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THUCYDIDES
BOOK III
THUCYDIDES

BOOK III

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

TWENTY years ago I hoped to edit five books of Thucydides. I am glad that I have been able to do so; and now that I have finished, I wish to acknowledge the unfailing courtesy and patience of the publishers.

My chief purpose in this volume has been to enable readers to follow the narrative of the four great episodes contained in Book III, without difficulty. To read the account of them with the aid of a good map and the necessary explanations is an interesting and even exciting experience.

My obligations to the following books are very great:—Busolt’s History, and for Lesbos, R. Koldewey’s Die antiken Bauwerke der Insel L. and W. Herbst’s Der Abfall Mytilenes; for Corcyra, B. Schmidt’s Korkyraeische Studien; for Plataea, H. Wagner’s Die Belagerung von Plataeae and G. B. Grundy’s The Topography of the Battle
of Plataea; for Acarnania and Aetolia, Oberhumer's Akarnanien and Woodhouse's Aetolia.

The list of readings at the end of the Introduction will show the small extent to which I have felt it necessary to differ from Mr. Stuart Jones in textual matters. A few conjectures are appended to the list.
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# INTRODUCTION

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II. THE FOUR GREAT EPISODES

1. THE REVOLT OF LESBOS

At the time of the outbreak of war between Athens and Sparta, only two among the islands of the Aegean retained the status that had originally belonged to all the states which formed the Delian confederacy in 476 B.C. Only Chios and Lesbos were free and independent allies of Athens.

The chief city of Lesbos was Mytilene, on the east coast. It was governed by an oligarchy, which, until a few years before the war, had remained outwardly loyal to the alliance with Athens. The city was powerful and prosperous: it possessed at least fifty ships of war; it had gained a commanding position in the island, so much so that the towns Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha were its dependencies; only Methymna, which also possessed a fleet, remained outside its influence. The oligarchs who controlled its policy viewed with apprehension the advance of Athenian power in the Aegean; and they were on the look-out for a favourable moment to break with Athens and join Sparta. An attempt to carry out this design had been made already some two years before the war broke out, but the appeal to Sparta had met with an unfavourable response. The outbreak of the Peloponnesian war
must have been a powerful incentive to the oligarchs to renew their efforts. They strengthened their walls, built ships, closed their harbours, sent to Pontus to buy corn and hire archers. They even tried to absorb the governments of the other Lesbian cities, and to establish their supremacy over the whole island.

These measures were encouraged not only by Sparta, but by the Boeotians, who probably wanted to prevent Athens from sending relief to Plataea.

The narrative of the siege of Mytilene is easy to follow, once the leading features of the topography of the city are understood.

1. Αἰλιένε (cc. 2, 2; 3, 6; 6, 1). The Acropolis and a small part of the city lay on a little island or rather peninsula on the east coast; this peninsula was divided from the mainland by a channel or Euripus—which is now silted up, and apparently was not navigable in 428 B.C.1 The larger and newer part of the city lay on the mainland. The channel formed a connecting link between the two harbours. The northern harbour was the principal one (cf. c. 4, 2) and was included in the city by prolonging the ends of the city walls where they ran down to the coast, both on the acropolis and on the mainland side, far out to sea (cf. c. 2, 2). The works were incomplete when the siege began; and the southern harbour, which is the one now in use, does not seem to have been enclosed at all at that date. This southern harbour, then, was outside the city.

1 Diodorus xiii. 79. 6, and Xen. Hell. i. 6. 22 show that the Euripus was navigable in 406 B.C. From the narrative of the siege, I should judge that this was not so in 428 B.C. 'The canal,' says Tozer, 'was a natural one, but was afterwards artificially improved.' This improvement may have been carried out soon after the siege.
2. τεῖχος (c. 3, 6). The acropolis was fortified, but at the time of the siege the city-walls were incomplete. They were to run right round the city, both on the land and on the sea side, and to terminate in the harbours, so as to enable them to be closed at need.

3. Μαλείς Ἄπολλών (c. 3, 3, 6), ἡ Μαλέα (c. 4, 5). Maloeis appears to have been the name of the low coast-line after you leave the city, at the north-west of the northern harbour. The temple seems to have lain at the northern extremity of this strip of coast, in a little valley. The position is so low that city and harbour cannot be overlooked from it (cf. c. 3, 3). Malea has been identified as a low promontory on this strip of coast, a suitable position from which to keep a watch towards the city and the northern harbour.

4. χαράδρα (c. 25, 1). This torrent-bed by which Salaethus contrived to get into Mytilene is to be identified in the modern stream of Alissida, which flows at the south of the city and approaches at one place within 150 yards of the ancient wall. It would have been much more difficult for Salaethus to get in from the north, where the main Athenian station was, and the lines of Paches cannot have crossed any stream on that side. Paches may well have supposed that the Alissida was sufficient protection, and may have omitted to build securely across it. The route from Pyrrha naturally brings one out at the head of the Bay of Iero, and thence through the narrow valley of the Alissida.

As regards the Athenian dispositions, the following points are to be observed:

(1) The first station of the fleet was at Malea, and this continued to serve as the naval base (c. 6, 2).
The στρατόπεδον (c. 5, 2) was, of course, on the coast, close by. Presently a part of the fleet was sent round (περιορμισόμενοι, c. 6, 1) the peninsula, to keep a watch on the southern harbour. At the same time the northern στρατόπεδον was fortified, and a second fortified camp was established on the mainland on the coast, south-west of the southern harbour.

(2) Paches landed at Malea. When it is said that he built a single wall round the city (c. 18, 4), the meaning is that he built it across the mainland on the western side of the city, from coast to coast, presumably from the northern to the southern στρατόπεδον.

2. THE ESCAPE FROM PLATAEA

The siege of Plataea was begun in June 429 B.C.: the town capitulated in August 427 B.C. The garrison consisted of 400 Plataeans and 80 Athenians. We do not know what the population amounted to, but it was certainly small. We are expressly told that in 431 the least able-bodied part of the population had been removed to Athens. No attempt had been made by Athens to relieve the garrison, in spite of a promise of help couched in the most solemn language. Doubtless the revolt of Lesbos, encouraged by Sparta and Boeotia for the very purpose, had tied the hands of Athens; but, apart from the claims of honour and obligation, it might not unnaturally be thought that the position of Plataea, near the roads from Attica and the Megarid to Thebes, was sufficiently important to demand imperatively an effort on the part of Athens. It must be that Athens, always open to invasion from
the south, realized the impossibility of controlling the roads into Boeotia and of striking at Boeotia from that side. Unfortunately for Plataea, it bore no relation to Athenian plans for the war. The siege bulks very big in the pages of Thucydides; but it may be doubted whether Athenian politicians thought it worth while to run a serious risk for the sake of saving the little town. If it were relieved, it must then be garrisoned; and nothing could prevent the Boeotians and Peloponnesians from gathering again to besiege it.\footnote{1}{It is suggested that, as a siege was a novelty in the war, Thucydides selected it for full description, just as he describes the \textit{στάσις} in Corcyra as a specimen. But the complications of the siege and the adventures of the garrison were, perhaps, reasons strong enough to induce Thucydides, who certainly picks and chooses among events, to select the episode for one of his large-scale pictures.}

The town was razed to the ground; and as the account of Thucydides is lacking in topographical detail, we do not know for certain exactly where on the plateau now occupied with the ruins the town of that time lay. This uncertainty, however, does not seriously affect the account of the escape of the two hundred and twelve (cc. 20 f.).

1. \textit{τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Πελοποννήσιων} (cc. 21, 1; 22, 1, etc.). The double battlemented wall, about a mile, probably, in circumference, was apparently about 100 yards from the wall of the town.\footnote{2}{G. B. Grundy, \textit{Topography of the battle of Pl.}, and H. Wagner, \textit{Die Belagerung von Pl.}, compared.} The roof of the wall, with its battlements and towers, formed a continuous gallery, for there was a passage (\textit{διόδος}) through every tower, communicating with the intervals (curtains, \textit{μεταπύργια}) between every pair of towers by means of small doors. The sun-baked bricks of which the wall was built must have

been of the standard square pattern, since the besieged were able to calculate exactly the height of the wall by counting the number of the courses in it. The greater part of the wall was covered with whitewash, made from the lime of Cithaeron; but the building had been carried on at various points simultaneously by the soldiers, and some of them had omitted the whitewash. From the indications of date given in the narrative, it is calculated that the whole wall (περίτειχισμα) had been built in about forty days (early autumn of 429 B.C.): no doubt several thousands of the soldiers had been employed in the building. When the work was completed, the greater part of the Peloponnesian forces had been withdrawn. Evidently the intention was to starve the garrison into submission; and for this purpose it was sufficient to leave a guard (φυλακής) to man the wall. Thebes, too, was scarcely two miles off; and it was arranged that, in case of an emergency, assistance should be summoned from there by signal (c. 22, 7). The portion of the guard on duty slept in the space between the two faces of the wall, the remainder were in camp outside the wall; but, in case of an emergency, the men in camp would, of course, hasten to the assistance of the guard, every man to his post (c. 22, 5, 6). From the men in camp, moreover, a picket of 300 men was specially told off to make for the point where the danger seemed to be, the instant any alarm was raised. It will be noticed from the construction of the wall that, if you seized and held any two towers with a few men, it would not be difficult to effect an escape across the intervening space.

Two little points Thucydides has left to the 'general intelligence,' so to say, of the public. He
does not explain what the length of the ladders would have to be in proportion to the ascertained height of the wall—a Greek reader would understand the business of hypotenuse and sides; nor does he mention how the fugitives, having mounted the wall at one side, got down again at the other. But there is no need to suppose that they jumped!

2. τάφροι (cc. 22, 1; 23, 2, 3, 4; 24, 1). There was a ditch both within and without the wall of circumvallation. It appears that the inner ditch had not much water in it; no more, evidently, than was easily forded if the ice on it gave way (cf. c. 22, 1, 5 with c. 23, 5). On the other hand, the ditch on the outer side was very full and difficult to cross. The difference is natural, because the outer ditch would receive the water brought down from the northern slopes of Cithaeron. The bricks for building the wall were made of the clay dug out from the ditches.

3. (a) ἂν ὡς Ἐνδασις φέρουσα ὄδὸς, (b) ἂν ἐν' Ἀθηνῶν ὄδὸς (c. 24, 1, 2). It is tolerably clear that the Plataean fugitives left the town at the NE. corner, from which point the descent is somewhat steep to the plain. They then turned to the left, and struck the direct road from Plataea to Thebes. A Theban party meanwhile was hurrying off along the road that led from Plataea to the Oak’s Heads Pass, and which joined the main road from

1 When Thucydides says that they ‘had the Chapel of Androcrates,’ the Plataean hero, ‘on the right,’ it must by no means be assumed that they passed the Chapel. The statement is merely an indication of the road taken. As Munro, J. of Hell. Stud. 1904, p. 158, rightly says, Thucydides means that they went by the road that runs to the left of the Chapel, and not by that which led into the main road from Megara to Thebes. For the Chapel see Woodhouse, J. of Hell. Stud. 1898, p. 38.
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Thebes to Athens. They had, of course, chosen the ordinary road from Plataea to Athens, which they assumed that the fugitives had taken. After the fugitives had gone two-thirds of a mile towards Thebes, they turned off to the right that they might join the road leading from Erythrae into the main road at Hysiae and thence to the Oak's Heads. They, however, did not continue along the main road from Hysiae and cross the pass, but 'took to the hills' and so escaped to Athens.

3. THE TROUBLES IN CORCYRA

Two naval engagements had been fought between the Corinthian and Corecyrean fleets near the islands called Sybota in 433 B.C. Neither battle had a decisive result; but in the second the Corinthians made over a thousand prisoners. The majority were slaves, and were sold; but two hundred and fifty were men of importance in Corecyra. These men were treated with consideration in Corinth, and every effort was made to win them over to the Peloponnesian cause. What happened in Corecyra between this time and the date of the events recorded in III. 70–81 we do not know. Thucydides mentions Corecyrean ships as forming part of the Athenian navy; but it is apparent that the defensive alliance formed with Athens was not interpreted by Corecyra as imposing on her an obligation to put forth any great effort for the assistance of her ally. During the first years of the war the Peloponnesians were, of course, too weak at sea to attempt to force

1 If at Eleutherae, the name Oak's Heads, as Munro l.c. suggests, must have covered more than the Eleutherae Pass.
Corecyra to abandon her alliance with Athens. Even if the island remained passive, the friendship of Corecyra was very precious to the side that enjoyed it; for the island is the half-way house, as it were, in the 'coasting voyage' to Italy and Sicily; her navy was strong; her power on the opposite mainland was great.

How long the prisoners remained at Corinth we do not know. But well before 428 B.C. the purpose of Corinth had been so far achieved that the men undertook, in return for their liberty, to induce their fellow-citizens to change sides. The prisoners belonged to the aristocracy of Corecyra, whose wealth was derived from trade; and in order to make their release seem natural, it was pretended that each man was to pay the great ransom of four to five talents. The restored citizens set to work, and gradually made such an impression that, when rival embassies from Athens and Corinth appeared on the scene, and the question was debated what line Corecyra should take, the majority voted for a compromise: the existing defensive alliance (ἐπιμαχία) with Athens was to be maintained; but so also was friendship with the Peloponnesians. As a help towards understanding the account of the party struggles that ensued, the following notes, together with the map of Corecyra, will be found useful:—

**Notes to the Map of Corecyra**

1. The ancient city of Corecyra lay not on the site of the modern town, but on the peninsula to the south of it. The remains are very scanty, and many sites are uncertain. The narrative of Thucydides, however, gives valuable clues in several cases.

2. The two harbours—the Hyllaic and that 'by the
agora towards the mainland' (c. 72, 3)—may be regarded as identified beyond doubt. Later authors name the latter the harbour of Alcinous. The position of the Agora is fixed with confidence, on the evidence of the ground and of the inscription found there, and now in the British Museum—in the low ground on the south of the harbour, at the foot of a hill. The Arsenal must in consequence (c. 74, 2) have been on the south shore of the harbour. It is probable, however, on the one hand, that in ancient times the harbour extended rather farther inland on the south side than it does now; and, on the other, that some low rocks at the extreme south-east corner projected farther northwards into the sea.

3. There has been much discussion as to the identification of the unnamed 'Island before the Heraeum' (c. 75, 5). Many have fixed on Ptychia (now Vido); but the best authorities are now agreed that the site is to be found in the modern citadel of Corfu, which is separated by a canal from the mainland. We must suppose that in ancient times what is now the citadel was a natural or artificial island.

4. The Heraeum, i.e. the temple and τεμενος of Hera Acria (of the Height), appears from the narrative to have been inside the city (cf. especially c. 79, 1), and the only position that fulfils all the conditions is the hill nearest to the harbour of Alcinous.

5. The position of the Acropolis is quite uncertain. But it must have been on a height that commanded the Hyllaic harbour.

6. The τεμενος of Zeus and that of Alcinous, and the shrine of Dionysus, cannot be located. The shrine of the Dioscuri would seem, from c. 75, to have been near the part of the harbour of Alcinous in which Nicostratus anchored.

1 See note on c. 75.
2 The slight remarks of Th. Reinach in Rev. des Ét. grec. x. p. 149 cannot outweigh the opinions of B. Schmidt and Partsch.
The plans of Pericles for the prosecution of the war with the Peloponnesian confederacy did not die with his death. Until the capture of the Spartan prisoners at Spacteria in 425 B.C., beyond the time reached in this book, all the items of his policy were still carried out. Attica was still abandoned when the Peloponnesians invaded it; fleets were still dispatched to make descents on the Peloponnesian coasts; a sharp look-out on the conduct of the allies was still kept up. But Athens went farther than this: she combined with the defensive policy pursued by Pericles an offensive policy, which had for its object the isolation of the Peloponnese. It is not to be doubted that this design was itself the logical outcome of the Periclean policy. He had himself aimed at closing the sea against the Peloponnesians, at cutting off their corn-supplies at the sources. Pericles had never contemplated a defensive policy at sea; even the intervention in Sicily (c. 86) was only a violation of Periclean maxims in so far as it was an experiment preparatory to a scheme of conquest.

But what is entirely new is the design of striking at the Peloponnesians on land; and this design is due to one man, Demosthenes, the most capable leader that Athens produced in the war, after Pericles and Alcibiades. Some years before the outbreak of the war Athens had made alliance with most of Acarnania. There was a fierce rivalry for the trade of this region. The Corinthian towns, Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium, were the backbone of the Peloponnesian power here. In 429 B.C. the confederacy had made an abortive attempt to win Acarnania. It is not surprising that, as soon as
Athens was free to counter this attack, she made the attempt. The fall of Mytilene and Plataea opened the way to the resumption of the offensive at sea. The outcome of the disturbances in Corecyra, which then immediately claimed attention, was favourable to Athens, for an offensive and defensive alliance with that island replaced the defensive alliance. We need not follow the actions in Sicily nor the undertakings of Nicias, which were conducted on Periclean lines. Demosthenes, too, with his fleet of thirty ships, was sent out in accordance with the regular plan—merely to make the usual descents on the Peloponnesian coasts, and to look to the Athenian interests in the west of Greece. Instead, he formed the bold design of attacking Boeotia from the west side with the help of a great army raised in Acarnania, Locri, and Phocis.

When his rash and disastrous invasion of Aetolia brought this design to a premature end, the Aetolians took occasion to make an attempt on Naupactus. Eurylochus the Spartan led 3000 men from Heraclea to their support. Uniting with them, he ravaged the land of Naupactus. Demosthenes was still there, for he had not ventured to return home. But he had profited by his errors, and his conduct of the campaign that ensues in Amphilochia is in marked contrast with his previous foolhardiness. Not only did he save Naupactus, but he frustrated the second attempt of the Peloponnesians to get Acarnania, and shattered the power of Ambracia, which was the centre of the Peloponnesian influence

1 Phocis had been lost to Athens since the battle of Coronea, 447 B.C.; but Demosthenes expected to win the Phocians over by persuasion or force. They were no friends of the Delphians, or of the Dorians of the north, or of Thebes.
in that region. Knowledge of these stirring events was evidently gained by Thucydides from the adventurous soldier himself.

1. Τῶν Μεκενίων χάριτι πεισθεί (c. 95, 1; cf. cc. 94, 3; 97, 1). Thucydides seems anxious not to throw the blame for the scheme of Aetolian conquest on Demosthenes. He lays stress on the insistence of the Messenians. It must be admitted that the gallant garrison of Naupactus had a special claim to consideration. But the further design, the invasion of Boeotia by land from the west, was due to Demosthenes alone. It is clear that he himself came to see that the thing was impracticable. Two years later, he again took up the project of invading Boeotia; but this time he approached it by sea from Naupactus. He had awoken from his dream.

2. τὰ κατ’ Ἀμπρακίαν (c. 115). It is evident (c. 113, 6) that the adventure of Demosthenes in Amphilochia touched the imagination of Thucydides, as well it might. The drama, as unfolded by him, is easily followed, the only serious difficulty being that we do not know which of two sites is Argos and which is Crenae. Expressing the episodes of the story in terms of the drama, we might analyze as follows:—


¹ Prof. Bury’s opinion that the account of the Acarnanian operations is tedious is to me very surprising (Ancient Greek Historians, p. 157). I should have said that it is Thucydides at his best in narrative; but perhaps a long course of Xenophon has warped my judgment!
III. Style and Diction

The following notes, based on Lange, Chambry, and Lamberton,¹ are intended to help towards an appreciation of the style and diction of Thucydides. They deal with the things that must be taken into consideration in any attempt to estimate his merits or shortcomings.

I. Influence of Rhetoric, especially of Gorgias, the creator of the self-conscious ‘antithetic’ style.

Antithesis, most frequent in speeches and in reflective passages, such as cc. 82, 83; see especially the series of contrasts in c. 82, 4–5. Antithesis is often combined with or assisted by—

(a) An intentional echo in the sound of contrasted words, as cc. 43, 4 ὑπευθυνον τὴν παραίνεσιν ἔχοντας πρὸς ἄνευθυνον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν: 63, 3 αἰσχρὸν ἢν προδοῦναι τοὺς εἰρεγέτας· πολὺ δὲ γε αὔσχιον . . . Ἑλληνας καταπροδοῦναι: 64, 5 ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερον τε ἀκούσιον μηδεμὸν καὶ τὸν ὑμετέρον ἐκουσιον ἀττικισμὸν: cf. cc. 37, 4; 39, 2; 82, 4.

(b) Drawing together contrasted words, as c. 32, 2 οἶλιοι μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐς φίλίαιν προσάξεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν φίλων πολεμίους ἐξειν: 38, 1 ὁ γὰρ παύθων τῷ δρασαντι . . . ἐπ-


εἴρχεται: or, less frequently, by separating them widely, as in c. 36, 6 ζυαίοτατος τῶν πολίτῶν τῷ τε δίμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανότατος.

A false form of Antithesis, where single words are contrasted and there is no real contrast between the clauses in which they stand, is unpleasantly frequent; e.g. c. 13, 5 ὃ γὰρ δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπείναι ἡ Δέσβος, τὴν ὄφελίαν αὐτῷ ἀγγύθειν παρέξει: and so with ἐν τῷ Ἀττικῷ and δι' ἦν Ἡ Ἀττικῇ in the next sentence.

Prodicus also, that sophist who first taught the careful definition of words and distinction of apparent synonyms, and whose style is amusingly taken off by Plato in the Protagoras, had a marked influence on the style of Thucydides. See, for example, c. 39, 2. Writing under this influence, Thucydides is fond of making a speaker found an argument on the proper use of a term that is apt to be loosely used; or, again, on the proper time for allowing one's conduct to be influenced by ἔλεος, δικαιοσύνη, τὸ ἔμφερον, τὸ δίκαιον, and the like (cf. c. 40, 1–2).

So much is said about the pregnant brevity of Thucydides, his economy of words is so noticeable, and even his tendency to omit a whole step in an argument, that we are apt to overlook his tendency to redundancy and pleonasm. Phrases like τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχεσθαι and ἦν ἐπισβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον (c. 13, 4) are frequent; or, again, like this: τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο, οἱ ἐκκαθεκα πόδες (c. 21, 2). But most remarkable is the frequent reiteration of the same idea by his speakers. They really make very few points, but they keep turning the same thought over and over, regarding it from different points of view, putting it in different ways. This tendency, too, is no doubt a result of studying the new rhetoric.
II. The Antithetic style is opposed on the one hand to the running style (λέξις εἰρομένη) of Herodotus, where the sentences may be of any length, and 'run on' in a natural manner. Thucydides himself writes in the running style often enough in the narrative parts of his work. Indeed, that style is the basis of his manner in narrative; but he likes to colour it with his special devices—antithesis, ellipse, anacoluthon, accumulation of participles, abstract nouns, article with neuter adj. or participle. The Antithetic style is equally remote from the periodic style of Isocrates and Demosthenes: it co-ordinates clauses (parataxis) where we look for dependence of clause on clause. Thucydides does continually write periods of a sort; but, as Prof. Lamberton rightly says, 'the bond of union [between the parts] is lax and mechanical, and the sentence if long breaks up as easily and completely as if there had been no attempt to hold it together.' The opening sentence of Diodotus' speech forms a true period, and is noted as an exception.

III. Diction.

(a) Attic Prose had not much of a tradition behind it at the time when Thucydides wrote. The development of poetry is notoriously anterior to the development of prose; and at that early stage in prose composition the traditions of epic and tragic poetry and of the older Ionic prose writing were sure to make a deep impression on an Attic prose writer.

Examples of Epic words: ἀλκή (30), δοῦτος (22), ἐσσάμενος, περικτίόνες (104).

Tragic: ἀλωνίας (51), αὐθέντης (58), χρήζω (109).

Ionic: ἐξαπιναῖως (3, etc.) and ἐξαπίνης (89), νομίζω = χρώμαι.
The frequency of nouns in -οτς, -τής, and -μα formed from verbs is extraordinary.

Nouns in -οτς express action: c. 82, 3–4 yields a cluster of them. Other instances are ἐλευθέρωσις and καταδούλωσις (10), δόκησις, προσποίησις (82), προτίμησις (82). They are often used in periphrasis with ποιεώθαι, or for the passive γίγνεσθαι: τὴν παράδοσιν ἐποιησάμεθα (53).

Nouns in -τής express the occupation, function of a person; but often in Thucydides they show the intellectual or moral characteristic: σωφρονιστής (65), διαλυτής (82, 5); with εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι these express the agent.

Nouns in -μα: προκάλυμμα (67, 6), πρόσχημα (82, 4), φρόνημα (45).

The use of such nouns is part of the general tendency to prefer the abstract noun to the concrete verbal form. The substantives are reinforced by (a) neut. adj. with article: see cc. 82, 4, 6, 7, 8; 83, 1–3; and (b) the neut. partic. with article, as ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης (10, 1).

(c) Co-ordination of dissimilars is very frequent, sometimes in the case of single words, as in μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡ συναίτερα (82, 2); more often in the case of phrases and clauses, as in τῶν λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν . . . ἐπέμενον τελεσθήναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι (2, 2): οὐ σκοποῦντες ὡς τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς (37, 2), ἐσθήμασι τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδον ὁραία . . . ἐπιφέροντες (58, 4): ἐξαπιναίως καὶ οὖ προσδεχομένων (34, 3); cf. cc. 53, 3 (personal and impersonal combined); 82, 8; 86, 3.

(d) Anacoluthon, free structure. The following common varieties are to be noticed:—

1. Transition from subordinate to principal sen-
tence: as ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἄν ἔχοντων πρό-
φασιν . . . πολεμογεμένων δὲ . . . αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ
. . . ἐπορίζοντο (82, 1); cf. c. 36, 2.

2. A participle is put in the gen. abs., though it
refers to the subject or object of a verb,
as βοηθησάντων ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν προσ-
λήψεσθε (13, 7).

3. A partic. is added in nom. though it applies
to a word in a different case, as ἐδοξεῖν
αὐτοῖς . . . ἀποκτεῖναι . . . ἐπικαλοῦντες (36).

4. A change of construction may result from the
insertion of a passage in parenthesis (Thuc.
is prone to parenthesis, e.g. cc. 38, 1 ; 39, 2 ;
57, 1); and, in a long and complicated
sentence, an easy indifference to gram-
matical exactness is shown. A striking
case is c. 34, 3, where ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε, ὁ δὲ .
eἰχεν replaces ἐξελθόντα αὐτῶν . . . εἰχεν.

5. A word is placed as if it were to belong to
two clauses, but when the second arrives,
the word is abandoned: as παράδειγμα αὐτοῖς
οὔτε . . . ἐγένοντο . . . οὔτε ἢ παροῦσα εὐδαίμονία
παρέσχεν ὁκνον (39, 3); cf. cc. 67, 6 ἀμύνατε:
71, 1 ταῦτα : 96, 3.

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71, 1 ταῦτα : 96, 3.

(e) The subject of a verb is contracted or expanded
in meaning as the sentence proceeds. This happens,
for example, more than once in the narrative of the
Corecyrean disturbances, as in c. 81, 2, where, though
the subject is Κέρκυραῖοι, the verb presently applies
only to the democratic party among the Corecyreans.
It is common also to subdivide a substantive by
apposition with μὲν . . . δὲ, as in c. 13, 3 νῆσες . . . αἱ
μὲν . . . αἱ δὲ.

(f) The order of words is accommodated to the
order of the thoughts, the position being fixed
according to their relative importance in the writer's mind. The following are so frequent as to deserve separate notice:—

1. Accusative at beginning, indicating the principal theme of the sentence, as in καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν . . . (15, 1); cf. c. 113, 6.

2. A governing conjunction is postponed to words that are prominent, as in καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὡς ἐρωτῶ (4, 1); cf. c. 5, 1.

3. A nom. substantive may stand as a signal before a pron., when an emphatic statement is to be made about it, as in πάθος γὰρ τοῦτο . . . (113, 6).

4. Gen. or dat. is put before the words from which it takes its construction, as in τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυκῆνας ἀναβάς (19, 2); the position of αὐτῶν and αὐτοῖς in this matter is often noteworthy.

(g) Accumulation of participles in a sentence is a striking feature of the style. Sometimes successive stages are marked by them (cc. 16, 1; 74, 3); often they are in different relationship to the main action. They may be joined by καὶ, as in cc. 3, 4; 55, 2; or they may be without connecting link, as in cc. 59, 1; 110, 1.
IV. The Speeches

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

1 αἱ δημηγοριαὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐν αἷς ὁλοταλ τινὲς τὴν ἀκραν τοῦ σιγγρα-φέως εἶναι δύναμιν Dionys. Περὶ τοῦ Θουκ. χ. c. 34. xxxii
ally it exerted as powerful an influence in the domain of Attic history as it exerted on Attic oratory.

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

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

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

4. As regards the form, it is easy to blame Thucydides for the excessive use of the rhetorical figures of language. These are the σχήματα Γοργίεια remarked by the Scholiasts and the ancient commentators in general; μειρακιώδεις σχήματισμοί and θεατρικά σχήματα Dionysius calls them. The commonest of these figures is, of course, the antithesis. Now it is hardly reasonable to complain just because this figure is frequent in Thucydides; and perhaps nobody would do so had it not received a bad name as one of the ‘Gorgian’ tricks. Thucydides deals with a subject that is full of contrasts. There is the contrast between Ionian and Dorian, Athenian and Spartan; between pretence and reality, promise and fulfilment; and Thucydides was bound to bring these contrasts out. But in the speeches where all the ‘figures’ are naturally most frequent, he sometimes lets a feeling for antithesis carry him into verbal contrasts that contain little or no substance. It was the fashion of the day, and Thucydides followed it at times only too faithfully.1 Unfortunately, too, he does not always rest content with the antithetic form

1 Dionysius, as Blass says, declares the figures to be unworthy of the grave, austere dignity of Thucydides. They can hardly be excused altogether on the ground that fashion required them. This excuse makes the κτήμα ἐς αἰτήμα into an ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ
pure and simple. With antithesis he occasionally combines those less desirable 'figures,' such as *paromoiosis* or jingle in the sound of whole clauses, and *parisosis* or equality in the length of clauses; but such trivialities are less common in him than in Antiphon, for example, or Isocrates, and they are certainly not numerous enough to warrant us in saying that Thucydides deliberately aimed at them. It would be fairer to say that he does not always avoid them. One of the minor figures, *paronomasia*, or jingle in the sound of words, is undoubtedly common even in the descriptions. But it must be remembered that in all Greek literature, from Homer downwards, this *paronomasia* is common.\(^1\) The practice is so notorious and constant that it may be enough here to point out that οὐσομακ occurs in Homer only and always as in *paronomasia* with the name Ὀδυσσείς.\(^2\) On the whole, in spite of Gorgias, the minor 'figures of language' are no commoner in Thucydides than they are in Homer. Of course Gorgias did not invent the figures; he first taught them. Suidas mentions books περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρου στήματων ῥητορικῶν: Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* goes to Homer (*Il. IX. 526*) for his example of *paromoiosis*; and in the tract *de vita et poesi Homeri*, attributed to Plutarch, several examples of the minor figures are collected from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. As for the other class of 'figures,' the figures of thought, such as irony, the rhetorical question, asyndeton, anaphora, they are so...

\(^{1}\) Nieschke, *de Thucydid Antiphontis discipulo*, Münden, 1885.

\(^{2}\) *Il. iv. 140 Προθοδος θεός*: but by no means only with proper names; e.g. *Il. xvIII. 541 πλειραν ἄρουραν εὑρέων, Od. ix. 415 ὡθεῖων ὕδρυσαν.*
seldom used by Thucydides that they do not count as characteristic of his style.

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

*Ipsae illae contiones*, says Cicero of Thucydides' speeches, *ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intelligantur*. In the speeches much more often than the narrative, ἄσαφὲς γίγνεται τὸ βραχὺ. The sentences are overloaded with ideas, they are complicated by the intrusion of numerous clauses which stand in various relations to the main construction. It is not that he is incapable of writing clearly when he comes to write a speech; nothing, for example, could be more clearly expressed than the last speech in his history, the magnificent address delivered by Nicias during the retreat from Syracuse. But unfortunately he shows too often a preference for the complicated over the simple form of expression; he likes to write in long, straggling, ill-balanced periods

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1 This may be omitted to produce an effect of abruptness and vehemence, as in the case of the Elean Teutiaplus' brief harangue, I. 30.

2 Cf. Mahaffy, *Greek Prose Literature*. 
that contrast strangely with their machine-turned antithesis, and the rhymes and jingles in the clauses.

6. Of the speeches contained in the Third Book, those delivered for and against the Mytileneans were probably heard by Thucydides. The violent statements attributed to Cleon, and his imitation of Periclean oratory accord with all that is known of him. As for the unknown Diodotus, we may suppose that everything urged on behalf of the Mytileneans during the debate is condensed into his speech. On the other hand, Prof. Bury thinks that much of the matter contained in both speeches is 'purely Thucydidean'—all the reflexions, in fact, on the theory of punishment; and he points out, what is doubtless true, whether it is what Cleon said or what Thucydides thought that Cleon might have said, that there is in Cleon's speech a covert attack on the character of Pericles as an idealist.

In the Olympian address and in the speeches of the Plataean and the Theban, Thucydides must have gone to work with greater freedom.

The digression on party strife in the Greek states must be reckoned along with the speeches. It is written in the same tortuous, artificial style in which large parts of the speeches are written; and we may surmise that if any speaker had been available for the purpose, the author would have attributed these reflexions to him instead of giving them in his own character. How far Thucydides sometimes goes in putting his own thoughts into the mouth of another is to be seen in the First Book, where Pericles, speaking in the Athenian Assembly, is made to answer step by step a forecast of the war given at Sparta by a Corinthian whose speech he had not heard.
In the speech of Diodotus\(^1\) we have the earliest discussion of the Sophistic Theory of Punishment as a deterrent; and the reflexions on Party Strife are packed with allusions to the *five* cardinal virtues of the Sophists—Courage, Justice, Wisdom, Temperance, and ὀσιότης or ἐνεκέβεια.

\(^1\) Mr. F. M. Cornford has some very interesting comments on this speech in his *Thucydides mythistoricus*. 
V. MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<td>ἀκόντας . . tà</td>
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<td>[ὁ βορέου]</td>
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<td>c. 52, 2 κολάσειν</td>
<td>κολάσειν</td>
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<td>c. 56, 7 ἔχωσι</td>
<td>ἔχωσι</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 59, 2 [μὴ ἀμηνμονεῖν] kekρηκότας</td>
<td>μὴ ἀμηνμονεῖν kekρηκότας</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 107, 2 [τὸν λόφον]</td>
<td>τὸν λόφον</td>
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</tbody>
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Conjectures: c. 11, 1 <ἀν> ἀντισυγμενον, quod nos soli adhuc, si fors ferret, pares esse concilio possemus c. 11, 6 ante ὑμῖν dele ἦ c. 40, 7 post παντὸς adde τῶτ' c. 45, 3 lege καὶ ταῦτὰ ὧμως παραβαίνεται, eadem tamen seeera admittunt homines c. 82, 7 dele θαρσήσαι c. 107, 4 dele ὀλύγων c. 108, 2 post 'Ἀμπρακιώται dele καὶ
ΘΟΤΚΥΔΙΔΟΥΝ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Γ

1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγυνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀμα τῶ σῖτῶ ἀκ-
μάζοντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττι-
κήν (ṝγγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος
2 ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς), καὶ 5
ἐγκαθεξόμενοι ἐδίδον τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσβολαί,
ἀσπέρ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίγνυντο τῶν Ἀθηναῖων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ παρείκου, καὶ τῶν πλεῖστον ὄμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἰργον τὸ μῆ προεξίωντας τῶν
3 ὀπλῶν ὡς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν. ἐμ-
10
μείναντες δὲ χρόνων οὐ εἰχον τὰ σιτία ἀν-
εχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.
2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἤπεστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουληθέντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέξαντο, ἀναγκασθέντες 1
9. post εἰργον add. διὰ CG.

Ε 1
δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον ἢ
2 διενοούντο ποιήσασθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων
τὴν χώσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν
καὶ νεῶν ποιήσιν ἔπεμενον τελε-
σθῆναι, καὶ ὥσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου
ἐδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε καὶ σῖτου, καὶ ἃ
3 μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὄντες αὐ-
τῶν διάφοροι καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ αὐτῶν
Μυτιληναίων ἴδια ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρό-
ξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναῖοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσι τε τὴν Δέσβου ἐσ τὴν
Μυτιλήνην βία καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν ἅπασαν
μετὰ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν
ὄντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγονται· καὶ εἰ μὴ
tις προκαταλήψεται ὥδη, στερήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς

3 Δέσβου. οἴ δ' Ἀθηναίοι (ἤσαν γὰρ τεταλαι-
pωρημένοι ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου
ἀρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος) μέγα μὲν
ἐργον ήγούντο εἶναι Δέσβου προσπολεμῶσασθαι
ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν καὶ δύναμιν ἀκέραιον, καὶ
οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο τὸ πρῶτον τὰς κατηγορίας,
μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθὴ
eἶναι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις
οὐκ ἐπείθον τοὺς Μυτιληναίους τὴν τε ξυνοι-
kίσιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, δείσαντες

2 προκαταλαβεῖν ἐβούλοντο. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐξ-
apιναίως τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς αἱ ἔτυχον περὶ
Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμέναι πλεῖν· Κλειτ-
πίθης δὲ ὁ Δεινίων τρίτος αὐτὸς ἐστρατἰγεί. 3 ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἶν Ἁπόλλωνος 15 Μαλόεντος ἐξῳ τῆς πόλεως ἐφορθή, εὖ ἣ πανδημεῖ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐφορτά- ξουσὶ, καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπεσεῖν ἀφνω, καὶ ἦν μὲν ξυμβῆ ἢ πείρα· εἴ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναῖοι εἰπεῖν ναῦς τε παραδοῦναι καὶ 20 τείχη καθελεῖν, μὴ πειθομένων δὲ πολεμεῖν.
4 καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες ὄχυντο· τὰς δὲ τῶν Μυτι- ληναίων δέκα τριήρεις, αἱ ἐτυχον βοηθοὶ παρὰ σφᾶς κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παροῦσαι, κατέσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς 25 5 φυλακὴν ἐποίησαντο· τοῖς δὲ Μυτιληναῖοις ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν διαβᾶσ ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ πεζῇ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθὼν, ὀλκάδος ἀναγομενῆς ἐπιτυχῶν, πλῆ χρησάμενος καὶ τριταιος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐς 30 Μυτιλήνην ἀφικόμενος ἀγγέλλει τὸν ἐπίπλουν. 6 οἱ δὲ οὕτε ἐς τὸν Μαλόεντα ἐξήλθον, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν πείχων καὶ λιμένων περὶ τα ἥμι- 4 τέλεστα φαρξάμενοι ἐφύλασαν. καὶ οἱ Ἀθη- ναίοι οὐ πόλλῳ ύστερον καταπλευ- σαντες ὡς έώρων, ἀπηγγειλαν μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, οὐκ ἐσακοῦν- των δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐς πόλεμον καθί- 5 2 σταντο. ἀπαράσκευοι δὲ οἱ Μυτιληναίοι καὶ ἐξαιρῆς ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν ἐκπλουν μὲν τινα ἐποίησαντο τῶν νεῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν

33. περὶ Haase: περὶ Meineke.
8. ναυμαχία ABEMF.
ὁλίγου πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος, ἐπειτὰ καταδιωχθέντες ύπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν λόγους ἦδη προσέ-φερον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, βουλώμενοι τὰς ναύς τὸ παρατίκα, εἰ δύναντο, ὀμολογία των ἐπιεικεῖ 3 ἀποπέμψασθαι. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ οὐχ ἰκανοὶ ὅσι Λέσβω πάση πολέμεων. καὶ ἀν-οκωχὴν ποιησάμενοι πέμπτουσιν ἐς τὰς Αθήνας οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι τῶν τε διαβαλλόντων ἑνα, φ' μετέμελεν ἦδη, καὶ ἄλλους, εἰ πως πείσειαν τὰς ναύς 5 ἀπελθεὼν ὡς σφῶν οὐδέν νεωτερούντων. ἐν 20 τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Δακεδαί-μονα πρέσβεις τριήρει, λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικῶν, οἱ ὄρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέα πρὸς Βορεάν τῆς πόλεως· οὗ γὰρ ἐπίστευον τοῖς 6 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προκωρήσειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα ταλαπτώρως διὰ τοῦ πελάγους κομπθέντες αὐτοῖς ἐπρασσοῦν ὅπως τις 5 βοὴθεια ἦξει· οὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνών πρέσβεις ὡς οὐδὲν ἦλθον πράξαντες, ἐς πόλει-μον καθίσταντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἥ ἄλλη Λέσβως πλὴν Μηθύμνης. οὔτοι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβεβοηθήκασαν, καὶ 5 Ἰμβριοὶ καὶ Λήμνιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγοι 2 των ἔμμαχων. καὶ ἔξοδον μὲν τύχα πανδημεῖ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-ναίων στρατόπεδου, καὶ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, ἐν ἦ οὔκ ἐλασσοῦ ἔχουσε οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι οὔτε 10 23. ἐν τῇ Μαλέα del. Herwerden.
ἐπηνιλίσαντο οὖτε ἐπιστευσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς,
3 ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν· ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς
4 Βουλόμενοι εἰ προσγένοιτο τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ 
 Ἑρμαιώνδας Θηβαῖος, οἱ προαπεστάλησαν μὲν 
5 τῆς ἀποστάσεως, φθάσαι δὲ οὐ δυνάμενοι τοὺς 
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτίπλουν κρύφα μετὰ τὴν 
 μάχην ὑστερον ἐσπλέουσι τριήρει, καὶ παρή-
6 τοὺς πέμπειν τριήρη ἄλλην καὶ πρέσβεις μεθ' 
 έαυτῶν· καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι 
 πολὺ ἐπιρροσθέντες διὰ τὴν τῶν 
 Μυτιληναίων ἡσυχίαν ἥχομάχοις 
 τε προσκάλουν, οἱ πολὺ θάσσον παρῆσαν 
 ορώντες οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων, καὶ 
 περιορισμάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως 
 ἑτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο έκατέρωθεν τῆς πό-
 λεως, καὶ τοὺς ἑφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς 
2 ἁμέσως ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης 
 εἰργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυτιληναίους, τῆς 
 ἀθωνία έκράτουν οἱ Μυτιληναίοι 
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λεσβίοι προσβεβοηθήκοτες ἤδη, 
 τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ κατείχον 
 οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ναῦσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοῖς 
 πλοῖων καὶ ἀγορὰ ἡ Μαλέα. καὶ τὰ μὲν 
 περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὔτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. 
7 Κατὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνον τοῦ θέρους 
 τούτου Ἀθηναίοι καὶ περὶ Πελο-
 πόννησου ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν τριά-
6 15. ἀγορὰ Krüger: ἀγορᾶς codd.
κοντα καὶ Ἀσώπιον τὸν Φορμίωνος στρατηγόν, κελευσάντων Ἀκαρνάνων τῶν Φορμίωνος τινα σφίσι πέμψαι ἥ υἱόν ἥ ξυγγενή ἄρχοντα. καὶ παραπλέουσαι αἱ νῆς τῆς Δακωνικῆς τὰ ἐπι-
θαλάσσια χωρία ἐπόρθησαν. ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν πλεῖους ἀποπέμπτε τῶν νεών πάλιν ἐπὶ οἴκου ὁ Ἀσώπιος, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἔχων δώδεκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ναῦπακτον, καὶ ύστερον Ἀκαρνάνας ἀνα-
στήσας πανδημεὶ στρατεύει ἐπὶ Οἰλιάδας, καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀχέλων ἐπλευσε καὶ ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς ἐδίῃ τὴν χώραν. ως δ᾽ ὁ προσεχόροι, τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀφίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα καὶ ἀπόβασιν ἐς Ἡρικοῦ ποιησάμενος ἀναχωρῶν διαφθείρεται αὐτὸς τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὶ μέρος ύπὸ τῶν αὐτόθεν τε ἐξυμβοηθησάντων καὶ φρουρῶν τινῶν ὁλίγων. καὶ ύστερον ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀποπλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λευκα-
δίων ἐκομίσαντο.

8. Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεὼς ἐκπεμφθέντες Mytilenean envoys at Olympia. Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεις, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶπον Ὁλυμπίαζε παρεῖναι, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀκούσαντες βουλεύσουνται, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ὁλυμπίαν. ἦν δὲ Ὁλυμπίας ἡ Δωρεὺς Ὁρόσιος 2 τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν κατέστησαν ἐς λόγους, εἶπον τοιάδε.
9 "Τὸ μὲν καθεστὸς τοῖς Ἐλλησι νόμιμον, ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἵσμεν·
tους γὰρ ἀφισταμένους ἐν τοῖς
πολέμοις καὶ ξύμμαχοι τὴν πρὶν ἀπολείποντας
οἱ δεξάμενοι, καθ’ ὅσον μὲν ὥφελοῦνται, ἐν 5
ἥδουν ἔχουσι, νομίζοντες δὲ εἶναι προδότας
2 τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φίλων χείρων ἤγοινται. καὶ
οὐκ ἀδίκος αὐτὴ ἡ ἄξιωσίς ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν
πρὸς ἄλληλους οἱ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἄφ’ ὅν
διακρόνουντο ὦσοι μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ οὕτε καὶ 10
eὐνοίᾳ, ἀντίπαλοι δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει,
πρόφασις τε ἐπιεικῆς μηδεμία ὑπάρχοι τῆς
ἀποστάσεως· ὃ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἦν,
3 μηδέ τω χείρων δόξωμεν εἶναι εἰ ἐν τῇ
εἰρήνῃ τιμώμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς 15
ἀφιστάμεθα.

10 "Περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς πρῶτον
ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ξύμμαχας δεόμενοι
tους λόγους ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες οὔτε
φιλίαν ἵδιωτας βέβαιον γυνομένην
οὔτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ’ 5
ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνουσαν καὶ
tάλλα ὀμοιότροποι εἰεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι
tῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφορὰὶ τῶν ἔργων
2 καθίστανται. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχα
ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἀπολιπόντων μὲν ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ 10
Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινόντων δὲ ἐκείνων
3 πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. ξύμμαχοι

9 13. ἐν ἄδικῳ add. καὶ C.
10 6. γίγνοιτο Boehme.
μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα οὐκ ἔπι καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἐλλήνων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἠλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἐλλήσιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱσοῦ ἡγοῦντο, προθύμως εἰπόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρώμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἦμεν.
5 ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυ-ψηφίαν ἀμύνασθαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐδουλώθησαν πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων· ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἠλευθεροὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρατεύ-6 σαμεν. καὶ πιστοὺς οὐκέτι εἰχόμεν ἡγεμόνας Ἀθηναίων, παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγεγομένοις χρώμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκός ἦν αὐτοὺς οὓς μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστόνδους ἐποίησαντο καταστρέψασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἰ ποτὲ ἄρα ἐδυνάθησαν, μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἦμεν ἀπαντες, βεβαιότεροι ἄν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτερεὶν· ὑποχειρίους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱσοῦ ὲμιλούντες, χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἐμελλον οὐσειν 5 καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλέον ἢδη εἰκὸν τοῦ ἠμετέρου ἐτι μονον ἀντισυμμένον, ἀλλὼς τε καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρημότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δεός μόνον πιστον ἐς ξυμμαχίαν· ο γὰρ παραβαίνειν τι 10 βουλόμενος τὸ μὴ προύχων ἄν ἐπελθεῖν 3 ἀποτρέπεται. αὐτόνομοι τε ἠλείφθημεν οὐ δι' 19. ἐπειγομένους Ross. 25. προγεγομένους Hude: προ-γεγομενους Weidner. 29. δυνηθείσεν Dobree.
ἀλλο τι ἢ ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρεπεῖα
tε λόγου καὶ γνώμης μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ῥήμερος
4 τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο καταληπτά. ἀμα μὲν
γὰρ μαρτυρῶ ἐχρώντο μὴ ἄν τοὺς γε
ἰσοψήφους ἐκόντας, εἰ μή τι ἥδικουν οἷς
ἐπήσαν, ξυστρατεύειν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ
κράτιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποδεσπότους πρωτόν
ξυνεπῆγον καὶ [τὰ] τελευταία λυπόντες τοῦ
ἀλλον περιηγημένον ἀσθενεστέρα ἐμελλον ἐξειν.
5 εἰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡράκλει, ἔχοντων ἐτί τῶν
πάντων αὐτῶν τε ἱσχύν καὶ πρὸς ὅ τι χρὴ
6 στήναι, οὐκ ἂν ὀμοίως ἐχειρώσαντο. τὸ τε
ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν παρεῖχε τινὰ φόβον μὴ ποτε
καθ' ἐν γενόμενον ἡ ὑμῖν ἢ ἀλλῳ τῷ
7 προσθέμενον κίνδυνον σφίσι παράσχῃ. τὰ δὲ
καὶ ἀπὸ θεραπείας τοῦ τε κοινοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ
8 τῶν αἰεὶ προεστῶτων περιηγηγόμεθα. οὐ
μέντοι ἐτί πολὺ γ' ἂν ἐδοκοῦμεν δυνηθήναι,
9 εἰ μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ὀδε κατέστη, παραδείγμασι
12 χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους. τίς οὖν αὕτη
ἡ φιλία ἐγίγνετο ἢ ἐλευθερία πιστῆ, ἐν ἡ
παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα, καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδιότες ἐθεράπευον,
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ ἀυτό
ἐποιοῦμεν; ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὕνοια
πίστιν βεβαιοί, ἡμῖν τούτῳ ὁ φόβος ἐξυρὸν
παρεῖχε, δεδεὶ τε τὸ πλέον ἡ φιλία κατεχόμενοι

12 2. pr. ἡ cfG: ἡ cett. 7. πίστιν del. Classen.
30. δοκοῦμεν Krüger: ἢ δοκοῦμεν Steup.
ξύμμαχοι ἦμεν: καὶ ὁποτέροις θάσσον παρά-
σχοι ἀσφάλεια θάρσος, οὐτοὶ πρότεροι τι καὶ 10
παραβήσεσθαι ἐμελλον. ἢστε εἰ τῷ δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν
tῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες
sαφῶς εἰδέναι εἰ τι αὐτῶν ἦσσαι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς
σκοπεῖ. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ ἦμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱσον καὶ 15
ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι καὶ ἀντιμελήσαι, τί ἐδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἰμοίου ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις εἶναι; ἔπ’
ἐκείνοις δὲ ὁντὸς αἰεὶ τοῦ ἑπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐφ’
ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύνασθαι.

13 "Τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας, ὁ
Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἀπέστημεν, σαφεῖς
μὲν τοῖς ἀκούονσι γνῶναι ὡς εἰκότως ἐδρά-
σαμεν, ἱκανᾶς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβήσαι καὶ πρὸς
ἀσφάλειάν τινα τρέψαι, βουλομένους μὲν καὶ 5
πάλαι, ὅτε ἐτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπέμψαμεν ὥς
ὑμᾶς περὶ ἀποστάσεως, ύμῶν δὲ οὐ προσ-
δεξαμένων κωλυθέντας· νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ
προκαλέσαντο εὐθὺς ὑπηκούσαμεν, καὶ ἐνομί-
ζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλῆν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπὸ τε 10
tῶν Ἐλλήνων μὴ ξυν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς
μετ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπὸ τε
Ἀθηναίων μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθαρῆαι ὑπ’ ἐκείνων
ἐν ύστέρῳ ἀλλὰ προποιήσαι.

2 Ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις ἡμῶν θάσσον γεγένηται 15

9. ἦμεν] εἶναι CG. 16. ἀντιμελήσαι Schol. alter:
ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι codd.: ἀντιμελήσαι τι Heilmann, qui post
ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι distinxit. 17. ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις εἶναι del. Böhme:
ἐκείνοις εἶναι Krüger.
καὶ ἀπαράσκευος· ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον χρῆ ξυμμάχους
deξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων βοή-
θειαν ἀποστέλλειν, ἵνα φαίνησθε
ἀμύνοντες τε οἷς δεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ
3 αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτοντες. καίρος δὲ 20
ὡς οὕτω πρότερον. νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐφθάραται
Ἀθηναίοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνη, νῆσε τε
αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰσίν, αἱ δ’
4 ἐφ’ ἡμῖν τετάχαται. ὡστε οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοῖς
περιουσίαν νεόν ἔχειν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ θέρει 25
tὸδε ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ ἀμα ἐπεσβάλητε τὸ
dεύτερον, ἀλλ’ ἡ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀμυνοῦνται ἐπιπλέ-
5 οντας ἢ ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται. νομίσῃ
tε μηδεῖς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς πέρι οἰκεῖον κόινον
ἔχειν. ὃ γὰρ δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπείναι ἡ Λέσβος, 30
tὴν ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύθεν παρέξει. οὐ γὰρ
ἐν τῇ Ἄττικῇ ἐσται ὁ πόλεμος, ὡς τις οἴεται,
6 ἀλλὰ δὲ’ ἢν ἡ Ἄττικὴ ὕφελεται. ἔστι δὲ
τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἡ πρόσοδος,
cαι ἐτὶ μείζων ἐσται, εἰ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψονται; 35
οὔτε γὰρ ἀποστήσεται ἀλλος ταῖς ἡμέτερα
προσγενήσεται, πάθοιμεν τ’ ἤν δεινότερα ἢ
7 οἱ πρῶν δουλεύοντες. βοηθησάντων δὲ υμῶν
προθύμως πόλιν τε προσλήψεσθε ναυτικὸν
ἔχουσαν μέγα, οὔπερ υμῶν μάλιστα προσδεῖ, 40
καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ῥῶν καθαίρησετε υφαιρώντες
αὐτῶν τοὺς ξυμμάχους (θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις
προσχωρήσεται), τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἀποφεύξεσθε
ἣν εἰχετε μὴ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις. ἥν

Reasons why
the Pelopon-
nestians should
send help.
14 "Αἰσχυνθέντες οὖν τὰς τῶν Ἐλλήνων  
Peroration.  
ἐς υμᾶς ἐλπίδας καὶ Δία τὸν  
Ὁλύμπιον, ἐν οὗ τῷ ἱερῷ ἵσα καὶ ἱκέται  
ἐσμέν, ἐπαμύνατε Μυτιληναίοις ξύμμαχοι  
γενόμενοι, καὶ μὴ προῆσθε ἦμᾶς ὕδιον μὲν  
tὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους,  
κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώσαι ὁφελίαν  
ἀπασι δώσοντας, ἐτὶ δὲ κοινοτέραν τὴν  
βλάβην, εἰ μὴ πεισθέντων υμῶν σφαλησόμεθα.  
2 γύνεσθε δὲ ἀνδρες οἴονσπερ υμᾶς οἳ τε  
"Ἐλληνες ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος  
βούλεται."

15 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι  
ἐπειδὴ ἥκουσαν, προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς  
lόγους ξυμμάχους τε τοὺς Λεσβίους  
ἐποηήσαντο, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν  
᾿Αττικὴν ἐσβολὴν τοῖς τε ξυμ-  
mάχοις παροῦσι κατὰ τάχος ἕφραξαν ἵναι ἐς  
tὸν Ἰσθμὸν τοὺς δύο μέρεσιν ὡς ποιησόμενοι,  
kαὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅλκους  
pαρεσκευάζουν τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ὡς  
ὑπεροίκοτες ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου ἐς τὴν πρὸς  
᾿Αθηνὰς θάλασσαν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἀμα  
2 ἐπιόντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν προθύμως ταύτα  
ἐπράσσουν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι βραδέως τε  
ξυνελέγοντο καὶ ἐν καρποῦ ξυγκομίδῃ ἦσαν  

15 7. παροῦσι del. Steup.
καὶ ἀρρωστία τοῦ στρατεύειν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατά-
γωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν παρασκευ--node 16

αξιόμενοι, δηλώσαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκασιν ἄλλ᾽ ὦτοί τέ
eἰσι μὴ κινοῦντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικὸν καὶ
tὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἔπιον ῥάδιος ἅμύνεσθαι,
ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς ἕκατον ἐσβάντες αὐτοὶ τε
πλῆν ἱππεῶν καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων καὶ οἱ
mέτοικοι, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀναγαγόντες
tεπίδειξιν τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἀποβάσεις τῆς

Πελοποννήσου ἡ δοκοῖα αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι ὅρωντες πολὺν τὸν παράλογον τὰ τε
ὕπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων ῥηθέντα ἡγοῦντο οὐκ ἀληθὴ
καὶ ἀπορὰ νομίζοντες, ὡς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι ἀμα οὐ παρῆσαν καὶ ἤγγελλοντο
καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τριάκοντα

νῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν περιοικίδα αὐτῶν

πορθοῦσαι, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ᾽ οὐκοῦν. ὑστερον
dὲ ναυτικὸν παρεσκεύαζον ὧ τι πέμψουσιν ἐς

τὴν Δέσβων, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐπίγγελλον
tεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλῆθος καὶ ναυαρχὸν

προσέταξαν Ἀλκιδάν, δὲ έμελλεν ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι.

ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἕκατον
ναυσῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἴδον. [καὶ κατὰ
tὸν χρόνον τοῦτον δὲ αἱ νῆς ἐπλεον ἐν τοῖς

πλεῖσται δὴ νῆς ἀμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ κάλλει

ἐγένοντο, παραπλήσιαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους
16 17. τριάκοντα del. Steup.
17 c. 17 seel. Steup. 3. κάλλει] σ᾽ καὶ Χ' Herbst: καὶ

ἄλλη Stahl: μᾶ πόλει Widmann.
2 ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου. τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὐβοιαν καὶ Σαλαμίνα ἐκατὸν ἐφύλασσον, καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἑτεραὶ ἐκατὸν ἡσαυ, χωρὶς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις, ὡστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἀμα ἐγγύνοντο 3 ἐν ἑνὶ θέρει διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ τὰ χρήματα τούτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε μετὰ 4 Ποτείδαιας. τὴν τε γὰρ Ποτείδαιαν δίδραχμοι ὀπλῖται ἐφρούρουν (αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπηρέτη δραχμὴν ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἡμέρας), τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, δὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διεπολιόρκησαν, ἔξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι μετὰ Φορμίωνος, οἱ προσπὴλθον· νησεὶ τε αἱ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἐφερον. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπανηλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆσες τοσαύτα ἐνεπληρόθησαν.]

18 Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὅν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἡσαυ ἔπὶ Μηθυμναν ὡς προδιδομένην ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ ἐπίκουροι· καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει, ἐπείδη οὐ προυχώρει ὁ προσεδέχοντο, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Ἀντίσσας καὶ Πύρρας καὶ Ἑρέσου, καὶ καταστησάμενοι τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις βεβαιότερα καὶ τείχη κρατώντως διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ οἰκου. 10 ἐστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Μηθυμναιοὶ ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Ἀντίσσας· καὶ ἐκβοσθείας τινὸς γενομένης πληγέντες ὑπὸ τε τῶν

Lesbos. The Athenians, unable to confine the Mytileneans to their walls, send Paches with reinforcements. He invests Mytilene.
'Αντισσαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων ἀπέθανόν τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος. 15
3 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, τοὺς τε Μυτιληναίους τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας οὐχ ἰκανοὺς δόντας εἰργεῖν, πέμπουσι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἣδη ἀρχόμενον Πάχητα τῶν Ἕπικούρου στρατηγῶν 20
καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἑαυτῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτερέται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνούνται καὶ περιτείχίζουσι Μυτιλήνην ἐν κύκλῳ ἀπλῶ τείχει φρούρια δ' ἐστιν ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν 5 ἐγκατσκοδόμηται. καὶ ἡ μὲν Μυτιλήνη κατὰ 25 κράτος ἡδὴ ἄμφοτέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰργετο, καὶ ὁ χειμών ἥρχετο γύνεσθαι.

19 Προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ αὐτὸι ἐσενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον ἐσφορὰν διακόσια τάλαντα, ἐξῆπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἄργυρολόγους ναὺς δώδεκα 5 καὶ Δυσικλέα πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν.

γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν) ἐπειδὴ τῇ τε σίτῳ ἐπιλείποντι ἐπιέξοντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς ἦν τιμωρίας 5 οὔδε ἄλλη σωτηρία ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιβουλεύοντι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖων οἱ ἐκπολιορκούμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντες ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ὑπερβηναι τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ἦν δύνανται βιάσασθαι, ἐσηγησαμένων τὴν πείραν 10 αὐτοῖς Θεασάμενο τε τοῦ Τολμίδου ἀνδρὸς μάντεως καὶ Εὐπομπίδου τοῦ Δαὶμάχου, διὰ 2 καὶ ἐστρατήγει· ἐπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἀπόκηνσάν πως τὸν κίνδυνον μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐς δὲ ἀνδρας διακοσίους καὶ εἰκοσι 15 μάλιστα ἐνέμειναν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἐθέλοντας τρόπῳ 3 τούφε. κλίμακας ἐποίησαντο ἵσασ τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων· ξυνεμετρήσαντο δὲ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν πλίνθων, ἦ ἐντυχε πρὸς σφάς ὀυκ ἐξαληλιμμένου τὸ τείχος αὐτῶν. ἥρθι- 20 μοῦντο δὲ πολλοὶ ἅμα τὰς ἐπιβολάς, καὶ ἐμελλον οἱ μὲν τινες ἀμαρτήσεσθαι οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λογισμοῦ, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ πολλάκις ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καθορωμένου 25 4 ἐς δὲ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐκμετάτησιν τῶν κλιμάκων οὔτως ἐλαβον, ἐκ τοῦ πάχους τῆς πλάνθου εἰκάσαντες τὸ μέτρον. 21 τὸ δὲ τείχος ἢν τῶν Πελοποννησίων τοιόνυμ ἢν τῇ

ἡσαυ, ὅτις ὑμὰς τὰ ὦπλα μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἄλληλα αἰσθησιν παρέχου. ἦσαυ δὲ εὐσταλεῖς τε τῇ ὀπλίσει καὶ τὸν ἀριστερὸν μόνον πόδα ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἐνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. κατὰ οὖν μετατύργιον προσέμεσγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐρήμοι εἰσὶ, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες, καὶ προσέθεσαν· ἐπείτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξύλ ξιφιδίω καὶ θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, ὡν ἤγειτο Ἀμμέας ὁ Κοροίβου καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη· μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἐξ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον. ἐπείτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ἔν ἀρατίοις ἔχωροι, οἱς ἔτεροι κατόπιν τὰς ἀστίδας ἐφερον, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι β Monad προσβαίνοιεν, καὶ ἔμελλον δώσειν ὅποτε πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰεν. ὥς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο, ἦσθοντο οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων φύλακες· κατέβαλε γάρ τις τῶν Πλαταίῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κεραμίδα, ἣ πεσοῦσα δοῦπον ἐποίησεν. καὶ αὐτίκα βοή ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὀρμησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἤδει ὅ τι ἦν τὸ δεινὸν σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος, καὶ ἀμα οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Πλαταίῶν ὑπολειμμένοι ἔξελθοντες προσέβαλον τῷ τείχει τῶν Πελο- πονησίων ἐκ τούμπαλιν ἣ οἱ ἀνδρεὶς αὐτῶν ὑπερέβαινον, ὅπως ἤκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν νοῦν ἔχοιεν. ἐθορυβοῦστο μὲν οὖν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐκ
τῆς ἑαυτῶν φυλακῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρω ἦσαν 40
7 εἰκάσας τὸ γιγνόμενον. καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι
αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐτέτακτο παραβοηθεῖν εἰ τι δέοι,
ἐχώρων ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοήν.
φρυκτοὶ τε ἦροντο ἐσ τὰς Θῆβας πολέμου,
8 παρανύσχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταίης 45
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους φρυκτοὺς πολλοὺς πρότερον
παρεσκευασμένους ἐσ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅπως ἀσαφῆ
tὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦ
καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖς, ἀλλο τι νομίσαντες τὸ γιγνό-
μενον εἶναι ἢ τὸ ὅν, πρὶν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες 50
οἱ ἔξοντες διαφύγοιεν καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντι-
23 λάβοντο. οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταίῶν
ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν
ἀνεβεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου
ἐκατέρου τοὺς φύλακας διαφθεί-
ραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, τὰς τε διόδους τῶν 5
πύργων ἐνστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δὲ
αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πῦργοις καὶ ἐπαναβιβά-
σαντες ἄνδρας πλείον, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
πῦργων τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ 10
ἀνωθεν εἰργον βάλλοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ οἱ
πλείοις πολλὰς προσθέντες κλίμακας ἁμα καὶ
τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου
2 ὑπερβαίνον. ὁ δὲ διακομιζόμενος αἰεὶ ἱστατο
ἔπὶ τοῦ χείλους τῆς τάφρου καὶ ἐντεῦθεν 15
ἐτόξευον τε καὶ ἱκόντιζον, εἰ τις παραβοηθῆσον
παρὰ τὸ τείχος κωλυτὴς γιγνοιτο τῆς

42. ἐπετέτακτο Krüger. 43. ἔξωθεν C.
διαβάσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες διεπεπεραίωντο, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταίοι καταβαίνοντες ἐχώρουν ἔπὶ τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐπεφέροντο ἐλαμπάδας ἐχοντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πλαταῖης ἐκείνους ἔωραν μᾶλλον εἰς τού σκότους ἐστώτες ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλους τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐτόξουν τε καὶ ἐσηκώντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀφανεῖ ὄντες ἥσσον διὰ τὰς λαμπάδας καθεωρώντο, ὡστε φθάνουσι τῶν Πλαταίων καὶ οἱ ύστατοι διαβάντες τὴν τάφρον, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βιαίως: κρύσταλλός τε γὰρ ἐπετήγει οὗ ἐβέβαιος ἐν αὐτῇ ὡστ' ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὗς ἀπηλιώτου ἢ βορέου ύδατώδης μᾶλλον, καὶ ἢ νὺξ τοιοῦτῳ ἀνέμῳ ὑπονεφώμενη πολὺ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπετοιήκει, ὁ μόλις ὑπερέχοντες ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἡ διάφευξις αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ χειμώνος τὸ μέγεθος. ὁμῆσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου οἱ Πλαταῖης ἔχωρον ἀθρόοι τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὄδον, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἥρῳ, νομίζοντες ἢκιστ' ἄν> σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέζησαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἀμα ἔωρων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τὴν προς Κιθαιρώνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς τὴν ἐπ', Ἀθηνῶν φέρουσαν μετὰ λαμπάδων διώκοντας. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἐξ ἡ ἐπτα σταδίους οἱ Πλαταῖης.
τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ὁμήρων ἐχώρησαν, ἐπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ἦσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσαν ὅδὸν ἐς 'Ερύθρας καὶ Ῥωμήνας, καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν ὄρων διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀρηνᾶς, ἄνδρες δῶδεκα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ πλείστων· εἰσὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὦ ἀπετράποντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν πρὶν ὑπερβαίνειν, εἶς δ' ἐπὶ 3 τῇ ἑξῳ τάφρῳ τοξότης ἐλήφθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο τῆς βοηθείας παυσάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταίης τῶν μὲν γεγενημένων εἰδότες οὐδὲν, τῶν δὲ ἀποτραπομένων σφίσιν ἀπαγγειλάντων ὡς οὐδές περίεστι, κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ ἥμερα ἐγένετο, ἐσπένδοντο ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, μαθόντες δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἑπαύσαντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες οὔτως ὑπερβάντες ἐσώθησαν.

25 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος ἐκπέμπεται Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐς Μυτιλήνην τριήρει καὶ πλεύσας ἐς Πύρραν καὶ ἐς αὐτὴς πέζῃ κατὰ χαράδραν τινὰ, ἥ ὑπερβατοῦ ἤν τὸ περιτείχισμα, διαλαβῶν ἐσέρχεσαι ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, καὶ ἔλεγε τοὺς προέδρους ὅτι ἐσβολή τε ἁμα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔσται καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες παρέσονται ἄς ἐδει βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς, προ-10 ἀποπεμφθῆναι τε αὐτῶς τούτων ἑνεκα καὶ 2 ἁμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελησόμενος. καὶ οἱ μὲν 25 6. ὑποβατοῦ Herwerden.
Μυτιληναίοι ἔθαρσον τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἦσον εἰσὶν τὴν γυνώμην ὡστε ξυμβαίνειν. ὁ τε χειμὼν ἔτελεύτα ὦτος, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἔτελεύτα τῶδε ὄν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

26 Τοῦ δὲ ἐπινυμομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἑπείδη τὰς ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν ἀρχοῦντα Ἀλκίδαν, ὡς ἦν αὐτοῖς ναῦαρχος, προστάξαντες, αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀμφότεροθεν θορυβούμενοι ἦσον ταῖς ναυσίν ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην καταπλεούσαις.

The Pel. send Alcidas with a fleet to Lesbos. They invade Attica.
27 Οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς αἱ τε νῆσες αὐτῶς οὐχ ἦκον ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννῆσου ἀλλὰ ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ ὁ σίτος ἐπελεύσθη, ἀναγκάζονται ἐξιμβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
dià τάδε. ὁ Σάλαριθος καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ προσδεχόμενος ἐτί τάς ναῦς ὁπλίζει τῶν δήμων πρότερον ψιλὸν ὄντα ὡς ἐπεξιῶν τοῖς Αθηναίοις: οὐ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐλαβον ὀπλα, οὔτε ἦκροκτὸ ἐτι τῶν ἁρχόντων, κατὰ ἐξιλλόγους τε γυγόμενοι ἢ τὸν σίτον ἐκέλευσιν τοὺς δυνατοὺς φέρειν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν καὶ διανέμειν ἀπασιν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐξυγχωρήσαντες πρὸς Αθηναίους ἐφασαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. γνώντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν οὔτ' ἀποκωλύειν δυνατοὶ ὄντες, εἰ τ' ἀπομονωθῆσονται τῆς ἐξιμβάσεως κινδυνεύοσοντες, ποιοῦνται κοινὴ ὀμολογίαν πρὸς τε Πάχυτα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδο, ὡστε Αθηναίοις μὲν ἐξείναι βούλευσαι περὶ Μυτιληναίων ὁποῖον ἄν τι βούλωνται καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, πρεσβείαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας Μυτιληναίους ἐπὶ Ξανθῶν· ἐν δὲ ἀν πάλιν ἔλθωσιν, Πάχυτα µὴτε δησαι Μυτιληναίους µηδένα µηδὲ ἀνδραποδίσαι µὴτε ἀποκτεῖναι. ἢ µὲν ἐξιμβασις αὐτὴ ἐγένετο, οὐ δὲ πράξαντες πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαμονίους μᾶλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων

29 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ Πελο-
ποννήσιοι, οὓς ἔδει ἐν τάχει παρα-
γενέσθαι, πλέοντες περὶ τὸ αὐτὴν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐνδιέτριψαν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦν σχολαῖοι κομισθέντες τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναίων λαυθά-
νουσι, πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον, προσμείζαντες δ' ἄπ' αὐτῆς τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ πυθ-
θάνοντας πρῶτον ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἐδάλωκεν.  
2 βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι κατέπλευσαν ἐς Ἐμβατον τῆς Ἔρυθραίας· ἥμεραι δὲ μά-
λιστα ἤσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐαλωκυίᾳ ἐπτὰ ὅτε ἐς τὸ Ἐμβατον κατέπλευσαν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ ἐλεξέν αὐτοῖς Τεντιάπλος ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος τάδε.  
30 "Ἀλκίδα καὶ Πελοποννησίων ὁσοὶ πάρεσμεν ἅρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πλείων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Μυτιλήνῃ πρὶν ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι, ὡσπερ ἔχομεν.  
2 κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀνδρῶν νεστὶ πόλιν

ἐχόντων πολὺ τὸ ἄφυλακτον εὐρήσομεν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ πάνω, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιγενέσθαι ἃν τινα σφίσι πολέμιον καὶ ἤμων ἢ ἀλκή τυγχάνει μάλιστα ὑύσα· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατ’ οἰκίας ἀμελέστερον 10 ὑσ κεκρατηκότων διεστάρθαι. εἰ οὖν προσπέσομεν ἄφων τε καὶ νυκτὸς, ἔπιξος μετὰ τῶν ἐνδοὺ, εἰ τις ἀρα ἡμῖν ἐστίν ὑπόλοιπος εὖνους, 4 καταληφθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα. καὶ μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνου, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ εἰ τις στρατηγὸς ἐν τε αὐτῷ φυλάσσοιτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίωσ ἐνορῶν ἐπιχειροῖ, πλεῖστ’ ἂν ὀρθοῖτο.”

31 Ὅ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ἁλκίδαν. ἄλλοι δὲ τινὲς τῶν ἀπ’ Ἰωνίας φυγάδων καὶ οἱ Λέσβιοι ἄν καταλαβεῖν τινὰ ἢ Κύμην τὴν Αἰολίδα, ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως ὀρμόμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσιν (ἔλπίδα δ’ εἶναι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀκουσίως ἀφίχθαι) καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ταύτην μεγίστην οὐσαν Ἀθηναίων [ἡν] υφέλωσι, καὶ ἀμα, ἣν ἐφορμῶσι 10 σφίσιν, αὐτοὶς δαπάνη γίγνηται· πείσειν τε οἴεσθαι καὶ Πισσοῦθνην ὡστε ἕμπολεμεῖν. 2 ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτα ἐνεδέχετο, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον

τῆς γυνώμης εἰχεν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὑστερήκει, ὦτι τάχιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πάλιν 15
32 προσμεῖξαι. ἀρας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρ-
His proceedings on the coast of Asia Minor.
2 καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἐφεσον καθορμισαμένον αὐτοῦ 5
Σαμίων τῶν ἔς Ἀναίων ἀφικόμενοι πρέσβεις ἔλεγον οὖ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν
αὐτόν, εἰ ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν οὔτε χείρας ἀντα-
ρομέονος οὔτε πολεμίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης ἐξυμάχους· εἰ τε μὴ παύσεται, 10
ὅλης μὲν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐς φιλίαν
πορεάξεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν φίλων
3 πολεμίους ἔξειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑπείσθη τε καὶ
Χίων ἄνδρας ὁσοὺς εἰχεν ἐτὶ ἀφῆκε καὶ τῶν
ἀλλῶν τινὰς· ὀρῶντες γὰρ τάς ναῦς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἐφευγον, ἀλλὰ προσεχώρουν
μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ ἑλπίδα οὔδε τὴν
ἐλαχίστην εἶχον μὴ ποτε Ἀθηναίων τῆς
θαλάσσης κρατοῦντον ναῦς Πελοποννησίων ἐς
33 Ἰωνίαν παραβαλεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐφεσοῦ ὁ
On the way home he is pursued by Paches.
2 Ἰδὲ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤλθε
μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἀγγελία, ἀφικνεῖτο 10 δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν· ἀτειχίστον ὡρὰ οὕσης τῆς Ἰωνίας μέγα τὸ δέος ἐγένετο μὴ παραπλέοντες οἱ Πελοποννησίου, εἰ καὶ ὡς μὴ διεισοῦντο μένειν, πορθῶσιν ἀμα προσπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις. αὐτάγγελοι δ' αὐτῶν ἰδοῦσαι ἐν τῇ 15 Κλάρῳ ἢ τε Πάραλος καὶ ἡ Σαλαμνία 3 ἐφράσαν· ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τήν διώξιν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν Πάτμου τῆς νῆσου ἐπεδίωξεν, ὡς δ' οὖκ ἐκαταλήψει ἐφαίνετο, ἐπανεχώρησε. κέρδος δὲ ἐνόμισεν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ 20 μετέφρος περιέτυχεν, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθείσαι ἡναγκάσθησαι στρατόπεδον τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ φυλακὴν σφίσι καὶ ἐφόρμησιν παρασχεῖν. παραπλέων δὲ πάλιν ἔσχε καὶ ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων, ὦ κατωκηντο Κολοφώνιου τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἐαλοκυνία ὑπὸ Ἰταμάνους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν ἴδιαν ἐπαχθέντων· ἐάλω δὲ 5 μάλιστα αὐτὴ ὅτε ἡ δευτέρα Πελοποννησίων 2 ἐσβολῇ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐγένετο. ἐν οὖν τῷ Νότιῳ οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ κατοικήσαντες αὐτόθι αὖθις στασιάσαντες, οἱ μὲν παρὰ Πισσούθουν ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδοι γε καὶ τῶν 10 βαρβάρων ἐπαγαγόμενοι ἐν διατείχίσματι εἶχον, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως Κολοφωνίων οἱ μηδίσαντες ἄνευσελθόντες ἐπολίτευν, οἱ δὲ
3 Πάχητα ἐπάγονται. οὶ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἰππίαν τῶν ἐν τῷ διατείχοματι Ἀρκάδων ἅρχοντα, ὥστε, ἂν μηδὲν ἄρέσκον λέγης, πάλιν αὐτῶν καταστήσεις ἐς τὸ τεῖχος σῶν καὶ υγία, ὁ μὲν ἐξήλθε παρ’ αὐτὸν, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ προσβαλὼν τῷ τείχισματι ἔξαπταίως καὶ οὐ προσδεχόμενων αἵρει, τοὺς τε Ἀρκάδας καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσου ἐνήσαν διαφθείρει· καὶ τῶν Ἰππίαν ύστερον ἐσαγαγὼν ὡσπερ ἐσπείσατο, ἐπειδὴ ἐνδον ἦν, ἐξυλλαμβάνει καὶ κατατοξεύει. Κολοφωνίοις δὲ Νότιοι παραδίδοσι πλὴν τῶν μηδισάντων. καὶ ύστερον Ἀθηναίοι οἰκιστάς πέμψαντες κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους κατῴκισαν τὸ Νότιον, ἐξυγαγοῦντες πάντας ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, εἰ ποῦ τις ἦν Κολοφωνίων.

35 Ὅ δὲ Πάχης ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην οὕτως ἐν τῇ Πύρραν καὶ Ἐρέσου παρεστήσατο, καὶ Σάλαυθον λαβὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κεκρμένον ἀποστέπμει ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας καὶ τοὺς ἑκ τῆς Τενέδου Μυτιληναίων ἄνδρας ἄμα οὕς κατέθετο καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ αἴτιος ἐδόκει 2 εἰναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀποστέπμει δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πλέον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποῖς υπομένουν καθίστατο τὰ περὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην "}

He sends the leaders in the revolt of Mytilene to Athens.

καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Δέσβου ἡ αὐτῷ ἔδοκει. 36 ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ Σαλαίθου οἰ 'Αθηναίοι τὸν μὲν Σαλαίθου εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἐστιν ἃ παρεχόμενον τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ Πλαταιῶν (ἐτι γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο) ἀπάζειν Πελο-

2 ποιησίους· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτείνα, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντας Μυτιληναίους ὅσοι ἤβδοσι, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναίκας ἀνδραπόδισαι, ἐπὶ- 10 καλοῦντες τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι ὠσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ προσέξωνελάβοντο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὀρμῆς αἱ Πελοποιησίων νῆες εἰς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεύσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ 15 βραχείας διανοίας ἔδοκον τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιῆσασθαι. πέμπονσιν οὖν τριήρη ως Πάχντα ἄγγελον τῶν δεδομένων, κατὰ τάχος 3 κελεύοντες διαχρήσασθαι Μυτιληναίους. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιᾳ τις εὐθὺς ἤν αὐτοῖς καὶ 20 ἀναλογισμὸς ὡμον τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα ἐγνώσθαι, πόλιν ὅλην διαφθείραι μᾶλλον ἢ 5 οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. ως δ' ἤσθοντο τούτο τῶν Μυτιληναίων οἱ παρόντες πρέσβεις καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἐμπράσσοντες, παρε- 25 σκέψασαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὡστε αὐθις γνώμας προθείναι· καὶ ἐπεισάν ῥᾶσον, διότι καὶ ἐκείνοις

"Πολλάκις μὲν ἥδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν ὅτι ἄδυνατον ἔστιν ἐτέρων ἀρχεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑμετέρᾳ περὶ Μυτιληναίων μεταμελεία. διὰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἄδεης καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους τὸ αὐτὸ ἐχεῖ, καὶ ὃ τι ἄν ἡ λόγῳ πεισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀμάρτητε ἡ ὁίκτω ἐνδώτε, οὐκ ἐπικεινδύνως ἥγεισθε ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν τῶν ξυμμάχων χάριν μαλακίζεσθαι, οὐκ σκοπούντες ὅτι τυ-ραννίδα ἐχεῖ τὴν ἀρχῆν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύσεως αὐτούς καὶ ἀκοινάσαρχομένους, <οτί> οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἄν χαρίζησθε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀκροβοῦν ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἄν ἰσχύι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἕκειν ὑνοίᾳ περιγένησθε. πάντων δὲ δεινότατον εἰ βέβαιον ἢμῖν μηδὲν καθεστῆξει ὦν ἀν δόξῃ πέρι, μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροςι

30. καταστάσης δ'] δ' οἷον. C: καὶ καταστάσης cG.
37. 2. ἄδυνατος Steup. 4. ἡμετέρᾳ AEFM: ἡμέρᾳ B[G].
13. οἷον οἷον. codd., add. b.
νόμους ἀκινήτους χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλὸς ἐχουσιν ἀκύροις, ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὁφελμῶτερον ἡ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας, οἱ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ξυνετωτέρους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἀμεινὸν οἰκούσι τὰς πόλεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε νόμων σοφότεροι βουλοῦνται φαίνεσθαι τὸν τε αἰεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν περιγγυνεσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείζοσιν οὐκ ἂν δηλώσαντες τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τὰ πολλὰ σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δὲ ἀπιστοῦντες τῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν ξυνέσει ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν τῶν νόμων ἄξιούσιν εἶναι, ἀδυνατώτεροι δὲ τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος μέμψασθαι λόγον, κριταὶ δὲ ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μᾶλλον ἢ 5 ἀγωνισταὶ ὀρθοῦνται τὰ πλεῖον. ὃς οὖν χρῆ καὶ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντας μὴ δεινὸτητι καὶ ξυνέσεως ἁγώνι ἐπαιρομένους παρὰ δόξαι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλῆθει παραινεῖν.

38 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς εἰμὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ θαυμάζω μὲν τῶν προβεντῶν αὐθίς περὶ Μυτιληναίων λέγειν καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων, ὁ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡδικηκότων μᾶλλον (ὁ γὰρ παθὼν τῷ δράσαντι 5 ἀμβλυτέρα τῇ ὀργῇ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον ἀντίπαλον ὅν μᾶλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμ-

24. πλείστον B Stobaens. 32. post δὲ add. τὸν Stobaeus.
36. post παρὰ add. τὸ Reiske.
βάνει), θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὡστὶς ἐσται ὁ ἀντερὸν καὶ ἀξιώσων ἀποφαινεῖν τὰς μὲν 10 
Μυτιληναίων ἀδίκιας ἡμῖν ὀφελίμους οὐσας, 
tὰς δὲ ἡμετέρας ξυμφορὰς τοῖς ξυμμάχοις 2 
βλάβας καθισταμένας. καὶ δὴλον ὅτι ἡ τῶν 
λέγειν πιστεύσας τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν ἀνταποφήμαι ὁς οὐκ ἐγνωσται ἀγωνίσατ' ἂν, ἡ κέρδει 15 
ἐπαιρόμενος τὸ εὑρπετῆς τοῦ λόγου ἐκπονήσας. 3 

παράγειν πειράσεται. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐκ τῶν 
τοιὸνδε ἄγωνων τὰ μὲν ἀθλα ἑτέρους δίδωσιν, 4 
αὐτῇ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀναφέρει. αἰτίοι δ' ὑμεῖς 
κακῶς ἄγωνοθετοῦντες, οὕτως εἰώθατε 20 
θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ 
δὲ τῶν ἑργῶν, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἑργα 
ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες ὃς δυνατὰ 
γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἡδῆ, οὐ 
τὸ δρασθὴν πιστότερον ὃψει λαβόντες ἡ τὸ 25 
ἀκουσθὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων. 5 
καὶ μετὰ καινότητος μὲν λόγου ἀπατᾶσθαι 
ἀριστοι, μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου δὲ μὴ ἐξενέπεσθαι 
ἐθελεῖν, δοῦλοι ὤντες τῶν αἰεὶ ἀτόπων, 6 
ὑπεράπται δὲ τῶν εἰωθῶν, καὶ μᾶλιστα μὲν 30 
αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἐκαστὸς βουλόμενος δύνασθαι, εἰ 
δὲ μὴ, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι 
μὴ ύπερεοι ἀκολουθήσαι δοκεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ, 
ὁξέως δέ τι λέγοντος προεπαινέσαι, καὶ προ-
αισθέσθαι τε πρόθυμοι εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ 35 
προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα, 7 
ξητοῦντες τε ἀλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν ἂ ἐν ὦ ὅς 

34. τι] του Krüger. 35. εἶναι del. Poppo.
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Γ (38—39) 33

ξώμεν, φρονούντες δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἵκανῶς: ἀπλῶς τε ἀκοῆς ἡδονή ἡςσώμενοι καὶ σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἐοικότες καθημένοι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως ὑπελεύσμενοι.

39 "Ὡν ἑγὼ πειρώμενος ἀποστρέψειν ὑμᾶς ἀποφαίνω Μυτιληναίους μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν ἡδικηκότας ὑμᾶς.

2 ἑγὼ γάρ, οἴτινες μὲν μὴ δυνατοὶ φέρειν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρχὴν ἢ οἴτινες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀπεστησαν, ἐξεγγυμόνθην ἐχὼ· νήσον δὲ οἴτινες ἔχοντες μετὰ τειχῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μόνον φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους, ἐν ὧ καὶ αὐτοὶ τρήρων παρασκευῆ σος ἄφαρκτοι ἤραν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, αὐτῶνοι τε οίκοντες καὶ τιμώμενοι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο, τί ἄλλο οὕτως ἐπεβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπεστησάν (ἀπόστασις μὲν γε τῶν βιαίων τὶ πασχόντων ἐστίν), ἐξήτησάν τε μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων ἡμᾶς στάντες διαφθείραι; καίτοι δεινότερον ἐστίν ἢ εἰ καθ’ αὐτοὺς δύναμιν κτώμενοι ἀντεπολέμησαν.

3 παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε αἱ τῶν πέλας ἡμιφοραὶ ἑγένοντο, ὅσοι ἀποστάντας ἦδη ἡμῶν ἠχειρώθησαν, οὔτε ἡ παροῦσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινὰ· γενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς βουλήσεως, πόλεμον ἡραντο, ἵσχυν ἀξιώσαντες τοῦ δικαίου προθείναν· ἐν
γὰρ φήθησαν περιέσεσθαι, ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν
οὐκ ἀδικοῦμενοι. εἰώθε δὲ τῶν πόλεων αἰς ἁν μάλιστα καὶ δι᾽ ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραγία ἔλθη, ἐς ὑβριν τρέπειν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχοῦντα ἀσφαλέστερα ἢ παρὰ δόξαι, καὶ κακοπραγίαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ρᾶν ἀπωθοῦνται ἢ εὐδαιμονίαν
διασφάζονταί. χρήν δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ πάλαι μηδὲν διαφέροντος τῶν ἄλλων ύφ' ἦμῶν τετιμῆθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐς τὸδε ἐξύβρισαν· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἀνθρώπος τὸ μὲν θεραπεύουν ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ
υπείκον θαυμάζειν. κολασθέντων δὲ καὶ
νῦν ἁξίως τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μὲν ὠλίγοις ἢ αὐτία προστεθῇ, τὸν δὲ δήμον ἀπολύσατε. πάντες γὰρ ἡμῖν γε ὁμοίως ἐπέθεντο, οἷς ἐξήν ὡς ἢμᾶς τραπε- μένοις νῦν πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ τῶν μετὰ τῶν ὠλίγων κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι
βεβαιώτερον ξυναπέστησαν. τῶν τε ξυμμάχων
σκέψασθε εἰ τοῖς τε ἀναγκασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ [τε] τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἐκούσιν ἀποστάσι τὰς αὕτας ἡμιάς προσθησετε, τίνα ὀφεσθε ἄντινα οὐ βραχεία προφάσει ἀπο- στήσεσθαι, ὅταν ἢ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευθέρωσις
ἡ ἢ σφαλέντι μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον; ἡμῖν δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστην πόλιν ἀποκεκυνδυνεύσεται

The resolution is just.

It is also expedient.

29. ἀπροσδόκητος post μάλιστα posuit Hude.
30. εὐ- πραγία Phot.; εὐπραξία codd. 34. χρήν EG: χρή cett.
35. διαφέροντας ABCF. 42. ἡμῖν B. 43. τραπεμένοις ΙΜ: τρεπομένους cett.
48. post ὑπὸ add. τε codd., del. f.
τά τε χρήματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ, καὶ τυχόντες μὲν πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβόντες τῆς ἔπειτα 55 προσόδου, δι’ ἣν ἱσχύσμεν, τὸ λοιπὸν στερή-
σεθε, σφαλέντες δὲ πολεμίους πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντι ἔξομεν, καὶ ὃν χρόνον τοῖς νῦν καθεστηκόσι δεῖ ἐξθροῖς ἀνθίστασθαι, τοῖς 40 οἰκείοις ξυμμάχοις πολεμήσομεν. οὐκον δὲ
προθείναι ἐπίδα οὕτε λόγῳ πιστῆν οὕτε χρήμασιν ὑπητῆν, ὥς ξυγγρομήν ἀμαρτείν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται. ἀκοντες μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔβλαψαν, εἰδότες δὲ ἐπεβούλευσαν· ξὺγγρωμον 5 δ’ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον.

2 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πρῶτον καὶ νῦν διαμάχομαι μὴ μεταγνώναι ὡμᾶς τὰ προδε-
δομέναι, μηδὲ τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις τῇ ἀρχῇ, οὐκτῳ καὶ ἡδονῆ λόγων καὶ ἑπιεικείᾳ. 10 ἀμαρτάνειν. ἐλέος τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους δίκαιος ἀντιδίδοσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὕτ’ ἀντοικτιοῦντας ἐξ ἀνάγκης τε καθεστώτας αἰεὶ πολεμίους· οὐ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ ῥήτορες ἐξουσὶ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις ἐλάσσοσιν ἀγώνα, καὶ 15 μὴ ἐν ᾧ ὧ μὲν πόλις βραχέα ἡσθείσα μεγάλα ἰημιώσεται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὐ ἐπείν τὸ παθεῖν εὐ ἀντιλήψονται καὶ ἑ ἑπιεικεία πρὸς τοὺς μέλλουτας ἑπιτηθείους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον δίδοται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίως 20 τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἕσσον πολεμίους ὑπολειπομένους.

4  év te ἐνενελὼν λέγω· πειθόμενοι μὲν ἔμοι τά
tε δίκαια ἐσθ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ τά ἔμφορα
ἄμα ποιήσετε, ἀλλώς δὲ γρόντες τοῖς μὲν οὐ
χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαίωσεσθε. 25
ei γὰρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἀν οὐ
χρεῶν ἀρχοίτε. ei δὲ ἰθ καὶ οὐ προσήκον
ομως ἄξιοντε τοῦτο δράν, παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς τοι
καὶ τούσδε ἔμφορος δεῖ κολάξεσθαι, ἢ
παύεσθαι τῆς ἁρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄκινδυνον 30
5 ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ἤμια ἄξιώσατε
ἀμύνασθαι καὶ μὴ ἄναλγητότεροι οἱ διαφεύ-
γοντες τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων φανῆναι, ἐνθυμη-
θέντες ἃ εἰκὸς ἢν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι κρατήσαντας
ὑμῶν, ἀλλώς τε καὶ προὔπαρξαντας ἅδικιας. 35
6 μάλιστα δὲ οἱ μὴ ἦν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς
ποιοῦντες ἐπεξέρχονται καὶ διολλύναι, τὸν
κίνδυνον υφορόμενοι τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου ἐχθροῦ·
ο γὰρ μὴ ἦν ἀνάγκη τί παθῶν χαλεπῶτερος
dιαφυγὼν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ. 40
7 “Μὴ ὁμων προδόται γένησθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν,
Peroration. γενόμενοι δ’ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῇ
γνώμη τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ ως πρὸ παντὸς ἂν
ἐτιμήσασθε αὐτοὺς χειρώσασθαι, νῦν ἀντι-
απόδοτε μὴ μαλακισθέντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν 45
αὐτίκα μηδὲ τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος ποτὲ δεινοῦ
8 ἀμηνοιούντες. κολάσατε δὲ ἄξιος τούτου τε
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔμμαχοις παράδειγμα σαφές

22. τε C; δὲ eett. 37. διολλύναι Stahl: δύλλυναι eodd.
42. ἐγγύτατα τῇ C: ἐγγυτάτη eett. 45. παρὸν αὐτίκα]
παραντίκα Schneider.
καταστήσατε, δι' αυτό, αφιερώνεται, θανάτῳ ξημιωσόμενον. τόδε γὰρ ἤν γνώσιν, ἢσον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμελήσαντες τοῖς ύμετέροις αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθε ξυμμάχοις.”

41 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέων ἔπευξε· μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Διόδοτος ο Ἐὐκράτους, ὁσπέρ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντέλεψε· μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτείναι Μυτιληναίοις, παρελθὼν καὶ τότε ἐλεγε τοιάδε.

42 "Οὔτε τοὺς προθέτατα τῇ διαγρώμῃν αὖθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων αὐτώματι, οὔτε τοὺς μεμφομένους μὴ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλεύεσθαι ἐπαινῶ, νομίζω δὲ δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα εὐβουλία εἰναι, τάχος τε καὶ ὀργὴν, ὅπερ τὸ μὲν μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλεὶ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ ἀπαίδευσίας καὶ βραχύτητος γνώμης. τοὺς τε λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἀξύνετος ἐστιν ἢ ἰδία τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει. ἀξύνετος μὲν, εἰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἦγεται περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δυνατὸν εἰναι καὶ μὴ ἐμφανοῦς φράσαι, διαφέρει δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ βουλόμενος τι αἰσχρὸν πεῖσαι εὐ μὲν εἰπτείν ὅσκ ἢ ἠγετᾶται περὶ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δύνασθαι, εὐ δὲ διαβαλὼν ἐκπλήξαι ἂν τοὺς τε ἀντε-3ροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσμένους. χαλεπώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προκατηγοροῦντες ἐπίδειξιν τινα. εἰ μὲν ἢ ἀμαθάναν κατη-

42 5. δὲ GM: τε cett. 13. διαφέρει Schol.: διαφέροι codd. 18. προκατηγοροῦντες C: προσκατηγοροῦντες cett. 19. ἀντι-δείξειν fGM.
τώντο, ὁ μὴ πείσας ἀξιοποιότερος ἄν δόξας 20 εἶναι ἡ ἀδικότερος ἀπεχώρει· ἀδικίας δ' ἐπιφερομένης πείσας τε ὑποπτοὺς γίγνεται καὶ 4 μὴ τυχών μετὰ ἀξιοποιίας καὶ ἀδικοὺς. ἡ τε πόλις ὅπειροι ὀφελείται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε φόβῳ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖται τῶν ξυμβούλων. καὶ πλείστ' ἂν 25 ὀρθοίτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν ἑχουσα τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἄν πεισθείεν 5 ἀμαρτάνειν. χρὴ δὲ τόν μὲν ἁγαθὸν πολίτην μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου φαίνεσθαι ἁμεινοῦν λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ 30 σώφρονα πόλιν τῷ τε πλείστα εὑ βουλεύοντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμῆν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐλασσοῦν τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης, καὶ τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης οὐχ 6 ὅπως ξημιοῦν ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀτιμάξειν. οὕτω γὰρ ὦ τε κατορθῶν ἢκιστα ἄν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτὶ μειζόνων 35 ἀξιοῦσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγοι, ὦ τε μὴ ἑπιτυχῶν ὀρέγοντο τῷ αὐτῷ χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτὸς προσάγεσθαι τῷ πλῆθος.

43 "Ὡν ἡμεῖς τάναντια δρῶμεν, καὶ προσέτι
Suspicion of motives prompts
the Athenians to lose good counsel.  

ἡν τις καὶ υποπτεύονται κέρδος

μὲν ένεκα τὰ βέλτιστα δὲ όμως

λέγειν, φθονήσαντες τῆς οὐ βεβαίου
doxēs, ψοφοῖς τῶν κερδῶν τὴν φανερὰν ὑφελλαν 5

2 τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα. καθέστηκε δὲ
tάγαθα ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα μηδὲν

ἀνυποπτότερα εἶναι τῶν κακῶν, ὡστε δεῖν

ὁμοίως τῶν τε τὰ δεινότατα βουλόμενον πείσαι

35. τὸ ΑΒΕΦΜ.

apisth μοσάγεσθαι τὸ πλήθος καὶ τὸν τὰ
ἀμείνω λέγοντα ἑνσάμενον πιστόν γενέσθαι.
3 μόνην τε πόλιν διὰ τὰς περινοίας εὐ ποιῆσαι
ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦσ᾽ ἡ ἐξαπατήσαντα ἄδικαν
ὅ γάρ δεδοὺς φανερὸς τι ἁγαθὸν ἀνεύεινεται
4 ἀφανὸς τοῦ πλέον ἕξειν. χρῆ δὲ πρὸς τὰ
μέγιστα καὶ ἐν τῷ τούφῳ ἀξιοῦν τι ἡμᾶς
περατέρω προνοοῦντας λέγειν ὑμῶν τῶν ἀ
ὁλίγου σκοποῦντων, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὑπεύθυνον
τὴν παραλέσιν ἑχοντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν
5 ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τε πείσας καὶ ὁ
ἐπιστόμενος ὁμοίως ἐβλάπτοτο, σωφρονέστερον
ἀν ἐκρίνετε· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἤντιν ἀν
τύχητε ἐστιν ὅτε σφαλέντες τὴν τοῦ πείσαντος
μίαν γνώμην ἔκμιστε καὶ οὐ τὰς ὑμετέρας
αὐτῶν, εἰ πολλαὶ οὕσαι ἕξυνεξήμαρτον. 25

44 "Εγὼ δὲ παρήλθων οὕτε ἀντερῶν περὶ
Μυτιληναίων οὕτε κατηγορήσων. Is the penalty
demanded expedient?
οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀδικίας
ἡμῖν ὁ ἁγών, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς
2 ὑμετέρας εὐβουλίας. ἢν τε γὰρ ἀποφῆνω
πάνω ἀδικοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
ἀποκτείναι κελεύσω, εἰ μὴ ἔσμιφέρουν, ἢν τε
3 μὴ ἁγαθὸν φαίνοιτο. νομίζω δὲ περὶ τοῦ
μέλλοντος ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον βουλεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ
10 παρόντος. καὶ τούτος φί μάλιστα Κλέων

25. εἰ] at Cobet.
44 8. ἑχοντα Lindau: ἑχοντες codd. ἐὰν Lindau: ἐεν
11. ϕ CG : δ cett.
ισχυρίζεται, ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἤμιφέρον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἢσον ἀφίστασθαι θάνατον ζημιάν προθείσι, καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ μέλλων καλῶς ἐχοντος ἀντισχυριζόμενος τᾶναντία γυν. 15 νῶσκω. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιόν ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐπρετεῖ τοῦ ἐκείνου λόγου τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀπώσασθαι. δικαιότερος γὰρ ὁν αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑμετέραν ὀργήν ἐς Μυτιληναίους τάχ' ἂν ἐπισπάσαιτο. ἦμεις δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὡστε τῶν δικαίων δείν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύομεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως χρησίμως ἔξουσιν.

45 "Εν ὁν ταῖς πόλεσι πολλῶν θανάτου ζημιάι πρόκεινται, καὶ οὐκ ἢσων τρόδε, ἀλλ' ἐλασσόνων ἀμαρτημάτων' ὅμως δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρόμενοι κινδυνεύουσι, καὶ οὔδεὶς πω καταγενῷς ἐαυτοῦ 5 μὴ περιέσεσθαι τῷ ἐπιβουλεύματι ἦλθεν ἐς τὸ 2 δεινόν. πόλει τε ἀφίσταμένη τίς πω ἢσω τῇ δοκίσει ἔχουσα τὴν παρασκευήν ἢ οἰκείαν ἢ ἀλλὰν ἦμιμαχία τοῦτῳ ἐπεχείρησεν;

3 πεφύκασθε να ἀπαντεῖ ἱδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ 10 ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὀστίς ἀπείρξει τούτου, ἐπεὶ διεξελεξαρθαίσι γε διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι προστίθεντες, εἰ πως ἢσον ἀδικοίωτο υπὸ τῶν κακούργων. καὶ εἰκὸς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων 15 μαλακωτέρας κεῖσθαι αὐτάς, παραβαινομένων

δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐς τὸν θανάτον αἵ πολλαὶ ἀνήκουσιν· καὶ τούτῳ ὅμως παραβαίνεται.

4 ἡ τοῖνυν δεινότερον τι τούτου δέος εὐρετέον ἐστὶν ἡ τόδε γε οὐδὲν ἐπίσχει, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πενία ἀνάγκη τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα, ἡ δ' ἐξουσία ύβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἵ δ' ἀλλαί ξυντυχίαι ὁργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἐκάστη τις κατέχεται ὑπ' ἀνηκέστω τινὸς

5 κρείσσουσι, ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους. ἡ τε ἐλπὶς καὶ ὁ ἐρως ἐπὶ παντὶ, ὁ μὲν ἠγούμενος, ἡ δ' ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφροντίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτίθεισα, πλείστα βλάπτουσι, καὶ ὁντα ἄφανή κρείσσων ἐστὶ τῶν ὀρωμένων

6 δεινῶν. καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐλάσσον εὐμβάλλεται ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν· ἀδοκήτως γὰρ ἐστίν ὅτε παρισταμένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπο- δεικτῖαν κινδυνεύειν τινὰ προάγει, καὶ οὐ χύσου τὰς πόλεις, ὡς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τε, ἐλευθερίας ἡ ἅλλων ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἐκαστὸς ἀλογίστως ἐπὶ πλέον τι

7 αὐτῶν ἐδόξασεν. ἀπλῶς τε ἀδίνατον καὶ πολλῆς εὐνείας, ὡστὶς ὀκεῖται τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ὀρμωμένης προθύμως τι πράξαι ἀπο- τρόπην τινα ἔχειν ἡ νόμων ἵσχυν ἡ ἅλλω τῷ δεινῶ.

46 "Οὐκον χρὴ οὔτε τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ.

όσ ἐχεσύχῳ πιστεύσαντας χείρον βουλεύσασθαι οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον καταστήσαι τοῖς ἀποστάσιν ὡς οὐκ ἔσται μεταγνώσαι καὶ ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ τῇν ἕμεν, ἦν τις καὶ ἀποστάσα πόλις γνῷ μὴ περιεσομένην, ἔλθοι ἡν ἐς ξύμβασιν δυνατῇ οὕσα ἐτὶ τῆν δαπάνην ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖν ἐκεῖνως δε τίνα οἴεσθε ἤμτινα οὐκ ἁμεινὸν μὲν ἡ νῦν παρασκευάσεσθαι, πολυρκία δὲ παρατενείσθαι ὑπε τοῦσχατον, εἶ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῆ καὶ ταχύ ξυμβήναι; ἢμῖν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβη δαπανῶν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον καὶ ἢν ἔλωμεν, πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι; ἰσχύσειν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τρῆδε. ὡστε οὗ δικαστὰς ὅντας δεῖ ήμᾶς μᾶλλον τῶν ἐξαμαρταγῶντων ἀκριβεῖς βλάπτεσθαι ἡ ὅραν ὅπως ἐς τὸν ἐπείτα χρόνον μετρίως κολάζουν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξομεν ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις χρήσθαι, καὶ τῆν φυλακὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τῆς δεινότητος ἄξιον ποιεῖσθαι, ἄλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν τῆς ἐπιμελείας. οὗ νῦν τούναντίον δρῶντες, ἢν τίνα ἐλεύθερον καὶ βία ἀρχόμενον εἰκότως πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα χειρω- σόμεθα, χαλεπῶς οἴμεθα χρήναι τιμωρεῖσθαι. χρή δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐκ ἀφισταμένους

11. παρασκευάσεσθαι vulg.: παρασκευάσασθαι codd. 12. δὲ Reiske: τε codd. eil cfG: ἢ cett. 25. τάναντιa ABF.
σφόδρα κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀποστῆναι σφόδρα 30
φυλάσσειν καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν ὅπως μηδ’
ἐς ἐπίνοιαν τοῦτον ὧσι, κρατήσαντας τε ὅτι
ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν.

47 “Τμεῖς δὲ σκέψασθε ὅσον ἂν καὶ τούτο
ἀμαρτάνοιτε Κλέωνι πειθόμενοι.

Even if the penalty proposed is just, it is inexpedient.
48 "Τμείς δὲ γνώντες ἁμένω τάδε εἶναι καὶ Peroration. μῆτε οἴκτω πλέον νείμαντες μῆτε ἐπιεικείᾳ, οἷς οὔδε ἐγὼ ἐδω προσάγεσθαι, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινομένων πείθεσθέ μοι Μυτιληναίων οὔς μὲν Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς ἁδικούντας κρίναι καθ' ἰσχύλιαν, τούς δὲ ἄλλους 2 ἐὰν οἰκείων τάδε γὰρ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱδή φοβερᾶ· ὡστὶς γὰρ εὖ βούλευται πρὸς τοὺς ἑναντίους κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἣ μετ' ἔργων ἰσχύος ἀνοίᾳ ἐπιцώ." 10

49 Τοιαύτα δὲ ὁ Διόδοτος εἶπεν. ῥηθεισῶν Small majority δὲ τῶν γρωμῶν τούτων μάλιστα for Diodotus. ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας οἱ 2 δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διόδοτος. καὶ τρίηρη εὐθὺς ἀλλην ἀπέστελλον κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης 3 προείχε δὲ ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ μάλιστα. παρα- τῆς προτέρας εὑρωσί διεφθαρμένην τὴν τόλιν. σκευασάντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεων τῇ νη ὁίνων καὶ ἀλφίτα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποσχομένων, εἴ φθάσειαν, ἐγένετο σπουδή τοῦ πλοῦ τοιαύτη ὦστε ἰσθίον τε ἁμα ἐλαύνοντες οἰνῳ καὶ ἐλαιώ ἀλφίτα πεφυραμένα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπνον 5 ἡρούντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἡλαυνον. κατὰ ηρούντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἡλαυνον. κατὰ 4 τύχην δὲ πνεύματος οὔδενος ἑναντιωθέντος τύχην δὲ πνεύματος οὔδενος ἑναντιωθέντος 10

καὶ τῆς μὲν πρωτέρας νεῶς οὐ σποουδὴ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πράγμα ἀλλόκοτον, ταύτης δὲ τοιούτω τρόπῳ ἐπειγομένης, ἢ μὲν ἐφθασε τοσοῦτον ὅσουν Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ μέλλειν δράσειν τὰ δεδομένα, ἢ δ’ ύστερα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται καὶ διεκώλυσε μὴ διαφθείραι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἢ Ἔν μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔνειδος οὖς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους ὑντας τῆς ἀπο- στάσεως Κλέωνος γυνής διεφθείραν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ὅσαν δὲ ὅλως πλείους χιλίων), 5 καὶ Μυτιληναίων τείχη καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς 2 παρέλαβον. ύστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὖς ἔταξαν Λεσβίους, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς πλήν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίων τριακοσίων μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἔξειλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους 10 σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχώντας ἀπέ- πεμψαν· οἱς ἀργυρίων Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν 3 αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἱπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 15 ὅσων Μυτιληναίων ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπῆκονοιν ύστερον Ἀθηναίων. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λέσβον οὕτως ἐγένετο.

51 Ἕν δὲ τοῦ αὐτῶθερεὶ μετὰ τὴν Λέσβου ἅλωσιν Ἀθηναίοι Νικίου τοῦ Νική- ράτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μινώαν τὴν νῆσον, ἢ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων. ἔχρωντο δὲ αὐτὴ πύργον ἐνοικοδο-
2 μήσαντες οἱ Μεγάρης φρουρίῳ, ἐβούλετο δὲ Νικίας τῇ φυλακῇ αὐτόθεν δι᾽ ἐλάσσονος τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμίνος εἶναι, τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιώνται ἐκπλοῦσιν αὐτόθεν λαθύνοντες τριήρων τε, οἶνον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον, καὶ ληστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοὺς τε Μεγαρέων ἀμα 3 μηδὲν ἐσπλείν. ἔλων οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον δύο πύργων προύχοντε μηχαναῖς ἕκαθαλάσσης καὶ τοῦν ἐσπλοῦν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας ἀπετείχίζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρον, ἦ κατὰ γέφυραν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἤ τῇ νήσῳ οὐ πολὺ διεχούσῃ 4 τῆς ἥπειρον. ὥς δὲ τούτῳ ἐξειργάσαντο ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ 20 τείχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρούραν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ.

52 Ἄπο δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρονοὺς τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῶν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες σῖτου οὔδε δυνάμενοι πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐξειβῆσαν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τοιοῦτοι τρόπῳ. προσέβαλλον αὐτῶν τῶν τείχει, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀμύνεσθαι. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων τῇ ἄσθενειαν αὐτῶν βία μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἑλεῖν (εἰρημένον γὰρ ἢν αὐτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνους, ὅπως, εἰ σπουδάζῃ γέγονοι τὸτε πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ 10

52 5. προσέβαλλον ABEFM.
ἐνχωροῦσιν ὡς πολέμῳ χωρία ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι ἀποδιδόσθαι, μὴ ἀνάδοτος εἰς ἡ Plataia ὡς αὐτῶν ἐκόντων προσχωρησάντων), προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοῖς κήρυκα λέγοντα, εἰ βουλοῦντα παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἐκόντες τοῖς 15 Δακεδαιμονίοις καὶ δικασταὶς ἐκείνοις χρῆσασθαι, τοὺς τε ἄδικους κολάσειν, παρὰ δίκην δὲ 3 οὐδένα. τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ εἶπεν· οἱ δέ (ἢσαν γὰρ ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἄσθενεστάτῳ) παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς Plataiās ἑτέρουν οἱ 20 Πελοποννησίοι ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐν ὄσῳ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαιμονίας δικασταὶ πέντε ἄνδρες ἀφίκοντο.

4 ἐκθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατηγορία μὲν οὐδεμία προνετῆθη, ἡρώτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον, εἰ τι Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς 25 ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ καθεστώτι

5 ἀγαθόν [τί] εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον αἰτησάμενοι μακρότερα εἰπεὶ καὶ προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν Ἀστύμαχον τε τὸν Ἀσωπολάου καὶ Δάκωνα τὸν Αἰείμηντον πρόξενον ὅντα 30 Δακεδαιμονίων· καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

53 "Τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς Δακε- 17. κολάσειν Krüger: κολάζειν codd. 27. τι del. Böhme.

daiμόνιοι, πιστεύσαντες υμῖν ἐποιη- 5. ἄν Krüger: ἐν codd. 7. ἡ υμῖν non legit Schol.

σάμεθα, οὐ τοιάντε δίκην οἴομενοι ύφέξειν, νομιμωτέραν δὲ τινα ἐσε- 53

θαί, καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἄν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐσμεν, 17. αὐτοί codd.
2 ἂν φέρεσθαι. νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμεθα μή ἀμφοτέρων ἀμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν· τὸν τε γὰρ ἁγώνα περὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων εἶναι εἰκότως ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε, τεκμαιρόμενοι προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης ἡ χρῆ ἀντειπεῖν (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ λόγον ἥτησάμεθα) τὸ τε ἐπερῶτημα βραχὺ ὦν, ὃ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῇ ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐναντία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδή 15 ἐλεγχον ἔχει. πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀποροι καθεστῶτες ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ εἶναι εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεῦειν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος τοῖς ὁδ' ἐχοῦσιν αἰτίαν ἂν παράσχοι ὡς, εἰ ἐλέξθη, σωτήριος ἂν ἦν. 20 χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχει ὡμών πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ πειθώ. ἀγνώτες μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἄλληλων ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι μαρτύρια ὁν ἀπειροὶ ἣτε ὄφελούμεθα ἂν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα λελέξεται, καὶ δέδιμεν οὐχὶ μὴ προκαταγνώτες 25 ἡμῶν τὰς ἁρετὰς ἡσσους εἶναι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐγκλῆμα αὐτὸ ποιήτε, ἄλλα μὴ ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν καθιστώμεθα.

54 παρεχόμενοι δὲ ὃμοις ἃ ἐχομεν δίκαια πρὸς τε τὰ Θηβαίων διάφορα καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας, τῶν εὗ δεδραμένων ὑπόμνησιν ποιησόμεθα καὶ πείθειν πειρασόμεθα.

2 "Φαμὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τὸ βραχὺ, 5 εἰ τι Δακεδαμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμ- μάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τάδε ἁγαθὸν πεποιήκαμεν, εἰ μὲν ὡς πολεμίους ἐρωτᾶτε, οὕκ ἄδικείσθαι ύμᾶς μὴ εὗ παθόντας,
φίλους δὲ νομίζοντας αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν 10
3 μᾶλλον τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ἀγαθοὶ
γεγενήμεθα, τὴν μὲν οὐ λύσαντες νῦν πρότεροι,
τῷ δὲ ξυνεπιθέμενοι τότε ἐς ἐλευθερίαν τῆς
4 Ἑλλάδος μόνοι Βοιωτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἥπειροί ταῖ
te δόντες ἐναυμαχησαμεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, μάχη
tε τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ γενομένῃ παρεγενό-
μεθα ὑμῖν τε καὶ Παυσανίας· εἰ τέ τι ἄλλο
cατ' ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐπικινδύνου
tοῖς Ἑλλησι, πάντων παρὰ δύναμιν μετέ-
5 σχομεν. καὶ ὑμῖν, οἰ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰδίᾳ,
ὅτεπερ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περίεστη τὴν
Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην
Εἰλώτων ἀποστάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν ἐξεπεμψαμεν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· δὲν οὐκ
25 εἰκὸς ἀμυνημονεῖν.

"Καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ μέγιστα τοιοῦτοι
ἡξιώσαμεν εἶναι, πολέμιοι δὲ ἐγενό-
μεθα ύστερον. ὑμεῖς δὲ αύτοι.
δεομένων γὰρ ἐξυμμαχίας ὅτε Θῆβαιοι ἡμᾶς
ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθη-
ναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέζαθι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας,
2 ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων. ἐν μέντοι τῷ
πολέμῳ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν οὔτε
3 ἐπάθετε οὗτε ἐμελλῆσατε. εἰ δὲ ἀποστήναι
Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἡθελῆσαμεν ύμῶν κελευσάντων, 10
οὐκ ἥδικομεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἐβοήθουν ἡμῖν
ἐναντία Θῆβαιοι ὅτε ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνεῖτε, καὶ

55 4. γὰρ] δὲ ABF.
προδούναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἢν καλὸν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ οὕς εὖ παθῶν τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος προσηγάγετο ἐμμάχοις καὶ πολετεῖας μετέ- 
λαβεν, ἧν εἰς ἄτα παραγγελλόμενα εἰκὸς

ὁ προθύμως. ἀ δὲ ἐκάτεροι ἐξηγεῖσθε τοῖς ἐμμάχοις, οὐχ οἱ ἐπόμενοι αἴτιοι εἰ τι μὴ 
καλῶς ἔδρατο, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀγωντες ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ 
ὀρθῶς ἔχουτα.

56 “Θηβαῖοι δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς 

Wongs inflicted 
on Plataea by 
Thebes.

2 σχομεν. πόλιν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν κατα- 

λαμβάνοντας εὐν σπουδαίς καὶ προσέτι ἱερομνία 

ὀρθῶς τε ἐτίμωρησάμεθα κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον 

καθεστῶτα, τὸν ἐπίοντα πολέμιον ὅσιον εἶναι 

ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δὴ αὐτοὺς 

3 βλαπτοίμεθα. εἰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμω 

Sparta, if she 

regards justice 

and her true 

interest, must 

not let Plataea 

suffer for having 

punished 
Thebes.

4 ὁμων τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ τὸ 

δίκαιον λήψεσθε, τοῦ μὲν ὀρθοῦ 

πανεύθεσθε οὐκ ἄληθες κριταὶ ὄντες, 

τὸ δὲ ἐξιμφέρου μᾶλλον θεραπεύ- 

οντες. καῖτοι εἰ νῦν ὑμῶν ὀφέλημι 

dokouσιν εἶναι, πολὺ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 

"Ἐλληνες μᾶλλον τότε ὅτε ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ 

ἔτε. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρως ὑμεῖς ἐπέρχεσθε 

deinοι, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ καίρῳ, ὅτε πᾶσι 

dουλείαν ἐπέφερεν ὁ βάρβαρος, οἶδε μετ' 

5 αὐτοῦ ἢσαν. καὶ δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν 

3. ὀπερ Popro: ὀπερ codd. 6. τε om. ABEFM.
άμαρτιας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηται τι, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν· καὶ μείζω τε πρὸς ἐλάσσων εὐρήσετε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει αὐτοτάξασθαι, ἐπηνοοῦντό τε μᾶλλον οἱ μὴ τὰ 25 ἔμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλεῖα πράσσοντες, ἑθέλοντες δὲ τολμᾶν μετὰ κυνδύνων 6 τὰ βέλτιστα. ὅν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ τιμηθέντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς δέδιμεν μὴ διαφθαρῶμεν, Ἀθηναίους ἐλόμενοι 30 7 δικαίως μᾶλλον ἡ υμᾶς κερδαλέως. καίτοι χρῆ ταύτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμοίως φαίνεσθαι γνώσκοντας, καὶ τὸ ἐμφέρον μὴ ἀλλο τι νομίσαι ἡ τῶν ἐμμάχων τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ὅταν αἰεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγενομαι καὶ τὸ παραπτάκα που ὑμῖν ὧφελίμον καθιστήται.

57 "Προσκέψασθε τε ὅτι νῦν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθαῖας νομίζεσθε: εἰ δὲ περὶ ἣμῶν γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα (οὐ γὰρ ἀφανῆ κρίνειτε τὴν δίκην τῆν, ἐπαινούμενοι δὲ περὶ οὐδ' ἣμῶν μεμπτῶν), ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ οὐκ ἄποδέξωνται ἀνδρῶν ἁγαθῶν περὶ αὐτοῦς ἀμείνους ὡς τὰ ἀπρεπές τι ἐπηγεῖοναι, οὔτε πρὸς ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς σκύλα ἀπὸ ἦμῶν τῶν ἑυρετῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος 10 2 ἀναστήναι. δεινὸν δὲ δόξει εἶναι Πλάταναν

Δακεδαμίνιοις πορθήσαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς δι᾽ ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πανοικεία διὰ Θηβαίους ἐξ—
3 αλείψαι. ἐς τούτο γὰρ δὴ ξυμφορᾶς προ-κεχωρήκαμεν, οίτινες Μῆδων τε κρατησάντων ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πρὶν φιλτάτοις Θηβαίουν ἰσσώμεθα καὶ δύο ἁγώνας τοὺς μεγίστους ὑπέστημεν, τότε μὲν, τὴν 20 πόλιν εἰ μὴ παρέδουμεν, λιμῷ διαφθαρὴναι,
4 νῦν δὲ θανάτου δίκη κρίνεσθαι. καὶ περι- εώσμεθα ἐκ πάντων Πλαταιῆς οἱ παρὰ δύναμιν πρόθυμοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔρημοι καὶ ἀτιμώ-ρητοι· καὶ οὐτε τῶν τότε ξυμμάχων ὄφελεί 25 οὕδεις, ὑμεῖς τε, ὡς Δακεδαμίνιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ἦτε.

58 "Καίτοι ἀξιοῦμεν γε καὶ θεῶν ἐνεκα τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν ποτὲ γενομένων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας καμφθήναι ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταγνώναι εἰ τι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἑπείσθητε, τὴν τε δωρεὰν 5 ἀνταπαίτησαι αὐτοὺς μὴ κτείνειν οὐδὲ μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει, σῶφρονα τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς κομίσασθαι χάριν, καὶ μὴ ἡδονὴν δόντας ἀλλοις κακίαν 2 αὐτοὺς ἀντιλαβεῖν· βραχὺ γὰρ τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα διαφθείραι, ἐπίτοπον δὲ τὴν δύσ- 10 κλειαν αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι. οὐκ ἔχθροις γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰκότως τιμωρῆσεσθε, ἀλλὰ εὗνους, κατ’

15. πανοικεία ABCFM. 18. ἀπωλλύμεθα f: ἀπολλύ-μεθα codd. 22. δίκη om. B.
7. τε C: δὲ cett.
3 ἀνάγκην πολεμήσαντας. ὡστε καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἀδειαν ποιοῦντες ὅσια ἀν δικάζοιτε καὶ προνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐκόντας τε ἐλάβετε καὶ ἱεράς προἰσχομένους (ο ὅ ὅ ν ὅ μος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μῆ κτείνειν τούτοις), ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐργέτας
4 γεγενημένους διὰ παντὸς. ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ ἐς πατέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας, οὐς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μήδων καὶ ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἐτοὺς ἐκαστοῦν δημοσίᾳ ἐσθῆμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὡσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὑραία, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες, εὖνοι μὲν ἐκ φιλίας χώρας, ξύμμαχοι δὲ ὁμαίχους ποτὲ γενομένους. ὧν ὑμεῖς τούναντιον ἀν δράσατε μὴ ὀρθῶς
5 ὑπότες. σκέψασθε τε. Παυσανίας μὲν γὰρ ἔθαπτεν αὐτοὺς νομίζον ἐν γῇ τε φιλίᾳ τιθέναι καὶ παρ’ ἀνδράσι τοιοῦτοις. ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ κτενεῖτε ἡμᾶς καὶ χώραν τὴν Πλαταιάδα Θηβαϊδα ποιήσετε, τί ἄλλο ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις πατέρας τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς ἀτίμους γερῶν ὧν νῦν ἵσχυσι καταλείψετε; πρὸς δὲ καὶ γῆν ἐν ἡ ἥλευθερώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες δουλώσετε, ἱερά τε θεῶν οἱ εὐξάμενοι Μήδων ἐκράτησαν ἐρημοῦτε καὶ θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν ἐσσαμένων καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε.

59 "Οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τάδε, οὐτε ἓς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων νόμιμα καὶ ὑμὸς προγόνους ἀμαρτάνεις οὕτε ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐργέτας Peroration.
ἀλλοτρίας ἕνεκα ἐχθρας μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀδικηθέντας 5
diaφθείραι, φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπικλασθήναι
tῇ γνώμῃ ʻοκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας, μὴ ὃν
πεισόμεθα μόνον δεινότητα κατανοοῦντας, ἀλλ'
οἶν τε ἄν ὄντες πάθομεν καὶ ὡς ἀστάμητον
τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ὅτιν ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναζήω
2 ξυμπέσοι. ἥμεις τε, ὡς πρέπουν ἡμῖν καὶ ὡς
ἡ χρεία προώτει, αὐτούμεθα ύμᾶς, θεοὺς τοὺς
ὀμοβομίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-
βοώμενοι, πεῖσαι τάδε, προφερόμενοι <θ’>.
ὄρκους οὓς οἱ πατέρες ύμῶν ὄμοσαν [μὴ
ἀμμημονεῖν] ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα ύμῶν τῶν
πατρῶν τάφων καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς
κεκμητάς μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις μηδὲ
tois ἐχθιστοῖς φίλτατοι ὄντες παραδοθῆναι.
ἡμέρας τε ἀναμμηνήσκομεν ἐκείνης ἥ τὰ
λαμπρότατα μετ’ αὐτῶν πράξαντες ὑν ἐν
3 τῇ δέ τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν. ὅπερ
dὲ ἀναγκαίον τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον τοῖς ὅπο
ἑχοῦσι λόγου τελευτῶν, διότι καὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ
κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ, πανόμενοι λέγομεν
ἡδὴ ὅτι οὐ Θηβαῖοις παρέδομεν τὴν πόλιν
(εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἄν πρὸ γε τούτου τῷ αἰσχίστῳ
ὀλέθρῳ λεμῖ τελευτήσαι), ύμῖν δὲ πιστεύσαντες
προσήλθομεν (καὶ δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ πείθομεν, ἐς
tὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας τὸν ξυντυχόντα

59 8. κατανοοῦντας e: κατανοοοῦντες codd. 14. προφερό-
μενοι C: προσφερόμενοι eett. || θ’ add. Stahl. 15. μὴ ἀμμη-
μονεῖν del. Cobet. 18. κεκμηκότας CEM. 21. μετ’
αὐτῶν Gm: μεθ’ αὐτῶν eett. 30. καταστήσαντας fGm:
katastήσαντες eett.
4 κίνδυνον εἶσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτούς ἐλέσθαι), ἐπισκῆ-πτομέν τε ἁμα μή Πλαταιῶς ὄντες οἱ προθυ-μότατοι περὶ τοὺς "Ελληνας γενόμενοι Θηβαῖοις τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθρίστοις ἐκ τῶν ύμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ύμετέρας πίστεως, ἰκέται ὄντες, ὡς ἰδιαλείμμην, παραδοθήναι, γενέσθαι δὲ σωτήρας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἀλλούς "Ελληνας ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς διολέσαι." Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Πλαταιῶς εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι δεῖσαντες πρὸς τοὺς λόγον αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ Δακεδαυμόνιοι τι ἐνδώσι, παρελθόντες ἐφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ βούλε- σθαί εἴπειν, ἔπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν μακρότερος λόγος ἐδόθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα ἀποκρίσεως. ως δ' ἐκέλευσαν, ἐλεγον τοιάδε.

61 "Τοῦς μὲν λόγους οὐκ ἂν ἦτησάμεθα εἴπειν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ βραχέως τό ἐρωτηθέν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς τραπόμενοι κατηγορίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξω τῶν προ-κειμένων καὶ ἁμα οὐδὲ ἦτιμεν τόλην τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ ἐπαινοῦν δὲν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο. νῦν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀντειπεῖν δει, τῶν δὲ ἐλεγχον ποιήσασθαι, ὡς μὴ ἡ ἡμετέρα αὐτοὺς κακία ὑφελή μήτε ἡ τούτων δόξα, τὸ δὲ ἄληθὲς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαντες κρίνητε. 2 "Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα

32. οἱ om. ABEFM.
2. οὖτοι Hude.
πρῶτον ὅτι ἠμῶν κτισάντων Πλάταιον ὑστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βουωτίας καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ’ αὐτής, ἀ ν ἐξυμμείκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες ἐσχομεν, οὐκ ἥξιον οὗτοι, ὅσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἔγερνεν ὑφ’ ἠμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βουωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐβλαπτον, ἀνθ’ ὄν καὶ ἀντέπασχον.

62 "Επειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φασὶ μόνοι Βουωτῶν οὐ μηδίσαι, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα αὐτοὶ τε ἀγάλλονται καὶ ἡμᾶς λοιδοροῦσιν.

2 ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδίσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐ φαμεν διότι οὐδ’ Ἀθηναίους, τῇ μέντοι αὐτῇ ἱδεά ὑστερον ἱόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μόνους αὖ Βουωτῶν ἀπτικίσαι. καὶ τοι σκέψασθε ἐν οἵω εἰδει ἐκάτεροι ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἔπραξαν. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὕτε κατ’ ὀλυγαρχίαν ἱσόνομον πολυτεύσωσα οὕτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δὲ ἐστὶ νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατου, ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἰχε τὰ πράγματα. καὶ οὕτωι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐπισάντες ἔτι μᾶλλον σχῆσειν εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μήδου κρατήσει, κατέχοντες ἱσχύ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὕσα ἐαυτῆς τοῦτ’ ἐπραξεν, οὐδ’ ἀξίουν αὐτῇ ὀνειδίσαι ὀν μὴ μετὰ νόμων "
5 ἢμαρτεν. ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ὦ τε Μήδος ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔλαβε, σκέψασθαι χρή, Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον ἐπιόντων τήν τε ἅλλην Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν ἥμετέραν χώραν πειρωμένων ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἦδη 25 ἐχόντων αὐτῆς τὰ πολλά, εἰ μαχόμενοι ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἥλευθερώσαμεν τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους νῦν προθύμως ἐξυνελευθεροῦμεν, ἱπποὺς τε παρέχοντες καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ ἅλλοι τῶν 30 ἐξυμμάχων.

63 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν μηδισμὸν τοσαῦτα ἀπολογούμεθα· ὡς δὲ χρήματι μᾶλλον τε ἡδικήκατε τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί ἐστε πάσης ξημίας, πειρασόμεθα ἀποφαίνειν. ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ ἥμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὡς φατε, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται. οὐκοῦν χρὴν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον υἱὰς ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μη ἐξυπηρετεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν ἄλλοις, ὑπάρχον γε ύμῖν, εἰ τι καὶ ἄκοιντες προσήγεσθε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶνδε ἦδη ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίᾳ γεγενημένης, ἣν αὐτοὶ μᾶλιστα προβάλλεσθε· ἵκανη γε ἡν ἡμᾶς τε ύμῶν ἀποτρέπειν, καὶ, τὸ μέγιστον, ἀδεῶς παρέχειν 15 βουλεύσοντα. ἀλλ' ἐκόντες καὶ οὐ βιαζόμενοι 3 ἐτι εἶλεσθε μᾶλλον τὰ Ἀθηναίων. καὶ λέγετε

Plataea has joined Athens in attacks on the liberty of Greece: she cannot make her former alliance with the Greeks a ground for consideration.
ός αἰσχρὸν ἢν προδοῦναι τοὺς εὐεργέτας: πολὺ δὲ γε αἰσχιον καὶ ἀδικώτερον τοὺς πάντας Ἔλληνας καταπροδοῦναι, οἷς ξυνο- 20 μόσατε, ἢ Ἀθηναίους μόνους, τοὺς μὲν καταδουλουμένους τὴν Ἔλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ ἑλευθεροῦντας. καὶ οὐκ ἦσον αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνης ἀπηλλαγμένην· ἥμεις μὲν γὰρ ἀδικοῦμενοι αὐτοὺς, ὡς φατέ, 25 ἐπηγάγεσθε, τοῖς δὲ ἀδικοῦσιν ἄλλους ξυνεργοὶ κατέστητε. καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδίδοναι αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὀφειλθείσας, ἐς ἀδικίαν δὲ ἀποδοιδομένας. δῆλον τε ἐποίησατε οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Ἔλληνων ἑνεκα μόνου οὐ μηδίσαντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οὐδ᾽ Ἀθηναίοι, ἥμεις δὲ, τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τάναυτία. 2 καὶ νῦν ἄξιούτε, ἂφ᾽ ὅν δὲ ἑτέρους ἐγένεσθε 5 ἀγαθοί, ἀπὸ τοῦτον ὀφελεῖσθαι. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰκός· ὡσπερ δὲ Ἀθηναίους εἶλεσθε, τοῦτος ξυναγωγιέσθε, καὶ μὴ προφέρετε τὴν τότε γενομένην ξυνομοσίαν ὡς χρὴ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς νῦν 3 σφίζεσθαι. ἀπελίπτετε γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ παρα- 10 βάντες ξυγκατεδουλοῦσθε μᾶλλον Ἀἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ξυνομοσάντων ἢ διεκολύσετε, καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε ἄκουστε ἔχοντές τε τοὺς νόμους οὔσπερ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο καὶ οὔδενὸς ὑμᾶς βιασαμένου οὔσπερ ἡμᾶς. τὴν τελευταίαν 15 τε πρὶν περιτειχίζεσθαι πρόκλησιν ἔς ἰσχύιαν ἡμῶν, ὡστε μηδετέροις ἀμύνειν, οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε.
4 τίνες ἀν οὖν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πάσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι μισοῦντο, οὕτινες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων κακῷ ἀνδραγαθίαν προύθεσθε; καὶ ᾧ μὲν ποτε χρηστοὶ ἐγένεσθε, ὡς φατέ, οὖ προσήκοντα ὑμῖν ἐπεδείξατε, ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις αἰεὶ ἐβούλετο, ἐξήλεγχθη ἐς τὸ ἀληθῆς· μετὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἀδικον ὀδὸν ἵοντων ἐχωρήσατε.

5 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερον τε ἀκούσιον μηδίσμαν καὶ τῶν ὑμέτερον ἐκούσιον ἀττικισμὸν τοιαύτα ἀποφαίνομεν· ἃ δὲ τελευταῖα φατε ἀδικηθήναι (παρανόμως γὰρ ἔλθειν ἡμᾶς ἐν σπουδαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνίᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν), οὐ νομίζομεν οὔτ' ἐν τούτοις ὑμῶν μάλλον ἀμαρτεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ πρὸς τε τὴν πόλιν ἐλθόντες ἐμαχόμεθα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐδησούμεν ὡς πολέμιοι, ἀδικοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ἀνδρεῖς ὑμῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ χρῆματι καὶ γένει, βουλόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἐξω ξυμμαχίας ὑμᾶς παύσαι, ἐς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια καταστήσαι, ἐπεκαλεσάντο ἐκόντες, τί ἀδικοῦμεν; οἱ γὰρ ἄγοντες καὶ παρανομοῦσι μάλλον τῶν ἐπομένων. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν, οὔτε ἡμεῖς· πολέται καὶ οὗτοι ὅσπερ ὑμεῖς καὶ πλεῖως παραβαλλόμενοι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν τείχος ἀνοίξαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως..."
κομίσαντες ἐβουλοῦντο τοὺς τε ὑμῶν χείρονας μηκέτι μάλλον γενέσθαι τοὺς τε ἁμείνους τὰ ἀξία ἑχειν, σωφρονισταὶ οὖντες τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριώντες ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ξυγγένειαν οἰκεῖοντες, ἐχθροὺς οὕδενι καθιστάντες, ἀπασί δ' ὀμοίως ἐνσπόν-δους. τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς οὐ πολεμίως ἐπράσ-σομεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδικήσαμεν οὐδένα, προείπομέν τε τὸν βουλόμενον κατὰ τὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια πολιτεύειν ἦναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

2 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἁσμενοι χωρῆσαντες καὶ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἥσυχαζετε, ύστερον δὲ κατανοήσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁλίγους οὖντας, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμεν τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πράξαι οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους υμῶν ἐσελθόντες, τα μὲν ὀμοία οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν, μήτε νεωτέρισαι το ἐργῳ λόγοις τε πείθειν ὡστε ἐξελθεῖν, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν, οὐς μὲν ἐν χερσίν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὐχ ὀμοίως ἀλγοῦμεν (κατὰ νόμον γὰρ δὴ τινα ἐπασχοῦν), οὗς δὲ χειρας προσχομένους καὶ ξωγρῆσαντες ὑπο-σχόμενοι τε ἡμῖν ύστερον μὴ κτενεῖν παρανόμοισ 3 διεφθείρατε, πῶς οὖ δεινὰ εἰργασθε; καντανθά τρείς ἀδικίας ἐν ὁλίγῳ πράξαντες, τὴν τε λυθείσαν ὁμολογίαν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ύστερον θάνατον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μὴ 20 κτείνειν ψευθείσαν ύπόσχεσιν, ἣν τὰ ἐν τοῖς

ἀγροῖς υἱῶν μὴ ἀδικῶμεν, ὃμως φατὲ ἡμᾶς παρανομῆσαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄξιοῦτε μὴ ἀντιδοῦναι δίκην. οὐκ, ἂν γε οὕτω τὰ ὀρθὰ γιγνώσκοις πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα κολασθήσεσθε. 25

67 "Καὶ ταῦτα, ὁ Ἀλκεδαιμόνιος, τούτου ἔνεκα ἐπεξήλθομεν καὶ ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα υἱεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε δικαίως αὐτῶν καταγωγοῦμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι 2 ὀσιότερον τετιμωρημένοι. καὶ μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετάς, εἰ τις ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο, ἀκούοντες ἐπικλασθῆτε, ἃς χρὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις ἐπικούρους εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ αἰσχρῶν τι δρῶσι διπλασίας ξημιᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκότων ἁμαρτάνουσιν. μηδὲ ὀλοφυρμῷ καὶ οἶκτῳ ὠφελεῖσθων, πατέρων τε τάφους τῶν υμετέρων 3 ἐπιβοῶμενοι καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἔρημιάν. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀνταποφαίνομεν πολλῷ δεινότερα παθοῦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρμένην, δὲν πατέρες οἱ μὲν πρὸς υἱῶς 15 τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄγοντες ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύται λελειμμένοι καὶ <αἱ> οἰκίαι ἐρήμου πολλῷ δικαιοτέραν υἱῶν ἵκετειαν ποιοῦν- 4 ταῖς τούσδε τιμωρήσασθαι. οἰκτούν τε ἄξιότεροι τυγχάνειν οἱ ἀπρεπὲς τι πάσχοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ δικαίως, ὡσπερ οἴδε, τὰ 5 ἑναντία ἐπίχαρτοι εἶναι. καὶ τὴν νῦν ἔρημιάν δὲ ἑαυτοῦς ἔχουσιν· τους γὰρ ἁμειὼνος ξυμ- μάχους ἐκόντες ἀπεσώσαντο. παρενόμησαν τε

προείχοντο αυτοῖς, κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἥγούμενοι τῇ ἔαυτῶν δικαία βουλῆσει ἐκσπονδοίῃ ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεποιθέναι, αὕθες τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνα ἐκαστὸν παρ- αγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτώντες, εἰ τι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδρακότες εἰσίν, ὅποτε μὴ φαίεν, ἀπάγοντες ἀπέκτεινον καὶ ἐξαιρέτον ἐποιήσαντο οὐδένα. 2 διέφθειραν δὲ Πλαταιῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσον διακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐίκοσιν, οἱ ξυνεπολιορκοῦντοι γυναῖκας δὲ 3 ἡμιραπόδισαν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν τινα Θηβαίοι Μεγαρέων ἀνδράσι κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεπτωκόσι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντες Πλαταιῶν περὶσαν ἐδοσαν ἐνοικεῖν· ὑστερον δὲ καθελόντες αὐτὴν ἐς ἐδαφος πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων φύκοδόμησαν πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ κατα- γώγιον διακοσίων ποδῶν πανταχῇ κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἀνωθεν, καὶ ὄροφαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄ ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος, κλίνας κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ "Ηραί, καὶ νεῶν ἐκατόμπεδον λίθων φύκοδόμησαν αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ γῆν δημοσιώσαντες ἀπεμίσθωσαν ἐπὶ δέκα ὢτον, καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαίοι. σχεδον δὲ τι καὶ τὸ ἐξύπαν περὶ Πλαταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι οὔτως ἀποτετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο Θηβαίων ἕνεκα, νομίζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἀρτί τότε ἐκείνας Reiske. 21. Θηβαίου del. Classen.
καθιστάμενον ὡφελίμους εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἐτει τρῖτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

69 Αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίων βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαν, ὡς τότε φεύγουσα διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαν καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ χειμασθεῖσαν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς σποράδες πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ τρείς καὶ δέκα τριήρεις Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιώτων καὶ Βρασίδαν τὸν Τέλλεδος καὶ ἀντὶ αὐτῆς σποράδες πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ τρείς καὶ δέκα τριήρεις Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιώτων καὶ Βρασίδαν τὸν Τέλλεδος.

2 ξύμβουλον Ἀλκίδα ἐπεληλυθότα. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς τὴς Λέσβου ἡμαρτήκεσαν, πλέον τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσατε ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσαι στασιάξουσαν, δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ μόναις παρῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναῦπακτοῦ, πρὶν δὲ πλέον τὴ ἐπιβοηθήσα τι 15 Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικὸν, ὅτις προφθάσωσι, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὁ τε Βρασίδας καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίδας πρὸς ταῦτα.

70 Οἱ γὰρ Κέρκυραιοι ἐστασίαζον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παρὰ Κόρινθιοι ὑφθαντο οὕτως οἱ ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἐπίδαμνοι ναυμαχίαν ὑπὸ Κόρινθιων ὄφεσαντες, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων τοῖς προξένοις διηγομένοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πεπεισμένοι Κορινθιοὶ Κέρκυραν προσποίησαι. καὶ ἐπρασσοῦν οὕτως.
ἐκαστὸν τῶν πολιτῶν μετιόντες, ὅπως ἄποστήσωσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀφικομένης Ἁττικής τε νεῶς καὶ Κορινθίας πρέσβεις ἀγοῦσιν καὶ ἐς λόγους καταστάντων ἐψηφίαντο Κερκυραῖοι Ἀθηναῖοις μὲν ἡμάρχοι εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἐξυγκείμενα, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ φίλοι ὦσπερ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ (ὧν γὰρ Πειθίας ἔθελεν ὅσιον τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προειστῆκε) ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ὧν ἀνδρείς ἐσ δίκην, λέγοντες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Κέρκυραν καταδουλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἀποφυγὼν ἀνθυπάγει αὐτῶν τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους πέντε ἀνδρας, φάσκων τὸμνείν χάρακας ἐκ τοῦ τε Δίων τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου· ξημία δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην χάρακα ἐπέκειτο στατήρ. ὁφλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ίερὰ ἰκετῶν καθεξομένων διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ξημίας, ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν, ὁ Πειθίας (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ Βουλῆς ὅν) πείθει ὡστε τῷ νόμῳ χρῆσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε νόμῳ ἐξείργησον καὶ ἀμα ἐπυμάνοντο τὸν Πειθίαν, ἔως ἔτι βουλῆς ἐστί, μέλλειν τῷ πλήθος ἀναπείσειν τοὺς αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίοις φίλους τε καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομίζειν, ἐξυστάντα τε καὶ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ἐξαπναιός ἐς τὴν βουλῆν ἐσελθόντες τὸν τε Πειθίαν κτείνοντι καὶ ἄλλος τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐς ἐξήκοντα· οἱ δὲ τινες τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης τῷ Πειθίᾳ ὀλίγοι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τριήρη κατέφυγον ἐτὶ παροῦσαν.
71 δράσαντες δὲ τούτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσαντες Κερ-

Steps taken by 
the oligarchs.
κυραιόνες εἶπον ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ 
βέλτιστα εἶναι καὶ ἥκιστ' ἀν 
δουλωθεῖν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τὸ τε λοιπὸν μηδε-
tέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μιᾶ ὑπ' ἡσυχαζοντας, 
tὸ δὲ πλέον πολέμιον ἤγείσθαι. ὡς δὲ εἶπον, 
cαὶ ἐπικυρώσατο ἦνάγκασαν τὴν γνώμην.

2 πέμπτους δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας εὐθὺς 

The two parties 
occupy different 
parts of Corecyra.

πρέσβεις περὶ τε τῶν πεπραγμένων διδάξοντας 
ὡς ξυνέφερε καὶ τοὺς ἑκεῖ καταπεφευγότας 
πείσοντας μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν, ὅπως 

72 μὴ τις ἐπιστροφὴ γένηται. ἐλθόντων δὲ οἱ 

τὰ πράγματα ἐλθοῦσας τριήρους Κορινθίας 
καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεων ἐπιτίθενται τῷ 

3 δήμῳ, καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐνίκησαν. ἀφικομένης 

δὲ νυκτὸς ὁ μὲν δήμος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ 

τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως καταφεύγει καὶ αὐτοῦ 

73 πρὸς αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον. τῇ δ' 

ὑστεραία ἰκροβολίσαντο τε ὅλιγα καὶ ἐς τοὺς 

ἀγροὺς περιέπεμπον ἀμφότεροι, τοὺς δουλοὺς 

παρακαλοῦντες τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχυοῦμενοι· 

tῷ μὲν δήμῳ τῶν οἴκετῶν τὸ πλῆθος 5 

paregénetai ýúmmáchon, tois δ' éteíous ek tis
74 ἡπείρου ἐπίκουροι ὀκτακόσιοι. διαλυπούσης δ’ ἡμέρας μάχη αὐθίς γίγνεται καὶ νικᾶ ὁ δήμος χωρίων τε ἵσχυ καὶ πλήθει προύχων. αἱ τε γυναίκες αὐτοῖς τολμηρώς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι. 5 ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσαι τῶν θόρυβον. γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς περὶ δεῖλην ὄψιν, δείξαντες οἱ ὀλίγοι μὴ αὐτοβοεῖ ὁ δήμος τοῦ τε νεωρίου κρατήσειν ἐπελθὼν καὶ σφάς διαφθείρειν, ἐμπιπράσι τὰς ὀικίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὰς ἄνωκίας, ὅπως μὴ ἐφοδος, φειδόμενοι οὐτὲ οἰκείας οὔτε ἄλλοτριάς, ὡστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαύθη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσε πάσα διαφθαρῆναι, εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο τῇ φλογὶ ἐπίφορος ἐς αὐτὴν.

3 Καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐκάτεροι ἴσανασαντες τὴν νῦκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσαν· καὶ ἡ Κορινθία ναῦς τοῦ δήμου κεκρατηκότος ὑπεξαύγητο, καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων ὁ πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν ἡπείρον λαβόντες διεκομίσθησαν. τῇ δὲ ἐπηγγυνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Νικόστρατος ὁ Διειστέφως Ἀθηναῖων στρατηγὸς παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου ἐδέκα ναυσὶ καὶ Μεσσηνίων πεντακόσιοι ὁπλίταις· ἔμβασιν τε ἐπράσσε καὶ πείθει 5 ὡστε ἐνυχροθῆκαί ἄλληλοις δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους κρίναι, οἱ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οἰκεῖν σπουδᾶς πρὸς ἄλληλους ποιησάμενους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὡστε τοὺς
2 αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐμελλεν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι: οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου προστάται πείθουσιν αὐτῶν πέντε μὲν ναῦς τῶν αὐτοῦ σφίσι καταλυεῖν, ὅπως ἦσον τι ἐν κινήσει ὅσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἵσας δὲ αὐτοὶ πληρώσαντες ἐκ σφῶν αὐτῶν 15 ἐξυπέμψειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξυπερήσεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατέλεγον ἐς τὰς ναῦς. δείσαντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθῶσιν καθίζωσιν ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκόρων ἱέρον. 4 Νικόστρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνύστη τε καὶ παρε- μυθεῖτο. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὴμος ὀπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑγιεῖς διανοούμενον τῇ τοῦ τῇ ἐξυπλεῖν ἀπιστία, τὰ τε ὀπλα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς οἰς ἐπέτυχον, εἰ μὴ Νικόστρατος 25 ἐκώλυσε, διέφθειραν ἃν. ὅραντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ γεγονόμενα καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἢκέται καὶ γίγνονται οὐκ ἐλάσσους τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ δήμος δείσας μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσιν ἀνύστησι τε αὐτοὺς πείσας καὶ διακομίζεις ἐς τὴν πρὸ 30 τοῦ Ἡραιῶν νῆσον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκεῖσε αὐτοῖς διεπέμπετο.

76 Τῆς δὲ στάσεως ἐν τούτῳ οὖσας τετάρτη The Peloponnesian fleet arrives. η πέμπτη ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν τῶν 5. ἐφ' ὄρμῳ Stahl: ἐφορμοι codd.
αὐτῶν Ἀλκίδας, ὀστερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ Βρασίδας αὐτῷ ἥμματος ἐπέπλευ. ὀρμισάμενοι δὲ ἐσ Σύβοτα λιμένα τῆς ῥηπερίου ἀμα 77 ἐφ᾽ ἐπέπλευσαν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ. οἱ δὲ πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ περοβημένοι τὰ τ᾽ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν παρεσκευάζοντό τε ἁμα ἐξηκούσαν ναῦς καὶ τὰς αἰεὶ πληρομένες ἐξέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, 5 παρανυντῶν Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς τε ἑασαι πρῶτον ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ ὑστερον πάσαις ἁμα 2 ἐκείνους ἐπιγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦσαν σποράδες αἱ νῆς, δύο μὲν εὐθὺς ηὐτομολήσαν, ἐν ἑτέραις δὲ ἀλλῆλοις οἱ 10 ἐμπλέουσες ἐμάχουντο, ἥμ δὲ ὤδεις κόσμος 3 τῶν ποιουμένων. ἱδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννησίοι τὴν ταραχὴν εἴκοσι μὲν ναυσὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους ἐτάξαντο, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πρὸς τὰς δύο ἡκα ναυς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅν ἦσαν αἱ 15 δύο Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραίους κακῶς τε καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγας προσπίπτοντες ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς. οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναίοι φοβούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν περικύκλωσιν ἄθροισι μὲν οὐ προσέπτων 5 οὐδὲ κατὰ μέσον ταῖς ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτοῦς τεταγμέναις, προσβαλόντες δὲ κατὰ κέρας καταδύουσι μίαν ναῦν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κύκλον ταξαμένων αὐτῶν περιέπλευσαν καὶ ἐπειρώντο θορυβεῖν. 2 γνώντες δὲ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις καὶ 10 δεῖσαντες μὴ ὅπερ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ γένοιτο, 5 3. ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ Haase: ἐταλαιπωρώντο codd.
ἐπιβοηθοῦσι, καὶ γενόμεναι ἀδρόαι αἱ νῆες ἀμα τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐποιοῦντο. 3 οἷ δ’ υπεχώρουν ἡδη πρύμναι κρουόμενοι καὶ ἀμα τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐβούλουν προκαταφυγεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα, ἐαυτῶν σχολή τε υποχωροῦντο καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς τεταγμένων τῶν ἑναντίων.

4 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ναυμαχία τοιαύτῃ γενομένη 79 ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δείσαντες μὴ σφίσων ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς κρατοῦντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἡ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἀναλάβωσιν ἡ καὶ ἀλλο τι νεωτερίσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς νῆσου πάλιν ἐς το Ἡραίον διεκόμισαν 2 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον. οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν πλεῦσαι κρατοῦντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα ναῦς ἔχοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν ἦπειρον, 10 3 οθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραία ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλευον, καὶ περ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ οὔτας καὶ Βρασίδου παραινοῦντος, ὡς λέγεται, Ἄλκιδα, ἰσοψήφου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Δευκίμμης τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ἀποβάντες ἐπόρθουν τοὺς ἄγροὺς.

80 ο δὲ δήμος τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐν τούτω περιδείης γενόμενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν αἱ νῆες, τοῖς τε ἱκέταις ἃσαν ἐς λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ

πόλις, καὶ τινας αὐτῶν ἐπείσαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς 5 ἐσβήναν· ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ ὅμως τριάκοντα
2 προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ Πελο-
ποννήσιοι μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας δηώσαντες τὴν
γῆν ἀπέπλευσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ νύκτα αὐτοῖς
ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν ἐξήκοντα νῆσε 'Αθηναίων προσ-
πέλουσαι ἀπὸ Λευκάδος· ἀς οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι
πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὰς μετ'
'Αλκίδου ναῦς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν μελλούσας πλεῖν
ἀπέστειλαν καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους
81 στρατηγὸν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς
νυκτὸς εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκομί-
ζοντο ἐπὶ οίκου παρὰ τὴν γῆν·
καὶ ὑπερενεγκόντες τὸν Λευκαδίων ἵσθρον τὰς
ναῦς, ὅπως μὴ περιπλέοντες ὄφθωσιν, ἀπο- 5
2 κομίζονται. Κέρκυραιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὰς τε
'Αττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεούσας τὰς τῶν
πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τοὺς τε Μεσ-
σηνίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡγαγον πρότερον ἐξω
όντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς περιπλέουσαι κελεύσαντες 10
ἀς ἐπλήρωσαν ἐς τὸν 'Ἰλλαϊκὸν λιμένα, ἐν
ὀσῳ περιεκομίζοντο, τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ τίνα
λάβοιεν, ἀπέκτεινον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὅσους
ἐπείσαν ἐσβήναν ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχρώντο, ἐς
τὸ "Ἡραίον τε ἐλθόντες τῶν ἱκέτῶν ὡς πεντῆ-
κοντα ἀνδρὰς δίκην ὑποσχείν ἐπείσαν καὶ
3 κατέγνωσαν πάντων θάνατον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ

80 7. προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν om. ABF.
81 4. τῶν ac: τῶν codil. 8. λαβόντες del. Classen: λα-
ἀπεκρώντα codd.: ἀνεκρῶντο Dion. Hal.
τῶν ἴκετῶν, ὃσοι οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ὡς ἐώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα, διέφθειρον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δενδρῶν τινὲς ἀπῆγχοντο. ἡμέρας τε ἐπτά, ὡς ἀφικόμενος ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυών παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφόν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνευον, τὴν μὲν αὐτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντις, ἀπέθανον δὲ τινὲς καὶ ἰδίας ἐχθρας ἐνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσιν ὁφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων· πᾶσα τε ἱδέα κατέστη θανάτου, καὶ οἷον φιλεὶ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὗ ξυνέβη καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ παῖδα ἀπεκτείνει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δὲ τινὲς καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τούτῳ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον.

82 Οὗτος ἀμὴ στάσις προφυρησε, καὶ ἔδοξε A massacre by the democratic party ensues. μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ὑστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἐκα- σταχοῦ τοῖς τῆς τῶν δήμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Δακεδαμοῦντας, καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνη οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδὲ ἐτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς, πολεμομεμένων δὲ καὶ ἐμμαχίας ἀμα ἐκατέρως τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακῶσει καὶ σφίσιν

82 1. ἡ στάσις Krüger. 8. ἐτοίμων] ἐτόλμων Classen.
αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει ῥαδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτέριςειν τι βουλομένους
2 ἑπορίζοντο. καὶ ἑπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἐως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἄνθρωπων 15 ἡ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἥσυχαίτερα καὶ τοὺς εἰδεῖ διηλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἔκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ἐξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγαθοὶς πράγμασιν αἰ τε πόλεως καὶ οἱ ἱδιῶται ἁμείνοις τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι διὰ τὸ 20 μὴ ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· οὐ δὲ πόλεμος ύφελὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν βίαιος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς 3 ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοίοι. ἐστασίαξε τε ὁὐν τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἑφυστερίζοντά που 25 πύστει τῶν προγενομένων πολύ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διάνοιας τῶν τ᾽ ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνηθεὶς καὶ τῶν ἑμωρῶν 4 ἀτοπίας. καὶ τὴν εἰσθαίναν ἄξιώσιν τῶν ὁνοματῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαίωσει. 30 τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλογιστὸς ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθῆς δειλία εὐ- πρεπῆς, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάυδρου πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄπαν ἠνυφετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργὸν· 5 35 τὸ δ᾽ ἐμπλήκτως ὡξὶ ἀνδρὸς μοίρα προσετέθη, ἀσφαλεία δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι ἀποτροπῆς 5 πρόφασις εὐλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαῖνων

πιστὸς οἱ, ὁ δὲ ἀντιλέγον ἀυτῷ ὑποπτος. ἐπιμελεύσας δὲ τις τυχῶν ξυνετος καὶ ὑπο

νόησας ἐτι δεινοτερος προβολεύσας δὲ ὁπως μηδὲν αὐτῶν δείσει, τῆς τε ἐταιρίας διάλυτης καὶ
tous ἑναντίους ἑκπετπηλημένοις. ἀπλῶς δὲ ὁ

θαῦς τὸν μέλλοντα κακὸν τι δρᾶν ἐπιμείτο,

καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανουόμενον. καὶ

μὴν καὶ τὸ Ἐγγενές του ἐταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριω

tερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἑπομένον εἶναι ἀπρο

φασίστως τολμᾶν. οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων

νόμων ὕφελα αἰ τοιαῦτα ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ
tous καθεστώτας πλεονεξία. καὶ τάς ἐς σφάς

αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ὕ

ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τι παρανομήσαι. τά

tε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑναντίων καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέ-

χοντο ἔργον φυλακῇ, εἰ προύχοιες, καὶ οὐ

γενναιότητι. ἀντιτιμωρησασθαί τέ τινα περὶ

πλεονοὺς ἢ καὶ αὐτῶν μὴ προπαθεῖν. καὶ

ἄρκοι εἰ ποὺ ἄρα γένοιντο ξυναλλαγῆς, εἰν τῷ

ἀυτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἀπορον ἐκατέρῳ διδόμενοι

ἵσχυν οὐκ ἑχόντων ἄλλοθεν δύναμιν. εἰν δὲ

tῷ παρατυχόντι ὁ φθάςας θαρσῆσαι, εἰ ἵδιο

ἀφαρκτον, ἥδιον διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἢ ἢ

ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, καὶ τὸ τῷ ἀσφαλῶς

ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι ἀπάτη περιγενόμενος ξυνε-

σεως ἀγώνισμα προσελάμβανεν. ῥᾶν ὁ οἱ

πολλὸι κακοῦργοι οὐντες δεξιοὶ κέκληται ἢ

δέ τῷ ἀγάλλονται. πάντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχῇ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐκ δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρόσυμον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες μετὰ οὐνόματος ἐκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους τοῦ ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σωφρόνοις προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἄθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγύγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα ἐπεξήγασάν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει ξυμφόρου προστιθέντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐκατέρως που αἰεὶ ἠδονὴν ἔχουν ὀρίζοντες, καὶ ἡ μετὰ ψήφου ἁδικὸν καταγνώσεως ἡ χειρί κτῶμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν ἐκπειμπλάναι. ὡστε εὐσεβείᾳ μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγῳ οἷς ξυμβαίνῃ ἐπιφύλαξιν τῷ διαπράξασθαι, ἁμείνον ἤκουν. τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἡ ὁτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο ἡ φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι διεφθείροντο.

83. Οὕτω πάσα ἴδεα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, καὶ τὸ εὐηθεῖς, οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, καταγελασθεὶς ἡφανίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι ἀλλήλοις τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ ἐπὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν ὦν


The horrors in Corcyra were only a sample of the disastrous conflicts common in Greek states during the war.
γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων οὔτε λόγος ἐχύρος οὔτε ὁρκος φοβερός, κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες ἀπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου μὴ παθεῖν μᾶλλον προσκόπων ἢ πιστεύσαι 10
3 ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ φανλότεροι γνώμην ὡς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ δεδεῖνα τὸ τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεες καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνετον, μὴ λόγοις τε ἤσσους δοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης φθάνωσι προεπιβουλεύμενοι, τολμηρός πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχόρουν.
4 οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦντες καὶ προαιρεθέσθαι καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν ἢ γνώμην ἐξεστίν, ἀφαρκτοί μᾶλλον διεφθείροντο.

84 [Ἐν δὲ οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προτολμήθη, καὶ ὁπόσα ὑβρεὶ μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τὸ πλέον ἢ σωφροσύνη ὕπο τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχόντων οἱ ἀνταμυνόμενοι δράσειαν, πενίας δὲ τῆς 5 εἰωθυνίας ἀπαλλαξεῖοντες τινες, μάλιστα δὲ ἄν διὰ πάθους, ἑπιθυμοῦντες τά τῶν πέλας ἐχειν, παρὰ δίκην γιγνώσκοιεν, οἳ τε μὴ ἐπὶ πλεονεξία, ἀπὸ ἴσου δὲ μάλιστα ἑπιστῶ ἀπαιδευσία ὁργῆς πλείστον ἐκφερόμενοι ἄμως 10

2 καὶ ἀπαραίτητως ἐπέλθοιεν. ἔννοτα ὁμώνυμως τε τοῦ βίου ἐς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἢ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις, εἰωθυνία καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικείν, ἀσµενὴ

83 15. φθάσωσι codd.: corr. Gildersleeve.
84 c. 84 damnaverunt grammatici apud Schol. 2. ὅπος'
84 ἀν Hude. 6. tines f Schol.: twas codd. 8. οἱ] ἂ Madvig.
ἐδήλωσεν ἀκρατῆς μὲν ὅργης οὕσα, κρείσσων ὑπὲρ ὑπότοιον τοῦ δικαίου, πολεμία δὲ τοῦ προῦχοντος: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ τε ὅσιον τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι προούθεσαν τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸ κερδαίνειν, εῦνὸς καὶ μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἵσχυν εἰξε τὸ φθονεῖν.

3 ἀξιοῦσὶ τε τοὺς κοινοὺς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἀνθρώποι νόμους, ἀφ’ ὧν ἀπασίν ἐλπὶς ὑπόκειται σφαλείς κἂν αὐτοὺς διασφέσθαι, εὐάλλοι τιμορίαι προκατάλυειν καὶ μὴ ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἰ ποτὲ ἁρὰ τῆς κινδυνεύσας τινὸς δεήσεται αὐτῶν.]

85 Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραίου τοιαύτας ὀργάις ταῖς πρῶταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπέπλευσαν ταῖς ναυσίν· ὑστερον δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων (διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους) τείχῃ τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ εἰς αὐτῆς ὁμῶμενοι ἐλήξοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἐβλαπτοῦν, καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει.

3 ἐπρεσβεύσατο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόριθον περὶ καθόδου· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπράσσετο, ὑστερον χρόνῳ πλοία καὶ ἐπικουροὺς παρασκευασάμενοι διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον 15 ἐξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες, καὶ τὰ πλοία ἐμπρήσαντες, ὅπως ἀπόγνοια ἢ τοῦ ἀλλο τῷ ἱ ἑκατεῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐς τὸ ὄρος

10. ἐλήξυν ΑΒΕΦΜ γρ. G.
τὴν Ἰστώνην, τεῖχος ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι ἔφθειρον 
toὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκράτουν.

86 Τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀθηναίοι

Sicily. Ships sent from Athens to aid Leontini against Syracusae.

2 Εὐφιλήτου. οἱ γὰρ Συρακοσίοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ξύμμαχοι
dὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαριναῖων
ai ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἴτερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν
tῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένον τοῦ
πολέμου ξύμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μέντοι
ξυνεπολέμησαν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντῖνοις αἱ
Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ
Ἰταλίας Δοκρῶ μὲν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, Ρηγίνοι
3 δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντῖνων. ἐς οὖν τὰς
Ἀθηναῖς πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντῖνων ξύμμαχοι
catā τε παλαιὰν ξύμμαχίαν καὶ ὧτι Ἰωνίας
ἥσαν πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαντο σφίσι
ναῦς. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων τῆς τε γῆς
4 εἰργοῦτο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ
Ἀθηναίοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει,
βουλόμενοι δὲ μὴτε σίτου ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον
ἀγεσθαι αὐτόθεν πρόπειραν τε ποιοῦμενοι εἰ
σφίσι δυνατά εἰή τά ἐν τῇ Σικελία πράγματα
5 ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι. καταστάντες οὖν ἐς
Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας τῶν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο
μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

87 Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγυνημένου χειμώνος ἦ νόσος τὸ

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dεύτερον ἑπέπεσε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκλιποῦσα μὲν οὐδένα χρόνον τὸ παντάπασιν, εἰγένετο δὲ τις ὁμος διοκωχῇ. Second outbreak of plague at Athens.

2 παρέμεινε δὲ τὸ μὲν ύστερον οὐκ ἔλασσον κ ἐνιαυτῷ, τὸ δὲ πρότερον καὶ δύο ἔτη, ὡστε Ἀθηναίοις γε μὴ εἶναι τι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε

3 τὴν δύναμιν· τετρακοσίων γὰρ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τετρακισχιλίων οὐκ ἔλασσον ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τάξεων καὶ τριακοσίων ἵππεων, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ὁχλοῦ ἀνεξεύρετος ἀριθμὸς. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ σεισμοὶ τότε τῆς γῆς, ἐν τε Ἀθηναίως καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τῷ Βοιωτίῳ.

88 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Ἀργαῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τριάκοντα ναυσὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τᾶς Αἰολοῦς νῆσος καλουμένας· θέρους γὰρ δι᾽ ἀνυδρίαν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιστρατεύων. 5

2 νέμονται δὲ Λιπαραίοι αὐτάς, Κυνῆδων ἀποικοὶ ὄντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νῆσων οὐ μεγάλη, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπαρα· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενοι γεωργοῦσι, Διδύμην καὶ Στρογγύλην καὶ Ἰεράν. νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκεῖνοι ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰερᾷ ὡς ἐν 'Ηφαίστως χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδείχουσα πολὺ καὶ τῇ ἁμέρᾳ καπνὸν. κείνται δὲ αἱ νῆσοι αὐταί κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν, ξύμμαχοι δὲ ἦσαν 10

4 Συρακοσίων. τεμόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν γῆν, ὥς οὐ προσεχόροιν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον. καὶ ὁ χειμών ἐτελεύτα, καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῶδε ὅν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν. 89 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἤλθον ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔσβαλοντες, ὁ Ἀγίδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἤγουμένου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, σεισμῶν 5 δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν ἀπετράπωστο πάλιν καὶ 2 οὐκ ἔγενετο ἐσβολή. καὶ περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Ὀροβίας ἡ θάλασσα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἀπὸ τῆς τότε ύστης γῆς καὶ κυματωθείσα ἐπῆλθε 10 τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε, τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ θάλασσα νῦν ἐστὶ πρότερον ύστας γῆς καὶ ἀνδρώπους διέφθειρεν ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύνατο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα 3 ἀναδραμόντες. καὶ περὶ Ἀταλάντην τὴν ἐπὶ 15 Δοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις ύστην παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπικλυσίας, καὶ τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρεῖλε καὶ δύο νεὼν ἀνειλκυσμένων 4 τὴν ἐτέραν κατέαξεν. ἔγενετο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πεπαρίθῳ κύματος ἐπαναχώρησις τις, οὐ 20 μέντοι ἐπέκλυσέ γε· καὶ σεισμὸς τοῦ τείχους τι κατέβαλε καὶ τὸ πρυτανείου καὶ ἄλλας 5 οἰκίας ὀλίγας. αὐτίον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιούτου, ἦ ἵσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμὸς ἔγενετο,
κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ εἰκονοκλησιν πάλιν ἐπιστροφῆναι βιαίτερον τὴν ἐπέκλυσιν ποιεῖν· ἀνευ δὲ σείσμοι οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.

90 Τού δ᾽ αὐτού θέρους ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὡς ἐκάστοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιωταὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους στρατεύοντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις· ἀ ὅλον μάλιστα ἄξια ἡ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπραξαν ἡ πρὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἀντιπόλεμοι, τούτων μυησθήσομαι. Χαροιάδου γὰρ ἦδη τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ τεθνηκότος ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων πολέμῳ Λάχης ἄπασαν ἔχον τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐστράτευσε μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ Μυλᾶς τὰς Μεσσηνίων. ἔτυχον δὲ δύο φιλαί ἐν ταῖς Μυλαίς τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροὺσαι καὶ τινα καὶ ἐνέδραν πεποιημέναι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τρέπουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσι πολλοὺς, καὶ τὸ ἐρύματι προσβαλόντες ἡνάγκασαν ὃμολογία τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ οἱ Μεσσηνίων ξυστρατεύσαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσηνίων τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσεχώρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὰ παρασχόμενοι.

91 Τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα

90 7. ἀντιπόλεμοι Pollux: ἀντιπόλεμοι codd. 12. post τὰς add. τῶν ABEFM.
μὲν ναῦς ἐστειλαν περὶ Πελοπόννησου, ὄν 
Naval operations of Nicias. 
Minoa seized. 
Descent on 
Boeotia.

2 Νικηράτου. τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίους ὄντας νησίωτας 
καὶ οὐκ ἑθέλοντας ὑπακούειν οὔδὲ ἔστὶ αὐτῶν 
ξυμμαχικὸν ἵνα ἐβούλοντο προσαγαγέσθαι.

3 ώσ ὅπλα ὑπομένεις τῆς γῆς οὐ προσ-

εχώρουν, ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Μῆλου αὐτοὶ μὲν 
ἐπλευσαν ἐς Ὀρωπῶν τῆς Γραϊκῆς, ὑπὸ 
νῦκτα δὲ σχόντες εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο ὁ ὁπλῖται, 
ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζῷ ἐς Τάναγραν τῆς Βοιωτίας.

4 οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεῖ Ἀθηναίοι, 15 
Ἱππονίκου τε τοῦ Καλλίου στρατηγοῦντο 
καὶ Εὐρυμέδουντος τοῦ Θουκλέους, ἀπὸ σημείου 

5 ἔς τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπήντων, καὶ στρατο-

πεδευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ 
Τανάγρᾳ ἐδήσουν καὶ ἐνηυλίσαντο. καὶ τῇ 

6 ὑστεραῖα μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας 
τῶν Ταναγραίων καὶ Ἐλβαίων τίνὰς προσ-

βεβοθηκότας καὶ ὀπλὰ λαβόντες καὶ τροπαίον 

στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, 

οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. καὶ παραπλεύσας ὁ 

Νικίας ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος τὰ 

ἐπιθαλάσσια ἔτεμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ οίκου.

92 Τπό δὲ τῶν χρόνων τοῦτον Ἀκεδαμόνιοι 

92 2. Τραχύλας ABEFM supraser. G.
2 καθίσταντο ὑπὸ τοιᾶσδε γνώμης. Μηλιῆς οἱ ἄγγιμπαντές εἰσὶ μὲν τρία μέρη. Παράλληλο Ηρής Τραχύνων τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχύνοι πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι ὕπὸ Οἰταίων ὦμόρων ὄντων, τὸ πρῶτον μελλήσαντες Ἀθηναίοις προσθείναι σφᾶς αὐτοῦς, δείσαντες δὲ μὴ οὐ σφίσι πιστοὶ ὦσι, πέμπουσιν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἐλόμενοι πρεσ-
3 βευτὴν Τείσαμενῶν. Ἐξυπνεσθέντοι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Δωρίης, ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαίμονων, τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλέμονοι ὕπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οἰταίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφθείροντο. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι γνώμην εἶχον τὴν ἀποκίαν ἐκπέμπειν, τοῖς τε Τραχύνοις βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῖς Δωρείσι τιμωρεῖν. καὶ ἀμα τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τῇ Εὔβοιᾳ ναυτικῷ παρασκευασθῆναι αὐν, ὡστ' ἐκ βραχέος τὴν διάβασιν γίγνεσθαι, τῆς τε ἐπὶ Ὁράκης παρόδου χρησίμως ἔξειν. τό τε 5 ξύμπαν ὃρμηντο τὸ χωρίον κτίζειν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο, κελεύοντος δὲ ἐξεπεμψαν τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκελευνὸν ἐπεσθαί πλὴν Ἰωνίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐστὶν ὄν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν. οἰκισταὶ δὲ τρεῖς Λακεδαίμονίων ἡγήσαντο, Λέων καὶ Ἀλκίδας καὶ Δαμάγων. 20

5. Ἡρῆς Bursian: Ἡρῆς codd. 14. post αὐτοὶ add. πολέμῳ CG.
6 καταστάντες δὲ ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ καίνης, ἢ νῦν Ἡράκλεια καλεῖται, ἀπέχουσα Θερμοπυλῶν σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης εἴκοσι. νεώριά τε παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ εἰρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπυλᾶς κατ’ αὐτὸ 35 τὸ στενὸν, ὅπως εὐφύλακτα αὐτοῖς εὐή. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ξυνοικιζομένης τὸ πρῶτον ἐδεισάν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἔυβοιᾳ μάλιστα καθίστασθαι, ὅτι βραχὺς ἐστὶν ὁ διάπλους 5 πρὸς τὸ Κήναιον τῆς Ἔυβοιας. ἔπειτα μέντοι παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέβη· οὗ γὰρ ἐγένετο 2 ἀπ’ αὐτῆς δεινοῦ οὐδέν. αἰτιον δὲ ἦν οἱ τε Θεσσαλοί ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτης χωρίων, καὶ δὲν ἔπι τῇ γη ἐκτίζετο, φοβοῦμενοι μη 10 σφίσι μεγάλῃ ἱσχίῳ παρουκῶσιν, ἐφθειρον καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐπολέμουν ἅπαντος νεοκαταστά- τοις, ἔως ἐξετρύχωσαν γεωμένους τὸ πρῶτον καὶ πάνω πολλοὺς (πᾶς γὰρ τις Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκιζόντων θαρσαλέως ἤει, βέβαιον νυμίζων 15 τῆς πόλιος). οὗ μέντοι ἥκιστα οἱ ἁρχοντες αὐτῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἁφικνοῦμενοι τὰ πράγματα τε ἐφθειρον καὶ ἐς ὀλγανανθρωπίαν κατέστησαν, ἐκφοβήσαντες τοὺς πολλοὺς χαλεπῶς τε καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ οἱ καλῶς ἐξηγοῦ- 20 μενοι, ὡστε δὰ ήδη αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσοικοι ἐπεκράτουν.

93 Ἅρα οὕτως ἔσοδας, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτόν χρόνον ὅν ἐν τῇ Μήλῳ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι κατεί- 34. δὲ om. ΑΒΕΦΜ γ. 35. εἰρξαν (sic) τὸ Ε.: ἥρξαντο cett.
χοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα νεῶν Ἀθηναίοι περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἄντες πρῶτον ἐν Ἑλλομενῷ τῆς Λευκάδιας φρουροῦς τινας λοχήσαντες διέφθειραν, ἕπειτα ύστερον ἐπὶ Λευκάδα μείζονι στόλῳ ἦλθον, 'Ακαρνανίτες τε πᾶσιν, οὓς πανδημεῖ πλην. Οἰνιαδῶν ξυν-έσποντο, καὶ Ζακυνθίως καὶ Κεφαλλήσι καὶ 10

2 Κερκυραίων πέντε καὶ δέκα ναυσίν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λευκάδιοι τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς δημομένης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ, ἐν ἦ καὶ ἡ Λευκάς ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχαζον. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνάνες ἤξιον 15

Δημοσθένη τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποτείχίζειν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες ῥαδίως τ' ἄν ἐκπολλορκῆσαι πόλεως τε αἰεὶ σφίζει πολεμίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Δημοσθένης δ' ἀναπείθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὡς 20

καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιάς τοσαύτης ἐξυνελεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίους οὕσι καὶ, ἢν κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν, ῥαδίως καὶ τὸ ἀλλο Ἡπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ Ἀθηναίοις προσ- 4 ποιῆσειν. τὸ γαρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τοῦ 25
tῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κόμας ἀτειχίστους, καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ, καὶ σκεψὶ ψυλῆ χρώμενον οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον, πρὶν ἥμβοθησία, καταστραφῆναι.

5 ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευον πρῶτον μὲν Ἀποδωτοῖς, 30 ἔπειτα δὲ Ἐφιονεύσι καὶ μετὰ τούτους

17. τ' ... πόλεως τε] γ' ... καὶ πόλεως C.
Εὑρυτάσιν, ὁπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Λιτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλώσσαν καὶ ὁμοφάγαι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγονται τούτων γὰρ ληφθέντων ῥαδίως καὶ τάλλα προσχωρήσειν. 35

95 ὁ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεὶς καὶ μάλιστα νομίσας ἄνευ τῆς τῶν μεσιχμάτων μετὰ τῶν Λιτωλῶν δύνασθαι ἀν κατὰ γῆν ἔλθειν ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς διὰ Δοκράντιν τῶν 'Οξολῶν ἐς Κυτίνιον ὀγὸ Δωρικόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν Παρνασσόν, ἦσας καταβαίνῃ ἐς Φωκέας, οἱ προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀιεί ποτε φιλίαν ἔστρατεύσεων ἢ κἂν βία προσαχθήναι (καὶ Φωκεύσων ἢ ὅμορος ἢ Βοιωτία ἐστίν), ἄρας οὖν ἔμπαντι τῷ στρατεύματι ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀκόντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρέπλευσεν ἐς Σόλλιον.

2 κοινώσας δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς Ἀκαρνάσιν, ὡς οὐ προσεδέξαντο διὰ τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν, αὐτὸς τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ, Κεφαλληνίσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τρικασίοις τοῖς ἐπιβάταις τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν (αἱ γὰρ πέντε καὶ δέκα τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπήλθον νῆσε), ἔστρατευσεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀττικῶν.

3 Λιτωλῶν. ὁμοῦ δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεῶν τῆς Δοκρίδος. οἱ δὲ Ὀξόλαι οὕτω Λοκροὶ ἐσθαμαχοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς πανστρατιᾷ ἀπαντήσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν.

οντες γαρ όμοροι των Αίτωλοις καὶ ομόσκευοι μεγάλη ὄφελία ἐδόκουν εἶναι ξυστρατεύοντες μάχης τε ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ χωρίων.

96 αὐλισάμενοι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Νεμείου τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ὧν Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη ἀποθανεῖν, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέα τούτῳ παθεῖν, ἀμα τῇ ἔω ἄρας ἐπορεῦετο ἐς τήν

2 Αἰτωλίαν. καὶ αἰρεῖ τῇ πρῶτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ποτιδανίαν καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Κροκύλειον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ Τείχιον, ἔμενε τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λείαν ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Δοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψεν τῇ γὰρ γνώμῃ εἰχὲ τὰ ἄλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ξυγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας στρατεύσας ἕστερον.

3 Τοὺς δὲ Αἴτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ οὕτε ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεβουλεύετο, ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσχεβεβλήκει, πολλὴ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, ὡστε καὶ οἱ ἐσχατοὶ Ὀφιονέων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες Βωμίης καὶ Καλληνῆς ἐβοήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρῆρον, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ Αἴτωλῶν ὦς εἰ ῥαδία ἡ αἵρεσις, ἵναι ἐκέλευον ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς κόμας καὶ μὴ μένειν ἔως 5 ἄν ξύμπαντες ἀθροισθέντες ἀντιτάξωνται, τῆν

97 ὃ ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ πειρᾶσθαι αἱρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτως τε πεισθεὶς καὶ τῇ τΥΧΗ ἐλπίσας, ὦτι
οὔδὲν αὐτῷ ἢμαντιοῦτο, τοὺς Δοκροὺς οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὗς αὐτῷ ἔδει προσβοηθῆσαι (ψιλῶν 10 γὰρ ἀκοντιστῶν ἐνδεής ἢν μάλιστα) ἐξώρει ἐπὶ Λιγίτιον, καὶ κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ ἐπιών. ὑπέφυγον γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· ἢν γὰρ ἐφ’ ύψηλῶν χωρίων ἀπέχουσα τῆς θαλάσσης 15 ὑγιοῦκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ (βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦδη ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λιγίτιον) προσέβαλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμ-μάχοις καταθέοιτες ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν καὶ ἐσηκώντιζον, καὶ ὅποτε μὲν ἐπίοι 20 τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ὑπεχώρουν, ἀναχωροῦσι δὲ ἐπέκειντο· καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τουαὔτῃ ἡ μάχη, διώξεις τε καὶ ὑπαγογαί, εν οἷς ἀμφιτέρως ήσσον ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι.

μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἰχόν τε τὰ βέλη and is forced - αὐτοὶς καὶ οἷοὶ τε ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντείχον (τοξευόμενοι γὰρ οἱ remains at Naupactus, Αἰτωλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ψιλοὶ ἀνεστέλ-λοντο)· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου ἀποθα-5 νότος οὗτος διεσκέδασθησαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑκεκρι-κεσαι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ξυνεχόμενοι, οἱ τε Αἰτωλοὶ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενοι ἐφευγον, καὶ ἐσπιπτοῦτες ἐς τε χαράδρας ἀνεκβάτους καὶ χωρία ὑν οὐκ ἦσαν 10 ἐμπειροὶ διεφθείροντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄγεμον αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀδῶν Χρόμων ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἐτύγ-
κανε τεθυκώς. οἱ δὲ Αἴτωλοι ἐσακουσάτων πολλοὺς ἡν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ κατὰ τόδας αἱροῦντες ἀνθρωποὶ ποδώκεις καὶ ψυλοὶ διεφθειρον, τοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν ὀδῶν ἁμαρτανοτας καὶ ἐς τὴν ὤλην ἐσφερομένους, ὅθεν διέξοδοι ὅπῃ ἦσαν, πῦρ κομισάμενοι περιεπίμεραν· 3 προσάν· πάσα τε ἡ ἡδία κατέστη τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μόλις τε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεώνα τῆς Δοκρίδος, ὅθεν περ καὶ ὄρμηθησαν, οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν τε ἔτημάχων πολλοῖ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῆται περὶ εἰκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐκατόν. 25 τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἢ αὐτὴ ὁμοίως κέτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως διεφθάρησαν· ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔτερος στρατηγὸς Προκλῆς. 5 τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδος ἀνελόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Αἴτωλῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς Ναύπακτον ὑστερον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ναυσίν ἐκομισθησαν. Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπελείφθη, τοὺς πεπραγμένους φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

100 The Aetolians obtain help from Sparta.

101 Eurylochus marches from Delphi to Naupactus.
καὶ Ἡσσίους καὶ Οἰανθέας. οὕτως καὶ ξυνεστράτευον πάντες. Ὁλπαίοι δὲ ὀμήρους μὲν ἐδοσαν, ἡκολούθουν δὲ ὦν· καὶ Ταῖοι οὐκ ἐδοσαν ὀμήρους πρὶν αὐτῶν εἶλον κόμην.

02 Πόλιν ὄνομα ἔχουσαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο πάντα καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους κατέθετο ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐχώρει τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναυπάκτου διὰ τῶν Δοκρῶν, καὶ πορευόμενος Οἰνεώνα 5 αἱρεῖ αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐπάλλιον· οὐ γὰρ προσε-2 χώρησαν. γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτια καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἄμα ἤδη προσβεβοήθηκότες ἐδῆσαν τὴν γην καὶ τὸ προάστειον ἀπείχιστον ὅπως εἴλον· ἐπὶ τε Μολύκρειον ἐλθόντες τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποκιάν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπήκοον, 3 αἱροῦσιν. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίος (ἐτι γὰρ ἐτύχανεν ὅν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας περὶ Ναυπάκτου) προαιρόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἔλθων πείθει Ἀκαρνάνας, χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀνα-4 χώρησιν, βοηθήσας Ναυπάκτιον καὶ πέμπουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν χιλίων ὀπλίτως, οἱ ἑσελθόντες περιεποίησαν τὸ χωρίον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἤν μὴ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, ὄλγων δὲ 5 τῶν ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἀντίσχωσιν. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὃς ἰσθοῦτο τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσελημυνθείαν καὶ ἀδύνατον ὄν τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ ἔλειν, ἀνεχώρησαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην 25

25. τὴν ante νῦν et 26 ἐς ante τὰ del. Steup.
Καλυδώνα καὶ Πλευρώνα καὶ ἐσ τὰ ταύτη
6 χωρία καὶ ἐσ Πρόσχιον τῆς Αἰτωλίας. οἱ γὰρ Ἀμπρακιώται ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτούς πείθουσιν ὅστε μετὰ σφῶν Ἀργεῖ τε τῷ Ἀμφιλοχίκῳ καὶ Ἀμφιλοχία τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ- 30 χειρῆσαι καὶ Ἀκαρνανία ἁμα, λέγοντες ὅτι, ἣν τούτων κρατήσωσι, πάν τὸ ἁπειρωτικὸν
7 Δακεδαιμονίους ξύμμαχον καθεστήξει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐρύλοχος πεισθείς καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφεῖς ἥσυχαζε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ τοὺς χώρους 35 τούτους, ἔως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσαμένους περὶ τὸ Ἀργόσ δέοι βοηθεῖν. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

103 Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναίοι τοῦ
Sicily. Trifling operations.

metὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ξυμμάχων καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἀποστάντες 5 αὐτοῖς [ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων] ξυνεπολέμουν, ἐπ’ Ἰνησαν τὸ Σικέλικον πόλισμα, οὐ τὴν ἀκρό- πολιν Συρακόσιοι εἶχον, προσέβαλον, καὶ ὃς 2 οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἔλειν, ἀπησαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνα- χωρήσει ὑστέρους Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ξυμμάχωις 10 ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τείχισματος Συρακόσιοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες τρέπουσι τε μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐκ 3 ὀλίγους. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὁ Δάχης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐς τὴν Δοκρίδα ἀπο- 15

βάσεις τινάς ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τῶν Καϊκώνο
ποταμῶν τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας Δοκρῶν μετὰ
Προξένου τοῦ Καπάτουνος ὡς τριακοσίους
μάχη ἐκράτησαν καὶ ὀπλα λαβόντες ἀπε-
χώρησαν.

104 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν
'Αθηναίοι κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τινα. Purification
ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος
ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτὴν, οὐχ ἄπασαν, ἀλλὰ
όσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφευρατὸ τῆς νῆσου. 5
2 τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. Θήκαι
όσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πᾶσας
ἀνείλου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μὴτε ἐναπο-
θυνήσειν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ μὴτε ἐντίκτευν, ἀλλ' ἐσ
τὴν 'Ρήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ
'Ρήνεια τῆς Δήλου οὖτως ὅλιγον ὡστε Πολυ-
κράτης ὁ Σαμῖος τύραννος ἱσχύσας τινὰ
χρόνου ναυτικῷ καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων νῆσων
ἀρξας καὶ τὴν 'Ρήνειαν ἐλῶν ἀνέθηκε τῷ
'Απόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ ἀλύσει δῆσας πρὸς τὴν
15 Δήλου. καὶ τὴν πευτετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον
μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι τὰ
3 Δήλια. ἤν δὲ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλῃ
ξύνοδος ἐσ τῆν Δήλου τῶν Ἰῶνων τε καὶ
περικτίων νῆσιωτῶν. ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ
20 καὶ παισίν ἐθέωρον, ὡσπερ νῦν ἐσ τὰ Ἐφέσια
'Ἰωνες, καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ γυμνικὸς
καὶ μουσικός, χοροῦς τε ἄνηγον αἱ πόλεις.
4 δηλοὶ δὲ μάλιστα "Ομηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν

17. τὰ Δήλια del. Herwerden.
τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς δέ, ἡ ἔστιν ἐκ προοιμίων 25 Ἀπόλλωνος:

'Αλλ' ὁτε Δήλω, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,
ἐνθά τοι ἐλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται σὺν σφοίσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σήν ἐς ἀγνιάν.
ἐνθά σε πυγμαχίη <τε> καὶ ὑρχηστυί καὶ ἀοιδῇ

μυησάμενοι τέρπενσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγώνα.

5 ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγών ἢν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων ἐν τοῖς δέλω, ἡ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ αυτοῦ προοιμίου τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἑπαίνου ἐς τάδε τὰ ἑπτ., ἐν οἷς καὶ έαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη ἀλλ᾽ ἄγεθ', ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
χαίρετε δ᾽ ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε μυῆσασθ᾽, ὅπποτε κὲν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν ὃ κοῦραι, τίς δ᾽ ὑμμίν ἀνὴρ ἱδιότος ἀοιδῶν ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέφ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;'' ὑμεῖς δ᾽ εὐ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως.

"τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεὶ δὲ Χίω ἐνι παιπα-λοέσσῃ."

6 τοσάντα μὲν Ὄμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἐορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ. ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χρονὺς οἱ νησίωται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγώνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἐπιποδρομίας, δὲ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

105 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀμπρακίωταί, ὁσπέρ ὑποσχόμενοι Εὐρυλόχῳ τὴν στρατιὰν κατέσχον, ἐκστρατεύονταί ἐπὶ Ἀργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν τρισ-χιλίοις ὀπλίταις, καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου ἱσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὃ ποτε Ἀκαρνάνες τειχισά-μενοι κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔχρωντο· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως ἐπιθαλασσίας οὕσης.

8. post Ἀκαρνάνες add. καὶ Ἀμφιλοχοῦ Niese.
ναύς Ἀθηναίων αἱ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὁὔσαί, δὲν ἤρχεν Ἀριστοτέλης τε ὁ Τιμοκράτης καὶ Ἰεροφῶν ὁ Ἀντιμηνήστου. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ ἀγγελού οἱ περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐς τὴν πόλιν κελεύοντες σφίσι βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ, δεδίότες μὴ οἱ μετ' Ἐυρυλόχου οὐ δύνωνται διελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ σφίσιν ἡ μονωθεῖσιν ἡ μάχη γένηται ἡ ἀναχωρείν βουλομένοι οὐκ ἡ ἀσφαλεῖς.

106 Οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Ἐυρυλόχου Πελοπόννησιοι ὡς ἱσθοῦντο τοὺς ἐν Ὀλπαις Ἀμπρακιώτας ἤκοντας, ἄραντες ἐκ τοῦ Προσχίου ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος, καὶ διαβάντες τῶν Ἀχελώον ἔχορον δι' Ἀκαρνανίας οὐσις ἐρήμου διὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀργος βοήθειαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐχοντες τὴν Στρατῶν πόλιν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀριστερὰ 2 δὲ τὴν ἀλλὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Στρατῶν γῆν ἔχορον διὰ τῆς Φυτίας καὶ αὕθις Μεδεώνος παρ' ἐσχάτα, ἐπείτα διὰ Λιμναίας· καὶ ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι 3 Ἀκαρνανίας, φιλίας δὲ σφίσιν. λαβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους, ὦ ἡστὶν Ἀγραίοις, ἔχορον δι' αὐτῶν καὶ κατέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν νυκτὸς ἦδη, καὶ διεξελθόντες μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Κρήναις Ἀκαρνάνων φυλακῆς ἔλαθον καὶ προσέρχειαν 107 τοῖς ἐν Ὀλπαις Ἀμπρακιώτας. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόου ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν 106

Μητρόπολιν καλομένην καὶ στρατόπεδου ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ταῖς εἰκοσι
ναυσίν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον παραγίγνονται ἐς τὸν Ἀμπρακίκον
κόλπων βοηθοῦντες τοῖς Ἀργείοις,
καὶ Δημοσθένης Μεσσηνίων μὲν ἔχων διακοσίοις
2 ὀπλίταις, ἐξῆκοντα δὲ τοξότας Ἀθηναίων. καὶ
αἱ μὲν νῆς περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας [τὸν λόφον] ἔκ ἑκ
θαλάσσης ἐφώρμουν· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνάνες καὶ
Ἀμφιλόχων ὄλγοι (οἱ γὰρ πλείους ὑπὸ
Ἀμπρακίωτῶν βίᾳ κατείχοντο) ἐς τὸ Ἀργος
ηῆθη ξυνεληλυθότες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μαχοῦ-
μενοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντὸς
ξυμμαχικοῦ αἱροῦνται Δημοσθένη μετὰ τῶν
3 σφετέρων στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ προσαγαγὼν
ἐγγὺς τῆς Ὀλπῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, χαράδρα
δ’ αὐτοὺς μεγάλη διείργεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν
πέντε ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δ’ ἕκτῃ ἐτάσσοντο ἀμφό-
τεροι ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ (μεῖζον γὰρ ἐγένετο
καὶ περίεσχε τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατό-
πεδον) ὁ Δημοσθένης δεῖσας μὴ κυκλωθῇ
λοχίζει ἐς ὅδον τινα κοίλην καὶ λοχιμώδη
ὀπλίταις καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφότερος ἐς
25 τετρακοσίοις, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ ύπερέχον τῶν
ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ξυνόδῳ αὐτῇ ἐξαναστάντες
4 οὕτως κατὰ ύπότον γίγνονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ
παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφότερος, ἦσαν ἐς χεῖρας,
Δημοσθένης μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μετὰ
30
Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγων, τὸ δὲ ἀλλο Ἀκαρνάνες ὡς ἐκαστοὶ τεταγμένοι ἐπιείχον, καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων οἱ παρόντες ἀκοντισταῖ, Πελοπόννησιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀναμίξ τεταγμένοι πλὴν Μαντινέων. οὕτως δὲ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μᾶλλον καὶ οὗ τὸ κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες ἅθροοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' Ἐυρύλοχος ἔσχατον εἶχε τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ

108 Μεσσηνίους καὶ Δημοσθένη. ὡς δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ὄντες περιέσχον τῷ κέρα οἱ Πελοπόννησιοι καὶ ἐκυκλούντο τὸ δεξίον τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Ἀκαρνάνες ἐπιγενόμενοι αὐτοῖς κατὰ νότον προσπίπτουσι τε καὶ τρέπουσιν, 5 ὡστε μήτε ἐς ἄλκην ὑπομείναυ φοβηθέντας τε ἐς φυγήν καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστήσας' ἐπειδὴ γαρ εἶδον τὸ κατ' Ἐυρύλοχον καὶ δ' ἐκ τοῦ κράτιστον ἦν διαφθειρόμενον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνίοι 10 ὄντες ταύτῃ μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ πολὺ 2 τοῦ ἔργου ἐπεξῆλθον. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξίον κέρας ἐνίκου τὸ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀργος ἀπεδίωξαν καὶ γὰρ μαχιμώτατοι τῶν περί ἐκείνα τὰ χωρία 15 3 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ ὡς ἑώρουν τὸ πλέον νευκημένου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀκαρνάνες σφίσι προσέκειντο, χαλεπῶς διεσύζοντο ἐς τᾶς Ὁλπας καὶ πολλοὶ

μαλιστά ξυντεταγμένου παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς ὄψε.

109 Μενεδάιος δὲ τὴ ὑστεραία Εὐρυλόχου τεθνεῶτος καὶ Μακαρίου αὐτῶς παρειληφὼς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπορῶν μεγάλης ἡσσῆς γεγενημένης ὅτω τρόπῳ ἢ μένων πολιορκηστεῖ ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ 5 θαλάσσης ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀποκεκλημένον ἡ καὶ ἀναχωροῦν διασωθήσεται, προσφέρει λόγον περὶ σπουδῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάνων στρατηγοῖς, καὶ 2 περὶ νεκρῶν ἀμα ἀναίρέσεως. οἱ δὲ νεκροὺς 10 μὲν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τροπαίον αὐτὸι ἐστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν τριακοσίους μᾶλιστα ἀποθανόντας ἀνείλοντο, ἀναχωρήσων δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι, κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατιγῶν 15 Ἀκαρνάνων στενοῦνται Μαυτινεύσι καὶ Μενεδάιῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρχοὺσι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὁσοὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀξιολογώτατοι ἀποχωρεῖν κατὰ τάχος, βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακιῶτας τε καὶ τῶν 20 μυσθοφόρου ὦχλον [τῶν ξενικῶν], μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη χρήζων, Ἔλληνας ὡς κατα-

23. ἐς Κ: ἐως ἐς vel ἐως cett.
προδόντες τὸ ἑαυτῶν προυργιαίτερον ἐποιήσαντο. 3 καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ἀνείλωσον καὶ διὰ τάχους ἔθαπτον, ὅσπερ ὑπήρχε, καὶ τῇ ἀποχώρησιν κρύφα οἷς ἐδέδοτο ἐπεβουλεύον.

110 τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάσιοι ἀγγέλησαν ἀλήθειαν τούτην ἀμπρακιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐκ τῶν Ὀλπῶν ἀγγελίαν ἐπιβοηθεῖν διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων, βουλομένους τοὺς ἐν Ὀλπαις τιμητείς, εἰδότας οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων. καὶ πέμπτε εὐθὺς τῷ στρατῷ μέρος τι τὰς ὀδοὺς προλοχιοῦντας καὶ τὰ κατερᾶ προκαταληψομένους, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ ἀμα παρεσκενάζετο βοηθεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Μαντινηῖοι καὶ οἰς ἐσπειστὸ πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ φρυγάνων ξυλλογὴν ἔξελθόντες ὑπατήσαν κατ’ ὀλέγοις; ἀμα εἰκονοντες ἐφ’ ἑξῆλθον δὴθεν προκεχωρηκότες δὲ ἦδη ἀπωθεθεὶ τῆς Ὀλπης ἡ τάσσον ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιώται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύχασαν οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες, ὡς ἐγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ὀρμήσαν καὶ αὐτὸι καὶ ἔθεαν ὃ ὑμῖν, ἐπικαταλαβέαν

111 The Ambraciots at Olpae, abandoned by the Peloponnesians, suffered heaavily at the hands of the Acarnanians. 2 θᾶσσον ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιώται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύχασαν οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες, ὡς ἐγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ὀρμήσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεαν ὃ ὑμῖν, ἐπικαταλαβέαν 3 Βουλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνάνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἀπιέναι ἀστονόδους ὄμοις καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐπεδίωκοι, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν κωλύοντας καὶ φᾶσ- 15

κοντας ἐσπείσθαι αὐτοῖς ἥκοντισέ τις, νομίσας
καταπροδίδοσθαι σφᾶς· ἔπειτα μέντοι τοὺς
μὲν Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννήσιους ἀφίεσαν,
4 τοὺς δ' Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐκτεινον. καὶ ἦν πολλῇ
ἐρικ καὶ ἀγνοια εἰτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἔστιν εἰτε
Πελοποννήσιος. καὶ ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινας
αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι διέφυγον ἐς
tὴν Ἀγραίδα ὄμορον οὔςαν, καὶ Σαλύνθιος
αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀγραίων φίλος ὃν
ὑπεδέξατο. 20

112 Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιώται
ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπ' Ἰδομενήν. ἔστον
δὲ δύο λόφω ἡ Ἰδομενὴ ψηλῶ.
tούτων τῶν μὲν μείζῳ νυκτὸς
ἐπιγενομένης οἱ προαποσταλέντες
ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
ἐλαθόν τε καὶ ἐφθασαν προκαταλαβόντες, τὸν
δ' ἐλάσσω ἐτυχον οἱ Ἀμπρακιώται προανα-
2 βάντες καὶ ηὑλίσαντο. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης
δειπνήσας ἐχόρει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἀπὸ
ἐσπέρας εὐθὺς, αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἦμισυ ἐχὼν ἐπὶ
τῆς ἐσβολῆς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλοχίκων
3 ὀρῶν. καὶ ἀμα ὅρθρῳ ἐπιτίππει τοῖς Ἀμπρα-
κιώταις ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὔναις καὶ οὐ προησθημένοις
tὰ γεγενημένα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον νομίσασι
15 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους
πρώτους ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης προύταξε καὶ
προσαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε, Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν
ἵεντας καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι πίστιν παρεχομένους,
ἀμα δὲ καὶ οὐ καθορμένους τῇ ὄψει νυκτὸς 20

Demosthenes surprises the Ambraciot reinforcements. He delivers a crushing blow.
5 ἑτε ὦσης. ὡς οὖν ἐπέπεσε τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτῶν, τρέπουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλούς αὐτοῦ διέφθειραν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰ ὀργῆ ἐσ.
6 φυγὴν ὀρμήσαν. προκατειλημένων δὲ τῶν ὀδῶν, καὶ ἀμα τῶν μὲν Ἀμφιλόχων ἐμπείρων ὄντων τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς καὶ ψεύδων πρὸς ὀπλίταις, τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ὀπη τράπωνται, ἐσπάπτοντες ἐς τε χαράδρας καὶ τάς προλεοχισμένας ἐνέδρας διεφθείροντο.
7 καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν ἱδέαν χωρήσαντες τῆς φυγῆς ἐτράποντό τινες καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν, καὶ ὡς εἰδον τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς παραπλεούσας ἀμα τοῦ ἔργου τῆς ἴσων, προσένευσαν, ἤγησάμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα φόβῳ κρείσσου εἶναι σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν, εἰ δεῖ, διαφαρῆται ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν 8 βαρβάρων καὶ ἔχθεστων Ἀμφιλόχων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀμπρακιώται τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ κακωθείτες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Ἀκαρνάνες δὲ σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τροπαία στήσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς Ἀργος. 113 καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ υστεραῖα ἤλθε κήρυξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἕς Ἀγραῖους καταφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ὁληπίας Ἀμπρακιώτων, ἀναίρεσιν αἰτήσου τῶν νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν ύστερον τῆς πρώτης μάχης, ὅτε μετὰ τῶν 5 Μαντινέων καὶ τῶν ὑποσπόνδων ξυνέζησαν 2 ἀσπονδοι. ἠδὼν δ' ὁ κήρυξ ἐς ὅπλα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιώτων ἐθαύμαζε τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ γὰρ ἤδει τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ὦστο
3 τῶν μετὰ σφόν εἶναι. καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἤρετο 10 ὁ τι θαυμάζοι καὶ ὁπόσοι αὐτῶν τεθνάσιν, οἱ όμοιοι αὐ δ ὁ ἔρωτοι εἶναι τῶν κήρυκα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰδομεναίς. ὁ δὲ ἐφη διακοσίως μάλιστα. ὑπολαβὼν δ’ ὁ ἔρωτῶν εἶπεν 4 "οὐκουν τὰ ὑπλα ταυτὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ 15 πλέον ἦ χιλίων." αὐθις δὲ εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος "οὐκ ἀρα τῶν μεθ’ ἡμῶν μαχομένων ἐστὶν;" ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο “ἐιπερ γε ὑμεῖς ἐν Ἰδομενη ὑθες ἐμάχεσθε.” “ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς γε οὐδεὶ ἐμαχόμεθα χθες, ἀλλὰ πρώην ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρίσει.” “καὶ 20 μὲν δὴ τούτοις γε ἡμεῖς χθὲς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοηθήσασι τῆς Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐμαχόμεθα.” ὁ 5 δὲ κήρυξ ὡς ἠκουσε καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοηθεία διέφθαρται, ἀνοιμώξας καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν παρόντων κακῶν 25 ἀπήλθεν εὐθὺς ἀπρακτος καὶ οὐκέτι ἀπῆτε 6 τοὺς νεκροὺς. πάθος γὰρ τούτο μιᾷ πόλει 'Ελληνίδι ἐν ἱσαῖς ἡμέραις μέγιστον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐγραφα τῶν ἀποθανόντων, διότι ἀπιστον 30 τὸ πλῆθος λέγεται ἀπολέσθαι ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως. 'Ἀμπρακίαν μὲντοι οἴδα ὅτι, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν 'Ἀκαρνανὲς καὶ 'Ἀμφίλοχοι 'Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δημοσθένει πειθόμενοι ἐξελέιν, αὐτοβοεῖ ἄν εἶλον· νῦν δ’ ἐδεισαν μὴ οἱ 35 'Ἀθηναίοι ἔχοντες αὐτὴν χαλεπώτεροι σφισὶ πάροικοι ὠσιν.

113 15. post tautil add. διακοσίων (σ’) Krüger: cf. Schol. λειπει τὸ διακοσίων εἶναι μὸνων.
114 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρίτον μέρος νείμαντες τῶν
σκύλων τοις Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ἄλλα
κατὰ τὰς πόλεις διείλοντο. καὶ
τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλέοντα
ἐάλω, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνακείμενα ἐν 5
τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἱεροῖς Δημοσθένει ἐξηρέθησαν
τρικόσια πανοπλία, καὶ ἀγών αὐτῶς κατέ-
πλευσεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἀμα αὐτῷ· μετὰ τὴν ἐκ
τῆς Λιτωλίας ξυμφορὰν ἀπὸ ταῦτας τῆς
2 πράξεως ἀδεεστέρα ἡ κάθοδος. ἀπῆλθον δὲ
καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίοι ἐς
Ναύπακτον. Ἀκαρνάνες δὲ καὶ Ἀμφιλοχοὶ
ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους τοῖς
ὡς Σαλυνθίον καὶ Ἀγραιόν καταφυγοῦσιν
Ἀμπρακιώταις καὶ Πελοπονησίοις ἀναχώρησιν
15 ἐσπείσαντο ἐξ Οἰνιάδῶν, ὀπερ καὶ μετανέ-
3 στησαν παρὰ Σαλυνθίου. καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐπείτα
χρόνον σπονδᾶς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο
ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ Ἀκαρνάνες καὶ Ἀμφιλοχοὶ πρὸς
Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπὶ τοίσδε, ὥστε μὴ τε Ἀμπρα-
κιώτας μετὰ Ἀκαρνάνων στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πελο-
πονησίοις μὴ Ἀκαρνάνας μετὰ Ἀμπρακιώτων
ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίον, βοηθεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλῳ, καὶ
ἀποδοῦναι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὀπόσα ἡ χωρία ἢ
ὁμήρους Ἀμφιλόχου ἑχουσί, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνάκτο-
25 ριον μὴ βοηθεῖν πολέμοιν ὅπως Ἀκαρνάνας.
4 ταῦτα ἐξυνθέμενοι διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον.
μετά δὲ ταύτα Κορίνθιοι φυλακὴν ἔαυτῶν ἐσ τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐσ τριακοσίων ὀπλίτας καὶ Ξενοκλείδαν τὸν Εὐθυκλέους ἀρχοντα· οἱ κομιζόμενοι χαλεπῶς διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀφίκοντο. τὰ μὲν κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν οὔτως ἐγένετο.

115 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τε τὴν Ἰμεραίαν ἀπόβασιν ἐποίησαντο ἐκ τῶν νεῶν μετὰ τῶν Σικελῶν τῶν ἀνωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἰμεραίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τάς Αἴδου νῆσους ἐπλευσαν. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐς Ἐρήμιον Πυθόδωρον τὸν Ἰσολόχου Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν καταλαμβάνοντον ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διάδοχον δὲν ὁ Λάχης ἢρχεν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ξύμμαχοι πλεύσαντες ἐπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν σφίσι πλείστοι ναυσίν. τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς αὐτῶν οἱ Συρακοσίαι έκράτουν, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ὅλιγαις ναυσίν εἰργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ναυτικὸν ἱσυναγείροντες ὡς οὐ περιοψόμενοι. καὶ ἐπλῆρον ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἀποστελοῦσαν αὐτοῖς, ἀμα μὲν ἡγούμενοι θάσσον τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον καταλυθήσεσθαι, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενοι μελέτην τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐνα τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπέστειλαν Πυθόδωρον ὅλιγαις ναυσὶ, Σοφοκλέα δὲ τὸν Σωστρατίδου καὶ Εὐρυμέδουν τὸν Θυμίκλεους ἐπὶ τῶν πλείστων νεῶν ἀποπέμψαν.
6 ἐμελλὼν. οὗ δὲ Πυθόδωρος ἦδη ἔχων τὴν τοῦ Δάρκητος τῶν νεῶν ἀρχήν ἔπλευσε τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Δοκρῶν φρούριον ὁ πρότερον Δάρκης εἴλε, καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ υπὸ τῶν Δοκρῶν ἀπεχώρησεν.

116 Ἐρρύη δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τούτο ὁ ρύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς Λύτυνης, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ γῆν τινὰ ἐφθειρε τῶν Καταναίων, οἱ υπὸ τῇ Λύτυνῃ τῷ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν, ὡσπερ μεγιστὸν ἐστὶν ὥρος ἐν τῇ 5

2 Σικελία. λέγεται δὲ πεινηκοστὼ έτει ρύηναι τούτῳ μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ρέμα, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαυ τρὶς γεγενησθαί τὸ ρέμα ἀφ' οὗ Σικελία υπὸ 3 Ἐλλήνων οἰκεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τούτου ἐγένετο, καὶ έκτον ἔτος τῷ 10 πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῶδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

28. ἀνεχώρησεν ΑΒΜ.

NOTES

§ 1 l. 1. θέρους—Thuc. divides the year into θέρος, consisting of about eight months (Elaphebolion to Pyanepsion) and χειμῶν, consisting of about four (Maimacterion to Anthesterion).

2. ἀμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι—'just when the corn was ripening'; about the middle of May, 428 B.C., before the harvest (καρποῦ ἐνεγκυμονή).

§ 2 l. 6. ἑγκαθεσόμενοι—the form serves as an aorist as well as a present.

7. ᾧσπερ εἰώθεσαν—sc. γίγνεσθαι, in the two previous invasions. The plan had been started by Pericles.

8. ὡμη παρείκοι—impers., though strictly ὁ θεὸς is the subject implied.

τὸν πλείστον δύμλον—cf. II. 31 ὁ ἄλλος δύμλος ψυλών, 'the main body.' Outside Thuc. δύμλος is found only in Herod., in tragedy, and in late authors.—The wasting of the country was a tedious task that would devolve naturally on the light-armed troops.

9. εἰργον τὸ μῆ—for the constr., which is common with verbs and phrases signifying prevention (Aesch. PV. 252 ἔξελυσάμεν βροτοῦ | τὸ μῆ... μολεῖν, and often in Aesch.) cf. VI. 1 διείργεται τὸ μῆ ἐπείρος εἶναι (where the ms. ὀδα is shown by many imitations of the sentence by later authors to be a mistake).

τῶν ὄπλων = τοῦ στρατοπέδου, strictly the space in front of the quarters where the arms were stacked; here the word marks the fact that the light-armed could not with safety be withdrawn from the hoplites.

10. τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως—i.e. houses, trees, vineyards: we
are not to suppose that the Athenians cropped their lands annually for the benefit of the Peloponnesian invaders.

11. **οὐ**—the gen. as in *μισθός τρώων μηνών*. The enemy remained in Attica about thirty days: the longest invasion, that of 430 B.C., lasted forty days, the shortest, in 425 B.C., fifteen days.

2 § 1 1. **Λέσβος ἀπέστη**—the gravity of this event lay in the fact that Lesbos and Chios were the only two islands in the Aegean that retained the position of independent allies of Athens. These furnished manned ships, but not infantry or money. For the narrative see Introd. p. xiii.

Μηθύμνης—Methymna, the second town in Lesbos, was under a democracy, Mytilene under an oligarchy.

3. βουληθέντες agrees κατὰ σώνεσαν with **Λέσβος**: this change, in the case of peoples, is especially common in Thuc. ; and cf. c. 67, 3 ἡλικία . . ὁν. So with ὀπρατία, ὀπράτευμα.

§ 2 1. 7. **τῶν . . τήν** serve for all three pairs of nouns.

8. **χῶσιν**—the harbours were to be turned into *λιμένες κλήσει* (II. 94, 4): walls were carried across the mouth on artificial moles, and the narrow opening left could be closed with a chain.

9. **ἐπίμενον**—showing why they had put off the revolt. The constr. with ἐπιμενεῖν is here double: (1) τήν . . ποιήσαν τελεσθήναι, as in vII. 20 περέμενε τῶν Χαρικλέα . . παραλαβέων; (2) ὅσα . . ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, an accusative clause. (It is objected that Thuc. elsewhere uses ἐπιμενεῖν only as intrans., but he uses e.g. μένω and ὑπο- in both ways; and why not ἐπι-)?

11. **τοξότας**—as mercenaries.

12. **μεταπεμπόμενοι ἰσαν**—cf. i. 99 ἰσαν . . ἄρχοντες, II. 80 ἰσαν . . ἐμπροθυμομένοι. Of course, the periphrasis with *pres. partic.* is much less common than with *perf.*, but it is not different in principle. Passages like II. 67 ὅπερ ἵππα στράτευμα πολιορκοῦν 'where there was a blockading army' are quite different, the partie. not belonging to the verb. In yet another case, like I. 38 τοῖς πλείσοις ἄρεσκοντές ἐσμέν, the partie. is a predicative adj.

§ 3 1. 14. **ἐδικα**—in contrast with what the government was doing κοινῆ.

κατά—often of the motive or reason, e.g. II. 87 ἐμπαραγενομένων κατὰ φιλίαν.

πρόβελοι—the fact that there were more representatives
of Athens than one at Mytilene might show that the office was hereditary in a family, but more probably the title of πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης had been granted by Athens to members of different Mytilenean families. Aristotle in Pol. 1304 a says that Dexander ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναύους παρώξυνε πρόξενος ὄν: he had a private quarrel with a member of the aristocratic party; from this small matter πολλῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ κακῶν. In any case it would have been the duty of the Proxenus to inform Athens of movements in Mytilene unfavourable to her interests even before the war; but doubtless the quarrel was now an exasperating motive to him, and led directly to the outbreak of stasis, for it was a dispute about property and inter-marriage between families of the opposed parties.

16. ξυνοικίζουσι—i.e. attempting to make the island into a single πόλις under one government, and in this case, an oligarchy.

18. ξυγγενῶν—Lesbos being of Boeotian (Aeolic) origin. To intervene on behalf of kinsmen was under all circumstances deemed justifiable among Greek states.

19. ει μὴ τις—‘unless they mean to,’ the fut. indic. marking the urgency; cf. VIII. 91 ει μὴ τις ἡδη φυλάξεται.

§ 1 l. 2. νόσου—during 430 and 429 B.C.

3. ἄρτι καθισταμένου—‘just becoming established’ (i.e. settled, chronic). Cf. 1. 1 ἄρξαμενος (ξυγγράφαι) εὐθὺς καθισταμένοι. If we render thus, it makes no difference whether Thuc. means the ten years’ or the twenty-seven years’ war. In either case, ἄκμαξοντος shows that ‘in its infancy’ is wrong. But Classen’s ‘in the middle period’ seems impossible: for it is inconceivable that καθισταμένου τὸν πολέμοι should mean either ‘just beginning,’ as he understands 1 1, or ‘in the middle’ at will. In v. 25 εὐθὺς ἀλλη ταραχῇ καθίστατο the verb means not merely ‘arose,’ but ‘tended to become permanent,’ applying to a period, not to a moment.

ἄκμαξοντος—ἄρτι does not extend to this. A period of ἄκμη is of course meant. Athens was now beginning to feel the strain on her finances (see c. 19); and her position in Chalcidice was very precarious. (Vollgraff proposes to add ἡδη before ἄκμαξοντος, but this is not necessary.)

7. μείζων μέρος νέμοντες—‘attaching greater importance to their wish that it was not true’ (than to the allegations). For ἄληθη cf. 1. 8 πλακωμώτερα ἐγένετο. νέμειν μέρος or μοίραν several times in tragedy: Aesch. P.V. 294, Soph. Trachin. 1238, Eur. Supp. 241; cf. τὸ ἱσον νέμειν 1. 71, ἔλασσον νέμειν VI. 88, πλέον ν. Eur. Hec. 868, c. 48, 1.
10. ἑρασκευὴν refers of course to the preparations of c. 2, 2 (cf. c. 2, 3).

δεσπαντες—ingressive.

§ 2 l. 11. ἐξαπιναιεις—like ἐξαπινης, found only in Thuc. and Xen. among Attic prose writers (for ἐξαιφνης or αἰφνιδιως).

12. περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλεῖν—both in 431 and 430 B.C. when the Pel. invaded Attica (π. 23, 56), a fleet had been sent out to make descents on the coast of the Peloponnese, as a counter-move. For the operations of this year see c. 16, 1; for those of 426 B.C. see cc. 91, 94.

§ 3 l. 16. Μαλόσεις was a local name of Apollo in Lesbos; its origin is unknown.

17. πανδημεὶ—the whole people together, not by families or clans.

18. ἐλπίδα εἶναι, like εἰκὸς ἐστι, is commonly followed by pres. or aor. infin. ἐπειξθέντας is conditional.

19. ἢν μὲν ἔμβι ἐ. ι ἔδε μή—a common idiom, found already in Homer; cf. e.g. Plato, Prot. 325 B ἐὰν μὲν ἐκών πειθήται: ἐδε μῆ.

20. εἰπεῖν—this depends on the sense of ‘order’ implied in the passage; cf. Andoc. de Myst. § 20 ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὔτως εἰχεν: ἐδε μὲν τάληθη μηνύσει τις, εἶναι τὴν ἀδειαν, ἐδε τὰ ψευδή, τεθνάναι. Of course εἰπεῖν = κελεύσα. (This passage is brief and peremptory in tone: its dramatic manner is quite characteristic, and there is no ground for suspecting the text.)

§ 4 l. 23. παρὰ σφῶς—put briefly for παρὰ σφῶς παραγενόμεναι καὶ παροῦσαι: similarly παρεῖναι is often found with eis or ἐπὶ with accus.; but there is no precise parallel to the present case.

25. ἐς φυλακὴν ἔποιησαντο—so VIII. 1 ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.
Cf. Andoc. de Myst. 117 θυγατέρες αἱ ἐγίγνοντο ἐς τε ἐμὲ καὶ Δέαγρον.

§ 5 l. 27. διαβάς κτλ.—the sentence, containing five participles, is an example of what Dionysius calls τὸ πικνὸν of Thucydides; Cicero speaks of him as pressus, Quintilian as densus. The participles that denote closely connected parts of the same action are joined by καὶ.

29. ἐπιτυχῶν = ὡς ἐπέτυχε.

πλῳ χρησάμενος—‘after a good passage.’ πλῳ = εὐπλοία, as in l. 137. (Some make πλῳ χρησάμενος merely = πλεῦσα, but
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Antiphon v. 24 πλοῦς ἡμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀνήγετο πλοῖα ἀπαντα seems decisive.

§ 6 l. 32. οὔτε . . τε—a common idiom (cf. neque . . que or et), by which emphasis is thrown on the second clause.

τά τε ἄλλα . . ἐφύλασσον—‘and besides (τά ἄλλα, adverbial) having protected with rapidly constructed defences all round the half-finished (works) of the walls and docks they guarded them.’ This is the best way of taking this puzzling sentence. None of the changes in the text that have been proposed is an improvement. περί is an adverb = πέρας, as in Homer (Wilamowitz on Eur. HP. 1035).

§ 1 l. 1. oi 'Αθηναίοι—the subject of the subord. verb is put at the head of the sentence to contrast the action of Athenians and Lesbians sharply; a good parallel occurs at vii. 32 oi δέ . . πρέσβεις . . ἐπειδή . . ἔμελλον δέξειν τὸν στρατόν, ὁ Νικιάς . . πέμπει. The imperf. ἔωρων (sc. τὰ γινόμενα), is used because the action overlaps that of ἀπήγγειλαν.

§ 2 l. 6. ἀπαράσκευοι qualifies πολέμεως, and is therefore co-ordinate with ἑλάφυς: cf. e.g. I. 39 προέχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, and c. 13, 2 βάσσον γεγένηκαί καὶ ἀπαράσκευος.

7. έκπλουν τίνα—for the use of τίς cf. II. 22 ἵππομαχία τίς βράχεια ἐγένετο.

8. ναυμαχίαν—both dat. and accus. seem to occur with ὡς ἐπὶ of intention; but the MSS. often vary, as here.

9. πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος—i.e. that harbour which was used by the fleet (cc. 3, 6; 6, 1), in which their ships had lain. (Steup's suggestion that τοῦ ἔτροπον λ. should be read is unnecessary.) Presently they were driven back into this same harbour. The northern harbour is meant. See Introd. p. xiv.

ὁλίγον is accus. of space (cf. 104, 2); of time II. 8 ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ τότεν.

11. τὸ παραυτίκα . . ἀποπέμψασθαι—‘get the ships withdrawn for the time being,’ i.e. in order to gain time.

§ 4 l. 15. καὶ, ‘accordingly.’

17. τῶν διαβαλλόντων—see c. 2, 3. The partic. becomes a subst., as in oi ἐπαγόμενοι II. 2, οἱ προδίδοντες II. 5.

19. τὰς ναῦς is not object of πείσειαν, but only subject of ἀπέλθει, τὰς ναῦς ἀπέλθειν being an exact citation of the proposal they would make in the Ecclesia, which was to be for a permanent withdrawal. The constr. is strange, however, and ποιήσειαν has been proposed.
§ 5 l. 23. ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς β. τῆς πόλεως—the Malea that is known is the SE. point of Lesbos, 70 stadia from the city. A solution of the difficulty has been found, Introd. p. xv. (Those who suppose that the SE. point of the island is meant, take πρὸς β. τῆς πόλεως with ἀποστέλλουσι. But from the narrative that follows, it is clear the Α. were lying to the north of the city (esp. c. 6, 1); and it is not likely they were so far distant as 70 stades. Some are driven to suspect that ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ may be corrupt or spurious.)

§ 6 l. 24. τοῖς is neut., and προχωρήσειν is epexegetical.

26. διὰ τοῦ πελάγους—crossing the Aegean directly instead of sailing down the coast of Asia Minor, between Chios and Erythrae, before crossing among the islands. The alternative routes are clearly explained in Ὀδύσσεια iii. 170 f. and the risks of that across the μέσων πελάγος are indicated. (Cf. Tozer, Islands of the Aegean, p. 170.)

27. αὐτοῖς prob.—the Lesbians, and is dat. commodi with ἐπρασσον, as in v. 76, where those acting for Sparta at Argos are called οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πράσσοντες. (Others take αὐτοῖς with ἥξει, or refer it to the Lacedaemonians.)

§ 1 l. 5. ἐβεβοθήκεσαν—were there to aid. Thuc. is remarkably partial to the pluperf., as e.g. i. 128 ἐνεγέγρατο, 'the contents of the letter were.'

6. Ἰμβρίων καὶ Δήμιοι—closely associated with the Athenians throughout the war. The islands had been secured for Athenian 'cleruchs' by Miltiades; and along with Scyros they were regarded as very peculiarly the possessions of Athens.

§ 2 l. 7. πανδημεῖ—equivalent to πανστρατιὰ in this connexion, as ii. 31, 1 clearly shows.

9. στρατόπεδον—north of the city, where the fleet was lying.

10. οὐκ Ἠλασσον ἔχοντες describes a state of things, like κρατοῦντες, μικώντες.

11. ἐπηνισάντο—'did not encamp on the field,' which was necessary to maintain a disputed victory (Bloomfield). What they did and what they felt are here balanced by οὐδὲ . . . οὖντε.

§ 3 l. 12. ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ' ἀλλῆς κτλ.—this appears to stand for εἰ πρ. τι (παρασκεύὴς) ἐκ Η. καὶ ἄλλωσι, 'to try their fortune with reinforcements from the Pel. and elsewhere, if any should come.' Bloomfield and others have supposed that καὶ is intensive here, 'again with fresh preparations'; but with the order of the text, the sense would necessarily be
that some reinforcement had already come from Peloponnese. As for μετ' ἄλλης, they might hope for ships from Megara, Lencas or Ambracia: Thebes had none.

§ 4 1. 15. αὐτοὶς . . . ἀφικνεῖται — the dat. with verbs of motion—which is strictly a dat. of interest rather than of motion—is common in poetry, but does not occur in Attic prose outside Thuc. ; cf. e.g. Aesch. PV. 35 ὄ' ἄλλην ἠλθὲν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βῆλος.

18. μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὑστερον—i.e. they did not get there immediately after the arrival of the A. fleet (c. 4, 1), but only after the battle (§ 2).

§ 1 1. 1. οἷς—co-ordinate with οἱ μὲν ἡσόχαζον.
5. οὐδὲν ιοχυρόν ἀπὸ—'no sign of energy on the part of.'

6. περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον—'changing their position and casting anchor south.' As Malea πρὸς βορέαν remained still in their hands as a ναυσταθμον, it is evident that a part only of the ships was sent to this new station. τὸ πρὸς νότον is adverbial as in. 23 περιώρισμον πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος.

7. ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως—explaining δό. Logically Thuc. should have written στρατόπεδον, as there was but one on either side.

§ 2 1. 10. μὴ χρῆσθαι—epexegetic.
14. ναύσταθμον—the roadstead where the supply-ships lay. μᾶλλον means rather than the new στρατόπεδον south of the town.

15. ἀγορὰ is Krüger's probable alteration for ἀγορᾶ, on the analogy of such phrases as ἀγορὰν παρέχειν, vii. 39 τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν πωλουμένων . . ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κομίσαν. The idea of a site seems always present, and ἀγορὰ is not a synonym of τὰ ὅνια or τὰ πωλούμενα. τὰ is probably subject, not adverbial accus., so that we have the pass. of τὸν περὶ Μ. πολέμων ἐπολέμουν : cf. viii. 18 τὸν πολέμον κοινῆ πολεμοῦντων (imper.). The act. of πολεμῶ does not seem to occur with an adverbial accus.

§ 1 1. 2. περὶ Πελοπόννησον—in the previous year the Peloponnesians had attempted an offensive war on a considerable scale in Acarnania, which, with the exception of Oeniadae, was in alliance with Athens. The idea was, to suppress the influence of Athens in the NW. (Naupactus, Zacynthus, Cephallenia, as well as Acarnania); and so to put an end to the harassing expeditions of Athenian fleets περὶ Πελοπόννησον. But the scheme failed completely; and a squadron under Phormio that
had been stationed at Naupactus in 430 B.C. to close the
Corinthian gulf to Peloponnesian trade, gained two brilliant
victories. After the departure of the enemy's fleet, Phormio
made an expedition into Acarnania, but was prevented by severe
weather from attacking Oeniadae. Early in the spring of this
year (428), Phormio returned to Athens; and it is evident that
he was now dead or out of health. His statue was placed
on the Acropolis and an inscription in his honour was set up at
Delphi. (For περὶ some ms.s. give ἐς: and perhaps ἐς <τὰ> περὶ
II. was the original form; cf. II. 7, 3. See, however, c. 3, 2.)

6. σφίςι as direct reflexive, referring to the nearer subject,
is an Ionic use.

§ 2 l. 8. Δακωνικής depends on χωρία.

§ 3 l. 12. ἀναστήσας—the verb occurs in a similar connexion
in II. 68 and 96; in IV. 90 ἀναστήσας Ἀθηναῖος πανδημεῖ.

14. κατὰ τὸν 'Ἀχελῶνον—'by way of the A.'; not the technical
use of κατὰ meaning 'down' a stream (cf. Aeschines II. 124
eἰσπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν Λυδίαν ποταμὸν); Oeniadae was an important
town on a hill in marshy ground near the SW. coast of
Acarnania W. of the mouth of the Achelous. Cobet con-
jectured ἀνά for κατὰ.

20. φρουρῶν—the contrast with αὐτόθεν suggests that these
were not Leucadians.

§ 5 l. 22. ἀποπλεύσαντες—i.e. the ships withdrew to Acar-
nania, and from there the negotiation was carried on.

8 § 1 l. 6. Δωριεύς—a Rhodian athlete, who won prodigious
fame and became the typical Olympic victor. He was son of
the Diagoras for whom Pindar wrote the seventh Olympian.
Besides three Olympian victories he won many at the Isthmian
and Nemean games. (References to his career: viii. 35, Xen.
Hell. i. 5, Pausan. ii. 7.)

9 § 1 l. 1. καθεστός—ms. evidence and analogy favour the
form in -ός for the neut.; but etymology (-άς) and the ancient
grammarians are for -ῶς.

3. τοὺς γάρ—cf. i. 40 τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι ὡστε τοὺς
ἐτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι.

5. ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι—so ἐν αἰτίᾳ, ἐν ὀργῇ, ἐν ὀρρωδίᾳ etc., cf.
c. 34, 3 and ἐν ἡδονῇ εἶναι i. 99.

7. χείρος—think worse of them for being traitors.

§ 2 l. 8. οὐκ ἄδικος . . . ἔστιν, εἰ τύχονεν—like i. 120 ἄνδρῶν
σωφρόνων ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἄδικοιντο, ἡσυχάζειν. Here οὐκ ἂ. . . .
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ёστιν = δίκαιον ἑστι χείρος ἡγείσθαι, and in such cases (see Goodwin, MT. § 555) the opt. is not seldom found. The idiom should certainly not be regarded as abnormal. Cf. e.g. Plato, Gorg. 482 β ἐγώγε οἴμαι κρείττον εἶναι . . διαφωνεῖν χαρῶν ψ χρησάοντα. Bayfield on Antig. 666 collects passages from Soph. Presently διακρίνουντο is by assimilation to τῷχουειν.

10. γνώμη—‘feeling,’ ‘sentiment’; εὐνοία, ‘loyalty’ to each other. These words, so frequent in Thuc. and orators, have various shades of meaning; and of γνώμη it would be rash to say that we can always be sure of its precise significance—Classen has discussed γνώμη at length in his Intr.—but here the parallel παρασκευή καὶ δύναμι shows that the two are closely similar in sense (εὐνοia is the intellectual aspect of γνώμη); and c. 10 ἐν τῷ διαλάβοντι τῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραι τῶν ἑργῶν, where the meaning of γνώμη is fixed by μετ’ ἄρετῆς δοκοῦσιν and διαφόροτοι, bears this out. (εὐνοia of course implies ‘between equals’ here, not loyalty to a superior.) Cf. also c. 12, 1.

§ 3 l. 14. μηδὲ τῷ—here and again at c. 67, 2 there should undoubtedly be only a comma before μηδὲ. Thuc. never uses ὁδὲ, μηδὲ = ‘and not,’ unless a neg. clause precedes; and it is quite plain from what precedes—οὐκ ἄδικος αὐτὴ ἢ ἠδίκως, viz. χείρος ἡγείσθαι, εἰ τῷχουειν—that δ . . οὐκ ἦν and μηδὲ τῷ χείρος δόξωμεν εἶναι adhere closely together.

15. ἐν τοῖς δείνοις—for Athens; often used of the troubles of war.

§ 1 l. 1. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἄρετῆς—to be asking for a ἐρωμαχία when you have just abandoned one is a position that needs some justification; so first they will show that they were not guilty of ἄδικια (cf. c. 12, 2) since they were in danger of being ‘enslaved,’ and that they were actuated by the highest of motives, by ἄρετῆς, unselshness, regard for others, in that they wanted to ‘free Greece.’ Hence their διπλῆ ἀπόστασις (c. 13, 1) might well commend them to their hearers.—Only one article is used because το δικαίον and ἄρετῆς are the two motives combined in the διπλῆ ἀπόστασις.

πρῶτον — this ‘first’ point—the question of political morality—occupies in point of fact most of the speech.

4. βέβαιον—always of two terminations in Thuc. Stobaeus gives βεβαιον here: βέβαιoν ἄρ has been suggested.

5. μετ’ ἄρετῆς δοκοῦσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους γεγονομεν—The subject, as Bloomfield saw (and so Steup), is ἰδιώτας καὶ πόλεις: many edd. from Poppo onwards understand φιλία καὶ κοινωνία, but ἐς ἀλλήλους is a serious objection to this. It does not seem, how-
ever, that a case has been made out for explaining γυνεσθαὶ μετὰ ‘to behave with’ (majority of edd.); in the parallels proposed, such as κατὰ εὔλαβον γυνεσθαὶ, the verb means ‘to come into a certain condition or situation’: and as γενεσθαὶ μετὰ τινος = ‘to be in the company of’ (e.g. Dem. liv. 34), so μετ’ ἀρετῆς γυνεσθαὶ should mean ‘range themselves with,’ and so, ‘to adopt,’ ‘work with’ ἀρετῇ: ἀρετῇ (as above) δοκοῦσα εἰς ἄλληλους = ‘the supposition or assumption of mutual unselfishness, that each in his dealings with the other is acting unselfishly.’ So we may render ‘unless both begin with the assumption that the other is behaving unselfishly.’

7. τάλλα ὁμοιότροποι ἐεὶν—‘and in all other respects (besides that just mentioned) be like minded.’ Gölle thought φίλοι was to be supplied out of φίλα as subj. to γυνοῦτο. Vollgraff thinks γυνοῦτο spurious and alters δοκοῦσης to δοκήσεως with Herwerden, so that μετ’ = ‘besides’ and καὶ = ‘also.’ γυνοῦτο and ἐεὶν are both needed, and are distinct in meaning. So long as the union between Lesbos and Athens was to further the resistance to Persia, both parties to the compact held to the belief that the other was actuated by ἀρετῇ: but when Athens began to pursue another purpose, Mytilene gave up this belief, and the inherent difference of intention became manifest.

ἐν γὰρ τὸ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γυνῆς—‘in animorum discrepantia’; the neut. partic. as abstract subst. (cf. the corresponding διαφορά) is a favourite device of Thuc., though rare in other prose; Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 39 τὸ ἐλλείπον. Cf. e.g. ii. 59 τὸ ὄργιζομένον τῆς γυνῆς, vii. 68 τῆς γυνῆς τὸ θυμούμενον, for ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ. Thuc. likes to show the quality at work. The constr., as Krüger says, is freely imitated by late authors.

9. καθίστανταί—‘become manifest’; cf. on c. 3 l. 3.

§ 2 l. 9. ἕξιμαχία ἐγένετο—referring to the transference of the hegemony of the allies from Sparta to Athens in 476 B.C. (ι. 95). In reality this transference was an ἀπόστασις from the Spartan alliance (Ath. Pol. c. 23); and the anxiety of Sparta to be quit of the war against Persia (ἀπαλλαξέλωτες τοῦ Μῆδικοῦ πολέμου i. 95) was not shown until after the transference took place. Samos, Chios and Lesbos were at the head of the movement in favour of Athens (Plut. Arist. c. 23). (This passage well illustrates the freedom with which Greek orators habitually manipulate history when they refer to the past.)

10. ἀπολήπτων ἐκ—this use of ἀπολείπειν seems to result
from such phrases as ἀπολείπειν τὴν ἔμμαχα (c. 9), so that the full sense is ἀπολειπτόντων (ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπελθόντων).

§ 3 l. 14. Αθηναίοις and τοῖς Ἐλλησι depend on ἔμμαχος ἐγενέμεθα: τοῖς Ἐλλησι is the exaggeration of rhetoric; for in reality they entered the Delian confederacy.

§ 4 l. 15. μέχρι—so long as,' a very rare use, not noted in L. & S.; Xen. Hell. 1. 1, 6.

19. ἐπαγομένους—this word, very common in Thuc., regularly means 'to invite,' 'call in.' But here, in contrast with ἀνέβας, it is slightly different, 'procure for themselves,' as in ἐπαγωγὴ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων (Herbst).

ἀδεεῖς—'free from anxiety.'

§ 5 l. 20. διὰ πολυφηδίαν—with ἀνένατον ὅρτας. Each constituent state had a vote in the synod of the League, but the allies were unable to combine against Athens through their disagreements.

21. ἐδουλώθησαν—i.e. became subject allies. Cf. 1. 98 πρώτη αὐτὴ πόλις ἔμμαχας (Naxos) παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη.

§ 6 l. 25. παραδείγματος τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χ.—'drawing our proofs (that they were no longer πιστό) from what was previously happening,' i.e. 'taking warning from the line of action that they had adopted.' παραδείγμα is an example by which a conclusion may be supported. τοῖς προγιγνομένοις = 'the line of conduct that they were pursuing previously, and had not ceased to pursue.' (The aor. or perf. partic. is conjectured here as in I. 23 τοῦς 'Αθηναίους ἡγούμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους . . . ἀναγκάσας ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν, which alludes to the conduct of Athens during the same period—between the formation of the Confederacy to the beginning of the war—from a different point of view. In both places the pres. partic., describing something still in progress, seems better.)

26. οὐ γὰρ εἶκος ἦν . . . μὴ δρασάι τοῦτο—to understand this sentence, it is necessary to realize that δράσαι refers, not to the future, but to the past, as in c. 40, 5 ἐνθυμηθέντες δὲ εἶκος ἦν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαι κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν. The sense is 'it was not likely that they . . . would not have treated those who were left in this way, if only they had found any opportunity.' We should have been 'enslaved' had circumstances been favourable to Athens: cf. i. 98 (ἐδουλωθέας) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστη ἐκνέβη. (Dobree's δυνηθέειν makes the ref. to the future.)

§ 1 l. 2. βεβαιότεροι—the personal constr. often found with ἰδίος, ἰδικος, ἰκανός.
6. καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλέον . . . ἀντισουμένον—(I should prefer to insert ἄν before ἀντισουμένον, see Introd. p. xliii). The text means ‘since in contrast, moreover, with the majority who were already yielding, we alone still tried to keep on an equal footing with them.’ These words do not add much to what has been already said in ὑποχείριον . . . ὠμιλοῦσε, but, as Classen put it, refer to the conduct of the Lesbians as viewed by Athens. τὸ ἡμέτερον, not ἡμεῖς, is used for the sake of the verbal contrast with τὸ πλέον. μόνον, if the text is sound, is (as Steup points out) not a proper antithesis to τὸ πλέον, and it is an awkward anticipation of the next clause, ἄλλως . . . ἔρημότερον.

§ 2 1. 9. τὸ δὲ ἀντιπαλον δέος—‘it is reciprocity of apprehension alone,’ as distinct from one-sided δέος. There is no objection to δέος, and no inconsistency with the opening words of c. 12, if the emphasis be put on ἀντιπαλον, as on προφιχων in the next sentence, and if μόνον be taken as qualifying ἀντιπαλον rather than πιστὸν.

10. γὰρ—‘for in that case.’

§ 3 1. 13. δοσον—quatenus, ‘so far as.’ ἐσ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ‘with a view to their empire.’ (I see no reason whatever for rejecting these words, as Krüger and Steup do. They give the true object of the Athenian policy, and the mention of ἀρχὴ is appropriate enough in the presence of those who so strongly disliked it; cf. i. 75, with ii. 8.)

14. γνώμης μᾶλλον ἐφόδω ἣ ἐσχύνος—‘by means of policy and not of force.’

15. τὰ πράγματα . . . καταληπτά—‘they might make themselves masters of the situation.’

§ 4 1. 15. ἀμα μέν κτλ.—this is the λόγος ἐνπρεπῆς that they used as evidence that they were upright. The allies whom we attacked, they could say, must have been in the wrong; otherwise those who have a vote in the confederacy equal to ours would never have been found at our side. The μὴ is due to the protest implied in μ. ἐξπρῶντο. If ἅκουτας is right, it must be put briefly for ἅκουτας ἄν ὄντας, ‘but would have been unwilling, unless’ etc. But this, even if possible, is extremely awkward, whereas ἅκουτας, read in a good scholium on this passage, gives the natural constr. and sense.

18. ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ = ἀμα : so iv. 73.

τὰ κράτιστα—for τῶν κρατίστων.

20. [τὰ] τελευταία—it is clear that τὰ κράτιστα is object of
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λεπόντες, and τελευταία is predicative; so that as there is no parallel for the article, it should be omitted.

tou ἄλλου—neut. collective, and gen. abs.

§ 5 l. 23. αὐτῶν—in contrast with πρὸς δι τι χρῆ στῆναι (aid from others): πρὸς δι τι χρῆ στῆναι = ἡμᾶς τοὺς διναμένους ἱγῆσασθαι αὐτῶν (schol.). For the simple ἵστασθαι ‘rally’ with πρὸς cf. IV. 56 πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἵστασαν.

24. ἔχειρώσαντο—sc. τοὺς ξυμμάχους.

§ 6 l. 24. τὸ τε ναυτικὸν—“a third reason is here given for the policy of the Athenians, of leaving the M. still independent,—namely, the apprehension of danger from driving them to unite their navy with that of the Peloponnesians” (Bloomfield).

26. καθ’ ἐν γενόμενον—standing alone this phrase would certainly mean ‘concentrating,’ ‘becoming united,’ as is proved by such passages as Xen. Hell. v. 2, 16 πῶς εἰκὸς ὡς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθήναι ὡς μὴ καθ’ ἐν εἰ, πολὺ δὲ μεῖζονος ἄθροιζομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελήσαι; This would give no point here, since the whole fleet is of course meant by τὸ ναυτικὸν. The accepted meaning ‘uniting with others’ is only to be got through the addition, ἥ...προσθέμενον, which must be regarded as an explanation. (Steup suggests that προσθέμενον should be removed, so that καθ’ ἐν γ. can be taken with the datives. I do not think it a likely note—in fact there is a scholium, ἐς ταῦτα ἔνειλθων, here—but I do think there is a difficulty, and possibly the first ἥ should be removed.)

§ 7 l. 27. τὰ δὲ καὶ—‘to some degree also’; a fourth and minor reason why the M. retained their independence. The schol. divides θεραπεῖα into flattery of the Athenian people and gifts to the leaders of the demos; no doubt these are included.

§ 8 l. 29. οὗ...ἀν ἐδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι = οὐκ ἀν ἐδυνηθημένει, ὡς ἔδοκεν. δοκοῦμεν, read by Krüger (ἐτι δοκοῦμεν Steup) is simpler, but the imperf., referring to the time of the revolt, does not exclude the pres., and cf. c. 13 ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστῆσον.

32. τοῖς—‘what had happened.’

§ 1 l. 1. τὸς κτλ.—‘what form of trustworthy friendship or freedom was this turning out to be?’ i.e. how could we put any confidence in a friendship or a freedom like that? (Dion. Hal. Antig. vii. 78 τίς οὖν ἥ τοι αὕτη φιλία καὶ πιστις, ἐν ἤ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους θεραπεύειν ἀναγκασθησόμεθα; seems to have found ἥ, not ἦ, after αὕτη in his ms., and our mss. have ἦ.)

3. παρὰ γνώμην—‘without sincerity,’ οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμην ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μόνων.
3. ύπεδεχόμεθα—this word can be used of every kind of reception or welcome afforded to a εἴρων, short of rejection: e.g. in Lycurgus § 133 οὐδεμία πόλις αὐτῶν ἔλασε παρ' αὐτῇ μετοικεῖν is repeated in the form τοῦτον δὲ τὸς ἀν ὑποδέχατο πόλις;

6. δ' τε . . πίστιν βεβαιοί, ἡμῖν τοῦτο . . ἐχύρων παρέχει—passages sometimes cited as parallel to this (as II. 40 δ' τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄνομα φέρει and IV. 125 ὅπερ φιλεί μέγιστα στρατόπεδα ἀσφαλέωσι λέγοντος) bear little resemblance to it. If πίστιν, which Stahl bracketed, is sound, we should assume, with Krüger, a conflation of relative with epexegetic clause—δ' εὖν οὐ βεβαιοί with εἰ. πίστιν βεβαιοί. A schol. already takes this view; and unless the text is corrupt, no other explanation can be entertained. (The other scholiast is a mere paraphrase, but its conclusion—διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιστοῦ ἢ ἢ φιλία ἀμφότερον—shows that the writer discerned that in the whole passage, from τῆς οὖν το παραβίασθαι ἐμελλον, the underlying idea, not clearly expressed, is that of a πίστις ἀπιστος. Both πιστῇ above and πίστιν here have been removed by critics more intent, perhaps, on the language than on the thought. ξύμαχοι υπὸ δέον πιστοὶ are ξύμαχοι ἀπιστοὶ.)

9. παράσχοι—representing ὀποτέρους ἀν παράσχῃ in past sequence.

10. ἀσφάλεια—'sense of security.'

καὶ—'as a consequence' of the θάρσος.

§ 2 l. 12. διὰ . . μέλησιν refers to δοκοῦμεν ἀδίκειν: this might be a reason for objecting that they should have waited till some wrong was inflicted on them. τὰ δεινὰ—'methods of coercion'; for the whole cf. I. 25 κατὰ τὴν Φαιάκων προ- ενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκυρᾶς.

§ 3 l. 15. εἰ γὰρ δυνατὸν κτλ.—with the text before us, which (except for ἀντιμελήσατι) follows the mss., we must render, 'had we been in a position both to intrigue like them and to delay like them (i.e. to put off our attack, but at the same time to have our plan of attack ready), what need was there for us to remain, nevertheless, at their mercy?' The M. might of course defer the attack, but if they waited for the Athenians to attack they were lost. This is fairly satisfactory, the only difficulty being that ἐκ τοῦ ἱσσων and ἐκ τοῦ ὄμολον ('just as we were,' aequo aequo fuitum) have no correspondence. It is in connexion with the next sentence that doubts arise. (1) ἐπιχειρεῖν clearly corresponds to ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι, and προαμώνα- σθαι to ἀντιμελήσατι (or ἀντεπιμελήσατι); (2) the statement 'we need not have remained in their power' is hardly equivalent to
'we need not have revolted because we should have retained our independence'; (3) ἔτι ἐκεῖνος εἶναι looks suspicious before ἔτι ἐκεῖνος δύτας. A great many changes have been proposed, and those of Heilmann and Krüger indicated in the crit. note and adopted by Classen give a much better correspondence and an improved sense. Yet I do not feel that the objections to the ms. reading are decisive. The general sense is: we cannot be blamed for taking the first move merely because they delayed to take action against us.

§ 1 l. 1. τοιαύτας—the asyndeton when a demonstrative pron. sums up what precedes is common. αἰτίας is 'grievances' (Cornford), not synonymous with προφάσεις.

2. σαφέως τοῖς ἀκόντωσιν γυναῖς, as in κάλλιστον ἵδειν τοῖς φίλοις Xen. Oec. viii. 6; but an unusual kind of example. The words are appropriate to a pleader.

3. εἰκότως—'reasonably.'

5. βουλομένους—what is to be supplied!

10. ἀποστήσεθαι δ. ἀπόστασιν—the figura etymologica, as in vi. 56 τοὺς τὴν πομηπην πέμψωντας, viii. 58 κοινή τὸν πόλεμον πολεμοῦντων. It is usually said that Thuc. plays upon the double meaning of ἀπόστασθαι here, (1) 'abstain from,' (2) 'revolt from.' With Poppo and Classen I cannot think this is so. The passage clearly corresponds to c. 10, 3 ξύμαχοι ἐγενέθ-μεθα οὐκ...Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ...τοῖς Ἐλλήνων, and the M. had 'revolted from' the Greeks who formed the Delian league just as much as they had 'revolted from' the Athenians. Nor is the view of the majority borne out by ἦ μέντα ἀπόστασις κτλ.


14. προποιήσαι = προ-διαφθείραι.

§ 2 l. 16. Χρῆ—sc. οὐμᾶς. ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον, i.e. in addition to the δίκαιον and ἀρετή (c. 10, 1) of doing so.

17. βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν—the M. really suggest two plans, both of which were adopted (c. 15, 1; 16, 3; cf. 25, 1), viz. (1) that a fleet shall be sent to Lesbos, and (2) that there shall be another invasion of Attica, though there had already been one this year. But the second proposal is put forward only as according with the interest of Sparta (either the enemy will not resist you, or—if they do—they must withdraw from the Peloponnese (cf. § 3) as well as from Lesbos, § 4). The second
proposal only was at first carried out, but it did not have the desired effect (c. 16, 2). In the following year, accordingly, both schemes were to be carried out concurrently (c. 26), but even then the Pel. were slack about no. 1 (c. 27, 1). (I see no ground for thinking the text deficient here, as Steup supposes. The two courses are not proposed as alternatives, and, on the other hand, they are with good reason not announced as two parts of a scheme for helping Lesbos.)

19. καί ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ — this point is explained in what follows: so far it has not been touched upon. To this καιρός . . πρότερον refers.

§ 3 l. 21. ἐφθάραται — the old plur. terminations in -αται, -ατο, are rarely found in Attic prose, as Xen. An. iv. 8, 5: Thuc. varies.

23. αἱ μὲν — see c. 7.

§ 4 l. 25. περιούσιαν νεὼν ἔχειν — a number large enough to protect the harbours and coast of Attica without recalling those that were out. This forecast was entirely falsified by the event; but it might very well be entertained because (1) in spite of the fall of Potidaea (in 429 B.C.), no Athenian fleet had been sent out to the Peloponnese in 429; (2) only thirty ships had been sent out this year in answer to the Spartan invasion of Attica, whereas in 431 and 430 the number had been 100; (3) late in 429 a Peloponnesian fleet had made an abortive attempt to seize the Piracus: reflexion on the result of this mismanaged affair may have led them, with good reason, to underrate the naval resources of Athens.

26. ἐπεσβάλητε — 'make an additional invasion': τὸ δεύτερον emphasizes the ἐπί.

§ 5 l. 30. ὃ γὰρ δοκεῖ . . παρέξει — 'if anyone is thinking that L. is far away, the advantage will be given to him close at hand'; that will come home to him.

32. ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐσται — 'will turn on Attica, but (on the country) through which . . , ' i.e. ἐν τῇ ἐφύμμαχῳ; the issue depends on the action of the ἐφύμμαχος. The need is to transfer the resources (cf. ὑπελαίν . . ὑπελείται) of the ἐφύμμαχος from the Athenian to the Spartan side. Cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 28 sin victoriae column veni verteretur.

§ 6 l. 38. οἱ πρὶν δουλεύοντες — i.e. those who were made ὑποτελεῖς before us.

§ 7 l. 38. βοηθησάντων — a remarkable ex. of the gen. abs. where the subject of the verb is the same; cf. c. 112, 6.
44. ἔχετε—'have up till now' is the meaning given by Poppo; but 'had' before the war is more natural, and more in accordance with the action of Sparta.

45. ἐλευθεροῦντες—a good point: at the outbreak of the war the Lac. had claimed to be 'the liberators of Greece.'

§ 1 l. 2. εἰς ύμᾶς—'with regard to you . . .'

3. ἵσα καί—adverbial, as ὑμοίως καί.

5. ζητὸν . . . παμβάλλομένως—instead of the external accus. usual with παμβάλλομαι, i.e. τὰ σώματα, we have here the internal accus., κινδυνούν.

§ 1 l. 5. τὴν ἐς τὴν 'Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν—'as regards the suggested (c. 13, 4) invasion.' ἐσβολὴν is the 'accusative of anticipation,' for which cf. I. 33, 3 τὸν δὲ πόλεμον . . . εἰ τὸι ύμῶν μὴ ἔσεσθαι. In both these instances the verb that follows (ποιησόμενοι, ἐσεσθαι) of course supplies a governing word to the accus. as in v. 36 τὸ Πάνακτον ἔδεινυ Βοιωτοὺς ὑπὸς παραδώσοντος, and in general. But sometimes the accus. has no strict regimen, but the constr. is changed in the dependent clause, as in the well-known case Aristoph. Αν. 1269 δεινὸν γε τὸν κήρυκα . . . εἰ μηδέποτε νοστήσει πάλιν.

7. παροῦσι . . . ἑφραζον, 'gave them orders while they were on the spot,' i.e. did not wait to send round after the delegates had left. κατὰ τάχος and τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν belong to ἔναν: cf. II. 10 ἔννήσαν τὰ δύο μέρη . . . ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν. The dat. is socialice, as constantly with words like στρατός and ναύς. The subject of ἑφραζον and ἀφίκοντο is 'the Lacedaemonians' only. ἄρτι = τὰ τριά μέρη; but ἄρτι = τῶν ὅκτω τὰ τριά μέρη. ὡς ποιησόμενοι belongs to ἀφίκοντο as well as to ἑφραζον.

9. καὶ ('and then') ὅλκοις (cf. ἐφ-ολκίον, a boat towed, νειλκείν, to beach a vessel with a ὅλος. The instrument for pushing heavy weights was called ἑλίς, but it was not invented till Archimedes) παρέσκευαζον—the ships which had been used against Phormio in the Corinthian gulf (at Lechaem) were to be hauled over the Isthmnns along the track, called διόλκος, to the Saronic gulf. The ships must have been put on some kind of truck. The exact nature of the ὅλκοι is unknown; possibly they were rollers fixed in the διόλκος. ἢπερφέειν, διαμερίζειν, διακομίζειν and διέλκειν are used of this.

§ 2 l. 14. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἕξμμαχοι—the 'exclusive' use of ἄλλος.

15. ἐν καρτοὶ ἔγγυκομίδῃ, like ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι: (ἐν) ἀρρώστιᾳ like ἐν ἀθνημίᾳ εἶναι.

§ 1 l. 2. διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν = διὰ τὸ καταγνώσαι.
σφῶν ἀσθενείαν, i.e. σφῶν depends on κατάγνωσιν. On what the 'imputation' was based can be seen from c. 13.

6. τὸ ἐπὶ Δέσβω ναυτικὸν—the suggestion of the speaker in c. 13 was ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων (Lesbos and Peloponnesse) ἀποχωρήσονται: but what is mentioned in c. 7, 3 had meantime occurred.

8. αὐτοὶ—these, as the restriction shows, consisted of the κένγκαται and ὑπὲρ. The two higher classes served on board only in times of great danger.

10. παρὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐπιθείζων ἐποιοῦντο, 'made a demonstration along the coast of.' With ἀναγγέλλωνes instead of the ordinary ἀναγγέλλοντοι cf. Herod. vi. 12 ἀνέγγειλε τὰς νέας.

11. ἀποβάσεις—the plan of making descents on the enemy's coasts as a counter-move to the invasion of Attica had been started by Pericles.

§ 2 l. 15. ἀπορὰ νομίζοντες—'thinking (the situation) difficult,' a characteristic use of the neut. plur. without subst., as in i. 8 πλοιομάστηρα ἐγένετο.

17. καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν Π. τριάκοντα νῆες, 'the thirty ships that were about (off the W. coast) the Pel. as well.' If the text is sound, the thirty ships of c. 7 must surely be meant: it is true that c. 7, 3 shows that the majority of these ships, at any rate, were no longer ravaging the coasts; but the Lac. are misled by an inaccurate report. Chambry, however, suggests that the eighteen ships referred to in c. 7, 3 had subsequently rejoined the other twelve; if so, it is strange that Thuc. has omitted to mention this.—The edd. who delete τριάκοντα point out that from c. 13, 3 it is clear the Lac. knew already about the doings of this earlier fleet. But (1), the Lesbian speaker does not say that the fleet was actually ravaging the coasts; and (2) in any case, if c. 13, 3 is in point here, so is c. 13, 4, and there the expectation is that the fleet will be withdrawn. Why should not the Lac. have fresh information—inaccurate—that the expectation had been falsified? The second καὶ = 'also,' i.e. as well as the new fleet which was making ἀποβάσεις (§ 2). Those who omit τριάκοντα understand the fleet of 100 ships mentioned just before. This is of course possible, but the passage admits of a simple explanation as it stands; and it is hardly likely that the 100 ships could so soon be reported as ravaging the coasts.

18. τὴν περιοικία—land belonging to the περιοικία in Messenia seems to be meant.

§ 3 l. 19. ὄστερον—it was not sent at once, c. 25.

20. Ἐ τὴν πέμψουσιν—ὅστις because of the purpose.
21. ἐπήγγελλον—a technical word for sending out a formal notice, which may amount to a command. Cf. περαγγέλλω.

22. ναῦαρχον—an office held for a year. The admiral in war was almost as important as the kings, who commanded the land-forces. His power increased when the Spartan navy became greater.

§ 4 l. 25. εἴδον—sc. ánαχωρήσαντας: cf. e.g. ii. 11 διοῦν μᾶλλον ἥ τιν ἔαυτῶν δρᾶν, sc. δησομένην.

I reluctantly agree with Steup that this ch. is spurious. Apart from peculiarities of language, it seems impossible to reconcile § 2 with the facts given in Bk. ii. about the Athenian fleet ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου. (1) The 100 ships here said to be guarding Attica, Euboea and Salamis are not mentioned in Bk. ii. They cannot be the 100 νῆς ἕξαρπτοι of which we read in ii. 24. Those ships were docked, and were certainly not ἐνεργοὶ: (2) αἱ περὶ Ἑλληνικὰν κτλ. makes the total 250 wrong, for we know that the number of ships at Potidaea alone was seventy, and, even if we conjecture that some of them had been withdrawn, there is yet another fleet of thirty sent περὶ τὴν Δοκρίδα καὶ Ἑβοβαῖα ἀμα φελακὴν (ii. 26) to be counted in; (3) it is difficult to see why in § 4 the 1,600 men with whom Phormio ἀπετέλεσε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης (i. 64) should be reckoned in counting the expenses of the siege of Potidaea, and the 4,300 whom Hagnon took there after Phormio's departure (ii. 58) omitted in the computation; (4) the digression on the numbers of the first year of the war, when we look for a reasoned comparison between the numbers of 431 and 428 is very odd; (5) if 100 ships were guarding Attica, Euboea and Salamis, why should the fleet of thirty have been sent out to guard Euboea? As Busolt says, the author of this chapter has overlooked the fleet of thirty.

§ 1 l. 1. κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον δὲ—i.e. καθ' ὅν, according to a common idiom; cf. Soph. ΟC. 748 ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰκίας πεσεῖν ἢ ἔδει', δοὺν πέπτωκεν ἥδε.

2. ἐν τοῖς πλείσται δῆ—for the fem. cf. c. 82, 1 (στάσις) ἐν τοῖς πρῶτη ἐγένετο. Pre-eminence is not necessarily implied in any of the examples of this idiom, and Herbst is perhaps right in saying that prominence only is meant. The latter must be the point here, because of παραπλησσέται δὲ καὶ έτι πλείστως.

3. δῆ heightening the superlative is not elsewhere added to this idiom.

αὐτοῖς—with ἐγένετο.

ἐνεργοὶ τόκαλλα makes no sense. ἐνεργός, though not
elsewhere applied to ships, is well suited to them, 'on active service,' 'in commission'; and it may be that the note in Hesychius $\alpha i \mu \eta \delta \rho \gamma \alpha i$ alludes to this passage. But $\kappa \alpha \lambda \iota \varepsilon i$ must be corrupt, for the rendering 'effective by their fine condition' is not possible. Herbst's conjecture $\sigma \kappa e \lambda \chi$, i.e. 230, is plausible; but in order to make up so great a total, he assumes a fleet of sixty ships for guarding the coast of Attica. Were this so, we should surely have heard of it at c. 16, 2 among the reasons that caused the Pel. to abandon the invasion; and even though we are left to collect the number of ships at sea in 428 b.c., this large item in the total must have been mentioned somewhere. Still, the interpolator may have reckoned the total at 230 by the same process, whatever it was, that led him to 250 for 431 b.c. below. The number, however, does not come in naturally after $\epsilon n \tau o i s \pi l e i \sigma t a i$. A very good sense would be got by $\mu i \delta \pi \delta \lambda e i$ (Widmann).

§ 2 l. 5. $\tau \eta n \tau e \gamma \alpha r \dot{A} t t i k \eta n \ k t \lambda$.—referring to the first year of the war; but there is no mention of such a fleet in the account of that year.

7. $\pi e \rho I \pi e o s o n$—this fleet had been sent out by Pericles as a counter-stroke to the invasion of Attica.

8. $\chi w r i s \delta e$—'besides,' sc. $\hat{\eta} s a v$, which is implied in the context.

§ 3 l. 11. $\tau o u t o$—i.e. the sending out of these armaments. In a somewhat similarly vague way $m e t a \ P o t e i d a i a s$ is used for $m e t a \ \tau \eta s \ P o t e i d a i a s \ p o l i o r k i a s$, with which should be compared II. 13 $\epsilon s \ P o t e i d a i a n \ \alpha p a u n \eta l \omega \theta \eta$, 'money was spent on the siege of P.' It is strange that the expenses of the army at Potidaea, as distinct from the expenses of the fleet there, should be brought in so vaguely.

§ 4 l. 12. $\delta \iota \delta r a x \mu o i$—half a drachma a day was the ordinary pay for a hoplite: here it is one drachma for the hoplite and one for his servant.

14. $\epsilon l a m \beta a v e$—we should expect $e k a s t o s \ \epsilon l a m \beta a v o u s$ or $\epsilon l a m \beta a v e n$. It is the omission of a singular subject to which the verb is attracted that is remarkable: edd. note that this omission is frequent in Herod.

15. $\delta n \ o u k \ \epsilon l a s s o u s$—when Potidaea revolted in 432 b.c., 3000 Athenian hoplites had been sent to besiege it. It seems that the permanent force was maintained at this number throughout the siege.

16. $o i \ \pi r o a p \eta l \theta o u$—these 1600 had been sent to blockade
Potidaea from the south (1. 64) soon after the revolt. They were withdrawn from Chalcidice before the place fell.

17. τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν—viz. one drachma per man, or double the ordinary wage (vi. 31).

19. τοσαῦτα δὴ—referring still to the παραπλησίαι καὶ ἐτι πλεῖον (§ 1); so that the digression extends to the end of the chapter.

§ 1 l. 1. δν—see c. 17, 1.

3. Μὴθυμαν—see c. 2, 1.

ὁς προδιδομένη—‘in the belief that it was going to be betrayed’; cf. Aristoph. Pax 408 προδίδοσν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. MT. § 32.

5. ἐπίκουροι—for these mercenaries see c. 2, 2.

8. καταστησάμενοι . . . βεβαιώτερα—cf. 1. 118 τὴν ἄρχην ἐγκρατεστέραν καταστήσαντο.

§ 2 l. 13. πληγεῖτες—in an old poetical meaning, found several times in Thuc.

§ 3 l. 16. τάυτα . . κρατοῦντας . . ἰκανοῖς ὄντας—the partic. phrase in apposition to τάυτα, as in Soph. Antig. 17 οὐδὲν οἶδ᾽ ὑπέρτερον | οὐτὶ εὐτυχόσα μᾶλλον οὐτὶ ἀτωμένη, Philoc. 1355 πῶς ταύτ᾽ ἐξανασχήσατε, τοῖσιν Ἀτρεώς | ἐμὲ ἕξωνόντα παισίν;

19. ἐλργεῖν—‘isolate.’

§ 4 l. 21. αὐτερέται—it was unusual in Thuc.'s day for fighting men to serve as rowers: in Homeric times it was usual; cf. II. ii. 719 ἐρέται δ᾽ εὖ ἐκάστῃ πεντήκοντα | ἐμβέβαιασαν, τὸξων εὖ εἰδότες ἣφι μάχεσθαι.

25. ἐγκατωκοδόμηται—see crit. note. The verb means to build into a wall. Clearly the forts were built at the same time as the wall at the points strong by nature. If the perf. is right, we must take it as historic, like the presents, and render 'there are forts built in at various points,' so that the perf. points to the condition of the wall and forts when completed. But as no parallel to such a use of the perf. is known, the plur. should probably be read (I do not think γὰς for of necessary; but these forms are often confused in mss.).

§ 5 l. 26. ἀμφοτέρωθεν is explained by καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης.

§ 1 l. 2. καὶ αὐτοί—bringing their own contribution into connexion with that levied from the allies.
3. τότε πρώτον—probably meaning that the extraordinary war-tax was actually levied for the first time (cf. τότε πρώτον in i. 96) in 428 B.C., though the arrangements for it existed before. Some think that Thuc. means for the first time in this war. There is no evidence that the tax had ever been levied before. (About the details of the ἐσοφορά before the age of Demosth. little is known, but the burden fell mainly on the rich, being ‘a progressive income-tax on property.’ The amount was fixed by the Ecclesia. Gilbert, Inn. Gesch. 129 f. gives good reasons for supposing that Cleon took the initiative in proposing the vote before the Ecclesia. See also Neil on Aristoph. Eq. 771, 928.)

4. διακόσια τάλαντα—in apposition to ἐσοφοράν.

5. ἀργυρολόγοις ναῦς—to collect an ἐσοφορά—not, in this case, arrears of tribute. The sending out of such ships is expressly attributed to Cleon in Eq. 1070.

6. (Δυσικλέα—this Lysicles does not belong to the family of Habronichus (i. 91), but is the προβατοπώλης of obscure origin whose connexion with Aspasia brought him into prominence; Aristoph. Eq. 132, 765, Plutarch, Per. 24.)

τεμπτών αὐτῶν—meaning that Lysicles had the chief command. The large number of στρατηγοὶ sent is probably due to the difficulty and delicacy of the mission.

§ 2 l. 10. Ἀναιτῶν—cf. c. 32.

11. ἄλλης—‘as well.’

§ 1 l. 1. ἔτι γάρ κτλ.—about the middle of September in the previous year the Pel. had turned the siege of Plataea into a blockade. They had withdrawn the greater part of their army, leaving a garrison to guard half their lines, while the other half was guarded by the Boeotians.

3. τῷ τε σῷ τῷ ἐπιλείποντι—equivalent to τῇ συνδελῇ. ἐπίλειποντι all mss.; other accounts are not decisive in favour of the present.

5. τιμωρίας = βοηθείας, as often in Thuc. The Athenians had promised to help Plataea when the siege began, but their hands had since been full owing to the plague, the siege of Potidaea and the revolt of Lesbos. See further, Introd. p. xvi.


11. ἀνδρὸς μάντεως—together.
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13. ἐστρατήγει— the opinion of a general supported by a μάντες would carry great weight.

§ 2 l. 14. ἀπώκυπταν ... τὸν κίνδυνον— cf. c. 30, 4.

15. ἐς δὲ ... μάλιστα— the phrase with prep. stands as subject of the verb. In Andoc. i. 37 εἰς τριακοσίους is presently repeated in the form μάλιστα τριακοσίους. For ἐς and μάλιστα often used together cf. e.g. c. 90, 3 περὶ and μάλιστα, Dem. XXI. 154, περὶ and ἑως, Herod. III. 159 μάλιστα ἐς.

16. ἐνέμειναν— as in ἐμένειν τοῖς ὥρκοις etc. τρόπῳ τοιῷδε is added κατὰ σύνεσιν.

§ 3 l. 18. ξυνεμετήρισαντο— it is possible to supply τὸ τεῖχος or τὰς κλίμακας, but § 4 strongly favours the latter.

20. ἐξαλημμένον— 'whitewashed.' The ἐς— probably denotes completion: the whitewashing had not been finished at one part of the wall.

ἡμιθμοῦντο ... ἀριθμοῦντες— for the rapid passage from mid. to act. cf. II. 9 ναυτικὸν παρείχοιτο ... πείζον παρείχον.

26. ἐς δὲ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τεῖχους— sc. καθορᾶν, or perhaps rather ὅραν: τοῦ τεῖχους agrees with καθορωμένου, and ἐς δὲ ἐβούλοντο— 'as far as they wanted to see it,' i.e. a sufficiently wide piece was visible. The objection to this is that ἐς δὲ for ὅσον or ἐς ὅσον does not occur elsewhere. In Herod. ἐς δὲ means 'until' with aorist or hist. pres. or iterative imperf.; but in Thuc. v. 66 ἐς δὲ ἐμέμνησατο = so far as (of time), a use not found elsewhere; and it is possible by Gk. usage of a prep. and neuter adj. or pron., that the phrase should denote time or place: e.g. ἐς ὅλιγον of time II. 11, of place II. 91, and so with ἐς τοῦλοι. Two other views of this passage, not involving change of the text, must be noticed: (a) taking τοῦ τεῖχους as agreeing with καθορωμένου 'as the wall was completely visible to the desired point' i.e. to the foot of the wall, viewed from above; but we should expect this meaning to be expressed directly and clearly. (b) Taking τοῦ τεῖχους as depending on ἐς δὲ, 'as they easily looked down upon the part of the wall that they wished to see,' i.e. καθορωμένου (τοῦτον) ἐς τοῦ τεῖχους ἐβούλοντο (ὁρᾶν). This is very awkward and we should expect καθοράντες. The alterations proposed are (a) ὅσον for ἐς δὲ, Stahl, or (b) to insert an infin., as ἀναβήναι after ἐβούλοντο (Stein).

§ 4 l. 26. τὴν ἐξωμετρητίσαν ... ἐλαβον— for the periphrasis with λαβεῖν cf. e.g. Soph. Phil. 1078 φράσησιν λαβεῖν. Presumably the height arrived at by the majority was accepted as correct.
28. τῆς πλάνθου—collective; so in II. 9, 4 λύθως καὶ κεράμω, cf. c. 74, 1, II. 76 κάλαμος. The meaning is that, having counted the layers, they found the height of the wall by multiplication.

21 § 1 l. 2. οἶκοδομήσει—Thuc. is partial to nouns in -σει: ὀλόφυροις, ἔμμετροις, κατάφευξις etc.

3. πρόσ—'on the side towards,' an idiomatic use common with localities, πρός τοῦ λιμένος, τοῦ ποταμοῦ and so on.

§ 2 l. 6. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο κτλ.—'this intervening space was occupied with buildings assigned as quarters to the sentries.' So Stahl, who views τὸ μεταξὺ as subject, and οἰκήματα as internal accus., as in τὸ ἑναντίον ὅνωμα μετωπόμασται I. 122. Steup agrees with this rendering, but he is inclined to retain οἱ ἑκκαλδέκα πόδες and he regards οἰκήματα as pred. nom. Another view, which is to be rejected, is that τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο is adverbial accus., 'in this space,' and οἰκήματα subject of φυλάσσω: the constr. is then very strained, and the perf. partic. διανεμεῖμένα unnatural, implying that the quarters were distributed before they were built.

8. ἡν ἑνεχῇ—I agree with Steup in rendering 'it was (all) continuous,' without any definite subject, as in I. 8 πλωμιστερα ἐγένετο, and cf. II. 3 ἄμαξας . . . ἐς τοὺς ὅδους καθίστασαν, ἵν’ ἀντὶ τείχους ἥ, for it was not only the guards' quarters, but the two parallel walls as well that 'looked like one thick wall.'

§ 3 l. 9. δία δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων—'at an interval of ten,' i.e. with the plur., 'at intervals of ten,' as in Isocr. iv. 46 αἱ πανηγυρίεις διὰ πολλὸν χρόνου συλλεγέσθαι.

11. ἰσοπλατεῖς—cf. ἰσομηχὴς, ἰσοπαχῆς, ἰσοπληθῆς.

12. καὶ τὸ ἕξω—for καὶ ἐς τὸ ἕξω, cf. c. 44 περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος μᾶλλον . . . ἡ τοῦ παρόντος. The first καὶ, 'and,' is deleted by Herbst, but the predicative οἱ αὐτῶν can come in the second clause.

13. παρὰ πύργον—Thuc. might have written παρὰ τοῦς πύργους, but the art. is omitted and the sing. used collectively as in II. 13 παρ’ ἐπάλξειν, for which we might have παρὰ τόσο ἐπάλξεις. (This is better than 'past a tower,' because of δι' αὐτῶν.)

22 § 1 l. 1. παρεσκεύαστο—impers., as often.

2. τηρήσαντες—cf. τηρεῖν ἄνεμον I. 65, τ. πορθμόν ('passage') vi. 2.

5. τάφρον—between the town and the τείχος. See Introd. p. xix.
6. προσέμειξαν—'reached.'

8. ἀνά occurs only twice in Thuc., here and iv. 72: with the temporal use here cf. Herod. viii. 123 ἀνά τὸν πόλεμον τούτον. "In the local sense especially, but also in the temporal, ἀνά frequently occurs in Homer and Herod. The constr. is common in Xenophon, but seems to occur in no other Attic prose writer" (G. F. Smith).

9. ψόφῳ depends on ἀντιπαταγούντος only, κατακουσάντων being absolute, like προδόντων. The gen. abs., in spite of the accus. (φύλακας), is common in Gk.

§ 2 l. 12. μή belongs to both partic. and verb.

13. αἴσθησιν παρέχει—cf. ii. 4 αἴσθησις ταξεία επεγένετο.

14. τὸν ἄριστορόν μόνον πόδα—instead of both feet, as would normally have been the case. The plain statement of Thuc. therefore is that by leaving off the right sandal the men expected to get a firmer footing in the mud. (The schol. says ἵππον ἐξεδέδνετο τὸν μὲν ἵππον τῶν ποδῶν ὁ ἀσφάλειαν, τὸν δὲ ἐτερὸν γιμνὸν εἶχον δια κούφοντα, and many edd. follow this view; but this is certainly not what Thuc. says, and it is not a question of what we might think to be the effect of sandals or no sandals. Thuc. took it that the right foot was meant to get the firmer hold.)

§ 3 l. 16. προσέμισσον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις—I should prefer a comma at προσέμισσον, because πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις does not go closely with the verb, but is added to make κατὰ μεταπύργιον clear. (As Steup says, the towers had no battlements, so that πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις does not refer to the wall as a whole. But there is no need to alter the text with him.)

21. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν . . ἀνέβαινον—this still refers to the ψιλοὶ δώδεκα, and merely repeats the previous ἀνέβαινον with the addition of the intention of this party: on reaching the top they were to turn to left and right. The awkward repetition is due to the breaking of the thread of the previous sentence by the words καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη.

§ 4 l. 29. ἀντιλαμβανόμενος is absolute.

30. δούλου—as the rarer word this may be right, but ψόφου is an early variant.

§ 5 l. 31. βῆ—'an alarm.'

ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος—the garrison troops came out and made for their posts at the wall. See Introd. p. xviii.
32. ὁ τι ἤν—contrast v. 54 ᾗδει δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅτι οἱ στρατεύοντες. Goodwin, M.T. § 674. 3.

33. καὶ ἀμα . . . προσέβαλον—this gives another reason why they did not know ὁ τι ἤν τὸ δείων: hence strictly we should have καὶ ὅτι οἱ κτλ.: cf. 1. 110 τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τε τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ ἐδόναντο ἐλεύν, καὶ ἀμα μαχιμωτάτοι εἰσὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἑλευς.

34. τῶν Πλαταιῶν—partitive gen., which Thuc., differing from other authors, often puts between an art. and partit., as i. 9 οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννήσιων δεδεγεμένοι, ib. 48 ταῖς ἀμετα τῶν νεῶν πλεοῦσαι, and below, c. 36, 5.

36. ἐκ τοῦπαλιν ἢ—cf. τοῦπαντιν ἢ, which generally shows a variant reading ἢ. In Xen. Anab. iii. 5, 13 εἰς τοῦπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαστυλόνων is probably incorrect, but the text shows the idiom.

§ 6 l. 38. ἔθορυβοῦντο μὲν οὖν κτλ.—‘thus, remaining at their post (on the wall), they were in a state of excitement, yet not one dared to move from his own station, but they were at a loss to make out what was happening.’ ἑαυτῶν goes back to the subject of ἔθορυβοῦντο. ἑαυτῶν here is to be preferred to αὐτῶν: but in c. 91, 2 τοὺς Μηλίους οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ἐμμαχικὸν ἑναὶ ἐβούλωντο προσαγαγέσθαι, the pers. pron. may be right, since ἵπσοροιν, not sum may be meant.

§ 7 l. 43. ἐχώρουν ἐξω τοῦ τείχους—i.e. they descended from the wall on the outer side, supposing that the alarm meant that some force was approaching from Athens. In the darkness and excitement these 300 had not communicated with the men in the towers who had raised the alarm.

44. φρυκτοὶ πολέμιοι—λαμπάδες πολεμίων δηλοῦσαι schol.

§ 8 l. 47. ὅπως ἀσαφῆ . . ἢ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν—the time-honoured example of interchange of subj. and opt. after a past tense. Cf. vi. 96 ἐξέκριναν ὅπως ἐλήσαν φύλακες καὶ . . . παραγίγνωσται, where no difference of meaning can be detected. See M.T. § 321. Analogous is the interchange of moods in c. 113, 2.

23 § 1 l. 1. οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνουσι—all who were attempting to escape, whatever they were doing, are regarded as one body; but presently they are divided into οἱ μὲν, those already on the wall, and οἱ δ', those who were still below. The result is a very ugly sentence.

4. ἐκατέρων—see c. 22, 3.

5. τὰς τε διόδους—Stepu, following Poppo, renders ‘and,’ making the parenthesis extend from ὡς to ἐπιβοηθεῖν, because,
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if ṭε is regarded as correlative to καὶ, the sense of τὰς τε διόδους ἐπιβοσθεῖν is absurdly repeated in κάτωθεν (i.e. ἀπὸ τῶν διόδων) ἔιργον. It will be noticed that, if ἐφόλασον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοσθεῖν were absent, the sentence would be perfectly regular in outline: οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες τὰς τε διόδους ἐνστάντες καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ κάτωθεν (i.e. ἀπὸ τῶν διόδων) καὶ ἄνωθεν (i.e. ἄπ' ἄκρων τῶν πύργων) ἔιργον κτλ. I think that this is a sign, not that the interrupting words are spurious—they are quite in Thuc.’s manner—but that Thuc. wrote them without working out the sentence to its end, as if after πλείους he had intended to continue, not with οἱ μὲν, but in the form ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοῖς ἐπιβοσθοῦντας ἄνωθεν ἔιργον βάλλοντες: on reaching πλείους, he shifted his plan and as the general subject was to be kept up, bifurcated the sentence with οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δ', instead of making a separate sentence of the οἱ δ' clause. This view of the matter is confirmed by the ugly repetition of κλίμακας προσθέντες and πλείους in different senses.

6. δι' αὐτῶν—coming from the other πύργοι through the passages to the μεταπύργοι over which the Π. were escaping.

9. πλείους—as in c. 22, 4 init.

οἱ μὲν includes those in the διόδοι and those on the top of the πύργοι.

10. κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν—with ἔιργον.

11. οἱ δ’—those who were at the foot of the wall.

§ 2 l. 14. αἰεῖ—as Krüger says, this belongs to the partic. and the verb alike.

15. τῆς τάφρου—for this outer trench see c. 24, 2.

17. παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος—‘by the wall,’ on the outside.

κωλυτῆς γίγνοιτο—a favourite periphrasis with Thuc., especially with nouns in -τῆς; examples occur in cc. 2, 40, 58, 59; with διδάσκαλος c. 42; with ἡγεμόν c. 105.

§ 3 l. 18. πάντες—meaning οἱ πλείους of § 1.

19. οἱ τελευταίοι—best taken by itself, between commas, i.e. ‘as they were the last,’ like οἱ δ’ . . . οἱ πλείους above. But Steup makes οἱ τελευταίοι partitive apposition to οἱ . . . πύργων and joins χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταίοι κ. The men on the towers waited till the rest were safely across.

§ 4 l. 25. τὰ γυμνά—the unprotected side.

29. βιαῖως—like βιαστέρον ἀναγαγόμενοι 11. 33, ‘hard pressed.’

§ 5 l. 31. οἷος ἀπηλιώτου—sc. ὄντος, as in Soph. OC. 83 ὃς
proved that the partic. is omitted in gen. abs. where the noun does not itself suggest a partic. as in Soph. OT. 966 ἰν ὀφνητῶν, sc. ὄντων: but the omission is softened in this case by the analogy of the gen. of time, as in νυκτὸς.

ἡ βορέω—perhaps a marginal note, intended to fill up the sense of μᾶλλον. (It has been suggested (1) that βορέω should be changed to εὕρω, or (2) that μᾶλλον should be transposed before ἦν.) But possibly two propositions are compressed into one; and the full sense is "as it is when the wind is east: it is, in fact, more watery then when the wind is north." (So Chambry, Rév. de phil. '97.)

32. ὑπονειφομένη—cf. Herod. II. 13 ὑται ἡ χώρη, Xen. Holl. II. 4, 13 νεφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον: for ὑν. is properly "being thinly besnowed."

34. ἐγένετο . . . ἡ διάφευγις—cf. VII. 41 τὴν κατάφευξιν ἐπαισύντο 'were seeking refuge.' The idea of success is contained in δια-. (I cannot agree with Classen that ἐγένετο here means 'proved successful': that sense is confined in Attic to old phrases like ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερά, cf. ἐ. τὰ διαβασματά v. 55. In VI. 74 and VIII. 57 γίγνεσθαι=merely 'take place.' καί ἡ διάφευγις= 'the means of successful escape too (as well as the difficult crossing)" was mainly owed to (i.e. more than to any other cause: meaning that it was a narrow thing).

35. διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μ.—the order as in Herod. ; cf. e.g. I. 32 μετὰ τῆς ἄγων ἀιθήσεως.

24 § 1 l. 4. τὸ τοῦ 'Ανδροκράτους ἥρωον—shrine of a Plataean 'hero,' a well-known landmark on the road, evidently in Plataean territory and not far from the Asopus. Introd. p. xix.

5. ἡκιστ' ἅν—after such words as μᾶλστα the accidental omission of ἅν is so frequent in some mss. where the error is obvious that it seems unlikely that νομίζω σε ποιήσαι can= 'I think you may do it.' Cf. Xen. Oec. 11, 14 ἠρίκα for ἠρίκ ἅν, 18, 1 πότερα for πότερ ἅν, Mem. IV. 3, 8 μᾶλστα for μᾶλστ ἅν, in which instances the verb, being in opt., betrays the error. In our passage if ἡκιστα is read, we should render 'thinking that the enemy had not formed a suspicion.'

σφᾶς—subject of τραπέσθαι.

8. πρὸς Κιθαιρώνα καὶ Δρύνος κεφαλᾶς—i.e. making for the pass of the Oak's Heads from which they would descend to Attica. For the roads see Introd. p. xix.

§ 2 l. 12. τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος—they turned SE. and crossed
Cithaeron at a point E. of the road taken by the enemy. It is not meant that they actually touched—

\[ \text{Τοιάς ῥέων καταψηκάσων.} \]

(Eur. Bacchae, 751.)

16. πλεύσων—c. 20, 2.

§ 3 l. 19. κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο—'went to their station.' κατὰ χώραν usually with μένειν (certa sede manet); with ἐν Demosth. xcvii. 60. For γενέσθαι κατὰ cf. καθ’ ἐν γ. ‘to concentrate’; τὴν χάλαζαν εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ γ. Demosth. ix. 33.

24. ἐσπένδοντο—σουδᾶς ἐξήτουν ποιεόντας schol. With the internal accus. ἀναλείπεις c. 109 ἀναχωφήσω ἐσπέραντο ἀπασι.

§ 1 l. 4. πλεύσας ἐπὶ Πύρραν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς πεζῇ—two stages in the scheme by which διαλαθῶν ἐσέρχεται: and so πεζῇ 'by land' is co-ordinated with πλεύσας, and is equivalent to πεζῇ ἐλθὼν.

6. γ ὑπερβατὸν ἦν—edd. do not agree whether this means (1) that the ‘torrent-bed’ interrupted the Athenian wall, or (2) that the wall, though unbroken, was lower at this point. ὑπερβατὸν hardly admits of (1). A third suggestion (3) is that ὑποβατὸν should be read, meaning that Salaethus crawled under the wall through an outlet. As for (2), if we compare c. 13, 4–6, it seems strange that the A. should have been so simple as to leave the wall low at the χαράδρα: but Thuc. has omitted some detail that would have made things clear—as he is apt to do. See Introd. p. xv.

8. προέδρους—τοῖς ἄρχουσιν schol. For the νήπιες see c. 16.

10. προαποπεμφθήναι τε—cf. i. 87 εἰσπον ὤτι ... δοκοίειν ..., βουλεύθαι δἐ ... .

11. τούτων ἐνεκα ... ἐπιμελητῶμενος—cf. i. 80 ἐμπειρὰ ... νομίζαντα.

§ 2 l. 13. πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους—from passages like v. 44 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀ. μᾶλλον εἰχον τὴν γνώμην it is clear that ὃστε εἰμιδαινεῖν does not govern these words, but is an epexegeesis.

§ 1 l. 3. δόξα καὶ can hardly be right, as the number is repeatedly given as 40, e.g. cc. 25 and 29, and the suggestion that the two Lesbian triremes (cc. 4 and 5) are here included is not probable. Rather than suppose that a commentator wrongly added in the two Peloponnesian ships mentioned in cc. 5, 4 and 25, 1, I prefer to think we have a confusion as the outcome of mistaking μ’ (40) for β’ (2).
4. ἀρχοντα . . προστάξαντες is a phrase in Thuc. for appointment to a special command, and even the order is exactly as in vii. 19: so ἀρχοντα for ἐχοντα is a certain correction. ναύαρχος means that he held the annual office of high admiral.

7. ἀμφοτέρωθεν—through the dispatch of the ships and the invasion.

8. ταῖς ναυσίν . . καταπλεούσαι—the transl. ‘send out a fleet against the ships sailing to M.’ is impossible, because (1) the partic. cannot be attributive unless ναυσίν is placed after Μυτιλήνη, and (2) ἐπισθοθεῖν + dat. = ‘hasten to help.’ Hence either we must alter the text—Stephan bracket καταπλεούσαι—or, better, render ‘when they were sailing.’ So Stahl refers ταῖς ν. καταπλεούσαι to the Athenians and renders ‘sail with their ships to M. and come to help,’ as if we had καταπλέοντες.

§ 2 l. 10. Cleomenes and Pleistoanax were sons of the famous Pausanias. In 445 B.C., when Euboea and Megara revolted from Athens, Pleistoanax had invaded Attica, but had retreated when Pericles returned from Euboea; he was exiled for this, and his young son Pausanias reigned in his stead.

11. νεωτέρου, ‘too young.’ The δέ after πατρὸς is not justified by the constr., since no description of Cleomenes has preceded; hence Krüger suggests that ἐπιτροπὸς has fallen out after ἐτι. There may, however, be a slight anacolthon.

§ 3 l. 13. [καλ]—εἲ τι εἰ. is clearly added as an explanation to τὰ . . τετμημένα.

16. μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν—i.e. that of 430 B.C., see last n. on c. 1. The present invasion is the fourth.

§ 4 l. 17. ἐπιμένοντες—equivalent to προσδοκῶντες, hence fut. infin.: the aor. inf. in c. 2 expresses result, not expectation; cf. Soph. Trach. 1176 χι ἐπιμεῖναι τοῦμον ὠδῇαι στόμα.

19. ἐπιεξῆλθον with τέμνοντες, ‘pressed forward with,’ not ‘over-ran.’

28 § 1 l. 1. οἱ ἐν τοῖς π.—οἱ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες.

2. ἀποκωλύειν—the MSS. give fut., but the infin. after δύναμαι and its equivalents is prolate.

6. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν—the conditions are stated in the loose
form frequently found in treaties, etc.: (1) two points in favour of the A. are connected; (2) some supply ἕξεινα to ἀποστέλλειν, but it is better to make the latter depend directly on ὀστε; (3) δῆσαι, etc. also depend on ὀστε.

11. ἐν δοσὶ = μέχρι οὗ, cf. c. 52, 3. It is a similar constr. to that in Tétyre, dum vedeo. Classen saw a combination of (1) εἰν δοσὶ ἀν ἀπώσαι and (2) εἰς ἄν πάλιν ἔλθωσι.

§ 2 l. 17. δομοι—in spite of the guarantee; cf. c. 49, 1 n. (Vollgraf brackets as a dittography from βωμοῖς.) καθιεσθεν ἐπὶ βωμῶν, ἀναστῆσας (= ἀναστήσας πεῖσας), and κατατίθεσαι εἰς are technical in this connexion. With ἀναστῆσας ὀστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι cf. ἀναστήσαντες ἐφ᾽ ὥ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν I. 126.

19. μέχρι οὗ without ἄν, as in Herod. (μέχρι οὗ is not used in verse). M.T. § 620.

§ 3 l. 21. προσεκτήσατο—the common object, as usual, accomplished to the partic., πέμψας.

§ 1 l. 4. ἐνδιέτρυψαν—Steep thinks that we should read ἐνδιατρυφαὶ or remove, mainly because τοῖς μὲν . . . ἐλαχίστων gives the result of the slowness in both parts of the voyage; more prob. Thuc. would have written ἐκομισθῆσαν below, but altered the form of the sentence at that point to add the result of κοιμισθεντες in λαξανόουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις—for the ships could not have been detected by the Athenians ἐκ τῆς πόλεως so long as they were on the Peloponnesian coast (there was no Athenian fleet out there now).

6. τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 'Α.—those remaining at home in contrast with those at Lesbos. (The attempt to fix upon any definite fleet seems to be a mistake. Ships in port may, of course, be meant.)

7. πρὶν δὲ τῇ Δῆλῳ ἔσχον—though no actual neg. precedes, the whole effect is neg.; cf. c. 104, and M.T. § 635. With the dat. constr., which is poetical, for ἐς or κατά, cf. c. 5 αὐτοῖς . . . ἀφικνείται, (which is nearer to the dat. of interest), and c. 33, 4. After leaving Delos they had no fear of A. ships.

8. Ἐκάρω καὶ Μυκόνῳ—The goal ultimately reached is mentioned first, as not uncommonly.

§ 2 l. 11. ἡμέρας δὲ . . . ἐλαχίστων—lit. ‘M. now reckoned seven days’; cf. i. 13, 4. Herod. II. 145 Ἠρακλῆς διὰ φανταλοὶ ἐναὶ ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασίν, Xen. Hell. II. 1, 27 ἡμέρα ἦν πέμπτη ἐπιπλέοντος τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι. The insertion of μᾶλιστα even with small numbers is a mannerism of Thuc.

14. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων—‘under the circumstances.’
30 § 1 l. 4. ὠστερ ἔχομεν—‘as we are,’ without change of plan, here implying ‘at once,’ but not always so: the meaning implied depends on the context.

§ 2 l. 5. ἀνδρῶν depends on τὸ ἀφυλακτον, equivalent to τῶν: the gen. with neut. adj. or partic. as noun is a common constr. with Thuc.

7. καὶ πάνυ—‘most certainly,’ ‘undoubtedly,’ as in 11. καὶ πάνυ ἐλπίζειν: here in contrast with εἰκὸς δὲ .

8. καὶ ἡμῶν ἢ ἀλκή τ. μάλιστα οὕσα—the version ‘where our strength chiefly lies’ is open to the objections (1) that the fleet was not stronger than the Athenian fleet at Lesbos; that could not for a moment be maintained after Phormio’s exploits; and (2) that the strength of the Pel. fleet, being unknown to Α., could be no reason why there should be πολὺ τὸ ἀφυλακτον on the part of the enemy. Another rendering is ‘where defence happens to be in the main our rôle,’ but I cannot find that ἀλκή is ever used for ‘the defensive’ in opposition to ‘attack’; it means, on the contrary, ‘defence or resistance’ in opposition to ‘flight or submission’—something positive, not negative. In spite of the objections, the first rendering is prob. right; the reasoning that Thuc. puts into the mouth of speakers is not always exact: the strength of the Pel. is not intended to be compared with that of the Α., and should have been referred to in an independent sentence, but the love of antithesis has led to the connexion of ἐκεῖνοι τε . καὶ ἡμῶν. τυγχάνει οὕσα marks the circumstance as unusual, and the real comparison is between the military and naval strength of Alcidas.

11. ὡς—‘conscions that.’

§ 4 l. 16. Reading τὸ καὶνῶν τοῦ πολέμου, lit. ‘the strangeness of war is just this sort of thing’; i.e. the carelessness of the victor with the corollary of a sudden and wholly unexpected attack. In φυλάσσοντο and ἐνορῶν only the carelessness of the victor is kept in view, but that the corollary is included in τὸ τοιοῦτον is proved (1) by the vague inclusive pron. in place of τοῦτο, (2) by τὸ καὶνῶν, which could not mean τὸ ἀφυλακτον merely, but must include τὸ ἀπροσδόκσητον. (Steup conjectures τὸ καὶνῶν, ‘where war shows itself notoriously impartial’: this makes the sentence easier to understand, but I do not think καὶνῶν impossible. Many edd. see in τὸ καὶνῶν a reference only to sudden attack—τὸ προσπέειν ἄφρω: I do not understand how καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν can be explained on this view. τὸ κενῶν, ‘the vanity,’ is as tolerable as τὸ καὶνῶν in itself, but is more likely to be a mistake for τὸ καὶνῶν than vice versa.)
17. δ—governed by φιλάσσωντο and ἐνορῶν, or perhaps—in strictness—αὐτό is supplied from it to ἐνορῶν, for the position of τε does not make this impossible.

§ 1 l. 3. οἱ Δέσβιοι—for these see cc. 4, 4, 5, 4.

8. ἀπίδα δ᾽ εἶναι—sc. ἀποστῆσαι.

ἀκούσιως—i.e. 'no one was unwilling to see them come,' the adverb applying to οὐ δειν, not to the subject of ἀφίχθαι: cf. Soph. Ἀντίγ. 70 εὐδ ἄν ἡδέωσ (sc. ἐμοὶ) δρψ̄ς μέτα.

9. καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον... ύπέλαβοι—parallel to ἀποστῆσαι, 'that they might gradually draw away this which was the main source of A. revenue.' Not 'one of the chief sources'; and the position of ταῦτην renders a second τὴν unnecessary. The φόρος from the Carian and Ionian cities is meant; they had been grouped together and treated as one since 436 B.C., and the lists in C.I.A. vol. i. show that this combined φόρος was the largest item in the Athenian πρόσοδον. (ἡν before ύπέλαβοι can scarcely be right: the loss of the φόρος would be the necessary outcome of the revolt of Ionia, and could hardly be stated as an independent condition of what follows, however that be understood.)

10. καὶ ἄμα... δαπάνη γίγνεται—'and at the same time, in case the Athenians should blockade them (in the Ionian port), the Athenians might be put to expense.' (A majority of MSS. gives ἡν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτὸς—or αὐτοὺς—δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνεται, i.e. 'if the Peloponnesians should blockade the Athenians, they (the Pel.) might have a fund to draw on, viz. the φόρος.' The objections to this are, as I think, (a) ἡν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοὺς is too vague: surely the Lesbians and Ionians cannot be thinking here of a blockade of the Attic coast—c. 15, 1—and an undertaking of such magnitude—see c. 16, 1—could not possibly be suggested in this casual way—and the alternative explanation, that the proposal is that Alcidas shall 'maintain a squadron of observation in Ionian waters,' with a victorious Athenian fleet of equal numbers at Mytilene—cf. especially c. 33, 1—is out of the question. (b) It is true that δαπάνη can mean 'money for spending,' where the context makes the drift clear, but it is hardly possible that δαπάνη τῷ γίγνεται can mean anything but δαπανᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν, according to the idiom; and there is force in Krüger's remark that the previous sentence here decidedly suggests the idea of 'loss.')

12. Πισσοδοθεύνη—Ionia and Caria were included in his satrapy. As Persia claimed and did not receive tribute from
the Greek cities, it was by no means unlikely that the satrap might be induced to aid the enemies of Athens.

§ 2 l. 13. τὸ πλείστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχε—'strongly inclined to,' 'regarded it as decidedly best,' like the Herodotean πλείστος γνώμην εἶμι.

14. Μυτιλήνης ύστερήκει—'too late for' means here 'too late to help,' as in Xen. Ages. 2, 1 ὡς ύστερησει τῆς πατρίδος.

§ 32

§ 1 l. 1. παρέπλει—down the coast of Ionia.

§ 2 l. 5. ἐσ τὴν Ἑφεσον—though part of the Athenian empire, E. could not hinder the fleet from entering the harbour.

6. Σαμίλον—the Samian exiled oligarchs living on the coast opposite Samos; cf. c. 19.

7. οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν—that she was the Liberator of Greece was the claim of Sparta in the war, her ἀξίωσις τῆς ἀρετῆς (i. 69). The most striking comment on this claim comes in Xen. Hel. iii. 5, 13, in the speech of a Theban at Athens thirty years after this time: οὖς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανερῶς εἰσε ἐξηπατηκότες; ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλειάν παρεσκήκασιν.

8. εἶ διέθειερεν—(1) εἰ in the sense of ὅτι or ἐπει, (2) for διέθειερεν, where we expect διαφθειερε, see M. T. § 691.

χειρὰς ἀνταρμομένους—so Herod. vii. 209, Xen. Cyr. v. 4, 26 εάν τις δύπλα ἀνταρμομένα τοι.

§ 3 l. 15. ὅρωντες γὰρ—showing how it came that Alcidas had so many prisoners. The connexion is a little loose.

18. μὴ . . παραβαλεῖν—the inf. appears to be fut.; the μὴ is produced by the preceding neg. and might have been omitted; the constr. is unusual. παραβάλλω intrans., as with δια-, ἐσ-, etc.

§ 33

§ 1 l. 3. ὧφθη—pluperf. in sense; he must have touched at Clarus while sailing from Embatton to Ephesus.

4. Σαλαμίνιας καὶ Παράλον—for the two state triremes see a dict. of antiquities.

§ 2 l. 10. τῆς Εὐρυθραίας—see c. 29.

13. καὶ ὡς—although, by the defenceless condition of Ionia, it was easy to stay. ἀρα with reference to παραπλέοντες.

15. αὐτάγγελοι δέ—it is better, with Classen, to regard ἀρείχιστον . . πόλεις as a parenthesis, and this sentence as a direct continuation from καὶ πανταχόθεν.
NOTES

§ 3 l. 19. οὐκέτι ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνετο—sc. ὁ Ἀλκίδας, ‘was clearly no longer to be caught’; cf. vi. 60 ὡς οὐκ ἐν πάλη ἐφαίνετο (τὸ πάργμα). (I do not venture to disturb this traditional explanation; but I think it possible that Paches is the subject of ἐφαίνετο, and that ἐν κ. ἐ. means ‘was clearly likely to catch him’; cf. c. 15 ἐν καρτοῖ φυγκομιδῇ ἡσαν.)

21. μετεώροι—sc. ταῖς ‘Ἀλκίδου ναοίν.

οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι ... παρασχεῖν—’they were not caught anywhere and (so) compelled to entrench themselves and to cause the Athenians the trouble of guarding and blockading them.’ For παρέχειν with words denoting trouble cf. vii. 70 ἐκπληκτείν τε καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἁκοῆς παρέχειν, and πράγματα π.

§ 1 l. 1. πάλιν—‘back,’ see εἰπαρχότερει, ‘turned back,’ above. 34

2. κατάκηντο—cf. i. 120 ἐν πόσῳ κατακεκλείουσιν. Thuc. uses the mid. forms only in the perf. and pluperf.; so Herod. Notium was the port of Colophon. Aristotle tells us that Colophon and Notium were not well suited to form a single state: hence στάσις. It was an exaggerated case, he says, of Athens and the Piraeus; and the Piraeus is more democratic than the city. Now Colophon had been under an oligarchy of the rich; and at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, this oligarchy, it appears, wanted to get the city out of the hands of Athens, and invited in the ‘barbarians,’ favouring, apparently, reunion with Persia. The majority migrated to Notium, but a fresh στάσις broke out, and one party got help from the satrap Pissuthnes and was joined by the oligarchs from Colophon. The expelled democrats now sought aid from Paches. (We do not know who Itamanes was.)

5. κατὰ στάσιν ἱδίαν—ἱδίαν cannot mean ‘intestine,’ and ἱδία, ‘by one of the parties,’ is very probable; cf. c. 2. It is possible, however, that ἱδία means ‘confined to Colophon,’ not extending to Notium.

6. μάλιστα—‘about.’ The date is 430 B.C.

§ 2 l. 9. οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δὲ—partitive apposition.

10. ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδων—i.e. Arcadian μισθοφόροι. They served as mercenaries already in the Persian wars, and are familiar as such in the expedition of the Ten Thousand. The mercenaries must have been in the service of Pissuthnes.

11. ἐν διατείχισματι—a place divided by a wall from the rest of the town. διατείχισθειν is ‘to separate by a wall.’ With the force from Pissuthnes came also the pro-Persian party from Colophon, which was now part of the citizen body of Notium.

§ 3 l. 16. τῶν: the ms. τῶν is a form of mistake that is frequent in similar passages in mss. of Xenophon.

19. οὖν after προκάλεσάμενος involves an anacoluthon, like that of II. vi. 509 οὖν δ' ἀγάλαθην πεποιθῶς | μίμφα ἐ γοῦνα φέρει: but it is not usual in Homer. Here we have a sing. nom. followed by two contrasted subjects. For the opposite form, a plur. nom. followed by only one subject, cf. II. iii. 211 ἀμφω δ' ἐξομένω γεραρώτερος ἦν Οδυσσεύς.

22. προσδεχόμενων—the subst. to be supplied, as in i. 3 ἐπαγομένων αὐτοῦς, II. 52 ἐναποδησκόντων (sc. ἀνθρώπων). Cf. c. 55, 1.

§ 4 l. 28. οἰκιστὰς—the ‘oecists’ or ‘founders’ settled the government and started the new colony, as was usual. Cf. vi. 5 οἰκισθῇς γενόμενος κατάφυς Καμάριαν.

35 § 1 l. 2. As regards Pyrrha and Eresus see c. 18. For Salamis see c. 25. For the Mytilinaeans in Tenedos, c. 28.

§ 2 l. 9. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς—the dat. of accompaniment, frequent with words like στρατός and ναῦς.

36 § 1 l. 3. παρεχόμενον—'propose,' 'put forward.'

§ 2 l. 7. γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο—'offered various opinions' or 'made proposals,' in the Assembly, of course.

10. ἐπικαλοῦντες—anacoluthon, as though a personal constr. had preceded. Cf. ii. 53 θεῶν φόβος οὐδεὶς ἀπείργε, το μὲν κρίνοντες, vi. 24 ἔρως ἐπέπεσε . . . ἐνεπίδει τυντες, Eur. Hec. 971, αἰδώς μ' ἐχει . . . τυγχανοῦσα.

11. τῶν τε ἅλλην . . καὶ προσευνελάβοντο—(1) they reproached them with revolting under specially grave circumstances, οὐκ ἄρχόμενοι; (2) their rage was largely due to the appearance of a Pel. fleet on the Ionian coast. As the sentence stands it is illogical, since τῶν τε ἅλλην should be followed by something like καὶ διὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπηγάγοντο. (As to Classen's insertion of καὶ after ἀπόστασιν—on which there has been some subtle argument—we may regard it as possible, but scarcely necessary.) For the change from partic. to finite verb cf. v. 61 βουλόμενοι ἅλλως τε . . καὶ διηρήσαν. It is frequent in Herod.

13. προσευνελάβοντο—for this reading cf. iv. 47 ἐνελάβοντο τοῦ τοιοῦτον οἷς ἥκιστα οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατάδηλοι δυτες. The emphasis is, of course, on the partic. (τολμῆσασαί), as often. οὖκ ἐλάχιστον is adverbial. The other reading, προσευνεβάλετο,
'contributed,' to έ. (sc. μέτος) τής ὅρμης being object,—cf. Ath. Pol. 19 συνεβάλλετο οὖκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν τής ὅρμης—is defended by iv. 25 αἰτιον δὲ ἢ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεπώντες and viii. 9 αἰτιον δὲ ἐγένετο . . οἱ πολλοὶ οὖκ εἰδότες, but the present instance goes further.

15. οὖ γὰρ ἀπὸ βραχέος διανοιαῖ—'it was no small design, they thought, that had led them to revolt,' viz. the design of bringing about a revolt of Ionia with the aid of the Pel. fleet.

§ 3 l. 18. ἀγγελον—pred. to τρήρη.

§ 4 l. 20. μετάνοια τις—τις is often added thus to words expressing feelings that rise half involuntarily, as with ἔρημη, δικός, κατήφεια ('dejection'), φεῖδω ('reluctance').

21. ὁμον . . αἰτίον—in the tragic style, and unusually rhythmical for Thuc. (πέφεινε τὸ εἴδος, says Hermogenes): the sentence breaks into two corresponding halves after τόλῳ, μέγα being elided and ἢ οὖ, of course, counting as one long.

22. μᾶλλον ἢ οὖ—ἡ implies a negative, and any sentence implying a neg. is apt to be strengthened by an expressed neg. (Μ.Τ. § 815): cf. ii. 62 οὖ' εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν μᾶλλον ἢ οὖ . . ἔλγυρφησαι.

§ 5 l. 24. πρόσβεις—c. 28.

25. τῶν 'Αθηναίων—the order as in c. 22, 5.

παρεσκέονσαν—'got them to.' οἱ εὖ τέλει are the 'government,' i.e., presumably, the Strategi, who, in time of war, could have a special meeting of the Ecclesia summoned.

26. αἰθίος γνώμας προθείναι—'allow a fresh debate': to re-open a matter that had been settled in a recent meeting of the Ecclesia seems to have rendered the person responsible to impeachment; but the Ecclesia, as the sovereign power, could by a majority of course do anything, provided that the Prytanies and the president of the meeting consented to submit a proposal for discussion. (The evidence on the point is doubtful; but the account here given reconciles the various passages that bear on it.)

28. ἐνδήλον ἢν—the personal constr., esp. common with δῆλος.

29. τίνας—'persons': after τοὺς εὖ τέλει we should expect αὐτοὺς; but the speakers, rather than the officials, are referred to. A special Assembly (σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία) was summoned for the purpose. (G. Gilbert, B. zur innern Geschichte Athens, 142, assigns the debates on Mytilene to the end of the official year
428-7. It is probable that Cleon was in that year Strategus, having replaced Lysicles the προβατοτώλης, who had been killed in Caria in the winter. Busolt, however, places the debates in the first πρυτάνια of the following year, 427-6, when Cleon and those like him were replaced in the στρατεία by Nicias and Laches, men strongly opposed to Cleon. In either case, it is obvious that party-feeling must have run very high just at this time.

§ 6 l. 32. τῇν προτέραν—sc. γνώμην, 'proposal,' from γνώμαι above: νικᾶν is 'to carry,' as in νικᾶ ἔτερον ψηφίσμα Φιλοκράτης, Aeschin. iii. 63. (I do not think that the sense of γνώμη shifts here from 'views' to 'decree,' and that consequently τῇ προτέρᾳ 'on the previous day' should be read.)

33. βιαύσατος—this is the first time that Thuc. mentions Cleon, though he had been rising for some time. The views of him expressed by ancient authors, whether as politician or as orator, are almost uniformly unfavourable. As regards Thuc.'s opinion of him, and the following speech, see Introd. p. xxxvii.

37 § 1 l. 2. δημοκρατίαν—object of ἔγνω, but in sense subj. of ἀρχεῖν. ἀδύνατον, 'incapable of,' the neut. as in Homer's οὐκ ἄγαθὸν πολυκορανὶ.

3. ἐν—of the cause.

§ 2 l. 6. ἀδεῖς καὶ ἀνεπιβουλευτοῦν give the same thing from two sides: you neither fear your neighbour nor cause him to fear you.

8 τι ἐν . . . ἀμάρτητε ἦ . . ἐνδώτε—we know too little of the working of the Athenian empire to specify acts of clemency on the part of Athens. From what we do know we should say that Athens was severe enough; but we must remember that the standard of the times was very different from ours: any right that Athens did not take from her allies she regarded as a privilege granted to them. οὐκτὸπ is parallel to λόγῳ πεισθέντες; supply αὐτοῦς to ἐνδώτε.

9. ἐπικινδύνως . . . ἐς ὑμᾶς—the emphasis is on this: hence the dislocation of the order. Tr. 'you think that such weakness does not . . . bring danger to you.'

10. οὐκ ἐς τὴν . . . χάριν—'without gaining the gratitude'; they take a concession as a sign of weakness.

11. τυραννίδα ἔξετε τὴν ἀρχήν—repeating words attributed to Pericles at ii. 63.

12. καὶ πρὸς . . . ἀρχομένους—parallel to τυραννίδα, the constr. with πρὸς (after ἀρχή) like φιλία or πόλεμος πρὸς.
13. oï—very weakly supported by ms. evidence. There is a similar case at IV. 10, where the mss. give τὸ δισεξάπτων ἰμέτερον νομιζὼν μενόντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἐξυμμαχον γίγνεται, but Dionysius quotes the passage with δ μενόντων etc. Without the rel., we must assume an exegesis of ἄκουτας ἀρχομένους with asyndeton.

14. ἐξ ἀν...περιγένησθε—for ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀν, internal accus. to π., 'as a consequence of the superiority you have established over them by strength (hinting at the successive reductions to the status of tributary subjects) and not by their willing obedience.' εὔνοια, as Arist. Ell. ix. 5, 3 says, δι' ἀρετήν καὶ ἐπιείκειαν τινα γίγνεται, ἦταν τῷ φανῇ καλὸς τις ἡ ἀνδρεία.

§ 3 l. 18. ἀν ἄν δόξῃ πέρι—for περὶ ἐκείνων ἀν ἄν δόξῃ, 'as regards measures that we have passed.' Thus the neut. nom. ἀν is here attracted as in VII. 67 βλάπτεσθαι ἄφ.os ἀν ἡμῶν παρεκκεύονται. In (ἄ) ἄν δόξῃ the allusion is to ψηφίσματα passed in the Ecclesia.

χείροςι νόμοις...ἀκοῦσι—it has been thought that there is an allusion here to definite νόμοι that forbade a psephism to be reconsidered, perhaps within some fixed period (cf. n. on c. 36, 5); but the reference seems more general. (The objection that Cleon would, if there were such an allusion, definitely threaten a γραφὴ παρανόμων has not much force, for (1) Thuc. does not deal in the technicalities of Attic legal procedure, which were not of sufficiently 'universal' interest for him, with his view of history; and (2) in vi. 14 sqq., where Nicias alludes to some rules about the re-discussion of a psephism, Alcibiades, in his rejoinder, makes no capital out of the rules at all—does not even allude to the point.) Arnold thought that the psephism under revision is itself meant under νόμοι, and that the confusion is meant to be intentional on Cleon's part. It is best, I think, to consider the passage intentionally vague and rhetorical: revision of psephisms leads easily to revision of laws in a democracy. This general application is borne out by ἀμαθία τῇ κτλ., which would be an odd addition to a clause containing a precise reference.

19. κρείσσων ἐστίν—the personal constr. : 'it is better for a state to have.' (This explanation is strongly supported by φέλειμωτέρον (sc. πόλει) and ἄμεινον οἰκονοι τὰς πόλεις. Classen says 'is stronger'; but the point is what is good for a state, not what a state can do.)

20. ἀμαθία μετὰ σωφροσύνης—'ignorance when combined with self-restraint,' no doubt a hit at the πεπαιδευμένοι, and the sentiment so outrageous to an educated Athenian, that we
must assume that it was really uttered by Cleon in substance. For the evil results of ἀμαθία note the following passage (Euripides, ἱματ.):


σωφροσύνη and ἀκολασία are often contrasted in the language of popular philosophy: εὐθύμησε τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν . . . τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαι γιγαμεύεναι, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην τῶν ἀγαθῶν, Isocr. de pace § 119. In οἱ τε φαυλότεροι κτλ. we meet a sentiment that is frequent in Euripides.

23. πρὸς—‘as compared with.’

§ 4 1. 25. τῶν τε νόμων σοφότεροι—hence they despise the laws: a reference back to μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα etc.

26. τῶν τε αἰεὶ . . . περιγλένσθαι—the τε . . . τε puts the contempt for laws and the opposition to all counsel on the same footing as joint parts of their conduct. περιγλένσθαι, ‘to get the better’ of it, by opposing it.

27. ὡς ἐν ἀλλοις μείζονι . . . γνώμην—‘as though they could not find any greater subject on which to display their talent’; the subject in debate is just the one, they think, on which they are qualified to give an opinion. (Cf. vii. 64 οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἀλλῷ μάλλον καίρῳ ἀποδειξάμενος.)

31. ἀδυνατότεροι δὲ . . . λόγον—in form exactly parallel to the preceding clause; but τοῦ καλῶς εἰσόντως is certainly possessive gen. to λόγον, together with which it refers to τῶν αἰεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν above. To ἀδυνατότεροι supply ὃ οἱ ἐξωεντότεροι.

33. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστοῦ—‘fair,’ free from personal bias, cf. c. 42; more often ‘on equal terms.’ For ἄγνωστης as a ‘rhetorical prize-fighter,’ Bloomfield cites several exx.

34. ὀρθοῦνται—‘have a prosperous course’; cf. particularly πολὺς of Thuc., 60 πόλιν ὀρθουμένην ἀὐτός ἀραμὲν. Here ὀρθοῦνται τὰ πλείω corresponds to πολλὰ σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις above. There is an exactly similar passage in Soph. Antig. 673-6. (The rendering ‘judge rightly’ is certainly wrong.)

§ 5 1. 34. ὡς—for οὕτως, usually only with καί, οὔτε, μηδὲ, in prose.

36. παρὰ διδαχ—‘contrary to our opinion,’ not, as in the other cases in Thuc., ‘unexpectedly.’ (The conjecture παρὰ τὸ
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δόξαν, ‘contrary to what has been decided,’ is plausible; but I agree with Bloomfield that this is not really in point here: it is not borne out by τῶν αἱ ἵνα λεγομένων . . . περιγίνεσθαι and τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος μέμψασθαι λόγον.)

§ 1 l. 1. ἕγω μὲν ὁ ἀυτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ—similar words are attributed to Pericles, π. 61.

6. ἀμβλυτέρα—‘with anger more dulled,’ when there is delay.

ἀμύνεσθαι— for (τὸ) ἀμύνεσθαι as in Aesch. Ag. 191 παρ’ ἄκοντας ἤλθε σωφρονεῖν, and elsewhere in Thuc. The addition of κεῖμενον (and perhaps ὅν) makes the omission ugly and unusual. Cf. the schol. εἰ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι τῷ παθεῖν ἐγγὺς τεθεῖν.

8. ἀντίπαλον ὅν . . . ἀναλαμβάνει—‘is most adequate when it recovers satisfaction’: the main emphasis on the partic., as often. If ὅν is omitted, ἀντίπαλον agrees with τιμωρίαν—cf. ἀμβλυτέρα τῇ ὀργῇ above—and both form and sense are improved. (Hude reads τοῦ παθεῖν, takes κεῖμενον as accus. abs., ‘when it is proposed to take vengeance,’ and makes ὅν παθῶν subj. of ἀναλαμβάνει, omitting ὅν with Haase. But what is the point of saying κεῖμενον ἀμύνεσθαι where the sense calls for ἀμυνόμενος?) Some think ἀναλαμβάνει should be λαμβάνει or ἄν λαμβάνοι, as in δίκην, τιμωρίαν, λαμβάνειν.

9. θαυμάζω δέ κτλ.—there might be reason in opposing the vote, if it were shown that either (1) the revolt is advantageous to Athens; or (2) though troublesome to us, it is indirectly a gain because it does harm to the allies and renders them less an object of fear to us.

§ 2 l. 14. τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν—‘the universal opinion of men’: he must try to prove a paradox. (According to another view, the allusion is to the psephism. But (1) τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν, ‘what is generally agreed upon,’ would hardly be a true description of the vote; and (2) τὸ δόξαν would certainly be natural.)

15. κέρδει—a suggestion of bribery: the charge was a common one against public men, and was often true. The contrast in ἥ . . ἥ is between an opponent who wants to show his skill in oratory and one who is bribed to mislead. ἐκπονήσας is co-ordinate with πιστεύεις, and ἐπαιρθέμενος gives the motive that prompts him ἐκπονεῖν.

16. τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ λόγου—‘what is plausible in the words.’ The whole of this section is a hit at the bad side of the new rhetoric: it is piquant, because Cleon himself indulges in
rhetoric freely: this elaborate comparison to an ἀγών of rival rhetoricians is itself full of it.

§ 41. 21. θεατάλ μὲν . . . ἔργων — 'spectators of words and hearers of deeds' is an artificial way of saying: you are content to take the facts from what the orators say, and look on at the debates, thus inverting the natural order of things at an ἀγών, in which one would watch the athletes' deeds and listen to the literary men's words: so badly do you, who are at once the directors and the people attending, manage the ἀγώνες. (The explanations usually given of this passage do not seem to me to give an intelligible meaning to the whole: (a) κακῶς ἀγωνοθετεῖν does not mean 'to be wrong in instituting a contest,' but 'to do so in the wrong way'; cf. the second and third failings—ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι and ἐγγιόντες ἄλλο τε κτλ.: all indicative of a topsy-turvy mind and (b) only with the latter meaning—which is a natural one—does οἴνινες κτλ. give an intelligible reason.)

23. ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι—'as practicable': sc. ὄντα, cf. vi. 40 τοῦς λόγους ὡς ἔργα δυναμένους κρινεί.

24. τὰ δὲ π. ἡδη—sc. σκοποῦντες.

οὐ τὸ . . . ἀκουσθέν, 'not taking what has been done as more trustworthy through having seen it, than what you have heard (about it).' (It has been objected to διδαί that we need ἀκροάσει or ἀκοῇ to contrast with it; but the whole clause corresponds to ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι, and = ὡς τὸ ἀκουσθέν πιστότερον ὅν ἢ τὸ ὁφθέν: τὸ ἀκουσθέν ἑαυτὸ contains the contrast to διδαι: instead of saying τὸ ὁφθέν, Thuc. says τὸ δρασθέν in order to introduce again the contrast between ἔργα and λόγοι—δρασθέν and ἀκουσθέν.)

26. ἐπιτιμησάντων—the readiness of speakers to criticize adversely the action of public men, if opponents, is often insisted on; but it is odd that Cleon, who was ever ready to censure, should talk so.

§ 5 1. 27. μετὰ κανόνητος—equivalent to a dat. of cause, as 1. 32 μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτία: cf. c. 42, 1.

ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι—sc. ὄντες, co-ordinate with κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, the second way in which you are αἴτιοι: εὐπαράγωγος εἰ, θωπευόμενος τε χαίρεις καξαπατόμενος, Aristoph. Επ. 1115.

28. μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου—sc. λόγου, 'when an approved argument is stated'; ξυνεπεσθαὶ means 'go with the speaker.' (Another way is to take ξυνεπεσθαὶ μετὰ closely together, 'to follow the lead of': I prefer the former.)
29. δούλοι οὖν κτλ.—the whole down to ἀποβησόμενα is expository of ἀρσωτοὶ (οὖν).

§ 61. 30. καὶ μάλιστα μὲν—co-ordinate with δούλοι οὖν. Βούλεμενοι would have made the sentence more symmetrical, but cf. already Πιαδ 19. 656 οἱ δὲ ἐκαστὸς ἐλῶν οὐκ εἰς.

32. ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τὸις τοιαύτα λέγοντι—i.e. τοῖς τοιοῦτος ῥήτοροι, who applaud that one of their number who happens to be speaking; ‘t'ying with speakers who use such arguments,’ viz. άτομα. (It is objected to τοιαύτα that it cannot be referred to τα ἄτομα only, after what has preceded. But it is to be noted that ὑπερβότα ὡς τῶν εἰσωθησεσ is merely parenthetical: had there been a μὲν after δούλοι, the objection would have been serious.)

33. τῇ γνώμῃ—not to lag behind the rest ‘in insight.’ To understand ‘plan’ or ‘purpose’ of the speaker (γνώμῃ governed by ἀκολουθήσαι) is not so good, because it is the external form, not the meaning, that rivets their attention.

34. δζεύς with λέγοντος, because λέγοντος τι cannot here mean ‘says something important or sensible.’ On the other hand, δζεύς, when taken with λέγοντος, is rendered ‘shrewdly,’ ‘cleverly’; but (1) δζύ, adj., would be natural, and (2) it seems that λέγειν δζεύς means not ‘speak shrewdly’ but ‘speak rapidly’; it is only with words denoting mind that βραδύς, δζύς mean ‘slow,’ ‘quick’ of wit. I should prefer to render ‘when any one is speaking rapidly.’

προεπανέσαι—sc. δοκεῖν, generally understood ‘to approve’ it before it is uttered, but perhaps ‘to be first with their approval.’

35. πρόθυμοι εἶναι—this may depend on ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι or, more probably, on δοκεῖν, but, in either case, (εἶναι) βραδείς does not give very good sense, and can hardly be excused on the ground that the main emphasis falls on πρόθυμοι εἶναι; for—to mention only one objection—προαιρήσθαι and προνοῆσαι are plainly meant to be equal in importance. We require εἰσωθῆτε to make sound sense. The best solution proposed is to consider καὶ before προαιρήσθαι and εἶναι as spurious: the whole would then be closely connected with προεπανέσαι.

§ 71. 37. ξητοῦντες τε κτλ.—again going back to αὕτοι ὁ’ ἕμεις, ‘seeking something different—one might almost say—from the world in which we live;’ dreamers.

39. ἀπλῶς τε—a resumption of the substance of the whole sentence.
40. σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς καθημένους—’men sitting as spectators at a display of sophists,’ as shown in the Protagoras, for example.

39 § 1 l. 1. ἄρα—neut. (θεαταῖς is pred.; but as the comparison is between θεαταῖ and βουλευόμενοι, καθημένους is possibly, as Lincke says, interpolated.)

3. μὲν πόλιν—cf. c. 113, 6.

§ 2 l. 4. οὖτινες—the dat. antecedent omitted. Distinguish between οὖτινες μή and οὖτινες οὐ below.

7. νήσον . . μετὰ τειχῶν—thus secure against enemies. The contrast to the previous sentence is stated in inverse order: subjection—compulsion; security—freedom. This is a common arrangement of clauses in Thuc.

9. εν ψ . . of their condition. καὶ αὐτοὶ—independently of our help.

13. ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀπέστησαν—an armed rising contrasted with a secession; but the application of the contrast to the circumstances of Lesbos is not exact, since ἐπανάστασις implies a dominant power, which Athens ex hypothesi was not.


15. βλαίων τι παραχώντων—this is far-fetched; and the implied contrast about ἐπανάστασις would too obviously not hold: hence the statement of it is suppressed.

17. καίτοι—’surely.’

καθ’ αὐτούς—’by themselves,’ not μετὰ τῶν πολεμω-τάτων στάντες.

18. κτώμενοι—probably conative.

§ 3 l. 19. παράδειγμα δέ αὐτοῖς—as παράδειγμα means example, both as a warning and as an encouragement, it might have been applied to both clauses with οὗτε; but the second has taken an independent form, cf. c. 96, 3.

τῶν πελασ—’of others.’

22. τὰ δεινά—often of the dangers of war.

23. τὸ μέλλον—’the future’ ἧ το παροῦσα.

24. μακρότερα . . βουλήσεως—’having come to hope for
what was beyond their strength, but less than their ambition. Clearly what they hoped for was the destruction of Athenian power—εἰς ἡμιάς διαφθείρας. But how was this ‘less than they wanted’? What more could they want? Probably we have here a sample of Cleon’s exaggeration and abuse, and no definite meaning is to be looked for. It is enough for his purpose that the Lesbians had wanted to revolt sooner than they did (c. 2). (Herbst’s explanation, Zu Thuk. p. 82, that μακρότερα means the power of Mytilene, and ἔλασσω that of Athens, seems far-fetched, and his rendering of τῆς βουλήσεως is scarcely intelligible.)

26. ἐν — ‘the moment that.’

γάρ—justifying the charge that they put might before right. They had suffered no wrong, and they chose a time when Athens was in difficulties.

§ 4 1. 28. άις διὰ — Ἰλβη— the clause forms the object to τρέτευν. μάλιστα καὶ δι’ ἐλαχίστον, ‘most fully and most suddenly,’ refers to the moment just alluded to in ἐν φήμης; it was καιρὸς ὡς οὔτω πρῶτοι, c. 13, 3. The revolt was not really the unpremeditated thing that Cleon represents it to have been. The ἀπροσδόκητος εὑραξία refers to the difficulties in which Athens was. (The objection to δι’ ἐλαχίστον that the change of fortune on the part of the Mytilenaeans was not sudden, but was gradually brought about by the events of the war, rests on a confusion of facts and the rhetorical presentment of them.)

30. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ — εὐτυχοῦντα ἀσφαλέστερα—‘in most things prosperity according to calculation is safer than prosperity that is a surprise.’ It is an extraordinary explanation that makes τὰ πολλὰ, after the schol., adverbial accus., and κατὰ λ. εὐτυχοῦντα equivalent to τὰ . . . εὐτυχοῦντα. The constr. intended is clearly ἀσφαλέστερα (έστι) τὰ πολλὰ εὐτυχοῦντα: εἰ εὐτυχεῖ: cf. II. 13 (ἐφή) τὰ πολλὰ κρατεῖσθαι. And there is no doubt about the reading being right: εὐτυχία, a stable condition, is in contrast with εὑραξία, a single event (cf. I. 33); a calm life unmarred by misfortune constituted εὐτυχία (cf. II. 44). Of course παρὰ δέξαν (εὐτυχοῦντα) gives a different and paradoxical meaning to εὐτυχία. This doctrine of Cleon seems to be based upon the philosophy of life professed by his opponent Nicias. Cf. v. 16, of Nicias, δίασωσασθαί τὴν εὐτυχίαν.

33. ὡς εἰπεῖν ῥᾶν—‘almost more easily.’

§ 5 1. 34. χρῆν δὲ—they would never have gone so far in
their indulgence in ὑβρίς had we long ago kept a tighter hand on them.

35. μηδὲν διαφέροντως τῶν ἄλλων—the adverb (EM) is better than διαφέροντας, and has, at any rate, as much ms. support as χρῆν just before, and it has, in addition, the support of the text of the schol. and of Dio Cassius.

37. καὶ ἄλλως—‘in other cases as well,’ making the application general.

§ 6 l. 40. τοῖς μὲν ὄλγοις . . . τὸν δὲ δῆμον—the oligarchical government had caused the revolt.

43. οἷς γ' ἐξῆν—as this sentence refers especially to the δῆμος, it would be better, perhaps, to put πάντες . . . ἔπεθεντο in a parenthesis—unless, with Stahl, we understand πάντες (οἱ τοῦ δῆμου) and ὑμοίως (τοῖς ὄλγοις).

44. πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι—‘reinstated in their rights.’ For the sense of πῶλες cf. IV. 106 πόλεως τε . . . στερεικόμενοι.

46. βεβαιότερον—sc. τοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν κυνδύνου.

§ 7 l. 46. τῶν τε ἐξμμάχων σκέψασθε . . . τίνα οἴσεθε ὄντινα οὐ—(1) the old explanation of this passage (given by Goller, for instance) was that τίνα οἴσεθε ὄντινα οὐ was equivalent to ἐκαστὸν. c. 46, 2, where τίνα οἴσεθε ἰπτινα οὐ is independent, is strongly against this. Classen said that οἴσεθε merely repeats σκέψασθε owing to the length of the sentence; and this is accepted by subsequent edd. Classen’s view involves also an anacoluthon, since σκέψασθε would be followed by τὸς ὅστις οὐ with ind., not by τίνα ὄντινα οὐ. Against this view is to be urged (a) the complication of the constr. introduced by σκέψασθε, (b) the gen. τῶν τε ἐξμμάχων, which, as Classen says, depends not only on τοῖς . . . ἀποστάσις, but also on τίνα οἴσεθε ὄντινα οὐ, so that Thuc. had a clear view of the constr. from the start. It is not unlikely that σκέψασθε is meant to be parenthetical. (2) τὸς ὅστις οὐ is treated as a single word.

52. παθεῖν—a second subject to γ'.

§ 8 l. 53. ἀποκεκινδυνεύσεται—‘we shall find exposed to utmost peril.’

55. τῆς ἐπετα προσόδου, δι' ὧν ιοχύομεν—the relative clause applies to τῆς προσόδου only, the revenue generally, not to τῆς ἐπετα π., the future revenue; hence ἐκείθεν or ἐπετείου has been conjectured for ἐπετα, which the schol. already had in the text. Neither conjecture wholly removes the difficulty;
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and so δι’ ἣν ἰσχύομεν is thought by some to have been brought in here from the very similar passage in c. 46, 3. It would be better to read ἰσχύομεν, ‘through which we may support our power.’ τὸ λοιπὸν is pleonastic after ἐπείτα, and perhaps belongs to δι’ ἣν ἰσχύομεν.

56. στερήσεσθε—‘will have to go without.’

§ 1 l. 2. προθέαναι—of the orators.

πιστὴν—‘hope relying on (the speaker’s) eloquence,’ is contrasted with ‘hope gained by bribery (of the speaker),’ cf. c. 38, 2; one speaker’s eloquence, another’s venality, may prompt him to take up the cause of Lesbos.

3. ξυγγύωμην ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται—‘that they will be excused for having erred humanly,’ i.e. through human frailty not deliberately: πῶς ἄν τὸ γ’ ἀκον πράγμ’ ἄν εἰκῶτος ψέσοις; Soph. OC. 977.

4. ἄκοντες—the ὦ applies to this also, but is attracted to the verb.

5. ξυγγύωμοι = ξυγγύωμης ἄξιοι, as also, perhaps, in iv. 98, but not elsewhere.

§ 2 l. 7. τότε—supply διειμαχεσάμην (the same idiom in i. 86 and vi. 60). But μὴ λύειν τὰ π., which came into question only in the second meeting, causes some difficulty. We must assume either (1) that the sentence is developed as it proceeds, μὴ λύειν τὰ π. not being supplied with τότε, or else, (2) that πρῶτον (διειμαχεσάμην) means that Cleon had already in the previous meeting seen that there would be an agitation for revision. (I prefer the second solution. Brevity would excuse προθεσθήμενα as applied to a vote to be passed. The voting at the first meeting must have been close; and c. 36, 3 suggests anxiety about getting it carried out. Krüger had noticed that τότε πρῶτον is unsatisfactory according to the usual explanation: I think there must be a point in πρῶτον, as in Aristoph. Eq. 339 πρῶτα διαμαχούμαι.)

10. ἐπιεικεῖα—‘generosity,’ ‘consideration for others.’

§ 3 l. 11. τοὺς ὁμοίους—variously rendered as ‘like minded,’ or ‘situated as we are,’ i.e. equals, not subjects. For the latter, it is claimed that εἰ δαγκής points to unwilling subjects; and sentiment so arrogant might well be attributed to Cleon.

15. ἐκουσται ἄγωνα—sarcastic, implying ‘if they must have their ἄγων’; cf. c. 38, 4.

καὶ μὴ—there is implied prohibition, hence μὴ. The
choice of the constr. is no doubt influenced by the previous καὶ μὴ.

17. τὸ παθὲν εὖ— the excellent return they will get is a bribe from the Mytilenaeans. It appears that a few years later Cleon himself was said to have made something out of the troubles of Mytilene.

19. καὶ τὸ λαοῦν— 'in the future as in the past.'

20. ὃμοίως . . . ὑπολειπομένους—the conjecture ὃμοίως seems to be clearly right. Even when ὃμοίως is rendered 'consistent' and taken as pred. with ὑπολειπομένους, it remains very awkward that ἐπιτηδείους and πολεμίους imply ἥμων, whereas ὃμοίως must imply ἐαυτοὺς. The previous ὃμοίως used in a quite different sense in this series of closely connected sentences is against the adj. ὃμοίως τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἡσσὸν is a Thucydidean way of saying 'just as must as before.'

§ 41. 22. πειθόμενοι μὲν—the steps of the argument, which is difficult to follow to ἀνδραγαθίζοσθαι and has given rise to much discussion, are as follows: (1) if you punish M., you will act as Justice and Interest alike demand; (2) it may be said that Justice is on their side and against you (ἐλ γάρ); (3) even if it is, you must follow the dictates of Interest (ἐλ δὲ δὴ).

24. οὐ χαριέσθε—because they will still hate you.

25. δικαίωσενθε— 'you will punish yourselves' (instead of them) by proclaiming to all that you have no right to exert authority.

26. εἰ γάρ—γάρ does not introduce the reason for the preceding statement, but = 'it is true that,' as in c. 43, 5 (Stahl in Rhein. Mus. 1901). οὐ χρεών is acc. abs. On the form of condition (cf. 1. 38, vi. 92) Goodwin points out that it is "a perfectly natural combination, each part having its proper force." If they were justified, you must have no right to your empire: εἰ δὲ δὴ . . . κολάξεσθαι (mid.) proceeds on this assumption. If you persist in ruling (τοῦτο δράν), even though you have no right to do so, then your interests require that you punish them, as you have others. The only alternative (ἡ = 'otherwise') is, you must give up empire: you must run no risks (ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου = ἀκινδύνως) and play an honourable part.

30. παύεσθαι . . . ἀνδραγαθίζοσθαι—Cleon echoes words attributed to Pericles at 11. 63. ἀνδραγαθίζομαι was, it would seem, in use among the aristocrats who favoured a peace policy; cf. for the noun with 'a political or social reference' c. 57, 1, 64, 4 (Neil, Append. to Aristoph. Eq.).
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§ 5 l. 31. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημω — viz. as that by which τά τε δικαια .. καὶ τά ζήμωφορα ποιήσετε — the one I recommend. (a) This is usually explained, after the schol., ‘the same that they would have inflicted on you had they succeeded.’ But (1) it is unlikely that ζημω would be used without explanation, of the destruction Mytilene had sought to bring on Athens: and (2) τῇ αὐτῇ can only be so explained by the assumption that the sentence, simple in form, is strangely confused in thought. We need such an addition as in II. 67 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι ϋστερ καὶ .. ὑπήρξαν. (b) Steppe explains ‘the same as you agreed to yesterday,’ but this seems a strange way of saying ‘uphold your decision.’ Also the reference in τῇ αὐτῇ should be found in the context immediately preceding; c. 62 τῇ μεντοι αὐτῇ ιδέα, VII. 39, 1. The reference in the version given above is, it is true, a little remote, but εἶ δὲ δῆ .. ἀνδραγαβίζεσθαι is practically parenthetical.

32. οἱ διαφεύγοντες — cf. οἱ διαβάλλοντες c. 4, οἱ ἐπαγγέλοντι II. 2, οἱ προδιδόντες II. 5. The temporal force is lost, and the partic. becomes a substantive. But the plot is referred to in aorist, as having preceded the escape.

§ 6 l. 36. μὴ ξύν προφάσει = ἀνευ προφάσεως ικανής Antiphon v. 22.

37. ἐπεξέρχονται καὶ διολλύναι — ‘follow up (the wrong they inflict) even to the length of destroying their enemy utterly.’ The mss. have διολλύναι, which can only yield a very artificial sense. Their own utter destruction is not what they seek. The inf. is of purpose.

38. ψφορώμενοι, ‘eyeing with misgiving.’ All edd. refer to the famous ‘odisse quem laeseris’ of Tac. for the sentiment.

39. ο γὰρ .. παθῶν — this applies to Athens, which has been attacked ἀνευ προφάσεως. ‘He who has been injured needlessly is more dangerous when he has escaped (the plot to destroy him), than an enemy on equal terms,’ i.e. where equal offence has been given on both sides. Mytilene knew Athens would be implacable if she escaped.

§ 7 l. 42. γενόμενοι .. τῇ γνώμῃ — ‘place yourselves in thought as near (the moment of) the injury as possible, and (think) how.’ γ. τῇ γνώμῃ = διανοηθέντες (I. 143). (Possibly τότε is lost after παντός.)

44. ἀνταπόδοτε, ‘repay.’ Cf. “Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord: I will repay.”

45. πρὸς τὸ παρόν αὐτίκα with μαλακωθέντες, ‘at their present plight,’ for τὸ αὐτίκα παρόν: the position of the adv. is
not very rare in tragedy, e.g. Aesch. *P.V. 1013 τῷ φρονούντι μη καλῶς* (Jebb on Soph. *O.T.* 1294). Here αὐτίκα gains emphasis in contrast with ποτέ by its position. For the pleonasm edd. compare i. 95 ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι, i. 123 τῶν ἐπειτα μελλόντων. (παρανυτίκα has been conjectured for παρόν αὐτίκα, and τότε for ποτέ.)


50. τόδε—ὅθε referring to what precedes, as often in speeches.

41 § 1 l. 2. Διόδοτος—not elsewhere heard of.

42 § 1 l. 3. μεμφομένους—equivalent to μεμφομένοις καὶ δειμών-τας, the brachylogy being made easier by the preceding τοὺς προθέντας τὴν δ.; the persons censured.

5. δόο . . ὅργην—some make τάχος τε καὶ ὅργην subj. of εἶναι, removing the comma, comparing cc. 40, 2, 57, 3, 75, 1. The parallels do not seem to prove the point.

6. τὸ μὲν=τάχος. This passage is directly aimed at Cleon, who had deprecated χρόνον διατριβήν, thus showing his own folly, and had displayed the vehemence to which the ignorant and shallow-minded are prone. γίγνεσθαι, 'to be found.'

§ 2 l. 9. μὴ διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γ.—'are not to explain affairs,' i.e. how they are to be conducted. λόγοι personified, like πειθό. διαμάχομαι as in c. 40.

10. ἵδια τι αὑτῷ διαφέρει—'he has some private interest.'

13. φράσας—'give guidance.'

14. τι αἰσχρὸν πείσας—'to carry a disgraceful proposal.' Cf. c. 59, 2.

15. οὐκ . . ήγειται—οὐ can appear after εἰ . . μὲν, provided the indic. is used, as in i. 121 εἰ ʻο μὲν . . οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, Xen. *Anab.* vii. 1, 29 εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμιαν ἥθελσαμεν κατασχεῖν.

16. εὖ δὲ διαβαλόν—Cleon got a name for skill in διαβολή, as several passages in Aristoph. *Equites* show.

§ 3 l. 17. χαλεπώτατοι δὲ . . ἐπιθετικὰ τίνα—'most difficult to meet are those in particular (kal) who by anticipation impute (to an opponent) a sort of rhetorical display to get money.' χαλεπώτατοι does not mean to exclude the εὖ διαβαλόν, who also—as the kal shows—is χαλεπώτατος as imputing to his opponent a desire to display his rhetorical skill; cf. c. 38, 2. But those who say that bribery is the motive are singled out.
The emphasis is on ἐπὶ χρήματι, which accordingly is in an unusual order: it belongs to ἐπίδειξιν. The point of τινα is that an ἐπίδειξις proper was not delivered in the Ecclesia.

20. ἥξυνετότερος . . ἀδικώτερος—'judged more of a fool than a knave.' The double compar. as regularly where two qualities in the same object are contrasted: ἰὼ στρατηγὸν πλέονες ἢ βελτιόνες.

23. μετὰ ἥξυνεσις—'besides his (seeming) folly,' a characteristic substitute for μετὰ τοῦ ἥξυνετος γίγνεσθαι.

§ 41. 27. ἄν πεισθεῖν—viz. the state. The change to plur. is made easy by the intervention of τῶν πολιτῶν.

§ 51. 29. ἀπὸ τοῦ Ισού, 'on equal terms,' is parallel to ἐκ-φοβοῦντα.

31. σώφρονα—a very moderate criticism of the dangerous tendency now manifesting itself in Athenian public life, since the death of Pericles, to give too much weight to the πιθανότατοι (c. 36, 6). σώφρον was esp. associated with those opposed to extreme democracy; cf. c. 62, 4. For τῷ πλείστα εὖ βουλευόντι, 'he whose counsel is generally good,' we should expect, at first sight, something like τῷ πιστὰ ἐξυμβουλεύοντι (conjectured by Weil), 'he whose counsel is followed,' in contrast with τῶν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης, in the sense, 'he whose advice is rejected'; cf. πεισάς and μὴ τυχών in § 3, κατορθῶν and ἐπιτυχῶν below. But in stating the principle that ought to be followed, the moderate Diodotus criticizes what the people professed to wish, viz. to reward good (not merely persuasive) counsellors. But in rewards the persuasive was mistaken for the good. And τῶν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης is no doubt intentionally ambiguous, for, in contrast with πεισάς, it does mean 'he who fails to carry his opinion'; but, in contrast with τῷ εὖ βουλευόντι, 'not fortunate in his advice' means 'wrong.' 'Who fails in counsel' will keep up the two meanings. Cf. Aesch. PV. 204 τὰ λόγοι βουλεύων πιθεῖν . . οὐκ ἡδυνήν. (The intentional ambiguity of this passage has escaped notice.)

32. ἄλλα μὴδ' ἔλεγεν—'but not to curtail . . either,' as might happen in the case of his being charged with corruption.

οὐκ ὅπως . . ἄλλα μὴδε—non modo (non) . . sed ne . . quidem. For the sentiment cf. Demosth. III. 18 οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα; ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τούτων αἰτιάσωθ.}

§ 61. 36. πρὸς χάριν—'to please' the people.
37. ὁρέγοντο—sc. ἦκιστα ἄν. τῷ αὐτῷ is explained by χαριζόμενος κτλ.

§ 1 l. 2. καὶ ὑποπτεύομαι κτλ.—'if a mere suspicion that a man is speaking for gain, and is offering the best advice in spite of it.' We cannot render 'though he offers the best advice, he does so for gain,' as is commonly done, for the μὲν-clause must be our though (cf. Jebb on Soph. OC. 1536). But there is no need to supply ὄφει from ὑποπτεύομαι to suit the δέ-clause if we notice that μὲν . . . δέ is inserted merely for the sake of a verbal antithesis, and that the sense is simply κέρδους ἐνεκα τὰ βελτιστὰ λέγειν.

4. φθονήσαντες . . . κερδῶν—'feeling jealous of the uncertain impression of his gains,' i.e. jealous of his supposed gains. That his advice is helpful is ex hypothesi certain.

6. τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα—the same constr. c. 58, 1.

§ 2 l. 6. καθέστηκε δέ—'it has come to this, that.' ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέου is opposed to ἀπάτη below.

9. τὰ δεινότατα . . . πείσαι—'to get the most atrocious proposals adopted.'

§ 3 l. 12. μόνην τε πόλιν κτλ.—'so we are the only state which it is impossible to benefit openly, without recourse to deception.' It is disputed whether μόνην πόλιν means (1) 'a state alone,' as distinct from the individual citizens, or (2) '(ours) is the only state which,' as pred. to ἡμᾶς supplied. The latter is surely right, for (1) Athens is contrasted with ἡ σώφρον πόλις in c. 42, 5, and this contrast is kept up through c. 43, 1, and (2) there is no suggestion in the context that the state is more suspicious than the individual.

διὰ τὰς περινολας—'excessive shrewdness,' by which it thinks it detects self-interest in the honest speaker. The word only here.

14. ἀνθ-ὑποπτεύομαι—'is in return suspected.'

§ 4 l. 15. χρὴ δὲ . . . σκοποῦντων—'but in dealing with the most important interests and in such a case as this it ought to be assumed that we speakers take a somewhat wider forecast than you whose view is circumscribed,' i.e. whose judgment is formed in a short debate. τι with περαιτέρω, as in μᾶλλον τι, ἐν τῷ τουῷδε: its possible meanings are 'at such a time,' and 'in such a case.'

18. ὑπεύθυνον—a speaker was liable to the γραφὴ παρανόμων.

19. πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον . . ἀκρόασιν—'as opposed to your attention to it, which is irresponsible.'
NOTES

§ 5 l. 21. σωφρονέστερον ἄν ἐκρίνετε—'you would be more circumspect (cf. c. 42, 5) in your decisions' (II. 40, 2).

22. πρὸς ὁρνήν ἡντιν ἄν τύχητε—'in the anger of the moment.'Grammatically ξημοῦντες is supplied to τύχητε, and πρὸς, according to a common idiom, is repeated to ἡντινα; but no doubt the speaker would not be conscious of such ellipse. ἡντινα without ἄν is according to epic idiom; but it is very probable that ἡντιν ἄν is the true reading. (No other emendation is to be thought of: ἴν τί ἄτυχητε is impossible, if only because ἄτυχειν in this context means 'to fail in a request.' Nor must σφαλέντες be supplied to τύχητε: for this would mean that punishment is inflicted in the same mood as that in which the error was committed. But that is not the point.)

25. εἶ ὅστιν.

§ 2 l. 5. ἵν τε καὶ ἄν—for εἶν most edd. accept εἶν= 44 'I shall not bid you) spare them.' ἐχοντας, sc. ἀποφήνω, is a conjecture for ἐχοντες, and unsatisfactory. The correction is uncertain, and it is doubtful if οὐ κέλεσαν can be supplied legitimately. It is likely that something is lost before εἶν: e.g. Bergk suggested οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄξιοι ἄν εἰγγνώμης.

(eἰν as exclamatory which Classen, with some doubt, kept, is impossible. Its use is in assent to what precedes and in passing on to a new point: it is not appropriate here.)

§ 3 l. 11. τοῦτο δ ὁ is rendered 'as for this that.' (1) There is no authority for this phrase used adverbially in this way: hence the conjecture τοῦτα, governed by τάναςτια. Otherwise we must assume an anacoluthon. (2) But CG read τοῦτο φ, and quite possibly this is right. τοῦτο ἀντὶσχυριζομένος φ Κλέων ἱκνυρίζεται.'while maintaining this in opposition to what C. maintains' (cf. τοῖς έγκλήμασι ἀντεροῦντες I. 73). Περὶ τοῦ .. ἔχοντος is then exegetical of τοῦτο, just as ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν .. ἑσεθαι is of φ (=έκειν ό δ). Both insist on the future, but one on τὸ ἔμφερον, the other on τὸ καλὸν.

14. προθείσι—depending on ἐμφέρον (ὑμῖν), conditional.

§ 4 l. 19. πρὸς—'in view of.'

21. τῶν δικαλῶν—'arguments of justice,' as in Demosth. de Cor. 6, 9. To δείν and χρησίμως ἔξουσιν supply ἦμών.

§ 1 l. 1. θανάτου .. πρόκεινται—θανάτου gen. of definition. 45 ζῆμια πρόκεινται (see crit. note) is more likely in view of πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν below. To πολλῶν .. ἀμαρτημάτων supply 'as the penalty.'

6. τῷ ἐπιβουλεύματι—instrumental.
§ 2 1. 7. πόλις τε ἄφισσαμένη—'so in the case of a state.'
8. τῇ δοκήσει—'in its own opinion.' An effective reply to Cleon's argument from the fact that M. had taken Athens at a disadvantage.
9. τοῦτω—revolt.

§ 3 1. 12. ἐπελ. . . γε—not a common combination; Iliad ix. 425 ἐπελ οὐ σφίσθην ἢδε γ' ἐτοιμή, Pind. Ol. ix. 40 ἐπελ τὸ γε λοιδορήσαι θεοῦς ἔχθρα σοφία. The γε merely emphasizes διεξελθήθασι.

13. προστιθέντες—'continually adding to them.' For εἰ πῶς with a perf. preceding see M.T. § 489, esp. Aristoph. Av. 120.

16. παραβαινομένων—there are two tenable explanations of this: (1) impersonal gen. abs. as in 1. 116 ἐσαγγελθέντων M.T. § 848, 'transgressions being committed'; (2) sc. τῶν μεγάτων ἀδίκημάτων, which would be internal accus. to παραβαίνω in the act. form, as in ἀδικώ ἀδίκημα. The matter is rendered impossible of certain solution by the perplexing καὶ τοῦτο παραβαίνεται. We expect, of course, the sense 'mild penalties being disregarded,' and presently, 'the death penalty is disregarded,' but how this can be got out of the Σκ. as it stands is not apparent, unless we take an etymological sense of παραβαίνω, 'pass by,' which is found occasionally in the orators, and interpret τοῦτο below as put loosely for ἡ ἡμια τοῦ θανάτου. Against this is not so much the fact that Thuc. does not elsewhere use παραβαίνω thus, but much more that παραβαίνω ἡμια is stranger than any instance in the orators and that the proximity of ἀδίκημάτων makes it unnatural.

18. καὶ τοῦτο δῆμος παραβαίνεται—the conjectures are (1) καὶ τοῦτῳ (Krüger) 'and under these circumstances,' with παραβαίνεται impers. But it should be εἰν τοῦτοι (cf. Jebb on Soph. Ant. 39); εἰν τοῦτῳ = 'meanwhile,' or 'in this point.' (2) καὶ ταῦτα, sc. τὰ ἀδικήματα (Hude; cf. 2 above). I should prefer καὶ ταῦτα 'and the same offences are committed.'

§ 4 1. 19. δεινότερον . . δός—'a terror more terrible'; cf. vii. 68 ἔχθροι καὶ ἔχθιστοι.

20. ἡ τόδε γε—'else this,' with emphasis on the second alternative (Neil on Aristoph. Eq. 413). Notice τόδε after τοῦτο, not very rare; e.g. Soph. Ant. 296.

ἡ μὲν πενία κτλ.—to πενία is opposed the power—ἐξουσία—that results from wealth. A poor man is emboldened by necessity, as a rich man is made covetous by insolence and pride.

23. αἱ δ' ἄλλαξεντυχίαί . . κινδύνους—'the other condi-
tions of life,' as they arise—temporary rather than permanent: these fill men with a sudden passion (ὀργή), 'as each (ευνυχία) is overpowered by some irrepressible power'—such e.g. as an overwhelming desire for independence. ὀργή τῶν ἀνθρώπων corresponds to τὴν τόλμαν παρέχοντα and τὴν πλεονεξίαν π. of the other clauses, while ἀνήκοστον τι corresponds to ἀνάγκη and ὑβρις καὶ φρόνημα. Of the many alterations proposed, only τὸν ἀνθρώπων for τῶν ἀνθρώπων needs notice. It is not an improvement; for there is a point in τῶν ἂν, 'passion in those men' whom they befall, αἰτεῖσθαι there, like πλεονεξία and τόλμα, and ready to be called out by a favourable ευνυχία. (Not 'man-kind,' which would here be ἀνθρώπων, as ὀργή is without article. It has been proposed to refer ἐκάστη τις to ὀργή, but this would leave ευνυχίαι too vague, and there would be little point in ἐκάστη τις.)

§ 5 l. 26. ἐπὶ παντὶ—'in every case' of those just alluded to; cf. ἐπὶ οὗδεν τῶν τοιούτων Demosth. xxi. 65.

ὁ μέν—first comes Desire, next Hope—and then the attempt. Note the personification here.

27. τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφροντίζων—'thinking out the plot.' The schol. has ἐγκαθησάμον on this word, so that the writer of it must have found ἐπιβολήν, 'attempt,' which most mss. give, the only objection to which is that the subst. is not found elsewhere in this sense before Polybius.

28. τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης—'suggesting the ready help of Chance.' Hope deludes them into a fancy that at the critical moment Chance will favour them. Though a subjective gen. does not occur with εὐπορία elsewhere, τῆς τύχης is plainly subjective here; cf. vii. 61 τὸ τῆς τύχης κἂν μεθ’ ἥμῶν ἐπίλογας στήναι, v. 113. (τύχη cannot = 'success' here, cf. § 7, nor 'their fortunes.')

30. οὔτα ἀφανῆ—i.e. ἔρως and ἐλπίς, 'because (not though) unseen.' Were they φανεραί, men would see that they could not be counted upon. As it is, πλείωτα βλάπτομεν by luring them on. Cf. v. 103 ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς (ἐλπίδας) καθιστάνται, and the next sentence.

§ 6 l. 31. ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς—besides ἔρως and ἐλπίς.

33. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεικτέρων—'even with insufficient means.'

34. οὐχ ἦσον—i.e. even more than men.

35. περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τε—sc. κινοῦντος. For the τε, which, though found only in C, is probably right, cf. iv. 80 ἐτοιμῶν δυτῶν τρέφειν τε καὶ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει σφάς ἐπικαλομένων.
36. μετὰ πάντων . . ἔδοξασεν—'each individual acting with the whole community . . rates himself considerably above the reality,' i.e. exaggerates his own strength. The reading of the best mss. is αὐτῷ for αὐτὸν. For δοξάζω with personal obj. cf. Xen. Cyr. v. 5, 46 ἀλκιμωτατος δοξάζεται εἶναι. ἄπλεον τι together.

§ 7 l. 33. ἀπλῶς—c. 38, 7.

39. πολλὴς εὐθείας, δόστις—'(it is a mark) of much simplicity, if anyone supposes.' Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 51 νομίζω προστάτου ἑργὸν εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, δὲ ἀν . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. It would be more usual to have πολλὴ εὐθεία (ἔστιν) δόστις, or εὐθεστατον δόστις.

§ 1 l. 2. ἔχεγγυφ—affording a good ἐγγύη, security that other states will not follow the example of Mytilene.

βουλεύσασθαι—'come to a decision.'

4. οὐκ—redundant.

5. δοτὶ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ—notice the regular order with δοτὶ and ὤς + superl.

§ 2 l. 7. καὶ ἀποστάσα—'when revolt has actually taken place.'

9. τὴν δαπάνην ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖν—here, naturally, the least is made of the terms dealt out by Athens to revolted allies who submitted. Independent allies, when reduced after revolting, had also to pull down their walls and to hand over their ships to Athens. In i. 98 Thuc. gives a summary of the treatment dealt out to them much less favourable to Athens. By ὑποτελεῖν is meant φόρου ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι.

10. τίνα ὄλεσθε ἡμῖνα—see on c. 39, 7.

12. παρατενείσθαι—'be strained to the utmost extremity.'

13. τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται—cf. i. 141 τὴν αὐτὴν δούλωσιν δύναται.

§ 3 l. 16. τῆς προσόδου . . ἀπ' αὐτῆς—the art. not repeated with a verbal substantive (πρόσοδος—προσεῖναι). The words necessary to complete the sense of the subst. generally follow it, as in i. 18 τὴν κατάλειψιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, but occasionally precede, as in ii. 18 κατὰ τὴν ἀλλὴν πορείαν ἡ σχολαιότης.

18. τῶδε—viz. τῆ προσόδῳ.

§ 4 l. 20. ἀκριβεῖς—'exacting'; so in i. 99 Thuc. says ἀκριβῶς ἐπρασσοῦν of Athens in relation to her allies.

22. ἐς χρημάτων λόγον—ἐς λ. is 'on the score of.' The phrase occurs also in Lysias (xix. 61), and εἰς χρημάτα is found.
24. ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐπιμελείας—‘by practical precautions.’ Some render ‘by taking care of our actions’; but the former seems more natural, and cf. vi. 40 ἔργων φιλασσομένη.

§ 5 l. 26. ἀλεθέρον, by right; βία ἀρχόμενον, in fact. βία = ‘in its despite’; cf. l. 43 μὴ ξυμμάχουν δέξεαθε βία ἡμῶν, 63. Diodotus alludes to the true position of Lesbos; cf. c. 10.

27. πρός—‘to the side of.’

§ 6 l. 32. τοῦτο—i.e. τοῦ ἀφίστασθαι.

διὰ τὴν ἐλάχιστον—viz. of the inhabitants.

§ 1 l. 1. τοῦτο—internal accus., ‘in this.’

§ 2 l. 6. ἀποστήμασι—sc. τὴν πόλιν.

7. τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης—‘which is ranging itself against us.’

8. εἰ πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε—either ἐρχεσθε ἐς πόλεμον or ἐπέρχεσθε alone would be usual. Here we must supply αὐτῷ, and take εἰ of the end in view.

§ 3 l. 9. εἰ with fut. indic., ‘if you are going to.’

12. ἀδικήσετε . . . κτείνοντες—‘you will be guilty of the crime of’; a legal use.

13. καταστήσετε—‘bring about,’ unusual without a predicative adj.; cf. (Classen) iv. 92 πολλὴν ἄδειαν καταστήσαμεν.

16. προδεξάντων—‘as you will have published abroad.’

§ 4 l. 18. καὶ εἰ ἡδίκησαν, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι—‘even if they did wrong, to pass it over.’ μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, dissimulare, which occurs in several authors, is on the principle of σοφὴν.

19. δὲ—‘the element.’ Thuc. is partial to the neut. sing. collective for a masc. plur.

§ 5 l. 20. καὶ τοῦτο—τοῦτο anticipates ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθήναι: cf. vi. 85 καὶ ἡμῶν τοῦτο ὅφελε, οὐκ ἦν . . . ἀλλὰ ἦν . . .

22. δικαίωσ—i.e. as strict justice allows. δεῖ refers to interest, as in § 4.

23. τὸ Κλέωνος κτλ.—made in c. 40, 4: ‘Cleon’s claim, namely the identity of justice and expediency in the punishment, is found to be impossible of being realized at once in such a punishment,’ viz. ἐν τῷ διαφθείραι. The sentence is illogical, for either τὸ αὑτὸ or ἀμα should have been omitted.

§ 1 l. 1. τάδε—viz. the proposals about to be made.

2. πλέον νεῖμαντες—see c. 3, 1 n.
3. οὐδὲ ἐγώ—see c. 40, 2.

προσάγεσθαι—middle, as regularly in this sense; the indef. subject must be supplied.

5. ἀπέπεμψεν—see c. 37, 1.

6. καθ’ ἴσουξίαν—′calmly.’

§ 2 l. 8. τοῖς πολεμίοις—thinking of the Peloponnesians. That Athens should show wisdom (1) calmly judging the guilty, (2) acquitting the democratic party, would be more effective against her enemies than a hasty exercise of brute strength, of vis consili expers. πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους is to be taken with κρείσσων ἕστι.

10. ἐπιών—′if he goes to work.’

§ 1 l. 3. ἀντιπάλως—′equally matched’ (here, in argument), a common meaning of ἀντιπάλος in Thuc.

4. ἡλθον μὲν ἐσ ἀγώνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης—′engaged in a conflict of opinion after all,’ i.e. in spite of the revulsion of feeling (c. 36). ὅμως, as Poppo pointed out (Proleg. i. p. 290) implies a clause which is omitted; and, in spite of the remoteness of reference, the interpretation seems warranted by such passages as c. 28, and vii. 1. Some render τῆς δόξης ‘about the decree,’ but the gen. should express the feeling, as in νῦν ἀγών εὐφυχίας Eur. Med. 403, and βουλευμα or ψηφίσμα would be expected for ‘decrec’ here.

§ 2 l. 9. προτέρας—the best mss. have δεντέρας, as the result, no doubt, of an unfortunate conjecture, based on εἰ φθάσειαν below.

§ 3 l. 14. οἶνῳ. . . πεψυμαένα—′barley-meal kneaded with wine . . ’ into cakes, μᾶξα, of the kind called οἰνοῦτταν. φυρᾶν, not φύρειν, is the form of the word in this sense.

§ 4 l. 21. δοῦν . . . ἀνεγνωκέναι—′as for him to have read,’ like δοῦν ἀποζήν in i. 2. δοῦν practically = ῥοτε. 

23. ἐστέρα αὐτῆς—as this is predicative, the ἐπι- in the verb is pleonastic, if, as elsewhere, the verb =′is brought into port after.’ It is possible that ἐπι- implies haste, as in ἐπισοζθεῖν : we expect such an allusion here, and Steup suggests αὐτίκ’ for αὐτῆς.

24. παρὰ τοσοῦτον . . . ἡλθε—this and similar phrases—παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλλεῖν, παρ’ οὐδέν ὅ. . . are followed either by gen. or, more often, infin. ; e.g. Herod. ix. 33 παρ’ ἐν πάλαισμα ἐδραμε νικάν. παρὰ τοσοῦτον =′within, up to, so short a distance.’ κινδύνος
means the danger of destruction, and the gen. is the same as with ἔγγυς.

§ 1 l. 2. ἀπέπεμψεν—to Athens; see cc. 28, 35, 48.

5. χιλιῶν—the number is astonishing, and nothing approaching it is suggested by anything in the preceding narrative. Hence it is thought that \( \Lambda = \chi\lambda\iota\omega\nu \) is a corruption of \( \Lambda = \tau\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\tau\alpha. \)

§ 2 l. 8. κλήρους . . ποιήσαντες—i.e. the late owners became hereditary tenants and paid an annual sum to the Athenian 'cleruchs.' Thuc. (and Ephorus, as copied by Diodorus xii. 55) assume that all the land was thus divided, except that of Methymna: this would bring each κλήρος to about 96 acres (as Clinton says); but, of course, not the whole of the κλήρος would be under cultivation. Apparently all the land was owned by oligarchs. The new κλήρος would, of course, cut across the boundaries of former estates.

11. κληρούχους—2700 poor citizens chosen by lot. They doubtless served to form a garrison; but in 412 B.C. there cannot have been anything like this number of Athenians in Lesbos (viii. 22); it is assumed that many of the cleruchs subsequently returned to Athens.

13. ἐκάστον with κλήρον. The mid. denotes a reciprocal arrangement. ἀργυρίον is prob. object of φέρειν, and δύο μνάς with the gen. is in appos. to it.

§ 3 l. 15. τὰ ἐν τῇ ἤπειρῳ—several places called Ἀκταίαι πόλεις—Antandros being one. These became tributary allies.

§ 1 l. 2. Νικέων—first mention of him in Thuc.

4. ἡ κεῖται . . ἔχρωντο δὲ αὐτῇ—it is not usual to have the rel. repeated in the second clause (vi. 4 τὸ χωρίον ὅθε νῦν ἡ πόλις ἔστι καὶ δ ἑκὼν ἐπείχετο), unless the one is pos., the other neg., as in ii. 43 οὐκ ἐν ὡς κείνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ὡς ἡ δόξα καταλείπεται. In the second clause the rel. is often replaced by the required case of αὐτός. A similar omission or substitution is frequent in Lat., esp. in Livy, as xxiii. 8 cum quo steterat nec eum patria matres sententia depulerat. So, too, in Engl., as Hooker 'Whom though to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name,' Macaulay 'To whom she seemed to listen, but did not hear them.'

§ 2 l. 7. τῇν φυλακήν . . εἶναι—Athens had at least one φροτίριον at Salamis, and a few ships there maintained a not very efficient blockade of the port of Megara.

9. τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους—parallel to τοῖς τε Μεγαρείου
10. μὴ ποιώνται . . αὐτόθεν—viz. from Nisaea, the harbour of Megara. The allusion in αὐτόθεν is not quite the same as in the previous case.

11. τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον—'the previous incident' occurred in the autumn of 429 B.C. The Pel. intended to surprise the Piraeus, but contented themselves with a descent on Salamis, which caused great alarm at Athens, and led at once to measures for the protection of the Athenian harbours (Π. 93).

§ 3 l. 13. ἐλὼν οὖν . . προὔχοντε—when, as in the case of Megara (Π. 103), a city had long walls running down to its harbour, it was usual to prolong the walls across the month, and to leave only a small passage between two towers, forming what was called a κλαστὸς λιμήν. ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαλας προὔχοντε are to be taken together. The order is unusual, but (1) ἀπὸ τῆς Ν. gains prominence by its position (cf. Jebb on Soph. Antig. 325), (2) it is certainly not stranger than Π. 7 πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχοῦσαι εἰς Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τάκεινον ἐλομένοις, where εἰς. Σικελίας goes with ἐλομένοις. (If taken with ἐλὼν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ν. is rendered either (a) 'on the side toward Ν.,' or (b) 'on the side away from Ν.' But (1) in either case δυὸ πῦργω then raises a difficulty, because they are then both on the island, and above, it was one tower: (2) neither meaning has really been proved possible: in the passages quoted for (b) ἀπὸ = 'at a distance from,' with a verb of rest. If not taken with προὔχοντε, ἀπὸ τῆς Ν. would naturally = 'starting from Ν.,' with Ν. for a base; (3) with (a) it is impossible to explain καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, which must denote a different place from ἀπὸ τῆς Ν.)

15. ὡς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νῆσου—supply καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, as in Dem. de Cor. 26 τῶν μεταξὺ χρῶν τῶν ὀρκῶν, 'the interval between (that time, and) the oaths,' Aristoph. Aν. 187 ἐν μέσῳ δὴπουθὲν ἀحرف ἐστι γῆς, and often. Sometimes the other limit is expressed. (It might mean 'to the part of the island lying between,' as Isocr. IV. 70 ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς κόρας, but on the whole this seems less likely.)
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16. ἀπετείχξε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἦ. — 'he proceeded to build a wall on the side facing the mainland as well,' apparently at the island end of the bridge. The καὶ refers to πρῶτον.

§ 4 l. 20. καὶ ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ τείχος — the καὶ refers to ἀπετείχξε τὸ ἐκ τῆς ηπετρέπου. (We cannot be confidant about the interpretation of these operations at Minoa, because (1) the account— as is often the case with Thuc. when he writes of topographical details—is not clear, and (2) the coastline has changed, and there is no longer an island at all.)

§ 1 l. 3. πολιορκεῖσθαι — 'endure the siege,' a use of the inf. frequent with ἀδίκεισθαι, and found occasionally both in Greek and Latin.

§ 2 l. 8. εἰρημένον γὰρ ἤν — sce. βία μὴ ἐλείν. But this is just what the Pel. had tried to do in 429 b.c.: their views had changed.

11. ὅσα πολέμω χωρία ἔχουσιν — the original intention of Sparta had been to destroy the Athenian empire: since the failure at Lesbos they expect much less. That failure had evidently strengthened the peace party at Sparta.

14. λέγοντα — as in vii. 3; contrast ii. 85 πέμπουσι ξυμβουλίους κελεύσοντες.

εἰ βούλονται ... οὐδένα — in this perplexing sentence, it is best (1) to make παραδοθεὶν and χρῆσασθαι depend on βούλονται: (2) to make τοὺς τε ... οὐδένα the apodosis to this protasis. Then (1) τε ... δὲ correspond (i. 11, 1, 25, 3, vi. 83, 1, vii. 81, 3, and in other authors not very seldom); (2) κολάσεων = 'they are ready to punish,' unless we accept the conjecture κολάσεων. For the outline of the syntax cf. vii. 3 προτέμουσι ... λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται: εἰς εἶναι ... ἐτοίμοι εἶναι στένδεσθαι. (It is impossible to render εἰ 'whether,' as though λέγοντα were ἔρωτώντα.)

§ 3 l. 21. ἐν ὅσῳ — cf. c. 28, 1.

§ 4 l. 27. ἀγαθὸν τε — the second τε is not impossible, but, in view of 53, 2, 68, 1, it is improbable.

§ 5 l. 28. προτάβατος σφῶν αὐτῶν is generally rendered 'having appointed as their advocates,' but, in view of vi. 100 τριακοσίουσι σφῶν αὐτῶν ... προτάβαν (cf. c. 112 below), Hude is probably right in taking the gen. as partitive.

30. Ἀλευμνήστον — a celebrated man, who had commanded the Plataeans at Marathon and Plataea.

§ 1 l. 2. πιστεύσαντες ... οἴδαμεν ... καὶ ... δεξάμενοι ... 53 ἣγούμενοι — this series of participles is perplexing, and their
relation depends on whether (1) the sentence is meant to be antithetic, so that πιστεύσαντες καὶ δεξάμενοι form a pair, and οἶδεμενοι and ἡγούμενοι stand in causal relation to these respectively; or (2) οἰδεμενοι καὶ ἡγούμενοι give the two grounds of πιστεύσαντες, and ἐν (with the mss.) ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι is subord. —either conditional or causal—to ἡγούμενοι: or (3) the sentence is developed as it proceeds, so that (a) οἰδεμενοι καὶ δεξάμενοι—with either ἐν or ἄν ἄλλοις—give the cause of ἐποιησάμεθα, and ἡγούμενοι gives the cause of δεξάμενοι: or (4) with δεξάμενοι subord. to ἡγούμενοι, πιστεύσαντες is similarly subord. of condition to οἰδεμενοι. I decidedly prefer (3), because it gives a form of sentence to which Thuc. is certainly partial (Hache, de Partic. Thucyd. ii.); the main verb is followed by a partic.—here οἰδεμενοι καὶ δεξάμενοι—that gives the cause; then this partic. itself develops another causal to itself; cf., for instance, c. 110 ἀγγέλλεται τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπιβομπείων, βουλομένους ... ἡμιμείχαται, εἰδότας οὐδέν. The order of πιστεύσαντες tells against (1) and (4), and (2) is very artificial. The incoherence of § 1 is doubtless intentional, as in the case of the opening of Soph. Antig.

5. ἐν δικαστάς οὐκ ἄν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι—the mss. have ἐν ἄλλοις, and for the repetition of the prep. in apposition vi. 68 ἧλθον ἐπὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς is quoted. But (1) in that passage and others like it, such as Lysias vi. 14 ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐν τῷ σεμνοτάτῳ δικαστηρίῳ, we have a second noun added to explain the first (cf. Jebb on Soph. Trach. 695): this is not so with ἐν ἄλλοις here (so Krüger). (2) Taking constr. (3) as explained in the last note, ἄν δεξάμενοι, 'would have consented to appear before no other judges,' gives a better sense than δεξάμενοι.

6. ἀφπερ καὶ ἐσμέν—'as we are actually doing.'

§ 2 1. 8. ἀμφοτέρων—τὸ νόμμουν and τὸ ἱσον.

9. ἡμαρτήκαμεν—the subj. perf., of what may turn out afterwards to have been the case, might have been used.

13. λόγον—i.e. μακροτερα εἰπεῖν, c. 52, 5.

14. τὸ τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ἐν—accus. abs. co-ordinated with the preceding gen. abs., both expressing cause.

τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ is obj. of ἀποκρινασθαι; the infin. clause is subj. to γλύνεται. Hence ἐναντία, sc. ἡμῖν, is for ἐναντίον, which is awkward after τὰ ἀληθῆ: some think ἐναντίον should be read. (The other view, that ἀποκρινασθαι is epexegetic, ἀληθῆς ἀποκρινασθαι, is most improbable, and ψ is then grammatically impossible.)
15. τὰ δὲ ψευδή—sc. ἀποκρίνασθαι.
16. Ἑλεγχοῦν ἔχει—'can be confuted.'

§ 3 1. 18. εἰπόντας τι κυνινεύειν—'to say something and take our chance' = here 'to say something if we must risk our lives'; the emphasis, as often in Gk. and Lat., on the partic., as in i. 20 Βουλήμενοι δράσαντες τι καὶ ('then') κυ- 

νινεύσαν. Soph. OC. 1038 χωρῶν ἀπείλει 'threaten, but go,' Trach. 592 εἰδέναι χρῆ δρώσαν 'you must act, if you would know.'

ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος = τὸ τῶν λόγων μὴ ῥηθήναι, a frequent constr. in Greek and Silver Latin; cf. c. 66, 3, Demosth. Olynth. III. 34 οἷοι μὲνων βελτίων = τὸ μὲνειν αὐτῶν βελτίων ἔστε. See also c. 66, 3. The neg. in the phrase is regularly μὴ, whether the partic. is in attributive, or—as much oftener —in predicative position.

19. αἰτίαν—'grievance,' meaning probably 'self-reproach,' as in i. 140.

§ 4 1. 22. ἄγνωτες ... ἔπεσενεγκάμενοι— the subject contracts, being first both parties, but then the Plataeans only: this freedom is characteristic of Thuc.

24. πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα λελέχεται—'you know all that can be said.'

26. ἡμῶν with προκαταγνώντιες as well as ἀρετᾶς, 'having formed the prejudice against us, that our merits'; cf. c. 45, 1.

27. αὐτό—viz. τὸ ἰδίσιν εἶναι κτλ.

ἀλλοις χάριν φέροντες—'gratifying others,' viz. the Thebans. The subject of φέροντες would more naturally be the Lacedaemonians: if the text is sound—φέροντων has been conjectured—we recall the principle qui facit per alium facit per se.

§ 1 1. 1. δίκαια—cf. c. 44, 4.

πρὸς ... ἐς—no difference of meaning.

2. Θηβαιὸν = πρὸς τῶν Θηβαίων.

§ 2 1. 10. φίλους νομίζοντας = ei φίλους νομίζετε (ἡμᾶς).

§ 3 1. 11. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ—adverbial. The art. covers πρὸς.

§ 4 1. 15. καὶ γάρ—(1) this could be taken together, = etenim, or (2) a correlative for καὶ could be sought in what follows, or (3) καὶ could be supposed to emphasize the concessive force of
§ 5 l. 21. καὶ ὑμῖν . . . Ἰδία—as distinct from their services to the common cause.

22. ἄτετερ δὴ—‘at the very time when,’ in 464 B.C.

23. τῶν . . . ἀποστάντων depends on φόβος. For the position of the attrib. partic., not rare in Thuc. when other qualifying words are added, cf. II. 18 ἦ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμόνη γενομένη, c. 67, 3.

55 § 1 l. 4. δειμένων γὰρ ἔξωμαχίας—in 519 or 509 B.C. (see on c. 68, 5) Plataea, παρεχόμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων (Herod. vi. 108), applied to king Cleomenes to be admitted to alliance with Sparta.—Note (1) absence of noun with δειμένων, see c. 34, 3 n. : (2) gen. abs. though ἀπείσασθε follows, a common sacrifice of form to sense in Herod. and Thuc.; for this variety cf. II. 5 ἀναχωρήσαντων δὲ πάλιν (sc. αὐτών) ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀποδώσεων αὐτοῖς.

7. ἀποκοινῶν—for the case here cf. II. 8 ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιους, ἄλλως τε καὶ προεπιπτῶν.

§ 2 l. 7. ἐν . . . τῷ πολέμῳ—viz. ‘this war,’ as often in Thuc.

§ 3 l. 10. οὐκ ἱθέλησαμεν—ἐλὶ δὴ, hence οὐ.

ὑμῶν κελευσάντων—this occurred in 429 B.C., when the Peloponnesians marched against Plataea. The demand was that Plataea should either join the Lacedaemonian alliance or remain neutral.

14. ἐδὶ παθῶν—what services Plataea had received from Athens before she ‘won the alliance’ of 519 (or 509) B.C. is not known. τὶς, of course, means the Plataeans.

15. πολιτείας μετέλαβεν—this passage and c. 63 clearly imply that Athenian citizenship in some form was granted to Plataeans settling at Athens since the original alliance; and Isocr. Plat. 51, Pan. 49, Lysias XXIII. 2, and [Dem.] c. Neacer. do not make this assumption impossible. But in II. Thuc. speaks only of a ἔξωμαχία between Plataea and Athens, and possibly Thuc. here anticipates. It is certain that citizenship was conferred on the Plataean refugees after the destruction of Plataea. For the ὑν omitted see c. 51, 1 n.

§ 4 l. 17. ἄ . . . ἕξηγείσθε—ἄ is internal accus., and ἕξηγείσθε,
which is used of the orders issued by the head of a confederacy is imperf.

§ 1 l. 1. πολλά μὲν . . . ἡδίκησαν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον . . . 56 ξύνοιτε—the form of the sentence shows that Θηβαῖοι is purposely placed in a prominent place; cf. what the Plataeans say at II. 71 μετὰ Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῶν ἐχθριστῶν ἐπὶ δουλεία τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἥκετε.

§ 2 l. 4. καταλαμβάνοντας—conative.

5. ἱερομηνία—the attack occurred τελευτῶντος τοῦ μήνας (II. 2), but whether the holiday was connected with the new moon is unknown. The attempt was made at about ten o'clock (περὶ πρώτου ὕπνου) on the night, probably, of April 4, 431.

§ 3 l. 9. εἶ γάρ κτλ.—'if you are going to base your estimate of Justice on your present interest (which is, to favour Thebes) and their hostility.' The repetition of the art. before ἐκείνων would be more usual; but it is not necessary. The position of τε is defended by the contrast between ἠμῶν and ἐκείνων. λαμβάνειν is here 'to feel about' a thing. (Stahl and Classen agree in this explanation, which is no doubt correct.) For λαμβάνειν, 'to feel about' in a certain manner, cf. δὲ οἷκτον λ. (Eur. Suppl. 194), and c. 59, 1.

§ 4 l. 15. ἡμεῖς—sc. ἡμεν, as the sense shows.

16. μείζονι—viz. than you now are, from the Athenians.

§ 5 l. 23. εὖ καρποῖς οἷς—i.e. εὖ οἷς, according to a common idiom, e.g. Dem. xix. 342 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς (ἐφ') ἤπερ νῦν ἐξουσίας . . . μενεί. Το εὖ καρποῖς, as to μείζω, the partic. must be supplied; cf. c. 30, 1: contrast c. 47, 5.

25. μᾶλλον—i.e. than now when their services are forgotten.

τὰ ξύμφορα . . . αὐτοῖς—'arrange terms' which were to their own advantage in view of the invasion.' πρὸς τὴν ἥ. belongs to ξύμφορα rather than to πράσσοντες: cf. II. 3 ἦ ἑκαστὸν ἐφανεντο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔστασαν.

26. ἀσφαλεία—securely,' as in c. 82 ἀσφαλεία δὲ τὸ ἐπιθουλευθέντοι, 'to make plans in security,' Soph. OT. 51 ἀλλ' ἀσφαλεία τήνδ' ἀνόρθωσον πόλιν.

§ 6 l. 28. ὁν—partitive.

29. ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς—i.e. because we have again chosen τὸ ἀγαθὸν (cf. δικαίως presently) rather than τὸ ἀσφαλές (cf. κερδαλέως).

§ 7 l. 34. τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς κτλ.—lit. 'when, while feeling (εἴσομαι with ὅμως) lasting gratitude towards brave allies,
what is perhaps (πον) your interest at the moment is also secured.’ The chief emphasis is, of course, on the participial phrase, which states the permanent condition or test of the righteousness of pursuing one’s own interest. (The conjecture ἔχονσι for mss. ἔχωσι, which cannot be satisfactorily explained, seems certain. For the dat. τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς depending on a dat. ἔχονσι cf. [Xen.] de Rep. Ath. 1 6 τοῖς ὀμολογοὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἴν ἁγαθά ‘for those like themselves.’ It is impossible to find a subject for ἔχωσι, and Mr. Spratt’s rendering of τὴν χάριν ἔχουσί ‘command a recognition’ is incorrect. That this passage, however, is completely restored by reading ἔχονσι, it would be rash to assume.)

§ 1 1. 1. προσκέψασθε—as προ-σκοπεῖν always implies a look into the future, there is much to be said for the conjecture προσ-κέψασθε ‘consider besides’ here, for advice to consider the future has already been given in the preceding chapter. But as the Spartan reputation for ἀνδραγάθα was based on the venerated institutions of Lycurgus, they might be supposed to be specially sensitive about the future of that.

2. ἀνδραγαθίας—a merit for which Dorians especially valued themselves: here and at c. 64, 1 “the point is the special Dorian claim to an aristocratic strain of feeling and conduct” (Neil: see above on c. 40, 4). Perhaps ‘good breeding.’

4. μὴ τά εἴκότα—a neg. is not seldom placed before the article or preposition (οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ).

6. ἐπαινούμενοι—viz. as models of ἀνδραγαθία.

οὕτω—‘no more than you.’

9. ἐπιγνῶναι—after γνώσεσθε above, the ἐπι- can scarcely have its usual force, ‘to decide further’: the sense is probably merely ‘to arrive at a decision.’

§ 2 1. 12. τοὺς μὲν πατέρας . . . ψιμᾶς δὲ—‘if you, whose fathers . . .’, the first clause being subord. to the second. Generally δεῖνον is followed by εἰ in such cases.

13. τῶν τρίποδά—i.e. on the bronze pedestal of three intertwined serpents that supported the gold tripod set up at Delphi from the tithe of the Persian spoils dedicated to the Pythian god. It stood close to the altar before the temple. The pedestal was taken by Constantine to Byzantium, and still exists, with the names of the states inscribed on the lower part of the spiral. The tripod was appropriated by the Phocians. (Herod. ix. 81, with Stein’s notes.)
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15. \( \text{πανοικεσία} \)—after \( \text{πόλις} \) and \( \text{Πλάταιαν} \) this means (as Steup points out) 'with all its houses,' not 'household and all' as in \( \text{II. 16} \).

§ 3 l. 16. \( \text{τῷτο} \)—referring to what precedes.

18. \( \text{ἄπωλλύμεθα} \)—Plataea was burnt by Xerxes. The rendering 'we were all but destroyed' is borne out by other passages; e.g. Andoc. \( \text{de Myst.} \) § 41.

\( \text{ἐν} \)—as in \( \text{κρίνεσθαι ἐν} \).

19. \( \text{ἀγώνας} \)—'hazards.'

20. \( \text{τότε} \)—referring to the siege of Plataea, \( \text{τότε} \) being frequently used of a well-known occasion.

§ 4 l. 22. \( \text{περιεώσμεθα} \), 'we are outcasts.' \( \text{πάντων} \) is probably masc.; cf. \( \text{ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ} \) above.

24. \( \text{ἀτιμόρητος} \)—'unsuccoured.'

27. \( \text{βέβαιοι} \)—'faithful.'

§ 1 l. 2. \( \text{ξυμμαχικῶν} \)—i.e. the gods by whom the oath to be true to the alliance was taken.

5. \( \text{τὴν} \ \text{τὲ} \ \text{δωρεάν} . . \ \text{πρέπει} \)—'and (we call on you) to ask in your turn the favour of them—that you do not kill men whom it disgraces you to kill.' \( \text{ἀντι-απαιτήσας} \) means, in answer to the favour \( \text{they} \) have asked of you—viz. \( \text{κτείνειν} \) ἡμᾶς.

To this explanation rather than 'in return for our services,' \( \text{εἰ} \ \text{τὲ} \ \text{ἐπείσοδυν} \) and \( \text{ἀντὶ} \ \text{αἰσχρᾶς} \) (χάριτος) point, and this is the natural force of \( \text{ἀντὶ} \), as in \( \text{δρὼν} \ \text{ἀντιπάσχω} \) χρηστά, and so on; cf. \( \text{ἀντιλαβεῖν} \) presently. The subj. of \( \text{ἀντιπαιτήσας} \) is ὑμᾶς, and \( \text{ἀντὶ} \) means the Thebans. The \( \text{μὴ} \) after \( \text{οὗς} \) is because the rel. clause is subord. to an infin. In this series of four co-ordinate infin. clauses, the \( \text{second and third} \) have \( \text{τὲ} \), the \( \text{fourth} \) has \( \text{καὶ} \).

7. \( \text{σώφρονα} \)—from us, in contrast with \( \text{αἰσχρᾶς} \), from them.

8. \( \text{κακίαν} \)—'ill-fame,' character of \( \text{κακόλ} \), as e.g. in Soph. \( \text{Ant.} \) 924 quoted on c. 82, 8.

§ 2 l. 12. \( \text{κατ'} \ \text{ἀνάγκην} \)—as explained in c. 55, 1.

§ 3 l. 13. \( \text{ὁστὲ} \ \text{καὶ} . . \ \text{ποιοῦντες} . . \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{προοοῦντες} \)—this is not clearly expressed, for the \( \text{first} \) participial clause states what follows from the previous sentence; but \( \text{καὶ} \ \text{προοοῦντες} \) \( \text{κτλ.} \) contains a new point (\( \text{ἐκόντας} . . \ \text{προοοχομένους} \)), and should scarcely have been co-ordinated with \( \text{ἀδειαν} \ \text{ποιοῦντες} \).
14. ποιούντες—supply ἡμῶν: it is not clear whether ἡμῶν is similarly to be supplied to προνοούντες.

16. νόμος, the unwritten law; cf. cc. 66, 67. Prisoners who had not surrendered voluntarily were often killed. Appeals to the νόμος ἀγραφος, πάτριως νόμος, νόμιμα πάσης Ἑλλάδος are very frequent; and of course the Ἀντίγων is full of the ἀγραπτα κάσφαλη θεών νόμιμα. In Xen. Mem. iv. 4, 19 Hippias defines the ἀγραφος νόμος as οἱ ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ κατὰ ταῦτα νομίζομεν.

§ 4 1. 22. ἐσθήμασι—robes burned as offerings, probably, and not worn by the officials. The plur., joined with νομίμοις and ἀπαρχᾶς in this connexion, is surely mentioned as part of the ἐναγίσματα. Plutarch in Aristides 21, giving an account of the ceremony as performed in his day, makes no mention of robes among the offerings; but the details may well have been modified by his time. On the contrary, he does say that the Provost wore a purple coat and carried a sword; but the present passage does not read like a ref. to that. That clothes were burnt as offerings to the dead is well known, e.g. Eur. Hec. 573.

24. ἑπιφέροντες—specially used of offerings to the dead; ii. 34.

25. ξύμμαχοι .. γενομένοις—the object of the speaker is to emphasize the lasting effect of the old alliance and to say nothing of the alliance with Athens. ὄμαίχμοις is an old-fashioned word, perhaps intended to recall the old times.

§ 5 1. 32. αὐθένταις—as having sided with the Persians. Another old-fashioned word.

36. ἱερά τε .. ἀφαιρῆσεσθε—there are three difficulties here:—(1) ἐρημωθε, present, among a series of futures. This can hardly be defended by passages in which a single pres. and fut. are combined, such as ii. 44 οὐκ ἀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι. Stahl reads ἐρημωόντες after Göller; Steup proposes to leave the word out. If sound we must render ‘you are making desolate.’ (2) What is the constr. of τῶν .. κτισάντων? The natural answer is that it depends on ἀφαιρῆσεσθε (‘you will take from’), not on θυσίας. The objection, that the Plataeans will ex hypotesi be dead, is hardly serious, for τῶν .. κτισάντων includes the whole Plataean people of whom no small part was safe at Athens. Neither is there any need to render ἀφαιρῆσεσθε ‘you will deprive,’ a sense that ἀφαιροῦμαι no where has when the object is inanimate. (3) Is ἱερά or θυσίας the object of τῶν .. κτισάντων? My reason for preferring θυσίας is that θυσίας τὰς πατρίους must refer to commemorative
sacrifices to the gods founded after the victory of Plataea: otherwise the Lac. could have no interest in them, and the speaker could not seek to influence them by such an argument. These sacrifices are to the gods, and they were offered on behalf of Greece—ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Plut. Arist. 20, 21): hence the last sentence duly accords with ἡ λευθερώθησαν οἱ Ἔλληνες and ἔκρατησαν (οἱ Ἔλληνες). (The νόμιμα τῶν Ἐλλήνων are not in question here.)

37. ἐσσαμένων—this archaic form in place of ἐσαμένων has by far the best ms. authority, and perhaps is meant to accord with ὀμαίχμοι and ἀθένται.

§ 1 l. 2. τάδε—the conduct deprecated in the last c., which conduct is now summarized in οὔτε .. οὔτε.

7. οἶκτῷ σῶφρωνι λαβόντας—‘regarding (the case) with prudent compassion.’ The point of σῶφρωνι is given in ἀλλ' .. ξυμπέσοι. The obj. of λαμβάνειν in this sense is omitted also in vi. 61.

9. ἠς .. ξυμπέσοι—the subj. of ξυμπέσοι—το τῆς ξ.—is anticipated.

§ 2 l. 11. πρίπον—sc. ἐστί.

13. ὁμοβομίους; not found elsewhere; ‘having the same altars’ may mean either ‘worshipped at the same altar,’ of several gods worshipped together, or ‘having like altars’ throughout Greece; hardly ‘whose altars are common to all worshippers.’ The second suits the context best.

14. θ'—this is a necessary addition, as the passage cannot make a fresh start at προφερθμενοι.

15. μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν—Cobet pronounced these words spurious: the only constr. they can fairly bear is with προφερθμενοι ὥρκους, but, as ἡμεῖς is the subj. of the other infsns., this is awkward. (ὁμοσαν would require fut. or aor. infin.: order and the addition of τῶν π. τάφων are against ἱκέται γιγνώμεθα.) τῶν π. τάφων is rendered ‘by .. tombs,’ but the gen. can hardly be so understood with ἱκέται, on which it directly depends.

16. ὑμῶν—emphatic.

19. τοῖς ἱχθύστοις—sc. to your dead (not to us). “The dead are implored to prevent the Pl., their best friends, being surrendered to the Theb., their worst enemies” (Widmann).

20. ἢ .. ἐν τῇδε—ἐν should not be made to apply to ἢ, as this kind of idiom (Aesch. Sept. 1032 μητρὸς ταλαίνης κατο
21. πράξαντες . . κινδυνεύομεν — a compressed form of ἐπράξαμεν, νῦν δὲ κτλ. For νῦν we might have expected the εἶτα of inconsistency.

§ 3 l. 22. δόπερ δέ— the rel. clause qualifies πανόμενοι, for which we might have had ποιούντες.

24. λόγου τελευτάν—exegetical of δόπερ. The gen. with τελευτάν again in c. 104. If you 'begin' with a gen., you may naturally 'end' with one.

25. μετ’ αὑτοῦ—viz. τοῦ τελευτάν.

29. ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας— i.e. as we were before we capitulated.

30. τὸν ἐνυπνοῦντα— 'any that comes'; cf. ὁ τυχών.

§ 4 l. 35. ἰκέται δόντες— 'as suppliants.' The likeness of this peroration to the poignant appeals in Euripides should be noticed.

61 § 1 l. 2. καὶ αὐτοὶ— 'they on their part'; i. 51, Xen. Hell. vii. 1, 7.


6. οὐδὲ ἡπιαμένων— best taken as agreeing with αὐτῶν, 'and moreover when they have not even been accused.' The alternative, neut. depending on ἀπολογηθαν, 'of conduct that was far from being made a charge against them,' produces tautology with ὅν οὐδεὶς ἐμέχυσκε. καὶ ἅμα adds something of special importance, often in Thuc.; Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 25 καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίδας ἔχων.

8. πρὸς μὲν τὰ— cf. c. 82 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ. This is the ordinary order when a prep. occurs with ὁ μὲν or ὁ δὲ, e.g. Isocr. ii. 18 ἵνα τὰς μὲν φεύγωσιν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς προθυμότερον ἔχωσιν.

10. κακία referring to the κατηγορία, δόξα to the ἀπολογία καὶ ἐπανος of the Plat.: not ironical, as the schol., but the use noticed above, c. 58, 1. τούτων is masc.; cf. ἡμετέρα and ὁδοί below.

§ 2 l. 13. ἡμῶν— the Boeotian migration from Thessaly.

16. ἐνμείκτους— Pelasgians, Thracians, Hyantians (Strabo).

18. ἡγεμονεύοσθαι— i.e. to acknowledge the ἡγεμονία of Thebes in Boeotia.
20. προσηγαγόμενο—an attempt to make them observe τὰ πάτρια. See c. 65, 2.

§ 2 l. 5. οὖ belongs to μηδίσαι.

6. Ἀθηναλοὺς—attraction to case of αὐτοῦς.

1δέ—‘method.’

§ 3 l. 8. καὶτοι . . . εἴδει—‘you must surely consider the conditions under which.’

10. ἐπύγχανεν . . . πολιτείουσα—‘was in point of fact’: τυγχάνω, as often, not of a mere accident, but of the true state of things, as distinct from what might appear to be.

11. ἵσονομον—where all the nobles are equal, and their rights are fixed by laws. But in a διναστελα the few rulers are a law to themselves.

13. τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ—‘the best order,’ i.e. an aristocracy or moderate democracy. No doubt this is said with reference to the constitution of Thebes, as existing in 427 B.C., with its two Boeotarchs and four assemblies confined to τοῖς κεκτημένοις πλῆθος τι χρημάτων, as Theopompos or Cratippus says. (Several conjj. have been made on this unusual expression, e.g. τῷ σωφρονί πάντων Herw. : τῷ σωφρονεστέρῳ Hude.)

14. τυράννου—for τυραννίδος: so δῆμος for δημοκρατία.

§ 4 l. 15. οὔτοι . . . σχέσειν—‘these in the hope of winning power for themselves in yet greater degree.’

18. καὶ . . . ἐπραξεν—‘so the city as a whole could not control her actions when she acted so, and it is not fair to blame her, for any errors she fell into when she had no constitution.’

§ 5 l. 21. γοῦν—‘thus for example’; illustrative of the previous statement.

23. ἐπώνυμον τὴν τε ἀλλην Ἐλλάδα καὶ . . . πειρωμένων—as τε cannot mean ‘and’ here, but must be correlative to καὶ, it is clear that ἐπώνυμον governs τὴν . . . Ἐλλάδα, and that the introduction of πειρωμένων changes the constr. ; cf. cc. 67, 6, 94, 3 (so Steup).

26. ἐχώντων—after the battle of Oenophyta, 458 B.C. The battle of Coronea in 446 forced the A. to abandon Boeotia.

§ 1 l. 4. πᾶσης—‘any,’ inclusive, a common use of πᾶς and its derivative adverbs.

§ 2 l. 6. ἡμετέρα—objective; II. 42 τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωριαν. 8. τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς—adverbial, ἵνα ἡμᾶς τιμωροῦσθε.
10. ὑπάρχων—sc. μὴ ἔννεπιέναι. γε gives a causal sense to a partic.

14. προβάλλεσθε—as a defence; cf. i. 37 τὸ εὑπρεπὲς ἄσπον-

δον προβέβλησαν. γε—not a common use of γε, where it serves to connect, and at the same time throws feeling into the sentence: ‘Ah, yes.’

15. παρέχειν—sc. ὑμῖν.

§ 3 l. 19. δὲ γε or δὲ . . γε is used to cap a previous statement or, while accepting it, to bring in a consideration on the other side; it is common in retort (Neil).

20. κατα-προδούναι—‘utterly to betray’; so prob. in κατα-

δολουμένους.

§ 4 l. 26. τοῖς δὲ = ἐκείνους δὲ.

27. καίτοι . . ἀποδιδομένας—‘surely failure to return favours with like favours (cf. ἰσην above) is dishonourable; and not failure to return debts of gratitude that were justly incurred (cf. ὑμεῖς . . ἀδικούμενοι), but of which the payment leads to injustice’ (cf. τοῖς δὲ ἀδικοῦσιν). You should have waited till they were ἀδικούμενοι to return the service they had rendered to you.

64. § 1 l. 3. ὅτι . . τάναντια—‘because the A. did not either, and we did, from your wish’ etc. ἡμεῖς is much better than ὑμεῖς, giving antithesis to Ἀθηναίοι, as in τοῖς μὲν . . τοῖς δὲ: cf. c. 63, 3. Βουλόμενοι applies to the Plat.

§ 2 l. 6. ἀπὸ τοῦτων—emphatic resumption of the attracted rel.

8. ξυναγωγοθεῖθι—‘continue their allies,’ in mockery.

§ 3 l. 11. Αἰγυπτας—Aegina was reduced in 457 B.C. to the status of a tributary ally.

12. ἄλλους τινάς—thought to be the Euboeans, who had fought at Plataea, and against whom Pericles may have employed the Plat. in 445 B.C.

13. δικεκωλύετε—sc. ἄλλους καταδολοῦσθαι.

16. περιτείχισθε—‘before the siege was begun.’

17. ἡμῶν—‘on our side.’ This demand had been made by K. Archidamns, but the Theb. adopt it.

§ 4 l. 18. τοῖς Ἐλλησι—‘a dat. of agent with other parts than perf. of pass. is not uncommon in Thue.'
20. ἀνδραγαθίαν—in remaining true to Athens.

21. οὗ . . . ἔπεδειξατε—'you have now shown not to belong to your nature.' Thuc. does not use ἔπεδεικνύω in this sense elsewhere, but other authors, e.g. the orators, do. It is prob. unnecessary to read ἔπεδειξατε or ἔπεδειξατε. Steup renders 'you showed afterwards.'

23. ἡπιλέγχθη ἐσ τὸ ἅλθες—'has been conclusively demonstrated.'

§ 2 l. 9. ἄδικούμεν—'are guilty,' as often.

11. κοινά—'common to.' Plataea had remained outside the Boeotian league as reconstituted in 446 B.C., and of course had no representatives in the General Assembly of the league which met at Thebes.

12. καταστήσαι—'bring you into line with.'

§ 3 l. 16. πλεῖον παραβαλλόμενοι—they were οὗ τῶν ἄνων τατῶν (11. 3); cf. § 2. For the verb cf. c. 14, 1.

18. φιλῶν, οὗ πολεμῶς κομίσαντες—cf. the αὐτὸι and πολέμων of § 2, and c. 66 οὗ πολεμῶς ἐπράσῳμεν which show that the adverbs cannot apply merely to the Plat. and mean 'with friendly, and not hostile intent to their fellow-citizens'; but must refer to the Theb. For this reason, and because κομίσαντες lacks an obj., Steup reads φίλους and πολεμοὺς. But 'in a friendly manner' implies here 'us as friends of Plataea,' and κομίζειν is used like δέχεσθαι. It is not necessary to have an obj. expressed; cf. ἐπεκαλέσαντο above. The rest of the sentence shows that there is an intentional vagueness in the terms chosen: it was 'a friendly transaction.'

19. ὑμῶν—partitive, in unusual position; cf. c. 22, 5.

20. μηκέτι μᾶλλον γενέθαι—χειρος and ἀμελνος have a political meaning here, and are scarcely felt as comparatives: hence μᾶλλον is natural; 'should henceforth not get more so.'

21. σωφρονισταί . . . οἰκειούντες—adopting Weil's view that γνώμης and σωμάτων must be under the same governance, and that there must be a real antithesis between ἄλλωτροιοντες and οἰκειούντες, tr. 'seeking to regulate opinion and persons, not alienating their city (handing it over to strangers), but bringing it home to the union of their kinsmen' (the Boeotian confederacy). It is usual to take τῶν σωμάτων with τὴν πόλιν, 'not depriving the city of your persons': this is very strange for τὰ σώματα τῆς πόλεως ἄλλωτροιοντες. σωφρονισταί of the party opposed to extreme democracy; cf. c. 82, 8. (For the antithesis of σῶμα and γνώμη, Andoc. de Lied. 24.)
23. ἔχθροις . . ἐνπόνδοις—"sc. ὕμας; not breaking your peaceful relations with any state, e.g. Athens, but putting you in them on a footing with every other state, i.e. Thebes. Plataea was still, as they sophistically say, to enjoy the στρατιωταί, but not on conditions peculiar to herself. ἄπασι δε
deps on ὀμολογο" (Prof. Lamberton).

66 § 1 l. 2. προείπομεν τε κτλ.—the account corresponds very closely with the narrative of the attempt on Plataea in π. 2 f.

§ 2 l. 9. πλήθους—often used of the majority.

10. μῆτε . . ἐξελθεῖν—explaining τὰ ὀμολογο

12. οὐς μὲν . . ἄλγουμεν—the sentence takes an unexpected turn: instead of τοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτεῖνατε we get a comment on that action. The rel. in each case is causal, =ὅτι τοὺς μὲν: cf. l. 68 τι δεὶ μακρηγορεῖν, ὡς (=ἔπει ήμιὸν) τοὺς μὲν . . , IV. 26 ἀδύμαλον δὲ πλεῖστην ὁ χρόνος παρέχε, οὖς (=ὅτι αὕτοις) φόντο ἐκπολιορκήσεως.

16. παρανόμως—see c. 58, 3.

§ 3 l. 17. κάνταὐθα—this emendation of καὶ ταῦτα seems necessary, since ταῦτα τρεῖς ἀδικίας for ‘these as three wrongs’ is unexampled.

19. λυθεῖσαι—for the constr. see on c. 53, 3.

21. κτεῖνειν—the pres. depends on the subst.: but the verb (ὕποχαροθμαί) always has the fut.

25. αὐτῶν—αὐτά referring to what has been mentioned, as often.

67 § 1 l. 4. ἡμεῖς δὲ—to supply εἰδῶμεν is grammatically necessary; ‘that we may know after your condemnation that we have yet more rightly taken vengeance on them.’ To ἐν δυσώτερον we must surely supply ὑμῶν: you will act justly: we shall have acted yet more equitably. We are the parties chiefly aggrieved. But it is said (already by Bloomfield) that for εἰδῶμεν we need ‘feel’ or ‘appear,’ since the Theb. do not discover anything from their own speech: hence 1. φανῆτε for εἰδῆτε Rauchenstein; or 2. take εἰδῆτε as a zeugma; or 3. read ἡμᾶς . . τετιμωρημένους Kr. But notice (1) the speech would lead to condemnation by the judges; (2) the condemnation would show the Theb. that their action had been justified. The only alternative, I think, is to supply ὑμεν, and to assume an assimilation of finite verb to the previous partic. clause, as Hinde, who compares Xen. Mem. π. 3, 17.

§ 2 l. 6. ἄκοινοντες—‘by the account of.’ ἄκοινον, like κλων, is often used where we expect an aor. partic.
9. διπλασίας ζημίας — the influence of the rel. does not extend to this clause.

οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων — i.e. contrary to what was to be expected of them.

§ 3 l. 15. ὄν — see on c. 2, 1 l. 3.

17. οἱ δὲ ... λελεμένοι — ‘others left behind in old age and their homes desolate.’ The emendation κατ’ οἰκίας or καὶ οικία, is necessary. The latter is better, because οἰκία ἐρήμων should certainly be co-ordinate with οἱ δὲ, so as to correspond with τὴν σφητέραν ἐρημίαν.

§ 4 l. 21. τὰ ἐναντία — adverbal.

22. ἐπίχαρτοι — sc. ἐξιοί εἰσι.

§ 5 l. 25. δίκη κρίναντες together correspond to μύσει.

26. οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες — i.e. they will not have done so, because the penalty will be ἐννομα: whereas our suffering was ἀνομα (§ 6; cf. παρενόμησαν); the aor. partic. alluding to fut. perf. time as if the main verb were fut., cf. ἐκστρατευσάμενοι c. 102. (Various changes have been proposed: (1) to alter ἀνταποδόντες to fut., pres., or ἄν ἀνταποδόντες, or to read ἀνταποδόντες ἐσ νῦν: (2) or, keeping ἀνταποδόντες, to start a new sentence at καὶ οὐκ, placing ἐννομα γάρ in parenthesis. It does not seem possible to separate the latter from πεισοντα. It is best to suppose a slight break after κρίναντες, as though the rest were an afterthought.)

§ 6 l. 32. καὶ ἡμῖν — instead of a second obj. corresponding to καὶ τῷ νόμῳ, a new verb follows: cf. c. 71, 1.

33. ὄν πρόθυμοι γ. — see § 3.

34. τοῖς λόγοις — dat. of cause.

37. ὄν ... ὄντων depends on ἀπαγγέλλα.

39. ἐπεσί — ‘fine phrases,’ = ῥήμασι.

§ 7 l. 41. κεφαλαιώσαντες — for the point see c. 52, 4.

πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας — ‘with reference to all,’ i.e. (as Classen) ‘as a warning to all.’ A summary question followed by a decision will serve to check rhetorical defences. (Weil conjectures πρὸς τὸ ξύμπαν.)

42. ποιήσῃσθε — attraction to ὑμεῖς, as in i. 82 ὅσοι ὠσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιζουλευόμεθα.

§ 1 l. 4. εἴ ... πεπόνθαι is the ἐπερώτημα.

5. τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον — ‘all along.’
6. δήβεν—always ironical, signifying that this is not the true reason.

7. μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον—usually μετὰ τὰ Μῆδικά.

8. καὶ (ἡξιόουν) ὅτε . . . οὐκ ἔδέξαντο—it is impossible to make grammar of the sentence with ὅτε . . . ἄ . . . ὦς in. Each word has been altered: the removal of ἄ seems most likely; 'and particularly, when afterwards the offer that they made of remaining neutral according to that convention was refused.'

10. ἠγούμενοι—this gives the reason for νομίζοντες . . . ἔδέξαντο.

τῇ . . . βουλήσει—'by their own just intention,' i.e. they had tried their best to conform to the σπουδαί; it was the fault of the Plat. that the Lac. have fair grounds for regarding the σπουδαί at an end.

12. τὸ αὐτὸ—obj. of ἐρωτώντες, so that παραγαγόντες καὶ breaks the constr.; cf. Soph Antig. 1279 τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔοικας ἡκεν καὶ τάχ' δέσσοιαν κακά, where τὰ δ' ἐν δ. is governed by δέσσοιαν.

§ 2 l. 20. ἠθραπόδισαν—'sold as slaves.' From II. 78 we know that 110 women were among the besieged Plat. (all the others had found refuge at Athens) and that these were all slaves already.

§ 3 l. 21. Ὁηβαίοι—removed by Classen, who maintained that the true subj. of ἔδοσαν is the Lac.; but cf. c. 58, 5 ει . . . χώραν τὴν Πλαταιίδα Θηβαίδα ποιῆσετε. τὰ σφέτερα certainly seems to refer to the Thebans (cf. II. 2). (Herbst and Busolt defend the ms. reading.)

κατὰ στάσιν—the circumstances are unknown.

24. ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων—take with ψκοδόμησαν.

25. πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖο—site of the Heraeum and remains of the νεῖν λιθίνος have in all probability been discovered (Am. J. of Archaeol. 1891). It is likely that the temple previously existing was pulled down and replaced by the new one mentioned here.

καταγώγιοι—for those who came to worship at the temple; otherwise they would have had no shelter after the destruction of the city.

26. πανταξῆ is put with διακοσίων ποδῶν (200 ft. square) by some edd., but more prob. belongs to κύκλω='all round,' as in vii. 79.

27. οἰκήματα—for sleeping: they were in two stories.
NOTES

29. *τοῖς ἄλλοις*—instrumental, with *κατασκευάζοντες*.

30. *τείχει*—i.e., inside the city. The sacred precinct lay ‘before the city’ (Herod. ix. 61).

§ 4 l. 34. *καί*—intensive.

37. *ἀρτι τότε καθιστάμενον* refers to the fall of Plat., not to the beginning of the siege. Cf. c. 3, 1.

§ 5 l. 39. *τριτῶ καὶ ἐνενήκοστῶ*—519-427 B.C. But Grote showed that 509 B.C. was the probable year of the alliance; hence it has been suggested that *ἐνενήκοστῶ* is due to an early error in an uncial ms., and that Thuc. wrote the uncial signs for *ὀγδοήκοστῶ*.

40. *ἐπειδή*—cf. l. 6 οὐ πολλὰ ἐτής ἐπειδῆ πέπαυται.

§ 1 l. 3. *τότε*—see c. 33, 1.

4. *ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*—the other places in Thuc. in which *ἐκ* ‘on the part of,’ practically = ὄποι are l. 20, ii. 49, v. 104, vi. 36. The use is Ionic; not found in ordinary Attic prose.

6. *στοράδες*—correl. with the preceding partic., as in c. 82, 1 ουκ ἄν ἐχώντων πρόφασιν οὐδὲ ἐτάλων παρακαλεῖν, but Classen points out that ἀπ' ἀυτῆς στοράδες goes more closely with κατηφέχθησαν, and regards καὶ before ἀπ' as spurious.

8. *Κυλλήνη*—the port of the Eleans.

10. *ξύμβολον*—because the *ναυαρχος* had shown his incompetence.

§ 2 l. 14. *περὶ Ναύπακτον*—see c. 7, 3.

15. *πρὶν . . προφθάσωσι*—the constr. is δὴ ὅποι δὲ προφθάσωσι (a second reason of the plan adopted), πρὶν . . . , but for the sake of the antithesis between δὲ ὅποι . . . παρόντων and πλέον τι ἐπ. the order is changed.

§ 1 l. 2. Ἡλθον αὐτοῖς—see on c. 5.

*ἐκ τῶν . . ναυμαχῶν*—there were two battles fought near the islands called Sybota. 250 of the principal Corcyreans were taken prisoners in the second battle, and were conveyed to Corinth, where they remained about five years.

5. *ὀκτακοσίων*—the ransom for not more than 250 men is very high, but the prisoners were very important. The price paid for a man varied very much, of course, as it does still. The lowest heard of is two minas (Herod. v. 77), the highest—in the case of an ambassador of Philip—nine talents. The sum here mentioned need not be thought so great as to rouse suspicion.
5. τοῖς προξένοις—i.e. the Corinthian representatives of Corcyra had gone bail for them.

§ 2 l. 10. ἀφικομένης ... ἀγονσῶν—edd. say ἀγονσῶν must be plur. because both ships had πρέσβεις on board. Yet we find pred. in sing. applying to several subjects; i. 42, 1, iv. 31, 2, vi. 31, 1, vii. 44, 6, 58, 4. For the attraction cf. c. 72, 2.

11. καταστάντων—sc. τῶν πρέσβεων.

13. ἐνυγκελεμένα—it was a defensive alliance only. πρότερον means before the convention with Athens, when Corcyra had been on good terms with the Pel., though not in alliance with any one.

§ 3 l. 14. ἢν γὰρ ... ὑπάγοντι—the reason stated in advance in parenthesis; cf. c. 107, 3.

15. ἐθελοπρόξενοι—only mentioned here; it prob. means that P. had not been appointed by Athens; and hence he could be prosecuted for his Athenian sympathies.

16. προειστήκει—unofficial leader.

§ 4 l. 20. χάρακας—'vine-poles,' Corcyra having many vineyards. The sites of the τεμένη are unknown. Alcinous is the Homeric king.

22. στατήρ—of silver, worth 2½ Attic drachmas, the only form of stater coined in Corcyra.

§ 5 l. 25. ταξάμενοι ἀποδόσων—'pay by a mutual arrangement,' prob. on the instalment system.

§ 6 l. 27. τῶ τε νόμῳ ἐξεργοντο—nothing is to be supplied; 'the law forced them, allowed them no escape.' Cf. Herod. ix. 111 ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος.

29. τοὺς αὐτοὺς ... νομίζειν—i.e. to substitute a ξυμμαχία, offensive and defensive alliance, for the existing ἐπιμαχία.

34. τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης—sc. ὅρτες.

71 § 1 l. 2. ταῦτα ... δουλωθείν—for the position of the first καὶ see c. 67, 6. It is usual to supply from ταῦτα (i.e. what they had done) a οὕτως to ἡκιστ' ὅν δ.: better, I think, without; 'that it was not likely that they would be made slaves by the A.'

5. δέχεσθαι—the meaning of εἴπον passes into that of κελεύω.

ἀλλ' ἦ—vii. 50, 3.

μὲν νη—cf. ii. 7.
5. ἅγιονεῖοντας applies to the Coreyeans.
§ 2 l. 10. ὦς—‘as.’ They were to put matters in a good light.

11. ἀνεπιτήδειον—to Coreya.

12. ἐπιστροφή—lest ‘notice’ should be taken by Athens, resulting in some action against Coreya. The πρέσβεις must have completely won over part of the refugee friends of Peithias to their side, since it was thought necessary to intern them in Aegina (B. Schmidt).

§ 1 l. 1. ἐλθόντων—sc. τῶν πρέσβεων.
3. δοσοὺς ἐπεισαν—sc. τῶν ἐκεί καταπεφευγότων.
§ 3 l. 9. The accompanying map will explain the situation of the contending parties.

§ 1 l. 2. ὀλύγα—adverbial acc. like βραχέα and μεγάλα in c. 40, ἰσα in c. 14. The constr. is widely diffused in Thuc. The appeal to the slaves is a most unusual feature, and shows the extreme bitterness of the strife.

5. πλῆθος—of the ‘majority,’ as often.
§ 1 l. 2. ἡμέρας—the day referred to in c. 73.
3. χωρίων—this word is specially used of strategic positions.

6. κεράμῳ—collective, as e.g. in II. 4. So κάλαμος II. 76; in Livy xxiii. 16 vallum ferre = vallos f.
§ 2 l. 8. δεισάντες—ingressive, ‘becoming afraid.’
9. αὐτοβοεῖ—said to be an archaic word.
νεωρίου—in the Harbour of Alcinous.

12. ἔρνουκλας—situated between the Agora and the Acropolis. The gen. adj. that follow refer to both ὀλίγος and ἔρνουκλας. No doubt some of the ὀλίγος had invested money in the tenements, and let them out, like the plutocrat pork-butcher in the Knights of Aristophanes.

15. ἐκινδύνευε.. διαφθρῆναι—cf. c. 40, 5.
§ 3 l. 17. ὦς ἐκάτεροι—‘on either side,’ an idiomatic phrase, to be taken with ἅγιονεῖοντες, which is ingressive (A. G. Laird in Am. J. of Phil. 1906, p. 43).

§ 1 l. 1. Νικόστρατος—he had command of the Athenian squadron at Naupactus, from which he could reach Coreya in a day. The Messenians had been settled in Naupactus after the Messenian Wars.
5. ἐπρασσε—conative.
6. Δέκα—oligarchs.
§ 2 l. 11. οἱ τοῦ Δῆμου προστάται—a bronze plate found on the site of the Corecyran Agora and now in the Brit. Mus. contains a decree of the Corecyran Assembly (ἄλα) appointing an Athenian 'proxenus' of Coreya. Among the Corecyran authorities mentioned in the decree, which is assigned to the 4th cent. B.C., occurs προστάτας Γνάθιος. The προστάται therefore appear to have been a board of magistrates in Coreya (Anc. Gr. Inscr. in the Brit. Mus. Pl. ii. p. 50).
16. ἐμπεμψειν—sc. ἔφασαν, by an idiom to which Thuc. is partial.
§ 3 l. 19. τὸ Διοσκόρων ἱερὸν—the site is unknown.
§ 4 l. 23. τῇ τοῦ μὴ ἐμπλείν ἀπιστία—'by their distrust in sailing (i.e. in the proposal that they should sail) with them.' The μὴ is added because the proposal was neg., as often; cf. ii. 49 ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἥσυχάζειν, Plato, Apol. 38 ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἔθελεν.
§ 5 l. 26. οἱ ἄλλοι—oligarchs, not confined to those who had refused to go on board the five ships.
27. τὸ Ἡραῖον—see the map, with notes. The removal from the shrine of Castor and Pollux to the Heraeum is to be accounted for by (1) supposing that the latter was the principal shrine of the city, and (2) the necessity of getting 400 men into the τέμενος. (Bloomfield's view that the Heraeum was superior in sanctity is fanciful.)
28. γίγνονται—of the sum-total, as often.
76 § 1 l. 2. τὴν .. διακομίδην—example of the liking Thuc. shows for a subst. derived from a verb.
4. Κυλλήνης—c. 69. For ἐφ' ὀρμῶσα ὦσαί we say 'which had lain at anchor' (at Cyllene), ὦσαί being imperf. partic. (MT. § 140). The mss. have ἐφορμω for ἐφ' ὀρμῶ, but there seems to be no authority for ἐφορμος as adj.
8. ἐπέπλει—ἐπιπλεῖν is used of the commanders: ἐμπλεῖν below of the crew.
77 § 1 l. 1. πολλῷθορύβῳ—the democratic authorities in Coreya had received no warning of the approach of Alcidas. No organization for getting information of the movement of fleets existed.
§ 2 l. 12. τῶν ποιουμένων—not very common, for τῶν γιγνομένων.
NOTES

§ 3 l. 16. Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος—see c. 33, 2. They had been with Paches at Mytilene; but must have joined Nicos- stratus at Naupactus.

§ 1 l. 3. τὸ καθ’ αὐτοὺς—τὸ is inserted in order to get a contrast between Coryreans and Athenians. καθ’ αὐτοὺς alone = 'by, or among, themselves.'

5. ἄθροιας—with ταῖς . . τ.; the Athenians shrink from attacking the enemy thirty-three strong in the centre.

§ 2 l. 11. μὴ διπέρ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ γένοιτο—in 429 B.C. when the Athenian admiral Phormio with twenty ships gained a great success over forty-seven Peloponnesian ships by similar tactics. Then, too, the enemy had adopted a similar circular formation.

§ 3 l. 16. ὡς μάλιστα with προκαταφυγεῖν, 'as much as possible.' It might be taken equally well with ἐβούλοντο, but the general sense of the passage favours the former.

εὐνὼν—cf. c. 13, 7.

§ 4 l. 19. τοιαύτη—cf. c. 97, 3. (Heitland's idea that there is some irony in τοιαύτη is quite groundless: ἂν δὲ οὐδεὶς κόσμος in c. 77 refers to only one incident in the battle.)

§ 1 l. 4. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νῆσου—see c. 75, 5.

§ 2 l. 8. κρατοῦντες—concessive.

§ 3 l. 13. ὅντας—see on cc. 2, 2; 80, 1.

15. Δευκέμμην—at SE. of the island, still called Leokimo.

§ 1 l. 4. τοῖς ἄλλοις—the other ἄλλοι besides the ἰκέται. 80

6. ὅμως—in spite of the confusion.

§ 2 l. 8. μέχρι μέσον ἡμέρας—Thuc. generally uses μέσος as an adj., but Xen. often has μέσον as a noun.

9. ἀπέπλευσαν—to Sybota.

10. προσπλέουσαι ἀπὸ Δευκάδος—no doubt the fleet was not yet past Leucas when the signal was given. It appears presently (c. 81, 1) that Alcidas feared to sail round the island lest he should be seen by the Athenians. (It is not necessary to construe ἀπὸ Δευκάδος with ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν, as many do. Alcidas could not know how far on its way from Leucas the Athenian fleet had got; and his fear was not wholly groundless.) This is the first mention of Eurymedon, who afterwards served in Sicily and was killed during the siege of Syracuse.

12. πυνθανόμενοι—'on hearing of the strife and of the intention.' Notice that the verb has a double constr. here. Commentators point out (1) that the Athenian fleet doubtless
consisted to a large extent of ships returned from Lesbos: (2) that the news of the στάσις was carried to Athens by the ship mentioned in c. 70.

§ 1 l. 1. τῆς νυκτὸς—‘that night.’

4. τῶν Δευκάδων ισθμόν—the isthmus connected Lencas with the mainland: there is now an artificial channel.

§ 2 l. 8. λαβόντες—if genuine, best considered pleonastic (with Stahl), as we say ‘took and brought.’ Some think it a gloss on et των λάβονες below. To supply τὴν πόλιν (with L. Herbst) is forced, and involves an artificial, and highly improbable, explanation of the meaning. See crit. note.

tοὺς Μεσοπηνίον—see c. 75, 1.

10. περιπλεκόντα—from the harbour of Alcinous. The oligarchs who had been induced to embark would now be separated from their comrades in the Heraeum and the agora.

11. ἐπλήρωσαν—c. 80, 1.

14. ἀπεκρώντο—very rare in this sense; cf. διακρήσαται in c. 36.

§ 3 l. 19. τὰ γιγνόμενα—i.e. from the Heraeum on high ground they saw their comrades being led off to execution.

21. ὅς ἐκαστος ἐδύναντο—the sing. might be expected, as in πάντες ἐφυγοῦν διὰ ἐδύνατο ἐκαστος (Xen.), but the distinction is not always kept up.

§ 4 l. 23. παρέμεενε—it seems from this that Nicostratus had left by now. Thuc. has neglected to give his movements after his Messenians had been taken into the city.

σφῶν αὐτῶν—partitive.

24. ἐφόνευον—rare word outside Herod., tragedy, and late writers.

25. τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν .. καταλύουσιν—‘bringing the charge on the subverters of the democracy,’ i.e. openly it was the oligarchs who were the object of their attack. (τὴν does not need explanation in the context after δικρύν ὑποσχέων above. Only oligarchs—and they not in all cases—were put on their trial.)

26. ἀπέθανον δὲ—transition from partic. to finite constr., as often; VI. 47 λεγόμενον μὲν .. ἐμυθμονεύετο δὲ, VII. 13 τῶν ναυτῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων, οἱ δὲ θεράποντες .. αὐτομολούσι, sc. τὰ χρήματα. Frequent throughout Gk.

28. ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων—‘by their debtors,’ with ἀπέθανον.
The Gk. justifies another way (Böhme), viz. with ὅψειλομένων, 'by those who caught them,' but the point is not so good.

§ 51. 28. πᾶσά τε ἴδεα κατέστη θανάτου—Virgil's et plurima mortis imago (Aen. ii. 369); cf. Tac. H. III. 28 varia perenuntium forma et omni imagine mortuim.

30. καὶ ἐστὶ περαιτέρω—sc. οὐδὲν ὅτου οὐ, i.e. παντός, but the gen. is habitually omitted. Demosth. XLV. 73 has δεινόν, ὥ γά καὶ θεό, καὶ πέρα δεινοῦ.

§ 1 l. 1. ἡ στάσις (Krüger) is very probable, as the ref. is to a στάσις just described, but it is not absolutely necessary.

2. μᾶλλον—sc. ὑμὴ προχωρήσαι.

ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ—see on c. 17, 1.

3. ὡς ἐπείν—qualifying a sweeping statement (never apologizing for a metaphor): 'I might almost say,' 'almost.'

4. τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν—c. 57, 2.

6. ἐπάγεσθαι—"sense" constr., διαφορών οὕσαν implying 'attempting.'

7. καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ ... ἑπορίζοντο—the transition from μὲν + partic. to δὲ + finite verb here is considered perhaps the most extraordinary anacoluthon in Thuc. It is quite different from cases like c. 81, 4, since there is here no finite verb for the μὲν-clause. To put a comma only at Ἀκεδαμονίου instead of the usual full stop helps to some degree. ἑτόλμων for ἑτολµων (Vollgraff and Classen) is a conjecture worth notice.

οὐκ ἐν ἔχοντων—sc. αὐτῶν, the leaders of both parties in any given state.

8. ἑτόλμων—sc. δυτῶν, an unusual ellipse except when the adj. + omitted partic. is supplementary to a verb, as in τετύχηκε τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἄλογον, sc. ὧν, i. 23.

9. αὐτοῖς—Athenians or Lac., as the case might be.

πολεμομένων—masc. from πολεµῶν, of the Ath. and Lac. (to refer this to the two political parties is very strained).

καὶ ἔξυμαχίας ἄμα ... αἰ ἐπαγωγαί—i.e. καὶ αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ ἄμα ἔξυμαχίας. The point of καὶ ἄμα is that parties no longer carried on their rivalry amongst themselves at home, but readily called in the help of allies too. ἐπαγωγαί is 'opportunities for calling in.' ἔκατερος is ambiguous: it may be (1) by the Ath. and Lac., agent to ἑπορίζοντο, or (2) to either party in a state: then τοῖς ... βουλομένως will be in limiting apposition to it. In either case τοῖς ... βουλομένως is probably not dat. of agent.
10. τῇ . . προσποιήσει— the two ideas are parts of one whole, so that one art. suffices. The dat. is that of motiva, esp. common in Thuc., mostly with single words such as φίλη, εχθεῖ, εὐνολα. Thompson, *At. Syn.* p. 150. σφίσσων αὐτοῖς is governed by προσποιήσει, ib. p. 155. The whole sentence has the appearance of a series of notes that have not been put into their final form.

§ 2 l. 14. γυγνόμενα refers to time absolutely present, not contemporary with the main verb. *MT.* § 141.

16. μᾶλλον . . διηλλαγμένα—i.e. varying in intensity and in form: μᾶλλον ἐκάλην χαίτερα form the first idea, adv. and adj. being combined, as either is possible separately with γίγνεται. μᾶλλον καλήν χαίτερα γίγνεται might also mean 'it rises and falls in intensity' on any given occasion, but the emphatic position of γυγνόμενα shows that it corresponds in sense to the emphatic ἐστι, not to the mere copula ἐστι.

17. ὡς δὲν— 'according as.'


22. τοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν— some think that βίον has fallen out before βιαιον, and certainly τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν is odd; but cf. τὸ παρὼν and τὰ παρώντα.

24. ὀργάς— 'dispositions.'

§ 3 l. 24. ἐστασίαζε τε κτλ.—this passage down to the end of cc. 83 is severely criticized by Dionysius Hal. *de Thuc.* iud. cc. 29 l. for its artificial and far-fetched expressions.

25. τὰ ἐφυστεριζοντά πον— 'the later cases,' the cities that followed the example of discord set by others; a strange expression, as Dionysius says, but occasioned by τὰ τῶν πόλεων. Notice that πον = ἐν τινι πόλει.

26. πολὺ ἐπέφερε— 'brought on much,' i.e. carried much further.

27. διανολας— 'plans.'

26. τῶν . . ἀτοπία— lit. 'through extreme ingenuity in their enterprises and strangeness in their revenges.'

§ 4 l. 29. ἀξίωσιν belongs to ἐσ τὰ ἔργα, 'in relation to facts,' as well as to ὀνομάτων. It is not necessary to repeat the art. before ἐσ because ἀξίωσι has another qualifying word.

30. τῇ δικαίωσει— by the arbitrary construction they put on them.

ἀνδρὸς μοίρα προσετέθη—‘was ascribed, or set down, to the part of a man.’

36. ἀσφαλεία δὲ ἐυλογὸς—this appears to have been obscure already to Dionysius, who, while commenting on what precedes and what follows, discreetly leaves this alone. The usual explanation is as follows: (1) ἀσφαλεία is dat. of manner, in contrast with ἐμπλήκτως; (2) τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι = ‘reconsideration,’ or ‘further reflection’; (3) the verb to be supplied is ἐνομίσθη. Each of these suppositions is surprising. ἀποτροπὴ = ‘evasion.’ It has been proposed to supply προσετέθη (with Herbst and Fr. Müller) and to take ἀποτροπὴν τ. εὐλογὸς as apposition to τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι. We should then transl. ‘to form a hostile design was regarded as a measure of self-defence, (being) the specious pretence of fending off enmity.’

§ 5 l. 37. ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων—viz. about the political situation.

39. ἐπιβουλεύσασ... τυχὼν—‘if one had succeeded in a plot.’

40. δεινότερος—of ability.

41. αὐτῶν—viz. τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ ὑπονοεῖν.

44. ἐπικελεύσασ—sc. κακῶν τι δρᾶν. ἐπικελεύω ‘to encourage,’ of an authority, has dat. ; here κελεύω sets the constr. and ἐπικελεύσασ... τυχών—‘if one had succeeded in a plot.’

§ 6 l. 44. καὶ μὴν introduces a new and important point (it never means ‘and yet’).

45. τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ—‘the tie of party.’ To this ἐταιρικοῦ refers.

48. ὀφελία—‘to render help’; cf. the principle συγγνώμη ἀδελφῷ βοηθεῖν. This seems more likely than the usual explanation ‘for the public advantage.’

ἐνοδοι—of political meetings, a word of sinister meaning in the political life of Gk. states, suggesting intrigue and treason. The verb is ἐγένοτο and had Thuc. written ὀφελίας ἑνεκα and τπεοεξίας above, all would have been clear.

49. ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοῦς = ἐς ἀλήλους, a common use.

50. τῶ θεῶ νόμῳ—i.e. it was not the oaths witnessed by the gods—θέων ὄρκοι—that bound them when they exchanged pledges. Cf., for example, Eur. *Med.* 21 βοὰ μὲν ὄρκοι, ἀνακαλεὶ δὲ δεξίας, πίστιν μεγίστην, καὶ θεῶς μαρτύρεται, and the celebrated passage in the same play, 439 βέβακε δ’ ὄρκων
χάρις, οίδ' ἔτ' αἰδώς Ἐλλάδι τῷ μεγάλῳ μένει, with Verrall's notes.

§ 71. τὰ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων κτλ.—the sense (says Prof. Lamberton) is, 'when fair proposals were made by the adversary, the other party, when they had the advantage of superiority, would receive them not in a spirit of generosity, but only with practical precautions.' Thus οἱ ἐνδεχόμενοι, οὐλοὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι, is the subject of προσχοεν. This is surely correct, though the passage is usually taken as if οἱ ἐναντίοι denoted the stronger party, and the subject of ἐνδεχόμενοι were 'the weaker.' The right version is given by Herbst, who says "How can it be supposed that from the party that had the upper hand at the moment proposals should emanate that were generous to the weaker side, and how can any one conceive that generosity (γενναιότης) should lead the weaker side to accept them?" For ἔργων φυλάξατε c. 46, 4.

56. ορκὸν . . . ξυναλλαγής—'oaths to confirm a reconciliation'; cf. Andocides, de Myst. 103 διηλλάγητε καὶ ὄρκον ψέψατε.

57. πρὸς τὸ ἀπορον ἐ. διδόμενοι—'as they were administered to either side only to meet an emergency.' It is surely unnecessary to regard ἐκατέρψων as dat. of agent, as is usually done. οὐκ ἐχόντων applies to those who took the oaths tendered—i.e. it applies by sense to ἐκατέρψων—and explains πρὸς τὸ ἀπορον. ορκὸν διδώμι generally means 'I administer an oath,' but in Eur. Hipp. 735 'I take an oath.' The ordinary meaning gives an equally good sense here.

58. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρατυχόντι—'when a chance occurred.'

59. ὁ φθάσας θαρσήσαι—see MT. 903, 8, where grave doubts are raised as to the possibility of the infinit. with φθανώ in place of the ordinary partic. As φθάσας θαρσήσαι is intolerable, it is best to give the text as it stands, leaving the point undecided. The paraphrase of Dionysius is worth notice: εἰ δὲ ποι παρατυχοὶ τινὶ καιρὸς καὶ μάθοι τὸν ἑκτρόν ἀφύλακτων, ἥδιον ἐπιμερείτο διὶ πιστεύσαντι μᾶλλον ἐπέθετο ἡ φυλαττομένω. διὰ τὴν πίστιν applies to the enemy, as having confidence in the oath. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦης—'than when he attacked openly,' giving the other side a fair chance.

60. ὅραν δ' ὁι πολλοί . . ἀγαθοί—'most men are more readily called clever if they are knaves than good if they are ignorant.' Another way of taking this is: 'most men prefer to be called clever knaves rather than honest fools.' The Gk. favours the first, the connexion with the previous sentence the second. To make the latter way easier Steup brackets ὅτε.
§ 8 l. 66. πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἵτιν—'the cause of all that was office (i.e. the desire of office), resting on covetousness and ambition.'

67. ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν—viz. πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλοσιμίας.

68. καθισταμένων—masc., 'when men were settling down to.' The καὶ belongs, not merely to ἐστὶ τὸ φιλονικέων, but to the whole phrase to π.θημον.

70. πλήθους . . σῶφρονος—these are the fine names that were used for δημοκρατία and ὀλγαρχία. ἰσονομία was a catch-word with democrats, σωφροσύνη with aristocrats.

73. ἄρα—this suggests several of the words that follow—ἀγωνιζόμενοι, περιγενέσθαι. ἐπεζήσαν (the last unusual with object)—the general idea being that of a desperate struggle between enemies. (Very like is Xen. Cyr. II. 2, 18–19.)

76. ἐπὶ μείζους—as compared with the τολμήματα.

77. προστιθέντες—from Dionysius, in place of προτιθέντες of the mss., for 'to threaten' hardly suits with what precedes.

79. ψήφοι ἀδικοῦ—best taken as subjective gen. depending on καταγνώσεως.

χειρ—'the contrast is between force and the forms of law.

82. εὐόμολον—with dat., as χρῆσθαι.

εὐπρεπεῖα δὲ λόγον—since εὐσέβεια and λόγον εὐπρέπεια are not a proper contrast, many suppose that the contrast to the former is to be found in ἑπιθέμον τι, and consequently attach εὐπρεπεῖα δὲ λόγον to the rel. sentence, 'those who managed to hide some malicious act under fair words.' But the μὲν . . δέ contrast is not between single words, but between the two sentences as a whole: εὐσέβεια is 'a name for piety,' as e.g. in Soph. Ant. 924 τὴν δυσεβείαν ('reputation of being δυσεβής') εὐσέβον' ἐκτησάμην, 'on this pretence, covering an odious act, earned a better reputation.' Thuc. not seldom puts two similar words (εὐσέβεια—εὐπρέπεια) in contrast that do not really form an antithesis.

84. τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν—for the moderate element and the preference given to it by so many thinking men cf. Eur. Suppl. 244 τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἦν μέσω σφέι πόλεις.

§ 1 l. 2. τὸ εὔθης—in the earliest, good sense of the word, according to its etymology (Plato, Rep. 400 E).

3. πλειστὸν μετέχει—'in which nobility of character is
the chief element.' Or, less probably, 'which is a very important element of a noble mind.' Cf. i. 84, 3.

6. ἐπὶ πολὺ διήνεικέν — 'gained the upper hand.' ἐπὶ πολὺ of space, 'far and near.'

§ 2 l. 7. ὁ διαλύσων κτλ.—'there was nothing to .. neither.' The fut. partic. as in Aesch. TV. 27 ὁ λωφήσων γὰρ οὐ πέφυκέ πω. (Steup is mistaken in supposing that ἦν must be the copula in our sentence, if ὁ διαλύσων is taken as above.)

8. κρείσσους .. βεβαιών—the best way of taking this is as follows: (1) all men when they had the upper hand, by reflecting on the hopelessness of security took precaution rather against attack than were capable of trust in others.' Thus λογισμῷ .. βεβαιῶν is to be taken together and refers to προσεκτῶν. But two other versions must be noticed: (2) 'finding more strength in calculation against the unexpected than in pledges.' Then τοῦ βεβαιῶν = ἦ τῶ βεβαιῶ. (3) 'Being more inclined in their calculations to despair of security' (or 'than to security'). The last seems an impossible version of κρείσσους δύτες. The passage prob. repeats the thought of c. 82, 7.

§ 3 l. 11. γνώμην—'understanding.'

14. ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου—'in consequence of their'—resemblance to Odysseus.

15. φθάνωσι προεπιβουλεύομενοι — Gildersleeve is surely right in reading φθάνωσι here, in accordance with the law that φθάνω ποιῶν and ἐφθασα ποιήσας are the correct forms.

§ 4 l. 17. καταφρονοῦντες—causal. For the constr. cf. Xen. Hell. iv. 5, 12 κατεφρονοῦν μηδένα ἄν ἐπιχειρήσαι.

84 [The external grounds for regarding this chap. as spurious are these. (1) In cod. F it is obelized; (2) a scholium says that none of the commentators thought it genuine: all found it obscure in style and strange in thought; (3) Dionysius (time of Augustus), who says a great deal about cc. 81–82, and transcribes to the end of c. 83, does not mention this c. : the inference may be that he did not find it in his ms. ; (4) there are very few scholia on the chapter. On the other hand it is certain that Dio Cassius, who wrote late in the 2nd cent. A.D., knew it. The citations from Josephus (fl. 70 A.D.) are not sufficient to prove that he knew the passage. If, then, this is an imitation, it must have been written before the end of the 2nd cent., and perhaps not before the reign of Augustus. The internal evidence is hardly decisive. If this is the work of an imitator, it is a remarkably skilful production; but I think
that any attentive reader of Dionysius, Josephus and Dio Cassius—not to mention Procopius—would hesitate to say that a scholar of the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. could not have produced it. The most suspicious part is, I think, from οὗ γὰρ ἀν (§ 2) onwards. In the earlier part ὑπὸ τῶν τῆν τιμωριαν παρασχόντων, διὰ πάθους . . . ἔχειν, and καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν are strange. The first sentence as regards constr. is, perhaps, merely a little corrupt. The weight of opinion among modern critics is against the c.; but the question cannot be decided.]

§ 1 l. 1. αὐτῶν—vaguely referring to the ill deeds previously described.

2. προντολμῆθη—προ- denotes before the rest of Greece.

καὶ ὁπόσα κτλ.—the καὶ is probably answered by ὡς τῆς κτλ. below. The first clause requires ἀν, which has perhaps fallen out either after ὁπόσα or ὀράσειαν.

4. ὑπὸ τῶν . . . παρασχόντων with ἀρχὸμενοι. Hitherto they have been ruled oppressively by those who now give opportunity for revenge. Instead of παρασχόντων something like ἂν ἰαρχεῖντων seems required. The oligarchs are meant.

7. διὰ πάθους . . . ἔχειν—there has been much discussion of these words. τινες and μᾶλιστα δ' seem to show that διὰ πάθους must be intended as a contrast to πενας . . ἀπαλλαξειοντες, passion versus sheer poverty. But πάθος = 'emotion' or 'passion' occurs nowhere else before Aristotle: in Thuc. it = 'a disaster.' (To take τὰ τῶν πέλας as equivalent to τοὺς πέλας, and διὰ πάθους ἔχειν like δι' ὀργῆς ἔχειν does not get over the difficulty, and does not yield a proper contrast.)

8. ἐπὶ πλεονεξία—i.e. prompted by oppression, poverty or downright passion.

9. ἀπὸ ἰσον—'on equal terms' with their adversaries already. Only here in Thuc. in place of ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσον.

11. ἐπάθοεν—sc. ἀν from the previous sentences. The omission is rather awkward and unusual in so long a sentence. ὡμῶς and ἀπαραιτήτως only here in Thuc.

§ 2 l. 12. ἐς τὸν καιρὸν τούτον—'at this crisis,' like ἐς μιᾶν ἡμέραν in vi. 16, Aristoph. Ραξ 366 εἰς γίνη ἡμέραν;

14. καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν—cf. c. 82, 6 παρὰ τοῖς καθεστώτας (νόμους). As Stahl says, we expect κρατῆσασα after τοὺς νόμους, 'even when the laws are generally respected.' Steup suggests the loss of πρίν after καὶ but Dio Cass. knew the passage as it stands.
15. ἔδηλωσεν ... οὖσα—obj. of δῆλῳ replaced by the partic., as often; cf. i. 21 ὁ πόλεμος δῆλωσει μείξων γεγενημένον.

16. τοῦ προὔχοντος—neut.

19. ἐν ψ.—lit. 'in a case in which,' ammounting to εἰ. Cf. ii. 35 χαλεπῶν τὸ μετρῖον εἰπεῖν ἐν ψ. μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἄλθειας βεβαιοῦται.

§ 3 l. 20. ἀξιοῦσί τε κτλ.—the sense is clearly given by Arnold thus: Men in their violence set the example of doing away with those common laws of humanity which all parties alike might have appealed to in their adversity, and by their own previous conduct put themselves out of the pale of those laws, when they themselves might have occasion to solicit their protection. By the κοινοὶ νόμοι the κοινὸς νόμος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν, as Aristotle (Rhet. i. 13) calls it, is of course meant. See n. on c. 58, 3. Plato in the Laws (p. 793) says these observances are the δεσμοὶ πάσης πολιτείας.

24. ὑπολείπεσθαι—middle.

85 § 1 l. 2. ταῖς πρώταις foreshadows the further disturbances, described in book iv., which occurred when Eurymedon returned.

§ 2 l. 6. διεσώθησαν—aor. as plup., a common idiom in parenthesis.

7. τείχη—built by Corcyra to protect its territory on the mainland against the neighbouring tribes, Chaones and Thesprotians.

10. ἐλήμοντο—viz. the fertile central part of the island, ἐξεργασμένη παγκάλωσ καὶ πεφυτευμένη χώρα, as Xenophon calls it (Hell. vi. 2, 6).

§ 3 l. 14. ὑστερον χρόνῳ—always of a considerable interval. It is most probable that the crossing occurred in the spring of 426 B.C.

§ 4 l. 19. τῆν Ἰστώνην—in iv. 46 we have ἐν τῷ ὅρει τῆς Ἰστώνης. It has been made highly probable (by B. Schmidt) that Istone is the whole mountain-range in the NE. of Corcyra. It is possible that the name belonged also to a particular height in the range.

86 § 1 l. 2. ἐς Συκελίαν—this is the first intervention of Athens in Sicily. Under Pericles (who had died in the autumn of 429 B.C.), Athens had concluded alliances with Leontini and Rhegium in 433 B.C., perhaps also—though we have no direct evidence—with Naxos and Catana. But the
idea of conquest in Sicily (§ 4) was entirely outside the policy of Pericles. See Introd. p. xxiii.

3. Δάχητα—the first mention of this well-known man. See c. 115. He was a supporter of Nicias in arranging the peace of 421. Plato’s Laches is named after him. He is the dog Labes in Aristoph. Wasps. He was attacked by Cleon. He was killed at the battle of Mantinea, 418 B.C.

§ 2 l. 6. καθέστασαν—when the war had broken out is not known.

7. πλην Καμαριναίων—Camarina, founded circa 600 B.C. from Syracuse, was dependent on the mother-city, revolted in 553 B.C. and was destroyed. In 492 B.C. it was restored by Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, but shortly afterwards was again involved in war with Syracuse, and was again destroyed. Its third building occurred circa 460 B.C.

9. τὸ πρῶτον emphasizes ἄρχομενον.

12. Χαλκιδικαί—Naxos, Catana, Himera. They are so called because their origin was Chalcis in Euboea.

13. Ἰταλίας in the confined sense that it bears in Greek authors, the modern Calabria, the peninsula reaching to the Lusus on W. and to Metapontum on E.: ἀπὸ ἄρας Ἰατινίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ Σικελίκου is the definition of Dionysius.

14. κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές—Rhegium, too, was Chalcidian.

§ 3 l. 15. πέμψαντες—this is the famous embassy that was headed by Gorgias of Leontini. The reticence of Thuc. on the matter is characteristic.

16. παλαιάν ξυμμαχήαν—the only alliance we know of is that of 433 B.C., but six years seems too short a time to be denoted by παλαιός. Hence it is assumed that an earlier alliance existed. But some have thought that Thuc. wished to obscure the fact that Pericles was responsible for the alliance with Leontini, in order to make it appear that Pericles was in no sense responsible for the intervention in Sicily.

§ 4 l. 21. βουλόμενοι δὲ μητὲ ... πρόπειραν τε ποιούμενοι—to make the sentence quite symmetrical, ποιεῖσθαι should have been written in place of ποιούμενοι.

23. δυνατὰ ἐν—personal constr.

§ 5 l. 24. καταστάντες—i.e. they chose Rhegium as their base.

§ 1 l. 2. ἐκλίπτοσα μὲν ... ἐγένετο δὲ—c. 81, 4. 87

3. τὸ παντάπασιν—this curious phrase, occurring only here, is to be compared with τὸ παράπαν.
§ 2 l. 7. μάλλον ἐκάκωσε—no doubt this passage was written before the disastrous Sicilian Expedition of 415 B.C.

§ 3 l. 9. ἐκ τῶν τάξεων—i.e. ἐκ καταλόγου, from those liable to serve as hoplites, those of the three higher (Solonian) classes who were on the lists. Men were liable to ordinary service between the ages of 20 and 50. The fourth class—θητες—served only in the fleet; these with μέτοικοι and δόυλοι are included in ὀ ἀλλος δόχος. The number of the hoplites on the lists at the beginning of the war was about 15,500. The cavalry numbered 1000.

§ 4 l. 11. οἱ—as being well-known.

§ 6 l. 23. αὐτῶν in apposition to the sentence, ‘as for the cause of such an occurrence.’ Cf. 1. 23 τὴν ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἡγούμαι...ἀναγκάσει (αὐτῶν) ἐσ τῶν πόλεμον. The great earthquake at Messina has afforded a striking illustration of this chapter.

§ 3 l. 15. Ἀταλάντην—Talantonisi: it had been fortified by the Athenians in order that they might prevent the injury caused to Euboea by piratical craft sailing out of Opus and the neighbourhood.

17. τοῦ τε φρουρίου—at the beginning of the war Athens had 2,500 men in such permanent garrisons in and out of Attica (Aristot. Ath. Pol. c. 24).

§ 3 l. 11. ἐν τῇ Ἰερᾶ—still called Vulcano. The coins of Lipara show Hephaestus seated, with a hammer. The group of islands, seven in all, is still called Liparian or Aeolian. The full name seems to have been Ἰερᾶ Ἡφαίστου—Vulcani nominum sacra it is called in the Aetna. Στρογγύλη, now Stromboli, is there described as cui nomen facies dedit ipsa Rotunda.

δῶς—very unusual constr. with νομίζω.

§ 8 l. 3. στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰγὸν νῆσους—as this affair is one of the λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια (c. 90, 1) we can see how insignificant were the incidents left unrecorded.

§ 2 l. 6. νέμονται—the word is used of enjoyment of profits derived, which may or may not be combined with occupation.

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25. ἀποστῆλεων—the subject of this and of ποιεῖν is τῶν σεισμῶν. The mss. give ἐπισπομένην, but either ἐπισπομένων (mid.) or ἐπισπομένης (pass., sc. τῆς θαλάσσης) seems necessary. βαιότερον is best regarded as fem., as in δυσεσθολώτατος ἦ
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Δωκρίς c. 103, unless, indeed, in a confused passage, βιοιστέραν should be read.

27. ἄν with ἕγμακηναι.

§ 1 l. 1. καὶ ἄλλοι— it is impossible to explain these words with certainty. The reference appears to be to the Sicels, but it is a strange way of designating them. καὶ ἄλλα is read by some, but (1) it is doubtful if ἄλλα ἐπολέμων is a possible constr., and (2) even so, the change of subject in the antithetic clause—ἀ δὲ μάλιστα ἡξια κτλ.—is surprising. It is clear that Thuc. felt little interest in the affairs of Sicily in this year. The capture of Messena was the only important event.

§ 3 l. 17. ἐρύματι = φρονήσα.

§ 4 l. 20. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι—strangely placed in the middle of the gen. abs., but the order is not without parallel. Messena commands the strait between Sicily and Italy, and was therefore a valuable acquisition.

22. πιστὰ παραχόμενοι—‘giving trustworthy assurances.’ πιστὰ is to be taken as pred., not as substantive.

§ 1 l. 2. περὶ Πελοπόννησον—see on c. 3, 3.

3. Δημοσθένης—the first mention of this celebrated general, conspicuous for boldness and enterprise. There is no doubt that Thuc. obtained from him much information about the expeditions in which he was a leading figure.

6. Νικλας—c. 51.

§ 2 l. 7. Μηλοῦς—Melos, like Thera, had, as a Lacedaemonian colony, held aloof from the Athenian alliance. But they had taken no part in the war. It is known that Thera now submitted.

8. αὐτῶν—it is hardly necessary to read αὐτῶν here. Cf. Xen. Cypr. I. 1, 5 ἐδυνάσθη ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβάλειν τοῦ αὐτῷ χαιρεθαι.

§ 3 l. 12. ἐς Ὀρυπόν τῆς Γραῖκῆς—on the borders of Attica and Boeotia. It belonged to Athens. For τῆς Γραῖκῆς cf. II. 23 τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραῖκην καλουμένην. The name belonged to the coast opposite Eretria. In II. 23 it is corrupted into Πειραικῆν.

13. οἱ ὀπλῖται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν—prob. to be taken together in spite of the absence of art. before ἀπό. In II. 80 we have τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ . . ., and in II. 18 κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἢ σχολαίοντης.

§ 4 l. 15. πανθημέλε—i.e. with the whole available army.
16. Ἰππονίκος τοῦ Καλλίου — son of that Callias who negotiated peace with Persia in 470 B.C. The family was reputed the richest in Greece. The younger Callias, son of Hipponicus, was a very well-known man. Hipponicus was provenus of Sparta. He fell at the battle of Delium, 424 B.C.

§ 5 1. 19. ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ — i.e. in the neighbourhood of Tanagra.

20. τῇ ύστεραιᾷ μαχῇ — to be taken separately, τῇ ύστεραιᾷ having ἡμέρα supplied. Herbst, who investigated the use of the phrase, came finally to the conclusion that alone it means 'on the next day,' but that sometimes a subst. is supplied from what precedes, in i. 44 ἐκκλησίᾳ, in vii. 11 μάχῃ.

92 § 1 1. 2. Ἡράκλειαν — the importance of this undertaking (see § 4 and c. 93, 1) seems to lie in the fact that it marks an extension of the area of the war by Sparta, a counter-move prompted no doubt by the operations of Nicias on the Locrian coast. Sparta could not match Athens at sea and little more was to be gained by invasions of Attica (cc. 1, 26) even if they were not prevented by exceptional events (c. 39).

§ 2 1. 8. προσθείναι — the verb is used of bringing into permanent relationship, whether as friend or foe or dependent: so πράκτείμαι.

§ 3 1. 12. μητρόπολις — from this region the Dorians were sprung. A fragment of Tyrtaeus says of them: προλιπόντες ἔρινεδν ἡμερῆνα | εὐρέιαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

§ 4 1. 19. καθιστοσθαί — notice the pres. and contrast i. 36 καλῶς κεῖται (of Corcyra) τοῦ παράπλου (the voyage to Sicily). quod fit non est, sed erit, says Stahl. The gen. τοῦ πολέμου depends on the phrase, on the analogy of χρησίμως, καλῶς ἔχει, ὡς ἔχει etc. ἡ πόλις is, of course, the colony to be.

21. τῆς ἐπὶ Θράκης παρόδου — it was from Heraclea that Brasidas started on his dash through Thessaly, to the great injury of Athens in Chalcidice (τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης).

22. τὸ τε ἕξμπαν — summing up.

§ 5 1. 24. τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπήροντο — the usual custom before sending out a colony.

26. περιοικῶν — the descendants of the old Achaean stock, without political rights, living mainly by trade. They were largely drawn upon for military service outside Peloponnese.

28. Ἀχαιῶν — some Achaeans afterwards settled there notwithstanding.
30. 'Ἀλκίδας—c. 16, etc.

§ 6 l. 31. ἐκ καὶνη—adverbial, like ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυς i. 15, ἀπὸ (τῆς) πρώης etc.; δι’ ὀρθῆς, 'aright,' Soph. Ant. 994.

35. εἰρήναν τὸ κατὰ Θ—'barred the (approach) on the side towards Th.,' i.e. built a barrier across the pass (στενὸν), to protect harbour and arsenal from the Thessalians.

§ 1 l. 3. ἐκνοικιζομένης—the ἐκv. points to the concentration in the colony.

7. ἀπέβη—impersonal.

§ 2 l. 8. αἱτίων δὲ ἦν οἱ τὲ κτλ.—the other passages in Thuc. which are introduced by αἰτίων, show the following constrs. :—

(1) αἰτίων δ’ ἦν δτν ii. 65.
(2) αἰτίων ἦν οἱ with nom. partic. iv. 26.

Here we have a third variety. Compare τεκμήριον δὲ, usually followed by γάρ. (It does not seem necessary to alter the text here. If anything is wrong, it is most prob. that ἦν should be bracketed, and a comma placed at δὲ, as in the constr. τὸ δ’ αἰτίων, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λητουργεῖν, Demosth. de Cor. 108.)

οἱ τὲ Θεσσαλοί ... καὶ ὁν—i.e. both the Th. and (those others, besides the Th.) whose land was threatened by the new colony, viz. the Dolopes, Oetaeans, and other tribes. This is decidedly simpler than making ὁν apply still to the Thessalians and taking τε as co-ordinate with οὐ μέντοι below.

14. πάνυ πολλοὺσ—we do not know the number: Diodorus' figures, amounting to 10,000, are untrustworthy.

16. οὐ μέντοι— the combination οὐ δὲ being avoided.
17. οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι—perhaps annually.
20. ὁ—internal accus., ἔξηγονμενοί being here absolute.

§ 1 l. 5. Ἐλλομενω—"probably on the bay of Vlichο 94 (Klimino), on the E. coast of the island" (Oberhumer).

τῆς Δευκαδίας—sc. γῆς. Corcyra, Cephalenia and Zacynthus were already allies of Athens. For a previous attempt on Leucas see c. 7, 5. Sparta had, besides Leucas, Oeniadae, and Ambracia.

§ 2 l. 12. ἔξω—sc. τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, the land they had in Acarnania. For the isthmus see c. 81, 1.
14. τὸ ἱερὸν—at the southernmost corner of the island.
15. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνάνες—Leucas and Anactorium (c. 114, 3)
Corinthian colonies, controlled the entrance to the Ambracian gulf.

17. ἀποτειχίζειν—‘to cut them off from the mainland.’ In c. 96, 2 this projected wall is referred to as περιτεῖχισις, i.e. wall from sea to sea.

§ 3 l. 20. ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων — the Messenians of Naupactus (see c. 75) probably had Aetolians for immediate neighbours (Woodhouse, Aetolia p. 336).

22. Ναυπάκτῳ τε... καὶ ἦν... — the second cause is expressed in an independent form—infin. with verb of saying supplied. A good parallel is iv. 3 λιμένος τε προσόντος, καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων... πλείστ᾽ αὐν βλάπτειν.

§ 4 l. 27. διὰ πολλοῦ—‘far apart.’

§ 5 l. 30. Ἀποδωτοῖς — this tribe is to the NE. of Naupactus.

31. Ὄφιονείδιοι—N. of the Apodoti.

32. Εὐρυτάσσων — N. and E. of the Ophioneis. All three tribes belong to New Aetolia, Αἰτωλία ἐπικτητος, as distinct from Old Aetolia, ἥ ἀρχαλα, of the Ηίαδ. (All that can be known about the tribes will be found in Woodhouse, Aetolia.)

35. καὶ τάλλα προσχωρήσειν “refers back to the expression τὸ ἄλλο ἣπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταῦτα—by which we must understand the Messenians (or Thucydides) to mean that the Athenian ‘sphere of influence’ in Western Hellas would be enormously extended if the three Aetolian tribes were subjugated. It would be difficult, however, to state precisely what tribes were in the historian’s mind” (Woodhouse).

§ 1 l. 1. Μεσσηνίων—objective.

4. μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν—i.e. when he had forced them to join.

5. κατὰ γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιωτοῦς — this exceedingly bold plan was due to Demosthenes only. No doubt Thuc. heard all about it from D. himself. The territory of the Ozolian Locrians, on the Corinthian gulf, S. of the Apodoti, lay between Naupactus and Phocis. The Locrians were allies of Athens (11. 9).

6. Κυτίνων—an important strategical position, chosen by Philip of Macedon in 339 B.C. It was one of the towns of the ancient Dorian tetrapolis.

8. Φωκεάς—nominally allies of Sparta, but there was a powerful democratic party in sympathy with Athens.
11. οὖν—resuming after the parenthesis, like igitur.

13. Σώλλιον—probably this Corinthian colony lay some distance from the sea, but possessed a piece of the coast with a harbour.

§ 2 l, 18. τριακοσίοις—ten to a trireme, as usual at this period.

20. ἐσπράτευσεν—most probably he sailed up the gulf to Naupactus and thence to Oeneon in Locri where he landed (cf. c. 89, 3). (The site of the latter is fully discussed by Woodhouse, l.c.)

§ 3 l. 22. οὗτοι—as distinct from the Opuntian and Epicnemidian Locrians who were allies of Sparta.

23. ἦδει—'were to.' The Locrians showed no alacrity, and seem to have done nothing to help Demosthenes in the expedition. They were not keen allies of Athens (Woodhouse, Aetolia, p. 351).

§ 1 l. 1. ἐν . . . τῷ ἱερῷ—this must have been W. of Oeneon, 96 within a short march of the frontier.

4. χρησθέν—accus. abs.

ἐν Νεμέα—of course ambiguous. We learn from Plutarch and Pausanias that Hesiod and his servant were murdered by two young men because they believed that the poet had insulted their sister. Their bodies were cast into the sea. Hesiod's was carried "by dolphins" to Molycia. Thence it was taken to Orchomenus in Boeotia and buried there.

§ 2 l. 7. Ποτιδανίαν—"situated exactly opposite to the only ford of the river Μόρνος" (Woodhouse). The ancient name of the river was probably Daphnos. The town is at the extreme SW. of Apodotia, just over the border.

Κροκόλιον . . Τείχιον—Demosthenes marched to the NE. from Potidania into Apodotia, attacking the towns in succession. Both places have been identified (by Bazin and Woodhouse). Teichium is close to the border of Ophioneia.

9. Εὐπάλιον—now Sulés, near Potidania.

10. τὰ ἄλλα καταστρεφάμενοι—i.e. the rest of Apodotia, before advancing into Ophionea. The Locrian light-armed troops had not yet turned up, and Demosthenes had gone only a very short way when he found it desirable to modify his plan considerably.

12. ἐσ Ναύπακτον—as the best base for operating against Ophionea.
§ 3 l. 14. oúk ἐλάνθανεν . . . οὔτε ὅτε . . . ἐπειδή τε—"οὔτε," says Prof. Lamberton, "is before ὅτε, because the contrast connects itself most closely and naturally with the different points of time." The sequence is irregular, but the sentence is quite clear.

17. οἱ ἐσχατοὶ . . . Καλλίης—these tribes, then, must be the easternmost of the Ophioneis. καθήκοντες is not to be understood to mean that they extended right down to the Malian Gulf, but rather marks the direction. (It is possible that οἱ . . . καθήκοντες is an addition to the text, a note made after Heraclea became part of Aetolia, which happened in 280 B.C.)

97 § 1 l. 3. ἀναδιδάσκοντες—because at Teichium Demosthenes showed signs of appreciating the formidable nature of his undertaking.


§ 2 l. 8. τῷ τύχῃ ἕλπισας—causal dat., 'rendered sanguine by his fortune.' His confidence is amazing.

11. ἐκώρει ἐπὶ Αἰγιτίου—recent authorities have made it highly probable that Aegitium is Velúchovos, which, Woodhouse says, is the strongest fortress in Aetolia. It is in Ophionea. If this is so, notice (1) that Demosthenes has completely accepted the original plan of the Messenians, (2) that he has crossed the river Daphnos since advancing from Teichium. It is likely that Thuc. did not know of this river.

16. ὑδαθήκοντα — the distance is really a little over a hundred stades—thirteen miles. The difference can scarcely be regarded as a serious argument against the identification of the site. (Possibly Ἡ, i.e. ἐκάθω, in an early uncial ms. re-appeared as Π′ by a copyist's error.)

§ 3 l. 17. βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ . . . ἡσαν—viz. the relief force; see c. 96, 3. The delay at Teichium had given them the opportunity.

20. ὅποτε—this, and not ὅτε, is prob. correct, as elsewhere Thuc. uses ὅτε only with indic.—The country through which the Athenians retreated on Oeneon was exceedingly wild and difficult.

98 § 1 l. 1. μέχρι—c. 10, 3.

2. αὐτοῖς—ethic, but in unusual position.

3. οἱ δὲ—the τοξόται: an epic and Ionic usage, since the
subject is not a new one. The use occurs occasionally in Attic prose. Thompson 2 At. Syn. § 47, note.

6. αὐτοί — the main body, in contrast with οὗτοι, the archers.

7. καὶ before ἐπὶ πολὺ is 'quite.'

11. ὁ ἡγεμόν — "the wonderful precision with which the [guide] possessing local knowledge selects the proper path is only equalled by the ease with which he loses it when working in an unfamiliar region. Chromon was, perhaps, a shepherd picked up at Eupalion" (Woodhouse).

§ 2 l. 14. κατὰ τὸδας — 'promptly,' 'rapidly.'

§ 4 l. 26. ἥλικα ἢ αὐτή — 'and men of the same efficiency.' The phrase is so compressed that it has become obscure. Thuc. means οὗτοι (οἱ) τοσοῦτοι (ἕσαν) τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἥλικα ἢ αὐτή (ἕσαν); and ἥλικα is collective. It is impossible to render 'in the prime of life too,' because it is obvious that all who were serving must be part of the ἥλικα, or those of military age.

§ 5 l. 35. φοβούμενος — doubtless he feared impeachment (εἰσαγγελία), possibly on a γραφή προδοσίας. As soon as Demosthenes should return, he would be a private citizen, since he had not been elected Strategus for the official year 426 (summer)-425 (summer).

§ 1 l. 3. Δοκρίδα — the Italian, of course. The Halex 99 formed the boundary between Locri and Rhegium, and no doubt this expedition was undertaken at the request of the latter.

§ 1 l. 1. προπέμψαντες πρῶτερον — pleonastic. The time of this embassy was doubtless when the Aetolians got wind of the expedition of Demosthenes (c. 96, 3). The sentence is not clear, but what was done seems to be this: the three ambassadors went first to Corinth; then, having got no promise of help there, they went on to Sparta, and there they succeeded; but by the time that the force was ready to start, Demosthenes was back at Naxpacnis. The delay is doubtless partly due to the fact that the 3000 hoplites sent (§ 2) were all mercenaries (see c. 109, 2 note) from different quarters; and it took time to collect these.

7. ἐπαγωγήν — by the Messenians, c. 92, 1.

§ 2 l. 9. πεντακόσιοι — these 500 adventurous Heracleots are not mentioned again. The reason why they are mentioned at all is their surprisingly large number.
12. ἁυνηκολούθουν—according to the Spartan custom, in case anything happened to Eurylochus.

101 § 1 l. 1. ἐς Δελφοῦς—a natural place to choose for an army that was to march to Naupactus.

§ 2 l. 7. Ἀμφυσσῆς—extreme E. of Locri, near to Phocis. As for the Phocians see n. on c. 95, 1. Locri and Phocis were on opposite sides.

10. οὖν—'to be sure,' or 'indeed,' as in γὰρ οὖν. It has nothing to do with μὲν here.

11. Μυονέας—i.e. Myonia lay on the natural route through Locri. The names of the places that follow need not be considered.

δυσεσβολώτατος—for the fem. form cf. c. 89, 5.

102 § 1 l. 3. Κυτίνιον τὸ Αρμικὸν—c. 95, 1.

5. Οίνεώνα αἱρεῖ . . καὶ Εὑπάλιον—the Athenian influence in the W. of Locri was stronger. For the towns see c. 95.

(It used to be thought that there is a reversion of the geographical order in the mention of the places; but this has been shown by Woodhouse to be an error.)

§ 2 l. 7. γενόμενοι—viz. the force under Eurylochus.

§ 3 l. 13. τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας—ἐκ of the source of the ἡμιφορά.

§ 4 l. 18. ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν—for 'on board their (Acarnanian) ships' we should expect ἐπὶ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν. If the text is right, it is probable (as Widmann says) that some of the thirty Athenian ships had not returned home and that c. 98, 5 is therefore inaccurate.

§ 5 l. 25. ἐς τὴν . . Καλυδώνα . . Πλευρώνα—'to the Aeolis that is now (so) called, Calydon and Pleuron,' i.e. to New Aeolis. We know that the name Aeolis was once confined to the territory of Calydon; but Pleuron had been added to it. Calydon and Pleuron are two of the five cities of Old Aetolia mentioned in the Ηιαδ.

(The usual rendering 'to Aeolis which is now called Calydon and Pleuron' really makes no sense, for Thuc. could not refer so to two cities far more famous in the heroic days than in his own.)

26. ἐς τὰ ταῦτα χωρία—other parts of Old Aetolia.

Αἰτωλῶν 3' ἡγεῖτο Θῆκα . . .
οὶ Πλευρῶν ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὁλενοὺς ἣδε Πυλήνην
Χαλκίδα τ' ἄγχιλαλον Καλυδώνα τε πετρήσαν (Π. Π. 638). Proschium is Pylene.
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§ 6 l. 28. 'Αμφιρροικώται—Amphilochian Argos now belonged to Amphilochians and Acarnanian. But the Ambraciots, who had once possessed it, and had been turned out by the help of Athens, in 437 B.C., wanted to recover it. They had made a vain attempt to do so in 430 B.C. The Ambraciots were in alliance with Sparta.

32. πάν το ἡπειρωτικόν—cf. c. 94, 3. In 429 B.C. the Ambraciots had held out hopes to Sparta of acquiring (1) Acarnania (2) Zacynthus and Cephalonia, (3) Naupactus. It is noteworthy that nothing is said this time about the islands, doubtless because the crushing naval defeats the Peloponnesians had sustained from Phormio in 429 and their rough experiences again during the troubles in Corecyra made any project for the acquisition of these islands hopeless. Since the latter events, it is hardly surprising that Athens did not trouble to acquire Leucas (see c. 94, 2).

§ 7 l. 36. ἐκστρατευσαμένοις—'when they (should) have taken the field.'

37. περὶ τὸ ᾿Αργος—with βοηθεῖν.

§ 1 l. 3. τῶν ῾Ελλήνων—i.e. the Siceliots, whereas the Sicels are βάρβαροι.

5. ξύμμαχοι—'the name allies shows that they remained distinct though subject communities' (Freeman).

6. αὐτοῖς—with ξυνεπολέμουν.

7. Ἰνησσαν—identical with Aetna, not far from Catana. It had been an important Sicel stronghold.

§ 3 l. 16. Καὐκίνων—unknown. Take κατὰ τὸν Κ. with ἐκράτησαν.

§ 1 l. 1. ἐκαθηραν—doubtless in gratitude for the cessation of the plague. The oracle perhaps gave directions how the plague might be kept away. It has been pointed out that Nicias had much to do with this ceremony of purification. His great interest in the event and his benefactions to Delos are known from Plutarch.

2. δῆ—explanatory. The "purification" by Pisistratus is noticed by Herodotus (i. 64).

§ 2 l. 6. ἃκαρα—'coffins.' Notice the not very common attraction of the antecedent into the case of the rel., though the antecedent is not placed in the rel. clause. Thompson

§ 50 ν. In Latin this constr., familiar from urbem quam statuo vestra est, is an old colloquialism.
11. Πολυκράτης—he ruled 532-521 B.C. According to Herod. iii. 164 Samos was πολίων πασέων πρώτη in his time.

13. Νήσιοι—the Cyclades. ἄρξας is ‘making himself master of,’ ingressive.

14. τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι—Apollo was worshipped much earlier than the time of Polycrates in the rocky island of Rhenea; Hymn to Apollo 44—see on § 4—written not later than 600 B.C. Cf. Theocritus xvii. 70 ἵσον καὶ Ἡρμαιὰν ἄναξ ἐφίλησεν Ἀπόλλων.

16. τὴν πεντετήριδα—the first celebration probably took place in March (Anthesterion) 425 B.C.

17. τὰ Δήλια—'(namely) the Delia.' The words are bracketed by some edd., but Diodorus, whose account is derived from Thuc. (through Ephorus), says ἐποίησαν πανήγυριν τὴν τῶν Δηλίων.

§ 3 l. 19. Ξύνοδος—in celebration of the god's birth.

21. ἔθεωρον—'attended the festival.'

ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια—in honour of Artemis (ἡ Ἐφέσια θεός).

23. χοροῦσ τε ἄνήγον—from the meaning 'lift up' a cry, etc., ἄναγω comes to mean 'set going,' 'start'; Eur. Ττο. 325 ἄναγ' ἄναγε χορόν. Notice the metrical χοροῦσ τ' ἄνήγον αἱ πόλεις.

§ 4 l. 24. "Ὀμηρος—the blind bard "of Chios," who wrote this prize poem, was, according to a scholiast on Pindar, Cynaethus of Chios.

25. ἐκ προομισίων—the quotations are from the famous "Homeric hymn" to Apollo; it was actually sung at the festival, where it received a prize.

27. ἄλλα' ὀτε κτλ. = Hymn to Apollo 146-150, with important variations from the version of the hymn as found in the extant mss. 'But when your heart rejoices most in Delos.'

28. ἐλκεχιτῶνες—alluding to the long robes of the Ionians in early times, almost obsolete in the days of Thuc.

29. σήν ἐσ ἄγανα—meaning uncertain; the square before the temple of Apollo, where the ἄγών was held, is the suggestion of Sikes ad loc. The l. in the mss. of the hymn stands αὐτοῖς σῦν παίδεσσι καὶ αἴδοις ἀλόχοισιν.

31. καθέσωσιν ἄγώνα—'have made the assembly sit down,' to start the contests. ἄγών is 'an assembly at games': see
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Leaf on Iliad xv. 428. The mss. of the hymn have οὕτως επάνω.

§ 5 l. 34. τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναίκῶν — the eulogy of the κοῦραι Δηλιάδες, Delian women who sang the chorus, immediately precedes the passage about to be quoted.

35. τοὺ ἐπαίνου—viz. of the Delian women. For the gen. cf. c. 59, 4.

37. ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' κτλ. = H. to Apollo 165–172.

43. ύποκρίνασθαι ἄφημως—'answer with one accord,' i.e. ὀμοφήμως. The scholiast gives ἀθρώως. The reading ἄφημως is supported by that of the mss. of the hymn, ἄφ' ἠμέων (or similar). Inferior mss. of Thuc. give εὐφήμως.

44. τυφλὸς ἀνήρ—"this line," says Sikes, "was at least partly the origin of the tradition that Homer was blind, and lived in Chios."

§ 6 l. 49. καὶ τὰ πλείστα—'and most parts' of the ξύνοδος.

50. ὑπὸ ἐμφορωῦν—when Persia set her heel on the necks of the Ionians.

πρὶν δὴ—see on c. 29, 1.

§ 1 l. 2. ἀσπερ ύποσχόμενοι . . . κατέσχον—'in accordance with the promise to Eurylochus by which they had detained his force.'

7. Ὄλπας—on the Ambracian gulf.

8. 8 . . τευχισάμενοι . . . ἐχρῆντο — the more ordinary constr. by which, when partic. and verb that govern different cases have a common object, the case of the obj. is accommodated to the partic.

ποτε—this occupation of Olpae by the Acarnanians probably took place at the time when the Ambraciots had first become powerful in Argos. The meaning is clearly that the Acarnanians had now ceased to hold it, and that it belonged to the Amphilochians. The Acarnanians had used Olpae as a common place of justice.

10. ἐπιθαλασσίας—if Argos lies where it is usually placed, it is some distance from the sea, but the inaccuracy need not be pressed. Still there is some reason to think that Argos and Crenae should change places on the maps, Argos being placed on the coast, S. of Olpae, and Crenae inland. The site marked Argos would be a suitable position from which to watch for an enemy advancing from Acarnania to join his ally at Olpae, of course avoiding Argos.
§ 3 l. 17. πέμπτουσι—to Naupactus. Demosthenes was not, strictly speaking, Strategus now, but he still had charge of the defence of Naupactus, and therefore continued to hold an official position until he should be relieved by the arrival at Naupactus of the twenty ships here referred to.

§ 4 l. 24. πόλιν—Ambracia.

27. ἡ μάχη γένηται—the expected battle. The phrase is passive of τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.

106 § 1 l. 5. 'Αχελώον—frontier between Aetolia and Acarnania. The route:—
1. Through the territory of Stratus, the greatest city in Acarnania, westwards to
2. the territory of Phytia (Phoitia); thence northwards
3. through Eastern Medionia, which brought Eurylochus to the Ambracian gulf; thence eastwards
4. across the district of Limnaea, avoiding the town (of doubtful name) at the SE. corner of the gulf; and so
5. across the low hills called Thymus, and through the friendly territory of the Agraei; hence down into
6. the territory of Argos, between that city and Crenae, to Olpae.

§ 2 l. 11. αὖθις—'then,' or 'afterwards.' It is usual to make Medéwos depend on παρ' ἔσχατα; but Herbst seems right in taking Medéwos with διά, and making παρ' ἔσχατα modify the name of both districts; i.e. they went along the border of Phytia and also of Medionia.

14. 'Αγραϊκόν for ἀγραικόν of the mss., which is not used of districts, is a certain emendation.

107 § 1 l. 2. καθίζουσιν—sc. τὸν στρατὸν, but practically intrans.
9. 'Αθηναῖον—doubtless a small force stationed at Naupactus. Demosthenes used the ships referred to in c. 102.
4. Oberhummer thinks that from Limnaea he went by land, following the line of Eurylochus, that he joined the Acarnanian division at Crenae, and accompanied it to Argos. This seems most probable.

§ 2 l. 10. τὸν λόφον, if genuine, is in apposition to τὰς Ἄκτας, but the description does not seem likely or necessary after c. 105, 1.

12. 'Αμφιλόχων—i.e. those of Amphilochia generally; for the reason why the majority were restrained from taking part in the fighting see c. 114, 3.

16. μετὰ—Demosthenes was to be Commander-in-chief.
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§ 3 l. 18. χαράδρα . . μεγάλη—this has been recognized in a brook, the banks of which are overshadowed with plane-trees; cf. the ὅδες κοιλή καὶ λοχμώδης.

26. κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον — where the enemy's line (the left wing, c. 108, 1) outflanked them.

§ 4 l. 31. ἀλίγων—a strange way of referring to the sixty Athenian archers: we should expect simply μετὰ τῶν Ἀθ. Possibly ἀλίγων is an addition to the text.

32. ἐπείξον governs τὸ δὲ ἄλλο. The Acarnanians were in separate contingents, each under its own commander.

34. ἀναμίξ—on the right wing the Ambraciots evidently were the principal troops; cf. c. 108, 2.

§ 1 l. 6. ἐς ἄλκην ὑπομείναι—'stand their ground to the point of resistance.' For ἄλκη see on c. 30, 2.

8. τὸ κατ' Ἐυρύλοχον—'that part where Eu. was.'

11. τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπεξήλθον—both ἐς- and ἐπεξ- can have the accus.: the latter is the normal constr., and it is not certain that there is any parallel for the former in Thuc. In 1. 70 the mss. vary in the same way as here.

§ 2 l. 15. μαχιμώτατοι—this refers to οἱ 'Ἀμπρακιώται only, not to οἱ . . κέρας, who are the few Peloponnesians on the right wing. This restricted reference is so awkward that it is not unlikely that καὶ after 'Ἀμπρακιώται ought to be removed, so as to render 'the A. on the right wing.'

§ 3 l. 16. ὁς . . νευκημένου—this is what they found on returning from the pursuit of the enemy's left. The inference is clearly that τὸ πλέον also retreated to Ὀλπαῖ; cf. ἐς φυγὴν . . κατατήροις above. With a colon instead of the usual comma after Ὀλπαῖ, the difficulty that has been found in making αὐτῶν presently refer—as it must do—to the whole army, disappears.

20. αὐτῶν—'of the army.' It cannot mean 'of the right wing' only, since the Mantineans were posted almost on the left wing.

21. προσπίπτοντες—'while rushing to the fortress of Olpae.'

§ 1 l. 2. αὐτός—'single-handed.'

5. πολιορκήσεται—'to stand a siege.'

§ 2 l. 13. ἀποθανόντας= νεκρός.

16. Ἀκαρνάνων depends on ἐντραπήγων, possessive gen. 

σπένδονται—for the plur. verb, rare with a sing. subj.
followed by *μετά*, see Thompson 2 § 7. *βουλόμενος* following makes the conjecture *στένδεται* probable.

20. τὸν *μισθοφόρον δύχλον*—i.e. the Peloponnesian forces, exclusive of the Mantineans, the ἄρχοντες and ἄξιολογωτατοί. The Peloponnesian troops were mercenaries, it would seem. τὸν *ξενικὸν* is prob. a mere gloss on *μισθοφόρον*.

22. *διαβάλειν ἂν*—'to damage them with.'

23. "Ελλήνας—Steup places the comma at *χρῆσαν* so as to make "Ελλήνας object of *καταπροδότας*, i.e. the Ambraciots and the δύχλοι μισθοφόροι. This is better than ἂν τῶς *ἐκείνη*. "Ελλήνας together, i.e. the Ambraciots only, because (1) the Amphilochians too would be naturally included under the τῶς, and they were not "Ελλήνας; (2) the mercenaries should certainly be included in the object of *καταπροδότας*.

§ 3 1. 26. ὥσπερ ὑπήρξε—'as well as circumstances allowed.'

27. οἷς ἔδεδοτο—*sc. ἐκείνοι.*

110 § 1 1. 3. πόλεως—c. 105, 4. The force from Ambracia had to march to Idomene (c. 112), then through the hills into the plain of Argos.

§ 2 1. 8. προλοχιούντας—referring to the collective *μέρος*.

τὰ καρτερά—strong positions in the hills.

111 § 1 1. 2. οἷς ἔσπειστο—see c. 109, 2.

3. πρόφασιν— the so-called accus. in apposition to a sentence, best regarded as a free use of the internal or adverbial accus. The actions described are the πρόφασις (Bayfield on Soph. *El*. 130, Hardie, *Latin Prose*, p. 7).

§ 2 1. 9. οἱ ἄλλοι—i.e. the Peloponnesians who were not included in the secret agreement.

*ὁσοὶ . . ξυνεξελθόντες*—'as many, that is, who had chanced to go out (from Olpae) in a body fortuitously with the others.' This is the best interpretation of a passage that has been very much discussed. Notice (1) *μέν*, with no corresponding *δέ*, implies a contrast: part remained behind in Olpae; (2) οὕτως = ὡς ἐξον, 'just by chance'; (3) the aorist partic. with ἑτύγχανον is unusual, the rule being ἑτύγχανον + pres. or perf. partic., ἑτύχαν + aor. partic.; (4) ξυνεξελθόντες, the other reading, would mean, 'to have met together in Olpae.' A great number of emendations have been proposed, but the reading of the mss. gives a satisfactory sense. If (3) is a fatal objection, then (a) a comma must be placed at οὕτως, and the latter must be considered to point forward to ξυνεξελθόντες—
then ἐνγχανων οὕτως without a partic. is strange; or (b) μὲν must be altered to μεμονωμένου or μένοντες; or (c) a comma must be placed at ἄθροι, so that ἐνγχανων οὕτως ἄθροι sc. ὑποτ = 'happened by chance to be together.' Such an omission of a partic. with τυγχάνω is not impossible where an adj. is added.

§ 3 1. 12. οἱ δὲ ἄκαρπανει—only their leaders knew of the secret compact.

16. τίς—often explained as collective for τίνες: this is doubtful, because of the sing. νομίσας following.

§ 4 1. 22. ἐς τήν Ἀγραΐδα—The Agraei were independent and friendly to the Peloponnesians. Woodhouse thinks that they were not Aetolians.

§ 1 1. 2. Ἰδομενήν—twin heights in the hills, the exact site uncertain.

§ 2 1. 11. ἐπὶ τής ἐσβολῆς—to the pass that led to Ambracia.

12. διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλοχικῶν ορῶν—i.e. inland, among the hills, in order to stop up the roads.

13. ἀμα ὃθροφ— the time between first cock-crow and the dawn: ὃθροφ ἐστίν ἡ ὃρα τῆς νυκτος καθ' ἕν ἀλεκτρινας ἄδουσιν. ἀρχεται δὲ ἐνάτης ὥρας (circa 2 A.M.) καὶ τελευτά εἰς διαγελῶσαν ἡμέραν (Phrynichus).

§ 4 1. 18. Δωρίδα τε γλάρσαν—it was only thirty years since the Naupactian Messenians had left the Peloponnes. The Ambraciots spoke Doric.

20. τῇ διψει—'with the eyes,' pointing the contrast with what they heard. Here as in other passages (e.g. vii. 75, 2) it is disputed whether the phrase means this or 'by their appearance.'

§ 6 1. 27. τῶν δὲ . . ἀνεπιστημόνων—for the gen. abs. though it refers to the subj. of the verb see c. 13, 7; 55, 1.

§ 7 1. 33. παραπλεοῦσας . . ξυντυχ.—'sailing along the coast from Olpae) just at the time when the action (the fighting) occurred.'

§ 8 1. 40. σκυλεύσαντες—the Athenians themselves were not above this on occasions.

§ 1 1. 1. καὶ αὐτοῖς κτλ.—the incident as related inevitably reminds us of a Greek tragedy—e.g. the Persae.

4. τῶν νεκρῶν οὗς ἀπέκτειναν—cf. II. 52 νεκρός ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλως ἀποθεύσαντες.
6. ἐμεῖς ἑσσαν—‘tried to depart with them.’

§ 2 l. 9. τὸ πάθος—‘the catastrophe’ of Idomene.

10. τῶν μετὰ σφόν—i.e. that they had belonged to those who had fought with his own comrades—i.e. with the body that escaped over the border.

§ 3 l. 11. θαυμάζοι—τεθνάσων—the change of mood from opt. to indic. has nothing to do with the sense: it is purely stylistic. Cf. c. 22, 8.

12. αὖ—‘for his part.’

13. τῶν ἐν Ἰδομεναῖς—edd. compare Π. 34 τούς ἐν Μαραθῶνi where, however, ἐν should prob. be omitted (see Neil on Aristoph. Eq. 785). In most cases a partic. is expressed; but ‘those of Idomenae’ is, of course, sufficient.

15. τὰ ὀπλα ταυτὶ—the omission of the number—διακοσίων—here appears to be impossible: ‘these are not the arms, then,’ would be natural, were it not for the contrast following. The schol. already did not find διακοσίων in the text.

§ 4 l. 17. μαχομένων—imperf.; cf. c. 62, 5.

18. εἴπερ γε—‘yes if,’ taking up τῶν . . ἐστίν, exactly as in dramatic dialogue the retort is apt to catch up the question. (I have put a note of interrogation at ἐστίν in place of the usual full stop, because the remark seems to be a query as well as a denial: ‘then they are not . . ?’)

19. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε—‘nay, but we.’

20. καὶ μὲν δὴ . . γε—‘why I assure you it was with these’; for the particles cf. Plato, Symp. 197 Α καὶ μὲν δὴ τὴν γε τῶν ἔρων ποτήσων.

§ 6 l. 27. πάθος κτλ.—‘this disaster was the worst that . . ’ The number of days is three. The qualifications are very precise, and suggest that Thuc. is conscious that other events might be suggested.

29. κατὰ τῶν πόλεμον τόνδε—many think that only the Ten Years’ (Archidamian) war is meant. It is impossible to attain certainty on the question. If Thuc. wrote this soon after the event, the expression is quite natural.

30. ἀπιστοῦν—pred. not to γενέσθαι, but to λέγειαι γενέσθαι together, i.e. ‘the total that it is said to have amounted to is incredible.’
NOTES

§ 1 l. 4. πλέοντα εἶλα—when or how is not explained.

6. ἐπερέθησαν—The number is prob. influenced by the apposition πανοπλια.

7. κατέπλευσε—to Athens. He was once more elected Strategus at the following elections (in spring of 425 B.C.) for the year 425-424. A statue of Nikē was set up on the acropolis as a memorial of this victory: an inscription relating to its repair is still extant. The Messenians and Naupactians set up a Nikē at Delphi: a fragment of the inscription upon it is extant.

§ 2 l. 15. ἀναχώρησιν . . εἰς Οἰναδῶν—i.e. by sea, the ships obtained from Oeniadae, which was friendly. These Ambraciots had prob. got to Oeniadae from Agraeis by crossing the Acheleous and marching right across Aetolia. They could hardly have got safely home to Ambracia by sea without leave from the Acarnanians. (οἴπερ for οἴπερ and Σαλωνθίου for Σάλωνθιον are certain corrections.)

§ 3 l. 20. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε—no attempt is made to modify the ἵμμαξια of Acarnania with Athens, or of Ambracia with Sparta.

23. βοηθεῖν of defensive, στρατεύειν of offensive, operations.

25. ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόριον—the Corinthians had added fresh colonists to this important place in 433 B.C. A year after this agreement (autumn 425 B.C.) the Acarnanians, supported by the Athenians at Naupactus, took Anactorium.

§ 4 l. 27. διελυσαν τὸν πόλεμον—Ambracia never recovered from its effects.

§ 1 l. 4. ἀνωθεν—from the interior, where the Sicels dwelt: τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τῆς νῆσου ἔχοντι (vi. 2). Σικελῶν τῶν for Σικελιωτῶν is fairly certain: the Siceliots were being hard pressed by Syracuse.

5. τὰ ἐσχατα—Freeman says that the extreme eastern part of the Himeraean land must be meant.

§ 2 l. 9. ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διάδοχον—it is hardly necessary to supply a partic.: διάδοχον in itself implies ταχέωντα. It appears that Laches, on returning to Athens, was prosecuted for embezzlement of public money.

§ 3 l. 10. Σύμμαχοι—the Siceliots.

11. ἐπιεισαν—plup. in sense.

15. ὃς οὖ περισφύμενοι—with παρεσκευάζοντο.
§ 4 l. 18. καταλυθήσεσθαι — by establishing themselves in Sicily.

19. μελέτην . . ποιεῖσθαι — it has been pointed out that this is prob. intentional irony on the part of Thuc., who repeats the statements of the war-party of the day. There was an unlimited field for Athenian naval activity round the coasts of Peloponnese without sending fleets to Sicily.

§ 5 l. 21. Πυθεόδωρον κτλ.—the three commanders are mocked at by Aristoph. *Acharn.* 598.

§ 6 l. 26. φρούριον—see c. 99.

116 § 1 l. 4. τῶν Καταναλῶν — Catania, now the second city in Sicily, has survived many terrible disasters, due partly to its wars, and partly to its proximity to the mountain.

§ 2 l. 6. πεντηκοστῷ ἐτεί — if the number is exact, the previous eruption would be in 475 or 474 B.C. There is a magnificent description of an eruption of Etna in Pindar’s first *Pythian* (474 B.C.), and in Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus* (*circa* 468 B.C.). An eruption is recorded as occurring at the time of the battle of Plataea, 479 B.C. λέγεται shows that Thuc. was not quite sure as to the exact date.

8. τρίς γεγενήσθαι — the ‘first’ eruption is legendary. A fourth is recorded in 396 B.C.
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