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THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

THUCYDIDES
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THUCYDIDES

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

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I owe my long-suffering publishers many apologies for the tardy appearance of this book, which was begun some years ago. It is planned on the same lines as my edition of Book IV, and is mainly indebted to the same authorities. There is however somewhat less translation given in the notes, and more discussion of the text. On this point I have felt much difficulty and hesitation. The fifth Book is generally free from great grammatical difficulties, but it presents perpetual questions of unsatisfactory reading, and almost more than any other calls for the hand of a master critic. An editor has indeed his choice of suggestions in plenty, but the choice is mostly far from tempting. And unless his confidence is grounded on great experience he would do well to keep Quintilian's words before him: 'quaedam in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent et, dum libra-
riorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur.' In points of proposed emendation I have found welcome assistance from Mr Harold N. Fowler's edition (Boston 1888). It is founded on Classen, but gives besides much recent German criticism. Notes due exclusively to Mr Fowler are marked F. I have also to thank Mr A. W. Spratt, of St Catharine's College, for thorough revision of the proof-sheets and for many valuable suggestions. The grammatical work chiefly referred to is the latest edition of Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*. Some references to the sections of the earlier edition may have escaped notice, but I have tried to alter the plates throughout.

*St John's College, Cambridge,*  
*August, 1891.*
INTRODUCTION

In the year 424 two great blows fell upon Athens. An enterprise against Boeotia met with complete failure, ending in a disastrous defeat near Oropus. Besides this a large part of the Thrace-ward possessions fell into the hands of Brasidas, and especially Amphipolis the key of Thrace. Thus Athens was disposed to listen to terms, and as Sparta was above all anxious to recover the captives from Sphacteria, a truce for one year was concluded in 423.

The fifth Book begins with the expiration of this truce, when an expedition was made, urged by Cleon, in the hope of regaining Athenian ascendancy in Thrace. Exhausted as she must have been, Athens was able to despatch a strong force of chosen citizens, with the flower of the allies. But being, from party-intrigue or whatever cause, under the sole conduct of Cleon, the army was foredoomed to ruin. It did indeed recapture Torone, but was shattered and dispersed in the fatal battle of Amphipolis. These events occupy the first thirteen chapters of the Book, and with them concludes the first period of the war. So far, or some few chapters further, the history seems to have been completed, and to have received its final revision, after the Peloponnesian war was over.
This revision was not given to the bulk of the records in the rest of our fifth Book. Critics at any rate find them lacking in the finish which marks the first decade and the subsequent account of events in Sicily. Passages there undoubtedly are which prove a late date of composition, while others appear rather to embody the notes of a contemporary observer. Thus we have minuteness of detail on the one hand; and on the other harshness of language, unusual words and phrases, repetitions, corrections, and possibly interpolations. Dramatic effect is lost, because the point of view is too near the scene. Still we have no doubt in the main the history which Thucydides intended to give of the intervening time of hollow peace before the invasion of Sicily. Though full, it is monotonous and dull; a list of intrigues and counter-intrigues, state plotting against state, oligarchy and democracy threatening and countermining turn by turn. Fear and jealousy of Sparta lead to a confederacy in the Argive interest. There is however no energetic policy in Athens or in the states of Peloponnesus; and but little of personal interest, now that the chivalrous figure of Brasidas and the coarse but vigorous personality of Cleon have passed away. 'The baleful star of Alcibiades' does indeed appear above the horizon, but there is scarcely a name besides that we remember but that of the honest, blundering Agis. Nor does the historian introduce a single speech from the tenth to the end of the fourteenth year.

In 418 the Argive league was crushed at Mantinea, and Sparta regained by the signal valour of her soldiers her position of military supremacy. The description of the battle is vivid and exact, and seems to have received the writer's final touch. No less elaborate is the 'Melian dialogue,' which takes up the closing chapters of the Book. It is a kind of historical drama, in which the Athenian

1 See ch. 26.
actors represent without disguise the cynical contempt for right which Thucydides repeatedly attributes to Athenian policy. Melos was a Dorian colony, which had been throughout independent of Athens, though taking no part against her. The Athenians make no profession of disregarded claims or injuries which called for vengeance. No law divine or human has any power to hold them back; justice, equity and mercy are but idle words. They simply parade their overpowering strength, and offer the choice of surrender or destruction. In the display of their arrogance and impiety, their reckless greed and lawless confidence, we have a fitting prologue to the tragedy of Syracuse.
Τοῦ δʼ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι ἑπονδαὶ διελέυντο μέχρι Πυθίων. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ Ἀθηναίων Δῆλουσ ἀνέστησαν ἐκ Δῆλου, ἡγησάμενοι κατὰ παλαιὰν τινα αἰτίαν οὐ καθαροὺς ὄντας ἱερῶσθαι, καὶ ἀμα ἐλλιπὲσ σφίσιν εἶναι τοῦτο τῆς καθάρσεως ή πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται ὡς ἀνελόντες τὰς θῆκας τῶν τεθνεώτων ὀρθῶς ἐνόμισαν ποιήσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δῆλοι Ἀτραμύττιοι Φαρνάκου δῶντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὄκησαν, οὕτως ὡς ἐκαστος ὅρμητο.

Κλέων δὲ Ἀθηναίους πείσας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ὁράκης χωρία ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὀπλίτας ἐχὼν διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους, τῶν δὲ ἅμμαχων πλείους, ναῦς δὲ τριάκοντα. σχών δὲ ἐς Σκιών ρόδον ἐτὶ πολιορκομένην καὶ προσλαβὼν αὐτόθεν ὀπλίτας τῶν φρουρῶν κατεπλευσεν ἐς τὸν 'Κοφὸν λιμένα τῶν Τορωναίων ἀπέχοντα οὐ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως. ἐκ δὲ αὐτοῦ, αἰσ-

1 Κολοσσών
θόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτομόλων ὅτι οὔτε Βρασίδας ἐν τῇ ἔτη ἔστησε ἶσομάχου εἰς, τῇ μὲν στρατιᾷ ἔτη πεζῆ ἐξέρχετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ναῦς δὲ περιέπεμψε δέκα ἐς τὸν λιμένα περιπλεῖν. καὶ πρὸς τὸ περιτείχισμα πρῶτον ἀφικνεῖτα, ὁ προσπεριβάλε τῇ πόλει ὁ Βρασίδας, ἐντὸς βουλόμενος ποιήσαι τὸ προάστειον, καὶ διελθὼ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους 3 μίαν αὐτήν ἐποίησε πόλιν. Βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Πασιτελίδας τε ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων καὶ ἥ παροῦσα φυλακὴ προσβαλόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμύνοντα. καὶ ὧς ἐβιαζοντο καὶ αἱ νῆσι ἀμα περιέπλευν ἐς τὸν λιμένα 5 περιπεμφθείσαι, δεῖσας ὁ Πασιτελίδας μὴ αἱ τε νῆσι φθάσωσι λαβοῦσαι ἐρήμου τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῦ τεῖχισματος ἀλισκομένου ἐγκαταληφθῇ, ὁπολιπῶν αὐτὸ δρόμου ἐξέρχετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι φθάνουσιν οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῶν νεὼν ἐξόντες τὴν Τορώνην καὶ ὁ πεζῆ ἐπιστόμενος αὐτὸβοεῖ κατὰ τὸ διηρήμενον τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους ξυνεπτεσών. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄπεκτεναν τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Τορωναίων εὐθὺς ἐν χερσί, τοὺς δὲ ξώντας ἔλαβον καὶ 3 Πασιτελίδαν τὸν ἄρχοντα. Βρασίδας δὲ ἐβοήθει 15 μὲν τῇ Τορώνης, αἰσθόμενος δὲ καθ’ ὅδον ἐαλωκυνίαν ἀνεχόρησεν, ἀποσχὼν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους μὴ φθάσαι ἔλθών. ὁ δὲ Κλέων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τροπαία τε ἐστησάν δύο, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχισμα, καὶ τῶν 20 Τορωναίων γυναίκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας ἵνα δοξᾶσίναυ, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος Χαλκιδέως ἐν, ξύμπαντας ἐς ἐπτακοσίους, ἀπέπεμ-
4 ψαυ εἰς τὰς 'Αθηναίας· καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν Πελοποννήσιον ὑστερον ἐν ταῖς γενομέναις σπουδαίναις ἀπῆλθεν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἐκομίσθη ὑπ’ 'Ολυνθίων, ἀνὴρ ἄντ’ ἀνδρὸς λυθεὶς. εἶλον δὲ καὶ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθορίοις τείχος Βοιωτοῦ ὕπο τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον προδοσία. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων φυλακὴν καταστησάμενος τῆς Τορώνης ἀρας περιέπλει τὸν 'Αθῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁμφιπολίν.  

4 Φαίας δὲ ὁ Ἐρασιστράτου τρίτος αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναίων περιπότοτων ναυσὶ δύο ἔστι Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν πρεσβευτῆς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔξεπλευσεν. Λεοντίνοι γὰρ, ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰ τῆς ξύμβασιν, πολίτας τε ἐπεγράψαντο πολλοὺς καὶ ὁ δὴμος τῆς γῆς ἐπενόει ἀναδάσασθαι. οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ αἰσθόμενοι Συρακοσίους τε ἐπάγονται καὶ ἐκβάλλοντι τὸν δήμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιλανήθησαν ὡς ἐκαστοί, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ ὁμολογήσαντες Συρακοσίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ ἐρημώσαντες Συρακοῦσας ἐπὶ πολιτείᾳ φίλησαν. καὶ ὑστερον πάλιν αὐτῶν τινες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι ἀπολυτόντες ἐκ τῶν Συρακούσῶν Φωκαίας τε τῆς πόλεος τι τῆς Λεοντίνων χωρίων καλουμένων καταλαμβάνοντι καὶ Βρικιννίας, ὅν ἔρυμα ἐν τῇ Λεοντίνῃ. καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου τότε ἐκπεσόντων οἱ πολλοὶ ἥλθον ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν τείχῶν ἐπολέμουν. ἄν πυνθανόμενοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Φαίακα πέμπουσιν, εἰ πως πείσαντες τοὺς σφίσιν ὄντας αὐτῶθι ξυμμαχοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥν δύνονται, Σικελιῶτας κοινῆ, ὡς Συρακοσίων δύναμιν περιποιοῦμένοιν.
ἐπιστρατεύσαι, διασώσειαν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Λεοντί—
5 νων. ὁ δὲ Φαίαξ ἀφικόμενος τοὺς μὲν Καμαρι
ναίοις πείθει καὶ Ἀκραγαντίνους, ἐν δὲ Γέλα
αντιστάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἔρχεται, αὐτόκενος οὐκ ἂν πείθειν αὐτοὺς,
ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας διὰ τῶν Σικελίων ἐς Κατάννην,
καὶ ἧμα ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ καὶ ἐς τὰς Βρικυνίας ἐλθὼν
5 καὶ παραθαρσύνας, ἀπέπλευ. ἐν δὲ τῇ παρακομιδῇ
τῇ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀναχωρήσει καὶ ἐν τῇ
Ἰταλίᾳ τισὶ πόλεσιν ἐχρημάτισε περί φιλίας τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ Δοκρών ἐντυγχάνει τοῖς ἐκ Μεσ-
σήνης ἐποίκοις ἐκπεπτωκόσιν, οὐ μετὰ τὴν Σικε—
5 λιωτῶν ὁμολογίαν στασιασάντων Μεσσήνων καὶ
ἐπαγαγομένων τῶν ἑτέρων Δοκρῶν ἐποίκοι ἐξετέμ-
θησαν καὶ ἐγένετο Μεσσήνη Δοκρῶν τινὰ χρόνον.
2 τούτως ὦν ὁ Φαίαξ ἐντυχὼν 1 κομιζομένως οὐκ
ήδικησεν ἓνεγένητο γὰρ τοῖς Δοκρώις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ
ἀμφιολογία ξυμβάσεως πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅτε Σικελίωται ξυνηλ-
λάσσοντο, οὐκ ἔσπεισαντο Ἀθηναίοις, οὐδ' ἂν
tότε, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὺς κατείχεν ὁ πρὸς Ἰτωνέας καὶ
Μελαίους πόλεμος, ὁμόρους τε ὀντας καὶ ἀποίκους. 15
καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαίαξ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας χρόνῳ ὑστερον
ἀφίκετο.

6 Ὁ δὲ Κλέων, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Τοράννης τότε περὶ—
Cleon advances against
AMPHIPOLIS.

πλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὁρμώμενος
eκ τῆς Ἰκώνος Σταγείρῳ μὲν προσβάλλει
Ἀνδρίων ἀποικία καὶ οὐχ εἴλεν, Γαληθῆσαν δὲ τὴν
2 Θασίων ἀποικίαν λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος. καὶ 5
πέμψας ὡς Περδίκκαν πρέσβεις, ὡπως παραγένοιτο
1 τοῖς
στρατιά κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Θράκην ἄλλους παρὰ Πολλῆν τὸν Ὄδωμάντων βασιλέα, ἅξοντα μισθοῦ Θράκας ὡς πλείστους, αὐτὸς ἵσυ-χαζε περιμένων ἐν τῇ Ἡιώνι. Βρασίδας δὲ πυνθα-νόμενος ταῦτα ἀντεκάθητο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Κερδυλίῳ ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον τούτο Ἀργιλών ἐπὶ μετεώρον πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον τῆς Ἀμφίπολεως, καὶ κατεφαίνετο πάντα αὐτόθεν, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἠλάθην αὐτόθεν ὀρμώμενος ὁ Κλέων τῷ στρατῷ ὅπερ προσεδέχετο ποιήσειν αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν τὸ πλήθος, τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾷ ἀναβήσεσθαι. ἀμα δὲ καὶ παρεσκευάζετο Θράκας τε μισθωτοὺς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους καὶ τοὺς Ἡδωναὶ πάντας παρακαλῶν, πελταστῶς καὶ ἰππέας· καὶ Μυρκυίων καὶ Χαλκιδῶν χιλίους πελταστῶς εἰχε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀμφι-πόλει. τὸ δ᾿ ὁπλιτικῶν ξύμπαν ἥθροισθη διο-χίλιοι μάλιστα καὶ ἰππῆς Ἔλληνες τριακόσιοι. τούτων Βρασίδας μὲν ἔχων ἐπὶ Κερδυλίῳ ἐκάθητο εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, οἱ δ᾿ ἄλλοι ἐν Ἀμφι-7 πόλει μετὰ Κλεαρίδου ἐτετάχατο. ὁ δὲ Κλέων τέως μὲν ἵσυχαζεν, ἐπειτα ἡναγκάσθη ποιήσαι ὅπερ ὁ Βρασίδας προσεδέχετο. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἀρχομένων μὲν τῇ ἕδρᾳ, ἀναλογιζομένων δὲ τὴν ἐκείνον ἤγεμονίαν πρὸς οίαν ἐμπερίαν καὶ τόλμαν μετὰ οίας ἀνεπιστημοσύνης καὶ μαλακίας γενήσετο, καὶ οἰκοθεὺν ὡς ἁκοντες αὐτῷ ἐξυήλθον, αἰσθόμενος τὸν θροῦν, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθη-2 μένους βαρύνεσθαι, ἀναλαβών ἤγεν. καὶ ἔχρισσατο ἤ气血
τῷ τρόπῳ ἢπερ καὶ ἐς τὴν Πύλον εὐτυχῆσας ἐπιστευσέ τι φρονεῖν· ἐς μάχην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἠλπισέν οἱ ἐπεξείσαι οὐδένα, κατὰ θέαν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔφη ἀναβαίνειν τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ τὴν μείζω παρασκευὴν περιέμενεν, οὐχ ὡς τῷ ἁσφαλεί, ἢν ἀναγκάζηται, περισχῆσων, ἀλλ' ὡς κύκλῳ περιστὰς βίᾳ αἱρήσων τὴν πόλιν. ἐλθὼν τε καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ πρὸ τῆς 'Ἀμφιπόλεως τοῦ στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐθεάτο τὸ λιμνῶδες τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκη ὡς ἔχοι. ἀπίεναι τε ἐνομίζειν, ὅποτάν βούληται, ἀμαχεί καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεὶς οὔτε κατὰ πύλας ἔξει, κεκλημέναι τε ἢσαν πᾶσαι. ἀστε καὶ μηχανᾶς ὅτι οὐ κατήλθεν ἔχων, ὅμαρτε εἴδοκει· ἔλειν γὰρ ἂν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ ἐρήμον. 18
dὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν μίν ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καταβὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου ἐσέρχεται ἐς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν. καὶ ἐπέεδοου μὲν καὶ αὐτίκαξιν οὐκ ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, δεδοὺς τὴν αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν καὶ νομίζων ὑποδειστήρους εἶναι, οὐ τῷ πλήθει, ἀντιπάλα γὰρ πως ἢν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀξιώματι—
tὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἐστράτευε καθαρὸν ἐξῆλθε καὶ Αημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίως τὸ κράτιστον—τέχνη δὲ παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιθησόμενος. εἰ γὰρ δεῖξει τοὺς ἐναυτίοις τὸ τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὀπλισίων ἀναγκαίαν οὕσαν τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν ἦγευτο μᾶλλον περιγενέσθαι ἦ ἀνευ προύψεως τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσεως. ἀπολεξάμενοι οὖν αὐτὸς πευτήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς
Ἀλλοὺς Κλεαρίδα προστάξας ἐβουλεύετο ἐπιχειρεῖν αἰφνιδίως, πρὶν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἂν νομίζων αὐτούς ὀμοίως ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτίς μεμονωμένους, εἰ τοὺς ἐλθοῦσα αὐτοῖς ἡ βοήθεια. ξυγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς πάντας στρατιῶτας καὶ δοῦλομένους 20 παραδιδοῦναι τε καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν φράσαι ἐλεγε τοιάδε.

9 Ἀνδρέας Πελοποννησίου, ἀπὸ μὲν οἷς χώρας ἠκομεν, οτι ἄει διὰ τὸ εὐφυκχον ἐλευθέρας, καὶ ὦτι Δωρίης μέλλετε Ἰωσί μάχεσθαι, δὲν εἰσῆθον κρείσσους εἶναι, ἀρκεῖτι βραχέως δεδηλωμένου, τὴν δὲ ἐπιχείρησιν ὁ τρίτων διάνοιμαι 5 ποιεῖσθαι διδάξω, ἢν μὴ τὸ τε κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ μή ἀπαντας κινδυνεύειν ἐνδεές φαινόμενον ἀτολμίαν

2 παράσχη. τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους εἰκάζω, καταφρονήσει τε ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντας ὡς ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι της αὐτοῖς ἐς μάχην, ἀναβεῖν τε πρὸς τὸ 10 χώριον καὶ νῦν ἀτάκτως κατὰ θέαν τετραμμένους ὀλυγωρεῖν. ὥστες δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἐναντίων καλλιστα ἰδῶν καὶ ἀμα πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι μή ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς μᾶλλον καὶ ἀντιπαραταχθέντος ἢ ἐκ 15 τοῦ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν εἰμιφέροντος, πλεῖστ' ἂν ὅρθοιτ' καὶ τὰ κλέμματα ταῦτα καλλιστὴν δόξαν ἔχει ἀ τὸν πολέμιον μᾶλιστ' ἂν τις ἀπατήσας τοὺς 4 φίλους μέγιστ' ἂν ὑφελήσειν. ἦσω δὲν ἔτι ἀπαράσκευν θαρσοῦσι καὶ τοῦ ὑπανεῖν πλέον ἢ 20 τοῦ μένοντος, ἐξ ὅν ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένων αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης καὶ πρὶν ἐξυπαχθήναι μᾶλλον τὴν δόξαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔχων
τοὺς μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φθάσας, ἢν δύνωμαι, προσ-μετὰ σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς τ’ Ἀμφιπολίτας καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ξυμμάχους ἄγων, αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας
ἀνοίξας ἐπεκθεῖν καὶ ἐπείγεσθαι ως τάχιστα ξυμ-
μίξαι. ἐλπὶς γὰρ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς οὕτω φοβηθῆ-
ναι τὸ γὰρ ἐπίον ὕστερον δεινότερον τοῖς πολεμίοις
6 τοῦ παρόντος καὶ μαχομένου. καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀνὴρ
ἀγαθὸς γίγνον, ὡσπερ σε εἰκὸς ὑπὰ Σπαρτιάτην,
καὶ ύμεῖς, ὃ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, ἀκολουθήσατε ἀν-
δρεῖς, καὶ νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ
ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχοντι πεί-
7 θεσθαι, καὶ τῇ ὑμῖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ ἀγαθὸς γενο-
μένοις ἔλευσθείαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων
ξυμμάχων κεκλήσθαι, ἡ Ἀθηναίων τε δούλως, ἢν 40
τὰ ἀρίστα ἄνευ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἡ βασιλέως τε
πράξητε, καὶ δουλείαν χαλεπωτέραν ἡ πρὶν εἴχετε,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἐλληνι κωλυταῖς γενέσθαι ἔλευ-
θερώσεως. ἀλλὰ μῆτε ύμεῖς μαλακισθῆτε, ὁδῆντες
περὶ ὅσον ὁ ἄγων ἔστιν, ἐγώ τε δείξω ὡς παραί-
νέσαι οἶος τε ὁ μᾶλλον τοῖς πέλας ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐργῷ ἐπεξελθείν.
10 Ὅ μὲν Βρασίδας ὁσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὴν τε ἔξοδον
παρεσκευάζετο αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδα καθίστη ἐπὶ τὰς Ῥώ-
κιάς καλομένας τῶν πυλῶν, ὡς ὡσπερ
eἴρητο ἐπεξίοιεν. τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι, φανε-
ροῦ γενομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου καταβάν-
τοσ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπιφανεῖ οὕσα ἤξωθεν, περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς θυμοένου καὶ ταῦτα πράσσοντος, ἀγγέλλεται, προούκεχωρήκει γὰρ τότε κατὰ τὴν θέαν, ὅτι ἦ τε στρατιὰ ἀπάσα φανερὰ τῶν πολε- 10 μῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας ἔππων τε πόδες πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐξιόντων ὑποφαί- νονται. ὃ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐπῆλθεν καὶ ὡς εἶδεν, οὐ βουλόμενος μάχη διαγωνίσασθαι πρὶν οἱ καὶ τοὺς βοηθοὺς ἥκειν, καὶ οἰόμενος φθίσεσθαι ἀπελθῶν, 15 σημαίνειν τε ἡμα ἐκελευν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ παρήγ- γειλε τοὺς ἀποῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, ὡσπερ 4 μόνον ὅσον τ' ἦν, ὕπαγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡιόνος. ὃς δ' 4' αὐτῷ ἐδόκει 1 σχολὴ γίγνεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας 5 το δεξίου καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δοὺς 20 ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν. κἂν τούτῳ Βρασίδας, ὡς ὅρα 4 τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κινού- μενον, λέγει τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, 5 ὅτι οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς οὐ μένουσι, δῆλοι δὲ τῶν τε 6 δοράτων τῇ κινήσει καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν οἷς γὰρ 25 ἀν τούτῳ γίγνηται οὐκ εἰώθασι μένειν τοὺς ἐπιόν- τας. ἀλλὰ τὰς τε πύλας τις ἀνοιγέτω ἐμοὶ ὡς εἰρήται καὶ ἐπεξίωμεν ὡς τάχιστα θαρσοῦντες. 6 καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τἀς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας καὶ 7 τὰς πρώτας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους τὸτε ὄντος ἐξελθὼν 30 ἐθεὶ δρόμῳ τὴν ὅδον ταύτῃν εὐθεῖαν ὑπερ νῦν κατὰ 8 τὸ καρτερώτατον τοῦ χωρίου ἱόντι τροπαῖον ἐστη- κεν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, πεφοβημένοις 9 τε ἡμα τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀταξίᾳ καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεπληγμένοις, κατὰ μέσον τὸ στράτευμα τρέπει. 35 7 καὶ ὁ Κλεαρίδας, ὡσπερ εἰρητο, ἀμα κατὰ τὰς 1 σχολὴ
Θορκίας πύλας ἐπεξελθὼν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεφέρετο. ξυνέβη τε τῷ ἀδοκίτῳ καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἀμφοτέρωσεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους θορυβηθήναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας αὐτῶν, τὸ πρὸς τὴν 'Ηιόνα, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ἂν προκεχωρῆκε, εὐθὺς ἀπορραγέν ἔφυγεν· καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας ὑποχωροῦντος ἥδη αὐτοῦ ἐπιπαριῶν τῷ δεξιῷ τιτρώσκεται, καὶ πεσόντα αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι οὐκ αἰσθάνονται, οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἀραντες ἀπήνεγκαν. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔμενε μᾶλλον, καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διευνοέτο μένειν, εὐθὺς φεύγων καὶ καταληφθείς ὑπὸ Μυρκινίου πελταστὸν ἀποθυήσκει, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ξυστραφέντες ὀπλίται ἔπὶ τῶν λόφων τὸν τοῖς Κλεαρίδαν ἡμύνοντο καὶ διὸς ἡ τρίς προσβαλόντα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν ἢ τε Μυρκινία καὶ ἢ Χαλκείδικη ἔπτοσ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιστάντες καὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψαν. οὕτω δὲ τὸ στρατεύμα πάν ἦδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυγὸν χαλεπῶς καὶ πολλὰς ὀδοὺς τραπόμενοι κατὰ ὅρη, ὁσοὶ μὴ διεφθάρησαν ἢ αὐτίκα ἐν χεραῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς Χαλκείδικης ἔπτου καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὴν 'Ηιόνα. οἱ δὲ τὸν Βρασίδαν ἀραντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ διασώσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι ἐμπνουν ἐσεκόμισαν· καὶ ἦσθετο μὲν ὅτι νικῶσιν οἱ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ πολὺ δὲ διαλυτῶν ἐπελεύθησεν. καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ ἀναχωρήσασα μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδου ἐκ τῆς διώξεως νεκροὺς τε ἐσκύλευσε καὶ τροπαίων ἔστησεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Βρασίδαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι πάντες ξὺν ὑπλοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι δημοσίᾳ ἐθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς
νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὗτος· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπόλιται,
περιέβαλαν αὐτὸ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὡς ἦρωθαν
tε ἐντέμονοι καὶ τιμᾶς δεδώκασιν
ἀγώνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν
1 ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν, καταβαλόντες τὰ
Ἄγνώσεια οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἰ τι
μνημόσυνόν που ἐμελλέν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως περιέ-
σεσθαι, νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτηρὰ τε
σφῶν γεγενθῆθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἁμα τῆν
tῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχίαν φόβῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
θεραπεύσαν, τὸν δὲ Ἀγνώσεα κατὰ τὸ πολέμου
tῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅπι ἀν ὁμοίως σφίσει ξυμφέρως οὐδὲ
3 ἀν ἴδεως τᾶς τιμᾶς ἔχειν. καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς
Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέδοσαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν
περὶ έξακοσίων, τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων ἐπτά, διὰ τὸ μὴ
ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀπὸ δὲ τοιαύτης ξυντυχίας καὶ
προκεφαθήσεως τὴν μάχην μᾶλλον γενέσθαι. 20
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ οἰκοῦ ἀπέπλευσαν,
oi δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδου τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν
καθίσταντο.

12 Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τελευ-
tῶντος Ῥαμφίας καὶ Ἀὐτοχαρίδας καὶ
Ἐπικουδίας Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ
Θράκης χωρία βοήθειαν ἤγον ἑνακοσίων
ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Ἡράκλειαν τῆν ἐν
Ῥαχίνου καθίσταντο ὡς τοιαύτης ἐδόκει μὴ καλῶς
ἕχειν. ἐνδιατριβότων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτυχεῖν ἡ μάχη
ἄυτή γενομένη, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

13 Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγνωμονεύον χειμῶνος εὐθὺς μέχρι μὲν
Πιερίας τῆς Θεσσαλίας διήλθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ῥαμφίας.
They return to Sparta.

Reasons why both sides are disposed to peace.

φίαν, κωλυόντων δὲ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ ἀμα

14 εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην ἔχουτας. ξυνέβη τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μάχην καὶ τὴν Ῥαμφίου ἀναχώρησιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας, ὡστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἀψασθαι μηδετέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν 5 γνώμην εἴχον, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι πληγέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ καὶ δι’ ὀλίγου αὐθίς ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ρώμης πιστὴν ἔτι, ἦπερ οὐ προσεδέχοντο πρότερον τὰς σπουδὰς, δοκοῦντες τῇ παρούσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ καθυπέρτεροι γενήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἁμα ἐδεδίεσαν σφῶν, μὴ διὰ τὰ σφάλματα ἐπαιρόμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποστῶσιν, μετεμέλοντο τε ὅτι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πύλῳ καλῶς 2 παρασχῶν οὐ ξυνέβησαν· οἱ δ’ αὐτὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρὰ γνώμην μὲν ἀποβαίνοντος σφίσι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν δὲ θοντο ὀλίγῳ ἐτῶν καθαιρήσειν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν, εἰ τὴν γῆν τέμνοιεν, περιπεσόντες δὲ τῇ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ξυμφορᾶ, οἷα οὕτω γεγένητο τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ληστευομένης τῆς χώρας ἐκ τῆς Πύλου καὶ Κυθήρων, αὐτομολούντων τε τῶν 15 Εἰλώτων, καὶ ἀεὶ προσδοκίας οὕσης μὴ τι καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες τοῖς ἐξῳ πίσυνοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν, ὦσπερ καὶ πρότερον, νεωτερίσωσιν. ξυνέ-
βαίνε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους αυτοῖς τὰς τριακονταέτεις σπονδάς ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ εἶναι, καὶ ἄλλας 25 οὖκ ἥθελον σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργείοι, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς τὴν Κυνοσουρίαν γῆν ἀποδώσει. ἀστ’ ἄδυνατα εἶναι ἐφαίνετο ᾿Αργείοι καὶ ᾿Αθηναίοις ἁμα πολεμεῖν. τῶν τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ὑπώπτευον τινας ἀποστήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους' ὁπερ καὶ 30 ἑγένετο. ταῦτ’ οὐν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς λογιζομένους ἐδόκει ποιητέα εἶναι ἡ ξύμβασις, καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου κομίσασθαι· ἤσσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτῶν πρῶτοι τε καὶ ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς.

The Lacedaemonians were especially desirous of recovering their prisoners captured at Pylos.

15 The Lacedaemonians were especially desirous of recovering their prisoners captured at Pylos.

2 The Lacedaemonians were especially desirous of recovering their prisoners captured at Pylos.

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τῶν τὸτε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις, πολλῷ δὴ 3 μάλλον προεθυμοῦντο Νικίας μὲν βουλόμενος ἐν ὧ ἀπαθῆς ἦν καὶ ἦξιοῦτο διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαύσθαι καὶ ἀντὶς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφήνας τὴν πόλιν διεγένετο, νομίζον ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου τούτῳ ξυμβαίνειν καὶ ἦστις ἐλάχιστα τὐχῆ αὐτῶν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ἀκινδύνου τὴν εἰρήνην παρέχειν· 20

Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόμενος περὶ τῆς καθοδοῦ καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰὲ προβαλλόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ὅποτε τι πταίσειν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον παρανομήθεισαν ταῦτα ξυμβαίνοι. τὴν γὰρ πρέμαυτων τὴν 25 ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπητιώντῳ αὐτὸν πείσαι μετ᾽ Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡςτε χρῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ πολὺ τάδε θεωροῖς ἀφικνουμένους, Δίδος νῦν ἠμιθέου τὸ σπέρμα ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀναφέρειν, εἰ δὲ μῆ, ἀργυρέα εὐλάκα εὐλάξειν· 30

χρόνῳ δὲ προτρέψαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἐς Δύκαιον διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποτε μετὰ δώρων δοκοῦσαν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ ἡμισὺ τῆς ὀικίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ Δίδος οἰκοῦντα φοβῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔτει ἐνὸς δέουστε εἰκοστῶ τοῖς ὁμοιοῖς χροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καταγαγεῖν, ὡσπερ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονα κτίζοντες τοὺς βασιλέας 35

καθίσταντο. ἀχθόμενος οὖν τῇ διαβολῇ ταύτῃ καὶ νομίζων ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν, οὐδὲν ἃφτάματος γεγυμνέου καὶ ἀμα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ἀνδρὰς κομιξομένων, καὶ αὐτῶς τοῖς 17 καθίσταντο. ἀχθόμενος οὖν τῇ διαβολῇ ταύτῃ καὶ νομίζων ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν, οὐδὲν ἃφταματος γεγυμνέου καὶ ἀμα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ἀνδρὰς κομιξομένων, καὶ αὐτῶς τοῖς

n.c. 421. Peace is concluded for fifty years.
έχθροις ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι, πολέμου δὲ καθεστῶτος 5 ἀεὶ ἀνάγκην εἶναι τοὺς προὔχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμ- 
φορῶν διαβάλλεσθαι, προὔθυμηθή τὴν ξύμβασιν. 
καὶ τὸν τε χειμῶνα τούτον ἦσαν ἐς λόγους καὶ 
πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἤδη παρασκευή τε προεπανεσείσθη 
ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων περιαγγελλομένη κατὰ 10 
πόλεις ὡς ἐπὶ τειχισμοῦν, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον 
ἐσακούοιεν, καὶ ἑπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν ξυνόδων ἀμα πολλὰς 
δικαιώσεις προενεγκόντων ἀλλήλοις ξυνεχωρεῖτο 
ὡστε ἄ ἐκάτεροι πολέμῳ ἔσχον ἀποδόντας τὴν 
eἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, Νίσαιαν δὲ ἔχειν Ἀθηναίους— 15 
ἀνταπαυτοῦντων γὰρ Πλάταιαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐφασαν 
οὐ βίας ἀλλ’ ὁμολογία, αὐτῶν προσχωρησάντων 
καὶ οὐ προδόντων, ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι 
τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τὴν Νίσαιαν—τότε δὲ παρακαλέ-
σαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 20 
καὶ ψηφισμαένους πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων 
καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Μεγαρέων τῶν ἄλλων ἄστε κατα-
λύεσθαι, τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκε τὰ πρασσόμενα, 
pοιοῦνται τὴν ξύμβασιν καὶ ἐσπείσαντο πρὸς τοὺς 
'Αθηναίους καὶ ὁμοσαν, ἐκεῖνοι τε πρὸς τοὺς Λακε- 25 
dαιμόνιους, τάδε.

18 Σπονδᾶς ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Λακεδαιμό-
νιοι καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ κατὰ τάδε, καὶ 
ὁμοσαν κατὰ πόλεις. περὶ μὲν τῶν 
ιερῶν τῶν κοινῶν, θύειν καὶ ἴεναι καὶ 
μαντεύεσθαι καὶ θεωρεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὸν Βού- 5 
λόμενον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἅδεως. 
τὸ δ’ ιερὸν καὶ τὸν νεὼν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλ-
lωνος καὶ Δελφοὺς αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτο-
τελείς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐαυτῶν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἐτη δὲ εἶναι τὰς ὀπουνδασ 10 πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἄδολους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονή μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ 15 τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ 'Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μήτε Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Λακεδαι- μονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μήτε τέχνη μήτε 3 μηχανῇ μηδεμίᾳ. ἢν δὲ τι διάφορον ἢ πρὸς ἀλλή- λους, δικαίῳ χρήσθων καὶ ὅρκοις καθ' ὃ τι ἀν ξυν- θῶνται. ἀποδόντων δὲ 'Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμονίοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀμφίπολιν. ὅσας δὲ πόλεις παρέδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέστω ἀπιέ- ναι ὅποι ἀν βούλωνται αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐχοντας. τᾶς δὲ πόλεις φεροῦσας τὸν φόρον τὸν 25 ἐπὶ 'Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν 'Ἀθηναίους μηδὲ τοῖς ξυμμά- χους ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀποδίδοντων τὸν φόρον, ἐπεειδὴ αἱ ὀπουνδαί ἐγένοντο. εἰσὶ δὲ 'Ἀργιλος, Στάγειρος, 30 Ἀκανθος, Σκόλος, Ὀλυνθος, Σπάρτωλος. ξυμμά- χους δ' εἶναι μηδετέρων, μήτε Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε Ἀθηναίων· ἢν δὲ 'Ἀθηναίοι πείθωσι τὰς πόλεις, βούλομένας ταῦτας ἐξέστω ξυμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς 'Ἀθηναίοις. Μηκιβερναίους δὲ καὶ Σα- νάιοις καὶ Συγγαίοις οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐαυτῶν, 35 καθάπερ Ὀλυνθοί καὶ Ἀκανθοί. ἀποδόντων δὲ 'Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ Πάνακ- 6 τον. ἀποδόντων δὲ καὶ 'Ἀθηναίοι Λακεδαιμονίοις
Коруфάσιον καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑσοὶ εἰς Λάκε- δαιμονίῳ εν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἥ ἄλλοθι ποὺ ὅσης Ἀθηναίοι ἀρχουσιν εν δημοσίῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σκιώνη πολιορκουμένους Πελοποννησίων ἀφεῖναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑσοὶ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ξύμ- μαχοι ἐν Σκιώνη εἰς καὶ ὅσοι Βρασίδας ἐσέπεμ- ψεν καὶ εἰ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἥ ἄλλοθι ποὺ ἂς Ἀθηναίοι ἀρχουσιν εν δημοσίῳ. ἀποδόντων δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὐστίνας ἐχου- σιν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων κατὰ ταύτα. 50

Σκιώναιων δὲ καὶ Τορωναιῶν καὶ Σερμυλίων καὶ εἰ τινα ἄλλην πόλιν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναίοι, Ἀθηναῖος βουλευθῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὁ τι ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς. ὀρκοὺς δὲ ποιήσασθαι Ἀθη- ναίος πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κατὰ πόλεις. ὀμνύστων δὲ τὸν ἐπίχωρον ὀρκὸν ἐκάτεροι τόν μέγιστον ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως. ὁ δ' ὀρκὸς ἔστω ὅδε: ἐμμενὼ ταῖς ξυνθήκαις καὶ ταῖς σπουδαίς ταῖς δικαίως καὶ ἀδόλως. ἐστὸ δὲ Λακεδαίμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις κατὰ ταύτα ὀρκὸς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, τὸν δὲ ὀρκὸν ἀνανεοῦσθαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀμφοτέρους. στήλας δὲ στήσαν Ὁλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοὶ καὶ Ἑσθροὶ καὶ ἐν Ἀθη- ναῖες ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖ. εἰ δὲ τι ἀμυνομοῦσιν ὀπτεροίς καὶ ὃτου πέρι, λόγοις δικαίοις χρωμένοις εἰδόρκον εἴναι ἀμφοτέροις ταύτῃ μεταθείναι ὁπῃ ἂν δοκῇ ἀμφοτέροις, Ἀθη- ναῖος καὶ Λακεδαίμονίοις.
19 "Αρχει δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐφορος Πλειστόλας,
Names of the contracting parties.

Αρτεμισίου μηνὸς τετάρτη φθίνοντο, ἐν
dὲ 'Λθήναις ἄρχων 'Αλκαίος, 'Ελαφη-
βολιώνος μηνὸς ἐκτῆ φθίνοντο· ἀμνυν ἐν ὀἴδε
cαὶ ἐστείλουτο, Δακεδαιμονίων μὲν Πλειστοάναξ.

'Αγις, Πλειστόλας, Δαμάγητος, Χίων, Μεταγένης,
'Ακανθος, Δάϊθος, 'Ισχαγορᾶς, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευ-
ξίδας, 'Αντιππος, Τέλλις, 'Αλκινίδας, 'Εμπεδίας,

Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος· 'Αθηναίων δὲ ὀἴδε, Λάμπτων,
'Ισθμούνικος, Νικίας, Λάχης, Εὐθύδημος, Προκλῆς,
Πυθόδωρος, 'Αγνων, Μυρτῖλος, Θρασυκλῆς, Θεα-
γένης, 'Αριστοκράτης, 'Ιωλκίους, Τιμοκράτης, Δέων,
Δάραχος, Δημοσθένης.

20 Αὐταί αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοτο τελευτῶντο τοῦ
Duration of the first period of the war.

χειμῶνος ἀμα ἤρι ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν
αστικῶν, αὐτόδεκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων καὶ
ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν, ἢ ὡς τὸ
πρώτον ἢ ἐσβολή ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἢ ἄρχῃ
τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο. σκοπεῖτω δὲ τις κατὰ
tοὺς χρόνους καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ ἢ ἄρχοντων ἢ
ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὁμομάτων ἐς
tὰ προγεγενημένα σημαινόντων πιστεύσας μᾶλλον.
οὐ γὰρ ἄκριβες ἔστιν, οἷς καὶ ἄρχομένους καὶ
μεσοῦσι καὶ ὑπὸς ἐτυχὲ τῷ ἐπεγενέτο τι. κατὰ
θέρη δὲ καὶ χειμῶνας ἄριθμῶν, ὡσπερ γέγραπται,
eὐρήσει, ἐξ ἡμισειάς ἐκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν
dύναμιν ἔχοντος, δέκα μὲν θέρη ᾧσος δὲ χειμῶνας
tῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷ δὲ γεγενημένους.

21 Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ἔλαχον γὰρ πρῶτοι ἀποδι-
δόναι ἡ εἰχον, τοὺς τε ἀνδρασ εὐθὺς τοὺς παρὰ
σφίσων αἱχμαλώτους ἀφίεσαν καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ὄρακης πρέσβεις Ἰσχαγόραν καὶ Μηνᾶν καὶ Φιλοχαρίδαν ἐκέλευον τὸν Κλεαρίδαν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν παραδίδοναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰς σπουδὰς, ὡς εἰρήτω ἐκάστοις, δεχεσθαι. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἦθελον, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐπιτηδείας εἶναι; οὔδε δ' ὁ Κλεαρίδας παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, χαριζόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῖσιν, λέγων ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἴη βιὰ ἐκείνων παραδίδοναι. ἔλθων δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος μετὰ πρέσβεων αὐτοθεν ἀπολογησόμενις τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ὡς κατηγορῶσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχαγόραν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπείθησεν, καὶ ἄμα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἰ ἐτὶ μετακινητῇ εἴη ὁ μονολογία, ἐπείδη εὗρε κατειλημμένας, αὐτὸς μὲν πάλιν πεμπόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κελευόντων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὸ χωρίον παραδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὃπόσοι Πελοποννησίων ἐνεισών 22 ἔξαγαγεν, κατὰ τάχος ἐπορεύετο. οἱ δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι ¹ αὐτοῦ ἐτυχὸν ὄντες καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὴ δεξαμένους τὰς σπουδὰς ἐκέλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ προφάσει, ὡς ἐπείδη καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεσάντω, οὐκ ἐφασαν δεξασθαι, ὡς μὴ τινὰς δικαιοτέρας τούτων ποιῶνται. ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐσήκουν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξύμμαχίαν ἔποιοῦντο, νομίζοντες ἥκιστα ἄν σφίσι τούς τε Ἀργείους, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἦθελον Ἀμπελίδοι καὶ Λῖχοι ἐλθόντων ἐπιστένδεσθαι, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ δεινοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον μάλιστ' ² αὐτοί.

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¹ οὐτός
² οὔτως

The Lacedaemonian allies disapprove of the treaty. Clearedas still holds Amphipolis.

The Lacedaemonians conclude a separate alliance with Athens.
ἀν ἢσυχάζειν πρὸς γὰρ ἄν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν. παρόντων οὖν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ γενομένων λόγων ξυνέβησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὅρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία ἦδε.

23· Κατὰ τάδε ξύμμαχοι ἔσονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεντήκοντα ἔτη. ἦν δὲ τινες ἵωσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν πολέμιοι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κακῶς ποιῶσι Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥφελεν Ἀθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίους τρόπῳ ὅπως ἄν δύνουν· ἦν δὲ δημόσιαντες οἰχωνταῖ, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ Ἀθηναίως καὶ κακῶς πᾶσχειν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ ἀμα ἄμφω τῷ πόλεε. ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἰδόλως. καὶ ἦν τινες ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων γῆν ἵωσι πολέμιοι καὶ κακῶς ποιῶσιν, Ἀθηναίους ὥφελεν Λακεδαιμονίους τρίτῳ ὅτῳ ἄν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατῶν· ἦν δὲ δημόσιαντες οἰχωνταῖ, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ Ἀθηναίως καὶ κακῶς πᾶσχειν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ ἀμα ἄμφω τῷ πόλεε. ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἰδόλως. ἦν δὲ ἡ δουλεία ἐπανιστή-4· ταῖ, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίους παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατῶν. ὀμοῦνται δὲ ταῦτα οὔτε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σπονδᾶς ὅμοιον ἐκατέρων. ἀνα-νεοῦσθαι δὲ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἴστας ἐς Ἀθῆνας πρὸς τὰ Διονύσια, Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἴστας ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα πρὸς τὰ Τακίνθια. 5· στήλην δὲ ἐκατέρους στήσαι τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοι παρ’ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖ, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἅμερος?
'Αθηναίοις εν πόλει παρ' 'Αθηνά. ἦν δὲ τι δοκῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ 'Αθηναίοις προσθείναι καὶ ἀφελείν περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας, τὸ ἄν δοκῇ, εὐορκου ἀμφότερος εἶναι.

24 Τὸν δὲ ὦρκον ὦμυνον Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἴδε, Πλειστοάναξ, Ἀγις, Πλειστόλας, Δαμάγητος, Χίους, Μεταγένης, Ἀκανθος, Δάιθος, Ἰσχαγόρας, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευξίδας, Ἀυτιττόπους, Ἀλκινάδας, Τέλλης, Ἐμπεδίας, Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος. 'Αθηναίων δὲ Λάμπτων, Ἰσθμιόνικος, Λάχης, Νικίας, Εὐθύδημος, Προκλής, Πυθόδωρος, Ἀγων, Μυρτίλος, Ἐρασκήλης, Θεαγένης, Ἄριστοκράτης, Ἰώλκιος, Τιμοκράτης, Λέων, Λάμαχος, Δημοσθένης.

2 Αὐτὴ ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰς σπουδὰς οὐ πολλῷ ὦστερον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἀπέδοσαν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἤρχε τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτους. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἐτῆς ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος γέγραπται.

25 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν 'Αθηναίων, αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὸν δεκαετή πόλεμον ἐπὶ Πλειστόλα μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐφόροιν, Ἀλκαῖον δὲ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν, τοὺς μὲν δεξαμένους αὐτὰς εἰρήνη ἦν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων τινὲς διεκίνουν τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀλλή ταραχή καθίστατο τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς τὴν Λακεδαιμονία. καὶ ἄμα καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑποττοὶ ἐγένοντο, ἦστιν ἐν 3 οἷς οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἀ εἴρητο. καὶ ἐπὶ ἐξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας ἀπέσχοντο μὴ ἔπι τὴν ἐκατέρων γῆν στρατεύσαι, ἐξωθεὶ δὲ μετὰ ἀνακωχῆς οὐ βεβαιοῦ ἐβλαπτοῦ ἀλλήλους τὰ μάλιστα. ἐπειτὰ μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες λῦσαί τὰς μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη σπονδᾶς αὐθίς ἐς πόλεμον φανερῶν 26 κατέστησαν. γέγραψε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναίοις ἔξης, ὡς ἐκαστα ἐγένετο, κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμώνας, μέχρι οὗ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τὰ 5 μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τῶν Πειραιῶν κατέλαβον.

In fact the war never really ceased. Opportunities of information possessed by Thucydides.

2 ἔτη δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι. καὶ τῆν διὰ μέσον ξύμβασιν ἐς τις μὴ ἀξιόσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὅρθως δικαιώ- σει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις ὡς διήρτηται αἄρειτω καὶ 10 εὐρήσει οὐκ εἰκὸς ὅν εἰρήνην αὐτῆν κριθήναι, ἐν ἣ ὃλτε ἀπέδοσαν πάντα οὔτ' ἀπεδέξαντο ἄ ξυνέθευτο, 3 ἔξω τε τούτων πρὸς τὸν Μαντινικὸν καὶ Ἐπιδαυ- ρίων πόλεμον καὶ ἐς ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέρους ἀμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ξύμμαχοι οὐδὲν ἦσσον 15 πολέμοις ἦσαν, Βοιωτοὶ τε ἐκεχερίαν δεχὴμερον ἤγον. ὡστε ἔξω τῷ πρῶτῳ πολέμῳ τῷ δεκαετεῖ καὶ τῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ὑπόπτῳ ἀνακωχῇ καὶ τῷ ἔστε- ρον ἐξ αὐτῆς πολέμῳ εὐρήσει τις τοσαῦτα ἔτη, λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ ἡμέρας οὐ πολ- λὰς παρενεγκούσας· καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν τι ἱσχυρισάμενοι μόνου δὴ τοῦτο ἐχυρός ξυμβαίνι 20 ἰ ἱ ἑ γὰρ ἐγὼς μέμνημαι, καὶ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέ-
μον καὶ μέχρι οὗ ἐτελεύτησεν, προφερόμενον ὕπο πολλῶν ὅτι τρις ἐννέα ἔτη δέοι γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. 25 ἐπεβίων δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ, αἰσθανόμενος τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην, ὅπως ἀκριβέσ τι εἴσομαι. καὶ εὐνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη ἐίκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασιν, καὶ οὔχ ἡσσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγήν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τί αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθέσθαι. τὴν οὖν μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διαφοράν τε καὶ ἔσχορσιν τῶν σπουδῶν καὶ τὰ ἔπειτα ὡς ἐπολεμήθη ἐξηγήσομαι. 27 Ἕπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ πεντηκοντούτεις σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὑστερον αἱ ἔξυμαχίαι, καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πρεσβεῖαι, αἵπερ παρεκλήθησαν ἐς αὐτά, ἀνεχόρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπῆλθον, Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἐς Ἀργος τραπόμενοι πρῶτον λόγους ποιοῦνται πρὸς τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει οὗτων Ἀργείων, ὡς χρή, ἕπειδή Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ ἄλλῳ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῆς Πελοποννήσου σπονδὰς καὶ ἔξυμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς πρὶν ἔχθιστους πεποίηται, ὅραν τοὺς Ἀργείους ὡς ἑκατέρῳ σωθῆσαι ἣ Πελοπόννησος, καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν βουλομένην πόλιν τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἣτις αὐτόνομος τέ ἐστι καὶ δίκας ἵσας καὶ ὁμολας δίδωσι, πρὸς Ἀργείους ἔξυμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι, ὡστε τῇ ἀλλήλων ἐπιμαχεῖν, ἀποδείξαι δὲ ἀνδρας ὀλίγους ἄρχην αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τῶν δήμων τοὺς λόγους εἶναι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς μὴ πείσαντας τὸ πλῆθος· ἐφασαν.
δὲ πολλοὺς προσχωρήσεσθαι μίσει τῶν Λακεδαι-μονίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι διδάξαντες ταύτα ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ οίκου. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀνδρεὶς ἀκούσαντες ἐπειδὴ ἤνήγεγκαν τοὺς λόγους ἐσ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸν δήμον, ἐψηφίσαντο Ἀργείοι, καὶ ἀνδρας ἐἶλοντο δώδεκα πρὸς οὓς τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν Ἐλλήνων ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· τούτων δὲ μηδετέροις ἔξειναι ἀνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργείων σπείσασθαι. ἐδέξαντο τε ταύτα οἱ Ἀργείοι μᾶλλον ἔρωτε τὸν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σφίσι πόλεμον ἐσόμενον, ἐπὶ ἔξοδῳ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, καὶ ἡμα ἑπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἤγῆσθαι· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἦ τε Λακεδαίμων μάλιστα δὴ κακῶς ἠκουσε καὶ ὑπερώφη διὰ τὰς ξυμφοράς, οὐ τε Ἀργείοι ἀρισταὶ ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν, οὐ ξυιαράμενοι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνδυνάμως ὄντες ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀργείοι οὕτως ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεδέχοντο τοὺς ἐθέλοντας τῶν Ἕλληνων, Μαντινῆς δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ αὐτῶν πρῶτοι προσεχώρησαν, δεδίότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. τοῖς γὰρ Μαντινεύσι μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατέστραπ-το ὑπήκοουν, ἐτι τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου οὖντος, καὶ ἑνόμιζον οὐ περιόψεσθαι σφᾶς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἁρχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σχολὴν ἤγον· ὥστε ἅμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐτράπον-το, πόλιν τε μεγάλην νομίζοντες καὶ Λακεδαι-μονίοις αἰεὶ διάφορον, δημοκρατουμένην τε ὀστερ
καὶ αὐτοῖ. ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ ἡ ἀλλὰ Πελοπόννησος ἐς θρόνυ καθίστατο, ὡς καὶ σφίσι ποιητέον τοῦτο, νομίζαντες πλέον τε τι εἰδώτας μεταστήναι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἁμα δι' ἱργήσ ἑχοντες, ἐν ἀλλοις τε καὶ ὦτι ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ἐγέγραπτο εὔφορκον εἶναι προσθείναι καὶ ἀφελεῖν ὅ τι ἀν ἀμφοῖν τῶν πολέων ὑπῆρχη, Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ Ἀθηναίως. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γράμμα μάλιστα τὴν Πελοπόννησον διεθορύβει καὶ ἐς ὑποψίαν καθίστη μὴ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς ἑυβουλώντα μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίου δουλώσασθαι. δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι πάσι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις γεγραφθαί τῆν μετάθεσιν. ὡστε φοβοῦμενοι οἱ πολλοὶ ὑμηντὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔκαστοι ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι.

30 Λακεδαιμονίοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θρόνυ τοῦτον ἐν τῇ Πελοπόννησῳ καθεστῶτα, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους διδασκάλους τε γενομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὸ Ὄρος, πέμπουσι πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον 5 βουλόμενοι προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ μέλλον, καὶ ἥτιωτο τήν τε ἐσήγησιν τοῦ παντός, καὶ εἰ Ἀργείους, σφῶν ἀποστάντως, ξυμμαχοὶ ἑσοῦνται, παραβῆσθαι τε ἐφασαν αὐτοὺς τόις ὅρκοις, καὶ ἤδη ἀδικεῖν ὅτι οὐ δέχονται τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδάς, εἰρημένον κύριον 10 εἶναι ὅ τι ἄν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσηται, ἢ ἡ τε θεῆ νῦ ἡ ἱρώω κῶλυμα ἢ. Κορίνθιοι δὲ, παρόντων σφίσι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσοι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἐδέξαντο τὰς σπονδάς—παρεκάλεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτοὶ πρότερον—ἀντέλεγον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀ 15

Remonstrances of the Lacedaemonians at Corinth.
μὲν ἡδικοῦντο οὐ δηλοῦντες ἀντικρυς, ὅτι οὔτε Σύλλιον σφίσιν ἀπέλαβον παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε Ἀνακτόριοι, εἰ τε τι ἄλλο ἐνόμιζον ἐλασσοῦσθαι, πρόσχημα δὲ ποιούμενοι τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης μὴ προδώσειν· ὁμόσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀρκοὺς ἴδια τε, ὅτε μετὰ
Ποτιδαιατῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλους ὑστερον. οὔκ ουν παραβαίνειν τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀρκοὺς ἐβασαν οὐκ ἐσιόντες ἐσ τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων σπουδᾶς· θεῶν γὰρ πίστεις ὁμοσάντες ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐν εὐροκεῖν προδιόντες αὐτοὺς. εἰρήσθαι δ᾽ ὅτι ἦν μὴ θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κόλυμα ἢ φαίνεσθαι οὖν σφίσι κόλυμα θείον τούτο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ὄρκων τοσαῦτα εἶπον, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας ξυμμαχίας μετὰ τῶν φίλων θουλευσάμενοι ποιήσειν ὅ τι ἦν δίκαιον ἢ· καὶ οἱ μὲν Δακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἄνεχ᾽ ὕπει ὑπόκου, ἐσυκοῦν δὲ παρόντες ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Ἀργείων πρέσβεις, οἱ ἐκέλευον τοὺς Κορινθίους ἰέναι ἐσ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν· οἱ δὲ ἐσ τὸν ὑστερον ξύλλογον αὐτοῖς τὸν παρὰ σφίσι προείπον ἥκειν.

31 Ὡ θεὸ δὲ καὶ Ἡλείων πρέσβεια εὐθὺς καὶ ἐποίησαντο πρὸς Κορινθίους ξυμμαχίαν πρῶτον, ἐπείτα ἐκείθεν ἐσ Ἀργοὺς ἐλθοντες, καθάπερ προείρητο, Ἀργείων ξύμαχοι ἐγένοντο. διαφερόμενοι γὰρ ἐνυγχανον τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις περὶ Δεπρέου. πολέμου γὰρ γενομένου ποτὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδων τινὰς Δεπρεάταις, καὶ Ἡλείων παρακληθέντων ὑπὸ Δεπρεατῶν ἐσ ἡμαχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ καταλυσάντων τὸν πόλεμον, Ἡλείων τὴν γῆν νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς.
Λεπρεάταις τάλαντον ἔταξαν τῷ Διί τῷ Ὄλυμπῷ ἀποφέρειν. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφερον· ἐπείτα πανσαμένων διὰ πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ Ἦλειοὶ ἐπηνάγκαζον· οἱ δὲ ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ δίκης Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιτραπείσης, ὑποτοπήσαντες οἱ Ἦλειοὶ μὴ ἵσον ἐξειν, ἀνέντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν Λεπρεάτων τὴν γην ἐτεμον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοι οὐδὲν ἱσον ἐδίκασαν αὐτοῦμοις εἶναι Λεπρεάτας, καὶ ἄδικείων Ἦλειοὺς· καὶ ως οὐκ ἐμμεινάντων τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ φρούραν ὁπλιτῶν ἐσεπεμψαν ἐς Λέπρεον. οἱ δὲ Ἦλειοι, νομίζοντες πόλιν σφῶν ἀφεστηκυίαν δέξασθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν ἐυνθήκην προφέροντες, ἐν ἡ εἱρήτο, ἃ ἔχοντες ἐς τὸν Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντό τινες, ταῦτα ἔχοντας καὶ ἔξελθεῖν, ως οὐκ ἵσον ἔχοντες ἀφίστανται πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τὴν ἔμμαχίαν, ἄσπερ προείρητο, καὶ οὔτοι ἔποιησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθὺς μετ’ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ ἔπτε Θράκης Χάλκιδῆς Ἀργείων ἔμμαχοι. Βοωτοὶ δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς τὸ αὐτὸ λέγον- τες ἡσύχαζον περιορόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ νομίζοντες σφίςι τὴν Ἀργείων δημοκρατίαν αὐτοῦς ὀλιγαρχουμένους ἱσον ἔμμφορον εἶναι τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας.

32 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τοῦτον Σκιωναίους μὲν Ἀθηναίου ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναίκας ἡμιραπόδισαν καὶ τὴν γην Πλαταιέων ἐδοσαν νέμεσθαι, Δηλίους δὲ κατηγαγον πάλιν ἐς Δηλον, ἐνθυμούμενοι τάς τε ἐν ταῖς Capture of Scione. Tegea refuses to revolt from Lacedaemon.
μάχαις ξυμμαχών καὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ χρήσαν-
καὶ Φωκῆς καὶ Δοκροὶ ἥρξαντο πολεμεῖν. 
καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤδη ξύμμαχοι ἦντες 
ἐρχονται ἐς Τεγέαν ἀποστήσοντες Λακεδαίμονίων, 
ὅρωντες μέγα μέρος ὄν, καὶ εἰ σφίσι προσγένοιτο 
νομίζοντες ἀπασαν ἀν ἔχειν Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ 
οὐδὲν ἂν ἐφασαν ἐναντιωθῆναι οἱ Τεγεάται Λακε-
δαιμονίως, οἱ Κορίνθιοι μέχρι τούτου προθύμως 
πράσσοντες ἀνείσαν τῆς φιλονεικίας καὶ ὥρρόδη-
σαν μὴ οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἐτὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσχωρη. 
όμως δὲ ἔλθοντες ἐς τοὺς Βοιώτους ἐδέοντο σφών 
τε καὶ ὁΣεῖων ἠγνεσθαι ξυμμάχους καὶ τάλλα 
κοινῇ πράσσειν: τὰς τε δεχμέρους ἐπιστούντας, ἀι 
ἥσαν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιώτοις πρὸς ἄλληλοις 
οὐ πολλοὶ ύστερον γενόμεναι τούτων τῶν πεντη-
κονταετίδων σπούδῶν, ἐκέλευον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς 
Βοιώτους ἀκολουθήσαντας Ἀθηναίες καὶ σφίσ 
poίησαι, ὡσπερ Βοιώτοι εἶχον, μὴ δεχομένων δὲ 
Ἀθηναίων ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἐκεχείρίαν καὶ τὸ λουτὸν 
μὴ στενδεσθαι ἀνευ αὐτῶν. Βοιώτοι δὲ δεομένων 
τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀργείων ξυμμαχίας 
ἐπισχέοντο αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον, ἔλθοντες δὲ Ἀθη-
ναίες μετὰ Κορινθίων ὕψωσεν τὰς δεχμέρους σπον-
δάς, ἀλλὰ ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἀθηναίοι Κορινθίοις 
εἶναι σπονδάς; εἴπερ Λακεδαίμονίων εἰσὶ ξύμμαχοι. 
Βοιωτοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπειποῦν τὰς δεχ-
μέρους, ζευγνυτῶν καὶ αἰτιωμένων Κορινθίων 
ξυμβόλθαι σφίσι: Κορινθίοις δὲ ἀνακωχὴ ἀσπον-
δος ἦν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

Λακεδαίμονίοι δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους πανδημεὶ
Εστρατευσαν, Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως ἡγο-μένου, τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Παρρασίους, Μαντινέων ὑπηκόους ὄντας, κατὰ στάσιν ἐπικαλε-σαμένων σφάς, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος ἀναρθήσοντες, ἢν δύνωνται, ὁ ἐτείχισαν Μαντινῆς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφρούρουν, ἐν τῇ Παρρασικῇ κείμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι τῆς Λακωνικῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακε-δαιμονίοι τὴν γῆν τῶν Παρρασίων ἐδήμουν, οἱ δὲ Μαντινῆς τὴν πόλιν 'Αργείοις φύλαξι παραδόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐφρούρουν· ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες διασώσαν τὸ τε ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος καὶ τὰς ἐν Παρρασίως πόλεις ἀπῆλθον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοὺς τε Παρρασίους αὐτονόμους πουίσαντες καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ οἴκοι.

34 Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἦδη ἦκοντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Θράκης μετὰ Βρασίδου ἐξελθόντων στρατιωτῶν, οὕς ὁ Κλεαρίδας μετὰ τὰς σπονδας ἐκόμισεν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐψήφισαν τοὺς μὲν μετὰ Βρασίδου Εἰλωτας μαχεσσαμένους ἑλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἄν βούλωσηνται, καὶ ὑστερον οὗ πολλῷ αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν ἐς Δέπτρεον κατέστησαν, κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἡλείας, ὄντες ἦδη διάφοροι Ἡλείοις· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ληφθέντας σφῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας, δεῖσαντες μὴ τι διὰ τὴν ξυμφορὰν νομίζοντας ἐλασσωθῆσθαι καὶ ὄντες ἐπίτιμοι νεωτερίσωςιν, ἦδη καὶ ἀρχάς τινας ἑχοντας ἀτίμους ἐποίησαν, ἀτιμίαν δὲ τοιαύτη ὡςτε μῆτε ἀρχεῖν μῆτε πριαμέ-
νοσ τι ἡ πωλοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι. ὤστερον δὲ αὖθις χρόνῳ ἐπίτιμοι ἐγένοντο.

35 Τὸ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρος καὶ Θύσσον τῆν ἐν τῇ Ἀθῆναι φιλομενᾶς εἶδον, Ἀθηναίων οὖς ἦν ἡμιμαχόν.

Καὶ τὸ θέρος τούτο πᾶν ἐπιμεῖξαι μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις, ὑπωπτευον δὲ ἀλλήλους ἔθνης μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οἱ τὶς Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀλλήλους οὖς ἀπόδοσιν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀμφιπολίν πρότεροι λαχόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀποδίδοναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὖς ἀποδεδώκεσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης παρεῖχον ἡμιμάχους τὰς σπονδὰς δεχόμενους οὐδὲ Βοιωτοὺς οὐδὲ Κορυνθίους, λέγουντες οἱ οὔς μὲτ' Ἀθηναίων τούτους, ἢ μὴ ἀθέλωσι, κοινὴ ἀναγκάσουσιν χρόνους τὲ προθυεῖον ἄνευ χυγγραφῆς ἐν οἷς χρὴν τοὺς μὴ ἐσῶτας ἀμφοτέροις πολεμίους εἶναι. τούτων οὖν ὅρων οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οὕτως ἔρχον γιγνόμενον ὑπετόπευον τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους μηδὲν δίκαιον διανοοῖς βεβαία, ὡστε οὐτέ Πύλου ἀπαιτοῦντων αὐτῶν ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἴδισσις δεσμώτας μετεμέλοντο ἀποδεδωκότες, τὰ τέ αὐτὰ χωρία εἶχον, μένοντες ἐως σφισι κάκεινοι ποιῆσειν τὰ εἰρήμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ἐφασαν πεποιηκέναι τοὺς γὰρ παρὰ σφισὶ δεσμώτας οὕντας Ἀθηναίων ἀποδούναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης στρατιῶτας ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ εἰ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐγκρατεῖς ἦσαν τὸν Λαμφίπολεως δὲ οὖκ ἐφασαν κρατεῖν οὕτε παραδούναι, Βοιωτοὺς δὲ πειράσεσθαι καὶ Κορυνθίους ἐστὶς σπονδὰς ἐσπο.
γαγείν καὶ Πάνακτον ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς αἰχμάλωτοι κομμεῖν. Πύλων μέντοι ἥξιον σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι: εἰ δὲ μῆ, Μεσσηνίοις τε καὶ τοὺς Εἴλωτας ἔσαγαγείν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Θράκης, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ φρούρειν τὸ χωρίον αὐτούς, εἰ βούλονται. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐπεισαυν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡστε ἐσαγαγείν εἰς Πύλων Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς Εἴλωτας τε καὶ ὅσοι ηὐτομολήκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Λακωνίκης καὶ κατοίκισαν αὐτοὺς ἐν Κρανίοις τῆς Κεφαλληνίας τὸ μέν οὖν θέρος τούτο ἡσυχία ἢν καὶ ἐφοδοὶ παρ’ ἄλληλους.

Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγγυμομένου χειμῶνος—ἐτυχοῦ γὰρ ἐφοροῦ ἐτεροῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐφ’ ὅν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο ἄρχοντες ἤδη καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναντίοι σπονδαίς—ἐλθοῦσών προσβείον ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος καὶ παρόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ πολλὰ ἐν ἄλληλος εἰπόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ξυμβάντων, ὡς ἀπῆκαν ἐπ’ οὐκοῦ, τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Κορινθίοις Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης, οὗτοι οἷπερ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐβούλουστο μάλιστα διαλύσαι τὰς σπονδάς, λόγους ποιοῦνται ἱδίους, παρανυώντες ὅτι μάλιστα ταυτά τε γιγνώσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι Βοιωτοὺς, Ἀργείων γενομένους πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ξυμμάχους, αὖθις μετὰ Βοιωτῶν Ἀργείους Ἀδελαίμονίοις ποιῆσαι ξυμμάχους· οὐτώ γὰρ ἥκειστ’ ἄν ἀναγκασθῆναι Βοιωτοῖς ἐς τὰς Αττικὰς σπονδάς ἐσελθεῖν· ἔλεισθαι γὰρ Ἀδελαίμονίους πρὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας καὶ διαλύσεως τῶν

The new Spartan ephors intrigue with Corinth and Boeotia, proposing to affect an alliance with Argos.

1 ταῖς
σπουδάων Ἀργείους σφίσι φίλους καὶ ξυμμάχους

3 γενέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ Ἄργος ἀεὶ ἦπίσταντο ἐπιθυμοῦντας τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίους καλῶς σφίσι φίλιον γενέσθαι, ἠγούμενοι τὸν ἐξω Πελοποννήσου πόλε-μον ῥάω ἀν εἰναι. τὸ μέντοι Πάνακτον ἐδέουντο Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως παραδόσουσι Δακεδαίμονίους, ἵνα ἀντ ἀυτοῦ Πύλου, ἦν δύνανται, ἀπολαβόντες ρῆον καθιστῶνται Ἀθηναίοις ἐς πόλεμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν

The Boeotians are favourably disposed.

Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι ταῦτα ἐπεσταλ-μένοι ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Ξενάρους καὶ Κλεοβου-λου καὶ ὅσοι φίλοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων ἄστε ἀπαγγέλλαι ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, ἐκάτεροι ἀνεχόμενοι. Ἀργεῖων δὲ δὸ ἄνδρες τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεγίστης ἐπετήρουν ἀπιόντας αὐτοὺς καθ' ὅδον καὶ ἐξυγγενέμενοι ἐς λόγους ἠλθον, εἰ πῶς οἱ Βοιωτοί σφίσι ξύμμαχοι γένοιτο ὁπερ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Μαυτινῆς νομίζειν γὰρ ἀν τοῦτο προχωρήσαντος ῥάδιώς ἦδη καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ σπένδεσθαι καὶ πρὸς Δακεδαίμονίους, εἰ βούλοιτο, κοινὸ λόγῳ χρωμένους, καὶ εἰ τινά πρὸς ἄλλον δέοι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεσιν ἀκούουσιν ἠρέσκεται κατὰ τόξην γὰρ ἐδέουντο τοῦ- των ἄντερ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος αὐτοῖς φίλοι ἐπεστάλκεσαν. καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρες ὡς ἦσθοντο αὐτοῖς δεχομένους τὸν λόγον, εἰπόντες ὅτι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Βοιωτοὶ άπηγγειλαν τοῖς βοιω-20 τάρχαις τά τε ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος καὶ τά ἀπὸ τῶν Ξυγγενομένων Ἀργείων καὶ οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἠρέσκοντο τε καὶ πολλῷ προθυμότεροι ἦσαν, ὅτι

1 ἠγούμενοι?
άμφοτέρωθεν ἐξευθεῖς αὐτοῖς τοὺς τε φίλους τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων τῶν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐσ τὰ όμοια σπεύδειν. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον πρέσβεις παρῆσαν Ἀργείων τὰ εἰρημένα προκαλοῦμενοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπανέσαιν- 
viges τοὺς λόγους οἱ βουωτάρχαι καὶ πρέσβεις ύπο-
σχόμενοι ἀποστελεῖν περὶ τῆς ἕξυμαχίας ἐσ "Ἀργος.

38 Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ ἐδόκει πρῶτον τοῖς βουωτάρχαις καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Μεγαρεύσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείους σπένδεσθαι. πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους σπένδεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς γενέσθαι οἱ βουωτάρχαι ἑκοίνωσαν ταῖς τέσσαρις βουλαῖς τῶν Βουωτῶν ταῦτα, ἀπὸ πολιοῦ τὸ κύρος ἔχουσι, καὶ παρῆμονον γενέσθαι ὀρκοὺς ταῖς πόλε-

15 οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς τῶν Βουωτῶν ὄντες οὐ προσ-
δέχονται τοῦ λόγου, δειδότες μὴ ἐναντία Δακεδαι-

μονίων ποίησοι, τοῖς ἑκείνων ἀφεστῶσι Κοριν-
θίοις ἑξυμομυνήτες οἷς γὰρ εἰπον αὐτοῖς οἱ βουωτά-
χαί τὰ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος, ὅτι τῶν τε ἐφόρων
Κλέοβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης καὶ οἱ φίλοι παραινοῦσιν
Ἀργείων πρῶτον καὶ Κορινθίων γενομένων ἕξυμα-
χοις ὑστερον μετὰ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων γίγνεσθαι, ὁι
οἰμένοι τίνι βουλῆν, κἂν μὴ εἰποῦσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα
ψηφίεσθαι ἢ ἅ σφίσι προδιαγνώντες παραινοῦσιν.

5 ως δὲ ἀντέστη τὸ πράγμα, οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ
ἀπὸ Ὄρακης πρέσβεις ἀπρακτοὶ ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτάρχαι μέλλοντες πρότερον, εἰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαί, καὶ τὴν ἐξιμμαχίαν πειράσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀργείους ποιεῖν, οὐκέτι ἐσήνεγκαν περὶ Ἀργείων ἐς τὰς βουλὰς, οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ Ἄργος τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐσ ὑπέσχοντο ἐπεμπον, ἀμέλεια δὲ τὸς ἐνὴν καὶ διατριβῇ τῶν πάντων.

39 Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμώνι τούτῳ Μηκύβερναν Ὁλύνθιοι Ἀθηναίοι φρουροῦντον ἐπιδραμόντες εἶλον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα—ἐγίγνοντο γὰρ ἄει λόγοι τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ ὁνὶν εἰχὼν ἀλλήλων—ἐλπίζοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναίοι παρὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀπολάβοιεν, κομίσασθαι ἂν αὐτοὶ Πύλον, ἦλθον ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρεσβευόμενοι καὶ ἐδέωντο σφίζει Πάνακτον τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐςμάτας παραδοῦναι, ἵν' ἀντ' αὐτῶν Πύλον κομίσωνται.

2 οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν, ἤν μὴ σφόνι ἐξιμμαχίαν ἴδιαν ποιῆσονται ὡσπερ Ὀλύνθιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι ἀδικήσουσιν Ἀθηναίους, εἰρήμενον ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μῆτε στενδεσθαί τῷ μῆτε πολεμεῖν, βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ Πάνακτον παραλαβεῖν ὡς τὴν Πύλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κομίσωμενοι καὶ ἀμα τῶν ἐξιμμαχεῖα σπευδίντων τὰς σπονδάς προθυμουμένων τὰ ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐξιμμαχίαν τοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτάτων ἦδη καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ· καὶ τὸ Πάνακτον εὐθὺς καθήρειτο. καὶ ἐνδεκατὸν ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεῦτα.

40 Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἕρι εὐθὺς τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους
οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ὡς οἱ τε πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν ούς ἐφασαν πέμψειν οὐχ ἥκον, τοῦτο τοῦ Πάνακτον ἵσθοντο καθαροῦμενον καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἰδίαν γεγενημένην τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἔδεισαν μὴ μονωθῶσι καὶ εἰς Λακεδαιμονίους πάσα ἡ ξυμμαχία χωρίς· τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ἵστοντο πεπεισθαί ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ τε Πάνακτον καθελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίους σπονδὰς ἐσίεναι, τοὺς τε το Άθηναίοις εἰδέναι ταῦτα, ὡστε οὐδὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἑτεροφώνων ποιήσασθαι, πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες ἑκ τῶν διαφορῶν, εἰ μὴ μείναιν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδαὶ, τοῖς γοῦν Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχοι ἐσεθθαί. ἀποροῦντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Τενεάτας, Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀμα πολεμῶν, πρότερον οὐ δεχόμενοι τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδαίς, ἀλλὰ ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι, ἕπεμπον ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονία πρέσβεις Εὐστροφόν καὶ Αἰσώνα, οἱ ἐδόκουν προσφιλέστατοι αὐτοῖς εἰναι, ἠγούμενοι εἰκ τῶν παρόντων κράτιστα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι, ὅπῃ ἂν ξυμμαχησθαί ταχίστα ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονία πρέσβεις Εὐστροφὸν καὶ Αἰσώνα, οἱ εἶδοκοι προσφιλέστατοι αὐτοῖς εἰναι, ἠγούμενοι εἰκ τῶν παρόντων κράτιστα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι, ὅπῃ ἂν ξυμμαχήσησθαί ταχίστα ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονία πρέσβεις Εὐστροφὸν καὶ Αἰσώνα, οἱ εἶδοκοι προσφιλέστατοι αὐτοῖς εἰναι, ἠγούμενοι εἰκ τῶν παρόντων κράτιστα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι, ὅπῃ ἂν ξυμμαχήσησθαί. Καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν λόγους ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐφ' ὃ ἂν σφίσιν αἱ σπονδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἡξίουν δίκης ἐπιτροπὴν σφίσι γενέσθαι ἢ ἐς 5 πόλεις τινὰ ἡ ἰδιώτην περὶ τῆς Κυνοσουρίας γῆς, ἦς ἀεὶ πέρι διαφέρονται μεθορίας οὕσης—ἑχει δὲ
ἐν αὐτῇ Θυρέαν καὶ Ἀθηνῆν πόλιν, νέμονται δ' αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι—ἐπείτα δ' οὐκ ἐώντων Λακεδαιμονίων μεμνήσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰ βούλονται σπένδεσθαι ὡσπερ πρότερον, ἐτοίμου εἶναι, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πρέσβεις τάδε ὠμος ἑπηγάγοντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ξυγχωρῆσαι, ἐν μὲν τῇ παρόντι σπουδᾶς ποιήσασθαι ἐτή πεντήκοντα, ἐξεῖναι δ' ὁποτεροισοῦν προκαλεσμένοις, μὴτε νόσου οὔσης μὴτε πολέμου Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀργει, διαμάχονται περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον ποτε, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἥξιοντο νικάν, διάκειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι περαίτέρῳ τῶν πρὸς Ἀργοὺς καὶ Λακεδαίμονα ὅρων. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει μωρία εἶναι ταύτα, ἐπείτα—ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ τὸ Ἀργοὺς πάντως φίλιον ἔχειν—ξυγχωρήσαν ἐφ' οἷς ἥξιον καὶ ξυγγράψαντο. ἐκέλευον δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι, πρὶν τέλος τί αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐς τὸ Ἀργοὺς πρῶτον ἐπαναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς δείξαε τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ἣν ἀρέσκοντα ἦ, ἤκειν ἐς τὰ Ἡσαίου 42 τοὺς ὅρκους ποιησομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνεξωρη—

Indignation of the Athenians.

σαν' ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ὥς οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ταύτα ἑπρασσόν, οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, Ἀνδρομένης καὶ Φαίδιμος καὶ Ἀντιμεῖδας, οὗς ἐδει τὸ Πάνακτον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας 5 τοὺς παρὰ Βοιωτῶν παραλαβόντας Ἀθηναίοις ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ μὲν Πάνακτον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν αὐτῶν καθηρμένον εὑρὸν, ἐπὶ προφάσει ὡς ἦσαν ποτε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἐκ διαφορᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἕρκοι παλαιοὶ μηδετέρους οἰκεῖν τὸ χωρίον ἀλλὰ κοινῇ νέμειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας οὓς εἶχοι αἰχμα-
λότους Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίων, παραλαβόντες οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἀνδρομένην ἐκόμισαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἀπέδοσαν, τούτῳ τοῦ Πανάκτου τῇ καθαίρεσιν ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς, νομίζοντες καὶ τούτῳ ἀποδιδόναι πολέμιον γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοις οἴκησειν οὐδένα. λεγομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναίοι δεινὰ ἐποίοιν, νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαίμονίων τοῦ τοῦ Πανάκτου τῇ καθαίρεσι, ὁ ἐδεὶ ὅρθον παραδοῦναι, καὶ πυθανόμενοι ὅτι καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἰδίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ πεποίηται, φάσκοντες πρὸτερον κοινῇ τοὺς μή διχόμενοι τᾶς σπουδᾶς προσαναγκάσεων. τά τε ἀλλὰ ἐσκόπουν ὥσα ἐξελελοίπεσαν τῆς ξυνθήκης καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἐξηπατηθῇ, ὡστε χαλεπῶς πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀποκρινόμενοι ἀπέτεψαν.

43 Κατὰ τοιαύτην δὴ διαφορὰν ὄντων τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖαι αὖ βουλόμενοι λύσαι τᾶς σπουδᾶς εὐθὺς ἐνέκειντο. ἦςαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίων, ἀνὴρ ἡλικίας μὲν ὁν ἐπὶ τότε νέος ὁς ἐν ἀλλή πόλει, ἀξίωματὲ δὲ προγόνων τιμώμενος, ὁ ἐδοκεῖ μὲν καὶ ἀμεινὸν εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους μᾶλλον χωρεῖν, ὡς μέντοι ἄλλα καὶ φρονῆματι φιλονεικοῦ ἡμαυτοῦ, ὅτι Λακεδαίμονιοι διὰ Νικίον καὶ Λάχητος ἔπραξαν τὰς σπουδὰς, αὐτὸν κατὰ τῇ νεότητα ὑπεριδόντες καὶ κατὰ τῇ παλαιᾷ προβεβίᾳ ποτὲ οὕσαν οὐ τιμήσαντες, ἵνα τοῦ πάππου ἀπειπότος αὐτός τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νῆσου αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους θεραπέων διε- νοεῖτο ἀνανεώσασθαι. πανταχόθεν τε νομίζον ἐλασσοῦσθαι τὸ τε πρῶτον ἀντείπειν, οὐ βεβαιοὺς.
φάσκων εἶναι Δακεδαμονίους, ἀλλ' ἦν 'Ἀργείοις σφίσι σπεισάμενοι ἐξέλωσι καὶ αὖθις ἐπ' Ἀθηναίοις μόνους ὠσι, τοῦτον ἔνεκα σπένδεσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ τότε, ἐπειδῆ ἡ διαφορὰ ἐγεγένητο, πέμπτευ 20 εὐθὺς ἐς 'Ἀργοὺς ἱδία, κελεύων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προκαλουμένους ἥκειν μετὰ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὡς καίρῳ ὄντος καὶ αὐτὸς ξυμπράξων 44 τὰ μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ 'Ἀργεὶοι ἀκούσαντες τῆς τε ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπειδῆ ἐγνωσαν οὐ μετ' 'Ἀθηναίων πραχθεῖσαν τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφορὰν μεγάλην καθεστώτας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαίοις, τῶν μὲν ἐν Δακεδαιμονίῳ πρέσβειοι, οἱ σφίσι περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν ἔτυχον ἀπόντες, ἡμέλουν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, νομίζοντες πόλιν τε σφίσι φιλίαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ καὶ δημοκρατουμένην, ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτοῖ, καὶ δύναμιν 10 μεγάλην ἔχουσαν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ξυμπολεμήσειν σφίσιν, ἣν καθιστῶνται ἐς πόλεμον. ἔπεμπον οὖν εὐθὺς πρέσβειος ὡς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας. Ξυνηπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἡλείοι καὶ Μαντινῆς. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων 15 πρέσβεις κατὰ τάχος, δοκοῦντες ἐπιτηδείου εἶναι τῶν 'Αθηναίων, Φιλοχαρίδας καὶ Λέων καὶ Ἐνδίος, δείχνοντες μὴ τὴν τε ξυμμαχίαν ὀργίζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς 'Ἀργείους ποιῆσωνται, καὶ άμα Πύλον ἀπαίτησοντες ἀντὶ Πανάκτου, καὶ περὶ τῆς Βοιωτῶν 20 ξυμμαχίας ἀπολογησάμενοι ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῶ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἐποίησαντο. καὶ λέγοντες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τε τούτων καὶ ὡς αὐτοκράτορες ἥκουσι
περὶ πάντων ἐμβηναι τῶν διαφόρων, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐφόβουν μὴ καὶ ἤν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ταύτα λέγοντι, ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἀπωσθῇ ἢ Ἀργείων ἐμμα-
χία. μηχανάται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιόν διὸ Ἀλκιβιάδης τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πείθει, πίστιν αὐτοῖς δοῦν, ἢ μὴ ὁμολογήσωσιν εἰς τῷ δῆμῳ
ἀυτοκράτορες ἴκεις, Πύλον τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν— πείσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀντι-
λέγειν—καὶ τάλλα ἦσαλλάξειν. βουλόμενος δὲ
αὐτοὺς Νικίον τε ἀποστῆσαι ταύτα ἐπρασσε, καὶ ὅπως ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ διαβαλών αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλη-
θὲς ἐν νῷ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ λέγουσιν οὐδέποτε ταύτα, τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ἐμμά-
χους ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς
τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες καὶ ἐπερωτώμενοι οὐκ
ἔφασαν, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ, αὐτοκράτορες ἴκειν, οἱ
Ἀθηναίοι οὐκέτι ἦνείχοντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον καταβοῶντο τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ἑσκονοῦν τε καὶ ἑτοίμου ἴσαν
eἰθῶς παραγαγόντες τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοῖς μετ'
αὐτῶν ἐμμάχοις ποιεῖσθαι: σεισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου,
πρίν τι ἐπικυρωθῆναι, ἢ ἐκκλησία ἅτη ἀνεβλήθη.

Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Νικίας, καὶ περὶ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἡπατημένων καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐξηπατημένος περὶ τοῦ μὴ αὐτοκρά-
tορας ὁμολογῆσαι ἴκειν, ὧμως τοῖς Λακε-
dαιμονίοις ἐφὶ χρῆναι φίλους μᾶλλον
γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπισχύντας τῇ πρίς Ἀρ-
γείους πέμψαι ἔτι ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰδέναι ὅ τι δια-
νοοῦνταί, λέγων ἐν μὲν τῷ σφετέρῳ καλῷ ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐκείνων ἀπρεπεὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβάλλεσθαι: σφίσι μὲν γὰρ εὗ ἐστῶτων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ πλείον· τοῦ ἄριστου εἶναι διασώσασθαι τῇ εὐπραγίᾳ, ἐκείνοις δὲ δυστυχῶσιν ὅτι τάχιστα εὔρημα εἶναι διακινδυνεύσαι. ἔπεισε τε πέμψαι πρέσβεις, ὅν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, κελεύσοντας Δακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ τι δίκαιον διανοοῦνται, Πάνακτον τὸ ὅρθὸν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, καὶ τὴν Βουωτῶν ἄμμαχίαν ἀνείναι, ἦν μὴ ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐσίσωσι, καθάπερ εἰρητο ἄνευ ἄλληλων μηδενὶ ἄμμαχειν. εἰπεῖν τε ἐκείλευν ὦτί καὶ σφεῖς, εἰ ἐβούλωσθο ἀδικεῖν, ἤδη ἂν Ἀργείους ἄμμαχους πεποιήσθαι, ὡς παρεῖναι γ᾽ αὐτοῦς αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἕνεκα. εἰ τε τι ἄλλο ἕνεκάλουν, πάντα ἐπιστείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νικίαν πρέσβεις. καὶ ἀφικομένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαγγειλάντων τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τέλος εἰπόντων· ὅτι εἰ μὴ τὴν ἄμμαχίαν ἀνήσουσί Βουωτοῖς μὴ ἔσιον· σιν ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς, ποιήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄμμαχους, τὴν μὲν ἄμμαχίαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι Βουωτοίς οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνήσειν, ἐπικρατοῦντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐνεάρη τὸν ἔφορον ταῦτα γλυκεσθαι, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμῶν ἕσαν, τοὺς δὲ ὅρκους δεομένου Νικίου ἀνευσαντο· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ πάντα ἀτελῆ ἔχων ἀπελθῇ καὶ διαβληθῆ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο, αὐτίος δοκῶν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς Δακεδαιμόνιοις σπονδῶν. ἀναχωρῆσαντός τε αὐτοῦ ὡς ἦκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαιμόνιος πεπραγμένων, εὐθὺς δὲ ὀργῆς εἶχον, καὶ νομίζοντες ἀδικείσθαι, ἔτυχον γὰρ παροῦντες οἱ
'Αργείοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, παραγαγόντος 'Αλκιβιάδου, ἐποίησαντο σπονδὰς καὶ ξύμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴνδε.

47 Σπονδᾶς ἐποίησαντὸ ἐκατὸν 'Αθηναῖοι ἔτη καὶ 'Αργείοι καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ 'Ηλείοι ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξύμμαχων, ὅπως ἀρχο-

5 ὑπὸ ἐκάτεροι, ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆ

7 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἔξεστω ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μῆτε 'Αργείους καὶ 'Ηλείους καὶ Μαν-

10 τινέας καὶ τοὺς ξύμμαχους ἐπὶ 'Αθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξύμμαχους, ὅπως ἀρχοῦσιν 'Αθηναῖοι, μῆτε 'Αθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξύμμαχους ἐπὶ 'Αργείους καὶ 'Ηλείους καὶ Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς ξύμμαχους τέχνη

15 μηδὲ μηχανῇ μηδεμω. κατὰ τάδε ξύμμαχους εἶναι 'Αθηναίους καὶ 'Αργείους καὶ 'Ηλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ἐκατὸν ἔτη. ἦν πολέμιοι ἱωσιν ἐς τὴν

20 γῆν τὴν 'Αθηναίων, βοηθεῖν 'Αργείους καὶ 'Ηλείους καὶ Μαντινέας 'Αθηναίες, καθ' ὁ τι ἀν ἐπαγγέλ-

25 λωσιν 'Αθηναίοι, τρόπῳ ὅποιῳ ἄν δύνωνται ἵσχυρο-

30 τάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν. ἵνα δὲ δηοσάντες οἴχονται,

34 πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν 'Αργείους καὶ Μαντινεύου καὶ 'Ηλείους καὶ 'Αθηναίους καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τούτων, κατα-

39 λύειν δὲ μὴ ἔξειν τοὺς πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μηδεμά τῶν πόλεων, ἦν μὴ ἀπάσαις δοκῆ.

40 βοηθεῖν δὲ καὶ 'Αθηναίους ἃς 'Αργος καὶ Μαντι-

45 νείαι καὶ 'Ηλιον, ἦν πολέμιοι ἱωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν 'Ηλείων ἢ τὴν Μαντινεῶν ἢ τὴν 'Αργείων, καθ' ὁ τι ἀν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν αἱ πόλεις αὐταί, τρόπῳ ὅποιῳ

49 ἀν δύνωνται ἵσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἦν δὲ
δηώσαντες οίχωνται, πολεμίαν εϊναι ταύτην τήν πόλιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεύσι καὶ Ἡλείοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ πασῶν τοῦ· τῶν τῶν πόλεων καταλύειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἦν μὴ ἀπάσαις δοκῇ ταῖς πόλεσιν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἕαν ἔχοντας διϊέναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τῆς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὥν ἂν ἄρχωσιν ἐκαστοῖς, μηδὲ δὲ διὰ τὰ ἁλάσαν, ἦν μὴ θολωμένων τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν τὴν δίδον εϊναι, Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεύσι καὶ Ἡλείοις. τοῖς δὲ βοηθοῦσιν ἡ πόλις ἡ πέμπτουσα παρεχέτω μέχρι μὲν τριάκοντα ἴμερῶν σίτου, ἐπὶ ἡ ἐλθῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔπαγγεῖσαν βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀπιοῦσι κατὰ ταύτα· ἦν δὲ πλέονα βουλώντα κρόνον τῇ στρατιᾷ χρῆσθαι, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεταπεμψαμένη διδότω σίτου, τῷ μὲν ὀπλίτῃ καὶ φιλῷ καὶ τοξότῃ τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς Ἀιγυναίους τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστης, τῷ δὲ ἰππεῖ δραχμήν.

9 Λιγυναίας. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ μεταπεμψαμένη τήν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχετω, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τῷ πόλεμῳ ἦν δὲ ποι ὄξης ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῆ στρατεύεσθαι, τῷ ἴσον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετείχε πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν.

Ομόσαι δὲ τὰς στόνδας Ἀθηναίους μὲν ὑπὲρ τε σφών αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, Ἀργείοι δὲ καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ τούτων κατὰ πόλεις ὡμούντων. ὡμούντων δὲ τῶν ἐπιχώριον ὄρκον ἐκαστοῖς τῶν μέγιστον κατὰ ιερῶν τελείων. δὲ ὁ ὄρκος ἐστὼ ὅτε· ἐμενῶ τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα δικαίως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς καὶ ἀδόλως καὶ ὁ παραβήσομαι τέχνη οὐδὲ
μηχανή οὐδέμα, ὁμνύτων δὲ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἡ 
βουλή καὶ αἱ ἐνδήμοι ἁρχαῖ, ἔξορκοῦντων δὲ οἱ 
πρυτάνεις· ἐν "Ἀργεῖ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ ὁγδοηκοντα 
καὶ αἱ ἁρτύναι, ἔξορκοῦντων δὲ οἱ ὁγδοηκοντα· ἐν 
δὲ Μαντινείας οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ 
ἄλλαι ἁρχαί, ἔξορκοῦντων δὲ οἱ θεωροὶ καὶ οἱ πολέ-
μαρχοὶ· ἐν δὲ "Ἡλιδι οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ τέλη 
ἐχοντες καὶ οἱ ἐξακοσίοι, ἔξορκοῦντων δὲ οἱ δῆ- 
μιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ θεσμοφύλακες. ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ 
τοὺς ὁρκοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἱόντας ἐς Ἡλιῳ καὶ ἐς 
Μαντινειαν καὶ ἐς Ἀργος τριάκοντα ἡμέραις πρὸ 
Ολυμπίων, Ἀργείους δὲ καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαν-
τινέας ἱόντας Ἀθήνας δέκα ἡμέραις πρὸ Παναθηναίων· 
τῶν μεγάλων. τάς δὲ ξυνθήκας τάς περὶ 
τῶν σπονδῶν καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας 
ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλη λιθίνη Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ἐν 
πόλει, Ἀργείους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾶ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ 
ἱερῷ, Μαντινέας δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ 
ἀγορᾷ· καταθέντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι στήλην 
χαλκῆν κοινῇ Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς νυνί. ἐδώ τι 
δοκῆ ἀμεινον εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις προσθεῖναι 
πρὸς τοῖς ξυγκεμένοις, ὅ τι ἤν δέξῃ ταῖς πόλεσιν 
ἀπάσαις κοινῇ θουλευομέναις, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.

Αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ αἱ ξυμμαχίαι οὐσεγένοντο, 
καὶ αἱ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων 
οὐκ ἀπείρηντο τοῦτον ἐνεκα οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐτέ-
ρων. Κορίνθιοι δὲ, Ἀργείων ὄντες ξύμ-
μαχοὶ, οὐκ ἐσήλθον ἐς αὐτάς, ἄλλα καὶ 
γενομένης πρὸ τοῦτον Ἡλείως καὶ Ἀργείως καὶ 
Μαντινεύσι ξυμμαχίας τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ

The Corinthians refuse to join, and incline towards Sparta.
'Ολυμπια δ' ἐγένετο τοῦ θέρους τοῦτον, οἷς Ἀν-
δροσθένης Ἀρκάς παγκράτιον τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίκα· καὶ 
Δακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ Ἡλεῶν ἐφηθησαν ὡστε 
μὴ θύειν μηδ' ἀγωνιζόμεθα, οὔκ ἐκτίνοντες τὴν 
δίκην αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἐν τῷ 'Ολυμπιακῷ νόμῳ Ἡλεῖοι κατε-
δικάσαντο αὐτῶν, φάσκοντες (ἐς) σφᾶς ἐπὶ Ψύρκου 
tε τείχος ὅπλα ἐπενεγκείων καὶ ἐς Δέπρεον αὐτῶν 
ὀπλίτας ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς σπονδαῖς ἐσπέμψαι. 
ἡ δὲ καταδίκη δισχίλια μναὶ ἦσαν, κατὰ τὸν ὡς 
ὀπλίτην ἐκαστὸν δύο μναῖ, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἔχει. 
Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀντέλεγον 
μὴ δικαιώσαν σφῶν καταδικάσθαι, λέγοντες μὴ 
ἐπηγγέλθαι πω ἐς Δακεδαίμονα τὰς σπονδὰς, ὅτ' 
ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀπλίτας. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ τὴν παρ' 
αὐτοῖς ἐκεχειρίαν ἡδὴ ἐφασαν εἰναι—πρῶτοι γὰρ 
σφῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγέλλουσιν—καὶ ἡσυχαζόντων 
σφῶν καὶ ὡς προσδεχόμενων, ὡς ἐν σπονδαῖς, 
αὐτοὺς λαθεῖν ἀδικήσαντας. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι 
ὑπελάμβανον ὡς χρεὸν εἰναι αὐτοὺς ἐπαγγεῖλαι ἐτί 
ἐς Δακεδαίμονα, εἰ ἀδικεῖν γε ἡδὴ ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς, 
ἀλλ' ὡς νομίζοντας τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, καὶ ὡς 
σωματίσε ἐτί αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ τοῦ 
αὐτοῦ λόγου εἰχοντο, ὡς μὲν οοκ ἀδικοῦσι μὴ ἀν
πεισθήναι, εἰ δὲ βούλονται σφίσι Δέπρεον ἀποδοθῆναι, τὸ τε αὐτῶν μέρος ἀφιέναι τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ ὁ τῷ θεῷ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐκτίσεως. ὥσ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐσήκουν, αὖθις τάδε ἦξιον, Δέπρεον μὲν μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βούλονται, ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὅλυμπίου, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρίσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀπομόσαι ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ μὴ ἀποδώσεως ὑστερον τὴν καταδίκην. ἢς δὲ οὖν ταῦτα ἦθελον, Δακεδαίμονιοι μὲν εἰργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ, θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων, καὶ οἶκοι ἔθους, οἳ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἑλλήνες ἔθεσον πλὴν Δέπρεωτῶν. ὃμως δὲ οἳ Ἡλεῖοι δεδιότες μὴ βίᾳ θύσωσι, ἠξίων τῶν νεωτέρων φυλακῆν εἰχον. ἡλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἡραγεῖοι καὶ Μαντυνής, χίλιοι ἐκατέρων, καὶ Ἡθναίων ἱππῆς, οὐ ἐν Ὁραγεὶ ὑπέμενον τὴν ἐορτήν. δέος δὲ ἐγένετο τῇ πανηγύρει μέγα μὴ ἠξίων ὁπλοῖς ἐλθοσιν οἴ Δακεδαίμονιοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λίχας ὁ Ἁρκασιλάος, Δακεδαίμονιος, ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδοῦχων πληγὰς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι ἰκώντος τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἐνέγους καὶ ἀνακηρυχθέντος Βοιωτῶν δημοσίου κατὰ τὴν οὐκ ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀγωνίσεως, προελθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀγώνα ἀνέδησε τού ἤνιοχον, βουλόμενοι δηλώσαι ὅτι ἐαυτοῦ ἦν τὸ ἀρμα. ὅστε πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐπεφόβητο πάντες καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἐσεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Δακεδαίμονιοι ἴσηχασάν τε καὶ ἡ ἐορτῇ αὐτοῖς ὤτω διήλθεν. ἐς δὲ Κόρινθον μετὰ τὰ Ὅλυμπία Ἡραγεῖοι τε καὶ οἱ ἐφέμοις αὑρίκοντο δεησόμενοι αὐτῶν παρὰ σφάς ἔλθειν. καὶ Δακεδαίμονίων πρέσβεις ἐτυχον παρόντες, καὶ πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων τέλος
οὔδὲν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ σεισμοῦ γενομένου διελύθη-
σαν ἐκαστοῦ ἐπ’ οὐκοῦ. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

51 Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἡρακλεώτας

Τοῖς ἐν Τραχινὶ μάχῃ ἐγένετο πρὸς Δινα-
νας καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ θεο-
σαλῶν τινα. προσοικοῦντα γὰρ τὰ ἐθνη-
τάκτα τῇ πόλει πολέμια ἄν’ οὐ γὰρ ἔτη ἄλλη τῳ

52 Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὔθυς ἄρχομένου

τῆν Ἡράκλειαν, ὅς μετά τῆν μάχην κακῶς
ἐφθείρετο, Βοιωτοί παρέλαβον, καὶ Ἡγη-
σιπτίδαν τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον ὡς οὗ καλῶς
ἀρχοντα ἐξέπεμψαν. δείσαντες δὲ παρέ-

λαβοῦ τὸ χωρίον μὴ Δακεδαιμονίων τὰ
κατὰ Πελοπόννησον θορυβουμένων Ἀθηναίων λά-
βωσιν’ Δακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ὁργίζοντο αὐτῶς.

Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου,

στρατηγὸς ὁν Ἀθηναίων, Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμά-
χων ξυμπρασσόντων, ἐλθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον μετ’

ὁλῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπλίτῶν καὶ τοξώτων καὶ τῶν
αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβῶν, τὰ τε ἄλλα ξυγ-
καθίστη περὶ τῆν ξυμμαχίαν διαπορεύομενος Πελο-
πόννησον τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ Πατρέας τε τείχη καθε-

ναι ἐπεισεν εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτερον διενοεῖτο
τειχίσαι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡρώ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ. Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ οίς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ τειχισθεὶν βοηθήσαντες διεκόλυσαν.

53 Τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν θέρους Ὑπιδαυρίων καὶ Ἀργείων πόλεμος ἐγένετο, προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαέως, δὲ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ βοταμίων Ὑπιδαυρίων —κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι —ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς Ὑπιδαυρίου τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις προσλαβεῖν, ἢν δύνονται, τῆς τε Κορίνθου ἅγια καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀιγίνης βραχυτέραν ἔσεσθαι τὴν βοήθειαν ἢ Ἐκύπλαιον περιπλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις. παρεσκευάζοντο οὖν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐστὶ τῆς Ὑπιδαυρίου διὰ τοῦ θύματος τῆς ἐσπραξίως ἐσβαλοῦντες. ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πανδημεῖ ἐς Λευκτρα τῆς ἐαυτῶν μεθορίας πρὸς τῷ Δύκαιον, Ἀγίδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλέως ἡγομένου. ήδει δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅποι στρατεύσωσιν, οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατηρία θυμοῦντο ὑπὸ προὐχώρει, αὐτοὶ τε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ οἶκον καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις περιήγησαν μετὰ τὸν μέλλοντα —Καρνείος δὲ ἦν μὴν, ιερομήνια Δωριέσι —παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς στρατεύσωσιν, ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντες. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Καρνείου μὴν δὲ εξελθόντες τετρίδι φθινοντο, καὶ ἀγνοῦντες τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην πάντα τῶν χρόνων, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ὑπιδαυρίαν καὶ ἔδησαν. Ὑπιδαυρίου δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπεκαλοῦντο· ὅπτ᾽ εἶναι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πρὸς τοῦ Πυθαέως ἀπεκτέθησαν, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις πανδημεῖν. ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐς τὸν Καρνείον, μὴν δὲ εξελθόντες τετρίδι φθινοντο, καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην πάντα τῶν χρόνων, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ὑπιδαυρίαν καὶ ἔδησαν. Ὑπιδαυρίου δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπεκαλοῦντο· ὅπτ᾽ εἶναι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πρὸς τοῦ Πυθαέως ἀπεκτέθησαν.
τινας οἱ μὲν τὸν μὴνα προφασίσαντο, οἰ δὲ καὶ ἐς
μεθοδίαν τῆς Ἑπιδαυρίας ἔλθοντες ἴσως καὶ ἐς Μυκῆνας προσβεβεία ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἡμιλθοῦν, Ἀθηναίων παρακαλοῦντων. καὶ γυγομένων λόγων Εὐφαμίδας ὁ Κορίνθος οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις ἡμολογεῖν. σφεῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ εἰρήνης ξυνάκαθησαί, τοὺς δὲ Ἑπιδαυρίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμαχοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους μεθ' ὀπλῶν ἀντιτετάχθαι.

2 διαλύσατο ὑμνον πρώτον χρήναι ἀφ' ἐκατέρων ἔλθοντας τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ὑπὲρ πάλιν λέγειν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. καὶ πεισθέντες ἕξοντο καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς Ἑπιδαυρίας. ὑστερον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ξυνελθόντες ὑπὸ ὃς ἐδυνήθησαν ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλ' οἳ Ἀργείοι πάλιν ἐν τῇ Ἑπιδαυρίᾳ ἐσέβαλον καὶ ἐδήνουν. ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Καρύας, καὶ ὃς ὑπὸ ἐνταῦθα τὰ διαθρήσκεται ἐγένετο, ἐπανεχώρησαν. Ἀργείοι δὲ, τεμόντες τῆς Ἑπιδαυρίας ὡς τὸ τρίτον μέρος, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ οἶκον. καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοίς χίλιοι ἐβοῆθησαν ὑπὲρ τὸν Αλκιβιάδης στρατηγὸς πυθόμενος τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἐξεστράτευσαν, καὶ ὃς ὑπὲρ ἐτὶ αὐτῶν ἔδει, ἀπῆλθον. καὶ τὸ θέρος ὑπὸ διήλθεν.

56 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγεγυμνομένου χειμῶνος Δακεδαίμονιοι,

Desultory warfare between Argos and Epidaurus.

2 Ἀργείοι δ' ἔλθοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐπεκάλουν ὅτι, γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν
ἐκάστους μὴ ἐὰν πολεμίους διενέατοι, ἐὰςειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν παραπλέυσαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ κάκεινοι ἐς Πύλων κομιοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ Εἴλωτας, ἀδικήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς. 'Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, 'Αλκιβίαδον πείσαντος, τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ στῆλῃ ὑπέγραψαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι τοῖς ὅρκοις, ἐς δὲ Πύλων ἐκόμισαν τοὺς ἑκ Κρανίων Εἴλωτας ληξεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἰσύχαζον. 4 τὸν δὲ χειμώνα τούτον πολεμοῦντων 'Ἀργείων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάχῃ μὲν οὐδεμίᾳ ἐγένετο ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἐνέδραι δὲ καὶ καταδρομαῖ, ἐν αἷς ὡς πῦροιν ἔκατέρων τινὲς διεφθείροντο· καὶ τελευτῶν τοῦ χειμώνος πρὸς ἔαρ ἦδη κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἱ 'Ἀργεῖοι ἠλθόν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπιδαυρον, ὡς ἐρήμων οὐσίας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον βίᾳ αἰρήσοντες· καὶ ἄπρακτοι ἀπήλθον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα καὶ τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα. 

57 Τὸν δ' ἐπιγυμνομένου θέρους μεσοῦντος Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἷς τε Ἐπιδαύριοι ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἐταλαντώρουν καὶ τάλλα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τὰ μὲν ἀφειστήκει τὰ δ' οὖ καλῶς εἰχεν, νομίζοντες, εἰ μὴ προκαταλήψονται ἐν τάχει, ἐπὶ πλέον χωρήσεσθαι αὐτά, ἐστράτευον αὐτοί καὶ οἱ Εἴλωται πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ 'Ἀργος: ἴσχειτο δὲ 'Ἀγις ὁ Ἄρχιδαμος, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. ξυνεστράτευον δ' αὐτοῖς Τεγεάται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδων Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμαχοι ἠςαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Πελοποννήσου ξύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ ἐξωθέν ἐς Φλοιοῦντα ξυνελέγοντο, Βοιοτοὶ μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι ὀπλίται καὶ τοσοῦτοι ἤπειρον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πεδίου.
ψιλοι καὶ ἵππης πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἁμπποι ἵσοι, Κορινθιοι δὲ δισχίλιοι ὀπλίται, οὶ δ’ ἄλλοι ὁσ γάρ ἐκαστοι, Φλιάσιοι δὲ πανστρατιά, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἦν τὸ στράτευμα.

58 Ἀργείοι δὲ προαισθόμενοι τὸ τε πρῶτον τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν Φλιώντα βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους προσμίζατε ἐχώρουν, τότε δὴ ἐξεστράτευσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβοήθησαν δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ Μαντινής ἔχοντες τοὺς σφετέρους ἔξυμμάχους καὶ Ἡλείων τρισχίλιοι ὀπλίται. καὶ προϊόντες ἀπαντῶσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐκάτεροι λόφου. καὶ οἳ μὲν Ἀργείοι ὡς μεμονωμένοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις παρεσκευάζοντο μάχεσθαι, δ’ Ἀγις τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ λαθῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Φλιώντα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξυμμάχους. καὶ οἳ Ἀργείοι αἰσθόμενοι ἄμα ἕφ ἐχώρουν πρῶτον μὲν ἐς Ἀργος, ἐπειτα ἦ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ τῶν ἔξυμμάχων καταβήσεσθαι, τὴν κατὰ Νεμέαν ἔδον. Ἀγις δὲ ταύτην μὲν, ἦν προσεδέχοντο, οὐκ ἐτράπετο, παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀρκάσι καὶ Ἑπιδαυρίος ἄλλην ἐχώρησε χαλεπὴν, καὶ κατέβη ἐς τὸ Ἀρ.

4 γείων πεδίων· καὶ Κορινθιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς καὶ Φλιάσιοι ὁρθοὶν ἐτέραν ἐπορεύοντο· τοῖς δὲ Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Μεγαρεύσι καὶ Σικυωνίως εἰρήτο τὴν ἐπὶ Νεμέας ὄδον καταβαίνειν, ἢ οἱ Ἀργείοι ἐκάθηντο, ὡσποδε, εἰ οἱ Ἀργείοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴόντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον βοηθοῦεν, ἐφεπόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις χρύντο. 

1 τότε  
2 ὁρθοὶ
Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐτω διατάξας καὶ ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔδην Σάμινθον τε καὶ ἀλλα ὁ δὲ Ἀργείου γνώντες ἐβοήθουν ἥμερας ἢ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ περιτυχόντες τῷ Φλιασίων καὶ Κορίνθιών στρατοπέδῳ τῶν μὲν Φλιασίων ὁλίγους ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Κορίνθιων αὐτοῖ οὐ πολλοὶ πλείους διεφθάρησαν. καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ οἱ Μεγαρῆς καὶ οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐχώρουν, ὡσπερ ἐιρήτο αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ καταβάντες, ὡς ἔδρων τὰ ἑαυτῶν δηούμενα, ἐς μάχην παρετάσσοντο. ἀντιπαρασκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακε- δαιμόνιοι. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπειλημμένοι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀργείοι. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰργοῦν τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καθύπερθεν 15 δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Νεμέας Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς. ἔποιοι δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ παρῆσαν· οὐ γὰρ πώ οἱ Ἀθη- ναῖοι μόνοι τῶν ξυμμάχων ἦκον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλη- θὸς τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων οὐχ οὕτω 20 δεινοῦ τὸ παρὸν ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ’ ἐν καλῷ ἐδόκει ἡ μάχη ἐσσεθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπειληφῆ- 5 ναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει. τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων δύο ἄνδρες, Ἐρᾶσυλλὸς τε, τῶν πέντε στρατηγῶν εἰς ὄν, καὶ Ἀλκίφρων, πρὸξενος Λακε- δαιμονίων, ἢ δὴ τῶν στρατοπέδων ὅσον οὐ ξυνιότων προσελθόντες Ἀγιδὶ διελεγέσθην μὴ ποιεῖν μάχην· ἐτοίμους γὰρ εἶναι Ἀργείους δίκας δοῦναι καὶ δέξασθαι ἰσας καὶ ὁμοίας, εἰ τι ἐπικαλοῦσιν Ἀργείους Λακεδαιμονίοι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνην 30.
60 ἂγειν σπουδᾶς ποιησαμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλῆθους κελεύσαντος εἰπον· καὶ ὁ Ἁγις δεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτός, καὶ οὐ μετὰ τῶν πλείονων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς 5 βουλευσάμενος ἄλλ’ ἢ ἐνι ἀνδρὶ κοινώσας τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρατευομένων, στένδεται τέσσαρας μῆνας ἐν οἷς ἔδει ἐπιτελέσαι αὐτοὺς τὰ ῥηθέντα. 2 καὶ ἀπήγαγε τὸν στρατιῶν εὐθὺς, οὐδενὶ φράσας τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων. οἳ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ 10 ξύμμαχοι εἰπόντο μὲν ἃς ἤγειτο διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐν αἰτίᾳ δ’ εἴχον κατ’ ἄλληλους πολλῇ τὸν Ἁγιν, νομίζοντες ἐν καλῷ παρατυχὸν σφίσι ξυμβάλειν καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῶν ἀποκεκλημένων καὶ ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ πεζών οὐδέν δράσαντες ἄξιον τῆς 15 παρασκευῆς ἀπίέναι. στρατόπεδον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο κάλλιστον Ἐλληνικὸν τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε ξυνηλθέν· ὥφθη δὲ μάλιστα ἔως ἐτὶ ἦν ἄθρόον ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ἐν δ’ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε πανστρατιῶν ἦσαν καὶ Ἁρκά- δες καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ 20 Πελληνῆς καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες λογάδες ἀφ’ ἐκάστων, ἀξιόμαχοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι οὐ τῇ Ἡργείων μόνον ξυμμαχία ἄλλα καὶ 4 ἄλλῃ ἐτὶ προσγευομένῃ. τὸ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδον οὕτως ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἔχοντες τὸν Ἁγιν ἀνεχόμενον τε καὶ διελύθησαν ἐτὶ οἶκον ἐκαστοῖ. Ἡργείοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτὶ ἐν πολλῷ πλείου αἰτία εἴχον τοὺς στρατη- σαμένους ἄνευ τοῦ πλῆθους, νομίζοντες κάκεινοι μὴ ἄν σφίσι ποτὲ κάλλιον παρασχόν Λακεδαιμο- νίους διαπεφευγέναι· πρὸς τε γὰρ τῇ σφετέρᾳ 30
πόλει καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων τὸν ἀγώνα ἀν γίγνεσθαι. τὸν τε Ἐράσυλλον ἀνα-
χωρῆσαντες ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ, οὔπερ τὰς ἀπὸ στρα-
τείας δῖκας πρὶν ἐσιέναι κρίνουσι, ἥρξαντο λεύειν.
ὁ δὲ καταφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν περιγίγνεται· τὰ 35
μέντοι χρήματα ἐδήμευσαν αὐτοῦ.

61 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθηναίων βοηθησάντων χιλίων
ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων, ὅν ἐστρατίσανον Λάχης καὶ Νικόστρατος, οἱ
'Αργείοι—ὁμοίος γὰρ τὰς σποουδὰς ὄκνουν
λύσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους—ὑπεί-
ναι ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οὗ προσ-
ήγοι βουλομένους χρηματίσαι, πρὶν ἢ Μαντινῆς
καὶ 'Ηλείοι, ἐτὶ γὰρ παρῆσαν, κατηνάγκασαν δεο-
μενοί. καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, Ἀλκιβιάδος πρεσ-
βευτοῦ παρώντος, ἐν τῇ τοῖς 'Αργείοις καὶ κύκλω-
χίς ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ὄρθως αἱ σποουδαὶ ἀνευ τῶν
ἀλλών ξυμμάχων καὶ γένουτο, καὶ νῦν, ἐν καὶ
γὰρ παρεῖναι σφεῖς, ἀπτεσθαὶ χρῆναι τοῦ πολέμου.
καὶ πείσαντες ἐκ τῶν λόγων τ. ὑπὸ ξυμμάχων εὐθὺς
ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ Ὀρχομενῶν τοῦ Ἀρκαδίκον πάντες 15
πλῆν 'Αργείων· οὔτοι δὲ ὁμοίος καὶ πεισθέντες
ὑπελείποντο πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δ' ὄστερον καὶ οὔτοι
ηλθον. καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι τοῦ Ὀρχομενῶν
πάντες ἐπολιώρκουν καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιήσαντο,
βουλόμενοι ἀλλὰς τε προσγενέσθαι σφίς καὶ 20
ὀμηροὶ εἰς τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-
μονίων κείμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ὀρχομένων δείσαντες τὴν
τε τοῦ τείχους ἀσθένειαν καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆ-
θος καὶ ὅσα οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, μῆ προσάπλων-
ο.τ.
θεοφραστος ροπάρεινοντο άυτον εν γαλύθροισιν, οὖν
σος ἀπὸ συμβολῆς ἐφετέροις αὐτοῖς ἔκει τοὺς ἄγαν
όρατος ἐπεξερευνομένος, ὡς ὦ το θέσπορον ἀναγέν
τε σὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπεξερευνομένος, ὡς ὦ το θέσπορον ἀναγέν
τε σὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπεξερευνομένος, ὡς ὦ το θέσπορον ἀναγέν

They prepare to attack them.
64 πόλεως. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκνεται αὐτοῖς ἀγγελία παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ Τέγεας ὅτι, εἰ μὴ παρέσονται ἐν τάχει, ἀποστήσεται αὐτῶν Τέγεα πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἔμμαχους καὶ ὅσον ὦν ἀφέστηκεν.

ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπήθεια τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων πανδημεί σῶμα καὶ ὅσα οὕτω πρότερον. ἐξώρουν δὲ ἐσ Ἡράκλειον τῆς Μαιναλίας· καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἡράκλειοι σφετέροις οὐσὶ ἔμμαχοι προεῖπον ἀθροισθεῖσιν οἴναι κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐς Τέγεαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ὀρεσθείου πάντες ἔλθοντες, ἐκείθεν δὲ τὸ ἐκτὸν μέρος σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀποστέλλεται ἐπὶ οἴκου, ἐν ὧν τὸ πρεσβυτερῖν τε καὶ τὸ νεῶτερον ἦν, ὡστε τὰ οἶκον φρουρεῖν, τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐσ.

Τέγεαν. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὑπερέρων οἱ ἔμμαχοι ὧς Ἡράκλειον παρῆσαν. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας καὶ Δοκροὺς, ἐπηθείν κελεύοντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μαντίνειαν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν εἰς ὅλιγον τε ἐγένετο καὶ οὐ ράδιον ἦν μὴ ἀθρόος καὶ ἀλλήλους περιμείνας διελθεῖν τὴν πολεμίαν. ἐπεκληκὼς γὰρ διὰ μέσου ὄμως δὲ ἤπιεγόντο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς παρόντας Ἡράκλειον ἔμμαχος ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μαντινικῆν, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐδήσουν τὴν γῆν.

65 Οἱ δ’ Ἀργείοι καὶ οἱ ἔμμαχοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς, καταλαβόντες χωρίον ἐρυμινὸ καὶ δυσπρόσοδον παρετάξαντο ὡς ὡς μάχην. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
56

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

2 εύθυς αὐτοίς ἐπῆςαν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν λίθου καὶ ἀκοντίου βολὴς ἐχώρησαν, ἐπειτα τῶν 5 πρεσβυτέρων τις "Ἀγιδί ἐπεβήσεσεν, ὁρῶν πρὸς χωρίον καρτερὸν ἵναταν σφᾶς, ὅτι διανοεῖται κακῶν κακὰ iᾶσθαι, δῆλων τῆς ἐξ Ἀργοὺς ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἀκιαιρον προθυμίαν ἀνάληψιν βούλομενήν εἶναι. 10

3 ο δὲ, εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶ ἄλλο τι η ἑ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἐξαίφνης πάλιν τὸ στρατεύμα κατὰ τάχος πρὸς ξυμμίξαι ἀπῆγγεν. καὶ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὴν Τεγεατίνω τὸ ὑδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν ἐς τὴν Μαντινικήν, περὶ οὐπερ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ βλάπτοντος ὀποτέρωσε ἀν ἐσπέρτη Μαντινίς καὶ Τεγεαται πολεμοῦσιν. ἐβούλευτο δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βοηθοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑδατος ἐκτροπῆν, ἐπειδὰν πῦθωντα, καταβιβάσασα τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀμάλῳ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. 20

4 καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην μείνας αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ ὑδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν· οἱ δ' Ἀργείοι καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταπλαγέντες τῇ ἐξ ὀλίγου αἰφνιδίῳ 6 αὐτῶν ἀναχωρήσει оὐκ εἶχον ο τι εἰκάσωσιν. εἰπειδὴ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκεῖνοι τε ἀπέκρυψαν καὶ σφεῖς ἤσόχαζον καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθουν, εὐναίθα τοὺς ἐαυτῶν στρατηγοῦς ἄθις ἐν αὐτίει εἶχον, τὸ τε πρῶτον καλῶς ληφθέντας πρὸς Ἀργεὶ Δακεδαιμονίους ἀφεθήναι, καὶ νῦν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκοντας οὕδεσι ἐπιδιώκει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἦσοχίαν οἱ μὲν σῶξον- 30

7 ταί σφεῖς δὲ προδίδονται. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐθορυβῆσαν μὲν τὸ παρατίκα, ὑστερον δὲ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καὶ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ
όμαλον ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο ὡς ἴντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

66 Τῇ δ’ ύστεραία οἳ τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐγκατάζαντο, ὡς ἐμέλλουν μαχεῖσθαι, ἣν περιτύχοσιν· οἳ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον πάλιν ἐστὶν ἀυτὸ στρατόπεδον ἴντες ὀρὼσι δι’ ὁλίγον τοὺς ἑναντίους ἐν τάξει τε ἢ ἑν τάντας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου προεληλυθότας. μάλιστα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐς δ’ ἐμέμνητο, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν.

2 διὰ βραχείας γάρ μελλήσεως ἢ παρασκευή αὐτοῖς ἐγέγυνετο, καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς κόσμον τῶν ἑαυτῶν, Ἀγίδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκαστα

3 ἐξηγομένου κατὰ τὲν νόμον. βασιλέως γάρ ἀγοντος ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πάντα ἄρχεται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δέουν, οἳ δὲ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς πεντηκοντήρσι, αὕτις δ’ οὗτοι τοῖς ἐνωμοτάρχαις καὶ οὗτοι τῇ ἐνωμοτίᾳ. καὶ αἱ παραγγέλσεις, ἢν τι βούλωνται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ χωροῦσι καὶ ταχεῖα ἐπέρχονται· σχεδὸν γὰρ τὸ πάν πλὴν ὄλιγον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχοντες ἄρχοντων εἰσὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελές

67 τοῦ ὁρμῶμενον πολλοῖς προσήκει. τότε δὲ κέρας μὲν εὐώνυμον Σκιρίται αὐτῶν καθισταντο, ἀεὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μόνοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐχοντες· παρὰ δ’ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Ἰταῖος Βρασίδεωι στρατιώται καὶ νεοδα-

2 μόδεις μετ’ αὐτῶν· ἐπειτ’ ἢ Ἡράκλειον αὐτοῖς ἐξῆς καθίστασαν τοὺς λόχους καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ἀρκάδων Ἡραῖς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μαινάλιοι, καὶ
ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα. Τεγεάται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὀλίγου, τὸ ἐσχατὸν ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἐκατέρφ τῷ κέρα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὕτως ἔταξαν· οἱ δ' ἐναντίον αὐτῶς δεξιόν μὲν κέρας Μαντινῆς εἶχον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἔργου ἐγγίνετο, παρὰ δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν, ἐπείτα Ἀργεῖοι οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἀσκησιν τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον δημοσίᾳ παρείχε, καὶ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, Κλεοναίοι καὶ Ὀμνεάται, ἐπείτα Ἀθηναίοι ἐσχατοὶ τὸ ἐνώνυμον κέρας ἔχοντες καὶ ἱππῆς μετ' αὐτῶν οἱ οἰκεῖοι.

68 Τάξις μὲν ἦδε καὶ παρασκεπὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μεῖον ἐφάνη. ἀριθμὸν δὲ γράψαι, ἢ καθ' ἐκάστους ἐκατέρφων ἢ ἑξυμπαίνεις, οὐκ ἂν ἑδυνάμην ἀκριβῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων πλῆθος διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτὸν ἡγοεῖτο, τῶν δ' αὐτὶ διὰ τὸ ἄνθρωποις κομπώδες ἐς τὰ οἰκεία πλῆθος ἡπιστείτο. ἐκ μέντοι τοιοῦτε ὁλοισμοῦ ἐξεστὶ τῷ σκοπείν τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τότε παραγενόμενον πλῆθος. λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ἐπτὰ ἀνευ Σκιριτῶν, οὕτως ἐξακοσίων, ἐν δὲ ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ πεντηκοστὶς ἦσαν τέσσαρες καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστὶ τῆς ἑνωμοστίας τέσσαρες, τῆς τε ἑνωμοστίας ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ ζυγῷ τέσσαρες· ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος ἐτάξαντο μὲν οὕ τὸντες ὄμοιος, ἀλλ' ὧς λοχαγὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐβοῦλετο, ἐπὶ πάν δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ. παρὰ δὲ ἄπαν πλῆθος Σκιριτῶν τετρακόσιοι καὶ δυοῖν δεόντες πεντηκοστα ἄνδρες ἡ πρώτῃ τάξις ἦν.
69 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξυπνεῖαι ἐμελλον ἡδή, ἐνταύθα καὶ παραινέσεις καθ' ἐκάστους ὕπο τῶν οἰκεῖων στρατηγῶν τοιαίδε ἐγείροντο,
Μαντινεύσι μὲν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τε πατρίδος ἡ μάχη ἔσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄρχης ἁμα καὶ δουλείας, τῇν μὲν μὴ πει-5
ρασαμένοις ἀφαιρεθήναι, τῆς δὲ μὴ αὕτις πειράσ-
thai. Ἀργείους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τε παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτὲ ἱσομοιρίας μὴ διὰ
παντὸς στερισκομένους ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἀνδρας ἁμα ἑχθροὺς καὶ ἀστυγείτονας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἀδικη-
μάτων ἁμύνασθαι: τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καλὸν εἶναι μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἁγαθῶν ἄνωμάχων ἁγωνιζομέ-
νους μηδενὸς λείτεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
Λακεδαιμονίους νικήσαντες τὴν τε ἄρχην βεβαιο-
tέραν καὶ μείζω ἔξουσιν, καὶ οὐ μὴ ποτὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς 15
 ἅλλος ἐσ τὴν γῆν ἐλθῃ. τοῖς μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ ἄνωμάχους τοιαῦτα παρηγνέθη, Λακεδαιμονίου δὲ καθ' ἐκάστους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δὲν ἥπισταντο τὴν παρακέλευσιν
τῆς μνήμης ἁγαθοῖς οὕσιν ἐπονούντο, εἰδότες ἐργον 20
ἐκ πολλῶν μελέτην πλείω σωζοῦσαν ἡ λόγων δι'
70 ὅλην καλῶς ῥηθείσαν παραίνεσιν. καὶ μετὰ
tαῦτα ἡ ἁγνοῦσ ἡν, Ἀργείου μὲν καὶ οἱ ἄνωμάχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὑρη χωρούντες,
Λακεδαιμονίου δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλη-
tῶν πολλῶν νόμω ἐγκαθεστώτων, οὗ τοῖς θείοις
χύριω, ἀλλὰ Ἰωάννης μετὰ ρυθμοῦ βαίνοντες
προέλθοιεν καὶ μὴ διασπασθείς αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις,
ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἐν ταῖς προσό-
dοις ποιεῖν.

1 νόμων
71 Ἐυνοῦτων δ’, ἐτὶ Ἀγιος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιόνδε ἐβουλεύσατο δρᾶσαι. τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἀπαντὰ τοῦτο· ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ κέρατα αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξωτίων μᾶλλον ἐξωθεῖται, καὶ περιόσχουσιν κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐώνυμον ἀμφότεροι τῷ δεξιῷ, διὰ τὸ φοβουμένους προστέλλειν τὰ γυμνὰ ἐκαστὸν ὡς μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρατεταγμένου ἀσπίδι, καὶ νομίζειν τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ἐξυγκλήσεως εὐσκεπτοστάτου εἶναι· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, προθυμοῦμενος ἐξαλλάσσειν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γύμνωσιν, ἐπονται δὲ διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ τὸτε περιέσχον μὲν οἱ Μαντινᾶς πολυ τῷ κέρα τῶν Σκιρτῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ πλέον οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεάται τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅσφι 15 μείζον τὸ στράτευμα εἶχον. δεῖσας δὲ Ἀγιος μὴ σφῶν κυκλωθῆ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ νομίζεις ἀγαν περιέχειν τοὺς Μαντιναῖος, τοῖς μὲν Σκιρτάις καὶ Βρασιδεῖος ἐσῆμεν ἐπεξαγαγόντας ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐξισώθαι τοῖς Μαντινεύσιν, ὡς δὲ τὸ διάκειν τοῦτο 20 παρῆγγελλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως δύο λόχους τῶν πολεμάρχων Ἰππονόιδα καὶ Ἀριστοκλαῖ ἠξουσι παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐσβαλόντας πληρώσαι, νομίζων τῷ θ’ ἑαυτῶν δεξιώ ἐτι περιουσιαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Μαντιναῖος βεβαιότερον τετάξεσθαι.

72 Ἐξυνέβη οὖν αὐτῷ, ἄτε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐφόδῳ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου παραγγείλαντι, τὸν τε Ἀριστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Ἰππονοίδαν μὴ θελήσαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ αἰτίαμα ὑστερον φεύγειν ἐκ Σπάρτης, δόξαντας μαλακισθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους φθάσαι.
τῇ προσμίζει, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τούς Σκιρίτας ὡς οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι, πάλιν αὖ σφίσι προσμίζα, μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἐτί μηδὲ τούτους ξυγκλήσαι. ἄλλα μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ ἐδείξαν οὐχ ἥσσον περιγενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐν χερσὶν ἐγίγνουτο τοῖς ἑναντίοις, τὸ μὲν τῶν Μαντινέων δεξίον τρέπει αὐτῶν τοὺς Σκιρίτας καὶ τοὺς Βρασδείους, καὶ ἐσπεσόντες οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες κατὰ τὸ διάκενον καὶ οὗ ξυγκληθήσθην τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους διεφθειρον καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι ἔτρεψαν καὶ ἐξέωσαν ἐσ τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων ἄπεκτεινάν τινας. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἡσσόντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ δ' ἅλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ μέσῳ, ἦπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγίς ἦν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ τριακόσιοι ἵππης καλούμενοι, προσπεσόντες τῶν τε Ἀργείων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ πέντε λόχοι ωνο- μασμένοι καὶ Κλεωναίοις καὶ Ὀριναίταις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς παρατεταγμένοις ἔτρεψαν οὔδε ἐς χείρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομείναντας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπή- εσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ἔνδοντας καὶ ἔστιν οὐς καὶ καταπατηθέντας τοῦ μὴ φθήναι τὴν ἐγ- 73 κατάληψιν. ὡς δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνεδεδώκει τὸ τῶν Ἀρ- γείων καὶ ξυμμάχων στράτευμα, παρερθήγωντο ἢδη ἁμα καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, καὶ ἅμα τὸ δεξίον τῶν Λακεδαιμόνιων καὶ Τεγεατῶν ἐκυκλοῦτο τῷ περιε- χοντι σφῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίος καὶ ἀμφιτέρωθεν αὐ- τοῖς κίνδυνος περιειστήκει, τῇ μὲν κυκλομένους τῇ
2 δὲ ἡ ἡσσημένους. καὶ μάλιστ' ἀν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐταλαπώρησαν, εἰ μὴ οἱ ἰπτῆς παρόντες αυτοῖς ὄφελοι ἦσαν. καὶ ξυνέβη τὸν Ἀγιν, ὡς ἦσθετο τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν πονοῦν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Μαυτινέας καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς χιλίους, παραγγείλας παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι χωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸ νικώμενον. καὶ γενομένου τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς παρῆλθε καὶ ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ σφῶν τὸ στράτευμα, καθ’ ἴσων λαὸν καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων μετ’ αυτῶν τὸ ἡσσηθέν· οἱ δὲ Μαυτινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ λογάδες οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸ ἐγκείσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, ἀλλ’ ὄρωντες τοὺς τε σφετέρους νεικημένους καὶ τοὺς Δακεδαιμόνιους ἐπιφερομένους ἐσ φυγὴν ἐτράπωντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν Μαυτινέων καὶ πλείους διεθάρησαν, τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων λογάδων τὸ πολὺ ἐσώθη. ἣ μὲντοι φυγῇ καὶ ἀποχώρησις οὐ βιαίος οὐδὲ μακρὰ ἦν· οἱ γὰρ Δακεδαιμόνιοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ τρέψας χρονίους τὰς μάχας καὶ βεβαίους τῷ μένειν ποιοῦνται, τρέψαντες δὲ βραχείας καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰς διώξεις.

74 Καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη τοιαύτῃ καὶ ὅτι ἐγχείτατα τούτων ἐγένετο, πλείστου δὴ χρόνου μέγιστῇ δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀξιολογοστάτων πόλεων ἐξελθοῦσα. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι προθέμενοι τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν τὰ ὅπλα τροπαίον ἐυθὺς ἱστάσαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσκύλουν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνείλοντο καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Τέγεαν, οὐπερ ἐτάφησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποστόν-2 δους ἀπέδοσαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἀργείων μὲν καὶ
'Ορνεατῶν καὶ Κλεοναίων ἐπτακόσιοι, Μαντινέων δὲ διακόσιοι, καὶ 'Αθηναίων εἴτως Αλιγνίταις διακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀμφότεροι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ξύμμαχοι οὐκ ἐταλαιπώρησαν ὡστε καὶ αξιολογῶν τι ἀπογενέσθαι: αὐτῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν μὲν ἦν τὴν ἄλθειαν πυθέσθαι, ἐλέγοντο δὲ περὶ τριακοσίους ἀποδανεῖν.

75 Τῆς δὲ μάχης μελλούσης ἐσεσθαι καὶ Πλείστοναν ὁ ἔτερος βασιλεὺς ἔχων τοὺς τε πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους ἐβοήθησεν, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Τεγέας ἀφίκετο, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην ἀπεχώρησεν. καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ ἔξω Ἱσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους ἀπέστρεφαν πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναχωρῆσαντες καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφεντες, Κάρνεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον ὅντα, τὴν ἐορτὴν ἦγον. καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἔλληνων τὸτε ἐπιφερομένην αἰτίαν ὡς τε μαλακίαν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ξυμφόριν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀβουλίαν τε καὶ βραδυτῆτα ἐν ἐργῳ τοῦτῳ ἀπελύσαντο, τῇ χρῃ μέν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, κακίζομενοι, γνώμη δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐτο ὄντες.

3 Τῇ δὲ προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ξυνέβη τῆς μάχης ταύτης καὶ τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους παντομείνης ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὸν Ἀργείαν ὡς ἔρημον οὐσαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους φίλακας τῶν Ἀργείων ἐξελθόντων 1 διαφθείραι τολλοὺς. καὶ Ἡλείων τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν βοηθησάντων Μαντινεύσιν ὑστερον τῆς μάχης καὶ Ἀθηναίων χιλίων πρὸς τοὺς προτέρους, ἐστράτευσαν ἀπαντες οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὕτω εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Ἐπιδαυροῦν, ἐως οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κάρνεια ἦγον, καὶ διε-

1 αὐτῶν
5 λόμενοι τὴν πόλιν περιετείχιζον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐξεπαύσαντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ὥσπερ προσετάχθησαν, τῇ ἄκρᾳ τὸ Ὑπαίρον εὐθὺς ἐξειργάσαντο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκαταλειπόντες ἀπαντεσ τῷ τειχίσματι φρουρῶν ἀνεχώρησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἑκαστοῖς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

76 'Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου εὐθὺς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια ἦγαγον, ἐξεστράτευσαν, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Τέγεαν λόγους προὔπεμπον ἐς τὸ Ἀργὸς ξυμβατηρίους. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερον τε ἄνδρες ἐπιτηδεῖοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τὸν δῆμον τὸν ἐν Ἀργεὶ καταλῦσαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη ἐγεγένητο, πολλοὶ μάλλον ἐδύναντο πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς τὴν ὁμολογίαν. ἐβούλοντο δὲ πρῶτον σπουδᾶς ποιῆσαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, αὖθις ὑστερὸν καὶ ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ οὕτως ἦδη τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτιθεσθαι. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται πρόξενοι ὁ Ἀργείων Δίκας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο λόγω φέρων ἐς τὸ Ἀργὸς, τὸν μὲν καθ’ ο’ τι εἰ βούλονται πολεμεῖν, τὸν δ’ ὡς εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν. 15 καὶ γενομένης πολλῆς ἀντιλογίας, ἐτυχε ἡታρ καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης παρὼν, οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πράσσοντες, ἦδη καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τολμῶντες, ἐπείσαν τοὺς Ἀργείους προσδέξασθαι τὸν ξυμβατηρίουν λόγον. ἐςτὶ δὲ ὅδε.

77 Κατάδε δοκεῖ τὰ ἐκκλησία τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξυμβαλέσθαι ποτῶς Ἀργείων, ἀποδίδοντας τῶν παιδας τοῖς Ὑφρομενίοις καὶ τῶς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις, καὶ τῶς ἄν-
δρας τῶν ἐν Μαντινεῖᾳ τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίοις ἀποδι-5
δόντας, καὶ ἡ Ἑπιδαύρῳ ἐκβδόντας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος
ἀναίρουσας. ἀλλά δὲ καὶ μὴ εἰκὼντι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου
ἐξ Ἑπιδαύρῳ, πολεμίους εἶμεν τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ
τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων
ξυμμάχοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀργείων ξυμμάχοις. καὶ
αἱ τινὰ τοῦ Λακεδαίμονοι παῖδα ἐχοῦσιν, ἀποδό-
μεν ταῖς πολίσσι πάσαις. περὶ δὲ τῶν σιωπίων
εἶμεν λήν τοῖς Ἑπιδαυρίοις ὅρκουν, δόμες δὲ ἀυτοὺς
όμόσαι. τὰς δὲ πόλιας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννάσῳ, καὶ
μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας, αὐτούμονος εἶμεν πάσας κατὰ
πάτρια. ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσου τις
ἐπὶ τὰν Πελοπόννασον γὰν ἤν ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀλεξέμε-
ναι ἀμόθι βουλευσαμένους, ὅποι καὶ δικαίωτατα
5
5
δοκὴ τοῖς Πελοποννασίοις. ὅσοι δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελο-
ποννάσω τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ξύμμαχοι ἑντὶ, ἐν τῷ
αὐτῷ ἔσσονται ἐν τῷ περὶ καὶ τοῦ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι ἑντὶ, τῶν
αὐτῶν ἐχοῦσιν. ἐπὶδείξαντας δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους
ξυμβαλέσθαι, αἱ καὶ αὐτοῖς δοκὴ. αἱ δὲ τι δοκὴ
τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οἴκαδ' ἀπιάλλην.

78 Τούτων μὲν τῶν λόγων προσεδέξαντο πρὸ τούτων οἱ
Ἀργείοι, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων τὸ στρα-
τεύμα ἀνέχορησεν ἐκ τῆς Τενέας ὑπ' οἴκου: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιμιξίας οὐσίας
ἡδὴ παρ' ἄλληλους, οὐ πολλῷ ῥυτερον
ἐπραξαν αὖθις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀνδρεῖς ὡστε τὴν Μαντι-
νέαν καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἡλείων ξυμμαχίαν
ἀφέντας Ἀργείους σπουδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πυγ-
σασθαι πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους. καὶ ἐγένοντο αἴδε.
79 Καττάδε ἔδοξε τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίως καὶ Ἀργεῖοις σπονδᾶς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν εἴμεν πεντή-κοντα ἔτη, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵσοις καὶ ὀμοίοις δίκας διδόντας κατὰ πάτρια. ταῖ δὲ ἄλλα πόλεις ταῖ ἐν Πελοποννᾶσῳ κοινοπαρθένων τὰν σπονδᾶν καὶ τὰν ξυμμαχίαν αὐτό-

2 κομοὶ καὶ αὐτοπόλεις, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, κατὰ πάτρια δίκας διδόντες τάς ἰσας καὶ ὀμοίας. ὅσοι δὲ ἔξω Πελοποννάσῳ Δακεδαίμονίως ξυμμαχοὶ ἐντὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔσσονται τοῖς τοῖς καὶ τοῖ Δακεδαίμονίως καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀργείων ξυμμαχοὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔσσονται τῷ τῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοι, τῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. αἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατείας δέκα κοινὰς, Βοιωνεσθαί Δακεδαίμονίως καὶ Ἀργείως ὅπα καὶ δικαιότατα κρίναντας τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. αἱ δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολίων ἡ ἀμφιλογα, ἡ τῶν ἔντος ἡ τῶν ἐκτός Πελοποννᾶσου, αἰτε περὶ ὅρων αἴτε περὶ ἄλλου τινός, διακριθήμεν. αἱ δὲ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων πόλις πόλει ἐρίζου, ἐς πόλιν ἐλθείν ἄν τινα ἵσαν ἀμφοῖν ταῖς πολίσιν δοκείοι. τῶς δὲ ἔταις κατὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.

80 Αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ ἡ ξυμμαχία αὕτη ἐγεγένητο: καὶ ὁπόσα ἀλλῆλων πολέμω ἡ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἐχοὺ, διελύσαντο. κοινῇ δὲ ἑδή τὰ πράγ-ματα τιθέμενοι ἐγκυσθεται κῆρυκα καὶ πρεσβεῖαν παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων μὴ προσδέ-χεσθαι, ἡν μὴ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐξώσει τὰ τείχη ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ μὴ ξυμβαίνειν τῷ μηδὲ πολεμεῖν ἄλλῃ ἡ ἅμα, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα θυμῷ ἐφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καὶ ως Περδίκ-
καὶ ἐπεμψαν ἀμφότεροι πρέσβεις, καὶ ἀνέπεισαν 10
Περδίκκαν ἕνωσαι σφίσιν. οὐ μέντοι εὐθὺς γε
ἀπέστη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ διενείπο, ὅτι καὶ
tοὺς Ἀργείους ἐώρα· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον
eξ Ἀργος. καὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδεύσι τοὺς τε πα-
λαιους ὀρκοὺς ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοσαν. 15
ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
πρέσβεις, τὸ εξ Ἕπιδαύρου τεῖχος κελεύοντες
ἐκλιπεῖν. οἱ δ’ ὀρῶντες ὄλγοι πρὸς πλείους ὄντες
tοὺς ἓμφυλακας ἐπεμψαν Δήμοσθένην τοὺς
σφετέρους ἐξάζοντα. δ’ ἔδε ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀγάνα
τινα πρόφασιν γυμνικὸν ἐξὸ τοῦ φρουρίου ποιήσας,
ὡς ἐξῆλθε τὸ ἄλλο ἕφουρικον, ἀπέκλησε τὰς
πύλας· καὶ ὅστερον Ἕπιδαύριοις ἀνανεόσαμενοι
tὰς σπουδὰς αὐτοί οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπέδοσαν τὸ τεῖ-
χισμα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπό-
στασιν ἐκ τῆς ἕμμαχίας καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς,
tὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέχοντες, ἐπειτ’ οὐ δυ-
νάμενοι ἄνευ τῶν Ἀργείων, ἑυνέβησαν
καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν ἄρχην
5 ἀφείσαν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
Ἀργεῖοι, χίλιοι ἐκάτεροι, ἑυστρατεύοντες, τὰ τ’
ἐν Σικυώνι ἐς ὀλίγοις μᾶλλον κατέστησαν αὐτοὶ
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλθόντες καὶ μετ’ ἕκεινα ἕμφυ-
φότεροι ἥδη καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀργεὶ δήμον κατέλυσαν, 10
καὶ ὀλιγαρχία ἐπιτηδεία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
κατέστη. καὶ πρὸς ἐαρ ἥδη ταύτα ἦν τοῦ χειμῶ-
νος λήγοντος, καὶ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἕτος τῷ
πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

82 Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Δίης τε οἱ ἐν Ἡθο
1 φρούριον

The allies effect an oligarchical revolution in Sicily and Argos.
ἀπέστησαν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Χαλκιδέας, καὶ Λακε-
δαιμονίου τὰ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως
πρότερον ἔχοντα καθισταντο. καὶ Ἀρ-
γείων ὁ δῆμος κατ' ὅλην ἔνυστάμενος τε 5
καὶ ἀναθαρσίσας ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τηρήσαν-
tες αὐτὰς τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπεκράτησεν
ὁ δῆμος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ ἔξηλασεν.
oi δὲ Λακεδαιμονίου, ἐως μὲν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμπτοντο 10
oι φίλοι, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐκ πλείους, ἀναβαλόμενοι δὲ
tὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἐβοήθουν. καὶ ἐν Τεγέα πυθό-
μενοι ὅτι νενικηκται οἱ ὀλίγοι, προελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι
ἡθέλσαν δεομένων τῶν διαπεφυγότων, ἀναχωρή-
sαντες δὲ ἐπὶ οἴκου τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἴγων. καὶ 15
ὕστερον ἐλθόντων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ
πόλει ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἔξω Ἀργείων, παρόντων τε
τῶν εὐμμάχων καὶ ῥηθέντων πολλῶν ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων,
ἔγνωσαν μὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐδοξεῖν
αὐτοῖς στρατεύειν ἐς Ἀργος, διατριβαῖ δὲ καὶ μελ-
λήσεις ἐγίνοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀργείων ἐν
τούτῳ, φοβούμενος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν
tῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐμμαχίαν πάλιν προσαγόμενος τε
καὶ νομίζων μέγιστον ἃν[α]ν[α]σφᾶς ὠφελήσειν, τειχίζει
μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν, ὅπως, ἢν τῆς γῆς ἥρ-
gοντα, ἡ κατὰ θάλασσαν σφᾶς μετὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ἐπαγωγή τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὠφελή. ξυνήδεσαν
δὲ τὸν τειχισμὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὲς
πόλεων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργείοι πανδημεῖ, καὶ αὐτοὶ
καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἰκέται, ἐτείχιζον καὶ ἐκ τῶν
Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμώνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς ἔσθοντο τειχιζόντων, ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὸ Ἀργος αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πλὴν Κορινθίων ὑπήρχε δὲ τι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργοὺς αὐτὸθεν πρασσόμενον. ἦγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν Ἐλιτερίου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δοκοῦντα προϊπάρχειν οὐ προὐχώρησεν ἐτὶ τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομούμενα τείχη ἑλόντες καὶ καταβαλόντες καὶ Ῥωμαῖας χωρίον τῆς Ἀργείας λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπανταὶ οὖς ἔλαβον ἀποκτειναντες ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. ἐστράτευσαν δὲ μετὰ τούτο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἐς τὴν Φιλισίαν καὶ δησόμας ἀπῆλθον, ὅτι σφῶν τοὺς φυγᾶς ὑπεδέχοντο· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα κατῴκηκαν. κατέκλησαν δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμώνος καὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀθηναίοι Περδίκκαν, ἐπικαλοῦντες τὴν τε πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους γενομένην ξυνωμοσίαν καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασμένοιν αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἔπληξαν τῆς Χαλκιδεᾶς τοὺς ἔπληξεν Θράκης καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος, ἐφευρτὸ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ μάλιστα διελύθη ἐκεῖνον ἀπάραντος· πολέμιοι οὖν ἦν καὶ οἱ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα οὗτοι καὶ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἐτος τὸ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης τε πλεύσας ἐς Ἀργος ναυσίν εὐκοσίν Ἀργείων τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἑτὶ υπόπτους εἶναι καὶ τὰ Λακεδαι-
μονίὼν φρονεὶν ἐλαβε, τριακοσίων ἀνδρας, καὶ
catέθεντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τάς ἐγγύς
νήσους ὧν ἦρχον καὶ ἐπὶ Μῆλον τὴν
νῆσον Ἀθηναίοι ἑστράτευσαν ναυσὶν
ἐαυτῶν μὲν τριάκοντα, Χίας δὲ ἐξ, Δεσπίας δὲ
dυοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐαυτῶν μὲν διακοσίοις καὶ
χίλιοις καὶ τοξόταις τριακοσίοις καὶ ἵπποτοξόταις
εἰκοσι, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν ὀπλίταις
μᾶλλον πεντακοσίοις καὶ χίλιοις. οἱ δὲ Μῆλιοι
Δακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἴσιν ἄποικοι, τῶν δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων
οὐκ ἠθέλον ὑπακούειν, ὡσπέρ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιώται,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδετέρων ὄντες ἡσύχαζον, ἐπειτα, ὡς αὐτοὺς ἰώνικαζοὺν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι δηοῦντες
τὴν γῆν, ἐς πόλεμον φανερῶν κατέστησαν. στρα-
τοπεδευσάμενοι οὖν ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τῇ παρα-
σκευῇ ταύτῃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, Κλεομήδης τε ὁ Δυκομῆ-
δους καὶ Τισίας ὁ Τισιμάχου, πρὶν αἰδικεῖν τι τῆς
γῆς, λόγους πρῶτον ποιησομένους ἐπεμψαν πρέσ-
βεις. οὐς οἱ Μῆλιοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ
ηγαγοῦν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄρχαις καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις λέγειν
ἐκέλευον περὶ ὧν ἦκουσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
πρέσβεις ἔλεγον τοιάδε: Ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς
tὸ πλῆθος οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται, ὅπως δὴ
ἡ ἱπποκεὶ ρήσει οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπάγωγα
καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα ἐσάπαξ ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν
ἀπατηθῶσιν, γιγνώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο φρονεῖ
ὑμῶν ἡ ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀγωγή, ὑμεῖς οἱ καθῆμενοι
ἐτὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσατε. καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν γὰρ
καὶ μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐνὶ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκοῦν
ἐπιτηδείως λέγεσθαι εὐθὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες κρί-
νετε. καὶ πρῶτον, εἰ ἀρέσκει ὡς λέγομεν εἴπατε.
86 οὐ δὲ τῶν Μηλίων ξύνεδροι ἀπεκρίναντο: Ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους
οὐ ψέγεται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρόντα ἡδή καὶ
οὐ μέλλοντα διαφέροντα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται. ὄρωμεν
γὰρ αὐτοῦς τε κριτᾶς ἥκοντας ὡμᾶς τῶν λεχθησο-
μένων, καὶ τὴν τελευτήν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς
περιγενομένους μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ
ἐνδούσι, πόλεμον ἡμῖν φέρουσαν, πεισθείσι δὲ σου-
λείαν.
87 ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν ὑπονολὰς τῶν μελλόντων
λογιούμενοι ἡ ἀλλο τι ξυνήκετε ἡ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
καὶ ὃν ὀρᾶτε περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσοντες τῇ
πόλει, πανομεθ’ ἂν εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτο, λέγομεν ἂν.
88 ΜΗΛ. Εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ ξυγγνώμη ἐν τῷ τοιὸδε
καθεστῶτας ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ δοκοῦντας
τρέπεσθαι: ἡ μὲν τοῦ ξύνοδος καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας
ἣδε πάρεστι, καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ προκαλεῖσθε τρόπῳ, εἰ
δοκεῖ, γυνεσθὼ.
89 ΑΘ. Ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν οὔτε αὐτοὶ μετ’ ὀνομάτων
καλῶν, ὡς ἡ δικαιώς τῶν Μήδουν καταλύσαντες
ἀρχομεν, ἡ ἀδικοῦμενοι νῦν ἐπεξερχόμεθα, λόγους
μῆκος ἀπιστῶν παρέξομεν, οὐθ’ ὑμᾶς ἀξιούμεν ἡ
ὅτι Δακεδαμονίων ἀποικοὶ ὄντες οὐ ξυνεστρατεύ-
σατε ἡ ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἡδικήκατε λέγοντας οἰεῖσθαι
πείσειν, τὰ δυνατὰ δ’ ἐξ ὧν ἐκάτεροι ἀληθῶς φρο-
νοῦμεν διαπράσσεσθαι, ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας,
ὅτι δίκαια μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπεῖο λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης
ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προῆχοντες πράσι-
σουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν.
90 ΜΗΛ. Ἡμέεις μὲν δὴ νομίζομεν γε, χρήσιμον—ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἐπειδή ὑμεῖς οὔτω παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ ἐξυμφέρον λέγειν ὑπέθεσθε—μὴ καταλύειν ὑμᾶς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἅπε ἐν κινδύνῳ ἐχεγομένω εἶναι τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια, καὶ τι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς 2 πείσαντά τινα ὀφεληθήναι. καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐχ ἦσον τοῦτο, ὅσοι καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστη τιμωρία σφαλέντες ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα γένοισθε.

91 ΑΘ. Ἡμέεις δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἁρχῆς, ἢν καὶ πανθῆ, οὐκ ἄθυμοἱμεν τὴν τελευτήν' οὐ γάρ οἱ ἀρχοντες ἄλλοιν, ὡσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινῷ τοῖς νικηθέσιν: ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἁγών' ἀλλ' ἢν οἱ ὑπήκοοι που τῶν ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι κρατήσωσίν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀφεῖσθω κινδυνεύεσθαι: ὥς δὲ ἐπ' ὀφελίᾳ τε πάρεσμεν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἁρχῆς καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦν τοὺς λόγους ἐροῦμεν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ταῦτα δηλώσομεν, βουλόμενοι ἀπόνως μὲν ὑμῶν ἀρξαὶ, χρήσιμως δ' ὑμᾶς ἀμφότεροις σωθήναι.

92 ΜΗΛ. Καὶ πῶς χρήσιμον ἄν ἔμμβαινη ἡμῖν δουλεύσασι, ὡσπερ καὶ ὑμῖν ἀρξαί;

93 ΑΘ. Ὅτι ὑμῖν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τὰ δεινότατα παθεῖν ὑπάκουσαι ἄν γένοιτο, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ διάφθειραντες ὑμᾶς κερδαίνοιμεν ἂν.

94 ΜΗΛ. Ὡστε δὲ ἢσυχίαν ἁγοντας ἡμᾶς φιλοὺς μὲν εἶναι ἀντὶ πολεμίων, ἔμμμαχους δὲ μηδετέρων, οὐκ ἄν 3 δέξιοισθε;

95 ΑΘ. Οὐ γάρ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν ὅσον ἡ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μύσος δυνάμεως παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον.

1 Ἡμεῖς μὲν 2 πείσοντα 3 δέξιοισθε
96 ΜΗΛ. Σκοπούσι δ' ύμων οὕτως οἱ ὑπῆκοοι τὸ εἰκός, ὡστε τοὺς τε μὴ προσήκοντας, καὶ ὅσοι ἀποικοῦσι φυτεῖ τινίς κεχείρωνται, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν;

97 ΑΘ. Δικαιώματι γὰρ οὐδετέροις ἐλλείπειν ἱγοῦνται, κατὰ δύναμιν δὲ τοὺς μὲν περιγιγνεῖσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ φόβῳ οὐκ ἐπίειναι· ὡστε ἐξω καὶ τοῦ πλεόνων ἁρξαί καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ καταστραφῆναι ἀν παράσχοντε, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ νησίωτας 5 ναυκρατόρων, καὶ ἀσθενεότεροι ἐτέρων οὗτε, εἰ μὴ περιγείνοισθε.

98 ΜΗΛ. Ἔν δ' ἐκείνῳ οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν; δεῖ γὰρ αὖ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὡσπερ ύμεῖς τῶν δικαίων λόγων ἡμᾶς ἐκβιβάζαντες τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ ὑπακούειν πείθετε, καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡμῖν χρήσιμον διδάσκοντας, εἰ τυγχάνει καὶ ύμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ξυμβαίνον, πειράσθαι πείθειν. ὃςοι γὰρ νῦν μηδετέροις ξυμμαχοῦσιν, πῶς οὐ πολεμώσεσθε αὐτούς, ὅταν ἐς τάδε βλέψαντες ἡγήσωνται ποτε ύμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν; καὶ τούτῳ τί ἄλλο η τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας πολεμίους μεγαλύνετε, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲ μελλὴσοντας γενέσθαι ἀκονταὶ ἐπάγεσθε;

99 ΑΘ. Οὐ γὰρ νομίζομεν ἡμῖν τούτοις δεινοτέρους, ὅσοι ἡπειρῶται ποι ὑντες τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ πολιτήν τὴν διαμέλλεσιν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλακῆς ποιῆσονται, ἀλλὰ τοὺς νησίωτας τε ποι ἀνάρκτους ὡσπερ ύμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἦδη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ 5 παροξυνομένους. οὕτω γὰρ πλεῖστ' ἀν τῷ ἀλογίστῳ ἐπιτρέψαντε σφᾶς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς προὐπτον κίνδυνον καταστήσειαν.
ΜΗΛ. Ἡ που ἀρα, εἰ τοσαύτην γε ύμεῖς τε μὴ παυθῆναι ἀρχῇς καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἢ ἂπαλ-
λαγῆναι τῇ παρακινδύνευσιν ποιουνται, ἡμῖν γε
τοῖς ἐτὶ ἐλευθέρους πολλὴ κακότης καὶ δεῖλα μὴ
πᾶν πρὸ τοῦ δουλεύσαι ἐπεξελθεῖν.

ΑΘ. Οὔκ, ἡν γε σωφρόνως βουλεύσθησθε ὑpercip
γὰρ περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾿Ἰσου ύμῖν
μὴ αἰσχύνῃ ὄφλειν, περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον
ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῷ μὴ ἀνθι-
στασθαι.

ΜΗΛ. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ τῶν πολέμων
ἐστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα ἢ
κατὰ τὸ διαφέρον ἐκατέρων πλῆθος. καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ
μὲν εἴξαι εὐθὺς ἀνέλπιστον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου
ἐτί καὶ στῆναι ἐλπὶς ὀρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἐλπὶς δὲ, κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὕσα,
touς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῆς καὶ
βλάψη σὺ καθεὶλεν. τοῖς δ᾽ ἐσ ἀπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον
ἀναρριπτοῦσι, δάπανος γὰρ φύσει, ἀμα τε γιγνω-
σκεται σφαλέων καὶ ἐν ὦ ἐτὶ φυλάξεται τις
ἀυτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν οὔκ ἐλλείπει. ὁ ύμεῖς ἀσθε-
νεῖς τε καὶ ἐπὶ βοτῆς μιᾶς ὄντες μὴ βούλεσθε
παθεῖν, μηδὲ ὀμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷς παρὸν
αὐθρωπεῖος ἐτὶ σῴζεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν πιεζομένους
αὐτοὺς ἐπιλέπωσιν αἱ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς
ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικῆς τε καὶ χρησμοῦς
καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ᾽ ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.

ΜΗΛ. Χαλεπτοῦν μὲν καὶ ἡμεῖς, εὐ ῥίστε, νομί-
ζομεν πρὸς δύναμιν τῇ τῆν ύμετέραν καὶ τῆν τύχην,
ei μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾿Ἰσου ἐσται, ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ὦμως δὲ
πιστεύομεν τῇ μὲν τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου μὴ ἐλασ-
σώσεσθαι, ὅτι ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ἰστάμεθα, τῆς ἵ
δὲ δυνάμεως τῷ ἐλλείποντι τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡμῶν ξυμμαχίαν προσέσθεσθαι, ἀνάγκην ἔχουσαν,
καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἄλλου, τῆς γε ξυγγενείας ἕνεκα καὶ
ἀισχύνη βοηθεῖν. καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν οὕτως ἀλό-
γως θρασυνόμεθα.

105 ΛΘ. Τῆς μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θείον εὔμενεις
οὐδὲν ἢμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελείψεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω
τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θείον νομίσεως τῶν
δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως δικαιοῦμεν ἡ πράσ-
σομεν. ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τὸ τε θείον δόξη τὸ ἀνθρα-
πείον τε σαφῶς διὰ παντὸς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαίας
οὐ ἄν κρατῇ ἄρχειν. καὶ ἢμεῖς οὔτε θέντες τῶν
νόμων οὔτε κειμένῳ πρῶτοι χρησάμενοι, ὅπως ἐς
παραλαβόντες καὶ ἐσόμενον ἐς αἰεὶ καταλείψοντες
χρώμεθα αὐτῶ, εἰδότες καὶ ἴμας ἄν καὶ ἄλλους ἐν
tῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν γενομένους δρῶντας ἄν αὐτό.
καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ θείον οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος οὐ
φοβούμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι· τῆς δὲ ἐς Λακεδαι-
μονίους δέξῃς, ἃν διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν δὴ βοηθήσειν
ὑμῖν πιστεύετε αὐτοὺς, μακαρίσαντες ὑμῶν τὸ
ἀπειρόκακον οὖ ξηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον. Λακεδαι-
μόνοι γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια
νόμιμα πλεῖστα ἀρετῇ χρωνται· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
ἄλλους πολλὰ ἄν τις ἔχων εἰπείν ὡς προσφέρονται
ξυνελὼν μᾶλιστ' ἄν δηλώσειν, ὅτι ἐπιφανέστατα
ἄν ἴσμεν τὰ μὲν ἣδεα καλὰ νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐξυ-
φέροντα δίκαια. καὶ τοιοῦ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας νῦν
ἀλόγου σωτηρίας ἡ τοιαύτη διάνοια.
106 ΜΗΛ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἦδη καὶ μάλιστα πιστεύομεν τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν, Μηλίους ἀποίκους ὄντας μὴ βουλήσεσθαι προδόντας τοὺς μὲν εὖνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίστους καταστῆναι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὀφελίμους.

107 ΑΘ. Οὕκοιν οἴεσθε τὸ ξυμφέρον μὲν μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἶναι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν μετὰ κινδύνου δράσθαι: ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἦκιστα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τολμῶσιν.

108 ΜΗΛ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τε ἡμῶν ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἤγομέθη ἀν ἐγχειρίσασθαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἢ ἐσ ἄλλους νομεῖν, ὅσοι πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐγγὺς κείμεθα, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τῷ ξυγγενεῖ πιστότεροι ἐτέρων ἐσμέν.

109 ΑΘ. Τὸ δ' ἐχύρων γε τοῖς ξυναγωγιομένοις οὐ τὸ εὖνοι τῶν ἐπικαλεσμένων φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἂν τῶν ἔργων τις δυνάμει πολὺ προὐχη' ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πλείον τι τῶν ἄλλων σκοπούσιν. τῆς γοῦν οἰκείας παρασκευῆς ἀπιστία καὶ μετὰ ξυμμάχων πολλῶν τοῖς πέλας ἐπέρχονται, ὡστε οὐκ εἰκός ἐσ νῆσον γε αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν ναυκρατόρων ὄντων περαιωθήναι.

110 ΜΗΛ. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἄν ἔχοιειν πέμψαι πολὺ δὲ τὸ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος, δι' οὗ τῶν κρατοῦντων ἀπορώτερος ἡ λήψις ἢ τῶν λαθείν βουλομένων ἡ σωτηρία. καὶ εἰ τούδε σφάλλοιντο, τράποιντ' ἂν καὶ ἐσ τῆν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἄξιομάχων, ὡσος μὴ Βρασίδας ἐπῆλθεν' καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσῃς μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς οἰκειοτέρας ἄξιομάχιδος τε καὶ γῆς ὁ πόνος ὑμῶν ἐσται.
ΑΘ. Τούτων μὲν καὶ πεπειραμένως ἂν τι γένοιτο καὶ ύμων, καί οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμωσιν ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπὸ μᾶς πῶς τοποτε πολιορκίας Ἀθηναίοι δι' ἄλλων φόβου ἀπεχώρησαν. ἐνυμούμεθα δὲ ὅτι φήσαντες περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσεων οὔδὲν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ λόγῳ εἰρήκατε, ὡν' ἀνθρωποὶ ἀν πιστεύσαντες νομίσειν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ύμων τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπιδομένα μέλλεταί, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα βραχέα πρὸς τὰ ἡδικριτεταγμένα περιγίγνεσθαι. πολλὴν τε ἀλογίαν τῆς διανοίας παρέχετε, εἰ μ' ἡμεταστησάμενοι ἐτι ἦμας ἄλλο τι τῶν ἑυρείτερον γνώσασθε. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προὔπτους κινδύνους πλείστα διαφθείρουσαν ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνην τρέψασθε. πολλὸς γὰρ προορωμένος ἦτι, ἐς οία φέρονται, τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλούμενον ἀνόματος ἐπαγωγοῦ δυνάμει ἐπεστάσατο, ἥσσονεθεὶς τοῦ ῥήματος, ἔργῳ εἰμιφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ἐκόντας περιπεσεῖν, καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰσχίῳ μετ' ἀνόιας ἢ τὺχης προσλαβεῖν. ὃ χρεία, ἢν εὐ βουλεύσεσθε, φυλάξεσθε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπρεπές νομείτε πόλεως τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡσασθαί μέτρια προκαλομένης, εὐμμάχους γενέσθαι ἔχοντας τὴν ύμετέραν αὐτῶν ὑποτελεῖς, καὶ δοθείσης αἱρέσεως πολέμου πέρι καὶ ἀσφαλείας, μὴ τὰ χείρῳ φιλονεικήσαι· ὡς οἶτινες τοῖς μὲν ἴσοις μὴ εἰκονεῖ, τοῖς δὲ κρείσσοσι καλῶς προσφέρονται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἥσσοις μέτριοι εἰσιν, πλείστ' ἄν ὀρθοῖντο. σκοπεῖτε οὖν καὶ μεταστάντων ἴμων καὶ ἐνυμείσθε πολλάκις, ὃτι περὶ πατρίδος βουλεύσεθε, [ἡν] μᾶς πέρι καὶ εἰς
μίαν βουλήν τυχόνσαν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν

112 Καὶ οἱ μὲν 'Αθηναῖοι μετεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν λόγων· οἱ δὲ Μῆλιοι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι, ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παραπλήσια καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἀπεκρίναντο τάδε. Οὔτε ἄλλα δοκεῖ ἦμῖν ἢ ἄπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὃ 'Αθη-ναῖοι, οὔτ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πόλεως ἐπτακόσια ἔτη ἦδη οἰκουμένης τῆς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε μέχρι τούδε σωζοῦσῃ τύχη ἐκ τοῦ θείου αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Λακε-δαιμονίων τιμωρία πιστεύοντες πειρασόμεθα σῶ-ζεσθαι. προκαλούμεθα δὲ ύμᾶς φίλοι μὲν εἶναι, πολέμιοι δὲ μηδετέροι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γης ἦμῶν ἀνα-χωρῆσαι, σπονδάς ποιησαμένους αὔτινες δοκοῦσιν

113 ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι ἀμφότεροις. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μῆλιοι τοσαῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο· οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναῖοι διαλυόμενοι ἠδη ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἔφασαν 'Αλλ' οὖν μόνοι γε ἀπὸ τοῦτων τῶν βουλευμάτων, ὡς ἦμῖν δοκεῖτε, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα τῶν ὀρωμένων σαφέστερα κρίνετε, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῇ τῷ βουλεσθαί ὡς γιγνόμενα ἠδη θεάσθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τύχη καὶ ἐπιτίσι πλεῖστον δὴ παραβεβλημένοι καὶ πιστεύοντες πλεῖστον καὶ σφαλῆσθε.

114 Καὶ οἱ μὲν 'Αθηναῖων πρέσβεις ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς οὔδὲν ὑπῆκουν οἱ Μῆλιοι, πρὸς πόλε-μον εὖθὺς ἐτρέποντο, καὶ διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις περιστεῖχισαν κύκλῳ τοὺς Μῆλιους. καὶ ὑστερον 5

1 ἔσται
φυλακῆς σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων κατα-
λυόντες οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
θάλασσαν ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ.
οὶ δὲ λειπόμενοι παραμένοντες ἐπολιορκοῦν τὸ
χωρίον.

115 Καὶ Ἀργείοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τῶν αὐτῶν ἐσβα-
λόντες ἐς τὴν Φλισίαν καὶ λοχισθέντες
ὑπὸ τε Φλισιῶν καὶ τῶν σφετέρων φυ-
γάδων διεθῆρησαν ὡς σκόνηκοντα. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς
Πύλου 'Αθηναίοι Δακεδαιμονίων πολλὴν λείαν
ἐλαβοῦν· καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπον-
δάς οὖν ὡς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ
ἐὰν τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν 'Αθηναίους ληξεῖσθαι.

2 καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἐπολέμησαν ἰδίων τινῶν διαφορῶν
ἐνεκα τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι
ἡσύχαζον. εἶλον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μῆλιοι τῶν 'Αθηναίων
tοῦ περιτείχισματος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προσ-
βαλόντες νυκτὸς, καὶ ἀνδρὰς τε ἀπέκτειναν καὶ
ἐσενεγκάμενοι σῖτὸν τε καὶ ἐσα πλείστα ἐδύναντο
χρῆσιμα ἀναχωρῆσαντες ἡσύχαζον. καὶ οἱ 'Αθη-
ναιοὶ ἀμείνον τὴν φυλακῆν τὸ ἐπείτα παρεσκευά-
ζοντο. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

116 Τοὺ δ' ἐπιγυνομένου χειμῶνος Δακεδαιμόνιοι
μελλῆσαντες ἐς τὴν 'Αργείαν στρατεύειν,
ὡς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια ἱερὰ ἐν τοῖς
ὄριοις οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ 'Αργείοι
diā τὴν ἐκεῖνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τινὰς
ὕποπτησάντες τοὺς μὲν ξυνέλαβον, οἱ δ' αὐτοῖς
καὶ διέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Μῆλιοι περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
χρόνονς αὖθις καθ' ἐτερόν τι τοῦ περιτείχισματος

10 Operations in Peloponnesus.

15 Meios surrenders.
εἶλον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παρόντων οὖ πολλῶν τῶν φυλάκων. καὶ ἐλθούσης στρατιᾶς ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν το Ἀθηνῶν ἄλλης, ὡς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ἦς ἦρχε Φιλοκράτης ὁ Δημέου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἡδη πολιορκοῦμενοι, γενομένης καὶ προδοσίας τινὸς ἢφ’ ἑαυτῶν, ξυνεχόρησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὡστ’ ἐκεῖνους περὶ αὐτῶν βουλεύσαι. οἱ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὁσοὺς ἡβῶντας ἑλαβον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἴνδραπόδισαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον αὐτοῖς ὑστερον πεντακοσίους πέμψαντες.

1 ὁκισαν
NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. τοῦ δὲ...θέρους—the same words with which the third and fourth books begin; see note on iv. 1, 1. οἱ μὲν—answered by δὲ at the beginning of chapter 2, the rest of this chapter being parenthetical. A second protasis to the same δὲ occurs below in line 9, οἱ μὲν Δῆλοι. Krüger however considers that this first μὲν is answered by καὶ in the next clause, as in chapter 71, 1, where ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἄπαντα is followed by καὶ τότε.

2. διελέλυτο—'had come to an end' or 'was ipso facto at an end', the pluperfect denoting the termination of the treaty and the state of things resulting, as in iv. 16, 3, τότε λελύσθαι τᾶς σπονδᾶς. For the terms of the year's truce see iv. 117—119.

The words μέχρι Πυθίου define the time when the treaty actually ended, '(after lasting) till the Pythian games'. For this force of μέχρι cf. i. 71, 3, μέχρι τοῦ δὲ ὥρισθω ύμῶν ἡ βραδύτης 'let this be the limit of your inaction': so i. 51, 2, ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα, 'lasted till night and then ended': iii. 108 (fin.), ἐτελεύτα ἐως ὠψ: iv. 48, 4, ἡ στάσις ἐτελεύτησεν ἐς τοῦτο.

Poppo and others take the sense of the clause to be that 'the truce was ended (and a state of war followed) till the Pythian games'; but no warlike operations are recorded, nor any hint given of the war beginning again; and on the contrary it seems clear that Cleon's expedition was not allowed to start till after the sacred season.

Other editors think that a nondescript state of things, neither peace nor war, is meant, which followed the expiration of the treaty.

There seems some justice in Classen's view, that Thucydides had intended at first to write only αἱ μὲν...διελέλυτον: Κλέων δὲ κ.τ.λ. and then had inserted a note of time and the account of the cleansing of Delos.

It is ascertained by an inscription that the Pythian games were held in the Delphian month Bucatius, which corresponded to Metageitnion at Athens, and to part of our August and Sep-
tember (see Classen and Jowett). The year's truce therefore which formally expired in Elaphebolion (March—April) was informally prolonged because of the approach of the Pythian festival.

3. ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ—the year's truce is called ἡ ἐκεχειρία in iv. 119 (fin.), 122, 1, and 123, 1, and this might be the meaning here. Most editors however take it to denote either the informal truce after the regular expiration of the treaty, or the sacred truce of the Pythian festival.

ib. Αἰλίων ἀνέστησαν—Arnold points out that the Athenians were naturally anxious to propitiate Apollo, who was the national deity of their enemies, and whose temple at Delium they themselves had lately profaned. They had been excluded from Delphi by the war, and now that the sacred games drew near, 'what wonder if the peace party ava'led themselves of this pretext to delay Cleon's proposed expedition: if they urged the duty and wisdom of not trying again the chances of war till the god at Delphi had been fully appeased. His birthplace had been now completely purified; it only remained to approach his temple with their supplicant offerings at his great Pythian festival; to profane it by no din of warlike preparation, but to wait till they should be assured of his favour, in consideration of their devout reverence to his solemnity'.

5. οFromBody καθαροὺς ὄντας—the participial construction gives the principal thing in the clause, the suspected impurity of the Delians when their island was consecrated: cf. i. 20, 2, 'Ἰππαρχὸν ὀλονταί τῷ ἐν τοῖς ἄνθρωποιν ὄντα ἀπαθανεῖν, 'think that Hipparchus who was slain was tyrant'.

7. ἧ—'in which', in construction a sort of instrumental dative (or perhaps rather dative of 'occasion when', like ὅς ch. 49, 1) with ἀνέλοντες: see ch. 7, 10. In sentences of this character, with a participle and a verb, the Greek idiom generally differs from the English, and the construction is determined by the participle, especially if it is closer to the dependent word, as it is here to ἦ. We should say, 'which they thought they had properly carried out by removing the sepulchres of the dead'.

ib. πρότερον—the former purification was in 426. It is described in iii. 104, where a still earlier purification by Peisistratus is mentioned, and an account given of the ancient Delian festivals: see also i. 8, 1. The θηκαί are mentioned in both passages.

9. Ἀτραμύττιον—(or -ειον) acc. governed by ὕκησαν: i. 8, 1, τὰς πλείστας τῶν νῆσων ὕκησαν. At(d)ramyttium was on the
coast of Mysia near Lesbos. Pharnaces (ii. 67, 1) appears to have been satrap of the district near the Hellespont, in which he was succeeded by his son Pharnabazus (viii. 6, 1).

11. ὀρμητο—this form, which is a virtual imperfect, is used with words of motion, as in iv. 48, 6, and 74, 1 with ἲνα: or of impulse of mind, as in iv. 27, 4, ὀρμητέουσ τῇ γνώμη: vi. 6, 1, στρατεύειν ὦρμητο. Whichever is the literal force here, the sense is that the Delians did not migrate in a body, but as each chose to go. In ch. 32, 5 we find the Delians restored to Delos, but others were still at Adramyttium 10 years later (viii. 108, 3).

CHAPTER II

1. 'Αθηναῖος πείσα—these words show that Cleon alone had the courage and statesmanship to urge the necessity of recovering Amphipolis and the other revolted towns as a matter of vital importance. By his influence in the assembly the expedition was decreed. But what is to be said of Nicias, and the other home authorities, who allowed him to conduct singlehanded an enterprise of such moment? At Pylos he had a thoroughly competent colleague in Demosthenes. Now 1200 men at arms, and 300 cavalry, the flower of the Athenian troops, besides a large force of allies, are entrusted to his sole command. The general assembly very possibly believed that Cleon might succeed as he had done at Pylos, but the strategi could be under no such delusion. They knew that he had no military skill or experience, they knew that he had to encounter Brasidas, and their imbecility or their party-hatred sacrificed an Athenian army and lost the Thrace-ward possessions.

5. σχῦν ἐσ—'landing, putting in at'; so iv. 42, 2, ἐσχοῦν ἐσ τὸν αἰγιλόν. ἔτι πολιορκομένη—Scione was completely invested by the end of the summer before; see iv. 133 (fin.). The long duration of the blockade became proverbial; cf. Ar. Vesp. 209 (exhibited in 422),

η μοι κρείττον ἤν
τηρεῖν Σκιώνην ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῦ πατρός.

8. Κωφὸν λιμένα—a conjectural alteration of the manuscript reading Κολοφωνίων λιμένα, which is unintelligible, unless it possibly denoted a name derived from some resemblance in appearance. κωφὸς λιμήν = ἀκλυστός, silent, as in Xen. Hel. ii. 4, 31. Strabo speaks of a κωφὸς λιμήν near Torone; and a harbour south of the city is still called Kufo; see Jowett's note.
ib. τῶν Τορωναλῶν—ambiguously placed (ch. 29, 23). Poppo and Krüger connect it with τῆς πόλεως, Classen with λιμένα. The latter way of taking it seems right, as it gives the explanation that the harbour in question was in the territory of Torone. Torone had been taken by Brasidas in 424 (iv. 110—116).

9. αἰσθόμενος ὑπ' αὐτομόλων—the quasi-passive force of αἰσθόμενος—‘informed by’, seems sufficient to justify ὑπό, which is read in all the manuscripts. Krüger would read ἀπό.

10. ἐν τῇ Τορώνῃ—sc. εἰς, a very awkward ellipse. Krüger notes that δεινόμαχος is not found in classical Greek writers besides Thucydides and Herodotus.

12. ἐς τὴν πόλιν—ἐς here denotes approach, not entrance; so ii. 18, 1, ἀφίκετο ἐς Οἰνόνπρωτον. The harbour here spoken of is different from the κωφὸς λιμέν. For the infinitive περιπλῆν cf. iv. 132, 3, ἐπίδειν πεμψάντων τὰ πράγματα: see Goodwin § 97.

14. περιτείχισμα—πειτειχίζω and its compounds are commonly used by Thucydides of the works of a besieger, not of defensive fortifications (τεῖχος, τείχισμα, περίβολος): see ch. 115, 12, etc. Possibly therefore προτείχισμα ought to be read, or τείχισμα as in the next chapter, line 8. In Ar. Av. 551 however περιτείχιζεν is used of defensive lines. ποιήσαει—i. 109, 8, τάς ναύς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε: vi. 67, 2, τοὺς σκευοφόρους ἐντὸς τοῦτων ἐποίησαντο.

16. διελῶν τοῦ—‘making a breach in’, so as to open a free passage between the city and the suburb. τεῖχος is partitive genitive, as in ii. 75, 4, διελῶντες τοῦ τεῖχους. In iv. 111, 2 we have ἡ πύλη δύνηστο, ‘had been forced open’ or ‘broken through’. Note the demonstrative form which the second clause of the relative sentence assumes, as in ch. 5, 8: cf. note on iv. 67, 1, ὀθὲν ἐπιλήθευσον τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ἀπεῖχεν.

17. αὐτὴν—agreeing with πόλιν by attraction; the whole space enclosed is meant.

CHAPTER III

1. ἐς αὐτό—the new περιτείχισμα or outwork. Πασιτείλιδας—in iv. 132 (fin.), according to the manuscripts, the Lacedaemonian commandant is called Epitelidas, a name which most editors alter to Pasitelidas on the strength of the present chapter.

4. ἐβιάζοντο—passive; iv. 10, 3 (note). Note in this sentence the different force of the imperfects and aorists.
5. *ai és tôn λυμένα*—*ai* is read by Poppo and Classen, with one manuscript. If *ai* be omitted we have the sense ‘after being sent round’. ἐγκαταληφθη—sc. αὐτός. For the word cf. iv. 116, 1, ὀσοὺς ἑγκατέλαβε διέφθειρεν.

9. *oĩ 'Ἀθηναῖοι*—resolved into oĩ τε ἀπό...καὶ ὁ πείγος, φθάνουσα being connected both with ἐλόντες and ἴνεσπεσόν, while ἐπισπόμενος is a predicate in agreement with πείγος. According to this view *αὐτοβοσι* goes with ἴνεσπεσόν: Krüger however puts a comma after the word, connecting it with the preceding ἐλόντες. ὁ πείγος—sc. στρατός: iv. 25, 3. *αὐτοβοσι*—primo clāmore atque impetu (Poppo); usually with ἐλείν, as ii. 81, 3, *αὐτοβοσι* τὴν πόλιν ἐλείν. Here ἴνεσπεσόν implies forcing the passage. The Athenians at the first onset broke into the city pell mell with the enemy: cf. vi. 100, 2, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἴνεσπεσόν οἱ διώκοντες. ἐν χερσί—iv. 43, 2, ἢν ἢ μάχῃ ἐν χερσί πᾶσα.

15. ἔβοηθε—note the force of the imperfect 'de consilio et conatu opitulandī' (Poppo). We are not told where Brasidas was when Cleon's expedition arrived. ἀποσχῶν contains a negative idea of failure or hindrance, and is therefore constructed with μὴ following.

19. τροπαία δύο—one for each branch of the service. γυναίκας—for the omission of the article in regular phrases of frequent occurrence, see note on iv. 18, 3, πόλεως τε κ.τ.λ. In this particular phrase παῖδες καὶ γυναίκες is the more usual order.

22. καὶ εἶ τις—so iii. 35, καὶ εἶ τις ἄλλος, after two accusatives. ἐς τὰς 'Ἀθηνας—the more usual Thucydidean form, not 'Ἀθηναῖε: see note on iv. 21, 3.

24. αὐτοῖς—the defenders of Torone generally. αὐτοῖς is the common Thucydidean initial dative, in construction loosely connected with ἀπηλθεν, but in sense concerned with both the following clauses: 'as for them', 'this befell them' etc.: cf. i. 48, 3, Κορμυθεὶς ὅτε τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρασ ἀλ Μέγαριδες νῆς ἐλέον, κατὰ ὅτε τὸ μέσον κ.τ.λ. Arnold takes αὐτοῖς to denote the Athenians, meaning that 'they afterwards lost their captives', but this part of the sentence seems entirely to refer to the Toroneans.

ib. τὸ Πελοποννήσιον—so iv. 61, 2, οἱ μὲν Δωρίης...τὸ δὲ Χαλκιδικὸν. Note what we may call the resolved apposition αὖ ἄντ' αὐτός λυθεῖσι: so ii. 103, 1, οἱ άνὴρ αὖ τ' αὐτός ἐλύθησαν. γενομέναις—see ch. 18 sq.

27. εἶλον δὲ—note the breaking up of this sentence, so that the emphasis naturally falls on the more important words, while the rhythm is duly balanced.

c.t.
30. ἐπεκέλει—by this use of the imperfect Thucydides leaves Cleon on his way to Amphipolis, and passes to another subject.

CHAPTER IV

A summary of events in Sicily, which has not been mentioned since iv. 65.

1. Φαίαξ—Phaeax is mentioned by Plutarch, Alc. 13, as a contemporary and opponent of Alcibiades: Ar. Eq. 1877, σοφός γ' ὁ Φαίαξ δεξιός ἐν ἄνεθανε.

ib. τρίτος αὐτός—i. 46, πέμπτος αὐτός: so Hdt. iv. 113, δευτέρην αὐτὴν, 'with one companion'. Αἴθιγαλων πεμπόντων—cf. ch. 39, 2: i. 89, 2, Σηστόν ἐπολιορκοῦν Μήδων ἔχοντων, etc.

5. μετὰ τὴν ἔξυμβασιν—the general peace made by the Sicilian Greeks, two years before, on the advice of Hermocrates (iv. 65). πολίτας ἐπηγράψαντο—'enrolled many new citizens'; cf. ascribere, ascriptus. For ἐπὶ in composition implying sequence and addition, see note on iv. 36, 2.

7. ἔπενοεῖ ἀναδάσασθαι—'contemplated a redistribution of the land'. 'So when an additional number of citizens was wanted at Cyrene, settlers were invited from all parts of Greece, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδάσασθαι (Hdt. iv. 159)'. It was regarded as a revolutionary measure, as shown in Arnold's interesting note, from which this is quoted. Arnold assumes that the ager publicus of the state is meant, but Grote doubts if there would be such lands belonging to a state like Leontini (ch. 57, p. 128).

ib. οἱ δινατοὶ—here the oligarchical or aristocratical party, who were threatened with the loss of some of their possessions or holdings; i. 24, 3, ὁ δῆμος ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δινατοὺς. In ii. 65, 1, οἱ δινατοὶ is used to denote men of wealth and position, as contrasted with the δῆμος or mass of the people, without implying political partizanship. αἰσθόμενοι—so. the matter; cf. note on iv. 14, 1, γρόντες. ἐπάγονται—so ii. 2, 2, ἐπηγάγοντο.

9. ὃς ἐκαστοί—so i. 3, 4 etc.: see note on iv. 32, 2. ἐρημώσαντες—'abandoning'; Aesch. Ag. 1070, τόνδ᾽ ἐρημώσασθ᾽ ἐπὶ πολυτείᾳ—'on condition of receiving citizenship'; ch. 31, 9: for ἐπὶ implying conditions cf. ἐπὶ τοῦδε, ἐφ᾽ ὧν, etc.: also Hdt. cited on line 7.

13. ἀπέσκεψαν—so ch. 37, 23, οἱ βουλαρχαὶ ἱέσκεντο: also with dat. 'to be pleased with'. ἀπολυτώντες ἐκ—so iii. 10, 1, with ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου: this usage is rare. Krüger cites Hdt. vii. 221, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, 'did not depart'.
CHAPTER IV (B.C. 422) 87

15. καταλαμβάνοντι—occupant; iv. 1, 1, note. ὅν—agreeing with the predicate; i. 96, 2, Ἑλληνοσταμία κατέστη ἄρχη. τότε=‘as related’; ch. 6, 1, etc.

18. καταστάντες—probably to be connected with ἐπολέμουν, of ‘settling down to’ a course of warfare: cf. i. 59, 2, καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν: so ii. 1. In i. 49, 2, however, καταστάντες ἐμάξυντο is used of soldiers who were ‘firmly posted’ on shipboard. Some editors therefore take the meaning here to be, ‘when they had established themselves’. ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν—from the strongholds in question, each of which was a τείχος (Classen).

20. ξυμμάχουσ—we find in iii. 86 that the Chaleidian cities and the Dorian colony of Camarina were in alliance with Leontini and joined in appealing to Athens. Σικελιώτας—Greek colonists, as opposed to the Σικελοί, the general name for the non-Greek inhabitants: cf. vi. 2, 5. κοινὴ is to be taken with ἐπιστατεύσαι.

26. ἀντιστάντος...πράγματος—so ch. 38, 22, ὡς ἀντέστη τὸ πράγμα, ‘went against them’. πράγμα has no doubt the notion of political intrigue which is so often conveyed by πράσσω: e.g. i. 128, 3, πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν.

ib. οὐκέτι—= he gave up his intention. ἐπὶ—in a friendly sense; iv. 85, 3, ἐπὶ οὗ πρῶτον ἤλθον. For inf. with ἀλθόμενοι cf. vi. 59, 3, ἀλθασάμενοι...δύνασθαι.

28. διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν—through the interior; the Σικελοί occupied the central and northern parts of the island. παραθάρσονας—‘reassured’; iv. 115, 1: viii. 77. We are not told what became of this garrison. It was probably reduced and expelled by the Syracusans; cf. vi. 6, 1, εἶ Συρακόσιοι Λεοντίνοι ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρηται γενήσονται.

CHAPTER V

1. τῆς παρακομίδῆς κ.τ.λ.—the article applies to both substantives, which are equivalent to ‘on his way to Sicily and back’; cf. i. 120, 2, τῆς κατακομίδης...καὶ πάλιν ἐπιτιληθήσεται=exchange of exports and imports.

2. καλ—‘also’, with ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ. ἔρχησαμαι—‘treated’, only here with the dative (Classen): i. 87, 4, ἐφ' ἄπερ ἤλθον χρηματίσαντες. φιλίας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις=πρὸς τοὺς: iv. 22, 1, ξυνέδρους σφίσαι ἐλέσθαι: ib. infr. ὀλίγους ξυνέδρους γιγνεσθαι.

4. τοῖς ἐκ Μεσσηνῆς—the definite article is explained by what follows: the circumstances have not been mentioned before. The Epizephyrian Locrians had joined in occupying Messene in 425 (iv. 1, 1), but only with a naval force. Messene from the earliest days had been a centre of faction; see the
account of it in vi. 4. ἐποίκοις—‘settlements’ or colonists; ii. 27, 1, αὕτων πέμψαντας ἐποίκοις ἔξευν.

5. ἐκπεπτωκόσιν—part of the epithet, but placed after the substantive, as is not uncommon, especially with participles; cf. ch. 34, 6: i. 11, 3. ὅμοιογίαν=ἐξύμβασιν ch. 4, 5. καὶ ἐγένετο—the second division of the relative construction, put in demonstrative form; see note on ch. 2, 16.

9. κομιζομένοις—‘on their way’ (back to Locri); so i. 52, 3, κομισθομέναται, etc. The manuscripts have τοῖς κομιζομένοις, ‘those namely etc.’, with προσκομιζομένοις as a correction in one. Bekker suggests ἀποκομιζομένοις. Classen would omit both words, as being an interpolation. For other instances of an article which we might at first sight think better away, cf. iv. 46, 3, τοὺς ἐλθόντας, and Jowett’s note on iv. 33, 2, οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες.

10. τοῖς Δοκροίσι πρὸς αὐτόν—render ‘between him and the Locrians’; see iv. 80, 2, note, and Shilleto on i. 17, 1.

14. κατεῖχεν—κατέχω=‘to constrain’ or ‘press hard on’; i. 103, 3, Κορίνθιοι αὐτοὺς πολέμω κατεῖχον: iv. 92, 5, εἰὼθασι κατέχειν. For Ἰππονίας καὶ Μεδαίοις, unknown people, Classen adopts Ἰππωνιάτας καὶ Μεδιαλοῦς, from names of places found in Strabo. Ἰππωνίας seems the right form (F.). Note the definite article with πόλεμος, as in line 4; though the war has not been mentioned before.

CHAPTER VI.

1. τότε—see the end of ch. 3. Σταγείρω—Stageirus joined Brasidas soon after Acanthus, iv. 88: for Galepsus see iv. 107, 2. The article with ἀντικλαῖν is a Thucydidean mannerism, sometimes implying ‘the well-known’ or ‘the before-named’ colony; but often used with no especial definitive force.

6. Περδίκκαν—this fickle prince had made peace with the Athenians two years before, after quarrelling with Brasidas, iv. 132, 1. κατὰ τὸ εὐμμαχικὸν—so i. 107 fin.: ii. 22, 2, κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν εὐμμαχικὸν.

9. ἄξοντα—‘who was to bring’; Classen approves the suggestion ἄξοντας, referring to the envoys; cf. ch. 80, 20: ch. 84, 21. For μισθοῦ cf. iv. 124, 4, μισθὸν μελλόντες ἔκειν.

11. καὶ αὐτὸς=‘on his side’; the words belong to ἀντεκαθήτω or strictly to ἔκαθητο only: cf. iv. 124, 3, ἀντεπαγαγόντες καὶ αὐτό: so ch. 8, 2.

12. Ἠργιλὼν—see iv. 103, 2. For the genitive cf. iv. 41, 2, ἢς Ἡ Πύλος τῆς Μεσσηνίδος ποτὲ οὕσης γῆς. Xen. Anab. v.
5, 7, ὑπὸ τὴν Σινώτεων. πέραν—i.e. the side opposite Amphipolis, which lay to the east of the Strymon in a bend of the river; see iv. 102, 2.

15. αὐτόθεν—the second αὐτόθεν if genuine goes with οὐκ ἄν εἶλεν. It is however a mere repetition, and probably ought to be omitted or altered to αὐτὸν. Classen adopts the alteration, for which there is some slight manuscript authority.

16. ὅπερ...ἀναβήσθησθαι—ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν is to be taken with ἀναβήσθησθαι: the construction being appositional and explanatory of ὅπερ τοῦσθεν: iv. 125, 1, ὅπερ φιλεῖ...ἐκπλήγησθαι: so iii. 59, 3. ὑπεριδόντα: vi. 104, 4, ὑπερεῖδε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν. πλῆθος—of small numbers, as in iv. 10, 2, ἀντιπάλους τῷ ἤμετέρῳ πλῆθει.

19. παρεσκευάζετο—this governs Θρῖκας, and παρακάλων = οὐς παρεκάλει: see note on iv. 48, 3, παραφήματα τοιούτας = παραφήμασιν ἄν ἔπολον. Edones are mentioned in iv. 100, 3, as dwelling on the peninsula of Acte: in i. 100, 3 as once holding Ἐννεά ὅδοι (Amphipolis).

21. Μυρκίνων—Myrcinus was an Edonian town (iv. 107, 3), n. of Amphipolis. ἐγκαταστάνει—predicate, 'in all'. For διαυχήσις cf. Xen. Cyr. ii. 1, 25, ἡ δὲ τάξις ἦν ἐκατόν ἄνδρες. The ἐπνῆσθαι Ἐλληνες were probably the Chalcidians, as we see from ch. 10, 51. For ἐς cf. iv. 48, 1, ἐς ἐξήκοντα ἔλαθον διαφθειραστέατε.

27. μετὰ Κλεαρίδου—Clearidas was sent out from Sparta and appointed governor of Amphipolis the year before, iv. 132, 3. For the Ionic 3rd plural ἐπετάξατο (=ντο) see note on iv. 31, 2, ὅδε γὰρ διετέστατο.

CHAPTER VII

2. τέως μὲν—followed by ἐπειτα without δέ, as is often the case with πρῶτων μὲν: vi. 61, 6, τέως μὲν...ὡς δέ.

4. τῇ ἐδρᾷ—so ii. 18, 3, ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ, of the delay of Archidamus at Oenoe: Hdt. ix. 41, περιημέκτεε τῇ ἐδρᾷ, 'was galled at remaining inactive'.

6. πρὸς οἴκα...μετὰ οἴκα—so vii. 75, 6, ἀπὸ οἴκα...ἐς οἴκα: cf. Soph. El. 750, ἀνωλόλητα τὼν νεανίαν, οἳ ἔργα δράσας οἶα λαγχάνει κακά. οἰκοδομεῖ stands first for the sake of emphasis. Several editors approve of Dobree's alteration of ἐνυγήλθον into ἐνυέξηλθον. ἀνεπιστημοσύνης—'incompetence'; only here in Thucydides, though the adjective is found more than once.

8. αἰσθάμενοι τὸν θρόνον—so iv. 66, 2: viii. 79, 1 etc.: cf. ch. 30, 1. διὰ τὸ...καθημένους—a confusion between the par-
ticipial construction and διὰ τὸ with the infinitive; so iv. 63, 1, διὰ τὸ...παρόντας: in viii. 105, 2, most manuscripts have διὰ τὸ...διωκόντες. Kruger however takes διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ as forming one expression 'owing to their (being) stationary', like ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον, i. 2, 2. Stahl takes καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος by itself 'although he did not wish it'; and makes αὑτοῦ governed by ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν. The result is a sentence which can indeed be construed, but could scarcely have been written by anyone, while αὑτοῦ is in an almost impossible position.

10. ἀναλαβὼν—ch. 64, 23, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς ἠμμάχους. Here it means calling his men to their ranks and setting his army in motion.

ii. ἐχρήσατο τῷ τρόπῳ—'he adopted the principle the success of which at Pylos gave him confidence in his ability'. He prepared, that is, for a general assault upon the city at all points. τρόπῳ is then explained by what follows, and denotes the plan of attack. Many editors take τρόπῳ of Cleon's 'temper of mind' and rash confidence; but would not this suggest the imperfect rather than ἐχρήσατο? The sense is certainly good, and the aorist might imply a sudden fit of rashness. φτερ is an instrumental dative, or dative of accompaniment, with εὐνυχήσας; cf. ch. 1, 7, and for dat. ch. 14, 9.

11. ἐσ τῷ Πύλον— the preposition ἐσ is very loosely used by Thucydides to denote relation of any kind. Here it means the operations at or 'in respect of' Pylos, or Pylos is used in a general sense and includes Sphacteria. φρονεῖν τι—'to have intelligence'; vi. 89, 6, οἱ φρονούντες τι: so λέγειν τι) (οὔδεν λέγειν.

13. κατὰ θεάν—'to reconnoitre'; this phrase, like some of the rest of the sentence, sounds like a contemptuous reminiscence of Cleon's actual words; cf. εἴθεατο infr. and ch. 10, 9.

14. τῷ μεῖξω—as opposed to his παροῦσα στρατία, ch. 6, 18: see the beginning of ch. 6. τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ— with the certainty of success which a superior force would ensure: a sort of instrumental dative. Arnold compares vi. 55, 3, πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε. περισχήσων—here 'to gain the superiority' as in viii. 105, 1, τῷ ἔργῳ πολύ περισχώντως. In ch. 71 and elsewhere it is used of outflanking or extending beyond an enemy's force. βιά αἱρεῖν is the regular phrase for taking by assault, as opposed to a siege.

17. ἐλθὼν τε—'so having come'. ἐπὶ λόφον—see ch. 10, 32. τὸ λυμνόδες—cf. iv. 108, 1, ἀναθέν μεγάλης οὐθῆς ἐπὶ πολύ λύμης τοῦ ποταμοῦ. It was this lake which helped to make Amphipolis of such importance as the key of the Thrace-ward district. ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀρμυί—'over against' or 'commanding Thrace': iv. 14, fin. ἐμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ.
22. *καλ γαρ ούδέ*—the negatives here require attention: ούδέ, 'also not', joins the whole sentence to what has gone before, while οὔτε...οὔτε connect *ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους* and κατὰ πύλας ἔξηγε, the final verb *ἔξηγε* being irregularly written instead of *ἔξειν*. See note on iv. 114, 3, οὔδε γαρ ἐπὶ δουλεία οὔδε κ.τ.λ., where there is no correspondence between οὔδε...οὔδέ.

24. *μηχανάς*—used especially of scaling-ladders, according to Poppo. *κατηλθέν*—this reading is probably right, and means 'landed', referring to Cleon's arrival at Eion; cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 30, ὅσιν κατελθή τῆνδε γῆν. This view is approved by Grote and Shilleto. The meaning is that Cleon regretted that he had not brought his own siege appliances, instead of waiting till they could be made, or furnished by the allies who were expected. Such things were soon constructed: thus the Spartans sent round the coast *ἐπὶ ἕλα* ἐς μηχανάς as soon as they resolved to attack Pylos (iv. 18, 1).

Arnold takes *κατηλθέν* to mean that Cleon had descended from the *λόφος καρτερός* towards the city with a part of his forces. No such movement however is mentioned. Poppo approves of *ἀνηλθέν* (sc. from Eion), which Classen adopts. This reading has some support from the fact that some inferior manuscripts have *ἀνηλθέν*. Krüger suggests *ἥλθεν*.

**CHAPTER VIII**

2. *καλ αὐτός*—see note on ch. 6, 11. The words do not necessarily imply a corresponding descent from anywhere on the part of the Athenians, but simply show that Brasidas by coming down made a counter-movement on his part.

3. *δεδώς*—'mistrusting', 'having misgivings about'; cf. ch. 61, 22, δεδώστε. So μέμφομαι is sometimes used, e.g. Hdt. i. 77, μεμφεῖς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐσωτικὸ στράτευμα.

6. *ὑποδέστερος*—sc. τὸς ἐσωτικὸν, a sense easily supplied; possibly however *ὑποδέστερος* should be read. ἀντίπαλα, according to the scholiast, agrees with ἐκάτερα τὰ στρατεύματα. Poppo and Classen however take it to mean 'things were fairly matched', comparing iv. 117, 2, ἀντίπαλα καταστήσατο: vii. 13, 2, ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν. This neuter phraseology is common, e.g. ii. 56, 1 ἐτοίμα ἦν: iii. 88, 1, ἀδύνατα ἦν, etc. *ἀξιώματι*—'quality' (Jowett).

8. *καθαρόν*—the idea of *καθαρός* is 'clear' or 'cleared'. As applied to troops it means either (1) 'picked men', clear of inefficients, or (2) according to the scholiast = ἀυτῶν τῶν τολμητῶν, 'of pure Athenian blood', with no admixture of aliens. In
Hdt. i. 211, we have τού καθαροῦ στρατοῦ, ‘the effective force', contrasted with τού ἄρχητον: and in Hdt. iv. 135, τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ is contrasted with sick troops left behind. Classen also quotes from Plut. Aen. Paul. ch. 6, αὐτῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἄρετή καὶ ἠλικία τὸ καθαρώτατον. These passages are in favour of (1).

9. Δημινών καὶ Ἰμβρίων—cf. iv. 28, 4, where we find Lemnians and Imbrians chosen by Cleon for his expedition to Pylos. ‘Lemnos had been taken and colonized by Miltiades a few years before the battle of Marathon (Hdt. vi. 140). Imbros was, I suspect, colonized also by him about the same time’ (Arnold on vii. 57, 2).

10. επιθησόμενος—to be connected with τέχνη: the participle is joined to the verb without ὡς, as in ii. 91, 1, παρεσκευάζοντο ἄμυνομένοι, etc.

11. ἀναγκαλαν—‘make-shift', such as ἀνάγκη compelled him to use: i. 61, 2, ξυμμαχία ἀναγκαλα: vi. 37, 2, ἀναγκαλα παρασκευή.

12. οὐκ ἄν ἡγεῖτο κ.τ.λ.—‘(thinking that) he would be less likely to succeed than if he came upon them before there had been time to observe him, and when as yet they had no real grounds for their contempt of him’ (Jowett). οὐ μᾶλλον = ἡσσον, the usual litotes. αὐτῶν is the objective genitive, referring to τοῦ μεθ’ ἔαντοι, and dependent on the active words προῆχεως and καταφρονήσεως. In the last clause ἡ is a redundant negation, the negative form of the sentence being already determined by ἀνεύ.

13. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος—the preposition denotes the source or ground of the contempt which the enemy would feel, if they saw Brasidas’ actual force; cf. i. 91, 6, ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς, 'starting from, i.e. backed by equal defences': iv. 18, 2 ἀπὸ τῶν ἄει ὑπαρχόντων γνώμη σφαλέντες. Somewhat similar in origin are various adverbal phrases with ἀπό, e.g. in the following chapter, line 14.

Classen and others restrict the force of ἀνεύ to the first clause, and make καταφρονήσεως dependent on ἡ ἀπό, taking the whole clause as equivalent to εἰ μὴ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσεως τοῦ ὀφειστὸν {if the enemy should not despise their real weakness'. But, not to insist on the co-relation of the nouns coupled by το and καὶ, τὸ ὀφείν is a strange expression for ‘their real strength', though ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος is a reasonable adverbal phrase. Moreover such a construction would refer to the main subject of the sentence, and would imply contempt felt by Brasidas for the enemy, a meaning which makes nonsense of the passage.
CHAPTER VIII (B.C. 422) 93

14. ἀπολεξάμενος—so iv. 9, 2, with αὐτὸς. προστάξας—vi. 42, 1, στρατηγῷ προστεταγμένοι. ἀπολαβεῖν—'cut off', or catch in an isolated state; iv. 14, 2, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο.

CHAPTER IX

1. ἀπὸ μὲν οἷας—the protasis introduced by μὲν contrasts generally the Lacedaemonians with their Ionian foes, the apodosis with δέ deals with the particular enterprise which Brasidas was about to attempt. ὅτι...ἐλευθέρας—sc. ηκομέν ἀπὸ χώρας, the construction of the previous clause being repeated.

2. διὰ τὸ εὐφυχον—'owing to its courage'; ii. 39, 2, πιστευοντες τῷ εὐφυχῳ: so εὐφυχλα, i. 84, 3; i. 121, 3. δότι Δωριής...

1Wo—cf. vi. 77, 1, οὔκ ἔνωνε τάδε εἰσίν...ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς ἐλευθέρου. Poppo on i. 124, 1 cites other similar passages.

4. ἀρκεῖτω βραχέως—'let a brief statement of this suffice'. The perfect participle implies that the fact is to be considered settled once for all.

5. τὴν δὲ ἐπιχείρησιν—put first for emphasis and contrast. For the word cf. i. 33, 3, ἐσ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, 'with a view to assailing you'. ἐπιχείρω with dative is often used in the sense of attacking.

6. τὸ τε κατ' ὀλίγον—the reading is not certain. The best manuscripts have τῷ τε, which leaves the sentence without a nominative to παράσχῃ. Poppo and others read τὸ τε: Classen considers the connexion of τε and κατ' out of place here, and reads τῷ (=τῷ) τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον. For κατ' ὀλίγον, 'in small divisions', see note on iv. 10, 3. ἐνδεῖς—lit. 'deficient', i.e. a disadvantage.

9. οὐκ ἀν ἐλπίσαντος—'because they never could have expected'; taking ἄν with the participle. Possibly however it is merely anticipatory, and belongs to the following subordinate construction where it is repeated; cf. Eur. Med. 941, οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ τείσαμι. The following aorist optative with ὕσ ἂν is a rare instance: ἐλπίζων ὕσ with the future indicative occurs viii. 54, 1: so Eur. El. 919, ἠλπίσας ὄς ἔξεις: cf. ii. 42, 5, πενίας ἐλπίδι...ὡς κἀν πλουτησειαν. We have a similarly formed sentence in ii. 93, 2, οὕτε προσδοκία οὐδεμια, μὴ ἂν ποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἐξαιτιῶν οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν.

11. κατὰ θεάν—see ch. 7, 13. With the whole phrase we may compare ii. 40, 1, πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοι.
13. καλάμα—connecting ἵδων with πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν. πρὸς—‘looking to, having regard to’, i.e. making the most of the force at his disposal. Brasidas did not feel strong enough to fight a pitched battle.

14. ἄπο τοῦ...ἀντιπαραταχθέντος—‘by way of counter-array’. The use of the neuter participle for an abstract substantive, or as equivalent to τὸ with the infinitive, is peculiar to Thucydides among prose writers; e.g. i. 36, 1, τὸ μὲν δεδομὸν αὐτοῦ...τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν: i. 142, 4, ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι, ‘in the want of practice’: ch. 102, 4, μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένου, ‘with action’: cf. infra τοῦ μένοντος. Krüger gives other instances. τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ νικηθέν, ii. 87, 2, is somewhat different: cf. τὸ ποθοῦν, Soph. Phil. 674; Trach. 196. See Goodwin § 108; Madv. § 180.

17. κλέιματα—‘stratagems’; Dem. de Cor. 236, κλέμμα Φιλίππου, ‘a trick of Philip’s’. ἔχει = ‘bring’ or ‘involve’: cf. note on iv. 1, 1. ἀ is cognate accusative after ἀπατήσας: cf. Soph. Aj. 2, πείραν τιν’ ἀρπάζαν. ἄν is repeated as in i. 36, 3: iv. 18, 3, etc.

21. ἔδων ἐμὸν φαίνονται—‘from what they clearly look like to me’; the personal construction, such as is usual with δοκῶ, δοκα, λέγομαι etc.: Plat. Polit. 280 b, οὐκ ἔσπον τοῖς λεχθέσιν, ἄν φαίνει.

22. ἀνεμένη—‘unstrung’, dum sunt remissis animis: i. 6, 1, ἀνεμένη διαλή, ‘easy, luxurious’: ii. 39, 2, ἀνεμένως διατώμενω. Classen adopts Krüger’s suggestion of ἔντασθήναι for the following ἑντασθήναι. No doubt the converse of ἄλημι ‘to slacken’ is ἐπιτείνω ‘to tighten’, which is commonly found metaphorically used like the Latin intendō. ἐντέλω is also used in a somewhat similar way, e.g. Plat. Phaed. 98 d, as antithetical to χαλῶ: so συντεταμένος, id. Euthyd. 288 d : Rep. 504 e: Xen. Oec. ii. 18, γνώμη συντεταμένη. Here however ἔντασθήναι may well be a military metaphor, contrasting a ‘close and firm array’ of mind with the ‘loose and feeble’ condition implied by ἐν τῷ ἀνεμένη.

23. δόξα—‘ideas’, lit. ‘expectation’; as in the well-known passage ii. 42 (fin.), ἄμα ἄκμη τῆς δόξης. Brasidas means that the Athenians’ ideas would be all abroad, in the confusion caused by a sudden attack.

27. τοὺς μετὰ σεαυτοῦ—see the end of ch. 6 for the amount of the force under Brasidas and Clearidas.

30. ἐπεκθεῖν...ἐπείγεσθαι—the only instance in Thucydides of the infinitive used for the 2nd person imperative. The construction, which has the subject in the nominative, is chiefly epic (Goodwin, § 101). The word ἐπεκθεῖν is used in iv. 34, 1, of soldiers in the field meeting the desultory attacks of light troops.
31. φοβηθήναι—note the use of the aorist with ἐλπὶς: iv. 9, 2 note. τὸ...ἐπιὼν—the usual collective neuter, like ὑπλιτικοῦ, ch. 6, 23: cf. ii. 45, 1, φθόνος τοῖς φῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον.

36. νομίσατε εἰναι τοῦ κ.τ.λ.—it is possible in this sentence to make αἰσχύνεσθαι and πειθέσθαι dependent on ἔθελεν, in which case τὸ should be omitted before αἰσχύνεσθαι. More probably however the qualities of a good soldier are expressed by three coordinate infinitives. Classen makes this sense clearer by reading νομίσατε τρια εἰναι (with Stahl), in accordance with the scholiast's explanation, ἡ τριῳ γίγνεται τὸ καλῶς πολεμεῖν. In similar sententious phrases a number is often named, e.g. i. 74, 1, τρια τὰ ψελμιμώτατα παρεσχομέθα, followed by three accusatives. Classen also repeats τὸ with πειθέσθαι, as being necessary for a clear coordinate sense.

ib. τὸ ἔθελεν—'readiness', 'alacrity'.—αἰσχύνεσθαι—like αἰσχυνή, 'self respect', 'a sense of honour': ii. 43, 1, ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι. αἰδώς is used in the same way; see i. 84, 3, αἰδώς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐνυχία: cf. Hom. II. v. 531, αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἥ πέφανται.

38. ἦ ἀγαθοὶς κ.τ.λ.—this sentence is complicated by the addition of accessory matter subordinate to the main ideas. Removing these accretions the outline stands thus:—(νομίσατε) ἦ ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Ἀκαδαιμιών ἔνυμμάκοις κεκλήθαι, ἦ Ἀθηναίων τε δούλους (κεκλήθαι), τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἐλλησι κωλυταῖς γενέσθαι ἐλευθερώσως. The choice put forward is between two pairs of things, all of which are in construction expressed as subjects of ὑπάρχειν. In the second half of the sentence the order is inverted by the figure called chiasmus.

ib. ἀγαθοὶς γενομένοις—'if you quit yourselves like men'. The speaker omits the offensive suggestion of κακοῖς γενομένοις or the like in the corresponding clause. κεκλήθαι = 'the title of': ii. 37, 1, δημοκρατία κέκληται: iii. 82, 7, βἀν κακοῦργοι δντες δέξιοι κέκληται. The perfect tense denotes that the name is permanently acquired.

40. Ἀθηναίων τε δούλους—τε is omitted in some manuscripts. If we retain it, we must suppose that a corresponding καὶ was intended, but owing to the insertion of additional clauses τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς is written instead. With δούλους understand κεκλήθαι. It is possible to supply γενέσθαι, but the sense is not so forcible or the rhythm of the sentence so good.

ib. ἦν τὰ ἄριστα...πράξητε—'if you are most fortunate': superlative of ἐπὶ πράσσειν: vii. 71, 1, μὴ χείρῳ πράξωσι. Krüger quotes an instance of the adjective thus used from Xen. Anab. vi. 2, 8, τολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράσσειν. ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.—explanatory
of τὰ ἀριστα. ἀνδραποδισμοῦ—selling or carrying off into slavery, while δουλεία is merely a general though invidious word for subjugation of any kind. As Arnold says, 'δοῦλος is the general term, applying equally to political and domestic slavery; ἀνδράποδον applies exclusively to the latter'. ἀνδραποδισμός, like the following forms in ὀφεις, is active in force. θανάτωσις is not found elsewhere till Plutarch.

42. καὶ δουλείαν—this clause is loosely connected with the last but one. In construction δουλείαν is either to be taken with ἵπποικειόμενοι, in conformity to the main outline of the sentence, or it is a cognate accusative connected with δοῦλος, as if δουλεύοντας (dative participle) had been written. In illustration of the latter view Jowett cites Plato, Rep. 579d, ἐστιν ἄρα ὁ τῶ δυντι τύφαναι τῷ δυντι δοῦλος τὰς μεγίστας ὀφειάς καὶ δουλείας. To this we may add the construction of ἀτίμιλαν after ἀτίμιος ἐπολήσαν in ch. 34, 15.

47. ἐργα—'in deed', opposed to παρανέσαν. It is not governed by ἐπεξελθεῖν, which does not take the dative in the sense of 'carrying out' or 'prosecuting' a plan, but either stands absolutely as here, or takes the accusative. See note on iv. 14, 3, τῷ παρούσῃ τῷ ἀνάτι καὶ πλείστου ἐπεξελθεῖν, which is similar in construction to the present passage.

CHAPTER X

1. ὁ μὲν—note the force of the following imperfects, and of the coordinate construction with μὲν and δέ. While Brasidas, having made his speech, is now getting ready to sally out, Cleon is told of a movement on the enemy's part.

3. Κλεάρδα—Doric genitive; ch. 25, 2, ἐπὶ Πλειστόλα: so i. 103, 2, τοῦ Δώσ τοῦ Ἰθωμῆτα. In ch. 6, 27 we have Κλεαρίδου. ἐπὶ τὰς Ῥωμικίας—the Thracian gates seem to have led out on the north-eastern side of the town near the shore of the lake. The accusative with ἐπὶ denotes the quarter or direction in which the troops under Clearidas were appointed to serve. We may compare such phrases as καθιστάναι ἐπὶ ἀρχήν, etc.

5. ἐπεξίτωνεν—here ἐπὶ in composition probably denotes the attack to be made by a reserve force, though it may simply mean 'sally out to attack'.

ib. τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι—cf. iv. 93, 2, τῷ δὲ Ἰπποκράτει...ὡς αὐτῷ ἁγγελθέν. φανέρῳ γενομένου—with this are connected καταβάτος and the two following present participles. For the construction cf. Hdt. v. 26, ἀτικόμενοι φανεροὶ εἰσώ: so Ar. Vesp. 735, δῆλος ἐστιν εὗ τοιῶν: the adjective with εἰσὶ being constructed like the corresponding verb.
CHAPTER X (B.C. 422) 97

8. 'Αθηνᾶς—from contracted nom. 'Αθηνᾶ= 'Αθηναία: see Lid. and Scott. θυομένου—the middle is used of the general who took the auspices by causing victims to be slain; so ch. 54, 7. This use of the word is common in Herodotus and Xenophon. ταύται— τὰ περὶ τὴν ξεδον (Poppo): but according to Krüger and others referring to θυομένου and denoting the ceremonial accompaniments of the sacrifice.

9. τότε—referring, as does τὴν θεα, to what has been already said in ch. 7, 21. ἀπασα is emphatic, for Cleon thought the city was feebly guarded; see the latter part of ch. 7.

11. ὑπὸ τάς...ὑποφαίνοντα— the meaning is not perfectly clear, for ὑπό may mean either ‘under’ or ‘close up to’, and similarly ὑποφαίνομαι may mean either ‘apparere sub’ or ‘sub-apparere’. To translate ‘The feet of horses and men are to be seen under the gate’ gives a good sense; for the Athenians, as shown in Arnold’s note, might have got up close to the walls, and the roadway being worn hollow there would be a space at the bottom of the gates. For the accusative cf. ii. 17, 1, τὸ Πελασγικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. On the other hand the rendering ‘there are signs of’, etc. gives a more feeble conclusion of the sentence, especially after ἀπασα...φανερά in the preceding clause, and is therefore, I think, less desirable, though quite consistent with the Greek. With this latter view it has been rather oddly suggested that τότε may mean the sound of horses’ hoofs.

13. ἐπιλθεν—‘came up’. πρὶν...ἡκεν—‘πρὶν with the infinitive after a negative is rare in the Attic poets, but more frequent in Attic prose’ (Goodwin § 106, 2): so i. 69, 2, ὁι πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔγγῳ ἑσμέν: i. 39, 2, etc. Note the dative of with ἡκεν, a construction not uncommon with ἔθεειν.

16. σμαίνειν...ἄναχωρῆσων—editors give no exact parallel to this cognate construction. The nearest is from Xen. Anab. iv. 3, 29, ἐπειδὴ ὁ σαλπιγκτὴς σημηνή τὸ πολεμικὸν.

16b. παρῆγγειλε τοῖς ἄπιοντι—‘passed the word to the retiring force’. Classen reads παρῆγγειλε, with some manuscript authority. παραγγέλω, like σμαίνω, is a technical word for giving military orders; so παραγγέλεις, ch. 66, 15. We might rather expect ἄπιοντι without τοῖς: see however note on ch. 5, 9. οἱ ἄπιοντες are the troops who had begun to carry out the order of ἄναχωρῆσις.

17. ἕπι τὸ εὐώνυμον—with ἕπαγεν. The following note of Arnold’s shows how things stood. ‘The army was drawn up in line fronting Amphipolis, and as the left was nearest Eion,
the movement of retreat would naturally begin with that part of the army. Meantime the right should have maintained their position, and continued to face the enemy, in order to check pursuit till the other part of the army was fairly on its march to Eion'.

18. ὑπάγει- of an orderly and deliberate retreat: so iv. 126, 6, κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει ὑπαγαγόντες. Eion was on the left bank of the river, like Amphipolis.

19. σχολή γλυνεσθαί—if the nominative σχολή is right, we must compare such phrases (mostly negative) as ὁδὸν αὐτῷ σχολή (ἐστι). σχολή γλυνεσταὶ τινι thus means ‘a man finds he has (lit. gets) time’, γλυνεσθαί instead of ἐστὶ implying a change in the look of circumstances: so iv. 68, 5, ἀσφάλεια δὲ αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἐγκεκριμένο τῆς ἀνοίξεως. The meaning then is that Cleon no longer thought it necessary for the right wing to stand fast in order to cover the retreat, but supposed that the whole army might be safely withdrawn.

σχολή—‘at leisure’, i.e. in a slow and dilatory manner, has some manuscript authority, and is read by Krüger and Classen. It would mean that Cleon became uneasy and impatient at the time taken to carry out his orders, and so made a premature movement which proved disastrous. The subject of γλυνεσθαί is then to be supplied from the context; as in ch. 64, 20. For the adverbial use of σχολή cf. iii. 46, 2, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῇ καὶ τάχυ ἐμβῆναι.

20. ἐπιστρέψας τὸ δεξίον—the Athenians were fronting the town in line, looking west; they now faced to the left, and the line became a column heading southwards towards Eion. The right flank, which was not covered by the shield, was thus exposed to attack. For the military usage of ἐπιστρέψω and ἐπιστροφή see ii. 90, 3, ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς: cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 1045, δαῖνον ἀνδρῶν ἐπιστροφαί. We have τὰ γυμνά in ch. 71, 6, also γύμνωσι ib. line 12: cf. iii. 23, 4, ἐσηκούντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά.

24. ὦτι—introducing the actual words; so i. 137, 4, ἐδήλου δ’ ἡ γραφή δτι, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἤκω παρὰ σέ: so iv. 38, 2. For μένουσιν Krüger reads μενοῦσα, but the present seems more forcible and appropriate. Krüger also reads δηλοι δὴ and objects to τοὺς ἑπίστοντας as otiose, and probably a gloss. In similar sentences however δὲ often introduces an explanation or reason for a preceding statement. And ἑπίστοντας has considerable force, viz. that ‘a sudden onset’ would be likely to rout unsteady troops like the Athenians.
27. ἄνουγέτω—ἄνουγε is the usual Thucydidean form; iv. 68, 3; iv. 74, 1, etc. The imperative use of τος commonly implies 'any one (every one) concerned', as in ch. 20, 6; but the usage here is slightly different. ἃς εὑρήκατο—sc. ἄνουγειν.

29. τός ἐπὶ τὸ στείρωμα πύλας—Thucydides does not tell us what this στείρωμα was; but Grote's view is probably right, that it was an outwork constructed by Brasidas to secure the bridge over the Strymon. We learn from iv. 102, 2, that Amphipolis stood on a peninsula and was fortified by a wall from a point in the river's course above the city to a point below. In iv. 103, 4 we find that the bridge, which seems undoubtedly to have been below the city, was some distance from the fortress, and was not then connected with it by walls. Brasidas however had now held Amphipolis for eighteen months, and would no doubt have secured his hold on the bridge, the possession of which was of vital importance. He appears to have constructed a palisade, extending from a point in the city walls, and touching the river at some point below the bridge, which was thus brought within the line of defence. It is plain from the first part of chapter 8 that Brasidas had full command over crossing the river when he pleased.

The 'gate to the stockade' then led first into the space enclosed between the original wall and the new outwork; while the 'first gate in the long wall' was above the starting point of the stockade, and led directly out. The words τὸτε ὑποτος show that the works had been altered when Thucydides wrote.

31. τὴν ὅδον ταύτην εὐθείαν—for this accusative of 'of the space traversed' cf. Eur. Med. 384, κράτιστα τὴν εὐθείαν (sc. ὅδον πορείεσθαι). ταύτην denotes the road at the place spoken of, further explained by ἦπερ κ.τ.λ. οὕτως thus used is often to be rendered 'that'. εὐθείαν is predicate; lit. 'taking it straight'. The meaning is that Brasidas led his men straight up towards the ridge on which Cleon was posted; see ch. 7, 18. τὸ καρπερώτατον seems to be the steepest part of the ascent to this ridge, which connected the hill on which Amphipolis stood with the higher eminence of Mount Pangaeus to the east of the city.

32. ἱόντι—so i. 24, 1, 'Επίδαμνός ἦστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπέλνητι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον.

38. ἔννεβη τε—'and so it fell out'. This phrase, as Classen points out, is used of 'various concurrent circumstances', as in ch. 14, 1, etc. Here however it rather sums up and states the general result of 'concurrent circumstances', as phrases with τε are commonly used to conclude an account; e.g. iv. 26, 5, παρί τε τρόπῳ ἐκάτερον ἐπεκτείνετο.
ib. καὶ ἑξαπίνης—probably to be taken with τῷ, though the connexion of an adverb with an adjective is certainly awkward. Poppo therefore proposes, with some manuscript authority, to leave out καὶ and to take ἑξαπίνης with the following infinitive, comparing iv. 36, 2, where ἑξαπίνης and τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ occur in the same clause.

42. ἐπιταρσίων—with the dative this word implies passing along to attack; πλησιάζων ἐπετίθετο τῷ δεξίῳ (schol.). In iv. 94, 2, the same word is used with the accusative of passing along the lines of a friendly army: so vi. 67, 4, with ἐκαστα. In iv. 108, 3, and vii. 76, we find it without a case following. Similarly ἐπιμύ and ἐπῆλθον with the dative commonly denote hostile approach, but not so with the accusative. In Xenophon ἐπιτάρεμι is used of light troops advancing parallel to a marching army.

43. πεσόντα αὐτῶν—Classen notes that this and viii. 102, 1, are the only passages where the aorist participle is used with αἰσθάνομαι to denote what has just happened. In 24 passages the present or perfect participle is found. See also ch. 30, 3.

45. ἐ με νε μάλλον—several mss. have ἐ με νε ἂ τί, which is defended by Arnold as being answered by καὶ ἡμύνοντο, and giving the sense ‘the right wing not only kept its ground, but, though Cleon himself fled, and was killed, the soldiers formed in a ring and repulsed Clearidas in two or three attacks’. In favour of this view may be alleged the well known rule that in sentences coordinately constructed with μὲν and δὲ the clause with μὲν (ὁ μὲν Κλέων) is often subordinate in sense. See note on iv. 80, 3, προκρίναντες ἐς δισχίλιους, οἱ μὲν...οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

48. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ξυστραφέντες—the subject of this clause is οἱ αὐτῶν ὀπλίται, and the words ξυστραφέντες ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων, ‘rallying, or closing together on the hill’, are in apposition. ξυστραφέντες is put out of its grammatical place for the sake of the rhythm of the sentence, as noted on iv. 24, 2, ὀρῶντες τὰς μὲν παρούσας ὀλίγας ναὶς, where ὀλίγας is the predicate. Compare the order in ch. 41, 1, οἱ προσβείς ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν.

From the position of αὐτῶν we should naturally assume it to be the adverb of place rather than the personal pronoun, which would regularly take the order οἱ ὀπλίται αὐτῶν, as in line 40. Poppo however takes it to be the pronoun, and compares iii. 22, 4, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν φυλακῆς: iii. 91, 1, ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ξυστραφέντες: viii. 48, 4, ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἁρχῇ. But in all these passages the reading αὐτῶν or αὐτῶν can be supported, and is probably right; see note on ch. 71, 3. Here at any rate the adverbial
meaning 'on the spot' gives an excellent sense, contrasting the right wing, which stood its ground, with the left, which had retreated.

50. _kal δις ἡ τρίς_—so i. 82, 3, διελθόντων ἐτῶν _kal δῶ _kal τριῶν_. With this emphatic use of _kal_ may be compared _kal ἀπαντες_, etc. Similar to it is the Tacitean use of _quoque_ for _even_, lit. 'not only...but also'.

53. _οὔτω δέ_—Classen reads Krüger's suggestion _οὔτω δή_, the usual phrase for _tum demum_, e.g. i. 131, 1, _οὔτω δή οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον_. _τὸ στράτευμα_, the subject of the sentence, is resolved by partial apposition into ὅσοι μὴ...οἱ λοιποί: cf. iv. 68, 2, _οἱ φρουροὶ... ἡμύνοντο ὅλγοι...οὶ δὲ πλείους._

54. _χαλεπῶς_—this adverb is used emphatically of a disastrous or hard-pressed retreat; iii. 23, 4, _χαλεπῶς _kal _βιαιῶς_: iv. 25, 6, _χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρησαν_. For _ἐν χερσὶ_ see ch. 3, 14.

58. _οι δὲ τῶν Βρασίδαν ἐκελεύησεν_—there is a singular beauty in the simple form of this sentence, especially in the closing cadence. The sound of _ἐκελεύησεν_ recalls _ἀπηλλάγησαν_ in the funeral speech of Pericles (ii. 42 fin.), and may be added to the reasons for there taking _ἀπηλλάγησαν_ absolutely, 'they passed away'.

61. _νικῶσι_—'are victorious'; for this use of the present cf. _ἀδικῶ_, _φεύγω_, etc.; see Goodwin's _Moods and Tenses_, §10, n. 5.

63. _νεκρῶς_—the article is omitted with _νεκρῶς_ i. 54, 4: iv. 14, 4, etc.: so often with words which are repeatedly found in a particular context, as _παῖδες _kal _γυναῖκες_ (of a captured town), _μέσον_ (of an army), etc. Such words get in fact a definite force of their own, and can dispense with the article. See note on _πόλεως_ iv. 18, 2, and _μέσον_ iv. 31, 2.

CHAPTER XI

3. _Θαψαν_—it appears from Xen. _Hel_._vii_. 3, 12 that this was the special honour of founders and benefactors of cities.

The historian says of Euphron, a military adventurer of Sicyon, _οἱ πολίται αὐτοῦ ὃς ἄνδρα ἄγαθόν θαψάρ τε ἐν τῇ ἄγορῇ..._
THUCYDIDES V

καὶ ὡς ἄρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται. To show the rarity of such honours Arnold cites Cic. Ep. Fam. iv. 12, 3, where we find the Athenians refusing a place of sepulture within their walls to M. Marcellus, 'quod religione se impediri dicerent; necque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant'.

5. περείπταντες—elsewhere Thucydidies uses the forms of ἄργω, and one manuscript here has περείπταντες. ξυνέρετε is found Soph. Aj. 593.

6. ἐντέμνονυς—ἐντέμως, according to the scholiast, like ἐντομα and ἐναγι̣ω, is properly used of offerings to the dead, or to the powers below, as opposed to sacrifices to the gods above. In the latter case the victim’s throat was held up and pierced; in the former its head was struck off on the ground. The present ἐντέμνονυς and perfect δεδώκασι imply a custom still continuing. Classen considers the style of expression appropriate to a writer who was connected with the neighbourhood, as we know that Thucydidies was (iv. 105, 1).

8. προεδρεύει—thus making Brasidas their tutelary hero.

9. τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα—public buildings which commemorated Hagnon’s name as founder. These would include a shrine in his honour, if he was dead. He may however have been still alive, as it was only 15 years since he established the city (iv. 102, 3). In 429 we find him in Thrace (ii. 95, 3). The name of Hagnon occurs in ch. 19, 2, and ch. 24, 1, among the Athenian signatories, and in viii. 68, 4, we have a Hagnon mentioned as the father of Theramenes.

10. ἐν τῷ μνημόσυνῳ—si quod aliud deductionis eis monumentum superfuturum erat’: cf. Hdt. i. 185, μνημόσυνα ἔληπτο, of material works executed by queen Nitocris. αὑτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως—αὑτοῦ refers to the preceding adjective Ἀγνώνεια. The actual construction of the genitives is open to some doubt. Probably αὑτοῦ depends on οἰκίσεως, the more emphatic word standing first. It is however quite possible to take αὑτοῦ as dependent directly on μνημόσυνον, in which case τῆς οἰκίσεως is added, as a ‘genitive of further definition’ and depends on the combined μνημόσυνον αὑτοῦ.

11. σωτηρά θέ—the two main divisions of the sentence are τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν...τὸν δὲ ᾽Αγνώνα. The first of these divisions is expanded by a subordinate θέ and καὶ, connecting the two ideas which led the citizens thus to honour Brasidas; gratitude to Brasidas himself, and a desire at the same time to court the
favour of Sparta. The construction as usual is modified by putting in a fresh governing participle; cf. ch. 28, 10, ὅραντες τὸν τε πόλεμον ἑσόμενον, καὶ ἀμα ἑλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι.

14. τὸ πόλεμον τῶν—'their hostility to Athens': in iii. 56, 2, τῷ ἑκείνων πολέμῳ is 'their hostile feelings'.

15. ὄμολος—probably 'as formerly': so i. 99, 2, ἦσαν συκέτι ὄμολος ἐν ἡδονῇ ἄρχοντες. Krüger however understands 'as Brasidas'. ἤδεως—sc. σφίς, according to the scholiast; but possibly Ἀγνών, for Hagnon, whether alive or dead, would be dishonoured in his sacred character of founder by the homage of a revolted town.

18. ἐπτά—'so in the great battle of Corinth, fought a.c. 394, only eight Lacedaemonians were killed (Xen. Hel. iv. 3. 1). For such was the Spartan skill and discipline that, till their ranks were broken, they fought almost without risk' (Arnold).

19. τοιαύτης—referring to the description already given. προεκφοβήσεως is active in force. The word seems to occur nowhere else in classical Greek: φόβησις is not found and ἐκ-φοβησις has no classical authority.

23. καθίσταντο—as usual, of political arrangements. For the imperfect, see note on ch. 3, 30.

CHAPTER XII

2. 'Ῥαμφίας—father of the Clearchus of Xenophon's Anabasis. In viii. 8, 2, and 39, 2, we find Clearchus holding a command in the Hellespont. ᾳγον—'were on their way with'. An intended reinforcement had miscarried the year before owing to the influence of Perdiccas with the Thessalian chiefs (iv. 132, 2).

5. ἐσ' Ἡράκλεεν—the Lacedaemonian colony and place of arms at the foot of mount Oeta: cf. iii. 93, 94: iv. 78, note.
CHAPTER XIII

2. Πιερλού—unknown; Arnold supposes it to be 'a town of Thessaly, not far from Metropolis, and from the road leading from Pellinaeum and Athamania to Larissa'. Livy speaks of Piera (xxxii. 15) and Pieria (xxxvi. 14), for which Pialia or Cieria, the names of known places, have been proposed as emendations.

*ib*. οἱ περὶ—including Rhamphias himself; so iv. 33, 1, οἱ περὶ τῶν ἔπιτάδαν: viii. 56, 1, οἱ περὶ τῶν Πεισανδρὸν πρέσβεις.

3. καλυόντων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν—the Thessalians, at the instigation of Perdiccas, had hindered Ischagoras from bringing reinforcements the year before (iv. 132, 2); and Brasidas was obliged to pass through Thessaly by stratagem in 424 (iv. 78).

*ib*. καὶ ἄμα—giving an important reason, which is further emphasized by ὥσπερ. ἡσες—'on, by reason of, being defeated', dative of the efficient cause.

8. κάκεινος—'he on his part'; lit. 'they themselves were incompetent to carry out the plans which he also had in contemplation'. The καὶ emphasizes ἐκεῖνος by a co-ordination which is really false in sense. Jowett compares iv. 62, 3, τιμωρα ὅς εὗτοι ἔτυχεν δικαῖος ὅτι καὶ ἐδελτί, and says 'in Greek the word καὶ commonly adheres to the standard of comparison (cf. ὥσπερ καὶ), in English the corresponding word adheres to the person or thing compared'.

9. τὴν ἐφήνην—the article denotes the peace which was thought of and discussed.

CHAPTER XIV

1. ἕνεβῃ...ὁστε—so Hdt. iii. 14, ἀνάφθεικε ὅστε with inf. in a similar sense. Classen also compares i. 28, 3, ἐτοιμοὶ ὅστε: i. 11, 9, δεύθηκεν ὅστε, and other like instances. Only one clause is affected by ὅστε, after which the general story goes
on with the indicative: so viii. 5, 2, ἀναπείθεται Ἀγις ὥστε Εὔβολας μὲν πέρι ἐπισχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Λεοβίους παρεσκεύαζε τὴν ἀπόστασιν.

The subject of ἐξον is resolved into two divisions, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι...οἱ δ' αὐτ Ἀκαδαιμόνιοι (line 14), and the construction is continued, chiefly in participial clauses, passing into the indicative towards the end of each division.

6. πληγέντες—of a severe blow: iv. 108, 5, ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς νεωτί πεπληγμένων, of the same defeat at Delium. ἐπὶ τῷ Δῆλῳ—the battle of Delium was fought in the winter of 424: it is described in iv. 96. It was followed by the reduction of the fort which the Athenians had occupied (iv. 100). For the use of ἐπὶ for in or at cf. ch. 15, 10.

8. τὴν ἑλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης—‘their confidence in their strength’; cf. ii. 89, 8, καταλύσατι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἑλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ.

ῥώμη is here used of material power, as in iv. 18, 2, διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν νῦν ῥώμην πόλεως: so vii. 63 (fin.) opposed to ἀσθένεια, καὶ μετὰ ἀσθενειάς καὶ ξυμφορῶν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἑπιστήμη κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἐτέρας ἐυτυχοσύνη ῥώμης. In iv. 29, 2, καὶ αὐτῶ ῥώμην ἡ νήσος ἐμπροσθείσα παρέσχε, it denotes mental confidence: so vii. 18, 1, τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγεγένητο τὸ ναῦμα. There are besides two well-known passages where the word occurs, ii. 43, 3, ὅ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοὐνῆς ἑλπίδος...θάνατος: vii. 75, 3, εἰ τῷ προλείποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα. In both of these passages Liddell and Scott take ῥώμη in the sense of physical vigour, while Krüger understands it to mean spirit and confidence.

The passive of ῥώνυμι seems generally used of eagerness and confidence: e.g. ii. 8, 1, ἔρρωστο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον: iv. 72, 1, τοιοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐρρώθησαν: vi. 17, 6, εἰ πάνυ ἔρρωσται: so ἐπέρρωσε, ‘re-enforced’, iv. 36, 2.

9. ἡπερ—for the dative cf. ἑλπίδα ii. 42, 5: ii. 44, 3. προτερον—see iv. 21 and 41. τῇ παροῦσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ—cf. iv. 14, 3, βολόμενοι τῇ παροῦσῃ τοχῇ ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, where Classen takes the dative as not governed by ἐπεξελθεῖν, a view which the present phrase confirms.

11. ἐδείσαν—this form occurs iv. 55, 3; and as a var. lect. for ἐδείσαν iv. 117, 2. In several passages in other authors it is the manuscript reading. Grammatical authority is however in favour of ἐδείσαν: see Veitch’s Irregular Verbs, under ἔιω.

13. μετεμελοντο—this word is usually constructed with a
participle, as in ch. 35, 20: iv. 27, 2, μετεμελοντο τας σπουδας ου δεξαμενοι. Here ὅτι is used, probably to avoid the juxtaposition of two participles. ἐλατος παρασχόν—so i. 120, 3, εν παρασχόν ἵκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι: iv. 85, 2, ὅτε παρέσχεν.

14. ὅτι 8' αὖ Δακεδαμόνιοι—see iv. 41 and 55, where the despondency of the Spartans at this time is described in very similar language. For the mixture of participial constructions in this part of the sentence cf. iv. 8, 3, διὰ ταχέων εἴργασμένον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνότων, and the passages there cited.

16. ὀλγων ἐτῶν—'within a few years': ch. 74, 2.

18. εν τῇ νήσῳ—the usual expression for Σφακτέρια, as in ch. 15, 4. γεγένητο—vii. 18, 2, ἐγέγενητο.

19. ἀληθευμένης—see iv. 41 and 54 seq. προσδοκίας... μή—προσδοκία here implies fear or suspicion, and accordingly is followed by μή: so ii. 93, 2. Similarly μή follows ὑποτοσῳ, ii. 13, 1, and ὑποπτεύω, iii. 53, 2. τοῖς ἦν—so iv. 66, 2, ὅτι φιλοι τῶν ἦν. πλανος is found in ii. 89, 4, τῇ δυνάμει πλανοῦ, and vi. 2, 6: but not elsewhere in Attic prose. It is used by Herodotus, and by the poets.

22. πρός τὰ παρόντα—cf. iv. 80, 1, μή τι πρός τὰ παρόντα τῆς Πύλου ἔχομεν ἡνεκτέριαν. ὅσπερ καὶ πρότερον refers to the rising of the Ηελώτα in 465 (i. 101 seq.).

23. ἐβέβαιε—see note on ch. 10, 38. πριακοντατές—most manuscripts have this form or πριακοντατεῖς. Classen reads πριακοντοτές with one manuscript, on the analogy of i. 23, 4, and other passages where that form occurs. There are however instances of the resolved form in Xenophon: and Thucydides has πεντηκοντατέδων in ch. 32, 22. It is in fact impracticable to insist on absolute uniformity even in the same author.

25. ἐπ' ἔξοδῳ—the same expression is used in ch. 28, 11; so that the truce lasted at any rate till 421.

26. εἰ μή τις—so iv. 68, 5, εἰ μή πελεσταλ τις: see note on ch. 10, 27. τῇ Κυνοσουρίαν γῆν—on the borders of Αργος and Λακωνία, iv. 56, 3: see also ch. 41, 6. Another form is Κυνουπλα (Hdt. viii. 73 etc.), which is also read here in some manuscripts.

27. ὃς' ἀδύνατα—i.e. therefore they must make terms with Athens, as difficulties impended on the side of Αργος.
There is a similar condensation of the logical conclusion with ὥστε at the end of iv. 85. For the neuter plural ἀδύνατα cf. note on iv. 1, 2, ἀδύνατα ἦν.

30. ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο—see ch. 29 seq.

CHAPTER XV

3. οὗτός:—the usual litotes for ‘especially’; ii. 52, 1, ἐπίεσε δ’ αὐτούς...καὶ οὗτος τοῦς ἐπελθόντας.

ib. ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν...κομίσασθαι—the infinitive is added in explanation of the genitive. Poppo compares Plat. Crito 14 a, οὐδ’ ἐπιθυμία σε ἄλλης πόλεως οὐδ’ ἄλλων νόμων ἔλαβεν εὐδέναι: Xen. Cyrop. v. 2. 31, οὐ δύναμαι ἐννοῆσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν οὐδὲ μιᾶν πορείαν ἦμιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν Βαβυλώνα πορείας λέναι. For τῶν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου cf. iv. 108 (fin.) βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νῆσου κομίσασθαι. It is a pregnant use of the preposition implying getting back the men who had been taken in the island: cf. ch. 34, 10, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ληφθέντας.

5. οἱ Σπάρτιάται αὐτῶν—‘those of them who were Spartans’, about 120 in number, iv. 38, 4. For the partitive genitive cf. iv. 61, 2, οἱ Δωρίσι ἥμων: iv. 126, 3, τοῖς Μακεδονίων αὐτῶν.

6. πρῶτοι τε κ.τ.λ.—‘either chief men or no less intimately connected with them’, i.e. with the home authorities, who were conducting the negotiations. For the half technical use of πρῶτοι cf. iv. 105, 1, δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις: iv. 132, 2, χρώμενος δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις. At Sparta the word seems to have denoted some definite rank, though we do not know what.

τε and καὶ in this sentence have, I believe, a disjunctive force as in ii. 42, 2, πρῶτῃ τε μηνόσῳ καὶ τελευταὶ βεβαιώσα. ὅμοιος then means, not ‘all equally’, but ‘as much as the πρῶτοι themselves’; while σφὶσι refers to the Lacedaemonian government, the main subject of the whole sentence according to sense if not in actual construction.

The words as they stand will fairly bear a satisfactory sense; but many editors believe that there is something wrong in the text, while some consider that ὅμοιος is a corruption of some form denoting the ὅμοιοι or ‘peers’, who were the leading caste among the free Spartans. Reiske accordingly proposes ὅμοιον, and Bekker ὅμοιος, ‘related to them (who were) their
peers', φίλων referring to Σπαρτιάται. Krüger suggests των ὀμοίων 'belonging to the peers', leaving out φίλων ξυγγενεῖς as an interpolated gloss. Stahl prefers ὀμοίῳ φίλωι ξυγγενεῖς = ἀτε ὀμοίῳ οὖνtes.

Plutarch (Nic. 10) says οἱ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν εἰς οἴκων τε πρῶτων τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς δυνατοτάτους ἐξώτες, but these last words are a mere paraphrase, and do not help us to determine the reading in Thucydides. They are at any rate not sufficient to justify what Classen proposes to read, πρῶτοι τε καὶ οίκοι ἐπιφανεῖς ξυγγενεῖς.

7. ἡράντο—see iv. 15 seq. The negotiations were broken off by the overbearing conduct and rough behaviour of Cleon, but it must be remembered that the Spartans are not recorded to have offered any terms which the Athenians could fairly be expected to agree to. οὖτω—see note on the reading of the best manuscripts, cited from this passage by the grammarians Photius and Suidas. οὖτω has also good manuscript authority.

8. εὖ φερόμενοι—so ch. 16, 12: ii. 60, 2, καλὸς φερόμενος. φέρεσθαι denotes movement, as we say 'going on well', and speak of 'a prosperous course'. ἐπι τῇ ἡγ. so i. 27, 1, ἐπι τῇ ἡγ. καὶ ὄμολα. Such feminine phrases are common; see note on εὖ ἐναντίας, iv. 33, 2.

11. πίλλον ἄν δεξαμένου—several manuscripts have ἄν ἐνδεξαμένου: some omit ἄν, or read ἐνδεξαμένου. There are undoubtedly instances, such as vi. 20, 1, and vii. 67 (fin.), in which the manuscript authority is in favour of ἄν with the future particle; while in others the future infinitive is found with ἄν, as in ii. 80 (fin.) and viii. 25 (fin.) In such cases the manuscript reading was generally retained by the older editors, but modern critics omit ἄν or change the future into the aorist.

12. τὴν ἑναὐτοῦ ἐκεχερίαν—see iv. 117 seq. ἔδει—i.e. as was then arranged; the imperfect refers to the time when the treaty was made. τοῦ πλείουν χρόνου—see note on iv. 30 (fin.), περὶ τοῦ πλέουν.

CHAPTER XVI

4. ἀμφοτέρωθεν—at Athens and Sparta.

5. ἡμαυτιοῦντο—so Plut. Nic. 9, οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἐλλάδος Κλέον καὶ Βραδᾶς ἦσαν, ὥν ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπεκρυπτε τῇ κακίᾳ τοῦ δὲ τῆν ἄρετήν ἐκόσμει.
CHAPTER XVI (B.C. 422) 109

6. ὥ δὲ...διαβάλλων—'and the other because he fancied that in quiet times his rogueries would be more transparent and his slanders less credible' (Jowett). No doubt Cleon had been the main promoter of war since the affair of Sphacteria; but, according to the historian's own testimony, it is the grossest injustice to ascribe the policy which he advocated to personal motives only and those of the lowest kind.

8. τότε δὲ—'then, I say'; an instance of δὲ used resumptively after a parenthetical interruption: so i. 11, 1, ἐπειδὴ δὲ...φαίνονται δὲ οὖσ' ἐπιτάῦθα κ.τ.λ. There is a slight manuscript authority for τὸτε δῆ, which is adopted by Krüger.

ib. οἶ ἐν—these two words are found in three manuscripts, and are read by most editors. Classen however omits them, and takes ἐκατέρα τῷ πόλει as governed by σπευδόντες, comparing Eur. Iph. Τ. 579, ὑμῖν τ᾽ ὀνειρον, ὦ ξένου, σπεύδοντο ἀμα καυλ. σπευδόντες means 'anxiously promoting', 'eager for'; vi. 10, 2, ὅπερ καὶ σπεύδομεν: vi. 40, 1, κακὰ σπεύδοντες. There seems however no other instance of a substantive thus governed without a dative. This is in favour of Classen's view. I should incline to retain οἶ and omit ἐν.

10. ἡγεμονίαν—this word is open to suspicion, as it is not elsewhere used of the civil ascendancy of a statesman in his own city, which would be the meaning here required. It denotes (1) the command in war, as in iv. 91, 2, ἡγεμονίας οὕτως αὐτῷ: vii. 15, 2, πολλὰ ἐν ἡγεμονίαις υμᾶς εὗ ἑτοιμα: (2) the sovereign leadership held by a state such as Sparta or Athens. Such leadership would be attained by war rather than by peace; nor were Pleistoanax and Nicias the men to promote the supremacy of their respective countries. It has been suggested that it means a joint leadership of Greece by Athens and Sparta; but to give this force, some qualifying word, such as κοινῷ, would be required. Some editors therefore propose ὁμόροιαν, ὁμολόγιαν, or some similar word, which gives good sense and agrees with ch. 17, 8, προούθυμηθη τῷ ἕμμασιν.

Classen, following Stahl, takes a different view, and reads μᾶλιστ' αὐτῷ (sc. ἐξήνην). He supposes that this had been corrupted into μᾶλιστα τῷ, and then a substantive conjecturally supplied. Jowett suggests omitting οἶ ἐν and referring τότε δὲ...ἡγεμονίαν to Cleon and Brasidas, not to Pleistoanax and Nicias, 'these (Cleon and Brasidas) being at that time the two great champions for the supremacy of their respective states'. The apodosis then begins at Πλειστοαναξ ἔτε. This gives an intelligible sense to ἡγεμονίαν, but the position of the clause is very awkward, and it seems clear that τότε δέ ought to begin the apodosis.
11. πλείστα—cognate or determinant accusative with φερόμενος. εὖ φερόμενος—ch. 15, 9. Nicias was indeed the only Athenian general of the day who had not met with some great disaster. Demosthenes had been totally defeated in Aetolia in 426. The commanders of the Sicilian expedition had been compelled to withdraw ignominiously in 424. In the same year Hippocrates was defeated and slain at Delium, and Thucydides lost Amphipolis. Cleon had perished at Amphipolis in 422.

14. ηὔοῦτο—either (1) absolutely 'was held in honour', or (2) 'was so esteemed', referring to ἀπαθῆς ἤν. In support of the former view editors cite Porson on Eur. Hec. 319, τύμβων δὲ βουλομένων ἀν ἄξιομένων τὸν ἐμὸν ὀράσαι.

I incline however to (2), for the use of ἄξιορ meaning simply 'to honour', though found in the tragedians, seems not to occur elsewhere in Attic prose; and by rendering the words 'was so accounted' we get an excellent sense. It was his reputation as a successful general as well as his actual success which Nicias was anxious to preserve; and ηὔοῦτο with this meaning is answered by καταλιπτειν ὄνομα below, just as πόνων πεπαύσθαι corresponds to ἀπαθῆς ἤν. So Demosthenes (Lept. 452) says of Chabrias, δικός καὶ ὄν ἀνταπόδοτος στρατηγὸς ἀπάντων.

16. διασώσασθαι—the aorist implies securing his good fortune by one definite act, such as the conclusion of peace.

15. πεπαύσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς—i.e. καὶ αὐτὸς πεπαύσθαι, or rather παύσασθαι is added by a slight change of construction to govern πόλιτας. See iii. 67, 6, ἀμφότεροι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἡμῖν...ἀνταπόδοτα χάριν, where other instances are cited by Poppo.

17. καταλιπτειν ὄνομα—cf. vi. 33, 6, τοῖς ἐπολευθείσιν ὄνομα καταλειπτοῦσιν: vi. 16, 5, προστοίχιον ξυγγενέας καταλιπτόντας. διεγένετο—a second compound with διά, emphasizing the fact that Nicias did not retain his good fortune 'throughout his career': cf. Ar. Av. 45, ὅπου καθιδρυθέντε διαγενομέθ' ἂν.

19. καὶ δοτίς—lit. 'and (falls to a man) who', etc. Far harsher constructions with δοτίς are not uncommon: see instances cited on iii. 45, 5, πολλὰς εὐηθείας, δοτίς οἶται: iv. 18, 2, σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν, οὕτως...θέντο.

Thucydides puts similar words in Nicias' mouth at the time of the Sicilian expedition, vi. 28, 3, 5 τι ἐλάχιστα τῷ τόχῳ παραδόθ' ἐμαντόν βουλομαι ἐκπέλειν. 'We can hardly suppose', says Professor Jowett, 'that Thucydides wrote these words without intending silently to recall to the reader's mind the singular contrast between the hopes of mortals
and their final destinies, or without a recollection of the old Greek saying, that no man could be called happy before he died. He who desires only peace may be the author of war; he who aims only at the safety of the state may, by the irony of fortune, be the prime mover in its destruction.'

22. ἐσ ἐνυμίλαι...προβαλλόμενος—lit. 'put forward as a matter of (religious) anxiety', explained further by ὡς διὰ κ.τ.λ. The personal construction may be illustrated by such expressions as Ar. Nub. 1241, Ζεὺς γέλοιος ὄμνυμενος, 'it is absurd to swear by Zeus'.

The form ἐνυμίλα seems not found elsewhere in classical Greek. The adjective ἐνύμοιος is however common, e.g. vii. 50, 4, ἐνύμοιον ποιεύμενον: Soph. Oed. Tyt. 739, τι δ' ἐστι σοι τοῦτ ἐνύμοιον; similarly ἐνυμεισθαὶ is used of laying a thing to heart, as in ch. 32, 6.

23. ὅποτε τι πταίσειαν—for the construction cf. iv. 18, 3, ἔλαχιστα πταλοῦτες.

24. παρανομηθεῖσαν—'illegally effected'. This construction is best explained as the passive equivalent of a cognate accusative with the active. We say ἀδικῷ τοῦτο, 'I commit a wrong in this', and in the passive this becomes τοῦτο ἀδικεῖται, 'this is a wrong act'. The participle here has its predicative force, as in iii. 20, 1, τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπίεζοντο, 'they suffered from failure of the corn'. Classen takes it merely as part of the epithet, comparing for its position such passages as iii. 56, 1, κατὰ τὸν πᾶν νόμον καθεστῶτα. This however weakens the sense; see note on iv. 87, 2, τοῖς ἀπὸ υμῶν χρήμασι φερομένοις παρ' Ἀθηναίοις.

25. τὴν πρόμαντιν—so Hdt. vi. 66, Περιαλλαθν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπελθεὶ: id. vii. 111, πρόμαντις δὲ ἥ χρέουσα, κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

26. πείσαι...ἀστε—so iii. 70, 3, πείθει ἄστε τῷ νόμῳ χρή- σασθαι: ii. 2, 4, οὐκ ἐπείδοντο ἄστε εἴθος ἔργοι ἔχεσθαι: so ii. 101, 3, with ἀναπελθεῖτε. This construction connects two ideas less immediately than if the simple infinitive were employed. The meaning here is that the result of their persuasion (or bribery) was that the priestess gave oracles in their interest. We have a double construction with ἄστε in viii. 45, 3, τοῖς τρινάρχοις ἐδίδασκεν ἄστε δῶντα χρήματα αὐτῶν πείσαι ἄστε ἔγχωρησαι ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ.

28. ἐπὶ πολὺ—of extent of time, as in iv. 72, 2, where see note. θεωροῖς ἀδικουμένοις—'when they came on the public behalf to consult the oracle'. 'On a former occasion, when the Pythoness was bribed by the Alcmaeonidae to inculcate on
the Spartans the duty of delivering Athens from the Pisistratidae, Herodotus says, that she repeated this charge not only to the \textit{θεωρο}, who came on the public behalf, but also to any Lacedaemonian who consulted the oracle on his own private affairs. The duties of \textit{θεωρο} at Sparta were performed by the four \textit{Piθων}, two being nominated by each of the kings, who were maintained with the kings at the public expense, and who together with them read the answers which the oracle returned. See Hdt. vi. 57: Xen. Rep. Lac. 15\textsuperscript{1} (Arnold).

\textit{ib.} \textit{Διόσκουροι ἡμιθέου—}‘the Heraclidae at Sparta were believed to hold the kingly power by an inalienable right, derived from the original compact made between their ancestors and the Dorians, and they jointly invaded Peloponnesus’ (Arnold).

30. \textit{ἀναφέρειν—}i.e. \textit{κατάγειν.} \textit{χράω} and similar words, like other words of commanding or warning, commonly take the present or aorist infinitive, in the sense of bidding or of oracular intimation. Sometimes, as in the next clause, when promise or prediction is especially implied, we have the future: ii. 102, 4, \textit{λέγεται Ἀλκμαῖων τὸν Ἀπόλλων ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσα αἰλκείν: i. 118, 3, \textit{ἀνείλεν αὐτοῖς νόικην ἔσσεθαι: see Goodwin's \textit{Moods and Tenses}, § 98}

\textit{ib.} \textit{ἀργυρά εὐλάκα εὐλάξεν—}meaning either that they should be obliged to purchase their corn at a great price, or that they should find agriculture costly and unprofitable. \textit{εὐλάκα} is said to be an old Laconian word for a ploughshare, and \textit{εὐλάξεω} to be equivalent to \textit{ἄροσεῖν}. Neither noun nor verb are found elsewhere.

31. \textit{προτρέψαι—}the run of the sentence seems in favour of taking this as following \textit{ώστε} and, like \textit{χρῆσαι}, referring to the \textit{πρέμαντις}. Grammatically it might depend on \textit{ἐπηγιώντο}, and correspond to \textit{πείται} in construction. The following \textit{αὐ-τόν} would then refer to Pleistanoa, the primary subject, according to the rule set forth by Poppo on i. 17, 1; see note on iv. 50 (fin.).

\textit{ib.} \textit{φεύγοντα...} 

\textit{φεύγειν} often means ‘to be in exile’, as in this passage, and in ch. 26, 23. It still however retains the construction of a verb of motion, and is followed by \textit{ἐς} rather than by \textit{ἐν}. \textit{Δύκαιον—}ch. 54, 3, \textit{πρὸς τὸ Δύκαιον}, the only other place in Thucydides where the word occurs. Lycaeus was a mountain in Arcadia, with a temple of \textit{Zeus Δύκαιος}.

32. \textit{διὰ τὴν...ἀναχώρησιν—}this was in 445, (i. 114, 3: ii. 21, 1). \textit{μετὰ δὲρν δοκοῦσαν—}‘propter suspicionem acceptae ob discessum pecuniae’: so ii. 21, 1, \textit{διὸ ὅτι ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο}
CHAPTER XVI (B.C. 421) 113

33. ήμισον τῆς οἰκιας—these words are governed directly by οἰκούντα, and τοὐ ιεροῦ is predicative: it is the partitive genitive, 'belonging to the temple'. Half of the house in which he lived at this time was in the sacred precinct of Zeus. 'The reason was, that he might be in sanctuary at an instant's notice, and yet might be able to perform some of the common offices of life without profanation, which could not have been the case had the whole dwelling been within the precinct' (Arnold). In the same way Pausanias, when threatened with arrest, fled to the temple of Athene of the Brazen House, καὶ ἐσ ὀίκημα οὐ μέγα δ ἦν τοῦ ιεροῦ ἐσελθὼν... ἡσύχαζεν (i. 134, 2).

34. φόβῳ τῶν—many manuscripts have φόβῳ τῷ, but τῶν is the usual form, as in ch. 11, 13.

35. έτα—this was in 426 or thereabouts, for the retreat for which he was banished was in 445; see line 32. During his banishment his son Pausanias, a minor, was king (iii. 26, 2). τῶν Ἀριστοδεμοῦ—Eurysthenes and Procles, twin sons of Aristodemus; see Hdt. vi. 52.
CHAPTER XVII


6. ἀπὸ τῶν ἔμφορῶν—ἀπὸ, 'from', denotes the origin and cause: ii. 25, 2, ἀπὸ τοῦτον τοῦ τολμήματος ἐπηνέθη.

7. προθυμηθῇ τὴν ἔμφασιν—the cognate construction (τὶ, τοῦτο etc.) is here extended to the substantive: so viii. 90, 2, τὴν ὁμολογίαν προθυμοῦντο: viii. 1, 1, τοῖς ἔμπροθυμηθεὶσι τὸν ἐκπλοῦν.

8. καὶ τὸν τε—the punctuation in the text is that of Poppo and Krüger, according to which τὸν τε χειμῶνα ήσαν is answered by καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ παρασκευὴ τε προσπανεσεῖσθη...καὶ ἐπειδῆ. 'The final result (τοῦτο δὴ) was due first of all to the threatening attitude of the Lacedaemonians; secondly, to the circumstance that the commissioners of both parties were just then finding, after many disputes, a possible basis of agreement' (Jowett). The second division of this sentence is inconveniently long and complicated, and possibly Classen is right in putting a stop after πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἡδη (sc. ἡσαν ἐς λόγους), and beginning a fresh sentence with παρασκευὴ τε.

9. πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ—so ch. 39, 20. ἡδη—ch. 59, 3, ἡμέρας ἡδη: i. 30 (fin.) χειμῶνος ἡδη. προσπανεσεῖσθη = προοπειλήθῃ, as explained by the scholiast, 'there were threatening demonstrations of an expedition on the part of Lacedaemon'. It is a metaphor from brandishing a weapon at a foe; cf. iv. 126, 4, ἡ ἐπανάσεις τῶν ὀπλῶν ἔχει τινὰ δῆλωσιν ἀπειλῆς: see ἐπανα-σεῖω.

10. ἀπὸ—'on the side of'; iii. 65, 5, γνώμαι ἁφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέγουτο. περιαγγελλομένη—ii. 85, 2, ναύς περιήγγελλον κατὰ πόλεις: see note on iv. 8, 2. περιαγγέλλω in this sense takes either the infinitive, or an accusative of the force demanded.

11. ὡς ἐπὶ τείχισμον—several manuscripts have ὡς ἐπιτείχισμον, and Arnold therefore approves of ὡς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμον, comparing i. 50, 5, where ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν is an accepted emendation of the manuscript reading ὡς ἐπίπλουν. ἐπιτείχισμος is no doubt a suitable word: it occurs in i. 122, 1, ἐπιτείχισμος τῷ χώρα: and we have ἐπιτείχισις in i. 142, 1. The simple form τείχισμος however seems used of the construction of hostile works in general, as in viii. 34, 2, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὸν
12. ἀμα—rightly taken by Jowett as connecting εἴνεχωρεῖτο with προεπανεσείσθη.

13. δικαίωσεις—'claims' or 'demands' professedly grounded on justice; i. 141, 1, ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστῃ δικαίωσι. προενεγκόντων—this sentence has two instances of the genitive absolute with subject understood. προφέρω, active, iii. 64, 1: middle, iii. 59, 2: passive, ch. 26, 24.

ib. εἴνεχωρεῖτο—Classen notes that this is a solitary instance of the passive of this word used impersonally. The imperfect, as he also points out, denotes the slow and difficult settlement of satisfactory terms. For ὡστε, of conditions, cf. iv. 46, 2, ὡστε λελύσατι τὰς σπονδὰς: Goodwin § 587, 2.

14. ἕξχου—'won'; ἐχεῖν 'keep'. αὐτῶν—explained by the preceding Ἰλάταιαν: so in iv. 1, 1, αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένων follows Μεσσήνην κατελαβον. Plataea surrendered in 427: the city was destroyed and the land occupied by the Thebans (iii. 52 sq.).

18. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...Νίσαιαν—sc. ἐχεῖν ἑφασαν: see iv. 69. The Athenian claim to Nisaea rested on the same grounds as the Theban claim to Plataea, both places having been compelled by famine to agree to terms.

19. παρακαλέσαντες—i. 67, 1, παρεκάλουν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ἐνυμάχους. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν—the allies generally regarded with suspicion a private arrangement between Athens and Sparta; while the Boeotians were unwilling to restore Panactum, and the Megarians resented the Athenian occupation of Nisaea. In chapters 30 and 31 we find the particular grounds of dissatisfaction on the part of Corinth and Elis.

22. τῶν ἄλλων—added to define further the subject of ψηφισαμένων, all the other states but those mentioned. τούτος refers to the states in question. ὡστε—cf. vi. 88, 9, ψηφισάμενοι αὐτοὶ ὡστε ἁμένειν.

26. τάδε—'as follows'; cf. 76, 20: iv. 117 fin. γίγνεται ἐκεχειρία...ἡδε.
CHAPTER XVIII

The provisions of the treaty now concluded should be compared with the year's truce made the year before as recorded in iv. 118. 'The fifty years' peace is based not, like the treaty which preceded it, upon the principle of uti possidetis, but on that of compensation. As in the preliminary treaty, the right of access to the Delphic oracle is maintained for all Hellenes; and a clause is inserted guaranteeing the Delphians their independence. Great concessions are made by Sparta to Athens, chiefly in return for the Spartan captives' (Jowett).

The language of the treaty is sometimes awkward in expression, but the meaning is clear throughout. The main clauses have the usual infinitive construction alternating with the imperative.

2. καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι—the allies of Sparta alone are mentioned, as in lines 55 and 61. The Athenians seem to have acted independently. On the other hand we have in iv. 119, 1, ξυνεθεντο Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις: cf. ch. 47, 3.

4. κοινών—καὶ λέναι are spoken of iii. 57, 1. They were 'those of Delphi, Olympia, Nemea, and the Isthmian Neptune, at which the four great national festivals of games were celebrated; that of Jupiter at Dodona, possibly of Abae in Phocis, and any others at which oracles were delivered' (Arnold).

ib. καὶ λέναι—as Arnold points out, a provision for the safe conduct of worshippers on their way to the temples, as well as in performing their religious offices when there. The position of the words after θέων is awkward, and they are bracketed as doubtful by Krüger and Classen. Arnold however justly observes that in all formal instruments many words are inserted to prevent the possibility of evasion, which in ordinary language would be deemed superfluous.

5. θεωρεῖν—to go, or send envoys to the games: viii. 10, 1, τὰ Ἰσθμία ἔγινεν τοι καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίοι θεωροῦν ἐστὶν τὰ ἀστή. 'The exclusion from the games was considered an especial grievance, as it implied an unworthiness in the persons excluded to appear before the god in whose honour the festival was celebrated: see ch. 50, 7; and Livy ii. 37, 38' (Arnold).

7. τὸ ἱερὸν—the whole of the sacred precincts; see note on iv. 90, 2. αὐτονόμοις κ.τ.λ.—'independent as regards laws
and impost and jurisdiction'. In 449 the Athenians had placed the temple in the hands of the Phocians (i. 112, 5). The genitive αὐτῶν depends on the idea of 'control over', which is implied in the preceding adjectives, especially αὐτονόμους.

15. ἐπὶ πημονὴ—so ch. 47, 6; an old and poetical word, used in the language of treaties by Thucydides. In line 28 we have ἐπὶ κακῶ. μῆτε τέχνη k.t.l.—ch. 47, 10 and 57: Dem. Ti. mor. 747 (150), οὐδὲ δῶρα δέξομαι οὔτε τέχνη οὔτε μηχανή οὐδεμία, from the oath taken by the ἡλιασταί.

19. τι διάφορον—'any difference or disputed point', as in the passages cited in the next note, and others quoted by Krüger on i. 56, 1, γενέσθαι διάφορα. We have the singular in vii. 55, 2, ἐπενεγκείν τι τὸ διάφορον, where the word probably means a 'cause of dissension'. In vii. 75, 7, it means a reverse.

20. δίκασι—some few mss. have δίκαιοι, which we should rather expect, comparing i. 78, 3, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκη λύεθσαί: i. 140, 5, δίκας τῶν διαφόρων ἀλλήλων διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι. δίκασι means what is in accordance with justice, a just principle, point, or consideration, or as we say 'a right'; so iii. 54. 1, παρεχόμενον ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια. The sense here required is 'just or legal course of procedure', and it is so taken by Krüger and Classen. I am not without doubt whether the word will bear this meaning, but I have not taken on myself to alter the text.

23. παραδόσαν—the aorist seems to take the restoration as virtually carried into effect. We might expect ὅσα ἀν παραδόσαι: cf. ἐγένοντο, line 29. It is not clear whether the provisions of this clause extend to Amphipolis as well. παραδόσαν to hand over is a more general word than ἀποδιδόναι. The latter seems to be used of the places the actual possession of which was of primary importance.

25. φεροῦσας—'on condition of paying'. τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστέρα δοῦ φόρον—the φόρος was the money payment furnished by the allies instead of ships for carrying on the war against the Persian power; see i. 96—99. Its original amount was 460 talents (i. 96, 3). By 431 it averaged 600 talents (ii. 13, 3), 'not probably by an increase of the rate imposed upon the allies, but from the extension of the tribute to new cities and by the commutation of ships for money'. See Jowett's note, for inscriptions etc. relating to the tribute. There seems reason to believe that the assessment had been doubled in 425, though according to the orators this was done by Alcibiades.
28. ἀποδιδόντων—'provided they pay'. For the force of the compound cf. ch. 53, 4. ἐπείδη—'after the conclusion of treaty'; i. 6, 3, οὗ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπείδη ἐπαύσαντο.

29. έστι δὲ Ἀργιλος κ.τ.λ.—these are cities friendly to Sparta, and entitled to her protection. The defection of Argilus, Acanthus and Stagirius to Brasidas is related in iv. 88 and 103, 3. Scolus is not mentioned elsewhere by Thucydides. It appears to have been one τῶν περὶ Ἑλλήνων πόλεων, and probably, like Olynthus and Spartolus, revolted from Athens at the beginning of the war; see i. 58, 1.

34. αὐτοὺς—singularly awkward. It is commonly taken as the subject of ποιεῖσθαι, referring to the Athenians, while Ἀθηναίοις = εαυτοῖς. Krüger proposes to alter αὐτοὺς into αὐτοῦποιοὺς, or omit it; in this case Ἀθηναίοις would depend on εἴητω, which certainly seems the most natural construction. The best way seems to take βουλομένας ταύτας as a sort of pendent construction and αὐτούς as the object of ποιεῖσθαι, denoting the inhabitants of the cities. The combination in line 51 is somewhat similar. See too iii. 79, 3, ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ περ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ δύτας. It has also been proposed to put the comma before εἴητω, thus connecting βουλομένας ταύτας with the words which precede. Another suggestion is to read αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, 'the Athenians independently may make them their allies': the accusative as in line 27.

ib. Μηκυβερναῖος κ.τ.λ.—these appear to be cities which had remained faithful to Athens. Sane had held out against Brasidas (iv. 109, 3); Mecyberna was afterwards taken by the Olynthians (ch. 39, 1). Singi is not elsewhere mentioned by Thucydides. It appears from Hdt. (vii. 122) to have been in Sithonia. These places may have shown signs of disaffection to Athens; or this may be a stipulation on the Athenian side to secure them against hostile neighbours (Jowett).

37. Πάνακτον—ch. 3, 27. Κορυφάσιον—the Spartan name for Pylos (iv. 3, 2). Κύθηρα—iv. 53 sq. Μεθύνην—iv. 45, 2, note (where the orthography of the word is discussed). Πελεόν has not been mentioned before. There were four or five places so named. Pliny speaks of one in Boeotia, while Strabo places another on the confines of Messenia and Elis. Ἀσταλάντη was a small island off the coast of Locri occupied by the Athenians in 431 (ii. 32).

41. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ—i.e. in prison, said to be a Laconian
expression, Xen. *Hel.* vii. 4, 36. The captives from the island are especially meant. ἰθῆ—sc. γῆς or χώρας, as in line 47.

45. Βρασίδας ἔστεπεμψεν—see iv. 123, 4.

51. Σκιωναλὼν δὲ κ.τ.λ.—these were revolted cities now in the power of Athens. Scione was closely blockaded (iv, 133, 4), while Torone had been retaken by Cleon (ch. 3). Σερμυλίων—mentioned in i. 65, 2 as friendly to Athens; no revolt is recorded. Classen reads Σερμυλία, on the ground that the town was called Σερμυλία and the people Σερμυλίης.

ib. εἴ τινα ἄλλην—e.g. Mende, which had been recovered in 423 (iv. 129 sq.). The construction is interrupted by the clause with εἴ τινα, and περὶ αὑτῶν, etc. added by a slight anacoluthon.

57. τὸν μέγιστον—so ch. 47, 54: iv. 85, 6, ὅρκοις καταλαβὼν τοῖς μεγίστοις. ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως—for ἐξ Classen adopts the emendation ἐπεκαθέσκα, which would be denoted by ἐξ, this being the number of signatories to the treaty on each side.

61. τὸν δὲ ὅρκον ἄνανεούσθαι—this arose partly from the feeling that all laws and public acts required to be solemnly confirmed from time to time, to prevent them from becoming obsolete, and partly lest the succeeding magistrates might think themselves not bound by the acts of their predecessors, unless they themselves incurred the obligation. So the Veientines are said to have attacked Servius Tullius, on the ground that their treaty with his predecessor Tarquinius Priscus did not extend to him’ (Arnold).

64. εἰν πόλει—ch. 23, 27: ch. 47, 74. The acropolis is meant, cf. ii. 15 fin. καλεῖται δὲ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦτο ἐπὶ Ἡ Ἀθηναλῶν πόλις. There is no article, as the word acquires the force of a proper name; cf. ch. 10, 63.

ib. εἰν Ἀμυκλαίῳ—the temple of Apollo at Amyclae, stated by Polybius to be twenty stadia from Sparta. So in iv. 133, 2, the temple of Hera is said to be εἰν Ἀργεῖ, though it was forty stadia from the city.

65. καὶ δὴν πέρι—ἕτονοὐν, or else connected by καὶ with εἴ τι, ἄμυκλαίῳν being supplied again.
CHAPTER XIX

ἀρχεῖ—cf. iv. 118, 8, ἀρχεῖν δὲ τὴν τὴν ἡμέραν, 'this day to begin it'. In giving the date the year is here put first and forms the subject of ἀρχεί, ἔφορος Πλειστόλας being 'the year of Pleistolas' office'. Then comes the month, and then the day. Comparing the passage cited from Book iv. we find the same variation of two days at Athens and Sparta, while here Elaphesbolion corresponds to Artemisius instead of to Gerastius (see note on iv. 119, 1).

CHAPTER XX

2. ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς—'immediately after'; i. 120, 3, ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβηναί. The City or great Dionysia were held about the end of March.

4. καὶ...παρενεγκουσῶν—'with a variation of a few days'. καὶ here has probably the corrective force noticed on iv. 35, 3, and is equivalent to 'in fact', 'that is to say'. The time that the war lasted was a few days more than ten years, reckoning from the attack on Plataea (ii. 2 sq.); and somewhat less than ten years, counting from the time when the Spartans first took the field with the intention of invading Attica (Arnold).

For παρενεγκών, in the sense of varying, cf. ch. 26, 21. A few instances of the same usage are cited from late Greek writers.

ib. ἦ—dependent on the sense implied in διελθόντων, as if ὅστερον had been written.

6. κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους—i.e. the half-yearly periods by which the writer reckons, as explained below, line 12. See also ch. 26, 20.

7. καὶ μή—'and not in accordance with the enumeration of the names of those who, in each several state, either were archons or from holding some office served as a mark for past events', i.e. whose names were used to date by. Thus in Sparta the years were marked by the names of the Ephors, in Argos by the year of office of the priestess of Hera.
The order of this sentence is very awkward, the words τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, which depend on κατά, being apparently postponed in order to give the most important words an antithetical prominence. But probably τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ought to be transposed and placed either immediately after μὴ, or at the end of the sentence after σημα

Corresponding to ἡ ἄρχοντων we have ἡ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς σημαινόντων. σημαινεῖν ἐστινς 'to furnish a mark as regards'; cf. ii. 8, 3, ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι σημῆναι=σημεῖον εἶναι: so σημαινεῖ stnd absolutely in ii. 43, 3. Classen however suggests that ἐστι should here be omitted. τιστεύομαι μᾶλλον is added for the sake of emphasis, without affecting the construction.

10. ἀκριβές—in its strict sense, implying exactness of detail. οἷς θαλ. κ.π.λ.—an indirect construction, dependent on ἀκριβές. 'For whether an event occurred in the beginning, or the middle, or whatever might be the exact point, of a magistrate's term of office is left uncertain by such a mode of reckoning' (Jowett). Classen however takes the clause οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές as parenthetical 'this gives no exactness': and makes οἷς=ὅτι τοῦτοι. καὶ here has a disjunctive force, as noted on ch. 15, 6.

13. ἥμισεῖα—'as each (of these periods) has the value of the year in half-measure', i.e. is equivalent to half a year. With ἥμισεία 'half', μοῖρα is probably understood: cf. Dem. Fuls. leg. 431, ἐφ' ἥμισείᾳ χρηστὸν εἶναι. In such phrases as ch. 31, 9, the gender is determined by the following noun, and so here it might be referred to δύναμιν.

14. δύναμιν—'value' or 'amount'; ii. 97, 3, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μαλακτά δύναμις: vi. 46, 2, ἀπ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως χρησάτων. So i. 141, 1, τὴν αὐτήν δύναται δοῦλωσιν: vi. 40, 3, λόγους ὡς ἔργα δυνάμενοι: cf. u.a.etc.

CHAPTER XXI

1. ἔλαχον—the same construction occurs ch. 35, 9: so Ἰδ. i. 94, λαχῶτας εξείναι: Dem. etc.

4. Ἰσχαγόρας—Ischagoras was one of the envoys sent to Brasidas in 423 (iv. 132). He is named with Menas and Philocharidas among the signatories to the treaty in ch. 19.
9. ἐπιτηδείας—'favourable to their interests'; cf. iv. 54, 3, ἐπιτηδείότερον τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐγένετο. When used of a person the word often means well-disposed.

11. βία ἐκείνων—i. 43, 3, βία ἡμῶν: i. 68, 3, etc.

14. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχαγόραν—Ischagoras and his colleagues; so ch. 46, 29: viii. 63, 3, οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελισάνδρον πρέσβεις.

16. κατειλημένας—sc. τὰς σπονδάς, line 7, corresponding in sense to ἡ ὁμολογία. There is some awkwardness in this construction, besides which there seems no instance of κατειλημένος being used to mean 'closed, finally concluded', which would be the force here required. There is therefore much in favour of reading κατειλημένους, finding the Spartans 'bound by' the arrangements. This agrees with i. 9, 1, ὅρκοις κατειλημένους ἀγων, and iv. 85, 6, καταλαβὼν τὰ τέλη.

18. μάλιστα μὲν...εὶ δὲ μη—so i. 32, 1: i. 35 fin. etc. The force of καὶ, 'as well' as performing the other conditions, is to be noted.

CHAPTER XXII

2. αὐτοῦ—the reading of most manuscripts; Krüger quotes Xen. Hel. vii. 4, 36, ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ αὐτοῦ. There is also some authority for αὐτοί, 'of themselves', i.e. for purposes of their own, without a summons from Sparta; cf. ch. 30, 15. Classen suggests that αὐτοῦ ἐτι ἔριχον is the true reading.

5. τῇ αὐτῇ προφάσει—for the dative cf. ch. 14, 9. The disapproval of the allies is mentioned towards the end of ch. 17.

6. οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξασθαι—'refused to accept the treaty'. On this aorist construction Poppo writes 'mutatione non opus videtur', and it is retained by Krüger and Classen.

9. νομίζοντες κ. τ. λ.—this sentence is awkward and probably corrupt. The alterations, chiefly omissions, which have been suggested are far too numerous to discuss here. They are given fully in Mr Fowler's edition. Taking the words as they stand in the text the key is to be sought in the connexion of the two main dependent clauses, ἕκιστα ἄν σφίσι τοὺς τε Ἀργείοις...καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον. By an alliance
with Athens the Spartans hoped to effect two objects, to secure themselves against Argos, and to ensure the tranquillity of Peloponnesus. In construction, the clause with νομίζοντες is left incomplete, the sense which should have followed, 'thinking that the Argives would be least likely to prove dangerous' or the like, being resumed with the words νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.

10. ἐπειδῆ—this gives the reason for apprehending the hostility of Argos. ἐπιστέψαθαι—'to renew a truce'; ἐπι implying sequence, as in ἐπιρωμένη, γίγνομαι, etc.; see note on iv. 36, 2: cf. ch. 14, 25, ἀλλὰς οὐκ ἠθέλον σπένδεσθαι.

12. νομίζοντες—taking νομίζοντες of the Spartans and αὐτοὺς of the Argives, these words are a resumption of the clause with which the sentence began, 'having come to the conclusion, I say', etc.; and the change of time from present to aorist introduces a slight variation of idea. Classen, who omits νομίζοντες...σφια, takes αὐτοὺς to mean 'by themselves', further explained by ἀνευ Ἀθηναίων. Some editors make this clause part of the accessory sentence with ἐπειδῆ, and thus refer νομίζοντες to the Argives and αὐτοὺς to the Spartans. Grammatically this is free from objection, though the sequence of νομίζοντες, νομίζοντες, in agreement with different subjects is harsh and awkward. But the sense is fatal to such a construction, for it is absurd to talk of the Argives 'not thinking the Spartans formidable without the Athenians'. They were always more than a match for Argos, and an alliance between them and Athens was a condition seldom present.

14. πρὸς γὰρ ἄν—i.e. but for this treaty between Athens and Sparta; cf. iv. 54, 3, ἀνέστησαν γὰρ ἄν Κυθηρίους. Classen believes Ἀθηναίοις to be a copyist's error, and reads Ἀργείους, comparing the concluding words of ch. 14.
out the consent of their allies, to add or take away from either treaty, naturally created a panic among the Peloponnesians (ch. 29, 15), whose independence was threatened by it. The allies or tributaries of Athens were not in a position to make a similar complaint, for most of them had suffered already what the Lacedaemonian allies dreaded, nor had those of them who were independent anything to fear from Lacedaemon. The provision respecting the revolt of the slaves applies to Lacedaemon only. This indicates that the Athenians were in no such danger from their slaves, as the Lacedaemonians were from the Helots. The older treaty remained in force, and, in accordance with its provisions, the prisoners of Sphacteria now restored 1 (Jowett).

1. κατὰ τάδε—these words are commonly printed, not as part of the treaty, but as the end of the foregoing chapter. Classen follows Krüger in placing them as they stand in the text; see ch. 47, 11: ch. 77, 1: ch. 79, 1.

ib. Δακεδαμόνωι—Classen, following Portus, adds καὶ Ἀθηναίοι. Hofmann suggests that we may have the text of the treaty as signed by the Lacedaemonians. ἦν δὲ τίνες—δὲ ought possibly to be omitted, as in ch. 47, 13, and other passages.

4. ὡφελείν—'help ': in the treaty given in ch. 47 we have the more ordinary βοηθεῖν.

5. τρόπη...δυνατόν—the same form occurs twice in ch. 47. Krüger compares Plat. Rep. 458 ε, γάμους ποιήσομεν λεπόν εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα.

9. καταλύειν δὲ ἀμα—i.e. neither city is to make a separate peace. καταλύειν usually takes a case, as τὸν πόλεμον in ch. 47, 20; καταλύεσθαι, as in iv. 18, 4, being used for 'making terms', the middle implying joint or reciprocal action. In viii. 58, fin. we have ἦν δὲ καταλύειν βαύλονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐν ὀμοίῳ καταλύεσθαι.

ib. ἀμφό τῷ—the regular form of the feminine dual; see note on iv. 4, 2, τῷ χείρε.

10. εἶναι—Krüger quotes Xen. Hell. iv. 4, 8, πάντα εἶναι ἄδολῳ. Classen notes that such phraseology is archaic, as the language of treaties and public documents often is.

18. ἡ δουλεία—'the slave-class'. Lid. and Scott give instances of the collective use of the word from Plato and Aristotle: cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 17, servitii decem milia offerebant. ἐπανιστήται—i. 115, 4, τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν.
CHAPTER XXIII (B.C. 421) 125

21. ἐκατέρων—dependent on ὁ πρ. For ἀναγενοσθαί, and the remaining terms of the treaty, see notes on ch. 18, 61 seq. Here παρ’ Ἀθηνᾶ is added, meaning near her statue (ii. 13, 4). For the form Ἀθηνᾶ cf. ch. 10, 8.

CHAPTER XXIV

1. ὀμνυνοῦ—the names are identical with those in ch. 19, with one or two variations in their order. τοὺς ἐκ—cf. ch. 15, 3.

14. ταῦτα τὰ δέκα ἔτη—the preceding ten years, implied in ἐνδεκάτου. In construction these words are accusative of extent with γενόμενος, while they form a predicate to ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος. Classen seems wrong in taking the participle here as part of the epithet, as in ch. 5, 5; ch. 34, 6. The duration of the war is an accessory idea, which is usually expressed in Greek by an appositional predicate; see note on ch. 16, 24; and iv. 48, 5, ἡ στάσις πολλὴ γενομένη.

CHAPTER XXV

7. διεκλίνον—'tried to upset', only here in Attic prose; Ar. Nub. 477, διεκλίνει τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ, 'turn inside out, examine thoroughly'.

8. ἀλή ταραχῇ—does ἀλή, in the sense of 'fresh disturbance', refer to previous difficulties, such as are mentioned in ch. 22; or does it mean 'besides' the intrigues of the Corinthians and their abettors? τῶν ἐνμάχων πρός—'between the allies and Lacedaemon'; a variation from the more common construction with the dative, e.g. i. 17, 1, πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις: cf. note on iv. 80, 2. Λακεδαίμονα = Λακε-δαίμονες is unusual, to the best of my knowledge: so ch. 28, 14.

11. ἔστιν ἐν ὦις—so ἔστιν ἥ, ἔστι παρ’ ὦις (masc.) etc., but always εἶσθιν ὦ. ἐκ τῶν ἐγγεκλιμένων—so iii. 70, 3, κατὰ τὰ ἐγγεκλιμένα: iv. 23, 1, καθάπερ ἐγγέκειτο. ἐγγεκλιμαί thus used is the perfect passive of ἐγγίσθημαι. δ ἐθρητὸ—the several items of the ἐγγεκλιμένα.
13. επιέξετη μὲν καὶ δικα μήνας—μέν is answered primarily by ἐπειτα μὲντοι, as πρῶτον μέν is commonly answered by ἐπειτα with or without δέ. The clause with εἰσθαν δέ is also a kind of secondary apodosis to the clause with μέν.

ib. μη—following the negative idea of ἀπέσχωτο: Goodwin § 807 (c). Classen collects instances from Thucydides in his note on iii. 32, 2, ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχιστὴν εἰκὸν μη ποτὲ... παραβαλεῖν.

14. μετ’ ἀνακωχη—μετά is here used of attendant conditions, as in the common phrase μετά κινδύνων, for which see Krüger on i. 18, 7. μετ’ ἐλπίδων, ch. 103 fin., is somewhat similar. For the form of ἀνακωχη see note on iv. 117, 2, and Poppo on i. 40, 4.

17. ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέστησαν—so ch. 84, 17: i. 23, fin. ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν, of the first outbreak of war.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. γέγραφε—compare the opening words of the first Book, Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐνέγραψε κ.τ.λ., where the writer gives the plan and purpose of his history. Similarly in i. 97, 2, he says ἐγραψα δὲ αὐτό...διὰ τόδε. Here he is regarding the work as complete, and therefore uses the perfect; so i. 22, fin. κτῆμα ἐς ἓν...ἐν' ἑκεῖται: cf. ch. 22, ὥσπερ γέγραπται. Ἕγγραφω, conscribo, is the special word for the compilation of history, and from his frequent use of the word Thucydides in particular was styled ὁ Ἕγγραφος. κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶν—see ch. 20.

6. καταλαβον—'occupied'; iv. 1, 1, note. Two manuscripts have κατέβαλον, which agrees with Plut. Lys. 14, καββαλῶντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη: Xen. Hiel. ii. 2, 20, τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελῶντες. Both words are historically correct, for the Lacedaemonians sailed into the Peiraeus, and continued to occupy Athens till the conditions of the peace, including the dismantling of the walls, were carried out.

8. καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου—'and if any one shall think himself entitled to consider the intervening convention as anything but war, he will make a claim which is not justified by facts'. διὰ μέσου—iv. 20, 1, διὰ μέσου γενόμενον: viii. 75, 1, ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου κωλυθέντες: so Hdt. and Xen. ἀξίω and δικαιώ, in
the sense of thinking fit and right, differ but slightly in meaning: ὅπως ἀξιωματικά is constructed with the negative like ὅπως φῆμι, as noted on iv. 40, 1.

10. τοῖς τε—apparently answered by ξεῖον τε τούτων: unless indeed the latter is merely a continuation of the subordinate relative construction. I rather suspect that this is so, as all the things mentioned seem explanations of τοῖς ἔργοις, and the relative clause is otherwise very curt. In this case the sentence is incomplete, unless we take the initial τε γὰρ as equivalent to nam etiam, as Popo suggests. (See Jowett on i. 9, 3 for τε in the sense of ‘too’.) τοῖς ἔργοις—what was actually done, facts, including hostile movements.

ib. διήρηται—most editors take this to mean ‘interrupted’ lit. ‘divided’, which is no doubt the common use of the word. The perfect tense seems against this view; we should expect the imperfect or pluperfect. I therefore incline to the rendering ‘how it is characterised’, of which Popo approves, taking διαμείωσα in the sense of ‘defining’. This sense is found in Herodotus ii. 6: vii. 16, 47, 50, and 103; and is common in Plato.

13. ξεῖον—‘besides, not counting’; a usage nearly confined to Herodotus and Thucydides (Krüger on i. 9, 3). Μαντινικόν—the difficulty with Mantinea, which occupies many chapters in this Book, is first mentioned in ch. 33; the quarrel with Epidaurus in ch. 53.

15. ἐγένοντο—here the plural verb is naturally used, as ἀναμειγματικά occurred on either side and on more than one occasion. But besides instances which can be thus explained Thucydides not uncommonly uses the plural with a neuter nominative of things, e.g. ch. 75, 9, Κάρυεια ἐπίγραφα διὰτα: vi. 62, 4, ἐγένοντο ξεῖον ταύτων εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. In i. 126, 3, ἐπηλθόντες Ὀλυμπια: ii. 8, 2, πολλὰ λόγια ἐλέγοντο (ἐτο): i. 58, 1, τὰ τέλη ὑπέσχοντο (ἐτο), the best manuscripts, according to Krüger, are in favour of the plural. In viii. 10, 1, we have τὰ Ἰσθμία ἐγένοντο...ἐπηγγέλθησαν γάρ: where the subject of ἐπηγγέλθησαν is probably τὰ Ἰσθμία, though many follow the scholiast in supplying αἳ στονδαλ.

16. πολέμου—as hostile to Athens as ever. Thus they opposed the restoration of Amphipolis, and refused to accept the treaty; see ch. 35.

ib. ἐκεχερίαν δεχήμερον—explained as a truce which had
to be renewed every ten days, or which could be terminated on ten days notice. The word occurs in ch. 32, 19 and 32; also vi. 7, 4; vi. 10, 3.

20. κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους—ch. 20, 6, σκόπειτω δὲ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους. καὶ ἡμέρας—'that is to say with a variation of but a few days'; see note on ch. 20, 4. The time is calculated from the beginning of April 431, when the Thebans attacked Plataea (ii. 2), to the middle of April 404, when Lysander sailed into the Peiraeus.

21. καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ—'and (he will find) that they who on the strength of oracles were positive on any matter found, in this, one solitary instance of the event decidedly corresponding to the prediction' (Arnold). ἀπὸ = 'starting from', i.e. grounding their belief on; cf. iv. 18, 2, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ υπαρχόντων: cf. ch. 17, 6. For ἵσχυμασμένοις with neut. acc. cf. iii. 44, 5, τοῦτο ἡ Κλέων ἵσχυριζεται: vii. 49, 1, τοσοῦτα λέγων ἵσχυριζετο: also with οὔτι, vi. 55, 1 etc.: with ὃς and a participle iv. 68, fin.

22. ἐχύρως—ἐχύρως 'secure' is used somewhat in the sense of πιστός: iii. 83, 1, λόγος ἐχύρως: vii. 41, 4, τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐχύρων ἐξομ. The positive adverb is not found elsewhere in Thucy- dides: in viii. 24, 4, we have ἐκσμομοῦντο ἐχύρωτερον. ἡμβάν—Hdt. ii. 3, εἰ συμβῆσονται τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς εἰν Μέμφι: Ar. Eq. 220, χρησμοί τε συμβαίνοντι καὶ τὸ Πυθικών.

26. αἰσθανόμενος—of intelligent perception, as in i. 71, 4, πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων. τῇ ἡλικία—'by reason of'; for dat. cf. ch. 13, 6. Thucydides does not speak of himself except as bearing on his history. At the beginning of his book he tells us that he had compiled materials from the first out- break of the war (ἀρξόμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένον); here he asserts his claims as being capable of seeing and appreciating facts throughout its course. We cannot be certain about his age; but the statement is commonly accepted that he was about forty when the war began. The biography of Marcellinus only says that Thucydides died at over fifty. The question is fully discussed in Classen's introduction. τι is emphatic, as in line 32.

27. ἀκριβές—of exact detail, as in ch. 20, 10: 68, 5. For the indicative εἰσορᾷ after a secondary tense see Goodwin, § 339: cf. iii. 4 fin., ἐπρασον ὡς βοθέεα ἦζει.

28. φεύγειν—'to be in exile from my country', whether by banishment or voluntarily (ch. 72, 4). μετὰ τὴν ἐς 'Αμφίπολιν
στρατηγίας—for ἐς cf. ch. 7, ἐς τὴν Πύλων εὐπρόχωρα. The words simply denote the attempt to relieve the place, and do not prove, as Grote supposes, that Thucydides was sent expressly to Amphipolis. See Appendix to iv. 104.

30. παρ’ ἀμφωτέρως τοῖς πράγμασι— at what was done on both sides'. οὐχ ἡσυχὸν = μᾶλλον. We do not know where Thucydides passed the time of his exile. Marcellinus says that he went first to Aegina, and then to Thrace, where, as we know (iv. 105), he had property and powerful connexions. He probably visited various places, including even Sicily, of which he shows the knowledge of an eyewitness. Most likely he returned to Athens in 403, when the amnesty was proclaimed under Thrasybulus. One account says he was assassinated in Athens, another that he died in Thasos.

32. αἰσθέσθαι—the present form αἰσθέσθαι is retained by Poppo and others here, as suiting the sense better; and Classen has αἰσθέσθαι, vii. 75, 2, and προαίσθεσθαι, ii. 93, 4; iii. 83, 4: in each case with good manuscript authority. αἰσθημάτωι is a form used by late ecclesiastical writers, and the introduction of its infinitive into classical authors may be merely a copyist's error.

ib. τὴν—one article belongs to two nouns, which are closely connected in idea; so ch. 5, 1: i. 120, 2, τὴν κατακομμοῦν καὶ πάλιν ἀντιληψι. τὰ ἔπειτα may be the direct subject of ὡς ἐπολεμήθη, which is in that case personally constructed; Poppo however (iii. 6, 2) considers such constructions, e.g. iv. 23, 2, τὰ περὶ Πύλων ἐπολεμήσατο, as impersonal with determinative accusative: cf. ch. 52, 6.

33. ἐγγυστόν—i. 146, σπονδῶν ἐγγυστὸν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἤν: cf. ch. 39, 18, ἐγγυκεία τὰς σπονδὰς.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. ἐπειδὴ γάρ—γάρ introduces the account which has been already promised; so ii. 2, 1, in a passage like this: compare its use after such prefaces as τεκμήριον δὲ, δῆλον δὲ etc.

2. καὶ ὀστερὸν—quasi-parenthetical, 'followed by the alliance', for the dissentient allies were dismissed from Sparta before the alliance was formally arranged, ch. 22, 8. Classen
follows Cobet in altering αἱ ἐνμαχαί into the singular, as there was only one alliance, that between Athens and Sparta, and a copyist’s error might easily arise from the neighbouring plurals. In the beginning of ch. 48, however, ἐνμαχαί occurs again. It is true more than two states are there concerned, but the singular had been used in reference to the same states at the end of ch. 46. The plural comes again in ch. 79, 6. Possibly the singular denotes an alliance in a general sense, while the plural refers to its several conditions, as ἐγκλήμα in the orators is the plaintiff’s ‘declaration’, the several items of which are ἐγκλήματα.

iv. καὶ αἱ—‘then also’; co-ordinate note of time; i. 50, 5, ἤδη δὲ ὄψε...καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι: Soph. Phil. 354, ἦν δ’ ἡμαρ δεύτερον κἀγὼ κατηγόμεν: Mk. xv. 25, ἦν ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐστάυρωσαν αὐτὸν. It has been suggested to remove the καὶ before οἱ μὲν in the next sentence, making the construction with ἐπειδὴ continue to Λακεδαίμονος.

4. ἐσ αὐτά—i.e. to discuss these arrangements: αὐτὸ and αὐτά are perpetually used by Thucydides in this general sense: so i. 1, 2, τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἀνεκάρτου—‘inceptive’ imperfect, because though they all left Sparta they did not all return home at once.


13. τὴν βουλομένην—see note on iv. 26, 5, τὸν βουλόμενον. ὁ βουλόμενος is ‘he who chooses’: cf. Ar. Plut. 906 sq. where the συκοφάντης is asked his profession, and replies, ‘I choose’:

Δίκ. τὸς ὅν διέζησ ἦ πόθεν μὴδὲν ποιῶν;
Συκ. τῶν ὅς πόλεως εἰμ’ ἐπιμελητῆς πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἱδίων πάντων.

Δίκ. σὺ; τὰ παθῶν;
Συκ. βουλομαι.

Συκ. κατηγορεῖ δὲ τίς;
Δίκ. ὁ βουλόμενος.
Συκ. σύκου καθ’ ἀκείνος εἰμ’, ἐγὼ,
ὡς εἰς ἔμ’ ἥκει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα.
CHAPTER XXVII (B.C. 421)

14. δίκας έσας καὶ ὡμοίας δίδωσι—see the beginning of ch. 79: i. 28, 1, δίκας ἥθελον δοῦναι—they were ready to submit to judgment or arbitration: i. 140, 3, δίκας τῶν διαφορῶν ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι.

16. ὡστε—of conditions; ch. 17, 13 etc. ἐπιμαχεῖται denotes a defensive alliance, as explained in ch. 48, 9. ἀποδείξαι—‘to name’, or appoint: Ἡδ. i. 125, στρατηγὸν ἀποδεικνύαι.

17. ἀρχήν—accusative of respect with αὐτοκράτορας, ‘of independent authority’. Classen takes it in the adverbial sense ‘to begin with’, i.e. from the first; for which Thucydides elsewhere uses τὴν ἀρχήν, ii. 74, 3: iv. 98, 1: vi. 4, 5: vi. 56, 1. ἀρχήν is no doubt common in Herodotus, and is found in other writers; but it seems unlikely that Thucydides would depart from his usual form in one instance only when his meaning would be rendered doubtful. It is also to be noticed that in the great majority of cases both ἀρχήν and τὴν ἀρχήν are used in negative sentences.

18. τοῦ μή—i. 4, τοῦ τάς προσόδους μᾶλλον λέαι αὐτῷ: Goodwin § 798. καταφανεῖς—especially to the Lacedaemonians. We may compare the account in iv. 22, where the Spartans refused to confer with the Athenian assembly, but were willing to meet select commissioners.

19. τούς μή πείσαντας—μή gives a hypothetical force, ‘in case of failure’, lit. ‘those who might have failed’. The phrase here seemingly applies to all those who were conducting the intrigue. Krüger collects similar usages of the article on iii. 81, 3, τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τῶν δῆμον καταλύοντες, where the sense is equivalent to αὑτοῖς: cf. iv. 33, 2, καὶ οἱ ὑποστέροντες ἡμῶν ὑποβλέπουσα: iv. 46, 3, δεδώτας μή τοὺς ἐλθόντας οὔκ ἀποκτείνωσι: see also ch. 5, 9.

CHAPTER XXVIII

2. οἱ δὲ—for the order, and the position of ἐπεσῇ, cf. iii. 5, 1, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πρέσβεις ὧν οὔδεν ἦλθον πράξαντες, following a clause with καὶ οἱ μὲν. The nominative is put first to mark the change of subject.

3. ἀνήγεγκαν—‘referred’, of laying a matter before an
6. Ποιεῖσθαι—'should make', dependent, like εξείναι, on the sense continued from ἐσθησάντο: so ch. 63, 17. For this use of the relative and infinitive, which is found especially in quoting the provisions of a law, see Goodwin, § 756. μηδετέρους is governed by σπείρασθαι. For ἀνευ, ‘without the consent of', cf. ch. 60, 28: iv. 78, 3, ἀνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ.

10. τὸν τε—τε and καὶ connect the two main ideas of the Argives, the prospect of war and the hope of supremacy; cf. ch. 11, 11. ἐπεὶ ἐξόδῳ—ch. 14, 25. There and in ch. 22 we find that it was the Argives who refused to renew the truce.

12. Ἀπείσαντες—'conceiving the hope'; note the force of the aorist: so in the next sentence κακῶς ἥκουσε κ.τ.λ. 'came into contempt', etc. (Krüger suggests ἥκουσε.)

13. ἦ τε...οἱ τε—two main reasons co-ordinately stated; so i. 8, 3, ἐφείμενοι τῶν κερδῶν οἱ τε ἦσσον...οἱ τε δωρατώτεροι. μάλιστα δή—δὴ emphasizes the superlative; i. 1, 2, κίνησις αὐτή μεγίστη ὅτι, 'greatest of all', not simply 'very great'. διὰ τὸς ξυμφορᾶς—especially the surrender of Pylos, which is particularly called ξυμφορά, iv. 20, 2: iv. 22, 3, etc.: see ch. 75, 12.

16. τοῖς πᾶσιν—'in all points'; vii. 50, 3, τοῖς πᾶσι χαλέπωτερον ἵσχυσα. ἕνναράμενοι—'having taken part in'; iv.10, 1: the genitive is partitive. The accusative construction is also found ii. 71, 2, ἕνναρασθαί κίνδυνον, 'to join in undertaking.' ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι—'having reaped profit thereout', i.e. from their friendly neutrality, or from the war itself, which might bring gain to a neutral state. The scholiast takes it of the enjoyment of their own crops and revenues. Thucydides does not use the word elsewhere; καρποῦσθαι occurs twice.

19. προσέδεχοντο—'were ready to receive', or 'were to receive' according to the arrangements made.
CHAPTER XXVIII (B.C. 421)

4. μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας—see ch. 33. κατέστραππο υπήκοον—i. 8, 3, προσποιοῦντο υπηκόους τὰς ἑλάσσους πόλεις. ἀρχεῖν—either to rule the district in question, or absolutely to hold an empire, or act like a sovereign state. The infinitive with περιήγησεθε occurs i. 35, 3, and in several other passages there collected by Krüger. It differs from the participial construction (e.g. iv. 11, 3) inasmuch as that implies a present or accomplished fact, which is to be stopped or avenged, while the infinitive suggests a supposed possibility which is to be guarded against.

Grote points out (ch. 55) that the conquest effected by Mantinea during the war was a violation of the principle of the Peloponnesian confederacy; and opposed to the general policy of Sparta, which was in favour of maintaining the independence of the little states, and thus ensuring her own influence as general leader. See note on ch. 31, 15.

7. ἐπαθὴ καλ—besides other considerations, they had also leisure to interfere.

10. ὥσπερ καλ αὐτοῖ—sc. δημοκρατοῦνται, so ch. 44, 10. This is the more common construction in Greek: in Latin the rule is to follow the antecedent case. Such instances as the following are quite exceptional: Liv. xiii. 37, eodem se loco esse quo Messenii atque Elei: Tac. Ann. xii. 7, cuncta feminae obediebant, non per lasciviam, ut Messalina, rebus Romanis illudenti: ib. xiii. 19, Plautum, pari ac Nero gradu a divo Augusto, destinavisse.

12. ἐς προούν καθοστατο—'took to talking'; ch. 30, 1: cf. ch. 7, 8. The imperfect denotes the beginning and continuance of the προού, which in the first words of the next chapter is described as prevalent (καθοστάτα, 'on foot, established').

13. νομίζαντες...καλ ἔχοντες—note variation of tense, as in ch. 23, 10. For πλέον εἰδώς cf. vii. 49 fin. ὑπόθεσα μὴ τι καὶ πλέον εἰδώς ὁ Νικίας ἵσχυνεται. The participle as usual conveys the most important idea; ch. 1, 5: cf. iv. 27, 2, ἔχοντάς τι ἵσχυραν αὐτοῖς ἐνήμισον οὐκέτα ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι, 'they thought they must have some strong point, as' etc.

15. δὴ ὁργῆς ἔχοντες—ii. 60, 3, ἐμὲ δὲ αὖτις ἔχετε: also
ἐν ὄργῃ ἔχειν: ii. 8, 3, ὄργῃ εἰχον. ἀμφοῖν τοῖν—see note on ch. 23, 9.

18. τούτῳ τὸ γράμμα—the wording of this clause. γράμμα in the singular is used of a short piece of writing, e.g. of the Delphian inscription γνώθι σεαυτόν. The strong compound διαθορυβεῖν is only found here in classical Greek.

21. δικαιὸν γὰρ εἶναι—the infinitive depends on the sense of saying or thinking supplied from ἐς ὑποψίαν καθιστῇ. The words πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωμάχοις are as it were in inverted commas and are governed by δοκῇ, not γεγράφθαι. The sense is, 'the wording of the (provision for) alteration ought to have been, (ὅ τι ἐν δοκῇ) πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωμάχοις, and not ἀμφοῖν τοῖν πολέοιν'.

23. ὄρμηντο—see note on ch. 1. 11. πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργελοὺς is probably to be taken with ἔξωμάχιαν ποιεῖσθαι, so also ii. 59, 1, πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιοις ὄρμηντο ἔξωμάχειν. The infinitive might however be explanatory, as in i. 50, 1, πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν. For the ambiguity of position, which is a Thucydidean mannerism, see note on iv. 40, 2.

CHAPTER XXX

1. αἰσθάμενοι τὸν βροῦν—cf. ch. 29, 12. διδασκάλους γενομένους—so viii. 45, 2, διδάσκαλος πάντων γεγονόμενος. Similar instances are collected by Classen on iii. 2, 3, μηνυται γεγονοίν τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις: see also Poppo on i. 132, 5, μηνυτῆς γίνεται.

6. προκαταλαβεῖν—i. 57, 4, προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀποστάσεις: also with accusative of the person and absolutely. ἡμιώντο—'expostulated with them on', with accusative.

7. τὴν τε—τε and kal couple the two main grounds of complaint, the general stirring up of disaffection and the contemplated alliance with Argos in particular. The second division of the sentence with kal is modified in construction after the conditional clause εἰ Ἀργελοὺς..., and has a fresh verb ἔφασαν with παραβήσεσθαι τε...καλ ἄδικεῖν dependent. Krüger and others take καλ εἰ Ἀργελοὺς as corresponding to τὴν ἐστήγησιν and dependent on ἡμιώντο 'if they should', i.e. they deprecated the contingency of their secession to Argos. Such a use of εἰ is justifiable by examples, e.g. iv. 85, 4, δυσχερές ποιοῦμενοι εἰ
μὴ ἑδέξασθε. But to begin afresh with παραβῆσεσθαί τε ἐφασαν, ‘and they said they would be breaking their oaths’, seems to weaken the sentence; which appears rather to be one connected paragraph.

ib. ἐσήγησον—iv. 76, 2, Πτοιοδωροῦ ἐσηγομένον: so vi. 90, 2 etc.: viii. 48, 6 ἐσήγησε τῶν κακῶν τὸ ἰδίμω. ἐσήγησις appears to be found here only in classical Greek. It is quoted from Dio Cas. in the sense of rogatio.

9. καὶ ἕδη ἄδικείν—‘and were already in the wrong’. εἰρημένοι—so ch. 39, 15 etc. See Goodwin § 851. The Lacadaemonians appeal to the fundamental principles of the Peloponnesian confederacy, as implied below in the ‘oaths of the allies’ and the ‘ancient oaths’.

10. τὰς Ἀθηναλῶν σπουδὰς—‘the truce with Athens’. The ‘adnominal’ genitives in this chapter are worthy of note; line 12, θέων κάλυμα: line 22, ἡμμάχων ὄρκους, the oaths taken by, or sworn to the allies: line 24, θεών πίστεις, pledges ratified by the names of gods. τὸ πλῆθος—‘the majority’; i. 125, τὸ πλῆθος ἐφησίσαντο πολεμεῖν.

13. ὅσοι οὔδ' αὐτοῖ—‘who, like the Corinthians, had not accepted the truce’. οὔδέ = ‘also not’, its most usual meaning. The dissatisfied allies are named ch. 17, 21.

17. σφίσιν—‘for them’, i.e. to restore to them; ch. 32, 23. Solium (Κορυνθίων πόλισμα) had been taken by the Athenians in the first year of the war (ii. 30, 1); while Anactorium, a town at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, was betrayed to them in 425 (iv. 49).

18. ἑλασσούσθαι—‘to be at a disadvantage’, have their claims and rights disregarded; ch. 34, 13: i. 77, 3, εἰ καὶ ὅπως-σοῦν ἑλασσοθῶσιν: iv. 58, 2, ὡς ἔκαστοι τι ἑλασσοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζον.

19. πρόσχεμα παιούμενοι—with infinitive construction, as in i. 96, 1, πρόσχεμα δὲ ἥν ἀμώνασθαι. μετὰ Ποιτιδαιοτῶν—in 432; see i. 58, 1. ἄλλους ὄστερον—sc. κοὐ, with the rest of the allies.

23. ἐσιόντες—so ch. 35, 15: ch. 40, 10: noted by Krüger as an exclusively Thucydidean usage. θεῶν πίστεις—Krüger quotes ὄρκοι θεῶν from Xenophon, Anab. ii. 5, 7 etc. ἐρήμοσθαι §' ὅτι—‘the wording was’, citing part of the whole clause given in line 10.
33. Δέναι ἢς—ὡς, line 23: so i. 91, 2, ἢς τὸ ἔμ-
μαχικῶ ἔναι. τὸν ὑστερὸν ἔμμιον—i.e. the next meeting to be held at Corinth.

CHAPTER XXXI

2. ἐποιήσαντο—following the sense of πρεσβεῖα; some manuscripts have the needless correction ἐποίησατο. καθάπερ προείρητο—by conference with the twelve Argive commissioners, ch. 28, 5, so infr. line 27.

6. Δεισιόν—this is the first mention of Lepreum in Thucydides, and it is not named again after ch. 62. It was in Triphylia, between Messenia and Elis, not far from the sea. ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμερείᾳ—'on condition of (receiving)'; ch. 5, 12.

9. καὶ καταλυσάντων—so Classen for the manuscript reading καὶ λυσάντων, λειψιν πόλεμον not being a phrase in use. Krüger, with two manuscripts, reads καταλυσάντων without καὶ, and gives it a hypothetical force, 'in case they ended the war', but Classen's reading is more consistent with Thucydidean usage.

10. Ἡλείων—the subject of the genitive absolute now becomes the subject of the main verb; cf. i. 13, 7, βοηθήσαντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως, πόλιν προσήθεσθε: so ii. 112, 6: iv. 108, 1, τῆς δὲ γεφύρας μὴ κρατοῦντων...οὐκ ἀν ὄννασθαι προσελθεῖν. A more dubious passage in i. 10, 3, is probably to be taken in the same way, δὸμος δὲ οὕτε ἑξονικοθείης πόλεως...φαίνειτ' ἀν ἐποδέεστερα (sc. ἦ πόλις). Goodwin (§ 850) says that the intention of such irregularity is to make the participial clause more prominent, and to express its relation (time, cause etc.) with greater emphasis. This principle applies to πανσαμένων, line 13.

ib. νεμομένων αὐτοῖς—'the sovereignty of half the territory of Lepreum became vested in the Eleans, who, without disturbing the actual occupiers of the soil, imposed upon them a talent as the rent, or vectigal, to be paid to the treasury of Jupiter at Olympia; of which the Eleans had the management. Compare the conduct of the Athenians to the conquered Lesbians (iii. 50, 3); where the vectigal was not paid to the Athenian state, but to the individual Athenians to whom the state had given the ownership or sovereignty of the land. ἀποφέρειν and ἀποφορά are words used peculiarly to
express the payment of rent, whether from a tenant to his landlord, or from a subject to his sovereign, or from a conquered people to their conquerors' (Arnold).

11. ἑταγαν—i. 19, 1, χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι ταξινομεῖς φέρειν. The middle is used of those who agree to the payment on their own part, e.g. i. 101, 4, χρήματα ταξίμευμοι φέρειν. ζητηγακαζον—only here in Thucydides: Hdt. viii. 130, οὐδὲ ζητηγακαζε οὖδείς. The compound, like the more common προσαναγκάζω, implies compulsion to a course of action.

15. δίκης ἐπιτραπεζής—cf. vii. 18, 3, ἐς δίκας προκαλομένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἔθελον ἐπιτρέπειν. ίσον—'their just due'; iv. 59 fin. ίσον ἔχοντε. ἀνέντες—'throwing up': παρασύμενοι τοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν δίκην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις (schol.). 'It presently appeared that Sparta was more disposed to carry out her general system of favouring the autonomy of the lesser states, than to enforce the positive agreement of the confederacy. Accordingly the Eleians, accusing her of unjust bias, renounced her authority as arbitrator' (Grote).

22. δέκασθαι—of receiving disaffected allies, i. 40, 4, τοὺς ἐτέρων ἄφισαμένους δέκασθαι (other instances in the same chapter): so iv. 75, 1, τοὺς ἐξιόντας ἐδέχοντο, which is sometimes wrongly taken of 'withstanding assailants'.

23. τὴν ἕμνηκην—this covenant is not mentioned elsewhere; but it would seem to be a bond entered into at the beginning of the war by the several states of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Grote (ch. 55) has an interesting note. He takes the view that subordinate states had been exempt while the war lasted from tribute to the imperial cities, in virtue of their military service for the general cause. 'But the confederacy at the same time gave its guarantee that the imperial state should re-enter upon these suspended rights, so soon as the war should be at an end'. This view may be right, but it can scarcely be drawn from the present passage, which seems rather to mean that Lepreum made the war an excuse for evading a legitimate payment, and the Eleans claimed their rights as soon as their hands were free. But at the same time προφάσει can undoubtedly be used of a real ground or occasion, e.g. vi. 6, 1, τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει.

25. τίνες—i.e. all persons concerned; i. 40, 5, τοὺς ξυμμάχους αὐτῶν τίνα κολάσειν.

30. τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντες—'holding the same language', i.e. acting in concert; iv. 20, fin. ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων:
‘their aristocratical forms of government, and their common hatred of Athens, as well as their neighbourhood to each other, tending to draw them together’ (Arnold): cf. ch. 38, 7, ἀπὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐπολοῦν, of the same states. Classen and others take the words to mean ‘(though) holding the same views’ as the Corinthians and other actual seceders, but this rendering seems not to agree with the sense of the passage and would require ὅμως or the like.

31. περιορώμενοι—probably ‘looking about them’, i.e. waiting the event and not committing themselves to either side. In all other passages where περιοράσθαι occurs in Thucydides it is in the middle voice. It is used (1) standing alone, vi. 93, 1, μέλλοντες ἐτι καὶ περιορώμενοι: vi. 103, 2, πρότερον περιορώμενον: vii. 33, 2, πρότερον περιορώμενοι: (2) with a dependent clause, iv. 73, 1, περιορωμένους ὑποτέρων ἢ νική ἐπται: (3) with a case, ii. 43, 4, μὴ περιοράσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους, where the meaning is open to question, but is probably ‘regard anxiously’, ‘weigh too nicely’ (Jowett): iv. 124, 4, Μένδης περιορώμενος, ‘anxious about’. These are all the instances of the word, to which may be added a rare use of the active aorist, iv. 71, 1, ἄν ὑπέλαυν περιδέων, the aorist middle not being in use.

In the present passage a difficulty is caused by the following words, ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαμονίων, which are found in all MSS. If they be genuine, and περιορώμενοι is to retain its usual meaning, they must be taken with ἢπον ὕπαξαν περιορώμενοι in the sense ‘by reason of Lacedaemonian influence’. Such a construction though harsh is not impossible.

Otherwise, περιορώμενοι must be regarded as a passive. If this view be admissible, ‘jealously watched’ (Jowett), ‘treated with honour and consideration’, gives the best sense, and corresponds to the use of the middle in iv. 124, 4. Grote’s rendering ‘being left to themselves’, i.e. not appealed to, as the Corinthians were (ch. 30), does not correspond to the use of the word in the active, which in the sense of overlooking requires a participle or the like expressed or implied. And the once accepted rendering ‘despised’, or ‘feeling themselves slighted’, is equally inconsistent with classical usage, besides which it is doubtful as a statement of fact and necessitates giving a harsh, though possible, adversative meaning to καὶ = ‘and yet thinking’.

Classen follows Dobree in omitting the words ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαμονίων, as an explanatory gloss of the supposed passive construction; while Haase’s conjecture is very tempting, τὸν αὐτὸ τῶν, ‘waiting to see what course the Lacedaemonians took’.

33. αὐτοῖς—referring to both states. An oligarchical
revolution had been effected at Megara in 424 (iv. 74). πολιτεία—form of government; i. 18, 1: ii. 37, 1: in both cases with χρῆσθαι.

CHAPTER XXXII

2. Σκιωναίους—ch. 2, 6. ἀπέκτειναν—see iv. 122 fin. ψήφισμα ἐποιήσαντο Σκιωναίους ἐξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. Clausen points out that Brasidas is said to have removed the women and children from Scione and Mende to Olynthus (iv. 123, 4). The removal must have been incomplete. Similarly it is said of the Spartans at Plataea, in 427, γυναίκας ἡδραπδισαν (iii. 68, 3), though the women and children were removed by the Athenians in 431 (ii. 6 fin.). In the case of Plataea the women were probably the 110 γυναίκες σιτοσωλ (ii. 78, 3) who remained in the city. The absence of the article proves nothing, as it is regularly omitted in these phrases.

5. Πλαταιαῖσιν—some Plataeans (οἱ ἀξιεύσατοι) had been removed to Athens in 431 (ii. 6), while 212 cut their way out in 428 (iii. 25, 2).

ib. Δηλίον δὲ—see ch. 1. This statement agrees with Arnold’s note, there cited, as to the anxiety of the Athenians to propitiate Apollo. ἐνθυμούμενοι—i. 42, 1, ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες: i. 120, 6: see note on ἐνθυμιάρ ch. 16, 22. In meaning the force of the word extends to the end of the sentence. Two considerations determined the Athenians, which are connected by τε and καὶ with the usual variation of construction. τοῦ θεοῦ χρησαντος is genitive absolute.

8. καὶ Φωκῆς—nothing more is said of this war. μέγα μέρος—lit. ‘a considerable fraction’ (of the Peloponnesian powers): so ii. 20, 3, οἱ Ἀχαρνῖς μέγα μέρος δυνατες τῆς πόλεως. Tegea was of importance, being an independent state on the borders of Laconia. For the attraction of the participle δύν cf. Plat. Protag. 354 c, τὴν ἡδονὴν διώκετε ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐν, where Wayte cites numerous instances.

15. ἀνείσαν τῆς—‘slackened in’, partitive genitive; vii. 43, 7, ἀνείσων τῆς ἑφόδου: Dem. etc.: so i. 112, 1, πολέμου ἑσοχον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι: viii. 31, 1, τοῦτον ἐπέσχεν. Compare the twofold use of μεθήμου.

17. ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς—‘into Boeotia’; ch. 33, 4: iv. 108, 5, ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πεπληγμένων.
19. ἐπισπονδάς—only found here. It appears to mean a subsequent or renewed truce; cf. ch. 22, 11, ἐπισπένδεσθαι. The same truce is called δεξιμέροι σπονδαί in line 29, and ἐκεχειρία here and ch. 26, 16.

23. καλ ὑφίς τοαίσαί—'to effect, or obtain it for them too', not=ποιεῖσθαι. ἀπειτεῖν—ch. 43, 13. ἀνευ αὐτῶν—αὐτῶν refers to the primary subject οἱ Κορίνθιοι: cf. ch. 40, 14, αὐτοῖς: and see note on iv. 50, 2; and Poppo on i. 17.

28. ἐπισχεῖν—viii. 5, 2, Εὔβολας μὲν πέρι ἐπισχεῖν: also absolutely, and as transitive, ch. 63, 15: iv. 5, 1, ὁ στρατὸς ἐτὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς ὥν ἐπέσχεν. εὔποντο—of obtaining what one desires; i. 31, 2, ὧφελαν τινὰ εὐρισκεῖσθαι.

31. ἐναὶ σπονδάς—see ch. 18, where the peace is made between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies. We see from ch. 36, 6, that the Corinthians and Boeotians still stood in the position of Lacedaemonian allies. ἄξιούντων... ὑφίν—'though the Corinthians called on them to do so, and said in expostulation that they had so covenanted with them'.

34. ἀνακωξὴ ἀσπονδος—cf. i. 40, 4, Κορινθιοὶ μὲν γε ἐν-σπονδοὶ ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὖδὲ δι' ἀνακωξῆς πῶτορ' ἐγένεσθε. By ἀσπονδος is meant a mere agreement in words, not ratified by the solemnities of religion. And the Greeks considered the breach of their word very different from the breach of their oath. See ii. 5, 7, where the Plataeans maintain that they never swore to the Thebans not to injure them' (Arnold). Grote however considers that the words only mean a simple absence of hostilities de facto, not arising out of any recognized pledge; so i. 66; cf. ch. 25, 14; ch. 26, 18. ἀνακωξὴ is the form which is invariably found in the manuscripts; ἀνοκωξὴ however, which Classen reads, is in accordance with analogy and derivation. See note on iv. 117, 2.

CHAPTER XXXIII

4. τῆς Ἀρκαδίας—in this construction, as Krüger points out, the genitive, which commonly stands first, has the article, while the word on which it depends is usually without; iii. 19, 2, τῆς Καραλος ἐκ Μυκόντος ἀναβάς. For ἐς Παρρασίους, cf. ch. 32, 17, ἐς Βωστοῦς. The Parrhasians, an original Arcadian race, occupied a district south-east of mount Lycaeus.
5. ἐπικαλεσαμένων—see τῶν Παρρασίων: see note on iv. 73, 3, ὦσπερ ἡσσηθέντων. Similarly in ch. 31, 13, we have πανσαμένων, where the accusative might have been expected.

6. τὸ ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος—viii. 20, 2, τὸ ἐν τῇ Τέμ γείχος. Cypsela appears to have been a town in the level country, on the Alpheus. ἀναρίφοντες—so ch. 77, 7. καθαίρειν, to dismantine or pull down, is much more common in this connexion.

9. ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρτίδι—ἐπὶ, ‘to command or annoy’; so ch. 51, 5: cf. ch. 7, 20. Sciritis was a mountain district in the north of Laconia.

11. τὴν πόλιν—their own city. τὴν ἕμμαχιάν—‘the territory of their allies’; iv. 118, 3, ἐπιμεσογένους ἐσ τὴν ἕμμαχιαν. Parrhasia seems meant, or possibly the district which the Mantineans had conquered, see ch. 29.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. τῶν ἀπό—attractonal, and referring to ἡκόντων, as ἐξελθόντων denotes the expedition to Thrace. Poppo compares ch. 65, 17, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου, also ii. 80, 1, τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, and a similar construction with ἐκ in ii. 83, 1. Krüger’s suggested transposition, ἀπὸ Ὁράκης τῶν, is therefore not necessary. For the military use of ἐξελθεῖν cf. ch. 8, 8: ch. 54, 12.

3. οὕς ὁ Κλαρίδας—in accordance with his instructions, as given at the end of ch. 21. The Lacedaemonians seem now to have evacuated Amphipolis, which remained in the hands of the Chalcidians. We read of an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Athenians to recover it in 414 (vii. 9).

5. τοὺς μέν—answered by τοὺς δ’ in line 10, but in consequence of the intervening paragraphs the construction with ἐγκαθαύνεται is dropped, and a fresh verb brought in. For the position of the participle μακασαμένους see note on iv. 5, 2: and compare such passages as i. 11, 2, τοῦ διὰ τοὺς τοιντάς λόγου κατασχεχκότος.

7. οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἄν νοῦλονται—‘the Helots, like the villains of the middle ages, were glebae adstricci, and not allowed to leave the spot which was allotted to them. Thus the per-
mitting them “to live where they liked” was an essential part of their emancipation’ (Arnold).

ib. ὄστερων οὐ πολλῷ—so i. 18, 2; i. 137, 1 etc. τῶν νεοδαμώδων—according to Müller these were probably free Helots of some standing, or the sons of enfranchised serfs; see Arnold. This is the first time that they are mentioned as employed in military service; see also ch. 67, 5. In vii. 55, 3, we find that the Lacedaemonian force which Gylippus took to Syracuse consisted of Neodamodes and Helots; where Thucydides adds the explanation δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἔλευθερον ἦδη εἶναι.

8. ἐσ Λέπρεων—see ch. 31, 20. ἐπὶ τῆς—‘in the direction of’, as in τὰ ἐπὶ Ὁράκης.

10. τοὺς δ’ ἐκ τῆς νῆσου—οἱ ἐκ τῆς νῆσου is the regular expression for these captives. Here, with the addition of ληφθέντας, it is a pregnant phrase, as noted on line 1.

12. δεισαντες κ.τ.λ.—‘fearing lest they might suppose that their misfortune would stand in their way, and if they possessed their full rights they might attempt some revolutionary design’. τι is probably to be taken with νεωτέρισωσιν. Both νομίσαντες and ὀντες ἐπίτιμοι seem to have a hypothetical force, otherwise there is some awkwardness in the connecting καλ. For τὴν ἕμφοράν, meaning the surrender at Pylos, see note on ch. 28, 15: cf. iv. 17, 1, ἐσ τὴν ἕμφοράν: iv. 20, 2, ἕμφοράς μετρίως κατατιθεμένης. ἐλασσοθήσεσθαι—ch. 30, 18.

14. τινᾶς—‘in some cases’; in partial apposition to τοὺς ληφθέντας; cf. ch. 96, 3, ἀποστάντες τινάς. ἀτυλαν is a cognate accusative carrying on the idea of the words before; see note on δουλεύαν ch. 9, 42.

15. μήτε ἀρχαν κ.τ.λ.—‘that is, they deprived them of their eligibility to offices, and reduced them in civil contracts to the condition of sojourners or foreigners, who could neither hold property, nor sue or be sued in their own name’ (Arnold).

16. ὄστερων χρόνῳ—so i. 8 fin. etc.: with χρόνους Dem. etc. ‘ages after’.
CHAPTER XXXIV

1. ἐν τῇ Ἀθη—elsewhere Ἀθη is masculine as in ch. 3, 30; iv. 109, 2. A few manuscripts here have τῷ. It has been suggested that τῇ Ἀθη denotes the region as opposed to the mountain. The reading of the whole passage is however uncertain, as a difficulty is caused by the word Δικτιδής. The Dictidians are unknown, and there may be a corruption in the name. In ch. 82, 1, the true reading Διῆς is in some copies corrupted into Δικτιδής. Dium is mentioned in iv. 109, 3 as a town in the peninsula of Athos. Accordingly here editors have adopted τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθη Διῆς, τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθη Ἀκτῆ Διῆς, or τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθα Ἀκτῆ Διῆς. Poppo points out that Thucydides simply calls the peninsula Ἀκτῆ (iv. 109, 3); while moreover Dium was friendly to the Athenians till 417, when it revolted to the Chalcidians (ch. 82). He therefore proposes instead of Δικτιδής to read Χαλκιδής or οἱ Χαλκιδής. The Chalcidians would no doubt be hostile to Thyssus; there may however have been a private quarrel between Thyssus and Dium.

4. ἐπιμεβία—of reciprocal intercourse: cf. i. 2, 2, οὗτος ἐπι-μεμερίστηκεν ἀδεόν πάνηλος: see note on ἐφοδιασεν line 40. ὑπόπτευον—so viii. 39, 2, ὑπόπτευον αὐτῶν. Krüger notes (iv. 51) that the construction with a simple accusative is rare in Attic writers.

7. τὴν...οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν—cf. ch. 50, 19: so i. 137, 7, τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν οὐ διάλισιν: iii. 95, 2, τὴν οὐ περιτείχεσαν. It is a peculiarity of Thucydides, though occasionally found in other writers. Here ἀλλήλοις is added to the verbal substantive.

8. τὴν γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν—the restoration of Amphipolis was the main point, accordingly its name stands prominently in the sentence. The ἄλλα χωρία are those specified in ch. 18, 22 sq. and also Panactum. πρώτεροι λαχώντες—ch. 21, 1.

11. παρέχων—note the change of tense. παρέχω takes the same construction with an adjective in ii. 84, 3, τὸς κυβερνήτας ἀπείθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρέχων, and in other passages. λέγοντες ἕλ—‘though they continued to declare’.

14. χρόνως δὲ προβεβεντο—apparently ‘proposed certain dates’, χρόνοι being plural because stipulations affecting dif-
ferent states were proposed. The scholiast explains προφέρειν by ἑταζαν: but the middle means ‘to put forward on one’s own part’: cf. Eur. Iph. T. 1225, τὰ ἄλλα δότα προφέρειν, i.e. ‘ordered’.

15. ἐπιγραφή—‘a bond’ or written agreement. They would only commit themselves to a verbal arrangement. χρη—i.e. according to the Spartan proposal. The imperfect is accommodated to the past tense of προφέρειν, cf. ii. 51, 3, οὔτε ἐν κατέστη ηλαι ὅ τι χρη προσφέροντα ὥφελει: and see note on iv. 29, fin. ἵνα χρη ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

17. ὑπετόπευνον—the same form occurs in viii. 76, 1: ὑποτευκέων ii. 5, 3, etc. ὑποτευκέω is the general word in Attic prose, as in ch. 35, 6. οὔτε Πύλον—answered by τά τε ἄλλα, the clause with ἄλλα καί being parenthetical.

22. ποιήσειαν—‘should have done’, corresponding to ἐως ἄν ποιήσωσι with a primary tense. ὄντας—order as in ch. 34, 6.

26. καὶ ἔλ τοῦ ἄλλου—‘and (had done) everything else in their power’, rather than ‘had recalled their men from any other place in their hands’. For ἔλ τῆς cf. ch. 37, 13: so iv. 26, 5, ἐσάγειν στὸν...καὶ ἔλ τι ἄλλο βρώμα.

29. ἀπολαβεῖν—‘get back’, in order to restore to Athens: cf. ch. 30, 17. κομμεῖν in the line below probably depends on ἐφασαν: Krüger however connects it with πειράσαεσθαι, referring to i. 27, 2, ἔδειχθησαν ἐμπροστείμασεν, where he cites many similar instances of the future infinitive.

31. Μεσσηνίους—from Naupactus; see iv. 41. Note the use of the articles here and in line 37.

36. ὀστε—see note on ch. 16, 26. τοὺς ἄλλους—ἄλλος= ‘besides’. It seems possible that some of the περιοικοί as well as of the Helots might have deserted to Pylos. No such desertion is however mentioned, but only that of the Helots; see ch. 14, 20; and iv. 41, 3. The following words τε καὶ are therefore bracketed by some editors, while Classen brackets τε only. Stahl would omit Εἰλωτας as well as τε καὶ.

39. ἐν Κρανίος—one of the four cities of Cephallenia, ii. 31 fin. ἐφοδοῖ—of mutual intercourse; i. 6, 1, διὰ τᾶς οὐκ ἄσφαλεις παρ' ἄλλους ἐφόδους: cf. ἐπιμελεῖα, ἐπιμίγγυμι: and see Barton and Chavasse on ἐπηρχοντο, iv. 120, 1.
CHAPTER XXXVI

4. σπονδαὶς—speaking generally. Some manuscripts have ταῖς σπονδαῖς, which is read by Classen. ξυμμαχίδος—ch. 110 fin.: i. 110, 4, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος. Also as fem. adj. i. 98, 2, etc. Ἀθηναίων κ.τ.λ.—the Athenians were newly allied with Sparta. The Corinthians, though the prime movers of the intrigues against Sparta, were not in open hostility.

8. οὐδέν—Krüger compares ii. 5, 4, ἤν τι ξυμβαίνοι: so iv. 41, 1, μέχρι οὖ τι ξυμβώλη. We have similar neuter accusatives with πεῖθω and such words. οὕτω οὐπερ—so Hdt. viii. 124: vii. 170, οὕτως ὀπέρ. ταυτὰ—sc. ἄλληλαι, 'to act in close concert with each other, instead of disputing as they had done: see ch. 32 fin.' (Arnold). This is better than rendering 'to maintain the same policy as heretofore', i.e. to hold aloof still from alliance with Athens.

11. λόγοις ποιοῦνται ἴδιοις—'confer privately' or 'separately'; cf. ch. 37, 8, ἐς λόγους ἡλθον.

13. Βοιωτοὺς—subject of περάσθαι. After the appositional clause with αὕτοις, μετὰ Βοιωτῶν is written instead of μεθ' έαυτῶν to avoid any possible misunderstanding. The sentence is thus made laboured and clumsy, as in ch. 32 § 4. Jowett compares the repetition of Ἀθηναίων in ch. 18, 34. Ullrich suggests μετὰ Κορινθίων for μετὰ Βοιωτῶν.

16. ἠκυστ' ἄν—this reading, instead of ἠκυστα, is adopted by all modern editors. They also assume that the force of ἄν extends to the following ἑλέσθαι. Kühner gives examples of similar construction from Xenophon in his note on Anab. i. 6, 2. In the present passage it seems simpler to take ἑλέσθαι as a positive statement, 'the Lacedaemonians chose'.

18. πρὸ τῆς—there is a confusion of thought, or rather of expression, in this sentence. The meaning is that the Spartans attached more importance to gaining the friendship of Argos than to incurring the enmity of Athens. The two contingencies are put as if it were in opposite scales. So πρὸ, 'in preference to', is really equivalent to 'at the price of'. Again we may say that, as in Greek a negative is repeated in a negative clause, so here Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας is written, instead of φιλίας, with a proleptic force.

Two somewhat similar instances of ἅντι, implying exchange, are quoted from Aristotle: Rhet. ii. 23, 19, ὅτε μὲν γὰρ τὸ
Thucydides V

2. ταύτα ἐπεσταλμένοι—the dative 'remotionis obiecti' which would follow the active verb becomes the subject of the passive participle, while the accusative of the direct object is joined with it; so i. 126, 6, oī ἐπιτετραμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν.

CHAPTER XXXVII
Here the accusative is further connected with the following ὧστε ἀπαγγέλλω. ἀπὸ—'on the part of'.

5. ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ—'to their respective communities' or 'governments', each of which was a κοινὸν (i. 89, 3 etc.). This is the plural of a collective singular; so κατικά, 'fleets': cf. iii. 82 fin. τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν, the moderate or intermediate party (τὸ μέσον) in the several states: Ar. Eth. Nic. iii. 8, 9, τὰ πολιτικὰ μένοντα ἄποθνῄσκει, 'armies (not, an army) of citizens stand their ground to the death'.

6. τῆς ἄρχης τῆς μεγίστης—possibly the ἄρτιναi mentioned in ch. 47, 61. σφίλαi='with us' i.e. the Argive nation. After τούτων προχωρῆσαντο the subject expands still further, πολεμεῖν κ.τ.λ. referring to the entire body of proposed allies. αὐτός is to be taken with these last infinitives.

9. ἡσπερ Κόρινθοι κ.τ.λ.—see ch. 31, 28. The Mantineans had been the first to join the league, ch. 29, 1. ἦδη=iam, when this point was reached, or this advantage secured.

13. κοινῷ λόγῳ χρωμένους—acting and treating in common; so iv. 64, 3, of mutual conference. εἰ τινὰ=‘any whatever’; i. 14, 3, Ἀθηναίοι καὶ εἰ τινὰς Ἀλλοι: cf. ch. 35, 26. τούτων ἄντερ—i.e. ἄντερ, with ἐπεστάλκεσαν αὐτοῖς. The φίλοι are Xenares and his adherents.

20. βοστάρχαι—see iv. 91, 1. ἠρέσκοντο—ch. 4, 13. εἰ τὰ ὁμοία σπεύδειν—Classen quotes Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 4, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἡ μὲν σπεῦδει: elsewhere Thucydides uses σπεύδειν without a preposition, as in ch. 16, 9. τὰ εἰρημένα προκαλούμενοι—'with the stipulated proposals'; ii. 74, 2, προκαλούμενοι πολλά.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1. ἔδοξεί—not ἔδοξε, for they did not carry their resolution. τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἐράκχης—the Chalcidians, ch. 31, 29. ἐν τῷ παρατυχόντι—iii. 82, 7: i. 122, 1, πρὸς τὸ παρατυχάνον. τῷ δεμένῳ—used generically, like the well-known phrase ὁ βουλήμενος (ch. 28, 6). We find other instances of the generic singular, e.g. iv. 92, 5, τὸν μὲν ἕσυχάζοντα... ἐπιστρατεύειν.

6. γνώμης—'resolution' or 'decision'. ὁστος=after this;
iii. 96, 2, τάλλα καταστρεψάμενοι ούτως...στρατεύειαι: for ἴδη see ch. 37, 11. τὸ αὐτὸ ἑποιοῦν—ch. 31, 30, τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντες.

9. ταῖς τέσσαρισ βουλαῖς—not mentioned elsewhere; nothing seems known about them. ἐπ’ ὀφέλειᾳ—mutui auxilli gratia (Poppo); see i. 3, 2, ἐπαγορέων αὐτοὺς ἐπ’ ὀφέλεια. The manuscripts always vary between ὀφέλεια and ὀφέλεια. The latter, according to Liddell and Scott, is the usual prose form; but Bekker reads ὀφέλεια throughout Thucydides.

15. ἐκείνων—note the use of this pronoun to denote the Lacedaemonians, though they have just been mentioned. See note on iv. 37, 2; also Shilleto on i. 132, 3.

20. μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων—Classen follows Stahl in reading μετ’ αὐτῶν for μετὰ τῶν, understanding ἔξυμαχος with γλυκεται. This agrees exactly with ch. 36, 14. Otherwise either (1) μετὰ τῶν...γλυκεται means ‘to join Sparta’, as in iv. 125, 1, οἱ Ἡλειαν μετ’ Ἀρριβαίου γεγενηται (Krüger): or (2), supplying ἔξυμαχος, the sense is ‘afterwards to become their allies in company with the Lacedaemonians, i.e. afterwards to form an alliance with the Lacedaemonians as well, in which the Argives and Corinthians would be included’ (Jowett).

22. σφίσι—there is dependent on παραινοῦσιν. The sense then necessitates referring it to the members of the four councils, the subject of ψηφιετεθαι, while προδιαγγώνες refers to the Boeotarchs, the main subject of the sentence. There is considerable awkwardness in this; and the difficulty is not removed by comparing such passages as e.g. i. 20, 1, οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸς ἀκόδα τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἵνα εἰπώρω σφίσιν ἱ...δέχονται: iv. 113, 3, κατέφυγον ἐς αὐτῶς ὅσιο ἄσαν σφίσι ἐπιτήδειοι. For in such passages, though σφίσι does not refer to the grammatical subject of the relative clause, it does refer to the general subject of the sentence, which is not the case here. It is just possible to take σφίσι with προδιαγγώνες, ‘for themselves’ or ‘for their own nation’ = ‘for us’. Göller’s conjecture ἐν σφίσι is however very tempting, and better than Bekker’s σφεῖς.

23. ἀντέστη τὸ πράγμα—so ch. 4, 26. το ταῦτα ἐπεισαγ—
the aorist indicative, as Classen points out, implies ‘an unfulfilled condition’. They had been intending to promote the alliance with Argos, (and they would have made the attempt) if they had not failed to persuade the councils.
27. οὐκέτι—i.e. they gave up the idea. ἐσήνεγκαν—so viii. 67, 1, with γρώμην: Hdt. iii. 81 etc. ἔπεμπον—lit. 'went on to send', that is they gave up their intention. διατριβή—cf. ch. 82, 20.

CHAPTER XXXIX

1. Μηκύβερναν—see ch. 18, 34, where the Athenians stipulate for its independence. It was 20 stadia from Olynthus, on the gulf of Torone. Strabo calls it the arsenal (ἐπίνειον) of Olynthus. Ἀθηναίων φρουρούντων—i. 89, 2, Σηκόν ἐποιήκοντον Μηδῶν ἐχώντων, where Krüger collects instances of this frequent use of the genitive absolute.

8. κομίσασθαι—'recover'; ch. 15, 4 etc. ἔλθον...πρέσβευμενοι—so i. 31, 3. It is a regular phrase = πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν. εἰρημένον—'this provision is not found either in the treaty or the alliance, but it may be understood, as Bishop Thirlwall remarks, in the last clause of the latter (ch. 23), or in the provision that neither party should conclude a war without the consent of the other (ib. i. 9 and 16). Or it may have formed part of a separate agreement, which Thucydides has not given' (Jowett). For the accusative absolute see note on iv. 17, 2; and Goodwin § 851.

17. παραλάβειν—i.e. in order to transfer to Athens, the regular use of this word; the converse of which is παραδίδοναι. ἀπολαμβάνειν and ἀποδιδόναι are generally used of restoration without a third party intervening, but this is not an invariable rule, see ch. 30, 17: ch. 42, 7.

18. ξυγχέαι—only here in Thucydides; σπουδῶν ξύγχυσις, ch. 26, 33: i. 146, fin.: Dem. Timocr. 729 (91), διὰν ξυγχεί τὴν πολιτείαν; Verg. Aen. v. 496, confundere foedus. προνυμουμένων—with accusative; cf. ch. 17, 7. τὰ ἐς Βοιωτοὺς—'the arrangements with Boeotia'; ch. 46, 6, τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους.

20. τοῦ χειμῶνος κ.τ.λ.—cf. ch. 56, 19: iv. 135, 1. καθηρεῖτο—the Boeotians at once began to dismantle the fortress; see ch. 42, 8.
CHAPTER XL

1. ἀμα...θέρους—so iv. 117, 1, ἀμα ἦρ τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους: vi. 8, 1, τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους ἀμα ἦρι: χείμων and θέρος being the half-yearly periods by which Thucydides reckons.

3. οὖν ἦκον—this is Krüger’s conjecture for the mss. reading ἦκοντο. One manuscript has ἦκοντο, which seems a confusion with the following τό. The uncompound ed ἴκνεόμαι does not occur in prose except sometimes in the participle; i. 99, 3, τό ἴκνομενον ἀνάλωμα: Hdt. vi. 84, μᾶλλον τὸν ἴκνεομένου: id. vi. 65, ἴκνεμένως: Dem. Macart. 1072 § 66 (in an oracle).

4. καθαρούμενον—imperfect, as at the end of ch. 39. τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πρός—'between the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians': see note on iv. 80, 2. ἐς Δακεδαμονίους...χωρήσῃ—πρός is more usual, as in ch. 22, 14: ἐς, according to Classen, suggests the central position and centralising influence of Sparta. It may be so; on the other hand Thucydides uses ἐς more loosely than any preposition to denote relation of every kind: see ch. 41, 6: and the note on ch. 39, 19.

11. ὦστε οὐδὲ...εἶναι—the infinitive does not depend on ὦστε, but is due to the oratio obliqua with ὄντο, the negative of oratio recta (ὦστε οὐδὲ...ἐστι) being retained. Otherwise ὦστε takes μὴ with the infinitive. In viii. 76, 7 we have an exact parallel to the present passage, ὦστε οὐδὲ τούτους παρὰ σφίς χεῖρος εἶναι (in oratio obliqua). The usage is fully discussed and illustrated in the appendix to Shilleto’s Falsa Legatio. For εἶναι=παρεῖναι, see note on iv. 8, 5.

13. ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν—between Athens and Sparta. The Argives supposed that these differences were now at an end. αὐτοῖς—i.e. σφίσι: see note on ch. 32, 26.

14. αἱ πρὸς Δακεδαμονίους...σπονδαί—see the end of ch. 14, etc. ἀπαροῦντες ταῦτα—vii. 48, 5, τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν: Hdt. iv. 179, ἀπορέουντι τὴν ἢξαγωγὴν. ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες—'proudly hoping', elatis animis sperantes (Poppo): cf. iii. 83, 4, καταφρονοῦντες κἂν προασθέσθαι: iv. 80, 3, ὑπὸ φρονήματος, 'from their high spirit'.

23. ἤγούμενοι...κράτιστα—it is open to doubt whether κράτιστα is to be taken (1) as an adjective with ἤγούμενοι, 'thinking it the best course', or (2) adverbially with σπονδᾶς
CHAPTER XL (B.C. 420) 151

ποιησάμενοι, 'on the best terms admissible'. In the latter case ἡγούμενοι is used, as in ii. 42, 4 (a very important passage), in the sense 'aequum censendi': cf. Plat. Protag. 346 b, Συμβολής ἡγήσατο τόραννον ἐπανέεικα: and see note on νομίζω, iv. 117, 1.

(1) seems decidedly simpler. In i. 85, 3 κράτιστα is certainly an adjective; and such neuter plurals (e.g. δωρά) are not uncommon; while ἀπόρα νομίζοντες (iii. 16, 2) is almost an exact parallel.

24. ὅπω νὰν ξυγχωρή—'on whatever terms might be agreed on'. ξυγχωρεῖν, to accede or agree, does not seem to be elsewhere used impersonally, except in a var. lect. from Xenophon, given by Liddell and Scott. If the reading be right, it is to be explained on the analogy of ἐγχωρεῖ, which is common; unless indeed τὰ παρῆντα can be understood as the subject. If the impersonal usage were established, it would be convenient to take συγχωρήσαι, Plat. Phaedr. 263 c, in this way.

CHAPTER XLI

1. ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν—for the order of the words, see note on ch. 10, 49, ξυστραφέντες. ἐφ' ὃν—this use of the relative for δὲ is not uncommon, especially in affirmative statements; see Poppo and Krüger on i. 136, 3, ἐντὸς ὅσ' ἐστι: i. 137, 2, ἐπήξει δοτὶς ἐστὶ καὶ δὲ ἄ φένει: viii. 50, 5, γράψας ἃν ἄντρῳ αὐτὰ πρᾶξει. ὅν of course goes with the verb, not with ὃ: cf. vii. 36, 3, ἐξ ὅν ἄν ἄνθρωποι δεινολ...δράσειαν.

5. ἔπιτροπὴν—cf. ch. 31, 15, ἐκεῖς ἔπιτραπείσσης. σφίσι γενέσθαι—Krüger considers σφίσι as perhaps an interpolation from two lines above; but it emphasizes the anxiety of the Argives 'to be allowed to refer the question to arbitration'. 'This did take place at a later period, and the result was, that Thyrea was awarded to the Argives, and retained by them down to the time of Pausanias' (Arnold).

6. Κυνουρίας—Κυνουρίας is also read, as in iv. 56, 2, where see the note. Ἡς δὲλ πέρι—Classen, on i. 18, 3, ἔς τῶν δὲλ τῶν πόλεμον, gives other instances of this position of δὲλ. μεθορίας—the Θυρεάτης γῆ is similarly described in ii. 27, 2; where Krüger also notes that adjectives compounded from δρος have often three terminations.

10. μεμνήσθαι—mentionem facere; a sense which, accord-
ing to Classen, is elsewhere confined to the aorist μνησθήναι. μνησθήναι governs the genitive directly (vi. 15, 2) or takes περί (viii. 47, 2). έτοίμοι εἶναι—sc. λεγόντων: constructed in accordance with the sense, as if ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἶναι had gone before: cf. vii. 3, 1, κήρυκα προσέπεμπε αὐτοὺς λέγοντα, εἴ..., έτοίμος εἶναι σπένδεσθαι: so in viii. 104, 3, we have a genitive absolute construction passing into the nominative.

15. ὀποτέρουσον—‘to either side’; ch. 18, 65: Plat. Rep. 509 a, ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ὀποτέρου αὐτῶν (alteriusrum) οὐκ ὅρθον: Dem. pro Mag. 209 § 27, ἐὰν μὴ ἐθέλωσι ποιεῖν ὀποτέροι ταῦτα: so u ter is sometimes used indefinitely = either of two. προκαλεσαμένοις—‘after due challenge’. προτέρον ποτε— the account of this combat is given by Herodotus (i. 82). Three hundred picked men fought on either side. At nightfall two Argives and one Spartan remained alive. The Argives claimed the victory because ἔνωτῶν πλεῖστες περιγεγώνας, the Spartans because their champion remained on the field, while the Argives went home. This was in the days of Croesus, in the middle of the sixth century.

18. αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι—Hdt. i. 82, αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν: Thuc. i 105, 4, ἐνθώσαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν. μαρία εἶναι ταῦτα—cf. ii. 41, 2, οὐ λόγων κόμποις τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐργῶν ἐστὶν ἄλθεια: Ar. Ach. 125, ταῦτα δὴ οὐκ ἀγχόνη;

22. πάντως—‘on any terms’; vi. 20, 1: Hdt. ix. 35, πάντως συνεχώρεθαν οἷ, accepted him on his own terms. πανταχῇ is similarly used, Soph. Aj. 1369: Ant. 634: cf. ch. 36, 31, καλῶς. Ἑνεγράψαντο—‘had the terms drawn up’.

24. πρὶν τέλος...ἔχειν—of final conclusion; iv. 118, 7, τέλος ἔχοντες, of ambassadors with final powers. δεῖξαι—sc. these terms, αὐτά, hence the subject of ἄρεσκοντα. Note the use of εἶναι with the participle. Krüger collects instances on i. 38, 2, ἄρεσκοντες ἔσμεν.


CHAPTER XLII

The two next chapters deal, as we see from the beginning of ch. 44, with what passed while the Boeotian envoys were at Sparta.
6. τοῦς παρά—see note on ch. 15, 4. αὐτῶν—without Spartan sanction. We find however that the Athenians took a different view. καθηρημένων—the demolition of the works was now complete; see ch. 40 fin.

9. ἐκ διαφοράς—'after a quarrel'; iv. 83, 3: iv. 125, 1. κοινὴ νέμεν—'to use it as common pasture ground'. 'The land was left unenclosed, on purpose to avoid disputes about the boundary line' (Arnold).

15. καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι—'that this too was restoring it'; καὶ i.e. no less than actually giving it back, or perhaps 'even this', 'this in itself'. Most editors appear to take τοῦτο as governed directly by νομίζοντες and ἀποδιδόναι as a predicate in apposition. It seems however better to regard τοῦτο as a cognate accusative with ἀποδιδόναι, in this, the literal rendering being 'thinking that thereby too they gave it back'. There is an exact parallel to this construction, Eur. Iph. T. 299, δοκῶν Ἐρνύς θεὰς ἀμύνεσθαι τάδε, 'thinking that in this he was repelling the Furies'.

17. λεγομένων—'as soon as the Athenians heard this'; the use of the imperfect verbs and participles to the end of the chapter is to be noticed. δεινὰ ἐποίου—'made an outcry', or 'broke out in uproar'. There are several instances of this use of the active in Hdt. e.g. ii. 121 ε.: iii. 14: so [Dem.] Aristog. 788. δεινὰ ποιεῖται, 'to take a thing ill'=indignari, is a recognized phrase which occurs i. 102, 4: vi. 60, 4: Hdt. iii. 155: vii. 1; ποιεῖται having the sense of 'making for one's self', i.e. regarding. It has therefore been proposed to read ἐποίησεν here, but the editors retain ἐποίου. As Barton and Chavasse point out, in the appendix to their edition of Book iv., the active refers to the external manifestations, noises etc., while the middle expresses the subjective feeling.

19. ὀρθῶν—so ch. 46, 15. Plutarch (Alc. 14) says Λακεδαιμόνιοι Πάνακτον ὅπως ἐστῶσιν, ὡσπερ ἔδει, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρέδωκαν ἄλλα καταλύσαντες. Thucydides says nothing of its restoration; but both accounts agree that the Athenians attributed bad faith to Sparta. καὶ πυθανόμενοι—'and because, as they heard'; καὶ with the participle corresponding to τοῦ τε...καθαιρέσει. The conclusion of an alliance with Boeotia seems not to have been generally known at Athens till now. Yet the Argives knew of it from the first (ch. 40, 5).

21. φᾶσκοντες πρῶτερον—see ch. 35, 14. ὅσα...τῆς εὐνοθήκης—the editors seem to take εὐνοθήκης as dependent on ὅσα and ἕξελελοιπεσαν as active. It seems better to regard ἕξελελοιπησαν as passive.
\( \pi t e s a v \) as intransitive, governing \( \xi n o t h k e s \), with \( \dot{\sigma}a \) as cognate accusative. It is not clear whether \( \dot{\nu}o\mu t o n \) \( \dot{\epsilon}p t a t h s a i \) is a main statement, or a subordinate one with \( \dot{\sigma}a \) supplied.

**CHAPTER XLIII**

The monotonous account of intrigues and counter-intrigues is broken for a moment by the mention of Alcibiades, who now for the first time comes upon the scene. He is the first man of commanding abilities who appeared at Athens since the death of Pericles, and henceforward the most prominent character to the close of our author’s history.

3. \( \alpha \dot{\omicron} - \) ‘in their turn, on their side’, as opposed to the war party in Sparta. \( \dot{\epsilon}v\kappa\kappa e i n t o - \) instabat, see note on iv. 22, 2.

5. \( \dot{\eta}l\i k i a \ldots \nu e o s - \) the age of Alcibiades is a subject of some discussion, owing to the loose language of the authorities we have. Their statements are collected in Poppo’s edition. It seems however agreed that he was in his fifth year when his father Cleinias fell at Coronea in 447. He served in the expedition to Potidæa in 432 (i. 61 sq.), \( \dot{\eta}t i \mu e i r\acute{a}k\iota n o n \dot{\omega}n \) (Plut. Alc. 7). He was therefore now about thirty.

6. \( \dot{\omicron} \varepsilon \) \( \dot{\alpha}l\l\i\eta \) \( \pi o l e i - \) \( u t \) in alia civitate’; see note on iv. 84, 2, \( \dot{\omicron} \Lambda k e k d a i m o n i o s \). Thirty appears to have been the recognized age in Grecian states for entering on public life.

ib. \( \dot{d}i\acute{\omega}m a t i \ \pi r o g o n o n - \) according to Plutarch Alcibiades claimed descent from Eurysaces the son of Ajax. His mother was Dinomache, of the family of the Alcmaeonidae. In Dem. Meid. 561 § 144, where there is a description of the ancestry and achievements of Alcibiades, he is carelessly said \( \pi r o s \ \pi a t r d s \ 'A l k a m a i o n i d d w n \) \( e i n a i \).

7. \( k a l \ \dot{\alpha}m e i n o n - \) he supported the Argives from actual conviction also, as well as on other grounds. \( \nu \) \( \mu e n t o i \ \dot{\alpha}l\l\i\a - \) Krüger quotes Plato Phaed. 62 b, \( \dot{d}d\acute{\epsilon}i e n \ o u t o \ \gamma \) \( \dot{e}i n a i \ \dot{\alpha}l o g o n \) : \( \nu \) \( \mu e n t o i \ \dot{\alpha}l\l\i\a \) t\( \i o s \) \( \dot{\epsilon}x e i \ t i n \) \( \lambda \) \( g o n \) : see Liddell and Scott, \( \dot{\alpha}l\l\i\a , \) II. 4. \( \phi r o n\acute{\eta}m a t i \ \phi i l o n e i k\iota n - \phi r o n h m a \) is personal pride and self-esteem; as in ii. 43, 6, \( \dot{\alpha}n\acute{\nu}r t i \) \( \gamma e \) \( \phi r o n h m a \) \( \xi k o n t i - \) cf. ch. 40, 14. For the construction cf. iv. 64, 1, \( \mu o r i a \) \( \phi i l o n e i k\iota n \).
10. Αδχητος—Laches is named next to Nicias in the lists of signatories in ch. 19 and 24. He also moved the ratification of the year’s truce with Sparta in 423 (iv. 118. 7). ἐπραξαν—‘effected’ or ‘negotiated’; cf. what Alcibiades says at Sparta, vi. 89, 2, ὡμεῖς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καταλασσόμενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς δύναμιν, δὲ ἐκείνων πράξαντες, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε. Note the emphatic position of αὐτὸν. Most manuscripts have ἐαυτόν, which Classen reads.

12. κατά—lit. ‘in accordance with’. προσεβναιν—cf. vi. 89, 2, τῶν δ’ ἐμῶν προγόνων τὴν προσεβναν ύμῶν κατά τι ἐγκλήμα ἀπειπόντων, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνων ἑθεράπευν ύμᾶς ἄλλα τε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ἄμφοράν. For the position of ποτε οὕσαν see ch. 34, 6: 55, 24 etc.

15. πανταχόθεν τε—‘and so feeling himself slighted (at a disadvantage) in every way’; τε sums up and concludes. For ἐλασσοῦσθαι cf. ch. 30, 18. τὸ τε πρῶτον...καὶ τότε—‘as at first...so now’; ch. 75, 27: cf. note on iv. 103, 4, ἐπραξαν τε ἐκ πλείονος...καὶ τότε.

16. βεβαίως—‘to be relied on’; iii. 11, 1, βεβαιώτεροι ἄν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτερεῖν. σφίζει—‘with us’, as in ch. 37, 9: 72, 10. ἐξελοῦσαν—expugnent, evertant; iv. 122, 6, Σκιωναλοῦς ἐξελεῖν: also with names of places. Classen notes that in this sense the aorist is always used.

23. ὡς...οντος...ἐξαιράξων—cf. iv. 5, 1, ὡς ἢ ὁμι...νοῦντας (acc. abs.)...ἡ ῥαδίως λῃσμένου βία.

CHAPTER XLIV

1. τῆς τε—τε and καὶ connect the two things which influenced the Argives, the message of Alcibiades, and true information about the Spartan and Boeotian alliance; in ch. 11, 11 we have a similar wording. καὶ ἑπείδη—see ch. 58, 2, for the same combination of participial and relative construction.

2. οὐ μετ’ Ἀθηναίων—so iii. 66, 2, οὐ μετά τοῦ πλῆθους. μετὰ thus used is the converse of ἄνευ, iv. 78, 3, etc. The Argives were under a misapprehension (ch. 39, 14) when they sent their envoys.
7. ὁι σφίσι—lit. ‘whom they had away in Lacedaemon’ (ch. 41); cf. αὐτοῖς ch. 3, 24. πρὸς...τὴν γνώμην εἴχον—so ch. 48, 12: cf. ch. 13 fin.

9. ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ—i. 2, 3: ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἄρχαίον ii. 15, 1. The two states had been in alliance since 463 (i. 102, 4). δημοκρατουμένην κ.τ.λ. the same words as in ch. 29, 10. τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν—these words (omitted by Stahl) are a kind of afterthought. The Argives reflect that Athens is especially strong at sea, where they themselves are weakest.

12. καθιστώντας ἐς—i. 23, fin. ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν, and often: so ἐς φυγῇ, φόβον etc. Ἑλεων—the Eleans and Mantineans had been the first to join the league; ch. 29 and 31. τῆς ξύμαχίας—the contemplated alliance; ch. 13, 9.

16. δοκοῦντες—‘who were accounted friendly to (on good terms with) the Athenians’. Philocharidas is one of the signatories named in ch. 19 and 24. Endius appears in viii. 6, 3, as connected by hereditary friendship with Alcibiades.

18. Δεσαντες—the envoys are identified with the government that sent them. τὴν τε and καὶ connect the two things the Lacedaemonians feared, that the Athenians would make an alliance with Argos and refuse to restore Pylos.

21. ἐπὶ κακῷ—iv. 86, 1, οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐκλήθα. The Lacedaemonian apology would involve some inconsistency with the statement in ch. 39, 14, εἰδότες μὲν ὦτι ἀδικήσουσιν Αθηναύς.

CHAPTER XLV

1. ἐν τῇ βουλῇ—foreign ambassadors first presented their credentials to the βουλή, they were afterwards introduced to the ἑκκλησία.

4. μὴ καὶ ἢν—καὶ most probably goes with ἐς τὸν δῆμον, the order being slightly irregular: Classen compares iv. 63, 2, ἄλλα καὶ ἀγαν εἰ τύχοις (= εἰ καὶ ἀγαν): i. 120, 2, καὶ μέχρι σφῶν, etc. Krüger and Poppo would read ἢν καὶ. It is also possible to take καὶ with ἐπαγάγωντας τὸ πλῆθος (μὴ καὶ, ἢν...): this agrees with Plutarch (Vic. ch. 10) μὴ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐπαγάγωντα.
CHAPTER XLIV (B.C. 420) 157

ib. ἐς τὸν δῆμον—i.e. in the ἐκκλησία. Classen follows Stahl in reading ταύτα for ταύτα. ἀπωσθη—ch. 22, 6, ἀπεσάντο.

7. μηχανάται δὲ—Krüger suggests δή, which Classen reads, comparing vi. 64, 1, τούτων τι οὖν μηχανώνται. πειθεὶ—from this is supplied the sense 'he promises' and 'he says' with the following infinitives; or they may be connected with πίστιν δοὺς 'with the assurance that'. πίστιν δοὺς—Plut. Alc. 14, ὥρκους ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς: cf. i. 133, 1, πίστιν διδόντος: viii. 73, 3.

11. ὤσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀντιλέγειν—for ὤσπερ καὶ see Jowett's note quoted on ch. 13, 8. For the infinitive 'by assimilation' in the relative clause in oratio obliqua, see Goodwin, § 755: cf. i. 91, 5, δόσα μετ' ἐκείνων βουλεύομαι (=ἐβουλεύομαι) οὐδενὸς ὄστεροι (ἐφασαν) γνώμη φανήραι. τάλλα ξυναλλάξειν—'will effect a reconciliation in all other respects': i. 24, 4, τούς φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι.

12. βουλόμενος...Νικίου τε—answered by καὶ ἐποιεῖν κ.τ.λ. τε and καὶ couple the most important words. For the form of the sentence cf. iv. 70, 1, ἐδεῦμεν περὶ τοὺς...καὶ μη: Plat. Protag. 326a, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ ἐποιεῖς. ἀληθῆ—Krüger would read ὑγείας, the word used by Plut. Alc. 14 fin. (iv. 22, 2, el τι ὑγείας διανοοῦνται); but there seems no justification for the change. ἐν νῷ ἔχουσιν—'mean, intend'; so iv. 22, 2, οὐδέν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας δίκαιον: νῷ ἔχειν without en is 'to bear in mind', remember: see note on iv. 8, 5, ἐν νῷ εἴχον.

18. παρελθόντες—the regular term for 'coming forward' in the assembly. παραγαγόντες, line 23, is the corresponding active word.

19. οὐκ ἐφασαν ὤσπερ—sc. ἐφασαν: 'in answer to the question whether they had full powers replied No, in direct contradiction to what they had said in the Council' (Jowett). οὗ φημι = to deny, but the clause is framed in accordance with the literal construction rather than the actual force. καταβοῶντος—i. 67, 1, κατεβών ὁτι᾽ Ἀθηναίων, διτι....

24. σεισμοῦ—cf. ch. 50 fin.: viii. 6, 5. But if an earthquake happened after any enterprise was actually begun, it was interpreted as a sign of encouragement on the part of the gods to persevere in it. See Xen. Hell. iv. 7, 4'. (Arnold.) See Liddell and Scott, δισθημία.
CHAPTER XLVI

1. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ—'next day’s assembly'; so i. 44, 1. It has been questioned whether τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ (μάχῃ), vii. 11, 2, has this meaning or simply = ὑστεραίᾳ. καλέπερ belongs especially to καλ ἄντος, 'himself too', as Classen indicates by marking off with commas the clause τῶν...ἡματημένων. The two participial clauses are not coordinate, but the second is the consequence of the first. Alcibiades had deceived the envoys, and Nicias thus found himself in a thoroughly false position. The strengthened form of the participle ἡματημένος emphasizes the disappointment of Nicias, if indeed it has any particular force. Poppo however considers that sound is sometimes consulted rather than sense in such alliterative clauses. He cites Eur. Iph. T. 984, σῶσον...ἐκασωσον, etc.

4. ὄμως—disappointed as he was by the envoys, he still clung to the hope of a Lacedaemonian alliance. ἐπισχόντας—ch. 32, 28. ἂν πρός Ἀργελοὺς—ch. 39, 19, ἄν ἐσ Βοιωτοὺς.

8. λέγων—'urging', lit. going on with his speech: Poppo, with Arnold, takes it = iubens, suadens; 'advising them to put off'; a force of which instances from tragedy may be found in Liddell and Scott. There are also prose instances in Krüger's Grammar, § 55. 3, 13. Here however there is no need thus to force the meaning of λέγω. To render 'saying, we (thus) put off the war', gives an excellent sense.

ib. ἐν...καλῷ—under conditions and circumstances which bring honour to us and discredit to Sparta. ἐν καλῷ is used of conditions and circumstances, ch. 59, 21: ch. 60, 13; though there the sense is somewhat different. For the use of adjectives cf. vi. 11, 6, τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς.

11. ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον—with διασώσασθαι, as ὀτι τάχιστα goes with διακυνδυνεῖσαι: it being a common mannerism of Thucydides thus to break up the stiffness of grammatical connexion. For the force of the aorist cf. ch. 16, 14. ἐφημα—Hdt. vii. 155: Xen. Anab. ii. 3, 18, ἐφημα ἐποιησάμην, el.

15. ὄρθων—as Panactum was already known to be dismantled (ch. 42, 19), this looks like an attempt to please the mob with a show of spirit, unless indeed the demolition was supposed to be incomplete. ἄνειναι—so τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ch. 31, 17. καθάπερ ἐφητο—ch. 39, 15.
19. \(\text{ὅτι...πεποιησθαι}\) — after the conditional clause the construction with \(\text{ὅτι}\) is neglected; so iv. 37, 1, γροῦς \(\text{ὅτι, εἰ...}\ \text{ἐνδώσουν, διαφθαρησομένους αὐτοῖς}.\) \(\text{ἀν...πεποιησθαι}\) — pluperfect. The combination of tenses implies, 'if we wished to wrong you (which we do not), we should have already made the Argives our allies'. The imperfect refers to a wish, the present existence of which is denied, the pluperfect to one definite act, which would have been completed before now: Goodwin, § 410.

20. \(\text{ὡς παρεῖναι—}\) ch. 45, 11 note. \(\text{αὐτοὺς αὐτοῦ—}\) Poppo, on ch. 30, 14, collects instances of similar jingles, which plainly were not unpleasing to the writer's ear. \(\text{εἰ \(\text{τι}=\) δεσα, and so it is answered by \(\text{πόντα.}\)}\)

22. \(\text{τοὺς περὶ Νικέαν—}\) ch. 13, 2: so infra, line 29. \(\text{ἀνὴρσουσι Βοιωτοῖς—}\) lit. 'throw it back on the hands of the Boeotians, unless etc.', or \(\text{Βοιωτοῖς may be dativus incommodi.}\)

29. \(\text{ἐπικρατοῦντων—}\) vi. 74, 1, \(\text{ἐπεκράτουν \(μὴ \text{δέχεσθαι.}\)}\ \text{τὸν ἐφορὸν—}\) the repetition of the article is ugly, and Classen omits the words as an interpolated note: cf. however ii. 67, 2, \(\text{τὸν Σάδωκ τὸν γεγενημένον 'Ἀθηναίον. ἐφορὸν should possibly be read instead of τὸν ἐφορὸν, as two manuscripts have ἐφόρων and one omits τὸν.}\ For Xenares and his party see ch. 36, 9.

30. \(\text{τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης—i. 113, 2, δοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης \(\text{ήσαν. \text{ἀνενέωσαντο—}\}}\) according to the provisions of the treaty concluded the year before, ch. 18, 61.

33. \(\text{αὐτὸς—}\) 'for he was accounted responsible for the treaty with Sparta'. The position of this clause makes it an explanation of \(\text{δὲρ καὶ ἐγένετο. Note \text{δοκῶν not \(\text{δίξας: not 'he feared he might be accounted' etc.: but 'being held responsible as he was, he feared he should be discredited.'}\)

36. \(\text{δι' ὅργης εἶχον—}\) according to Classen simply 'were indignant', but an object seems implied though not expressed. They were indignant at Nicias' failure or at the conduct of the Lacedaemonians. The other instances which Classen cites may be similarly explained. \(\text{παρόντες implies that the envoys were already in Athens; \(\text{παραγαγόντος that they were now brought before the assembly.}\)
CHAPTER XLVII

Defensive treaty between Athens and the Argive league. Mantinea and Elis, no less than Argos and Athens, are spoken of as imperial States, the meaning being that the towns which Mantinea had acquired (ch. 29) and Lepreum, which was claimed by Elis (ch. 31), are recognised as their subject allies (Jowett). In Professor Jowett's second volume there is an account of a fragment of a marble tablet, containing portions of this treaty, discovered in 1877 on the Acropolis.

1. ἐκατὸν Ἀθηναίοι ἔτη—cf. the order in iii. 90 fin. ἐπέλθοντων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων...προσεχώρησαν.

4. ἐκάτεροι—Athens and Argos respectively, not ἐκάστοι. The members of the Argive league are here taken as a whole: in line 35 it is different. ἀδύλους—see ch. 18, 13, etc. The wording of this treaty is in many respects identical with the formulas in ch. 18 and 23, with slight verbal changes, e.g. μὴ...τέχνη μηδὲ μηχανῇ is here written instead of μὴ τέχνη μὴτε μηχανῇ. There is the usual mixture of imperative and infinitive construction.

6. ἐπὶ τημονῇ—ch. 18, 15.

15. ἐπαγγέλλωσιν—'send word' i.e. require; so vi. 56, 1, ἐπαγγέλλαντες ήκειν. Sometimes the word is used with the acc. like impero; iii. 16, 3, κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον τεσσαράκοντα νεὼν πλῆθος; vii. 17, 1, στρατιάν ἐπαγγέλλων ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους.

18. ταύτην τὴν πόλιν—'the state in question', so twice in ch. 23.

35. μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν—see ch. 56, 7. Krüger, who is followed by Stahl, regards these words as spurious, but they seem intended to guard against any possible evasion. εἶναι—'be allowed'. ἡν μὴ—διώσαι or ἐώσι may be mentally supplied. Such participial constructions are not uncommon with εἴ μή and in effect are simply adverbial.

40. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλθῇ—ἐπὶ τὴν occurs twice towards the end of viii. 58, in the terms of a treaty; and three times in Aristo-
phanes. In Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1364, it is read by Hermann and Paley (for ἐπάρ), and is found in Isocrates and Xenophon. The later form ἐπάρ, according to Krüger's Grammar, is more strictly Attic. The subject of ἀθη is supplied from the sense, sc. ἦ βοσθεία or ἦ στρατιά.

41. ἀπιούσι κατὰ ταυτά—the words κατὰ ταυτά are confusing. They seem at first to suggest another period of thirty days; but they probably only imply maintenance on the way home, 'in the same manner' as on the way out. The city which applied for aid was thus entitled to help for 30 clear days without incurring expense.

43. τῷ μὲν ὑπάλληλῳ—for this use of τῷ='each', Krüger compares Xen. *Anab.* i. 3, 21, ύπαρχειται διόσεω τρία ἡμεθερικά τοῦ μηνός τῷ στρατιωτῇ. Arnold says 'It shows the democratic character of the contracting commonwealth, that the archer, and even the light-armed soldier, should have received the same pay as the heavy-armed soldier. Thus at Athens even the seamen received as high pay as the heavy-armed soldier: see iii. 17, 4: vi. 31, 3'. The archers are distinguished from the other light-armed troops, as in iv. 36, 1, where Poppo's note may be consulted.

44. τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς Ἀιγυπτιῶν—usually assumed to be equivalent to five Attic obols; the Aeginetan and Corinthian drachma being worth ten Attic obols. See Jowett on iii. 70, 4, where a different view is noticed.

54. κατὰ ἱερῶν τελείων—'over' lit. 'down over, or on': Dem. * Aph.* 852, § 26, κατ' ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς ἄδελφης, 'on our heads': id. *Con.* 1269, § 40, κατὰ ταῦδων. ἱερὰ τελεία seem to be 'full-grown victims', rather than 'victims without blemish' or 'in full numbers'. Arnold compares Hdt. i. 183, where τὰ τελεῖα τῶν προδώτων are contrasted with τὰ γαλαθηνᾶ. So hostiae maiores are distinguished from hostiae lactentes.

59. αἱ ἐνδημοὶ ἄρχαι—'the home authorities', meaning, according to Arnold, the archons, secretaries etc. as opposed to the στρατηγοὶ or foreign office. In Aesch. *Timarch.* 45, we have μηδὲ ἄρχειν ἄρχετως μηδεμίαν ὡς ἐνδημοὶ μὴ τῆς ὑπερούσων: so Ar. *Pol.* iii. 9, 8, τὰ ἐνδήμα are home affairs, τὰ ὑπερόρα foreign affairs: cf. Thuc. i. 70, 4, ἀπόδημηταλ πρὸς ἐνδημοταύων 'most stay-at-home people'. For the concrete use of ἄρχαι, see note on τὰ τέλη, iv. 15, 1.

61. ἐσοφρούντων—'administer the oath'; Dem. *Meid.* 535, § 65: in Hdt. iii. 133, and iv. 154, ἐσοφροῦ takes the accusative and denotes binding a person by oath.
ib. oì ὀγδοηκοντά—nothing is known of these. They may have been a more aristocratical council than the βουλή, and the ἀρτύναι may have been the presiding officers, who, as Müller suggests, had succeeded to the civil authority of the kings (Arnold). If αἱ ἀρτύναι is the right reading, it is analogous to αἱ ἀρχαί: oι ἀρτύναι (Duker) would come from ἀρτύνας (ης). Poppo suggests oι ἀρτύναι, a form found in Plutarch.

62. oι δημιουργοί—a common title of the magistrates in the Peloponnesian states, with the exception of Lacedaemon. In i. 56, 2, επιδημιουργοί are officials sent from Corinth to the colony of Potidæa. oι θεώροι—'a sacred college, whose functions were perpetual, like the colleges of pontifices and augurs at Rome. Like the Pythii at Lacedaemon, they had the care of all oracles delivered to the state, and probably had a general control over religious matters' (Arnold).

64. oι τά τέλη ἐξοντες—Arnold says that the phrase is not simply equivalent to oι ἐν τέλει or τά τέλη. He believes that some particular 'council of administration' is probably meant, smaller than the general council of six hundred. Krüger brackets the words as spurious, the phrase being unusual. In iv. 118, 7, τέλος ἐξοντες means 'having full powers'.

66. ἀνανεόσθαι—see ch. 18, 61. Arnold points out that the times specified were such that the renewal of the oaths might be completed on both sides before the return of their respective great public festivals. The great Panathenaea were celebrated every four years, in the third year of the Olympiad.

74. ἐν ἄγορᾳ—ch. 18, 64, note: ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ, as below, is more common.

76. καταθέντων—'deposit', instead of the more usual στήσατ (ch. 18, 62); this tablet and inscription would be in the care of the Eleans. τοῖς νυνὶ—at the Olympian festival which was close at hand, ch. 49, init.

CHAPTER XLVIII

1. αἱ ξυμμαχίαι—Classen reads ἡ ξυμμαχία, as in ch. 27, 2, where see note. Here at any rate the plural seems unobjectionable, as four contracting powers are concerned.
CHAPTER XLVIII (B.C. 420) 163

3. οὐκ ἀπελήφηντο—'were not renounced'; the active is not uncommon in this sense. The pluperfect denotes not only the fact, but the state of things resulting, i.e., the continuance of the alliance between Athens and Sparta; see note on iv. 13, 1.

ib. οὐδ' ὑπ' ἐτέρων—ii. 67, 5 μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων etc.: so Dem. Aeschin. etc. εὐ οὐδετέροις and the like forms are characteristic of late Greek (Krüger).

4. Κορίνθιοι δὲ κ.τ.λ.—though the Corinthians had become allies of Argos (ch. 31, 28) they would not join the new league, just as they had before refused to be parties to an offensive and defensive alliance. We have no particulars of this in ch. 29—31; but it would seem that the other confederates of Argos had made such an alliance, while the Corinthians had only concluded a defensive treaty, as they originally proposed (ch. 27, 15). This treaty they now call τὴν πρώτην γενομένην ἐπιμαχίαν. The words ἀλλὰ καὶ...οὐ εἰνώμοσαν are thus parenthetical, and ἀρκεῖν δ' ἐφασαν carries on the sense from οὐκ ἐσπέλθον.

9. τὴν πρώτην γενομένην—so iv. 38, 3, ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας. ἐπιμαχίαν—a defensive alliance; i. 44, 1, ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο τῇ ἄλλῃ λων βοηθεῖν. The verb has been noticed ch. 27, 16. These words do not occur elsewhere in Thucydides.

10. οὐ μὲν—so ch. 67, 11: iv. 32, 1 etc.: a fresh sentence more commonly begins with οὐ μὲν οὖν or καὶ οὐ μὲν. ἰπρόσ... ἐχον—cf. ch. 44, 8.

CHAPTER XLIX

1. Ὁλύμπια...οῖς—so iii. 8, ὡς δὲ Ὅλυμπιάς ὡς Δωρικὰς τὸ δεύτερον ἐνικᾷ. οἷς and ὡς, datives of time or date, may explain such constructions as ii. 20, 1, ἐκέειν τῇ ἐσβολῇ: iv. 26, 7, γαλήνη 'in a calm'. Editors note that in later times it was generally the victor in the στάδιον whose name was associated with the Olympiad. Possibly Thucydides names athletes of unusual distinction. See Lid. and Scott for the difference between Ὁλύμπια and Ὅλυμπιάς.

3. ἐνικα—'was victorious'; the imperfect is the regular usage with νικώ even when a single definite victory is in
question: i. 13 fin. Καρχηδονιώς ἑνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες: so with κρατῶ etc. (Goodwin § 27). In vi. 16, 2, however, where Alcibiades is speaking of his Olympic victory, he says ἑνίκησα δὲ, ‘I won the prize’; regarding his former victory as a single fact now entirely past; see note on ch. 51, 8.

5. τὴν δίκην—‘the penalty’; an uncommon use of the word to denote a specific fine. Such passages as Soph. Aj. 113, κεῖνος δὲ τίσει τὴνδὲ κοῦκ ἄλλην δίκην, are only partly analogous. ἐν τῷ...νόμῳ—‘in accordance with’; i. 77, 1, ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις: ch. 31, 23, ἐν τῷ: Dem. Lept. 497, § 131, τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐν οἷς ἀτελεῖς εἶσιν. The expression, as Arnold says, seems to denote what was specified in the law; he compares vii. 11, 1, τὰ μὲν πραξάντα ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἵστε.

6. κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν—‘had got them condemned to pay’: καταδίκαζω, like other legal words (e.g. τιμᾶν, τιμᾶσθαι), is used in the active of the court which pronounces the judgment, in the middle of the plaintiff in whose interest the court acts: Dem. Meid. 571, § 176, δίκην ἐμπορικὴν καταδικασάμενος Μενίππου, ‘having obtained a verdict in a mercantile suit against Menippus’. In the present case the plaintiffs and judges would seem to have been more or less identical, being Eleans; but no complaint is made of this, the only dispute being about the facts.

7. φάσκοντες (ἐς) σφάς—ἐς is a conjecture which is due to Shilleto. It might have easily dropped out after the word before, and it gives an excellent sense, the Eleans complaining that ‘their territory was invaded’ at two points; cf. iv. 77, 1, ὁπιτείνων ἐς Βοιωτίαν. The manuscript reading, φάσκοντες σφάς, is very suspicious. Classen refers σφάς to Λακεδαιμονία, the main subject of the sentence, and explains a similar σφάς in vi. 61, 5, in the same way. See note on σφίσι, ch. 38, 22. Jowett, on the other hand, considers that the Herodotean usage of σφάς etc. for aὐτῶς is not altogether extinct in Thucydides, especially when repetition is to be avoided. Many editors adopt Dobree’s conjecture σφὼν, comparing such phrases as viii. 96, 2, σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν. σφίσιν might also be suggested.

The military operations of which Elis complained must have taken place after what is related in ch. 31, 20, unless
indeed that account is partly anticipatory. Possibly, as Grote suggests, the Eleans had renewed their attacks on the district of Lepreum.

8. αὐτῶν—dependent on Λέπρεων according to most editors: Jowett however seems right in taking it with ὀπλίτας. We have seen (ch. 31) that the Eleans refused to accept the award of the independence of Lepreum, after being strengthened by their new allies. Classen inserts χιλιου before ὀπλίτας.

10. καταδίκη—'fine'; (Dem.) Euer. 1154, § 51. ἤσαν—cf. i. 10, 1, Μυκηταί μικρὸς ἦν. Arnold points out that two minae was the ordinary ransom of a Peloponnesian soldier taken prisoner in battle; Hdt. vi. 79, ἄτωνα δὲ ἔστε Πελοποννησίους δύο μὲνει τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμαλώτων ἐκτίνειν.

13. καταδεδικάσθαι—probably passive impersonal or with τὴν δικηρ implied as subject, like ἐὰν δ' ἀργυρίῳ τιμηθῇ (Timocr. 721), and similar phrases in Demosthenes. Classen however takes it as middle, which is possible so far as the form is concerned.

15. 'Ἡλεῖοι δὲ—'the Eleans maintained that the truce at Elis was already in force &c.' They were thus precluded from resisting the Spartan aggression. How the Spartans were to be expected to know that the truce had begun does not appear; the Eleans seem to have had the entire regulation of all matters concerning the Olympic festival.

22. διλ' οὐχ ὡς νοµίζοντας—lit. 'but that they had done this (announced the treaty) not if they considered themselves wronged (but as if they did not)'. Krüger (Grammar § 67, 4) shows the elliptical nature of such constructions; cf. Eur. Hip. 699, ἡτοῦσα φάρμακ' ἡδον οὐχ ἄβουλήμην: Xen. Mem. i. 1, 19, Σωκράτης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοῦ ἐνδυμαζέν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ δι' ἥδονος οἱ πολλοί νοµίζοντο.

ib. καὶ...ἐπενεγκείν—'and that they (the Lacedaemonians) had not after this attacked them at any point'. Note the change of subject.
25. τοῦ αὐτοῦ...ἐξὸντο — 'held to the same statement'; iv. 66, 2, τοῦτον τοῦ λόγου ἔχεσθαι: Hdt. vii. 5, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο: vii. 6, τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι. μὴ ἄν πεισθῆναι — 'they could not be convinced'; i. 139, 1, προδλεγον μὴ ἄν γενέσθαι πόλεμον: vi. 102 fin. νομίζοντες μὴ ἄν ἔτι ικανοὶ γενέσθαι: but iv. 99, 2, νομίζοντες...οὐκ ἄν κρατῆσαι. There seems no difference in meaning between the two forms of expression; though ὅ is the more regular, being retained from the direct speech: see Goodwin, § 685: Madvig's Syntax, § 205. Can any difference in meaning be seen between λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγελθαί πώ (line 13) and ὑπελέμβανον...οὐδαμόσε ἐπενεγκεῖν (line 23)? Both represent a direct statement with ὅ.

27. γίγνεται — 'becomes due': Dem. Timocr. 726, § 83, τὸ τίμημα τὸ γιγνόμενον.

CHAPTER L

5. ἀπομόσαι — this is the invariable reading, and is interpreted 'to swear solemnly'. Elsewhere ἀπόμυνωμι always has a negative force, and means 'to disclaim on oath'. Should ἀπομόσαι be read here? Arnold suggests that ἀπομόσαι may perhaps be justified, as the oath would be exculpatory in effect.

8. θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων — usually regarded as explanatory of τοῦ ἱεροῦ, and coordinate in construction. Some authorities however take τοῦ ἱεροῦ as dependent on θυσίας, or conversely translate, 'from the sacred observance of sacrifice'. The position of the article is against such renderings. Krüger suggests that θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων may be a note interpolated from ch. 49, 4.

9. θεώρουν — were formally represented by their θεώροι: viii. 10 init. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔθεωρουν ἐς αὐτά (τὰ Ἡσυχία). Individual Spartans were not excluded.

11. ξὺν δύπλοις — 'under arms'; one of the regular phrases in which ξὺν is used in prose. Classen unaccountably takes τῶν νεωτέρων as dependent on δύπλοις, and naturally calls it a strange expression. Surely the construction is obvious even
without such instances as νεών τριῶν φυλακή (ii. 93 fin.): τὴν φυλακήν τῶν τρεῖρων ἔλανθανον (iv. 26, 7).

13. ἐν Ἀργεῖ ἵππευμον—'had been waiting at Argos for the feast', and then moved towards Olympia (Jowett). This is a legitimate sense of the imperfect, referring to duration of time before ἡλθον; cf. i. 9, 2, δόσων Εὐρυσθέας ἴρχη τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν. Otherwise the reading ἐν Ἀργεῖ must be wrong, as Argos was seventy or eighty miles off. Classen accordingly adopts ἐν Ἀρτίνη, Harpina being a town in the valley of the Alpheus, 20 stadia from Olympia. It seems however natural that Argos, the head of the league with Athens, would find quarters for an Athenian detachment, which had probably been sent in readiness by the advice of Alcibiades.

16. Λίχας—Lichas was a man of eminence. He was one of the envoys to Argos, ch. 22, 11 (cf. ch. 76, 13), and is mentioned several times in the eighth Book. ἐν τῷ ἀγώνι—'

on the course' or place of contest, an Homeric use; so infr. line 20. Otherwise the meaning might be 'in the midst of the assembly' or 'during the meeting'.

17. ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδοῦχον—the ῥαβδοῦχοι were probably the officials acting under orders from the presiding Ἐλλασοδίκαι or ἀγωνοθήται, rather than those authorities themselves. πληγὸς λαμβάνω is the regular phrase for 'being beaten' and is accordingly constructed with ὑπὸ. For the 'defective verb τόπτο', see the Appendix to Sandys' Private Orations of Demosthenes.

Grote points out how much less harsh and rough, by comparison with this incident, was the manner of dealing at Athens, where personal violence was illegal. He adds 'the boldness of the Eleans in putting this affront upon the most powerful state in Greece is so astonishing, that we can hardly be mistaken in supposing their proceeding to have been suggested by Alcibiades and encouraged by the armed aid from the allies. He was at this moment not less ostentatious in humiliating Sparta than in showing off Athens' (ch. 55).

18. νικῶντος—ch. 49, 2. ξέγονος—chariot and pair. Whether Lichas won the final heat we do not know, or even whether there were more heats than one. Grote (ch. 55) discusses the matter at length, and strives to show that this was the Olympian festival at which Alcibiades made his unparalleled display of magnificence as θεωρός, and entered seven chariots, taking the first, second and fourth place (vi. 16, 2).
19. Βοωτάν δημοσίου—Lichas had entered his chariot under the name of the 'Boeotian community', which was accordingly declared victorious: Xen. Hell. iii. 2, 21, Λίχα παρασώντος Θεσπάλου το ἄρμα. δημόσιον may mean a state, as in Hdt. i. 14, Κορωβίων τοῦ δημοσίου: and the article is omitted, as it often is with quasi-proper names, so ch. 18, 42, ἐν δημοσίῳ (ἐν τῷ just before): vi. 31, 3, ἐκ δημοσίου. Poppo suggests that δημοσίου might possibly be taken as an adjective agreeing with ἐπίγονος, 'his chariot being proclaimed as belonging to the Boeotian state'. States, like kings, seem to have competed in the race; cf. vi. 16, 2, where Alcibiades says that he entered more chariots than any private person before him.

19. οὐκ ἐξοντάν—see note on ch. 35, 7. ἁγώνιος is not found elsewhere in classical Greek. ἀνέθησε—iv. 121, 1, στεφάνῳ ἀνέθησαν.

24. ἡσύχασαν—the aorist, 'became quiet' or 'were pacified', suggests that they had actually made some threatening movement; otherwise we should expect the imperfect: cf. viii. 86, 2, μόλις ἑσύχασαν ἡσύχασαν. ἀντίσ—'as for them'; ch. 3, 24. The Lacedaemonians seem meant, though Krüger refers the word to πάντες. Twelve years afterwards the Spartans avenged the insult they had received, by invading and ravaging the land of Elis; Xen. Hell. iii. 2, 23—31.

28. τέλος—'finally'; ii. 100 fin. τέλος ἑσύχασαν ἡγοῦν: vii. 44, 7 etc.

CHAPTER LI

1. 'Ἡρακλεώτατις—see note on iv. 78, 1. The establishment of Heraclea as a Lacedaemonian colony and place of arms, and the hostility with which it was regarded by the neighbouring Thessalians, are described in iii. 92, 93. In those chapters we have terms corresponding to those in the present passage. For πολέμα τὴν cf. iii. 93, 2, διὰ πάντας ἑπολέμην: for ἐπὶ...εἰσεισθή ib. ὡν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐτειχίζετο (so iv. 75, 1, ἐπὶ τῇ Σάμῳ, of a standing menace): for καθισταμένη passive, iii. 92, 4, καλῶς ἐδόκει καθιστασθαι: for φθειρόντες, iii. 93, 2, ἐφθειρον
CHAPTER LI (B.C. 420) 169

6. εὐθὺς τε...καὶ τότε—see note on ch. 43, 16.

8. ἐνικήσαν—so i. 29, 4, where Classen points out that the aorist is used, instead of the more common imperfect, to denote the single fact of victory, without reference to the state of things resulting. See ch. 49, 3, note.

9. Ξενάρης—the ephor named in ch. 36, 9. Κυίδιος, if the reading is right, seems to be genitive of Κυίδιος, Ionic in form, like Αφώτιος, i. 64, 2; Ποδίζος, iv. 107, 3. Κνίδιος however is an unknown name.

CHAPTER LII

3. παρέλαβον—'took into their own hands'; so twice in iii. 50. τὸν—so iii. 25, 1, Σάλαβως ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος: iii. 100, 2, Μακάριος καὶ Μενεδάιος οἱ Σιπτριάται etc. The article in such instances does not seem to imply previous mention or special distinction. Sometimes indeed there may be an idea of opposition, as in this instance between the Lacedaemonian governor and the other colonists.

4. ὅς οὗ καλῶς—see the end of iii. 93, where the ruin of Heraclea is attributed to the Spartan governors. ἔξεπεμψαν is a milder word than ἔξεβαλον: cf. iv. 49.

6. τὰ κατὰ—determinant accusative; ii. 96, 3, οὗ ὠρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Πάινας. Such phrases as iii. 6, 2, τὰ περὶ Μυτιλήνης οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο, are open to doubt. Classen takes them as nominative; Poppo and Krüger as accusative with an impersonal passive verb: see ch. 26, 32.

12. τῶν αὐτῶν—partitive genitive; iv. 80, 2, τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐκπέμψατο. παραλαβῶν is used like παρακαλῶν in ch. 6, 20.

15. Πατρέας—Hdt. i. 145, Πατρέας: Πάτραι (now Patras) was the name of the place; Thuc. ii. 83, 3, ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαλας. τείχη καθεῖναι—cf. iv. 103, 5, οὗ καθεῖτο τείχη. The Athenians would thus have a secure naval station at Patrae, which would command the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, being seawards.
of Rhium and Naupactus. On the same principle they had built the long walls at Megara, and garrisoned them themselves (iv. 103, 4).

16. ἔτερον—sc. τείχος, perhaps now, as Poppo suggests, in the sense of fortified position. τῷ Ρίῳ—see ii. 84, 4 and 86, 2 for the opposite promontories called Rhium.

18. οἷς ἦν ἐν βλάβη τειχισθέν—'who would be injured by its construction'; or perhaps 'who considered that they would be injured'; lit. 'to whom it was being (was likely to be) injurious'. The imperfect indicative without ἔν is used in certain cases of (generally unfulfilled) condition, e.g. ἔχρων, ἔδει, ἄραγκαζόμην, κίνδυνος ἦν etc. (Goodwin § 416 sq.: Krüger's Grammar § 53, 2, 7): ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ is therefore not irregular. For the combination with τειχισθέν = ἐτείχισθη (or τει- 
χισθείη), cf. viii. 92, 10, ἡρώτων εἶ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ τὸ τείχος ἁμείνον εἶναι καθαρεθέν = τὸ καθαρεθήναι τὸ τείχος: so i. 100, 3, οἷς πολέμῳν ἦν τὸ χωρίον κτιζόμενον. Dobree, who considered ἔν to be necessary here, proposed to read οἷς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ, but ἐν βλάβῃ is an idiomatic phrase, equivalent to an adjective, which should in any case be retained: cf. Hdt. iv. 139, Σκόπησε ἐστι ἐν ἡδονῇ: Eur. Ιφ. T. 494, εἶ σοι τούτῳ ἐν ἡδονῇ μαθεῖν: so Tac. Ann. xii. 15, nec fuit in arduo societas.

CHAPTER LIII

2. προφάσει μὲν—so vi. 76, 2, προφάσει μὲν...διανολα δέ: The accusative is also used, as in ch. 80, 21: iii. 111, 1. Here μὲν is answered by ἐδοκεὶ δέ. Πυθαίως—from nom. Πυθαίως: so Μητέως, iv. 100, 1. The mss. have Πυθίως. Arnold believes that a temple at Argos is meant. Poppo and Classen refer the passage to a temple at Asine, which the Argives, according to Pausanias, left standing after the destruction of the town. In any case a sacrifice seems to have been due from Epidaurus to the temple, in acknowledgement of some privilege of pasturage or the like.

4. ἀπαγαγεῖν...ἀπέπεμπον—compounds like ἀποδίδοναι, 'to pay when due': Ar. Αἰχ. 643, τὸν φόρον ύμῖν ἀπάγωντες: so Vesp. 707: cf. reddere rationem, poenas, etc.
5. **botamίωv**—apparently ‘pasture-lands’, but not found elsewhere. Stahl reads *botamίν*, comparing Plat. *Rep.* 401 b, ἐν κακῇ *botamίν* ‘in bad pasture’; but there the word means food rather than land. Poppo adopts the reading of some manuscripts, *παραποταμίων* ‘river-side lands’. *botamίωn* ‘sacrifices’ (Doric for *bouter*) has also been suggested; with the meaning that Epidaurus neglected to send the necessary victims which entitled them to share in religious rites. No word of the kind is however known, as is shown in Poppo’s edition.

6. **tῆς alίs**—‘this ground of complaint’, lit. ‘their’, that which they had. For *alίs* cf. iv. 85, 1 etc.

8. **tῆς τε Κορίνθου κ.τ.λ.—**‘both to ensure the neutrality of Corinth, and because they thought that the Athenians would thus have a shorter distance to bring forces from Aegina’. The construction in the clause with *τε* is slightly changed, and *έσεσθαι* depends on the sense supplied from *έδοκεν*: so iii. 94, 3, ἀναπείθεται Ἀθηναίος ἐπιθέτησαι, Ναυτάκτη τε πολεμίων ὁδι, καί... *προσομήσεων: iv. 3, 3, τῷ δὲ διάφορῷ τι *έδοκεν, λιμένος τε προσόντας, καὶ τοὺς Μεσοπήνως...έσεσθαι*. In all three instances two reasons are given in clauses with *τε* and *καί*, and the clause with *καί*, instead of corresponding to that with *τε*, is accommodated to the construction which would have followed the main verb.

Here *έδοκεν* first means ‘seemed good’; then the idea of seeming only is carried on. We have the converse Eur. *Iph.* T. 279, ἐδοξε δ’ ἠμῶν εὖ λέγειν τοῖς πλείοις, θηράν τε τῇ θεῷ σφάγια τάπιχώρα, i.e. we decided to do so.

The Corinthians had taken a suspicious attitude, as we see from the end of ch. 48, and *βοήθειαν* means aid to the confederacy and Argos in particular.

10. **...περιπλείν—**so iv. 66, 3, ὑμῖς τοὺς ἐλάσσονες πράποι τὸν κινδύνουν ἣ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας κατελθεῖν: vi. 60, 3, βεβαιοτέραν σωτηρίαν...*...ἐλθεῖν*. In these passages the infinitive is written, without any real construction, when a dative participle or verb with *εί* might be expected. So we might say, ‘it was a shorter distance to send aid than rounding Scyllaeum’. From Aegina to Epidaurus was a straight passage, and the distance by land to Argos was not great.

12. **διά τοῦ θύματος τῆς έσπραξίν**—‘for the sake of exacting the sacrifice’: *διά* is here used in the sense of *έσεκα: see other passages in note on iv. 40, 2, & *άχθηδόνα. Dr Rutherford calls δι’ *άχθηδόνα a late idiom betraying an adscript, but there seem enough instances to support it. For the order cf. i. 32, 2, μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αλήθειας.
3. **Δεύκτρα**—besides the well-known Leuctra in Boeotia, there were two towns in Peloponnesus so called, one s.w. of Sparta, on the coast near the Messenian border, the other n.w. towards the district which afterwards belonged to Megalopolis; this latter is here meant. **Δύκαιον**—sc. ὡρος or ἱερὸν; the neuter adjective applying to either; ch. 16, 32.

6. **αἱ πόλεις**—the Laconian cities; the allies were summoned later on. **διαβατήρια**—sc. ἱερὰ, the sacrifices for crossing the border; so ch. 116, 3. **προῖχωρει**—‘proved favourable’; Xen. Anab. vi. 2, 21, τῶν ἀν τὰ ἱερὰ προῖχωροι ἡμῖν. γιγνεθαι is used in the same way, as in ch. 50, 17.

9. **μελλοντα**—μῆνα would have been added but for the following parenthesis. **Καρνεῖος**—corresponding to Metageitnion at Athens; about August. The name was derived from the festival of Apollo Carneius. **ἱερομήνια**—‘a sacred period’, neuter plural, referring to the whole month, in which there were two festivals besides the Carneia. Elsewhere we have the feminine singular, as in iii. 56, 2; and it is read here by Stahl, as ‘the neuter plural must come from an adjective ἱερομήνιος which occurs nowhere, and Schol. Pind. Nem. iii. 4, uses ἱερομήνια of the entire month’ (F.).

12. **τετράδιφιοντος**—apparently ‘on the fourth day from the end’, like τετάρτῃ ch. 19, 2: but see Lid. and Scott, μῆν. ἄγοντες—‘keeping this day all the time’, i.e. calling every day that the expedition lasted the 27th of the month before Carneius. This explanation, now accepted by all, is due to Grote, who shows (ch. 56) that such tricks with the calendar were by no means unknown. Other explanations formerly suggested were ‘marching during this day’ or ‘though they always observed this day’ while πάντα τὸν χρόνον was diversely joined with ἄγοντες or ἐσέβαλλον (v. 1. ἐσέβαλλον).

16. **τινες οἱ μὲν**—not equivalent to οἱ μὲν τινες, but τινες is divided by apposition into οἱ μὲν...οἱ δὲ: vii. 86, 4, τινὲς, ως ἐλέγετο, οἱ μὲν...ἀλλοι δὲ. Other allies, not included in τινες, seem to have actually responded to the call of Epidaurus; ch. 55, 7. **ἡσύχασον**—either not feeling strong enough to act independently, or deterred by the sacred season.
CHAPTER LV

2. εν τῇ—εν may be at or near, as noted on iv. 5, 1, ὁ στρατὸς εν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς οὐ: or ‘Epidaurus’ may mean the district, as it seems to do in ch. 77 and 80. ἀπὸ τῶν πολέων—from the cities of the league, and the half-neutral Corinth. παρακαλε-σάντων—of summoning allies to a conference, as in ch. 17, 19.

6. σφείς—so iv. 114, 5, τὰ πρῶτα ού σφείς ἀδικείσθαι: viii. 76, 4. The nominative is used when the speaker represents the entire body, and where ἡμεῖς would be emphatically expressed in direct speech: otherwise we have the accusative, as in ch. 65, 7: iv. 36, 1, ἀλλὰς ἐφη ποιεῖν σφᾶς, = he said ἀλλὰς πονούμεν, where see note.

9. ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων—probably to be taken with ἐλθόντας, lit. ‘going from both sides’, i.e. by sending envoys from the partisans of Argos and Epidaurus (or Corinth) respectively. It is also possible to take it with στρατόπεδα, ‘to break up the armies from both sides’; for the position of ἐλθόντας is not opposed to such a rendering. οὔτω = when this was done; ch. 38, 6.

11. πεισθέντες ὄχυντο—the states are identified with their envoys, as in ἐλθόντας before. ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ—iii. 91, 2, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπῆρτων. οὔσ᾽ ὄς—ch. 115, 7: so i. 44, 2, καὶ ὃς ἔσεσθαι: iii. 38, 2, εἰ καὶ ὃς.

16. Καρνᾶς—on the road towards Tegea, north of Sparta. οὔσ’ ἐνταῦθ᾽—any more than at Leuctra, ch. 54, 7. ὃς τὸ τρίτον—iv. 31, 2, ὃς τριάκοντα ὀπλῖται.

21. πυθόμενωι—i.e. they had marched to aid Argos against a threatened invasion. The manuscripts have πυθόμενωι δὲ, which would necessitate taking this clause with what follows, and either (1) giving to the perfect ἔξεστρατεύσθαι the forced sense, ‘had ended their expedition’; or (2) adopting Poppo’s suggestion, that the Athenians had intended to help Argos, not against Spartan invasion, but in attacking Epidaurus, a design which was stopped by the movement of the Spartans. But βοηθεῖν, as Arnold points out on iv. 4, 3, would not be used of an offensive movement, unless it were subordinate to a scheme of defensive operations.

22. καὶ ὃς—so καὶ ch. 56, 22. If πυθόμενοι δὲ were read we might compare ch. 44, 2, ἀκουσάντες...καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν.
Though—so ch. 50, 24. It has been suggested that Thucydides uses this expression here, instead of the more usual τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα, because of the inconclusive character of this summer's doings.

CHAPTER LVI

3. Ἀγησιπτίδας—probably the same as Ἡγησιπτίδας ch. 52, 3. ἐπεκάλουν—of complaining, ch. 50, 29: iv. 23, 1, ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες.

6. γεγραμμένον—accusative absolute, like εἰρημένον, ch. 30, 10: δεδογμένον i. 125, 2. The clause in question is in ch. 47, 35; the Athenians, as masters of the sea, being thus held responsible for maintaining a blockade.

9. τοὺς Μεσσηνίους—see ch. 35, 36. ἀδικήσεωθαί—passive future, as in vi. 87, 4: Eur. Iph. A. 1437 etc.: often in Dem.

11. τῇ Ακαωνικῇ στῆλῃ—see ch. 18, 62: ch. 23, 26. ὑπεγραψαν—this was an intermediate step, to show that they did not renounce the treaty with Lacedaemon utterly. Had they done so, the monument on which the treaty was engraved would have been destroyed altogether: see Dem. Megal. 209, δει τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν τὰς πρὸς Θηβαίους' (Arnold). ὑπογράφω is here used in the literal sense of subjoining or adding a note. In Dem. Pant. 973, ὑπογράφας ἐπιθουλεύσας μὲ αὐτῷ is usually mis-translated: it means 'after starting with the statement that I plotted against him', ὑπὸ being used as in ὑπάρχω, ὑποτίθημι etc. see note on iv. 4, 3. With the present passage Krüger compares Ar. Lys. 513, τί βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ παραγράψαι;

13. τοὺς ἐκ Κρανὶων—see ch. 35, 6: for construction cf. such phrases as οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι, i. 8, 2. ληθεσθαί—infinitive of purpose (Goodwin § 770): cf. vi. 50, 4, δέκα τῶν νεῶν προτεμπυσάν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλεῦσαν. ληθεσθαι seems always middle in Thucydides: Classen accordingly reads ἔληθοντο for ἔληθόν τε, iv. 41, 2.

16. ἐκ παρασκευῆς—ἐκ φανερᾶς παραστάσεως (Schol.): cf. iv. 94, 1, ψίλοι ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὑπλισμέναι, 'regularly armed', ὅσ τόχοιεν—the optative, like the following imperfect, denotes indefinite frequency.
19. πρὸς ἐκαρ ηὔη—ch. 17, 9. ὡς ἐφίμου—'They expected that the forces of the Epidaurians would be dispersed over their whole territory in defending forts and strong positions, on account of the plundering warfare which the Argives were carrying on, and that the city would thus be left defenceless' (Arnold).

CHAPTER LVII

2. αὐτοῖς—'seeing their allies' etc.; ch. 3, 24. τάλλα—'the other powers' i.e. states: vi. 16, fin. Πελοποννήσου τὰ δυνατώτατα: cf. ch. 59, 2. The construction which follows is resolved apposition, like ch. 54, 16. ὡς καλῶς—'in an unsatisfactory state', i.e. disaffected or disheartened.

5. προκαταλήψονται—without object expressed; so iii. 2, 3, εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται ηὔη: iii. 3, 2: iii. 46, 4, with ὡς following. αὐτὰ—'this', i.e. the spirit of disaffection, 'the evil would spread' (Jowett): iv. 61, 4, etc. For the whole phrase, cf. Cic. Att. i. 13, 3, vereor ne hoc quod infectum est serpat longius.

10. ὡς ἀλλοι—see ch. 67, 8. ἐσ Φλούντα—Phlius was in the north of Peloponnesus, nearly south of Sicyon. ἀμιπποι—Xen. Hell. vii. 5, 23, πεῖολ ἀμιπποι. Foot-soldiers, armed with missiles, who accompanied the cavalry, and probably if necessary mounted their horses. 'They seem to be the same sort of troops with the ἵπποι ἡμών of Hdt. vii. 158. Their use is described by Caesar B. G. i. 48: B. C. iii. 84' (Arnold). ἐσοι—equal in number, as in iv. 1, 1, Ἀκρίδες ἐσοι.

15. ὡς ἔκαστοι—that is in such numbers as each could furnish; i. 3, 4, 11 ὡς ἔκαστοι Ἐλλήνες. The phrase is elliptical, a verb being in each case implied from the context. ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖνωn—the Phliasians, though just mentioned, are called ἐκεῖnοi because apart from the Lacedaemonians, who are the main subject of the sentence; see note on iv. 37, 2.

CHAPTER LVIII

1. προαιροθέμενοι τὸ τε πρῶτον—answered by καὶ ἐπείδῃ, the participial construction being dropped in the second clause; ch. 44 begins with a similar sentence. 'The Argives received
the first intimation of the intention of the Lacedaemonians from the preparations of their allies; afterwards their purpose was more distinctly revealed by the march of the troops to Phlius. τότε δὴ refers only to the clause beginning καὶ ἐπείδη. The sentence would have run more regularly, προῆθουσα τε...καὶ ἐπείδη κ.τ.λ.' (Jowett).

Classen prefers to read τότε πρῶτον and to omit καὶ before ἐπείδη. τότε πρῶτον then refers to the gathering of troops by the Spartans (ch. 57). This certainly simplifies the construction, but the sentence seems to lose its Thucydidean character, and the repetition τότε πρῶτον...τότε δή is awkward.

4. προσμιξα—ch. 72, 8: also used of approaching an enemy (iv. 93, 1): and of coming to close quarters (iv. 33, 2, etc.).

8. Μεθυδρίῳ—Methydrion lay to the west of Mantinea, beyond a mountain ridge. Arnold points out that the Spartans took a circuitous route to Phlius, to avoid the territory of Mantinea.

9. καταλαμβάνοντι—of taking up a military position; iv. 1, 1, note. μεμονωμένοις, as in ch. 8, 18, means ‘without allies present’, rather than ‘deserted by allies’.

12. ἀναστήσας—iv. 93, 1, ἀναστήσας ἦγε τὸν στρατὸν. ἐπορεύετο—began or continued his march. The route would be by Orchomenus to the north of Mantinea. Agis effected the junction with his allies, or at any rate opened communications with them, as we find the whole force after this acting in concert.

16. τὴν κατὰ Νεμέαν ὀδόν—the accusative seems not to be governed by ἐχώρουν ἐς, but rather to be explanatory of ἦ προσεδέχοντο and dependent on καταβήσεσθαι. κατὰ—‘by way of’; as we should say, they took the Nemean road: vii. 80, 1, ἦν ἦ ὄδος κατὰ τὸ ἑτέρων μέρος τῆς Σικελίας. Nemea was north of Argos, between Cleonae and Phlius.

17. ταύτην—ch. 10, 31: iii. 24, 1, ἐχώρουν τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὀδόν. The allied troops entered the enemy’s territory in three divisions, two of which crossed the mountains into Argolis, while the third, with the cavalry, went northwards by the regular road to Nemea.

22. ὀρθὸν—‘steep’; with two terminations, as in Eur. Hel. 632. ὀρθρόν has good manuscript authority, and possibly ὀρθριοῦ should be read; see ch. 58, 3, ἡμέρας ἡδη. ἑτέραν ὀρθων ὀρθοῦ however corresponds to χαλεπῆν.
CHAPTER LIX (B.C. 418) 177

23. εἰρητο—so ch. 10, 36: iv. 77, 1, etc. Though the construction is passive, Agis is still the subject in sense, and accordingly σφάς = Agis' division.

CHAPTER LIX

1. διατάξας—iv. 31, 2, ὧδε γὰρ διεστάχατο: iv. 130, 3, διατάσσει ὡς εἰς μάχην, etc. The compound implies the assignment of different posts or duties.

2. Σάμινθον—unknown. For ἀλλα cf. ch. 57, 3, τάλλα. Here however places, not states, are meant. ημέρας ήδη—so i. 30, 4, χειμῶνος ήδη: iii. 24, 3, ἐπεὶ ήδη ημέρα ἐγένετο. This gives some support to the reading ἄρθροι, ch. 58, 22.

7. οὐ πολλῷ πλείους—appositional, lit. 'in a rather greater number'; so ch. 115, 4. ἐξώρουν—possibly = 'had been marching' i.e. during the night; see note on ch. 50, 13: but perhaps simply 'continued their march.' They had taken the longer and more level road by Nemea. The tenses throughout, as in all military descriptions, are to be carefully watched.

10. κατέλαβον—'found,' sc. there: in this sense, as Clausen points out, this verb is generally followed by a participle or some note of place. καταβαντες—sc. the Argives. They had marched down from Nemea at once, and were now getting into battle array.

13. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ—on the south the Spartans under Agis occupied the plain, and cut them off from Argos; to the west the Corinthians occupied the mountain ridges, and threatened their flank; while from the north the Boeotian cavalry and the rest of that division were closing on their rear.

16. τὸ δὲ—iv. 108, 1, τὰ πρὸς 'Ηλύνα πηγομένων. πρὸς Νευμάς—iv. 100, 3, τὸ πρὸς έαυτῶν ἄκρον. ἔποι ὧδε—there was then no Peloponnesian cavalry on either side.

20. οὔx οὔτω—as we say 'not so great' = not very; so non ita: ii. 11, 6, ovd' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον οὔτω πόλιν. Such expressions are elliptical, at any rate originally. ἐν καλῷ—under favourable conditions, see ch. 46, 8.
22. ἀπειληφέναι—sc. αὐτός: the construction reverts to the original subject, as if the clause with ἄλλα were a mere parenthesis, ἐνδομίζων or ἐδόκουν being supplied.

24. τῶν πέντε στρατηγῶν—seemingly corresponding to the πέντε λόγοι, ch. 72, 24. Arnold says these were not originally military but political divisions. The strategi at Argos, as at Athens, were probably the heads of the war department.

26. ὁσον οὐ—iv. 36, 1, ἐς τὸν ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον. ξυνόντων—iv. 94, 2, ἦδη μελλόντων ξυνέναι. μὴ ποιεῖν μάχην—the active is used of the commander who orders or brings on the battle; so iv. 91, 2. μάχην ποιεῖσθαι is 'to fight', as in ch. 65, 20. In construction the infinitive depends on the sense of requesting implied in διελεγέσθην.

28. δικασ...δούναι—see ch. 27, 14. ἐπικαλοῦσιν—i. 139, 2, ἐπικαλούντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦαι: iv. 133, 1, without dative of the person expressed: see ch. 83, 17.

CHAPTER LX

1. οἱ μὲν—answered by οἱ δὲ, line 10. These particles mark the two main antithetical divisions of the chapter. On the one hand the Argive chiefs acted independently, and so did Agis in accepting their proposals; on the other hand the Lacedaemonians, though they obeyed Agis, were indignant at his conduct, and the Argives were no less enraged with Thrasyllus and Alciphron.

2. τῶν Ἀργείων—partitive genitive dependent on οἱ ταῦτα εἰπόντες: cf. iii. 28, 2, οἱ δὲ πράξαντες μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους τῶν Μυτιληναίων. There seems no ground for taking τῶν Ἀργείων as dependent on ταῦτα, as Classen does; or for omitting the words, as others propose. They are in fact necessary to make the sense clear. ἄφ' ἐντόν—'of themselves', on their own authority; iv. 68, 2, ἄφ' ἐντόν γρώμης.

3. καὶ ὁ Ἀγις—'and Agis likewise'; this is a subordinate part of the main division under μὲν, αὐτός—'by himself', on his own authority. οὐδὲ—no more than the two Argives.

6. ἄλλα ἦ—'except'; ch. 80, 8: iii. 71, 1, μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἄλλα ἦ μιᾶ νηλ ἤσυχάζοντας. κοινῶσας—without an ex-
pressed object, as we say ‘having communicated with’: so iv. 2, 1, etc. τῶν ἐν τέλει—two ephors, besides other officials, accompanied the king on service. They are enumerated in Arnold’s note. Classen suggests ξυστρατευομένως as a possible alteration for ξυστρατευομένων.

8. οἴει—‘they were to’, as arranged with Agis. τῶν ἀλλῶν ξυμμάχων—as opposed to the Lacedaemonians. ἀλλος is used, as in i. 128, 5, κρύφα τῶν ἀλλῶν ξυμμάχων, for the sake of sharper contrast. Krüger suggests ξυμπράχοντων or ξυμβούλων, but no change seems required.

12. ἐν αἰτίᾳ—i. 35, 4, ἐν πλείονι αἰτίᾳ ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν: so infr. line 25. παρατυχόν—so i. 76, 2: line 29, παρασχόν. αὐτῶν means the Argives and their allies: it is a good instance of the sense of this word being gathered from the context. ἄξιον—so v. 34, 1, ἄξια τῆς προσδοκίας: vi. 21, 1, ἄξιον τῆς διανοίας.

16. στρατόπεδον...ξυγιλθεν—this clause resembles i. 1, 2, κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο: where Classen collects a number of similar sentences, e.g. i. 50, 2, ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὕτης γεγένηται. In these instances the pronoun (τούτο), which is the subject, is placed between the substantive (στρατόπεδον), which is appositional, and a superlative (κάλλιστον) which with the verb (ξυγιλθεν) forms the predicate. Ἑλληνικῶν is appositional with a limiting force: the whole being equivalent to τούτο κάλλιστον ἣν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων ἡ μέχρι τοῦ ἐξελόθην. The initial substantive from its position is in effect like a genitive plural (στρατοπέδων), introducing a general idea of which a particular case is to be described. Classen also cites a few variations from the regular arrangement.

17. κάλλιστον τῶν—see last note: so i. 1, 1, ἄξιολογῶτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, where Classen compares Tac. Hist. i. 50, solus omnium ante se principum. Milton imitates the construction: Paradise Lost, iv. 324,

Adam the goodliest of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

So Midsummer Night’s Dream, v. 1. 239,

This is the greatest error of all the rest.

This army was κάλλιστον, being composed of picked troops. Others may have been larger, for instance the force under Pausanias at Plataea.
18. ὧφθη—sc. κάλλιστον ὄν. ἄθροον—apparently the whole force was collected at Nemea, after withdrawing from before Argos; or ὄν may simply mean 'near'. The army then marched away by the regular Nemean road, and broke up. ἐν ἕ—when the divisions were united. The phrase refers to circumstances previously mentioned; iv. 18, 2, ἐν ἕ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὄμοιος ὑπάρχει. Krüger renders it 'at which point', saying that παρῆσαν would be required if time were meant.

19. πανστρατιά—both position and sense show that this belongs to the Lacedaemonians only, who had marched out πανδημεί: see ch. 57. The Phliasians, it is true, had called out their whole force, but here they are merely named in the general list of the allies, the rest of whom were represented by picked contingents. Those editors who refer πανστρατιά to all the nominatives are obliged to render it 'with all the troops they had in the field'; which is simply explaining the word away.

21. καὶ οὗτοι—'these also being picked men', in apposition to the preceding subjects. ἄξιώμαχοι δοκοῦντες—'looking a match,' rather than 'thinking themselves', cf. ὧφθη supra. καὶ ἄλλη—this is the manuscript reading, and represents ἄξιώμαχοι ἔδοκον εἶναι καὶ ἄλλη ἑξιμαχία προσγενομένη (= εἰ προσγένετο), which is perfectly good Greek and gives a satisfactory sense. Krüger however and others adopt κάν ἄλλη, on the ground that the idea represented is καὶ ἄλλη ἄν ἄξιωμαχοι ἔδοκον εἶναι εἰ προσγένετο. I cannot see that the alteration is necessary, or even desirable: cf. note on τειχωθέν, ch. 52, 17; and Goodwin § 213—217, for ὄν with participles.

24. στρατόπεδον—followed by the plural; so i. 89, 3, Ἀθηναίων τὸ κοινὸν...διεκομίζοντο: iii. 80, 1, ὅ δῆμος...ξεσαν ἐς λόγου. ἀνεχώρουν, like εἶποντο, line 11, denotes the beginning and continuance of the retreat.

26. καὶ αὐτοῖ—'on their own part also'. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι—i.e. no less than the Lacedaemonians, with whom they are emphatically contrasted by the use of this pronoun; cf. iv. 73, 4, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...ἡσύχαξον καὶ αὐτοὶ...λογιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων στρατιγοί, where both αὐτοὶ and ἐκεῖνοι refer to the Athenians. See also note on iv. 37, 2, παραβοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίοις ὄστε βουλεύται δι᾽ τι ἄν ἐκεῖνος δοκῇ: and of Shilleto on i. 132, 3.

29. μὴ ἄν...παρασχόν—'when they never could have had a better chance'; see Krüger on i. 76, 1, ἐὰν τάμεν μὴ ἄν ἔσοσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους: and note on ch. 49, 24. For ἄν with a participle, see Goodwin § 41, 3: and for παρασχόν cf. ch. 14, 14.
CHAPTER LXI (B.C. 418)

33. ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ—the bed of a winter torrent, which flows close under the walls of Argos. ‘The military courts were held without the city, because within the walls the ordinary law, with its forms and privileges, would have resumed its authority... So also the Comitia Centuriata at Rome always met in the Campus Martius without the walls, because their original character and divisions were military’ (Arnold).

ib. στρατελας—most mss have στρατας, the usual confusion. περιγγυται—‘saves his life’: Hdt. ix. 121, ἀποδόσω τάλαντα δίηκοσια περιγγυται, ‘if my life be spared’.

CHAPTER LXI

3. Λάχνηs—most probably the same who commanded the first expedition to Sicily (iii. 86, 1), and was superseded by Pythodorus. His name appears among the signatories to the treaty and alliance in ch. 19 and 24. Nicostratus was sent to Corcyra in 427 (iii. 75); was employed on the Laconian coast in 424 (iv. 53); and in the Macedonian expedition in 423 (iv. 129 sq.).

4. ὑποσ—though indignant and disgusted at the arrangement made; cf. ch. 46, 4: iii. 28, 2, ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ὑπὸς καθι-γοσι, i.e. although terms had been promised.

7. χρηματισταῖ—ch. 5. 3. πρίν ἔ—Lid. and Scott say πρὶν ἔ ‘occurs here and there in Attic Greek, from which it is sometimes removed by correction: it is common in later Greek’. This, if right, is a solitary instance in Thucydides. Perhaps πρὶν δῆ, which is common, or πρὶν οἱ should be read. For πρὶν with the indicative, in the sense of ‘until’, referring to a definite past action, see i. 51, 1: ii. 65, 2, etc. It generally follows a negative (Goodwin § 634).

8. ἐπὶ γάρ—ch. 58, 5. προσβευτοῦ παρόντος—‘being there in the capacity of envoy’; and no longer holding a military command. Stahl proposes παρόντος ‘coming forward’ to speak, but this is no improvement. The statement that Alcibiades was the representative of Athens implies that he was spokesman.

10. ἐν τῇ τοῖς—= ἐν τοῖς τῇ. Classen considers ταῦτα unsatisfactory and reads ταῦτα, believing that separate assemblies
were held, which is also suggested by τε and καί. Most authorities suppose that the allies were merely present in the Argive assembly.

11. οὐκ ὅρθως αἰ σπονδαὶ—the influence of the ‘wrongful truce’, which stands first in order, is felt throughout the sentence, though the wording is modified in the second part. ἀνευ—so ch. 60, 28: iv. 78, 3, ἀνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ.

12. καὶ γένοιτο—probably καί, in the sense of ‘both’ connects this with καὶ νῦν κ.τ.λ., the conjunctions coupling the two points on which the Athenians insist, the wrong already done them by the treaty, and the present obligation of immediate action. καί is then irregularly placed, as noted on ch. 16, 15, and stands where it does to emphasize the antithesis. Krüger however holds that καί simply emphasizes γένοιτο, the sense being that ‘even the making of the truce was a wrong’.

13. πελαγρέτες—the subject at first is the Athenians alone, then by apposition it expands into πάντες: cf. iv. 69, 1, γρώντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ...ἡ στρατιὰ...ἀπεσταύρων: so in iv. 108, 3, εἰσωθέτες οἱ ἀνθρώποι, where certain particular colonists are the original subject of the sentence.

14. τοῦ Ἄρκαδίκον—as distinguished from Orchomenos in Boeotia, iii. 87, 4. ὅμως καὶ πελαγρέτες—though convinced they still hung back: Krüger compares Soph. Oed. Col. 666, ὅμως δὲ καμοῦ μὴ παρόντος...τούτων φυλάξει σ’ ἄνομα.

18. προσκαθιέσθενοι—the accusative construction is found with this word in i. 26, 5: i. 61, 2. The same participle occurs also in i. 11, 4: i. 126, 4: i. 134, 2; in each case with some tense of πολιορκεῖν or with a similar word. The form is aorist; see Veitch’s Irregular Greek Verbs.

20. ἄλλως τε...καὶ ἡμᾶν—Poppo says ‘noli δὲi expectare’, and compares i. 110, 2, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τε τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ
CHAPTERS LXI LXII (B.C. 418) 183

έδύναντο ἐλείν, καὶ ἀμα μαχηματαὐς εἰς τῶν Λιγυπτίων οἱ Ἐλεοὶ: vii. 47, 2, τῆς τε ὡςα ταῖτης οὐσῆς...καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀμα ἐλώδες ἦν: so Tac. Hist. i. 76, penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis. προσ-

22. κείμενοι—here and in vi. 61, 3, κείμαι does duty as the perfect passive of κατατίθεσθαι, the regular word for bestowing hostages. δείσαντες—see note on δεῖωσ, ch. 8, 5. πλήθος

24. μὴ προσπάλωνται—sc. before help arrived. The subjunctive depends on δείσαντες by a modification of construction. The clause with ὡς gives the reason of their alarm, 'as they saw no prospect of succour'.

25. ὡστε—iv. 46, 2, ἐνέβησαν ὡστε παραδοίναι. Μαντι-

CHAPTER LXII

3. ἐφ' 5 τι χρῆ—Classen collects instances to show that χρῆ is regularly thus used in reporting deliberation; e.g. i. 40, 5, ἐφησίσαμεν εἰ χρῆ αὐτοῖς ἀμώνεω: see ch. 63, 10. ἐκλευον—

6. προσέθεντο—vi. 50, 1, προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκεθίδου γυνῇ: so absolutely 'to vote' i. 20, 4, μα ὑψι προστίθεσθαι.

11. Τεγεατῶν—Classen follows Stahl in reading τῶν for (Τέγεα)τῶν, believing that the reading came from Τεγέα, a gloss on τόλει. ἐνεδίδοσαν— the imperfect denotes intention or arrangement; so iv. 76, 2, Χαρώνειαν ἄλλοι ἐνεδίδοσαν. For the uses of ἐνδοίναι see note on iv. 66, 2.

CHAPTER LXIII

1. Δακεδαλονίοι δὲ—see ch. 60, 12 and 25. This first sentence deals in a parenthetical way with the state of feel-
ing in Sparta before Orchomenos fell. ἐκ Ἀργοῦς—from the
neighbourhood or district of Argos; the converse of the use
of ἐν noted on ch. 55, 2. χειρωσάμενον σφίσιν—so iv. 28, fin.

4. παρασχέον καλῶς—ch. 60, 29; cf. 14, 14. This phrase
would naturally be answered by ὡς οὕτω πρότερον, sc. παρέσχεν.
Here however we have ὡς...ἐνύμιζον, sc. παρασχεῖν. The con-
struction is somewhat harsh, and Krüger brackets αὐτῷ ἐνύμιζον.
It is also suggested to insert ὡς before αὐτῷ. Note that οὕτω
πρότερον with a relative occurs twice in this chapter, and in
64, 7.

7. λαβεῖν—'to get' or 'find', with ἀδρόνως: like Hdt. i. 116,
tὸν βουκόλον μόνον λαβῶν. Classen compares ch. 102, 2, and vi.
86, 3, δὴν καρπὸν λάβωσι, but these instances are not analogous.

ib. τίγγελετο—the imperfects in this sentence are to be
noticed, 'when news of the capture of Orchomenos went on to
arrive', etc. For the explanatory infinitive ἐλοκώκεαι cf. i.
50, 1, πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεῦεν: see Krüger's
Grammar § 61. 6, 8.

9. ἐβούλευον—for this use of the active where we might
expect the middle, see note on iv. 15, 1. παρὰ τὸν τρόπον—
they were usually slow and deliberate; see i. 132, 5, χρώμενοι
tῷ τρόπῳ, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, μὴ ταχεὶς εἶναι περὶ
ἀνθρώπων Σπαρτιάτου βουλεύσαι τῇ ἀνήκεστον.

11. Σέκα μυριάτι—'about 6700, supposing the sum to be
given in Aeginetan drachmae' (Jowett). For the dative cf. ii.
65, 2, ἔξημισαν χρήμασι: so φυγῇ, iv. 65, 3.

12. ρόσεσθαι—'atone for' or 'do away with' is the sense
required, and the scholiast explains ρόσεσθαι by ἀπολύσεων. It
is suggested that it may have been the actual expression used
by Agis. ροῦσα in Homer and Herodotus means to set free or
redeem, e.g. from slavery, and the idea of retrieving a fault
might thus come in. Poppo says that the word is found in
later historians such as Diodorus and Herodian. Dobree pro-
posed λοσεσθαί, comparing ἀπελύσαντο, ch. 75, 13, and similar
phrases.

13. οὕτως ευσεβεῖος—'when he had taken the field' i.e. if
again placed at the head of an army. The best manuscripts have
οὕτως ευσεβέμενος, and some editors read οὕτως ευσεβεῖος. ἦ = 'or
else'; i. 78, 3, etc.

ib. τοιεῖν—'let them do', dependent on the sense (= ἔκλειψε)supplied from παρηγεῖτο, or simply representing the direct
imperative: so iv. 50, 3, πέμψαι, 'they must send', appended to the account of a letter. The construction of the infinitive in treaties and laws is similar, e.g. εἶναι line 18.

15. ἐπέσχον—ch. 32, 28. ἐν τῷ παρόντι—we are not told how long the law remained in force, or if it applied to other commanders besides Agis. No further mention is made of such ξύμβουλοι, and Agis himself, when in command of the troops at Decelea, is found acting with full authority and independently of the home government; see especially viii. 5, 3; also ch. 66, 12.

17. ξύμβουλοι—such commissioners are mentioned in ii. 85, 1: iii. 69, 1, and 76, 1, as appointed to assist Spartan naval commanders; and Plutarch (Per. c. 22) speaks of ξύμβουλοι being sent with the young Pleistoanax when he invaded Attica in 445. The idea therefore was not altogether new.

18. εἶναι—for the relative and infinitive in the report of a decree, cf. ii. 24, fn. ἐν ὑπ' χρήσθαι μηδεμία: so Dem. Lept. 505, § 158, ἔθηκεν ἐφ' οίς εἰσὶν ἀποκτινώναι (Goodwin § 756). ἀπάγεων—i.e. he was not to begin any operations. As ἀπάγεων is generally used not of marching out from home (ἐξάγεων) but of withdrawing troops from an enemy's land, there is something to be said for Haase's conjecture ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας for ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Can the last words be merely an explanatory gloss?

CHAPTER LXIV

The Spartans now hear of the danger of Tegea, and realize at length that the leadership of Peloponnesus is at stake. They accordingly act with unusual promptitude and vigour.

8. Ὄρεστείου—this town gave name to the district of Oresthis; iv. 134, 1; where see note. Pausanias speaks of a founder Orestheus, but Eur. Or. 1647 gives Ὄρεστείου from Orestes. τῆς Μανναλίας—w. of Tegea and n.w. of Sparta.

9. τοῖς μὲν Ἀρκάδων—Krüger collects instances of this position of the partitive genitive in his note on i. 126, 5, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμένοι τῇ φυλακῇ: so iv. 111, 2, οἱ τῶν Τοραναίων ἐνδοθεν παρασκευάζοντες.
10. ἰδροσθεῖσι—as this is closely connected with the infinitive ἔναι, we should expect the accusative; but the practice of Thucydides is not invariable. Thus in vii. 20, 1, ὄ εἰρητο... ἀφικομένῳ παρακαλεῖν is followed by εἰρητο ὅ αὑτῷ περιπλέοντα ξυστρατεύεσθαι: cf. i. 31, 2, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι. In iv. 5, 1, ὀρμῇ ἐσέπεσε περιστάσιν εἰκείχεια, the connexion of the dative is ambiguous.

ib. κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν—'to follow them closely'; iv. 126 fin. For αὐτῶν referring to the primary subject, see ch. 32, 26, note.

14. τὸ πρεσβύτερον—οἱ πρεσβύτεροι: cf. i. 105, 5, οἱ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι: ii. 13, 7, τοσοῦτοι ἐφύλασσον ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ νεωτάτων. Spartans were liable to serve abroad in emergency up to the age of 60, but in Athens men over 40 were usually exempt. See Müller's Dorians, Bk. iii. ch. 12.

20. τοῖς μὲν—answered by the clause Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ κ.τ.λ. ἡ ὀλίγου—'at short notice'; iv. 108, 5: ii. 11, 3, ἡ ὀλίγον τὰ πολλά τῶν πολεμῶν γλίνεται. The subject of εἰγνετο, 'it came', is implied in the context, as is common with εἰμι and γλίνημαι and with passives; see Krüger's Grammar, § 61. 5, 6.

21. μὴ ἰδρόσι—'unless they waited for one another and came all together' (Jowett). Poppo notices the combination of an adjective and a participle: so iii. 69, 1, χειμασθεῖσαν καὶ σποράδες.

22. τῆν πολεμίαν—the districts north of Tegea generally, which either belonged to Argos or had joined the confederacy.

ib. ἐνέκλημε—The object is implied in the context. The meaning is 'it blocked their way' or 'closed them in': further explained by διὰ μέσου, which denotes an 'intervening' obstacle: cf. Hdt. i. 104, ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, i.e. between Media and Colchis, the countries spoken of. Krüger takes ἐνέκλημεν in a quasi-intransitive sense as in ch. 72, 9, 'it closed in', i.e. was continuous. The scholiast explains it by ἀπέκλησε.

23. ἀναλαβόντες—ch. 7, 10. πρὸς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖῳ—on the road from Tegea to Mantinea. Grote says 'the Lacedaemonian kings appear to have felt a sense of protection in encamping near a temple of Heracles, their heroic progenitor (see Xen. Hell. vii. 1, 31)'.

CHAPTER LXV

2. καταλαβόντες—ch. 4, 15. The χωρίον ἑρμύνον is said by Curtius to be the southern point of Alesium, a position of importance to Mantinea.


8. δηλῶν—‘meaning that his present ill-timed forwardness was intended to retrieve the discredit incurred by his withdrawal from Argos’. δηλῶν here has the regular participial construction. For the infinitive see iv. 38, 1, δηλοῖντες προσλέσθαι.

9. ἔπαιτιον—‘culpable’; more commonly used of persons who deserve or incur blame. ἀνάληψιν—lit. ‘taking back’ i.e. retrieval. The word only occurs here in Thucydides. The verb is sometimes used in this sense, e.g. Soph. Phil. 1249, τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀναλαβεῖν περάσομαι.

10. βουλομένην—agreeing with ἀνάληψιν: βούλομαι in this sense of ‘meaning’ or ‘professing to be’ is common in Plato and Aristotle; e.g. Rep. 595 c, οὔδε ἔννοον τί βούλεται εἶναι. ἔθελω is similarly used. τοῦτο φρονεῖ, ch. 85. 6, is somewhat similar. Here Classen and Stahl read βουλόμενον, referring to Agis, the subject of διανοεῖται. The position of the word seems rather against the alteration.

11. εἴτε καλ...εἴτε καλ—so vi. 60, 2, εἴτε ἄρα καλ τὰ ὑπά μηνύσαι εἴτε καλ οὖ: εἰ ὦσπερ καλ...οὐτω καλ and the like. εἴτε καλ—‘or because he himself changed his decision’; δοξαν is accusative absolute, as in viii. 79, 1; viii. 93, 1. Here it is personally constructed, with ἄλλο, which is rare without ὡς or ὦσπερ: see note on κυρωθέν δ’ οὐδέν, iv. 125, 1; and Goodwin § 854. The words ἦ κατά τὸ αὐτό seem clumsy and unnecessary, but this is no proof that they are not genuine, and they are found in all the manuscripts. Stahl omits ἦ and refers κατὰ τὸ αὐτό to the same circumstance striking Agis and the veteran. ἦ καλ τὸ αὐτό is another suggestion; while Dobree would omit the words altogether.
12. ἐξαίφνης—by some editors taken with δόξαν, by others with ἀπηγε: the latter way seems to give a more forcible sense. It was the sudden change of tactics which surprised the Argives (line 23). κατὰ τάχος denotes the rapidity of the retreat.

14. πρὸς τὴν Τεγεάτιν—i.e. at the border.—τὸ ὤδωρ—the plain of Mantinea, which was high level ground enclosed by mountains, had no outlet but by subterranean channels, such as are not uncommon in a lime-stone country. It is fully described in Arnold’s interesting note.

ib. ἔξετρεπεν—the imperfect here denotes the beginning of the operation, a little below its continuance.

15. τά πολλά—‘mostly’. This leaves βλάπτοντος without an object: Poppo therefore suggests omitting τά, when πολλά βλάπτοντος would mean ‘doing great damage’. With πολεμοῦσιν we might expect ἓν or some such phrase.

17. τοὺς ἀπὸ—with καταβιβάσαι: he wished to draw from the hill those who were on it; ch. 34, 1. βοηθοῦντας ἐπὶ—predicate, ‘to (stop) the turning of the water’. The participle is not equivalent to the future, but is used as in iv. 25, 9, κατέβαινον βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. The descent from the hill would be in itself the beginning of the βοηθεία.

19. τοὺς Ἀργείους κ.τ.λ.—modern editors are disposed to omit these words as a mere explanatory gloss. Poppo however on i. 144, 2, gives several instances of similar apposition. They can scarcely be all interpolations, and are more probably due to the writer’s mannerism; see note on iv. 114, 4. τὴν μάχην = the impending engagement: so iii. 105, 4.

21. μείνας—the aorist gives an ‘end-view’ (Clyde). Here, in combination with the imperfect, it either means ‘after halting’; or it regards the day’s operations as ended, in which case ἔξετρεπεν = ‘had been diverting’.

23. καταπλαγέντες—‘astounded’. ἐξ ὄλγον—usually of time, as in ch. 64, 20: ch. 72, 1. If this be the meaning here, αἰφνιδίω, which is absent from one manuscript, should be omitted as an explanatory gloss. ἐξ ὄλγον however is used of space ii. 91, 3, πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὄλγον ἀντεξόμεθαν, and may be so understood here. It will then correspond to μέχρι μὲν λιθοῦ κ.τ.λ. line 5, while αἰφνιδίω answers to ἐξαίφνης and κατὰ τάχος in line 12.
24. αὐτῶν—the position of this word between τῇ and ἀναχωρήσει seems due to the intervening words; so iv. 55, 3, παρὰ τῇ ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδεὰν: see note on ch. 10, 48.

ἰὸν. οὖκ ἐξὼν ὁ τι ἐκάσωσιν—so ii. 52, 3, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁ τι γένωνται. The deliberative subjunctive after a past tense, is a direct and vivid form of expression. ἐτα (without δέ) answers to τὸ μὲν πρῶτον. Krüger suggested ἔτειτα as more in accordance with Thucydidean usage, e.g. viii. 67, 2.

25. ἔπειδή—note the tenses and the order of the words: ἀναχωροῦντες affects the whole sentence, though agreeing with ἑκεῖνοι only. 'Then, when the retreat went on, and the Spartans disappeared, while they found themselves standing still and no pursuit attempted'.

25. ἀπεκρυψαν—'disappeared', apparently a neuter usage, εὐαυτός being understood. This is the scholiast's explanation, and it is supported by Hes. Fr. 44, ἀποκρύψτοι Πελείαδες, quoted by Lid. and Scott. This view is simpler than to understand αὐτός or Ἀργελοὺ, on the analogy of the nautical use found Plat. Protag. 338 ά, ἀποκρύψατα τῇ ὑπ 'losing sight of land': Luc. Ver. Hist. 2. 38, ἀπεκρύσαμεν αὐτοὺς: Verg. Aen. iii. 201, Phaeaicum abscondimus arces.

Besides, the point is that the Argives lost sight of the Spartans, not that the Spartans lost sight of the Argives.

26. ὁφείς—i.e. αὐτός: rarely used, as Poppo notes, except in oratio obliqua, or with δὲ in mixed constructions like line 31. Here indeed this clause, like the two which conclude the sentence, seems to represent in a sort of half-direct way the actual thoughts or words of the troops.

27. ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἐξὸν—ch. 60, 12 etc. Here the ground of blame follows with an accusative and aorist infinitive; cf. vii. 81, 1, ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸν Γῆλπτεν ἐξὸν...ἁφεῖναι. Then the construction alters to δὲ with the indicative, giving to some extent, as Classen points out, the effect of direct speech. The converse change from δὲ to the infinitive is much more common: see ch. 61, 12.

ib. τὸ τε πρῶτερον—see ch. 60. The sense is 'as formerly ...so now': see note on ch. 43, 15. For καλῶς cf. ch. 36, 21: so ἐν καλῷ ch. 59, 21 etc.

29. δὲ—according to Krüger, 'because'; or else 'that'; depending on 'they complained'. In either case the irregular
transition to the present indicative has a striking and dramatic effect. ἀποδιδράσκοντα—a contemptuous word. καθ’ ἥσυχαν—ironical, 'quietly and comfortably'.

31. ἔθορυβίθησαν—'were bewildered' (Arnold); iii. 22, 6.

CHAPTER LXVI

1. οἱ τε Ἀργεῖοι—answered by οἱ τε Λακεδαίμονιοι. ήν περιτύχως—τοῖς Λακεδαίμονιοι (schol.). πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον—see the end of ch. 64.

5. δι’ ὀλίγον ἕξαίφνης, according to the scholiast: but plainly used here of an interval of space, 'close at hand'; so ii. 89, 7 etc.: cf. iv. 14, 1, δία βραχέος.

7. μάλιστα δή—this abrupt beginning can scarcely be right, and some connecting word seems lost. μάλιστα δέ and μάλιστα δὲ δὴ are suggestions, but not satisfactory. Krüger proposes to connect the clause with what goes before, inserting ὡς before ὁρῶς and putting a comma after προεληλυθότας. But, as Poppo says, 'coniectura et audacior est, et propter iteratum Lacedaemoniorum nomen displicet'. ἦς δὲ ἐμέμνητο—apparently 'so far as they remembered'. The scholiast says μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μνήμην, but where does the subject come from? The whole sentence indeed seems doubtful.

8. ἔξεπλάγησαν—the natural meaning is 'were dismayed', but this does not agree with what follows. On the contrary it is the excellent discipline and rapid formation of the Spartans which are described. ἐκπλήσσω is used not only of fear but of any overpowering emotion, such as joy or love. The meaning here may be were 'excited', 'startled' from their usual slow and deliberate ways, so that they acted with unwonted vigour and alacrity (εὐθὺς ὑπὸ στοιχήματι). ἐκπλήξεις certainly has some such force in iv. 14, 3, ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως: nor is there any idea of fear in καταπλαγέντες, ch. 65, 23. By this view we get a satisfactory sense; and it is at any rate better than any of the suggested alterations, e.g. ἔξεφάνησαν, 'came out in their true colours': ἔξηλλάγησαν, 'were different from (surpassed) all others': Λακεδαίμονιοι...ἐξεπλάγησαν, 'they (the Argives) were struck with admiration of the Lacedaemonians', and other desperate shifts. The passage seems however incomplete, and some words or lines may be missing.
CHAPTER LXVI (B.C. 418) 191

9. διά—adverbially used with the genitive. The sense is either 'they had but short time to get ready', or 'they formed at once without delay'. ύπό σπουδῆς—iii. 33, 4, ύπό σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διώξιν.

10. τὸν ἑαυτόν—emphatic: so iv. 33, 2, τῇ σφέτερᾳ ἐμπε- ρητρίᾳ χρησαγαθοῖ: iv. 55, 3, παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδεάν τῆς παρασκευῆς.

11. ἐκαστά ἐξηγούμενον—iii. 55, 4, ἄ ἐκαστοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθε τοῖς ἐξημάχοις: iii. 93, 2, ἐστιν ᾧ ὅλῳ ἐξηγούμενοι. ύπ' ἐκεῖνου πάντα ἄρχεται—the passive ἄρχομαι is used of persons rather than things: πάντα may therefore have a personal meaning—'all are under his orders', not 'everything is ordered'. Krüger suggests πάντα ἄρχονται 'they are entirely under his orders': and Dobree would read ἀπ' ἐκεῖνου, 'everything originates with him'.

We have seen (ch. 63 fin.) that Agis had been put under the restriction of a military council, while the Spartan kings generally were shackled in the exercise of their power. Thucydides therefore points out that they still had absolute authority on the field of battle.

13. τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις—acting as generals of division. This is not the place to discuss the Spartan military organization, which is a rather complicated subject. Arnold and Grote have long notes on the present passage, and the recognized authorities are cited by Classen. See also Müller's Dorians Bk. iii. ch. 12.

14. φράζει—'orders'; iii. 15, 1, τοῖς ἐξημάχοις ἐφράζον λέγα. τὸ δὲν—'what is to be done'; orders in general, before the battle begins. πεντηκοντηρόσι—found also Xen. Anab. iii. 4, 21: πεντηκοστήριος is another form.

17. παραγγέλσεις—orders 'passed along' the line, as opposed to those given by herald or sound of trumpet: Xen. Anab. iv. 1, 5, ἀναστάτες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως: cf. ch. 58, 18: 71, 21. ταχεία—adjective with verb; iv. 126, 6, τὸ ἀνδρείον δείξας ἐνδεικνυται: so with participle iv. 38, 3, ὁ τελευταῖος δαπλεύ- σας etc. ἐπέρχονται—traverse the line: Cobet proposes περέρ- χονται.

18. σχεδόν τι—modifying πάν: iii. 68, 4, σχεδόν γὰρ τι καὶ τὸ ἐξύμπαν: vii. 33, 2, σχεδόν γὰρ τι πᾶσα. πλὴν ὀλγοῦ—this of course is not to be taken literally, as far the largest part of the army consisted of private soldiers. The meaning
is that the system of command within command extended throughout all ranks, and was peculiar to the Spartan organization. 'In other Grecian armies orders were proclaimed to the troops in a loud voice by a herald, who received them personally from the general: each taxis or company had indeed its own taxarch, but the latter did not receive his orders separately from the general, and seems to have had no personal responsibility for the execution of them by his soldiers' (Grote, ch. 56).

20. τὸ ἐπιμέλεις—'the charge of what is doing'; ch. 102, 4: see note on ch. 9, 14.

CHAPTER LXVII

1. τότε δὲ—'on this occasion', apodosis to the general description just given. κέρας εὐώνυμον—predicate. The article is omitted, as in line 12, and often. αὐτοῖς—ch. 44, 7: see note on ch. 3, 24.

2. Σκιρῖται—originally the inhabitants of the rugged district of Sciritis, on the northern border of Laconia. δὲ ταύτην ...έχοντες—this privilege is only recorded here, though the Sciritae always appear as a separate band. ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν—ii. 63, 2, ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι: Hdt. ii. 2, ἐπὶ ἐωτῶν κέσθαι. Xen. An. ii. 4, 10, αὐτοί ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐχάρων. The preposition implies rest on, i.e. dependence, and so the phrase means 'by themselves', 'independently'.

4. παρὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς—'by them stood'. ἠσαν is to be supplied rather than καθίστατο: otherwise we should expect the accusative as in line 7. Poppo compares i. 48, 3, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆς εἶχον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι (sc. ἠσαν or ἐτέχατο). He adds however that ἐν as well as ἐς 'apud similia verba collocandi et considendi reperitur'.

5. ἐπὶ Ὀράκης—the stock phrase for the 'Thraceward' regions seems here appropriated to Brasidas' Thracian troops; see ch. 35, 11 and 25. Otherwise we might adopt the correction ἀπό (ch. 35, 33) or ἐκ. νεοδαμόδεις—ch. 34, 8.

6. αὐτοί—'veri et proprii, qui discernuntur a superioribus hominibus, quos minus proprie Lacedaemonios nominaveris' (Poppo). Ἡραῖς—from Heraea, in the valley of the Alpheus, near the borders of Triphylia. For Μανάλιοι see ch. 64, 9.
9. *ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ*—The Tegeatae claimed an honourable post in the Peloponnesian armies, from their services in the times of the invasion by the Heracleidae: see Hdt. ix. 26. But, to save the sovereign dignity of the Lacedaemonians, the most honourable post of all, the extreme right wing, was held by Lacedaemonian soldiers. A similar compliment was paid to the Athenians by the Acarnanians and their confederates at the battle of Olpe; iii. 107, 7 (Arnold).

10. *ἱππησ—*in 424 the Spartans set up a force of 400 horse *παρὰ τῷ εἴσοδῷ* (iv. 55, 1). The cavalry was usually placed on the wings.

12. *οἱ ἐναντίοι—*appositionally resolved in the following clauses: i. 89 fin. *οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ...διλύει δὲ*. Krüger brackets the following *αὐτοῖς, as not supported by Thucy- didean usage. Note the omission of the article with *δεξιὸν κέφας.*

13. *τὸ ἔργον—*‘the action’; iv. 34, 3 etc. *παρὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς—*here, with ἴσαν, we might expect αὐτοῖς, as παρὰ with the accusative has the idea of motion to or extent along: cf. however vi. 57, 3, *περιετυχὼν τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ παρὰ (περὶ?) τῷ Λεω- κόρων: Xen. Anab. iii. 4, 9, παρ' αὐτήν τὴν πόλιν ἣν πυραμίς. Or we may say that previous motion is implied, as in iii. 3, 4, *τρήρεις αἵ έτυχὼν παρὰ σφάς παροῦσα: παρὰ τὴν ἐπαλέξιν κατα- κελμένος* (Ar. Ach. 72) is ‘extended along’. Krüger suggests omitting ἴσαν. *Ἀρκάδων* is partitive genitive, as in line 7: cf. ch. 37, 25.

15. *λογάδες, οῖς ἡ πόλις—*a regular force, selected from the wealthier classes, and strongly aristocratic in feeling. After this they helped the Spartans to overthrow the democratic constitution: see Arnold. *ἐκ πολλοῦ—*‘from some time back’; i.e. they were kept in regular training: so ch. 69, 21.

18. *Κλεωναῖοι—*Cleone and Orneae lay northwards of Argolis, in the direction of Corinth. The inhabitants appear to have been at this time subject allies, and to have been afterwards absorbed by Argos. The authorities are fully discussed in Arnold.

20. *οἱ οἰκεῖοι—*the Argives had no cavalry force; ch. 15, 18.
CHAPTER LXVIII

1. ήδε—usually 'as follows'; we should expect αὐτῇ: so τοιάδε is 'as follows', τοιαῦτα 'as aforesaid', but the practice is not invariable.

ib. παρασκευή—'force'; in reference to the several contingents on either side. ταξείς is their respective disposition in the opposing lines.

2. μείζον ἐφάνη—'looked bigger', i.e., as Classen says, its superiority struck the eye: so i. 8, 1, Κὰρες ἐφάνησαν, 'proved (were seen to be) Carians'.

4. ἐκατέρων—may depend either on ἀριθμὸν or ἐκάστους: I think the latter. ξύμπαντας—governed by γράψαι and standing in apposition to ἀριθμὸν, instead of being governed by it.

ib. οὐκ ἄν ἐδυνάμην—sc. εἰ ἐπεχείρον or εἰ ἐβουλόμην: 'unfulfilled condition'. Classen considers this construction here inadmissible, and follows Stahl in reading οὐκ ἄν δυναλμήν, which is free from difficulty, but not necessarily what Thucydides wrote. Krüger points out that ἐδυνάμην without ἄν might give a statement of actual fact; cf. ξυνέγραψε, i. 1, 1.

7. ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα πλῆθος—Krüger and others suspect πλῆθος, and render ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα 'in respect of their own affairs' (generally). Whether πλῆθος be retained or not τὸ πλῆθος is supplied as subject to ἡπιστεῖτο. Classen however reads ἐς τὰ οἰκεία, τὰ πλῆθος, 'the several estimates of number were distrusted'. Note the ὀμοιοτέλευτον (Ar. Rhet. iii. 9, 9) ἡγοεῖτο...ἡπιστεῖτο.

9. παραγενόμενον—'brought into the field'. So in the orators οἱ παρόντες are literally 'the (witnesses) present', οἱ παραγενόμενοι 'those called in'. γὰρ ushers in the promised statement.

14. ξυνῷ—'rank'. Liddell and Scott give no other instance of this use in classical Greek.

ib. ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος...οκτὼ—this statement is puzzling and is discussed at length by Grote and others. It may mean, as Jowett suggests, that in some cases one part of the line was deepened at the expense of another, and the rear rank of one
Inumoria posted behind another. Or possibly the ranks behind the first did not invariably contain four men. Thus an arrangement of 4, 3, 4 etc. would give 9 rows amounting to 32 men in all. But we must remember that Thucydides is not so much discussing the order of the Spartan soldiers, as furnishing an estimate of their numbers. He 'could not do this exactly', but he guarantees three things, the number of inumoriai, viz. 112; the number of men, 448, in the front rank; and the average (etl pavan) depth, viz. 8. Now, if the number of men in each inumoria was the same, we have not merely an approximate calculation, but an exact one, the very thing which Thucydides disclaims. May it not then have been the case that, in one or more of the locaxoi, the inumoriai consisted of a number more or less than the standard 32? This would be a part of the 'system of secrecy' (της πολιτειας το κρυπτων); and if it was privately managed by the military authorities we can see at once how the total number was 'kept dark' (ηγνοειτο). According to the text this arrangement was left to the respective locaxoi; but it may be that the clause ἀλλ' ὃς λοξαγος ἐκαστος ἐβούλετο is spurious, as Dobree suspected. The inumoria or 'section', which was 'the unit of the Spartan army', undoubtedly varied in size at different periods; and may possibly have varied in different locaxoi or 'regiments' at the same period.

This explanation seems not unreasonable; for if Thucydides had been sure of the number of men in each inumoria, why did he not state it, instead of only giving the number in the front rank?

16. etl παν—'generally'; ii. 51, 1, τουουτον ἕν etl παν τῆν ἄδεαν (several examples in Krüger). etl δκτω—'eight deep'. In this sense etl takes either the genitive or accusative: vii. 79, 1, οὐκ ετ δλαγων ἄσπιδων, 'in a deep column': iv. 93, 4, et ἀσπίδας πέντε καὶ εκοσι Θηβαίοι ἐτάζαντο.

ib. παρὰ ἀπαν—'along the whole line'. A front of 448 men with an average depth of eight, 600 Sciritae being added, makes the Lacedaemonian division 4184 strong. ἕν—Xen. Cyr. ii. 1, 25, ἤ τάξις ἕν ἐκατὸν ἄνδρες: Prop. v. 1, 14, centum illi in prato saepe senatus erat.
CHAPTER LXIX

2. παρανέσεις—the usual addresses which Greek soldiers expected before an engagement: cf. iv. 95, 1, δὴ δὲ λέγων ἡ παρανέσεις γίγνεται: iv. 93, 1, τοιαῦτα παρανέσεις. παρακέλευσις and παρακέλευσθαι are used in the same way.

5. καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄρχῆς ἀμα—'and withal for empire or subjection'. The following explanatory infinitives are connected with ἡ μάχη ἔσται, as in ii. 89, 10, ὅ ἄγων μέγας ἡ καταλύσαι...ἡ καταστήσαι.

ib. πειρασμένοις—'after once enjoying it', i.e. after once gaining the position of a sovereign state; see ch. 29. The alternative was sinking again into political subordination to Sparta. For the dative we might expect πειρασμένοις: but see note on ch. 64, 10.

7. Ἀργείωις δὲ—sc. παρανέσεις ἐγίγνετο: the construction with ὑπὲρ, and the following infinitives, being connected with this rather than with ἡ μάχη ἔσται. τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις...εἶναι, line 11, depends on the same.

ib. τῆς παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας—under the Atreidai. The claim of ἵσομορία was made in the days of the Persian invasion: see Hdt. vii. 148, where the Argives were willing to join Sparta, ἡγεμονεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἤμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας· καὶ τοὺς κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἑως τῶν, ἀλλ' ἰδίως σφίσιν ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἤμισυ ἡγεμονείσθαι.

8. διὰ παντὸς—'always': iv. 61, 4, πέφυκε τὸ ἀνθρώπειον διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν τοῦ εἴκοντος: so i. 38, 1. ἀστυγείτονας—cf. iv. 92, 3, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ προσέτι ὁμόρους δυτας πολλῷ μάλιστα (ἀμύνεσθαι) δεί: vi. 88, 1, τοῖς Συρακοσίοις δελ κατὰ τὸ ὁμορον διάφοροι. The aorist ἀμύνασθαι implies 'once for all', that is, in the coming battle.

13. καὶ ὡς—The sentence now takes a sort of semi-direct form of expression. ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ—thus turning the tables on the Spartans; hitherto the Athenians had only attacked the enemy's coast.

15. οὐ μὴ—this strong negative occurs only in one other passage, iv. 95, 2, where Hippocrates addresses the Athenians in
much the same words; ἦν μικῆσωμεν οὐ μή ποτε ὑμῖν Πελοπον-
νήσιοι ἐς τῖν χώραν ἐσβάλωσιν. There is the same ethical
dative in both sentences, αὐτοῖς = 'they would have them'.

18. καθ' ἐκάστους—usually taken of the Lacedaemonian
soldiers exhorting one another 'man by man'. Herbst and
Classen however seem right in understanding the plural, as in
ch. 68, 4, rather of the 'several contingents' of the army, who
are all included under the name of Lacedaemonians, as they
are in the beginning of the next chapter. The main con-
struction of the sentence belongs to the divisions with τε and
καλ alike, while μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων is specially con-
nected with ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the Lacedaemonians themselves.

id. πολεμικῶν νόμων—war-songs, according to the scholiast;
tὰ ἀσματα ἀπερ ἴδον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μελλοντε μάχεσθαι. Krüger
however takes the meaning to be 'military usages', on the
ground that the war-songs would not come in till the actual
onset.

19. ἄν ἕπισταντο κ.τ.λ.—‘called on their trusty comrades
to remember what they knew so well’ = παρακελεύσωμεν μεμη-
σθαι. ἡγαθοῖς οὗτοι is taken by Poppo and others as agreeing
with σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. It seems however rather governed by τὴν
παρακέλευσιν ἐποιήσατο: and is a sort of semi-quotation, repre-
senting παρακελεύσμεθα ὑμῖν ἡγαθοῖς οὗτοι.

Some editors however find a difficulty in the words, and
sundry unsatisfactory suggestions and emendations are noted
in Classen and Fowler.

Arnold compares with the present passage iv. 95, 1, ἡ
παραίνεσις...πρὸς τοὺς ἡγαθοὺς ἀνδρας...ὑπόμνησιν μᾶλλον ἔχει ἡ
ἐπικέλευσιν: so vi. 68, 4, τὰς υμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀξίας μησθέντες
ἐπέλθητο τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

20. εἰδότες ἐργῶν...παραίνεσιν—note the triple antithesis
in this sentence. For ἐκ πολλοῦ cf. ch. 67, 15.

CHAPTER LXX

2. ἡ ξύνωδος ἦν, 'Αργείων—construction in accordance with
the sense (πρὸς τὸ σημαίνουμεν οὖν) ; cf. iv. 23, 2, τὰ περὶ Πύλων
ἐπολεμεῖτο, 'Αθηναίοι μὲν κ.τ.λ. Poppo adds Tac. Hist. i. 19,
patrum favor aderat, multi etc.
3. ἐντόνως—only here in Thucydides, who does not use the adjective at all: Xen. Anab. vii. 5, 7, ἐντόνως ἀπήτευ τὸν μισθὸν. ὁργῇ—vii. 68, 1, ὁργῇ προσμέλωμεν. Jowett renders 'with great fury and determination'.

4. ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν—'to the accompaniment of many flute-players stationed in the ranks according to custom': cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 2, 23, τὰ τείχη κατέσκασαν ὑπὸ αὐλητρίδων; see also Liddell and Scott for the general use of the preposition to denote anything attendant. For νόμῳ the best manuscripts have νόμου, and two have ὅμοι. νόμου may be retained in the sense of tune (see ch. 68, 18) as governed by ὑπὸ: but ἐγκαθεστῶτων would thus stand rather awkwardly by itself. Arnold cites Hdt. vi. 60, to show that the flute-players were a separate caste in Sparta as they were in Egypt.

5. οὗ τοῦ θείου χάριν—the editors quote A. Gellius i. 2, 1, non prorsus ex aliquo ritu religionum neque rei divinæ gratia. ὑπὲρ φιλεῖ—iv. 125, 1, ὑπὲρ φιλεῖ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα...ἐκπλήγνυσαι. Classen points out (i. 78, 2) that Thucydides always uses φιλεῖ in this sense, in which it occurs more than a dozen times. He adds that it is only used once by Herodotus (v. 5) in the sense of loving, elsewhere of being wont, as here. For τοιεῖν we might expect πᾶσχειν: so in line 2 of the next chapter. Poppo cites (from Duker) Ar. Plut. 1204, πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χνιτῶν ταναντία αὕται ποιοῦσι.

CHAPTER LXXI

1. τοιόντε—see the explanation is given in line 16, δεῖσας δὲ Ἄγις, the construction beginning afresh with καλ τότε after the parenthetical introduction. Otherwise the words would run τοιόντε εἶπουλεύσατο δράςατι. δεῖσας μή κ.τ.λ. We have a similar sentence in iv. 67, 2, οἱ προδίδοντες τοιόντε ἐποίησαν· ἀκάτιον... εἰδὼθεν κατακομβῶν...καλ τότε: cf. vi. 88, 1, οἱ Καμαρναῖοι ἐπετόνθεσαν τοιόντε· τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις εὐνοί ἦσαν. So Hdt. i. 80, ἐποίησε τοιόντε· ὅσαι κ.τ.λ.: cf. Xen. Anab. v. 4, 31, τὰ δὲ πλέοστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων· ἀπέιχον. Other instances of 'asyndeton' are cited by Kühner on Xen. Anab. iv. 7, 10, μὴ-χανάται τι προέτρεχεν κ.τ.λ.

2. ἐβουλεύσατο—'decided'; ii. 74, 1: iv. 57, 4. Sudden change of purpose at a crisis was characteristic of Agis; see ch. 60 and 65.
CHAPTER LXXI (B.C. 418)

ib. τοιει μεν—this would be regularly answered by τότε δὲ καλ οἱ Μαντινης, but the construction is dropped. καλ ἀπαντα—'all without exception do this'; iv. 23, 3, τῆς νυκτὸς καλ ἀπασαὶ περιφρομον. τοῦτο—explained by what follows without a connecting word: so vi. 36, 2, αἱ ἄγγελαι τοῦτο δύνανται· οὔκ ἂν ταυτομάτου...ἐγκειμαι: cf. ii. 36, 4, δ νῦν ὑμεῖς δράτε...ἀφεσθε: vi. 11, 4, ἔπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς πεπάνθατε...ἀφεσθε: Xen. Cyr. ii. 3, 4, οὔτω πως ἐποίησε...ἀδίωσι: cf. note on line 1.

3. αὐτῶν—the position of αὐτῶν is due to the insertion of δεξιῶν, otherwise τὰ αὐτῶν κέρατα is the regular order, as in line 21: cf. iv. 43, 3, τῷ εὐώνυμῳ κέρα ἐαυτῶν.

As a general principle the genitive of a personal pronoun and αὐτὸς stands after the substantive on which it depends, or before the article; while the genitive of reflexive and demonstrative pronouns follows the article. Thus we have ἡ γλῶσσα σου, καλαὶ κὼν αἱ γυναῖκες, ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ: but φύλαττε τὸν σαντοῦ τρόπον, ἐς κόσμον τὸν οὐατῶν, ὁ τούτου πατήρ, ἡ ἀλλήλων δικαιοσύνη. There are however instances where this usage is disregarded for the sake of emphasis or otherwise. Thus, ἀλεπικούρητον σεαυτοῦ τὸν βίων λήσῃ ποιῶν, where σεαυτοῦ has a force like that of an ethical dative. Again, with an additional word the position of αὐτοῦ may be changed, γνώσεσθε τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ πομηραν, an exact converse of the present passage: so iv. 55, 3, παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδέαν: cf. ch. 43, 14.

Full illustrations of all these usages may be found in Krüger’s Grammar § 47, 9, 9—20; see also Madvig’s Greek Syntax, § 10. It should be noticed that Krüger says that αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν) when it means ἰπσίους is placed next the article like ἐαυτοῦ etc. In such cases however αὐτοῦ is now generally read; see note on ch. 10, 48. These constructions are not to be confounded with the partitive genitive, such as οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν (iv. 43, 2).

ib. ἐν ταῖς ξυνώδοις—when closing with the enemy; iii. 107, 3, ἐν τῇ ξυνώδῳ αὐτῷ. ἐσθείται—'thrust outwards' (Jowett) (mid.), or 'are forced out' of the proper line, which is thus unduly extended towards the right.

4. περισάχοσι—‘extend beyond’, ‘overlap’, or ‘outflank’; iii. 107, 3, περισάχοι τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδῳ (nom.); with this verb may be joined a dative of the instrument; ib. fin. περισάχοι τῷ κέρα, ‘with their wing’. κατά—'opposite to'.

6. προστέλλειν...τῇ...ἀντίδι—either (1) ‘shelter with’, or (2) ‘move up to, the shield of the man next on the right’.
Liddell and Scott are in favour of (1); Poppo and Krüger of (2). Poppo cites Dio Cas. xI. 23, 3, ταῖς τῶν παραστατῶν ἄστι τὰς γυμνώσεις σφῶν προστέλλειν, which is equally ambiguous. Classen reads προστέλλειν in sense (2) maintaining that this form is required for the construction and meaning.

ib. τά γυμνά—as in ch. 10. 20, the right arm and side which were not covered by the shield. καὶ νομίζειν—'and because they think that this closeness of locking up gives the best shelter'. εὐσκέπαστότατον is probably neuter, in accordance with a common construction; it may possibly be feminine, as in ch. 110, 3: iii. 101, 2, ταύτῃ δυσέσβολωτατος ἡ Δοκρίς. In iii. 89 (fin.) βιαστερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν is ambiguous. εὐσκέπαστος is found in Dio Cas. 49. 30, but not elsewhere in classical Greek: σκεπάζω is used by Xenophon; see σκέπασ.

9. ἠγεταί τῆς αἰτίας—lit. 'begins this fault', αἰτία being ground or cause of blame. πρωτοστάτης—as we say, 'the pivot-man': οἱ πρωτοστάται in Xen. are the front-rank men. ἐξαλλάσσειν—'to withdraw from the enemy'.

12. γύμνωσιν—this unusual word, which is active in form, may mean the side 'which he exposes' or 'finds himself exposing'; or it may be simply a convenient singular, the plural τά γυμνά being elsewhere used. We use such words as enclosure in a similar passive way. It is copied by Dio, as cited above.

13. καὶ τότε—'and so now', resuming the particular description after a general digression; so iv. 67, 5: vii. 29, 4. τότε δὲ οὖν is used somewhat in the same way.

ib. περιέσχον...τῶν Σκιριτῶν—'overlapped the Sciritae with their wing'. περιέχω, which elsewhere takes the accusative when it means to surround, is here constructed like περιγλυνομαι. The datives in line 6 and iii. 107 (fin.) seem decisive as to the construction. Haack however suggested τὸ κέρας and τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

16. δεῖσαι...νομίσασ— the aorist implies a sudden thought, as in ch. 65. 12. σφῶν = our: iv. 9, 2, note. The position gives the word an emphatic force='lest he should have his left surrounded'.

19. ἐστήμηνει—of military orders; ii. 84, 1, πρὶν ἄν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ: with infinitive in the general sense of directing, Hdt.
v. 35, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως. The order given by Agis was ‘extend away from us, and present an equal front to the Mantineans’. In ἐπεξαγαγόντα, ἔπλευρα implies motion not towards the enemy, but to the new position required; while ἐξεισέχθην: παυσάμενον τῆς ἐπεξαγωγῆς. All of these are flank movements to surround the enemy.

20. ἔξεισάει—‘to present an equal front to the Mantineans’. τὸ εὐάρμονον may be the object; or ἔξεισάει may be quasi-intransitive, as in vi. 87, ἔξεισάεσαντες τοῖς ἄλλοις, ‘acting like the rest of the world’, lit. making things (or the matter in hand) equal’: cf. Soph. El. 1194, μητρὶ δ’ οὐδὲν ἔξεισέι. Here τὴν τάξιν, or ἐαυτοὺς, or ‘the state of things’, would be implied.

We have seen (ch. 67, 1) that the Sciritae were entitled to the left, and ‘among the Lacedaemonians especially ancient routine was more valued than elsewhere’ (Grote). Hence it was impossible to order round a division from the extreme right to the extreme left, and apparently impracticable to move the whole line more to the left. We do not know the nature of the ground.

ib. ἐς τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο—put emphatically first, ‘to fill up this gap’; for the word cf. ch. 72. 16: iv. 135, 1. παρηγγέλλει
—‘consecutio verborum haec est: παρηγγέλλει τῶν πολεμάρχων Ἰππονίδα καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς παρελθεὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξίου κέρως ἐς τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο ἔχουσι δύο λόχους. Λοχος autem duos duo polemarchi aut ideo adducere iussi sunt quod loci Thucydidei moris Xenophontis sunt similis, aut quod in graviori negotio vel tempore difficilibre etiam minores partes militum a maiori bus ducibus adversus hostes ducendae videntur’ (Poppo).

21. τῶν πολεμάρχων—partitive genitive depending immediately on the proper names; i. 24, 1, Φάλης Κορήθεος τῶν ἄρ' Ἡρακλέους: i. 126, 2, Κόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν πάλαι. Aristocles may be the brother of king Pleistocnaax mentioned ch. 16, 26. For the position of ἔχουσι Krüger compares iii. 26, 1, δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν ἔχοντα Ἀλκίδαν.

23. ἐσβαλόντας—‘closing in’, ‘throwing (themselves) in’, ingressos; an unusual sense of the word. πληρῶσαι—sc. αὐτὸ. βεβαιότερον—as the flank could not now be turned.
CHAPTER LXXII

1. ἐξ ὀλίγου—'at short notice'; ch. 64, 20: iv. 108, 5. τὸν τε—answered by καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, the clause ἀλλὰ καὶ... being parenthetical in sense, though conforming to the general construction after ἐνέβην. Arnold compares i. 95, 3, ἐνέβην τε αὐτῷ καλείσθαι τε ἁμα καὶ τοὺς ἐνιμάχουσ...μετατάξασθαι, where αὐτῷ applies only to the first clause.

5. δοξαντας—'held guilty'; cf. the use of videor. Whether banishment was inflicted as a punishment, or punishment escaped by voluntary exile, is not clear. The latter view is the more probable: see Müller's Dorians, Bk. iii. ch. 11 § 4. Thus Xenophon's Clearchus was an exile, after having been condemned to death for disobedience to the military orders of the Ephors (Anab. ii. 6, 4).

ib. φθάσαι τῇ προσμιξει—'were beforehand in closing with them', i.e. before the line was restored to proper order. προσμιξει is a sort of instrumental dative. Krüger indeed considers the construction so unusual that he believes that the two words may be an explanatory gloss; their omission however would be fatal to the rhythm of the clause.

6. καὶ κελεύσαντος—'and when, on the lochi not coming up to the Sciritae, he gave the order (to the Sciritae), close up again to us, he found that (ἐνέβην αὐτῷ) they too were now unable to close in'. This is the explanation adopted by Poppo and is indeed the only one which the wording and sense permit; for κελεύειν ἔτι would not be an admissible construction. The position of ἔτι τοὺς Σκιρτας is no doubt awkward, but may be intended to show emphatically that κελεύσαντος refers to the Sciritae. Classen gives other instances of conjunctions placed like ὡς here, e.g. iv. 27, 1, πυθανόμενοι...σῖτος τοῖς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ὅτι ἐσπλεῖ. It is however tempting to suggest the omission of ἔτι (or the substitution of ἔτι), governing τοὺς Σκιρτας directly by κελεύσαντος.

8. ἔτι—'now' or 'after this', i.e. there was now no time left. μὴθε—i.e. they as well as the λόχαι failed to fill up the gap. τούτοις—the Sciritae, who were unable to regain their old position. It is altered into τούτοις by Classen, who unaccountably takes λόχαι as the subject of προσμιξαι and ἐνυγκλῆσαι, and understands τούτοις of Agis and his troops.
(σφίσει). He supposes that the λόχοι had made an ineffectual attempt to reach the Sciritae and now failed to regain their position on the right. This however is quite contrary to Thucydides, who says plainly enough that the commanders of the λόχοι refused to move at all, and were therefore exiled for cowardice.

9. ἐπικλέσαι—‘to close in’ or ‘close up (the ranks)’; virtually intransitive; as in iv. 35, 1: see ch. 64, 22.

ib. μαλακτα δὴ—cf. ch. 66, 7. The run of the words seems to show that this applies to the whole of the sentence, while κατὰ πάντα extends to ἐλασσοθέντες only, and τότε emphasizes the final clause. The sweeping expression κατὰ πάντα appears to point out the ‘entire failure’ of the movements which Agis had ordered; a failure which was redeemed by no less signal valour and steadiness in the actual encounter.

ib. τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ—skill in manoeuvring in the field, in which both Agis and his subordinates proved deficient: cf. ii. 89, 2, διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ὑμπειρίαν: iv. 33, 2, τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι. The dative with ἐλασσοθέντες means ‘worsened’ or rather ‘proving inferior in skill’. F. compares Plat. Alc. i. 121 B, ὅρα μὴ τῷ τῇ γένους δύκῳ ἐλαττώμεθα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ, and Xen. Hel. vi. 2, 28, μεγάλῃ ἰδιότι ἕν τὸ τῇ ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἀρεί τούτοις. There is therefore no reason for spoiling the sentence by adopting such corrections as ἀπορή or ἀταξία, or by omitting ἐλασσοθέντες with Madvig, who translates ‘Lacedaemonii, qui semper arte, tum non minus virtute se praestare ostenderunt’, a rendering which seems to introduce an idea foreign to the sense of the present passage.

The dative indeed seems naturally used with words denoting superiority or the opposite, and comparison generally; cf. vincere Caecilius gravitate Terentius arte (Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 58).

10. τῇ ἀνδρᾷ...περιγενόμενοι—‘proved their superiority in valour’, or ‘showed that they gained the victory by their valour’: cf. iv. 73, 2, ἐδείξαν ἑτοίμου ὄντες ἀμφεπέται. Poppo suggests περιγενομένοι or ἀν περιγενόμενοι as having a general force, but the text seems to give a preferable sense.

11. ἐπαιδὴ γάρ—γάρ brings in the expected account. For ἐν χερσί cf. ch. 10, 56. The phrase is found with ὄντες, iii. 108, 1: with γερόμενοι vii. 5, 2; but I have not found a parallel to the present dative construction.
12. τὸ μέν—like the resumptive ταὐτῇ μέν below, answered by τὸ δὲ ἄλλῳ = ‘though...yet’. αὐτῶν—ch. 15, 5. For its position Classen compares i. 30, 3, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν: see also ch. 71, 17.

15. οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες—see ch. 67, 15. The imperfect διέφθερον ‘inflicted loss’ is used in combination with aorists, as in iii. 98, 2, to denote what was begun or what lasted some little time. ἐξέωσαν—‘drove back’ out of their line and position. ἐπιτεταγμένων—‘posted in charge’ or ‘in reserve’; so ἐπίτακτοι vi. 67, 1.

23. καλούμενοι—Hdt. viii. 124, τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὕτω οὔτε ἰππέες καλέονται. They were the king’s body-guard, and though called horsemen fought on foot. Arnold supposes that they were originally chiefs who fought round their king in chariots, ‘this being the early sense of ἰππεύς and ἰππότης, as we find from Homer’. The actual cavalry were stationed on the wings as we learn from ch. 67.

24. πέντε λόχοι ύπομασμένοι—nothing is known of these divisions. ‘We can only suppose that Argos originally, like Sparta and Messenia, contained five districts or quarters, each of which sent its own lochus into the field’ (Arnold). Poppo considers the πέντε λόχοι identical with the πρεσβύτεροι, from the absence of the article; but πέντε λόχοι may have the definite force of a proper name, or the second article may be omitted as it is before ξυμμάχων at the beginning of the next chapter. In ch. 67, 17, we have simply οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀργεῖοι mentioned besides the χίλιοι λογάδες.


29. καταπατηθέντας—i.e. by one another in their eager struggles to escape; as in vii. 84, 3, ἐπέπτιστον τε ἄλληλοι καὶ κατεπάτων. This is explained by the following words, in which τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν is the subject of μὴ φθίναι, and is equivalent to τοὺς ἐγκαταλαμβάνοντας, ‘in order that the enemy might not overtake them before they could escape’. Haack and Poppo approve of this view of the passage, which is now generally accepted. τοῦ μὴ φθίναι may depend on both the preceding clauses, or on ἐνδόντας only, the next clause being then parenthetical.

If this view is not adopted τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν must be taken as the object of φθίναι, which necessitates giving an irregular
sense to τού μὴ φθηναί, ‘because they could not escape’, or ‘so that they did not escape being overtaken’. Arnold suggests τῷ μη, dative of the efficient cause.

ib. ἐγκατάληψις—not found elsewhere in Thucydides, though ἐγκαταλαμβάνω occurs eight times. The compound implies a place, as in ch. 3, 8. In iv. 35, 2, we have δοὺς ὑπο-χωρούντες ἐγκατελαμβάνοντο ἀπέθηνασον, ‘all who were overtaken, or seized, on the field (or in the retreat) were slain’, an exact parallel to the present use of the substantive. For the use of the verbal see λήψις ch. 110, 3.

CHAPTER LXXIII

2. παραπήγαντο—iv. 96, 4 τῶν Ἐθῆαιων ἐφεπομένων καὶ παραπήγαντον: vi. 70, 2, παραπήγαντο ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα. The ranks were broken by the men being forced from beside their comrades. καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα—i.e., as Poppo explains, ‘cum media acies cessisset, tum simul etiam ab utroque laterre vicinos ordines dissolutos esse Thucydides indicare censendus est’. Krüger suggests τὰ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα, otherwise the subject is the Argive force generally. καὶ goes with ἐκάτερα, as in vi. 80, 1, with ἀμφιτέρων. Classen points out the force of the imperfects in denoting the moment of danger. He however refers this clause to the defeated centre; but it appears to have already broken and fled.

4. τῶ περιέχοντι σφόν—cf. ch. 71, 13. αὐτοῖς—the Athenians generally. περιειστήκει—iii. 54 fin., φόβος περιέστη τὴν Σπάρτην: iv. 35, 3, etc.

6. κυκλομενόνως—‘on the point of being hemmed in’; imperfect passive: so in vii. 81, 3, κυκλοῦται is passive, while ten lines before έκκυκλώτω is transitive. ἦσσημένους—these were the παρατεταγμένοι, ch. 72, 26.

8. ἐταλαπέρησαν—ch. 74, 13; as we say ‘suffered’ to denote actual loss. οἱ ἐπιτής παρόντες—the predicate is similarly used in iv. 44, 1, ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ ἐπιτής ὠφέλιμοι εὐμμαχόμενοι. παρόντες, which Classen suggests, is no improvement, for the cavalry were μετ’ αὐτῶν (ch. 67, 20).
9. kal ἐννέβη—another 'concurrent circumstance' which saved the Athenians. τονοῦν—iv. 96, 4, ἐπόνει τὸ εὐώνυμον.

14. ἐξέκλινεν—only here in Thucydides: Xen. Cyp. i. 4, 23, ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ φεύγουσι. τὸ ἱσσοθέν—'which had been beaten': ἱσσομένος, as in line 7, denotes the resulting condition.

21. καὶ πλεῖον—if the text is right, πλεῖον is a general comparison, lit. more than might be expected, or more than their due proportion, i.e. a large number. In iv. 42, 3, and 103, 3 ἐκ πλεῖον has a similar force. καὶ then emphasizes the serious loss of the Mantineans, contrasted with the slight loss of the Argives. Some inferior manuscripts have οἱ πλεῖον: but the total loss was only 200.

In iv. 44, 2, οἱ πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον means that their chief loss was at the point spoken of: so vii. 30, 2, ἀποκελέουσι ἐν τῷ ἐκβάσει τοὺς πλεῖον, where the total loss was 250 out of 1300: but such an explanation will not suit the present passage.

22. τὸ πολὺ—iv. 25, 8, τῶν Λεωντίνων τὸ πολὺ: iv. 113, 1, τὸ πολὺ ἔθορυβεῖτο. βίαος—'hard-pressed': iv. 31, fin., εἰ καταλαμβάνων ἀναχώρησις βιαστέρα: ii. 33, 3, βιαίωτερον ἀναγαγόμενο of embarking under an enemy's attack. μακρά, like ἐπὶ πολὺ below, of distance.

25. τὰς μάχας...ποιοῦνται—this sentence is an excellent example of article and substantive with τοιεῖθαί: see note on iv. 13, 1. 'The Lacedaemonians fight long and refuse to move until they have put an enemy to flight, but, having once defeated him, they do not follow him far or long' (Jowett).

χρονοὺς—so vi. 31, 5: but in i. 12, 1 the feminine is χρονία. τῷ μένειν—'by standing their ground'.

CHAPTER LXXIV

1. καὶ—we might expect ἦ, as in vii. 86, 5 τοιαῦτα ἦ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτία: but Arnold is right in comparing i. 22, 4, τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια: so i. 143, 3: vii. 15, 2, παραπλήσιον καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον: vii. 42, 2, ἵσον καὶ παραπλήσιον. καὶ has in fact a sort of corrective force—'I mean', 'that is to say', as noted in ch. 20, 4. ἦ on the other hand, meaning 'or else', would imply some uncertainty as to the facts.
2. πλείστου...δή—see note on ch. 60, 16, for δή with the superlative. For the genitive of time ‘within which’, see ch. 14, 16; Plat. Gorg. 448 α, οὔδεις με ηρώτηκε καινύν οὔδεν, οὔδε πολλών ἑτῶν.

4. ξυνεθοῦσα—with μάχη=commissa; constructed with ὑπό as being virtually passive. Somewhat similar is i. 15, 2, πόλεμος οὔδείς ξυνέστη; cf. Hdt. vii. 144, οὖτος δ’ πόλεμος συνέστης. Poppy quotes μάχη συνήει καρτερά from Josephus, Ant. Iud. xvii. 10 (12), 2.

5. προθέμενοι—apparently =θέμενοι τά δελα πρό, ‘taking up their position before’: see note on iv. 44, 1, έθεντο τά δελα. For constr. cf. Eur. Iph. T. 1218, πέπλον ὁμάτων προθέθεσαί. A guard was posted, to oblige the enemy to ask leave to bury the dead, which was a confession of defeat; so φυλακήσ καταλιπόντες (iv. 97, 1). Krüger and others take it to mean ‘displaying the arms of the dead’, like ii. 34, 2, τά δετά προτίθενται, but they cite no instances of such a practice.

6. ιστασαν—Classen considers that the imperfect is used here because the trophy was not completed till the enemy owned his defeat. But ιστασαν is used again in vi. 70, 3; and probably (like ἐσκόλευν) merely denotes what the victors ‘went on to do’ or ‘began to do’ next. The aorists which follow imply the completion of all that had to be done.

11. Αληνήται—Athenian ἔτοικοι, the inhabitants having been removed in 431 (ii. 27, 1). ἀμφότεροι—Laches and Nicostratus (ch. 61, 1).

13. ἐπαλαίπωρμαν—ch. 73, 8. καλ—emphatic: there may have been some loss, but it was not ‘also’ (besides occurring) worth taking into account: so iv. 48, 5, οὐ γὰρ ἐτι ἣν ὑπόλειπον τῶν ἐτέρων ὑ τι καὶ ἀξίωλογον: i. 15, 2, πόλεμος, οὕτω τίς καὶ δύναμις παρεγέντο, οὔδείς ξυνέστη: ii. 54, 5, οὐκ ἐσήλθεν ὑ τι ἄξιον καὶ εἴπεϊν.

14. ἀπογεινέσθαι—ii. 34, 1, τά ὄστα τῶν ἀπογεινομένων: ii. 51, 7, τάς ἀλφόρφοσεις τῶν ἀπογεινομένων: ii. 98, 2, of loss to an army generally, as opposed to προσγιγνέσθαι: Hdt. v. 4 γινόμενος καὶ ἀπογεινόμενος, of births and death. αὐτῶν, according to Poppy, depends on πυθέσθαι, but the sense seems rather to connect it with some statement of number. It can scarcely depend on ἀληθείας, but it may be taken with τριακοσίον, the
clause with μὲν being thus subordinate in sense to that with δέ.


CHAPTER LXXV

2. τοὺς τε πρεσβυτέρους—see ch. 64, 13. ἐβοήθησε—‘had marched out’. Poppo refers to the law mentioned by Hdt. v. 75, ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξείναι ἐπεσοῦν ἄμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιώνῃς στρατηγῷς. That law appears rather to mean that the two kings were not to be in joint command of the same army. See however Stein on the passage from Herodotus, and the words which he cites from Xen. Hell. v. 3, 10. We there find that the Phliasians in 381 assumed that they were safe from attack on the part of Agesilaus, as the other king was in the field, οὔτ’ ἄν γενέσθαι ὦστε ἀμα ἄμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι.

6. τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορινθίου—see ch. 64, 18. ἀπεστρεψαν—iv. 97, 2, ὅσ αὐτῶν ἀποστρέψασ. ἀπεστρεψαν was formerly read against mss. authority: ἀποτρέπεσαι magis notat avertere, dehortari, dissuadere; ἀποστρέψεις autem retro convertere, iubere redire’ (Bauer, cited by Poppo).


10. τότε—‘at this time’, i.e. since the capture of Sphacteria, as is shown by what follows. In iv. 40 we are told of the astonishment caused by the surrender at Sphacteria, while complaints of sluggishness and inaction on the part of Sparta had been made even before the war began, for instance in the speech of the Corinthians (i. 68—71). ἐπιφερομένην—cf. iii. 46 fin. τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν: so iii. 42, 3, ἀδικίας ἐπιφερομένης.

11. ἐς—‘for, in respect of’; viii. 88, 1, ἐς φιλιαν διαβάλλειν, where instances from Plutarch etc., may be found in Poppo. τὴν ἄλλην—ch. 60, 10: Xen. Anab. i. 5, 5, οὐκ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δενδρον.
13. ἐνὶ ἔργῳ τοῦτοι—οὖν thus used without the article has a predicative or appositional force; the sense being ‘and thus by one victory they regained their reputation’.

14. κακίζημενοι—κακίζω, ‘to reproach’, occurs in i. 105, 5, κακίζημενοι ὑπὸ τῶν προσβετέρων: ii. 22 fin. ἐκάκιζον (τὸν Περικλέα). Here therefore the meaning appears to be ‘open to reproach’. Elsewhere, e.g. Hom. Il. xxiv. 214: Eur. Ion, 984, κακίζομαι means to act the coward, and this would give a good sense in the present passage, viz. that the late inaction and seeming cowardice of the Spartans were due to stress of circumstances, not to failure of spirit. A similar opposition between τῶν and γνώμη is attributed to the Peloponnesian commanders in ii. 87, 3, δίκαιον νομίσαι ταῖς μὲν τόχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀδ ἀνθρείου ὀρθῶς εἶναι.

15. προτέρα—Cobet would read προτεραῖ, but the editors generally retain προτέρα, as πρότερος can be used of days, e.g. Hom. Il. xxiii. 5, ἥματι τῷ προτέρῳ. In i. 44, 1, we have τῇ μὲν προτέρα ἐκκλησίᾳ answered by ἐν δὲ τῇ υποτεραῖ. For the following genitive cf. Hdt. v. 56, ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων.

17. ὡς ἔρημον οὖσαν—ch. 56, 21. τῶν 'Ἀργείων—dependent on φύλακας, ἐξελθόντων being added as a predicate, ‘as they had gone out on foreign service’. ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν, genitive absolute, is also read. Arnold refers ἐξελθόντων to φύλακας, whether αὐτῶν is read or not, rendering ‘as they had ventured out to fight them’. ἐξελθόντες has this force in viii. 25, 2, but the meaning first given is the usual one, and makes the better sense. πολλοὺς—predicate, ‘in large numbers’.

19. Ἡλείων—see ch. 62, 8. πρὸς τοῖς πρωτέροις—ch. 61, 1. Classen points out that no new commander’s name is given, though both the Athenian generals had fallen in the battle.

23. διελόμενοι—cf. τήν τόλμην, or the operations against it: cf. ch. 114, 4: iv. 11, 3, κατ’ ὀλίγας ναῖς διελόμενοι, with no object expressed. ἐξεπαυσάντο—a strong expression = ἀπέκαμον τὸν περιτεχίζειν (schol.). This is the only instance of the middle given in Lid. and Scott.

26. τὴν ἄκραν—a rocky promontory near the harbour. τὸ Ἡραῖον is in apposition; as in i. 46, 3, ἡ ἄκρα τὸ Χειμέριον. There are various forms of such construction with names; e.g. (a) iv. 25, 5, κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμόν (the usual order
with ποταμός): iv. 108, 1, ἦ Βόλβη λίμνη: iv. 43, 1, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλίγειαν κώμην: (d) i. 116, 1, πρὸς Τραγία τῇ νήσῳ: iv. 96, 5, πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος: (c) i. 100, 3, τὸ χωρὸν αἰ Ἐννέα ὀδοί: vii. 3, 4, τὸ φρούριον τὸ Λάβδαλον: (d) ch. 41, 8, ἔχει Θυρέαν πόλιν: (e) iv. 46, 1, ἐν τῷ βρει τῆς Ἰστώνης. See Krüger’s Grammar, § 50, 7.

27. ξυγκαταλιπτόντες—another rare word, denoting the common action of the combined force. The fortified position now occupied was not long retained, see ch. 80, 16.

CHAPTER LXXVI

1. εὐθύς—with χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου: ch. 13, 1, with ἐπιγιγνομένου: so iv. 52, 1. ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια ήγαγον—most modern editors regard this clause as an interpolation derived from ch. 75, 23, for the Carneia were over long before the winter period began; see ch. 54, 9. Jowett however holds that the words ‘are not intended as a mark of time, but have reference to the advantage taken of the Carneia by the enemies of Sparta’. If so, they seem somewhat misleading.

5. ξυμβατηρίους—a word only found in this chapter in Attic Greek, though used by later writers. Thucydides has λόγοι ξυμβατικοί, vi. 103, 3; so viii. 71, 1, and 91, 1, οὐδὲν ξυμβατικόν.

ib. ἦςαν δὲ αὐτοῖς—from the position of the words—‘they had adherents’, though the dative may depend on ἐπιτηθείοι. πρῶτερον τε...καὶ ἐπειδὴ—see note on iv. 103, 3, ἐπραξάν τε... καὶ τότε. In such cases the clause with τε refers to a time before that with which the main part of the sentence deals. ἐπιτηθεῖοι—favourable to their interests; i. 60, 2, τοῖς Ποιτιδαίταις ἀδὲ ποτὲ ἐπιτηθεῖοι. τὸν δήμον—the democracy, as in line 11: iii. 81, 3 etc.: without the article i. 107, 3: vi. 27 fin. etc.

8. ἐς τὴν ὁμολογίαν—loosely connected with πείθεων = ὥστε τὴν ὁμολογίαν ποιεῖσθαι. ποιήσαντες—‘after effecting’; cf. ch. 38, 27. καὶ ξυμμαχίαν—sc. ταύτα, ‘afterwards to bring about an alliance as well, and then’ etc. ἐπιτιθεσθαί—iii. 72, 1, ἐπιτιθενται τῷ δήμῳ.
CHAPTER LXXVI (B.C. 418) 211

13. Δίκαιος—see ch. 50, 16. δύο λόγοι—two proposals. καθ’ ὦ τι κ.τ.λ.—‘mira verborum brevitatis’, says Poppo, who adds that πολεμήσοντι and εἰρήνην ἄξονσι are to be understood with καθ’ ὦ τι and ὡς respectively. We have other forms of ellipse where terms are offered, e.g. iv. 37, 2, ἐκήρυξαν ἐλ βούλοντο τὰ δῆλα παραδούναι, sc. that they should accept these conditions: cf. iii. 52, 2, προσέμπει κήρυκα λέγοντα ἐλ κ.τ.λ. Dobree suggested leaving out ἐλ in both clauses. The proposal for war may have been something like the arrangement recorded in ch. 41.

16. ἔτυχε...παρών—ch. 61, 9. τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις—for dative cf. iv. 106, 2, τῶν πρασόντων τῷ Βρασίδα, where also ἐκ τοῦ φανέρου occurs. τολμώντες—so ii. 43, 1, and often.

CHAPTER LXXVII

The terms of the treaty in this chapter, and of the alliance in ch. 79, are given in the Doric dialect. The language however, according to the authorities, does not entirely conform to the rules of Laconian speech; and the documents may have been modified in the course of transcription. ‘These two treaties imposed by the victorious Lacedaemonians upon Argos mark the final dissolution of the alliance between Argos and the discontented members of the Peloponnesian league, and also of the alliance between Argos, Athens, Elis, and Mantinea’ (Jowett).

1. κατάδε—i.e. κατὰ τάδε: ch. 79 init. so κατὰ τά, line 15. τὰ ἐκκλησίας—‘The usual name of a public assembly in the Doric states was ἄλα. This is the name by which the Spartan assembly is called in Herodotus (vii. 134), and it is also used in official documents for those of Byzantium, of Gela, Agrigentum, Corcyra and Heraclea. In Sparta the ancient name of an assembly of the people was ἀπέλλα. In later times the names ἐκκλησία and οἱ ἐκκλητοῦ appear to have been chiefly in use’ (Miller’s Dorians, Bk. iii. 5, 9). See vi. 88, 10, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων. In the passage cited from Herodotus ἄλιθ in i. 125, of an assembly of Persians; v. 30, of a meeting held at Miletus; v. 79, of an assembly at Thebes.
2. ἔμψαλέσθαι—'to make agreement'; so line 24: Xen. Anab. vi. 6, 35, ξενιαν συνεβάλλωντο: vi. 3, 3, συνεβάλλωντο λόφον, 'they agreed on a certain hill'. ποττώς = πρὸς τοὺς: Theocr. xi. 1, ποττόν Ἑρωτα: Ar. Lys. 1005, ποττάς σπονδᾶς. ἄφοδεδοντας—'on their restoring'. παῖδας must be the hostages mentioned at the end of ch. 61, who were given to the Mantineans: Argos is therefore made responsible for their return.

4. τῶς ἄνδρας τοὺς Μαιναλίους—'no former mention had been made of the Maenalians; but as they had no one city, but were dispersed in several villages, an invading army could have had no difficulty in obliging them to give hostages separately, nor was there any one town capable of affording such resistance as to make its submission deserve a separate notice' (Arnold). 'The men in Mantinea' are the Arcadian hostages whom the Lacedaemonians had deposited in Orchomenus, and who were handed over to the Mantineans (ch. 61 fin.). There is a clear distinction made between παῖδες and ἄνδρες in this passage. Classen supposes that παῖδες may be youths who had not attained military age; Krüger suggests that slaves may be meant.

6. ἐξ Επιδαύρω—i.e., Ἐπιδαύρου. The district or neighbourhood is meant, as in ch. 55, 2. ἐκβάντας = ἐκβαλλοντας: see Lid. and Scott, προβάω. τὸ τεῖχος is the headland of Heraeum, ch. 75, 26.

7. αἱ δὲ καὶ—αἱ = ἐι: κα for Ionic κε = Attic ἄν: the whole phrase being equivalent to ἐὰν δὲ. ἐκώντις = ἐκωσί, 'withdraw': Krüger cites ἐκουσι ἐκ χώρης from Tyrtaeus; Hdt. ii. 80, ἐκουσί τῆς ὁδοῦ.

8. πολεμίους ἐμεν = ἐναι; so ch. 79, 2. ἡμεν is also read. The Athenians are the subject. 'A note of hostility to the Athenians is now first openly expressed, not unnaturally, since the captives were recovered, and the Athenians had taken part in the battle of Mantinea' (Jowett).

11. ἐκοινοτι—ἐκωντι is also read, but the indicative, as Poppo shows, gives the better sense, as it is a question of actual fact. For ἐι with the subjunctive see Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 454. Madvig (Greek Syntax, § 125) restricts the use in Attic prose to 'the archaic phraseology of law'.

12. περὶ δὲ τῶν σιῶν σὺματος = τοῦ θεοῦ σὺματος: Ar. Lys. 81, ναῦ τῶν σιῶ. We should expect τῶν σιῶ τῶν σὺματος; cf. i. 139, 1, περὶ τῶν ἐναγών τῆς ἑλάσεως: vi. 33, 1, περὶ τοῦ ἐπίπλου
CHAPTER LXXVII (B.C. 418) 213

\[\text{Otherwise } \sigma\nu \text{ is without the article, having in itself a definite force: cf. iv. 110, 1, } \alpha\tau\dot{o} \tau\dot{u} \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\varepsilon\nu\omega \delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omega\sigma, \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\varepsilon\upsilon\vars\eta, \text{ without the article, meaning the king of Persia. For 'the sacrifice due to the god', viz. Apollo Pythaeus, see ch. 53, 3.} \]

The reading of the remainder of this passage seems hopelessly uncertain, but the general sense is, as Arnold says, 'that with respect to the victim alleged by the Argives to be owed to the temple of Apollo from the Epidaurians, the matter should be decided by the oath of the Epidaurians, who were to swear whether it was justly due from them or no. It is well known that, where the evidence was not clear, the accused was allowed to clear himself by oath; and if he swore that he was innocent, the accuser had no further remedy'. See the provisions in ch. 18, 20.

13. e\iota\mu\epsilon \nu \lambda\eta\nu—the manuscript readings, e\iota\mu\epsilon \nu \lambda\eta\nu, e\iota\mu\epsilon\eta\nu, etc. are various and unintelligible. \lambda\eta\nu is the infinitive of \lambda\omega = \theta\ell\omega: Ar. Lys. 981, \lambda\omega \tau\iota \mu\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\iota \nu\epsilon\omicron: Ach. 766, \alpha \iota \lambda\eta\nu = \epsilon \iota \theta\ell\ell\alpha\iota\vars. The reading in the text is taken (i) 'that it be allowed to the Epidaurians to choose (\lambda\eta\nu) an oath'; but \lambda\eta\nu can scarcely thus govern an accusative: (ii) 'that (the contracting parties) desire (\lambda\eta\nu) that an oath be allowed (e\iota\mu\epsilon\nu) to the Epidaurians', or be taken by them. Some support for this rendering is derived, as Jowett points out, from ch. 18, 59, \epsilon\sigma\tau\omega \delta \epsilon \Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\nu\iota\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron \\delta\rho\kappa\omicron: but it is most awkward to connect \lambda\eta\nu with the initial \delta\omicron\epsilon\iota, like the other infinitives throughout the chapter. Should \lambda\eta\nu be omitted?

ib. \delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu \delta \epsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron \\delta\omicron\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota—'if \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron be right it is the subject of \delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu (\epsilon = \delta\omicron\nu\variant) and must refer to the Argives, who were to tender the oath. This makes sense, but forces the meaning of \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron: Arnold accordingly reads \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron, = that it be tendered to them.

The reading adopted of this clause assumes e\iota\mu\epsilon\nu \lambda\eta\nu in the clause before. There is however another suggested reading \alpha \iota \mu\epsilon\nu = \epsilon \iota \mu\epsilon\nu, the infinitive \lambda\eta\nu being taken with \alpha \iota, 'if they will'. \epsilon \iota with the infinitive in oratio obliqua is Herodotean; there is one instance in Thucydides, iv. 98, 3, \epsilon \iota \\upsilon\nu\nu\omicron\nu\epsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron: \iota \vars. Where see note. With this reading there is a different group of suggestions and explanations; e.g. Becker's \alpha \iota \mu\epsilon\nu \lambda\eta\nu \tau\omicron\omicron 'E\pi\delta\alpha\upsilon\rho\iota\iota\omicron, \\delta\rho\kappa\omicron \delta\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\omicron \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron \\delta\omicron\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota, 'if the Epidaurians please etc.'; and Ahrens' conjecture \alpha \iota \mu\epsilon\nu \lambda\eta\nu, \tau\omicron\omicron 'E\pi\delta\alpha\upsilon\rho\iota\iota\omicron \\delta\rho\kappa\omicron \delta\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\omicron, \alpha \iota \\delta\epsilon, \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron \\delta\omicron\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota, 'if they please, they may tender an oath to the Epidaurians, if (otherwise) they may swear themselves'; i.e. the matter was to be decided either by the oath of the Epidaurians or by that of the Argives.

G. T.
Further discussion of the text may be found in Classen and Fowler.

14. καὶ μικρὸς καὶ μεγάλας—‘attende articulum non additum, qui ideò omissus videtur, quia sententia haec est: sive parvae sint sive magnae’ (Poppo). ‘The independence of the cities of Peloponnesus, ‘small and great’, is proclaimed, probably to avoid the suspicion which had been engendered by the former treaty between Lacedaemon and Athens, ch. 29, and on the other hand to prevent larger states, like Elis or Mantinea, increasing their power by the subjugation of smaller ones’ (Jowett). See note at the beginning of ch. 47.

16. αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰν ἐκτός—this clause is especially directed against Athens. ἐπὶ κακῶ—ch. 18, 28. ἀλεξέμενα—i.e. ἀλέξεω: ‘to lend aid’ or repel the enemy from another: mid. ‘repel from one’s self’: cf. ἀμύω, ἀμύνομαι.

18. ἀμόθι—probably = Doric ἀμά (or ἀμὴ) i.e. ἀμα: cf. ch. 47, 80, κοι ὀμολογομέναις: ch. 80, 8, μὴ ξυμβαλειν...ἄλλ᾽ ἡ ἀμα. Lid. and Scott however say that the word means ‘in any way’, as ὀδιμόθι = ὀδιμοῦ. ἀμοθι is also read and is interpreted either in the same sense = ἀμα, or as derived from a privative and μόθος, ‘sine seditione et dissensione’ (Ahrens). ὀπγ κα= ὀγγ ἁν, ch. 18, 67: vili. 56, 4. ἐντὶ=eiτ. For ἐσούνται, Ahrens reads ἐσόλονται.

23. ἐπιδεξαντας—‘the contracting parties to show these conditions to the allies before concluding the treaty’. The participle as usual is the emphatic word. For ξυμβαλέσθαι see line 2.

24. αἱ καὶ αὕτοις δοκῆ—αὕτοις seems certainly to refer to the allies. If they approved, the treaty was to be signed at once. Their possible disapproval is dealt with in the next clause, αἱ δὲ τῷ, where the addition of καὶ ἄλλα as read by Arnold makes the sense clear, but has little authority. One manuscript has μῆ. κα ἄλλο is a plausible suggestion; but we see from ch. 79, 13, that the subjunctive can stand with αἱ alone.

25. ἀπιάλην = ἀποτέμπεων. The subject is not clear. Either the Lacedaemonians and Argives were to send the allies home to consult their respective home governments; or the allies were to send the proposed terms home for con-
sideration. Grote and others understand that the allies were to be summarily dismissed, and the treaty concluded without them; but this scarcely agrees with the clauses before.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

4. ἐπιμεζίας οὖσης—with παρὰ: cf. i. 13, 3, παρ' ἄλληλοις ἐπιμεζίατων: ii. 1, ἐπεμίμηντο παρ' ἄλληλοις. ἐπιμεζία occurs ch. 35, 3.

6. ἐπραξάν—see the end of ch. 76. ἀφέντας—i. 102, 3, ἀφέντες τὴν ξυμμαχίαν: so ch. 115, 7. σπονδ'ς καλ ξυμμαχίαν—ch. 46, 40.

CHAPTER LXXIX

3. ἐπὶ τοῖς θυγαῖς—ch. 27, 14. διδόντας—accusative, as if ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι had gone before. The construction may have been changed to avoid clashing with the intervening datives.

5. κοινανοῦτων—κοινωνοῦτων: κοινάν = κοινών subst., Pind. Pyth. iii. 28. τὰς ξυμμαχίας—Classen with Cobet reads τὰς ξυμμαχίας, see ch. 27, 2. αὐτοπόλεις—not found elsewhere; see the similar compounds at the beginning of ch. 18.

7. ἔχοντες...διδόντες—this transition to the masculine is to be noticed. τοιοῦτο—sc. ἐν: ch. 42, 2. The plural is here used instead of ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῖς, ch. 77, 20.

14. ὅπα κα—ch. 77, 18. Poppo suggests that κρίνουτι should be read for κρίναντας. Otherwise the phraseology is elliptical, κρίνουτι being implied. See Krüger’s Grammar, § 69, 7, 2, for somewhat similar examples. The clause refers to the supplies and contingents which the respective cities would have to furnish.
18. διακριθῆμεν—in the active διακρίνω is to decide or settle a difference; as Hdt. i. 100, διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερόμενα δίκας. In the passive it is used of the disputants; Plat. Euthyph. 7 c, ἐπὶ τὸ ἱστάναι ἐλθὼντες διακριθῆμεν ἃν, 'we should settle our difference by recourse to weighing'. Here the meaning seems to be that the allied cities are if possible to 'settle disputes' between themselves. The next item of the treaty provides for arbitration in case of the dispute going on. Arnold however takes the first clause to refer to a difference between an allied city and one outside the confederacy, and the second to a quarrel between two allied cities. The former case was to be settled as best it could; in the latter arbitration was to be resorted to.

19. ἐριξοὶ—'if the difference should become a quarrel' (Jowett). There seems no especial reason for the optative; though it may be explained as following the initial ἔδοξε and as denoting a more improbable and remote contingency than the subjunctive. δοκεῖοι is accommodated to the same construction.

ib. ἂν τινα ἵσαν—we should expect ἄτις ἴσα as subject to δοκεῖοι. As the text stands either (1) δοκεῖοι means 'considers', the subject being the πόλις which goes with ἐριξοὶ and εἴναι being understood: or more probably (2) the full construction is (ἐστι) ἂν τινα (ὡς οὖσαν) ἵσαν (ἐλθεῖν) δοκεῖοι. δοκεῖοι is equivalent to δοκεῖν.

20. ἀμφοῖν ταῖς—we have ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ch. 29, 17: ἀμφῶ τῷ twice in ch. 23. These are the only instances of ἀμφῶ in Thucydides.

ib. τῶς δ' ἐταῖς—the manuscripts have τοῖς δ' ἐταῖς, which necessitates giving an impersonal passive meaning to δικαδαισθαῖ, 'justice to be administered', for which there is no authority. ἐται are private citizens. In an ancient inscription at Olympia they are opposed to the τελεσταὶ = οἱ ἐν τέλει; cf. Aesch. Suppl. 217, πρὸς σε πότερον ὡς ἔτην λέγω... ἡ πόλεως ἀγὼν; Their ancient legal rights are here secured against change of government, or the centralising influence of dominant states.
CHAPTER LXXIX (B.C. 418)

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

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6. 

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8. 

9.
13. ἂν δὲ...ἐς Ἀργοὺς—ii. 99, 2, Τιμενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐς Ἀργοὺς, of Perdiccas and his ancestors: see also Hdt. viii. 137. For constr. cf. iv. 3, 3, oikélovs ὄντας αὐτῶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. τοῖς Χαλκιδεῖσι—in ch. 31, 29, we find the Chalcidians making a league with Argos. They had probably been regarded as allies of Sparta since 432, when they revolted from Athens (i. 58, 1).

17. τὸ ἔσ—ch. 34, 1, note. Arnold quotes Hdt. vii. 37, ὃ ἀλιοὺς ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὄδόν. τεῖχος—see ch. 75, 26.

18. ὀρῶντες...ὀντες—the manuscript reading is ὄντας, which might possibly be explained as referring to τοὺς σφετέρους: ὄντες however is read by all editors, to avoid ambiguity. The position was held by the Argive confederates jointly (ch. 75).

19. Δημοσθένης—the common form of the accusative of this name. It is a 'heteroclite', like Σωκράτης, which makes both Σωκράτην and Σωκράτη.

21. πρόφασιν—the accusative in apposition adverbially used; so iii. 111, 1: cf. προίκα, δωρεάν etc. In ch. 53, 2, we have προφάσει. 'Demosthenes seems to have acted partly by bravado, partly because he preferred to give up the fortress to the Epidaurians, rather than leave it in the possession of the confederate troops, which included those of Argos, now in alliance with Sparta. By the terms of the first treaty (ch. 77, 6) the Argives equally with the Athenians were bound to evacuate the fortress, but this may have been unknown to Demosthenes' (Jowett).

22. τὸ ἄλλο φρουρικόν—i.e. οἱ ἄλλοι φρουροί. The reading of the best manuscripts is φρούριον, which Classen retains, in the sense of φροῦρα, ch. 73, 28. There appears however no certain authority for this usage, and here it would be particularly awkward after the word has just been used in its natural way. It is tempting to suggest the omission either of φρουρικόν or the preceding τοῦ φρουροῦ.

23. ἀνανεσάμενοι τὰς σπονδάς—'the treaty referred to is probably that made at the general peace (ch. 18), which, after the many vicissitudes of Athenian and Lacedaemonian politics, might well need to be renewed in any particular which was henceforth intended to be observed. The Epidaurians are
mentioned by name in the armistice (iv. 119, 2), but are only included, without being named, among the allies of the Lacedaemonians in the treaty' (Jowett).

24. αὐτοὶ—thus avoiding the appearance of compulsion, and excluding their late allies from any credit for the surrender.

CHAPTER LXXXI

3. οὐ δυνάμενοι—see note on διενοεῖτο, ch. 80, 12. ἧνεβησαν—for 30 years, according to Xen. Hell. v. 2, 2. τὴν ἀρχὴν...τῶν πόλεων—see ch. 29, ch. 33 etc. These cities were given up in accordance with the provision of the treaty, ch. 79, 5.

6. καὶ Δακεδαμόνιοι—this sentence is a curious example of appositional construction, the subject being first contracted with αὐτοὶ οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι and again expanded with ἡνεβησαν. The clause beginning τὰ τ’ ἐν Σικυώνι is in fact semi-parenthetical, and the meaning is that the Lacedaemonians before marching with the Argives to Argos, went by themselves to Sicyon. The Argive χάλιοι seem those mentioned in ch. 67, 15; most of them escaping the slaughter of Mantinea (ch. 73, 22).

8. ἐς ὀλίγους...κατέστησαν—i.e. set up an oligarchical government; ii. 37, 1, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἄλλ’ ἐς πλέονας οἰκεῖω: viii. 53, 4, ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς πολίσαμεν: viii. 89, 3, τὸν ἀγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν. In viii. 38, 3, the manuscripts have τῆς πόλεως ἐς ὀλίγου κατεχομένης, where the meaning required is 'being reduced to an oligarchy'. No similar instance of ἐς ὀλίγου is forthcoming, and Classen and Stahl adopt Dobree's correction ἐς ὀλίγους.

ib. μᾶλλον—Krüger seems right in understanding ἦ ἐς πλέονας. Most editors understand ἦ πρῶτερον: but Krüger observes that this would require a more emphatic position of μᾶλλον, such as before ἦ. Grote points out that Sicyon had always been oligarchic and favourable to Sparta; but a democratic party may have been making head.
10. κατέλυσαν—see ch. 76, 7. ἐπιτηδεία—‘favourable to their interests’. This was the Lacedaemonian system; see i. 19, 1, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαίμονις οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρον τοὺς ξυμ-μάχους ἠγοίντο, κατ’ ὄλγαρχιαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτῶις μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὑπὼς πολιτεύσωσι θεραπεύσαντες.

12. πρὸς ἑαρ—cf. iv. 135, 1, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἑαρ ἡδη.

CHAPTER LXXXII

1. Διῆς—see note on ch. 35, 1. ἐπιτηδείως—see note on ch. 81, 11. καθίσαντο—of political arrangements. At the beginning of the war Achaia was neutral, with the exception of Pellene (ii. 9, 2).

5. κατ’ ὀλίγον—‘little by little’, gradually; i. 61 fin. κατ’ ὀλίγον προῆν: usually ‘in small divisions’ as in iv. 10, 4. ξυνιστάμενος—‘conspiring’; iii. 70, 4: or perhaps merely ‘getting together’, as in ii. 88, 1. ‘The oligarchy which was established in Argos πρὸς ἑαρ (ch. 81, 12), say in March, lasted till the time of the γυμνοπαιδία, a period of about 5 months. During this period the secret meetings and deliberations of the popular party were held, until sufficient confidence for a rising had been gained. ἀναθαρσίας in the aorist denotes the conclusion of the deliberations expressed by the present ξυνιστά- μενος’ (F.).

The clause κατ’ ὀλίγον...ἀναθαρσίας is to be taken in apposition (Krüger), otherwise ἐπέθεντο with the singular participle would be harsh and almost unexampled: cf. iii. 80, 1, ὅ δῆμος..., περιδής γενόμενος..., ἥσαν ἐς λόγους.

6. ἐπέθεντο—ch. 76, 11. τηρίσαντες—ii. 22, 1, τηρίσαντες νύκτα χειμεριῶν: with infinitive iv. 26, 4, ἐτήρουν ἀνέμω κατα-φέρεσθαι. αὐτάς—‘the exact time of’: ii. 3, 3, φιλάξαντες αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον. The Gymnopaediae were held in Hecatombaeon, about July. The festival consisted of gymnastic and warlike exercises, and, like the Carneia, kept the Spartans at home.

10. ἔως μὲν—anterior in time to the clause with δὲ, and subordinate in sense. ἐκ πλείονος—‘for some time back’; iv.
It is to be taken with ἃλθων. The sense is, that, though the Lacedaemonians had for some time taken no notice of repeated appeals for help, yet now they postponed the festival and marched out. There is a suspicious incompleteness about the sentence, and a want of antithesis between the clauses with μὲν and δὲ. We should expect τὸτε δὲ or the like.

17. ἀγγέλων—'as messengers'. Most editors would omit this word. F. follows Müller-Strübing in reading καὶ ἀγγέλων τῶν. The Argives in the city sent envoys, the exiles could only send messengers. προσβέβευ τι ἀπὸ is also suggested for προσβέβευ ἀπὸ τε. This would make the sentence clearer; still irregularities with τε are common.

18. ἀφ' ἐκατέρων—'on either side'; iii. 36, 5, γυναῖκε ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἔλεγοντο: ch. 37, 2. ἐγνωσαν—'pronounced', as heads of the Peloponnesian league. διατριβαὶ—ch. 38, 30: vii. 49, 3, δικαίος τις καὶ μέλλοντο ἐνεγένετο. προσαγόμενος—'courting' or 'trying to gain'; more usually of persons, iii. 32, 2, ὀλγοῦς ἐς φιλαν προσάξεσθαι. Also of acquiring places by capitulation, as in ii. 30, 2: vi. 54, 3.

24. μέγιστον [ἀν...] ὡφέλησεν—so vii. 24, 3, μέγιστον ἐκάκωσε: vii. 44, 6 μέγιστον ἐβλαψε. The plural is more common in such cognate constructions, but the singular is quite regular; see Krüger's Grammar, § 46, 5. ἄν with the future infinitive is found five times in Thucydides according to manuscript authority. Whether it can be retained is a moot point; see note on ch. 15, 11, and Goodwin, § 208: Madvig's Greek Syntax, § 173, R. 2. Here it is easy to omit ἄν or to read ὡφελῆσαι. The subject of the infinitive in the Athenian alliance, not the contemplated building of walls (Herbst). The latter view involves a gratuitous irregularity in the use of τε and καὶ, and in no way improves the sense.

25. μακρά τεῖχη—see ch. 52, 15. The distance to the sea, according to Pausanias, was four miles and a half. Plutarch says that the building of the walls was promoted by Alcibiades, who came to Argos after the victory of the democracy (Alc. 15).

27. ἐπαγωγή—vii. 24, 3, οἱ ἐσπλοὶ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: i. 81, 1, ἐκ βαλανίων ὁὗ δέονται ἐπάξονται.

ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ θάνατον: Xen. Hell. iii. 3, 6, ἐφιστάμενος ὃς σωτὴρ χριστιανός ἐστιν, ὡστε τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.
222

THUCYDIDES

verbs. Krüger suggests ξυνήμεσαν. Jealousy and fear of Sparta, no doubt fomented by Alcibiades, had already produced an inclination towards Athens, and long walls would draw the Argives into closer connexion with the Athenian naval power. For the position of τινὲς cf. i. 45, 2, and i. 53, 4, εσ τῶν ἐκεῖνων τι χωρίων (where Krüger reads χωρίων): Xen. Anab. ii. 5, 32, τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἵππεων. In ch. 25, 7, the order is different.

31. τέκτονες—timber was used in such works; vi. 99, 1, λίθους καὶ ξύλα ξυμφοροῦντες, of the besieging Athenians at Syracuse.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

2. τειχιζόντων—aισθάνομαι is found with the genitive i. 57, 4 etc., but only here with the genitive participle: the accusative construction is common, as in ch. 37, 18.

4. αὐτοῖς—probably with ὑπηρχε 'they had to start with': but the dative might also be taken with πρασομενον. Indeed its construction is affected by both words, in accordance with a common Thucydidean order. ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργοῦς αὐτόθεν—ii. 25, 3, αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοκίδος Ἡλείων: Hdt. viii. 61, αὐτόθεν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος.

8. οὐ προὐχωρησέν ἔτι—'came to nothing further'. Ἡσιάς—near the border of Arcadia on the road to Tegea.

14. δτι—gives the reason for δησομαι, the participle as usual being the emphatic word. We may compare the clause in the treaty, ch. 47, 17, ἢν δὲ δησομαι συχναί. σφῶν—i. 30, 3, σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐποίουν: so iv. 13, 2, αὐτῶν οἱ ἀνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο. The position of the pronoun gives it an emphatic force, 'they found them receiving, they were aggrieved by their receiving their exiles', cf. Buttmann on Dem. Meid. 520, § 17, τὸν διδάσκαλον διεφθειρέ μου. κατψκηντο—i. 120, 2, κατψκηνένους: ii. 96, 1, σα μέρη κατψκητο. This use of the perfect and pluperfect is peculiar to Thucydides and Herodotus.
16. κατεκλησαν—'blockaded', they stopped any coasting trade which might be carried on in the winter; τοῦτ’ ἐστι τῶν εἰσαγωγιῶν τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτοῦς κατεκλησαν (schol.): i. 117, 2, ἔλθοντο τοῦ Περμέλους κατεκλησαν. This passage and the scholiast's explanation seem enough to support the reading. κατεκλήσαν with Μακεδονιὰς, partitive genitive, and ἐλήι-ισαν have been suggested; but the compound is only found in the middle and that in late authors, and the active of the simple verb is too far from the manuscript reading. According to the best manuscripts it occurs in iii. 85, 1, and iv. 41, 2, but even there Classen adopts the middle.

Most manuscripts have Μακεδονιὰς Περδίκκαν: which can scarcely mean 'Perdiccas (king) of Macedonia', no similar instance being known. Another explanation connects the genitive with κατεκλήσαν on the analogy of Soph. Ἀμ. 1274, ἐρκεύν ἐγκεκλησίνους, 'shut up within your bulwarks'. Μακεδονιὰ has also been conjectured 'shut him up with' i.e. 'in Macedonia'. Two inferior manuscripts have Μακεδονιαν, and probably this or Μακέδωνας should be adopted, the scholiast's αὐτῶς being in favour of the latter. Περδίκκα, depending on ἐπικαλούτες, should then be read in accordance with Goeller's suggestion; cf. ch. 59, 29.

19. ἔνυπλοιν—see ch. 80, 11. παρασκευασμένων—we are told nothing of this intended expedition. It could scarcely have been before Cleon's death, as Perdiccas up to that time had been faithful to the Athenians since he broke with Brasidas in 423; see ch. 6, 6, and iv. 132, 1. Besides, it is mentioned after the ἔνυπλοιν.

22. ἐψευστο—'had belied', i.e. failed in; iii. 66, 3, τὴν ἐσοθείσαν ὑπόσχεσαι: Hdt. vi. 32, οὐκ ἐψευσαντο τὰς ἀπειλᾶς. So Hom., Eur. and Xen.

ib. ἦ στρατιά—this would imply that the troops were actually sent; or the army at any rate embodied. Perhaps στρατεία should be read; but διελύθη, 'was broken up', goes more naturally with στρατιά.

23. ἀπάραντος—elsewhere ἀπαίρω is to start, or put to sea, as in iv. 26, 4: iv. 46, 1. Possibly it may here be used to mean 'by his defection', which is the sense required. Most editors however believe it to be corrupt. Poppo suggests ἀποστάντος: Classen οὗ παρόντος, ἀπαθήσαντος etc.
CHAPTER LXXXIV

1. Ἀλκιβίαδης τε—answered by καὶ ἐπὶ, line 6. ἔτι—see ch. 82, 9. κατέθευτο—iii. 72, 1, κατέθευτο ἐσ Ἀλγυαν: vi. 61, 3, τοὺς ὀμήρους τὰν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις κείμενοι, where κεῖμαι represents the perfect passive of κατατίθεσθαι, as in ch. 61, 22.

8. Λεσβίαι—so in most manuscripts: Classen prefers Λεσβίαι. According to Cobet’s rule Λεσβίαι would be the proper dual form; see note on iv. 4, 2. In favour of retaining Λεσβίαι cf. ch. 79 fin. ἀμφών ταῖς πόλεσι: so in vii. 50, 2, δύον ἡμέρῶν is read by some, though δύο has the best authority. According to Krüger’s Grammar, § 44, 2, the dual and plural are used indifferently with δύο undeclined; the dual more commonly with δύον.

These Lesbian ships were from Methymna, which remained free when the rest of the island was allotted to Athenian κληροῦχοι in 427 (iii. 50).

11. ξυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν—not necessarily identical, as Classen shows, citing vi. 85, 2, where the Athenians explain the various degrees of independence enjoyed by their so-called allies: see also ii. 9, 3.

12. οἱ δὲ Μῆλοι—‘now the Melians’; δὲ introduces the statement of the grounds of the invasion. Ἀκαδαιμονίων—Hdt. viii. 48, Μῆλοι γένος ἑπτες ἀπὸ Ἀκαδαιμονίων.

14. οὐκ ἡθέλον—note the force of the imperfects in this sentence. ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι—ii. 9, 3, πλὴν Μῆλον καὶ Θῆρας. οὐδετέρων ὄντες—we should expect either οὐδὲ μὲν ἐτέρων ὄντες (the regular form with a preposition), or οὐδετέρων ὄντες ξύμμαχοι. In iii. 86, 2, however, we have Λοκρὸι Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, so. ξύμμαχοι. ἤνάγκαζον—the Athenians attacked them in 426 under the command of Nicias (iii. 91).

17. ἐς πόλεμον...κατέστησαν—ch. 25, 17.

ib. στρατοπεδευσάμενοι...ἐς—the preposition of motion is not found elsewhere with στρατοπεδευσάμεθα, but there is no difficulty in the pregnant construction, nor any need to read στρατευσάμενοι: cf. i. 109, 2, ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέκλησαν.
23. ταῖς ἀρχαῖς—‘the authorities’; ch. 28, 2. The ἄλγοι seem to have been a select council or assembly.

CHAPTER LXXXV

For the place of the ‘Melian discussion’ in the history, see Introduction.

The Athenians first propose a debate on the several points at issue instead of continuous speeches.

3. ὅπως δὴ—so vii. 18, 1, where δὴ gives the actual reason, not merely an alleged motive. ῥήσει—only here in Thucydides. ἀνελεγκτα—not to be questioned or disproved.

6. τοῦτο φρονεῖ—‘this is the idea (intention) of’ your bringing us before the few: vi. 36, 2, αἱ ἄγγελαι τοῦτο δύναται. For ὑμῶν Krüger and others prefer the objective genitive ἡμῶν.

7. ἀγωγῆ—‘bringing’: there are two passages, iv. 29, 1, and vi. 29, 3, where this word is found in the manuscripts and where the sense required is ‘putting to sea’ or the like. In both passages most editors alter it into ἀναγωγῆ. In Xen. Cyr. vi. 1, 24, ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς means ‘on marches’ lit. the ‘leading’ of an army.

9. μῆδ' ὑμεῖς—μηδὲ compares the two parties to the discussion; ‘do not you any more than we’. As the Melians feared the effect of an uninterrupted address from the Athenians, so on their part they were not to restrict themselves to a single speech, but state their objections item by item as they occurred. According to this view ἐν λόγῳ depends on the sense ‘giving your answer’ supplied from the following words. Classen however takes ἐν λόγῳ of the Athenians’ speech, connecting it closely with κρίνετε, ‘do not you either form your decision from (hearing) a single speech’. μηδὲ then would contrast ὑμεῖς, the select audience, with the πλῆθος. This view gives a good sense, but it seems more natural to refer ἐν λόγῳ to the subject of the sentence, and the dative can scarcely equal ἐνα λόγον ἀκούσαντες.

10. ὑπολαμβάνοντες—‘replying’; ii. 72, 1: ch. 49, 20.
11. ἐπιτατ— the only instance of a form from aorist ἐπίνα in Thucydides. Generally ἐπινάς and ἐπιτατ are more usual than the corresponding forms of ἐπινον.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

The Melian representatives fear that they will have no real freedom of discussion. The verdict has already gone against them.

1. ἕνδροι— 'commissioners'; iv. 22, 1: they are afterwards called ὀλγοι ὄντες in the same chapter.

2. ἐπιείκεια— 'equitableness', and reasonable consideration; iii. 40, 3, ἡ ἐπιείκεια πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιτηδεύουσα ἐσεθαί δι- δόται: iii. 48, 1, μὴ ὀκτώ πλέον νέμοντες μὴ ἐπιείκεια. 'The primary sense of ἐπιεικῆς is equitable, one who has a leaning to the merciful side and of an indulgent disposition, as opposed to one who takes a strict and vigorous view of an offence, puts a harsh construction on men's motives and actions, and is inclined to enforce on all occasions the letter of the law. From this, and because we think this the better disposition of the two, ἐπιεικῆς is transferred by metaphor to the general signification of good' (Cope on Ar. Rhet. i. 2, 4). For further illustration of τὸ ἐπιεικὲς see Ar. Rhet. i. 13, 13—9: Eth. Nic. v. 10: vi. 11, 1.

4. αὐτό— 'it', τὸ διδάσκειν, etc. ἢ αὐτό below refers to the same. For this use of αὐτό and αὐτά see ch. 27, 4; and note on ἐπάθομεν αὐτό, iv. 25, 1.

7. περιγενομένοις—if we prove the better in the justice of our cause: Dem. Pant. 978, πολλῷ τῷ δικαῖῳ περεῖναι βουλή- μενος.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

The Athenians call on them in effect to say yes or no to their proposal.

1. τοίνυν—'well then, if you etc.' τοίνυν occurs in Thucydides only in direct address; ch. 89, 1: 105, 1, etc.
CHAPTER LXXXV (B.C. 416) 227

iv. ὑπονοια—‘to calculate surmises of what is going to happen’. ὑπόνοια here is a somewhat invidious word: in ii. 41, 4, τῶν ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν is simply the conception of facts as opposed to the reality.

2. ἄλλο τὶ—πράξωντες may be mentally supplied, but really the phrase is independent of construction; cf. iii. 85, 4, ἀπόγνωσι τοῦ ἄλλο τὶ ἡ κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς: so iii. 30, 1, τὶ ἄλλο ἡ ἐπέβουλευσαν: iii. 58, 5, τὶ ἄλλο ἡ καταλείψατε: ii. 16, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ ἀπολείπτων.

ib. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κ.τ.λ.—contrasted with the invisible future. βουλέσωντες—here and in ch. 111, 5, the active is appropriately used of the commissioners who ‘advise’ in the interests of the people at large. There seem however undoubted instances where Thucydides uses βουλεύω in the sense of ‘taking counsel’, and ἐβουλεύα of ‘deciding’; and where other Attic writers would employ the middle: see note on iv. 15, 1.

4. πανοιμέθ’ ἄν—‘we will (in that case) stop’. Contrast this cynical affectation of indifference with the peremptory ἐξητατ at the end of ch. 85.

ib. ἔτι τοῦτο—sc. ξυνήκετε: iv. 18, 1, ἐφ’ ἐν ὑμῖν ἀφεγμένη ψυχὴ αἰτομέθα. There are abundant instances to justify the manuscript reading in iv. 3, 2, ἔτι τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνέπλευσε, though most editors alter it to ἔτι τοῦτῳ.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

The Melians agree to the discussion.

1. μὲν—answered by μένοι. ξυγγνώμη—iv. 61, 4, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πλεονεκτεῖν πολλὴ ξυγγνώμη. ἐν τῷ τούτῳ καθεστῶτας—‘in a position like ours’.

2. ἔτι πολλὰ τρέποντεσθαι—ch. 111, 14: i. 20, fin., ἔτι τὰ ἐτοιμα τρέπονται. δοκοῦντας—‘in thought’: ‘minus invidiosa voce sententiam exprimunt eandem quam Athenienses verbo ὑπονοεῖν’ (Krüger).
CHAPTER LXXXIX

The Athenians deprecate appeals to abstract justice and the like, and call on the Melians to take a practical view of the actual facts.

1. οὖτε αὐτὸ...οὖθ’ ύμᾶς—‘well then, we make no pretence of fine words, and we beg you will not’. The οὖνμάτα καλά are appeals to justice and the like, contrasted with τὰ δυνατά. Similar language is attributed to the Athenian envoy Euphemus at Camarina, vi. 83, 2, οὗ καλλιεπούμεθα, ὡς ἦ τὸν βάρβαρον μόνοι καθελώντες εἰκότως ἄρχομεν κ.τ.λ. See also the whole of the Athenian speech at Sparta before the war, i. 73—78. οὖνμάτα = nomina, names of things; cf. iii. 82, 4, τὴν εἰωθοῦν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὁνομάτων ἀντῆλλαξαν.

3. ἀδικοῦμενοι—note the use of the present. ἐπεξερχόμεθα—‘are seeking redress, exacting vengeance’; iii. 38, 1, ὑπαθῶν...ἐπεξέρχεται : vi. 38, 2, ἡμεῖς κακὸλ ἐπεξελθεῖν.

4. οὖθ’ ύμᾶς ἄξιούμεν—οὐκ ἄξιόντος: I request you not'; ch. 26, 9 : i. 136, 3, οὐκ ἄξιόι φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι. ἦ δὲ... ἦ ὡς—dependent on λέγοντας. Λακεδαίμονίων...ἐξευτρατεύσατε—in sentences like this the verb states a fact of which the participle gives the reason; cf. line 2 : iv. 27, 2, ἔχοντας τι ἵσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι, ‘thought they must have some strong ground to rely on as they made no more overtures’. Here we must supply with ἐξευτρατεύσατε either (1) αὐτοῖς, ‘though Lacedaemonian colonists you did not serve with them against us’: or (2) ἧμῖν, ‘you did not join us because you were Lacedaemonian colonists’. Either rendering gives good sense. In favour of (1), it is easier to supply αὐτοῖς from Λακεδαίμονίων than to understand ἧμῖν, and we also get a sharper antithesis to the following ύμᾶς.

7. τὰ δυνατὰ...διαπράσσομεθα—still dependent on ἄξιούμεν, ύμᾶς being the subject. Classen holds that the subject is now
CHAPTER LXXXVIII (B.C. 416)

not merely ἐμαύς but ἐκάτεροι, ἄξιοὶ ἦσθαν being taken in a somewhat altered sense 'we think it right (for both of us) to endeavour to effect etc.' But this view weakens the force of the sentence, in which, from οὕτῳ ἐμαύς, the Athenians are dictating to the Melians the line which they expect them to take. The middle form διαπράσσομαι implies mutual arrangement.

8. ἐπισταμένοις πρὸς εἴδοτας—'since you know as well as we do'. πρὸς may be taken either with διαπράσσομαι, or generally in the sense of 'dealing with, having to do with'.

9. ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπει τόγω—'in the language (or reasoning) of (practical) men', as opposed to the theories of philosophers and the dreams of fanatics: cf. ch. 111, 6, ἄνθρωποι: ch. 103, 9, ἄνθρωπειοι: i. 76, 2, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωπειον τρόπου: iii. 40, 1, ἀμαρτείν ἄνθρωπινος.

ib. ἀπό—'from the standpoint of'; i. 21, 2, ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι: or perhaps 'starting from', 'backed by'; i. 91, 4, ἀπὸ ἄντιπάλου παρασκευής: cf. ch. 103, 2. ἀνάγκης—probably active—'power to compel'; i. 99, 1, προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας: but possibly 'cum sunt ἐν τῷ ἀνάγκῃ'. Questions of justice may be argued, when both parties are equal in strength, but now it is not a question of abstract justice, but of practical possibilities.

10. δυνατά—what can be practically realized; 'but that is possible which the strong effect and the weak acquiesce in': or possibly πράσομαι may mean 'exact'. For πράσομαι the scholiast gives προστάσομαι, which Dobree and Cobet would adopt; πράσομαι however is similarly used in ch. 105, 4. The neuter plural is the object of ἔγγχωροῦσιν, as in ch. 41, 12.

CHAPTER XC

The Melians urge that, even setting aside abstract considerations of justice, they may hope for fair treatment on the ground of general expediency.

1. ἢ μὲν δή—'as we think, at any rate, it is advantageous'. Some editors have ἡμεῖς δή, or ἡμεῖς μὲν δή, making χρήσιμον depend on νομίζομεν.
2. ἀνάγκη γάρ—'we must needs take the ground of expediency'. παρά τὸ δίκαιον—'setting aside, passing by the question of justice'. ὑπελειπθε—'lay down the principle', 'make expediency the basis of discussion'.

3. τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν—explained by what follows. It is the principle of equity, and reasonable consideration.

5. εἰναι τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια—'that for him who from time to time is in danger (1) what is reasonable should be also considered just'; or (2) 'he should have all that is reasonable and just'. (1) is supported by the absence of καὶ from the best manuscripts; while the scholiast's explanation, τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τὰ δίκαια νέμεσθαι, is in favour of (2), which also gives a more emphatic force to εἰναι.

Dobree is in favour of taking τὰ εἰκότα κ.τ.λ. as dependent, like τί καὶ εἰντός, on πεισοντά, 'men in danger should be allowed, if they can plead what is reasonable and just, nay something even short of strict justice, to get the benefit thereof'.

For this force of εἰναι cf. iii. 39, 9, ὅταν ἡ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευθέρωσε ἢ, ἢ σφαλέντι μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν. Krüger and Stahl would omit δίκαια.

ib. καὶ τί καὶ ἐντός—'something which even falls short of the strict letter': Cic. Ep. Fam. ix. 26, 9, non modo non contra legem sed intra legem: so cis, citra; Tac. Ann. xi. 30, veniam petens quod ei cis Plautios cis Vettios dissimulavisset, 'begging pardon for having hidden what he knew, so long as matters did not go beyond a Plautius and a Vettius': ib. xii. 22, ira Agrippinae citra ultima stetit, 'stopped short of extremities'.

ib. τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς—'strict justice'; iv. 47, 1, ὥστε ἀκριβὴ τὴν πρόφασιν γενέσθαι.

6. πεισοντά—nearly all manuscripts have πεισοντα, which some editors retain as = μέλλοντα πεισεῖν, 'if he has the prospect of getting accepted'; 'although he may be destined to fail in making out a strict case' (Jowett). But the slight alteration to the aorist is preferable, 'quum utilitas perfecta demum persuasione effici posset' (Poppo). With πεισοντα is connected the neuter accusative τι (iv. 17, 1, ὅταν ἃν πειθώμεν), and also, if Dobree's view be adopted, τινὰ as accusative of the object. Otherwise τινὰ is the subject of ὑφελεσθαι. For the use of ὑφελεσθαι, cf. iii. 53, 3, ἐπεισενεγκάμενοι μαρτύρα ὑφελούμεθ' ἀν.
CHAPTER XC (B.C. 416) 231

ib. πρὸς ὑμῶν—‘for your advantage’, ‘in your interest’; iv. 17, 2, τὰ πλείω ὅρῳ πρὸς ὑμῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτα. οὐχ ἤσουν—litotes. The following ὅσος is connected with the comparative.

7. ἐπὶ μεγίστη τιμωρίᾳ—ἐπὶ seems here connected with σφαλέντες, to denote the conditions under which the Athenians would be defeated if such an event should take place; ‘having the heaviest vengeance to look for in case you should be overthrown’. So we say ‘standing to lose’ so much on a future event.

Krüger and Classen connect the words with παράδειγμα ἀν γένοισθε, taking ἐπὶ to denote the accompanying circumstances and conditions; ‘you would, by the heavy vengeance which you would incur, become an example to others’. Others render ‘an example for inflicting vengeance’, meaning that the Athenians are setting a precedent which may be used against them if they fall. But the idea is rather that if punishment should hereafter fall on Athens it would be so heavy as to be a warning to all other nations against lawless ambition. For παράδειγμα in the sense of a warning example, which certainly seems the meaning here, cf. iii. 39, 3.

CHAPTER XCI

The Athenians set aside general considerations. They are competent to look after their own interests. Now they are come with a definite purpose; and they urge that it is better for both sides that the Melians should submit to their power.

2. τὴν τελευτὴν—an unusual accusative. It is explained by Classen as an extension of the adverbial construction, like ἄποροντες ταῦτα ch. 40, 16. There however ταῦτα=ταῦτας τὰς ἄποριας, and the accusative is cognate and ‘internal’; which is not the case with τελευτήν here. Poppo says ‘compara cum τρέμειν τι, φρίσσειν τι, φοβεῖσθαι τι, ἐκπλήσσεσθαι τι, Latinis tremere alicquid, horrere alicquid, similibus’. Elsewhere ἄδυμεν is connected with the dative; as in vii. 60, 5, τῷ κρατήρῃ ἄδυμοντας. Here the dative would give a wrong sense, ‘we are cast down by’, and would imply that the τελευτή was a fact already reached, not merely a future possibility.

Herodotus has ἄπερεντι τὴν ἔλασιν (iii. 4), and ἄπερεντι τὴν ἐξαιγώγη (iv. 179).
3. ὧσπερ καὶ—ch. 44, 10: ch. 92, 2. οὕτω—so iv. 44, 3, τοὺς δ' ἥμισεα τῶν Κορινθίων...τούτως οὐ κατάδηλος ἡ μάχη ἦν. It has been suggested to read οὕτω, as in ch. 59, 20.

4. έστι δὲ—parenthetical; οὐ γὰρ...οὕτω δεινόν being answered by ἀλλ' ἦν, sc. οὕτω δεινόν or τούτο δεινόν. Some editors put a stop before έστι, making the opposition between οὐ πρόσ..., and ἀλλ' ἦν. The sense is against this, as it would imply that the Melians were already ὑπῆκοοι and the Athenians ᾠρέξαντες, which was not the case. The insertion of a parenthetical clause is also thoroughly Thucydidean.

5. ὁ ἄγων—we are not now contending with Sparta: for a similar use of the article cf. ch. 101, 2: ch. 110, 3.

6. οὕτω ἐπιθέμενοι—cf. Cleon’s arguments for punishing the Mytileneans, iii. 39 and 40. He especially insists on the danger arising from the unprovoked character of their insurrection; ἐπεθεντό ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄδικομενοι—προὔπαρξαντες ἄδικας, etc.

7. ἀφελθῶ—‘let it be left to us’. κινδυνεύεσθαι— impersonal passive, as in i. 73, 2, ἐπὶ ὁφέλῃ ἐκινδυνεύετο: so iv. 19, 1, διακινδυνεύεσθαι.

ib. ἐπ' ὁφέλῃ— the order is emphatic, ‘that it is with a view to advantage we are here, the advantage that is of our empire’, etc.

10. ἀπόνως—without the trouble of war. ᾠρέα—‘to become your lords’; so δουλεύσαι ‘to submit to your yoke’, in the next chapter, ὑπακούσαι; ch. 93, etc. χρησίμως—with ἀμφότεροι.

CHAPTER XCII

1. χρησιμον—note the adjective with ξυμβαλν: vi. 34, 9, χρησιμώτατον ἄν ξυμβῆναι: so especially τούτως, i. 74, 1, τούτων ξύμβαντος τούτως: vii. 30 fin. etc. Here, ξυμβαλν may have the idea of coinciding interests.

2. ὦσπερ καὶ—so ch. 91, 3: cf. ch. 13, 8 note.
CHAPTER XCI (B.C. 416) 233

CHAPTER XCIII

The Athenians hint significantly enough that resistance is hopeless, and will involve terrible calamities.


CHAPTER XCIV

The Melians suggest the possibility of a strict neutrality on their part being acceptable.

1. ὅστε δὲ—‘but on condition that...would you not accept us?’ or ‘would you not accept such terms?’ For ὅστε of conditions cf. ch. 17, 14: and for δεχομαι ch. 32, 24. ὅστε δὲ is the reading of some manuscripts but not of the majority. It is probably right, as δὲ is used in a similar way in the beginning of cc. 96 and 98. If ὅστε only be read, it goes with οὐκ ἀν δέξαισθε, on which the infinitive construction φίλους εἴναι then depends: cf. i. 143, 2, οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τὴν αὐτῶν φεῦγειν. The sentence is thus a timid suggestion on the part of the Melians, ‘so that...you would not agree to our being neutral’, or ‘would you not agree?’

3. δέξαισθε—so most editors for δέξοισθε, which has the best manuscript authority, and is retained by Classen. This would be a strange use of the future optative = οὐκ ἂν μέλλοιτε δέξεσθαι; ‘would you not be likely to accept us?’ No similar instance is quoted; indeed the future optative with ἂν is unknown. For its legitimate use see Goodwin § 128—134.

CHAPTER XCV

The Athenians reply that to accept such an offer would be a manifest proof of weakness.

1. οὐ γὰρ—‘no, for’ etc. ὅσον ἡ φίλα—in this extraordinary sentence φίλα does double duty, first as the subject
of the verb and then in apposition, while τὸ μῦσος corresponds appositionally to ἡ ἔχθρα, the order of φιλία and ἔχθρα being reversed. 'Verba sic resolvenda sunt, οὖν ἡ φιλία, ἡ μὲν ἀσθενείας παράδειγμα ὦσι, τὸ δὲ μῦσος...δηλούμενον' (Poppo). Possibly ἡ φιλία, ἡ μὲν should actually be read for ἡ φιλία μὲν: but more likely the sentence grew up in some such way as this—

(1) οὐ τοσοῦτον βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν οὖν ἡ φιλία: (2) οὖν ἡ φιλία, ἀσθενείας παράδειγμα ὦσι: (3) οὖν ἡ φιλία μὲν...τὸ δὲ μῦσος, 'your enmity does not injure us so much as your friendship, being on the one hand a proof of weakness, your hatred being etc.'

Cleon utters similar sentiments, e.g. iii. 39, 5, πέφυκε γὰρ καλὰς ἀνθρωποὺς τὸ μὲν θεραπεῖον ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑπείκον θανμάζειν: cf. oderint dum metuunt (Krüger).

CHAPTER XCVI

Are friendly relations then, ask the Melians, between you and the Greek islanders, an invariable proof of weakness? Is there no difference between strangers and your own colonists?

2. τοὺς τε μὴ προσήκοντας—'those who have no connexion with you', and on whom you have no claim. ὁσοὶ...οἱ πολλοὶ...τινὲς—a notable instance of appositional construction, 'all who, being mostly colonists, and having revolted in some cases'; cf. iv. 62, 2, πλείους ἤδη...ἐλπίσαντες ἔτεροι.

4. κεκεφρονται—'the verb does not apply strictly to ἀποκω, but only to τινὲς, and under the influence of ἀποκράταις is used instead of a more general verb, such as ἀρχονται' (Jowett).

ib. ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν—'put under the same head, reckon together'; iv. 73, 2, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν νικὴν δικαίως ἀν τίθεαται: see Liddell and Scott, τίθημι b. ii. 3, for various phrases with els, ἐν, adverbs etc. In Latin we have a similar usage of traho, ibidem traho, traho ad, in; e.g. Plaut. Trin. ii. 4, 10, ibidem una traho, 'I count it under the same head'.
CHAPTER XCVII

No, reply the Athenians; our subjects are convinced that all such things are mere questions of material strength.

1. δικαιώματι—'in plea of justice', 'rationes quibus suam causam tueantur'; i. 41, 1, δικαιώματα τάδε πρὸς ύμᾶς ἔχομεν. The dative is not elsewhere in Thucydides found with ἐλλείπομεν, which takes the genitive, i. 80, 4, τολλῳ ἔτι πλέον τούτον ἐλλείπομεν (where Krüger reads τούτῳ): ii. 61, 4, τῇ ύπαρχούσῃ δόξῃ ἔλλειπε. The construction is however not unreasonable, as the dative denotes that in which the deficiency occurs; and a genitive of the person, ἄλλων or ύμῶν, is virtually implied. It may also be supported by such constructions as ch. 72, 10, τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ ἑλασσόμενες: so vi. 69, 1, τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐλλιτεῖς. Krüger suggests reading ἐλλιτεῖς here. One manuscript has δικαιώματα, and this would go well either with the accusative or οὐδέτεροι.

2. κατὰ δύναμιν—lit. ‘in accordance with’. It is a question of material strength and power, not of abstract justice. περιγυνεσθαί—'escape submission'; ἐλευθέρους μὲνεν, as explained by the scholiast.

3. ἕξω—ch. 26, 13: i. 9, 7 etc. Thuc. and Hdt., also Xen. Anab. vii. 3, 10. καὶ τοῦ seems awkward; should it be τοῦ καί? Note aorist ἔφη, as in ch. 91, 10.

5. νησιώται ναυκρατόρων—these words are put together for the sake of antithesis, ναυκρατόρων being dependent grammatically on περιγυνεσθῆτε, ‘especially as you are islanders while we are lords of the sea, weaker islanders too than others, should you not escape submission (get the better of us)’.

In vi. 82, 2, according to the manuscript reading, there is a still harsher construction, ἠμεῖς ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάδας Πελοποννησίωσι Δωρίσοι...ἐσκεψάμεθα ὅτι τρόπῳ ἡ κυστα αὐτῶν ὑπακουνόμεθα. There Δωρίσοι is first put out of its place for the sake of antithesis, and then the construction changes. For the juxtaposition cf. vi. 6, 3, Δωρίς δὲ Δωρίσοι...βοηθήσαντες.
CHAPTER XCVIII

The Melians now point out the probable danger to Athens of her overbearing policy.

1. **ἐν δ' ἐκεῖνῳ**—either (1) ‘in the former case’, i.e. in the neutrality proposed in ch. 94; or (2) like *illud*, referring to what is coming, ὅσοι γὰρ κ.τ.λ. (2) seems more probable, as δὲ in this dialogue generally introduces a fresh point or suggestion. The meaning affects the sense to be given to οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν, either (1) sc. εἴναι, ‘do you think there is no security?’, or (2) do you not take safety into consideration?’.  

2. **δὲ γὰρ...πείθειν**—parenthetical. αὐ καὶ ἐνταῦθα—as well as in the case suggested in ch. 90. **ἐκβιβάζοντες**—Classen reads *ἐκβιβάζοντες*, and *ἐκβιβάζον* in vi. 64, 1, with some mss. authority. *ἐκβιβάζω* however is not found before Plutarch (passive Soph. Phil. 1129), while *ἐκβιβάζω* has better classical authority, but only in its literal sense (vii. 39, 2: Hdt. vii. 130: Xen. etc.).

3. **τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὐμφόρῳ**—‘to be subservient to your interests’; iv. 87, 2, τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὐνῷ βλάπτωνται. τὸ αὐτό may be appositional with χρήσιμον, ‘at the same time’, like *idem*; as in iv. 17, 1, ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν τε ἀφέλμον ὅν τὸ αὐτό πείθωμεν. **εὐμβαίνω**—the regular participial construction with *τυγχάνω*. Poppo says ‘*simul audi χρήσιμον*, as in ch. 92. *εὐμβαίνειν* is indeed used in the sense of turning out well, as in iii. 3, 3, ἢν εὖμβη ἢ πείρα, but ὑμῖν εὐμβαίνον by itself can scarcely mean ‘expedient for you’.

4. **μηδετέροις**—μή shows that ὅσοι = *el tines* : cf. ch. 110, 6. In ch. 30, 13, where definite persons are meant, ὅσοι is followed by *οῦ*. **πῶς οὗ**—‘must you not make them your enemies?’ *πολεμοῦσθαι* is elsewhere passive, as twice in i. 57, 1. Sometimes forms may come either from *πολεμοῦσθαι* or *πολεμεῖσθαι*, for instance *πολεμοῦνται*, iv. 20, 3.

5. **τάδε**—i.e. our case, what is doing here. Note the emphatic position of *ποτε*: they will feel that the day will come when they too will be assailed: vi. 78, 4, τάχ' ἂν ἰσως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἄγαθοῖς ποτε βουληθεὶν αὐθις φθονήσαι.
9. καὶ τὸῦτο—‘herein’, i.e. hereby: slightly different ii. 8, 3; iv. 14, 2, etc. For τὸ ἄλλο ἥδει see note on ch. 87, 2. μεγαλύνετε—‘strengthen’, in numbers etc.: in vi. 23, 2, of magnifying a crime. μελλήσαντας—In ch. 30, 1, we have the aorist infinitive following the present of μέλλειν: so vi. 30, 2. Many editors however adopt the correction μελλήσαντας, which is supported by the scholiast’s explanation διανοηθέντας.

11. ἐπάγεσθε—‘bring on yourselves’ as enemies; vi. 10, 1, πολεμίους ἐπαγαγέσθαι.

CHAPTER XCVIII (B.C. 416) 237

CHAPTER XCIX

The Athenians reply that they do not fear the hostility of large powers so much as the insubordinate spirit of islanders.

2. τῷ ἑλευθέρῳ—dative of the cause, ‘from their freedom’, i.e. freedom from Athenian rule or the danger of it. The idea is that the mainland cities would be free from the feeling of imminent peril, which might at any time drive the islanders to desperate risks. Stahl suggests τῶν ἑλευθερῶν, comparing vii. 44, 8, ὅσοι ἦσαν τὰν προτέρων στρατιωτῶν. διαμελλήσει is not found elsewhere: the verb occurs i. 142, 1 etc.

4. ἄλλα—following οὐ and the comparative; i. 83, 1, ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον ἄλλα δαπάνης: so ii. 43, 2 etc.

ib. τοὺς νησιώτας τέ που—Krüger alters ποὺ into τοὺς, and the article seems certainly required; unless indeed ἀνάρκτοις ὄσπερ ὑμᾶς (sc. ὅπως) can be taken as a predicate.

5. καὶ τοὺς ἥδη—‘and those who are already exasperated by the constraint of our empire’. The subject allies are meant; see i. 76, 77, where the Athenians point out that the rule of sovereign states must needs be galling in time of war. Classen misunderstands this passage, taking παραξένοις to refer to the ἀνάρκτοι who were ‘already made desperate’ by the ‘inevitable danger’ (τῷ ἀναγκαῖῳ) of Athenian empire. With this view he proposes to leave out τέ after νησιώτας and τοὺς before ἥδη. The next chapter however shows conclusively that οἱ δουλεύοντες ἥδη are meant.
6. πλείστα ἐπιτρέψατε—Hdt. iii. 36, 1, μὴ πάντα ἥλικ ἐπὶ τρέπει: in both passages the verb appears to have an active force. Sometimes the accusative is not expressed, Hom. II. x. 79, ἐπέτρεπε γηραί λυγρό (the only instance in Homer): Plat. Legg. 802 β, ταῖς ἐπιθυμιαῖς.

7. ἐς προόπτου κινδυνον—Hdt. ix. 17, προόπτω θανάτῳ δύνευεν: Aesch. etc. For the construction cf. ii. 100, 6, ἐς κινδυνον καθιστασαν. Classen quotes other instances with ἐς.

CHAPTER C

The Melians now urge that tame submission would be most dishonourable.

1. ἦ πον ἄρα—'surely then'; i. 142, 1, ἦ πον δῇ, 'much more': vi. 37, 3, ἦ πού γε δῇ. For ἄρα, stating an inference subjectively, see Liddell and Scott. Note the emphatic force of γε twice in this sentence.

2. μὴ παυθήναι—the infinitives express purpose and follow τὴν παρακινδύνευσαν ποιοῦνται (Goodwin § 770). ἄρχης—so iii. 40, 4, παύσοσθαι τῆς ἄρχης. παρακινδύνε夫σις is only found here; the verb occurs twice in Thucydides, and is not uncommon elsewhere. The preposition gives the idea of reckless venture.

5. πᾶν ἐπεξελθεῖν—'to do and suffer anything' (Jowett). Xen. Anab. iii. 1, 18, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι; ib. πάντα ποιητεῖν: Soph. O. T. 260, ἐπὶ πάντα ἂφλεγμαι. For the accusative construction, cf. i. 70, 4, ἔριν ἐπιοφθαλματες μὴ ἐπεξελθωσαν. πρὸ τοῦ δουλεύσαι—'before submitting to your yoke': or is πρὸ used of choice, as in ch. 36, 18?

CHAPTER CI

Not so, reply the Athenians; honour does not require you to contend against hopeless odds.

1. οὐκ, ἦν γε—so iii. 66 fin. ὁ ἄγων—'you are not now contending' etc.; see note on ch. 91, 4. The infinitives are explanatory of the purpose, as in ch. 100. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσοῦ—opposed to πρὸς τοὺς κρέσιονες πολλῷ. αἰσχύνῃν ὀφλεῖν—'to incur disgrace, forfeit honour'.
CHAPTER CII

The Melians suggest that their case is not absolutely hopeless, as the chances of warfare are uncertain.

1. τα των πολέμων—ii. 11, 3, ἀδηλα τα των πολέμων: see also i. 78. κοινοτέρας—'more impartial'; in which sense κοινος is applied to persons iii. 53, 2: κοινὴ (perhaps) iv. 83, 4. 'κουναί τόχαι sunt casus, qui utrisque possunt accidere, adeo quæ incerti, ancipites, inexpectati, si accidunt potentioribus quae accidere posse non putares' (Goller): Lys. ii. 10, τάς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τόχαις κουναίς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες: Plut. Nic. 27, κουναί αἱ τόχαι τοῦ πολέμου. So Hom. Π. xviii. 309, ἐνυδάλωσ, καὶ τε κτανεόντα κατέκτα: cf. Cic. Sest. 5, 12, communem martem belli metuentei, where see Holden's note.

2. ἐστίν ὅτε—'at times'; see note on ἐστὶν ὅ, iv. 32, 3. τὰς τόχας—the fortunes, various phases of war, on several occasions; i. 78, 1: iv. 18, 4, ὡς αὐτὶ τόχαι ἡγησώνται. λαμβάνοντα—apparently 'receiving' or 'admitting of'. ἐχοντα might almost be substituted; but ἐχω would imply what is inherent and invariable, while λαμβάνοντα only suggests what sometimes happens. Classen cites vi. 86, 3, ὅταν καρδὶν λάβωσιν, 'when they get an opportunity', but this is not a similar usage.

ib. ἡ κατὰ—'than might be expected from', lit. 'corresponding to' etc.: i. 76, 3, δικαίωτερον ἡ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν. εὐθὺς seems to belong to ἀνέλπιστον, as ἐτὶ does to ἔπις, but the position is ambiguous.

4. μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένου—so μετὰ κυρίων commonly: vi. 16, 3, ἐκ τοῦ δρωμένου. For this use of the participle see note on ch. 9, 14: cf. ii, 63, 1, τῆς πόλεως τῷ τιμωμένῳ βοηθεῖν.

5. ὀρθῶς—with στήματι: some suggest ὀρθῶς or ὀρθοῖς.
CHAPTER XIII

The Athenians reply by urging the great danger the Melians incur by risking their all on one vague chance.

1. κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον ὁδῷα—the sense required is 'an encouragement to risk', rather than 'a solace (relief) to danger'. Whether this meaning can be fairly derived from the dative construction is doubtful. It scarcely corresponds to such phrases as δόσις θεοῦ: Plat. Euthyph. 17 c: διακοινὰ πόλει: Rep. 493 d: for we could not say παραμυθεύσθαι κινδύνῳ, though we can say διδόναι θεοῖς. παραμύθιον is commonly found with the genitive, and Kriiger here reads κινδύνῳ.

2. ἀπὸ περιουσίας—'with plenty to fall back on', not risking their all. For ἀπὸ see ch. 89, 9. χρωμένους αὐτῆ—lit. 'having recourse to her', or 'associating with her', hope being personified: Ar. Vesp. 1028, τὰς Μοῖρας αἱσὶν χρῆται.

3. βλάψῃ...καθείλεν—the metaphor of στήναι in the last chapter is carried on; hope may 'hinder' such men, and check them in their course, but does not 'lay them prostrate.' καθείλεν is the gnomic aorist, which describes what generally happens because it has happened before; Goodwin § 155.

The following is from Dr Sandys' note on Dem. Lept. 471, § 49, where βλάπτονων is immediately followed by ἀσφάλως. βλάπτω (though not from the same root as λαμβάνω) has in old Greek the special meaning of impeding, checking, arresting (II. vi. 39: vii. 271 etc.). Hence it is combined with φυγεῖν in Soph. El. 697, ὅταν δὲ τίς θεῶν βλάπτῃ δύνατ' ἀν οὖν ἀν ξύλων φυγεῖν: and Aj. 455. Even in prose we have what may be fairly regarded as a reminiscence, possibly a half unconscious reminiscence, of the older use of the word: as in the present passage of Thucydides; and in vii. 68, 3, κινδύνων ὑπὸ σπανιότατον, οὐ ἂν ἡκιστα ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι βλάπτοντες πλείστα διὰ τὸ εὐτυχήσαι ὑφελῶσιν.

ib. τοῖς δ᾽...ἀναρριπτοῦσι—'but as for those who stake their all on the cast', lit. throw the die, run the risk, so as to extend to their all: iv. 92, 4, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐλς ὅρος παγησεῖται, 'one limit will be fixed, extending to and including all our land'. With ἀναρριπτοῦσι is to be understood κινδύνων: iv. 85, 2: iv. 95, 1. Classen reads ἀναρριπτοῦσα agreeing with ἐλπὶς, but the alteration does not seem to improve the grammar or the sense. ἀναρριπτείν is used of the person who incurs the risk, not of hope which causes it.
4. **δάπανος**—sc. ἐλπὶς ἐστὶν: according to Lid. and Scott, a rare form of the adjective, which is usually δαπανηρός. **ἄμα**—'she is found out when they are ruined' (lit. tripped up and brought to the ground), not before. **ἄμα** goes with the participle, which is in the genitive absolute, sc. αἰτῶν.

5. **καὶ...οἷκ ἐλείπει—**most editors take ἐλείπει transitively, 'she leaves no room for one to guard against her afterwards when she is found out', i.e. her delusive character is not found out till recovery is hopeless. In support of this view may be cited Soph. *El.* 736, ἐλελειμμένον 'left in': Eur. *El.* 609, οἷς ἐλλειπτέας ἐλπίδ', 'nor have you left ground for hope'. So προσελκύω is occasionally found in the sense 'to have besides', as in Plat. *Rep.* 521 ν.  

Poppo however takes ἐλείπει here in its usual sense of failing, and ἐν δόγω to mean 'whilst', as ἐξ δογῶν is used of time by Xenophon. This seems the simpler view; and the sense is excellent; that men continue to hope till their condition is desperate. On the other hand the future φυλάξεται seems more appropriate to a dependent relative construction.


7. **μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν—**'do not let this be your case': Plat. *Phaedr.* 236 c, μὴ βοῦλον: so noli, nolite. The whole phrase is equivalent to 'do not you act thus unadvisedly': see note on παθεῖν, iv. 17, 4.

8. **οἷς παρόν—**the usual form, not οἷ, παρόν (αὐτοῖς): so in Latin, cui cum nuntiatum esset, Romam advolavit. For δυ-θρωπεῖως see note on ch. 89, 9. **καθιστάται—**'betake themselves' = καταφεύγουσι (schol.).

9. **μετ’ ἐλπίδων—**'combined with hopes', i.e. by encouraging vague hopes. **λυμαίνεται—**'ruin men,' 'are their bane.'
CHAPTER CIV

The Melians urge that their hopes are not absolutely unreasonable. Heaven will defend their righteous cause; and Sparta will aid them as allies and kinsmen.

3. el μὴ...εὐταί—sc. ἢ τῦχη: 'if it shall not be impartial'. According to some ἀγωνίζεσθαι is to be supplied, 'if we shall not be able to contend'. τῇ μὲν τῷη—cf. ch. 112, 8, which suggests that the dative is governed by πιστεύομεν, the following infinitive being explanatory: otherwise we should naturally take it with ἐλασσόσεσθαι, as in ch. 72, 10, which would make the general construction of the sentence more regular.

5. ὅσιοι—only here of persons; 'righteous', observant of τὸ ὄσιον (iii. 84, 2). ἵσταμεθα—'we take our stand'; i. 53, 2, ἡμῖν ἐμποδών λατασθε διλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. Here ἵστασθαι πρὸς denotes opposition. Poppo points out that it generally has a different meaning, as in iv. 56, 4, πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἵστασαν.

6. τῷ ἐλλείποντι—dependent on προσέσεθαι, as is ἡμῖν though less directly, and with an ethical force. In illustration of the double dative, Krüger cites Eur. Hel. 1248, τί σοι παράσχω δῆτα τῷ τεθνηκότι; what service am I to do for you to the dead?

9. αἰσχύνη—=διὰ τὸ αἰσχρῶν, ch. 105, 14: because they were bound in honour, as we should say.

CHAPTER CV

The Athenians reply that they are doing nothing to forfeit the favour of heaven; and the Melians cannot trust for help the Spartan sense of honour.

1. πρὸς τὸ θεῖον—Krüger suggests τοῦ θείου and Meineke περὶ τὸ θείου. Classen however seems to give the right explanation. The Athenians are speaking not only of the favour they would receive from heaven, but of the general terms on which they stood with the divinity. Their relations with the gods were as good as any one's, for there was nothing unusual in their conduct. Relationship generally is expressed
by πρὸς, see note on iv. 80, 2: cf. iv. 51, παυσάμενοι πρὸς Ἀθηναῖους πίστεις, etc. = 'having secured pledges from the Athenians': Dem. de Cor. 237 § 36, τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει.

2. οὖδ' ἡμεῖς—any more than you; an answer to διί ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαλούς ἱστάμεθα, ch. 104, 5.

3. ἀνθρωπεῖας—this adjective belongs to both nouns, 'there is nothing in our claims or in our conduct beyond what men hold in regard to the divinity and will as regards themselves': cf. ii. 44, 2, οἳ ἄν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωι...οὔδε μὲν τελευτῆς, ἡμεῖς δὲ λύτης. νόμισμας, which is only found here in Thucydides, is explained by ηγούμεθα δόξα in the next sentence, and therefore denotes current belief and accepted opinion. Classen however follows the scholiast in understanding it of the observances of religion, τὰ νεονομιμένα, τὰ εἰδισμένα. βοῦλησις—'will and purpose', tending to policy and action, ἡ εἰς ἀνθρώπους προάρεσις, as the scholiast explains.

5. ηγούμεθα δόξα...σαφῶς—'we hold in point of opinion... as an obvious fact'. διὰ παντὸς—always, continually; i. 38, 1, etc. θεντες—cf. Hdt. vii. 8, οὔτε αὐτὸς κατηγορούμει νόμον τόνδε ἐν ἡμῖν τιθέναι, παραδεξάμενος τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. All this is an echo of the Athenian speech at Sparta in 432; see i. 76. Note the prominence of the participial clauses in this sentence.

10. εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἄν...ἀν—ἄν is repeated 'in a long sentence, to make the conditional force felt through the whole, especially when the connexion is broken by intermediate clauses. It may also be done in order to emphasize particular words with which it is joined, and to make them prominent, as being affected by the contingency' (Goodwin, § 223).

11. ἡμίν—i.e. the same that we have: so with genitive, as in iv. 92, 4, ἐπικαυδύνετο ἐτέρων τὴν παροίκησιν τῶν ἐξομεν, 'than that of others'.

ib. αὐτό—'it' or 'this'; cf. ch. 27, 4. Classen follows Stahl in reading ταυτό.

13. ἐλασσώσεσθαι—this is a singular instance of the future infinitive with a verb of fearing. Here the construction
with μη might be expected; but probably the infinitive has to some extent the nature of an object = ‘we regard without fear the prospect of coming off the worse’. Such instances as i. 136, 1, δεδέναι ἐχεῖν αὐτὸν, ‘to be afraid of keeping him’, iv. 110, 3, κατέδεικνυ ἐσείθειν, ‘were afraid to enter’, are different. There the infinitive denotes the direct object of the verb; and μη ἐσέλθωσιν, for instance, could not be substituted. See Goodwin, § 372 sq. As a general principle the future infinitive is a favourite Thucydidean usage when the intention is ‘to make the reference to the future especially prominent’; Goodwin, § 113.

ib. τῆς...Δόξης—dependent on both τὸ ἀπειρόκακον and τὸ ἄφρον: the subjective genitive ὑμῶν also belongs to both.

14. ήν...πιστεύετε—the conjecture ἦ is tempting, but the cognate construction is scarcely harsher than βούλησιν ἔλπίζει, vi. 78, 2: cf. a ch. 9, 18. μακαρίσαντες—‘we felicitate you on your guilelessness but do not envy your folly’.

18. πλείστα—i. 3, 4, πλείω χρώμενοι: ii. 11, 5, λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους—dependent on προσ-φέρονται, and placed first to emphasize the antithesis.

19. πολλὰ ἄν—Poppo compares Dem. Olynth. iii. 36, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συστώ, πολλ' ἄν ἔχων εἶπεν: de Chers. πάντα τάλλ' εἴπα ἄν ἥδεσ. ἐμφανῶν—iii. 40, 4, ἐν δὲ ἐμφανῶν λέγω, etc. ἄν ισμεν—i. 18, 1, ἐπὶ πλείστον ὑμ ἵσμεν χρόνον.

22. πρὸς—‘in favour of’; ch. 90, 6. ἄλογον—which you cannot reasonably expect; cf. Dem. Aristocr. 672 § 158, τυχαί ταύτης τῆς ἄλογον καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρία. This clause answers the end of the last chapter. ἦ τοιαύτη διάνοια—such principles as these.

CHAPTER CVI

But, say the Melians, their own interest will make the Spartans help us.

1. κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο—‘in accordance with this very thing’, or ‘on this very point’, that is the Lacedaemonians’ regard to
their interests: Soph. Phil. 438, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο γε ἀναξίον μὲν φωτὸς ἐξερήσωμαι. ηδη—apparently 'now that we are come to this point': Krüger suggests δη. καὶ μᾶλιστα—ch. 73, 21.

2. τῶν ἄμεμφεροντι αὐτῶν—probably dependent on πιστευομεν, as a similar construction occurs in 104, 4: 111, 6: 112, 8. It may however be taken with the following words, as dative of the cause, like τῶν έλευθερω, ch. 99, 2. αὐτῶν has been proposed, but Classen justly points out that τῶν αὐτῶν ἄμεμφεροντι would be required; see note on ch. 71, 3. Why not connect αὐτῶν with ἀποίκους δυνατ;? It would give a forcible sense.

4. καταστήναι—to make themselves, put themselves in a certain position. It implies something more permanent than γενέσθαι.

CHAPTER CVII

The interests of the Spartans will not lead them into danger.

1. οὐκοῦν οἶσθε—'you do not then think', i.e. you seem to forget; so most editors; Classen makes the sentence interrogative, 'do you not think?' i.e. of course you do. μετά κινδύνου δράσθαι—simply 'involve danger (in doing)'. Poppo takes οἶσθε as = οἶσθε δεῖν, a force which some give to νομίζειν iv. 86, 4: iv. 117, 1. In those passages however no such sense is required, and here it is entirely out of place. For δράσθαι the reading of nearly all mss. is δράσαι. Jowett would retain this, supplying τινά as subject.

CHAPTER CVIII

Their interests, say the Melians, will surely impel them to stand by their own colony.

1. καὶ—emphasizes κινδύνους. The following τε is suspicious. Classen, comparing ch. 82, 16, considers that it connects the two infinitive clauses.
2. έγκαρσασθαι—‘undertake’; the middle is not found elsewhere before Dio Cassius.

3. βεβαιοστέρος—‘will consider such risks less hazardous than (if undertaken) in the case of others’. βεβαιοσ seems a strange word to apply to κινδύνος: cf. however iii. 39, 6, τόν μετά τῶν ὀλίγων κινδύνων ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιόστερον. So we say ‘a safe speculation’. ἦς is used by Thucydides in the most general way to denote relation of any kind. Krüger and Poppo suggest leaving out ἦς, referring βεβαιοστέρος to ἣμᾶς, but the parallel passage supports the text.

4. τὰ έργα—‘the operations which war would involve. τῆς γνώμης τῷ ἐναγενεῖ—lit. ‘from kinship of views’; being of the same stock they had the same interests and policy. γνώμη is used of political views, iv. 56 fin. πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἐστάσαν, etc. The expression is awkward, and it is tempting to take τῷ ἐναγενεῖ separately; in which case we must read τῇ γνώμῃ or τῷ γνώμῃ, for, though certus animi is good Latin, πιστὸς γνώμης is unknown in Greek.

CHAPTER CIX

Not so, when they have no prospect of support in the event of war.

1. τὸ ἑχνρόν—‘security’; predicate with the article: ii. 43, 4, τὸ εὐθανασίον τὸ ἑλεύθερον τὸ δὲ ἑλεύθερον τὸ εὐσφυχὸν κρίνοντες: Plat. Gorg. 498, τὰ ἀγαθὰ φίλε ἔλαις τὰς ἡδονᾶς κακὰ δὲ τὰς ἀνίας (Krüger’s Grammar, § 50, 4, 14).

2. ἀλλ’ ἦν—so ch. 91, 5. τῶν ἐργῶν δυνάμει—i. 25, 4, χρημάτων δυνάμει: i. 82, 2, ναυτικοῦ ἦ χρημάτων δύναμιν. Here the genitive = τῶν πρὸς τὰ έργα.

3. ὅ—ch. 103, 6. καὶ πλεῖον τι—καὶ emphatic, as in ch. 73, 21. πλέον and πλεῖον are often used for μᾶλλον, τὸ πλέον is more common. τι has an intensive force, as in μέρος τι, etc.: so vii. 21, 4, πλέον τι περιεσομένους.

5. καὶ μετὰ ἐνμάχων—lit. ‘(not alone but) also with’ etc. So in the speech of Pericles, ii. 39, 2, Λακεδαιμόνιοι...μετὰ πάντων ἔσ τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύσωσι.
**CHAPTER CIX (B.C. 416)**

7. *eikós...*περαιωθήναι*—*i. 81 fin. *eikós* δοιλεύσατι: where Krüger collects the instances of this construction, and observes that the future infinitive is not found with *eikós* in Thucydides.

**CHAPTER CX**

But they may use the help of naval allies, and may themselves attack the Athenian dependencies.

1. ἀλλοις—e.g. the Corinthians, their chief naval allies, ii. 9, 2. πολύ δὲ—vii. 13, 3, πολλῇ δὲ ἡ Συκεία: Plat. *Phaed.* 78a, πολλῇ ἡ Ἑλλάς. The ‘Cretan Sea’ (iv. 53 fin.) is the sea E. and S.E. of Laconia. δι’ οὖ—i. 2, 1, οὕτε κατὰ γῆν οὕτε διὰ θαλάσσας.

2. τῶν κρατοῦντων...ἡ σωτηρία—cf. the use of the article ch. 91, 4. The lords of the sea will find it harder to catch their foes than the foes to effect their escape. For the form ἀπορώτερος cf. iii. 89, 4, βιαντερον τὴν ἐπικλησιν: iii. 101, 2, οὐσεβολότατος ἡ λοκρίς. Krüger says that these are the only instances he knows in Attic prose; ἐκκεπαστότατον, ch. 71, 9, being neuter.

6. ὁσους μή—indefinite, such as came under this description, ch. 98, 6; so in the next line. ἐπήλθεν—‘visited’, not ‘attacked’: iv. 85, 1, εἰ δὲ χρῶν ἐπῆλθομεν, μηδεις μεμφῆ, in Brasidas’ speech at Acanthus: ib. § 3, ἔτι ὅσον πρῶτον ἠλθον ὑμᾶς.

8. ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς—these words are found in all the manuscripts, and it is therefore improbable that they are merely interpolated. They seem rather added by the historian as a further explanation of οἰκειοτέρας. ξυμμαχίς occurs in ch. 36, 1.

**CHAPTER CXI**

The Athenians reply that such threats will not deter them. They urge on the Melians the immediate necessity of taking a practical view of their interests. They have no real grounds to hope for escape; and their only safe course is to accept the reasonable terms which Athens offers.
1. τούτων μέν—'you too may learn by experience something of this', i.e. of the hopelessness of deterring us by threats of counter-attacks or invasion. The construction resembles ii. 60, 1, προσδεχομένως μοι τὰ τῆς ὁργῆς γεγένηται: iv. 28, 5, ἁμένως ἐγένετο: ii. 3, 2, τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν. So πεπειραμένως γίγνεται=it is a thing that one has experienced; the perfect implying that knowledge comes when the experience has been undergone. τούτων refers either to the suggested threats of the Melians or to the Athenian boast, δι οὐδ' κ.τ.λ. καὶ ὑμῖν—as well as to others before you.

Stahl and Classen read γένοιτο ἥμιν, καὶ ὑμῖν, 'if such a thing (as invasion) occurred it would be one of which we have experience, and you too may not be unaware etc.'

2. οὐδ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς—emphatic; it is the only instance of οὔδες or μηδεις separated in Thucydides. In i. 105, and iii. 26, we find sieges continued by the Athenians in spite of counter-demonstrations.

4. ἐνθυμούμεθα—according to Classen, 'we observe with regret'; the word at any rate always implies serious consideration. φήσαντες—'after you professed'; cf. φάσκοντες ch. 42, 21.

6. ἀνθρωποι—see ch. 89, 9. νομίζειν—Classen reads this instead of νομίσαειν as the proper Thucydidean form; so iii. 49, 2, φθάσειν for φθάσαειν.

7. ὑμῶν...μέλλεται—'your strongest grounds are hopes deferred' (Jowett). μέλλεται, lit. 'are a future matter', the passive as it were of μέλλει ταῦτα cognate. The passive of μέλλω occurs twice besides; Dem. Phil. i. 50, § 37, ἐν δὲ τω ταῦτα μέλλεται, 'are going to be done': Xen. Anab. iii. 1, 47, ὥς μὴ μέλλοντο ἄλλα περαινεῖν τὰ δεόντα. Krüger cites also Soph. O. T. 1628, τάλαι τάπο σοῦ βραδύνεται.

8. βραχέα...πειραγνεσθαί—πρός is closely connected with βραχέα, 'slight in comparison with'; ii. 35, 2, εὐδειστέρως πρός α βουλεται. For the following infinitive cf. i. 50, 5, νῆς ὀλγαί ἄμφενει: i. 61, 2, τατεινὴ ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερείν. Such explanatory infinitives are particularly joined with adjectives which imply ability or the opposite (Goodwin, § 758). They have in effect a sort of comparative force=βραχυτερα ἡ ὀστε.
CHAPTER CXI (B.C. 416)

9. ἀπλήν τε—'and so', summing up the argument.

μεταστησάμενοι—'after bidding us withdraw', in order to re-

consider the matter among yourselves: i. 79, 1, μεταστησάμενοι

πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτῶν. ἦτε—'as even now you

may' (Jowett). The word affects the whole clause, but its

position gives especial emphasis to the participle, depreciating

an immediate decision. δῶς, ἄμα and the like are similarly

used.

12. οὗ γὰρ δή—introducing the final exhortation; cf. i. 122

(fin.), οὗ γὰρ δή ἐπὶ τὴν πλείοντο δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρύνουσι

κεχωρήκατε: in both sentences the stress falls on the noun,

which is the last word but one. ἀνοχροίς—'dangers which

involve shame', i.e. which threaten rational honour, and

which it would be shameful to decline. This is the accepted

explanation, but it is not quite satisfactory, as, though the

various phrases of 'shame' and 'shameful' naturally follow

the emphatic ἀνοχρόνη, they have no particular force before it.

ἐνχάτοις, ἄκροις, ὑσχροίς are suggested emendations.

14. πολλοίς γὰρ—'for many have found' etc.; the Thuc-

cydidean initial dative. In construction πολλοίς and ἴσοι-

θείσαι are usually taken as dependent on ἐπιστάσατο, and

ἐκόντας περιπεσεῖν as the direct object of ἐπιστάσατο. But

ἐπιστάσασθαι more naturally means 'drawing on a person to'

a course of action, than 'bringing a thing on a person'. It

may be then that the grammatical object of the verb is to be

found in πολλοίς, the construction being changed, and the

literal meaning being 'in the case of many...it drew them

on to incur'. The middle ἐπιστάσατο is decidedly in favour of this

view; and it is adopted by Donaldson, who says 'this use of the

dative may be extended to cases where the construction would

have admitted of the accusative'. He translates 'in the case

of many still foreseeing the tendency of their actions, that

which is called dishonour has been an inducement to involve

themselves in irremediable disasters'. The aorist is 'gnomic'

and general like καθελε, ch. 103, 3.

15. ἐσὶ ολὰ φέρονται—'what they are rushing on' or tending

towards; φέρονται, like ferri, being the regular word for moving;

see note on iv. 34, 3, ὑτὸ τοξευμάτων φερομένων. ἐπαγωγοὶ—

ch. 85, 4: iv. 88, 1, διὰ τὸ ἐπαγωγά εἰπέιν τὸν Βρασίδαν. ἐπιστά-

σατο—see previous note. The sense required, according to

the ordinary view of the clause, is 'brought on them' and

there seems then some ground for the conjecture ἐπιστάσαι τὸ.

In Hdt. iii. 42, ἵνα ἐπιστάσωσιν κέρδος, is 'to win gain for
themselves’, and here it may be said that the meaning is ‘many
have found...that it has won for them’ etc., i.e. that this
is all they gain by it’. In the other passages of Thucydides
where the middle is found it has its proper force, iii. 44, 4:
iv. 9, 2. We find the passive, iii. 89, 5: iv. 130, 4.

17. ἡσοσθείως τοῦ ρήματος—’esse ipsum turpitudinis
vocabulum docet articulus’ (Poppo). For gen. cf. iv. 37, 1,
e' τος ἡσοσθείων τοῦ δευνοῦ. Note the antithesis between
ὀνόματος and ρήματος and the following ἑργαω. καὶ αἰσχύνη—
lit. ‘and incur too a shame which is more shameful as in-
volving folly than from fortune’, i.e. than if it had been due
to fortune. μετά—like μετα κινδύνων etc.

19. τὸ τύχη—the scholiast has τύχη, which, as Poppo
says, ‘propter orationem variatam valde Thucydidum est’.
There is however no authority for reading it in the text. The
preposition is omitted in the second clause, as is common
after a comparative; cf. iii. 44, περὶ τοῦ μελλόντος μᾶλλον
βουλεύεσθαι ἑ τοῦ παρώντος: viii. 96, 2, ἐξ ἡς πλείω ἡ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
ωφελοῦτο. Other instances are given by Poppo on vii. 47, 4,
and in Krüger’s Grammar, § 68, 9: e.g. Xen. Hel. ii. 3, 21, οἱ
τράκοντα πολλοὶ μὲν ἔχθρας ἑνεκά ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρη-
μάτων. προσλαβεῖν—’to bring on themselves’ rather than ‘to
get in addition’; so iv. 61, 1, with κινδύνους.

ib. δ ὑμεῖς—ch. 103, 6. τῆς μεγίστης—for this emphatic
order cf. ch. 18, 57; ii. 61, 4, ἐξωμορφαὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις: iv. 10, 1,
κινδύνου τοῦ ταχίστου. ἐξυμάχους γενέσθαι—explanatory in-
finite, defining the terms proposed.

23. ὑποτελεῖς—sc. φῆρον, as is expressed in i. 19, 1, and
i. 80, 3. This was the condition of the great majority of the
Athenian so-called allies. See i. 96—99, and the words of
Euphemus, vi. 85.

ib. καὶ...φιλονεικησαί—καὶ answers to τε; the whole
clause therefore depends on οὐκ ἀπετέλετο νομεῖτε. τά χείρω—
cognate, with φιλονεικησαι, ‘ostensibly to choose the worse’;
Dem. Lept. 501, § 144, μηδὲν φιλονεικεί. So we have προθυμεῖσθαι,
σπεύδειν τε etc. In Plat. Protag. 360 e, we have φιλονεικεῖν
τὸ ἐμὲ εἶναι τὸν ἀποκρυμμένον; ‘to stickle for the answer coming
from me’ (Wayte): but πρὸς is inserted in the same phrase, Rep.
338 λ, in accordance with the usual construction. Phileb. 14 b,
has πρὸς (wrongly cited by Liddell and Scott). The form of
the word, which according to Cobet and others should be νικ- is discussed in Liddell and Scott under φιλόνεικος.

26. καλὰς προσφέρονταί—'behave with propriety', i.e. with due deference.

28. καὶ μεταστάντων ἡμῶν—'etiam semotis nobis, non solum praesentibus' (Poppo). The Athenians deprecate a rash and hasty decision, as in line 10: so infr. πολλάκις.

30. ἡν μιᾶς πέρι—Poppo calls this 'locus desperatus'; and there is in fact no satisfactory explanation or correction as yet proposed. The general sense is plain. The Melians are exhorted to reflect that they are deliberating concerning the only country they have, and that its fate will be determined by one single decision.

There is very little difference in the manuscript readings. For ἡν one manuscript has ἴν, and another ἴν. One omits ἴν μιᾶς πέρι. For ἐσταί are found ἐστε and ἐσταῖ. Thus the first and last words are those which are most open to doubt. Possibly both these words are interpolations. Assuming that ἴν found its way into the text from some error, it would be necessary to supply a verb to govern it, and this would account for the variation in the final word. Omitting ἴν and ἐσταί we get a sentence which can be construed, 'reflect that you are deliberating about your country, your one only country, and this in one deliberation, as it may turn out well or ill'. Further discussion of the passage may be found in the Appendix.

ib. εἰς μιᾶν βοιλήν—'in' or 'at one deliberation'; an idea of 'coming to' or 'looking to' being implied. See Liddell and Scott, εἰς ii. 2, for such phrases as εἰς καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε (Hdt. iv. 139), which have some resemblance to the present instance: cf. Thuc. vi. 16, 6, Λακεδαιμονέως εἰς μιᾶν ἡμέραν κατέστησα... ἀγωνίασθαι.

31. τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν—'according to its success or failure', i.e. according as you decide well or ill. τε and καὶ are here disjunctive as noted on ch. 15. 6: cf. ii. 35, 2, εῦ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι. τυχοῦσαν is opposed to μὴ κατορ- θώσασαν, as in iii. 39, 7, τυχόντες τοσφαλέντες, κατορθῶσαντι occurring just before in antithesis to σφαλέντι. The active form is regularly used of persons, as an object (πείρας, βοβ- λεμα etc.) is implied, κατορθοῦν meaning literally to bring
one's design to a successful issue. Here, taking the reading of the text, the active must go with θουλήν. I rather doubt if this can be right; we should expect the passive, as in iv. 76, 4, εἰ κατορθοῖτο ἢ πείρα.

CHAPTER CXII

The Melians finally refuse to submit, or to concede anything more than a pledge of neutrality.

1. μετεξωρησαν—'withdraw'; ii. 72, 5. ἐκ τῶν λόγων—'from the conference'; so ch. 113, 2: iv. 58, 1, ἐσ λόγους κατ-έστησαν ἄλληλους: iv. 73 fin. ἐσ λόγους ἔρχονται. κατὰ σφάς αὐτοῖς—i. 79, 2, μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφάς αὐτούς: iii. 78, 1, etc.

3. παραπλήσια καλ—vii. 71, 7, παραπλήσια καλ ἔδρασαν: so καλ follows ἅσος and other words of sameness or likeness; cf. similis atque, ac, etc. ἀντελεγόν—imperfect, referring to the time of the conference; lit. 'what they had been objecting'.

6. ἐπτακόσια ἔτη—a rough statement, counting from the supposed time of the establishment of Dorian supremacy in Peloponnesus, the legendary 'return of the Heracleidae'. Melos is said to have been founded some little time later; Grote, Pt. i. ch. 18.

8. ἐκ τοῦ θελοῦ—constructed with σωζόσθη, and placed immediately after τῦχῃ to define its meaning. See ch. 104, 4: 105, 1. In this sentence there is perhaps the same difference between ἐκ and ἀπό, denoting respectively motion from within and motion from the surface, which is noted by Donaldson on iv. 126, 3.

9. καλ Δακεδαμονίων—καλ either = atque, 'and especially'; or more probably it gives a definition 'even the Lacedaemonians'. This defining or correcting sense of καλ, = 'in fact, that is to say', is noticed on ch. 20, 3: iv. 33, 1. Jowett says, 'the desire to oppose the single idea ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων to ἐκ τοῦ θελοῦ has led to a formal distinction between ἀνθρώ-πων and Δακεδαμονίων, 'from men, and in particular from Lacedaemonians'. τιμωρία—'help'; so three times in i. 25: i, 38, 3 etc,
11. προκαλούμεθα δὲ ύμᾶς—προκαλεῖσθαι with the accusative and infinitive is to invite another to do something. Here the regular construction is interrupted by the insertion of a nominative clause, referring to the subject of the sentence, the whole, as Classen says, being equivalent to προκαλούμεθα ύμᾶς, ἡμῶν φιλῶν δυτικὸν κ.τ.λ., ἀναχωρήσας. Krüger cites two somewhat similar sentences in which the last clause refers to the subject; i. 26, 3, προείπον τοὺς εἶνοις ἀπείνας, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι: Hdt. ii. 115, αὐτὸν δὲ σε καὶ τοῖς σοῦς συμπλῶν προαγορεῖς μετορμίζεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἀτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι.

14. ἐπιτηδεῖοι—elsewhere ἐπιτηδεῖος has three terminations, though a few manuscripts have ἐπιτηδεῖους in ch. 21, 9.

CHAPTER CXIII

The Athenians accordingly break up the conference with significant threats.

2. διαλύομενοι ἐκ—vi. 41 fin. διελύθησαν ἐκ τοῦ εὐλόγου: Hdt. iii. 73, διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ εὐλόγου. ἄλλα οὖν—‘well then’, ‘well certainly’: ‘sunt particulae contra dicendi cumasseveratione, at proiecto’ (Poppo). So Plat. Protag. 310 λ, ἄλλα οὖν ἀκούτε, ‘well then, hear’. ἄλλα οὖν (with γε commonly following) more usually means ‘but, or yet, at any rate’, as in Plat. Protag. 327 c: Soph. Ant. 84. Poppo cites Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 19, ἄλλα οὖν τονηροὶ γε φανόμενοι ἄγοντι ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα, in illustration of the present passage, but there the sense seems rather ‘well but they look but a poor lot to plunder our belongings’.

3. ἀπὸ τοῦτων τῶν βουλευμάτων—‘from’, i.e. judging from; i. 21, 2, ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐργῶν σκοποῦσι: cf. ch. 89, 9. δοκεῖτε—ch. 9, 21, note.


7. καὶ Δακεδαμονίως—the omission of the article gives a somewhat contemptuous force, ‘Lacedaemonians and fortune G.T. (9 2)
and hopes'; see note on iv. 10, 4. παραβεβλημένοι—usually taken as middle, 'having staked, or risked'. ἐπιτρέψαντες παραβέβλημοι, as the scholiast explains. In this sense the word is used ii. 44, 3, παῖδας παραβαλλόμενοι: iii. 14, 1, τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλόμενος. Stahl however takes the word as passive, comparing Ar. Plut. 248, πόρναιοι καὶ κύβοι παραβεβλημένοι, 'given over to'. The sense thus obtained is not bad; still, as the idea of risk and hazard perpetually occurs in these chapters, the ordinary rendering seems preferable. The perfect participle denotes the general attitude of the Melians, the aorist πιστεύσαντες refers to their decision in the present case. Classen would omit καὶ before πιστεύσαντες, 'having risked everything from your trust' etc., as he considers that the datives cannot depend on παραβεβλημένοι.

CHAPTER CXIV

3. οὐδὲν υπῆκουν—'showed no sign of submission'; i. 26, 4, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν υπῆκουσαν. ἐτρόποντο...περιτείχισαν—Arnold compares ii. 75, 1, καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περισταύρωσεν αὐτοὺς. Some editors read ἐτρόποντο, with slight manuscript authority; but the imperfect is preferable, denoting the beginning and progress of hostile operations.

4. διελόμενοι—ch. 75, 23, διελόμενοι...περιτείχισαν. Note the different tense of the following verb in the two passages. Here, the aorist περιτείχισαν gives an 'end-view', and the Athenians are regarded as having completed their lines round the city. κατὰ πόλεις—ii. 78, 1, διειλόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον. κατὰ γῆν κ.τ.λ.—to be taken with φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες.

CHAPTER CXV

1. Ἀργεῖοι—see ch. 83, 12, for a previous attempt. τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὖτόν—'attende rariorem collocationem pronominis ὃ αὐτός: cf. vii. 39, 1, τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει τῇ αὐτῇ: Dem. de Chers. 93, 14, μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς: Xen. Cyr. iv. 4, 10' (Poppo). Krüger cites i. 140, 1: and i. 2, 2, ἀνθρωποὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ.
2. λοχισθέντες—iii. 107, 3, λοχίζει ὑπλίτας; 'stations them in ambush'. Here the word is used like λοχάς, as in one or two instances cited by Liddell and Scott from Dio Cassius.

4. ὦς ὑγδοίκοντα—the same construction as in ch. 59, 7: cf. also ch. 10, 57. οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου—ch. 56, 18. As Pylos was now chiefly held by Lacedaemonian Helots, Krüger would omit 'Ἀθηναῖοι, but it denotes generally those who acted on the Athenian side.

7. οὐδὲ ὦς—'not even after this': so i. 132, οὐδὲ ὦς ἡξίωσαν νεώτερον τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν etc. καὶ ὦς, i. 44, 2: iii. 33, 1. The negative belongs to both the verb and the participle;—they did not throw up the truce and begin a war. διάφορον—ch. 78, 8. The truce between Athens and Sparta was not considered to be actually broken till 414, when an Athenian fleet ravaged the coast of Peloponnesus (vi. 105, 1).

9. διαφόρων—'differences', from διαφορά, the manuscript reading. Bekker and others alter it into διαφόρον, as τὰ ἰδια διάφορα is found ii. 37, 1: τὰ αὐτοῖς ἰδία διάφορα, i. 68, 2: τὰ ἡμῖν διάφορα, iv. 57, 1: see ch. 13, 19.

12. τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἄγοραν—i.e. the market in the Athenian camp, where their supplies were stored; i. 62, 1, at Potidaea, ἄγοραν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεταλήνα: iii. 6, at Mytilene, ναύσταθμον τὴν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἄγορας ἡ Μαλλα.

13. ἄνδρας—iv. 132, 3, τῶν ἡβὸντων ἄνδρας ἔξηγον: vii. 43, 3, ἄνδρας τῶν φιλάκων ἀποκτείνουσιν. ἐσενεγκάρειον—so ἐσομουσία, vi. 22, 1. χρήματα—the wss. reading is χρήματι: hence some read χρήματα in the general meaning of supplies: so vi. 49, 3, τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἀπορήσειν χρημάτων: vii. 49, 1, τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν.

16. τὸ ἔπειτα—so iv. 54, 3, τὸ τε παραυτίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα τὰ τῆς ὀμολογίας ἔπραξθη: iv. 107, 1, καὶ τὸ αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα.
CHAPTER CXVI

2. μελλήσαντες—'having intended'; i. 134, 4, ἐμέλλησαν μὲν...ἐπείτα. viii. 23, 5, πειδὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐμέλλησεν ἰέναι. τὰ διαβατήρια ἱερὰ—cf. ch. 54, 6. Cobet would omit ἵνα ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις as an explanatory gloss, such words not being added elsewhere. For ἐγίγνετο see ch. 55, 17.

5. διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μελλήσεων—i.e. hearing of their intended attack. ὑποτοπήσαντες—altered by Meineke into ὑποτοπεύσαντες, as ὑποτοπεῖν is not found with an accusative of the person. Possibly it may stand in the sense of 'having formed a suspicion', τινὰς being governed by ξυνέλαβον and then resolved into τοῖς μὲν...οὶ δὲ: cf. ch. 54, 16.

8. αὖθις—the best manuscripts have αὐτὸς, which is also found in some manuscripts in ch. 8, 18, and ch. 43, 18. Lid. and Scott call it a form erroneously introduced into Attic authors.

ib. καθ' ἑτερόν τι—apparently καθ' ἑτερον is governed directly by ἑλον, and is equivalent to a single word; as in iv. 3, 2, ἐμπρήσαντός τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὑλῆς: so ii. 76, 4, ἐπὶ μέγα κατέσεισε: see note on iv. 3, 2. Otherwise περιτειχίσματος may be regarded as a partitive genitive, 'took a part of the Athenian lines of attack'. Classen takes καθ' ἑτερον separately, governing the genitive by τι, but, as Poppo says, 'separari posse non videntur'. He suggests that καθ' should perhaps be altered into καὶ. The instances quoted are however sufficient to support the view first given.

11. ὡς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο—these words, if genuine, must mean, 'as these things happened', i.e. as the Athenians found themselves assailed in turn by the enemy. To give the meaning 'after this happened', which we should rather expect, ἐγίγνετο would be needed. Poppo brackets the whole clause as weak and awkwardly inserted between ἄλλης and ἦς: and he is followed by Classen.

12. καὶ...πολιορκούμενοι—cf. i. 65, 1, ἀποτελεῖσθαις αὐτῆς ...καὶ ἑκουν, where Poppo gives several instances, e.g. iv. 29, 1, of the genitive absolute thus joined with participles in the nominative.
14. ἔστε—of conditions; ch. 17, 14. βουλεύσαι—‘decide’; the usual force of the aorist.

17. ὕπηγαν—‘settled in’; ch. 1, 10. The reading of the best manuscripts however is ὕπιγαν, which is adopted by Poppo and Classen; cf. i. 98, 1. Either word makes good sense, ὕπιγαν being ‘to settle’, i.e. to people with settlers; and the aorists are naturally liable to confusion. In the middle voice the forms of ὕπηγαν are to be preferred (e.g. vi. 1, 2), as the use of ὑπεκείσθαι middle is doubtful.
APPENDIX

Ch. cxi. 30.

ην μιᾶς πέρι καὶ εἷς μιᾶν βουλήν τυχούσαν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν ἦσται—the suggestion in the body of the notes, to omit ην and ἦσται (and perhaps also the first περί, before πατρίδος), makes it possible to construe this clause, in accordance with the obvious sense, and with the scholiast's explanation, καὶ πολλάκις πρὸ ὄρθαλμῶν λάβετε διὶ περὶ πατρίδος ἡ σκέψις, μιᾶς οὖσης, περὶ ἦν μιὰ βουλὴ ἢ κατορθώσετε ἢ σφαλῆσθε. It is however not quite satisfactory, especially as regards the concluding words. One feels that τυχούσαν τε καὶ μὴ ought to go together, sc. μὴ τυχούσαν, and that κατορθώσασαν should be separately accounted for.

Taking this view, Mr E. S. Thompson, of Christ's College, Cambridge, proposes a restoration of the passage which is decidedly attractive (Classical Review, Vol. iii. p. 72). He would read καὶ ἐνθυμεῖτε πολλάκις διὶ πατρίδος βουλεύεσθε μιᾶς πέρι, ἦν καὶ εἷς μιᾶν βουλήν τυχούσαν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσαε ἦσται, 'and that this (fatherland), standing to win or lose on the event of only one debate, it will be in your power to establish in security'. Mr Thompson makes τυχούσαν τε καὶ μὴ refer to ην (πατρίδα). Would not the words go better with βουλήν, 'according as your debate succeeds or fails'? That an infinitive is to be sought in κατορθώσασαν seems highly probable: but I am in doubt about κατορθώσαε πατρίδα. There is no parallel to it in Thucydides, who generally uses κατορθοῦν in the sense of 'succeeding', βουλήν or the like being implied. πατρίδα then may be the subject, not the object of κατορθώσαε.

The following are some of the explanations which have been given of the passage. The list is by no means exhaustive, but is meant to indicate the main lines of solution which authorities have taken.

A. Retaining ην and ἦσται, (1) Professor Jowett thinks the manuscript reading probably genuine. He supplies βουλεύεσθαι from βουλεύεσθε, taking ἦσται to mean 'will be possible'. The
city, he says, is considered, first, as that which deliberates; secondly, as the subject of deliberation: μιᾶς πέρυ being written by confusion instead of ἵν μιᾶν (οὖσαν)....έσται (βουλεύεσθαι). εἰς μιᾶν βουλήν may follow either βουλεύεσθαι or τυχουσάν te κ.τ.λ. the latter words referring to πατρίδα. (2) With the same general view, τυχουσάν te κ.τ.λ. may be referred to βουλήν.

B. Reading ἵς instead of ἵν, the clause = ἵς πέρυ μιᾶς (οὖσας)...(βουλεύεσθαι) ἔσται. We thus get the meaning ‘and that you will have the opportunity of deliberating (or, will have to decide) concerning your only country, and that too in one deliberation, whether successful or not’.

This is not altogether unsatisfactory, but there is a harshness in supplying βουλεύεσθαι or βουλεύσασθαι, and ἔσται stands very awkwardly by itself. It would be better to take ἵς πέρυ... ἔσται to mean ‘whose fate will be decided’, lit. ‘about which (the question) will be’: cf. iv. 63, 2, οὔ περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τινα, sc. ὁ λόγος ἔσται: Dem. Androt. 607, § 46, οὔ περὶ πράξεως εἰσαφορῶν ἔστιν: id. Timocr. 701, § 5, περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τουτοῦ νῦν ὑμῖν ἔστιν ἕκαστον ταύτην: ib. 733, § 105 (in a law), διαν περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος ἃ. There seems much in favour of this explanation.

C. Reading ἔστε instead of ἔσται, it has been proposed to refer ἵν (1) to πατρίδα, (2) to βουλήν supplied from βουλεύεσθε. The rendering is (1) ‘whose success you know (ἵν κατορθώσασαν ἔστε) concerns your one only country, and depends on one deliberation, according as it succeeds or fails’: (2) ‘which deliberation you know whether it succeeds or fails (ἵν τυχουσάν τε καὶ μή κατορθώσασαν ἔστε) relates to your only country and must be determined in one debate’.

These explanations may be varied by different arrangements of the accusative participles. They are in any case open to the objection that we should expect those participles to be future rather than aorist. Besides this, the double use required in (1) of πατρίδα, and in (2) of βουλήν, involves intolerable harshness.

D. Suggested alterations:

a. for ἔσται read ἔσεσθαι, the infinitive in the relative clause being dependent on ἐνθυμεῖσθε. There is a confusion between ἵν...ἔσεσθαι and ἵν...ἔσται. ἵν may be referred to πατρίδα or βουλήν and the rest of the clause variously modified.

b. read ἵν (sc. βουλήν or πατρίδα)...ἐστατε or ἔξετε. c. ἵν μιᾶς ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς...ἔσταται. d. ἵν ύμᾶς περιποιῆσαι...ἔσται.
INDEX I

The figures denote the chapters and lines, which are referred to in the notes.

accusative absolute 30, 9: 39,
15: 56, 6:
60, 18: 63, 4
" with α 60, 29
" personally constructed 65, 12
" cognate 9, 17: 34,
15: 42,
15: 105, 14
" loosely constructed 9,
42
" determinant 52, 6:
59, 16
" of object with passive participle 37, 2
" of space traversed 10, 31: 58, 16, 20
adjective and participle in common agreement 48, 9:
64, 21
Adramyttium 1, 9
Aegina, colonized by Athenians 74, 11
Agis, king of Sparta 24, 2: 54,
3: invades Argos ch. 57—
60: makes an unsatisfactory truce ch. 60: is accused at Sparta ch. 63: invades Mantinea ch. 64 sq.: changes of tactics 65, 11: 71, 1: defeats the Argive confederacy at Mantinea ch. 71—74: de-
stroys the long walls at Argos 83, 9
Alcibiades, first appearance of ch. 43: deceives the Lacedaemonian envoys ch. 45:
expedition to Peloponnesus ch. 52: to Argos ch. 84
allies of Athens in Sicily 4, 20
Amphipolis ch. 6—11: new works at 10, 29: not given up 21, 9: evacuated by the Spartans 34, 2: not restored to Athens 35, 26
Amyclaeum 18, 64: 23, 26
aorist, force of 28, 12: 50, 24:
69, 11: 91, 10: 97, 3: 100, 5
" gnomic 103, 3
" with et, force of 38, 25
" with imperfect 65, 21:
72, 13: 74, 6: 82, 6:
114, 4
infinitive with ἔλεγς 9,
31
" verb of refusal 22, 6
apposition, instances of 6, 23:
24, 15: 54, 15:
61, 14: 96, 3
" partial 10, 53: 34, 15
" resolved 3, 10, 26
" with names of places 75, 26
Arcadia, encroached on by Mantinea 29, 4
INDEX  I

archers, pay of at Athens 47, 44
Argilus 6, 12: 18, 29
Argos ch. 27—29: 31, 3: 36, 20: ch. 57 sq.: ch. 76—79: 81, 10: 84, 2
" claims equality with Sparta 69, 7: long walls designed 82, 25: destroyed 83, 9
Aristides, date of tribute 18, 25
article, denoting the thing in question at the time 24, 14: 91, 5: 101, 1: 110, 2
" explained by context 5, 4, 14: 6, 1: 13, 9
" not repeated 5, 1: 10, 38
" superfluous 5, 9
" with predicate 109, 1
attraction of gender 2, 17
Boeotarchs 37, 20
Boeotian four Councils 38, 9
Brasidas, 6—11
Bricinniae 4, 16
Carnea 75, 9
Carnean month 54, 9
Cerdylium 6, 12
chiasmus 16, 5
Clearidas 6, 27
Cleon, advises the recovery of Amphipolis 2, 1: attacks and takes Torone ch. 2 and 3: proceeds to Amphipolis ch. 6 and 7: is attacked and routed by Brasidas ch. 10: is slain 10, 48: harsh estimate of his motives 16, 6
Cleonae 67, 18
comparative with two terminations 110, 8
construction, confused 7, 9
" elliptic 9, 2: 76, 14: 95, 1: 115, 8
" in accordance with the sense 41, 11: 70, 1
" with μετ and ἀρχη 11, 11
Corinthians 27, 6: ch. 30—32 etc.
Coryphasium 18, 33
Cretan Sea 110, 2
Cynousrian land ch. 41
Cypselas 33, 6
Cythera 18, 38
dative, of cause 13, 6: 14, 9: 22, 5: 26, 26: 99, 2: 104, 9
" date 49, 1
" initial, 3, 24: 111, 14
" with γιγνομαι 111, 1
" ἐλασθομαι 72, 9
" ἐλασθομαι 97, 1
" ἕμπω 63, 11
" infinitive construction 64, 10: 69, 5
" substantive 5, 3
" ἄνωτεν 10, 32
Delos, purified 1, 3: inhabitants restored 32, 5
demonstrative form of expression, in second part of a relative sentence 2, 16: 5, 8
Dionysia 20, 2
disfranchisement of Spartans 34, 14
Dorians contrasted with Ionians 9, 3
Doric dialect, in treaty ch. 77 and 79
dual, feminine form of 23, 9: 29, 17: 84, 8
earthquake 45, 22: 50, 29
Edones 6, 20
Elis, joins Argive league ch. 31: treaty with Athens ch. 47: rupture with Sparta ch. 49 and 50
elliptic form of reasoning 14, 27
envoys identified, in construction, with the state 44, 18: 55, 11
Epidaurus, ch. 53—56: attacked by the Athenian confederacy 75, 22: 77, 6, 13: 80, 17
epithet or predicate? 16, 25
" position of part of 5, 5
Euphamidas 55, 5
future indic. with ὥσ; after a secondary tense 26, 28
" partcp. in final sense with ἐκτω 6, 9: 80, 20: 84, 21

genitive absolute 4, 1: 39, 2
" " irregular construction with 31, 10: 33, 5
" " with subject understood 17, 13
" adnominal 30, 10 etc. ambiguously placed 2, 8
" = 'belonging to' with proper name 71, 2
" Doric in a 10, 3
double 11, 10
" of country precedes name of place 33, 4
" of time 1, 1: 14, 16: 59, 3: 74, 2

genitive, partitive 2, 16: 15, 5: 52, 12: 60, 2, 17: 64, 9
" dependent on proper names 71, 21
Hagnon 11, 9: 19, 2: 24, 1
Harpina 50, 13
Helots, 14, 21: emancipated for good service 34, 5: at Pylos 35, 32: removed 35, 37: sent back 56, 10, 14: serve under Agis 57, 7: 64, 7
Heraclea 12, 5: attacked ch. 51
Heracleum 66, 4
Heraea 67, 8
Heraeum 75, 26
Hyacinthia 41, 26
Hysiae 83, 10
imperfect, force of 3, 15, 30: 42, 17
" implying previous arrangement 28, 19
" inceptive 39, 21
" of intention 62, 11
" without ἄν in conditional sense 52, 18
" ἀπτ-learning accommodated to sense of context 35, 15
infinitive, explanatory 15, 3: 63, 8: 69, 6: 111, 9
" following ἣ 53, 10
" for second person imperative 9, 30
" future, with verb of fearing 105, 13
infinitive, in clause with \( \varepsilon \)s in
orat. obliqu. 46, 20
,, in rel. clause in
orat. obliqu. 45, 11
,, in provisions, decrees, etc. 28, 6: 63, 18
,, of purpose 2, 13: 56, 14: 100, 2: 101, 3
,, representing imperative in oratio obliqua 63, 13
Ischagoras 19, 7: 21, 4

Laches 43, 10: 61, 3
Lemnians and Imbrians 8, 9
Leontini, revolution at 4, 4, 15
Lepreum 31, 6, 20
Leuctra in Peloponnesus 54, 3
Lichas 50, 16: 76, 13
litotes (\( \mu e l w o s \)) 15, 3

Maenalia 64, 9: 67, 8: 77, 4
Mantinea, joins Argive league
ch. 29: negotiations at ch. 55: makes terms with Sparta ch. 81
,, battle of ch. 66—74
masculine following \( \pi o l w e s \) 79, 5
Mecyberna 18, 34: 39, 1
Melos, a Spartan colony 84, 12: refused originally to submit to Athens 84, 13: attacked by Athens 84, 16: conference at ch. 84—113: besieged ch. 114: surrenders ch. 116
Messemians, at Cranii 35, 36: 56, 9: withdrawn from Pylos 35, 37
Methydrium 58, 8
Myrcinians 6, 21

negative, affecting both verb and participle 115, 7

Nemea ch. 58—60
neuter, collective 3, 24: 9, 32: 64, 14
,, plural 8, 7: 14, 27
,, singular in cognate construction 82, 24
Nicias, anxious for peace 16, 11: his reputation for success 16, 14: promotes peace with Sparta 43, 10: 46, 5: sent as envoy 46, 13: in command against Chalcidians 83, 21
Nicostratus 61, 3

obol, Aeginetan 47, 44
Odomanti 6, 8
Olympia, victor as date 49, 1
Olympic games ch. 49 and 50
optative of indefinite frequency 56, 18
Orchomenus in Arcadia 61, 15
order, ambiguous 29, 23
,, inverted for antithesis 20, 7: 97, 5
Orestheium 64, 8
Orneae 67, 19

Panathenaea 47, 70
Parrhasii ch. 33
participle, construction depends on 1, 5, 7
,, different constructions or tenses combined 14, 14: 28, 10: 29, 12: 43, 23: 46, 2: 60, 13: 116, 12
,, future, to denote purpose 6, 9: 8, 10: 84, 21
,, in conditional sense 52, 18: 60, 23
,, instead of verb in concluding clause 6, 20: 52, 13
participle, neuter, in place of
noun 9, 14:

102, 4

position of in epithet 34, 6: 55,
24: 43, 12

perfect, force of 9,
4

with hypothetical force 34, 12

Pasitelidas 3, 1

passive, cognate 16, 24: 111, 8

Patrae 52, 15

Pellenians ch. 58—60

Perdicas 6, 6: 80, 9: 83, 17:
of Argive descent 80, 13

Phaeax 4, 1

Pharnaces 1, 9

Phlius 57, 12

Phocaea, in Leontinis 4, 14

Pierium 13, 2

Plataeans, established at
Scione 32, 5

Pleistoanax, king of Sparta
16, 10, 24: 24, 1: 33, 2:
75, 1

pluperfect 1, 2: 80, 1

plural verb with neuter plural
26, 15: 75,
9

" " " noun of multitude 31, 2:
82, 5

Polles 6, 8

predicate, construction with 4,
16

" irregular position of 41, 1

" verb agrees with 49,
10

preposition, pregnant use of
24, 13: 34, 1, 10: 42, 6:
65, 17

Pylos, retained by Athens 35,
19: depredations from 115,
5

Pythian games, time of 1, 2

relative clause, order of words
in 103, 8

Rhamphias 12, 2

Scione, still besieged 2, 6: taken
32, 2

Sciritae 67, 2: 68, 10 sq.

Sciritis 33, 9

Sicyon 52, 18: 81, 8

Sicyonians ch. 58—60

Spartan discipline and skill
11, 18: 66, 10: 70,
4: 72, 10

" military arrangements ch. 68

Stageirnus 6, 3: 18, 29

strategi, at Argos 59, 24

subjunctive, deliberative 65,
24

" with et 77, 11

superlative emphatically
placed 60, 17: 111, 21

Tegea 32, 10: 57, 10: 62, 5:
64, 2: 75, 4

Thucydides, his age 26, 27:
exile ch. 26 fin.

" his reckoning by
summers and winters ch. 20

Treaty, between Athens and
Sparta ch. 18

" between Athens and
Sparta alone ch. 23

" between Athens and
the Argive league
ch. 47

" between Argos and
Sparta ch. 77 and
79

tribute 'in the time of Aris-
tides' 18, 25

wing, right, the post of honour
67, 9

Xenares, an ephor 36, 9: 51,
9
The figures denote the chapters and lines, which are referred to in the notes.

άγαθίν, τὸ κοῦν 90, 4
άγορά, Athenian at Melos 115, 12
άγω, 'to reckon' 54, 13
άγωγή 85, 7
άγων, 'course' 50, 17
άγώνισι 50, 19
άδικα, use of tenses 49, 21:
  89, 3
άδολος 47, 4
άελ, position of 41, 7
'Αθηνᾶ 10, 8: 23, 27
'Αθηνας, ἐσ, 3, 24
άθυμω with accusative 91, 2
"Αθως, gender of 35, 1
αἰ κα 77, 7
αισθάνομαι 4, 27: 26, 26
  " with aorist participle 26, 26
  " with gen. of participle 83, 2
αισθομαι (?) 26, 32
αισχρόι κίνδυνοι 111, 12
αισχύνη 104, 9
αισχύνομαι 9, 36
αιτιώμαι 30, 6
ἀκριβῆς 20, 10: 26, 27: 90, 5
ἀλεξέμεναι 77, 17
άλλα brings in a parenthetical clause 35, 19: 59, 21: 72, 3
  " with οὐ and a comparative 99, 4
άλλ' ἦ 60, 6: 80, 8
άλλ' οὖν 113, 2
άλλο τι 87, 2
άλλα, τι η; 98, 9
άλλος, 'besides' 25, 8: 35, 17:
  60, 10: 75, 12
άμα, construction with 9, 13:
  13, 3: 17, 12
άμιπτοι 57, 14
άμαθι 77, 18
άμφετέρωθεν 16, 4
άμφω, with plural 79, 20
άν, repeated 9, 9, 18: 105, 10
  " with conditional clause implied 22, 14
  " with future infinitive 82, 24
  " " optative 94, 3
  " " participle 15, 11
  " " with participle 105, 19
  " with pluperfect 46, 20
  " with οὐ or μη in oratio obliqua 9, 9
ἀναγκαῖος 8, 11
ἀνάγκη, with active force 89, 10
ἀναδάσασθαι 4, 7
ἀνάδω 50, 20
ἀναίρω 33, 7
ἀνάκωκχῇ 25, 14: 32, 34
ἀναλαμβάνω 7, 10: 64, 23
ἀνάληψις 65, 10
ἀναπεσοῦμαι 18, 61: 23, 21: 46,
  31: 47, 66: 80, 23
ἀναπρίπτω 103, 3
ἀναφέρω, 'recall' 16, 30
ἀνδραγαθία 101, 2
 governors, μή, nolite 103, 7

the 71, 2

ω, 9: 87, 2

force of aorist 71, 116, 15

, at Athens, ambassadors brought before 45, 1

τις, 105, 4

γεμα, 'mean' 65, 10

λάμοσ, ὁ 27, 13

ταίδειου 67, 5: 71, 19

γάρ introduces promised statement 27, 1: 68, 10: 72, 11

γεγένητο 14, 18

γίγνεται, becomes due 49, 27

, contingit 93, 2

γίγνομαι μετά 38, 20

γυμνή 38, 6: 75, 14: 108, 5

γυμνήν ἔχω πρός 44, 8: 48, 12: 73, 18

γυμνής τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι 46, 30

γρίμα 29, 18

 Opr, of the historian 26, 1

γυμνά, τὰ 10, 20: 71, 6

γύμνωσις 71, 12

δάπανος 103, 4

δεδώσ 8, 5

dia ποιήσ 42, 17

δέομαι, with acc. of person 56, 23

δεδέμονα, ὁ 38, 5

δεῦ, τὸ 66, 14

δέχμερος 26, 16: 32, 19, 29

dechomai, to receive insurgents 31, 22

δῆ, with real motive 85, 3

, superlative 28, 14: 60, 16: 74, 2: 113, 8

δημουργος 47, 62

δήμος, the democracy 4, 5, 20: 76, 6

, =ἐκκλησία 45, 4

Δημοσθένης, accusative form 60, 19

δήμοσιον 18, 41: 50, 19

dia, in sense of ἔνεκα 53, 12

dία μέσου 26, 8

δ' οὖν 66, 5

δ' ὅργης 29, 15: 46, 36

dia παντὸς 69, 8: 105, 6

διαβατήρια 54, 7: 55, 16

, iepá 116, 3

διαγιγομαι 16, 18

diaφοροῦ 29, 19

diaρω 26, 10

, with part. genitive 2, 16

diakinenw 25, 7

diakriνομαι 79, 18

diaλομαι 1, 2: 80, 30: 83, 23: 113, 2

διαιμέλησις 79, 3

diapráσσομαι 89, 8

diaσώζομαι 16, 14

diaτάσσω 59, 1

διατρήθη 38, 30: 82, 20

diaφορὰ 1(1 diaφορά 115, 9

diaδάσκαλος γίγνομαι 30, 3

dielόμενοι 75, 25: 114, 4

diῆθε τὸ θέρος 55, 23

Diῆς 82, 1

dikaiον, as subst. 18, 20

dikaiωμα 97, 1

dikaiowis 17, 13

dikas δίδωμι 27, 14: 59, 28

dikη, 'penalty' 45, 5

Δικτίδης 35, 2

δικησις 16, 33

dokow, irregular constr. with 53, 6

, personally constructed 113, 4

, 'to be accounted (guilty etc.)' 16, 33: 44, 16: 46, 33: 72, 5

δόξα ='ideas' 9, 23

δουλεία, ἡ 23, 18

δρύμενον, τὸ 102, 2

δυναμις, 'value' 20, 14

dynatá, τὰ 89, 7, 10

dynatoi, ob 4, 7

δνω, with plural 84, 8

δωροδόκησις (?) 16, 33

δώρων, μετά 16, 33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek Word(s)</th>
<th>English Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἐκείνος, use of</td>
<td>38, 15: 57, 16:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκείνοια</td>
<td>1, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκκλησία, at Sparta</td>
<td>77, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκκλίνω</td>
<td>73, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκπαιδεύω</td>
<td>75, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκπέμπω</td>
<td>52, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκπλήρωσις</td>
<td>66, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐκπροτείνω—ομαί</td>
<td>55, 15, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐλασσοῦμαι</td>
<td>30, 18: 34, 13: 43, 16: 105, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐλλειπῶ</td>
<td>97, 1: 103, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐμέλμηστο</td>
<td>66, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐμπειρία</td>
<td>72, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐν, ‘at’ or ‘near’</td>
<td>55, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, of the provisions in a law</td>
<td>49, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἔχω</td>
<td>60, 12, 25, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐν τοῖς, ‘short of’</td>
<td>90, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐνωμοτικα</td>
<td>66, 16: 68, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξαίφω</td>
<td>43, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξαλλασσώ</td>
<td>71, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξέχομαι</td>
<td>of foreign service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34, 2: 75, 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξηγοῦμαι</td>
<td>66, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξισώ</td>
<td>71, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξορκώ</td>
<td>47, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξω, ‘besides’</td>
<td>26, 13: 97, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, of</td>
<td>14, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐξωθῶ—ομαί</td>
<td>71, 4: 72, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπαγγέλω</td>
<td>47, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπάγωμαι</td>
<td>4, 8: 98, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπαγγελῇ</td>
<td>82, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπαγγελγός</td>
<td>85, 4: 111, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπαναγάζω</td>
<td>31, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπανίσταμαι</td>
<td>23, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπειδή</td>
<td>18, 28: 22, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπειτὰ</td>
<td>, without ἐξ 7, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπεξάγω</td>
<td>71, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπεξέρχομαι</td>
<td>89, 3: 100, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐπέρχομαι</td>
<td>10, 13: 110, 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX II

ετήν 47, 40
επί, with gen. of direction 34, 9
επί σφόν αυτῶν 67, 4
επί, with dat. ‘to command or menace’ 7, 20: 33, 9: 51, 5
“” of conditions 4, 12: 31, 9
επ’ εξόδου 14, 25: 28, 11
επί κακῷ 44, 21
επί πημονῆ 47, 6
επί τῷ ἵσι 15, 9
επί τιμωρία 90, 7
επί, with acc. of purpose 87, 4 visiting 4, 26
επί βάθος 68, 14
επί πάρ 68, 16
επί πολὺ, of time 16, 28
επί, in composition 10, 5
επιγραφοι 4, 6
επιεικεία 86, 2
επιέναι 10, 26
επικαλώ 56, 5: 59, 29: 83, 17
επικαρώ, with inf. 46, 29
επιμαχία 48, 9
επιμαχία 27, 16
επιμελεῖ, τὸ 66, 20
επιμεξία 35, 4: 78, 4
επιπαριέναι 10, 42
επιστάσθαι 111, 16
επιστέφασμα 22, 10
επισπονδαῖ 32, 19
επιστρέφει 10, 20
επισχεῖν 32, 28: 46, 6: 63, 15
επιτειχισμὸς (τειχισμὸς 17, 11
επιτεταγμένοι 72, 19
επιτηδεῖοι 21, 9: 76, 6: 81, 11
“” with two terminations 112, 4
επιτηδεῖοι 82, 3: 85, 10
επιτελεῖμαι 8, 10: 76, 11: 82, 6: 91, 6
επιτρέπω 31, 15: 99, 6
επιτροπή 41, 5
επιφέρω αὐτίναν 75, 10
επιχείρησις 9, 5
εποικός 5, 5

ἐργον 26, 10: 67, 13: 108, 4: 109, 3
ἐργφ 9, 47: 111, 17
ἐρημω, ‘abandon’ 4, 11
ἐς, denoting approach 2, 12
“” relation generally 75, 11: 105, 13
ἐς, loosely used 7, 11: 40, 7
“” with numbers 3, 23: 6, 26
“” with πείθω 76, 8
ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς = to Boeotia 32, 17
ἐς χεῖρας ὑπομένειν 72, 17
ἐβαμαθὼ, ‘close in’ 71, 23
ἐβγγήσις 30, 7
ἐσιέναι, of joining a truce 30, 23: 35, 15: 40, 10
ἐστιν ἐν οἷς 25, 11
ἐστιν ὅτε 102, 2
ἐσφέρομαι 115, 14
ἐσφέρω περι...ἐς 38, 27
ἐται 79, 20
ἐυθύς, with genitive of time 13, 1: 76, 1
ἐυθύς τε...καὶ τὸτε 51, 6
ἐυλάκη εὐλάξεστιν 16, 30
ἐβρημα 46, 12
ἐβρισκομαι, ‘obtain’ 32, 29
ἐβακεπαστάτατον 71, 9
ἐβυχυσον, τὸ 9, 2
ἐφοδι 35, 40
ἐχομαι λόγου 49, 24
ἐχυρῶν 109, 1
ἐχυρώσ 26, 22
ἐχω, ‘involve’ 9, 18
ἐχω ἀριστα 28, 16
ἐχω (ἐσχον 17, 14
ἐχγος 50, 18
ἐγγον 68, 14

ἡ, after virtual comparative 20, 4
ἡ ποι 100, 1
ἡγεμωνία 16, 10
ἡδε, not ‘as follows’ 68, 1
ἡδη 17, 9: 37, 11: 38, 6: 59, 3: 106, 1
INDEX II 271

καὶ emphatic 10, 50: 74, 13
καὶ ἀπάς 71, 2
καὶ αὐτός 6, 11: 8, 2
κακίζομαι 75, 14
κακῶς ἄκοψ 28, 14
καλῶς 36, 21: 57, 5: 65, 27
καρπερός, of a position 10, 32
κατά, with gen. of sacrifices 47, 54
„ „ with acc. ‘by way of’
„ „ ‘opposite to’ 71, 5, 25: 73, 10
καθ’ ἔτερον τι, as one expression 116, 8
καθ’ ἐκάστους 69, 18
κἀ’ ὁλίγον 9, 6: 82, 5
κατά πόδας 64, 10
κατά σφάς αὐτοὺς 112, 2
καταβοᾶν 45, 21
καταδικέζομαι 49, 6, 13
καταδίκη 49, 10
κατακλήσις 83, 16
καταλαμβάνω 4, 15: 26, 6: 58, 9: 59, 10: 65, 2
κατεγέλημέναι (σπονδαί) 21, 16
καταλήπτειν ὅνομα 16, 17
καταλώς 23, 9: 81, 10: 90, 3
καταπατῶ 72, 28
καταπλαγεῖς 65, 23
κατατίθεμαι, of hostages 84, 5
catatíthmi στήλην 47, 76
catérχομαι, ‘land’ 7, 24
catέχω 5, 14
κατορθῶ 111, 31
καττάδε 77, 1: 79, 1
catφκημαι 83, 15
cēμai = perf. pass. of katati-
theμαι 61, 22
κέκλημαι, force of perfect 9, 40
ciνδυνεῖσθαι, pass. 91, 7
κλέμμα 9, 17
κοινόν, ‘community’ 37, 5
coiνός, ‘impartial’ 102, 2
coiνώς, 60, 6
κράτιστα, adjective or adverb 40, 23
κυκλοῦμαι, middle 73, 4: pas-
sive, 73, 6

καθ’ ἔτερον τι, as one expression 116, 8
καθ’ ἐκάστους 69, 18
κἀ’ ὁλίγον 9, 6: 82, 5
κατά πόδας 64, 10
κατά σφάς αὐτοὺς 112, 2
καταβοᾶν 45, 21
καταδικέζομαι 49, 6, 13
καταδίκη 49, 10
κατακλήσις 83, 16
καταλαμβάνω 4, 15: 26, 6: 58, 9: 59, 10: 65, 2
κατεγέλημέναι (σπονδαί) 21, 16
καταλήπτειν ὅνομα 16, 17
καταλώς 23, 9: 81, 10: 90, 3
καταπατῶ 72, 28
καταπλαγεῖς 65, 23
κατατίθεμαι, of hostages 84, 5
catatíthmi στήλην 47, 76
catérχομαι, ‘land’ 7, 24
catέχω 5, 14
κατορθῶ 111, 31
καττάδε 77, 1: 79, 1
catφκημαι 83, 15
cēμai = perf. pass. of katati-
theμαι 61, 22
κέκλημαι, force of perfect 9, 40
ciνδυνεῖσθαι, pass. 91, 7
κλέμμα 9, 17
κοινόν, ‘community’ 37, 5
coiνός, ‘impartial’ 102, 2
coiνώς, 60, 6
κράτιστα, adjective or adverb 40, 23
κυκλοῦμαι, middle 73, 4: pas-
sive, 73, 6
λαγχάνω with infinitive 21, 2
Λακεδαίμων = Λακεδαίμονι 25, 9
λαμβάνω, 'get' or 'find' 63, 7
λέγω = ἴδει 46, 8
ληξίμαι 56, 14: 115, 8
λην 77, 13
ληστεύμαι 14, 19
ληψις 110, 3
λιθουργοί 82, 31
λιμωσή 7, 19
λογάδες, οἱ χίλιοι, at Argos 67, 15: 72, 15
λόγοι, 'conference' 112, 2
λόγος, 'proposition' 76, 14: 78, 1
λόγους ποιεῖσθαι 36, 11
λόγῳ κοινῷ χρῆσθαι 37, 13
λοξίζομαι, passive 115, 2
λόχοι, οἱ πέντε at Argos 72, 21
Λύκαιον 16, 32: 54, 4
λυμαίνομαι 103, 12
μάλιστα μὲν 2, 18
μέγα μέρος 32, 11
μεγαλώνω 98, 10
μεθόριον 41, 7
μεμνημονεύτων 8, 18: 58, 10
μὲν answered by ἔπειτα 7, 2: 25, 13
" " " kal 71, 1
μεν...δέ, instances of construction 9, 1: 10, 1
μετά with gen., 25, 14: 44, 2: 107, 2
μεταμέλομαι with δι 14, 13
μεταστάθηκα 111, 28
μεταστάθηκασθαί 111, 10
μεταχωρώ 112, 1
μέχρι 1, 2
μὴ, following ἀπέχομαι 25, 13
" " " προσδοκία 14, 19

μὴ, redundant 8, 13
μηδέτεροι 98, 6
μηχανή 7, 24
μισθὸν 6, 9
μωρλα ταῦτα 40, 21
νέμομαι 31, 10
νεώταμώνεις 34, 8: 67, 6
νῆσος, ἦ, Sphacteria 14, 18: 15, 4: 34, 10
νικῶ, use of tenses 10, 61: 49, 3: 50, 18: 51, 8
νομίζω with direct object 98, 1
νόμισε 105, 3
νόμαι πολεμικοί 69, 18
νόμου ἀρχαῖοι 73, 5

εὐγγέρων with infinitive 88, 1
εὐγγραφή 35, 15
εὐγγράφομαι 41, 23
εὐγκαταλείπω 75, 27
εὐγκεκρίμαι 25, 23
εὐγκήρω 64, 22: 72, 9
εὐγκέω 39, 18
εὐγνώσις 26, 33
εὐγνωρεῖ, impersonal 40, 21
εὐγνωρεῖσθαι, pass. 17, 13
εὐμβαίνω 10, 38: 14, 23: 26, 22: 92, 1: 98, 5
εὐμβάλλωμαι 'agree' 77, 2, 24
εὐμβάσεις 4, 5
εὐμβατήριοσ 76, 5, 20
εὐμβουλος 63, 17
εὐμαχία, 'allied territory' 33, 12
εὐμαχία 27, 2: 48, 1
εὐμαχικῶν, τὸ 6, 7
εὐμαχίς 36, 5: 110, 7
εὐμαμίζω 9, 30: 65, 13
εὐφορά, of Sphacteria 75, 12
εὐφορόν, τὸ 98, 3
εὖν ὀπλοὶ 11, 2: 50, 9
εὐναρομαι with gen. 16, 18
εὖνερος 86, 1
εὐνεκθοδίσα, μάχη 74, 4
εὐνελών 105, 20
εὐνέρχομαι, of an army 60, 17
εὐνεπίπτω 3, 12
INDEX II

ξινθήκη, η, of the Peloponnesian league 31, 23

ξυνέναι, 'close' in battle 59, 26

ξυνισταμαι 82, 5

ξύνοδος 70, 2: 71, 4

ξύνοιδα, with acc. 82, 27

ξυναγάγναι, metaphor. 9, 23

ξυνίζεμαι 32, 34

ξυνωμοσία 83, 19

ξυστραφεῖς 10, 49

δ, emphatic 103, 6: 107, 3: 111, 19

δ τι = ὁσιών 18, 65

δύσδηκοντα, oi, at Argos 47, 61

οἱ μὴ πελάντες 27, 19

οἱ περὶ 13, 2: 21, 14: 46, 22, 29

οἰκῶ with acc. 1, 10: 16, 33: 116, 17

οἷος repeated 7, 6

οἶλγοι, oi, at Melos 84, 23: 85, 7

ὁμοιοί 11, 15

ὁμοῖος 46, 4: 61, 4, 16

ὁνόματα καλά 89, 1

διπερ with explanatory inf. 16, 16

ὁποτερόσοι, 'either' 41, 15

ὁράν ὅταν 27, 11

ὁργῇ 70, 3

ὁρίον 55, 22

ὁριον ὄνομα 77, 13

ὁρκος, ὃ μέγιστος 18, 57

ὁρμῶμαι, perf. and pluperf. 1, 11

ὁς, for ὁστις in indirect speech 41, 3

ὁσιος 104, 5

ὁσο with μὴ 10, 55: 98, 6: 110, 6

ὁσον οὐ 59, 26: 64, 5

ὁστις, irregular construction with 16, 19

ὁτι, after acc. and inf. clause 65, 29: 69, 13

,, construction with dropped 61, 12

δτί, followed by acc. and inf. clause 46, 19

,, introduces actual words 10, 24

,, 'noli expectare' 61, 20

οὐ μεντοι ἄλλα 43, 8

οὐ μὴ 69, 15

οὐ with verbal subst. 35, 7: 50, 19

οὐ φημι 45, 19

οὐδὲ 7, 22: 30, 13: 60, 5

οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ 7, 22 (note)

οὐδὲ μία resolved 111, 2

οὐδέ' ὁς 55, 13: 115, 7

οὐδέτερος resolved with prep. 48, 3

οὐδέτερον ὄντως 84, 15

οὐκέτι 4, 26: 38, 27

οὖτος, construction of sentence with 60, 16: 75, 13

,, redundant 36, 10: 91, 3

,, 'that in question' 17, 22: 24, 14: 47, 18

οὐτω-ς 38, 6: 55, 10: 76, 11

οὐχ ὦτο 59, 20

οὐχ ὁς 49, 22

πανταχόθεν 43, 15

πάνως 41, 22

παρά with acc. and εἰσι 67, 14

παραβεβλημένος 113, 8

παραγγέλλω 10, 16: 71, 21

παράγγελσις 66, 17

παραγγέλλων 68, 9

παράγω, before the assembly 46, 38

παράδειγμα 90, 8

παραδίδωμι 18, 23

παραθαρόνω 4, 30: 8, 21

παραίνεσις 69, 2

παρακαλῶ 17, 19: 55, 4

παρακινδύνευσις 100, 3

παραλαμβάνω 37, 17: 52, 3

παραμύθιον 103, 1

παρανομείσθαι pass. 16, 24

παραρρήγυμα 73, 2

παρατυχόντες, ἐν τῷ 38, 4
INDEX 11

παρελθὼν, in the assembly 45, 18
παρενεγκών, 'varying' 20, 4: 26, 21
παρέχω with object and participle 35, 11
πείθω with cognate acc. 90, 6
πεντήκοντα 66, 15
περί, of number 11, 18: 74, 16
περαγέλω 17, 10
περγίγνομαι 60, 33: 72, 11: 86, 7: 97, 2
περεύγω 11, 5
περιέστηκα with acc. 73, 6
περιέχω 7, 16: 71, 18: 73, 4
περισσῶν 71, 4, 13
περιορώμαι 31, 31
περιπτήσω 14, 17: 111, 18
περιτείχισμα 2, 14: 116, 8
πημονή 18, 15: 47, 6
πίσυνοι 14, 22
πλέον εἰδώς 29, 13
πλείουs in general sense 73, 21
πληγάς λαμβάνω 50, 17
πληγεῖς 14, 6
πλῆθος, 'majority' 30, 10
ποιεῖν, ἐντός 2, 15
ποιεῖσθαι ὄρκους 41, 26
πολέμαρχοι 66, 13: 71, 12
πολέμιον, τό with gen. 11, 14
πολέμων, τά τῶν 102, 1
πόλις, the acropolis 18, 64
πονῆω, in battle 73, 10
πράσσω, with dat. 76, 18
πρό, τά ἀριστά 9, 40
προσβεβομένοι ἥλθον 39, 9
προσβύτεροι, on service 75, 2
πρίν with inf. after neg. 10, 14
πρίν ἦ 61, 7
πρό, of choice 36, 18
προσπαλέσθαι 61, 24
προεκφόβησις 11, 20
προεπανασεῖω 17, 9
προθυμοῦμαι with acc. 17, 7: 39, 19
προκαλοῦμαι with acc. of person 112, 11
προκαταλαμβάνω 30, 6: 57, 5
πρόμαντις 16, 25
προεξία 49, 12
πρὸς with gen., 'in favour of' 90, 6: 105, 22
πρὸς, in relation generally 5, 10:
πρὸς, in combination with
dative construction 40, 5
πρὸς τά παρώντα 14, 22
προσάγομαι 82, 23
προσγίγνομαι 61, 20
προσήκοντες, оι 96, 2
προσκαθεξόμενοι 61, 18
προσλαμβάνω 111, 19
προσμίζαι 58, 4
προστέλλω 71, 6
προστίθεμαι 62, 6
πρόσθικα with infinitive 30, 19
προτέρα ἧ (προτεραὶ 75, 15
πρότεροι λαχώντες 35, 9
πρότερον τε... καλ 76, 5
προτίθεμαι 35, 14
προτρέπω 16, 31
προὔπτος 99, 7
προφάσει 53, 2
πρίφασις, adverbial 80, 21
πρόφασις, real ἤ (pretended
ground 31, 13
προφέρω 17, 13
προχωρεῖν 83, 8
πρώτοι 15, 6
πρωτοστάτης 71, 10
πῶς οὗ; 98, 7
προβδούχοι 50, 17
πρὸδιώς etc., of carrying on war 36, 23, 25: 37, 11
πῆς is 85, 4
INDEX II

rhoθης, éti 103, 6
rhoμαι 63, 12
rhoµη 14, 8

σηµαινω 71, 19: with acc. 10, 16

,, éi 20, 18
Σκελωταi 4, 21
Σκελολ 4, 28
σπευδω with acc. 16, 18

στῆνη 18, 62: 23, 26: 56, 11
στρατεία )στρατία 83, 22
στρατηγία 16, 12: 26, 29
στρατοπεδεύωμαι éi 84, 18
σφές 15, 6: 30, 17: 37, 9: 38, 22: 43, 18
σφῶν 71, 17, 19: 83, 14
σφίας 44, 7
σφές 49, 7: 58, 25: 65, 7
σχεδόν τι 66, 18
σχολή 10, 19
σχων éi 2, 5

tά ἔσειτα etc. adverbial? 26, 34
tά ἐς, 39, 19
tά πρίς 46, 6
tάδε 17, 26: 23, 1: 93, 8
tαλαμωρῶ, in battle 73, 8: 74, 17

tάσων, of payment 31, 11
tε, 'and so' 111, 9

tε...καλ connecting main ideas
44, 1, 18: 45, 12
,, ,, disjunctive 15, 6: 111, 31
,, ,, irregularity with 17, 18: 30, 7: 32, 6
tειχισμός )έπιτειχισμός 17, 11
tεῖχος, 'fortress' 4, 18: 80, 7, 17

tέκτονες 82, 31
tέλεις, οi ἐν 60, 7
tέλειος, of victims 47, 54
tέλη, οi εἴχοντες τά 47, 64
tέλος, 'at last' 50, 23
,, ἔχω 41, 24
tηρῶ 82, 6
tι emphatic 26, 27, 32: 109, 4
tινες, 'persons concerned' 31, 25
tισ, el μή 14, 26
,, position of 82, 28
,, with imperative 10, 27
τίθεμαι 80, 4
tίθημι éi 96, 4
tιμωρία 112, 10
tό αὑτό in apposition 98, 3
,,,, λέγω 31, 30
,,,, ποιώ 38, 7
tό ἐλλείπον 104, 6
tό ἔσειτα, adverbial 115, 16
tό τε πρότερον...καὶ 65, 27
τό τε πρῶτον, irregular construction 58, 1
,,,, καὶ 43, 16
tοινων 87, 1
tοινοθε with asyndeton 71, 1
tότε 6, 1: 10, 9: 67, 1: 75, 10
tότε δὲ (δή) 16, 8
tοῦ μή with infinitive 27, 18
tρέπομαι ἐτί 83, 2
tριακονταέτης 14, 24
tρόπος 7, 10: 63, 9
tρόπῳ ἐχυροτάτῳ 23, 5
tόχαι 102, 2

ὑπάγω 10, 18
ὑπακούω 114, 2
ὑπεριδείν 6, 17

ὑπό with quasi-passive 2, 9:
50, 17

ὑπό σπουδῆς 66, 10
ὑπογράφω 56, 12
ὑποδείκτηρος 8, 6
ὑπολαμβάνω 49, 20: 85, 10
ὑπόνοια 87, 1

ὑποπτεύω 35, 6, 17
ὑποτελής 111, 23
ὑποτιθέμαι 90, 3
ὑποτυπώ 116, 6
ὑποφαίνομαι 10, 12
ὑστεραία, ἡ 46, 1
INDEX II

υστερον ου πολλω 34, 7
„ χρονω 34, 16

φαινομαι, personally con-
structed 9, 21

φανερος, with participle 10, 5
φέρωμαι 15, 8: 16, 11: 111, 5
φέρω, 'pay' 18, 25
φευγω, of exile 16, 31: 26, 28:
72, 4

φθάνω with dative 72, 5

φθινωντος, τετάρτη 19, 2
„ τετράδι 54, 12

φιλω, soleo 70, 8

φιλονεκω 43, 9: 111, 25
φόβω των 16, 33

φράζω, 'order' 66, 14
" φρονείν τι 7, 12
„ τούτο 85, 6

φρόνημα 40, 19: 43, 9

φισαρίκων 80, 22

χαλεπώς 10, 54

Χάριδρος 60, 33

χειροδιμα 96, 4

χρη in reporting deliberation
62, 3: 63, 10

χρηματίζω 5, 3: 61, 7

χρήσθαι ἐλπίδι 103, 2
χρήσιμα, 'supplies' 115, 5

χρόνος, of two terminations
73, 25

χρόνοι, 'dates' 35, 14

„ οι, of half-yearly periods
20, 6: 26, 20

χρόνος, ὁ πλείων 15, 13

ψευδομαι with acc. 83, 22

ψκησα ἡ ψκῖσα 116, 7

ως, 'considering' 43, 6

„ following ἐλπίζω 9, 9
„ of approximate number 55,
18

ως ἐκαστοὶ 4, 9: 57, 15

ωσπερ, followed by nominative
29, 10: 37, 9
„ κατ 44, 10: 45, 11: 91,
3: 92, 2

ωστε, of terms 17, 13: 27, 16:
61, 25: 94, 1: 116, 14
„ with ου and infinitive 40,
11
„ with πείθω 16, 27: 35, 36

ψφελεια ὑψπελεία 38, 12

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