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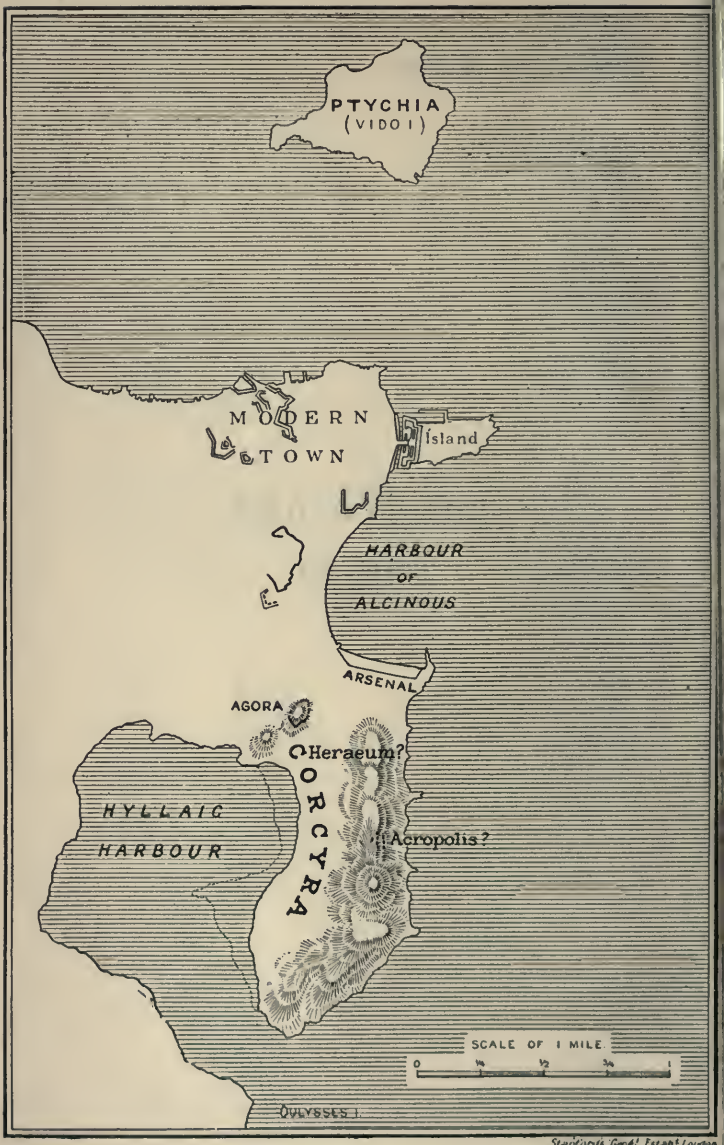
THUCYDIDES

BOOK III



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THUCYDIDES

BOOK III

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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, Oberhummer'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

I. Table of Principal Events

428.	
Spring.	Sedition rife in Lesbos (c. 2).
June.	Athenian Embassy sent to Lesbos.
	Athenian fleet of 40 ships sent to Lesbos (c. 3).
	The Peloponnesians invade Attica (c. 1).
July.	Lesbos revolts.
	The Athenians establish two camps at Lesbos (c. 6).
August.	At the Olympic games the Lesbians become allies of Sparta (c. 15).
September.	The Peloponnesians prepare to invade Attica again, but the plan is frustrated by the dispatch of a fleet of 100 ships from Athens (c. 16).
	The Mytileneans attack Methymna and other places (c. 18).
	Paches sent from Athens to Lesbos with 1000 hoplites.
October.	Circumvallation of Mytilene.
427.	
Jan. or Feb.	Escape of 212 besieged Plataeans (c. 20).
May.	A Peloponnesian fleet of 42 ships under Alcidas sent to Lesbos (c. 26).

June.	The Peloponnesians invade Attica (c. **27**).
July.	Fall of Mytilene.
	Nicias seizes the island of Minoa (c. **51**).
August.	Fall of Plataea (c. **52**).
	Faction-fighting in Corcyra (cc. **70–81**).
	Embassy from Leontini to Athens (c. **86**).
September.	Laches sent to Sicily with a fleet of 20 ships.
426.	
June.	Demosthenes sent round the Peloponnese with a fleet of 30 ships (c. **91**).
	The Spartans establish the colony of Heraclea.
	Demosthenes invades Aetolia.
	The Aetolians send to Sparta for assistance
August.	Demosthenes defeated in Aetolia. The fleet returns to Athens (c. **98**).
Autumn.	Eurylochus with a Peloponnesian force marches to the aid of the Aetolians (c. **100**).
	Battle of Olpae, and slaughter of the Ambraciots.
	Demosthenes returns to Athens.
425.	
Winter.	Purification of Delos (c. **104**).
	Embassy from the Siceliots to Athens (c. **115**).
Feb. or March.	Eruption of Mt. Etna (c. **116**).

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. **Λιμένες** (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. **τείχη** (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. **Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων** (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 (περιορμισάμενοι, 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.[1]

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. **τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Πελοποννησίων** (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.[2] The roof of the wall, with its battlements and towers, formed a continuous gallery, for there was a passage (**δίοδος**) through every tower, communicating with the intervals (curtains, *μεταπύργια*) between every pair of towers by means of small doors. The sun-baked bricks of which the wall was built must have

[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 *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.

[2] G. B. Grundy, *Topography of the battle of Pl.*, and H. Wagner, *Die Belagerung von Pl.*, compared.

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 (*περιτείχισμα*) 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 (*φύλακες*) 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*) **ἡ ἐς Θήβας φέρουσα ὁδός**, (*b*) **ἡ ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν ὁδός** (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.[1] 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.

Thebes to Athens.[1] 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 Corcyrean 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 Corcyra. These men were treated with consideration in Corinth, and every effort was made to win them over to the Peloponnesian cause. What happened in Corcyra between this time and the date of the events recorded in III. 70–81 we do not know. Thucydides mentions Corcyrean ships as forming part of the Athenian navy; but it is apparent that the defensive alliance formed with Athens was not interpreted by Corcyra 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.

Corcyra to abandon her alliance with Athens. Even if the island remained passive, the friendship of Corcyra 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 Corcyra, 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 Corcyra 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 Corcyra, will be found useful:—

Notes to the Map of Corcyra

1. The ancient city of Corcyra 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[1]—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[2] 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 τέμενος 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 τέμενος 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.

4. DEMOSTHENES IN AETOLIA AND AMPHILOCHIA

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 Corcyra, 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.[1]

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 Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθείς** (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:—

Prologue: Olpae seized—Argos and Crenae garrisoned. *Act I.:* Eurylochus across Acarnania, with Demosthenes at his heels. *Act II.:* Battle before Olpae. *Act III.:* The compact and its sequel—the massacre—the flight to Agraeis. *Act IV.:* The Ambraciots ambushed in the hills. *Act V.:* The herald.[1]

[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 ὑπεύθυνον τὴν παραίνεσιν ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν: 63, 3 αἰσχρὸν ἦν προδοῦναι τοὺς εὐεργέτας· πολὺ δέ γε αἴσχιον . . Ἕλληνας καταπροδοῦναι: 64, 5 ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμὸν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἑκούσιον ἀττικισμόν: cf. cc. 37, 4; 39, 2; 82, 4.

(*b*) Drawing together contrasted words, as c. 32, 2 ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς φιλίαν προσάξεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν φίλων πολεμίους ἕξειν: 38, 1 ὁ γὰρ παθὼν τῷ δράσαντι . . ἐπ-

[1] *Thukydides in Auswahl*, E. Lange, Leipzig, 1896; *Extraits de Thucydide*, M. Chambry, Paris, 1897; *Thuc. Books II. and III.*, by Prof. W. A. Lamberton, 1905.

ἐξέρχεται: or, less frequently, by separating them widely, as in c. 36, 6 βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος.

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 ᾧ γὰρ δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι ἡ Λέσβος, τὴν ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύθεν παρέξει: and so with ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ and δι' ἣν ἡ Ἀττική 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 ξυμφέρον, 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 ἄρχεσθαι and ἣν ἐπ-εσβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον (c. 13, 4) are frequent; or, again, like this: τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο, οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα 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), δοῦπος (22), ἑσσάμενος, περικτίονες (104).

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

Ionic: ἐξαπιναίως (3, etc.) and ἐξαπίνης (89), νομίζω = χρῶμαι.

(*b*) The frequency of nouns in *-σις*, *-τής*, and *-μα* formed from verbs is extraordinary.

Nouns in -σις 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 ποιεῖσθαι, 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 ἡσυχαίτερα (82, 2); more often in the case of phrases and clauses, as in τῶν λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν . . ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι (2, 2): οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούς (37, 2), ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα . . ἐπιφέροντες (58, 4): ἐξαπιναίως καὶ οὐ 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 ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν . . πολεμουμένων 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 προσλήψεσθε (13, 7).
3. A partic. is added in nom. though it applies to a word in a different case, as ἔδοξεν 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 grammatical exactness is shown. A striking case is c. 34, 3, where ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε, ὁ δὲ . . εἶχεν replaces ἐξελθόντα αὐτὸν . . εἶχεν.
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 ἡ παροῦσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον (39, 3); cf. cc. 67, 6 ἀμύνατε: 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 Corcyrean disturbances, as in c. 81, 2, where, though the subject is Κερκυραῖοι, the verb presently applies only to the democratic party among the Corcyreans. It is common also to subdivide a substantive by apposition with μὲν . . δέ, as in c. 13, 3 νῆες . . αἱ μὲν . . αἱ δέ.

(*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 ἐσβολήν . .* (15, 1); cf. c. 113, 6.
2. A governing conjunction is postponed to words that are prominent, as in *καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὡς ἑώρων* (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 Μυοῦντος 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 *καί*, 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—*δημηγορίαι*.[1] 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 *πρᾶξις* 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 δημηγορίαι αὐτοῦ, ἐν αἷς οἴονταί τινες τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι δύναμιν* Dionys. *Περὶ τοῦ Θουκ.* χ. c. 34.

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.'[1] 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 *δημηγορίαι* proper into history; and the writers on rhetoric regarded him, and him alone, as an orator as well as a historian, thus bearing emphatic testimony to the importance of his speeches in the history of their art.

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

[1] Jebb in *Hellenica*, p. 169.

whole states or of political parties. He condenses in a single speech or in the speeches of opposed orators all the 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 σχηματισμοί* and *θεατρικὰ 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 *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί* 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 ὀδύσσομαι occurs in Homer only and always as in *paronomasia* with the name Ὀδυσσεύς.[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' Ὁμήρῳ σχημάτων 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

παραχρῆμα! On the other hand, I do not think we can say that *antithesis* is foreign to the nature of the grave style. We must distinguish between this and the minor σχήματα λέξεως.

[1] Nieschke, *de Thucydide Antiphontis discipulo*, Münden, 1885.

[2] *Il.* IV. 140 Προθόος θοός: but by no means only with proper names; e.g. *Il.* XVIII. 541 πλειραν ἄρουραν εὐρεῖαν, *Od.* IX. 415 ὠδίνων ὀδύνησιν.

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*[1] (προοίμιον), *argumentatio* (ἀγῶνες), and *peroratio* (ἐπίλογος). He uses, too, the rhetorical commonplaces, such as *honour* (τὸ καλόν), *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,[2] 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, ἀσαφὲς γίγνεται τὸ βραχύ. 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

[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 ὁσιότης or εὐσέβεια.

[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 νήσους 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.

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

Cisalpinus or *Italus*, A; at Paris, large folio on parchment. 11th or 12th century. It was lost

from 1815 to 1869, and rediscovered by R. Prinz in the National Library.

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

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

This Edition	Stuart Jones
c. 11, 4 ἑκόντας [τὰ]	ἄκοντας . . τὰ
c. 23, 5 ἢ βορέου	[ἢ βορέου]
c. 24, 1 ἥκιστ' <ἂν>	ἥκιστα
c. 30, 4 τὸ καινὸν	τὸ κενὸν
c. 40, 3 ὁμοίως	ὁμοίους
c. 44, 2 ἐᾶν	εἶεν
3 ᾧ	ὃ
c. 52, 2 κολάσειν	κολάζειν
c. 56, 7 ἔχουσι	ἔχωσι
c. 59, 2 [μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν]	μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν
κεκμηῶτας	κεκμηκότας
c. 64, 1 ἡμεῖς	ὑμεῖς
c. 66, 3 κἀνταῦθα	καὶ ταῦτα
c. 67, 3 καὶ <αἱ> οἰκίαι	καὶ οἰκίαι
7 ξύμπαντας <τὰς>	ξύμπαντας
c. 68, 1 [ἃ]	ἃ
3 Θηβαῖοι	[Θηβαῖοι]
c. 82, 1 ὠμὴ στάσις	ὠμὴ ἡ στάσις
6 ὠφελίᾳ	ὠφελίας
8 προστιθέντες	προτιθέντες
c. 83, 3 φθάνωσι	φθάσωσι
c. 97, 3 ὁπότε	ὅτε
c. 107, 2 [τὸν λόφον]	τὸν λόφον

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c. 67, 5 post κρίναντες paragraphum inserui
c. 82, 1 post Λακεδαιμονίους interpunxi
c. 108, 3 post Ὄλπας gravius interpunxi
c. 113, 4 post ἐστίν interrogationis signum posui

Conjectures: c. 11, 1 <ἂν> ἀντισουμένου, *quod nos soli adhuc, si fors ferret, pares esse concilio possemus* c. 11, 6 ante ὑμῖν dele ἤ c. 40, 7 post παντὸς adde τότ' c. 45, 3 lege καὶ ταὐτὰ ὅμως παραβαίνεται, *eadem tamen scelera admittunt homines* c. 82, 7 dele θαρσῆσαι c. 107, 4 dele ὀλίγων c. 108, 2 post Ἀμπρακιῶται dele καὶ

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Γ

1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν (ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς), καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσβολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίγνοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων ὅπῃ παρείκοι, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὅμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν. ἐμμείναντες δὲ χρόνον οὗ εἶχον τὰ σιτία ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

The Peloponnesians invade Attica for the third time.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουληθέντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέξαντο, ἀναγκασθέντες

Lesbos, Methymna alone excepted, revolts from Athens.

1 9. post εἶργον add. διὰ CG.

δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον ἢ
2 διενοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων
τὴν χῶσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν
καὶ νεῶν ποίησιν ἐπέμενον τελε-
σθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου
ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε καὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἃ
3 μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὄντες αὐ-
τοῖς διάφοροι καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ αὐτῶν
Μυτιληναίων ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρό-
ξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν
Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν
μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν
ὄντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγονται· καὶ εἰ μή
τις προκαταλήψεται ἤδη, στερήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς
3 Λέσβου. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι (ἦσαν γὰρ τεταλαι-
πωρημένοι ὑπό τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου
ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος) μέγα μὲν
ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι Λέσβον προσπολεμώσασθαι
ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν καὶ δύναμιν ἀκέραιον, καὶ
οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο τὸ πρῶτον τὰς κατηγορίας,
μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ
εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις
οὐκ ἔπειθον τοὺς Μυτιληναίους τήν τε ξυνοί-
κισιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, δείσαντες
2 προκαταλαβεῖν ἐβούλοντο. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐξ-
απιναίως τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς αἳ ἔτυχον περὶ
Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμέναι πλεῖν· Κλεϊπ-

Troubles in Mytilene previous to the revolt.

2 12. μεταπεπεμμένοι Cobet.
3 6. τὸ om. ABEFM. 9. ξυνοίκησιν ABFM.

πίδης δὲ ὁ Δεινίου τρίτος αὐτὸς ἐστρατήγει.
3 ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἑορτάζουσι, καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπεσεῖν ἄφνω, καὶ ἢν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῖν ναῦς τε παραδοῦναι καὶ τείχη καθελεῖν, μὴ πειθομένων δὲ πολεμεῖν. Fleet sent by Athens.
4 καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες ᾤχοντο· τὰς δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων δέκα τριήρεις, αἳ ἔτυχον βοηθοὶ παρὰ σφᾶς κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παροῦσαι, κατέσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς
5 φυλακὴν ἐποιήσαντο. τοῖς δὲ Μυτιληναίοις ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν διαβὰς ἐς Εὔβοιαν καὶ πεζῇ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθών, ὁλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχών, πλῷ χρησάμενος καὶ τριταῖος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἀφικόμενος ἀγγέλλει τὸν ἐπίπλουν. Mytilene warned of its approach.
6 οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐς τὸν Μαλόεντα ἐξῆλθον, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων περὶ τὰ ἡμι-
4 τέλεστα φαρξάμενοι ἐφύλασσον. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταπλεύσαντες ὡς ἐώρων, ἀπήγγειλαν μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, οὐκ ἐσακουόντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐς πόλεμον καθί- War between Athens and Lesbos.
2 σταντο. ἀπαράσκευοι δὲ οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν ἔκπλουν μέν τινα ἐποιήσαντο τῶν νεῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν

33. *πέρι* Haase : *πέριξ* Meineke.
4 8. *ναυμαχίᾳ* ABEFM.

ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος, ἔπειτα καταδιωχθέντες
ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν λόγους ἤδη προσέ- 10
φερον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, βουλόμενοι τὰς ναῦς τὸ
παραυτίκα, εἰ δύναιντο, ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ
3 ἀποπέμψασθαι. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ οὐχ
4 ἱκανοὶ ὦσι Λέσβῳ πάσῃ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἀν- 15

An armistice. Mytilene sends to Athens and to Sparta.

οκωχὴν ποιησάμενοι πέμπουσιν ἐς
τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι τῶν
τε διαβαλλόντων ἕνα, ᾧ μετέμελεν
ἤδη, καὶ ἄλλους, εἴ πως πείσειαν τὰς ναῦς
5 ἀπελθεῖν ὡς σφῶν οὐδὲν νεωτεριούντων. ἐν 20
τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαί-
μονα πρέσβεις τριήρει, λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ναυτικόν, οἳ ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς
βορέαν τῆς πόλεως· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευον τοῖς
6 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προχωρήσειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν 25
ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ταλαιπώρως διὰ τοῦ πελά-
γους κομισθέντες αὐτοῖς ἔπρασσον ὅπως τις
5 βοήθεια ἥξει· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πρέσβεις

War renewed. Help awaited from Peloponnese.

ὡς οὐδὲν ἦλθον πράξαντες, ἐς πόλε-
μον καθίσταντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ
ἡ ἄλλη Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης·
οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, καὶ 5
Ἴμβριοι καὶ Λήμνιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγοι
2 τινὲς ξυμμάχων. καὶ ἔξοδον μέν τινα πανδημεὶ
ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ
οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι οὔτε 10

23. ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ del. Herwerden.

ἐπηυλίσαντο οὔτε ἐπίστευσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς,
3 ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεχώρησαν· ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον, ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ᾽ ἄλλης παρασκευῆς
4 βουλόμενοι εἰ προσγένοιτό τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ
γὰρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ
Ἑρμαιώνδας Θηβαῖος, οἳ προαπεστάλησαν μὲν
τῆς ἀποστάσεως, φθάσαι δὲ οὐ δυνάμενοι τὸν
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπίπλουν κρύφα μετὰ τὴν
μάχην ὕστερον ἐσπλέουσι τριήρει, καὶ παρή-
νουν πέμπειν τριήρη ἄλλην καὶ πρέσβεις μεθ᾽
6 ἑαυτῶν· καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
πολὺ ἐπιρρωσθέντες διὰ τὴν τῶν The Athenians prepare to invest Mytilene.
Μυτιληναίων ἡσυχίαν ξυμμάχους
τε προσεκάλουν, οἳ πολὺ θᾶσσον παρῆσαν
ὁρῶντες οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων, καὶ
περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως
ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς πό-
λεως, καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρμους ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς
2 λιμέσιν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης
εἶργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυτιληναίους, τῆς δὲ
γῆς τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐκράτουν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λέσβιοι προσβεβοηθηκότες ἤδη,
τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ κατεῖχον
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον ἦν αὐτοῖς
πλοίων καὶ ἀγορὰ ἡ Μαλέα. καὶ τὰ μὲν
περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ θέρους
τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ περὶ Πελο- West Coast of Greece.
πόννησον ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν τριά- Athenian fleet

6 15. ἀγορὰ Krüger : ἀγορᾶς codd.

sent to Naupactus, whence an unsuccessful attack is made on Oeniadae and Leucas.

κοντα καὶ Ἀσώπιον τὸν Φορμίωνος στρατηγόν, κελευσάντων Ἀκαρνάνων τῶν Φορμίωνός τινα σφίσι πέμψαι ἢ υἱὸν ἢ ξυγγενῆ ἄρχοντα. καὶ παραπλέουσαι αἱ νῆες τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἐπόρθησαν. ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν πλείους ἀποπέμπει τῶν νεῶν πάλιν ἐπ' οἴκου ὁ Ἀσώπιος, αὐτὸς δ' ἔχων δώδεκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ὕστερον Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἀναστήσας πανδημεὶ στρατεύει ἐπ' Οἰνιάδας, καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἔπλευσε καὶ ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς ἐδῄου τὴν χώραν. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεχώρουν, τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀφίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα καὶ ἀπόβασιν ἐς Νήρικον ποιησάμενος ἀναχωρῶν διαφθείρεται αὐτός τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τι μέρος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτόθεν τε ξυμβοηθησάντων καὶ φρουρῶν τινῶν ὀλίγων. καὶ ὕστερον ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀποπλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λευκαδίων ἐκομίσαντο.

Mytilenean envoys at Olympia.

8 Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεὼς ἐκπεμφθέντες Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεις, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶπον Ὀλυμπίαζε παρεῖναι, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀκούσαντες βουλεύσωνται, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν· ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς ᾗ Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν κατέστησαν ἐς λόγους, εἶπον τοιάδε.

7 20. αὐτόθι CG.

9 "Τὸ μὲν καθεστὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησι νόμιμον, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἴσμεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφισταμένους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ξυμμαχίαν τὴν πρὶν ἀπολείποντας οἱ δεξάμενοι, καθ' ὅσον μὲν ὠφελοῦνται, ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι, νομίζοντες δὲ εἶναι προδότας 2 τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φίλων χείρους ἡγοῦνται. καὶ οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσίς ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἵ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἀφ' ὧν διακρίνοιντο ἴσοι μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ, ἀντίπαλοι δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει, πρόφασίς τε ἐπιεικὴς μηδεμία ὑπάρχοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως· ὃ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἦν, 3 μηδέ τῳ χείρους δόξωμεν εἶναι εἰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τιμώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀφιστάμεθα. Exordium of their speech.

10 "Περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς πρῶτον ἄλλως τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιντο καὶ τἆλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων 2 καθίστανται. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἀπολιπόντων μὲν ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινάντων δὲ ἐκείνων 3 πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. ξύμμαχοι Exposition of their relations with Athens. The grounds for the revolt.

9 13. post δ add. καὶ C.
10 6. γίγνοιτο Boehme.

μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν
Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ
4 τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀπὸ
τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο, προθύμως εἱπόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ
δὲ ἐωρῶμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου
ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων
δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἦμεν.
5 ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυ-
ψηφίαν ἀμύνασθαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐδουλώθησαν
πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων· ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ
ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρατεύ-
6 σαμεν. καὶ πιστοὺς οὐκέτι εἴχομεν ἡγεμόνας
Ἀθηναίους, παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις
χρώμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς οὓς μὲν
μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνσπόνδους ἐποιήσαντο καταστρέ-
ψασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα
11 ἐδυνήθησαν, μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ μὲν
αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἦμεν ἅπαντες, βεβαιότεροι ἂν
ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτεριεῖν· ὑποχειρίους δὲ
ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου
ὁμιλοῦντες, χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἔμελλον οἴσειν
καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλέον ἤδη εἶκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου
ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσῳ
δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὑτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς
2 ἐρημότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον
πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν· ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνειν τι
3 βουλόμενος τῷ μὴ προύχων ἂν ἐπελθεῖν
ἀποτρέπεται. αὐτόνομοί τε ἐλείφθημεν οὐ δι'

19. ἐπειγομένους Ross. προγεγενημένοις Weidner. 25. προγενομένοις Hude : προ-
29. δυνηθεῖεν Dobree.

ἄλλο τι ἢ ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρεπείᾳ τε λόγου καὶ γνώμης μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο καταληπτά. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν τούς γε ἰσοψήφους ἑκόντας, εἰ μή τι ἠδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆσαν, ξυστρατεύειν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἐπί τε τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους πρώτους ξυνεπῆγον καὶ [τὰ] τελευταῖα λιπόντες τοῦ ἄλλου περιῃρημένου ἀσθενέστερα ἔμελλον ἕξειν. εἰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἤρξαντο, ἐχόντων ἔτι τῶν πάντων αὐτῶν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς ὅ τι χρὴ στῆναι, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐχειρώσαντο. τό τε ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν παρεῖχέ τινα φόβον μή ποτε καθ' ἓν γενόμενον ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ προσθέμενον κίνδυνον σφίσι παράσχῃ. τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ θεραπείας τοῦ τε κοινοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ προεστώτων περιεγιγνόμεθα. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολύ γ' ἂν ἐδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατέστη, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους. τίς οὖν αὕτη ἡ φιλία ἐγίγνετο ἢ ἐλευθερία πιστή, ἐν ᾗ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδιότες ἐθεράπευον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποιοῦμεν; ὅ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὔνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρεῖχε, δέει τε τὸ πλέον ἢ φιλίᾳ κατεχόμενοι

11 17. *ἑκόντας* Schol. : *ἄκοντας* codd. 20. *τὰ* del. Krüger.
30. *δοκοῦμεν* Krüger : *ἔτι δοκοῦμεν* Steup.
12 2. pr. *ἢ* cfG : *ἢ* cett. 7. *πίστιν* del. Classen.

ξύμμαχοι ἦμεν· καὶ ὁποτέροις θᾶσσον παράσχοι ἀσφάλεια θάρσος, οὗτοι πρότεροί τι καὶ παραβήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. ὥστε εἴ τῳ δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες σαφῶς εἰδέναι εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἔσται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖ. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ ἦμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι; ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ ὄντος αἰεὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύνασθαι.

13 "Τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἀπέστημεν, σαφεῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀκούουσι γνῶναι ὡς εἰκότως ἐδράσαμεν, ἱκανὰς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα τρέψαι, βουλομένους μὲν καὶ πάλαι, ὅτε ἔτι· ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπέμψαμεν ὡς ὑμᾶς περὶ ἀποστάσεως, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐ προσδεξαμένων κωλυθέντας· νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ προυκαλέσαντο εὐθὺς ὑπηκούσαμεν, καὶ ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλῆν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπό τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴ ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπό τε Ἀθηναίων μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἀλλὰ προποιῆσαι.

2 Ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις ἡμῶν θᾶσσον γεγένηται

9. ἦμεν] εἶναι CG. 16. ἀντιμελλῆσαι Schol. alter: ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι codd.: ἀντιμελλῆσαί τι Heilmann, qui post ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι distinxit. 17. ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι del. Böhme: ἐκείνους εἶναι Krüger.

καὶ ἀπαράσκευος· ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον χρὴ ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν, ἵνα φαίνησθε ἀμύνοντές τε οἷς δεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ
3 αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτοντες. καιρὸς δὲ ὡς οὔπω πρότερον. νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐφθάραται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνῃ, νῆές τε αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰσίν, αἱ δ'
4 ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετάχαται. ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς περιουσίαν νεῶν ἔχειν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ θέρει τῷδε ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐπεσβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον, ἀλλ' ἢ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀμυνοῦνται ἐπιπλέ-
5 οντας ἢ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται. νομίσῃ τε μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς πέρι οἰκεῖον κίνδυνον ἕξειν. ᾧ γὰρ δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι ἡ Λέσβος, τὴν ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύθεν παρέξει. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος, ὥς τις οἴεται,
6 ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ὠφελεῖται. ἔστι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἡ πρόσοδος, καὶ ἔτι μείζων ἔσται, εἰ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψονται· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποστήσεται ἄλλος τά τε ἡμέτερα προσγενήσεται, πάθοιμέν τ' ἂν δεινότερα ἢ
7 οἱ πρὶν δουλεύοντες. βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν τε προσλήψεσθε ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν μέγα, οὗπερ ὑμῖν μάλιστα προσδεῖ, καὶ Ἀθηναίους ῥᾷον καθαιρήσετε ὑφαιροῦντες αὐτῶν τοὺς ξυμμάχους (θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις προσχωρήσεται), τήν τε αἰτίαν ἀποφεύξεσθε ἣν εἴχετε μὴ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις. ἣν

Reasons why the Peloponnesians should send help.

13

44. ἔχετε BG.

δ' ἐλευθεροῦντες φαίνησθε, τὸ κράτος τοῦ πολέμου βεβαιότερον ἕξετε.

14 "Αἰσχυνθέντες οὖν τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδας καὶ Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, ἐν οὗ τῷ ἱερῷ ἴσα καὶ ἱκέται ἐσμέν, ἐπαμύνατε Μυτιληναίοις ξύμμαχοι γενόμενοι, καὶ μὴ προῆσθε ἡμᾶς ἴδιον μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους, κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθῶσαι ὠφελίαν ἅπασι δώσοντας, ἔτι δὲ κοινοτέραν τὴν βλάβην, εἰ μὴ πεισθέντων ὑμῶν σφαλησόμεθα. γίγνεσθε δὲ ἄνδρες οἵουσπερ ὑμᾶς οἵ τε Ἕλληνες ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος βούλεται."

Peroration.

15 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν, προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους ξυμμάχους τε τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν τοῖς τε ξυμμάχοις παροῦσι κατὰ τάχος ἔφραζον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν ὡς ποιησόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὁλκοὺς παρεσκεύαζον τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ὡς ὑπεροίσοντες ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐπιόντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν προθύμως ταῦτα ἔπρασσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι βραδέως τε ξυνελέγοντο καὶ ἐν καρποῦ ξυγκομιδῇ ἦσαν

Alliance between Mytilene and the Peloponnesians. A fresh invasion of Attica projected.

15 7. παροῦσι del. Steup.

16 καὶ ἀρρωστίᾳ τοῦ στρατεύειν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν παρασκευαζομένους, δηλῶσαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκασιν ἀλλ' οἱοί τέ εἰσι μὴ κινοῦντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐπιὸν ῥᾳδίως ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς ἑκατὸν ἐσβάντες αὐτοί τε πλὴν ἱππέων καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀναγαγόντες ἐπίδειξίν τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἀποβάσεις τῆς 2 Πελοποννήσου ᾗ δοκοίη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁρῶντες πολὺν τὸν παράλογον τά τε ὑπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων ῥηθέντα ἠγοῦντο οὐκ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἄπορα νομίζοντες, ὡς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅμα οὐ παρῆσαν καὶ ἠγγέλλοντο καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν περιοικίδα αὐτῶν 3 πορθοῦσαι, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. ὕστερον δὲ ναυτικὸν παρεσκεύαζον ὅ τι πέμψουσιν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον τεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλῆθος καὶ ναύαρχον προσέταξαν Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι. 4 ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἑκατὸν 17 ναυσίν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνους εἶδον. [καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃν αἱ νῆες ἔπλεον ἐν τοῖς πλεῖσται δὴ νῆες ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ † κάλλει ἐγένοντο, παραπλήσιαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους

It is abandoned on account of Athenian naval activity. A Peloponnesian fleet in preparation for Lesbos.

16 17. τριάκοντα del. Steup.

17 c. 17 secl. Steup. 3. κάλλει] σ' καὶ λ' Herbst: καὶ ἄλλῃ Stahl: μιᾷ πόλει Widmann.

2 ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου. τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὔβοιαν καὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἑκατὸν ἐφύλασσον, καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἕτεραι ἑκατὸν ἦσαν, χωρὶς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἅμα ἐγίγνοντο 3 ἐν ἐνὶ θέρει διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε μετὰ 4 Ποτειδαίας. τήν τε γὰρ Ποτείδαιαν δίδραχμοι ὁπλῖται ἐφρούρουν (αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ δραχμὴν ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἡμέρας), τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διεπολιόρκησαν, ἑξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι μετὰ Φορμίωνος, οἳ προαπῆλθον· νῆές τε αἱ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπανηλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλεῖσται ἐπληρώθησαν.]

18 Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦσαν ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν ὡς προδιδομένην ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ γῆν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἐπίκουροι· καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προυχώρει ᾗ προσεδέχοντο, ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' Ἀντίσσης καὶ Πύρρας καὶ Ἐρέσου, καὶ καταστησάμενοι τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις βεβαιότερα καὶ τείχη κρατύναντες διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου. 2 ἐστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἄντισσαν· καὶ ἐκβοηθείας τινὸς γενομένης πληγέντες ὑπό τε τῶν

LESBOS. The Athenians, unable to confine the Mytileneans to their walls, send Paches with reinforcements. He invests Mytilene.

13. αὐτῳ ABCEF.

Ἀντισσαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων ἀπέθανόν τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος. 15
3 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, τούς τε Μυτιληναίους τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ὄντας εἴργειν, πέμπουσι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἤδη ἀρχόμενον Πάχητα τὸν Ἐπικούρου στρατηγὸν 20
4 καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἑαυτῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτερέται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ περιτειχίζουσι Μυτιλήνην ἐν κύκλῳ ἁπλῷ τείχει· φρούρια δ' ἔστιν ᾗ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν
5 ἐγκατῳκοδόμηται. καὶ ἡ μὲν Μυτιλήνη κατὰ 25 κράτος ἤδη ἀμφοτέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἴργετο, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι.

19 Προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον ἐσφορὰν διακόσια τάλαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς δώδεκα 5 καὶ Λυσικλέα πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν.

First extraordinary war-tax raised at Athens. A rebuff in Asia.

2 ὁ δὲ ἄλλα τε ἠργυρολόγει καὶ περιέπλει, καὶ τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυοῦντος ἀναβὰς διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου μέχρι τοῦ Σανδίου λόφου, ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Καρῶν καὶ Ἀναιιτῶν αὐτός 10 τε διαφθείρεται καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς πολλοί.

20 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Πλαταιῆς (ἔτι

18 24. ᾗ Krüger: οἳ codd. 25. ἐγκατοικοδομεῖται Bloomfield: ἐγκατῳκοδόμητο Haase: ἐγκατῳκοδομεῖτο Poppo: ἐγκατῳκοδομήθη Bekker.

PLATAEA. The Plataeans decide to attempt to escape through the lines of the besiegers.

γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν) ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε σίτῳ ἐπιλείποντι ἐπιέζοντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς ἦν τιμωρίας οὐδὲ ἄλλη σωτηρία ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξυμπολιορκούμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντες ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ἢν δύνωνται βιάσασθαι, ἐσηγησαμένων τὴν πεῖραν αὐτοῖς Θεαινέτου τε τοῦ Τολμίδου ἀνδρὸς μάντεως καὶ Εὐπομπίδου τοῦ Δαϊμάχου, ὃς 2 καὶ ἐστρατήγει· ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἀπώκνησάν πως τὸν κίνδυνον μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἐνέμειναν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἐθελονταὶ τρόπῳ 3 τοιῷδε. κλίμακας ἐποιήσαντο ἴσας τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων· ξυνεμετρήσαντο δὲ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν πλίνθων, ᾗ ἔτυχε πρὸς σφᾶς οὐκ ἐξαληλιμμένον τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν. ἠριθμοῦντο δὲ πολλοὶ ἅμα τὰς ἐπιβολάς, καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ μέν τινες ἁμαρτήσεσθαι οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λογισμοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλάκις ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως καθορωμένου 4 ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ξυμμέτρησιν τῶν κλιμάκων οὕτως ἔλαβον, ἐκ τοῦ πάχους τῆς πλίνθου εἰκάσαντες τὸ μέτρον.

21 τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν τῶν Πελοποννησίων τοιόνδε τῇ

4. ἐπιλείποντι Naber: ἐπιλιπόντι codd. 10. ἐσηγησαμένου ABEFM γρ. G. 12. Εὐπομπίδου E: Εὐπολπίδου cett. 26. ἐς ὅ] ὅσον Stahl.

οἰκοδομήσει. εἶχε μὲν δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρός τε Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίοι, διεῖχον δὲ οἱ περίβολοι ἑκκαίδεκα πόδας μάλιστα ἀπ' 2 ἀλλήλων. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο, οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες, τοῖς φύλαξιν οἰκήματα διανενεμημένα ᾠκοδόμητο, καὶ ἦν ξυνεχῆ ὥστε ἓν φαίνεσθαι 3 τεῖχος παχὺ ἐπάλξεις ἔχον ἀμφοτέρωθεν. διὰ δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἦσαν μεγάλοι καὶ ἰσοπλατεῖς τῷ τείχει, διήκοντες ἔς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ ἔξω, ὥστε πάροδον μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον, ἀλλὰ δι' 4 αὐτῶν μέσων διῆσαν. τὰς οὖν νύκτας, ὁπότε χειμὼν εἴη νοτερός, τὰς μὲν ἐπάλξεις ἀπέλειπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πύργων ὄντων δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἄνωθεν στεγανῶν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν τεῖχος ᾧ περιεφρουροῦντο οἱ Πλαταιῆς
22 τοιοῦτον ἦν. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἅμ' ἀσέληνον ἐξῆσαν· ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἵπερ καὶ τῆς πείρας αἴτιοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τάφρον διέβησαν ἣ περιεῖχεν αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προσέμειξαν τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας, ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν μὲν οὐ προϊδόντων αὐτῶν, ψόφῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι αὐτοὺς ἀντιπαταγοῦντος τοῦ ἀνέμου 2 οὐ κατακουσάντων· ἅμα δὲ καὶ διέχοντες πολὺ

Description of the lines.

The 220 attempt to scale the wall on a wet night.

21 6. οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες del. Herwerden. 12. καὶ ante αὐτοὶ del. Herbst.

ἦσαν, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἄλληλα αἴσθησιν παρέχοι. ἦσαν δὲ εὐσταλεῖς τε τῇ ὁπλίσει καὶ τὸν ἀριστερὸν μόνον πόδα ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν
3 πηλόν. κατὰ οὖν μεταπύργιον προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐρῆμοί εἰσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες, καὶ προσέθεσαν· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀμμέας ὁ Κοροίβου καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη· μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἑπόμενοι ἓξ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον. ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις ἐχώρουν, οἷς ἕτεροι κατόπιν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι ῥᾷον προσβαίνοιεν,
4 καὶ ἔμελλον δώσειν ὁπότε πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶεν. ὡς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο, ἤσθοντο οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων φύλακες· κατέβαλε γάρ τις τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κεραμίδα, ἣ πεσοῦσα δοῦπον ἐποίησεν.
5 καὶ αὐτίκα βοὴ ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρμησεν· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει ὅ τι ἦν τὸ δεινὸν σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος, καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Πλαταιῶν ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐξελθόντες προσέβαλον τῷ τείχει τῶν Πελο-
6 ποννησίων ἐκ τοὔμπαλιν ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ὑπερέβαινον, ὅπως ἥκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν. ἐθορυβοῦντο μὲν οὖν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐκ

22 14. πόδα μόνον ABEF. 23–24. ἀνέβαινον et ἐχώρουν transposuit Classen. 30. δοῦπον A : ψόφον cett. 35. προσέβαλλον C. 36. ἢ Cf : ᾗ cett.

τῆς ἑαυτῶν φυλακῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν εἰκάσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον. καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐτέτακτο παραβοηθεῖν εἴ τι δέοι, ἐχώρουν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοήν. φρυκτοί τε ἤροντο ἐς τὰς Θήβας πολέμιοι· παρανῖσχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους φρυκτοὺς πολλοὺς πρότερον παρεσκευασμένους ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμίοις ᾖ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν, ἄλλο τι νομίσαντες τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι ἢ τὸ ὄν, πρὶν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐξιόντες διαφύγοιεν καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντι-

23 λάβοιντο. οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἀνεβεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, τάς τε διόδους τῶν πύργων ἐνστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πύργοις καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες ἄνδρας πλείους, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν εἶργον βάλλοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πλείους πολλὰς προσθέντες κλίμακας ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου

2 ὑπερέβαινον. ὁ δὲ διακομιζόμενος αἰεὶ ἵστατο ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τῆς τάφρου καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἠκόντιζον, εἴ τις παραβοηθῶν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος κωλυτὴς γίγνοιτο τῆς

They succeed in crossing the wall and the outer trench.

42. ἐπετέτακτο Krüger. 43. ἔξωθεν C.

διαβάσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες διεπεπεραίωντο, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι καταβαίνοντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐπεφέροντο λαμπάδας ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πλαταιῆς ἐκείνους ἑώρων μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἑστῶτες ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄντες ἧσσον διὰ τὰς λαμπάδας καθεωρῶντο, ὥστε φθάνουσι τῶν Πλαταιῶν καὶ οἱ ὕστατοι διαβάντες τὴν τάφρον, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βιαίως· κρύσταλλός τε γὰρ ἐπεπήγει οὐ βέβαιος ἐν αὐτῇ ὥστ' ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷος ἀπηλιώτου ἢ βορέου ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον, καὶ ἡ νὺξ τοιούτῳ ἀνέμῳ ὑπονειφομένη πολὺ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκει, ὃ μόλις ὑπερέχοντες ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἡ διάφευξις αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος. ὁρμήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἐχώρουν ἀθρόοι τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον, νομίζοντες ἥκιστ' <ἂν> σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσθαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἅμα ἑώρων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τὴν πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν φέρουσαν μετὰ λαμπάδων διώκοντας. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ σταδίους οἱ Πλαταιῆς

212 of them reach Athens in safety.

23 31. ἢ βορέου del. Dobree.

24 5. ἂν add. Madvig.

τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐχώρησαν, ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ἦσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἐς Ἐρύθρας καὶ Τσιάς, καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν ὀρῶν διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἄνδρες δώδεκα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ πλειόνων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες αὐτῶν οἳ ἀπετράποντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν πρὶν ὑπερβαίνειν, εἷς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξω τάφρῳ τοξότης ἐλήφθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο τῆς βοηθείας παυσάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς τῶν μὲν γεγενημένων εἰδότες οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ ἀποτραπομένων σφίσιν ἀπαγγειλάντων ὡς οὐδεὶς περίεστι, κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐσπένδοντο ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, μαθόντες δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐπαύσαντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες οὕτως ὑπερβάντες ἐσώθησαν.

25 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος ἐκπέμπεται Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐς Μυτιλήνην τριήρει. καὶ πλεύσας ἐς Πύρραν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς πεζῇ κατὰ χαράδραν τινά, ᾗ ὑπερβατὸν ἦν τὸ περιτείχισμα, διαλαθὼν ἐσέρχεται ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, καὶ ἔλεγε τοῖς προέδροις ὅτι ἐσβολή τε ἅμα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔσται καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες παρέσονται ἃς ἔδει βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς, προαποπεμφθῆναί τε αὐτὸς τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελησόμενος. καὶ οἱ μὲν

Lesbos. Salaethus steals into Mytilene and encourages the besieged to hold out.

25 6. ὑποβατὸν Herwerden.

Μυτιληναῖοι ἐθάρσουν τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἧσσον εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὥστε ξυμβαίνειν. ὅ τε χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

26 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν ἄρχοντα Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος, προστάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν θορυβούμενοι ἧσσον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην καταπλεούσαις ἐπιβοηθήσωσιν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ταύτης Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος υἱέος βασιλέως ὄντος καὶ νεωτέρου ἔτι, πατρὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὤν. ἐδῄωσαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τά τε πρότερον τετμημένα [καὶ] εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἐσβολαῖς παρελέλειπτο· καὶ ἡ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη χαλεπωτάτη ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν. ἐπιμένοντες γὰρ αἰεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσβου τι πεύσεσθαι τῶν νεῶν ἔργον ὡς ἤδη πεπεραιωμένων ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ πολλὰ τέμνοντες. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς ὧν προσεδέχοντο καὶ ἐπελελοίπει ὁ σῖτος, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

The Pel. send Alcidas with a fleet to Lesbos. They invade Attica.

26 3. δύο καὶ secl. Krüger. 4. ἄρχοντα Stephanus : ἔχοντα codd. 8. καταπλεούσαις del. Steup. 12. prius δὲ] δὴ Stahl. 13. καὶ del. L. Dindorf.

27 Οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς αἵ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἧκον ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀλλὰ ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἀναγκάζονται ξυμβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 2 διὰ τάδε. ὁ Σάλαιθος καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ προσδεχόμενος ἔτι τὰς ναῦς ὁπλίζει τὸν δῆμον πρότερον ψιλὸν ὄντα ὡς ἐπεξιὼν τοῖς 3 Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἔλαβον ὅπλα, οὔτε ἠκροῶντο ἔτι τῶν ἀρχόντων, κατὰ ξυλλόγους τε γιγνόμενοι ἢ τὸν σῖτον ἐκέλευον τοὺς δυνατοὺς φέρειν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν καὶ διανέμειν ἅπασιν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ξυγχωρήσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους 28 ἔφασαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν οὔτ' ἀποκωλύειν δυνατοὶ ὄντες, εἴ τ' ἀπομονωθήσονται τῆς ξυμβάσεως κινδυνεύσοντες, ποιοῦνται κοινῇ ὁμολογίαν πρός τε Πάχητα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ἐξεῖναι βουλεῦσαι περὶ Μυτιληναίων ὁποῖον ἄν τι βούλωνται καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, πρεσβείαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας Μυτιληναίους περὶ ἑαυτῶν· ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πάλιν ἔλθωσι, Πάχητα μήτε δῆσαι Μυτιληναίων μηδένα 2 μηδὲ ἀνδραποδίσαι μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι. ἡ μὲν ξύμβασις αὕτη ἐγένετο, οἱ δὲ πράξαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων

The fleet had not yet arrived when the democratic party forced the government to come to terms with Paches.

The fate of Mytilene to be settled at Athens.

28 2. ἀποκωλύειν Stahl : ἀποκωλύσειν codd. 13. μηδὲ] μήτε vulg.

περιδεεῖς ὄντες, ὡς ἡ στρατιὰ ἐσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ὅμως καθίζουσιν· Πάχης δ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, κατατίθεται ἐς Τένεδον μέχρι οὗ 3 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξῃ. πέμψας δὲ καὶ ἐς 20 τὴν Ἄντισσαν τριήρεις προσεκτήσατο καὶ τἆλλα τὰ περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο ᾗ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.

29 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ Πελο-

Seven days after the Pel. fleet arrives at the coast of Asia.

ποννήσιοι, οὓς ἔδει ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι, πλέοντες περί τε αὐτὴν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐνδιέτριψαν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦν σχολαῖοι κομισθέντες 5 τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναίους λανθάνουσι, πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον, προσμείξαντες δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ πυνθάνονται πρῶτον ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἐάλωκεν. 2 βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι κατέπλευσαν 10 ἐς Ἔμβατον τῆς Ἐρυθραίας· ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἑαλωκυίᾳ ἑπτὰ ὅτε ἐς τὸ Ἔμβατον κατέπλευσαν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ ἔλεξεν αὐτοῖς Τευτίαπλος ἀνὴρ Ἠλεῖος τάδε. 15

30 "Ἀλκίδα καὶ Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι πάρεσμεν

An immediate night attack on Mytilene is advocated.

ἄρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πλεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Μυτιλήνην πρὶν ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι, ὥσπερ ἔχομεν. 2 κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀνδρῶν νεωστὶ πόλιν 5

29 7. Μήλῳ Müller-Strübing. 8. Ἰκάρῳ] Κάρῳ AE : Κλάρῳ M : Πάρῳ Haase.

ἐχόντων πολὺ τὸ ἀφύλακτον εὑρήσομεν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ πάνυ, ᾗ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιγενέσθαι ἄν τινα σφίσι πολέμιον καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ τυγχάνει μάλιστα οὖσα· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατ' οἰκίας ἀμελέστερον
3 ὡς κεκρατηκότων διεσπάρθαι. εἰ οὖν προσπέσοιμεν ἄφνω τε καὶ νυκτός, ἐλπίζω μετὰ τῶν ἔνδον, εἴ τις ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὑπόλοιπος εὔνους,
4 καταληφθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα. καὶ μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ εἴ τις στρατηγὸς ἔν τε αὐτῷ φυλάσσοιτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν ἐπιχειροίη, πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο."

31 Ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ἀλκίδαν. ἄλλοι δέ τινες τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας φυγάδων καὶ οἱ Λέσβιοι <οἱ> ξυμπλέοντες παρήνουν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον φοβεῖται, τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινὰ ἢ Κύμην τὴν Αἰολίδα, ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμώμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσιν (ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀκουσίως ἀφῖχθαι) καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ταύτην μεγίστην οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων [ἣν] ὑφέλωσι, καὶ ἅμα, ἣν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσιν, αὐτοῖς δαπάνη γίγνηται· πείσειν τε οἴεσθαι καὶ Πισσούθνην ὥστε ξυμπολεμεῖν.
2 ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐνεδέχετο, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον

Alcidas decides to return home.

30 16. *κενὸν* CM : *καινὸν* cett. : *κοινὸν* Steup.
31 4. *οἱ* add. Madvig. 8. *ἀκουσίῳ* Lindau. 10. *ἣν* del. Herwerden : *ἵν'* Dobree. *ἀφέλωσι* AB. 11. *σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δαπάνη* GM Schol. : *αὐτοῖς* (*αὐτοὺς* CE) *δαπάνη σφίσι* cett.

τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὑστερήκει, ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πάλιν
32 προσμεῖξαι. ἄρας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρ-
His proceedings on the coast of Asia Minor.
ἔπλει, καὶ προσσχὼν Μυοννήσῳ τῇ Τηίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὓς κατὰ πλοῦν εἰλήφει ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς πολλούς.
2 καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον καθορμισαμένου αὐτοῦ Σαμίων τῶν ἐξ Ἀναίων ἀφικόμενοι πρέσβεις ἔλεγον οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν αὐτόν, εἰ ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν οὔτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους οὔτε πολεμίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης ξυμμάχους· εἴ τε μὴ παύσεται, ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς φιλίαν προσάξεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν φίλων
3 πολεμίους ἕξειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπείσθη τε καὶ Χίων ἄνδρας ὅσους εἶχεν ἔτι ἀφῆκε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινάς· ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὰς ναῦς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔφευγον, ἀλλὰ προσεχώρουν μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἶχον μή ποτε Ἀθηναίων τῆς θαλάσσης κρατούντων ναῦς Πελοποννησίων ἐς
33 Ἰωνίαν παραβαλεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου ὁ
On the way home he is pursued by Paches.
Ἀλκίδας ἔπλει κατὰ τάχος καὶ φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο· ὤφθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Σαλαμινίας καὶ Παράλου ἔτι περὶ Κλάρον ὁρμῶν (αἱ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔτυχον πλέουσαι), καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν δίωξιν ἔπλει διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ὡς γῇ ἑκούσιος οὐ σχήσων ἄλλῃ ἢ Πελοποννήσῳ.
2 Τῷ δὲ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἦλθε

μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἀγγελία, ἀφικνεῖτο δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν· ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας μέγα τὸ δέος ἐγένετο μὴ παραπλέοντες οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, εἰ καὶ ὡς μὴ διενοοῦντο μένειν, πορθῶσιν ἅμα προσπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις. αὐτάγγελοι δ' αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσαι ἐν τῇ Κλάρῳ ἥ τε Πάραλος καὶ ἡ Σαλαμινία
3 ἔφρασαν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν Πάτμου τῆς νήσου ἐπεδίωξεν, ὡς δ' οὐκέτι ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνετο, ἐπανεχώρει. κέρδος δὲ ἐνόμισεν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ μετεώροις περιέτυχεν, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι ἠναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδόν τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ φυλακὴν σφίσι καὶ ἐφόρμησιν
34 παρασχεῖν. παραπλέων δὲ πάλιν ἔσχε καὶ ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων, οὗ κατῴκηντο Κολοφώνιοι τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἑαλωκυίας ὑπὸ Ἰταμάνους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίαν ἐπαχθέντων· ἑάλω δὲ μάλιστα αὖτη ὅτε ἡ δευτέρα Πελοποννησίων
2 ἐσβολὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐγίγνετο. ἐν οὖν τῷ Νοτίῳ οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ κατοικήσαντες αὐτόθι αὖθις στασιάσαντες, οἱ μὲν παρὰ Πισσούθνου ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδων τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπαγαγόμενοι ἐν διατειχίσματι εἶχον, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως Κολοφωνίων οἱ μηδίσαντες ξυνεσελθόντες ἐπολίτευον, οἱ δὲ

Paches recovers Notium.

33 18. Πάτμου Schol. : Λάτμου codd.
34 5. ἰδίᾳ Krüger. 11. ἐπαγαγόμενοι Krüger : ἐπαγόμενοι codd.

ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους καὶ ὄντες φυγάδες τὸν
3 Πάχητα ἐπάγονται. ὁ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἱππίαν τῶν ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων ἄρχοντα, ὥστε, ἢν μηδὲν ἀρέσκον λέγῃ, πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος σῶν καὶ ὑγιᾶ, ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε παρ' αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ προσβαλὼν τῷ τειχίσματι ἐξαπιναίως καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων αἱρεῖ, τούς τε Ἀρκάδας καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐνῆσαν διαφθείρει· καὶ τὸν Ἱππίαν ὕστερον ἐσαγαγὼν ὥσπερ ἐσπείσατο, ἐπειδὴ ἔνδον ἦν, ξυλλαμβάνει καὶ
4 κατατοξεύει. Κολοφωνίοις δὲ Νότιον παραδίδωσι πλὴν τῶν μηδισάντων. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκιστὰς πέμψαντες κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους κατῴκισαν τὸ Νότιον, ξυναγαγόντες πάντας ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, εἴ πού τις ἦν Κολοφωνίων.

35 Ὁ δὲ Πάχης ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην τήν τε Πύρραν καὶ Ἔρεσον παρεστήσατο, καὶ Σάλαιθον λαβὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον κεκρυμμένον ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Τενέδου Μυτιληναίων ἄνδρας ἅμα οὓς κατέθετο καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ αἴτιος ἐδόκει
2 εἶναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως· ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πλέον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπομένων καθίστατο τὰ περὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην

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

16. τῶν Classen : τὸν codd. 19. μὲν fGM : δ' cett. 24. ἔσπεισστο Cobet.

καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Λέσβον ᾗ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.
36 ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ Σαλαίθου
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μὲν Σάλαιθον εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἔστιν ἃ παρεχόμενον τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ Πλαταιῶν (ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο) ἀπάξειν Πελο-
2 ποννησίους· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἅπαντας Μυτιληναίους ὅσοι ἡβῶσι, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσαι, ἐπικαλοῦντες τήν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ προσξυνελάβοντο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὁρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ βραχείας διανοίας ἐδόκουν τὴν ἀπόστασιν
3 ποιήσασθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν τριήρη ὡς Πάχητα ἄγγελον τῶν δεδογμένων, κατὰ τάχος
4 κελεύοντες διαχρήσασθαι Μυτιληναίους. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιά τις εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναλογισμὸς ὡμὸν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα ἐγνῶσθαι, πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ
5 οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. ὡς δ' ἤσθοντο τοῦτο τῶν Μυτιληναίων οἱ παρόντες πρέσβεις καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμπράσσοντες, παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὥστε αὖθις γνώμας προθεῖναι· καὶ ἔπεισαν ῥᾷον, διότι καὶ ἐκείνοις

ATHENS. A resolution to put the prisoners and the whole population of Mytilene to death, is reconsidered.

36 11. post ἀπόστασιν add. καὶ Classen. 13. προσξυνελάβοντο CG γρ.BF : προσξυνεβάλετο cett. 27. προθεῖναι f : προσθεῖναι codd.

ἔνδηλον ἦν βουλόμενον τὸ πλέον τῶν πολιτῶν αὖθίς τινας σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι βουλεύσασθαι. 6 καταστάσης δ' εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας ἄλλαι τε γνῶμαι ἀφ' ἑκάστων ἐλέγοντο καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐνενικήκει ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ὢν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος, παρελθὼν αὖθις ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

37 "Πολλάκις μὲν ἤδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑμετέρᾳ περὶ Μυτιληναίων μεταμελείᾳ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεὲς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους τὸ αὐτὸ ἔχετε, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἢ λόγῳ πεισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἁμάρτητε ἢ οἴκτῳ ἐνδῶτε, οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως ἡγεῖσθε ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν τῶν ξυμμάχων χάριν μαλακίζεσθαι, οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους, <οἳ> οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἰσχύι μᾶλλον 3 ἢ τῇ ἐκείνων εὐνοίᾳ περιγένησθε. πάντων δὲ δεινότατον εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήξει ὧν ἂν δόξῃ πέρι, μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσι

Speech of Cleon. Long exordium on the incapacity of the Athenian democracy for Empire. 2

30. καταστάσης δ'] δ' om. C : καὶ καταστάσης cG.
37 2. ἀδύνατος Steup. 4. ἡμετέρᾳ AEFM : ἡμέρᾳ B[G].
13. οἳ om. codd., add. b.

νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις, ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας, οἵ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ξυνετωτέρους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε νόμων σοφώτεροι βούλονται φαίνεσθαι τῶν τε αἰεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν περιγίγνεσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείζοσιν οὐκ ἂν δηλώσαντες τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τὰ πολλὰ σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις· οἱ δ' ἀπιστοῦντες τῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν ξυνέσει ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν τῶν νόμων ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, ἀδυνατώτεροι δὲ τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος μέμψασθαι λόγον, κριταὶ δὲ ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγωνισταὶ ὀρθοῦνται τὰ πλείω. ὡς οὖν χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντας μὴ δεινότητι καὶ ξυνέσεως ἀγῶνι ἐπαιρομένους παρὰ δόξαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει παραινεῖν.

38 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ θαυμάζω μὲν τῶν προθέντων αὖθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων λέγειν καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων, ὅ ἐστι πρὸς τῶν ἠδικηκότων μᾶλλον (ὁ γὰρ παθὼν τῷ δράσαντι ἀμβλυτέρᾳ τῇ ὀργῇ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον ἀντίπαλον ὂν μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμ- Absurdity of reopening the question.

24. πλεῖστον B Stobaeus. 32. post δὲ add. τὸν Stobaeus. 36. post παρὰ add. τὸ Reiske.

38 6. ἀμύνασθαι ABEFM γρ. G: τὸ ἀμύνασθαι Cobet. 8. ὃν del. Haase. λαμβάνει Classen: ἂν λαμβάνοι Hude.

βάνει), θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἔσται ὁ ἀντερῶν καὶ ἀξιώσων ἀποφαίνειν τὰς μὲν Μυτιληναίων ἀδικίας ἡμῖν ὠφελίμους οὔσας, τὰς δ' ἡμετέρας ξυμφορὰς τοῖς ξυμμάχοις 2 βλάβας καθισταμένας. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἢ τῷ λέγειν πιστεύσας τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν ἀνταποφῆναι ὡς οὐκ ἔγνωσται ἀγωνίσαιτ' ἄν, ἢ κέρδει ἐπαιρόμενος τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ λόγου ἐκπονήσας 3 παράγειν πειράσεται. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐκ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων τὰ μὲν ἆθλα ἑτέροις δίδωσιν, 4 αὐτὴ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀναφέρει. αἴτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, οἵτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἤδη, οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστότερον ὄψει λαβόντες ἢ τὸ ἀκουσθέν, ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων· 5 καὶ μετὰ καινότητος μὲν λόγου ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι, μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου δὲ μὴ ξυνέπεσθαι ἐθέλειν, δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν αἰεὶ ἀτόπων, 6 ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν εἰωθότων, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος δύνασθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι μὴ ὕστεροι ἀκολουθῆσαι δοκεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ, ὀξέως δέ τι λέγοντος προεπαινέσαι, καὶ προαισθέσθαι τε πρόθυμοι εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα, 7 ζητοῦντές τε ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐν οἷς

34. τι] του Krüger. 35. εἶναι del. Poppo.

ζῶμεν, φρονοῦντες δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἱκανῶς· ἁπλῶς τε ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσσώμενοι καὶ σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἐοικότες καθημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις.

39 "Ὧν ἐγὼ πειρώμενος ἀποτρέπειν ὑμᾶς ἀποφαίνω Μυτιληναίους μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν ἠδικηκότας ὑμᾶς. Mytilene has no justification for revolting.

2 ἐγὼ γάρ, οἵτινες μὲν μὴ δυνατοὶ φέρειν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρχὴν ἢ οἵτινες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀπέστησαν, ξυγγνώμην ἔχω· νῆσον δὲ οἵτινες ἔχοντες μετὰ τειχῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μόνον φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ τριήρων παρασκευῇ οὐκ ἄφαρκτοι ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτούς, αὐτόνομοί τε οἰκοῦντες καὶ τιμώμενοι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο, τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ἢ ἐπεβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν (ἀπόστασις μέν γε τῶν βίαιόν τι πασχόντων ἐστίν), ἐξήτησάν τε μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων ἡμᾶς στάντες διαφθεῖραι; καίτοι δεινότερόν ἐστιν ἢ εἰ καθ' αὑτοὺς δύναμιν κτώμενοι ἀντεπολέμησαν.

3 παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε αἱ τῶν πέλας ξυμφοραὶ ἐγένοντο, ὅσοι ἀποστάντες ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐχειρώθησαν, οὔτε ἡ παροῦσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινά· γενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς βουλήσεως, πόλεμον ἤραντο, ἰσχὺν ἀξιώσαντες τοῦ δικαίου προθεῖναι· ἐν

ᾧ γὰρ ᾠήθησαν περιέσεσθαι, ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν
4 οὐκ ἀδικούμενοι. εἴωθε δὲ τῶν πόλεων αἷς
ἂν μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος
εὐπραγία ἔλθῃ, ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν· τὰ δὲ 30
πολλὰ κατὰ λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχοῦντα
ἀσφαλέστερα ἢ παρὰ δόξαν, καὶ κακοπραγίαν
ὡς εἰπεῖν ῥᾷον ἀπωθοῦνται ἢ εὐδαιμονίαν
5 διασῴζονται. χρῆν δὲ Μυτιληναίους καὶ
πάλαι μηδὲν διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ὑφ' 35
ἡμῶν τετιμῆσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐς τόδε
ἐξύβρισαν· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος
τὸ μὲν θεραπεῦον ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ
6 ὑπεῖκον θαυμάζειν. κολασθέντων δὲ καὶ

The resolution is just.

νῦν ἀξίως τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ μὴ τοῖς 40
μὲν ὀλίγοις ἡ αἰτία προστεθῇ, τὸν
δὲ δῆμον ἀπολύσητε. πάντες γὰρ ὑμῖν γε
ὁμοίως ἐπέθεντο, οἷς γ' ἐξῆν ὡς ἡμᾶς τραπο-
μένοις νῦν πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ
τὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀλίγων κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι 45
7 βεβαιότερον ξυναπέστησαν. τῶν τε ξυμμάχων

It is also expedient.

σκέψασθε εἰ τοῖς τε ἀναγκασθεῖσιν
ὑπὸ [τε] τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς
ἑκοῦσιν ἀποστᾶσι τὰς αὐτὰς ζημίας προσθήσετε,
τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ βραχείᾳ προφάσει ἀπο- 50
στήσεσθαι, ὅταν ἢ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευθέρωσις
8 ᾖ ἢ σφαλέντι μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον; ἡμῖν
δὲ πρὸς ἑκάστην πόλιν ἀποκεκινδυνεύσεται

39 29. ἀπροσδόκητος post μάλιστα posuit Hude. 30. εὐπραγία Phot.: εὐπραξία codd. 34. χρῆν EG: χρὴ cett. 35. διαφέροντας ABCF. 42. ἡμῖν B. 43. τραπομένοις fM: τρεπομένοις cett. 48. post ὑπὸ add. τε codd., del. f.

τά τε χρήματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ τυχόντες μὲν πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβόντες τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου, δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν, τὸ λοιπὸν στερήσεσθε, σφαλέντες δὲ πολεμίους πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἕξομεν, καὶ ὃν χρόνον τοῖς νῦν καθεστηκόσι δεῖ ἐχθροῖς ἀνθίστασθαι, τοῖς οἰκείοις ξυμμάχοις πολεμήσομεν. οὔκουν δεῖ προθεῖναι ἐλπίδα οὔτε λόγῳ πιστὴν οὔτε χρήμασιν ὠνητήν, ὡς ξυγγνώμην ἁμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται. ἄκοντες μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔβλαψαν, εἰδότες δὲ ἐπεβούλευσαν· ξύγγνωμον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον.

2 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πρῶτον καὶ νῦν διαμάχομαι μὴ μεταγνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδεδογμένα, μηδὲ τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις τῇ ἀρχῇ, οἴκτῳ καὶ ἡδονῇ λόγων καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ, 3 ἁμαρτάνειν. ἔλεός τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους δίκαιος ἀντιδίδοσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὔτ' ἀντοικτιοῦντας ἐξ ἀνάγκης τε καθεστῶτας αἰεὶ πολεμίους· οἵ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ ῥήτορες ἔξουσι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσσοσιν ἀγῶνα, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡ μὲν πόλις βραχέα ἡσθεῖσα μεγάλα ζημιώσεται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὖ εἰπεῖν τὸ παθεῖν εὖ ἀντιλήψονται· καὶ ἡ ἐπιείκεια πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιτηδείους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον δίδοται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίως τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἧσσον πολεμίους ὑπολειπομένους.

55. ἔπειτα] ἐπετείου Weil. 56. ἐστερήσεσθε Herwerden.
2. προσθεῖναι ABCG. 14. ῥήτορες del. Naber. 20. ὁμοίως Thiersch : ὁμοίους codd.

4 ἔν τε ξυνελὼν λέγω· πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ τά
τε δίκαια ἐς Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα
ἅμα ποιήσετε, ἄλλως δὲ γνόντες τοῖς μὲν οὐ
χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαιώσεσθε. 25
εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ
χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ προσῆκον
ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε τοῦτο δρᾶν, παρὰ τὸ εἰκός τοι
καὶ τούσδε ξυμφόρως δεῖ κολάζεσθαι, ἢ
παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου 30
5 ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ ἀξιώσατε
ἀμύνασθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναλγητότεροι οἱ διαφεύ-
γοντες τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων φανῆναι, ἐνθυμη-
θέντες ἃ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι κρατήσαντας
ὑμῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ προϋπάρξαντας ἀδικίας. 35
6 μάλιστα δὲ οἱ μὴ ξὺν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς
ποιοῦντες ἐπεξέρχονται καὶ διολλύναι, τὸν
κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου ἐχθροῦ·
ὁ γὰρ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθὼν χαλεπώτερος
διαφυγὼν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ. 40
7 "Μὴ οὖν προδόται γένησθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν,
Peroration. γενόμενοι δ' ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῇ
γνώμῃ τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ ὡς πρὸ παντὸς ἂν
ἐτιμήσασθε αὐτοὺς χειρώσασθαι, νῦν ἀντ-
απόδοτε μὴ μαλακισθέντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν 45
αὐτίκα μηδὲ τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος ποτὲ δεινοῦ
8 ἀμνημονοῦντες. κολάσατε δὲ ἀξίως τούτους τε
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις παράδειγμα σαφὲς

22. τε C : δὲ cett. 37. διολλύναι Stahl : διόλλυνται codd.
42. ἐγγύτατα τῇ C : ἐγγυτάτῳ cett. 45. παρὸν αὐτίκα] παραυτίκα Schneider.

καταστήσατε, ὃς ἂν ἀφιστῆται, θανάτῳ ζημιωσόμενον. τόδε γὰρ ἦν γνῶσιν, ἧσσον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμελήσαντες τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθε ξυμμάχοις."

41 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέων εἶπεν· μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν Διόδοτος ὁ Εὐκράτους, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντέλεγε μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους, παρελθὼν καὶ τότε ἔλεγε τοιάδε. SPEECH OF DIODOTUS.

42 "Οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὖθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων αἰτιῶμαι, οὔτε τοὺς μεμφομένους μὴ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλεύεσθαι ἐπαινῶ, νομίζω δὲ δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα εὐβουλίᾳ εἶναι, τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήν, ὧν τὸ μὲν μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ 2 ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ βραχύτητος γνώμης. τούς τε λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἀξύνετός ἐστιν ἢ ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει· ἀξύνετος μέν, εἰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἡγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐμφανοῦς φράσαι, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῷ, εἰ βουλόμενός τι αἰσχρὸν πεῖσαι εὖ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δύνασθαι, εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν ἐκπλῆξαι ἂν τούς τε ἀντε- 3 ροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους. χαλεπώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προκατηγοροῦντες ἐπίδειξίν τινα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κατη- Reconsideration is sometimes necessary and is not to be discouraged.

42 5. δὲ GM : τε cett. 13. διαφέρει Schol. : διαφέροι codd. 18. προκατηγοροῦντες C : προσκατηγοροῦντες cett. 19. ἀντίδειξιν fGM.

τιῶντο, ὁ μὴ πείσας ἀξυνετώτερος ἂν δόξας εἶναι ἢ ἀδικώτερος ἀπεχώρει· ἀδικίας δ' ἐπιφερομένης πείσας τε ὕποπτος γίγνεται καὶ μὴ τυχὼν μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας καὶ ἄδικος. ἥ τε πόλις οὐκ ὠφελεῖται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· φόβῳ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖται τῶν ξυμβούλων. καὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν ἔχουσα τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἂν πεισθεῖεν ἁμαρτάνειν. χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου φαίνεσθαι ἄμεινον λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ σώφρονα πόλιν τῷ τε πλεῖστα εὖ βουλεύοντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμήν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐλασσοῦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης οὐχ ὅπως ζημιοῦν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀτιμάζειν. οὕτω γὰρ ὅ τε κατορθῶν ἥκιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι μειζόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγοι, ὅ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχὼν ὀρέγοιτο τῷ αὐτῷ χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτὸς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος.

43 "Ὧν ἡμεῖς τἀναντία δρῶμεν, καὶ προσέτι ἢν τις καὶ ὑποπτεύηται κέρδους μὲν ἕνεκα τὰ βέλτιστα δὲ ὅμως λέγειν, φθονήσαντες τῆς οὐ βεβαίου δοκήσεως τῶν κερδῶν τὴν φανερὰν ὠφελίαν τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα. καθέστηκε δὲ τἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα μηδὲν ἀνυποπτότερα εἶναι τῶν κακῶν, ὥστε δεῖν ὁμοίως τόν τε τὰ δεινότατα βουλόμενον πεῖσαι

Suspicion of motives prompts the Athenians to lose good counsel.

35. τὸ ABEFM.

43 9. βουλόμενον C: βουλευόμενον cett.

ἀπάτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν τὰ 10
ἀμείνω λέγοντα ψευσάμενον πιστὸν γενέσθαι.
3 μόνην τε πόλιν διὰ τὰς περινοίας εὖ ποιῆσαι
ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς μὴ ἐξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον·
ὁ γὰρ διδοὺς φανερῶς τι ἀγαθὸν ἀνθυποπτεύεται
4 ἀφανῶς πῃ πλέον ἕξειν. χρὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ 15
μέγιστα καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦν τι ἡμᾶς
περαιτέρω προνοοῦντας λέγειν ὑμῶν τῶν δι'
ὀλίγου σκοπούντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπεύθυνον
τὴν παραίνεσιν ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν
5 ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν. εἰ γὰρ ὅ τε πείσας καὶ ὁ 20
ἐπισπόμενος ὁμοίως ἐβλάπτοντο, σωφρονέστερον
ἂν ἐκρίνετε· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἦντιν' ἂν
τύχητε ἔστιν ὅτε σφαλέντες τὴν τοῦ πείσαντος
μίαν γνώμην ζημιοῦτε καὶ οὐ τὰς ὑμετέρας
αὐτῶν, εἰ πολλαὶ οὖσαι ξυνεξήμαρτον. 25

44 "Ἐγὼ δὲ παρῆλθον οὔτε ἀντερῶν περὶ
Μυτιληναίων οὔτε κατηγορήσων. Is the penalty demanded expedient?
οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀδικίας
ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς
2 ἡμετέρας εὐβουλίας. ἤν τε γὰρ ἀποφήνω 5
πάνυ ἀδικοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσω, εἰ μὴ ξυμφέρον, ἤν τε
καὶ ἔχοντάς τι ξυγγνώμης ἐᾶν, εἰ τῇ πόλει
3 μὴ ἀγαθὸν φαίνοιτο. νομίζω δὲ περὶ τοῦ
μέλλοντος ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον βουλεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ 10
παρόντος. καὶ τοῦτο ᾧ μάλιστα Κλέων

16. ἀξιοῦντι CEG. 22. ἤντιν' ἂν Stahl: ἤντινα codd. 25. εἰ] aἱ Cobet.

44 8. ἔχοντας Lindau: ἔχοντες codd. ἐᾶν Lindau: εἶεν codd. 11. ᾧ CG: ὃ cett.

ἰσχυρίζεται, ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμφέρον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἧσσον ἀφίστασθαι θάνατον ζημίαν προθεῖσι, καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ μέλλον καλῶς ἔχοντος ἀντισχυριζόμενος τἀναντία γιγ- 15
4 νώσκω. καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τοῦ ἐκείνου λόγου τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀπώσασθαι. δικαιότερος γὰρ ὢν αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐς Μυτιληναίους τάχ' ἂν ἐπισπάσαιτο· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα 20 πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε τῶν δικαίων δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως χρησίμως ἕξουσιν.

45 "Ἐν οὖν ταῖς πόλεσι πολλῶν θανάτου ζημίαι πρόκεινται, καὶ οὐκ ἴσων τῷδε, ἀλλ' ἐλασσόνων ἁμαρτημάτων· ὅμως δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρόμενοι κινδυνεύουσι, καὶ οὐδείς πω καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ 5

On the inefficacy of punishment to prevent wrongdoing.

μὴ περιέσεσθαι τῷ ἐπιβουλεύματι ἦλθεν ἐς τὸ
2 δεινόν. πόλις τε ἀφισταμένη τίς πω ἧσσω τῇ δοκήσει ἔχουσα τὴν παρασκευὴν ἢ οἰκείαν ἢ ἄλλων ξυμμαχίᾳ τούτῳ ἐπεχείρησεν;
3 πεφύκασί τε ἅπαντες καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ 10 ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὅστις ἀπείρξει τούτου, ἐπεὶ διεξεληλύθασί γε διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι προστιθέντες, εἴ πως ἧσσον ἀδικοῖντο ὑπὸ τῶν κακούργων. καὶ εἰκὸς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων 15 μαλακωτέρας κεῖσθαι αὐτάς, παραβαινομένων

45 2. ζημία πρόκειται ABEFM γρ. G. 9. τοῦτο ABEFM γρ. G. 13. προτιθέντες Krüger.

δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αἱ πολλαὶ
ἀνήκουσιν· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως παραβαίνεται.
4 ἦ τοίνυν δεινότερόν τι τούτου δέος εὑρετέον
ἐστὶν ἢ τόδε γε οὐδὲν ἐπίσχει, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν
πενία ἀνάγκῃ τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα, ἡ δ'
ἐξουσία ὕβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι,
αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ὡς ἑκάστη τις κατέχεται ὑπ' ἀνηκέστου τινὸς
5 κρείσσονος, ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους. ἥ
τε ἐλπὶς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, ὁ μὲν
ἡγούμενος, ἡ δ' ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν
ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφροντίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν
τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθεῖσα, πλεῖστα βλάπτουσι,
καὶ ὄντα ἀφανῆ κρείσσω ἐστὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων
6 δεινῶν. καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον
ξυμβάλλεται ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν· ἀδοκήτως γὰρ
ἔστιν ὅτε παρισταμένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπο-
δεεστέρων κινδυνεύειν τινὰ προάγει, καὶ οὐχ
ἧσσον τὰς πόλεις, ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων
τε, ἐλευθερίας ἢ ἄλλων ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ
πάντων ἕκαστος ἀλογίστως ἐπὶ πλέον τι
7 αὐτὸν ἐδόξασεν. ἁπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ
πολλῆς εὐηθείας, ὅστις οἴεται τῆς ἀνθρωπείας
φύσεως ὁρμωμένης προθύμως τι πρᾶξαι ἀπο-
τροπήν τινα ἔχειν ἢ νόμων ἰσχύι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ
δεινῷ.

46 "Οὔκουν χρὴ οὔτε τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ

18. καὶ τοῦτο] κἀν τούτῳ Krüger : fort. καὶ ταὐτὰ. 20. τόδε C : τὸ cett. 23. ὀργὴν Stahl. ‖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον Classen. 28. ἐπιβουλὴν M : ἐπιβολὴν cett. 36. τε C : om. cett. 38. αὐτὸν vulg. : αὐτῶν codd.

ὡς ἐχεγγύῳ πιστεύσαντας χεῖρον βουλεύσασθαι οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον καταστῆσαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσιν ὡς οὐκ ἔσται μεταγνῶναι καὶ ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ τὴν
2 ἁμαρτίαν καταλῦσαι. σκέψασθε γὰρ ὅτι νῦν μέν, ἢν τις καὶ ἀποστᾶσα πόλις γνῷ μὴ περιεσομένη, ἔλθοι ἂν ἐς ξύμβασιν δυνατὴ οὖσα ἔτι τὴν δαπάνην ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖν· ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα οἴεσθε ἥντινα οὐκ ἄμεινον μὲν ἢ νῦν παρασκευάσεσθαι, πολιορκίᾳ δὲ παρατενεῖσθαι ἐς τοὔσχατον, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῇ καὶ ταχὺ ξυμβῆναι;
3 ἡμῖν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβη δαπανᾶν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον καί, ἢν ἕλωμεν, πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι; ἰσχύομεν δὲ
4 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷδε. ὥστε οὐ δικαστὰς ὄντας δεῖ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων ἀκριβεῖς βλάπτεσθαι ἢ ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον μετρίως κολάζοντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔξομεν ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τῆς δεινότητος ἀξιοῦν ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν
5 ἔργων τῆς ἐπιμελείας. οὗ νῦν τοὐναντίον δρῶντες, ἤν τινα ἐλεύθερον καὶ βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον εἰκότως πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα χειρωσώμεθα, χαλεπῶς οἰόμεθα χρῆναι τιμωρεῖσθαι.
6 χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐκ ἀφισταμένους

Severity will have an exasperating effect.

46 11. παρασκευάσεσθαι vulg.: παρασκευάσασθαι codd. 12. δὲ Reiske: τε codd. εἰ cfG: ἢ cett. 25. τἀναντία ABF.

σφόδρα κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀποστῆναι σφόδρα φυλάσσειν καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν ὅπως μηδ' ἐς ἐπίνοιαν τούτου ἴωσι, κρατήσαντάς τε ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν.

47 "Ὑμεῖς δὲ σκέψασθε ὅσον ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἁμαρτάνοιτε Κλέωνι πειθόμενοι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν ὁ δῆμος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν εὔνους ἐστί, καὶ ἢ οὐ ξυναφίσταται τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἤ, ἐὰν βιασθῇ, ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἀποστήσασι πολέμιος εὐθύς, καὶ τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος ξύμμαχον ἔχοντες ἐς πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε. εἰ δὲ διαφθερεῖτε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Μυτιληναίων, ὃς οὔτε μετέσχε τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐπειδή τε ὅπλων ἐκράτησεν, ἐκὼν παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀδικήσετε τοὺς εὐεργέτας κτείνοντες, ἔπειτα καταστήσετε τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὃ βούλονται μάλιστα· ἀφιστάντες γὰρ τὰς πόλεις τὸν δῆμον εὐθὺς ξύμμαχον ἕξουσι, προδειξάντων ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ζημίαν τοῖς τε ἀδικοῦσιν ὁμοίως κεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς μή. δεῖ δέ, καὶ εἰ ἠδίκησαν, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ὃ μόνον ἡμῖν ἔτι ξύμμαχόν ἐστι μὴ πολέμιον γένηται. καὶ τοῦτο πολλῷ ξυμφορώτερον ἡγοῦμαι ἐς τὴν κάθεξιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἑκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι ἢ δικαίως οὓς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον τῆς τιμωρίας οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἐν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν ὂν ἅμα γίγνεσθαι.

Even if the penalty proposed is just, it is inexpedient.

47 9. τὸν] τῶν ABEFM. 25. ταὐτῷ Krüger.

48 "'Υμεῖς δὲ γνόντες ἀμείνω τάδε εἶναι καὶ
Peroration. μήτε οἴκτῳ πλέον νείμαντες μήτ' ἐπιεικείᾳ, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐῶ προσάγεσθαι, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινουμένων πείθεσθέ μοι Μυτιληναίων οὓς μὲν Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς ἀδικοῦντας κρῖναι καθ' ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
2 ἐᾶν οἰκεῖν. τάδε γὰρ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤδη φοβερά· ὅστις γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεται πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ μετ' ἔργων ἰσχύος ἀνοίᾳ ἐπιών."

49 Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Διόδοτος εἶπεν. ῥηθεισῶν
Small majority for Diodotus. A second ship reaches Lesbos just in time to prevent the execution of the decree. δὲ τῶν γνωμῶν τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ἀγχώμαλοι, ἐκράτησε
2 δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου. καὶ τριήρη εὐθὺς ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης τῆς προτέρας εὕρωσι διεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν·
3 προεῖχε δὲ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ μάλιστα. παρασκευασάντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεων τῇ νηὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποσχομένων, εἰ φθάσειαν, ἐγένετο σπουδὴ τοῦ πλοῦ τοιαύτη ὥστε ἤσθιόν τε ἅμα ἐλαύνοντες οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιτα πεφυραμένα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπνου
4 ἡροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἤλαυνον. κατὰ τύχην δὲ πνεύματος οὐδενὸς ἐναντιωθέντος

49 1. δὲ] μὲν F^1GM. 3. ἀλλήλας fGM: ἀλλήλους cett. 5. ὁμοίως Bredow. 9. προτέρας] *priorem* Valla: δευτέρας codd. 15. πεφυρμένα CE.

καὶ τῆς μὲν προτέρας νεὼς οὐ σπουδῇ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον, ταύτης δὲ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπειγομένης, ἡ μὲν ἔφθασε τοσοῦτον ὅσον Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ μέλλειν δράσειν τὰ δεδογμένα, ἡ δ' ὑστέρα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται καὶ διεκώλυσε μὴ διαφθεῖραι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἡ
50 Μυτιλήνη ἦλθε κινδύνου. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄνδρας οὓς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους ὄντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλέωνος γνώμῃ διέφθειραν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους χιλίων), καὶ Μυτιληναίων τείχη καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς
2 παρέλαβον. ὕστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίους τριακοσίους μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἐξεῖλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν· οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἑκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν
3 αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λέσβον οὕτως ἐγένετο.

Fate of the Mytileneans and of Lesbos.

51 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τὴν Λέσβου ἅλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μινῴαν τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων· ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῇ πύργον ἐνοικοδο-

Nicias seizes the island of Minoa.

μήσαντες οἱ Μεγαρῆς φρουρίῳ. ἐβούλετο δε Νικίας τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτόθεν δι' ἐλάσσονος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος εἶναι, τούς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους αὐτόθεν λανθάνοντες τριήρων τε, οἷον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον, καὶ λῃστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν ἅμα μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν. ἑλὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον δύο πύργω προύχοντε μηχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, ᾗ κατὰ γέφυραν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν τῇ νήσῳ οὐ πολὺ διεχούσῃ τῆς ἠπείρου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐξειργάσαντο ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ.

52 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρονους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῆς οὐκέτι ἔχοντες σῖτον οὐδὲ δυνάμενοι πολιορκεῖσθαι ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. προσέβαλλον αὐτῶν τῷ τείχει, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀμύνεσθαι. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν βίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἑλεῖν (εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὅπως, εἰ σπονδαὶ γίγνοιντό ποτε πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ

Fall of Plataea. Spartan commission to decide on its fate.

51 9. τούς] πρός Hünnekes. || post Πελοποννησίους add. σκοπῶν Stahl. 13. ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας del. Classen. 19. ἐξειργάσατο GM.

52 5. προσέβαλον ABEFM.

ξυγχωροῖεν ὅσα πολέμῳ χωρία ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι ἀποδίδοσθαι, μὴ ἀνάδοτος εἴη ἡ Πλάταια ὡς αὐτῶν ἑκόντων προσχωρησάντων), προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοῖς κήρυκα λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἑκόντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ δικασταῖς ἐκείνοις χρήσασθαι, τούς τε ἀδίκους κολάσειν, παρὰ δίκην δὲ 3 οὐδένα. τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ εἶπεν· οἱ δέ (ἦσαν γὰρ ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ) παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς ἔτρεφον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐν ὅσῳ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος δικασταὶ πέντε ἄνδρες ἀφίκοντο. 4 ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατηγορία μὲν οὐδεμία προυτέθη, ἠρώτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ καθεστῶτι 5 ἀγαθόν [τι] εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον αἰτησάμενοι μακρότερα εἰπεῖν καὶ προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν Ἀστύμαχόν τε τὸν Ἀσωπολάου καὶ Λάκωνα τὸν Αἰειμνήστου πρόξενον ὄντα Λακεδαιμονίων· καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

53 "Τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν ἐποιησάμεθα, οὐ τοιάνδε δίκην οἰόμενοι ὑφέξειν, νομιμωτέραν δέ τινα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, γενέσθαι [ἢ ὑμῖν], ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἴσον μάλιστ'

DEFENCE OF THE PLATAEANS. 'We fear that all we can say in our defence will be fruitless. Yet we must speak.'

17. κολάσειν Krüger : κολάζειν codd. 27. τι del. Böhme.
53 5. ἂν Krüger : ἐν codd. 7. ἢ ὑμῖν non legit Schol.

2 ἂν φέρεσθαι. νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων
ἅμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν· τόν τε γὰρ ἀγῶνα περὶ τῶν
δεινοτάτων εἶναι εἰκότως ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ
ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε, τεκμαιρόμενοι
προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης
ᾗ χρὴ ἀντειπεῖν (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ λόγον ᾐτησάμεθα)
τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὄν, ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ
ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐναντία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ
3 ἔλεγχον ἔχει. πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄποροι καθε-
στῶτες ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ
εἶναι εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ
ῥηθεὶς λόγος τοῖς ὧδ' ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν ἂν
παράσχοι ὡς, εἰ ἐλέχθη, σωτήριος ἂν ἦν.
4 χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχει ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
ἡ πειθώ. ἀγνῶτες μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἀλλήλων
ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι μαρτύρια ὧν ἄπειροι ἦτε
ὠφελούμεθ' ἄν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα
λελέξεται, καὶ δέδιμεν οὐχὶ μὴ προκαταγνόντες
ἡμῶν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἧσσους εἶναι τῶν ὑμετέρων
ἔγκλημα αὐτὸ ποιῆτε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλοις χάριν
φέροντες ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν καθιστώμεθα.
54 παρεχόμενοι δὲ ὅμως ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια πρός
τε τὰ Θηβαίων διάφορα καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, τῶν εὖ δεδραμένων ὑπόμνησιν
ποιησόμεθα καὶ πείθειν πειρασόμεθα.

2 "Φαμὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τὸ βραχύ,
εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμ-
μάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἀγαθὸν
πεποιήκαμεν, εἰ μὲν ὡς πολεμίους
ἐρωτᾶτε, οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ εὖ παθόντας,

Previous services of Plataea to Sparta.

φίλους δὲ νομίζοντας αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν
3 μᾶλλον τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. τὰ δ'
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 ἠπειρῶταί
τε ὄντες ἐναυμαχήσαμεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, μάχῃ
τε τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ γενομένῃ παρεγενό-
μεθα ὑμῖν τε καὶ Παυσανίᾳ· εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο
κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐπικίνδυνον
τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάντων παρὰ δύναμιν μετέ-
5 σχομεν. καὶ ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰδίᾳ,
ὅτεπερ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη τὴν
Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην
Εἱλώτων ἀποστάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν ἐξεπέμψαμεν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· ὧν οὐκ
εἰκὸς ἀμνημονεῖν.

55 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ μέγιστα τοιοῦτοι
ἠξιώσαμεν εἶναι, πολέμιοι δὲ ἐγενό- How the enmity began.
μεθα ὕστερον. ὑμεῖς δὲ αἴτιοι· δεομένων
γὰρ ξυμμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς
ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθη-
ναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας,
2 ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων. ἐν μέντοι τῷ
πολέμῳ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν οὔτε
3 ἐπάθετε οὔτε ἐμελλήσατε. εἰ δ' ἀποστῆναι
Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῶν κελευσάντων,
οὐκ ἠδικοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐβοήθουν ἡμῖν
ἐναντία Θηβαίοις ὅτε ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνεῖτε, καὶ

55 4. γὰρ] δὲ ABF.

προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἦν καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὓς εὖ παθών τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν, ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα εἰκὸς 4 ἦν προθύμως. ἃ δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἐξηγεῖσθε τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οὐχ οἱ ἑπόμενοι αἴτιοι εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐδράτο, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.

56 "Θηβαῖοι δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἠδίκησαν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, δι' ὅπερ καὶ τάδε πά- 2 σχομεν. πόλιν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλαμβάνοντας ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ προσέτι ἱερομηνίᾳ ὀρθῶς τε ἐτιμωρησάμεθα κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα, τὸν ἐπιόντα πολέμιον ὅσιον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δι' αὐτοὺς 3 βλαπτοίμεθα. εἰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ τὸ δίκαιον λήψεσθε, τοῦ μὲν ὀρθοῦ φανεῖσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταὶ ὄντες, τὸ δὲ ξυμφέρον μᾶλλον θεραπεύ- 4 οντες. καίτοι εἰ νῦν ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πολὺ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον τότε ὅτε ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἦτε. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἑτέροις ὑμεῖς ἐπέρχεσθε δεινοί, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ, ὅτε πᾶσι δουλείαν ἐπέφερεν ὁ βάρβαρος, οἵδε μετ' 5 αὐτοῦ ἦσαν. καὶ δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν

Wrongs inflicted on Plataea by Thebes.

Sparta, if she regards justice and her true interest, must not let Plataea suffer for having punished Thebes.

19. ἑδρᾶτο An. Bekk.: ἑδρᾶτε codd.
56 3. ὅπερ Poppo: ἅπερ codd. 6. τε om. ABEFM.

ἁμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηταί τι, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν· καὶ μείζω τε πρὸς ἐλάσσω εὑρήσετε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐπῃνοῦντό τε μᾶλλον οἱ μὴ τὰ ξύμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσσοντες, ἐθέλοντες δὲ τολμᾶν μετὰ κινδύνων
6 τὰ βέλτιστα. ὧν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ τιμηθέντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέδιμεν μὴ διαφθαρῶμεν, Ἀθηναίους ἑλόμενοι
7 δικαίως μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς κερδαλέως. καίτοι χρὴ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμοίως φαίνεσθαι γιγνώσκοντας, καὶ τὸ ξυμφέρον μὴ ἄλλο τι νομίσαι ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὅταν αἰεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχουσι καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα που ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καθιστῆται.

57 "Προσκέψασθέ τε ὅτι νῦν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδραγαθίας νομίζεσθε· εἰ δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα (οὐ γὰρ ἀφανῆ κρινεῖτε τὴν δίκην τήνδε, ἐπαινούμενοι δὲ περὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν μεμπτῶν), ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρι αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους ὄντας ἀπρεπές τι ἐπιγνῶναι, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς σκῦλα ἀπὸ ἡμῶν τῶν εὐεργετῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
2 ἀνατεθῆναι. δεινὸν δὲ δόξει εἶναι Πλάταιαν

Harshness to Plataea will be thought unnatural and unworthy of Sparta.

21. τι cG : om. cett. 34. ὅταν] οἳ ἂν Krüger. 35. ἔχουσι Heilmann : ἔχωσι codd.

57 1. προσσκέψασθε Meineke. 7. ἀποδέξονται ex corr. c.

Λακεδαιμονίους πορθῆσαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πανοικεσίᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους ἐξ- 15
3 αλεῖψαι. ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ξυμφορᾶς προκεχωρήκαμεν, οἵτινες Μήδων τε κρατησάντων ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πρὶν φιλτάτοις Θηβαίων ἡσσώμεθα καὶ δύο ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ὑπέστημεν, τότε μέν, τὴν 20 πόλιν εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν, λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι,
4 νῦν δὲ θανάτου δίκῃ κρίνεσθαι. καὶ περιεώσμεθα ἐκ πάντων Πλαταιῆς οἱ παρὰ δύναμιν πρόθυμοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐρῆμοι καὶ ἀτιμώρητοι· καὶ οὔτε τῶν τότε ξυμμάχων ὠφελεῖ 25 οὐδείς, ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ἦτε.

58 "Καίτοι ἀξιοῦμέν γε καὶ θεῶν ἕνεκα τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν ποτὲ γενομένων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καμφθῆναι ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταγνῶναι εἴ τι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπείσθητε, τήν τε δωρεὰν 5 ἀνταπαιτῆσαι αὐτοὺς μὴ κτείνειν οὓς μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει, σώφρονά τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς κομίσασθαι χάριν, καὶ μὴ ἡδονὴν δόντας ἄλλοις κακίαν
2 αὐτοὺς ἀντιλαβεῖν· βραχὺ γὰρ τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα διαφθεῖραι, ἐπίπονον δὲ τὴν δύσ- 10 κλειαν αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι. οὐκ ἐχθροὺς γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰκότως τιμωρήσεσθε, ἀλλ' εὔνους, κατ'

Earnest appeal to remember the past of Plataea and to act humanely.

15. πανοικησίᾳ ABCFM. 18. ἀπωλλύμεθα f: ἀπολλύμεθα codd. 22. δίκῃ om. B.

58 7. τε C: δὲ cett.

ἀνάγκην πολεμήσαντας. ὥστε καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες ὅσια ἂν δικάζοιτε καὶ προνοοῦντες ὅτι ἑκόντας τε ἐλάβετε καὶ χεῖρας προϊσχομένους (ὁ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ κτείνειν τούτους), ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐεργέτας γεγενημένους διὰ παντός. ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ ἐς πατέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας, οὓς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μήδων καὶ ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες, εὔνοι μὲν ἐκ φιλίας χώρας, ξύμμαχοι δὲ ὁμαίχμοις ποτὲ γενομένοις. ὧν ὑμεῖς τοὐναντίον ἂν δράσαιτε μὴ ὀρθῶς γνόντες. σκέψασθέ τε· Παυσανίας μὲν γὰρ ἔθαπτεν αὐτοὺς νομίζων ἐν γῇ τε φιλίᾳ τιθέναι καὶ παρ' ἀνδράσι τοιούτοις· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ κτενεῖτε ἡμᾶς καὶ χώραν τὴν Πλαταιίδα Θηβαΐδα ποιήσετε, τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις πατέρας τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς ἀτίμους γερῶν ὧν νῦν ἴσχουσι καταλείψετε; πρὸς δὲ καὶ γῆν ἐν ᾗ ἠλευθερώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες δουλώσετε, ἱερά τε θεῶν οἷς εὐξάμενοι Μήδων ἐκράτησαν ἐρημοῦτε καὶ θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν ἐσσαμένων καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε.

59 Οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τάδε, οὔτε ἐς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα καὶ ἐς τοὺς προγόνους ἁμαρτάνειν οὔτε ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐεργέτας Peroration.

ἀλλοτρίας ἕνεκα ἔχθρας μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀδικηθέντας διαφθεῖραι, φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπικλασθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ οἴκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας, μὴ ὧν πεισόμεθα μόνον δεινότητα κατανοοῦντας, ἀλλ' οἷοί τε ἂν ὄντες πάθοιμεν καὶ ὡς ἀστάθμητον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ᾧτινί ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ
2 ξυμπέσοι. ἡμεῖς τε, ὡς πρέπον ἡμῖν καὶ ὡς ἡ χρεία προάγει, αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβοώμενοι, πεῖσαι τάδε, προφερόμενοι <θ'> ὅρκους οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὤμοσαν [μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν] ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν πατρῴων τάφων καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς κεκμηῶτας μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις μηδὲ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις φίλτατοι ὄντες παραδοθῆναι. ἡμέρας τε ἀναμιμνῄσκομεν ἐκείνης ᾗ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντες νῦν ἐν
3 τῇδε τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν. ὅπερ δὲ ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον τοῖς ὧδε ἔχουσι λόγου τελευτᾶν, διότι καὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, παυόμενοι λέγομεν ἤδη ὅτι οὐ Θηβαίοις παρέδομεν τὴν πόλιν (εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἂν πρό γε τούτου τῷ αἰσχίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ λιμῷ τελευτῆσαι), ὑμῖν δὲ πιστεύσαντες προσήλθομεν (καὶ δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ πείθομεν, ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας τὸν ξυντυχόντα

59 8. κατανοοῦντας c : κατανοοῦντες codd. 14. προφερόμενοι C : προσφερόμενοι cett. ‖ θ' add. Stahl. 15. μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν del. Cobet. 18. κεκμηκότας CEM. 21. μετ' αὐτῶν Gm : μεθ' αὐτῶν cett. 30. καταστήσαντας fGm : καταστήσαντες cett.

κίνδυνον ἐᾶσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλέσθαι), ἐπισκήπτομέν τε ἅμα μὴ Πλαταιῆς ὄντες οἱ προθυμότατοι περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γενόμενοι Θηβαίοις τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως, ἱκέται ὄντες, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, παραδοθῆναι, γενέσθαι δὲ σωτῆρας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς διολέσαι."

60 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Πλαταιῆς εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι δείσαντες πρὸς τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τι ἐνδῶσι, παρελθόντες ἔφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ βούλεσθαι εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν μακρότερος λόγος ἐδόθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα ἀποκρίσεως. ὡς δ' ἐκέλευσαν, ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

The Thebans ask leave to reply.

61 "Τοὺς μὲν λόγους οὐκ ἂν ἠτησάμεθα εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ βραχέως τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς τραπόμενοι κατηγορίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξω τῶν προκειμένων καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ἠτιαμένων πολλὴν τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ ἔπαινον ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο. νῦν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀντειπεῖν δεῖ, τῶν δὲ ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα μήτε ἡ ἡμετέρα αὐτοὺς κακία ὠφελῇ μήτε ἡ τούτων δόξα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαντες κρίνητε.

REPLY OF THE THEBANS. "The Plataeans have praised themselves and attacked us at length."

2 "Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα

32. οἱ om. ABEFM.
61 2. οὗτοι Hude.

πρῶτον ὅτι ἡμῶν κτισάντων Πλάταιαν

Origin of the strife between Plataea and Thebes.

ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ' αὐτῆς, ἃ ξυμμείκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες ἔσχομεν, οὐκ ἠξίουν οὗτοι, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ ἀντέπασχον.

62 "Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φασὶ μόνοι Βοιωτῶν οὐ μηδίσαι, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα αὐτοί τε ἀγάλλονται καὶ ἡμᾶς λοιδοροῦσιν.

Defence against the charge of "medism."

2 ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδίσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς οὔ φαμεν διότι οὐδ' Ἀθηναίους, τῇ μέντοι αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ὕστερον ἰόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μόνους 3 αὖ Βοιωτῶν ἀττικίσαι. καίτοι σκέψασθε ἐν οἵῳ εἴδει ἑκάτεροι ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἔπραξαν. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε 4 τὰ πράγματα. καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον σχήσειν εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μήδου κρατήσειε, κατέχοντες ἰσχύι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτόν· καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὖσα ἑαυτῆς τοῦτ' ἔπραξεν, οὐδ' ἄξιον αὐτῇ ὀνειδίσαι ὧν μὴ μετὰ νόμων

ἥμαρτεν. ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ὅ τε Μῆδος ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔλαβε, σκέψασθαι χρή, Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον ἐπιόντων τήν τε ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν πειρωμένων ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἤδη ἐχόντων αὐτῆς τὰ πολλά, εἰ μαχόμενοι ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἠλευθερώσαμεν τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νῦν προθύμως ξυνελευθεροῦμεν, ἵππους τε παρέχοντες καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ ἄλλοι τῶν ξυμμάχων.

63 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν μηδισμὸν τοσαῦτα ἀπολογούμεθα· ὡς δὲ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλόν τε ἠδικήκατε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί ἐστε πάσης ζημίας, πειρασόμεθα ἀποφαίνειν. ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὡς φατέ, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται. οὐκοῦν χρὴν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ξυνεπιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἄλλοις, ὑπάρχον γε ὑμῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ἄκοντες προσήγεσθε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶνδε ἤδη ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίας γεγενημένης, ἣν αὐτοὶ μάλιστα προβάλλεσθε· ἱκανή γε ἦν ἡμᾶς τε ὑμῶν ἀποτρέπειν, καί, τὸ μέγιστον, ἀδεῶς παρέχειν βουλεύεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἑκόντες καὶ οὐ βιαζόμενοι ἔτι εἵλεσθε 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.

63 9. ἐπάγεσθαι vulgo: ὑπάγεσθαι codd. 10. ὑπάρχον γε M: ὑπάρχοντες E: ὑπάρχον τε cett.

ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἦν προδοῦναι τοὺς εὐεργέτας· πολὺ δέ γε αἴσχιον καὶ ἀδικώτερον τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας καταπροδοῦναι, οἷς ξυνωμόσατε, ἢ Ἀθηναίους μόνους, τοὺς μὲν καταδουλουμένους τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ
4 ἐλευθεροῦντας. καὶ οὐκ ἴσην αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνης ἀπηλλαγμένην· ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀδικούμενοι αὐτούς, ὡς φατέ, ἐπηγάγεσθε, τοῖς δὲ ἀδικοῦσιν ἄλλους ξυνεργοὶ κατέστητε. καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὀφειληθείσας, ἐς ἀδικίαν δὲ
64 ἀποδιδομένας. δῆλόν τε ἐποιήσατε οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕνεκα μόνοι οὐ μηδίσαντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἡμεῖς δέ, τοῖς μὲν ταὐτὰ βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τἀναντία.
2 καὶ νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, ἀφ' ὧν δι' ἑτέρους ἐγένεσθε ἀγαθοί, ἀπὸ τούτων ὠφελεῖσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκός· ὥσπερ δὲ Ἀθηναίους εἵλεσθε, τούτοις ξυναγωνίζεσθε, καὶ μὴ προφέρετε τὴν τότε γενομένην ξυνωμοσίαν ὡς χρὴ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῦν
3 σῴζεσθαι. ἀπελίπετε γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ παραβάντες ξυγκατεδουλοῦσθε μᾶλλον Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ξυνομοσάντων ἢ διεκωλύετε, καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε ἄκοντες ἔχοντές τε τοὺς νόμους οὕσπερ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑμᾶς βιασαμένου ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς. τὴν τελευταίαν τε πρὶν περιτειχίζεσθαι πρόκλησιν ἐς ἡσυχίαν ἡμῶν, ὥστε μηδετέροις ἀμύνειν, οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε.

64 3. ὑμεῖς CG. 17. ὑμῶν AEM.

4 τίνες ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι μισοῖντο, οἵτινες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων κακῷ ἀνδραγαθίαν προύθεσθε; καὶ ἃ μέν ποτε χρηστοὶ ἐγένεσθε, ὡς φατέ, οὐ προσήκοντα νῦν ἐπεδείξατε, ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις αἰεὶ ἐβούλετο, ἐξηλέγχθη ἐς τὸ ἀληθές· μετὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἄδικον ὁδὸν ἰόντων ἐχωρήσατε.

5 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμὸν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἑκούσιον ἀττικισμὸν
65 τοιαῦτα ἀποφαίνομεν· ἃ δὲ τελευταῖά φατε ἀδικηθῆναι (παρανόμως γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνίᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν), οὐ νομίζομεν οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ὑμῶν μᾶλλον
2 ἁμαρτεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ πρός τε τὴν πόλιν ἐλθόντες ἐμαχόμεθα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐδῃοῦμεν ὡς πολέμιοι, ἀδικοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ἄνδρες ὑμῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένει, βουλόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἔξω ξυμμαχίας ὑμᾶς παῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια καταστῆσαι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο ἑκόντες, τί ἀδικοῦμεν; οἱ γὰρ ἄγοντες
3 παρανομοῦσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑπομένων. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν, οὔτε ἡμεῖς· πολῖται δὲ ὄντες ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς καὶ πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν τεῖχος ἀνοίξαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως

The object of the attempt on Plataea was good, and the attempt was justified. Plataea is to blame for her treachery and cruelty to the prisoners.

18. οὖν om. ABFM. 22. ἀπεδείξατε Classen.
65 3. ἱερομηνίᾳ margo Stephani: ἱερομηνίαις codd. 18. φιλίους, οὐ πολεμίους Steup.

κομίσαντες ἐβούλοντο τούς τε ὑμῶν χείρους μηκέτι μᾶλλον γενέσθαι τούς τε ἀμείνους τὰ ἄξια ἔχειν, σωφρονισταὶ ὄντες τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦντες ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ξυγγένειαν οἰκειοῦντες, ἐχθροὺς οὐδενὶ καθιστάντες, ἅπασι δ' ὁμοίως ἐνσπόν-
66 δους. τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς οὐ πολεμίως ἐπράσσομεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἠδικήσαμεν οὐδένα, προείπομέν τε τὸν βουλόμενον κατὰ τὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια πολιτεύειν ἰέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
2 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄσμενοι χωρήσαντες καὶ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχάζετε, ὕστερον δὲ κατανοήσαντες ἡμᾶς ὀλίγους ὄντας, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμέν τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πρᾶξαι οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ὑμῶν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ μὲν ὁμοῖα οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν, μήτε νεωτερίσαι ἔργῳ λόγοις τε πείθειν ὥστε ἐξελθεῖν, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν, οὓς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀλγοῦμεν (κατὰ νόμον γὰρ δή τινα ἔπασχον), οὓς δὲ χεῖρας προϊσχομένους καὶ ζωγρήσαντες ὑποσχόμενοί τε ἡμῖν ὕστερον μὴ κτενεῖν παρανόμως
3 διεφθείρατε, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ εἴργασθε; κἀνταῦθα τρεῖς ἀδικίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πράξαντες, τήν τε λυθεῖσαν ὁμολογίαν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ὕστερον θάνατον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μὴ κτείνειν ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἣν τὰ ἐν τοῖς

66 3. τῶν C: om. cett. 11. πείθειν Classen: πείσειν codd. 16. μὴ κτενεῖν ὕστερον Hude. 17. κἀνταῦθα Naber: καὶ ταῦτα codd. 21. κτενεῖν Herwerden. || ὑπόθεσιν ABF.

ἀγροῖς ὑμῖν μὴ ἀδικῶμεν, ὅμως φατὲ ἡμᾶς παρανομῆσαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀντιδοῦναι δίκην. οὔκ, ἤν γε οὗτοι τὰ ὀρθὰ γιγνώσκωσιν· πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα κολασθήσεσθε.

67 "Καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τούτου ἕνεκα ἐπεξήλθομεν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε δικαίως αὐτῶν καταγνωσόμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι 2 ὁσιώτερον τετιμωρημένοι. καὶ μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετάς, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο, ἀκούοντες ἐπικλασθῆτε, ἃς χρὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις ἐπικούρους εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ αἰσχρόν τι δρῶσι διπλασίας ζημίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων ἁμαρτάνουσιν. μηδὲ ὀλοφυρμῷ καὶ οἴκτῳ ὠφελείσθων, πατέρων τε τάφους τῶν ὑμετέρων 3 ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἐρημίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀνταποφαίνομεν πολλῷ δεινότερα παθοῦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρμένην, ὧν πατέρες οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄγοντες ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται λελειμμένοι καὶ <αἱ> οἰκίαι ἐρῆμοι πολλῷ δικαιοτέραν ὑμῶν ἱκετείαν ποιοῦν- 4 ται τούσδε τιμωρήσασθαι. οἴκτου τε ἀξιώτεροι τυγχάνειν οἱ ἀπρεπές τι πάσχοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἴδε, τὰ 5 ἐναντία ἐπίχαρτοι εἶναι. καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐρημίαν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ἔχουσιν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμείνους ξυμμάχους ἑκόντες ἀπεώσαντο. παρενόμησάν τε

It is for Sparta to enact a just penalty.

67 3. εἰδῆτε] φανῆτε Rauchenstein. 4. ἡμᾶς et τετιμωρημένους Krüger. 17. κατ' οἰκίας Stahl : αἱ add. Krüger.

οὐ προπαθόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μίσει δὲ πλέον ἢ δίκῃ κρίναντες — καὶ οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες νῦν τὴν ἴσην τιμωρίαν· ἔννομα γὰρ πείσονται καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ μάχης χεῖρας προϊσχόμενοι, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως ἐς δίκην σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παραδόντες. ἀμύνατε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ ὑπὸ τῶνδε παραβαθέντι, καὶ ἡμῖν ἄνομα παθοῦσιν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν ὧν πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶνδε λόγοις περιωσθῶμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων βραχεῖα ἡ ἀπαγγελία ἀρκεῖ, ἁμαρτανομένων δὲ λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες προκαλύμματα γίγνονται. ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς κεφαλαιώσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας <τὰς> διαγνώμας ποιήσησθε, ἥσσόν τις ἐπ' ἀδίκοις ἔργοις λόγους καλοὺς ζητήσει."

Peroration.

68 Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δικασταὶ νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπερώτημα σφίσιν ὀρθῶς ἔξειν, εἴ τι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθασι, διότι τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἠξίουν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παυσανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον [ἃ] πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι

The Plataeans put to death. Plataea is destroyed.

26. post οὐκ add. ἂν Dobree. ‖ ἀνταποδώσοντες Stahl. 42. τὰς add. Hude.

68 8. ἃ del. Heilmann.

προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι, αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ ἕνα ἕκαστον παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδρακότες εἰσίν, ὁπότε μὴ φαῖεν, ἀπάγοντες ἀπέκτεινον καὶ ἐξαίρετον ἐποιήσαντο οὐδένα.

2 διέφθειραν δὲ Πλαταιῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οἳ ξυνεπολιορκοῦντο· γυναῖκας δὲ

3 ἠνδραπόδισαν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνιαυτὸν μέν τινα Θηβαῖοι Μεγαρέων ἀνδράσι κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεπτωκόσι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντες Πλαταιῶν περιῆσαν ἔδοσαν ἐνοικεῖν· ὕστερον δὲ καθελόντες αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων ᾠκοδόμησαν πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ κατα-γώγιον διακοσίων ποδῶν πανταχῇ κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ὀροφαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος, κλίνας κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἥρᾳ, καὶ νεὼν ἑκατόμπεδον λίθινον ᾠκοδόμησαν αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ γῆν δημοσιώσαντες ἀπεμίσθωσαν ἐπὶ δέκα

4 ἔτη, καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν περὶ Πλαταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὕτως ἀποτετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο Θηβαίων ἕνεκα, νομίζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἄρτι τότε

9. ἐκείνας Reiske. 21. Θηβαῖοι del. Classen.

καθιστάμενον ὠφελίμους εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

69 Αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίοις βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι, ὡς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἔκ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σποράδες πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα τριήρεις Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Βρασίδαν τὸν Τέλλιδος ξύμβουλον Ἀλκίδα ἐπεληλυθότα. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς τῆς Λέσβου ἡμαρτήκεσαν, πλέον τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσαι στασιάζουσαν, δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ μόναις παρόντων Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναύπακτον, πρὶν δὲ πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικόν, ὅπως προφθάσωσι, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὅ τε Βρασίδας καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίδας πρὸς ταῦτα.

The Peloponnesian fleet, returned from Lesbos, prepares to sail to Corcyra.

70 Οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι ἐστασίαζον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦλθον αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ναυμαχιῶν ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀφεθέντες, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πεπεισμένοι Κορινθίοις Κέρκυραν προσποιῆσαι. καὶ ἔπρασσον οὗτοι,

CORCYRA. Outbreak of strife after the return of prisoners from Corinth.

69 6. καὶ del. Classen.

ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν μετιόντες, ὅπως
2 ἀποστήσωσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. καὶ
ἀφικομένης Ἀττικῆς τε νεὼς καὶ Κορινθίας
πρέσβεις ἀγουσῶν καὶ ἐς λόγους καταστάντων
ἐψηφίσαντο Κερκυραῖοι Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ξύμμαχοι
εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ
3 φίλοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ (ἦν γὰρ
Πειθίας ἐθελοπρόξενός τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει) ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν
οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐς δίκην, λέγοντες Ἀθηναίοις
4 τὴν Κέρκυραν καταδουλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἀποφυγὼν
ἀνθυπάγει αὐτῶν τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους πέντε
ἄνδρας, φάσκων τέμνειν χάρακας ἐκ τοῦ τε
Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου· ζημία
δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην χάρακα ἐπέκειτο στατήρ.
5 ὀφλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἱκετῶν
καθεζομένων διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας, ὅπως
ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν, ὁ Πειθίας (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ
καὶ βουλῆς ὤν) πείθει ὥστε τῷ νόμῳ χρήσασθαι.
6 οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε νόμῳ ἐξείργοντο καὶ
ἅμα ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Πειθίαν, ἕως ἔτι βουλῆς
ἐστί, μέλλειν τὸ πλῆθος ἀναπείσειν τοὺς
αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις φίλους τε καὶ ἐχθροὺς
νομίζειν, ξυνίσταντό τε καὶ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια
ἐξαπιναίως ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσελθόντες τόν τε
Πειθίαν κτείνουσι καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν
καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐς ἑξήκοντα· οἱ δέ τινες τῆς
αὐτῆς γνώμης τῷ Πειθίᾳ ὀλίγοι ἐς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν τριήρη κατέφυγον ἔτι παροῦσαν.

70 9. ἀποστήσουσιν Cobet. 23. ὀφειλόντων ABEF.

71 δράσαντες δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσαντες Κερ-
Steps taken by the oligarchs.
κυραίους εἶπον ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ
βέλτιστα εἴη καὶ ἥκιστ' ἂν
δουλωθεῖεν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τό τε λοιπὸν μηδε-
τέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μιᾷ νηὶ ἡσυχάζοντας, 5
τὸ δὲ πλέον πολέμιον ἡγεῖσθαι. ὡς δὲ εἶπον,
καὶ ἐπικυρῶσαι ἠνάγκασαν τὴν γνώμην.
2 πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας εὐθὺς
πρέσβεις περί τε τῶν πεπραγμένων διδάξοντας
ὡς ξυνέφερε καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας 10
πείσοντας μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν, ὅπως
72 μή τις ἐπιστροφὴ γένηται. ἐλθόντων δὲ οἱ
The two parties occupy different parts of Corcyra.
Ἀθηναῖοι τούς τε πρέσβεις ὡς νεω-
τερίζοντας ξυλλαβόντες, καὶ ὅσους
ἔπεισαν, κατέθεντο ἐς Αἴγιναν.
2 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἔχοντες 5
τὰ πράγματα ἐλθούσης τριήρους Κορινθίας
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεων ἐπιτίθενται τῷ
3 δήμῳ, καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐνίκησαν. ἀφικομένης
δὲ νυκτὸς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ
τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως καταφεύγει καὶ αὐτοῦ 10
ξυλλεγεὶς ἱδρύθη, καὶ τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα
εἶχον· οἱ δὲ τήν τε ἀγορὰν κατέλαβον, οὗπερ
οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤκουν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν
73 πρὸς αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον. τῇ δ'
ὑστεραίᾳ ἠκροβολίσαντό τε ὀλίγα καὶ ἐς τοὺς
ἀγροὺς περιέπεμπον ἀμφότεροι, τοὺς δούλους
παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι·
καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πλῆθος 5
παρεγένετο ξύμμαχον, τοῖς δ' ἑτέροις ἐκ τῆς

74 ἠπείρου ἐπίκουροι ὀκτακόσιοι. διαλιπούσης δ' ἡμέρας μάχη αὖθις γίγνεται καὶ νικᾷ ὁ δῆμος χωρίων τε ἰσχύι καὶ πλήθει προύχων· αἵ τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσαι τὸν θόρυβον. γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν, δείσαντες οἱ ὀλίγοι μὴ αὐτοβοεὶ ὁ δῆμος τοῦ τε νεωρίου κρατήσειεν ἐπελθὼν καὶ σφᾶς διαφθείρειεν, ἐμπιπρᾶσι τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὰς ξυνοικίας, ὅπως μὴ ᾖ ἔφοδος, φειδόμενοι οὔτε οἰκείας οὔτε ἀλλοτρίας, ὥστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαύθη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσε πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι, εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο τῇ φλογὶ ἐπίφορος ἐς αὐτήν.

A battle resulting in victory for the democrats.

3 Καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὡς ἑκάτεροι ἡσυχάσαντες τὴν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν· καὶ ἡ Κορινθία ναῦς τοῦ δήμου κεκρατηκότος ὑπεξανήγετο, καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον λαθόντες διεκομί-

75 σθησαν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Νικόστρατος ὁ Διειτρέφους Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δώδεκα ναυσὶ καὶ Μεσσηνίων πεντακοσίοις ὁπλίταις· ξύμβασίν τε ἔπρασσε· καὶ πείθει ὥστε ξυγχωρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους κρῖναι, οἳ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οἰκεῖν σπονδὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησαμένους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὥστε τοὺς

Arrival of Athenian ships from Naupactus.

2 αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἔμελλεν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου προστάται πείθουσιν αὐτὸν πέντε μὲν ναῦς τῶν αὐτοῦ σφίσι καταλιπεῖν, ὅπως ἧσσόν τι ἐν κινήσει ὦσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἴσας δὲ αὐτοὶ πληρώσαντες ἐκ σφῶν αὐτῶν 3 ξυμπέμψειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ξυνεχώρησεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατέλεγον ἐς τὰς ναῦς. δείσαντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθῶσι καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκόρων ἱερόν. 4 Νικόστρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνίστη τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δῆμος ὁπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑγιὲς διανοουμένων τῇ τοῦ τὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ, τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς οἷς ἐπέτυχον, εἰ μὴ Νικόστρατος 5 ἐκώλυσε, διέφθειραν ἄν. ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ γιγνόμενα καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον ἱκέται καὶ γίγνονται οὐκ ἐλάσσους τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ δῆμος δείσας μή τι νεωτερίσωσιν ἀνίστησί τε αὐτοὺς πείσας καὶ διακομίζει ἐς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου νῆσον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκεῖσε αὐτοῖς διεπέμπετο.

76 Τῆς δὲ στάσεως ἐν τούτῳ οὔσης τετάρτῃ ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον διακομιδὴν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Κυλλήνης Πελοποννησίων νῆες, μετὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας πλοῦν ἐφ' ὅρμῳ οὖσαι, παραγίγνονται τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα· ἦρχε δὲ

The Peloponnesian fleet arrives.

76 5. ἐφ' ὅρμῳ Stahl : ἔφορμοι codd.

αὐτῶν Ἀλκίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ Βρασίδας αὐτῷ ξύμβουλος ἐπέπλει. ὁρμισάμενοι δὲ ἐς Σύβοτα λιμένα τῆς ἠπείρου ἅμα
77 ἕῳ ἐπέπλεον τῇ Κερκύρᾳ. οἱ δὲ πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ πεφοβημένοι τά τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν παρεσκευάζοντό τε ἅμα ἐξήκοντα ναῦς καὶ τὰς αἰεὶ πληρουμένας ἐξέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, παραινούντων Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς τε ἐᾶσαι πρῶτον ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ ὕστερον πάσαις ἅμα
2 ἐκείνους ἐπιγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦσαν σποράδες αἱ νῆες, δύο μὲν εὐθὺς ἠτομόλησαν, ἐν ἑτέραις δὲ ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ἐμάχοντο, ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς κόσμος
3 τῶν ποιουμένων. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν ταραχὴν εἴκοσι μὲν ναυσὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους ἐτάξαντο, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πρὸς τὰς δώδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ
78 δύο Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι κακῶς τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγας προσπίπτοντες ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ καθ' αὑτούς· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν περικύκλωσιν ἁθρόαις μὲν οὐ προσέπιπτον οὐδὲ κατὰ μέσον ταῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τεταγμέναις, προσβαλόντες δὲ κατὰ κέρας καταδύουσι μίαν ναῦν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κύκλον ταξαμένων αὐτῶν περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπειρῶντο θορυβεῖν.
2 γνόντες δὲ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις καὶ δείσαντες μὴ ὅπερ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ γένοιτο,

Indecisive naval engagement.

78 3. ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ Haase : ἐταλαιπωροῦντο codd.

ἐπιβοηθοῦσι, καὶ γενόμεναι ἁθρόαι αἱ νῆες ἅμα τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐποιοῦντο. 3 οἱ δ' ὑπεχώρουν ἤδη πρύμναν κρουόμενοι καὶ ἅμα τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐβούλοντο προ- καταφυγεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα, ἑαυτῶν σχολῇ τε ὑποχωρούντων καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς τεταγμένων τῶν ἐναντίων.

4 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ναυμαχία τοιαύτη γενομένη
79 ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δείσαντες μὴ σφίσιν ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς κρατοῦντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀναλάβωσιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι νεωτερίσωσι, τούς τε ἐκ τῆς νήσου πάλιν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον 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 ἤπειρον, 3 ὅθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καίπερ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ὄντας καὶ Βρασίδου παραινοῦντος, ὡς λέγεται, Ἀλκίδᾳ, ἰσοψήφου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Λευκίμμην τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ἀποβάντες ἐπόρθουν τοὺς ἀγρούς.

The Peloponnesian fleet at the SE. of Corcyra

80 ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐν τούτῳ περιδεὴς γενόμενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν αἱ νῆες, τοῖς τε ἱκέταις ᾖσαν ἐς λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ

Gets warning of the approach of sixty Athenian ships.

79 6. πάλιν G: πάλαι cett. 9. τρεῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα vulgo: τρισκαίδεκα δὲ codd. (δὲ om. BM).

πόλις, καί τινας αὐτῶν ἔπεισαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι· ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ ὅμως τριάκοντα προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας δῃώσαντες τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ νύκτα αὐτοῖς ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν ἑξήκοντα νῆες Ἀθηναίων προσπλέουσαι ἀπὸ Λευκάδος· ἃς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὰς μετ' Ἀλκίδου ναῦς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν μελλούσας πλεῖν ἀπέστειλαν καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους στρατηγόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς νυκτὸς εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκομίζοντο ἐπ' οἴκου παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ὑπερενεγκόντες τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν τὰς ναῦς, ὅπως μὴ περιπλέοντες ὀφθῶσιν, ἀποκομίζονται. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τάς τε Ἀττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεούσας τάς τε τῶν πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τούς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγον πρότερον ἔξω ὄντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς περιπλεῦσαι κελεύσαντες ἃς ἐπλήρωσαν ἐς τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα, ἐν ὅσῳ περιεκομίζοντο, τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ἀπέκτεινον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὅσους ἔπεισαν ἐσβῆναι ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχρῶντο, ἐς τὸ Ἡραιόν τε ἐλθόντες τῶν ἱκετῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἔπεισαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν πάντων θάνατον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ

The Peloponnesian fleet sails away.

80 7. προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν om. ABF.

81 4. τὸν ac: τῶν codd. 8. λαβόντες del. Classen: λαθόντες Hude. 14. ἀπεχρῶντο γρ. CFM An. Bekk. Suid.: ἀπεχώρησαν codd.: ἀνεχρῶντο Dion. Hal.

τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ὡς ἑώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα, διέφθειρον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο, 20
4 οἱ δ' ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύναντο ἀνηλοῦντο. ἡμέρας τε ἑπτά, ἃς ἀφικόμενος ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ταῖς ἑξήκοντα ναυσὶ παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνευον, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον 25
καταλύουσιν, ἀπέθανον δέ τινες καὶ ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἕνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσιν
5 ὀφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων· πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, καὶ οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ ξυνέβη καὶ 30
ἔτι περαιτέρω. καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον. 35

82 Οὕτως ὠμὴ στάσις προυχώρησε, καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἑκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δήμων προστάταις τοὺς 5
Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδ' ἑτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτούς, πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἑκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν 10

A massacre by the democratic party ensues.

19. διέφθειρον GM Dion. Hal. : διέφθειραν cett.
82 1. ἡ στάσις Krüger. 8. ἑτοίμων] ἑτόλμων Classen.

αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει ῥᾳδίως αἱ
ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις
2 ἐπορίζοντο. καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ
κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ
αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων
ᾖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι
διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ
τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ
καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν αἵ τε πόλεις καὶ οἱ
ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι διὰ τὸ
μὴ ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· ὁ δὲ
πόλεμος ὑφελὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν
βίαιος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς
3 ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ. ἐστασίαζέ τε οὖν ←
τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που
πύστει τῶν προγενομένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν
ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν
τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν
4 ἀτοπίᾳ. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνο-
μάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει.
τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος
ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθὴς δειλία εὐ-
πρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα,
καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν·
τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὀξὺ ἀνδρὸς μοίρᾳ προσετέθη,
ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι ἀποτροπῆς
5 πρόφασις εὔλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων

15. post φύσις add. τῶν B. 17. ἕκασται C: ἕκαστα cett. 23. ante βίαιος add. βίου Krüger. 26. ἀποπύστει FM: ἐπιπύστει Dion. Hal. 27. τοῦ] ἐς τὸ Dion. Hal. 36. ἀσφαλείᾳ BfgM Schol.: ἀσφάλεια cett.

πιστὸς αἰεί, ὁ δ' ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ ὕποπτος. ἐπιβουλεύσας δέ τις τυχὼν ξυνετὸς καὶ ὑπονοήσας ἔτι δεινότερος· προβουλεύσας δὲ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτῶν δεήσει, τῆς τε ἑταιρίας διαλυτὴς καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένος. ἁπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακόν τι δρᾶν ἐπῃνεῖτο, 6 καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἑτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίᾳ αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξίᾳ. καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον 7 ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομῆσαι. τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέχοντο ἔργων φυλακῇ, εἰ προύχοιεν, καὶ οὐ γενναιότητι. ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαί τέ τινα περὶ πλείονος ἦν ἢ αὐτὸν μὴ προπαθεῖν. καὶ ὅρκοι εἴ που ἄρα γένοιντο ξυναλλαγῆς, ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον ἑκατέρῳ διδόμενοι ἴσχυον οὐκ ἐχόντων ἄλλοθεν δύναμιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρατυχόντι ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι, εἰ ἴδοι ἄφαρκτον, ἥδιον διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, καὶ τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι ἀπάτῃ περιγενόμενος ξυνέσεως ἀγώνισμα προσελάμβανεν. ῥᾷον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται ἢ

39. post τυχὼν add. τε Dion. Hal. 42. δὲ] τε Haase.
48. ὠφελίᾳ Poppo: ὠφελίας codd. 59. θαρσῆσαι fort. delendum: θαρσήσει Shilleto.

ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται, ἐπὶ 65
8 δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται. πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον
ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ἐκ δ'
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ
πρόθυμον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες
μετὰ ὀνόματος ἑκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους 70
τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας
σώφρονος προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ
θεραπεύοντες ἆθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ
ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμη-
σάν τε τὰ δεινότατα ἐπεξῆσάν τε τὰς τιμωρίας 75
ἔτι μείζους, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ
πόλει ξυμφόρου προστιθέντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἑκατέ-
ροις που αἰεὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ὁρίζοντες, καὶ ἢ
μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως ἢ χειρὶ
κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν τὴν αὐτίκα 80
φιλονικίαν ἐκπιμπλάναι. ὥστε εὐσεβείᾳ μὲν
οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγου οἷς
ξυμβαίη ἐπιφθόνως τι διαπράξασθαι, ἄμεινον
ἤκουον. τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ'
ἀμφοτέρων ἢ ὅτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο ἢ φθόνῳ 85
τοῦ περιεῖναι διεφθείροντο.

83 Οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ
τὰς στάσεις τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, καὶ τὸ
εὔηθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον
μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη, τὸ
δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι ἀλλήλοις τῇ γνώμῃ
2 ἀπίστως ἐπὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν· οὐ

The horrors in Corcyra were only a sample of the disastrous conflicts common in Greek states during the war.

66. αἴτιον del. Madvig. 67. ἡ del. Hude. 77. προστιθέντες Dion. Hal. : προτιθέντες codd. 79. καταγνώσεως del. Herwerden.

γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὅρκος φοβερός, κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες ἅπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου μὴ παθεῖν μᾶλλον προυσκόπουν ἢ πιστεῦσαι
3 ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην ὡς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεὲς καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνετόν, μὴ λόγοις τε ἥσσους ὦσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης φθάνωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρουν.
4 οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦντες κἂν προαισθέσθαι καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν ἃ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν, ἄφαρκτοι μᾶλλον διεφθείροντο.

84 [Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προυτολμήθη, καὶ ὁπόσα ὕβρει μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τὸ πλέον ἢ σωφροσύνῃ ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχόντων οἱ ἀνταμυνόμενοι δράσειαν, πενίας δὲ τῆς εἰωθυίας ἀπαλλαξείοντές τινες, μάλιστα δ' ἂν διὰ πάθους, ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν, παρὰ δίκην γιγνώσκοιεν, οἵ τε μὴ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ, ἀπὸ ἴσου δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιόντες ἀπαιδευσίᾳ ὀργῆς πλεῖστον ἐκφερόμενοι ὠμῶς
2 καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπέλθοιεν. ξυνταραχθέντος τε τοῦ βίου ἐς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις, εἰωθυῖα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν, ἀσμένη

Other reflexions on the conflicts.

83 15. φθάσωσι codd.: corr. Gildersleeve.
84 c. 84 damnaverunt grammatici apud Schol. 2. ὁπόσ' ἂν Hude. 6. τινες f Schol.: τινας codd. 8. οἵ] ἃ Madvig.

ἐδήλωσεν ἀκρατὴς μὲν ὀργῆς οὖσα, κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, πολεμία δὲ τοῦ προύχοντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ τε ὁσίου τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι προυτίθεσαν τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸ κερδαίνειν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἰσχὺν εἶχε τὸ φθονεῖν. 3 ἀξιοῦσί τε τοὺς κοινοὺς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἄνθρωποι νόμους, ἀφ' ὧν ἅπασιν ἐλπὶς ὑπόκειται σφαλεῖσι κἂν αὐτοὺς διασῴζεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλων τιμωρίαις προκαταλύειν καὶ μὴ ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἴ ποτε ἄρα τις κινδυνεύσας τινὸς δεήσεται αὐτῶν.]

85 Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν 2 ταῖς ναυσίν· ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων (διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους) τείχη τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι ἐλῄζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον, καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. 3 ἐπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον περὶ καθόδου· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπράσσετο, ὕστερον χρόνῳ πλοῖα καὶ ἐπικούρους παρασκευασάμενοι διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον 4 ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐμπρήσαντες, ὅπως ἀπόγνοια ᾖ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐς τὸ ὄρος

Athenian fleet leaves Coreyra. The surviving oligarchs escape to the mainland, whence they cross again to the island; they harass the enemy.

85 10. ελήϊζον ABEFM γρ. G.

τὴν Ἰστώνην, τεῖχος ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι ἔφθειρον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκράτουν.

86 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι ναῦς ἔστειλαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Λάχητα τὸν Μελανώπου στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ Χαροιάδην τὸν Εὐφιλήτου. οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ξύμμαχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαριναίων αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, Ῥηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίνων. ἐς οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι κατά τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων τῆς τε γῆς εἴργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε σῖτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἄγεσθαι αὐτόθεν πρόπειράν τε ποιούμενοι εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι. καταστάντες οὖν ἐς Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

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

87 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἡ νόσος τὸ

19. τῆς Ἰστώνης B. Schmidt, coll. IV. 46, 1.

δεύτερον ἐπέπεσε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκλιποῦσα μὲν οὐδένα χρόνον τὸ παντάπασιν, ἐγένετο δέ τις ὅμως διοκωχή. Second outbreak of plague at Athens.

2 παρέμεινε δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕστερον οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐνιαυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πρότερον καὶ δύο ἔτη, ὥστε Ἀθηναίων γε μὴ εἶναι ὅ τι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε
3 τὴν δύναμιν· τετρακοσίων γὰρ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τετρακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τάξεων καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου
4 ὄχλου ἀνεξεύρετος ἀριθμός. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ σεισμοὶ τότε τῆς γῆς, ἔν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τῷ Βοιωτίῳ.

88 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥηγῖνοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τριάκοντα ναυσὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους καλουμένας· θέρους γὰρ δι' ἀνυδρίαν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιστρατεύειν. The Athenian fleet at Rhegium ravages the Aeolian islands.

2 νέμονται δὲ Λιπαραῖοι αὐτάς, Κνιδίων ἄποικοι ὄντες. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων οὐ μεγάλῃ, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπάρα· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι γεωργοῦσι, Διδύμην καὶ
3 Στρογγύλην καὶ Ἱεράν. νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὡς ὁ Ἥφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνόν. κεῖνται δὲ αἱ νῆσοι αὗται κατὰ τὴν Σικελῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν, ξύμμαχοι δ' ἦσαν

87 7. Ἀθηναίους C, γρ. A, γρ. B, γρ. F, qui post μᾶλλον add. τούτους ἐπίεσε καί.

4 Συρακοσίων. τεμόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν γῆν,
ὡς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον.
καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος τῷ
πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

89 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ
Ἰσθμοῦ ἦλθον ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ἐσβαλοῦντες, Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου
ἡγουμένου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, σεισμῶν 5
δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν ἀπετράποντο πάλιν καὶ
2 οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐσβολή. καὶ περὶ τούτους τοὺς
χρόνους, τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς Εὐβοίας
ἐν Ὠροβίαις ἡ θάλασσα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἀπὸ
τῆς τότε οὔσης γῆς καὶ κυματωθεῖσα ἐπῆλθε 10
τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε,
τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ θάλασσα νῦν ἐστι
πρότερον οὖσα γῆ· καὶ ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν
ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα
3 ἀναδραμόντες. καὶ περὶ Ἀταλάντην τὴν ἐπὶ 15
Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσον παραπλησία
γίγνεται ἐπίκλυσις, καὶ τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν
Ἀθηναίων παρεῖλε καὶ δύο νεῶν ἀνειλκυσμένων
4 τὴν ἑτέραν κατέαξεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν
Πεπαρήθῳ κύματος ἐπαναχώρησίς τις, οὐ 20
μέντοι ἐπέκλυσέ γε· καὶ σεισμὸς τοῦ τείχους
τι κατέβαλε καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ ἄλλας
5 οἰκίας ὀλίγας. αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ
τοιούτου, ᾗ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο,

Earthquakes prevent the intended invasion of Attica.

89 9. ἐπανελθοῦσα Schol. : ἐπελθοῦσα codd. 24. post ἐγένετο add. τὸ Meineke.

κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐξαπίνης πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν· ἄνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.

90 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὡς ἑκάστοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύοντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις· ἃ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἢ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπραξαν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἀντιπόλεμοι, τούτων 2 μνησθήσομαι. Χαροιάδου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ τεθνηκότος ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων πολέμῳ Λάχης ἅπασαν ἔχων τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐστράτευσε μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ Μυλὰς τὰς Μεσσηνίων. ἔτυχον δὲ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν ταῖς Μυλαῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροῦσαι καί τινα καὶ ἐνέδραν πεποιημέναι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν 3 νεῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τούς τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τρέπουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσι πολλούς, καὶ τῷ ἐρύματι προσβαλόντες ἠνάγκασαν ὁμολογίᾳ τήν τε ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ 4 Μεσσήνην ξυστρατεῦσαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσεχώρησαν καὶ αὐτοί, ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὰ παρασχόμενοι.

Messene in Sicily forced to join Athens.

91 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα

26. ἐπισπώμενον, ut videtur, Schol.: ἐπισπωμένης Meineke: vide adnot.

90 7. ἀντιπόλεμοι Pollux: ἀντιπολέμιοι codd. 12. post τὰς add. τῶν ABEFM.

Naval operations of Nicias. Minoa seized. Descent on Boeotia.

μὲν ναῦς ἔστειλαν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Δημοσθένης τε ὁ Ἀλκισθένους καὶ Προκλῆς ὁ Θεοδώρου, ἑξήκοντα δὲ ἐς Μῆλον καὶ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Νικίας ὁ 2 Νικηράτου. τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίους ὄντας νησιώτας καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ξυμμαχικὸν ἰέναι ἐβούλοντο προσαγαγέσθαι. 3 ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς δῃουμένης τῆς γῆς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Μήλου αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς Γραϊκῆς, ὑπὸ νύκτα δὲ σχόντες εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὁπλῖται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζῇ ἐς Τάναγραν τῆς Βοιωτίας. 4 οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἱππονίκου τε τοῦ Καλλίου στρατηγοῦντος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ Θουκλέους, ἀπὸ σημείου 5 ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπήντων. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ ἐδῄουν καὶ ἐνηυλίσαντο. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας τῶν Ταναγραίων καὶ Θηβαίων τινὰς προσβεβοηθηκότας καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντας καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, 6 οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. καὶ παραπλεύσας ὁ Νικίας ταῖς ἑξήκοντα ναυσὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἔτεμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἶκον.

92 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Τραχινίᾳ ἀποικίαν

91 8. αὐτῶν Krüger. 12. Γραϊκῆς Stahl : πέραν γῆς codd.
92 2. Τραχινίαις ABEFM suprascr. G.

καθίσταντο ἀπὸ τοιᾶσδε γνώμης. Μηλιῆς οἱ ξύμπαντές εἰσι μὲν τρία μέρη, Παράλιοι Ἰριῆς Τραχίνιοι· τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχίνιοι πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ Οἰταίων ὁμόρων ὄντων, τὸ πρῶτον μελλήσαντες Ἀθηναίοις προσθεῖναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, δείσαντες δὲ μὴ οὐ σφίσι πιστοὶ ὦσι, πέμπουσιν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἑλόμενοι πρεσβευτὴν Τεισαμενόν. ξυνεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Δωριῆς, ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τῶν αὐτῶν δεόμενοι· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οἰταίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφθείροντο. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνώμην εἶχον τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν, τοῖς τε Τραχινίοις βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τιμωρεῖν. καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι· ἐπί τε γὰρ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ναυτικὸν παρασκευασθῆναι ἄν, ὥστ᾽ ἐκ βραχέος τὴν διάβασιν γίγνεσθαι, τῆς τε ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης παρόδου χρησίμως ἕξειν. τό τε ξύμπαν ὥρμηντο τὸ χωρίον κτίζειν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο, κελεύοντος δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευον ἕπεσθαι πλὴν Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἔστιν ὧν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν. οἰκισταὶ δὲ τρεῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγήσαντο, Λέων καὶ Ἀλκίδας καὶ Δαμάγων.

The Lacedaemonians found a settlement at Heraclea.

5. Ἰριῆς Bursian: Ἱερῆς codd. 14. post αὐτοὶ add. πολέμῳ CG.

καταστάντες δὲ ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ καινῆς, ἣ νῦν Ἡράκλεια καλεῖται, ἀπέχουσα Θερμοπυλῶν σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης εἴκοσι. νεώριά τε παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ εἶρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στενόν, ὅπως εὐφύλακτα αὐτοῖς εἴη. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ξυνοικιζομένης τὸ πρῶτον ἔδεισάν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ μάλιστα καθίστασθαι, ὅτι βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ διάπλους πρὸς τὸ Κήναιον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἔπειτα μέντοι παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέβη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεινὸν οὐδέν. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἵ τε Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, καὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο, φοβούμενοi μὴ σφίσι μεγάλῃ ἰσχύι παροικῶσιν, ἔφθειρον καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐπολέμουν ἀνθρώποις νεοκαταστάτοις, ἕως ἐξετρύχωσαν γενομένους τὸ πρῶτον καὶ πάνυ πολλούς (πᾶς γάρ τις Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκιζόντων θαρσαλέως ᾔει, βέβαιον νομίζων τὴν πόλιν)· οὐ μέντοι ἥκιστα οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι τά πράγματά τε ἔφθειρον καὶ ἐς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν κατέστησαν, ἐκφοβήσαντες τοὺς πολλοὺς χαλεπῶς τε καὶ ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενοι, ὥστε ῥᾷον ἤδη αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσοικοι ἐπεκράτουν.

Heraclea does not prosper.

93

94 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν ἐν τῇ Μήλῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατεί-

34. δὲ om. ABEFM γρ. G. 35. εἶρξαν (sic) τὸ E : ἤρξαντο cett.

χοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα νεῶν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὄντες πρῶτον ἐν Ἑλλομενῷ τῆς Λευκαδίας φρουρούς τινας λοχήσαντες διέφθειραν, ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἐπὶ Λευκάδα μείζονι στόλῳ ἦλθον, Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε πᾶσιν, οἳ πανδημεὶ πλὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ξυνέσποντο, καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Κεφαλλῆσι καὶ Κερκυραίων πέντε καὶ δέκα ναυσίν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λευκάδιοι τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς δῃουμένης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ Λευκάς ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχαζον· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἠξίουν Δημοσθένη τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποτειχίζειν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες ῥᾳδίως τ' ἂν ἐκπολιορκῆσαι πόλεώς τε αἰεὶ σφίσι πολεμίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Δημοσθένης δ' ἀναπείθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὡς καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ξυνειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι καί, ἢν κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν, ῥᾳδίως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἠπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ Ἀθηναίοις προσποιήσειν. τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους, καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ, καὶ σκευῇ ψιλῇ χρώμενον οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον, πρὶν ξυμβοηθῆσαι, καταστραφῆναι. ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευον πρῶτον μὲν Ἀποδωτοῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ Ὀφιονεῦσι καὶ μετὰ τούτους

Western Greece. Demosthenes persuaded by the Messenians to invade Aetolia.

17. τ' . . πόλεώς τε] γ' . . καὶ πόλεως C.

Εὐρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγονται· τούτων γὰρ ληφθέντων ῥᾳδίως καὶ τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν. 35

95 ὁ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεὶς καὶ μάλιστα νομίσας ἄνευ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ξυμμάχοις μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δύνασθαι ἂν κατὰ γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς διὰ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν Παρνασσόν, ἕως καταβαίη ἐς Φωκέας, οἳ προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων αἰεί ποτε φιλίαν ξυστρατεύσειν ἢ κἂν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι (καὶ Φωκεῦσιν ἤδη ὅμορος ἡ Βοιωτία ἐστίν), ἄρας οὖν ξύμπαντι τῷ στρατεύματι ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀκόντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρέπλευσεν ἐς Σόλλιον. 2 κοινώσας δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν, ὡς οὐ προσεδέξαντο διὰ τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν, αὐτὸς τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ, Κεφαλλῆσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίοις τοῖς ἐπιβάταις τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν (αἱ γὰρ πέντε καὶ δέκα τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπῆλθον νῆες), ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' 3 Αἰτωλούς. ὡρμᾶτο δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεώνος τῆς Λοκρίδος. οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλαι οὗτοι Λοκροὶ ξύμμαχοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς πανστρατιᾷ ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν·

His advance into the interior.

95 9. ξυστρατεύσειν Stahl: ξυστρατεῦσαι M: ξυ(ν)στρατεύειν cett. 13. τῶν om. ABEFM.

ὄντες γὰρ ὅμοροι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ ὁμόσκευοι μεγάλη ὠφελία ἐδόκουν εἶναι ξυστρατεύοντες μάχης τε ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ χωρίων.

96 αὐλισάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ ἀποθανεῖν, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐς τὴν 2 Αἰτωλίαν. καὶ αἱρεῖ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ποτιδανίαν καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Κροκύλειον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ Τείχιον, ἔμενέ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λείαν ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψεν· τὴν γὰρ γνώμην εἶχε τὰ ἄλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλοιντο ξυγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας στρατεῦσαι ὕστερον.

The Aetolians unite to resist him.

3 Τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ οὔτε ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεβουλεύετο, ἐπειδή τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβεβλήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι Ὀφιονέων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες Βωμιῆς καὶ Καλλιῆς ἐβοή-

97 θησαν. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρῄνουν, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον· ἀναδιδάσκοντες αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὡς εἴη ῥᾳδία ἡ αἵρεσις, ἰέναι ἐκέλευον ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας καὶ μὴ μένειν ἕως ἂν ξύμπαντες ἀθροισθέντες ἀντιτάξωνται, τὴν 2 δ' ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ πειρᾶσθαι αἱρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε πεισθεὶς καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας, ὅτι

He is attacked,

οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἠναντιοῦτο, τοὺς Λοκροὺς οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὓς αὐτῷ ἔδει προσβοηθῆσαι (ψιλῶν γὰρ ἀκοντιστῶν ἐνδεὴς ἦν μάλιστα) ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Αἰγιτίου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ ἐπιών. ὑπέφυγον γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων ἀπέχουσα τῆς θαλάσσης 3 ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοί (βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἤδη ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰγίτιον) προσέβαλλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καταθέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐπίοι τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ὑπεχώρουν, ἀναχωροῦσι δὲ ἐπέκειντο· καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοιαύτη ἡ μάχη, διώξεις τε καὶ ὑπαγωγαί, ἐν οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ἦσσους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

98 μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς καὶ οἷοί τε ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον (τοξευόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ψιλοὶ ἀνεστέλλοντο)· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου ἀποθανόντος οὗτοι διεσκεδάσθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεκμήκεσαν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ξυνεχόμενοι, οἵ τε Αἰτωλοὶ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ ἐσπίπτοντες ἔς τε χαράδρας ἀνεκβάτους καὶ χωρία ὧν οὐκ ἦσαν ἔμπειροι διεφθείροντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὁδῶν Χρόμων ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἐτύγ-

and is forced to retreat, with heavy loss. He remains at Naupactus.

97 13. ὑπέφυγον Herwerden : ὑπέφευγον codd. 18. προσέβαλον CG. 20. ὅτε codd.

χανε τεθνηκώς. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ κατὰ πόδας αἱροῦντες ἄνθρωποι ποδώκεις καὶ ψιλοὶ διέφθειρον, τοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν ὁδῶν ἁμαρτάνοντας καὶ ἐς τὴν ὕλην ἐσφερομένους, ὅθεν διέξοδοι οὐκ ἦσαν, πῦρ κομισάμενοι περιεπίμπρασαν· πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μόλις τε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεῶνα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ὅθεν περ καὶ ὡρμήθησαν, οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῖται περὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν. τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἡ αὐτὴ οὗτοι βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως διεφθάρησαν· ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς Προκλῆς. τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς Ναύπακτον ὕστερον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκομίσθησαν. Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπελείφθη, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

99 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐν ἀποβάσει τέ τινι τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ περιπόλιον αἱροῦσιν ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἅλικι ποταμῷ. Sicily.

98 20. τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Reiske : τῶν στρατοπέδων cett. 26. αὐτὴ] πρώτη Hude.

100 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Αἰτωλοὶ προπέμψαντες πρότερον ἔς τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις, Τόλοφόν τε τὸν Ὀφιονέα καὶ Βοριάδην τὸν Εὐρυτᾶνα καὶ Τείσανδρον τὸν Ἀποδωτόν, πείθουσιν ὥστε σφίσι πέμψαι στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Ναύπακτον διὰ 2 τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγήν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας τῶν ξυμμάχων. (τούτων ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν Τραχῖνι πόλεως τότε νεοκτίστου οὔσης·) Σπαρτιάτης δ' ἦρχεν Εὐρύλοχος τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ξυνηκολούθουν αὐτῷ Μακάριος καὶ Μενεδάϊος οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται.

The Aetolians obtain help from Sparta.

101 ξυλλεγέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Εὐρύλοχος Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀζόλαις· διὰ τούτων γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ἅμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐβούλετο ἀποστῆσαι αὐτούς. 2 ξυνέπρασσον δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν Ἀμφισσῆς διὰ τὸ τῶν Φωκέων ἔχθος δεδιότες· καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι δόντες ὁμήρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισαν δοῦναι φοβουμένους τὸν ἐπιόντα στρατόν, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς Μυονέας (ταύτῃ γὰρ δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς), ἔπειτα Ἰπνέας καὶ Μεσσαπίους καὶ Τριταιέας καὶ Χαλαίους καὶ Τολοφωνίους

Eurylochus marches from Delphi on Naupactus.

100 13. Μενεδαῖος Hudson (accentum corr. L. Dindorf): Μενέδατος codd.

101 8. πρῶτοι Krüger: πρῶτον codd. 11. Μυανέας in titulis. 12. Μεταπίους Steph. Byz. 13. Τριτοιέας CG: Τριταίους Steph. Byz.: Τριτέας in titulis.

καὶ Ἡσσίους καὶ Οἰανθέας. οὗτοι καὶ ξυνεστράτευον πάντες. Ὀλπαῖοι δὲ ὁμήρους μὲν ἔδοσαν, ἠκολούθουν δὲ οὔ· καὶ Ἀταῖοι οὐκ ἔδοσαν ὁμήρους πρὶν αὐτῶν εἷλον κώμην
02 Πόλιν ὄνομα ἔχουσαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο πάντα καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους κατέθετο ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐχώρει τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον διὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν, καὶ πορευόμενος Οἰνεῶνα αἱρεῖ αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐπάλιον· οὐ γὰρ προσε-
2 χώρησαν. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυπακτίᾳ καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἅμα ἤδη προσβεβοηθηκότες ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ προάστειον ἀτείχιστον ὂν εἷλον· ἐπί τε Μολύκρειον ἐλθόντες τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπήκοον,
3 αἱροῦσιν. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας περὶ Ναύπακτον) προαισθόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἐλθὼν πείθει Ἀκαρνᾶνας, χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀνα-
4 χώρησιν, βοηθῆσαι Ναυπάκτῳ. καὶ πέμπουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν χιλίους ὁπλίτας, οἳ ἐσελθόντες περιεποίησαν τὸ χωρίον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν μὴ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγων δὲ
5 τῶν ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἀντίσχωσιν. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἤσθοντο τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσεληλυθυῖαν καὶ ἀδύνατον ὂν τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ ἑλεῖν, ἀνεχώρησαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην

Demosthenes with an Acarnanian force repels his attack.

02 25. τὴν ante νῦν et 26 ἐς ante τὰ del. Steup.

Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα καὶ ἐς τὰ ταύτῃ
6 χωρία καὶ ἐς Πρόσχιον τῆς Αἰτωλίας. οἱ
γὰρ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς
πείθουσιν ὥστε μετὰ σφῶν Ἄργει τε τῷ
Ἀμφιλοχικῷ καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπι- 30
χειρῆσαι καὶ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ ἅμα, λέγοντες ὅτι,
ἢν τούτων κρατήσωσι, πᾶν τὸ ἠπειρωτικὸν
7 Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμαχον καθεστήξει. καὶ ὁ
μὲν Εὐρύλοχος πεισθεὶς καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς
ἀφεὶς ἡσύχαζε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ τοὺς χώρους 35
τούτους, ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσα-
μένοις περὶ τὸ Ἄργος δέοι βοηθεῖν. καὶ τὸ
θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

103 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ
Sicily. Trifling operations. ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἐπελθόντες
μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων καὶ
ὅσοι Σικελῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ
Συρακοσίων καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἀποστάντες 5
αὐτοῖς [ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων] ξυνεπολέμουν, ἐπ'
Ἴνησσαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα, οὗ τὴν ἀκρό-
πολιν Συρακόσιοι εἶχον, προσέβαλον, καὶ ὡς
2 οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν, ἀπῆσαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνα-
χωρήσει ὑστέροις Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις 10
ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος
Συρακόσιοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες τρέπουσί τε
μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐκ
3 ὀλίγους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὁ
Λάχης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἀπο- 15

26. ἐς del. Herwerden.
103 6. ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων del. Kistemaker.

βάσεις τινὰς ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τὸν Καϊκῖνον ποταμὸν τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας Λοκρῶν μετὰ Προξένου τοῦ Καπάτωνος ὡς τριακοσίους μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες ἀπεχώρησαν.

104 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν τινα. Purification of Delos. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου· 2 τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια τῆς Δήλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος ἰσχύσας τινὰ χρόνον ναυτικῷ καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων νήσων ἄρξας καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἑλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ ἁλύσει δήσας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον. καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ 3 Δήλια. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν· ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικός, χορούς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις. 4 δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν

104 17. τὰ Δήλια del. Herwerden.

τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἅ ἐστιν ἐκ προοιμίου 25
Ἀπόλλωνος·

ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν
ἐτέρφθης,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς
ἀγυιάν·
ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ <τε> καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ
ἀοιδῇ 30
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν
ἀγῶνα.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγὼν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι
ἐφοίτων ἐν τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοῖ, ἅ ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ προοιμίου· τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν
τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου 35
ἐς τάδε τὰ ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη·

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι
ξύν,
χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ
μετόπισθε
μνήσασθ', ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων
ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών· 40
"ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος
ἀοιδῶν
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;"
ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι
ἀφήμως·

27. ἄλλοτε Camerarius. 30. τε vulgo : om. codd. 41. ὔμμιν codd. hymn. Hom. : ὑμῖν codd.

"τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσσῃ."

6 τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὅμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ· ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἱπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

105 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀμπρακιῶται, ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι Εὐρυλόχῳ τὴν στρατιὰν κατέσχον, ἐκστρατεύονται ἐπὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν τρισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις, καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὄλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὃ ποτε Ἀκαρνᾶνες τειχισάμενοι κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως ἐπιθαλασσίας οὔσης 2 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οἱ μὲν ἐς Ἄργος ξυνεβοήθουν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ὃ Κρῆναι καλεῖται, φυλάσσοντες τοὺς μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννησίους μὴ λάθωσι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας διελθόντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 3 πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένη τὸν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγήσαντα, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡγεμὼν γίγνηται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εἴκοσι

The Ambraciots plan an attack on Amphilochian Argos and occupy Olpae. The Acarnanians invite Demosthenes to lead them against the Ambraciots.

105 8. post Ἀκαρνᾶνες add. καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι Niese.

ναῦς Ἀθηναίων αἳ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον οὖσαι, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀριστοτέλης τε ὁ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Ἱεροφῶν ὁ Ἀντιμνήστου. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ ἄγγελον οἱ περὶ τὰς Ὄλπας Ἀμπρακιῶται ἐς τὴν πόλιν κελεύοντες σφίσι βοηθεῖν πανδημεί, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ μετ' Εὐρυλόχου οὐ δύνωνται διελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ σφίσιν ἢ μονωθεῖσιν ἡ μάχη γένηται ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν βουλομένοις οὐκ ἦ ἀσφαλές.

106 Οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς ἤσθοντο τοὺς ἐν Ὄλπαις Ἀμπρακιώτας ἥκοντας, ἅραντες ἐκ τοῦ Προσχίου ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἐχώρουν δι' Ἀκαρνανίας οὔσης ἐρήμου διὰ τὴν ἐς Ἄργος βοήθειαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες τὴν Στρατίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀκαρνανίαν. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Στρατίων γῆν ἐχώρουν διὰ τῆς Φυτίας καὶ αὖθις Μεδεῶνος παρ' ἔσχατα, ἔπειτα διὰ Λιμναίας· καὶ ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνανίας, φιλίας δὲ σφίσιν. λαβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους, ὅ ἐστιν Ἀγραϊκόν, ἐχώρουν δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν νυκτὸς ἤδη, καὶ διεξελθόντες μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Κρήναις Ἀκαρνάνων φυλακῆς ἔλαθον καὶ προσέμειξαν 107 τοῖς ἐν Ὄλπαις Ἀμπρακιώταις. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόοι ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν

Eurylochus marches through Acarnania and joins the Ambraciots.

106 14. Ἀγραϊκόν O. Müller : ἀγροῖκον codd.

Μητρόπολιν καλουμένην καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον παραγίγνονται ἐς τὸν Ἀμπρακικὸν κόλπον βοηθοῦντες τοῖς Ἀργείοις, καὶ Δημοσθένης Μεσσηνίων μὲν ἔχων διακοσίους ὁπλίτας, ἑξήκοντα δὲ τοξότας Ἀθηναίων. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες περὶ τὰς Ὄλπας [τὸν λόφον] ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐφώρμουν· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων ὀλίγοι (οἱ γὰρ πλείους ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν βίᾳ κατείχοντο) ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἤδη ξυνεληλυθότες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μαχούμενοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντὸς ξυμμαχικοῦ αἱροῦνται Δημοσθένη μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς τῆς Ὄλπης ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, χαράδρα δ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλη διεῖργεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν πέντε ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ ἐτάσσοντο ἀμφότεροι ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ (μεῖζον γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ περιέσχε τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδον) ὁ Δημοσθένης δείσας μὴ κυκλωθῇ λοχίζει ἐς ὁδόν τινα κοίλην καὶ λοχμώδη ὁπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφοτέρους ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ξυνόδῳ αὐτῇ ἐξαναστάντες οὗτοι κατὰ νώτου γίγνωνται. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις, ἦσαν ἐς χεῖρας, Δημοσθένης μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μετὰ

The battle of Olpae. Decisive victory of Demosthenes. Death of Eurylochus.

107 7. κόλπον om. ABEFM. 10. τὸν λόφον del. Herwerden. 28. νῶτον ABEFM suprascr. G.

Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀκαρνᾶνες ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἐπεῖχον, καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων οἱ παρόντες ἀκοντισταί, Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀναμὶξ τεταγμένοι πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ τὸ κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες ἀθρόοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' Εὐρύλοχος ἔσχατον εἶχε τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ
108 Μεσσηνίους καὶ Δημοσθένη. ὡς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ὄντες περιέσχον τῷ κέρᾳ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ἐκυκλοῦντο τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπιγενόμενοι αὐτοῖς κατὰ νώτου προσπίπτουσί τε καὶ τρέπουσιν, ὥστε μήτε ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι φοβηθέντας τε ἐς φυγὴν καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστῆσαι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδον τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον καὶ ὃ κράτιστον ἦν διαφθειρόμενον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ὄντες ταύτῃ μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ πολὺ
2 τοῦ ἔργου ἐπεξῆλθον. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐνίκων τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος ἀπεδίωξαν· καὶ γὰρ μαχιμώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία
3 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ ὡς ἐώρων τὸ πλέον νενικημένον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀκαρνᾶνες σφίσι προσέκειντο, χαλεπῶς διεσῴζοντο ἐς τὰς Ὄλπας· καὶ πολλοὶ

108 12. ἐξῆλθον ABF: διεξῆλθον M. 13. καὶ post Ἀμπρακιῶται fort. delendum. 14. ἐπεδίωξαν Haase. 19. Ὄλπας . . ἀτάκτως] interpunctionem correxi.

ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἀτάκτως καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ προσπίπτοντες πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι δὲ μάλιστα ξυντεταγμένοι παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς ὀψέ.

109 Μενεδάϊος δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Εὐρυλόχου τεθνεῶτος καὶ Μακαρίου αὐτὸς παρειληφὼς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπορῶν μεγάλης ἥσσης γεγενημένης ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μένων πολιορκήσεται ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀποκεκλῃμένος ἢ καὶ ἀναχωρῶν διασωθήσεται, προσφέρει λόγον περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάνων στρατηγοῖς, καὶ 2 περὶ νεκρῶν ἅμα ἀναιρέσεως. οἱ δὲ νεκροὺς μὲν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τροπαῖον αὐτοὶ ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν τριακοσίους μάλιστα ἀποθανόντας ἀνείλοντο, ἀναχώρησιν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι, κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατήγων Ἀκαρνάνων σπένδονται Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Μενεδαΐῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀξιολογώτατοι ἀποχωρεῖν κατὰ τάχος, βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τε καὶ τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον [τὸν ξενικόν], μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνῃ χρῄζων, Ἕλληνας ὡς κατα-

Demosthenes makes a secret agreement with the Peloponnesians.

23. ἐς C : ἕως ἐς vel ἕως cett.

109 21. τὸν ξενικόν del. Herwerden.

προδόντες τὸ ἑαυτῶν προυργιαίτερον ἐποιήσαντο.
3 καὶ οἱ μὲν τούς τε νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο καὶ διὰ τάχους ἔθαπτον, ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν κρύφα οἷς ἐδέδοτο ἐπεβούλευον·
110 τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ἀγγέλ-

Advance of large Ambraciot reinforcements.

λεται τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐκ τῶν Ὀλπῶν ἀγγελίαν ἐπιβοηθεῖν διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων, βουλομένους τοῖς ἐν Ὄλπαις ξυμμεῖξαι, εἰδότας οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενη-
2 μένων. καὶ πέμπει εὐθὺς τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος τι τὰς ὁδοὺς προλοχιοῦντας καὶ τὰ καρτερὰ προκαταληψομένους, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ
111 ἅμα παρεσκευάζετο βοηθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ἐν

The Ambraciots at Olpae, abandoned by the Peloponnesians, suffer heavily at the hands of the Acarnanians.

τούτῳ δ' οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἷς ἔσπεισto πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ φρυγάνων ξυλλογὴν ἐξελθόντες ὑπαπῆσαν κατ' ὀλίγους· ἅμα ξυλλέγοντες ἐφ' ἃ ἐξῆλθον δῆθεν·
προκεχωρηκότες δὲ ἤδη ἄπωθεν τῆς Ὄλπης
2 θᾶσσον ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δ' Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνεξελθόντες, ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, ἐπικαταλαβεῖν
3 βουλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἀπιέναι ἀσπόνδους ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐπεδίωκον, καί τινας αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν κωλύοντας καὶ φάσ-

111 9. μὲν] μεμονωμένοι Classen : μὴ Hude : μένοντες Stahl. ‖ οὕτως] τούτοις Herwerden. 10. ξυνελθόντες ABEF.

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κοντας ἐσπεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἠκόντισέ τις, νομίσας καταπροδίδοσθαι σφᾶς· ἔπειτα μέντοι τοὺς μὲν Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἀφίεσαν,
4 τοὺς δ' Ἀμπρακιώτας ἔκτεινον. καὶ ἦν πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστιν εἴτε Πελοποννήσιος. καὶ ἐς διακοσίους μέν τινας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀγραΐδα ὄμορον οὖσαν, καὶ Σαλύνθιος αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀγραίων φίλος ὢν ὑπεδέξατο.

112 Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπ' Ἰδομενήν. ἐστὸν δὲ δύο λόφω ἡ Ἰδομενὴ ὑψηλώ· τούτοιν τὸν μὲν μείζω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης οἱ προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλαθόν τε καὶ ἔφθασαν προκαταλαβόντες, τὸν δ' ἐλάσσω ἔτυχον οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται προαναβάντες καὶ ηὐλίσαντο. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης δειπνήσας ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας εὐθύς, αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλοχικῶν ὀρῶν. καὶ ἅμα ὄρθρῳ ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς καὶ οὐ προησθημένοις τὰ γεγενημένα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον νομίσασι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους πρώτους ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης προύταξε καὶ προσαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε, Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν ἱέντας καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι πίστιν παρεχομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οὐ καθορωμένους τῇ ὄψει νυκτὸς

Demosthenes surprises the Ambraciot reinforcements. He delivers a crushing blow,

ἔτι οὔσης. ὡς οὖν ἐπέπεσε τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτῶν, τρέπουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ διέφθειραν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. προκατειλημμένων δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ ἅμα τῶν μὲν Ἀμφιλόχων ἐμπείρων ὄντων τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς καὶ ψιλῶν πρὸς ὁπλίτας, τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ὅπῃ τράπωνται, ἐσπίπτοντες ἔς τε χαράδρας καὶ τὰς προλελοχισμένας ἐνέδρας διεφθείροντο. καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν χωρήσαντες τῆς φυγῆς ἐτράποντό τινες καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν, καὶ ὡς εἶδον τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς παραπλεούσας ἅμα τοῦ ἔργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, προσένευσαν, ἡγησάμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα φόβῳ κρεῖσσον εἶναι σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, εἰ δεῖ, διαφθαρῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐχθίστων Ἀμφιλόχων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀμπρακιῶται τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ κακωθέντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν· Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τροπαῖα στήσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς Ἄργος.

113 καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἦλθε κῆρυξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Ἀγραίους καταφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ὀλπης Ἀμπρακιωτῶν, ἀναίρεσιν αἰτήσων τῶν νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν ὕστερον τῆς πρώτης μάχης, ὅτε μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ τῶν ὑποσπόνδων ξυνεξῆσαν ἄσπονδοι. ἰδὼν δ' ὁ κῆρυξ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐθαύμαζε τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ᾤετο

as is discovered by the Ambraciot herald at Argos.

3 τῶν μετὰ σφῶν εἶναι. καί τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο 10
ὅ τι θαυμάζοι καὶ ὁπόσοι αὐτῶν τεθνᾶσιν,
οἰόμενος αὖ ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα ἀπὸ
τῶν ἐν Ἰδομεναῖς. ὁ δ' ἔφη διακοσίους
μάλιστα. ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶπεν
4 "οὔκουν τὰ ὅπλα ταυτὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ 15
πλέον ἢ χιλίων." αὖθις δὲ εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος "οὐκ
ἄρα τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν μαχομένων ἐστίν;" ὁ δ'
ἀπεκρίνατο "εἴπερ γε ὑμεῖς ἐν Ἰδομενῇ χθὲς
ἐμάχεσθε." "ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε οὐδενὶ ἐμαχόμεθα
χθές, ἀλλὰ πρῴην ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει." "καὶ 20
μὲν δὴ τούτοις γε ἡμεῖς χθὲς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως
βοηθήσασι τῆς Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐμαχόμεθα." ὁ
5 δὲ κῆρυξ ὡς ἤκουσε καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλεως βοήθεια διέφθαρται, ἀνοιμώξας καὶ
ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν παρόντων κακῶν 25
ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς ἄπρακτος καὶ οὐκέτι ἀπῄτει
6 τοὺς νεκρούς. πάθος γὰρ τοῦτο μιᾷ πόλει
Ἑλληνίδι ἐν ἴσαις ἡμέραις μέγιστον δὴ τῶν
κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀριθμὸν
οὐκ ἔγραψα τῶν ἀποθανόντων, διότι ἄπιστον 30
τὸ πλῆθος λέγεται ἀπολέσθαι ὡς πρὸς τὸ
μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως. Ἀμπρακίαν μέντοι οἶδα
ὅτι, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι
Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δημοσθένει πειθόμενοι ἐξελεῖν,
αὐτοβοεὶ ἂν εἷλον· νῦν δ' ἔδεισαν μὴ οἱ 35
Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντες αὐτὴν χαλεπώτεροι σφίσι
πάροικοι ὦσιν.

113 15. post ταυτὶ add. διακοσίων (σ') Krüger : cf. Schol. λείπει τὸ διακοσίων εἶναι μόνων.

114 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρίτον μέρος νείμαντες τῶν σκύλων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰς πόλεις διείλοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλέοντα ἐάλω, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνακείμενα ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἱεροῖς Δημοσθένει ἐξηρέθησαν τριακόσιαι πανοπλίαι, καὶ ἄγων αὐτὰς κατέπλευσεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ξυμφορὰν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς 2 πράξεως ἀδεεστέρα ἡ κάθοδος. ἀπῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Ναύπακτον. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους τοῖς ὡς Σαλύνθιον καὶ Ἀγραίους καταφυγοῦσιν Ἀμπρακιώταις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἀναχώρησιν ἐσπείσαντο ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν, οἵπερ καὶ μετανέ- 3 στησαν παρὰ Σαλυνθίου. καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν ἔτη Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι πρὸς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ὥστε μήτε Ἀμπρακιώτας μετὰ Ἀκαρνάνων στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννησίους μήτε Ἀκαρνᾶνας μετὰ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, βοηθεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὁπόσα ἢ χωρία ἢ ὁμήρους Ἀμφιλόχων ἔχουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόριον μὴ βοηθεῖν πολέμιον ὂν Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. 4 ταῦτα ξυνθέμενοι διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον.

Demosthenes returns to Athens. Alliance of Ambracia with the Acarnanians and Argos.

114 8. ἐκ om. ABFM. 16. οἵπερ G. Hermann : οἵπερ codd. 17. Σαλυνθίου G. Hermann : Σαλύνθιον codd. 25. ὁμήρους Poppo : ὁμόρους codd.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κορίνθιοι φυλακὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς τριακοσίους ὁπλίτας καὶ Ξενοκλείδαν τὸν Εὐθυκλέους ἄρχοντα· οἳ κομιζόμενοι χαλεπῶς διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀφίκοντο. τὰ μὲν κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

115 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἔς τε τὴν Ἱμεραίαν ἀπόβασιν ἐποιήσαντο ἐκ τῶν νεῶν μετὰ τῶν Σικελῶν τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἱμεραίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους ἔπλευσαν. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐς Ῥήγιον Πυθόδωρον τὸν Ἰσολόχου Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διάδοχον ὢν ὁ Λάχης ἦρχεν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ξύμμαχοι πλεύσαντες ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν σφίσι πλείοσι ναυσίν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς αὐτῶν οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκράτουν, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν εἰργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ναυτικὸν ξυναγείροντες ὡς οὐ περιοψόμενοι. καὶ ἐπλήρουν ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἀποστελοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἅμα μὲν ἡγούμενοι θᾶσσον τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον καταλυθήσεσθαι, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενοι μελέτην τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπέστειλαν Πυθόδωρον ὀλίγαις ναυσί, Σοφοκλέα δὲ τὸν Σωστρατίδου καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους ἐπὶ τῶν πλειόνων νεῶν ἀποπέμψειν

Further operations of the Athenians in Sicily.

115 4. Σικελῶν τῶν Dobree : Σικελιωτῶν codd.

ἔμελλον. ὁ δὲ Πυθόδωρος ἤδη ἔχων τὴν τοῦ Λάχητος τῶν νεῶν ἀρχὴν ἔπλευσε τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Λοκρῶν φρούριον ὃ πρότερον Λάχης εἶλε, καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἀπεχώρησεν.

116 Ἐρρύη δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ γῆν τινὰ ἔφθειρε τῶν Καταναίων, οἳ ὑπὸ τῇ Αἴτνῃ τῷ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὄρος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ῥυῆναι τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ῥεῦμα, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφ' οὗ Σικελία ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐγένετο, καὶ ἕκτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

Eruption of Aetna.

28. ἀνεχώρησεν ABM.

116 3. post καὶ add. τὸ ABEFM. 4. ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ ABEFM. ‖ τῷ ὄρει del. Cobet.

NOTES

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

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

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

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

8. **ὅπῃ παρείκοι**—impers., though strictly *ὁ θεός* is the subject implied.

τὸν πλεῖστον ὅμιλον—cf. II. 31 *ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ψιλῶν*, 'the main body.' Outside Thuc. *ὅμιλος* 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. **εἶργον τὸ μή**—for the constr., which is common with verbs and phrases signifying *prevention* (Aesch. *PV.* 252 *ἐξελυσάμην βροτοὺς | τὸ μὴ . . μολεῖν*, and often in Aesch.) cf. VI. 1 *διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἤπειρος εἶναι* (where the MS. *οὖσα* is shown by many imitations of the sentence by later authors to be a mistake).

τῶν ὅπλων=*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. **οὗ**—the gen. as in *μισθὸς τριῶν μηνῶν*. 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 l. 2. **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 σύνεσιν* with *Λέσβος*: this change, in the case of peoples, is especially common in Thuc.; and cf. c. **67**, 3 *ἡλικία . . ὦν*. So with *στρατιά, στράτευμα*.

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

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

9. **ἐπέμενον**—showing why they had put off the revolt. The constr. with *ἐπιμένειν* is here double: (1) *τὴν . . ποίησιν τελεσθῆναι*, as in VII. **20** *περιέμενε τὸν Χαρικλέα . . παραλαβεῖν*: (2) *ὅσα . . ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι*, an *accusative* clause. (It is objected that Thuc. elsewhere uses *ἐπιμένειν* only as intrans., but he uses e.g. *μένω* and *ὑπο-* in both ways; and why not *ἐπι-*?)

11. **τοξόται**—as mercenaries.

12. **μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν**—cf. I. **99** *ἦσαν . . ἄρχοντες*, II. **80** *ἦσαν . . ξυμπροθυμούμενοι*. 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** *οὗ ἦν στράτευμα πολιορκοῦν* 'where there was a blockading army' are quite different, the partic. not belonging to the verb. In yet another case, like I. **38** *τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν*, the partic. is a predicative adj.

§ 3 l. 14. **ἰδίᾳ**—in contrast with what the government was doing *κοινῇ*.

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

πρόξενοι—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 Ἀθηναίους παρώξυνε πρόξενος ὤν*: 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 intermarriage 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. **εἰ μή τις**—'unless they mean to,' the fut. indic. marking the urgency; cf. VIII. **91** *εἰ μή τις ἤδη φυλάξεται*.

§ 1 l. 2. **νόσου**—during 430 and 429 B.C. **3**

3. **ἄρτι καθισταμένου**—'just becoming established' (i.e. settled, chronic). Cf. I. **1** *ἀρξάμενος (ξυγγράψαι) εὐθὺς καθισταμένου*. If we render thus, it makes no difference whether Thuc. means the ten years' or the twenty-seven years' war. In either case, *ἀκμάζοντος* shows that 'in its infancy' is wrong. But Classen's 'in the middle period' seems impossible: for it is inconceivable that *καθισταμένου τοῦ πολέμου* should mean either 'just beginning,' as he understands I **1**, or 'in the middle' at will. In V. **25** *εὐθὺς ἄλλη ταραχὴ καθίστατο* the verb means not merely 'arose,' but 'tended to become permanent,' applying to a *period*, not to a *moment*.

ἀκμάζοντος—*ἄρτι* does not extend to this. A *period* of *ἀκμή* 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 *ἤδη* before *ἀκμάζοντος*, but this is not necessary.)

7. **μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες**—'attaching greater importance to their wish that it was not true' (than to the allegations). For *ἀληθῆ* cf. I. **8** *πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο*. *νέμειν μέρος* or *μοῖραν* several times in tragedy: Aesch. *PV.* 294, Soph. *Trachin.* 1238, Eur. *Supp.* 241; cf. *τὸ ἴσον νέμειν* I. **71**, *ἔλασσον νέμειν* VI. **88**, *πλέον ν.* Eur. *Hec.* 868, c. **48**, 1.

10. **παρασκευήν** refers of course to the preparations of c. **2**, 2 (cf. c. **2**, 3).

δείσαντες—ingressive.

§ **2** l. 11. **ἐξαπίναιος**—like *ἐξαπίνης*, found only in Thuc. and Xen. among Attic prose writers (for *ἐξαίφνης* or *αἰφνιδίως*).

12. **περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλεῖν**—both in 431 and 430 B.C. when the Pel. invaded Attica (II. **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. **Μαλόεις** was a local name of Apollo in Lesbos; its origin is unknown.

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

18. **ἐλπίδα εἶναι**, like *εἰκός ἐστι*, is commonly followed by pres. or aor. infin. **ἐπειχθέντας** is conditional.

19. **ἢν μὲν ξυμβῇ . . εἰ δὲ μή**—a common idiom, found already in Homer; cf. e.g. Plato, *Prot.* 325 B *ἐὰν μὲν ἑκὼν πείθηται· εἰ δὲ μή.*

20. **εἰπεῖν**—this depends on the sense of 'order' implied in the passage; cf. Andoc. *de Myst.* § 20 *ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὕτως εἶχεν· εἰ μὲν τἀληθῆ μηνύσειέ τις, εἶναι τὴν ἄδειαν, εἰ δὲ τὰ ψευδῆ, τεθνάναι.* Of course *εἰπεῖν = κελεῦσαι.* (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 σφᾶς**—put briefly for *παρὰ σφᾶς παραγενόμεναι καὶ παροῦσαι*: similarly *παρεῖναι* is often found with *εἰς* or *ἐπί* with accus.; but there is no precise parallel to the present case.

25. **ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποιήσαντο**—so VIII. **1** *ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.* Cf. Andoc. *de Myst.* 117 *θυγατέρες αἳ ἐγίγνοντο εἴς τε ἐμὲ καὶ Λέαγρον.*

§ **5** l. 27. **διαβάς** κτλ.—the sentence, containing five participles, is an example of what Dionysius calls *τὸ πυκνόν* 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 *καί*.

29. **ἐπιτυχών = ὡς ἐπέτυχε.**

πλῷ χρησάμενος—'after a good passage.' *πλῷ = εὐπλοίᾳ*, as in I. **137**. (Some make *πλῷ χρησάμενος* merely = *πλεύσας*, but

Antiphon v. **24** πλοῦς ἡμῖν ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀνήγετο πλοῖα ἅπαντα 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 (τὰ 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=πέριξ, as in Homer (Wilamowitz on Eur. *HF.* 1035).

§ **1** l. 1. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι—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** οἱ δὲ . . πρέσβεις . . ἐπειδὴ . . ἔμελλον ἄξειν τὸν στρατόν, ὁ Νικίας . . πέμπει. The imperf., ἐώρων (sc. τὰ γιγνόμενα), is used because the action *overlaps* that of ἀπήγγειλαν. **4**

§ **2** l. 6. ἀπαράσκευοι qualifies πολεμεῖν, and is therefore co-ordinate with ἐξαίφνης: cf. e.g. I. **39** προύχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, and c. **13**, 2 θᾶσσον γεγένηται καὶ ἀπαράσκευος.

7. ἔκπλουν τινα—for the use of τις cf. II. **22** ἱππομαχία τις βράχεια ἐγένετο.

8. ναυμαχίαν—both dat. and accus. seem to occur with ὡς ἐπί 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 ἑτέρου λ. should be read is unnecessary.) Presently they were driven back into this same harbour. The *northern* harbour is meant. See Introd. p. xiv.

ὀλίγον is accus. of space (cf. **104**, 2); of *time* II. **8** ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων.

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

§ **4** l. 15. καί, 'accordingly.'

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

19. τὰς ναῦς is not object of πείσειαν, but only subject of ἀπελθεῖν, τὰς ναῦς ἀπελθεῖν 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 A. 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 epexegetic.

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 *Odyssey* III. 170 f. and the risks of that across the *μέσον πέλαγος* are indicated. (Cf. Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, p. 170.)

27. **αὐτοῖς** prob. = the Lesbians, and is *dat. commodi* with *ἔπρασσον*, 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.)

5 § 1 l. 5. **ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν**—'were there to aid.' Thuc. is remarkably partial to the pluperf., as e.g. I. **128** *ἐνεγέγραπτο*, 'the contents of the letter were.'

6. **Ἴμβριοι καὶ Λήμνιοι**—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. **πανδημεί**—equivalent to *πανστρατιᾷ* in this connexion, as II. **31**, 1 clearly shows.

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

10. **οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες** describes a state of things, like *κρατοῦντες, νικῶντες*.

11. **ἐπηυλίσαντο**—'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 *οὔτε . . οὔτε*.

§ 3 l. 12. **ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ' ἄλλης** *κτλ.*—this appears to stand for *εἰ πρ. τι* (*παρασκευῆς*) *ἐκ* II. *καὶ ἄλλοθεν*, 'to try their fortune with reinforcements from the Pel. and elsewhere, if any should come.' Bloomfield and others have supposed that *καί* 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, Leucas or Ambracia: Thebes had none.

§ 4 l. 15. **αὐτοῖς . . 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 *δ' ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος.*

18. **μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὕστερον**—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 l. 1. **οἱ δέ**—co-ordinate with *οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον.* 6

5. **οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀπό**—'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 *ναύσταθμον*, it is evident that a part only of the ships was sent to this new station. **τὸ πρὸς νότον** is adverbial as IV. 23 *περιώρμουν πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος.*

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

§ 2 l. 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. **ἀγορά** is Krüger's probable alteration for *ἀγοράς*, on the analogy of such phrases as *ἀγορὰν παρέχειν*, VII. 39 *τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν πωλουμένων . . ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κομίσαι.* The idea of a *site* seems always present, and *ἀγορά* is *not* a synonym of *τὰ ὤνια* or *τὰ πωλούμενα.*

τά is probably subject, not adverbial accus., so that we have the pass. of *τὸν περὶ* M. *πόλεμον ἐπολέμουν*: cf. VIII. 18 *τὸν πόλεμον κοινῇ πολεμούντων* (imper.). The act. of *πολεμῶ* does not seem to occur with an adverbial accus.

§ 1 l. 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 7

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 MSS. 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. **Λακωνικῆς** depends on *χωρία*.

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

14. **κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον**—'by way of the A.'; not the technical use of *κατά* meaning 'down' a stream (cf. Aeschines II. **124** *εἰσπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν Λυδίαν ποταμόν*); 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 conjectured *ἀνά* for *κατά*.

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

§ **5** l. 22. **ἀποπλεύσαντες**—i.e. the ships withdrew to Acarnania, 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 (*-άος*) and the ancient grammarians are for *-ώς*.

3. **τοὺς γάρ**—cf. I. **40** *τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἑτέρων 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. **χείρους**—think worse of them for being traitors.

§ **2** l. 8. **οὐκ ἄδικος . . ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν**—like I. **120** *ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζειν*. Here *οὐκ ἄ. . . .*

ἐστιν = δίκαιόν ἐστι χείρους ἡγεῖσθαι, 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 B *ἐγωγε οἶμαι κρεῖττον εἶναι . . διαφωνεῖν χορὸν ᾧ χορηγοίην*. Bayfield on *Antig.* 666 collects passages from Soph. Presently **διακρίνοιντο** is by assimilation to *τύχοιεν*.

10. **γνώμῃ**—'feeling,' 'sentiment'; **εὐνοίᾳ**, '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 *παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις* show that the two are closely similar in sense (*εὔνοια* is the *intellectual* aspect of *γνώμη*); and c. 10 *ἐν τῷ διαλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων*, where the meaning of *γνώμη* is fixed by *μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης* and *ὁμοιότροποι*, bears this out. (*εὔνοια* of course implies 'between equals' here, *not* loyalty to a superior.) Cf. also c. **12**, 1.

§ **3** l. 14. **μηδέ τῳ**—here and again at c. **67**, 2 there should undoubtedly be only a comma before *μηδέ*. Thuc. never uses *οὐδέ, μηδέ* = 'and not,' unless a neg. clause precedes; and it is quite plain from what precedes—*οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσις*, viz. *χείρους ἡγεῖσθαι, εἰ τύχοιεν*—that *δ . . οὐκ ἦν* and *μηδέ τῳ χείρους δόξωμεν εἶναι* adhere closely together.

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

§ **1** l. 1. **περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς**—to be asking for a *ξυμμαχία* when you have just abandoned one is a position that needs some justification; so first they will show that they were not guilty of *ἀδικία* (cf. c. **12**, 2) since they were in danger of being 'enslaved,' and that they were actuated by the highest of motives, by *ἀρετή*, unselfishness, 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 *τὸ δίκαιον* and *ἀρετή* are the two motives combined in the *διπλῆ ἀπόστασις*. **10**

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 *βεβαίαν* here: *βέβαιον ἂν* has been suggested.

5. **μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιντο**—the subject, as Bloomfield saw (and so Steup), is *ἰδιῶται 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 *γίγνεσθαι μετά* 'to behave with' (majority of edd.); in the parallels proposed, such as *κατὰ ξυλλόγους γίγνεσθαι*, the verb means 'to come into a certain condition *or* situation': and as *γενέσθαι μετά τινος* = 'to be in the company of' (e.g. Dem. LIV. **34**), so *μετ' ἀρετῆς γίγνεσθαι* should mean 'range themselves with,' and so, 'to adopt,' 'work with' *ἀρετή*: *ἀρετὴ* (as above) *δοκοῦσα ἐς ἀλλήλους* = '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. **τἆλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶεν**—'and in all other respects (besides that just mentioned) be like minded.' Göller thought *φίλοι* was to be supplied out of *φιλία* as subj. to *γίγνοιντο*. Vollgraff thinks *γίγνοιντο* spurious and alters *δοκούσης* to *δοκήσεως* with Herwerden, so that *μετ'* = 'besides' and *καί* = 'also.' *γίγνοιντο* and *εἶεν* 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 *ἀρετή*: but when Athens began to pursue another purpose, Mytilene gave up this belief, and the inherent difference of intention became manifest.

ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης—'*in animorum discrepantia*'; the neut. partic. as abstract subst. (cf. the corresponding *διαφοραί*) is a favourite device of Thuc., though rare in other prose; Xen. *Cyr.* IV. **5**, 39 *τὸ ἐλλεῖπον*. Cf. e.g. II. **59** *τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης*, VII. **68** *τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον*, for *ὀργή* and *θυμός*. Thuc. likes to show the quality *at work*. The constr., as Krüger says, is freely imitated by late authors.

9. **καθίστανται**—'become manifest'; cf. on c. **3** l. 3.

§ **2** l. 9. **ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο**—referring to the transference of the hegemony of the allies from Sparta to Athens in 476 B.C. (I. **95**). In reality this transference was an *ἀπόστασις* from the Spartan allianee (*Ath. Pol.* c. **23**); and the anxiety of Sparta to be quit of the war against Persia (*ἀπαλλαξείοντες τοῦ Μηδικοῦ 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. **ἀπολιπόντων ἐκ**—this use of *ἀπολείπειν* seems to result

from such phrases as *ἀπολείπειν τὴν ξυμμαχίαν* (c. 9), so that the full sense is *ἀπολιπόντων (ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπελθόντων)*.

§ 3 l. 14. **Ἀθηναίοις and τοῖς Ἕλλησι** depend on *ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα*: *τοῖς Ἕλλησι* 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.* I. 1, 6.

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

ἀδεεῖς—'free from anxiety.'

§ 5 l. 20. **διὰ πολυψηφίαν**—with *ἀδύνατοι ὄντες*. 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. I. 98 *πρώτη αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχὶς* (Naxos) *παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη*.

§ 6 l. 25. **παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χ.**—'drawing our proofs (that they were no longer *πιστοί*) from what was previously happening,' i.e. 'taking warning from the line of action that they had adopted.' *παράδειγμα* 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 *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους . . ἀναγκάσαι 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 εἰκὸς ἦν . . . μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο**—to understand this sentence, it is necessary to realize that *δρᾶσαι* refers, *not* to the future, but to the *past*, as in c. 40, 5 *ἐνθυμηθέντες ἃ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι 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 (*ἐδουλώθησαν*) *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἑκάστη ξυνέβη*. (Dobree's *δυνηθεῖεν* makes the ref. to the future.)

§ 1 l. 2. **βεβαιότεροι**—the *personal* constr. often found with *ἄξιος, δίκαιος, ἱκανός*. 11

6. **καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλέον . . ἀντισουμένου**—(I should prefer to insert *ἂν* before *ἀντισουμένου*, see Introd. p. xlii). 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 *ὑποχειρίους . . ὁμιλοῦντες*, 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*. *μόνου*, 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 . . ἐρημότεροι*.

§ 2 l. 9. **τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος**—'it is reciprocity of apprehension alone,' as distinct from *one-sided δέος*. There is no objection to *δέος*, and no inconsisteney with the opening words of c. 12, if the emphasis be put on *ἀντίπαλον*, as on *προύχων* in the next sentence, and if *μόνον* be taken as qualifying *ἀντίπαλον* rather than *πιστόν*.

10. **γάρ**—'for in that case.'

§ 3 l. 13. **ὅσον**—*quatenus*, 'so far as.' **ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν**, '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 *ἀρχή* is appropriate enough in the presence of those who so strongly disliked it; cf. I. 75, with II. 8.)

14. **γνώμης μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος**—'by means of policy and not of force.'

15. **τὰ πράγματα . . καταληπτά**—'they might make themselves masters of the situation.'

§ 4 l. 15. **ἅμα μέν** κτλ.—this is the *λόγος εὐπρεπής* that they used as evidence that they were upright. The allies whom we attaeked, 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 **μή** is due to the protest implied in *μ. ἐχρῶντο*. If *ἄκοντας* is right, it must be put briefly for *ἄκοντας ἂν ὄντας*, 'but would have been unwilling. unless' etc. But this, even if possible, is extremely awkward, whereas *ἑκόντας*, read in a good scholium on this passage, gives the natural eonstr. and sense.

18. **ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ** = *ἅμα*: so IV. 73.

τὰ κράτιστα—for *τοὺς κρατίστους*.

20. **[τὰ] τελευταῖα**—it is clear that *τὰ κράτιστα* is object of

λιπόντες, and τελευταῖα is predicative; so that as there is no parallel for the article, it should be omitted.

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

§ 5 l. 23. αὐτῶν—in contrast with πρὸς ὅ τι χρὴ στῆναι (aid from others): πρὸς ὅ τι χρὴ στῆναι = ἡμᾶς τοὺς δυναμένους ἡγήσασθαι αὐτῶν (schol.). For the simple ἵστασθαι 'rally' with πρός cf. IV. 56 πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἔστασαν.

24. ἐχειρώσαντο—sc. τοὺς ξυμμάχους.

§ 6 l. 24. τό τε ναυτικόν—"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' ἓν 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 ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν εἴη, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἀθροιζομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελῆσαι; This would give no point here, since the *whole* fleet is of course meant by τὸ ναυτικόν. The accepted meaning 'uniting *with others*' is only to be got through the addition, ἢ . . προσθέμενον, which must be regarded as an *explanation*. (Steup suggests that προσθέμενον should be removed, so that καθ' ἓν γ. can be taken with the datives. I do not think it a likely note—in fact there is a scholium, ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνελθόν, here—but I do think there is a difficulty, and possibly the first ἢ should be removed.)

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

§ 8 l. 29. οὐ . . ἂν ἐδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι = οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνήθημεν, ὡς ἐδόκει. δοκοῦμεν, read by Krüger (ἔτι δοκοῦμεν Steup) is simpler, but the imperf., referring to the time of the revolt, does not exclude the pres., and cf. c. 13 ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι.

32. τοῖς—'what had happened.'

§ 1 l. 1. τίς κτλ.—'what form of trustworthy friendship or 12
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. *Antiq.* VI. 78 τίς οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη φιλία καὶ πίστις, ἐν ᾗ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους θεραπεύειν ἀναγκασθησόμεθα; seems to have found ἡ, not ᾗ, after αὕτη in his MS., and our MSS. have ἡ.)

3. παρὰ γνώμην—'without sincerity,' οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης μόνον.

3. **ὑπεδεχόμεθα**—this word can be used of every kind of reception or welcome afforded to a *ξένος*, short of rejection : e.g. in Lycurgus § 133 *οὐδεμία πόλις αὐτὸν εἴασε παρ' αὑτῇ μετοικεῖν* is repeated in the form *τοῦτον δὲ τίς ἂν ὑποδέξαιτο πόλις ;*

6. **ὅ τε . . πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο . . ἐχυρὸν παρεῖχε**—passages sometimes cited as parallel to this (as II. **40** *δ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει* and IV. **125** *ὅπερ φιλεῖ μέγιστα στρατόπεδα ἀσαφῶς ἐκπλήγνυσθαι*) 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 εὔνοια βεβαιοῖ* with *εὔ. πίστιν βεβαιοῖ*. A schol. already takes this view ; and unless the text is corrupt, no other explanation can be entertained. (The other scholium is a mere paraphrase, but its conclusion—*διὰ τοῦτο ἄπιστος ἦν ἡ φιλία ἀμφοτέρων*—shows that the writer discerned that in the whole passage, from *τίς οὖν* to *παραβήσεσθαι ἔμελλον*, the underlying idea, not clearly expressed, is that of a *πίστις ἄπιστος*. Both *πιστή* above and *πίστιν* here have been removed by critics more intent, perhaps, on the language than on the thought. *ξύμμαχοι ὑπὸ δέους πιστοί* are *ξύμμαχοι ἄπιστοι*.)

9. **παράσχοι**—representing *ὁποτέρους ἂν παράσχῃ* in past sequence.

10. **ἀσφάλεια**—'sense of security.'

καί—'as a consequence' of the *θάρσος*.

§ 2 l. 12. **διὰ . . μέλλησιν** refers to *δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν*: this might be a reason for objecting that they should have waited till some wrong was inflicted on them. **τὰ δεινά** = 'methods of coercion' ; for the whole cf. I. **25** *κατὰ τὴν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας*.

§ 3 l. 15. **εἰ γὰρ δυνατοί** *κτλ.*—with the text before us, which (except for *ἀντιμελλῆσαι*) 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 ἴσου* and *ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου* ('just as we were,' *aeque atque fuimus*) have no correspondence. It is in connexion with the next sentence that doubts arise. (1) *ἐπιχειρεῖν* clearly corresponds to *ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι*, and *προαμύνασθαι* to *ἀντιμελλῆσαι* (or *ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι*) ; (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) *ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι* looks suspicious before *ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὄντας*. 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*. 13

2. **σαφεῖς τοῖς ἀκούουσι γνῶναι**, as in *κάλλιστον ἰδεῖν 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. **ἀποστήσεσθαι δ. ἀπόστασιν**—the *figura etymologica*, as in VI. 56 *τοὺς τὴν πομπὴν πέμψοντας*, VIII. 58 *κοινῇ τὸν πόλεμον πολεμούντων*. It is usually said that Thuc. plays upon the double meaning of *ἀφίστασθαι* 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 *ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα οὐκ . . Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ . . τοῖς Ἕλλησι*, 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 *ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις κτλ.*

11. **ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν**—referring to *καταδούλωσις τῶν Ἑλλήνων* c. 10. Cf. Xen. *An.* V. 5, 21 *ἂν μέν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντ' εὖ ποιεῖν* (*ἀντευποιεῖν* MSS.), *ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι* (Stallbaum on Plato, *Gorg.* 520 E).

14. **προποιῆσαι** = *προ-διαφθεῖραι*.

§ 2 l. 16. **χρή**—sc. *ὑμᾶς*. **ᾗ 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. **καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ**—this point is explained in what follows: so far it has not been touched upon. To this **καιρὸς . . 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 μέν**—see c. **7**.

§ 4 l. 25. **περιουσίαν νεῶν 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 Piraeus: 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 *ἐπ-*.

§ 5 l. 30. **ᾧ 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 ἔσται**—'will turn on Attica, but (on the country) through which . . ,' i.e. *ἐν τῇ ξυμμαχικῇ*; the issue depends on the action of the *ξύμμαχοι*. The need is to transfer the resources (cf. *ὠφελίαν . . ὠφελεῖται*) of the *ξύμμαχοι* from the Athenian to the Spartan side. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* II. **28** *sin victoriae columen in Italia 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. **εἴχετε**—'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. **ἐς ὑμᾶς**—'with regard to you . .' 14

3. **ἴσα καί**—adverbial, as *ὁμοίως καί*.

5. **ἴδιον . . παραβαλλομένους**—instead of the external accus. usual with *παραβάλλομαι*, i.e. *τὰ σώματα*, we have here the internal accus., *κίνδυνον*.

§ 1 l. 5. **τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολήν**—'as regards the 15
suggested (c. 13, 4) invasion.' *ἐσβολήν* is the 'accusative of anticipation,' for which cf. I. 33, 3 *τὸν δὲ πόλεμον . . εἴ τις ὑμῶν μὴ οἴεται ἔσεσθαι*. In both these instances the verb that follows (*ποιησόμενοι, ἔσεσθαι*) of course supplies a governing word to the accus. as in V. 36 *τὸ Πάνακτον ἐδέοντο Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως παραδώσουσι*, 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. *Av.* 1269 *δεινόν γε τὸν κήρυκα . . εἰ μηδέποτε νοστήσει πάλιν*.

7. **παροῦσι . . ἔφραζον**, '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 *ἰέναι*: cf. II. 10 *ξυνῆσαν τὰ δύο μέρη . . ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν*. The dat. is *sociative*, as constantly with words like *στρατός* and *ναῦς*. The subject of *ἔφραζον* and *ἀφίκοντο* is 'the Lacedaemonians' only. $\frac{3}{8}$ths = *τὰ τρία μέρη*; but $\frac{3}{8}$ths = *τῶν ὀκτὼ τὰ τρία μέρη*. **ὡς ποιησόμενοι** belongs to *ἀφίκοντο* as well as to *ἔφραζον*.

9. **καὶ** ('and then') **ὁλκοὺς** (cf. *ἐφ-ολκίον*, a boat towed, *νεωλκεῖν*, to beach a vessel with a *ὁλκός*. The instrument for *pushing* heavy weights was called *ἕλιξ*, but it was not invented till Archimedes) **παρεσκεύαζον**—the ships which had been used against Phormio in the Corinthian gulf (at Lechaeum) were to be hauled over the Isthmus along the track, called *δίολκος*, to the Saronic gulf. The ships must have been put on some kind of truck. The exact nature of the *ὁλκοί* is unknown; possibly they were rollers fixed in the *δίολκος*. *ὑπερφέρειν, διαφέρειν, διακομίζειν* and *διέλκειν* are used of this.

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

15. **ἐν καιροῦ ξυγκομιδῇ**, like *ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι*: (*ἐν*) **ἀρρωστίᾳ** like *ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ εἶναι*.

§ 1 l. 2. **διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν** = *διὰ τὸ καταγνῶναι* 16

σφῶν ἀσθένειαν, i.c. *σφῶν* depends on *κατάγνωσιν*. On what the 'imputation' was based can be seen from c. **13**.

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

8. **αὐτοί**—these, as the restriction shows, consisted of the *ζευγῖται* and *θῆτες*. The two higher classes served on board only in times of great danger.

10. **παρὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιοῦντο**, 'made a demonstration along the coast of.' With *ἀναγαγόντες* instead of the ordinary *ἀναγαγόμενοι* cf. Herod. VI. **12** *ἀνάγων 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. **ἄπορα νομίζοντες**—'thinking (the situation) difficult,' a characteristic use of the neut. plur. without subst., as in I. **8** *πλωιμώτερα 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 **καί**='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 περιοικίδα**—land belonging to the *περίοικοι* in Messenia seems to be meant.

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

20. **ὅ τι πέμψουσιν**—*ὅστις* because of the *purpose*.

21. **ἐπήγγελλον**—a technical word for sending out a *formal* notice, which may amount to a command. Cf. *περιαγγέλλω*.

22. **ναύαρχον**—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. **εἶδον**—sc. *ἀναχωρήσαντας*: cf. e.g. II. **11** *δηοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν δρᾶν*, sc. *δηουμένην*.

I reluctantly agree with Steup that this ch. is spurious. **17**
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 *νῆες ἐξαίρετοι* of which we read in II. **24**. Those ships were docked, and were certainly not *ἐνεργοί*: (2) *αἱ περὶ Ποτείδαιαν 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 Λοκρίδα καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλακήν* (II. **26**) to be counted in; (3) it is difficult to see why in § 4 the 1,600 men with whom Phormio *ἀπετείχισε 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 δν**—i.e. *καθ' ὅν*, according to a common idiom; cf. Soph. *OC.* 748 *ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰκίας πεσεῖν | ἔδοξ', ὅσον πέπτωκεν ἥδε*.

2. **ἐν τοῖς πλεῖσται δή**—for the fem. cf. c. **82**, 1 (*στάσις*) *ἐν τοῖς πρώτη 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 *παραπλήσιαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους*.

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

αὐτοῖς—with *ἐγένοντο*.

ἐνεργοὶ †κάλλει 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 *αἱ μὴ ἀργαί* alludes to this passage. But *κάλλει* must be corrupt, for the rendering 'effective by their fine condition' is not possible. Herbst's conjecture *σ' καὶ Χ'*, 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 *ἐν τοῖς πλείσταις*. A very good sense would be got by *μιᾷ πόλει* (Widmann).

§ 2 l. 5. **τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικήν** κτλ.—referring to the first year of the war; but there is no mention of such a fleet in the account of that year.

7. **περὶ Πελοπόννησον**—this fleet had been sent out by Pericles as a counter-stroke to the invasion of Attica.

8. **χωρὶς δέ**—'besides,' sc. *ἦσαν*, which is implied in the context.

§ 3 l. 11. **τοῦτο**—i.e. the sending out of these armaments. In a somewhat similarly vague way **μετὰ Ποτειδαίας** is used for *μετὰ τῆς Ποτειδαίας πολιορκίας*, with which should be compared II. 13 *ἐς Ποτείδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη*, '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. **δίδραχμοι**—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. **ἐλάμβανε**—we should expect *ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανον* or *ἐλάμβανεν*. 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. **ὧν οὐκ ἐλάσσονς**—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. **οἳ προαπῆλθον**—these 1600 had been sent to blockade

Potidaea from the south (I. **64**) soon after the revolt. They were withdrawn from Chalcidice before the place fell.

17. **τὸν αὐτὸν μισθόν**—viz. one drachma per man, or double the ordinary wage (VI. **31**).

19. **τοσαῦται δή**—referring still to the *παραπλησίαι καὶ ἔτι πλείους* (§ 1); so that the digression extends to the end of the chapter.

§ 1 l. 1. **ὄν**—see c. **17**, 1. **18**

3. **Μήθυμναν**—see c. **2**, 1.

ὡς προδιδομένην—'in the belief that it was going to be betrayed'; cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 408 *προδίδοτον τὴν Ἑλλάδα. MT.* § 32.

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

8. **καταστησάμενοι . . βεβαιότερα**—cf. I. **118** *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο.*

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

§ 3 l. 16. **ταῦτα . . κρατοῦντας . . ἱκανοὺς ὄντας**—the partic. phrase in apposition to *ταῦτα*, as in Soph. *Antig.* 17 **οὐδὲν οἷδ' ὑπέρτερον | οὔτ' εὐτυχοῦσα μᾶλλον οὔτ' ἀτωμένη**, *Philoc.* 1355 *πῶς ταῦτ' ἐξανασχήσεσθε, τοῖσιν Ἀτρεως | ἐμὲ ξυνόντα παισίν;*

19. **εἴργειν**—'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. *Il.* II. 719 *ἑρέται δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ πεντήκοντα | ἐμβέβασαν, τόξων εὖ εἰδότες ἶφι μάχεσθαι.*

25. **ἐγκατῳκοδόμηται**—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 *plup.* should probably be read (I do not think **ᾗ** for **οἵ** 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. **19**

3. **τότε πρῶτον**—probably meaning that the extraordinary war-tax was actually levied for the first time (cf. *τότε πρῶτον* 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 *εἰσφορά* 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 promoting the vote before the Ecclesia. See also Neil on Aristoph. *Eq.* 771, 923.)

4. **διακόσια τάλαντα**—in apposition to *ἐσφοράν*.

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

6. (**Λυσικλέα**—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**.)

πεμπτὸν αὐτόν—meaning that Lysicles had the chief command. The large number of *στρατηγοί* sent is probably due to the difficulty and delicacy of the mission.

§ **2** l. 10. **Ἀναιτῶν**—cf. c. **32**.

11. **ἄλλης**—'as well.'

20 § **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 σίτῳ ἐπιλείποντι**—equivalent to *τῇ σιτοδείᾳ. ἐπιλιπόντι* 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.

10. **ἐσηγησαμένων**—cf. VI. **99** *οὐχ ἥκιστα Ἑρμοκράτους ἐσηγησαμένου*.

11. **ἀνδρὸς μάντεως**—together.

13. **ἐστρατήγει**—the opinion of a general supported by a *μάντις* would carry great weight.

§ 2 l. 14. **ἀπώκνησαν . . 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 *περί* and *μάλιστα*, Dem. XXI. 154, *περί* and *ἴσως*, Herod. III. 159 *μάλιστα ἐς*.

16. **ἐνέμειναν**—as in *ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὅρκοις* etc. **τρόπῳ τοιῳδε** is added *κατὰ σύνεσιν*.

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

20. **ἐξαλειλιμμένον**—'whitewashed.' The *ἐξ-* probably denotes *completion*: the whitewashing had not been finished at one part of the wall.

ἠριθμοῦντο . . ἀριθμοῦντες—for the rapid passage from mid. to act. cf. II. 9 *ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο . . πεζὸν παρεῖχον*.

26. **ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους**—sc. *καθορᾶν*, or perhaps rather *ὁρᾶν*: *τοῦ τείχους* agrees with *καθορωμένου*, and *ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο* = 'as far as they wanted to see it,' i.e. a sufficiently *wide* piece was visible. The objection to this is that *ἐς ὅ* for *ὅσον* or *ἐς ὅσον* does not occur elsewhere. In Herod. *ἐς ὅ* means 'until' with aorist or hist. pres. or iterative imperf.; but in Thuc. V. 66 *ἐς ὃ ἐμέμνητο* = *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. *ἐξ ὀλίγου* of *time* II. 11, of *place* II. 91, and so with *ἐκ πολλοῦ*. Two other views of this passage, not involving change of the text, must be noticed: (*a*) taking *τοῦ τείχους* 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 τείχους* as depending on *ἐς ὅ*, 'as they easily looked down *upon the part of the wall* that they wished to see,' i.e. *καθορωμένου* (*τούτου*) *ἐς ὃ τοῦ τείχους ἐβούλοντο* (*ὁρᾶν*). This is very awkward and we should expect *καθορῶντες*. The alterations proposed are (*a*) *ὅσον* for *ἐς ὅ*, Stahl, or (*b*) to insert an infin., as *ἀναβῆναι* after *ἐβούλοντο* (Stein).

§ 4 l. 26. **τὴν ξυμμέτρησιν . . ἔλαβον**—for the periphrasis with *λαβεῖν* cf. e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 1078 *φρόνησιν λαβεῖν*. Presumably the height arrived at by the majority was accepted as correct.

28. **τῆς πλίνθου**—collective; so in II. **9**, 4 *λίθοις καὶ κεράμῳ*, 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. **οἰκοδομήσει**—Thuc. is partial to nouns in *-σις*: *ὀλόφυρσις*, *ξυμμέτρησις*, *κατάφευξις* etc.

3. **πρός**—'on the side towards,' an idiomatic use common with localities, *πρὸς 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 μεταξύ* as subject, and *οἰκήματα* as internal accus., as in *τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα μετωνόμασται* I. **122**. Steup agrees with this rendering, but he is inclined to retain *οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα 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 *ᾠκοδόμητο*: the constr. is then very strained, and the perf. partic. *διανενεμημένα* unnatural, implying that the quarters were distributed before they were built.

8. **ἦν ξυνεχῆ**—I agree with Steup in rendering 'it was (all) continuous,' without any definite subject, as in I. **8** *πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο*, and cf. II. **3** *ἀμάξας . . ἐς τοὺς ὁδοὺς καθίστασαν, ἵν' ἀντὶ τείχους ᾖ*, for it was not only the guards' quarters, but the two parallel walls as well that 'looked like one thick wall.'

§ **3** l. 9. **διὰ δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων**—'at an interval of ten,' i.e. with the plur., 'at intervals of ten,' as in Isocr. IV. **46** *αἱ πανηγύρεις διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου συλλεγεῖσαι*.

11. **ἰσοπλατεῖς**—cf. *ἰσομηκής*, *ἰσοπαχής*, *ἰσοπληθής*.

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

13. **παρὰ πύργον**—Thuc. might have written *παρὰ τοὺς πύργους*, but the art. is omitted and the sing. used collectively as in II. **13** *παρ' ἔπαλξιν*, for which we might have *παρὰ τὰς 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 *τεῖχος*. 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 *ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον*. "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" (C. F. Smith).

9. **ψόφῳ** depends on *ἀντιπαγοῦντος* only, *κατακουσάντων* being absolute, like *προϊδόντων*. 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 παρέχοι**—cf. II. 4 *αἰσθησις ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο*.

14. **τὸν ἀριστερὸν 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 *ὑπεδέδεντο τὸν μὲν ἕνα τῶν ποδῶν ὀι' ἀσφάλειαν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον γυμνὸν εἶχον διὰ κουφότητα*, 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. **προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις**—I should prefer a comma at *προσέμισγον*, 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. **δοῦπον**—as the rarer word this may be right, but *ψόφον* is an early variant.

§ 5 l. 31. **βοή**—'an alarm.'

ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος—the garrison troops came out and made for their posts at the wall. See Introd. p. xviii.

32. **ὅ τι ἦν**—contrast v. **54** *ἤδει δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅποι* **στρατεύουσιν**. Goodwin, *M.T.* § 674. 3.

33. **καὶ ἅμα . . . προσέβαλον**—this gives another *reason* why they did not know *ὅ τι ἦν τὸ δεινόν*: hence strictly we should have *καὶ* **ὅτι** *οἱ κτλ.*: cf. I. **110** *τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθός τε τοῦ ἕλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν,* **καὶ ἅμα** *μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἕλειοι.*

34. **τῶν Πλαταιῶν**—partitive gen., which Thuc., differing from other authors, often puts between an art. and partic., as I. **9** *οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων δεδεγμένοι*, ib. **48** *ταῖς ἄριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις*, and below, c. **36**, 5.

36. **ἐκ τοὔμπαλιν ἤ**—cf. *τοὐναντίον ἤ*, which generally shows a variant reading *ἤ*. In Xen. *Anab.* III. **5**, 13 *εἰς τοὔμπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα* is probably incorrect, but the text shows the idiom.

§ **6** l. 38. **ἐθορυβοῦντο 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 *ἐθορυβοῦντο*. *ἑαυτῶν* here is to be preferred to *αὐτῶν*: but in c. **91**, 2 *τοὺς Μηλίους οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ξυμμαχικὸν ἰέναι ἐβούλοντο προσαγαγέσθαι*, the pers. pron. may be right, since *ipsorum*, not *suum* may be meant.

§ **7** l. 43. **ἐχώρουν ἔξω 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 πολεμίους 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 εἴησαν φύλακες καὶ . . . παραγίγνωνται*, 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' ὑπερβαίνοντες**—all who were attempting to escape, whatever they were doing, are regarded as one body; but presently they are divided into *οἱ μέν*, those already on the wall, and *οἱ δέ*, those who were still below. The result is a very ugly sentence.

4. **ἑκατέρου**—see c. **22**, 3.

5. **τάς τε διόδους**—Steup, following Poppo, renders 'and,' making the parenthesis extend from *ὡς* to *ἐπιβοηθεῖν*, because,

if τε is regarded as correlative to καί, the sense of τάς τε διόδους . . ἐπιβοηθεῖν is absurdly repeated in κάτωθεν (i.e. ἀπὸ τῶν διόδων) εἶργον. It will be noticed that, if ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν were absent, the sentence would be perfectly regular in outline: οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες τάς τε διόδους ἑνστάντες καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ κάτωθεν (i.e. ἀπὸ τῶν διόδων) καὶ ἄνωθεν (i.e. ἀπ' ἄκρων τῶν πύργων) εἶργον 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 μέν, but in the form ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας ἄνωθεν εἶργον 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 δέ, instead of making a separate sentence of the οἱ δέ 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 μεταπύργιον over which the P. were escaping.

9. **πλείους**—as in c. 22, 4 init.

οἱ μέν includes those in the δίοδοι and those on the top of the πύργοι.

10. **κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν**—with εἶργον.

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

§ 2 l. 14. **αἰεί**—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.

κωλυτὴς γίγνοιτο—a favourite periphrasis with Thuc., especially with nouns in *-της*; examples occur in cc. **2**, **40**, **58**, **59**; with διδάσκαλος c. **42**; with ἡγεμών c. **105**.

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

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

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

29. **βιαίως**—like βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι II. **33**, 'hard pressed.'

§ 5 l. 31. **οἷος ἀπηλιώτου**—sc. ὄντος, as in Soph. *OC.* 83 ὡς

ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας, sc. *οὔσης*. It is very rarely that the partic. is omitted in gen. abs. where the noun does not itself suggest a partic. as in Soph. *OT.* 966 *ὧν ὑφηγητῶν*, sc. *ὄντων*: but the omission is softened in this case by the analogy of the gen. of *time*, as in *νυκτός*.

ἢ βορέου—perhaps a marginal note, intended to fill up the sense of *μᾶλλον*. (It has been suggested (1) that *βορέου* should be changed to *εὔρου*, or (2) that *μᾶλλον* should be transposed before *ἤ*.) 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 than when the wind is north.' (So Chambry, *Rév. de phil.* '97.)

32. **ὑπονειφομένη**—cf. Herod. II. **13** *ὕεται ἡ χώρη*, Xen. *Hell.* II. **4**, 13 *νειφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον*: for *ὑ.* is properly 'being thinly besnowed.'

34. **ἐγένετο . . ἡ διάφευξις**—cf. VII. **41** *τὴν κατάφευξιν ἐποιοῦντο* '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 διαβατήρια* V. **55**. In VI. **74** and VIII. **57** *γίγνεσθαι*=merely 'take place.' *καὶ ἡ διάφευξις*='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 ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως*.

24 § **1** l. 4. **τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον**—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. **ἥκιστ' ⟨ἄν⟩**—after such words as *μάλιστα* the accidental omission of *ἄν* is so frequent in some MSS. where the error is obvious that it seems unlikely that *νομίζω σε ποιῆσαι* can= 'I think you may do it.' Cf. Xen. *Oec.* **11**, 14 *ἡνίκα* for *ἡνίκ' ἄν*, **18**, 1 *πότερα* for *πότερ' ἄν*, *Mem.* IV. **3**, 8 *μάλιστα* for *μάλιστ' ἄν*, in which instances the verb, being in opt., betrays the error. In our passage if *ἥκιστα* is read, we should render 'thinking that the enemy had not formed a suspicion.'

σφᾶς—subject of *τραπέσθαι*.

8. **πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς**—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—

> Τσιάς τ' Ἐρυθράς θ' αἱ Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας
> νέρθεν κατῳκήκασιν.
>
> (Eur. *Bacchae*, 751.)

16. **πλειόνων**—c. 20, 2.

§ 3 l. 19. **κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο**—'went to their station.' *κατὰ χώραν* usually with *μένειν* (*certa sede manet*); with *ἑᾶν* Demosth. XXVII. 60. For *γενέσθαι κατά* cf. *καθ' ἓν γ.* 'to concentrate'; *τὴν χάλαζαν εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γ.* Demosth. IX. 33.

24. **ἐσπένδοντο**—*σπονδὰς ἐζήτουν ποιεῖσθαι* schol. With the internal accus. *ἀναίρεσιν* cf. c. 109 *ἀναχώρησιν ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι.*

§ 1 l. 4. **πλεύσας ἐς Πύρραν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς πεζῇ**—two stages 25
in the scheme by which *διαλαθὼν ἐσέρχεται*: and so *πεζῇ* 'by land' is co-ordinated with *πλεύσας*, and is equivalent to *πεζῇ ἐλθών.*

6. **ᾗ 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. *ὑπερβατόν* hardly admits of (1). A third suggestion (3) is that *ὑποβατόν* should be read, meaning that Salaethus crawled *under* the wall through an outlet. As for (2), if we compare c. 18, 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. **προέδροις**—*τοῖς ἄρχουσι* schol. For the *νῆες* see c. 16.

10. **προαποπεμφθῆναί τε**—cf. I. 87 *εἶπον ὅτι . . δοκοῖεν . .*, **βούλεσθαι δὲ . .**

11. **τούτων ἕνεκα . . ἐπιμελησόμενος**—cf. I. 80 *ἐμπειρίᾳ . . νομίσαντα.*

§ 2 l. 13. **πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**—from passages like v. 44 *πρὸς τοὺς Ἀ. μᾶλλον εἶχον τὴν γνώμην* it is clear that *ὥστε ξυμβαίνειν* does not govern these words, but is an epexegesis.

§ 1 l. 3. **δύο καί** can hardly be right, as the number is 26
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. **ἄρχοντα . . προστάξαντες** is a phrase in Thuc. for appointment to a special command, and even the order is exactly as in VII. 19: so *ἄρχοντα* for *ἔχοντα* 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 ναυσὶν . . καταπλεούσαις**—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 *Μυτιλήνην*, and (2) *ἐπιβοηθεῖν* + dat. = 'hasten to help.' Hence *either* we must alter the text—Steup brackets *καταπλεούσαις* —or, better, render 'when they were sailing.' So Stahl refers *ταῖς ν. καταπλεούσαις* 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 *πατρός* is not justified by the constr., since no description of Cleomenes has preceded; hence Krüger suggests that *ἐπίτροπος* has fallen out after *ἔτι*. There may, however, be a slight anacoluthon.

§ 3 l. 13. [**καὶ**]—**εἴ τι ἐ.** 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 *μὴ ἐπιμεῖναι τοὐμὸν ὀξῦναι στόμα*.

19. **ἐπεξῆλθον** with *τέμνοντες*, 'pressed forward with,' not 'over-ran.'

27 § 2 l. 7. **ὁπλίζει**—to make *hoplites* of them, the defensive armour, shield and breastplate, had to be distributed.

§ 3 l. 10. **κατὰ ξυλλόγους γ.**—these meetings were, of course, informal.

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 μέν**—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 *ἐξεῖναι* to *ἀποστέλλειν*, but it is better to make the latter depend directly on *ὥστε*; (3) *δῆσαι*, etc. also depend on *ὥστε*.

11. **ἐν ὅσῳ**=*μέχρι οὗ*, cf. c. **52**, 3. It is a similar constr. to that in *Tityre, dum redeo*. Classen saw a combination of (1) *ἐν ὅσῳ ἂν ἀπῶσι* and (2) *ἕως ἂν πάλιν ἔλθωσι*.

§ 2 l. 17. **ὅμως**—in spite of the guarantee; cf. c. **49**, 1 n. (Vollgraff brackets as a dittography from *βωμούς*.) *καθίζειν ἐπὶ βωμόν, ἀναστήσας* (=*ἀναστῆναι πείσας*), and *κατατίθεσθαι ἐς* are technical in this connexion. With *ἀναστήσας ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι* cf. *ἀναστήσαντες ἐφ' ᾧ 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, accommodated to the partic., *πέμψας*.

§ 1 l. 4. **ἐνδιέτριψαν**—Steup thinks that we should read 29
ἐνδιατρίψαντες or remove, mainly because *τοὺς μὲν . . ἑάλωκεν* gives the result of the slowness in *both* parts of the voyage; more prob. Thuc. would have written *ἐκομίσθησαν* below, but altered the form of the sentence at that point to add the result of *κομισθέντες* in *λανθάνουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*—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 δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ 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 . . ἀφικνεῖται*, (which is nearer to the dat. of interest), and c. **33**, 4. After leaving Delos they had no fear of A. ships.

8. **Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ**—the goal ultimately reached is mentioned first, as not uncommonly.

§ 2 l. 11. **ἡμέραι δὲ . . ἑαλωκυίᾳ**—lit. 'M. now reckoned seven days'; cf. I. **13**, 4, Herod. II. **145** *Ἡρακλέϊ ὅσα φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἄμασιν*, Xen. *Hell.* II. **1**, 27 *ἡμέρα ἣν πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*. The insertion of *μάλιστα* even with small numbers is a mannerism of Thuc.

14. **ἐκ τῶν παρόντων**—'under the circumstances.'

30 § 1 l. 4. **ὥσπερ 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 ἀφύλακτον*, 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 II. **11** *καὶ πάνυ ἐλπίζειν*: here in contrast with *εἰκὸς δέ* . .

8. **καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ τ. μάλιστα οὖσα**—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 A., could be no reason why there should be *πολὺ τὸ ἀφύλακτον* 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 A., and should have been referred to in an independent sentence, but the love of antithesis has led to the connexion of *ἐκεῖνοί τε . . καὶ ἡμῶν*. *τυγχάνει οὖσα* marks the circumstance as unusual, and the *real* comparison is between the military and naval strength of Alcidas.

11. **ὡς**—'conscious that.'

§ 4 l. 16. Reading **τὸ καινὸν 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 *φυλάσσοιτο* 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 καινόν*, which could not mean *τὸ ἀφύλακτον* merely, but must include *τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον*. (Steup conjectures *τὸ κοινόν*, 'where war shows itself notoriously *impartial*': this makes the sentence easier to understand, but I do not think *καινόν* impossible. Many edd. see in *τὸ καινόν* a reference only to sudden attack—*τὸ προσπεσεῖν ἄφνω*: I do not understand how *καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν* can be explained on this view. *τὸ κενόν*, 'the vanity,' is as tolerable as *τὸ καινόν* in itself, but is more likely to be a mistake for *τὸ καινόν* than vice versa.)

17. ὅ—governed by *φιλάσσοιτο* 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 Λέσβιοι**—for these see cc. **4**, 4, **5**, 4. **31**

8. **ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι**—sc. *ἀποστῆσαι*.

ἀκουσίως—i.e. 'no one was unwilling to see them come,' the adverb applying to *οὐδενί*, not to the subject of *ἀφίχθαι*: cf. Soph. *Antig.* 70 *ἐμοῦ γ' ἂν ἡδέως* (sc. *ἐμοὶ*) *δρῴης μέτα*.

9. **καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον . . ὑφέλωσι**—parallel to *ἀποστήσωσιν*, '(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 *ταύτην* renders a second *τήν* 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 *CIA.* vol. i. show that this combined *φόρος* was the largest item in the Athenian *πρόσοδοι*. (*ἦν* before *ὑφέλωσι* 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 ἅμα . . . δαπάνη γίγνηται**—'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 *ἦν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοῖς*—or *αὐτοὺς*—*δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται*, 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*) *ἦν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοῖς* 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 τινὶ γίγνεται* can mean anything but *δαπανᾶται ὑπό τινος*, according to the idiom; and there is force in Krüger's remark that the previous sentence here decidedly suggests the idea of 'loss.')

12. **Πισσούθνην**—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 πλεῖστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχε**—'strongly inclined to,' 'regarded it as decidedly best,' like the Herodotean *πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί*.

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

32 § 1 l. 1. **παρέπλει**—down the coast of Ionia.

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

6. **Σαμίων**—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: *οὓς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροί εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχήκασιν*.

8. **εἰ διέφθειρεν**—(1) *εἰ* in the sense of *ὅτι* or *ἐπεί*, (2) for *διέφθειρεν*, where we expect *διαφθείρει*, see *M. T.* § 691.

χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους—so Herod. VII. **209**, Xen. *Cyr.* V. **4**, 26 *ἐάν τις ὅπλα ἀνταίρηταί σοι*.

§ 3 l. 15. **ὁρῶντες γάρ**—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 *μή* 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. **ὤφθη**—pluperf. in sense; he must have touched at Clarus while sailing from Embaton to Ephesus.

4. **Σαλαμινίας καὶ Παράλου**—for the two state triremes see a dict. of antiquities.

§ 2 l. 10. **τῆς Ἐρυθραίας**—see c. **29**.

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

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

§ 3 l. 19. **οὐκέτι ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνετο**—sc. *ὁ Ἀλκίδας*, 'was clearly no longer to be caught'; cf. VI. 60 *ὡς οὐκ ἐν παύλῃ ἐφαίνετο* (*τὸ πρᾶγμα*). (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 καιρῷ ξυγκομιδῇ ἦσαν*.)

21. **μετεώροις**—sc. *ταῖς Ἀλκίδου ναυσίν*.

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 *ἔκπληξίν τε καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς παρέχειν*, and *πράγματα π.*

§ 1 l. 1. **πάλιν**—'back,' see *ἐπανεχώρει*, 'turned back,' above. 34

2. **κατῴκηντο**—cf. I. 120 *ἐν πόρῳ κατῳκημένοις*. 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 ἰδίαν**—*ἰδίαν* cannot mean 'intestine,' and *ἰδίᾳ*, 'by one of the parties,' is very probable; cf. c. 2. It is possible, however, that *ἰδίαν* means 'confined to Colophon,' not extending to Notium.

6. **μάλιστα**—'about.' The date is 430 B.C.

§ 2 l. 9. **οἱ μὲν . . οἱ δέ**—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 διατειχίσματι**—a place divided by a wall from the rest of the town. *διατειχίζειν* 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.

14. **ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους**—for the accus. Krüger quotes Eurip. *frag. Alcmene* ὅμως ἀγῶνα τόνδε δεῖ μ' *ὑπεκδραμεῖν*.

§ 3 l. 16. **τῶν** : the MS. *τὸν* is a form of mistake that is frequent in similar passages in MSS. of Xenophon.

19. **ὁ μέν** after *προκαλεσάμενος* involves an anacoluthon, like that of *Il.* VI. 509 ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐηφι *πεποιθὼς* | *ῥίμφα 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. *Il.* III. 211 ἄμφω δ' *ἐξομένω γεραρώτερος ἦεν* Ὀδυσσεύς.

22. **προσδεχομένων**—the subst. to be supplied, as in I. 3 *ἐπαγομένων αὐτούς*, II. 52 *ἐναποθνῃσκόντων* (sc. *ἀνθρώπων*). Cf. c. 55, 1.

§ 4 l. 28. **οἰκιστάς**—the 'oecists' or 'founders' settled the government and started the new colony, as was usual. Cf. VI. 5 *οἰκιστὴς γενόμενος κατῴκισε* Καμάριναν.

35 § 1 l. 2. As regards Pyrrha and Eresus see c. 18. For Salaethus see c. 25. For the Mytilenaeans 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 ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες*, VI. 24 *ἔρως ἐνέπεσε . . εὐελπίδες ὄντες*, Eur. *Hcc.* 971 *αἰδώς μ' ἔχει . . τυγχάνουσα*.

11. **τήν τε ἄλλην . . καὶ προσξυνελάβοντο**—(1) they reproached them with revolting under specially grave circumstances, *οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι* ; (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 *τήν τε ἄλλην* should be followed by something like *καὶ ὅτι τὰς ναῦς ἐπηγάγοντο*. (As to Classen's insertion of *καί* 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 ἄλλως τε . . καὶ ὁμηροι ἦσαν*. It is frequent in Herod.

13. **προσξυνελάβοντο**—for this reading cf. IV. 47 *ξυνελάβοντο τοῦ τοιούτου οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατάδηλοι ὄντες*. The emphasis is, of course, on the partic. (*τολμήσασαι*), as often. **οὐκ ἐλάχιστον** is adverbial. The other reading, *προσξυνεβάλετο*,

'contributed,' τὸ ἑ. (sc. *μέρος*) τῆς ὁρμῆς being object,—cf. *Ath. Pol.* 19 συνεβάλλετο οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν τῆς ὁρμῆς—is defended by IV. 25 αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προειπόντες and VIII. 9 αἴτιον δὲ ἐγένετο . . οἱ πολλοὶ οὐκ εἰδότες, but the present instance goes further.

15. **οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ βραχείας διανοίας**—'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. **ἄγγελον**—pred. to *τριήρη*.

§ 4 l. 20. **μετάνοιά τις**—*τις* is often added thus to words expressing feelings that rise half involuntarily, as with *ῥώμη, ὄκνος, κατήφεια* ('dejection'), *φειδώ* ('reluctance').

21. **ὠμὸν . . αἰτίους**—in the tragic style, and unusually rhythmical for Thuc. (*πέφευγε τὸ εἶδος*, says Hermogenes): the sentence breaks into two corresponding halves after *πόλιν, μέγα* being elided and *ἢ οὐ*, of course, counting as one long.

22. **μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ**—*ἤ* implies a negative, and any sentence implying a neg. is apt to be strengthened by an expressed neg. (*M. T.* § 815): cf. II. 62 οὐδ' εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ . . ὀλιγωρῆσαι.

§ 5 l. 24. **πρέσβεις**—c. 28.

25. **τῶν Ἀθηναίων**—the order as in c. 22, 5.

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

26. **αἴθις γνώμας προθεῖναι**—'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. **ἔνδηλον ἦν**—the *personal* constr., esp. common with **δῆλος**.

29. **τινας**—'persons': after *τοὺς ἐν τέλει* we should expect *αὐτούς*; 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 *προβατοπώλης*, who had been killed in Caria in the winter. Busolt, however, places the debates in the first *prytany* of the following year, 427–6, when Cleon and those like him were replaced in the *strategia* 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. **τὴν προτέραν**—sc. *γνώμην*, 'proposal,' from *γνῶμαι* above: **νικᾶν** is 'to carry,' as in *νικᾷ ἕτερον ψήφισμα 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. **βιαιότατος**—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 *ἔγνων*, but in sense subj. of *ἄρχειν*. **ἀδύνατον**, 'incapable of,' the neut. as in Homer's *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη*.

3. **ἐν**—of the cause.

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

ὅ τι ἂν . . ἁμάρτητε ἢ . . ἐνδῶτε—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. **οἴκτῳ** is parallel to *λόγῳ πεισθέντες*; supply *αὐτοῖς* to *ἐνδῶτε*.

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 ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν**—repeating words attributed to Pericles at II. 63.

12. **καὶ πρὸς . . ἀρχομένους**—parallel to *τυραννίδα*, the constr. with *πρός* (after *ἀρχή*) like *φιλία* or *πόλεμος πρός*.

13. **οἵ**—very weakly supported by MS. evidence. There is a similar case at IV. **10**, where the MSS. give *τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω· μενόντων μὲν ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίγνεται*, but Dionysius quotes the passage with *δ μενόντων* etc. Without the rel., we must assume an epexegesis of *ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους* with asyndeton.

14. **ἐξ ὧν . . περιγένησθε**—for *ἐξ ἐκείνων ἃ*, 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. *Eth.* IX. **5**, 3 says, *δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπιείκειάν τινα γίνεται, ὅταν τῷ φανῇ καλός τις ἢ ἀνδρεῖος.*

§ 3 l. 18. **ὧν ἂν δόξῃ πέρι**—for *περὶ ἐκείνων ἃ ἂν δόξῃ*, 'as regards measures that we have passed.' Thus the neut. nom. *ἅ* is here attracted as in VII. **67** *βλάπτεσθαι ἀφ' ὧν ἡμῖν παρεσκεύασται.* In (*ἃ*) *ἂν δόξῃ* the allusion is to *ψηφίσματα* passed in the Ecclesia.

χείροσι νόμοις . . ἀκύροις—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 τε 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 *ὠφελιμώτερον* (sc. *πόλει*) and *ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι 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, *frag.*) :

> *γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις*
> *εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἷς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα·*
> *σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας*
> *νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλεῖστον κακόν.*

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

23. **πρός**—'as compared with.'

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

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

27. **ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείζοσιν . . 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 ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἀποδειξάμενος.*)

31. **ἀδυνατώτεροι δὲ . . λόγον**—in *form* exactly parallel to the preceding clause ; but *τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος* is certainly *possessive* gen. to *λόγον*, together with which it refers to *τῶν αἰεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινόν* above. To *ἀδυνατώτεροι* supply *ἢ οἱ ξυνετώτεροι.*

33. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου**—'fair,' free from personal bias, cf. c. **42** ; more often 'on equal terms.' For *ἀγωνιστής* as a 'rhetorical prize-fighter,' Bloomfield cites several exx.

34. **ὀρθοῦνται**—'have a prosperous course' ; cf. particularly II. **60** *πόλιν ὀρθουμένην*)(*σφαλλομένην.* 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 l. 34. **ὥς**—for *οὕτως*, usually only with *καί, οὐδέ, μηδέ*, in prose.

36. **παρὰ δόξαν**—'contrary to our opinion,' not, as in the other cases in Thuc., 'unexpectedly.' (The conjecture *παρὰ τὸ*

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 aiel λεγομένων . . περιγίγνεσθαι and τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος μέμψασθαι λόγον.)

§ 1 l. 1. ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ—similar words are attributed to Pericles, II. 61. 38

6. ἀμβλυτέρᾳ—'with anger more dulled,' when there is delay.

ἀμύνεσθαι—for (τὸ) ἀμύνεσθαι as in Aesch. *Ag.* 191 παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν, and elsewhere in Thuc. The addition of κείμενον (and perhaps ὄν) makes the omission ugly and unusual. Cf. the schol. εἰ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι τῷ παθεῖν ἐγγὺς τεθείη.

8. ἀντίπαλον ὄν . . ἀναλαμβάνει—'is most adequate when it recovers satisfaction': the main emphasis on the partic., as often. If ὄν is omitted, ἀντίπαλον agrees with τιμωρίαν—cf. ἀμβλυτέρᾳ τῇ ὀργῇ above—and both form and sense are improved. (Hude reads τοῦ παθεῖν, takes κείμενον as accus. abs., 'when it is proposed to take vengeance,' and makes ὁ παθών subj. of ἀναλαμβάνει, omitting ὄν with Haase. But what is the point of saying κείμενον ἀμύνεσθαι where the sense calls for ἀμυνόμενος?) Some think ἀναλαμβάνει should be λαμβάνει or ἂν 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 ἢ . . ἤ is between an opponent who wants to show his skill in oratory and one who is bribed to mislead. ἐκπονήσας is co-ordinate with πιστεύσας, and ἐπαιρόμενος 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.

§ 4 l. 21. **θεαταὶ 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 *ἀγῶνες*. (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 *ζητοῦντες ἄλλο τε κτλ.*: all indicative of a topsy-turvy mind and (*b*) only with the latter meaning—which is a natural one—does *οἵτινες κτλ.* give an intelligible reason.)

23. **ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι**—'as practicable': sc. *ὄντα*, cf. VI. 40 *τοὺς λόγους ὡς ἔργα δυναμένους κρινεῖ*.

24. **τὰ δὲ π. ἤδη**—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 *ὄψει* that we need *ἀκροάσει* or *ἀκοῇ* to contrast with it; but the whole clause corresponds to *ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι*, and = *ὡς τὸ ἀκουσθὲν πιστότερον ὂν ἢ τὸ ὀφθέν*: *τὸ ἀκουσθέν itself* contains the contrast to *ὄψει*: instead of saying *τὸ ὀφθέν*, 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 l. 27. **μετὰ καινότητος**—equivalent to a dat. of cause, as I. 32 *μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξῃς δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ*: cf. c. 42, 1.

ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι—sc. *ὄντες*, co-ordinate with *κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες*, the *second* way in which you are *αἴτιοι*: *εὐπαράγωγος εἶ, θωπευόμενός τε χαίρεις κἀξαπατώμενος*, Aristoph. *Eq.* 1115.

28. **μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου**—sc. *λόγου*, 'when an approved argument is stated'; *ξυνέπεσθαι* means 'go with the speaker.' (Another way is to take *ξυνέπεσθαι μετά* closely together, 'to follow the lead of': I prefer the former.)

29. **δοῦλοι ὄντες** κτλ.—the whole down to **ἀποβησόμενα** is epexegetic of **ἄριστοι** (**ὄντες**).

§ 6 l. 30. **καὶ μάλιστα μέν**—co-ordinate with **δοῦλοι ὄντες**. **βουλόμενοι** would have made the sentence more symmetrical, but cf. already *Iliad* IX. 656 *οἱ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐλὼν . . ἦσαν*.

32. **ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι**—i.e. *τοῖς τοιούτοις ῥήτορσι*, who applaud that one of their number who happens to be speaking; 'vying with speakers who use such arguments,' viz. **ἄτοπα**. (It is objected to *τοιαῦτα* that it cannot be referred to *τὰ ἄτοπα* only, after what has preceded. But it is to be noted that *ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν εἰωθότων* is merely parenthetical: had there been a *μέν* after **δοῦλοι**, 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 (*γνώμη* governed by *ἀκολουθῆσαι*) is not so good, because it is the external form, not the meaning, that rivets their attention.

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

προεπαινέσαι—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*) *βραδεῖς* 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—*προαισθέσθαι* and *προνοῆσαι* are plainly meant to be equal in importance. We require *εἰωθότες* to make sound sense. The best solution proposed is to consider *καί* before *προαισθέσθαι* and *εἶναι* as spurious: the whole would then be closely connected with *προεπαινέσαι*.

§ 7 l. 37. **ζητοῦντές τε** κτλ.—again going back to *αἴτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς*, 'seeking something different—one might almost say—from the world in which we live;' dreamers.

39. **ἁπλῶς τε**—a resumption of the substance of the whole sentence.

40. **σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς καθημένοις**—'men sitting as spectators at a display of sophists,' as shown in the *Protagoras*, for example.

39 § 1 l. 1. **ὧν**—neut. (**θεαταῖς** is pred.; but as the comparison is between *θεαταί* and *βουλευόμενοι, καθημένοις* is possibly, as Lincke says, interpolated.)

3. **μίαν πόλιν**—cf. c. 113, 6.

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

7. **νῆσον . . 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. **ἐν ᾧ**—of their condition. **καὶ αὐτοί**—independently of our help.

13. **ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ 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.

14. **μέν γε**—'secession anyhow,' whatever be the truth about *ἐπανάστασις*. For the suppression of the *δέ*-clause after this combination cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 154 *τοῦτο μέν γ' ἤδη σαφές*. (Append. i., Neil, Aristoph. *Equites*).

15. **βίαιόν τι πασχόντων**—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' αὑτούς—'by themselves,' not *μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων στάντες*.

18. **κτώμενοι**—probably conative.

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

τῶν πέλας—'of others.'

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

23. **τὸ μέλλον**—'the future')(*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—*ἐζήτησαν ἡμᾶς διαφθεῖραι*. 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 *ἐλάσσω* that of Athens, seems far-fetched, and his rendering of *τῆς βουλήσεως* is scarcely intelligible.)

26. **ἐν ᾧ**—'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 l. 28. **αἷς ἂν . . ἔλθῃ**—the clause forms the object to *τρέπειν*. **μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου**, 'most fully and most suddenly,' refers to the moment just alluded to in *ἐν ᾧ ᾠήθησαν*; it was *καιρὸς ὡς οὔπω πρότερον*, c. 13, 3. The revolt was not really the unpremeditated thing that Cleon represents it to have been. The **ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία** refers to the difficulties in which Athens was. (The objection to *δι' ἐλαχίστου* 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 πολλά*, after the schol., adverbial accus., and *κατὰ λ. εὐτυχοῦντα* equivalent to *τὰ . . εὐτυχοῦντα*. The constr. intended is clearly *ἀσφαλέστερά (ἐστι) τὰ πολλὰ εὐτυχοῦντα = εἰ εὐτυχεῖ*: cf. II. 13 (*ἔφη*) *τὰ πολλὰ κρατεῖσθαι*. And there is no doubt about the reading being right: *εὐτυχία*, a stable condition, is in contrast with *εὐπραξία*, a single event (cf. I. 33); a calm life unmarred by misfortune constituted *εὐτυχία* (cf. II. 44). Of course *παρὰ δόξαν (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, *διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν*.

33. **ὡς εἰπεῖν ῥᾷον**—'almost more easily.'

§ 5 l. 34. **χρῆν δέ**—they would never have gone *so far* in

their indulgence in *ὕβρις* had we long ago kept a tighter hand on them.

35. **μηδὲν διαφερόντως 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 ὀλίγοις . . 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 . . ἐπέθεντο* in a parenthesis—unless, with Stahl, we understand *πάντες* (*οἱ τοῦ δήμου*) and *ὁμοίως* (*τοῖς ὀλίγοις*).

44. **πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι**—'reinstated in their rights.' For the sense of *πόλις* cf. IV. **106** *πόλεώς τε . . στερισκόμενοι*.

46. **βεβαιότερον**—sc. *τοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν κινδύνου*.

§ 7 l. 46. **τῶν τε ξυμμάχων σκέψασθε . . τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ**—(1) the old explanation of this passage (given by Göller, for instance) was that *τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ* was equivalent to *ἕκαστον*. c. **46**, 2, where *τίνα οἴεσθε ἥντινα οὐ* is independent, is strongly against this. Classen said that *οἴεσθε* 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 *τίς 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 ξυμμάχων*, which, as Classen says, depends not only on *τοῖς . . ἀποστᾶσι*, but also on *τίνα οἴεσθε 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) *τίς ὅστις οὐ* is treated as a single word.

52. **παθεῖν**—a second subject to *ᾖ*.

§ 8 l. 53. **ἀποκεκινδυνεύσεται**—'we shall find exposed to utmost peril.'

55. **τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου, δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν**—the relative clause applies to *τῆς προσόδου* only, the revenue generally, *not* to *τῆς ἔπειτα π.*, the *future* revenue; hence *ἐκεῖθεν* or *ἐπετείου* has been conjectured for *ἔπειτα*, which the schol. already had in the text. Neither conjecture wholly removes the difficulty;

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 *ἰσχύσομεν*, 'through which we may support our power.' **τὸ λοιπόν** is pleonastic after *ἔπειτα*, and perhaps belongs to *δι' ἣν ἰσχύσομεν*.

56. **στερήσεσθε**—'will have to go without.'

§ 1 l. 2. **προθεῖναι**—of the orators. **40**

πιστήν—'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. **ξυγγνώμην ἁμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται**—'that they will be excused for having erred humanly,' i.e. through human frailty not deliberately: *πῶς ἂν τό γ' ἄκον πρᾶγμ' ἂν εἰκότως ψέγοις;* Soph. *OC.* 977.

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

5. **ξύγγνωμον** = *ξυγγνώμης ἄξιον*, as also, perhaps, in IV. **98**, but not elsewhere.

§ 2 l. 7. **τότε**—supply *διεμαχεσάμην* (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* (*διεμαχεσάμην*) 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 *προδεδογμένα* 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 διαμαχοῦμαι.*)

10. **ἐπιεικείᾳ**—'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 *ἐξ ἀνάγκης* points to unwilling subjects; and sentiment so arrogant might well be attributed to Cleon.

15. **ἔξουσι . . ἀγῶνα**—sarcastic, implying 'if they *must* have their *ἀγών*'; cf. c. **38**, 4.

καὶ μή—there is implied prohibition, hence *μή*. The

choice of the constr. is no doubt influenced by the previous *καὶ μή*.

17. **τὸ παθεῖν 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 λοιπόν**—'in the future as in the past.'

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

§ 4 l. 22. **πειθόμενοι μέν**—the steps of the argument, which is difficult to follow to *ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι* 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 (*εἰ γάρ*); (3) even if it is, you must follow the dictates of *Interest* (*εἰ δὲ δή*).

24. **οὐ χαριεῖσθε**—because they will still hate you.

25. **δικαιώσεσθε**—'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. I. **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 . . κολάζεσθαι* (mid.) proceeds on this assumption. If you persist in ruling (*τοῦτο δρᾶν*), even though you have no right to do so, then your interests require that you punish them, as you have others. The only alternative (*ἤ*='otherwise') is, you must give up empire: you must run no risks (*ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου=ἀκινδύνως*) and play an honourable part.

30. **παύεσθαι . . ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι**—Cleon echoes words attributed to Pericles at II. **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.*).

§ 5 l. 31. **τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ**—viz. as that by which *τά τε δίκαια . . καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα 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 *ζημία* 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 οἵσπερ καὶ . . ὑπῆρξαν*. (*b*) Steup 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 μέντοι αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ*. VII. **39**, 1. The reference in the version given above is, it is true, a little remote, but *εἰ δὲ δὴ . . ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι* is practically parenthetical.

32. **οἱ διαφεύγοντες**—cf. *οἱ διαβάλλοντες* c. **4**, *οἱ ἐπαγόμενοι* 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 ξὺν προφάσει**=*ἄνευ προφάσεως ἱκανῆς* 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 *διόλλυνται*, which can only yield a very artificial sense. *Their own* utter destruction is not what they seek. The inf. is of purpose.

38. **ὑφορώμενοι**, 'eyeing with misgiving.' All edd. refer to the famous 'odisse quem laeseris' of Tac. for the sentiment.

39. **ὁ γὰρ . . παθών**—this applies to Athens, which has been attacked *ἄνευ 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 *τότ'* is lost after *παντός*.)

44. **ἀνταπόδοτε**, 'repay.' Cf. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord: I will repay."

45. **πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα** with *μαλακισθέντες*, 'at their present plight,' for *τὸ αὐτίκα παρόν*: the position of the adv. is

not very rare in tragedy, e.g. Aesch. *PV.* 1013 *τῷ φρονοῦντι μὴ καλῶς* (Jebb on Soph. *OT.* 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 ἔπειτα μελλόντων*. (*παραυτίκα* has been conjectured for *παρὸν αὐτίκα*, and *τότε* for *ποτέ*.)

48. **παράδειγμα σαφὲς καταστήσατε . . ζημιωσόμενον**—for the partic., as with *δηλοῦν*, *δῆλον* or *φανερὸν ποιεῖν*, cf. Soph. *El.* 24 *σαφῆ σημεῖα φαίνεις ἐσθλὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγώς*.

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

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

42 § 1 l. 3. **μεμφομένους**—equivalent to *μεμφομένους καὶ ἀξιοῦντας*, the brachylogy being made easier by the preceding *τοὺς προθέντας τὴν δ.*, the persons censured.

5. **δύο . . ὀργήν**—some make *τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήν* 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 μέν**=*τάχος*. This passage is directly aimed at Cleon, who had deprecated *χρόνου 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 *πειθώ*. **διαμάχομαι** as in c. **40**.

10. **ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει**—'he has some private interest.'

13. **φράσαι**—'give guidance.'

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

15. **οὐκ . . ἡγεῖται**—*οὐ* can appear after *εἰ . . μέν*, provided the indic. is used, as in I. **121** *εἰ οἱ μὲν . . οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν*, Xen. *Anab.* VII. **1**, 29 *εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἠθελήσαμεν κατασχεῖν*.

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

§ 3 l. 17. **χαλεπώτατοι δὲ . . ἐπίδειξίν τινα**—'most difficult to meet are those in particular (*καί*) who by anticipation impute (to an opponent) a sort of rhetorical display to get money.' *χαλεπώτατοι* does not mean to exclude the *εὖ διαβαλών*, who also—as the *καί* 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 χρήμασι*, 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. **ἀξυνετώτερος . . ἀδικώτερος**—'judged more of a fool than a knave.' The double compar. as regularly where two qualities in the same object are contrasted: *ἰὼ στρατηγοὶ πλέονες ἢ βελτίονες.*

23. **μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας**—'besides his (seeming) folly,' a characteristic substitute for *μετὰ τοῦ ἀξύνετος γίγνεσθαι.*

§ 4 l. 27. **ἂν πεισθεῖεν**—viz. the state. The change to plur. is made easy by the intervention of *τῶν πολιτῶν.*

§ 5 l. 29. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου**, 'on equal terms,' is parallel to *ἐκφοβοῦντα.*

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 *πιθανώτατοι* (c. **36**, 6). *σώφρων* was esp. associated with those opposed to extreme democracy; cf. c. **62**, 4. For *τῷ πλεῖστα εὖ βουλεύοντι*, 'he whose counsel is generally good,' we should expect, at first sight, something like *τῷ πιστὰ ξυμβουλεύοντι* (conjectured by Weil), 'he whose counsel is followed,' in contrast with *τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης*, in the sense, 'he whose advice is rejected'; cf. *πείσας* and *μὴ τυχών* in § 3, *κατορθῶν* and *ἐπιτυχών* 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 *τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης* is no doubt intentionally ambiguous, for, in contrast with *πείσας*, it does mean 'he who fails to carry his opinion'; but, in contrast with *τῷ εὖ βουλεύοντι*, 'not fortunate in his advice' means '*wrong*.' 'Who fails in counsel' will keep up the two meanings. Cf. Aesch. *PV.* 204 *τὰ λῷστα βουλεύων πιθεῖν . . οὐκ ἠδυνήθην.* (The intentional ambiguity of this passage has escaped notice.)

32. **ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐλασσοῦν**—'but not to curtail . . *either*,' as might happen in the case of his being charged with corruption.

οὐχ ὅπως . . ἀλλὰ μηδέ—*non modo (non) . . sed ne . . quidem.* For the sentiment cf. Demosth. III. **18** *οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα; ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τοῦτον αἰτιάσθω.*

§ 6 l. 36. **πρὸς χάριν**—'to please' the people.

37. **ὀρέγοιτο**—sc. *ἥκιστα ἄν*. **τῷ αὐτῷ** is explained by *χαριζόμενος κτλ.*

43 § **1** l. 2. **καὶ ὑποπτεύηται** *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 *μέν*-clause must be our *though* (cf. Jebb on Soph. *OC.* 1536). But there is no need to supply *δοκῇ* from *ὑποπτεύηται* 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 ἕνεκα τὰ βέλτιστα 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 εὐθέος** is opposed to *ἀπάτῃ* below.

9. **τὰ δεινότατα . . πεῖσαι**—'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 σώφρων 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 περινοίας—'excessive shrewdness,' by which it thinks it detects self-interest in the honest speaker. The word only here.

14. **ἀνθ-υποπτεύεται**—'is *in return* suspected.'

§ **4** l. 15. **χρὴ δὲ . . σκοπούντων**—'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 *μᾶλλόν τι*. **ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε**: 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.'

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

22. **πρὸς ὀργὴν ἥντιν' ἂν τύχητε**—'in the anger of the moment.' Grammatically *ζημιοῦντες* is supplied to *τύχητε*, and *πρός*, according to a common idiom, is repeated to *ἥντινα*; but no doubt the speaker would not be conscious of such ellipse. *ἥντινα* without *ἄν* is according to epic idiom; but it is very probable that *ἥντιν' ἂν* is the true reading. (No other emendation is to be thought of: *ἤν τι ἀτυχῆτε* is impossible, if only because *ἀτυχεῖν* 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. **εἰ**=*ὅτι*.

§ 2 l. 5. **ἤν τε καὶ . . ἐᾶν**—for *εἶεν* most edd. accept *ἐᾶν*= 44
'(I shall not bid you) spare them.' *ἔχοντας*, sc. *ἀποφήνω*, is a conjecture for *ἔχοντες*, and unsatisfactory. The correction is uncertain, and it is doubtful if *οὐ κελεύσω* can be supplied legitimately. It is likely that something is lost before *εἶεν*: e.g. Bergk suggested *οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄξιοι ἂν ξυγγνώμης*. (*εἶεν* 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 ὅ** is rendered 'as for this that.' (1) There is no authority for this phrase used adverbially in this way: hence the conjecture *τούτου*, governed by *τἀναντία*. Otherwise we must assume an anacoluthon. (2) But CG read *τοῦτο ᾧ*, and quite possibly this is right. *τοῦτο ἀντισχυριζόμενος ᾧ* Κλέων *ἰσχυρίζεται*='while maintaining this in opposition to what C. maintains' (cf. *τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι ἀντεροῦντες* I. 73). *περὶ τοῦ . . ἔχοντος* is then epexegetic of *τοῦτο*, just as *ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν . . ἔσεσθαι* is of *ᾧ* (=*ἐκείνῳ ὅ*). Both insist on the *future*, but one on *τὸ ξυμφέρον*, the other on *τὸ καλόν*.

14. **προθεῖσι**—depending on *ξυμφέρον* (*ὑμῖν*), conditional.

§ 4 l. 19. **πρός**—'in view of.'

21. **τῶν δικαίων**—'arguments of justice,' as in Demosth. *de Cor.* 6, 9. To **δεῖν** and **χρησίμως ἔξουσιν** supply *ἡμῖν*.

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

6. **τῷ ἐπιβουλεύματι**—instrumental.

§ 2 l. 7. **πόλις τε ἀφισταμένη**—'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. **τούτῳ**—revolt.

§ 3 l. 12. **ἐπεὶ . . γε**—not a common combination; *Iliad* IX. 425 *ἐπεὶ οὔ σφισιν ἥδε γ' ἑτοίμη*, Pind. *Ol.* IX. 40 *ἐπεὶ τό γε λοιδορῆσαι θεοὺς ἐχθρὰ σοφία*. The *γε* merely emphasizes *διεξεληλύθασι*.

13. **προστιθέντες**—'continually adding to them.' For **εἴ πως** 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 I. **116** *ἐσαγγελθέντων M. T.* § 848, 'transgressions being committed'; (2) sc. *τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων*, which would be internal accus. to *παραβαίνω* in the act. form, as in *ἀδικῶ 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 Gk. 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 ζημία τοῦ θανάτου*. Against this is not so much the fact that Thuc. does not elsewhere use *παραβαίνω* thus, but much more that *παραβαίνω ζημίαν* is stranger than any instance in the orators and that the proximity of *ἀδικημάτων* makes it unnatural.

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

§ 4 l. 19. **δεινότερον . . δέος**—'a terror more terrible'; cf. VII. **68** *ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἔχθιστοι*.

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

ἡ μὲν πενία κτλ.—*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' ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι . . κινδύνους**—'the other condi-

tions of life,' as they arise—temporary rather than permanent: these fill men with a sudden passion (*ὀργῇ*), 'as each (*ξυντυχία*) is overpowered by some irrepressible power'—such e.g. as an overwhelming desire for independence. *ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* corresponds to *τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα* and *τὴν πλεονεξίαν π.* of the other clauses, while *ἀνήκεστόν τι* corresponds to *ἀνάγκη* and *ὕβρις καὶ φρόνημα*. Of the many alterations proposed, only *τὸν ἄνθρωπον* for *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* needs notice. It is not an improvement; for there is a point in *τῶν ἀ.*, 'passion in those men' whom they befall, *always* there, like *πλεονεξία* and *τόλμα*, and ready to be called out by a favourable *ξυντυχία*. (*Not* 'mankind,' which would here be *ἀνθρώπων*, as *ὀργῇ* is without article. It has been proposed to refer *ἑκάστη τις* to *ὀργῇ*, but this would leave *ξυντυχίαι* too vague, and there would be little point in *ἑκάστη τις*.)

§ 5 l. 26. **ἐπὶ παντί**—'in every case' of those just alluded to; cf. *ἐπ' οὐδενὶ 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 *ἐγχείρησιν* 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' ἡμῶν ἐλπίσαντες στῆναι*, V. **113**. (*τύχη* cannot = 'success' here, cf. § 7, nor 'their fortunes.')

30. **ὄντα 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, *πλεῖστα βλάπτουσι* by luring them on. Cf. V. **103** *ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς (ἐλπίδας) καθίστανται*, and the next sentence.

§ 6 l. 31. **ἐπ' αὐτοῖς**—besides *ἔρως* and *ἐλπίς*.

33. **καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων**—'even with insufficient means.'

34. **οὐχ ἧσσον**—i.e. *even more* than men.

35. **περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τε**—sc. *κινδυνεύουσι*. For the *τε*, which, though found only in C, is probably right, cf. IV. **80** *ἑτοίμων ὄντων τρέφειν τε καὶ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει σφᾶς ἐπικαλουμένων*.

36. **μετὰ πάντων . . ἐδόξασεν**—'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 *αὐτῶν* for *αὐτόν*. For *δοξάζω* with personal obj. cf. Xen. *Cyr.* v. 5, 46 *ἀλκιμώτατος δοξάζεται εἶναι.* **ἐπὶ πλέον τι** together.

§ 7 l. 38. **ἁπλῶς**—c. 38, 7.

39. **πολλῆς εὐηθείας, ὅστις**—'(it is a mark) of much simplicity, if anyone supposes.' Cf. Xen. *Hell.* II. 3, 51 *νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, ὃς ἂν . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ.* It would be more usual to have *πολλὴ εὐήθειά (ἐστιν) ὅστις*, or *εὐηθέστατον ὅστις.*

46 § 1 l. 2. **ἐχεγγύῳ**—affording a good *ἐγγύη*, security that other states will not follow the example of Mytilene.

βουλεύσασθαι—'come to a decision.'

4. **οὐκ**—redundant.

5. **ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ**—notice the regular order with *ὅτι* and *ὡς* + superl.

§ 2 l. 7. **καὶ ἀποστᾶσα**—'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 οἴεσθε ἥντινα**—see on c. 39, 7.

12. **παρατενεῖσθαι**—'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—προσιέναι*). The words necessary to complete the sense of the subst. generally follow it, as in I. 18 *τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, but occasionally precede, as in II. 18 *κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἡ σχολαιότης.*

18. **τῷδε**—viz. *τῇ προσόδῳ.*

§ 4 l. 20. **ἀκριβεῖς**—'exacting'; so in I. 99 Thuc. says *ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον* 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 χρήματα* 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 *ἔργῳ φυλασσομένη*.

§ 5 l. 26. **ἐλεύθερον**, by right; **βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον**, in fact. *βίᾳ* = 'in its despite'; cf. I. 43 *μὴ ξυμμάχους δέχεσθε βίᾳ ἡμῶν*, 68. Diodotus alludes to the true position of Lesbos; cf. c. 10.

27. **πρός**—'to the side of.'

§ 6 l. 32. **τούτου**—i.e. *τοῦ ἀφίστασθαι*.

ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον—viz. of the inhabitants.

§ 1 l. 1. **τοῦτο**—internal accus., 'in this.' **47**

§ 2 l. 6. **ἀποστήσασι**—sc. *τὴν πόλιν*.

7. **τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης**—'which is ranging itself against us.'

8. **ἐς πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε**—either *ἔρχεσθε ἐς πόλεμον* or *ἐπέρχεσθε* alone would be usual. Here we must supply *αὐτῇ*, and take *ἐς* 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 κατεστήσαμεν*.

16. **προδειξάντων**—'as you will have published abroad.'

§ 4 l. 18. **καὶ εἰ ἠδίκησαν, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι**—'even if they did wrong, to pass it over.' *μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, dissimulare*, which occurs in several authors, is on the principle of *οὔ φημι*.

19. **ὅ**—'the element.' Thuc. is partial to the neut. sing. collective for a masc. plur.

§ 5 l. 20. **καὶ τοῦτο**—*τοῦτο* anticipates *ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι*: cf. VI. 85 *καὶ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὠφελεῖ, οὐκ ἦν . . . ἀλλ' 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 διαφθεῖραι*. The sentence is illogical, for either *τὸ αὐτό* or *ἅμα* should have been omitted.

§ 1 l. 1. **τάδε**—viz. the proposals about to be made. **48**

2. **πλέον νείμαντες**—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' ἡσυχίαν**—'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 ἐστί*.

10. **ἐπιών**—'if he goes to work.'

49 § 1 l. 3. **ἀντιπάλων**—'equally matched' (here, in argument), a common meaning of *ἀντίπαλος* in Thuc.

4. **ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα 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 ἀγὼν εὐψυχίας* Eur. *Med.* 403, and *βούλευμα* or *ψήφισμα* would be expected for 'decree' here.

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

§ 3 l. 14. **οἴνῳ . . πεφυραμένα**—'barley-meal kneaded with wine . .,' into cakes, *μᾶζαι*, of the kind called *οἰνοῦνται*. *φυρᾶν*, not *φύρειν*, is the form of the word in this sense.

§ 4 l. 21. **ὅσον . . ἀνεγνωκέναι**—'as for him to have read,' like *ὅσον ἀποζῆν* in I. **2**. *ὅσον* practically = *ὥστε*.

23. **ὑστέρα 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 *ἐπιβοηθεῖν*: we expect such an allusion here, and Steup suggests *αὐτίκ'* for *αὐτῆς*.

24. **παρὰ τοσοῦτον . . ἦλθε**—this and similar phrases—*παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθεῖν*, *παρ' οὐδὲν ἐ.*—are followed either by gen. or, more often, infin.; e g. Herod. IX. **33** *παρ' ἓν πάλαισμα ἕδραμε νικᾶν*. *παρὰ τοσοῦτον* = 'within, up to, so short a distance.' *κίνδυνος*

means the danger of destruction, and the gen. is the same as with *ἐγγύς*.

§ 1 l. 2. **ἀπέπεμψεν**—to Athens ; see cc. **28**, **35**, **48**. 50

5. **χιλίων** — the number is astonishing, and nothing approaching it is suggested by anything in the preceding narrative. Hence it is thought that ,Α = *χιλίων* is a corruption of Λ' = *τριάκοντα*.

§ 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 *κλῆρος* to about 96 acres (as Clinton says) ; but, of course, not the whole of the *κλῆρος* would be under cultivation. Apparently all the land was owned by oligarchs. The new *κλῆροι* 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. **ἑκάστου** with *κλήρου*. The mid. denotes a reciprocal arrangement. **ἀργυρίον** is prob. object of *φέρειν*, and **δύο μνᾶς** with the gen. is in appos. to it.

§ 3 l. 15. **τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ**—several places called Ἀκταῖαι *πόλεις*—Antandros being one. These became tributary allies.

§ 1 l. 2. **Νικίου**—first mention of him in Thuc. 51

4. **ἣ κεῖται . . ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῇ**—it is not usual to have the rel. repeated in the second clause (VI. **4** *τὸ χωρίον οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὃ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη*), unless the one is pos., the other neg., as in II. **43** *οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ 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 maiestas sententia depulerat*. So, too, in Engl., as Hooker '*Whom* though to know be life, and joy to make mention of *His* name,' Macauly '*To whom* she seemed to listen, but did not hear *them*.'

§ 2 l. 7. **τὴν φυλακὴν . . εἶναι**—Athens had at least one *φρούριον* at Salamis, and a few ships there maintained a not very efficient blockade of the port of Megara.

9. **τούς τε Πελοποννησίους**—parallel to *τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν*

. . ἐσπλεῖν, and probably, like that clause, depending on τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φυλακὴν εἶναι=τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φυλάσσεσθαι. This κατὰ σύνεσιν constr. cannot be paralleled in prose, but it would be ordinary in tragedy: see Jebb on Soph. *Antig.* 216. Thus τοὺς II. is the anticipatory accus., for ὅπως οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κτλ.: the differing constr., first ὅπως, then infin., after a single verb, is not unusual. (Several emendations have been proposed, of which πρός τε Πελ., depending on φυλακὴν εἶναι and τούς τε Πελ. σκοπῶν are worth notice.)

10. **μὴ ποιῶνται . . 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 (II. **93**).

§ 3 l. 13. **ἑλὼν οὖν . . προύχοντε**—when, as in the case of Megara (I. **103**), a city had long walls running down to its harbour, it was usual to prolong the walls across the mouth, and to leave only a small passage between two towers, forming what was called a κλησιὸς λιμήν. ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας προύχοντε are to be taken together. The order is unusual, but (1) ἀπὸ τῆς N. gains prominence by its position (cf. Jebb on Soph. *Antig.* 325), (2) it is certainly not stranger than II. **7** πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τἀκείνων ἑλομένοις, where ἐξ . . Σικελίας goes with ἑλομένοις. (If taken with ἑλών, ἀπὸ τῆς N. is rendered either (*a*) 'on the side toward N.,' or (*b*) 'on the side away from N.' But (1) in *either* case δύο πύργω 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*) ἀπό='at a distance from' with a verb of *rest*. If not taken with προύχοντε, ἀπὸ τῆς N. would naturally='starting from N.,' with N. for a base; (3) with (*a*) it is impossible to explain καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, which must denote a different place from ἀπὸ τῆς N.)

15. **ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου**—supply καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, as in Dem. *de Cor.* **26** τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον τῶν ὅρκων, 'the interval between (that time, and) the oaths,' Aristoph. *Av.* 187 ἐν μέσῳ δήπουθεν ἀήρ 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 χώρας, but on the whole this seems less likely.)

16. **ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠ.**—'he proceeded to build a wall on the side facing the mainland as well,' apparently at the island end of the bridge. The *καί* refers to *πρῶτον*.

§ 4 l. 20. **καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος**—the *καί* refers to *ἀπετείχιζε τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου*. (We cannot be confident 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. 52
frequent with *ἀδικεῖσθαι*, and found occasionally both in Greek and Latin.

§ 2 l. 8. **εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν**—sc. *βίᾳ μὴ ἐλεῖν*. But this is just what the Pel. *had* tried to do in 429 B.C.: their views had changed.

11. **ὅσα πολέμῳ 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 ξυμβούλους κελεύοντες*.

εἰ βούλονται . . οὐδένα—in this perplexing sentence. it is best (1) to make *παραδοῦναι* and *χρήσασθαι* depend on *βούλονται*: (2) to make *τούς τε . . οὐδένα* the apodosis to this protasis. Then (1) *τε . . δέ* correspond (I. 11, 1, 25, 3, VI. 83, 1, VII. 81, 3, and in other authors not very seldom); (2) *κολάζειν* = 'they are ready to punish,' unless we accept the conjecture *κολάσειν*. For the outline of the syntax cf. VII. 3 *προπέμπει . . λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται ἐξιέναι . . ἑτοῖμος εἶναι σπένδεσθαι*. (It is impossible to render *εἰ* 'whether,' as though *λέγοντα* were *ἐρωτῶντα*.)

§ 3 l. 21. **ἐν ὅσῳ**—cf. c. 28, 1.

§ 4 l. 27. **ἀγαθόν τι**—the second *τι* is not impossible, but, in view of 53, 2, 68, 1, it is improbable.

§ 5 l. 28. **προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν** is generally rendered 'having appointed as their advocates,' but, in view of VI. 100 *τριακοσίους σφῶν αὐτῶν . . προύταξαν* (cf. c. 112 below), Hude is probably right in taking the gen. as *partitive*.

30. **Αἰειμνήστου**—a celebrated man, who had commanded the Plataeans at Marathon and Plataea.

§ 1 l. 2. **πιστεύσαντες . . οἰόμενοι . . καὶ . . δεξάμενοι . . 53
ἡγούμενοι**—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 *οἰόμενοι* and *ἡγούμενοι* stand in causal relation to these respectively; or (2) *οἰόμενοι 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 (*α*) *οἰόμενοι καὶ δεξάμενοι*—with either *ἐν* or *ἂν 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 *οἰόμενοι*. 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 *οἰόμενοι καὶ δεξάμενοι*—that gives the *cause*; then this partic. itself develops another causal to itself; cf., for instance, c. **110** *ἀγγέλλεται τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπιβοηθεῖν, βουλομένους . . ξυμμεῖξαι, εἰδόταις 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 δικασταῖς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι**—the MSS. have *ἐν ἄλλοις*, and for the repetition of the prep. in apposition VI. **68** *ἦλθον 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, *ἂν δεξάμενοι*, 'would have consented to appear before no other judges,' gives a better sense than *δεξάμενοι*.

6. **ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν**—'as we are actually doing.'

§ **2** l. 8. **ἀμφοτέρων**—*τὸ νόμιμον* and *τὸ ἴσον*.

9. **ἡμαρτήκαμεν**—the subj. perf., of what may turn out afterwards to have been the case, might have been used.

13. **λόγον**—i.e. *μακρότερα εἰπεῖν*, c. **52**, 5.

14. **τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὄν**—accus. abs. co-ordinated with the preceding gen. abs., both expressing cause.

τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ is obj. of *ἀποκρίνασθαι*; the infin. clause is subj. to *γίγνεται*. Hence **ἐναντία**, sc. *ἡμῖν*, is for *ἐναντίον*, which is awkward after *τὰ ἀληθῆ*: some think *ἐναντίον* should be read. (The other view, that *ἀποκρίνασθαι* is epexegetic, *ἀληθὴς ἀποκρίνασθαι*, is most improbable, and *ᾧ* is then grammatically impossible.)

15. **τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ**—sc. *ἀποκρίνασθαι*.

16. **ἔλεγχον ἔχει**—'can be confuted.'

§ 3 l. 18. **εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν**—'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** *βουλόμενοι δράσαντές τι καὶ* ('then') *κινδυνεῦσαι*, Soph. *OC.* 1038 *χωρῶν ἀπείλει* 'threaten, but go,' *Trach.* 592 *εἰδέναι χρὴ δρῶσαν* 'you must act, if you would know.'

ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος=*τὸ τὸν λόγον μὴ ῥηθῆναι*, a frequent constr. in Greek and Silver Latin; cf. c. **66**, 3, Demosth. *Olynth.* III. **34** *οἶκοι μένων βελτίων*=*τὸ μένειν αὐτὸν βέλτιόν ἐστι*. See also c. **66**, 3. The neg. in the phrase is regularly *μή*, 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 l. 22. **ἀγνῶτες . . ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι**—the subject contracts, being first *both* parties, but then the Plataeans only: this freedom is characteristic of Thuc.

24. **πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα λελέξεται**—'you know all that can be said.'

26. **ἡμῶν** with *προκαταγνόντες* as well as *ἀρετάς*, 'having formed the prejudice against us, that our merits'; cf. c. **45**, 1.

27. **αὐτό**—viz. *τὸ ἥσσους εἶναι κτλ.*

ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες—'gratifying others,' viz. the Thebans. The subject of *φέροντες* would more naturally be the Lacedaemonians: if the text is sound—*φερόντων* has been conjectured—we recall the principle *qui facit per alium facit per se*.

§ 1 l. 1. **δίκαια**—cf. c. **44**, 4. **54**

πρὸς . . ἐς—no difference of meaning.

2. **Θηβαίων**=*πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους*.

§ 2 l. 10. **φίλους νομίζοντας**=*εἰ φίλους νομίζετε* (*ἡμᾶς*).

§ 3 l. 11. **τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ**—adverbial. The art. covers *πρός*.

§ 4 l. 15. **καὶ γάρ**—(1) this could be taken together, =*etenim*, or (2) a correlative for *καί* could be sought in what follows, or (3) *καί* could be supposed to emphasize the concessive force of

ἠπειρῶται ὄντες: most probably (1) is right, though some deny this use for Thuc.

16. **μάχῃ**—temporal, without *ἐν*; this dat. is used several times by Thuc. The Plataeans were always proud of the fact that the battle had been fought on their soil.

§ 5 l. 21. **καὶ ὑμῖν . . ἰδίᾳ**—as distinct from their services to the common cause.

22. **ὅτεπερ δή**—'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** *ἡ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμόνη γενομένη*, c. **67**, 3.

55 § 1 l. 4. **δεομένων γὰρ ξυμμαχίας**—in 519 or 509 B.C. (see on c. **68**, 5) Plataea, *πιεζεύμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων* (Herod. VI. **108**), applied to king Cleomenes to be admitted to alliance with Sparta.—Note (1) absence of noun with *δεομένων*, see c. **34**, 3 n.: (2) gen. abs. though *ἀπεώσασθε* follows, a common sacrifice of form to sense in Herod. and Thuc.; for this variety cf. II. **5** *ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ πάλιν* (sc. *αὐτῶν*) *ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς*.

7. **ἀποικούντων**—for the case here cf. II. **8** *ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ προειπόντων*.

§ 2 l. 7. **ἐν . . τῷ πολέμῳ**—viz. 'this war,' as often in Thuc.

§ 3 l. 10. **οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν**—*εἰ* = *ὅτι*, 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. **εὖ παθών**—what services Plataea had received from Athens *before* she 'won the alliance' of 519 (or 509) B.C. is not known. **τις**, 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. Neaer.* do not make this assumption impossible. But in II. Thuc. speaks only of a *ξυμμαχία* 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 *ὧν* omitted see c. **51**, 1 n.

§ 4 l. 17. **ἃ . . ἐξηγεῖσθε**—*ἃ* is internal accus., and *ἐξηγεῖσθε*,

which is used of the orders issued by the head of a confederacy is imperf.

§ 1 l. 1. **πολλὰ μὲν . . ἠδίκησαν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον . . ξύνιστε**—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 ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἥκετε*. 56

§ 2 l. 4. **καταλαμβάνοντας**—conative.

5. **ἱερομηνίᾳ**—the attack occurred *τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός* (II. 2), but whether the holiday was connected with the new moon is unknown. The attempt was made at about ten o'clock (*περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον*) on the night, probably, of April 4, 431.

§ 3 l. 9. **εἰ 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 *ὑμῶν* 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. *δι' οἴκτου λ.* (Eur. *Suppl.* 194), and c. **59**, 1.

§ 4 l. 15. **ἡμεῖς**—sc. *ἦμεν*, as the sense shows.

16. **μείζονι**—viz. than you now are, from the Athenians.

§ 5 l. 23. **ἐν καιροῖς οἷς**—i.e. *ἐν οἷς*, according to a common idiom, e.g. Dem. XIX. **342** *ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς* (*ἐφ'*) *ἥσπερ νῦν ἐξουσίας . . μενεῖ*. To *ἐν καιροῖς*, 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 ἔ.* belongs to *ξύμφορα* rather than to *πράσσοντες*: cf. II. **3** *ᾗ ἕκαστον ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι*.

26. **ἀσφαλείᾳ**—'securely,' as in c. **82** *ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι*, 'to make plans in security,' Soph. *OT.* 51 *ἀλλ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τήνδ' ἀνόρθωσον πόλιν*.

§ 6 l. 28. **ὧν**—partitive.

29. **ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς**—i.e. because we have again chosen *τὸ ἀγαθόν* (cf. *δικαίως* presently) rather than *τὸ ἀσφαλές* (cf. *κερδαλέως*).

§ 7 l. 34. **τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς** κτλ.—lit. 'when, while feeling (*ἔχουσι* with *ὑμῖν*) lasting gratitude towards brave allies,

what is perhaps (*που*) 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 *ἔχουσι* for MSS. *ἔχωσι*, which cannot be satisfactorily explained, seems certain. For the dat. *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς* depending on a dat. *ἔχουσι* cf. [Xen.] *de Rep. Ath.* **1** 6 *τοῖς ὁμοίοις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀγαθά* 'for those like themselves.' It is impossible to find a subject for *ἔχωσι*, and Mr. Spratt's rendering of *τὴν χάριν ἔχωσι* 'command a recognition' is incorrect. That this passage, however, is completely restored by reading *ἔχουσι*, it would be rash to assume.)

57 § **1** l. 1. **προσκέψασθε**—as *προ-σκοπεῖν* always implies a look into the *future*, there is much to be said for the conjecture *προσ-σκέψασθε* 'consider *besides*' here, for advice to consider the future has already been given in the preceding chapter. But as the Spartan reputation for *ἀνδραγαθία* 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 τὰ εἰκότα**—a neg. is not seldom placed before the article or preposition (*οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ*).

6. **ἐπαινούμενοι**—viz. as models of *ἀνδραγαθία*.

οὐδ'—'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** l. 12. **τοὺς μὲν πατέρας . . ὑμᾶς δέ**—'if you, whose fathers . . ,' the first clause being subord. to the second. Generally *δεινόν* is followed by *εἰ* in such cases.

13. **τὸν τρίποδα**—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.)

15. **πανοικεσίᾳ**—after *πόλιν* and **Πλάταιαν** this means (as Steup points out) 'with all its houses,' not 'household and all' as in II. 16.

§ 3 l. 16. **τοῦτο**—referring to what precedes.

18. **ἀπωλλύμεθα**—Plataea was burnt by Xerxes. The rendering 'we were all but destroyed' is borne out by other passages; e.g. Andoc. *de Myst.* § 41.

ἐν—as in *κρίνεσθαι ἐν.*

19. **ἀγῶνας**—'hazards.'

20. **τότε**—referring to the siege of Plataea, *τότε* being frequently used of a well-known occasion.

§ 4 l. 22. **περιεώσμεθα**, 'we are outcasts.' **πάντων** is probably masc.; cf. *ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ* 'Ελληνικοῦ above.

24. **ἀτιμώρητοι**—'unsuccoured.'

27. **βέβαιοι**—'faithful.'

§ 1 l. 2. **ξυμμαχικῶν**—i.e. the gods by whom the oath to be true to the alliance was taken. 58

5. **τήν τε δωρεὰν . . 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.' *ἀντ-απαιτῆσαι* means, in answer to the favour *they* have asked of you—viz. *κτείνειν ὑμᾶς.* To this explanation rather than 'in return for our services,' *εἴ τι ἐπείσθητε* and *ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς* (*χάριτος*) point, and this is the natural force of *ἀντι-*, as in *δρῶν ἀντιπάσχω χρηστά*, and so on; cf. *ἀντιλαβεῖν* presently. The subj. of *ἀνταπαιτῆσαι* is *ὑμᾶς*, and *αὐτούς* means the Thebans. The *μή* after *οὕς* is because the rel. clause is subord. to an infin. In this series of four co-ordinate infin. clauses, the *second* and *third* have *τε*, the *fourth* has *καί.*

7. **σώφρονα**—from us, in contrast with **αἰσχρᾶς**, from them.

8. **κακίαν**—'ill-fame,' character of *κακοί*, as e.g. in Soph. *Ant.* 924 quoted on c. 82, 8.

§ 2 l. 12. **κατ' ἀνάγκην**—as explained in c. 55, 1.

§ 3 l. 13. **ὥστε καὶ . . ποιοῦντες . . καὶ προνοοῦντες**—this is not clearly expressed, for the *first* participial clause states what follows from the previous sentence; but *καὶ προνοοῦντες κτλ.* contains a new point (*ἐκόντας . . προισχομένους*), and should scarcely have been co-ordinated with *ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες.*

14. **ποιοῦντες**—supply *ἡμῖν* : it is not clear whether *ἡμῶν* is similarly to be supplied to *προνοοῦντες*.

16. **νόμος**, the unwritten law ; cf. cc. **66**, **67**. Prisoners who had not surrendered voluntarily were often killed. Appeals to the *νόμος ἄγραφος*, *πάτριος νόμος*, *νόμιμα πάσης* Ἑλλάδος are very frequent ; and of course the *Antigone* is full of the *ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα*. In Xen. *Mem.* IV. **4**, 19 Hippias defines the *ἄγραφοι νόμοι* as *οἱ ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ κατὰ ταὐτὰ νομιζόμενοι*.

§ **4** l. 22. **ἐσθήμασι**—robes *burned* as offerings, probably, and not *worn* by the officials. The plur., joined with *νομίμοις* and *ἀπαρχάς* 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. **ἐπιφέροντες**—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. **ὁμαίχμοις** is an old-fashioned word, perhaps intended to recall the old times.

§ **5** l. 32. **αὐθένταις**—as having sided with the Persians. Another old-fashioned word.

36. **ἱερά τε . . ἀφαιρήσεσθε**—there are three difficulties here :—(1) *ἐρημοῦτε*, 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 ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι*. Stahl reads *ἐρημοῦντες* 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 *ἀφαιρήσεσθε* ('you will take from'), not on *θυσίας*. The objection, that the Plataeans will *ex hypothesi* 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 *ἀφαιρήσεσθε* '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 ἠλευθερώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες and ἐκράτησαν (οἱ Ἕλληνες). (The νόμιμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων 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 ὁμαίχμοις and αὐθένταις.

§ 1 l. 2. τάδε—the conduct deprecated in the last c., which conduct is now summarized in οὔτε . . οὔτε. 59

7. οἰκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας—'regarding (the case) with prudent compassion.' The point of σώφρονι is given in ἀλλ' . . ξυμπέσοι. The obj. of λαμβάνειν in this sense is omitted also in VI. 61.

9. ὡς . . ξυμπέσοι—the subj. of ξυμπέσοι—τὸ τῆς ξ.—is anticipated.

§ 2 l. 11. πρέπον—sc. ἐστί.

13. ὁμοβωμίους; 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 προφερόμενοι.

15. μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν—Cobet pronounced these words spurious: the only constr. they can fairly bear is with προφερόμενοι ὅρκους, but, as ἡμεῖς is the subj. of the other infins., this is awkward. (ὤμοσαν would require fut. or aor. infin.: order and the addition of τῶν π. τάφων are against ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα.) 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 ἐχθίστοις—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. ᾗ . . ἐν τῇδε—ἐν should not be made to apply to ᾗ, as this kind of idiom (Aesch. *Sept.* 1032 μητρὸς ταλαίνης κἀπὸ

δυστήνου πατρός) is confined to poetry (Wilamowitz on Eur. *HF.* 237).

21. **πράξαντες . . κινδυνεύομεν** — a compressed form of *ἐπράξαμεν, νῦν δέ κτλ.* For *νῦν* we might have expected the *εἶτα* of inconsistency.

§ 3 l. 22. **ὅπερ δέ**—the rel. clause qualifies *πανόμενοι*, for which we might have had *ποιοῦντες*.

24. **λόγου τελευτᾶν**—epexegetic of *ὅπερ*. The gen. with *τελευτᾶν* again in c. **104**. If you '*begin*' with a gen., you may naturally '*end*' with one.

25. **μετ' αὐτοῦ**—viz. *τοῦ τελευτᾶν*.

29. **ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας**—i.e. as we were before we capitulated.

30. **τὸν ξυντυχόντα**—'any that comes'; cf. *ὁ τυχών*.

§ 4 l. 35. **ἱκέται ὄντες**—'as suppliants.' The likeness of this peroration to the poignant appeals in Euripides should be noticed.

61 § 1 l. 2. **καὶ αὐτοί**—'they on their part'; I. **51**, Xen. *Hell.* VII. **1**, 7.

τὸ ἐρωτηθέν—cf. Xen. *Mem.* IV. **2**, 23 *τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἀποκρίνεσθαι*.

6. **οὐδὲ ἠτιαμένων** — best taken as agreeing with *αὐτῶν*, 'and moreover when they have not even been accused.' The alternative, neut. depending on *ἀπολογίαν*, 'of conduct that was far from being made a charge against them,' produces tautology with *ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο*. **καὶ ἅμα** adds something of special importance, often in Thuc.; Xen. *Cyr.* I. **4**, 25 *καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίδας ἔχων*.

8. **πρὸς μὲν τά**—cf. c. **82** *ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ*. This is the *ordinary* order when a prep. occurs with *ὁ μέν* or *ὁ δέ*, e.g. Isocr. II. **18** *ἵνα τὰς μὲν φεύγωσι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς προθυμότερον ἔχωσιν*.

10. **κακία** referring to the *κατηγορία*, **δόξα** to the *ἀπολογία καὶ ἔπαινος* of the Plat.: not *ironical*, as the schol., but the use noticed above, c. **58**, 1. **τούτων** is masc.; cf. *ἡμετέρα* and *οὗτοι* below.

§ 2 l. 13. **ἡμῶν**—the Boeotian migration from Thessaly.

16. **ξυμμείκτους**—Pelasgians, Thracians, Hyantians (Strabo).

18. **ἡγεμονεύεσθαι** — i.e. to acknowledge the *ἡγεμονία* of Thebes in Boeotia.

20. προσηναγκάζοντο—an attempt to make them observe *τὰ πάτρια*. See c. 65, 2.

§ 2 l. 5. οὐ belongs to *μηδίσαι*. 62

6. Ἀθηναίους—attraction to case of *αὐτούς*.

ἰδέᾳ—'method.'

§ 3 l. 8. καίτοι . . εἶδει—'you must surely consider the conditions under which.'

10. ἐτύγχανεν . . πολιτεύουσα—'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. ἰσόνομον—where all the nobles are equal, and their rights are fixed by laws. But in a *δυναστεία* 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 πλῆθός τι χρημάτων*, as Theopompus or Cratippus says. (Several conjj. have been made on this unusual expression, e.g. *τῷ σώφρονι πάντων* Herw. : *τῷ σωφρονεστέρῳ* Hude.)

14. τυράννου—for *τυραννίδος* : so *δῆμος* for *δημοκρατία*.

§ 4 l. 15. οὗτοι . . σχήσειν—'these in the hope of winning power for themselves in yet greater degree.'

18. καὶ . . ἔπραξεν—'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. ἐπιόντων τήν τε ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα καὶ . . πειρωμένων—as *τε* cannot mean 'and' here, but must be correlative to *καί*, it is clear that *ἐπιόντων* governs *τὴν* . . Ἑλλάδα, and that the introduction of *πειρωμένων* changes the constr. ; cf. cc. 67, 6, 94, 3 (so Steup).

26. ἐχόντων—after the battle of Oenophyta, 458 B.C. The battle of Coronea in 446 forced the A. to abandon Boeotia.

§ 1 l. 4. πάσης—'any,' inclusive, a common use of *πᾶς* and its derivative adverbs. 63

§ 2 l. 6. ἡμετέρᾳ—objective ; II. 42 *τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν*.

8. τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς—adverbial, *ἵνα ἡμᾶς τιμωροῖσθε*.

10. **ὑπάρχον**—sc. *μὴ ξυνεπιέναι*. **γε** gives a *causal* sense to a partic.

14. **προβάλλεσθε**—as a *defence*; cf. I. 37 *τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον προβέβληνται*.

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. **δέ 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-προδοῦναι**—'*utterly* to betray'; so prob. in *καταδουλουμένους*.

§ 4 l. 26. **τοῖς δέ**=*ἐκείνοις δέ*.

27. **καίτοι . . ἀποδιδομένας**—'surely failure to return favours with like favours (cf. *ἴσην* 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 . . τἀναντία**—'because the A. did not either, and we did, from your wish' etc. *ἡμεῖς* is much better than *ὑμεῖς*, giving antithesis to *Ἀθηναῖοι*, as in *τοῖς μὲν . . τοῖς δέ*: cf. c. 63, 3. **βουλόμενοι** applies to the Plat.

§ 2 l. 6. **ἀπὸ τούτων**—emphatic resumption of the attracted rel.

8. **ξυναγωνίζεσθε**—'continue their allies,' in mockery.

§ 3 l. 11. **Αἰγινήτας**—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. **διεκωλύετε**—sc. *ἄλλους καταδουλοῦσθαι*.

16. **περιτειχίζεσθαι**—'before the siege was begun.'

17. **ἡμῶν**—'on our side.' This demand had been made by K. Archidamus, but the Theb. adopt it.

§ 4 l. 18. **τοῖς Ἕλλησι**—the dat. of agent with other parts than perf. of pass. is not uncommon in Thuc.

20. **ἀνδραγαθίαν**—in remaining true to Athens.

21. **οὐ . . ἐπεδείξατε**—'you have now shown not to belong to your nature.' Thuc. does not use *ἐπιδεικνύναι* in this sense elsewhere, but other authors, e.g. the orators, do. It is prob. unnecessary to read *ἀπεδείξατε* or *ὑπεδείξατε*. Steup renders 'you showed afterwards.'

23. **ἐξηλέγχθη ἐς τὸ ἀληθές**—'has been conclusively demonstrated.'

§ 2 l. 9. **ἀδικοῦμεν**—'are guilty,' as often. 65

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. **καταστῆσαι**—'bring you into line with.'

§ 3 l. 16. **πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι**—they were *οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων* (II. 3); cf. § 2. For the verb cf. c. **14**, 1.

18. **φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως κομίσαντες**—cf. the *αὐτοί* and *πολέμιοι* of § 2, and c. **66** *οὐ πολεμίως ἐπράσσομεν* 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 *φιλίους* and *πολεμίους*. 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 γενέσθαι**—*χείρους* and *ἀμείνους* have a political meaning here, and are scarcely felt as comparatives: hence *μᾶλλον* is natural; 'should henceforth not get more so.'

21. **σωφρονισταὶ . . οἰκειοῦντες**—adopting Weil's view that *γνώμης* and *σωμάτων* must be under the same governance, and that there must be a real antithesis between *ἀλλοτριοῦντες* and *οἰκειοῦντες*, 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 ἀλλοτριοῦντες*. *σωφρονισταί* of the party opposed to extreme democracy; cf. c. **82**, 8. (For the antithesis of *σῶμα* and *γνώμη*, Andoc. *de Red.* **24**.)

23. **ἐχθροὺς . . ἐνσπόνδους**—"sc. *ὑμᾶς*; 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 *σπονδαί*, but not on conditions peculiar to herself. *ἅπασι* depends on *ὁμοίως*" (Prof. Lamberton).

66 § 1 l. 2. **προείπομέν τε** κτλ.—the account corresponds very closely with the narrative of the attempt on Plataea in II. 2 f.

§ 2 l. 9. **πλήθους**—often used of the *majority*.

10. **μήτε . . ἐξελθεῖν**—explaining *τὰ ὁμοῖα*.

12. **οὓς μὲν . . ἀλγοῦμεν**—the sentence takes an unexpected turn: instead of *τοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτείνατε* we get a comment on that action. The *rel.* in each case is *causal*, =*ὅτι τοὺς μέν*: cf. 1. 68 *τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν* (=*ἐπεὶ ἡμῶν*) *τοὺς μὲν . .*, IV. 26 *ἀθυμίαν δὲ πλείστην ὁ χρόνος παρεῖχε, οὓς* (=*ὅτι αὐτοὺς*) *ᾤοντο ἐκπολιορκήσειν*.

16. **παρανόμως**—see c. 58, 3.

§ 3 l. 17. **κἀνταῦθα**—this emendation of *καὶ ταῦτα* seems necessary, since *ταῦτα τρεῖς ἀδικίας* for 'these as three wrongs' is unexampled.

19. **λυθεῖσαν**—for the constr. see on c. 53, 3.

21. **κτείνειν**—the *pres.* depends on the subst.: but the verb (*ὑπισχνοῦμαι*) always has the *fut.*

25. **αὐτῶν**—*αὐτά* referring to what has been mentioned, as often.

67 § 1 l. 4. **ἡμεῖς δέ**—to supply *εἰδῶμεν* is grammatically necessary; 'that we may know after your condemnation that we have yet more rightly taken vengeance on them.' To *ἔτι ὀσιώτερον* 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 *ὦμεν*, and to assume an assimilation of finite verb to the previous partic. clause, as Hude, who compares Xen. *Mem.* II. 3, 17.

§ 2 l. 6. **ἀκούοντες**—'by the account of.' *ἀκούων*, like *κλύων*, 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. **ὧν**—see on c. 2, 1 l. 3.

17. **οἱ δὲ . . λελειμμένοι**—'others left behind in old age and their homes desolate.' The emendation *κατ' οἰκίας* or *καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι*, is necessary. The latter is better, because *οἰκίαι ἐρῆμοι* should certainly be co-ordinate with *οἱ δέ*, so as to correspond with *τὴν σφετέραν* **ἐρημίαν**.

§ 4 l. 21. **τὰ ἐναντία**—adverbial.

22. **ἐπίχαρτοι**—sc. *ἄξιοί εἰσι*.

§ 5 l. 25. **δίκῃ κρίναντες** together correspond to *μίσει*.

26. **οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες**—i.e. they *will not have done so*, because the penalty will be *ἔννομα*: whereas our suffering was *ἄνομα* (§ 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 *ἂν ἀνταποδόντες*, or to read *ἀνταποδόντες ἐς νῦν*: (2) or, keeping *ἀνταποδόντες*, to start a new sentence at *καὶ οὐκ*, placing *ἔννομα γάρ* in parenthesis. It does not seem possible to separate the latter from *πείσονται*. 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. **ὧν πρόθυμοι γ.**—see § 3.

34. **τοῖς λόγοις**—dat. of *cause*.

37. **ὧν . . ὄντων** depends on *ἀπαγγελία*.

39. **ἔπεσι**—'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. **ποιήσησθε**—attraction to *ὑμεῖς*, as in 1. **82** *ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιβουλευόμεθα*.

§ 1 l. 4. **εἰ . . πεπόνθασι** is the *ἐπερώτημα*. 68

5. **τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον**—'all along.'

6. **δῆθεν**—always ironical, signifying that this is not the true reason.

7. **μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον**—usually *μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά*.

8. **καὶ (ἠξίουν) ὅτε . . οὐκ ἐδέξαντο**—it is impossible to make grammar of the sentence with *ὅτε . . ἃ . . ὡς* in. Each word has been altered: the removal of *ἃ* seems most likely; 'and particularly, when afterwards the offer that they made of remaining neutral according to that convention was refused.'

10. **ἡγούμενοι**—this gives the *reason* for *νομίζοντες . . ἐδέξαντο*.

τῇ . . βουλήσει—'by their own just intention,' i.e. *they* had tried their best to conform to the *σπονδαί*: it was the fault of the Plat. that the Lac. have fair grounds for regarding the *σπονδαί* at an end..

12. **τὸ αὐτό**—obj. of *ἐρωτῶντες*, so that *παραγαγόντες καί* breaks the constr.; cf. Soph *Antig.* 1279 *τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις | ἔοικας ἥκειν καὶ τάχ' ὄψεσθαι κακά*, where *τὰ δ' ἐν δ.* is governed by *ὄψεσθαι*.

§ 2 l. 20. **ἠνδραπόδισαν**—'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. **Θηβαῖοι**—removed by Classen, who maintained that the true subj. of *ἔδοσαν* is the Lac.; but cf. c. **58**, 5 *εἰ . . χώραν τὴν Πλαταιίδα Θηβαΐδα ποιήσετε. 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 *ᾠκοδόμησαν*.

25. **πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ**—the site of the Heraeum and remains of the *νεὼς λίθινος* 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.

καταγώγιον—for those who came to worship at the temple: otherwise they would have had no shelter after the destruction of the city.

26. **πανταχῇ** is put with *διακοσίων ποδῶν* (200 ft. square) by some edd., but more prob. belongs to *κύκλῳ*='all round,' as in VII. **79**.

27. **οἰκήματα**—for sleeping: they were in two stories.

29. **τοῖς ἄλλοις**—instrumental, with *κατασκευάσαντες*.

30. **τείχει**—i.e. inside the city. The sacred precinct lay 'before the city' (Herod. IX. **61**).

§ **4** l. 34. **καί**—intensive.

37. **ἄρτι τότε καθιστάμενον** refers to the fall of Plat., not to the beginning of the siege. Cf. c. **3**, 1.

§ **5** l. 39. **τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ**—519–427 B.C. But Grote showed that 509 B.C. was the probable year of the alliance; hence it has been suggested that *ἐνενηκοστῷ* is due to an early error in an uncial MS., and that Thuc. wrote the uncial signs for *ὀγδοηκοστῷ*.

40. **ἐπειδή**—cf. I. **6** *οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται*.

§ **1** l. 3. **τότε**—see c. **33**, 1. **69**

4. **ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων**—the other places in Thuc. in which *ἐκ* 'on the part of,' practically = *ὑπό* are I. **20**, II. **49**, V. **104**, VI. **36**. The use is Ionic; not found in ordinary Attic prose.

6. **σποράδες**—correl. with the preceding partic., as in c. **82**, 1 *οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδ' ἑτοίμων παρακαλεῖν*, but Classen points out that *ἀπ' αὐτῆς σποράδες* goes more closely with *κατηνέχθησαν*, and regards *καί* before *ἀπ'* as spurious.

8. **Κυλλήνῃ**—the port of the Eleans.

10. **ξύμβουλον**—because the *ναύαρχος* had shown his incompetence.

§ **2** l. 14. **περὶ Ναύπακτον**—see c. **7**, 3.

15. **πρὶν . . προφθάσωσι**—the constr. is *ὅπως δὲ προφθάσωσι* (a second reason of the plan adopted), *πρίν . .*, but for the sake of the antithesis between *δώδεκα . . παρόντων* and *πλέον τι ἐπι.* the order is changed.

§ **1** l. 2. **ἦλθον αὐτοῖς**—see on c. **5**. **70**

ἐκ τῶν . . ναυμαχιῶν—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 . . ἀγουσῶν**—edd. say *ἀγουσῶν* 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. **ξυγκείμενα**—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. **ἦν γὰρ . . ὑπάγουσιν**—the reason stated in advance in parenthesis; cf. c. **107**, 3.

15. **ἐθελοπρόξενος**—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. **στατῆρ**—of silver, worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ Attic drachmas, the only form of stater coined in Corcyra.

§ **5** l. 25. **ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν**—'pay by a mutual arrangement,' prob. on the instalment system.

§ **6** l. 27. **τῷ τε νόμῳ ἐξείργοντο**—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. *ὄντες*.

71 § **1** l. 2. **ταῦτα . . δουλωθεῖεν**—for the position of the first *καί* see c. **67**, 6. It is usual to supply from *ταῦτα* (i.e. what they had done) a *οὕτως* to *ἥκιστ' ἂν δ.*: better, I think, without; 'that it was not likely that they would be made slaves by the A.'

5. **δέχεσθαι**—the meaning of *εἶπον* passes into that of *κελεύω*.

ἀλλ' ἤ—VII. **50**, 3.

μιᾷ νηί—cf. II. **7**.

5. ἡσυχάζοντας applies to the Corcyreans.

§ 2 l. 10. ὡς—'as.' They were to put matters in a good light.

11. ἀνεπιτήδειον—to Corcyra.

12. ἐπιστροφή—lest 'notice' should be taken by Athens, resulting in some action against Corcyra. 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*. 72

3. ὅσους ἔπεισαν—sc. *τῶν ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότων*.

§ 3 l. 9. The accompanying map will explain the situation of the contending parties.

§ 1 l. 2. ὀλίγα—adverbial acc. like *βραχέα* and *μεγάλα* in c. 73
40, *ἴσα* 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. 74

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. δείσαντες—ingressive, 'becoming afraid.'

9. αὐτοβοεί—said to be an archaic word.

νεωρίου—in the Harbour of Alcinous.

12. ξυνοικίας—situated between the Agora and the Acropolis. The gen. adjj. that follow refer to both *οἰκίας* and *ξυνοικίας*. No doubt some of the *ὀλίγοι* had invested money in the tenements, and let them out, like the plutocrat pork-butcher in the *Knights* of Aristophanes.

15. ἐκινδύνευσε . . διαφθαρῆναι—cf. c. 40, 5.

§ 3 l. 17. ὡς ἑκάτεροι—'on either side,' an idiomatic phrase, to be taken with *ἡσυχάσαντες*, which is ingressive (A. G. Laird in *Am. J. of Phil.* 1906, p. 43).

§ 1 l. 1. Νικόστρατος—he had command of the Athenian 75
squadron at Naupactus, from which he could reach Corcyra in a day. The Messenians had been settled in Naupactus after the Messenian Wars.

5. **ἔπρασσε**—conative.

6. **δέκα**—oligarchs.

§ **2** l. 11. **οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται**—a bronze plate found on the site of the Corcyrean Agora and now in the Brit. Mus. contains a decree of the Corcyrean Assembly (*ἀλία*) appointing an Athenian 'proxenus' of Corcyra. Among the Corcyrean 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 Corcyra (*Anc. Gr. Inscr. in the Brit. Mus.* Pl. ii. p. 50).

16. **ξυμπέμψειν**—sc. *ἔφασαν*, by an idiom to which Thuc. is partial.

§ **3** l. 19. **τὸ Διοσκόρων ἱερόν**—the site is unknown.

§ **4** l. 23. **τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ**—'by their distrust in sailing (i.e. in the proposal that they should sail) with them.' The *μή* is added because the whole result is neg., as often; cf. II. **49** *ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν*, Plato, *Apol.* 38 D *ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλειν*.

§ **5** l. 26. **οἱ ἄλλοι**—oligarchs, not confined to those who had refused to go on board the five ships.

27. **τὸ Ἥραιον**—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 . . διακομιδήν**—example of the liking Thuc. shows for a *subst.* derived from a verb.

4. **Κυλλήνης**—c. **69**. For **ἐφ' ὅρμῳ οὖσαι** we say 'which *had lain* at anchor' (at Cyllene), *οὖσαι* being *imperf.* partic. (*MT.* § 140). The MSS. have *ἔφορμοι* for *ἐφ' ὅρμῳ*, but there seems to be no authority for *ἔφορμος* as adj.

8. **ἐπέπλει**—*ἐπιπλεῖν* is used of the commanders: *ἐμπλεῖν* below of the crew.

77 § **1** l. 1. **πολλῷ θορύβῳ**—the democratic authorities in Corcyra 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*.

§ 3 l. 16. **Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος**—see c. 33, 2. They had been with Paches at Mytilene; but must have joined Nicostratus at Naupactus.

§ 1 l. 3. **τὸ καθ' αὑτούς**—*τό* is inserted in order to get a contrast between Corcyreans and Athenians. *καθ' αὑτούς* alone = 'by, or among, themselves.' 78

5. **ἀθρόαις**—with *ταῖς . . τ.*: the Athenians shrink from attacking the enemy thirty-three strong in the centre.

§ 2 l. 11. **μὴ ὅπερ 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. **ὅτι μάλιστα** with *προκαταφιγεῖν*, 'as much as possible.' It might be taken equally well with *ἐβούλοντο*, but the general sense of the passage favours the former.

ἑαυτῶν—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: *ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς κόσμος* in c. 77 refers to only one incident in the battle.)

§ 1 l. 4. **τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου**—see c. 75, 5. 79

§ 2 l. 8. **κρατοῦντες**—concessive.

§ 3 l. 13. **ὄντας**—see on cc. 2, 2; 80, 1.

15. **Λευκίμμην**—at SE. of the island, still called *Leokimo*.

§ 1 l. 4. **τοῖς ἄλλοις**—the other *ὀλίγοι* besides the *ἱκέται*. 80

6. **ὅμως**—in spite of the confusion.

§ 2 l. 8. **μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας**—Thuc. generally uses *μέσος* as an adj., but Xen. often has *μέσον* as a noun.

9. **ἀπέπλευσαν**—to Sybota.

10. **προσπλέουσαι ἀπὸ Λευκάδος**—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 Λευκάδος* 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**.

81 § **1** l. 1. **τῆς νυκτός**—'that night.'

4. **τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμόν**—the isthmus connected Leucas 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 *εἴ τινα λάβοιεν* below. To supply *τὴν πόλιν* (with L. Herbst) is forced, and involves an artificial, and highly improbable, explanation of the meaning. See crit. note.

τοὺς Μεσσηνίους—see c. **75**, 1.

10. **περιπλεῦσαι**—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. **ἀπεχρῶντο**—very rare in this sense; cf. *διαχρῆσθαι* 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. **ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύναντο**—the sing. might be expected, as in *πάντες ἔφυγον ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος* (Xen.), but the distinction is not always kept up.

§ **4** l. 23. **παρέμεινε**—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. (*τήν* does not need explanation in the context after *δίκην ὑποσχεῖν* above. Only oligarchs—and they not in all cases—were put on their trial.)

26. **ἀπέθανον δέ**—transition from partic. to finite constr., as often; II. **47** *λεγόμενον μὲν . . ἐμνημονεύετο δέ*, VII. **13** *τῶν ναυτῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων, οἱ δὲ θεράποντες . . αὐτομολοῦσι*, sc. *τὰ χρήματα*. Frequent throughout Gk.

28. **ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων**—'by their debtors,' with *ἀπέθανον*.

The Gk. justifies another way (Böhme), viz. with *ὀφειλομένων*, 'by those who caught them,' but the point is not so good.

§ 5 l. 28. **πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου**—Virgil's *et plurima mortis imago* (*Aen.* II. 369); cf. Tac. *H.* III. 28 *varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium.*

30. **καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω**—sc. *οὐδενὸς ὅτου οὐ*, i.e. *παντός*, but the gen. is habitually omitted. Demosth. XLV. 73 has *δεινόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, καὶ πέρα δεινοῦ.*

§ 1 l. 1. **ἡ στάσις** (Krüger) is very probable, as the ref. is 82
to a *στάσις* just described, but it is not absolutely necessary.

2. **μᾶλλον**—sc. *ὠμὴ προχωρῆσαι.*

ἐν τοῖς πρώτην—see on c. 17, 1.

3. **ὡς εἰπεῖν**—qualifying a sweeping statement (never apologizing for a metaphor): 'I might almost say,' 'almost.'

4. **τὸ Ἑλληνικόν**—c. 57, 2.

6. **ἐπάγεσθαι**—"sense" constr., *διαφορῶν οὐσῶν* implying 'attempting.'

7. **καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ . . ἐπορίζοντο**—the transition from *μέν* + partic. to *δέ* + 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 *μέν*-clause. To put a comma only at *Λακεδαιμονίους* instead of the usual full stop helps to some degree. *ἑτόλμων* for *ἑτοίμων* (Vollgraff and Classen) is a conjecture worth notice.

οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων—sc. *αὐτῶν*, the leaders of both parties in any given state.

8. **ἑτοίμων**—sc. *ὄντων*, an unusual ellipse except when the adj. + omitted partic. is supplementary to a verb, as in *τετύχηκε τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἄλογον*, sc. *ὄν*, I. 23.

9. **αὐτούς**—Athenians or Lac., as the case might be.

πολεμουμένων—masc. from *πολεμόω*, of the Ath. and Lac. (to refer this to the two political parties is very strained).

καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα . . αἱ ἐπαγωγαί—i.e. *καὶ αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ ἅμα ξυμμαχίας.* The point of *καὶ ἅμα* 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.' *ἑκατέροις* is ambiguous: it may be (1) *by* the Ath. and Lac., agent to *ἐπορίζοντο*, or (2) *to* either party in a state: then *τοῖς . . βουλομένοις* will be in limiting apposition to it. In either case *τοῖς . . βουλομένοις* 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 *motive*, esp. common in Thuc., mostly with single words such as *φιλίᾳ, ἔχθει, εὐνοίᾳ*. Thompson, *At. Syn.* p. 150. *σφίσιν 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. **γιγνόμενα** 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 δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα* form the first idea, adv. and adj. being combined, as either is possible separately with *γίγνεται. μᾶλλον καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα γίγνεται* might also mean 'it rises and falls in intensity' on any given occasion, but the emphatic position of *γιγνόμενα* shows that it corresponds in sense to the emphatic *ἔστι*, not to the mere copula *ἐστί*.

17. **ὡς ἄν**—'according as.'

18. **ἐφιστῶνται**—'impose themselves,' like a doom: *κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν Il.* XII. 326, Soph. *OT.* 776, Eur. *Hipp.* 819.

22. **τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν**—some think that *βίου* has fallen out before *βιαίου*, and certainly *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν* is odd; but cf. *τὸ παρόν* and *τὰ παρόντα*.

24. **ὀργάς**—'dispositions.'

§ 3 l. 24. **ἐστασίαζέ τε κτλ.**—this passage down to the end of c. **83** is severely criticized by Dionysius Hal. *de Thuc. iud.* cc. **29** f. for its artificial and far-fetched expressions.

25. **τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που**—'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 *που=ἔν τινι πόλει*.

26. **πολὺ ἐπέφερε**—'brought on much,' i.e. carried much further.

27. **διανοίας**—'plans.'

τῶν . . ἀτοπίᾳ—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 *ἀξίωσις* has another qualifying word.

30. **τῇ δικαιώσει**—by the arbitrary construction they put on them.

35. **τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὀξύ**—'impulsive rashness': cf. Plutarch, *Eum.* 3 *ἔμπληκτον καὶ φορᾶς μεστὸν ὀξείας.*

ἀνδρὸς μοίρᾳ προσετέθη—'was ascribed, or set down, to the part of a man.'

36. **ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ . . εὔλογος**—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) *ἀσφαλείᾳ* is dat. of manner, in contrast with *ἐμπλήκτως*; (2) *τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι*= 'reconsideration,' or 'further reflexion'; (3) the verb to be supplied is *ἐνομίσθη*. Each of these suppositions is surprising. *ἀποτροπή*='evasion.' It has been proposed to supply *προσετέθη* (with Herbst and Fr. Müller) and to take *ἀποτροπῆς π. εὔλογος* 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 . . τυχών**—'if one had succeeded in a plot.'

40. **δεινότερος**—of ability.

41. **αὐτῶν**—viz. *τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ ὑπονοεῖν.*

44. **ἐπικελεύσας**—sc. *κακόν τι δρᾶν. ἐπικελεύω* 'to encourage,' of an authority, has *dat.*; here *κελεύω* sets the constr. and *ἐπι-* is intensive.

§ 6 l. 44. **καὶ μήν** introduces a new and important point (it never means 'and yet').

45. **τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ**—'the tie of party.' To this *ἑτοιμότερον* refers.

48. **ὠφελίᾳ**—'to render help'; cf. the principle *συγγνώμη ἀδελφῷ βοηθεῖν*. This seems more likely than the usual explanation 'for the *public* advantage.'

ξύνοδοι—of political meetings, a word of sinister meaning in the political life of Gk. states, suggesting intrigue and treason. The verb is *ἐγένοντο* and had Thuc. written *ὠφελίας ἕνεκα* and *πλεονεξίας* above, all would have been clear.

49. **ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς**=*ἐς ἀλλήλους*, a common use.

50. **τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ**—i.e. it was not the oaths witnessed by the gods—*θεῶν ὅρκοι*—that bound them when they exchanged pledges. Cf., for example, Eur. *Med.* 21 *βοᾷ μὲν ὅρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιάς, | πίστιν μεγίστην, καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρεται*, and the celebrated passage in the same play, 439 *βέβακε δ' ὅρκων*

χάρις, οὐδ' ἔτ' αἰδὼς Ἑλλάδι τᾷ μεγάλᾳ μένει, with Verrall's notes.

§ 7 l. 51. **τά 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, τοῖς οἱ ἐναντίοι*, is the subject of *προύχοιεν*. This is surely correct, though the passage is usually taken as if *οἱ ἐναντίοι* denoted the stronger party, and the subject of *ἐνεδέχοντο* 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 φυλακῇ* cf. c. **46**, 4.

56. **ὅρκοι . . ξυναλλαγῆς**—'oaths to confirm a reconciliation'; cf. Andocides, *de Myst.* **103** *διηλλάγητε καὶ ὅρκους ὠμόσατε*.

57. **πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον ἑ. διδόμενοι**—'as they were administered to either side only to meet an emergency.' It is surely unnecessary to regard *ἑκατέρῳ* 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 *ἑκατέρῳ*—and explains *πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον*. *ὅρκον δίδωμι* 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 θαρσῆσαι**—see *MT.* 903. 8, where grave doubts are raised as to the possibility of the infin. with *φθάνω* in place of the ordinary partic. As *φθάσας θαρσήσας* is intolerable, it is best to give the text as it stands, leaving the point undecided. The paraphrase of Dionysius is worth notice: *εἰ δέ που παρατύχοι τινὶ καιρὸς καὶ μάθοι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀφύλακτον, ἥδιον ἐτιμωρεῖτο ὅτι πιστεύσαντι μᾶλλον ἐπέθετο ἢ φυλαττομένῳ*. **διὰ τὴν πίστιν** applies to the enemy, as having confidence in the oath. **ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς**='than when he attacked openly,' giving the other side a fair chance.

63. **ῥᾷον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ . . 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 *ὄντες*.

§ 8 l. 66. **πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον**—'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 φιλοτιμίας.*

68. **καθισταμένων**—masc., 'when men were settling down to.' The *καί* belongs, not merely to *ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν*, but to the whole phrase to *πρόθυμον*.

70. **πλήθους . . σώφρονος**—these *are* the fine names that were used for *δημοκρατία* and *ὀλιγαρχία*. *ἰσονομία* was a catch-word with democrats, *σωφροσύνη* with aristocrats.

73. **ἆθλα**—this suggests several of the words that follow—*ἀγωνιζόμενοι*, *περιγενέσθαι*. *ἐπεξῆσαν* (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. **ἔτι 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. **ψήφου ἀδίκου**—best taken as *subjective* gen. depending on *καταγνώσεως*.

χειρί—the contrast is between force and the forms of law.

82. **ἐνόμιζον**—with dat., as *χρῆσθαι*.

εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγου—since *εὐσέβεια* and *λόγου εὐπρέπεια* are not a proper contrast, many suppose that the contrast to the former is to be found in *ἐπιφθόνως τι*, and consequently attach *εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγου* to the rel. sentence, 'those who managed to hide some malicious act under fair words.' But the *μέν . . 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 δυσσέβειαν* ('reputation of being *δυσσεβής*') *εὐσεβοῦσ' 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 ἡ 'ν μέσῳ σῴζει πόλεις.*

§ 1 l. 2. **τὸ εὔηθες**—in the earliest, good sense of the word, according to its etymology (Plato, *Rep.* 400 E). 83

3. **πλεῖστον 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 διήνεγκεν** — 'gained the upper hand.' *ἐπὶ πολύ* of *space*, 'far and near.'

§ 2 l. 7. **ὁ διαλύσων** κτλ.—'there was nothing to . . neither.' The fut. partic. as in Aesch. *PV.* 27 *ὁ λωφήσων γὰρ οὐ πέφυκέ πω.* (Steup is mistaken in supposing that *ἦν* must be the copula in our sentenee, if *ὁ διαλύσων* is taken as above.)

8. **κρείσσους . . βεβαίου**—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 . . βεβαίου* is to be taken together and refers to *προεσκόπουν.* But two other versions must be noticed: (2) 'finding more strength in calculation against the unexpected than in pledges.' Then *τοῦ βεβαίου=ἢ τῷ βεβαίῳ.* (3) 'Being more inclined in their calculations to despair of security' (or '*than* to security'). The last seems an impossible version of *κρείσσους ὄντες.* 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 προεπιβουλευόμενοι** — Gildersleeve is surely right in reading *φθάνωσι* here, in accordance with the law that *φθάνω ποιῶν* and *ἔφθασα ποιήσας* are the correct forms.

§ 4 l. 17. **καταφρονοῦντες**—causal. For the constr. cf. Xen. *Hell.* IV. **5**, 12 *κατεφρονοῦν μηδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι.*

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 *οὐ γὰρ ἄν* (§ 2) onwards. In the earlier part *ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν 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. **προυτολμήθη**—*προ-* denotes before the rest of Greece.

καὶ ὁπόσα *κτλ.*—the *καί* is probably answered by *οἵ τε μή κτλ.* below. The first clause requires *ἄν*, which has perhaps fallen out either after *ὁπόσα* or *δράσειαν*.

4. **ὑπὸ τῶν . . παρασχόντων** with *ἀρχόμενοι*. Hitherto they have been ruled oppressively by those who *ποιν* give opportunity for revenge. Instead of *παρασχόντων* something like *ἤδη παρεχόντων* seems required. The oligarchs are meant.

7. **διὰ πάθους . . ἔχειν**—there has been much discussion of these words. *τινες* and *μάλιστα δ'* seem to show that *διὰ πάθους* must be intended as a contrast to *πενίας . . ἀπαλλαξείοντες*, 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 πλεονεξίᾳ**—i.e. prompted by oppression, poverty or downright passion.

9. **ἀπὸ ἴσου**—'on equal terms' with their adversaries already. Only here in Thuc. in place of *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου*.

11. **ἐπέλθοιεν**—sc. *ἄν* 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 τοῦτον**—'at this crisis,' like *ἐς μίαν ἡμέραν* in VI. 16, Aristoph. *Pax* 366 *εἰς τίν' ἡμέραν ;*

14. **καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν**—cf. c. 82, 6 *παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας (νόμους)*. As Stahl says, we expect *κρατήσασα* after *τοὺς νόμους*, 'even when the laws are generally respected.' Steup suggests the loss of *πρίν* after *καί* but Dio Cass. knew the passage as it stands.

15. **ἐδήλωσεν . . οὖσα**—obj. of δηλῶ replaced by the partic., as often ; cf. I. **21** *ὁ πόλεμος δηλώσει μείζων γεγενημένος.*

16. **τοῦ προύχοντος**—neut.

19. **ἐν ᾧ**—lit. 'in a case in which,' amounting to *εἰ.* Cf. II. **35** *χαλεπὸν τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας 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. **ἐλήζοντο**—viz. the fertile central part of the island, *ἐξειργασμένη παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένη χώρα*, as Xenophon calls it (*Hell.* VI. **2**, 6).

§ **3** l. 14. **ὕστερον χρόνῳ**—always of a considerable interval. It is most probable that the crossing occurred in the spring of 426 B.C.

§ **4** l. 19. **τὴν Ἰστώνην**—in IV. **46** we have *ἐν τῷ ὄρει 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 Σικελίαν**—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. **Λάχητα**—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. **πλὴν 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 *ἀρχομένου*.

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 Laus on W. and to Metapontum on E.: *ἀπὸ ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ Σικελικοῦ* 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. **παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν**—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 μήτε . . πρόπειράν τε ποιούμενοι**—to make the sentence quite symmetrical, *ποιεῖσθαι* should have been written in place of *ποιούμενοι*.

23. **δυνατὰ εἴη**—personal constr.

§ 5 l. 24. **καταστάντες**—i.e. they chose Rhegium as their base.

§ 1 l. 2. **ἐκλιποῦσα μὲν . . ἐγένετο δέ**—c. 81, 4. 87

3. **τὸ παντάπασιν**—this curious phrase, occurring only here, is to be compared with *τὸ παράπαν*.

§ 2 l. 7. **μᾶλλον 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—*θῆτες*—served only in the fleet; these with *μέτοικοι* and *δοῦλοι* are included in *ὁ ἄλλος ὄχλος*. 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.

14. **Βοιωτίῳ**—the other was in Arcadia.

88 § 1 l. 3. **στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους**—as this affair is one of the *λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια* (c. **90**, 1) we can see how insignificant were the incidents left unrecorded.

4. **καλουμένας**—second attribute, hence the order; c. **54**, 5.

§ 2 l. 6. **νέμονται**—the word is used of *enjoyment of profits derived*, which may or may not be combined with occupation.

§ 3 l. 11. **ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ**—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 Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου—*Vulcani nomine sacra* it is called in the *Aetna*. **Στρογγύλη**, now *Stromboli*, is there described as *cui nomen facies dedit ipsa Rotunda*.

ὡς—very unusual constr. with *νομίζω*.

89 § 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**).

§ 5 l. 23. **αἴτιον** in apposition to the sentence, 'as for the cause of such an occurrence.' Cf. I. **23** *τὴν ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι . . ἀναγκάσαι (αὐτοὺς) ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*. The great earthquake at Messina has afforded a striking illustration of this chapter.

25. **ἀποστέλλειν**—the subject of this and of *ποιεῖν* is *τὸν σεισμόν*. The MSS. give *ἐπισπωμένην*, but either *ἐπισπωμένων* (*mid.*) or *ἐπισπωμένης* (*pass.*, sc. *τῆς θαλάσσης*) seems necessary. *βιαιότερον* is best regarded as fem., as in *δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ*

Λωκρίς c. 103, unless, indeed, in a confused passage, βιαιοτέραν should be read.

27. ἄν with ξυμβῆναι.

§ 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 ἐπολέμουν is a possible constr., and (2) even so, the change of subject in the antithetic clause—ἃ δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια 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. 90

§ 3 l. 17. ἐρύματι = φρουρίῳ.

§ 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 παρασχόμενοι—'giving trustworthy assurances.' πιστά is to be taken as pred., not as substantive.

§ 1 l. 2. περὶ Πελοπόννησον—see on c. 3, 3. 91

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. Νικίας—c. 51.

§ 2 l. 7. Μηλίους—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 αὑτῶν here. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* I. 1, 5 ἐδυνάσθη ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοῦ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι.

§ 3 l. 12. ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς Γραϊκῆς—on the borders of Attica and Boeotia. It belonged to Athens. For τῆς Γραϊκῆς cf. II. 23 τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην. The name belonged to the coast opposite Eretria. In II. 23 it is corrupted into Πειραϊκήν.

13. οἱ ὁπλῖται 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 ἡ σχολαιότης.

§ 4 l. 15. πανδημεί—i.e. with the whole available army.

16. **Ἱππονίκου 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 *proxenus* of Sparta. He fell at the battle of Delium, 424 B.C.

§ 5 l. 19. **ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ** — i.e. in the neighbourhood of Tanagra.

20. **τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μάχῃ**—to be taken *separately*, *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ* having *ἡμέρᾳ* 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 l. 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. **89**).

§ 2 l. 8. **προσθεῖναι** — the verb is used of bringing into *permanent relationship*, whether as friend or foe or dependent: so *πρόσκειμαι*.

§ 3 l. 12. **μητρόπολις**—from this region the Dorians were sprung. A fragment of Tyrtaeus says of them: *προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα | εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα*.

§ 4 l. 19. **καθίστασθαι**—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. **τό τε ξύμπαν**—summing up.

§ 5 l. 24. **τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο**—the usual custom before sending out a colony.

26. **περιοίκων**—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 καινῆς**—adverbial, like *ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης* I. **15**, *ἀπὸ (τῆς) πρώτης* etc. ; *δι' ὀρθῆς*, 'aright,' Soph. *Ant.* 994.

35. **εἶρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θ**—'barred the (approach) on the side towards Th.,' i.e. built a barrier across the pass (*στενόν*), to protect harbour and arsenal from the Thessalians.

§ **1** l. 3. **ξυνοικιζομένης**—the *ξυν.* points to the concentra- **93**
tion in the colony.

7. **ἀπέβη**—impersonal.

§ **2** l. 8. **αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἵ τε κτλ.**—the other passages in Thuc. which are introduced by *αἴτιον*, show the following constrs. :—
(1) *αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι* II. **65**.
(2) *αἴτιον ἦν οἱ* with nom. partic. IV. **26**.
Here we have a third variety. Compare *τεκμήριον δέ*, 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 *δέ*, as in the constr. *τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λητουργεῖν*, Demosth. *de Cor.* **108.**)

οἵ τε Θέσσαλοι . . καὶ ὧν—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 *ὧν* apply still to the Thessalians and taking *τε* as co-ordinate with *οὐ μέντοι* below.

14. **πάνυ πολλούς**—we do not know the number: Diodorus' figures, amounting to 10,000, are untrustworthy.

16. **οὐ μέντοι**—the combination *οὐ δέ* being avoided.

17. **οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι**—perhaps annually.

20. **ἅ**—*internal* accus., *ἐξηγούμενοι* being here absolute.

§ **1** l. 5. **Ἐλλομενῷ** — "probably on the bay of Vlicho **94**
(Klimino), on the E. coast of the island" (Oberhummer).

τῆς Λευκαδίας—sc. *γῆς*. Corcyra, Cephallenia 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 ἱερόν**—at the southernmost corner of the island.

15. **οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες**—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. **95**, 2 this projected wall is referred to as *περιτείχισις*, 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).

ὡς καλόν—sc. *ἐστί*.

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 τοὺς Μεσσηνίους . . πλεῖστ' ἂν βλάπτειν.*

§ **4** l. 27. **διὰ πολλοῦ**—'far apart.'

§ **5** l. 30. **Ἀποδωτοῖς**—this tribe is to the NE. of Naupactus.

31. **Ὀφιονεῦσι**—N. of the Apodoti.

32. **Εὐρυτᾶσιν**—N. and E. of the Ophioneis. All three tribes belong to New Aetolia, *Αἰτωλία ἐπίκτητος*, as distinct from Old Aetolia, *ἡ ἀρχαία*, of the *Iliad*. (All that can be known about the tribes will be found in Woodhouse, *Aetolia*.)

35. **καὶ τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν** "refers back to the expression *τὸ ἄλλο ἠπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ*—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).

95 § **1** l. 1. **Μεσσηνίων**—objective.

4. **μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν**—i.e. when he had forced them to join.

5. **κατὰ γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιωτούς**—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 (II. **9**).

6. **Κυτίνιον**—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. **Φωκέας**—nominally allies of Sparta, but there was a powerful democratic party in sympathy with Athens.

11. οὖν—resuming after the parenthesis, like *igitur*.

13. Σόλλιον — 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. ἐστράτευσεν—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. ἔδει—'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, within a short march of the frontier. 96

4. χρησθέν—accus. abs.

ἐν Νεμέᾳ — 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 Molycria. 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 Mórnos" (Woodhouse). The ancient name of the river was probably Daphnos. The town is at the extreme SW. of Apodotia, just over the border.

Κροκύλειον . . 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 καταστρεψάμενος — 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. **οὐκ 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 ἔσχατοι . . Καλλιῆς**—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.

6. **τὴν δ' ἐν ποσίν**—sc. *κώμην*. Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1327 *τᾶν ποσὶν κακά*, 'what lies in one's way.'

§ 2 l. 8. **τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας**—causal dat., 'rendered sanguine by his fortune.' His confidence is amazing.

11. **ἐχώρει 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. **ὀγδοήκοντα** — 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 H, i.e. *ἑκατόν*, in an early uncial MS. reappeared as Π′ by a copyist's error.)

§ 3 l. 17. **βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ . . ἦσαν**—viz. the relief force; see c. **96**, 3. The delay at Teichium had given them the opportunity.

20. **ὁπότε**—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 δέ**—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. **καί** before **ἐπὶ πολύ** is 'quite.'

11. **ὁ ἡγεμών**—"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 πόδας**—'promptly,' 'rapidly.'

§ 4 l. 26. **ἡλικία ἡ αὐτή**—'and men of the same efficiency.' The phrase is so compressed that it has become obscure. Thuc. means *οὗτοι* (*οἱ*) *τοσοῦτοι* (*ἦσαν*) *τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἡ αὐτὴ* (*ἦσαν*); and *ἡλικία* 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 *ἡλικία*, or *those of military age.*

§ 5 l. 35. **φοβούμενος**—doubtless he feared impeachment (*εἰσαγγελία*), possibly on a *γραφὴ 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. **Λοκρίδα**—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 πρότερον**—pleonastic. The time of 100
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 Naupactus. 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. **ξυνηκολούθουν**—according to the Spartan custom, in case anything happened to Eurylochus.

101 § 1 l. 1. **ἐς Δελφούς**—a natural place to choose for an army that was to march to Naupactus.

§ 2 l. 7. **Ἀμφισσῆς**—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 *μέν* 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 Δωρικόν**—c. 95, 1.

5. **Οἰνεῶνα αἱρεῖ . . καὶ Εὐπάλιον**—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 *ξυμφορά*.

§ 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 . . Καλυδῶνα . . Πλευρῶνα**—'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 *Iliad*.

(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 ταύτῃ χωρία**—other parts of Old Aetolia.

Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἡγεῖτο Θόας . .
οἳ Πλευρῶν' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὤλενον ἠδὲ Πυλήνην
Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν (*Il.* II. 638).

Proschium is Pylene.

§ 6 l. 28. **Ἀμπρακιῶται**—Amphilochian Argos now belonged to Amphilochians and Acarnanians. 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. **πᾶν τὸ ἠπειρωτικόν**—cf. c. **94**, 3. In 429 B.C. the Ambraciots had held out hopes to Sparta of acquiring (1) Acarnania (2) Zacynthus and Cephallenia, (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 Corcyra 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 Ἄργος**—with *βοηθεῖν*.

§ 1 l. 3. **τῶν Ἑλλήνων** — i.e. the Siceliots, whereas the **103**
Sicels are *βάρβαροι*.

5. **ξύμμαχοι**—"the name allies shows that they remained distinct though subject communities" (Freeman).

6. **αὐτοῖς**—with *ξυνεπολέμουν*.

7. **Ἴνησσαν**—identical with Aetna, not far from Catana. It had been an important Sicel stronghold.

§ 3 l. 16. **Καϊκῖνον** — unknown. Take *κατὰ τὸν* K. with *ἐκράτησαν*.

§ 1 l. 1. **ἐκάθηραν**—doubtless in gratitude for the cessation **104**
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. **δή** — explanatory. The "purification" by Pisistratus is noticed by Herodotus (I. **64**).

§ 2 l. 6. **θῆκαι**—'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[2] § 50 D. 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. **Νήσων**—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 *ἶσον καὶ Ῥήναιαν ἄναξ ἐφίλησεν Ἀπόλλων.*

16. **τὴν πεντετηρίδα**—the first celebration probably took place in March (Antheste rion) 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. **ἐθεώρουν**—'attended the festival.'

ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια—in honour of Artemis (*ἡ Ἐφεσία θεός*).

23. **χορούς τε ἀνῆγον**—from the meaning 'lift up' a cry, etc., *ἀνάγω* comes to mean 'set going,' 'start'; Eur. *Tro.* 325 *ἄναγ' ἄναγε χορόν.* Notice the metrical *χορούς τ' ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις.*

§ 4 l. 24. **Ὅμηρος**—the blind bard "of Chios," who wrote this prize poem, was, according to a scholiast on Pindar, Cynaethus of Chios.

25. **ἐκ προοιμίου**—the quotations are from the famous "Homeric hymn" to Apollo; it was actually sung at the festival, where it received a prize.

27. **ἀλλ' ὅτε** 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. **ἑλκεχίτωνες**—alluding to the long robes of the Ionians in early times, almost obsolete in the days of Thuc.

29. **σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν**—meaning uncertain; the square before the temple of Apollo, where the *ἀγών* was held, is the suggestion of Sikes *ad loc.* The l. in the MSS. of the hymn stands *αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισιν.*

31. **καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα**—'have made the assembly sit down,' to start the contests. *ἀγών* is 'an assembly at games': see

Leaf on *Iliad* XV. 428. The MSS. of the hymn have *στήσωνται ἀγῶνα*.

§ 5 l. 34. **τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν** — the eulogy of the *κοῦραι Δηλιάδες*, Delian women who sang the chorus, immediately precedes the passage about to be quoted.

35. **τοῦ ἐπαίνου**—viz. of the Delian women. For the gen. cf. c. 59, 4.

37. **ἀλλ' ἄγεθ'** *κτλ.* = *H. to Apollo* 165–172.

43. **ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως**—'answer with one accord,' i.e. *ὁμοφήμως*. The scholiast gives *ἀθρόως*. The reading *ἀφήμως* is supported by that of the MSS. of the hymn, *ἀφ' ἡμέων* (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 πλεῖστα**—'and most parts' of the *ξύνοδος*.

50. **ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν**—when Persia set her heel on the necks of the Ionians.

πρὶν δή—see on c. 29, 1.

§ 1 l. 2. **ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι . . κατέσχον**—'in accordance with the promise to Eurylochus by which they had detained his force.' 105

7. **Ὅλπας**—on the Ambracian gulf.

8. **δ . . τειχισάμενοι . . ἐχρῶντο** — 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. **πέμπουσι**—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. **Ἀχελῴου**—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 Thyamus, 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 **Μεδεῶνος** depend on *παρ' ἔσχατα* ; but Herbst seems right in taking **Μεδεῶνος** 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. **Ἀγραϊκόν** for *ἀγροῖκον* of the MSS., which is not used of districts, is a certain emendation.

107 § 1 l. 2. **καθίζουσιν**—sc. *τὸν στρατόν*, but practically intrans.

9. **Ἀθηναίων** — 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 Ὀλπας*, but the description does not seem likely or necessary after c. **105**, 1.

12. **Ἀμφιλόχων**—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. **μετά**—Demosthenes was to be Commander-in-chief.

§ 3 l. 18. **χαράδρα . . μεγάλη**—this has been recognized in a brook, the banks of which are overshadowed with plane-trees; cf. the *ὁδὸς κοίλη καὶ λοχμώδης*.

26. **κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον** — where the enemy's line (the left wing, c. **108**, 1) outflanked them.

§ 4 l. 31. **ὀλίγων**—a strange way of referring to the sixty Athenian archers: we should expect simply *μετὰ τῶν Ἀθ.* Possibly *ὀλίγων* is an addition to the text.

32. **ἐπεῖχον** 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 ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι**—'stand their ground to the point of resistance.' For *ἀλκή* see on c. **30**, 2. **108**

8. **τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον**—'that part where Eu. was.'

11. **τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπεξῆλθον** — both *ἐξ-* 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 I. **70** the MSS. vary in the same way as here.

§ 2 l. 15. **μαχιμώτατοι**—this refers to *οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται* 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 *καί* after *Ἀμπρακιῶται* ought to be removed, so as to render 'the A. on the right wing.'

§ 3 l. 16. **ὡς . . νενικημένον**—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 Olpae*; cf. *ἐς φυγὴν . . καταστῆσαι* above. With a colon instead of the usual comma after *Ὅλπας*, 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.' **109**

5. **πολιορκήσεται**—'to stand a siege.'

§ 2 l. 13. **ἀποθανόντας** = *νεκρούς*.

16. **Ἀκαρνάνων** depends on *ξυστρατήγων*, possessive gen.

σπένδονται—for the plur. verb, rare with a sing. subj.

followed by *μετά*, see Thompson[2] § 7. *βουλόμενος* following makes the conjecture *σπένδεται* probable.

20. **τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον**—i.e. the Peloponnesian forces, exclusive of the Mantineans, the *ἄρχοντες* and *ἀξιολογώτατοι*. The Peloponnesian troops were mercenaries, it would seem. *τὸν ξενικόν* is prob. a mere gloss on *μισθοφόρον*.

22. **διαβαλεῖν ἐς**—'to damage them with.'

23. **Ἕλληνας**—Steup places the comma at *χρῄζων* so as to make Ἕλληνας object of *καταπροδόντες*, i.e. the Ambraciots and the *ὄχλος μισθοφόρος*. This is better than *ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνῃ . . Ἕλληνας* together, i.e. the Ambraciots only, because (1) the Amphilochians too would be naturally included under the *τούς*, and they were not Ἕλληνες, (2) the mercenaries should certainly be included in the object of *καταπροδόντες*.

§ 3 l. 26. **ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε**—'as well as circumstances allowed.'

27. **οἷς ἐδέδοτο**—sc. *ἐκεῖνοι*.

110 § 1 l. 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 l. 8. **προλοχιοῦντας**—referring to the collective *μέρος*.

τὰ καρτερά—strong positions in the hills.

111 § 1 l. 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 l. 9. **οἱ ἄλλοι**—i.e. the Peloponnesians who were not included in the secret agreement.

ὅσοι . . 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 εἶχον*, 'just by chance'; (3) the aorist partic. with *ἐτύγχανον* is unusual, the rule being *ἐτύγχανον* + *pres.* or *perf.* partic., *ἔτυχον* + *aor.* partic.; (4) *ξυνελθόντες*, 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 *ἐτύγχανον οὕτως* without a partic. is strange; or (*b*) *μέν* must be altered to *μεμονωμένοι* or *μένοντες*; or (*c*) a comma must be placed at *ἀθρόοι*, so that *ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι* sc. *ὄντες* = 'happened by chance to be together.' Such an omission of a partic. with *τυγχάνω* is not impossible where an *adj.* is added.

§ 3 l. 12. **οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες**—only their leaders knew of the secret compact.

16. **τις**—often explained as collective for *τινες*: this is doubtful, because of the sing. *νομίσας* following.

§ 4 l. 22. **ἐς τὴν Ἀγραΐδα**—the Agraei were independent and friendly to the Peloponnesians. Woodhouse thinks that they were not Aetolians.

§ 1 l. 2. **Ἰδομενήν**—twin heights in the hills, the exact site uncertain. 112

§ 2 l. 11. **ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς**—to the pass that led to Ambracia.

12. **διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλοχικῶν ὀρῶν**—i.e. inland, among the hills, in order to stop up the roads.

13. **ἅμα ὄρθρῳ**—the time between first cock-crow and the dawn: *ὄρθρος ἐστὶν ἡ ὥρα τῆς νυκτὸς καθ' ἣν ἀλεκτρυόνες ᾄδουσιν. ἄρχεται δὲ ἐνάτης ὥρας* (*circa* 2 A.M.) *καὶ τελευτᾷ εἰς διαγελῶσαν ἡμέραν* (Phrynichus).

§ 4 l. 18. **Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν**—it was only thirty years since the Naupactian Messenians had left the Peloponnese. The Ambraciots spoke Doric.

20. **τῇ ὄψει**—'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 l. 27. **τῶν δὲ . . ἀνεπιστημόνων**—for the gen. abs. though it refers to the subj. of the verb see c. 13, 7; 55, 1.

§ 7 l. 33. **παραπλεούσας . . ξυντυχίᾳ**—'sailing along the coast from Olpae) just at the time when the action (the fighting) occurred.'

§ 8 l. 40. **σκυλεύσαντες**—the Athenians themselves were not above this on occasions.

§ 1 l. 1. **καὶ αὐτοῖς** κτλ.—the incident as related inevitably reminds us of a Greek tragedy—e.g. the *Persae*. 113

4. **τῶν νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν**—cf. II. 52 *νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες*.

6. **ξυνεξῆσαν**—'tried to depart with them.'

§ 2 l. 9. **τὸ πάθος**—'the catastrophe' of Idomene.

10. **τῶν μετὰ σφῶν**—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 . . τεθνᾶσιν**—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 II. 34 *τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι* 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 ὅπλα ταυτί**—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 A *καὶ μὲν δὴ τήν γε τῶν ζῴων ποίησιν.*

§ 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 τὸν 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. **ἄπιστον**—pred. not to *γενέσθαι*, but to *λέγεται γενέσθαι together*, i.e. 'the total that it is said to have amounted to is incredible.'

§ 1 l. 4. **πλέοντα ἑάλω**—when or how is not explained. **114**

6. **ἐξηρέθησαν**—the number is prob. influenced by the apposition *πανοπλίαι*.

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 . . ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν** — i.e. by sea, the ships obtained from Oeniadae, which was friendly. These Ambraciots had prob. got to Oeniadae from Agraeis by crossing the Achelous and marching right across Aetolia. They could hardly have got safely home to Ambracia by sea without leave from the Acarnanians. (*οἵπερ* for *ὅπερ* and **Σαλυνθίου** for **Σαλύνθιον** are certain corrections.)

§ 3 l. 20. **ἐπὶ τοῖσδε**—no attempt is made to modify the *ξυμμαχίαι* 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. **διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον**—Ambracia never recovered from its effects.

§ 1 l. 4. **ἄνωθεν**—from the interior, where the Sicels dwelt: **115**
τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τῆς νήσου ἔχουσι (VI. 2). **Σικελῶν τῶν** for **Σικελιωτῶν** is fairly certain: the Siceliots were being hard pressed by Syracuse.

5. **τὰ ἔσχατα**—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 *ταχθέντα*. It appears that Laches, on returning to Athens, was prosecuted for embezzlement of public money.

§ 3 l. 10. **ξύμμαχοι**—the Siceliots.

11. **ἔπεισαν**—plup. in sense.

15. **ὡς οὐ περιοψόμενοι**—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. Πυθόδωρον κτλ. — the three commanders are mocked at by Aristoph. *Acharn.* 598.

§ 6 l. 26. φρούριον — see c. 99.

116 § 1 l. 4. τῶν Καταναίων — 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 ἔτει — 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. τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι — the 'first' eruption is legendary. A fourth is recorded in 396 B.C.

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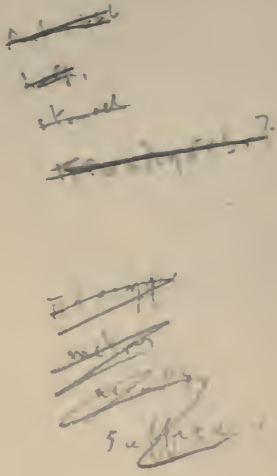

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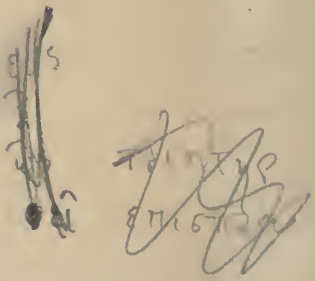

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