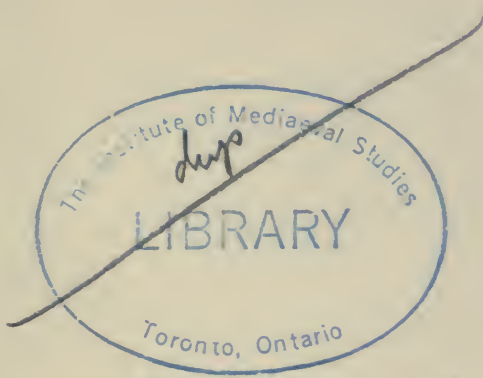






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THUCYDIDES  
BOOK II



# THUCYDIDES

## BOOK II

EDITED BY

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# INTRODUCTION.

## CHAPTER I.

### PREFATORY.

WHAT to read and what may be safely left unread are questions of which the importance is continually increasing with the increase of books. Most frequently, I imagine, it is, in the first instance, curiosity which leads us to history. No doubt many persons read a historian because others do so, and consequently they suppose that it is the right thing to do. Readers of this class, however, do not come within the scope of our question, and are not worth considering. But of those who wish to gain some solid advantage from what they read, the majority are probably led to history in the first instance by curiosity. A laudable curiosity is the desire to get beyond the limits of a circumscribed present in order to peer into some region of the infinite past. Curiosity, however, is an indolent virtue; since it is a desire for the acquisition of knowledge without trouble. It is not a virtue which will of itself make a man great, though, being an elementary virtue, it is capable of being developed into more valuable and

more complex qualities of mind, to possess which is to be great. Curiosity lies at the root of many discoveries. But, as the majority of minds which are capable of absorbing are incapable of producing, curiosity does not in most cases result in anything more than disorderly and ill-proportioned study. The desultory reader is perhaps the most interesting as he is one of the most amiable products of curiosity. For the desultory reader, who, shrinking from difficult enterprises, avoids hard authors, the chief historian ought to be Plutarch. And as, for most of us, there are but two periods in life in which we can indulge in such reading—the first in early youth, and the last when many can read only through the eyes of others, and when the time for obtaining the greatest advantages to be gained by reading of any kind is gone by, it is most desirable that some of the *Lives* be read while we are young; in Langhorne's translation rather than not at all. Plutarch was a great and a good man, and his biographies are well calculated to sharpen the intellect, to purify the taste, and to humanise the character; so that, if our curiosity can lead us to read Plutarch, then, almost without our suspecting such a result, and though we scarcely wished for more than to gratify a desire for acquiring knowledge without trouble, our curiosity may help us to reach the true end of education. To sharpen the intellect, to purify the taste, and to humanise the character—these are the true ends of education. At least, such was the opinion of Milton, beyond doubt the greatest scholar, and probably the greatest man, of his age. For what else did he in-

tend, though he clothed his thought in the language most congenial to him? 'The end of learning,' he says, 'is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him.'

To-day quite other views of the end of learning are making way; according to which views, if I understand them, education ought to teach one kind of thing, and one only, that is to say, that kind of thing which will help the learner to make money. The supporters of these views hold that literature may be advantageously neglected, and something called 'useful knowledge' substituted for it. It is unlikely that any one who shares the new views on education will read these pages, because Greek is not placed by the apostles of this New Learning in the category of 'useful knowledge,' the omission seeming to involve the conclusion that the Renaissance, the former revival of learning, and especially of Greek learning, was a great mistake, a delusion of foolish men who did not understand what was 'useful knowledge.' But if any who use this book are drifting about in uncertainty, and asking themselves, 'To what end?' they will do well to ponder those words of Milton.

The study of history, then, provided that it is written by great men, is well adapted to serve the true end of education. It is clearly desirable, however, that the history we study should not only be written by great men, but should be the history of some great nation, and that, too, in the best period of

that nation's life. But this does not really involve any additional difficulty of selection, because none but great nations produce great historians; and no great historian would take the trouble to chronicle the deeds of little nations. Nor would any great historian write the history of the decline or fall of a nation once great, except in those cases in which the history of the decline of one nation is inextricably bound up with the history of the rise of another great nation or of other great nations; as in the case of the decline of the Roman Empire, with the history of which is inextricably bound up the history of the rise of the great nations inhabiting modern Europe. It happens that the period of Greek history with which Thucydides deals is especially useful, because it is short, because it consists of a war which called into play all the virtues and all the defects of a great and ingenious nation, and because it produced a historian whose genius is worthy of itself, and who 'makes his auditor a spectator' of that conflict of arms and of passions which he describes.

One of the necessary qualities in a perfect historian is that he should possess the power of presenting his account of the past in an attractive form. In other words, the style—which is the very essence of all authorship and reveals the author himself—ought to be artistic. Otherwise history cannot escape being dull, as all bare and unadorned enumerations of facts, however important, must be. The reader has a right to expect to be interested as well as edified by what he reads. Who reads Polybius or Hallam, most edifying writers, with any pleasure? Who

that opens Livy or Macaulay is not charmed, and led on without any sense of fatigue? Yet the two former are among the most truthful and exact of all historians, whereas the two latter are notoriously untrustworthy. The reason is that the former are too anxious about what they relate to care how they relate it: on the other hand, the latter are so continually striving to please the reader that they will sometimes unconsciously sacrifice the facts for the sake of a brilliant paradox or a striking epigram; at other times, losing the sense of the relative magnitude of affairs, they will subordinate weighty matters to mere tattle. To historians of this latter class, the form in which they write is all in all. Thus Macaulay heard with great satisfaction that his history was thought as good as a novel; and Livy, who is a rhetorician, started on history like Dr. Syntax on his travels, to search for the picturesque. They have this in common with Dionysius, that they make the scope of history 'not profit by writing Truth, but delight of the hearer, as if it were a song.' Such writers, as is the case with Addison and Johnson in some measure, are worth reading for the serviceableness of the style rather than for the importance of the substance. But it is only writers of the very highest genius who possess in a just proportion the combined excellences of Polybius and Livy. Such a writer is Thucydides, at least in those parts of his work which have received his final revision. While his first object is to write truth, he has the power, wherever he is at his best, of expressing it well. The claim which he puts into the mouth of



Pericles—*γινῶναι τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα*—can be justified of himself also. And his style is not made up, as many have supposed, of mere sleight of hand and bizarre effect. He therefore deserves attention partly as a literary artist. But for a detailed discussion of this side of his genius, the reader is referred to the third chapter. For the present, it is enough to say that the two greatest stylists of antiquity, Demosthenes and Cicero, concurred in this judgment.

But it is chiefly as a scientific historian that Thucydides deserves attention. This aspect of his genius is of course quite distinct from the artistic side, inasmuch as science is occupied in tracing effects back to their causes, and causes forward to their effects, while art seeks to set forth the results thus obtained in the best possible manner. It is as a scientific historian that Thucydides displays his peculiar excellences. His work is the usefulest analysis of the motives which influence action that was ever written. History, in order to be of use, ought, according to Professor Seeley, 'to end with something like a moral.' 'The principal and proper work of History,' Hobbes writes of Thucydides, 'being to instruct and enable men by the knowledge of actions Past to bear themselves prudently in the Present and providently towards the Future, there is not extant any other (merely humane) that doth more fully and naturally perform it then this my author.' This judgment has been affirmed by many. Macaulay esteemed Thucydides highly. Niebuhr considered him to be the supreme Head

of the great cult of Clio. Indeed the opinion here stated, so far from being singular, is the general opinion of critics both of ancient and modern times. Of the many writers on this historian whose works I have read, I can recall but one—though my memory or diligence may be at fault—who has called in question the exactness and trustworthiness of his account of the war; I refer to Müller-Strübing, whom I mention with respect. This is not the place to discuss his extremely ingenious criticism of Thucydides' neglect of the inner history of Athens, and of the sacrifice of truth to dramatic effect which he imputes to him. As regards the former objection, it has been many times pointed out that Thucydides was writing, not the history of Athens, but the history of the war between Athens and Sparta; and of the latter objection it may be said generally with a French critic, '*la critique n'a jamais plus d'imagination ni plus d'esprit que lorsque les bases lui manquent.*' There have been many objectors to the writer's style and method of presenting the facts. For instance, in respect both of his style and of his method, Thucydides is attacked by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and, as regards his method, he is vilipended by Tzetzes. But I shall refrain from discussing such attacks except where it appears absolutely necessary; since no more serious blow can be struck at Education than to deal with the great authors of antiquity as though they were 'a subject for altercation rather than enjoyment'; nor would one wish to give the slightest pretext for asserting here, as has

been done in another country, that the study of them ruins the character instead of building it up.

Thucydides, rather than Herodotus, deserves to be considered the father of history, since it was he who discovered what is the proper task of the historian; that one supremely difficult task which has been universally recognised as the historian's proper task after the long experience of all succeeding centuries—that is to say, to unite in just proportion, truth of substance, and beauty of form.

Forewarned of the diversity of grounds on which Thucydides is worthy of attention, the reader has now but to be told what are the particular merits of the Second Book of his history. The division of the work into books is due to Alexandrine critics, and there were in ancient times two systems of division, the one making eight books, the other thirteen. But the system which has prevailed was decidedly the better one. According to this division, the principal matters dealt with in the Second Book are the night attack of the Thebans on Plataea, the first invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, the measures of Pericles offensive and defensive, the Funeral Oration, the 'plague' at Athens, the self-defence of Pericles, which is followed by a general survey of his policy: and the rest of the book, from the sixty-sixth chapter, contains the siege of Plataea, the two victories of Phormio, and the abortive expedition of Sitalces against Macedon. These events, with others of less importance, occurred in the first three years of the war. It is universally acknowledged that



the first sixty-five chapters are a literary masterpiece. After the review of Pericles' policy at the sixty-fifth chapter, there is a falling off of interest; but this is scarcely to be imputed to any fault of the writer, but rather to the weakening of Pericles' influence in the last year of his life. Thucydides himself realised this; and therefore with exquisite judgment, by means of an ingenious derangement of his material, he anticipates the death of Pericles, which took place in the autumn of 429 B.C., by just a year. In that last year, Pericles is not the sole director of Athenian policy; and yet the showy politicians who opposed him have not yet obtained the complete mastery. Hence there is a stagnation in the policy of Athens in the year 429. This stagnation is disturbed only by the rather lucky victories of Phormio in the Gulf of Corinth. In 431 and 430 Pericles is the central figure of the war, into whom Athena has breathed her own indomitable spirit. Strengthened by that spirit, he is able to withstand a powerful enemy without, a rebellious people within, and even the added horrors of that inflexible Τύχη which finally broke him whom it could not bend. There remain some six months after the death of Pericles which are included in this book. He had left behind him no second; and Phormio, his colleague, who was next him in capacity, was absent throughout the year 429, and did not return until the spring of 428. Yet these latter chapters are valuable, because they enable us to realise the immense usefulness of the work of Pericles by showing how great is the difference when his power is

fading away slowly but perceptibly. In the events of these chapters may be seen a clearer foreshadowing than in the plague itself of the permanent and fatal effects of a war which was to stamp joy and vivacity out of Greece, and to take poetry from the fairest of her cities. But adversity has its jewel to grace it: the war left Athens oratory to gild a decline spent in domestic and international strife, and philosophy to console an old age harassed by distressing and melancholy doubts. Thus the year 429 is a great turning point in Athenian history; and it is significant that this, which is the death year of Pericles, is also the birth year of Plato, destined to be the fairest ornament of the decadence, as Pericles had been the chief glory of the maturity of Athens.

Thucydides is too difficult an author to attract the curious, and he is rather too much given to philosophising to please this class of readers. Hobbes was a philosopher too, and knew this. 'They be far more in number that love to read of great armies, bloody battles, and many thousands slain at once then that mind the Art by which affairs both of Armies and Cities be conducted to their ends.' Now Thucydides wrote for them that mind the Art by which affairs be conducted to their ends; consequently he does not possess that faculty which seems to be reserved as the special consolation of periods of decadence in literature—the faculty of amusing without troubling the reader. And so, in order that his work may not remain the peculiar possession of the minority of readers 'that mind the Art by which affairs be conducted to their ends,'

but may attract also those 'that love to read of many thousands slain at once,' there is a tradition which dates from times not very far removed from the historian's own age, that this author ought to be annotated. Some of the readers or hearers for whom his history was annotated in the Byzantine period must have been very desultory persons indeed, if they really required all the notes that were supplied for them; but probably the more fatuous of the scholia to Thucydides are the work of critics who were little less dull of apprehension than the very dull gentry who copied the text. The students of these days are more acute than many of the critics of those times. Accordingly, the present edition leaves something to the acuteness of the reader. It presumes that he will have the patience to think out the solution of the small difficulties for himself; and that, in order to find the explanation of the great ones, he will take the trouble to turn to the end of the book. Both these demands are made of the reader with the same purpose. Indeed, I have had but one purpose before me in making this book; namely, to encourage and entice those who use it to think for themselves. The notes attempt to suggest lines of thought, and especially to desultory readers, who, if they will follow the lines suggested to them, will doubtless frequently arrive at conclusions quite at variance with those which they will see stated in the book. They will then have the pleasure of reflecting that the editor is probably wrong: only they will of their charity refrain from carrying their reflections so far as to arrive at the conclusion that an editor

who is sometimes wrong is necessarily a blockhead ; remembering that the strait way which leads to the Truth is very tortuous, and that, as far as concerns this author, criticism has now been threading that way through many windings for more than two thousand years. It will be enough to have acted as guide through one more stage of the journey.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT OF THE SECOND BOOK.

It will be convenient to start with a list of the chief MSS. of Thucydides. They are the only ones which are of much value in determining the text.

#### 1. VATICAN GROUP.

B or *Vaticanus*. Parchment. XIth century. In the Vatican Library. Has been collated by Bekker, Hude and others. This ms., with the readings of which the following three generally agree, the first with more exactness than the others, is considered by many high authorities, as Classen and Stahl, to be the best ms. extant.

A or *Cisalpinus* or *Italicus*. Parchment. XIIth century. It was taken from Venice by the French during the Revolution and placed in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, where it now is. It was lost after 1815, but rediscovered by Rudolf Prinz in 1869. Collated by Bekker in 1812 and by A. Croiset in recent years.

E or *Palatinus*. Parchment. XIth century. In the Library of Heidelberg. Collated by Bekker and Poppo.

F or *Augustanus*. Parchment. Dated 1301. Collated by Gottleber and Bekker. At Munich.

#### 2. LAURENTIAN GROUP.

C or *Laurentianus*. Parchment. Xth century. Collated by Bekker, A. Schöne, Hude, and others. Some

authorities consider this the best MS. extant. In the Laurentian Library at Florence.

G or *Monacensis*. Papyrus. XIIIth century. Collated by Göller and Bekker. At Munich. The top margin is eaten away throughout.

### 3. THE BRITISH MS.

M or *Britannus*. Parchment. XIth century, In the British Museum. Purchased 1840. No. 11,727. Collated by J. Eggeling, for Haase, in 1867. The collation first used by Stahl in his critical edition, 1874. The 8th book collated by Herwerden. Specimens have been published by the Palaeographical Society. The writing is very good, but there are constant and absurd blunders. It is much corrected by a later hand. Pp. i., viii. are supplied by a more recent hand; pp. xxv.-xxxiii. and p. xl. by a third hand. Book II. begins p. xxix. *sub. fin.*: c. 1-13, 7, τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους, are in the later hand. From that point onwards the MS. has been collated for this edition. P. xl. is denoted by m. The MS. agrees sometimes with the Vatican, at other times with the Laurentian.

Included in the critical notes will be found many readings of a 15th century MS. in the Cambridge Library, marked T, collated by Shilleto. This MS. agrees, often minutely, especially in omissions, with M, and is probably derived from some MS. copied from that from which M was copied.

All the MSS. are derived ultimately from one common source, and that not a very good one. There is no attempt to make the critical notes of this edition exhaustive: only such matter has been inserted as was likely to prove useful to students. For the best *apparatus critici* the reader should consult the editions of Bekker, Stahl, and A. Schöne.



The principal Latin versions of Thucydides are the following :—

- (1) Version of VALLA, fol., made from a MS. in 1452, entitled *Laurentii Vallensis ad sanctissimum Nicolaum Quintum Pontificem Maximum in Thucydidis Historia Translationem*. Many critics consider this version equal to another good MS., but this view is exaggerated. It does however give some assistance in textual criticism.
- (2) Version of AEMILIUS PORTUS, 12° (also, with the Greek text, fol.), 1594. In 1564 H. STEPHANUS had published his corrected version of Valla's translation separately, folio (his own editions with the Greek text appeared 1588 and 1589). Portus merely improved the translation as it appeared in Stephanus. The translation of Portus is that contained in DUKER's edition.
- (3) Version of F. HAASE, 4°, 1869, published in Didot's edition, with Greek text and scholia. The version is elegant.

The principal English versions are as follows :—

- (1) Version of THOMAS HOBBS, fol., 1628, 1676 ('much corrected and amended'). In the valuable preface, Hobbes says an English version appeared in the reign of Edward VI.; but from a French translation of Valla's Latin. He alludes to the version of THOS. NICOLLS, fol., 1550, which was from the French of CLAUDE DE SEYSSSEL, Archbishop of Turin (fol., 1527; 4°, 1534; 16°, 1545; 8°, 1555). Hobbes was the first to interpret the author 'immediately out of the Greek.' The version is inaccurate, but fine in parts.
- (2) Version of CRAWLEY, 8°, 1874. (Poppo speaks fairly well of a translation by William Smith, 16°, 1831; 8°, 1831, which may be met with on book-stalls.) Bald, but accurate.
- (3) Version of JOWETT, 8°, 1881, 'précise et élégante' (Croiset). The meaning is invariably brought out, sometimes at the expense of the Greek.

The vulgate text was the text of H. STEPHANUS: this is found in all the editions—Hudson, Duker, Gottleber—Bauer—Beck, etc.—down to the time of BEKKER, with the exception of an edition of the text by ELMSLEY (pub. under the initials P. E., 8°, Edinburgh, 1804), who inserted the Attic forms in defiance of the MSS. In 1821 appeared Bekker's 1st edition, the 2nd following in 1832, and others from that date, with a rapidity censured by Cobet, down to 1868. In 1823 began to appear POPPO's vast work in eleven volumes. It was completed in 1840. As Bekker is the first scientific editor of the text, so Poppo is the first scientific annotator. Among the subsequent editions, which are enumerated in the list at the end of the fourth chapter, the most important for the text are those of STAHL (1873), and VAN HERWERDEN (1877-1882), and the second edition of Poppo, edited by Stahl, in which the learned editor considerably modifies the views he held in 1873 (Bk. ii., 1889).

Van Herwerden is a Dutch critic of the most advanced type, of the school which looks to the University of Leyden as its centre, and the lamented Cobet as its chief exponent. This school is intimately connected with the English critics of Trinity College, Cambridge, of whom the greatest is Bentley. In Thucydides, this school has done great service by expelling many interpolations from the text, and by palaeographical emendations, and by the removal of forms vitiated by the ignorance of Byzantine grammarians and copyists.

It would be little short of marvellous if the text



of Thucydides had survived intact from the beginning of the fourth century B.C. down to the tenth century A.D., the date of the most ancient MS. It is not likely that a good Greek scholar at the present day could copy out the eight books without making mistakes, and we know far more about Attic Greek now than was known by the Byzantine scholars. Early in the Christian era a large number of scholars who liked to call themselves Atticists wrote, disputed, and made dictionaries on the Attic dialect. The earliest, and the best, such as Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Moeris, Phrynichus, Herodianus, and others of the era of Hadrian and the Antonines, derived their information from the Alexandrine critics of the third and second century B.C., so that much information of great value has descended to us in the writings of Photius the patriarch (9th cent. A.D.), Eustathius (11th cent.), Gregory of Corinth (11th cent.), and many others, who lived about the time that the earliest MSS. of Thucydides now known were written. Now it is important to notice that even these scholars, the most learned men of their time, knew very little but what they borrowed from their predecessors. They could neither write nor speak Attic. We may be sure that *the commentaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries, so far as they are valuable, are not original, and whatever is original is worthless.*

What bearing has this fact on the text? Just this: if the greatest scholars of the day had copied the text of Thucydides, there would have been many blunders and un-Attic forms in it, and the writers would have followed what they saw before them,

making little or no effort to correct any but the most obvious blunders. But these learned persons were great men, patriarchs and bishops, and were devoted students. Monks were the copyists, men of slight learning, which was dangerous to them, men who cared nothing at all about what they did, but only about getting it done. By the tenth century, the scholia, the work of various earlier scholars, which we shall have occasion to notice, had been collected and appended to the text page by page. But the copyists had often mixed up the commentary with the text, and this fertile cause of blunders had been at work now for many centuries, having probably begun to vitiate the original at a time considerably anterior to the Christian era.

Just as an early English classic is modernised in ordinary editions, so the aspect of the text of Thucydides had been gradually altered since the fourth century B.C.; the copyists introducing the forms in use in their day in place of forms no longer understood by the majority. There are many phenomena in the text of Thucydides which make it probable that he wrote his work in the old Attic alphabet, consisting of twenty-one letters, and wanting ξ, ψ, ω, instead of in the Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters. This longer alphabet, though only officially adopted at Athens in 403 B.C., was, it is true, in private use since the Persian Wars; and before the end of the Peloponnesian War, it was probably the regular alphabet in all but state documents. But it is remarkable that Thucydides uses certain forms which were certainly obsolete at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Thus

he used ξυν, written XΣYN, which went out of use about 410 B.C., instead of σύν, αἰεὶ for αἰεί, and the ancient commentators remarked that he often used obsolete words. Also ρs for ρρ, σσ for ττ carry us back to the Attic of Tragedy. The constant confusion in the MSS. of ο with ω points in the same direction. We must bear in mind, too, that Thucydides was in exile from 423 to 403, and that, when he left Athens, he took with him copious notes for what finally proved to be about half of his whole work. Indeed Ullrich and many other writers believe that Thucydides wrote the first four books and the first twenty-five chapters of the fifth as a complete work soon after the Peace of Nicias in 421 B.C., supposing the war to be at an end. But Classen, who is followed by most English critics, believes that the whole work was written from the original notes after the end of the Peloponnesian War. Still, if the historian began his notes in the old alphabet, on either supposition he would naturally continue, in his absence and after his return, to use it. Remember also that Thucydides was in every respect a pioneer in artistic prose. His work was a literary revolt from the domination of Ionic history ; but, just as Attic Tragedy, in the hands of the innovator Euripides, retained the diction of an older period, so the innovator Thucydides, the very antipodes of Herodotus in every respect, kept to the peculiarities of old Attic : such conservatism was, in fact, a revolt, however paradoxical the statement may appear ; for Greek literature had used the Ionic alphabet from its very beginning. This, then, is the light in which we must view Thucydides : *he is the first*

*Attic historian*, and his Attic, as was well known in ancient times, is the old Attic. Probably, then, with a clear apprehension of the fundamental difference between literature and popular usage, he kept to the old Attic alphabet.

If this is so, some of the earliest errors are probably due to the transcribing of his history into the Ionic alphabet after his death, when it was, contrary to his own expectation, becoming popular. In the Attic alphabet ο represented ο, ω, ου; ε represented ε, ει, η, while η was the rough breathing; ξ was χσ, ψ was φσ.

We are now in a position to examine in detail the list of corrections accepted in this edition. Of course many blunders were removed by Bekker, and even earlier, but it will be best to give only the variations from Bekker's last edition. The correction is in every case assigned to the earliest author. Spelling is not counted. Those passages to which an asterisk is attached illustrate *very common* blunders in the MSS. of Thucydides. No notice is taken of those conjectures of Bekker which have since been rejected. Such of the present editor's own corrections as are admitted into the text are given in a separate list. [ ] denote words cut out, { } words added to the text.

LECTIO BEKKERI, A.D. 1868.

LECTIO CRITICORUM in hac  
editione reposita.

2, 1. ἔτι δύο μῆνας.

ἔτι τέσσαρας μῆνας, Krüger.  
(Δ' = 4 was wrongly expanded into δύο.)

2, 1. μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτιδαῖα ...  
ἐκτῷ.

The whole expunged as a gloss,  
Steup.

- \* 3, 2. ἐνόμισαν ῥαδίως κρατῆσαι. ἐ. ῥ. κρατήσῃν, Stahl. (σαι and σῃν confused, as often.)
- 4, 2. ἐμπίρους ... τοῦ μὴ ἐκφύγειν, ὥστε διεφθείροντο πολλοί. ἐμπίρους ... [τοῦ ... οἱ πολλοί], Classen and Herwerden, each a portion.
- 4, 3. καὶ αἶπερ. [καὶ] αἶπερ, Cobet.
- 4, 4. λαθόντες καὶ διακοψάντες. [λαθόντες καὶ] δ., Stahl. But see note *ad loc.*
- 4, 4. αἱ πλησίον θύραι. αἱ [πλησίον] θ., Herwerden.
- 4, 5. τὰς θύρας τοῦ οἰκήματος. τὰς θ. [τοῦ οἴκ.], Herwerden.
- 4, 6. αὐτοὺς. Expunged by Poppo.
- \* 4, 7. σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ δπλα. τὰ δ. καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, Cobet.
- \* 5, 4. ἀπροσδοκῆτου κακοῦ. ἀ. {τοῦ} κ., Baumeister.
- 6, 2. ἐπεμψαν κήρυκα κελεύοντες εἰπεῖν μηδὲν νεωτεροποιεῖν. ἐ. κ. κελεῖοντες [εἰπεῖν] μ. ν., Cobet, in accordance with Greek idiom.
- 7, 2. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ... τοῖς τάκεινων ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ... τοῖς τάκεινων ἐ. ναῦς ἐπετάχθη {οἱ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθη}σαν ποιεῖσθαι, Shilleto.
- 7, 3. ξυμμαχίαν. ξυμμαχίδα, Cobet. (Confusion of *an* and *δα*, Bast, *Comment. Palaeog.* p. 747).
- 8, 4. οὕτως ὀργῇ εἶχον. οὕτως {ἐν} ὀργῇ, Reiske, in accordance with Attic idiom.
- 9, 1. Πελοποννήσιοι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἴσθμοῦ. Πελ. [οἱ ἐ. Ἴ.], Steup.
- 9, 4. παρεῖχον. [παρεῖχον], Herbst. (The verb supplied, as continually in the scholia.)
- 10, 1. ξυμμαχίαν. ξυμμαχίδα, Cobet.

- 10, 3.** παρῆναι τοιάδ' ἔλεξεν. παρῆναι τοιάδε, Sintenis, in accordance with Attic idiom (ειν, ην, ιν have the same abbreviation in MSS. Bast, *C. P.* p. 760).
- \*11, 1.** οἱ. [οἱ], Cobet.
- 11, 4.** δεδιὸς ἀμεινον. [δ. ἀ.], Steup.
- \*11, 7.** οἱ. [οἱ], Usener.
- 11, 9.** ἡμῖν. ὑμῖν, Hude.
- 12, 4.** ἐνδῶσουσιν. ἐνδωσειουσιν, Herwerden, following a correction in E.
- 13, 1.** ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἀγῇ ἐλαύνειν κ.τ.λ. Expunged by Valckenaer.
- 13, 4.** οὐκ ἐλάσσομος [ῆν] ἤ. οὐκ ἐλασσον ἤ, Dobree.
- 13, 6.** ὅσοι ὀπλῖται ἦσαν. Expunged by Stahl.
- 15, 1.** ἡ Ἀττικὴ κατὰ πόλεις φκεῖτο πρυτανεῖά τε ἔχουσα. ἐχούσας for ἔχουσα, Bloomfield.
- \*15, 3.** ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὔσα. ἡ ἀκρόπολις νῦν οὔσα, Herwerden.
- \*15, 4.** ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἐν αὐτῇ [τῇ ἀ.], Cobet.
- 15, 4.** καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστί. Lacuna marked before these words, Classen.
- \*15, 4.** τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου. τὸ {τοῦ} ἐν Λ. Δ., Cobet.
- 15, 4.** τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ... ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι. [τῇ δωδεκατῇ] ... ἐν μ. Ἀ., Torstrik.
- \*16, 1.** τῇ τε οὖν. τῇ δ' οὖν, Krüger. (Similar confusion of τε and δὲ occurs, e.g. at c. **3, 4, 55, 72, 1.**)
- 16, 1.** μετεῖχον. [μετεῖχον], Driessen. (Verb supplied.)
- \*16, 2.** καταλιπόντες. καταλείποντες, Shilleto.



- 19, 1. τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ τῶν τὰ ἐν Π. [τῶν ἐ. Θ.] γενόμενα, ἐσελθόντων γενόμενα. Classen.
- 20, 1. ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον. Expunged by Stahl.
- 21, 1. πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. πεισθῆναι [τὴν ἀ.], Herwerden.
- 21, 3. ὦν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο. ὡς ἀκροᾶσθαι (Badham) ἕκαστος ὥρμητο. CEG read ὥρμητο.
- 22, 2. ἐνεγένετο. ἐγένετο, with EG and Dion. Hal.
- \*22, 2. τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων. τῶν Θεσ. καὶ Ἀ., expunged by Herwerden.
- 22, 3. Παράσιοι. Expunged by Heringa.
- 23, 3. Πειραϊκὴν. Γραϊκὴν, Stephanus Byzant.
- 25, 2. πρῶτος. πρῶτον, Herwerden.
- 25, 4. τὴν ἀκραν. [τὴν ἀκραν], Cobet.
- 25, 5. οἱ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπιβῆναι. Expunged by Herwerden.
- 27, 1. τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει. {ἐν} τῷ αὐ. θ., Poppo.
- 27, 2. οἱ δ' ἐσπάρησαν. οἱ δὲ διεσπάρησαν, Cobet.
- 29, 2. ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ. Expunged by Naber.
- \*29, 3. ὁ μὲν ... ὁ Τηρεὺς ᾤκει. ὁ Τηρεὺς expunged by Herwerden.
- 29, 3. ἐς Ὀδρύσας. Expunged by Herwerden.
- 29, 3. οὔτε τό αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχων βασιλεὺς τε πρῶτος ... ἐγένετο. οὐδὲ for οὔτε, and [τε], Classen.
- 29, 5. πείσειν γὰρ πέμψειν. πείσειν γὰρ πέμπειν, reading of CG.
- 30, 2. Κεφαλληνίαν τὴν νῆσον. Κ. [τὴν ν.], Herwerden.
- \*34, 1. πρῶτων. πρῶτον, Cobet. (Similar confusion, e.g. at c. 41, 3, 43, 3, 64, 3.)
- 34, 8. καιρὸν ἐλάμβανε. καιρὸς ἐ., reading of CEEFG.
- 36, 4. Ἑλληνα πόλεμον. Ἑ. [πόλεμον], Dobree.
- 37, 3. δία δέος. [διὰ δέος], Badham.

- 39**, 2. καθ' ἐκάστους. καθ' ἑαυτούς, Cobet.
- \*40**, 1. ἐτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις. ἕτερα πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις, Classen.
- 41**, 3. πολεμίῳ ἐπελθόντι. π. [ἐπελθόντι], Badham.
- 41**, 4. κακῶν τε κάγαθῶν. καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν, Herwerden.
- \*42**, 2. τῶν ἔργων. τῷ ἔργῳ, Dobree.
- \*42**, 4. πλούτου. πλούτῳ, reading of ABM.
- 42**, 4. μάλλον. κάλλιον, Dobree.
- 43**, 6. ἐν τῷ μετὰ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι. [ἐν τῷ] μετὰ τοῦ μ., Göller.
- 44**, 1. ἐντελευτῆσαι. ἐνταλαιπωρῆσαι, Herwerden.
- 44**, 3. ἰδίᾳ γάρ τε. ἰ. τε γάρ, Krüger.
- 45**, 1. τὸν γὰρ ... ἐπαινεῖν. Expunged by Steup.
- 46**, 2. ἄπιτε. ἀποχωρεῖτε, reading of ABEF.
- 47**, 4. μαντεῖαις. μαντείοις, reading of EF<sub>2</sub>G<sub>2</sub>.
- 48**, 2. ἐνέπεσε. ἐσέπεσε, Herwerden.
- 48**, 3. ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν. ἱκανὰς εἶναι [δ. .. σχεῖν], Gesner.
- 48**, 3. αὐτός. [αὐτός], Cobet.
- \*51**, 3. διεφάνη. δὴ ἐφάνη, Valckenaer.
- \*53**, 3. προσταλαιπωρεῖν. προταλαιπωρεῖν, reading of CE.
- \*53**, 3. τό. [τό], Herwerden. (But see below, p. xl.)
- 55**. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. [τοὺς Ἀ.], Cobet.
- 56**, 1. γῆν. [γῆν], Cobet.
- 60**, 6. νικωμένου ... πωλοῖτο. νικώμενος ... ἀπόδοιτο, Cobet.
- 61**, 4. ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις. ξυμφορὰς τὰς μεγίστας, Herwerden.
- 62**, 3. αὐτῶν. [αὐτῶν], Dobree.
- \*62**, 3. προσεκτεημένα. προκεκτεημένα, reading of G.
- 62**, 5. ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης. Order changed by Döderlein.
- 63**, 1. ὥπερ ἅπαντες. ὥ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, reading of A.



- 63**, 1. ἀπήχθεσθε. ἀπήχθησθε, Cobet.
- 64**, 1. ὅταν ... τι εὖ πράξητε. τι expunged by Cobet, in accordance with Attic idiom.
- \*64**, 5. παραντίκα τε. π. [τε], Rauchenstein.
- 65**, 2. χώραν οἰκοδομαῖς. χώραν {έν} οἰ., Madvig.
- \*65**, 4. ξύμπασα ἡ πόλις. ἡ ξ. π., reading of CG. (In c. **72** A has πάση τῇ for τῇ πάση.)
- 67**, 4. τὸ γεγενημένον υἱὸν κ.τ.λ. Expunged by Cobet.
- 68**, 1. τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος. Expunged by Herwerden.
- 70**, 4. καὶ ἕκαστος. καὶ {κατῳκησαν} έ., Stahl.
- \*70**, 5. τό. [τό], Poppo.
- 71**, 2. ιερά. [ιερά], Cobet. (Order varies in MSS.)
- \*72**, 3. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. Expunged by Cobet.
- \*73**, 3. ἡμᾶς. ὑμᾶς, ABCFG.
- \*75**, 1. ταχίστην αἵρεσιν. τ. {τῆν} αἷ., Cobet.
- 75**, 3. ἐβδομήκοντα. ἑπτακαίδεκα, Steup.
- 75**, 5. ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ. ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, Cobet.
- 76**, 3. ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς ἐστὴν πόλιν. ἐκ τοῦ έ. [ές τ. π.], Herwerden.
- 76**, 4. ἀνέκλων (ANEKLON). ἀνεῖλκον, Rutherford (ANEAL-KON).
- \*77**, 1. ἀπό. ὑπό, Cobet.
- 77**, 4. ἀπ αὐτοῦ. Expunged by Dobree.
- 77**, 5. ἐντὸς πολλοῦ χωρίου. χωρίου expunged by Herwerden.
- 77**, 6. ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. ὕδωρ only, with C.
- 78**, 1. μέρος μέν τι, κ.τ.λ. Expunged by Classen.
- \*79**, 6. ἀποχωροῦσι. ἀναχωροῦσι, B.
- 80**, 1. ῥαδίως ἄν. ἄν omitted, with CG.
- 80**, 8. ῥαδίως ἄν ... προσχωρήσειν. ῥ. ἄν ... προσχωρήσαι, Cobet.

- 83**, 1. τῆς ἐν Στράτῳ μάχης. Expunged by Herwerden.
- 83**, 3. διαβάλλοντων. διαβάλλοντες, Stahl.
- \*83**, 3. ὑφορμισάμενοι. ἀφορμισάμενοι, Bloomfield.
- 84**, 2. ἐπί. ὑπό, Krüger.
- 84**, 3. κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον. Expunged by Cobet.
- 85**, 5. Κρῆς Γορτύνιος. [Κρῆς] Γ., Cobet.
- 85**, 6. ὑπὸ ἀνέμων καί. Expunged by Classen.
- 86**, 1. ἐν τούτῳ. [ἐν τ.], Cobet. (See note.)
- 86**, 1. οὐπερ. οἴπερ, Cobet.
- 86**, 3. 'Ρίον. ['Ρίον], Cobet.
- 86**, 3. τὸ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. Expunged by Stahl.
- 88**, 2. ἦν ἐπιπλέη. ἀν ἐπιπλέοι, Cobet.
- 88**, 3. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Expunged by Cobet.
- 89**, 3. ἐκάτεροί τι. [ἐ. τι], Stahl.
- 89**, 5. παρὰ πολὺ. παραλόγον, Steup.
- \*89**, 5. ὑμᾶς. ἡμᾶς, with most mss.
- 89**, 6. ὥσπερ οὗτοι. Expunged by Cobet.
- \*89**, 9. τε. Omitted with CG.
- \*90**, 1. ἀναγόμενοι. ἀναγαγόμενοι, CG.
- 90**, 1. ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου. ἔσω [ἐπὶ] τοῦ κ., Krüger.
- 90**, 4. κατὰ μίαν. [κατὰ μίαν], Herwerden.
- 90**, 6. εἶλον. εἶλον ἤδη, EGM.
- 91**, 1. ἐφθειραν. διέφθειραν, CG.
- 91**, 1. αἴπερ ὑπεξέφυγον, κ.τ.λ. Expunged by Herwerden.
- 91**, 1. νεώς. [νεώς], Herwerden.
- \*91**, 1. κατὰ Ἀπολλώνιον. κ. τὸ Ἀπ., CG.
- \*92**, 4. ἀναγόμενοι. ἀναγαγόμενοι, C.
- 92**, 5. ὡς νενικηκότες. Expunged by Cobet.
- 93**, 1. Πειραιῶς τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων. II. [τοῦ λ. τ. Ἀ.], Naber.
- 93**, 3. καθ' ἡσυχίαν. Transposed by Herwerden.
- 93**, 3. διανοοῦντο. διανοοῦντο, Stahl.

96, 1. ἐς τὸν Εἰξείνον, κ.τ.λ.	Expunged by Krüger.
96, 3. μέχρι Γρααίων.	μέχρι γὰρ Λααίων, C.
96, 3. οὐ.	[οὐ], Arnold.
96, 3. διὰ Γρααίων.	δι' Ἀγριάνων, Classen.
*97, 1. πόντον τόν.	πόντον [τόν], Valckenaer.
97, 3. ὅσον προσήξαν.	ὅσων περ ἤρξαν, Dobree.
97, 3. ἄχρυσος καὶ ἄργυρος εἴη.	Expunged by Dobree.
*97, 5. τὴν Σκυθῶν.	τὴν τῶν Σ., some MSS. omit τήν, others τῶν.
100, 2. υἱός.	υἱός, Cobet.
*100, 2. τε.	[τε], Haack.
*101, 1. τε.	δέ, Poppo.
102, 4. τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι.	Expunged by Stahl.
102, 5. μηδὲ γῇ ᾗ.	Expunged by Herwerden.

LECTIO BEKKERI.

LECTIO AB EDITORE PRIMO  
REPOSITA.

14, 5. τὰ πλείστον ἄξια.	Expunged.
19, 2. Ἀχαρνάς, χωρίον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δῆμων καλουμένων.	Ἀχαρνάς. Rest expunged.
19, 2. ἐς αὐτό.	Expunged.
23, 2. ἄσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο.	„
27, 1. τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην.	„
35, 2. διὰ φθόγον.	„
36, 3. αὐτῆς.	[αὐτῆς].
44, 2. οἶδα πείθειν.	οἶδα {μὴ} ποθεῖν.
49, 7. αὐτοῦ.	[αὐτοῦ].
52, 2. ἀποθνήσκοντες.	Expunged.
55, 1. Λαυρελου, οὗ τὰ ἀργύρεα μέταλλα ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις.	Λαυρελου. Rest expunged.

58, 2. ἐπιΓΕΝΟμένη.	ἐπιΝΕΜΟμένη.
61, 2. ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἃ ἔγνωτε.	ἐγκαρτερεῖν [ἃ ἔ.].
63, 3. αὐτόνομοι.	[αὐτόνομοι].
65, 12. περιπεσόντες.	[περιπεσόντες].
67, 1. ἥπερ ὥρμηντο.	Expunged.
68, 7. οἱ αὐτοῖς.	οἱ {δ'} αὐτοῖς.
76, 1. ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ.	Expunged.
76, 2. καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι.	,,
80, 4. χίλιοι ὀπλῖται.	,,
83, 1. ἄνω.	,,
84, 2. ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεζήν.	,,
87, 1. τό.	,,
90, 5. τῶν Ἀθηναίων.	,,

Of conjectures not accepted in the text, the most useful will be found in the critical notes. One has been omitted by accident, Kieser's [καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην], 68, 3, which is very probable. Thucydides relates that Amphilochus found Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν ... ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας. The passage bracketed comes after Ἀμφιλοχικόν, but does not suit the end of the sentence. Moreover Strabo refers to the passage, and says Θουκυδίδης φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀμφίλοχον ... κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ, i.e. 'founded Argos'; nothing is said about 'the rest of the country.'

The general result of the changes based on MSS. variations is that the readings of the Laurentian are more often accepted where they differ from those of the Vatican.

Many kinds of familiar copyists' errors are illustrated in the above lists, such as the wrong expansion

of abbreviations, the confusion of cases, the confusion of similar letters, dittography or the repetition of a syllable at times with a slight alteration, as TO, TE, and transposition of words. This last mistake is very common, variations in the order in different MSS. being of most perplexing frequency.

But the most difficult error of all to detect is interpolation in the text. It is necessary to go into this matter at greater length. It is certain that spurious words have crept in, owing to the marginal notes of different critics being confused with the author's text by copyists. Very often words which appear in one MS. are wanting in another. For example, at 9, 4, for νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου, F, with three inferior MSS., gives νῆσοι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐντὸς Π., and one MS., νῆσοι ἄλλαι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐντὸς Π.; another gives νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντος περὶ τὰ δυτικώτερα Π. At 11, 5, after τῇ πολεμίᾳ E inserts τῇ γῇ. At 12, 2, for πρότερον, one MS. has πρότερον πρὸ τῆς πρεσβείας. At 23, 2, two MSS. give εἰς τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον for περὶ Π. only. At 62, 3, in place of ὁμοσε μὴ Dionysius gives ὁμόσε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ, which he must have found in the MS. he used. At 65, 12, after ἀφεστηκόσι one MS. inserts πολεμοῦντες. At 76, 1, to ἐς τὸ διηρημένον Suidas adds τοῦ τείχους, and one MS. τοῦ χύματος. At 89, 9, between τῆς and ἐφορμήσεως one inserts τῶν πολεμίων. At 90, 1, for εἴκοσι some MSS. give εἴκοσι ναῦς. These cases show us the process of insertion from the scholia. There is no doubt about this; for we have only to turn to the scholia to find these spurious words. At 9, 4, the scholia say αἱ περὶ τὰ δυτικά; at 11. 5 τῇ γῇ δηλονότι; at 12,

2, πρότερον πρὸ τῆς πρεσβείας; at 89, 9 τῶν πολεμίων.

It is quite easy after studying the scholia to see what kind of note is likely to be inserted in the text. Dr. Rutherford has gone into this at length in his edition of Book IV., so that it will be sufficient to give here one example of each of the common types of note. A comparison of the following with the lists given above will show how clearly the notes of commentators can be seen in the text. The scholium is placed with the text in square brackets :—

- 6, 1. τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίσταντο [πρὸς πολιορκίαν, ἥπερ καὶ ἐγένετο μετ' ὀλίγον]. Dr. Rutherford states that this type is a late one.
- 6, 3. ὁ κῆρυξ [τῶν Ἀθηναίων].
- 9, 2. ξυνεπολέμουν [τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις].
- 20, 4. αὐτῷ [τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ].
- 31, 2. τὰ πολλὰ [μέρη] τῆς γῆς [τῆς Μεγαρίδος].
- 34, 5. σῆμα [τὸ καλούμενον Κεραμεικόν].
- 39, 1. ξενηλασίαις [ὥσπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι].
- 49, 5. [καὶ γὰρ ὁ πίνων ὀλίγον καὶ ὁ πολὺ ἀπέθνησκον].
- 57, 1. τῇ στρατιᾷ [τῇ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον].
- 67, 3. Ἀριστέα [τὸν Κορίνθιον] μὴ αὔθις [ἐς τὸ μέλλον].
- 68, 4. τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας [γῆς].
- 72, 3. μέχρι τοῦδε [τοῦ καιροῦ].
- 93, 4. τὸ ἀκρωτήριον [τὸ Βούδορον καλούμενον].

A few words are needed to show why the explanations attached to certain familiar places are bracketed. The cases in point are 25, 4; 30, 2; 56, 1; 85, 5; 93, 1; 19, 2; 27, 2; 55, 1. The places are Ichthys, Cephallenia, Paralia, Gortyn, Piraeus, Acharnae, Aegina, Laurium. The Greeks did not know much about geography; but they must



have been quite familiar with all these names. In later times the case would be different, and an explanation would be natural. Thus Herodian writes in the time of Marcus Aurelius *Λαύρειον ἐστὶ τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποιῶν μέταλλον*, and *Γόρτυν, πόλις Κρήτης*. In 56, 1, some MSS. omit *γῆν* after *παραλίαν*. The comments in the text were probably added in the Christian era.

Most of the textual difficulties are explained as they occur: but in some cases it has been found impossible to condense the explanation into the narrow compass of a note. These passages must now be examined. In 9, 3, we have *ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο ... πεζὸν παρείχεν*. Classen explains the difference of voice on the assumption that the active is used of kings of governments, the mid. of a people when all share in the act. But it is evident in this passage that there is no distinction whatever between the peoples and the states. Thucydides often gives the name of a people instead of that of their state. In 19, 1, for *τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θ. γένόμενα*, the laws of syntax require that either *γένόμενα* or *τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θ.* should be omitted. As *γίγνομαι* is constantly used to refer to some past event, there can be no doubt which to bracket. A commentator would have written *πράγματα* not *γένόμενα*. At 20, 1, *ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον* is wrong because Archidamus was encamped near Acharnae, and his army was scattered about. Hence he cannot have kept his men 'drawn up for battle.' These words might be placed after *ἐς τὸ πεδιὸν οὐ καταβῆναι*, where they would make sense, but I have deferred to Stahl's judgment. In 29, 3,

the MSS. reading can only be explained as a violent anacoluthon; but the sentence is too short and simple to admit of this. At 34, 1, the difference between τῶν πρῶτον ἀποθανόντων and τῶν πρώτων ἀ. is the same as that between ‘those who died for the first time’ and ‘those who were the first to die.’ Cobet drily remarks on the MSS. reading, ‘As though they could die a second time.’ In 37, 3, διὰ δέος anticipates the explanation which is given immediately afterwards. Now the scholiasts constantly added notes giving what they supposed to be the cause or motive of any act. This is an instance of the habit. In 53, 3, as the article is perpetually inserted where it ought not to be, I have bracketed τὸ with Herwerden; but, though Thucydides certainly meant πανταχόθεν to go with ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, as explained in the note, it is just possible that τὸ might stand, the natural order being altered for the sake of the antithesis between ἤδη and πανταχόθεν, as in 7, 2. At 42, 4, ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν κάλλιον (MSS. μᾶλλον) ἡγήσάμενοι, Polle proposes ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι κακοπαθεῖν, but κακοπαθεῖν is not used in the sense ‘to die honourably,’ whereas παθεῖν is very often so used. In 44, 1, there is a great variety of emendations: τοὺς τῶν δὲ νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι (ὀλοφυροῦμαι, Stephanus) μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται (ἐπίστασθε, Herwerden) τραφέντες. τὸ δ’ εὐτυχές (ἐπίστανται τό δ’ εὐτυχές, Abresch), οἱ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς (ὡς, Classen, ὀλίγοις, Steup) ἐνευδαιμονῆσαί τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι (ἐνταλαιπωρῆσαι, Herwerden) ξυνεμετρήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲν



οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὦν καὶ πολλάκες ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις (εὐτεκνίαις, Herwerden), κ.τ.λ. This is not a very obscure passage, not one of those passages of the speeches which were scarcely understood in Cicero's time. The chief difficulties are ἐντελευτῆσαι and πείθειν. Does ἐντελευτῆσαι give a proper antithesis to ἐνεδαιμονῆσαι? Döderlein paraphrases the Greek, according to the old rendering, thus: οἷς ξυνμετρήθη εὐδαιμονῆσαι τε ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τοῦ βίου τελευτῆσαι. But it is impossible to supply anything but ἐν τῷ βίῳ to ἐντελευτῆσαι, and the only way of taking the words as they stand is that proposed by Kraz, who argues that ἐντελευτῆσαι is a proper antithesis to ἐνεδαιμονῆσαι, on the ground that Pericles alludes to the horror which the Greeks felt of death, meaning that the fallen were fortunate in not knowing that death was approaching: thus their happiness in life was only ended by death, whereas most people are miserable at the prospect of death. He quotes Soph. *Aj.* 475, τί γὰρ παρ' ἡμᾶρ ἡμέρα τέρπειν ἔχει | προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα τοῦ γε κατανεῖν; But εὐδαιμονῆσαι cannot mean 'to end their happiness,' nor can εὐδαιμονία be the converse of τελευτή. On the other hand, ἐνταλαιπωρῆσαι is very appropriate, and Thucydides very often uses the simple verb. This word completes his estimate of εὐτυχία; he continually teaches that τύχη must be considered favourable if it gives an equal share of prosperity to all: nobody must expect to monopolise the favour of τύχη. Pericles alludes to this in chapter 64 (cf. 65, 9). ἐνταλαιπωρῆσαι has been confused with τελευτῆς above. Passing on to πείθειν, we can

explain the grammar by supplying ταῦτα, the meaning being 'it is hard to make you feel this.' But this remark will not suit either what precedes or what follows. Pericles, whose powers of persuasion passed into a proverb, has just said that they *know* the limits of human prosperity; it cannot, then, be hard to make them realise that. On the other hand, what follows shows that it is not *his* task which is difficult, but *theirs*. 'It is hard to bear up,' he says, 'but you must.' This sense is given by οἱ ΔΑ{ΜΗ}ΠΙΟΘεῖν for οἱ ΔΑΠΙΕΙΘεῖν. The confusion of δα with μ, and of η with π, is common in MSS. A similar reference to the πόθος felt by the surviving friends of the dead occurs in a fragment of Gorgias' Funeral Oration: αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, and in the one which is ascribed to Lysias: ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τούτους ποθεῖν. See also note on c. 44, 2.

The next passage is 51, 1 καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὁ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. With this 49, 1, must be compared: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος μάλιστα δὴ ἐκείνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. On τὸ ἔτος, Dr. Collier (*The Plague of Athens*) says: 'It may be regarded as a law that the year in which an epidemic breaks out is relatively free from other maladies, as also that those which do occur are tinged by that prevailing disorder, which is able to absorb all others.' Again, on προέκαμνε, 'when an epidemic has not yet fully established itself in any locality, premonitory symptoms, which faintly represent those of the coming malady, prevail; but once the pervading influence is

openly manifested, the disorder shows itself suddenly and without ostensible cause.' Now as all this is implied in chapter 49, some have thought that the passage in 51 is a commentator's insertion; but *κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον* refers to the period after the plague had established itself and covers the whole time during which it lasted; whereas 49 referred only to the particular year in which it broke out.

78, 1, *μέρος μὲν τι καταλιπόντες, τὸ δὲ πλεον ἀφέντες*. The latter part is wanting in ABF. The Peloponnesians were about to build a wall round Plataea. In turning the siege into a blockade, speed was of great importance; and we know from other passages that it was not the custom to send away any portion of the troops when a city was to be surrounded with a wall. Thucydides says just below that Archidamus, after building the wall, left a force to guard it and retired with his army. No hint is given that it was only a remnant of the invading army that returned home, as must have been the case if the larger part had already returned. The words are probably a note on *καταλιπόντες φύλακας*. At 89, 5 Classen explains *τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ* to mean 'the great difference between us in numbers,' but *παρὰ πολὺ* can only be *multo*. Krüger's explanation is that *προνοι- κηκέναι* must be supplied, but this second reference to the previous victory, coming immediately after the first, is very awkward; nor does it suit the next sentence which shows that some reference must have been made to the numerical inferiority of the Athenians. In the same chapter, *παρὰ ταῖς [τε] ναυσὶ μένοντες τά τε παραγγελλόμενα ὅξως δέχεσθε καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ κ.τ.λ.*,

CG omit the τε bracketed. Kleist however proposes to cut out the second τε instead ; this would give an antithesis between *παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες* (before the battle) and *ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ* (the battle itself).

93, 3 is one of the most doubtful passages. Bekker reads οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν προφυλάσσον ἐν αὐτῷ οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἂν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν, ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, οὔτ' εἰ διανοοῦντο μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι. This is the reading of the MSS., with the exception of οὔτ' ... οὔτ' for οὐδ' ... οὐδ'. Now if καθ' ἡσυχίαν means *occulte*, *clam*, it is the opposite of ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, and, if it means *quiete* ('without being disturbed'), τολμῆσαι ought to be ἐπιπλεῦσαι : neither can an antithesis exist between τολμῶ ἐπιπλεῦσαι and διανοοῦμαι ἐπιπλεῦσαι. It is most probable that the antithesis is between τολμῶ (ἐπιπλεῖν) ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, an attempt made *in spite of opposition*, and διανοοῦμαι (ἐπιπλεῦσαι) καθ' ἡσυχίαν, a plan to make an attack *without meeting with opposition* either when no force was guarding Piræus, or when they could somehow escape its notice. καθ' ἡσυχίαν, which Thucydides uses elsewhere, regularly means 'undisturbed.' Stahl's διανοοῦντο, representing ἦν διανοῶνται of the *recta*, is far more likely than the MSS. διανοοῦντο.

With regard to the numbers given in the MSS., a general warning that they are very often corrupt must suffice. Emendations are very doubtful in these cases, and the wrong expansion of abbreviations very frequent. In 75, 3 ἡμέρας ἔχουν ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ νύκτας ξυνεχῶς is an emendation of the MSS. ἐβδομή-

κοντα, which Stahl shows to be quite out of the question. It is however possible that Thucydides wrote οὕτως, the abbreviation of which can be easily confused with ο' (= ἐβδομήκοντα), and gave no number at all.

As regards orthography, the MSS. are of very little value. The variations are constant, especially in proper names. To follow the spelling of the MSS. is impossible, and the only question is what principle to follow in correcting. In proper names we get much help from inscriptions and Herodian of Alexandria, who lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and wrote on Orthography. The remains of his works are edited in three volumes by Lentz and Lehrs. Stahl's *Quaestiones Grammaticae* contains a valuable chapter on spelling. If Thucydides wrote the inflexions which were used in spoken Attic at his time, as most recent critics suppose, we can restore the true forms from the inscriptions and from comedy. Several ancient critics speak of Thucydides as being κατόνα τῆς Ἀτθίδος: Dionysius, Phrynichus, Gregory of Corinth (following earlier authorities), give this opinion. Most probably they refer to the inflexions, etc., because it was well known in ancient times that Thucydides is not wholly free from poetical and archaic words and idioms. Another consideration favours this view. Thucydides, wishing to write for cultivated Athenians, and to contrast his work with that of Herodotus, from whom he differs in every respect, would naturally use the Attic forms, and avoid inflexions which were associated by long tradition with poetry. He aimed at establishing an Attic



prose style which should be as far as possible independent of poetical elements.

But some eminent scholars consider that the influence of poetry on artistic Attic prose is so great that it is more probable that the prose authors often, though not necessarily always, used inflexions which were never used in speaking. These forms were borrowed from a literary dialect which had grown up in very early times among the Ionic epic poets. The balance of probability being in favour of Attic as against epic or literary forms, the old Attic inflexions have been restored in this edition. The confusion in the spelling of the MSS. is mainly due to the substitution of late forms for those which were no longer understood.

## CHAPTER III.

### ON THE STYLE OF THUCYDIDES.

INASMUCH as all literature reflects the times in which it is produced, it is an obvious truth that in order to form a just estimate of any author who wrote in an age other than that in which we live, we must first forget the present and put ourselves in the author's own position, subjecting ourselves in imagination to the influences to which he was subjected. Otherwise we shall certainly praise or blame merits or defects in our author for which he is scarcely at all responsible. Not till we have discovered the relation which the author's work holds to that of others in his time, shall we be able to judge what position his work deserves to hold in all literature, irrespective of time or circumstance. Now, in the case of Thucydides' history, it happens that if the author really conforms to the artistic principles of his own age, his work is, on account of that conformity, a classic, in the proper sense of that much-abused term. For the Greeks of that time were the first people who, in their sculpture and drama, followed those principles of order in beauty which by common consent characterise all the productions of human genius entitled to be considered classical.

And thus, if we can settle what position Thucydides occupies in relation to the art of his own times, we shall have no difficulty in determining what is his position in relation to the classical art of all time. In his age there were plenty of works produced which are not properly speaking classical at all: for example, the speeches of Andocides and the treatise *On the Athenian Constitution*, which was written about 424 B.C., are not classical literature; they are merely ancient, and their value is historical rather than artistic.

In the second half of the fifth century B.C., while sculpture and poetry reached their highest development, philosophy, oratory, and, above all, history, had still a great advance to make. They were not indeed entirely new to the Greek world. Philosophy had existed for at least a century and a half; oratory, spoken but not written, was considerably older. Even history had for a century occupied a series of humble chroniclers in the trading centres of Ionia. Previous to those modest attempts to make literature out of genealogies and catalogues, the Greeks had no historians but their epic poets. The dialect of epic poetry was based on Ionic, but was a literary and not a spoken dialect, having been gradually formed by the ballad-minstrels who wandered from house to house among the princes of Greece singing songs of heroes for their living. At least as early as the eighth century B.C., it had become customary to preserve records of great personages and important events in the temples and public buildings. In such lists local priests and magistrates, acts and treaties, and the



victors in the national games, were enumerated. It was from the union of epic elements with such facts as were to be found in the state records that prose literature sprang. The first attempts at writing without metre, which were made about 550 B.C., were very crude. No effort was made to write in a distinct style: in fact the supply was merely calculated to satisfy a natural craving for something more certain about the past—something more definite and localised—than could be learnt from listening to an epic poet's story. The early writers of this simple prose, who were called *λογογράφοι*, acquired the diction but not the beauty of poetry. The scanty information they found in the records was eked out by a free use of the epic myths; and this very employment of the myths, clumsy as it was, increased the interest of the Ionian cities in their history. Men heard with wonder, and with no desire to be undeceived, how the history of their own city, or of the foreigners who visited their port, or of the dreaded Persians, was connected with the heroes of their national songs. The first of these prose-writers of whom anything is known is Pherecydes of Syros, who was as much a philosopher as a historian, and probably managed to work back through Hesiodic genealogies of the gods to speculations on the origin of matter. The first *λογογράφος* proper was Hecataeus of Miletus, who wrote a few years later than Pherecydes. By distinguishing between things human and divine, he made a considerable advance towards historical composition. Contemporary with him was Dionysius, also of Miletus, who wrote an account of Persia when

the burning question of the day was the relation of the Greeks with the empire.

Meanwhile the quality of prose writing had greatly improved. The ancients thought Hellanicus of Mytilene worthy to be mentioned with Herodotus and Thucydides. Beside many other historical works he wrote a history of Athens, which Thucydides implies was meagre and contained as much falsehood as truth. The influence of epic is still strongly marked in Herodotus, who was born about 485 and lived beyond 428 B.C. But he is not, like his predecessors, a mere chronicler. His history, which related the triumph under divine guidance of Greece over Persia, quickly won extraordinary popularity, and became a national book scarcely less valued than Homer. As a general description of the style of early prose, which closely resembled that of epic poetry, the ancient critics used the expression *εἰρομένη λέξις*, by which they meant the simplest narration, in which there is mere juxtaposition of ideas, with no attempt at writing a period.

In the short interval that separated Thucydides from Herodotus, Greek prose underwent an extraordinary change at Athens, the final outcome of which was that Attic prose established itself as the standard of prose excellence all over the Greek world. This change is closely connected with a great advance made in political oratory. Pericles had introduced the custom of writing out speeches before they were delivered in the Assembly. His object, as we can see from words which Thucydides puts into

his mouth, was to secure a satisfactory discussion of matters of state before they were voted upon by the people. For he knew that an accurate knowledge of what was to be decided by the vote was of the first importance now that the popular assembly controlled the destinies of the state. How far Pericles consciously gave a literary character to his speeches we do not know. But the inevitable result was that political oratory became both more literary and more poetical. For, as soon as a speech is thought out and reduced to writing, it is raised above the level of ordinary conversation; and, as soon as popular appeals or attempts to rouse the passions of a national assembly are carefully premeditated, the way is at once opened to the employment of poetry.

About two years after the death of Pericles, that is in 427 B.C., the impulse which he had thus given to prose composition received a new stimulus through the visit to Athens of Gorgias of Leontini. Gorgias had discovered the fact that prose was based on poetry, and that it was, though unconsciously, following in the footsteps of epic. By the aid of this discovery he had developed a system of prose composition in which he consciously imitated some of the characteristics of poetry. Neither the unfamiliar diction nor the running style of epic were suited to the popular assembly. Yet oratory could not be debased to the level of street conversation. In order therefore to give an air of distinction to oratory, Gorgias imported into it the rhythm without the metre of verse, and introduced certain artifices which

he found to be employed in poetry. Those artifices which are ascribed to Gorgias are known as 'figures of language' (σχήματα λέξεως), and consist of ἀντίθεσις, parallelism in sense, παρίσωσις, parallelism in form, παρομοίωσις, parallelism in the sound of whole clauses, and παρονομασία, parallelism in the sound of particular words. All these 'figures' are frequent in Homer.

The new oratory, differing widely from that of Pericles, which had depended for its effect upon natural and incommunicable gifts, produced a profound sensation at Athens. Here was a man from whom every ambitious citizen could buy a substitute for the gifts that nature had denied—a man who transformed the prosaic debates of the Pnyx into an Olympian contest. It is not surprising that even Thucydides, now engaged in collecting material for his history, was to some extent influenced by the new teaching. He had determined to insert speeches in his work, because he wished to keep his own opinions in the background, and to leave his readers to judge of actions from the reasoning of those responsible for them. This plan was quite new, and probably it was from epic poetry that Thucydides took the idea. The speeches, however, form but a fifth part of the whole work, and, except in them and in a few passages written in the same manner, the influence of Gorgias on his work is very slight. There is no doubt that the historian was averse to the excessive employment of the figures, though he saw that they had their use. The only figure he uses freely is the antithesis, especially that between λόγος and ἔργον.

He has often been blamed for straining after antithesis, in some cases justly; but it is certain that his object was, not to improve the form of his sentence, but to make his analysis of the situation as clear as possible. It must be remembered that in the speeches he is thinking of his readers quite as much as of the speaker. He gives us the *substance* of what was actually said, but the *style* is the historian's own.

Thus the antithesis was used by Thucydides not merely because it happened to be very popular in Athens just at the time, but rather because he thought it suited to his purpose. The other figures are only just frequent enough to deserve mention, and hardly constitute an element in his style.

Dionysius, who wrote in the reign of Augustus, and Hermogenes, who wrote in that of Marcus Aurelius, agree that Thucydides combines a careless roughness in the sounds with a remarkable dignity of rhythm. These qualities belong to the early prose in general, being characteristic, though in a less degree, of Antiphon and Critias. The same applies to the use of statements based on experience: these *γνώμαι* continually occur in Thucydides, and they were well fitted to give dignity to the style. In close connection with this use of general truths is the habit, shared by the early Attic prose authors, of defining abstract terms and laying stress on single words. Dr. Jebb gives c. 62 α ὅχλημα μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. as an example of this. It was Prodicus of Ceos who first devoted himself to the discrimination of similar terms, and his teaching had a good effect, not only



on the language generally, but especially on Attic prose.

We have next to consider how far Thucydides' prose is periodic. The ancient critics drew a distinction between the *εἰρομένη λέξις*, or 'running' style, and the *περιοδική λέξις*, in which the different parts of the sentence are combined so as to form one symmetrical whole. Speaking generally, the earlier the author, the less periodic is his style. Shilleto, in one of his notes, expresses astonishment that Thucydides, 'so great a master of the period,' should have sometimes written in the 'running' style of Herodotus. But the fact is that Thucydides occupies a middle place between the *εἰρομένη λέξις* of the earliest prose and the *περιοδική λέξις* of the fourth century prose. The speeches are more periodic in structure than the narrative. The advantage of the period is in its greater clearness. Thucydides, though he often fails to write a technically perfect period, is yet able to present the thought quite as clearly as if his period were perfect. He is, to speak generally, antithetic rather than periodic. He has yet one other characteristic in common with the early prose writers. In addition to the 'figures of language' already alluded to, the Sicilian rhetoricians taught the use of certain 'figures of thought' (*σχήματα διανοίας*), as later writers called them. The chief of these are the rhetorical question, irony, climax, aposiopesis, and feigned perplexity. All these, except the first, are quite rare in Thucydides, as also in Antiphon. In fact the stately dignity of the early oratory precluded their free use.

It is clear, then, that his style in several respects recalls that of his contemporaries. But it also possesses marked peculiarities. Cicero, who knew the merits of Thucydides' style—his moderate use of figures, his conciseness and rapidity, his intensity and grandeur—yet disliked his harshness and obscurity. This latter failing Cicero attributes to the times: but none of the other early prose authors are obscure; and so Thucydides himself must bear the blame. But this obscurity, noticed also by Dionysius and Hermogenes, is in a great measure due to the historian's love of brevity. His ambition seems to be to crowd the greatest possible amount of meaning into the fewest words: but, as a compensation, he arranges the words in the order which will best bring out their meaning. In order to understand him, we must try to realise what was the author's position. A judicious critic of Thucydides remarks that his whole book shows in its composition and language that the author did not wish to be a popular historian, but that he wrote *immediately* for a small number among his contemporaries, for such as were versed in the science of government, or, at least, enlightened by philosophy. Such being his object, it was not necessary for him to write either with the clearness of Antiphon or with the diffuseness of Andocides. Sharing the enthusiasm with which Anaxagoras worshipped the pure intellect, he may well have felt himself entitled to demand the close attention of his readers. It is noteworthy that, when Dionysius gives us examples of Thucydidean obscurity, he enumerates in one place a number of passages, every one of which will yield its meaning

to a thoughtful reader. In another case, he gives as an instance the end of c. 44 of this book, where the text is certainly wrong, whether we take that which Dionysius gives, or that found in the MSS. of the author. The truth is that far more is known about Attic at the present day than either Cicero or Dionysius knew; and if Thucydides is less obscure to us than he was to them, we may be sure that those for whom he wrote did not find him so very hard to understand.

One great difficulty which Thucydides felt was to find a vocabulary suited to his purpose. Attic prose was then in its infancy, and a literary dialect for prose was unknown. He was therefore forced to follow the lead of Gorgias and seek the aid of poetry. He modified the Attic spoken in his day by adding many words used by the poets or in Ionic prose. Many passages show that he studied the tragic poets; and, in elaborating his terminology, he adopted several words and expressions no longer in use in spoken Attic. He also formed new words wherever he felt the need of terms more abstract than any he could find in the language.

In spite of his occasional obscurity, Thucydides depicts the events of the war with extraordinary clearness. Without one word of remark from the writer, the narrative sweeps irresistibly on. Plutarch says somewhere that while reading Thucydides' descriptions, we seem to see that long tragedy, the war, being enacted before our very eyes. The account of the epidemic that broke out at Athens in 430 B.C. illustrates well both the tragic power and the vivid



reality of the descriptive passages. In the story of the plague is contained the essence of the classical spirit. It is hard to realise that the writer had himself suffered from the awful disease, and that the man he had revered as the pattern of every political virtue had been killed by it. He completely suppresses his own feelings while he rouses pity and terror in his readers. The exterior is cold as marble; and yet there is throbbing life beneath. The solemn pathos of the tale, alternately repelling and attracting, draws us on almost in spite of ourselves, wherever the writer chooses to lead us. He seems passionless as fate. For us moderns, there is too much intellect and too little feeling in all that he says; sometimes he seems to be actually mocking humanity with its own feebleness. But we must remember that this chilling insensibility is, after all, superficial rather than real. It springs from that idealisation of man which is characteristic of all Greek art, of Greek prose quite as much as of Greek sculpture and tragedy. If fate mars the divine body of man, it is not for man to rebel, but to bear with patience. If men are as gods, they must suffer nothing to break their perfect repose;

‘for the gods approve

The depth, and not the tumult, of the soul.’

Grief is noble, but despair is impotent. A single word in Lucretius’ imitation, *querella*, in place of Thucydides’ *ταλαιπωρία*, illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Greeks towards physical suffering. It is often argued from the events of the war and Thucydides’ account of them that the Greek character was brutal and callous to pain; but that

this is a mistake could be easily shown from many instances of self-sacrifice that are briefly alluded to by the historian. Thucydides says that there was much physical distress among the sufferers from the plague, but it is only the Roman poet who, forgetting the endurance of the Greeks, refers to complaining and moaning as symptoms of the disease. Many other authors besides Lucretius have imitated this episode, which none have ever surpassed. It is also agreed by all the physicians who have written on the subject that the account given by the historian is a model of symptomatology, and it is only the impossibility of making a scientific diagnosis in the state of knowledge at the time that causes the wide disagreements among modern writers as to the nature of the epidemic.

Equally subtle and impersonal is the moral side of his history. It might have seemed probable that, as he wrote for the benefit of practical or theoretical politicians, he would arrest the narrative at times to discourse upon the moral to be drawn from it. But he never once draws the conclusion for his readers: he only takes care, both in the speeches and the descriptions, to give his readers the means of drawing the conclusion for themselves. Thus, at the end of the account of the Theban attempt on Plataea, we are not told what the historian himself thought of it all. So far does he carry his dissimulation that he very often gives the same facts from two opposite points of views. This is especially common in the speeches. Even when two speakers cannot in reality have had any communication with each other, they are often made to answer each other's arguments as though

they were talking face to face. This is the case with the harangues of the generals before the second battle in the Gulf of Corinth. But he never delivers an opinion on any moral question : he merely transcribes his sense of the facts and leaves us to judge of them. Even in the case of Cleon, to whom he imputes actions which flattery itself could only describe as diplomatic, it is quite certain that Grote was mistaken in supposing that Thucydides had allowed his personal animosity to interfere with his judgment. Whether his sense of the truth always corresponds with the truth itself it is scarcely possible to say : being away from Athens during twenty years of the war, he may have been occasionally misinformed, or at least have thought that there could be but one opinion of actions which really admitted of more than one interpretation. And yet, in spite of his reticence, a deep moral purpose underlies all his work. From the earnest tone of the writer throughout, even in the purely descriptive parts, we can see that, had he lived to finish his work, we should have had no difficulty in drawing the morals which he meant to be drawn from the war ; though we may be sure that he would not have stated them for us in so many words. For in every line of the narrative a still small voice is whispering quite distinctly the same question that Euripides asks us twice in the *Bacchæ* : ‘ What is Wisdom, what is that gift from God to man that is fairer than any victory won ? ’

Earnestness, truthfulness, and clearness of insight—the qualities summed up in the word πολιτικός, which Hermogenes says is applicable in a very special

degree to Thucydides, are the virtues which his severest critics have not denied that he possesses. He is always convincing and always absorbed in his subject. We never feel in reading him, as we do so often in studying other historians, that after all it is only the man's cleverness that attracts us. Nothing more clearly shows how entirely he is part of his work than the references he makes to himself; he relates errors of his own with no disguise, and with no attempt at self-justification. His sound judgment never forsakes him, and the brightness of his searching eye is never dimmed. The sagacity increased by experience, the penetration that sees the salient points of the situation and knows exactly how much to tell,—all, in short, that Lucian, his panegyrist, means by *σύνεσις πολιτικὴ καὶ δύναμις ἐρμηνευτική*, are brought to bear on his own actions just as much as on those of his opponents.

His style is strongly marked by the quality called by the ancients *μέγεθος*, by us, grandeur or sublimity. In this respect he was following in the footsteps of several earlier writers. The same grandeur is seen in Pindar and Aeschylus; and both these poets influenced Thucydides, though not to such an extent as we should have expected. It is most probable that he had learnt this secret from the speeches of Pericles. The same quality is found also in Antiphon, though naturally to a less degree in one who wrote for the law-courts. Under the head of grandeur or sublimity may be classed all the details in which Thucydides resembles Antiphon, to whom he bears the same relation as Burke in the *Reflections* bears to Burke as

an orator: that is to say, the literary and philosophical elements are somewhat stronger in the historian than in the orator. It is for this reason that the speeches in Thucydides could not have been delivered. They were written for readers, and every point that was actually made by the speaker is idealised and raised to the level of a philosophical argument. To this striving after sublimity are due also the majestic words and sounding phrases that he uses so often. Hermogenes objects to the use of these that they are not suited to the oratory of the ecclesia. But in the first place the old school of orators probably did use them to some extent, and in the second place the critic confounds speeches written for a work that was to be lasting with the oratory of the hour. Among the means which Thucydides uses—chiefly in the speeches—for this end are the article with infinitive, the neuter participle used as an abstract noun of the widest and vaguest character, and *φῆναι* with the infinitive (*e.g.* c. 64, 3): above all, he delights in general statements, which are none the less profound because they are usually very simple. It has been often observed in Handel's oratorios that the master is greatest where he is simplest, a splendid climax being not unfrequently reached in a single note repeated by every voice. So Thucydides, who has something of the musician's instinct, often produces a great effect by a single magnificent phrase, sometimes, as has been already remarked, even by a single word.

Now, to praise an author just because he is famous is as idle as to attack him in order to display one's own cleverness. They who expect unbroken enjoy-



ment from this historian's prose will certainly be disappointed. They will come across laboured antitheses and ungraceful inversions. They will find that in the elaboration of the diction the syntactical form of the sentence occasionally suffers. These things are really much less common than many critics would lead us to suppose. Too frequently the three-fifths of pure narrative are entirely left out of account in estimating the style of Thucydides, and the two-fifths of speeches and dissertations treated as though they formed the whole work. The old notion that anything will do in Thucydides because Dionysius found his language sometimes harsh, and Cicero found his meaning sometimes obscure, is only gradually disappearing. But indeed, anyone who reads in Dionysius the passages quoted by him, and who also looks into the manuscripts, knows how much the copyists have done towards earning for Thucydides the reputation of being unable to write grammatically. In reality the violations of grammatical rules are slight, and can all be explained on the principle that the author's excessive brevity forced him to give greater importance to the sense than to the form. Thus, for instance, the subject of the verb is changed with greater rapidity than we are accustomed to, or at least enlarged or contracted at will: a genitive absolute is sometimes inserted when the participle ought in strict grammar to agree with a word in another case: the construction is sometimes changed to suit the writer's convenience. But we might as soon suppose that Thucydides started to write a sentence without knowing how he would end it as

imagine that Milton began the elaborate Thucydidean sentence with which he opens his *Areopagitica* without knowing how he would finish: 'They, who to states and governors of the Commonwealth direct their speech, high Court of Parliament, or, wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the public good, I suppose them, as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little altered and moved inwardly in their minds; some with doubt of what will be the success, others with fear of what will be the censure, some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak.' It is just possible that Thucydides at his death left a certain number of blunders in his work, due to mere oversight, which he would have removed had he lived to read it through again. It is an editor's duty to remove them, if they exist; just as he would correct the misprints in a new edition of a modern book.

But we set out to discover whether the style of Thucydides entitles his work to be considered a classic. Those who have looked at any work of art which conforms to the eternal standard of good taste that is unaffected by the mutations of time and circumstance—the sculpture from the Parthenon, for instance,—know that at the first look they thought it cold and unsympathetic, and did not see all the beauties in it which they supposed they ought to see. They went away, perhaps, and returned again to it. If so, they began then to see the meaning of the groups in the stone; they seemed to read of a life that soared in the bright air high above the level of our

existence. From the light of those types of human excellence they turned away wistful and half in doubt. Did they look again? If so, they then felt irresistibly attracted by the deep significance of the figures; thought it would be best not to see such things too often, lest they should become discontented with themselves. This *power of fascination*, that grows as our familiarity with their beauties increases, is what distinguishes those works of art that are for all time—whether in sculpture or painting or music or literature—from those which are merely the works of a particular age. Now this is the judgment of Justus Lipsius, a man whose knowledge of literature, as also of the laws that govern the theory and practice of life, was encyclopaedic. *De Thucydide sententia nostra: Thucydides, qui res nec multas nec magnas nimis scripsit palmam fortasse praeripit omnibus qui multas et magnas. Quem quo saepius legas, plus auferas: et nunquam tamen dimittat te sine siti.*



## CHAPTER IV.

### ON SOME POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREECE, 431-429 B.C.

As Thucydides makes each year open with the beginning of the campaigning season, the new year in his history begins in the first days of April. But the official year at Athens began with the month Hecatombaeon, which corresponds to part of July and August. It was in Hecatombaeon, at the time of the Panathenaic Festival, that the chief officials entered upon their duties. In the age of Pericles the ten strategi were the most important officials. They were elected annually in the ecclesia. The date of the election was not always the same: for the rule was that the election could not take place until the omens were favourable.\* During the war the date probably varied very considerably in the different years. But in most years the election took place some little time before the campaign opened; and thus the business of the candidates for election was generally not inter-

\* δεκαρχαιρεσίας στρατηγῶν ... ποιούσι δ' οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτὴν πρυτανεύοντες ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν εὐσημεία γένηται.—[Aristotle], *Constitution of Athens*, c. 44. The discovery of this work necessitates the modification of the statements made in Greek Histories with regard to the strategi.

ferred with by the war. The strategi were eligible for re-election, and a man was often strategus in several successive years, especially in time of war when military experience was of great importance. Pericles, whose case is of course exceptional, was elected strategus in fifteen consecutive years from 444 B.C. All the ten were elected with equal authority. The ecclesia, however, could, if special circumstances required it, give one strategus extraordinary powers. When troops were sent on active service it was not uncommon to appoint one of the strategi generalissimo, with authority superior to that of the colleagues who accompanied him. It also appears that under very exceptional circumstances a strategus might be placed over all his nine colleagues. This exceptional position Pericles occupied at the outbreak of the war; and it is probable that it was conferred upon him directly after he entered on a new year of office in Hecatombaeon 432. It was in that month that the assembly held at Sparta decided on going to war; and it was natural that, at a moment of such supreme importance, the ecclesia should adopt an unusual course, which enabled it to entrust the conduct of the war to the minister who had been its chief adviser throughout the dispute with the Peloponnesians.

From I. 44 we find that Athens had formed a defensive alliance (ἐπιμαχία) with Corcyra when the island was at war with Corinth. The reason that Athens supported Corcyra was that it was necessary to prevent the Peloponnesians from getting possession of the island, which, both on account of its position as the point of departure from Greece to Italy and

Sicily, and also for its navy of more than one hundred ships, would be very valuable to Sparta in the war which every politician knew was not far off. But the alliance granted was only defensive, as Athens would have been guilty of a breach of the thirty years' truce made with Sparta and her allies in 445 B.C. if they had openly made war on Corinth. At first only ten ships were sent to Corcyra; but soon after, other twenty vessels were despatched thither, and arrived just in time to save the Corcyraeans from being defeated by the Corinthians in the battle of Sybota. This reinforcement had probably been sent by the advice of Pericles; and it is clear that he hoped to confine the war which he saw coming to a narrow question of international rights, and to make the neighbourhood of Corcyra the centre of action. There it was likely that the Athenian fleet would be able to deal a crushing blow at the Peloponnesians, after which they would be glad to come to terms. But these calculations miscarried owing to the exasperation of Corinth at the result of the battle.

In the same year, 433 B.C., Athens made an alliance with Rhegium and Leontini (Hicks, *Manual of Inscr.* p. 58). The object of this act was to prevent Syracuse from obtaining a commanding position in Sicily and South Italy. Pericles' plan was to connect Athens with those parts by making alliances with the islands which lay on the road to Sicily, such as Zacynthus, Cephallenia, and Corcyra, and by consolidating the cities in the west which were opposed to Syracuse. We find from c. 7 that Sparta was forming plans for meeting Athens by sea, and actually

hoped to raise a fleet of five hundred vessels with the aid of Syracuse. This design was, however, frustrated by Athens.

Shortly after the battle of Sybota, Athens, suspecting some design in Potidaea, ordered that city to give hostages and destroy its fortifications. Potidaea was a Corinthian colony, but was subject to Athens. Instead of complying, the city revolted in the summer of 432 B.C., and Corinth threw an army of ten thousand men into it before Athens had any adequate force there. The Athenians had great difficulties to contend with in the north owing to the opposition of Perdiccas of Macedon.

Another ground of war was that Athens had excluded the Megarians from trading with any places within the Athenian empire. The action taken by Sparta in this matter shows that Pericles could not have avoided war had he tried to do so. The plan of Corinth and Sparta was to squeeze concessions out of Athens on threat of war until at last Athens should refuse to comply with their demands. Thus Athens would be weakened by the time she was forced into war. After war had been decided upon at Sparta, three embassies were sent to Athens, of which the first made the ridiculous demand that Pericles should be driven into exile, and the second that the siege of Potidaea, which was now being vigorously pushed on, should be raised, and the Megarian decree rescinded. Lastly, a request was actually made that Athens should restore independence to her subjects. With none of these demands would Athens comply, and her policy was rightly guided by Pericles with a view to

the fact that war was inevitable. In truth the real cause of the war, as Thucydides set himself to prove in the first book, was that Sparta and her allies had been disgusted by the growth of Athenian power since the Persian wars.

After the banishment of Themistocles, who had pursued a strongly anti-Laconian policy, Aristides and Cimon had in turn done their utmost to conciliate Sparta; but their advances were met with a coldness which naturally caused indignation at Athens. This bitterness found expression in an alliance between Athens and Argos in 461 B.C.; and, a few years later, Pericles, whose influence was increasing, took up a defensive attitude against Sparta. This policy he continued to pursue throughout his administration. Consequently, in the war, Athens was to act strictly on the defensive, her sole object being to retain her empire. It was impossible for her to place an army in the field which would be a match for that of the enemy. According to the estimate of Pericles (c. 13), Athens had at her disposal fifteen thousand eight hundred men. Perhaps by the greatest effort, and with such infantry as she could obtain for land service in Greece from her allies, she might have brought together about twenty thousand men. But how was such an army to protect Attica against a Peloponnesian force available for foreign service of about sixty thousand men? Owing to this disparity of numbers, the negative principles adopted by Pericles were to avoid a land battle, to refrain from dangerous enterprises, and to abandon Attica to the invaders. His positive plans were to



develop the fleet, to make descents on the enemy's coasts, and to give the utmost trouble by seizing the most favourable opportunity for striking a blow. By these means he hoped to wear the enemy out, and reckoned that, as soon as the Athenians had become reconciled to the loss of their belongings and the ruin of crops and trees (which could, after all, be destroyed but once), the Peloponnesians would suffer far more than they, and would at length be glad enough to be rid of the war. The method must necessarily be a slow one ; but, if the revenues of Athens could stand the cost of the expeditions, it was likely to succeed in the end. Several modern historians have attacked this policy. Those who make the study of history a business are accustomed to reading severe criticisms on the strategy of Pericles. But a German writer who is an authority on military history, Hans Delbrück, has shown that none of the alternative schemes proposed in modern times could have succeeded.

431 B.C. The elections held in the early months of the first year were very important in view of the approaching conflict. The result was satisfactory to Pericles, and the strategi then in office seem to have been reappointed for the year which would begin in the following Hecatombaeon. Shortly before the invasion of Attica, the *Medea* of Euripides was produced. The poet had inserted a beautiful ode in praise of Athens, extolling the loveliness of the country and the genius of the people. He was troubled at the thought of what was coming upon the 'sacred unravaged land' that was more accustomed to afford an asylum to those that needed a home than to harbour

an enemy's army ; and perhaps it was while he was thinking over current politics and the collapse of the thirty years' truce that he wrote the lines, *βέβακε δ' ὄρκων χάρις, οὐδ' ἔτ' αἰδῶς* | *Ἑλλάδι τᾷ μεγάλᾳ μένει, αἰθερία δ' ἀνέπτα* (l. 438).

Among the demes ravaged by the Peloponnesians in the first invasion of Attica was that called Cephisia (c. 23, 1, note), one of the most pleasant places in the district. Thucydides does not even mention its name ; but it is not necessary to conclude from his silence that he was insensible to the beauties of nature. Even Pericles was obliged to appear unaffected by the devastation of the country, and, in fact, the necessity of stifling all expressions of regret greatly increased his difficulties. Accordingly the historian, accurately representing the facts, thought it no part of his duty to introduce any remarks on the havoc wrought in 'the sacred unravaged land.' But how differently Macaulay would have described the invasion !

Two fleets were sent out by Athens this year. The larger, consisting of one hundred vessels under Carcinus, was reinforced by fifty from Corcyra, which was under very distinct obligations to Athens. The other squadron, of thirty vessels, was commanded by Cleopompus. These two officers plundered the enemy's coasts, took some unimportant coast towns, defeated the small bodies of troops that opposed them, avoided conflicts with large numbers, and finally won Cephalenia for Athens without a blow. Carcinus, however, failed in an attempt on Methone. After the fleet returned, the combined forces of Athens, commanded



by Pericles himself, invaded the Megarid,—this attack being the best answer Athens could make to the invasion of Attica.

The Peloponnesian army had only been out for about five weeks of the summer; in which time about half of Attica had been ravaged. Towards the end of the season Corinth sent a fleet of forty ships with fifteen hundred hoplites to attack Acarnania and Cephallenia; but nothing of any importance was done.

At the end of the campaign, Pericles delivered the Funeral Oration over the Athenians who had fallen during the year, and took the opportunity of explaining and justifying his views of the Athenian democracy. He showed that the policy he had pursued throughout his career was the *natural* one for Athens; that it reflected the character of the people, and was based upon sound and philosophical views of life. Some persons opposed both his home and foreign policy. He was accused by some of corrupting the people by introducing pay for service on juries; and after his deposition in the following year, Damonides, the father of Damon the accomplished musician, philosopher, and statesman, was ostracised, because Pericles was thought to have followed his advice in foreign affairs. The statesman's intention was not merely to please his audience by praising Athens at the expense of Sparta, but rather to convince the people that the higher life was only possible for them under the system that he had encouraged. It is evident that Pericles supposed the Athenian democracy could be kept within the bounds of moderation. He justifies pay for state services on the ground that

every citizen, whatever his position, ought to be enabled to devote his talents to the state. To combine culture with politics was the object that he had in view; and by that union he hoped that Athenian statesmen would remain free from the vulgarity of a vestry, and Athenian citizens from the provincialism of a *bourgeoisie*. Before the war the country people in general had not troubled themselves much about what occurred in the city, and had rather prided themselves on keeping aloof from the business of the town: but Pericles now impressed upon them the necessity of taking an active part in politics. Such people liked to be called ἀπράγμων; but ἀχρεῖος, says Pericles—the word which described those who were of no use to the state—was the right name for them. He had no wish to claim all their time for the state; but all who took any part in political life knew that their interest in private life was not diminished, but rather enhanced by intercourse with the town and familiarity with current ideas. Classen points out that it is an indication of the vulgarity of Cleon's character, that he considered the combination of want of culture (ἀμαθία) with self-restraint (σωφροσύνη) the best thing for a citizen. It was against that doctrine that Pericles protested. Aristophanes was at one with Pericles in this belief; and indeed the literature and art of Athens depended for its justification on the adoption of the statesman's view as an axiom.

We are on more doubtful ground when we come to the relations of Athens with other states. Pericles says that Athens made and kept her friends by the

benefits she conferred on them. Certainly the very empire of Athens had been founded on this principle; and the reception which foreigners met with in the city was liberal, and worthy of an enlightened people. But when whole states became subject to Athens, it must be confessed that they were not very enthusiastic in their devotion to her. In many of the states, no doubt, there was a considerable section of the population who could not have become reconciled to Athenian rule. The friends of independence and the friends of Sparta were, of course, hopeless; but it is not quite so clear why the democrats in the subject states remained only passive or indifferent under Athenian supremacy. They ought to have given hearty support to Athens in the war: but we look in vain for one act of self-sacrifice on behalf of the queen of the sea. It is plain that many people thought the treatment she meted out to the subject states rather arbitrary; and, if Pericles had any defect, it was that he did not see the necessity of 'measures of healing.'

430 B.C. The elections held in the second year were probably a mere formality, Pericles and his colleagues generally being re-elected. Pericles still possessed his extraordinary authority, and his influence was unabated in spite of the violent attacks that Cleon made upon him in the ecclesia. Early in this year a comedy of Hermippus was played, in which both Pericles and Aspasia were satirised. Cleon is alluded to as a vigorous opponent of the war policy; but it is not probable that the play called forth any more serious demonstration than the hearty laughter of the populace.

In spite of the terrible epidemic which was decimating the population crowded in the city, and while the Peloponnesian army was ravaging whatever of Attica it had left untouched in the previous year, Pericles went with one hundred Athenian ships and fifty others from Lesbos and Chios to Argolis. The expedition was on the whole successful, but an attempt to take Epidaurus failed. When the fleet returned, Pericles found that very serious events had occurred in his absence. Attica had suffered severely from the invasion; the enemy had remained forty days in the land; and the epidemic was raging fiercely. It is scarcely surprising that many had begun to cry peace; but to this cry was added the clamour of the party which, while it by no means wished for peace, was glad to abet any attack on Pericles. Negotiations had actually been opened with Sparta, but without result. Pericles thought it best to remain in the city and send the fleet on to Potidaea, so that a sufficient force might be concentrated there to carry the city by assault. But all failed: the mortality among the troops and crews, owing to the plague, which had followed the fleet from Attica and which quickly spread also to the force that was already besieging Potidaea, was so heavy, that Hagnon, who was in command, was compelled to return home about July.

This new disaster increased the ill-feeling in the city. Pericles therefore summoned a special meeting of the ecclesia, and defended himself against the attacks that were being so freely made upon him. The effect was to restore confidence in his policy.

But the combination of the peace party and the extreme democrats was not to be thus broken. Cleon knew that it would be useless to raise a definite charge against Pericles of misconducting the war: he could only have taken the line that vigorous action was necessary, and in that case he could not have obtained the support of the peace party. Now it was the custom at Athens to pass a vote of confidence in each of the ten strategi once in every prytany. A citizen might then bring forward any complaint he chose against any strategus, and, if the complaint seemed well founded, the vote of confidence was thrown out. Then the strategus was suspended, and the complaint was referred to the law-courts. As Cleon was a skilful financier, he determined to turn his knowledge to account by raising a charge of misappropriation of public money (γραφὴ κλοπῆς δημοσίων χρημάτων) against Pericles on the vote of confidence (ἐπιχειροτονία). In this he succeeded: Pericles, who had scarcely entered on his new year of office, and who had not at present been entrusted with any extraordinary authority, was brought to trial and heavily fined. He therefore could not obtain office again before the elections of 429. The charge was certainly unfounded, but the ecclesia was carried away by the speakers at a very trying moment.

Sparta made very little out of the difficulties of Athens. A fleet was sent to operate on the coast of Zacynthus, but the island remained firm to Athens. It is evident that Sparta was very anxious to obtain the islands in the north-west on account of her relations with Syracuse. The Ambraciots also took



the opportunity of attempting to destroy Athenian influence in that quarter, but failed. In the autumn Athens sent twenty vessels under Phormio to Naupactus to close the Corinthian Gulf to Peloponnesian trade.

429 B.C. At the beginning of the third year Potidaea surrendered, to the great relief of Athens. The siege had cost two thousand talents, a sum probably corresponding to nearly fifteen million sterling. Even in this estimate it appears that the cost of the unfortunate expedition under Hagnon is not included. A force of two thousand hoplites and two hundred cavalry was at once sent to the neighbourhood, with the object of restoring the power of Athens in Chalcidice. It was very important to prevent Sparta from establishing her influence in the north-east, and the expedition, which was under the command of a strategus named Xenophon who had been present at the siege, was regarded as being of considerable consequence. But the affair was a miserable failure. The commander-in-chief and the other two strategi who were with him, all fell in a battle near Spartolus, and the troops returned without doing anything to retrieve the disaster. The Athenians must have regretted that Pericles was not in office; and it is likely that he had entirely retired from politics for a time, owing to terrible family troubles.

At the elections held this year, he was once more appointed strategus. In any case, the combination of different factions, which had been the result of peculiar circumstances, could not have lasted long; and the course of events since his deposition had not



been encouraging. It may be doubted whether Pericles had to wait till the Panathenaic Festival to take up his duties. As three strategi had fallen in Chalcidice, it is possible that the ecclesia requested him to resume office at once, as we know that the ecclesia did sometimes appoint extraordinary strategi in time of war. The extraordinary powers over his colleagues were again conferred on him.

The force of the epidemic had not abated at Athens. Consequently the Peloponnesians did not invade Attica this year, but attacked Plataea instead. After a parley with Archidamus, the authorities of the town sent to Athens as their protector, asking whether Plataea should become neutral, as suggested by the Peloponnesians, or should trust to her for aid. Athens solemnly promised to help them, but did nothing. The plague had broken the spirit of the government for the moment; so that no aggressive measures were undertaken this year. Moreover, it is probable that Pericles was himself in bad health, and it is uncertain whether he was now taking any part in public affairs.

In addition to prodigious efforts to capture Plataea, the Peloponnesians tried an offensive war on a considerable scale in Acarnania. This was unsuccessful, and was followed by the two defeats which their fleet suffered at the hands of Phormio. But none of the credit of Phormio's successes was due to Athens. Indeed the home authorities committed the grave indiscretion of sending off the reinforcements, which Phormio had sent for and greatly needed, on a preliminary mission to Crete, the result of which was

that they reached the Corinthian Gulf too late to be of any service.

But, as a set-off to these gains, Athens had suffered a terrible loss. Worn out with sorrow and disease, Pericles sank gradually, and, in the autumn of this year, found the only relief left for him in death. His illness had gradually degenerated into the plague, which had now lost some of its strength ; so that he had lingered for a time on the border-land between life and death.

Two years before, the crafty Perdiccas of Macedon had made an alliance with Athens. Sitalces, king of the Thracians, had acted as intermediary on that occasion. But Perdiccas had broken his word, and now Sitalces arranged a great demonstration against him, which was to result in his deposition, and the substitution of a pretender named Amyntas. Sitalces had good reason to expect help from Athens, as the expedition would restore Athenian influence in Chalcidice, and Perdiccas had supported the Peloponnesians in their attack on Acarnania. But just now the government of Athens was paralysed. The fleet which Sitalces expected was never sent, and he was not sorry to accept the overtures which Perdiccas made for peace. Then his great procession of barbarians marched back again, and thus the year, after its strange alternations of tragedy and comedy, ended with a farce.

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Jowett's Translation, von Essen's Index, and the writings of many textual critics have been of service.

The abbreviations are as follows :—

Bh. = Böhme.

Kr. = Krüger.

Cl. = Classen.

Mül.-Str. = Müller-Strübing.

Cr. = Croiset.

Pp. = Poppo.

Dion. Hal. = Dionysius of

Shil. = Shilleto.

Halicarnassus.

Sta. = Stahl.

Herw. = van Herwerden.

Ste. = Steup.

Meisterhans means that scholar's *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, 2nd edition, 1888; *M. T.* means Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, new edition. *Mpr.* means the first hand in *M.*

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Β.





## ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

## ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Β.

1. Ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις The Ten Years' War breaks out. ξυμμάχων, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπεμείγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτεῖ παρ' ἀλλήλους καταστάντες τε ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν· γέγραπται δὲ ἐξῆς, ὥς ἕκαστα ἐγίνετο, κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα.

2. Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακοντούρεις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἄργει τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι τέσσαρας μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις, [μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ

2, 1. ἐνέμειναν] ξυνέμειναν Cobet, *V. L.* p. 436; but cf. 1. 5, 3 (wrongly altered by Naber), Plat. *Lais*, 839 c, ἐμμεῖναι τὸν νόμον.—δεκάτῳ [ἔτει], Herw.—ἔτι δύο μῆνας, MSS., ἔτι τέσσαρας μῆνας, Kr., which subsequent writers adopt, exc. Shil., Mül.-Str., Ste.—ἄμα ἦρι ἀρχ., spurious, according to Mül.-Str. 'En somme, beaucoup d'hypothèses, et peu de certitude,' Cr. For μηνὶ ἕκτῳ, which is too short, Lipsius proposes ἕκτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ, which Sta. adopts; but Ste. thinks the time too long, and concludes that μετὰ ... ἕκτῳ is not due to Thuc. See note.—For the orthography of Ποτειδαία, for which MSS. give Ποτίδαια, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 38, Meisterhans, p. 41.

ἐκτῷ] καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες  
ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων (ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν βοιωτ-  
αρχοῦντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδου καὶ Διέμ-

While the Peloponnesians prepare to invade Attica, the Thebans surprise Plataea, being  
2 aided by the oligarchs in Plataea.  
πορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδου) ἐσῆλθον περὶ  
πρῶτον ὕπνον ξὺν ὅπλοις εἰς Πλά-  
ταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων  
ξυμμαχίδα. ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀνέω-  
ξαν τὰς πύλας Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες,

Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενοι  
ιδίας ἔνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς  
σφίσιν ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θη-  
3 βαίοις προσποιῆσαι. ἔπραξαν δὲ ταῦτα δι' Εὐρυ-  
μάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων δυνατω-  
τάτου. προῖδόντες γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅτι ἔσοιτο  
ὁ πόλεμος, ἐβούλοντο τὴν Πλάταιαν αἰεὶ σφίσι  
διάφορον οὖσαν ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου  
μήπω φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος προκαταλαβεῖν. ἦ καὶ  
ῥᾶον ἔλαθον ἐσελθόντες, φυλακῆς οὐ προκαθε-  
4 στηκυίας. θέμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς  
μὲν ἐπαγομένοις οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἔργου  
ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἰέναι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γνώ-  
μην δὲ ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασί τε χρήσασθαι ἐπιτη-  
δείοις καὶ εἰς ξύμβασιν μᾶλλον καὶ  
φιλίαν τὴν πόλιν ἀγαγεῖν (καὶ ἀνεῖπεν  
ὁ κῆρυξ, εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πά-

The Thebans offer to accept the Plataeans as allies.

τρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ'

2, 4. ἐπαγομένοις] ἐπαγαγομένοις C, preferred by Badham and Cobet.—(καὶ ἀνεῖπεν ὁ κ. ... ὅπλα), so Pp., Sta., Cr., Müller. See note.—κῆρυξ] On accent, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 33.—ξυμμαχεῖν I suspect. See note.

αὐτοὺς τὰ ὄπλα), νομίζοντες σφίσι ῥαδίως τούτῳ  
τῷ τρόπῳ προσχωρήσειν τὴν πόλιν. 3. οἱ δὲ  
Πλαταιῆς, ὡς ἦσθοντο ἔνδον τε ὄντας τοὺς Θηβαίους  
καὶ ἑξαπιναίως κατειλημμένην τὴν πόλιν, κατα-  
δεΐσαντες καὶ νομίσαντες πολλῷ πλείους ἐσελη-  
λυθέναι (οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων ἐν τῇ νυκτί), πρὸς ξύμβασιν  
ἐχώρησαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεξάμενοι The Plataeans,  
being alarmed,  
entertain the  
offer,  
ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς 2  
οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον. πράσσοντες  
δέ πως ταῦτα κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς  
Θηβαίους ὄντας καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδίως  
κρατήσκειν· τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλα- but, observing  
the small num-  
bers of the The-  
bans, and not  
wishing for the  
ταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων 3  
ἀφίστασθαι. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα  
εἶναι καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διορύσσοντες most part to  
revolt from  
Athens, they de-  
cide to attack  
the invaders.  
τοὺς κοινούς τοίχους παρ' ἀλλήλους,  
ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν φανεροὶ ὦσιν  
ιόντες, ἀμάξας τε ἄνευ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐς  
τὰς ὁδοὺς καθίστασαν, ἵν' ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ, καὶ

3, 2. κρατήσκειν Sta., Cobet, Herw., Bh. κρατῆσαι MSS., which Cl. defends. Sta. corrects all similar passages. Cr. ἐνόμισαν {ἀν}, also proposed by Herw. (*Stud. Thuc.*), and Shil.: Lendrum (*Class. Rev.* iv. p. 101) defends κρατῆσαι as *prolate inf.*, i.e. *object to ἐνόμισαν* and not denoting time. But the inf. must be *oblique*, not *prolate*, owing to the presence of ἐπιθέμενοι, which practically gives a subject to the inf.; at 4, 127, νομίσαντες ... καταλαμβάνοντες διαφθεῖρειν, Cobet's διαφθερεῖν must be accepted for the same reason. Consult Lendrum *l.c.* (At c. 80, Shil.'s editor also proposes ῥαδίως ἀν κρατῆσαι. Cf. c. 80, 8.) For full discussion see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* c. I.

τᾶλλα ἐξήρτυον ἢ ἕκαστον ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ  
 4 παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥς ἐκ τῶν  
 δυνατῶν ἐτοῖμα ἦν, φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ  
 τὸ περίορθρον ἐχώρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς,  
 ὅπως μὴ κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὔσι προσ-  
 φέρωνται καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνωνται, ἀλλ'  
 ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι ὄντες ἥσσοις ὥσι τῆς σφε-  
 τέρας ἐμπειρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. προσέβαλόν  
 τε εὐθύς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ τάχος. 4. οἱ  
 δ' ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἠπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντό τε ἐν  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς ἢ προσπίπ-  
 2 τοιεν ἀπεωθοῦντο. καὶ δις μὲν ἢ τρίς ἀπεκρού-  
 σαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῶ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε προσ-  
 βαλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρω-  
 μένων λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ βαλλόντων, καὶ ὑετοῦ  
 They succeed: ἅμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπιγενομένου,  
 and some they kill; the rest, ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφυγον  
 while striving to find the gates of the town, they capture. διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἅπειροι μὲν ὄντες οἱ  
 πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῶ τῶν διόδων  
 ἢ χρὴ σωθῆναι (καὶ γὰρ τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς  
 τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν), ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώ-  
 κοντας [τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ

3. τᾶλλα] τᾶλλα M. For accent, Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 35, compares τᾶγαθά, Aesch. *Eum.* 881.

4. προσέβαλλον BCFG. So Cl., Shil., Ste.

4, 2. [τοῦ μὴ ... πολλοί] Herw. and Sta. read [τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν], ὥστε διεφθείροντο πολλοί, while Cl. reads τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν [ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί]. A. Schöne, *Rhein. Mus.* 22, p. 137, after an ingenious argument, alters τοῦ μὴ to οὐ ἦν.

πολλοί]. τῶν δὲ Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας ἢ 3  
 ἐσῆλθον [καὶ] αἵπερ ἦσαν ἀνεωγμένοι μόναι, ἔκλησε  
 στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησάμενος ἐς  
 τὸν μοχλόν, ὥστε μηδὲ ταύτῃ ἔτι ἔξοδον εἶναι.  
 διωκόμενοί τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν 4  
 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω σφᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλείους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ  
 πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν [λαθόντες  
 καὶ] διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλόν ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοὶ  
 (αἴσθησις γὰρ ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο), ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλη  
 τῆς πόλεως σποράδην ἀπώλλυντο. τὸ δὲ πλείστον 5  
 καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν ξυνεστραμμένον ἐσπίπτουσιν  
 ἐς οἶκημα μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ [πλησίον]  
 θύραι ἀνεωγμένοι ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, οἰόμενοι πύλας  
 τὰς θύρας [τοῦ οἰκήματος] εἶναι καὶ ἄντικρυς δίοδον  
 ἐς τὸ ἔξω. ὁρῶντες δὲ [αὐτοὺς] οἱ Πλαταιῆς 6  
 ἀπειλημμένους ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσ-  
 περ ἔχουσιν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ οἶκημα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο  
 χρήσονται. τέλος δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι 7

3. δὲ] τε BEFm, Cl. Herw.—[καὶ] Cobet.

4. [λαθόντες καὶ] Sta. : λαθόντες [καὶ] Herw. : λαθόντες κατα-  
 διακόψαντες Cl.

5. [πλησίον] Herw., Sta. : Haase and others place πλησίον  
 after τείχους, but if the building was not joined to the wall,  
 the Thebans could not have supposed πύλας τὰς θύρας εἶναι.  
 A. Schöne l.c. explains αἱ πλησίον θ. as meaning the doors  
 nearest the fugitives, i.e. those facing the town, and thinks  
 that the real gates of Plataea may have been double.—[τοῦ  
 οἰκήματος] Herw., Sta. : [τὰς θύρας τοῦ οἴ.] Cobet.

6. [αὐτοὺς] Some mss. and editions give οἱ Πλαταιῆς αὐτοὺς,  
 and two mss. omit αὐτοὺς. ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς δὲ Steph. 1588.



τῶν Θηβαίων περιῆσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλανώ-  
μενοι ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι παραδοῦναι τὰ  
ὄπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς χρήσασθαι ὃ τι ἂν  
8 βούλωνται. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐν τῇ Πλαταίᾳ οὕτως  
ἐπεπράγεσαν.

5. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Θηβαῖοι οὓς ἔδει ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς  
Reinforcements from Thebes arrive too late. παραγενέσθαι πανστρατιᾷ, εἴ τι ἄρα  
μὴ προχωροίη τοῖς ἐσεληλυθόσι, τῆς  
ἀγγελίας ἅμα καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς ρηθείσης περὶ τῶν  
2 γεγενημένων ἐπεβοήθουν. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Πλάταια  
τῶν Θηβῶν σταδίους ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
τὸ γεγόμενον τῆς νυκτὸς ἐποίησε βραδύτερον  
αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ἐρρῦη  
3 μέγας καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως διαβατὸς ἦν. πορευόμενοι  
τε ἐν ὑετῷ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν μόλις διαβάντες  
ὑστερον παρεγένοντο, ἤδη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν  
4 διεφθαρμένων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἐχομένων. ὥς δ'  
ἦσθοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ γεγενημένον, ἐπεβούλεον  
τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τῶν Πλαταιῶν (ἦσαν γὰρ  
καὶ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ κατασκευή,  
οἷα ἀπροσδοκῆτου {τοῦ} κακοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γενο-  
μένου)· ἐβούλοντο γὰρ σφίσιν εἴ τινα  
The Plataeans, fearing the Thebans would plunder their land, λᾶβοιεν ὑπάρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ἣν  
5 expostulated, and — according to the Theban αἷρα τύχωσί τινες ἐξωγρημένοι. καὶ  
οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διανοοῦντο· οἱ δὲ Πλα-

7. MSS. σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα. Corrected by Cobet.

5, 3. ὕστερον] ὕστεροι Cobet, Herw.

4. οἱ Θηβαῖοι ... τῶν Πλαταιῶν, I suspect both.—ἀπροσδοκῆτου {τοῦ} κακοῦ. All recent edd. exc. Ste. Presently Herw. with Cobet reads [ἐλεγον αὐτοῖς] and [ἔφασαν]. Cf. c. 54, 2.

ταιῆς, ἔτι διαβουλευομένων αὐτῶν ὑπο- account — enga-  
 τοπήσαντες τοιοῦτόν τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ the prisoners.  
 δείσαντες περὶ τοῖς ἔξω κήρυκα ἐξέ- Upon the depar-  
 πεμψαν παρὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους, λέγοντες all to death.  
 ὅτι οὔτε τὰ πεποιημένα ὁσίως δράσειαν ἐν σπον-  
 δαῖς σφῶν πειραθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τά  
 τε ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν. εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν οὓς  
 ἔχουσι ζῶντας· ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς  
 γῆς ἀποδώσειν [αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας]. Θηβαῖοι 6  
 μὲν ταῦτα λέγουσι καὶ ἐπομόσαι φασὶν αὐτούς·  
 Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς  
 ὑποσχέσθαι ἀποδώσειν, ἀλλὰ λόγων πρῶτον γενο-  
 μένων ἦν τι ξυμβαίνωσι, καὶ ἐπομόσαι οὗ φασιν.  
 ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι οὐδὲν 7  
 ἀδικήσαντες· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐκ τῆς  
 χώρας κατὰ τάχος ἐσεκομίσαντο, ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας εὐθύς. ἦσαν δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν οἱ  
 ληφθέντες, καὶ Εὐρύμαχος εἰς αὐτῶν ἦν, πρὸς ὃν  
 ἔπραξαν οἱ προδιδόντες. 6. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες  
 ἔς τε τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον καὶ τοὺς  
 νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, τά  
 τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίσταντο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα  
 ἣ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἠγγέλθη εὐθύς 2  
 τὰ περὶ τῶν Πλαταιῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ Βοιωτῶν

5. [αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας] Herw., Sta. bracket τοὺς ἄνδρας,  
 which is awkward after αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας, and recurs twice  
 below. τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς twice is also strange. Perhaps τοὺς  
 ἄν. should be bracketed more than once. The text of §§ 5, 6,  
 7 is probably corrupt.

τε παραχρῆμα ξυνέλαβον ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ

A messenger, sent from Athens to Plataea urging the Plataeans not to kill the Theban prisoners, arrives to find them dead.

καὶ ἐς τὴν Πλάταιαν ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα, κελεύοντες [εἰπεῖν] μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων, πρὶν ἂν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ βουλευσωσι περὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἠγγέλθη

3 αὐτοῖς ὅτι τεθνηκότες εἶεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ἐσόδῳ γιγνομένη τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ πρῶτος ἄγγελος ἐξῆει, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἄρτι νενικημένων τε καὶ ξυνειλημμένων· καὶ τῶν ὕστερον οὐδὲν ᾔδεσαν. οὕτω δὲ

The Athenians send a garrison and provisions to Plataea. The Plataean women, children, and old men are removed to Athens.

οὐκ εἰδότες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέστελλον· ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ ἀφικόμενος ἠῦρε τοὺς ἄνδρας διεφθαρμένους. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες ἐς Πλάταιαν σίτόν τε ἐσήγαγον καὶ φρου-

ρούς ἐγκατέλιπον, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐξεκόμισαν.

7. Γεγενημένου δὲ τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργου καὶ

Both sides then prepare: description of the παρασκευή.

λελυμένων λαμπρῶς τῶν σπονδῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντες, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ

Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι [αὐτῶν], πρεσβείας τε μέλλοντες πέμπειν παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ ποθέν τινα ὠφελίαν ἤλπιζον ἐκάτεροι προσλήψεσθαι, πόλεις τε ξυμμαχίδας

2 ποιούμενοι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεως· καὶ

6, 2. [εἰπεῖν] Cobet.

7, 1. ἐν Πλαταιαῖς] Cf. c. 10, 1. In both places Cobet and Herw. read Πλαταιᾶσι (adverb), perhaps rightly.—[αὐτῶν] wanting in C, bracketed by Herw.

Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις  
 ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τὰκείνων Prodigious naval  
plans of the  
 ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησ' {i.e. δια- Lacedaemonians  
 κοσίας—see below} ποιείσθαι κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν  
 πόλεων, ὥς ἐς τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίων  
 νεῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἀργύριον ῥητὸν ἐτοιμάζειν,  
 τά τ' ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχο-  
 μένους μιᾷ νηὶ ἕως ἂν ταῦτα παρασκευασθῇ.  
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ξυμμαχίδα ἐξή- 3  
 τασον καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον μᾶλλον χωρία  
 ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Κέρκυραν καὶ Κεφαλ- Athens sounds  
her allies.  
 ληνίαν καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Ζάκυνθον,  
 ὁρῶντες, εἰ σφίσι φίλια ταῦτα εἶη βεβαίως, πέριξ  
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταπολεμήσοντες. 8. ὀλίγον  
 τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφότεροι, ἀλλ' The γνώμη with  
which the com-  
batants began  
the war.  
 ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀπει-  
 κότως· ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύ-  
 τερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται, τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλή  
 μὲν οὔσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλή δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 Ἀθήναις, οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἤπτετο τοῦ  
 πολέμου. ἢ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα μετέωρος ἦν

2. Λακεδαιμονίοις] Λακεδαιμόνιοι B.—ναῦς ἐπετάχθη διακοσίας, L. Herbst, from Diodorus Siculus: ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν only MSS.: ναῦς ἐπετάχθη Pp. and Herw. with I, and, as the Schol. on ἐτοιμάζειν says ἐπετάχθη δηλονότι, he may have read the sing.: νῆες ἐπετάχθησαν, Cl.: Λακεδαιμόνιοι ... ναῦς ἐπετετάχεσαν, Cobet, for which Bh. and Cr. prefer ἐπέταξαν, and Sta. ἐπέτασσαν. Rauchenstein (*Phil.* 33, p. 566) οἱ τὰκείνων ἐλόμενοι, which involves an anacoluthon at ἡσυχάζοντας.

3. ξυμμαχίδα Cobet, for MSS. ξυμμαχίαν. So in c. 10, 1.

8, 1. τότε δὴ MSS.] corrected by Haacke.

2 ξυνιουσῶν τῶν πρώτων πόλεων. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν  
λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἦδον ἔν

The usual prophecies and portents were not wanting;

3 τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν καὶ ἐν  
ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος  
ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων πρότερον

οὐπω σεισθείσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἑλληνες μέμνηνται. ἐλέ-  
γετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι  
σημῆναι· εἴ τί τι ἄλλο τοιουτότροπον ξυνέβη

4 γενέσθαι, πάντα ἀνεξήτεϊτο. ἡ δὲ εὖνοια παρὰ

and public opinion was in favour of the Lacedaemonians;

πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον  
εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευ-

θεροῦσιν. ἔρρωτό τε πᾶς καὶ ιδιώτης καὶ πόλις

every man felt that his importance as an ally could not be over-estimated. εἴ τι δύναίτο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυν-  
επιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς· ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκω-  
λύσθαι ἐδόκει ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ὧ

5 μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρέσται. οὕτως {ἐν} ὀργῇ εἶχον  
οἱ πλείους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς  
ἀπολυθῆναι βουλόμενοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀρχθῶσι φοβού-  
μενοι. 9. παρασκευῇ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτῃ καὶ γνώμῃ

The allies composing the two confederacies enumerated.

2 ὥρμηντο. πόλεις δὲ ἐκάτεροι τάσδ'  
ἔχοντες ξυμμάχους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον  
καθίσταντο. Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἷδε  
ξύμμαχοι· Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν [οἱ ἐντὸς Ἴσθμοῦ]

2. λόγια ἐλέγοντο ABEFm, Kr., CL, Shil., Cr. : ἐλέγετο CG, Bekker, Sta., Herw.

4. κεκωλύεσθαι Badham, Herw., but see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 12.

5. {ἐν} Reiske. The mss. reading is defended by Cl. and Cr. alone.



πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν (τούτοις δ' ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν Πελληνῆς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες), ἔξω δὲ Πελοποννήσου Μεγαρῆς, Φωκῆς, Λοκροί, Βοιωτοί, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀνακτόριοι. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Κορίνθιοι, 3 Μεγαρῆς, Σικυνῶνιοι, Πελληνῆς, Ἡλείοι, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, ἰππέας δὲ Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆς, Λοκροί, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεζόν [παρείχον]. αὕτη Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχία· Ἀθηναίων δὲ Χῖοι, 4 Λέσβιοι, Πλαταιῆς, Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, Ἀκαρνάνων οἱ πλείους, Κερκυραῖοι, Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὔσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε, Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Δωριῆς Καρσί πρόσκοι, Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἡλίον ἀνίσχοντα, πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι [Κυκλάδες] πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Χῖοι, 5 Λέσβιοι, Κερκυραῖοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πεζόν καὶ χρήματα. ξυμμαχία μὲν αὕτη ἐκατέρων καὶ παρα- 6 σκευὴ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν.

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

9, 2. [οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ] Ste. The words are a gloss on Πελοποννήσιοι. See note.

3. [παρείχον] Herbst, Cobet, Herw., Sta., Cr.

4 αὕτη Λακ. ξυμ. So most mss.; but the early editions read αὕτη μὲν Λακ., which C has. I suspect αὕτη ... ξ. See note. —[Κυκλάδες] Pp., and most subsequent edd.; Dobree, Herw., Sta., Cr., bracket πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι also.



τὴν ἔξω ξυμμαχίδα στρατιὰν παρασκευάζεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἔκδημον ἔχειν, ὥς ἐσβαλοῦντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.

2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκάστοις ἐτοῖμα γίγνοιτο, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον

The Lacedaemonians assemble at the Isthmus.

τὸν εἰρημένον ξυνῆσαν τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἐς τὸν ἰσθμόν.

3 καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ξυνειλεγμένον ἦν, Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἠγεῖτο τῆς ἐξόδου ταύτης, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς στρα-

Archidamus harangues the officers.

τηγούς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτους

παρῆνει τοιάδε.

11. “Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ [οἱ] ξύμμαχοι, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλὰς στρατείας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἔξω ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἄπειροι πολέμων εἰσίν.

I. Προόμιον (§§ 1, 2). IMPORTANCE OF THE WAR One great power is to attack another. All Greece wishes us well. Remember your fathers and your renown.

ὅμως δὲ τῇσδε οὐπὼ μείζονα παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες. δίκαιον οὖν ἡμᾶς μήτε τῶν

2 πατέρων χεῖρους φαίνεσθαι μήτε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἐνδεεστέρους. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ ὁρμῇ ἐπῆρται καὶ προσέχει τὴν

10, 1. ξυμμαχίδα Cobet, for MSS. ξυμμαχίαν.

3. παρῆνει τοιάδε, Sintenis and subsequent writers: MSS. vary between τοιάδ' ἔλεξεν, τοιάδ' ἔλεξε, ἔλεξε τοιάδε, and all have παρεῖναι for παρῆνει.

11, 1. [οἱ] ξυμ. Cob., Herw., Ste. ol is wanting in some MSS.

γνώμην, εὐνοίαν ἔχουσα διὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἔχθος  
 πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς ἃ ἐπινοοῦμεν. Οὐκουν χρή, εἴ τῳ καὶ 3  
 δοκοῦμεν πλήθει ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀσφάλεια  
 πολλὴ εἶναι μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐναν-  
 τίους ἡμῖν διὰ μάχης, τούτου ἕνεκα  
 ἀμελέστερόν τι παρεσκευασμένους χω-  
 ρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἡγεμόνα  
 καὶ στρατιώτην τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ  
 προσδέχεσθαι ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἤξειν. ἄδηλα γὰρ 4  
 τὰ τῶν πολέμων καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι'  
 ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται, πολλάκις τε τὸ  
 ἔλασσον πληθὸς [δεδιὸς ἄμεινον] ἡμύνατο τοὺς  
 πλέονας διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκείους  
 γενέσθαι. χρή δὲ αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ 5  
 θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρα-  
 σκευάζεσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιέναι τοῖς  
 ἐναντίοις εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν, πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιχει-  
 ρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέστατοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον 6

4. [δεδιὸς ἄμεινον] ἄμεινον is bracketed by Dobree and Kr., while Ste. proposes to bracket both, as I have done. To defend ἄμεινον, Sta. notes 'nos simul audimus ἢ οἱ πλέονες τὸ ἐλασσον πληθὸς,' but there is no contrast here between a small force repelling a large one and a large force repelling a small one: nor are the precautions taken by the small force contrasted with the carelessness of the large force; against which view of δεδιὸς the words λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι below are decisive. δεδιὸς ἄμεινον is a note on the passage from πολλάκις to παρασκευάζεσθαι. Cf. Aristoph. Av. 376, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν δῆτα πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφοί· ἡ γὰρ εὐλάβεια σφῆζει πάντα. Suid. s.v. φόβος, ὁ βουλόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι ἀπ' εὐλαβείας ἀρχεται.

5. παρεσκευάσθαι, C and the early editions, Sta., Ste. Other mss. and edd., παρασκευάζεσθαι.

II. Πίστις (§§ 3-8)—two points:  
 1. A great armament is not sure of success.  
 2. The enemy will be well prepared and exasperated by our attack.

ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω πόλιν ἐρχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν  
 ἄριστα παρεσκευασμένην, ὥστε χρή καὶ πάνυ ἐλπί-  
 ζειν διὰ μάχης ἵεναι αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὥρμηται  
 ἐν ᾧ οὐπω πάρεσμεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὀρώσιν  
 7 ἡμᾶς δηρουντάς τε καὶ τὰ κείνων φθείροντας. πᾶσι  
 γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὀράν  
 πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργὴ προσπίπτει, καὶ [οἱ]  
 λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι θυμῷ πλείστα ἐς  
 8 ἔργον καθίστανται. Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ πλέον τι  
 τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, οἳ ἄρχειν τε τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀξιούσι καὶ ἐπιόντες τὴν τῶν πέλας δηρουν  
 9 μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὀράν. Ὡς οὖν  
 III. Ἐπίλογος (§ 9). Therefore ἐπὶ τοσαύτην πόλιν στρατεύοντες καὶ  
 strict discipline ἐπὶ τοσαύτην πόλιν στρατεύοντες καὶ  
 and prompt obe- μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι τοῖς τε προ-  
 dience to orders γόνοις καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα  
 are necessary (a) ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ἔπεσθε ὅπη  
 to enable us to (b) ἄν τις ἡγήται κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν  
 succeed, (b) to περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα  
 keep our glory ὀξέως δεχόμενοι· κάλλιστον γὰρ τόδε καὶ ἀσφα-  
 unsullied. λέσστατον πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους  
 φαίνεσθαι."

12. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τὸν ξύλλογον  
 ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος Μελήσιππον πρῶτον ἀποστέλλει

7. πᾶσι γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Usener brackets ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ,  
 Badham reads πᾶς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα πάσχων  
 τίς τι ἀηθές ὀργῇ προσπίπτει. Ste. proposes πράσσοντάς τι and  
 ἐν τῷ τοῖς ὄμμασι κ.τ.λ. In *Stud. Thuc.* Herw. suggests ἐν τοῖς  
 (ἐν) ὄμμασι, comparing Plat. *Theaet.* 174 c, περὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλ-  
 μοῖς διαλέγεσθαι.—καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ] Usener and Herw. bracket οἱ.  
 θυμῷ πλείστα may possibly be a gloss on λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα.  
 But Galen quotes the passage as in text.

ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τὸν Διακρίτου ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην,  
εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοίειν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Archidamus at-  
tempts to nego-  
ciate in vain. 2  
ὀρώντες ἤδη σφᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας. οἱ  
δὲ οὐ προσεδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Story of the pro-  
phetic messen-  
ger.  
πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν ἦν γὰρ

Περικλέους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα κήρυκα καὶ  
πρεσβείαν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξ-  
εστρατευμένων ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν  
ἀκούσαι καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐκτὸς ὄρων εἶναι αὐθημερόν,  
τό τε λοιπὸν ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα  
αὐτῶν, ἦν τι βούλωνται, πρεσβεύεσθαι. ξυμ-  
πέμπουσί τε τῷ Μελησίππῳ ἀγωγούς, ὅπως μηδ-  
ενὶ ξυγγένηται. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις 3  
ἐγένετο καὶ ἔμελλε διαλύσεσθαι, τοσόνδε εἰπὼν  
ἐπορεύετο ὅτι “Ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι με-  
γάλων κακῶν ἄρξει.” ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ στρα- 4  
τόπεδον καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
οὐδέν πω ἐνδωσείουσιν, οὕτω δὲ ἄρας τῷ στρατῷ  
προυχώρει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ μέρος 5  
μὲν τὸ σφέτερον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας παρείχοντο  
Πελοποννησίοις ξυστρατεύειν, τοῖς δὲ λειπομένοις  
ἐς Πλάταιαν ἐλθόντες τὴν γῆν ἐδῆουν.

13. Ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ξυλληγομένων  
τε ἐς τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν

12, l. Διακρίτου] Cf. Andoc. i. 52, 67. Cobet proposed  
Λακρίτου.

4. ἐνδωσείουσιν, E correction approved by Dindorf in Steph.  
Thes. s.v. ἀπαλλαξείω and adopted by Cl., Herw., Cr., Ste.  
Rest ἐνδῶσουσιν.

13, l. πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀ. bracketed by Cobet and  
Herw —μὴ πολλάκις ἢ αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ. Badham inserted ἦν before

ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, στρα-  
 Pericles, before τηγὸς ὧν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτός, ὡς  
 the invasion, ad- ἔγνω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐσομένην, ὑποτο-  
 vises the Athen- πῆσας, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ ξένος  
 ians to remove all their effects from the country into the city, ὧν ἐτύγχανε, μὴ πολλάκις ἢ αὐτὸς

ιδίᾳ βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ  
 παραλίπη καὶ μὴ δηώσῃ, ἢ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 κελυσάντων ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται τοῦτο,  
 [ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄγῃ ἐλαύνειν προεῖπον ἔνεκα  
 ἐκείνου,] προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ ἐκ-  
 κλησίᾳ ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος μὲν οἱ ξένος εἶη, οὐ μέντοι  
 ἐπὶ κακῷ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, τοὺς δ' ἀγροὺς  
 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας ἦν ἄρα μὴ δηώσωσιν οἱ  
 πολέμιοι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀφίησιν αὐτὰ  
 δημόσια εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν κατὰ ταῦτα

2 γίγνεσθαι. παρῆναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων  
 ἄπερ καὶ πρότερον, παρασκευάζεσθαι  
 and encourages them by enu-  
 merating their resources. τε ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἔς τε μάχην μὴ  
 ἐπεξιέναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντας φυλάσσειν,  
 καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἥπερ ἰσχύουσιν, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, τὰ  
 τε τῶν συμμαχῶν διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν  
 ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς

ἢ, and Herw. follows, placing a comma after κελυσάντων.—  
 καὶ μὴ δηώσῃ, Cobet and Herw. doubt these words.—ἑαυτοῦ.  
 The mss. vary between αὐτοῦ and ἑαυτοῦ.—[ὥσπερ ... ἐκείνου]  
 bracketed by Valckenaer, as an interpolation from i. 126.  
 Cobet, *V. L.* p. 437, points out that Thuc. would have  
 written τὸ ἄγος.

2. τῶν χρημάτων τῆς πρ., bracketed by Herw.



προσόδου, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη καὶ χρημάτων περιουσίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι. θαρσεῖν τε 3 ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' He details the amount of revenue and treasure. ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων (τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἕς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτείδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη), χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου 4 καὶ ἀργυρίου ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκυῖλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοντότροπον, οὐκ ἔλασσον[ος ἦν] ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν 5 προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρήσεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἦν πάνυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσίοις ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσίου ἀπέφθου καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστήσαι πάλιν. χρήμασι μὲν οὖν 6 οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους

4. ἔλασσον[ος ἦν] Dobree : Abresch bracketed ἦν, Francken corrected ἐλάσσονος. *ος ἦν* is *ὅς' ἦν*, i.e. ἦν is a gloss, now misplaced, on *ὅσα* above.

6. ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων] Beloch, followed by Ste., brackets καὶ μυρίων. As the metic hoplites amounted to 3000 (c. 31, 2), the *πρεσβύτατοι καὶ νεώτατοι* would amount to 13,000, a number



καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ  
 He gives the forces as 13,000 hoplites for service outside Attica, 16,000 employed in home duty, 1,200 cavalry, 1,600 archers.  
 τῶν παρ' ἑπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων καὶ μετοίκων [ὅσοι ὀπλῖται

7 ἦσαν]. τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ. τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἕξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνιχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δὲ ἐν φυλακῇ ὃν ἡμισυ  
 8 τούτου. ἱππέας δ' ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν ἱπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους

The navy consists of 300 ships of war.  
 9 τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλοῖμους τριακοσίας. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων ὅτε ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἔμελλε Πελοποννησίων ἐσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἷάπερ εἰώθει Περικλῆς ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. 14. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκού-

far too large. It seems better to bracket ὅσοι ... ἦσαν with Sta. Cf. Diod. xii. 40. Thus all the μέτοικοι capable of bearing arms are included.

7. ἀστεως M, vulg.: perhaps C, 1st hand. Rest ἀστεος. For the form, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 55.—μουνυχίαι M.

8. ἀπέφαινε] ἀπέφηνε, M.

σαντες ἀνεπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατα-  
 σκευὴν ἢ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο, καὶ So the Athenians  
 began to move.  
 The cattle are  
 sent to Euboea  
 and other is-  
 lands.  
 αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν  
 ξύλωσιν· πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια ἐς  
 τὴν Εὐβοίαν διεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς  
 νήσους τὰς ἐπικειμένας. χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ 2  
 αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς Unpleasantness  
 of the move,  
 ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἢ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγ-  
 νετο. 15. ξυνεβεβήκει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου  
 ἐτέρων μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτο. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκρο-  
 πος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα  
 αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾤκεῖτο πρυτανεῖά τε ἐχούσας καὶ  
 ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὁπότε μὴ τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνῆσαν  
 βουλευσόμενοι ὥς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι  
 ἐπολιτεύοντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπολέ-  
 μησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ'  
 Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ because, though  
 Theseus had  
 united Attica  
 politically, yet  
 the people still  
 continued to live  
 in the old towns.  
 Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ  
 τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα  
 διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας  
 τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς  
 ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὔσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον  
 ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον ξυνάκισε πάντας, καὶ  
 νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ

15, 1. συνεβεβήκει M.—ἐχούσας, corr. Cobet: ἐχουσα mss.,  
 in vain defended by Kr.—ξυνίεσαν M.

2. διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν] τὴν πόλιν M: Sta. and Herw.  
 bracket τὴν χώραν, which CL. rightly defends.—ξυνάκισε M.  
 —νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν M.

ἡνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢ πάντων  
 ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρε-  
 δόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ  
 ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δη-  
 3 μοτελῇ ποιοῦσι. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις  
 Digression on [ἡ] νῦν οὔσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ'  
 the early condi-  
 tion of Athens. αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμ-  
 4 μένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ [τῇ  
 ἀκροπόλει] ... καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἕξω  
 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἴδρυται,  
 τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Γύθιον  
 καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ {τοῦ} ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου,  
 ὧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια [τῇ δωδεκάτῃ] ποιεῖται  
 ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων  
 5 Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἴδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα  
 ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαία. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν  
 τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλου-

3. [ἡ] bracketed by Herw., Ste.

4. ἐν αὐτῇ [τῇ ἀκροπόλει] ... καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν. The bracket is due to Cobet, the lacuna was discovered by Cl. Something like καὶ Ἀθηναίας τὰ ἀρχαία has dropped out.—{τοῦ} inserted by Cobet.—[τῇ δωδεκάτῃ] bracketed by Torstrik and all subsequent writers.—ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων] ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν Dobree and Herw., with Cobet's approval.

5. οὕτως σκευασάντων M.—ἐκείνη τε, C; ἐκείνη τε M: the rest ἐκείνῃ τε, corrected by Bekker to ἐκείνοι τε.—[τὰ πλείστου ἄξια] B has τὰ πλείστα ἄξια, from which Torstrik argues that Thuc. wrote τὰ πλείστα only. Ste. points out that the ordinary text does not provide any evidence in support of the statement that the Acropolis was the oldest part of Athens, and proposes ἐγγὺς οὖση ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ... ἐς ἄλλα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῶν κ.τ.λ. I think the words a gloss on ἄλλα.

μένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν  
 Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένη, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ  
 [τὰ πλείστου ἄξια] ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν  
 νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν 6  
 παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι  
 τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πόλις. 16. τῇ δ' οὖν  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκῆσει [μετ-  
 εἶχον] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνωκίσθησαν, διὰ  
 τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου  
 πανοικεσία γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκῆσαντες, οὐ ῥαδίως  
 τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι  
 ἀνεληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Ἐηδικά.  
 ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε 2  
 καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἅ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς

16, 1. τῇ δ' οὖν] MSS. τῇ τε οὖν, which CL corrected, follow-  
 ing Kr. and Shil., and followed by Sta., Herw.—[μετεἶχον]  
 bracketed by Cl., following Driessen. Shil. proposes τὴν δ'  
 οὖν ... αὐτόνομον οἰκῆσιν ἔτ' εἶχον. Weil suspects a lacuna such  
 as {πρὶν ἢ τῆς πόλεως πάντες} μετεἶχον. Cr. thinks μετεἶχον the  
 remnant of a gloss of some length.—πανοικεσία M. From  
 οἰκέτης, cf. ὑπηρεσία from ὑπρέτης. Most MSS. πανοικησία.  
 Sta. places this word after οὐ ῥαδίως, since γενόμενοι ἐν can  
 only mean here 'having been born in,' and πανοικεσία, 'with  
 their whole household,' will not suit this meaning. Herw.  
*Stud. Thuc.* p. 25, suggests διαγενόμενοι = *degentes*. See note.  
 —[τε καὶ οἰκῆσαντες] Herw.

2. καταλείποντες only I: the rest καταλιπόντες. Badham  
 and Shil. corrected independently.—[κατὰ] τὸ ἀρχαίον, Herw.  
 (*Mnem.* 1883). Cf. c. 99, 3; iv. 3, 2; v. 80, 2; vi. 2, 1, 4, 6.  
 But see note.—αὐτοῦ M.

ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια, δῖαιτάν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος. 17. ἐπειδὴ

Difficulty of finding lodgings for so many persons. The city could not contain all.

τε ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μὲν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ὤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπ' ἀρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὥς

τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον,

- 2 ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωκλήθη. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μαντεῖον τούναντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσεδέχοντο· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν παράνομον ἐνοίκησιν αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκήσεως, ὅν οὐκ ὀνομάζον τὸ μαντεῖον προήδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθῆσόμενον. 3 κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὥς ἕκαστός που ἐδύνατο· οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἢ πόλις, ἀλλ' ὕστερον δὴ τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη ὤκησαν κατα- 4 νειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλά. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἤπτοντο, συμμαχοῦς

17, 1. ὤκησαν M.—κλειστὸν M.—πελαργικὸν M. The true reading is preserved only by C.

2. προηδει M. Cobet proposed προῆδε.

3. ὤκησαν] ὠκισαν MT.



τε ἀγείροντες καὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν ἐξαρτύοντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν.

18. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προΐων ἀφίκετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόνην πρῶτον, ἥπερ ἔμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ὡς ἐκαθέζοντο, προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι μηχαναῖς τε καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· ἡ γὰρ Οἰνόη οὔσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο καὶ αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο ὅποτε πολέμος καταλάβοι. τὰς τε οὖν προσβολὰς ἡντρεπίζοντο καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδιέτριψαν χρόνον περὶ αὐτήν. αἰτίαν τε οὐκ ἐλαχίστην Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτηδεῖος, οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως πολεμεῖν· ἐπειδὴ τε ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατός, ἡ τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἡ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Οἰνόῃ ἐπίσχεσις. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπελθόντες ἂν διὰ τάχους πάντα ἔτι ἔξω καταλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μέλλησιν. ἐν τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀργῇ ὁ στρατὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ εἶχεν. ὁ δέ, προσδεχόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, τοὺς

Archidamus begins the invasion by laying siege to Oenoe. He purposely delays there, hoping the Athenians would be frightened into submission to the Spartan proposals. His enemies put another construction on his delay.

2

3

4

5

18, 2. αὐτῷ τῷ φρουρίῳ M. So T, omitting subscript.

5. ὁ στρατὸς ... εἶχον Dobree, who compares c. 21, ἀνηρέθιστο ἢ πόλις καὶ ... εἶχον.



Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς ἔτι ἀκεραίου οὔσης ἐνδώσειν  
τι καὶ κατοκνήσειν περιδεῖν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν,  
ἀνείχεν. 19. ἐπειδὴ μέντοι προσβαλόντες τῇ

Οἰνότη καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πειράσαντες  
οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι  
οὐδὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, οὕτω δὲ ὁρμή-  
σαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ  
[τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων] γενόμενα

ἡμέρα ὁγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ  
σίτου ἀκμάζοντος ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμο-  
2 νίων βασιλεύς. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἔτεμνον πρῶτον  
μὲν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον, καὶ τροπὴν  
τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς Ῥεῖτους  
καλουμένους ἐποιήσαντο. ἔπειτα προυχώρουν ἐν

On reaching δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγᾶλεων ὄρος διὰ  
Acharnae, he  
again lingered, Κρωπιάς ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀχαρναίς[,  
hoping to pro-  
voke the Athen- χῶρον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν  
ians to an en- δῆμων καλουμένων]. καὶ καθεζόμενοι  
gagement. [ἐς αὐτὸν] στρατόπεδόν τε ἐποιήσαντο χρόνον τε

19, 1. πλαταία M.—[τῶν ... Θηβαίων] bracketed by Cl. and subsequent edd.—ἡγεῖτο δὲ ὁ ἀρχίδαμος M. Herw. brackets ἡγεῖτο ... βασιλεύς, but perhaps Sta. and Ste. are right in thinking c. 18, § 3-5, a subsequent addition by Thuc. to the original narrative, so that he repeats these words inadvertently.

2. διακρωπιάς MT. Most MSS. wrongly give Κρωπείας.—[χῶρον .. καλουμένων] I have bracketed these words (*Class. Rev.* iv. p. 205) as an obvious adscript; so also [ἐς αὐτὸν]. The MSS. vary between χῶρον and χωρίον, and the old editors have αὐτὸ for αὐτὸν. MT have καὶ καθεζόμενοι τε ἐς αὐτὸν.

πολὺν ἐμμεΐναντες ἔτεμνον. 20. γνώμη δὲ τοιαῦδε λέγεται τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον περὶ τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς [ὥς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον] μείναι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐκείνη τῇ ἐσβολῇ οὐ καταβῆναι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθη-<sup>2</sup> ναίους ἤλπιζεν ἀκμάζοντάς τε νεότητι πολλῇ καὶ παρεσκευασμένους ἐς πόλεμον ὥς οὐπω πρότερον ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξέλθειν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν τμηθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ 3 Θριάσιον πεδῖον οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, πείραν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς καθήμενος εἰ ἐπεξΐασιν· ἅμα 4 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐν-στρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως (τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὀπλίται ἐγένοντο) οὐ περιόψεσθαι ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα, ἀλλ' ὀρμήσειν καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην. εἴ τε καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθοιεν ἐκείνη τῇ ἐσ-βολῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖος ἰαδεέστερον ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὕστερον τὸ πεδῖον τεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν χωρή-σεσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀχαρνέας ἐστερημένους τῶν σφετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως προθύμους ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κινδυνεύειν, στάσιν δὲ ἐνέσεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ. τοιαύτη μὲν διανοία ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος 5 περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ἦν.

20, 1. [ὥς ... ταξάμενον] bracketed by Sta.: the words are inconsistent with c. 19, 2, and 20, 4.

2. παρασκευασμένους MT.

4. ἀχαρνῆς M, ἀχαρνῆς T, ἀχαρνῆς A.—τρισχίλιοι. The number being impossibly large, Mül.-Str. proposed τριακόσιοι (T' for Γ), which Beloch considers too small. Polle emends ὀπλίται to πολῖται. Perhaps the words in parenthesis are spurious. *Intr.* p. xliv.—[τῇ γνώμῃ] Herw.

21. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μέχρι μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν, καὶ τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐτοὺς μὴ προΐεναι, μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Πανσανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα ὅτε ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Θριῶζε στρατῷ Πελοποννησίων πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐς τὸ πλεῖον οὐκέτι προελθών· διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι [τὴν ἀναχώρησιν].  
 2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Ἀχαρνὰς εἶδον τὸν στρατὸν ἐξή-  
 κοντα σταδίους τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχοντα, οὐκέτι ἀνασχιστὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς γῆς τεμνομένης ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί, ὃ οὐπω ἐοράκεσαν οἱ γε νεώ-  
 τεροι, οὐδ' οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πλὴν τὰ Μηδικά, δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα  
 3 τῇ νεότητι ἐπεξιέναι καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν. κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἔριδι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν κελεύοντες ἐξιέναι, οἱ δὲ τινες οὐκ ἐὼντες. χρησμολόγοι τε ἦδον χρησμούς παντοίους, ὡς ἀκροᾶσθαι ἕκαστος ὥρμητο. οἱ τε Ἀχαρνῆς οἰό-

21, 1. μέχρι μὲν οὖν BFM.—θριῶζε AM. On the accent, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 34.—οὐκ ἔτι AM.—[τὴν ἀναχώρησιν] bracketed by Herw. and Sta. πείθεσθαι has not elsewhere a substantive in acc., and the words have been imported from the Schol.'s explanation of χρήμασι πεισθῆναι, viz., μετὰ πειθοῦς χρημάτων ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Cobet inserts ποιείσθαι before τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.

2. οὐδ' οἱ Μηδικά bracketed by Herw.

3. ὦν ἀκροᾶσθαι ἕκαστος M: ὦν ἄ. ὡς ἕκαστος CG. The cor-

μενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, ὥς αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ ἐτέμνετο, ἐνῆγον τὴν ἔξοδον μάλιστα. παντί τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸν Περικλέα ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον, καὶ ὧν παρήνεσε πρότερον ἐμέμνηντο οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὧν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι, αἰτίον τε σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντων ὧν ἔπασχον. 22. Περικλῆς δὲ ὀρῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ οὐ τὰ ἄριστα φρονούντας, πιστεύων δὲ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξίεναι, ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλλογον οὐδένα, τοῦ μὴ ὀργῇ τι μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ ξυνελθόντας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐφύλασσε καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας μάλιστα ὅσον ἐδύνατο εἶχεν. ἱππέας 2

μεντοὶ ἐξέπεμπεν αἰεὶ τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγύς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν· καὶ ἱππομαχία τις ἐγένετο βραχεῖα ἐν Φρυγίοις τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ

Pericles remains firm; but sends out parties of cavalry to check the enemies' stragglers.

The Thesalians sent aid to Athens, and in a slight skirmish the Athenians and their allies incurred some loss.

rection is Badham's. ὧν d. εἰς ἕκαστος Sta., Cr.—For ὥρητο, CEG have ὥρητο, which Shil. was inclined to, and Sta. has accepted. Tense and form are against ὥρητο. Herw. reads ὥργα.—ἀχαρῆς M.—ὧν παρήνεσε M.

22, 1. [περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξίεναι] Herw.

2. This § is quoted by Dion. Hal. *de Thuc. Jud.* c. 18.—ἐπίπτοντας Dion.—Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Dion.—ἱππομαχία τις ἐνεγένετο M. The best mss. have ἐν ἐνετο, but EG, Dion., and the old editions give ἐγένετο.—ἔσχον] ἔχειν MT.—[τῶν Θ. καὶ Ἀ.] Herw.—καίτοι οἱ Πελ. Herw.

Θεσσαλοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θεσσαλοί, μέχρι οὗ προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον [τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων] οὐ πολλοί· ἀνείλοντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς ἀθημερὸν ἀσπόνδους. καὶ οἱ Πελο-  
 3 ποννήσιοι τροπαῖον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔστησαν. ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικὸν ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, [Παράσιοι,] Κρανώνιοι, Πυράσιοι, Γυρτώνιοι, Φεραῖοι. ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἐκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες.

23. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπεξῆσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μάχην, ἄραντες  
 Fleet of 100 ships sent out by Athens to make descents on the coasts of Peloponnese. The invaders leave Attica.  
 2 ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν ἐδῆουν τῶν δήμων τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους. ὄντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἄσπερ παρε-

3. [Παράσιοι] a variant of Πυράσιοι. No such tribe is known. Παγασαῖοι Sta.—κρανώνιοι, πειράσιοι M. Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 51, is in error in stating that only Lugd. has κρανώνιοι, the true reading. The rest κρανώνιοι.—[ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἐκάτερος] Cl.: ἐκατέρας for ἐκάτερος Herw., Sta., proposed by Pp. If the text needed alteration, either λαχὼν for ἀπὸ or τοῦ μέρους for τῆς στάσεως (the Schol. having caused the substitution) would be suitable.

23. 1. παρνηθος M.—βριλήσσον M.



σκευάζοντο καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Καρκίνος τε ὁ Ξενοτίμου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀντιγένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄραντες τῇ 3 παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ περιέπλεον, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι χρόνον ἐμμέναντες ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν οὐχ ἥπερ ἐσέβαλον· παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδήλωσαν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι.

24. Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἔμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάξειν· καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει χρημάτων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς The Athenians set apart 1000 talents and 100 ships to be used only in extreme danger. ἐξαίρετα ποιησαμένοις χωρὶς θέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολεμεῖν· ἣν δέ τις εἶπη ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι, ἣν μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι νηίῃ στρατῷ ἐπιπλέωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ δέῃ ἀμύνασθαι, θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο. τριή- 2 ρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξαιρέτους ἐποίησαντο, κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τὰς βελτίστας καὶ τριηράρχους αὐταῖς, ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ ἐς ἄλλο

2. ὥσπερ παρεσκεύαζοντο a gloss on τὰς: see c. 17, 4.—  
κάρκινός MT.

3. ἥπερ M.—Γραϊκὴν Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὠρωπός] Πειραιϊκὴν MSS.  
Herw., following Francken, reads [τὴν γῆν] τὴν τε Γραϊκὴν.

24, 1. στρατῷ, with erasure, M.—ἐπιπλέωσιν M.



τι ἢ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου, ἦν δέη.

25. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ περὶ Πελοπόν-  
 νησον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Κερκυραῖοι μετ'  
 αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ προσβεβη-  
 θηκότες καὶ ἄλλοι τινες τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμ-  
 μάχων ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν περιπλέοντες  
 καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀποβάντες τῷ  
 τείχει προσέβαλον ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
 οὐκ ἐνόντων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους  
 Βρασίδας ὁ Τέλλιδος ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιατῆς φρουρὰν  
 ἔχων· καὶ αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ  
 μετὰ ὀπλιτῶν ἑκατόν. διαδραμὼν δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων στρατόπεδον ἐσκεδασμένον κατὰ τὴν χώραν  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν  
 Μεθώνην καὶ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐσδρομῇ ἀπο-  
 λέσας τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τε πόλιν περιεποίησε  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος πρώτου τῶν κατὰ

25, 1. On ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων the Schol. says λείπει πολλῶν, and so Bh. and Sta. explain. But Herw. and Cl. deny the possibility of this. Herw. reads ἀνθρώπων οὐ πολλῶν ἐνόντων, and Cl. suggests ἀνθρώπων ἀξιομάχων οὐκ ἐνόντων. But probably Thuc. means that Methone was weakly fortified, and its fortress ungarrisoned, and not that there were no men in the place. Methone (=χωρίον = πόλις) is distinguished from τεῖχος. Cf. III. 34, of Notium. Were Methone and τεῖχος identical, Thuc. would not say διαδραμὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον ... πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν Μεθώνην. Formerly I conjectured ὅσον οὐ κενῷ for οὐκ ἐνόντων.

2. πέλλιδος MT.--πρώτου Herw., Sta., Bh., Müller, Cr.] πρῶτος MSS., but the point is that this was Brasidas' first exploit. With τῶν κ. γ. πόλεμον supply γενομένων.—ἐπηνέθη M.

τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηνέθη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι 3  
 ἄραντες παρέπλεον, καὶ σχόντες τῆς Ἡλείας ἐς  
 Φειὰν ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας καὶ προσ-  
 βοηθήσαντας τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἡλίδος τρια-  
 κοσίους λογάδας καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικί-  
 δος Ἡλείων μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. ἀνέμου δὲ κατιόντος 4  
 μεγάλου χειμαζόμενοι ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ, οἱ μὲν  
 πολλοὶ ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ περιέπλεον  
 τὸν Ἰχθυὺν καλούμενον [τὴν ἄκραν] ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ  
 Φειᾷ λιμένα· οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοι  
 τινὲς [οἱ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπιβῆναι] κατὰ γῆν χωρή-  
 σαντες τὴν Φειὰν αἰρουῦσι. καὶ ὕστερον αἱ τε 5  
 νῆες περιπλεύσασαι ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 ἐξανάγονται ἐκλιπόντες Φειάν, καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων ἡ  
 πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβοηθήκει. παρα-  
 πλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐδῆουν.

26. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον οἱ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι τριάκοντα ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ  
 τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλα-  
 κὴν· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Κλεόπομ-  
 πος ὁ Κλεινίου. καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιη-  
 σάμενος τῆς τε παραθαλασσίου ἔστιν ἃ ἐδῆωσε  
 καὶ Θρόνιον εἶλεν, ὁμήρους τε ἔλαβεν αὐτῶν,  
 καὶ ἐν Ἀλόπῃ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν μάχῃ  
 ἐκράτησεν.

Another fleet, of  
 30 ships, sent  
 from Athens to  
 the coast of the  
 Opuntian Loc-  
 riana.

2

4. ἀλιμένῳ] ἀλιμένι MT.—[τὴν ἄκραν] Cohet, Herw.—[οἱ οὐ  
 δ. ἐπιβῆναι] Herw.: Sta. brackets αἱ only.

5. Naber proposed καὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἡ., which leaves αἱ τε νῆες  
 without construction, as τε is not answered by καὶ ἐξανάγονται.

26, 2. ὁμήρους τε M.

27. Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας {ἐν} τῷ αὐτῷ

The Aeginetans expelled from Aegina by the Athenians, and settled in Thyrea by the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians colonise Aegina.

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

28. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους νουμηνία κατὰ σελή-

Eclipse of Aug. 3, 431 B.C.

νην,\* ὥσπερ καὶ μόνον δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν, ὃ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε μετὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη, γενόμενος μηνοειδῆς καὶ ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων.

27, 1. This § is quoted by Dion. Hal. *de Thuc. Jud.* c. 15.—δὲ καὶ] καὶ omitted by Dion.—θέρει] χρόνῳ Dion.—ἐξαἰγίνης M.—γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας Dion.—ἀσφαλέστερον ἂν Dion.—τῇ Πελοποννησίῳ Dion. This explanation being wrong, I bracket it. Thuc. would have written τῷ Πειραιεῖ. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* III. 10, 7 d, Περικλῆς τὴν Αἶγιναν ἀφελεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὴν λήμην τοῦ Πειραιέως, Cic. *de Off.* III. 11, nimis imminabat propter propinquitatem Aegina Piraeo.—αὐτῶν πέμψαντας BCM: πέμψαντες Dion.

2. [γῇ] Herw.—δ' ἐσπάρησαν MSS., corrected by Cobet.

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

Athens forms an alliance with Sitaces, King of Thrace, and with Perdiccas, King of Macedon.

29, 1. βουλόμενοι omitted in MT.—σφίσι M.

2. [ὁ τοῦ Σ. πατὴρ] Naber, Sta.—αὐτόνομον ἔστι MT.

3. Τηρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ MT.—πανδίωνος M.—[ὁ Τηρεὺς] Herw., Sta. The Schol. explains ὁ μὲν by ὁ Τηρεὺς ὁ ἀρχαῖος, so did not find the name.—ἐν τῇ γῇ πάντῃ M.—ἐπωφελία M.—[ἐς Ὀδρύσας] Herw., Sta.—Τήρης δὲ οὐδὲ] All mss. but B have οὐτε.—[τε] Cl., Herw., Sta., Cr., Ste., Müller.

- 4 πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο. οὗ δὴ ὄντα  
 τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξύμμαχον ἐποίησαντο,  
 βουλόμενοι σφίσι τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καὶ Περ-  
 5 δίκκαν ξυνελεῖν αὐτόν. ἐλθὼν τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας  
 ὁ Νυμφόδωρος τὴν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου ξυμμαχίαν  
 ἐποίησε καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον,  
 τὸν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεμον ὑπεδέχετο κατα-  
 λύσειν· πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμπειν στρατιὰν  
 Θρακίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἱππέων τε καὶ πελταστῶν.  
 6 ξυνεβίβασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις  
 καὶ Θέρμην αὐτῷ ἔπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι· ξυνεστρά-  
 τευσέ τ' εὐθύς Περδίκκας ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας μετ'  
 7 Ἀθηναίων καὶ Φορμίωνος. οὕτω μὲν Σιτάλκης τε  
 ὁ Τήρεω, Θρακῶν βασιλεύς, ξύμμαχος ἐγένετο  
 Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μακε-  
 δόνων βασιλεύς.

30. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι

Further opera-  
 tions of the  
 Athenian fleet of  
 100 ships.

ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον Σόλλιον τε  
 Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἰρουῦσι καὶ παρα-  
 διδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μό-

- νοῖς τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι· καὶ Ἄστακον,  
 ἧς Εὐαρχος ἐτυράννει, λαβόντες κατὰ κράτος καὶ  
 ἐξελάσαντες αὐτόν τὸ χωρίον ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν  
 2 προσεποιήσαντο. ἐπὶ τε Κεφαλληνίαν [τὴν νῆσον]  
 πλεύσαντες προσηγάγοντο ἄνευ μάχης. κεῖται δὲ

4. ἐποιοῦντο C.—ξυνεξελεῖν C, Pp.

5. ἐλθὼν τε M.—πέμπειν] So CG. The rest have πέμψειν :  
 but see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 18.

30, 2. κεφαλληνίαν and κεφαληνία MT.—Cobet brackets τὴν  
 νῆσον.—προσπλεύσαντες προσήγοντο M.



ἡ Κεφαλληνία κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Δευκάδα τε-  
 τράπολις οὔσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Προν-  
 ναῖοι. ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῶ ἀνεχώρησαν αἱ νῆες 3  
 ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

31. Περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους τούτου  
 Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτ-  
 οικοι, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα  
 Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατη-  
 γοῦντος. καὶ οἱ περὶ Πελοπόννησον  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν (ἔτυ-  
 χον γὰρ ἤδη ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου  
 ἀνακομιζόμενοι), ὥς ἦσθοντο τοὺς ἐκ  
 τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντας,  
 ἔπλευσαν παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυνεμείχθησαν. στρα- 2  
 τόπεδόν τε μέγιστον δὴ τοῦτο ἀθρόον Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐγένετο, ἀκμαζούσης ἔτι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὔπω  
 νεοσηκνίας. μυρίων γὰρ ὀπλιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους  
 ἦσαν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι (χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν  
 Ποτειδαίᾳ τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν), μέτοικοι δὲ ξυνεσέ-  
 βαλον οὐκ ἐλάσσους τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν, χωρὶς  
 δὲ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος. δηρώσαντες  
 δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ 3  
 καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ ἔτος  
 ἕκαστον ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα καὶ  
 ἱππέων καὶ πανστρατιᾷ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἐάλω  
 ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων.

The fleet unites  
 with the land  
 forces in a great  
 invasion of Me-  
 gara. This was  
 the first of  
 many invasions  
 of Megara, and  
 the greatest  
 Athenian force  
 assembled in the  
 first war.

31, 1. ἡδη is wanting in BEFM and many inferior mss.—  
 ξυνεμείχθησαν Meisterhans, p. 144.

2. ἀθρόοι M. On the spelling, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 32.



32. Ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων  
Atalanta fortified, to protect Euboea from Locrian pirates. φρούριον τοῦ θέρους τούτου τελευ-  
 τῶντος ἢ ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις  
 νήσος ἐρήμη πρότερον οὔσα, τοῦ μὴ  
 ληστὰς ἐκπλέοντας ἐξ Ὀπούντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 Λοκρίδος κακουργεῖν τὴν Εὐβοίαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν  
 τῷ θέρει τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀττικῆς ἀναχώρησιν ἐγένετο.

33. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος\* Εὐαρχος  
Corinthian expedition to Acarnania. They restore Euarchus, but fail in an attempt to gain Cephallenia, and certain Acarnanian towns. ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἄσ-  
 τακὸν κατελθεῖν πείθει Κορινθίους  
 τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακοσίοις  
 καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν  
 πλεύσαντας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικούρους τι-  
 νὰς προσεμισθώσατο· ἦρχον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 Εὐφάμιδας τε ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου καὶ Τιμόξενος ὁ  
 2 Τιμοκράτους καὶ Εὐμαχος ὁ Χρύσιδος. καὶ πλεύ-  
 σαντες κατήγαγον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀκαρνανίας  
 τῆς περὶ θάλασσαν ἔστιν ἃ χωρία βουλόμενοι  
 προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πειραθέντες, ὥς οὐκ ἐδύναντο,  
 3 ἀπέπλεον ἐπ' οἴκου. σχόντες δ' ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ  
 εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενοι εἰς τὴν  
 Κρανίων γῆν, ἀπατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξ ὁμο-  
 λογίας τινὸς ἄνδρας τε ἀποβάλλουσι σφῶν αὐτῶν,  
 ἐπιθεμένων ἀπροσδοκῆτοις τῶν Κρανίων, καὶ βιαιό-  
 τερον ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

34. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ  
 πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιή-

σαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρώτων ἀποθα-  
 νόντων τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τὰ μὲν ὅστᾶ Description of  
 the Public Fun- 2  
 προτίθενται τῶν ἀπογενομένων πρό-  
 τριτα σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἐπι- eral at Athens at  
 the close of the  
 campaign.  
 φέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἦν τι βούληται.  
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορά ἦ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίνας 3  
 ἄγουσιν ἄμαξαι φυλῆς ἐκάστης μίαν· ἔνεστι δὲ τὰ  
 ὅστᾶ ἥς ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ  
 φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἳ ἂν μὴ εὐρε-  
 θῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος 4  
 καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεισιν αἱ  
 προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι. τι 5  
 θέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν  
 αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλήν γε  
 τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν  
 κρίναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. ἐπειδὴν 6  
 δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ, ἀνὴρ ἡρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 ὅς ἂν γνώμη τε δοκῇ μὴ ἀξύνετος εἶναι καὶ ἀξιῶσει  
 προήκη, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν πρέποντα·  
 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσι 7  
 καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, ὅποτε ξυμβαίῃ αὐτοῖς,  
 ἐχρῶντο τῷ νόμῳ. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῖσδε 8  
 Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου ἡρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
 καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος

34, 1. πρώτων Cobet for MSS. πρώτων. Cf. § 8.

3. οἱ ἂν ... ἀναίρεσιν bracketed by Herw.

5. [ἐν] Μαραθῶνι Herw., but cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 785, ἵνα μὴ  
 τρίβῃς τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

6. προσήκει MT, προσήκει ABE.

ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο  
 FUNERAL ORATION of Pericles. ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ ὀμίλου, ἔλεγε  
 τοιάδε.

I. (a) Προοίμιον, to whole speech. He does not approve the custom of making a speech, for (1) The deeds of the fallen need no praise (§ 1), (2) It is very hard to satisfy the listeners (§ 2). Still, he must conform to the rule, and do his best (§ 3).

35. “Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε εἰρηκότων ἤδη ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δ’ ἀρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσίᾳ παρασκευασθέντα ὁράτε, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι  
 2 εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται. ὃ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὖνους ἀκροατῆς τάχ’ ἂν τι ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὃ τε ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, [διὰ φθόνον] εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι.

8. καιρὸν ἐλάμβανε AB, preferred by Dobree.

35, 1. πιστευθῆναι is bracketed by Herw., but an annotator would have written πιστεύεσθαι. Herbst also brackets (*Jahr. für Phil.* 119, p. 536).—ὅῖα and τὲ καὶ M.—ἀγορεύεσθαι [αὐτόν] Dobree, Herw.: [ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν] Badham.

2. [διὰ φθόνον] Pericles merely says here that the inexperienced think anything which exceeds their own powers exaggerated, and afterwards, in μέχρι γὰρ κ.τ.λ., goes on to explain why.—μέχρι γὰρ ... ὧν ἤκουσε, quoted by Dion. Hal. *ad Attmaeum*, c. 9.—τῷ δ’ ὑπερβάλλοντι ... ἀπεστοῦσιν, quoted by Dion. Hal. l.c.—αὐτὸν for αὐτῶν ABCG.

μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ  
 ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος  
 οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσεν τῷ δὲ  
 ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦ-  
 σιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως ἐδοκιμάσθη 3  
 ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρὴ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον τῷ  
 νόμῳ πειράσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεώς τε  
 καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον.

36. Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον·  
 δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα  
 ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς I. (b) Προοί-  
 μιον τοῦ Πίστις  
 μνήμης δίδοσθαι. τὴν γὰρ χώραν αἰεὶ A.  
 οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπι- (1) ἔπαινος τῶν  
 προγόνων,  
 γιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' (2) ἔπαινος τῶν  
 πατέρων,  
 ἀρετὴν παρέδωκαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι (3) ἔπαινος τῶν  
 ἐτι ὄντων, 2  
 ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες  
 ἡμῶν κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέ-  
 ξαντο ὅσῃν ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως  
 ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον. τὰ δὲ 3  
 πλείω [αὐτῆς] αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἷδε οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες  
 μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπηυξήσαμεν,  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς  
 πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην ἀνταρκεστάτην. ὧν ἐγὼ 4  
 τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτίθη,

36, 3. [αὐτῆς] I bracket, and render τὰ πλείω 'for the rest,'  
 adverbially. Cf. Eur. *I.T.* 1233, τὰλλα δ' οὐ λέγουσ' ὁμως|τοῖς  
 τὰ πλείον' εἰδόσιν θεοῖς σοὶ τε σημαίνω, θεά. Cl. and Sta. take  
 πλείω in comparative sense, to which H. Kraz, *die drei*  
*Reden des P.*, objects. The explanation of τὰ πλείω comes in  
 the following words.

ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα [πόλεμον] ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἡμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος ἑάσω· ἀπὸ

II. Πρόθεσις,  
leading up to

δὲ οἷας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἦλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ἐπὶ τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι. 37. χρώμεθα γὰρ

III. Πίστις—  
consisting of

A. ἔπαινος τῆς  
πολιτείας καὶ  
τῶν τρόπων (c.  
37-41),

B. ἔπαινος τῶν  
ἀποθανόντων  
(c. 42).

C. παραινέσεις  
(c. 43-45).

A. 1. πολιτεία  
(c. 37, § 1)—  
praise of Athen-  
ian democracy.

πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τινὶ ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδόκιμει, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται,

4. [πόλεμον] Dobree, Cobet and others. Haase πολέμον, adopted by Sta., Cr., Bh.—ἦλθον CEGMT, Dion. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* c. 9.—ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν C, Dion. Perhaps αὐτῶν should be bracketed.

37, 1. ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας bracketed by Herw.—οἰκεῖν] In CG over *ol* is written *ῆ* in later hand, and *ῆκειν* is read in inferior mss., and preferred by Herw. and Bh. So also Döderlein, *Interpret. orat. funeb.*, who makes τὸ κράτος, taken from δημοκρατία, the subject of *ῆκειν*.—ἀφανίαι M.—ἀπὸ μέρους] ἀπὸ γένους Herw.—ἔχων δὲ] ἐ. γέ Reiske, Francken, Herw.—The last sentence is quoted by Dion. Hal. *ad Ammaeum*, c. 4.



οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι  
 τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία κεκώ- 2. τρόποι (c. 37  
 λυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ § 2—41 § 5).  
 κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς (a) Every man 2  
 ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, may do as he  
 οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾷ, chooses (§ 2).  
 ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει  
 ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. ἀνεπαχθῶς (b) But our lib- 3  
 δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια erty does not  
 [διὰ δέος] μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, lead us to de-  
 τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν spise the laws  
 νόμων καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ (§ 3).  
 τῶν ἀδικουμένων κείνται καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες  
 αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσι.

38. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας  
 τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε (c) The splen-  
 καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις dour of public  
 δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' elegance of our  
 ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσ- homes rob life of  
 σει. ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ 2  
 πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει (d) All desirable  
 ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέρα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ things that other  
 αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι lands produce  
 (§ 2).

2. ὑποψίαν] Madvig ἐποψιν, Badham and Reifferscheid ἀνυποψίαν. Van der Mey defends the text.—προστιθέμενοι Badham and Herw.

3. διὰ δέος μάλιστα bracketed by Döderlein, who places διὰ δέος before τῶν νόμων. Campe thinks διὰ δέος either a gloss or a blunder for an adverb corresponding to ἀνεπαχθῶς. Badham also brackets διὰ δέος.



ἡ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. 39. διαφέρομεν

(e) What a contrast between us and the Spartan character! (c. 39).

α. There is no mystery about our resources; anyone may see, for we trust not to force or fraud, but to courage (§ 1).

β. Yet our courage, which is at least equal to theirs, is not the result of a rigorous and oppressive training (§§ 1-4).

δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖσδε. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξηνηλασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν ὠφελῇ, πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἀπάταις ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρ-

χονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἦσσαν  
2 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν. τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑαυτούς, μετὰ πάντων δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι, τὴν τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους  
3 μαχόμενοι τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν. ἀθρόα τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πω πολέμιος ἐνέτυχε διὰ τὴν

39, 1. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κ. MSS., but Usener proposes ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσοπαλεῖς χωροῦμεν, followed by Cr., while Rauchenstein and Herw. place ἰσοπαλεῖς before ἐπὶ.

2. καθ' ἑαυτούς] MSS. καθ' ἐκάστους, corr. by Cobet. Valla translates *per se tantum*, i.e. he found ἑαυτούς. Sauppe cuts out Λακεδαιμόνιοι. This depends on the interpretation of αὐτοὶ below.—At τεκμήριον begins p. 40 in M, i.e. the *manus recentior*. Intr. p. xxii.—οὔτε γὰρ Λακ. {εἴκομεν οὐ} καθ' ἐκάστους Döderlein.

3. ἀθρόα τε] Sta. ἀθρόα δέ, but see note. For spelling, see c. 31, § 2.

τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψιν· ἦν δέ που μορίῳ τινὶ προσμείξωσι, κρατήσαντές τε τινὰς ἡμῶν πάντας αὐχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι, καὶ νικηθέντες ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσσησθαι. καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεῖον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις.

40. Φιλοκαλοῦμεν γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας

καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μυλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον. ἔνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἐτέροις {ἕτερα} πρὸς ἔργα τετραμ-

(f) Moreover, at Athens men enjoy the highest pleasures and privileges of life. The causes and results of this, c. 40.

(1) Causes—

a. Our taste is pure, and our cultivation of the intellect, so far from decreasing,

4. ἐθέλομεν BFGM, Shil., Pp., Dion. Hal. *ad Ammaeum*, c. 12. ἐθέλομεν ACE, Sta., Cl., Ste., Herw., Cr.—[ἀνδρείας] Herw., with Badham; ἀνδρείως Döderlein.—ἀτολμοτέροις Dion. Hal. *l.c.*—φαίνεσθαι. Καὶ ἐν τούτοις Weidner and Sta., inserting οἶμαι or νομίζω after ἀξίαν.

40, 1. ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ] m omits τινὶ.

2. ἐνι] ABEFmT ἐν.—ἕτερα Cl., Sta., Cr.] MSS. ἐτέροις, retained by Shil., Ste., Bh.: ἐτεροῖα Herw.: σφέτερα Badham. Dobree brackets οἰκείων ... ἐτέροις, and reads τρεπομένους for τετραμμένοις. Kraz combats the change to ἕτερα.—[αὐτοῖ] Linwood.—ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς] Döderlein places ὀρθῶς after προδιδαχθῆναι, to which Campe objects.

increases our manliness (§ 2).

β. At the same time all take part in public life, and all discuss that which when carried out is to affect all (§ 2).

(2) Results—

γ. Ours is the highest form of patriotism — to sacrifice advantages with full knowledge of their value (§ 3).

δ. Our magnanimity towards others secures us true friends (§ 4).

μένοις τὰ πολιτικά μὴ ἐνδεῶς γινῶναι·  
μόνοι γὰρ τὸν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέ-  
χοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον  
νομίζομεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κρίνομέν γε  
ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα,  
οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην  
ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι  
μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ  
ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ  
τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ  
μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν  
ἐκλογίξεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος,  
λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν  
ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα  
σαφέστατα γινώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀπο-  
4 τρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν  
ἐνηντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ  
ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. βεβαιότερος  
δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι'  
εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σῶξιν· ὁ δ' ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύ-  
5 τερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν  
ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος  
μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ

3. ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις—ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος (sic) Bh., and Herw.—[ἐκ] Herw.

4. ἐνηντιώμεθα. For the form, see Rutherford, *New Phryn.* p. 81, Cobet, *Mnem.* III. p. 297, Hesych. s.v. ἡντίασεν. The form given in MSS., ἡναντιώμεθα, is later than Thuc.—σῶξιν] On the orthography, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 37, Meisterhans, p. 142.—For ὥστε Döderlein reads ὡς δη.—ἀλλ' ὡς ὀφείλημα Sta. : [ἐς] χάριν ... [ἐς] ὀφείλημα Herw.

ἀδεῶς τινα ὠφελοῦμεν. 41. ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν  
 τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευ- (g) Summing up  
 σιν εἶναι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἄν the ἔπαινον τῶν  
 μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τρόπων (c. 41).  
 πλείστ' ἂν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μά- a. Athens is a  
 λιστ' ἂν εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες pattern to all  
 παρέχεσθαι. καὶ ὡς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ Greece; it is no  
 παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων idle boast to say  
 ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις τῆς that her citizens  
 πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων are the most ac-  
 ἐκτησάμεθα, σημαίνει. μόνη γὰρ τῶν complished men 2  
 νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσω ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται καὶ μόνη on earth. Every  
 οὔτε τῷ πολεμίῳ [ἐπελθόντι] ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει land and sea tes-  
 ὑφ' οἷων κακοπαθεῖ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν tify to it (§§ 1-4).  
 ὡς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀξίων ἄρχεται. μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ 4 β. For such a  
 σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν land no wonder  
 παρασχόμενοι τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαν- that men are  
 μασθησόμεθα (καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὀμή- ready to die!  
 ρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα (§ 5). 3

41, 1. παρ' ἡμῖν for π. ἡμῶν Cobet and Herw.—Over εἶδη is written ἡδὺ in m, and for πλείστα m has πλείστον.—μετὰ χαρίτων is bracketed by Badham and Herw.

3. Döderlein reads τῷ πολεμίῳ ... τῷ ὑπηκόῳ: Herw., after Badham, who first bracketed ἐπελθόντι, reads τῷ πολέμια παθόντι: Cobet τῷ [πολεμίῳ] παθόντι: Dobree τῷ [πολεμίῳ] ἐπελθόντι: Haase τῷ πολεμίῳ ἀπελθόντι. I follow Ste.

4. οὔτε Ὀμήρου κ.τ.λ.] Döderlein reads οὔτε ἐπαινέτου οὔτε Ὀμήρου ὅστις. I place καὶ ... βλάψει in a parenthesis, because ἀλλὰ ... καταναγκάσαντες is opposed to οὐ δὴ τοι ... παρασχόμενοι. Sta. brackets καὶ with Cobet.—καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν Herw., Sta., Cr., for MSS. κακῶν τε κάγ.

τέρψει, τῶν δὲ ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια  
βλάψει), ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν  
ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες  
γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν  
5 αἶδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες. περὶ τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως  
οἶδε τε γενναίως δικαιοῦντες μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν  
μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τῶν λειπομένων πάντα  
τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν.

B. (See c. 37).  
The Fallen, by  
their death, con-  
firm my words.  
We must not  
weep for them,  
but praise them  
for their heroic  
sacrifice of self.

42. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς  
πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος μὴ  
περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ  
οἷς τῶνδε μὴδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, καὶ  
τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λέγω  
2 φανεράν σημείοις καθιστάς. καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ  
μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ  
τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος  
τῷ ἔργῳ φανείη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς  
ἀρετὴν πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαι-  
3 οῦσα ἢ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφῇ. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς  
τᾶλλα χεῖροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῷ  
γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν  
4 ἢ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἐβλάψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτῳ  
τις τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας ἐμαλακίσθη

42, 1. This § is quoted by Dion. Hal. *Ars. Rhet.* He omits ὁμοίως.

2. οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς] Ste. proposes οὐκ ἂν {έν} πολλοῖς.—τῷ ἔργῳ is Dobree's correction of mss. τῶν ἔργων, adopted by Herw.

4. τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν. MT omit ἔτι.—πλούτῳ ABM, πλούτου



οὔτε πενίᾳ ἐλπίδι, ὥς κἂν ἔτι διαφυγῶν αὐτὴν  
 πλουτήσειεν, ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο· τὴν  
 δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λα-  
 βόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομί-  
 σαντες ἐβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν τιμω-  
 ρεῖσθαι τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς  
 τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ  
 τοῦ ἤδη ὀρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιούντες πεποι-  
 θέναι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν κάλλιον  
 ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σφύζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν  
 τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέ-  
 μειναν, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης, ἅμα ἀκμῇ  
 τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους, ἀπηλλάγησαν.

43. Καὶ οἷδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῖδε  
 ἐγένοντο· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν

CEG.—*πενία* [ἐλπίδι] Badham.—*μετ' αὐτοῦ* om. by Dion. Hal. *ad Am.* c. 16.—*τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι*] So H. Kraz, *die drei Reden des P.*, Ste., Bh., with the mss. But Pp. proposed ἀφίεσθαι, which all other recent edd. accept. Kraz sees in ἐφίεσθαι a subtle irony which I do not discover. But the mss. reading is far preferable to ἀφίεσθαι.—*ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι*] For τὸ Sta. and Kraz read τῷ with Dion. Hal. *ad Am.* c. 16 (who also omits καὶ before ἐν), but there is an antithesis between ἀμύνεσθαι and ἐνδόντες, as between παθεῖν and σφύζεσθαι.—*κάλλιον* is Dobree's corr. of mss. *μᾶλλον*, accepted by Herw., Ste., Cr.; but Rauchenstein proposes *μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ὠφελήσειν*, comparing § 3; Badham retains *μᾶλλον ἡγησ.*, and alters ἐν αὐτῷ above to *ἐαυτῶν*.—*μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους* bracketed by Herw., who for *τύχης* reads *ψυχῆς*. Kr. suggests relieving this difficult sentence of *καιροῦ*, and C. Ziegler also wishes to remove *τύχης*. Ste. proposes taking δι' ἐλαχίστου alone, and to join *καιροῦ τύχης* to *τῆς δόξης* (expectation) *μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους*. See note.



μὲν εὔχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιούν τὴν

C. (See c. 37). εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκυ-  
1. λόγος προ- ποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν  
τρεπτικός. Ex- (ἢν {τί} ἄν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς  
hortation to the living to do like-  
wise. A soldier's death is noble  
(c. 43). ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν  
τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ

ἔνεστιν;) ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν  
καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνο-  
μένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξῃ εἶναι,  
ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες  
τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυρόμενοι ἄνδρες  
αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πείρα του σφαλεῖεν,  
οὐκ οὖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς  
ἀξιούντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ  
2 προῖέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδίᾳ  
τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον  
ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κείνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν  
ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ  
λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται.  
3 ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῇ τάφος καὶ οὐ  
στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφὴ,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη  
παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου

43, 1. τὴν εἰς τοὺς π. M.—ὠφελείαν M.—ἦν τί ἄν τις. So Kr., Badham, Herw. for ἦν ἄν τις.—ὅτ' ἄν M.—τοῦ σφαλεῖσαν M.—οὐκ οὖν, non ideo, Cl., Ste., Sta., for οὐκουν MSS.: Herw. brackets καὶ.

3. Badham, followed by Herw., brackets σημαίνει.—ἐπιγραφῇ M.—Badham reads παρ' ἐκάστων τῇ γνώμῃ and brackets ἢ τοῦ ἔργου.—ἄγραφος μνήμη M.—παρεκάστῳ M.

ἐνδαιτᾶται. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ 4  
 εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐ-  
 ψυχον κρίναντες, μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς  
 κινδύνους. οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγούντες δικαιοτέρον 5  
 ἀφειδοῖεν ἢ τοῦ βίου, οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀγαθοῦ,  
 ἀλλ' οἷς ἢ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κιν-  
 δυνεύεται καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ διαφέρ-  
 οντα, ἦν τι πταίσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρί 6  
 γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ [ἐν τῷ] μετὰ τοῦ μαλα-  
 κισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ρώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλ-  
 πίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος.

44. Διόπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι  
 πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθή-  
 σομαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίσταν-  
 ται τραφέντες· τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἷ ἂν τῆς εὐπρε-

4. παρορᾶσθε for περιορᾶσθε Badham and Herw.

5. [ἐν] οἷς Kr., Herw.

6. [ἐν τῷ] So all recent edd., and some fairly old. ἐν τῷ  
 Abresch, Gottl., Bekker; ἐν τῷ [μετὰ τοῦ] Shil.

44, 1. Διόπερ ... παραμυθήσομαι, quoted by Dion. Hal. *Art.*  
*Rhet.*—ὀλυφουρῶμαι Steph., Cobet, Herw.—ἐπίστανται τραφέντες  
 τόδ' εὐτυχές (sc. ὅν) Abresch, Polle., τραφέντες, τὸ δ' εὐτυχές Cr.  
 —καὶ ὡς κ.τ.λ., for καὶ οἷς, Cl.: καὶ οἷς ἂν εὐδαιμονῆσαι τε ... καὶ  
 εὐ τελευτῆσαι (as Poppo for MSS. ἐντελευτῆσαι) ξυμμετρηθῇ  
 Herbst, *N. Jahrb. für Phil.* 119, p. 536. For ἐντελευτῆσαι  
 Cl. proposed ἐναλγῆσαι or ἐλλυπηθῆναι, against which Kraz,  
*N. Jahrb.* 113, p. 111, defends the MSS. word. ἐναδημονῆσαι ...  
 καὶ ἐνευτυχήσαι M. Schmidt, *Rhein. Mus.* 27, p. 482. Sta.  
 formerly read εὐ τελευτῆσαι, but now ἐντελευτῆσαι {ἢ εὐδαιμονία}  
 ξυνμετρήθη. I follow Herw. in the text, as does Ste., who  
 however reads ὀλίγοις for οἷς. 'Chacun presque à la sienne'  
 says Cr.

- πεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν τελευτῆς,  
 2. λόγος παρα- ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι  
 μυθητικός. Con- τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐνταλαιπωρῆσαι  
 2 45): (a) to the pa- ξυνεμετρήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα  
 rents of the fal- {μῇ} ποθεῖν ὄν, ὣν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε  
 len, ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς  
 α. in general (c. 44, §§ 1, 2). ποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη  
 β. to those who can hope for other sons (§ 3). οὐχ ὣν ἂν τις μὴ πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν  
 γ. to those who cannot hope for others (§ 4). στερίσκηται, ἀλλ' οὗ ἂν ἐθὰς γενό-  
 3 μενος ἀφαιρεθῇ. καρτερεῖν δὲ χρή  
 καὶ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία τέκνωσιν  
 ποιεῖσθαι· ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ  
 ἐπιγιγνόμενοί τισιν ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει διχό-  
 θεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημουῖσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ, ξυν-  
 οίσει· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλεύ-  
 εσθαι οἷ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παρα-  
 4 βαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. ὅσοι δ' αὖ παρηβήκατε,  
 τόν τε πλείονα κέρδος ὄν ἡντυχεῖτε βίον ἠγεῖσθε  
 καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ  
 κουφίζεσθε. τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγῆρων μόνον,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν,  
 ὥσπερ τινὲς φασι, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 τιμᾶσθαι. 45. Παισὶ δ' αὖ, ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε,

2. {μῇ} ποθεῖν ὄν] MSS. οἶδα πεθεῖν ὄν. See *Intr.* p. xlii. Madvig ἀπαθεῖν: Reifferscheid πένθειν: Ste. οἶδ' ἀπαλγεῖν.— πειρασόμενος M and all good MSS. So Shil. and Kraz.— ἀφαιρεθείη ABEM, and Cl.: Shil. points out the cause of the error.

3. γὰρ τε MSS. corrected by Kr. and all subsequent edd.— ὥσπερ τινὲς φασὶ M.

ἡ ἀδελφοῖς ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα, [τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἶωθεν ἐπαινεῖν] καὶ μόλις (b) to the sons and brothers of the fallen (c. 45, § 1).  
 ἂν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐχ ὁμοῖοι (c) to the widows of the fallen (§ 2).  
 ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χεῖρους κριθεῖτε. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοία τετίμηται.  
 εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς ὅσαι νῦ ἐν 2  
 χρεῖα ἔσονται μνησθῆναι, βραχεία παραινέσει  
 ἅπαν σημανῶ. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως  
 μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ IV. Ἐπὶ λόγος.  
 δόξα, καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς The tribute of words is paid,  
 πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ἦ. but deeds are repaid with deeds (cf. I.),

46. Εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ (1) by this public funeral;  
 τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρόσφορα, καὶ (2) by the maintenance of the orphans.  
 ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἤδη κεκόσ-  
 μηνται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε  
 δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρι ἡβῆς θρέψει, ὠφέλιμον

45, 1. τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ... εἶωθεν ἐπαινεῖν is bracketed by Cl., Wilamowitz, and Ste., whom, in spite of Sta., I follow, feeling no doubt that this sententious remark, which has no bearing on the preceding words, and is badly expressed, is a gloss to explain τὸ μὴ ἐμποδὼν κ.τ.λ. Junghahn and Ste. see a contradiction here to c. 35, 2. Though not accepting Sörge's remarks on ἅπας, I, with him, see no such contradiction. See note on c. 35, 2. [*N. Jahrb.* 111, p. 678; 117, p. 359, and elsewhere in same vol.; *Rhein. Mus.* 28, p. 183.]—*ὁμοῖοι* M.—*κριθείητε* M.—*τοῖς ζῶσι* is bracketed by Cl., Herw., retained by Bh., Sta. It is required.—*πρὸς τῶν ἀντιπάλων* Cr., who also suggests *πρὸς τοῦ ἀντιπάλου*, but the mss. reading is far more forcible. *παρὰ τὸ δ.* Wilamowitz.—*ἐμποδῶν* M.

46, 1. *εἴρηται καὶ ἐ καὶ ἐμοὶ* M, error in going fr. p. 41 to p. 42.

στέφανον τοισδέ τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν  
 τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα· ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κείται  
 ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι  
 2 πολιτεύουσι. νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει  
 ἕκαστος ἀποχωρεῖτε.”

47. Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ τάφος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι

SECOND YEAR OF  
 WAR.

τούτῳ· καὶ διελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον  
 ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐτελεύτα.

2 \*τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθύς ἀρχομένου Πελοποννήσιοι

The Peloponne-  
 sians invade At-  
 tica a second  
 time. The  
 plague breaks  
 out.

καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ὥσπερ  
 καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀτ-  
 τικὴν· ἠγείτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξι-  
 δάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. καὶ

3 καθεζόμενοι ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν οὐ  
 πολλὰς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἡ νόσος πρῶτον  
 ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν  
 καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκῆψαι καὶ περὶ  
 Λῆμνον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός  
 γε λοιμὸς οὐδὲ φθορὰ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶ

4 ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν  
 τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοίᾳ, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ μά-  
 λιστα ἔθνησκον ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσῆσαν, οὔτε  
 ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεΐα τέχνη οὐδεμία· ὅσα τε πρὸς  
 ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις  
 ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῇ ἦν, τελευτῶντές τε  
 αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. 48.

47, 3. φθορὰ [οὔτως] Herw.

4. ἔθνησκον] On the orthography, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.*  
 p. 37, Meisterhans, p. 141.—προσῆσαν M, corrected from  
 προσίεσαν.—τελευτῶντες τε M.



ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέγεται, ἐξ Αἰθιο-  
 πίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ Men say it broke  
 out in Africa;  
 καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην κατέβη thence it spread  
 to the Persian  
 καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. Empire. Then  
 it broke out in  
 ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐξαπινάϊως Piraeus. 2  
 ἐσέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἤψατο  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς  
 οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ  
 φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὕτω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. ὕστερον  
 δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἔθνησκον  
 πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἥδη. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ 3  
 ὡς ἕκαστος γιγνώσκει καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης ἀφ'  
 ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἄστινας  
 νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς The writer de-  
 scribes the symp-  
 toms, from his  
 own experience  
 and from his ob-  
 servation of  
 others.  
 εἶναι [δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν].  
 ἐγὼ δὲ οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω, καὶ ἀφ'  
 ὧν ἂν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις  
 ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγ-  
 νοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ [αὐτὸς]  
 ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.

49. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὁμολογεῖτο ἐκ πάν-  
 των, μάλιστα δὴ ἐκείνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας  
 ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ  
 τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους 2

48, 2. ἐσέπεσε Herw., Sta., for mss. ἐρέπεσε, which, like  
 ἐμβάλλειν, takes dat. in Thuc. Cf. c. 49, 4.—καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 πειραιεῖ τὸ πρῶτον M.—εἰς τὰ φ. M.

3. [δύναμιν ... σχεῖν] bracketed by Gesner, Herw., Sta.,  
 while Cl. and Ste. detect some addition here to the text.  
 For σχεῖν MT have ἔχειν.—[αὐτὸς] Cobet.



ἀπ' οὐδεμιάς προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ὑγιεῖς

The disease first attacked the head; then spread through the system. Generally the crisis came in seven or nine days. Many others died from subsequent exhaustion. When men escaped this it seized upon their extremities, causing temporary or permanent disablement. Some who recovered lost their memory for a time.

- 3 ὄντας πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς θερμαί-  
 ισχυραὶ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθρήματα  
 καὶ φλόγῳσις ἐλάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἐντός,  
 ἣ τε φάρυγξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθὺς  
 αἱματώδη ἦν καὶ πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ  
 δυσῶδες ἠφίει· ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρ-  
 μὸς καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν  
 οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατέβαινε ἐς τὰ  
 στήθη ὁ πόνος μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ·  
 καὶ ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίζειεν,  
 ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις  
 χολῆς πᾶσαι ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμένοι εἰσὶν  
 ἐπῆσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης.  
 4 λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπεσε κενή, σπασμὸν  
 ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφῇ-  
 5 σαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον. καὶ τὸ μὲν  
 ἔξωθεν ἀπτομένῳ σῶμα οὐτ' ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν οὔτε  
 χλωρόν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, πελιτνόν, φλυκταίναις  
 μικραῖς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἐξηνηθός· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως

49, 2. φάρυξ M.

3. στηρίζαι M.—ἀνέτρεπε and ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν Cobet, from Galen.—ἐπῆσαν M.

4. Between τοῖς μὲν and μετὰ Herw. inserts εὐθὺς.

5. τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀπτομένῳ [σῶμα] Cl., Herw., while Ste. suggests τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν σῶμα bracketing ἀπτομένῳ.—οὐκ ἄγαν M.—πελιτνόν M.—μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνόν M.—eis ὕδωρ and eis φρέατα M.—ἐδρασαν ἐς φ.] Cl. was inclined to think with Ste. that a partic. is lost before ἐς, and Ste. suggested ἐστρέχοντες or ἐσπηδῶντες, M. Schmidt ἀνύσαντες. I proposed ἐσδραμόντες, but now think the text sound.

ἐκάετο ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνν λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ  
 σινδόων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μηδ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ  
 ἀνέχεσθαι, ἥδιστα τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ρίπτειν. καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἡμελη-  
 μένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα, τῇ  
 δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ ξυνεχόμενοι. καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ κα-  
 θειστήκει τό τε πλεόν καὶ ἔλασσον ποτόν. καὶ 6  
 ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέ-  
 κειτο διὰ παντός. καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσονπερ χρόνον  
 καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζει, οὐκ ἐμαραίνεται, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε  
 παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ, ὥστε ἡ διεφθείροντο  
 οἱ πλείστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς  
 καύματος ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυναμews, ἡ εἰ διαφύ-  
 γοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν  
 καὶ ἐλκώσεώς τε αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης καὶ  
 διαρροίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης οἱ πολλοὶ  
 ὕστερον δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενείᾳ ἀπεφθείροντο. διεξῆει 7  
 γὰρ διὰ παντός τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον  
 τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον ἰδρυθὲν κακόν, καὶ εἴ  
 τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τῶν γε ἀκρω-  
 τηρίων ἀντίληψις [αὐτοῦ] ἐπεσήμαινε· κατέσκηπτε 8

6. ἡ ἀγρυπνία] M omits ἡ.—ἐγγιγνομένης M.—ἀπεφθείροντο] Cobet ἐφθείροντο, Cr. δὴ ἐφθείροντο. ἀποφθειρομαι is Tragic, and occurs only here in Attic prose; in Aristoph. it = ἔρρειν. Yet Thuc. may have used it; cf. Rutherford, *New Phryn.* p. 32, 218. Cf. τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις for ἀπολαύσεις in c. 53, 2.

7. διαπαντός M.—[αὐτοῦ] I bracket. It is explained (1) by Kr. and Cl. as masc., depending on ἀκρωτηρίων, (2) by Sta., Shil., and Cr. as τοῦ κακοῦ, with ἀντληψις, (3) Rauchenstein and Herw. read αὐτὸ, but when the person has recovered, the disease would not remain. See *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 270.

γὰρ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ πολλοὶ στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφενγον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. τοὺς δὲ καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παραντίκα ἀναστάντας τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ ἠγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύουσ.

50. γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἐκάστω καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὃν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων

Even birds and  
beasts that  
touched the  
bodies died.

τί τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἅπτεται, πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων, ἢ οὐ προσήει ἢ γευσά-  
2 μενα διεφθείρετο. τεκμήριον δέ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλεις σαρφῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε περὶ τοιούτον οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον αἴσθησιν παρείχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος διὰ τὸ ξυνδαιτᾶσθαι.

51. Τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παρα-

No satisfactory  
treatment could  
be discovered;  
no constitution  
was proof against  
contagion.

λιπόντι ἀτοπίας, ὥς ἐκάστω ἐτύγ-  
χανέ τι διαφερόντως ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτε-  
ρον γιγνόμενον, τοιούτον ἦν ἐπὶ πάν-  
την ἰδέαν. καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ  
2 γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμελείμ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι. ἐν τε οὐδὲ

50, 1. γινομένων M, γενομένων CG.

51, 1. ἐπίπαν M.—[καὶ ἄλλο ... ἐτελεύτα] bracketed by Van der Mey, as a repetition of 49, 1. Ste. sees a contradiction between these words and 49, 1. See *Intr.* p. xlii.

2. οὐδὲ ἐν] οὐδὲ ἐγκατέστη AB; οὐδὲν κατέστη C, and so Sta.

ἐν κατέστη ἴαμα ὡς εἰπεῖν ὃ τι χρῆν προσφέ-  
 ροντας ὠφελεῖν· τὸ γάρ τῳ ξυνεγεγκὸν ἄλλον  
 τοῦτο ἔβλαπτε. σῶμά τε αὐταρκες ὃν οὐδὲν δὴ <sup>3</sup>  
 ἐφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ  
 πάντα ξυνήρει καὶ τὰ πάση διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα.  
 δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ τε ἀθυμία <sup>4</sup>  
 ὁπότε τις αἰσθοίτο κάμνων (πρὸς γὰρ The sickness was  
accompanied by  
great depression.  
 τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθὺς τραπόμενοι τῇ  
 γνώμῃ πολλῶ μαλλον προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 οὐκ ἀντεῖχον), καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θερα-  
 πείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνη-  
 σκον· καὶ τὸν πλείστον φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει.  
 εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν δεδιότες ἀλλήλοις προσ- <sup>5</sup>  
 ἰέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἐρήμοι, καὶ οἰκίαι  
 πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορία τοῦ θερα-  
 πεύσοντος· εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθεί-  
 ροντο, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι  
 μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνη γὰρ ἡφείδουν  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐσιόντες παρὰ φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς  
 ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ  
 οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ Natural ties were  
forgotten; but,  
when relatives  
failed to aid,  
friends visited  
the sick, but  
only to fall  
victims.  
 κακοῦ νικώμενοι. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὁμως <sup>6</sup>  
 οἱ διαπεφευγότες τὸν τε θνήσκοντα  
 καὶ τὸν πονούμενον ὠκτίζοντο διὰ τὸ προειδέναι  
 τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι· δις γὰρ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν οὐκ ἐπελάμβανε.

3. οὐδὲν δὴ ἐφάνη Valckenaer and Cobet, for mss. οὐδὲν διεφάνη.

4. ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείᾳ Madvig, Herw.: [θεραπείας] Dobree.

5. ἐξέκαμον for ἐξέκαμνον M.

καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον κούφης μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι.

52. Ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρ-

The crowded state of the city helped to spread the disease.

2 χοντι πόνῳ καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγγραῖς ὥρα ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις [ἀποθνήσκοντες] ἔκειντο καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας

3 In the general panic, the ceremonies of religion and the decencies of burial were disregarded. ἀπάσας ἡμιθνήτες τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμία. τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνησκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως.

4 νόμοι τε πάντες ξυνεταράχθησαν οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς, ἔθαπτον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο. καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ συχνούς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἄλλο-

52, 2. [ἀποθνήσκοντες] I bracket, as νεκροὶ ἀπ. is impossible. Oncken, Rauchenstein, Herw. and Cr. place it after καὶ, but then a verb would be required with ἡμιθνήτες.—τῇ τοῦ ὕδ. ἐπιθυμία M.

3. ἐσκήνωντο (sic) M.

4. συνεταράχθησαν M.—θήκας] Madvig τέχνας, Badham μηχανάς.—καιομένου M.—ἀπηίεσαν M.



τρίας φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέν-  
τες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ καομένου  
ἄλλου ἄνωθεν ἐπιβαλόντες ὃν φέροιεν ἀπῆσαν.

53. πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τὰλλα τῇ Resigning all  
πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα. fear, and all  
ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἅ πρότερον ἀπε- reveren-  
κρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχι- cing no law  
στροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν human or di-  
τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων vine, men gave  
themselves up  
to the pleasures  
of the present  
and disregarded  
the future.  
καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθύς δὲ  
τάκείνων ἐχόντων. ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις 2  
καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἡξίουν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα  
τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι.  
καὶ τὸ μὲν προταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ 3  
οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ'  
αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρῆσεται· ὃ τι δὲ ἦδη τε ἡδὺ  
καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο  
καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. θεῶν δὲ φόβος 4  
ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπείργε, τὸ μὲν κρί-  
νοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας  
ὁρᾶν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων  
οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιοῦς  
ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν

53, 1. ἐπὶ πλέον τῇ πόλει ἀνομίας M.—{τῆς} ἐπὶ πλέον ἄ.  
Badham, Herw.—τὰ ἐκείνων M.

3. προταλαιπωρεῖν C; rest προσταλαιπωρεῖν. —[τὸ] ἐς αὐτὸ  
Herw.; τό τ' ἐς αὐτὸ Sta.: Ste. proposes τὸ ἐφ' αὐτὸ κερδαλέον,  
τοῦτο πανταχόθεν καὶ καλὸν κ.τ.λ. Observe that ἡδη corresponds  
to πανταχόθεν, ἡδὺ to καλόν, ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον to χρήσιμον. See  
note, and cf. *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 270.—ἡδη τε ἡδὺ M.



ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.

54. Τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπε-

The disaster reminded the old folk of a prophecy, the wording of which was now disputed. The historian becomes cynical.

σόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τε ἔνδον θνησκόντων καὶ γῆς ἔξω θρουμένης.

ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ οἶα εἰκὸς ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, φάσκοντες οἱ

πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ἄδεσθαι.

ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.

3 ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμὸν, ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρῇσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δέ γε οἶμαί ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμὸν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως 4 ἄσσονται. μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτε ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἀνεῖλε κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη 5 ξυλλήψεσθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ γιγνόμενα ἥκαζον ὁμοῖα εἶναι· ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς. καὶ

54, 1. τὲ ἔνδον M.

2. ἄδεσθαι M, and in 3 ἄσσονται.

4. [ἔφη] Cobet, Herw., Sta.: cf. I. 118, 3. From χρηστηρίου to the same word in § 5 is omitted in the text of M and added in the margin.

5. εἴκαζον ABEFGM, and ἥκαζον in C is corr. by later hand to εἴκαζον: ἥκασα Ἀττικοί, εἴκασα Ἑλληνες. Moeris.—ὃ τι καὶ ἄξιον Sta.

ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὃ τι ἄξιον  
καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν The disease scarcely touched the Peloponnesians.  
μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ 6  
κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα.

55. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ ἔτεμον τὸ  
πεδῖον, παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν The Peloponnesians ravage the S.E. coast of Attica.  
καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρείου [οὗ τὰ  
ἀργύρεια μέταλλά ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις].

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔτεμον ταύτην ἥ πρὸς Πελοπόν-  
νησον ὁρᾷ, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβοιάν τε καὶ  
Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην. Περικλῆς δὲ στρατηγὸς  
ὢν καὶ τότε περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι [τοὺς  
Ἀθηναίους] τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν  
τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐσβολῇ· 56. ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν

ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐς τὴν παρα-  
λίαν [γῆν] ἐλθεῖν, ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπί-  
πλουν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρεσκευά-  
ζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἀνήγετο.  
ἦγε δ' ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίτας Ἀθηναίων The Athenians, as in the first year (see c. 23), sent out 100 ships to make descents on the coasts of Peloponnesians. Pericles himself was in command.

2

τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους ἐν ναυσὶν  
ἱππαγωγοῖς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν  
ποιηθείσαις· ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Χῖοι καὶ  
Λέσβιοι πεντήκοντα ναυσὶν. ὅτε δὲ ἀνήγετο ἡ 3

55, 1. ἐς τὴν παράλογον MT.—[γῆν] Herw.—Λαυρείου] On the orthography, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 37, Meisterhans, p. 40.—[τοὺς Ἀθηναίους] Cobet.—μὴ is omitted before ἐπεξιέναι in MT.—[οὗ ... Ἀθηναίοις] I bracket.

56, 1. πρὶν ... ἐλθεῖν bracketed by Cobet, Herw.—τὴν παρά-  
λιαν [γῆν] Cobet.

στρατιὰ αὕτη Ἀθηναίων, Πελοποννησίους κατέ-  
 4 λιπον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντας ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ. ἀφι-  
 κόμενοι δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἔτεμον  
 τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσ-  
 βαλόντες ἐς ἐλπίδα μὲν ἦλθον τοῦ ἐλεῖν, οὐ  
 5 μέντοι προεχώρησέ γε. ἀναγαγόμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἐπιδάουρου ἔτεμον τὴν τε Τροιζηνίδα γῆν καὶ  
 τὴν Ἀλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ἑρμιονίδα· ἔστι δὲ πάντα  
 6 ταῦτα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ἄραντες  
 δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, τῆς Λακωνικῆς  
 πόλιςμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον  
 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πόλιςμα εἶλον καὶ ἐπόρθησαν. ταῦτα  
 δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν. τοὺς δὲ  
 Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ  
 ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀνακεχωρηκότας.

57. Ὅσον δὲ χρόνον οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἦσαν  
 ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, ἡ  
 νόσος ἔν τε τῇ στρατιᾷ τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους ἔφθειρε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε  
 καὶ ἐλέχθη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους δείσαντας τὸ  
 νόσημα, ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν αὐτομόλων ὅτι ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει εἷη καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἡσθάνοντο,  
 2 θᾶσσον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθεῖν. τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ  
 ταύτῃ πλειῆστον τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 πᾶσαν ἔτεμον· ἡμέρας γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα μά-  
 λιστα ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγένοντο.

3. [Ἀθηναίων] Cobet.

6. ἐποίκου M.—οὐκ ἔτι M.

58. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἄγωνι ὁ Νικίου καὶ Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου ξυστράτηγοι ὄντες Περικλέους, λαβόντες τὴν στρατιὰν ἥπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο ἐστράτευσαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θορύκης καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην, ἀφικόμενοι δὲ μηχανὰς τε τῇ Ποτείδαίᾳ προσέφερον καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπειρῶντο ἐλεῖν. προυχῶρει δὲ αὐτοῖς 2 οὔτε ἡ αἵρεσις τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τᾶλλα τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀξίως ἐπινεμομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ ἐπίεσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, φθείρουσα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας νοσῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς ξὺν Ἄγωνι στρατιᾶς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας. Φορμίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι οὐκέτι ἦσαν περὶ Χαλκιδέας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄγωνι ταῖς 3 ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπὸ τετρακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν χιλίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ νόσῳ ἀπολέσας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἡμέραις· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι στρατιῶται κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν Ποτείδαιαν.

When the Athenian fleet had returned, the troops which Pericles had taken were sent to Potidaea, but they carried the plague with them, and returned after losing many men.

59. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς ἢ τε γῇ αὐτῶν ἐτέ-

58, 1. ἄγωνι M, and in § 3.—Perhaps ἥπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο should be bracketed.

2. ἐπινεμομένη, my correction of ἐπιγενομένη. The army of Pericles had already caught the infection some time before: see c. 57, 1. Cf. 54, 5. Ste. proposes ἐπισπομένη, Naber ἐπιτευνομένη.—σὺν ἄγωνι M. and presently ἑξακόσιοι and οὐκ ἔτι.

τμητο τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο ἅμα καὶ

- 2 The Athenians in their sufferings raised an outcry against Pericles, and in vain tried to obtain peace from Sparta. Pericles called an assembly, and tried to soothe and encourage the people.
- ὁ πόλεμος, ἡλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τὸν μὲν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτία εἶχον ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκείνον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμητο ξυγχορεῖν· καὶ πρέσβεις τινὰς πέμψαντες ὡς αὐτοὺς ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο. παν-

ταχόθεν τε τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι καθεστῶτες ἐνέκειντο

- 3 τῷ Περικλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας ἄπερ αὐτὸς ἥλπιξε, ξύλλογον ποιήσας (ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει) ἐβούλετο θαρσύναι τε καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης πρὸς τὸ ἡπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον καταστῆσαι. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.

#### DEFENCE OF PERICLES.

##### I. Προοίμιον.

(1) Reasons for the calling of the Assembly (§ 1).

(2) Reasons why individuals should forget their own

- 2 trouble for the good of the State (§§ 2-4).

60. "Καὶ προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς

ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἐς ἐμὲ γεγένηται (αἰσθά-

νομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας) καὶ ἐκκλησίαν

τούτου ἔνεκα ξυνήγαγον ὅπως ὑπο-

μνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς

ἢ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε ἢ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς

εἴκετε. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω

ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς

ιδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν,

- 3 ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερό-

59, 2. ἐναιτίαι M.—σφᾶς M.—πρεσβελας M.—τὲ M.

3. παρελθὼν δὲ is corrected in M into δη in a later hand.

60, 1. §§ 1-3 are quoted by Dion. Hal. *de Thuc. Jud.* c. 44.

—ἔς με M.—μέμψομαι Herw., with F only.

2. ἀθρόαν MSS. See c. 31, 2.



μενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς  
πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἦσπον ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ  
ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῶ μάλλον διασφύζεται. ὅποτε 4  
οὖν πόλις μὲν τὰς ἰδίας ξυμφορὰς οἷα τε φέρειν,  
εἰς δὲ ἕκαστος τὰς ἐκείνης ἀδύνατος, πῶς οὐ χρή  
πάντας ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ, καὶ μὴ ὁ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε  
ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπε-  
πληγμένοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας  
ἀφίεσθε, καὶ ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα  
πολεμεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἱ ξυνέγνωτε  
δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε. καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ  
ἀνδρὶ ὀργίξεσθε ὃς οὐδενὸς οἶομαι ἦσ-  
πων εἶναι γινῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ  
ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολις τε καὶ  
χρημάτων κρείστων. ὃ τε γὰρ γνούς  
καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ  
μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη· ὃ τ' ἔχων ἀμφότερα,  
τῇ δὲ πόλει δύσνους, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως  
τι οἰκείως φράξοι προσόντος δὲ καὶ  
τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ νικώμενος, τὰ ξύμ-  
παντα τούτου ἐνὸς ἂν ἀπόδοιτο. ὥστ'  
εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μάλλον  
ἐτέρων προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπεί-

## II. Πίστις—

consisting of  
A. Self-justifica-  
tion (c. 60 §4—  
61 §3).

B. Encourage-  
ment to perse-  
vere (c. 61 §4—  
63 §3). 5

A. 1. *He repu-  
diates the blame  
cast on him (c. 60).*

(a) Your pri-  
vate troubles  
cause your in-  
dignation. 6

(b) Putting con-  
fidence in me,  
you decided to  
go to war.

(c) I deserve  
that confidence  
still, for

a. I can dis-  
cern the inter-  
ests of the state.

β. I can inter-  
pret them to  
you. 7

γ. I am pa-  
triotic.

## 3. ἐνευτυχούσῃ M.

4. μὴ ὁ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε· ταῖς κατ' οἶκον] Cobet reads ταῖς {γὰρ}  
κατ' οἶκον, comparing c. 71. Döderlein places comma at δρᾶτε,  
and for ἀφίεσθε reads ἀφίεσθαι. §§ 5 and 6 are quoted by Dion.  
Hal. de Thuc. Jud. c. 45.

6. ἐν ἴσῳ εἰ καὶ M.—ὁμοίως τι M.—νικώμενος, .. ἀπόδοιτο] MSS.  
νικωμένου, ... πωλοῖτο, corrected by Cobet. Dobree first read  
νικώμενος.—νῦν γε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν M.



δ. I am honest.

2. *He blames them for giving way under a sudden calamity (c. 61).*

B. 1. Think of the glory of Athens, and do nothing to diminish it (c. 61 § 4).

2. Think of your maritime greatness. It is no mere headship of a limited confederation, but a boundless supremacy that you possess.

3. Think of the example and prowess of your ancestors, and follow in their steps (c. 62 §§ 3-5).

4. Think of your Empire. Loss of that means slavery. The friends of peace are the enemies of the existence of Athens: be not misled by them. (c. 63).

σθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὦν τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην. 61. καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται τᾶλλα εὐτυχούσι, πολλὴ ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῇ εἴξαντας εὐθύς τοῖς πέλας ὑπακούσαι ἢ κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη ὑμῖν πεισθῆναι μὲν ἀκεραίοις, μεταμέλειν δὲ κακουμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης μὴ ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι (διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκάστω, τῆς δὲ ὠφελίας ἄπεςτιν ἔτι ἡ δῆλωσις ἅπασι), καὶ μεταβολῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ταύτης ἐξ ὀλίγου, ἐμπεσούσης ταπεινῇ ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν [ἂ ἐγνώτε].

61, 1. καὶ γὰρ ... κακουμένοις is quoted by Dion. Hal. *de Thuc. Jud.* c. 47, with several blunders.—τ' ἄλλα M, as in 58, 2.

2. [ἂ ἐγνώτε] I bracket these words. ἂ should be οἷς, as Herw. reads; but, even so, they must be rejected on the score of interpretation. P. has done with their change of purpose, and now speaks of their want of endurance. Hence, the former was alluded to in ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, the latter in ταῖς συμφοραῖς εἰκετε. The present sense of pain caused the change of feeling (διότι ... ἅπασι), the suddenness of the disaster the lack of endurance. With ἐγκαρτερεῖν,—which does not need its object any more than ἐξίσταμαι and μεταβάλλετε above,

δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδό- 3  
 κητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖνον· ὁ  
 ὑμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 νόσον γεγένηται. ὅμως δὲ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦν- 4  
 τας καὶ ἐν ἡθεσιν ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ τεθραμμένους  
 χρεῶν καὶ ξυμφορὰς τὰς μεγίστας ἐθέλειν ὑφί-  
 στασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν μὴ ἀφανίζειν (ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ  
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι δικαιοῦσι τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης  
 αἰτιᾶσθαι ὅστις μαλακία ἐλλείπει καὶ τῆς μὴ  
 προσηκούσης μισεῖν τὸν θρασύτητι ὀρεγόμενον),  
 ἀπαλγῆσαντας δὲ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας  
 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. 62. τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν  
 πόλεμον, μὴ γένηταί τε πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον  
 περιγενώμεθα, ἀρκεῖτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐν  
 οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ ἀπέδειξα οὐκ ὀρθῶς  
 αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον, δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅ μοι  
 δοκεῖτε οὗτ' αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὑπάρχον  
 ὑμῖν μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὗτ' ἐγὼ ἐν  
 τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις, οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην κομπω-  
 δεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν, εἰ μὴ κατα-  
 πεπληγμένους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐώρων. οἴεσθε 2  
 μὲν γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων μόνον ἄρχειν, ἐγὼ δὲ  
 ἀποφαίνω δύο μερῶν τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν φανερῶν, γῆς

—supply αὐτῇ, i.e. τῇ μεταβολῇ, so that ἐγκατερεῖν is 'endure it with firmness.' Cf. Eur. *Alcest.* 1071. See L. and S.

3. δουλοῖ γὰρ ... ὀρεγόμενον quoted by Dion. Hal. *de Thuc. Jud.* c. 47.

4. ξυμφορῶν ταῖς μεγίσταις M, corrected by late hand to ξυμφορὰς τὰς μεγίστας, which Herw. rightly accepts. Dion. Hal. gives τὰς ξυμφορὰς.

καὶ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ἑτέρου ὑμᾶς παντὸς κυριωτά-  
 τους ὄντας, ἐφ' ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ  
 πλεόν βουλευθῆτε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῇ ὑπαρ-  
 χούσῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πλεόντας ὑμᾶς  
 οὔτε βασιλεὺς κωλύσει οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος  
 3 τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν  
 οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρεῖαν, ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε  
 ἐστερηῆσθαι, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται· οὐδ' εἰκὸς  
 χαλεπῶς φέρειν [αὐτῶν] μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ, κηπίον καὶ  
 ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντας,  
 ὀλιγωρῆσαι, καὶ γινῶναι ἐλευθερίαν μέν, ἣν ἀντι-  
 λαμβανόμενοι αὐτῆς διασώσωμεν, ῥαδίως ταῦτα  
 ἀναληψομένην, ἄλλων δ' ὑπακούσασι καὶ τὰ προ-  
 κекτημένα φιλεῖν ἐλασσοῦσθαι, τῶν τε πατέρων  
 μὴ χείρους κατ' ἀμφοτέρα φανῆναι, οἳ μετὰ  
 πόνων καὶ οὐ παρ' ἄλλων δεξάμενοι κατέσχον τε  
 καὶ προσέτι διασώσαντες παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν αὐτά  
 (αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυ-  
 χῆσαι), ἰέναι δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμόσε μὴ φρονήματι  
 4 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι. αὔχημα μὲν γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῷ τινι ἐγγί-  
 γνεται, καταφρόνησις δὲ ὅς ἂν καὶ γνώμῃ πιστεύῃ  
 5 τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν, ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει. καὶ τὴν  
 τόλμαν ἢ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν

62, 3. τὴν οἰκιῶν for τὴν τῶν οἰ. M.—[αὐτῶν] Dobree and Herw. A late hand has corrected M into οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτὸ δεῖ κ.τ.λ.—προσκεκμημένα M, the σ partly obliterated.—ἰέναι δὲ ... ἡ πρόνοια is quoted by Dion. Hal. *de Thuc. Jud.* c. 46.—ὁμόσε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι Dion.

παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἦσσαν πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἢ ἰσχύς, γνώμη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιότερα ἢ πρόνοια. 63. τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ᾧ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν· μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἐνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθησθε. ἥς οὐδ' <sup>2</sup> ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνην ἀνδραγαθίζεται· ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἡδὴ ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δ' ἐπικίνδυνον. τάχιστ' <sup>3</sup> ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐτέρους τε πείσαντες

5. ἐλπίδι τε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης] MSS. and Dion. Hal. (who remarks that the passage τῶν Ἡρακλειτείων σκοτεινῶν ἀσαφεστέραν ἔχει τὴν δῆλωσιν) have ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης after τὴν τόλμαν. The transposition, with which Ste. agrees, is due to Döderlein, who remarks *et sensui simul et concinnitati consulitur*.

63, §§ 1 and 2 are quoted by Dion. Hal. *de Thuc. Jud.* c. 47.—1. ᾧ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας A and Dion.: ᾧ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντες or ᾧ περ ἅπαντες the rest.—μὴ δὲ M, twice.—ἀπήχθησθε Cobet and Herw. for MSS. ἀπήχθεσθε. Cf. i. 75 and 76.

2. [ὡς] τυραννίδα Dobree.—ἄδικον δοκεῖ] M omits δοκεῖ.—δ' ἐπικίνδυνον M corrected, from δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον.

3. τὲ πείσαντες M.—[αὐτόνομοι] I bracket. The contrast between τυραννίς and αὐτονομία, a frequent one, led a commentator to the wrong conclusion that it is employed here, and that ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν = αὐτόνομοι. The true antithesis is between Athenian τυραννίς and ἀσφαλὴς δουλεία. To Athens continuation of empire is freedom, loss of empire is slavery: no middle course is possible. The suggestion that inactivity,

ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν [αὐτόνομοι] οἰκήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἄπραγμον οὐ σφύζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν.

64. Ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν

III. Ἐπιλογος. Gathering up all the previous points, he urges his hearers to persevere. Finally he warns them against having dealings with Sparta.

παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε, ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνδιέγνωτε πολεμεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἄπερ εἰκὸς ἦν μὴ ἐθελησάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ἐπιγεγέννηταί τε πέρα ὧν προσεδεχόμεθα ἡ νόσος ἥδε, πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγεννημένον. καὶ δι' αὐτὴν οἶδ' ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι, οὐ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὅταν παρὰ  
 2 λόγον [τι] εὖ πράξητε ἐμοὶ ἀναθήσετε· φέρειν τε χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἦν νῦν τε μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ.  
 3 γινώτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μὴ εἴκειν, πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόρους ἀνηλωκέναι πολέμῳ

based on non-interference, leads to αὐτονομία is the very one which would here be avoided. *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 206.

64, 1. περα (sic) M.—παρὰ λόγον [τι] εὖ πράξητε Cobet. See note.

2. φέρειν δὲ χρὴ Cl.—τὲ M, as often.—ἐν ἔθει τῇ πόλει M.—κωλυθῇ] For this Dobree, followed by Herw., reads καταλυθῇ (κτλυνθῇ): Bauer κολουθῇ: M. Schmidt ἀκυρωθῇ.—πολεμίοις μεγίστοις M.—μέμψοιτ' M.

3. ἀναλωκέναι M.



καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἥς ἐς αἰδίδιον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἦν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδωμέν ποτε (πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι), μνήμη καταλελείψεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἕλληνες πλείστων δὴ ἤρξαμεν, καὶ πολέμοις μεγίστοις ἀντέσχομεν πρὸς τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἐκάστους, πόλιν τε τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ὠκῆσαμεν. καίτοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγ- 4 μων μέμψαιτ' ἂν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν τι βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ κέκτηται, φθονήσει. τὸ δὲ μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπηροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι 5 πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἐτέρων ἡξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βουλεύεται. μῖσος γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἀντέχει, ἡ δὲ παραντίκα [τε] λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγνόντες ἔς 6 τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχροὺς τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ἀμφοτέρα κτήσασθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μήτε ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε μήτε ἔνδηλοι ἔστε τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς οἵτινες πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμη μὲν ἡκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ μάλισται ἀντέχουσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν κράτιστοί εἰσιν.”

65. Τοιαῦτα ὁ Περικλῆς λέγων ἐπειράτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν τὴν γνώμην.

5. [τε] Sta., after Rauchenstein.

6. Badham places προγνόντες after αἰσχροὺς, and for κτήσασθε, καὶ reads κτήσασθαι, [καί].—ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι (sic) M.

65, 1. ἐς αὐτὸν CG, followed by Kr.



- 2 οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπαίθοντο καὶ  
In spite of his speech, Pericles was fined, but soon after regained his influence. οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι  
 ἔπεμπον ἔς τε τὸν πόλεμον μᾶλλον  
 ὥρμητο, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐλυ-  
 πούντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι ἀπ' ἐλασ-  
 σόνων ὀρμώμενος ἐστέρητο καὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ  
 δυνατοὶ καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν {ἐν} οἰκο-  
 δομίαις τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς ἀπολω-  
 λεκότες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης  
 3 ἔχοντες. οὐ μέντοι πρότερόν γε οἱ ξύμπαντες  
 ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐξημίωσαν  
 4 χρήμασιν. ὕστερον δ' αὖθις οὐ πολλῶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ  
 ὁμιλος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ  
 πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν, ὧν μὲν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα  
 ἕκαστος ἤλγει, ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες, ὧν δὲ ἡ  
 ξύμπασα πόλις προσεδείτο, πλείστου ἄξιον νομί-  
 5 ζοντες εἶναι. ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον  
He died Oct. 429. His character, and defence of his policy. Had Athens followed his advice after his death it would have been well for her. προὔστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ,  
 μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διε-  
 φύλαξεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐκείνου  
 μεγίστη, ἐπεὶ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη,  
 ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοῦς τὴν δύναμιν.  
 6 ἐπεβίω δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ μηνᾶς ἑξ· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέ-  
 θανεν, ἐπὶ πλεόν ἔτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ

2. {ἐν} inserted by Madvig, whom Sta. follows.

3. ἐν ὀργῇ] Between these words τῇ is erased in M.

4. ὅπερ φιλεῖ] Herw. proposes ὥσπερ or οἷονπερ, because ὅπερ ought to mean στρατηγὸν ἐλέσθαι τὸν Περικλέα. Obviously it does mean στρατηγὸν ἐλέσθαι ὃν ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον.—ἀ μὲν for ὧν μὲν Herw.: Kr. suggests πέρι.—ξύμπασα ἢ M.

ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε 7  
 καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπι-  
 κτωμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κιν-  
 δυνεύοντας ἔφη περιέσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε  
 πάντα ἐς τὸναντίον ἔπραξαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ  
 πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτι-  
 μίας καὶ ἴδια κέρδη κακῶς ἔς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν  
 τοῖς ἰδιώταις τιμὴ καὶ ὠφελία μᾶλλον ἦν, σφα-  
 λέντα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐς τὸν πόλεμον βλάβη καθί-  
 στατο. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνατὸς ὦν 8  
 τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ, χρημάτων τε δια-  
 φανῶς ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος, κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος  
 ἐλευθέρως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ  
 αὐτὸς ἤγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προση-  
 κόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ'  
 ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν τι ἀντειπεῖν.  
 ὁπότε γοῦν αἰσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν 9  
 ὕβρει θαρσύνοντας, λέγων κατέπλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ δεδιότας αὐτὸν ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστη  
 πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν. ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν  
 δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς  
 ἀρχή· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἴσοι αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς 10  
 ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρώτου ἕκασ-  
 τος γίγνεσθαι ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ  
 καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδοῦναι. ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε 11  
 πολλὰ ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ  
 ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦ-

τον γνώμης ἀμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν, ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν  
 12 πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν. σφαλόντες δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλη τε παρασκευῇ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῷ πλείονι μορίῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες ὅμως δέκα μὲν ἔτη ἀντείχον τοῖς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι πολεμίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀφεστηκόσι, Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρεῖχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας δια-  
 13 φοράς [περιπεσόντες] ἐσφάλησαν. τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσε τότε ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προ-

11. ἐπῆσαν M.—*ιδίας διαφορὰς* MT, error introduced through § 12 end.—For οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες, Badham and Herw. read *ὅτι ἐκπέμψαντες*, but the text is sound.

12. [μορίῳ] Herw.—*δέκα μὲν ἔτη* Haacke, followed by Herw., Cl., Sta., Müller, Cr. for MSS. *τρία μὲν ἔτη*, which is impossible. But E. Müller, Shil. and Ste. prefer *ὀκτώ*, which Shil. thinks followed *ἔτη*, i.e. *ἔτη ἡ*, while *τριαμεν* he thinks represents a lost participle, as *τριβόμενοι* or *τρυχόμενοι*.—*ἀφεστηκόσιν* M.—[*περιπεσόντες*] Pp. and Shil. supply *αὐταῖς*. Herw. brackets *ἐν*. Sta. reads *ἐν σφίσι καὶ* (=also) *ταῖς ἰδίαις διαφοραῖς*. But probably the participle is a gloss on *κατὰ τὰς ἰ. διαφορὰς*. Cl. proposed to insert *ξυμφοραῖς* after *διαφορὰς*, and Ste. and Cr. take *ἐν σφίσι περιπεσόντες* together, comparing IV. 25, 9, *παρεκλενόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*.

έγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ραδίως περιγενέσθαι τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ.

66. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑκα- Fruitless expedition of the Lacedaemonians against Zacynthus. τὸν ἐς Ζάκυνθον τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται ἀντιπέρας Ἑλιδος· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄποικοι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυνεμάχουν. ἐπέπλεον δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων χίλιοι ὀπλίται καὶ Κνήμος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐδῆρσαν τὰ πολλά. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ ξυνεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

67. Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος\* Ἀριστεὺς Κορίνθιος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Ἀνήριστος καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Πρατόδαμος καὶ Τεγεάτης Τιμαγόρας καὶ Ἀργεῖος ἰδίᾳ Πόλλις πορευόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς βασιλέα, εἴ πως πείσειαν αὐτὸν χρήματά τε παρέχειν καὶ The Lacedaemonians send ambassadors to solicit the aid of the Great King. They fall into the hands of the Athenians during their journey through Thrace and are put to death. ξυμπολεμεῖν, ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σιτάλκην πρῶτον τὸν Τήρεω ἐς Θράκην, βουλόμενοι πείσαι τε αὐτόν, εἰ δύναιτο, μεταστάντα τῆς Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίας στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτεΐδαιαν, οὗ ἦν στρατεύμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιορκοῦν, καὶ [ἦπερ

67, 1. τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος M.—ἐπόικου M.—πρατόδαμος MT. The others Πρατόδημος or Στρατόδημος. πρατόδαμος 'Laconicam certe dialectum sapit,' Shil.—ἰδιοπολλάκις MT.—ποτιδαιαν M.—ὅπερ ὠρμηντο Badham, followed by Herw.: δι' ἐκεῖνον Badham. I bracket ἦπερ ὠρμηντο, *eadem via qua instituerant*. It is useless after πορευόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν above. Φαρνάκην τοῦ Φαρν., M, a common kind of blunder.

ὤρμηντο] δι' ἐκείνου πορευθῆναι πέραν τοῦ Ἑλ-  
 λησπόντου ὡς Φαρνάκην τὸν Φαρναβάξου, ὃς  
 2 αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ὡς βασιλέα ἀναπέμψειν. παρα-  
 τυχόντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις Λεάρχος Καλ-  
 λιμάχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδης Φιλήμονος παρὰ τῷ Σι-  
 τάλκῃ πείθουσι τὸν Σάδοκον [τὸν γεγενημένον  
 Ἀθηναῖον Σιτάλκου υἱόν] τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρίσαι  
 σφίσιν, ὅπως μὴ διαβάντες ὡς βασιλέα τὴν ἐκείνου  
 3 πόλιν τὸ μέρος βλάβωσιν. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς πορευο-  
 μένους αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ  
 ἔμελλον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιώσιν πρὶν ἐσ-  
 βαίνειν ξυλλαμβάνει, ἄλλους ξυμπέμψας μετὰ  
 τοῦ Λεάρχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδου, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνοις  
 παραδοῦναι· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἐκόμισαν ἐς τὰς  
 4 Ἀθήνας. ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν δείσαντες οἱ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι τὸν Ἀριστέα μὴ αὖθις σφᾶς ἔτι πλείω κα-  
 κουργῇ διαφυγών, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς  
 Ποτειδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης πάντ' ἐφαίνετο  
 πράξας, ἀκρίτους καὶ βουλομένους ἔστιν ἃ εἰπεῖν  
 αὐθημερόν ἀπέκτειναν πάντας καὶ ἐς φάραγγας  
 ἐσέβαλον, δικαιοῦντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι οἷσπερ  
 καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπῆρξαν, τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὓς

2. ἀμεινιάδης ὁ φιλήμονος M.—The bracket is due to Cobet and Herw., and the gloss to c. 29.

4. σφᾶς M.—ἐπὶ πλείω Naber.—After τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης MT, catching sight of τῆς Θράκης above, again insert ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ ... πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν, and then καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης, and so continues as though nothing had happened.—πάντα ἐφαίνετο M.—Cobet says "[καὶ ἐς φάραγγας ἐσβαλόντες]. Non erant, ut opinor, in mari φάραγες." Possibly the prisoners were taken to land. Cf. III. 32, 2.—καταρχας (sic) M.—μὴ δὲ M.



ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐν ὀλκάσι περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλέοντας ἀποκτείναντες καὶ εἰς φάραγγας ἐσβαλόντες. πάντας γὰρ δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσους λάβοιεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὥς πολεμίους διέφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ξυμπολεμοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων.

68. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους [τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος] καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται αὐτοὶ The Ambraciots attack Argos Amphilocheum. The historian narrates the origin and earlier history of Argos. τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἀναστήσαντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀμφιλοχίαν. ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτοῖς ἤρξατο πρῶτον γενέσθαι. Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν 2 ἄλλην ἔκτισε μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ οἴκαδε ἀναχωρήσας καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἀργεὶ καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρειος ἐν τῷ Ἀμπρακικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας. καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας 4 καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας. ὑπὸ ξυμ- 5 φορῶν δὲ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον πιεζόμενοι Ἀμπρακιῶτας ὁμόρους ὄντας τῇ Ἀμφιλοχικῇ ξυνοίκους ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ ἡλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί

68, 1. [τοῦ θ. τελευτῶντος] Herw., as a repetition from preceding chap.—ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος MT.

5. ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν τοὺς ὁμόρους MT, omitting five words.—ἡλληνίσθησαν MSS.



6 εἰσιν. ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους οἱ Ἀμ-  
πρακιῶται χρόνῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἴσχουσι τὴν πόλιν.  
7 οἱ δ' Ἀμφίλοχοι γενομένου τούτου διδόασιν  
ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαντες ἀμ-  
φότεροι Ἀθηναίους, (οἱ {δὲ} αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνά τε  
στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν καὶ ναῦς τριάκοντα), ἀφι-  
κομένου [δὲ] τοῦ Φορμίωνος, αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος  
Ἄργος καὶ τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἡνδραπόδισαν,  
κοινῇ τε ᾤκισαν αὐτὸ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες.

8 Alliance between μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο  
Argos, Acar-  
nania, and πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσιν.  
9 Athens. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν  
ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ σφῶν  
αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐποιήσαντο, ὕστερον δὲ ἐν τῷ  
πολέμῳ τήνδε τὴν στρατείαν ποιοῦνται αὐτῶν τε  
καὶ Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων  
βαρβάρων· ἐλθόντες τε πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος τῆς  
μὲν χώρας ἐκράτουν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὥς οὐκ ἐδύ-  
ναντο ἐλεῖν προσβαλόντες, ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου  
καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ ἔθνη. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ  
θέρει ἐγένετο.

69. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος\* Ἀθηναῖοι

7. προσπαρακαλέσαντες ... , οἱ αὐτοῖς ... , ἀφικομένου δὲ MSS.:  
προσπαρεκάλεσάν τε ... ἀφικομένου δὲ Cl.: προσπαρακαλέσαντες ...  
ἀφικομένου [δὲ] Kr., Herw.: προσπαρακαλέσαντες ... ἀφικομένου  
δὲ Sta., Bh., Cr. The last two, with οἱ αὐτοῖς φ. ἔπεμψαν and  
ἀφικομένου τοῦ φ. in one sentence, are awkward: so I have  
transferred δὲ to οἱ into which I alter οἱ.

In M, the spelling of the following is worth notice: ἀμπρα-  
κιῶται ἀμβρακιῶι, ἀμβρακιωτῶν, ἀμβρακιῶται (twice), ἀμβρα-  
κιώτας.

ναῦς ἔστειλαν εἴκοσι μὲν περὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ  
 Φορμίωνα στρατηγόν, ὃς ὀρμώμενος PHORMIO sta-  
tioned at Nau-  
pactus with 20  
ships.  
 ἐκ Ναυπάκτου φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκ-  
 πλεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τοῦ Κρισαίου  
 κόλπου μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἑξ ἐπὶ  
 Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Μελήσανδρον Failure of a  
small expedition  
sent to protect  
Athenian trade  
with the East.  
 στρατηγόν, ὅπως ταῦτά τε ἀργυρο-  
 λογῶσι καὶ τὸ ληστικὸν τῶν Πελο-  
 ποννησίων μὴ ἐῷσιν αὐτόθεν ὀρμώμενον βλάπτειν  
 τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος καὶ  
 Φοινίκης καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν ἡπείρου. ἀναβὰς δὲ  
 στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν <sup>2</sup>  
 ξυμμάχων ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν ὁ Μελήσανδρος ἀπο-  
 θνήσκει καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τι διέφθειρε  
 νικηθεὶς μάχῃ.

70. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Ποτειδαῖαι,  
 ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο πολιορκούμενοι Potidaea sur-  
renders through  
famine. The in-  
habitants are  
allowed to de-  
part.  
 ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' αἷ τε ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 ἐσβολαὶ Πελοποννησίων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον  
 ἀπανίστασαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὃ τε  
 σίτος ἐπελελοίπει, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπεγε-  
 γένητο αὐτόθι ἤδη βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας καί  
 τινες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγέγευντο, οὕτω δὲ λόγους  
 προσφέρουσι περὶ ξυμβάσεως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς

69, 1. μηδὲν μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν Cobet, comparing I. 93, III. 51.—  
 ὀλκαδῶν M.

70, 1. Ποτειδαῖαι] MSS. Ποτιδαῖαι. See Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 38, Meisterhans, p. 28.—ἡδύναντο M.—ἐγέγευντο] A less exciting, but more probable reading is Naber's ἐγεύοντο.—ἐστιωδώρῃ M.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἐπὶ σφίσι τεταγμένοις, Ξενο-  
 φωντί τε τῷ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Ἑστιοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀρι-  
 2 στοκλείδου καὶ Φανομάχῳ τῷ Καλλιμάχου. οἱ  
 δὲ προσεδέξαντο, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν  
 τάλαιπωρίαν ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ, ἀνηλωκυίας τε  
 ἤδη τῆς πόλεως δισχίλια τάλαντα ἐς τὴν πολιορ-  
 3 κίαν. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὖν ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς  
 καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν  
 ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δυοῖν, καὶ ἀργύριόν τι  
 4 ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφόδιον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι  
 ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ {κατώκησαν} ἕκασ-  
 τος ἢ ἐδύνατο· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς τε στρατηγούς  
 ἐπητιάσαντο ὅτι ἄνευ αὐτῶν ξυνέβησαν (ἐνόμιζον  
 γὰρ ἂν κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἐβούλοντο), καὶ  
 ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἐαυτῶν ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ποτεί-  
 5 δαιαν καὶ κατώκισαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι  
 ἐγένετο· καὶ [τὸ] δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ  
 πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

71. \* Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοπον-  
 νήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐκ

2. *eis* πολιορκίαν M.

3. [καὶ γυναῖκας] Herw.--ἱματίῳ M.

4. {κατώκησαν}, inserted by Sta., *Rhein. Mus.* 39, p. 307, comparing Diod. xii. 46, 7. This is accepted by Herw. and Cr.: Sta. also inserts ἐς χιλίους (i.e. ἐς ,a) after ἐποίκους, from Diod.

5. [τὸ] bracketed by Kr., Sta., Herw., suspected by Pp. Thuc. never inserts the article in this phrase. Rutherford, *Thuc.* iv. 58, brackets from καὶ τὸ δ. to ξυνέγραψεν, on the ground that 'there was once no break' between ἐγένετο and c. 71.

ἐσέβαλον, ἐστράτευσαν δ' ἐπὶ Πλάταιαν· ἡγεῖτο  
δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαι-  
μονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ καθίσας τὸν

THIRD YEAR OF  
THE WAR.

στρατὸν ἔμελλε δηῶσειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ  
δὲ Πλαταιῆς εὐθύς πρέσβεις πέμ-  
ψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγον τοιαύδε·

The Peloponne-  
sians under  
Archidamus  
march against  
Plataea.

“Ἀρχίδαμε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ δί-  
καια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ἄξια οὔτε ὑμῶν οὔτε  
πατέρων ὧν ἐστε ἐς γῆν τὴν Πλα-  
ταιῶν στρατεύοντες. Πανσανίας γὰρ  
ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐλευ-

1. The Plataeans  
send a protest to 2  
Archidamus.  
Appealing to the  
rights granted  
them by Pau-  
sanias, they call  
on him to retire  
(§§ 2-4).

θερώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων μετὰ  
Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐθελησάντων ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κίν-  
δυνον τῆς μάχης ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, θύσας ἐν  
τῇ Πλαταιῶν ἀγορᾷ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ [ιερὰ] καὶ  
ξυγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀπεδίδου  
Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας  
αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεῦσαί τε μηδένα ποτὲ  
ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ· εἰ δὲ μή,  
ἀμύνειν τοὺς παρόντας ξυμμάχους κατὰ δύναμιν.  
τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς<sup>3</sup>  
ἕνεκα καὶ προθυμίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς κινδύνοις  
γενομένης, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰναντία δρᾶτε μετὰ γὰρ  
Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἡμε-  
τέρα ἤκετε. μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τοῖς τε ὀρκίους<sup>4</sup>

21, 1. δὲ ἐπὶ M.—Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς] The next eight words are omitted in MT.—πλαταιεῖς M.

3. ποιεῖται<sup>ε</sup> M.—ὁ Κλεομβρότου [Λακεδαιμόνιος] Cobet, but the addition emphasizes the protest.—[ιερὰ] Cobet.

τότε γενομένους ποιούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρώους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους λέγομεν ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, ἔαν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτονόμους καθάπερ Πανσανίας ἐδικαίωσεν.” 72. τοσαῦτα

2. *Answer of Archidamus.* In accordance with the agreement of Pausanias, the Plataeans must either join the Lacedaemonians or remain neutral (§ 1).

εἰπόντων Πλαταιῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· “Δίκαια λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ἣν ποιῆτε ὁμοῖα τοῖς λόγοις. καθάπερ γὰρ Πανσανίας ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν, αὐτοὶ τε αὐτονομεῖσθε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνελευθεροῦτε, ὅσοι με-

τασχόντες τῶν τότε κινδύνων ὑμῖν τε ξυνώμοσαν καὶ εἰσι νῦν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίοις, παρασκευὴ τε τοσῆδε καὶ πόλεμος γεγένηται αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερώσεως. ἥς μάλιστα μὲν μετασχόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμμείνατε τοῖς ὅρκοις· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἤδη προῦκαλεσάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔστε μηδὲ μεθ’ ἐτέρων, δέχεσθε δὲ ἀμφοτέρους φίλους, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ

2 3. The Plataeans answer that they must consult the Athenians, in whose keeping their wives and children are (cf. c. 6 § 4).

δὲ μηδ’ ἐτέρους. καὶ τάδε ἡμῖν ἀρκεσεῖ.” ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοσαῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῶν πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ ρηθέντα κοινώ-

σαντες ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσιν εἶη ποιεῖν ἃ προκαλεῖται ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων· παῖδες

4. ἡμῖν ἐγχωρίους M.

72, 1. ἦν (sic) ποιεῖτε ὁμοια M, ποιεῖτε ὁμοια τ.—μὴ δὲ μεθετέρων M.—μὴ δετέρους M.



γὰρ σφῶν καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶεν· δεδιέναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῇ πᾶσι πόλει μὴ ἐκείνων ἀποχωρησάντων Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες σφίσιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψωσιν, ἢ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς ἔνορκοι ὄντες κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι, αὐθις σφῶν τὴν πόλιν πειράσωσι καταλαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ θαρσύνων αὐτοὺς <sup>4. Archidamus proposes that the Plataeans shall migrate, and hand over Plataea to his custody.</sup> <sup>3</sup> πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφη, “Ὑμεῖς δὲ πόλιν μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἡμῖν παράδοτε [τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις] καὶ γῆς ὄρους ἀποδείξατε καὶ δένδρα ἀριθμῶ τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατὸν ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταχωρήσατε ὅποι βούλεσθε ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἃ ἂν παραλάβωμεν. μέχρι δὲ τοῦδε ἔξομεν παρακαταθήκην, ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ φορὰν φέροντες ἢ ἂν ὑμῖν μέλλῃ ἱκανὴ ἔσεσθαι.” 73. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐσῆλθον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ <sup>5. The Plataeans answer that they will follow the advice of Athena.</sup> τοῦ πλήθους ἔλεξαν ὅτι βούλονται ἃ προκαλεῖται Ἀθηναίοις κοινῶσαι πρῶτον, καὶ ἦν πείθωσιν αὐτούς, ποιεῖν ταῦτα· μέχρι δὲ τούτου σπείσασθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γῆν μὴ δηοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας τε ἐσπείσατο ἐν αἷς εἰκὸς ἦν κομισθῆναι καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἔτεμνεν. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Πλαταιῆς πρέσβεις ὡς τοὺς Ἀθη- <sup>2</sup>

2. εἶσαν M.—πειράσουσι M, which would not be likely after a verb of fearing.

3. [τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις] Cobet, Herw., Sta.—δπη βούλεσθε M. ἐπειδ' ἂν M.—μέχρι τοῦδε MT, δὲ omitted.

73, 1. εἰσῆλθον M.

2. [πρέσβεις] Cobet.



ναίους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν πάλιν ἦλθον  
 3 ἀπαγγέλλοντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοιάδε· “Οὐτ'  
 ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ, ὧ ἄνδρες Πλα-  
 6. The reply from Athens, in  
 which the Pla-  
 taean are urged  
 to remain in  
 their alliance,  
 and to trust to  
 Athenian aid.  
 ταιῆς, ἀφ' οὗ ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα,  
 'Αθηναῖοί φασιν ἐν οὐδενὶ ὑμᾶς προ-  
 ἔσθαι ἀδικουμένους οὔτε νῦν περι-  
 ὄψεσθαι, βοηθήσειν δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν.  
 ἐπισκῆπτουσί τε ὑμῖν πρὸς τῶν ὄρκων οὓς οἱ  
 πατέρες ὤμοσαν μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὴν ξυμ-  
 μαχίαν.”

74. Τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβων ἀπαγγειλάντων οἱ  
 7. The Plataeans  
 answer Archi-  
 damus that they  
 cannot accept  
 his proposal.  
 Πλαταιῆς ἐβουλεύσαντο 'Αθηναίους μὴ  
 προδιδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ γῆν  
 τεμνομένην, εἰ δεῖ, ὀρῶντας καὶ ἄλλο  
 πάσχοντας ὅτι ἂν ξυμβαίνει· ἐξελθεῖν τε μηδένα  
 ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι  
 ἀδύνατα σφίσι ποιεῖν ἐστὶν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προ-  
 2 8. Prayer of  
 Archidamus to  
 the gods and  
 heroes to aid him  
 in a righteous  
 cause.  
 καλοῦνται. ὥς δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐν-  
 τεῦθεν δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν  
 καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων τῶν ἐγχωρίων  
 'Αρχίδαμος βασιλεὺς κατέστη, λέγων  
 3 ὧδε. “Θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε καὶ  
 ἥρωες, ξυνίστορες ἔστε ὅτι οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδί-  
 κως, ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶνδε πρότερον τὸ ξυνώμοτον,  
 ἐπὶ γῆν τήνδε ἦλθομεν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν

74, 1. τὴν γῆν Herw.—ὀρῶντες καὶ πάσχοντες Cobet, Herw.,  
 ‘fortasse recte,’ Shil.’s ed.—ὅτι .. προκαλοῦνται Cobet thinks  
 inserted from c. 72, 2.

2. [βασιλεὺς] Cobet, Shil.’s ed. Some MSS. give ὁ βασιλεὺς.

3. ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶν δευτέρων MT.

εὐξάμενοι ὑμῖν Μήδων ἐκράτησαν καὶ παρέσχετε αὐτὴν εὐμενῇ ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὔτε νῦν, ἣν τι ποιῶμεν, ἀδικήσομεν· προκαλεσάμενοι γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα οὐ τυγχάνομεν. ξυγγνώμονες δὲ ἔστε τῆς μὲν ἀδικίας κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως." 75. Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περιεσταύρωσεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἃ ἔκοψαν, τοῦ μηδένα ἔτι ἐξίεναι, ἔπειτα χῶμα ἔχουν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐλπίζοντες ταχίστην {τὴν} αἵρεσιν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν στρατεύματος τοσούτου ἐργαζομένου. ξύλα μὲν οὖν 2 τέμνοντες ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρῳκοδόμουν ἑκατέρωθεν, φορμηδὸν ἀντὶ τοίχων τιθέντες, ὅπως μὴ διαχέοιτο ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ χῶμα· ἐφόρουν δὲ ὕλην ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ λίθους καὶ γῆν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀνύτειν μέλλοι ἐπιβαλλόμενον. ἡμέρας δὲ ἔχουν 3 ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ νύκτας ξυνεχῶς διηρημένοι κατ' ἀναπαύλας ὥστε τοὺς μὲν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ ὕπνον τε καὶ σίτον αἰρεῖσθαι· Λακεδαιμονίων τε οἱ

SIEGE OF PLATAEA.

1. The Peloponnesians attempt to carry a mound to the top of the walls.

2. The Plataeans increase the height of their walls.

75, 1. πρῶτον μὲν καὶ περιεσταύρωσεν M, περιεσταύρωσαν Cobet.—{τὴν} inserted by Cobet and Cl., followed by Herw., Sta., Ste. Cf. III. 97, 1.—ἐργασαμένου MT.

2. ἀνύτειν MSS. See Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 32, E. Schwabe, *Ael. Dion.* p. 112. So c. 76 and 97.

3. ἐπτακαίδεκα Ste. for MSS. ἐβδομήκοντα, which is far too large to be possible. Sta. ἐννέα (i.e. Θ' for MSS. Ο'), which is too small. The reading in the text is the best makeshift.—φέρειν] φορεῖν Herw. Cf. iv. 4, 2.

ξυναγοὶ ἐκάστης πόλεως ξυνεφεστῶτες ἠνάγκαζον  
 4 ἐς τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὀρῶντες τὸ χῶμα  
 αἰρόμενον, ξύλινον τεῖχος ξυνθέντες καὶ ἐπιστή-  
 σαντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν τείχει ἢ προσεχοῦτο, ἐσφυκο-  
 δόμουν ἐς αὐτὸ πλίνθους ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκιῶν  
 5 καθαιροῦντες. ξύνδεσμος δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα,  
 τοῦ μὴ ὑψηλὸν γιγνόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶναι τὸ οἰκο-  
 δόμημα· καὶ προκαλύμματα εἶχε δέρσεις καὶ  
 διφθέρας ὥστε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους καὶ τὰ ξύλα

3. When the mound had become high, the Plataeans made a breach in their own wall behind the mound, and through it dragged the earth out of the mound.

4. The Peloponnesians, to prevent this, pressed clay into crates of reed, and with these filled up the gap made in the mound.

μήτε πυρφόροις οἷστοις βάλλεσθαι ἐν  
 ἀσφαλεῖ τε εἶναι. ἤρετο δὲ τὸ ὕψος  
 τοῦ τείχους μέγα καὶ τὸ χῶμα οὐ  
 σχολαίτερον ἀντανῆει αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ  
 Πλαταιῆς τοιόνδε τι ἐπινοοῦσι δι-  
 ελόντες τοῦ τείχους ἢ προσέπιπτε τὸ  
 χῶμα ἐσεφόρουν τὴν γῆν. 76. οἱ δὲ  
 Πελοποννήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐν ταρσοῖς  
 καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνίλλοντες ἐσέβαλλον  
 ἐς τὸ διηρημένον, ὅπως μὴ διαχεό-  
 μενον [ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ] φοροῖτο. οἱ δὲ

5. δέρσεις] MSS. δέρρεις. See Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 49.—  
 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, the usual phrase, Cobet, for the unusual ἐν ἀσφα-  
 λεία of MSS. Cf. Eur. *I. T.* 762.

6. τοῖόν δέ M.

76, 1. εἰσέβαλον M.—διαχεόμενον [ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ]. Sta. proposes  
 διαχεόμενος, on the ground that πῆλος is here compared to γῆ,  
 so that the participle refers to the former. But probably the  
 whole mass at the damaged part is here contrasted with the  
 whole mass, as it was before. As γῆ was not the chief  
 element of the χῶμα before (c. 75, 2) I bracket ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ.  
 It is probably inserted from c. 75.

ταύτῃ ἀποκλήόμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐπέ-  
 σχον, ὑπόνομον δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὀρύ-  
 ξαντες καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι ὑπὸ τὸ  
 χῶμα ὑφείλκον αὐθις παρὰ σφᾶς τὸν  
 χοῦν· καὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς  
 ἔξω, ὥστ' ἐπιβάλλοντας ἦσσαν ἀνύτειν  
 ὑπαγομένου αὐτοῖς κάτωθεν τοῦ χώμα-  
 τος καὶ ἰζάνοντος αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κενού-  
 μενον. δεδιότες δὲ μὴ οὐδ' οὕτω  
 δύνωνται ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀντέ-  
 χειν, προσεπεξῆϋρον τόδε· τὸ μὲν μέγα  
 οἰκοδόμημα ἐπαύσαντο ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ κατὰ τὸ  
 χῶμα, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ βραχέως τείχους ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς μηνοειδὲς ἐς  
 τὴν πόλιν προσφοκοδόμουν, ὅπως εἰ τὸ μέγα  
 τεῖχος ἀλίσκοιτο, τοῦτ' ἀντέχοι, καὶ δέοι τοὺς  
 ἐναντίους αὐθις πρὸς αὐτὸ χοῦν, καὶ προχω-  
 ροῦντας ἔσω διπλάσιόν τε πόνον ἔχειν καὶ ἐν  
 ἀμφιβόλῳ μάλλον γίνεσθαι. ἄμα δὲ τῇ χώσει 4  
 καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῇ πόλει οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι,

5. The Plataeans then made an underground passage, and carried away the earth from the mound. Then starting from the ends of the raised wall, where the lower wall met it, they built a crescent-shaped wall, concave to the raised wall.

6. Then the Peloponnesians used battering-rams, with no success. 3

2. ἀποκλειόμενοι M.—καὶ συντεκμηράμενοι M: perhaps these words are a commentator's note. See the note. Badham thinks καὶ either inserted or a corruption of μήκει. Herw. and Cr. bracket καὶ. ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα belongs to ὀρύξαντες.—ἀνύτειν. See c. 75, 2.

3. ἔνθεν ἀρξάμενοι αὐτοῦ MT. I suspect αὐτοῦ.—[ἐς τὴν πόλιν] Herw.

4. οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῇ πόλει CG and some inferior mss.—τοὺς πλαταιεῖς M.—περιβαλόντες Cobet.—ἀνεῖλκον] mss. ἀνέκλων, corr. by Rutherford. Cf. Dio Cass. LXVI, 4 τοὺς κριοὺς βρόχοις ἀνεῖλκον. Naber reads βρόχοις here, but it is constructed, as

μίαν μὲν, ἣ τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος κατὰ τὸ  
 χῶμα προσαχθεῖσα ἐπὶ μέγα τε κατέσεισε καὶ  
 τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς ἐφόβησεν, ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ  
 τείχους, ὥς βρόχους τε περιβάλλοντες ἀνεῖλκον  
 οἱ Πλαταιῆς, καὶ δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἀρτήσαντες ἀλύ-  
 σεσι μακραῖς σιδηραῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἐκατέρωθεν  
 ἀπὸ κεραιῶν δύο ἐπικεκλιμένων καὶ ὑπερτεινουσῶν  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους ἀνελκύσαντες ἐγκαρσίας, ὅποτε  
 προσπεσεῖσθαί πη μέλλοι ἢ μηχανή, ἀφίεσαν τὴν  
 δοκὸν χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσι καὶ οὐ διὰ χειρὸς  
 ἔχοντες· ἡ δὲ ῥύμη ἐμπίπτουσα ἀπεκαύλιξε τὸ  
 προέχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὥς αἱ τε  
 μηχαναὶ οὐδὲν ὠφέλουν καὶ τῷ χώματι τὸ ἀντι-  
 τείχισμα ἐγίγνετο, νομίσαντες ἄπορον εἶναι ὑπὸ  
 τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν  
 2 περιτείχισιν παρεσκευάζοντο. πρότερον δὲ πυρὶ  
 7. Then they ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς πειρᾶσαι εἰ δύναιτο  
 tried to burn the city down. πνεύματος γενομένου ἐπιφλέξει τὴν  
 πόλιν οὗσαν οὐ μεγάλην· πᾶσαν γὰρ δὴ ιδέαν  
 ἐπενόουν, εἴ πως σφίσιν ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ πολιορ-  
 3 κίας προσαχθείη. φοροῦντες δὲ ὕλης φακέλους  
 παρέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ  
 πρῶτον τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς προσχώσεως, ταχὺ

usual, to suit the participle.—[ἀπὸ] τῆς τομῆς Herw., while Sta. thinks ἀπὸ before κεραιῶν spurious.

77, 1. ὑπὸ τῶν π. δεινῶν] MSS. ἀπὸ corr. by Cobet. Kr. and Herw. read ἀπὸ τῶν π. [δεινῶν].

2. ἐδοξεν πειρᾶσαι αὐτοῖς MT. (Latter omits ν ἐφελ.)

3. παρέβαλον M, Sta., Herw., Cr.; rest παρέβαλλον.



δὲ πλήρους γενομένου διὰ πολυχειρίαν ἐπιπαρέ-  
 νησαν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ μετεώρου πλείστον ἐπισχεῖν, ἐμβαλόντες δὲ  
 πῦρ ξὺν θείῳ καὶ πίσσῃ ἤψαν τὴν ὕλην. καὶ 4  
 ἐγένετο φλόξ τοσαύτη ὅσῃν οὐδεὶς πω ἔς γε  
 ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον χειροποίητον εἶδεν· ἴδη γὰρ  
 ἐν ὄρεσιν ὕλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν  
 ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα [ἀπ' αὐτοῦ]  
 ἀνῆκε. τοῦτο δὲ μέγα τι ἦν καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς 5  
 τᾶλλα διαφυγόντας ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι·  
 ἐντὸς γὰρ πολλοῦ [χωρίου] τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἦν  
 πελάσαι, πνεῦμά τε εἰ ἐπεγένετο αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον,  
 ὅπερ καὶ ἤλπιζον οἱ ἐναντίοι, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγον.  
 νῦν δὲ καὶ τόδε λέγεται ξυμβῆναι, ὕδωρ [ἐξ 6  
 οὐρανοῦ] πολὺ καὶ βροντὰς γενομένας σβέσαι τὴν  
 φλόγα καὶ οὕτω παυθῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον.

78. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου  
 διήμαρτον, [μέρος μὲν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρα-

4. πρὸς αὐτὴν M.—ἀπαντοῦ M.; Herw. reads ἀπανστον.  
 Dobree and Kr. think ἀπ' αὐτοῦ a variant of ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου.  
 So Sta.

5. μέγα τε and πλαταίας M.—διαφθαρῆναι MT.—[χωρίου]  
 Herw.

6. [ἐξ οὐρανοῦ] Cobet. C omits.

78, 1. [μέρος μὲν τι ... ἀφέντες] bracketed by Sta., Cl. and  
 Cr.: Sta. thinks it an adscript on καταλιπόντες in § 2, Bekker  
 and Herw. cut out τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες, which is wanting in  
 ABF, while EMT give λοιπὸν for πλέον (as do Bloomfield,  
 Arnold and Pp.): then in place of μέρος τοῦ στρατοπέδου, Herw.  
 reads in § 2 μέρος μὲν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου φύλακας  
 κ.τ.λ. Cobet and Ste. defend the words bracketed.



τοπέδου, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἀφέντες,] περιετείχιζον τὴν

8. At last they turned the siege into a blockade. They then left 2 enough men to man their lines and retired home. πόλιν κύκλῳ, διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον· τάφρος δὲ ἐντός τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἧς ἐπλινθεύσαντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ἐξείργαστο περὶ ἀρκτούρου

ἐπιτολάς, καταλιπόντες φύλακας τοῦ ἡμίσεος τείχους (τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ Βοιωτοὶ ἐφύλασσον) ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ

3 πόλεις. Πλαταιῆς δὲ παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἄχρηστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπολιορκοῦντο ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι τετρακόσιοι, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα, 4 γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σιτοποιοί. τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ ξύμπαντες ὅτε ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτε ἐλεύθερος. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Πλαταιῶν πολιορκία κατεσκευάσθη.

79. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ ἅμα τῇ τῶν Πλα-

Expedition of the Athenians against the revolted Chalcidians. It is defeated with loss near Spartolus. ταιῶν ἐπιστρατεία Ἀθηναῖοι δισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἱππεῦσι διακοσίοις ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Βοττιαίους ἀκμάζοντος

τοῦ σίτου· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Εὐριπίδου 2 τρίτος αὐτός. ἐλθόντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σπάρτῳ τὴν Βοττικὴν τὸν σίτον διέφθειρον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ

1. [τὸ χωρίον] Herw.

3. πλαταιεῖς M.—ἀχρεῖον M.—τριακόσιοι MT.

79, 2. διέφθειραν M.—τῶν μὴ ταῦτα β. MT. ταῦτα Herw.—ὀπλῖται τὲ M.

προσχωρήσειν ἡ πόλις ὑπό τινων ἔνδοθεν πρασ-  
 σόντων. προσπεμψάντων δὲ ἐς Ὀλυνθον τῶν  
 οὐ ταῦτα βουλομένων ὀπλίται τε ἦλθον καὶ  
 στρατιὰ ἐς φυλακὴν ἧς ἐπεξελεύσεως ἐκ τῆς Σπαρ-  
 τῶλου ἐς μάχην καθίστανται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς  
 αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀπλίται τῶν Χαλκι- 3  
 δέων καὶ ἐπικούροί τινες μετ' αὐτῶν νικῶνται ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τὴν Σπάρ-  
 τῶλον· οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ψилоὶ  
 νικῶσι τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ ψιλοὺς.  
 εἶχον δὲ τινας οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκ τῆς 4  
 Κρουσίδος γῆς καλουμένης. ἄρτι δὲ τῆς μάχης  
 γεγενημένης ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ ἐκ  
 τῆς Ὀλύνθου. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτῶλου ψилоὶ 5  
 ὥς εἶδον, θαρσήσαντες τοῖς τε προσγιγνομένοις  
 καὶ ὅτι πρότερον οὐχ ἡσσῶντο, ἐπιτίθενται αὐθις  
 μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν προσβοη-  
 θησάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι πρὸς  
 τὰς δύο τάξεις ἃς κατέλιπον παρὰ τοῖς σκευο-  
 φόροις. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐπίοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνε- 6  
 δίδοσαν, ἀναχωροῦσι δ' ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον.  
 οἱ τε ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων προσίππεύοντες ἢ  
 δοκοίη προσέβαλλον καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα φοβήσαντες  
 ἔτρεψαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν ἐπὶ πολὺ.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καταφεύ- 7  
 γουσι καὶ ὕστερον τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους κομι-

3. ἱππέας καὶ ψιλοὺς bracketed by Herw.

4. γῆς bracketed by Herw.

6. ἀναχωροῦσι δ'] ἀποχωροῦσι δὲ M. ὑποχωροῦσι Kt.—  
 ἱππεῖς M.—προσίππεύοντες ἢ δοκοῖ M.

σάμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀναχωροῦσι τῷ περιόντι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπέθανον δὲ αὐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες. οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ οἱ Βοττιαῖοι τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνελόμενοι διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

80. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον

The Ambraciots, with a number of barbarian auxiliaries, and with aid, naval and military, from Peloponnese, make an expedition against Aearnania.

τούτων Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Χάονες βουλόμενοι Ἀκαρνανίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀποστῆσαι πείθουσι Λακεδαιμονίους ναυτικόν τε παρασκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος καὶ ὀπλίταις χιλίους πέμψαι ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν, λέγοντες ὅτι, ἦν ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα μετὰ σφῶν ἔλθωσιν, ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ξυμβοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων ραδίως [ἄν] Ἀκαρνανίαν σχόντες καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας κρατήσουσι, καὶ ὁ περίπλους οὐκέτι ἔσοιτο Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως περὶ Πελοπόννησον· ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι καὶ Ναύπακτον λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεισθέντες Κνήμον μὲν ναύαρχον ἔτι ὄντα καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις εὐθύς πέμπουσι, τῷ δὲ ναυτικῷ περιήγγειλαν παρασκευασαμένῳ ὥς τά-

7. χαλκιδεῖς MT.—τοὺς αὐτῶν MT.

80, 1. [ἄν] bracketed by Dobree, Kiemann and Cr., as due to the ἀκ following. Ste. proposes to substitute τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων ἄνω, cf. c. 83, 1, taking ἄν to be the remnant of ἄνω misplaced. Both here and in c. 83, I think ἄνω was a gloss on ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.—οὐκ ἔτι M.—ὅμοιος M. Only F has ὁμοίως.

2. παρασκευασαμένους Cobet.

χιστα πλείν ἐς Λευκάδα. ἦσαν δὲ Κορίνθιοι ξυμ-  
 προθυμούμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἀποί-  
 κοις οὖσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἔκ τε Κορίνθου  
 καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ἐν παρασκευῇ  
 ἦν, τὸ δ' ἐκ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀνακτορίου καὶ Ἀμ-  
 πρακίας πρότερον ἀφικόμενον ἐν Λευκάδι περι-  
 ἔμενε. Κνῆμος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ [χίλιοι ὅπ- 4  
 λίται] ἐπειδὴ ἐπεραιώθησαν λαθόντες Φορμίωνα,  
 ὃς ἦρχε τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν αἱ περὶ  
 Ναύπακτον ἐφρούρουν, εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν  
 κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν. καὶ αὐτῷ παρῆσαν Ἐλ- 5  
 λήνων μὲν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακ-  
 τόριοι καὶ οὓς αὐτὸς ἔχων ἦλθε χίλιοι Πελοπον-  
 νησίων, βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες χίλιοι ἀβασίλευτοι,  
 ὧν ἡγούντο ἐπετησίῳ προστασίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ  
 γένους Φώττος καὶ Νικάνωρ. ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ  
 μετὰ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ ἀβασίλευτοι. Μο- 6  
 λοσσούς δὲ ἦγε καὶ Ἀτιντάνας Σαβύλινθος ἐπι-  
 τροπος ὧν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς  
 ὄντος, καὶ Παραναίους Ὅροιδος βασιλεὺς ὧν.  
 Ὅρέσται δὲ χίλιοι, ὧν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ  
 Παραναίων ξυνεστρατεύοντο Ὅροιδῳ Ἀντιόχου  
 ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας κρύφα 7  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων χιλίους Μακεδόνων, οἱ ὕστερον

3. [χίλιοι ὀπλίται] inserted from § 1. I bracket.

4. παρεσκευάσαντο Mpr. and T. M is corrected to παρε-  
 σκευάζοντο.

5. ἐπετησίῳ only Mpr. It is corrected to ἐπ' ἐτησιωι, the  
 reading of all the rest.

6. συνεστρατεύοντο MT.

8 ἦλθον. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπορεύετο Κνήμος, οὐ περιμείνας τὸ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ναυτικόν· καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἰόντες Λιμναίαν κώμην ἀτείχιστον ἐπόρθησαν. ἀφικνοῦνται τε ἐπὶ Στράτον, πόλιν μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥαδίως ἂν σφίσι τὰλλα προσχωρήσαι.

81. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ αἰσθόμενοι κατὰ τε γῆν

The barbarians are defeated near Stratus. Complete failure of the expedition.

πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἐσβεβληκυῖαν ἐκ τε θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα τοὺς πολεμίους παρεσομένους, οὔτε ξυμβοήθουν ἐφύλασσόν τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι, παρά τε Φορμίωνα ἔπεμπον κελεύοντες ἀμύνειν· ὁ δὲ ἀδύνατος ἔφη εἶναι ναυτικοῦ ἐκ Κορίνθου μέλ-  
 2 λοντος ἐκπλεῖν Ναύπακτον ἐρήμην ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Στρατίων πόλιν, ὅπως ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ λόγοις πείθοιεν, ἔργῳ πειρώντο τοῦ τείχους.  
 3 καὶ μέσον μὲν ἔχοντες προσῆσαν Χάονες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἐκ δεξιᾶς δ' αὐτῶν Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ

8. ἀφικνοῦνται τε M.—εἰ πρώτην ταύτην MT.—προσχωρήσαι] MSS. προσχωρήσειν. Corr. by Cobet. See Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* c. III.: Shil.'s editor brackets ἂν, retaining the fut.—Throughout this chap. M has Ἀμπρακία etc. right. See c. 68.

81, 1. τὰ αὐτῶν MT.

2. πείθειεν MT.

3. μέσον ἔχοντες MT.—προσῆσαν M, twice. Cobet, in both cases, reads προῆσαν.



Κνημος καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται  
 διείχον δὲ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ  
 ἑωρῶντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τεταγμένοι τε <sup>4</sup>  
 προσῆσαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες ἕως ἐστρατο-  
 πεδεύσαντο ἐν ἐπιτηδεΐῳ· οἱ δὲ Χάονες σφίσι τε  
 αὐτοῖς πιστεύοντες καὶ ἀξιούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνῃ  
 ἡπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι, οὗτ' ἐπέσχον τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν χωρήσαντές τε ρύμη  
 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεῖ  
 ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι.  
 γνόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Στράτιοι ἔτι προσιόντας <sup>5</sup>  
 καὶ ἡγησάμενοι, μεμονωμένων εἰ κρατήσειαν, οὐκ  
 ἂν ἔτι σφίσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁμοίως προσελθεῖν,  
 προλοχίζουσι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις, καὶ  
 ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἕκ τε τῆς πόλεως ὁμόσε χωρή-  
 σαντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν προσπίπτουσι. καὶ <sup>6</sup>  
 ἐς φόβον καταστάντων διαφθείρονταί τε πολλοὶ  
 τῶν Χαόνων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ὥς εἶδον  
 αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας, οὐκέτι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν  
 κατέστησαν. τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων <sup>7</sup>  
 οὐδέτερον ᾗσθετο τῆς μάχης, διὰ τὸ πολὺ προ-  
 ελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατόπεδον οἰηθῆναι κατα-  
 ληψομένους ἐπείγασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέκειντο φεύ- <sup>8</sup>  
 γοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ

4. σφίσι τε αὐτοὶ Sta.—ὑπὸ bracketed by Kr.—ἐκεῖ for ἐκείνῃ Cobet always. Herw. doubts whether ἐκείνῃ in sense of ἐκεῖ exists in old Attic.—τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν] τὸ Στράτον προκαταλαβεῖν Behrendt, with probability.—ῥώμη M.

7. οἰηθῆναι] οἱ ἀθηναῖοι M. There is some doubt whether T has οἰαθῆναι or οἱ ἀθηναῖοι.



ξυναγαγόντες τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡσύχαζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐς χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἰόντων σφίσι τῶν Στρατιῶν διὰ τὸ μήπω τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀκαρνᾶνας ξυμβεβοηθηκέναι, ἄπωθεν δὲ σφενδονώντων καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθιστάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ ὅπλων κινήθηναι. δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες κράτιστοι εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. **82.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ νύξ ἐγένετο, ἀναχωρήσας ὁ Κνήμος τῇ στρατιᾷ The Peloponnesian troops return home. κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀναπον ποταμόν, ὃς ἀπέχει σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα Στράτου, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς κομίζεται τῇ ὑστεραία ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ Οἰνιαδῶν ξυμπαραγενομένων κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναχωρεῖ παρ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὴν ξυμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν. κακεῖθεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστοι. οἱ δὲ Στράτιοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους.

**83.** Τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου ναυτικόν, ὃ ἔδει παραγενέσθαι τῷ Κνήμῳ, ὅπως μὴ ξυμβοηθῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνᾶνες, οὐ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας [τῆς ἐν Στράτῳ μάχης] ναυ-  
The main body of the Peloponnesian fleet, 47 ships, had been intercepted by Phormio just outside the Corinthian gulf, and therefore had never joined in the expedition.

8. χεῖρας and ἰόντων M.—ἀποθεν MSS. corr. by Herw. Cf. Eur. *I. T.* 108 νεὼς ἀπωθεν.—δοκοῦσι κ.τ.λ., ? genuine.

**82.** κακεῖθεν and ἐποίκου M.

**83, 1.** ἄνω? gloss on ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. See c. **80**, and note.—Herw. brackets Ἀκαρνᾶνες.—[τῆς ἐν Σ. μάχης] bracketed by Herw., Sta., Cr. But Madvig reads τῇ ... μάχῃ: Ste. περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐν Σ. μάχης.

μαχῆσαι πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων αἱ ἐφρούρουν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ. ὁ γὰρ <sup>2</sup>  
 Φορμίων παραπλέοντας αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου  
 ἐτήρει, βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι.  
 οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπλεον μὲν οὐχ <sup>3</sup>  
 ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικώτερον παρε-  
 σκευασμένοι ἐς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἴο-  
 μενοι πρὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς τὰς  
 σφετέρας τολμῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἴκοσι ταῖς  
 ἐαυτῶν ναυμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἀντι-  
 παραπλέοντάς τε ἑώρων αὐτούς, παρὰ γῆν σφῶν  
 κοιμιζομένων, καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαΐας πρὸς  
 τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἡπειρον διαβάλλοντες ἐπὶ Ἀκαρ-  
 νατίας κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος  
 καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσι  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ἀφορμισάμενοι, οὕτω δὴ  
 ἀναγκάζονται ναυμαχεῖν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν.  
 στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων <sup>4</sup>  
 οἱ παρεσκευάζοντο, Κορινθίων δὲ Μαχάων καὶ  
 Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδας. καὶ οἱ μὲν Πελο- <sup>5</sup>  
 ποννήσιοι ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν ὥς μέγιστον  
 οἰοί τε ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πῦρας  
 μὲν ἔξω, ἔσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας, καὶ τὰ τε λεπτὰ  
 πλοῖα ἃ ξυνέπλει ἐντὸς ποιοῦνται καὶ πέντε ναῦς  
 τὰς ἄριστα πλεύσας, ὅπως ἐκπλέοιεν διὰ βραχείας

3. διαβάλλοντες] MSS. διαβαλλόντων. Corr. by Sta.—ἀφορμισά-  
 μενοι is Bloomfield's correction of ὑφορμισάμενοι, accepted by  
 Sta. and Ste. The sense required is only thus obtainable.

4. μάχων for Μαχάων MT.

5. εἴσω M.—προσπλέοιεν M.

παραγιγνόμενοι, εἴ πη προσπίπτοιεν οἱ ἐναντίοι.

84. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι

FIRST EXPLOIT  
OF PHORMIO.

περιέπλεον αὐτοὺς κύκλῳ καὶ ξυνήγον  
ἐς ὀλίγον, ἐν χρῶ αἰεὶ παραπλέοντες  
καὶ δόκησιν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν· προεῖρ-  
ητο δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Φορμίωνος μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὶν  
2 ἂν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ. ἤλπιξε γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ μενεῖν  
τὴν τάξιν, [ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεξήν,] ἀλλὰ ξυμπε-  
σεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα  
ταραχὴν παρέξειν, εἴ τ' ἐκπνεύσειεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλ-  
που τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ  
εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω, οὐδένα χρόνον ἡσυ-  
χάσειν αὐτούς· καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε  
ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ὁπόταν βούληται, τῶν νεῶν ἄμεινον  
3 πλεουσῶν, καὶ τότε καλλίστην γίγνεσθαι. ὥς δὲ  
τό τε πνεῦμα κατῆει καὶ αἱ νῆες ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἤδη  
οὔσαι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε ἀνέμου τῶν τε  
πλοίων ἅμα προσκειμένων, ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ ναῦς  
τε νηὶ προσέπιπτε καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διεωθοῦντο,

84, 2. [ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεξήν] I bracket. For ἐν γῇ is superfluous *with* πεξήν, and Thuc. only uses πεξὴ στρατιά, and could not use such a phrase as πεξὴ τάξις. The adscript is quite unnecessary; cf. VI. 34, 4 χαλεπὸν διὰ πλοῦ μήκος ἐν τάξει μεῖναι.—παρέχειν MT, so AB EF.—εἴ τ' ἐκπνεῦσαι τοῦ κόλπου MT.—ἐπὶ τῇν ἔω MSS. ὑπὸ, Kr., is accepted by all recent edd. but Cl. and Cr.

3. διωθοῦντο MSS. Corr. by Cobet, followed by all recent edd. διωθροῦντο MT.—πρὸς ἀλλήλοις MT.—κλυδωνίῳ MSS., but Photius and Suidas quote this passage with κλύδωνι, and the χρῆσις probably comes from very early sources. So Sta. and Naber.—[κατὰ τὸν κ. τοῦτον] Cobet, Herw. So in I. 58, 1.—πᾶσας M.

βοῇ τε χρώμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφυλακῇ  
 τε καὶ λαιδορία οὐδὲν κατήκουον οὔτε τῶν παραγ-  
 γελλομένων οὔτε τῶν κελευστῶν καὶ τὰς κώπας  
 ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐν κλύδωνι ἀναφέρειν ἄνθρωποι  
 ἄπειροι τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς  
 παρείχον, τότε δὴ [κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον] ση-  
 μαίνει, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσπεσόντες πρῶτον  
 μὲν καταδύουσι τῶν στρατηγίδων νεῶν μίαν, ἔπειτα  
 δὲ καὶ πάσας ἢ χωρήσειαν διέφθειρον, καὶ κατέ-  
 στησαν ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν μηδένα τρέπεσθαι αὐτῶν  
 ὑπὸ τῆς παραχῆς, φεύγειν δ' ἐς Πάτρας καὶ Δύμην  
 τῆς Ἀχαΐας. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καταδιώξαντες καὶ 4  
 ναῦς δώδεκα λαβόντες τοὺς τε ἄνδρας He completely  
 defeats the Pelo-  
 ponnesians.  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόμενοι  
 ἐς Μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ καὶ ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι  
 ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Ναύπακτον. παρέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ 5  
 οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι εὐθὺς ταῖς περιλοίποις τῶν νεῶν  
 ἐκ τῆς Δύμης καὶ Πατρῶν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἡλείων  
 ἐπίνειον· καὶ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος Κνήμος καὶ αἱ ἐκεῖθεν  
 νῆες, ὥς ἔδει ταύταις ξυμμεῖξαι, ἀφικνοῦνται μετὰ  
 τὴν ἐν Στράτῳ μάχην ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην.

85. Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Κνήμῳ  
 ξυμβούλους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Τιμοκράτην The Lacedae-  
 monians, indig-  
 nant at this de-  
 feat, send three  
 commissioners  
 to assist the ad-  
 miral.  
 καὶ Βρασίδαν καὶ Λυκόφρονα, κελεύ-  
 οντες ἄλλην ναυμαχίαν βελτίῳ κατα-  
 σκευάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ὀλίγων νεῶν

5. Cobet brackets ἐκ τῆς Δ. καὶ Πατρῶν.—ξυμμεῖξαι MSS.  
 Meisterhans, p. 144.

85, 1. παρασκευάζεσθαι Herw., with some inferior MSS.

- 2 εἶργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλ-  
 λως τε καὶ πρῶτον ναυμαχίας πειρασαμένοις  
 πολὺς ὁ παράλογος εἶναι καὶ οὐ τοσούτῳ ὄντο  
 σφῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν λείπεσθαι, γεγενῆσθαι δέ τινα  
 μαλακίαν, οὐκ ἀντιτιθέντες τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολ-  
 λου ἐμπειρίαν τῆς σφετέρας δι' ὀλίγου μελέτης.
- 3 ὀργῇ οὖν ἀπέστελλον. οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ  
 Κνήμου ναῦς τε περιήγγελλον κατὰ πόλεις καὶ  
 τὰς προὔπαρχούσας ἐξηρτύοντο ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμα-  
 4 χίαν. πέμπει δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας
- Both sides send for reinforcements; τὴν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἀγγελοῦντας  
 καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἣν ἐνίκησαν  
 φράσοντας, καὶ κελεύων αὐτῷ ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας  
 διὰ τάχους ἀποστεῖλαι, ὥς καθ' ἡμέραν  
 ἐκάστην ἐλπίδος οὔσης αἰεὶ ναυμαχήσειν.
- 5 οἱ δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν εἴκοσι ναῦς αὐτῷ,  
 τῷ δὲ κομίζονται αὐτὰς προσεπέστειλαν  
 ἐς Κρήτην πρῶτον ἀφικέσθαι. Νικίας  
 γὰρ [Κρῆς] Γορτύνιος πρόξενος ὢν πείθει αὐτοὺς  
 ἐπὶ Κυδωνίαν πλεῦσαι, φάσκων προσποιήσιν αὐτὴν  
 οὔσαν πολεμίαν· ἐπῆγε δὲ Πολιχνίταις χαριζό-  
 6 μενος ὁμόροις τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν  
 τὰς ναῦς ὥχετο ἐς Κρήτην καὶ μετὰ τῶν Πολιχ-  
 νιτῶν ἐδήλου τὴν γῆν τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν, καὶ [ὑπὸ

2. τῆς σφετέρας μελέτης] Cobet and Herw. τῇ σφετέρᾳ μελέτῃ.

5. [Κρῆς] Cobet, Herw.

6. [ὑπὸ ἀνέμων καὶ] Cl., Sta., Herw., Cr., for ἀπλοῖς means ἀνέμων. Cf. Eur. *I. T.* 15 δεινὴς τ' ἀπλοῖς πνευμάτων τ' οὐ τυγχάνων, where Hermann and Wilamowitz (*Herh.* 1883 p. 220) omit οὐ.



ἀνέμων καὶ] ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας ἐνδιέτριψεν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

86. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ Πελοποννήσιοι [ἐν τούτῳ], ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Κρήτην κατεείχοντο, παρεσκευασμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν παρέπλευσαν ἐς Πάνορμον τὸν Ἀχαϊκόν, οἵπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προσεβεβοηθήκει. παρέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ 2 Μολυγκρικὸν καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἔξω αὐτοῦ ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν αἷσπερ καὶ ἐνανμάχησεν. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ 3 Ῥίον φίλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τὸ δ' ἕτερον [Ῥίον] ἐστὶν ἀντιπέρας [τὸ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ]· διέχετον δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σταδίους μάλιστα ἑπτὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, τοῦ δὲ Κρισαίου κόλπον στόμα τοῦτό ἐστιν. ἐπὶ οὖν τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ The Pelopon- 4 οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ nesians with 77 ships are anxious to bring on a battle before the Athenians are reinforced. τοῦ Πανόρμου, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοῖς ὁ πεζὸς ἦν, ὠρμίσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ναυσὶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδον. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀνθώρμουν ἀλλήλοις 5 μελετῶντες τε καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὴν ναυμαχίαν, γνώμην ἔχοντες οἱ μὲν μὴ ἐκπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν Ῥίων ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, φοβούμενοι τὸ πρότερον

86, 1. [ἐν τούτῳ] Cobet, Herw.—περὶ τὴν κρήτην MT.—οἵπερ] MSS. οὔπερ. Corr. by Cobet, who also brackets τῶν Πελοποννησίων, but it seems necessary.

2. αἷσπερ καὶ ἐνανμάχησεν. See c. 80, 4; 83, 1.

3. [Ῥίον] Cobet.—[τὸ ἐν τῇ Π.] Sta.—MSS. διείχετον. Corr. by Buttmann.

5. μελετῶντες τε MT.—εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν M.



πάθος, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς τὰ στενά, νομίζοντες  
 6 πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ ναυμαχίαν. ἔπειτα  
 ὁ Κνήμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Πελο-  
 ποννησίων στρατηγοὶ βουλόμενοι ἐν τάχει τὴν  
 ναυμαχίαν ποιῆσαι πρὶν τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ἐπιβοηθῆσαι, ξυνεκάλεσαν τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 πρῶτον, καὶ ὁρῶντες αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν  
 προτέραν ἦσαν φοβουμένους καὶ οὐ προθύμους  
 ὄντας παρέκελεύσαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε.

87. “Ἡ μὲν γενομένη ναυμαχία, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελο-

Speech of the  
 Peloponnesian  
 commanders.

I. Προσίμῳν,  
 2 in which is con-  
 tained the πρό-  
 θεσις, viz.: that  
 there is no  
 ground for  
 alarm (§§ 1, 2).

a. We were un-  
 prepared.

b. We had bad  
 luck.

c. Want of ex-  
 perience told  
 against us.

3 II. Πίστις (§§ 3-  
 7).

1. Courage must

ποννήσιοι, εἴ τις ἄρα δι' αὐτὴν ὑμῶν  
 φοβεῖται τὴν μέλλουσαν, οὐχὶ δικαίαν  
 ἔχει τέκμαρσιν [τὸ] ἐκφοβῆσαι. τῇ  
 τε γὰρ παρασκευῇ ἐνδεὴς ἐγένετο,  
 ὥσπερ ἴστε, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐπλέομεν.  
 ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης οὐκ  
 ὀλίγα ἐναντιωθῆναι, καὶ πού τι καὶ ἡ  
 ἀπειρία πρῶτον ναυμαχοῦντας ἔσφη-  
 λεν. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 κακίαν τὸ ἡσσήσθαι προσεγένετο, οὐδὲ

6. ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Bekker, Herw. —[καὶ ἔλεξαν] Herw.

87. 1. [τὸ] ἐκφοβῆσαι. I bracket the article, which is not  
 suitable. Bh. and Cr. make τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι object of ἔχει, and  
 δικαίαν τ. predicate: but cf. 3, 13, 1 αἰτίας ἔχοντες ἱκανὰς ἡμᾶς  
 ἐκφοβῆσαι. Sta. and Herw. read τοῦ ἐκφοβῆσαι. Ste. proposes  
 to bracket τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι. Perhaps for τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι we should  
 read πεφοβῆσθαι. See note.

3. προεγένετο Ullrich, Sta., Bh., Herw., Cl.: I retain the  
 MSS. reading with Cr. and Ste., for προεγένετο would require  
 that the former defeat should be contrasted with either the

δίκαιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιλογίαν, τῆς γε ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι ἀμβλύνεσθαι, νομίσαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ ἀνδρείους ὀρθῶς εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρείου παρόντος προβαλλομένους εἰκότως ἂν ἔν τινι κακοὺς γενέσθαι. ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδ' ἡ ἀπειρία τοσοῦτον λείπεται ὅσον τόλμῃ προέχετε· τῶνδε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἣν μάλιστα φοβεῖσθε, ἀνδρείαν μὲν ἔχουσα καὶ μνήμην ἔξει ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ ἔμαθεν, ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει. φόβος γὰρ μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν 5 τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε, πρὸς δὲ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἡσσαν δεδιέναι τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν. περιγίγνεται δὲ ὑμῖν 6 πλῆθος τε νεῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ οἰκεία οὕση ὀπλιτῶν παρόντων ναυμαχεῖν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ἄμεινον παρσκευασμένων τὸ κράτος

not be overcome by a misfortune that was not incurred through cowardice, nor does a plea of inexperience justify cowardice (§ 3).

2. Our superiority in courage is more than a match for the enemy's superiority in science (§§ 4, 5).

3. Also our armament is superior (§ 6).

a. We have 4 more ships.

b. We have hoplites close at hand.

4. We have learnt a lesson from our defeat (§ 7).

present or the future.—τὸ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν Cl., omitting μὴ with B only. So Herw., who thinks μὴ may represent a lost μέν. Ste. proposes τὸ μὴ κατ' ἄκρας νικηθέν.—κατακράτος M.—τῆς ξυμφορᾶς MT, γε omitted. Most MSS. read τῆς τε.—τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ [ἀνδρείους] ὀρθοὺς Badham, Herw., while Cobet reads σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρείους and τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ ὀρθοὺς: but ὀρθῶς corresponds to εἰκότως, and ἀνδρείους to κακοὺς.

4. ὑμῶν δ' M.—οὐδὲ μία M.

7 ἐστίν. ὥστε οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν εὐρίσκομεν εἰκότως ἂν  
 ἡμᾶς σφαλλομένους· καὶ ὅσα ἡμάρτομεν πρό-  
 τερον, νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα προσγενόμενα διδασκαλίαν

8 III. Ἐπίλογος. παρέξει. Θαρσύνοντες οὖν καὶ κυβερ-  
 Let every man  
 do his duty. The  
 coward shall be  
 punished, the  
 brave rewarded  
 νῆται καὶ ναῦται τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
 ἕκαστος ἔπεσθε, χώραν μὴ προλεί-

9 (§§ 8, 9). ποντες ἦ ἂν τις προσταχθῇ. τῶν  
 δὲ πρότερον ἡγεμόνων οὐ χεῖρον τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν  
 ἡμεῖς παρασκευάσομεν καὶ οὐκ ἐνδώσομεν πρό-  
 φασιν οὐδενὶ κακῷ γενέσθαι· ἦν δέ τις ἄρα καὶ  
 βουληθῇ, κολασθήσεται τῇ πρεπούσῃ ζημίᾳ, οἱ  
 δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τιμήσονται τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἄθλοις  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς.”

88. Τοιαῦτα μὲν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις οἱ ἄρ-  
 χοντες παρεκελεύσαντο. ὁ δὲ Φορ-  
 μίων δεδιὼς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν στρα-  
 τιωτῶν ὀρρωδίαν καὶ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστά-  
 μενοι ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐβούλετο ξυγκαλέσας θαρσύναι  
 τε καὶ παραίνεσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσασθαι.

2 πρότερον μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε καὶ προπα-  
 ρεσκεύαζε τὰς γνώμας ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος  
 νεῶν τοσοῦτον ἂν ἐπιπλέοι ὃ τι οὐχ ὑπομενετέον  
 αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην εἰλήφεσαν μη-  
 δένα ὄχλον Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες Πελοποννησίων νεῶν

7. καθὲν M ; so καθεαυτὸν, οὐκενδώσομεν, οὐχυνπομενετέον below.  
 —προγενόμενα Badham, Herw.

88, 2. ἂν ἐπιπλέοι Cobet, followed by Sta. and Bh., ἦν  
 ἐπιπλήη mss. Cl. proposed τοσοῦτον δν.—ὑπομενετὸν Herw.

ὑποχωρεῖν· τότε δὲ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὄψιν<sup>3</sup> ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας ἐβούλετο ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας [τοὺς Ἀθηναίους] ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.

89. “Ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, πεφοβημένους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνεκάλεσα, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ μὴ δεινὰ ἐν ὁρωδίᾳ ἔχειν. οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ προνεκῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ οἶσθαι ὁμοιοὶ ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρσκευάσαντο· ἔπειτα ὦ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὥς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι’ ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες, καὶ οἴονται σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσιν τὸ αὐτό. τὸ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῖν μᾶλλον νῦν περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐψυχία γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ [ἐκάτεροί

addresses them.

1. Προοίμιον. The object of the meeting (§1). 2

II. Πίστις (§§ 2-8).

A. You need not fear the enemy.

1. They confess their weakness by providing so large a force (§ 2).

2. It is their experience and success on land that makes them suppose they may succeed; but we are their masters at sea (§§ 2, 3).

3. Their allies are dragged into danger against their will, so that you need not fear they will show great valour (§ 4).

3. [τοὺς Ἀθηναίους] Cobet.

89, 2. μὴ δὲ M.—ὁμοιοὶ M.—ὦν μάλιστα MT.—ἄλλο τι M.—[σφίσι] Herw., but cf. VII. 6, 1, ταῦτὸν ἤδη ἐποίει αὐτοῖς νικᾶν τε καὶ μηδὲ μάχεσθαι. For τὸ αὐτὸ Herw. ταῦτὸν perhaps rightly.

3. [ἐκάτεροί τι] Sta. in Pp.; in his text ed. ἐκάτεροι. The majority of good mss. omit τι. No reference should be made here to the Lacedaemonians' experience in any respect. Thuc. is giving the other side of the argument of c. 87, 5. A commentator added the words from the reasoning of § 2.

4. On the contrary, you fill them with greater and better-grounded fear,

*a* through your previous victory,

*b* through their astonishment

that you are ready to meet them with an inferior force.

5 They are placed in a dilemma, for (1) if they attack now, they dread the extraordinary pluck we have already shown, (2) if they wait, we shall be reinforced

6 (§§ 5, 6).

5. Often armies have been overthrown by inferior numbers through want of skill, sometimes through want of courage.

We have neither failing. He hints that the enemy have both (cf. §§ 3, 4, 7).

B. You need not fear that you will

7 be unable to use

τι] ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι θρασύτεροί ἐσ-  
μεν. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε ἡγούμενοι τῶν  
ξυμμάχων διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν  
ἄκοντας προσάγουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς  
τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπε-  
χείρησαν ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ αὐθις  
ναυμαχεῖν. μὴ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν τόλμαν  
δείσητε. πολὺ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνοις πλείω  
φόβον παρέχετε καὶ πιστότερον κατὰ  
τε τὸ προνεκικέειν καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν  
ἡγούνται μὴ μέλλοντάς τι ἄξιον τοῦ  
παραλόγου πράξειν ἀντίστασθαι ἡμᾶς.  
ἀντίπαλοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλείους[, ὥσπερ  
οὔτοι,] τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλεον πῖσυναι  
ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπέρχονται· οἱ δ' ἐκ  
πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων καὶ ἅμα οὐκ  
ἀναγκαζόμενοι μέγα τι τῆς διανοίας  
τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντες ἀντιτολμῶσιν. ἂ  
λογιζόμενοι οὔτοι τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι πλεον  
πεφόβηνται ἡμᾶς ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον  
παρασκευῇ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ στρατό-

4. εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον M.

5. ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ or παραπολὺ MSS. Ste. conjectures τοῦ παραλόγου, which could easily be altered through the παρὰ πολὺ above. Herw. reads παράπλου, Sta. brackets τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ. Liebhold τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ πόνου.—ἡμᾶς is preferable to ὑμᾶς, which has strong support. Pp. strangely preferred ὑμᾶς.

6. [ὥσπερ οὔτοι] Cobet.—πολλῷ M. pr., corrected by late hand to πολλῶν, which A has.—τῇ κατὰ λόγον π. Ste. suspects a corruption, without cause.



πεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπ' ἐλασσόνων τῇ  
 ἀπειρία, ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ τῇ ἀτολμιά·  
 ὧν οὐδετέρου ἡμεῖς νῦν μετέχομεν.  
 Τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἐκὼν  
 εἶναι ποιήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐσπλεύσομαι ἐς  
 αὐτόν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς πολλὰς  
 ναῦς ἀνεπιστήμονας ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐμ-  
 πείροις καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσαις ἢ στενο-  
 χωρία οὐ ξυμφέρεи. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἐπιπλεύσειέ τις  
 ὡς χρὴ ἐς ἐμβολὴν μὴ ἔχων τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἐκ πολλοῦ, οὔτε ἂν ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐν  
 δέοντι πιεζόμενος· διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ ἀνα-  
 στροφαί, ἅπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν ἔργα ἐστίν,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἂν εἴη τὴν ναυμαχίαν πεξομαχίαν  
 καθίστασθαι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αἱ πλείους νῆες κρείσ-  
 σους γίνονται. Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἔξω τὴν 9  
 πρόνοιαν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐτακτοὶ  
 παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες τά τε παραγγελλόμενα  
 ὀξέως δέχεσθε, ἄλλως τε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τῆς ἐφορ-  
 μήσεως οὔσης, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν  
 περὶ πλείστου ἡγεῖσθε, ὃ ἔς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν  
 πολεμικῶν ξυμφέρεи καὶ ναυμαχία οὐχ ἡκιστα,  
 ἀμύνασθε δὲ τούσδε ἀξίως τῶν προειργασμένων.

7. ὑπὸ ἐλ. M. For ἔπεσεν, Haase, Badham, Herw. read ἔπταισεν, but ὑπὸ is then awkward, and there is no objection to the text.

8. [ναυσὶν] Herw.

9. παρὰ ταῖς τε ναυσὶ ABEFM.—M marg. in late hand has ποιεῖσθε for ἡγεῖσθε.—δ ἔς τε Steph. and the edd. generally for MSS. ὥστε.—καὶ ξυμφέρεи ABEFM.—οὐχ ἡκιστα MT.

your skill in the battle. I will not fight in the gulf if I can help it (§ 8).

III. Ἐπίλογος.  
1. Carry out 8 orders promptly (§ 9).

2. The battle is of great importance (§ 10).

3. Conclusion, recalling § 2.



- 10 ὁ δὲ ἄγων μέγας ὑμῖν, ἢ καταλῦσαι Πελοπον-  
νησίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἢ ἐγγυτέρω κατα-  
στῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸν φόβον περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης.
- 11 ἀναμιμνήσκω δ' αὖ ὑμᾶς ὅτι νενικήκατε αὐτῶν  
τοὺς πολλούς. ἡσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐθέ-  
λουσιν αἱ γνῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους  
ὁμοίαι εἶναι."

90. Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων παρεκελεύετο.

SECOND EXPLOIT  
OF PHORMIO.

He is forced to  
fight in the gulf  
by a manœuvre  
of the enemy;  
11 ships escaped  
into the wider  
part of the gulf,  
and were pur-  
sued by 20 of  
the fastest of the  
enemy's ships.

- οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ  
Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐπέπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον  
καὶ τὰ στενά, βουλόμενοι ἄκοντας  
ἔσω προαγαγεῖν αὐτούς, ἀναγαγόμενοι  
ἅμα ἔω ἔπλεον, ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξά-  
μενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν γῆν,  
ἔσω [ἐπὶ] τοῦ κόλπου, δεξιῶ κέρα
- 2 ἡγουμένω, ὥσπερ καὶ ὥρμουν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσι  
ἔταξαν τὰς ἄριστα πλεύσας, ὅπως, εἰ ἄρα νομί-  
σας ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον αὐτοὺς πλεῖν ὁ Φορμίων

10. [τοῦ ναυτικοῦ] and [περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης] Herw., 'nefaria temeritate.' (Stahl).—ὁμοίαι M.

90, 1. τοιαῦτα μὲν BM; A corrected by late hand.—ἀναγόμενοι M, with most MSS., preferred by Sta.—ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν γῆν. I follow Cl., Sta. and Ste. in placing these with the preceding words; but the passage is very doubtful. Herw. reads παρὰ for ἐπὶ with Badham, Van der Mey ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν γῆν, i.e. the Pel. pretended to be sailing towards Naupactus, as § 2; Bloomfield τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν: Cr. thinks ἐπὶ ... γῆν a gloss on ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου.—[ἐπὶ] Kr., Herw., Sta.

2. M has ἡγουμένω corrected by late hand into ἡγούμενοι, and περικλήσειαν into περικλείσειαν.—πλέοντα MSS.; πλέω ὄντα Bh.; [πλέοντα] Cr.; πλέοντες Kr., Dobree, Herw.

καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβοηθῶν ταύτῃ παραπλέοι, μὴ δια-  
 φύγοιεν πλέοντα τὸν ἐπίπλουν σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρως, ἰλλ' αὐται αἱ νῆες περι-  
 κλήσειαν. ὁ δέ, ὅπερ ἐκείνοι προσεδέχοντο, φοβη- 3  
 θείς περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ὄντι, ὡς ἑώρα ἀναγο-  
 μένους αὐτούς, ἄκων καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐμβιβάσας  
 ἔπλει παρὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ ὁ πεξὸς ἅμα τῶν  
 Μεσσηνίων παρεβοήθει. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοπον- 4  
 νῆσιοι κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντας καὶ  
 ἤδη ὄντας ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ,  
 ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα, ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνὸς ἄφνω  
 ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον ὡς  
 εἶχε τάχους ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ  
 ἤλπιζον πάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀπολήψεσθαι. τῶν δὲ 5  
 ἑνδεκα μὲν αἵπερ ἡγοῦντο ὑπεκφεύγουσι τὸ κέρας  
 τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς τὴν  
 εὐρυχωρίαν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐπικαταλαβόντες ἐξέ-  
 ωσάν τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑποφευγούσας καὶ διέφθει-  
 ραν, ἄνδρας τε [τῶν Ἀθηναίων] ἀπέκ-  
 τειναν ὅσοι μὴ ἐξέένευσαν αὐτῶν. καὶ τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἀναδούμενοι εἶλκον  
 κενάς (μίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἶλον ἤδη), τὰς δὲ τινὰς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρα-

The other 9  
 Athenian ships 6  
 were intercept-  
 ed, but the Mes-  
 senian infantry  
 on shore waded  
 out and saved  
 some.

3. Perhaps we should bracket *ὅπερ ἐκείνοι προσεδέχοντο*.

4. [κατὰ μίαν] Herw., as a gloss on *ἐπὶ κέρως*, which occurs correctly in v. 32 and 50; viii. 104.—Perhaps we should bracket *ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα*.

5. [τῶν Ἀθηναίων] a mere note on *ἀνδρας*. Jowett with good reason omits it in translating. Cf. c. 92, 2.

6. *εἶλον ἤδη*. *ἤδη* is wanting in a few mss., and is omitted by some edd.

βοηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπεσβαίνοντες ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις  
 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπιβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν κατα-  
 στρωμάτων μαχόμενοι ἀφείλοντο ἔλκομένας ἤδη.

91. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐκράτουν  
 τε καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς· αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι  
 νῆες αὐτῶν αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐδίωκον τὰς  
 ἑνδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων [αἵπερ ὑπεξέφυγον  
 τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν]. καὶ φθά-

10 of the 11 ships  
 got safe to Nau-  
 pactus. The re-  
 maining one  
 sank its pursuer,  
 while the Pelo-  
 ponnesians were  
 thrown into dis-  
 order. Then the  
 10 ships renewed  
 the attack, put  
 the Lacedaemo-  
 nians to flight,  
 captured 6 ships  
 and recovered  
 those which the  
 enemy had pre-  
 viously taken.

νουσιν αὐτοὺς πλὴν μιᾶς [νεὺς] προ-  
 καταφυγούσαι εἰς τὴν Ναύπακτον, καὶ  
 ἴσχουσai ἀντίπρωροι κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολ-  
 λώνιον παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι,  
 ἣν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλέωσιν.

2 οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι ὕστερον ἐπαιά-  
 νιζόν τε ἄμα πλείοντες ὥς νενικηκότες  
 καὶ τὴν μίαν ναῦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν  
 ὑπόλοιπον ἐδίωκε Λευκαδία ναῦς μία  
 3 πολὺν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων. ἔτυχε δὲ ὀλκὰς

ὀρμοῦσα μετέωρος, περὶ ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ναῦς φθά-  
 σασα [καὶ περιπλεύσασα] τῇ Λευκαδίᾳ διωκούσῃ

91, 1. διέφθειραν Sta. and subsequent edd., with C. only.  
 The rest ἐφθειρον (as MT) or ἐφθειραν. Herw. brackets τε to  
 ναῦς without good reason.—[αἵπερ ... εὐρυχωρίαν] Herw. For  
 ἐπιστροφὴν many MSS. have ὑποστροφὴν.—[νεὺς] Herw., Sta.—  
 κατὰ ἀπολλώνιον M, with majority of MSS. 'Cf. I. 24, 7;  
 III. 75, 3; IV. 110, 1; V. 66, 1; VII. 29, 3; VIII. 93, 1.'  
 Sta.—ἀμυνόμενοι, AMT. ὥς ἀμυνόμενοι Herw.—ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπι-  
 πλέωσιν MT.

2. ἐπαιώνιζον M.—Λευκαδία [ναῦς] Herw.

3. [καὶ περιπλεύσασα] The gloss is added in CEFGMT.—  
 τῇ [Λευκαδίᾳ] διωκούσῃ Cobet, Herw.

ἐμβάλλει μέση καὶ καταδύει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Πελο-<sup>4</sup>  
 πονησίοις γενομένου τούτου ἀπροσδοκίτου τε  
 καὶ παρὰ λόγον φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ ἅμα ἀτάκτως  
 διώκοντες διὰ τὸ κρατεῖν αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν νεῶν  
 καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ, ἀξύμ-  
 φορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν,  
 βουλόμενοι τὰς πλείους περιμεῖναι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς  
 βράχεια ἀπειρία χωρίων ὤκειλαν. 92. τοὺς δὲ  
 Ἀθηναίους ἰδόντας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα θάρσος τε  
 ἔλαβε καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνὸς κελεύσματος ἐμβοήσαντες ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς ὤρμησαν. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀμαρ-  
 τήματα καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀταξίαν ὀλίγον μὲν  
 χρόνον ὑπέμειναν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτράποντο ἐς τὸν  
 Πάνορμον, ὅθεν περ ἀνηγάγοντο. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ<sup>2</sup>  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τε ἐγγὺς οὔσας μάλιστα ναῦς  
 ἔλαβον ἐξ καὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἀφείλοντο ἃς ἐκείνοι  
 πρὸς τῇ γῇ διαφθείραντες τὸ πρῶτον ἀνεδήσαντο  
 ἄνδρας τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξώ-  
 γρησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Λευκαδίας νεώς, ἣ περὶ τὴν<sup>3</sup>  
 Ὀλκάδα κατέδυ, Τιμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος πλέων,  
 ὥς ἡ ναὺς διεφθείρετο, ἔσφαξεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξε-  
 πεσεν ἐς τὸν Ναυπακτίων λιμένα. ἀναχωρήσαντες<sup>4</sup>  
 δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ὅθεν ἀναγαγό-

4. αἱ δὲ for αὖ δὲ Cobet.—βράχεια. Distinguish from βραχέα, which some mss. have.—χωρίων ἀπειρία MT.

92, 1. κελεύματος Herw., but κελεύω is an exception in its class. See Rutherford, *New Phryn.* p. 101.

2. Probably ὅθεν περ ἀνηγάγοντο should be bracketed.

3. ἔσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν M.

4. ἀναγόμενοι M, with all but C.

5 μενοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ ναυάγια  
 ὅσα πρὸς τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἦν ἀνείλοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἐναν-  
 5 τίοις τὰ ἐκείνων ὑπόσπονδα ἀπέδοσαν. ἔστησαν  
 δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον [ὡς νενικηκότες]  
 τῆς τροπῆς ὧν πρὸς τῇ γῇ νεῶν διέφθειραν· καὶ  
 ἦν περ ἔλαβον ναῦν, ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥίον τὸ  
 6 Ἀχαϊκὸν παρὰ τὸ τροπαῖον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φο-  
 βούμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν ὑπὸ  
 νύκτα ἐσέπλευσαν εἰς κόλπον τὸν  
 Κρυσσαῖον καὶ Κόρινθον πάντες πλήν  
 7 Λευκαδίων. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσίν, αἷς ἔδει  
 πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῷ Φορμίωνι παραγενέσθαι,  
 οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῶν νεῶν ἀφικ-  
 νοῦνται εἰς τὴν Ναύπακτον. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

5. MSS. ὡς νενικηκότες τῆς τροπῆς ἄς πρὸς τῇ γῇ ναῦς διέφθειραν.  
 Herw. brackets this, arguing that it represents three scholia  
 patched together. But some explanation of τῆς τροπῆς is  
 wanted. When ὡς νενικηκότες, an utterly superfluous and  
 cumbersome note, came into the text, the gen. ὧν νεῶν was  
 corrupted into ἄς ναῦς, being constructed as object to  
 νενικηκότες. Cf. VII. 54, τροπαῖον ἔστησαν Ἀθηναῖοι ἧς οἱ Τυρ-  
 ρηνοὶ τροπῆς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν πεζῶν. Böhme, in support of the  
 MSS., taking, as is usually done, ἄς ... ναῦς for τῶν νεῶν ἄς  
 quotes I. 50, 1 τῶν νεῶν ἄς καταδύσειαν for the non-attraction  
 of ἄς. But in all cases of non-attraction (a) the antecedent  
 precedes; or (b) it is omitted; for which see Kr. Gr. Gr. 51,  
 13, 4. In no case is it attracted into the relative clause, as it  
 would be here; the impossibility of such an attraction of ante-  
 cedent, without attraction of relative, may be seen by exa-  
 mining I. 99, 3. Cobet also brackets ὡς νενικηκότες. V. L.  
 p. 441.

6. εἰς τὸν κόλπον CM.



93. Πρὶν δὲ διαλῦσαι\* τὸ εἰς Κόρινθόν τε καὶ τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον ἀναχωρῆσαν ναυτικόν, ὁ Κνήμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐβούλοντο διδασκάντων Μεγαρέων ἀποπειράσαι τοῦ Πειραιῶς [τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων] ἣν δὲ ἀφύλακτος καὶ ἄκλειστος εἰκότως διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ ναυτικῷ. ἐδόκει δὲ λά-<sup>2</sup> βόντα τῶν ναυτῶν ἕκαστον τὴν κώπην καὶ τὸ ὑπηρεσίον καὶ τὸν τροπωτῆρα πεζῇ ἰέναι ἐκ Κορίνθου ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀφικομένους κατὰ τάχος εἰς Μέγαρα καθελκύσαντας ἐκ Νισαίας τοῦ νεωρίου αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, αἱ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι οὔσαι, πλεῦσαι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικόν ἦν προφυλάσσειν ἐν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ οὐδὲν οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἂν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναιῶς οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν, ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν, οὔτ' εἰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν διανοοῖντο, μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι.

The Peloponnesian admiral and the commissioners plan an attack on Piræus. The crews march from Corinth to Megara, then embark on the Megarian ships;

93, 1. τὸ ναυτικόν MT.—[τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀ.]. I bracket with Naber. See *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 207.—ἄκλειστος MT.

3. μὴ [ἂν] ἐπιπλεύσειαν Dobree; but see Stahl, *Quæst. Gram.* p. 25, Goodwin, *M. T.* § 3<sup>rd</sup>.—Mss. οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, οὐδ' (or οὐδὲ) εἰ διανοοῦντο κ.τ.λ. Bekker corrected οὐδὲ ... οὐδὲ το οὔτε ... οὔτε. Herw. transferred καθ' ἡσυχίαν, followed by Cr. and Sta. διανοοῦντο is Sta.'s correction. Ste. thinks both ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς and καθ' ἡσυχίαν may be spurious. The antithesis is between τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρ. ἐπιπλεῦσαι and τὸ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιπλεῦσαι.—προαισθῆσθαι ABFM.



4 ὥς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς· καὶ ἀφικόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ καθελκύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οὐκέτι,

but their courage gave way, so they said that the wind was too strong against them, and plundered Salamis instead.

ὥσπερ διανοοῦντο, καταδείσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον (καὶ τις καὶ ἄνεμος λέγεται αὐτοὺς κωλύσαι), ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σαλαμίως τὸ ἀκρωτήριο τὸ πρὸς Μέγαρον ὁρῶν (καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μηδ' ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν), τῷ τε φρουρίῳ προσέβαλον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀφείλκυσαν κενάς, τὴν τε ἄλλην Σαλαμίνα ἀπροσδοκῆτοισ ἐπιπесόντες ἐπόρθουν.

Athens is at first alarmed;

94. ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας φρυκτοὶ τε ἦροντο πολέμιοι καὶ ἑκπληξίς ἐγένετο οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐλάσσων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὥντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσπεπλευκέναι ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ τὴν τε Σαλαμίνα ἡρῆσθαι ἐνόμιζον καὶ παρὰ σφῶς ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτούς· ὅπερ ἂν, εἰ ἐβου-

4. καὶ φρούριον ... μηδέν I have placed in parenthesis. The ordinary reading is a colon at ὁρῶν, full stop at μηδέν, but Herw. and Sta. point out that φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ το μηδέν is put in to explain what follows, and τῷ τε φρουρίῳ is connected with ὁρῶν. Herw. reads τὸ πρὸς Μ. ὁρῶν· καί, φρούριον γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ... μηδέν, τῷ τε φ. κ.τ.λ. : Sta. τὰ πρὸς Μ. ὁρῶν, καὶ (φρούριον \* \* ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ... μηδέν) τῷ τε, thinking that something like γάρ. ὃ καὶ αὐτῷ ὄνομα Βούδορον is lost after φρούριον. Cf. c. 94, 3, where the name is given, though not previously mentioned. But this may merely be an oversight on Thuc.'s part.

94, 1. οὐδὲ μᾶς Μ.—ἡρῆσθαι in Μ has marginal correction, in late hand, ἐαλωκέναι.—[ἐνόμιζον] Herw.—σφῶς Μ.

λήθησαν μὴ κατοκνήσαι, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐγένετο καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄνεμος ἐκώλυσε. βοηθήσαντες but a fleet is 2  
 δὲ ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πανδημεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι hastily sent out, and the Pello-  
 ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον καὶ ponnesians re-  
 ἐσβαντες κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ πολλῶ θορύβῳ ταῖς treast to Megara.  
 μὲν ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἔπλεον, τῷ πεζῷ  
 δὲ φυλακὰς τοῦ Πειραιῶς καθίσταντο. οἱ δὲ 3  
 Πελοποννήσιοι ὥς ἦσθοντο τὴν βοήθειαν, κατα-  
 δραμόντες τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους  
 καὶ λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ναῦς ἐκ τοῦ  
 Βουδόρου τοῦ φρουρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Νισαίας ἔπλεον· ἔστι γὰρ ὃ τι καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοὺς  
 διὰ χρόνου καθελκυσθεῖσαι καὶ οὐδὲν στέγουσαι  
 ἐφόβουν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα πάλιν  
 ἐπὶ τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπεχώρησαν πεζῇ· οἱ δ' Ἀθη- 4  
 ναῖοι οὐκέτι καταλαβόντες πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι  
 ἀπέπλευσαν καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυλακὴν  
 ἅμα τοῦ Πειραιῶς μᾶλλον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποιοῦντο  
 λιμένων τε κλήσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ.

95. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 τούτου ἀρχομένου Σιτάλκης ὁ Τήρεω THE MACEDONIAN EXPEDI-  
 Ὀδρύσης, Θρακῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐστρά- TION.  
 τευσεν ἐπὶ Περδίκκαν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, Its objects  
 Μακεδονίας βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας stated. It was  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης, δύο ὑποσχέσεις τὴν the result of a  
 μὲν βουλόμενος ἀναπρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι. plan between  
Sitalces and  
Athens.

3. [τοῦ φρουρίου] Cobet. —δ τι] MSS. δε. Corr. by Abresch.  
 —πεζῇ only CG. The rest πεζοί, but Sta. shows that Thuc.  
 uses πεζῇ only. πεζοί is due to the οἱ following.

4. κλείσει M. —For ἅμα C has ἥδη which Kr. and Sta. read.

- 2 ὃ τε γὰρ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ὑποσχόμενος, εἰ Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις τε διαλλάξειεν ἑαυτὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ  
 πολέμῳ πιεζόμενον καὶ Φιλίππον τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 αὐτοῦ πολέμιον ὄντα μὴ καταγάγοι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ,  
 ἃ ὑπεδέξατο οὐκ ἐπετέλει· τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις  
 αὐτὸς ὡμολογῇκει ὅτε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιεῖτο  
 τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον καταλύσειν.
- 3 ἀμφοτέρων οὖν ἕνεκα τὴν ἔφοδον ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν  
 τε Φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων ἦγε καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, οἱ  
 ἔτυχον παρόντες τούτων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἡγεμόνα  
 Ἄγνωνα· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ναυσὶ τε  
 καὶ στρατιᾷ ὡς πλείστη ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδικέας  
 παραγενέσθαι. 96. ἀνίστησιν οὖν ἐκ τῶν Ὀδρυ-  
 σῶν ὀρμώμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐντὸς  
 τοῦ Αἴμου τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς Ῥοδόπης  
 Θράκας ὅσων ἦρχε μέχρι θαλάσσης [ἐς τὸν Εὐξεί-  
 νον τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον], ἔπειτα  
 τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἴμον Γέτας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν μάλ-  
 λον τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου κατέκρητο· εἰσὶ δ'  
 οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτη ὁμοροί τε τοῖς Σκύθαις
- 2 καὶ ὁμόσκενοι, πάντες ἵπποτοξόται. παρέκαλει

Enumeration of  
 the forces.

95, 3. ἔτυχον παρατυχόντες M, while T. has ἔτυχον παρα-  
 τυχόντας.—Ἄγνωνα AMT.—ὡς πλείστου MT.

96, 1. [ἐς τὸν ... Ἑλλήσποντον] bracketed by Kr., Sta.,  
 Herw., since the Schol. did not find them; for he notes on  
 μέχρι θ., ἕως τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλήσποντου. Cl. how-  
 ever thinks the scholium proves the contrary.—μέρη suspected  
 by Kr. and Sta.—τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου. Cr. thinks these  
 words an adscript to θάλασσαν.

δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θρακῶν πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτο-  
νόμων καὶ μαχαιροφόρων, οἳ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν  
'Ροδόπην οἱ πλείστοι οἰκοῦντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
μισθῶ ἔπειθεν, οἱ δ' ἐθέλονται ξυνηκολούθουν.  
ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα 3  
ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ ὦν ἦρχε· καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς  
ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν· μέχρι γὰρ Λαιαίων Παιόνων  
καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ Σκόμβρου  
ὄρους δι' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Λαιαίων ρεῖ, [οὔ] ὠρίζετο  
ἢ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἤδη. τὰ δὲ 4  
πρὸς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ τούτους αὐτονόμους Τρῆρες  
ὠρίζον καὶ Τιλαταῖοι· οἰκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι πρὸς  
βορέαν τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους καὶ παρήκουσι πρὸς  
ἡλίου δύσιν μέχρι τοῦ Ὀσκίου ποταμοῦ. ρεῖ  
δ' οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ Νέστος καὶ  
ὁ Ἑβρος· ἔστι δὲ ἐρήμον τὸ ὄρος καὶ μέγα,  
ἐχόμενον τῆς Ῥοδόπης. 97. ἐγένετο Extent of Sital-  
ces' kingdom.  
δὲ ἢ ἀρχὴ ἢ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος ἐπὶ μὲν  
θάλασσαν καθήκουσα ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων πόλεως ἐς

2. For ὀρεινῶν Herw. reads ὀρείων, for ὀρεινός regularly = *montuosus*, *δρειος montanus*. But the distinction is not always kept up.

3. ἀγριάνας M.—μέχρι γὰρ] γὰρ is wanting in the first hand of all mss. but C, and is probably a conjecture. C omits, the rest insert *γρααίων καὶ* after μέχρι. All recent edd. follow C and omit οὔ, following Arnold.—τοῦ κοσμίον ὄρους MT.—δι' Ἀγριάνων, Cl.'s correction of the imaginary διὰ Γρααίων of the mss.

4. ἔβρος MT.—ἐρημον M.

97, 1. μέγεθος μὲν ἐπὶ M.—[τὸν] first bracketed as a ditto-graphy by Valckenaer, who is followed by all recent edd.—ἵσται MT.—στρογγύλων M, with η over ω. T has *στρογγύλ* v.

τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον [τὸν] μέχρι Ἰστροῦ ποτα-  
 μοῦ· αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὰ ξυντομώτατα,  
 ἣν αἰεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἰστῆται τὸ πνεῦμα, νηὶ  
 στρογγύλῃ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἴσων νυκτῶν·  
 ὁδῶ δὲ τὰ ξυντομώτατα ἐξ Ἀβδήρων ἐς Ἰστρον  
 2 ἀνὴρ εὖζωνος ἐνδεκαταῖος τελεῖ. τὰ μὲν πρὸς  
 θάλασσαν τοσαύτη ἦν· ἐς ἡπειρον δὲ ἀπὸ Βυ-  
 ζαντίου ἐς Λαιαίους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα (ταύτη  
 γὰρ διὰ πλείστου ἀπὸ θάλασσης ἄνω ἐγίγνετο)  
 Sources of his 3 revenues. ἀνύσαι. φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρ-  
 βάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ὅσων περ ἤρξαν  
 ἐπὶ Σεύθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου βασιλεύσας  
 πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀρ-  
 γυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις[, ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος  
 προσήει]· καὶ δῶρα οὐκ ἐλάσσω τούτων χρυσοῦ  
 τε καὶ ἀργύρου προσεφέρετο, χωρὶς δὲ ὅσα  
 ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεία, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατασκευή, καὶ  
 οὐ μόνον αὐτῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσιν  
 4 τε καὶ γενναίοις Ὀδρυσῶν. κατεστήσαντο γὰρ  
 τοῦναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας τὸν νόμον, ὄντα  
 μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θραξί, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 διδόναι (καὶ αἴσχιον ἦν αἰτηθέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ  
 αἰτήσαντα μὴ τυχεῖν), ὅμως δὲ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι

2. ἀνύσαι MSS. See c. 75, 2.

3. ὅσων περ ἤρξαν Dobree, generally adopted, for MSS. ὅσων  
 (inferior MSS. ὅσον) προσῆξαν.—προσῆει Sta., after Madvig, for  
 MSS. εἶη or ἦει. Herw. in *Mnem.* 1886, p. 60, brackets ἃ ... εἶη,  
 after Dobree. Probably ἃ ... προσῆει was a gloss on χρυσοῦ ...  
 προσεφέρετο.



ἐπὶ πλεόν αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πράξαι  
οὐδὲν μὴ διδόντα δῶρα. ὥστε ἐπὶ <sup>Power of his 5</sup>  
μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ βασιλεία ἰσχύος. τῶν <sup>Empire.</sup>  
γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσαι μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰονίου  
κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστη ἐγένετο  
χρημάτων προσόδω καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ,  
ἰσχύϊ δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα  
μετὰ τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν. ταύτῃ δὲ ἀδύνατα ἐξί- 6  
σοῦσθαι οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ'  
ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνος ἐν πρὸς ἐν οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι  
δυνατὸν Σκύθαις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιστῆναι.  
οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν  
περὶ τῶν πάροντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται.  
**98.** Σιτάλκης μὲν οὖν βασιλεύων χώρας <sup>The expedition</sup>  
τοσαύτης παρεσκευάζετο τὸν στρατόν. <sup>starts.</sup>  
καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν  
Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς, ἔπειτα  
διὰ Κερκίνης ἐρήμου ὄρους, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθόριον Σιν-  
τῶν καὶ Παιόνων. ἐπορεύετο δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ  
ὁδῷ ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο τεμὼν τὴν  
ὕλην, ὅτε ἐπὶ Παίονας ἐστράτευσε. τὸ δὲ ὄρος 2  
ἐξ Ὀδρυσῶν διόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἶχον Παίονας,  
ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Σιντούς καὶ Μαιδούς. διελθόντες  
δὲ αὐτὸ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δόβηρον τὴν Παιονικὴν.  
πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπεγίγνετο μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ 3

5. μετὰ τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν. M, with several others, omits τὴν, while C omits τῶν. For δευτέρα, M has δευτέραι.

**98, 1.** Σιντῶν] Most mss. Σιντων and Σιντους below. On the accent, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 34.

2. μαίδους M. See Stahl, *l.c.*



στρατοῦ εἰ μή τι νόσῳ, προσεγίγνετο δέ· πολλοὶ

On the way the numbers greatly increase.

γὰρ τῶν αὐτονόμων Θρακῶν ἀπαράκλητοι ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν ἠκολούθουν, ὥστε τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος λέγεται οὐκ ἔλασσον πεντεκαίδεκα

4 μυριάδων γενέσθαι καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλεόν πεξὸν ἦν, τριτημόριον δὲ μάλιστα ἱππικόν. τοῦ δ' ἱππικοῦ τὸ πλείστον αὐτοὶ Ὀδρύσαι παρείχοντο καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Γέται. τοῦ δὲ πεξοῦ οἱ μαχαιροφόροι μαχιμώτατοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ῥοδόπης αὐτόνομοι καταβάντες, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ξύμμεικτος πλήθει φοβερώτατος ἠκολούθει. 99. ξυνηθροίζοντο οὖν ἐν τῇ Δοβήρῳ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὅπως κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐσβαλοῦσιν ἐς τὴν κάτω

2 Sitalces invades Perdiccas' kingdom.

Μακεδονίαν, ἧς ὁ Περδίκκας ἦρχε. τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν, ἃ ξύμμαχα μὲν ἐστί τούτοις καὶ ὑπήκοα, βασιλείας δ'

3 Digression on the growth of the kingdom of Macedonia.

ἔχει καθ' αὐτά. τὴν δὲ περὶ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδίκκου πατὴρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἀργεῶν πρῶτον ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστήσαντες μάχῃ ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας, οἱ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ὥκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία (καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῇ), ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἱ νῦν

4. ξύμμεικτος] MSS. ξύμμικτος. See Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 39, Meisterhans, p. 144.

99, 3. παρὰ θάλασσαν M, with most MSS.—περὶ B.

ὄμοροι Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσι· τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ 4  
 τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενὴν τινα καθήκουσαν  
 ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτῆσαντο,  
 καὶ πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν  
 καλουμένην Ἡδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται. ἀνέ- 5  
 στησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἑορδίας καλουμένης  
 Ἑορδούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺν  
 δέ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατῴκηται, καὶ ἐξ  
 Ἀλμωπίας Ἀλμωπας. ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν 6  
 ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι  
 ἔχουσι, τὸν τε Ἀνθεμουῖντα καὶ Κρηστωνίαν καὶ  
 Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν. τὸ δὲ  
 ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται, καὶ Περδίκκας Ἀλε-  
 ξάνδρου βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν ὅτε Σιτάλκης ἐπῆρει.

100. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες οὗτοι ἐπιόντος  
 πολλοῦ στρατοῦ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι ἔς  
 τε τὰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ  
 ἐσεκομίσθησαν. ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλά, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον 2  
 Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου [υἱὸς] βασιλεὺς γενόμενος  
 τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὑποκόδομησε καὶ ὁδοὺς  
 εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ τὰλλα διεκόσμησε τὰ [τε] κατὰ  
 τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ  
 παρασκευῇ κρείσσοι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασι-  
 λῆς ὁκτώ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς 3

4. Ἡδῶνας and Ἀλμωπας. On accent, see Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 34.

6. Βισαλτίαν] σαλτίαν MT.

100, 2. [υἱὸς] Cobet.—[τε] Haacke.—ξύμπαντες ἄλλοι βασι-  
 λεῖς MT.—[οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὁκτώ] Dobree. Pp. thinks ὁκτώ  
 added from a recollection of Herod. 8, 139. Cf. c. 92, 2 for  
 the order.

τῶν Θρακῶν ἐκ τῆς Δοβήρου ἐσέβαλε πρῶτον  
 μὲν ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὔσαν ἀρχήν, καὶ

*Sitalces takes  
 some towns, and  
 meets with  
 slight resis-  
 tance.*

εἶλεν Εἰδομενὴν μὲν κατὰ κράτος,  
 Γορτυνίαν δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ

ἄλλα ἅττα χωρία ὁμολογία διὰ τὴν  
 Ἀμύντου φιλίαν προσχωροῦντα, τοῦ Φιλίππου

υἱός, παρόντος· Εὐρωπὸν δὲ ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν,

4 ἐλεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν

ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προυχώρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ

Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου. ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Βοτ-

τιαίαν καὶ Πιερίαν οὐκ ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε

Μυγδονίαν καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Ἀνθεμουῖντα ἐδή-

5 ουν. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες πεξῶ μὲν οὐδὲ διενεοοῦντο

ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵππους δὲ προσμεταπεμψάμενοι ἀπὸ

τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων, ὅπη δοκοίη, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολ-

λοὺς ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Θρακῶν.

6 καὶ ἡ μὲν προσπέσοιεν, οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενεν ἄνδρας

ἱππέας τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τεθωρακισμένους, ὑπὸ δὲ

πλήθους περικληρόμενοι αὐτοὺς πολλαπλασίῳ τῷ

ὁμίλῳ ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν· ὥστε τέλος ἡσυ-

*But the Athen-  
 ian fleet, which  
 was to co-ope-  
 rate with him,  
 never came. So  
 Sitalces, through  
 the mediation of  
 his nephew Seu-  
 thes, made terms  
 with Perdiccas  
 and retired  
 home.*

χίαν ἦγον, οὐ νομίζοντες ἱκανοὶ εἶναι

πρὸς τὸ πλεόν κινδυνεύειν. 101. ὁ

δὲ Σιτάλκης πρὸς τε τὸν Περδίκκαν

λόγους ἐποιεῖτο ὧν ἔνεκα ἐστράτευσε

καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρήσαν

ταῖς ναυσίν, ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ

ἥξειν (δῶρα δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν

4. εἰς τὴν B. MT.—μυγδωνίαν MT.

5. ἐσέβαλον M.

101, 1. δῶρά τε MSS., corr. by Pp.

αὐτῷ), ἔς τε τοὺς Χαλκιδέας καὶ Βοττιαίους μέρος  
 τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμπει, καὶ τειχῆρεις ποιήσας  
 ἐδῆου τὴν γῆν. καθημένον δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τοὺς 2  
 χώρους τούτους οἱ πρὸς νότον οἰκοῦντες Θεσ-  
 σαλοὶ καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπήκοοι Θεσ-  
 σαλῶν καὶ οἱ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν Ἕλληνες ἐφοβή-  
 θησαν μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁ στρατὸς χωρήσῃ, καὶ ἐν  
 παρασκευῇ ἦσαν. ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πέραν 3  
 Στρυμόνος πρὸς βορέαν Θράκες ὅσοι πεδία εἶχον,  
 Παναῖοι καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ Δρῶοι καὶ Δερσαῖοι.  
 αὐτόνομοι δ' εἰσὶ πάντες. παρέσχε δὲ λόγον καὶ 4  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολεμίους Ἕλληνας μὴ  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ  
 σφᾶς χωρήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ 5  
 Βοττικὴν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἅμα ἐπέχων ἔφθειρε· καὶ  
 ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπράσσετο ὧν ἔνεκα ἐσέβαλε  
 καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σίτόν τε οὐκ εἶχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ  
 χειμῶνος ἑταλαιπύρει, ἀναπείθεται ὑπὸ Σεύθου  
 τοῦ Σπαρδάκου, ἀδελφιδοῦ ὄντος καὶ μέγιστον  
 μεθ' αὐτὸν δυναμένου, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει ἀπελθεῖν·  
 τὸν δὲ Σεύθην κρύφα Περδίκκας ὑποσχόμενος  
 ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ  
 προσποιεῖται. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς καὶ μείνας 6  
 τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας, τούτων δὲ ὀκτὼ  
 ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ  
 τάχος ἐπ' οἶκον· Περδίκκας δὲ ὕστερον Στρα-  
 τονίκην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν δίδωσι Σεύθῃ, ὥσπερ

2. σφᾶς M ; so in § 4.

4. λόγον] Herw. suggests φόβον.—{οι} ὑπ' αὐτῶν Gottleber, followed by Herw.

ὑπέσχετο. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σιτάλκου στρατείαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

102. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦδε τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικὸν διελύθη, Φορμίωνος ἡγουμένου ἐστράτευσαν, παραπλεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀστακοῦ καὶ ἀποβάντες, ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τετρακοσίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τετρακοσίοις δὲ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ ἕκ τε Στράτου καὶ Κορόντων καὶ ἄλλων χωρίων ἄνδρας οὐ δοκοῦντας βεβαίους εἶναι ἐξήλασαν καὶ Κύνητα τὸν Θεολύτου ἐς Κόροντα καταγαγόντες  
 2 ἀνεχώρησαν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἐς γὰρ Οἰνιάδας αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνανῶν οὐκ ἐδόκει δυνατόν εἶναι χειμῶνος ὄντος στρατεύειν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραίων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξίεις παρ' Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεύειν.  
 3 κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν, τοῦ Ἀχελφύου τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι, ὥστε μέγας ὦν

102, 2. Perhaps [ποταμὸς] Cf. III. 1 and 106.—ἀγραῶν MT.—διεξιείς MSS., corr. by Pp. Cf. I. 64, 4 ἐξίησι παρ' αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν.—ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος suspected by Herw.

3. κατ' ἀντικρὺ M.



ὁ ποταμὸς προσχοῖ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τῶν νήσων αἰ  
 ἡπεύρωνται, ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῶ  
 τινι ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν. τό τε γὰρ ρεῦμά 4  
 ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερόν, αἷ τε νῆσοι  
 πυκναὶ καὶ ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως [τῷ μὴ  
 σκεδάννυσθαι] ξύνδεσμοι γίνονται, παραλλάξ καὶ  
 οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι, οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας  
 διόδους τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ἐρῆμοι δ' 5  
 εἰς καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμέωνι  
 τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω, ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν  
 φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν  
 χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν, ὑπειπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν  
 δειμάτων πρὶν ἂν εὐρὼν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικί-  
 κίσηται ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μήπω ὑπὸ  
 ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο [μηδὲ γῇ ἦν], ὡς τῆς γὰρ ἄλλης  
 αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν, ὥς φασι, μόλις 6  
 κατενόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταύτην τοῦ Ἀχελῷου,  
 καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν κεχῶσθαι δίαίτα τῷ  
 σώματι ἀφ' οὐπὲρ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ὀλί-  
 γον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο. καὶ κατοικισθεὶς ἐς τοὺς

4. [τῷ μὴ σ.] bracketed by Sta.: suspected by Herw. and Ste.: Badham τοῦ for τῷ.—σύνδεσμοι all mss. See Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 50.

5. Ἀλμαίωνι mss., so below. But Ἀλκμέων is the old Attic form. In M in both places there is an erasure at αἰ.—Ἀπόλλω [malim Ἀπόλλωνα] Herw., and Cobet corrects it so; but Ἀπόλλω and Ποσειδῶ are found, not only in, but also outside oaths. See Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 56, Meisterhans, p. 102.—μη δὲ M.—[μηδὲ γῇ ἦν] bracketed by Herw. and Cobet, as a gloss on μήπω ... ἑωρᾶτο.

6. [ἂν] Herw.—ἀνακεχῶσθαι Steph.—λέγομεν & MT.

περὶ Οἰνιάδας τόπους ἐδυνάστευσέ τε καὶ ἀπὸ  
 Ἀκαρνάνος παιδὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπω-  
 νυμίαν ἐγκατέλιπε. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα τοι-  
 αῦτα λεγόμενα παρελάβομεν.

103. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἄραντες  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς  
 τὴν Ναύπακτον\* ἅμα ἦρι κατέπλευσαν  
 ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, τοῖς τε ἐλευθέρους  
 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκ τῶν ναυμαχίων  
 ἄγοντες, οἱ ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν, καὶ τὰς  
 2 ναῦς ἅς εἶλον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος,  
 καὶ τρίτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν  
 Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

103, 2. [ἐτελεύτα] τῷδε Herw. Rutherford considers καὶ  
 τρίτον to end spurious.—At end Θουκυδίδου συγγραφῆς β'. M  
 with flourishes.

## NOTES.

1. Ἀρχεται—not *historic*, but *primary* and connected with γέγραπται below. Thuc. means to say 'what preceded (i.e. book I.) was an introduction: now begins (my account of) the war itself.' Cf. ἀρξάμενος, I. 1, 1: Diod. XII. 37 τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος. Ullrich first rightly explained this passage. ὁ πόλεμος—i.e. the Archidamian War, 431-421; not the whole war to 404. ἐνθὲνδε ἤδη—cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 539 κἀντεῦθεν ἤδη πάταγος ἦν τῶν ἀσπίδων, referring to the outbreak of the war. ἐνθὲνδε refers back to I. 146, i.e. the account of the αἰτίαι καὶ διαφοραὶ is now concluded. (The other explanation, referring ἐνθὲνδε to the attack on Plataea, is less satisfactory, as ἐνθὲνδε is so far from the account of the attempt.) τῶν ἑκατέροις ξ.—when ξύμμαχος is in the gen. plu., it is generally constructed as an adj., following that of ξυμμαχεῖν. Thus cacophony is avoided. Contrast I. 18 τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις, IV. 81 τοῖς Ἀθηναίων ξ. ἐν ᾧ—neut. Cf. c. 11, 6, 35, 2, = *quo tempore*. It expresses not merely time, but includes *circumstances*. ἐν ᾧ = 'during which period.' οὔτε...τε—cf. c. 5, 5. ἐπεμείγνυντο παρ' ἀλλήλους—the ἐπι- expresses reciprocity, as in ἐπιχρῆσθαι. During the period of suspicion which preceded war, ἐπεμείγνυντο καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δ' οὖ, I. 146. καταστάντες—sc. ἐς πόλεμον, *when once they had definitely started*. Cf. c. 9, 1 and I. 49, 3. This refers to the interval between the attempt at Plataea and the invasion of Attica. ξυνεχῶς—down to the truce that preceded the Peace of Nicias. Cf. v. 24 ταῦτα τὰ δέκα ἔτη ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος, VI. 26 ἀρτι δ' ἀνειλήφει ἡ πόλις ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξυνεχοῦς πολέμου. γέγραπται—sc. μοι.—This resumes ἀρχεται, but γέγραπται is probably *impersonal*, Thuc. meaning γέγραφα. Attic prose shows a marked preference for *perf. pass.* over *perf. act.* forms in 3rd sing. Thus ἄ πέπρακται μοι is far commoner than ἄ πέπραχα, which is quite rare. γέγραφα occurs once in Thuc., γέγραπται ἐγγέγραπτο or partic. nine times. ἐξῆς—explained by κατὰ θ. καὶ χειμῶνα. Distinguish between τάξις, the *arrangement* of the subject matter as a whole, διαίρεσις, the *divisions* in which the separate events are grouped, ἐξεργασία, the *treatment* of

the separate events. It is to the *διαίρεσις* that Thuc. refers. ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο—neut. plu. is used of the several events, just as Thuc. uses αὐτὰ constantly of the details of the subject he is dealing with. κατὰ θ. καὶ χειμῶνα—as Thuc. begins his account of each summer with the first event of the new campaign, the summer in his history does not always begin exactly at the same time. Thus in 429, the account of summer begins with the Peloponnesian expedition against Plataea, which took place ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, i.e. 80 days after the opening of spring (II. 71, 1; 79, 1; cf. c. 19, 1 and 2, 1). In 428 the account of the summer only begins ἅμα τῷ ἡρι ἀκμάζοντι (III. 1, 1). Phormio's arrival at Piraeus did not occur till spring had opened; but, for the sake of convenience, that event is tacked on to the preceding winter (II. 103). But usually the opening of spring is reckoned with summer. Autumn also is counted with summer. Though Steup maintains that summer and winter are of equal length in Thuc., Poppo's view, that the summer consists of eight months (Elaphebolion to Pyanepsion) is probably correct. Thus the winter is from Maemacterion to Anthesterion.

2, 1. Γὰρ—takes up ἀρχεται and introduces the narrative. So c. 49, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος takes up δηλώσω. ἐνέμειναν—the aor. of a single historical fact. *M. T.* 56, 57 (sometimes called 'complexive'). Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν—Euboea revolted at the same time as Megara, 445 B.C. See I. 114, 115. The place of the article is taken by the gen., as often. Cf. I. 1 διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος. Comparing this phrase with c. 49, 4 μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, VI. 3, 3 μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας, II. 68 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων, VI. 80, 2, and similar predicative uses of the partic. collected by Stahl, *Quaest. Gram.* p. 28, we might suppose that Thuc. could have written μετὰ Εὐβοίαν ἀλούσαν, just as below we have ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἱερωμένης, but, with the solitary exception of ἅμα with expressions of time, as ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι, it is improbable that this convenient use of the partic. was ever employed unless the expression made sense *without* the partic., which would not be the case here. This convenient use is of course much commoner in Latin than in Greek. ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος—Argos, though humbled by Sparta, 495 B.C., was still the third state in Greece. The Argives reckoned by the number of years during which the priestess of Hera had held office. Hellanicus had written a work on the Priestesses of Argos, using them as marks for the dates. Αἰνησίῳ—sc. ἐπί: so with Πυθοδώρῳ. ἐφόρῳ—i.e. the Ephor ἐπώνυμος. The omission of ὄντος, for which cf. v. 25, 1, is rare except in dates. ἐφόρου ὄντος = ἐφορεύοντος. τέσσαρας μῆνας—the archons entered on office on the 1st of Hecatombaeon, which in 431 B.C. fell on August 1st. To

express a period of time, the pres. (or imperf.) or perf. (or pluperf.) participle is used: to supply the reference to the *completion* of the period, (α) ἤδη is added, in primary sequence, which becomes τότε in secondary sequence: both refer to a period past at the time of speaking: (β) ἔτι referring to the completion of a period in the future. Thus v. 112, 2 οὐτ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πόλεως ἑπτακόσια ἔτη ἤδη οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρήσόμεθα, and observe τότε ἱερωμένης and ἔτι ἀρχοντας here. The four months are Elaphebolion, Munychion, Thargelion, Scirophorion. Ἀθηναίους—cf. i. 93 ἀρχὴν ἀρχεῖν Ἀθηναίους, but in v. 25 ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησι. The dative is probably local. Cf. c. 86 and 92 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων for ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. [μετὰ τὴν ... μηνὶ ἔκτῳ]. Reasons for regarding these words as a later addition to the text are 1. Nearly a year (i. 125) intervened between the day on which the allies of Sparta decided to go to war and the first invasion of Attica (c. 19). Between the battle of Potidaea and the decision came the events recorded in i. 63–88, 118–125. The invasion was 80 days after the attempt on Plataea (c. 19). So for the period between the battle at Potidaea and the attempt on Plataea we get *nearly a year minus 80 days and the time occupied by the events of i. 63–88, 118–125*. The result must clearly be more than six months. But Lipsius' ἔκτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ probably gives too much time: thus, from battle at Potidaea to attempt on Plataea = 15 months; from attempt on Plataea to invasion of Attica = 80 days. Total about 17½ months. Deducting nearly a year for the time between the decision of the allies and the invasion, we get about 6½ months, at least, for the events of i. 63–88, 118–125. These events were as follows: the Athenians built a wall on the north side of Potidaea and garrisoned it. After a considerable interval (χρόνῳ ὑστερον) Phormio was sent from Athens with 1600 hoplites. He spent some time on the road (κατὰ βραχὺ προιών). On arriving, he built a wall south of Potidaea. The Corinthians called a meeting of allies at Sparta. The Spartans sent to Delphi. Then a general meeting of allies was held at Sparta, at which the decision was come to. It is not clear whether the Corinthians proposed the first meeting after the north wall was built, or only after the south wall was finished. It is however highly improbable that they waited to take action till Potidaea was completely shut in; for they were most anxious about Potidaea, and were anxious to force on war. The Athenians would occupy about a month in building the north wall. Thus the Corinthians probably suggested the meeting about 40 days after the battle. Thus, the whole time would only be about 40 days + the time taken in the mission to Delphi and the calling of the second meeting. 2. The



bracketed words give no additional indication of the date of the attempt on Plataea. Thuc. wishes to be precise here, but he has given no definite indication of the date of the battle at Potidaea, nor was it necessary to do so. He says (1) the decision of the allies was some 11 months before the invasion, (2) the invasion was 80 days after the attempt. All that could be found from *μηνὶ ἔκτῳ* would be the date of the battle of Potidaea. If any event were here referred to it would rather be the decision of the allies. *ἡμέρη ἤρι ἀρχομένῳ*—the last day of Anthesterion, in 431 April 4th. See c. 4, 2. *βοιωτάρχουντες*—the 11 chiefs of the Boeotian confederacy, of whom Thebes elected two, the other cities one each. *περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον*—cf. VII. 43 *ἀπὸ πρώτου ὕπνου*. When the article is omitted with expressions of time, a *preposition* is usually present, except with *ἡμέρας* and *νυκτός*. See Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 4. There were three watches, the first beginning about 10 o'clock. *ξὺν ὅπλοις*—in later Attic, except Xenophon, *σὺν* has only two uses: (1) the old phrase *σὺν (τοῖς) θεοῖς*, (2) in enumerating things which are thrown together in a sum total; so that *σὺν* is *very* rare with persons, and it never implies a willing connection. Andoc. II. 7 *τὸν πατέρα σὺν ἐμαντὶ ἀποκτεῖναι*. Of (1) Thuc. has 1 example, II. 86; of (2) 11 examples, e.g. (a) with *things*—c. 13, 77, ; v. 26 *ξὺν τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τοσαῦτα ἔτη*. Cf. VII. 42; VIII. 90, 95: (b) with *persons*, comparatively common in Thuc., I. 12; II. 6, 13; IV. 124; v. 74. Besides these, Thuc. has the old military phrase, *ξὺν (τοῖς) ὅπλοις*, 8 times. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 112. Aristoph. *Nub.* 560. In the same class fall *ξὺν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ*, II. 70, *ψιλοὶ ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ* and *ξὺν δορατίοις* III. 22. Cf. the Homeric *σὺν τεύχεσι*. Further, 6 cases of verbal nouns which modify the meaning of a verb, viz.: *ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρύνειν* I. 84, *ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνειν ἰβ.*, *ξὺν χαλεπότητι παιδεύεσθαι ἰβ.*, *ξὺν φόβῳ ἔχειν τι* I. 141, *ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθεῖν* III. 40, *ξὺν προφάσει κακῶς ποιεῖν ἰβ.* The absence of this archaic idiom from the later books is remarkable. Lastly, 3 cases of a connection willingly formed, viz.: II. 58; III. 90; VII. 57. This is common in Tragedy and Xenophon. In inscriptions of the classical period only the Attic use marked (2) above is found, and that never with persons.

2, 2. *Ἐπηγάγοντο*—the *τάξις* (see on c. 1) of this c. is dramatic, the causes which led to the attempt being given parenthetically in 2 and 3, while the narrative is continued at 4. *Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες*—the Thebans call them, III. 65, *ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένει*. These leaders of the aristocratic party represent the great land-owners as distinct from the merchants. *ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπεναντιοὺς*—the order, noun, art., adj., puts emphasis on the adj. Cf. c. 34, 4.

**2, 3.** Ἐπραξαν—of manipulation or diplomacy, as often. Cf. c. **5, 7**. An abuse of the meaning 'to succeed.' ἴσοιτο—was certain. Cf. c. **13, 1**. ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ—cf. **III. 13** ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, and c. **3, 4**. Here τε καὶ joins a positive to a negative expression which merely repeats it from another point of view. Cf. v. **9, 2** τῷ τε κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ μὴ ἅπαντας κινδυνεύειν. μήπω—the sentence expresses a wish. ἡ καὶ ῥᾶν—cf. ἡ καὶ μάλλον **I. 11, 25**; **III. 13**; **IV. 1, 103**. ἡ καὶ before a comparative adverb emphasizes an inference. ἄλαθον ἐσελθόντες—see *M. T.* 144, 146, 887. προκαθεστηκυίας—Pp. compares *anteponere vigiliis*, Tac. *An.* **I. 50**.

**2, 4.** Θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα—*cum in foro constitissent*, lit. 'having grounded their arms.' τοῖς ἐπαγομένοις—the temporal force is lost, and the partic. becomes a substantive, as in *οἱ προδιδόντες* c. **5**. ἐπέθοντο ὥστε—cf. c. **101, 5**. ὥστε is often inserted with verbs which take simple infin., the main emphasis is transferred from the finite to the infin. *M. T.* 588. ἔργον ἔχεσθαι—*rem aggredi*. Cf. **I. 49, 7, 78, 3**. λέναι ἐς—for the hostile sense of λέναι cf. v. **69** ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐλθεῖν, 'to attack.' ἐπὶ is commoner than ἐς, as **I. 58** ἦν ἐπὶ Ποτελδαίαν ἰωσιν. Cf. c. **3, 4**. ἔρχομαι, εἰμι, ἤκω, ἦλθον and synonyms are far more supple in sense than our 'to come.' Note that the moods of εἰμι are usually present in meaning, except in *Oratio Obliqua*. γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο—i.e. ἐγίνωσκον, 'came to a decision.' ἐπιτηδεύεις—so c. **18, 3**. καὶ ἀνείπεν—'and in fact,' καὶ introducing the parenthesis and emphasizing the word following. Cf. c. **49, 5, 51, 5**. εἰ τις βούλεται—in a protasis to a condition in *Oratio Obliqua*, probably only the future indicative is ever changed into optative, so that the optative in protasis in *Or. Obl.*, except in the future, represents either ἦν and subjunctive or εἰ and optative of the *Recta*. κατὰ τὰ πάτρια—in *Iliad* **II. 504** Plataea is enumerated among the Boeotian confederate cities. ξυμμαχεῖν—this may be a gloss on τίθεσθαι κ.τ.λ. Cf. **IV. 30** προκαλούμενοι, εἰ βούλονται, τὰ ὅπλα κελεύειν παραδοῦναι, and so **37**; v. **115** ἐκήρυξαν, εἰ τις βούλεται, λῆξεσθαι, **VII. 82** κήρυγμα ποιοῦνται, εἰ τις βούλεται, ὡς σφᾶς ἀπιέναι. With βούλομαι an infinitive has often to be supplied from the context.

**3, 1.** Ὡς ᾗσθοντο—cf. c. **5, 4, 31, 1, 94, 3**. The aorist is usual with ὥς, but, whatever tense is used, it is always independent of that of the main verb. In this respect ὥς differs from other temporal particles. Thus if imperf. is used, as in c. **77, 1**, or pluperf. as in c. **59, 1**, it is because that tense is required to describe a continuous or completed act, apart from the main verb. If the act in a temporal sentence is represented as simultaneous with or preceding the action of the main

sentence, *ὅτε* or *ἐπειδὴ* is used. *ἤσθοντο*—‘became aware,’ ingressive aor., a use almost confined to 1st aor. forms. *ἐξαπινάλως*—this and *ἐξαπίνης*, in place of *ἐξαίφνης* or *αἰφνιδίως*, are Ionic, and only found in Thuc. and Xenophon of Attic prose writers. [Dem.] c. *Neaeram* § 99 is copied from this passage. Cf. c. 48, 2, 93, 3. *καταδείσαντες* καὶ ν.—ingressive, ‘having become alarmed,’ etc. *πολλῷ πλείους*—sc. *ἢ ἐσῆλθον*. An ellipse with comparative is very common. *ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ*—*per noctis caliginem*. Cf. *ἐν νυκτὶ* below, and c. 4 *ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πῆλψι*. *πρὸς ξ. ἐχώρησαν*—*se converterunt*. Cf. III. 66 *προείπομεν τὸν βουλόμενον κατὰ τὰ πάντων Βοιωτῶν πατρία πολιτεύειν* *λέναι* *πρὸς ἡμᾶς*, IV. 120, VIII. 40, 2. *ἐνσωτέριζον*—the subject is changed, as in 4 below. Thuc. assumes that his readers will follow the narrative attentively.

3, 2. *Πράσσοντές πως*—the particle implies that unnecessary details are omitted. Cf. *ἄλλως πως* in brief narrative, I. 99, VI. 2. *κρατήσειν*—Cl. defends *κρατῆσαι*, on the ground that the aor. expresses confidence in the result of the action in *ἐπιθέμενοι*. But the aor. inf. is very doubtful used thus for the future. *τῷ γὰρ πλήθει*—*γὰρ* gives the writer’s explanation, and shows that *οἱ Πλαταιῆς* above was loosely used for *τὸ πλήθος τῶν Π.* *βουλομένῳ ᾗν*—so VII. 35; VIII. 92, 6. *M. T.* 900. The editors compare Sallust, *Jug.* 84 *plebei volenti putabatur*, *ib.*, 100 *militibus labor volentibus esset*. *Livy* XXI. 50.

3, 3. *Ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι*—cf. I. 118 *ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι* *πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ*. Plur. neut. forms for sing. are very common in Thuc., especially with verbals. *ξυνελέγοντο*—with *παρ’ ἀλλήλους*. *διορύσσοντες τοὺς τ.*—cf. *τοιχωρύχος*. *ἀμάξας τε*—the conjunction adds a third and important fact, as often. *ἦ*—sc. *αὐτό*, what has just been described, the barrier of waggons.

3, 4. *Ἐτοῖμα*—the plur. marks the details of a complex act. See c. 10, 2 *φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα*—cf. VII. 83 *τῆς νυκτὸς φυλάξαντες τὸ ἡσυχάζον*. ‘Waited for the time when it was still night.’ *ἔτι νύκτα* is equivalent to *τὴν ἔτι νύκτα*, cf. c. 2, 1. *καὶ*—adds the more exact time. *περίορθρον*—the beginning of that time of night denoted by *ὄρθρος*. Cf. IV. 110 *νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ περὶ ὄρθρον*, VI. 101 *περὶ ὄρθρον*. According to Phrynichus (*Bekker An. Gr.* 54, 8) *ὄρθρος ἐστὶν ἡ ὥρα τῆς νυκτὸς καθ’ ἣν ἀλεκτρυόνες ᾄδουσιν*. *ἄρχεται δὲ ἐνάτης ὥρας καὶ τελευτᾷ εἰς διαγελωσαν ἡμέραν*. So in III. 112, Demosthenes attacked the Ambraciots *ἅμα ὄρθρῳ*, at which time they could not distinguish friend from foe, *νυκτὸς ἔτι οὐσης*. Thus the Plataean rally was at about 2 o’clock. *γίνωνται*—sc. *οἱ Θηβαῖοι*. Cf. I. 143 *οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται*, III. 12, 3. *φοβερώτεροι*—for the passive meaning, ‘timid,’ cf. IV. 128, 4.

Conversely ἀδεής which is usually active is occasionally passive = *not formidable*. See I. 36, 1. Cf. προστρόπαιος, ἀλιτήριος, and in Latin *formidolosus* and others. See Cook on Sallust, *Cat.* 39, 2. Shil. quotes Soph. O. T. 153 φοβερὰν φρένα δειματι πάλλων. ἥσους ὥσι τῆς—i.e. ἥσσώνται, equivalent to νικῶνται ὑπὸ τῆς κ.τ.λ. σφετέρας—indirect reflexive, i.e. refers to subject of the main verb, not to that of its own clause. Cf. c. 83, 3, 89, 4; IV. 37, 1; V. 47; VII. 48; VIII. 74, 3. This is the regular use of σφέτερος, whereas σφέτερος αὐτῶν is the same as αὐτῶν. But Thuc. also uses σφέτερος alone as direct reflexive, as IV. 33 οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρῆσασθαι; and in dependent clauses, as c. 71 and IV. 11 τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς καταγνῶναι ἐκέλευε. τὰ σφέτερα is direct in c. 20, 4; IV. 99, 1, indirect in III. 68, 3. προσέβαλόν τε—inferential τε, 'and so.'

4, 1. Ἐγνώσαν—'became aware,' ingressive. ξυνεστρέφοντο—'proceeded to rally,' imperf. expressing difficulty. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς—in c. 65, 12, 76, 2 Thuc. has the Ionic use of σφᾶς alone as a direct reflexive. See Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 11.

4, 2. Δὲς μὲν ... ἔπειτα—cf. IV. 115 καὶ μίαν μὲν ἡμέραν ἀπεκρούσαντο, τῇ δ' ὕστερα. As regards ἔπειτα without δέ, the ordinary use is πρῶτον (πρῶτα) μὲν ... ἔπειτα, which Thuc. uses 28 times; see c. 19, 2, 49, 2, 75, 1, 89, 2, 96, 1, 98, 1. He has πρῶτον (πρῶτα) μὲν ... ἔπειτα δέ 8 times; see c. 55, 84. If καὶ follows ἔπειτα, δέ is always inserted, e.g. c. 84; IV. 43; VII. 23; VIII. 48; also μάλιστα μὲν is always followed by ἔπειτα δέ, as c. 54; I. 75; VI. 11, 4, 16, 5, 67, 2. If the more emphatic ἔπειτα μέντοι is used, it is preceded by τὸ πρῶτον or τὸ μὲν π., as III. 93, 1, 111, 3; VIII. 75, 1, 86, 2. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ... ἔπειτα occurs I. 131; V. 41, 3, 84, 2; the same, but ἔπειτα δέ c. 48; V. 41, 2. πρῶτον alone is always answered by ἔπειτα alone, unless καὶ follows ἔπειτα, as in VII. 23 τὸ μέγιστον πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ καὶ κ.τ.λ. After other phrases, ἔπειτα is without δέ in 10 cases, has δέ in 2, viz. c. 92, 1; I. 18, 3. κραυγῇ—Moeris says κεκραγμός Ἀττικοί, κραυγὴ Ἕλληνες, but κεκραγμός κέκραγμα and κραυγὴ are all Attic words. Perhaps Moeris really wrote κραυγασμός Ἕλληνες, which would agree with Phrynichus. καὶ—there is chiasmus here and in λίθοις καὶ κεράμῳ. ὀλολυγῇ—'cheering,' this word is used regularly of women. Pollux I. 28 ὀλολύξαι καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρῆσασθαι ἐπὶ γυναικῶν. Hence κραυγῇ goes with οἰκετῶν, ὀλολυγῇ with γυναικῶν. Eur. I. T. 1337 ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆδε of Iphigenia; cf. Aesch. Ag. 587 of Clytaemnestra. Verg. Aen. IV. 667, IX. 477 *femineo ululatu*. τε ... τε—these join χρωμένων to βαλόντων and represent the two actions as going on simultaneously. Cf. c. 22 ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει ... τὴν τε πόλιν ἐφύλασσε.



λίθοις καὶ κεράμω—no doubt the slaves had gathered the stones, while the women removed the tiles. For *κέραμος* collective, cf. III. 74, 1; IV. 48, 2. So *ἐπαλξις* c. 13, *κάλαμος* c. 76. Xen. *Mem.* III. 1, 7 λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ κέραμος. διὰ νυκτὸς—cf. διὰ παντὸς c. 16. πολλοῦ—predicate with ἐπιγενομένου. Cf. VII. 87 αἱ νύκτες ἐπιγινόμεναι μετοπωριναὶ καὶ ψυχραὶ. ἐπιγενομένου—expresses any sudden or unexpected phenomenon. Cf. c. 64, 1, 70, 1, 77, 5. The other meaning occurs in 4 below. οἱ πλείους—the subject is here limited by apposition from all to the majority. Cf. I. 2, 6 οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ... οἱ δυνατώτατοι. So in Latin, Livy XXI. 24, 2 *Galli ... aliiquot populi*. πηλῶ—so that progress was impeded. Cf. c. 5, 2. This shows that the streets of Plataea were bad, like Greek streets generally. On the outskirts of the town the soil was certainly soft, and the Thebans fled in the direction of the valley of the Asopus, so that the further they went, the worse the road became. Probably in wet weather the streets of the town resembled water-courses carrying down the water from Cithaeron to the Asopus. τῶν διόδων—belongs like ἡ χρῆ σ. to ἀπειροὶ ὄντες. ἡ χρῆ—takes the place of a deliberative subj. (why?). Cf. I. 91, 1 οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρῆ ἀπιστῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ—explains only ἐν σκότῳ, πηλῶ being already explained in ὑετοῦ ἔμα. τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς—there was a new moon on the early morning of the 7th April 431, and, as the Attic months were lunar, assuming the calendar to have been in perfect order (it must have been in *fair* order), the month Elaphebolion began at sunset on the 6th April. The attempt was made at the end of Anthesterion, on the night of April 4th or 5th. When the calendar month did not correspond with the true lunar month, the true day of the new moon was called *νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην* (c. 28). ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς δ.—for ἐμπείρων δὲ ὄντων τῶν δ. Cf. I. 144 αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπείσάμεθα. [τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν—this is taken as *ne effugerent*. (There is another tradition, due to Kr., that it expresses a consequence, which is not in good Attic.) It must depend on διώκοντας,—which gives the platitude that the enemy pursued them that they might not escape. To avoid this, Cl. explains it as equivalent to τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἐκφεύγειν and constructs it with ἐμπείρους. But (1) there is no other case of *gen.* of *inf.* with adjectives in Thuc., (2) ἐμπείρους τοῦ ἐκφεύγειν ought to mean ‘experienced in escaping.’ Supply τῶν διόδων with ἐμπείρους. ὥστε διεφθέροντο οἱ π.]—the article, found in BCEFGM and in A corrected, contradicts τὸ πλείστον in 5 below, and ἐγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν c. 5, 7, the number captured out of a force of few over 300 (c. 2, 1), when many others had been killed or had escaped (4 below). Bekker omits οἱ, followed by



most edd., and the imitation of Aen. Pol. 2, 6 is quoted *οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐφυγον ἀπειροὶ ὄντες ἢ χρὴ σωθῆναι, οἱ δὲ ἐμπείρους διώκοντες πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐφθειραν*. But on reading the whole chap. to 4, it becomes clear that no results of the flight are given till 4, where the fate of the whole number is told: so that these words break the continuity of the narrative.

4, 3. *Στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου—στυράκιον λαβὼν τις ἐν τῷ μοχλῷ τῆς θύρας ἐνέβαλεν*, Schol. The *στυράκιον* is the spike at the top of a small javelin for fixing it in the ground; = Homeric *σανρωτήρ*. This was used instead of the *βάλανος* or iron pin which was driven through the *μόχλος* (bar) and the door, and could not be removed without a key (*βαλανάγρα*, *κλείς*), which fitted into it. Arnold remarks that the action is the same as spiking a gun. Cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1159 *ἅπαντ' ἐκείνα πετύλῳται πύλαις καὶ βεβαλάνῳται καὶ φυλάττεται κύκλῳ*. *χρησάμενος ἐς*—cf. c. 49 *ἔδρασαν ἐς τὰ φρέατα*.

4, 4. *Διωκόμενοι .. ἀναβάντες ἔρριψαν*—the 1st partic. gives the *cause* of *ἀναβάντες*, while the latter is *temporal* to *ἔρριψαν*. Cf. c. 59, 3, 76, 1, 90, 3. The 2nd partic. tends to become a mere adverb to the verb, as c. 90, 1 *βουλόμενοι προαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἀναγαγόμενοι ἔπλεον*. *οἱ μὲν τινες ... οἱ δὲ ... ἄλλοι δὲ ... τὸ δὲ πλείστον*—the partic. *διωκόμενοι* is subdivided. Also *οἱ μὲν τινες* is restricted by *οἱ πλείους*. [*λαθόντες καὶ*]—it is evident that *γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν* must be joined with *διακόψαντες*, but *καὶ* is in the way of this. But, though Stahl's reading is given, perhaps Thuc. wrote *γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν λαθόντες ἐξῆλθον*. There would then be no objection to *καὶ*. For the want of symmetry in *δούσης καὶ διακόψαντες*, see c. 25, 1. For the two participles *διακόψαντες*, *λαθόντες*, the first *temporal*, the second *defining* the verb, see c. 33, 3. The objection to bracketing *καὶ* only is that Thuc. would have written *λάθρα διακόψαντες*, as *IV. 110*; *VIII. 84*. *ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ τῆς*—cf. c. 76 *ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους*.

4, 5. *Τὸ πλείστον ... ἐσπίπτουσιν*—plur. verb after a collective, as often. Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 21. *δ ἦν τοῦ τείχους*—cf. *I. 134* *οἰκημα δ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. It was not usual in early times to have buildings adjacent to the walls. Cf. c. 17, 1 note. Hence the Thebans thought the building was part of the gate-way, supposing it to be double like the Dipylon at Athens. Thebes prided herself on her seven great gates, and it is highly improbable that the pomerium was thus violated in that city. There cannot have been many such buildings at Plataea, for in c. 76 we see there was room for a curved wall between the *τείχος* and the mass of the buildings. *ἀνεωγμένα ἐτυχον*—in order to represent the action as complete, the *perf.* partic., not *aor.*, has to be used

with *τυγχάνω*, *λανθάνω*, *φθάνω*, unless the verb is in imperf. or pres. See *M. T.* 144, 146, 147, 887. Cf. i. 103 *Ναύπακτον ἔτυχον ἡρηκότες*. αὐτοῦ—in the second member of a relative sentence the relative is not repeated, but a demonstrative or personal pron. takes its place. Cf. c. 34, 5, 72, 1, 74, 3. Exceptions are c. 43, 3, 44, 1, where the relative is repeated. Cf. 'Whose fan is in His hand, and He shall thoroughly purge His floor.' πύλας—πύλαι τοῦ τείχους, θύραι τοῦ οἴκου Schol. Cf. *τείχος* and *τοίχος*. ἀντικρυς—'right through.' In vi. 49 it means *direct*. In all other places in Thuc. *downright*, *complete*, as viii. 64 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν. It is said that ἀντικρυς = φανερώς, ἀντικρυ (not found in Thuc.) = ἐξ ἐναντίας.

4, 6. Κατακαύσωσιν—cf. c. 52 οὐκ ἔχοντες δ τι γένωνται. ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν—sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι, *on the spot*. Often in Thuc., but later Attics use οὕτως in much the same sense.

4, 7. Τὰ ὅπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοῦς—the phrase is common, and the order is always the same. Cf. iv. 21, 3, 30, 4, 37, 2, 38, 3. Livy xxii. 60, 24 and 26 arma et vos ipsos traditis. χρήσασθαι δ τι ἂν β.—with χρήσασθαι supply σφίσι only. Cf. c. 24, 2. χρήσασθαι expresses *purpose*, the act. or mid. being regular in this construction even when the pass. might seem more suitable. *M. T.* 770. The phrase is regular in the terms of a complete surrender. Cf. iv. 69, 3; vii. 85, 1. Andoc. i. 11, 26.

4, 8. μὲν δὴ—dismisses the subject. ἐπεπράγεσαν—the plu- perf. shows that Thuc. has anticipated: in c. 5 he goes back.

5, 1. Ἔδει παραγενέσθαι—'ought to have reached Plataea.' *M. T.* 415. Cf. c. 92, 7, 95, 3. εἰ τι ἄρα—cf. c. 12, 1. The following are noteworthy: (1) εἰ μὴ ἄρα = *nisi forte*, e.g. Xen. *Mem.* i. 2, 8 πῶς ἂν οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ διαφθείροι τοὺς νέους; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἐστίν. (2) εἰ ἄρα in *indirect questions*, e.g. Plat. *Phaedo*, 95 B πειρώμεθα εἰ ἄρα τι λέγεις. (3) εἰ ἄρα or ἦν ἄρα in *protasis*, as i. 140 ἦν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα. ἄρα implies a quite unlikely contingency. προχωροῖ—the apodosis is only implied in ἔδει παραγενέσθαι. *M. T.* 696. ἦν προχωρῇ might have been kept. προχωρεῖν is a favourite word with Thuc. ἅμα—belongs to ῥηθείσης, as c. 4 ὑετοῦ ἅμα ἐπιγενομένου. ῥηθείσης—more usually ἐλθούσης, but the former is better suited to a hurried announcement to an army on the march. τῶν γεγεννημένων—the Theban reinforcements were ignorant of the destruction of their friends when they arrived, see 4 below. Hence these τὰ γεγεννημένα told them were not complete. The message was doubtless brought by those who escaped κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους, who did not know all. ἐπεβοήθουν—'increased their speed.' Cf. iii. 110, 1.

5, 2. Ἑβδομήκοντα—probably rather over the direct route, but approximately correct measured by the road. γενόμενον—of natural phenomena, as often. Cf. c. 77 ἐγένετο φλόξ, ὕδωρ καὶ βροντὰς γενομένας. ἑρρὺν μέγας—cf. c. 75 ἤρετο μέγα.

5, 3. Τε—‘and so.’ ὕστερον—‘late,’ cf. c. 80 ὕστερον ἦλθον. τῶν ἀνδρῶν—apposition with τῶν μὲν ... τῶν δέ, as in 4, 4. ζώντων—predicative.

5, 4. Κατασκευή—‘property,’ viz. household effects and farming implements. κατασκευὴ means anything that makes a place habitable and worth living in. See L. and S. οἶα—Ionic for αἶτε. ἐβούλοντο εἰ τινα λάβοιεν κ.τ.λ.—M. T. 695. The second protasis is not co-ordinate with the first. In a more certain form the sentence would run ὅτινα λάβοιεν ὑπάρχειν ἐβούλοντο ἀντὶ τῶν ἐνδον ἐξωγρημένων.

5, 5. Διαβουλευομένων—reciprocal mid., like διαλέγομαι, διαπράττομαι. When a compound of διὰ is not available, the same sense is given by ἐν ἑαυτοῖς or σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, as IV. 25, 9 παρακελευόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, VIII. 76 παραινέσεις ἐποιοῦντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, sometimes by ἐν ἀλλήλοις, for which see c. 65, 11. ὑποτοπήσαντες—rare and poetical, used by Thuc. 8 times, only in aor. inf. or partic. περὶ τοῖς ἔξω—the dat. with περὶ gradually disappeared in Attic and occurs but once in the orators, Isocr. *Ep.* 9, 10. It is regular in Thuc. with verbs of fearing. ὁσῶς—when used of States, ὁσιος means in accordance with those principles of right dealing universally recognised (*jus gentium*). Cf. III. 56 ἐτιμωρησάμεθα κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα, τὸν ἐπιόντα πολέμιον ὅσιον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι. *ib.* c. 58, 3. See on c. 52, 3. Eur. *Hec.* 788. σφῶν—with πόλιν. The position is for the sake of emphasis. πειραθέντες—the Attic aor. of πειρῶμαι is ἐπειράθην, cf. c. 33, 2. But Thuc. uses also the Ionic ἐπειρασάμην in c. 44 and 85. ἔλεγον—interrupts the structure of οὕτε ... τε, but the irregularity is very slight. λέγω in sense of κελεύω regularly takes infin., μὴ being the neg. εἰ δὲ μή—cf. I. 28 εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν. The addition of ἔφασαν, suspected also by Kr. in both places, certainly adds clearness, yet Thuc. proceeds in a quite different way in c. 13. But the difference in the nature of the matter of these chapters (the one narrative, the other reflective) may account for the difference of style. ἀναχωρησάντων ... αὐτοῖς—the use of the gen. abs. in spite of the dat. following, makes the act in the partic. more prominent, and prevents it from being a mere appendage of ἀποδώσειν. A common sacrifice of form to sense in Herod. and Thuc. αὐτοῖς is wrongly bracketed in the text.

5, 6. Ἐπομόσαι—*jusjurandum addere*. Does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. εὐθύς—with ἀποδώσειν. as the following

words show. ἦν τι ξυμβαίνωσι—closely with γενομένων, 'with a view to an arrangement.' ἦν ξυμβῶσι would be 'if they come to an arrangement.'

5, 7. Δ' οὖν—doubtful statements are dismissed and the narrative of facts resumed. οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες—contrast οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντες = 'guiltless.' τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐσεκομίσαντο—the preposition attracted to the verb, for ἐν. Cf. c. 13, 2, 14, 1. ἀπέκτειναν—assuredly justified as an act of reprisal, but most impolitic, as calculated to provoke Thebes and Sparta. εἰς αὐτῶν ἦν—the so-called partitive gen. is often used thus *without* εἰς, which is wanting in C. Cf. I. 85 εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὦν, V. 59, 5; VIII. 39, 2. πρὸς δὲν ἔπραξαν—so I. 131, 1; IV. 114, 3. This is only a variant for πράσσειν with *dat.*, as IV. 110, 2; V. 76, 3. But when many persons are dealt with, πράσσειν ἐς is also used, as I. 132, 4. The same three constructions follow λέγειν: πρὸς, Andoc. I. 48; *dat.*, *ib.* I. 69; ἐς, *ib.*, *l.c.* Eur. *Hec.* 303 εἶπον εἰς ἀπαντας, 'proposed in the general assembly.' οἱ προδιδόντες—see on c. 2, 4.

6, 1. Ἐπεμπον—the imperf. with verbs of 'going' and 'sending,' presenting the *details* of an elaborate negociation involving a journey, is common. Cf. c. 85, 2; I. 10, 5, 26, 1, and 3 below. But the aor. is also used. *M. T.* 57. καὶ—has nothing to do with the τε preceding, which is answered by the τε following. Thus the sentence consists of two members joined by τε ... τε. Cf. I. 69, 1 τό τε πρῶτον ἐάσαντες . . καὶ ὕστερον τὰ μακρὰ στήσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε αἰεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες. So in 4 below.

6, 2. Ἐγγέλθη εἰθὺς—does not refer to ἔπεμπον ἀγγελον, but to two previous messages mentioned in 3 below. Plataea is something over 30 miles from Athens. καὶ ... ξυνέλαβον—parataxis, presenting the two facts as almost concurrent. The second was prompt and hurried. Cf. I. 61 ἦλθε καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία ... καὶ πεμπουσιν. ἔπεμψαν ... κελεύοντες—the activity of the sender is continued in the person sent. Cf. c. 85, 1. νεώτερον ποιεῖν—i.e. νεωτερίζειν. Cf. I. 132, 5; IV. 55 μὴ νεώτερον τι γένηται. πρὶν ἂν—after historic tenses, πρὶν ἂν and subj. is used only in *Oratio Obliqua*. Cf. c. 84, 1, 102, 5.

6, 3. Ἀμα τῇ ἐσόδῳ γιγνομένη—see c. 2, 1. οὕτω δὲ—gives the result of facts just stated, contrast c. 19, 1. οὐκ εἰδότες—sc. ὅτι τεθνήκασιν. ἐπίστελλον—see 1 above.

6, 4. Ἐγκατέλιπον—so ἐγκαθέξομαι III. 1; ἐγκαθίστημι I. 4; ἐγκαθορμίζομαι IV. 1; ἐγκατοικοδομεῖν III. 18; ἐγκατασκήπτειν c. 47. τοὺς ἀχρειστάτους—sunt ἀχρεῖαι omnes *inhabiles militiae*, Pp. Cf. c. 44. Juv. 15, 126 imbellē et inutile



vulgus. For the deeper application of ἀχρεῖος, see c. 40, 2. ἐξεκόμισαν—c. 78, 3.

7, 1. Δελυμένων—before the attempt on Plataea, each side had interpreted the other's action as σπονδῶν ξύγχυσις (I. 146), but there had been no open violation of the letter of the truce. λαμπρῶς—cf. I. 49, 7; VIII. 66, 3, 75, 2. παρ-σκευάζοντο δέ—the *anaphora* would have been more perfect with παρσκευάζοντο μὲν preceding, but Thuc. often omits μὲν in cases where it is not required, though a writer more careful about symmetry would insert it: perhaps he purposely avoids a rhetorical formula in narrative. The common cases in Thuc. are very simple, as πολλοὶ μὲν ... πολλοὶ δέ, εἰ μὲν ... εἰ δέ, ἅμα μὲν ... ἅμα δέ. Cf. I. 28 with πέμπετε; VI. 20, 4; also c. 41, 3 μόνη γὰρ ... καὶ μόνη. μέλλοντες—belongs to both subjects, as ποιούμενοι below. Probably both intended sending to Persia, though the Athenians did not carry out their intention. See c. 67. πέμπειν—M. T. 73, 96. ἀλλόσε—see c. 29. ἐαυτῶν—for σφετέρας. Cf. c. 92, 4, and see c. 3, 4.

7, 2. Λακεδαιμονίοις ... ἐπετάχθη—i.e. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπέταξαν. This dat. of the agent is very rare with other parts of the pass. than perf. It occurs in I. 51 τοῖς Κερκυραίοις οὐχ ἐωρῶντο, IV. 64 τίνες ἂν δικαιότερον πᾶσι ... μισοῖντο, id. 109 πόλεις οἰκοῦνται ξυμμίκτοις ἔθνεσι. There are only two instances in the Orators. αὐτοῦ—in the harbours of Peloponnese. ἐξ Ἰ. καὶ Σ.—with τοῖς ἐλομένοις, but placed first for the sake of the antithesis with αὐτοῦ. Cf. c. 18, 3 κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἢ σχολαίως. ναῦς ἐπετάχθη—Stahl supports his reading with great ability. It will be noticed that these Dorian cities, reckoned by Sparta among her allies, are not mentioned in c. 9 with the ξύμμαχοι, because there only those who actually contributed to the armament are given, and these cities contributed nothing. III. 86, 2. ποιείσθαι—middle, ναῦς being the object. Cf. I. 14, 2. ἐς τὸν πάντα ᾄ.—‘in all.’ When the article precedes πᾶς, the whole is regarded as the sum of its component parts. πεντακοσίων—by no means realised. The Spartan navy in the Archidamian War was contemptible. See c. 66 and 85. Thuc. speaks with some irony. τὰ τ’ ἄλλα—perhaps τᾶλλα should be read here, the τ’ being due to dittography. ἡσυχάζοντας—the change from the dat. ἐλομένοις is due to the infin. This change from gen. or dat. is always possible except when a word is the predicate to a gen. or dat., as I. 71 βουλομένων ὁμῶν εἶναι προθύμων. See c. 24, 1. μιᾷ νηϊ—‘si singulis navibus venissent; nam pluribus venientes timendum esse ne hostiliter agerent,’ Pp. This gives an example to show how they



were to refrain from hostile acts (ἡσυχάζοντας). ἕως ἂν—whereas with *πρὶν*, *μέχρι* and *μέχρι οὗ* Thuc. occasionally omits ἂν when subjunctive is used, according to the older Attic idiom, this is never the case with ἕως. Cf. c. 72, 3.

7, 3. Τὰ περὶ Π.—‘in the neighbourhood of P.’ like *circa*. Cf. c. 99, 3. μᾶλλον—‘more than elsewhere,’ so ‘especially.’ Cf. c. 15 ἐτέρων μᾶλλον. Κέρκυραν—the places are given in inverse order, the final point reached coming first. Cf. c. 93, 1. Eur. *Bach*. 13 fol. At present only an ἐπιμαχία existed between Athens and Corcyra. See Intr. p. LXVI. Κεφαλληνίαν—it took no part in the war at first, but joined Athens towards the end of the summer. See c. 30. Ἀκαρνᾶνας—except the Oeniadae, c. 102, 2, the Acarnanians were reckoned as allies from the first, though no treaty was concluded till the autumn of 430. See c. 68. Ζάκυνθον—its interests and policy coincided with those of Corcyra. Cf. c. 9, 4; I. 47, 2. εἰ ... εἴη—*Recta*, ἐὰν ... ᾗ. See 2, 4. βεβαίως—cf. IV. 20, 3 φιλους γενέσθαι βεβαίως. πέριξ καταπολεμήσοντες—*se undique impugnaturus*.

8, 1. Ὀλίγον οὐδὲν—cf. VII. 59, 3, 87, 6; VIII. 15, 2. ὀλίγον is predicate. τε—‘in fact,’ summing up the preceding remarks. Cf. 3 below. ἔρρωντο—*totis viribus incumbabant*. Thuc. uses the *literal* sense only once, VII. 15. οὐκ ἀπεικότως—so *εικότως* in the Orators is often followed by γάρ. Cf. I. 77, 5. So οὐκ ἀκουσίως below. ἀρχόμενοι—i.e. there is greater enthusiasm at the beginning of an undertaking than after the first excitement has worn off. ἀντιλαμβάνονται—sc. τῶν πραγμάτων, *rem capessunt*. τότε δὲ—contrasted with πάντες. καὶ—an additional reason existed then. νεότης—*juventus*. Cf. c. 20, 2, 21, 2. The abstract term, like ἡλικία, represents the young men as a power in the State. Cf. Pericles’ remark, quoted by Aristot. *Rhet. A.* 7, 34 τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνερῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ξαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη. ὑπ’ ἀπειρίας—so ὑπὸ is used with any noun denoting any state of mind which is the immediate cause of action. See c. 47, 4. παροιμία· γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος [Pindar, *frag.* 87 Bergk] Schol. ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς—all States in or outside Greece. Cf. I. 1, 1, 6, 1. ξυνιουσῶν—*pres. not fut.* Cf. v. 59, 5, 71, 1.

8, 2. Λόγια—a general term for all words, whether prose or verse, supposed to be ominous. Probably old stories of strange things in the *past* are here meant. Pind. *Pyth.* 1, 92. ἔλέγετο—in other places the plur. verb appears after a neut. sing. (see *not. crit.*), viz.: I. 126, 5 ἐπῆλθον Ὀλύμπια (where CEG read ἐπῆλθεν); v. 75, 2 Καρνεῖα ἐτίγ-

χανον ὄντα: though elsewhere names of festivals have the sing.; v. 26, 2 ἀμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο; vi. 62, 4 ἐγένοντο ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. 'Ita rarus est hic plur. numeri usus apud veteres scriptores Atticos, ut fere suspiceris librariorum errores esse e Byzantinorum sermone illatos,' Herw. πολλὰ δὲ—i.e. χρησμοί, which are collected and interpreted by χρησμολόγοι. ᾗδον—contrasted with ἐλέγετο, since the χρησμοί were in verse; 'recited.' Cf. c. 54, 2. So *cano* often.

8, 3. Δῆλος ἐκινήθη—the centre of the Ionian race, which by its unique κινήσεις foreshadowed an equally unique κινήσεις of all Greece. Cf. i. 1, 2. οὐπω—either Thuc. did not know of Herod. vi. 98, or he ignores it. ἐπὶ—'in view of.' c. 36, 4. σημῆναι—intrans., σημείον εἶναι. Cf. c. 43, 3, 49, 7. ἀνέζητέτο—cf. viii. 33, 4. Bloomf. quotes Aristoph. *Lys.* 28 πρᾶγμ' ἀνεζητημένον, πολλαῖσιν ἀγρυπνίαισιν ἐρριπτασμένον.

8, 4. Ἐποῖα ἐς—ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐνοικῶς εἶχον Schol. Mira locutio, says Herw. The phrase is only found here in Attic, but is imitated by late writers. προειπόντων—cf. c. 5, 5; *M. T.* 850; and for Latin, Riemann, *S. L.* § 263; a convenient use of the gen. abs., in spite of the proximity of another case, to make a fresh predication without a new sentence. Cf. c. 83, 3; i. 114, 1; iii. 13, 6, 22, 1. ἐλευθεροῦσιν—the claim continually put forward by S., that she was a Liberator. She traded on the insane craving for αὐτονομία, the evil spirit by which the Greeks were possessed. A wanton abuse of terms must lead to disaster, and after misusing the word Freedom for a century, Greece 'buried her Liberty' on the field of Chaeronea. καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ—*sive ... sive*. There are some 50 cases of this antithesis between λ. and ξ. in Thuc., which is not surprising considering that (1) great importance was attached to words at Athens, apart from their truth or falsity; (2) Thuc. had but too good reason to contrast the professions of men with their deeds during the war. The antithesis underlies all diplomacy. The opening of the Funeral Oration, c. 35, is a contrast of λόγος and ἔργον. Cf. c. 40, 1, 41, 2, 4, 42, 2, 4, 43, 1, 2, 46, 1, 65, 9, 72, 1, 81, 2. ἐν τούτῳ ... ᾧ—'in any enterprise in which he did not take part.' ᾧ depends on παρέσται, as in i. 22 οἱς αὐτὸς παρήν. κεκώλυσθαι—i.e. κεκώλυται εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς παρέσομαι, the perfect being used of something bound to happen in the future if the condition is fulfilled. Livy xxi. 43, 2 *vicimus* for *vicerimus*. Cf. iv. 46, 3 ὥστ' ἐάν τις ἀλῶ ἀποδιδράσκων, ἅπασι λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς. The description of the friends of Sparta is not without a touch of sarcasm. {ἐν} ὀργῇ εἶχον—c. 59, 2. ἀρχθῶσι—ingressive, 'become subjects.' φοβούμενοι—the government of Sparta kept all its proceedings too secret for them to know the true

nature of the Spartan oligarchy, which was to conduct them in many cases from democracy to decarchy.

9, 1. Παρασκευῇ ... καὶ γνώμῃ—c. 7 and 8 are resumed by a *chiasmus* (see analysis of 7, 8). ὥρμητο—‘made ready for war.’ Cf. i. 32, 5.

9, 2. Λακ. μὲν ... Πέλ. μὲν ... ἔξω δὲ ... Ἀθ. δέ—the extremes and the means are contrasted, as usually with this double use of μὲν ... δέ. Πελοποννήσιοι—in the geographical sense, the dwellers in Peloponnese of whatever stock. [οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ]—usually in Thucydides Πελοποννήσιοι means ‘the allies of Sparta.’ In c. 11 indeed, Archidamus is made to address the officers as Πελ. καὶ ξύμμαχοι, i.e. as politically connected and as comrades in arms, but, after that it is generally taken for granted that all the allies are included in the term Πελ. But before the war, Πελοποννήσιοι means ‘the inhabitants of Peloponnese,’ and only in this sense can the Argives and Achaeans be included in the term. If οἱ ἐντὸς is in the text, the P. of Peloponnese are contrasted with those P. outside it (Πελοποννήσιοι ἔξω Πελοποννήσου), i.e. Πελ. must mean ‘the allies of Sparta,’ which is impossible. Πελληνῆς—near Zougra. Pellene seems to have been connected politically with Sicyon (10 miles) and Phlius (14 miles) rather than with Achaea. ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον—cf. iii. 94, 1; iv. 102, 2; v. 61, 4. In 417 the Lacedaemonians became more closely connected with Achaea. See v. 82, 1. ἔξω δὲ Π.—on the land side, Athens was wedged in between enemies. This both exposed her to invasion and hampered her own undertakings. It was with a view to breaking up this hostile combination that Demosthenes undertook the expedition into Aetolia in 427. Λοκροί—the Opuntian Locrians, with the Epicnemidian, whereas the Ozolian Locrians were allies of Athens.

9, 3. Ναυτικὸν—scarcely anything was done by S. with the fleet in the 1st year. Intr. p. LXXII. Κορίνθιοι—for their naval operations, see c. 33, 80, 3, 83. Μεγαρῆς—c. 92. Σικυνῶνιοι—c. 80, 3. Ἀμπρακίῳται—c. 80. [παρέχον]—Intr. p. xxxix.

9, 4. Αὔτη—the omission of μὲν here and in i. 125, 1, in both of which C inserts μὲν, raises a difficulty. Elsewhere it is left out only when a participle prevents its use, as in the opening of c. 65, 72, 75. It is possible that αὕτη Λακ. ξυμμαχία is inserted wrongly from 6 below. (This omission is not similar to that noticed above, c. 7, 1.) Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι—the only islands on the Aegean then retaining the position of independent allies of Athens. ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ—placed there by Athens at the close of the third Messenian War. See

c. 27, 2. οἱ πλείους—Astacns (c. 30) and Oeniadae (c. 102) did not join Athens. ἄλλαι—‘and other cities (besides the αὐτόνομοι ξύμμαχοι just mentioned), namely.’ Καρία—the ἔθνη are added in the nom., in spite of the dat. preceding, because these are the four financial divisions of the πόλεις ὑποτελεῖς, so that the nominatives are as much in apposition with πόλεις as with ἔθνεσι. Καρία ... πρόσσοικοι—called in the tribute lists ὁ Καρικὸς φόρος, and so Ἰωνία = ὁ Ἰωνικὸς, Ἑλλησπόντος = ὁ Ἑλλησπόντιος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θ. = ὁ ἐπὶ Θ. φ., νῆσοι ... Θήρας = ὁ νησιωτικὸς φ. From 436 B.C. Ionia and Caria were grouped together. Κασσι πρόσσοικοι—for the omission of οἱ cf. c. 85, 5. It is explained by the fact that this is an official title, Kr. Gr. Gr. 50, 2, 11. νῆσοι...πάσαι αἱ ἄλλαι—for ὅσος limited by πλὴν, cf. iv. 32, 2, and for οἱ ἄλλαι v. 27, 2. Μήλον καὶ Θήρας—both colonized by the Dorians about the time of their settlement in Crete, circ. 1100 B.C.

9, 5. Ναυτικὸν—this was a privilege belonging only to the independent allies. Cf. Intr. p. LXXIV. They were αὐτοτελεῖς.

9, 6. Ξύμμαχία—abstract for concrete. καὶ παρασκευή—the chapter is summarised in inverse order, as in c. 7, 8.

10, 1. Περιήγγελον—often takes the construction of κελεύω but with the dat., which κελεύω never has. τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια—sc. παρασκευάζεσθαι. οἷα εἰκὸς—quae deceret. ὥς ἐσβαλοῦντες—because Athens was exposed to attack from the Isthmus. The corresponding Athenian incursion was merely into the Megarid; but Athens was unable to strike at Sparta herself directly. For the system adopted in consequence, see Intr. p. LXIX.

10, 2. Ἐτοίμα—not with ἐπιτήδεια, but as in c. 3, 4, 98, 1. γίγνεται—iterative; hence ξυνῆσαν imperf. τὰ δύο μέρη—the denominator exceeding the numerator by 1 is invariably omitted. Contrast τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας I. 10. τὰ δ. μέρη is in limiting apposition to the subject of ξυνῆσαν. Cf. c. 47, 2.

10, 3. Τοὺς ... ἀξιολογώτατους—an indefinite expression, suited to the different circumstances and arrangements of the various contingents. ἀξιολογώτατους—forming one group with τοὺς ἐν τέλει, but not identical with them. Cf. I. 10 τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας.

11, 1. Ἄνδρες—Thuc. shows exquisite judgment in selecting the places in which to insert speeches. They are the occasions on which it is necessary for the reader to understand the exact situation of affairs and to realise what were the influences at work. They stand in place of explanation



and abstract reasoning. The occasions selected for this purpose in this book are (a) the first invasion of Attica (this speech shows the feelings of the Spartans); (b) the close of the first campaign (the Funeral Oration is an exposition of the form and theory of the Athenian polity by the ablest citizen); (c) the close of Pericles' administration and life, the speech containing a vindication of his policy; (d) the victories of Phormio, the one event of great importance outside Athens in 429, and the most splendid example of Athenian prowess in the whole war. Dion. Hal. totally misunderstood the significance of the speeches. Far juster is Lucian's estimate (πῶς δὲ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν c. 44): he knew that Thuc.'s object was σαφῶς δηλῶσαι καὶ φανώτατα ἐμφανίσαι τὰ πράγματα. [οἱ]—inserted through confusion with οἱ πατέρες. Thuc. never puts in the article in such addresses. **ξύμμαχοι**—there are two elements in the force, but Archidamus groups them together, and carefully draws no distinctions. *ἀνδρες* goes with **ξύμμαχοι** also. καὶ οἱ π. ... καὶ αὐτῶν—paratactic, the 2nd member being the more prominent. οἱ πατέρες—an opportune reference to the wars which were the glory of the Dorian race. Thuc. however avoids any commonplaces about the Persian wars such as become frequent in later writers. **στρατείας ἐποίησαντο**—= ἐστράτευσαν. **ἡμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι εἰσὶν**—with the 'partitive' genitive 1st or 2nd person, the verb is generally in 3rd person, but the writer always passes quickly to the 1st or 2nd. Cf. III. 62 σκέψασθε ἐν οἷῳ εἶδει ἑκάτεροι ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἐπραξαν. VII. 64 ἐνθυμέσθε ὅτι οἱ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὑμῶν νῦν ἐσόμενοι καὶ πεζοὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰσὶ καὶ νῆες. So I. 87. When for the subject a relative clause is substituted, the 3rd person is rare: e.g. Andoc. I. 46 ὁπόσοι ὑμῶν παρήσαν (= οἱ παρόντες) ἀναμνησέσθε. Lys. 12, 97, Aeschin. 3, 60. The same phenomenon may be seen in Latin poets, as Ov. *Trist.* III. 4, 75 et qua quisque potest aliqua mala nostra levate. **μέλζονα**—litotes, as *πλείστοι* shows. **νῦν ἐρχόμεθα**—sc. ἡμεῖς, whereas οἱ πατέρες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι was subject to ἐξήλθομεν. **στρατεύοντες**—sc. ἐρχόμεθα, the antithesis being between πόλιν and αὐτοί, δυνατωτάτην and πλείστοι καὶ ἀριστοὶ στρατεύοντες.

**11, 2. Δίκαιον οὖν**—the topic is τὸ καλόν, as in 9 below. Index s. v. τόποι. It is a common subject in Thuc., especially in military harangues. **ἡμῶν αὐτῶν**—put first for the sake of the antithesis. See c. 7, 2. **ἐπῆρται**—cf. Dem. 4, 49 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον. **εὐνοίαν ἔχουσα**—with infin. = ἐπιθυμοῦσα, as c. 86, 5 γνώμην εἶχον μὴ ἐκπλεῖν. A periphrasis for a simple verb is very common in Tragedy.

**11, 3. Οὓκουν χρή**—the topic of the πίστις is τὸ ξυμφέρον, as the Schol. says. It is the commonest of all forms of argument in Thuc. **πλήθει**—of superior numbers, as c. 89, 1. **ἀσφά**



λεια πολλή—opposite of κίνδυνος μέγας, but, being an abstract idea, and not, like κίνδυνος, a single entity, it requires πολλή. Cf. VI. 24: so with προθυμία, ἀθυμία and such words. εἶναι—sc. δοκεῖ. μὴ ἂν ἔλθῃν—after the predicative noun ἀσφάλεια, like κίνδυνος, ξυγγνωμή. διὰ μάχης ἵεναι—cf. 6 below; IV. 92, 1. So διὰ δίκης ἵεναι VI. 60, 3; δι' ὄχλου εἶναι I. 73, 2; διὰ φόβου εἶναι VI. 59, 2; δι' ἡσυχίας ἔχειν c. 22, 1. ἀμελέστερόν τι—cf. 9 below πλέον τι. By the addition of τι the range of the adjective is indefinitely extended. τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν—*suaque vicem*. Cf. c. 87, 8. The subject of ἤξειν is ἡγεμόνα καὶ σ.

11, 4. Ἀδηλα γὰρ—Thuc. is extremely fond of γινώμει or general truths as arguments, whereas he does not use παραδείγματα or examples at all. The γινώμει have been collected by several critics, and, as might be supposed, they show a profound insight into the fundamental principles that actually guide human conduct. ἐξ ὀλίγου—'suddenly.' δι' ἐργῆς—'on impulse.' αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται—the passive of τὰς ἐπι. ποιῆσθαι I. 70, 7. τε—adds a third and important fact. [δεδιδὸς ἀμεινον]—1. δεδιδὸς obscures the point, which is that a large force, caught off its guard, has often been defeated by a small force. There is no room here for any reference to the apprehension or precautions of the smaller force. 2. No passage supports the idea that Archidamus is pointing out the advantage of δέος in action, ἐν τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι. It is then too late for δέος, which is valuable only ἐν τῷ παρασκευάζεσθαι. 3. The assumption that δεδιδὸς is answered by διὰ τὸ καταφρονούντας... γενέσθαι is not borne out by the form of the sentence. 4. Archidamus merely says 'do not be careless, lest you be caught unprepared.' 5. Of ἀμεινον there are two explanations (a) = ἀμεινον ἢ οἱ πλείονες τὸ ἐλασσον πλῆθος. But ἡμύναντο is used only of the side on the defensive; nor is there any reference to superiority in courage such as ἀγαθός suggests. (b) ἀμεινον δεδιδὸς ἢ μὴ δεδιδὸς, Cl., a curious paradox worthy only of a rhetorician. Append. II. ἡμύναντο—gnomic. Cf. c. 89 πολλά στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ ἐλασσόνων.

11, 5. Χρῆ δὲ—a γνώμη in the form of an antithesis. For 'figures' in γινώμει, cf. c. 40 throughout. τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ... τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ—an imperfect antithesis. γνώμη means 'feelings,' ἔργον 'actions' (not γνώμη 'plans,' ἔργον 'battle'). Cf. c. 43, 3, 64, 6, and 89 τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλέον πύσνοντι ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ. Herod. VII. 49 ἀνὴρ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἀριστος εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρωδέοι ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη—which is however somewhat different. παρασκευάζεσθαι—the reading is now commonly παρεσκευάζεσθαι. Cr. says 'le parfait est nécessaire,' but gives the present. The perfect is due to a mistaken interpretation of γνώμη and ἔργῳ,

the latter of which refers to the period *before* battle. The antithesis between *στρατεύειν* and *παρασκευάζεσθαι* must not be too closely pressed. (A quite different view of this passage will be found in Steup, *Quaest. Thuc.* p. 30.) *πρὸς τὸ ἐπιέναι εὐψυχότατοι*—cf. III. 44, 3 *ξυμφέρον πρὸς τὸ ἡσσαν ἀφίστασθαι*; VIII. 76, 6. The use of the infinitive with article in all constructions is far commoner in the speeches and the passages in the rhetorical manner than in ordinary narrative. *ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι*—‘to be attacked.’ This sentence puts in the proper light the two points referred to in 3 above: so *πλήθει ἐπιέναι* has become *εὐψυχότατοι ἐπιέναι*, *ἀσφάλεια μὴ ἂν ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι* has become *ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι*. *εὐψυχότατοι ἐπιέναι* results from *τὸ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν*, *ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι* from *τὸ δεδιότας παρασκευάζεσθαι*.

11, 6. *Οὕτω*—with *ἀδύνατον*. *τοῖς πᾶσι*—cf. c. 36, 3. *εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν*—‘if not already ... at least.’ I see no need to alter the text with Francken, or to assume a misplacement of *καί*. For *ἀλλά, ἀλλὰ ... γέ, ἀλλ’ οὖν ... γε*, see Kr. *Gr. Gr.* 69, 4, 5. *ὅταν ὁρῶσι*—usually in Thuc. *ὅταν* denotes a single act, *ὁπότεν* repeated action. I. 142, 9 is an exception. *τάκεινων*—for *τὰ ἑαυτῶν*, as *ἐκείνος* can apply to anyone other than the speaker and the person addressed. *φθείροντας*—cf. Livy XXII. 3 *Flaminius postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos agi ferrique vidit*.

11, 7. *Πᾶσι γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*—the only possible way of taking these words as they stand is the traditional way of Arn., Shil., and Bh., which is supported by A. Grossman, *N. Jahrb.* 121, p. 523. *ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα* are taken after *ὁρᾶν*, the infinitive is made to depend on the phrase *ὁργὴ προσπίπτει*, as though it were *λυπεῖ*, and *ὁρᾶν πάσχοντας* = ‘to see that they are suffering.’ There are grave objections: *ὁρᾶν πάσχοντας* would more naturally mean ‘to see *others* suffering,’ and it is very doubtful whether *ὁργὴ προσπίπτει* can be considered a periphrasis which could legitimately take an infinitive in prose. Usener proposes *πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντας τι ἀηθές*, taking *ἐν τῷ* with *ὁρᾶν πάσχοντας*. Cf. Steup’s proposal in not. crit. *γὰρ*—this introduces the *γνώμη* by which the statement that ‘the Athenians will come out to battle’ is supported. We have here an example of the form of proof called *Enthymeme*, i.e. a ‘syllogism drawn, not from the premisses proper to any particular science—such, for instance, as medicine—but from propositions relating to contingent things in the sphere of human action, which are the common property of all discussion.’ Jebb, *Attic Orators* II. p. 289. Cf. c. 60. *καὶ λογισμῷ*—i.e. ‘and then men do not pause to think.’ Possibly *οἱ* bracketed represents a lost *οἱ τοιοῦτοι*, = *οἱ ὀργισθέντες*. *θυμῷ*—also, like *λογισμῷ*, with *χρώμενοι*.

11, 8. Ἀθηναίους—this view of Athenian character is that of Thuc. himself. He began the description of it in the first speech of the Corinthian envoy at Sparta (I. 70) and completes it in the Funeral Oration (c. 35 fol.). πλέον τι—cf. III. 45, 6, 69, 2; IV. 78, 5; V. 29, 2; VI. 90, 1; VII. 21, 4, 49, 4. For τι with comparative, see 3 above. μᾶλλον τι is commoner in this sense. τῶν ἄλλων—often ἐτέρων in this idiom. εἰκὸς—*decet*, with aorist infinitive, as regularly (sometimes present, c. 10, 1). Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 128. The argument is now drawn from τὸ εἰκὸς. An orator naturally employs this topic to prove something in the past, but Thuc. to forecast the future. Index s.v. τόποι. τοῦτο δρᾶσαι—the regular phrase for referring to an action just described. Cf. c. 49, 5; I. 5, 2, 6, 5. Of course Thuc. refers to the actual indignation of the Athenians at seeing their land ravaged. See c. 21, 2. It was a source of great pride that the beautiful country of Attica had never been plundered πλὴν τὰ Μηδικά. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 826—the play was produced this very year—where the Athenians are addressed as *ἱερᾶς χώρας ἀπορθητοῦ* τ' ἀποφερβόμενοι. ὁρᾶν—sc. *δουμένην*.

11, 9. Δόξαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα—καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ δυσκλείας Schol. οἰσόμενοι—cf. c. 60 αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι. τοῖς προγόνοις—we should refer to *posterity*, but the ancients thought far more of the worship due to their ancestors, the θεοὶ χθόνιοι. On the excessive reverence of the Greeks for the past (from which Thuc. was remarkably free), Girard, *Essai sur Thuc.*, p. 13, says 'Les Grecs ne songeaient qu'à chercher dans cet âge merveilleux leurs titres de noblesse et à y rattacher étroitement le présent.' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς—corrected from ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς with Hude, *Comment. Crit.*, p. 109. *ἔπεσθε* strongly supports him. 'Nulla in re magis quam in pronomibus ἡμεῖς et ὑμεῖς permutandis librariorum peccavisse satis constat.' ἀποβαινόντων—see c. 50, 2. ὀξέως δεχόμενοι—cf. c. 89, 9. κάλλιστον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον—the identity of τὸ καλὸν and τὸ ἀσφαλὲς has been the prevailing idea throughout the speech. It is an idea characteristic of Sparta that *εὐνομία* is *κάλλος*. Thus Spartan tradition did not object to Athens claiming the poet Tyrtaeus for her own, though the claim was probably unfounded; but took care that the lame Athenian singer should only develop into the warrior Tyrtaeus after settling in Sparta. ὄντας—the participle adds emphasis to πολλοὺς and heightens the contrast to ἐνί.

12, 1. Τοσαῦτα—*haec tantum*, the regular word after a short speech instead of τοιαῦτα. εἴ τι ἄρα—c. 5, 1. τι μᾶλλον—not for μᾶλλον τι, but τι belongs to ἐνδοίην, as below, οὐδὲν ἐνδωσείουσι,

**12, 2.** Οὐδ'—οὐδέ, μηδέ, sometimes as here = *nedum* 'much less.' τὸ κοινὸν—the βουλὴ and ἐκκλησία. ἦν ... νενικηκυῖα—except with this periphrasis in the perfect passive and middle forms, the tense of εἶμι must precede the participle, and is emphatic, representing a state of things existing at the time referred to. Cf. c. 67 ἦν ... πολιορκοῦν, 80 ἦσαν ... ξυμπροθυμούμενοι, 93 ἦν προφυλάσσον. Then the participle often resembles an adjective. κήρυκα ... προσδέχεσθαι—a formal expression for breaking off all political relations. Cf. v. 80. ἐκτὸς ὄρων—without article, as a *local* expression, akin to ἐν ἄστει. Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 4. τὸ λοιπὸν—with πρεσβεύεσθαι. ἀναχωρήσαντας—i.e. retire before thinking of sending any more. The participle is emphatic.

**12, 3.** Διαλύσεσθαι—'part from his escort.' τοσόνδε—'merely this.' ὅτι—this convenient form of quasi-oblique speech, where the speaker's actual words follow ὅτι, is colloquial and limited to prose. "Ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα—Aristoph. *Pax* 435 εὐχόμεσθα τὴν νῦν ἡμέραν "Ελλησιν ἀρξαι πᾶσι πολλῶν κάγαθῶν. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 169 ille dies primus leti, primusque malorum causa fuit.

**12, 4.** "Εγνων—ingressive, 'learnt.' ἐνδωσέουσιν—though Cobet and Sta. reject this, it is more probable than ἐνδώσουσι, since πω is not used with future, and Archidamus' object was to find out what the Athenians were *now* intending. οὕτω δὴ—like τότε δὴ, gives the decisive moment. Cf. c. 19.

**12, 5.** Μέρος—of infantry. So the Boeotians did not supply cavalry only. See c. 9, 3. λειπομένοις—for the present, see c. 2, 4.

**13, 1.** Ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων—cf. c. 12, 1 and 2, but referring here to the march not of the various contingents to the Isthmus, but of the whole force from the Isthmus. Several meetings of the Ecclesia were held. Περικλῆς—O. Drefke, *de orat. quae in priore parte Historiae Thuc. insunt*, suggests that Thuc. probably intended to insert a speech here, but changed his mind on finding the subject unsuitable for readers. He thinks that we have here the notes Thuc. had made at the time, which assumption would explain the loose structure of the *Oratio Obliqua* throughout. Cf. c. 72. δέκατος αὐτὸς—the view of Gilbert, that this phrase means that Pericles was στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, i.e. was irresponsible and had full powers to do anything he deemed necessary, is now generally accepted. Pericles held the same position in the war with Samos 440 B.C. μὴ πολλάκις—as though ὑποτοπήσας were φοβηθείς. Cf. III. 53, 2 ὑποπτεύομεν μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῇτε. πολλάκις—*forte*, a sense which it bears only after εἰ, ἐάν, μὴ. μὴ δηώσῃ—should be οὐ δηώσῃ. This very rare irregularity is



only possible when the second negative is far removed from the first. *M. T.* 306. ἐπὶ διαβολῇ—the same thing was done by Hannibal to cast odium on Fabius, Livy, xxii. 23, 4. For the order, see c. 2, 2. τοῦτο γένηται—c. 11, 8. προηγόρευε—above προείπον. The rule about compounds of λέγω and ἀγορεύω will be found in Rutherford's *New Phryn.* p. 326. οἱ—the only form of the indirect reflexive singular found in Thuc. and the orators, and rare in them. ἐπὶ κακῷ—the same phrase in v. 44, 3, 77, 6; viii. 58, 3, 4. γένοιτο—sc. τοῦτο, as γένηται τοῦτο above. τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ οἰκίας—the article not repeated, the two nouns forming one idea between them (viz. the idea τὴν φανερὰν οὐσίαν). Cf. c. 10, 3. ἀφίησιν—does not depend on προηγόρευε, but is used for ἀφίεναι φησὶν (which is possibly what Thuc. wrote), just as we might say 'he gives the land' for 'he undertakes to give it.' εἶναι—like the use of εἶναι in Homer and Herod., expressing purpose, but redundant. *M. T.* 774. γίγνεσθαι—this is like the use of the infinitive in the terms of a treaty or any compact. It is in origin probably identical with the so-called infinitive for imperative. But this may be oblique for μηδεμίᾳ μοι ὑποψία γιγνέσθω. In any case, Pp.'s explanation, supplying βούλεται, is without doubt wrong. The sentence is probably a note Thuc. wrote in these very words at the time.

13, 2. Παρήναι δὲ—cf. v. 38, 2 παρήνουν γενέσθαι δροκούς. καὶ πρότερον—I. 143. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀ. ἐσκομίζεσθαι—cf. c. 5, 7. ἔς τε μάχην—the ancient critics noticed that polysyndeton is common in Thuc. There are three main members here, each introduced by τε, παρασκευάζεσθαι τε ... ἔς τε ... τὰ τε, and the first two are complicated by an additional member, which however does not affect the main structure, viz. καὶ ... ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ... ἐξαρτύεσθαι. μὴ ἐπεξιέναι—Intr. p. lxix. τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντας φυλάσσειν—cf. iv. 70 τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὼν βεβαιώσασθαι. When a participle and verb which have different constructions take a common object, the object regularly follows the construction required by the participle, as in i. 114, 2 ἐς Ἑλενσίνα καὶ Θριῶζε ἐσβαλόντες ἐδήωσαν, iv 18 δοῦναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἀφικόμενοι ὑμᾶς αἰτούμεθα, vii. 3, 4 μέρος τι πέριψας πρὸς τὸ φρούριον αἰρεῖ, id. 53, 2 προσπεσόντες τοῖς πρώτοις τρέπουσι. But there is here no need to take τὴν πόλιν with ἐσελθόντας at all. διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν—the opposite of ἀνιέναι, i. 76 ἀρχὴν ἀνιέναι. So Livy xxi. 35, 9 in manu habere. χεῖρ means 'control.' Eur. *Hec.* 986. Cf. the legal sense of manus. See also c. 76, 4. λέγων ... εἶναι—a rare construction—c. 57, 1. ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρ. τῆς προσόδου—i.e. τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς προσόδου τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τούτων (= τῶν ξυμμάχων) εἶναι. Cf. iii. 13, 6 ἐστὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἡ πρόσδος. This sentence must



not be pruned, for τῆς προσόδου defines the nature of *ισχύν*, and τῶν χρημάτων is caught up presently by *χρημάτων* again: the insertion of τῶν χρημάτων is stylistic. τὰ πολλὰ ... κρατεῖσθαι—'most successes are won.' γνώμη—'insight,' not put in at hap-hazard, but summing up in a word παρασκευάζεσθαι to ἐξαρτύεσθαι. It is on the policy here sketched that Pericles rested his claims to be possessed of γνώμη, or, as Thuc. says in c. 65 πρόνοια. To supply γνώμη was the statesman's part, to supply χρήματα the subjects'.

13, 3. Ἐξακοσίων—in i. 96 we see that under Aristides' administration the φόρος amounted to 460 talents. In the lists of the quota paid to Athene for 450 and 446 B.C., the tribute of some States is seen to be reduced, and the total was probably made up by payments from new subjects. But the tribute was in some cases subsequently raised, so that 600 talents may represent the average (ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ) in 431. φόρου—for this genitive of material, cf. ἀργυρίου below. See Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 35. ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμ.—the origin (ἀπὸ) from which money is obtained. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 670 δωροδοκοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων (rightly defended by Sobolewski, *de praeapos. usu Aristoph.*). ἀνευ—this is the ordinary meaning of χωρίς as a preposition in Attic, but Thuc. only uses χωρίς as an adverb. The opposite of σὺν (τοῖς) θεοῖς (see c. 2, 1) is ἀνευ (τῶν) θεῶν. The opposite of σὺν in its other Attic sense in totals, is usually χωρίς. The opposite of μετὰ is ἀνευ, and more rarely χωρίς (thus Isocrates has two cases, but in both χωρίς, not ἀνευ, is used to avoid hiatus). τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου—as rents from public lands, especially the silver mines, the tax paid by resident aliens and by owners of slaves, duties on imports exports and sales, and court fees and fines, amounting in all to at least 400 talents. ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει—in the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon. ἐγένετο—'amounted to.' Cf. c. 20, 4. τὰ προπύλαια—began 437, completed 432. τὰλλα—the Odeum, Parthenon and the sculpture on the buildings was paid for out of this fund. ἐς Ποτειδαίαν—from first to last the siege cost 2000 talents. It began in the autumn of 433, ended in the winter of 430. Probably Thuc. omits in that sum the expense of Hagnon's expedition (c. 58), which cost 400 talents more.

13, 4. Χωρίς—'besides.' Cf. c. 24, 31, 97. χρυσίου—depends on ταλάντων below. ὅσα—sc. ἐστί. So c. 9, 4, 97. περί—'used in.' σκύλα Μηδικὰ—sc. ὅσα ἐστί, but this might have been ἐν σκύλοις Μηδικαῖς. The throne of Xerxes and the sabre of Mardonius (*Medus acinaces*) were among them. οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ π. ταλάντων—cf. iv. 72 παρόντος τοῦ στρατεύματος, ὀπλιτῶν οὐκ ἔλασσον ἑξακισχιλίων. The genitive

of comparison does not follow *ελασσον* here, because *ταλάντων* is *already* in the genitive absolute, sc. *ὑπαρχόντων* from above.

13, 5. *Τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν*—i.e. in temples other than the Parthenon. The temple treasures were of great value.  *χρήματα*—no doubt Pericles explained the details, which he must have known thoroughly after his long tenure of the Generalship, in which he had distinguished himself in Finance. In this respect he was imitated by many popular leaders who followed him, and, as the war went on, Finance became the most pressing difficulty. *οἷς χρῆσεσθαι*—cf. c. 102 *λέγεται ... ὅτε δὴ ἀλάσθαι*. This attraction of short relative clauses in *Oratio Obliqua* into infinitive is less rare in Greek than in Latin (of course *qui* = *et* is etc. is different). Thuc. has nine instances. *τῆς θεοῦ*—i.e. the statue of Athene. Both in Greek and Latin the name of the person represented is used for the statue itself, as *Victoria aurea*. *σταθμὸν*—predicate. *χρυσίου ἀ.*—with *τάλαντα*. *ἀπέφθου*—i.e. without alloy. *περιαιρετὸν εἶναι*—sc. *ἐφῆ*. *μὴ ἐλάσσω*—often during the war money was borrowed from the *ἱερὰ χρήματα*. The loans were repaid with interest at a low rate, which Pericles probably proposed at this time.

13, 6. *Τρισχιλίους καὶ μ.*—cf. c. 31, 2. 10,000 were on the spot, 3000 at Potidaea. *τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις*—the garrisons of Attica were supplied mainly from the *περίπολοι*, young Athenians between 18 and 20 years old. At 18 their age was entered in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, list of the members of the deme capable of arms kept by the demarch. Not till 20 was a man entitled to attend the Ecclesia. The *περίπολοι* regularly served in Attica. *ἑπαλξιν*—collective. See c. 4, 2. Again the article dropped with a word approximating to a proper name, in prepositional phrases. The line of fortified walls of Athens and Piraens, including the long walls, is meant. The citizens who manned these were drawn from the *πρεσβύτατοι*, those excused by age from serving outside Attica. Legally this age was 60, but in practice it could be, and probably was, reduced. *νεωτάτων*—the *περίπολοι*.

13, 7. *Τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ*—begun under Themistocles with *τὸ ἐξῶθεν* (*τεῖχος*), which ran to Piraens. Under Pericles, about 445, a third wall, *τὸ διὰ μέσου* was built between these two, running to Munychia. *ἦσαν*—were, according to Pericles' narrative. *τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως*—the walls of Athens. *ἀφύλακτον ἦν*—about 6 stadia: so that the city walls, as rebuilt after Salamis, were about 50 stadia in circumference. *τοῦ τε μακροῦ* = *τοῦ ἐξῶθεν*. *τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη*—namely *τὸ ἐξῶθεν*, the earlier wall, and *τὸ διὰ μέσου τεῖχος*, called *τὰ σκέλη*.

σταδίων—genitive of description, almost confined to expressions of magnitude. Cf. c. 23, 3.

13, 8. Ξὺν ἵπποτοξόταις—including (ξὺν) the 200 mounted archers, state slaves who served as police, as did the 1200 Σκύθαι who are included in the 1600 τοξόται below. τριήρεις τὰς π.—see c. 2, 2. τριακοσίους—in III. 17 we read that 250 ships were employed on active service at the beginning of the war. (As the details there given do not correspond with those given in this book with regard to the fleet in 431, the text is probably wrong in III. 17.)

13, 9. Ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι—cf. c. 56 ἐς ἐλπίδα ἦλθον τοῦ ελεῖν, and for the rare future infinitive with article, I. 144, 1. τῷ πολέμῳ—the dative is temporal. Cf. c. 20 ἐκείνη τῇ ἐσβολῇ. It is however rarely that ἐν is omitted with a noun used temporally which is not properly temporal.

14, 1. Ἀνεπιθοντο—both the compound and the tense denote the difficulty of convincing them. Cf. c. 65, 1. Even now they did not feel quite certain, and were liable to change their minds again. (It was δόξα resulting from πειθῶ, not ἐπιστήμη resulting from μάθησις.) τὴν ἄλλην—perhaps the exclusive ἄλλος, but κατασκευή, stock, may here include children and wives. See c. 5, 4. κατ' οἶκον—see on c. 60, 4. ξύλωσιν—*materia*; several verbal nouns in -is are peculiar to Thuc. Cf. δολόφυρσις c. 51. Pollux and the Schol. regard this one as coined by Thuc. καθαιρούντες—this and ἐσεκομίζοντο both govern ξύλωσιν. ἐπικειμένας—'off the coast.'

14, 2. Χαλεπῶς ... ἐγίγνετο—passive for χαλεπῶς τὴν ἀ. ἐποιοῦντο. ἀνάστασις—an unwilling (μετανάστασις, a willing) removal from one's country.

15, 1. Ἐπὶ γὰρ—now follows one of the few episodes in Thuc., who never leaves his subject except to comment on some epoch of Athenian history either throwing light on the circumstances he is relating, or imperfectly understood in his day. κατὰ πόλεις—cf. the condition of Sparta, referred to I. 10, 2. According to tradition, there were 12 πόλεις in Attica; these had arisen by the increase and amalgamation of κῶμαι. ᾠκέιτο—of the political condition of the district, as often. πρυτανεῖα—these bore the same relation to the community as the οἰκία did to the family. Hence the community entertained its guests there. ἀρχοντας—'princes,' some of whose names may have been immortalised in the names of Attic demes. οὐ ξυνῆσαν—only common danger brought them together. ἐπολέμησαν—the war between Athens and Eleusis, given as an example of the early wars in Attica, was probably due to a quarrel about the frontier, which was the range of Mount Aegaleos, over which the Sacred Way after-

wards ran. Whatever the result, the position of Athens in the Dodecapolis was certainly raised by the war.

**15, 2.** *Θησεὺς*—probably the legend of the coming of Theseus to Athens represents a second Ionic invasion of Attica, to which the strife between Athene and Poseidon, who is identical with Aegeus, father of Theseus, also points. See *Plut. Thes.* c. 13. *ἔβασλευσε*—‘became king.’ Cf. c. 58 *νοσῆσαι*, ‘to fall sick.’ *μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ*—i.e. uniting power to the ability which he had already. *καταλύσας ... ἀποδείξας ... ξυνώκισε*—the first participle precedes the second in time, and the second gives the action which resulted immediately in that of the main verb. Cf. c. 76 *ἀρτήσαντες ... ἀνελκύσαντες ἀφίεσαν*, 93 *ἀφικομένους ... καθελκύσαντας πλεῦσαι. ξυντελούντων*—‘contributed to it,’ in taxes, hence ‘were members of the community.’ *ξυνοίκια*—nenter plur., the annual festival celebrating the Union, held on the 16th of Hecatombaeon. *Plut. Thes.* c. 24. *ποιῶσιν*—active not middle, of the body appointing the festival, cf. c. 34, 5.

**15, 3.** *Ἡ ἀκρόπολις κ.τ.λ.*—i.e. *ἡ ἀκρόπολις νῦν ἐστὶ πόλις ἦν*, the city was a mere stronghold. ‘What is now the acropolis, and the ground lying under it to the south was the city’ (J.). (The bracked *ἦ* would imply a contrast with some older acropolis.) The same observation is true of London and Paris. *πρὸς ... τετραμμένον*—here in its literal sense, but oftener metaphorical, as in c. 25, 2; *Plat. Phaedo*, p. 66 D.

**15, 4.** *Τεκμήριον δέ*—Thuc. disregards the Athenian legends, as suited only to poetry. Deposing the picturesque and enthroning the reasonable, he judges the remote past solely by the indisputable evidence supplied by the present. For the use of *τεκμήρια* and *σημεῖα*, non-forensic *πίστεις* like *ἐνθυμήματα* (c. 11, 8) and *γνώμαι* (c. 11, 9), cf. 39, 2, 41, 2, 50, 2. *καὶ ἄλλων*—the lost allusion to the most ancient temple of Athene, namely the shrine of Athene Polias attached to the Erechtheum and containing the venerable wooden figure of the goddess (*ξόανον*) and occupying the site of her struggle with Poseidon, would have been the best evidence that the original site of the city was the Acropolis. *τὰ ἔξω*—the early temples not on the Acropolis lie at the south of it, viz. the Olympieum at the S.E., begun by Pisistratus, remarkable for its size, and only finished under Hadrian; the Pythium, or temple of Apollo *πατρώος*, of which there are no remains, Pausanias says it was close to the Olympieum; the shrine of the Earth-Mother, situated within the *τέμενος* of the Olympieum; and that of Dionysus in the low ground near the Ilissus. The Pisistratids probably did much to make these temples popular. *τὰ ἀρχαιότερα*—the Anthesteria, held in



Anthesterion (11th to 13th). The first day was called ἡ Πιθοιγία, the second Χόες, the third Χύτροι. Aristoph. *Ran.* 215, Eur. *I. T.* 960, Harpoc. and Suidas s.v. χόες. [τῇ δωδεκάτῃ]—gives one day only, and with it 'Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός' would be required. The date of the χόες seems inserted from the same source from which Harpocration drew. ποιεῖται—passive of ποιοῦσι, not of ποιοῦνται. See 2 above, and c. 11, 4. οἱ ἀπ' Ἀ.—i.e. οἱ ἀποικοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. νομίζουσι—'are accustomed to do.' Cf. 5 below, c. 38, 1.

15, 5. Τῇ κρήνῃ—S. of the Olympieum, on the Ilissus. The Pisistratids furnished it with nine pipes and beautified it with columns. It was part of the Tyrants' policy to improve their cities and to encourage every form of art. Καλλιρρόη—the name still survives to show the early importance of this spring. See Ruskin, Oxford *Lect. on Art*, p. 136, Pausanias, i. 14, 1. [τὰ πλείστου ἄξια]—Thuc. is arguing that in earlier times the spring was in general use. πρὸ γαμικῶν—for the λουτρὸν γαμικόν, the water being brought from the spring by a maid called ἡ λουτροφόρος. Pollux iii. 43, viii. 66. But Harpoc. says that a boy brought it. ἐς ἄλλα—ἐθος ἦν καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀποθανόντων λουτροφόρον ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἐφίστασθαι Harpoc. Cf. Dem. in *Leoch.* 18, 30. Probably a figure holding a pitcher, which contained water from the spring, was placed on the tomb. Eustathius says the object was to show that the dead had never used the nuptial water. νομίζεται—'it is the custom.' The connection between the λουτρὸν γαμικόν and the λουτρὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων is as familiar as *utraque laeda*. In Eur. *Hec.* 612, the bringing of the water to wash the dead body of Polyxena suggests to Hecuba the λουτρὸν γαμικόν.

15, 6. Κατοίκησιν—c. 102, 5. πόλις—this meaning is common in Inscriptions and official documents.

16, 1. Τῇ ... οἰκῇ—causal, with γενόμενοι καὶ οἰκήσαντες. δ' οὖν—resumes from c. 14. ἐπὶ πολὺ—temporal. αὐτόνομῳ—independent of any capital. καὶ—'even.' ὁμως—answers καὶ and may be omitted in translating. οἱ πλείους—restricting οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. πανοικεσία γενόμενοι τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες—all go closely together, 'having been born and having lived with their whole family.' ἀνειληφότες—having recovered from the effects of the Persian Invasion, when they had abandoned their homes. Not merely 'had restored their homes,' which took them only a short time. Cf. vi. 26, where it is said that Athens in 415 ἄρτι ἀνειλήφει ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ ξυνεχοῦς πολέμου.

16, 2. Κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον—lit. 'according to early custom,' 'primitive,' not τὸ ἀρχαῖον 'in early times,' 'ancient.' The early πόλις was held together mainly as a religious union, with



its local cult. ἀπολείπων—joined to preceding plural, and might have been ἀπολείποντες. Cf. c. 65, 10.

17, 1. Ὑπήρχον—‘had homes ready to receive them.’ It appears that the whole of the country population was opposed to war. The rich landed gentry had town houses, but rarely lived in them and felt the loss of their fine country places. Cf. c. 65; Isocr. vii. 52. The farmers and peasants were ruined by the invasion. Cf. [Lys.] 20. 33. Ἐλευσινίου—at the foot of the Acropolis, at the N.E. It was regarded with great awe, and even in the time of Pausanias some mysterious sanctity belonged to it. The Boule sat there the day after the Eleusinian Festival ended. τὸ Πελαργικὸν—(a) a fortification built by the ‘Pelasgians’ on the W. side of the Acropolis, the only side accessible to an enemy; (b) a space below this fortification and also above it. It is to this space on either side that the curse attached. (On the orthography, Herodian says, Πελαργικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Πελασγικόν. Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 109. ἐπάρατον—what was the reason of this? Only the W. side was ‘cursed’ since only on that side could buildings be placed; but this space was part of the pomoerium of the original settlement, the Acropolis being then the τέμενος of Pelasgian Zeus. Hence no human beings were to live there. μὴ—due to the prohibition implied in ἐπάρατον. τοῖόνδε—i.e. μὴ οἰκεῖν αὐτό, the relative construction disappearing. See c. 4. 5. Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν—such παρονομασία is common in oracles. See c. 54, 2. ἀμεινον—a favourite word at Delphi, suiting well the oracle which worked by suggestion rather than command. ἐξοκλήθη—‘was filled with settlers.’

17, 2. Ἐνυμβῆναι—‘to have been fulfilled in a manner contrary to their expectations,’ because the troubles were the cause instead of the result of the occupation. ἡ προσεδέχοντο—Haase suggested ἡ {ῆ} προσεδέχοντο, but the relative may be omitted. γενέσθαι—sc. δοκοῦσι from δοκεῖ above. So Burke, *Reflections*, ‘In England we are said to learn manners at second-hand from your side of the water, and that we dress our behaviour in the frippery of France’ (i.e. it is said that we dress). προῆδα—i.e. warned them that the place would some day be inhabited in time of adversity. μὴ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ—after οἶδα the regular negative is οὐ. This μὴ implies a sense of authoritative declaration in οἶδα, and is not a colloquial license. *M. T.* 688. μὴ belongs to ἀγαθῷ.

17, 3. Κατεσκευάσαντο—‘found quarters.’ ὡς ἑκαστός πον—Aristoph. *Eq.* 792, Andoc. *ap. Suid.* s.v. σκάνδιξ. Andocides refers to the difficulty of getting good food.

ἐχώρησε—from this early trans. use of χωρεῖν comes the meaning 'receive' of persons, as in St. Matthew xix. 12.

**17, 4.** Ἦπτοντο—cf. Plat. *Phaedo*, 64 A ὁρθῶς ἀπτόμενοι φιλοσοφίας. Thuc. speaks of the Athenians generally: while the country people were settling down as best they could, the Athenians were meanwhile busy with the details connected with the war, both τὰ ἔξω, ξυμμάχους ἀγείροντες, and τὰ ἔνδον, ναῦς ἐξαρτύνοντες. τῇ Π.—c. **56**, 1. ἐν τούτῳ π.—cf. VII. **50**, 4 ἐν παντὶ ἀθυμίας.

**18, 1.** Τῆς Ἀτ. ἐς Οἰνόνην—for order cf. c. **21**, 1, **25**, 3. Οἰνόνην—there were two roads to Attica, the one a bad one by the coast, the other an inland one, leading over Cithaeron by the Pass of the Oak's Heads (Δρυὸς Κεφαλᾶ) and passing Eleutherae, which is probably the site of Oenoe. In any case Oenoe was on the frontier between Attica and Boeotia and just where the road from Athens and Eleusis branched off, one way to Plataea, the other to the Peloponnese. ὥς ἐκαθέζοντο—the imperfect implies a prolonged stay. Cf. c. **19**, and see c. **3**, 1. προσβολὰς—the siege was preliminary to the invasion. See **19**, 1. παρεσκευάζοντο—for the omission of ὥς with the participle, cf. c. **91**, 1.

**18, 2.** Αὐτῷ—follows the gender of the predicate, instead of that of the antecedent. φρουρίῳ—because it commanded the pass. A similar importance attached to Phyle and Decelea. ἄλλως—'in other ways.'

**18, 3.** Αἰτίαν τε—to the end of the chapter is parenthetical. ἔλαβεν...δοκῶν...οὐ παραινῶν—δοκῶν gives the cause of ἔλαβεν, παραινῶν the cause of δοκῶν. Cf. c. **86** ἀνθῶρμον...γνώμην ἔχοντες...φοβούμενοι. αὐτοῦ—of what has just been described, as often. ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ—in bello conflando. So Isocr. οἶμαι τὸν πόλεμον θεῶν τινὰ συναγαγεῖν. ἐπειδὴ τε—this τε joins ξυνελέγετο to ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ. Four periods are distinguished, (1) the time when Sparta was seeking a *casus belli*, (2) the time when the contingents were assembling at the Isthmus, (3) the march to Oenoe, (4) the delay at Oenoe. ἢ τε—this τε belongs equally to ἐπειδὴ ξυν. ὁ στρατός, but the order is distorted for the sake of the antithesis between the three periods. Cf. c. **13**, 2. κατὰ τὴν—i.e. ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην π. σχολαιότης. Cf. Intr. p. xl. ἄλλην—exclusive, 'as well.' μάλιστα δὲ—the most inelegant section in the book. The repetition of what has been said in 2 above is clumsy.

**18, 4.** Ἐπελθόντες ἂν—the ἂν belongs to καταλαβεῖν only; of course ἂν is constantly attracted to a partic. which forms the protasis; but sometimes the ἂν also belongs to the partic., which is part of the apodosis, as c. **53**, 4 βιοῦς ἂν...ἀντιδοῦναι.

(In some cases it is not easy to decide whether the partic. belongs to prot. or apod., as Demosth. *Phil.* 1, 1.)

18, 5. Ἐν ... ὁργῇ—see c. 59, 2.

19, 1. Πᾶσαν ἰδέαν—adverbial, = πάντα τρόπον. παρά-σαντες—sc. αὐτῆς. In Attic πειράμαι = conari. Only Herod. and Thuc. among prose writers use the active in this sense. [τῶν ἱ. Θηβαίων]—Intr. p. xxxix. ὀγδοηκοστῇ—i.e. about June 20th. ἀκμάζοντος—denotes the time preceding ripeness, in Attica the end of May and the greater part of June. ἤγειτο δὲ—Archidamus has been already referred to again and again as the general. But cf. c. 47, 2, 71, 1; III. 1, 1, 26, 2, 89, 1; IV. 2, 1; V. 54, 1, 57, 1; VII. 19, 1. ἡγεμῶν is the technical word for the Peloponnesian general, cf. I. 128 Πανσάντας ὁ ἡγεμῶν τῆς Σπάρτης, and the name of the ἡγεμῶν—generally one of the kings—in command of a Spartan expedition is regularly given as a matter of form. As regards Sparta, ἡγεμῶν is regularly the title of a king or regent. Thus Brasidas is called only στρατηγὸς or ἀρχων.

19, 2. Καθεζόμενοι—for the tense, cf. c. 18, 1. Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θ. πεδῖον—the country round Eleusis. περὶ τοὺς Ῥαιτοὺς—two salt lakes on the boundary between the land of Athens and Eleusis, at the corner of the Thriasian plain. From Eleusis Archidamus had followed the Sacred Way. Αἰγάλειον—instead of ‘turning off to the eastward,’ as Grote says, Archidamus probably continued along the direct road to Athens, i.e. the Sacred Way, crossing the pass of Daphni, and only then turned north towards Mount Parnes. This agrees better with ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἶ. (Mount Skarmanga). The question is complicated by the uncertainty of the position of the deme Cropia. χρόνον πολὺν—with ἔτεμον. ἐμμέναντες—‘having settled there.’ ἐμμένειν is regularly used of persons: thus ἐμμένω ταῖς σπονδαῖς, not αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐμμένουσιν is the ordinary idiom. For exceptions, see c. 2, 1 *not. crit.*

20, 1. [Ὡς ... ταξάμενον]—by no means in accordance with the desultory nature of Archidamus’ operations. On λέγεται, see c. 57, 1. ἐς τὸ πεδῖον—the Attic plain. ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἑσβολῇ—temporal. See c. 13, 9, 57, 2. Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 68.

20, 2. Τμηθῆναι—the infinitive after περιορᾶν is found only in Herod. and Thuc.; π. then = εἶν, the notion of perception or want of it being lost. Cf. c. 18, 5. *M. T.* 903, 6.

20, 4. Ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι—for ἐν in compounds with adverbial force, cf. c. 44, 1. μέρος—see c. 21, 3. There were probably heroes of Marathon to be found among the Acharnians, who were by no means inclined to see their vines

cut down without a blow being struck. The deme was proud of its distinction in war. See Aristoph. *Ach.* 180. ὀρμήσειν—transitive, governing τοὺς πάντας.

**20, 5.** Τοιαύτη μὲν—resuming and dismissing γνώμη τοιαύτη in 1 above. Cf. 9, 1 and 6.

**21, 1.** Καὶ τίνα—the principal sentence. Πλειστοάνакτα—when Euboea and Megara revolted from Athens 445 B.C., and Pericles had crossed to Euboea, Pleistoanax invaded Attica, but retreated after ravaging the Thriasian plain, as Pericles returned. μεμνημένοι... ὅτε... ἀνεχώρησε—‘remembering the time when.’ Cf. c. 54, 4 μνήμη ἐγένετο... ὅτε (ὁ θεὸς) ἀνείλε. Eur. *Hec.* 112 οἷσθ’ ὅτε χρυσεὶς ἐφάνη ξὺν ὄπλοις. Only ὅτε is used in prose to mark a date. See c. 98, 1. So ‘audivi eum cum diceret.’ ἐσβαλὼν... οὐκέτι προελθὼν—both temporal; cf. c. 68, 3, 71, 2, where also the time of the first precedes that of the second. ἐς ’Ε. καὶ Θριῶζε—i.e. ἐς ’Ε. καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον. ἐς τὸ π. οὐκέτι—‘without advancing further.’ Cf. I. 114 τὸ πλεον οὐκέτι προελθόντες. With the comparative the -έτι is superfluous, but idiomatic. ἡ φύγη—Thuc. writes as though he had mentioned this before, but nothing is said about it in I. 114, and it is again referred to incidentally v. 16. It must have been a very famous event.

**21, 2.** ’Ὡς εἰκὸς—with ἐφαίνετο. ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί—(ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί I. 136. ἐν in an adverbial phrase is common. πλὴν—here an adverb. Cf. c. 34. So ad = ὥς, Livy XXI. 22, 3 ad mille octingenti, though that use is limited to cases in which mille or millia intervenes. τὰ Μηδικὰ—‘at the time of the Persian war.’ Cf. I. 3, 4 τὰ πρὸ ’Ελληνος. Adverbial accusative, as in τὸ πρῶτον. μὴ περιορᾶν—distinguish (a) οὐκ ἐδόκει περιορᾶν, ‘it did not seem good to overlook it,’ (b) ἐδόκει οὐ περιορᾶν, ‘it seemed that they were not overlooking it,’ (c) ἐδόκει μὴ περιορᾶν, ‘it seemed better not to,’ i.e. ‘they determined not to,’ implying ‘preference or deprecation.’ Rutherford, *Syntax*, p. 132.

**21, 3.** Κατὰ ξ. γ.—so γίγνομαι is often used with participial expressions. Cf. c. 3 ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνεσθαι. The style here becomes more animated, the conflicting passions being described, as usual, in short co-ordinate sentences. οἱ μὲν—apposition to the universal subject. Cf. c. 16, 1. παντοίους, ὥς ἀκροᾶσθαι—i.e. every man, to whatever side he belonged, could quote his own oracle-monger. ὥρμητο—with infin., as in c. 59. παρὰ—c. 72, 2. παντί τε—this τε sums up the preceding three. στρατηγὸς ὢν—Pericles being στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ (specially given unlimited powers) could prevent any of his colleagues from leading them out. ὑπεξαγάγοι—cause assigned by the people. Hence optative.



**22, 1.** Γιγνώσκειν περὶ τοῦ μὴ—cf. c. 55. For the reason of his action, see Intr. p. lxix. ἐκκλησίαν τε ... τὴν τε—the double τε implies two concurrent acts having the same object in view. ἐποίει—‘summon.’ ἐκκλησία means the regular meeting (κυρία ἐκκλησία) which only a στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ could prevent. It was ordinarily held in each Prytany. ξύλλογος means a special meeting (συγκλητὸς ἐκκλησία). Cf. c. 59 and iv. 114, 120. These were summoned by the Prytanes at the request of the Strategist. (Gilbert, *Beitr. zur innern Geschichte*, p. 14, explains this passage differently.) As so many country people were now in Athens, all opposed to the war, it would have been very dangerous to call a meeting. οὐδένα—but he could not prevent the ξιστάσεις: club intrigues and such strained combinations of opposed interests as occur in times of excitement took the place of ordinary politics. In this hazy atmosphere the figure of Cleon looms indistinctly. (We cannot penetrate into the workings of the ἐταιρεῖαι to which Thuc. refers; but Grote is quite mistaken in saying that Cleon rose now ‘as an opposition speaker.’ He was preparing for the great attack on Pericles that was made in 430 B.C. Intr. p. lxxvi.) δι’ ἡσυχίας—c. 13, 2.

**22, 2.** Τοῦ μὴ—purpose, a rare construction outside Thuc. ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ... κακούργειν—the common object is accommodated to the participle. See c. 13, 2. ἄγρους—the Attic plain. Φρυγίοις—somewhere between Athens and Acharnae in the plain. τροπὴ ἐγένετο—pass. of τ. ἐποιήσαντο, c. 19.

**22, 3.** Τὸ παλαιὸν ξ.—made 461 B.C., the Thessalians being enemies of the Dorians and Boeotians from early times. The alliance was made when Sparta sent away the force which Athens sent to help to subdue the helots. Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους—these suggestive names are one outcome of the visit of Gorgias to Larissa, which had previously prided itself on ἱππικὴ rather than σοφία. Plat. *Μενο*, 70 B, Isocr. 15, 155. ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως—the Schol. says ἡ Λάρισσα ἐστασίασε πρὸς ἑαυτήν· διδὲ ἐκατέρα μερὶς ἀρχοντα εἶχε. λέγει δὲ ὅτι ἐκατέρα στάσις δύναμιν Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέστειλεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατίαν ἤγαγον, οἱ δὲ ὀλιγαρχίαν. These explanations are based only on the passage. It is more probable that Thuc. means that the troops of Larissa were in two divisions, each having its own general. Cf. c. 36, 1; vi. 62. The meanings of μέρος and στάσις are much alike, and as μέρος sometimes has a political, so στάσις perhaps has a military sense. Cf. *centuria*. A. Philippi, *Rhein. Mus.* 36, p. 245, proposes ἀρχηγὸς τῆς στάσεως for ἀπὸ τ. σ. Larissa was the most important state in Thessaly. Its princes claimed to be descended from Heracles. Pind. *Pyth.* 10. (Herodian settles the orthography. It must



be admitted that the analogy of Thebes, and of Sparta to some extent, favours the explanation of the Schol.) κατὰ πόλεις—though the cities of Thessaly had separate princes, they seem to have been connected by alliance.

**23, 1.** Βριλησσοῦ—Mt. Pentelicon, N.E. of Athens. See 3 below.

**23, 2.** Χιλίους ὀπλίτας—10 for each ship, as usual. These marines were generally Thetes. Cf. vi. **43**. They were called ἐπιβάται. Καρκίνος—related to the famous tragic poet of the same name, at whom Aristophanes jests several times. Πρωτίης—had been one of the commanders of the 10 ships sent to Corcyra in 433. Intr. p. lxvii.

**23, 3.** Ὅσον—see c. **13**, 7. Ὀρωπὸν—to get there from Pentelicon, they would pass the demes Cephisia, Aphidna and Oenoe, and cross the pass of Decelea. τὴν Γραϊκὴν—the name of the coast opposite Eretria. It is probably the place which gave the name Graeci to the colonists of Italy. See Busolt, *G. Gesch.*, I. p. 14. Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπήκοοι—Oropus fell into the hands of Boeotia in 412 B.C. Thuc. leaves his note, made probably in 431, unaltered.

**24, 1.** Ἀναχωρησάντων—then the country people returned to their demes. φυλακὰς—to give warning to the country people of any fresh invasion and to prevent ships sailing in or out of Megara. Cf. also c. **32**, **69**. See c. **93**, 4. The arrangements were quite different when an enemy was in Attica. Cf. c. **13**, 7. δὴ—Thuc. thinks of the changes which were soon found necessary. Cf. c. **94**, 5. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς—in the Ecclesia. The position of Pericles was now improved by the retreat of the enemy, and the departure of the country people. In the city itself and in Piraeus he had a large majority. Both Diodorus and Plutarch call attention to this increase of influence, but assign the wrong reason. ποιησαμένοις—might have been accus. (c. **7**, 2), but Thuc. and Lysias keep the dat. more than other writers. Cf. v. **9**. ἀναλοῦν—old form of ἀναλίσκειν. ἐπιῆ—of the proposer of a motion, ἐπιψηφίσῃ of the president for the day, who put the question. In viii. **15**, after the revolt of Chios early in 412, τὰ χίλια τ. εὐθὺς ἔλυσαν τὰς ἐπικειμένους ζημίας τῷ εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντι καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κινεῖν. κινεῖν—only of things disturbed through necessity. ἐς ἄλλο τι—explained by what follows. Cf. c. **1** ἐξῆς. νηῖτη—old word for ναυτικῷ in this phrase. Thuc. is giving the formal language of the ψήφισμα. θάνατον—‘the penalty they fixed was death. ζημίαν goes closely with ἐπέθεντο, which is mid. because the motion then passed applied to themselves.

**24, 2.** Ἐξαιρέτους—a reserve fleet, distinct from the φυλακάς, inspected yearly; any ships not in first-rate condition were replaced. κατὰ τὸν—the addition of the article adds formal precision to the language. τριηράρχους—the ships were docked, so that the captains would have nothing to do unless there were an attack by sea. See c. 94. ὦν—goes back to τριήρεις. χρῆσθαι—it is easy to supply ἔδοξε, but by no means certain that Thuc. intended this. See c. 13, 1 γίγνεσθαι and 5 οἷς χρήσεσθαι. ἦν δέη—the apod. is implied in τοῦ αὐτοῦ κ.

**25, 1.** Ἐκεῖ—the Messenians of Naupactus, placed there by Athens 455 B.C., the Acarnanians and Zacynthians. Μεθώ-νην—contrast the order in c. 18, 1 and 3 below. M., now Modon, is in Messenia, but after the Messenian Wars, circa 650 B.C., Messenia belonged to Laconia. About the same date, the inhabitants of Nauplia, expelled from Argolis, were settled in Methone by Sparta, to hold the port in her interest as the Messenians afterwards held Naupactus for Athens. προσέ-βαλον—they thought to take it by assault, judging a regular approach unnecessary. ὄντι... ἐνόντων—see on c. 4, 4. οὐκ ἐνόντων—sc. τῷ τείχει. There were however men in the place, but it was ungarrisoned. The attack was a surprise.

**25, 2.** Περὶ τοὺς χ. τ.—the only phrase in which the plur. of χώρος occurs in Thuc. Cf. c. 101, 2; III. 102, 4. Βρασίδης—Thuc. admired Brasidas and relates many of his adventures. They may be read again, adorned with rhetorical effects, in Diodorus. φρουρὰν ἔχων—‘with an expeditionary force,’ sent to protect the coast of Messenia. Cf. φρουρὰν φαίνειν in Xen., ‘to send out a force.’ τετραμμένον—‘with their attention occupied.’ Cf. c. 40, 2. So *versus ad.* ἐπηνέθη—by a decree passed in his honour, the usual sense of ἐπαινῶ in such cases.

**25, 3.** Σχόντες—cf. c. 33, 3. Φεῖαν—now Katakolo, the landing-place for visitors to Olympia. ἐπὶ δύο ἡ.—cf. c. 86, 5. A rare use of ἐπὶ. Cf. Andoc. II. 8 λύπας ἐπὶ χρόνον πλείστον φέρειν. τῆς κοιλῆς Ἠλίδος—the physical conditions of the country as well as the feud between Elis and Pisatis over the management of the games dating from the 7th cent. B.C., prevented any real union in this district. The N. part, in the valley of the Peneus, was ἡ κοιλὴ, and was taken by the Aetolian Epeans or Φαλεῖα (Lat. vallis) from the earlier population. λογάδας—Ionic for ἐπιλέκτους, used by no other Attic prose writer. Eur. Hec. 544. Suidas s.v. λογάδην. αὐτόθεν—i.e. from the neighbourhood of Pheia itself, which, being in Pisatis, belonged to the περιοικίς. ἐκ τῆς περι-οικίδος—epexegesis of αὐτόθεν, but also showing that the

relieving party was drawn not merely from the immediate neighbourhood of Pheia, but from Pisatis and Triphylia generally (ἡ περιοικίς, the sense being *political* not *geographical*).

**25, 4.** Ἀνέμου κατιόντος—cf. c. **84**; vi. **2, 4**. The regular word of a breeze getting up at sea. ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ—so i. **111**; vii. **69**; less commonly simple dat. Contrast ἐπιβαίνω with gen., 'to set foot in.' Ἰχθύν—the promontory on which Pheia lay, now C. Katakolo. τὸν ... λιμένα—probably Pontikokastro. [οἱ...ἐπιβῆναι]—this could only apply to ἄλλοι τινές: but it is probably a note on οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι.

**25, 5.** Προσεβεβηθήκει—plup., because this had caused the departure of the Athenians.

**26, 1.** Φυλακὴν—predicate, καὶ joining the two phrases which express the objects of the expedition. For περὶ of vague reference, cf. c. **7, 3**. Κλεόπομπος—was strategus again in 430; c. **58** (? 431/430 or 430/429. See note *l.c.*)

**26, 2.** Θρόνιον—some way inland; the capital of the Epicnemidian Locrians, on whom see c. **9, 4**. τε—introduces the third fact. αὐτῶν—the inhabitants of Thronium, the people being named instead of the place, as often. Ἀλόπη—its ruins, like those of Thronium, are on the road from the modern Atalante to Thermopylae.

**27, 1.** Αἰγινήτας—Athens had been frequently at war with Aegina, the last war being 460-456 B.C., when Aegina surrendered. See i. **67**. {ἐν} τῷ αὐτῷ θ.—Cl. shows that Thuc. always inserts ἐν in this phrase. Otherwise he uses the gen. αὐτοῦς τε κ.τ.λ.—'brutale application du droit du plus fort.' M. Henry. οὐχ ἥκιστα—with αἰτίους. [τῇ Π. ἐπικειμένην]—had this been the object Athens would have directed her attacks on Peloponnese from Aegina; but we hear nothing of this. ἐποίκους—i.e. ἀληρούχους. This measure was certain to make Pericles very popular. καὶ—'and so.'

**27, 2.** Θυρέαν—thus the Aeginetans would form a buffer between Laconia and Argolis. This region was a constant source of dispute between the two. οἰκεῖν ... νέμεσθαι—these limit ἔδοσαν and 'denote *occupation*, not *property*.' Bloomf. Cf. c. **30**. σφῶν—emphatic. 'We help you because you helped us.' ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν—about 464 B.C. Just after, the helots revolted, and the Messenians were expelled in consequence. See c. **25, 1**. The Spartans now paid back Athens for placing the Messenians in Naupactus. Θυρεάτις—had been in the hands of Sparta since 495 B.C.

**28.** Κατὰ σελήνην—see c. **4, 2** on τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός. ὥσπερ καὶ—probably Thuc. drew his knowledge of natural

phenomena from Anaxagoras, whose influence on Pericles and many of the thoughtful men of the time was very great. A. was called ὁ Νοῦς, his chief doctrine being νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἰτίας. Socrates when a young man once believed in him. See Plato, *Phaedo* 97 c, where S. speaks of A's physical theory with good-humoured banter. Cf. c. 102, 3. According to a story in Cicero (*de Rep.* i. 16) and Plutarch, *Per.* 35, the people were alarmed at this eclipse, and Pericles explained it after Anaxagoras. ἐξέλιπε—this chapter corrects, while it ignores, the current superstitions about eclipses. Herod. i. 74 tells a similar tale of Thales. γενόμενος καὶ ἐκφανέντων—see c. 4, 4. ἀστέρων—Mars and Venus.

29, 1. Πυθῶ—Ionic gen. of Πύθης. Cf. *Τηρέω* below. εἶχε—sc. γυναῖκα. Cf. Andoc. i. 50 ὅς ἐχει σου τὴν ἀδελφὴν. Σιτάλκης—see c. 95–102. πρόξενον—their representative in the kingdom of the Odrysae.

29, 2. Τὴν μεγάλην βασιλειαν—the great kingdom existing in 431. ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἄλλης—there are several ways of explaining this. The old rendering was 'made it more powerful than the rest of Thrace,' but this strains ἐπὶ πλείων. The others are (1) 'extended his kingdom over a great part of Thrace,' (2) 'established it over a greater territory than the rest of Thrace comprised,' i.e. it included more than half of Thrace, (3) 'formed it on a larger scale than the rest of Thrace.' Probably (2) is right; i. 9, 3, 71, 3 are similar.

29, 3. Προσῆκει οὐδέν—at a time when Athens was trying to form a connection with Thrace, it was natural that people should try to connect Athenian history with Thracian. τὸ ἔργον—a hint at the murder of Itys by Procne and Philomela. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 620. For the attitude of Thuc. towards these myths, see Grote i. p. 389. πολλοῖς—the ordinary prose rule for the agent with perf. pass., which Thuc. generally follows, is that the dat. is used when the subject is non-personal: when the subject is a person, ὑπὸ and gen. is *invariably* used. ἐν ἀηδόνας μνήμη—'in references to the night-ingale.' εἰκὸς δὲ—for this argument cf. c. 11, 8. It was used only by orators and historians: philosophers laughed at it. κῆδος—an Ionic word for 'a connexion by marriage,' found in Herod., Tragedy and late writers. διὰ τοσούτου—'at so short a distance.' Cf. c. 12, 1. πολλῶν ἡμερῶν—depends on ὁδοῦ, see c. 13, 7.

29, 4. Τὰ ἐπὶ Θ.—the Chalcidian towns, which were causing much anxiety at the time. Περδίκκαν—he had acted against Athens in the matter of Potidaea. i. 57–62. ξυνελεῖν—'to help to establish their influence over.'



**29, 5.** Τε—‘and so.’ ἐποίησε—contrast with ἐποίησαντο in 4 above. Σάδοκον—this presentation of the freedom of Athens amused and disgusted many. See Aristoph. *Acharn.* 141. Ἀθηναῖον—Müller-Strübing places καὶ Σάδοκον... Ἀθηναῖον after ξύμμαχον ἐποίησαντο above, on the ground that Thuc. could not say that an Abderite made a man a citizen: but it is plain that Thuc. refers to formalities carried out by the Proxenus when a member of his state was made a citizen of the state of which he was Proxenus. (So μνεῖν, ‘to initiate’ into the mysteries, a privilege belonging to the Eumolpidae, and Ceryces is used inexactly of the man who introduces a candidate for initiation. Cf. [Dem.] 59, 21, Andoc. 1, 132.

**29, 6.** Ξυνεβίβασε—a great gain to Athens. Cf. Intr. p. lxxviii. Θέρμην—captured by Athens in 432. i. 61, 2. τ’—‘and so.’ Φορμίωνος—he had gone with reinforcements to Potidaea in 432. See c. 2, 1. He had been Strategus in the Samian War, and again held office in 430 and 429. i. 64, 117; c. 69, 80, 102.

**29, 7.** Οὕτω μὲν—the usual way in which Thuc. summarises and dismisses a subject to pass to another. Cf. c. 4, 9, 15, 20.

**30, 1.** Οἱ—the influence of the art. extends to Πελοπόννησον, so that ὄντες is attributive. ἔτι—where they were left c.

**25.** Σόλλιον—here Demosthenes landed in Aetolia in 426. It remained in the possession of Athens to the peace of Nicias. It appears to be S. of Astacus. τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν—the art. covers both nouns, they being inseparable. Cf. c. 64 ἡ λαμπρότης καὶ δόξα. νέμεσθαι—exexegetic, τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν being object to παραδίδασι. Cf. c. 27, 2. Ἀστακόν—near the mouth of the Achelous.

**30, 2.** Κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν—‘opposite.’ Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 626 κατ’ ὀφθαλμοῦς = coram te. A rare use. τετράπολις—the Samaeans were the most important, and in ancient times gave their name to the state. In *Od.* i. 246 Cephallenia is called Same, in iv. 671 Samos. Παλῆς—the names of the people are given instead of the cities. Cf. c. 9, 4.

**31, 1.** Φθινόπωρον—in September. Μεγαρίδα—for the policy of this, see Intr. p. lxxii. Megara had a hard fate, gross time-server as she was. In 455 she revolted from Sparta to Athens; then in 445, when Athens was in a bad plight, revolted from her and rejoined Sparta. In 427 Nicias seized Minoa, an island off Megara. In 425 Aristophanes, in the *Acharnians*, giped at her sufferings in a spirit worthy of Lauderdale. In 424 the Athenians became masters of Nisaea and the Long Walls that connected Megara with that port. Then the walls were pulled down. In the truce of 423 the



line between the Athenians and Megara was carefully defined. Athens lost her influence there by the peace of 421, when Minoa and Nisaea were restored to Megara. Μεγάροις—i.e. the district of Megara, as with Eleusis c. 19.

31, 2. Ἐγένετο—of a sum total, as c. 13, 3. μυρίων—with the 3000 hoplites at Potidaea, the total becomes 13,000, as mentioned in c. 13. Phormio, who had been sent with 1600 more to Potidaea, must have returned already to Athens, though, as often in Thuc., this fact is only referred to incidentally and later. See c. 58, 2. δμιλος—so c. 34, 8, 36, 4, 65, 4. Outside Thuc. it is found only in Herod., Tragedy and late authors, as Dion. Hal., Plutarch, Lucian.

31, 3. Καὶ ἄλλαι—the result was a sore famine in Megara.

32. Ἀταλάντη—in 426 B.C. part of the island disappeared in an earthquake when it was occupied by the Athenians. φρούριον—predicate. ἡ ἐπὶ Δοκροῖς—ἐπὶ = *ad oram sita*. So III. 89, 3. Ὀπούντος—see c. 9, 2.

33, 1. Ἐπικούρους—specially used of mercenaries and tyrants' body-guards. Χρύσιδος—Χρῦσις is masc., Χρυσίς fem., c. 2, 1.

33, 2. Τῆς περὶ θ.—an uncommon use of περὶ. See on c. 99, 3, and for the order, cf. c. 18, 1. πειραθέντες—see c. 19, 1. Supply προσποιήσασθαι. ἀπέπλειον—imperf., as the journey was broken.

33, 3. Σχόντες ... ἀπατηθέντες ... ἀποβάλλουσι—the first participle is temporal, while the second belongs closely to the verb and defines it like an adverb of manner. ἐξ ὁμολογίας—'after an agreement had been made with them,' the Corinthians, so that they had reason to expect the surrender of the islanders. The antithesis is between ἀπατῇ and ὁμολογία, i.e. ἐξ ὁμολογίας ἀπατῇ γίνεται, as ἐξ is constantly used of persons, to denote a change of condition; cf. *transfuga ex oratore* etc. ἀπροσδοκίτοις—active. See c. 3, 4. βιαστέρον—'not without a struggle,' with considerable difficulty.

34, 1. Νόμῳ—'custom.' See c. 35, 1. ταφὰς—funeral) τάφος, tomb. ἐν τῷδε τῷ π.—see c. 1, *init.* ἀποθανόντων—in the siege of Potidaea, during the skirmishes with the invaders in Attica, and in the two coast expeditions.

34, 2. Ὀστᾶ—the bodies had been burnt already at the scene of the action, then the bones were collected and buried at Athens. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 80 D ἐνία μέρη τοῦ σώματος, ὅστᾶ τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀθάνατά ἐστιν. προτίθενται—*proponunt*. ἀπογενομένων—cf. c. 51, 5. An Ionic word. Herod. II. 85. Suidas, s.v. ἀπεγένετο, says οὕτως Ἀντιφῶν καὶ Θουκυδίδης. Probably it was used in ritual, as

ἀποκτινύναι for ἀποκτείνειν. πρότριτα—so Aristoph. *Lys.* 611. Cf. πρόπεμπτα. Both words puzzled ancient commentators. We should say 'two days' (before the ἐκφορά). σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες—in the agora, which was in the deme Cerameicus. ἦν τι—not the things which the dead were supposed to require for their existence below, but fancy presents.

**34, 3.** Ἐπειδὴν—used here like *δταν*. Contrast 6 below, and c. **72, 3.** κυπαρισσίνas—the schol. says that cypress was used because it does not easily decay. Cl. says this is mere imagination; but at Venice carved chests of cypress were used in the time of Shakspeare for keeping valuable stuffs in. ('Taming of the Shrew,' II. I In cypress chests my arras.) The fact that it was used for coffins may be the reason why it was sacred to the dead. φυλῆς—the members of a φυλὴ were buried together (a) because the φυλαὶ were the largest aggregates based on the *family*, (b) because they were the basis of military organisation. ἡς ἕκαστος—ἐκ. is put into the rel. clause, as in c. **17, 3.** κενή—every effort had to be made to recover the dead; only for those who were not found after careful search was the symbolic burial sufficient. Eur. *Hel.* 1241 "Ἑλλήσιν ἐστὶ νόμος δς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ [κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πέπλων ὑφάσμασιν. τῶν ἀφανῶν—with κλίνη. For the expression, cf. VIII. **38** ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλητι ἀφανίζεται.

**34, 4.** Ὁ βουλόμενος—the generic art. is post-Homeric. ξένων—thus the aliens would hear the funeral oration, in which Athens was always extolled. αἱ προσήκουσαι—this limits γυναῖκες, lit. 'I mean those who are related.' ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον—the women might be present at the grave, but did not walk in the procession from the agora.

**34, 5.** Πρὸαστέλου—that part of the Cerameicus which was outside the gates was used as a cemetery. It was to Athens what the Appian Way was to Rome. It was just outside the Dipylon, the chief and double gateway of Athens. Probably it means 'the potters' quarter,' the Athenian potteries being famous. Cf. the potters' field in St. Matthew, xxvii. 7, which was bought 'to bury strangers in.' πλὴν—see c. **21, 2.** ἐν Μαραθῶνι—see *not. crit.* Some critics, while admitting ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, deny that ἐν can be used with Μαραθῶνι, and no case where the metre requires ἐν before Μαραθῶνι is found. The names of the sites of famous battles are used elliptically. αὐτοῦ—on the battle-field. καὶ—as well as burning the bodies. τάφον ἐποίησαν—'made them their grave.' The mound raised over it still exists, as also the remains of the trophy of victory set up in 490 B.C.

**34, 6.** Ἡρημένος ὑπὸ—the subject is a person; therefore ὑπὸ and not the dat. is used with the perf. pass. μὴ ἀξύνετος—i.e. ξυνετώτατος. ἀξιώσει—Grote and Shil. say ἀξιώσεις means the estimate one has of oneself; ἀξίωμα that which others have of one. Such a wide difference does not exist here. ἀξίωσις is the recognition of a man's γνώμη. προήκη—rare for προέχῃ. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς—the prep. marks the occasion. Cf. 8 below, **35, 1, 42, 1.** So in the orators. ξ. τὸν πρέποντα—mark the order. c. 2. 2.

**34, 7.** Ξυμβαλῇ—sc. θάπτειν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, i.e. at the end of each campaign.

**34, 8.** Καὶρὸς ἐλάμβανε—'at the right moment,' = κ. κατελάμβανε. Cf. c. 18, 2. ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον—together. Ste. however places the stop after ὑψηλόν. ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον—so ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ IV. **29, 3**; ἐπὶ πλεον c. **53, 1** (cf. c. **29, 2** note). Cf. Eur. *Sup.* 857 *fol.* ἔλεγε—now follows the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος. It is more worked up than any other speech in Thuc., and conforms closely to the rhetorical rules. The other λ. ἐπιτάφιοι extant are one ascribed to Lysias, one to Demosthenes (see **44, 2**), the *Menexenus* ascribed to Plato; fragments of one by Gorgias (see *Intr.* p. xlii.), and a considerable part of one by Hypereides. Döderlein says of the speech 'Arte dicentis ad laudes Athenarum inflexum ac potius ad comparationem vitae Atheniensium liberae, liberalis, vere vitalis, cum tetrica angustaque et aerumnosa Spartanorum disciplina.'

**35, 1.** Ἐπαινοῦσι—ἐπαινος filled λ. ἐπιταφίους. τὸν προσθέντα—it is not known who instituted the custom. It was of course ascribed to Solon. After a time, the subjects dealt with became traditional commonplaces. Dion. Hal. enumerates them (*Ars Rhet.* vi.) as πατρίς, γένος, φύσις, ἀγωγή, πρᾶξις. Then he shows how the subjects should be treated. ὥς καλὸν—sc. δν. *M. T.* 875. νόμῳ—probably 'institution.' ἀρκοῦν—used as an adj. ἂν ἰδόκει—*censeam*, often instead of *censeo*, as a polite expression, 'I am inclined to think'; if I had to settle the matter I should hold. Cf. Burke, *On American Taxation*, 'For my part I should choose (if I could have my wish).' ἔργῳ δηλοῦσθαι—in a public burial, in honour paid to the tomb (a very important matter to the Greeks), and in privileges to the family. τιμὰς, οἷα—the change to neuter shows that only an instance of the many kinds of τιμαί is given. περὶ—not local, but 'at' meaning 'on the occasion of.' παρασκευασθέντα—with οἷα. καὶ μὴ κ.τ.λ.—Gottleber makes πιστευθῆναι subj. of κινδυνεύεσθαι, i.e. καὶ (τὸ) πολλῶν ἀρετὰς πιστευθῆναι μὴ κινδυνεύεσθαι ἐν ἐνί. (This is better than making πιστευθῆναι depend on κινδυνεύεσθαι, as then ἢ οὐ would be required after

πιστευθῆναι.) ἐν ἐνὶ ... κινδυνεύεσθαι—cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1057 καὶ τὰμ' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχειν | ἢ μὴδὲν εἶναι. For the pass. κινδυνεύεται cf. c. 43, 5. πιστευθῆναι—for omission of τό, cf. c. 39, 4. εὐ τε καὶ χεῖρον—*sive bene sive male dixerit.*

35, 2. Τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν—explained by what follows as meaning 'neither ἐνδεεστέρως δηλοῦν nor πλεονάζειν.' ἐν ᾧ—'in a case where.' Cf. c. 1. In this phrase, the relative does not refer to any definite antecedent, but rather to the whole preceding clause. δόκησις—even if the speaker is sure he has hit the mean, he finds it hard to convey that impression to his hearers. The word δόκησις, 'impression,' is tragic, and used by no other prose writer. See c. 14, 1. ἀληθείας—'truthfulness.' ἐνδεεστέρως—cf. c. 50 χαλεπωτέρως. Thuc. uses a considerable number of such comparatives. They are rare in other prose writers (Dobree, *Advers.* II. 208), except indeed only after ἔχειν intrans., as Plato, *Phaedo*, 75 A ἔχει δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως. πρὸς—*prae*. Cf. c. 62, 3, 65, 10. ἀκούοι—protasis to ἂν νομίσειε. τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν—viz. τῶν ἐπαίνων, 'that which transgresses the limit in these panegyrics they actually discredit.' See on c. 59, 3 τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης. φθονοῦντες—not that they envy the dead (which the speaker says is not the case c. 45, 1), but they do not like to hear another's praises exaggerated, whether he be living or dead (περὶ ἐτέρων ἐπαινοί). Cf. Herod. III. 52 φθονέσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶν ἢ οὐκ εἶρεσθαι. Pind. *Pyth.* I. 85 κρέσσων οὐκτιρμοῦ φθόνος.

35, 3. Ἐπειδὴ—resumes ἐμοὶ δ' in 1 above. ἔδοκιμάσθη—properly of the preliminary test to which newly-appointed officials had to submit to prove they were qualified. Hence δεδοκιμασμένος, like *spectatus*, 'tried and approved.' The word shows Pericles has in his mind a custom rather than a law.

36, 1. Ἀρξομαι—here begins a subsidiary introduction, the object of which is to get rid of the *conventional* topics in few words, and lead up to the *prothesis* (see 4 below). προγόνων—dismissed with merely a respectful mention, as Pericles' real business is with the present, not the past. He begins with πρόγονοι, the θεοὶ χθόνιοι, as poets and orators begin with the gods. Plato does it sometimes at the beginning of a long discussion; cf. Livy's conclusion to his preface, and the opening of Demosth. *de Cor.* πρῶτον—not pleonastic, for the analysis shows that the ἀρχὴ of the speech contains three points. δίκαιον ... πρέπον—the former of one's duty towards others, the latter of one's duty towards oneself. αὐτοῖς—with δίδοσθαι. καὶ π. δὲ ἅμα—like *non modo ... sed etiam*. ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε—'on such an occasion as this.'



οἱ αὐτοὶ—predicate with *οἰκοῦντες*. The Athenians prided themselves on being *αὐτόχθονες*. διαδοχῇ—instrumental.

36, 2. Πατέρες—he passes to the period of the Persian Wars. πρὸς οἷς—they *received* Attica; they *left* the maritime confederacy. ἀρχὴν—Pericles avoids stating the steps by which the Athenian *ἡγεμονία* was turned into an ἀρχή.

36, 3. Τὰ πλείω—is accns. of respect, and refers especially to the internal improvements, made in the age of Pericles, of whatever kind. As for the material improvements—buildings and walls—Pericles' connection with them precluded him from referring to them in detail. ἡμεῖς—Pericles was born about 490 B.C. Hence *μάλιστα*, 'more or less.' ἐν τῇ καθ.—lit. 'living in settled life,' i.e. 'in the vigour of life,' the time between growth and decay. Cic. *Cat. maj.* 76 constans aetas quae media dicitur. ἐπὶ ηὐξήσαμεν—'have improved it.' αὐταρκεστώτην—by the increase of the revenue and the advance of culture.

36, 4. Ὦν—αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων. οἷς κ.τ.λ.—of the Persian Wars, the reduction of Naxos (468 B.C.), the war with Thasos (465), those with Corinth, Epidaurus and Aegina (458), those in Boeotia (457 and 447), that with Euboea (445) and Samos (440). ἐκτέθη—offensive measures)(*ἡμυνάμεθα*, defensive. [πόλεμον]—this would require *Ἑλληνικόν*, since Ἕλλην can only be used as an adj. with *persons*, as VII. 42, 1 ἀκοντιστὰς βαρβάρους καὶ Ἕλληνας. ἀπὸ δὲ—this introduces the *prothesis*, or statement of the theme of the main portion of the speech (the *πίστις*). ἐπιτηδεύσεως—'principles' on which concrete ἐπιτηδεύματα are based. Pericles will explain the meaning and point out the results of the ideas which underlie the Athenian constitution, and show that it is based on philosophy and intelligence. (Aristotle did not admire Pericles much, because Athens degenerated so rapidly after his death; and Plato thought little of most men who took part in public affairs: but the passage in *Phaedo*, 82 A οἱ τὴν δημοτικὴν τε καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτηδευνόντες, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἐξ ἑθους τε καὶ μελέτης γεγонуῖαν ἀνευ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ, could not apply to Pericles and the circle of Anaxagoras. See Appendix in Archer—Hind's edition). αὐτὰ—cf. c. 1 ἕκαστα, 43, 1. μεθ' οἷας—the prepositions are important. ἀπὸ gives the remote origin, ἐξ the immediate cause, μετὰ the circumstances under which the result was produced. From both ἀπὸ and ἐκ must be distinguished ὑπὸ, of the agent (see *Class. Rev.* III. 436 a), πολιτείας—of public and active life)(τρόπων, of personal relations, and intellectual life. ταῦτα δηλώσας—I will



explain this before' etc. The main emphasis is on the partic. as c. 12, 2. ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι—'under the present circumstances,' i.e. at the end of the first campaign. There will be practical lessons to learn from the description. Intr. p. lxxii. In the same sense ἐπὶ τοῖς παρούσιν is used VIII. 54, 4. ἀπρεπῇ—predicate, with λεχθῆναι. Cf. c. 102, 6. ἀστῶν—so that they might lay to heart the lesson to be learnt. ξένων—see c. 34, 4. ξύμφορον—neut. The general topic of the πίστις is τὸ συμφέρον. It is changed at c. 43 for τὸ καλόν. ἐπακούσαι—'to hear with attention' (ὑπακούειν 'to hear and obey.'

37, 1. Οὐ ζηλούση—the institutions of Sparta were based on those of Crete. παράδειγμα—probably a reference to the embassy sent from Rome to Athens in 454 B.C. to examine the laws of Solon. Livy III. 31. (Hertz, *N. Jahrb.* 1881, p. 283 fol.) ὄντες—the partic. is constructed with the subject instead of with πολιτεία, so that the pride of the people is directly appealed to. ὄνομα—adverb. accus. ἐς ὀλίγους ... οἰκεῖν—'the administration is in the hands not of a few but of the majority.' οἰκεῖν is here intrans. = 'to be administered,' and the subject is ἡ πολιτεία. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* VIII. p. 547 c πῶς οἰκήσει (αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία); δ. κέκληται—'our constitution is called a democracy.' Then μέτεστι δὲ κ.τ.λ. explains that, though named a democracy, the name does not mean that the claims of excellence are disregarded. πρὸς τὰ ἴδια δ.—'in protecting their private interests,' (ἐς τὰ κοινὰ below. πᾶσι—i.e. ὀλίγοι, as well as δῆμος. The two cardinal principles on which the democracy rested were ἰσονομία and ἐλευθερία. All being equal in the eyes of the law, the majority of necessity controlled the state. Pericles was convinced that complete democracy was necessary, as only under such a government had all an equal chance of developing their abilities; all being, as Isocr. says, ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας πεπαιδευμένοι. κατὰ δὲ—antithesis to μέτεστι πᾶσι rather than το κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους. ἀξίωσιν—*existimatio*, the consideration accorded to merit, recognition of personal claims. εὐδοκιμεῖ—he alludes especially to officials elected by show of hands, such as the strategi. Those offices which required no special knowledge were filled by lot. Whether the best men were always elected is doubtful. Pericles only claims that nothing stood in the way of merit. οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους—'not on account of his rank so much as.' μέρος = a particular class, such as the ὁμοῖοι of Sparta. ἀγαθόν τι δρᾶσαι—see c. 64, 1; Plat. *Rep.* I. 332 A. ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία—the result of ἀξίωσις is ἀξίωμα, a position in the state: 'by the obscurity of his position.' κекώλυται—sc. ἀγαθόν τι δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, a clear statement that abilities are to be devoted to

the advancement of the state. (This was the theory of all the best Athenian statesmen: there was some sense in the Seriphian's insult to Themistocles, οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκίμει.)

**37, 2.** Ἐλευθέρως—the same liberal spirit that we show in public life underlies all our private relations. τὰ τε ... καὶ —parataxis: 'as ... so.' πολιτεύομεν—lit. live in the state, τὰ πρὸς τὸ κ. being internal accus. 'as regards our public life,' *quod attinet ad rempublicam*. ἐς τὴν ... ἰποψίαν—'in respect of that mutual suspicion often felt (τὴν) in the daily business of life.' ἐπιτηδεύματων—the outcome of following any particular ἐπιτήδευσις (see c. 36, 4). δι' ὀργῆς ... ἔχοντες—c. 13, 2. εἰ ... δρᾶ—this merely = τὸν δρῶντα, i.e. no time is referred to at all. If it were, εἴαν τι δρᾶ would be required. Cf. c. 64, 6. καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾶ—*genio indulget*, 'does as he likes.' This is true generally; but in their religious opinions the Athenians were intolerant. ἀχθηδόνως προστιθέμενοι—'assuming an ill-humoured expression.' τῇ ὄψει 'on our faces' may be omitted in trans.; unless, indeed, it belongs not to προστιθέμενοι, but to λυπηράς, 'annoying to see.' ἀζημίους is active in meaning. ἀχθηδῶν (= ἀχθος) is poetic. Thuc. still alludes to Sparta, where people could not do as they liked, through the rigorous system of police control enforced by the ephors.

**37, 3.** Ἀνεπαχθῶς—'yet, in spite of this freedom from restraint in our private intercourse, we are in our public acts most careful to reverence the laws.' Both τὰ ἴδια and τὰ δημόσια are adverbial. αἰεὶ—constantly used of the officials who held office for a year, and denoting the *continuous succession* of magistrates. ἀκροάσει—'showing respect to,' = ἀκροώμενοι, which means lit. 'listening eagerly to.' Cf. c. 21, 3. αὐτῶν—with ὅσοι. ἄγραφοι—Soph. *Antig.* 454 ἀγραπτα κάσφαλῇ θεῶν νόμῳ δύνασθαι θνητὸν ἐνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν. Xen. *Mem.* iv. 4, 19. They are the natural laws that are engraved on the heart of every right-minded individual, so that none doubt it is disgraceful to transgress them. Cf. Milton: 'Those unwritten, or at least unconstraining laws of virtuous education.' αἰσχύνην ... φέρονσι—'bring universally admitted disgrace,' sc. τοῖς παρανομοῦσι.

**38, 1.** Ἀναπαύλας—an old Attic word, frequent in trag. τῇ γνώμῃ—'for the mind,' referring to the humanising and artistic value of the festivals. ἀγῶσι—namely, at the πανηγύρεις, the chief festivals, when business ceased. Such were the Panathenaic Festival and the Dionysia. θυσίαις—not the ordinary sacrifices, but those performed at the ἐορταί, the most important of which were πανηγύρεις. διετησίαις—

'which succeed one another throughout the year.' At Athens the festivals were more frequent than elsewhere, and perhaps ridicule was cast upon them by the Spartans, just as the Romans ridiculed the Jews and Christians for wasting time over their weekly sabbath. νομίζοντες—= χρόμενοι: an Ionic use, cf. I. 74, end. κατασκευαῖς εὖ.—c. 65, 2. καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ τέρψις—i.e. ἢ καθ' ἡ. τέρψις. Cf. c. 18, 3. For the reason of this transposition, see Intr. p. xl. The object here is to contrast καθ' ἡμέραν with διηθησίοις, in which there is a legitimate gain, since καθ' ἡμέραν is always used of ordinary business, whereas διηθησίοις applies to the holidays: also to extend the force of καθ' ἡ. to ἐκπλήσσει and τὸ λυπηρὸν, as in c. 7, 2 ἐξ Ἰταλίας belongs partly to ποιῆσθαι. τὸ λυπηρὸν—of the petty worries of life, which oppress the middle classes, and take all the pleasure out of life. Pericles alludes to Sparta. Cf. Burke, *On American Taxation*, 'If I were to detail the imports, I could show how many enjoyments they procure which deceive the burden of life.'

38, 2. Τὰ πάντα—cf. c. 11, 6, 36, 4, 'all that we need.' The echo in πάσης ... πάντα is what Cornificius calls *traductio*. It is a variety of παρονομασία. Cf. VI. 87, 4 ἐν παντὶ γὰρ πᾶς χωρίῳ. VI. 11, 1 διὰ πολλοῦ γε καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων. οἰκειοτέρα κ.τ.λ.—lit. 'the enjoyment with which we reap the harvest of the good things produced in our own land is not more our own than that of the productions of the rest of the world,' i.e. 'we have the advantage of enjoying the products of other countries as freely as those of our own.' τὰ ἀγαθὰ—not the products of the soil only, but those of the mind as well. αὐτοῦ—adv., cf. c. 7, 2.

39, 1. Καὶ—'further.' Here Pericles, who has not before openly alluded to Sparta, first avows the contrast. ταῖς μελέταις ... τοῖσδε—the second dat. restricts the first. τῶν ἐναντίων—with διαφέρον. κοινὴν—Intr. p. lxx. end. ξηνηλασίαις—'alien acts,' one of the *arcana imperii* by which the Ephors tried to keep out foreign manners. Strangers were not allowed to settle in Sparta. The Athenians felt this as an insult. Cf. I. 144. Aristoph. *Av.* 1012 ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ξηνηλατεῖται. δ ... ὠφελήθει—i.e. δ εἰ ἴδοι μὴ κρυφθὲν ὠφελήθει ἂν. Thuc. says that he was unable to obtain information about Spartan military matters owing to the concealment which the government practised. v. 9, 5. Cf. c. 8, 4, and τὸ κρυπτὸν τῆς πολιτείας v. 68, 2. τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ... εὐψύχῳ somewhat similar is c. 87, 1 τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης. Demosth. 54, 36—ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐτοιμότης ... ὅση καὶ οἷα πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπάρχει. A rare use outside Thuc.: not found in Aristoph., very rare in the orators. ἐς τὰ ἔργα—contrasted with παρασκευαῖς.

Contrast c. 11, 5. ταῖς παιδείαις—‘respective methods of education.’ ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει—of the laborious training to which young Spartans were subjected, being taught to imitate the courage and gravity of men. The life they led was half military, half monastic. At Athens ἐπίπορος was only associated with γῆρας, not with νεότης. Plat. Rep. I. p. 329 D. ἀνειμένως διαιτῶμενοι—cf. I. 6, 3 πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. It was conflicting ideas that drove Athens and Sparta into war. Döderlein says ‘demonstratur (in this speech) non impotentia tantum et dominandi cupidine ad bellum tam atrox tamque diutinum impulsus esse, sed etiam diversa recti honestique aestimatione et constanti sui utrosque iudicii propugnacione.’ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κ.—Editors are not agreed as to the meaning of these words; there are two interpretations: (1) ‘equal dangers,’ i.e. dangers as great as any the Spartans, for all their training, venture to face (so most edd.); (2) ‘struggles in which equal, but not superior, forces oppose us.’ So Kr., Cl., Tillmanns. The general sense favours (1), the Greek favours (2). According to (2), the reservation is implied ‘we do not risk a battle against superior forces, as when the enemy invade Attica.’

39, 2. Τεκμήριον—see c. 15, 3. καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς—i.e. alone, without the help of their allies. καθ’ ἐκάστους is impossible because it would refer to detachments of the Lacedaemonians: had Πελοποννησίοι stood in place of Λακεδαιμόνιοι, it would have been right. πάντων—sc. τῶν ξυμμάχων. αὐτοί—‘by ourselves.’ The words are arranged so that a great emphasis falls on κρατοῦμεν, up to which point, the exact meaning of αὐτοί, which is contrasted with μετὰ πάντων, remains in doubt. περὶ—= ὑπὲρ, as often in Isocr. and Demosth. Cf. c. 41, 5. Aristoph. Eq. 767 περὶ σοῦ μάχομαι, 781, 1038. τὰ πλεῖω—cf. c. 11, 4 τὰ πολλά.

39, 3. Τε—cf. c. 11, 4. This new fact has an important bearing on τὰ πλεῖω κρατοῦμεν, enhancing the value of the victories, and excusing the reverses. ἐπὶ πολλὰ—with ἐπιπεμψιν. At the same time that we are busy with our fleet, we have to send out our citizens on many expeditions by land. ἡμῶν αὐτῶν—i.e. having no allies available. ἐπιπεμψιν—(see c. 14, 1) = διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν (‘partitive’) ἐπιπέμπειν. αὐχοῦσιν—poetical word. Herod. II. 160. αἰχμημα, very rare in Attic, occurs in c. 62, 4. ἀπεῶσθαι—middle. ὑφ’ ἃ. ἡσσήσθαι—c. 34, 6.

39, 4. Καίτοι—resumes the main thought which was interrupted at τεκμήριον δέ: ‘and surely.’ ῥαθυμῶς—‘with a light heart.’ Cf. ἀνειμένως διαιτῶμενοι above. Not in its bad



sense. Shil. quotes [Arist.] *Eth.* vi. 1 οὔτε πλείω οὔτε ἐλάττω πονεῖν οὐδὲ ῥαθυμεῖν. **πόνων**—this word had great significance to the Spartans and Thebans, denoting the ‘training’ which they thought so necessary to success. It is constantly used by Pindar, who holds that πόνος and δαπανή (‘outlay’) together win victory in the games. Observe the παρονομασία in πόνων, νόμων, τρόπων. **μετὰ ... ἀνδρείας**—the Spartan manliness is the result of military rules, the Athenian of habit formed through our mode of life. ἀνδρείας belongs to both gens., and νόμων ἀνδρείας, τρόπων ἀ. form a chiasmus with ῥαθυμία, πόνων μ. **ἐθέλομεν**—‘omnes recentioris aetatis pro ἐθέλομεν scripserunt ἐθέλομεν.’ Wichmann. Sta. thinks that Dion. Hal. really wrote the indic., and that this, like other passages he quotes from Thuc., has been altered by Byzantine scribes in his text. The critics ‘corrected’ Dionysius from their mss. of Thuc. **περιγίγνεται**—Dion. Hal. says Thuc. ought to have written *περιέσται*, because ἐθέλω points to the fut., but there is no reference to time at all here, and if there were the pres. γίγνομαι can apply to the fut. Trans. ‘we are the gainers.’ **τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀ.**—it is a question whether the dat. is *causal*, ‘through coming troubles,’ or dat. *commodi*, ‘for the sake of.’ Probably it is causal. **ἐς αὐτὰ**—τὰ ἀλγεινὰ ‘when face to face with trouble.’ The καὶ is paratactic, ‘while,’ and the verb, περιγίγνεται, is gradually lost sight of, until we reach ἐν ἄλλοις, which belongs rather to what follows. This is a good example of Thuc.’s πολύνους βραχυλογία. **ἀτολμοτέρους ... φαίνεσθαι**—with φαίνομαι Thuc. more often omits than inserts the partic., where an adj. is used. Contrast c. 51, 3 σῶμα αἰσθαρκές ὃν ἐφάνη.

**40, 1. Φιλοκαλοῦμεν κ.τ.λ.**—these words have been assiduously translated, paraphrased, and burlesqued. They not only defend Athenian ἀνδρεία, but contain sound advice to his hearers not to let their love of art degenerate into bad taste and mere display, nor their culture undermine their manliness. **εὐτελείας**—‘simplicity,’ avoidance of the gorgeous ornamentation that afterwards characterised Asianism. **φιλοσοφοῦμεν**—‘combine culture with manliness.’ Observe the *ισόκωλον* (equal number of syllables in two clauses), 11 syllables on each side of καὶ: this is a variety of παρομοίωσις (Intr. p. lii.), and the παρονομασία in φιλοκαλοῦμεν, φιλοσοφοῦμεν. **ἄνευ μαλακίας**—Demosth. 3, 24 and 25 has a passage probably suggested by this, in which he contrasts the magnificence of the public buildings with the simplicity of the private life in former times. Pericles refers to the Spartan idea, that learning was unsuited to men of action. The idea is not confined to Sparta. **πλούτῳ**—‘we employ our wealth as means for action, not as a subject for boasting.’ Cf. c. 41, 2. **τὸ πένεσθαι**—put



first, because emphatic. 'To admit poverty is no disgrace.' Cf. c. 37, 1. There were penalties for idleness at Athens. αἰσχιον—another γνώμη in the form of an *antithesis*. Cf. c. 11, 5, and 2, 3 and 4 below. The comparative implies 'even if poverty were disgraceful (as some say).' Plat. *Απολ.* p. 39 α μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ἢ χαλεπὸν, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ χαλεπώτερον πονηρίαν: the first member must be negative in this idiom, in which opposition is mixed with comparison. Cf. οὐδὲν ἄλλο ... ἀλλ' ἢ in Plato.

40, 2. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς—sc. ἡμῖν, all the citizens being meant. 'In attending to our private business, we do not neglect the state.' It was Pericles' object to induce all the citizens to take part in politics. ἕτερα πρὸς ἔργα—i.e. trade, manufacture and agriculture. τετραμμένοις—c. 25, 2. ἀπράγμονα—to many, πράγματα were tiresome. Cf. c. 64, 4, and *Intr.* p. lxxii. αὐτοί—'we in person,' the citizens in the ecclesia, as contrasted with the Spartan government, which was almost entirely in the hands of the Ephors and Gerusia. ἦτοι κρίνομέν γε—in Thuc., the more certain, but less important alternative is put first when these particles are used. But this does not seem to be the case in other authors. 'At any rate we are sound judges, if we cannot originate.' This contains an encouragement to the citizens to exercise their right of voting in the ecclesia, since they were capable of pronouncing an opinion on any policy proposed to them: but there are cases in which the citizens conspicuously erred in their judgment. Here, as in other parts, Pericles states his *ideal* of the constitution. ἐνθυμούμεθα—of the statesmen. τοὺς λόγους—alluding to the 'laconic' brevity of the Spartans. ἀλλὰ μὴ—i.e. μᾶλλον βλάβην ἡγούμενοι μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι; the compar. as in 1 above. προδιδαχθῆναι—by the orators, to whom, in after years, the people became accustomed to look for political guidance. πρότερον ἢ—for πρότερον ... πρὶν, a very rare construction except in Herod., Thuc., and Antiphon. Cf. c. 65, 12. ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἔλθειν—i.e. ἢ ἐργῷ ἔλθειν ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ (ἐργῷ ἔλθειν). Cf. Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 114 B οἱ ἂν δόξωσι διαφερόντως πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως βιώναι, i.e. οἱ ἂν δόξωσι διαφερόντως βιώναι πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως (βιώναι), where, though Stallbaum's quotations are irrelevant, his explanation is right, in spite of Archer-Hind's objection. The verb really belongs to the 1st member, and is 'understood' with the 2nd. ἐπὶ ... ἔλθειν—cf. ἐπεξελεῖν of actions) (διεξελεῖν of words.

40, 3. Ὡστε—explains what precedes, as though it were ὅτι τολμῶμεν. ἐπιχειρήσομεν—'mean to undertake.' ἐκλογίζεσθαι—sc. μάλιστα, 'give the fullest consideration.' δ—adverbial accus. 'on the contrary.' Cf. *quod* before *si*. (This is the old explanation, that of Hudson; but it was generally

abandoned in favour of the view that  $\delta$  is nom., and to be explained by anacoluthon. The edd. of the last decade have returned to the old view, especially since 1883—Schneider in *N. Jahrb.* '83, p. 457.) Cf. τὸ δέ. It refers to the whole of the preceding sentence. **ψυχὴν**—only here in Thuc. = 'spirit'; elsewhere 'life.' Cl. compares εὖψυχος. οἱ κ.τ.λ. —this defines courage, as distinct from θράσος. Aristotle (*Eth.* II. 2, 7) places the virtue ἀνδρεία midway between the vices δειλία and θράσος. Cf. Plat. *Protag.* 351 A, Aristot. *Eth.* III. 7, 11 fol. **δεινὰ**—of the hardships of war. **ἡδέα**—of the pleasures of peace. **σαφέστατα**—courage is one of the four cardinal virtues (justice, temperance, wisdom, and courage). Socrates held that courage consists, not only in being used to danger, but also in the knowledge of good and evil. **μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι**—this sums up the preceding sections, in which the statement φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἀνευ μαλακίας has been expanded. διὰ ταῦτα = ὁμως.

**40, 4.** Ἀρετὴν—in its restricted sense, as Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 9, 4, = the power of doing good; not in the general sense of the *Ethics* (= perfection of man and of his functions). **ἐννητιώμεθα**—the perf. denotes 'we have always been unlike,' a regular use of the perf. In Aristoph. *Av.* 385 the MSS. give ἡναντιώμεθα against the metre. **δρῶντες**—cf. Pliny, *Ep.* III. 4, 6 *conservandum veteris officii meritum novo videbatur*. τοὺς —'our.' **βεβαιότερος**—'a firmer friend,' cf. Aristot. *Eth.* IX. 7, 2 οἱ εὖ πεποιηκότες φιλοῦσι καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας. ὁ δράσας κ.τ.λ.—i.e. ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ἐστι βεβαιότερος ὥστε σῶζειν τὴν χάριν ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ἐκείνου ᾧ δέδωκε τὴν χάριν. Here, as often, ὥστε is inserted where the simple infin. might have been used. Cf. c. 2, 4; Plat. *Protag.* p. 338 c ἀδύνατον ὥστε σοφώτερόν τιν' ἐλέσθαι. **τὴν χάριν**—regarded from the side of both giver and recipient, thus combining the meanings 'favour' and 'gratitude,' as with *gratia*. **ὀφειλομένην**—'as due to him' (i.e. to the giver). **ὀφειλομένην** and **σῶζειν** are connected, being properly used of property given in trust to another's keeping. Plat. *Rep.* I. p. 332 A compared with *ib.* p. 333 c. **δι' εὐνοίας**—'by (the continuation of) his goodwill towards him to whom he showed the kindness.' **δέδωκε**—as in *Acts*, 20, 35 μακάριόν ἐστι μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν. Livy, XXII. 13 *sub fin.*, Sallust, *Cat.* 6, 5. **σῶζειν**—as this means 'to retain the good-will or gratitude of his friends whom he has benefited,' the middle might be expected; but the object of the act. is to represent the result of the benefit, not on the mind of the doer but on the mind of the recipient; the doer is said to 'keep safe' what the recipient 'keeps safe' for him, viz. τὴν χάριν. **ἀμβλύτερος**—'more indifferent.' Is it not true? **ἐς**—'as a.' Cf. Andoc. II. 23 *eis*

χρήματα μεγάλας δωρέας. χάριν—free service which will win him gratitude. χάρις, a free gift, is contrasted with ὀφειλῆμα, a loan, and so a debt. τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ—‘the confidence due to our liberal ideas.’ Cf. c. 37, 2 ἐλευθέρως. (Not ‘liberality.’) ἀδεῶς—‘without fear,’ lest, by helping others, we should be injuring ourselves.

41, 1. Τε—sums up the preceding remarks. παίδευσιν—not ‘school,’ but ‘liberal education.’ Pericles represents Athens as the Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς. Cf. Plat. *Protag.* 337 D Athens τῆς σοφίας πρυτανεῖον. Isocr. 15, 295 Athens πάντων τῶν δυναμένων λέγειν ἢ παιδεύειν δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλος. Plat. *Laws* 641 E all Greeks consider Athens φιλόλογός τε καὶ πολύλογος. καθ’ ἕκαστον—Athens as the sum of all the citizens (τὴν πᾶσαν), with a perfect πολιτεία, is contrasted with the individuals, with their perfect τρόποι. See c. 37, 1. δοκεῖν ἄν—this ἄν, like the other two, belongs to παρέχσθαι. παρ’ ἡμῶν—this refers to παίδευσιν, and represents the excellence of the individual as proceeding from the spirit of the whole state. ἐπὶ πλείστ’ ἄν εἶδη—‘to the most varied circumstances.’ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα εὐτραπέλως—i.e. μάλιστα μετὰ τε χαρίτων καὶ εὐτραπέλως, ‘with the utmost grace and versatility.’ Probably Pericles had in mind the famous lines of Pindar, *Pyth.* 1. 92 to end, μὴ δολωθῆς εὐτραπέλως κέρδεσσ’, κ.τ.λ., and wished to show that εὐτραπελία in the Athenian character was a virtue. τὸ σῶμα—=ἐαυτόν.

41, 2. Ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος—‘passing boast.’ τάδε—see c. 42, 1. δύναμις—see c. 36, 4. σημαίνει—cf. Antiphon, *Tetr.* Γ. γ, 3 ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡμύνατο αὐτόν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον σημαίνει. See c. 15, 4.

41, 3. Τῶν νῦν—sc. πόλεων. ἀκοῆς κρείσσων—‘superior to what men have heard of her.’ ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται—‘proves herself in the hour of trial.’ τῷ πολεμῷ—collective. [ἐπελθόντι]—spurious, for (1) it destroys the balance to τῷ ὑπηκόῳ, (2) the sense requires that enemies in general should be referred to, not merely enemies who attack Athens; nor could Pericles mean that Athens never attacked anyone. ἔχει—=παρέχει. Cf. c. 61, 2. οἷων—i.e. φαύλων. οὐχ ὑπ’ ἀξίων—=ὑπ’ ἀναξίων, the neg. preceding the prep. as usual. Contrast c. 49, 3.

41, 4. Σημείων—‘clear proofs,’ viz. in the results of Athenian activity. οὐ δὴ τοι—δὴ as in c. 40, 3, emphasizing οὐ ‘by no means,’ while τοι ‘assuredly’ also belongs to οὐ. ἀμάρτυρον—‘without witnesses,’ since all contemporaries, and above all her enemies knew her greatness from her acts in every land and sea. The word has its forensic sense, as used

of a plea supported only by the speaker's own testimony. τοῖς τε νῦν—agent; this disappears in later Attic, except in the cases already noticed. See c. 7, 2. καί—at the beginning of a parenthesis. See c. 2, 4. Ὅμηρου—i.e. not needing a poet to exaggerate our history. Of course Thuc. did not object to Homer as a poet, but only as a historian. ὅστις—i.e. ποιητής. A similar change to a relative clause is not uncommon in Isocrates; e.g. 5, 153 τοὺς μὴ μόνον κεχαρισμένους διειλεγμένους, ἀλλ' οἵτινες ἂν οὕτω ποιήσωσι τὰς σὰς πράξεις θαυμάζειν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. (The view that Pericles is intended to reprove Homer for saying so little of the 'sons of Theseus' is quite untenable.) ἔπεισι—'poetry.' τὸ αὐτίκα—'for the moment.' Cf. I. 21 οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον. The mythical element in early Greek history was due to the influence of epic. See Intr. c. III. *init.* τῶν δὲ ἔργων—the influence of the rel. is here lost, on the principle of c. 4, 5, 34, 5. The μὲν and δέ are paratactic. The gen. belongs equally to ὑπόνοιαν and ἀλήθεια. ὑπόνοιαν—'the conception of the facts,' aroused by poetry. So ὑπονοεῖν 'to conjecture.' ἡ ἀλήθεια—i.e. the knowledge gained from investigation of the facts. ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ.—antithesis to οὐ ... παρασχόμενοι. καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν—the MSS. κακῶν is explained to mean 'of the harm and of the good we have done.' For κακῶν cf. κακοπαθεῖ above. But Pericles is talking of Athenian *prowess*, not contrasting the harm done to her enemies with the benefits conferred on her friends: nor is ἀγαθὰ 'benefits' here, but 'acts of valour,' which of course inflict harm on enemies. Nor is the reference to the Greek estimate of εὐτυχία, as a compound of good and ill, for which see c. 44, 1: for Pericles is here dealing not with τύχη, but with Athenian γνῶμη. The substitution of κακῶν for καλῶν in this phrase, even if it made sense, would be a miserable joke. ξυγκατοικίσαντες—i.e. while opening the whole world to our prowess, we have at the same time everywhere established monuments of that prowess, in colonies and states made subject to us, and in the scenes of many brave actions.

41, 5. Περὶ—c. 39, 2. τοιαύτης—this word sums up the whole of the ἔπαινος A, and prepares the way [for ἔπαινος B. δικαιούν—an Ionic and old Attic word, used once by Plato, *Laws*, p. 934 A. Its usual sense is that of ἀξιοῦν, but sometimes it = 'to punish.' οἶδε ... μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτήν—the clue to the construction is οὐκ ἀφαιροῦμαι τοῦσδε τὴν πόλιν. τῶν λειπομένων—c. 2, 4. εἰκὸς—c. 10, 1. ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς—repeats περὶ ... πόλεως. κάμνειν—an exhortation to persevere in spite of the hardships of the war.



**42, 1.** Διὸ δὴ καὶ—‘this is the very reason why.’ τῆς πόλεως—in preference to τῶν ἀνδρῶν, (1) to encourage his listeners (2) because the clearest proof of the greatness of the Athenians was the greatness of Athens herself. περὶ ἴσου—‘for an equal prize.’ Kr. quotes Dem. 8, 60 οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσῶν ἡμῶν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσθ’ ὁ κίνδυνος. (κινδυνεύειν, ἀγωνίζεσθαι and so forth, with περὶ, ὑπὲρ or ἕνεκα are common in the orators. In Andoc. 1. 10 εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε κατέστην, περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ὥς οὔτε μοι ἡσέβηται, the comma should be placed after μυστηρίων.) τῶνδε—referring to what precedes. In speeches ὅδε is fairly often used thus of οὗτος. Cf. **40**, 2, **60**, 6, **63**, 2, **71**, 3, **72**, 1, 3. The meaning was aided by gesture and emphasis, so that the use is akin to the *deictic* ὅδε. The phrase οὕτως εἶχεν frequently refers to what follows in the orators. Antiphon 6, 9 and 14, Isocr. 4, 163. μηδὲν—hypothetical rel., so that every nation is included, though Pericles has Sparta in his mind. ὁμοίως—this, like μηδὲν, softens the expression and makes it vaguer. It also increases the force of the exhortation κάμνειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, by increasing the number of states with which Athens is contrasted. ἐφ’ οἷς—for τούτων ἐφ’ οἷς. Cf. c. **34**, 6. σημεῖοις—approaches very near the sense of παραδείγμασι: the manifest proofs are the acts in which the fallen had a share.

**42, 2.** Καὶ—‘and in fact.’ ἔμνησα—originally of poetic praise, then of a panegyric in prose. Plat. *Repub.* 364 A. αἱ τῶνδε κ.τ.λ.—sc. ταῦτα, their *deeds* justify my *words*; for ‘they added fresh lustre to the glories which I praised in our city’: therefore, in speaking the praises of the city, I was praising them. The sense is τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἃ ἔμνησα, ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι ἐκόσμησαν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. L. and S. wrongly supply τὴν πόλιν, with several edd., to ἐκόσμησαν. ἀρεταί—‘valiant deeds.’ οὐκ ἂν—the whole result of this sentence is positive, but the idiom by which the verb after οὐχ ὥσπερ agrees with the thing in the simile and not the thing compared, has nothing to do with this passage. (Plat. *Gorg.* 522 A ἀπορεῖν ποιεῖ, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ηὔχουν ἡμᾶς.) πολλοῖς—ethic dat., and equivalent here to πολλῶν, but preferred because of the gen. following. ‘There are few Greeks of whom it could be said that the report of their deeds does not do more than balance the reality.’ τῶνδε—depends on λόγος. τῷ ἔργῳ = τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀληθείᾳ c. **41**, 4. ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν—‘virtue in a man.’ πρώτη τε κ.τ.λ.—= εἴτε πρώτη μηνύει εἴτε τελευταία βεβαιοῖ. For some, especially the younger men, their death was the first *munus* of the worth which they had not had a previous chance of showing; for others it was but the final confirmation of what had been amply proved before. καταστροφή—Soph. *O. C.* 103: *meiosis* for death.



**42, 3.** Τοῖς τᾶλλα χείροσι—not referring to any among the dead, but purely hypothetical, and intending to lead to a conclusion *a fortiori*. If men who have often proved themselves base can by one act rehabilitate themselves, how much more are these men noble who never in any case shrank from danger? The dat. depends on δίκαιόν (ἐστι). προτιθεσθαι—= προτιμᾶσθαι (see 4 below), pass. They may have preferred wealth and ease to serving their country: in estimating them, we must prefer their one great sacrifice. ἀφανίσαντες—so that not the least trace of their failings remains. ὥφελισαν—the aor. are gnomic. ἐκ τῶν ἰδιῶν—‘through their private life.’ Pericles is thinking of the indifference to state affairs against which he warns his hearers. See Intr. p. lxxiii.

**42, 4.** Τὴν ἔτι—‘the continued enjoyment’ of wealth. πένιας ἐλπίδι, ὡς ... αὐτήν—= οὔτε ἐλπίδι, ὡς διαφυγὼν τὴν πένιαν κἂν ἔτι πλουτήσκειν. But πένιας is attracted to ἐλπίδι because of the antithesis to πλούτῳ. ἔτι—some day, as in prophecies and threats. πλουτήσκειν—ingressive. ἀναβολὴν ἐποίησατο—these periphrases will be found collected in the index, s.v. ποιῆσθαι. ποθεινοτέραν—a strong word used of things that are desirable. ποθεῖν is the regular word in oratory to describe the supposed anxiety of the hearers to have information on any point. Antiph. 5, 64; Andoc. 1, 70; Lys. 14. 1; Isocr. 12, 167; 15, 43; Isaeus 11, 19; Dem. 4, 28; 21, 77; 50, 43; Aeschin. 2, 7 and 44. αὐτῶν—again a loose reference to what has been described, here = πλούτου ἢ ἔτι ἀπόλαυσις and τὸ ἔτι πλουτῆσαι. λαβόντες—= ὑπολαβόντες, as ‘I take it’ is used by us for ‘I suppose.’ Often in Thuc. μετ’ αὐτοῦ—sc. τοῦ κινδύνου. It goes with ἐφίεσθαι also. τῶν δὲ—viz. the enjoyment and the hope: ‘to face this danger in exacting vengeance before they indulged in these hopes.’ The chief emphasis is on μετ’ αὐτοῦ. (Only Bh., Kraz and Ste. among recent edd. retain ἐφίεσθαι). ἐλπίδι μὲν—the construction differs from that of ἔργῳ, which is adverbial. τοῦ κατορθῶσαι—the fut. is due to the prominence of the idea of futurity here. Cf. c. 13, 9. The infin. approximates in these cases to its use in *Oratio Obliqua*, in that the writer allows the thought of the person to whom he refers to influence the tense (ἀφανὲς ἐστὶν εἰ κατορθώσομεν). It is characteristic of Thuc. to present an action as it was regarded by the actors themselves. M. T. 113. ἔργῳ—‘but in the task actually before them at the moment, they resolved to trust to themselves’: i.e. the future must be left to τύχῃ (Providence); the present required γνώμη. ἐν αὐτῷ—what can this be but the act just described, i.e. ἐν τῷ ... σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πεποιθέναι? The sense is ‘in carrying out their resolution,’ i.e. in the struggle

itself. τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν—cf. Isocr. 2, 36 ἦν δ' ἀναγκασθῆς κινδυνεύειν, αἰροῦ τεθνάναι καλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς. 4, 95 τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς αἰρετώτερόν ἐστι καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς. Intr. p. xl. τὸ αἰσχροὺν τοῦ λόγου—i.e. τὸ ὀνειδίζεσθαι ὡς δειλοί (Schol.). ἔφυγον—antithesis to ὑπέμειναν, as very often, e.g. Lys. 13, 27 and 63. τὸ ἔργον—= τὸν κίνδυνον. δι' ἁλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης—human γνώμη is often crossed by divine τύχη, and in this case was so modified that their highest hopes were not realised. The edd. quote Horace *Sat. I. 1, 7 horae momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta*, but *horae momento* denotes a far greater length of time, and does not take in τύχης. But this sentence, the close of the *ἐπαινος τῶν ἀποθανόντων*, in its intense solemnity, resembles (*mutatis mutandis*) the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. 15, 52, 54) 'We shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. ... O grave, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?' So here Pericles refers to the rapidity and suddenness with which τύχη acts. Hence 'in a moment ordained by Fate, at the crisis not of fear but of glory—they passed.' (Behrendt rightly objects to Steup's proposal.) ἀπηλλάγησαν—absolute, a poetical use. Dr. Kennedy (*Cam. Phil. Proceedings* 1882, p. 20 fol.) well says that the speaker's voice 'sinks to the sad and solemn cadence of ἀπηλλάγησαν.' Supply τοῦ βίου.

43, 1. Καὶ—'and thus.' Here the πίστις B is summed up, preparatory to passing on to the προτροπή (exhortation). προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει—'in a manner worthy of Athens.' τοὺς λοιποὺς—= τοὺς λειπομένους of 41, 5. ἀσφαλεστέραν—sc. διάνοιαν, though they should pray for a spirit less fatal (in its results). This again shows that τύχη had, in Pericles' view, to some extent crossed the purpose of the fallen. εὐχεσθαι—for ἀσφάλεια is the gift of God alone. Cf. c. 37, 3. εὐτολμία depends on human resolution. λόγῳ—i.e. from the words of the orator. ὠφελίαν—explained in *ὅσα ... ἀγαθὰ ἐνεστίν*. (On the orthography, Herodian remarks ὠφέλεια· παιητικώτερον διὰ τὸ ἰ καὶ παροξύνεται.) ἦν—with *μηκύναι*. Cf. c. 42, 1. πρὸς—*coram*, with a verb of speaking. See c. 5, 7. Cf. III. 53, 4 πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα λελέξεται. καθ' ἡμέραν—this daily contemplation of the greatness of Athens will lead to a lasting love for her: and that love should be an incentive to noble actions. *τολμῶντες* κ.τ.λ. —'by courage, by knowing what was their duty, and by their sense of honour in the hour of conflict.' αὐτὰ—i.e. τὴν δύναμιν, but expressing the details of the power. Cf. c. 1. οὖν—'on that account.' κάλλιστον—because, while they contributed to the advancement of the state, they obtained a splendid return. ἔρανον—'contribution'; both the

association and the money subscribed to it were termed *ἐρανος*, which denotes combination for financial purposes of whatever kind. The object is τὴν ἀρετὴν, κ. ἐρανον being predicate. *προϊέμενοι*—stronger than the ordinary *ἐρανον ἐσφέρειν*, and used because it is the regular word for *sacrificing* anything for the state; e.g. Lysias 21, 12 ὑμῖν οὐδὲν προεῖνται τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν.

**43, 2.** Κοινῇ ... ἰδὲα—the antithesis is as obvious as it is forcible. They gave their lives for the common good; they gained for themselves undying fame. γὰρ—Pericles refers to the distribution of profits made by a financial *ἐρανος*. (All this is quite clear when Andoc. i. 133-135 is compared: he speaks of the members of an *ἐρανος* got up by Agyrrhius to farm the tax on imports and exports; the object of the business-men who joined it was διανεῖμασθαι τὰ κοινά.) τὸν ἀγῆρων *ἐπαινον*—the praise (which rewards good deeds). *ἐλάμβανον*—the tense represents the result of the act (*διδόντες*) as growing out of the act itself, as in Lat. *ita vitas dederunt ut acciperent*, contrasted with *ita vitas dederunt ut acceperint*. *ἐπισημώτατον*—the pred. serves to connect the adj. with the rel. clause which follows. οὐκ ... μᾶλλον, ἀλλ'—cf. c. 40, 1; 44, 4; ἀλλὰ for ἡ (only after a *neg.*) gives greater emphasis to the second clause. παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι ... καιρῷ—a curious expression, since παρὰ with dat. is confined to *persons*; 'on every fitting occasion, whether by word or deed.' This construction is only found when the thing is almost *personified*; here αἰείμνηστος παρὰ καιρῷ λόγου implies *persons*: in c. 89, 9 and VIII. 95, 4 Thuc. writes παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶναι, in v. 26, 5 γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροισι τοῖς πράγμασι. There is only one case in the orators, viz. Andoc. i. 116 ἡ στήλη παρ' ἧ ἔστηκεν κελεύει.

**43, 3.** Σημαίνει—c. 8, 3. Cf. v. 20, 2 ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαίνει. ἀγραφὸς μνήμη—cf. c. 38, 3, which shows that by τῆς γνώμης κ.τ.λ. is meant 'engraved on the heart rather than in material records.' The difficulty is to explain the art. with *ἔργου*; it is due to στήλῳ above, the records having been referred to in that word. As the memory is carried in men's hearts, it is confined to no particular country.

**43, 4.** Τὸ εὐδαιμον ... τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον—predicates, the art. being added because the adj. is used as a noun. μὴ περι-ορᾶσθε—'do not be too anxious about the dangers of war'; the advice is the result of the doctrine 'happiness is attained by courage,—by retaining a cheerful spirit in peril,' which cheerfulness Pericles claims to be characteristic of the Athenians as the result of their free institutions (39, 4), and now urges them to retain in the war.

43, 5. Οὐ γὰρ—a paradox: misery is identical with cowardice, since cowardice *must* involve misery. Therefore those who are prosperous *must* avoid cowardice (i.e. be ready to sacrifice their lives), whereas to those who are already miserable cowardice involves no addition to their misery. This decides the meaning of *περιορᾶσθε* above. ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή—‘the change from good to bad fortune.’ κινδυνεύεται—c. 35, 1. ἐν οἷς—‘in whose case.’ μάλιστα—‘in comparison with others,’ as often. Cf. c. 49, 1, and μάλλον ἐτέρων. τὰ διαφέροντα—‘the difference.’

43, 6. Μετὰ τοῦ—cf. I. 6, 5; VI. 65, 1. ‘Cowardice and disgrace together.’ κάκωσις—= ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή above, according to the doctrine that cowardice is misery, and therefore to the prosperous involves degradation: κάκωσις ταπείνωσις Hesych. μετὰ ῥώμης—‘when he is fired by courage and the general hope,’ viz. that his side will win. ἀνάσθητος—‘painless.’

44, 1. Διόπερ—‘This is the reason why,’ viz. because in their death they were εὐδαίμονες, or, as he says presently, εὐτυχεῖς. νῦν—belongs to τῶνδε = τῶν νῦν θάπτομένων, and inserted because since the γνώμη with which 43, 3 opened, Pericles had been generalising. τοκέας—poetical, for γονέας. πάρεστε—contrast ἐπίστανται below: cf. c. 11, 1. It is clear that the Greek orators interchanged direct address and reflection more rapidly than we can do. πολυτρόποις—of experiences as varied as those of Odysseus. τὸ δ’ εὐτυχές—sc. ἐστίν; here follows a remarkable definition of εὐτυχία. Intr. p. xl. fol. οἱ ἄν—cf. c. 62, 4. τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης—belongs both to τελευτῆς and λύπης. ‘This is good fortune, to have gained an honourable death, like theirs, or an honourable grief, like yours.’ With ὑμεῖς supply ὥστερ. καὶ οἷς—the change from οἱ ἄν shows that Pericles is not now speaking generally, but referring to the fallen particularly, so that οἷς ... ξυνμετρήθη = οἷς ἄν ὥστερ τοῖσδε ξυνμετρηθῇ. ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι—= εὐδαιμονῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ (i.e. τῷ βίῳ). Infin. of purpose. Intr. p. xli. ἐνταλαιπωρῆσαι—‘whose life has been meted out to prosper in and to suffer in alike,’ i.e. ‘they may be deemed happy in whose life prosperity and adversity are equally balanced.’ A philosophical definition of human εὐτυχία, for which cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 7, 20 φαντί γε μὰν οὕτω κεν ἀνδρὶ παρμονίμαν θάλλουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι: that man, says Pericles, is happy who has τὰ καὶ τὰ in equal proportions. (*Alii alia*, says Herw.: those who do not like this explanation will find others elsewhere. Sta. reads ἐντελευτῆσαι {ἡ εὐδαιμονία} ξυν.)

44, 2. {Μή} ποθεῖν ... ὑπομνήματα—cf. the Funeral Oration



attributed to Demosth. 16 ὥσπερ ἔχνη γνωρίζουσα νῦν ἡ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ φίλων μνήμη πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐπὶ τοὺς φέρεται τῷ πύθῳ, πόλλ' ὑπομνήματα λαμβάνουσα. Plat. Rep. I. p. 329 A τὰς ἐν τῇ νεότητι ἡδονὰς ποθοῦντες καὶ ἀναμνησκόμενοι. Add Andoc. I. 70 εἰ τίς τι ὑμῶν ποθεῖ ... ἀναστὰς ὑπομνησάτω (if A desiderat aliquid which B is able and willing to give to him, A naturally reminds B of it; conversely, if D has something, which C has lost, and cannot give it to C, but cannot help reminding C of it, D naturally feels *desiderium*, πόθος). ὦν—= αὐτοὺς ὦν. καὶ πολλάκις—'only too often.' εὐτυχ(αι)s—related to εὐτυχία or τὸ εὐτυχές as τύχαι or τὰ τῆς τύχης to τύχη, i.e. the plur. denotes instances of good luck rather than good luck in the abstract. This refers back to τὸ εὐτυχές above: for, though a man cannot be judged prosperous till after his death, still instances of good luck may of course occur in life, and if these are as frequent as the misfortunes of life, the whole result will be τὸ εὐτυχές. Cf. Soph. frag. οὐ χρή ποτ' εὖ πράσσοιμος ὀλβίσαι τύχας | ἀνδρός, πρὶν αὐτῷ παντελῶς ἤδη βίος | διεκπερανθῇ καὶ τελευτήσῃ βίον. Pericles refers especially to the noble deeds of sons who will thus bring joy to their parents. Cf. 43, 4. αἷς—cf. Isocr. 14, 47 ἦν ὥς εὖ πράττοντας ἔλθωμεν, ἐτι χαλεπώτερον ἔχομεν, οὐ ταῖς ἐκείνων φθορὰς εὐπορίας ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς τῶν πέλας ἀγαθοῖς τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν συμφορὰς καθορῶντες. λύπη—sc. ἐστίν, 'a man feels sorrow, not for the want of blessings which he loses before he knows them.' ὦν is governed by both partic. and verb. πειρασάμενος—c. 5, 5. οὖ ἄν—a conspicuous instance of the rule referred to on c. 13, 2; the gen. depends on ἐθάς, while ἀφαιρεθῇ would take accus. The change from ὦν to οὖ is another instance of irregularity in the form of rel. clauses. ἐθάς—synonym of ἡθάς, Soph. El. 372; both forms appear in the ancient lexica: probably ἐθάς does not occur elsewhere in Attic prose.

44, 3. Καρτερεῖν—(sometimes joined with ὑπομένειν). See c. 61, 2. τέκνωσιν π.—= παιδοποιεῖσθαι. τῶν οὐκ ὄντων—= τῶν τεθνηκότων. λήθη—'cause of forgetfulness.' ἔκ τε ... καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ—these give the two grounds referred to in διχόθεν; for the variety of construction, cf. c. 36, 4; I. 138, 2, μὴ ἐρρημοῦσθαι, by means of the soldiers and citizens she would acquire; ἀσφαλείᾳ, by the increased anxiety of the parents to benefit the state, as explained in the next sentence. ξυνοίσει—sc. τὸ παῖδας ἐπιγίγνεσθαι. Cf. c. 3, 3. ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον—equal, in the sense of 'democratic,' conforming to the equality that characterises the Athenian polity; cf. c. 37, 1: just, in the sense of 'regular' or 'sober,' in accordance with a sane judgment of religion and politics. ἔκ τοῦ ὁμοίου—= ὁμοίως, equally with others. Adverbial phrases with ἐκ and an adj. are common in Thuc., who has ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος,



ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος, ἐκ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, ἐκ τοῦ αἰσχίονος, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, ἐξ ἴσου, and others. This one occurs also i. 143, 4, and elsewhere. One or two of these phrases were colloquial, as ἐξ ἴσου, ἐξ ἐνός (τρόπου or λόγου), ἐκ παντός (τρόπου) (these are the *only* ones found in Aristoph.); the rest are formed on the analogy of such simple phrases. The orators use them, but only with common adjectives: Thuc. confines them to speeches and highly-wrought passages. The 8th book contains only three examples. παραβαλλόμενοι—*discrimini objicientes*: a dictionary may here be useful to some. To have children in peril would constitute having a stake in the state.

44, 4. Παρηβήκατε—antithesis to οἷς ἐτι ἡλικία. κέρδος—predicate, in an unexpected place, and so emphatic. τόνδε—‘your present life,’ i.e. your sorrow will be short-lived, because your lives are drawing to a close. τὸ φιλότιμον—‘love of honour,’ which would be gratified in their case, as they would be honoured on account of their children’s fame. ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας—cf. c. 40, 2, = ἐν τῷ γῆρα. τὸ κερδαίνειν ... τὸ τιμᾶσθαι—a true description of the ‘last infirmity’ of base and noble minds respectively. ἀλλὰ—c. 40, 1, 43, 2.

45, 1. Μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα—‘the struggle to emulate them will be a difficult one.’ The partic. is omitted after ὁρῶ. Cf. c. 49, 5. [τὸν γὰρ ... ἐπαινεῖν]—the general statement, παισὶ δ’ αὖ, is continued and explained in καὶ μόλις ἂν ... κριθεῖτε. Then follows the reason in φθόνος γὰρ κ.τ.λ. καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς—‘by pre-eminent virtue.’ For κατὰ cf. c. 27, 2. ἀλλ’—would more naturally be ἀλλὰ καὶ. φθόνος—cf. Demosth. 18, 315 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεστὶ τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεώτας δ’ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις μισεῖ; τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον—‘envy towards a rival attacks the living.’ πρὸς—*adversus* (so Grundström and Golisch: *Sic. propter*). τὸ ἀντίπαλον—for τοὺς ἀντιπάλους. τὸ μὴ ἐμποδῶν—= τὸ μηκέτ’ ἐμποδῶν. Cf. τῶν οὐκ ὄντων c. 44, 3. This is the antithesis to τοῖς ζῶσι, while ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοία corresponds to πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, and τετίμηται το φθόνος. ἀνανταγωνίστῳ—‘without opposition.’ τετίμηται—gnomic perf., according to Goodwin; but may be the Homeric use of this word, with pres. sense.

45, 2. Ὅσαι—as if γυναικῶν instead of γυναικείας preceded. ἔσονται—contrast πάρεστε above. Cf. c. 44, 1. ὑπαρχούσης—by no means attributing weakness, but referring to the restraints and household duties which nature imposed on women. Pericles refers to the Spartan women, who, according to Aristotle, lived a very different life from the stern asceticism of the Spartan men. καὶ ἥς—i.e. καὶ μεγάλη ἔστιν

ἡ δόξα ταύτης ἦς. μεγάλη ἡ δόξα—cf. VII. 68 τὸ τοῦσδε κολασθῆναι ... καλὸς ὁ ἀγών. κλέος—‘talk,’ a neutral word. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 611, Clyt. says οὐκ οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ’ ἐπίλογον φάτιν | ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρός.

46, 1. Εἴρηται—the act. or pass. perf. is often used thus in bringing a speech to a close (Lys. 12, the case referred to by Aristotle at the close of the *Rhet.* is an example; so probably Eur. *Hec.* 236. Cf. *dixi.*) Hence it is made prominent. καὶ ἐμοὶ—Shil. rightly explains this as connected with καὶ ἔργῳ, the sense being καὶ λόγῳ ἐμοὶ εἴρηται καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θ. κεκόσμηται. ‘I have done my duty in delivery of the oration, the city has in deed partly done hers and is prepared to do more.’ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ... πρόσφορα—a modest description of what had been a metaphysical exposition of the relation of politics to character. Cf. Burke, *Reflections*, ‘I am unable to distinguish what I have learned from others from the results of my own meditation.’ αὐτῶν—cf. c. 27, 1. Its position gives it the force of a dat. of interest. μέχρι ἡβης—to the age of eighteen. θρέψει—of people) (βόσκειν of cattle. βόσκειν is only used of people contemptuously, except by Herod., and Thuc., who uses the word once, VII. 48 ναυτικὸν πολὺ βόσκοντας: even there the notion of irksomeness comes in. ὠφέλιμον—something more than a mere distinction. τοῖσδε—the fallen, τοῖς λειπομένοις ‘the survivors,’ as in 41, 5. ἀγώνων—with στέφανον, like τροπαῖον μάχης. προτιθεῖσα—‘offering.’ οἷς—in general relation to the whole, ‘among whom.’ τοῖς δὲ—cf. c. 65, 5, δὲ in apodosis.

46, 2. Ἀπολοφνύμενοι—the ὀλόφυρσις was part of the regular ceremony, and took place at the conclusion of the speech. [Lys.] *Epitaph.* end, ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὸν πάτριον νόμον ὀλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θαπτομένους. The *Menex.* ends thus, τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀπολοφνύμενοι ἄπιτε, and [Demosth.] *Epitaph.* ἀποδυράμενοι ... ἄπιτε. ‘When you have finished (probably aor., as Sta. says, not ἀπο-, gives this force) your lamentation.’ προσήκει—sc. ἀπολοφύρεσθαι. ἀποχωρεῖτε—Intr. p. xxxii. There is no doubt about the reading because χωρεῖν was much less familiar to the copyists than ἵεναι, and the scholia sometimes explain the former by the latter.

47, 1. Τοιόςδε—see c. 41, 2. Late authors make no distinction between these pronouns. τάφος—contrast the meaning in 34, 4. ἐγένετο—pass. of ταφὰς ἐποίησαντο, c. 34, 1. πρῶτον—Thuc. never inserts the art. in these formulae.

47, 2. Τὰ δύο μέρη—limiting apposition. The arrangements for the campaign are exactly the same as those of the pre-

ceding year, though the Spartans now knew that the Athenians would not offer battle. It is clear therefore that Sparta too saw that the only hope was to wear Athens out. Cf. *Intr.* p. lxx. καθεζόμενοι—c. 18, 1.

47, 3. 'Η νόσος—'the famous plague.' The account (c. 47-54) falls into three parts, (i) its *origin* (47, 48), (ii) *symptoms and effects on sufferers* (49, 50), (iii) *effects on morality* (51, etc.). This description has been imitated by many writers, as Lucretius vi. 1138-1251 who is in turn imitated by Vergil, *Georg.* iii. 478 and Ovid, *Met.* vii. 523), Procopius, *Persica* ii, 22, who describes the plague at Constantinople in Justinian's reign, A.D. 542, and John Cantacuzene, Emperor of the Eastern Empire, who described very poorly the great plague of 1347 with which the plague of Florence described by Boccaccio and the 'Black Death' in England are connected. Superstitious horror, followed by demoralisation, is common to all great plagues.

πρῶτον ἤρξατο—cf. c. 36, 1, 48, 1. γενέσθαι—the phrase occurs also I. 103 τὸ μῦθος ἤρξατο γενέσθαι, c. 68, 2, III. 18 ὁ χειμῶν ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι, Isocr. 15, 82 ἤρχετο τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γίγνεσθαι, Andoc. 2, 9 ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι δυσδαιμονέστερος. The tense of γίγνομαι must be the same as that of ἀρχομαι; yet ἤρξατο πράσσειν is good Greek, though ἤρχετο πράξαι is not (the reason is that γίγνομαι is inceptive, while πράσσω is not, so that ἤρξατο γίγνεσθαι would be a contradiction in terms; thus ἤρξατο γινώσκειν would not do). λεγόμενον—as though νόσημα had preceded.

ἐγκατασκήψαι—Soph. *O. T.* 27 ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς | σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἔχθιστος πάλιν. περί—circa: c. 7, 3. οὕτως—with γενέσθαι. ἐμνημονεύετο—*anacoluthon*, as λεγόμενον μὲν preceded. (Observe that this is not a solecism.) Cf. c. 65, 11.

47, 4. Τὸ πρῶτον—with *θεραπεύοντες*, 'as they treated it at first with no knowledge of its nature.' μάλιστα ... ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα—i.e. the mortality among them was greater than among any other class because they came in contact with the disease more than others. For the double superl. or compar. in proportion, cf. I. 68 προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν, III. 45 οὐχ ἥσσον τὰς πόλεις, ὅσῳ περὶ μεγίστων, V. 90 πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐχ ἥσσον τοῦτο, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστη τιμωρίᾳ ἂν παράδειγμα γένοισθε. Cf. also c. 11, 1 καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην ... καὶ αὐτοὶ πλεῖστοι ἐρχόμεθα. πρὸς ἱεροῖς—*ad loca sacra*; cf. c. 87, 6, 94, 4. ἰκέτευσαν—the aor. sums up all the instances (*complexive*).

ἐχρήσαντο—sc. ὅσα, which with ἰκέτευσαν = *δσας ἱκετείας*, but with ἐχρήσαντο = *περὶ ὅσα*. See L. and S. *χράω* A. III. τε—does not belong to the preceding τε, which added a third fact to οὔτε ... οὔτε, but = 'and so.' ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ—cf. 51, 1; but contrast 60, 6 χρήμασι νικώμενος. The verbs which commonly have ὑπὸ with things in prose are

such as νικῶμαι, βλάπτομαι, διαφθείρομαι, ἀναγκάζομαι, ἡττῶμαι, πείθομαι (Isaeus only has πείθομαι and διαφθείρομαι, Lysias only ἀναγκάζομαι, ἐπαίρομαι, διάκειμαι) and the things so used must be such as can be easily personified, such as (1) *natural phenomena*, as χειμῶν, σεισμός, ἀπλοια, (2) *external circumstances*, as κίνδυνος, συμφορά, πληγαί, δεσμοί, κέρδος, χρήματα, νόμος, (3) *emotions*, as ἡδονή, φθόνος, (4) *words which imply a person*, as λόγοι, πράγματα, δυνάμεις, when the person is often inserted (as in ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος δυνάμεως), and all the topics of rhetoric as ὑπὸ τῶν εἰκότων, ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαίου. The construction is optional in these cases, as the following examples show: Aristoph. *Av.* 1438 πάντες τοῖς λόγοις ἀναπτεροῦνται, *ib.* 1447 ὑπὸ λόγων ἐπαίρεται; Isocr. 5, 40 τὰς πόλεις ὠμαλισμένας ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, 6, 65 ὠμαλισμένοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς.

**48, 1.** Ἦρξατο—sc. τὸ κακόν. ὑπὲρ—beyond, *i.e.* further inland, 'south of.' So the plague in Justinian's reign was said to have come from Ethiopia and Egypt: the 'Black Death' was traced to the Levant. τὴν πολλήν—limiting apposition.

**48, 2.** Ἐν τῷ Περαιεῖ—it was imported, as in the case of the plague under Justinian. φάρμακα—so in Germany and England in 1349 the Jews were supposed to have poisoned the wells. The plague had broken out a few days after the Peloponnesians invaded Attica. φρέατα—'cisterns,' for rain-water. κρήναι—see c. 15, 5. οὐπω—probably the astronomer Meton suggested them in 414 B.C.

**48, 3.** Ἀφ' οὗτου—cf. 49, 2, 62, 4, 68, 2. Contrast the phrase ἐξ οὗτου = 'since which time.' εἰκὸς ἦν—c. 10, 1. τὰς αἰτίας κ.τ.λ.—= τὰς αἰτίας τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς, ἀστίνας νομίζει ἱκανὰς εἶναι. In the adscript, δυνάμιν σχεῖν was meant to explain ἱκανὰς εἶναι, ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι to explain μεταβολῆς. (To the list of those who bracket here, which is given in the not. crit., add Hampke, *Studien*, p. 16). ἀφ' ὧν ... σκοπῶν—take ταῦτα below with ἀφ' ὧν, = the symptoms, by which it might be recognised in future. Cf. I. 21, 2 ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι, III. 38, 4 ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες. ἄν—belongs to ἔχοι, cf. c. 41, 1.

**49, 1.** Ἔτος—Intr. p. xlii. ὁμολογεῖτο ἐκ πάντων—the other places in Thuc. in which ἐκ = ὑπὸ are I. 20, 2; III. 69, 1; V. 104; VI. 36, 2. The use is not found in Aristoph., and there are but very faint and doubtful traces of it in the orators. This use is Ionic, but occurs now and then in Attic (though Shil. denies the use altogether). ὁμολογοῦμαι often has παρὰ instead of ὑπὸ (Andoc. 1, 140; Lysias, 30, 12; Isaeus, 1, 38 and 42; 2, 16 and 40; 4, 15; 11, 10; Demosth. 34, 5; Dinarch. 1, 53 and 90; 3, 8), in Demosth. 29, 20 ὁμολογεῖσθαι



has *πρός*; in Isaeus 5, 17 we have *ἀ ὁμολογήθη ἡμῶν*: so Plat *Phaedo*, p. 106 c. *προέκαμνε*—*viz.* before the plague established itself. Contrast the opt. and imperf. in c. 51, 1, where Thuc. uses the indef. form because he speaks of a long period of time, whereas here he refers to a definite moment, *viz.* just before the plague broke out. *ἀπεκρίθη*—‘determined in this,’ *i.e.* ‘the symptoms eventually assumed the character of the disease.’ All who were ailing before were attacked.

49, 2. *Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους*—when once an epidemic has established itself, it shows itself ‘suddenly and without ostensible cause’ (Collier). These words must not be so pressed as to admit of no exceptions whatever; exceptions are mentioned in c. 51, 1. *πρῶτον μὲν*—first stage; intense heat in head, inflammation in eyes, bleeding from throat and tongue, fetid breath, and, after these symptoms, sneezing and hoarseness. *ἄτοπον*—cf. c. 51, 1, ‘unnatural.’ *ἡφίει*—both *ἀφίει* and *ἡφίει* are Attic. *φάρυγξ*—see *not. crit.*: ancient grammarians were not agreed on the orthography. Herodian says *φάρνξ*, Hesych. *φάρυγξ*.

49, 3. *Ἐξ αὐτῶν*—after the symptoms just described. See c. 4, 2. *πταρμὸς κ.τ.λ.*—due to inflammation of the mucous membrane. *καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῷ*—second stage: the disease attacks the chest, the consequence of the passage of the morbid action along the membrane that lines the respiratory organ being violent coughing. For *ἐν οὐ πολλῷ* contrast c. 41, 3. *πόνος*—‘the disorder.’ *ὁπότε*—third stage: the disease, on reaching the stomach, caused vomiting and great distress, and, in most cases, ineffectual retching; then the skin turned livid, and broke out in vesicles which degenerated into ulcers. Then came the crisis. *καρδίαν*—‘stomach.’ *στηρξίειν*—intrans., a medical use. *ἀποκαθάρσεις*—‘vomits of bile.’ *δσαι*—evidently referring to different terms used to denote the various colours that bile has in different diseases, or stages of a disease; *e.g.* in cholera, the bile is first dark brown, then light green. Probably, as Grote says, Thuc. was acquainted with medical terms. *ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὀνομασμέναι*—though the subject is non-personal, yet, if it be a nom. or fem. noun, it is not uncommon to find the agent with the perf. pass. expressed by *ὑπό*, instead of by the regular dat.: see on c. 29, 3. *ταλαιπωρίας*—‘distress’ (tenesmus): a medical term.

49, 4. *Λύγξ*—rendered ‘retching,’ but Collier says it should be ‘hiccough,’ because the hiccough is an important symptom of deadly maladies, especially of those which affect the membrane of parts within the chest. But (1) this leaves *κενὴ* unexplained, (2) the disease described is now unknown. *ἐνδιδοῦσα*—‘producing,’ the same use of *ἐν* as in *ἐμποιῶ, ἐντίθημι. μετὰ*



**ταῦτα**—after the previous symptoms (see *third stage*). **λωφήσαντα**—with *μετὰ ταῦτα*. Cf. c. 2, 1. *λωφᾶ· παύεται* Hesych., cf. Plat. *Phaedrus*, 251 c *λωφᾶ τῆς ὀδύνης* (Collier takes this with *σπασμόν*, as do some edd., but this would require *λωφῶντα* to match *ἐνδιδοῦσα*).

**49, 5.** **Τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν**—adverbial, *ἔξωθεν* being for *ἔξω*. Cf. c. 13, 7. **ἀπτομένῳ**—with *θερμὸν ἦν*, ‘to the touch.’ **σῶμα**—for absence of art. cf. 8 below. **χλωρόν**—‘pale.’ **φλύκταιναι**—transparent vesicles, little blains which degenerate into sores. **τὰ δὲ ἐντός**—the *ἀκμή* of the disease is now reached. It came in the *third stage*, and was marked by internal fever, intolerable thirst, and sleeplessness: yet the body was scarcely weakened by its suffering. **μήτε**—answered by *ἥδιστα τε*. **τὰς ἐπιβολὰς**—for the order, cf. 18, 1. **μηδ’**—not connected with *μήτε*, but only joins *ἐπιβολὰς* to *ἄλλο τι ἢ* and with it = *nec nisi*; cf. c. 16, 2. **γυμνοί**—the nom. is justified by *τὰ ἐντός*, part of themselves. With *γυμνοί* supply *δντες*. Cf. c. 45, 1 *ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα*. So with *τυγχάνω* c. 87, 5, *φαίνεσθαι* c. 39, 4. In the two cases in which Thuc. uses *διατελῶ* with adj., he omits *ὦν* (I. 34; VI. 89); contrast VII. 38 *παρασκευαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν ἥδιστα ἂν*—i.e. *ἥδιστ’ ἂν ἔοριπτον*, lit. ‘so as to have thrown themselves (had they been allowed).’ The infin. with *ἂν* is not common with *ὥστε*. *M. T.* 211, 592. **καὶ πολλοί**—‘and in fact.’ Cf. c. 2, 4. **ἔδρασαν**—cf. c. 11, 8. Here = *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔρριψαν*. **τῇ δόσῃ ἀπαύστῳ**—the adj., being pred., is emphatic, as always; ‘which was unceasing.’ (There are not many examples quite like this in Thuc.: I. 49 *ἐνέπρησαν τὰς σκηνὰς ἐρήμους*, c. 13, 5 *τὰ χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα*, IV. 122 *τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἀνωφελεῖ πιστεύοντες*, and VII. 70, 6). **τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἑλασσον**—the art. omitted with *ἑλασσον*, though the two things are mutually exclusive, as in I. 10 *τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας*. **ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ**—the infin. after a noun, as in c. 60, 7 *αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀδικεῖν*. The *μὴ* is added because the whole result is neg., as often. Plat. *Apol.* p. 38 D *ἀπορία... τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλειν*, ‘the neg. being added as after other neg. or prohibitive words’ (Shil.). Andoc. 2, 12 *κίνδυνος περὶ τοῦ μὴδὲ αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι*, ‘a risk lest not even they should be saved.’ See also c. 62, 3; III. 75, 4 *ἡ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστία*.

**49, 6.** **Ἐπέκειτο**—*instabat*; cf. c. 59, 1. **ὅσον περ καὶ**—like *ὥσπερ καὶ*, the *καὶ* merely making the two things parallel. **ἀκμάζοι**—iterative, in a rel. clause. Cf. VII. 70, 5 *ὅσον χρόνον προσφέρειτο ναῦς*. *M. T.* 521. **ὥστε**—the result is in the partic. *ἔτι ἔχοντες*, not in *διεφθείροντο*: this inversion of partic. and verb is very common. **οἱ πλείστοι**—belongs only to *διεφθείροντο*, a new subject *οἱ πολλοί* (most of the minority who did not die on the 7th or 9th day) being inserted

in the next clause. καὶ ἑβδομαῖοι—the main emphasis is on this, the second member, as constantly in Greek. ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος—c. 47, 4. τι δυνάμεως—cf. I. 5, 1 τι καὶ δόξης, III. 44, 2 ἔχοντάς τι ξυγγνώμης. διαφύγοιεν—‘pulled through.’ ἐπικατιόντος—fourth stage, only reached by comparatively few, marked by ulceration of the bowels, after the internal fever had abated; then followed violent dysentery, leaving the patient so weak that he generally died. ἀπεφθείροντο—poetical word. See *not. crit.*

49, 7. Ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ π. ἰδρυθέν—Kr. thinks this an adscript, and is followed by F. Müller. τῶν γε κ.τ.λ.—*effects seen in the convalescent*: ‘a seizure of the extremities remained as a mark (of the disease)’. ἀντὶληψις—for ἐπίσκηψις. Elsewhere ἀ. = an objection to an argument, as Plat. *Phaedo* p. 87 A. [αὐτοῦ]—if the conjecture αὐτὸ = τὸ περιγενέσθαι, it clearly involves a contradiction, since Thuc. is giving the signs of the disease before the recovery, but it might stand in the sense of τὸ κακόν. ἐπεσήμεναι—absolute, cf. c. 8, 3, 43, 3. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1215.

49, 8. Ἐς αἰδοῖα—art. omitted, as often with parts of the body. παραντίκα ἀναστάντας—‘immediately on their recovery.’ The loss of memory was temporary. ἠγνόησαν—aor., giving the result of the imperf. ἐλάμβανε.

50, 1. Κρείσσον λόγον—cf. c. 41, 3, but here = ‘not to be described.’ χαλεπωτέρως—see ἑνδεστέρως 35, 2. ἢ κατὰ—*quam pro*. ἐδήλωσε ... ὄν—cf. v. 9 δείξω οὐ παραινέσαι οἷός τε ὢν. For the aor. cf. c. 51, 5. ἀπτεται—cf. c. 48, 2. ἀτάφων—see c. 52.

50, 2. Τεκμήριον δέ—see c. 15, 4: only here without γὰρ following. ἄλλως—‘at all,’ after περὶ τοιοῦτον. περὶ τοιοῦτον—i.e. περὶ τὰ σώματα. αἰσθησιν παρείχον—‘gave an opportunity of observing the effect’ (on animals). ἀποβαίνοντος—cf. c. 87, 3 ἀποβάντι, the imperf. being used here of the repeated result. In c. 11, 9 the plur. was used, pres. partic. of the result as it will affect each man.

51, 1. Παραλιπόντι—as ἀπομένῳ 49, 5, ὑπερβάντι 96, 1. ἀτοπίας—‘omitting many peculiarities,’ πολλὰ ἀτοπίας being like μέγα ἰσχύος 97, 4, and the common expressions εἰς τοσοῦτο, εἰς τοῦτο with gen., as Demosth. 21, 62 εἰς τοσοῦτ’ ἀναιδείας ἀφίκετο. Cf. c. 17, 4. διαφερόντως—lit. differently to one as compared with another, i.e. peculiarities ‘which marked individual cases.’ πρὸς=‘compared with,’ as in 62, 3. ἐπὶ πάν—cf. ἐπὶ μέγα 76, 4, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον 34, 8, 35, 3; translate with τὴν ιδέαν, ‘its general nature.’ ἐπὶ is local. ιδέαν—contrast the meaning in c. 19, 1. παρελύπει—*para-* denotes simultaneous action or intrusion on something more important.

Cf. Plat. *Phaedo* 65 c λογίζεται κάλλιστα όταν αὐτὴν τούτων μηδὲν παραλυπῇ. Cf. παρενοχλεῖν. κατ' ἐκείνον—i.e. throughout the time that the plague lasted. γένοιτο—contrast the mood in 49, 1: here the general form is required by the sense. Cf. 49, 6.

51, 2. Ἀμελεία—causal, some might have been saved had they been treated. θεραπευόμενοι—'in spite of' etc. ἐν τε οὐδὲ ἐν—a very strong neg., for which cf. Demosth. 23, 70 ἐν οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν τούτων, and for οὐδὲν resolved, Andoc. 1, 29 οὐτε μείζον οὐτ' ἔλαττον οὐδὲ ἐν. ὥς εἰπεῖν—qualifies the universal statement. Shil. remarks that Thuc. never writes ὥς ἐπος εἰπεῖν. ὁ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας—i.e. ὁ τι χρῆν προσφέρειν ὥστε ὠφελεῖν. The partic. really belongs to χρῆν. This irregularity is found also with δεῖ. Kr. *Gr. Gr.* 56, 10, 5. προσφέροντας—a medical term, to interfere with the course of a malady, etc., by any means. Cf. Plat. *Phaedo* 63 d δεῖν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον προσφέρειν τῷ φαρμάκῳ. τοῦτο—c. 53, 3 ὁ τι ἤδη ἡδὺν ... τοῦτο κ.τ.λ., 64, 6. This 'epanaleptic' οὗτος is commonest after relative clauses, as Isaeus, 1, 28 Κλεώνυμος δς ἦν ἡμῖν οικειότατος ... οὗτος κ.τ.λ., but at any rate in colloquial Attic it was freely used even when no rel. preceded.

51, 3. Ἰσχύος πέρι—cf. c. 62, 1, 'as regards physical strength or weakness,' i.e. 'whether strong or weak.' ξυνήρει—subject αὐτό = τὸ νόσημα.

51, 4. Δεινότατον—pred. to (a) ἀθυμία, (b) δτι ... ἐθνησκον. πολλῷ μᾶλλον—sc. ἢ διεφθείροντο ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, because the worst possible thing to do in illness is to lose hope: they abandoned themselves to despair and really threw their lives away, instead of resisting. ἀφ' ἑτέρου θ.—= ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτερον θεραπεῦσαι. ἀναπιμπλάμενοι—the technical word for taking infection. Cf. Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 67 A μὴ ἀναπιμπλώμεθα τῆς τούτου φύσεως. So ἀναπλέως, infected, *ib.* p. 83 D. τοῦτο—i.e. the contagion, because (a) the fear of catching the disease caused neglect of the sick, (b) while those who attended the sick caught it.

51, 5. Μὴ θέλοιεν—according to the MSS., which are quite worthless in such a case, the orators said μὴ θέλειν and μὴ ἐθέλειν indiscriminately. Shil. prints θέλοιεν here; so some other edd. after μὴ. It is probable that ἐθέλω is, after all, the invariable prose form. (See Rutherford, *New Phrygn.* p. 416, Meisterhans, p. 142.) ἀπώλλυντο ... ἐκενώθησαν—the complexive aor. again gives the result of the verb in imperf. Cf. c. 50, 1. τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος—cf. Aesch. *Prom.* V. 27 ὁ λωφῆσων γὰρ οὐ πέφυκέ πω. The art. refers to no person in particular. Kr. *Gr. Gr.* 50, 4, 3. The fut. partic. with art. is not common. *M. T.* 826. ἀρετῆς—= φιλανθρωπίας. Cf.

c. 40, 4. αἰσχύνῃ—cf. c. 43, 1. ὀλοφύρσεις—the *complaints* over those who died: friends had to go because relatives actually wearied even of performing the proper offices for the dead. The *καί* before ὀλοφύρσεις shows that having *already* neglected to attend to their sick, they *also* took no notice of them when they died. τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων—cf. c. 34, 2. The imperf. is used of the *constant* deaths, as ἀπώλυντο etc. above. ἐξέκαμνον—‘wearied of,’ so ἀποκάμνειν occasionally. ὑπὸ ... νικώμενοι—c. 47, 4.

51, 6. Ἐπὶ πλεόν—c. 35, 3. Thuc. uses this expression about a dozen times in this sense (μᾶλλον). πονοῦμενον—cf. c. 49, 3. ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι—cf. c. 60 ἐν ἰσῷ (εἶναι), III. 22, 6 ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶναι, and many others. κούφης—‘vain,’ because ἀν διαφθαρῆναι implies ‘if they fell ill with any other disease.’ They fancied that they could only die of old age. ἔπ’ ἄλλου ... διαφθαρῆναι—see on c. 47, 4.

52, 1. Ἐπέσε ... ἡ ξυγκομιδῇ—the inversion makes both emphatic. ἡ ξυγκομιδῇ ἐκ τῶν ἀ.—for the art. not repeated before the prep., cf. c. 18, 3, 38, 1. (a) The noun or adj. must be connected with a verb which takes the construction used with it (κομιζομαι ἐκ τῶν ἀ.) to admit of this inversion of the order, (b) if the words which are inverted *precede* (see on c. 7, 2), the object is to produce an antithesis; but if, as more commonly, they follow the noun or adj., it is merely for the sake of convenience. οὐχ ἦσσαν—= μᾶλλον.

52, 2. Καλύβαις—Aristoph. (see c. 17, 1) says ἐν ταῖς πιθάκναισι καὶ γυπαρίοις καὶ πυργιδίοις. ὥρα ἔτους—Suidas gives ὥρα ἔτους τὸ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ θέρος, and rightly takes ὥρα to denote *the best time*, as we use ‘the season.’ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ—it may be judged from tragedy how important the Greeks thought it to make a graceful exit from the world. ἀλλὰ καὶ—expresses οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ in a positive form. [ἀποθνήσκοντες]—a gloss on ἡμυθῆτες. (It is not possible to take this as imperf. partic., like ἀπογιγνομένων in 51, 5, since not νεκροὶ ἀποθνήσκοντες, but νεκροὶ ἀποθνησκόντων would be necessary; for νεκρὸς ἀπέθανεν could not be right.) καλινδούμενοι—καλινδοῦμαι is figurative in meaning) (κυλίνδομαι is literal).

52, 3. Ἐναποθνησκόντων—gen. abs. ‘men dying there.’ ἔχοντες—= εἰδότες. ὅ τι—cf. Eur. Or. 418 δουλεύομεν θεοῖς, ὅ τι ποτ’ εἰσὶν οἱ θεοί. ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων—cf. Isocr. 7, 66 τὴν δημοκρατίαν κοσμήσασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις, and 53, 4 θεῶν φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος.

52, 4. Θήκας—for ταφάς, ‘modes of burial.’ This meaning is sufficiently proved by Sta., who quotes Plat. Rep. 427 B. ἐπιτηδείων—neut., whatever was required for the burning and



burial. ἐπὶ πυρᾶς—governed both by ἐπιθέντες and ἐπιβαλόντες. For ἐπὶ πυρᾶς ... ἐπιθέντες ... ὑφήπτον, see c. 13, 2. δν φέροιεν—*M. T.* 522.

53, 1. Πρῶτον ἦρξε—cf. c. 36, 1. καὶ—besides those instances of ἀνομία just mentioned. ἐπὶ πλέον—cf. c. 51, 1, 'to a greater extent' (than ever before), since the ἀσχήνη which followed the breach of the ἀγραφοὶ νόμοι (c. 37, 3) was no longer felt. ἀνομίας—governed by ἦρξε. ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ—c. 49, 5. καθ' ἡδονήν—as 37, 2, but with a bad sense. ἀγχίστροφον—Ionic word, not found elsewhere in Attic prose. μεταβολήν—43, 5. ὁρῶντες—plur., though τις precedes, as after ἕκαστος, ἕτερος, πᾶς, οὐδεὶς. τῶν τ'—the τε is answered by καὶ before οὐδέν, and each pair is introduced by a single τῶν, since εὐδαιμόνων ... θνησκόντων apply to one set of persons, κекτημένων ... ἐχόντων to another set.

53, 2. Ἐπαυρέσεις—Ionic for ἀπολαύσεις, which Thuc. also uses, c. 38, 42. It was revived by late writers from Aristotle onwards: Andocides uses it once. πρὸς τὸ τερπνόν—cf. c. 65, 8 πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν. ἐπαυρέσεις is the advantage, gain, or good to be got out of any act: generally it is neither immediately realised, nor does it take the form of mere sensual enjoyment; but now honourable ambition and forethought no longer prompted action.

53, 3. Τὸ μὲν προταλαιπωρεῖν—the art. and inf. depend, as accus. of respect, on πρῶθυμος ἦν. The purpose of the art. is to contrast the two clauses introduced by μὲν ... δέ, since below ὁ τι δὲ ἤδη ἡδὺ = τὸ δὲ ἤδη ἡδὺ. Cf. c. 87, 5, vi. 17 τὸ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσβάλλειν, ἱκανοὶ εἰσι, τῷ δὲ ναυτικῷ οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο βλάπτειν. τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ—'for the sake of what seemed honourable'; cf. viii. 63 οὐκέτι ἄλλοις ἢ σφίσι αὐτοῖς ταλαιπωροῦντας. τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ differs from τῷ καλῷ in that the former denotes that no man had the will to strive after that which he himself conceived to be good; much less would he trouble himself about Good as a principle. One reflected, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρῆσομαι. (There is probably no reference here to good as universally admitted, as some have supposed: δόξαν applies to individual cases.) νομίζων—the partic. again appended somewhat freely to the preceding clause. Cf. 1 above and 4 below. Here not οὐδεὶς but ἕκαστος must be supplied: somewhat similar is vi. 27 τοὺς δράσαντας ἡδεῖ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ ... ἐξήπουτο καὶ προσέτι ἐψηφίσαντο (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι); iv. 59 οὐδεὶς ... ἦν (sc. τις) οἴηται τι πλέον σχήσειν, ἀποτρέπεται, vi. 84 ὑπολάβη μηδεὶς ὡς οὐδὲν προσήκον ὑμῶν κηδόμεθα, γνοὺς ὅτι κ.τ.λ. ἡδη τε ἡδὺ καὶ—τε ... καὶ = sive ... sive, the first clause answering to σώματα, the second to χρήματα in 2 above. πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον—= (ὁ τι)



πανταχόθεν ἐς τὸ ἤδη ἡδὺ κερδαλέον ἦν, 'or contributed to the pleasure of the moment, regardless of the source from which it was obtained,' i.e. men did not care how disgraceful were the means by which they strove to gratify their immediate desires. The sanctity of oaths and contracts was no longer respected; for the sake of gain fraud and crime became καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον, and what was gained was immediately squandered. πανταχόθεν—cf. Intr. p. xl.: all means, good or bad, were alike to them. τοῦτο—cf. c. 51, 2. καλὸν—1st Cor. 15, 32 φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν· αἵριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν. (Thuc. does not say they really thought these base things καλὸν: it was not τὸ δόξαν καλὸν that changed, but τὸ καθεστηκὸς καλόν. The public standard of morality is a very different thing from what each man in his heart thinks moral.)

53, 4. Τὸ μὲν—'on the one hand,' answered by δέ, instead of τὸ δέ. κρίνοντες—anacoluthon, as though the preceding clause had been pass. = ὑπ' οὐδενὸς νόμου ἀπείργοντο. Such a slight irregularity is not uncommon in Thuc. and tragedy, as Eur. *Hec.* 971 αἰδώς μ' ἔχει ... τυγχάνουσα. Cf. III. 36 ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ... ἐπικαλοῦντες. (Shil. quotes IV. 108, as a 'still bolder anacoluthon.' But the cases are almost certainly wrong there. As εἰωθότες κ.τ.λ. is clearly general, prob. the gen. abs. should be read.) ἐν ὁμοίῳ—cf. c. 49, 5, 61 ἐν ἰσῷ δικαιούν, 60 ἐν ἰσῷ (ἐστὶ). καὶ μή—sc. σέβειν. ἐλπίζων—cf. c. 11, 6; had a plur. been nearer and οὐδεὶς not so near, Thuc. would have written ἐλπίζοντες, as VII. 28, 3. μέχρι τοῦ—so v. 73, 4. βιοῦς ἄν—the ἄν belongs also to ἀντιδοῦναι, = βιῶναι ἄν καὶ ἀντιδοῦναι. τιμωρίαν—with τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. The art. and ἀντιδοῦναι shows that they sinned well knowing that retribution awaited them if they lived. With the general description, cf. St. Matthew, xxiv. 12, where Christ speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem, διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν. πολὺ δέ—sc. νομίζοντες, and for the interchange of words of saying and thinking which have to be supplied from the context, cf. c. 13. κατεψηφισμένην—sc. τιμωρίαν, i.e. νόσον. ἦν ... εἶναι—cf. c. 13, 5, 24, 2, 102, 5. εἰκὸς—c. 10, 1.

54, 1. Τοιοῦτῳ μὲν—the description is now concluded, the following particulars being added as an afterthought (a) to illustrate the superstition rife at the time, (b) to indicate the locale of the plague. περιπεσόντες—cf. c. 59, 2, and the phrase, συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν, constantly occurring in the orators.

54, 2. Ἐν—'during,' though κακὸν is not temporal. Cf. c. 63, 1. οἷα εἰκὸς—cf. c. 5, 4, and ὡς εἰκὸς VIII. 2, 3. ἔπος—'verse,' 41, 4. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι—limiting apposition. Cf. 4, 2, 11, 1, 16, 1, 21, 3. ᾄδεται—c. 8, 2, 21, 3. ἤξει

—common in prophecies, Eur. *Sup.* 1222 *πικροὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἤξει' ἐκτεθραμμένοι | σκύμνοι λεόντων.* St. Matt. XXIV. 14 *τότε ἔξει τὸ τέλος.* πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς—there is intentional παρομοίωσις here, as often in oracles. The change of λιμὸς to λοιμὸς would be suggested by *Il.* 1, 61 *εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμος τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιοῦς,* and Hesiod, *W. and D.* 242 *μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων | λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν.*

54, 3. Ὀνομάσθαι—‘that *famine*, and not *pestilence* had been the original word.’ (This translation is imperfect because it introduces a comparatively modern association.) ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν—might have been dat. ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος—cf. ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι c. 36, 4. The gen. is more distinctly temporal = ‘at the moment.’ πρὸς δ' ἐπασχον—cf. VI. 34 τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ αἱ γινώμαι ἴστανται. μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο—act. of μνήμη ἐγένετο in 4 below, and = ἀνεμνήσθησαν in 2. δέ γε—these particles always cap a previous statement, whether made by the speaker himself or an opponent. They are sometimes separated. καταλάβῃ—c. 18, 2.

54, 4. Ὅτε—see c. 21, 1. τὸν θεόν—as Apollo was both healer and destroyer, they thought that the god was helping the enemy by sending the plague. Cf. the opening of *Il.* 1, and *O. T.* first chorus.

54, 5. Περὶ μὲν οὖν—Thuc. leaves this doubtful, without expressing his own opinions: then he goes on with the facts, δέ being equivalent to δ' οὖν. ‘As concerns ..., they thought that what was happening corresponded to it.’ δ τι ἄ. καὶ εἰπεῖν—= δ τι καὶ ἄ. εἰπεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν—ἐστί is regularly omitted in this phrase, as in *sed haec hactenus.* Cf. IV. 41, 4; VII. 87, 6.

55, 1. Τὸ πεδῖον—the Attic plain, as c. 20, 1. This resumes from c. 47. παρήλθον—after ravaging the plain (contrast c. 19), and reaching the north-east parts of it that lie between Mt. Parnes and Pentelicon (Brilessus), they worked their way down the south-east coast district of Attica. Πάραλον—= the part of Attica stretching south of Mt. Hymettus and Brauron right down to C. Sunium. Λαυρεῖον—the mines here, which were an important source of revenue to Athens (Aesch. *Persae*, 237 ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἐστί, θησαυρὸς χθονός), were farmed out on hereditary leases. See Kennedy's *Demosth.*, Intr. to the speech against Pantaenetus. [οὐ κ.τ.λ.]—Intr. p. xxxix. ἥ πρὸς Π. ὀρᾷ—*partem quae spectat ad P.* Cf. c. 93, 4. ἔπειτα δέ—c. 4, 2. The addition of δέ emphasizes the antithesis.

55, 2. Καὶ τότε—with ὧν. Pericles had entered on a fresh year of office in Hecatombaeon 430 (Intr. p. lxxv.) since the last mention of him as Strategus. περὶ τοῦ μῆ—c. 22, 1.

56, 1. Ἐπὶ δ' κ.τ.λ.—cf. c. 13, init. τῇ Π.—the dat. depends on ἐπιπλουν. ἐτοῖμα—cf. c. 3, 4.

56, 2. Ἐπὶ τῶν—see c. 80, 2. ἱππαγωγαῖς—this is the first occasion on which the Athenians used transports. (The Persians used them, Herod. vi. 48.) They were triremes (iv. 42; vi. 43); in 424 they were sufficiently novel to provide Aristoph. with a joke, *Eq.* 599. It was very important to have cavalry in the plundering expeditions, in order to be able to penetrate as far inland as possible. Χῖοι καὶ Λ.—cf. c. 9, 4. ναυσὶν—the dat. of accompaniment, only used in naval and military phrases.

56, 3. Ὅτε—the imperf., as usual, after ὅτε, denoting that the act described in the principal clause occurs at the same time as that described in the temporal clause. Cf. on c. 21, 1, and c. 99, 6. τῆς Ἀττικῆς—for the order, cf. c. 18, 1, and contrast 4 below, where the emphasis is on Ἐπίδαυρον, whereas here the point is that the Peloponnesians were still in Attica, cf. 6 below.

56, 4. Ἐπίδαυρον—the most important place yet attacked by the Athenians; it would have been valuable to them, as it lay on the road to Argos, which was then neutral (c. 9, 2) and might possibly join them if they obtained possession of so considerable a state: and other towns, as Troezen and Hermione might have fallen into their hands. ἔτεμον—it is not clear why Pericles ravaged the country before attacking Epidaurus: probably he had planned a stratagem to seize the place with a small force while the main body was scattered about and was keeping the troops that guarded the town (only a third of the whole force of Epidaurus, c. 47, 2) occupied. ἐς Ἐπίδα ἦλθον—the phrases ἐλπίς ἐστι, ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶναι, ἐλπίδα ἔχειν have the simple infin. aor. in most cases, as c. 80, 1; but in c. 85, 4 ἐλπίδος οὐσης has the fut. infin., and in 102, 3 ἐλπίς has ἀν παθεῖν; while in i. 144, 1 we have ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι. Cf. on c. 13, 9. οὐ μέντοι—this failure is probably due to a rally of the inhabitants similar to that of the Plataeans, c. 3. προεχώρησε—impersonal; cf. i. 109 ὡς αὐτῷ οὐ προυχώρει; iii. 18 ἐπειδὴ οὐ προυχώρει ἢ προσεδέχοντο; αἱ.

56, 5. Ἐκ τῆς Ἑ.—the attack on Epidaurus was the greatest enterprise of Athens before 427. Ἀλιάδα—the country round Halice, an unimportant town on the south-east coast of Argolis. Ἑρμιονίδα—Hermione had a territory of some extent on the coast of the Gulf of Hermione.

56, 6. Πρασιάς—on north-east coast of Laconia. It suffered severely from the war, and is a proof how effective the method

of Pericles was. Intr. p. lxx. Aristoph. *Pax*, 242 ὡς Πρασιαὶ τρισάθλιαι καὶ πεντάκις. οὐκέτι—nothing is said of the route taken by the Peloponnesians after they left Laurium. κατέλαβον—always takes *pres.* or *perf.* part.: IV. 129, 1 (*pres.*), I. 59, 1 (*perf.*).

57, 1. "Ὅσον χρόνον—this has to be supplied with καὶ οἱ Ἀ., i.e. the sense is *not* that the plague raged during the simultaneous ravaging in Attica and in Peloponnese, *but* 'both while the Peloponnesians were in Attica, and while the A. were away on the expedition.' ἐν τε τῇ στρατίᾳ—the order is chiasmic: τῇ γῇ—νεῶν—στρατία—πόλει. Thuc. is very fond of the chiasmus. ἐλέχθη—constructed with acc. and infin. regularly (a) when it is used in the sense of *ferunt*, *fertur*; cf. c. 20, 1, 47, 3, 77, 6, 93, 4, 98, 3, 102, 5; I. 69; V. 74. Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 110 c λέγεται εἶναι τοιαύτη ἡ γῇ, in a myth. It is then oftener in the *pass.*: the *act.* occurs e.g. I. 9, 2, 138, 4. If however Thuc. wants to imply that he disbelieves the report, he uses ὥς, as in c. 48 ἐλέχθη ὥς ἐσβεβλήκοιεν. (He always inserts some qualification when he is not sure of the truth of what he relates:) (b) when it = κελεύω. It is not often found with accus. and infin. otherwise. See c. 13, 2 and cf. Andoc. 1, 57 εἰπεῖν κακίαν εἶναι τὰ γενόμενα. ἥσθοντο—from the smoke of the pyres.

57, 2. Τῇ ἐσβολῇ—see c. 20, 1. ἐνέμειναν—sc. ἐν τῇ γῇ. Complexive aor., as also ἔτεμον. The shortest period they remained was 15 days, 425 B.C. The ordinary time was about 30 days.

58, 1. "Αγων—Intr. p. lxxv. He had been Strategus in 440 B.C., and was again re-elected in 429, c. 95. He led the colony to Amphipolis in 437 B.C., and was honoured as founder until the death of Brasidas in 422 B.C., when the latter took his place in the regard of the people (v. 11). After the Sicilian disaster, when a very old man, he was elected one of the ten Πρόβουλοι. Κλεόπομπος—c. 26, 1. ξυστρατηγὸν—It is not clear whether Thuc. means they were now in office for the official year Hecatombaeon 431 to Hecatombaeon 430, or for the year 430 to 429. Probably it is the former, and they were now nearing the end of their year of office. The expression probably points to the extraordinary position held by Pericles from Hecatombaeon 432 to Hecatombaeon 430. Intr. pp. lxvi., lxxiv. μηχανάς—Intr. p. lxxv. Pericles wanted to reduce Potidaea in order that, in case peace should be concluded with Sparta (c. 59, 2), Athens might retain the town.

58, 2. Παρασκευῆς—with ἀξίως. ἐπινεμομένη—'spreading among.' Cf. c. 54, 5. ἐπιγίγνομαι is only used of a disaster



which is new. The partic., as well as the verb, governs τοὺς Ἄ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ—following a partic., as in I. 94, 5, = τότε δὴ νοσῆσαι—‘fell ill,’ ingressive. ἀπὸ—cf. c. 51, 4. ξὺν—un-Attic use. See c. 2, 1. Φορμίων—c. 31, 2, and 2, 1; I. 64, 2. Only the 3000 hoplites referred to in I. 61, 4 were at Potidaea when Hagnon went there.

58, 3. Κατὰ χώραν μένοντες—so I. 28, 5; III. 22, 6. Isocr. 4, 176; Demosth. 24, 5; Aristoph. *Plut.* 367, *et al.* Cf. Horace’s *certa sede manet*.

59, 1. Ὡς ... ἐτέμντο—the plup. has nothing to do with ἡλλοίωντο, (i.e. the meaning is not that the land had been ravaged before the change came over their feelings), but describes the state of the country as it lay ruined before their eyes. The other places in which ὥς has the plup. (III. 23, 1, 26, 4, 27, 1, 69, 2) are similar. Cf. on c. 3, 1. ὁ πόλεμος—referring to the other miseries besides the ruin of the trees, crops and buildings, such as the difficulty of living and the burdens of service. ἡλλοίωντο—plup., because the change had come over them before Hagnon’s expedition, during Pericles’ absence. Intr. p. lxxv.

59, 2. Ἐν αἰτία εἶχον—cf. the following, ἐν ὀργῇ εἶ, c. 18, 5, 21, 3, 65, 3; ἐν ἡδονῇ εἶ, III. 9; ἐν ὀρρωδίᾳ εἶ, c. 89, 1. This idiom is not found in the orators, but occurs in tragedy. περιπεπωκότες—see c. 54, 1. πρὸς τοὺς Ἀ.—with ξυγχωρεῖν. πρέσβεις—Sta. reads *πρεσβελας* with MT only. Dion. Hal. thinks that Thuc. ought to have given a detailed account of these transactions. The reason he does not do so is that nothing came of them. πανταχόθεν—not local, but = ‘utterly.’ ἀποροι καθεστῶτες—i.e. εἰς ἀπορίαν κ. c. 81, 8; εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν ἐλθεῖν Isocr. 8, 47; εἰς τοῦτο καταστήσαι ἀπορίας Demosth. 22, 132; εἰς ἀπορον πεσεῖν Aristoph. *Clouds* 702.

59, 3. Ὅρων ... ποιήσας—see c. 4, 4. πρὸς τὰ π.—c. 22, 1, 64, 6 πρὸς τὰς ξυμφοράς, 88, 3 π. τὴν παρούσαν δψιν. ἡλπιζε—of bad events, as in I. 1, 1. ξύλλογον—c. 22, 1. Pericles still held his extraordinary power. Intr. p. lxxvi., and it was perhaps by virtue of this that he was able to have a special meeting summoned. Cf. c. 13, 1. ἔτι δ’—i.e. he had not yet been suspended from office and brought to trial (ἀποχειροτονηθείς). Intr. pp. lxxv. *fol.* will make this clear. ἐστρατήγει—‘held office,’ implying that he was still αἰτοκράτωρ. He was just completing another year of office, and was Strategus elect for the official year soon to begin. Cf. c. 55, 2. τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γ.—cf. VII. 68 τῆς γ. τὸ θυμούμενον. This neut. partic. as noun abstract presents the idea as an action going on, not as an abstract notion separate



from all associations of time and circumstance. Cf. c. 87, 3. It is frequent in Euripides. *πρὸς ... καταστήσαι*—the ordinary construction is *ἐς* (see 2 above), but *τρέπεσθαι* has *ἐπὶ*, *πρὸς*, *ἐς*, and several verbs *ἐπὶ* or *ἐς* in Thuc. Cf. c. 65, 9. *καταστήσαι*—sc. *τὴν γνώμην*. *ἔλαξε*—the Schol. labels the speech *δημηγορία Περικλέους πρὸς Ἀθηναίους*. The speech was also known in antiquity as *ἡ οἰκεία Περικλέους δημηγορία*.

60, 1. *Καὶ ... καὶ*—parataxis; cf. c. 46, 1. *προσδεχομένῳ ... γαγῆνται*—cf. c. 3, 2. *M. T.* 900. *τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς*—‘this outburst of wrath,’ as *τὰ τῆς τύχης*; see on c. 44, 2. *ξυνήγαγον*—the aor. of momentary action, as continually in tragedy. *ὅπως*—the subjun. is certainly to be preferred to the fut. indic. here, as this is a pure final clause. *M. T.* 364 (*ὅπως* is Thuc.’s favourite final particle, but is rare in other prose authors, except Xen.). *ἂν τι*—he does not doubt it, but softens the expression.

60, 2. *Πιλείῳ*—with *ὠφελεῖν*. This sentence contains a triple antithesis. *ὀρθουμένην ... σφαλλομένην*—the state is personified. *καθ’ ἑκάστον*—because it is when prosperity has engendered selfishness and oblivion of corporate life that states go to ruin.

60, 3. *Καλῶς φερόμενος*—cf. v. 15, 2, 16, 1; *φ.* of the course that affairs take. This *γνώμη* is the premiss of the following enthymeme (see c. 11, 7) ‘It is well for the citizens that the state should prosper even if they have to sacrifice themselves: for the citizens must fall with the state, and when the state prospers, the citizens easily overcome their troubles. Therefore the citizens must sacrifice themselves for the state.’ Cf. 4 below. *τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν*—cf. c. 11, 3. *διαφθειρομένης*—there is *παρονομασία* between this and *φερόμενος*, also between *κακοτυχῶν* and *εὐτυχούσῃ*. *πολλῷ μᾶλλον*—sc. *ἢ ἐν κακοτυχούσῃ*.

60, 4. *Ὅποτε*—‘since,’ so that the verb to be supplied is *ἐστί*. Andoc. 1, 7 and 89. *εἰς ἑκάστος*—cf. vi. 41 *εἰς τε ἑκάστος καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις*; viii. 89 *ἡγωνίζετο εἰς ἑκάστος*. *μὴ*—the sentence does not end regularly, the construction being carried on to suit the parenthesis *δ νῦν ὁ δρᾷτε*. We expect *καὶ μὴ ἀφίεσθαι*. Cf. Plat. *Phaedrus*, 272 D *παντάπασι γάρ, δ καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς εἶπομεν τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀληθείας μετέχειν δέοι τὸν μέλλοντα ῥητορικὸν εἶσεσθαι*. *ταῖς κατ’ οἶκον κ.τ.λ.*—epexegesis of *δρᾷτε*. Cf. vi. 11 *ὅπερ ... πεπόνθατε· διὰ τὸ περιγεγενῆσθαι ... Σικελίας ἐφίεσθε*. Shil. notes that Latin idiom expresses the epexegesis of *facio* by *ut*. *κατ’ οἶκον*—cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 261 *ἀς ἐβόσκομεν κατ’ οἶκον*, ‘at home.’ This phrase differs from *κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν* = ‘about the house,’ Aristoph. *Thesm.* 402, and has a wider sense than *κατ’ οἰκίαν*,

'in private,' Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1180. τοῦ κοινοῦ—objective gen. to σωτηρίας, but put first for the sake of the emphatic antithesis to κατ' οἶκον. ὑμᾶς—he dexterously throws the charge back on them. ξυνέγγωτε—the prep. here has an adverbial force. Cf. c. 64, 1. δι' αἰτίας ἔχειν—cf. c. 59, 2, and 11, 3. This idiom is rare in other Attic prose writers (not found in orators).

60, 5. Καίτοι—there is no *prothesis* to this speech (see on c. 36, 4), the reason being that in c. 59, 3, and 65, 1 Thuc. explains the object which Pericles had in the Πίστις, and so had no need to insert it here. ἐμοί—the analysis makes the πίστις begin here. But the Schol. who notes on these words παραγραφικὸν ἐν δεινότητι must have taken this to be part of the προοίμιον and thought that the πίστις began with c. 61. (I begin the πίστις here with Fr. Müller, against the Schol., Altinger and Leitschel, because the object of Pericles in the πίστις certainly was τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, 65, 1. Τὸ παραγραφικὸν comes in the προοίμιον, but Thuc. may have meant the last part of 4 to represent this.) τοιοῦτῳ—here follows another enthymeme: 'You are unjustly angry with Pericles: for he is able, patriotic, honest and can tell you what is best for you; without all these qualities, a statesman is of little use. Therefore, as Pericles has them all, it is wrong to blame him.' οὐδενὸς ἥσσων—this is all purely rhetorical, for no proof is offered of the premiss, which might be disputed. This illustrates excellently Aristotle's remark that, whereas exact truth is the object of the syllogism, probability is the object of the enthymeme. φιλόπολις—to us philanthropy and cosmopolitanism mean far more than citizenship and patriotism; but in antiquity the former were vague abstractions which interested none but philosophers, whereas the latter were realities for which every right-minded man was ready to sacrifice himself. χρημάτων κρείσσων—cf. c. 65, 8. Probably Pericles already knew that Cleon was preparing to charge him with intercepting public money. Intr. p. lxxvi.

60, 6. Ἐν ἴσῳ—cf. 53, 4. καὶ—'as'; so after ἴσος III. 14, 1; ὁμοίως VI. 11, 1; VIII. 76, 4. ἐνεθυμήθη—c. 40, 2. οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως—*meiosis*. Cf. for ὁμοίως, c. 44, 3. οἰκείως—like an οἰκείος, 'as a loyal citizen,' who regards himself as much bound to the state as to his family. τοῦδε—this I am speaking of, viz. patriotism. νικώμενος—the reading adopted is far more likely than the MSS. genitive, as the partic. corresponds to γνοῦς and ἔχων. (The gender would be masc., cf. c. 47, 4. So Kr., but recent edd., except Cr., make it neut., with τοῦδε for subj., against which it may

be urged (a) *τόδε νικᾶται* means 'this view is rejected,' unless *τόδε* is *personified*, in which case (b) we should expect *χρήμασι* also to be personified, and to become *ὑπὸ τῶν χ.*) *τούτου*—i.e. *χρημάτων*, cf. *τοῦδε* above. *ἀπόδοιτο*—there are readings *πολοῖτο* and *ἀπόλοιτο* in inferior MSS.

**60, 7.** *Καὶ μέσως*—with *μᾶλλον ἐτέρων*. 'If you thought that I had somewhat more of these qualifications than others.' 'Propria laus tantum abest ut sordeat in ore virorum vere magnorum ut habeat etiam ingenuae magnificaeque simplicitatis plurimum.' Döderlein. *μᾶλλον ἐτέρων*—*μέσως* *εἶπε* *καὶ οὐ σφόδρα, διὰ τὸ φορτικόν*. Schol. *αὐτὰ*—cf. c. 1. *γε*—emphasizes *τοῦ ἀδικεῖν*: 'you followed my advice because you thought me *φιλόπολις, χρημάτων κρείσων*. Is it not then absurd to impute *ἀδικία* to me?' He seems again to refer to the plots of Cleon.

**61, 1.** *Καὶ γὰρ*—this takes up *τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν*, and belongs to *πολλὴ ἄνοια*, 'for undoubtedly it is intensely foolish to go to war.' *αἰρεσις*—viz. between peace and war. *πολεμήσαι* ingressive, cf. c. 15, 2, 58, 2. *εἰ δ'*—there is not any doubt about it; cf. c. 39, 4, and Andoc. I. 33 *εἰ μὲν τι ἡσέβηκα ... εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἡμάρτηκα μοι*, Aeschines, I. 112 *εἰ μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν οὐτοσὶ ἐν πόλει ἐκκλήτῳ, ὑμᾶς ἂν ἡξίωσα ... εἰ δ' ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησιν ... ἀναμνησκέειν προσήκει*. *ἦν*—viz. when the Spartan embassies were sent threatening war. Intr. p. lxviii. *εὐθὺς*—with *ὑπακούσαι*. *ὁ φυγὼν*—Shil. takes this as general, but then the pres. partic. would be expected. Pericles alludes to those who had been opposed to war. *κινδυνεύσαντας* is emphatic.

**61, 2.** *Ὁ αὐτός εἰμι*—this, like *ἐξίσταμαι, μεταβάλλετε, πεισθῆναι, μεταμέλειν*, and *ἐγκαρτερεῖν*, is left without further definition. The gloss *ἀ ξγνωτε* well gives the general idea of the passage which is clear but exceedingly condensed. *ἀκεραίοις*—cf. c. 18, 5; before you had suffered from the invasion and the plague. *λόγον*—'policy,' as announced in c. 13, and before the war. *ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης*—cf. c. 87, 3. Antiphon, *Tet. A, β, 4 τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς γνώμης*, and c. 59, 2. *ὑμετέρῳ*—put with *ἀσθενεῖ* rather than *γνώμης* for the antithesis to *ἐμόν*. It is not uncommon for a neut. adj. with art. to have an epithet; cf. IV. 87, 3 *τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὐνῳ*. *μὴ*—with *φαίνεσθαι*. *διότι*—its ordinary sense is 'because,' but often from Aristotle onwards = 'that.' *τὸ λύπουν*—in order to secure a permanent advantage in the future, it may be necessary to submit to some temporary inconvenience (c. 53, 3), which a too hasty judgment may mistake for the only outcome of a far-sighted policy. *ἔχει*—involves, so 'makes itself felt.' *ἅπασι*—with *δήλωσις*; the individual's perception of the immediate inconvenience being contrasted with the deferred

realisation by the nation of the advantage. *ἐξ ὀλιγοῦ*—c. 11, 4. *ταπεινὴ ... ἐγκαρτερεῖν*—cf. I. 50, 5 *νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν*; v. 111, 2 *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα βραχέα περιγίγνεσθαι*. Shil. points out that this is not the same as *ταπεινότερα ἢ ὥστε ἐγ.*; being milder, it does not allege utter want of endurance: 'You are weak in patiently abiding the change.'

61, 3. *Παραλόγῳ*—that which is sudden and unexpected—for instance death in certain mortal but lingering diseases—does not necessarily overthrow one's original calculations. Hence the addition of *τὸ ... ξυμβαῖνον* to *τὸ αἰφ. καὶ ἀ.* *ἄλλοις*—neut.

61, 4. *Ἀντιπάλους*—= *ἴσοις τῷ μεγέθει αὐτῆς*. *ξ. τὰς μεγίστας*—c. 2, 2. *ἐθέλειν*—Shil.'s excellent remark that *ἐθέλω* = 'I am willing,' *βούλομαι* = 'I wish,' needs this much modification, that *ἐθέλω* is always used by a superior to an inferior, just as they speak of the 'will' of the gods. (In Plat. *Gorg.* 508 c, Shil. says a distinction is hardly recognised: but there *ὁ βουλόμενος* = 'anyone who wishes,' as usual, and *ὁ ἐθέλων* = 'anyone whose will and pleasure it is'—*εἰμὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄτιμοι τοῦ ἐθέλοντος*. At the same time, the example shows that the meanings of the two do overlap. Schmelzer on Plato, *Phaedo*, c. 50.) *ὑφίστασθαι*—='endure' takes accus.: for meaning with dat., see L. and S. *ἀφανίζεν*—c. 34, 3. *ἐν ἴσῳ*—= *ὁμοίως*. *δικαιοῦσι*—c. 41, 5. *δόξης*—with *ἐλλείπει*, as *προσηκούσης* with *ὀρεγόμενον*, the order being due to the elaborate antithesis. *δοτὶς ... τὸν*—the change of expression relieves the sentence. Isocr. 6, 90 *ἐλέσθαι μὴ τὸ τούτοις ῥᾶστον, ἀλλ' ὃ πρόπον ἔσται*. *ἀπαλγήσαντας*—only found in Thuc.: for the force of *ἀπὸ*, cf. *ἀπανθεῖν*, *ἀπέρδω*, *ἀποτύπτω*. *τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σ.*—c. 60, 4.

62, 1. *Πόνον*—with *ἀπέδειξα ὑποπτευόμενον*, the object being repeated in *αὐτὸν* owing to the length of the sentence. *μὴ*—subordinate to *ὑποπτευόμενον*. *ὑπάρχον*—with *ἐνθυμηθῆναι*, and both *ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν* and *μεγέθους περὶ* belong to *ὑπάρχον*, 'your possession of which, as bearing on your empire in respect of its greatness,' i.e. 'the existence of which, as it bears on the greatness of your empire.' *οὗτ' ἐγὼ*—sc. *ἐχρησάμην αὐτῷ*. *κομπωδιστέραν*—'as the pretension it involves is rather arrogant.' *παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς*—'unduly.'

62, 2. *Οἴεσθε κ.τ.λ.*—in this passage the topic *τὸ δυνατόν* is used; Index, s.v. *τόποι*. *μερῶν*—depends on *τοῦ ἐτέρου*. *ἐπὶ πλέον*—sc. *νέμεσθαι* (c. 29, 2), 'to any further extent you wish.' *ἄλλο*—exclusive, cf. c. 14, 1; 'nor any nation either.' *βασιλεὺς* is not the Persian king, but goes with *οὐκ ἔ. δοτὶς ... οὐδέις*. *τῶν ἐν τ. π.*—cf. c. 41, 3.



**62, 3.** "Ὅστε—the value of Attica cannot be compared with the value of the sea. οὐ κατὰ ... χρεῖαν—'not to be measured by the advantage derived from,' i.e. is much greater than that. Shil. quotes many examples of οὐ or μὴ κατὰ meaning *superior to*; the same may mean *inferior to*, as in the phrase οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν common in tragedy. ὦν—sc. ἐστερημένοι. οὐδ' εἰκὸς—*neque decet*, c. **10**, 1. χαλ. φέρειν—sc. ἐστερημένοι. [αὐτῶν]—probably due to a note ἐστερησθαι αὐτῶν. μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ—cf. **III. 36**, 4 πόλιν διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. Shil. notes that ἢ implies a negative, just as πρὶν does (*A. J. of Phil.* II. B. L. G. on πρὶν): and all sentences implying a neg. may be strengthened by an expressed neg. *M. T.* 815. Thus κινδυνεύω περὶ τοῦ μὴ σωθῆναι means the same thing as κινδυνεύω περὶ τοῦ σωθῆναι. κηπίον—a parterre of flowers. (The other view that κηπίον means a mode of dressing the hair is due to Aelius Dionysius: Eustath., p. 907, quotes Aelius, whose gloss also appears in Photius, Suidas, and more than once in Scholia; cf. Pollux, II. 29 κήπος γὰρ οὐ μόνον φυταλιά, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλλωπισμὸς κόμης, κατ' Αἰλίον Διονύσιον, καὶ κουρᾶς διάθεσις τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. Θουκυδίδης δὲ κηπίον φησι.) ἐγκαλλώπισμα—of display in dress. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 64 D τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείας ... ὅσον ἱματίων διαφερόντων κτήσεις καὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καλλωπισμούς. γνῶναι—sc. εἰκός. ἀντὶ. αὐτῆς διασώσωμεν—c. **13**, 2. ἀναληψομένην ... φιλεῖν—the change of construction is due to the change in the sense of γνῶναι, which at first = know, then = judge or decide. *M. T.* 915. ὑπακούσασσι—with gen. of a perpetual attitude of submission, with dat. (**61**, 1) of submission at a particular moment. πατέρων—the topic changes to τὸ συμφέρον. See 2 above. Demosth. 3, 36 μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον κατ' ἀμφοτέρα—i.e. κατὰ τὸ κατασχεῖν καὶ διασώσαντες παραδοῦναι. But, as applied to his hearers, κατασχεῖν does not mean to acquire new empire, which Pericles discouraged; but to assert their mastery over their existing empire. and not think of surrendering it to Sparta: κατασχεῖν = both to get and to keep. φανῆναι—sc. εἰκός. μετὰ πόνων—cf. **I. 70**, 8 μετὰ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων μοχθεῖν, *ib.* **19**, 3 μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελετὰς ποιεῖσθαι. When abstract sing. nouns are used in these phrases (Thuc. has examples), as μετ' ἀληθείας, the art. is rare. προσέτι—once Thuc. uses πρὸς as an adv., **III. 58**, 5: elsewhere προσέτι. αὐτὰ—c. **36**, 4. αἰσχίον—Demosth. 2, 26 πολλὸν ῥᾶον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν ἢ κτήσασθαι. ἔχοντας—δεξαμένους, while ἀφαιρεθῆναι is the opposite of κατασχεῖν καὶ διασώσασθαι. λέναι ὁμόσε—cf. c. **81**, 5, *obviam ire*. φρονήματι. καταφρονήματι—παρονομασία, in the style of Gorgias. Intr. p. lii.



The antithesis between confidence and disdain is an antithesis between an *instinctive* feeling of superiority and a consciousness arising from *knowledge* of the enemy's inferiority. Cf. Livy, XXI. 41 non eo solum animo quo adversus alios hostes soletis pugnare velim; sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes.

**62, 4.** Ἀῤῥημα—Intr. p. liii. αῤῥημα is not *identified* with φρόνημα, but is substituted as the natural result of it. καὶ —‘mere.’ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχούς—fortune sometimes favours cowardly fools, and produces in them a habit of boasting. Pericles probably meant Cleon, and Thuc. suggests him by καὶ (= ‘even’) δειλῷ τι. καταφρόνησις δς ἄν—cf. the definition in c. 44, 1. Sc. τοῦτῳ ἐγγίγνεται. γνώμη—certain knowledge, contrasted with ἀμαθία εὐ.; again suggesting Cleon, who made the un-Socratic discovery that ἀμαθία is ἀρετή! Intr. p. lxxiii.

**62, 5.** Τόλμαν—one of the effects of καταφρόνησις, but not always of φρόνημα, which is compatible with cowardice. ἡ ξύνεσις—stands very close to γνώμη, but only in the intellectual sense of clear insight and circumspection. For the principle that true courage is impossible without ξύνεσις, cf. c. 40, 4. (This illustrates the close connection between Ethics and Metaphysics, so often insisted upon by modern thinkers.) ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος—with ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται. ‘Intelligence gives greater solidity to courage as the result of a consciousness of superiority’; such a consciousness of superiority is therefore desirable. ἐλπιδι—cf. v. 102 ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα ἢ κατὰ τὸ διαφέρον ἐκατέρων πλῆθος. ‘Courage trusts not to hope because fortune has hitherto been fair (that is the strength of the helpless); rather it trusts to insight based on a survey of realities; and that is a far safer prophet.’ In this elaborate antithesis (a) blind hope is contrasted with clear insight, (b) the foundation on which hope is built is contrasted with the foundation on which insight is built, the one being treacherous (τύχη), the other being firm, (c) there is a contrast, in the form of chiasmus, between ἐλπίδι and ὑπάρχοντα, and between τύχης and γνώμη. ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης—referring to 4 above: towards boast when τύχη has been more than ὁμοία to them: the helpless hope on when τύχη has been as much as ὁμοία to them; for an equal share of Heaven’s favours is enough to make them suppose they will not be destroyed. But brave men, trusting in γνώμη, can bear up even under a temporary withdrawal of their share of Heaven’s favour (c. 64, 2). (These words, if retained after τὴν τόλμαν, give no sense, since there is no reason why courage should come ἀπὸ ... τύχης,

or why the effect of insight on courage should be limited by such a condition.) ἀπόρῳ—neut. γνώμη—Thuc. does not often contrast γνώμη with τύχη, by which γνώμη may always be over-ridden. Intr. p. xli.; i. 144, 4; v. 75 τύχη μὲν κακιζόμενοι, γνώμη δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες. It is common in the orators, as Antiphon, 5, 92, Andoc. 1, 140, Lys. 34, 2, Isocr. 2, 30.

63, 1. Τῆς τε—the topic changes to τὸ συμφέρον; see c. 62, 3, Index s.v. τόποι. εἰκὸς—*deceit*. τῷ τιμωμένῳ—c. 59, 3. 'You are bound to support the dignity which the state has obtained through our empire.' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας—not a common use of ὑπέρ. Cf. Isocr. ep. 4, 8 τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ὄντας. τιμὰς—which, though belonging to the state, directly benefit every citizen; in those times the city was everything, the citizen nothing. Cf. 60, 3. περὶ δουλείας ἀγωνίζεσθαι—as remarked on c. 62, 3, sentences like ἀγὼν περὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀδίκως ἐπιθυμεῖν and ἀγὼν περὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀ. ἐ. are identical in meaning. In the same way, with all verbs or nouns implying a contest, the noun with περὶ may describe either the object which the combatant referred to wishes to obtain, or the disaster he wishes to avoid, the two being the same thing regarded from different views: thus Lysias' ἐναντιοῦσθαι περὶ ἐλευθερίας (13, 17) is the same as ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ δουλείας. Cf. Lys. 3, 44 ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ θανάτου; 21, 20 ἀ. περὶ ἀσεβείας. Demosth. 1, 5 οὐ περὶ δόξης κίνδυνος ἀλλ' ἀνδραποδισμού τῆς πατρίδος. δουλείας—i.e. dependence on Sparta, as δ. often denotes merely the opposite of αὐτονομία. κινδύνου ὦν—*periculo ob offensas in imperio contractas*, danger due to the hatred to which you have been exposed in that empire. ὦν = τούτων δ, cognate accus. to ἀπήχθησθε. (One or two edd. prefer to take ὦν as masc., danger from those in governing whom you have incurred hatred; but that does not agree well with the abstract nature of the whole passage.)

63, 2. Εἰ τις—referring to the combination to which the overtures to Sparta were due. καὶ τόδε—i.e. τὸ ἐκστῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, 'if that is the honourable part that any of you, prompted by his present apprehension and an indolent spirit, wishes to play.' τόδε is cognate accus. to ἀνδραγαθίζεται. Cf. 1 above. The friends of peace did not admit that they wished ἐκστῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, but Pericles asserts that their policy would lead to loss of empire and even worse disasters. ἀπραγμοσύνη—dat. of manner. The word is purposely chosen to include all who were playing into the hands of Sparta, if only by their apathy. Cf. Intr. p. lxxiii. ὥς τυραννίδα—it is remarkable that Cleon, who had done so much to get up the attack on Pericles, utters the same sentiment, III. 40. Cleon was

really by no means anxious for peace (see Intr. p. lxxiv. fol.), and it is probable that Pericles here points out the absurdity of Cleon's present attitude by adopting a phrase of which all knew that he was fond; leaving the friends of ἀπραγμοσύνη to settle matters with the friends of τυραννίς as best they could. ἄδικον δοκεῖ—viz. 'to the world.' Pericles does not himself assert that the empire is a despotism, or that it was unjustly acquired: he alludes to an opinion then especially prevalent. ἐπικίνδυνον—sc. ἐστίν.

63, 3. Οἱ τοιοῦτοι—i.e. οἱ τότε ἀνδραγαθίζόμενοι. ἐτέρους πείσαντες—'if they should get others to adopt their views.' καὶ—with τέ, sive ... sive. Observe the ἰσοκῶλον on each side of καὶ, cf. c. 40, 1, and the ὁμοιστέλευτα in ἀπολέσειαν and οἰκήσειαν. (These similar endings are not common in Thuc.: there are about a dozen in this book.) εἰ πού—the second protasis to πόλιν ἀπολέσειαν. ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν—'by themselves,' a hint that if they want their ideas carried out, they had better go and live somewhere else. For the phrase, cf. v. 67, 1; vi. 40, 2 αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς; viii. 63, 4. τὸ ἀπραγμον—'indolence is not secure unless it be ranged beside activity; nor yet is it expedient in a sovereign state, but only in one that is in subjection, to seek safety by submission.' τὸ ἀπραγμον and τὸ δραστήριον are for οἱ ἀπράγμονες, οἱ δραστήριοι. Cf. c. 44, 1. σάζεται ... τεταγμένον—military words. If indolent persons wish to come out of the struggle safe, they had better take sides with the active; i.e. the peace party can only gain a secure peace by supporting the war party, instead of making overtures to the enemy. Cf. Demosth. 6, 25 οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως μὴ πόλεμον ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῇναι δεσπότην εὖρητε; ξυμφέρεα—subject ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, before which τὸ is omitted, as in c. 35, 1, 39, 4. ἀσφαλῶς δ.—this is what τὸ ἀπραγμον really means, says Pericles, it is not σωτηρία, as the friends of peace pretend, but δουλεία: ἀσφαλῶς corresponds to οὐ σώζεται, δουλεύειν το μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, which shows that the adv. is emphatic. δουλεύειν—cf. l above; a state now ἀρχουσα becomes a slave by submitting. Cf. c. 42, 4. (For other views of this passage, see other editions.)

64, 1. Δι' ὀργῆς—c. 13, 2. εἰκὸς ἦν—sc. δρᾶσαι. Cf. c. 11, 8. πρᾶγμα ... γεγενημένον—for the change to a neut. expression cf. c. 47, 3. πρᾶγμα is in apposition to the sentence generally, as in Andoc. 1, 39 τοῦθ' ὑπέθετο, δεινύτατον πρᾶγμα οἶμαι. ἐλπίδος—cf. c. 11, 6, 85, 4, 152, 3. κρείσσον—cf. c. 41, 3. οἶδ' ὅτι—cf. εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι, and δῆλον ὅτι. μέρος τι—'considerably.' [τι] εὐ πράξῃτε—either εὐ ποιεῖν, εὐ πράττειν, etc., or ἀγαθόν τι ποιεῖν, ἀγαθόν τι πράττειν,

etc., are the phrases. For the latter, cf. Isocr. 2, 20, Aristoph. *Eccles.* 108. ἀναθήσετε—‘you intend to attribute it to me.’ So the fut. indic. with εἰ may follow optat. with ἄν, and even alternate with εἰ and optat., as Andoc. 1, 30 δεινὸν ἂν εἴη, εἰ ἐμοὶ ὀργίξοισθε καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ... κρείττω τῆς ἀληθείας ἡγήσεσθε.

64, 2. Φέρειν τε—another reason why their indignation is unmerited is that the plague is sent by a higher power. τὰ δαιμόνια—this phrase, for τὰ τῆς τύχης, only occurs here, and, as Cl. says, it is probably borrowed from the language of philosophers. Cf. θεῖος, contrasted with ἀνθρώπινος, in Plato; also Andoc. 1, 139 κίνδυνοι θεῖοι (κ. ἀνθρώπινοι. ἀναγκαίως—‘with resignation.’ The inevitable should be endured, not argued over. τὰ τε ἀπὸ—there is chiasmus with 1 above; οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἡ νόσος, τὰ δαιμόνια, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν π. ἐν ᾗ ἦν—‘was the habit of.’ ἐν ὑμῖν—‘by your act.’ Cf. c. 35, 1. κωλυθῆ—‘let it not be impeded,’ i.e. ‘let not your action check it.’

64, 3. Διὰ τὸ—belongs to εἵκειν and ἀνηλωκέναι. (The Schol., who makes ἀνηλωκέναι depend on γινώτε, has the honour of having misled Shil.) πλεῖστα δὲ—‘has never yielded ..., but has sacrificed.’ μέγιστην δὲ—antithesis to ὄνομα μέγιστον. Notice the frequent use of superlatives, esp. μέγιστος and πλεῖστος. Cf. c. 11, 1. ἦν καὶ νῦν—‘even if, in our present condition (i.e. in spite of our present power), we should give way at all. Pericles admits the possibility of a decline of the empire.’ καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι—‘to decay as well (as to grow).’ καταλελείφεται—permanent result in fut. *M. T.* 78. Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι—exegesis of ἧς = δυνάμεως. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* v. p. 469 B Ἑλληνας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀνδραποδιζεσθαι. ὅτι—put late, because of the emphasis on Ἑλλήνων. πολέμοις—temporal. Cf. c. 13, 9. καθ’ ἐκάστους—depends, as though it were one word, on πρὸς. τοῖς πᾶσιν—c. 11, 6.

64, 4. Καίτοι—‘now it is true that,’ making an admission that increase of power does not increase the number of friends. The objection is answered in 5 below. (Only Bäumlein and Sta. make this clear.) ἀπράγμων—referring to other states, yet with a hint at οἱ ἀπράγμονες in Athens. μέψαιτ’ ἄν—corresponds to the fut. ζῆλώσει, φθονήσει. καὶ αὐτὸς—with δρᾶν, ‘he who is ambitious like ourselves.’ ζῆλώσει—note the difference between ζῆλος and φθόνος. L. and S. s.v. ζῆλος. εἰ ... κέκτεται—= ὅστις κέκτεται = ὁ κεκτημένος.

64, 5. Ἐν τῷ παρόντι—‘for a time,’ i.e. until other nations become habituated to it. Cf. c. 41, 2. ἕτεροι ἑτέρων—c. 51, 1 and 4. 34 διαφέρειν ἀνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου and 3



above; Livy, xxi. 10, 4 *ex bellis bella serendo*. δοτις ... λαμβάνει—= ὁ λαμβάνων. ἐπὶ μεγίστοις—cf. c. 29, 3 ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ. ἡ δὲ κ.τ.λ.—there is only one idea in the subject: lit. 'that which is the splendour of the present remains also the glory of the future in memory for ever,' by which he means great power, τὰ μέγιστα above. In the *present*, such power is viewed with dislike, though it is a splendid thing to have; but hatred is short-lived, and in the *future* will be changed into admiration and respect. Even if this great power decline, it is still remembered. The second member is the more important.

64, 6. Ἐς τε τὸ μέλλον—there is chiasmus here; παραυτίκα, ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα, ἐς τὸ μέλλον, ἐς τὸ αὐτίκα. προγονόντες—'providing for future glory and present escape from disgrace, secure both by making an effort now.' ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε—see c. 1 ἐπεμειγνυντο. Cf. ἐπιδικάζεσθαι. οὔτινες—with this conclusion, cf. the close of Nicias' speech, vi. 14 τὸ καλῶς ἀρξαι τοῦτ' εἶναι, ὅς ἂν κ.τ.λ. πρὸς—*propter*, c. 91, 4. οὔτοις—c. 58, 3. καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν—sums up the lesson of the whole speech. The interests of the individual cannot be considered apart from those of the community. Cf. Isocr. 3, 51.

65, 1. Τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν—'the indignation directed against him.' δεινῶν—here regarded from the point of view of the sufferers; in 77, 1 from that of those who cause the suffering. ἀπάγειν τὴν γ.—cf. c. 59, 3.

65, 2. Ἀνεπέθοντο—c. 14, 1. ὁ μὲν—cf. c. 21, 3. ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων—'having less to start with,' i.e. before the war. ἑστέρητο—so Andoc. 3, 8; Aeschin. 2, 173 of this period. {ἐν} οἰκοδομίαις—'consisting in buildings and costly furniture,' with κτήματα. Cf. Dinarch. 1, 5 ἡ ἐν τῷ λέγειν δύναμις. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον—'above all,' adverbial accus.

65, 3. Πρότερον ... πρὶν—this insertion of πρότερον is due to the comparative and negative nature of πρὶν. It is very common. *M. T.* 658. χρήμασιν—cf. iv 65 φειγῇ ἐξημίωσαν. For the probable circumstances see *Intr.* p. lxxvi.

65, 4. Ὑστερον—*Intr.* p. lxxvii. οὐ πολλῶ—about six months. δὲ περ φιλεῖ—Thuc.'s objections to a thorough-going democracy are (1) that it is uncertain in its policy, (2) that it encourages rivalry among demagogues, and consequently party strife. Cf. Burke, *Reflections*, 'Not being wholly unread in the authors who had seen the most of those constitutions, I cannot help concurring with their opinion, that an absolute democracy, no more than absolute monarchy, is to be reckoned among the legitimate forms of government.' πάντα—i.e.



made him στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. ὦν ... ἤλγει—cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1256 παιδὸς ἀλγεῖν, a poetical construction. Supply ταῦτα, accus. of respect, to ἀμβλύτεροι, and to πλείστον ἄξιον. ἡ ξύμπασα—the state is contrasted with the individuals of which it consists. Cf. c. 7, 2. ξύμπασα ἡ would contrast the whole with part of the city.

65, 5. "Ὅσον τε ... ἐπέε τε—i.e. throughout his administration, both before and after the outbreak of war. For τε ... τε, cf. c. 22, 1, 64, 2, 6. προύστη—Pericles had been decidedly the first man in Athens since the ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias, in 444 B.C. ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ—i.e. the Thirty Years' peace of 445 B.C. (So Bloomfield rightly; for the period 458-445 was regarded as πόλεμος, Andoc. 3, 6; Aeschin. 2, 174. Pericles' decisive appearance dates from B.C. 468, but as πόλεμος below cannot include B.C. 458-445, εἰρήνῃ cannot include 468-458.) διεφύλαξεν—the aor. gives the result of his policy. Cf. c. 49, 5. Andocides and Aeschines dilate on the advantages gained by Athens during the peace. μέγιστη—attributes the greatness of Athens, on which Pericles so often insisted, to Pericles himself. Andoc. and Aesch. wrongly assign the creation of the reserve fund (c. 24) to the period of the peace. Andoc., being a consummate liar, probably did this on purpose, and misled Aesch. and puzzled some modern historians. ὁ δὲ—cf. c. 46, 1. *M. T.* 564. δύναμιν—sc. τῆς πόλεως. Cf. 13 below. Unfortunately Pericles failed to notice two sources of weakness: (1) the growing discontent of the allies, (2) the lack of rising politicians who would carry on his policy after his death.

65, 6. Ἐπεβίω—'lived beyond' the beginning of the war. 8. ἔτη καὶ μ. ἕξ—Intr. p. xvii. ἐγνώσθη—here follows a defence of Pericles' war policy. The proofs offered of his wisdom are (1) the reversal of his policy led to disaster, (2) in spite of that reversal, Athens held out against great odds until ruined by internal dissensions. This may prove that his policy was good, but Thuc. goes too far in 13 when he implies that Athens would certainly have succeeded if Pericles' advice had been followed. ἡ πρόνοια ... ἐς—cf. c. 64, 6, and for the order, c. 52, 1.

65, 7. Ἦσυχάζοντας—i.e. they were to adopt the policy of wearing out Sparta, and not to attempt to bring the war to an end by a few battles. ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντες—the object of Athens was to obtain the recognition of her maritime supremacy, as it existed in 431. ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτωμένους—not to attempt conquests while the war lasted. τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύειν—'endanger the existence of the state,' by distant

undertakings or great land battles. οἱ δὲ—other ancient authors contrasted Pericles with the demagogues who followed him, as Isocr. 8, 127, [Aristot.] *Rep. Ath.* 28 ξως Π. προειστῆκει τοῦ δήμου βελτίω τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἦν, τελευτήσαντος δὲ Περικλέους πολὺ χείρω. ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου—'things which seemed to have no connection with the war,' but really had; e.g. the rivalry between politicians, which led to bad government and consequent mismanagement. σφίσι—for σφίσιν αὐτοῖς as c. 4, 1. κατὰ—cf. 11 below. τοὺς συμμαχοῦς—by producing ill-feeling towards Athens among the allies. κατορθούμενα—reflecting on the selfish policy of Cleon and Alcibiades. βλάβη κ.—'proved injurious.' βλάβη sums up τὰ κακῶς πεπολιτευμένα, the result of which was seen in the Decelean war.

65, 8. Ἀξιώματι—c. 37, 1. χρημάτων δ. ἀδωρότατος—Thuc. again alludes to Pericles' trial. Cf. c. 60, 5. ἑλευθέρως—cf. c. 37, 2, 'while respecting their liberty.' οὐ μᾶλλον—'instead of.' διὰ τὸ μὴ ... λέγειν—this is answered by ἔχων. Cf. v. 16, 1 διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν parallel to νομίζων, vii. 70, 4 διὰ τὸ φεύγειν parallel to ἐπιπλέουσα. ἔξ οὐ π.—contrast c. 17, 2 μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. ἐπ' ἀξιώσει—c. 34, 6. Cf. ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς αἰτίαι vii. 48, 4; and Livy, xxi. 49 haud cum imparatis, for cum haud imparatis. πρὸς ὀργήν—'angrily.' (Arnold translates 'so as to excite their anger,' because πρὸς ὀργήν corresponds to πρὸς ἡδονήν; which no one would think of translating 'willingly.' But neither does πρὸς ἡδονήν = 'so as to excite their pleasure'; rather πρὸς ἡ. λέγειν = 'to speak pleasantly,' 'to say pleasant things'; moreover Arnold presses the antithesis too closely. ἀντιπεῖν is not the opposite of λέγειν.) Cf. iii. 43, 5; viii. 27, 6. For Pericles' freedom of speech, cf. Eupolis, *frag.* τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, comparing Pericles to a bee.

65, 9. Γοῦν—'at any rate,' introducing an illustration which explains in what sense the preceding statement is to be taken. κατέπλησεν—later demagogues, on the contrary, tried only to humour the people. ἐγένετό τε—'and so it came about that.' This is an explicit statement that Pericles owed his ascendancy to the influence he had acquired by his abilities. λόγῳ μὲν—such a tempered democracy was the ideal constitution of Thuc. Cf. viii. 24, 4, 97, 2. ὑπὸ ... ἀρχῇ—the verbal substantive constructed like a pass. partic.

65, 10. Οἱ δὲ ὕστερον—answering ἐκεῖνος μὲν in 8 above. So ἴσται ... ὄντες corresponds to δυνατὸς ὢν. αὐτοὶ ... πρὸς ἀλλήλους—might have been αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτούς. Cf. c. 5, 5 on διαβουλευόμενων. καθ' ἡδονὰς—depends on ἐνδιόδναι, 'so as to suit any popular whim.' καὶ τὰ πράγματα—i.e. to gain their

object they were ready not only to flatter the people, but even to place the administration of the state entirely in their hands. ἐνδιδόναι—after ἐτράποντο ‘they set themselves to.’

65, 11. Ἄλλα—e.g. the rejection of the Spartan overtures for peace in 410 B.C., and the aggressive warfare of 424 B.C. ὡς—‘as is natural’ when the administration of a great empire is entirely in the hands of the people. ὁ ... πλοῦς—sc. ἡμαρτήθη, ὁ πλοῦς being viewed as an ἔργον τοῦ πολέμου. Cf. III. 67 ἡμαρτανόμενα ἔργα, Plato, *Rep.* VIII. p. 544 D πόλεις ἡμαρτημένας. (ἡμαρτήθη is not impersonal, a constr. nearly confined to perf. pass.) ἀμάρτημα πρὸς οὓς—the construction is similar to c. 44, 1 τὸ δ’ εὐτυχές, οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ., 62, 4 καταφρόνησις δὲ δὲ δὲ κ.τ.λ.; thus ἀμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐ. follows the construction of ἡμάρτανον πρὸς οὓς ἐ. ‘It was not so much an error of judgment with regard to the people whom they were intending to attack; the blunder they made was rather that the people responsible for the expedition did not consult the interests of those who had been sent out in their subsequent measures.’ ὅσον ... ἐπιγινώσκοντες—sc. ἀμάρτημα ἦν. Cf. IV. 26 αἴτιον ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προειπόντες. οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες—the extreme democrats. οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα—of the measures taken after the mutilation of the Hermae, esp. the recall of Alcibiades. κατὰ—‘in consequence of intrigues for the leadership of the democracy.’ Cf. κατὰ πειρίαν c. 37, 1. Thuc. alludes to the position of δήμου προστάτης, recognised leader of the popular party. The list, according to [Arist.] *Rep. Ath.* 28, is Solon, Pisistratus, Cleisthenes, Xanthippus, Themistocles, Ephialtes, Pericles; after whom the popular leaders degenerated with Cleon and Cleophon. τὰ τε—‘they conducted the military operations without vigour.’ Thuc. shifts the blame of the disaster from Nicias to the home authorities. ἀμβλύτερα—with less vigour than they had since the war broke out. τὰ περὶ—accus. of respect; ἐταράχθησαν being ‘ingressive.’ πρῶτον—i.e. for the first time during the war. What ruined Athens in the war was the internal discord that broke out after Pericles’ death.

65, 12. Σφαλόντες ... παρασκευῇ—for the dat. cf. 7 above. δέκα—i.e. 413-404 B.C. μὲν—answered by καὶ οὐ πρότερον, just as we sometimes find μὲν ... τέ, τε ... δέ. βασιλέως—Darius. προγενομένῳ—from 407 B.C. πρότερον ... ἢ—cf. c. 40, 2. *M. T.* 653. ἐν σφίσι—for ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. See c. 4, 1. κατὰ—cf. 11 above. [περιπεσόντες]—περιπίπτειν regularly takes the dat., and no case in which it takes any prep. but ἐν is known. The phrase συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν is very common, and probably a commentator wrote this in the margin to illustrate κατὰ ... ἐσφάλησαν.

65, 13. Τοσοῦτον—μέν might have followed. ἐπερίσσευσε—sc. ταῦτα from ἀφ' ὧν, 'such an abundance of resources had Pericles, by means of which he of himself foresaw.' καὶ πάνυ—c. 11, 6, 51, 2. αὐτῶν—'alone.' πολέμῳ—c. 13, 9.

66, 1. Εἰσι—sc. οἱ Ζακύνθιοι. Cf. c. 26, 2. τῶν ἐκ—attraction of prep., due to ἀποικοι.

66, 2. 'Επέπλειον—'were on board.' Κνήμος—c. 80 fol. ναύαρχος—an office held for a year. The admiral was almost as important as the kings, who commanded the land forces. His power increased when the Spartan navy became more important. ξυνεχώρου—'did not seem likely to yield,' imperf. of uncompleted action. Cf. Eur. *Her. Fur.* 538 καὶ τὰμ' ἐθυησκε τέκν', ἀπωλλόμεν δ' ἐγώ.

67, 1. 'Αριστεὺς—ὁ 'Αδειμάντου, Herod. vii. 137. Herod. digresses to tell the story of this embassy, and mentions Aristens, Aneristus, and Nicolaus. Πρατόδαμος—see *not. crit.* Mss. often Atticise un-Attic names. Ἰδία—probably he represented the philo-Laconian party at Argos; the city was neutral, c. 9, 2. Σιτάλην—c. 29. στρατεύσαι ἐπὶ—'send an army to relieve.' ἦν ... πολιορκοῦν—c. 12, 2. ἦν = *versabatur*, 'was engaged.' δι' ἐκείνου—'with his aid.' Φαρνάκην—satrap of Dascylium, the N. satrapy of Asia Minor, Sardis being the S. satrapy. ἀναπέμψειν—'escort inland'; cf. ἀναβαίνειν.

67, 2. Τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν—i.e. Athens. τὸ μέρος—with βλάβῳσιν, 'do their best to injure,' adverbial accus.

67, 3. Περαιώσιν—'send them across.' No subject is given for ἐμελλον, but 'Sitalces and Sadocus' has to be supplied from the context. πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν—generally πρὶν takes aor. infin.; the pres. means 'before the embarkation began.' καὶ ἐκέλευσεν—sc. τοὺς πεμφθέντας. He 'had given orders' before the expedition started.

67, 4. Τὰ ... τῶν ἐπὶ Θ.—'the difficulties in Chalcidice.' Aristeus had been sent with 2000 men from Corinth to aid Potidaea when it revolted, i. 60. πάντας—probably Cleon was responsible for the death of the Spartan envoys. They should have been kept in prison as hostages. Pericles had no voice now in the government, and Thuc. hints that he views this act as a blunder. δικαιούντες—c. 41, 5. οἷσπερ ... ὑπήρξαν—attraction for ἀπερ ὑπήρξαν. Shil. quotes Dem. 19, 321 τὰς εὐεργεσίας ὥς ὑπήρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς, Isocr. 14, 57 τὴν αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἣν περ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπάρξαντες, Aeschin. 2, 26 τὰς εὐεργεσίας ὥς ὑμεῖς ὑπήρξατε. οὓς ἔλαβον—probably some special occasion is here referred to, and the merchants



were captured by privateers. πάντας δὴ—'without exception,' δὴ strengthening πάντας. Cf. c. 77, 2. μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων—c. 72, 1.

68, 1. Ἀναστήσαντες—cf. c. 96, 1. πολλούς is attracted to the partic., and stands for πολλοί, by a common idiom. Ἄργος—the Peloponnesians were very anxious to weaken the influence of Athens on the west coast, as they wanted to improve their means of communication with Sicily.

68, 2. Ἦρξάτο πρῶτον—c. 36, 1, 48, 1. The account which follows is inserted to clear up an uncertainty which existed in Thuc.'s time with regard to the history of the northern Argos.

68, 3. Ἀ. τὴν ἄλλην—Intr. p. xxxvi. ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ—the pass. of ἀρέσκω is only found in Herod. and Thuc. of Attic writers. τῇ ... καταστάσει—he found that his brother Alcmaeon had killed their mother Eriphyle. Emigration was then the last resource of the discontented. ὀνομόσας—the time of the partic. is not here past relatively to the verb ἐκτίσε, but is coincident with it. M. T. 150.

68, 4. Μεγίστη ... δυνατωτάτους—cf. c. 64, 3; μέγεθος of the size, δύναμις of the influence of a state.

68, 5. Ὑπό ξ. ... πιεζόμενοι—c. 47, 4. ἠλληνίσθησαν—'adopted the Greek language, which they now speak.' τὴν νῦν γ.—cognate accus. ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀ. ξυνοικησάντων—'as the result of this joint settlement.' Cf. c. 49, 4 and 2, 1. Ambracia was a colony of Corinth.

68, 6. Ἀργείους—= οἱ Ἀμφίλοχοι of 7. χρόνῳ—= χρόνῳ ὕστερον.

68, 7. Φορμίωνα—some time before the Peloponnesian war. Ἀμπρακίωτας—those in Argos. αἰροῦσι ... καὶ ἡνδραπόδισαν—contrast c. 67, 3. See 2 below.

68, 8. Ἡ ξ.—c. 9, 4. It was very important to Athens.

68, 9. Ἐχθραν ... ἐποιήσαντο—act. of ἐχθρα ἐγένετο in 2 above. ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ—c. 65, 7. Χαόνων—see c. 80, 5. τὴν δὲ πόλιν—put before ὡς for the sake of the antithesis.

69, 1. Ὀρμώμενος—'making Naupactus his head-quarters.' ἐπὶ—'to the coast.' ταῦτα—'in these parts.' ἀργυρολογῶσι—'collect arrears of tribute.' μὴ ἐῷσιν—'prevent.' Φασηλίδος—a Dorian port of Lycia. τῆς ἐκείθεν—for τῆς ἐκεῖ, by attraction to ἀπό. Cf. c. 84, 5.

69, 2. Ἀποθνήσκει .. διέφθειρε—'fell after losing.' The aor. is antecedent in time to the hist. pres., but is placed after it, and joined by καὶ as the more important member. Cf. c. 67, 3 ξυλλαμβάνει ... ἐκέλευσεν.



70, 1. Αἱ τε ... ὁ τε ... καὶ ἄλλα τε ... καὶ τινες—there are two members to this sentence, united by the first καὶ : each of these two is bisected, the first by τε ... τε, the second by τε ... καὶ τινες. οὐδὲν μ. ἀπανίστασαν—‘did not force the Athenians to raise the siege,’ any more than the embassies sent by Sparta to Athens before the war demanding that the army should be withdrawn from Potidaea. Intr. p. lxviii. ἀπανίστημι is not found in any other Attic writer. Herod. III. 156. ἐπεγεγένητο—cf. c. 4, 2. ἀναγκαίως—‘in their straits for food.’ ‘Non pas nécessaire à la vie, mais imposée par la nécessité.’ Cr. Livy, XXI. 14 pacem magis necessariam quam aequam. ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο—Josephus, vi. 3, 3 wrongly calls such cannibalism a horror unheard of among Greeks. With the austere brevity of Thuc.’s description contrast Macaulay’s account of the sufferings in Londonderry, *Hist. Eng.* c. 12, but the propriety of the close of the picture, where the story of ‘the fat man’ is introduced, may be questioned. οὗτω δὲ—c. 12, 4. ἐπὶ σφίσι τ.—‘against’; contrast c. 90, 2. Cf. III. 13 αἱ δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν τετάχεται. Χενοφῶντι—c. 79.

70, 2. Ὀρώντες μὲν ... ἀνηλωκυίας τε—μὲν is answered by τε in I. 144, 2; III. 46, 2; IV. 32, 2. Cf. c. 65, 12. ἐν—belongs to τὴν τάλαιπωρίαν; for the use cf. c. 3, 1. ἐς τὴν π.—Intr. p. lxxvii.

70, 3. Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελθεῖν—cf. IV. 16 ναῦς παραδοῦναι κομίσαντας Ἀθηναίοις ... αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένοντο. In VIII. 18 the imperative is used throughout the terms. ‘The men ... to go out.’ The inf. is not for ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξελθεῖν, but is the use noticed in c. 13, 1. ξὺν ἐνὶ—*cum singulis vestimentis*, Livy, XXI. 12. γυναῖκας δέ—probably Thuc. is quoting the actual terms; so he is not responsible for what seems at first an odd correction of γυναῖκας above, but is quite suited to the cumbrous diction of officials. ‘With one garment, except the women.’

70, 4. Ἄνευ αὐτῶν—in*jussu suo* or *privato consilio*. ξυνέβησαν—might have been ξυμβαλεῖν, as in 21, 3. *M. T.* 713, 714. ἢ ἐβούλοντο—*Recte*, ἐκρατήσαμεν ἂν ἢ ἐβουλόμεθα, whereas ἢ βούλονται would represent ἢ ἂν βουλώμεθα. The sentence is equivalent to κρατήσαντες ἂν ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ πύλει ἢ ἐβουλόμεθα. Cf. c. 4, 7. ἐποίκουσ—c. 27, 1. See on c. 101, 6.

70, 5. Ταῦτα μὲν ... καὶ—the break between μὲν and τοῦ δ’, c. 71, is certainly not violent enough to warrant the supposition that καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος κ.τ.λ. is spurious. In a well-marked antithesis like ταῦτα μὲν ... χειμῶνι, τοῦ δὲ ... θέρους, an author could insert any parenthesis he chose between the μὲν and δέ

clauses. (So Andoc. 1, 29 *περὶ μὲν τῶν μυστηρίων* summarises what has preceded: then follows a parenthesis of five sections: then in 34 *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων* introduces what follows.)

71, 1. Ἐς μὲν ... ἐστράτευσαν δ'—cf. c. 94, 4, 98, 2. πέμψαντες ... ἔλεγον—c. 6, 2.

71, 2. Οὐ δίκαια—cf. c. 5, 5, the Plataeans had told the Thebans *ὅτι οὐ τὰ πεποιημένα ὁσίως δράσειαν*. They now appeal both to τὸ δίκαιον and τὸ καλόν. πατέρων ὧν ἐστε—= τῶν πατέρων.

Πανσανίας—this was done after the battle of Plataea, 479 B.C., after burying the fallen in the territory of Plataea, which was declared autonomous and inviolable. ἐλευθερώσας—this would remind the Spartans of their professed object in the present war. How could it be *ἄξιον ἑαυτῶν* to come *ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ Πλαταιῶν*? Cf. c. 8, 4. ἐλευθερώσας ... θύσας—the first partic. is prior in time to the second, and the second prior to the main verb. Cf. c. 52, 3 *φθάσαντες ... ἐπιθέντες ... ὑφῆπτον*. ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κ.—cf. Demosth. 1, 24 σ. τὰ πράγματα, but the gen. is commoner.

Ἐλευθερίῳ—Pausanias mentions an altar of Zeus Eleutherius and a festival called Eleutheria at Plataea. ἀπεδίδου—'conceded' the right, the imperf. representing the details of the act. αὐτονόμους—with ἔχοντας. στρατεῦσαι—the change of tense from *οἰκεῖν* shows that the pres. denotes the continuous, the aor. the single act. εἰ δὲ μή—introduces the alternative, whether a positive or a negative precedes. ἀμύνειν—'Pausanias can scarcely have offered these guarantees in the name of the confederacy without a resolution of the council of strategi to this effect.' Busolt, *G. Gesch.* III. p. 212.

71, 3. Τάδε—c. 41, 2. τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων—c. 1 τῶν ἐκατέρους *ξυμμάχων*.

71, 4. Ὅρκιους γενομένους—cf. Livy, XXI. 10 *foederum arbitros ac testes*. τοὺς ὑμετέροισι πατρώοις καὶ ἡ. ἐγχωρίοις—'the gods of your race and of our country.' πατρώοι are gods of a family. Cl. says the one art. shows that the same gods are meant by both expressions, but it may only show that the *θεοὶ ὀρκιοὶ* are contrasted with the *θ. πατρώοι* and *θ. ἐγχωριοὶ*. The *θ. ὀρκιοὶ*, Arn. says, would be affronted by the violation of the oath; the *θ. πατρώοι* of Sparta because the act of Pausanias was annulled; the *θ. ἐγχωριοὶ* of Plataea because they would be driven into exile if the strangers seized their land. ἰδικαίωσι—c. 41, 5.

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72, 1. Τοσαῦτα—c. 12, 1. ὑπολαβὼν—'in answer'; as often in Plato. δίκαια λέγετε—i.e. the justice of your words depends on how far your own acts correspond to your statements. αὐτονομήσθε—imper. αὐτῶν—the influence

of the rel. is lost. Cf. c. 4, 5. τῶν ἄλλων—i.e. those who did not take part in the battle and ceremony of 479, and are now under the rule of Athens. ἧς—cf. c. 43, 4 οὗς νῦν ὑμεῖς. μετασχόντες—share in the liberation of Greece as your confederates did then. πρότερον—the occasion is unknown. μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων—c. 67, 4. δέχεσθε—c. 7, 2.

72, 2. Ἀδύνατα—the plur. points to the details of a complicated action. ἄνευ—c. 70, 4. παρ' ἐκείνοις—cf. c. 21, 3. εἶεν—the infin. is usual after γάρ on continuing *Or. Obliqua*, and this is the only instance of the opt. in Thuc. See also on c. 80, 1, *M. T.* 675. οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσι—i.e. to remain neutral. ἔνορκοι—'being included in the treaty in consequence of the stipulation that the Plataeans should admit both.' πειράσωσι—in the sense of πειρῶμαι. Cf. c. 19, 1, 77, 2. Several MSS. read πειράσσουσι, and the fut. indic. after a verb of fearing is occasionally found, as Aristoph. *Eccles.* 465, Plat. *Rep.* v. p. 451 A. But there is no case in Thuc.

72, 3. Ὑμεῖς δὲ—here δὲ = ἀλλὰ in an answer. γῆς ὄρους—art. omitted in a geographical expression. Cf. c. 13, 6. ἔξομεν—sc. ἂν παραλάβωμεν. παρακαταθήκην—pred. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* i. p. 332 ἀποδοῦναι παρακαταθεμένῳ. ἐργαζόμενοι—cf. χρήματα ἐνεργα.

73, 1. Πείθωσιν—perhaps πείσωσιν should be read. ἡμέρας ἐσπέλωτο—accus. of duration, ἐν αἷς replacing the numeral. εἰκὸς ἦν—c. 11, 8. κομισθῆναι—'return' from Athens.

73, 2. Ἀπαγγέλλοντες—Intr. p. lxxviii.

73, 3. Ξύμαχοι—in B.C. 520. περιόψεσθαι—sc. ἀδικουμένων. ἐπισκήπτουσι—regular word for a solemn order; esp. used of a dying person's last requests. πρὸς—the only case of this use in Thuc.

74, 1. Ἐβουλεύσαντο ... ὁρῶντας ... πάσχοντας—the accus., where the nom. is expected, is due to εἰ δεῖ, which interrupts the subject. ἀδύνατα—c. 72, 2.

74, 2. Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ—marking the decisive moment. Cf. c. 58, 2. πρῶτον μὲν—answered by τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας c. 75, 1.

74, 3. Ξυνίστορες—a solemn word. Aesch. *Ag.* 1055, Soph. *Ant.* 542, Eur. *Supp.* 1174. οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤλθομεν—'we did not at first attack.' This is answered by οὔτε νῦν. δὲ—answers ἀδίκως. τὸ ξυνώμοτον—the oath to aid in giving freedom to Greece. It would certainly be supposed that the oaths then taken were only binding in the war against Persia. Cf. c. 72, 1. γῆν τήνδε ἐν ᾗ—the art. may be omitted with demonstratives when a relative clause follows. αὐτήν

—c. 4, 5. ἐναγωνίσασθαι—c. 20, 4. Eur. *Bacchae*, 507 ἐνδυστυχήσαι ... ἐπιτήδειος. ἦν τι ποιῶμεν—litotes; cf. ἦν τι πάσχη 'in case he die.' καὶ εἰκότα—the emphatic member, as always when καὶ is inserted between πολλὸς and another adj. ἀδικίας—depends on κολάζεσθαι and ὑπάρχουσι. τοῖς ὕ.—these dats. depend on ξυγγνώμονες ἔστε = ξυγχωρήσατε.

75, 1. Περιεσταύρωσεν—sc. ὁ βασιλεὺς. τοῦ μηδένα—to fetch supplies. χῶμα ἔχουν—this was not quite close to the wall; but nearly touched it. Cf. c. 77, 3 τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς προσχώσεως. αὐτῶν—the Plataeans.

75, 2. Κιθαιρῶνος—the town lay at the N. foot of Cithaeron. ἐκατέρωθεν—sc. τοῦ χώματος, on both sides the mound was strengthened by planks crossing one another at right angles. ἀντὶ τοίχων—cf. c. 3, 3. The mound did not run all round the town, and its purpose was to support the siege engines. ὕλην—'loose wood') (ξύλα, timber).

75, 3. Διηρημένοι—middle, sc. τὸ χοῦν. ἀναπαύλας—'relief-parties.' ξεναγοὶ—the Lacedaemonian commanders of the allies, who were superior to the generals sent by the allies themselves. ξυνέφεστῶτες—i.e. with the officers of the allies.

75, 4. Ξύλινον τεῖχος—a frame-work of timber, in which the bricks were secured. Buildings are sometimes constructed in this way in Germany. τεῖχος is not really 'a wall' here, any more than in Pindar, *Pyth.* III. 38 τεῖχει θέσαν ἐν ξυλίνῳ σύγγονοι κούραν, σέλας δ' ἀμφέδραμεν λάβρον Ἀφαίστου, of which Thuc. was probably thinking.

75, 5. Ξύνδεσμος—sc. τῶν πλίνθων. πυρφόροις—a common expedient in ancient sieges.

75, 6. Μέγα—pred. Cf. Demosth. 2, 8. διελόντες—the wooden face of the Spartan χῶμα sloped towards the wall of Plataea, so as to touch it at the ground; hence προσέπιπτε. ἦρετο ... καὶ ἀντανήει—parataxis, expressing well the simultaneous advance of wall and mound.

76, 1. Ταρσοῖς—this word describes almost any series of parallel lines, as in basket-work; here reed wattles. (Used also of the 'tarsal' bones in the hand and foot; of a bird's wing, and of a bank of oars. The Atticists and their followers notice the word extensively.) καλάμου—gen. of material. ἐνίλλοντες—the primary sense is 'to twist, roll.' It is connected with ἰλλός, a squint, and Pausanias the Atticist gives ἐνίλλειν τὸ ὀφθαλμοῖς καταμωκᾶσθαι (to mock at anyone by winking). From this notion of twisting the word comes to mean 'to squeeze.' (This word is much noticed by the Atticists. L. and S. are unsatisfactory; Arn. has a good



note.) τὸ διηρημένον—'the hole' in the χῶμα. διαχεόμενον—sc. αὐτό, what has just been described, viz. the χῶμα as repaired with the wattles. Cf. c. 75, 2.

76, 2. Τοῦτο—accus. of respect. [καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι]—as the χῶμα was close to the wall and touched it at the base, it is plain that the Plataeans would not need any τεκμήρια to discover how far to burrow. The edd. speak of calculating distance and direction, but the Peloponnesians had nothing to do but to dig straight ahead, until the χῶμα began to subside. χοῦν—the earth of the χῶμα, as it fell into the mine.

76, 3. Ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς—a common antithesis; c. 100, 5; i. 110; iii. 112; iv. 26; v. 80; vii. 87. ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν—as the enemy gained on them, the Plataeans built a crescent-shaped wall, concave to the besiegers, starting from the extremities of that part of the wall opposite the χῶμα, so that in case the enemy should take the raised wall by storm, they might find another wall behind. αὐτοῦ—i.e. τοῦ μεγάλου τείχους (τοῦ βραχέος = the part which had not been raised. ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς—'inside,' like *a parte*. μᾶλλον—they had not been exposed to a cross-fire before. Thuc. means that the further in to the crescent the Peloponnesians got in building the χῶμα, the more exposed they would be to a fire from each side: προχωροῦντας ἔσω belongs to γίγνεσθαι also. (There is no need to explain this, as one scholar does, as for ἐν ἀμ. γιγνομένους μᾶλλον πονεῖν.) Cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 11, of the siege of Jerusalem, *muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent.*

76, 4. Τοῦ μ. οἰκοδομήματος—after ἐπὶ μέγα, which = μέγα μέρος and replaces the accus. after κατέσεισε, as in iv. 100 it replaces a nom., ἐσεσιδήρωτο ἐπὶ μέγα τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου. κατὰ—'by.' Cf. c. 99, 1. Aeschin. 2, 124 εἰσπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. κατέσεισε—'shook.' ἄλλας—sc. προσήγων. καὶ δοκοὺς—the rel. sentence is changed to a principal; this is due to the length of the second clause. ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἑ.—'at both ends,' sc. τῶν δοκῶν. This belongs to ἀρτήσαντες, as also does ἀπὸ κεραιῶν, stout poles, like a ship's yard-arm, made fast to the wall and projecting from it above the siege engines. ἀνεγκύσαντες—on the double partic. with ἀφίεσαν, see c. 15, 2. ἐγκαρσίας—at an angle to the μηχαναί. χαλαραῖς—'by letting the chains go.' διὰ χειρὸς—c. 13, 2. τὸ προέχον—'the point.' ἐμβολῆς—'head' of the ram.

77, 1. Χώματι—after ἀντιτείχισμα. Cf. c. 61, 2 δῆλωσις ἀπασι. Thus μείζον is not required before ἐγίγνετο. Cf. v. 116 ὡς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο. ἀντιτείχισμα—i.e. τὸ μηνοειδὲς τεῖχος. δαινῶν—'means of coercing them.'



**77, 2.** Πειράσαι—c. 19, 1 ; also for πᾶσαν ιδέαν.

**77, 3.** Φακέλους—an archaism, according to Marcellinus' life of Thuc. 52. It is found in Herod., Hippocrates, once in Eur., and in later authors. παρέβαλλον—'threw side by side.' τοῦ τείχους—the wall that had been raised, τὸ μέγα οἰκοδόμημα. The object was to set fire to the wood-work of the superstructure. Cf. c. 75, 5. τῆς ἄλλης—after δσον. πόλεις—inside the wall, the space between it and the new μνηοειδὲς τεῖχος.

**77, 4.** Ὅρεσιν—cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* III. 36 πολλὰν δ' ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἑνὸς σπέρματος ἐνθ' ὁρὸν αἰστωσεν ὕλαν, Hom. *Il.* 2, 455 πῦρ ἐπιφλέγει ἄσπετον ὕλην οὖρεος ἐκ κορυφῆς, Eur. *Iph.* fr. μικροῦ γὰρ ἐκ λαμπτήρος Ἰδαῖον λέπας πρήσειεν ἂν τις. Thuc. naturally mentions the proverbial case of a forest on fire. ὑπ' ἀνέμων—a very common phrase. Cf. c. 85, 6. [ἀπ' αὐτοῦ]—explained as = ἀπὸ τοῦ τριφθῆναι, or ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός. In either case it is quite superfluous.

**77, 5.** Ἐδέησε—subject τοῦτο. ἐπεγένετο αὐτῇ—i.e. τῇ φλογί. ἐπὶ φόρον—sc. ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

**77, 6.** Ὑδωρ—this clause is in apposition to τόδε, both γὰρ and a finite verb being dispensed with.

**78, 1.** [Μέρος κ.τ.λ.]—Intr. p. xliii. κατὰ πόλεις—'dividing the space among the different contingents.' ἐντὸς—i.e. between the circumvallation and the city wall) (ἐξωθεν.

**78, 2.** Ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς—ἐπιτολή = the first appearance) (ἀνατολή = the daily rising. The date is Sept. 18th, the ἑψά ἐπιτολή when A. rises just before sunrise) (ἐσπερία ἐπιτολή, which is in March. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1137 ἐξ ἥρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκμήνους χρόνους. Verg. *G.* 1, 68.

**78, 3.** Πλήθος τὸ ἄ.—c. 2, 2. ἄχρηστον—c. 6, 4. Here οἱ ἄχρηστοι, the general term is distinguished from οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, the particular, and means those whose incapacity was due to other causes than age. ἐγκαταλειμμένοι—c. 6, 4. Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 91 C ὥσπερ μέλιττα τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλιπών. σιτοποιοί—pred.; so in Lat., Livy, xxi. 30, 8 advena cultor ; ib. 36 exercitus tiro.

**78, 4.** Τ. οἱ ξύμπαντες—cf. ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμός c. 7, 2. τοιαύτη—pred., with κατεσκευάσθη = τοιαύτη ἦν ἡ τῆς πολιορκίας κατασκευή, these were the arrangements.

**79, 1.** Ἐπιστρατεία—cf. ἐπίπλους c. 17, 4. Thuc. would have written τοῖς Πλαταεῦσι were it not for the proximity of so many datives. Cf. ἐπιβοήθεια τῇ νήσῳ III. 51 ; ἐπιδρομήν τῷ τειχίσματι IV. 23 ; for the obj. = gen. cf. VII. 70 τῶν μὲν φυλακῇ τῶν δ' ἐπιβουλήν. Βοττιαίους—in the N.W. of

Chalcidice, which was called *Βοττική*. ἀκμάζοντος—c. 19, 1. τρίτος αὐτός—Intr. p. lxxvii. He had power superior to that of his colleagues for this expedition.

79, 2. Σπάρτων—between Olynthus and Apollonia. προσχωρήσειν ὑπὸ—pass. of προσάγεσθαι c. 30, 2. ἐνδοθεν—regarded from the Athenian point of view. πρασόντων—c. 2, 3. ὁπλίται τε καὶ στρατιᾶ—‘hoplites and other troops,’ the general being again added to the particular. Cf. c. 78, 3. ἐς—‘as a.’

79, 3. Χαλκιδέων—those from Olynthus. ἱππίας—the Athenian cavalry were defeated in 431 twice during the invasion of Attica, c. 19, 22.

79, 4. Εἶχον—sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Κρουσίδος—on the Thermaic Gulf. ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν—sc. τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι.

79, 5. Προσγιννομένοις—‘by the arrival of this reinforcement.’ ἀναχωροῦσι—sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

79, 6. Ἡ δοκοίη—cf. c. 100, 5, *per occasionem adequitantes*. ἐπὶ πολὺ—of space, as c. 75, 2.

79, 7. Ὑποσπόνδους—see c. 92, 4. τοὺς αἰτῶν—contrasted with those of the enemy; not implying that the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans separately took up their dead. Cf. iv. 97, 1.

80, 1. Ἀμπρακίῳται—they had made an attack on Argos in concert with the Chaones and other tribes of barbarians in the autumn of 430 B.C. c. 68, 9. The Chaones were possibly a remnant of the Pelasgi. Hence they are sometimes treated as Greeks, though Thuc. always calls them barbarians. Grote, II. p. 234, Curtius, *Hist. G.* i. 104 ‘In later times they were regarded as barbarians ... but, according to their origin, they could claim perfect equality with the other branches of the Greek people.’ (Cf. Matthew Arnold, *Lit. and Dogma*, init.) πᾶσαν—this elaborate undertaking is in marked contrast, with the issue, c. 82; and it is quite in Thuc.’s manner to make the opening imposing under such circumstances. Cf. c. 7, 2. Ἀθηναίων—the Ambraciots were actuated by the tribe hatred existing in that quarter, and they had an old grudge against Phormio (c. 68). Now that Athens was in difficulties, they took the chance of revenge, and were at pains to demonstrate to Sparta that they were very important friends to her. ἀδυνάτων—through being occupied with the fleet, and in protecting their coasts. τῶν ἀπὸ θ. Ἀ.—ἀπὸ is for ἐπὶ by attraction to *ξυμβοηθεῖν*, ‘the Acarnanians on the sea-coast would be unable to aid’ the inland tribes. κρατήσουσι ... ἔσοιτο—the indic. and opt. in the same sentence in *Or. Obl. M.* T. 670. ὁμοίως—‘would not find it so easy to.’ ἐλπίδα ... λαβεῖν—

ἐλπίς ἐστι regularly has aor. infin., like *εἰκός ἐστι* c. 11, 8. **Ναύπακτον**—this appealed equally to the Spartans, Corinthians, and Ambraciots; as the position of the conquered Messenians was a chronic insult to Sparta, Phormio interfered with the western trade of Corinth, and the Ambraciots too had their grudge against him.

**80, 2. ἔτι**—c. 66, 2. Cnemus' year of office had not yet quite expired. For *ἔτι* of a period nearly complete, cf. c. 59, 3. **ἐπὶ ναυσὶν**—the dat. only here and iv. 10, 3. The gen. is regular, as c. 57, 1. So Demosth. 45, 30 says τὰ ἐπὶ τραπεζῆς ὄντα, 27, 11 μνᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τραπεζῇ; Aristoph. *Eq.* 754 ἐπὶ ταυτησι καθῆται τῆς πέτρας, *ib.* 783 ἐπὶ ταῖσι πέτραις καθήμενον. There is no difference of sense, but the dat. is rare *except* with names of places. (Rutherford, *Babrius*, p. 7, wrongly denies the existence of this dat. in comedy.) **ναυτικῶ**—abstract for concrete. **Λευκάδα**—an ally of Sparta, c. 9, 2, and a convenient point from which to attack Acarnania.

**80, 3. Ἦσαν ... ξυμ.**—c. 12, 2. **ἐν παρασκευῇ**—c. 17, 5. **ἐκ Λευκάδος ... ἀφικόμενον ἐν Λευκάδι**—a convenient inaccuracy, as in c. 70, 3. For *ἐκ Λ.*, *αὐτόθεν* would have been more accurate.

**80, 4. Λαθόντες**—i.e. he passed the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth on his way to Leucas without being detected. **εἴκοσι**—c. 69.

**80, 5. Ἀρχικοῦ**—the presidency was in the hands of a particular family. The Chaones, then a powerful tribe, subsequently lost their importance, and were little more than a name in the time of Augustus. Verg. *G.* i. 8; ii. 67. They, with the Molossi and Thesproti were the chief Epirot tribes.

**80, 6. Μολοσσοὺς**—became under Pyrrhus the rulers of Epirus. **Ἀτινῶνας**—bordered on the Parauaei near the river Aous. **Ὀροῖδω**—both with *ξυνεστρατεύοντο* and *ἐπιτρέψαντος*.

**80, 7. Κρύφα**—he was supposed to be an ally of Athens, c. 29, 6. **ὑστερον**—c. 5, 3.

**80, 8. Ἐπορεύετο**—he started from Ambracia. **Διμναῖαν**—between Argos and Anactorium, now Kravassara, and the natural point of departure from the Gulf of Ambracia to the Gulf of Corinth. The first object of the expedition was to obtain control of this route. **Στράτον**—on the Achelous, now Sourvigli. In 168 B.C. Livy says it was *urbs validissima*: now it is a poor village.

**81, 1. Οὐτε ... τε**—the two results, like the two causes, are introduced by parallel clauses. **ἔμπον κελύοντες**—c. 6, 2.

**81, 2.** Οἱ Π. καὶ οἱ ξ.—the former = those sent with Cnemus, the latter the Ambraciots and barbarians. See c. 9, 2. λόγοις ... ἔργῳ—the antithesis gives a good idea of their confidence that they would succeed.

**81, 3.** Μέσον—art. omitted, as with δεξιὸν κέρας. προσ-ῆσαν—i.e. ἦσαν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

**81, 4.** Διὰ φυλακῆς ξ.—cf. c. 13, 2, but here ἔχειν is intrans., as in VII. 8, 3. ἀξιούμενοι—‘considered.’ οὗτ’ ἐπέσχον—sc. τὸν νοῦν, ‘had no intention.’ This description is slightly sarcastic. τὸ στρατόπεδον—i.e. the camp which they had arranged to form, 2 above. καταλαβεῖν—‘occupy,’ establish themselves in, as III. 31 τῶν πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινα. (According to Behrendt’s conjecture, the sense would be ‘did not pause in their effort to occupy Stratus before the Greeks’; τὸ belonging to the infin., cf. VII. 33, 3 ἐπέσχον τὸ εὐθέως ἐπιχειρεῖν.) αὐτοβοά—noted by Marcellinus as ἀρχαιότερον τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν χρόνων. Cf. c. 77, 3 φακέλους.

**81, 5.** Ἔτι προσιόντας—i.e. that they had not halted, like the Greeks. Cf. ἔτι προσελθεῖν below and c. 21, 1. ὁμοίως—‘as they had intended.’ ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες—c. 62, 3.

**81, 6.** Καταστάντων—i.e. τῶν Χαόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. *M.* T. 848.

**81, 7.** Οἰθηῆναι—sc. τοὺς Ἕλληνας. For the change of subject, cf. c. 3, 4. καταληψομένους—sc. τοὺς βαρβάρους.

**81, 8.** Ἐνέκαντο—κατὰ κράτος ἔφευγον. Schol. The word, generally used of the pursuing party, well expresses the eagerness with which the barbarians rushed upon the lines of the Greeks. ἀνελάμβανον—as they arrived in scattered bodies. ἄνευ δ. κινηθῆναι—without arms they could not stir, and even ξὺν δπλοις it was dangerous for small foraging parties. τοῦτο ποιεῖν—i.e. σφενδονᾶν. Cf. c. 11, 8.

**82.** Ἀναπον—a tributary of the Achelous. Οἰνιαδῶν—an important town on a hill in marshy ground near the S.W. coast of Acarnania, W. of the mouth of the Achelous. See c. 102. It had a considerable trade. In 450 B.C. the Messenians of Naupactus had tried to get possession of it, but failed, though Pericles himself laid siege to it with a large fleet. In 428 Asopius, son of Phormio, with the Acarnanians, started from Naupactus on another attempt to get hold of the place, but failed. In 424 the Acarnanians made it join Athens. It was captured and strengthened by Philip of Macedon in 219 (Polyb. iv. 65); and restored to the Acarnanians by Rome in 168, from whom it had been taken by the Aetolians in 213 (Polyb. xxii. 15, Livy, xxxviii. 11). It was connected with Apulia by trade. κατὰ φίλαν—c. 9, 4; with ξυμ. which



probably means that the Oeniadae had been with Cnemus from the first, having joined him at Ambracia, though they are not mentioned, c. 80, 5. ξυμβοήθειαν—sc. τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων.

83, 1. Ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω—‘that the Acarnanians on the coast might not aid those in the interior.’ For the attraction of ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, cf. c. 80, 1. ἄνω adds nothing to the sense, and is in fact synonymous with ἀπὸ θ. ἡναγκάσθησαν—plur. after ναυτικὸν as often. [τῆς κ.τ.λ.]—ὁ αὐτὸς always takes the dat. εἴκοσι—c. 69, 1.

83, 2. Παραπλέοντας—‘as they were sailing out of the gulf along the coast,’ i.e. ἔξω belongs to the partic. ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ—‘in the open sea,’ so as to have space for manœuvring.

83, 3. Στρατιωτικώτερον—i.e. ἐπὶ στρατείαν μᾶλλον. Cf. c. 87, 2. They intended to make descents on the coast of Acarnania, cf. c. 80, 1. κομιζομένων—belongs in sense to ἀντιπαραπλέοντας far more than to ἐώρων αὐτοῦς which only makes a periphrasis for ἀντιπαρέπλεον. Cf. εἶχον ἐμπίρους c. 4, 2. Πατρῶν—now the largest town in Peloponnese, but its importance only dates from the 1st century A.D. Its greatest distinction is that here the patriots in 1821 first rose against the Turks. διαβάλλοντες—= διαβαίνοντες. This intrans. use elsewhere only in Herod. and poets. Χαλκίδος—on the coast of Aetolia, now Varassova, at the mouth of the Euenus, now Phidhari. It had belonged to Corinth, but had been taken by the Athenians 456 B.C. It lay at the foot of the mountain of the same name. Εὐήνου—Ovid, *Met.* 9, 104 fol. relates how Hercules slew Nessus here. ἀφορμισάμενοι—‘though they had slipped from their moorings in the night’; in order to elude the Athenians, the fleet tried to cross over to Acarnania before daybreak. The battle took place soon after dawn, c. 84, 2. ἔλαθον precedes κατέϊδον in time, and is plur. in sense. πορθμόν—i.e. in the middle of the Gulf of Patrae, in the open, as Phormio had planned; and therefore between Patrae and Chalcis.

83, 4. Παρεσκευάζοντο—cf. c. 7, 1. The imperf., as Cl. says, is due to the *distributive* nature of the act described.

83, 5. Διδόντες—belongs to ὡς μέγιστον, the circle was as large as possible without leaving an opening. μὴ shows that the partic. implies preference or prohibition: ‘so as not to afford.’ Διέκπλουν—this famous manœuvre consisted of ‘rowing through the intervals of the adversary’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. τὸ ἐμβάλλειν καὶ διασχίζειν τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τάξιν. Schol. τὰς πρώρας κ.τ.λ.—sc. ἐτάξαντο. This *chiasmus* is pronounced by F. Stein to be 'librarii additamentum prorsus supervacaneum.' Anyhow it is detestable. (πρώρα σὺν τῷ ἱ, Herodian.) διὰ βραχέος—with παραγιγνόμενοι, masc. in spite of ναῦς; 'might be at hand to sail out.' εἰ πῃ—they were uncertain at what point of the circle the Athenians would attack.

84, 1. Κατὰ μίαν—'in a single line,' one ship behind the other. ἐν χρῶ—i.e. as near as possible. Cf. *ad vitum resecare*. δόκησιν—c. 35, 2. ἐμβαλεῖν—fut. Cl. quotes IV. 55 δόκησις τι πράξειν. προεῖρητο ... ὑπὸ—the construction is due to αὐτοῖς.

84, 2. Εἰώθει—sc. αὐτὸ from δπερ, cf. c. 4, 5. ὁπότεν—cf. c. 11, 6. τότε—i.e. when the wind threw them into confusion. γίνεσθαι—might be ἐσεσθαι—'quod enim fit non est, sed erit.' Sta. Cf. IV. 24 ἤλπιζον ... χειρώσεσθαι, καὶ ἥδη σφῶν ἰσχυρὰ τὰ πράγματα γίνεσθαι.

84, 3. Κατῆι—c. 25, 4. ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων—with προσκειμένων. βοῇ τε—the τε adds the third fact. For the disturbance, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 607 ναυτική τ' ἀναρχία | κρείσσω πυρός. ἀναφέρειν—owing to the stiff breeze and heavy sea they could not clear the water. ἀλκὴν—'resistance,' *robur*. So Herod., common in poets and found frequently in Xen. as *Ages.* 10, 1; but not found in any other Attic prose. Δύμην—W. of Achaea; the exact site doubtful.

84, 4. Μολύκρειον—a small town near Antirrhum. Ποσειδῶνι—cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 561 ὦ Γεραστιε (Poseidon, from Geraestus, the site of a temple) παῖ Κρόνου, Φορμίωνι τε φίλτατ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθηναίους, referring to Poseidon's victories, and to the success at Pylus. Ἐρῶ—cf. c. 86, 2; called also τὸ Ἀντίρριον, now Kastro Roumelias, 1½ mile from the Rhium on the opposite coast. See L. and S. s.v. ῥίον.

84, 5. Κυλλήνην—opposite Zacynthus, and a port of importance, of which there are no remains. Λευκάδος—Cnemus was left at Oeniadae. Thence he had crossed to Leucas.

85, 1. Τῷ Κ.—belongs to *ξυμβούλους*. The despatch of ξ. to aid the commander was not an uncommon occurrence, and shows with what jealousy the ephors controlled the officials. βελτίω—observe the truculence of this laconic message.

85, 2. Πρώτων—i.e. in the Peloponnesian war. πειρασμένοις—see c. 5, 5. δι' ὀλίγου—not *post*, but *per breve*, as in διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου. ἀπέστελλον—like *επεμπον*, c. 6, 1.

**85, 3.** Ναὺς περιήγγελλον—cf. c. **10**, 1, and we expect ναὺς παρασκευάζεσθαι or πέμψαι. ὥς ἐπὶ—cf. c. **83**, 3.

**85, 4.** Ἀγγελοῦντας ... καὶ κελεύων—cf. c. **6**, 2. It is clear from the answer to this urgent message that the government did not realise the situation.

**85, 5.** Τῷ κομίζοντι—it is strange that the commander is not named, and possible that he is a substitute appointed in place of Pericles, who was then dangerously ill.

**85, 6.** Ἀπλοίας—i.e. rough weather. Had they been merely becalmed, they would have rowed. Only found in Herod. of prose writers. ἐνδιέτριψεν—c. **18**, 2.

**86, 1.** Πάνορμον—just inside the straits, close to Rhium.

**86, 2.** Παρέπλευσε δὲ—cf. c. **7**, 1 for the anaphora. Ῥίον—c. **84**, 4. ἔξω—Antirrhium and Rhium (Kastro Moreas) formed the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth. Phormio anchored W. of Antirrhium.

**86, 3.** Ἑπτὰ—probably rather under the distance in those days. Thuc. judged by his eye. Strabo is still less exact; he calls the distance five stadia.

**86, 4.** Ὁ πεζὸς—for ὁ π. στρατός. The ellipse of a masc. non-personal noun is rare: this one is found only in Herod. and Thuc. ἐπειδὴ καὶ—cf. *et ipse* common in Livy. εἶδον—sc. ὁρμισαμένους. Cf. c. **11**, 8.

**86, 5.** Ἐπὶ—c. **25**, 3. μελετῶντες—absolute, only παρασκευαζόμενοι governing ναυμαχίαν. γνώμην ἔχοντες—with infin. like γνόντες. For the double partic. see c. **15**, 2. οἱ μὲν—the subject subdivided; cf. c. **5**, 3. πρὸς ἐκείνων—‘to their interest’; cf. c. **83**, 2.

**86, 6.** Ἐπειτα—answers ἐπὶ μὲν in 5. ποιῆσαι—‘to bring on,’ the act. of the generals; contrast c. **83**, 3, mid. of the men. ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀ.—more formal than ἀπ’ Ἀθηναίων. ἔλεξαν—Intr. p. lviii.

**87, 1.** Ἐχα—= παρέχει: ‘does not support a conclusion which can justly cause you alarm.’ [τὸ] ἐκφοβῆσαι—omitting τὸ take ἐκφοβῆσαι with δικαίαν, as in IV. **17** δίκαιοι εἰσι καὶ ἀπιστότατοι εἶναι. The conclusion they drew from the preceding battle was that they would be defeated in the coming battle: and this conclusion caused them φοβεῖσθαι τὴν μέλλουσαν. But the battle, they are told, does not afford the τεκμήρια for such a conclusion. (τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι cannot be accus. of respect, as in c. **53** τὸ προταλαιπωρεῖν, because such an accus. would here certainly contain a reference to the expected issue of the coming fight. The usual translation ‘ground for fear’ gives a wrong sense to every one of the three words.

If *πεφοβῆσθαι* were read, the construction would be *δικαίαν πεφοβῆσθαι*, = 'which it is right to fear,' ἡ τέκμαρσις δικαία ἐστι—*πεφοβῆσθαι* being equivalent to *δίκαιόν ἐστι τὴν τέκμαρσιν πεφοβῆσθαι*, infin. of purpose.)

87, 2. Ἐπὶ στρατείαν—c. 83, 3. τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τ.—the wind and sea, c. 84, 3. καὶ πού τι καὶ—the expression barely does more than suggest the possibility of what was certain. The object is to blame *τύχη* and excuse *γνώμη*.

87, 3. Κατὰ—'owing to.' προσεγένετο—much like ἐπιγίγνεσθαι, c. 4, 2, but the defeat is regarded as an unavoidable occurrence added to their other disadvantages (τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης). Cf. Vergil's 'nec Teucris addita Juno | usquam aberit, *Aen.* vi. 90. τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν—= ἡ γνώμη μὴ νικηθεῖσα. Cf. c. 59 τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης. *Militibus fortuna victis invictus ipsorum animus opponitur.* Hache. 'It is not right that our minds, which we feel (μῆ, not οὐ) were not conquered by force but have still some answer to give, should be depressed by the result of mere accident.' κατὰ κράτος—*τι*, as in κατὰ κ. αἰρεῖν. ἀντιλογίαν—sc. πρὸς τὸ κατὰ κράτος νικηθῆναι, viz. the answer that the disaster was due to ἀπειρία, *τύχη*, want of *παρασκευή*. A familiar word in Plato. *ξυμφορᾶς*—opposed to *γνώμης* above. νομίσαι—sc. δίκαιον. ἀνδρείους ὀρθῶς—'really brave,' ὀρθῶς as in Aristoph. *Eq.* 1085. ἀπειρίαν ... προβαλλομένους—'make in experience an excuse.' τοῦ ἀνδρείου π.—'while courage remains.' ἐν τινι—*neut.*

87, 4. Ὑμῶν δέ—topic τὸ δυνατόν. Index, s.v. τόποι. λείπεται—sc. τῆς ἐκείνων ἐμπειρίας. μνήμην—'presence of mind.' ἀνευ εὐψυχίας—the insinuation that the Athenians lacked courage is wholly unsupported by argument. ἀνευ ἀλκῆς—'without boldness,' as in c. 84, 3 *robur*; it is the result of *εὐψυχία*.

87, 5. Ἀπαράσκευοι τυχεῖν—for the omission of *δυντες*, cf. c. 39, 4.

87, 6. Πλήθος—c. 11, 3. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ—adverbial accus. For the *γνώμη*, cf. c. 13, 2.

87, 7. Προσγενόμενα—here of additional *advantages*; contrast 3 above. διδασκαλίαν—cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 185 *Ζῆνα τὸν πάθῃ μάθος | θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.* Arn.

87, 8. Τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν—cf. c. 11, 3. τις προσταχθῇ—the change from the plur. to the indef. sing. is due to the intervention of *ἕκαστος*. On the juxtaposition of 2nd and 3rd pers., *ἑαυτὸν ... ἔπεσθε* etc. see c. 11, 1, 44, 1.

87, 9. Πρότερον—Cnemus, Machaon, Isocrates and Agatharchidas. οὐ χείρον—*meiosis*, not to offend the others.

ἐνδῶσμεν—as in c. 49, 4. ἦν δέ τις—this vague threat shows that the officers suspected there had been cowardice in the former battle. Cf. c. 85, 2.

88, 1. Ὀρρωδῖαν—the noun is used by no other prose writer but Herod. αἰσθομένους ὅτι—a substantive clause after αἰσθάνομαι is not very common, cf. I. 50, VII. 49, 1. ὅτι and opt. is found, e.g. in IV. 122; V. 2; VIII. 100, but the partic. is far commoner. ξυνιστάμενοι—cf. c. 21, 3. ἐν τῷ π.—c. 41, 2. παραίνεσιν ποιήσασθαι=παρακελεύσασθαι, the harangues of generals being called παραινέσεις or παρακελεύσεις or λόγοι προτρεπτικοί (cf. p. 48); of the three εἶδη or γένη of speeches, viz. λόγοι δικανικοί (forensic), λ. ἐπιδεικτικοί (of which ἐπιτάφιοι are a branch), and λ. συμβουλευτικοί, παραινέσεις belong to the last.

88, 2. Καὶ προπαρεσκευάζει—does not influence the construction, ὡς really depending on ἔλεγε. Cf. c. 2, 4. So Livy, XXI. 18 nostra haec quaestio (atque animadversio) in civem nostrum est, nostro an suo fecerit arbitrio. ὄχλον ... ὑποχωρεῖν—a poetic construction. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 812 ποῖ μ' ὑπεξάγεις πόδα;

88, 3. Πρὸς—cf. c. 22, 1, 59, 3. τοῦ θαρσεῖν—cf. IV. 17, 3 ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ καλῶς βουλευσασθαι ἡγήσάμενοι: 'council them to take heart.'

89, 1. Οὐκ ἀξιῶν—for the double partic. ὁρῶν ... ἀξιῶν, cf. c. 59, 3. ἐν ὀρρωδίᾳ ἔχειν—c. 59, 2.

89, 2. Οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου—the neg. of τὸ πλῆθος, as in c. 13, 1 παραλήπη καὶ μὴ δηώση. ᾧ—i.e. τοῦτο ᾧ, the τοῦτο belonging to θαρσεῖν, lit. 'as to that in which they feel confidence,' viz. ὡς προσῆκον σφίσι δ. εἶναι, the courage which they have shown so often. For the construction, cf. Livy, XXI. 10 id de quo ambigebatur, eventus belli, unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit. κατορθοῦντες—antithesis to οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι. Cf. c. 65, 8. διὰ ... ἐμπειρίαν depends on κατορθοῦντες. τὰ πλείω—because they had so seldom fought at sea. καὶ οἴονται—'and so they think.' For the change from partic. to indic., cf. V. 61, 4 βουλόμενοι ἄλλως τε ... καὶ ὁμηροὶ ᾔσαν. So Eur. *Bacchae*, 225 πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς δὴ μαινάδας θυοσκόους (sc. οὐσας), τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην πρόσθ' ἄγειν τοῦ Βακχίου. ποιήσιν—subject τὴν ἐμπειρίαν.

89, 3. Τὸ δ'—i.e. τὸ κατορθοῦν. ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου—cf. c. 44, 3, = δικαίως. περιέσται—'will be found on our side.' ἐν ἐκείνῳ—i.e. ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. εὐψυχία—answers the statement made in c. 87, 5. προφέρουσι—= προέχειν, only used by Herod., Thuc. and poets. τῷ δέ—'owing to our superiority in experience, we are more confident.'



**89, 4.** Τε—adds the third fact to *πρῶτον μὲν ... ἔπειτα* above, and so gives another reason for the conclusion *μὴ ... δέισητε. διὰ τὴν*—‘for the sake of,’ with *ἡγούμενοι*. The statement is general. οὐκ ἂν—the prot., ‘if they had had their own way’ is implied in *ἄκοντας*. ἐπεχέρησαν—emphatic. παρὰ πολὺν—‘decisively’; cf. c. 8, 4.

**89, 5.** Κατὰ ... καὶ ὅτι—cf. c. 65, 7 for κατὰ. τοῦ παραλόγου—cf. τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι below; explained in οἱ δ’ ἐκ πολλοῦ ... ἀντιπολεμῶσιν: ‘worthy of our astonishing action,’ in offering battle with such inferior numbers. (τοῦ παρὰ πολὺν is explained to mean τοῦ παρὰ πολὺν προνενηκέναι, but (1) this is not clear, (2) the previous victory has just been referred to and the probability of another sufficiently implied in κατὰ τὸ προνενηκέναι: a new reason is now wanted, (3) the next section, introduced by γὰρ, is meaningless.)

**89, 6.** Ἀντίπαλοι—‘most men, when they are a match for the enemy.’ πῖσυννοι—found also v. 14, 3; vi. 2, 6; otherwise only in Herod. and poets. Cf. Ruth. *New Phryg.* p. 21. The ordinary word is πιστεύων, as in 2 above. ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεστέρων—sc. ἐπιόντες: cf. ἀπ’ ἐλασσόνων ὁρμώμενος c. 65, 2, ‘whose means are far inferior.’ τῆς διανοίας τὸ β.—‘strength of will.’ τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι—‘because of what they never expected than on account of our expected preparations.’ (Ste. gives up this passage, and other edd. put a sense upon it which the words will not bear.) κατὰ λόγον—the Peloponnesians were expecting the immediate arrival of reinforcements from Athens; cf. c. 86, 6.

**89, 7.** Ἡμεῖς—he hints that the enemy are both ἀπειροὶ and ἀτολμοί.

**89, 8.** Τὸν ἀγῶνα—topic τὸ ξυμφέρον; cf. c. 11, 3. εἶναι—infin. of limitation, in this phrase almost confined to neg. sentences. ἐμβολήν—charge broadside, with the ἐμβολον) (προσβολή, charge prow to prow. ἐκ πολλοῦ—*e longinquo*. ἀναστροφά—turning back after any manœuvre to regain the original position of the ship. ἐν τούτῳ—‘in these circumstances’; cf. ἐν ᾧ c. 1.

**89, 9.** Τούτων—in the analysis the peroration is made to begin here. There was in antiquity some doubt about the place where the πίστις ends. The schol. on 10 ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν remarks *τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλόγους*, and the same writer puts *οἱ ἐπιλογοὶ* to 11. Cf. the opening of the peroration in c. 11, 9, 8. παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ—Intr. p. xliii. παρὰ is rarely used thus with things, cf. c. 43, 2; but the frequent personification of πόλις, ναῦς, etc. renders the phrase possible. The Athenians, up to the beginning of the action, were on shore, c. 90, 3. δι’ ὀλίγου—local; cf. c. 29, 3. κόσμον



καὶ σιγὴν—cf. c. 11, 9. ἔς τε τὰ πολλὰ ... ναυμαχία—for ἐς, with ξυμφέρει, cf. iv. 26, 5. The only other passage in which an impersonal noun is in dat. with ξυμφέρει is vi. 83 λόγου μὲν ἡδονῇ τὸ παραντίκα τερπομένους, τῇ δ' ἐγχειρήσει ὕστερον τὰ ξυμφέροντα πράσσοντας.

89, 10. Ἀγὼν ... καταλῦσαι—generally περὶ, ὑπέρ, or ἔνεκα, as c. 63, 1, but here the infin. are exegetic. ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ—cf. πενίας ἐλπίδι, c. 42, 4.

89, 11. Ἀῖ—‘again.’ ἐθέλουσιν—= εἰώθασι, φιλοῦσι, as in Herod. and Xen.

90, 1. Ἐπὶ τεσσάρων—‘four deep,’ in four lines. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν γῆν—with ταξάμενοι, ‘drawing up their ships with the coast of Peloponnesus at their backs’; the four lines extended back towards the coast. (This is obscure enough, but it is the only possible sense. ἐπὶ cannot mean παρὰ ‘along.’) ἔσω [ἐπὶ]—these are not possible together; but? ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κ. The Peloponnesians were moving N.E. from Rhium, and therefore in the direction of Naupactus. δεξιῶ κέρα—when they began to move up the gulf, the four lines of ships turned to the right, so that there were now four abreast, the right wing leading.

90, 2. Εἴκοσι—the Peloponnesians had 77 ships (c. 86, 4); as the right wing consists of 20 ships 4 abreast, the rest of the lines were probably so arranged that every fifth line consisted of only 3 ships abreast instead of 4, which would give 3 groups each consisting of 19 ships. ταύτη—‘in this direction,’ towards Naupactus. διαφύγοιεν—into the open part of the gulf, eastwards. πλέοντα τὸν ἐπίπλουν—‘the attacking line when it bore down on them.’ Cf. 4 below ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἐπλεον.

90, 3. Ἐρήμῳ—i.e. deprived of its protection, Phormio being at Antirrhium. For the sense, not implying that there were no people in Naupactus, cf. c. 25, 1 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων. κατὰ σπουδὴν—cf. c. 94, 2. ἐμβιβάσας—imponere; the object omitted as constantly in naval and military phrases. For the double partic. see c. 4, 4. Μεσσηνίων—from Naupactus.

90, 4. Ἐπὶ κέρως—‘in single file.’ ἀπὸ σ.—cf. c. 92, 1. μετωπηδὸν—τὰ μέτωπα, ὃ ἐστὶ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν νεῶν, παρείχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Schol. i.e. they turned to the left, into four lines, as they had been at first. τάχους—depends on ὡς εἶχεν ἑκαστος. Xen. Hel. 4, 5, 15.

90, 5. Τῶν δὲ—i.e. τούτων δὲ = πασῶν τῶν νεῶν. τὸ κέρασ—i.e. the right wing, τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς of 2 above. τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν—cf. τὸν ἐπίπλουν in 2 above; ‘the sudden turn.’

ἔξωσαν—technical, 'to force an enemy to run his ship aground.' ὅσοι μὴ—= *ei μή τινες*.

90, 6. Ἀναδούμενοι—the imperf. partic. in this phrase expresses the lashing of *each* of the vessels. The aor. is used in VII. 74. εἶλον ἤδη—'had already taken.' ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις—c. 2, 1.

91, 1. Ἐκράτουν ... διέφθειραν—'were successful and had disabled.' φθάνουσιν ... προκαταφυγοῦσαι—aor. partic. here coincident in time with the historic pres. Cf. c. 2, 3 ἐλαθον ἐσελθόντες. αὐτοὺς—= τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ναυσί. ἰσχονσαι—'riding at anchor.' κατὰ—shows the point of the coast. ἰσχω also takes ἐς or dat. παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι—ὡς omitted, as in c. 18, 1, *al*.

91, 2. Ὑστέρον—(φθάνουσιν. Cf. c. 5, 3, 80. ἐπαιάνιζον—it was in honour of Apollo, a curious coincidence. ἅμα πλείοντες—together.

91, 3. Μετώρος—in the middle of the gulf. περὶ ἣν ... φθάσασα ... διωκούσῃ—several MSS. omit καὶ περιπλεύσασα. But φθάνειν περὶ τι does not appear sanctioned by usage.' Linwood. Probably Thuc. meant περὶ ἣν to be governed by διωκούσῃ, and the ship was struck broadside when in the act of pursuing the enemy round the anchored vessel.

91, 4. Διώκοντες ... αἱ μὲν—cf. 1 above. In διώκοντες ... καθεῖσαι ... ἐπέστησαν ... δρῶντες ... βουλόμενοι, the first partic. is causal to καθεῖσαι, which is temporal to ἐπέστησαν : δρῶντες defines ἐπέστησαν as in c. 90, 1 ἀναγόμενοι ἔπλεον : βουλόμενοι is causal to ἐπέστησαν. ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ—lit. stopped in their course. Cf. IV. 47 ἐπετάχυνον τῆς οδοῦ. πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὁ. ἀντεξόρμησιν—refers to the 11 ships mentioned in 1 above, which ἰσχονσαι ἀντίπρῳροι παρεσκευάζοντο, 'as the enemy were near and could charge them.' Both ἐξ ὀλίγου and δι' ὀλίγου mean 'suddenly' or 'at a short distance.' Cf. c. 11, 4, 85, 2, 89, 9. βράχεια—*brevia*, Verg. *Aen.* i. 111; found only in Herod. except here.

92, 1. Ἀπὸ—cf. c. 90, 4. ὀλίγον μὲν ... ἔπειτα—*parataxis*. Πάνορμον—see c. 86, 4. ἀνηγάγοντο—equivalent to a plup., as often in rel. clauses. *M. T.* 58.

92, 2. Ἐξ—sc. οὐσας. ἄνδρας τε—τε adds the third fact connected with the pursuit. διαφθείραντες τὸ πρῶτον—c. 90, 5. The whole Peloponnesian fleet, not only the 20 ships on the right wing, fled to Panormus, as the main body of 57 ships had gone to aid the others, and so abandoned their prizes.

92, 3. Περὶ—'near.' ἐξέπεσεν—'his body was washed up.'

**92, 4.** "Οθεν—= ἐνταῦθα ὅθεν. Cf. Demosth. 45, 81 ἀνάγειν ὅθεν εἰληφας, Andoc. 1, 64 θεραπαίνας ἔλαβον ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν. ἀναγαγόμενοι—viz. κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον c. **91**, 1. ἔστησαν ... ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ—cf. c. **7**, 1, **86**, 1 and 2. ὑπόσπονδα—thus the Peloponnesians acknowledged themselves defeated.

**92, 5.** Τροπαῖον τῆς τροπῆς—the same gen. vi. **98**, 4; vii. **54**. ἦν περ—c. **90**, 6. ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ—the same use of ἐπὶ as in c. **52**, 4 ἐπιτιθέναι νεκροὺς ἐπὶ πυράς, **76**, 2 ἰξάνειν ἐπὶ. Ῥίον—in honour of Poseidon, c. **84**, 4.

**92, 6.** Ἀθηναίων—see on c. **86**, 6. καὶ Κόρινθον—i.e. Lechaeum, the port of Corinth.

**92, 7.** Αἷς—'with which.' Cf. c. **85**.

**93, 1.** Ἀφύλακτος—yet in c. **24** Thuc. said φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ θάλασσαν; from which Pp. concludes that the vessels there mentioned were not armed. Thuc. however seems to imply that the guard-ships had been withdrawn, or at least were not always on the spot. Probably Pericles would have disapproved of this. ἄκληστος—see c. **94**, 4. Probably Brasidas planned this attack. εἰκότως—cf. c. **8**, 1. ἐπικρατεῖν—sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. πολὺ—ἐπικρατεῖν takes the place of the usual comparative.

**93, 2.** Τροπωτήρα—from τροπός, leather, and so a thong which attached the oar to the σκαλμός, thole-pin. The ancients did not use rowlocks like ours. ἀφικομένους ... καθελκύσαντας—see c. **15**, 2.

**93, 3.** Ἦν ... προφυλάσσον—cf. c. **67**, 1. προσδοκία ... μὴ ἂν—after the analogy of φόβος, cf. c. **13**, 1. If the time were pres., the sentence would be προσδοκία ἐστὶ μὴ ἂν ἐπιπλεύσειαν. There are very few cases of this construction, and no others in Thuc. ἔξαπιναίως—see c. **3**, 1. ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς—a regular formula: cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος III. **43**, 5; but ἀπὸ in such phrases is less common than ἐκ. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσίου however is often found in Thuc. This use of ἀπὸ is not found in the orators. τολμήσαι ἂν—depends on the idea of thinking implied in προσδοκία ἦν. Sc. ἐπιπλεῦσαι. καθ' ἡσυχίαν—sc. ἐπιπλεῦσαι, 'to make an attack without meeting with opposition.' Intr. p. xliv. Cf. Arist. Eccles. 288 κατὰ σκότον = clam. μὴ οὐκ—cf. i. **141** τὸ οὐ βέβαιον ἔχοντες μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν. M. T. 817.

**93, 4.** Καὶ ἐχώρον—καὶ marks the carrying out of the plan they had formed. In this idiom the rel. sense of ὥς, 'as,' is hardly distinguished from the temporal. Cf. c. **2**, 4. οὐκ-ἔτι—again there is irony in the narrative. Cf. c. **80**, 1. Σαλαμῖνος—first for emphasis. Cf. c. **7**, 2, **11**, 2. ὀρών—

cf. c. 55, 1. νεῶν τ. φυλακή—cf. c. 69, 1. ἐπ' αὐτοῦ has a slightly different meaning with φυλακή, as though it were περὶ αὐτό. With φρούριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου contrast τροπαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρῃ VIII. 106. See c. 80, 2.

94, 1. Φρυκτοὶ πολέμιοι—λαμπάδες πολεμίους δηλοῦσαι. Schol. τὸν πόλεμον—see c. 1. ἄν ... ἄν—caused by the breaking of the sentence.

94, 2. Καθεῖλκον—imperf. throughout, describing the action going on. τῷ πεζῷ δέ—notice the variation in the order.

94, 3. Ὡς ἦσθοντο—c. 3, 1. ἔστι γὰρ ὃ τι καὶ—cf. καὶ τις καὶ c. 93, 3, καὶ τι καὶ c. 87, 2. ἔστιν ὃ τι is part of the object of ἐφόβουν, as φοβῶ σε τοῦτο = I make you fear this.

94, 4. Οὐκέτι καταλαβόντες—cf. c. 56, 6. καὶ ... ἅμα—this adds a new fact of importance, like καὶ δὴ καὶ. κλήσει—'the walls, being carried down to either side of the harbour's mouth, were prolonged from thence across the mouth upon shoals, or artificial moles, until a passage only was left in the middle for two or three triremes abreast between two towers, the opening of which might be further protected by a chain.' Col. Leake, *Top. of Athens*, p. 311. κληστοὶ λιμένες were common. 'It was not until Athens was in danger of being surprised by the enemy's fleet that the Athenians saw the necessity of fortifying the Peiraeus in the manner customary among the Greeks.' *ib. l.c.*

95, 1. Ἀλεξάνδρου—had sided with the Greeks in the Persian war. ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας—cf. c. 79. Athens suffered more annoyance from the north than from any other quarter outside the Peloponnese. Probably the generals who granted terms to Potidaea (c. 70) were brought to trial at the instigation of Cleon. Now at last the government hoped to pacify the Chalcidian towns, which had revolted with Potidaea, by means of Sitalces. δύο ὑποσχέσεις τὴν μὲν ... τὴν δέ—the object subdivided. Somewhat similar is c. 44, 1.

95, 2. Ὁ τε ... τοῖς τε Ἀ.—the double τε as in c. 22, 1 and 84 marking parallelism. ὑποσχόμενος—'made promises.' What these were is unknown. Intr. p. lxxix. τῷ πολέμῳ—Cl. proposes τοῦ πολέμου, but probably Thuc. means κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου πιεζόμενον αὐτῷ; for in 432 B.C. Athens had made alliance with Philip and was at war with him till August 431 B.C., c. 29, 6. Φίλιππον—formerly king of upper Macedonia, c. 100, 3; expelled by Perdiccas. He had recently died. ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ—purpose, as ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ c. 29, 3. καταλύσειν—c. 29, 5.

95, 3. Ἠγεμόνα—i.e. as his chief adviser. Ἀγνώνα—c.



**58.** ἔδει ... παραγενέσθαι—cf. c. 5, 1, 'were to aid him,' according to an arrangement.

**96, 1.** Ἀνίστησιν—c. 68, 1. ἐντὸς—*citra*. Αἷμου—the Balkan. Ῥοδόπης—Despoto. ὑπερβάντι—cf. c. 49, 5; here = *ultra*. The Getae lived then between Mt. Haemus and the Danube, in Bulgaria. μέρη = ἔθνη. κατώκητο—this use of the mid. of persons is found only in Herod. and Thuc., and is confined to perf. forms. Dion. Hal. finds fault with Thuc. for using the mid. where Attic writers use the active.

**96, 2.** Ὀρειῶν—(ὅσοι πεδία εἶχον c. 101, 3. αὐτονόμων—)(ὅσων ἦρχε 1 above. ἄλλα ὅσα—cf. 3 below. μαχαιοροφόρων—a well-known mark of some of the Thracian tribes.

**96, 3.** Ἀγριᾶνας—at the source of the Strymon (Struma) and round Mt. Rhodope. Σκόμβρον—another mountain in the Balkan chain, south of Sophia. The Laeaei were north of the Agrianes. τὰ πρὸς Παίονας—'on the side of the P., who from that point were independent.'

**96, 4.** Τριβαλλοὺς—in Servia. Ὀσκίου—a tributary of the Danube (the Isker). ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους—part of Rhodope. Νέστος—the Kara-su. The Romans in B.C. 167 made it the northern boundary of Macedonia. Ἐβρος—the Maritza.

**97, 1.** Ἐγένετο—Thuc. probably knew more of Thrace than any other Greek owing to his property, influence, and sojourn there. μέγεθος—accus. of respect. ἐπὶ μὲν θ. καθήκουσα—'extended along the coast line,' cf. c. 27, 2) (ἐς ἡπειρον. The construction is ἐγένετο καθήκουσα, like ἦν καθήκουσα, cf. c. 80, 2, 93, 2; lit. extended down to the sea. μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ—cf. Isocr. VII. 80 ἐντὸς Ἄλνυος ποταμοῦ, the only case in Attic outside Thuc. where the art. is omitted with the name when ποταμός is inserted. The omission is common in Herod.: there are six cases in Thuc. περίπλους—with τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν. Cf. VI. 1 Σικελίας (-a Kr., Hw.) περίπλους ἐστίν ... ὁκτῶ ἡμερῶν. τὰ ξυντομώτατα—adverbial. ἰστῆται—*stet*, of anything which does not shift its position. νηϊσ.—= ὁλκάδι.

**97, 2.** Διὰ πλείστου ... ἐγίγνετο—'for in this direction it extended furthest into the interior.' ἀνύσαι—epexegetic to ἦν ἡ ἀρχή.

**97, 3.** Ἦρξαν—ingressive, as ἀρχθῶσι c. 8, 4. Σεύθου—nephew of Sitalces. βασιλεύσας—ingressive, as c. 15, 2. Contrast c. 80, 6. δύναμις—sc. ἦν. 'amounted in all to about.' δῶρα—not voluntary, but like Edward IV.'s benevolences. ὅσα—see c. 13, 4. Cf. I. 16. λεῖα—'plain,' unembroidered. κατασκευή—ὑφαντά etc. are reckoned



among these 'effects.' αὐτῷ—emphatic. παραδυνα-  
στεύουσι—'princes.'

97, 4. Περσῶν—probably refers to the practice of giving  
bounties as rewards for public services. λαμβάνειν—hinting  
that these presents were really exactions. κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι  
—'owing to their power' (to exact money). ἐπὶ πλείον  
—= μᾶλλον. αὐτῷ—i.e. τῷ νόμῳ. ἐχρήσαντο—sc. οἱ  
Ὀδρυσαί.

97, 5. Ἐπὶ μέγα ἰσχύος—cf. c. 17, 4. τῶν γὰρ—sc.  
βασιλειῶν. δοῖναι—cf. 3 above. εὐδαιμονία—of wealth, as  
*beatus*. Cf. Eur. *Bacchae*, 16 Ἀραβίαν εὐδαίμονα. πολὺ  
δυνάτεον μετὰ—'far inferior to.' (Arn. translates 'easily  
second,' quoting Soph. *O. C.* 1228 μὴ φῆναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾶ  
λόγον· τὸ δὲ ... βῆναι κείθεν ὅθεν περ ἤκει πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα,  
but there too the δεύτερος πλοῦς is 'far inferior' to the πρῶτος  
πλοῦς.)

97, 6. Ἐν πρὸς ἓν—cf. Herod. iv. 50 ἐν πρὸς ἓν συμβάλλειν.  
οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι—= οὐδὲν, otherwise οὐκ would not be inserted  
here after οὐδέ. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ—'not that they are on a level  
with other nations in general prudence and intelligence in the  
employment of the ordinary resources of life.' ξύνεισιν—  
meaning that the Scythians, with their natural advantages (τὰ  
παρόντα ἐς τὸν βίον), might have been a great nation if they had  
been blessed with the sense to pursue a definite policy.

98, 1. Ἐτοῖμα—c. 3, 4. Κερκίνης—between the Axios  
(the Vardar) and Strymon. Σιντῶν—on the right bank of  
the Strymon. τεμών—by felling the mountain-trees.

98, 2. Μαιδούς—also on the right bank of the Strymon.  
Δόβηρον—'in one of the first high valleys on the Paeonian  
(western) side (of Cercine), from which the way to lower  
Macedonia would be a continued descent, first down the valley  
of one of the tributary streams of the Axios, and then by the  
valley of the Axios itself.' Arn.

98, 3. Ἀπεγίγνετο ... προσεγίγνετο—a paratactic παρονο-  
μασία. After he had left his own kingdom, it might have  
been expected that his forces would dwindle down, owing to  
their miscellaneous character, and the slightness of the ties by  
which they were connected. τὸ πᾶν—c. 7, 2. γενέσθαι  
—c. 13, 3.

98, 4. Καταβάντες—attributive, as in c. 30, 1. This order  
is only possible when the noun, here αὐτόνομοι, has other  
attributes beside the partic. ξύμμακτος—with ἡκολούθει;  
they were not separated into contingents, but were what  
histories call 'a horde.' πλήθει φ.—'chiefly formidable on  
account of their numbers.'

99, 1. Ἐν—would be ἐς had not the muster at Doberus already been referred to. κατὰ κορυφὴν—= ἀνωθεν, κατὰ *via* like κατὰ κράτος, expressing the manner; cf. c. 76, 4. τὴν κάτω Μ.—τὸ παράλιον. Schol.

99, 2. Τῶν γὰρ—‘for, besides the lower Macedonians, there are also Macedonians in the upper country, amongst whom are included the L. and E.’ *Note in Jowett.* Λιγκησταί—the district called Lyncestis. Ἐλιμιῶται—divided from Thessaly by the Cambunian mountains. βασιλείας—‘have kings of their own.’ J.

99, 3. Τὴν δὲ περὶ—not παρὰ, because the regions enumerated below are not merely those actually on the coast, but comprise ἡ κάτω γῇ generally. Τημενίδαι—hence Philip and Alexander claimed to be Greeks, and their claim was generally admitted. ἐβασίλευσαν—ingressive. Πιερίας—between Mt. Olympus and the Thermaic Gulf, the original home of the muses and birth-place of Orpheus. ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον—after this both the Pieres and Orpheus were connected with Thrace. κόλπος—see L. and S. οἰκοῦσιν—their new home was Bottice. They originally dwelt near Pella.

99, 4. Στενὴν—the Paeonians had possessed ‘a narrow strip on the bank of the Axios, down to Pella and the sea.’ Grote points out that this would leave hardly any room for the Bottiaeans, who dwelt north of the Pierians, between the mouth of the Haliacmon (the Indjeh Kara-su) and that of the Axios. Probably Thuc. is mistaken in saying μέχρι θαλάσσης, and the Paeonians did not extend so far east. Μυγδονίαν—Herod. vii. 123 says the Axios divided Bottia on the south from Mygdonia on the north. In this region lived also the Edonians, Crestonians, and Bisaltae (6 below), but the Mygdonians must have been the most important.

99, 5. Ἐορδίας—east of Lyncestis, N.W. of the Elimioti. Φύσκαν—somewhere between the Strymon and Axios. κατώκηται—c. 96, 1. Ἀλμωπίας—somewhere near Eordia and Pieria.

99, 6. Οὔτοι—οἱ κάτω; the tribes who were led by the Temenidae and conquered all lower Macedonia, the part which has been described from 3 above. Contrast Μακεδόνες αὐτοὶ below, = the original Macedonians before the conquests, οἱ ἄνω, who remained partially independent, c. 99, 2. αὐτῶν—those just mentioned were *not* of Macedonian stock.

100, 1. Οἱ Μ. οὔτοι—οἱ ὑπὸ Περδίκκου βασιλευόμενοι. καρτερὰ—secure places in the hills.

100, 2. Ἀρχέλαος—reigned 413-399 B.C. Eur. wrote a play named after him, and the ‘Bacchae’ was written at his

court. It is strange that Thuc. should go out of his way to make this remark about his reign : he must have considered these improvements very important. ὁδοὺς εὐθείας—cf. c. 98, 1. Andoc. 2, 11 says that Archelaus gave him the right to cut down and export as much timber as he chose. τὰλλα accus. of respect, τὰ κ. τὸν πόλεμον being object of διεκόμηνσε. ὀκτῶ—cf. the position of ἐξ in c. 92, 2.

100, 3. Τὴν Φιλ(ιππον—the upper part of the Axios. ὁμολογία—with προσχωροῦντα) (κατὰ κράτος.

100, 4. Ἀριστερά—i.e. 'east of Pella, as Sitalces was marching southwards.' Arn. ἔσω—i.e. further south.

100, 5. Ὅπη δοκοίη—with ἐσέβαλλον, which is used here of a cavalry charge. They charged wherever they chose, as the Thracians were not disciplined. Cf. c. 79, 6.

100, 6. Ὑπὸ δὲ π. περικληθόμενοι—= ὅποτε ὑπὸ π. περι-αλγούντο, corresponding to ἣ μὲν προσπέσειεν : hence pres. partic. 'Whenever (after charging) they were hemmed in by superior numbers, they placed themselves in danger, as they were far outnumbered by the enemy.' πλήθος—as in c. 11, 3. πολλαπλασίῳ—dat. of cause.

101, 1. Λόγους ἐποιεῖτο—'had a conference.' Livy would have reported this conversation at length. οὐ παρήσαν—c. 95, 3. The incompetence displayed by Athens against Perdiccas is so strange that the ambassadors sent to Sitalces may have been bribed : for they might easily have sent word when Sitalces really did start. The muddle which followed the death of Pericles is as great as the confusion in the English government during the Bute ministry after the fall of Pitt in 1761. Perhaps it is partly due to the same cause. ἀπιστοῦντες—Sitalces had become an ally two years before, and his promise had been unfulfilled till now. Cf. c. 29. ἔπεμψαν—'had sent.'

101, 2. Ἐν π. ἦσαν—c. 80, 3. The Thessalians and the other Greeks rightly regarded Sitalces now as a mere plunderer.

101, 3. Θρᾶκες—the tribes living in the plains on the lower Strymon, near Amphipolis.

101, 4. Παρέσχε λόγον—on the analogy of φόβον παρέχειν, as μὴ below shows : 'even as far as the ... he caused questionings.' ἐπὶ—denotes distance, as in ἐφ' ὅσον, c. 62, 2. ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγόμενοι—'induced by the Athenians.' κατὰ τὸ ξ.—c. 22, 2. χωρήσωσιν—The change to the plur., suggesting Θρᾶκες, adds a notion of vague terror to the narrative. This small artifice shows how perpetually Thuc. produces pathos

by saying the least that can possibly be said. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 277 μή μου τὸ τέκνον ἐκ χειρῶν ἀποσπάσης | μηδὲ κτάνητε.

**101, 5.** Ἄμα ἐπέχων—‘as he overran them.’ εἶχεν αὐτῷ—cf. c. **102**, 2. ὑπὸ χειμῶνος—one would have supposed that Sitalces would have foreseen this. ἀναπείθεται—c. **14**, 1. Σεύθου—he succeeded Sitalces. Spardacus was brother of Sitalces. ὥστ’—cf. c. **2**, 4. ἐπ’ αὐτῇ—‘along with.’ Cf. Isaeus, 2, 5 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ προῖκα. προσποιεῖται—*sibi conciliat*.

**101, 6.** Τὰς πάσας—‘in all.’ κατὰ τάχος—again Thuc. contrasts the slightrness of the result with the vastness of the plan. Cf. c. **7**, 2. ὑπέσχετο—contrast c. **95**, 2.

**102, 1.** Ἀστακοῦ—the Corinthians had restored the tyrant Euarchus who had been expelled by the Athenians, c. **31**, **33**. Cl. thinks the place must have since joined Athens. Στράτου—c. **80**, 8 : Coronta is unknown.

**102, 2.** Οἰνιάδας—c. **82**. As Oeniadae had helped Cnemus effectually, it would have been advantageous to punish it and prevent it from doing more harm to Athens. ἀνωθεν μὲν—sc. ῥέων, ‘flowing past Stratus high up the stream.’ ἐξίεις—of water discharging itself into the sea, only in Thuc. and Herod. The meaning reappears in Polybius. περιλιμνάζων—this applies to the winter only.

**102, 3.** Ἐχινάδων—the object of this digression is probably to show that it was as difficult to attack Oeniadae by sea as by land. προσχοῖ—‘forms deposits.’ ἡπείρωνται = ἡπειρος γεγένηται. οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ—c. **17**, 2. τοῦτο παθεῖν—pass. of τοῦτο δρᾶν, as c. **11**, 8, **49**, 5. This has not happened, as the sea carries away the deposits. Cf. Herod. ii. 10.

**102, 4.** Τό τε ... αἶ τε—the double cause, as c. **95**, 2. μέγα καὶ πολὺ—cf. c. **5**, 2. ἀλλήλαις—‘help one another to bind the deposits together.’ ἔχουσai = παρέχουσai, as c. **61**, 2.

**102, 5.** Ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι—cf. c. **13**, 5, the infin. by assimilation to χρῆσαι. *M. T.* 755. In temporal sentences in *Or. Obl.* Thuc. generally retains the mood of the *Recta*, except iii. **95** ἕως καταβαίη, representing ἕως ἂν καταβῶ, iv. **117** πρὶν παρασκευάσαιντο, representing πρὶν ἂν παρασκευασώμεθα, vii. **48** ὁπότε βούλαιντο, representing ὅταν βουλώμεθα, and iii. **22**, 8. μητρός—Eriphyle, c. **68**, 3. χρῆσαι—this meaning occurs in Herod., Thuc., and tragedy only. The Attic is ἀναιρεῖν. οἰκεῖν—pres. (or aor.) infin. after words meaning to give an oracle. *M. T.* 98. ὑπειπόντα—‘saying besides,’ as in i. **90**, 4. λύσιν τῶν δαιμάτων—technical words of the oracle. Cf. Pausan. 2, 29. 6 ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέστειλαν ... αἰτήσοντας λύσιν τοῦ

κακοῦ. Soph. *El.* 635 ἀνακτι τῷδ' ὅπως λυτηρίους | εὐχὰς ἀνάσχω  
 δειμάτων δ' νῦν ἔχω. εὐρών—sc. ταύτην τὴν γῆν. ἦτις  
 μήπω—hypothetical rel., 'such as was not.' The vague form  
 is well suited to the oracle. αὐτῷ—agent.

102, 6. Ἰκανὴ ἂν κεχώσθαι—i.e. κεχωσμένη ἂν εἴη, 'it would  
 be by this time.' δῖαιτα—'to make a habitation,' pred.  
 with χῶσθαι. ἐδυνάστευσε—ingressive, as ἐβασίλευσαν c. 99.3.  
 ἐπωνυμίαν—it was called Κουρήτις before.

103, 1. Ἐλευθέρους—the slaves had been sold.

103, 2. Τῷ πολέμῳ—c. 47, 1. ἐτελεύτα—the anaphora  
 is probably unintentional, this being a formula, which, though  
 to us it may become tedious, is quite in accordance with the  
 Greek method of ending quietly. Cf. the closing lines of any  
 Greek play, and the finish of any Greek speech except the *de*  
*Corona*. (I cannot in the least agree with what Dr. Ruther-  
 ford says on this formula.)



## APPENDIX I.

### ANALYSIS OF BOOK II.

#### 1. Preface to the Ten Years' War.

**2-6.** Theban attempt on Plataea, April 431 B.C. The Thebans surprised the town while the Peloponnesians were preparing to invade Attica. They offered to accept Plataea as an ally; which offer the Plataeans in their terror were about to accept. But, on noticing that the Thebans were few in number, they decided to attack them; and of the Thebans some were killed and the rest were captured while searching in vain for the gates of the town. Hereupon a large force arrived from Thebes, and the Plataeans expostulated with them, promising on their part—so the Thebans said—that they would release the prisoners if their land were left unharmed. But, when the Thebans departed, the prisoners were put to death. Then the Athenians sent troops and supplies to Plataea, and the women, children, and old men were removed from the town to Athens.

**7-9.** The preparations and the feelings of both sides. The Peloponnesians formed a prodigious scheme for a huge navy, but nothing came of it all. (*Λέων ἐγέλασεν ἐνταῦθα.*) The Athenians made a special point of securing the friendship of the N.W. islands. The usual prophecies were whispered: the usual portents were reported. Sparta's catch-word was Freedom: Athens cried Empire. Therefore all to whom the choice of sides lay open chose Sparta. But the islands and coast-towns of Asia and of the North-West were bound to support Athens; and Plataea, Naupactus, and the Acarnanians, except those of Astacus and Oeniadae, were indebted to her for benefits received.

**10-12.** The Lacedaemonians muster at the Isthmus preparatory to invading Attica. There Archidamus the Spartan king harangued them in a speech which exemplifies the

habitual caution and hesitancy of the Spartans in their undertakings outside the Peloponnese. The despatch of a Spartan to ascertain the temper of the Athenians produced nothing more than an aphorism from the messenger.

**13.** Notes of speeches made by Pericles in the assembly when the first invasion was imminent. He stated the grounds of his confidence that Athens was a match for Sparta.

**14-16.** The Athenians, following the advice of Pericles, conveyed their goods from the country into the city. But the move was irksome to all those who had been brought up in the country. (Antiquarian digression on early Attica.)

**18-22.** Opening of the campaign of 431 B.C. The first invasion of Attica was desultory and ill-planned. Archidamus delayed at Oenoe in the hope that Athens would be terrified into submission by the great numbers of his army. But the Athenians were more discontented with Pericles than afraid of Archidamus. The king, being repulsed in an attempt on Oenoe, made his way to Acharnae, where he again tarried, hoping to entice the enemy out to battle. And the enemy would have been enticed to battle had not Pericles persistently withstood their clamour. He only sent out a squadron or two of horse to protect the country in the immediate neighbourhood of the city.

**23-26.** But, in the meanwhile, Carcinus and Proteas and Socrates sailed from Piraeus with a fleet of one hundred sail, and made descents on the coasts of the Peloponnese. An attack on Methone was repulsed by Brasidas. Simultaneously Cleopompos, in command of a fleet of thirty ships, made a successful expedition to the coast of the Opuntian Locrians. When Archidamus had left Attica, the Athenians formed a reserve fund of one thousand talents and a reserve fleet of one hundred vessels.

**27.** In the same summer the Athenians appropriated Aegina.

**28.** On the 3rd of August there was an eclipse of the sun, which was considered remarkable by those who did not know Anaxagoras.

**29.** Formation of an alliance between Athens and Sitalces of Thrace, and reconciliation of Athens and Perdiccas of Macedon. Sitalces promised to aid the Athenians in the reduction of Chalcidice.

**30-31.** After their failure at Methone, Carcinus and his colleagues made a highly successful expedition to Acarnania and Cephallenia. They expelled Euarchus, tyrant of Astacus, and gained Cephallenia for Athens. On the homeward voyage,

they learnt that Pericles had invaded the Megarid with the whole of the Athenian forces. Similar expeditions were undertaken annually (sometimes twice a year, in the spring and autumn, iv. 66) until 424 B.C., when Nisaea was captured.

**32.** In the late autumn, the Athenians fortified Atalanta to protect Euboea from Locrian pirates.

**33.** When the Athenian fleet had left Acarnania, Euarchus recovered Astacus with help from Corinth.

**34.** At the close of the campaign the Athenians buried the bones of their dead with much ceremony in the Ceramicus. And every year this ceremony was repeated: for this was a custom of the Athenians. The funeral oration was delivered this year by Pericles himself.

**35-46.** The historian's report of the speech delivered by Pericles. The general introduction is followed by a special introduction to the first and most important part of the body of the speech; that is to say, to that part which contains a description of the *ideal* Athens and of the *ideal* Athenian, Athens and the Athenians as Pericles desire them to be, and as, in his view, they might be—nay, as they almost were. 'Athens is a liberal education to Greece,' and even her enemies admit her greatness. (c. 41.)

The Athenian is versatile and patriotic, able to live in any land, yet loving his own above all others. It is this ideal, this true Athens that the citizens must keep before their minds. They must love their city, (*ἐρασταὶ γινόμενοι αὐτῆς*) as Plato says\* philosophers are lovers of the ideal and the true (*ἐρασταὶ τοῦ ὄντος τε καὶ ἀληθείας*): must be her true philosopher-citizens, learning their lesson of self-devotion from the pattern of Greece. Then they would prove to the world that Athenian versatility (*εὐτραπεία*) meant something more than the mere cunning which the Thebans associated with that quality, that the Athenian character was as far above the Spartan as the Athenian ideal of *ἐλευθερία* was above the Spartan ideal of *εὐνομία*. Next the orator praised the fallen, exhorted his hearers to be like them, and bade the relatives not to weep for those who had brought them to such great honour by one glorious act never to be forgotten.

The oration closed with a short peroration remarkable for its calm dignity and unaffected simplicity.

**47.** Opening of the campaign of 430 B.C. The second invasion of Attica had but begun when a mysterious epidemic

\* See *Rep.* 501 D, 487 D, 493 A, 486 D, for the importance of the words *ἐρασταί, ἀχρηστος, παιδευσis, εὐχαρις*.

broke out in Athens. No medicine, no prayers, no voices of oracles availed, so that men at last gave them up as useless.

**43-54.** History of the origin of the epidemic; of its symptoms and effects; of its influence on morality.

It seems that it broke out in Ethiopia, and passed thence to the Persian Empire. Anyhow, it appeared quite suddenly in Piræus, and thence made its way to the crowded city. The historian promises to relate what he had himself suffered and had observed in others.

There were three stages in the disease, which followed one another with such rapidity that the crisis came generally in a week or nine days. Many who survived the crisis died subsequently from exhaustion. Others were disabled for a time or permanently. Even birds of prey and beasts shrank from the tainted flesh of the dead: no eagles gathered there. The doctors could discover no satisfactory treatment, and no natural strength made any man proof against the infection. But worse than all the bodily suffering was the mental depression that accompanied the disease. Relatives neglected to tend their sick and to mourn their dead. But so much the more readily, when natural ties were forgotten, did good friends sacrifice themselves; and many generous men thus lost their lives. While the epidemic raged there was very little other sickness in the city: and those who once recovered were not liable to another attack; at any rate, a second attack was never serious. In the general panic, the ceremonies of religion and the decencies of burial were disregarded.

While the love of many grew cold, wickedness increased. For hope and fear were fled, and men gave themselves up to the pleasures of the moment, feeling that there was no future. The old people called to mind an oracular saying heard in their youth; but, though it seemed to apply to the present, they could not agree about one of the words.

**55-57.** While Archidamus was ravaging Attica, Pericles left Athens with a fleet of one hundred ships to ravage the coasts of the Peloponnese. An attack on Epidaurus failed. The enemy retired from Attica where they had been for forty days. This proved to be the longest of all the invasions of Attica, though it was said that it would have lasted still longer had not the Peloponnesians feared the epidemic, which had scarcely been felt in the Peloponnese.

**58-59.** When Pericles returned, the fleet was sent to Potidæa under Hagnon. The only result was that the army already before the town caught the epidemic from the newly-arrived troops, so that Hagnon returned after losing many men

owing to the disease. At Athens the discontent caused by the invasion and the plague together was so serious that Pericles called a special assembly and delivered an oration in defence of himself and his policy.

**60-64.** Version by Thucydides of the speech then delivered. Pericles upbraided his hearers for falling so very far short of the ideal he had set before them. Instead of being ready to sacrifice themselves for their city they had made overtures for peace to Sparta. And what was the use of blaming him for misfortunes sent by Providence?

**65.** Great as was the effect produced by the speech, the Athenians nevertheless did not rest satisfied until they had fined Pericles. Then follows a notice of the statesman's death, and an account of his character and policy.

**66-67.** Two Lacedaemonian failures narrated. An expedition against Zacynthus produced no result, and ambassadors from the Peloponnese to the Great King fell into the hands of the Athenians, having been arrested by Sadocus, son of Sitalces, while passing through Thrace. Among them was the notorious Corinthian Aristeus. They were put to death at Athens without a trial.

**68.** In the autumn the Ambraciots, enemies of Athens, attacked the Amphilocian Argos, but were unable to take it. The historian narrates the origin and earlier history of this Argos.

**69-70.** During the winter, Phormio was sent from Athens with twenty ships to Naupactus to command the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth. About the same time Melesandrus, an Athenian general, was defeated and killed in Lycia. Potidaea surrendered on terms which the Athenians at home considered unnecessarily favourable.

**71-78.** Opening of the campaign of 429 B.C. Instead of invading Attica, Archidamus attacked Plataea. After unsuccessful negotiations with the Plataeans and a solemn appeal to heaven, the king attempted to carry a mound to the top of the walls, but the Plataeans first built on to their wall opposite the mound, and then successfully undermined the enemy's work. Then they built a new wall in towards the city, concave to the old wall where they had raised its height, their object being to take the enemy between a cross-fire in case they gained the raised wall. Then the enemy used battering-rams, but the Plataeans broke them by letting down huge beams upon them. Next Archidamus tried to burn the town. As the attempt failed he was forced to blockade Plataea, which contained four hundred and eighty men and one hundred



and ten women. The rest of the inhabitants had been sent to Athens, which had promised to send aid to Plataea and had encouraged it to hold out.

**79.** An Athenian expeditionary force sent to subdue Chalcidice is defeated, and three generals killed, near Spartolus.

**80-82.** Meanwhile a combined expedition of Lacedaemonians, Ambraciots, and barbarians was planned against Acarnania. The main body of the fleet was still preparing, when Cnemus, the Spartan admiral, started from Leucadia for Stratus. Near that city the barbarians were completely defeated, and Cnemus retreated to Oeniadae.

**83-84.** At almost the same time the main body of the fleet, consisting of forty-seven vessels, was intercepted by Phormio while on its way to Acarnania. In an engagement fought soon after day-break, the Peloponnesians were utterly defeated, and pursued to Patrae.

**85-86.** When the news of the defeat reached Sparta, the ephors sent out three commissioners, one of whom was Brasidas, to advise Cnemus; for they were indignant at the result of this the first great naval battle of the war. The commissioners had orders to bring on a new battle, and a 'better' one. On their arrival both sides then sent for reinforcements. Twenty ships were sent from Athens, but were ordered to go first to Crete, where they were delayed by bad weather. The Peloponnesians, having seventy-seven ships, were anxious to bring on a battle before any reinforcements reached Phormio.

**87-89.** The commanders of both sides harangued their troops before the engagement. The Peloponnesians excused the former defeat, and pointed out that their side was superior both in courage and in numbers. On the other hand, Phormio declared that it was fear which made the enemy bring a fleet of seventy-seven to fight a fleet of twenty ships; and the boldness of the Athenians in accepting battle with so small a force filled the enemy, they might be sure, with astonishment and apprehension.

**90-92.** A detailed and admirably perspicuous account of the battle in the Gulf. The Peloponnesians were defeated by superior seamanship. One of the Spartan commissioners committed suicide when his ship was disabled at the crisis of the battle. Phormio returned to Naupactus where he was joined by the twenty ships from Crete. The main body of the Peloponnesians, under Cnemus and Brasidas, returned to Corinth.

**93-94.** There, on the suggestion of the Megarians, they planned a night attack on the Piraeus. But their courage failed them at the last minute, so they plundered Salamis instead. The Athenians were at first greatly alarmed, but a fleet was sent out at dawn, and the Peloponnesians retired in haste to Nisaea. Then the Piraeus was made a 'closed harbour' as a precaution against surprises.

**95-101.** Expedition of Sitalces against Perdiccas of Macedonia and the Chalcidians. Perdiccas had deceived him, and he had made a promise to Athens that he would help to restore order in Chalcidice. The Athenians had promised to send a large force to help him ; but, feeling doubts about his sincerity, only sent commissioners bearing presents. However, Sitalces crossed the Balkans with a vast, but very miscellaneous force. Thucydides gives an account of the kingdom, revenues, and empire of the Odrysae, and of the rise of the Macedonian monarchy. The forces of Perdiccas were quite insufficient to withstand Sitalces, at whose approach even the Greeks trembled as far south as Thermopylae, and made ready their arms. But the Athenian force did not come, and provisions ran short: so, after ravaging Chalcidice, Bottice, and Macedonia, he acceded to his nephew's suggestion that he should depart. His nephew Seuthes obtained the sister of Perdiccas in marriage as a return for his mediation.

**102-103.** When the Peloponnesian fleet had departed, Phormio went to Acarnania and strengthened the position of Athens there. He would have attacked Oeniadae, but was prevented by the swollen state of the Achelous which rendered the town unapproachable. On the sea side the Echinades were a protection to the town. Thucydides illustrates from the legend of Alcmaeon the rapid formation of these islands by the alluvial deposits of the Achelous. Early in 428 B.C. Phormio returned to Athens with just satisfaction.

## APPENDIX II.

ON C. 11, 4 Πολλάκις τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος [δεδιὸς ἄμεινον] ἡμύνατο τοὺς πλέονας διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκεύους γενέσθαι.

Archidamus warns the Peloponnesians against carelessness. 'True,' he says, 'you are numerically far stronger than the Athenians; yet remember that large numbers have often been overthrown by small numbers through excessive confidence. An exasperated enemy is dangerous, because he attacks on a sudden and with desperate courage (section 7), and so may catch his man unprepared.'

In defence of the words bracketed Mr. Spratt remarks: 'δεδιότας = διὰ τὸ δεδιέναι, sc. τὰ ἄδηλα τοῦ πολέμου (subita belli). What Thuc. intends to say is that caution in 'strategy' (i.e. in operations of war when the enemy are not in sight) results in 'tactical' success. The contrast is between δέος and ἀμέλεια. ἡμύνατο would, of course, apply only to the ἔλασσον πλῆθος, who would naturally not take the aggressive. ἄμεινον is inserted because precaution renders a success (which might have resulted from other causes, e.g. pluck v. numbers) more complete. The mere ἐκπληξίς would account for the ἄμεινον. You may, in your note, be pressing ἡμύναντο too far; cf. c. 42, 4 τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν. All depends on the interpretation put upon δεδιός: Thuc. always states cases of comparison badly, frequently leaving you to infer the completion of the sentence; cf. v. 111 end. Here the two-fold moral 'never hold the enemy too cheap,' and 'sleep with one eye open' is duly enforced, i.e. ἄμεινον ἡμύναντο διὰ τὸ δεδιότας παρεσκευασμένοι ἦσαν.'

In the *Classical Review*, iv. 481 *a* I conjectured δέος διωσάμενον for δεδιδς ἀμεινον (i.e. ΔΕΟCΔΙOCAMENON for ΔΕΔΙOCAMENON), proposing to translate 'often the weaker side, hastily casting off their caution, have routed great numbers'; cf. ἐξ ὀλίγου καὶ δι' ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται.

To this Mr. Haverfield replies (*Classical Review*, v. 66 *a*): 'First I consider him (the present editor) extremely hard on the received text. He objects that the time for δέος is before a fight, therefore δεδιδς ἡμύνατο is absurd. In a sense no doubt it is—to what exact extent I will not say, for we all differ in our attitude to these points. But Thuc. goes on to connect δέος and παρασκευή, and says that the plan must be bold, but as for the execution, χρὴ δεδιότας παρασκευάσθαι. It seems to me not absurd in such a connection to say δεδιδς ἡμύνατο, "though inferior in numbers, his precautions gave him the victory." If I may be personal, I will confess that I have always regarded the vulgate of this passage as an excellent example of Thucydides' curious but complete lucidity. Secondly I think the emendation—though most ingenious—destroys the sense. The context is an advice to caution; "we Peloponnesians are more numerous but we must be apprehensive and prepare. In war the unexpected happens: small forces, by this apprehensiveness, often rout the great battalions when they are careless, and so the Athenians (it is tacitly argued) may rout us." You cannot here omit δεδιδς ἀμεινον without spoiling the sense: at least, *pace* Mr. Rutherford, you cannot in Thucydides, though you might possibly in English. And to insert δέος διωσάμενον, "they won by casting off their caution" is to upset the whole drift. Archidamus actually goes on to say that the Athenians were ἀριστα παρασκευασμένους.'

Now all this would be quite convincing if (1) δέος ἀμεινον were applied to the stronger instead of the weaker side, just as Archidamus says below χρὴ ἡμᾶς δεδιότας παρασκευάζεσθαι, *not* because the Athenians are doing so, but because if we do not, we shall be caught unawares; (2) if δεδιδς applied to past time relatively to ἡμύνατο, and could = διὰ τὸ δεδιδς παρασκευάσθαι. In reality, the literal rendering of the sentence can be nothing but this:—'the smaller numbers, while or through being apprehensive, have better repelled greater numbers.' Mr. Spratt, indeed, actually suggests that a success won through apprehension is a finer thing than a success won through pluck. Does Archidamus suggest that the Athenians are apprehensive and are preparing? No, he says Athens is quite prepared already, and may be expected to send out an army ἐξ ὀλίγου καὶ δι' ὀργῆς. 'As they are prepared, we had

better be cautious.' In my opinion, both Mr. Spratt and Mr. Haverfield, together with all the editors, force a meaning into the Greek which is not to be found there.

*Data occasione*, I add the following notes : c. 17, 1 ἐπάρατον—on the pomerium. See Livy, i. 43. C. 53, 3 πανταχόθεν κερδαλέον—cf. Juv. 13, 24 omni ex crimine lucrum|quaesitum et partos gladio vel puxide nummos. C. 65, 4 ὅπερ φιλεῖ δμῖλος ποιεῖν—this failing is not confined to democracies. Büdinger compares the fall of Pitt in 1761.



## APPENDIX III.

### TRANSLATION OF THE FUNERAL ORATION.

(Other versions by T. Nicholls, T. Hobbes, W. Smith, T. Hobbes' adapter, Dale, Crawley, H. M. Wilkins, Jowett.)

**35.** (1) Most of those who in former years have spoken from *Προίμιον α'*. this place have been in the habit of praising him who added this oration to the rite, on the ground that its delivery at the burial of our dead warriors is a fitting mark of respect. For my part, I should have judged it sufficient that men whose acts have proved their valour should be requited with acts of respect, like those which you at this burial see that the state is now prepared to show them, so that belief in the valour of many might not depend on the ability or incompetence of a single speaker. (2) It is difficult for a speaker to hit the mean: and even if he succeeds in that, it is not easy for him to convey an impression of truthfulness to his hearers. For the listener who knows the facts and thinks well of the dead almost inevitably finds that the account of their actions inadequately expresses both his thoughts and his knowledge: while he who does not know the facts is apt to think that the speaker is exaggerating when he hears of anything above his own powers. Eulogies of others are tolerable so long as each listener thinks himself capable of any of the acts he hears praised: but when the eulogy transgresses that limit, the listeners begin to feel envious and actually incredulous. (3) However, since our ancestors judged this practice to be a good one, it is my duty to conform to the custom, and to endeavour to satisfy the desires and opinions of each of you, as far as I can.

**36.** (1) First I will refer to our ancestors ; for it is a duty we owe both to them and to ourselves on such an occasion as this to pay a respectful tribute to their memory. They dwelt in this land from time immemorial and by their valour handed it down to us through successive generations, so that we found it free. (2) But if they are worthy of praise, still more worthy are our fathers ; who in addition to their own inheritance bequeathed to us this vast empire of ours which they acquired after many struggles. (3) As for what remained to be done, we who stand here now, most of us still in the full vigour of life, have ourselves improved our empire, and thus we have made our city in all respects quite able to maintain herself both in peace and war. (4) Of their deeds in the field, by which the various parts of the empire were gained, of the vigour with which we or our fathers protected that empire from the invader, whether foreigner or Greek, I will say nothing, since you know the story, and it would be tedious to you. But before proceeding to praise the dead, I will explain the principles to which we owe our position, and show under what constitution and through what system of life our greatness was gained. Such a statement is, in my opinion, appropriate to the occasion, and profitable for this vast gathering of citizens and strangers to listen to with attention.

**37.** (1) Our constitution does not compete with the institutions of our neighbours ; they copy us, but we do not copy them. As the government is in the hands of the majority and not of the few, it is called a democracy. But the law gives all an equal right to protect their interests ; while, as regards the recognition of personal claims, anyone who is in any way distinguished is selected for office on account of his merit without regard to his rank. Poverty again does not exclude a man, if, though of humble position, he can benefit his country. (2) In our daily intercourse we are as tolerant as in our public life. When men meet one another in the ordinary course of life, they are apt to regard one another with suspicion ; but we are not angry with our neighbour for doing as he pleases, nor do we put on a sullen look which, if harmless, is none the less vexing. (3) While we are at our ease in private society, we are most careful to restrain ourselves in our public acts : we respect those who bear office, and all the laws, but especially those which have for their object the protection of the injured and those unwritten laws which all think it disgraceful to transgress.

**38.** (1) Moreover we have procured for our minds many

an intermission from toil, in ordained festivals and solemn sacrifices offered throughout the year, and in the elegance of our homes : and the delight we have daily in them scares sadness away. (2) Thanks to the greatness of our state, all products of the whole world are brought to us ; with the result that the good things of other countries are as truly ours for our enjoyment as those produced at home.

**39.** (1) Again, our military training is in favourable contrast to that of our enemies. Our city is open to all men. No expulsions of foreigners prevent a man from learning or seeing anything, even when the information would be valuable to our enemies. For we rely on our stout hearts and inborn courage, not on stratagem and deception. And, in education, they strive to make themselves brave by irksome practice begun early in life ; but we live at ease, and yet we endure hazards as dangerous as they. (2) The proof of this is that the Lacedaemonians do not invade our land by themselves, but bring all their allies with them ; whereas we march into neighbouring countries alone, and, though fighting on foreign soil and against men who are defending their hearth and home, we generally gain an easy victory. (3) Our full strength, too, none of our enemies have yet encountered, because we send out our own citizens on many expeditions by land, while at the same time our fleet claims our attention. But, if they meet some small portion of our army and win a battle, they vaunt that they have routed us all, and when defeated, they say they have been beaten by us all. (4) Now surely if we choose to face danger calmly rather than by laborious training, by habits and not by rules of courage, we are the gainers ; for we do not anticipate trouble, and yet when face to face with it, we behave with as much courage as those who are always practising.

But it is not only in war that our state has the advantage and is worthy of admiration. **40.** (1) For we combine love of the beautiful with simplicity, and love of culture with manliness. Wealth we regard as a means for action, not as a subject for fine talk, and while it is no disgrace to a man to admit that he is poor, it is a disgrace not to try to avoid poverty by work. (2) While we attend to our homes we do not neglect politics, and though we may have other business to attend to, we have a thorough knowledge of public affairs. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in them not as one who shrinks from publicity, but as a useless person ; and all of us, though we cannot strike out a new line of policy, can at least criticise a proposal. It is not debate that hinders action, in our opinion, but the want of clear instruction in the facts before we take the necessary action. (3) In fact the advantage we have is just this, that we are as daring as any-

one, and give the fullest thought to our plans of action. With the rest of mankind, on the contrary, daring comes from ignorance, but reflection causes hesitation. And of all brave men they deserve to be thought the bravest, who, clearly apprehending what suffering and pleasure mean, do not, on that account, shrink from danger. (4) In showing kindness, again, we have adopted an attitude which differs from that of most men : we make our friends, not by receiving, but by bestowing favours. And he who bestows the favour, is a firmer friend ; for he secures the gratitude of him to whom he showed kindness by new favours : whereas the debtor is more apathetic, as he knows that the return he makes is not a free gift, but the payment of an obligation. We alone help others without thinking of our own interests, quite frankly and in the confidence due to free institutions.

41. (1) In short, I say that our city is a liberal education to Greece, and that the citizen of Athens seems to me to possess the faculty of adapting himself readily to the most varied circumstances, with graceful dexterity of wit. (2) That this is no fine talk prepared for the occasion, but simple truth, is proved by the power which we have gained for our state by these very qualities. (3) Athens alone among existing states, when put to the test, proves herself greater than her reputation ; she alone does not give her enemies cause to complain that it is a disgrace to be beaten by such a city ; does not give her subjects cause to reproach themselves with the thought that they are ruled by unworthy masters. (4) The evidence of our power is clear : we require no further witnesses to it. For we shall be the wonder not only of this age, but of ages to come. What need we the praise of Homer or of other poet, whose song will charm men for a time, though truth will spoil the impression which they receive from it ? No land, no sea, but what we have forced to become a highway for our enterprise. No climate that does not contain eternal memorials of our valour. (5) Such is the city of which these men brooked not to be deprived ; on behalf of which they died nobly on the field : and for such a city every one who is left should be ready to toil.

42. (1) Now this is the reason why I have dwelt at such length on the state : I wish to explain that we have something higher to contend for than men who have not advantages such as we enjoy, and at the same time to give the grounds which justify this panegyric over these men. In fact I have already spoken their highest praise. For to those very glories which I extolled in our city these men added fresh lustre by their brave deeds ; and there are but few Greeks of whom it is true



to say as of them that their reputation is balanced by their actions. It seems to me that a close like theirs, whether it was only the first indication, or the final proof, does show a man's true worth. (3) Even when men have committed many faults, it is just that the valour with which they have fought for their country should be set above everything else : good wipes out the bad ; and their public services more than repair the harm they did through their private failings. (4) Of these men not one was unnerved by a desire to enjoy wealth longer ; not one shrank from danger from the poor man's hope of some day exchanging poverty for riches. No, they considered vengeance on their enemies more to be desired than these things ; this they thought the noblest of all causes, and only if they succeeded in exacting that vengeance did they wish to indulge in those prospects. The uncertainty of ultimate success they left to hope ; but in view of the task before them at the moment they determined to rely on themselves alone. In carrying out that determination they thought it nobler to resist and suffer than to save themselves by surrendering. What they fled from was disgrace ; but on the field they stood firm at their posts, till, in an instant, at a moment ordained by Providence, at the crisis, not of their fear, but of their glory, they passed away.

**43.** (1) So they died. It was a death worthy of an Athenian : and we who are left, though we should pray for a spirit less fatal, must yet determine to fight with no less daring than they. Judge not of the profit merely from what you hear. (Indeed, what would be the use of talking at length about it when you know it quite well yourselves ? Why enumerate the obvious advantages of self-defence ?) Rather contemplate the greatness of our city day by day in its effects, and learn to love her : and when she seems glorious to you, reflect that her supremacy was obtained for her by men, who to their courage added a clear knowledge of their duty and a keen sense of honour in battle, and who, if ever they failed to gain their object, did not let their country miss the tribute of their valour, but readily gave it to her as the best offering they could make. (2) For by giving their lives for the common good, they won for themselves glory which is ever young, and the most honourable of all sepulchres, not that in which they are buried, but that in which their glory survives, to be called to remembrance on every fitting occasion whether in word or deed. (3) For every land is the sepulchre of famous men. They are not commemorated merely by the writing on stones in their own country, but in foreign countries too the unwritten memorial of them lives on, carried not in stone records but in the hearts of men. (4) Let them be your



pattern ; realise that happiness comes from freedom, and freedom from courage, and do not give too much thought to the dangers of war. (5) Who ought to give their lives willingly ? Not poor wretches sunk in hopeless misery ; but rather they who by living longer run the risk of a change for the worse, and who will feel the change most, if they fail. (6) In fact to a man of spirit, the degradation that results from cowardice is more grievous than a painless death that comes to him when his blood is up and he shares the enthusiasm of his comrades.

**44.** (1) That is why I do not sorrow for those of my audience who have lost their sons. But I will comfort them instead. You know amid what changes and chances you have lived ; that they may be called fortunate to whose lot has fallen an honourable grief, like your grief, or an honourable death, like their death, and in whose life prosperity and adversity have been equally balanced. (2) Still I know how hard it is not to regret those of whom you will be so often reminded by the good fortune which others enjoy as you yourselves did once. A man grieves not for blessings which he loses before he knows their value, but for that which is taken from him when he has lived long with it. (3) But you must bear up. Some of you can still hope for other children : in your homes new sons will make you forget those whom you have lost, and the city will gain in two ways : she will not lose men and she will be secure. For no man's political action can be really loyal to democracy or to sound principles unless he like others has sons to risk for the state. (4) Those of you that are past the prime of life should think it a blessing that you have been prosperous during the greater part of life. Remember that you have but few years to live, and console yourselves with the fame of your dead sons. For the love of honour alone in life does not grow old ; and when men's strength is spent, it is not money, as some say, but honour that gives pleasure.

**45.** (1) You that are sons or brothers of any among the dead, have, I perceive, a difficult task before you : and hardly by unusual merits would you be thought, I will not say to equal but even to fall slightly below them. For men disparage their rivals while they live : but when men are no longer in the way, they are honoured with universal good-will. (2) If I am to say something to those who will live in widowhood about woman's virtues, I can dismiss the subject in a brief exhortation. Not to fall below the qualities natural to your sex is great glory for you, and to be as little talked of as possible, whether for good or bad, among men.

**46.** (1) I have done my part by saying what I could that was suitable, in accordance with the custom. Peroration. Of the more solid honours part have been paid to the dead already in this funeral ; for the rest, the city will maintain their children at the public cost, till they are of age. This is the coveted crown she presents to these dead men and to their survivors for such victories as theirs. For where the prize for valour is greatest, there the citizens are most loyal to their state. (2) And now, when you have finished the lamentation due to your friends go to your homes.

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 Ἀλόπη **26, 2 n.**  
 ἄμα **2, 1 n; καὶ ἄμα 4. 1, 26, 1, 36, 1, 42, 1, 4, 49, 6, 57, 1, 59, 1, 89, 6, 90, 3, 94, 4 n.**  
 ἀμαθία **40, 3, 62, 4 n.**  
 ἀμάρτυρος **41, 4.**  
 ἀμβλύτερος **40, 4, 65, 4, 11.**  
 Ἀμεινιάδης **67, 2, 3.**  
 ἀμεινον **17, 1 n.**  
 Ἀμπρακίωται **9, 13, 68, 80, 81.**

Ἀμύντας **95, 3, 100, 3.**  
 Ἀμφιάρεως **68, 3, 102, 5.**  
 ἀμφιβόλῃ, ἐν **76, 3.**  
 Ἀμφιλοχία, Ἀμφίλοχοι **68, 102, 2.**  
 ἀμφότερα, ἐπ' **11, 9 n; κατ' 62, 3 n.**  
 ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι φίλους **72, 1, 2.**  
 ἂν with partic. **18, 4 n, 53, 4 n; repeated 94, 1 n.**  
 ἀναβολὴ τοῦ δεινοῦ **42, 4.**  
 ἀναγκαῖος **70, 1 n; ἀναγκαίως 64, 2 n.**  
 ἀναγόμενοι or ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐπλεον **90, 1.**  
 ἀναδούμενοι εἰλκον **90, 6 n.**  
 Ἀνακτόριοι **9, 2, 80, 81.**  
 ἀναλοῦν **24, 1 n.**  
 ἀνανταγώνιστος εὐνοία **45, 1.**  
 ἀναπειθόμεναι **14, 1 n, 65, 1, 101, 5.**  
 ἀναπύμπλαμαι **51, 4 n.**  
 Ἄναπος **82 n.**  
 ἀνάστασις **14, 2 n.**  
 ἀναστροφῆς **89, 8 n.**  
 ἀναφέρω **84, 3 n.**  
 ἀνδραγαθίζομαι **63, 2; ἀνδρα-γαθία 42, 3.**  
 Ἄνδρος **55, 1.**  
 ἀνεῖλκον confused with ἀνέκλων **76, 4.**  
 ἀνειμένως **39, 1.**  
 ἀνεπαχθῶς **37, 3**  
 ἀνευ **70, 4 n, 72, 2, al.**  
 ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς **103, 1.**  
 Ἀνήριστος **67, 1 n.**  
 Ἀνθεμοῦς **99, 6, 100, 4.**  
 Ἀνθεστηριῶν **15, 4.**  
 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων **25, 1 n.**  
 ἀνοσος **49, 1 n.**  
 ἀντανιέναι **75, 6.**  
 ἀντεξόρμησις **91, 4 n.**  
 Ἀντιγένης **23, 2.**  
 ἀντικρυς **4, 5 n.**  
 ἀντίληψις **49, 7 n.**  
 ἀντιλογία **87, 3 n.**

- ἀντίπαλον, τὸ 45, 1 n; ἀντί-  
παλοι 89, 6 n.  
ἀντιφυλακὴ 84, 3.  
ἀντοφείλω 40, 4.  
ἀνω 48, 2, 100, 5.  
'Αξιὸς 99, 4 n.  
ἀξίωμα 37, 1 n.  
ἀξίωσις 34, 6 n, 37, 1 n, 61,  
4, 65, 8, 88, 2.  
ἀπαλγεῖν 61, 4 n.  
ἀπαλλάττω 42, 4 n.  
ἀπεικότως 8, 1 n.  
ἀπεφθός 13, 5 n.  
ἀπήχθησθε or ἀπήχθεσθε 63, 1.  
ἀπλοῖας, ὑπ' 85, 6 n.  
ἀπό; ἀ. τούτων 13, 2 n; ἀ. τῆς  
στάσεως 22, 3 n; πολεμεῖν  
ἀπὸ 24, 1; ἀ. ὅας ἐπιτηδεύ-  
σεως 36, 4 n; ἀ. μέρους 37,  
1 n; ἀ. τῆς τομῆς ἀ. κεραιῶν  
ἀρτήσαντες 76, 4 n; ἀ. ταύτο-  
μάτου 77, 4; οἱ ἀ. θαλάσσης  
80, 1 n, 83, 1; ἀ. τῶν Ἀθη-  
ναίων 86, 5 n; τὰ ἀ. τῆς τύχης  
87, 2 n; ἀ. τοῦ Ἰσου 89, 2 n;  
ἀ. τοῦ προφανοῦς 93, 3 n; ἀ.  
τῶν καταστρωμάτων μάχεσθαι  
90, 6; [ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 77, 4].  
ἀποβάντι, τῷ 87, 3 n.  
ἀπογίγνομαι 34, 2 n, 51, 5,  
98, 3.  
ἀπόδειξις τοῦ περιέσεσθαι 13, 9 n.  
'Απόλλων 102, 5; 'Απολλώνιον  
91, 1.  
ἀπολοφύρομαι 46, 2 n.  
ἀπορία τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος 51, 5  
n; ἐς ἀ. καθιστάναι 81, 8.  
ἀποφθεῖρομαι 49, 6 n.  
ἀπράγμων 40, 2 n, 63, 3 n,  
64, 4 n.  
ἀπτομαι τοῦ πολέμου 8, 1; ἀ. τῶν  
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον 17, 4 n;  
ἀπτομένῳ 49, 5 n; ἀ. τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων 48, 2, 50, 1.  
ἀρα. εἴ τι 5, 1 n, 12, 1; εἰ ἀ.  
90, 2; εἰ τις ἀ. 87, 1; ἥν ἀ.  
5, 4, 13, 1; ἥν τις ἀρα 87, 9.  
'Αργος 2, 1 n, 9, 2, 27, 2, 67,  
1 n, 99, 3; Ἀργος τὸ 'Αμφι-  
λοχικὸν 68, 80, 8.  
ἀργὸς in oracle 17, 1 n.  
ἀργυρολογῶ 69, 1.  
ἀρέσκομαι 68, 3 n.  
ἀρετὴ 40, 4 n.  
'Αριστεὺς 67, 1, 4 n.  
'Αριστοκλείδης 70, 1.  
'Αριστόνους 22, 3 n.  
'Αριστῶνυμος 33, 1.  
ἀρκτοῦρος 78, 2 n.  
ἀρχαῖον, κατὰ τὸ 16, 2 n; τὸ ἀ.  
99, 3.  
'Αρχέλαος 100, 2 n.  
ἀρχεται 1 n; see ἤρξατο.  
'Αρχίδαμος 10, 12, 13, 18, 19,  
20, 47, 71, 72, 74.  
ἀρχικόν; τὸ ἀ. γένος 80, 5 n.  
ἀρχοντος 2, 1 n.  
ἀρχομένῳ, ἀμ' ἡρι ἀ. 2, 1 n.  
ἀσημον ἀργύριον) (ἐπίσημον ἀ.  
13, 4.  
ἀσθενές; τὸ ἀ. τῆς γνώμης 61,  
2 n.  
'ΑΣία 67, 1, 97, 6 n.  
'Αστακος 30, 1 n, 33, 1, 102,  
1 n.  
ἀσφαλεῖ, ἐν 75, 5.  
'Ασωπὸς 6, 2.  
'Αταλάντη 32; 'Α. τῆς Μακε-  
δονίας 100, 3.  
'Ατινῶνες 80, 6 n.  
'Αττική 15, 1, 16, 1, 36,  
1, al.  
αὐτοβοεῖ 81, 4.  
αὐτόθεν 25, 3 n.  
αὐτοκράτωρ lxvi., 13, 1.  
αὐτονομία 8, 4.  
αὐτὸς 13, 1 n, 39, 2 n, 42, 4  
n, 65, 13 n, 79, 1 n; αὐτὸ or  
αὐτὸν 19, 2; αὐτὸ or αὐτοῦ  
49, 7 n; αὐτὰ replacing αὐτὴν  
43, 1 n, 62, 4 n, cf. Eur.  
Bacchae 202; αὐτῷ 42, 4 n.  
αὔχημα 62, 4 n.  
αὐχῶ 39, 3 n.



ἀφανής; τὸ ἀ. τοῦ κατορθώσιν

**42, 4 n**; οἱ ἀφανεῖς **34, 3 n**.

ἀφανίζω **42, 3, 61, 4**.

ἀφίησιν **13, 1 n**.

Ἀχαῖα **83, 3, 84, 3**; Ἀχαιῆδες **86, 1, 92, 5**.

Ἀχαιοὶ **9, 2, 66, 1**.

Ἀχαρναὶ **19, 2 n, 20, 21, 2, 23, 1**.

Ἀχελῷος **102, 2 n**.

ἀχθηδών **37, 2 n**.

ἀχρεῖος **6, 4 n, 40, 2, 44, 4**;  
ἀχρηστος **78, 3 n**.

### B.

βάλανος **4, 3 n**.

βασιλεὺς **62, 2 n**.

Βισαλτία **99, 6**.

βλάβη, = βλαβερὸς **40, 2, 65, 7**.

βλάπτειν 'spoil' **41, 4**.

βοιωταρχοῦντες **2, 1 n**.

Βοιωτία **2, 1, 18, 2**; Βοιωτοὶ **6, 2, 9, 2, 3, 22, 2, 23, 3, 78, 2**.

Βοττία **99, 3 n**; Βοττιαία **100, 4**; Βοττιαῖοι **79, 7, 99, 3, 101, 1**; Βοττική ἢ ἐπὶ Θράκης **79, 2, 101, 5**.

Βούδορον **94, 3**.

βούλομαι (ἐθέλω **61, 4**).

Βρασίδας **25, 2 n, 85, 1, 86, 5, 93, 1**.

βράχεια **91, 4 n**.

βραχυλογία **39, 3**.

Βριλησσὸς **23, 1 n**.

Βυζάντιον **97, 2**.

### Γ.

γαμικά **15, 5 n**.

γὰρ 'in fact' **43, 6**; after τεκμήριον δέ **15, 4, 39, 2**; omitted after, **50, 2 n**.

γέ; μέντοι ... γέ **13, 1, 47, 3, 56, 4, 65, 3**; οὐπω ... γέ **21, 2, 77, 4**; πλὴν γέ **34, 5**; μέν γέ **38, 1**; ἤτοι ... γέ **40, 2 n**; δὴ τοι ... γέ **41, 4 n**;

οὖν ... γέ **43, 1**; with partic. **43, 6**; καὶ ... γέ **49, 7**; δέ γέ **54, 3 n**; εἰκότως ... γέ **60, 7**; οὐδὲ ... γέ **87, 3**; ἐπεὶ ... γέ **89, 3**; ὥς ... γέ **102, 5**.

Γέται **96, 1, 98, 4**.

γίγνεσθαι as pass. of ποιεῖσθαι, q.v.; ἡ ἔσοδος γ. **6, 3**; αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίγνονται **11, 4**; ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο **14, 2**; πόλεμος γεγένηται **72, 1**; ὁ τάφος ἐγένετο **47, 1**; μνήμη ἐγένετο **54, 4**; ἐσβολαὶ ἐγένοντο **31, 3**.—γενέσθαι, ἤρξατο **47, 3 n, 68, 2**.—'Amounted to' **13, 3, 20, 4, 31, 2**.—τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα ἐγίγνετο **77, 1 n**.

γνώμη; γ.) (ἔργον **11, 5 n, 43, 3 n, 64, 6**; γ.) (δύναμις **89, 6**; γ.) (ὀργή **22, 1**; γ.) (παρασκευή **9, 1**; γ.) (τύχη **42, 4, 62, 5 n, 87, 3**; γ.) (χρήματα **13, 2**).

γνώμαι **11, 4**; other examples **35, 2, 40, 1, 2, 3, 4, 43, 3, 4, 6, 44, 1, 4, 45, 1, 46, 1, 60, 3, 61, 4, 62, 3, 4, 5, 63, 3, 64, 2, 5, 6**.

Γορτύνιος **85, 5**; Γορτυνία τῆς Μακεδονίας **100, 3**.

Γυρτώνιοι **22, 3**.

### Δ.

δαιμόνια, τὰ **64, 2 n**.

Δαυλία, Δαυλιὰς **29, 3**.

δὲ after καὶ **36, 1**; in apodosis **46, 1, 65, 5**.

δεδιέναι περὶ τινι **5, 5 n, 72, 2**.

δείματα **102, 5 n**.

δεινά, τὰ of the horrors of war, **40, 3, 65, 1, 77, 1**.

δέκατος αὐτὸς **13, 1 n**.

δεύτερος **97, 5 n**.

δέχεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους of neutrals **72, 1, 2**.

δὴ after οὐ **40**, **3**, **41**, **4 n** ;  
after μὴ **89**, **4** ; after superlatives **31**, **2**, **49**, **1**, **97**, **3** ;  
μόνος δὴ **64**, **1** ; πᾶς δὴ **77**,  
**2** ; with relatives **21**, **1**, **24**,  
**1**, **29**, **4**, **42**, **1** ; ὅτε δὴ **102**,  
**5 n** ; τότε δὴ **84**, **3** ; οὕτω δὴ  
**6**, **3 n**, **12**, **4 n**, **19**, **1**, **70**,  
**1**, **83**, **3** ; ἐνταῦθα δὴ **58**, **2 n** ;  
ἐντεῦθεν δὴ **74**, **2 n** ; ὕστερον  
δὴ **17**, **3** ; μὲν δὴ **4**, **8 n**.

Δῆλος **8**, **3 n**.

δήλωσις ἀπασι **61**, **2 n**.

δημοκρατία **37**, **1 n**, **65**, **9 n**.

διὰ ; δι' ὀλίγου **29**, **3**, **89**, **9** ;  
διὰ μάχης ἵκναι **11**, **3 n** ; δι'  
ὀργῆς ἔχειν **37**, **2**, **64**, **1**, cf.  
**60**, **4 n** ; διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν **13**,  
**2 n**.

διαβάλλω 'cross' **83**, **3 n**.

διαδοχὴ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων **36**,  
**1**.

δαίτα **102**, **6 n**.

διαφέροντως ἔχειν **40**, **3** ; δ.  
γίνεσθαι **51**, **1**.

διαφθείρομαι with ὑπὸ and non-  
personal words; καύματος **49**,  
**6** ; νοσήματος **51**, **6**, **47**, **4**.

διδασκαλίαν ποιῆσθαι **42**, **1** ;

δ. παρέχειν **87**, **7**.

διδόναί ἐαυτὸν τινι **68**, **7** ; δ.  
διέκπλου **83**, **5**.

διέκπλους **83**, **5 n**, **89**, **8**.

Διέμπορος **2**, **1**.

δίκαιον **11**, **2**, **36**, **1 n**, **44**, **3 n**,  
**71**, **2 n**. Cf. s.v. τόποι.—  
ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου **89**, **3**.

δικαιῶ **41**, **5 n**, **61**, **4**, **67**, **4**,  
**71**, **4**.

Δῖοι **96**, **2**.

Διονύσια **15**, **4** ; Διόνυσος **15**,  
**4 n**.

διωθοῦμαι **84**, **3**.

Δόβηρος **98**, **2**, **99**, **1**, **100**, **3**.

δόκησις **35**, **2 n**, **84**, **1**.

δοκιμάζω **35**, **3 n**.

Δολοπία **102**, **2**.

δόξα **11**, **9 n**.

δουλεία **63**, **1 n** ; δουλεύω **63**,  
**3 n**.

δραστήριον, τὸ **63**, **3**.

δρῶ τοῦτο **11**, **8 n**, **49**, **5 n** ;

ἀγαθόν τι δ. **37**, **1**.

Δρῶσι **101**, **3**.

Δύμη **84**, **3 n**.

δύναμις **97**, **3 n**.

Δωριῆς **9**, **4**.

## E.

ἐβασίλευσε ingressive **15**, **2**,  
**97**, **3**, **99**, **3**.

ἐβδομαῖοι διεφθείροντο **49**, **6**.

ἐβδομήκοντα corrupt **75**, **3**.

Ἐβρος **96**, **4 n**.

ἐγέγειντο or ἐγεύοντο **70**, **1 n**.

ἐγκαλλώπισμα **62**, **3 n**.

ἐγκαρτερεῖν **61**, **2**.

ἐγκαταλείπω **6**, **4**, **65**, **8**, **78**, **3 n**,  
**102**, **6**.

ἐγκατασκήπτω **47**, **3 n**.

ἐθαs **44**, **2 n**.

ἐθέλω (βούλομαι **61**, **4** ; ἐθέλομεν  
or ἐθέλοισιν **39**, **4**).

ἔθνος, irregular apposition with  
**9**, **4 n**.

εἰ with optat. in *O. O.* **2**, **4** ;

(1) representing ἐὰν and subj.  
of *O. R.*, time future, **7**, **3**,  
**76**, **3**, **77**, **2**, **81**, **2**, **90**, **2**,  
**96**, **2**, (2) representing ἐὰν  
and subj. of *O. R.*, repeated  
action, **83**, **5** ; εἰ with indic.  
in *O. O.* representing εἰ with  
indic. of *O. R.* **20**, **3**, **54**, **4**,  
**74**, **1** ; εἰ with optat. in *O.*  
*O.* representing εἰ with optat.  
in *O. R.* **80**, **8**, **81**, **5**, **93**,  
**3** ; εἰ not logically hypotheti-  
cal **60**, **1**, **61**, **1**, **64**, **1**, **4**,  
*al.* ; εἰ δὲ μή **5**, **5**, **71**, **2** ; εἰ  
with apod. only implied **12**,  
**1**, **67**, **1**, *al.*

Εἰδομένη **100**, **3**.

εἰδόσιν, ἐν **36**, **4**.

είεν in O. O. in *Continuatio Orationis* 72, 2 n (the optat. once thus in Herod. viz. 7, 3, five times in Xen.).

εἰκὸς 10, 1 n, 11, 8 n, 21, 2, 29, 3 n, 41, 5, 48, 3, 53, 4, 54, 2, 62, 3, 63, 1, 64, 1, 73, 1. See also s.v. τόποι.

εἰκότως 54, 3, 60, 7, 87, 3, 7. εἰκότι, τῷ οὐκ 89, 6 n.

Εἰλωτες 27, 2 n.

εἶπον 'propose,' 24, 1.

εἰρήνη, ἐν τῇ 65, 5 n.

εἴρηται 46, 1 n.

εἰς αὐτῶν 5, 7 n; εἰς (πολλοὶ) 35, 2.

ἐκ (1) in adverbial phrases; ἐξ ὀλίγου 11, 4 n, 61, 2, 91, 4 n; ἐκ πολλοῦ 88, 2, 89, 8; ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου 89, 3; ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου 44, 3 n; (2) ἐκ by attraction for ἐν 5, 7, 13, 2, 5, 14; (3) ἐκ = ὑπὸ 49, 1 n; τρόπων ἐξ οἶων 36, 4 n; (4) 'after' 33, 3 n.

ἐκαστος with plur. verb 46, 2, al.

ἐκείνη or ἐκεῖ 81, 4.

ἐκκλησία (ξύλλογος) 22, 1 n.

ἐκπίπτειν 'to be washed ashore' 92, 3.

ἐκπλεῖν 69, 1, 93, 4.

ἐλασσον, οὐκ ἔ. ἢ 13, 4 n.

ἐλευθερία 37, 1, 40, 4 n; ἐλεύθερον, τὸ 43, 4; ἐλευθερεῖν 8, 4 n.

Ἐλευσίνιοι 15, 1 n; Ἐλευσίνιον 17, 1 n; Ἐλευσίς 19, 2, 20, 3, 21, 1.

Ἐλιμῶται 99, 2.

Ἕλληνες Ἑλλήνων ἀρχεῖν 64, 3 n.

Ἑλλήσποντος 9, 4 n, 67, 3.

ἐλπίζειν, of bad events 11, 6, 59, 3.

ἐμβολή 76, 4, 89, 8 n.

ἐμμένω 2, 1, 19, 2 n.

ἐν; (1) in local phrases; ἐν ὀλίγῳ 84, 3, 86, 5; ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ 81, 4; (2) other adjectival expressions; ἐν δεξιᾷ 19, 2, 98, 2; ἐν ἀριστερᾷ 81, 3, 100, 4; (3) 'consisting of' ἐν οἰκοδομαῖς κτήματα 65, 2; (4) with reflexive words ἐν σφίσι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις 5, 5, 4, 1, 65, 11, 12; (5) phrases with εἶναι, equivalent to a verb, εἶναι ἐν ἔθει 64, 2, ἐν ξρίδι 21, 2, ἐν στάσει 65, 12, ἐν ἀρχῇ 37, 2, ἐν παρασκευῇ 80, 3, 101, 2, ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς 17, 5, ἐν ἡλικίᾳ 36, 3, ἐν χηρείᾳ 45, 2; ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ 51, 6, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ 75, 5, ἐν ἴσῳ 60, 6. Cf. ἐν ὁμοίῳ καθεστάναι 49, 5, ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ γίνεσθαι 76, 3 n; (6) phrases with ἔχειν, equivalent to a verb, ἔχειν ἐν ὀργῇ 8, 4, 18, 5, 21, 3, 65, 3, ἐν αἰτίᾳ 59, 2 n, ἐν ὀρωδίᾳ 89, 1; (7) ἐν ᾧ of attendant circumstances, 1 n, 35, 2 n. Cf. ἐν τούτῳ 8, 4 n, 89, 8;—ἐν τοῖς δμμασι in conspectu, 11, 7 n, cf. Eur. *Bacchae*, 1252.

ἐναγωνίζομαι 74, 3.

ἐναταῖος διαφθειρεσθαι 49, 6.

ἐνδεεστέρως 35, 2 n.

ἐνδηλον εἶναι with partic. 64, 6 n.

ἐνδωσεῖω 12, 4 n.

ἐνεστι στάσις τῇ γνώμῃ 20, 4.

Ἐννεάκρονος 15, 5 n.

ἐξαπινάως 3, 1 n, 48, 2, 93, 3.

ἐξωθεν for ἐξω 13, 7 n, 49, 5.

Ἑορδία, Ἑορδοί 99, 5 n.

ἐπαγόμενοι, οἱ 2, 4 n.

ἐπαινος 35, 1.

ἐπακούειν 36, 4.

ἐπαλξίς 13, 6.

ἐπανάστασις 27, 2.

ἐπάρατον 17, 1 n.  
 ἐπαυξάνω 36, 3.  
 ἐπαύρεσις 53, 2 n.  
 ἐπειδὴν 34, 3 n.  
 ἐπειτα 4, 2 n.  
 ἐπεξελθεῖν 40, 2.  
 ἐπέχειν 81, 4 n, 101, 5 n.  
 ἐπί; with gen. in dates 2, 1 n;  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος and ἐπὶ τῷ  
 παρόντι 36, 4 n, 54, 3 n;  
 ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν and ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ  
 80, 2 n; ἐπὶ πολὺ 75, 2,  
 79, 6; ἐπὶ πλέον 29, 2 n,  
 51, 6, 53, 1, 62, 2, 65, 6,  
 97, 4; ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον 34,  
 8, 35, 3; ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν  
 90, 1 n; ἢ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἐπίπεμ-  
 ψις 39, 3; ἐπὶ with dat. of  
 purpose, ἐπὶ κακῷ 13, 1 n,  
 ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ 13, 5, ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ  
 29, 3, 37, 3; ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ =  
 'in prosperous times' 17, 2;  
 ἐπὶ with dat. = 'off the coast  
 of' 32 n; ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας 25,  
 3 n; ἐπι- of reciprocity 64, 6.  
 ἐπιβαίνω 25, 4 n.  
 ἐπιβάται 23, 2.  
 ἐπιβολῆς 5, 1 n, 79, 4, 86, 6,  
 90, 2.  
 ἐπιγίγνομαι 4, 2 n, al.  
 Ἐπίδαυρος 56.  
 ἐπιθεάζω 75, 1.  
 Ἐπικλῆς 23, 2.  
 ἐπίκουροι 33, 1 n.  
 ἐπίπεμψις ἐπὶ πολλὰ 39, 3 n.  
 ἐπίπλους τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ 17, 4,  
 56, 1.  
 ἐπίπονος 39, 1 n.  
 ἐπισημαίνειν 49, 7 n  
 ἐπισκήπτω 73, 3 n.  
 ἐπιτήδευμα and ἐπιτηδεύσεις 36,  
 4 n, 37, 2.  
 ἐπιτολαὶ 78, 2 n.  
 ἐπιψηφίζειν 24, 1 n.  
 ἐποικοι 27, 1 n, 70, 4.  
 ἐπόμνημι 5, 6 n.  
 ἐρανος 43, 1 n.

ἐρασταὶ τῆς πόλεως 43, 1,  
 Append. I.  
 ἔργον) (λόγος 8, 4 n, 11, 5, 35,  
 1, 40, 1, 41, 2, 4, 42, 2, 4,  
 43, 1, 2, 3, 46, 1, 64, 6,  
 65, 9, 72, 1, 81, 2.  
 Ἐρεχθεὺς 15, 2.  
 Ἑρμιονίς 56, 5 n.  
 ἐς; (1) with verbal nouns and  
 adj. πρόνοια ἐς τὸν πόλεμον  
 65, 6, βλάβη ἐς τὸν πόλεμον  
 65, 7 n, ἐσβολαὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττι-  
 κὴν 70, 1, πλοῦς ἐς Σικελίαν  
 65, 11, ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον 53,  
 3; (2) with καθίστημι; αὐτοὺς  
 ἐς κίνδυνον καθιστάναι 100, 6,  
 τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πόλεμον κ. 75,  
 1, ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι 9,  
 1, 13, 9, ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν κ.  
 74, 2, ἐς πολιορκίαν κ. 78, 4,  
 ἐς φόβον κ. 81, 6, ἐς φυγὴν  
 κ. 81, 7, ἐς ἀπορίαν κ.  
 81, 8; (3) with ἀγειν, ἐλθεῖν,  
 τρέπεσθαι; ἐς ξύμβασιν ἀγειν  
 2, 4, ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν 3, 4,  
 81, 8, ἐς ἐλπίδα ἐλθεῖν 56, 4,  
 ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν τρέπεσθαι 52, 3,  
 ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας τ. 52,  
 4. ἐς = 'as' 40, 4. ἐς ὀλί-  
 γους οἰκεῖν 37, 1 n. τὰ ἐς  
 ἀρετὴν 40, 4 n.  
 ἐσβατὸς 41, 4.  
 ἐσβολῇ, τῇ temporal 20, 1 n.  
 ἐσπλεῖν, v. ἐκπλεῖν.  
 Ἐστιόδωρος 70, 1.  
 ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον 51, 1, 4;  
 ἕτεροι ἐτέρων 64, 5.  
 ἔτι 2, 1 n, 42, 4 n.  
 ἐτοῖμα 3, 4 n, 10, 2, 56, 1,  
 98, 1.  
 Εὐβοία 14, 1, 26, 1, 32.  
 εὐδαιμονία 97, 5 n; τὸ εὐδαιμον  
 43, 4.  
 Εὐηνος 83, 3 n.  
 Εὐμαχος 33, 1.  
 Εὐμόλπος 15, 1.  
 Εὐξείνιος 97, 1, 5.

Εὐριπίδης **70**, **1**, **79**, **1**.  
 Εὐρύμαχος **2**, **3**, **5**, **7**.  
 Εὐρώπη **97**, **5**.  
 Εὐρωπὸς τῆς Μακεδονίας **100**,  
**3**.

εὐτραπέλως **41**, **1 n**.  
 εὐτυχές, τὸ **44**, **1 n**.  
 εὐτυχίαι **44**, **2 n**; cf. Eur. Ion **658**.  
 Εὐφάμιδας **33**, **1**.  
 ἐφίεσθαι **42**, **4 n**.  
 ἐφόδιον **70**, **3**.  
 ἐφόρμησις **89**, **9**.  
 ἔφορος **2**, **1 n**.  
 ἐχθίστων, τῶν ἡμῖν **71**, **3 n**.  
 Ἐχινάδες **102**, **3**.  
 ἔχει for παρέχει **41**, **3**, **61**, **2**,  
**87**, **1**; ἔχειν v. ἐν, δι' ἡσυχίας  
 ἔχειν **22**, **1**, διὰ χειρὸς ἔ. **13**,  
**2 n**, **76**, **4**.

## Ζ.

Ζάκυνθος **7**, **3**, **9**, **4**, **66**, **1**, **80**,  
**1**.

ζώντων ἐχομένων **5**, **4**.  
 Ζευξίδαμος **19**, **1**, **47**, **2**, **71**, **1**.  
 Ζεὺς ἐλευθέριος **71**, **2**, Ὀλύμπιος  
**15**, **4**.  
 ζηλῶ **37**, **1**, **43**, **4**, **64**, **4 n**.

## Η.

ἡβη **46**, **1**.  
 ἡγεμῶν **11**, **3**, **19**, **1**.  
 ἡόεα, τὰ **41**, **3 n**.  
 ἡδη **2**, **1**.  
 Ἡδῶνες **99**, **4**.  
 Ἡλείοι **9**, **3**, **25**, **3**; Ἡλῖς **66**,  
**1**.  
 ἡλλοίωντο **59**, **1 n**.  
 ἡμαρτήθη **65**, **11 n**.  
 ἦν τι **5**, **6 n**, **12**, **2**, **34**, **2**, **43**,  
**5**, **74**, **3**; ἦν ἄρα **13**, **1**, **87**,  
**9**; ἦν πείθωσιν or πείσωσιν  
**73**, **1**.  
 ἡπειροῦσθαι **102**, **3**.  
 ἡπιώτερον, τὸ **59**, **3**.  
 ἡρξάτο **47**, **3 n**.  
 ἡρως, invocation to **74**, **2**.

ἡσυχάζω (πολεμῶ **3**, **1**, **7**, **2**,  
**65**, **7 n**, **81**, **8**.  
 ἦτοι ... γε **40**, **2 n**.  
 ἡφίει **49**, **2 n**.

## Θ.

Θάρυψ **80**, **6**.  
 θέλω **51**, **5 n**.  
 θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι **71**, **4**, **74**, **2**;  
 ὄρκοι **71**, **4**; πατρῶοι **71**,  
**4 n**.  
 Θέρμη **29**, **6 n**.  
 Θερμοπύλαι **101**, **2**.  
 Θεσπρωτοὶ **80**, **5**.  
 Θεσσαλοὶ **22**, **3**, **101**, **2**.  
 Θῆβαι **5**, **2**; Θηβαῖοι **2**, **4**, **5**.  
 θῆκαι **52**, **4 n**.  
 Θήρα **9**, **4**.  
 Θησεὺς **15**, **1-3**.  
 ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ **48**, **3**, **70**, **5**,  
**103**, **2**.  
 Θράκες **29**, **67**, **95**, **96**, **97**,  
**98**, **100**, **101**, **3**.  
 Θριάσιον πεδῖον **19**, **2 n**, **20**, **3**,  
**21**, **1**; Θριῶζε **21**, **1**.  
 Θρόνιον **26**, **2 n**.  
 θύραι **4**, **5 n**.  
 Θυρέα **27**, **2 n**; Θυρεάτις **27**, **2**.

## Ι.

ιδέα **19**, **1 n**.  
 ιδιώτης (πόλις **8**, **4**, **60**, **2**, **64**,  
**6**, **65**, **7**.  
 ιερὰ) (δσια **52**, **3 n**.  
 ιερωμένης **2**, **1**.  
 ἵνα **3**, **3** (only here in this  
 book).  
 Ἴόνιος κόλπος **97**, **5**.  
 ἱππαγωγοὶ **56**, **2 n**.  
 Ἴσθμὸς **9**, **2**, **10**, **2**, **13**, **1**, **18**,  
**3**.  
 Ἰσοκράτης **83**, **4**.  
 ἰσονομία **37**, **1**.  
 ἰσοπαλεῖς **39**, **1 n**.  
 ἰσόρροπος **42**, **2**.  
 ἴσος **44**, **3 n**.  
 Ἴστρος **96**, **1**, **97**, **1**.



ἰσχύος, ἐπὶ μέγα ἔλθεῖν 97, 4.

ἰσχω 68, 6, 91, 1.

Ἰταλία 7, 2.

Ἰτυς 29, 3 n.

Ἰχθύς 25, 4 n.

Ἰωνες 15, 4; Ἰωνία 9, 4.

## K.

καθάπερ 71, 4, 72, 1.

καθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν 19, 1, 2, 47, 2.

καθίστημι. See ἐς. ἡ καθεστη-  
κνῖα ἡλικία 36, 3 n; τὸ καθε-  
στὸς καλὸν 53, 3; βλάβη  
καθίστατο 65, 7 n.

καίτοι 39, 4 n, 64, 4 n.

κακοτυχεῖν (εὐτυχεῖν 60, 3.

καλινδοῦμαι 52, 2 n.

Καλλίμαχος 67, 2; another  
70, 1.

Καλλιρρόη 15, 5 n.

Κἄρες 9, 4; Κάρια 69, 1.

καρτερεῖν 44, 3 n.

κατά; (1) gen. not found in this  
book; (2) accus. 'opposite,'  
κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν 30, 2 n,

κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον 91, 1; 'in

accordance with,' 'owing to,'  
κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν 22, 3,

101, 4, κ. τὸ ἀρχαῖον 16, 2 n,

κ. τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας 65, 7,

cf. 11 and 12, κ. τὸ διάφορον

27, 2, κ. φιλίαν 82, κ. κακίαν

87, 3, κ. πενίαν 37, 1, κ. τὸ

προνομικηκέναι 89, 5, κ. τὸ

δύνασθαι 97, 4 n, κ. ταῦτα

13, 1, κ. σελήνην 28 n: de-

scribing the inanner, κ. μίαν

ναῦν τάσσεσθαι 84, 1 n, κ.

χώραν μένειν 58, 3 n, κ. ξυ-

στάσεις γίγνεσθαι 21, 3, κ.

πόλεις οἰκείσθαι 15, 1 n, κ.

θέρος γράφεσθαι 1 n, κ. τὸ

χῶμα προσάγεσθαι 76, 4, κ.

κορυφὴν ἐσβάλλειν 99, 1 n;

κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον 24,

2 n; κατὰ in a merely verbal  
antithesis 37, 1 n; κατ' οἶκον  
60, 4 n.

κατάγειν 33, 1, 95, 2, 102, 1.

καταδείσαντες 3, 1, 93, 4.

καταλαμβάνω 81, 4 n.

καταλίω βουλευτήρια 15, 2, πόλε-  
μον 29, 5, ἐλπίδα 89, 10.

κατασκευάζομαι 17, 3 n, 78, 4,  
85, 1.

κατασκευή 5, 4 n, 14, 1 n, 16,  
1, 38, 1, 65, 2, 97, 3.

καταστροφή 42, 2 n.

καταφρόνημα 62, 3 n.

καταφρόνησις 62, 4 n.

κάτειμι 25, 4 n, 84, 3.

κατέχω 62, 3 n.

κατ' ἴσθηται 96, 1 n, 99, 5.

Κέκροψ 15, 1.

κεκωλύσθαι ... παρέσται 8, 4 n.

κελευσταί 84, 3.

κέραμος 4, 2 n.

Κεραμεικὸς 34, 5.

Κερκίνη 98, 1 n.

Κέρκυρα 7, 3, 9, 4, 25, 1.

κέρως, ἐπὶ 90, 4.

Κεφαλληνία 7, 3, 30, 2, 33, 3,  
80, 1.

κῆδος 29, 3 n.

κηπίον 62, 3 n.

Κιθαιρῶν 75, 2.

κινδυνεύειν 62, 3; τῇ πόλει 65,  
7; κινδυνεύεσθαι 35, 1 n, 43,  
5.

κινῶ of things, 24, 1 n.

Κλεινίας 26, 2, 58, 1.

Κλεόμβροτος 71, 2.

Κλεόπομπος 26, 1, 58, 1.

κληῖσις λιμένων 94, 4 n.

κλύδων 84, 3.

Κνηῖμος 66, 2, 80, 2, 81, 3,  
82, 83, 1, 84, 5, 85, 1, 86,  
6, 93, 1.

κοινόν, ἐπὶ τὸ 12, 2 n; πρὸς τὸ  
κοινόν (πρὸς ἀλλήλους 37, 2;  
τὸ κ.) (κατ' οἶκον 60, 4 n;  
τὸ κ.) (τὰ ἴδια 61, 4; κοινῇ)

(ιδία **43**, 2 n; κοινῶς) (ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων **42**, 3; ἡ κοινὴ ἐλπὶς  
**43**, 6.

κόλπος of land, **99**, 3.

κομίζω **67**, 3, **85**, 5; κομίζομαι  
νεκροὺς **79**, 7, **82**; pass. **33**,  
3, **73**, 1, **83**, 3.

κόμπος λόγων **40**, 1, **41**, 2.

Κόρινθος, Κορίνθιοι **9**, 3, **30**, 1,  
**33**, 1, **67**, 1, **69**, 1, **80**, 3,  
**81**, 1, **83**, 2, 4, **92**, 6, **93**,  
**94**.

Κόροντα τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας **102**, 1.

κοσμῶ **42**, 2 n.

Κράνιοι **30**, 2, **33**, 3.

Κρανιώνιοι **22**, 3.

κραυγὴ **4**, 2 n.

κρήνη **15**, 5 n.

Κρήτη **9**, 4, **85**, 5, **86**, 1, **92**,  
7.

Κρισαῖος κόλπος **69**, 1, **83**, 1,  
**86**, 3, **92**, 6, **93**, 1.

Κρουσις **79**, 4.

Κρωπειὰ **19**, 2.

Κυδωνία **85**, 5.

κύκλος νεῶν **83**, 5; κ. τοῦ ἄστεως  
**13**, 7.

Κυλλήνη τῆς Ἡλίδος **84**, 5, **86**,  
1.

Κύνης **102**, 1.

κυπαρίσσινος **34**, 3 n.

Κῦρος **65**, 12.

Κύρρος τῆς Μακεδονίας **100**, 4.

# Λ.

Λαιαῖοι **96**, 3, **97**, 2.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι **7**, **9**, **18**, **19**, **23**,  
**24**, **27**, **47**, **67**, **71**, **75**, **77**,  
**80**, **83**, **84**, **85**, **87**, **90-93**.

λαμπρότης, ἡ παραντίκα **64**, 5.

λαμπρῶς **7**, 1.

λανθάνω **4**, 5.

Λάρισα **22**, 3.

Λαύρειον **55**, 1.

Λέαρχος **67**, 2.

λέγω **5**, 5 n, 5, 7, **57**, 1 n.

Λεοντιάδης **2**, 3.

Λέσβος **9**, 4, **56**, 2.

Λεύκας, Λευκάδιος **9**, 2 n, **30**,  
2, **80**, 5, **81**, 3, **92**, 6.

λέων, Thuc. compared to by the  
Schol. p. 240.

λήθη **44**, 3 n.

Λῆμνος **47**, 3.

Λιβύη **48**, 1.

Λίμναι **15**, 4.

Λιμναία τῆς Ἀργείας **80**, 8 n.

λιμὸς and λοιμὸς **54**, 3.

λογάδες **25**, 3 n.

λόγος. See ἔργον.

Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι **9**, 2 n, **26**,  
2, **32**. Λοκρὶς **26**, 1, **32**.

λουτροφόρος and λουτρὸν γαμικὸν  
**15**, 5.

Λυγκησταὶ **99**, 2.

λύγξ **49**, 4 n.

Λυκία **69**, 1.

Λυκόφρων **85**, 1.

λύσις **102**, 5 n.

# Μ.

Μάγνητες **101**, 2.

Μαιδοὶ **98**, 2.

Μακεδονία, Μακεδόνες **95**, **99**,  
2, 3, **100-102**.

μακρὰ τείχη **13**, 7 n.

μάλιστα **36**, 3 n, **43**, 5 n, **47**,  
4 n; μάλιστα μὲν ... εἰ δὲ μή  
**72**, 1.

μᾶλλον **7**, 3 n, **60**, 3 n, **70**, 1  
n, **76**, 3 n; ἐτέρων μᾶλλον  
**15**, 1, **60**, 7, **87**, 2; μᾶλλον  
ἢ **40**, 4, **41**, 2, **42**, 3, 4,  
**44**, 1, **65**, 8; μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ  
**62**, 3 n; οὐ μᾶλλον ... ἀλλὰ  
**43**, 2 n, **44**, 4.

μαντεῖον, χρησμός, χρηστήριον **17**  
n, **21**, 3, **47**, 4, **54**, 4 n,  
**102**, 5; λόγια and χρησμοὶ  
**8**, 2 n.

Μαραθῶνι **34**, 5 n.

Μαχάων **83**, 4.

μάχη; Ath. and Pel. **86, 90**,  
Ath. and Corinthians **83**,  
Ath. and Chalcidians **79**,  
Chaones and Stratii **81**.

μάχης, διὰ μ. ἐλθεῖν **11, 3, 6**.

Μεγαρίς, Μεγαρήs **9, 4, 31, 1, 93**.

μέγας ρεῖν **5, 2, 102, 4**.

Μεθώνη **25, 1 n**.

Μελήσανδρος **69**.

Μελήσιππος **12, 1**.

μὲν answered by καὶ **65, 12 n**;

long break before δὲ **70, 5 n**;

πρῶτον, μάλιστα μὲν **4, 2**;

μὲν ... μὲν ... δὲ ... δὲ **9, 2 n**;

μὲν δὲ **4, 8 n**; οὕτω μὲν **29,**

**7 n**; μὲν ... τε **70, 2 n**.

Μένων **22, 3**.

μέρος **12, 5 n, 22, 3, 37, 1 n**;

μέρος τι **64, 1, 69, 2, 101,**

**1**; τὸ μέρος **67, 2**; τὰ δύο

μέρη **10, 2 n, 47, 2 n**; μ. =

ἔθνη **96, 1**.

Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ **9, 4,**

**25, 4, 90, 3, 102, 1**.

μετά; (1) gen. μετά, ἀνευ, ξέν

ανὴ χωρὶς **13, 3 n**; concurrent

act or state, μετά τοῦ

δραστηρίου τετάχθαι **63, 3 n,**

μετὰ χαρίτων εὐτραπέλως **41,**

**1 n, μετὰ μεγάλων σημείων)**

(παρασχέσθαι τι ἀμάρτυρον **41,**

**4, μετὰ νόμων ἀνδρείας κινδυνεύειν**

**39, 4 n, μετ' εὐτελείας**

φιλοκαλεῖν **40, 1 n**; joint

efficient cause, μετὰ πόνων

κατέχειν τι **62, 3 n, ὁ μετὰ**

ῥώμης ... ἀναίσθητος θάνατος

**43, 6**; μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας

μεγάλα ἐγένετο **36, 4 n, ἡ μετὰ**

τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις **43,**

**6**; 'besides,' μετὰ τοῦ ξυνητοῦ

καὶ δυνατὸς γενέσθαι **15, 2**;

(2) accus., μετὰ ταῦτα λωφῆ-

σαντα **49, 4 n, πολὺ δευτέρα**

μετὰ τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν **97, 5 n.**

μεταβολή **43, 5 n.**

μεταξύ; τὸ μ. τεῖχος **13, 7.**

μέτοικοι **13, 7, 31.**

μέχρι and μέχρι οὐ **7, 2.**

μὴ **87, 3 n**; μὴ πολλάκις **13, 1**

**n**; μὴ where οὐ is expected

**13, 1 n, 17, 2 n.**

μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων **67, 4, 72, 1.**

μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν **6, 2, cf.**

**73, 3.**

Μῆδοι **71, 2, 74, 3**; τὰ Μηδικὰ

**16, 1, 21, 2.**

μὴν **15, 4.**

μηνύω **42, 2 n.**

μήτε ... τε **49, 5 n, 75, 5.**

μνημεῖα ἀίδια **41, 4.**

μνήμη **29, 3 n, 36, 1, 54, 3 n.**

Μολοσσοὶ **80, 5 n.**

Μολύκρειον **84, 4 n**; Μολυκρικὸς

**86, 2.**

Μονιχία **13, 7.**

μοχλὸς **4, 3 n.**

Μυγδονία **99, 4, 100, 4.**

N.

ναύαρχος **66, 2 n, 80, 2 n.**

Ναυκλείδης **2, 2.**

ναυμαχία, Ath. and Pel. **83,**

**90, 93.**

Ναύπακτος **9, 4 n, 69, 1, 80, 1**

fol., **84, 4, 90, 2, 91, 1,**

**92, 3, 7, 102, 1, 103, 1.**

ναῖς στρογγύλη **97, 1 n, ἀργυ-**

ρολόγος **69, 1, ἱππαγωγὸς 56,**

**2 n, στρατηγὶς 84, 3, ὀλκὰς**

**67, 4.**

νέμομαι **27, 2 n, 30, 1, 72, 1.**

νεότης **8, 1 n, 20, 2, 21, 2.**

Νέστος **96, 4 n.**

νεώς, Phoebi **15, 4, 91, 1, Jovis**

Olympii **15, 4 n, Dionysi**

**15, 4, Telluris 15, 4, Eleu-**

sinium **17, 1 n.**

νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν **6, 2 n.**

νήϊτη στρατῶ **24, 1 n.**

Νικάνωρ **80, 5.**

Νίκλας, Hagnonis pater **58, 1**;

Γορτύνιος **85, 5.**

Νικόλαος **67**, 1 *n*.

Νίσαια **31**, 3, **93**, 2, **94**, 3.

νομίζεται **15**, 5 *n*.

νόμος, *custom* **34**, 1, **35**, 1.

νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην **28** *n*.

Νοῦς **28**.

νύκτα **3**, 4 *n*. Cf. **2**, 1.

## Ξ.

Ξάνθιππος **13**, 1, **31**, 1, **34**, 8.

ξαναγοί **75**, 3 *n*.

ξηνηλασία **39**, 1 *n*.

Ξενότιμος **23**, 2.

Ξενοφῶν **70**, 1, **79**, 1, 7.

ξυγγνώμων εἶναι τινι **74**, 3.

ξυγκομιδῇ; ἡ ξ. ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν **52**, 1 *n*.

ξύλινον τείχος **75**, 4 *n*.

ξύλλογος **12**, 1, **22**, 1 *n*, **59**, 3.

ξύμβουλοι **85**, 1 *n*.

ξύμμαχis **2**, 1, 7, 3, **10**, 1, **80**, 1.

ξύμμαχοι **9**, 4, *al*.

ξυμμετρεῖσθαι **44**, 1.

ξυμπαραγενέσθαι **82**, *n*.

ξύμπασα; ἡ ξ. πόλις) (ἐκαστος **65**, 4 *n*.

ξυμφέρον, τὸ **40**, 4. See τόποι.

ξύν **2**, 1 *n*, where the uses of the prep. are treated.

ξυνάρασθαι κίνδυνον **71**, 2 *n*.

ξυνελεῖν τὰ χωρία καὶ Περδίκκην **29**, 4 *n*.

ξυνίστορες **74**, 3 *n*.

ξυνοίκια **15**, 2.

ξυντελῶ **15**, 2 *n*.

ξυστάσεις **21**, 3.

## Ο.

ὁ; for art. and infin. see τό; for other uses, Index II. *s.v*. Article.

ὅδε, referring to something already mentioned **40**, 2, **41**, 2, **42**, 1 *n*, **60**, 6, **63**, 2, **71**, 3, **72**, 1, 3; article omitted with, **74**, 3 *n*.

ὁδῶ, *by road*, **97**, 1; ἐν ὁ. εἶναι **12**, 1, **13**, 1 *n*.

Ὀδρύσαι, *gens*, **29**, 2, 3, **96**, 1, **97**, 1, 3, **98**, 1; Ὀδρύσης **95**, 1.

ὅθεν, with ellipse of antecedent, **92**, 4 *n*.

οἶα, for ἄτε, **5**, 4 *n*; οἶα εἰκὸς **10**, 1, **54**, 2; τὰς τιμὰς οἶα **35**, 1 *n*.

οἰκεῖν, intrans., **37**, 1 *n*;

οἰκεῖσθαι κατὰ πόλεις **15**, 1 *n*.

οἶκον, κατ' **60**, 4 *n*.

Οἰνιάδαι **82**, 1 *n*, **102**, 2 *n*.

Οἰνὴ **18**, 1 *n*.

οἶων; ὕφ' οἶ. κακοπαθεῖ **41**, 3.

ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς **76**, 3 *n*.

ὀλολυγῇ **4**, 2 *n*.

ὀλόφυρσις **51**, 5 *n*.

Ὀλυνθος **79**, 2, 4.

Ὀμηρος **41**, 4 *n*.

ὀμιλος **31**, 2 *n*, **34**, 8, **36**, 4, **65**, 4, **100**, 6.

ὁμογνωμονεῖν **97**, 6.

ὁμοιοτέλευτα **63**, 3.

ὁμοίως; οὐχ ὁ. *meiosis* for absolute neg. **20**, 4, **42**, 1 *n*,

**60**, 6, **80**, 1, **81**, 5; cf. ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου **44**, 3 *n*.

ὁμολογῶ, pass. with ἐκ, **49**, 1 *n*; ὁμολογουμένη αἰσχύνῃ **37**, 3 *n*.

ὁμόσε χωρεῖν **62**, 3 *n*, **81**, 5.

ὁμως; ἐπειδὴ ... ὁ. **16**, 1, δ ... ὁμως **17**, 1, after partic. **65**, 12;

also ὁμως δέ beginning a sentence, as **11**, 1, *al*.

Ὀνητορίδης **2**, 1.

ὄνομα, *by name*, **37**, 1.

ὁπότεν **11**, 6.

ὁπότε **60**, 4 *n*.

Ὀποῦς, Ὀπούντιοι **32**.

ὅπως, with subj. after past tense, **3**, 3, 4, **69**, 1, **83**, 1, after historic pres. **12**, 2, **67**, 2; with optat., after past tense, **34**, 8, **75**, 2, **76**,

- 1, 3, **81**, 2, **90**, 2, after historic pres. **83**, 5; a protasis inserted between *ὅπως* and its verb **76**, 3, **81**, 2, **90**, 2, following *ὅπως* and verb **83**, 5; fut. indic. in an object clause **99**, 1.
- ὅρᾶν* **11**, 7 *n*; *ἦ πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὅρᾳ* **55**.
- ὀργῆς*, τὰ τῆς **60**, 1.
- ὀρεινός* = *ὄρειος* **96**, 2.
- ὀρέσται* **80**, 6.
- ὀρκοὶ θεοὶ* **71**, 4.
- Ὀροῖδος* **80**, 6.
- ὀρρωδία* **88**, 1 *n*.
- ὅς*; *ὁ* absolute **40**, 3 *n*; τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, ὃ ἂν **44**, 1, καταφρόνησις *ὅς* ἂν **62**, 4.
- ὅσιος* **5**, 5 *n*; *ὁ*.) (*ἱερὸς* **52**, 3.
- ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκοντες* (ἀμάρτημα ἦν) **65**, 11 *n*.
- ὅσος* with ellipse of *ἐστὶ*, **9**, 4, **13**, 4, **97**, 3, 5, *al.*; limited by *πλήν* **9**, 4 *n*.
- ὅστις*, in a rel. clause joined to a substantive, **41**, 4 *n*, **61**, 4. So *ὅσον* **4**, 5; cf. *ὅστις* with indic. **64**, 5, 6, equivalent to a partic.
- ὅταν* **11**, 6 *n*.
- ὅτε*, marking a date, **13**, 9, **56**, 3, **78**, 4, **95**, 2, **98**, 1, **99**, 6, **102**, 5; *μέμνημαι ... ὅτε* **21**, 1 *n*, **54**, 4; *ὅτε* with infin. in *O. O.* **102**, 5 *n*; *ἔστιν ὅτε* **81**, 3, *al.*
- ὅτι*, after past tenses; optat., **2**, 3, **3**, 5, **6**, 2, **13**, 1, **21**, 3, **57**, 1, indic. retained, **8**, 4, **12**, 4, **73**, 1, **74**, 1, **80**, 1 (after historic pres.); *ὅτι* introducing quasi-obliqua **12**, 3 *n*.
- οὐ* superfluous **62**, 3 *n*. See also *s.v.* *μή*.
- οὐδὲ* **12**, 1 *n*; *ἐν οὐδὲ ἐν* **51**, 2 *n*; *οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν* **87**, 7; *οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ* **97**, 6; *δέδια μὴ οὐδὲ* **76**, 3; *οὐκ ... οὐδὲ* **22**, 1, *al.*, *οὐδὲν ... οὐδὲ* **29**, 3, *οὕτω ... οὐδὲ* **21**, 2, *οὔτε ... οὔτε ... οὐδὲ* **62**, 1.
- οὐδεὶς* **53**, 1, 3.
- οὐκέτι*, not as intended, of cancelled arrangements **21**, 1, **93**, 4; *οὐκ ἂν ἔτι* **81**, 5.
- οὖν*; *δ' οὖν* **5**, 7 *n*, **16**, 1; *μὲν οὖν*, of transition, **9**, 1, **13**, 6, **44**, 2, **48**, 3, **51**, 1, **54**, 5, **58**, 3, **75**, 2, **87**, 5, **89**, 9, **99**, 1, 4, **98**, 1; *οἷκ οὖν* not on that account, **43**, 1.
- οὔτε ... τε* **1**, 5, 5, **39**, 2, **65**, 2, **81**, 1, 4; *οὔτε ... οὔτε* or *οὐδὲ ... οὐδὲ* **93**, 3; *οὔτε ... οὔτε ... οὐδὲ* **62**, 1.
- οὗτος* (*ὁ ἕτερος* **29**, 2, 3, **86**, 3; in epanalepsis **9**, 4 *n*, **48**, 3, **53**, 3 *n*; *τοῦτο δρᾶν* **11**, 8 *n*, **13**, 1 *n*, **49**, 5, cf. **81**, 8, **102**, 3; **76**, 2 *n*.
- οὕτω*; see *δή*; with adj., colloquial so **11**, 6; *οὐδ' οὕτω* **76**, 3.
- οὕτως πράττειν* **4**, 8; cf. **101**, 6.
- ὀφειλόμενα* **40**, 4 *n*.
- ὀψει* **37**, 2 *n*.

## Π.

- Πάγγαιον* **99**, 3.
- παίδευσις Ἑλλάδος* **41**, 1 *n*.
- Παιονία* **99**, 4 *n*; *Παιονικός* **96**, 3, **98**, 2; *Παίονες* **36**, **98**.
- Παλαιρῆς*, *gens*, **30**, 1.
- Παλῆς*, *gens*, **30**, 2.
- πάλιν*, unemphatic when following the verb, **5**, 5, **13**, 5, **21**, 1, **65**, 9, **94**, 3, **102**, 1; emphatic when preceding the verb, **28**, **73**, 2.



Παναίοι, *gens*, 101, 3.  
 πανδημί 31, 1, 94, 2.  
 Πανδίων 29, 3.  
 πανηγύρεις 38, 1.  
 πανοικεσία 16, 1.  
 Πάνορμος, ὁ Ἀχαιῶς 86, 1, 4.  
 πανστρατιά 5, 1, *al.*  
 πανταχόθεν 53, 3 *n*, 59, 2.  
 παρά; (1) *gen.* παρ' ἡμῶν 41, 1 *n* (no other cases of *gen.* in this book), (2) *dat.*, nearly = *penes*, 21, 3, 72, 2, παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι καιρῷ 43, 2 *n*, (3) *accus.*, *along* or *past* of distance, παρὰ γῆν πλεῖν, κομίζεσθαι 83, 1, 90, 3, παρὰ Στράτον ῥεῖν 102, 2, παρ' Οἰνιάδας ἐξίεναι 102, 3, παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιδόν 99, 4; *along*, *beside* of parallel extent, ἀνατιθέναι ναῦν παρὰ τροπαῖον 92, 5, τίθεσθαι παρὰ τινα τὰ ὅπλα 2, 4, οἱ παρ' ἑπαλξιν 13, 6; *contrary to*, παρὰ δόξαν 49, 6, *π.* τὸ εἶκος 82, 1, *π.* καιρὸν 65, 9, *π.* λόγον 64, 1, 91, 4; *to*, of persons, 31, 1, *al.*; παρὰ πολὺ, *by far*, 8, 4, 89, 4; παρὰ ὅς περὶ 99, 2 *n*.  
 παραβοηθῶ 90, 3.  
 παραγίγνομαι 5, 1, 83.  
 παράδειγμα 37, 1, 42, 1.  
 παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς 4, 7 *n*.  
 παραίνεσις 45, 2, 88, 1; παραινῶ 18, 3, *al.*  
 παρακαταθήκη 72, 3.  
 παρακέλευσις 88, 1; παρακελεύομαι 86, 6 *n*.  
 παραλιπόντι 51, 1 *n*.  
 παραλία, ἡ 56, 3.  
 παραλλάξ 102, 4.  
 παράλογος 62, 3, 85, 2; ἀξιὸν τοῦ *π.* (*Ste.*) ὁ τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ 89, 5.  
 Πάραλος 55, 1 *n*.  
 παραλυπεῖν 51, 1 *n*.

παρασκευῇ) (γνώμη 9, 1 *n*; *π.*) (πόλεμος 72, 1; *π.* καὶ ἀπατή) (τὸ ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν εὖψυχον 39, 1.  
 Παραναῖοι 80, 6.  
 παραντίκα, ἐν τῷ 11, 7.  
 παρόν, τὸ, *see* ἐν, ἐπὶ, πρὸς.  
 Πάρνης 23, 1.  
 παρομοίωσις 40, 1, 54, 2.  
 παρονομασία 40, 1, 60, 3, 98, 3.  
 πᾶς; ὁ *π.* ἀριθμὸς 7, 2 *n*, ὁ *π.* ὄμιλος 36, 4; παντὶ τρόπῳ 21, 3, 58, 1; πᾶσαν ιδέαν 19, 1 *n*; ἐπὶ πᾶν 51, 1 *n*; πάντα *epanaleptic* 47, 4.  
 Πάτραι 83, 3 *n*, 84, 3, 5.  
 πατρῷοι θεοὶ 71, 4 *n*.  
 Πανσανίας 21, 1, 71, 2, 4.  
 πεδῖον, τὸ Θριάσιον 19, 2, 20, 3, 21, 1; τὸ Ἀττικὸν 20, 1, 55, 1, 56, 1.  
 πεζὸς 86, 4 *n*, 90, 3.  
 Πειραιεύς 13, 7, 17, 3, 48, 2, 93, 94.  
 πειρῶ 19, 1 *n*, 72, 2, 77, 2; ἐπειρασάμην and ἐπειράθην 5, 5.  
 Πελαργικὸν 17, 1 *n*.  
 Πέλλα 99, 4, 100, 4.  
 Πελληνῆς, *gens* *Achaeorum*, 9, 2.  
 Πελοπόννησος 9, 2, 4, 27, 1, 54, 5; Πελοποννήσιοι 9, 2, *al.*  
 πέμπω 6, 1 *n*, 6, 2 *n*.  
 περαιῶ 67, 3 *n*.  
 Περδίκκας 29, 4, 7, 95, 96, 98-102.  
 περὶ; (1) *gen.* περὶ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι 11, 9, περὶ πλείστου ἡγεῖσθαι 89, 9; περὶ τίνος ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀμύνεσθαι 39, 2 *n*, 41, 5, 62, 3, 63, 1 *n*, *cf.* περὶ ἴσου ὁ ἀγὼν 42, 1; (2) *dat.* περὶ τινι δεδιέναι, φοβεῖσθαι 5, 5 *n*, 72, 2, 90, 3; (3) *accus.*, *time*, περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον 2, 1 *n*, περὶ ἀρκτούρου

- ἐπιτολὰς **78**, 2 *n*; place, τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον **7**, 3 *n*, **30**, 1 *al.*, περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους **25**, 2 *n*, **102**, 2, περὶ ἣν **91**, 3 *n*; ἡ Ἀκαρνανία ἡ περὶ θάλασσαν **33**, 2, περὶ οὐ παρὰ **99**, 2 *n*; connected with, περὶ τὸν τάφον **35**, 1 *n*, cf. **52**, 4, τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ἔργον **29**, 3, τὰ περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα **102**, 6.
- Περικλῆς **12**, 1, **13**, **21**, 3, **22**, **31**, 1, **35-47**, **55-57**, **58**, 1, **59**, 3, **60-65**.
- πέριξ καταπολεμεῖν **7**, 3.
- περιοικίς **25**, 3 *n*.
- περιορᾶσθαι **43**, 4 *n*; περιορᾶν with infin. **20**, 2 *n*.
- περιπίπτειν **54**, 1 *n*, **65**, 12.
- Πέρσαι **97**, 4.
- πηγαί **15**, 5.
- Πιερία **99**, 3, **100**, 3; Πίερες, Πιερικὸς **99**, 3.
- Πίνδος ὄρος **102**, 2.
- πίστις, probatio, **11**, 3-8, **37-45**, **60**, 5-63, 3, **87**, 3-7, **89**, 2-8.
- πίσυνος **89**, 6 *n*.
- Πλάταια, Πλαταιαί **2**, 1, **5**, 2, **7**, 1, **10**, 1, **12**, 5, **19**, 1, **71-79**; Πλαταιαίς **71**, 4, **74**, 3; Πλαταιῆς **9**, 4, *al.*
- Πλειστοάναξ **21**, 1.
- πλέον, πλεῖστον, see ἐπί; **11**, 8 *n*.
- πλήθος, of superior numbers, **11**, 3, **87**, 6, **88**, 1, **89**, 1, **100**, 6; τὸ ἐλασσον πλήθος **11**, 4; πλήθος τὸ ἄχρηστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων **78**, 3.
- πλήν, not affecting the construction, **21**, 2 *n*, **34**, 5.
- [πλησίον] **4**, 5. See *not. crit.*
- ποθεῖν **44**, 2 *n*; cf. Eur. Ion **360**.
- ποθεινότερος **42**, 4 *n*.
- ποιεῖν ἐς **8**, 4 *n*; ποιεῖν πολίτην **29**, 5 *n*.
- ποιεῖσθαι, with noun as a periphrasis for a verb, but in a higher style, ἀγῶνα π. **89**, 8, ἀναβολὴν π. **42**, 4, ἀπόβασιν π. **26**, 2, **33**, 3, γνώμην π. **2**, 4, διδασκαλίαν π. **42**, 1, ἐφοδον π. **95**, 3, λόγους π. **101**, 1, μεταναστάσεις π. **16**, 1, μνήμην π. **54**, 3, ναυμαχίαν π. **83**, 3, παραίνεσιν π. **88**, 1, πείραν π. **20**, 3, προσβολὰς π. **18**, 1, στρατείαν π. **11**, 1, **68**, 9, στρατόπεδον π. **19**, 2, ταφὰς π. **34**, 1, τέκνωσιν π. **44**, 3, τροπὴν π. **19**, 2, ὑπόμνησιν π. **88**, 3, φυλακὴν π. **94**, 4;—ταχείας π. τὸς ἐπαυρέσεις **53**, 2, φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς π. **11**, 9, ἐντὸς π. **83**, 5.
- πόλεμος, the Archidamian War; beginning 1 *n*, preparations **7**, how related **1**, **18**, 1, **21**, 1, **34**, 1, **68**, 1; Δωρικὸς π. **54**, 3; Χαλκιδικὸς π. **95**, 2.
- πόλις, the Acropolis, **15**, 6 *n*.
- πολιτεία, the Athenian, **37**, 1.
- Πολιχνῖται **85**, 5.
- πολλάκις; μῆ. π. **13**, 1 *n*.
- Πόλλις **67**, 1.
- Πολυμήδης **22**, 3.
- πολύ, with quasi-comparative, πολὺ ἀπέχειν **86**, 4, διέχειν **81**, 3, ἐπικρατεῖν **93**, 1, προέχειν **81**, 7. See ἐπί, παρά.
- πολύτροπος **44**, 1.
- πομπαί; σκευὴ περὶ τὰς π. **13**, 4.
- πόνος **39**, 4 *n*.
- πόντος, ὁ Εὐξείνιος **97**, 1, 5.
- πορθμὸς **83**, 3.
- Ποσειδῶν **84**, 4.
- ποταμός; μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ **97**, 1 *n*.
- Ποτειδαία **13**, 3, **31**, 2, **58**, **67**, 1, **70**, **79**, 7; Ποτειδαῖαται (mis-spelt Ποτειδεᾶται) **70**, 1.
- Πρασιαί τῆς Λακωνικῆς **56**, 6.
- πράσσω **2**, 3 *n*, **5**, 7 *n*.

πρέπον **36**, 1 n.  
 πρίν, with pres. infin. **67**, 3 n.  
 πρό, time, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ **58**, 2, **73**, 3, πρὸ γαμικῶν **15**, 5; place, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων διώκειν **91**, 2, al.  
 προάστειον **34**, 5 n.  
 πρόγονοι **36**, 1 n.  
 προδιδόντες, ol **5**, 7 n.  
 πρόθεσις, *propositio*, **36**, 4, **60**, 5.  
 προλεσθαι **43**, 1 n.  
 Πρόκνη **29**, 3.  
 Προναῖοι **30**, 2.  
 πρόξενοι **29**, 1, **85**, 5.  
 προοίμιον, *exordium*, **11**, 1-2, **35-36**, 3, **60**, 1-4, **87**, 1-2, **89**, 1.  
 προπύλαια **13**, 3.  
 πρὸς; (1) gen., to the advantage of, πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι **86**, 5; in oaths, πρὸς τῶν ὀρκῶν ἐπισκήπτειν **73**, 3; (2) dat., near, πρὸς τῇ γῇ εἶναι **90**, 4, al., in addition to, πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο **36**, 2, al.; (3) accus., local, πρὸς ἧλον ἀνίσχοντα **9**, 4, πρὸς νότον τετραμμένον **15**, 3, ol πρὸς Βορέαν Θρᾷκες **101**, 3, metaphorical, χωρεῖν πρὸς ξύμβασιν **3**, 1, πρὸς τὸ ἡπιώτερον καταστήσαι **59**, 3, πρὸς ὀργὴν = πρὸς ὀργὴν τετραμμένος **65**, 8 n; with a view to, πρὸς τι παρασκευάζεσθαι **77**, 1, τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον **17**, 4 n, πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις **53**, 2; of intercourse, hostile or friendly, μηκύνειν πρὸς εἰδότης **43**, 1, cf. **5**, 7 n, **101**, 1, ξυγχωρεῖν πρὸς **59**, 2,—ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους **29**, 3, φθόνος πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον **45**, 1 n, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς **100**, 5 n; compared with, ἕτερος πρὸς ἕτερον **51**, 1, ἐγκαλλώπισμα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν **62**, 3; with reference

to, πρὸς ᾧ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο **54**, 3, πρὸς τὰ παρόντα **6**, 1, cf. **64**, 6, **89**, 11, **91**, 4, al.  
 προσγίγνομαι **79**, 5, **87**, 3 n, 7 n.  
 προσέτι **62**, 3 n.  
 [προσηξαν] **97**, 3 not. crit.  
 πρόσοδοι, Ath., **13**, 2.  
 προστασία τοῦ δήμου **65**, 11 n.  
 πρόσφορος **46**, 1, **65**, 11.  
 προταλαιπωρεῖν **52**, 3.  
 πρότερον ἢ **42**, 2 n, **65**, 12.  
 προτίθημι στέφανόν τινα ἀγῶνος **46**, 1; προτίθεσθαι = προτιμᾶσθαι **42**, 3 n.  
 προτιμῶ **37**, 1, **42**, 2.  
 πρότριτα **34**, 2 n.  
 προφανοῦς, see ἀπὸ τοῦ, **93**, 3 n.  
 προφάσεως, ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς **49**, 2.  
 προσφέρειν = προέχειν **89**, 3 n.  
 προχωρεῖν **5**, 1 n.  
 πρυτανεῖον **15**, 1.  
 Πρωτέας **23**, 2.  
 πρῶτον μὲν **4**, 2; πρῶτου or πρῶτος **25**, 2; πρῶτων or πρῶτον **34**, 1.  
 Πυθᾶγγελος **2**, 1.  
 Πύθης **29**, 1.  
 Πύθιον **15**, 4; Πυθικὸν μαντεῖον **17**, 1.  
 Πυθόδωρος **2**, 1.  
 πύλαι **4**, 5 n.  
 πω **12**, 4 n.  
 πωλοῖτο or ἀπόδοιτο **60**, 6.  
 πως **3**, 2 n; εἰ πως **67**, 1, **77**, 2.

## P.

ραθυμία) (πόνων μελέτη **39**, 4.  
 Ρεῖτοι **19**, 2 n (? Ρεῖτοί).  
 Ῥίον τὸ Ἀχαικὸν **86**, 3, **92**, 5;  
 τὸ Μολυκρικὸν **84**, 2, **86**, 2;  
 τὰ Ῥία **86**, 5.  
 Ῥοδόπη **96**, 2 n, 4, **98**, 4.  
 ῤώμη **43**, 6; ἐρρώμην **8**, 1, 4.

## Σ.

Σαβύλινθος 80, 6.  
 Σάδοκος 29, 5, 67, 2.  
 Σαλαμῖς 93, 4, 94.  
 Σαμαῖοι 30, 2.  
 σεισμός, ὁ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, 27, 2, ὁ ἐν  
 Δήλῳ 8, 3 n.  
 Σεύθης 97, 3, 101, 5.  
 σῆμα, τὸ δημόσιον, 34, 5.  
 σημαίνειν, absolute, 8, 3 n, 43,  
 3, 49, 7.  
 σημεῖα 42, 1 n, 15, 4.  
 Σικελία 9, 3, 65, 11.  
 Σικύων 6, 3, 80, 3.  
 σινδών (the material used by  
 St. Joseph of Arimathaea)  
 49, 5.  
 Σιντοὶ 98, 1.  
 Σιτάλης 29, 1, 67, 95-102.  
 σιτοποιοὶ 76, 3.  
 Σκόμβρον 96, 3 n.  
 Σκύθαι 96, 1, 97, 6.  
 σκύλα Μηδικὰ 13. 4 n.  
 Σόλλιον 30, 1.  
 Σπάρδακος 101, 5.  
 Σπάρτη 2, 1, 21, 1; Σπαρτιάται  
 12, 1, 25, 2.  
 Σπάρτωλος 79, 2.  
 σπονδαί, τριακοντούτεις, 2, 1, 7,  
 1; Pausaniae, 72, 1.  
 στάσις 22, 3 n; cf. Aesch.  
 Eumen. 311.  
 στέγειν 94, 3.  
 στενά, τὰ 86, 5, 90, 1.  
 στερήσεως; περὶ ἀρχῆς σ. ἀγωνί-  
 ζεσθαι 63, 1 n.  
 στερίσκω 43, 1, 44, 2.  
 στρατηγοὶ 13, 1, 55, 2, 59, 3,  
 70, 4, 95, 1.  
 στρατιωτικώτερον 83, 3.  
 Στρατονίκη 101, 6.  
 Στράτος 80, 8 n, 82, 102;  
 Στράτιοι 81, 82, 84, 5.  
 στρατός, ellipse of; see πεζός.  
 στρογγύλη ναὺς 97, 1.  
 Στρυμῶν 96, 3, 97, 2, 99, 3,  
 101, 3.

στυράκιον 4, 3 n.

σφείς 4, 1 n, 27, 2 n, 76, 2;  
σφέτερος 3, 4 n.

σχήματα; (1) σχήματα λέξεως,  
*figures of speech*, commoner  
 than σ. διανοίας, and adopted  
 in part from Gorgias, consist-  
 ing of ἀντίθετα, παρομοία,  
 παρονομασίαι, ἀναφορά, ὁμοιο-  
 τέλευτα, Intr. p. lii. For ἀντί-  
 θετα, see s.v.; for παρομοιώσις,  
 see s.v.; add 62, 4 (τά τε  
 δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως); παρο-  
 νομασία 97, 4 (αἰσχίον ἦν αἰτη-  
 θέντα μὴ δοῖναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα  
 μὴ τυχεῖν), 62, 3 (φρονήματι  
 ... καταφρονήματι), 40, 1 (φιλο-  
 καλοῦμεν ... φιλοσοφοῦμεν), 44,  
 1 (ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι ... ἐνταλαι-  
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Τιμόξενος 33, 1.

τό; with infin., (1) subject:

χαλεπὸν τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν 35, 2, οὐ τὸ κερδαίνειν μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι 44, 4, τὸ μισεῖσθαι πᾶσιν ὑπῆρξε 64, 5, τὸ ἡσσᾶσθαι προσεγένετο 87, 2; (2) object: ἀντιτάξασθε πρὸς τὸ δεδιέναι τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν 87, 5, τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι κάλλιον ἡγησάμενοι 42, 4; (3) *accus. of respect*: τὸ μὲν προταλαιπωρεῖν οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν 53, 3; (4) *accus. after prepositions*: διὰ (only with *accus.*) 11, 4, 14, 2, 37, 1, 50, 2, *al.*; ἐπὶ, only 65, 9 κατέπλησεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι ... ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν; κατὰ, in consequence of, κατὰ τὸ προνεκικηκεῖναι 89, 5 n, κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι 97, 4;

with reference to, κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι 72, 2; πρὸς, εὐψυχότατοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιέναι, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέστατοι 11, 5; (5) *genitive*: ἐρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρῶτος ἕκαστος γίνεσθαι 65, 10; τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσιν 42, 4 n; ἔλεγεν ἄλλα ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι 13, 9 n; ἐς ἐλπίδα ἦλθον τοῦ ἐλεῖν 56, 4 n; ὑπόμνησιν ποιέσθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν 88, 3; ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν 49, 6 n; αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι τοῦ ἀδικεῖν 60, 7; τοῦ μὴ in neg. purpose 22, 2 n, 75, 1; *gen. after prep.*; ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι 44, 3, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὀρᾶν 53, 4; ἡ μετὰ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις 43, 6; μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι 53, 4; περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξίεναι 22, 1, 55, 2; (6) *dative*: cause, τῷ ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι θρυσύτεροι 89, 3; *dat. after prep.*; ἐν τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι 11, 7; ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι 43, 5.

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τόποι, *loci* or *partes suadendi*, comprising τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ νόμιμον, τὸ ξυμφέρον, τὸ καλόν, τὸ ἡδύ, τὸ βῆδιον, τὸ δυνατόν: τὸ δίκαιον 71-74; τὸ νόμιμον not used in this book; τὸ ξυμφέρον 11, 3, 36, 2, 62, 3, 63, 89, 9; τὸ καλόν 11, 2, 9, 43-46, 62, 3, 64, 3; τὸ δυνατόν 62, 2, 87, 4; τὸ ἡδύ and τὸ βῆδιον not used in this book. The *πίστεις*, *argumenta*, by which these τόποι are supported are εἰκότα, τεκμήρια, σημεία, ἐνθυμήματα,



γνώμαι : εικότα **11, 87, 4** ;  
 τεκμήρια and σημεία **39, 2, 41, 2, al.** ; ἐνθυμήματα **11, 6 n, 60, 1 n, 87, 4.**  
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φορῶν πιεζόμενοι **68, 5** ; ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος διεφθείροντο **49, 6** ; ὑπὸ with the perf. pass., when required, **34, 6 n** ; (2) dat. εἶναι ὑπὸ τισι **72, 1** ; (3) accus. ὀρύξαντες ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα **76, 2 n** ; ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ Σπάρτῳ **79, 2** ; τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐξωκλήθη **17, 1, cf. 99, 3.**  
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