy of tyrant-breaking was dropped in the fourth cent., when αὐτονομία became their watchword. Thus in 371 B.C. an orator is represented by Xen. as taunting the Spartans with preferring tyranny to free institutions. Alcibiades in his speech at Sparta (vi. 89—winter of 415–4 B.C.) makes a point out of this tradition.

27. τὴν κτίσιν—strictly speaking the Dorians did not found Sparta: it existed before the invasion; but there is no difficulty in speaking of the second founders thus.

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1. ὃν ῥαμεῖν = ἐκείνων οὗς ῥαμεῖν. The στάσις lasted longer at Sparta than elsewhere: cf. Herod. i. 65, the Spartans before Lycurgus κακονομοῦται ήσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἐλλήνων κατά τε φήμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ξείνωσι ἀπρόσμικτοι. In spite of this, they were the earliest to obtain good laws—μετέβαλον ἐς εὐνομίαν (Herod. l.c.) = ηὔνομαθῆ.

4. τετρακόσια—this gives a later date than 884 B.C. which other authorities assign to Lycurgus.

7. δυνάμειοι = δυνατὸ διντες, see L. & S.

8. μετὰ δέ—the main sentence is resumed after the parenthesis. Cf. the use of δέ (ὃ οὖν) in c. 11, 1; οὖν in vii. 42, 3; δέ is frequent. So autem, sed, igitur.

τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς 'Ελλάδος—the art. is not repeated with a verbal substantive. The words necessary to complete its sense generally follow, but sometimes precede it, as in ii. 18, 3 κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἡ σχολαίοτης. In the latter case, the prepositional phrase is connected with the verb of the sentence (cf. ii. 7, 2; 38, 1) as well as with the verbal substantive.

10. καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη—i.e. now begins the modern period, τὰ Μηδικά.
12. τῷ μ. στόλῳ—‘the great armada.’

14. ἐπικρεμασθέντος—‘impending,’ as ii. 53, 4; iii. 40, 7.

16. τῶν ἐμπολεμησάντων—this and ἡγήσαντο are ingressive; ‘assumed the leadership of those who entered on the war as allies.’ προύχοντες—causal.

19. καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι . . . ἐσβάντες . . . ἐγένοντο = ἀναλαβόντες τὰ σκεύη ἐσέβησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο. Observe the historical importance of ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο, which is emphasised by its connexion with ἡγήσαντο τῶν 'Ελλήνων.

20. ἀπωσάμενοι . . . διεκρίθησαν—the subject modified in the course of the sentence from ‘the confederates’ to the confederates exclusive of Athens and Sparta, and those Asiatic cities and islands that revolted from Persia after Salamis.

24. ταύτα—Athens and Sparta. διεφάνη—‘it had become clear that,’ denoting the singling out of these two from among the rest. The aor. in sense of plup. appears in (1) sentences introduced by ‘when,’ ‘since,’ ‘until’ regularly; (2) in rel. and other subord. sentences often; (3) in principal sentences occasionally.

26. ὁμαίχμα—used by Herod. and late writers; the adj. ὁμαίχμος in iii. 58, 4.


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4. ἣδη ἔχωρον—‘now regularly joined these states’—i.e. entered the alliance of Athens or Sparta. Contrast the earlier state of affairs, c. 15, 2 οὖ γὰρ ἐνειστήκεσαν κτλ.

5. τὰ μὲν σπειδόμενοι—this should mean ‘now making truces’; but we certainly expect ‘being now at peace.’ In the previous sentences Thuc. has described the state of affairs (a) from the battle of Salamis to 457 B.C., (b) from 457 onwards. Now during period (a) Athens and Sparta were at peace; but from 466 disputes began between Athens and her allies. During period (b) Athens and Sparta might be said to be ‘making truces’ (450, 445 B.C.) or making war. The ἄστε therefore seems to refer to what happened from 466 onwards; but ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν—the war with Xerxes to the battle of Plataea (or Mycale) does not agree with this. There is a want of precision in the passage.
7. εὐ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια—cf. Arist. Ath. Pol. 23 of the Athenians, σωφής τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσατο. τὰ πολέμια in the sense of τὰ πολεμικά is found in Herod. and Hippocrates; Xen. Anab. i. 6, 1; Arist. Ath. Pol. c. 3 and 23.

11. ἡγούμενο—sc. αὐτῶν.

κατ’ ὀλίγαρχαν κτλ.—i.e. ἑρεπεδώντες δὲ ὅπως πολιτεῖς· κατ’ ὀλίγαρχαν (κατά of manner), ἐπετηρήθησαν φίλοις αὐτοῖς μόνον (‘in their, the Lacedaemonian, interests alone’). Cf. Arist. Pol. iv. 11 τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονία γενομένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος . . . οί μὲν δημοκρατίας καθίστασαν, οἱ δ’ ὀλίγαρχας, νῦ πρὸς τὸ τῶν πόλεων αὐτοῖς σκοποῦντες ἄλλα πρὸς το σφέτερον αὐτῶν.'

13. ναύς τε τῶν πολεων—having gradually taken over (assumed possession of) the ships of the various cities. Cf. c. 99, 3.

16. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς—two widely different views are taken of this passage according as αὐτοῖς means (a) ‘the Athenians’ only or (b) ‘the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.’ Omitting minor differences, we get (a) ‘and so her own resources for carrying on this war reached a greater strength than (what she had) when she stood at the height of her prosperity side by side with the undamaged forces of her confederates’; i.e. Athens had appropriated the forces of her confederates, as it were, and thus was stronger than when she was at the head of a body of independent allies. (b) The forces of Athens and Sparta separately were stronger than they had been (both together) during the period of the ὀμαίχα (Classen) or ‘stronger than the strongest power each separately had wielded with its still undamaged ἄμμαχια’ (Herbst). (a) accords with what Thuc. afterwards says of the growth of Athenian power (cf. c. 118). By τὰ κράτιστα he means the time before the reduction of Naxos (466 B.C.). ἄμμαχια ἀκραῖφης is in contrast with the appropriation of ships and imposition of tribute. (b) with Classen’s rendering is too strong; with Herbst, we certainly hardly feel the statement, as far as it refers to Sparta, consistent with the reference to her policy made above.

20. τὰ παλαιά—this, as Herbst and Steup point out, refers only to the time before the expulsion of the tyrants—see note on c. 1 § 2 τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν κτλ. The events of the Persian wars were fully known, and in c. 18, 1 Thuc. comes to them as to modern events. Therefore we must suppose cc. 18 and 19 to form a long parenthesis—see the analysis of the προοίμιον, Intr. III. note.

τοιαύτα—i.e. comparatively insignificant, οὐ μεγάλα.
though it is difficult to trust every piece of evidence as put forward in the traditions about them.' This is the personal constr. for χαλεπόν ὃν παντὶ ἔχης τ. π. The clause is amplified in what follows, and does not refer to what has preceded. πάν ἔχης = 'every one without exception.'

22. ἄκοας—'accounts.'

24. σφίσιν—the indirect reflexive, which, as regularly used in subord. sentences, refers to subject of principal sentence. But later writers generally use ἐαυτοὺς etc. as both indirect and direct reflex.

όμολως—as events that did not occur in their own place.

25. γοῦν—cf. c. 2 § 5. Here 'for example' (and there too).

'Ἡππαρχὸν—there is a more detailed account of the matter in vi. 54–59. Herod. v. 55; vi. 123; Arist. Ath. Pol. c. 18. There are no discrepancies between this account and the statement of Herod. and Arist. (for the statement in the latter that Thessalus was half-brother of Hipparchus is not necessarily a contradiction of this); but there are several differences between the Aristotelian account and the longer account given in book vi.

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1. υποτοπήσαντες τι—'feeling some suspicion.' (Some connect τι with μεμηνύσθαι.) υποτοπήσαι used by Thuc. only in aor. inf. or partic.

2. ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ π. with μεμηνύσθαι, 'on that great day at the very moment,' before they were to take action.

3. ἐκ .. μεμηνύσθαι—the other places in Thuc. in which ἐκ practically = ὑπό are ii. 49, 1; iii. 69, 1; v. 104; vi. 36, 2. The use is Ionic, not found in Aristoph., and there are only doubtful traces of it in the orators.

5. πρὶν ξυλιηφθήναι .. κινδυνεύσαι—'wishing to do something before they were arrested (and) then to take their chance.' πρὶν ξ. goes with δράσαντες τι, and καὶ = 'on that condition.'

7. περὶ τὸ Δευκόρειον—ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ (Harpocrates), but inside the city. Meanwhile Hippias (according to vi. 57) was marshalling the procession outside the gates. The Ath. Pol. however says that Hippias was awaiting the procession on the acropolis. The route of the procession was from the (outer) Ceramicus to the temple of Athena Polias. As for the
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Leocorion, the story was that the three daughters of King Leos were sacrificed to Pallas to avert famine from Athens. The chapel is connected with the worship of Apollo as god of purification.

9. πολλά δὲ καὶ ἄλλα — ‘as regards’; or (what comes to the same) ὀλονταί may be rendered ‘conceive.’

10. οὖ χρόνῳ ἀμησοτούμενα—‘le grec renforce souvent une idée positive en la reprenant sous forme négative’ (Chambry). Cf. p. 112 l. 16.

11. ὥσπερ κτλ.—Herod. vi. 57, if the kings are not present at a meeting of the Council, (κελεύουσα) τοὺς μάλιστα σφί τῶν γερόντων προσήκοιτας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρα, δόο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωτὰ. It may be that Thuc. is referring to that passage, and took it to imply that each king had two votes (though it is doubtful whether Herod. meant that). In ix. 53 Herod. mentions the λόχος Πιτανάτης as present at Plataea. It can hardly be doubted that Thuc. consciously includes Herod. among ol ἄλλων Ἑλληνες. See Jebb, The Speeches of Thuc., in Hellenica, p. 273.

12. μιᾷ ψήφῳ—we expect the accus., as in Aesch. Eum. 733 ψήφον δ’ ὧρεστη τήνδ’ ἐγὼ προοθέσομαι, but the sense is ‘give their opinion (sc. γρώμην) with one vote.’ (Eum. l.c. does not support the opinion of Classen and Steup that the use of the dat. is to be explained by the fact that the kings voted last.) The errors noted illustrate the difficulty of getting information about Spartan proceedings.

17. έκ . . τεκμηρίων with νομίζων. The object is (ἐκείνα) α διήθεον, the pred. τουαῖτα μάλιστα (εἶναι). The partic. νομί-
ζων, πιστεύων, ἡγησάμενοι are co-ordinate; but they express not condition, but means: lit. ‘However, it is by considering the proofs I have given and in the light of them thinking that . . that one will escape error, and not by preferring to follow the embellishments and exaggerations of poets or the attractive but untrustworthy compositions of prose writers . . but by coming to the conclusion.’ Edd. generally represent the participles as conditional, but μήτε . . μήτε would then be required. See M. T. § 835.

20. ἐπὶ τῷ—‘so as to please the ear of the public rather than to arrive at the truth.’ The double compar. as regularly where two qualities in the same person or thing are contrasted: ἰό στρατηγοὶ πλέοντες ἦ βελτίονες.

23. οὔτα—agreeing with the implied object of εὐνέθεσαν. τὰ πολλά is in limiting apposition to this object, and αὐτῶν depends on τὰ πολλά.
24. ἀπὸστως—'so as to be incredible.' This pregnant use of an adverb may often be noticed in the phrases with ἔχειν, διακείσθαι, διαστιθέναι.

ἐπὶ τὸ μυθιδές ἐκνευκηκότα—generally rendered 'have won their way into the region of the fabulous': but Croiset explains 'in which the fabulous character has ended by prevailing.'

26. ὡς παλαϊδ εἶναι—for the restrictive infin. see M. T. §781; 'sufficiently considering their antiquity.' The 'plainest indications' are the πεκμήρια of § 1.

27. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος—Thuc. having ascertained, as clearly as is possible, the small importance of earlier undertakings, now returns to the Pel. War, which, to all who judge it in the light of the facts, will be found to have proved more important than they (tà παλαιά).

28. ἐν ὧ—'while.'

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5. καὶ ὅσα μὲν—after his reference to the importance of the war, Thuc. goes on to explain the manner in which he has dealt with it. ὅσα = 'as regards all that.

λόγῳ—Steup is probably right in explaining this, not as merely pleonastic, but as a reference to the set speeches, as distinct from 'words' generally: hence = 'in debate.' Note, however, the implied contrast between τὰ ἔργα τῶν λεχθέντων and τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραξιθέντων, deeds of speech and of act.

6. ἐν αὐτῷ—i.e. ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν.

7. χαλεπῶν—for the implied sense 'impossible' Steup compares c. 20, 1; vii. 87, 1.

9. ὅν—rel. to τῶν λεχθέντων.

ἐλλοθέν ποθεν—'from the various places where they happened to be.'

10. ὡς δ' ἄν ἐδόκουν κτλ.—'I have represented the various speakers as uttering the sentiments that seemed to me appropriate to the particular occasion, while I have kept as closely as possible to the general sense of what was really said': lit. 'as I believed that they would have best expressed what it
was necessary to say.’ ἄν and μᾶλλον belong to εἰπεῖν: ἐχομένῳ κτλ. to εἰρηται, to which ἐμοὶ is supplied. The order is thus awkward, but it is made easier by the preceding ἐμοὶ. (The sense does not allow us to connect ἐχομένῳ with ἔδόκων.)

11. τὰ δὲ θέστα—i.e. the best arguments that could be found to support the ξύμπασα γυνώμη of the speaker. (Jebb, Hellenica p. 275, thinks that Thuc. is tacitly contrasting this method with that of Herod., and, as it can scarcely be doubted that he does so in the passage that follows, this is probably true.)

14. τὰ δ᾿ ἐργα τῶν πραξιθέντων—verbally this is opposed to τὴν ἀκριβείαν τῶν λεξιθέντων rather than to οὐα λόγω εἰπὼν.

16. ἡξίωσα—‘thought it my business.’

οὐδ᾿ ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει—‘in accordance with my own whims.’

17. οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν—i.e. (ἡξίωσα γράφειν ἐκεῖνα) οἷς: I described ‘facts which I myself witnessed and (I described facts) after inquiring about each detail from others,’ thus ἐπεξελθὼν is parallel to οἷς αὐτὸς παρῆν, which, as Mr. Forbes says, is equivalent to αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος. (Another way is to make ἐπεξελθὼν govern οἷς αὐτὸς παρῆν, but this has the great disadvantage of making οἷς αὐτὸς παρῆν and παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων parallel phrases. See crit. note.)

18. δοσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβεῖα—i.e. (τοσοῦτον) δοσὸν (accus. δυνατὸν ἢν) ἃ. Notice that ἀκριβεῖα here is subjective in sense, meaning the accuracy of Thuc., not the accuracy of the facts, as in § 1.

21. ἐκατέρων—‘towards either side,’ objective gen. to εἰνόλας, as in vii. 57, 10 Ἀθηναίων εἰνόλα. (Croiset connects ἐκατέρων τις, ex utrisque partibus quisque.)

ὡς . . εἰνόλας ἡ μνήμης ἔχωι—for the gen., that of the sphere in which, depending on ὡς, πῶς, ποῦ, ποῖ, and occasionally other advs. of manner, cf. c. 36, 2. ἔχωι is iterative.

23. τὸ μὴ μνημόδες—‘the fact that he hears no legend in my history.’ μὴ is here subjective, referring to what the reader will feel. (The edd., as frequently in Thuc., give various explanations of this μὴ.)

αὐτῶν—with τὸ μὴ μ. ; cf. c. 1, 2.

24. ἀτερπηστέρον—‘less attractive.’

25. τῶν γενομένων—this means ‘the past’ so far as Thuc. records it, the period with which he deals; for Thuc. could
not suppose that his work would be useful as a record of all past history.

τὸ σαφὲς—"the truth," 'the exact nature.'

26. τῶν μελλόντων κτλ.—'of what is likely to be repeated at some future time with more or less exactness.'

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1. κρίνειν—subject τούτους. αὐτὰ—'my history,' as αὐτῶν above.

2. τε—concluding, 'and so.'

ἀγάνυσμα—the word means 'performance,' 'feat,' 'show piece,' or 'prize'; here of a prize composition.

ἐσ τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν—'for immediate hearing.'

4. τῶν δὲ πρότερον—it is by this time shown that τὰ παλαιά (cc. 2-17) were unimportant as compared with the Pel. War. But there remains the war against Xerxes (τὸ Μηδικὸν, see c. 18, 2, the μέγας στόλος); and to that Thuc. now passes.

5. δυοὶ ναυμαχίαι καὶ πελομαχίαι—which battles were these? The Schol. says Artemisium and Salamis; Thermopylae and Plataea. But it is difficult to see how Mycale could be left out, and owing to the indecisive character of Artemisium, it is likely that Thuc. did not mean to include it, and reckoned Mycale as a ναυμαχία.

7. τούτου δὲ τοῦ π.—it is not possible to say with certainty whether Thuc. alludes to the Ten Years' War, or the whole of the Pel. War.

μέγα—predicative.

8. ξυνηνεχθή—cf. c. 9, 2. This use also, with an infin., is frequent in Herod.

11. ὑπὸ βαρβάρων—if the Ten Years' War is meant, the only case mentioned by Thuc. is Colophon (iii. 34); but if the Twenty-seven Years' War be meant, Mycalessus (vii. 29) may be included, though ἤρημωθησαν is somewhat exaggerated.

ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν—as Plataea (iii. 68), Mytilene (iii. 50), Thyrea (iv. 57).

12. οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον—as Aegina (ii. 27), Potidaea (ii. 70), Anactorium (iv. 49), Scione (v. 32), Delos (v. 1), Melos (v. 116).
13. φυγαί—sc. ἐγένετο. Instances of exile as the direct consequence of the war are the Plataeans (ii. 5), driven out by the Thebans; the Lesbians, who fled before the Athenians (iv. 52); exile as the result of στάσις occurred at Corcyra (iii. 69), Megara (iv. 74).

15. τά τε πρότερον κτλ. —‘moreover what was formerly repeated on hearsay, but seldom confirmed by fact, now became credible,’ because men saw it all.

17. κυίου τε ἐκλείψεις—the construction changes slightly. We might have had σεισμοὶ or περί ἐκλείψεων.

19. οἱ αὐτοὶ—‘moreover,’ emphasising ἀσχυρτατοί. Cf. the use of idem.

20. πυκνότεραι—of course Thuc. does not record all the strange things that betell μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν πολέμον: e.g. he records no instances of αὐξμός or λιμός (for λιμοὶ evidently does not refer to hunger caused by siege). He records two eclipses of the sun, one in 431 B.C. (ii. 28), the other in 424 B.C. (iv. 52), but if the Ten Years’ War be meant, three eclipses could have been observed in Greece; or if the Twenty-seven Years’ War is alluded to, six. Of course it is not certain that all of the eclipses were actually observed; Thuc., as Mr. Forbes says, only gives the popular opinion.

παρὰ τά—‘as compared with’; cf. iv. 6 χειμῶν μείζων παρὰ τὴν καθεστηκιαν ὣραν.

23. καὶ ἦ . . . ἦ νόσος—the art. is similarly repeated to throw emphasis on the second part of the phrase—‘the disease that . . . I mean the pestilence’—in c. 126, 4, and in several other instances. With νόσος most edd. supply ἐγένετο: but Steup rightly says οὐκ ἄπιστος κατέστη, for when Thuc. describes the plague in ii. 47, he expressly says that ‘it was said that it had broken out in several other places previously’ to 430 B.C.

μέρος τι—object of φθειρασα, sc. τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ‘a great number’ of the Greeks.

26. ἡράκλεος δὲ—the narrative of the war begins at the opening of Bk. ii., the remainder of this book being occupied with the αἰτίας καὶ διαφορά. The main emphasis is on λυσαντες κτλ.; the date of the recovery of Euboea is 445 B.C. (c. 115).

29. τὰς αἰτίας . . . καὶ τὰς διαφοράς—these are again denoted by ἠ ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις and αἰ . . . αἰτία in § 6.
3. τὴν μὲν γάρ κτλ.—apparently τὴν . . . λόγω is attributive predicate to τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . . ἀναγκάσαι, as Classen explains, lit. 'As for the truest motive . . . I think that the A. . . forced' etc. The assumption of a 'confusion of construction' (Krüger) seems unnecessary. Chambry explains τὴν ἀ. πρόφασιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἥγουμαι . . . καὶ (ἡγοῦμαι) . . . ἀναγκάσαι, so that ἥγοῦμαι has two objects differently expressed, but γιγνομένους and παρέχοντας can scarcely be separated.

4. πρόφασιν—of the actual motive, as in vi. 6, and now and then in other authors. When so used it seems to denote the motive as it appears to the mind of the writer as distinct from the motive as put forward by the doer.

5. μεγάλους γιγνομένους—in c. 118 Thuc. says that the Athenians during the period between the foundation of the Delian Confederacy and the war (the Pentecontaetia) ἐπὶ μέγα ἔχωρσαν δυνάμεως. We might, therefore, look for μείζους ἐδι in place of μεγάλους, but, as this is the first mention of Athenian power, the pos. is quite natural. This growing greatness of A. is described in cc. 88–118; ai . . . λ. aἱρεῖα occupy cc. 24–87.

11. 'Ε. ἑστὶ τόλις—'there is a city named E.'

 epollέοντι—dat. of the 'person judging,' frequent in Thuc. The direct accus. instead of ἐστι after epollεῖν is poetical, and occurs nowhere else in prose.

12. Ἰόνιον—the Adriatic.

16. Κορινθίος—when a city that was a colony founded a colony in turn, it was usual to choose a founder from the original mother-city.

tῶν ἀφ Ἡ. depends on Φαλίος, 'of the family of the Heraclidae.'

21. δύναμις—see crit. note. The gloss τόλις is, of course, due to πολυάνθρωπος. An obvious change would be δύναμις μ. καὶ <πόλις> πολυάνθρωπος, but δύναμις πολυάνθρωπος is surely a possible phrase, as δύναμις denotes military power: cf. 33, 2 αὕτη (ἡ δύναμις) πάρεστιν αὑτεπάγγελτος.

23. ἀπὸ πολέμου . . . ἐφθαρμός—'in consequence of a war with . . . they became crippled.'

24. τῆς δυνάμεως depends on τῆς πολλῆς, i.e. the idiom ἡ πολλή τῆς δ. is used.
25. τὰ δὲ τελευταία . . πολέμου—‘in the period immediately preceding this war.’

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1. ἐπελθόντες—this conjecture seems required, since with ἀπελθόντες (‘the departed exiles’) we miss a circumstantial partic. to ἐλύσοντα.

7. περιοράν φθειρομένους—in c. 35, 4 περιορῶ with infin. With ἵνα περιορῶ occurs only in Herod. and Thuc., and = ἐσ. with partic. (pres. or aor. with different shade of meaning) = ‘look on’ with indifference.

15. ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἐλύνοντο—ἐξεῖσθαι ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ occurs in Antiphon v. 16, Lys. xiii. 11; ἐσται ἐν ἀπόρῳ Thuc. iii. 22. The ordinary phrase is ἐν (πολλῇ) ἀπορίᾳ εἶναι.

16. θέσθαι τὸ παρόν—‘how to arrange the matter.’

18. εἰ παραδοθέν—oblique for the delib. subjunct.

19. τιμωρλαν τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι—cf. c. 5, 1, ‘obtain help’; but the words would naturally mean ‘to bring help’ (the idiom with ποιεῖσθαι). In vi. 60, however, ἄδειαν ποιεῖσθαι means ‘to obtain immunity.’

20. αὐτοῖς—‘the Corinthians,’ depending on παραδοθέν.

24. σφῶν—here, and frequently in Herod. and Thuc., as direct reflexive, referring to the subject of the same clause.

27. κατὰ τε τὸ δίκαιον—this does not mean ‘as was right,’ but that τὸ δίκαιον was the motive put forward by the Corinthians; i.e. τὸ δίκαιον has its rhetorical use, and the plea may be illustrated by the saying συγγράμμη ἄδελφῳ βοηθεῖν.

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2. ἀμα δὲ καὶ—for the δέ following τε cf. c. 11, 1.

4. οὔτε γάρ—the verb is ἔπεμπον (c. 26, 1), but, owing to the length of the sentence, the construction is changed (anacoluthon), and instead of οἱ Κερκυραῖοι being the subject of the verb, a new subject, οἱ Κορινθιοί, is introduced. The outline of the sentence is as follows: 1. (a) οὔτε . . νομιζόμενα, (b) οὔτε . . ἀποκλίαι: 2. περιφρονοῦντες δὲ, (a) καὶ (‘both’). . . πλουσιωτάτοις, (b) καὶ . . δευτέρεροι, (c) ναυτικὸ δὲ . . ἐπαρόμενοι, etc.
4. ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς—festivals common to Corinth and Corcyra.

5. γέφα— the schol. rather vaguely says τὰς τιμὰς καὶ προεδρίας. The corresponding passage in Diodorus says that the Corcyraeans neglected to send animals for sacrifice.

6. Κορινθίων ἀνδρὶ...ιερῶν—Herod. vi. 81 (Cleomenes of Sparta at Argos) Xen. Hell. iii. 4 (Agislaus of Sparta at Aulis) allude to the fact that a ξένος could not offer sacrifice in a strange city without permission. Dittenberger shows that προκατάρχεσθαι is equivalent to προθείνει (cf. Syl. Ins. Gr. 323 and 358): certain ceremonies took place before a victim was killed for sacrifice (Gardner and Jevons, p. 250), and these ceremonies had to be performed by a citizen of the place. The Corcyraeans would not perform them for Corinthians, and thus prevented the latter from sacrificing in Corcyra. Thuc. uses προκατάρχεσθαι here for the usual κατάρχεσθαι.

8. καὶ χρημάτων κτλ.—'partly because the power that money gave them put them on a level with the richest of the Greeks.' By 'the richest of the Greeks' the Corinthians themselves are meant. There is some exaggeration, no doubt, for the Athenians were actually among the richest; but the wealth of Corinth had become a tradition (see c. 13). ὀμοία δυναὶς is not possible (see crit. note), and δυνατὸς cannot be supplied with Herbst from δυνατώτερον. <ἐν> δυνάμει...ὀμοία or δυνάμει...ὀμοίως would give the required sense with a proper construction, but no correction is certain.

12. προοίμιον—ἐπαρομαί is found only here with infin. = 'boast.'

ἔστιν δὲ— with καὶ κατὰ κτλ., 'sometimes even on the ground that the Phaeacians, who were famous for seamanship, had dwelt in Corcyra before them.' The Greeks identified Corcyra with the Scheria of the Odyssey. For the naval reputation of the Phaeacians see Od. vii. 34–39, where they are called ναυσικατός.

14. ἤ καὶ—'this circumstance (that they were proud of the reputation of the Phaeacians) led them to.' καὶ= 'and in fact.'

15. οὐκ ἄδυνατοι, meiosis for δυνατώτατοι.

18. ἐπεμπόν—'sent,' the imperf. being frequently used with πέμπω and other verbs—κελεύω, δέομαι etc.—where we look for aor. Perhaps it is because it takes time to deliver the message.

20. καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν—with φρουρός.

22. Ἀπολλωνίαν—now the ruins of Pollina, S. of Durazzo.
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2. καὶ ὑστερον— in contrast with εὐθὺς. The ἐτερος στόλος seems to anticipate ἀλλὰ στρατεύονσιν κτλ. in § 4; but the edd. explain with Poppo, that this new force consisted of fifteen ships (hence forty below, cf. c. 29, § 4). But στρατεύονσιν ἐν’ αὐτῶς should not allude to a hostile move made by the twenty-five ships already on the spot (the rendering ‘assume the offensive’ being inadmissible): they should refer only to the new force sent from home.

3. κατ’ ἐπήρειαν—‘in a threatening manner,’ with ἐκείλενον.

6. ἀποδεικνύετε—cf. c. 25, 2, ‘calling their attention to graves (of their common ancestors buried at Corcyra) and ties of blood, to which they appealed.’ ἡν applies equally to both nouns, but is attracted to the nearer.

9. αὐτῶν— neut., with οδηρν, ‘the demands.’

10. ἀλλὰ στρατεύονσιν—parataxis, the sense being, ‘but, instead of the E. listening to their demands, the C.’

14. προειπον combines public ‘summons’ with ‘notice’; Herod. ii. 115; vii. 149. Infins. of different kinds are combined also with λέγω and γιγνώσκω.

18. αὐτοῖς— see on c. 13, 3.

22. ἐπὶ τῇ .. ιέναι—epexegeśis of ἀτοκία, and governed by ἐκείρυσσον. For the dat. fem. in adverbial phrase cf. c. 15, 2. The new colonies were to have equal rights with the old.

24. θέλει .. βούλεται—if θέλει is right, the two moods are combined in O.O.; θέλει represents θέλει of recta, and there is no change of meaning. It should be noticed that the Laurentian gives θέλει: for the change of indic. after εἰ to optat. is rare, but occurs occasionally, as in Lys. vii. 34 προσήλθον λέγων δτι .. έτοιμός εἰμι, εἰ τίνα βούλουτο ( = βούλει), παραδοῦναι. In Thuc. viii. 89, 3 εἰ μὴ ήκοιν εἰνομεν εἰ μὴ ήκοναι.

26. Κορυνθίας — the Cor. drachma was about two-thirds of the value of the Attic.

μένειν—oblique for μενέτω.

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4. Κεφαλλήνων—partitive; there were four πόλεις in Cephalellenia, of which Pale was one.

9. κενάς—sc. ἀνδρών.
15. παρέλαβον — 'had taken with them,' to support the request. There is no difficulty in supposing that Sparta and Sicyon were ready to lend their voice to a request that Corinth should withdraw the new settlers. These ὀλχήτροπες must have appropriated the property of the exiled Corecyraean oligarchs; and the proceeding of Corinth was in this respect high-handed. The sending of the πρέσβεις did not commit Sparta to anything.

18. ἀντιποιοῦνται—sc. Ἐπιδάμουν.

δίκας δούναι—'submit the case to arbitration.' δ. διόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι: is a technical phrase for legal arbitration between states as opposed to war: cf. vii. 18 ὀπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν ἢ δίκας εἴθελος διόναι.

19. αἰς ἀν κτλ. = παρ' αἰς ἀν δίκας δούναι ἀ. ξ.

21. κρατεῖν—sc. θελον.

ἡθελον δὲ—an alternative suggestion to submit the decision to Apollo.

22. πόλεμον δὲ κτλ.—'but they charged them not to cause a war.' Notice the difference between πόλεμον ποιῶ and π. ποιοῦμαι.

23. εἶ δὲ μὴ—M. T. § 478. καὶ αὐτοῖ—'they in turn.' The elaborate wording of the allusion to Athens is intended to mark the earnestness and reluctance of the Corecyraeans.

24. ἐκεῖνων μείσομένων—'if the Corinthians forced them.'

25. ἐτέρους τῶν νῦν—gen. of comparison; Xen. Mem. iv. iv. 25 ἄλλα τῶν δικαίων. So Lat. alius occasionally has abl. τῶν νῦν δρτων means the Peloponnesians whose confederacy Corecyra threatens to leave. μᾶλλον goes with φιλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, 'sooner' than agree to the demand of Corinth.

26. ὀφελίας ἑνεκα—'in self-defence.'

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1. πρότερον δ' κτλ.—equivalent to ὅποι καλῶς ἔχειν πρότερον αὐτῶς (the Corinthians and Corecyraeans) δικαζέσθαι, πολιορκουμένων τῶν 'Επιδαμνίων, but the logic of the sentence is sacrificed to a verbal antithesis.

4. ταῦτα—i.e. withdraw the ships and the Illyrians.

ἐτοίμοι δὲ εἰλαὶ—Krüger supplies δικαζέσθαι, and ὡστε then = 'on the understanding that'; but this is not very satisfactory after ποιήσεων ταῦτα has intervened. Böhme and others
make μένειν depend on ἐτοίμοι εἶναι, with ὡςτε pleonastic; and for this ικανὸς ὡςτε is cited from Plat. Protag. 338 c. In either case the sense is the same; they were prepared to agree that besiegers and besieged should stay as they were and make a truce until the arbitration was concluded. ποιήσασθαι is co-ordinate with μένειν. (Mr. Forbes supplies ποιεῖν ταῦτα to ἐτοίμοι εἶναι: but ποιεῖν ταῦτα cannot = δικάζεσθαι, for in that case the second proposal of the Corecyraeans, ἦν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι κτλ., is a less conciliatory suggestion than their original proposal, § 2.)

9. προπέμψαντες . . πρότερον—pleonasm, as in c. 23, 5.

11. ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε—the numbers given in c. 27, 2 amount to 68, but to these are to be added the νῆες κεναι from Elis.

dισχιλίοις—the number is puzzling, as in c. 27, 2 the Cor. are said to be preparing to send 3000.

12. ἐπὶ—'for,' not 'against.' ἐναντία, internal accus. as adv.; cf. c. 6, 6.

19. τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος—'the celebrated temple' of Ἀπόλλων Ἀκτιος, best known to us from its connexion with the battle of Actium.

21. προὔπεμψαν—before taking hostile action.

23. ξεύξαντες—probably this means that they inserted new cross-beams, called ἕγγυματα or ἕγγα, connecting one side of the ship with the other. (The ἕγγυματα, however, may be ribs, σταμίνες.) This has nothing to do with undergirding, which, as Mr. Forbes says, would be ὠσαντες.

24. ἐπισκευάζαντες—'overhauled' to see if repairs were needed.

27. τεσσαράκοντα—see c. 25, 4.

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2. παρὰ πολὺ—always with a word implying comparison; cf. παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσηθέντες ii. 89, 3.

6. παραστήσασθαι—sc. τὴν Ἑπίδαμον.

ὡςτε = ἐφ’ ὁτε. ἐπήλυδας—the οἰκήτροπες of c. 26, 1.

10. Δευκλῆμη—Leukimo, SE. of Corcyra, near which the battle was doubtless fought.
11. ἀλλοι—those taken in the sea-fight.

18. τῆς γῆς—partitive.

20. τοῦ τε χρόνου τῶν πλείστων—with μέχρι οὗ, 'most of the time' they were controlling the sea and plundering the allies, 'until.' (Classen and Herbst understand by οὗ χρόνος the remainder of the campaigning season, but, without any qualification of χρόνος, this is surely impossible.) Of course the time intended must depend on the meaning of περίνυτι τῷ θερεί, for which see next note. Thuc. means that the Corcyraeans did not keep their fleet at sea all the time between the departure of the Corinthian fleet and its reappearance.

24. περιόντι τῷ θερεί—περίνυτι, being the reading of all MSS., may be accepted. If περίνυτι is intended, the explanation offered (Ullrich and others) is in 'the remaining part of the summer.' Herbst supports this rendering with ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θερεί τελευτάντι etc. (see the passages quoted by Mr. Forbes). But τῷ θερεί τελευτάντι means 'in the summer when it was ending'; and περιόντι τῷ θερεί = 'in the summer when it was (all) remaining over,' the predicative partic., as Krüger says, modifying the whole sphere covered by the sense of the noun (cf. Bloomfield's note): this cannot yield the sense 'in the remaining part of the summer.' περιόντι must therefore be referred to περίνυτι, Aeolic elision. Examples of this elision of the ὅ of περι are Aesch. Ag. 1145 περέσαλον, Eum. 634 περεσκήνωσε, and περιών is frequently given in MSS. for περιών. In Xen. Hell. iii. ii. 25 the best MS. has περιόντι τῷ ἐναιστὶ. This means 'during the summer when it was coming round' to autumn, drawing to a close. Steup and others, following the Schol. ἐνισταμένος, understand 'when the summer came round' to mean, when the next summer came; but this does not square so well with the concluding words of the chapter, which seem to refer to the winter of the year in which the battle was fought. If 'drawing to a close' is the meaning, then the dates would be:

Battle of Leucimme (c. 29, 4), . . Spring 435.
Return of Corinthian fleet (c. 30, 3), Autumn 435.
Corinthian preparations (c. 31, 1). . Summer 435-33.

If, however, the sense is 'when the next summer came,' the first two dates should be altered to summer 435, and spring 434. (Remember that 'summer' in Thuc. includes spring and autumn.) In either case the calculations are based on the date of the battle of Sybota, for which see c. 51.

25. σφῶν—see c. 25, 2.
5. τὸ θέρος τοῦτο—i.e. for what was left of the campaigning season of 435. (If περίοντι applies to the next summer, then the whole summer of 434 would be meant.)

9. ὀργῇ φέροντες—‘excited by’ the war, ὀργῇ being ‘passion, excitement, impulse,’ as well as anger. It is the ‘war fever’ that Thuc. means.

11. τὰ κράτιστα—cf. c. 19, end.

12. ἐκ τε αὐτῆς κτλ.—ἐρέτας is object of ἀγέλοντες, to which μισθῷ πελοντες is subordinate. Steup, however, supplies ναῦς to ἀγέλοντες, and makes μ. πελοντες co-ordinate with ἀγέλοντες. He joins τῆς ἀλλής Ἑ. ἐρέτας together (‘rowers belonging to other parts of Greece’). With the ordinary construction, supply ἐκ before τῆς.

16. ἐνοποιοῖ = ξύμμαχοι. ἐσεγραφαντο—causal mid.

19. γενέσθαι—dependent on πειράσθαι. Under the terms of the treaty the ἀγραφοὶ πόλεις might seek the alliance of either Athens or Sparta; but of course the request might be refused.

22. πρεσβευόμενοι—‘to negotiate with them.’ The mid. seems to express reciprocity, and the word is rather loosely used.

24. προσγενόμενον—trans. ‘the addition of their fleet to . . .’ the chief emphasis being on the partic.

25. θέσθαι—as in c. 25, 1.

26. εἰς ἄντιλογον ἥλθον—cf. εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν τιν.

28. εὔρεγετίας . . προφελομένης—‘without having a claim through some great service rendered or through a previously existing alliance.’ The meaning is simply ‘we cannot urge that we are seeking to renew an old ξύμμαχία or that we have a claim on you for services rendered.’ ‘We are not εὔρεγεται of Athens’: for this see on c. 137, 4 καὶ μοι εὔρεγεστι ὁφελεται and c. 128, 4.

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2. τοὺς πέλας—‘others.’

4. πρώτον—answered by ἐπειτα δὲ.

5. ξύμφορα—internal accus. = ξύμφορον δέησιν.
7. βέβαιον—(cf. c. 2) pred., 'unfailing.'

8. καταστήσουσι—'if they do not propose to . . .

9. μετά—'while' or 'besides,' a characteristic substitute for μετά τοῦ τῆς ξυμμαχίαν αἰτεῖν.

12. τετόχηκε δὲ κτλ.—lit. 'it has turned out that the same conduct not only involves us in inconsistency in our dealing with you, as regards the request we make, but is also disadvantageous (to us) in respect of our own position at the present time'; i.e. because we have hitherto abstained from entering your alliance it is inconsistent to be seeking it now, and for the same reason we are now in danger. Το ἄλογον and ἀείμφορον supply δυν., which is often omitted with τυγχάνω, φαίνομαι, διατελέω, and occasionally with other verbs; cf. c. 34 end.

16. ἐκούσιοι—'having deliberately avoided all alliances' (not 'having entered into no alliance, if we could help it'). The strained position of ἐκούσιοι, and other words, throws special emphasis on the different parts of the clause. This statement is referred to by the Corinthian at c. 37, 2 ξυμμαχίαν οὐδενός πώ δέξασθαι.

18. Κορυνθίων—with πόλεμον; cf. θεῶν πόλεμος, θεῶν ὥρκος, 'oath by the gods.'

δι' αὐτό—'on that account,' a favourite use of αὐτό and αὐτά with Thuc.

19. περιέστηκεν . . . φαίνομένη—'what formerly seemed discretion in us . . . has now on the contrary proved clearly to be want of foresight and weakness.' The partic. with περιεστάναι as in the construction τυγχάνει οὖσα. But cf. c. 120, 5.

20. τῷ . . . γνώμῃ—with ξυγ., 'to share the risks of another's policy.'

22. τὴν . . . ναυμαχίαν—internal accus.

23. κατὰ μόνας—perhaps δυνάμεις is the subst. omitted in this phrase = 'unaided.'

28. μέγας—sc. ἐσταὶ ἡμῖν.

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1. μὴ μετὰ κακίας κτλ.—'not maliciously, but because we were mistaken in our policy, we boldly act in a manner inconsistent with our former inactivity.' There is nothing mean in seeking an alliance now for the first time when we are in danger: we were mistaken in not seeking it before.
NOTES

4. ἡ ἐντυχία . . τῆς ἡ. χρείας—lit. ‘the coincidence of our request,’ i.e. ‘our request, coming at such a moment.’

10. ὡς ἀν μάλιστα . . μαρτυρίου—sc. καταθείσθη, lit. ‘as you would most with a record never forgotten,’ i.e. ‘in the manner most certain to be remembered for ever by us.’

11. καταθήσατε—necessary correction of καταθήσθη, ‘will confer the favour on us.’ The met. is from investment of money. Cf. c. 128, 4.

12. ναυτικόν τε still depends on δι.

15. καί (πρὸ τολήματος) χάριτος—i.e. your gratitude would have been great even if you could only have gained this accession of power for a large sum. Isocr. 13, 11; Dem. pro. 33.

16. δύναμιν—‘a power’ (powerful state), to be translated as subject of πάρεστιν.

18. φέροντα ἢς—‘producing in the minds of others an impression of generosity, a feeling of gratitude in those whom . . .’ Notice the use of ἀρετὴ here.

23. ἀσφαλείαν—referring to ἱσχύων: κόσμον referring to ἀρετὴν καὶ χάριν.

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1. ὑμετέρῳ—‘of you.’

2. δυναμένως—Stahl takes this and ὅτας in apposition to Κορυνθίους, and removes the second καί so that only προκαταλαμβάνοντας depends on ἀποθένται. It is better with Steup to render the first καί ‘both,’ and to make ὅτας also depend on ἀποθένται: ‘and are preparing by trying to subdue us for an attack on you.’

5. κατ’ αὐτοῦς . . στάμεν—‘confront them.’

δυοῖν φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν—(1) ‘may not lose two things’ means ‘may secure one or the other’: hence ἦ . . ἦ following. (2) But the construction of φθάσαι and δυοῖν is doubtful. Taking δυοῖν dependent on ἀμάρτωσιν, as in Andoc. i. 20 δυοῖν τοῖν μεγαλοτον κακοίν οὐκ ἢν αὐτῷ ἄμαρτείν, most edd. make φθάσαι epexegetic, ‘to gain them before (we make alliance).’ The order is against this, and φθάσαι should then = ‘to gain one of them.’ It has been proposed to remove φθάσαι; but it is best, with Croiset, to take δυοῖν as dat. = ‘fail to be beforehand with two things.’ Either they will inflict a disastrous defeat on Corecyra, or frighten her into joining themselves.

8. διδόντων—‘offering,’ as frequently.
9. προεπιβουλεύειν...—the jingle called paronomasia, to which Thuc. is partial; e.g. vi. 76 οὐκ ἀξιωτάτερον κακοὶ ἀξιωτάτερον δέ.
16. ἐκπέμπονται—sc. οἱ ἄποικοι, from πᾶσα ἄποικία.
17. προκληθέντες—see c. 28, 2.
19. τῷ ἵσω...—τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ, παρ' οἷς ἡ ἴσθις (Schol.).
22. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέου—'in a straightforward way,' with δεισίνως.
25. λαμβάνων—the same use with subst. referring to the feelings, c. 77, 6; cf. ii. 64 τὸ ἐπίθεσον λαμβάνειν.
27. μηδετέρων—on account of the subjective sense given by δεισίνωσθει—it is from the Lac. point of view.
28. εὐρηταί—'there is a clause' in the thirty years' truce.

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1. ἀρέσκηται—sc. ἐλθεῖν, mid., not as in c. 129 τῶν λόγων ἀρέσκομαι. The use of the mid. is Ionic.
5. προκειμένης—'open to all.'
7. εἴτα—'and actually' as a climax of arrogance an object if you help us.
9. ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἔχειν—a frequent idiom in Thuc. (Kr., followed by Steup, reads ὄφελις. el τε ἐν... δεόμεθα, πολὺ δὴ κτλ.)
11. οὐχ ὅπως—'so far from.'
14. περιοψεῖθε—in sense = ἐδεστε, hence the infin. With the partic. περιοπᾶν = to overlook what actually occurs; p. 22 l. 7.
ἡν—sc. δύναμιν προολαβεῖν αὐτοῦ περιεῖθει.
ἀλλ'—sc. δικαίων ἐστὶ.
15. κάκελων...—i.e. stop them too from getting help, if you will not help us, or help us too if you let them 'help themselves' from your empire. κωλῶ with a pers. object and without infin., 'stop the mercenaries they draw,' is not common; Eur. frag. 10.11 Nauk οἰκοφθόρον γὰρ ἄνδρα κωλύει γυνὴ ἐσθλή.
16. πέμπειν ὄφελλαι—means 'send aid' without concluding
a formal alliance: ἐπιθεῖν αὐτῷ τοῖς π. δεξαμένους = 'openly receive us into alliance and so help us.'

19. ὑπείπομεν — 'suggested.' The ref. is to c. 33, 1 γενήσεται καλή ἡ εὐνυχία κατὰ πολλά.

20. μέγιστον—sc. τὸ ἔμφερον ἀποδείκνυμεν. We have the same powerful enemies as you have; and that is a great advantage to you, because it will bind us to you.

21. ἡσαν—'are, as we saw'; the didactic imperf.: but the word is prob. spurious, because (1) this use of the imperf. is not made out for the speeches of Thuc.: (2) we cannot supply ἡσαν to what follows—οὕτα . . βλάψει—but require εἰσιν, since nothing has been said to suggest that.

23. τοὺς μεταστάντας — 'those who shall have abandoned your alliance.' This seems more probable than the rendering 'those who have abandoned them (Corinth),' as the mothercity. Athens may feel that Corcyra would be afraid to abandon the alliance with her.

24. οὖς ὀμοία ἡ ἀλλοτριώσις—Classen and others understand 'the rejection of it is not the same thing (as if it were a continental alliance),' i.e. is more dangerous to you. Stahl, Steup and others: 'to estrange us is not a matter of indifference to you,' which accounts better for the ἄλλα following: 'but you should make friends with a naval power if you cannot prevent its existence.'

26. εἶν . . ἔχειν—inf. in imperative sense. (Some think ἐς is lost before εἶ ἔτε μή.)

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2. φοβεῖται δὲ—supply δοτίς as subject, but it is usual to omit the second rel. in Greek in such a case.

3. τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ—i.e. if he has not been convinced by what we have said on this point: see c. 35, 1. Legally, the speaker has already explained, there will be no breach of the truce; but the alliance might be considered by Corinth as a breach of its spirit.

4. τὸ δεδομένος — a favourite construction of Thuc.: ii. 59, 3 τὸ δριγιζόμενον τῆς γυναῖκας: below c. 84, 6; τὸ μέλλων 90, 2; 142, 8. The neut. part. with art. as noun is rarely used by other prose authors: Xen. Cyr. iv. v. 39 τὸ ἔλεγχον. ἵσχεν ἔχον—as the result of alliance with us.

5. μή δεξαμένου—'if he rejects our request.'
7. ἀδέσποτερον — ‘less formidable’: here in passive sense. Cf. the double meaning of φοβερός, formidolosus.

οὐ . . τὸ πλέον = ἦσσον.

10. ἐσ τὸν . . ἐνδούαξ κτλ.—‘hesitates to secure for her in view of the war . . a place which becomes friend or enemy with most important consequences to you’ (in either case).

13. τῆς . . Σικελίας depends on παράπλου, ‘the coasting voyage to I. and S.,’ Corecyra being the half-way house when the ordinary route to Sicily and Lower (Greek) Italy was taken—viz. round the coast of Peloponnese and to Corecyra and thence across. The gen. παράπλου depends on καλῶσ in the phrase καλῶσ κεῖται constructed on the analogy of καλῶς ἔχει, ὡς ἔχει (e.g. c. 22, 3) etc.

16. ἐπελθεῖν—generally go to attack, here to help. Sparta hoped for such help from the west.

τὸ τε ἐνθένδε—a fleet going from Athens to Italy or Sicily. This passage was prob. written by Thuc. later in the war, when Athens had sent out such fleets via Corecyra.

18. βραχυτάτω κτλ.—‘this is the briefest summary, including the whole situation and the details, by which . . τοῖς τε ἐξίμπασι καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν is taken by Classen as adverbial —‘on the whole as well as in detail,’ but there is no parallel for the phrase in dative. It is awkward, but better, to make it apposition to κεφαλαίω (Krüger). It is true that only one general matter is presently referred to (viz. the naval strength of Corecyra), so that τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν seem wanting (Stahl); but the speaker means ‘if you think out this summary, you will find it includes all detailed arguments too.’ If we look at the ἐνυμφέρωντα to Athens that are brought forward in this speech, we shall notice (1) that the speaker in each case leads up to the fleet of Corecyra as the crowning argument, (2) that he is well aware that this is the argument that will really impress Athens. It is therefore right to insist on it at the end. κεφαλαίων means ‘summary’ of the points previously raised. Edd. seem to overlook the fact that this passage is rhetorical, and not necessarily strictly accurate. (The remedy proposed is to make τοῖς . . ἐκαστὸν masc., either as dat. commodi depending on β. κεφαλαίω (Poppo, Steup) or placed after or before ἐνυμφέρωντα ἔστι.)

20. τρία μὲν—sc. ἐστί: δυτα belongs to λῦγου δὲια. (There is no anacoluthon here.)

26. πλεῖοσι κτλ.—‘with our ships in addition (to yours). For this use of πλεῖον cf. e.g. Aesch. Ag. 755 τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ
(To take ταῖς ἡμετέραις as dat. of measure dependent on πλείονει gives an ugly construction.)

3. ὡς καὶ for καὶ ὡς, unless καὶ is due to dittography (ὡς and καὶ are sometimes confused in mss.). The parallels quoted, like ii. 44 § τί ἄξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν, are not close. (Steup thinks that after καὶ a clause is lost in which one of the two topics summed up in ἄμφοτέρων was expressed.)

5. ἄμφοτέρων—strictly τὸ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν and τὸ αὐτοῦς πολεμοῦσαί are but one topic differently expressed, and the two aspects of the matter are not clearly distinguished in what follows.

6. οὕτω—like tum demum.

7. ἄξιωσιν—'claim.'

8. μη ἄλογιστως—together as one word.

10. τὸ δὲ—'but that,' τὸ being demonstrative in sense.

11. ἄρετῇ—either depending on ἐπὶ, or perhaps rather causal dat. ἄρετῇ means τὸ σῶφρον: cf. c. 32, 4.

ξύμμαχον τε—we have here the only example of τε followed by οὕτω (before παρακαλοῦντες. οὕτω . . τε is common): 'wishing to have no ally in their nefarious schemes (persecuting their neighbours) or witness (οὐδὲ does not mean 'not even' here as Mr. Forbes supposes), and to avoid exposing themselves to shame by asking others to aid them (in such schemes).'. The simplest change proposed is to alter οὐδὲ to οὕτω (Weil), so that τε would co-ordinate βοηθήμενοι to ἐπὶ κακουργία καὶ οὐκ ἄρετῇ and οὕτω μ. ἔξειν='neither to have any ally as a witness in their schemes nor to ..' 

15. αὐτάρκη θέσιν—internal accus. the meaning is presently explained in διὰ τὸ κτλ.

16. παρέξεις αὐτοῦς κτλ.—'makes them judges of the wrongs they inflect more than (they would be) if they were hampered by treaties.' With μᾶλλον ή κατά, 'more than accords with,' cf. c. 76, 3: ii. 50 χαλεπωτέρως ή κατά τὴν ἀνθρωπελίν φόσιν. (γιγνεσθαι does not belong to the phrase, but to δικαστάδος only.)

δικαστάς—the meaning is that a citizen of another state who went to law with a Corcyrean must proceed as a ξένος in the Corcyrean courts: Corcyra does not experience a similar difficulty, whether real or assumed, because her citizens do not need to have dealings with other states to anything like the
same extent. Corecyra was, of course, the port of call for all vessels passing to and from the west by the 'coasting' route; but the grievance based on this fact is surely exaggerated here.

18. ἐκπλέοντας agrees with 'the Corecyreans': others when at sea ἀνάγκη καταληφθεί to Corecyra.

20. καὶ τούτο κτλ.—the speaker now alludes to disputes between Corecyra and another state (meaning Corinth). ἐν τούτῳ, 'this being their conduct' (see crit. note), is not right, because the argument shifts here to a new point.

τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἀσπονδοῦν—cf. e.g. vi. 34 τὸ ξυνηθὲς ἰσόν.

21. προβέβλημαί—as a shield or cloak to cover their ἀδίκλα.

22. καὶ ὅπως—this explains κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσιν, and means whether they make unrighteous gains by force or by deceit—these two ways are summed up in ἦν...προσλάβωσιν—they feel no shame, because there is no witness.

25. καίτοι—the sentence that follows refers to both the grievances just alleged.

26. ἀληπτότεροι ἰσαν—the imperf. by assimilation to the other verbs. ἦν is, of course, potential according to Goodwin, M.T. § 415. ἀληπτότεροι because of their αὐτάρκης θέσις.

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1. διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένως τὰ δ. — Corecyra had offered δίκας in this case (c. 28, 2); but the Corinthian means that they would not enter into an alliance, a condition of which was regularly the settlement of disputes by arbitration.

4. διὰ παντὸς—temporal.

8. τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάσεσθαι—'to receive the proper marks of honour,' for which see c. 25, 4.

12. ἀρέσκοντες—Soph. O.T. 274 δόσης τάδ' ἔστ' ἀρέσκοντ'.

13. ἐπιστρατεύομεν—'nor is it our way to attack a colony exceptionally unless we have suffered ...' The partic. must be conditional; but the sense is much improved by ἐπιστρατεύομεν, sc. ἄν, 'nor should we be attacking them (Corecyra) in a manner so exceptional' (as we are doing). Thus μή ἀ. would = ἐι μή ἵδικοῦμεθα. If ἐπιστρατεύομεν be right, ἐκ-πρεπῶς may = 'unreasonably,' being explained by μὴ...ἀδικοῦ-μενοι: but 'exceptionally' has much more point here.

14. καλὸν δ' ἦν—cf. c. 37, 5.
16. 

17. 

18. — slight anacolathon, adding to the vigour of the sentence.

19. 

20. — as in c. 8. 3. For the treatment of Epidamnus by Coreya see c. 24, and for the intervention of Corinth c. 26.

21. — 'now hold it.'

22. — this clause is in contrast with προφυχοντα καλ εκ του ασφαλοις, and must mean that in order that a demand for arbitration may be entertained, the party making the demand must first set himself on a level with the other party not merely in free discussion with him, but (what is more important), by giving up any advantage he has gained till a decision is arrived at. Transl. 'but he who, before having recourse to arms, puts himself in deeds as well as in words on a level.' πριν διαγωνιζεσθαι may mean 'before any solution,' whether by arms or arbitration; but πριν πολιορκεῖν favours the more confined sense. The meaning of εσ ισον .. καθιστάντα cannot be, according to the old explan., 'whose deeds square with his words.'

23. πριν πολιορκεῖν—πριν 'before'; for the infin. after a neg. preceding πριν cf. c. 68, 2.

5. 

6. 

7. — to have applied to you.'

8. 'under present circumstances, when.'

11. 

12. 

13. — 'having given you a share in.' The confusion of κοινωνίαν and κοινωνίαν (have a share in) in mss. is very common. τά πολεμίμαντα means φθείρα, the natural result τοῦ πάλαι κοινώσαι τὴν δύναμιν. (ἐγκλήματα των in C is an
oversight—see the next line. The text of G gives a Scholium on this false reading from πάλαι to ἐγκλημάτων.)

21. ἀγράφων = τῶν μὴ πω ἐγγεγραμμένων.

οὗ τοῖς κτλ.—'that clause does not apply to those whose application is intended to cause injury to others.'

22. ἀλλ' (ἐκεῖνοι) δότες—'who does not withdraw from another'; cf. c. 38, 1. For the construction of ἀποστερῶν Croiset quotes Antiphon v. 78 οὗκ ἀποστερῶν γε . . ἐαυτὸν οὖδενός (meunt.).

24. τοῖς δεξαμένοις κτλ.—'will not cause war instead of peace for those who have admitted them': εἰ σωφρονοῦσιν applies to the whole sentence, and means 'as they—those to whom they make the application—know if they are prudent.'

The brachylogy is the same as in vi. 11, 7 οὗ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ . . ο ἀγῶν, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, and also in iii. 44, 1. (This is Steup’s view, the best explanation that has been given of this awkward sentence. Classen, Stahl, Krüger and others assume that the ref. is to the conduct of the parties after the alliance is concluded, and understand 'who will assure peace, not war to those who receive them, if they, οἱ δεξαμένοι, show ordinary discretion.' Croiset seems to refer εἰ σωφρονοῦσιν to those making the application, but the two parallel passages tell against this. Weil proposes κεί σωφρονοῦσιν.)

25. ποιήσει—'will cause.'

δ—i.e. τὸ πόλεμον ἔχειν κτλ.
The Corinthian keeps using ἀποστῆναι of Coreya; but Coreya's ἀπόστασις was really only the estrangement of a colony from the mother-city, whereas Samos really revolted from the Athenian alliance.

13. διὰ ἐπιθυμισμένων—'were divided in their votes.'
14. ἀντεπομεν—'made a counter proposal.'
15. αὐτῶν—ipsam. τινά = πάντα τινά.
16. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακοὺς κτλ.—an argument from expediency to support the exhortation τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι... δέχεσθαι. But the γὰρ is strange, and should perhaps be altered to δε or τε. (Steup proposes to place this sentence at the end of c. 42, where τῷ αὐτίκα φανερό fits in with φανεῖται καὶ ἀ.)
17. τιμωρήσετε—supply a dat.; the case of the common object follows the partic. according to the usual const.; cf. c. 5, 1.

φανεῖται καὶ ἀ—perhaps 'a prophecy after the event' due to Thuc. himself. Potidaea, Lesbos and other parts revolted not so long after. ἀ (in place of ἀ) adds to the bitterness of the sentence; and the unexpected word φανεῖται is sarcastic, φαίνουμαι being constantly used in this way of the coming of deliverers, helpers, etc. (ὁ λωφθών γὰρ οὐ πέφηνε πω, ὥς χρόνος φανείς and so on). From the point of view of Corinth the revolt would be a 'coming' of this kind.

23. ἦν—antecedent χάριτος. We are not your enemies, so you cannot refuse on that ground; we are not your friends, so that you cannot object that services on both sides are natural, and that we should not reckon what we did for you as laying you under an obligation. The ἐπι—denotes reciprocity: 'to be on terms of intimacy.' This antithesis is somewhat artificial, and, but for the verbal correspondence, we should look for something like ὤστ' εἰκός εἶναι προῖκα ἐπιχρησθαί ἡμᾶς (you and we) ἄλληλοις. (The transl. 'so as to use you freely' would be easier; but there is no authority for ἐπιχρησθαί in this sense.)

27. ποτε—in the first war with Aegina, 505–491 B.C.; hence ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ = πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, see c. 14, 2.

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2. ἐπικράτησιν—the partiality of Thuc. for nouns in -σις formed from verbs is well known; some of them, like this and πρέσβευσις (c. 73), occur nowhere else in classical authors. A
good example of the preference for nouns over verbs occurs at c. 137, 4 γράψας . . . διάλυσιν: ενθύμησις, p. 117, l. 5.

4. οἷς for ἐν οἷς after ἐν καρποῖς, by a common idiom.

9. τὰ οίκεια—‘their own interests.’

11. νέωτερος τις—in ref. to the Aeginetan War. The sing. has attracted the verbs into the sing. in spite of ἐνθύμητες. αὕτα might of course have been omitted, but Thuc. is fond of putting it into the second member of a rel. sentence. (To repeat the rel. is exceptional.)

13. τοῖς ομολογοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι—‘to requite us with like treatment.’ ἀμύνομαι in this sense generally implies the paying back of injuries, and here we should expect ἀμείβεσθαι (see crit. note, and cf. L. & S. under ἀμειβομαι). Presently we have an ordinary phrase, τὸ ισον ἀμαποδοῦναι: but it may be that, in opposing the Corinthian ‘δίκαιον’ to the Corcyrean ‘ξυμφέρον,’ Thuc. purposely makes the speaker use a word that is properly used of dealings between enemies: the speaker means ‘They say we are your enemies (see c. 33, 3): you must judge of that by our actions in the past, and pay us for our so-called enmity with the same sort of ‘enmity.’”

15. εἰ πολεμήσει—‘in the event of war.’ The Corinthian, like the Corcyrean, insisted on (1) τὸ δίκαιον, (2) τὸ ξυμφέρον, but—as Fr. Müller says—he deals vaguely with the latter topic, since Corinth had clearly less to offer Athens than Corcyra had.

16. ἐν ὧ—c. 37, 4. ἐπεταί=‘is found,’ ‘is there.’ It is a moral sentiment—much like ‘virtue is its own reward’—but not much in point here. Grammatically τις is for τινι, being attracted into the relative clause.

17. τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ πολέμου—i.e. it is not certain that war is coming.

20. ἐπαρθένας αὔτῶ—‘prompted by that expectation’; Eur, Orest. 286 δότις μ’ ἐπάρας ἔργον ἀνοσιῶτατον (‘to a . . .’) κτλ.

22. ὑπάρχοντις πρότερον—‘that existed already.’ This is the Engl. equivalent, though ὑπάρχοντις is really imperfect partic., past in reference to υφελομεν. υφελεῖν μᾶλλον ‘is to diminish rather than to add to,’ and the gen. is partitive (μᾶλλον does not belong to σώφρον as Classen took it). For πρότερον ὑπήρξε cf. vii. 23 πολέμου οὐδέν ἐλάσσω προσανειληκτο τοῦ πρότερον ὑπάρχοντος. The transl. ‘that has existed for some time’ is simple, but scarcely justified.
diâ Megaréas—what event is alluded to? Edd. are much divided between (1) ‘the Megarian decree,’ by which Athens excluded Megara from all her ports and markets (c. 67); (2) the revolt of Megara to Athens after a dispute with Corinth (c. 103 for τὸ σφόδρον μίσος that Corinth conceived for Athens on this account) in 465 B.C.; (3) the revolt of Megara with Corinthian support, from Athens in 445 B.C. (cc. 114–115). The ἡπφαία is that felt by Corinth, so that (3) appears unlikely—note ἔγκλημα. As (1) is the only one of these events that had happened since the thirty years’ truce, it is the most probable; but the date of the Megarian decree is unfortunately doubtful, and some suppose, on insufficient evidence, that it was not passed so early as 433 B.C.

23. ἡ τελευταία χάρις—the service that Athens will render to Corinth by refusing the Corecyrean request. ‘This will be highly opportune, though involving a trifling sacrifice’ (Morris).

25. μετέξον ἔγκλημα—the complaint that we have against you about Megara. (If the first explan. above is right, this ἔγκλημα would be that Athens had violated the thirty years’ truce.)

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1. diâ κινδύνων—with ἐχεῖν = ἔπικινδύνωσ. Classen constructs τό with πλέον ἐχεῖν, to which it is objected that πλέον ἐχεῖν, not τό πλέον ἐχεῖν = πλεονεκτεῖν, ‘be grasping’; and hence Cl. proposed τό for τό. But diâ . . ἐχεῖν is a combination of two phrases:

(1) diâ κινδύνων τὴν δύναμιν ἐχεῖν,
(2) diâ κινδύνων πλέον ἐχεῖν.

For (1) cf. vii. 8 τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλάκης μᾶλλον ἢ ἔκουσίων κινδύνων ἐχων. The art. before πλέον is occasioned by the preceding δύναμιν. Stahl constructs τό with ἐχεῖν, but the position of the τῶν members outside the article—τῷ . . ἐπαρθένας and diâ κ.—is against this.

2. περιπεπτοκότες ὅṣ . . κολάζειν—the simplest explan. is ‘now that we find ourselves in the condition that we spoke of at Sparta, when we urged .’. Thus ὅṣ = ἐχεῖνος ἅ, προεκτομεν does double duty, ‘spoke of, and urged that’ and τοῖς . . κολάζειν is epexegetic. The only objection is that this is rather artificial. The condition alluded to is that of a city whose allies are in ἀπώστασις, as Corinth holds that Corecyra is from her—diâ παντὸς ἀφεστάσι. Stahl followed by Classen and others supplies περιπεπτωκότα after
of, 'now that we find ourselves in the circumstances in which, as we ourselves urged . .' This is doubtful grammar. Dobree bracketed τοὺς ... κολαζέων as spurious and repeated from c. 40: this gives an easy construction, and σφετέρους instead of ἐαυτοῦ, with sing. αὐτὸν τίνα, is unusual.

18. τῇ μὲν προτέρα—temporal, like μάχῃ τῇ πρώτῃ vii. 11. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ (ἐκκλησίᾳ) must mean 'in the assembly held on the following day,' according to the meaning of such adj. in -αῖος. Cobet read ὑστέρα, 'in the subsequent assembly.' We must assume that the assembly met on the next day when a debate was adjourned (and this seems to be the meaning of καὶ δίς). There is no evidence.

23. σφίστην = τοῖς Κερκυραῖοις. αὐτοῖς = τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

25. ἐπιμαχίαν—a defensive (ἐπιμαχία, an offensive and defensive) alliance.

26. τῇ ἄλλῃ δὲν—c. 15, 2.

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1. καὶ ὡς—i.e. even if they rejected the Corcyrean request altogether. ὡς = οὖτως often after καὶ, ἀλλ', οὔτ', μήδ'.

6. ναυτικόν ἔχουσιν—to be regarded as one word. Hence the insertion of τοῖς before ναυτικόν is unnecessary.

8. ἐν παράπλησι—contrast the construction at c. 36, 2.

14. Κλίμωνος—the great statesman. Plutarch says that he had given this name to his son out of compliment to Sparta.

18. ἐκείνων = τῶν Κερκυραίων.

22. παρεσκεύαστο—impers.

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1. πέμπτος αὐτός—cf. c. 61, 1; 116; 1. The form of phrase denotes the chief in command.

2. κατά—'opposite.'

6. ἔξησι—of water discharging into the sea only in Thuc. and Herod. until Polybius. These geographical details remind us of a similar passage in ii. 102. Mr. Forbes thinks
that Thuc. mentions the city because there was no town, but only a roadstead at Chimerium. But in the facts that follow there is no special significance, and it is more likely that we have here a trace of the manner of the logographers. Thuc., like them, is not averse to imparting information 'by the way.'

3. ἐσβάλλει — the ordinary word in Attic in this sense is ἐμβάλλει.

10. ἔχει — sc. ἡ λιμνη.

βεί — sc. ἐνταίθα.

13. τὴς ἡπείρου — partitive with a verb, as in ἄλλη τῆς πλεως, etc.

20. παρῆσαν — 'were there,' not 'arrived.'

αὐτοὶ — Thuc. has this curious order several times.

21. Ζακυνθών — allies of Athens. The interest and policy of Zacynthus coincided with those of Coreyla.

24. παρα-βεσονηκότες — 'along the coast'; cf. παρα-πλεῖν.

27. τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία — cf. τριῶν μηνῶν μισθός, δοσὺ ἐἴχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, etc.

28. ὡς ἔπτι — both dat. and accus. are found in the same sense with this expression, and with a verb of motion the dat. occurs iii. 4, 3 ; vi. 34, 5.

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5. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο — the construction shifts.

7. τῶν — necessary, because of c. 47, 1. The object of the peculiar order is to draw ἐκάστον εἰς together.

11. ὡς ἐκαστοῦ — cf. c. 3, 4.

12. ταῖς ἀριστα τῶν νεῶν πλευσάις — notice the order of the partitive gen. : the rule in Attic is that it is not placed in attributive position unless the last word is an adj. or partic., and even then it is rare except in Thuc. : the most exceptional instance of this order is iv. 62 τοῖς τῶν Σικελῶν ('among the S.') ἐμμάχους.

16. πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας — in the Pel. War only ten ἐπιβάται were on board; and it is specially noted (in the case of what battle!) in the seventh book as exceptional to have many fighting men on a trireme. But in the earlier sea-fights the
opposing ships were rowed alongside, and the battle was really 'a land fight on sea.'

19. ἀπειρότερον ἔτι—'still with little experience' of naval tactics.

21. τέχνη—dat. of cause, 'not so much because of the skill displayed, but for the most part (sc. καρπερά) resembling a land engagement.' The latter clause means 'it was like a stoutly contested land battle.'

25. μᾶλλον τι—'considerably more.' The phrase is common.

26. καταστάντες—καθίστημι means frequently 'put into a (settled) state,' with ἐς: the intrans. 'settle down.' As the ships were motionless, a regular pitched battle was fought.

27. διεκπλοι—'a maneuvre consisted of 'rowing through the intervals of the enemy's line, and thus getting in their rear, ... and before the ship of the adversary could change its position, of striking it either in the stern, or in some weak part' (Grote). It is first heard of in Herod. vi. 12.
3. ἃς—when a rel. sentence stands for a substantive, no antecedent being expressed, Thuc. regularly attracts the rel., as in c. 37, 3 δικαστᾶς ὁν βλάπτοναι. In ii. 61 ἐγκατερεῖν ἀ ἐγνωτε is for ἐγκατερεῖν ἐκέινα (not ἐκεῖνοις) ἀ ἐ. But when a rel. sentence stands as an adjective, the rel. is not necessarily attracted; cf. e.g. c. 52 alχαιλάτων ὁ νὸ ὁς ἐχον: vii. 1, 2 etc. See n. on p. 87 1. 16.

καταδύσειαν—not sank, but ‘disabled.’ The usual way was to tow them away as prizes.

4. φονεύειν ὀ ὑγρεῖν—depending on ἔτραποντο as in ἔτραποντο τα πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι iι. 65. Thus ἔτραποντο has here a double construction. φονεύω is an Ionic word, not found in prose outside Herod. and Thuc.

διεκπλέοντες—the edd. point out that this cannot be the technical διεκπλοῦσι— the object of which, indeed, was not to kill, but to disable an enemy’s ship (see on c. 49)—but merely alludes to rowing in amongst the enemy’s disabled ships.

6. οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα— the Ambraciots and Megarians (c. 48, 4) who were defeated and pursued to the mainland (c. 49, 5). It is not possible to see how the conquering Corinthians on the left could have fallen in with any of the flying right wing unless some of those on the right wing had not fled with the rest towards the mainland; and that some were left behind is suggested by ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ ἐπεχούσών.

9. ξυνεμείζαν—plup. in sense, and this clause belongs to what follows.

10. ὀποίοι—not much different from ὀτίνες, but denoting, as Stahl points out, that there were no distinguishing marks of dress and appearance to show whether those they fell in with belonged to the winning or losing side. Cf. the common use of ποιός for τίς in tragedy.

11. ναυμαχίᾳ γάρ—cf. c. 1, 2.

22. καὶ δῶσαι—i.e. those that had taken no part in the previous engagement.

26. περώσιν—only Herod. and Thuc. use the active where Attic generally has περώμαι.

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1. πρύμναν ἐκρούνοντο— ‘began to back,’ so as to retire; cf. ἀνακρούσθαι with or without πρύμναν.
6. ὀλίγαι ἀμύνεν — cf. ii. 61 ταπευὴ ὑμᾶν ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρτέρειν; v. 3, 2 τὰ υπάρχοντα βραχέα περιγρευόταν.

7. ὑποτπήσαντες—rare and poetical verb, used by Thuc. several times only in aor. infin. or part.

9. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις—dat. of agent, which Thuc. with the poets uses with all parts of the passive.

10. ἐπέπλεον—sc. αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες. With ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανῶς supply αὐτῶς, 'from a quarter where they were invisible.'

12. πρὶν—'until': here and elsewhere the indic. is used after a positive sentence; but notice οὐχ ἐωράντω, and see M.T. § 635.

13. ἐκεῖναι—'yonder.' Notice the vivid form.

16. ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο = ἀπηλλάγησαν.

17. ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα—pregnant construction.

21. Ἀνδοκίδης—there is some doubt about the name, because an inscription relating to the expenses of this fleet is extant, and in it Glaucon is mentioned as στρατηγός, and two other names, both mutilated, are given (see crit. note); neither name can have been Andocides. However, if Andocides did hold some sort of command in this fleet, he is the grandfather of the orator Andocides. (My opinion is that the text is right, and that Thuc. has made a mistake here. If Andocides is the wrong name, Leogoras, too, must be due to corruption; and the double corruption seems very unlikely. If Andocides sen. had held this command, the orator would have alluded to the matter. He mentions that his grandfather had a hand in the thirty years' peace.)

26. ὀμολόγαντο—subject 'the Athenian ships,' the abrupt change being characteristic.

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4. βουλόμενοι— for this 'sense' construction after νῆες, cf. 110, 4.

5. τὰς μὲν ναῦς—poetical construction with αἰρω in this sense; elsewhere it is absol. or has ταῖς ναυσίν. Croiset compares αἱρεῖν στόλων in tragedy.

12. ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ ὁδυαν—sc. ὄρωντες, the two examples of τὰ ἀπορά being given in different form.

13. τοῦ . . . πλοῦ = περὶ τοῦ πλοῦ, anticipating ὅπῃ κομισθήσονταί: the gen. placed thus at the head of a sentence with a verb
of speaking or thinking about is common in Plato; and the constn. comes down from epic. For trag. cf. Soph. O.T. 317, Trach. 169 τοῦ κασιγνήτου τι φίς; Plat. Rep. 576D ευδαιμονίας ἡ ἄλλως πῶς κρίνεις;

18. ἄνευ κηρυκελου—cf. c. 146. Had they sent him with a herald’s wand they would have admitted a state of war, and treated the Athenians as enemies.

21. πολέμου ἄρχοντες—‘acting as aggressors in war and breaking treaties’: in reality the ref. is to the thirty years’ treaty, but the vague expression heightens the effect.

26. λύετε—we expect λύειν. εἰ δ’ nearly = ἔπει δ’.

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1. τοῦ δὲ Κερκυραίων—this is divided into τὸ μὲν στρατὸ πεδὸν and οὐ δὲ Ἀθηναίου, possibly because the Athenians and Corcyreans together make up the other, or Corcyrean, side; possibly by a slight anacoluthon.

2. δοσον—‘as far as they’ were within hearing.

16. τὰ τε νανάγια καὶ νεκροὺς—the τε is answered by καὶ τροπαίου ἀντέστησαν. The Corcyreans were able to recover their dead without asking permission. Hence, technically, they could support a vague expression to have won a success.

17. κατὰ σφάς—‘opposite them,’ i.e. ‘on their coast.’ The τὰ before κατὰ makes τοὺς νεκροὺς unlikely.

18. (ὑπὸ) ἄνεμου, δς—‘a wind which.’

20. τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοιος—Sybota must be the name of some place on one of the group of islands collectively called Sybota.

28. τριάκοντα ναῦς—c. 49, 5: ἀνελόμενοι c. 54, 1: οὐ τοῖς ὑπεξιώρησαν c. 51, 1: οὐκ ἀντεπέπλεον c. 52, 2. The claims put forward by the Corcyreans are set out in a formal style; notice esp. the repetition of ἐπειδὴ ἸἈ. Ἰλθὼν.

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11. κοινῶν—‘in common.’ Corcyra must have had some share in the colonisation of Anactorium.

16. ἐν θεραπεῖα εἰχών—‘treated them with great consideration,’ cf. θεραπεῖω and θεράτων. These prisoners returned in 427 B.C. and civil war broke out in Corcyra.
19. δινάμει—'influence.'
21. περιγύνεται—not 'defeated,' but 'maintained its ground.' Corinth had not secured Epidamnus.
25. ἐσ τοὺς 'Α.—cf. c. 66, 1.

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1. διάφορα—'constituting matters of dispute leading to war.'
2. πρασσόντων ὅπως—'forming plans of.'
7. φόρου ὑποτελεῖς—c. 19.
8. το ἐς Παλλήνην—i.e. the southern wall (see map), so that Potidaea would be accessible from the sea.
10. ἐπιδημουργοὺς—δημουργός is known from inscriptions to the title of magistrates in many Dorian cities. ἐπι- would mean chief magistrates exercising some sort of general supervision.
13. Περδίκκου—Perdiccas II. of Macedon, son of Alexander the Philhellene. His shifty policy gave Athens much trouble in the Pel. War. Before 432 he was in alliance with Athens; but he presently encouraged Potidaea to revolt because Athens was in alliance with his brother Philip and his cousin Dardas. In 431 he was reconciled for a time to Athens.
14. ἐπὶ Ὁράκης—prop. 'in the direction of Thrace,' the regular way of referring collectively to the Greek cities on the coast of Thrace, esp. Chalcidice.
15. ταύτα δὲ κτλ.—'the battle . . . had only recently been fought when the Α. . . .'  
19. φανερῶς ἡδη—their hatred of Athens is of earlier origin. See p. 38 l. 22 note.
21. ἐπεπολέμωτο—c. 36, 1.
25. ἐς τε πέμπτων . . καλ . . προσεποιεῖτο—the construction passes from the partic. to the finite verb. This form of anacoluthon is by no means confined to Thuc. ; but cf. e.g. ii. 47, 3 λεγόμενον μὲν . . οὗ μέντοι . . ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι.

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1. προσεποιεῖτο—'tried to . . .' 
8. ἐτυχον γάρ introduces what follows, as in c. 31, 2.
10. αὐτοῦ—Perdiccas.

11. δέκα—there would thus be eleven στρατηγοὶ, and five more belonging to the same year are mentioned in c. 61. As the number of στρατηγοὶ was regularly ten, Knigre altered δέκα to τεσσάρων (δ'). But instead of μετ' ἄλλων τεσσάρων we expect πεμπτοῦ αὐτοῦ. Perhaps Thuc. wrote only μετ' ἄλλων, and had no record of the number; cf. c. 51, 4.

20. [ἐπρασσον]—this spoils the structure of the period, for the principal sentence must begin at τότε δή. There is, for example, a similar intrusion of a verb—μετείχων—in ii. 16; εἴσετω in viii. 27.

22. ἐκ πολλοῦ—'for a long time.'

23. αἱ νῆς αἱ—'the ships that were to operate against M. (c. 57, 6) were sent just as much against themselves.'

25. τὰ τέλη—c. 10, 4; cf. παντὲλῆς, having full τέλος.

27. κατὰ τὸν καίρον τοῦτον—this occurs after τότε δή again in ii. 84.

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4. ἀνοικοσασθαι—c. 7.

5. μᾶν πόλιν L.—predicate.

6. τῆς ἀντοῦ γῆς—partitive, with ἔδωκε. τῆς Μυγδονίας may be in apposition, but perhaps depends on περὶ τῆν λιμνην. The construction would be improved with τά before περὶ, as νέομοι περὶ is unusual. νέομοι depends on ἔδωκε: 'to cultivate and live from' (Forbes).

14. ἀφεστηκότα—'in a state of revolt.'

16. ἠναφεστῶτα—not 'with Perdiccas,' but 'together.'

18. τὸ πρῶτον—this was their original purpose. The orders about Potidaea had been added subsequently.

20. ἀνωθεν—'from the upper country.'

21. ἐν τούτῳ—'hereupon.'

24. περὶ—common in Thuc. with dat. after verbs of fear, and this is usual in Attic. ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ in viii. 93 is unusual.

27. τοὺς πάντας—'in all.'
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4. ὢστερον . . ἡ — cf. τοῦναντίον ἡ. We might have ἔτελε, ἕπειδῆ, ἀφ’ ὦ or ὁτε in place of this. (ἡ, not ἡ, is probably necessary. The confusion of the two is common.)

7. τῶν πόλεων — objective; cf. Antig. 11 μόθος φίλων.

9. ἐπιπαριόντας — technical word of an army advancing on an objective. The force seems to have gone by land (ἐπιπαριόντας of the mss. is almost certainly a blunder). Cf. Anab. III. iv. 30 κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες ἄφικοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας.

14. τοῦς προτέρους — c. 57, 6.

15. Θερμη—Thessalonica.

16. προσκαθεξόμενοι — the form does duty as aorist; cf. c. 24, 7; p. 120 l. 5.

20. παρεληλυθός — 'the arrival of.'

22. ἐς Βέροιαν—Beroea is in Macedonia, and seems out of the route. Herbst proposed to read περαυδέντες ἐκείθεν for ἐς Βέροιαν κάκείθεν. The text cannot be regarded as certain. Grote thinks another Beroea, otherwise unknown, must be meant.

ἐπὶ Στρέψαν — this well-known conjecture for ἐπιστρέψαντες suits excellently with πειράσαντες τοῦ χωρίου, which with the mss. reading gives no sense. The exact position of Strepsa is unknown; but no objection lies in the fact that it is not mentioned by Herod. in a list of Greek cities on the Thermaic Gulf (vii. 123), as it may very well have lain outside the limits with which Herod. is dealing.

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6. πρὸς Ὀλύνθου — 'on the side towards Olynthus' near Potidæa (=τῆς πόλεως). The other reading Ὀλύνθῳ, is inconsistent with § 3, and as Jowett says, Aristeus cannot have left Potidæa unprotected.

8. ἔξω τῆς πόλεως — the plan of bringing the necessaries outside a city and selling them to troops encamped there was often adopted when it was desirable that the men should not go inside. We hear of it elsewhere in Thuc. and in the Anab.

14. τοῦ Ἀριστέως . . ἔχοντι—ἔχοντα (see crit. note) would be regular before the infin.; but ἔχοντι is likely to have been altered to this. The dat. is used as if ἐδοξε τῷ Ἀριστεί had
preceded. The only exact parallels cited for this are from Homer and tragedy; cf. Soph. O. T. 350 ἐννέατῳ σὲ ... ἐμένειν ... ὁς ὡς. In order to avoid the change, τῷ μὲν for τὸ μὲν agreeing with ἔχοντι has been proposed; but the expression so produced (τῷ ... ἔχοντι) is not very probable: we should expect αὐτῷ μὲν.

16. τοὺς ἔξω ἵσθιμον—'the (other) allies from beyond the Isthmus' (of Pallene). ἵσθιμος is treated as a proper name.

19. ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν—i.e. himself being on their north side and the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans attacking them from the city.

24. τοὺς ἐκείθεν—cf. c. 8, 2; 18, 1.

25. ἀναστήσαντες τὸ σ.—'having broken up the camp' at Gigionns.

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1. ἔννέμισκον—'the battle of Potidaea. It was probably not in this battle that Socrates saved Alcibiades' life; but in another battle at Potidaea in 430 B.C.

4. λογάδες—for the ordinary ἐπιλέκτοι, not used by other Attic prose writers. (Suidas, s.v. λογάδην.)

tὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς—'the division that faced them.'

5. ἔπλον—of ground covered.

7. ἐς τὸ τεῖχος—of Potidaea.

11. διακινδυνεύσῃ—deliberative. χαρῆσαι with ὀπτερώσε. 13. δ' οὖν—for MSS. γ' οὖν: see the same correction at c. 10, 5. Here δ' οὖν suggests a hesitation on the part of Aristeus, the details of which Thuc. has omitted.

14. ὡς ἐς ἐλαχιστον χαρῆν—i.e. to concentrate his division so that closely united it might force its way.

16. παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν—'the object is to enter Potidaea from the south, as it would have been risky with the enemy in the way to have forced a way in at the north. The χηλὴ is a mole or break-water running out into the sea, which at low tide is shallow, on the east side of the city.

18. ἀποθαλῶν—this is used specially of losing men by a sudden attack of an enemy.

19. ἀπείχε—sc. Olynthus; ἀπείχε (see crit. note) would be a common use of imperf. in giving geographical details; cf.
e.g. ii. 13 τοῦ . . . τεῖχος στάδιοι ἥπαν κτλ.; many exx. from Anabasis in Kühner’s n. on Anab. i. iv. 9. Of course the pres. is also possible, and ἔστι favours it here. (The imperf. is equally used when the fact given implies the result of the writer’s observation: so that it is not right to draw a distinction here.)

20. ἔστι—sc. the ground between the two cities.
22. ἤρθη—to summon the troops from Olynthus.
26. κατεστάσθη—plup. in sense.

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1. παρεγένοντο—ἐν τῷ μάχῃ.
6. Ἀθηναίων δὲ—the inscription placed over the monument of these men in the Ceramicus is in the Brit. Mus.: Hicks, Manual, p. 59. The last of the three stanzas is:

"Ἀνδρας μὲν πόλις ἦδε ποθὲι καὶ δῆμος Ἕρεχθέως, πρόσθε Ποτειδαλας οὐ θάνου ἐν προμάχοις παῖδες Ἀθηναίων. ὕψασ δ’ ἀντίρροτα θέντες ἡλάξαντ’ ἀρετήν—καὶ πατρίδ’ εὐκλείσαν.

αὐτῶν—Thuc. had not heard the numbers of the allies who fell.

7. ἐκ—cf. πρὸς, which might have been used here, c. 62, 1.
8. τεῖχος—this is deleted by Classen and others; but the sense is ‘they cut off (from communication with the north) the northern wall’—of course by building a wall farther north. See below § 3. ἐφρούρουν is intrans.
10. ἀντίχειστον—not ‘unfortified,’ which is not true (see c. 56, 2), but ‘not walled off,’ ‘not isolated’ from the south.
13. διαβάντες—by sea.
14. γενομένοις—the aor., though weakly supported, is necessary, ‘if they should have divided’ being clearly the sense. In vi. 100 we have correctly φοβοῦμενοι μὴ σφίσι δίχα γεγομένοις ῥὰν μάχωνται, because there the sense is ‘if they made a practice of.’
15. ἐν τῇ πόλει—at Athens.
18. Φορμύλωνα—the celebrated admiral.
20. Ἀφύτιος—Ionic gen. of Ἀφυτις: cf. e.g. Θῆρης Θῆρεως ii. 29.
23. ἀπετείχετο τὸ ... τείχος—the bracketing of τείχος makes the sense 'walled it off on the south side'; cf. τὸ δ’ ἐσ τὴν Παλλήνην above § 1 (where, however, τείχος may be supplied). But 'walled off the south wall' may very well be the meaning as above in l. 8. Classen retains τείχος here and renders 'built across the south line of circumvallation.' This is scarcely the meaning of ἀπετείχετο.

26. ναυσίν ἀμα ἐφ.—'with a fleet blockading it.'

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1. ξυνεβούλευ ... ήθελε ... ἐπειθε—like ἐκέλευ: such words being often used in imperf. when a speaker is giving advice.

3. ἀνεμον τηρήσασθε—cf. τηρήσαστε τὸν πορθμὸν vi. 2.

6. τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις—cf. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις vi. 45; vii. 45; 'what was now necessary.' Ar. Κάλλιστα. 82 τὰ τοῦτοι δράσομεν.

7. δπωσ also depends on παρακενδέον.

τὰ ἐξωθεν—referring to what he could do for Potidaea when he got outside.

10. Σερμυλιὼν ... πολλοῦς—Sermyle on the west coast of Sithonia.

11. ἐσ ... ἐπρασσεν—'negotiated with'; cf. c.g. πρὸς ὅποι ἐπραξαν ii. 7.

12. δηπ = 'as to how.'

13. μετὰ δὲ—now begins the costly siege of Potidaea.

18. αἰτία μὲν—answered by οὐ μὲντο. What follows shows that αἰτία alludes only to the dispute about Potidaea—not to the affair of Corcyra as well.

προμεγένητο—this (προε-), not προσεμεγένητο, is the reading of all good mss. As the ref. is to Potidaea only we should expect either προσεμεγένητο 'had been added' (to the Corcyrean dispute) and this is read by many edd.—or αἰτία μὲν καὶ αὐτοί: cf. c. 56, 1 καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη ... διάφορα. But προμ. can stand; for now it is 'Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις, not merely 'Α. καὶ Κορινθίους. Thuc. clearly means that the Corcyrean affair did not constitute a ground of war with Pel. in general; and now explains why the dispute about Potidaea was such, though even that was a matter for Corinth on her own account in the first instance. προ- means 'before Sparta took any part.' Cf. c. 67, 1.
25. ἑφίσων—with ἐμάχοντο, not as in c. 13, 3; 27, 1; 61, 1 with ἐλθόντες.

27. ἐνερράγει—ἐνρήγηνυμι.

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4. τε—'so.'

παρεκάλουν—'invited,' not by formal summons, which belonged to Sparta.

6. κατεβόων—with gen. 'loudly accuse'; with accus., 'shout down.'

7. σπονδάς—c. 53, 2.

9. φανερῶς—they were dependent allies of Athens.

10. κρύφα—sc. πρεσβευόμενοι.

12. κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς—the thirty years' truce; nothing is known of this particular clause in it.

13. προσπαρακάλεσαντες—thus supporting the Corinthian invitation. Steup renders 'summoned before the assembly,' holding that the embassies had already arrived in Sparta as the result of the Cor. invitation. This is impossible, unless we alter the text to προσκαλέσαντες: see c. 87, 4.

τῶν ἐμμάχων τε—partitive; edd. generally omit τε and make τῶν ἐμμάχων depend on ἐλ τις (καλ—'also'). If τε is sound, then ἐλ τις must mean any one else in the position of Aegina: no other state outside the Pel. alliance seems to have sent; see c. 69, 1; 87, 4.

14. ἄλλο—besides those wrongs alleged by Corinth and Aegina. Some accept Reiske's ἄλλος with or without the τε. The invitation is to all who hold that in their case Athens had in any particular broken the thirty years' truce.

15. ποιήσαντες—'called.'

20. ἐργεσθαί—see c. 139.

24. ἐπείπον—'added' to what the others had said.

25. τὸ πιστόν—'honesty,' the good faith you show in your public and private life. This is the outcome of the 'Lycurgic' system. Cf. what Xen. says in the Polity of the Lac., of their virtues, which, when he wrote, were a thing of the past: 'They endeavoured to be worthy to lead... Others would go to Sparta and ask to be led by her against those who
were thought guilty of wrong-doing. . . Nowadays they obey neither God nor the ordinances of Lycurgus.'

26. καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς—'among yourselves.'

27. ἀπιστοτέρους ἐσ τοὺς ἄλλους—i.e. ἐσ (ἥμᾶς) τοὺς ἄλλους, hence λέγωμεν. Some, however, take ἐσ τοὺς ἄλλους ἢν τι λ. together= 'if we bring any charge against others.'

28. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ—i.e. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπιστοτέρους εἶναι. It is a mark of prudence or sobriety, but it leads you into more mistakes than you would make if you were less cautious in believing complaints.

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5. τῶν λεγόντων=(τόδε) τῶν λεγόντων, so that the ὡς clause governs τῶν λεγόντων, cf. c. 52, 3. The gen. is often similarly used with θαυμάζω.

6. τῶν . . . διαφόρων—'private interests,' i.e. the interests of their city apart from the interests of the Pel. confederacy. ἱδιὰ does not mean 'individual' here. For such complaints to Sparta see c. 90, and for the negligence of Sparta see c. 118, 2.

7. πάσχεται—'we begin to . . .'

9. ἐν οἷς—(1) some render, 'before whom'; cf. e.g. c. 85; (2) others, after Classen, with οὐχ ἥκιστα, 'and we among them have the best right,' as in viii. 68 ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύοντι . . πρῶτος ἢν. The latter suits the passage better.

10. ὅσοι—'inasmuch as'; the καὶ balances μέγιστα with οὐχ ἥκιστα. We should render 'inasmuch as . . ., we have also the greatest right.'

15. εἰδότοι—sc. ὑμῖν.

16. μακρηγορεῖν, ὅν—most edd. supply ἥμᾶς (=τοὺς ξυμμαχοῦσ). And τοῦς μὲν is then explained as Aegina; but how can Aegina be included under the ξυμμαχοῖ of Sparta? See c. 67, 3 εἰ τις. It is on all grounds better to understand ὅν as for ἐπεί κεκινών (i.e. τῶν 'Ελλήνων from τὴν 'Ελλάδα) with Conradt who is followed by Steup. Thus τοῦς μὲν naturally refers to the subject allies of Athens, against whom it was a constant complaint that she 'enslaved the Greeks.'

18. ημετέροις ἡ.—Potidaea and her allies in Chalcidice: since they had revolted from Athens, they are reckoned as allies of Corinth.

19. προπαρεσκευασμένους—the relative is now lost sight of.
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πολεμήσουνται—pass., 'shall become involved in war.'

20. ὑπολαβόντες—a gross misrepresentation.

23. ἀποχρήσθαι—'to make full use of (as a base of operations) in dealing with ...' (Poppo's view that αὐτοῖς=τοῖς ἐπὶ Θ. is to be supplied to ἀποχρήσθαι is clearly wrong.)

27. κρατύναι κτλ.—see cc. 90 and 107.

28. ἐσ τὸδε=μέχρι τὸδε.

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1. ἀποστεροῦντες—a good ex. of the proper meaning, 'withhold' what belongs to another.

τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκέλθουν 8.—the subject allies of Athens; see c. 68, 3. Sparta in the Pel. War claimed to be the 'liberator of Greece.' She had gained the reputation by her opposition to the τύραννοι.

2. τοὺς ὑμετέρους—the plain meaning is that A. has begun to act aggressively towards Megara and Corinth. (Perhaps ἡμετέρους used loosely as in c. 68, 3 is right here—see crit. note—or ὑμετέρους should be read there.)

5. αὐτὸ δρᾶ—c. 5, 2.

τὴν ἀξίωσιν . . φέρεται—'enjoys a reputation for generosity'—lit. 'that, i.e. her, reputation ...,' gained by such actions.

7. μόλις δὲ νῦν γε—see crit. note. If we assume a transposition for ἄλλα νῦν τε μόλις εἴν. καὶ κτλ. the τε might stand; but γε is certainly idiomatic here.

8. ἔτι φανεροῖς—'with a clear issue before us.' χρῆν γὰρ explains this clause.

10. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες κτλ.—a notoriously difficult sentence. The transl. 'for they who act advance with plans already formed and without delaying, against men who have not made up their minds,' in ref. to Athenian energy, is simple; but the statement is not true when made universal, and we certainly look for a direct ref. to the Athenians (hence the conjectures οἱ γε, οἱ τερόν τοῦ Ἀθηναί'οι for οἱ γὰρ). Classen rendered οἱ γὰρ as 'for they,' like οἱ δὲ, i.e. the Athenians, but himself doubted it; there is no prose ex. of ὁ before γὰρ as pronoun, and more important, it is very artificial to separate δρῶντες. I should like to refer this general statement, with the transl. given above, to the conduct of the Lac., so that the general sense is 'men of action (which you are not) take immediate steps, with their
minds made up before their opponents are resolved on their course.' The Athenians have not yet decided on war, and now is your time σκοπεῖν καθ’ δ’ τε ἄμυνομεθα. It is a case for τὸ προεπιβουλεῦειν, not τὸ ἀντεπιβουλεῦειν. I think that οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι in the next sentence strongly favours my suggestion, as we then get a proper antithesis.

12. οἱ ἐδόκεο... καὶ διὶ κατ’ ὀλύγον—the two clauses after ἐπιστάμεθα are differently expressed: we should say rather, 'we know that the Α. are encroaching on others and how they do it.' (The sentence is awkward: Cobet bracketed καὶ διὶ. Possibly something is lost after 'Ἀθηναῖοι.)

15. οἱ ὅμεροι—'while they think,' as they do at present. When they conclude that you know, but do not care, 'they will press on with determination,' and no longer κατ’ ὀλύγον.

19. τῇ μελλήσει—'intentions' = τῷ μελλέων ἀμύνασθαι.

21. διπλασιούμενη—see c. 123, 6; mind the tense. δύναμιν is evidently a gloss on the unusual αὕξησιν, for which, as applied to Athens, see c. 89, 1.

22. ἀσφαλεῖς—'sure,' though slow; cf. Soph. O.T. 617, cited in L. & S., φρονεῖν γάρ οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς. (In all other places in Thuc. ἀσφαλῆς = 'secure,' but that is no reason why it should not mean 'sure' here: he must have known of this meaning!)

δύναμις = ἄλλα ὑμῶν.

ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει—so ii. 42 οὐκ ἄν πολλοῖς... ἱσόρροποι... ὁ λόγος τῷ ἔργῳ φανεῖτ, 'there are but few cases in which report does not outweigh fact.' ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν = 'the report about you,' your reputation; cf. p. 52 1. 7.

24. ἐκ περάτων γῆς—proverbial of remote countries.

πρότερον ἡ with infin., a rare constr. except in Herod. Thuc., Antiphon.

25. τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν—'your forces.'

28. ἐπελθεῖν αὐτό—together: so βούλεσθε μᾶλλον.

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1. ἐς τὰχας κ.—'expose yourselves to the chances of war.'

2. δυνατωτέρους—sc. than they were.

3. περὶ αὐτῷ... σφαλέντα—cf. vi. 33, 5 καὶ περὶ σφόνων αὐτοὶς τὰ πλεῖστα πταίσειν: Aristoph. Pax 905 περὶ ταῖς καμ-

4. τὰ πλείω—sc. than through you.

5. ἤμας—we, your allies. Thuc. is referring to the thirty years' truce, which was a set-back to Athens for the time being.

7. ύμέτεραι—'in you,' of help from you.

8. καὶ ἀπαρασκέυους—καὶ is explained by its correspondence with διὰ τὸ πιστεύει: because they had confidence in Sparta, they remained also (as a consequence) unprepared (E. Chambry).

9. ἐφθειράν—gnomic.

10. ἔπ' ἐχθρά τὸ πλέον ἢ αἰτία—'to show our enmity, but rather to complain.'

12. φίλων . . ἐχθρῶν—objective. αἰτία in this second sentence = τὸ ἐπ', αἰτία λέγειν, but ἐχθρά is not equivalent to τὸ ἐπ' ἐχθρά λέγειν, so Thuc. substitutes κατηγορία, which is. The habit of defining terms, common in Thuc., is, as Croiset remarks here, derived from Prodicus of Ceos, who gives a well-known specimen of his skill in this line in the Protagoras. Demosth. imitates this passage, Androt. 22.

14. ἐξει—'have a right.'

16. ἄλλως τε καὶ—this clause must give a reason for the claim just made, and this can only be if διαφοροντὼν here= 'the interests' at stake, and not 'differences' between you and Athens. But διαφοροντάς presently has the other sense.

20. ύμῶν with διαφοροντάς.

καὶ ὄς—καὶ is 'nay' or 'in fact.'

21. νεωτέροποι κτλ.—we have echoes of this famous comparison in Demosth.


24. σφίξειν—sc. ὀξεῖς, sarcastic.

ἐπιγνώναι—'adopt further measures' beyond a resolution to preserve what you have got.

οὐδὲ τάναγκαία—contrast ἐπιγνώναι μηδὲν. The last clause = καὶ οὐκ ὀξεῖς ἐστε ἐργω οὐδὲ τ. ἐξ. By τάναγκαία he means 'what will just do.'

26. παρὰ γνώμην—γνώμη here and below prob. = 'judgment,
forethought': the A. are ever taking risks that their judgment forbids them to venture on; you hesitate to follow the sure indications of your judgment. There is an evident allusion to the favourite contrast between γνώμη and τύχη.

28. εὐελπίδες—in Ar. Αὐ. Euelpides personifies the venture-some character of Athenians.

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4. καὶ μὴν in oratory draws attention to a new and striking point, 'then again.'

5. εὐδημοτάτους—a marked trait in the Spartan character which was much modified by the Pel. War; though for a long time S. was deficient in vigour in the war.

7. τῷ ἐπελθεῖν—'aggression.' There is no need to read ἐξελθεῖν; cf. § 7, and the contrast is as old as the Odyssey; π 27 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι θὰμι ἄγρον ἐπέρχεαi . . | ἀλλ' ἐπιδημεύεις.

9. ἐξερχομαι . . ἀναπληστοῦν—explained (by Bonitz) as a metaphor from boxing: to follow up an advantage |( to be forced back—ceterisque clapsus vulnere cessit, Aen. v. 445.

10. τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν . . τῷ δὲ γνώμη— the points of this rhetorical passage are two: (1) the A. give their lives just as much as the S. for their city, but the A. regard their lives as of little worth, while the S. devote themselves entirely to the care of the body as the most precious thing they can offer to their city; (2) the A. use their intelligence in the service of their city, and for that end they cultivate their minds, whereas the S. neglect them. Thuc. has obscured his meaning by introducing a contrast between ἀλλοτριώτατος 'not their own' (but of course belonging to their city) and οἰκείωτατος 'nearest and dearest to them.' The Spartans too gave their lives for their city, but they regarded them as οἰκείωτατος.

13. ἄ μὲν ἃν—I.e. when they do not carry out a new plan they have hit upon, they regard the failure as a loss of something that belongs to them.

15. πρὸς τὰ μελλοντα—' in comparison with what is to be done.'

16. τυχεῖν πράξαντες—'that in reality they have done,' a very common meaning of τυχανόν with partic. : e.g. Plat. Gorg. p. 468 οἱ οἴμενοι ἄμειν τυχανέι δὲ ὑν κάκιον.

τοῦ καὶ πείρα σ.—'if they fail too in anything they attempt.' kal (in ref. to ἄν ἐπελθόντες κτῆσωνται) emphasises the phrase.
17. ἐπλήρωσαν—iterative.
18. μόνοι γάρ—possession and desire, 'have' and 'hope' overlap, so impetuous are these Athenians.
20. καὶ ταύτα κτλ.—imitated by Demosth. de Cor. 203 (Athens) ἀγωνιζόμενη περὶ πρωτείου καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κυν- δουνεύοντα πάντα τὸν ἀλώνα διαπετέλεκε. (A misuse of the poetical ἀλῶν is that of Polus τέχνη ap. Plat. Gorg. init.) It is a fine stroke of style that at the end of the contrast here, the antithesis is dropped and Athens alone is spoken of.
24. ἐξουσία—predicate. It is not likely that there is any ref. here, as the Schol. who is followed by some edd. supposes, to the refusal of Sparta to set out for war during festivals. The passage is hyperbolical, and is spoiled by making it too precise. μήτε and τε correspond.
25. οὐχ ἡσσον .. η = μᾶλλον η.

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1. ἔαν—sc. ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν.
3. ταύτης—subject; τοιαύτης πόλεως pred., lit. 'this (city) that is opposed to you being such a city.'
4. Διαμέλλετε—'persist in ..'
5. οἴστεθε κτλ.—'you think that peace lasts longest not for those who in using their forces confine themselves to what is right, but (none the less) by their resolution show that, if wronged, they will not put up with it: instead of that, you deal out fair treatment with the object of not annoying others and, where you defend yourselves, of avoiding harm to yourselves.' (1) τὸ οὐσον νέμετε represents δίκαια πράσετε with slight modification: 'fair treatment to you means (a) not provoking others and (b) overlooking a wrong if you find that self-defence will entail suffering on you.' (2) ἐπιτρέπειν as practised by Sparta is explained as an attempt μὴ λυπέω τε .. βλάπτεσθαι. (All other explanations seem (1) to render ἀμυνθημενοι μὴ β. as if it were μὴ ἀ. β., (2) to strain the meaning of τὸ οὐσον νέμετε: νέμω is not 'control' here; cf. p. 103 l. 25.

9. ἄλλ' ἐπὶ κτλ.—there is anacoluthon here, since strictly we ought to have ἄλλ' (ἐκεῖνος) οἵ ἄν .. νέμοσι corresponding to οὐ τούτοις κτλ. But the change greatly heightens the effect.
11. μόλις δ' ἄν—even if Α. were as conservative as you, it would be almost impossible μὴ λυπέω τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνθημενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι.
12. νῦν δὲ—‘but in fact.’

14. πρὸς αὐτοὺς—‘as compared with theirs.’

ῶσπερ κτλ.—full form: ὦσπερ τέχνης (‘in an art’) τὰ ἐπιγεγράμματα (‘what is new’) κρατεῖν ἀνάγκη, οὕτω καὶ ἑπιτηδευμάτων κτλ. τέχνης is possessive, with τὰ ἐ.

16. τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμμα—alluding to the conservative νόμμα of Lycurgus: τάδε . . κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκούργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτη νόμμα Χεν. Λακ. Πολ. 7, 1.

17. πρὸς πολλὰ . . έναί—‘those on whose resources there are many demands need constantly to think out new devices’; cf. ἐπισχυσθαί, plan something untried before, Herod. ii. 2, 3; 119, 2.

20. ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν—‘more than yours’; cf. l. 14.

μέχρι . . τούτῳ ὄρισθω—cf. Aeschines 3, 24 μέχρι τούτῳ εἰρήσθω μοι ‘so far and no farther,’ ‘let this be the limit of.’ Strictly we have a fusion of—

(1) ‘So far let your slowness have proceeded,’
(2) ‘Here let your slowness end.’

Cf. on p. 69 l. 26.

22. ὑπεδέξασθε—see c. 58, 1.

26. ἐτέραν—i.e. πρὸς τοῦς Ἀργείους, says the Scholiast. Such an alliance was formed between Corinth and Argos in 421 B.C.

28. πρὸς—‘in the eyes of.’

29. τῶν αἰσθανομένων—‘intelligent men.’ The rendering ‘men who take notice of our actions’ does not suit the context. All Greece must ‘note’ an alliance formed by Corinth; not any special part of Greece; but ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων could hardly mean τῶν Ἑλλήνων here. Those who look below the surface of things will not condemn Corinth. αἰσθάνομαι is abs., as in v. 26 αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ. That this limitation of ἀνθρώπων does not stand in the same relation to the noun as τῶν ὅρκιον stands to θεῶν is not a valid objection in Thuc.

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1. ἐρημίαν—‘isolation.’

ἄλλως—in quest of an alliance.

2. οἷς ἐν ἐξυμμαχία— the parties to a παράξεια have ‘the same friends and enemies’: hence the point.

3. μενούμεν—‘remain firm,’ pregnant sense fixed by ὑμῶν.
5. ξυνηθεστέρους — sc. οἵμων (not ὠμῷον προθύμων δυτῶν, as with οὕτε γὰρ κτλ.).

7. μὴ ἐλάσσω — proleptic. ἐξηγούμαι of exercising ἡγεμονία in a league appears to take accus. or dat.

9. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἑτυχε γὰρ — cf. c. 115, 4; viii. 30. The gen. follows the constrn. of the clause immediately following, and this produces a confusion of constrn. between

οἴ δ' Ἀ. (ἑτυχον γὰρ . . παροῦσα) ὡς ᾗθοντο and
tῶν δ' Ἀ. ἑτυχε πρεσβεία παροῦσα καὶ ὡς ᾗθοντο.

The anacoluthon is lessened by deleting καὶ, but it is only a matter of degree.

13. παριτητέα — Thuc. alone among prose writers affects this use of the plur. neut. of the verbal adj.; cf. c. 79 etc.

14. ἐγκλημάτων — cf. c. 67, 4. The Athenians saw that their business was to answer the Corinthian's speech. See Intr. p. xxxv.

16. δηλώσαι δέ — if this were expressed as strictly parallel to the μὲν clause, we should have δηλώσεται δέ.

17. ἐν πλέον — of time, like ἐν μέσῳ, ἐν ὑσῷ etc.

24. προσελθόντες — to the ephors; contrast παρελθόντες below.

26. εἰ τι μὴ ἀποκωλότοι — this is the reading of the Laurentian, and its evidence in such a point outweighs all the other mss. The confusion between the forms of indic. subj. and opt. is continually met with in mss.; this passage does not stand on the same footing as vi. 21 where εἰ ἐνοτῶσι is the only reading.

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1. ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς — the dat. following the constrn. of ἀντιλέγω, as in ἐπίπλονος τῇ Ἡλεοποινήσῳ etc.

7. οὕτε ἡμῶν οὕτε τούτων — prob. to be taken with οἱ λόγοι. The emphasis is on δικασταῖς: we are not in a court of law.

11. τού ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος — 'the general line of argument that is used against us.'

16. ἀκοαὶ . . λόγον — 'hearsay.'

18. εἰ καὶ δ' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰεὶ προβαλλομένως — 'even if it will prove an annoyance to you to have them continually brought before you.' προβαλλομένως, sc. ὑμῖν, is personal pass., cf. c. 126, 11; 140, 1; the act. would be
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προβαλλομεν ταῦτα ὑμῖν. (To supply ἓμῖν, as many edd. do, produces a sense inconsistent with what follows, esp. τοῦ δὲ λόγου μη παντὸς στερισκώμεθα. There is no need to read προβαλλομενa with Classen; and to place the comma after ἔσται, as I formerly proposed to do, is no improvement.)

21. ἐκινδυνεύετο—impersonal. 'It was to help the cause that we faced danger'—it was not φιλονεικία (νίκη) that prompted us. ἐπ' ὥφελια is intentionally vague, because the speaker is to emphasise the share that the Peloponnnesians received; cf. c. 74, 3.

τοῦ ἔργου—'the reality' (τοῦ λόγου 'the mention of it,' 'reference to it,' when such reference is opportune for us.

24. μαρτυρίου—'evidence' (not 'protest').

25. υἱὸι with καταστήσεται.

27. προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ β. —'stand forward,' 'bear the brunt of battle against,' as a πρόμαχος. Demosth. brings in προκινδυνεύω in the famous oath in de Cor. § 208 μᾶ τοὺς Μαραθώνι προκινδυνεύσαντας κτλ.: he probably had this passage in mind.

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3. ἀδυνάτων ἀν ὄντων—masc. = ol (sc. οἱ Πελοποννῆσιοι from τὴν II.) ἀδύνατοι ἀν ἦσαν (Mr. Forbes takes ἀδυνάτων ὄντων as neunt., like πλωμωτέρων ὄντων c. 7, εἰσαγγελθέντων c. 116—where see notes—as if we had ἀδύνατον ἀν ὄν. This will not do).

6. ὁμολαγε—sc. καλ ('as') πρὶν ναυμαχησαι (not 'equal to the Greek').

8. ἀνεχώρησεν—cf. c. 118, 2.

τοιούτου κτλ.—cf. c. 71, 1.

9. δηλωθέντος—cf. c. 76, 2.

ἐν ταῖς ναυσί . . . ἐγένετο—cf. e.g. Soph. O.T. 314 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἐσμέν.

13. ἐξυπερώτατον—again of Themistocles in c. 138; cf. vi. 39 φημι . . . βουλεύσαι ἀν βέλτιστα τοὺς ἔξυπερτούς. τὸ συνετὸν ὅ thes διδόσιν says Euripides.

14. ἐσ τὰς τετρακοσίας—'to make up the total of 400.' Herod. gives 375 as the total, Aeschylus (Pers. 339) 310; cf. Demosth. de Cor. § 238 τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο. Herod. also puts the number provided by Athens at 200. There is therefore an exaggeration here. (Some edd. read τριακοσίας.)
15. τῶν δύο μοιρῶν—in fractions when the denominator exceeds the numerator by 1, the larger number is omitted; cf. c. 10.

16. αἰτιῶτατος ναυμαχήσαι—instead of τοῦ ν., as Antiphon v. 23 ἐγὼ αἰτίος ἥν πεμφθήναι ἄγγελον. When the Peloponnesians in the fleet wanted to retreat to the Isthmus, Them. sent a false message to Xerxes to the effect that now was his chance to destroy the Greeks. The king then attacked the Greeks from the south. See on p. 121 l. 23.

17. καὶ αὐτόν—διὰ τοῦτο = δ' ὡς κάπερ: see c. 10, 3 (or αὐτόι—see crit. note, ‘you yourselves admitted how great a service he had rendered’). Cf. Herod. viii. 124 of the visit of Them. to Sparta, μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων . . Σπαρτιήται προεπεμψαν.

18. ἀνδρὰ ξ.—‘though . . .’ τῶν . . . ἐλθόντων with μᾶλλον. Them. was presented with an olive wreath and a chariot at Sparta, and was escorted to the frontier by 300 mounted Spartans.

20. οἶ γε—quínppe qui.

22. δουλεψάντων—Greeks used δοῦλοι esp. of the subjects of the Great King.

24. μηδ' ὄσ—c. 44, 2.

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2. τοῦτον—sc. τοῦ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὄφελεσθαι. οἷς ἰδέσσαν . . . ἦ = . . μᾶλλον ἦ.

ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ—the ref. is to the tardy dispatch of the Spartan army under Pausanias to Boeotia in 479 B.C.

3. ἀπὸ τε οἰκουμένων—‘from your cities that were undisturbed’) (ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ὑμῶν ὄφελεσθαι): ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λουπὸν νῦν, ‘with the object of occupying them in the future’ (ὑπὲρ τῆς . . . ὁπίσης, ‘which there was but little hope of recovering.’ (Some following the Schol. see in πόλις a reference to the Athenian navy; this is only artificial and does not give a clear antithesis to ἐπὶ τῷ νέμεσθαι.)

9. τὸ μέρος—c. 127, 2, like τὸ σῶν μέρος, τοῦμῶν μέρος in tragedy. ‘Did our part in rescuing you as well as ourselves.’ The emphasis is on ὑμᾶς, and there is a contrast with ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οἷς ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον of l. 5.

11. ὡστερ καὶ ἄλλοι=ὡστερ καὶ ἄλλοι δείκνυται προσ., ‘as others did.’
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13. ὡς—‘regarding ourselves as.’
οὐδὲν ἄν ἔδει ἐτι—because it would have been of no use.
15. καθ’ ἦσυχαν—‘without interference.’
17. ἀρα = nonne.
18. γνώμης—‘resolve,’ sc. τῆς τότε : the gen. is governed by ξυνέσως.
19. ἀρχής depends on ἑπιφθάνως διακείσθαι = φθονεῖσθαι. For the point see c. 96.
23. παραμείναν πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ β.—‘remain at your post to attack what was left of the power of the Persians.’ See c. 95, 7; 96, 1; Herod. vii. 107.
26. ἕργον—the fact of accepting the ἡγεμονία.
27. ἐς τόδε—cf. c. 144, 4.
28. ὑπὸ δέονσι—fear of the Persians. τιμής—the honour enjoyed by Athens when she had once accepted the ἡγεμονία. ὕφελλαν—‘interest.’

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1. καὶ οὖκ ἀσφαλές takes up τὸ πρῶτον: when we had acquired this power it was necessary to guard it.
2. καὶ τυνων κτλ. = καὶ ἐξεὶ τινὲς καὶ ἀποστάντες ἦδη κατεστραμμένοι ἦσαν.
5. ὑπόπτων—there seems to be no advantage in rendering ‘suspicions’ here in preference to ‘suspected.’
6. πρὸς ψμάσ—i.e. now that you were no longer friendly to us, our allies would have taken to revolting to you.
8. τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κ.—‘when the greatest dangers are involved.’
ἐδ τίθεσθαι—cf. c. 25, 1; ‘to manage well matters that are for their interest.’
9. ύμεῖς γοῦν—an example of the principle just stated.
10. ἐπὶ . . καταστησάμενοι—referring to the oligarchies; see c. 19.
12. ἐξηγεῖσθε—governs τὰς τάλεις.
tότε—in the Persian War.
13. ἀπήχθησθε—‘had become unpopular’; cf. c. 75, 2. This is better than ἀπήχθεσθε, ‘had been hated.’
14. ευ λοφεν μή—μή generally with a verb expressing confident belief impressed on others.

15. λυπηρούς—'severe.'

18. ἀπὸ τοῦ—like ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος Demosth. 24, 6.

19. διδομένην—'when it was offered.'

21. τριῶν—cf. c. 74, 1, and so iii. 40. The conjecture is however scarcely certain, though elegant. See c. 75, 3.

24. καθεστώτως—abs. like δηλωθέντος c. 74, 1 (not governed by ὑπάρξαντες), 'it being established by precedent.'

25. ἀξιοὶ τε—the τε joins the clause to what precedes, and does not belong to the καὶ following.

26. δοκοῦντες—imperf.

μεχρὶ ὅ... νῦν = μέχρι νῦν ὅτε (Croiset): 'when, while (really) thinking of expediency, you profess to argue from justice.' So in Bk. v. in the Melian dialogue τὸ ἔμφερον is opposed to τὸ δίκαιον, and cf. the Corcyrean speech. ὁ δίκαιος (ἄδικος) λόγος = 'the argument from justice (injustice)'; you tell us what we ought to do, but really think of your own interest.

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1. παρατυχόν—'when there was an opportunity'; to προθεῖσ supply τῆς ἴσχύος.

2. τοῦ μή—cf. c. 10, 1.

4. δικαιότεροι καὶ κατά—cf. c. 37, 3.

6. γεννώνται after ὁτινες: if this is the true reading—see crit. note—we have an instance of the epic and Ionic usage. See Goodwin M.T. § 540. The only other ex. of pure subj. with ὅς in Thuc. is iv. 17 ὃς μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκώσι, which is thought to be from a gnomic poet.

γ' ἄν οὖν = γοῦν ἄν.

τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας = εἰ ἔλαβον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἴσχυν.

8. ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς—i.e. ἐκ τοῦ μετριάζεων.

11. καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γάρ—an ex. to show how Athens got a bad name as the result of her moderation. 'For though in suits arising out of contracts against our allies we are at a disadvantage and in our own city have instituted courts for these cases under equal laws (i.e. laws under which they and we are treated alike), we are considered litigious.' εὐμβόλαις 5.
is probably from ἕμβολαιον, a contract, and not from ἕμβολον, a treaty; δικαί ἀπὸ συμβολῶν were suits arising out of international treaties; but (1) it is not clear that Athens had such σύμβολα with the ὑπήκοοι, and (2) it is most improbable that in all such suits an Athenian had to sue in the courts of the subject state. It is known that δικαί ἀπὸ συμβολῶν were tried in the court of the defendant's state. If we assume that δικαί ἐμπορικά, commercial suits, which were tried in the state in which the contract was made, are referred to, the passage becomes clear. An Athenian litigant in the courts of the ὑπήκοοι is in an unfavourable position, whereas ὑπήκοοι in the courts at Athens are treated exactly like Athenians. Some think that ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις refers to the compulsory jurisdiction at Athens in certain criminal cases, when a subject ally was involved. But even when both parties were ὑπήκοοι such cases were tried at Athens, whereas Thuc. is speaking only of cases in which one party was an Athenian: so supply ἐν ταῖς... δικαίαι in the second clause. In these latter cases the allies considered that they were badly treated. ([Xen.] Ath. Pol. i. 16 τοὺς μὲν τοὺς δήμους σύζουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐναντίους ἀπολλύουσιν ἐν τοῖς δικαστήριοις. On the difficulties surrounding the judicial arrangements of the Athenian League see Holm, Hist. of Greece ii. 217, Engl. Transl.)

13. ὁμολογεῖ—contrast with ἐλασσούμενοι. κρίσιν ποιεῖν = institute a trial.

18. διότι—'why.' The reason why others in our position do not go to law is that they use force. Mr. Forbes points out that the Persians, Scythians, and Carthaginians are instanced as ruling powers by Socrates in Xen. Mem. i. i. 11.

19. οἱ δὲ—'but they.'

21. παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἰκεθαὶ χρήναι—μὴ with χ., 'contrary to their opinion that it is wrong' that they should be deprived.

ἡ γνώμη ἡ κτλ.—'either by a decision (in our courts) or through the power we enjoy on account of our Empire.' This passage refers not only to defeats of allies in the Athenian courts, but to curtailments of their rights (δυνάμει κτλ.).

24. τοῦ ἐνδείκνυ—'at their (slight) inferiority.' The gen. after χαλεπῶς φέρειν as in ii. 62, 3 probably, unless στερισκό-μεναι is to be supplied.

25. ἀπὸ πρῶτης—cf. c. 15, 3. Perhaps ὀρμῆς or ἀρχῆς originally completed the phrase.

τὸν νόμον—'law' in general.
3. βιαζόμενοι—pass. as often in Thuc. and trag.

τὸ μὲν κτλ.—'the one (τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι) seems to be an act of over-reaching where both are equal, the other an act of compulsion where one is stronger.' The infins. are impersonal. ἵσου and κρέσσονος are neut.

8. εἰκότως belongs only to ἦ δὲ ὑμετέρα κτλ., and is added as an afterthought, the general sense being: 'It is inconsistent that they should chafe at our empire when they endured worse from the Persians, but it is not strange; for' etc. The Persian power too was βαρύ, but they had to put up with that.

9. γ' ἄν οὖν—c. 76, 4.

10. ἀρξαίτε—ingressive, 'gain an empire.'

11. εὔνοιαν—'good-will,' which at present they enjoyed as professed 'liberators' (ii. 9, 4).

ἡμέτερον—c. 33, 3.

12. οἷα . . ὁμοία—'measures like those of which you gave some examples.' δι' ἄλγου, 'for a short time.' For the conduct of the Spartans as leaders, esp. for the hatred excited by Pausanias, see cc. 94 f.

14. γνώσεσθε—'are going to adopt.'

15. ἀμείκτα . . τοῖς ἄλλοις—i.e. τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ν. For νόμιμα see c. 71, 5.

17. ἐξιών—'when he goes abroad.' Xen. Lac. Pol. also speaks of the change for the worse in the Spartan when he left home to assume a command.

οἷς with νομίζει = χρηται, an Ionic use.

19. οὗ βραχέων—'no trifling matters.'

22. πρόσθενθε—'assume,' 'take upon yourselves,' cf. c. 144, 1. 4; Eur. Her. 146 ὅδια προσθέσθαι κακά.

24. φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας . . περίστασθαι—'is wont to turn out at last a series of chances, from which we (you and we) are equally remote' (i.e. we cannot see into them).

26. ἐν ἀδήλω κ. —'depends on what is hidden.' The ordinary phrase would be ἐν ἀδήλῳ ἔστι, and so we have a compression of ἐν ἀ. ἔστι καὶ κινδυνεῦσται. For this kind of expression cf. vii. 77 ἐν κινδύνῳ αἰωροῦμαι.
28. τῶν ἔργων—without stopping to think: as Thuc. says elsewhere, at the beginning of a war, men are impulsive. ἐχονται is equivalent to ἀπονται.

ἀ χρῆν ύπτερον δράν—if ᾧ is right (and the Schol. as well as all mss. has it), we cannot render ᾧ 'a thing which,' but must make τῶν ἔργων antecedent: nor is there any objection to this except that Thuc. regularly uses δράν (αὐτό or αὐτά) differently; see c. 5, 2: but δράν τὰ ἔργα is good Greek, e.g. συννοιὰ θ' ἀμα οἶνον δέδρακεν ἔργον Eur. And. 806.

29. ἡδη—'only when,' with κακοπαθοῦντες.

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2. δῆτες οὕτ' αὐτοὶ—strictly this should have been οὕτ' αὐτοὶ δῆτες.

3. λέγομεν ὑ.—'we charge you.'

αὐθαίρετος—i.e. not forced on us by circumstances.

6. λύεσθαι—cf. c. 140, 2 τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι.

ἐυνθήκην—in the thirty years' truce.

8. ἄρχονται—c. 49, 4.

ταῦτῃ ἃ ἀν ὑφηγησθε—'following just wherever you may lead.'

14. πάντας—sc. τοὺς ἐνμάξους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

16. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ . . ἐφερον—'led to the same conclusion.'

17. ἀδίκειν—'were guilty.'

24. ὁρῶ—sc. πολλῶν τ. ἐμπείρους δυνας.

25. τοῦ ἔργου—'the thing,' i.e. war.

26. οἱ πολλοὶ—in contrast with Archidamus and the elderly Spartans.

27. νομίσαντα—parallel to ἀπειρία.

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2. Πελοποννησίων καὶ τοὺς ἃ.—i.e. our allies in Peloponnese and neighbours (who are not allies), esp. Argos. (Some see a hendiadys here, but it is unnecessary.)

3. παρόμοιος—'a match for'; cf. ἀντίπαλος.

5. ἐφ' ἐκαστα—we can strike at any point promptly.
9. ἵππους καὶ ὀπλοὺς καὶ δρίλαω—the transl. "cavalry and hoplites and light-armed troops" is possible (cf. e.g. Xen. Anab. III. ii. 36); but the simple rendering (δρίλαω = population) is borne out by τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ τῷ πλῆθει, c. 81. 1.

12. φόρουν ὑποτελεῖσ—contrast c. 19, 1.

13. τίνι—neut.

17. ἔνεσται = μετάξι γενησται (Croiset).

18. ἐν κοινῷ—"the treasury." The want of money at Sparta previous to Lysander's conquests is well-known. After the Pel. War there was a great change; but the money then acquired found its way into private hands, not into the treasury.

19. ἐτοιμῶς—"easily." (The Spartans had not yet become conspicuous for covetousness, as after the war.)

20. φέρομεν—as an ἐλεσφορά.

21. τῷ πλῆθει—the king includes the population of the confederate states. It is true that Sparta could pour a far greater number of troops into Attica than Athens could into the Peloponnese.

22. ἐπιφοιτῶντες—"by repeated incursions." This was the method adopted, and this is probably written after the event.

26. τῆς = ποίος.

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1. κὰν τούτῳ—"in that case.

2. καλὸν—sc. ἤμιν. In καταλύεσθαι the mid. denotes reciprocity, as in σπένδεσθαι.

3. μᾶλλον—sc. ἢ ἀναγκασθήναι πολεμεῖν.

7. οὗτως—adeo.

8. φρονήματι—'pride,' 'high spirit.'

τῇ γῇ δουλεύσαι—'slaves to their land,' so that they will not endure to see it ravaged, but will resist vigorously. Cf. Archidamus to the same effect in ii. 11. 6-8.

11. οὗ μὴν οὔδε—c. 3, 3.

ἀναίσθητως—with ἔαν; a reply to the Corinthians; see c. 69, 3.
14. καταφωμάν—properly ‘catch (a criminal) in the act’; hence ‘detect,’ ‘discover.’

16. δηλούντας with πολεμοῦ implying a threat, and ὡς ἔπιτρέψομεν (for which cf. c. 71, 1) implying an admission; properly ‘explaining’; cf. c. 129, 1.

17. τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν—‘our own resources,’ both ἐξμμάχων προσαγωγῇ and τῷ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀμα ἐκπορίζεσθαι. The καὶ clause takes a new coniunct after the long parenthesis. (Croiset thinks that τὰ ἡμέτερ’ αὐτῶν mean ‘our home resources’ only, and that τὰ ἡμέτερ’ αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι is answered by τὰ αὐτῶν (sic) ἀμα ἐκ. which refers to the resources of the ἐξμμαχοι. But τὲ after ἐξμμάχων is much against this; and why should τὰ ἡμέτερ’ αὐτῶν be limited by ἐξμμάχων προσαγωγῇ?)

19. καὶ βαρβάρων—efforts by Sparta (and perhaps Athens) to obtain the support of Persia are already heard of in the early part of the war.

22. ἐπισούλευμεθα—by attraction to the ἀντι-clause.

24. τὰ αὐτῶν = τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν, ‘our own’ as distinct from those of our ἐξμμαχοι. This is awkward after τὰ ἡμέτερ’ αὐτῶν above in a wider sense, and the use of αὐτῶν, otherwise common, for ἡμέτερ’ αὐτῶν does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. Hence αὐτῶ (adv.) and αὐτόθεν have been proposed.

26. ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριῶν—cf. δίς καὶ τρις, δύο καὶ τρία βῆματα: καὶ (‘even ’) δίς καὶ τρις (see crit. note) etc. is also used.

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1. ἣδη with what follows: when they see that while negotiating we are preparing quietly for war and maintaining a firm tone.

6. μὴ γὰρ ἀλλο τι—Archidamus argues against invading Attica at once, that as long as it is unraved it is a hostage for the conciliatory behaviour of Athens in the negotiations; when once it is wasted, they will know that they have nothing to lose.

7. ἔχειν (sc. ὑμᾶς), by an idiom common in Thuc. = εἶναι ὑμῖν. ὅχι ἥσσον—‘the more so.’ The cultivation of the poor soil of Attica was necessarily carried on with great care.

12. ὀράτε ὅπως μὴ—the result may be trouble for the confederacy (τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ). There is much difference of opinion about the transl.: Classen says, ‘see that it do not turn out for us as regards Pel. in a more disgraceful and difficult
fashion'; Krüger and others, 'see that we may not bring about a more disgraceful and difficult state of things for Pel.'—making πράξομεν trans. and αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀπόρων πράξομεν. Some think that ἡ τῇ 'Ἀττικῇ' is to be supplied to the comparatives, others—but wrongly—ἡ νῦν. I construe 'see that we do not do (something) too disgraceful and awkward for Pel.' sc. than if we refrain from invading Attica now, spurred on by these accusations. These ἐγκλήματα against Athens, it may be said, if we do not take up the cudgels (see next sentence), may involve αἰσχρῶν and ἀπορία to the confederacy; but they can be disposed of by negotiation. To go to war at once may involve us in worse difficulties.

16. ἰδίων—'separate,' or 'individual,' thinking of Corinth and Megara.

18. εὐπρεπῶς—contrasted with αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀπόρως πράξομεν. θέσθαι—cf. c. 25, 1.

22. χρήματα φέροντες—'and they contribute money.' The Lac. allies paid no tribute.

23. ὑπλών—'is a matter of,' 'calls for.' Krüger compares e.g. Demosth. de Cor. § 190 ἡν ἐκεῖνος δὲ καίρος τοῦ γε φροντίζωντος ἀνδρός. The gen. is one of description.

24. ὡφελεῖ—'are of no avail.' The dat. with ὡφελεῖ is not very rare in poetry (see Jebb on Soph. Ant. 560), but ὡτειρψαῖς here belongs to ἐστι as much as to δι' ἧν, etc., 'especially in the case of a land power fighting against a naval power.' Different explanations have been put forward of the meaning: some suppose Archidamus to allude to the necessity of obtaining a fleet (see c. 81, 4), others think that the allusion is to the equipment of large armies to remain in the field; but this is against the general argument of the speech. In δαλασίους is included the idea of tribute-paying subjects: the Lac. have no fleet and no subject allies bound to pay for one. (This is a succinct restatement of cc. 81, 4, 82, 1. Archidamus rightly sees that success in a war with Athens depends on getting control of the sea. You cannot conquer a sea power on land, cf. c. 121, esp. 4 and 5, and c. 81, 1, 2. The two things needful to give success to the Pel. are δαπάνη and μελετή."

28. τῶν ἀποβαινόντων depends on τῆς αἰτίας, 'the greater share of responsibility for the consequences.'

ἐπ' ἀμφότερα—i.e. for good or ill (καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ δυσκλείας says the Schol. on ii. 11 δόξαν ὀλοκληρώσει ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα).
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1. τι αὐτῶν — i.e. τῶν ἀποβαίνοντων, 'let us take some thought of them beforehand.'
   τὸ βραδύ καὶ μέλλον—referred to in τοῦτο and αὐτό below; μέλλον is only another name for βραδύ.

2. ἕμαι depends on δ.

4. παύσαισθε — 'reach the end.' If we begin in a hurry, we shall not be properly prepared, and the war will be prolonged.

5. καὶ ἄμα — the meaning is 'we have always been free and famous, so our βραδύτης has served us well.' This leads naturally to the reflexion that the so-called βραδύτης is really σωφροσύνη.

7. δύναται ... εἶναι — when δύναται:='means' we do not find εἶναι: δύναται μάλιστα εἶναι=literally 'can be on the whole,' i.e. 'may be called.' τοῦτ is emphatic, 'it is just this that.' ἐμφρων too is emphatic; hence its position; and the etymological jingle σωφροσύνη ἐμφρων is equivalent to 'true prudence.' For σωφροσύνη cf. c. 68, 1, to which this is a retort.

10. τῶν ... ἐξοτρυνόντων depends as objective gen. on ἡδονή. There must be here a side ref. to the increasing influence of oratory in the Athenian ecclesia—ἐπαίνος, ἡδονή (produced by rhetoric), κατηγορία all show it. The whole of this paragraph is an independent criticism of Athens as well as an answer to the contrast drawn by the Corinthians.

ξίν ἐπαίνω — ξίν of the means is very rare (cf. § 3 and c. 141 ξίν φόβω), but occurs sometimes in Xen., as well as in poetry.

11. ἐπὶ τὰ δεινά—cf. c. 70, 2.

13. ξίν κατηγορία—like the Corinthian speech.

14. ἀνεπεισδήμεν—for the aorist cf. c. 70, 7.

15. τὸ μὲν—i.e. πολεμικό. The meaning is 'we are brave because we have a keen sense of honour, and we have a keen sense of honour because we are moderate.' But Thuc. proceeds in the opposite direction, and says, 'The chief element in moderation (σωφροσύνη substituted for τὸ εὐκοσμον) is honour, and the main ingredient in the sense of honour (ἀλοχύνη= αἰδώς) is bravery.' Cf. iii. 83 τὸ εὐθείας, οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετέχει.
17. ἀμαθέστερον . . παίδευόμενοι—causal partic., 'not so highly as to despise the laws'; see c. 68, 1, but a different turn is given to ἀμαθία here in the retort.

18. καὶ ξὺν χ.—sc. παίδευόμενοι, which is again to be supplied to the following infinitives.

20. τὰ ἀχρεία—thinking on public policy for one's self, for instance, and putting before the assembly what you have thought of.

22. ἂνομολος—not so well as the fine criticism would lead one to expect.

23. παραπλησίους—as good as ours.

24. τὰς προσπιτπούσας . . διαμετὰς—'the chances that befall cannot be determined by argument.' The general sense is 'just as we do not despise the intelligence of our enemy, so we know that we cannot see into the future—how war will go—but must depend on our εὐφυξία and σωφροσύνη in preparing.' διαιρεῖν is properly 'to make a gap in.'

26. παρασκευαζόμεθα—see crit. note: alei favours the indic., καὶ . . δὲτ the subjunc. But an exhortation here would come in very awkwardly before c. 85, where the peroration begins; and Steup, reading παρασκευαζόμεθα, thinks this whole section (§ 4) properly follows c. 85 § 1.

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4. ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις—'in the most rigorous discipline'; cf. ξὺν χαλεπότητι παίδευόμενοι above. (The rendering of Bonitz, 'trained (only) in what is indispensable,' as distinct from the useless wisdom of the Athenians seems to take us far beyond anything that Archidamus has said on the small extent of Spartan education, and a limitation—'only'—does not fit in well with the context.)

12. βουλεύσωμεν—'come to a decision.'

13. διὰ ιοξύν—i.e. we need be in no hurry, because the Athenians, knowing our strength and that we are not overlooking what they have done (cf. c. 69, 3), will not dare to take any further step against us in the meantime.

18. πρότερον—before you too consent to arbitration.

20. κράτιστα—this and φοβερώτατα are pred. to ταύτα (Classen). If Thuc. means καὶ τοῖς ἐν. φοβερώτατα to explain
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κράτιστα, the first καὶ must be omitted (see crit. note). The double καὶ makes two ideas.

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6. καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν—ὕμεν is implied after τότε. The same form of sentence occurs in iii. 40, 2 and vi. 60, 2. But in Plat. Gorg. p. 488 B we have ἄλλα τεῦτα ἔλεγον καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν λέγω (ἔλεγον del. Schanz).

11. παραδοτέα—for the plur. see c. 72, 2.

12. οὐδὲ δίκαια κτλ.—‘nor must we decide by arbitration and words where we are ourselves being injured not in word.’ μὴ is caused by the prohibition of which the whole clause consists.

24. ἐφορος δὲ—‘in his capacity as ephor.’

25. ἐς τήν ἐ.—after ἐπεψήφισεν.

26. κρινοσι—decide in the assembly.

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3. διῳ μὲν—the method of taking the division adopted seems to be introduced for this special occasion.

8. ἐγένοντο—‘amounted to.’

12. ψῆφον ἐπαγαγεῖν—‘put the vote to them.’

13. κοινῇ βουλευτάμενοι—‘arrive at a common decision before . . .’

18. τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λ.—the gen. of definition. Some edd. think these words spurious.

ἐγένετο . . προκεχωρηκυνόν—lit. ‘took place in the fourteenth year of the thirty years’ truce when it had lasted (so long, sc. ἐς τοσοῦτον),’ i.e. in the fourteenth year of its course.

21. τὰ Εὔβοικά—see c. 23, 4 and 114.

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1. οἱ γάρ—now begins the so-called πεντηκονταετία, or sketch of the growth of Athenian power in the half century between the battle of Mycale (479 B.C.) and the beginning of the war (431 B.C.). This sketch continues to c. 118, 2; and
it consists of two parts: (1) to c. 96—how they obtained the leadership (ἡγεμονία)—or, as he says here, ἡλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ἡξῆθησαν ; (2) to c. 118—how the leadership was transformed into an empire—ἐν οἷς πρῶτω κατέστη (ἡ ἀρχή), c. 97, 2.


7. διεφθάρησαν—by Leotychides, the Spartan king, and Xanthippus, father of Pericles.

11. οἱ . . ξύμμαχοι—probably there was no formal treaty, but ξύμμαχοι is used because they were fighting side by side with the Athenians. (There is no need to remove ξύμμαχοι with Wilamowitz.)

14. ἐπιχειμάσαντες—the winter of 479-478 B.C. The history of Herodotus ends with the fall of Sestos.

19. οὐδός—in autumn of 479.

21. κατασκευήν—'stock, goods,' of all kinds.

22. ἀνοικοδομεῖν—in the autumn of 479.

24. βράχεα—'only a small remnant,' of the wall round the city left by the Persians.
13. ἀπὸ ἐξυροῦ ποθεν . . οἰρμᾶσθαι—'to use any stronghold as a base of operations.' ποθεν by attraction for πον.

νόν—'lately.' Herod. ix. 13 fol. tells us how the Persian general Mardonius made Thebes his headquarters.

15. ἀναχωρησών τε καὶ ἄφορμήν—'as a place to retreat to or advance from,' abstract for concrete.

24. ἱκανον ἄρωσιν—for the pred. adj. cf. ii. 75 ὑπερο τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ τείχους μέγα. The aor. (see crit. note) is necessary: the pres. would mean 'so long as.'

25. ἀναγκαιοτάτον—cf. c. 2, 2.

πάντας—on this the Schol. notes αὑτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖς. It is therefore evident that he did not find these words in the text. Mr. Forbes defends the words as 'forcible,' and adds that the note may only mean that the words καὶ παῖς in the text themselves explain πάντας. Steup finds something wrong with their 'force,' rightly saying that καὶ οἰκέτας is missing after παῖς: e.g. Diodorus xi. 40 says συνελαμβάνω τῶν ἔργων οι τε παῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ καθόλου πᾶς ἔννοι καὶ δοῦλος: but the details of his account are not drawn wholly from Thuc. The second point raised in defence is not borne out by the scholia to Thuc.

26. τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει—cf. c. 64, 2: in contrast with those away from Attica.

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3. τάλλα . . τάκει—'the rest, namely what was to be done there': an intentionally vague and mysterious suggestion of cunning, both being object of πρᾶξοι. The order throws emphasis on both. The Athenians liked such oracular remarks from those whom they regarded as ἔφαντο: this style reflected the manner of the Delphic oracle, the gnomic poets, the sages and early philosophers.

6. ἄρχας—'magistrates.'

11. ὡς—for ὁπος, 'how' (not 'that').

13. διὰ φιλίαν αὑτοῦ—αὑτοῦ objective: the reason of this favour was, no doubt, that Them. was regarded at Sparta as a protector from the Persians: they owed him gratitude for the Athenian fleet; cf. c. 74, 1.

τῶν δὲ ἄλλων κτλ. — Classen makes ἄφικθομένων substantival; and renders καὶ σαφές 'quite positively' (ἐπεὶ οἱ
The contrast to this subject will then be σφών αυτῶν ἄνδρας below. Others render '(all) the other (visitors) arriving and announcing.' In either case there is probably an allusion to τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔκοπτοντων c. 90, 1 in τῶν δὲ ἄλλων: these 'others' were persons afraid of Athens.

15. τείχεται—sc. τὸ τείχος.

18. οὐτίνες χρηστολ—parts of eili are often omitted in short rel. sentences.

24. ἡμον—'were come.'

29. ἐπεστάλη— impersonal.

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1. τοῖς Δακεδαυμονίοις—i.e. ταῖς ἄρχαις (c. 90, 5).

4. εἰ δὲ τι κτλ.—a claim to complete recognition as an equal. τι = 'in regard to any matter:' ὧς πρὸς κτλ. lit. 'to go in future as to men who could discern both their own interests and the common interests of the Greeks.' λέναι depends on εἰπεν in sense of ἐκέλευσεν: ὧς πρὸς δ. is placed early so as to make it emphatic, and the emphasis must be marked in translating. There is no reason for interfering with the text here: προδ— (see crit. note) is only a slip for πρὸς δ.

10. ἐφασάν—sc. the Athenian ambassadors.

11. Βουλευσθαί—the attraction of the verb of short rel. sentences in O. O. into infinitive is less rare in Gk. than in Lat.: Thuc. has several examples, e.g. ii. 102 λέγεται . . ὅτε δὴ ἀλάσθαί. This sentence stands as accus. of respect to οὐδενός κτλ.

14. καὶ Ἰδία κτλ.—'and for the Athenians themselves and with a view to (the interests of) the allies in general it would be beneficial.' The position of the allies would be secure in the general council if Athens was strong. (This passage has been much discussed: (1) Classen takes τοῖς πολίταις with ἐσ τοὺς π. ξυμμάχους also, and understands, 'would be of more advantage to the Athenians (both) separately and with regard to their relations with the allies.' But it is rightly objected that the advantage of the fortification cannot be limited to the Athenians, who want to prove that it is good for the allies too (cf. c. 91, 4 τὰ κοινά). Steup deletes ἄμεινον εἶναι, and is thus able to transl. the καὶ Ἰδία κτλ. 'both for the A. themselves and
for the allies.’ But there is no decisive objection to the text as it stands. It is true that we expect ló gia τέ or καί (‘both’) ló gia; cf. τά τε σφέσων αὑτοῖς . . . καί τά κοινά: but the omission and the unusual ἐσ τούς instead of dative serve to make the allusion to ‘the allies’ a climax; καί = ‘and in fact.’)

15. ὀφελιμότερον ἑυεσθεί— the argument is that this, like the earlier actions of Athens, was done ἐπὶ ὀφελία, not only for Athens but for the Greek allies in general. Cf. c. 73, 2.

οὐ γάρ—this alludes to all the allies quite as much as to Athens: they would feel that the right to strengthen themselves was vindicated by Athens, thus all would be on an equal footing in the common council and their views would be equally respected.

18. ἔφη—Themistocles.

22. γνώμης παραινέσει—sc. ἐπί, ‘to recommend a resolution to the Athenian assembly,’ i.e. to give advice. τῷ κοινῷ depends on παραινέσει. δηθέν is of course ironical.

25. τὰ μάλιστα—best taken with ἐν τῷ τότε, ‘at that time more than at any other.’

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4. οἱ γάρ θεμᾶλιοι—the upper part of the wall was of brick (πλινθω), but there was a lower course of stone. Cf. Demosth. de Cor. § 299 οὐ λίθους ἐτείχεσα τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν πλινθων ἑγό.

5. ἔμφραγματεύνων—‘shaped for fitting together.’

6. στήλαι—fragments of some of these belonging to the walls of Themistocles have been found. Hicks, Man. p. 13.

8. πανταχῇ—the extension did not include the SW. side of the city. For μεῖξων cf. c. 90, 3.

10. κινοῦντες ἡπείγοντο—‘disturbed in their haste’: κινεῖν is specially used of things that should not be interfered with.

12. ὕπηρκτο δὲ αὐτοῦ—‘a beginning had been made on it’; αὐτῷ is neut. = ‘the work.’

13. ἔπι τής . . . ἴρει—‘during his office of archon, which he had held for a year at Athens.’ It is not necessary to understand by καὶ ἐναυτῶν ‘annually,’ which complicates the grammar of the sentence. κατά, with words denoting time,
is not always distributive. The year is now thought to be 482 B.C.

15. ἀμένας—Piraeus, Zea, Munychia.

16. καὶ αὐτοῦς—'and that the A., having once become a naval people, were in a very advantageous position for the acquisition of power.' (Classen understands προφέρεω as fut. in sense.)

18. τῆς γὰρ δῆ—as often, there is an ellipse here; in full the sense is 'he naturally thought of this, for,' etc.

19. τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύασεν—'at once began to help them to lay the foundation of their empire.' This seems, on the whole, better than the version preferred by Classen and others, 'prepared to begin (ἀρχὴν) the building,' in which ἔργω- is left obscure, and is, in fact, variously explained; and ἀρχὴν (cf. c. 96, 2) is strange for ἐργοῦ. The allusion is to the whole period after Salamis.

21. νῦν ἔτοι—generally supposed to have been written after the destruction of the walls of Piraeus by Lysander in 404 B.C. There is, however, no certainty in the matter; cf. § 2.

22. δύο γὰρ ἀμαξαι—this is supposed to mean that wagons in two rows drawing up stones from opposite ends met and passed one another on the wall (Classen); or, much better—because the idea of Classen could not possibly be carried out in building—the wagons worked from one end up an incline, and after discharging their load turned and passed the laden wagons still coming along the wall. (So already Procopius.) It is almost incredible, however, that Thuc. should have intended this Greek to represent (1) two rows of wagons (2) passing along the wall, and (3) the one set returning empty. But I have no other explanation to offer. Some suppose that two wagons worked on the level and deposited stones ready for the building on either side; perhaps this does prove τὸ πᾶχος τοῦ τείχους.

24. ἐντὸς δὲ—i.e. the inside was not filled with clay and small stones, but large blocks were cut and fitted and fastened together on the outside by iron clamps.

25. ἐντομῇ—'by cutting into them,' so that the ends could fit together and overlap. This is much better than ἐν τοмя, which cannot = 'at the ends.'

28. οὐ διενοεῖτο—i.e. ἐκεῖνον ὁ διενοεῖτο τελεῖν.
NOTES

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1. ἐπιβουλάς—an ἐπιβολή would lead to an ἐπιβολή: Thuc. as often gives to the cause the meaning of its effect: there is no need to alter the text, despite the gloss in the Schol.

2. ἄρχειοτάτων—in its strict military sense.

16. ξυνέπλεον—it is not clear whether this expedition took place in 475 B.C. or in the early spring of 477. The Athenian leaders were Aristides and Cimon.

21. ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ ἑ.—during the command of Pausanias. ἡγεμονία refers to his leadership, not to the Spartan ‘hegemony’; see e.g. c. 128, 7. The story of Pausanias is given in cc. 128-130. Some, to improve the sense, connect these words with the sentence that follows; see crit. note.

24. καὶ ὅσοι κτλ.—see c. 89, 2; those who had revolted from Persia after Mycale.

27. γιγνεσθαι—the pres., if correct, implies that the change could not be made in a minute.

κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές—they were not all Ionians, but the greater number of them were.

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9. ἐφαίνετο—it is not necessary to supply a subject such as ἡ ἀρχή: the lit. rendering is ‘an imitation of despotism was apparent (was to be seen)’; so in ii. 65, 9 ἐγιγνεσθαι λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ . . . ἀρχή, ‘nominally a democracy was being formed.’

10. καλείσθαι—before the court at Sparta.

14. τῶν μὲν ἱδία . . . ηὐθύνη—‘was punished for the injuries he had privately inflicted on any person.’ τῶν is prob. masc., the sing. being used for the plur. as elsewhere, e.g. c. 40, 5; πρὸς τῶν, ‘in certain respects,’ seems flat, and τῶν as neut. plur. is avoided where it is ambiguous.

15. τὰ δὲ μέγιστα—those against the state: internal accus. to δικαιέν.

17. ἐδόκει—sc. τοῦτο.

23. οἱ ἔξιοντες—cp. c. 77, 6; the pres. of the succession of commanders.

χειρός—‘corrupted.’

27. ἐπιτηδεῖον = φίλους.
2. ἔταξαν—cf. Ath. Pol. c. 23 τοὺς φόρους ὁδὸς (Aristides) ἢν ὁ τάξας ταῖς πόλεσιν τοὺς πρῶτους ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχίαν—in 478-77. Trans. 'assessed the contributions both of the states that were to provide money and of those,' etc.—not 'fixed which of the states,' which overlooks the technical use of τάσσειν, 'rate.'

5. ὅν = ἐκείνων ἃ, gen. of cause.

6. Ἐλληνοταμία — ἄρχη — ἄρχη is pred., 'as an office,' and the verb is attracted into its number. Only Athenians could hold the office. They were ten in number, and were elected annually in the Ecclesia, one from each tribe. See Sandys' note on Ath. Pol. c. 30, 2.

9. ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεῖσ—for the order cf. c. 11, 3. The sum is thought, on the evidence of the extant lists of the quota of στὸν paid to Athena, to be impossibly large; and Classen therefore considered the whole passage interpolated. Perhaps the sum given was assessed, but not realised.

11. Δῆλος—the treasury of the league was removed to Athens in 454 B.C.

14. βουλευόντων—co-ordinate with αὐτονήμων. ἀπό expresses the method.

τοσάδε ἐπηλθὼν—the series of enterprises that are about to be noticed (c. 98-118); τοσάδε διεπράξαντο δόσα .. ἔρει Schol.

15. διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων—'by the management (manipulation) of political affairs.'

16. μεταξὺ τοῦ ἰσού πολέμου καὶ τοῦ Μ.—'between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.' Greek often proceeds in this manner from the nearer to the more remote.

ἀ — the antecedent is τοσάδε. ἔγενετο stands as the passive of ποιῶ.

20. τοὺς αἰτί προστυχάνοντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ—'who in the several incidents came in contact with them' as enemies ('took part with the allies' as some understand προστυχ. does not seem to be supported by the usage of the word; it occurs only here in Thuc.).

21. αὐτά—i.e. ἔγενετο κτλ.

23. χρόνον—'period.'
26. 'Ελλάνικος—this is the only instance in which Thuc. names another historian. H. of Mitylene was contemporary with Pericles, and in his 'Αθήνα (here called 'Αρτική ξυγγραφή) he included a sketch of historical events, and is said to have carried his work down at least to 406 B.C.

27. βραχέος τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἄ.—Hellanicus must have been very scanty and inexact in the dates for this period, since this description would apply in a considerable degree to the better account that Thuc. proceeds to give. For the probable dates of the events to be noticed see Introd. p. xxix.

29. ἕχει—sc. ταῦτα.

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1. Ἡδώνα—this place became later the port of Amphipolis. Miltiades is the victor of Marathon.

6. ψκισαν αὐτῷ—Scyros was parcell ed out among Athenian settlers, or ‘cleruchs’; sessores veteres eieiτ (Cimon), agros civibus divisit, says Nepos.

7. ἄνευ τῶν ἄ. Ἐυβοῖων—Carystus sided with Persia, but the rest of Euboea was in the league.

8. ἔναβεθσαν—the Carystians.

12. τὸ καθεστήκος—not ‘recognised principles of right,’ but the existing arrangement which was that the allies retained their autonomy. δουλεία as in c. 8, 3.

13. ἔναβεθ—sc. δουλωθῆναι, ἐδουλωθῆσαν. The Schol. supplies ἐδουλωθῆ, and acting on this hint Krüger removes ἔναβεθ, so that ὂς ἕκαστη (nom.) = ‘severally.’ This gives a simpler constr., but the text may be sound; and, as Classen says, ἔναβεθ points to the varying circumstances under which the loss of αὐτονομία occurred.

16. λιποστράτιον—i.e. failure to furnish any ships as distinct from ἐκδεῖαι, which means that part only of the number was supplied.

17. ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον—‘were exacting’ in regard to φόρων ἐκδείαι, not quite ‘exacted (the tribute).’

18. λυπηρόλ ἡσαν—cf. c. 76, 1: ταλαιπωρεῖν refers to νεῖ̂ ν ἐκδείαι καὶ λιποστράτιον.

22. ἄρχοντες—'as rulers' they were not popular as they had been at first. πῶς implies the omission of the details.

24. δὲ—i.e. ὅτι οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον κτλ.

27. χρήματα ἐτάξαντο...φέρειν—the mid. denotes a reciprocal arrangement. χρήματα is prob. object of φέρειν and τὸ ἅναλαμα, 'the sum that fell to them' is in appos. to it.

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1. ἡγετεῖ—Thuc. never uses the ordinary Attic form αὐξάνω.

10. ἀμφότερα—cf. c. 13, 5.

12. Φοινίκων—the Persian fleet consisted almost wholly of Phoenician ships.

τὰς πάσας—'in all.'

15. ἀντιπέρας—often used of the coast opposite an island, or vice versa.

16. ἄ ἐνέμοντο—see notes on p. 2, 11 and p. 44, 3. Here the two antecedents in different number require ἄ, which would otherwise be δὲ.

23. αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν—in contrast with the Ἡδωνοὶ—but the use of αὐτοὶ here, to which Steup objected, is strange. Notice how the precise sense of οἱ Αθηναίοι shifts in this passage with the different verbs (e.g. πέμψατες and διεφθάρησαν).

26. ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥακῶν ξυμπάντων oίς—all the Thracians who objected, as distinct from the Edonians only. oίς πολέμιον ἢ γε replaces a τῶν + partic. limiting ξυμπάντων. Poppe's conj. ξυμπάντες, supported by Valla's transl. omnes, brings this passage more into harmony with Herod. ix. 75 and other passages in which the Edonians alone are named as destroying the Α. But if Thuc. meant the Edonians only, why should he say ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥακῶν?

27. τὸ χωρίον κτιζόμενον—'the founding of the place.'

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8. αὐτοῖς—ethic: it is constantly placed early in this manner.

περιοίκων—the free, but dependent Lacedaemonians descended from the pre-Dorian inhabitants and living in separate towns.

11. τότε—'the descendants of the M. of former times who had been enslaved in the war made up most of the helots.'
πλείστοι is pred.; τότε refers to a well-known occasion, as elsewhere in Thuc. (often too, to some event that has been already recorded by Thuc.)—here to the first Messenian war, after which the Messenians became, as Τυρταeus says, ὄσπερ δυνα μεγάλοις ἥχεσι τερόμενοι: δουλωθέντων is epithet, the order being justified by παλαιῶν, cf. c. 11, 3 κατεσχηκότος.

12. ἕκληθησαν—'came to be called'; cf. c. 2, 4. οἱ πάντες, sc. Εὔλωτες.

16. καθελόντες—this and the following aor. partic. are what are called 'timeless,' i.e. they denote merely the act, not time anterior to the verb. This happens only when the leading verb is in aorist. Cf. the constr. with ἔτυχον ἔλαβον, ἐφβασα.

17. χρήματα τε κτλ.—the order is ταξαμενοι αὐτίκα ἀποδούναι χ. δοσα ἐδει καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν (χ. δοσα ἐδει), and χ. δος ἐδει is the common object and so is put first. Note the aor. of one act and the pres. of a system. (It is certainly wrong to make ἀποδούναι depend only on ἐδει and to render καὶ 'also.' This would mean that they were always to pay as much as the indemnity now exacted).

23. ἐμμάχους—in virtue of the alliance under Sparta still formally existing in spite of the Athenian hegemony.

24. οἱ ἄδικοι—there was opposition at Athens to the proposal, but Cimon's view was that Sparta on land was as necessary to Greece as Athens on sea: Greece was 'lamed' while Sparta was tied down (Plut. Cim. 16).

27. τοῖς δὲ—edd. are divided as to whether this refers to the Athenians who fell short of their reputation, or to the Lac., i.e. whether to transl. (1) 'but in their case (the Ath.) it gradually appeared that there was a deficiency in this (viz. τοῦ τειχομακείν δυνατοῦς εἶναι),' as they did not succeed in taking Ithome; or (2) 'whereas it was apparent to them (the Lac.) that they lacked skill in this'—so that the full form would be ὅτι (οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι). . . τοῖς δὲ (Δακεδαίμονιοι). This seems better. The reading τῆς of the Schol. is prob. only a conjecture. ἐνδεα is again the plur. adj. for sing. (=ἐνδεια). Thuc. might have said τοῦτο ἐνδεές ἐφαίνετο in the same sense.

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2. βια γὰρ—'for otherwise (had they been competent τειχομακείν) they would have captured it by assault'—and would not have had to turn the siege into a blockade. Cf. on c. 11, 1.
8. ἵγγισάμενοι—‘considering’; so often in the aor. : they reflected ὅτι οἱ μὲν Δωρεῖσ, οἱ δὲ Ἰώνες (Schol.).

μὴ τι κτλ. — this depends on δέσσαντες, the clause between being parenthetical; a not very common form of constr. ; cf. Soph. Antig. 1278 τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἐσκασ ἥκεν καὶ τάξ' ὅφεσθαι κακά, with Jebb's note.

9. νεωτερίσωσι—i.e. by joining the helots. This would be an instance of their τολμήρων καὶ νεωτεροποια.

12. ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίωνι λόγῳ—‘for the better reason,’ viz. that they were no longer needed. Of course βελτίων implies a contrast with a suppressed κακίων aitia viz. τὸ ὑποψίαν τινὰ γενέσθαι.

15. δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι=δ. ἵγγισάμενοι: but δεινὸν (-ā) ποιεῖν=to declare a thing intolerable.

23. δεκάτω ἔτει—this year (see chron. table p. xxx) would be 456 B.C.; but there are several reasons for thinking δεκάτω wrong; e.g. (1) we know from [Xen.] Ath. Pol. that the Messenians were reduced before the battle of Tanagra, which occurred in 457 B.C., nor is it possible that Sparta should have sent a large army out of the Pel. unless this were so; (2) with ἰδεκάτω the chronological order of events is here only in this sketch of the rise of Athens interrupted to notice an event that occurred after events that are still to be noticed. Hence Krüger proposed τετάρτῳ, supposing that Thuc. wrote Δ which was taken for the initial letter of δεκάτῳ instead of the sign for four. Unfortunately, in view of the fact that Cimon was not sent to Sparta until after the capitulation of Thasos, and that then ἔμικόνετο ὁ πόλεμος, it is doubtful if four years is long enough.

28. εἴναι—the infin. in O.O. for ἔστω δοῦλος of O.R. This infin. is particularly common in the terms of treaties.
ports was of the utmost value to Athens, because they thus blocked the roads from Pel. to Attica and Boeotia.

20. ύπέρ—'above,' i.e. further inland.

22. 'Αρταξέρξου— the successor of Xerxes.

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4. 'Αλίας—nom. 'Αλίας or -eis (cf. Δωριεύς). The object of Athens was to begin a plan of connecting up the coast from the Saronic G. to the G. of Argos.

19. πρότερον with ἐπικούρον.

21. κατέλαβον—the heights command the Megarid.

23. ἐκ τὴς π. —c. 8, 2.

29. οἱ τε προσβάτατοι καὶ οἱ ν.—those over fifty or under twenty did not as a rule serve outside Attica: here περίπολοι (18-20) and οἱ ύπέρ πεντήκοντα ἑτη γεγονότες, as Classen points out, are meant.

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3. αὐτοὶ—subj. of ἔλασσον ἔχειν.

6. κακιζόμενοι = ψευδόμενο (Schol.).

8. ἡμέραι— with ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν. The dat. is much better than accus. taken with παρασκευασάμενοι.

15. προσβιάσθεν—'driven to it,' viz. πρὸς τὸ υποχωρεῖν (to take οὐκ ὄλιγον as adverbial and qualifying προσβιάσθεν with Steup is very forced). Others explain πρὸς τὸ ἐσπεσεῖν κτλ., which on account of διαμαρτῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσπεσεῖν (= pass of ἐσβάλλω) is less likely.

16. ᾧ ἐτυχεῖν—sc. ὃν.

19. ἐφ' ρόν—sc. αὐτοὺς. τοῖς ὅ. is dat. of means.

22. τὸ πλήθος—'the main body.'

25. τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη—these are not the two parallel 'Long Walls' or 'Long Legs' so familiar, but (1) the northern or τὸ ἔξωθεν τεῖχος running to Piraeus, and (2) the wall to Phalerum, τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος. The third wall, parallel to the northern wall, and called τὸ διὰ μέσον or τὸ νῦτιον τεῖχος was added some years later. (Steup supposes that all three walls are here meant, the two to Piraeus being included in τὸ ἐς Πειραΐα. This is contrary to Andoc. de pace 37 and Plat. Gorg.
p. 455 ε, and in ii. 13, 7 it is not likely that Thuc. means both walls by ῥὸ μακρὸν, esp. as immediately afterwards he uses the plur.)

28. ἰωριᾶς—i.e. the territory of the Dorians. The names of the towns in this district are variously given by different authors; but no doubt the three places here mentioned are the most important.

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3. Νικομήδους—brother of Pausanias. The Lac. must have crossed the Corinthian (‘Crisae'an') gulf.

9. ἀπεκφυροῦν—'began to . . .'

15. δύσοδος—i.e. the passes are difficult.

20. τὸ δὲ τι—τὸ δὲ is 'on the other hand' (cf. τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ), and τι 'in some measure' (cf. ὅ τι in Plato).

22. ἐπήγγον—'were egging them on.'

25. πανδημεῖ—i.e. all liable to serve who remained at Athens.

28. νομίσαντες δὲ κτλ.—νομίσαντες and ἱπψία are the emphatic words (Forbes).

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8. φόνος . . . πολύς—see Hicks, Man. Gk. Hist. Inscr. p. 23. Cimon, who had been banished after the return from Ithome (c. 102), was recalled after this defeat on the motion of Pericles. Plato (Menex.) and Demosth. speak of the battle of Tanagra as indecisive. Plato also misrepresents the ostracism of Cimon in the Gorgias.

11. διὰ Γερανέλας—a good proof of the severity of the defeat is that the Athenians did not attempt to hold the passes against the returning Lac.


26. τὸ νεὼριόν—Gythium. This Chalcis is in Aetolia.

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1. ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς ἐσ τῆν γῆν ἀποβάντες.

5. ἰδέαι—'vicissitudes,' διάφοροι πόλεμοι, οἶον . . νίκαι καὶ ἤτται (Schol.).
NOTES

12. ἄλλως—μάτην (Schol.).
19. Προσωπίτιδα—an island formed by one of the mouths of the Nile and a canal.
24. ἡμείρων—sc. ἐποίησε.
27. πολεμήσαντα—there is no need to read πολεμήσαντων with Cobet; cf. such expressions as νοσεὶ τὰ πράγματα: edd. quote Herod. vii. 9 ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.

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3. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεσι—the Nile Delta.
5. καὶ ἀμα—the constn. changes from subord. to principal form: strictly we require καὶ ἀμα διὶ κτλ.
7. τὰ πάντα ἐπράξε—i.e. τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐποίησε τῆς Αἰγύπτου (Schol.); see c. 104, 1.
11. Μενδήσιον κέρας—one of the Nile mouths named after a town Mendes. κέρας καλεῖ Νεῖλον τὸ στόμα (Schol.).
12. ἐμὸτες—after τριήρεις, of the crews, as often; e.g. vi. 104, 1.
20. βασιλέως—he belonged prob. to the Scopadæ, one of the two branches of the royal house of Thessaly.

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5. Περικλέους—first mention of him (year 454 B.C.).
9. τῆς "Ακαρνανίας depends on Ολυμπίδας.
15. ἐσχὼν—‘abstained from war with Greeks.’
18. ἀπ’ αὐτῶν—out of the 200.
19. μετατέμποτοσ—Thuc. often uses this verb in act., while other authors use the mid.: so too μεταχειρίζεται, πειράτω.
22. Κίτιον—in Cyprus (now Chitti)
23. ὑπὲρ Σ.—‘off S.,’ with ἐναυμάχησαν.
25. ἀμφότερα—see c. 13, 5.
26. αἱ ... πάλιν [αἱ ἠθούσαι]—'which had returned from Egypt.' αἱ is to be omitted.

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5. ἔγγενομένου—cf. c. 80, 4.
6. φευγόντων—after the battle of Oenophyta, the democratic party in Boeotia had driven out the anti-Athenian oligarchs. But the exiles had recovered some of their lost power.
13. καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες—there is no sufficient ground for omitting these words (see crit. note): that a scribe copied them from c. 98 is very unlikely. It is remarkable that Athens should have taken such drastic measures against a place in the heart of Greece and so near.
14. καταστήσαντες—sc. ἐὰν αὐτῇ, unless ἐγ- should be read (if Thuc. wrote in the old Attic alphabet, ἐγ would be nearly identical with the last two letters of φυλακήν) ; cf. c. 115, 3.
15. Κορωνεία—in this engagement Clineas, father of Alcibiades, was killed ; and Tolmides himself.
17. γνώμης—i.e. sympathised with the oligarchs.
22. οἱ ἄλλοι—the other Boeotians, as well as those who had been driven out.
26. διαβέβηκότος—the gen. abs. in place of dat., throwing emphasis on the partic.; cf. vi. 10 σφαλέντων δὲ (ἡμῶν) ... ταξεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἡμῶν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιήσωσιν: gen. for nom. viii. 76, 4; for accus. ii. 8, 4.

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9. Θριάζε—ἐσ τὸ Θρίασιον πεδίον (cf. ii. 19); Thria near Eleusis.
11. τὸ πλέον—'further.' Pleistoanax was banished from Sparta on his return, being thought to have taken a bribe to leave Attica (ii. 21).
15. ὁμολογῶ κατεστήσαντο—arranged their affairs under a convention. See Hicks Man. p. 33.
20. ἀποδόντες—for the aor. cf. c. 101, 1.
28. τὴν πολιτείαν—this is the only case in which νεωτερίζω has an accus. except a neut. pron. (τι, οὗτος etc.).
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5. Δήμον—Athenian colony.
6. τῶν δὲ Σαμιῶν—for the constn. cf. c. 72, 1.
8. τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις—‘the leading oligarchs’ in Samos. ξυμμαχίας seems to be used somewhat loosely as applied to τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις.
10. εἰχε Σάρδεις—as satrap of Lydia.
13. τῶν πλείστων—‘most of them’; the sense is not clear.
16. οἱ ἄγαν παρὰ σφίσιν—this seems to refer to Athenian ἐπισκόποι who were sent out to superintend the affairs of the new democratic government of Samos.
18. παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν—μετ’ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Pissuthnes) says the Schol.; and this note has strayed into the text of CG (see crit. note).
21. ταῖς μὲν ἔκ.—for the article cf. c. 10, 2.
24. τῶν Φοινικῶν νεῶν—i.e. the Persian fleet that Pissuthnes might be expected to employ.
αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ Χίου—Sophocles the poet was στρατηγὸς of this squadron. See Jebb’s Intr. to the Antigone.
25. περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν—calling for the contingents they were entitled to. Chios and Lesbos were not entirely to be depended upon.

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6. κρατοῦντες—‘being superior.’
τρισὶ τείχεσι—intended to blockade the town on the three sides that did not face the sea. Why they built three separate walls is not explained.
10. ἐσαγγελθέντων—cf. δηλωθέντος c. 74, 1, and for the plur. c. 7, 1.
ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς—i.e. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
14. ἀφάρκτῳ—i.e. the Athenians had neglected to protect their naval station with a σταῦρωμα.
21. πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ with κατεκλήσθησαν.
23. Θουκυδίδου—it is not known who this Thuc. is, probably not the well-known politician, nor the historian. For Phormio see c. 64: after winning great victories he died about 423 B.C.
Hagnon led the colony to Amphipolis in 437 B.C., and was again Strategus in 430 and 429 B.C. After the Sicilian disaster when an old man he was one of the ten πρόβουλοι.

27. ἀντίσχειν—the advantage of this pres. form over the aor. of ἀντέχω (see crit. note) is that continuation of resistance is implied.

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1. καθελόντες—for the aor. see c. 101, 3.
3. κατὰ χρόνους—at fixed intervals.
9. πρόφασις—see c. 23, 6.
11. δοσα ἐπραξαν οἱ Ἑλληνες—in spite of the verbal similarity to c. 97, 1, Thuc. here includes everything related between cc. 89 and 118.
12. ἐν ἐτεσὶ πεντήκοντα—i.e. between 480 and 431 B.C. Perhaps it is in order to round off the period to fifty years exactly that Thuc. here says μεταξὺ τῆς Σέρβου ἀναχωρήσεως whereas at c. 89 he began ἐπειδὴ Μήδοι ἀνεχώρησαν—which is a different event.
14. ἐν οἷς—since the period begun at c. 97. In such a summary as Thuc. here gives we need not look for absolute accuracy in the details: he is giving the useful landmarks in the chronology. Think of the retreat of Xerxes, he says, and think of the beginning of the war, you have just fifty years, and a convenient plan for remembering how the power of Sparta among the allies was lost and that of Athens was gained.
16. αὐτοὶ—Athens, independently of her empire.
18. ἐπὶ βραχὺ—'to a small extent,' cc. 90; 107; 112; 114.
19. δύντες μὲν πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς—the μὴ is unusual: 'it is as if he had said ὡς εἰκὸς μὲν ἡν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς δυνας' (Croiset), i.e. Thuc. wants to represent a general cause: persons who had been slow before would naturally be slack in such a case: this connexion of cause and effect is well brought out by the μὴ. Cf. next note but one. (Goodwin, M.T. § 685 offers a curious explanation.)
21. τὸ δὲ τι—see c. 107, 4.

πολέμως οἰκείως—the use of the plur. where only the Messenian War is meant shows that Thuc. is still representing the cause as a general one that would naturally have the effect mentioned.
22. πρὶν δὴ, 'until at length,' with past indic. often introduces the decisive event.

23. τῆς ξυμμαχίας—esp. the Corinthians.

26. καθαιρετέα—sem.

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1. αὐτοῖς—as distinct from their allies: see c. 87, 6.

5. ἀμείνον ἐσται—formula used in inquiring of oracles, and ἀμείνον often in the metrical replies.

7. αὐτός—the oracle said ξυλλήψομαι αὐτός.

8. αὖθις with παρακαλέσαντες only; this is the congress referred to in c. 87, 4. The earlier meeting implied is that of c. 67, 3.

18. παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε—as they had already expressed their views to the allies as well as to Sparta, their presence at this second meeting is specially mentioned. (There is no sufficient ground for rejecting παρόντες. Stepen conjectures παροξύνοντες.)

19. τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες—cf. c. 67, 5.

21. οὐκ...ἐν—the charges (1) that the Lac. were neglecting their allies in not deciding to fight Athens, and (2) that they had not brought the allies together to vote on a clear issue, viz. on the question of war, had been brought by the Corinthians in the earlier assembly (c. 68).

23. ἐς τούτο = ἐς τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον.

24. γὰρ implies 'otherwise we should blame them.'

25. τὰ ἱδιὰ ἐς ἵσου νέμοντας—'while attending to their own interests as much as others do.' τὰ ἱδιὰ is the interests of Sparta in contrast with τὰ κοινά, the common interests of the confederates. ἐς ἵσου = with as much care as others of the confederates (esp. the Corinthians) attend to their own interests. νέμω is here not 'assign,' but 'direct, manage,' as often in trag.: how distinct the two senses are may be seen from Soph. O.C. 237–240 γῆς | τῆς δ' ἥς ἐγὼ κράτη τε καὶ θρόνους νέμω | μὴν ἐσδέ- χεσθαι μὴν προσφονεῖν τινα | . . . μὴν χερνιθὸς νέμειν. Here νέμοντας τὰ ἱδιὰ has reference to αὐτοὶ ἐγήραμενοι τὸν πόλεμον εἰσι, and προσκοπεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τὸ ἡμάς ἐς τούτο ξυνῆγαγον.

26. προσκοπεῖν—not to foresee, but 'to consider before others,' in a higher degree, in contrast with εἰς ἵσον and corresponding to the προ- in προτιμώνται.
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27. ἐκ πάντων—'above all' (masc.; some render 'by all,' which is less likely).

28. ἐγγάγησαν—only here in this sense, συνέμειν καὶ ὀμίλησαν (Schol.). Cities on the coast who have had commercial dealings with Athens are meant.

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2. κατωκημένους—Thuc., like Herod., uses this verb in mid. as well as in act.: but only the perf. and plup. in mid. For the accus. Krüger quotes Herod. iv. 8 κατοικημένου τὴν . . νῆσον. ἐν πόρῳ—'in the track' of trade: this constrn. is strange after τὴν μεσόγειαν and prob. τὴν is meant to extend over μὴ ἐν πόρῳ (sc. γῆν).

4. τὴν κατακομβήν—i.e. for exportation; πάλιν qualifies ἀντιληψιν; cf. e.g. ἡ πάλιν κατάβασις vii. 44. τὴν of course goes with both nouns.

8. ποτε with προελθεῖν.

11. βουλεύεσθαι depends on χρῆ.

13. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων—in sense subord. to ἄγαθῶν δὲ κτλ.

ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἄδικοιντο—instances of this idiom in Sophocles are given by Bayfield on Antig. 666; Goodwin M.T. § 555; Spratt on Thuc. iii. 9. This opt. is esp. suited to such γνώμαι because it puts the case in the most general way possible. Jebb on Soph. Antig. l.c. ἀλλ' ἐν πόλις στήσει, τοῦτο χρῆ κλύειν.

14. ἄδικουμένους = εἰ ἄδικοιντο. The speaker impresses on the allies on the interior that they too are involved when those of the coast are wronged. The change of case (ἄδικουμένων might have been written) makes the partic. more emphatic.

15. εἰ δὲ παρασχόν—this clause added to ἀνδρῶν ἄγαθῶν rather than to σωφρόνων shows that the ἄνδρεα meant is not opposed to the σωφρυστή.

16. καὶ μὴτε . . ἐπαιρεθαί—this clause gives the negative of ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν εἴ, and μήτε . . ἀδικεύθαι that of ἄδικουμένων . . πολεμεῖν in chiastic form. Thuc. is fond of restating in a negative a point just made; while his style is brief, there is yet a tendency to redundancy. See Intr. p. xlvii. τῷ ἡσύχῳ τῆς
elphimes is according to the constant habit of substituting the adj. neut. for subst. in giving the quality of a person or thing. The form ἔσχαιος (see crit. note) is rarer, and as τὸ ἄνδριχον occurs in vi. 18 and 34, not to be preferred. ἰδρύμενον is in the sing. as if tivα had preceded.

19. ὁκνών—sec. παλεμείν. Some regard el ἄνδριχάιον as a gloss, but if it is tautologous after ὁκνών so is δι' ὀπερ ὁκνεί after διὰ τὴν ἴδρων.

22. πλεονάζων—ἐπαρόμενοι (Croiset).

ἐνεθυμηταί . . ἐπαρόμενοι— the constn. as with οἶδα. Why the θρᾶσος is ἀπιστον is explained in what follows.

23. γνωσθέντα—'planned.'

24. τυχόντα—'luckily finding the enemy more ill-advised' have been brought to a successful issue. It is difficult to choose between τυχόντα and τυχέρντων, 'chanced to be,' agreeing with ἐναρτων, but in such a matter the authority of CG is to be preferred (the Schol. read τυχόντα): for the same reason ἀ is best omitted after πλεώ.

26. ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ κτλ.—lit. 'no man by his confidence forms plans in the same spirit (ὁμοία = ὀμολογόμεθα) as he carries them out,' i.e. a man may be confident when he makes a plan: it does not follow that he does not carry it out in the same spirit. Reiske's ὁμοία, 'with the same degree of confidence,' makes the construction easier, but is not certainly necessary. ἔργῳ goes so closely with ἐπεξέρχεται that τὴν πλέον just before in a different relation to its verb is not felt to be awkward. The security with which the notion is formed gives place to apprehension, and so 'we are found wanting.' Hence τὰ καλῶς βουλευθέντα miscarry.

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3. ἡμεῖς δέ— the application of the general statements in c. 120, 3.

5. ἄμυνωμεθα—aorist (fut.-perf.).

6. καταθησόμεθα—cf. τῆθαυ τα c. 82, 6.

7. κατὰ πολλά—'on many grounds.'

9. ὀμολογὸς πάντας—'all with equal readiness carrying out the orders given,' i.e. in the field, as usual; and the edd. point out that the allusion is to the κόσμος for which the Doriāns
were famous. Cf. v. 66. λέναι ἐς τὰ παραγγελμένα occurs again in iii. 55 in the sense 'to answer to a call.' For λέναι ἐς of eager action cf. c. 1.

12. ἔξαρτυσόμεθα—the reading of C is clearly right: there is no place here for the hortative subj.

15. ξένους—adj., those from the subject allies.

17. ἰσόσων ἃν τοῦτο πάθοι—i.e. τὸ ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι μεθα μείζον, because our men are not paid—it is the service of men, not money, that gives us our strength. τοῖς χρήμασι corresponds to ὑπηρεσία.

19. ναυμαχίας—defining gen.; ἀλλισονται of course is pres. for fut., 'they are lost.' (Some see here a reference after the event to the battle of Aegospotami and the capture of Athens; but the τέ shows that the sentence is a conclusion from what precedes; and Aegospotami was not the result of the cause there stated.)

ei δ' ἀντίσχοιεν—'supposing they should hold out,' i.e. if they are not defeated at sea after all (meaning 'suppose we are defeated instead '), we shall get the better of them in the end.

24. δ' εἰ. ἔπωστήμη προούχουσι—'the advantage that they have in point of skill.' εἰ is accus. of measure, and the dat. as usual gives the point of excellence (εἰ is not accus. of respect; and as to Antig. 208 τιμὴν προέξοντο see Jebb's note). For the superiority of φύσις over δίδαξη see c. 139, 2.

25. καθαρετῶν—'we can annul': καθαρετέων would mean 'we must,' which does not give a good antithesis to οὐκ ἃν γένοιτο. Again C alone has the correct form.

26. ἐς αὐτά—viz. ἐς τὸ μελετᾶν τὰ ναυτικὰ ἔως ἃν ἐς τὸ ίσον καταστησόμεθα.

27. ἂν—'otherwise.'

εἰ οὐκ ἢ ἀπεροῦσιν ὧν ἄρα δαπανήσομεν—in a bi-membered sentence of this kind, οὐ is regularly used in the second clause if the verb is in indic., μή if the verb is in opt. The first clause is logically subordinate to the second. Cf. Andoc. i. 102 οὐκ οὖν δείκνυν, εἰ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτων διὰ τούτ’ ἄν ἀπωλείμην ἢ ἐν ὑμῖν δὲ κρυφόμενον ὡς οὐ σωθήσομαι;
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3. ἀρα—'we then decide not,' i.e. infer that this is the way to attain our objects.

4. αὐτά—this and αὐτῶς τούτως refer to χρήματα.

6. ξυμμάχων τε ἀπόστασις κτλ.—'such as revolt of allies, which means in the main withdrawal of the revenues that give them their strength, and erection of a hostile fortress in their country.' The first 'way of war' was followed by Brasidas in 424 B.C.: the second was not used until 413 B.C. (Decelea), but the Athenians had then long feared such an attempt. The context makes it clear that ἀπόστασις implies the bringing about of revolt.

11. ἐπὶ ὁποῖος—'in accordance with fixed conditions'; cf. c. 13, 1: the meaning is explained in the following words.

13. ἐν ὄ κτλ.—'and in this case,' i.e. 'and this being so, he who enters on war in a calm spirit is safer, whereas he who loses control of himself over it gets more falls.' The meaning is 'opportunities arise in war and have to be seized as they arise: it is not well for us to get excited now in thinking out plans of campaign—such cut and dried schemes generally miscarry—but what we must do is to enter on war calmly and take opportunities as they occur.' ὀργή means 'excitement,' not anger here; cf. ii. 11, 7: οὐκ ἐλάσσων euphemism for πλείω, i.e. probably ἦ ἐν ὦργήτως προοομιλήσας.

17. ἐκάστοις—each state.

πρὸς ἀντιπάλοις—'with an enemy equal to us' (and not stronger).

18. οἰστόν—'the position would be easy,' i.e. there would be no need for us to combine.

20. κατὰ πόλιν = (πρὸς ἡμᾶς) κατὰ πόλιν, lit. 'as compared with us separately city by city.' For ἓτι we expect πολύ, 'far more powerful,' since we want a strong contrast after ἵκανοι πρὸς ξύμπαντας. ἓτι must be regarded as a meiosis. (Conracht and Steup have proposed considerable changes, but the text appears to be sound.)

21. καὶ ἄθροι—'not only as a confederacy, but every tribe and every single town.'

25. ἀντικρόυς δουλεύειν—'downright slavery'; cf. viii. 64 ἡ ἀντικρός ἑλευθερία; the adv. qualifies noun though without the art., as in vii. 81 οὐ ξυστῆδον μάχαις ἐχρώντο.
26. δ καὶ κτλ. — 'the very mention of which as a possibility is disgraceful' (Wilkins). δ is τὸ δουλεύειν.

27. καὶ πόλεις κτλ.—some edd. make this a second subject to ἐνδοιασθήματι (Krüger, Classen, Croiset), which gives an excellent sense: but the constr. is simpler if αἰσχρὸν is made pred. to this—'and that so many cities should be maltreated by one.' Whichever be right, the ref. must be to the misery of political slavery imposed by Athens; and cannot, in view of the next sentence, and of ἡ λευθερώσας, p. 107 l. 2 ) ( δουλεύαν, apply to the present treatment of the confederacy.

28. ἐν ὃ—'in that case'; cf. § 1; = εἰ πόλεις τοσαίδε ... κακοπαθοῦμεν.

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2. ἡμεῖς δέ—this is in contrast with οἱ = οἱ μὲν γὰρ (πατέρες). αὐτό means τῶν ἡλευθερῶν implied in ἡ λευθερώσας. ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς of course means for the Peloponnesians: and this clause implies 'much less do we give freedom to all Greece': hence there is no difficulty in supplying ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὸ ἐγκαθεστάναι.

3. τύραννον δέ ... καταλύειν—'we allow a despotic state to establish itself in Greece; and yet we make a point of putting down despots in any single city.' τῶν ἐν μιᾷ, sc. πόλει (which possibly has dropped out of the text), μονάρχους is opposed to τύραννον πόλιν ἐν Ἑλλάδι. The traditional policy of Sparta is alluded to.

5. ἵσμεν—sc. ἡμεῖς (of the speaker). The subject is not identical with that of δὲ ἦσαν (the confederacy).

6. τάδε ... ἀπῆλλακταί—'this policy is (=can possibly be) free from'—viz. the policy of allowing an Athens to flourish. As it is not free from all three, it is exposed to at least one: hence there is no need for ἐνδόν after ἐγκαθεστάναι: see p. 31 l. 5.

8. οὗ γάρ δὴ πεφευγότες αὐτά —the rendering 'we cannot suppose that you have avoided these evils only to' etc. (Classen, Croiset, Forbes, etc.), meaning by irony 'we suspect that you have,' cannot be right, since the previous sentence distinctly says, 'you have not escaped all three of these ἐγκαθεστάναι.' Hence we must transl. (with Krüger, Böhme, Steup): 'For it is not the case that you are free from these errors in assuming that contempt which has proved ruinous to so many (δὴ strengthens πλεῖστοι), and which from its tendency to trip men up, has received instead (sc. from prudent men) the opposite name of folly.' Nothing is gained by preserving the jingle in καταφρονησῖς and ἀφροσύνη, because (1) to a Greek writer such a jingle
has some rhetorical merit; in English it is detestable and pointless; (2) though ἀφροσύνη is spoken of as the opposite (ἐναντίον) of καταφρόνησις, it is really only different, but early Greek thinkers on the meaning of terms often confuse the contrary with the contradictory. τὸ ἐναντίον δνομα is internal accus. to μετωπήμασται.

13. τοῖς νῦν—neut., and so μελλόντων and παρόδισι.

14. περί = ὑπὲρ, with ἐπιταλαίπωρεῖν, i.e. προσθεῖναι τῷ πόνον (Schol.).


18. ἐξουσία—συνάμειον.

προφέρετε = προέχετε, only used in this way by Herod., Thuc., and poets.

21. κατὰ πολλά—three grounds for confidence are presently given.

22. αὐτοῦ—see c. 118, 3.

24. τὰ μὲν φόβῳ κτλ.—‘those who are not yet enslaved by the Athenians fear to be so (φόβῳ); those who are so already hope to regain their liberty (ὦφελία),’ Croiset. ὥφελία, dat. of motive, is, as Mr. Forbes says, here used for the idea (desire) of the thing rather than for the thing itself; he compares ἀρετή c. 33 and τιμή c. 75; and so elsewhere.

25. σπονδᾶς—c. 53, 2.

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2. κοινῆ—‘in the common interest.’

3. εἶπερ βεβαιώτατον κτλ.—‘inasmuch as the surest ground (for taking common action) is that both cities and individuals have the same interests.’ This is the only natural way of taking the words, for the order does not allow καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἐ. to go with βεβαιώτατον, as Classen supposed (Stahl and others alter the text to make this constr. possible). The meaning is explained by οἵσιν Δωρείδοι κτλ.: it is the interest of every city and every individual member of the confederacy that Dorians should be protected from Ionians. (The mss. have ταύτα for ταύτα, and this is transl. ‘since it is most certain that this course—to go to war—is to the interest of,’ etc.)
7. οὗ πρῶτον ἤν τ.—in former times Dorians were recognised as superior in war to Ionians. In such a rhetorical statement we need not look for any specific historical reference.

9. ὡς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται κτλ.—‘for it is now out of the question that we should wait (for common action by the confederacy), and that some of us (e.g. we Corinthians) should now be suffering and others... should shortly have the same experience.’ Cf. vii. 42 νομίζας οὐχ ὄλον τε εἶναι διατρίβεων οὐδὲ παθεῖν ὅτερ ὁ Νικίας ἔπαθεν.

16. αὐτοῦ—τοῦ πολέμου.

17. διὰ πλείονος—of time, in contrast with αὐτίκα. 

18. ἐκ πολέμου μὲν κτλ.—the sentence becomes clear when τοῖς ἐστὶ ἀνάγκην ἀφιγμένοις is supplied from above, i.e. where war becomes a necessity. πολεμήσαι is ingressive.

23. διανοεῖσθαι—cf. c. 1, 1.

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4. τὸ πλῆθος—often of the greater number.

6. ἐκπορευέθαι... ἐκάστοις—as the several states were to carry out a general resolution, it is best with Steup to take ἐκ. as passive and ἐκάστοις as agent. It is then unnecessary to read ἐκάστοις.

8. καθισταμένοις—παρασκευαζόμενοι (Schol.).

9. ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ δ., ἐλασσόν δὲ—this certainly emphasises the length of time occupied, in spite of their haste, and not the promptitude of the confederacy; the latter would be inconsistent with all that precedes (c. 71, 4; 124, 1, and this section). Thuc. means clearly (it seems to me), ‘I was going to say a year was consumed; but no, it was less than that’; i.e. it was not much less. (1) In ii. 2, if the text is sound, we read that the entry into Plataea took place at the very beginning of spring 431, and in the sixth month after the battle of Potidæa (see c. 62); and (2) we are further told that the first invasion of Attica was eighty days after the seizure of Plataea. Hence the whole time between the battle of Potidæa and the first invasion would be less than nine months, and to arrive at the length of time that separates the resolution of the confederacy from the first invasion, we must deduct the time occupied by the events narrated in cc. 63–88 and 118–125, which are:

1. The Athenians built a wall on north side of Potidæa and garrisoned it.
2. \(\chiρόνφ\;\upsilonστερον\) Phormio was sent from Attica with 1600 hoplites; and \(κατά\;βραχύ\;προθεί\).
3. Phormio built a wall south of Potidaea.
4. The Corinthians called a meeting at Sparta. (At what exact stage of affairs this was done is not clear.)
5. The Spartans sent to Delphi.
6. The general meeting was held at Sparta, and the decision taken.

Hence the time would be much less than a year; and it is probable that the \(\muηρλ\;\ἐκτφ\) of ii. 2 is somehow corrupt.

\(\piρν\;\ἐσβαλεῖν\)—under Archidamus. The account of it is in ii. 19.

12. \(\ἐπρεσβεύοντο\)—following, as it turned out, the advice of Archidamus; see c. 82. He was afterwards blamed for not having been eager to begin the war.

13. τὸ \(\άγος\;τῆς\;\θεοῦ\)—i.e. those who were under the curse of Athena. The chief authorities for the story of Cylon and the Alcmaeonidae are, besides Thuc., Herod. v. 71 (Thuc. differs from him, and is perhaps correcting his account), Plut. Sol. 12. The Ath. Pol. init. shows that the attempt of Cylon preceded the legislation of Draco. \(\άγος\) is a pollution under which a person, a house, or a community labours.

20. Κύλων ἦν—two scholia show that the following narrative was admired in antiquity for its clearness and smoothness; one says 'The Lion laughed here.'

'Oλυμπίονίκης—in 640 B.C. (see Sandys on Ath. Pol. init.).

21. τῶν πᾶλαι—part. 'of his date' (not, 'of an ancient family').

23. κατ’ \(\ἐκείνον\;τὸν\;\χρόνον\)—his expulsion is supposed to have occurred in 600 or 590 B.C.

24. \(\χρωμένω\)—cf. c. 123, 1. Both act. and mid. are rare in Attic, the act. sense being given by \(\αναίρω\) or \(\μαντεύομαι\), the mid. by \(\ἐπερωτῶ\).

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1. \(\ἐπιλθεῖν\)—the reading \(\ἐπιλθοῖν\) has not enough ms. support to be acceptable; but in v. 49 all mss. give \(\καρφεία\;\ἐτύγχανον\;\δυτα\. In two other places in Thuc. all mss. give plur. with neut. plur. subj.—v. 26 \(\άμαρτήματα\;\ἐγένουτο\); vi. 62 \(\ἐγένουτο\. .\;\εἰκοσι\;καὶ\;\ἐκατὸν\;τάλαντα\. In Xen. the plur. is common.
4. τι προσήκειν—'had some connexion.'

7. ἔτι κατενόησε . . . ἐδήλον—'had not gone on to consider . . . gave no information.'

8. Διάσια—'for the Athenians too have (their festival of Zeus) the Diasia, which is called the greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius,' in contrast with other festivals of Zeus Meilichius. Of course kal before Ἀθηναῖοι does not imply that the Pel. had Diasia, but Διάσια is a brachylogy for ἐορτή Διὸς Διάσια.

10. πανδημεῖ—by the whole people together, not in separate demes.

14. αὐτοῖς—Cylon and his supporters, who had seized the acropolis.

15. ἐγγιγνωμένου—'being spent over the matter.' Cf. ἀρνόνα ἐνέσται p. 61 l. 17.

17. τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι—Megacles the Alcmaeonid was one of them.

26. τὸν βωμὸν of Athena.
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1. ἀναστήσαντες = ἀναστήσαντες, and on this depends ἐφ' ἂ, for which cf. c. 103, 1.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων—partitive: see c. 9, 2.

5. ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θ. τοῖς βωμοῖς—'at the altars of the Eumenides,' probably the most sacred asylum at Athens. The shrine stood by the cleft in the N.E. side of the Areopagwn, where the Furies were established, after being reconciled to Athena. τοῖς βωμοῖς is however probably spurious; the order is suspicious (cf. v. 50 ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τοῦ Διός), and cf. Arist. Knights 1311 καθόσαθαι μοι δοκεῖ εἰς τὸ Ὠσείων πλεύσας ἕ πι τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν, and Thesm. 224 (θεῶ) ἐς τὸ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν.

6. ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ with καθεξομένους, on the way, while passing from the altar of Athena. It was because they feared they were to be killed that they sought asylum a second time.

7. ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ—cf. Arist. Ep. 445 ἐκ τῶν ἀλτήριων σέ φημι γεγονέναι τῆς θεοῦ (Cleon to the Sausage-man). ἀλτήριοι were thought dangerous people to live with (cf. Neil ad l.c.), and so the Alcmaeonidae were all banished, and at first for ever, Ath. Pol. i. But they returned, and in 508 a second expulsion took place at the instigation of the opponents of Cleisthenes the Alcmaeonid, who were supported by Cleomenes.

12. στασιαζόντων—the party opposed to Cleisthenes and led by Isagoras. Cleisthenes was almost immediately recalled.

13. τὰ ὀστά ἀνελόντες—so Ath. Pol. i. ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν, but the incident is there connected with the first expulsion.

17. πρῶτον—'first and foremost.' δὴθεν shows this is sarcastic.

19. κατὰ τὴν μητέρα—the family tree is as follows:

Megacles, the Archon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alcmaeon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Megacles, opponent of Peisistratus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleisthenes ὄ τὴν δημοκρατίαν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

καταστήσας
20. ἥδουν <ἀν>—the addition of ἄν is necessary; cf. c. 57, 5. There is no ex. of pres. in fut. sense after νομίζω (Stahl, Q. G. pp. 6 f.).

22. παθεῖν ἄν . . . οἰςεῦν—the aor. with ἄν expresses a contingency, the fut. a certainty. The subject of οἰςεῦν is prob. αὐτό or τὸ πρᾶγμα supplied in sense.

23. ὡς —'since.'

24. τὸ μέρος—'partly'; cf. p. 66 l. 9.

26. ἠγὼν τὴν πολιτείαν—cf. ii. 65 of Pericles τὸ πλῆθος ἡγε. In Ath. Pol. c. 27 τὴν π. ἠγεῖν εἰς αὐτούς = 'to get political power into their own hands.'

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2. τὸ ἀπὸ ᾽. ἠγος—'the pollution resulting from (the affair of) Mt. Taenarus.'

8. σεισμὸν—c. 101, 2.

9. Χαλκιώκου—there was a bronze temple and statue of Athena at Sparta on the Acropolis; hence the name. The τέμενος covered a considerable space and contained several buildings.

11. τὸ πρώτον—'for the first time'; see c. 95.

15. Ἐρμυτοῖδα—of Hermione, in Argolis.

16. ἄνευ—'without the orders of'; cf. c. 91, 5. Ἰδία gives, in the positive form, the same sense as ἄνευ Α.; cf. p. 103 l. 16.

17. Ἐλληνικόν—'national,' that against Persia; if the reading is right the object is to make an antithesis with τὰ πρὸς βασιλεὰ π., but Ἐλληνικὸς π. generally means 'a war against' or 'between Greeks.' Many edd. accept Μηδίκον (see crit. note).

19. πράσσειν—inf. of purpose; cf. vi. 8, 2 ἐν γκατασκευάι Λεωντίνου. The sense of diplomatic or secret negotiation often underlies πράσσω.

20. Ἐλληνικής—'to rule Greece.'

21. ἀπὸ τοῦθε—referring to what follows. For κατέθετο cf. c. 33, 1.

22. Βυζάντιον—see c. 94, 2.

τῇ προτέρα π.—dat. of time without ἐν is possible, as παροιμία implies time; cf. c. 44; ii. 20, ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ.

26. τότε—'at that time,' viz. τῇ προτέρα παρουσίᾳ: many edd. following Krüger put τότε inside the parenthesis and take
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it with ἑλλωσαν, and this seems more likely. τοῦτων has been conjectured for τοῦτος: but τοῦτος refers prob. to βασιλέως προσήκοντες καὶ εὐγενεῖς, and ἐλαβεν = 'captured,' not 'received as his share of the spoil.'

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1. τῶν ἄλλων ἔ.—the exclusive use of ἄλλοι, 'the rest, i.e. the allies.'

2. Γογγύλου—he received from Xerxes certain places in the Troad in reward for his treason, and in the time of Thuc. his descendants still possessed them.

5. αὐτῷ—βασιλεῖ.

9. δορὶ = μάχη, poetical, a remnant of the Ionic in which the original letter was composed.

γνώμην ποιοῦμαι—'propose.' Stephanus altered ἀποσέμπει above to ἀποσέμπω, but the same change from 3rd to 1st pers. occurs in the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas, Xen. Hell. v. i. 31.

10. τὴν σήν—σήν = 'a daughter of yours' may be right (see crit. note).

17. ἱσθη τε καὶ ἀποστελλει—the co-ordination of historic pres. and aorist is common in Thuc. ; cf. c. 131, 2.

20. Δασκυλίτην—Dascylium in Bithynia was the capital of this province, Φρυγία ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ, or κάτω Φρυγία. The Persian empire was divided into twenty satrapies.

22. καὶ answers τε, so that strictly we should have a second infin., but the constn. of the καὶ-clause is changed and made independent, as in iii. 94, 3 ; iv. 3, 3 ; v. 61, 4.

23. ἄντεπετείθει—' charged him with .. in return'; Croiset compares Demosth. 34, 28 τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὡς ἐπεθήκαμεν. The infin. follows as with δίδωμι, as if he had said ἄντεπεστελλε.

24. ἀποδείξαι—i.e. to show to Pausanias, through the messenger, the great king's seal on the letter.

25. ἐαυτῷ—βασιλέως.

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2. τῶν ἀνδρῶν . . κεῖστεῖται σοι εὐφρενεία—lit. 'in connexion with the men . . a service is set down to you in the record for ever.' τῶν ἀνδρῶν is objective gen. ; εὐφρενεία is the service
rendered by Pausanias (not, as Mr. Forbes supposes, due to him). The benefactors of the Great King were recorded in a chronicle, Herod. viii. 85. keitai is the pass. of katébeta, c. 128, 4. Pausanias had established a right to consideration for himself and his descendants.

6. ἀρέσκομαι—not the Ionic use of c. 35, 2.

μήτε νυξ μήθ' ἣμέρα—this and χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάγη are quite in the Persian style: we can hardly doubt that the letter is substantially genuine.

9. κεκωλύσθω—sc. δὲ εἱμι υπισχεῖ τι. The 3rd pers. is awkward, and κεκώλυσθο has been proposed.

12. κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα—cf. Xen. Anab. iii. i. 6 ἐπήρετο τίνι δὲ θόν κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθων.

19. σκευᾶς Μηδικάς—the dress was the κάνδυς, a long robe with long broad sleeves over a short tunic, ἀναξυρίδες, trousers, and τιάρα, head-dress; also bracelets (ψέλμα) and necklaces (στρεπτοί).

22. τράπεζαν τε—epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosius, says Nepos; cf. the Persicos odi apparatus of Horace. The simplicity of the Greek δείπνον is notorious.

24. βραχέω—'small.'

τῇ γνώμῃ—with ἐμελλε, 'he meant to.'

26. ὀργῇ—'temper' in neutral sense; cf. c. 122, 1. He made men 'wait before his doors' as if he were a satrap.

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4. ἀνεκάλεσαν—plup. in sense.

7. ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου—see c. 128, 5.

10. Τρωάδας—adj. = Τρωικάς; cf. vi. 62 Ελλάς πόλις. The use of such forms as adj. is poetical and Ionic.

14. σκυτάλην—'a secret message.' Plut. Lys. 19 gives a complete description: when a general was sent out from Sparta two sticks of exactly the same size were prepared; the ephors kept one, the officer the other. When the ephors wished to send a secret message, they wrapped a strip of papyrus round their stick spirally and wrote on it. They then sent the papyrus only, and in order to read it, the officer had to wrap it again round the other stick. Both sticks and message were called σκυτάλη.
15. εἰ δὲ μή—c. 28, 3.
16. προαιρετικὸν—depending on εἶπον, but in a different relation; cf. c. 26, 5.
20. τὸν βασιλέα—and Pausanias was only the king's guardian.
21. διαπραξάμενος—by some form of negotiation (probably bribery) he was released from prison.
23. περὶ αὐτῶν—i.e. τῶν κατηγορημάτων (Schol.): sc. ἑαυτόν. The other reading περὶ αὐτῶν is hardly defended by ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐλέγχων c. 135, 2, for the verb is regularly trans.
26. ἀν—with ἐτιμωροῦντο.

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4. ίσος εἶναι τοῖς παρούσι—'to conform to existing conditions,' τοῖς ἄθεσι τῶν Λακώνων (Schol.), or better, 'to the circumstances in which he found himself' as a Σπαρτιάτης. (Various alterations of the text have been proposed here, e.g. ἐν τοῖς παρούσι, 'in his present conduct' Croiset—or ἐν τοῖς π. Stein—but there seems to be no very definite objection to it as it stands.)
5. τὰ τε ἄλλα—the τε = 'both,' looking as to what follows; so that we have here an explanation of ὑποφλασ... παρούσι. (Some edd. insert καὶ before τά.)
6. ἐξεδειγµητητο κτλ. = ἐξω τῶν... ἐδειγµητητο.
7. τὸν τριπόδα—this was a golden tripod supported by a bronze stand in the shape of three serpents twisted together (Herod. ix. 81). It was dedicated after Plataea. The gold part was afterwards destroyed by the Phocians in the Sacred War (Pausan. x. xiii. 9), but the stand was removed to Byzantium, and still exists at Constantinople. See Hicks Man. Hist. Inscr. p. 11.
10. τὸ ἐλεγείον—this 'couplet,' which 'he dared to have inscribed on his own authority,' is attributed to Simonides of Ceos. In the Anthology it reads thus:

'Ἐλλάνων ἀρχηγὸς ἑπεὶ στρατὸν ὄλεσα Μῆδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνάμ᾽ ἄνέθηκα τόδε.'

ἀρχηγὸς was a title of the Spartan kings.
14. εὖθὺς τότε—at the time that the tripod was offered.
17. μέντοι—although the offensive inscription was removed.
The subject of évókei is auto, the act of having the couplet inscribed. tóv' was first adopted by Classen for toúv', and kai épei ye ðè èn toúv' kathésotíkei requires it as a contrast of time: also there is no point in kai toúv', as no other offence of P. in earlier times has been mentioned to justify kai. Stein inserts toúto after ániki̱ma, but this is not necessary.

18. épei ye ðè èn toúv' kathésotíkei—i.e. now when he was accused of 'Medism.' épei ye ðè is more emphatic than épeiðh.

25. μηνυταίς—the technical word for an informer who had not full citizen-rights.

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4. Ἀργίλιος—he was a slave from the Thracian town Argilus.

5. auto—ékeinw—applying to the same person; cf. iv. 73, 4; vi. 61, 7 katέγγυσαν auto kai τῶν met' ékeinwω; Andoc. 1, 64 èπον autois èn ékeinws dé: conversely vii. 14 èi προσ-γενήσεται . πρòs ékeinous χωρίσαι, διαπεπολεμήσεται autois: Plat. Rep. p. 343 οi ειδαίμονα ékeinwv ποιοῦσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες αὐτῷ.

γυνεται, δεῖσας . . . καὶ παρασημημάμενος . . . λύει—kai joins δείσας to λύει, which should strictly be λύσας: the constn. is thus changed from partic. to finite verb, as ii. 47 λεγόμενον μὲν . . . οὗ μέντοι ἐμνὴμονεύετο: vii. 13 τῶν ναυτῶν μὲν . . . ἀπολλυμένων, οἱ δὲ θεράπουσε . . . αὐτομολούσιν.

Stein reads δς δείσας, but no change is needed. kai does not join γυνεται to λύει because the clause with λύει is anterior in time to γ. μηνυτης, and such a hysteron proteron is without example in Thuc.

6. κατὰ ένθυμησιν τινα = évthymethelws, 'because he noticed.'

8. παρασημημάμενος—'counterfeiting'; 'for Thuc. says παρασημημάμενος τὴν σφραγίδα in the sense of παρατευώσασθαι' Pollux viii. 27. This reading, restored by Hude, is better than παραποιημένοι, which is probably a gloss on it.

ἂν ψευθὴ τῆς δόξης—i.e. if his suspicion about the contents of the letter proved false. He could then replace the seal and go on to Artabazus. Did it not occur to him that even in this case he might 'never return,' i.e. be put to death?
9. ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνος—i.e. in case Pausanias should ask for the letter back before the messenger left, in order to alter something in it. If the messenger's suspicion about the letter proved false, he would say nothing, but seal up the letter. But suppose the man's suspicions proved true, why should he not have contemplated an immediate visit to the ephors, without giving Pausanias time to ask for the letter back? In point of fact this is what the man did. (The text is suspected by some edd.—e.g. Herwerden and Steup—but the confusion of the messenger's motives seems to come from Thuc.)

14. ἐπιστευσαν—sc. that the information they had received from the helots was true.

16. ἀπὸ παρασκευὴς—cf. Lysias 13, 22 ἐλ μὴ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμνύετο, 'by collusion, or arrangement,' here with the gen. abs.

17. ἐν Ταῦναρον—the shrine of Poseidon on Taenarus was sanctuary (asylum).

18. σκηνησαμένου—both σκηνᾶσαί and σκηνείσαί are elsewhere intrans., but here the sense must be trans.: hence Madvig proposed σκενασαμένου, and one inferior ms. gives σκηνωσαμένου: Stein reads ἐκ διπλῆν.

19. τῶν [τε]—the τε has no correlative and is no doubt spurious.

23. τὰ τε... καὶ τάλλῃ ἀποφαίνοντος—the position of τε shows that ἀποφαίνοντος is added by an afterthought.

24. ὡς οὕδεν.. παραβάλοιτο—'that he had never hazarded P.'s interests'—a gambling term.

26. προτιμηθεὶς δὲ—ironical: this was all the reward 'he had got. ἐν ἱσυὶ = ὄμολως.

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2. πίστιν... ἀναστάσεως—'pledging his word for his departure from the temple,' sc. in safety. (ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ is perhaps a commentator's note on τῆς ἀναστάσεως.)

4. τὰ πρασσόμενα—the negotiations with the king. The sentence here concluded is a remarkable instance of the partiality of Thuc. for the circumstantial participle.

12. δηλώσαντος—sc. what was about to happen. εἰνοῖς is dat. of cause.

19. ἐνδον δόντα—i.e. making sure that he was in the οἰκήμα.
21. ἔξεπολιώρκησαν—the terms are taken from the starving out of a city.

22. ὁσπέρ εἰςευ—‘as he was,’ ‘in his present condition,’ i.e. shut up in the building; cf. e.g. ii. 46. (In vi. 57, 3 I accepted Krüger’s version ‘forthwith’; but I agree with Steup that this is wrong.) If he had ‘expired’ inside, the holy place would have been profaned.

25. τὸν Καλαδαν—the exact site of this ravine called Caeadas is not known: it was in the hills near Sparta. kalata, crevices produced by earthquake, were so common in Laconia that Sparta is called kaietadasa in Homer.

26. οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους—the Schol. is ἐμβαλεῖν δηλοντι (scilicet). τότος ὁ Κέαδας ὁρωρυγμένος ἐν Λακωνικῇ, ὅπου τοὺς κακούργους εἰδόθαι διπτεῖν. The words of this note have got mixed with the text in the mss. in several ways, and it is very probable that οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους is due to the note. (οὗπερ ought to be οὗτερ, but this error—which is common in mss.—does not count against the genuineness of the words. Volgraff first bracketed them.)

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2. οὗπερ—the omitted antecedent is ἐκεῖσε.

3. προτεμενίσματι—ὁ πρὸ... τοῦ τεμένους τότος (Schol.) until then unconsecrated.

4. δι—i.e. τὸ τὸν τάφον κεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ π.

5. ὡς κτλ.—accus. abs.

7. ἀνδριάντας—not necessarily statues of Pausanias; but symbolic figures consecrated to the gods of the upper world.

15. τοῖς αὐτοῖς—i.e. θανάτῳ.

16. έτυχε γὰρ ἀφτρακισμένοις—when this had happened is unknown; 471 B.C. is generally favoured in spite of the statement in Ath. Pol. that Them. was at Athens in 462 B.C.: the year depends upon other events such as the reduction of Naxos (see c. 137, 2)—of which the date is uncertain. For a discussion see Sandys on Ath. Pol. c. 25.

20. ἀγεῖν—sc. to Athens.

23. ἔφεργετησ—by some official act, probably in some dispute with another state, according to Plutarch with Corinth. In all such decrees of honour conferred on a ξένοις a clause giving him ἀσυλία was contained; and on this clause Them. relied.
23. ἄυτὸν—the Corecyreans; for this idiom cf. c. 34, 4.

26. ἀπεξεθέσθαι—ἐχθρός (leg. ἐχθρῶς) γενέσθαι (Schol.). The MSS. ἀπεξεθέσθαι assumes a pres. form ἄπεξεθομαι: similarly in vii. 75 ABEMF give αἰσθέσθαι as from αἰσθομαι, but CG have αἰσθέθηκαί: in Enn. Phoen. 300 the MSS. have θίγειν as from θίγω (θιγγάνω). But that these only occur in forms that may be aorists is very suspicious; with other such double forms—e.g. αἴξω beside αἴξάω—the indic. forms occur.

28. κατὰ πίστιν ἦν Χ.—‘in accordance with inquiry as to the road he took.’ The opt. is iterative.

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2. Μολοσσῶν—in Epirus. What the ‘difficulty’ was that led Them. to one who was ‘no friend of his’ is not explained.

5. καθεξεθαί—aor. in sense: the mid. form καθιζομαι is not used.

7. οὐκ ἀξιοὶ—‘asks him not to .’

8. Ἀθηναλῶν δεσμένω—Them. must have opposed a request from Admetus for Athenian help.

9. καλ γὰρ ἄν κτλ.—‘for at the present time I might be ill-treated by one far weaker than you (ἐκείνου = ἦ ἐκεῖνος, depending on ἀποθενεστέρου); but it is generous (like a gentleman) to take vengeance on equals (not on inferiors) and when equal to them (and not stronger).’ This curious form of appeal must be the invention of Thuc.; and we may doubt whether it would have moved such a king.

13. χρεῖας πινόσ—‘in reference to,’ the gen. of separation parallel to ἐς τὸ σ. σφεσθαι.

ἐς τὸ σῶμα σφέσθαι—lit. ‘with reference to preserving his life,’ i.e. in a matter of life and death. σφεσθαι is mid. Recent edd. take τὸ with σφέσθαι: but it is possible Poppo was right in supposing that in cases like the present the single article does double duty. Cf. Plat. Gorg. p. 489 c ἀποκενδο ἀξιοὶ πλην ἰσως τῷ σῶματι ἑσχυρίσσασθαι. Note that ψυχὴ below, corresponding to σῶμα, has the article.

16. ἀπουστερήσαί ἄν—‘would withhold’; this is the proper sense of ἀπουστερέων, and hence ὁστηρίας is required.

18. ὁπερ καλ—‘the καλ marks the connexion of the two acts, ἀνίστησι—ἐκαθεξέτε. ἦ ὁσων ἄυτον = μετ’ ἄντοι. Notice the extreme solemnity of supplication by the life of the child.
19. καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἴ. τοῦτο—parenthetical.

23. ἐτέραν—the Aegean.

24. τὴν Ἀ.—sc. πόλιν. This Alexander was father of Perdiccas (see c. 57). Thuc. calls the town 'Alexander's' because it lay south of Macedon proper. Its status caused difficulty at various times, for it never fully acquiesced in Macedonian rule till conquered by Philip the Great.

26. χειμώνι—['the wind was north, and unless the captain] tacked would carry the ship right into Naxos.

27. ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον—the accession of Artaxerxes, who had lately ascended the throne when Them. arrived (see § 4) took place in 465 B.C. Hence, to make the dates suit, the siege of Naxos was assigned by Schäfer to 466 B.C.; but, judging from the narrative of cc. 89-90, this leaves too short an interval between the siege of Naxos and the death of Xerxes; for Eurymedon was fought before the latter event, and yet, apparently, some time after the revolt of Naxos. Hence other modern authorities assign the siege of Naxos to 468, 470 or even 473 B.C. But then the narrative here cannot be correct. In Plut. Them. 25, where this passage is used, some Mss. have Θάσον for Νάξον: and this would suit here better (see c. 100, 2); but there may be a mistake on Thuc.'s part.

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4. τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι—i.e. 'his safety depended on.'

5. μέχρι—with μέχρι, μέχρι όδον and πρὸν Thuc. occasionally uses subj. without àν according to the older idiom; but ἐωs with plain subj. does not occur.

πλοῦς—'until fair weather came,' in contrast with χειμών above: this and not 'until he sailed' seems to be the sense; πλοῦς = ἐπιπλοια, as also in iii. 3 πλοφ χρησάμενον καὶ τριτάιος ἀφικόμενος.

6. ἀπομνήσεσθαι—the ordinary fut. in Attic is μνησθήσομαι, but Herod. uses μνήσομαι.

11. αὐτῷ—for the poetical use of dat. after ἥλθε cf. c. 13, 3. The aor. is pluperf. in sense, and ὑπερέφαν means after his flight. At Athens his goods were confiscated so far as they were found, because he was a traitor.

13. κάτω ... ἀνω—as in ἀνά-βασις and κατά-βασις.

15. νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα—for νεωστὶ with imperf. partic. cf. iii. 20 ἀνδρῶν νεωστὶ πόλιν ἐχόντων.
δη—this convenient form of quasi-oblique speech, where the speaker's actual words follow δη, occurs only in prose.

17. ὑμέτερον—referring of course to the royal family.

18. ἐπιώντα ἐμοὶ—a fine touch due to self-confidence.

20. ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί μὲν κτλ.—'when he retreated (πᾶλιν belongs to ἀποκομίδῃ) himself in danger, while I was in safety.'

22. γράφας—'referring to'; cf. c. 87, 2, but here the constn. is κατὰ σίνεσιν after ἐδήλου ἡ γραφή.

τὴν ἑκ Σ. προάγγελον τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως—Herod. viii. 110 relates that Themistocles sent a message to Xerxes saying that he had persuaded the Greeks not to break down the bridges over the Hellespont, and consequently the king might retreat at leisure. The story agrees with Thuc. here, except that Herod. says the message was sent from Andros, not Salamis. The true object of Them. was to cause Xerxes to retreat rapidly, since Xerxes had been once taken in by a false message from Them. (viz. that the Greeks were about to retreat from Salamis, Herod. viii. 75) and would be sure to assume this one also was false. Them. now misrepresents the object he had had in sending the message. (Haacke and others refer τὴν ἀναχωρήσεως to the earlier message of Them., viz., that the Greeks were about to withdraw from Salamis. By this message Them. caused the defeat of the king; by the later one he rescued the king. This explanation seems simpler; but it looks as if the parenthesis γράφας ἀφελείν refers only to what Them. pretends to have done to serve the king.)

24. ἡν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο—Herod. says Them. urged the Gk. fleet down the bridges, but he was opposed by the Peloponnesians. The Athenian fleet was then willing to go alone, but this Them. successfully opposed. It looks as if Thuc. did not believe in this last part of the story. (Croiset understands 'which he misrepresented,' others avoid the appearance of an inconsistency with Herod.)

25. οὐ διάλυσιν—cf. e.g. iii. 95, 2 τὴν οὐ περιελάχισιν : vii. 34 τὴν τῶν Κορυνθίων οὐκέτι ἐπαναγωγὴν.

27. τὴν σῆν φίλαν—'my friendship for you.'

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4. δν—duration of time.

10. τοῦ Ελληνικοῦ—'about the Greeks,' but in sense this is object of δουλώσεων.
12. πείραν διδούσ—so πείραν λαμβάνω.

13. ἢν γὰρ . . . δηλώσας καὶ . . . ἄξιος—the aor. partic. with ἢν is here joined to an adj. with ἢν: the constr. is unusual, and some edd. place βεβαιότατα . . . δηλώσας between commas, taking καὶ as emphasising διαφέροντως τι. Transl. ‘Them. was in fact one who showed most convincingly natural powers, and he was beyond all others worthy of the very highest admiration in this respect.’ ἐς αὐτό refers to φύσεως ἴσχύν: διαφέροντως τι belongs to θαυμάσαι: for μᾶλλον ἐτέρου cf. c. 84, 2 ἡσσον ἐτέρων.

14. φύσεως ἴσχύν—Thuc. evidently holds with the old view, as against the sophists, that φύσις is superior to μάθησις.

15. ἐς αὐτό—ἐς τὸ ξυνετὸν φάλνεσθαι.

16. οὔτε προμαθῶν . . . οὔτε ἐπιμαθῶν—‘not aiding it (τὴν ἴσχυσιν) by any knowledge acquired before or after,’ i.e. either by learning or by experience. (What time is alluded to in the προ- and ἐπι-? Some say his entry into public life, others, much better, the time when he gave any advice derived from this ἴσχυσιν—but interpret, ‘his opinion was not based on previous knowledge, nor, after giving it, had he to modify it because he found he was wrong.’ Neither verb occurs elsewhere in Thuc. Croiset sees an allusion to Prometheus and Epimetheus.)

18. δι’ ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς—‘with the least consideration.’

19. ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου—those edd. who connect these words understand ‘to the remotest future,’ so that ἐπὶ πλείστον refers to time: the objection lies in the sing. τοῦ γενησομένου after the plur. μελλόντων, and so some think it spurious, others join τοῦ γενησομένου to τῶν μελλόντων, which is very forced. But all difficulty disappears if we understand by τὸ γενησομένον ‘the particular event that was going to happen’ and take ἐπὶ πλείστον of extent, as in ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄνθρωπων in c. 1, 2, so that the whole phrase emphasises only the extraordinary accuracy of his ἐλκασία: ‘his forecasts of the future were the best, in every event proving more accurate than those of others.’ ἐπὶ π. τοῦ γεν. is lit. ‘so as to cover the greatest part (i.e. a greater part than any one else) of just that which was coming.’

20. μετὰ χείρας ἔχοι—so Aeschines 1, 70 & νυν μετὰ χ. ἔχετε: μεταχειρίζομαι.

21. ἐξηγήσασθαι—‘expound his views on it.’

διν δὲ αὔτερος ἐτή in contrast with & μετὰ χείρας ἔχοι = ‘that which he took no personal share in.’
22. οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο—'he did not fail to,' 'was not without the power'; in later prose we should have τοῦ.—Them. lived before the days of developed oratory.

23. τὸ τε ἀμεινον ἡ Χείρον—'the advantage or disadvantage' of any proposed step.

24. τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν—parenthetical inf., τὸ belonging to ξύμπαν.

25. μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι—'with the shortest preparation,' a second way in which he showed his power of hitting on the right thing in a minute. The two phrases are not really quite parallel.

28. φαρμάκω—'the story was that he drank bull's blood: Thuc. evidently thinks it a foolish tale, Aristoph. Eq. 83.

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4. ἄρτων ὁλον ὅψον—according to a Persian custom: cf. Plat. Alc. i. p. 123 b 'he said (the person meant is perhaps Xenophon) he passed a district which the inhabitants called ζωνήν τῆς βασιλείας γυναικός: and another called 'the mirror' ᾧ καὶ ὄνοματ' ἢκεῖν ἐκάστους τῶν τόπων ἀπὸ ἐκάστου τῶν κόσμων.' Lampsacus and Myus belonged to the Delian League, so Them. cannot have actually enjoyed their revenues.

8. οἱ προσήκοντες—Cleophasus, a son of Them., lived at Athens. In later times the grave of Them. was located at the entry to Piraean.

21. προύλεγον ὡς—'in the terms of an ultimatum it is not surprising to see ὡς where οὐ would be ordinarily used: προλέγω contains a meaning of advice or warning. For the Megarian decree and Aegina see c. 67.

27. ἐπεργασίαν ἐπί—denotes encroachment, as in ἐπινέμομαι.

τῆς ἱερᾶς—'he means the land between Megara and Attica consecrated to the Eleusinian goddesses' (Schol.).

28. τῆς ἄροιστου—as Mr. Forbes says, this seems to be distinct from τῆς ἱερᾶς, and may mean an undefined or neutral strip of land.

αὐδαπόδων ὑποδοχῆν—this matter is parodied by Aristoph. in Acharn. 325 f.: runaway slaves from Attica found a refuge in Megara.
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6. ποιήσαντες—‘having called’ through the officials.

7. γνώμας σφίσων αὐτοῖς προντόθεσαν—‘opened a debate,’ a technical phrase applying properly to the president of the ecclesia (ἐπιστάτης), who allowed the discussion.

10. ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα γιγγύμενοι—‘ranging themselves on both sides,’ i.e. some taking the one view, some the other.

11. ὡς (χρῆ) μὴ ε.—generally ἐπιθόδιος takes dat. of person.

13. λέγειν τε καὶ π. δ.—this explains πρῶτος, and always denotes capacity for public affairs.

19. ὀργῆ—‘spirit’; their ardour cools when they have to carry out their resolution.

21. τὰς ἐμφανίας τὰ συμβαίνοντα, ‘events’; so below.

22. ὀμοία καὶ παραπλήσια—these occur together several times, without substantial difference of sense.

24. τοῖς κ. δόξαιν—fut. perf. in sense = ἄν δόξῃ.

27. τὰς ἐμφανίας τῶν π.—‘the issues of things (lit. “events following from affairs”) can be as incomprehensible in their course as man’s thoughts,’ so that failure is no proof that a resolution was wrong.

29. ὅσα ἄν—‘whenever anything’ = (ἐν πᾶσιν) ὅσα ἄν.

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3. ἐρημένον—in the thirty years’ peace.

8. διαλύεσθαι—middle.

12. τελευταίοι—pred. with ἥκοντες.

15. περὶ βραχέος—‘about a trifle’; cf. c. 78, 1.

16. ὄπερ—accus. de quo, becoming the subject of καθαύρεθει. προϊ行贿οι = προφασίζονται.

18. ὑποληπησθε—after the war has begun.

20. ἔχει—‘involves’: ὑμῶν depends on γνώμης: ‘the con-
firmation and trial of your resolution' are explained in chiastic order by the two clauses that follow.

21. οἷς—masc. = ἐκεῖνοι γάρ.

24. σαφὲς ἂν κ.—'make it clear to them' that they must deal with you on an equal footing rather than as superiors.

28. καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλη καὶ ἐ. β. π.—'be the reason great or small' for yielding. The constn. changes from infin. ὑπακοῦειν to partic. ἔξοντες . . ἔξοντες, 'with the intention of not.' It would be more usual, but it can hardly be necessary, to have ὃς after προφάσει.

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3. ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμολόγων—masc.


τοῖς πέλασι—cf. c. 32, 1.

5. τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου κτλ.—object of ἀκοῦοντες, but its position gives it the effect of an accus. of respect.

8. αὐτοῦργοι—ὁὶ ἐαυτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι σπάνει δοῦλων (Schol.).

11. βραχέως—'only for a short time.' The object of ἐπιφέρειν is πολέμους.

13. ναῦς πληρούντες = ναῦς ὡς πληροῦσιν. Several edd. accept the conjecture πληροῦν, which is very probable. In Plat. Gorg. p. 494 c πληροῦντα is probably a corruption of πληροῦν. Apart from the awkward constn. here there seems to be no point in πληροῦντες.

15. ἀπόντες—the three partic. are causal, and the full meaning is 'since to do that (ναῦς . . ἐκπέμπειν) involves to them (1) absence from their lands'—(cf. the opposite ἐπὶ τῶν ὀλίων εἶναι Ath. Pol. c. 15), (2) paying the expenses out of their own money instead of getting it from the state, and (3) being chased off the seas by the Athenians.

16. αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι—this sentence has direct reference to the financial condition of Athens. The policy of Pericles was to accumulate a reserve, so that the ἐισοφόρα — war-tax on property—was seldom levied; but the Pel. would depend on such a tax; see c. 121, 4. βίαν (like βέβαιος always of two
terms in Thuc.) is a descriptive epithet to εἰσφορά in general: they are not free gifts (ἐπιδόσεις).

18. σώμασι—cf. c. 121, 3.

20. τὸ μὲν κτλ.—τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δὲ apply to σώμασι . . . χρήμασι, πιστῶν and βέβαιων being pred. : lit. ‘having in the one a possession they can rely on—viz. that it may come safe out of the dangers; but in the other a belonging for which they have no security that they will not spend it before the war ceases.’

26. μὴ πρὸς ὁμολαν ἃ.—‘against a power differing in character’ from theirs. The μὴ under the influence of the infin.

ὁταν—‘so long as’; cf. o. 142, 1.

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1. οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι—not all Dorians: of course the Athenian allies were not ὁμόφυλοι (ii. 9, 4), but they were all under the guidance of Athens.

τὸ ἔφ᾽ ἐαυτὸν ἐ. σπεύδῃ—the verb attracted to ἐκαστος: τὸ ἔφ᾽ ἐ., ‘what concerns himself’ is object of σπεύδῃ. But generally τὸ ἐπὶ and accus. (1) is adverbial, (2) means ‘as far as concerns,’ or ‘depends on.’

2. μηδὲν belongs to the inf.

5. ἐν βραχεί μὲν μορίῳ—sc. of the whole time spent in the meeting. ἐν extends over τὸ πλέον.

7. παρά—‘owing to’; this use is common in Demosth., and cf. Aeschines ii. 80 παρά τοῦτο διαφαρμῆναι, ὅτι . . . iii. 80 παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἠλθεν, ὅτι . . .

8. βλάψειν—sc. τὰ κοινά.

9. ὑπέρ—‘in place of.’

12. μέγιστον = δ μέγιστον ἐστὶ.

15. μενετολ—act.; Aeschines 3, 163 ἰητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει: Demosth. 4, 37 αἰ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροῖ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτὴν.

17. τὴν μὲν γὰρ κτλ.—this is taken in two ways: (1) τὴν μὲν object of παρασκευάσασθαι and πόλιν ἀντίπαλον in apposition = ὡστε γενέσθαι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον (Krüger etc.); (2) τὴν μὲν accus. of respect, ‘as regards the one’ (Shilleto, Classen, etc.). The sense is clearly given by Arnold: ‘Pericles is distinguishing
between two different methods of \( \text{ἐπιτελίχως} \), the one by founding a city in the neighbourhood of Athens strong enough to interfere with her trade and be a check on her power, \( πόλυ \ \text{ἀντίπολον} \); the other by merely raising one or two forts in Attica, as strongholds for plundering parties to keep the country in constant annoyance and alarm, \( φρούριον \). The only difficulty is that \( \text{ἐπιτελίχως} \) is nowhere found of a rival city founded in \textit{time of peace}; hence (2) is probably the constr. intended.

18. \( η \ \tauου \ δή \)—'of course,' then, sc. \( \chiαλετών \ \text{ἐστι} \).

19. \( \text{ἐκείνοις} \ \text{ἡμῶν} \ \text{Ἀντιπετελείχωσιμένων} \)—this seems to refer to the certainty that Athens would reply to an \( \text{ἐπιτελίχως} \) by taking similar measures in Peloponnesian territory (Pylus, Cythera): hence we look for a future; and \( \text{Ἀντιπετελείχωσιμένων} \), \( \text{Ἀντιπετελείχωσιμένων} \) or the insertion of \( ἂν \) has been proposed. Another view is that Athens herself is meant; she is already standing as an \( \text{ἐπιτελίχως} \) threatening any post that Sparta might establish in Attica. Since an \( \text{ἐπιτελίχως} \) always occurs in an enemy's country, this could only be justified by supposing that Pericles uses the term loosely for the sake of the antithesis. But it certainly looks as if something to be done by Athens is meant.

22. \( \text{αὐτομολλαῖς} \)—by encouraging the slaves in Attica to desert to them. This actually happened in the case of Decelea in after years.

25. \( \text{πλέον} \ \gammaάρ \ \text{ἐχόμεν} \ \kτλ.} \)—\( \text{ἐμπερίας} \) depends on \( \text{πλέον} \ \text{ἐχόμεν} \), 'we have more experience of land operations through our naval experience than they have in naval operations from their service on land.' Pericles alludes to the use of Athenian fleets on hostile coasts in connexion with descents on the land (\( \text{ἀποβάσεις} \)). The knowledge of the Pel. coast-line would enable them to choose the right point for an \( \text{ἐπιτελίχως} \).

28. \( \text{τὸ} \ \text{δὲ} \)—the \( \text{δὲ} \) answers the \( \text{μὲν} \) of § 3.

\[ \text{Page 128.} \]

2. \( \text{αὐτό} \)—\( τὸ \ \text{ναυτικόν} \).

6. \( \text{ἐφορμεῖσθαι} \)—'being blockaded.'

9. \( \text{ἐν} \ \text{τῷ} \ \text{μὴ} \ \text{μελετῶτι} \)—\( \text{ἐν} \) = 'owing to,' as often; for the neut. partic. with art. as subst. cf. \( \text{τὸ} \ \text{ζεύς} \ \text{αὐτῶ} \ \text{c.} 36, 1. \)

13. \( \text{ὅταν} \ \text{τῷ} \ \text{Χῇ} \)—'as occasion arises,' i.e. casually.

\( \text{ἀλλὰ} \ \text{μᾶλλον} \)—sc. \( \text{δὲ} \).

I
15. κινήσαντες—cf. c. 93, 2.

19. ἐσβάντων—'in case we embark.' The two highest classes of citizens—ἱππεῖς and πεντακοσιομέδιμοι—served on board only on occasions of great danger. The citizen crews consisted ordinarily of ἱευγηται and θητες.

20. τόδε—i.e. τὸ ἀντιπάλους εἶναι κτλ.

21. κυβερνήται—pred.

22. ἵππησον—'crews,' collective, hence the plur. in agreement.

24. τὴν τε αὐτοῦ—he would not again be able to set foot in his own city since it was part of the Athenian empire.

26. ἐνεκα governs δόσεως: ἀλλων ἡμερῶν depends on μισθοῦ. Pericles assumes that the Pel. fleet would not be able to keep the sea for any considerable time.

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3. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ισοῦ μεγάλαι—lit. 'other important things (μεγάλαι) on a greater scale,' i.e. 'have the advantage of them in other important matters.' This refers back to what has preceded, and is not further explained, for Thuc. does not here want to give a detailed account of the Athenian position: this is done in the second book. The ref., as Steup says, is especially to the fleet.

6. οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμολογοῦ—'then it will turn out that it is much worse.'

13. δὲ ἐγγυταται τούτου—i.e. putting ourselves in thought as nearly as possible in the position of islanders.

14. οἰκλας—those outside Athens. During the invasions the population of Attica had to crowd into the city, as Athens could not bring into the field an army strong enough to oppose the Pel. invading force.

17. ὁργισθέντας—we must not let our indignation at our losses drive us into a decisive action with a superior enemy.

20. προσαπόλλυται—for the pres. in fut. sense cf. c. 121, 4 ἀλλοκοιτα.

'ἡσυχάσουσι—sc. οἱ ἄθμαχοι: they will join the enemy.

25. κτώνται—'gain,' meaning with ἄνδρας 'produce.'
NOTES

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1. ἐσ ἐλπίδα—ἐσ is properly 'bearing on,' 'tending to,' as in λέγειν τι εἰς τὸ πράγμα (Demosth. 57, 7) etc.

2. ἣν ἔθελητε—all this is prophetic, if, as is almost certain, it was really said by Pericles and not put into his mouth by Thuc. after the event.

7. ἐκείνα μὲν—i.e. advice as to the conduct of the war, which is best given during the war itself. For the present (νῦν δὲ) our course is clear.

11. ἐκνηλασίας—these expulsions took place from time to time, no doubt by order of the ephors. Plato suggests ironically that the Spartans used them when they wanted privacy for the study of philosophy; Xenophon says they feared corruption of the traditional character by contact with ξένοι. ποιῶσι, of course, 'enact' in their laws.

12. οὖτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύει—οὐ κωλύει 'there is no hindrance to' stands for οὐδὲν κωλύει in Aristoph. Λτ. 463, and in two or three passages from later authors. Hence there is probably no need to insert οὐδὲν here. ἐκεῖνο . . τὸδε=the ἐκνηλασίαι and Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα—there is as little to forbid the one as the other in the thirty years' truce.

16. σφίσιν ἐπιτηδεῖως—see c. 19; alluding to the form of constitution. The Schol. says he thinks τοῖς Λ. is a gloss on σφίσι.

18. αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις—sc. ἐπιτηδεῖως.

20. ἀρξομένως, ἀρχομένως—'we will not be the first to fight, but if they enter on a war, we will retaliate.' The difference between ἀρχω and ἀρχομαι is not important to the sense, but it has a rhetorical effect.

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2. γνώμη—'insight': frequently contrasted with τύχη.

4. ἐσ τάδε προήγαγον αὐτά—'brought our empire to this'; repeated almost in the same words by Alcibiades in vi. 18.

13. τὸ ἔφμπαν—in contrast with 'καθ' ἐκαστα ὡς ἔφρασε.
15. ἐπὶ τοὴν καὶ ὧμολα—c. 27, 1.
17. αἱτοῖς δὲ—taking up c. 23, 5.
22. ἀκηρύκτως—there could be no communication without a herald after war had begun. At ἀκηρύκτως, with which strictly the sentence should end, Thuc. suddenly adds a qualification.
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