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## THUCYDIDES

III









BERNOULLI

GR. KON.

**THUCYDIDES.  
BUST IN HOLKHAM HALL.**



# THUCYDIDES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
CHARLES FORSTER SMITH

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

IN FOUR VOLUMES

III

HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR  
BOOKS V AND VI



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# THUCYDIDES

## BOOK V

# ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ

## Ε

Ι. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι σπονδαὶ διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι Δηλίους ἀνέστησαν ἐκ Δήλου, ἠγησάμενοι κατὰ παλαιάν τινα αἰτίαν οὐ καθαρὸς ὄντας ἱερῶσθαι, καὶ ἅμα ἐλλιπὲς σφίσιν εἶναι τοῦτο τῆς καθάρσεως, ἣ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται ὡς ἀνελόντες τὰς θήκας τῶν τεθνεώτων ὀρθῶς ἐνόμισαν ποιῆσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δήλιοι Ἀτραμύττειον Φαρνάκου δόντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὤκησαν, οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστος ὄρμητο.

ΙΙ. Κλέων δὲ Ἀθηναῖος πείσας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὀπλίτας ἔχων διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἰππέας τριακοσίους, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων πλείους, 2 ναῦς δὲ τριάκοντα. σχῶν δὲ ἐς Σκιώνην πρῶτον ἔτι πολιορκουμένην καὶ προσλαβὼν αὐτόθεν ὀπλίτας τῶν φρουρῶν, κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν Κωφὸν λιμένα, τῶν Τορωναίων ἀπέχοντα οὐ πολὺ τῆς

---

<sup>1</sup> The truce had really expired, according to iv. exviii. 12, the 14th of the Attic month Elaphebolion (about the end of March), but hostilities were not renewed till after the Pythian games, which were celebrated in the Attic month Meta-geitnion (latter half of August and first of September). This seems the most natural interpretation of Thucydides'



# THUCYDIDES

## BOOK V

I. THE next summer the one-year's truce continued till, and ended with, the Pythian games.<sup>1</sup> During the suspension of arms the Athenians expelled the Delians from Delos, thinking that they had been consecrated<sup>2</sup> while in a state of pollution from some ancient crime, and besides, that they themselves had been responsible for this defect in the purification, in which, as I have before related, they believed they had acted rightly in removing the coffins of the dead. And the Delians settled, according as each man chose,<sup>3</sup> in Atramytteum in Asia, which had been given them by Pharnaces. 422

II. After the armistice had expired Cleon persuaded the Athenians to let him sail to the cities in Thrace, with twelve hundred Athenian hoplites and three hundred cavalry, and a larger force of the allies, and thirty ships. And touching first at Scione, which was still under siege, and taking on from there some hoplites of the garrison, he then sailed down to the port of Cophus, which is not far distant

language, but many editors render "The next summer the one-year's truce was ended and war was renewed till the Pythian games."

<sup>2</sup> Referring to their purification and consecration to Apollo four years before (iii. 107).

<sup>3</sup> Or, "was inclined" (sc. εἰκῆσαι).



## THUCYDIDES

3 πόλεως. ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ὑπ' αὐτομόλων  
 ὅτι οὔτε Βρασίδας ἐν τῇ Τορώνῃ οὔτε οἱ ἐνόητες  
 ἀξιόμαχοι εἶεν, τῇ μὲν στρατιᾷ τῇ πεζῇ ἐχώρει  
 ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ναῦς δὲ περιέπεμψε δέκα ἐς<sup>1</sup> τὸν  
 4 λιμένα περιπλεῖν. καὶ πρὸς τὸ περιτείχισμα  
 πρῶτον ἀφικνεῖται, ὃ προσπεριέβαλε τῇ πόλει ὁ  
 Βρασίδας ἐντὸς βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ προά-  
 στειον καὶ διελὼν τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους μίαν  
 αὐτὴν ἐποίησε πόλιν.

III. Βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Πασιτελίδας τε  
 ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων καὶ ἡ παροῦσα φυλακὴ  
 προσβαλόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἠμύνοντο. καὶ ὡς  
 ἐβιάζοντο καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα περιέπλεον αἱ<sup>2</sup> ἐς τὸν  
 λιμένα περιπεμφθεῖσαι, δείσας ὁ Πασιτελίδας μὴ  
 αἰ τε νῆες φθάσωσι λαβοῦσαι ἐρήμον τὴν πόλιν  
 καὶ τοῦ τειχίσματος ἀλισκομένου ἐγκαταληφθῆ,  
 2 ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸ δρόμῳ ἐχώρει ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ  
 δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι φθάνουσιν οἷ τε ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐλόν-  
 τες τὴν Τορώνην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἐπισπόμενος αὐτο-  
 βοεῖ, κατὰ τὸ διηρημένον τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους  
 ξυνεσπесών. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Πελο-  
 ποννησίων καὶ Τορωναίων εὐθύς ἐν χερσὶ, τοὺς δὲ  
 ζῶντας ἔλαβον καὶ Πασιτελίδαυ τὸν ἄρχοντα.  
 3 Βρασίδας δὲ ἐβοήθει μὲν τῇ Τορώνῃ, αἰσθόμενος  
 δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐάλωκυῖαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀποσχὼν  
 τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίου μὴ φθάσαι.  
 4 ἐλθὼν. ὁ δὲ Κλέων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖά τε  
 ἔστησαν δύο, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν λιμένα, τὸ δὲ πρὸς  
 τῷ τειχίσματι, καὶ τῶν Τορωναίων γυναῖκας μὲν  
 καὶ παῖδας ἠνδραπόδισαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ Πε-  
 λοποννησίους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος Χαλκιδέων ἦν,

<sup>1</sup> ἐς added by Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> αἱ added by Haacke.

from the city of Torone. From there, on learning from deserters that Brasidas was not in Torone and that the inhabitants were not a match for him in battle, he advanced with his land-force against the city, but sent ten ships to sail round into the harbour. And first he arrived at the new wall which Brasidas had built round the city for the purpose of taking in the suburb, having pulled down a part of the old wall and made one city of Torone.

III. But Pasitelidas, the Lacedaemonian commander, and the garrison that was present came to the defence of this wall and tried to ward off the Athenian assault. But they were hard pressed and the ships that had been sent round were now sailing into the harbour; so Pasitelidas, in fear that the ships might take the town, undefended as it was, before he could get there, and that if the new fortifications were carried he might be captured in them, left them and hurried back into the town. But the Athenians from the ships forestalled him and took Torone, and their land-force, following close upon him, at the first assault dashed in with him at the breach in the old wall. And they slew some of the Peloponnesians and Toronaeans on the spot in hand to hand fighting, but others they took alive, including Pasitelidas the commander. Brasidas meanwhile was coming to the relief of Torone, but learning on the road that it had fallen he retreated, having missed getting there in time by just about forty stadia. Cleon and the Athenians set up two trophies, one at the harbour, the other at the new wall, and made slaves of the women and children of the Toronaeans, but the men of Torone along with the Peloponnesians, and any that were Chalcidians, all together to the number of



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ξύμπαντας ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς τὰς  
 Ἀθήνας· καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν Πελοποννήσιον  
 ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς γενομέναις σπονδαῖς ἀπῆλθε, τὸ  
 δὲ ἄλλο ἐκομίσθη ὑπ' Ὀλυνθίων, ἀνὴρ ἀντ'  
 5 ἀνδρὸς λυθείς. εἶλον δὲ καὶ Πάνακτον Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ἐν μεθορίοις τεῖχος Βοιωτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 6 χρόνον προδοσίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων φυλακὴν  
 καταστησάμενος τῆς Τορώνης ἄρας περιέπλει  
 τὸν Ἄθων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν.

IV. Φαίαξ δὲ ὁ Ἐρασιστράτου τρίτος αὐτὸς  
 Ἀθηναίων πεμπόντων ναυσὶ δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν καὶ  
 Σικελίαν πρεσβευτῆς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέ-  
 2 πλευσεν. Λεοντῖνοι γὰρ ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν πολίτας τε ἐπε-  
 γράψαντο πολλοὺς καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὴν γῆν ἐπενόει  
 3 ἀναδάσασθαι. οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ αἰσθόμενοι Συρα-  
 κοσίους τε ἐπάγονται καὶ ἐκβάλλουσι τὸν δῆμον.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπλανήθησαν ὡς ἕκαστοι· οἱ δὲ  
 δυνατοὶ ὁμολογήσαντες Συρακοσίοις καὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ ἐρημώσαντες Συρακούσας  
 4 ἐπὶ πολιτείᾳ ᾤκησαν. καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν αὐτῶν  
 τινες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ τῶν  
 Συρακουσῶν Φωκέας τε, τῆς πόλεώς τι τῆς  
 Λεοντίνων χωρίου καλούμενον, καταλαμβάνουσι  
 καὶ Βρικιννίας, ὃν ἔρυμα ἐν τῇ Λεοντίνῃ. καὶ  
 τῶν τοῦ δήμου τότε ἐκπεσόντων οἱ πολλοὶ ἦλθον  
 ὡς αὐτοῦς, καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπο-  
 5 λέμουν. ἃ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Φαίακα  
 πέμπουσιν, εἴ πως πείσαντες τοὺς σφίσιιν ὄντας

<sup>1</sup> i. e. in exchange for Athenian prisoners.

<sup>2</sup> cf. IV. lxxv. *in*it.

seven hundred, they sent to Athens. There, however, the Peloponnesians were afterwards set free in the treaty that was made, but the rest were brought back by the Olynthians, being ransomed man for man.<sup>1</sup> About the same time Panactum, a fortress on the frontier of Attica, was betrayed to the Boeotians. As for Cleon, after setting a guard over Torone, he weighed anchor and sailed round Athos with a view to attacking Amphipolis.

IV. About the same time Phaeax son of Erasistratus and two others were sent by the Athenians with two ships on a mission to Italy and Sicily. For the Leontines, on the departure of the Athenians from Sicily after the general peace,<sup>2</sup> had enrolled many new citizens,<sup>3</sup> and the people were minded to make a redistribution of the land. But the oligarchs, perceiving their intention, brought over the Syracusans and expelled the people. And the latter were scattered in every direction; but the oligarchs, coming to an agreement with the Syracusans and leaving their own city desolated, settled at Syracuse on condition of having the rights of citizenship. But later some of them, owing to discontent, left Syracuse and occupied Phoceae, a quarter so named of the city of Leontini, and Bricinniae, a stronghold in Leontine territory. These being joined by most of the members of the popular party who had been expelled, they established themselves and carried on war from their strongholds. Hearing of this, the Athenians sent Phaeax to see if perchance they might persuade their own allies there, and the rest of the Siceliots

<sup>3</sup> This was to strengthen the democratic party, and for their benefit a new division of state lands was to be made.



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αὐτόθι ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἣν δύνωνται, Σικελιώτας κοινῇ, ὡς Συρακοσίων δύναμιν περιποιουμένων, ἐπιστρατεῦσαι, διασώσειαν τὸν 6 δῆμον τῶν Λεοντίνων. ὁ δὲ Φαίαξ ἀφικόμενος τοὺς μὲν Καμαριναίους πείθει καὶ Ἀκραγαντί- νους, ἐν δὲ Γέλα ἀντιστάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔρχεται, αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἂν πείθῃ αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν ἐς Κατάνην, καὶ ἅμα ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ καὶ ἐς τὰς Βρικιννίας ἐλθὼν καὶ παρα- θαρσύνας, ἀπέπλει.

V. Ἐν δὲ τῇ παρακομιδῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀναχωρήσει καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τισὶ πόλεσιν ἐχρημάτισε περὶ φιλίας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λοκρῶν ἐντυγχάνει τοῖς ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐποίκοις ἐκπεπτωκόσιν, οἳ μετὰ τὴν Σικελιωτῶν ὁμολογίαν στασιασάντων Μεσσηνίων καὶ ἐπαγαγομένων τῶν ἐτέρων Λοκροῦς ἔποικοι ἐξεπέμφθησαν καὶ ἐγένετο Μεσσήνη Λοκρῶν 2 τινὰ χρόνον. τούτοις οὖν ὁ Φαίαξ ἐντυχῶν κομιζομένοις<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἠδίκησεν· ἐγεγένητο γὰρ τοῖς Λοκροῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμολογία ξυμβάσεως πέρυ 3 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅτε Σικελιωταὶ ξυνηλλάσσοντο, οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο Ἀθηναίοις, οὐδ' ἂν τότε, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὺς κατεῖχεν ὁ πρὸς Ἰπωνιάς<sup>2</sup> καὶ Μεδμαίους πόλεμος, ὁμόρους τε ὄντας καὶ ἀποίκους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαίαξ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἀφίκετο.

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς of the MSS. before κομιζομένοις deleted by Dobree.

<sup>2</sup> So corrected by Beloch with the help of coins; MSS. Ἰτωνέας.





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## THUCYDIDES

VI. Ὁ δὲ Κλέων ὡς τότε ἀπὸ τῆς Τορώνης  
 περιέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὀρμώμενος ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἡϊόνος Σταγίρω μὲν προσβάλλει Ἀνδρίων  
 ἀποικία καὶ οὐχ εἶλε, Γαληψὸν δὲ τὴν Θασίων  
 2 ἀποικίαν λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος. καὶ πέμψας  
 ὡς Περδίκκαν πρέσβεις, ὅπως παραγένοιτο  
 στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Θράκην  
 ἄλλους παρὰ Πολλῆν τὸν Ὀδομάντων βασιλέα,  
 ἄξοντας μισθοῦ Θράκας ὡς πλείστους, αὐτὸς  
 3 ἡσύχαζε περιμένων ἐν τῇ Ἡϊόνι. Βρασίδας δὲ  
 πυνθανόμενος ταῦτα ἀντεκάθητο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ  
 τῷ Κερδυλίῳ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο Ἀργιλίων  
 ἐπὶ μετεωρου πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὐ πολὺ  
 ἀπέχον τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως, καὶ κατεφαίνετο πάντα  
 αὐτόθεν, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν αὐτὸν ὀρμώμενος  
 ὁ Κλέων τῷ στρατῷ· ὅπερ προσεδέχετο ποιήσειν  
 αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾷ ἀναβήσεσθαι.  
 4 ἅμα δὲ καὶ παρεσκευάζετο Θράκας τε μισθωτοὺς  
 πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους καὶ τοὺς Ἡδῶνας  
 πάντας παρακαλῶν, πελταστὰς καὶ ἰππέας· καὶ  
 Μυρκινίων καὶ Χαλκιδέων χιλίους πελταστὰς  
 5 εἶχε πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει. τὸ δ' ὀπλιτικὸν  
 ξύμπαν ἡθροίσθη δισχίλιοι μάλιστα καὶ ἰππῆς  
 Ἕλληνες τριακόσιοι. τούτων Βρασίδας μὲν ἔχων  
 ἐπὶ Κερδυλίῳ ἐκάθητο ἐς πεντακοσίους καὶ  
 χιλίους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μετὰ Κλεα-  
 ρίδου ἐτετάχατο.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Κλέων τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἔπειτα  
 ἠναγκάσθη ποιῆσαι ὅπερ ὁ Βρασίδας προσε-

<sup>1</sup> cf. IV. lxxviii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> cf. IV. cvii. 3.





## THUCYDIDES

VI. Ὁ δὲ Κλέων ὡς τότε ἀπὸ τῆς Τορώνης  
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 ἄλλους παρὰ Πολλῆν τὸν Ὀδομάντων βασιλέα,  
 ἄξοντας μισθοῦ Θράκας ὡς πλείστους, αὐτὸς  
 3 ἡσύχαζε περιμένων ἐν τῇ Ἡϊόνι. Βρασίδης δὲ  
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 ὁ Κλέων τῷ στρατῷ· ὅπερ προσεδέχετο ποιήσειν  
 αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾷ ἀναβήσεσθαι.  
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 ἐπὶ Κερδυλίῳ ἐκάθητο ἐς πεντακοσίους καὶ  
 χιλίους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μετὰ Κλε-  
 αρίδου ἐτετάχατο.

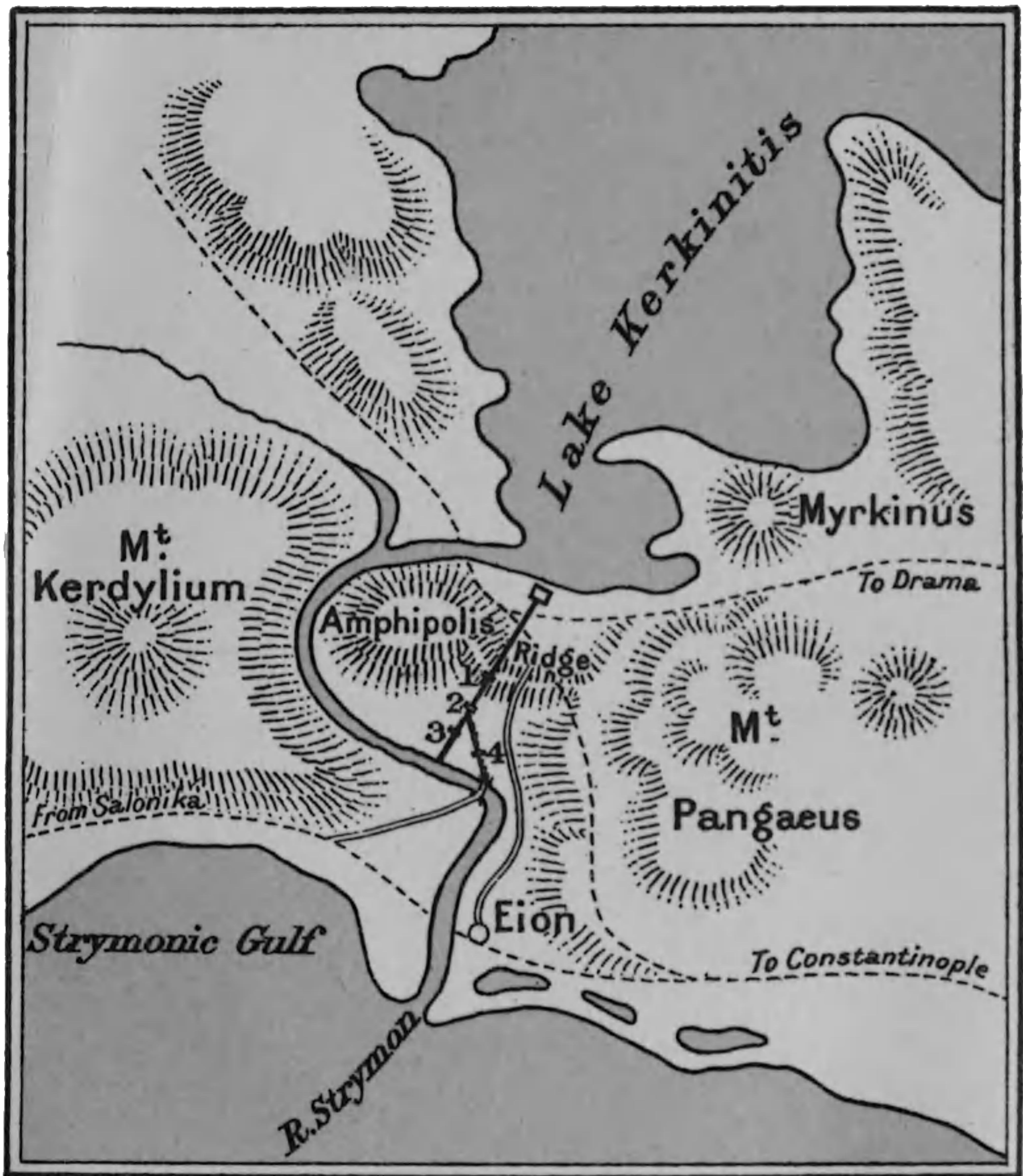
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<sup>1</sup> cf. iv. lxxviii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> cf. iv. cvii. 3.



# THE BATTLE OF AMPHIPOLIS.



Stanford's Geog. Estab. London.

----- Modern Roads .

==== Ancient Roads .

1 Thracian Gate .

2. First Gate in the Long Wall.

3. Gate from the town into space inclosed by the Palisade.

4. Gate in the Palisade.





VI. Now when Cleon had sailed round from Torone to Amphipolis, as mentioned above, taking Eion as his base he made an unsuccessful attack upon Stagirus,<sup>1</sup> an Andrian colony, but did take by storm Galepsus,<sup>2</sup> a colony of the Thasians. Then sending envoys to Perdiccas, with a request to join him with an army in accordance with the terms of alliance,<sup>3</sup> and other envoys to Thrace to Polles, king of the Odomantians, to bring as many Thracian mercenaries as possible, he himself kept quiet at Eion. But Brasidas, on hearing of these things, took post over against him at Cerdylum. This place is in the territory of the Argilians, on high ground across the river not far from Amphipolis, and commands a view in all directions, so that Cleon could not move his army without being observed; for Brasidas expected that Cleon in contempt of the small numbers of the Lacedaemonians would go up against Amphipolis, with his present army.<sup>4</sup> At the same time he made further preparations, calling to his aid fifteen hundred Thracian mercenaries and all the Edonians, both targeteers and cavalry. And he had also of the Myrcinians and the Chalcidians one thousand targeteers, in addition to the troops in Amphipolis. The whole body of hoplites collected by him was about two thousand in number, and he had three hundred Hellenic horsemen. Of these forces Brasidas took about fifteen hundred and stationed himself at Cerdylum; the rest were posted at Amphipolis under the command of Clearidas.

VII. Cleon kept quiet for a while, then was forced to do just what Brasidas had expected. For when

<sup>1</sup> *cf.* IV. cxxxii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* without waiting for reinforcements.

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2 δέχετο. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἀχθομένων μὲν τῇ  
 ἔδρᾳ, ἀναλογιζομένων δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου ἡγεμονίαν  
 πρὸς οἴαν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τόλμαν μετὰ οἴας ἀνεπι-  
 στημοσύνης καὶ μαλακίας γενήσοιτο καὶ οἴ-  
 κοθεν ὡς ἄκοντες αὐτῷ ξυνεξῆλθον, αἰσθόμενος  
 τὸν θροῦν καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν  
 τῷ αὐτῷ καθημένους βαρύνεσθαι, ἀναλαβὼν  
 3 ἦγεν. καὶ ἐχρήσατο τῷ τρόπῳ ὥπερ καὶ ἐς τὴν  
 Πύλον εὐτυχήσας ἐπίστευσέ τι φρονεῖν· ἐς μά-  
 χην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἠλπισέν οἱ ἐπεξιέναι οὐδένα,  
 κατὰ θέαν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔφη ἀναβαίνειν τοῦ χωρίου,  
 καὶ τὴν μείζω παρασκευὴν περιέμεινεν, οὐχ ὡς  
 τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἣν ἀναγκάζεται, περισχῆσων, ἀλλ'  
 ὡς κύκλῳ περιστὰς βία αἰρήσων τὴν πόλιν.  
 4 ἔλθῶν τε καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ πρὸ  
 τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως τὸν στρατόν, αὐτὸς ἐθεᾶτο τὸ  
 λιμνῶδες τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῆς πόλεως  
 5 ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἔχοι. ἀπιέναι τε ἐνόμιζεν,  
 ὁπόταν βούληται, ἀμαχεί· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο  
 οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεὶς οὔτε κατὰ πύλας  
 ἐξῆει, κεκλημένοι τε ἦσαν πᾶσαι. ὥστε καὶ μη-  
 χανὰς ὅτι οὐκ ἀνῆλθεν ἔχων, ἀμαρτεῖν ἐδόκει·  
 ἐλεῖν γὰρ ἂν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ ἐρήμον.

VIII. Ὁ δὲ Βρασίδης εὐθύς ὡς εἶδε κινου-  
 μένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καταβὰς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Κερδυλίου ἐσέρχεται ἐς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν.  
 2 καὶ ἐπέξοδον μὲν καὶ ἀντίταξιν οὐκ ἐποιήσατο  
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, δεδιὼς τὴν αὐτοῦ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> With most MSS.; Hude reads τὴν Θράκην with CGc<sub>2</sub>.





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σκευὴν καὶ νομίζων ὑποδεεστέρους εἶναι, οὐ τῷ  
 πλήθει (ἀντίπαλα γὰρ πῶς ἦν), ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀξιώ-  
 ματι (τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἐστράτευε κα-  
 θαρὸν ἐξῆλθε, καὶ Λημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίων τὸ  
 κράτιστον), τέχνη δὲ παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιθησό-  
 3 μενος. εἰ γὰρ δείξειε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ τε πλήθος  
 καὶ τὴν ὄπλισιν ἀναγκαίαν οὔσαν τῶν μεθ'  
 ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν ἠγεῖτο μᾶλλον περιγενέσθαι ἢ  
 ἄνευ προόψεώς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος  
 4 καταφρονήσεως. ἀπολεξάμενος οὖν αὐτὸς πεν-  
 τήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀπλίτας, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 Κλεαρίδα προστάξας, ἐβουλεύετο ἐπιχειρεῖν  
 αἰφνιδίως, πρὶν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ  
 ἂν νομίζων ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς ἀπολαβεῖν αὐθις  
 μεμονωμένους, εἰ τύχοι ἐλθοῦσα αὐτοῖς ἡ βοή-  
 5 θεια. ξυγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας  
 καὶ βουλόμενος παραθαρσῦναί τε καὶ τὴν ἐπί-  
 νοιαν φράσαι ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

ΙΧ. “Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, ἀπὸ μὲν οἷας  
 χώρας ἤκομεν, ὅτι αἰεὶ διὰ τὸ εὐψυχον ἐλευθέρας,  
 καὶ ὅτι Δωριῆς μέλλετε Ἴωσι μάχεσθαι, ὧν  
 εἰώθατε κρείσσους εἶναι, ἀρκείτω βραχέως δεδη-  
 2 λωμένον· τὴν δὲ ἐπιχείρησιν ὧ τρόπῳ διανοοῦμαι  
 ποιεῖσθαι διδάξω, ἵνα μὴ τῷ τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ  
 μὴ ἅπαντας κινδυνεύειν ἐνδεὲς φαινόμενον ἀτολ-  
 3 μίαν παράσχη. τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους εἰκάζω  
 καταφρονήσει τε ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντας  
 ὡς ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι τις αὐτοῖς ἐς μάχην, ἀναβῆναί  
 τε πρὸς τὸ χωρίον καὶ νῦν ἀτάκτως κατὰ θέαν  
 4 τετραμμένους ὀλιγωρεῖν. ὅστις δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας  
 ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἐναντίων κάλλιστα ἰδὼν καὶ ἅμα

to be inferior, not in numbers—as they were about equal—but in quality; for the force that was in the field were Athenians of pure blood and the pick of the Lemnians and Imbrians. So he was preparing to attack by means of a stratagem; for he thought that if he showed the enemy the number and the barely sufficient equipment of the troops with him he should be less likely to gain a victory than if they had no previous sight of his forces and did not look upon them with contempt from seeing their real character. Accordingly, picking out for himself one hundred and fifty hoplites and assigning the rest to Clearidas, he determined to make a sudden attack before the Athenians withdrew, thinking that he could not again cut them off thus isolated if once reinforcements should reach them. So calling together all the soldiers, wishing to encourage them and explain his plan, he spoke to them as follows:

IX. “Men of the Peloponnesus, let it suffice to remind you briefly from what manner of country we have come, that it has ever been free because of its courage, and that you are going to fight, Dorians against Ionians, whom you have been accustomed to vanquish. I will, however, explain to you in what way I intend to make the attack, in order that my plan of fighting in detachments and not in a body may not seem to anyone poor tactics and thus cause discouragement. For I imagine that the enemy ascended the hill in contempt of us and because they could not have expected that anybody would come out for battle against them, and now, with broken ranks and intent upon reconnoitring, are taking small account of us. Now when an assailant having most clearly observed such errors in the enemy also makes



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πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖται  
 μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς μᾶλλον καὶ ἀντιπαρα-  
 ταχθέντος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν συμφέροντος,  
 5 πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο· καὶ τὰ κλέμματα ταῦτα  
 καλλίστην δόξαν ἔχει ἅ τὸν πολέμιον μάλιστ'  
 ἂν τις ἀπατήσας τοὺς φίλους μέγιστ' ἂν ὠφε-  
 6 λήσειεν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι ἀπαράσκευοι θαρσοῦσι καὶ  
 τοῦ ὑπαπιέναι πλέον ἢ τοῦ μένοντος, ἐξ ὧν ἐμοὶ  
 φαίνονται, τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ  
 αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης καὶ πρὶν ξυνταθῆναι<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον  
 τὴν δόξαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔχων τοὺς μετ' ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ  
 φθάσας, ἣν δύνωμαι, προσπεσοῦμαι δρόμῳ κατὰ  
 7 μέσον τὸ στράτευμα· σὺ δέ, Κλεαρίδα, ὕστερον,  
 ὅταν ἐμὲ ὄρῃς ἤδη προσκείμενον καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶκος  
 φοβοῦντα αὐτούς, τοὺς μετὰ σεαυτοῦ τοὺς τ'  
 Ἀμφιπολίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους ἄγων  
 αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἐπεκθεῖν καὶ ἐπεί-  
 8 γεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα συμμείξαι. ἐλπὶς γὰρ μά-  
 λιστα αὐτοὺς οὕτως φοβηθῆναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιὸν  
 ὕστερον δεινότερον τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῦ παρόντος  
 9 καὶ μαχομένου. καὶ αὐτός τε ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γί-  
 γνου, ὥσπερ σε εἶκος ὄντα Σπαρτιάτην, καὶ ὑμεῖς,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, ἀκολουθήσατε ἀνδρείως, καὶ  
 νομίσατε τρία<sup>2</sup> εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν, τὸ ἐθέ-  
 λειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τὸ<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ἄρχουσι  
 πείθεσθαι, καὶ τῆδε ὑμῖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἀγαθοῖς  
 γενομένοις ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων συμμάχοις κεκλήσθαι, ἢ Ἀθηναίων τε  
 δούλοις, ἣν τὰ ἄριστα ἀνευ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἢ

<sup>1</sup> Krüger's emendation for ξυνταχθῆναι of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted by MSS. but rightly restored by Stahl from Stobaeus and schol.

<sup>3</sup> Added by Krüger.

BOOK V. IX. 4-9

his attack in accordance with the force at his own disposal, not openly and in array of battle, but as may be advantageous under present circumstances, then he would be most likely to succeed. And those stratagems have won the highest credit by which a man most completely deceives the enemy and helps his friends. While, then, the Athenians, still unprepared, are full of confidence and are thinking, so far as I can see, more of withdrawing than of staying where they are, while their tension of mind is relaxed and before they have got their thoughts together, I will take my own troops and if possible surprise them by a dash upon the centre of their army. Then, Clearidas, the moment you see me pressing on and in all likelihood striking terror into them, do you suddenly throw open the gates and at the head of your own men and the Amphipolitans and the rest of our allies rush out upon them and make all haste to close with them at once. In this way there is the best hope to put them in a panic; for a force that comes up afterwards has always more terror for an enemy than that with which he is already engaged. As for yourself, shew yourself a brave man, as becomes a Spartan; and do you, men of the allies, follow him bravely, and bear in mind that the three virtues of a good soldier are zeal, sense of honour, and obedience to his leaders; and that on this day there is in store for you, if you are brave, freedom and to be called allies of the Lacedaemonians—or else vassals of the Athenians (if you be so fortunate as to escape death or being sold



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θανατώσεως πράξητε, καὶ δουλείαν χαλεπωτέραν  
ἢ πρὶν εἶχετε, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς "Ἐλλησι κωλυταῖς  
10 γενέσθαι ἐλευθέρωσεως. ἀλλὰ μήτε ὑμεῖς μαλα-  
κισθῆτε, ὀρῶντες περὶ ὅσων ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ἐγὼ τε  
δείξω οὐ παραινέσαι οἷός τε ὦν μᾶλλον τοῖς πέ-  
λας ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ ἐπεξελεῖν."

Χ. Ὁ μὲν Βρασίδης τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὴν τε  
ἐξοδὸν παρεσκευάζετο αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδα καθίστη ἐπὶ τὰς Θρακίας  
καλουμένας τῶν πυλῶν, ὅπως ὥσπερ εἶρητο ἐπ-  
2 εξίοιεν. τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι, φανεροῦ γενομένου αὐτοῦ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου καταβάντος καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει,  
ἐπιφανεῖ οὔσῃ ἔξωθεν, περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθη-  
ναίας θυομένου καὶ ταῦτα πράσσοντος, ἀγγέλ-  
λεται (προυκεχωρήκει γὰρ τότε κατὰ τὴν θεάν)  
ὅτι ἢ τε στρατιὰ ἅπασα φανερὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν  
τῇ πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας ἵππων τε πόδες  
πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐξιόντων ὑποφαίνονται.  
3 ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐπήλθε, καὶ ὡς εἶδεν, οὐ βουλόμενος  
μάχῃ διαγωνίσασθαι πρὶν οἱ καὶ τοὺς βοηθοὺς  
ἦκειν καὶ οἰόμενος φθήσεσθαι ἀπελθὼν, σημαίνειν  
τε ἅμα ἐκέλευεν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ παρήγγελλε  
τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, ὥσπερ  
4 μόνον οἶόν τ' ἦν, ὑπάγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡϊόνης. ὡς δ'  
αὐτῷ ἐδόκει σχολῇ γίγνεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας  
τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δούς  
5 ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. κὰν τούτῳ Βρασίδης ὡς  
ὄρα τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων

into slavery) and that, too, in a harsher vassalage than you had before, while for the rest of the Hellenes you will prove a barrier to their liberation. Nay, then, seeing how much is at stake, do you on your part not play the coward; and I, for my part, will show that I am not better able to exhort others than to carry out myself in action the advice I give to my fellows."

X. After this brief speech, Brasidas himself prepared for the sally and placed the rest with Clearidas at the gate called Thracian, in order that they might come out to his support according to his orders. But he had been seen when he came down from Cerdylum, and again in the city—which is in full view from outside—while sacrificing at the temple of Athena and busied about these matters; and word was brought to Cleon, who had gone forward at that time for the reconnoissance, that the whole army of the enemy could be clearly seen inside the city, and the feet of men and horses in great numbers were visible under the gates, as though ready for a sally. Hearing this Cleon came nearer; and when he saw it, being unwilling to risk a battle before his reinforcements arrived, and thinking that he could get away in time, he gave orders to sound a retreat and at the same time passed along word to the troops as they set off to go to the left—as alone was possible—upon the road to Eion. But as it seemed to him this was being done too slowly, he himself wheeled the right wing, thus exposing the unarmed side<sup>1</sup> to the enemy, and began to lead off his army. At this moment Brasidas, seeing his opportunity and the army of the Athenians on the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the right side, the left being covered by the shield.



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κινούμενον, λέγει τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι “Οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς οὐ μένουσιν· δῆλοι δὲ τῶν τε δοράτων τῇ κινήσει καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν· οἷς γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο γίγνηται, οὐκ εἰώθασι μένειν τοὺς ἐπιόντας. ἀλλὰ τὰς τε πύλας τις ἀνοιγέτω ἔμοι ἄς εἴρηται, 6 καὶ ἐπεξίωμεν ὡς τάχιστα θαρσοῦντες.” καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας καὶ τὰς πρώτας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους τότε ὄντος ἐξελθὼν ἔθει δρόμῳ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην εὐθείαν ἤπερ νῦν κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατον τοῦ χωρίου ἰόντι τροπαῖον ἔστηκε, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, πεφοβημένοις τε ἅμα τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀταξίᾳ καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεπληγμένοις, κατὰ μέσον τὸ στράτευμα, 7 τρέπει· καὶ ὁ Κλεαρίδας, ὥσπερ εἴρητο, ἅμα κατὰ τὰς Θρακίας πύλας ἐπεξελθὼν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεφέρετο. ξυνέβη τε τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ καὶ ἐξαπίνης 8 ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους θορυβηθῆναι· καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας αὐτῶν, τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἡϊόνα ὅπερ δὴ καὶ προυκεχωρήκει, εὐθὺς ἀπορραγὲν ἔφευγε (καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας ὑποχωροῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐπιπαριῶν τῷ δεξιῷ τιτρώσκειται, καὶ πεσόντα αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ αἰσθάνονται, οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἄραντες ἀπήνεγκαν), τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῶν 9 Ἀθηναίων ἔμενε μᾶλλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διανοεῖτο μένειν, εὐθὺς φεύγων καὶ καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μυρκινίου πελταστοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ ξυστραφέντες ὀπλίται ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον τὸν τε Κλεαρίδαν ἠμύνοντο καὶ δις ἢ τρίς προσβαλόντα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν





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πρὶν ἢ τε Μυρκινία καὶ ἡ Χαλκιδικὴ ἵππος καὶ  
 οἱ πελτασταὶ περιστάντες καὶ ἑσακοντίζοντες  
 10 αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψαν. οὕτω δὴ<sup>1</sup> τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἤδη  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυγὸν χαλεπῶς καὶ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς  
 τραπόμενοι κατὰ ὄρη, ὅσοι μὴ διεφθάρησαν ἢ  
 αὐτίκα ἐν χερσὶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἵππου  
 καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς  
 11 τὴν Ἡϊόνα. οἱ δὲ τὸν Βρασίδαν ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς  
 μάχης καὶ διασώσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι ἔμπνου  
 ἐσεκόμισαν· καὶ ἦσθετο μὲν ὅτι νικῶσιν οἱ μεθ'  
 12 αὐτοῦ, οὐ πολὺ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν· καὶ ἡ  
 ἄλλη στρατιὰ ἀναχωρήσασα μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδου  
 ἐκ τῆς διώξεως νεκροὺς τε ἐσκύλευσε καὶ τροπαῖον  
 ἔστησεν.

XI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Βρασίδαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι  
 πάντες ξὺν ὄπλοις ἐπισπόμενοι δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὔσης· καὶ τὸ  
 λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται περιείρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ  
 μνημεῖον ὡς ἥρω τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώ-  
 κασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποι-  
 κίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν καταβαλόντες τὰ  
 Ἀγνώνεια<sup>2</sup> οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἴ τι  
 μνημόσυνόν που ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως  
 περιέσεσθαι, νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σω-  
 τῆρά τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἅμα  
 τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχίαν φόβῳ τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων θεραπεύοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀγνώνα κατὰ τὸ  
 πολέμιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι  
 συμφόρως οὐδ' ἂν ἠδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν. καὶ  
 2 τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέδωσαν. ἀπέθανον

<sup>1</sup> δὴ, Krüger's correction for δὲ of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> cf. IV. cii. 3, 4.

give way till the Myrcinian and Chalcidian horse and the targeteers, who surrounded and hurled javelins at them, put them to flight. Then at last the whole Athenian army took to flight, making their way with difficulty and by many routes over the hills, until finally the survivors—all that were not destroyed either at once in hand to hand conflict or by the Chalcidian horse and targeteers—got back to Eion. Brasidas was taken up by his followers and carried safely from the battlefield to the city, still breathing; and he learned that his men were victorious, but after a little interval he died. The rest of the army, after returning with Clearidas from the pursuit, despoiled the dead and set up a trophy.

XI. After this all the allies gave Brasidas a public burial in the city at a spot facing what is now the market-place, following his body in full armour. And the Amphipolitans fenced in his monument and have ever since made offerings to him as a hero, giving honours and instituting games and yearly sacrifices. They also adopted him as founder of the colony, pulling down the edifices of Hagnon and obliterating whatever was likely, if left standing, to be a reminder of his settlement,<sup>1</sup> for at the present moment they courted the alliance of the Lacedaemonians through fear of the Athenians, thinking Brasidas to have been their saviour, whereas Hagnon, in consequence of their hostile attitude towards Athens, would not in like manner as before<sup>2</sup> receive their honours either with benefit to themselves or with pleasure to himself. The dead they gave back to the Athenians.

<sup>1</sup> cf. iv. cii. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. as formerly, when their relations with Athens were pleasant. Or the meaning may be, "so advantageously for them as Brasidas would."



## THUCYDIDES

δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν περὶ ἑξακοσίους, τῶν δ' ἐναν-  
 τίων ἑπτὰ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκ παρατάξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ  
 3 τοιαύτης ξυντυχίας καὶ προεκφοβήσεως τὴν μά-  
 χην μᾶλλον γενέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οἱ  
 μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κλεα-  
 ρίδου τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καθίσταντο.

XII. Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους  
 τελευτῶντος Ῥαμφίας καὶ Αὐτοχαρίδας καὶ Ἐπι-  
 κυδίδας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία  
 βοήθειαν ἤγον ἑνακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ ἀφικό-  
 2 μενοι ἐς Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Τραχίνι καθίσταντο ὅ-  
 τι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν. ἐνδιατριβόντων  
 δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτυχεν ἡ μάχη αὕτη γενομένη, καὶ τὸ  
 θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

XIII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος εὐθὺς μέ-  
 χρι μὲν Πιερίου τῆς Θεσσαλίας διῆλθον οἱ περὶ  
 τὸν Ῥαμφίαν, κωλύοντων δὲ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ  
 ἅμα Βρασίδου τεθνεῶτος, ὧπερ ἤγον τὴν στρα-  
 2 τιάν, ἀπετράποντο ἐπ' οἴκου, νομίσαντες οὐδένα  
 καιρὸν ἔτι εἶναι, τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων ἥσση ἀπελη-  
 λυθότων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων αὐτῶν ὄντων δρᾶν τι  
 2 ὧν κακείνος ἐπενόει. μάλιστα δὲ ἀπῆλθον εἰδότες  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτε ἐξῆσαν, πρὸς τὴν εἰρή-  
 νην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας.

XIV. Ξυνέβη τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει  
 μάχην καὶ τὴν Ῥαμφίου ἀναχώρησιν ἐκ Θεσσα-  
 λίας ὥστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἄψασθαι μηδε-  
 2 τέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην  
 εἶχον, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι πληγέντες ἐπὶ τε τῷ

. <sup>1</sup> cf. IV. o., ci.

About six hundred of these had been killed, but of their adversaries only seven; for the fight had been made, not as a regular battle, but as the result of such an accident and previous panic as has been described. After taking up the dead the Athenians sailed back home, but Clearidas and his followers remained and set in order the affairs of Amphipolis.

XII. About the same time, towards the close of this summer, Rhamphias, Autocharidas, and Epi-cydidas, who were Lacedaemonians, were on their way with reinforcements, consisting of nine hundred hoplites, to the strongholds in Thrace, and arriving at Heracleia in Trachis they set in order whatever seemed to them amiss. It was while they were staying there that the battle at Amphipolis occurred; and so the summer ended.

XIII. As soon as winter came on Rhamphias and his followers advanced as far as Pierium in Thessaly; but as the Thessalians hindered their progress and Brasidas, to whom they were bringing the army, was now dead, they turned back homeward. They thought the favourable moment was past, for the Athenians had gone away in consequence of their defeat, and they were not competent by themselves to carry out any of Brasidas' plans. But the chief reason for their return was that they knew that the Lacedaemonians, at the time when they set out, were more than ever inclined to peace.

XIV. It so happened, too, that directly after the battle at Amphipolis and the withdrawal of Rhamphias from Thessaly neither side undertook any further military operations, and both were more inclined to peace. The Athenians were so inclined because they had been beaten at Delium,<sup>1</sup> and again



## THUCYDIDES

Δηλίῳ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου αὐθις ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης πιστὴν ἔτι, ἤπερ οὐ προσεδέχοντο πρότερον τὰς σπονδάς, δοκοῦντες τῇ παρούσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ καθυπέρτεροι γενήσεσθαι (καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἅμα ἐδέδισαν σφῶν μὴ διὰ τὰ σφάλματα ἐπαιρόμενοι ἐπὶ πλεον ἀποστῶσι, μετεμέλοντό τε ὅτι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πύλῳ καλῶς παρασχὼν οὐ ξυνέβησαν), οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρὰ γνώμην μὲν ἀποβαίνοντος σφίσι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ ᾤοντο ὀλίγων ἐτῶν καθαιρήσειν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἰ τὴν γῆν τέμνοιεν, περιπεσόντες δὲ τῇ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ συμφορᾷ, οἷα οὐπω ἐγεγένητο τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ληστευομένης τῆς χώρας ἐκ τῆς Πύλου καὶ Κυθήρων, αὐτομολουντων τε τῶν Εἰλώτων καὶ αἰεὶ προσδοκίας οὔσης μή τι καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες τοῖς ἔξω πίσυνοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, νεωτερίσωσιν· ξυνέβαινε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους αὐτοῖς τὰς τριακοντούτεας σπονδάς ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ εἶναι, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἠθελον σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς τὴν Κυνουρίαν γῆν ἀποδώσει (ἀδύνατα δ' <sup>1</sup> εἶναι ἐφαίνετο Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἅμα πολεμεῖν), τῶν τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ὑπώπτευόν τινας ἀποστήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.

XV. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς λογιζομένοις ἐδόκει ποιητέα εἶναι ἢ ξύμβασις, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν

<sup>1</sup> Stahl's emendation for ὥστ' ἀδύνατα of the MSS.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. those who had escaped.

<sup>2</sup> The great revolt of the Helots, called the Third Messenian War; cf. I. ci.-ciii.

at Amphipolis a little later, and consequently had no longer that confidence in their strength in reliance upon which they had earlier refused to accept the truce, as they then thought that with their existing good luck they would prove superior. They were afraid, too, of their allies, lest, elated over these failures of theirs, the revolt among them might spread, and they repented that they had not come to terms when a good opportunity offered after the affair at Pylos. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, favoured peace because the war was turning out contrary to their hopes. They had expected that in a few years, if they should ravage their territory, they could pull down the power of the Athenians; whereas they had met with the calamity on the island of Sphacteria, such an one as had never before befallen Sparta; their territory was ravaged from Pylos and Cythera; the Helots were deserting, and always there was apprehension that those who remained, relying on those beyond the border,<sup>1</sup> might revolt in the present state of affairs, just as they had done before.<sup>2</sup> It happened also that the thirty years' truce with the Argives was on the point of expiring,<sup>3</sup> and the Argives were unwilling to make another treaty unless the territory of Cynuria<sup>4</sup> were restored to them; and it seemed impossible to carry on the war with the Argives and the Athenians at the same time. Besides, they suspected that some of the cities in the Peloponnesus would revolt to the Argives, as indeed did happen.

XV. In consideration of these things, both parties thought it advisable to come to an agreement,

<sup>1</sup> It expired the next year (*cf.* ch. xxviii. 2), and therefore dated from 457 B.C.      <sup>4</sup> *cf.* IV. lvi. 2.



## THUCYDIDES

τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτῶν πρῶτοί τε καὶ ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς.  
 2 ἤρξαντο μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτῶν πράσσειν, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως ἤθελον, εὐ φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καταλύεσθαι. σφαλέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ παραχρῆμα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνόντες νῦν μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνδεξαμένους ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεχειρίαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδει ξυνιόντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ πλείονος χρόνου βουλευέσθαι.

XVI. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἦσσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγεγένητο καὶ ἐτεθνήκει Κλέων τε καὶ Βρασίδας, οἵπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μάλιστα ἤναντιοῦντο τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ὁ δὲ γενομένης ἡσυχίας καταφανέστερος νομίζων ἂν εἶναι κακουργῶν καὶ ἀπιστότερος διαβάλλων, τότε δὲ<sup>1</sup> ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ πόλει σπεύδοντες τὰ μάλιστ' αὐτὴν<sup>2</sup> Πλειστοάναξ τε ὁ Πausανίου, βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου, πλείιστα τῶν τότε εὐφερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις, πολλῶ δὴ μᾶλλον προθυμοῦντο, Νικίας μὲν βουλόμενος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπαθῆς ἦν καὶ ἠξιούτο, διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν,

<sup>1</sup> So all the better MSS.; Hude reads δῆ.

<sup>2</sup> The vulgate has μάλιστα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: Stahl deletes ἡγεμονίαν and corrects τὴν. to αὐτὴν. The vulgate would mean: "then those who in either country were most desirous of taking the lead, namely . . ."





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## THUCYDIDES

καὶ ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς  
καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ  
καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφήλας τὴν πόλιν  
διεγένετο, νομίζων ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου τοῦτο ξυμ-  
βαίνειν καὶ ὅστις ἐλάχιστα τύχῃ αὐτὸν παρα-  
δίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον τὴν εἰρήνην παρέχειν.  
Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόμενος  
περὶ τῆς καθόδου καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν τοῖς Λακεδαι-  
μονίοις αἰεὶ προβαλλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅποτε τι  
πταίσειαν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον παρανο-  
2 μηθεῖσαν ταῦτα ξυμβαίνοι. τὴν γὰρ πρόμαντιν  
τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπητιῶντο αὐτὸν πείσαι μετ'  
Ἄριστοκλέους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὥστε χρῆσαι Λακε-  
δαιμονίοις ἐπὶ πολὺ τάδε θεωροῖς ἀφικνουμένοις,  
Διὸς υἱοῦ ἡμιθέου τὸ σπέρμα ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς  
τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀναφέρειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀργυρεὰ εὐλάκα  
3 εὐλαξεῖν· χρόνῳ δὲ προτρέψαι τοὺς Λάκεδαι-  
μονίους φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἐς Λύκαιον διὰ τὴν ἐκ  
τῆς Ἄπτικῆς ποτε μετὰ δώρων δοκοῦσαν ἀναχώ-  
ρησιν καὶ ἥμισυ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ  
Διὸς οἰκοῦντα φόβῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔτει ἐνὸς  
δέοντι εἰκοστῷ τοῖς ὁμοίοις χοροῖς καὶ θυσίαις  
καταγαγεῖν ὥσπερ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονα  
κτίζοντες τοὺς βασιλέας καθίσταντο.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. as the schol. explains, there would be a pestilence, and they would buy food at a very high price, as it were using silver tools.

<sup>2</sup> 427 B.C., since he had left the country in 446. cf. I. cxiv. 2 and II. xxi. 1.

serve his good luck to the end, and not only at present both to rest from toil himself and to give his fellow-citizens a rest, but also to hand down to after times a name as of one who had lived his life through without injuring the state; and he thought that a man might achieve such a result by keeping out of danger and by least exposing himself to the caprices of fortune, and that it was peace only that offered freedom from danger. Pleistoanax, on the other hand, was for peace, because he was constantly maligned by his enemies about his return from exile, and because, whenever any reverses occurred, he was always spitefully recalled to their thoughts by these persons as though these misfortunes were due to his illegal restoration. For they charged that he, along with his brother Aristocles, had bribed the priestess at Delphi constantly to answer the Lacedaemonians, whenever they came to consult the oracle: "Bring back the seed of the demigod, son of Zeus, from the foreign land to your own; otherwise you shall plough with a silver plough-share"<sup>1</sup>; and that in course of time she had induced the Lacedaemonians to bring him back from banishment in the twentieth year<sup>2</sup> with like dances and sacrifices as when at the founding of Lacedaemon they had first enthroned their kings. For he had fled for refuge to Mt. Lycaeum,<sup>3</sup> on account of his retreat from Attica, that was thought to be due to bribery, and through fear of the Lacedaemonians had occupied at that time a house whereof the half was within the sanctuary of Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> A mountain in Arcadia on which was an ancient sanctuary of Zeus.



## THUCYDIDES

XVII. Ἀχθόμενος οὖν τῇ διαβολῇ ταύτῃ καὶ νομίζων ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν οὐδενὸς σφάλματος γιγνομένου καὶ ἅμα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιζομένων κἂν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι, πολέμου δὲ καθεστῶτος αἰεὶ ἀνάγκην εἶναι τοὺς προύχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν διαβάλλεσθαι, προθυμήθη τὴν ξύμβασιν.

2 Καὶ τὸν τε χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἦσαν ἐς λόγους, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἤδη παρασκευή τε προεπανεσείσθη ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, περιαγγελλομένη κατὰ πόλεις ὡς ἐς ἐπιτειχισμόν,<sup>1</sup> ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον ἐσακούοιεν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν ξυνόδων ἅμα πολλὰς δικαιοῦσαι προενεγκόντων ἀλλήλοις ξυνεχωρεῖτο ὥστε ἂ ἐκάτεροι πολέμῳ ἔσχον ἀποδόντας τὴν εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, Νίσαιαν δ' ἔχειν Ἀθηναίους (ἀνταπαιτούντων γὰρ Πλάταιαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔφασαν οὐ βία, ἀλλ' ὁμολογία αὐτῶν προσχωρησάντων καὶ οὐ προδόντων ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τὴν Νίσαιαν), τότε δὴ παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ψηφισαμένων πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Μεγαρέων τῶν ἄλλων ὥστε καταλύεσθαι (τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκε τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα), ποιοῦνται τὴν ξύμβασιν καὶ ἐσπέισαντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὤμοσαν, ἐκείνοί τε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τάδε.

<sup>1</sup> Porro's conjecture for ὡς ἐπὶ τειχισμόν of MSS.

<sup>1</sup> cf. iv. lxi.

<sup>2</sup> cf. iii. lii. 2.



XVII. Vexed, therefore, by this calumny, and thinking that in time of peace, when no calamity would occur and, moreover, the Lacedaemonians would be recovering their men, he himself would not be exposed to the attack of his enemies, whereas so long as there was war it must always be that the leading men would be maligned in the event of any misfortunes, he became very ardent for the agreement.

During this winter they kept attending conferences; and toward spring there was a menace of warlike preparation on the part of the Lacedaemonians, orders being sent to the cities as though for the erection of a fortress to overawe the territory of the Athenians, that they might be more inclined to listen to terms; and at the same time as the result of their conferences, in which each party had filed many claims against the other, an agreement was finally reached that they should make peace, each party to restore to the other the territories which they had gained by war, though the Athenians were to keep Nisaea.<sup>1</sup> (For when they had demanded back Plataea, the Thebans protested that they had obtained possession of the place, not by force, but because the Plataeans had come over to them by agreement and not through betrayal<sup>2</sup>; and the Athenians claimed to have obtained Nisaea in the same way.) At this time the Lacedaemonians summoned their own allies, and when all the rest had voted to stop hostilities, except the Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megarians—to whom the negotiations were displeasing—they made the agreement, ratifying it by libations and oaths with the Athenians, and the Athenians with them, on the following terms:—



## THUCYDIDES

XVIII. “Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τάδε, καὶ ὤμοσαν κατὰ πόλεις.

“Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν κοινῶν, θύειν ἐξεῖναι<sup>1</sup> καὶ μαντεύεσθαι καὶ θεωρεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀδεῶς.

2 “Τὸ δ’ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεῶν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δελφούς αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἑαυτῶν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

3 “Ἔτη δὲ εἶναι τὰς σπονδὰς πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

4 “Ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπ’ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μήτε Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, μήτε τέχνη μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾶ. ἦν δέ τι διάφορον ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, δίκαις χρήσθων καὶ ὄρκοις, καθ’ ὅ τι ἂν ξύνθωνται.

5 “Ἀποδόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀμφίπολιν. ὅσας δὲ πόλεις παρέδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοις ἐξέστω ἀπιέναι ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας. τὰς δὲ πόλεις φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ’ Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν Ἀθηναίους μηδὲ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff's emendation for καὶ ἰέναι of MSS.

XVIII. "The Athenians and the Lacedaemonians and their respective allies have concluded a treaty and sworn to it state by state upon the following terms :

1. "With regard to the common sanctuaries,<sup>1</sup> whoever wishes may offer sacrifices and consult the oracles and attend as a deputy according to the customs of the fathers, both by land and sea, without fear.

2. "The precinct and the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the people of Delphi shall be independent, having their own system of taxation and their own courts of justice, both as regards themselves and their own territory, according to the customs of the fathers.

3. "The truce shall be in force for fifty years between the Athenians and their allies and the Lacedaemonians and their allies, without fraud or hurt, both by land and sea.

4. "It shall not be lawful to bear arms with harmful intent, either for the Lacedaemonians and their allies against the Athenians and their allies, or for the Athenians and their allies against the Lacedaemonians and their allies, by any art or device. And if there be any dispute with one another, they shall have recourse to courts and oaths, according as they shall agree.

5. "The Lacedaemonians and their allies shall restore Amphipolis to the Athenians. But in the case of cities delivered by the Lacedaemonians to the Athenians, their inhabitants shall be allowed to go away wherever they wish, having their own possessions; and these cities, so long as they pay the tribute that was fixed in the time of Aristeides, shall be independent. And it shall not be lawful for the Athenians and their allies, after the ratification of the treaty,

<sup>1</sup> With reference especially to Delphi and Olympia.



## THUCYDIDES

ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ κακῶ, ὑποδιδόντων τὸν φόρον, ἐπειδὴ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἄργιλος, Στάγιρος, Ἄκανθος, Στῶλος,<sup>1</sup> Ὀλυνθος, Σπάρτωλος. ξυμμάχους δ' εἶναι μηδετέρων, μήτε Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε Ἀθηναίων· ἣν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πείθωσι τὰς πόλεις, βουλομένας ταύτας ἐξέστω ξυμμάχους ποιείσθαι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους.

6 “Μηκυβερναίους δὲ καὶ Σαναίους καὶ Σιγγίους<sup>2</sup> οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν, καθάπερ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι.

7 “Ἀποδόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Πάνακτον. ἀποδόντων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις Κορυφάσιον καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μέθανα<sup>3</sup> καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἀταλάντην, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅσοι εἰσὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἄλλοθί που ὄσης Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σκιώνῃ πολιορκουμένους Πελοποννησίων ἀφεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοι ἐν Σκιώνῃ εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσους Βρασίδας ἐσέπεμψε, καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἦς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ. ἀποδόντων δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὕστινας ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων κατὰ ταῦτά.

8 “Σκιωναίων δὲ καὶ Τορωναίων καὶ Σερμυλιῶν καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλην πόλιν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀθη-

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff's correction after inscriptions; MSS. Σκῶλος.

<sup>2</sup> Kirchhoff's correction for Σιγγαίους of the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Stahl's correction for Μεθώνη of MSS.





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## THUCYDIDES

ναίους βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅ τι ἂν δοκῆ αὐτοῖς.

9 “Ὁρκους δὲ ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κατὰ πόλεις· ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὄρκον ἑκάτεροι τὸν μέγιστον, ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα<sup>1</sup> ἑκάστης πόλεως. ὁ δ’ ὄρκος ἔστω ὅδε· ‘Ἐμμενῶ ταῖς ξυνθήκαις καὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ταῖσδε δικαίως καὶ ἀδόλως.’ ἔστω δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις κατὰ ταῦτὰ ὄρκος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ἀνανεοῦσθαι κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀμφοτέρους.

10 “Στήλας δὲ στήσαι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ.

11 “Εἰ δέ τι ἀμνημονοῦσιν ὀποτεροιοῦν καὶ ὅτου πέρι, λόγοις δικαίοις χρωμένοις εὖορκον εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις ταύτη μεταθεῖναι ὅπῃ ἂν δοκῆ ἀμφοτέροις, Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

XIX. “Ἄρχει δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν ἔφορος Πλειστόλας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς τετάρτη φθίνοντος, ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις ἄρχων Ἀλκαῖος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος 2 μηνὸς ἕκτη φθίνοντος. ὦμνον δὲ οἶδε καὶ ἐσπένδοντο· Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Πλειστοάναξ, Ἄγισ,<sup>2</sup> Πλειστόλας, Δαμάγητος, Χίονις, Μεταγένης, Ἀκανθος, Δάιθος, Ἰσχαγόρας, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευξίδας, Ἀντιππος, Τέλλις, Ἀλκινάδας, Ἐμπεδίας, Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἶδε· Λάμπων, Ἰσθμιόνικος, Νικίας, Λάχης, Εὐθύδη-

<sup>1</sup> ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα, Classen and Stahl assume that ιζ’ has fallen out of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Πλειστοάναξ, Ἄγισ, wanting in all MSS., added from inscriptions.



determine about these and the other cities as they may think best.

9. "The Athenians shall bind themselves by oaths with the Lacedaemonians and their allies, city by city; and either party shall swear its customary oath in the form that is most binding,<sup>1</sup> seventeen men representing each city. The oath shall be as follows: 'I will abide by this agreement and this treaty, justly and without deceit.' For the Lacedaemonians and their allies there shall be an oath, in the same terms, with the Athenians. And both parties shall renew the oath year by year.

10. "They shall erect pillars at Olympia, Delphi, the Isthmus, and on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Lacedaemon in the temple of Apollo of Amyclae.<sup>2</sup>

11. "If either party forgets anything about any matter whatsoever, it shall be consistent with their oath for both, by means of fair discussion, to make a change at any point where it may seem good to both parties, the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians.

XIX. "The treaty begins at Lacedaemon in the ephorate of Pleistolas, on the fourth day from the end of the month Artemisium, and at Athens in the archonship of Alcaeus, on the sixth day from the end of the month Elaphebolion. The following persons took oaths and ratified the treaty: on behalf of the Lacedaemonians, Pleistoanax, Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Tellis, Alcinadas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus; on behalf of the Athenians, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches,

<sup>1</sup> The Athenians, in ratifying treaties, swore by Zeus, Demeter and Apollo. See Fränkel, *Hermes*, xiii. 460. Ullrich suggests for Sparta the Dioscuri.

<sup>2</sup> Two or three miles from Sparta.



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μος, Προκλήης, Πυθόδωρος, "Αγνων, Μυρτίλος, Θρασυκλήης, Θεαγένης, 'Αριστοκρατης, 'Ιώλκιος, Τιμοκράτης, Λέων, Λάμαχος, Δημοσθένης."

XX. Αὐται αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἦρι ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν, αὐτόδεκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἢ ἐσβολὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἢ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε  
 2 ἐγένετο. σκοπεῖτω δέ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινος ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαινόντων<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων πιστεύσας<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον. οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές ἐστιν, οἷς καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ μεσοῦσι καὶ ὅπως  
 3 ἔτυχέ τῳ ἐπεγένετό τι. κατὰ θέρη δὲ καὶ χειμῶνας ἀριθμῶν, ὥσπερ γέγραπται, εὐρήσει, ἐξ ἡμισείας ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος, δέκα μὲν θέρη, ἴσους δὲ χειμῶνας τῷ πρῶτῳ πολέμῳ τῷδε γεγενημένους.

XXI. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ (ἔλαχον γὰρ πρότεροι ἀποδιδόναι ἃ εἶχον) τοὺς τε ἄνδρας εὐθὺς τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν αἰχμαλώτους ἀφίεσαν καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης πρέσβεις Ἰσχαγόραν καὶ Μηνᾶν καὶ Φιλοχαρίδαν ἐκέλευον τὸν Κλεαρίδαν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν παραδιδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰς σπονδάς, ὡς εἴρητο ἑκάστοις,  
 2 δέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὰ . . . σημαινόντων, the order is according to Arnold's suggestion; in MSS. these words come after ὀνομάτων.

<sup>2</sup> Hudon corrects τῷ ποιήσας.



Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Hagnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes.”

XX. This treaty was concluded at the end of the winter and the opening of spring immediately after the City Dionysia.<sup>1</sup> Just ten years and a few days had passed since the first invasion of Attica and the beginning of this war. But one must reckon according to the natural divisions of the year, not according to the catalogue of the names of officials in each place, be they archons or others who in consequence of some office mark the dates for past events, in the belief that this method is more to be trusted; for it is really inexact, since an event may have occurred in the beginning of their term of office, or in the middle, or at any other point as it happened. But reckoning by summers and winters, as has been done in this history—inasmuch as each of these divisions is to be reckoned as half a year—it will be found that there have been ten summers and as many winters in this first war.<sup>2</sup>

XXI. Now since the lot fell to the Lacedaemonians to make restoration first of the positions they held, they straightway set at liberty the prisoners of war that were in their hands, and sending Ischagoras, Menas, and Philocharidas as envoys to Thrace ordered Clearidas to give up Amphipolis to the Athenians, and the rest of the allies to accept the treaty, as it had been prescribed for each. But the latter were unwilling to do so, as they thought that the terms were unfavourable to them;

<sup>1</sup> The City or Greater Dionysia began before the vernal equinox and lasted several days.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly referred to by the Attic orators as the Archidamian War. See Introduction, vol. i., p xiii.



τηδείας εἶναι· οὐδὲ ὁ Κλεαρίδας παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν χαριζόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι, λέγων ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶη βία ἐκείνων παραδιδόναι. ἐλθὼν δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος μετὰ πρέσβεων αὐτόθεν ἀπολογησόμενός τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἣν κατηγορῶσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴσχαγόραν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἰ ἔτι μετακινήτῃ εἶη ἢ ὁμολογία, ἐπειδὴ ἠὔρε κατειλημμένους,<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς μὲν πάλιν πεμπόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κελευόντων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὸ χωρίον παραδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅποσοι Πελοποννησίων ἐνεῖσιν ἐξαγαγεῖν, κατὰ τάχος ἐπορεύετο.

XXII. Οἱ δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ<sup>2</sup> ἔτι ἔτυχον ὄντες, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὴ δεξαμένους τὰς σπονδὰς ἐκέλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ προφάσει, ἥπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεώσαντο, οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξεσθαι, ἣν μὴ τινὰς δικαιότερας τούτων ποιῶνται. ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐσήκουον, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιούντο, νομίζοντες ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι τοὺς τε Ἀργείους,<sup>3</sup> ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον Ἀμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου ἐλθόντων ἐπισπένδεσθαι, νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ δεινοὺς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον μάλιστ' ἂν ἡσυχάζειν· πρὸς γὰρ ἂν

<sup>1</sup> Krüger's correction for κατειλημμένους of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ, Krüger's correction for αὐτοί of the MSS., is adopted by Hude. ἔτι was added by Stahl.

<sup>3</sup> Hude inserts ἐπιτίθεσθαι after Ἀργείους, with Madvig.

<sup>1</sup> The narrative recurs to the end of ch. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> cf. ch. xvii. (end).



and Cleuridas, to oblige the Chalcidians, did not give up Amphipolis, saying that he was unable to give it up against their will. And he hastened in person, with envoys from the place, to Lacedaemon, in order to defend himself in case Ischagoras and his colleagues should accuse him of disobedience; and he wished also to learn whether the agreement could still be changed. But when he found that they were already bound by oath, he himself went back again in haste, with orders from the Lacedaemonians to give up Amphipolis if possible, or at all events to fetch away whatsoever Peloponnesians were in it.

XXII. The representatives of the allies<sup>1</sup> happened to be still present in person at Lacedaemon, and as many of them as had not accepted the treaty were ordered by the Lacedaemonians to adopt it. But they, on the same pretext for which they had at first<sup>2</sup> rejected it, still refused to accept it unless a fairer treaty were made. Since, then, they would not hearken to them, the Lacedaemonians dismissed them, and proceeded to make an alliance with the Athenians by themselves, thinking that the Argives would by no means make an alliance with Sparta—since they had refused to renew the treaty with them when Ampelidas and Lichas went to Argos—and believing that they would not be dangerous to them without the Athenians, and that the rest of the Peloponnesians would be most likely to remain quiet;<sup>3</sup> for, had it been possible, they might have gone over

<sup>1</sup> The text is surely not in order and numerous emendations have been offered. The rendering above assumes *ξυμμαχίαν ποιείσθαι* as predicate of *νομίζοντες*, and adds *καί*, before *νομίσαντες*, as correlative to *τε*—or, possibly, *νομίσαντες* may be causal.



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3 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν. παρόντων οὖν πρέσβων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ γενομένων λόγων ξυνέβησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὄρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία ἤδε·

XXIII. “Κατὰ τάδε ξύμμαχοι ἔσονται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ<sup>1</sup> Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

“Ἦν<sup>2</sup> τινες ἴωσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν πολέμιοι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κακῶς ποιῶσι Λακεδαιμονίους, ὠφελεῖν Ἀθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίους τρόπῳ ὁποῖῳ ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ δηώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ ἅμα ἅμφω τὸ πόλει. ταῦτα δ’ εἶναι δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀδόλως.

2 “Καὶ ἦν τινες ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων γῆν ἴωσι πολέμιοι καὶ κακῶς ποιῶσιν Ἀθηναίους, ὠφελεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους Ἀθηναίους<sup>3</sup> τρόπῳ ὅτῳ ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ δηώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ ἅμα ἅμφω τὸ πόλει. ταῦτα δ’ εἶναι δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀδόλως.

3 “Ἦν δὲ ἡ δουλεία ἐπανίστηται, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίοις παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

4 “Ὁμοῦνται δὲ ταῦτα οἷπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας

<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ, wanting in MSS., added by Krüger.

<sup>2</sup> δέ, after ἦν, deleted by Boehme.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀθηναίους added by Ullrich.





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σπονδὰς ὤμνουον ἑκατέρων. ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἰόντας εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς τὰ Διονύσια, Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἰόντας εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς τὰ Ἰακίνθια.

5 “Στήλην δὲ ἑκατέρους στήσαι, τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρ' Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν πόλει παρ' Ἀθηναίᾳ.

6 “Ἦν δὲ τι δοκῆ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελεῖν περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας, ὅτι ἂν δοκῆ, εὖορκον ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι.

XXIV. “Τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ὤμνουον Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἶδε· Πλειστοάναξ, Ἄγισ, Πλειστόλας, Δαμάγητος, Χίονις, Μεταγένης, Ἀκανθος, Δάιθος, Ἰσχαγόρας, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευξίδας, Ἀντιππος, Ἀλκινάδας, Τέλλις, Ἐμπεδίας, Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος· Ἀθηναίων δὲ Λάμπων, Ἰσθμιόνικος, Λάχης, Νικίας, Εὐθύδημος, Προκλῆς, Πυθόδωρος, Ἄγωνων, Μυρτίλος, Θρασυκλῆς, Θεαγένης, Ἀριστοκράτης, Ἰώλκιος, Τιμοκράτης, Λέων, Λάμαχος, Δημοσθένης.”

2 Ἀὕτη ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀπέδωσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἦρχε τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτους. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος γέγραπται.

XXV. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὸν δεκῆτον πόλεμον ἐπὶ Πλειστόλα μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐφόρου, Ἀλκαίου δ' ἄρχοντος

<sup>1</sup> The City Dionysia; cf. ch. xx. 1.



persons who swore to the other treaty on both sides. They shall be renewed every year, the Lacedaemonians going to Athens at the Dionysia,<sup>1</sup> the Athenians to Lacedaemon at the Hyacinthia.<sup>2</sup>

5. "Each party shall erect a pillar, that in Lacedaemon by the temple of Apollo of Amyclae, that at Athens on the Acropolis by the temple of Athena.

6. "If it shall seem good to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians to add or take away anything pertaining to the alliance, it shall be consistent with the oaths of both to do whatever may seem good to both.

XXIV. "For the Lacedaemonians the following persons took the oath: Pleistoanax, Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Alcidas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus; for the Athenians, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Hagnon, Myrtillus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes."

This alliance was made not long after the treaty, and the Athenians restored to the Lacedaemonians the captives taken on the island; and thus began the summer of the eleventh year. During these ten years the first war, of which the history has now been written, was waged continuously.

- XXV. After the treaty and the alliance between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, which were concluded at the end of the ten years' war, in the ephorate of Pleistolas at Lacedaemon and the archonship of Alcaeus at Athens, those who accepted these

<sup>2</sup> The festival of Apollo of Amyclae in the month Hyacinthius (Attic Hecatombaion).



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Ἰσθμῶσι, τοῖς μὲν δεξαμένοις αὐτὰς εἰρήνην ἦν, οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων τινες διεκίνουν τὰ πεπραγμένα· καὶ εὐθύς ἄλλη<sup>1</sup> ταραχὴ καθίστατο τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς τὴν Λακε-  
 2 δαίμονα, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑποπτοὶ ἐγένοντο ἔστιν ἐν οἷς οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐκ τῶν συγκειμένων  
 3 ἂ εἶρητο. καὶ ἐπὶ ἕξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας ἀπέσχοντο μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑκατέρων γῆν στρατεῦσαι, ἔξωθεν δὲ μετ' ἀνοκωχῆς οὐ βεβαίου ἔβλαπτον ἀλλήλους τὰ μάλιστα· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες λῦσαι τὰς μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη σπονδὰς αὐθις ἐς πόλεμον φανερόν κατέστησαν.

XXVI. Γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο, κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, μέχρι οὗ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον. ἔτη δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένοντο τῷ πολέμῳ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου ξύμβασιν εἴ τις μὴ ἀξιῶσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικαιώσει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις ὡς διήρηται ἀθρεῖτω καὶ εὐρήσει οὐκ εἰκὸς ὄν εἰρήνην αὐτὴν κριθῆναι, ἐν ἣ οὔτε ἀπέδοσαν πάντα οὔτ' ἀπεδέξαντο ἀ ξυνέθεντο, ἔξω τε τούτων πρὸς τὸν Μαντινικὸν καὶ Ἐπιδαύριον

<sup>1</sup> τε, after ἄλλη, inserted by Hude after Stahl.

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter forms a kind of second introduction, and was probably written after the author enlarged his plan from a history of the first ten years to that of the whole war.



were at peace; but the Corinthians and some of the cities in the Peloponnesus attempted to disturb the agreements, and at once other trouble also began between Lacedaemon and her allies. At the same time, too, the Lacedaemonians, as time went on, incurred the suspicion of the Athenians, by not acting in some matters in accordance with the articles of the agreement. For six years and ten months the two powers abstained from invading each other's territory; in other regions, however, there was only an unstable cessation of arms and they kept on doing each other the greatest possible damage. But at last they were forced to break the treaty which had been concluded after the first ten years, and again engaged in open war.

XXVI. <sup>1</sup> The history of these events, also, has been written by the same Thucydides, an Athenian, in the chronological order of events, by summers and winters, up to the time when the Lacedaemonians and their allies put an end to the dominion of the Athenians and took the Long Walls and Peiraeus.<sup>2</sup> Up to that event the war lasted twenty-seven years in all; and if anyone shall not deem it proper to include the intervening truce in the war, he will not judge aright. For let him but look at the question in the light of the facts as they have been set forth<sup>3</sup> and he will find that that can not fitly be judged a state of peace in which neither party restored or received all that had been agreed upon. And, apart from that, there were violations of the treaty on both sides in

<sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch, *Lysander* 15, this took place in April 404.

<sup>3</sup> Or, taking ἡ διὰ μέσου ξύμβασις as subject of διήρηται, "For if he will but observe how the truce was interrupted by actual military operations."



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πόλεμον καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ἀμφοτέροις ἀμαρτήματα  
ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ξύμμαχοι οὐδὲν  
ἦσσαν πολέμιοι ἦσαν, Βοιωτοί τε ἐκεχειρίαν  
3 δεχήμερον ἦγον. ὥστε ξὺν τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ  
τῷ δεκέτει καὶ τῇ μετ' αὐτὸν ὑπόπτῳ ἀνοκωχῇ  
καὶ τῷ ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτῆς πολέμῳ εὐρήσει τις  
τοσαῦτα ἔτη, λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ  
ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς παρενεγκούσας, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ  
χρησμῶν τι ἰσχυρισασμένοις μόνον δὴ τοῦτο  
4 ἐχυρῶς ξυμβάν. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε μέμνημαι, καὶ  
ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μέχρι οὐ ἐτελεύτησε,  
προφερόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὅτι τρὶς ἐννέα ἔτη  
5 δέοι γενέσθαι αὐτόν. ἐπεβίων δὲ διὰ παντὸς  
αὐτοῦ, αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων  
τὴν γνώμην ὅπως ἀκριβές τι εἶσομαι· καὶ ξυνέβη  
μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς  
'Αμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφο-  
τέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοῖς Πελο-  
ποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγὴν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν  
6 μᾶλλον αἰσθέσθαι. τὴν οὖν μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη  
διαφορὰν τε καὶ ξύγχυσιν τῶν σπονδῶν καὶ τὰ  
ἔπειτα ὡς ἐπολεμήθη ἐξηγήσομαι.

XXVII. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ πεντηκοντούται σπον-  
δαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὕστερον ἢ ξυμμαχία, καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ  
τῆς Πελοποννήσου πρεσβεῖαι, αἴπερ παρεκλή-  
θησαν ἐς αὐτά, ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος.  
2 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον, Κορίνθιοι δὲ  
ἐς Ἄργος τραπόμενοι πρῶτον λόγους ποιοῦνται



the Mantinean and Epidaurian wars,<sup>1</sup> as well as in other matters; the allies in Thrace, too, were no less hostile to Athens than before, and the Boeotians observed a truce which had to be renewed every ten days. So that, including the first ten-years' war, the suspicious truce succeeding that, and the war which followed the truce, one will find that, reckoning according to natural seasons, there were just so many years as I have stated, and some few days over. He will also find, in the case of those who have made any assertion in reliance upon oracles, that this fact alone proved true; for always, as I remember, from the beginning of the war until its close, it was said by many that it was fated to last thrice nine years. I lived through the whole war, being of an age to form judgments, and followed it with close attention, so as to acquire accurate information. It befell me also to be banished from my own country for twenty years after my command at Amphipolis,<sup>2</sup> and being conversant with affairs on both sides, especially with those of the Peloponnesians by reason of my banishment, to gain at my leisure a better acquaintance with the course of events. The difference, then, which arose after the ten years, and the breaking of the truce and the subsequent hostilities, I will now proceed to relate.

XXVII. After the conclusion of the fifty years' treaty and the subsequent alliance, the embassies from the Peloponnesus, which had been summoned for this business, withdrew from Lacedaemon. The rest went home; but the Corinthians proceeded first to Argos and entered into communication with certain

<sup>1</sup> For these wars, see chs. xxxiii. f. and liii. f.

<sup>2</sup> cf. IV. civ. 4.



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πρὸς τινὰς τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων Ἀργείων ὡς χρη, ἐπειδὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῆς Πελοποννήσου σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς πρὶν ἐχθίστους πεποίηνται, ὁρᾶν τοὺς Ἀργείους ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ Πελοπόννησος, καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν βουλομένην πόλιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἣτις αὐτόνομός τε ἐστὶ καὶ δίκας ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας δίδωσι, πρὸς Ἀργείους ξυμμαχίαν ποιείσθαι ὥστε τῇ ἀλλήλων ἐπιμαχεῖν, ἀποδειῖξαι δὲ ἄνδρας ὀλίγους ἀρχὴν αὐτοκράτορας καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τοὺς λόγους εἶναι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς μὴ πείσαντας τὸ πλῆθος. ἔφασαν δὲ πολλοὺς  
 3 προσχωρήσεσθαι μίσει τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι διδάξαντες ταῦτα ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρες ἀκούσαντες ἐπειδὴ ἀνήνεγκαν τοὺς λόγους ἔς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐψηφίσαντο Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας εἴλοντο δώδεκα πρὸς οὓς τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμαχίαν ποιείσθαι πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· τούτων δὲ μηδετέροις ἐξεῖναι ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργείων σπείσασθαι.  
 2 ἐδέξαντό τε ταῦτα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μᾶλλον, ὁρῶντες τὸν τε Λακεδαιμονίων σφίσι πόλεμον ἐσόμενον (ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν) καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἠγήσεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἢ τε Λακεδαίμων μάλιστα δὴ κακῶς ἤκουσε καὶ ὑπερώφθη διὰ τὰς





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## THUCYDIDES

ξυμφοράς, οἳ τε Ἄργεῖοι ἄριστα ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν, οὐ ξυναράμενοι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἔνσπονδοι ὄντες ἐκκαρπώσαμενοι. οἳ μὲν οὖν Ἄργεῖοι οὕτως ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεδέχοντο τοὺς ἐθέλοντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

XXIX. Μαντινῆς δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν πρῶτοι προσεχώρησαν δεδιότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. τοῖς γὰρ Μαντινεῦσι μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατέστραπτο ὑπήκοον, ἔτι τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου ὄντος, καὶ ἐνόμιζον οὐ περιόψεσθαι σφᾶς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἄρχειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σχολὴν ἦγον· ὥστε ἄσμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐτράποντο, πόλιν τε μεγάλην νομίζοντες καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰεὶ διάφορον δημοκρατου-  
2 μένην τε ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί. ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος ἐς θροῦν καθίστατο ὡς καὶ σφίσι ποιητέον τοῦτο, νομίσαντες πλέον τέ τι εἰδότας μεταστῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἅμα δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ἐγέγραπτο εὖορκον εἶναι προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν πόλεοιν δοκῆ, Λακεδαιμονίοις  
3 καὶ Ἀθηναίοις. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γράμμα μάλιστα τὴν Πελοπόννησον διεθορύβει καὶ ἐς ὑποψίαν καθίστη μὴ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς βούλωνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δουλώσασθαι· δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις γεγράφθαι τὴν μετάθεσιν.



the Argives had attained an excellent position in all respects, having had no part of the burden of the war with Athens, but rather, as they were at peace with both parties, having reaped a harvest from it. Thus the Argives were ready to receive into their alliance any of the Hellenes that were so inclined.

XXIX. The Mantineans and their allies were the first to join them, through fear of the Lacedaemonians. For a part of Arcadia had been reduced to subjection by the Mantineans, while the war with the Athenians was still going on, and they thought that the Lacedaemonians, now that they had leisure, would not suffer them to retain their sovereignty. So they turned gladly to Argos, regarding it as a powerful state, one always at variance with the Lacedaemonians, and under a democratic form of government like themselves. And when the Mantineans had revolted, the rest of the Peloponnesus also began to mutter that they must do the like, thinking that the Mantineans had changed sides because they possessed some superior knowledge. At the same time they were angry with the Lacedaemonians on other grounds, and especially because it was written in the treaty with Athens that it would be consistent with their oaths to add or take away whatever shall seem good to both states, that is, to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians. For it was this article especially that was disturbing the Peloponnesus far and wide and causing suspicion that the Lacedaemonians wished in concert with the Athenians to reduce them all to slavery; for it would have been just, they thought, that the clause should have given the power to alter the articles to all the allies. And



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4 ὥστε φοβούμενοι οἱ πολλοὶ ὄρμητο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ξυμμαχίαν ποιείσθαι.

XXX. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καθεστῶτα καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους διδασκάλους τε γενομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος, πέμπουσι πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον, βουλόμενοι προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ μέλλον, καὶ ἠτιῶντο τὴν τε ἐσθήγησιν τοῦ παντός καὶ εἰ Ἀργείοις σφῶν ἀποστάντες ξύμμαχοι ἔσονται, παραβήσεσθαι τε ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὄρκους, καὶ ἤδη ἀδικεῖν ὅτι οὐ δέχονται τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδάς, εἰρημένον κύριον εἶναι ὅτι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσηται, 2 ἢν μή τι θεῶν ἢ ἠρώων κώλυμα ἦ. Κορίνθιοι δὲ παρόντων σφίσι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσοι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἐδέξαντο τὰς σπονδάς (παρεκάλεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτοὶ πρότερον), ἀντέλεγον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ μὲν ἠδικοῦντο, οὐ δηλοῦντες ἀντικρυς, ὅτι οὔτε Σόλλιον σφίσιν ἀπέλαβον παρ' Ἀθηναίων οὔτε Ἀνακτόριον, εἴ τί τι ἄλλο ἐνόμιζον ἐλασσοῦσθαι, πρόσχημα δὲ ποιούμενοι τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης μὴ προδώσειν· ὁμόσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὄρκους ἰδίᾳ τε, ὅτε μετὰ Ποτειδεατῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφίσταντο, καὶ 3 ἄλλους ὕστερον. οὔκουν παραβαίνειν τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων ὄρκους ἔφασαν οὐκ ἐσιόντες ἐς τὰς τῶν

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<sup>1</sup> In Acarnania, taken by the Athenians in the first year of the war (II. xxx. 1).



so most of them were afraid and were eager on their own part also to make a separate alliance with the Argives.

XXX. The Lacedaemonians, aware of this murmuring that was going on in the Peloponnesus, and that the Corinthians had been the instigators in this matter and were themselves going to make a treaty with Argos, sent envoys to Corinth, wishing to forestall what was about to happen. And they charged them with starting the whole movement, and said that if they should revolt from them and become allies of the Argives, they would be violating the explicit terms of their oaths, and indeed were already doing wrong in not accepting the treaty with the Athenians, inasmuch as it had been declared that whatever the majority of the allies decreed should be binding, unless there should be some hindrance on the part of gods or heroes. But the Corinthians, in the presence of all their allies who had not themselves accepted the treaty—for they had on their own responsibility summoned them beforehand—in reply to the Lacedaemonians said in what respects they had been wronged, not stating outright that the Lacedaemonians had failed to recover from the Athenians for them Sollium<sup>1</sup> or Anactorium,<sup>2</sup> nor mentioning any other matter in which they thought they were getting less than their rights, but making a pretext that they could not give up their allies in Thrace; for they said they had given their oaths to these people, both privately, when they had first revolted along with the Potidaeans,<sup>3</sup> and afterwards. They were therefore, they said, not violating their oaths to their allies by refusing to join in

<sup>1</sup> cf. IV. xlix.

<sup>2</sup> cf. I. lviii. 1.



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Ἀθηναίων σπουδὰς· θεῶν γὰρ πίστεις ὁμόσαντες  
 ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν εὐορκεῖν προδιδόντες αὐτούς.  
 εἰρηῆσθαι δ' ὅτι “ ἦν μὴ θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ἦ.”  
 4 φαίνεσθαι οὖν σφίσι κώλυμα θεῖον τοῦτο. καὶ περὶ  
 μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ὄρκων τοσαῦτα εἶπον, περὶ δὲ  
 τῆς Ἀργείων ξυμμαχίας μετὰ τῶν φίλων βουλευ-  
 5 σάμενοι ποιήσειν ὅ τι ἂν δίκαιον ἦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.  
 ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Ἀργείων  
 πρέσβεις, οἱ ἐκέλευον τοὺς Κορινθίους ἵεναι ἐς  
 τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν  
 ὕστερον ξύλλογον αὐτοῖς τὸν παρὰ σφίσι προεῖπον  
 ἦκειν.

ΧΧΧΙ. Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Ἠλείων πρεσβεία εὐ-  
 θὺς καὶ ἐποιήσατο πρὸς Κορινθίους ξυμμαχίαν  
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθόντες,  
 καθάπερ προεῖρητο, Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο·  
 διαφερόμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις  
 2 περὶ Λεπρέου. πολέμου γὰρ γενομένου ποτὲ πρὸς  
 Ἀρκάδων τινὰς Λεπρεάταις καὶ Ἠλείων παρα-  
 κληθέντων ὑπὸ Λεπρεατῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἡμισείᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ λυσάντων τὸν πόλεμον,  
 Ἠλεῖοι τὴν γῆν νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς Λεπρεάταις  
 τάλαντον ἔταξαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἀποφέρειν.  
 3 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφερον, ἔπειτα  
 παυσαμένων διὰ πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Ἠλεῖοι  
 ἐπηνάγκαζον, οἱ δ' ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακε-



the treaty with the Athenians; for since they had bound themselves to those allies by pledges sworn in the name of the gods, it would not be consistent with their oaths to betray them. Besides, the words of the agreement were, "if there be no hindrance on the part of gods or heroes"; and it seemed to them that this was a hindrance on the part of the gods. So much they said in regard to their ancient oaths, but as to the Argive alliance they would consult with their friends and do whatever was right. So the envoys of the Lacedaemonians returned home. But there happened to be at Corinth Argive envoys, who urged the Corinthians to come into the alliance without delay; the latter, however, told them to come to their next assembly.

XXXI. Soon after there also came an embassy of the Eleans and first concluded an alliance with the Corinthians, and then they proceeded to Argos, as they had been instructed, and made an alliance with the Argives. It seems that at one time the Eleans were at variance with the Lacedaemonians about Lepreum.<sup>1</sup> For when there had been a war between the Lepreates and some of the Arcadians, and the Eleans had been invited by the Lepreates to make an alliance with them, with the offer of half their territory, on the conclusion of the war the Eleans left the Lepreates in possession of their land, but assessed upon them a tax of a talent to be paid to Olympian Zeus. Now up to the war with Athens they regularly paid the tribute; then on the pretext of the war they ceased to pay the tribute, and the Eleans tried to enforce payment, whereupon they had recourse to the Lacedaemonians.

<sup>1</sup> In Triphylia, not far from the boundaries of Elis and Laconia (ch. xxxiv. 1).



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δαιμονίους. καὶ δίκης Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτρα-  
 πείσης, ὑποτοπήσαντες οἱ Ἑλλεῖοι μὴ ἴσον ἔξειν,  
 ἀνέντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν Λεπρεατῶν τὴν γῆν ἔτεμον.  
 4 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐδὲν ἤσσον ἐδίκασαν αὐτο-  
 νόμους εἶναι Λεπρεάτας καὶ ἀδικεῖν Ἑλλείους, καὶ  
 ὡς οὐκ ἐμμεινάντων τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ φρουρὰν ὀπλιτῶν  
 5 ἐσέπεμψαν εἰς Λέπρεον. οἱ δὲ Ἑλλεῖοι νομίζοντες  
 πόλιν σφῶν ἀφεστηκυῖαν δέξασθαι τοὺς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους καὶ τὴν ξυνθήκην προφέροντες ἐν ἧ  
 εἴρητο, ἃ ἔχοντες εἰς τὸν Ἀπτικὸν πόλεμον καθί-  
 σταυτότινες, ταῦτα ἔχοντας καὶ ἐξελθεῖν, ὡς οὐκ  
 ἴσον ἔχοντες ἀφίστανται πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους, καὶ  
 τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, ὥσπερ ποείρητο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐποιή-  
 6 σαντο. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθὺς μετ'  
 ἐκείνους καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς Ἀργείων  
 ξύμμαχοι. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς τὸ αὐτὸ  
 λέγοντες ἡσύχαζον, περιορώμενοι<sup>1</sup> καὶ νομίζοντες  
 σφισι τὴν Ἀργείων δημοκρατίαν, αὐτοῖς  
 ὀλιγαρχουμένοις, ἤσσον ξύμφορον εἶναι τῆς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας.

XXXII. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ  
 θέρους τούτου Σκιωναίους μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπο-  
 λιορκήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παῖδας  
 δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 Πλαταιεῦσιν ἔδοσαν νέμεσθαι. Δηλίους δὲ κατή-  
 γαγον πάλιν εἰς Δῆλον, ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς τε ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, in the MSS. after περιορώμενοι, deleted by Dobree. The sense of the verb, "jealously watched" (Jowett), required with that reading, does not occur in Thucydides.





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## THUCYDIDES

ταῖς μάχαις συμφορὰς καὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ  
 2 χρήσαντος. καὶ Φωκῆς καὶ Λοκροὶ ἤρξαντο  
 3 πολεμεῖν. καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤδη ξύμ-  
 μαχοὶ ὄντες ἔρχονται ἐς Τεγέαν ἀποστήσοντες  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ὀρῶντες μέγα μέρος ὄν, καὶ εἰ  
 σφίσι προσγένοιτο, νομίζοντες ἅπασαν ἂν ἔχειν  
 4 Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ἔφασαν ἐναν-  
 τιωθῆναι οἱ Τεγεᾶται Λακεδαιμονίοις, οἱ Κορίνθιοι  
 μέχρι τούτου προθύμως πράσσοντες ἀνεῖσαν τῆς  
 φιλονικίας καὶ ὠρρώδησαν μὴ οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἔτι  
 5 τῶν ἄλλων προσχωρῆ. ὅμως δὲ ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς  
 Βοιωτοὺς ἐδέοντο σφῶν τε καὶ Ἀργείων γίγνεσθαι  
 συμμάχους καὶ τὰλλα κοινῇ πράσσειν· τὰς τε  
 δεχημέρους ἐπισπονδάς, αἱ ἦσαν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ  
 Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον γενό-  
 μεναι αὐτῶν τῶν πεντηκοντουτίδων σπονδῶν,  
 ἐκέλευον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἀκολουθή-  
 σαντας Ἀθήναζε καὶ σφίσι ποιῆσαι, ὥσπερ  
 Βοιωτοὶ εἶχον, μὴ δεχομένων δὲ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ σπέν-  
 6 δεσθαι ἄνευ αὐτῶν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ δεομένων τῶν  
 Κορινθίων περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀργείων συμμαχίας  
 ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον, ἐλθόντες δὲ Ἀθήναζε  
 μετὰ Κορινθίων οὐχ ἠὔροντο τὰς δεχημέρους  
 σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Κοριν-  
 θίοις εἶναι σπονδάς, εἴπερ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσὶ  
 7 ξύμμαχοι. Βοιωτοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπεῖπον  
 τὰς δεχημέρους, ἀξιούντων καὶ αἰτιωμένων Κοριν-

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<sup>1</sup> It had always maintained an independent position in Arcadia, and in earlier times had been a powerful opponent of Sparta.



obeying an oracle of the god at Delphi. Meanwhile the Phocians and the Locrians began hostilities. And the Corinthians and the Argives, being now allies, came to Tegea,<sup>1</sup> hoping to induce it to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, seeing that it was an important part of the Peloponnesus, and thinking if it should be gained to their side they would soon have the whole Peloponnesus. But when the Tegeates refused to oppose the Lacedaemonians, the Corinthians, who up to that time had been working zealously, became slack in their ardour and full of dread that none of the other Peloponnesians would henceforth come over to them. Nevertheless they went to the Boeotians and requested them to become allies of themselves and the Argives, and to act generally in concert with them. And the Corinthians further requested the Boeotians to accompany them to Athens and procure for them also the ten days' truce<sup>2</sup> which had been made between the Athenians and Boeotians not long after the conclusion of the fifty years' treaty, on the same terms as the Boeotians had obtained, and, if the Athenians did not agree, to renounce the armistice and for the future to make no truce without the Corinthians. The Boeotians, when the Corinthians made these requests, desired them to wait awhile in regard to the Argive alliance, but they went with them to Athens, where however they failed to obtain the ten days' truce, the Athenians answering them that there was already a truce with the Corinthians, if they were allies of the Lacedaemonians. But the Boeotians did not any the more give up the ten days' truce, although the Corinthians demanded it and accused them of having

<sup>1</sup> i.e. a truce which had to be renewed every ten days; or, perhaps, "terminable at ten days' notice," as Jowett thinks. cf. ch. xxvi. 3.



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θίων ξυνῆσθαι σφίσι· Κορινθίοις δὲ ἀνοκωχῆ ἄσπονδος ἦν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

XXXIII. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους πανδημεὶ ἐστράτευσαν, Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Πausανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως ἡγουμένου, τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Παρρασίους Μαντινέων ὑπηκόους ὄντας, κατὰ στάσιν ἐπικαλεσαμένων σφᾶς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος ἀναιρήσοντες, ἦν δύνωνται, ὃ ἐτείχισαν Μαντινῆς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφρούρουν, ἐν τῇ Παρρασικῇ κείμενον ἐπὶ τῇ  
 2 Σκιρίτιδι τῆς Λακωνικῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν γῆν τῶν Παρρασίων ἐδήουν, οἱ δὲ Μαντινῆς τὴν πόλιν Ἀργείοις φύλαξι παραδόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐφρούρουν· ἀδύνατοι δ' ὄντες διασῶσαι τό τε ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος καὶ  
 3 τὰς ἐν Παρρασίοις πόλεις ἀπῆλθον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοὺς τε Παρρασίους αὐτονόμους ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

XXXIV. Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἤδη ἡκόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Θράκης μετὰ Βρασίδου ἐξελθόντων στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ὁ Κλεαρίδας μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐκόμισεν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς μὲν μετὰ Βρασίδου Εἰλωτας μαχεσαμένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται· καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν νεοδαμῶδων ἐς Λέπρεον κατέστησαν, κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἡλείας, ὄντες ἤδη διάφοροι

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<sup>1</sup> The mountainous region between the upper Eurotas and the valley of the Oenus, one of the most important districts of the Perioeci.



agreed with themselves to do so. Between the Corinthians, however, and the Athenians there was a cessation of activities without an actual truce.

XXXIII. The same summer the Lacedaemonians, under the command of Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians, made an expedition with all their forces into the territory of the Parrhasians of Arcadia, who were subjects of the Mantineans. They had been called in by the Parrhasians on account of a factional quarrel, and intended also to demolish, if possible, the fort at Cypsela, which, being situated in Parrhasian territory, the Mantineans had constructed and themselves garrisoned for the annoyance of the district Sciritis<sup>1</sup> in Laconia. The Lacedaemonians proceeded to ravage the land of the Parrhasians, and the Mantineans, giving over the custody of their city to the Argives, tried themselves to guard the territory of their Parrhasian allies. Being unable, however, to save the fort at Cypsela and the towns in Parrhasia, they withdrew. And the Lacedaemonians, after making the Parrhasians independent and pulling down the fort, then returned home.

XXXIV. During the same summer, on the return from Thrace of the troops which had gone out with Brasidas<sup>2</sup> and which Clearidas<sup>3</sup> had brought back after the treaty was made, the Lacedaemonians voted that the Helots who had fought with Brasidas should be free and dwell wherever they preferred; and not long afterwards they settled them with the Neodamodes<sup>4</sup> at Lepreum on the borders of Laconia and Elis, for they were by this time at variance with

<sup>2</sup> cf. iv. lxxviii. 1; lxxx. 5.      <sup>3</sup> cf. xxi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The clans of new citizens formed of Helots emancipated for service in war.



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2 Ἡλείοις· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ληφθέντας σφῶν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παραδόντας, δείσαντες μή τι διὰ τὴν ξυμφορὰν νομίσαντες ἔλασσωθήσεσθαι καὶ ὄντες ἐπίτιμοι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἤδη καὶ ἀρχάς τινας ἔχοντας ἀτίμους ἐποίησαν, ἀτιμίαν δὲ τοιάνδε ὥστε μήτε ἄρχειν μήτε πριαμένους τι ἢ πωλοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι. ὕστερον δὲ αὖθις χρόνῳ ἐπίτιμοι ἐγένοντο.

XXXV. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ Θυσσὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθωίδι Ἀκτῇ Διῆς<sup>1</sup> εἶλον, Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ξύμμαχον.

2 Καὶ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπιμειξίαί μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις, ὑπώπτειον δὲ ἀλλήλους εὐθύς μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οἷ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν  
3 χωρίων ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν πρότεροι λαχόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀποδιδόναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεδεδώκεσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης παρεῖχον ξυμμάχους τὰς σπονδὰς δεχομένους οὐδὲ Βοιωτοὺς οὐδὲ Κορινθίους, λέγοντες αἰεὶ ὡς μετ' Ἀθηναίων τούτους, ἦν μὴ θέλωσι, κοινῇ ἀναγκάσουσιν· χρόνους τε προύθεντο ἄνευ ξυγγραφῆς ἐν οἷς χρῆν τοὺς μὴ ἐσι-  
4 όντας ἀμφοτέροις πολεμίους εἶναι. τούτων οὖν ὀρῶντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἔργῳ γιγνόμενον, ὑπώπτειον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μηδὲν δίκαιον διανοεῖσθαι, ὥστε οὔτε Πύλον ἀπαιτούντων αὐ-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀκτῇ Διῆς, Meineke's conjecture for Δικτηδιῆς of nearly all MSS.



the Eleans. But as to their men who had been taken on the island and had given up their arms, fearing that these might expect to suffer some degradation because of their misfortune and if they continued in possession of the franchise might attempt a revolution, they disfranchised them, though some of them now held office, and with such a disfranchisement that they could neither hold office nor have the legal right to buy or sell anything. In the course of time, however, they were again enfranchised.

XXXV. During the same summer also the Dians took Thyssus, a town on the promontory of Athos, which was in alliance with the Athenians.

All this summer there was intercourse between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, but both parties began to suspect one another directly after the conclusion of the treaty, owing to their failure to give back to one another the places specified. The Lacedaemonians, though they had drawn the lot to make restoration first, had not restored Amphipolis and the other places; nor had they made their allies in Thrace accept the treaty, nor the Boeotians, nor the Corinthians, though they continually professed that they would join the Athenians in coercing these states, if they were unwilling; and they proposed dates, without making a written agreement, on which those who did not accede to the treaty were to be enemies of both. Seeing, then, that none of these things was actually being done, the Athenians suspected the Lacedaemonians of having no just intentions, and so not only did not restore Pylos when the Lacedaemonians demanded



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τῶν ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου  
 δεσμώτας μετεμέλοντο ἀποδεδωκότες, τὰ τε ἄλλα  
 χωρία εἶχον, μένοντες ἕως σφισι κακέϊνοι ποιή-  
 5 σειαν τὰ εἰρημένα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 δυνατὰ ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι· τοὺς γὰρ παρὰ  
 σφίσι δεσμώτας ὄντας Ἀθηναίων ἀποδοῦναι καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης στρατιώτας ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ εἴ  
 του ἄλλου ἐγκρατεῖς ἦσαν· Ἀμφιπόλεως δὲ οὐκ  
 ἔφασαν κρατεῖν ὥστε παραδοῦναι, Βοιωτοὺς δὲ  
 πειράσασθαι καὶ Κορινθίους ἐς τὰς σπονδάς  
 ἐσαγαγεῖν καὶ Πάνακτον ἀπολαβεῖν, καὶ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς αἰχμάλωτοι κομιεῖν.  
 6 Πύλον μέντοι ἠξίουσιν ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δὲ μή,  
 Μεσσηνίους γε καὶ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἐξαγαγεῖν,  
 ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Θράκης, Ἀθηναίους  
 δὲ φρουρεῖν τὸ χωρίον αὐτούς, εἰ βούλονται.  
 7 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων ἐν τῷ  
 θέρει τούτῳ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥστε ἐξαγα-  
 γεῖν ἐκ Πύλου Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 Εἰλωτάς τε καὶ ὅσοι ἠὺτομολήκεσαν ἐκ τῆς  
 Λακωνικῆς· καὶ κατώκισαν αὐτοὺς ἐν Κρανίοις  
 8 τῆς Κεφαλληνίας. τὸ μὲν οὖν θέρος τοῦτο ἡσυχία  
 ἦν καὶ ἔφοδοι παρ' ἀλλήλους.

XXXVI. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος (ἔτυ-  
 χον γὰρ ἔφοροι ἕτεροι καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὧν αἱ σπονδαὶ  
 ἐγένοντο ἄρχοντες ἤδη καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ  
 ἐναντίοι σπονδαῖς) ἐλθουσῶν πρεσβειῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ξυμμαχίδος καὶ παρόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιω-  
 τῶν καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ πολλὰ ἐν ἀλλήλοις εἰπόν-





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των καὶ οὐδὲν συμβάντων, ὡς ἀπῆσαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Κορινθίοις Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης, οὗτοι οἵπερ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα διαλύσαι τὰς σπονδὰς, λόγους ποιοῦνται ἰδίους, παραινοῦντες ὅτι μάλιστα ταῦτά τε γιγνώσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι Βοιωτούς, Ἀργείων γενομένους πρῶτον αὐτοὺς συμμάχους, αὖθις μετὰ Βοιωτῶν Ἀργείους Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι συμμάχους (οὔτω γὰρ ἤκιστ' ἂν ἀναγκασθῆναι Βοιωτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ἀττικὰς σπονδὰς ἐσελθεῖν). ἐλέσθαι γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας καὶ διαλύσεως τῶν σπονδῶν Ἀργείους σφίσι φίλους καὶ συμμάχους γενέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ Ἄργος αἰεὶ ἠπίσταντο ἐπιθυμοῦντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καλῶς σφίσι φίλιον γενέσθαι, ἡγουμένους τὸν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου πόλεμον ῥᾶω ἂν εἶναι. τὸ μέντοι Πάνακτον ἐδέοντο Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως παραδώσουσι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἵνα αὐτ' αὐτοῦ Πύλον, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀπολαβόντες ῥᾶον καθιστῶνται Ἀθηναίοις ἐς πόλεμον.

XXXVII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι ταῦτα ἐπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Ξενάρους καὶ Κλεοβούλου καὶ ὅσοι φίλοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, ἑκάτεροι ἀνεχώρουν. Ἀργείων δὲ δύο ἄνδρες τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεγίστης ἐπετήρουν ἀπιόντας αὐτοὺς καθ' ὁδὸν καὶ συγγενόμενοι ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, εἶπώς οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σφίσι ζύμμαχοι γένοιντο, ὥσπερ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς· νομίζειν γὰρ



agreement, as the envoys were on the point of departing for home, Cleobulus and Xenares, the ephors who most desired to annul the treaty, made private proposals to the Boeotians and Corinthians, advising them to adopt as far as possible the same policy, and that the Boeotians should first become allies of the Argives and then try to make the Argives along with themselves allies of the Lacedaemonians. For in this way the Boeotians would be least likely to be forced to come into the treaty with Athens, since the Lacedaemonians would prefer gaining the friendship and alliance of the Argives, counting that more important than the enmity of the Athenians and the disruption of the treaty. For they knew that the Lacedaemonians were always desirous that Argos should be friendly to them on fair terms, thinking that war outside of the Peloponnesus would then be an easier matter for them. Panactum, however, they begged the Boeotians to give up to the Lacedaemonians, in order that they might, if possible, get back Pylos in exchange for it, and so be in a safer position for renewing the war with the Athenians.

XXXVII. The Boeotians and Corinthians, being charged by Xenares and Cleobulus and the Lacedaemonians that were friendly to them with these instructions, which they were to announce to their governments, now returned to their respective cities. But two Argive men of highest official position, who were watching for them by the way as they went off, joined them and made a proposal to them, in the hope that the Boeotians might become allies to them, just as the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantineans had done; for they thought, if this



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ἂν τούτου προχωρήσαντος ῥαδίως ἤδη καὶ πολε-  
 μεῖν καὶ σπένδεσθαι καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ  
 βούλοιντο, κοινῶ λόγῳ χρωμένους, καὶ εἴ τινα  
 3 πρὸς ἄλλον δέοι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πρέσ-  
 βειν ἀκούουσιν ἤρεσκεν· κατὰ τύχην γὰρ  
 ἐδέοντο τούτων ὧνπερ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαί-  
 μονος αὐτοῖς φίλοι ἐπεστάλκεσαν. καὶ οἱ τῶν  
 Ἄργείων ἄνδρες ὡς ἤσθοντο αὐτοὺς δεχομένους  
 τὸν λόγον, εἰπόντες ὅτι πρέσβεις πέμψουσιν ἐς  
 4 Βοιωτούς, ἀπῆλθον. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ  
 ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς βοιωτάρχαις τὰ τε ἐκ τῆς Λακε-  
 δαίμονος καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν συγγενομένων Ἄργείων·  
 καὶ οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἠρέσκοντό τε καὶ πολλῶ προ-  
 θυμότεροι ἦσαν, ὅτι ἀμφοτέρωθεν ξυμβεβήκει  
 αὐτοῖς τοὺς τε φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν  
 αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς Ἄργείους ἐς τὰ ὁμοῖα  
 5 σπεύδειν. καὶ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον πρέσβεις  
 παρῆσαν Ἄργείων τὰ εἰρημένα προκαλούμενοι·  
 καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπαινέσαντες τοὺς λόγους  
 οἱ βοιωτάρχαι καὶ πρέσβεις ὑποσχόμενοι ἀπο-  
 στελεῖν περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐς Ἄργος.

XXXVIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἐδόκει πρῶτον τοῖς  
 βοιωτάρχαις καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ  
 τοῖς ἀπὸ Θράκης πρέσβειν ὁμόσαι ὄρκους ἀλλή-  
 λους ἢ μὴν ἔν τε τῷ παρατυχόντι ἀμυνεῖν τῷ  
 δεομένῳ καὶ μὴ πολεμήσειν τῷ μηδὲ συμβήσεσθαι  
 ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης, καὶ οὕτως ἤδη τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς  
 καὶ Μεγαρέας (τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐποίουν) πρὸς τοὺς  
 2 Ἄργείους σπένδεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους γενέ-  
 σθαι οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἐκοίνωσαν ταῖς τέσσαρσι

<sup>1</sup> cf. ch. xxxi. 6.



succeeded, they might then readily, all pursuing a common policy, carry on war or make peace with the Lacedaemonians, if they should wish, or with anyone else with whom it might be necessary. The Boeotian envoys were pleased at hearing these things; for by good luck these men were asking the same things as their friends at Lacedaemon had enjoined upon them. And the Argive men, seeing that they were inclined to accept the proposal, told them they would send envoys to the Boeotians and went away. On coming home the Boeotians reported to the boeotarchs the proposal made at Lacedaemon and also that of the Argives who had met them on the way; and the boeotarchs were pleased and were now far more eager for this arrangement, because matters had turned out to their liking in both directions—their friends among the Lacedaemonians wanting the same things as they did, and the Argives striving for a like end. Not long after this envoys came from the Argives with the proposals that have been mentioned; and the boeotarchs assented to their proposals and sent them away with a promise to dispatch envoys to Argos to negotiate the alliance.

XXXVIII. In the meantime it was determined by the boeotarchs and the Corinthians, the Megarians, and the envoys from Thrace, first, to bind themselves by oaths one to another, that assuredly when occasion offered they would assist the one that needed help and would not go to war with anyone or make peace without a common agreement; and that then and only then the Boeotians and the Megarians—for they were acting in concert<sup>1</sup>—should make a treaty with the Argives. But before the oaths were sworn the boeotarchs communicated



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βουλαῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ταῦτα, αἴπερ ἅπαν τὸ  
 κῦρος ἔχουσι, καὶ παρήνουν γενέσθαι ὄρκους ταῖς  
 πόλεσιν, ὅσαι βούλονται ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ σφίσι ξυνο-  
 3 μνύναι. οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ὄντες  
 οὐ προσδέχονται τὸν λόγον, δεδιότες μὴ ἐναντία  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιήσωσι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀφεστῶσι  
 Κορινθίοις ξυνομνύντες· οὐ γὰρ εἶπον αὐτοῖς οἱ  
 βοιωτάρχαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, ὅτι τῶν τε  
 ἐφόρων Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης καὶ οἱ φίλοι  
 παραινοῦσιν Ἄργείων πρῶτον καὶ Κορινθίων  
 γενομένους ξυμμάχους ὕστερον μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεσθαι, οἰόμενοι τὴν βουλήν,  
 κἂν μὴ εἴπωσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα ψηφιεῖσθαι ἢ ἂ σφίσι  
 4 προδιαγνόντες παραινοῦσιν. ὡς δὲ ἀντέστη τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα, οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης  
 πρέσβεις ἀπρακτοὶ ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ βοιωτάρχαι,  
 μέλλοντες πρότερον, εἰ ταῦτα ἔπεισαν, καὶ τὴν  
 ξυμμαχίαν πειράσασθαι πρὸς Ἄργείους ποιεῖν,  
 οὐκέτι ἐσήνεγκαν περὶ Ἄργείων ἐς τὰς βουλάς,  
 οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ Ἄργος τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ὑπέσχοντο  
 ἔπεμπον, ἀμέλεια δὲ τις ἐνῆν καὶ διατριβὴ τῶν  
 πάντων.

XXXIX. Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ  
 Μηκύβερναν Ὀλύνθιοι Ἀθηναίων φρουρούντων  
 ἐπιδραμόντες εἶλον.

2 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (ἐγίγνοντο γὰρ αἰεὶ λόγοι τοῖς  
 τε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ ὧν εἶχον

<sup>1</sup> μετ' αὐτῶν with Stahl, for μετὰ τῶν of MSS. as Hude reads.



these resolutions to the four councils of the Boeotians which have supreme authority, and recommended that oaths be exchanged with such cities as wished to take oaths with them for mutual assistance. But the members of the Boeotian council did not accept the proposal, fearing that they might offend the Lacedaemonians by taking oaths with the Corinthians who had seceded from their confederacy. For the boeotarchs did not tell them what had happened at Lacedaemon—that it was the ephors, Cleobulus and Xenares, and their own friends who advised them first to become allies of the Argives and Corinthians, and then in conjunction with these to become allies of the Lacedaemonians; for they thought that the council,<sup>1</sup> without their making any such statement, would not vote for any other course than that which they had previously resolved upon and now recommended. But now, when this difficulty arose, the Corinthians and the envoys from Thrace went away without accomplishing their purpose; and the boeotarchs, who had before intended, if they carried these measures, to try to effect also the alliance with the Argives, did not now bring before the councils the matter concerning the Argives, nor did they send to Argos the envoys they had promised; and there was neglect and delay in the whole business.

XXXIX. In the course of this same winter, the Olynthians by a sudden attack captured Mecyberna<sup>2</sup> which was garrisoned by the Athenians.

After this, while conferences were continually going on between the Athenians and Lacedae-

<sup>1</sup> The four councils here doubtless considered as one body.

<sup>2</sup> A port town of Olynthus; cf. ch. xviii. 7.



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ἀλλήλων) ἐλπίζοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀπολάβοιεν, κομίσασθαι ἂν αὐτοὶ Πύλον, ἦλθον ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρεσβευόμενοι καὶ ἐδέοντο σφίσι Πάνακτόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων δεσμώτας παραδοῦναι, 3 ἵνα ἀντ' αὐτῶν Πύλον κομίσωνται. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν, ἣν μὴ σφίσι ξυμμαχίαν ἰδίαν ποιήσωνται ὥσπερ Ἀθηναίοις. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι ἀδικήσουσιν Ἀθηναίους, εἰρημένον ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μήτε σπένδεσθαί τω μήτε πολεμεῖν, βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ Πάνακτον παραλαβεῖν ὡς τὴν Πύλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κομιούμενοι, καὶ ἅμα τῶν ξυγγχείαι σπευδόντων τὰς σπονδὰς προθυμουμένων τὰ ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, τοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ· καὶ τὸ Πάνακτον εὐθύς καθηρέϊτο. καὶ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

XL. Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι εὐθύς τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ὡς οἷ τε πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν οὓς ἔφασαν πέμψειν οὐχ ἦκον, τό τε Πάνακτον ἦσθοντο καθαιρούμενον καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἰδίαν γεγεννημένην τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἔδεισαν μὴ μονωθῶσι καὶ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους πᾶσα ἡ ξυμμαχία χωρήσῃ· τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ᾤοντο πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τό τε Πάνακτον καθελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς ἐσιέναι, τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναί ταῦτα





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ὥστε οὐδὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἔτι σφίσιν εἶναι ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι, πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν, εἰ μὴ μείνειαυ αὐτοῖς αἰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδαί, τοῖς γοῦν Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχοι  
 3 ἔσεσθαι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Τεγεάταις, Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἅμα πολεμῶσι, πρότερον οὐ δεχόμενοι τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς, ἀλλ' ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι, ἔπεμπον ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις Εὐστροφον καὶ Αἴσωνα, οἱ ἐδόκουν προσφιλέστατοι αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ἡγούμενοι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κράτιστα, πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ὅπῃ ἂν ξυγχωρῆ, ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν.

XLI. Καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν λόγους ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν  
 2 σφίσιν αἰ σπονδαὶ γίγνοιτο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἡξίουσαν δίκης ἐπιτροπὴν σφίσι γενέσθαι ἢ ἐς πόλιν τινὰ ἢ ἰδιώτην περὶ τῆς Κυνουρίας γῆς, ἧς αἰεὶ πέρι διαφέρονται μεθορίας οὔσης (ἔχει δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Θυρέαν καὶ Ἀνθήνην πόλιν, νέμονται δ' αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι). ἔπειτα δ' οὐκ ἐώντων Λακεδαιμονίων μεμνησθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰ βούλονται σπένδεσθαι ὡσπερ πρότερον, ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πρέσβεις τάδε ὅμως ἐπηγάγοντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ξυγχωρῆσαι, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐξεῖναι δ' ὅποτεροισὺν προκαλεσαμένοις, μήτε νόσου οὔσης μήτε πολέμου Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Ἀργεῖ, διαμά-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. of the Lacedaemonians and Athenians.



longer possible for them to make an alliance even with the Athenians; whereas they had formerly hoped that if their treaty with the Lacedaemonians should not continue they might at any rate, in consequence of the differences,<sup>1</sup> become allies of the Athenians. Being then in such perplexity and fearing lest they might have war at once with the Lacedaemonians and Tegeates, the Boeotians and the Athenians, the Argives, who before this had not accepted the treaty with the Lacedaemonians but proudly hoped to have the hegemony of the Peloponnesus, now sent to Lacedaemon in all haste two envoys, Eustrophus and Aeson, who seemed likely to be most acceptable to them, thinking it best under the present circumstances to make a treaty with the Lacedaemonians in whatever way might be feasible and to have quiet.

XLI. On their arrival their envoys made proposals to the Lacedaemonians as to the terms on which the treaty should be concluded. At first the Argives claimed that they should be allowed to submit to the arbitration of some city or private person the matter of the Cynurian territory—a district containing the towns of Thyrea and Anthene and occupied by the Lacedaemonians—which being border ground they were always disputing about. Afterwards, however, although the Lacedaemonians would not permit them to make mention of that district, but said that, if they wished to make a treaty on the same terms as before, they were ready to do so, the Argive envoys did induce the Lacedaemonians to agree to the following terms: for the present that a treaty should be made for fifty years; that, however, either Lacedaemon or Argos, provided there were at the time



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χεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἠξίωσαν νικᾶν, διώκειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι περαιτέρω τῶν πρὸς Ἄργος καὶ  
 3 Λακεδαίμονα ὄρων· τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα, ἔπειτα (ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ τὸ Ἄργος πάντως φίλον ἔχειν) ξυνεχώρησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίουں καὶ ξυνεγράψαντο. ἐκέλευον δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν τέλος τι αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐς τὸ Ἄργος πρῶτον ἐπαναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς δεῖξαι τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ἦν ἀρέσκοντα ἦ, ἦκειν ἐς τὰ Ἰακίνθια τοὺς ὄρκους ποιησομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν.

XLII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ᾧ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον, οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἄνδρομένης καὶ Φαίδιμος καὶ Ἀντιμενίδας, οὓς ἔδει τὸ Πάνακτον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς παρὰ Βοιωτῶν παραλαβόντας Ἀθηναίοις ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ μὲν Πάνακτον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν αὐτῶν καθηρημένον ἠῦρον, ἐπὶ προφάσει ὡς ἦσαν ποτε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἐκ διαφορᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄρκοι παλαιοὶ μηδετέρους οἰκεῖν τὸ χωρίον ἀλλὰ κοινῇ νέμειν, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας οὓς εἶχον αἰχμαλώτους Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίων παραλαβόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνδρομένην ἐκόμισαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἀπέδωσαν, τοῦ τε Πανάκτου τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς, νομίζοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι· πολέμιον γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοις οἰκήσειν

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<sup>1</sup> 550 B.C. ; cf. Hdt. I. lxxxi.



neither pestilence nor war in either place, might challenge the other to decide by battle the question about this territory—just as once before,<sup>1</sup> when each had claimed to be victorious—but pursuit must not be made beyond the boundaries, between Argos and Lacedaemon. At first this seemed to the Lacedaemonians mere folly, but afterwards, as they desired under any circumstances to have Argos friendly to them, they accepted the conditions demanded and joined in a written agreement. But the Lacedaemonians urged the envoys first, before any of the provisions should be regarded as settled, to return to Argos and lay the matter before the people, and then, if it should be satisfactory to them, to come to the Hyacinthian festival and take the oaths. So they withdrew.

XLII. In the meantime, while the Argives were negotiating these matters, the Lacedaemonian envoys, Andromenes, Phaedimus and Antimenidas, who were to take over Panactum and the prisoners from the Thebans and restore them to the Athenians, found that Panactum had been destroyed by the Boeotians themselves, on the pretext that once in former times, when there had been a quarrel about Panactum, oaths had been exchanged between the Athenians and Boeotians, that neither should inhabit the district, but they should graze it in common. As for the men of the Athenians, however, whom the Boeotians held as prisoners, Andromenes and his colleagues received these from them, and bringing them back restored them to the Athenians. They also told them of the demolition of Panactum, claiming that this, too, was a restoration; for thereafter no one hostile to the Athenians would



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2 οὐδένα. λεγομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεινὰ ἐποίουν, νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ τε Πανάκτου τῇ καθαιρέσει, ὃ ἔδει ὀρθὸν παραδοῦναι, καὶ πυνθανόμενοι ὅτι καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἰδίᾳ ξυμμαχίαν πεποίηνται φάσκοντες πρότερον κοινῇ τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὰς σπονδὰς προσαναγκάσειν. τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐσκόπουν ὅσα ἐξελελοίπεσαν τῆς ξυνθήκης καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἐξηπατῆσθαι, ὥστε χαλεπῶς πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν.

XLIII. Κατὰ τοιαύτην δὴ διαφορὰν ὄντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις αὐ βουλόμενοι λῦσαι τὰς σπονδὰς εὐθὺς 2 ἐνέκειντο. ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, ἀνὴρ ἡλικία μὲν ἔτι τότε ὢν νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, ἀξιώματι δὲ προγόνων τιμώμενος· ᾧ ἐδόκει μὲν καὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους μᾶλλον χωρεῖν, οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονήματι φιλονικῶν ἠναντιοῦτο, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ Νικίου καὶ Λάχητος ἔπραξαν τὰς σπονδὰς, ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τε τὴν νεότητα ὑπεριδόντες καὶ κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν προξενίαν ποτὲ οὔσαν οὐ τιμήσαντες, ἣν τοῦ πάππου ἀπειπόντος αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους θεραπεύων διανοεῖτο 3 ἀνανεώσασθαι. πανταχόθεν τε νομίζων ἔλασ-

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<sup>1</sup> cf. ch. xxv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 450 B.C., and so now about thirty years of age.



dwell in it. The moment this was said the Athenians were very indignant, thinking that they were wronged by the Lacedaemonians, both in the demolition of Panactum, which ought to have been restored to them intact, and because they heard that the Lacedaemonians had made a separate alliance with the Boeotians, although they had said before<sup>1</sup> that they would join in coercing any that did not accept the treaty. And they took into consideration the other matters wherein the Lacedaemonians had failed in their contract and in which they thought they had been deceived; and so they gave the envoys an angry answer and sent them away.

XLIII. As now the Lacedaemonians were thus at variance with the Athenians, the party at Athens that wished to annul the treaty at once became urgent in pressing their views. To this party belonged, among others, Alcibiades son of Cleinias, a man who, though as regards his age he would in any other city have been accounted even at that time as still young,<sup>2</sup> was held in honour on account of the worth of his ancestors. To him it seemed really to be better to side with the Argives; it was not that alone, however, for he also opposed the treaty because he was piqued in his pride because the Lacedaemonians had negotiated it through Nicias and Laches, overlooking him on account of his youth and not showing him the respect that was due him on account of the old proxeny that once existed<sup>3</sup> in his family. This relationship, though his grandfather had renounced it, he himself was by his attentions to their captives from Sphacteria now planning to renew. And so considering himself in

<sup>3</sup> cf. vi. lxxxix. 2; Plut. *Alcib.* xiv.



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σοῦσθαι τό τε πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν, οὐ βεβαίους φάσκων εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα Ἀργεῖους σφίσι σπεισάμενοι ἐξέλωσι καὶ αὐθις ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μόνους ἴωσι, τούτου ἔνεκα σπένδεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ τότε, ἐπειδὴ ἡ διαφορὰ ἐγεγένητο, πέμπει εὐθὺς ἐς Ἄργος ἰδίᾳ, κελεύων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προκαλουμένους ἦκειν μετὰ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὡς καιροῦ ὄντος καὶ αὐτὸς ξυμπράξων τὰ μάλιστα.

XLIV. Οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀκούσαντες τῆς τε ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων πραχθεῖσαν τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφορὰν μεγάλην καθεστῶτας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τῶν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πρέσβων, οἱ σφίσι περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἔτυχον ἀπόντες, ἡμέλουν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, νομίζοντες πόλιν τε σφίσι φιλίαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ καὶ δημοκρατουμένην ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχουσαν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ξυμπολεμήσειν σφίσιν, ἣν καθιστῶνται ἐς πόλεμον. ἔπεμπον οὖν εὐθὺς πρέσβεις ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας· ξυνεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Μαντινῆς. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις κατὰ τάχος, δοκοῦντες ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Φιλοχαρίδας τε καὶ Λέων καὶ Ἐνδιος, δείσαντες μὴ τὴν τε ξυμμαχίαν ὀργιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ποιήσωνται, καὶ ἅμα Πύλον ἀπαιτήσοντες ἀντὶ





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## THUCYDIDES

Πανάκτου, καὶ περὶ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίας ἀπολογησόμενοι ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποιήσαντο.

XLV. Καὶ λέγοντες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τε τούτων καὶ ὡς αὐτοκράτορες ἤκουσι περὶ πάντων συμβῆναι τῶν διαφόρων, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐφόβουν μὴ καὶ ἦν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ταῦτα λέγωσιν, ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἀπωσθῆ ἢ Ἀργείων  
 2 ξυμμαχία. μηχανᾶται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιόνδε τι ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης· τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πείθει πίστιν αὐτοῖς δούς, ἦν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ αὐτοκράτορες ἦκειν, Πύλον τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν (πείσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν  
 3 ἀντιλέγειν) καὶ τᾶλλα ξυναλλάξειν. βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς Νικίου τε ἀποστῆσαι ταῦτα ἔπρασσε καὶ ὅπως, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διαβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐν νῷ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ λέγουσιν οὐδέποτε ταῦτά, τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαν-  
 4 τινέας ξυμμάχους ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες καὶ ἐπερωτώμενοι οὐκ ἔφασαν ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοκράτορες ἦκειν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον καταβοῶντος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσήκουόν τε καὶ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν εὐθὺς παραγαγόντες τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ξυμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι· σεισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου πρὶν τι ἐπικυρωθῆναι, ἢ ἐκκλησία αὕτη ἀνεβλήθη.

XLVI. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Νικίας,



Panactum, and to say at the same time, in excuse for the Boeotian alliance, that it had not been made with a view to injuring the Athenians.

XLV. Speaking in the senate on these points, and saying that they had come with full power to settle all their differences, they filled Alcibiades with alarm lest, if they should say the same things to the assembly, they should win over the people and the Argive alliance might be rejected. So he adopted the following device against them: He persuaded the Lacedaemonians, by pledging them his faith, that, if they would not admit before the assembly that they had come with full powers, he would restore Pylos to them—for he himself would use his influence with the Athenians for them as now he opposed them—and would settle the other points at issue. He resorted to such methods because he wished to detach them from Nicias, and in order that he might accuse them before the assembly of having no sincere intentions and of never saying the same things, and thereby might effect an alliance with the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans. And so it turned out. For when, on coming before the popular assembly and being asked whether they had come with full powers, they answered “No,” contrary to what they had said in the senate, the Athenians could endure it no longer, but hearkened to Alcibiades, who inveighed against the Lacedaemonians far more than before, and were ready at once to bring in the Argives and their confederates and conclude an alliance. But before anything was ratified an earthquake occurred, and this assembly was adjourned.

XLVI. In the assembly on the next day, however,



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καίπερ, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἠπατημένων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηπατημένος περὶ τοῦ μὴ αὐτοκράτορας ὁμολογῆσαι ἤκειν, ὅμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφη χρῆναι φίλους μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπισχόντας τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους πέμψαι ἔτι ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰδέναί ὅ τι διανοοῦνται, λέγων ἐν μὲν τῷ σφετέρῳ καλῶ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐκείνων ἀπρεπεῖ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβάλλεσθαι· σφίσι μὲν γὰρ εὖ ἐστώτων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄριστον εἶναι διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐπραγίαν, ἐκείνοις δὲ δυστυχοῦσιν ὅτι τάχιστα εὖρημα **2** εἶναι διακινδυνεῦσαι. ἔπεισέ τε πέμψαι πρέσβεις, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, κελεύοντας Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴ τι δίκαιον διανοοῦνται, Πάνακτόν τε ὀρθὸν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, καὶ τὴν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνεῖναι, ἣν μὴ ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐσίωσι, καθάπερ εἴρητο ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μηδενὶ **3** ξυμβαίνειν. εἰπεῖν τε ἐκέλευον ὅτι καὶ σφεῖς, εἰ ἐβούλοντο ἀδικεῖν, ἤδη ἂν Ἀργείους ξυμμάχους πεποιῆσθαι, ὡς παρεῖναί γ' αὐτοὺς αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκα· εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο ἐνεκάλουν, πάντα ἐπιστείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νικίαν **4** πρέσβεις. καὶ ἀφικομένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαγγελλάντων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τέλος εἰπόντων ὅτι, εἰ μὴ





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τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνήσουσι Βοιωτοῖς μὴ ἐσιούσιν ἐς τὰς σπονδάς, ποιήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ξυμμάχους, τὴν μὲν ξυμμαχίαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Βοιωτοῖς, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνήσειν, ἐπικρατούντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ξενάρη τὸν ἔφορον ταῦτα γίνεσθαι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν, τοὺς δὲ ὄρκους δεομένου Νικίου ἀνενεώσαντο· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ πάντα ἀτελεῖ ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ καὶ διαβληθῇ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο, αἴτιος δοκῶν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδῶν.

5 ἀναχωρήσαντός τε αὐτοῦ ὡς ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος πεπραγμένον, εὐθύς δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον, καὶ νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι (ἔτυχον γὰρ παρόντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, παραγαγόντος Ἀλκιβιάδου) ἐποιήσαντο σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τήνδε.

XLVII. “Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτη καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἡλείοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἑκάτεροι, ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

2 “Ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὧν ἄρχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, μήτε Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὧν ἄρχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, τέχνη μηδὲ μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾶ.

3 “Κατὰ τάδε ξυμμάχους εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἀλλήλους, restored from the inscription recording this treaty (C.I.A. iv. p. 15 f., No. 46 b). See note, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> ὧν ἄρχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι restored by Kirchhoff from the inscription.



should give up the alliance with the Boeotians, in case these would not accede to the treaty, they themselves would make an alliance with the Argives and their confederates. But the Lacedaemonians refused to give up the alliance with the Boeotians—the party of Xenares the ephor and all the rest that were of that view carrying their point to this effect—but the oaths they renewed on Nicias' request; for he was afraid that he would return with nothing accomplished and be exposed to calumny, as indeed happened, since he was generally regarded as having been responsible for the treaty with the Lacedaemonians. On his return, when the Athenians heard that nothing had been done at Lacedaemon, they flew into a rage, and thinking they had been wronged, when Alcibiades brought in the Argives and their allies, who chanced to be present, they made an alliance with them on the following terms:

XLVII. 1. "The Athenians, Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans have made a treaty with one another for a hundred years, on behalf of themselves and the allies over whom they have authority respectively, to be observed without fraud or hurt both by land and sea.

2. "It shall not be allowed to bear arms with harmful intent, either for the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans and their allies against the Athenians and the allies over whom the Athenians have authority, or for the Athenians and the allies over whom the Athenians have authority against the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans and their allies, by any art or device.

3. "The Athenians, Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans



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Ἄργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ἑκατὸν ἔτη· ἦν πολεμιοὶ ἴωσιν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας Ἀθήναζε, καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, τρόπῳ ὁποῖῳ ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ δηώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Ἡλείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τούτων· καταλύειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μηδεμιᾶ τῶν πόλεων, ἦν μὴ ἀπάσαις δοκῆ.

4 “Βοηθεῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους εἰς Ἄργος καὶ εἰς<sup>1</sup> Μαντινείαν καὶ εἰς<sup>2</sup> Ἡλιν, ἦν πολέμιοι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἡλείων ἢ τὴν Μαντινέων ἢ τὴν Ἀργείων, καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν αἱ πόλεις αὗται, τρόπῳ ὁποῖῳ ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἦν δὲ δηώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Ἡλείοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἀπασῶν τούτων τῶν πόλεων· καταλύειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μηδεμιᾶ τῶν πόλεων,<sup>3</sup> ἦν μὴ ἀπάσαις δοκῆ.<sup>4</sup>

5 “Ὅπλα δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἔχοντας διέναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τῆς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἕκαστοι, μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἦν μὴ ψηφισαμένων τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν τὴν δίοδον εἶναι, Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἡλείων.

<sup>1</sup> Added by Stahl.

<sup>2</sup> Added by Stahl.

<sup>3</sup> μηδεμιᾶ τῶν πόλεων restored by Kirchhoff from the inscription.

<sup>4</sup> ταῖς πόλεσιν, after δοκῆ, deleted by Kirchhoff according to the inscription.





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- 6 "Τοὺς δὲ βοηθῶντων ἢ πόλις ἢ πέποιθενα παρεγένετο μέχρι μὲν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόσταν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν βοηθεῖν, καὶ ὁπίουσι κατὰ ταῦτά· ἦν δὲ πλείονα βούλωνται χρόνον τῆ στρατιᾷ χρῆσθαι, ἢ πόλις ἢ μεταπεμφθεμένη διδόντω οὕτως, τῷ μὲν ὀπλίῃ καὶ ψιλῷ καὶ τοξῆτι πρὸς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης, τῷ δ' ἰσπεὶ δραχμὴν Αἰγυπτίαν.
- 7 "Ἡ δὲ πόλις ἢ μεταπεμφθεμένη τὴν στρατιάν<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐγένετο, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ. ἦν δὲ ποι δὲ<sup>2</sup> ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῇ στρατεῖσθαι, τὸ ἴσον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετεῖναι ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν.
- 8 "Ὅμοια δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς Ἀθηναίους μὲν ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἑλλεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι τούτων κατὰ πόλεις ὁμόντων. ὁμόντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὄρκον ἕκαστοι τῶν μέγιστον κατὰ ἑρῶν τελείων. ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἔστω οὗτος· Ἐμμεῖς τῇ συμμαχίᾳ κατὰ τὰ συγγεῖμενα δικαίως καὶ ἀδελφικῶς καὶ ἀόχλους, καὶ οὐ παραθήσομαι τέχνη οὐδὲ μηχανῆ οὐδεμίᾳ."
- 9 "Ὅμόντων δὲ Ἀθηνοὶ μὲν ἢ βουλῇ καὶ αἱ ἐπίδημοι ὄρχαί, Ἑρκεῖντων δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις ἐν Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἢ βουλῇ καὶ οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ οἱ ἄρτυνα, Ἑρκεῖντων δὲ οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐν δὲ Μαντινείᾳ οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἢ βουλῇ καὶ αἱ ἄλλα ὄρχαί, Ἑρκεῖντων δὲ οἱ θευροὶ καὶ οἱ

<sup>1</sup> τὴν στρατιάν added by van Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> ἄνους according to the inscription; MSS. omit.



## BOOK V. XLVII. 6-9

6. "For the relieving force the state which sends for them shall furnish provisions for thirty days after their arrival in the state which sent for succour, and in like manner on their return; but if they wish to use the army for a longer period, the city which sends for it shall furnish provisions for heavy-armed or light-armed troops or bowmen, three Aeginetan obols<sup>1</sup> per day, and for a cavalryman one Aeginetan drachma.<sup>2</sup>

7. "The state which sent for the troops shall have command whenever the war is in its territory. But if it shall seem good to all the states to make a joint expedition anywhere, all the states shall share the command equally.

8. "The Athenians shall swear to the treaty for themselves and their allies, but the Argives, Mantineans, Eleans, and their allies shall swear to it individually by states. And they shall severally swear the oath that is most binding in their own country, over full-grown victims. And the oath shall be as follows: 'I will abide by the alliance in accordance with its stipulations, justly and without injury and without guile, and will not transgress it by any art or device.'

9. "The oath shall be sworn at Athens by the senate and the home<sup>3</sup> magistrates, the prytanes administering it; at Argos by the senate and the eighty and the artynae, the eighty administering the oath; at Mantinea by the demiurgi and the senate and the other magistrates, the theori and the

<sup>1</sup> About 8d. or 16 cents.

<sup>2</sup> About 1s. 4d. or 22 cents.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. those whose functions were restricted to the city.



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πολέμαρχοι· ἐν δὲ Ἡλιδι οἱ δημιουργοὶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι, ἑξορκούντων δὲ οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ θεσμοφύλακες.

10 “Ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἰόντας ἐς Ἡλιν καὶ ἐς Μαντίνειαν καὶ ἐς Ἄργος τριάκοντα ἡμέραις πρὸ Ὀλυμπίων, Ἀργείους δὲ καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ἰόντας Ἀθήναζε δέκα ἡμέραις πρὸ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων.

11 “Τὰς δὲ ξυνθήκας τὰς περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐν πόλει, Ἀργείους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ 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.

12 “Ἐὰν δέ τι δοκῇ ἄμεινον εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις προσθεῖναι πρὸς τοῖς ξυγκειμένοις, ὃ τι ἂν<sup>2</sup> δόξη ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπάσαις κοινῇ βουλευόμεναις, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.”

XLVIII. Αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ ἡ ξυμμαχία οὕτως ἐγένοντο. καὶ αἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀπείρηντο τούτου ἔνεκα οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑτέρων. Κορίνθιοι δὲ Ἀργείων ὄντες ξύμμαχοι οὐκ ἐσῆλθον ἐς αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ γενομένης πρὸ τούτου Ἠλείοις καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσι ξυμμαχίας, τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, οὐ ξυνώμοσαν, ἀρκεῖν δ' ἔφασαν σφίσι τὴν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἱ τὰ τέλη ἔχοντες, in MSS. after δημιουργοί, deleted by Kirchhoff as gloss on that word.

<sup>2</sup> ὃ τι δ' ἂν MSS., δ' deleted by Bekker.

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<sup>1</sup> A fragment of the official document recording this treaty was found by the Archaeological Society at Athens in the





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## THUCYDIDES

πρώτην γενομένην ἐπιμαχίαν, ἀλλήλοις βοηθεῖν,  
 3 ξυνεπιστρατεύειν δὲ μηδενί. οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι  
 οὕτως ἀπέστησαν τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν τὴν γνώμην εἶχον.

XLIX. Ὀλύμπια δ' ἐγένετο τοῦ θέρους τούτου,  
 οἷς Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀρκὰς παγκράτιον τὸ πρῶτον  
 ἐνίκα· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων  
 εἶρχθησαν ὥστε μὴ θύειν μηδ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι, οὐκ  
 ἐκτίνοντες τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς ἣν ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ  
 νόμῳ Ἡλεῖοι κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν, φάσκοντες  
 σφῶν ἐπὶ Φύρκον τε τεῖχος ὄπλα ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ  
 ἐς Λέπρεον αὐτῶν ὀπλίτας ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπικαῖς  
 σπονδαῖς ἐσπέμψαι. ἡ δὲ καταδίκη δισχίλια  
 μναῖ ἦσαν, κατὰ τὸν ὀπλίτην ἕκαστον δύο μναῖ,  
 2 ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἔχει. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρέσβεις  
 πέμψαντες ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφῶν καταδει-  
 κάσθαι, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλλθαι πω ἐς Λακεδαί-  
 μονα τὰς σπονδάς, ὅτ' ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀπλίτας.  
 3 Ἡλεῖοι δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεχειρίαν ἤδη ἔφασαν  
 εἶναι (πρώτοις γὰρ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγέλλουσι),  
 καὶ ἡσυχάζοντων σφῶν καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων ὡς  
 4 ἐν σπονδαῖς, αὐτοὺς λαθεῖν ἀδικήσαντας. οἱ δὲ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπελάμβανον οὐ χρεὼν εἶναι αὐτοὺς  
 ἐπαγγεῖλαι ἔτι ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, εἰ ἀδικεῖν γε ἤδη  
 ἐνόμιζον αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς νομίζοντας τοῦτο  
 δρᾶσαι, καὶ ὄπλα οὐδαμόσε ἔτι αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> The month of the festival was sacred (ἱερομηνία) and all warfare was stopped for that time. To enter the territory of Elis with an armed force during that month was sacrilegious.



namely to aid one another, but not to join in attacking any other party. Thus, then, the Corinthians held aloof from their allies and were turning their thoughts again to the Lacedaemonians.

XLIX. This summer the Olympic games were held, in which Androstenes an Arcadian won his first victory in the pancratium. The Lacedaemonians were excluded from the sanctuary by the Eleans, and so could neither sacrifice nor contend in the games, as they refused to pay the fine which had been assessed against them according to Olympic law by the Eleans, who alleged that they had attacked the Elean fortress of Phyrus, and sent a force of their hoplites into Lepreum during the Olympic truce.<sup>1</sup> The fine was two thousand minas,<sup>2</sup> two minas<sup>3</sup> for each hoplite, as the law ordains. The Lacedaemonians sent envoys and urged that the fine had been unfairly imposed upon them, claiming that the treaty had not been announced at Lacedaemon when they sent the hoplites into Elis. But the Eleans said that the truce was already in force in their country—for they proclaim it among themselves first—and while they were keeping quiet and not expecting any attack, as in time of truce, the Lacedaemonians had done the wrong, taking them by surprise. The Lacedaemonians replied that they should not have gone on and announced the truce at Lacedaemon if they were of the opinion that the Lacedaemonians were already wronging them, but they had done this as though they did not think so, and they themselves had not kept on bearing arms against them anywhere after the announcement of the truce.

<sup>1</sup> About £8,125 or \$38,840.

<sup>2</sup> About £8 2s. 6d. or \$39.



## THUCYDIDES

5 Ἡλείοι δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου εἶχοντο, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι μὴ ἂν πεισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ βούλονται σφίσι Λέπρεον ἀποδοῦναι, τό τε αὐτῶν μέρος ἀφιέναι τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ ὁ τῷ θεῷ γίγνεται αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐκτείσειν.

L. Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουον, αὐθις τάδε ἤξιουν, Λέπρεον μὲν μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βούλονται, ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐπομόσαι ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ μὴν ἀποδώσειν  
 2 ὕστερον τὴν καταδίκην. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἤθελον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἶργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ θυσίας καὶ ἀγῶνων<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἴκοι ἔθνον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐθεώ-  
 3 ρουν πλὴν Λεπρεατῶν. ὅμως δὲ οἱ Ἡλείοι δεδιότες μὴ βία θύσωσι, ξὺν ὄπλοις τῶν νεωτέρων φυλακὴν εἶχον· ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς, χίλιοι ἑκατέρων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἱππῆς, οἱ ἐν Ἀρ-  
 4 πίνῃ<sup>2</sup> ὑπέμενον τὴν ἑορτήν. δέος δ' ἐγένετο τῇ πανηγύρει μέγα μὴ ξὺν ὄπλοις ἔλθωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ Αἶχας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου, Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδούχων πληγὰς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι νικῶντος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ζεύγους καὶ ἀνακηρυχθέντος Βοιωτῶν δημοσίου κατὰ τὴν οὐκ ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀγωνίσεως, προελθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνέδησε τὸν ἡνίοχον, βουλόμενος

<sup>1</sup> θυσίας καὶ ἀγῶνων bracketed by Hude following Krüger.

<sup>2</sup> Michaelis' correction for Ἀργεῖοι of the MSS.





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## THUCYDIDES

δηλῶσαι ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ ἦν τὸ ἄρμα· ὥστε πολλῶ δὴ  
 μᾶλλον ἐπεφόβηντο πάντες καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον  
 ἔσεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἠσύχασάν τε  
 5 καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ αὐτοῖς οὕτω διῆλθεν. ἐς δὲ Κόρινθον  
 μετὰ τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι  
 ἀφίκοντο δεησόμενοι αὐτῶν παρὰ σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν (καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἔτυχον παρόντες)· καὶ  
 πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων τέλος οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη,  
 ἀλλὰ σεισμοῦ γενομένου διελύθησαν ἕκαστοι ἐπ’  
 οἴκου. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

LI. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἡρακλεώ-  
 ταις τοῖς ἐν Τραχῖνι μάχῃ ἐγένετο πρὸς Αἰνιᾶνας  
 καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ Μηλιᾶς καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τινας·  
 2 προσοικοῦντα γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα τῇ πόλει πολέ-  
 μια ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἄλλῃ τινὶ γῆ ἢ τῇ τούτων τὸ  
 χωρίον ἐτειχίσθη. καὶ εὐθύς τε καθισταμένη τῇ  
 πόλει ἠναντιοῦντο, ἐς ὅσον ἐδύναντο φθείροντες,  
 καὶ τότε τῇ μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας, καὶ  
 Ξενάρης ὁ Κνίδιος, Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἄρχων αὐτῶν  
 ἀπέθανε, διεφθάρησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἡρα-  
 κλεωτῶν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ δωδέκατον  
 ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

LII. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθύς ἀρχομένου  
 τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν μάχην κακῶς ἐφθεί-  
 ρετο, Βοιωτοὶ παρέλαβον, καὶ Ἡγησιππίδαν τὸν  
 Λακεδαιμόνιον ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἄρχοντα ἐξέπεμψαν.  
 δείσαντες δὲ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον μὴ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων τὰ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον θορυβουμένων  
 Ἀθηναῖοι λάβωσιν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ὠργί-  
 ζοντο αὐτοῖς.

2 Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου,



chariot was his. And so everybody was much more afraid, and it seemed that there would be some disturbance. The Lacedaemonians, however, kept quiet, and the festival went through in this way, as far as they were concerned. But after the Olympic games the Argives and their allies came to Corinth, to ask them to join their league. Lacedaemonian envoys also happened to be present. Many proposals were made, but nothing was done; for an earthquake occurred and they dispersed severally to their homes. And the summer ended.

LI. During the following winter, there was a battle between the people of Heracleia in Trachis and the Aenianians, Dolopians, Malians, and some of the Thessalians. For these were neighbouring tribes and hostile to the city of Heracleia, since the fortress there was established as a menace to no other territory but theirs. Accordingly, as soon as the city was founded, they began to show opposition to it, harassing it as much as they could; and at this time they defeated the Heracleotes, Xenares son of Cuidis, a Lacedaemonian and their commander, being killed, as well as some of the Heracleotes. And the winter ended, and with it the twelfth year of this war.

LII. At the very beginning of the following summer, as Heracleia was in a grievous plight after the battle, the Boeotians took possession of it and dismissed Hegesippidas, the Lacedaemonian, for misgovernment. They occupied the place through fear that, while the Lacedaemonians were disturbed about matters in the Peloponnesus, the Athenians might take it; the Lacedaemonians, however, were angry at them for this. 419

During the same summer Alcibiades son of



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στρατηγὸς ὦν Ἀθηναίων, Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συμπρασσόντων ἔλθων ἐς Πελοπόννησον μετ' ὀλίγων Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν συμμάχων παραλαβὼν τὰ τε ἄλλα ξυγκαθίστη περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν διαπορευόμενος Πελοπόννησον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ Πατρέας τε τείχη καθεῖναι ἔπεισεν ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕτερον διανοεῖτο τειχίσαι ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ. Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ οἷς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ τειχισθὲν βοηθήσαντες διεκώλυσαν.

LIII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις πόλεμος ἐγένετο, προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαιῶς,<sup>1</sup> ὃ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ βοτανῶν<sup>2</sup> Ἐπιδαυριοὶ (κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι). ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις προσλαβεῖν, ἦν δύνωνται, τῆς τε Κορίνθου ἔνεκα ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης βραχυτέραν ἔσσεσθαι τὴν βοήθειαν ἢ Σκύλλαιον περιπλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. παρεσκευάζοντο οὖν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Correction of C<sub>1</sub>, Πυθέως AEFM, Πιθέως B.

<sup>2</sup> Stahl's correction for βοταμίων of MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> A low point of land at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf; on the opposite side of the strait was the Molycreian Rhium. The fort would have given the Athenians entire control of the entrance to the Gulf.





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## THUCYDIDES

Ἐπίδαυρον διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν ἔσβαλοῦντες.

LIV. Ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πανδημεὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα τῆς ἑαυτῶν μεθορίας πρὸς τὸ Λύκαιον, Ἐγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλέως ἡγουμένου ἤδει δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅποι στρατεύουσιν, οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἕξ ὧν ἐπέμ-  
 2 φθησαν. ὡς δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένοις οὐ προухώρει, αὐτοὶ τε ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ τοῖς  
 3 ξυμμάχοις περιήγγειλαν μετὰ τὸν μέλλοντα (Καρνεῖος δ' ἦν μῆν, ἱερομηνία Δωριεῦσι) παρασκευά-  
 4 ζεσθαι ὡς στρατευσομένους. Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Καρνείου μηνὸς ἐξελθόντες τετράδι φθίνοντος καὶ ἄγοντες τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἐσέβαλον ἐς  
 τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν καὶ ἐδήουν. Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπεκαλοῦντο ὧν τινες οἱ μὲν τὸν μῆνα προυφασίσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς μεθορίαν τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐλθόντες ἡσύχαζον.

LV. Καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν, ἐς Μαντίνειαν πρεσβεῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυνῆλθον, Ἀθηναίων παρακαλεσάντων καὶ γενομένων<sup>1</sup> λόγων Εὐφαιμίδας ὁ Κορίνθιος οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογεῖν· σφεῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ εἰρήνης ξυγκαθῆσθαι, τοὺς δ' Ἐπιδαυρίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους μεθ' ὅπλων ἀντιτετάχθαι· διαλύσαι οὖν πρῶτον χρῆ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. γινομένων, Hude γενομένων.

<sup>1</sup> The sacrifices offered to Zeus by the Spartan kings before crossing the border.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the Attic Metageitnion, nearly our August.



## BOOK V. LIII.—LV. I

of their own motion, to invade Epidaurus for the exaction of the offering.

LIV. About the same time the Lacedaemonians, too, marched out with all their forces to Leuctra, a place on their own borders opposite Mt. Lycaeum, under the command of King Agis son of Archidamus; and no one knew whither they were marching, not even the cities from which they were sent. But as the sacrifices for crossing the border<sup>1</sup> were not favourable, they went back home themselves, and sent word to their allies, after the coming month—the Carneian month,<sup>2</sup> a holiday among the Dorians—to prepare to take the field. When they withdrew, the Argives set out on the twenty-seventh of the month preceding the Carneian, and continuing to observe that day during the whole time,<sup>3</sup> invaded Epidaurus and proceeded to ravage it. The Epidaurians called upon their allies for help; but some of these made the month an excuse, while the rest went merely to the borders of Epidauria and there remained quiet.

LV. While the Argives were in Epidaurian territory envoys from the different cities came together at Mantinea, on the invitation of the Athenians. And in the course of the conference Euphamidas the Corinthian said that their words did not agree with their deeds; for they were sitting in council on the question of peace, while the Epidaurians with their allies and the Argives were arrayed in arms against each other; they ought to go

<sup>1</sup> They called every day the 27th as long as they were in Epidaurian territory and thus postponed the beginning of the following month until their work was done. Probably the Argives, on religious grounds (as Dorians), took holiday as soon as the Carneian month began.



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ναι ἐφ'<sup>1</sup> ἑκατέρων ἔλθοντας τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ  
 2 οὕτω πάλιν λέγειν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης· καὶ πεισ-  
 θέντες ᾤχοντο καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀπήγαγον ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ξυνελ-  
 θόντες οὐδ' ὡς ἐδυνήθησαν συμβῆναι, ἀλλ' οἱ  
 Ἀργεῖοι πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἐσέβαλον καὶ  
 3 ἐδήουν· ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 ἐς Καρύας· καὶ ὡς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ διαβατήρια  
 4 αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐπανεχώρησαν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τεμόν-  
 τες τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ὡς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἀπῆλθον  
 ἐπ' οἴκου· καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοῖς χίλιοι ἐβοή-  
 θησαν ὀπλίται καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης στρατηγός, πυθό-  
 μενοι δὴ<sup>2</sup> τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι·  
 καὶ ὡς<sup>ορ, δέ</sup> ἔτι αὐτῶν ἔδει, ἀπῆλθον. καὶ τὸ  
 θέρος οὕτω διήλθεν.

LVI. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι λαθόντες Ἀθηναίους φρουρούς τε τριακο-  
 σίους καὶ Ἀγησιππίδαν ἄρχοντα κατὰ θάλασσαν  
 2 ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐσέπεμψαν· Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἔλθόντες  
 παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐπεκάλουν ὅτι, γεγραμμένον ἐν  
 ταῖς σπονδαῖς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστους μὴ εἶναι  
 πολεμίους διέναι, ἐάσειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν παρα-  
 πλεῦσαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνοι ἐς Πύλον κομιούσιν  
 ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ Εἴλωτας,  
 3 ἀδικήσεσθαι αὐτοί. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου  
 πείσαντος τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ ὑπέγραψαν ὅτι  
 οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ὄρκοις, ἐς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> *suprascr.* g<sub>2</sub>, all other MSS. ἀφ'.

<sup>2</sup> Hude's correction for δέ of the MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *πυθόμενοι δέ*, with the MSS., "but learning that the Lacedaemonians had left the field"—which the verb means nowhere else—"and that there was no further need of them."





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## THUCYDIDES

Πύλον ἐκόμισαν τοὺς ἐκ Κρανίων Εἴλωτας λή-  
 4 ζεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἡσύχαζον. τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα  
 τοῦτον πολεμούντων Ἀργείων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων  
 μάχη μὲν οὐδεμία ἐγένετο ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἐνέδραι  
 δὲ καὶ καταδρομαί, ἐν αἷς ὡς τύχοιεν ἑκατέρων  
 5 τινὲς διεφθείροντο. καὶ τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 πρὸς ἕαρ ἤδη κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἦλθον  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον ὡς ἐρήμου οὔσης διὰ τὸν πό-  
 λεμον βία αἰρήσοντες· καὶ ἄπρακτοι ἀπῆλθον.  
 καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα· καὶ τρίτον καὶ δέκατον  
 ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

LVII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους μεσοῦντος  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἷ τε Ἐπιδαυριοὶ ξύμ-  
 μαχοὶ ὄντες ἐταλαιπώρουν καὶ τὰλλα ἐν τῇ Πελο-  
 ποννήσῳ τὰ μὲν ἀφειστήκει, τὰ δ' οὐ καλῶς εἶχε,  
 νομίσαντες, εἰ μὴ προκαταλήψονται ἐν τάχει, ἐπὶ  
 πλέον χωρήσεσθαι αὐτά, ἐστράτευον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ  
 Εἴλωτες πανδημεὶ ἐπ' Ἄργος· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἄγις ὁ  
 Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. ξυνεστρά-  
 2 τευον δ' αὐτοῖς Τεγεᾶταί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἀρκά-  
 δων Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμαχοι ἦσαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς  
 ἄλλης Πελοποννήσου ξύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ἐς  
 Φλειοῦντα ξυνελέγοντο· Βοιωτοὶ μὲν πεντακισχί-  
 λιοι ὀπλίται καὶ τοσοῦτοι ψιλοὶ καὶ ἵππῆς πεν-  
 τακόσιοι καὶ ἄμιπποι ἴσοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ δισχίλιοι  
 ὀπλίται· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡς ἕκαστοι, Φλειάσιοι δὲ  
 πανστρατιᾷ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἦν τὸ στράτευμα.



the Helots from Craniï,<sup>1</sup> to plunder the country; but in other respects they kept quiet. During this winter, although the Argives and Epidaurians were at war, there was no pitched battle, but there were ambuscades and forays, in which some perished on either side as the chance might be. As winter was closing and spring at hand, the Argives came with scaling-ladders against Epidaurus, supposing, as it was stripped of its defenders by the war, that they could take it by assault; but they accomplished nothing and went back home. And the winter ended and with it the thirteenth year of the war.

LVII. In the middle of the following summer, the Lacedaemonians, seeing that their Epidaurian allies were in distress, and of the other states in the Peloponnesus some had revolted, while others were not well-disposed, and thinking that if measures of precaution were not taken quickly the evil would go yet further, marched against Argos with all their forces, themselves and their Helots, under the leadership of Agis son of Archidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians. And with them went the Tegeates and all the rest of the Arcadians that were allies of the Lacedaemonians. But the allies from the rest of the Peloponnesus and those from outside mustered at Phlius—five thousand Boeotian hoplites and as many light-armed troops, with five hundred cavalry each with his foot-soldier;<sup>2</sup> two thousand Corinthian hoplites; the rest of the allies in varying numbers, but the Phliasians with their whole force, since the armament was assembled in their territory.

<sup>1</sup> cf. ch. xxxv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> ἀμικροί, light-armed men, one with each horseman, running alongside or riding behind.



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LVIII. Ἄργεῖοι δὲ προαισθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον  
 τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς  
 τὸν Φλειοῦντα βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἄλλοις προσμεῖξαι  
 ἐχώρουν, τότε δὴ ἐξεστράτευσαν καὶ αὐτοί. ἐβοή-  
 θησαν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Μαντινῆς ἔχοντες τοὺς  
 σφετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἡλείων τρισχίλιοι  
 2 ὀπλίται. καὶ προῖόντες ἀπαντῶσι τοῖς Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοις ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. καὶ κατα-  
 λαμβάνουσιν ἑκάτεροι λόφον· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἄργεῖοι  
 ὡς μεμονωμένοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις παρεσκευά-  
 ζοντο μάχεσθαι, ὁ δὲ Ἄγισ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστήσας  
 τὸν στρατὸν καὶ λαθὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Φλειοῦντα  
 3 παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους. καὶ οἱ Ἄργεῖοι  
 αἰσθόμενοι ἅμα ἔφ' ἐχώρουν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς Ἄργος,  
 ἔπειτα δὲ ἢ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων καταβήσεσθαι, τὴν κατὰ  
 4 Νεμέαν ὁδόν. Ἄγισ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἦν, προσε-  
 δέχοντο οὐκ ἐτράπετο, παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀρκάσι καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἄλλην  
 ἐχώρησε χαλεπὴν καὶ κατέβη ἐς τὸ Ἄργείων  
 πεδίων· καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελληνηῆς καὶ Φλειάσιοι  
 ὄρθιον ἐτέραν ἐπορεύοντο· τοῖς δὲ Βοιωτοῖς καὶ  
 Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Σικυωνίοις εἴρητο τὴν ἐπὶ Νεμέας  
 ὁδὸν καταβαίνειν, ἢ οἱ Ἄργεῖοι ἐκάθηντο ὅπως,  
 εἰ οἱ Ἄργεῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντας<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὸ πεδίων  
 5 βοηθοῖεν, ἐφεπόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις χρώντο. καὶ ὁ  
 μὲν οὕτω διατάξας καὶ ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὸ πεδίων  
 ἐδήου Σάμινθόν τε καὶ ἄλλα·

LIX. Οἱ δὲ Ἄργεῖοι γνόντες ἐβοήθουν ἡμέρας  
 ἤδη ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ περιτυχόντες τῷ Φλειασίων

Badham's correction for ἰόντες of the MSS.





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## THUCYDIDES

καὶ Κορινθίων στρατοπέδῳ τῶν μὲν Φλειασίων  
 ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων αὐτοὶ οὐ  
 2 πολλῶ πλείους διεφθάρησαν. καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ οἱ  
 Μεγαρῆς καὶ οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐχώρουν, ὥσπερ εἴρητο  
 αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους οὐκέτι  
 κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ καταβάντες, ὡς ἐώρων τὰ ἑαυτῶν  
 3 δηούμενα, ἐς μάχην παρετάσσοντο. ἀντιπαρε-  
 σκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ  
 ἀπειλημμένοι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ  
 πεδίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἴργον τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ  
 μετ' αὐτῶν, καθύπερθεν δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι  
 καὶ Πελληνῆς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Νεμέας Βοιωτοὶ καὶ  
 Σικυώνιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς. ἵπποι δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ παρ-  
 ἦσαν· οὐ γάρ πω οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνοι τῶν ξυμ-  
 4 μάχων, ἦκον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλήθος τῶν Ἀργείων  
 καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων οὐχ οὕτω δεινὸν τὸ παρὸν  
 ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἐν καλῶ ἐδόκει ἡ μάχη ἔσεσθαι,  
 καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπειληφέναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν  
 τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει. τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων δύο  
 ἄνδρες, Θράσυλλός τε, τῶν πέντε στρατηγῶν εἰς  
 ὧν, καὶ Ἀλκίφρων, πρόξενος Λακεδαιμονίων, ἤδη  
 τῶν στρατοπέδων ὅσον οὐ ξυνιόντων προσελθόντε  
 Ἄγιδι διελεγέσθην μὴ ποιεῖν μάχην· ἐτοίμους  
 γὰρ εἶναι Ἀργείους δίκας δοῦναι καὶ δέξασθαι  
 ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας, εἴ τι ἐπικαλοῦσιν Ἀργείοις  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνην ἄγειν σπον-  
 δὰς ποιησαμένους.

LX. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντες τῶν Ἀργείων  
 ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύσαντος εἶπον·



slew a few of the Phliasians, but had rather more of their own men slain by the Corinthians. Meanwhile the Boeotians, Megarians and Sicyonians advanced toward Nemea as they had been ordered, but found the Argives no longer there; for these had gone down and, seeing their country being ravaged, were forming for battle, while the Lacedaemonians were preparing to meet them. The Argives were hemmed in on all sides: in the direction of the plain the Lacedaemonians and their associates shut them off from the city; above were the Corinthians, Phliasians and Pellenians; towards Nemea were the Boeotians, Sicyonians, and Megarians. They had no cavalry at hand, for the Athenians<sup>1</sup> alone of their allies had not yet arrived. The main body of the Argives and their allies thought their present situation was not so very dangerous, but that the battle was likely to be fought under favourable circumstances, and that the Lacedaemonians had been cut off in their country and close to the city of Argos. But two of the Argives—Thrasylus, one of the five generals, and Alciphron, proxenus of the Lacedaemonians—when the two armies were all but in collision, went to Agis and urged him not to bring on a battle; for the Argives were ready to offer as well as to accept a fair and impartial arbitration of any complaint which the Lacedaemonians had against the Argives, and for the future to make a treaty and keep the peace.

LX. Those of the Argives who said these things spoke on their own authority and not by order of

<sup>1</sup> Upon their cavalry the Argives had relied. Their coming is announced ch. lxi. 1.



## THUCYDIDES

καὶ ὁ Ἄγις δεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτός, καὶ οὐ  
 μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς βουλευσάμενος  
 ἄλλ' ἢ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ κοινώσας τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρα-  
 τευομένων, σπένδεται τέσσαρας μῆνας ἐν οἷς ἔδει  
 ἐπιτελέσαι αὐτοὺς τὰ ῥηθέντα. καὶ ἀπήγαγε τὸν  
 στρατὸν εὐθύς, οὐδενὶ φράσας τῶν ἄλλων ξυμ-  
 2 μάχων.<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι  
 εἶποντο μὲν ὡς ἠγεῖτο διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐν αἰτία δ'  
 εἶχον κατ' ἀλλήλους πολλῇ τὸν Ἄγιν, νομίζοντες,  
 ἐν καλῷ παρατυχὸν σφίσι συμβαλεῖν καὶ παν-  
 ταχόθεν αὐτῶν ἀποκεκλημένων καὶ ὑπὸ ἰππέων  
 καὶ πεζῶν, οὐδὲν δράσαντες ἄξιον τῆς παρασκευῆς  
 3 ἀπιέναι. στρατόπεδον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο κάλλιστον  
 Ἑλληνικὸν τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε ξυνῆλθεν· ὤφθη δὲ  
 μάλιστα ἕως ἔτι ἦν ἀθρόον ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ἐν ᾧ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοί τε πανστρατιᾷ ἦσαν καὶ Ἀρκάδες καὶ  
 Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυῶνιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς  
 καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες  
 λογάδες ἀφ' ἐκάστων, ἀξιόμαχοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι  
 οὐ τῇ Ἀργείων μόνον, ξυμμαχία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλη  
 4 ἔτι προσγενομένη. το μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδον οὕτως  
 ἐν αἰτία ἔχοντες τὸν Ἄγιν ἀνεχώρουν τε καὶ  
 5 διελύθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἕκαστοι· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ ἔτι ἐν πολλῷ πλείονι αἰτία εἶχον τοὺς σπει-  
 σαμένους ἄνευ τοῦ πλήθους, νομίζοντες κακεῖνοι  
 μὴ ἂν σφίσι ποτὲ κάλλιον παρασχὸν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους διαπεφευγέναι· πρὸς τε γὰρ τῇ σφετέρᾳ  
 πόλει καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων

<sup>1</sup> ξυμμάχων, Hude deletes, after Krüger.





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## THUCYDIDES

6 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἂν γίγνεσθαι. τὸν τε Θράσυλλον ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ, οὐπερ τὰς ἀπὸ στρατείας δίκας πρὶν ἐσιέναι κρίνουσιν, ἤρξαντο λεύειν. ὁ δὲ καταφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν περιγίγνεται· τὰ μέντοι χρήματα ἐδήμευσαν αὐτοῦ.

LXI. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθηναίων βοηθησάντων χιλίων ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τριακοσίων ἰππέων, ὧν ἐστρατήγουν Λάχης καὶ Νικόστρατος, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι (ὅμως γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς ὄκνουσιν λύσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους) ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οὐ προσῆγον βουλομένους χρηματίσαι, πρὶν δὴ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἡλείοι (ἔτι γὰρ 2 παρῆσαν) κατηνάγκασαν δεόμενοι. καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀλκιβιάδου πρεσβευτοῦ παρόντος ἔν τε τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ συμμάχοις ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς αἱ σπονδαὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων καὶ γένοιντο, καὶ νῦν (ἐν καιρῷ γὰρ παρεῖναι σφεῖς) 3 ἄπτεσθαι χρῆναι τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πείσαντες ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοὺς συμμάχους εὐθύς ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Ὀρχομενὸν τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ὅμως καὶ πεισθέντες ὑπελείποντο 4 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δ' ὕστερον καὶ οὗτοι ἦλθον. καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν πάντες ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, βουλόμενοι ἄλλως τε προσγενέσθαι σφίσι καὶ ὄμηροι ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἦσαν αὐτόθι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κεί- 5 μενοι. οἱ δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι δείσαντες τήν τε τοῦ τείχους ἀσθένειαν καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, μὴ προαπόλωνται,



in concert with numerous and brave allies. And so on their return they began to stone Thrasyllus in the bed of the Charadrus,<sup>1</sup> where before they enter the city all causes are tried that arise from an expedition. But he fled for refuge to the altar and was saved; his property however was confiscated.

LXI. After this, when Athenian reinforcements arrived, consisting of one thousand hoplites and three hundred cavalry, under the command of Laches and Nicostratus, the Argives—for they shrunk in spite of all from breaking off the truce with the Lacedaemonians—bade them go away, and would not comply with their wish to be brought before the people for negotiations, until the Mantineans and Eleans, who were still present, constrained them by their entreaties to do so. The Athenians, then, through Alcibiades, who was present as ambassador, protested before the Argives and their allies that it was not right even to have made the truce without the consent of the rest of the allies, and now, since they themselves were present opportunely, they ought to resume the war. Having persuaded the allies by their arguments, all of them except the Argives proceeded at once against Orchomenus in Arcadia; the Argives, though convinced, remained behind at first, then later came on too. Taking post before Orchomenus, they all proceeded to besiege it and to make assaults, being especially desirous of getting possession of it because hostages from Arcadia were deposited there by the Lacedaemonians. But the Orchomenians, fearing the weakness of the wall and the number of the enemy, and being apprehensive lest they might perish before relief came, capitulated on

<sup>1</sup> Close under the north-east wall of the city.



## THUCYDIDES

ξυνέβησαν ὥστε ξύμμαχοί τε εἶναι καὶ ὀμήρους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν δοῦναι Μαντινεῦσι καὶ οὓς κατέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι παραδοῦναι.

LXII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔχοντες ἤδη τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐφ' ὃ τι χρὴ πρῶτον ἰέναι τῶν λοιπῶν. καὶ Ἡλεῖοι μὲν ἐπὶ Λέπρεον ἐκέλευον, Μαντινῆς δὲ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν· καὶ προσέθεντο οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἡλεῖοι ὀργισθέντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ Λέπρεον ἐψηφίσαντο, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ ὡς ἐπὶ Τεγέαν ἰόντες, καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδίδοσαν τὰ πράγματα.

LXIII. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ Ἀργους τὰς τετραμήνους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι, ἄγιν ἐν μεγάλῃ αἰτίᾳ εἶχον οὐ χειρωσάμενον σφίσιν Ἀργος, παρασχὸν καλῶς ὡς οὐπω πρότερον αὐτοὶ ἐνόμιζον· ἀθρόους γὰρ τοσοῦτους ξυμμάχους καὶ τοιοῦτους οὐ ῥάδιον εἶναι λαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ ἠγγέλλετο ἐαλωκέναι, πολλῶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ ἐβούλευον εὐθύς ὑπ' ὀργῆς παρὰ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ὡς χρὴ τήν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαι καὶ δέκα μυριάσι δραχμῶν ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ παρητεῖτο μηδὲν τούτων δρᾶν· ἔργῳ γὰρ ἀγαθῶ ῥύσεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας στρατευσάμενος, ἢ τότε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὃ τι βούλονται. οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ζημίαν καὶ τὴν κατασκαφὴν ἐπέσχον, νόμον δὲ ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὃς οὐπω πρότερον ἐγένετο

<sup>1</sup> Stahl and van Herwerden's correction for αὐτῶν Τεγεατῶν of the MSS.





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## THUCYDIDES

αὐτοῖς· δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν προσείλοντο αὐτῷ συμβούλους, ἄνευ ὧν μὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπάγειν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

LXIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἀφικνεῖται αὐτοῖς ἀγγελία παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ Τεγέας ὅτι, εἰ μὴ παρέσονται ἐν τάχει, ἀποστήσεται αὐτῶν Τεγέα πρὸς Ἄργείους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἀφέστηκεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ βοήθεια τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων πανδημεῖ ὀξεῖα καὶ οἷα οὐπω πρότερον. ἐχώρουν δὲ ἐς Ὀρέσθειον τῆς Μαιναλίας· καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀρκάδων σφετέροις οὖσι συμμάχοις προεῖπον ἀθροισθεῖσιν ἰέναι κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐς Τεγέαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ὀρεσθείου πάντες ἐλθόντες, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τὸ ἕκτον μέρος σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀποπέμψαντες ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ τὸ νεώτερον ἦν, ὥστε τὰ οἴκοι φρουρεῖν, τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι ἀφικνουῦνται ἐς Τεγέαν. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀπ' Ἀρκάδων παρήσαν. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκίας καὶ Λοκρούς, βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μαντίνειαν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγου τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν μὴ ἀθροῖσι καὶ ἀλλήλους περιμείνασι διελθεῖν τὴν πολεμίαν (ξυνέκληε γὰρ διὰ μέσου), ὅμως δὲ ἠπείγοντο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς παρόντας Ἀρκάδων συμμάχους ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μαντινικήν, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare similar proceedings in II. Ixxxv. 1; III. Ixix. 1; VIII. xxxix. 2.



among them; for they chose ten of the Spartiates as counsellors<sup>1</sup> for him without whose consent it was not lawful for him to lead an army out of the city.

LXIV. Meanwhile word came from their friends<sup>2</sup> in Tegea that, unless they should come quickly, Tegea would go over to the Argives and their allies, and already had all but done so. Whereupon succour was sent, both of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of the Helots, in full force, promptly and on such a scale as never before. These advanced to Orestheum in Maenalia, and gave orders to their allies among the Arcadians to get together and come close upon their heels to Tegea. After going, all together, as far as the Orestheum, they sent home from there a sixth part of their force—in which were included the older and younger men—to keep guard at home, and with the remainder of their army reached Tegea, where not long afterwards the allies from Arcadia arrived. They sent also to Corinth and to the Boeotians, Phocians and Locrians, bidding them bring aid in all haste to Mantinea. But to some this was a sudden call, and it was not easy for them, except in a body and after waiting for one another, to go through the enemy's country; for that closed the way, lying just between. Nevertheless they hurried on. But the Lacedaemonians, taking up the allies of the Arcadians that were present, invaded Mantinea, and encamping at the sanctuary of Heracles proceeded to ravage the country.

<sup>2</sup> As opposed to the faction mentioned at the end of ch. lxii.



## THUCYDIDES

LXV. Οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς, καταλαβόντες χωρίου ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δυσ-  
 2 πρόσοδον παρετάξαντο ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπῆσαν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν λίθου καὶ ἀκοντίου βολῆς ἐχώρησαν· ἔπειτα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις Ἄγιδι ἐπεβόησεν, ὁρῶν πρὸς χωρίου καρτερόν ἰόντας σφᾶς, ὅτι διανοεῖται κακὸν κακῶ ἰᾶσθαι, δηλῶν τῆς ἐξ Ἀργους ἐπαι-  
 3 θυμίαν ἀνάληψιν βουλομένην εἶναι. ὁ δέ, εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶ ἄλλο τι ἢ<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἐξαίφνης, πάλιν τὸ στρά-  
 4 τευμα κατὰ τάχος πρὶν ξυμμεῖξαι ἀπῆγεν. καὶ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὴν Τεγεᾶτιν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν ἐς τὴν Μαντινικήν, περὶ οὐπερ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ βλάπτουτος ὀποτέρωσεν ἂν ἐσπίπτῃ Μαντινῆς καὶ Τεγεᾶται πολεμοῦσιν· ἐβούλετο δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βοηθοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκτροπήν, ἐπειδὴν πύθωνται, καταβιβάσαι<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῶ  
 5 τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην μείνας αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν· οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταπλαγέντες τῇ ἐξ ὀλίγου αἰφνιδίῳ αὐτῶν ἀναχωρήσει οὐκ εἶχον ὅ τι εἰκάσωσιν· εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκεῖνοί τε ἀπέκρυψαν καὶ σφεῖς ἡσύχαζον καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατηγούς αὐθις ἐν αἰτία εἶχον τό τε

<sup>1</sup> But Hude deletes ἢ, making the sense to be, "had altered his views in a like manner."

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, in MSS. after καταβιβάσαι, deleted by van Herwerden.





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## THUCYDIDES

πρότερον καλῶς ληφθέντας πρὸς Ἄργει Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους ἀφεθῆναι καὶ νῦν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκοντας  
 οὔδεις ἐπιδιώκει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν οἱ μὲν  
 6 σῶζονται, σφεῖς δὲ προδίδονται. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ  
 ἐθορυβήθησαν μὲν τὸ παραυτίκα, ὕστερον δὲ  
 ἀπάγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καὶ προελθόντες  
 ἐς τὸ ὀμαλὸν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ὡς ἰόντες ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους.

LXVI. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία οἱ τε Ἄργεῖοι καὶ οἱ  
 ξύμμαχοι ξυνετάξαντο, ὡς ἔμελλον μαχεῖσθαι,  
 ἣν περιτύχωσιν· οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ὕδατος πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον πάλιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ  
 στρατόπεδον ἰόντες ὀρώσι δι' ὀλίγου τοὺς ἐναν-  
 τίους ἐν τάξει τε ἤδη πάντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου  
 2 προεληλυθότας. μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς  
 ὃ ἐμέμνηντο ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν (διὰ  
 βραχείας γὰρ μελλήσεως ἢ παρασκευῆ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐγίγνετο), καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς  
 κόσμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, Ἄγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἕκαστα  
 3 ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ τὸν νόμον. βασιλέως γὰρ  
 ἄγοντος ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντα ἄρχεται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν  
 πολεμάρχοις αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς  
 λοχαγοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς πευτηκοντῆρσιν, αὐθις  
 δ' οὔτοι τοῖς ἐνωμοτάρχαις, καὶ οὔτοι τῇ ἐνωμοτίᾳ.  
 4 καὶ αἱ παραγγέλσεις, ἣν τι βούλωνται, κατὰ τὰ  
 αὐτὰ χωροῦσι καὶ ταχεῖαι ἐπέρχονται· σχεδὸν  
 γάρ τι πᾶν πλὴν ὀλίγου<sup>1</sup> τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν

<sup>1</sup> πλὴν ὀλίγου, deleted by Hude, after Badham.



because on a previous occasion the Lacedaemonians, when fairly caught near Argos, had been allowed to escape, and now when they were running away no one pursued them; on the contrary, the enemy were quietly making good their safety, while they themselves were being betrayed. The generals were confounded for the moment by the outcry, but afterwards they moved the troops from the hill and going forward into the plain encamped there, with the intention of advancing against the enemy.

LXVI. On the next day the Argives and their allies drew up in the order in which they intended to fight if they fell in with the enemy; and the Lacedaemonians, going away from the stream and back to their old camp at the sanctuary of Heracles, suddenly saw the enemy close at hand, all by that time in order of battle and occupying an advanced position away from the hill. Never had the Lacedaemonians, as far back as they remembered, been in such consternation as on this occasion. Their preparation had to be made on short notice; and at once in haste they fell into their own array, king Agis directing each movement as the law prescribed. For when a king leads all orders are given by him: he himself gives the necessary order to the polemarchs,<sup>1</sup> they to the commanders of battalions, these to the captains of companies, these again to the commanders of platoons, and these to the platoons. So the special orders, if they wish to give any, proceed in the same way, and reach their destination quickly; for almost the whole army of the Lacedaemonians consists of officers over

<sup>1</sup> Commanders of the six morae, according to Xen. *Resp. Lac.* xi. iv.



## THUCYDIDES

Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἄρχόντων εἰσί, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς τοῦ δρωμένου πολλοῖς προσήκει.

LXVII. Τότε δὲ κέρας μὲν εὐώνυμον Σκιρίται αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο, αἰεὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μόνοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες· παρὰ δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης Βρασίδειοι στρατιῶται καὶ νεοδαμῶδεις μετ' αὐτῶν· ἔπειτ' ἤδη Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὶ ἐξῆς καθίστασαι τοὺς λόχους καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρκάδων Ἡραιῆς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μαινάλιοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα Τεγεᾶται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὀλίγοι τὸ ἔσχατον ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ 2 ἵππῆς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ τῷ κέρα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὕτως ἐτάξαντο· οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας Μαντινῆς εἶχον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο, παρὰ δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν, ἔπειτα Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον δημοσίᾳ παρέϊχε, καὶ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, Κλεωναῖοι καὶ Ὀρνεᾶται, ἔπειτα Ἀθηναῖοι ἔσχατοι τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχοντες καὶ ἵππῆς μετ' αὐτῶν οἱ οἰκείοι.

LXVIII. Τάξις μὲν ἦδε καὶ παρασκευὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαι- 2 μονίων μεῖζον ἐφάνη. ἀριθμὸν δὲ γράψαι, ἢ καθ' ἑκάστους ἑκατέρων ἢ ξύμπαντας, οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην ἀκριβῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων πλῆθος διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτὸν ἠγνοεῖτο, τῶν δ' αὖ διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπῶδες ἐς τὰ οἰκεία πλήθη ἠπι-





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## THUCYDIDES

στεῖτο. ἐκ μέντοι τοιοῦδε λογισμοῦ ἔξεστί τῳ σκο-  
 πεῖν τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τότε παραγενόμενον πλη-  
 3 θος· λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ἑπτὰ ἄνευ Σκιριτῶν  
 ὄντων ἑξακοσίων, ἐν δὲ ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ πεντηκοστίες  
 ἦσαν τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστίᾳ ἐνωμοτίαι  
 τέσσαρες. τῆς τε ἐνωμοτίας ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ  
 πρώτῳ ζυγῷ τέσσαρες· ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος ἐτάξαντο  
 μὲν οὐ πάντες ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος  
 ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ πᾶν δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. παρὰ  
 δὲ ἅπαν πλὴν Σκιριτῶν τετρακόσιοι καὶ δυοῖν  
 δέοντες πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἦν.

LXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνιέναι ἔμελλον ἤδη, ἐνταῦθα  
 καὶ παραινέσεις καθ' ἐκάστους ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων  
 στρατηγῶν τοιαίδε ἐγίνοντο, Μαντινεῦσι μὲν ὅτι  
 ὑπὲρ τε πατρίδος ἢ μάχῃ ἔσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς  
 ἅμα καὶ δουλείας, τὴν μὲν μὴ πειρασαμένοις ἀφαι-  
 ρεθῆναι, τῆς δὲ μὴ αὐθις πειρᾶσθαι· Ἀργείοις δὲ  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τε παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Πελο-  
 ποννήσῳ ποτὲ ἰσομοιρίας μὴ διὰ παντὸς στερι-  
 σκομένους ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἅμα ἐχθροὺς καὶ  
 ἀστυγείτορας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀμύνα-  
 σθαι· τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, καλὸν εἶναι μετὰ πολλῶν  
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων ἀγωνιζομένους μηδενὸς  
 λείπεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Λακεδαιμονί-  
 οὺς νικήσαντες τὴν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιότεραν καὶ  
 μείζῳ ἔξουσι, καὶ οὐ μὴ ποτέ τις αὐτοῖς ἄλλος ἐς  
 2 τὴν γῆν ἔλθῃ. τοῖς μὲν Ἀργείοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις

---

<sup>1</sup> The sum-total of the whole army was 4,184 men  
 (7 × 4 × 4 × 4 = 448 × 8 = 3,584 + 600 = 4,184).



However, from the following mode of computation it is allowable to estimate the number of the Lacedaemonians that were then present. There were engaged in the battle seven battalions, without the Sciritæ, who numbered six hundred, and in each battalion were four companies of fifty, in each company four platoons. In the first rank of each company fought four men; in depth, however, they were not all drawn up alike, but as each battalion-commander preferred—on the average eight deep. Along the whole line, then, exclusive of the Sciritæ, the first rank consisted of four hundred and forty-eight men.<sup>1</sup>

LXIX. When they were on the point of engaging, exhortations were made to the several contingents by their own generals to the following effect: The Mantineans were reminded that the battle would be for fatherland, and, moreover, for dominion or servitude—that they should not be deprived of the one after having made trial of it, and should not again experience the other; the Argives, that the contest would be both for their ancient hegemony<sup>2</sup> and for their old equality of influence<sup>3</sup> in the Peloponnese, that they must not brook being deprived of it forever, and at the same time must avenge themselves for many wrongs on men who were enemies and near neighbours at that; the Athenians, that it was glorious, contending along with many and brave allies, to be inferior to none, and that if they should conquer the Lacedaemonians in the Peloponnese they would have a greater empire and hold it more securely, and no one would ever invade their country again. Such were the admonitions

<sup>1</sup> Under Agamemnon.

<sup>2</sup> Before the Persian Wars.



## THUCYDIDES

τοιαῦτα παρηνέθη· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καθ' ἑκάσ-  
τους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων ἐν σφίσιν  
αὐτοῖς ὧν ἠπίσταντο τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης  
ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰδότες ἔργων ἐκ πολλοῦ  
μελέτην πλείω σφύζουσιν ἢ λόγων δι' ὀλίγου καλῶς  
ῥηθεῖσαν παραίνεσιν.

LXX. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι  
μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες,  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολ-  
λῶν νόμῳ ἐγκαθεστῶτων, οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν,  
ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες προσέλ-  
θοιεν<sup>1</sup> καὶ μὴ διασπασθείη αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις, ὅπερ  
φιλεῖ τὰ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἐν ταῖς προσόδοις  
ποιεῖν.

LXXI. Ξυνιόντων δ' ἔτι Ἄγισ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιόνδε  
ἐβουλεύσατο δράσαι. τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ μὲν  
καὶ ἅπαντα τοῦτο· ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ κέρα τὰ αὐτῶν  
ἐν ταῖς ξυνόδοις μᾶλλον ἐξωθεῖται, καὶ περίσχουσι  
κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐώνυμον ἀμφοτέροι τῷ  
δεξιῷ, διὰ τὸ φοβουμένους προσστέλλειν τὰ γυμνά  
ἕκαστον ὡς μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρατεταγ-  
μένου ἀσπίδι καὶ νομίζειν τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς  
ξυγκλήσεως εὐσκεπαστότατον εἶναι· καὶ ἠγεῖται  
μὲν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ  
κέρως, προθυμούμενος ἐξαλλάσσειν αἰεὶ τῶν ἐναν-  
τίων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γύμνωσιν, ἔπονται δὲ διὰ τὸν  
2 αὐτὸν φόβον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ τότε περίσχου-  
μὲν οἱ Μαντινῆς πολὺ τῷ κέρα τῶν Σκιριτῶν, ἔτι  
δὲ πλέον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεᾶται τῶν  
3 Ἀθηναίων, ὅσῳ μείζον τὸ στράτευμα εἶχον. δει-  
σας δὲ Ἄγισ μὴ σφῶν κυκλωθῆ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> With Gellius and the Schol. for προέλθοιεν of the MSS.





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## THUCYDIDES

νομίσας ἄγαν περιέχειν τοὺς Μαντινέας, τοῖς μὲν Σκιρίταις καὶ Βρασιδείοις ἐσήμηνεν ἐπεξαγαγόντας ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐξισῶσαι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, ἐς δὲ τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο παρήγγελλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως δύο λόχους τῶν πολεμάρχων Ἴππονοΐδα καὶ Ἀριστοκλεῖ ἔχουσι παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐσβαλόντας πληρῶσαι, νομίζων τῷ θ' ἑαυτῶν δεξιῷ ἔτι περιουσίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Μαντινέας βεβαιότερον τετάξεσθαι.

LXXII. Ξυνέβη οὖν αὐτῷ ἅτε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐφόδῳ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου παραγγείλαντι τόν τε Ἀριστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Ἴππονοΐδαν μὴ ἠελῆσαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ αἰτίημα ὕστερον φεύγειν ἐκ Σπάρτης, δόξαντας μαλακισθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους φθάσαι τῇ προσμείξει, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας ὡς οὐ παρελθόντες οἱ λόχοι, πάλιν αὐτοῖς σφίσι προσμείξαι, μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἔτι  
 2 μηδὲ τούτους συγκληῆσαι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ ἔδειξαν οὐχ ἡσσον περιγενομένοι.  
 3 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν χερσὶν ἐγίγνοντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τὸ μὲν τῶν Μαντινέων δεξιὸν τρέπει αὐτῶν τοὺς Σκιρίτας καὶ τοὺς Βρασιδείους, καὶ ἐσπεσόντες οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες κατὰ τὸ διάκενον καὶ οὐ συγκλησθέντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους διέφθειρον καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι ἔτρεψαν καὶ ἐξέωσαν ἐς τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων ἀπέ-



the Mantineans were extending too far beyond it, gave orders to the Sciritae and the soldiers of Brasidas to move out, away from his main body, and make the line equal to that of the Mantineans; then he directed two polemarchs, Hipponoïdas and Aristocles, to cross over with two companies from the right wing, throw themselves in and fill up the gap thus created, thinking that his own right wing would still have more than enough men, and that the line opposed to the Mantineans would be strengthened.

LXXII. It turned out, then, as he gave this order at the very moment of the attack and on a sudden, that Aristocles and Hipponoïdas refused to move over—for which offence they were afterwards exiled from Sparta, as they were considered to have acted as cowards; and that the enemy were too quick for him in coming to close quarters; and then, when the companies did not move over to replace the Sciritae, and he gave orders to the Sciritae to join the main body again, even these were now no longer able to close up the line. Yet in the most striking way the Lacedaemonians, although they were in all respects proved inferior in point of tactical skill, did on this occasion show that they were none the less superior in courage. For when they came to close quarters with the foe, the right wing of the Mantineans routed, it is true, the Sciritae and the Brasideans, and then the Mantineans and their allies and the thousand picked men of the Argives, rushing into the gap that had not been closed, played havoc with the Lacedaemonians; for they surrounded and put them to rout, and drove them in among the wagons, slaying some of the older men



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4 κτεινάν τινας. καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἤσσωντο οἱ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι· τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μάλιστα  
 τῷ μέσῳ, ἧπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν Ἄγισ καὶ περὶ  
 αὐτὸν οἱ τριακόσιοι ἵππῆς καλούμενοι, προσπε-  
 σόντες τῶν τε Ἀργείων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ  
 πεντελόχοις ὠνομασμένοις καὶ Κλεωναίοις καὶ  
 Ὀρνεάταις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς παρατεταγμένοις  
 ἔτρεψαν οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομείναντας,  
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπῆσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθύς ἐνδόντας  
 καὶ ἔστιν οὗς καὶ καταπατηθέντας τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι  
 τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν.

LXXIII. Ὡς δὲ ταύτη ἐνεδεδώκει τὸ τῶν  
 Ἀργείων καὶ ξυμμάχων στράτευμα, παρερρή-  
 γνυντο ἤδη ἅμα καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, καὶ ἅμα τὸ  
 δεξιὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Τεγεατῶν ἐκυ-  
 κλοῦτο τῷ περιέχοντι σφῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ  
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κίνδυνος περιειστήκει, τῇ  
 μὲν κυκλουμένους, τῇ δὲ ἤδη ἤσσημένους. καὶ  
 μάλιστα ἂν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔταλαιπώρησαν, εἰ  
 2 μὴ οἱ ἵππῆς παρόντες αὐτοῖς ὠφέλιμοι ἦσαν. καὶ  
 ξυνέβη τὸν Ἄγιν, ὡς ἦσθετο τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν  
 πονοῦν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Μαντινέας καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων  
 τοὺς χιλίους, παραγγεῖλαι παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι  
 3 χωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸ νικώμενον. καὶ γενομένου τούτου  
 οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς παρῆλθε καὶ ἐξέ-  
 κλινεν ἀπὸ σφῶν τὸ στράτευμα, καθ' ἡσυχίαν





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## THUCYDIDES

ἔσώθησαν καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἦσση-  
 θέν. οἱ δὲ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τῶν  
 Ἀργείων οἱ λογάδες οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸ ἐγκεῖσθαι τοῖς  
 ἐναντίοις τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὄρῶντες τοὺς τε  
 σφετέρους νενικημένους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 4 ἐπιφερομένους ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν  
 Μαντινέων καὶ πλείους διεφθάρησαν, τῶν δὲ  
 Ἀργείων λογάδων τὸ πολὺ ἐσώθη. ἢ μέντοι  
 φυγὴ καὶ ἀποχώρησις οὐ βίαιος οὐδὲ μακρὰ ἦν·  
 οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ τρέψαι χρο-  
 νίους τὰς μάχας καὶ βεβαίους τῶ μένειν ποιοῦνται,  
 τρέψαντες δὲ βραχείας καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰς  
 διώξεις.

LXXIV. Καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη τοιαύτη καὶ ὅτι  
 ἐγγύτατα τοῦτων ἠέ γέγονε, πλείστου δὴ χρόνου  
 μεγίστη δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀξιο-  
 2 λογωτάτων πόλεων ξυνελθοῦσα. οἱ δὲ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι προθέμενοι τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν τὰ  
 ὄπλα τροπαῖον εὐθὺς ἴστασαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς  
 ἐσκύλευον καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνείλοντο καὶ ἀπή-  
 γαγον ἐς Τεγέαν, οὐπερ ἐτάφησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν  
 πολεμίων ὑπασπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ  
 Ἀργείων μὲν καὶ Ὀρνεατῶν καὶ Κλεωναίων  
 ἑπτακόσιοι, Μαντινέων δὲ διακόσιοι, καὶ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ξὺν Αἰγινήταις διακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ  
 ἀμφότεροι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ξύμμαχοι  
 οὐκ ἐταλαιπώρησαν ὥστε καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι ἀπο-  
 γενέσθαι· αὐτῶν δὲ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν τὴν ἀλή-  
 θειαν πυθέσθαι, ἐλέγοντο δὲ περὶ τριακοσίους  
 ἀποθανεῖν.

LXXV. Τῆς δὲ μάχης μελλούσης ἔσσεσθαι καὶ



## BOOK V. LXXIII. 3—LXXV. 1

and with them the part of the Argives that had been worsted. The Mantineans and their allies, on the other hand, and the picked men of the Argives, were no longer disposed to press home the attack on their opponents, but seeing their own side defeated and the Lacedaemonians bearing down upon them, turned to flight. On the part of the Mantineans the losses were more serious, but of the picked men of the Argives the greater part was saved. The flight, however, was not hotly pursued, nor did the retreat extend to any great distance; for the Lacedaemonians fight their battles long and stubbornly, standing their ground until they rout their foes, but when they have routed them their pursuits are brief and only for a little distance.

LXXIV. Such, then, was the battle—or as like as possible to this description—being the greatest that had occurred within a very long time between Hellenic forces, and fought by the most famous states. The Lacedaemonians, halting in front of their enemies' dead, straightway set up a trophy and stripped the slain, then took up their own dead and withdrew to Tegea, where they buried them, giving up under truce those of the enemy. There were slain, of the Argives, Orneates and Cleonaeans seven hundred, of the Mantineans two hundred, of the Athenians, together with the Aeginetans,<sup>1</sup> two hundred, and both their generals. On the side of the Lacedaemonians, the allies did not suffer so that any number worth mentioning was missing; about themselves it was difficult to learn the truth, but near three hundred were said to have been killed.

LXXV. As the battle was about to take place,

<sup>1</sup> Athenian colonists settled in Aegina; cf. II. xxvii. 1.



## THUCYDIDES

Πλειστοάναξ ὁ ἕτερος βασιλεὺς ἔχων τοὺς τε  
 πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους ἐβοήθησε, καὶ μέχρι  
 μὲν Τεγέας ἀφίκετο, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην  
 2 ἀπεχώρησεν. καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ ἔξω  
 ἰσθμοῦ συμμάχους ἀπέτρεψαν πέμψαντες οἱ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες καὶ  
 τοὺς συμμάχους ἀφέντες (Κάρνεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
 3 ἐτύγχανον ὄντα) τὴν ἐορτὴν ἤγον. καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τότε ἐπιφερομένην αἰτίαν ἔς τε  
 μαλακίαν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ συμφορὰν καὶ ἔς  
 τὴν ἄλλην ἀβουλίαν τε καὶ βραδυτῆτα ἐνὶ ἔργῳ  
 τούτῳ ἀπελύσαντο, τύχῃ μὲν ὡς ἐδόκουν κακι-  
 ζόμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες.

4 Τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ξυνέβη τῆς μάχης  
 ταύτης καὶ τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους πανδημεὶ ἐσβαλεῖν  
 ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν ὡς ἐρήμον οὔσαν καὶ τοὺς  
 ὑπολοίπους φύλακας τῶν Ἀργείων ἐξελθόντων  
 5 αὐτῶν διαφθεῖραι πολλούς. καὶ Ἡλείων τρισχι-  
 λίων ὀπλιτῶν βοηθησάντων Μαντινεῦσιν ὕστερον  
 τῆς μάχης καὶ Ἀθηναίων χιλίων πρὸς τοῖς προ-  
 τέροις, ἐστράτευσαν ἅπαντες οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὔτοι  
 εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Ἐπίδαυρον, ἕως οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κάρ-  
 νεια ἤγον, καὶ διελόμενοι τὴν πόλιν περιετείχιζον.  
 6 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐξεπαύσαντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ,  
 ὥσπερ προσετάχθησαν, τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Ἡραῖον  
 εὐθὺς ἐξεργάσαντο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ συγκαταλι-  
 πόντες ἅπαντες τῷ τειχίσματι φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρη-  
 σαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

<sup>1</sup> cf. ch. lxiv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> cf. ch. lxiv. 4.





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## THUCYDIDES

LXXVI. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου εὐθύς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι<sup>1</sup> ἐξεστράτευσαν, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Τεγέαν λόγους προύπεμπον ἐς  
 2 τὸ Ἄργος ξυμβατηρίους. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερόν τε ἄνδρες ἐπιτήδαιοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τὸν δῆμον τὸν ἐν Ἄργει καταλύσαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη ἐγεγένητο, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐδύναντο πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς τὴν ὁμολογίαν. ἐβούλοντο δὲ πρῶτον σπονδὰς ποιήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐθις ὕστερον καὶ ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ οὕτως  
 3 ἤδη τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτίθεσθαι. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται πρόξενος ὢν Ἀργείων Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο λόγῳ φέρων ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, τὸν μὲν καθότι εἰ βούλονται πολεμεῖν, τὸν δ' ὡς εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν. καὶ γενομένης πολλῆς ἀντιλογίας (ἔτυχε γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης παρών) οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πράσσοντες, ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τολμῶντες, ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀργείους προσδέξασθαι τὸν ξυμβατήριον λόγον. ἔστι δὲ ὅδε.

LXXVII.<sup>2</sup> “ Καττάδε δοκεῖ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμβαλέσθαι ποττῶς Ἀργείως.

“ Ἀποδιδόντας τῶς παῖδας τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ τῶς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις, καὶ τῶς ἄνδρας τῶς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀποδιδόντας.

2 “ Καὶ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρῳ ἐκβῶντας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναιροῦντας. αἱ δὲ κα μὴ εἴκωντι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρῳ, πολεμίως εἴμεν τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια ἤγαγον, in the MSS. after οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, bracketed by Hude, following Krüger.

<sup>2</sup> The dialect in chs. lxxvii. and lxxix. is Doric.



LXXVI. At the very beginning of the following winter, the Lacedaemonians led out an army and came to Tegea, whence they sent on to Argos proposals for peace. There had been before this partisans of theirs at Argos who wished to put down the democracy there, and after the battle had been fought they were far better able to persuade the people to come to an agreement with Sparta. They wished, after they had first made a treaty with the Lacedaemonians, to conclude later an alliance also, and having done so to attack the democracy. And now there arrived at Argos Lichas son of Arcesilaus, proxenus of the Argives, bringing from the Lacedaemonians two proposals: the one stating on what conditions they should make war, if they wished that; the other, how they should keep the peace, if they preferred that. And after much opposition—for Alcibiades chanced to be present—the men who were working for the Lacedaemonians, venturing now to act openly, persuaded the Argives to accept the proposal for peace, which was as follows:

LXXVII. “It seems good to the assembly of the Lacedaemonians to make an agreement with the Argives on the following terms:

1. “The Argives shall restore to the Orchomenians<sup>1</sup> their children and to the Maenalians<sup>2</sup> their men, and to the Lacedaemonians<sup>3</sup> the men they deposited at Mantinea.

2. “They shall evacuate Epidaurus and demolish the fortification there. And if the Athenians do not withdraw from Epidaurus, they shall be enemies

<sup>1</sup> cf. ch. lxi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> cf. ch. lxi. 4, though the Maenalians are not expressly mentioned there

<sup>3</sup> cf. ch. lxi. 5.



## THUCYDIDES

τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
ξυμμάχοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀργείων ξυμμάχοις.

3 “Καὶ αἴ τινα τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παῖδα ἔχοντι,  
ἀποδόμεν ταῖς πολίεσσι πάσαις.

4 “Περὶ δὲ τῷ σιῶ σύματος, αἱ μὲν λῆν, τοῖς  
Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὄρκον δόμεν, αἱ δέ, αὐτῶς ὁμόσαι.

5 “Τὰς δὲ πόλιας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννάσῳ, καὶ  
μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας, αὐτονόμως εἶμεν πάσας  
κατὰ πάτρια.

6 “Αἱ δέ κα τῶν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσῳ τις ἐπὶ τὰν  
Πελοπόννασον γὰν ἴη ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀλεξέμεναι  
ἀμόθι βουλευσαμένως, ὅπα κα δικαιοτάτα δοκῆ  
τοῖς Πελοποννασίοις.

7 “Ὅσοι δ’ ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσῳ τῶν Λακεδαι-  
μονίων ξύμμαχοί ἐντι, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται ἐν  
τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὶ τῶν  
Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοί ἐντι, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες.

8 “Ἐπιδείξαντας δὲ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ξυμβαλέ-  
σθαι, αἴ κα αὐτοῖς δοκῆ. αἱ δέ τι δοκῆ τοῖς ξυμ-  
μάχοις, οἴκαδ’ ἀπιάλλην.”

LXXVIII. Τοῦτον μὲν τὸν λόγον προσεδέξαντο  
πρῶτον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ  
στράτευμα ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας ἐπ’ οἴκου·  
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιμειξίας οὔσης ἤδη παρ’ ἀλλή-  
λους, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔπραξαν αὐθις οἱ αὐτοὶ  
ἄνδρες ὥστε τὴν Μαντινέων καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ  
Ἡλείων ξυμμαχίαν ἀφέντας Ἀργεῖους σπονδὰς





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## THUCYDIDES

καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.  
καὶ ἐγένοντο αἶδε.

LXXIX. “ Καττάδε ἔδοξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις  
καὶ Ἀργείοις σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν εἶμεν πεν-  
τήκοντα ἔτη.

“ Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις δίκας διδόντας  
κατὰ πάτρια· ταὶ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις ταὶ ἐν  
Πελοποννάσῳ κοινανεόντων τᾶν σπονδᾶν καὶ  
τᾶς ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλεις, τὰν  
αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, κατὰ πάτρια δίκας διδόντες τὰς  
ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας.

2 “ Ὅσοι δὲ ἔξω Πελοποννάσῳ Λακεδαιμονίοις  
ξύμμαχοί ἐντι, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐσσοῦνται τοῖσπερ  
καὶ τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· καὶ τοὶ τῶν Ἀργείων  
ξύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ  
Ἀργεῖοι, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες.

3 “ Αἰ δέ ποι στρατείας δέη κοινᾶς, βουλευέσθαι  
Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ Ἀργείως ὅπῃ κα δικαιότατα  
κρίναντας τοῖς ξυμμάχοις.

4 “ Αἰ δέ τινι τᾶν πολίων ἢ ἀμφίλογα, ἢ τᾶν  
ἐντὸς ἢ τᾶν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσῳ, αἴτε περὶ ὄρων  
αἴτε περὶ ἄλλου τινός, διακριθῆμεν. αἰ δέ τις  
τῶν ξυμμάχων πόλις πόλι ἐρίζοι, ἐς πόλιν ἐλθεῖν,  
ἂν τινα ἴσαν ἀμφοῖν ταῖς πολίεσσι δοκεῖοι.

“ Τὼς δὲ ἔτας<sup>1</sup> κατὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.”

LXXX. Αἰ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ ἡ ξυμμαχία αὕτη  
ἐγεγένητο· καὶ ὅποσα ἀλλήλων πολέμῳ ἢ εἴ τι  
ἄλλο εἶχον, διελύσαντο. κοινῇ δὲ ἤδη τὰ πράγ-

<sup>1</sup> Poppe's correction for τοῖς δὲ ἔταις of the MSS.



BOOK V. LXXVIII.—LXXX. I

and Athenians and concluded a treaty and an alliance with the Lacedaemonians to this effect :

LXXIX. “ It has seemed good to the Lacedaemonians and the Argives to conclude a treaty and an alliance for fifty years on the following terms :

1. “ They shall offer settlements by law under conditions that are fair and impartial, according to hereditary usage. The rest of the cities in the Peloponnesus shall share in the treaty and alliance, being independent and self-governed, retaining their own territory, and offering settlements by law that are fair and impartial according to hereditary usage.

2. “ Such states as are allies of the Lacedaemonians outside of the Peloponnesus shall stand upon the same footing as the Lacedaemonians ; and the allies of the Argives shall be upon the same footing as the Argives, all retaining their own territory.

3. “ If there be need to send a common expedition to any quarter, the Lacedaemonians and the Argives shall consult and adjudge to the allies their allotments in whatever way is fairest.

4. “ If there be any dispute on the part of any one of the cities, either of those within the Peloponnesus or without, whether about boundaries or anything else, the matter shall be judicially decided. But if any city of the allies quarrel with another, they shall appeal to some city which both deem to be impartial.

5. “ Individual citizens shall conduct their suits according to hereditary usage.”

LXXX. Such was the treaty and alliance that was concluded ; and all the places which either side had acquired from the other in war they restored, or if there was any other ground of difference between them, they came to an agreement about it. Acting



## THUCYDIDES

ματα τιθέμενοι ἐψηφίσαντο κήρυκα καὶ πρεσ-  
 βείαν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων μὴ προσδέχεσθαι, ἣν μὴ  
 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐξίωσι τὰ τείχη ἐκλιπόντες,  
 καὶ μὴ ξυμβαίνειν τῷ μηδὲ πολεμεῖν ἄλλ' ἢ ἅμα.  
 2 καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα θυμῷ ἔφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ  
 Θράκης χωρία καὶ ὡς Περδίκκαν ἔπεμψαν ἀμφό-  
 τεροι πρέσβεις. καὶ ἀνέπεισαν Περδίκκαν ξυνο-  
 μόσαι σφίσιν· οὐ μέντοι εὐθύς γε ἀπέστη τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ διενοεῖτο, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους  
 ἐώρα· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐξ Ἀργους.  
 καὶ τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι τοὺς τε παλαιούς ὄρκους  
 3 ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ ἄλλους ὤμοσαν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ  
 καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πρέσβεις,  
 τὸ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τεῖχος κελεύοντες ἐκλιπεῖν· οἱ  
 δ' ὀρῶντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πλείους ὄντες τοὺς ξυμ-  
 φύλακας ἔπεμψαν Δημοσθένη τοὺς σφετέρους  
 ἐξάξοντα. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀγῶνά τινα  
 πρόφασιν γυμνικὸν ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου ποιήσας,  
 ὡς ἐξῆλθε τὸ ἄλλο φρούριον, ἀπέκλησε τὰς  
 πύλας. καὶ ὕστερον Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἀνανεωσάμενοι  
 τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέδοσαν τὸ  
 τείχισμα.

LXXI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπόστασιν  
 ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίας καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 ἀντέχοντες, ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἀνενεώσαντο τῶν Ἀρ-  
 γείων, ξυνέβησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις  
 2 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείσαν τῶν πόλεων. καὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, χίλιοι ἑκάτεροι, ξυστρα-

<sup>1</sup> cf. II. xcix. 3.

<sup>2</sup> cf. ch. lxxv. 6.





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## THUCYDIDES

τεύσαντες, τά τ' ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον κατέστησαν αὐτοὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλθόντες, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ξυναμφοτέροι ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἄργει δῆμον κατέλυσαν, καὶ ὀλιγαρχία ἐπιτηδεῖα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατέστη. καὶ πρὸς ἕα ἤδη ταῦτα ἦν τοῦ χειμῶνος λήγοντος, καὶ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

LXXVII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Διῆς τε οἱ ἐν Ἄθῳ ἀπέστησαν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Χαλκιδέας καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιῆα οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖως 2 πρότερον ἔχοντα καθίσταντο. καὶ Ἀργείων ὁ δῆμος κατ' ὀλίγον ξυνιστάμενός τε καὶ ἀναθαρσήσας ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τηρήσαντες αὐτὰς τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπεκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ 3 τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμποντο οἱ φίλοι, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐκ πλείονος, ἀναβαλόμενοι δὲ τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἐβοήθουν. καὶ ἐν Τεγέᾳ πυθόμενοι ὅτι νενίκηνται οἱ ὀλίγοι, προελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι ἠθέλησαν δεομένων τῶν διαπεφευγόντων, ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας 4 ἦγον. καὶ ὕστερον ἐλθόντων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀγγέλων<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἔξω Ἀργείων, παρόντων τε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ ῥηθέντων πολλῶν

<sup>1</sup> Müller-Strübing's order, for ἀγγέλων καὶ of the MSS.



expedition, the Lacedaemonians first going alone and setting up a more oligarchical form of government in Sicyon, afterwards both together putting down the democracy at Argos and establishing an oligarchy favourable to the Lacedaemonians. These things occurred when the winter was closing and spring was now near at hand; and so ended the fourteenth year of the war.

LXXXII. The next summer the people of Dium<sup>1</sup> 417 on Mount Athos revolted from the Athenians and went over to the Chalcidians; and the Lacedaemonians arranged matters in Achaëa, which had before this not been favourable to their interests. And now the popular party at Argos, gradually consolidating its strength and recovering boldness, waited for the celebration of the Gymnopaëdiae<sup>2</sup> by the Lacedaemonians and attacked the oligarchs. A battle occurred in the city and the popular party got the better of it, slaying some of their enemies and expelling others. The Lacedaemonians, although their friends kept sending for them, did not come for a long time; but at last they put off the Gymnopaëdiae and went to their aid. But hearing at Tegea that the oligarchs had been conquered, they refused to go further, in spite of the entreaties of the oligarchs who had escaped, and returning home proceeded with the celebration of the Gymnopaëdiae. Later, when envoys had come from the Argives in the city and messengers from those who had been driven out, and their allies were present, and much had been said on either side, they

<sup>1</sup> *cf.* ch. xxxv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A festival in which boys and men danced naked. While it lasted the Lacedaemonians (as at the Carneia, *cf.* chs. liv. and lxxv.) abstained from war.



## THUCYDIDES

ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἔγνωσαν μὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς στρατεύειν ἐς Ἄργος,  
 5 διατριβαὶ δὲ καὶ μελλήσεις ἐγίνοντο. ὁ δὲ  
 δῆμος τῶν Ἀργείων ἐν τούτῳ, φοβούμενος τοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν  
 πάλιν προσαγόμενός τε καὶ νομίζων μέγιστον ἂν  
 σφᾶς ὠφελῆσαι, τειχίζει μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐς θάλασ-  
 σαν, ὅπως, ἣν τῆς γῆς εἵργωνται, ἢ κατὰ θάλασ-  
 σαν σφᾶς μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγῇ τῶν  
 6 ἐπιτηδείων ὠφελῆ. ξυνήδεσαν δὲ τὸν τειχισμὸν  
 καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὲς πόλεων. καὶ οἱ  
 μὲν Ἀργεῖοι πανδημεῖ, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες  
 καὶ οἰκέται, ἐτείχιζον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐτοῖς  
 ἦλθον τέκτονες καὶ λιθουργοί. καὶ τὸ θέρος  
 ἐτελεύτα.

LXXIII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λα-  
 κεδαιμόνιοι ὡς ἦσθοντο τειχιζόντων, ἐστράτευσαν  
 ἐς τὸ Ἄργος αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πλὴν  
 Κορινθίων· ὑπῆρχε δέ τι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄρ-  
 γους<sup>1</sup> αὐτόθεν πρασσόμενον. ἦγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν  
 Ἄγισ ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς.  
 2 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δοκοῦντα προὔπάρχειν  
 οὐ προухώρησεν ἔτι· τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομούμενα τεῖχη  
 ἐλόντες καὶ καταβαλόντες καὶ Ἰσιὰς χωρίου τῆς  
 Ἀργείας λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἅπαντας  
 οὓς ἔλαβον ἀποκτείναντες ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διε-  
 3 λύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. ἐστράτευσαν δὲ μετὰ  
 τοῦτο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἐς τὴν Φλειασίαν, καὶ δηώ-  
 σαντες ἀπῆλθον, ὅτι σφῶν τοὺς φυγάδας ὑπεδέ-  
 χοντο· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα κατώκηντο.  
 4 κατέκλησαν δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Μακε-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους deleted by Huker, followed by Hude.





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δόνας Ἀθηναῖοι, Περδίκκα ἐπικαλοῦντες τὴν τε πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους γενομένην ξυνωμοσίαν καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασμένων αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγούντος ἔψευστο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ μάλιστα διελύθη ἐκείνου ἀπάραντος.<sup>1</sup> πολέμιος οὖν ἦν· καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

LXXXIV. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης τε πλεύσας ἐς Ἄργος ναυσὶν εἴκοσι Ἀργείων τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἔτι ὑπόπτους εἶναι καὶ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονεῖν ἔλαβε, τριακοσίους ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὰς ἐγγὺς νήσους ὧν ἦρχον· καὶ ἐπὶ Μήλου τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑαυτῶν μὲν τριάκοντα, Χίαις δὲ ἕξ, Λεσβίαι δὲ δυοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν μὲν διακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις καὶ τοξόταις τριακοσίοις καὶ ἵπποτοξόταις εἴκοσι, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν ὀπλίταις μάλιστα

2 πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις. οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰσιν ἄποικοι, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἤθελον ὑπακούειν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδετέρων ὄντες ἡσύχαζον, ἔπειτα ὡς αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δηοῦντες τὴν

3 γῆν, ἐς πόλεμον φανερόν κατέστησαν. στρατοπεδευσάμενοι οὖν ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κλεομήδης τε ὁ Λυκομήδους καὶ Τεισίας ὁ Τεισιμάχου, πρὶν ἀδικεῖν τι τῆς γῆς, λόγους πρῶτον ποιησομένους ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις. οὗς οἱ Μήλιοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπάραντος is probably corrupt.



shut off the Macedonians from the sea, charging Perdiccas with the league which he had made with the Argives and the Lacedaemonians; also that when they had prepared to lead an army against the Chalcidians in Thrace and against Amphipolis, under the command of Nicias son of Niceratus, he had been false to the alliance, and the expedition had been broken up chiefly because of his defection. Accordingly, he was regarded as an enemy. So this winter ended and with it the fifteenth year of the war.

LXXXIV. The next summer Alcibiades sailed to Argos with twenty ships and seized such Argives as seemed to be still open to suspicion and to favour the side of the Lacedaemonians, to the number of three hundred men; and these the Athenians deposited in the adjacent islands over which they had sway. The Athenians also made an expedition against the island of Melos<sup>1</sup> with thirty ships of their own, six Chian and two Lesbian, and twelve hundred Athenian hoplites, three hundred bowmen, and twenty mounted archers, and from their allies and the islanders about fifteen hundred hoplites. Now the Melians are colonists of the Lacedaemonians, and were unwilling to obey the Athenians like the rest of the islanders. At first they remained quiet as neutrals; then when the Athenians tried to force them by ravaging their land, they went to war openly. Accordingly, having encamped in their territory with the forces just mentioned, the Athenian commanders, Cleomedes son of Lycomedes and Teisias son of Teisimachus, before doing any harm to the land, sent envoys to make proposals to the Melians. These envoys the Melians did not bring before the popular

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<sup>1</sup> *cf.* III. xci. 1; xciv. 2.



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ἤγαγον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις λέγειν ἐκέλευον περὶ ὧν ἤκουσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

LXXXV. “Ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ λόγοι γίνονται, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ξυνεχεῖ ῥήσει οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα ἐς ἅπαξ ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν ἀπατηθῶσι (γιγνώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο φρονεῖ ἡμῶν ἢ ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀγωγή), ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι ἔτι ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσατε. καθ’ ἕκαστον γὰρ καὶ μηδ’ ὑμεῖς ἐνὶ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκοῦν ἐπιτηδείως λέγεσθαι εὐθὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες κρίνετε. καὶ πρῶτον εἰ ἀρέσκει ὡς λέγομεν εἶπατε.”

LXXXVI. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Μηλίων ξύνεδροι ἀπεκρίναντο. “Ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους οὐ ψέγεται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, παρόντα ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντα, διαφέροντα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτούς τε κριτὰς ἤκουτας ὑμᾶς τῶν λεχθησομένων, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ εἶκός περιγενομένοις μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ μὴ ἐνδοῦσι πόλεμον ἡμῖν φέρουσαν, πεισθεῖσι δὲ δουλείαν.”

LXXXVII. ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπονοίας τῶν μελλόντων λογιούμενοι ἢ ἄλλο τι ξυνήκετε ἢ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὧν ὁρᾶτε περὶ σωτηρίας βουλευσόντες τῇ πόλει, παυοίμεθ’ ἄν· εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦτο, λέγοιμεν ἄν.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the chief governing body, a chamber of oligarchs, to which the magistrates (αἱ ἀρχαί) belonged.





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LXXXVIII. ΜΗΛ. Εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ ξυγγνώμη ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καθεστῶτας ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ δοκοῦντας τρέπεσθαι· ἢ μέντοι ξύνοδος καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἦδε πάρεστι, καὶ ὁ λόγος ᾧ προκαλεῖσθε τρόπῳ, εἰ δοκεῖ, γιγνέσθω.

LXXXIX. ΑΘ. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, ὡς ἢ δικαίως τὸν Μῆδον καταλύσαντες ἄρχομεν ἢ ἀδικούμενοι νῦν ἐπεξερχόμεθα, λόγων μῆκος ἄπιστον παρέξομεν, οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν ἢ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι ὄντες οὐ ξυνεστρατεύσατε ἢ ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἠδικήκατε λέγοντας οἷεσθαι πείσειν, τὰ δυνατὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἀληθῶς φρονοῦμεν διαπράσσεσθαι, ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας ὅτι δίκαια μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προύχοντες πράσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν.

XC. ΜΗΛ. Ἡ μὲν δὴ νομίζομέν γε, χρήσιμον (ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ συμφέρον λέγειν ὑπέθεσθε) μὴ καταλύειν ὑμᾶς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ γιγνομένῳ εἶναι τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια<sup>1</sup> καί τι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς πείσαντά τινα ὠφελῆθῆναι. καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐχ ἤσσον τοῦτο, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ δίκαια deleted by Hude, after G. Hermann.

<sup>1</sup> cf. vi. lxxiii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς, lit. "short of exactness."



LXXXVIII. MEL. “It is natural and pardonable for men in such a position as ours to resort to many arguments and many suppositions. This conference, however, is here to consider the question of our safety; so let the discussion, if it please you, proceed in the way that you propose.”

LXXXIX. ATH. “Well, then, we on our part will make use of no fair phrases, saying either that we hold sway justly because we overthrew the Persians,<sup>1</sup> or that we now come against you because we are injured, offering in a lengthy speech arguments that would not be believed; nor, on the other hand, do we presume that you will assert, either that the reason why you did not join us in the war was because you were colonists of the Lacedaemonians, or that you have done us no wrong. Rather we presume that you aim at accomplishing what is possible in accordance with the real thoughts of both of us, since you know as well as we know that what is just is arrived at in human arguments only when the necessity on both sides is equal, and that the powerful exact what they can, while the weak yield what they must.”

XC. MEL. “As we think, at any rate, it is expedient (for we are constrained to speak of expediency, since you have in this fashion, ignoring the principle of justice, suggested that we speak of what is advantageous) that you should not rule out the principle of the common good, but that for him who is at the time in peril what is equitable should also be just, and though one has not entirely<sup>2</sup> proved his point he should still derive some benefit therefrom. And this is not less for your interest than for our own, inasmuch as you, if you shall



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μεγίστη τιμωρία σφαλέντες ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα γένοισθε.

XCΙ. ΑΘ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἣν καὶ παυσθῆ, οὐκ ἀθυμοῦμεν τὴν τελευταίαν· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν (ἔστι δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών), ἀλλ' ἣν οἱ ὑπήκοοί που τῶν ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι κρατήσωσιν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου ἡμῖν ἀφείσθω κινδυνεύεσθαι· ὡς δὲ ἐπ' ὠφελία τε πάρεσμεν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρία νῦν τοὺς λόγους ἐροῦμεν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ταῦτα δηλώσομεν, βουλόμενοι ἀπόνως μὲν ὑμῶν ἄρξαι, χρησίμως δ' ὑμᾶς ἀμφοτέροις σωθῆναι.

XCII. ΜΗΛ. Καὶ πῶς χρήσιμον ἂν συμβαίη ἡμῖν δουλεῦσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῖν ἄρξαι;

XCIII. ΑΘ. Ὅτι ὑμῖν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τὰ δεινότατα παθεῖν ὑπακούσαι ἂν γένοιτο, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ διαφθείραντες ὑμᾶς κερδαίνομεν ἂν.

XCIV. ΜΗΛ. Ὡστε δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας ἡμᾶς φίλους μὲν εἶναι ἀντὶ πολεμίων, συμμάχους δὲ μηδετέρων, οὐκ ἂν δέξαισθε;

XCV. ΑΘ. Οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἢ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν ὅσον ἢ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μῖσος δυνάμεως παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. cruel conduct on your part would justify others in inflicting like punishment upon you should you ever be defeated.





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XCVI. ΜΗΛ. Σκοποῦσι δ' ὑμῶν οὕτως οἱ ὑπήκοοι τὸ εἶκός, ὥστε τοὺς τε μὴ προσήκοντας καὶ ὅσοι ἄποικοι ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποστάντες τινὲς κεχείρωνται ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν;

XCVII. ΑΘ. Δικαιώματι γὰρ οὐδετέρους ἐλλείπειν ἡγοῦνται, κατὰ δύναμιν δὲ τοὺς μὲν περιγίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ φόβῳ οὐκ ἐπιέναι· ὥστε ἔξω καὶ τοῦ πλεόνων ἄρξαι καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ καταστραφῆναι ἂν παράσχοιτε, ἄλλως τε καὶ νησιῶται ναυκρατόρων, καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι ἐτέρων ὄντες, εἰ μὴ περιγένοισθε.

XCVIII. ΜΗΛ. Ἐν δ' ἐκείνῳ οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν; δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς τῶν δικαίων λόγων ἡμᾶς ἐκβιβάσαντες τῷ ὑμετέρῳ συμφόρῳ ὑπακούειν πείθετε, καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡμῖν χρήσιμον διδάσκοντας, εἰ τυγχάνει καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ συμβαῖνον, πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. ὅσοι γὰρ νῦν μηδετέροις συμμαχοῦσι, πῶς οὐ πολεμώσεσθε αὐτούς, ὅταν ἐς τάδε βλέψαντες ἡγήσωνταί ποτε ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤξειν; κὰν τούτῳ τί ἄλλο ἢ τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας πολεμίους μεγαλύνετε, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲ μελλήσαντας<sup>1</sup> γενέσθαι ἄκοντας ἐπάγεσθε;

XCIX. ΑΘ. Οὐ γὰρ νομίζομεν ἡμῖν τούτους δεινοτέρους, ὅσοι ἡπειρῶταί που ὄντες τῶν ἐλευθέρων<sup>2</sup> πολλὴν τὴν διαμέλλησιν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς

<sup>1</sup> Reiske's correction, for μελλήσοντας of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> For τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ of the MSS., Stahl following the Schol.



BOOK V. xcvl.—xcix.

XCVI. MEL. “Do your subjects regard equity in such a way as to put in the same category those that do not belong to you at all and those—your own colonists in most cases and in others revolted subjects—who have been subdued by you?”

XCVII. ATH. “As to pleas of justice, they think that neither the one nor the other lacks them, but that those who preserve their freedom owe it to their power, and that we do not attack them because we are afraid. So that, to say nothing of our enlarging our empire, you would afford us security by being subdued, especially if you, an insular power, and weaker than other islanders, should fail to show yourselves superior to a power which is master of the sea.”

XCVIII. MEL. “But do you not think there is security in the other course?<sup>1</sup> For here also it is necessary, just as you force us to abandon all pleas of justice and seek to persuade us to give ear to what is to your own interests, that we, too, tell you what is to our advantage and try to persuade you to adopt it, if that happens to be to your advantage also. How, we say, shall you not make enemies of all who are now neutral, as soon as they look at our case and conclude that some day you will come against them also? And in this what else are you doing but strengthening the enemies you already have, and bringing upon you, against their inclination, others who would never have thought of becoming your enemies?”

XCIX. ATH. “Not so, for we do not reckon those as the more dangerous to us who, dwelling somewhere on the mainland and being free men, will defer for a

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* in neutrality, referred to in ch. xciv.



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φυλακῆς ποιήσονται, ἀλλὰ τοὺς νησιώτας τέ που ἀνάρκτους, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ παροξυνομένους. οὗτοι γὰρ πλείστ' ἀν τῷ ἀλογίστῳ ἐπιτρέψαντες σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς προὔπτον κίνδυνον καταστήσειαν.

C. ΜΗΛ. Ἦ που ἄρα, εἰ τοσαύτην γε ὑμεῖς τε μὴ παυσθῆναι ἀρχῆς καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἤδη ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὴν παρακινδύνευσιν ποιοῦνται, ἡμῖν γε τοῖς ἔτι ἐλευθέροις πολλὴ κακότης καὶ δειλία μὴ πᾶν πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι ἐπεξελθεῖν.

CI. ΑΘ. Οὐκ, ἦν γε σωφρόνως βουλευήσθε· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν, μὴ αἰσχύνην ὄφλειν, περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ βουλή, πρὸς τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῷ μὴ ἀνθίστασθαι.

CII. ΜΗΛ. Ἄλλ' ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ τῶν πολέμων<sup>1</sup> ἔστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα ἢ κατὰ τὸ διαφέρον ἑκατέρων πλῆθος. καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ μὲν εἶξαι εὐθὺς ἀνέλπιστον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου ἔτι καὶ στήναι ἐλπίς ὀρθῶς.

CIII. ΑΘ. Ἐλπίς δέ, κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὔσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ, καὶ βλάβῃ, οὐ καθεῖλε, τοῖς δὲ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἅμα τε γιγνώσκεται σφαλέντων καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι φυλά-

<sup>1</sup> For πολέμων of the MSS., with Valla.





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ξεταί τις αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν οὐκ ἔλλείπει. ὁ ὑμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς τε καὶ ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς μιᾶς ὄντες μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν, μηδὲ ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷς παρὸν ἀνθρωπείως ἔτι σώζεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπωσιν αἱ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικὴν τε καὶ χρησμούς καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.

CIV. ΜΗΛ. Χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴστε, νομίζομεν πρὸς δυνάμιν τε τὴν ὑμετέραν καὶ τὴν τύχην, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἔσται, ἀγωνίζεσθαι· ὅμως δὲ πιστεύομεν τῇ μὲν τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἐλασσωσεσθαι, ὅτι ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ἰστάμεθα, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως τῷ ἔλλείποντι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἡμῖν ξυμμαχίαν προσέσεσθαι, ἀνάγκην ἔχουσαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἄλλου, τῆς γε ξυγγενείας ἔνεκα καὶ αἰσχύνῃ βοηθεῖν. καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν οὕτω ἀλόγως θρασυνόμεθα.

CV. ΑΘ. Τῆς μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελεῖψεσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως τῶν δ' ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως δικαιοῦμεν ἢ

2 πράσσομεν. ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τό τε θεῖον δόξῃ, τὸ ἀνθρώπειόν τε σαφῶς διὰ παντὸς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαίας, οὐ ἂν κρατῆ, ἄρχειν. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὔτε θέντες τὸν νόμον οὔτε κειμένῳ πρῶτοι χρησάμενοι, ὄντα δὲ παραλαβόντες καὶ ἐσόμενον ἐς αἰεὶ κατα-



resource wherewith to take precautions against her in future. This fate, we beg of you, weak as you are and dependent on a single turn of the scale, do not willingly incur; nor make yourselves like the common crowd who, when it is possible still to be saved by human means, as soon as distress comes and all visible grounds of hope fail them, betake themselves to those that are invisible—to divination, oracles, and the like, which, with the hopes they inspire, bring men to ruin.”

CIV. MEL. “We, too, be well assured, think it difficult to contend both against your power and against fortune, unless she shall be impartial; but nevertheless we trust that, in point of fortune, we shall through the divine favour be at no disadvantage because we are god-fearing men standing our ground against men who are unjust; and as to the matter of power, that the alliance of the Lacedaemonians will supply what we lack, since that alliance must aid us, if for no other reason, because of our kinship with them and for very shame. So our confidence is not altogether so irrational as you may suppose.”

CV. ATH. “Well, as to the kindness of the divine favour, neither do we expect to fall short of you therein. For in no respect are we departing from men’s observances regarding that which pertains to the divine or from their desires regarding that which pertains to themselves, in aught that we demand or do. For of the gods we hold the belief, and of men we know, that by a necessity of their nature wherever they have power they always rule. And so in our case since we neither enacted this law nor when it was enacted were the first to use it, but found it in existence and expect to leave it in existence for



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λείψοντες χρώμεθα αὐτῷ, εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει ἡμῖν γενομένους δρῶν-  
3 τας ἂν ταῦτό. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ θεῖον οὕτως ἐκ  
τοῦ εἰκότος οὐ φοβούμεθα ἐλασσωσέσθαι· τῆς δὲ  
ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους δόξης, ἣν διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν δὴ  
βοηθήσειν ὑμῖν πιστεύετε αὐτούς, μακαρίσαντες  
ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπειρόκακον οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον.  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτούς καὶ τὰ  
ἐπιχώρια νόμιμα πλεῖστα ἀρετῇ χρῶνται· πρὸς  
δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους πολλὰ ἂν τις ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὡς  
προσφέρονται, ξυνελὼν μάλιστα ἂν δηλώσειεν ὅτι  
ἐπιφανέστατα ὦν ἴσμεν τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομί-  
ζουσι, τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα δίκαια. καίτοι οὐ πρὸς  
τῆς ὑμετέρας νῦν ἀλόγου σωτηρίας ἢ τοιαύτη  
διάνοια.

CVI. ΜΗΛ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἤδη  
καὶ μάλιστα πιστεύομεν τῷ συμφέροντι αὐτῶν  
Μηλίου ἀποίκους ὄντας μὴ βουλήσεσθαι προ-  
δόντας τοῖς μὲν εὖνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίστους  
καταστήναι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὠφελίμους.

CVII. ΑΘ. Οὐκ οἶεσθε τὸ συμφέρον μὲν  
μετὰ ἀσφαλείας εἶναι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν  
μετὰ κινδύνου δρᾶσθαι· ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἤκιστα  
ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τολμῶσιν.

CVIII. ΜΗΛ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τε  
ἡμῶν ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἡγούμεθ' ἂν ἐγχειρίσασθαι





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αὐτοὺς καὶ βεβαιότερους ἢ ἐς ἄλλους νομιεῖν, ὅσῳ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐγγὺς κείμεθα, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τῷ ξυγγενεῖ πιστότεροι ἐτέρων ἐσμέν.

CIX. ΑΘ. Τὸ δ' ἐχυρόν γε τοῖς ξυναγωνιούμενοις οὐ τὸ εὖνουν τῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν ἔργων τις δυνάμει πολὺ προύχη· ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων σκοποῦσι (τῆς γοῦν οἰκείας παρασκευῆς ἀπιστία καὶ μετὰ ξυμμάχων πολλῶν τοῖς πέλας ἐπέρχονται), ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐς νῆσόν γε αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν ναυκρατόρων ὄντων περαιωθῆναι.

CX. ΜΗΛ. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἂν ἔχοιεν πέμψαι· πολὺ δὲ τὸ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος, δι' οὗ τῶν κρατούντων ἀπορώτερος ἢ λῆψις ἢ τῶν λαθεῖν βουλομένων ἢ σωτηρία. καὶ εἰ τοῦδε σφάλλοιντο, τράποιντ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσους μὴ Βρασίδας ἐπῆλθε, καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς οἰκειοτέρας ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς ὁ πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται.

CXI. ΑΘ. Τούτων μὲν καὶ πεπειραμένοις ἂν τι γένοιτο, καὶ ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσιν ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς πώποτε πολιορκίας Ἀθηναῖοι δι' ἄλλων φόβον ἀπεχώρησαν. ἐνθυμούμεθα δὲ ὅτι φή-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ in MSS. before οὐκ, deleted by Stahl.



sakes, and that they would consider them less hazardous than if incurred for others, inasmuch as we lie close to the Peloponnesus when anything is to be undertaken there and on account of affinity of sentiment are more to be trusted than any others.”

CIX. ATH. “But for men who are about to take part in a struggle, that which inspires their confidence is clearly not the good will of those who call them to their aid, but such marked superiority in actual power of achievement as they may possess; and to this superiority the Lacedaemonians give heed rather more than do the rest of mankind. At any rate, they so mistrust their own resources that they always associate themselves with many allies when they attack their neighbours; so that it is not likely they will ever cross over to an island while we are masters of the sea.”

CX. MEL. “But there are others whom they might send; besides, the Cretan sea is wide, so that upon it the capture of a hostile squadron by the masters of the sea will be more difficult than it would be to cross over in security for those who wish to elude them. And if they should fail in this attempt they could turn against your territory and against any of the rest of your allies whom Brasidas did not reach; and then you would have to exert yourselves, not for the acquisition of territory that never belonged to you, but for the preservation of your own confederacy, aye, and your own country.”

CXI. ATH. “Of these contingencies one or another might indeed happen; but they would not be new to our experience, and you yourselves are not unaware that the Athenians have never in a single instance withdrawn from a siege through fear of any foe.



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σαντες περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσειν οὐδὲν ἐν  
 τοσοῦτῳ λόγῳ εἰρήκατε ὧ ἄνθρωποι ἂν πιστεύ-  
 σαντες νομίσειαν σωθήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν  
 ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπιζόμενα μέλλεται, τὰ δ' ὑπάρ-  
 χοντα βραχέα πρὸς τὰ ἤδη ἀντιτεταγμένα περι-  
 γίγνεσθαι. πολλήν τε ἀλογίαν τῆς διανοίας  
 παρέχετε, εἰ μὴ μεταστησάμενοι ἔτι ἡμᾶς ἄλλο  
 3 τι τῶνδε σωφρονέστερον γνώσεσθε. οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
 ἐπὶ γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προύπτοις κινδύ-  
 νοις πλεῖστα διαφθείρουσαν ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνην  
 τρέψετε. πολλοῖς γὰρ προορωμένοις ἔτι ἐς  
 οἷα φέρονται τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλούμενον ὀνόματος  
 ἐπαγωγῶ δυνάμει ἐπεσπάσατο, ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ  
 ῥήματος, ἔργῳ ξυμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ἐκόντας  
 περιπεσεῖν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰσχίῳ μετὰ ἀνοίας ἢ  
 4 τύχης<sup>1</sup> προσλαβεῖν. ὁ ὑμεῖς, ἣν εὐ βουλεύησθε,  
 φυλάξεσθε καὶ οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς νομιεῖτε πόλεώς τε  
 τῆς μεγίστης ἡσσᾶσθαι μέτρια προκαλουμένης,  
 ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι ἔχοντας τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν  
 ὑποτελεῖς, καὶ δοθείσης αἰρέσεως πολέμου πέρι  
 καὶ ἀσφαλείας μὴ τὰ χεῖρω φιλονικῆσαι· ὡς  
 οἵτινες τοῖς μὲν ἴσοις μὴ εἴκουσι, τοῖς δὲ κρείσ-

<sup>1</sup> Hude reads τύχη, after Schol.

<sup>1</sup> See chs. lxxxvii., lxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. men who expect to be saved by human means, not by divine intervention; cf. ch. civ. f.





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σοσι καλῶς προσφέρονται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἥσσους  
 5 μέτριοί εἰσι, πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖντο. σκοπεῖτε οὖν  
 καὶ μεταστάντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε πολλάκις  
 ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος βουλευέσθε, ἧς<sup>1</sup> μιᾶς πέρι καὶ  
 ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώ-  
 σασαν ἔσται.

CXII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι μετεχώρησαν ἐκ  
 τῶν λόγων· οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 γενόμενοι, ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παραπλήσια καὶ  
 2 ἀντέλεγον, ἀπεκρίναντο τάδε. “ Οὐτε ἄλλα δοκεῖ  
 ἡμῖν ἢ ἄπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐτ' ἐν  
 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πόλεως ἑπτακόσια ἔτη ἤδη οἰκου-  
 μένης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε  
 μέχρι τοῦδε σωζούσῃ τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὴν  
 καὶ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ<sup>2</sup> Λακεδαιμονίων  
 τιμωρίᾳ πιστεύοντες πειρασόμεθα σώζεσθαι.  
 3 προκαλούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς φίλοι μὲν εἶναι, πολέμιοι  
 δὲ μηδετέροις, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἀναχωρῆσαι  
 σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους αἵτινες δοκοῦσιν ἐπιτή-  
 δειοι εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις.”

CXIII. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Μήλιοι τοσαῦτα ἀπεκρί-  
 ναντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διαλυόμενοι ἤδη ἐκ τῶν  
 λόγων ἔφασαν. “ Ἄλλ' οὖν μόνοι γε ἀπὸ τούτων  
 τῶν βουλευμάτων, ὡς ἡμῖν δοκεῖτε, τὰ μὲν μέλ-  
 λοντα τῶν ὀρωμένων σαφέστερα κρίνετε, τὰ δὲ  
 ἀφανῆ τῷ βούλεσθαι ὡς γιγνόμενα ἤδη θεᾶσθε·  
 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ἐλπίσι πλείστον

<sup>1</sup> ἧς for ἦν, as the Schol. seems to have read.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων deleted by Hude, after Stahl.



and are moderate towards their inferiors—these, we say, are most likely to prosper. Consider, then, once more after our withdrawal, and reflect many times in your deliberations that your fatherland is at stake, your one and only fatherland, and that upon one decision only will depend her fate for weal or woe.”

CXII. So the Athenians retired from the conference; and the Melians, after consulting together in private, finding themselves of much the same opinion as they had expressed before, answered as follows: “Men of Athens, our opinion is no other than it was at first, nor will we in a short moment rob of its liberty a city which has been inhabited already seven hundred years<sup>1</sup>; but trusting to the fortune which by divine favour has preserved her hitherto, and to such help as men, even the Lacedaemonians, can give, we shall try to win our deliverance. But we propose to you that we be your friends, but enemies to neither combatant, and that you withdraw from our territory, after making such a truce as may seem suitable for both of us.”

CXIII. Such was the answer of the Melians; and the Athenians, as they were quitting the conference, said: “Then, as it seems to us, judging by the result of these deliberations of yours, you are the only men who regard future events as more certain than what lies before your eyes, and who look upon that which is out of sight, merely because you wish it, as already realized. You have staked your all, putting your trust in the Lacedaemonians, in fortune

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a merely general statement, carrying us back to the time of the Dorian invasion. Conon, *Narrat.* 36, mentions the Spartan Philonomus as founder of Melos, soon after the Dorians settled at Sparta. See Müller, *Orchomenos*, p. 317.



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δὴ παραβεβλημένοι καὶ πιστεύσαντες πλείστον καὶ σφαλῆσεσθε.”

CXIV. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπήκουον οἱ Μήλιοι, πρὸς πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐτρέποντο καὶ διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις 2 περιετείχισαν κύκλῳ τοὺς Μηλίους. καὶ ὕστερον φυλακὴν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων καταλιπόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ λειπόμενοι παραμένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὸ χωρίον.

CXV. Καὶ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φλειασίαν καὶ λοχισθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φλειασίων καὶ τῶν σφετέρων φυγάδων 2 διεφθάρησαν ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὴν λείαν ἔλαβον. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι’ αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς οὐδ’ ὡς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δέ, εἴ τις 3 βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν, Ἀθηναίους λήζεσθαι. καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἐπολέμησαν ἰδίων τινῶν διαφορῶν ἕνεκα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι ἡσύχαζον. 4 εἶλον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μήλιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ περιτειχίσματος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προσβαλόντες νυκτός, καὶ ἄνδρας τε ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐσενεγκάμενοι σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅσα πλείιστα ἐδύναντο χρήσιμα ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσύχαζον· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄμεινον τὴν φυλακὴν τὸ ἔπειτα παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

CXVI. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι μελλήσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἀργεῖαν στρα-





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τευειν, ὡς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐγίγνετο,  
 ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ Ἀργεῖοι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλ-  
 λησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τινὰς ὑποπτεύσαντες<sup>2</sup> τοὺς  
 2 μὲν ξυνέλαβον, οἱ δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διέφυγον. καὶ οἱ  
 Μήλιοι περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὐθις καθ'  
 ἕτερόν τι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος εἶλον τῶν Ἀθη-  
 3 ναίων, παρόντων οὐ πολλῶν τῶν φυλάκων. καὶ  
 ἐλθούσης στρατιᾶς ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν  
 ἄλλης, ὡς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ἧς ἦρχε Φιλοκράτης  
 ὁ Δημέου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη πολιορκούμενοι,  
 γενομένης καὶ προδοσίας τινὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, ξυνε-  
 χώρησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὥστε ἐκείνους περὶ αὐτῶν  
 4 βουλευῆσαι. οἱ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὅσους  
 ἠβῶντας ἔλαβον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδρα-  
 πόδισαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον αὐτοὶ ᾤκισαν,<sup>3</sup> ἀποίκους  
 ὕστερον πεντακοσίους πέμψαντες.

<sup>1</sup> *ἱερὰ ἐν τοῖς ὄρλοις*, in MSS. after *διαβατήρια*, deleted by Cobet as a gloss on that word. cf. ch. liv. 2, lv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke's conjecture for *ὑποτοπήσαντες* of the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *ᾤκισαν*, several good MSS. for the Vulgate *ᾤκησαν*.



BOOK V. CXVI. 1-4

as the sacrifices for crossing the boundaries were not favourable they returned home. On account of this intention on the part of the Lacedaemonians, the Argives, suspecting certain men in their city, seized some of them, but the rest escaped. About the same time the Melians again at another point took a part of the Athenian encompassing wall, the garrison not being numerous. But later, in consequence of these occurrences, another force came from Athens, of which Philocrates son of Demeas was commander, and the Melians, being now closely besieged—some treachery, too, having made its appearance among them—capitulated to the Athenians on the condition that these should determine their fate. The Athenians thereupon slew all the adult males whom they had taken and made slaves of the children and women. But the place they then peopled with new settlers from Athens, sending thither at a later time five hundred colonists.









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I. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλοντο αὐθις μείζονι παρασκευῇ τῆς μετὰ Λάχητος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστρέψασθαι, εἰ δύναιντο, ἄπειροι οἱ πολλοὶ ὄντες τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πολλῶ τινι ὑποδεέστερον πόλεμον ἀνηροῦντο ἢ τὸν πρὸς Πελοποννησίους. Σικελίας γὰρ περί-  
 2 πλους μὲν ἐστὶν ὀλκάδι οὐ πολλῶ τινι ἔλασσον ἢ ὀκτῶ ἡμερῶν, καὶ τοσαύτη οὔσα ἐν εἰκοσισταδίῳ<sup>1</sup> μάλιστα μέτρῳ<sup>2</sup> τῆς θαλάσσης διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἡπειρος εἶναι.<sup>3</sup>

II. Ὀικίσθη δὲ ὧδε τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοσάδε ἔθνη ἔσχε τὰ ξύμπαντα. παλαιάτατοι μὲν λέγονται ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας Κύκλωπες καὶ Λαιστρυγόνες οἰκῆσαι, ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε γένος ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὔτε ὀπόθεν ἐσῆλθον ἢ ὅποι ἀπεχώρησαν· ἀρκείτω δὲ ὡς ποιηταῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός πη  
 2 γιγνώσκει περὶ αὐτῶν. Σικανοὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> For the usual εἴκοσι σταδίων (CF corrected, f<sub>2</sub>) adopted after M and Schol. Patm., εἴκοσι σταδίοις AB.

<sup>2</sup> μέτρῳ deleted by Hude as not read by Schol. Patm.

<sup>3</sup> εἶναι, so nearly all recent editors following H (*suprascr. man. pr.*), Demetrius and Procopius, for οὔσα of the MSS. Shilleto, Badham, and others prefer ἡπειροῦσθαι.



## BOOK VI

I. DURING the same winter the Athenians wished to 416 sail again to Sicily with a larger armament than that conducted by Laches and Eurymedon,<sup>1</sup> and subdue it, if they could, most of them being ignorant of the great size of the island and of the large number of its inhabitants, Hellenic as well as Barbarian, and that they were undertaking a war not very much inferior to that against the Peloponnesians. For the voyage round Sicily, for a merchantman, is one of not much less than eight days; and although it is so large only a distance of about twenty stadia of the sea divides the island from the mainland.

II. Sicily was settled originally in the following manner, and the whole number of the nations that occupied it were these. Most ancient of all those who are reported to have settled in any part of the island were the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians, as to whom, however, I am able to tell neither their stock nor whence they came nor whither they went; let it suffice as the story has been told by the poets,<sup>2</sup> and as each man has formed his opinion about them. The Sicanians appear to have been the first to settle

<sup>1</sup> Two separate earlier expeditions, one under Laches and Charoeades, 427 B.C. (III. lxxxvi. 1), the other under Pythodorus, Sophocles and Eurymedon, 424 B.C. (IV. ii.), are here comprised under the one formula

<sup>2</sup> Homer, no doubt, especially, as also in I. x. 1; xi. 3; xxi. 1.



## THUCYDIDES

πρῶτοι φαίνονται ἐνοικισάμενοι, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ  
 φασι, καὶ πρότεροι διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονες εἶναι. ὡς  
 δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια εὐρίσκεται, Ἰβηρες ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Σικάνου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ὑπὸ Λιγύων  
 ἀναστάντες. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν Σικανία τότε ἡ νῆσος  
 ἐκαλεῖτο, πρότερον Τρινακρία καλουμένη· οἰκοῦσι  
 δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τὴν Σικελίαν.  
 3 Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλισκομένου τῶν Τρώων τινὲς διαφυ-  
 γόντες Ἀχαιοὺς πλοίοις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὴν  
 Σικελίαν, καὶ ὄμοροι τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκήσαντες ξύμ-  
 παντες μὲν Ἐλυμοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν  
 Ἐρυξ τε καὶ Ἐγεστα· προσξυνώκησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ Φωκέων τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας τότε χειμῶνι  
 ἐς Λιβύην πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς  
 4 κατενεχθέντες. Σικελοὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας (ἐνταῦθα  
 γὰρ ᾠκουν) διέβησαν ἐς Σικελίαν, φεύγοντες Ὀπι-  
 κούς, ὡς μὲν εἰκὸς καὶ λέγεται, ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, τηρή-  
 σαντες τὸν πορθμὸν κατιόντος τοῦ ἀνέμου, τάχα  
 ἂν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἐσπλεύσαντες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ  
 νῦν ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Σικελοί· καὶ ἡ χώρα ἀπὸ  
 Ἰταλοῦ, βασιλέως τινὸς Σικελῶν, τοῦνομα τοῦτο  
 5 ἔχοντος, οὕτω Ἰταλία ἐπωνομάσθη. ἔλθόντες δὲ  
 ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν στρατὸς πολὺς τοὺς τε Σικανοὺς  
 κρατούντες μάχῃ ἀνέστειλαν πρὸς τὰ μεσημβρινὰ  
 καὶ ἑσπέρια αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντὶ Σικανίας Σικελίαν  
 τὴν νῆσον ἐποίησαν καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα  
 τῆς γῆς ᾠκησαν ἔχοντες, ἐπεὶ διέβησαν, ἔτη ἐγγὺς  
 τριακόσια πρὶν Ἑλληνας ἐς Σικελίαν ἔλθειν· ἔτι  
 δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τῆς νήσου  
 6 ἔχουσιν. ᾠκουν δὲ καὶ Φοίνικες περὶ πᾶσαν μὲν  
 τὴν Σικελίαν ἄκρας τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀπολαβόν-  
 τες καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα νησίδια ἐμπορίας ἕνεκα τῆς





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## THUCYDIDES

πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες πολλοὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπεσέπλεον, ἐκλιπόντες τὰ πλείω Μοτύην καὶ Σολόεντα καὶ Πανόρμον ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἐλύμων ξυνοικίσαντες ἐνέμοντο, ξυμμαχία τε πίσυνοι τῇ τῶν Ἐλύμων καὶ ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἐλάχιστον πλοῦν Καρχηδῶν Σικελίας ἀπέχει. Βάρβαροι μὲν οὖν τοσοῖδε Σικελίαν καὶ οὕτως ᾤκησαν.

III. Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι Χαλκιδῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θουκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξου ᾤκισαν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου βωμόν, ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστίν, ἰδρύσαντο, ἐφ' ᾧ, ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας θεωροὶ πλέωσι, πρῶτον θύουσιν. Συρακούσας δὲ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ᾤκισε, Σικελούς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν ἣ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένη<sup>1</sup> ἢ πόλις ἢ ἐντός ἐστίν· ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ ἢ ἔξω προστειχισθεῖσα πολυάνθρωπος ἐγένετο. Θουκλῆς δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἐκ Νάξου ὀρμηθέντες ἔπει πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθεῖσας Λεοντίνους τε, πολέμῳ τοὺς Σικελούς ἐξελάσαντες, οἰκίζουσι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Κατάνην· οἰκιστὴν δὲ αὐτοὶ Καταναῖοι ἐποιήσαντο Εὐαρχον.

IV. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Λάμις ἐκ Μεγάρων ἀποικίαν ἀγων ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> With CG, the other MSS. περικλυζομένη.

<sup>1</sup> On the little island of S. Pantaleon near the promontory of Lilybaeum.

<sup>2</sup> East of Palermo, now Salanto.

<sup>3</sup> Now Palermo.

<sup>4</sup> 735 B.C. The site was the best point for landing from Hellas, near Tauromenium (Taormina).

<sup>5</sup> A leader appointed by a state to conduct the people sent out to establish a colony. He probably received material



of trade with the Sicels. But when the Hellenes also began to come in by sea in large numbers, the Phoenicians left most of these places and settling together lived in Motya,<sup>1</sup> Soloeis<sup>2</sup> and Panormus<sup>3</sup> near the Elymi, partly because they trusted in their alliance with the Elymi and partly because from there the voyage from Sicily to Carthage is shortest. These, then, were the barbarians and such was the manner in which they settled in Sicily.

III. Of the Hellenes, on the other hand, the first to sail over were some Chalcidians from Euboea who settled Naxos<sup>4</sup> with Thucles as founder,<sup>5</sup> and built an altar in honour of Apollo Archegetes.<sup>6</sup> This is now outside of the city, and on it the sacred deputies,<sup>7</sup> when they sail from Sicily, first offer sacrifice. The following year Syracuse<sup>8</sup> was founded by Archias, one of the Heracleidae from Corinth, after he had first expelled the Sicels from the island, no longer surrounded by water, on which now stands the inner city; and at a later period also the outer city was connected with it by walls and became populous. In the fifth year after the settlement of Syracuse, Thucles and the Chalcidians, setting forth from Naxos, drove out the Sicels in war and settled Leontini, and after it Catana.<sup>9</sup> The Catanaeans, however, chose for themselves Evarchus as founder.

IV. About the same time Lamis also came to Sicily with a colony from Megara and settled in a

privileges and grants while alive, and certainly was paid divine honours—sacrifices and games—after death. If a colony afterwards founded another colony, it was customary to ask a leader from the mother city.

<sup>6</sup> So called as “founder” or protector of a new settlement.

<sup>7</sup> On missions to games or oracles.

<sup>8</sup> 734 B.C.      <sup>9</sup> 729 B.C.



## THUCYDIDES

ὑπὲρ Παντακίου τε ποταμοῦ Τρώτιλόν τι ὄνομα  
 χωρίον οἰκίσας καὶ ὑστερον αὐτόθεν τοῖς Χαλκι-  
 δεῦσιν ἐς Λεοντίους ὀλίγον χρόνον συμπολιτεύσας  
 καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσὼν καὶ Θάψον οἰκίσας αὐτὸς  
 μὲν ἀποθνήσκει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἀνα-  
 στάντες, Ἰβλωνος βασιλέως Σικελοῦ παραδόντος  
 τὴν χώραν καὶ καθηγησαμένου, Μεγαρέας ᾤκισαν  
 2 τοὺς Ἰβλαίους κληθέντας. καὶ ἔτη οἰκίσαντες  
 πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσια ὑπὸ Γέλωνος  
 τυράννου Συρακοσίων ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ  
 χώρας. πρὶν δὲ ἀναστήναι, ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ἑκατὸν  
 ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκίσαι, Πάμμilon πέμψαντες Σελι-  
 νοῦντα κτίζουσι, καὶ ἐκ Μεγάρων τῆς μητροπόλεως  
 3 οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἐπελθὼν ξυγκατώκισεν. Γέλαν δὲ  
 Ἀντίφημος ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἐντιμος ἐκ Κρήτης  
 ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντες κοινῇ ἔκτισαν ἔτει πέμπτῳ  
 καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἰκισιν. καὶ  
 τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τοῦνομα  
 ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὐ νῦν ἢ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ  
 πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη Λίνδιοι καλεῖται νόμιμα δὲ  
 4 Δωρικὰ ἐτέθη αὐτοῖς. ἔτεσι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὀκτῶ  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ τὴν σφετέραν οἰκισιν Γελῶοι  
 Ἀκράγαντα ᾤκισαν, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκρά-  
 γαντος ποταμοῦ ὀνομάσαντες, οἰκιστὰς δὲ ποιή-  
 σαντες Ἀριστόνου καὶ Πυστίλον, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ  
 5 Γελῶων δόντες. Ζάγκλη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ  
 Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως ληστῶν  
 ἀφικομένων ᾤκίσθη, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος  
 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐβοίας πλῆθος ἐλθὼν ξυγκατενεί-

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<sup>1</sup> A peninsula just north of Syracuse (now called Isola di Magnisi).





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## THUCYDIDES

μαντο τὴν γῆν· καὶ οἰκισταὶ Περιήρης καὶ Κραταιμένης ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς, ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ Κύμης, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος. ὄνομα δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ζάγκλη ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν κληθεῖσα, ὅτι δρεπανοειδὲς τὴν ἰδέαν τὸ χωρίον ἐστί (τὸ δὲ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσιν), ὕστερον δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελία, τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους  
 6 Ἄναξίλας Ῥηγίνων τύραννος οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ξυμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος ἀντωνόμασεν.

V. Καὶ Ἰμέρα ἀπὸ Ζάγκλης ᾠκίσθη ὑπὸ Εὐκλείδου καὶ Σίμου καὶ Σάκωνος, καὶ Χαλκιδῆς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦλθον εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν, ξυνᾠκίσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Συρακουσῶν φυγάδες στάσει νικηθέντες, οἱ Μυλητίδαι καλούμενοι· καὶ φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Χαλκιδικὰ ἐκράτησεν.  
 2 Ἄκραι δὲ καὶ Κασμέλαι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ᾠκίσθησαν, Ἄκραι μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεσι μετὰ Συρακούσας, Κασμέλαι δ' ἐγγὺς εἴκοσι μετὰ  
 3 Ἄκρας. καὶ Καμαρίνα τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ᾠκίσθη, ἔτεσιν ἐγγύτατα πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Συρακουσῶν κτίσιν· οἰκισταὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς Δάσκων καὶ Μενέκωλος. ἀναστάτων δὲ Καμαριναίων γενομένων πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων δι' ἀπόστασιν, χρόνῳ Ἰπποκράτης ὕστερον Γέλας τύραννος, λύτρα ἀνδρῶν Συρακοσίων αἰχμαλώτων λαβὼν τὴν γῆν τὴν Καμαριναίων, αὐτὸς οἰκιστῆς γενόμενος κατᾠκίσε



the founders being Perieres and Crataemenes, the one from Cyme, the other from Chalcis. Its name at first was Zancle, and it was so called by the Sicels because the place is sickle-shaped : for the Sicels call a sickle "zancleon." Afterwards these settlers were driven out by Samians and other Ionians, who in their flight before the Persians landed in Sicily<sup>1</sup>; but the Samians were expelled not long afterwards by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, who colonized the place with a mixed population and changed its name to Messene<sup>2</sup> after his own original fatherland.

V. Himera<sup>3</sup> was colonized from Zancle by Eucleides, Simus and Sacon. Most of the colonists were Chalcidians; but there settled with them also fugitives from Syracuse who had been vanquished in a factional quarrel, the Myletidae as they were called. Their language was a mixture of Chalcidic and Doric, but Chalcidic institutions prevailed. Acrae and Casmenae were colonized by the Syracusans: Acrae<sup>4</sup> seventy years after Syracuse, Casmenae<sup>5</sup> nearly twenty years after Acrae. Camarina<sup>6</sup> was first colonized by the Syracusans, just about one hundred and thirty-five years after the foundation of Syracuse, its founders being Dascon and Menecolus. But the Camarinaeans were driven out by the Syracusans in a war which arose from a revolt, and some time later Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela,<sup>7</sup> receiving the territory of the Camarinaeans as ransom for some Syracusan prisoners of war, himself became founder and recolonized Camarina.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Hdt. vi. xxii., xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> 730 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 648 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> 664 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> 644 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> 599 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> Dates 498-491.



## THUCYDIDES

Καμάριναν. καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος  
γενομένη τὸ τρίτον κατωκίσθη ὑπὸ Γελῶων.<sup>1</sup>

VI. Τοσαῦτα ἔθνη Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων  
Σικελίαν ᾧκει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσήνδε οὔσαν αὐτὴν οἱ  
Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύειν ᾠρμηντο, ἐφίεμενοι μὲν τῇ  
ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει τῆς πάσης ἄρξαι, βοηθεῖν  
δὲ ἅμα εὐπρεπῶς βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυγ-  
γενέσι καὶ τοῖς προγεγενημένοις<sup>2</sup> συμμάχοις.  
<sup>2</sup> μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξώρμησαν Ἐγεσταίων<sup>3</sup> πρέσ-  
βεις παρόντες καὶ προθυμότερον ἐπικαλούμενοι.  
ὄμοροι γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς Σελινουντίοις ἐς πόλεμον  
καθέστασαν περί τε γαμικῶν τινῶν καὶ περὶ γῆς  
ἀμφισβητήτου, καὶ οἱ Σελινούντιοι Συρακοσίους  
ἐπαγαγόμενοι συμμάχους κατεῖργον αὐτοὺς τῷ  
πολέμῳ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν· ὥστε  
τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχηςτος καὶ τοῦ προτέρου  
πολέμου Λεοντίνων<sup>4</sup> οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι ξυμμαχίαν  
ἀναμιμνήσκοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐδέοντο σφίσι  
ναῦς πέμψαντας ἐπαμῦναι, λέγοντες ἄλλα τε  
πολλὰ καὶ κεφάλαιον, εἰ Συρακόσιοι Λεοντίνους  
τε ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρητοι γενήσονται καὶ τοὺς  
λοιποὺς ἔτι συμμάχους αὐτῶν διαφθείροντες<sup>5</sup>  
αὐτοὶ τὴν ἅπασαν δύναμιν τῆς Σικελίας σχή-  
σουσι, κίνδυνον εἶναι μὴ ποτε μεγάλη παρασκευῇ  
Δωριῆς τε Δωριεῦσι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ ἅμα  
ἄποικοι τοῖς ἐκπέμψασι Πελοποννησίοις<sup>6</sup> βοη-

<sup>1</sup> Dodwell's conjecture for Γέλωνος of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> With EGM and Valla; Hude reads προσγεγενημένοις with the other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> τε after Ἐγεσταίων omitted with three inferior MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Λεοντίνων, Hude deletes, following Classen.

<sup>5</sup> διαφθείροντες, Hude reads διαφθείραντες with Cod. Clarend.

<sup>6</sup> Πελοποννησίοις, Hude deletes, following Cobet.





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θήσαντες καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν ξυγκαθέλωσιν·  
 σῶφρον δ' εἶναι μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἔτι ξυμ-  
 μάχων ἀντέχειν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 χρήματα σφῶν παρεξόντων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανά.  
 3 ὧν ἀκούοντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν  
 τε Ἐγεσταίων πολλάκις λεγόντων καὶ τῶν ξυνα-  
 γορευόντων αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο πρέσβεις πέμψαι  
 πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ἐγεσταν περὶ τε τῶν χρημάτων  
 σκεψομένους εἰ ὑπάρχει, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἐν τῷ  
 κοινῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα  
 πρὸς τοὺς Σελινουντίους ἐν ὄτῳ ἐστὶν εἰσομένους.

VII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπε-  
 στάλησαν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πλὴν Κο-  
 ρινθίων στρατεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν τῆς τε  
 γῆς ἔτεμον οὐ πολλὴν καὶ σῖτον ἀνεκομίσαντό  
 τινα ζεύγη κομίσαντες, καὶ ἐς Ὀρνεὰς κατοικί-  
 σαντες τοὺς Ἀργείων φυγάδας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 στρατιᾶς παρακαταλιπόντες αὐτοῖς ὀλίγους, καὶ  
 σπείσάμενοί τινα χρόνον ὥστε μὴ ἀδικεῖν Ὀρνεά-  
 τας καὶ Ἀργείους τὴν ἀλλήλων, ἀπεχώρησαν τῷ  
 2 στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου. ἐλθόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων οὐ  
 πολλῷ ὕστερον ναυσὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίοις  
 ὀπλίταις, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παν-  
 στρατιᾷ ἐξελθόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς μίαν  
 ἡμέραν ἐπολιόρκουν· ὑπὸ δὲ νύκτα, αὐλισαμένου  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἄπωθεν, ἐκδιδράσκουσιν οἱ ἐκ  
 τῶν Ὀρνεῶν. καὶ τῇ ὕστεραία οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὡς  
 ἤσθοντο, κατασκάψαντες τὰς Ὀρνεὰς ἀνεχώρησαν  
 καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὕστερον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπ' οἴκου.

3 Καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τὴν ὄμορον Μακεδονία ἰππέας



help to pull down the power of the Athenians. It would be wise, therefore, with their allies that were still left, to oppose the Syracusans, especially as the Egestaeans would furnish money sufficient for the war. And the Athenians, hearing in their assemblies these arguments of the Egestaeans and their supporters, who constantly repeated them, voted first to send envoys to Egesta to see whether the money was on hand, as they said, in the treasury and in the temples, and at the same time to ascertain how matters stood with reference to the war with the Selinuntians.

VII. Accordingly the Athenian envoys were despatched to Sicily. But during the same winter the Lacedaemonians and their allies, except the Corinthians, invaded the Argive territory, ravaged a small part of the land and carried off some corn in wagons which they had brought with them; then having settled the Argive fugitives at Orneae, leaving with them also a small body of troops, after they had made a truce for a certain time, on condition that the Orneates and Argives were not to injure one another's land, they went home with the rest of their force. When the Athenians came not long afterwards with thirty ships and six hundred hoplites, the Argives, in company with the Athenians, went out in full force and besieged the garrison at Orneae for a single day; but under cover of night, when the besieging army had bivouacked at a distance, the garrison of Orneae escaped. The next day the Argives, on learning this, razed Orneae to the ground and withdrew, and later the Athenians also went home with their ships.

The Athenians also conveyed by sea some of their



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κατὰ θάλασσαν κομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι φυγάδας  
 4 ἐκακούργουν τὴν Περδίκκου. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πέμψαντες παρὰ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἄγοντας πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δεχημέρους σπονδάς, ξυμπολεμεῖν ἐκέλευον Περδίκκα· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὄν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

VIII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους ἅμα ἦρι οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἦκον ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἄγοντες ἐξήκοντα  
 2 τάλαντα ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου ὡς ἐς ἐξήκοντα ναῦς μηνὸς μισθόν, ἃς ἔμελλον δεήσεσθαι πέμπειν. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσαντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες τῶν τε Ἐγεσταίων καὶ τῶν σφετέρων πρέσβεων τά τε ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ, καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὡς εἶη ἐτοῖμα ἔν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς πολλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, ἐψηφίσαντο ναῦς ἐξήκοντα πέμπειν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ στρατηγούς αὐτοκράτορας Ἀλκιβιάδην τε τὸν Κλεινίου καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου καὶ Λάμαχον τὸν Ξενοφάνους, βοηθοὺς μὲν Ἐγεσταίοις πρὸς Σελινουτίους, ξυγκατοικίσει δὲ καὶ Λεοντίνους, ἣν<sup>1</sup> τι περιγίγνηται αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράξαι ὅπῃ ἂν γιγνώσκωσιν ἄριστα  
 3 Ἀθηναίοις. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ ἐκκλησία αὐθις ἐγίγνετο, καθ' ὃ τι χρὴ τὴν παρασκευὴν ταῖς ναυσὶ τάχιστα γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, εἴ του προσδέοιντο, ψηφισθῆναι ἐς

<sup>1</sup> Hude inserts τε after ἣν.





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4 τὸν ἔκπλουν. καὶ ὁ Νικίας ἀκούσιος μὲν ἤρη-  
 μένος ἄρχειν, νομίζων δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ὀρθῶς  
 βεβουλευσθαι, ἀλλὰ προφάσει βραχείᾳ καὶ εὐ-  
 πρεπεῖ τῆς Σικελίας ἀπάσης, μεγάλου ἔργου,  
 ἐφίεσθαι, παρελθὼν ἀποτρέψαι ἐβούλετο καὶ  
 παρήνει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοιάδε.

IX. “Ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία περὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς  
 ἡμετέρας ἤδε ξυνελέγη, καθ’ ὃ τι χρῆ ἐς Σικελίαν  
 ἐκπλεῖν· ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου  
 ἔτι χρῆναι σκέψασθαι, εἰ καὶ ἄμεινόν ἐστιν  
 ἐκπέμπειν τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μὴ οὕτως βραχείᾳ βουλῇ  
 περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἀνδράσιν ἀλλοφύλοις  
 πειθομένους πόλεμον οὐ προσήκοντα αἵρεσθαι.  
 2 καίτοι ἔγωγε καὶ τιμῶμαι ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ  
 ἤσσον ἑτέρων περὶ τῷ ἑμαυτοῦ σώματι ὀρρωδῶ,  
 νομίζων ὁμοίως ἀγαθὸν πολίτην εἶναι ὅς ἂν καὶ  
 τοῦ σώματός τι καὶ τῆς οὐσίας προνοῆται· μά-  
 λιστα γὰρ ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δι’  
 ἑαυτὸν βούλοιτο ὀρθοῦσθαι. ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ἐν τῷ  
 πρότερον χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ προτιμᾶσθαι εἶπον παρὰ  
 γνώμην οὔτε νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἢ ἂν<sup>1</sup> γιγνώσκω βέλτιστα  
 3 ἐρῶ. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους  
 ἀσθενῆς ἂν μου ὁ λόγος εἴη, εἰ τὰ τε ὑπάρχοντα  
 σώζειν παραινοίην καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐτοίμοις περὶ τῶν  
 ἀφανῶν καὶ μελλόντων κινδυνεύειν· ὡς δὲ οὔτε ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ ἢ ἂν, with the MSS., Hude adopts ἀλλ’ ἢ ἂν from Reiske and Madvig.



expedition, to vote it for them. And Nicias, who had been elected to the command against his will, and thought the city had not come to a right decision, but that, with a slight and specious pretext, it was the conquest of all Sicily, a great undertaking, at which they aimed, came forward with the purpose of averting this, and advised the Athenians as follows:—

IX. “This assembly was convoked with reference to our armament, to consider in what way we should make the expedition to Sicily; to me, however, it seems that we ought to consider yet again this very question, whether it is best to send the ships at all, and that we ought not, on such slight deliberation about matters of great importance, at the instigation of men of alien race, to undertake a war that does not concern us. And yet from such an enterprise I for my part get honour, and have less dread than others about my life,<sup>1</sup> although I consider that he is quite as good a citizen who takes some forethought for his life and property; for such an one would, for his own sake, be most desirous that the affairs of the city should prosper. But nevertheless neither in the past have I, for the sake of being preferred in honour, spoken contrary to my judgment, nor shall I do so now, but I shall speak just as I deem best. Against tempers, indeed, like yours my words would be unavailing, if I should exhort you to preserve what you have already and not to hazard present possessions for things that are unseen and in the future; that, however, neither is your haste timely,

<sup>1</sup> He may have been suffering already from the kidney trouble of which he complained the next summer in his letter to the Athenians (VII. xv. 1).



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καιρῷ σπεύδετε οὔτε ῥαδία ἔστι κατασχεῖν ἐφ' ἃ ὄρμησθε, ταῦτα διδάξω.

Χ. “ Φημὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἐνθάδε ὑπολιπόντας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐκεῖσε πλεύσαντας δεῦρο ἐπαγαγέσθαι. καὶ οἷεσθε ἴσως τὰς 2 γενομένας ὑμῖν σπονδὰς ἔχειν τι βέβαιον· αἱ ἡσυχάζοντων μὲν ὑμῶν ὀνόματι σπονδαὶ ἔσονται (οὔτω γὰρ ἐνθένδε τε ἄνδρες ἔπραξαν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων), σφαλέντων δέ που ἀξιόχρεω δυνάμει ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἡμῖν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιήσονται, οἷς πρῶτον μὲν διὰ ξυμφορῶν ἢ ξύμβασις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰσχίονος ἢ ἡμῖν κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο, ἔπειτα ἐν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ πολλὰ τὰ 3 ἀμφισβητούμενα ἔχομεν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ οὐδὲ ταύτην πω τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐδέξαντο, καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀσθενέστατοι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀντικῆρυς πολεμοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἡσυχάζειν δεχη- 4 μέροις σπονδαῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέχονται. τάχα δ' ἂν ἴσως, εἰ δίχα ἡμῶν τὴν δύναμιν λάβοιεν, ὅπερ νῦν σπεύδομεν, καὶ πάνυ ἂν ξυνεπίθοντο μετὰ Σικελιωτῶν, οὓς πρὸ πολλῶν ἂν ἐτιμήσαντο ξυμ- 5 μάχους γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ. ὥστε χρὴ σκοπεῖν τινα αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ μετεώρω τῇ πόλει ἀξιούν κινδυνεύειν καὶ ἀρχῆς ἄλλης ὀρέγεσθαι πρὶν ἢν ἔχομεν βεβαιωσώμεθα, εἰ Χαλκιδῆς γε οἱ ἐπὶ Θρήκης, ἔτη τοσαῦτα ἀφεστῶτες ἡμῶν, ἔτι ἀχείρωτοί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς κατὰ τὰς ἡπείρους





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## THUCYDIDES

ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκροῶνται. ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐγεσταίοις δὴ οὔσι ξυμμάχοις ὡς ἀδικουμένοις ὀξέως βοηθοῦμεν, ὑφ' ὧν δ' αὐτοὶ πάλαι ἀφεστώτων ἀδικούμεθα, ἔτι μέλλομεν ἀμύνεσθαι.

XI. “Καίτοι τοὺς μὲν κατεργασάμενοι κἂν κατάσχοιμεν· τῶν δ' εἰ καὶ κρατήσαιμεν, διὰ πολλοῦ γε καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄρχειν δυναίμεθα. ἀνόητον δ' ἐπὶ τοιούτους ἰέναι ὧν κρατήσας τε μὴ κατασχῆσει τις καὶ μὴ κατορθώσας μὴ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ  
2 καὶ πρὶν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἔσται. Σικελιωῶται δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἦσσον δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ ἄρξειαν αὐτῶν Συρακόσιοι, ὅπερ οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβοῦσιν.  
3 νῦν μὲν γὰρ κἂν ἔλθοιεν ἴσως Λακεδαιμονίων ἕκαστοι χάριτι, ἐκείνως δ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν στρατεῦσαι· ᾧ γὰρ ἂν τρόπῳ τὴν ἡμετέραν μετὰ Πελοποννησίων ἀφέλωνται, εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθῆναι.  
4 ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν οἱ ἐκεῖ Ἕλληνες μάλιστα μὲν ἐκπεπληγμένοι εἶεν, εἰ μὴ ἀφικοίμεθα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰ δείξαντες τὴν δύναμιν δι' ὀλίγου ἀπέλθοιμεν (τὰ γὰρ διὰ πλείστου πάντες ἴσμεν θαυμαζόμενα καὶ τὰ πείραν ἦκιστα τῆς δόξης δόντα)· εἰ δὲ σφαλεῖμέν τι, τάχιστ' ἂν ὑπεριδόντες μετὰ τῶν



the mainland render us a dubious allegiance. But we, it seems, must rush to bring aid to Egestaeans, being, forsooth, our allies, on the ground that they are wronged, while on those by whose revolt we ourselves have long been wronged we still delay to inflict punishment.

XI. “And yet these, if once brought under control, we might also keep under control; but the Siceliots, even if we should get the better of them, we should find it hard to govern, far off as they are and formidable in numbers. But it is folly to go against men when victory will not bring control over them and failure will not leave matters in the same condition as before the attack was made. The Siceliots, moreover, it seems to me, at least as things now stand, would be even less dangerous to us if the Syracusans should acquire rule over them—that prospect with which the Egestaeans especially try to terrify us. For now they might perhaps come against us singly out of regard for the Lacedaemonians, but in the other case,<sup>1</sup> it is not likely that an imperial city would make war against an imperial city; for by whatsoever means they, in concert with the Peloponnesians, might despoil us of our sway, by the same means very likely would their own empire be pulled down by these same Peloponnesians. And as to us, the Hellenes there would be most in awe, first, if we should not come at all; next, if after showing our power we should after a brief interval depart. For it is, as we all know, things that are farthest off and least allow a test of their reputation which excite wonder; but if we should suffer a defeat, they would very quickly

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in case the Syracusans acquired sway over them.



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5 ἐνθάδε ἐπίθουντο. ὅπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους πεπόνθατε,  
 διὰ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν πρὸς ἅ ἐφοβεῖσθε τὸ  
 πρῶτον περιγεγενῆσθαι καταφρονήσαντες ἤδη καὶ  
 6 Σικελίας ἐφίεσθε.<sup>1</sup> χρὴ δὲ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τύχας  
 τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς διανοίας  
 κρατήσαντας θαρσεῖν, μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄλλο  
 τι ἠγήσασθαι ἢ διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν σκοπεῖν ὅτῳ  
 τρόπῳ ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἣν δύνωνται, σφήλαντες ἡμᾶς  
 τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὖ θήσονται, ὅσῳ καὶ περὶ  
 πλείστου καὶ διὰ πλείστου δόξαν ἀρετῆς μελε-  
 7 τῶσιν. ὥστε οὐ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἐγεσταίων  
 ἡμῖν, ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, ὁ ἀγὼν, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν,  
 ἀλλ' ὅπως πόλιν δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύουσαν  
 ὀξέως φυλαξόμεθα.

XII. “Καὶ μεμνήσθαι χρὴ ἡμᾶς ὅτι νεωστί  
 ἀπὸ νόσου μεγάλης καὶ πολέμου βραχὺ τι λε-  
 λωφήκαμεν, ὥστε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν  
 ηὐξῆσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκαιον ἐνθάδε  
 ἀναλοῦν, καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων τῶνδε  
 ἐπικουρίας δεομένων, οἷς τό τε ψεύσασθαι καλῶς  
 χρήσιμον, καὶ τῷ τοῦ πέλας κινδύνῳ, αὐτοὺς  
 λόγους μόνον παρασχομένους, ἢ κατορθώσαντας  
 χάριν μὴ ἀξίαν εἰδέναι ἢ πταίσαντάς που τοὺς  
 2 φίλους ξυναπολέσαι.<sup>2</sup> εἴ τέ τις ἄρχειν ἄσμενος  
 αἰρεθεὶς παραινεῖ ὑμῖν ἐκπλεῖν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον

<sup>1</sup> For ἐφίεσθαι of the MSS., after Schol.

<sup>2</sup> For ξυναπολέσθαι of the MSS., Reiske's correction.





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σκοπῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ νεώτερος ὢν ἔτι ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν, ὅπως θαυμασθῆ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἵπποτροφίας, διὰ δὲ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ὠφεληθῆ τι ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, μηδὲ τούτῳ ἐμπαράσχητε τῷ τῆς πόλεως κινδύνῳ ἰδία ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι, νομίσατε δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους τὰ μὲν δημόσια ἀδικεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἴδια ἀναλοῦν, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα μέγα εἶναι καὶ μὴ οἶον νεωτέρῳ<sup>1</sup> βουλευσασθαί τε καὶ ὀξέως μεταχειρίσαι.

XIII. “Οὗς ἐγὼ ὁρῶν νῦν ἐνθάδε τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνδρὶ παρακελευστοὺς καθημένους φοβοῦμαι, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀντιπαρακελεύομαι μὴ καταισχυθῆναι, εἴ τῳ τις παρακάθηται τῶνδε, ὅπως μὴ δόξει, ἂν μὴ ψηφίζηται πολεμεῖν, μαλακὸς εἶναι, μηδ’ ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ πάθοιεν, δυσέρωτας εἶναι τῶν ἀπόντων, γνόντας ὅτι ἐπιθυμία μὲν ἐλάχιστα κατορθοῦνται,<sup>2</sup> προνοία δὲ πλείιστα, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τῶν πρὶν κίνδυνον ἀναρριπτούσης, ἀντιχειροτονεῖν καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν Σικελιώτας οἷσπερ νῦν ὄροις χρωμένους πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ μεμπτοῖς, τῷ τε Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, παρὰ γῆν ἣν τις πλέη, καὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ, διὰ πελάγους, τὰ αὐτῶν νεμομένους καθ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ<sup>2</sup> συμφέρεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ Ἐγεσταίοις ἰδία εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνῆψαν πρὸς Σελινουντίους τὸ πρῶτον πόλεμον, μετὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ καταλύεσθαι· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν συμμάχους μὴ ποιεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ εἰώθαμεν, οἷς κακῶς μὲν πρά-

<sup>1</sup> MSS.; Hude adopts Pluygers' correction, νεωτέρους.

<sup>2</sup> κατορθοῦνται MSS., κατορθοῦται Goeller's conjecture.



young to command—only his own interest, how he may get admiration for his raising of fine horses, and then, because that is very expensive, how he may also get some profit from his command, do not afford this man, at the cost of the state, opportunity to make a personal display, but rather consider that such men damage the public interest while they waste their own property, and that the matter is one of great seriousness, and not such as a youth may decide and rashly take in hand.

XIII. “It is of such youths, when I see them sitting here in answer to the appeal of this same man, that I am afraid; and I make a counter-appeal to the older men, if any of you sit by one of these, not to be shamed into fear lest he may seem to be a coward if he do not vote for war, and not, though that may be *their* feeling, to have a morbid craving for what is out of reach, knowing that few successes are won by greed, but very many by foresight; on the contrary, on behalf of our country, which is now running the greatest risk it has ever run, hold up your hands in opposition and vote that the Siceliots, keeping the same boundaries with respect to us as at present—boundaries no one can find fault with—namely, the Ionian Sea, if one sail along the coast, and the Sicilian, if one cross the open deep—shall enjoy their own possessions and settle their own quarrels among themselves. But tell the Egestaeans in particular that, as they went to war with the Selinuntians in the first place without the Athenians, so they must bring it to an end by themselves; and for the future let us not make allies, as we are wont to do, whom we must assist when they fare ill, but from whom



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ξασιν ἀμυνοῦμεν, ὠφελίας δ' αὐτοὶ δεηθέντες οὐ τευξόμεθα.

XIV. “ Καὶ σύ, ὦ πρύτανι, ταῦτα, εἴπερ ἡγεῖ σοι προσήκειν κήδεσθαί τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ βούλει γενέσθαι πολίτης ἀγαθός, ἐπιψήφιζε καὶ γνώμας προτίθει αὐθις Ἀθηναίοις, νομίσας, εἰ ὀρρωδεῖς τὸ ἀναψηφίσει, τὸ<sup>1</sup> μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους μὴ μετὰ τοσῶνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων αἰτίαν σχεῖν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως βουλευσαμένης<sup>2</sup> ἰατρὸς ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι τοῦτ' εἶναι, ὃς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ ὡς πλεῖστα ἢ ἐκὼν εἶναι μηδὲν βλάβῃ.”

XV. Ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοιαῦτα εἶπεν· τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων παριόντες οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι στρατεύειν παρήνουν καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα μὴ λύειν, οἱ δέ τινες<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀντέλεγον. ἐνήγε δὲ προθυμότατα τὴν στρατείαν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, βουλόμενος τῷ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὣν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα διάφορος τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῦ διαβόλως ἐμνήσθη, καὶ μάλιστα στρατηγῆσαί τε ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων Σικελίαν τε δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ Καρχηδόνα λήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἅμα εὐτυχήσας χρήμασί τε καὶ δόξῃ<sup>3</sup> ὠφελήσειν. ὣν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστων, ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μείζουσιν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἐχρήτο ἐς τε τὰς ἵπποτροφίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας· ὅπερ καὶ καθεῖλεν ὕστερον τὴν<sup>4</sup> τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν οὐχ ἥκιστα. φοβηθέντες γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα παρανομίας ἐς τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τῆς διανοίας

<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν λύειν, Hude substitutes τοῦ, following van Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> βουλευσαμένης, inferior MSS. and the Scholiast κακῶς βουλευσαμένης.





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ὧν καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον ἐν ᾧ γίγνοιτο ἔπρασσεν, ὡς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμοῦντι πολέμιοι καθέστασαν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ κράτιστα διαθέντι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἰδία ἕκαστοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀχθουσθέντες καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέψαντες οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔσφηλαν τὴν πόλιν. τότε δ' οὖν παρελθὼν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει τοιάδε.

XVI. “ Καὶ προσήκει μοι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄρχειν (ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ μου Νικίας καθήψατο), καὶ ἄξιός ἄμα νομίζω εἶναι. ὧν γὰρ πέρι ἐπιβόητός εἰμι, τοῖς μὲν προγόνοις μου καὶ ἐμοὶ δόξαν φέρει ταῦτα, τῇ  
 2 δὲ πατρίδι καὶ ὠφελίαν. οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνας καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μείζω ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν τῷ ἐμῷ διαπρεπεῖ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάζε θεωρίας, πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμησθαι, διότι ἄρματα μὲν ἑπτὰ καθῆκα, ὅσα οὐδεὶς πω ἰδιώτης πρότερον, ἐνίκησα δὲ καὶ δεύτερος καὶ τέταρτος ἐγενόμην καὶ τᾶλλα ἀξίως τῆς νίκης παρεσκευασάμην. νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ τιμὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου  
 3 καὶ δύναμις ἄμα ὑπονοεῖται. καὶ ὅσα αὐτὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει χορηγίαις ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ λαμπρύνομαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀστοῖς φθονεῖται φύσει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably 416 B.C.; though Thirlwall assumes 424, Grote 420.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. at the public festivals and especially at dramatic exhibitions. Choruses were provided by well-to-do public-spirited citizens, called Choregi, appointed to this duty by the state, these securing the choristers and their trainers



designs as revealed in every single intrigue in which he was involved, became hostile to him on the ground that he was aiming at a tyranny; and, though publicly he managed the affairs of the war most excellently, in his private life every man had been offended at his practices, and so entrusting the city to other hands after no long time they brought it to ruin. He now came forward and advised the Athenians as follows:—

XVI. “It belongs to me more than to others, Athenians, to have command—for I must needs begin with this, since Nicias has attacked me—and I think, too, that I am worthy to command. For those things for which I am railed at bring glory to my ancestors and myself, as well as advantage to my country. For the Hellenes, who had previously hoped that our state had been exhausted by the war, conceived an idea of its greatness that even transcended its actual power by reason of the magnificence of my display as sacred deputy at Olympia,<sup>1</sup> because I entered seven chariots, a number that no private citizen had ever entered before, and won the first prize and the second and the fourth, and provided everything else in a style worthy of my victory. For by general custom such things do indeed mean honour, and from what is done men also infer power. And again, although whatever display I made in the city, by providing choruses<sup>2</sup> or in any other way, naturally causes jealousy among my townsmen, yet in the eyes of strangers this too gives an impression of

and defraying all their expenses for dress, maintenance and training. As choregi generally vied with each other in bringing out choruses with all possible splendour, such service was costly, sometimes exhausting a man's whole patrimony.



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αὕτη ἰσχὺς φαίνεται. καὶ οὐκ ἄχρηστος ἦδ' ἡ  
 ἄνοια, ὅς ἂν τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσι μὴ ἑαυτὸν μόνον,  
 4 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆ, οὐδέ γε ἄδικον ἐφ'  
 ἑαυτῷ μέγα φρονοῦντα μὴ ἴσον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ  
 κακῶς πράσων πρὸς οὐδένα τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἰσο-  
 μοιρεῖ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δυστυχοῦντες οὐ προσαγο-  
 ρευόμεθα, ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τις ἀνεχέσθω καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 εὐπραγούντων ὑπερφρονούμενος, ἢ τὰ ἴσα νέμων  
 5 τὰ ὁμοῖα ἀνταξιούτω. οἶδα δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ  
 ὅσοι ἐν τινος λαμπρότητι προέσχον, ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 κατ' αὐτοὺς βίῳ λυπηροὺς ὄντας, τοῖς ὁμοίοις μὲν  
 μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυνόντας, τῶν  
 δὲ ἔπειτα ἀνθρώπων προσποίησίν τε ξυγγενείας  
 τισὶ καὶ μὴ οὔσαν καταλιπόντας, καὶ ἧς ἂν ὧσι  
 πατρίδος, ταύτη αὖχῃσιν, ὡς οὐ περὶ ἀλλοτρίων  
 οὐδ' ἀμαρτόντων, ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ σφετέρων τε καὶ  
 6 καλὰ πραξάντων. ὧν ἐγὼ ὀρεγόμενος καὶ διὰ  
 ταῦτα τὰ ἴδια ἐπιβοώμενος τὰ δημόσια σκοπεῖτε  
 εἶ του χεῖρον μεταχειρίζω. Πελοποννήσου γὰρ  
 τὰ δυνατώτατα ξυστήσας ἄνευ μεγάλου ὑμῖν  
 κινδύνου καὶ δαπάνης Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς μίαν  
 ἡμέραν κατέστησα ἐν Μαντινείᾳ περὶ τῶν ἀπάν-  
 των ἀγωνίσασθαι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ περιγενόμενοι τῇ  
 μάχῃ οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν βεβαίως θαρσοῦσιν.

XVII. “ Καὶ ταῦτα ἢ ἐμὴ νεότης καὶ ἄνοια  
 παρὰ φύσιν δοκοῦσα εἶναι ἐς τὴν Πελοποννησίων  
 δύναμιν λόγοις τε πρέπουσιν ὠμίλησε καὶ ὀργῇ





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πίστιν παρασχομένη ἔπεισε· καὶ νῦν μὴ πεφό-  
 βησθε αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἕως ἐγώ τε ἔτι ἀκμάζω μετ'  
 αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ Νικίας εὐτυχῆς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀποχρή-  
 2 σασθε τῇ ἑκατέρου ἡμῶν ὠφελίᾳ. καὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν  
 Σικελίαν πλοῦν μὴ μεταγιγνώσκετε ὡς ἐπὶ μεγά-  
 λην δύναμιν ἐσόμενον. ὄχλοις τε γὰρ ξυμμείκτοις  
 πολυανδροῦσιν αἱ πόλεις καὶ ῥαδίας ἔχουσι τῶν  
 3 πολιτῶν<sup>1</sup> τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς· καὶ οὐδεὶς  
 δι' αὐτὸ ὡς περὶ οἰκείας πατρίδος οὔτε τὰ περὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα ὄπλοις ἐξήρτυται οὔτε τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μονί-  
 μοις<sup>2</sup> κατασκευαῖς, ὅ τι δὲ ἕκαστος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ  
 λέγων πείθειν οἶεται ἢ στασιάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 λαβὼν ἄλλην γῆν, μὴ κατορθώσας, οἰκήσειν, ταῦτα  
 4 ἐτοιμάζεται. καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ὄμιλον  
 οὔτε λόγου μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀκροᾶσθαι οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἔργα  
 κοινῶς τρέπεσθαι· ταχὺ δ' ἂν ὡς ἕκαστοι, εἴ τι  
 καθ' ἡδονὴν λέγοιτο, προσχωροῖεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 5 εἰ στασιάζουσιν, ὥσπερ πυνθανόμεθα. καὶ μὴν  
 οὐδ' ὄπλιται οὔτ' ἐκείνοις ὅσοιπερ κομποῦνται,  
 οὔτε οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνας διεφάνησαν τοσοῦτοι ὄντες  
 ὅσους ἕκαστοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἠρίθμουν, ἀλλὰ μέ-  
 γιστον δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐψευσμένη ἢ Ἑλλὰς μόλις ἐν  
 6 τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἱκανῶς ὠπλίσθη. τά τε οὖν ἐκεῖ  
 ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀκοῇ αἰσθάνομαι τοιαῦτα καὶ ἔτι εὐπο-

<sup>1</sup> With E, the rest of the MSS. πολιτειῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Hude adopts νομίμοις, Dukas' conjecture, which is supported by the Schol., who explains νομίμοις by οὐ ταῖς νομιζομέναις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἱκαναῖς· οὕτω καὶ νόμιμον ῥήτορα τὸν ἱκανὸν καὶ νόμιμον ἀθλητὴν φάμεν.



inspired faith win assent. And now be not afraid of it, but while I am still in the flower of youth, and Nicias has the reputation of good luck, make the most of the services of us both. And as to the voyage to Sicily, do not change your minds on the ground that you are going against a formidable power. For it is only with a mixed rabble that the cities there<sup>1</sup> are populous, and changes and accessions in the body of their citizens<sup>2</sup> are easy. And for this reason no one is equipped, as he would be in behalf of his own country, either with arms for personal protection or with permanent improvements for the cultivation of his land; but whatever each one thinks he can obtain from the common stock by persuasive oratory or by sedition, in the expectation that if he fails he will settle in some other land, this he provides himself with. And it is not likely that a rabble of this kind would either listen to counsel with one mind or turn to action with a common purpose; but quickly, if anything were said to please them,<sup>3</sup> they would each for himself come over to our side, especially if they are in a state of revolution as we hear. Further, as regards hoplites neither have they as many as they boast; nor have the rest of the Hellenes proved to have such numbers as they each reckon; on the contrary, Hellas has been very greatly deceived in its estimates of hoplites and in this war has with difficulty been adequately equipped with them. Such, then, is the situation in Sicily, to judge from what I learn by report, and it is likely to be

<sup>1</sup> Referring to Syracuse and its dependencies.

<sup>2</sup> Or, reading *πολιτειῶν*, "changes in old forms of government and adoption of new."

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* by Athenian representatives.



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ρώτερα ἔσται (βαρβάρους<sup>1</sup> γὰρ πολλοὺς ἔξομεν  
 οἱ Συρακοσίων μίσει ξυνεπιθήσονται αὐτοῖς), καὶ  
 τὰ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἐπικωλύσει, ἣν ὑμεῖς ὀρθῶς βουλευ-  
 7 ησθε. οἱ γὰρ πατέρες ἡμῶν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους  
 οὔσπερ νῦν φασὶ πολεμίους ὑπολιπόντας ἂν ἡμᾶς  
 πλεῖν καὶ προσέτι τὸν Μῆδον ἐχθρὸν ἔχοντες τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσαντο, οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἢ τῇ περιουσίᾳ  
 8 τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἰσχύοντες. καὶ νῦν οὔτε ἀνέλπιστοί  
 πω μᾶλλον Πελοποννήσιοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐγένοντο, εἴ  
 τε καὶ πάνυ ἔρρωνται, τὸ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν  
 ἐσβάλλειν, καὶ μὴ ἐκπλεύσωμεν, ἱκανοὶ εἰσι, τῷ  
 δὲ ναυτικῷ οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο βλάπτειν· ὑπόλοιπον  
 γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἀντίπαλον ναυτικόν.

XVIII. “Ὡστε τί ἂν λέγοντες εἰκὸς ἢ αὐτοὶ  
 ἀποκνοῖμεν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους σκηπτό-  
 μενοι μὴ βοηθοῖμεν; οἷς χρεῶν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ  
 ξυνωμόσαμεν, ἐπαμύνειν καὶ μὴ ἀντιτιθέναι ὅτι  
 οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἵνα δεῦρο ἀντιβοηθῶσι  
 προσθέμεθα αὐτούς, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἐχθροῖς  
 ἡμῶν λυπηροὶ ὄντες δεῦρο κωλύωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπ-  
 2 ἵεναι. τὴν τε ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἐκτησάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι ἤρξαν, παραγιγνόμενοι προθύμως  
 τοῖς αἰεὶ ἢ βαρβάροις ἢ Ἑλλησιν ἐπικαλουμένοις,  
 ἐπεὶ, εἴ γε ἡσυχάζοιμεν πάντες<sup>2</sup> ἢ φυλοκρινοῖμεν  
 οἷς χρεῶν βοηθεῖν, βραχὺ ἂν τι προσκτώμενοι  
 αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ἂν ταύτης μᾶλλον κινδυνεύοιμεν.  
 τὸν γὰρ προύχοντα οὐ μόνον ἐπιόντα τις ἀμύνεται,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως μὴ<sup>3</sup> ἐπεισι προκαταλαμβάνει.

<sup>1</sup> τε of the MSS. after βαρβάρους bracketed by Haacke.

<sup>2</sup> πάντες, Hude emends the MSS. reading to πάντως.

<sup>3</sup> Transposing μὴ ὅπως of the MSS., after Krüger.





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3 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ἐς ὅσον βουλόμεθα ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τῷδε καθέσταμεν, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλεύειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀνιέναι, διὰ τὸ ἀρχθῆναι ἂν ὑφ' ἐτέρων αὐτοῖς κίνδυνον εἶναι, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὶ ἄλλων ἄρχοιμεν. καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκεπτέον ὑμῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἤσυχον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐς τὸ ὁμοῖον μεταλήψεσθε.

4 “ Λογισάμενοι οὖν τάδε μᾶλλον αὐξήσειν, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἣν ἴωμεν, ποιῶμεθα τὸν πλοῦν, ἵνα Πελοποννησίων τε στορέσωμεν τὸ φρόνημα, εἰ δόξομεν ὑπεριδόντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἤσυχίαν καὶ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεῦσαι, καὶ ἅμα ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῶν ἐκεῖ προσγενομένων, πάσης τῷ εἰκότι ἄρξωμεν, ἢ κακώσωμέν γε Συρακοσίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ  
5 οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὠφελησόμεθα. τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλές, καὶ μένειν, ἣν τι προχωρῆ, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν, αἱ νῆες παρέξουσιν· ναυκράτορες γὰρ ἐσόμεθα καὶ ξυμπάντων  
6 Σικελιωτῶν. καὶ μὴ ὑμᾶς ἢ Νικίου τῶν λόγων ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ διάστασις τοῖς νέοις ἐς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀποτρέψη, τῷ δὲ εἰωθότι κόσμῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἅμα νέοι γεραιτέροις βουλεύοντες ἐς τάδε ἦραν αὐτά, καὶ νῦν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πειρᾶσθε προαγαγεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ νομί-

---

<sup>1</sup> The other Hellenic states, it would seem, were preaching the doctrine of non-interference or self-determination; Athens, according to Alcibiades, cannot accept this doctrine



And it is not possible for us to exercise a careful stewardship of the limits we would set to our empire; but, since we are placed in this position, it is necessary to plot against some and not let go our hold upon others, because there is a danger of coming ourselves under the empire of others, should we not ourselves hold empire over other peoples. And you cannot regard a pacific policy in the same light as other states might, unless you will change your practices also to correspond with theirs.<sup>1</sup>

“Calculating, then, that we shall rather strengthen our power here if we go over there, let us make the voyage, that we may lay low the haughty spirit of the Peloponnesians, as we shall if we let men see that in contempt of our present peaceful condition<sup>2</sup> we even sail against Sicily; and that we may, at the same time, either acquire empire over all Hellas, as in all probability we shall, when the Hellenes there have been added to us, or may at least cripple the Syracusans, whereby both ourselves and our allies will be benefited. And as to safety—both to remain, if things go well, and to come away—our ships will provide that; for we shall be masters of the sea even against all the Siceliots combined. And let not the policy of inaction that Nicias proposes, or his putting the younger at variance with the older men, divert you from your purpose; but in our usual good order, just as our fathers, young men taking counsel with older men, raised our power to its present height, do you now also in the same way strive to

without accepting the consequences and relinquishing her empire.

<sup>2</sup> Which was in reality an armed truce renewable every ten days.



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σατε νεότητα μὲν καὶ γῆρας ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μηδὲν δύνασθαι, ὁμοῦ δὲ τὸ τε φαῦλον καὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ τὸ πάνυ ἀκριβὲς ἂν ξυγκραθὲν μάλιστ' ἂν ἰσχύειν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἂν μὲν ἡσυχάζῃ, τρίψεσθαί τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ πάντων τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐγγηράσεσθαι, ἀγωνιζομένην δὲ αἰεὶ προσλήψεσθαί τε τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ξύνηθες ἔξειν.

7 παράπαν τε γιγνώσκω πόλιν μὴ ἀπράγμονα τάχιστ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖν ἀπραγμοσύνης μεταβολῆ διαφθαρῆναι, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλέστατα τούτους οἰκεῖν οἷ ἂν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἦθεσι καὶ νόμοις, ἣν καὶ χεῖρω ἢ, ἢκιστα διαφόρως πολιτεύωσιν."

XIX. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπεν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνου τε καὶ τῶν Ἐγεσταίων καὶ Λεοντίνων φυγάδων, οἱ παρελθόντες ἐδέοντό τε καὶ τῶν ὀρκίων ὑπομιμνήσκοντες ἰκέτευον βοηθῆσαι σφίσι, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ὄρμητο στρατεύειν. καὶ ὁ Νικίας γνοὺς ὅτι ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἀποτρέψειε, παρασκευῆς δὲ πλήθει, εἰ πολλὴν ἐπιτάξειε, τάχ' ἂν μεταστήσειεν αὐτούς, παρελθὼν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἔλεγε τοίαδε.

2

XX. "Ἐπειδὴ πάντως ὀρῶ ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄρμημένους στρατεύειν, ξυνενέγκοι μὲν ταῦτα ὡς βουλόμεθα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἂ γιγνώσκω σημανῶ. ἐπὶ γὰρ πόλεις, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκοῇ αἰσθάνομαι, μέλλομεν ἰέναι μεγάλας καὶ οὔθ' ὑπηκόους ἀλλήλων οὐδὲ δεομένας μεταβολῆς, ἢ ἂν ἐκ βιαίου τις δουλείας ἄσμενος ἐς ῥάω μετάστασιν χωροίη, οὔτ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰκότως ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας





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## THUCYDIDES

προσδεξαμένας, τό τε πλῆθος, ὡς ἐν μιᾷ νήσῳ,  
 3 πολλὰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας. πλὴν γὰρ Νάξου καὶ  
 Κατάνης, ἃς ἐλπίζω ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ Λεοντίνων ξυγ-  
 γενὲς προσέσεσθαι, ἄλλαι εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ, καὶ παρε-  
 σκευασμένοι τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοιοτρόπως μάλιστα τῇ  
 ἡμετέρα δυνάμει, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ἃς μᾶλλον  
 4 πλέομεν, Σελινοῦς καὶ Συράκουσαι. πολλοὶ μὲν  
 γὰρ ὀπλίται ἐνεῖσι καὶ τοξόται καὶ ἀκοντισταί,  
 πολλαὶ δὲ τριήρεις καὶ ὄχλος ὁ πληρώσων αὐτάς.  
 χρήματά τ' ἔχουσι, τὰ μὲν ἴδια, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 ἱεροῖς ἔστι Σελινουντίοις. Συρακοσίοις δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ  
 βαρβάρων τινῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φέρεται.<sup>1</sup> ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα  
 ἡμῶν προύχουσιν, ἵππους τε πολλοὺς κέκτηνται  
 καὶ σίτῳ οἰκείῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐπακτῷ χρῶνται.

XXI. “ Πρὸς οὖν τοιαύτην δύναμιν οὐ ναυ-  
 τικῆς καὶ φαύλου στρατιᾶς μόνον δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 πεζὸν πολὺν ξυμπλεῖν, εἴπερ βουλόμεθα ἄξιον τῆς  
 διανοίας δρᾶν καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ ἰππέων πολλῶν εἴργε-  
 σθαι τῆς γῆς, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ ξυστῶσιν αἱ πόλεις  
 φοβηθεῖσαι καὶ μὴ ἀντιπαράσχωσιν ἡμῖν φίλοι  
 τινὲς γενόμενοι ἄλλοι ἢ Ἐγεσταῖοι ᾧ ἀμυνούμεθα  
 2 ἰππικόν· αἰσχροὺν δὲ βιασθέντας ἀπελθεῖν ἢ ὕστε-  
 ρον ἐπιμεταπέμπεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀσκέπτως βου-  
 λευσαμένους. αὐτόθεν δὲ<sup>2</sup> παρασκευῇ ἀξιοχρεῶ  
 ἐπιέναι, γνόντας ὅτι πολὺ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας

<sup>1</sup> ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φέρεται, the reading of G (adopted by some of the best editors), for ἀπαρχῆς φέρεται ABCEFM, ἀπαρχὴ ἐσφέρεται vulg.

<sup>2</sup> Understanding δεῖ from § 1, which Hude inserts with van Herwerden and Madvig.



place of liberty; and the number is large, for a single island, of cities of Hellenic origin. For except Naxos and Catana, which I expect will side with us on account of their kinship to the Leontines, there are seven others;<sup>1</sup> and these are equipped with everything in a style very like to our own armament, and not least those against which our expedition is more immediately directed, Selinus and Syracuse. For they can supply many hoplites, archers and javelin-men, and possess many triremes and a multitude of men to man them. They have wealth, too, partly in private possession and partly in the temples at Selinus; and to the Syracusans tribute has come in from time immemorial from certain barbarians also; but their chief advantage over us is in the fact that they have many horses, and use grain that is home-grown and not imported.

XXI. "To cope with such a power we need not only a naval armament of such insignificant size, but also that a large force for use on land should accompany the expedition, if we would accomplish anything worthy of our design and not be shut out from the land by their numerous cavalry; especially if the cities become terrified and stand together, and some of the others, besides Egesta, do not become our friends and supply us cavalry with which to defend ourselves against that of the enemy. And it would be shameful to be forced to return home, or later to send for fresh supplies, because we had made our plans at first without due consideration. So we must start from home with an adequate armament, realizing that we are about to sail, not only far from our

<sup>1</sup> Syracuse, Selinus, Gela, Agrigentum, Messene, Himera, Camarina (Schol.).



## THUCYDIDES

αὐτῶν μέλλομεν πλεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ στρα-  
 τευσόμενοι καὶ <sup>1</sup> εἰ τοῖς τῆδε ὑπηκόοις ξύμμαχοι  
 ἦλθετε ἐπὶ τινα, ὅθεν ῥάδιαι αἱ κομιδαὶ ἐκ τῆς  
 φιλίας ὧν προσέδει, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν πᾶσαν  
 ἀπαρτήσαντες,<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν  
 χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥάδιον ἐλθεῖν.

XXII. “Ὅπλίτας τε οὖν πολλοὺς μοι δοκεῖ  
 χρῆναι ἡμᾶς ἄγειν καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν  
 ξυμμάχων, τῶν τε ὑπηκόων καὶ ἦν τινα ἐκ Πελο-  
 ποννήσου δυνώμεθα ἢ πείσαι ἢ μισθῷ προσαγα-  
 γέσθαι, καὶ τοξότας πολλοὺς καὶ σφενδονήτας,  
 ὅπως πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων ἵππικὸν ἀντέχωσι, ναυσί-  
 τε καὶ πολὺ περιεῖναι, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥᾶον  
 ἐσκομιζώμεθα, τὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτόθεν σῖτον ἐν ὀλκάσι,  
 πυροὺς καὶ πεφρυγμένας κριθάς, ἄγειν καὶ σιτο-  
 ποιοὺς ἐκ τῶν μυλώνων πρὸς μέρος ἠναγκασμένους  
 ἐμμίσθους, ἵνα, ἦν που ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας ἀπολαμ-  
 βανώμεθα, ἔχη ἢ στρατιὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια (πολλὴ  
 γὰρ οὔσα οὐ πάσης ἔσται πόλεως ὑποδέξασθαι),  
 τά τε ἄλλα ὅσον δυνατὸν ἐτοιμάσασθαι καὶ μὴ  
 ἐπὶ ἑτέροις γίνεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ χρήματα αὐτό-  
 θεν ὡς πλεῖστα ἔχειν. τὰ δὲ παρ’ Ἐγεσταίων,  
 ἃ λέγεται ἐκεῖ ἐτοῖμα, νομίσατε καὶ λόγῳ ἂν  
 μάλιστα ἐτοῖμα εἶναι.

XXIII. “Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐνθένδε μὴ  
 ἀντίπαλον μόνον παρασκευασάμενοι, πλήν γε πρὸς  
 τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερ-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰ for καὶ οὐκ ἐν of the MSS., with Classen.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπαρτήσαντες, with ABF and Schol. (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπαρτηθέντες, ἀπελθόντες), ἀπαρτήσοντες CEM.





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## THUCYDIDES

βάλλοντες τοῖς πᾶσι, μόλις οὕτως οἰοί τε ἐσόμεθα  
 2 τῶν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διασῶσαι. πόλιν τε  
 νομίσαι χρῆ ἐν ἄλλοφύλοις καὶ πολεμίοις οἰκι-  
 οῦντας ἰέναι, οὓς πρέπει τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἂν  
 κατάσχωσιν εὐθὺς κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς ἢ εἰδέναι ὅτι,  
 3 ἢν σφάλλωνται, πάντα πολέμια ἔξουσιν. ὅπερ  
 ἐγὼ φοβούμενος καὶ εἰδὼς πολλὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς δέον εὖ  
 βουλεύσασθαι, ἔτι δὲ πλείω εὐτυχῆσαι, χαλεπὸν  
 δὲ ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, ὅτι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παρα-  
 δούς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι ἐκπλεῖν, παρασκευῇ δὲ  
 4 ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἀσφαλῆς.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα γὰρ τῇ τε  
 ξυμπάσῃ πόλει βεβαιότατα ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς  
 στρατευσομένοις σωτήρια. εἰ δέ τῳ ἄλλως δοκεῖ,  
 παρίημι αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν.”

XXIV. Ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοσαῦτα εἶπε, νομίζων  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῷ πλήθει τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ  
 ἀποτρέψειν ἢ, εἰ ἀναγκάζοιτο στρατεύεσθαι, μά-  
 2 λιστ' ἂν οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἐκπλεῦσαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν  
 ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ οὐκ ἐξηρέθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 ὀχλώδους τῆς παρασκευῆς, πολὺ δὲ μάλλον ὄρ-  
 μηντο καὶ τοῦναντίον περιέστη αὐτῷ· εὖ τε γὰρ  
 παραινέσαι ἔδοξε καὶ ἀσφάλεια νῦν δὴ καὶ πολλή  
 3 ἔσεσθαι. καὶ ἔρως ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως  
 ἐκπλεῦσαι, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις ὡς ἢ κατα-  
 στρεψομένοις ἐφ' ἃ ἔπλεον ἢ οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖσαν  
 μεγάλην δύναμιν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆς τε ἀπού-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκπλεῦσαι of the MSS., after ἀσφαλῆς, deleted by Krüger.



respects, scarcely even so shall we be able to conquer Sicily or indeed to preserve our own army. It is, in fact, as you must believe, a city that we are going forth to found amid alien and hostile peoples, and it behooves men in such an enterprise to be at once, on the very day they land, masters of the soil, or at least to know that, if they fail in this, everything will be hostile to them. Fearing, then, this very result, and knowing that to succeed we must have been wise in planning to a large extent, but to a still larger extent must have good fortune—a difficult thing, as we are but men—I wish, when I set sail, to have committed myself as little as possible to fortune, but so far as preparation is concerned to be, in all human probability, safe. For these precautions I regard as not only surest for the whole state but also as safeguards for us who are to go on the expedition. But if it seem otherwise to anyone, I yield the command to him.”

XXIV. So much Nicias said, thinking that he would deter the Athenians by the multitude of his requirements, or, if he should be forced to make the expedition, he would in this way set out most safely. They, however, were not diverted from their eagerness for the voyage by reason of the burdensomeness of the equipment, but were far more bent upon it; and the result was just the opposite of what he had expected; for it seemed to them that he had given good advice, and that now certainly there would be abundant security. And upon all alike there fell an eager desire to sail—upon the elders, from a belief that they would either subdue the places they were sailing against, or that at any rate a great force could suffer no disaster; upon those in the flower of their



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σης πόθῳ ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας, καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι, ὁ δὲ πολὺς ὄμιλος καὶ στρατιώτης ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἀργύριον οἴσειν καὶ προσκτήσεσθαι δύναμιν ὅθεν αἰδίου μισθοφορὰν ὑπάρξειν. 4 ὥστε διὰ τὴν ἄγαν τῶν πλειόνων ἐπιθυμίαν, εἴ τῳ ἄρα καὶ μὴ ἤρεσκε, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀντιχειροτονῶν κακόνους δόξειεν εἶναι τῇ πόλει ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν.

XXV. Καὶ τέλος παρελθὼν τις τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ παρακαλέσας τὸν Νικίαν οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι προφασίζεσθαι οὐδὲ διαμέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον ἀπάντων ἤδη λέγειν ἦντινα αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν 2 Ἀθηναῖοι ψηφίσωνται. ὁ δὲ ἄκων μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τῶν ξυναρχόντων καθ' ἡσυχίαν μᾶλλον βουλεύσοιτο, ὅσα μέντοι ἤδη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ, τριήρεσι μὲν οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ<sup>1</sup> ἑκατὸν πλευστέα εἶναι (αὐτῶν δ' <sup>2</sup> Ἀθηναίων ἔσεσθαι ὀπλιταγωγούς ὅσαι ἂν δοκῶσι, καὶ ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων μεταπεμπτέας εἶναι), ὀπλίταις δὲ τοῖς ξύμπασιν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πεντακισχιλίων μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσοσιν, ἦν δέ τι δύνωνται, καὶ πλείοσιν· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ὡς κατὰ λόγον καὶ τοξοτῶν τῶν αὐτόθεν καὶ ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ σφενδονητῶν καὶ ἦν τι ἄλλο πρέπον δοκῆ εἶναι ἐτοιμασάμενοι ἄξειν.

XXVI. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο εὐθύς αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι καὶ περὶ στρατιᾶς πλήθους καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πλοῦ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἢ Hude omits with E.

<sup>2</sup> δ' Hude brackets and inserts ὦν after Ἀθηναίων, on Krüger's suggestion.





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## THUCYDIDES

πράσσειν ἢ ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῆ ἄριστα εἶναι Ἀθηναί-  
 2 οῖς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἢ παρασκευὴ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ  
 ἔς τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἔπεμπον καὶ αὐτόθεν κατα-  
 λόγους ἐποιοῦντο. ἄρτι δ' ἀνειλήφει ἢ πόλις  
 ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ ξυνεχοῦς πολέμου  
 ἔς τε ἡλικίας πλήθος ἐπιγεγεννημένης καὶ ἔς χρημά-  
 των ἄθροισιν διὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ὥστε ῥᾶον πάντα  
 ἐπορίζετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν.

XXVII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, ὅσοι Ἑρμαῖ ἦσαν λίθινοι  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων (εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώ-  
 ριον ἢ τετράγωνος ἐργασία<sup>1</sup> πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις  
 προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς) μιᾷ νυκτὶ οἱ πλείστοι  
 2 περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα. καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας  
 ἤδει οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις μηνύτροις δημοσίᾳ  
 οὗτοί τε ἐζητοῦντο καὶ προσέτι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ  
 εἴ τις ἄλλο τι οἶδεν ἀσέβημα γεγεννημένον, μηνύειν  
 ἀδεῶς τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ  
 3 δούλων. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα μειζόνως ἐλάβανον· τοῦ  
 τε γὰρ ἔκπλου οἰωνὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ ξυνω-  
 μοσίᾳ ἅμα νεωτέρων πραγμάτων καὶ δήμου κατα-  
 λύσεως γεγενῆσθαι. XXVIII. μηνύεται οὖν ἀπὸ  
 μετοίκων τέ τινων καὶ ἀκολούθων περὶ μὲν τῶν  
 Ἑρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων περικοπαί  
 τινες πρότερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ  
 οἴνου γεγεννημέναι, καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἅμα ὡς ποιεῖ-  
 ται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ὕβρει· ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην  
 2 ἐπητιῶντο. καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα

<sup>1</sup> ἢ τετράγωνος ἐργασία, deleted by Hude, as not read by Schol. Patm.



and to the whole expedition, to act in whatever way might seem to them best for Athens. After this the preparation was begun; and they sent notice to their allies and made levies at home. Now the city had just recovered from the plague and from the continuous war, both in point of the multitude of young men who had grown up and of the money that had accumulated in consequence of the truce, so that everything was provided more easily. So the Athenians were engaged in preparation.

XXVII. But in the meantime the stone statues of Hermes in the city of Athens—they are the pillars of square construction which according to local custom stand in great numbers both in the doorways of private houses and in sacred places—nearly all had their faces mutilated on the same night. No one knew the perpetrators, but great rewards were publicly offered for their detection; and it was voted, besides, that if anyone, citizen or stranger or slave, knew of any other profanation that had been done, whoever would might fearlessly give information. The matter was taken very seriously; for it seemed to be ominous for the expedition and to have been done withal in furtherance of a conspiracy with a view to a revolution and the overthrow of the democracy. XXVIII. Accordingly, information was given by certain metics and serving-men, not indeed about the statues of Hermes, but to the effect that before this there had been certain mutilations of other statues perpetrated by younger men in drunken sport, and also that the mysteries were being performed in private houses in mockery; and Alcibiades, among others, was implicated in the charges. They



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τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι ἐμποδῶν ὄντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως προεστάναι, καὶ νομίσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειαν, πρῶτοι ἂν εἶναι, ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ ἐβόων ὡς ἐπὶ δήμου καταλύσει τά τε μυστικὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπὴ γένοιτο καὶ οὐδὲν εἴη αὐτῶν ὃ τι οὐ μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπράχθη, ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν.

XXIX. Ὁ δ' ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὰ μηνύματα ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ἐτοῖμος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν κρίνεσθαι, εἴ τι τούτων εἰργασμένος ἦν (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπεπόριστο), καὶ εἰ μὲν τούτων τι εἰργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, 2 ἄρχειν. καὶ ἐπεμαρτύρετο μὴ ἀπόντος περὶ αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδικεῖ, καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον εἴη μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγνώσι, πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ 3 τοσοῦτῳ στρατεύματι. οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ δεδιότες τότε στρατεύμα μὴ εὖνουν ἔχη, ἦν ἤδη ἀγωνίζεται, ὃ τε δῆμος μὴ μαλακίζεται, θεραπεύων ὅτι δι' ἐκείνον οἷ τ' Ἀργεῖοι ξυνεστράτευον καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές, ἀπέτρεπον καὶ ἀπέσπευδον, ἄλλους ῥήτορας ἐνιέντες οἱ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν, ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μεί-

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<sup>1</sup> Notably a certain Androcles (VIII. lxxv. 2); cf. Plut. Alcib. 19.





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## THUCYDIDES

ζονος διαβολῆς, ἣν ἔμελλον ῥᾶον αὐτοῦ ἀπόντος ποριεῖν, μετάπεμπτον κομισθέντα αὐτὸν ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλεῖν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.

XXΧ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέρους μεσοῦντος ἤδη ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἐγίνετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν. τῶν μὲν οὖν συμμάχων τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ ταῖς σιταγωγαῖς ὀλκάσι καὶ τοῖς πλοίοις καὶ ὅση ἄλλη παρασκευὴ ξυνείπετο πρότερον εἶρητο ἐς Κέρκυραν ξυλλέγεσθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἀθρόοις ἐπὶ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβαλοῦσιν· αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν συμμάχων παρήσαν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταβάντες ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ ἅμα ἔω ἐπλήρουν τὰς 2 ναῦς ὡς ἀναξόμενοι. ξυγκατέβη δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἅπας ὡς εἰπεῖν ὁ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι τοὺς σφετέρους αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι προπέμποντες, οἱ μὲν ἑταίρους, οἱ δὲ ξυγγενεῖς, οἱ δὲ υἱεῖς, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδος τε ἅμα ἰόντες καὶ ὀλοφυρμῶν, τὰ μὲν ὡς κτήσοιντο, τοὺς δ' εἴ ποτε ὄψοιντο, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅσον πλοῦν ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀπεστέλλοντο. καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, ὡς ἤδη ἔμελλον μετὰ κινδύνων ἀλλήλους ἀπολιπεῖν, μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐσῆει τὰ δεινὰ ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζοντο πλεῖν· ὅμως δὲ τῇ παρούσῃ ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάστων ὧν ἐώρων τῇ ὄψει<sup>1</sup> ἀνεθάρσουν. οἱ δὲ ξένοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄχλος κατὰ θέαν ἤκεν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀξιόχρεων καὶ ἄπιστον διάνοιαν.

<sup>1</sup> τῇ ὄψει, Hude inserts ἐν.



—and this they would find it easier to procure in his absence—and then to have him recalled and brought home for trial. So it was determined that Alcibiades should sail.

XXX. After that, when it was already midsummer, the departure for Sicily was made. Orders had been given beforehand for most of the allies, as well as for the provision-ships and smaller boats and all the rest of the armament that went with them, to assemble at Corcyra, with the intention that from there they should all cross the Ionian Gulf to the promontory of Iapygia in one body. But the Athenians themselves and the allies that were present went down to the Peiraeus at dawn on a day appointed and proceeded to man the ships for the purpose of putting to sea. And with them went down also all the general throng, everyone, we may almost say, that was in the city, both citizens and strangers, the natives to send off each their own, whether friends or kinsmen or sons, going at once in hope and with lamentations—hope that they would make conquests in Sicily, lamentations that they might never see their friends again, considering how long was the voyage from their own land on which they were being sent. And at this crisis, when under impending dangers they were now about to take leave of one another, the risks came home to them more than when they were voting for the expedition; but still their courage revived at the sight of their present strength because of the abundance of everything they saw before their eyes. The strangers on the other hand and the rest of the multitude had come for a spectacle, in the feeling that the enterprise was noteworthy and surpassing belief.



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XXXI. Παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἢ<sup>1</sup> πρώτη ἐκ-  
 πλεύσασα μιᾶς πόλεως δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ<sup>2</sup>  
 πολυτελεστάτη δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν ἐς  
 2 ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο. ἀριθμῶ δὲ νεῶν  
 καὶ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ἢ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον μετὰ Περικ-  
 κλέους καὶ ἢ αὕτη ἐς Ποτεΐδαιαν μετὰ Ἄγνωνος  
 οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἦν· τετράκις γὰρ χίλιοι ὀπλι-  
 ται αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριακόσιοι ἵππῆς καὶ  
 τριήρεις ἑκατὸν καὶ Λεσβίων καὶ Χίων πεντή-  
 3 κοντα καὶ ξύμμαχοι ἔτι πολλοὶ ξυνέπλευσαν·  
 ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τε βραχεῖ πλῶ ὠρμήθησαν καὶ παρα-  
 σκευῇ φαύλῃ, οὗτος δὲ ὁ στόλος ὡς χρόνιός τε  
 ἐσόμενος καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, οὐ ἂν δέη, καὶ ναυσὶ  
 καὶ πεζῶ ἅμα ἐξαρτυθείς, τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν μεγά-  
 λαις δαπάναις τῶν τε τριηράρχων καὶ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἐκπονηθέν, τοῦ μὲν δημοσίου δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας  
 τῶ ναύτῃ ἐκάστῳ διδόντος καὶ ναῦς παρασχόντος  
 κενὰς ἐξήκοντα μὲν ταχείας, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ  
 ὀπλιταγωγούς καὶ ὑπηρεσίας ταύταις τὰς κρατί-  
 στας, τῶν δὲ<sup>3</sup> τριηράρχων ἐπιφοράς τε πρὸς  
 τῶ ἐκ δημοσίου μισθῶ διδόντων τοῖς θρα-  
 νίταις τῶν ναυτῶν<sup>4</sup> καὶ τᾶλλα σημείοις καὶ  
 κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένων, καὶ ἐς τὰ  
 μακρότατα προθυμηθέντος ἑνὸς ἐκάστου ὅπως  
 αὐτῶ τινι εὐπρεπείᾳ τε ἢ ναῦς μάλιστα προέξει  
 καὶ τῶ ταχυναυτεῖν, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν καταλόγοις τε  
 χρηστοῖς ἐκκριθὲν καὶ ὄπλων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα σκευῶν μεγάλῃ σπουδῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους

<sup>1</sup> ἢ added by Dobree.

<sup>2</sup> Ἑλληνικῇ, Hude writes Ἑλληνικῆς, after Haacke.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ adopted from Schol. Patm.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις after τῶν ναυτῶν is deleted as not read by the Scholiast.





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## THUCYDIDES

4 ἀμιλληθέν. ξυνέβη δὲ πρὸς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα  
ἔριν γενέσθαι, ὧ̄ τις ἕκαστος προσετάχθη, καὶ ἐς  
τοὺς ἄλλους "Ἕλληνας ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον εἰκα-  
σθῆναι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας ἢ ἐπὶ πολεμίου  
5 παρασκευῆν. εἰ γάρ τις ἐλογίσατο τήν τε τῆς  
πόλεως ἀνάλωσιν δημοσίαν καὶ τῶν στρατευο-  
μένων τὴν ἰδίαν, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὅσα τε ἤδη  
προυτετέλεκει καὶ ἃ ἔχοντας τοὺς στρατηγούς  
ἀπέστελλε, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν ἅ τε περὶ τὸ σῶμά τις  
καὶ τριήραρχος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἀνηλώκει καὶ ὅσα ἔτι  
ἔμελλεν ἀναλώσειν, χωρὶς δ' ἃ εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ ἄνευ  
τοῦ ἐκ δημοσίου μισθοῦ πάντα τινὰ παρασκευά-  
σασθαι ἐφόδιον ὡς ἐπὶ χρόνιον στρατείαν, καὶ ὅσα  
ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ τις ἢ στρατιώτης ἢ ἔμπορος ἔχων  
ἔπλει, πολλὰ ἂν τάλαντα ἠϋρέθη ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
6 τὰ πάντα ἐξαγόμενα. καὶ ὁ στόλος οὐχ ἦσσαν  
τόλμης τε θάμβει καὶ ὄψεως λαμπρότητι περι-  
βόητος ἐγένετο ἢ στρατιᾶς πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν  
ὑπερβολῇ, καὶ ὅτι μέγιστος ἤδη διάπλους ἀπὸ  
τῆς οἰκείας καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστη ἐλπίδι τῶν μελ-  
λόντων πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπεχειρήθη.

XXII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ νῆες πλήρεις ἦσαν καὶ  
ἐσέκειτο πάντα ἤδη ὅσα ἔχοντες ἔμελλον ἀνά-  
ξεσθαι, τῇ μὲν σάλπιγγι σιωπὴ ὑπεσημάνθη,  
εὐχὰς δὲ τὰς νομιζομένας πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς οὐ



matter of arms and personal equipment. And so it came about that among themselves there was emulation, wherever each was assigned to duty, and the whole thing seemed more like a display of wealth and power before the rest of the Hellenes than an undertaking against enemies. For if one had reckoned the public expenditure on the part of the state and the private outlay of those who made the expedition—on the part of the city, both what it had already advanced and what it was sending in the hands of the generals, and on the part of private individuals whatever a man had expended on his own person or, if trierarch, on his ship, and what they were going to spend still, and, besides, the money we may suppose that everyone, even apart from the pay he received from the state, provided for himself as travelling expenses, counting upon an expedition of long duration, and all the articles for barter and sale merchant or soldier took with him on the voyage—it would have been found that many talents in all were taken from the city. And the fame of the armament was noised abroad, not less because of amazement at its boldness and the splendour of the spectacle than on account of its overwhelming force as compared with those whom they were going against; and also because it was the longest voyage from home as yet attempted and undertaken with the highest hopes for the future as compared with their present resources.

XXXII. When the ships had been manned and everything had at last been put aboard which they were to take with them on the voyage, the trumpeter proclaimed silence, and they offered the prayers that were customary before putting out to sea, not



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κατὰ ναῦν ἐκάστην, ξύμπαντες δὲ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐποιοῦντο, κρατῆράς τε κεράσαντες παρ' ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἐκπώμασι χρυσοῖς τε καὶ ἀργυροῖς οἷ τε ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σπένδοντες.

2 ξυνεπηύχοντο δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ὁ ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῶν τε πολιτῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος εὐνους παρῆν σφίσιν. παιανίσαντες δὲ καὶ τελεώσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ κέρως τὸ πρῶτον ἐκπλεύσαντες ἄμιλλαν ἤδη μέχρι Αἰγίνης ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ἔνθαπερ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα τῶν συμμάχων ξυνελέγετο, ἠπείγοντο ἀφικέσθαι.

3 Ἐς δὲ τὰς Συρακούσας ἠγγέλλετο μὲν πολλὰ χόθεν τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐπίπλου, οὐ μέντοι ἐπιστεύετο ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ἐλέχθησαν τοιοῖδε λόγοι ἀπὸ τε ἄλλων, τῶν μὲν πιστευόντων τὰ περὶ τῆς στρατείας τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐναντία λεγόντων, καὶ Ἐρμοκράτης ὁ Ἐρμωνος παρελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὡς σαφῶς οἰόμενος εἰδέναί τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, ἔλεγε καὶ παρῆνει τοιάδε.

XXIII. “Ἀπιστα μὲν ἴσως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, δόξω ὑμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἐπίπλου τῆς ἀληθείας λέγειν, καὶ γιγνώσκω ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἢ λέγοντες ἢ ἀπαγγέλλοντες οὐ μόνον οὐ πείθουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄφρονες δοκοῦσιν εἶναι· ὅμως δὲ οὐ καταφοβηθεὶς ἐπισχήσω κινδυνευούσης τῆς πόλεως, πείθων γε ἑμαυτὸν σαφέστερόν τι

2 ἑτέρου εἰδῶς λέγειν. Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ





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πάνυ θαυμάζετε, πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ὄρμηται καὶ  
 ναυτικῇ καὶ πεζικῇ, πρόφασιν μὲν Ἐγεσταίων  
 ξυμμαχία καὶ Λεοντίνων κατοικίσει, το δὲ ἀληθὲς  
 Σικελίας ἐπιθυμία, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 πόλεως, ἡγούμενοι, εἰ ταύτην σχοῖεν, ῥαδίως καὶ  
 3 τᾶλλα ἔξειν. ὡς οὖν ἐν τάχει παρεσομένων, ὁρᾶτε  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κάλλιστα  
 ἀμυνεῖσθε αὐτοὺς καὶ μήτε καταφρονήσαντες  
 ἄφαρκτοι ληφθήσεσθε μήτε ἀπιστήσαντες τοῦ  
 4 ξύμπαντος ἀμελήσετε. εἰ δέ τῳ καὶ πιστά, τὴν  
 τόλμαν αὐτῶν καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἐκπλαγῆ. οὔτε γὰρ  
 βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πλείω οἰοί τ' ἔσονται ἢ πάσχειν,  
 οὔθ' ὅτι μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπέρχονται, ἀνωφελές,<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους Σικελιώτας πολὺ  
 ἄμεινον (μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐθελήσουσιν ἐκπλαγέντες  
 ἡμῖν ξυμμαχεῖν), καὶ ἦν ἄρα ἢ κατεργασώμεθα  
 αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀπράκτους ὧν ἐφίενται ἀπόσωμεν (οὐ  
 γὰρ δὴ μὴ τύχασί γε ὧν προσδέχονται φοβοῦμαι),  
 κάλλιστον δὴ ἔργων ἡμῖν συμβήσεται καὶ οὐκ  
 5 ἀνέλπιστον ἔμοιγε. ὀλίγοι γὰρ δὴ στόλοι μεγάλοι  
 ἢ Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν  
 ἀπάραντες κατώρθωσαν. οὔτε γὰρ πλείους τῶν  
 ἐνοικούντων καὶ ἀστυγειτόνων ἔρχονται (πάντα  
 γὰρ ὑπὸ δέους ξυνίσταται), ἦν τε δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν  
 ἐπιτηδείων ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῆ σφαλῶσι, τοῖς ἐπι-  
 βουλευθεῖσιν ὄνομα, κἂν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνωφέλες, Dobree's correction, for ἀνωφελεῖς of the MSS., which Hude retains.



as you wonder at it, that the Athenians have set out with a large armament for use on land as well as on the sea, on the pretext of an alliance with the Eggestaeans and the restoration of the Leontines, but in truth with a covetous desire for Sicily, and above all for our city, thinking that once in possession of it they would easily get possession of the rest also. With the certainty, then, that they will soon be here, consider in what way with your present resources you can best ward them off, and may neither by despising them be caught off your guard nor through incredulity neglect the whole matter. If, however, anyone does find my words credible, let him not be dismayed at their daring and power. For neither will they be able to inflict more injury upon us than they will suffer, nor is it without advantage for us that they are coming with a great armament; on the contrary, it is far better so as regards the rest of the Siceliot, for in their consternation they will be more inclined to join our alliance; and if in the end we either overpower them or drive them off baffled in their designs—for I certainly have no fear as to their attaining the success they anticipate—it will prove the most glorious of achievements for us, and one which I at least do not despair of. For few great armaments, whether of Hellenes or of barbarians, when sent far from their own land, have been successful. The reason is that they are not, in the first place, superior in numbers to the people against whom they go and the neighbours of these—for fear always brings about union; and if, in the second place, they fail on account of lack of supplies in a foreign land, they leave a proud name to those whom they plotted against, even though their failure



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6 πλείω πταίσωσιν, ὅμως καταλείπουσιν. ὅπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, τοῦ Μήδου παρὰ λόγον πολλὰ σφαλέντος, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀθήναϊς ἦει ηὔξηθησαν, καὶ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀνέλπιστον τὸ τοιούτον συμβῆναι.

XXXIV. “Θαρσοῦντες οὖν τά τε αὐτοῦ παρασκευαζώμεθα καὶ ἐς τοὺς Σικελούς πεμποῦντες τοὺς μὲν μάλλον βεβαιωσώμεθα, τοῖς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πειρώμεθα ποιεῖσθαι, ἐς τε τὴν ἄλλην Σικελίαν πέμπωμεν πρέσβεις, δηλοῦντες ὡς κοινὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὅπως ἢ συμμαχίδα ποιώμεθα ἡμῖν ἢ μὴ δέχωνται<sup>2</sup> Ἀθηναίους. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἄμεινον εἶναι πέμψαι. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ διὰ φόβου εἰσὶ μὴ ποτε Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλθωσιν, ὥστε τάχ’ ἂν ἴσως νομίσαντες, εἰ τάδε προήσονται, καὶ ἂν σφεῖς ἐν πόνῳ εἶναι, ἐθελήσειαν ἡμῖν ἦτοι κρύφα γε ἢ φανερώς ἢ ἐξ ἑνὸς γέ του τρόπου ἀμῦναι. δυνατοὶ δέ εἰσι μάλιστα τῶν νῦν, βουλευθέντες· χρυσὸν γὰρ καὶ ἄργυρον πλείστον κέκτηνται, ὅθεν ὃ τε πόλεμος<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰλλα εὐπορεῖ. πέμπωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐς Κόρινθον, δεόμενοι δεῦρο κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον κινεῖν.<sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ μάλιστα ἐγώ τε νομίζω ἐπίκαιρον ὑμεῖς τε διὰ τὸ ξύνηθες ἡσυχον ἦκιστ’ ἂν ὀξέως πείθοισθε, ὅμως εἰρήσεται. Σικελιωῦται γὰρ εἰ ἐθέλοιμεν σύμπαντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅτι πλείστοι μεθ’ ἡμῶν,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι, Hude deletes with Badham.





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## THUCYDIDES

καθελκύσαντες ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ναυτικὸν μετὰ  
 δυοῖν μηνῶν τροφῆς ἀπαντῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις ἐς  
 Τάραντα καὶ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν, καὶ δῆλον ποιῆσαι  
 αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῆς Σικελίας<sup>1</sup> πρότερον ἔσται  
 ὁ ἀγὼν ἢ τοῦ ἐκείνους περαιωθῆναι τὸν Ἰόνιον,  
 μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκπλήξαιμεν καὶ ἐς λογισμὸν  
 καταστήσαιμεν ὅτι ὀρμώμεθα μὲν ἐκ φιλίας  
 χώρας φύλακες (ὑποδέχεται γὰρ ἡμᾶς Τάρας), τὸ  
 δὲ πέλαγος αὐτοῖς πολὺν περαιουῖσθαι μετὰ πάσης  
 τῆς παρασκευῆς, χαλεπὸν δὲ διὰ πλοῦ μῆκος ἐν  
 τάξει μεῖναι, καὶ ἡμῖν ἂν εὐεπίθετος εἴη, βραδεία  
 5 τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον προσπίπτουσα. εἰ δ' αὖ τῷ  
 ταχυναυτοῦντι ἀθροτέρῳ κουφίσαντες προσβά-  
 λουεν, εἰ μὲν κώπαις χρήσαιντο, ἐπιθοίμεθ' ἂν  
 κεκμηκόσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ δοκοίη, ἔστι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι  
 ἡμῖν ἐς Τάραντα· οἱ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐφοδίων ὡς  
 ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ περαιωθέντες ἀποροῖεν ἂν κατὰ  
 χωρία ἐρῆμα, καὶ ἢ μένοντες πολιορκοῖντο ἂν ἢ  
 πειρώμενοι παραπλεῖν τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν  
 ἀπολείποιεν ἂν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἂν βέβαια  
 6 ἔχοντες, εἰ ὑποδέξοιντο, ἀθυμοῖεν. ὥστ' ἔγωγε  
 τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ ἡγοῦμαι ἀποκληρομένους αὐτοὺς  
 οὐδ' ἂν ἀπᾶραι ἀπὸ Κερκύρας, ἀλλ' ἢ διαβουλευ-  
 σαμένους καὶ κατασκοπαῖς χρωμένους ὅπόσοι τ'  
 ἐσμὲν καὶ ἐν ᾧ χωρίῳ, ἐξωσθῆναι ἂν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐς

<sup>1</sup> περὶ τῆς Σικελίας, Duker's correction for περὶ τῆ Σικελία of the MSS.

<sup>1</sup> The Athenians would naturally expect to cross from Corcyra to Tarentum, then follow the coast to Messene. By



available naval force and with two months' provisions go to meet the Athenians at Tarentum and the promontory of Iapygia, and make plain to them that the contest will not be first for Sicily, but before that for their passage across the Ionian Sea, we should mightily astound them and force them to reflect that we have as our base a friendly country from which to keep watch and ward—for Tarentum is ready to receive us—whereas for them the open sea is a wide one to cross with all their armament,<sup>1</sup> and it is difficult on account of the length of the voyage to keep in formation; consequently, coming up slowly and few at a time, they would be at the mercy of our attack. But if on the other hand they should lighten their ships and attack with the swift-sailing part of their fleet in a more compact body, then, in case they used their oars, we should set upon them when weary with rowing; or if it did not seem wise to attack them, we could retire to Tarentum again. They, however, having crossed with slender supplies in the prospect of a naval engagement, would be in distress in uninhabited regions, and either would remain and be blockaded, or trying to sail along the coast would leave behind the rest of their equipment, and, having no certainty as to the temper of the cities, whether they would receive them or not, would be discouraged. And so I for my part am of opinion that, deterred by this consideration, they would not even put out from Corcyra, but either, after taking time for deliberation and spying out how many we are and in what position, would be driven into winter-quarters making Tarentum their base the Siceliot would force the Athenians to cross the open sea—a hazardous undertaking.



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- χειμῶνα, ἢ καταπλαγέντας τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ κατα-  
 λῦσαι ἂν τὸν πλοῦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἐμ-  
 πειροτάτου τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω,  
 ἄκοντος ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀσμένου ἂν πρόφασιν  
 λαβόντος, εἴ τι ἀξιόχρεων ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὀφθείη.  
 7 ἀγγελλοίμεθα δ' ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν· τῶν  
 δ' ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ αἱ γνώμαι  
 ἴστανται, καὶ τοὺς προεπιχειροῦντας ἢ τοῖς γε  
 ἐπιχειροῦσι προδηλοῦντας ὅτι ἀμυνοῦνται μᾶλλον  
 πεφόβηνται, ἰσοκινδύνους ἡγούμενοι. ὅπερ ἂν νῦν  
 8 Ἀθηναῖοι πάθοιεν. ἐπέρχονται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὡς οὐκ  
 ἀμυνουμένοις, δικαίως κατεγνωκότες ὅτι αὐτοὺς οὐ  
 μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφθείρομεν· εἰ δ' ἴδοιεν παρὰ  
 γνώμην τολμήσαντας, τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ μᾶλλον ἂν  
 καταπλαγεῖεν ἢ τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δυνάμει.  
 9 “Πείθεσθε οὖν, μάλιστα μὲν ταῦτα τολμή-  
 σαντες, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι τάχιστα τὰλλα ἐς τὸν  
 πόλεμον ἐτοιμάζειν, καὶ παραστήναι παντὶ τὸ  
 μὲν καταφρονεῖν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ  
 ἀλκῇ δείκνυσθαι, τὸ δ' ἤδη τὰς μετὰ φόβου  
 παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτας νομίσαντας ὡς ἐπὶ  
 κινδύνου πρᾶσσειν χρησιμώτατον ἂν συμβῆναι.  
 οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ ἐπέρχονται καὶ ἐν πλῶ εὖ οἶδ'  
 ὅτι ἤδη εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσον οὐπω πάρειςιν.”





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## THUCYDIDES

XXXV. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἑρμοκράτης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων ὁ δῆμος ἐν πολλῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὶ ἂν τρόπῳ ἔλθοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδ' ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἃ λέγεται, οἱ δέ, εἰ καὶ ἔλθοιεν, τί ἂν δράσειαν αὐτοὺς ὃ τι οὐκ ἂν μεῖζον ἀντιπάθοιεν; ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ πάνυ καταφρονοῦντες ἐς γέλωτα ἔτρεπον τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὀλίγον δ' ἦν τὸ πιστεῦον τῷ Ἑρμοκράτει καὶ 2 φοβούμενον τὸ μέλλον. παρελθὼν δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναγόρας, ὃς δήμου τε προστάτης ἦν καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πιθανώτατος τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

XXXVI. “Τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ὅστις μὴ βούλεται οὕτως κακῶς φρονῆσαι καὶ ὑποχειρίους ἡμῖν γενέσθαι ἐνθάδε ἐλθόντας, ἢ δειλός ἐστιν ἢ τῇ πόλει οὐκ εὖνους· τοὺς δὲ ἀγγέλλοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ περιφόβους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦντας τῆς μὲν τόλμης οὐ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ ἀξυνεσίας, εἰ μὴ 2 οἴονται ἐνδηλοὶ εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ δεδιότες ἰδία τι βούλονται τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔκπληξιν καθιστάναί, ὅπως τῷ κοινῷ φόβῳ τὸ σφέτερον ἐπηλυγάζωνται. καὶ νῦν αὐταὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι τοῦτο δύνανται, αἱ<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου, ἐκ δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἵπερ αἰεὶ 3 τάδε κινουῦσι ξύγκεινται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἦν εὖ βουλευήσθε, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν οὗτοι ἀγγέλλουσι σκοποῦντες λογιεῖσθε τὰ εἰκότα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἄνθρωποι δεινοὶ καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειροι, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ Ἀθηναίους 4 ἀξιῶ, δράσειαν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς Πελοποννησίους τε ὑπολιπόντας καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον μήπω βεβαίως καταλελυμένους ἐπ' ἄλλον πόλεμον οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκόντας ἐλθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔγωγε

<sup>1</sup> αἱ added by Classen.



XXXV. Such was the speech of Hermocrates. But the Syracusan people were at great strife among themselves: some maintained that the Athenians would not come at all and that the reports were not true; others asked, even if they did come, what could they do to them that they would not themselves suffer still more; others quite contemptuously turned the matter into ridicule. There were, however, a few who believed Hermocrates and feared what was coming. But Athenagoras, who was a popular leader and at the present time most influential with the masses, came forward and addressed them as follows:—

XXXVI. “As to the Athenians, whoever does not wish them to be so ill witted as to come here and fall into our hands, is either a coward or not loyal to the state; as to the men, however, who tell such stories and fill you with fear, I do not wonder at their audacity so much as at their simplicity, if they fancy we do not see through them. For men who have some private grounds of fear wish to plunge the city into consternation, in order that in the common fear their own may be overshadowed. So now this is the meaning of these reports, which are not spontaneous, but have been concocted by men who are always stirring up trouble here. But you, if you are well advised, will examine and form your estimate of what is probable, not from what these men report, but from what shrewd men of much experience, such as I deem the Athenians to be, would be likely to do. For it is not probable that they would leave the Peloponnesians behind them before they have yet brought the war there surely to an end, and voluntarily come here to prosecute



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ἀγαπᾶν οἶομαι αὐτοὺς ὅτι οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐρχόμεθα, πόλεις τοσαῦται καὶ οὕτω μεγάλαι.

XXXVII. “ Εἰ δὲ δὴ, ὥσπερ λέγονται, ἔλθοιεν, ἱκανωτέραν ἡγοῦμαι Σικελίαν Πελοποννήσου διαπολεμῆσαι ὅσῳ κατὰ πάντα ἄμεινον ἐξήρτυται, τὴν δὲ ἡμετέραν πόλιν αὐτὴν τῆς νῦν στρατιᾶς, ὥς φασιν, ἐπιούσης, καὶ εἰ δις τοσαύτη ἔλθοι, πολὺ κρείσσω εἶναι· οἷς γ' ἐπίσταμαι οὔθ' ἵππους ἀκολουθήσοντας οὐδ' αὐτόθεν πορισθησομένους εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τινὰς παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων, οὔθ' ὀπλίτας ἰσοπλήθεις τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐπὶ νεῶν γε ἐλθόντας (μέγα γὰρ τὸ καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς ναυσὶ κούφαις τοσοῦτον πλοῦν δεῦρο κομισθῆναι), τὴν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν, ὅσῃν δεῖ ἐπὶ πόλιν τοσῆνδε πορισθῆναι, οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν. ὥστε (παρὰ τοσοῦτον γιγνώσκω) μόλις ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, εἰ πόλιν ἑτέραν τοσαύτην ὅσαι Συράκουσαί εἰσιν ἔλθοιεν ἔχοντες καὶ ὄμοροι οἰκήσαντες τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖντο, οὐκ ἂν παντάπασι διαφθαρῆναι, ἢ πού γε δὴ ἐν πάσῃ πολεμίᾳ Σικελία (ξυστήσεται γάρ) στρατοπέδῳ τε ἐκ νεῶν ἰδρυθέντι καὶ ἐκ σκηνιδίων καὶ ἀναγκαίας παρασκευῆς, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱππέων ἐξιόντες. τό τε ξύμπαν οὐδ' ἂν κρατῆσαι αὐτοὺς τῆς γῆς ἡγοῦμαι· τοσοῦτῳ τὴν ἡμετέραν παρασκευὴν κρείσσω νομίζω.

XXXVIII. “ Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, οἷτε Ἀθηναῖοι γιγνώσκοντες τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι σώζουσι, καὶ ἐνθένδε ἄνδρες οὔτε ὄντα οὔτε ἂν γενόμενα λογοποιοῦσιν, οὐς ἐγὼ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον,





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2 ἄλλ' αἰεὶ ἐπίσταμαι ἥτοι λόγοις γε τοιοῖσδε καὶ  
 ἔτι τούτων κακουργότεροις ἢ ἔργοις βουλομένους  
 καταπλήξαντας τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος αὐτοὺς τῆς  
 πόλεως ἄρχειν. καὶ δέδοικα μέντοι μή ποτε πολλὰ  
 πειρῶντες καὶ κατορθώσωσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ κακοί,  
 πρὶν ἐν τῷ παθεῖν ὤμεν, προφυλάξασθαι τε καὶ  
 3 αἰσθόμενοι ἐπεξελθεῖν. τοιγάρτοι δι' αὐτὰ ἡ πόλις  
 ἡμῶν ὀλιγάκις μὲν ἡσυχάζει, στάσεις δὲ πολλὰς  
 καὶ ἀγῶνας οὐ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πλείονας ἢ  
 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναιρεῖται, τυραννίδας δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ  
 4 δυναστείας ἀδίκους. ὧν ἐγὼ πειράσομαι, ἣν γε  
 ὑμεῖς ἐθέλητε ἔπεισθαι, μήποτε ἐφ' ἡμῶν τι περι-  
 δεῖν γενέσθαι, ὑμᾶς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς πείθων  
 τοὺς δὲ<sup>1</sup> τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανωμένους κολάζων, μὴ  
 μόνον αὐτοφώρους (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐπιτυγχάνειν),  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν βούλονται μὲν δύνανται δ' οὐ (τὸν  
 γὰρ ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὧν δρᾶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς  
 διανοίας προαμύνεσθαι χρή, εἴπερ καὶ μὴ προφυ-  
 λαξάμενός τις προπέισεται), τοὺς δ' αὖ ὀλίγους  
 τὰ μὲν ἐλέγχων, τὰ δὲ φυλάσσων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διδά-  
 σκων· μάλιστα γὰρ δοκῶ ἄν μοι οὕτως ἀπο-  
 5 τρέπειν τῆς κακουργίας. καὶ δῆτα, ὃ πολλάκις  
 ἐσκεψάμην, τί καὶ βούλεσθε, ὦ νεώτεροι; πότερον  
 ἄρχειν ἤδη; ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔννομον. ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐκ τοῦ  
 μὴ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ δυναμένους ἐτέθη  
 ἀτιμάζειν. ἀλλὰ δὴ μὴ μετὰ τῶν<sup>2</sup> πολλῶν ἰσο-

<sup>1</sup> Hude follows Weil in bracketing δέ and changing κολάζων to κολάζειν.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν added by Hude as probably read by the Scholiast.



BOOK VI. XXXVIII. 2-5

known to be wishing, either by reports such as these and still more mischievous than these, or by overt acts, to frighten the mass of you and themselves dominate the city. And I fear, moreover, that some day, by dint of repeated attempts, they may actually succeed ; for we are poor hands at taking precautions before we are at their mercy, and, if we have discovered their plots, at dealing conclusively with the plotters. Therefore it is on this very account that our city is seldom quiet, but is subject to frequent feuds and conflicts—not so much with the enemy as with itself—and sometimes to tyrannies and wicked oligarchies. But if you will only follow me, I will try to see to it that never in our time shall any of these things come to pass, persuading you who are the mass of the people, but chastising the men who devise such things, not only when they are caught in the act—as it is difficult to come upon them—but even for what they would but cannot do. For an enemy one must forestall, not only in what he does, but even in his designs, since indeed a man who is not first to safeguard himself will be first to suffer. As to the oligarchs, on the other hand, I shall sometimes expose them, and sometimes watch them, but sometimes also I shall instruct them, for in this way I think I could best deter them from evil-doing. And now—a question which I have often asked myself—what do you want, you young men? To hold office already? But that is not lawful ; and the law was enacted in consequence of your incompetency, rather than to keep you from office when competent. Well, then, you do not want to be on an



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νομείσθαι; καὶ πῶς δίκαιον τοῖς αὐτοῦς μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι;

XXXIX. “Φήσει τις δημοκρατίαν οὔτε ξυνετὸν οὔτ’ ἴσον εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἔχοντας τὰ χρήματα καὶ ἄρχειν ἄριστα βελτίους. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι πρῶτα μὲν δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠνομάσθαι, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ μέρος, ἔπειτα φύλακας μὲν ἀρίστους εἶναι χρημάτων τοὺς πλουσίους, βουλευσαι δ’ ἂν βέλτιστα τοὺς ξυνετούς, κρίναι δ’ ἂν ἀκούσαντας ἄριστα τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ ξύμπαντα 2 ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἰσομοιρεῖν. ὀλιγαρχία δὲ τῶν μὲν κινδύνων τοῖς πολλοῖς μεταδίδωσι, τῶν δ’ ὠφελίμων οὐ πλεονεκτεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπαντ’ ἀφελομένη ἔχει. ἂ ὑμῶν οἷ τε δυνάμενοι καὶ οἱ νέοι προθυμοῦνται, ἀδύνατα ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει κατασχεῖν.

XI. “Ἄλλ’ ἐτι καὶ νῦν, ὧ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι, ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, εἰ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ ἰσπεύδοντες,<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἀδικώτατοι, εἰ εἰδότες τολμᾶτε, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι μαθόντες γε ἢ μεταγνόντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασιν κοινὸν αὔξετε, ἠγησάμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἂν καὶ ἴσον καὶ πλεον οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὑμῶν ἤπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλήθος<sup>2</sup> μετασχεῖν, εἰ δ’ ἄλλα βουλήσεσθε, κἂν τοῦ παντὸς κινδυνεῦσαι στερηθῆναι· καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγγελιῶν ὡς πρὸς αἰσθασ- 2 νομένους καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντας ἀπαλλάγητε. ἢ γὰρ πόλις ἦδε, καὶ εἰ ἔρχονται Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμυνεῖται αὐτοῦς ἀξίως αὐτῆς, καὶ στρατηγοὶ εἰσιν ἡμῖν οἱ

<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἀμαθέστατοι ἐστε, before ἢ ἀδικώτατοι in the MSS., deleted by Dohree and Madvig.

<sup>2</sup> ἢπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλήθος, Hude deletes, following Krüger.





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## THUCYDIDES

σκέψονται αὐτά. καὶ εἰ μή τι αὐτῶν ἀληθές ἐστιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ οἶομαι, οὐ πρὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ἀγγελίας καταπλαγείσα καὶ ἐλομένη ὑμᾶς ἄρχοντας αὐθαίρετον δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖται, αὐτὴ δ' ἐφ' αὐτῆς σκοποῦσα τοὺς τε λόγους ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὡς ἔργα βουλομένους κρινεῖ καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐλευθερίαν οὐχὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούειν ἀφαιρεθήσεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἔργῳ φυλασσομένη μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν πειράσεται σῶζειν."

ΧΛΙ. Τοιαῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναγόρας εἶπεν. τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν εἰς ἀναστάς ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι εἶασε παρελθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἔλεξε 2 τοιάδε. "Διαβολὰς μὲν οὐ σῶφρον οὔτε λέγειν τινὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους οὔτε τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀποδέχασθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐσαγγελλόμενα μᾶλλον ὄραν, ὅπως εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις καλῶς 3 τοὺς ἐπιόντας παρασκευασόμεθα ἀμύνεσθαι. καὶ ἦν ἄρα μηδὲν δεήσῃ, οὐδεμία βλάβη τοῦ τε τὸ κοινὸν κοσμηθῆναι καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ὁ πόλεμος ἀγάλλεται (τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐξέτασιν αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς ἔξομεν) καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις διαπομπῶν ἅμα ἔς τε κατασκοπὴν καὶ ἦν τι ἄλλο φαίνεται ἐπιτήδειον. τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιμεμελήμεθα ἤδη καὶ ὅ τι ἂν αἰσθώμεθα ἐς ὑμᾶς οἶσομεν."

Καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι τοσαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διελύθησαν ἐκ τοῦ ξυλλόγου.

ΧΛΙΙ. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἤδη ἐν τῇ Κερκύρα αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν καὶ πρῶτον



look after these matters. And if none of these things be true—as indeed I think they are not—the state will not, through terror at your reports and by choosing you as rulers, place on her neck, of her own choice, the yoke of slavery, but looking at the matter for herself she will pass judgment on your words as if they were deeds ; and will not by listening to such reports be deprived of her present liberty, but will try to preserve it by taking active precautions so as to frustrate your designs.”

XLI. Such was the speech of Athenagoras. Whereupon one of the generals rose up and forbade any one else to come forward, but himself spoke as follows with reference to the matter in hand : “ Personal imputations it is not wise either for any speaker to utter against another or for those who hear to tolerate ; but in view of the reports that are coming in, we should rather see how we, each person and the city as a whole, shall prepare to defend ourselves effectively against the invaders. And if after all there shall be no need of it, there is no harm in the commonwealth being equipped with horses and arms and all other things wherein war takes pride—the provision and inspection of such equipment we shall have in charge—and in sending men round to the cities for observation as well as for any other purpose that may seem expedient. These provisions we have in part already made, and whatever we find out we will bring before you.”

And the Syracusans, when the general had said thus much, dispersed from the assembly.

XLII. Meanwhile the Athenians themselves and all their allies also were already at Corcyra. And



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μὲν ἐπεξέτασιν τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ξύνταξιν ὥσπερ ἔμελλον ὀρμιεῖσθαί τε καὶ στρατοπεδεύσεσθαι οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τρία μέρη νείμαντες ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἐκλήρωσαν, ἵνα μήτε ἅμα πλείοντες ἀπορῶσιν ὕδατος καὶ λιμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν ταῖς καταγωγαῖς, πρὸς τε τὰλλα εὐκοσμότεροι καὶ ῥάους ἄρχειν ὦσι, κατὰ τέλος 2 στρατηγῶ προστεταγμένοι· ἔπειτα δὲ προύπεμψαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν τρεῖς ναῦς εἰσομένας αἴτινες σφᾶς τῶν πόλεων δέξονται· καὶ εἶρητο αὐταῖς προαπαντᾶν, ὅπως ἐπιστάμενοι καταπλέωσιν.

XLIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοσῆδε ἤδη τῇ παρασκευῇ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄραυτες ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπεραιοῦντο, τριήρεσι μὲν ταῖς πάσαις τέσσαρσι καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ δυοῖν Ῥοδίῳ πεντηκοντέροι (τούτων Ἀπτικά μὲν ἦσαν ἑκατὸν, ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐξήκοντα ταχεῖαι, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι στρατιώτιδες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ναυτικὸν Χίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων), ὀπλίταις δὲ τοῖς ξύμπασιν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους (καὶ τούτων Ἀθηναίων μὲν αὐτῶν ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι μὲν καὶ χίλιοι ἐκ καταλόγου, ἑπτακόσιοι δὲ θῆτες ἐπιβάται τῶν νεῶν, ξύμμαχοι δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ξυνεστράτευον, οἱ μὲν τῶν ὑπηκόων, οἱ δ' Ἀργείων πεντακόσιοι καὶ Μαντινέων καὶ μισθοφόρων πενήκοντα καὶ διάκόσιοι), τοξόταις δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίοις (καὶ τούτων Κρήτες οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα ἦσαν), καὶ σφενδονήταις Ῥοδίων





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ἑπτακοσίοις, καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι ψιλοῖς φυγάσιν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἵππαγωγῶ μιᾷ τριάκοντα ἀγούση ἵππέας.

XLIV. Τοσαύτη ἢ πρώτη παρασκευὴ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον διέπλει, τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄγουσαι ὀλκάδες μὲν τριάκοντα σιταγωγοί, καὶ τοὺς σιτοποιοὺς ἔχουσαι καὶ λιθολόγους καὶ τέκτονας καὶ ὅσα ἐς τειχισμὸν ἐργαλεία, πλοῖα δὲ ἑκατόν, ἃ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετὰ τῶν ὀλκάδων ξυνέπλει· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλοῖα καὶ ὀλκάδες ἐκούσιοι ξυνηκολούθουν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐμπορίας ἔνεκα· ἃ τότε πάντα ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ξυν-  
 2 διέβαλλε τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλοῦσα ἢ πᾶσα παρασκευὴ πρὸς τε ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ πρὸς Τάραντα καὶ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἠὺπόρησαν, παρεκομίζοντο τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν μὲν πόλεων οὐ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾷ οὐδὲ ἄστει, ὕδατι δὲ καὶ ὄρμῳ, Τάραντος δὲ καὶ Λοκρῶν οὐδὲ τούτοις, ἕως  
 3 ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτήριον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἠθροίζοντο, καὶ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ὡς αὐτοὺς ἔσω οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, στρατόπεδόν τε κατεσκευάσαντο ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ, οὐ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀγορὰν παρείχον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνελκύσαντες ἠσύχασαν. καὶ πρὸς<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Ῥηγίνοὺς λόγους ἐποιήσαντο, ἀξιούντες Χαλκιδέας ὄντας Χαλκιδεῦσιν οὖσι Λεοντίνοις βοηθεῖν· οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἔφασαν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ἂν καὶ τοῖς  
 4 ἄλλοις Ἰταλιώταις ξυνδοκῇ, τοῦτο ποιήσειν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ἐσκόπουν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἄριστα προσοίσονται· καὶ τὰς πρό-

<sup>1</sup> τε of the MSS., after πρὸς, deleted by Krüger.



hundred and twenty light-armed Megarian exiles; and one horse-transport carrying thirty cavalry.

XLIV. Such was the strength of the first armament that sailed over for the war.<sup>1</sup> And for these, thirty food-bearing transports brought supplies, having also bakers, stone-masons, carpenters, and all tools for wall-building; and there sailed also one hundred boats that were pressed into service, along with the transports. But many boats besides, as well as transports, voluntarily accompanied the expedition, for the sake of trade. All these, at that time, sailed together from Corcyra across the Ionian Gulf. And when the whole armament reached the Iapygian promontory, or Tarentum, or wherever they severally found opportunity to make land, they sailed along the coast of Italy—some of the cities not receiving them with a market nor into the town, though furnishing them with water and anchorage, and Tarentum and Locri not even with these—until they came to Rhegium, a promontory of Italy. There they now assembled, and, as the Rhegians did not admit them within the walls, they pitched a camp outside of the town in the precinct of Artemis, where a market also was provided for them; and so drawing up their ships on shore they took a rest. And they also held a conference with the Rhegians, claiming that they as Chalcidians<sup>2</sup> should aid the Leontines who were Chalcidians. They, however, said that they would be neutral, but would do whatever the rest of the Italiots should decide. The Athenians now considered what would be the best course to take with reference to affairs in Sicily; and at the same time

<sup>1</sup> *cf.* ch. xxxi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *cf.* Strabo vi. 257 α, κτίσμα ἐστὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον Χαλκιδέων.



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πλους ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Ἐγέστης ἅμα προσέμενον, βουλόμενοι εἰδέναί περὶ τῶν χρημάτων εἰ ἔστιν ἃ ἔλεγον ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οἱ ἄγγελοι.

XLV. Τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις ἐν τούτῳ πολλαχόθεν τε ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κατασκόπων σαφῆ ἠγγέλλετο ὅτι ἐν Ῥηγίῳ αἱ νῆες εἰσι, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεσκευάζοντο πάσῃ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ οὐκέτι ἠπίστουν. καὶ ἔς τε τοὺς Σικελοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἔνθα μὲν φύλακας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐς τὰ περιπόλια τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρὰς ἐσεκόμιζον, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄπλων ἐξετάσει καὶ ἵππων ἐσκόπουν εἰ ἐντελῆ ἔστι, καὶ τἄλλα ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντι καθίσταντο.

XLVI. Αἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἐγέστης τρεῖς νῆες αἱ πρόπλοι παραγίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον, ἀγγέλλουσαι ὅτι τἄλλα μὲν οὐκ ἔστι χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχοντο, τριάκοντα δὲ τάλαντα  
 2 μόνα φαίνεται. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐθύς ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ ἦσαν ὅτι αὐτοῖς τοῦτό τε πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει καὶ οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι οὐκ ἐθελήσαντες ξυστρατεύειν, οὓς πρῶτον ἤρξαντο πείθειν καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν μάλιστα, Λεοντίνων τε ξυγγενεῖς ὄντας καὶ σφίσιν αἰεὶ ἐπιτηδείους. καὶ τῷ μὲν Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἐγεσταίων, τοῖν δὲ ἑτέροις καὶ ἀλογώ-  
 3 τερα. οἱ δὲ Ἐγεσταῖοι τοιόνδε τι ἐξετεχνήσαντο τότε ὅτε οἱ πρῶτοι πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦλθον





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αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν κατασκοπὴν τῶν χρημάτων. ἔς τε τὸ ἐν Ἐρυκί ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέδειξαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, φιάλας τε καὶ οἰνοχόας καὶ θυμιατήρια καὶ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ἃ ὄντα ἀργυρᾷ πολλῶ πλείω τὴν ὄψιν ἀπ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως χρημάτων παρείχετο, καὶ ἰδία ξενίσαις ποιούμενοι τῶν τριηριτῶν τά τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἐγέστης ἐκπώματα καὶ χρυσᾷ καὶ ἀργυρᾷ ξυλλέξαντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐγγύς πόλεων καὶ Φοινικικῶν καὶ Ἑλληνίδων αἰτησάμενοι ἐσέφερον ἐς τὰς ἐστιάσεις ὡς οἰκεία  
 4 ἕκαστοι. καὶ πάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρωμένων καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῶν φαινομένων μεγάλην τὴν ἐκπληξιν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν τριήρων Ἀθηναίοις παρείχε, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας  
 5 διεθρόησαν ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ ἴδοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ τε ἀπατηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τότε πείσαντες, ἐπειδὴ διῆλθεν ὁ λόγος ὅτι οὐκ εἶη ἐν τῇ Ἐγέστη τὰ χρήματα, πολλὴν τὴν αἰτίαν εἶχον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐβουλεύοντο.

. XLVII. Καὶ Νικίου μὲν ἦν γνώμη πλείν ἐπὶ Σελινοῦντα πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἐφ' ὅπερ μάλιστα ἐπέμφθησαν, καὶ ἦν μὲν παρέχωσι χρήματα παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι Ἐγεσταῖοι, πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσίν, ὅσασπερ ἠτήσαντο, ἀξιοῦν διδόναι αὐτοὺς τροφήν καὶ παραμείναντας Σελινουντίους ἢ βία ἢ συμβάσει διαλλάξαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὕτω, παραπλεύσαντας τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καὶ ἐπιδείξαντας μὲν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, δηλώσαντας



the money : they brought them into the temple of Aphrodite at Eryx and showed them the dedicatory offerings—bowls, wine-ladles, censers, and not a little other table-furniture, which being of silver made, though of small value in money, a much greater display. And in giving private entertainments for the crews of the triremes, they not only collected the gold and silver drinking-cups from Egesta itself, but borrowed those from the neighbouring cities, both Phoenician and Hellenic, and brought them each to the banquets as though they were their own. And as all used for the most part the same vessels and there was a great display of them everywhere, it caused great astonishment to the Athenians from the triremes, and they on returning to Athens spread the report of how much treasure they had seen. And these men who had been themselves deceived and had at the time persuaded the rest, later, when the story got out that the money was not at Egesta, were much blamed by the soldiers. The generals, however, took counsel in view of the present situation.

XLVII. It was the judgment of Nicias that they should sail with their whole armament against Selinus, which was the object for which they had chiefly been sent out, and if the Egestaeans should furnish money for the whole army, they should then determine accordingly ; otherwise, they should demand that they give maintenance for sixty ships, the number they had asked for, and remaining there they should reconcile the Selinuntians to the Egestaeans, either by force or by agreement. This being accomplished, the Athenians should sail along by the other cities, displaying the power of the city of Athens and making manifest their zeal towards their



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δὲ τὴν ἐς τοὺς φίλους καὶ ξυμμάχους προθυμίαν, ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἣν μὴ τι δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτου ἢ Λεοντίνους οἰοί τε ὧσιν ὠφελῆσαι ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ πόλεων προσαγαγέσθαι, καὶ τῇ πόλει δαπανῶντας τὰ οἰκεῖα μὴ κινδυνεύειν.

XLVIII. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι τοσαύτῃ δυνάμει ἐκπλεύσαντας αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀπράκτους ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι πλὴν Σελινοῦντος καὶ Συρακουσῶν τὰς ἄλλας, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς Σικελοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀφιστάναι ἀπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα σῖτον καὶ στρατιὰν παρέχωσι, πρῶτον δὲ πείθειν Μεσσηνίους (ἐν πόρῳ γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ προσβολῇ εἶναι αὐτοὺς τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ λιμένα καὶ ἐφόρμησιν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἱκανωτάτην ἔσεσθαι), προσαγαγομένους δὲ τὰς πόλεις, εἰδότας μεθ' ὧν τις πολεμήσει, οὕτως ἤδη Συρακούσας καὶ Σελινοῦντι ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἣν μὴ οἱ μὲν Ἐγεσταίοις ξυμβαίνωσιν, οἱ δὲ Λεοντίνους ἐῶσι κατοικίζειν.

XLIX. Λάμαχος δὲ ἄντικρυς ἔφη χρῆναι πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει ὡς τάχιστα τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι, ἕως ἔτι ἀπαράσκευοί τε  
 2 εἶσι καὶ μάλιστα ἐκπεπληγμένοι. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον πᾶν στράτευμα δεινότατον εἶναι· ἣν δὲ χρόνισι πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, τῇ γνώμῃ ἀναθαρσοῦντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ<sup>1</sup> τῇ ὄψει καταφρονεῖν μάλλον.

<sup>1</sup> καί, Hude reads κἂν after van Herwerden.





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αἰφνίδιοι δὲ ἦν προσπέσωσιν, ἕως ἔτι περιδεεῖς  
 προσδέχονται, μάλιστ' ἂν σφείς περιγενέσθαι καὶ  
 κατὰ πάντα ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκφοβῆσαι, τῇ τε ὄψει  
 (πλείστοι γὰρ ἂν νῦν φανῆναι) καὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ  
 ὧν πείσονται, μάλιστα δ' ἂν τῷ αὐτίκα κινδύνῳ  
 3 τῆς μάχης. εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς  
 πολλοὺς ἀποληφθῆναι ἔξω διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν σφᾶς  
 μὴ ἤξειν, καὶ ἐσκομιζομένων αὐτῶν τὴν στρατιὰν  
 οὐκ ἀπορήσειν χρημάτων, ἦν πρὸς τῇ πόλει  
 κρατοῦσα καθέζεται. τοὺς τε ἄλλους Σικελιώτας  
 οὕτως ἤδη μᾶλλον καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐ ξυμμαχήσειν  
 καὶ σφίσι προσιέναι καὶ οὐ διαμελλήσειν περι-  
 4 σκοποῦντας ὁπότεροι κρατήσουσιν. ναύσταθμον δὲ  
 ἐπαναχωρήσαντας καὶ ἐφόρμησιν τὰ<sup>1</sup> Μέγαρα  
 ἔφη χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι, ἃ ἦν ἐρῆμα, ἀπέχοντα  
 Συρακουσῶν οὔτε πλοῦν πολὺν οὔτε ὁδόν.

Γ. Λάμαχος μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὅμως προσέθετο  
 αὐτὸς τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο  
 Ἀλκιβιάδης τῇ αὐτοῦ νηὶ διαπλεύσας ἐς Μεσ-  
 σήνην καὶ λόγους ποιησάμενος περὶ ξυμμαχίας  
 πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναντο  
 πόλει μὲν ἂν οὐ δέξασθαι, ἀγορὰν δ' ἔξω παρέξειν,  
 2 ἀπέπλει ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον. καὶ εὐθύς ξυμπληρώσαν-  
 τες ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἐκ πασῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια λαβόντες παρέπλεον ἐς Νάξον, τὴν  
 ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐν Ῥηγίῳ καταλιπόντες καὶ ἕνα  
 3 σφῶν αὐτῶν. Ναξίων δὲ δεξαμένων τῇ πόλει  
 παρέπλεον ἐς Κατάνην. καὶ ὡς αὐτοὺς οἱ Κατα-

<sup>1</sup> ἐφόρμησιν τὰ, Boehme's correction for ἐφορμηθέντας of the MSS. Schaefer's conjecture, ἐφορμισθέντας, gives the same sense.



if it attack suddenly, while the enemy are still in terror of its coming, it will have the best chance for victory and in every way will strike fear into them, both by the sight of it—for at this moment it would appear most numerous—and by the expectation of the fate in store for them, but most of all by the immediate peril of the battle. And, he added, probably many people have been left behind on their farms outside the city on account of the disbelief that the Athenians will come, and while they are bringing in their property the army will not lack supplies, if it once controls the land and invests the city. And as for the rest of the Siceliot, if we follow this course they will at once be more likely, not to make an alliance with the enemy, but to come over to us, and not to make delays, looking about to see which side will be the stronger. And he said, finally, that they should return and make a naval base and a watch-station at Megara, since it was uninhabited, and not far from Syracuse either by sea or by land.

L. Lamachus, though speaking to this effect, nevertheless gave his support to the opinion of Alcibiades. After this Alcibiades sailed in his own ship over to Messene and made proposals to the Messenians for an alliance; but as they could not be persuaded, answering that they would not receive him within the city, but would furnish a market outside, he sailed back to Rhegium. Then the generals straightway manned sixty ships out of their whole number, and taking provisions sailed along the coast to Naxos, leaving at Rhegium the rest of the army and one of the generals. The Naxians received them into their city, and they sailed on then to Catana. When



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ναῖοι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο (ἐνήσαν γὰρ αὐτόθι ἄνδρες τὰ  
 Συρακοσίων βουλόμενοι), ἐκομίσθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Τηρίαν ποταμόν, καὶ αὐλισάμενοι τῇ ὑστεραία  
 ἐπὶ Συρακούσας ἔπλεον, ἐπὶ κέρως ἔχοντες τὰς  
 4 ἄλλας ναῦς· δέκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν προύπεμψαν ἐς  
 τὸν μέγαν λιμένα πλεῦσαί τε καὶ κατασκέψασθαι  
 εἴ τι ναυτικόν ἐστι καθειλκυσμένον, καὶ κηρῦξαι  
 ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν προσπλεύσαντας ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ἤκουσι Λεοντίνους ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατοικιοῦντες  
 κατὰ ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ξυγγένειαν· τοὺς οὖν ὄντας  
 ἐν Συρακούσαις Λεοντίνων ὡς παρὰ φίλους καὶ  
 5 εὐεργέτας Ἀθηναίους ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκη-  
 ρύχθη καὶ κατεσκέψαντο τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς  
 λιμένας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτοῖς  
 ὀρμωμένοις πολεμητέα ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν ἐς  
 Κατάνην.

LI. Καὶ ἐκκλησίας γενομένης τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν  
 οὐκ ἐδέχοντο οἱ Καταναῖοι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς  
 ἐσελθόντας ἐκέλευον, εἴ τι βούλονται, εἰπεῖν. καὶ  
 λέγοντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τετραμμένων οἱ στρατιῶται  
 πυλίδα τινὰ ἐνφοδομημένην κακῶς ἔλαθον διε-  
 2 λόντες καὶ ἐσελθόντες ἠγόραζον.<sup>1</sup> τῶν δὲ Κατα-  
 ναίων οἱ μὲν τὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων φρονοῦντες ὡς  
 εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα ἔνδον, εὐθύς περιδεεῖς γενόμενοι  
 ὑπεξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί τινες, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐψηφί-  
 σαντό τε ξυμμαχίαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ ἄλλο  
 3 στράτευμα ἐκέλευον ἐκ Ῥηγίου κομίζειν. μετὰ δὲ  
 τοῦτο πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον, πάσῃ

<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὴν πόλιν, after ἠγόραζον in the MSS., deleted by van Herwerden.





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## THUCYDIDES

ἤδη τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄραντες ἐς τὴν Κατάνην, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο, κατεσκευάζοντο τὸ στρατόπεδον.

LII. Ἐσηγγέλλετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἕκ τε Καμαρίνης ὡς, εἰ ἔλθοιεν, προσχωροῖεν ἂν καὶ ὅτι Συρακόσιοι πληροῦσι ναυτικόν. ἀπάσῃ οὖν τῇ στρατιᾷ παρέπλευσαν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἠὔρον ναυτικὸν πληρούμενον, παρεκομίζοντο αὐθις ἐπὶ Καμαρίνης καὶ σχόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, λέγοντες σφίσι τὰ ὄρκια εἶναι μιᾷ νηὶ καταπλεούντων Ἀθηναίων δέχεσθαι, ἣν μὴ αὐτοὶ πλείους  
2 μεταπέμπωσιν. ἄπρακτοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον· καὶ ἀποβάντες κατὰ τι τῆς Συρακοσίας καὶ ἄρπαγὴν ποιησάμενοι καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἰππέων βοηθησάντων καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τινὰς ἐσκεδασμένους διαφθειράντων ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς Κατάνην.

LIII. Καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Σαλαμινίαν ναῦν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἤκουσαν ἐπὶ τε Ἀλκιβιάδην, ὡς κελεύσοντα ἀποπλεῖν ἐς ἀπολογία ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐνεκάλει, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν μὲν<sup>1</sup> μετ' αὐτοῦ μεμνημένων περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ὡς ἀσεβούντων, τῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ  
2 τῶν Ἑρμῶν. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἡ στρατιὰ ἀπέπλευσεν, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τῶν περὶ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς δρασθέντων, καὶ οὐ δοκιμάζοντες τοὺς μηνυτάς,

<sup>1</sup> μὲν added by Hude.



armament for Catana, on their arrival they set about arranging their camp.

LII. Meanwhile news came from Camarina that if the Athenians would go thither the Camarinaeans would join them, and also that the Syracusans were manning a fleet. Accordingly they proceeded with their whole army along the coast, first to Syracuse; and when they found no fleet was being manned, they again continued along the coast to Camarina and putting to shore sent forward a herald. The Camarinaeans, however, would not receive them, saying that the terms of their oath were to receive the Athenians only if they put in with a single ship, unless they themselves sent for more. So the Athenians sailed away without accomplishing anything; and after landing at a point in Syracusan territory and making raids, when the Syracusan cavalry had come to the rescue and killed some of their light-armed troops that were straggling they went back to Catana.

LIII. There they found that the galley *Salaminia*<sup>1</sup> had come from Athens for Alcibiades—to order him to come home and make his defence against the charges which the city was bringing—and for certain of the soldiers also, some of them having been denounced with him as guilty of profanation with regard to the mysteries, and some also with regard to the *Hermae*. For after the armament sailed, the Athenians had been pursuing with no less zeal than before their investigation of what had been done in the matter of the mysteries as well as the *Hermae*; and as they did not test the witnesses, but in their

<sup>1</sup> One of the two swift Athenian state triremes kept always manned ready for extraordinary occasions and purposes.



## THUCYDIDES

ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπόπτως ἀποδεχόμενοι, διὰ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων πίστιν πάνυ χρηστοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ξυλλαμβάνοντες κατέδουν, χρησιμώτερον ἡγούμενοι εἶναι βασανίσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ εὐρεῖν ἢ διὰ μηνυτοῦ πονηρίαν τινὰ καὶ χρηστὸν δοκοῦντα  
 3 εἶναι αἰτιαθέντα ἀνέλεγκτον διαφυγεῖν. ἐπιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἀκοῇ τὴν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τῶν παίδων τυραννίδα χαλεπὴν τελευτῶσαν γενομένην καὶ προσέτι οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καταλυθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐφοβεῖτο αἰεὶ καὶ πάντα ὑπόπτως ἐλάμβανεν.

LIV. Τὸ γὰρ Ἀριστογείτονος καὶ Ἀρμοδίου τόλμημα δι' ἐρωτικὴν ξυντυχίαν ἐπεχειρήθη, ἣν ἐγὼ ἐπὶ πλέον διηγησάμενος ἀποφανῶ οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἀκριβὲς  
 2 οὐδὲν λέγοντας. Πεισιστράτου γὰρ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι οὐχ Ἰππαρχος, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, ἀλλὰ Ἰππίας πρεσβύτατος ὧν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. γενομένου δὲ Ἀρμοδίου ὧρα ἡλικίας λαμπροῦ Ἀριστογείτων, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν,  
 3 μέσος πολίτης, ἐραστής ὧν εἶχεν αὐτόν. πειραθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀρμόδιος ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου καὶ οὐ πεισθεὶς καταγορεύει τῷ Ἀριστογείτονι. ὁ δὲ ἐρωτικῶς περιαλήσας καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν Ἰππάρχου δύναμιν μὴ βία προσαγάγηται αὐτόν, ἐπιβουλεύει εὐθύς ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀξιόσεως κατάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ





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"Ἴππαρχος ὡς αὐθις πειράσας οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔπειθε  
 τὸν Ἀρμόδιον, βίαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο δρᾶν, ἐν  
 τρόπῳ<sup>1</sup> δέ τινι ἀφανεῖ ὡς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ παρε-  
 5 σκευάζετο προπηλακιῶν αὐτόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν  
 ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐπαχθῆς ἦν ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ'  
 ἀνεπιφθόνως κατεστήσατο· καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ  
 πλείστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν,  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίους εἰκοστὴν μόνον πρασσόμενοι τῶν  
 γιγνομένων τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν καλῶς διεκόσμη-  
 σαν καὶ τοὺς πολέμους διέφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερά  
 6 ἔθνον. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτῆ ἢ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις  
 νόμοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αἰεὶ τινα ἐπεμέλοντο  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἄλλοι τε  
 αὐτῶν ἤρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ  
 Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἰππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός,  
 τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοῦνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν  
 βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀρχῶν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν  
 7 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ  
 ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθη-  
 ναίων μεῖζον μῆκος<sup>2</sup> ἠφάνισε τοῦπίγραμμα· τοῦ  
 δὲ ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς  
 γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·

μνημα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱὸς  
 θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

LV. "Ὅτι δὲ πρεσβύτατος ὢν Ἰππίας ἤρξεν, εἰδὼς  
 μὲν καὶ ἀκοῇ ἀκριβέστερον ἄλλων ἰσχυρίζομαι,

<sup>1</sup> Levesque's correction for *τόπω* of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ βωμοῦ, in the MSS. after *μῆκος*, deleted by Krüger.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to point to a near relationship of the historian with the family of the Peisistratidae, so that more



having in a second attempt met with no better success in persuading Harmodius, although he had no intention of offering violence, yet laid a plan to insult him in some covert way, as though it were not for this reason. For he did not generally so exercise his authority as to be oppressive to the mass of the people, but maintained it without giving offence. And indeed the Peisistratidae carried the practice of virtue and discretion to a very high degree, considering that they were tyrants, and although they exacted from the Athenians only five per cent. of their incomes, not only had they embellished their city, but they also carried on its wars and provided sacrifices for the temples. In other respects the city itself enjoyed the laws before established, except in so far that the tyrants took precaution that one of their own family should always be in office. Amongst others of them who held the annual archonship at Athens was Peisistratus, a son of the Hippias who had been tyrant. He was named after his grandfather and, when he was archon, dedicated the altar of the twelve gods in the Agora and that of Apollo in the Pythian precinct. The people of Athens afterwards, in extending the length of the altar in the Agora, effaced the inscription; but that on the altar of the Pythian Apollo can still be seen in indistinct letters, reading as follows:

“This memorial of his office Peisistratus son of  
Hippias

Set up in the precinct of Pythian Apollo.”

LIV. That it was Hippias who, as eldest son, succeeded to the sovereignty I positively affirm because I know it even by tradition more accurately than others,<sup>1</sup>

exact knowledge had come to him by word of mouth (καὶ ἀκοῆν); cf. Marcellinus, § 18, and Schol. on i. xx. 2.



## THUCYDIDES

γνοίη δ' ἄν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ· παῖδες γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 μόνον φαίνονται τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν γενόμενοι,  
 ὡς ὁ τε βωμὸς σημαίνει καὶ ἡ στήλη περὶ τῆς  
 τῶν τυράννων ἀδικίας, ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκρο-  
 πόλει σταθεῖσα, ἐν ἣ Θεσσαλοῦ μὲν οὐδ' Ἰπ-  
 πάρχου οὐδεὶς παῖς γέγραπται· Ἰππίου δὲ πέντε,  
 οἱ αὐτῷ ἐκ Μυρσίνης τῆς Καλλίου τοῦ Ὑπερο-  
 χίδου θυγατρὸς ἐγένοντο· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν  
 2 πρεσβύτατον πρῶτον γῆμαι. καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ  
 στήλῃ πρῶτος γέγραπται μετὰ τὸν πατέρα, οὐδὲ  
 τοῦτο ἀπεικότως διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 3 καὶ τυρανεῦσαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἄν κατασχεῖν μοι  
 δοκεῖ ποτε Ἰππίας τὸ παραχρῆμα ῥαδίως τὴν  
 τυραννίδα, εἰ Ἰππαρχος μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὦν ἀπέ-  
 θανεν, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐθημερὸν καθίστατο· ἀλλὰ διὰ  
 τὸ πρότερον ξύνηθες τοῖς μὲν πολίταις φοβερόν,  
 ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ἀκριβές, πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι  
 τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀδελφὸς  
 νεώτερος ὦν ἠπόρησεν, ἐν ᾧ οὐ πρότερον ξυνεχῶς  
 4 ὠμιλήκει τῇ ἀρχῇ. Ἰππάρχῳ δὲ ξυνέβη τοῦ πά-  
 θους τῇ δυστυχίᾳ ὀνομασθέντα καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς  
 τυραννίδος ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα προσλαβεῖν.

LVI. Τὸν δ' οὖν Ἀρμόδιον ἀπαρνηθέντα τὴν  
 πείρασιν, ὥσπερ διανοεῖτο, προυπηλάκισεν· ἀδελ-  
 φὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κόρην ἐπαγγείλαντες ἤκειν κάνουιν  
 οἴσουσαν ἐν πομπῇ τινι, ἀπήλασαν λέγοντες οὐδὲ  
 2 ἐπαγγεῖλαι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξίαν εἶναι. χαλε-  
 πῶς δὲ ἐνεγκόντος τοῦ Ἀρμοδίου πολλῷ δὴ μάλλον





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## THUCYDIDES

δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὁ Ἄριστογείτων παρωξύνετο. καὶ αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ξυνεπιθησομένους τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπέπρακτο, περιέμενον δὲ Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα, ἐν ἧ μόνον ἡμέρᾳ οὐχ ὑποπτον ἐγίγνετο ἐν ὄπλοις τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς τὴν πομπὴν πέμψοντας ἀθρόους γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔδει ἄρξαι μὲν αὐτούς, ξυνεπαμύνειν δὲ εὐθύς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκείνους. ἦσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ οἱ ξυνομοκότες ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα· ἤλπιζον γὰρ καὶ τοὺς μὴ προειδότας, εἰ καὶ ὅποσοιούν τολμήσειαν, ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα, ἔχοντάς γε ὄπλα, ἐθελήσειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνελευθεροῦν.

LVII. Καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτή, Ἰππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμηι ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προῖέναι· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ ὁ Ἄριστογείτων ἔχοντες ἤδη τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἐς τὸ ἔργον προῆσαν. καὶ ὡς εἶδόν τινα τῶν ξυνωμοτῶν σφίσι διαλεγόμενον οἰκείως τῷ Ἰππία (ἦν δὲ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος ὁ Ἰππίας), ἔδεισαν καὶ ἐνόμισαν μεμνηῦσθαί τε καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ξυλληφθήσεσθαι. τὸν λυπήσαντα οὖν σφᾶς καὶ δι' ὄνπερ πάντα ἐκινδύνευον ἐβούλοντο πρότερον, εἰ δύναιντο, προτιμωρήσασθαι, καὶ ὥσπερ εἶχον ὥρμησαν ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ περιέτυχον τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον. εὐθύς δ' <sup>1</sup> ἀπερισκέπτως προσπεσόντες καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα δι' ὀογῆς, ὁ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> δ' added by Pontus.



this, Aristogeiton for his sake was far more exasperated. And now the details had been arranged by them with those who were to take part in the execution of their scheme; but they were waiting for the great Panathenaea, for on that day only it excited no suspicion for the citizens who were to take part in the procession to be assembled in arms. They were themselves to begin the attack, but the others were to join them at once in dealing with the bodyguard. The conspirators were not many, for better security; for they hoped that, if ever so few made the bold attempt, at once even those who were not before privy to it, having arms in their hands, would be inclined to bear a part in winning their own freedom.

LVII. And when the festival came on, Hippias with his bodyguard was outside the walls, in the place called the Cerameicus, arranging the order in which the several parts of the procession were to go forward; and Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who were ready with their daggers, stepped forward to put their scheme in effect. But when they saw one of their accomplices talking familiarly with Hippias, who was accessible to all, they took fright, thinking that they had been informed upon and would in a moment be arrested. So wishing first to take vengeance, if they could, upon the one who had aggrieved them and because of whom they were risking all, they rushed, just as they were, within the gates and came upon Hipparchus at the place called Leocorium.<sup>1</sup> And at once falling upon him recklessly and as men will in extreme wrath, the one

<sup>1</sup> The sanctuary of the daughters of Leos, an ancient Attic king, who in a famine were sacrificed for the state. It was in the Inner Cerameicus, near the temple of Apollo Patrons.



## THUCYDIDES

ἔρωτικῆς, ὁ δὲ ὑβρισμένος, ἔτυπτον καὶ ἀποκτεί-  
 4 νουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοὺς δορυφόρους τὸ  
 αὐτίκα διαφεύγει, ὁ Ἄριστογείτων, ξυνδραμόντος  
 τοῦ ὄχλου, καὶ ὕστερον ληφθεὶς οὐ ῥαδίως διετέθη.  
 Ἄρμόδιος δὲ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ἀπόλλυται.

LVIII. Ἄγγελθέντος δὲ Ἰππία εἰς τὸν Κερα-  
 μεικόν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ γεγόμενον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 πομπέας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, πρότερον ἢ αἰσθέσθαι  
 αὐτοὺς ἄπωθεν ὄντας, εὐθὺς ἐχώρησε, καὶ ἀδήλως  
 τῇ ὄψει πλασάμενος πρὸς τὴν ξυμφορὰν ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν αὐτούς, δείξας τι χωρίον, ἀπελθεῖν εἰς  
 2 αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν  
 οἰόμενοί τι ἐρεῖν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἐπικούροις  
 φράσας τὰ ὄπλα ὑπολαβεῖν ἐξελέγετο εὐθὺς οὓς  
 ἐπητιᾶτο καὶ εἴ τις ἠύρεθη ἐγχειρίδιον ἔχων·  
 μετὰ γὰρ ἀσπίδος καὶ δόρατος εἰώθεσαν τὰς  
 πομπὰς ποιεῖν.

LIX. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ δι' ἐρωτικὴν λύπην  
 ἢ τε ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἢ ἀλόγιστος  
 τόλμα ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς Ἄρμοδίῳ  
 2 καὶ Ἄριστογείτονι ἐγένετο. τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις  
 χαλεπωτέρα μετὰ τοῦτο ἢ τυραννὶς κατέστη,  
 καὶ ὁ Ἰππίας διὰ φόβου ἤδη μᾶλλον ὢν τῶν  
 τε πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἐκτείνε καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
 ἔξω ἅμα διεσκοπεῖτο, εἴ ποθεν ἀσφάλειάν τινα  
 3 ὀρώη μεταβολῆς γενομένης ὑπάρχουσάν οἱ. Ἰπ-  
 πόκλου γοῦν τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τυράννου Αἰαν-  
 τίδῃ τῷ παιδί θυγατέρα ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 Ἄρχεδίκην, Ἀθηναῖος ὢν Λαμψακηνῶ, ἔδωκεν,





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## THUCYDIDES

αἰσθανόμενος αὐτοὺς μέγα παρὰ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ  
 δύνασθαι. καὶ αὐτῆς σῆμα ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἔστιν  
 ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον τόδε·

ἄνδρὸς ἀριστεύσαντος ἐν Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 Ἴππίου Ἀρχεδίκην ἤδε κέκευθε κόνις·  
 ἢ πατρός τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὔσα τυράννων  
 παίδων τ' οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην.

4 τυρανεύσας δὲ ἔτη τρία Ἴππίας ἔτι Ἀθηναίων  
 καὶ παυσθεὶς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 καὶ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἐχώρει ὑπό-  
 σπονδος ἔς τε Σίγειον καὶ παρ' Αἰαντίδην ἐς  
 Λάμψακον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλέα Δαρείου, ὅθεν  
 καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐς Μαραθῶνα ὕστερον ἔτει εἰκοστῷ  
 ἤδη γέρων ὦν μετὰ Μήδων ἐστράτευσεν.

LX. Ὡν ἐνθυμούμενος ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 καὶ μιμνησκόμενος ὅσα ἀκοῇ περὶ αὐτῶν ἠπίστατο,  
 χαλεπὸς ἦν τότε καὶ ὑπόπτῃς ἐς τοὺς περὶ τῶν  
 μυστικῶν τὴν αἰτίαν λαβόντας, καὶ πάντα αὐτοῖς  
 2 πεπρᾶχθαι. καὶ ὡς αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀργιζο-  
 μένων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἀξιόλογοι ἄνθρωποι ἤδη ἐν  
 τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐν παύλῃ ἐφαίνετο,  
 ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπεδίδοσαν μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ  
 ἀγριώτερόν τε καὶ πλείους ἔτι ξυλλαμβάνειν,  
 ἐνταῦθα ἀναπείθεται εἰς τῶν δεδεμένων, ὅσπερ

<sup>1</sup> Ascribed to Simonides of Ceos (Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 9).

<sup>2</sup> 510 B.C.



great influence with King Darius. And there is at Lampsacus a monument of her bearing this inscription :<sup>1</sup>

“This dust covers Archedice daughter of Hippias,  
Who was foremost in Hellas among the men of his  
time :

Her father and husband, her brothers and children  
were tyrants,

Yet was not her mind lifted up to vainglory.”

Hippias, however, after being tyrant for three years more at Athens, was then deposed<sup>2</sup> in the fourth year by the Lacedaemonians and the exiled Alcmaeonidae, and retired under truce to Sigeium, from there to Aeantides at Lampsacus, and thence to the court of King Darius; whence twenty years later, being already an old man, he went with the Persians on the expedition to Marathon.

LX. With these events in mind and recalling all that they knew of them by report, the Athenian people were in an ugly temper at this time and suspicious towards those who had incurred blame in the matter of the mysteries; and the whole thing seemed to them to have been done in connection with a conspiracy that aimed at an oligarchy or a tyranny. So when, in consequence of their anger on this account, many noteworthy men were already imprisoned and there seemed to be no end of the matter, but day by day they were growing more savage and still more men were being arrested, then at last one of the men in confinement,<sup>3</sup> the one in fact who

<sup>1</sup> The orator Andocides, who gives his account of the matter in his speech *De Mysteriis*. The man who persuaded him was, according to Andocides, his cousin Charmides; according to Plutarch (*Alcib.* ii.), it was Timaeus.



## THUCYDIDES

ἰδόμενος αἰτιώτατος εἶναι, ὑπὸ τῶν ξυνδεσμοῦ  
 τινος εἴτε ἄρα καὶ τὰ ὄντα μηνῦσαι εἴτε καὶ οὐ  
 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ εἰκάζεται, τὸ δὲ σαφὲς οὐδεὶς  
 οὔτε τότε οὔτε ὕστερον ἔχει εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν  
 3 δρασάντων τὸ ἔργον. λέγων δὲ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν  
 ὡς χρεῖ, εἰ μὴ καὶ δέδρακεν, αὐτὸν τε ἄδειαν  
 ποιησάμενον σῶσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῆς παρούσης  
 ὑποψίας παῦσαι· βεβαιότεραν γὰρ αὐτῷ σωτη-  
 ρίαν εἶναι ὁμολογήσαντι μετ' ἀδείας ἢ ἀρνηθέντι  
 4 διὰ δίκης ἐλθεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτός τε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 καὶ κατ' ἄλλων μηνύει τὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος  
 ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων<sup>1</sup> ἄσμενος λαβών, ὡς ᾤετο, τὸ  
 σαφὲς καὶ δεινὸν ποιούμενοι πρότερον, εἰ τοὺς  
 ἐπιβουλεύοντας σφῶν τῷ πλήθει μὴ εἴσονται,  
 τὸν μὲν μηνυτὴν εὐθύς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ ὄσων μὴ κατηγορήκει ἔλυσαν, τοὺς δὲ  
 κατακταθέντας κρίσεις ποιήσαντες τοὺς μὲν  
 ἀπέκτειναν, ὅσοι ξυνελήφθησαν, τῶν δὲ διαφυ-  
 γόντων θάνατον καταγνόντες ἐπανεῖπον ἀργύριον  
 5 τῷ ἀποκτείναντι. κὰν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν παθόντες  
 ἄδηλον ἦν εἰ ἀδίκως ἐτετιμώρηντο, ἢ μέντοι ἄλλη  
 πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι περιφανῶς ὠφέλητο.

LXI. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐναγόντων τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν, οἵπερ καὶ πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπέθεντο,  
 χαλεπῶς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλάβανον· καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ  
 τῶν Ἑρμῶν ᾤοντο σαφὲς ἔχειν, πολὺ δὲ μάλλον  
 καὶ τὰ μυστικά, ὧν ἐπαίτιος ἦν, μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Krüger deletes, followed by Hude.





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## THUCYDIDES

λόγου καὶ τῆς ξυνωμοσίας ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπ'  
 2 ἐκείνου ἐδόκει πραχθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ τις καὶ  
 στρατιὰ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ πολλὴ ἔτυχε κατὰ  
 τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ᾧ περὶ ταῦτα ἐθορυβοῦντο  
 μέχρι ἰσθμοῦ προελθοῦσα πρὸς Βοιωτούς, τι  
 πράσσοντες. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐκείνου πράξαντος καὶ  
 οὐ Βοιωτῶν ἔνεκα ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἦκειν, καὶ εἰ  
 μὴ ἔφθασαν δὴ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸ μήνυμα ξυλλα-  
 βόντες τοὺς ἄνδρας, προδοθῆναι ἂν ἢ πόλις. καί  
 τινα μίαν νύκτα καὶ κατέδαρθον ἐν Θησείῳ τῷ ἐν  
 3 πόλει ἐν ὄπλοις. οἳ τε ξένοι τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου οἱ  
 ἐν Ἀργεὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὑπωπτεύθησαν  
 τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτίθεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τῶν Ἀρ-  
 γείων τοὺς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις κειμένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 τότε παρέδοσαν τῷ Ἀργείων δήμῳ διὰ ταῦτα δια-  
 4 χρήσασθαι. πανταχόθεν τε περιειστήκει ὑποψία  
 ἐς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὥστε βουλόμενοι αὐτὸν ἐς  
 κρίσιν ἀγαγόντες ἀποκτεῖναι, πέμπουσιν οὕτω  
 τὴν Σαλαμινίαν ναῦν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τε  
 5 ἐκείνον καὶ ὧν πέρι ἄλλων ἐμεμήνυτο. εἴρητο δὲ  
 προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ἀπολογησομένῳ ἀκολουθεῖν, ξυλ-  
 λαμβάνειν δὲ μή, θεραπεύοντες τό τε πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ στρατιώτας τε σφετέρους καὶ πο-  
 λεμίους μὴ θορυβεῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τοὺς Μαν-  
 τινέας καὶ Ἀργείους βουλόμενοι παραμεῖναι, δι'  
 ἐκείνου νομίζοντες πεισθῆναι σφίσι ξυστρατεύειν.  
 6 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν καὶ οἱ ξυνδια-



had been committed by him with the same intent, that is of conspiring against the people. For it so happened that a small Lacedaemonian force, at the moment when they were in commotion about these matters, had come as far as the Isthmus in pursuance of some arrangement with the Boeotians. The opinion prevailed, therefore, that it had come on agreement at his instigation, and not in the interest of the Boeotians; and that, if they had not themselves been beforehand in arresting the men on the strength of the information given, the city would have been betrayed. And once for a whole night they lay under arms in the precinct of Theseus within the walls. Furthermore, the friends of Alcibiades at Argos were at the same time suspected of a design to attack the people; and on this account the Argive hostages who had been deposited in the islands<sup>1</sup> were at that time delivered by the Athenians to the Argive people to be put to death. Thus from all sides suspicion had gathered about Alcibiades. And so, wishing to bring him to trial and put him to death, they had sent the *Salaminia* to Sicily for him and for the others who had been informed upon. And the orders were to give him formal summons to follow, that he might make his defence, but not to arrest him; for they were solicitous about both their own soldiers in Sicily and the enemy, not wishing to stir up excitement among them, and they were especially desirous that the Mantineans and Argives should remain with them, thinking that it was through him that they had been persuaded to join in the expedition. So he, in his own ship, and those who were accused with him, sailed off in

<sup>1</sup> *cf.* v. lxxxiv. 1.



## THUCYDIDES

βεβλημένοι ἀπέπλεον μετὰ τῆς Σαλαμινίας ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο ἐν Θουρίοις, οὐκέτι ξυνείποντο, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς οὐ φανεροὶ ἦσαν, δείσαντες τὸ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐς δίκην καταπλεῦσαι.

7 οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Σαλαμινίας τέως μὲν ἐζήτουν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ· ὡς δ' οὐδαμοῦ φανεροὶ ἦσαν, ὄχοντο ἀποπλέοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἤδη φυγὰς ὦν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐπὶ πλοίου ἐπεραιώθη ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ τῆς Θουρίας· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐρήμη δίκη θάνατον κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου.

LXII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, δύο μέρη ποιήσαντες τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ λαχὼν ἑκάτερος, ἔπλεον ξύμπαντι ἐπὶ Σελινοῦντος καὶ Ἐγέστης, βουλόμενοι μὲν εἰδέναι τὰ χρήματα εἰ δώσουσιν οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι, κατασκέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν Σελινουντίων τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ διάφορα μαθεῖν τὰ

2 πρὸς Ἐγεσταίους. παραπλέοντες δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Σικελίαν, τὸ μέρος τὸ πρὸς τὸν Τυρσηνικὸν κόλπον, ἔσχον ἐς Ἰμέραν, ἥπερ μόνη ἐν τούτῳ τῷ

3 οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς, παρεκομίζοντο. καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ αἰροῦσιν Ἰκκαρα, πόλισμα Σικανικὸν μὲν, Ἐγεσταίοις δὲ πολέμιον· ἦν δὲ παραθαλασσίδιον. καὶ ἀνδραποδισαντες τὴν πόλιν παρέδοσαν Ἐγεσταίοις (παρεγένοντο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἰππῆς), αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐχώρουν διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν,





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## THUCYDIDES

ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Κατάνην, αἱ δὲ νῆες περιέπλευσαν  
 4 τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἄγουσαι. Νικίας δὲ εὐθύς ἐξ  
 Ἑκκάρων ἐπὶ Ἐγέστης παραπλεύσας καὶ τὰλλα  
 χρηματίσας καὶ λαβὼν τάλαντα τριάκοντα παρῆν  
 ἐς τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τὰνδράποδα ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ  
 ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα.  
 5 καὶ ἐς τῶν Σικελῶν τοὺς ξυμμάχους περιέπλευσαν,  
 στρατιὰν κελεύοντες πέμπειν· τῇ τε ἡμισείᾳ τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν ἦλθον ἐπὶ Ἔβλαν τὴν Γελεᾶτιν πολεμίαν  
 οὔσαν καὶ οὐχ εἶλον. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

LXIII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος εὐθύς  
 τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Συρακούσας παρε-  
 σκευάζοντο, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς ἐπ'  
 2 ἐκείνους ἰόντες. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν  
 πρῶτον φόβον καὶ τὴν<sup>1</sup> προσδοκίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 οὐκ εὐθύς ἐπέκειντο, κατὰ τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην  
 προῖοῦσαν ἀνεθάρσουν μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλέ-  
 οντές τε τὰ ἐπ' ἐκείνα τῆς Σικελίας πολὺ ἀπὸ  
 σφῶν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἔβλαν ἐλθόντες  
 καὶ πειράσαντες οὐχ εἶλον βία, ἔτι πλέον κατε-  
 φρόνησαν καὶ ἠξίουσαν τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἷον δὴ  
 ὄχλος φιλεῖ θαρσήσας ποιεῖν, ἄγειν σφᾶς ἐπὶ  
 Κατάνην, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔρχονται.  
 3 ἰππῆς τε<sup>2</sup> προσελαύνοντες αἰεὶ κατάσκοποι τῶν  
 Συρακοσίων, πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐφύβριζον ἀλλὰ τε καὶ εἰ ξυνοικήσοντες σφίσιν  
 αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ἤκοιεν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἢ Λεοντίους  
 ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν κατοικιοῦντες.

LXIV. Ἄ γιννώσκοντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄγειν πανδημεῖ

<sup>1</sup> τὴν, Hude deletes with E.

<sup>2</sup> τε is indispensable, but omitted in all MSS.



while the ships sailed round to Catana with the captives. Nicias, however, had sailed at once<sup>1</sup> from Hyccara for Egesta, and after transacting his other business and receiving thirty talents had rejoined the army. Their slaves they sold, receiving for them one hundred and twenty talents. They sent round also to their allies among the Sicels, bidding them send troops; and with half of their own force went against Hybla Geleatis, a hostile town, but failed to take it. And so the summer ended.

LXIII. The following winter the Athenians began at once to prepare for the advance upon Syracuse, and the Syracusans also, on their side, to go against them. For when the Athenians did not, in accordance with their first alarm and expectation, at once attack them, with each successive day their courage revived; and when the Athenians sailed along the opposite coast of Sicily and showed themselves only at a distance from Syracuse, and going against Hybla failed in the attempt to take it by storm, the Syracusans had still greater contempt for them, and, as a crowd is wont to do when it has become elated, demanded that their generals should lead them against Catana, since the Athenians would not come against them. Moreover, mounted Syracusan scouts constantly rode up to the Athenian army and amongst other insults asked them: "Are you come to settle yourselves here with us, on land which belongs to other people, instead of resettling the Leontines on their own?"

LXIV. The Athenian generals were aware of all this and purposed to draw the whole of the Syra-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* without waiting for Hyccara to be reduced and its inhabitants disposed of.



## THUCYDIDES

ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὅτι πλείστον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν  
 ἐν τοσοῦτῳ ὑπὸ νύκτα παραπλεύσαντες στρατό-  
 πεδὸν καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν,  
 εἰδότες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δυνηθέντες,<sup>1</sup> εἰ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν  
 πρὸς παρεσκευασμένους ἐκβιβάζοιεν ἢ κατὰ γῆν  
 ἰόντες γνωσθεῖεν (τοὺς γὰρ ἂν ψιλούς τοὺς σφῶν  
 καὶ τὸν ὄχλον τῶν Συρακοσίων τοὺς ἰππέας  
 πολλοὺς ὄντας, σφίσι δ' οὐ παρόντων ἰππέων,  
 βλάπτειν ἂν μεγάλα· οὕτω δὲ λήψεσθαι χωρίου  
 ὅθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων οὐ βλάψονται ἄξια λόγου·  
 ἐδίδασκον δ' αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπείῳ  
 χωρίου, ὅπερ καὶ κατέλαβον, Συρακοσίων φυγάδες  
 οἱ ξυνείποντο), τοιούδε τι οὖν πρὸς ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ  
 2 στρατηγοὶ μηχανῶνται. πέμπουσιν ἄνδρα σφίσι  
 μὲν πιστόν, τοῖς δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς  
 τῇ δοκῆσει οὐχ ἡσσον ἐπιτήδειον. ἦν δὲ Κατα-  
 ναῖος ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης  
 ἦκειν ἔφη ὧν ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγίγνωσκον καὶ  
 ἠπίσταντο ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔτι ὑπολοίπους ὄντας τῶν  
 3 σφίσιν εὖνων. ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐλί-  
 ζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ εἰ βού-  
 λονται ἐκεῖνοι πανδημεὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ ἅμα ἔφ'  
 ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐλθεῖν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀποκλήσειν  
 τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐμπρήσειν, ἐκείνους  
 δὲ, ῥαδίως τὸ στράτευμα προσβαλόντας τῷ σταυ-  
 ρωματι αἴρησειν· εἶναι δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ξυνδρά-  
 σοντας πολλοὺς Καταναίων καὶ ἠτοιμάσθαι ἤδη,  
 ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἦκειν.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ, before εἰ in MSS., ignored by Valla and the Scholiast.





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## THUCYDIDES

LXV. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα θαρσεῖν καὶ εἶναι ἐν διανοίᾳ καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἰέναι<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Κατάνην, ἐπίστευσάν τε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πολλῷ ἀπερὶσκεπτότερον καὶ εὐθύς ἡμέραν ξυνθέμενοι ἢ παρέσονται ἀπέστειλαν αὐτόν, καὶ αὐτοί (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων Σελινούντιοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς παρῆσαν) προεῖπον πανδημεὶ πᾶσιν ἐξίέναι Συρακοσίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτοῖμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν καὶ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς ξυνέθεντο ἤξειν ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, πορευόμενοι ἐπὶ Κατάνης ηὐλίσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ Συμαίθῳ ποταμῷ ἐν  
 2 τῇ Λεοντίνῃ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἤσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσιόντας, ἀναλαβόντες τό τε στράτευμα ἅπαν τὸ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν αὐτοῖς ἢ ἄλλος τις προσεληλύθει καὶ ἐπιβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς Συρα-  
 3 κούσας. καὶ οἷ· τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα ἔφ' ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὸ<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον ὡς στρατόπεδον καταληψόμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἵππῆς οἱ Συρακοσίων πρῶτοι προσελάσαντες ἐς τὴν Κατάνην<sup>3</sup> καὶ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν ἀνήκται, ἀποστρέψαντες ἀγγέλλουσι τοῖς πεζοῖς, καὶ ξύμπαντες ἤδη ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐβοήθουν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.

LXVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μακρᾶς οὔσης τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῖς, καθ' ἡσυχίαν καθίσαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐς χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐν ᾧ μάχης τε ἄρξειν ἔμελλον ὅποτε βούλοιντο καὶ οἱ ἵππῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἤκιστ'<sup>4</sup> αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> παρεσκευάσθαι, in MSS. after ἰέναι, deleted by Dobree.

<sup>2</sup> With E, all other MSS. τὸν.

<sup>3</sup> ἐς τὴν Κατάνην, Hude corrects to τῇ Κατάνῃ.

<sup>4</sup> ἄν, after ἤκιστ' in MSS., deleted by Stahl.



## BOOK VI. LXV. I—LXVI. I

LXV. And the Syracusan generals, who were already confident as to the general situation, and intended even without this help to go against Catana, trusted the fellow much too incautiously, and at once, agreeing upon a day on which they would be there, sent him back; and themselves—the Selinuntians and some others of their allies being already present—made proclamation for the whole force of the Syracusans to take the field. And when their preparations were made and the days were near on which they had agreed to come, they proceeded towards Catana and bivouacked at the River Simaethus in the territory of Leontini. But the Athenians, when they learned of their approach, took all their own army and such of the Sicels or others as had joined them, and embarking on their ships and boats sailed under cover of night against Syracuse. And they disembarked at daybreak at a point opposite the Olympieium, where they proposed to occupy a camping-place; but the Syracusan horsemen, who were the first to reach Catana and found there that the whole army was gone, turned about and announced this to the infantry, and all then turned back at once and hastened to bring aid to the city.

LXVI. Meanwhile the Athenians, undisturbed, as the Syracusans had a long way to go, settled their army in a suitable position, where they could begin a battle whenever they wished and the Syracusan horsemen would annoy them the least either in the



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πρὸ αὐτοῦ λυπήσειν· τῇ μὲν γὰρ τειχία τε καὶ  
 οἰκίαι εἶργον καὶ δένδρα καὶ λίμνη, παρὰ δὲ τὸ  
 2 κρημνοί. καὶ τὰ ἐγγὺς δένδρα κόψαντες καὶ  
 κατενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν παρά τε τὰς  
 ναῦς σταύρωμα ἔπηξαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Δάσκωνι ἔρυμά  
 τε, ἣ εὐεφοδώτατον ἦν τοῖς πολεμίοις, λίθοις  
 λογάδην καὶ ξύλοις διὰ ταχέων ὄρθωσαν καὶ τὴν  
 3 τοῦ Ἀνάπου γέφυραν ἔλυσαν. παρασκευαζομένων  
 δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς ἐξιὼν ἐκώλυε, πρῶτοι  
 δὲ οἱ ἰππῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων προσεβοήθησαν,  
 ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν ξυνελέγη.  
 καὶ προσῆλθον μὲν ἐγγὺς τοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀντι-  
 προῆσαν αὐτοῖς, ἀναχωρήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες  
 τὴν Ἐλωρίνην ὁδὸν ηὐλίσαντο.

LXVII. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ  
 ξύμμαχοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ξυνετά-  
 ξαντο ὧδε. δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας Ἀργεῖοι εἶχον καὶ  
 Μαντινῆς, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸ μέσον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο οἱ  
 ξύμμαχοι οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ αὐτοῖς τοῦ  
 στρατεύματος ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἦν, τεταγμένον ἐπὶ  
 ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐναῖς ἐν πλαισίῳ,  
 ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένον· οἷς εἶρητο, ἣ ἂν  
 τοῦ στρατεύματός τι πονῆ μάλιστα, ἐφορῶντας  
 παραγίγνεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς σκευοφόρους ἐντὸς τού-  
 2 των τῶν ἐπιτάκτων ἐποιήσαντο. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι  
 ἔταξαν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πάντας ἐφ' ἑκκαίδεκα,  
 ὄντας πανδημεῖ Συρακοσίους καὶ ὅσοι ξύμμαχοι  
 παρῆσαν (ἐβοήθησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς Σελινούντιοι μὲν





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μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Γελώων ἵππῆς, τὸ ξύμπαν  
 ἐς διακοσίους, καὶ Καμαριναίων ἵππῆς ὅσον εἴκοσι  
 καὶ τοξόται ὡς πεντήκοντα), τοὺς δὲ ἵππέας ἐπε-  
 τάξαντο ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ, οὐκ ἔλασσον ὄντας ἢ  
 διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, παρὰ δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς  
 3 ἀκοντιστάς. μέλλουσι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προ-  
 τέροις ἐπιχειρήσειν ὁ Νικίας κατὰ τε ἔθνη  
 ἐπιπαριῶν ἕκαστα καὶ ξύμπασι τοιάδε παρεκε-  
 λεύετο.

LXVIII. “ Πολλῇ μὲν παραινέσει, ὦ ἄνδρες, τί  
 δεῖ χρῆσθαι, οἳ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀγῶνα;  
 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἢ παρασκευὴ ἰκανωτέρα μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι  
 θάρσος παρασχεῖν ἢ καλῶς λεχθέντες λόγοι μετὰ  
 2 ἀσθενοῦς στρατοπέδου. ὅπου γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ  
 Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν οἳ πρῶτοί  
 ἐσμεν, πῶς οὐ χρὴ μετὰ τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε  
 ξυμμάχων πάντα τινὰ μεγάλην τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς  
 νίκης ἔχειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας πανδημεῖ  
 τε ἀμυνομένους καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέκτους ὥσπερ καὶ  
 ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσέτι Σικελιώτας, οἳ ὑπερφρονοῦσι  
 μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὑπομενοῦσι δὲ οὐ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην  
 3 τῆς τόλμης ἥσσω ἔχειν. παραστήτω δέ τινα καὶ  
 τόδε, πολὺ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ  
 πρὸς γῆ οὐδεμιᾶ φιλία, ἣντινα μὴ αὐτοὶ μαχόμενοι  
 κτήσεσθε. καὶ τούναντίον ὑπομιμνήσκω ὑμᾶς ἢ  
 οἳ πολέμοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι παρακελεύ-  
 ονται· οἳ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος ἔσται ὁ ἀγών,  
 ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι, ἐξ ἧς κρατεῖν δεῖ ἢ μὴ  
 ῥαδίως ἀποχωρεῖν· οἳ γὰρ ἵππῆς πολλοὶ ἐπικεί-  
 4 σονται. τῆς τε οὖν ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀξίας μνη-

<sup>1</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν, Hyde changes to τοιοῦτον.



but next to them some cavalry from the Geloans, about two hundred in all, and also from the Camarinaeans about twenty horsemen and fifty bowmen. Their cavalry, which was not less than twelve hundred in number, they placed on the right, and on its flank the javelin-men. As the Athenians were on the point of beginning the attack, Nicias went along the line and exhorted them, nation by nation as well as all together, in the following manner :

LXVIII. "What need is there, soldiers, of long exhortation, when we are all here for one and the same contest? Our array of itself seems to me more calculated to inspire confidence than well chosen words with a weak army. For where are Argives and Mantineans and Athenians and the best of the islanders, why should not everyone, in company with allies so brave and so numerous, have great hope of victory, especially against men that meet us in a mob and are not picked men as we ourselves are, and against Siceliots, moreover, who scorn us, indeed, but do not stand their ground against us, because the skill they have is not equal to their daring. This, too, must be fixed in the mind of everyone, that we are far from our own land and not near to any friendly country, unless you shall win such by your own swords. And my admonition is the opposite of the exhortation which, I am sure, the enemy is addressing to his troops; for they urge that the contest will be for fatherland, but I remind you that it will be, not in our fatherland, but where you either must win victory or may not easily get away; for their cavalry will be upon us in great numbers. Be mindful, therefore, of your own repu-



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σθέντες ἐπέλθετε τοῖς ἐναντίοις προθύμως καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀπορίαν φοβερωτέραν ἠγησάμενοι τῶν πολεμίων.”

LXIX. Ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοιαῦτα παρακελευσάμενος ἐπῆγε τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐθύς. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀπροσδόκητοι μὲν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἦσαν ὡς ἤδη μαχοῦμενοι, καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως οὔσης καὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν· οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς προσβοηθούμενοι δρόμῳ ὑστέριζον μὲν, ὡς δὲ ἕκαστός πη τοῖς πλείοσι προσμείξειε καθίσταντο. οὐ γὰρ δὴ προθυμία ἐλλιπεῖς ἦσαν οὐδὲ τόλμη οὔτ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν ἀνδρεία οὐχ ἦσσαν ἐς ὅσον ἢ ἐπιστήμη ἀντέχοι, τῷ δὲ ἐλλείποντι αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν βούλησιν ἄκοντες προυδίδοσαν· ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι σφίσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προτέρους ἐπελθεῖν καὶ διὰ τάχους ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀμύνασθαι  
2 ἀναλαμβάνοντες τὰ ὄπλα εὐθύς ἀντεπῆσαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἑκατέρων οἷ τε λιθοβόλοι καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ τοξόται προυμάχοντο καὶ τροπὰς, οἷας εἰκὸς ψιλούς, ἀλλήλων ἐποίουν· ἔπειτα δὲ μάντις τε σφάγια προύφερον τὰ νομιζόμενα καὶ σαλπικταὶ ξύνοδον ἐπώτρυνον τοῖς ὀπλίταις, οἱ  
3 δ' ἐχώρουν, Συρακόσιοι μὲν περί τε πατρίδος μαχοῦμενοι καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἕκαστος τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα σωτηρίας, τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἐλευθερίας, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν περί τε τῆς ἀλλοτρίας οἰκείαν σχεῖν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν μὴ βλάψαι ἠσσώμενοι, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οἱ αὐτόνομοι





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ξυγκτήσασθαί τε ἐκείνοις ἐφ' ἃ ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφίσι πατρίδα νικήσαντες πάλιν ἐπιδεῖν· τὸ δ' ὑπήκοον τῶν ξυμμάχων μέγιστον μὲν περὶ τῆς αὐτίκα ἀνελπίστου σωτηρίας, ἣν μὴ κρατῶσι, τὸ πρόθυμον εἶχον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ξυγκαταστρεψάμενον ῥᾶον αὐτοῖς ὑπακούσεται.

LXX. Γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντεῖχον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ξυνέβη βροντάς τε ἄμα τινὰς γενέσθαι καὶ ἀστραπὰς καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν πρῶτον μαχομένοις καὶ ἐλάχιστα πολέμῳ ὠμιληκόσι καὶ τοῦτο ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ φόβου, τοῖς δ' ἐμπειροτέροις τὰ μὲν γιγνόμενα καὶ ὥρα ἔτους περαίνεσθαι δοκεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθεστῶτας πολὺ μείζω ἔκπληξιν μὴ  
 2 νικωμένους παρέχειν. ὡσαμένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων πρῶτον τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοῦ, παρερρήγνυτο ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα τῶν  
 3 Συρακοσίων καὶ ἐς φυγὴν κατέστη. καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (οἱ γὰρ ἰππῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀήσσητοι εἶργον καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ὀπλίτας αὐτῶν, εἴ τινας προδιώκοντας ἴδοιεν, ἀνέστελλον), ἐπακολουθήσαντες δὲ ἀθρόοι ὅσον ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε πάλιν  
 4 ἐπανεχώρουν καὶ τροπαῖον ἴστασαν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀθροισθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἐλωρίνην ὁδὸν καὶ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυνταξάμενοι ἔς τε τὸ Ὀλυμ-



the objects for which they had come, and having won victory to see again their own fatherland; the subject-allies, above all zealous for their own immediate safety, for which there was no hope unless they conquered, then also with the secondary motive that having helped the Athenians to overthrow another power they might find the terms of their own subjection milder.

LXX. When they had come to close combat, they held out for a long time against one another; and there chanced to occur at the same time some claps of thunder and flashes of lightning and much rain, so that this too contributed to the fear of those who were fighting for the first time and were but little conversant with war, whereas to those who were more experienced<sup>1</sup> the storm seemed of course to be due merely to the season of the year, but the fact that their antagonists were not overcome caused them far greater alarm. When, however, the Argives had first driven back the left wing of the Syracusans, and after them the Athenians had repulsed their own opponents, then the rest also of the Syracusan line began to break and was reduced to flight. But the Athenians did not pursue far; for the Syracusan cavalry, being numerous and undefeated, held them in check, and falling upon their hoplites, if they saw any ahead in pursuit, drove them back. They only followed up in a body as far as it was safe, and then drew back and set up a trophy. The Syracusans, on the other hand, collecting on the Elorine road and drawing up as well as possible under the circumstances, in spite of their defeat sent some of their

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Athenians.



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πιεῖον ὅμως σφῶν αὐτῶν παρέπεμψαν φυλακὴν, δείσαντες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἦν αὐτόθι κινήσωσι, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπανεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

LXXI. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἱερόν οὐκ ἦλθον, ξυγκομίσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς καὶ ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπιθέντες ηὐλίσαντο αὐτοῦ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἀπέδοσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς (ἀπέθανον δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων περὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους), τῶν δὲ σφετέρων τὰ ὄστᾶ ἀνέλεξαν (ἀπέθανον δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὡς πεντήκοντα), καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων σκῦλα ἔχοντες ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Κατάνην. 2 χειμῶν, τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτόθεν ποιεῖσθαι οὐπω ἔδόκει δυνατόν εἶναι, πρὶν ἂν ἰππέας τε μεταπέμψωσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων ἀγείρωσιν, ὅπως μὴ παντάπασιν ἰπποκρατῶνται, καὶ χρήματα δὲ ἅμα αὐτόθεν τε ξυλλέξωνται καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἔλθῃ, τῶν τε πόλεόν τινας προσαγάγωνται, ἃς ἠλπιζον μετὰ τὴν μάχην μᾶλλον σφῶν ὑπακούσεσθαι, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὄσων δέοι, παρασκευάζονται, ὡς ἐς τὸ ἔαρ ἐπιχειρήσοντες ταῖς Συρακούσαις.

LXXII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Νάξον καὶ Κατάνην διαχειμάσοντες. Συρακόσιοι δὲ τοὺς σφετέρους αὐτῶν νεκροὺς θάψαντες 2 ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν. καὶ παρελθὼν αὐτοῖς Ἑρμοκράτης ὁ Ἑρμωνος, ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα ξύνεσιν οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρία τε ἰκανὸς γινόμενος καὶ ἀνδρεία ἐπιφανής, ἐθάρ-





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σ ~~υ~~έ τε καὶ οὐκ εἶα τῷ γεγενημένῳ ἐνδιδόναι·  
 3 τὴν μὲν γὰρ γνώμην αὐτῶν οὐχ ἡσσησθαι, τὴν  
 δὲ ἀταξίαν βλάψαι. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτόν γε  
 λειφθῆναι ὅσον εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἄλλως τε τοῖς πρώτοις  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπειρία, ἰδιώτας ὡς εἰπεῖν χειρο-  
 4 τέχναις, ἀνταγωνισαμένους. μέγα δὲ βλάψαι καὶ  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὴν πολυαρχίαν  
 (ἦσαν γὰρ πέντε καὶ δέκα οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτοῖς),  
 τῶν τε πολλῶν τὴν ἀξύντακτον ἀναρχίαν. ἦν δὲ  
 ὀλίγοι τε στρατηγοὶ γένωνται ἐμπειροὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 χειμῶνι τούτῳ παρασκευάσωσι τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, οἷς  
 τε ὄπλα μὴ ἔστιν ἐκπορίζοντες, ὅπως ὡς πλείστοι  
 ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ μελέτῃ προσαναγκάζοντες,  
 ἔφη κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς κρατήσειν σφᾶς τῶν ἐναντίων,  
 ἀνδρείας μὲν σφίσιν ὑπαρχούσης, εὐταξίας δ' ἐς  
 τὰ ἔργα προσγενομένης· ἐπιδώσειν γὰρ ἀμφότερα  
 αὐτά, τὴν μὲν μετὰ κινδύνων μελετωμένην, τὴν  
 δ' εὐψυχίαν αὐτῆν ἑαυτῆς μετὰ τοῦ πιστοῦ τῆς  
 5 ἐπιστήμης θαρσαλεωτέραν ἔσεσθαι. τοὺς τε στρα-  
 τηγοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας χρῆναι  
 ἐλέσθαι καὶ ὁμόσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄρκιον ἢ μὴν ἐάσειν  
 ἄρχειν ὅπῃ ἂν ἐπίστωνται· οὕτω γὰρ ἅ τε κρύπ-  
 τεσθαι δεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν στέγασθαι καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ  
 κόσμον καὶ ἀπροφασίστως παρασκευασθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ deleted by van Herwerden, followed by Hude.



He encouraged them and protested against their giving way because of what had happened: their spirit, he told them, was not defeated; it was their lack of discipline that had done mischief. They had not, however, been so much inferior as might have been expected, especially as they had been pitted against troops who were the foremost among the Hellenes in experience, mere tiros so to speak against skilled craftsmen. Much mischief had also been caused by the large number of the generals and the division of command—for they had fifteen generals—and the disorder and anarchy among the troops. If only a few men of experience should be chosen as generals, and during this winter they should get the hoplite-force ready, providing arms for those who had none, in order that the number might be as large as possible, and enforcing the general training, in all likelihood, he said, they would get the better of the enemy, if to courage, which they had already, discipline were added when it came to action. For both these things would improve of themselves; their discipline would be practised in the midst of dangers, and their courage, in proportion as their confidence in their skill increased, would prove more self-reliant than ever. The generals, then, whom they should elect ought to be few in number and clothed with full powers and they should give them their oath that they would in very truth allow them to command according to their judgment; for in this way whatever ought to be kept secret would be better concealed, and their preparations in general would be made in an orderly way and without evasions.



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LXXIII. Καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο τε πάντα ὡς ἐκέλευε καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτόν τε εἴλοντο τὸν Ἑρμοκράτη καὶ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου καὶ Σικανὸν τὸν Ἐξηκέστου, 2 τούτους τρεῖς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν, ὅπως ξυμμαχία τε αὐτοῖς παραγένηται καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον βεβαιότερον πείθωσι ποιεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἵνα ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας ἀπαγάγωσιν αὐτοὺς ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ στράτευμα ἦσσον ὠφελίαν ἄλλην ἐπιπέμπωσιν.

LXXIV. Τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ Κατάνη στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην ὡς προδοθησομένην. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἐπράσσετο οὐκ ἐγένετο Ἀλκιβιάδης γὰρ ὅτ' ἀπήει ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤδη μετάπεμπτos, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι φεύξειτο, μηνύει τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων φίλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ ξυνειδῶς τὸ μέλλον· οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας διέφθειραν πρότερον καὶ τότε στασιάζοντες καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντες ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 2 οἱ ταῦτα βουλόμενοι. ἡμέρας δὲ μέναντες περὶ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐχειμάζοντο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ εἶχον καὶ προυχώρει οὐδέν, ἀπελθόντες ἐς Νάξον καὶ ὄρια καὶ σταυρώματα περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι αὐτοῦ διεχείμαζον· καὶ τριήρη ἀπέστειλαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ τε χρήματα καὶ ἰππέας, ὅπως ἅμα τῷ ἦρι παραγένωνται.

LXXV. Ἐτείχιζον δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πρὸς τε τῇ πόλει, τὸν Τεμενίτην ἐντὸς





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ποιησάμενοι, τείχος παρὰ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπι-  
 πολὰς ὄρων, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἐλάσσονος εὐαποτείχιστοι  
 ὦσιν, ἣν ἄρα σφάλλωνται, καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα φρού-  
 ριον καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιεῖ ἄλλο· καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
 2 προυσταύρωσαν πανταχῇ ἣ ἀποβάσεις ἦσαν. καὶ  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἰδότες ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ χειμάζοντας  
 ἐστράτευσαν πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κατάνην, καὶ τῆς  
 τε γῆς αὐτῶν ἔτεμον καὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 σκηναὶς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσαντες ἀνεχώ-  
 3 ρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναί-  
 ους ἐς τὴν Καμάριναν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Λάχητος  
 γενομένην ξυμμαχίαν πρεσβεύεσθαι, εἴ πως προσ-  
 ἀγάγοιντο αὐτούς, ἀντεπρεσβεύοντο καὶ αὐτοί·  
 ἦσαν γὰρ ὑποπτοὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Καμαριναῖοι μὴ προ-  
 θύμως σφίσι, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην μάχην πέμψαι  
 ἀ ἐπέμψαν, ἐς τε τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ οὐκέτι βούλωνται  
 ἀμύνειν, ὄρωντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εὖ  
 πράξαντας, προσχωρῶσι δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν προ-  
 4 τέραν φιλίαν πεισθέντες. ἀφικομένων οὖν ἐκ μὲν  
 Συρακουσῶν Ἑρμοκράτους καὶ ἄλλων ἐς τὴν  
 Καμάριναν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Εὐφήμου μεθ'  
 ἑτέρων, ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης ξυλλόγου γενομένου τῶν  
 Καμαριναίων βουλόμενος προδιαβάλλει τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

LXXVI. “ Οὐ τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων, ὦ Καμαριναῖοι, μὴ αὐτὴν καταπλα-



the entire extent that faces Epipolae, taking in the Temenites precinct,<sup>1</sup> in order that, in case of a possible reverse, they might not be so easily shut in as if the circuit of the town were smaller; and they also put a garrison at Megara and another at the Olympieium, and fixed palisades on the sea-shore at all points where landings were possible. And knowing that the Athenians were wintering at Naxos, they went out with all their forces against Catana and ravaged some of its territory, then having set fire to the tents and the camp of the Athenians they returned home. Moreover, on learning that the Athenians had, in accordance with an alliance concluded with the Camarinaeans in the time of Laches,<sup>2</sup> sent envoys to these, in the hope that they might win them to their side, they themselves sent a counter-embassy; for they had suspicions that the Camarinaeans had not been zealous in sending such help as they had sent for the first battle, and might not wish to aid them in future, seeing that the Athenians had fared well in the fight, but might rather be induced, on the plea of their former friendship, to go over to the Athenians. Accordingly, when Hermocrates and others had arrived at Camarina from Syracuse, and from the Athenians Euphemus and the rest, an assembly of the Camarinaeans was held and Hermocrates, wishing to prejudice them against the Athenians, spoke as follows:

LXXVI. "We have come on this embassy, men of Camarina, not because we feared that you will be

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Apollo Temenites and the suburb which had grown up about it, the later Neapolis.

<sup>2</sup> 427 B.C.; cf. III. lxxxvi. 2.



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γῆτε δείσαντες ἐπρεσβευσάμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
 τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν λόγους, πρὶν τι και  
 2 ἡμῶν ἀκοῦσαι, μὴ ὑμᾶς πείσωσιν. ἤκουσι γὰρ  
 ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν προφάσει μὲν ἢ πυνθάνεσθε,  
 διανοία δὲ ἦν πάντες ὑπονοοῦμεν· καί μοι δοκοῦσιν  
 οὐ Λεοντίους βούλεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς  
 μᾶλλον ἐξοικίσαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ εὖλογον τὰς μὲν  
 ἐκεῖ πόλεις ἀναστάτους ποιεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἐνθάδε  
 κατοικίζειν, καὶ Λεοντίων μὲν Χαλκιδέων ὄντων  
 κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς κήδεσθαι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ τοὺς  
 ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, ὧν οἶδε ἄποικοί εἰσι, δουλωσαμένους  
 3 ἔχειν. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ἐκείνά τε ἔσχον καὶ τὰ  
 ἐνθάδε νῦν πειρῶνται· ἡγεμόνες γὰρ γενόμενοι  
 ἐκόντων τῶν τε Ἰώνων καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ σφῶν ἦσαν  
 ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Μήδου τιμωρία, τοὺς μὲν  
 λιποστρατίαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύειν,  
 τοῖς δ' ὡς ἐκάστοις τινὰ εἶχον αἰτίαν εὐπρεπῆ  
 4 ἐπενεγκόντες κατεστρέψαντο. καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς  
 ἐλευθερίας ἄρα οὔτε οὔτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔθ' οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες τῆς ἑαυτῶν τῷ Μήδῳ ἀντέστησαν, περὶ  
 δὲ οἱ μὲν σφίσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσεως,  
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ δεσπότητος μεταβολῇ οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου,  
 κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ.

LXXVII. “Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 εὐκατηγόρητον οὔσαν πόλιν νῦν ἤκομεν ἀποφα-





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νοῦντες ἐν εἰδόσιν ὅσα ἀδικεῖ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἰτιασόμενοι ὅτι ἔχοντες παραδείγματα τῶν τ' ἐκεῖ Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐδουλώθησαν, οὐκ ἀμύνοντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ταῦτα παρόντα σοφίσματα, Λεοντίνων τε ξυγγενῶν κατοικίσεις καὶ Ἐγεσταίων ξυμμάχων ἐπικουρίας, οὐ ξυστραφέντες βουλόμεθα προθυμότερον δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐκ Ἴωνες τάδε εἰσὶν οὐδ' Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ νησιῶται, οἱ δεσπότην ἢ Μῆδον ἢ ἕνα γέ τινα αἰεὶ μεταβάλλοντες δουλοῦνται, ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς, ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ' αὐτονόμου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες. ἢ μένομεν ἕως ἂν ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ληφθῶμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι ταύτη μόνον ἄλωτοί ἐσμεν καὶ ὄρωντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος τρεπομένους ὥστε τοὺς μὲν λόγοις ἡμῶν διστάναι, τοὺς δὲ ξυμμάχων ἐλπίδι ἐκπολεμοῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐκάστοις τι προσηνὲς λέγοντες δύνανται κακουργεῖν; καὶ οἴομεθα τοῦ ἄπωθεν ξυνοίκου προαπολλυμένου οὐ καὶ ἐς αὐτόν τινα ἦξειν τὸ δεινόν, πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὸν πᾶσχοντα καθ' ἑαυτὸν δυστυχεῖν;

LXXVIII. “ Καὶ εἴ τῳ ἄρα παρέστηκεν τὸν μὲν Συρακόσιον, ἑαυτὸν δ' οὐ πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, καὶ δεινὸν ἠγεῖται ὑπὲρ γε τῆς ἐμῆς κινδυνεύειν, ἐνθυμηθήτω οὐ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς μᾶλλον, ἐν ἴσῳ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἅμα ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ μαχοῦμενος, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ὅσῳ οὐ προδιεφθαρ-



deeds ; but much more to blame ourselves, because, though we have warning examples in the way that the Hellenes over there have been enslaved because they would not defend one another, and though the same sophisms are now practised upon us—restorings of Leontine kinsmen and succourings of Eggestæan allies!—we are unwilling to combine together and with more spirit show them that here are not Ionians nor yet Hellespontines and islanders, who are always taking some new master, Persian or whoever it may be, and continue in a state of slavery, but Dorians, free men sprung from independent Peloponnesus, and now dwelling in Sicily. Or are we waiting until we shall be taken one at a time, city by city, when we know that in this way only can we be conquered, and when we see them resorting to this policy, endeavouring to cause division among some of us by means of cunning words, to set others at war one with another by the hope of obtaining allies, and to ruin others in whatever way they can by saying something alluring to each ? And do we think that, when a distant compatriot perishes before us, the same danger will not come also to ourselves, but rather that whoever before us meets with disaster merely incurs misfortune by himself alone ?

LXXVIII. “And if the thought has occurred to anyone that it is the Syracusans, not himself, who are enemies to the Athenians, and thinks it preposterous that he should incur danger for our country, let him reflect that it will not be chiefly for our country, but equally for his own at the same time that he will fight in our land, and with the greater safety, too, inasmuch as he will enter the contest, not when we have already been ruined,



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μένου ἔμοῦ, ἔχων δὲ ξύμμαχον ἔμὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐρήμος<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀγωνιεῖται, τὸν τε Ἀθηναῖον μὴ τὴν τοῦ Συρα-  
 κοσίου ἔχθραν κολάσασθαι, τῇ δ' ἐμῇ προφάσει  
 τὴν ἐκείνου φιλίαν οὐχ ἡσσον βεβαιώσασθαι  
 2 βούλεσθαι. εἴ τέ τις φθονεῖ μὲν ἢ καὶ φοβεῖται  
 (ἀμφότερα γὰρ τάδε πάσχει τὰ μείζω), διὰ δὲ  
 αὐτὰ τὰς Συρακούσας κακωθῆναι μὲν, ἵνα σωφρο-  
 νισθῶμεν, βούλεται, περιγενέσθαι δὲ ἔνεκα τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλείας, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως βού-  
 λησιν ἐλπίζει. οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυ-  
 μίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ταμίαν  
 3 γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ γνώμη, ἀμάρτοι, τοῖς αὐτοῦ  
 κακοῖς ὀλοφυρθεῖς τάχ' αν ἴσως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς  
 ἀγαθοῖς ποτε βουληθείη αὐθις φθονῆσαι. ἀδύ-  
 νατον δὲ προεμένῳ καὶ μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους,  
 οὐ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἔργων,  
 ἐθελήσαντι προσλαβεῖν. λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἡμε-  
 τέραν δύναμιν σώζοι ἂν τις, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 4 σωτηρίαν. καὶ μάλιστα εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καμα-  
 ριναῖοι, ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κινδυνεύ-  
 σοντας, προορᾶσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ μαλακῶς ὥσπερ  
 νῦν ξυμμαχεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον  
 ἰόντας, ἅπερ, εἰ ἐς τὴν Καμαριναίαν πρῶτον  
 ἀφίκοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δεόμενοι ἂν ἐπεκαλεῖσθε,  
 ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ νῦν παρακελευομένους,  
 ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνδώσομεν, φαίνεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὔθ'  
 ὑμεῖς νῦν γέ πω οὔθ' οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὄρμησθε.  
 LXXIX. “ Δειλία δὲ ἴσως τὸ δίκαιον πρὸς τε  
 ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας θεραπεύσετε, λέγοντές

<sup>1</sup> ἐρήμος, the reading of some inferior MSS., seems to be rightly preferred by Bekker, Stahl, and Hude to ἐρήμον of all the better MSS.





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ξυμμαχίαν εἶναι ὑμῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους· ἦν γε οὐκ  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐποιήσασθε, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἦν τις  
 ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἴη, καὶ τοῖς γε Ἀθηναίοις βοηθεῖν, ὅταν  
 ὑπ' ἄλλων, καὶ μὴ αὐτοὶ ὥσπερ νῦν τοὺς πέλας  
 ἀδικῶσιν, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι ὄντες Χαλκιδῆς  
 Χαλκιδέας ὄντας Λεοντίλους ἐθέλουσι ξυγκατοικί-  
 2 ζειν. καὶ δεινὸν εἰ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ καλοῦ  
 δικαιώματος ὑποπτεύοντες ἀλόγως σωφρονοῦσιν,  
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὐλόγῳ προφάσει τοὺς μὲν φύσει πολε-  
 μίους βούλεσθε ὠφελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον φύσει  
 3 ξυγγενεῖς μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων διαφθεῖραι. ἀλλ'  
 οὐ δίκαιον, ἀμύνειν δὲ καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν  
 παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν· οὐ γάρ, ἦν ἡμεῖς ξυστῶμεν  
 πάντες, δεινὴ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἦν, ὅπερ οὗτοι σπεύ-  
 δουσι, τὰναντία διαστῶμεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 μόνους ἐλθόντες καὶ μάχῃ περιγενόμενοι ἔπραξαν  
 ἀ ἐβούλοντο, ἀπῆλθον δὲ διὰ τάχους.

LXX. “Ὡστε οὐχ ἀθρόους γε ὄντας εἰκὸς  
 ἀθυμεῖν, ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προθυμότερον,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρεσομένης  
 ὠφελίας, οἱ τῶνδε κρείσσους εἰσὶ τὸ παράπαν τὰ  
 πολέμια· καὶ μὴ ἐκείνην τὴν προμηθίαν δοκεῖν  
 τῷ ἡμῖν μὲν ἴσην εἶναι, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλῆ, τὸ  
 μηδετέροις δὴ ὡς καὶ ἀμφοτέρων ὄντας ξυμμάχους  
 2 βοηθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἴσον ὥσπερ τῷ δικαιώματί

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<sup>1</sup> ἀδικῶνται is to be understood. For similar ellipses, cf. I. lxxviii. 10; II. xi. 34; VII. lxi. 3.



the invaders, alleging that you have an alliance with the Athenians. That alliance, however, you made, not against your friends, but in the event of any of your enemies attacking you; and you were to aid the Athenians only when they were wronged<sup>1</sup> by others, and not when, as now, they are themselves wronging their neighbours. Why, not even the Rhegians, themselves Chalcidians, are willing to help to restore the Leontines who are Chalcidians. And it is monstrous if they, suspicious of what this fine plea of right really means in practice, are unreasonably prudent,<sup>2</sup> while you, on a speciously reasonable pretext, desire to aid those who by nature are your enemies, and in concert with your bitterest foes to ruin those who by a still closer tie of nature are your kinsmen.<sup>3</sup> Nay, that is not right; but it is right to aid us and not be afraid of their armament. For if we all stand together, it is not formidable. The only danger is—and this is just what they are eager for—that we may stand opposed to each other; for not even when they came against us alone and proved superior in battle did they effect what they wished, but quickly went away.

LXXX. “So then, if only we be united, we have reason not to be disheartened, but rather to enter into the proposed alliance more heartily, especially as aid is sure to come from the Peloponnesians, who are altogether superior to these people in matters of war. And no one should regard as fair to us, while safe for you, that prudent course of yours—to aid neither, forsooth, as being allies of both. Indeed it is not as fair in fact, as when urged to justify

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* discard logic and obey policy.

<sup>3</sup> As Dorians and Sicilians.



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ἔστιν. εἰ γὰρ δι' ὑμᾶς μὴ συμμαχήσαντας ὃ τε παθὼν σφαλῆσεται καὶ ὁ κρατῶν περιεσται, τί ἄλλο ἢ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπουσίᾳ τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἠμύνατε σωθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐκωλύσατε κακοὺς γενέσθαι; καίτοι κάλλιον τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ ἅμα ξυγγενέσι προσθεμένους τήν τε κοινήν ὠφελίαν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φυλάξαι καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φίλους δὴ ὄντας μὴ ἑᾶσαι ἀμαρτεῖν.

3 “Ἐυνελόντες τε λέγομεν οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκδιδάσκειν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔργον εἶναι σαφῶς οὔτε ὑμᾶς οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον γιγνώσκετε· δεόμεθα δὲ καὶ μαρτυρόμεθα ἅμα, εἰ μὴ πείσομεν, ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύομεθα μὲν ὑπὸ Ἰώνων αἰεὶ πολεμίων, προδιδόμεθα δὲ ὑπὸ ὑμῶν Δωριῆς  
4 Δωριῶν. καὶ εἰ καταστρέψονται ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῖς μὲν ὑμετέραις γνώμαις κρατήσουσι, τῷ δ' αὐτῶν ὀνόματι τιμηθήσονται, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἄθλον ἢ τὸν τὴν νίκην παρασχόντα λήψονται· καὶ εἰ αὖ ἡμεῖς περιεσόμεθα, τῆς αἰτίας τῶν κινδύνων οἱ αὐτοὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑφέ-  
5 ξετε. σκοπεῖτε οὖν καὶ αἰρεῖσθε ἤδη ἢ τὴν αὐτίκα ἀκινδύνως δουλείαν ἢ κἂν περιγενόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν τούσδε τε μὴ αἰσχρῶς δεσπότης λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχθραν μὴ ἂν βραχείαν γενομένην διαφυγεῖν.”

LXXXI. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης εἶπεν, ὁ





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δ' Εὐφῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβευτῆς μετ' αὐτὸν τοιάδε.

LXXXII. “ Αφικόμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρότερον οὔσης ξυμμαχίας ἀνανεώσει, τοῦ δὲ Συρακοσίου καθαψαμένου ἀνάγκη καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰπεῖν  
 2 ὡς εἰκότως ἔχομεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον μαρτύριον αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ὅτι οἱ Ἴωνες αἰεὶ ποτε πολέμιοι τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν εἰσιν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὕτως. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Ἴωνες ὄντες Πελοποννησίοις Δωριεῦσι, καὶ πλείοσιν οὔσι καὶ παροικοῦσιν, ἐσκεψάμεθα ὅτῳ  
 3 τρόπῳ ἤκιστα<sup>1</sup> ὑπακουσόμεθα· καὶ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ναῦς κτησάμενοι τῆς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἀπηλλάγημεν, οὐδὲν προσῆκον μᾶλλον τι ἐκείνους ἡμῖν ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκείνοις ἐπιτάσσειν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐν τῷ παρόντι μείζον ἴσχυον, αὐτοὶ<sup>2</sup> δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ πρότερον ὄντων ἡγεμόνες καταστάντες οἰκοῦμεν, νομίσαντες ἤκιστ' ἂν ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίοις οὕτως εἶναι, δύναμιν ἔχοντες ἢ ἀμυνόμεθα, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως καταστρεψάμενοι τούς τε Ἴωνας καὶ νησιώτας, οὓς ξυγγενεῖς φασιν ὄντας ἡμᾶς Συρα-  
 4 κόσιοι δεδουλῶσθαι. ἦλθον γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ Μήδου καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποστάντες τὰ οἰκεῖα φθεῖραι, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν, δουλείαν δὲ αὐτοὶ τε ἐβούλουτο καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπενεγκεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν, in MSS. before ἤκιστα, deleted by van Herwerden, followed by Hude.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοί, Hude emends to αὐτόνομοι.



after him Euphemus, the envoy of the Athenians, spoke as follows:—

LXXXII. “We had come here for the renewal of the alliance<sup>1</sup> which formerly existed, but as the Syracusan has attacked us it is necessary to speak also about our empire, showing how rightly we hold it. Now the strongest proof of this the speaker himself stated—that Ionians have always been enemies to the Dorians. It is even so. Accordingly, we, being Ionians, considered in what way we should be least subject to the Peloponnesians who are Dorians and not only more numerous than we but our near neighbours.<sup>2</sup> And after the Persian wars we acquired a fleet and rid ourselves of the rule and supremacy of the Lacedaemonians, it being not in any way more fitting that they give orders to us than we to them, except in so far as they at the time were stronger. Having, then, ourselves become leaders of those who were before subject to the King, we so continue, thinking that we should in this way be least subject to the Peloponnesians, because we have power with which to defend ourselves. And to say the exact truth, not unjustly, either, did we subdue both the Ionians and the islanders, whom the Syracusans say we have enslaved though they are our kinsmen. For they came against us, their mother-city, along with the Persians, and had not the courage to revolt and sacrifice their homes, as we did when we abandoned our city, but chose slavery for themselves and wished to impose the same condition upon us.

<sup>1</sup> *cf.* ch. lxxv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Or, retaining *αὐτῶν*, “For we, being Ionians in the eyes of Peloponnesians who are Dorians, not only more numerous than we but also our near neighbours, considered in what way we should be least subject to them.”



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LXXIII. “Ἄνθ' ὧν ἄξιοί τε ὄντες ἅμα ἄρχομεν, ὅτι τε ναυτικὸν πλεῖστόν τε καὶ προθυμίαν ἀπροφάσιστον παρεσχόμεθα ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ διότι καὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ἐτοίμως τοῦτο δρῶντες οὗτοι ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον, ἅμα δὲ τῆς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους  
 2 ἰσχύος ὀρεγόμενοι. καὶ οὐ καλλιεπούμεθα ὡς ἢ τὸν βάρβαρον μόνοι καθελόντες εἰκότως ἄρχομεν ἢ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τῇ τῶνδε μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ξυμπάντων τε καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες. πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὴν προσήκουσαν σωτηρίαν ἐκπορίζεσθαι. καὶ νῦν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα καὶ ἐνθάδε παρόντες ὀρῶμεν καὶ ὑμῖν ταῦτα  
 3 ξυμφέροντα· ἀποφαίνομεν δὲ ἐξ ὧν οἶδε τε διαβάλλουσι καὶ ὑμεῖς μάλιστα ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτερον ὑπονοεῖτε, εἰδότες τοὺς περιδεῶς ὑποπτεύοντάς τι λόγου μὲν ἡδονῇ τὸ παραυτίκα τερπομένους, τῇ δ' ἐγχειρήσει ὕστερον τὰ ξυμφέροντα πράσσοντας.  
 4 τὴν τε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀρχὴν εἰρήκαμεν διὰ δέος ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦκειν μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀσφαλῶς καταστησόμενοι, καὶ οὐ δουλωσόμενοι, μὴ παθεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦτο κωλύσοντες.

LXXIV. “Ἐπολάβη δὲ μηδεὶς ὡς οὐδὲν προσῆκον ὑμῶν κηδόμεθα, γνοὺς ὅτι σφζομένων ὑμῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀσθενεῖς ὑμᾶς ὄντας ἀντέχειν Συρακοσίοις ἦσσον ἂν τούτων πεμψάντων τινὰ δύναμιν Πελοποννησίοις ἡμεῖς βλαπτοίμεθα. καὶ  
 2 ἐν τούτῳ προσήκετε ἤδη ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα. δι'





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## THUCYDIDES

ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς Λεοντίλους εὖλογον κατοικίζειν, μὴ ὑπηκόους ὥσπερ τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὡς δυνατωτάτους, ἵνα ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὄμοροι ὄντες τοῖσδε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λυπηροὶ ὦσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀρκοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, ὃν ἀλόγως ἡμᾶς φησι δουλωσαμένους τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἐλευθεροῦν, ξύμφορος ἡμῖν ἀπαράσκευος ὢν καὶ χρήματα μόνον φέρων, τὰ δὲ ἐνθάδε καὶ Λεοντίνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φίλοι ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτονομούμενοι.

LXXXV. “Ἄνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ ἢ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ οὐδὲν ἄλογον ὅ τι ξυμφέρον οὐδ' οἰκείον ὅ τι μὴ πιστόν· πρὸς ἕκαστα δὲ δεῖ ἢ ἐχθρὸν ἢ φίλον μετὰ καιροῦ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ὠφελεῖ ἐνθάδε, οὐκ ἦν τοὺς φίλους κακώσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν φίλων ῥώμην ἀδύνατοι ὦσιν. ἀπιστεῖν δὲ οὐ χρή· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους ὡς ἕκαστοι χρήσιμοι ἐξηγούμεθα, Χίους μὲν καὶ Μηθυμναίους νεῶν παροκωχῆ αὐτονόμους, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς χρημάτων βιαιότερον φορᾶ, ἄλλους δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἐλευθέρως ξυμμαχοῦντας, καίπερ νησιώτας ὄντας καὶ εὐλήπτους, διότι ἐν χωρίοις ἐπικαίροις εἰσὶ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ὥστε καὶ τὰνθάδε εἰκὸς πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν καί, ὃ λέγομεν, ἐς Συρακοσίους δέος καθίστασθαι. ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἐφίενται ὑμῶν καὶ



For this very cause, too, it is reasonable that we should restore the Leontines, so that they shall not be subjects like their kinsmen in Euboea, but shall be as powerful as possible, in order that, bordering as they do on the Syracusans, they may from their own territory be troublesome to these in our behalf. For as to matters in Hellas, we by ourselves are a match for our enemies, and in regard to the Chalcidians, whom he says we are inconsistent in freeing here after enslaving them at home, it is to our interest that they should possess no armament and should contribute money only; but as to matters here, it is to our interest that both the Leontines and our other friends should enjoy the fullest measure of independence.

LXXXV. "To an autocrat or an imperial city nothing is inconsistent which is to its interest, nor is anyone a kinsman who cannot be trusted; in every case one must be enemy or friend according to circumstances. And in Sicily it is to our advantage, not that we should weaken our friends, but that our enemies should be powerless because of the strength of our friends. And you must not mistrust us; for we lead our allies in Hellas as they are each useful to us: the Chians and Methymnaeans as independent, on the condition of furnishing ships; the majority on more compulsory terms, with payment of tribute in money; others, though islanders and easy to be reduced, on terms of absolute freedom as our allies, because they occupy strategic positions along the coast of the Peloponnese. So that it is natural that matters here also should be ordered with an eye to our advantage, and, as we say, with reference to our fear of the Syracusans. For they aim at



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βούλονται ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ξυστήσαντες ὑμᾶς ὑπόπτῳ, βία ἢ καὶ κατ' ἑρημίαν, ἀπράκτων ἡμῶν ἀπελθόντων, αὐτοὶ ἄρξαι τῆς Σικελίας. ἀνάγκη δέ, ἣν ξυστήτε πρὸς αὐτούς· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔτι ἔσται ἰσχὺς τοσαύτη ἐς ἓν ξυστᾶσα εὐμεταχείριστος, οὔθ' οἶδ' ἀσθενεῖς ἂν ἡμῶν μὴ παρόντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶεν.

LXXXVI. “Καὶ ὅτῳ ταῦτα μὴ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἐλέγχει. τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἐπηγάγεσθε οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ προσείοντες φόβον ἢ, εἰ περιοψόμεθα ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ Συρακοσίοις γενέ-  
 2 σθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσομεν. καὶ νῦν οὐ δίκαιον, ὥπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἠξιοῦτε λόγῳ πείθειν, τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπιστεῖν, οὔδ' ὅτι δυνάμει μείζονι πρὸς τὴν τῶνδε ἰσχὺν πάρεσμεν ὑποπτεύεσθαι, πολὺ  
 3 δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖσδε ἀπιστεῖν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γε οὔτε ἐμμεῖναι δυνατοὶ μὴ μεθ' ὑμῶν, εἴ τε καὶ γενόμενοι κακοὶ κατεργασαίμεθα, ἀδύνατοι κατασχεῖν διὰ μῆκός τε πλοῦ καὶ ἀπορία φυλακῆς πόλεων μεγάλων καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ ἠπειρωτίδων· οἶδε δὲ οὐ στρατοπέδῳ, πόλει δὲ μείζονι τῆς ἡμετέρας παρουσίας ἐποικοῦντες ὑμῖν αἰεὶ τε ἐπιβουλεύουσι καί, ὅταν καιρὸν λάβωσιν ἐκάστου, οὐκ ἀνιᾶσιν (ἔδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐς Λεοντίνους),  
 4 καὶ νῦν τολμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ταῦτα κωλύοντας καὶ

<sup>1</sup> In 427 B.C., when Camarina stood with the Leontines and other Chalcidians against Syracuse; cf. III. lxxxvi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. with infantry and cavalry, our forces being purely naval.





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ἀνεχοντας τὴν Σικελίαν μέχρι τοῦδε μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀναισθήτους. 5 πολὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀληθεστέραν γε σωτηρίαν ἡμεῖς ἀντιπαρακαλοῦμεν, δεόμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέροις μὴ προδιδόναι, νομίσαι τε<sup>1</sup> τοῖσδε μὲν καὶ ἄνευ ξυμμάχων αἰεὶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐτοίμην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι ὀδόν, ὑμῖν δ' οὐ πολλάκις παρασχῆσειν μετὰ τοσῆσδε ἐπικουρίας ἀμύνασθαι· ἢν εἰ τῷ ὑπόπτῳ ἢ ἄπρακτον ἐάσετε ἀπελθεῖν ἢ καὶ σφαιεῖσαν, ἔτι βουλήσεσθε καὶ πολλοστὸν μόριον αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν, ὅτε οὐδὲν ἔτι περ-  
ρανεῖ παραγενόμενον ὑμῖν.

LXXXVII. “ Ἀλλὰ μήτε ὑμεῖς, ὦ Καμαριναῖοι, ταῖς τῶνδε διαβολαῖς ἀναπείθεσθε μήτε οἱ ἄλλοι εἰρήκαμεν δ' ὑμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ ὧν ὑποπτευόμεθα, καὶ ἔτι ἐν κεφαλαίοις ὑπομνή- 2 σαντες ἀξιόσομεν πείθειν. φημὲν γὰρ ἄρχειν μὲν τῶν ἐκεῖ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπακούωμεν ἄλλου, ἐλευθεροῦν δὲ τὰ ἐνθάδε, ὅπως μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν βλαπτώμεθα, πολλὰ δ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι πράσσειν, διότι καὶ πολλὰ φυλασσόμεθα, ξύμμαχοι δὲ καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐνθάδε ὑμῶν ἀδικουμένοις οὐκ ἄκλητοι, παρα- 3 κληθέντες δὲ ἦκειν. καὶ ὑμεῖς μήθ' ὡς δικασταὶ γενόμενοι τῶν ἡμῖν ποιουμένων μήθ' ὡς σωφρο-

<sup>1</sup> τε, Hude reads δέ with M.

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<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ πράσσειν, as well as πολυπραγμοσύνη below, is used in a good sense, characterizing the policy of the Athenians at their acme, as described by Pericles in the funeral oration, ii. 40, 41.



prevent these things and who up to this time have kept Sicily from being under their dominion, as though you were without sense. But it is to a safety far more real that we in our turn invite you, begging you not to throw away that safety which we both derive from one another; and to consider that for them, even without allies, the way is always open against you because of their numbers, whereas for you the opportunity will not often present itself to defend yourselves with the help of so great an auxiliary force. But if through your suspicions you suffer this force to depart with its object unaccomplished, or, worse still, defeated, you will hereafter wish that you could see even the merest fraction of it when its presence will no longer avail you aught.

LXXXVII. “Nay, be not moved, men of Camarina, either you or the other peoples of Sicily, by the calumnies of these men. We have told you the whole truth concerning the matters of which we are suspected, and now again briefly recalling to your minds the chief points of our argument, we fully expect to convince you. We say, namely, that we hold sway over the cities in Hellas in order that we may not have to obey some other power, but that we are trying to free those here, in order that we may not be injured by them. We are obliged to be active in many matters,<sup>1</sup> because we have many dangers to guard against; and we come as allies, now as before, to those of you here who are wronged, not uninvited, but by your express invitation. And do not you, by constituting yourselves either judges of our conduct or by tutoring us in moderation<sup>2</sup>—a hard task at

<sup>2</sup> σωφρονισταί as in III. lxn. 3; VIII. xlviii. 6; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 471 a εὐμενῶς σωφρονιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ κολάζοντες, οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ, σωφρονισταὶ ὄντες, οὐ πολέμιοι.



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νισταί, ὃ χαλεπὸν ἤδη, ἀποτρέπειν πειρᾶσθε, καθ' ὅσον δέ τι ὑμῖν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ τρόπου τὸ αὐτὸ συμφέρει, τούτῳ ἀπολαβόντες χρήσασθε, καὶ νομίσατε μὴ πάντας ἐν ἴσῳ βλάπτειν αὐτά, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὠφελεῖν. ἐν παντὶ γὰρ πᾶς χωρίῳ, κὰν ᾧ μὴ ὑπάρχομεν, ὃ τε οἰόμενος ἀδικήσεσθαι καὶ ὃ ἐπιβουλεύων διὰ τὸ ἐτοίμην<sup>1</sup> ὑπεῖναι ἐλπίδα τῷ μὲν ἀντιτυχεῖν ἐπικουρίας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τῷ δέ, εἰ ἤξομεν, μὴ ἀδεεῖ εἶναι κινδυνεύειν, ἀμφοτέροι ἀναγκάζονται ὃ μὲν ἄκων σωφρονεῖν, ὃ δ' ἀπραγμῶνως σώζεσθαι. ταύτην οὖν τὴν κοινὴν τῷ τε δεομένῳ καὶ ὑμῖν νῦν παροῦσαν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ ἀπώσησθε, ἀλλ' ἐξισώσαντες τοῖς ἄλλοις μεθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεύσαί ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μεταλάβετε."

LXXXVIII. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Εὐφῆμος εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Καμαριναῖοι ἐπεπόνθεσαν τοιούδε. τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις εὖνοι ἦσαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον<sup>2</sup> τὴν Σικελίαν ᾧοντο αὐτούς δουλώσεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ ὁμορον διάφοροι· δεδιότες δ' οὐχ ἦσσαν τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας μὴ καὶ ἄνευ σφῶν περιγένωνται, τό τε πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὀλίγους ἰππέας ἔπεμψαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ὑπουργεῖν μὲν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὸ ἐτοίμην ὑπεῖναι ἐλπίδα . . . σώζεσθαι, the text is probably corrupt. Hude follows van Herwerden in reading ἀν[τι]τυχεῖν, and, with Krüger, emends ἀδεεῖς of the MSS. to ἀδεεῖ, and deletes κινδυνεύειν. Steup, as also Stahl, adopts Reiske's conjecture ἀδεές and deletes κινδυνεύειν.

<sup>2</sup> εἰ, after καθ' ὅσον in MSS., deleted by Reiske, followed by Krüger.





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μᾶλλον ἔργῳ, ὡς ἂν δύνωνται μετριώτατα, ἐν δὲ  
 τῷ παρόντι, ἵνα μηδὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔλασσον  
 2 δοκῶσι νεῖμαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικρατέστεροι τῇ μάχῃ  
 οὕτω βουλευσάμενοι ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνει  
 ἀμφοτέροις οὔσι ξυμμάχοις σφῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 πόλεμος ὢν, εὖορκον δοκεῖν εἶναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ  
 παρόντι μηδετέροις ἀμύνειν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις  
 ἑκατέρων ἀπῆλθον.

3 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξηρτύ-  
 οντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ  
 ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἔπρασ-  
 σον, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς πλεῖστοι προσχωρήσονται.  
 4 καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ πεδία μᾶλλον τῶν Σικελῶν,  
 ὑπήκοοι ὄντες τῶν Συρακοσίων, οὐ<sup>1</sup> πολλοὶ ἀφει-  
 στήκεσαν· τῶν δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν ἐχόντων αὐτόνομοι  
 οὔσαι καὶ πρότερον αἰεὶ αἰ<sup>2</sup> οἰκήσεις εὐθύς, πλὴν  
 ὀλίγοι, μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦσαν, καὶ σῖτόν τε  
 κατεκόμιζον τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ  
 5 χρήματα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς μὴ προσχωροῦντας οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες τοὺς μὲν προσηνάγκαζον,  
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων, φρουροὺς τ'  
 ἐσπεμπόντων καὶ βοηθούντων, ἀπεκωλύοντο. τόν  
 τε χειμῶνα μεθορμισάμενοι ἐκ τῆς Νάξου ἐς τὴν  
 Κατάνην καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὃ κατεκαύθη ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Συρακοσίων αὐθις ἀνορθώσαντες διεχείμαζον.  
 6 καὶ ἔπεμψαν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τριήρη περὶ φιλίας,  
 εἰ δύναιτό τι ὠφελεῖσθαι, ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς  
 Τυρσηνίαν, ἔστιν ὢν πόλεων ἐπαγγελλομένων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Canter's correction for οἱ πολλοί of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> αἰ added by Bekker.



now resolved for the future to keep on giving to them rather than to the Athenians assistance in fact, though as moderately as possible, and for the present, in order that they might not seem to show less favour to the Athenians, especially since these had proved the stronger in the battle, to give in word the same answer to both. Having thus determined, they made answer, that, as they were allies of both parties that were at war, it seemed to them to be consistent with their oath to aid neither at present. So the envoys of both sides went away.

The Syracusans on their side were getting ready for the war, while the Athenians who were encamped at Naxos were negotiating with the Sicels, in the effort to bring over as many of them as possible. Now, of the Sicels that lived more toward the flat country and were subjects of the Syracusans not many<sup>1</sup> had revolted; but the Sicel settlements in the interior, which even before had always been independent, with few exceptions straightway sided with the Athenians, bringing down grain for the army and in some cases money also. Against those that did not come over the Athenians took the field, and compelled some to do so, but were kept from compelling others by the Syracusans, who sent garrisons to their relief. Removing also the anchorage of their fleet from Naxos to Catana, and restoring the camp which had been burned by the Syracusans, they passed the winter there. They sent also a trireme to Carthage on a mission of friendship, in the hope that they might be able to get some aid; and they sent one also to Tyrrhenia, as some of the cities there offered of

<sup>1</sup> Or, retaining *οἱ πολλοί*, "most had held aloof," i.e. from the alliance with the Athenians.



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αὐτῶν συμπολεμεῖν. περιήγγελλον δὲ καὶ τοῖς Σικελοῖς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐγεσταν πέμψαντες ἐκέλευον ἵππους σφίσιν ὡς πλείστους πέμπειν, καὶ τὰλλα ἐς τὸν περιτειχισμόν, πλινθία<sup>1</sup> καὶ σίδηρον, ἡτοίμαζον, καὶ ὅσα ἔδει, ὡς ἅμα τῷ ἡρι ἐξόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου.

7 Οἱ δ' ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ Λακεδαίμονα τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀποσταλέντες πρέσβεις τοὺς τε Ἰταλιώτας ἅμα παραπλέοντες ἐπειρῶντο πείθειν μὴ περιορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνοις ὁμοίως ἐπιβουλευόμενα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Κόρινθῳ ἐγένοντο, λόγους ἐποιούντο ἀξιούντες  
8 σφίσι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς βοηθεῖν. καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, εὐθὺς ψηφισάμενοι αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ὥστε πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἀμύνειν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ξυναπέστελλον αὐτοῖς πρέσβεις, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνους ξυναναπέθειεν τὸν τε αὐτοῦ πόλεμον σαφέστερον ποιῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν  
9 ὠφελίαν τινὰ πέμπειν. καὶ οἳ τε ἐκ τῆς Κόρινθου πρέσβεις παρήσαν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης μετὰ τῶν ξυμφυγάδων, περαιωθεὶς τότε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πλοίου φορτικοῦ ἐκ τῆς Θουρίας ἐς Κυλλήνην τῆς Ἠλείας πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα αὐτῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μεταπεμψάντων ὑπόσπονδος ἔλθῶν· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ  
10 αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν περὶ τῶν Μαντινικῶν πράξιν. καὶ ξυνέβη ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς τε Κορινθίους καὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην δεομένους πείθειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ διανοουμένων τῶν τε ἐφόρων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Hude writes πλινθεῖα, after the Schol. Patm. (τὰ ἐν τύποις ξύλα, οἷς τὰς πλίνθους κατεσκεύαζον).





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τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων πρέσβεις πέμπειν ἐς Συοακούσας κωλύοντας μὴ συμβαίνειν Ἀθηναίοις, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐ προθύμων ὄντων, παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης παρώξυνέ τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἐξώρμησε λέγων τοιάδε.

LXXIX. “ Ἀναγκαῖον περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διαβολῆς πρῶτον ἐς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ χεῖρον τὰ  
 2 κοινὰ τῷ ὑπόπτῳ μου ἀκροάσησθε. τῶν δὲ ἐμῶν προγόνων τὴν προξενίαν ὑμῶν κατὰ τι ἔγκλημα ἀπειπόντων αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνων ἐθεράπευον ὑμᾶς ἄλλα τε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκ Πύλου συμφορὰν. καὶ διατελοῦντός μου προθύμου ὑμεῖς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καταλασσόμενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς δύναμιν, δι’ ἐκείνων πράξαντες, ἐμοὶ δὲ  
 3 ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δικαίως ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τε τὰ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἀργείων τραπομένου καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἠναντιούμην ὑμῖν ἐβλάπτεσθε· καὶ νῦν, εἴ τις καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ πάσχειν οὐκ εἰκότως ὠργίζετό μοι, μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς σκοπῶν ἀναπειθέσθω· ἢ εἴ τις, διότι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσεκείμην μᾶλλον, χείρω με ἐνόμιζε, μηδ’ οὕτως ἠγήσεται  
 4 ὀρθῶς ἄχθεσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ τυράννοις αἰεὶ ποτε διάφοροί ἐσμεν (πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐναντιούμενον τῷ δυναστεύοντι δῆμος ὠνόμασται), καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου συμπαρέμεινεν ἡ προστασία ἡμῖν τοῦ πλήθους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης τὰ πολλὰ



authority were already intending to send envoys to Syracuse to prevent their making terms with the Athenians, but were not disposed to send them aid; Alcibiades, however, coming forward, inflamed the Lacedaemonians and goaded them on, speaking as follows:

LXXXIX. “It is necessary first of all to speak to you about the prejudice against me, in order that you may not through suspicion of me give a less favourable hearing to matters of public concern. When my ancestors on account of some complaint had renounced their office as your proxenoi, I myself, seeking to revive the relationship, courted your favour in other matters and especially in regard to your misfortune at Pylos.<sup>1</sup> And although I continued zealous, you, in making peace with the Athenians, by negotiating through my personal enemies conferred power upon them but brought dishonour upon me. For these reasons you deserved the injury you suffered when I turned to the side of the Mantineans and Argives, and when I opposed you in other matters.<sup>2</sup> And if anyone at the actual moment of suffering was unduly angry at me, let him now look at it in the light of the truth and be led to a different conviction; or if anyone thought worse of me because I was more inclined to the cause of the people, let him not even on that ground suppose that he was rightly offended. For my family have always been at variance with tyrants, and as all that is opposed to despotic power has the name of democracy, so from the fact of that opposition of ours the leadership of the people has remained with us. Besides, while the city was a democracy, it was necessary in

<sup>1</sup> cf. v. xliii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> cf. v. liii. ff.



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β ἀνάγκη ἦν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔπεισθαι. τῆς δὲ ὑπαρ-  
 χούσης ἀκολασίας ἐπειρώμεθα μετριώτεροι ἐς τὰ  
 πολιτικὰ εἶναι. ἄλλοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πάλαι  
 καὶ νῦν οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα ἐξῆγον τὸν ὄχλον.  
 β οἷπερ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐξήλασαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ ξύμπαντος  
 προύστημεν, δικαιοῦντες ἐν ᾧ σχήματι μεγίστη ἡ  
 πόλις ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἐλευθερωτάτη οὐσα καὶ ὅπερ  
 ἐδέξατό τις, τοῦτο ξυνδιασώζειν (ἐπεὶ<sup>1</sup> δημοκρατίαν  
 γε ἐγιγνώσκομεν οἱ φρονοῦντές τι, καὶ αὐτὸς  
 οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον, ὅσω καὶ ἴ λαιδορήσαιμι· ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ ὁμολογουμένης ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ἂν καινὸν λέ-  
 γοιτο), καὶ τὸ μεθιστάναί αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν  
 ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ὑμῶν πολεμίων προσκαθημένων.

XC. “ Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐμὰς διαβολὰς τοιαῦτα  
 ξυνέβη· περὶ δὲ ὧν ὑμῖν τε βουλευτέον καὶ ἐμοί,  
 2 εἴ τι πλεόν οἶδα, ἐσηγητέον, μάθετε ἤδη. ἐπλεύ-  
 σαμεν ἐς Σικελίαν πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ δυναίμεθα,  
 Σικελιώτας καταστρεψόμενοι, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους  
 αὔθις καὶ Ἰταλιώτας, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς Καρχη-  
 3 δονίων ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποπειράσονται. εἰ δὲ  
 προχωρήσειε ταῦτα ἢ πάντα ἢ καὶ τὰ πλείω, ἤδη  
 τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐμέλλομεν ἐπιχειρήσειν, κομί-  
 σαντες ξύμπασαν μὲν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν προσγενομένην  
 δύναμιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πολλοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους  
 μισθωσάμενοι καὶ Ἰβηρας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ  
 ὁμολογουμένως νῦν βαρβάρων μαχιμωτάτους,

<sup>1</sup> Hude writes ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίας γε καταγιγνώσκομεν οἱ φρο-  
 νοῦντές τι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον, ὅσω καὶ ἴ λαιδορήσαιμι,  
 which must be about the meaning of the passage.





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τριήρεις τε πρὸς ταῖς ἡμετέραις πολλὰς ναυπηγη-  
 σάμενοι, ἐχούσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ξύλα ἄφθονα, αἷς  
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον πέριξ πολιορκοῦντες καὶ τῷ  
 πεζῷ ἅμα ἐκ γῆς ἐφορμαῖς τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν  
 βία λαβόντες, τὰς δ' ἐντειχισάμενοι ῥαδίως ἠλπί-  
 ζομεν καταπολεμησεῖν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ  
 1 ξύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ ἄρξειν. χρήματα δὲ καὶ  
 σῖτον, ὥστε εὐπορώτερον γίνεσθαι τι αὐτῶν,  
 αὐτὰ τὰ προσγενόμενα ἐκεῖθεν χωρία ἔμελλε  
 διαρκῆ ἄνευ τῆς ἐνθένδε προσόδου παρέξειν.

XCΙ. “Τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ νῦν οἰχομένου  
 στόλου παρὰ τοῦ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα εἰδότης ὡς  
 διενοήθημεν ἀκηκόατε· καὶ ὅσοι ὑπόλοιποι στρα-  
 τηγοί, ἣν δύνωνται, ὁμοίως αὐτὰ πράξουσιν. ὡς  
 δέ, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε, οὐ περιέσται τὰ κεῖ, μάθετε  
 2 ἤδη. Σικελιώται γὰρ ἀπειρότεροι μὲν εἰσιν, ὅμως  
 δ' ἂν ξυστραφέντες ἀθρόοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι περι-  
 γένοιοντο· Συρακόσιοι δὲ μόνοι μάχῃ τε ἤδη  
 πανδημεὶ ἠσσημένοι καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα κατειργό-  
 μενοι ἀδύνατοι ἔσονται τῇ νῦν Ἀθηναίων ἐκεῖ  
 3 παρασκευῇ ἀντίσχειν. καὶ εἰ αὕτη ἡ πόλις  
 ληφθήσεται, ἔχεται καὶ ἡ πᾶσα Σικελία, καὶ  
 εὐθύς καὶ Ἰταλία· καὶ ὄν ἄρτι κίνδυνον ἐκεῖθεν  
 4 προεῖπον, οὐκ ἂν διὰ μακροῦ ὑμῖν ἐπιπέσοι. ὥστε  
 μὴ περὶ τῆς Σικελίας τις οἰέσθω μόνον βουλεύειν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, εἰ μὴ ποιήσετε  
 τάδε ἐν τάχει, στρατιάν τε ἐπὶ νεῶν πέμψετε  
 τοιαύτην ἐκεῖσε οὔτινες αὐτερέται κομισθέντες  
 καὶ ὀπλιτεύσουσιν εὐθύς, καὶ ὁ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔτι



day, and building many triremes in addition to our own, as Italy has timber in abundance. Laying a blockade with these triremes round the Peloponnesus, and at the same time attacking it with our infantry by land, having thus taken some of its cities by assault and walled in others, we expected easily to reduce it, and after that to have sway over the whole Hellenic race. As to money and food, for making any of these projects more feasible, the additional territory acquired in Sicily would of itself furnish these in sufficient quantity, independently of our home revenues.

XCI. "That such were the objects of the expedition which has sailed, you have heard now from one who knows most accurately what we purposed; and the rest of the generals will, if they can, carry out these plans without change. But that the people over there cannot hold out unless you aid them, let me now show you. The Siceliots have indeed less military experience than the Athenians, yet if they were united in one body they could, even as it is, gain the victory. But the Syracusans alone, being already worsted in battle with their full force and at the same time hemmed in at sea, will be unable to withstand the army of the Athenians now there. And if this city shall be taken, all Sicily is theirs, and so presently will Italy be also; nor will it be long before the danger which I have just now predicted from that quarter would fall upon you. Therefore let nobody think that you are deliberating about Sicily only, but about the Peloponnesus also, unless you do quickly the following things: send thither by ship such a body of troops as, after working their own passage at the oar, can at once serve as hoplites; also what I



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χρησιμωτερον εἶναι νομίζω, ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην  
 ἄρχοντα, ὡς ἂν τοὺς τε παρόντας ξυντάξῃ καὶ  
 τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας προσαναγκάσῃ· οὕτω γὰρ οἷ  
 τε ὑπάρχοντες ὑμῖν φίλοι θαρσήσουσι μᾶλλον  
 5 καὶ οἱ ἐνδοιάζοντες ἀδεέστερον προσίασιν. καὶ  
 τὰ ἐνθάδε χρὴ ἅμα φανερώτερον ἐκπολεμεῖν, ἵνα  
 Συρακόσιοί τε νομίζοντες ὑμᾶς ἐπιμέλεσθαι μᾶλ-  
 λον ἀντέχωσι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἦσσαν  
 6 ἄλλην ἐπικουρίαν πέμπωσιν. τειχίζειν τε χρὴ  
 Δεκέλειαν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅπερ Ἀθηναῖοι μάλιστα  
 αἰεὶ φοβοῦνται καὶ μόνου αὐτοῦ νομίζουσι τῶν ἐν  
 τῷ πολέμῳ οὐ διαπεπειρᾶσθαι. βεβαιότατα δ'  
 ἂν τις οὕτως τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτοι, εἰ, ἂ μᾶ-  
 λιστα δεδιότας αὐτοὺς αἰσθάνοιτο, ταῦτα σαφῶς  
 πυνθανόμενος ἐπιφέρει· εἰκὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀκρι-  
 βέστατα ἐκάστους τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν δεινὰ ἐπι-  
 7 σταμένους φοβεῖσθαι. ἂ δ' ἐν τῇ ἐπιτειχίσει  
 αὐτοὶ ὠφελούμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους κωλύσετε,  
 πολλὰ παρὲς τὰ μέγιστα κεφαλαιώσω. οἷς τε  
 γὰρ ἡ χώρα κατεσκευάσται, τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 τὰ μὲν ληφθέντα, τὰ δ' αὐτόματα ἦξει· καὶ τὰς  
 τοῦ Λαυρείου τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων προσ-  
 ὄδους καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ δικαστηρίων νῦν ὠφε-  
 λοῦνται εὐθὺς ἀποστερήσονται, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς  
 ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προσόδου ἦσσαν ἂν φορου-

<sup>1</sup> The occupation of Deceleia took place in 413 B.C. (cf. VII. XIX.).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. a fortress built to dominate an enemy's territory.





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μένης, οἱ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν νομίσαντες ἤδη κατὰ κράτος πολεμῆσθαι ὀλιγωρήσουσιν.

XCII. “Γίγνεσθαι δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τάχει καὶ προθυμότερον ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ὥς γε δυνατά (καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι οἶμαι  
 2 γνώμης) πάνυ θαρσῶ. καὶ χείρων οὐδενὶ ἀξιῶ δοκεῖν ὑμῶν εἶναι, εἰ τῇ ἑμαυτοῦ μετὰ τῶν πολεμιώτατων, φιλόπολις ποτε δοκῶν εἶναι, νῦν ἐγκρατῶς ἐπέρχομαι, οὐδὲ ὑποπτεύεσθαι μου ἐς  
 3 τὴν φυγαδικὴν προθυμίαν τὸν λόγον. φυγὰς τε γάρ εἰμι τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων πονηρίας καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἣν πείθησθέ μοι, ὠφελίας· καὶ πολεμιώτεροι οὐχ οἱ τοὺς πολεμίους που βλάψαντες ὑμεῖς ἢ οἱ τοὺς φίλους ἀναγκάσαντες  
 4 πολεμίους γενέσθαι. τό τε φιλόπολι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἀδικοῦμαι ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπολιτεύθην. οὐδ' ἐπὶ πατρίδα οὔσαν ἔτι ἡγοῦμαι νῦν ἰέναι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν οὐκ οὔσαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι. καὶ φιλόπολις οὗτος ὀρθῶς, οὐχ ὅς ἂν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσας μὴ ἐπίη, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου διὰ τὸ ἐπιθυμῆν πειραθῆ αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν.  
 5 οὕτως ἐμοί τε ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον καὶ ἐς ταλαιπωρίαν πᾶσαν ἀδεῶς χρῆσθαι, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, γνόντας τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ὑφ' ἀπάντων προβαλλόμενον λόγον ὡς, εἰ πολέμιός γε ὦν σφόδρα ἔβλαπτον, κἂν φίλος ὦν ἰκανῶς ὠφελοίην, ἴσῳ τὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα ἤκαζον,



regularly brought in; for these, convinced that the war is now being prosecuted on your part with all your might, will take their obligations lightly.

XCII. "The accomplishment of any of these projects promptly and more zealously depends, men of Lacedaemon, upon you, for that they are possible—and I do not think that I shall prove wrong in my judgment—I am fully assured. And I claim that no one of you shall think more harshly of me because I, who seemed once to be a lover of my city, now make assault with all my might upon her, in concert with her bitterest enemies; nor do I think that my word should be suspected on the score of the outcast's zeal. For outcast as I am from the villainy of those that expelled me, I am not ousted from doing you good service, if you will but hearken to me; and the worse enemies are not those who, like you, have merely hurt their enemies, but those who have forced their friends to become foes. And as to love of country—I have it not when I am wronged, but had it when I possessed my civil rights in security. And it is not, as I conceive, against a country still my own that I am now going, but far rather one no longer mine that I am seeking to recover. And the true patriot is not the man who, having unjustly lost his fatherland, refrains from attacking it, but he who in his yearning for it tries in every way to get it back. So I urge you, Lacedaemonians, to use me without misgiving for any danger and for any hardships, recognising that, according to the saying which is on everybody's lips, if as an enemy I did you exceeding injury, I might also be of some sufficient service to you as a friend, in so far as I know the affairs of the Athenians, while I could only conjecture yours. And I urge, too,



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καὶ αὐτοὺς νῦν, νομίσαντας περὶ μεγίστων δὴ τῶν διαφερόντων βουλευέσθαι, μὴ ἀποκνεῖν τὴν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατείαν, ἵνα τὰ τε ἐκεῖ βραχεῖ μορίῳ ξυμπαραγενόμενοι μεγάλα σώσητε καὶ Ἀθηναίων τὴν τε οὔσαν καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δύναμιν καθέλητε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοὶ τε ἀσφαλῶς οἰκῆτε καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδος ἐκούσης καὶ οὐ βία, κατ' εὖνοιαν δὲ ἡγήσησθε.”

XCIII. Ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διανοούμενοι μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρότερον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, μέλλοντες δὲ ἔτι καὶ περιορώμενοι, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπερρώσθησαν διδάξαντος ταῦτα ἕκαστα αὐτοῦ καὶ νομίσαντες παρὰ τοῦ σαφέστατα εἰδότης ἀκη-  
2 κοέναι ὥστε τῇ ἐπιτειχίσει τῆς Δεκελείας προσεῖχον ἤδη τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πέμπειν τινὰ τιμωρίαν. καὶ Γύλιππον τὸν Κλεανδρίδου προστάξαντες ἄρχοντα τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἐκέλευον μετ' ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων βουλευόμενον ποιεῖν ὅπῃ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μάλιστα καὶ τάχιστα τις ὠφελία ἦξει τοῖς ἐκεῖ.  
3 ὁ δὲ δύο μὲν ναῦς τοὺς Κορινθίους ἤδη ἐκέλευέν οἱ πέμπειν ἐς Ἀσίνην, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὅσας διανοοῦνται πέμπειν καί, ὅταν καιρὸς ᾗ, ἐτοίμας εἶναι πλεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ ξυνθέμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος.





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## THUCYDIDES

4 Ἐφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τριήρης τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἣν ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τε χρήματα καὶ ἵππείας. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν τε τροφήν πέμπειν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τοὺς ἵππείας. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἕβδομον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

XCIV. Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἤρῳ εὐθύς ἀρχομένῳ τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης παρέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Μεγάρων,<sup>1</sup> οὓς ἐπὶ Γέλωνος τοῦ τυράννου, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἀναστήσαντες Συρακόσιοι 2 αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι τὴν γῆν. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐδήωσαν τοὺς τε ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ ἔρυμά τι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ οὐχ ἐλόντες αὐθις καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶ παρακομισθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Τηρίαν ποταμὸν τό τε πεδίου ἀναβάντες ἐδήουν καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων περιτυχόντες τισὶν οὐ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀποκτείναντές τέ τινας καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. 3 καὶ ἀποπλεύσαντες εἰς Κατάνην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπισιτισάμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Κεντόριπα, Σικελῶν πόλισμα, καὶ προσαγαγομενοὶ ὁμολογία ἀπῆσαν, πιμπράντες ἅμα τὸν σῖτον τῶν 4 τε Ἰνησσαίων καὶ τῶν Ὑβλαίων. καὶ ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Κατάνην καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς τε ἵππείας ἤκοντας ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἄνευ τῶν ἵππων μετὰ σκευῆς, ὡς αὐτόθεν

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, after Μεγάρων in MSS., deleted by Krüger.



At this time also there arrived at Athens from Sicily the trireme that had been sent by the generals for money and cavalry. And the Athenians, hearing their request, voted to send to the army both the supplies and the cavalry. And the winter ended, and with it the seventeenth year of this war of which Thucydides wrote the history.

XCIV. At the very beginning of the following 414  
spring, the Athenians in Sicily set out from Catana and proceeded along the coast toward Megara, from which, as has been stated before,<sup>1</sup> the Syracusans in the time of the tyrant Gelon had expelled the inhabitants, holding their territory themselves. Here they landed and ravaged the fields; then, attacking a stronghold of the Syracusans without success, they went back again along the coast with both land-force and fleet to the river Terias, and going inland ravaged the plain and set fire to the grain. Meeting with a small force of Syracusans, they killed some of them and after setting up a trophy withdrew to their ships. Having sailed back then to Catana and supplied themselves with provisions from there, they advanced with their whole army to Centoripa,<sup>2</sup> a Sicel town; and when they had brought it over by capitulation they returned, burning at the same time the grain of the Inessians<sup>3</sup> and Hyblaeans.<sup>4</sup> On their arrival at Catana they found that the horsemen had come from Athens, two hundred and fifty in number—with accoutrements but without the horses, for it was expected that horses would be procured

<sup>1</sup> *cf.* ch. iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Now Centorbi, twenty-seven miles north-west from Catana and near Mt. Aetna.

<sup>3</sup> The site of Inessa is doubtful (*cf.* III. ciii. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Hybla Goleatis (ch. lxii. 5).



## THUCYDIDES

ἵππων πορισθησομένων, καὶ ἵπποτοξότας τριάκοντα καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τριακόσια:

XCV. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ ἦρος καὶ ἐπ' Ἄργος στρατεύσαντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέχρι μὲν Κλεωνῶν ἦλθον, σεισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν. καὶ Ἄργεῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Θυρεάτιν ὄμορον οὔσαν λείαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὴν ἔλαβον, ἣ ἐπράθη ταλάντων οὐκ ἔλασσον πέντε  
2 καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ ὁ Θεσπιῶν δῆμος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν οὐ κατέσχευε, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων Θηβαίων<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν ξυνελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἐξέπεσον Ἀθήναζε.

XCVI. Καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ὡς ἐπύθοντο τοὺς τε ἵππέας ἦκοντας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μέλλοντας ἤδη ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἵεναί, νομίσαντες, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν κρατήσωσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, χωρίου ἀποκρήμνου τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐθύς κειμένου, οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως σφᾶς, οὐδ' εἰ κρατοῖντο μάχῃ, ἀποτειχισθῆναι, διανοοῦντο τὰς προσβάσεις αὐτῶν φυλάσσειν, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ  
2 ταῦτα λάθωσι σφᾶς ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλη γε αὐτοὺς δυνηθῆναι. ἐξήρτηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανές πᾶν ἔσω· καὶ ὠνόμασται ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων διὰ τὸ ἐπιπολῆς  
3 τοῦ ἄλλου εἶναι Ἐπιπολαί. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξελ-

<sup>1</sup> Θηβαίων, so B alone correctly against Ἀθηναίων of all the other MSS., which gives no satisfactory sense; for in case of a real interference on the part of the Athenians, which would have meant an infraction of existing peace relations with the Boeotians (cf. V. xxxii. 5), more exact information was to be expected.





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## THUCYDIDES

θόντες πανδημεὶ ἐς τὸν λειμῶνα τὸν<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τὸν Ἄναπον ποταμὸν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑρμοκράτη στρατηγοὶ ἄρτι παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν), ἐξέτασιν τε ὄπλων ἐποίουοντο καὶ ἑξακοσίους λογάδας τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐξέκριναν πρότερον, ὧν ἦρχε Διόμιλος, φυγὰς ἐξ Ἄνδρου, ὅπως τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν εἶεν φύλακες καί, ἣν ἐς ἄλλο τι δέη, ταχὺ ξυνεστῶτες παραγίγνωνται.

XCVII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτης τῆς νυκτός, ἡ<sup>2</sup> τῇ ἐπιγιγνομένη ἡμέρᾳ ἐξητάζοντο, ἔλαθον<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὺς παντὶ ἤδη τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης σχόντες κατὰ τὸν Λέοντα καλούμενον, ὃς ἀπέχει τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἐξ ἧ ἑπτὰ σταδίου, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀποβιβάσαντες ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Θάψον καθορμισάμενοι· ἔστι δὲ χερσόνησος μὲν ἐν στενῷ ἰσθμῷ προύχουσα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, τῆς δὲ Συρακοσίων πόλεως οὔτε πλοῦν οὔτε ὁδὸν<sup>2</sup> πολλὴν ἀπέχει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Θάψῳ διασταυρωσάμενος τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἡσύχαζεν· ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἐχώρει εὐθύς δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς καὶ φθάνει ἀναβὰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον πρὶν τοὺς Συρακοσίους αἰσθομένους ἐκ τοῦ λειμῶνος καὶ τῆς ἐξετάσεως παραγενέσθαι.<sup>3</sup> ἐβοήθουν δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὡς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχε καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόμιλον ἑξακόσιοι· στάδιοι δὲ πρὶν προσμεῖξαι ἐκ τοῦ λειμῶνος ἐγίγνοντο αὐτοῖς<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. προσπεσόντες οὖν αὐτοῖς τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀτακτότερον καὶ μάχη νικηθέντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς

<sup>1</sup> Added by Krüger.

<sup>2</sup> Added by Madvig.

<sup>3</sup> καί, before ἔλαθον in the MSS., deleted by Madvig.



force to the meadow along the river Anapus—for Hermocrates and his fellow-generals, as it chanced, had just come into office—and proceeded to hold a review of the hoplites. And they selected first six hundred picked men of these, under the command of Diomilus, a fugitive from Andros, that these might be a guard for Epipolae, and if there were need of them anywhere else might be quickly at hand in a body.

XCVII. And the Athenians during the night preceding the day on which the Syracusans held their review, came from Catana with their whole force and put in unobserved at the place called Leon, which is six or seven stadia distant from Epipolae, disembarking the land-force there and anchoring their ships at Thapsus. That is a peninsula, with a narrow isthmus, extending into the sea and not far distant from the city of Syracuse, either by sea or by land. The naval force of the Athenians, having run a stockade across the isthmus, lay quiet on Thapsus; but the land-force advanced at once at a run to Epipolae, and got up by way of Euryelus before the Syracusans, when they became aware of it, could come up from the review which they were holding in the meadow. They brought aid, however, everyone with what speed he could, the others as well as the six hundred under Diomilus; but they had not less than twenty-five stadia to go, after leaving the meadow, before they reached the enemy. Consequently the Syracusans fell upon the Athenians in considerable disorder, and being defeated in battle



## THUCYDIDES

ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ὁ τε Διόμιλος  
 5 ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς τριακόσιοι. καὶ  
 μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖόν τε στήσαντες  
 καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες τοῖς  
 Συρακοσίοις, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τῇ ὑστεραία  
 ἐπικαταβάντες, ὡς οὐκ ἐπεξῆσαν αὐτοῖς, ἐπανα-  
 χωρήσαντες φρούριον ἐπὶ τῷ Λαβδάλῳ ὠκοδό-  
 μησαν ἐπ' ἄκροις τοῖς κρημνοῖς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν  
 ὄρων πρὸς τὰ Μέγαρα, ὅπως εἴη αὐτοῖς, ὅποτε  
 προΐοιεν ἢ μαχοῦμενοι ἢ τειχιούντες, τοῖς τε  
 σκεύεσι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀποθήκη.

XCVIII. Καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς ἦλθον  
 ἔκ τε Ἐγέστης ἱππῆς τριακόσιοι καὶ Σικελῶν  
 καὶ Ναξίων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὡς ἑκατόν· καὶ  
 Ἀθηναίων ὑπῆρχον πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι, οἷς  
 ἵππους τοὺς μὲν παρ' Ἐγεσταίων καὶ Καταναίων  
 ἔλαβον, τοὺς δ' ἐπρίαντο, καὶ ξύμπαντες πεντή-  
 2 κοντα καὶ ἑξακόσιοι ἱππῆς ξυνελέγησαν. καὶ  
 καταστήσαντες ἐν τῷ Λαβδάλῳ φυλακὴν ἐχώρου  
 πρὸς τὴν Συκῆν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵναπερ καθεζόμενοι  
 ἐτείχισαν τὸν κύκλον διὰ τάχους. καὶ ἔκπληξιν  
 τοῖς Συρακοσίοις παρέσχον τῷ τάχει τῆς οἰκοδο-  
 μίας· καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες μάχην διενουῦντο ποι-  
 3 εῖσθαι καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν. καὶ ἤδη ἀντιπαρατασ-  
 σομένων ἀλλήλοις οἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοὶ  
 ὡς ἑώρων σφίσι τὸ στράτευμα διεσπασμένον τε  
 καὶ οὐ ραδίως ξυντασσόμενον, ἀνήγαγον πάλιν ἐς





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## THUCYDIDES

τὴν πόλιν πλὴν μέρους τινὸς τῶν ἰππέων· οὗτοι δὲ ὑπομένοντες ἐκώλυον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λιθοφορεῖν τε καὶ ἀποσκίδνασθαι μακροτέραν. καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυλὴ μία τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ οἱ ἰππῆς μετ' αὐτῶν πάντες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἰππέας προσβαλόντες, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τε τινὰς καὶ τροπαῖον τῆς ἵππομαχίας ἔστησαν.

XCIX. Καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐτείχιζον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ κύκλου τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ λίθους καὶ ξύλα ξυμφοροῦντες παρέβαλλον ἐπὶ τὸν Τρώγιλον καλούμενον, αἰεὶ ἤπερ βραχύτατον ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν τὸ ἀποτείχισμα. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι οὐχ ἤκιστα Ἐρμοκράτους τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐσηγησαμένου μάχαις μὲν πανδημεὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι ἐβούλοντο διακινδυνεύειν, ὑποτειχίζειν δὲ ἄμεινον ἐδόκει εἶναι ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ἔμελλον ἄξειν τὸ τεῖχος καί, εἰ φθάσειαν, ἀποκλήσεις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, μέρος ἀντιπέμπειν αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> τῆς στρατιᾶς· καὶ φθάνειν ἂν τοῖς σταυροῖς προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὰς ἐφόδους, ἐκείνους δὲ ἂν παυομένους τοῦ ἔργου πάντα ἂν πρὸς σφᾶς τρέπεσθαι. ἐτείχιζον οὖν ἐξελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι, κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἄγοντες, τὰς τε ἐλάας ἐκκόπτοντες τοῦ τεμένους καὶ πύργους ξυλίνους καθιστάντες. αἱ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς, Bekker's conjecture, for αὐτούς of the MSS.



part of the cavalry. These remained behind and tried to prevent the Athenians from bringing stones and scattering to any great distance. But one tribal<sup>1</sup> division of the Athenian hoplites, and with these all their cavalry, attacked and routed the Syracusan cavalry, killed some, and set up a trophy of the cavalry fight.

XCIX. On the next day some of the Athenians proceeded to build the wall to the north of the round fort, while others brought together stones and wood and began to lay these down along the line towards the place called Trogilus, in which direction the line of circumvallation would be shortest from the Great Harbour to the outer sea. But the Syracusans, at the suggestion of their generals, and especially of Hermocrates, were no longer inclined to risk pitched battles with their whole force against the Athenians. It seemed better to build a wall across the line where the Athenians were going to bring their wall, so that if they got ahead of them the Athenians would be blocked off, and they decided at the same time, if the Athenians should attack them while at this work, to send a part of the army against them; and they expected that they would get ahead of the Athenians in occupying the approaches with their stockades, and that they would cease from their work and all turn against them. Accordingly they went out and proceeded to build, starting from the city and carrying a cross-wall below the round fort of the Athenians, chopping down the olive-trees of the precinct and setting up wooden towers. The

<sup>1</sup> φυλή is here used for τάξις, the term being borrowed from the civil classification. Each of the ten tribes furnished a division (τάξις).



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δὲ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐπω ἐκ τῆς Θάψου περιεπεπλεύκεσαν ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα, ἀλλ' ἔτι οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκράτουν τῶν περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, κατὰ γῆν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Θάψου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπήγοντο.

C. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀρκούντως ἐδόκει ἔχειν ὅσα τε ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ὠκοδομήθη τοῦ ὑποτειχίσματος, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἦλθον κωλύσοντες, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι δίχα γιγνομένοις ῥᾶον μάχωνται, καὶ ἅμα τὴν καθ' αὐτοὺς περιτείχισιν ἐπειγόμενοι, οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι φυλὴν μίαν καταλιπόντες φύλακα τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς τε ὄχετοὺς αὐτῶν, οἱ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπονομηδὸν ποτοῦ ὕδατος ἠγμένοι ἦσαν, διέφθειραν, καὶ τηρήσαντες τοὺς τε ἄλλους Συρακοσίους κατὰ σκηναὺς ὄντας ἐν μεσημβρία καί τινας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀποκεχωρηκότας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ σταυρώματι ἀμελῶς φυλάσσοντας, τριακοσίους μὲν σφῶν αὐτῶν λογάδας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τινας ἐκλεκτοὺς ὀπλισμένους προύταξαν θεῖν δρόμῳ ἑξαπιναίως πρὸς τὸ ὑποτείχισμα, ἢ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ δίχα, ἢ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρουν, ἢ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου πρὸς τὸ σταύρωμα τὸ  
2 παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ τριακόσιοι αἰροῦσι τὸ σταύρωμα· καὶ οἱ φύλακες αὐτὸ ἐκλιπόντες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ προτείχισμα τὸ περὶ τὸν Τεμενίτην. καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνεσέπεσον οἱ διώκοντες, καὶ ἐντὸς γενόμενοι βία ἐξεκρούσθησαν πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ τῶν





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## THUCYDIDES

Ἄργείων τινὲς αὐτόθι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ  
 3 πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν. καὶ ἐπαναχωρήσασα ἢ  
 πᾶσα στρατιὰ τήν τε ὑποτείχισιν καθείλον καὶ  
 τὸ σταύρωμα ἀνέσπασαν καὶ διεφόρησαν τοὺς  
 σταυροὺς παρ' ἑαυτούς, καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν.

CI. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἐτείχιζον  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κρημνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔλους, ὃς  
 τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα  
 ὄρα, καὶ ἦπερ αὐτοῖς βραχύτατον ἐγίγνετο κατα-  
 βᾶσι διὰ τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔλους ἐς τὸν λιμένα  
 2 τὸ περιτείχισμα. καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ  
 ἐξελθόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεσταύρουν αὐθις ἀρξά-  
 μενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἔλους· καὶ  
 τάφρον ἅμα παρώρυσσον, ὅπως μὴ οἶόν τε ἢ τοῖς  
 3 Ἀθηναίοις μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀποτευχίσει. οἱ  
 δ', ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο,  
 ἐπιχειροῦσιν αὐθις τῷ τῶν Συρακοσίων σταυρώ-  
 ματι καὶ τάφρῳ, τὰς μὲν ναῦς κελεύσαντες περι-  
 πλεῦσαι ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τὸν  
 τῶν Συρακοσίων, αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ὄρθρον κατα-  
 βάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἐς τὸ ὀμαλὸν καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦ ἔλους, ἣ πηλῶδες ἦν καὶ στεριφώτατον,  
 θύρας καὶ ξύλα πλατέα ἐπιθέντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν  
 διαβαδίσαντες, αἰροῦσιν ἅμα ἕω τό τε σταύρωμα  
 πλὴν ὀλίγου καὶ τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ  
 4 ὑπολειφθὲν εἶλον· καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ  
 ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ μὲν  
 τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον,  
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς βουλόμενοι ἀποκλήσασθαι τῆς διαβάσεως  
 οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριακόσιοι λογάδες δρόμῳ  
 5 ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν. δείσαντες δὲ οἱ



the Syracusans, some of the Argives and a few of the Athenians being slain there. Then the whole army withdrew and pulled down the counter-wall and tore up the stockade, bringing the stakes over to their own lines, and set up a trophy.

CI. The next day the Athenians, starting from the round fort, began to fortify the bluff which is above the marsh,<sup>1</sup> where on this side of Epipolae it looks toward the Great Harbour, and where they would find the line of circumvallation shortest as they came down through the level ground and the marsh to the harbour. The Syracusans meanwhile also went out and proceeded to build another stockade, starting from the city, through the middle of the marsh; and they dug at the same time a ditch alongside, that it might not be possible for the Athenians to complete their wall to the sea. But the latter, when their wall to the bluff was finished, again attacked the stockade and ditch of the Syracusans, having ordered their ships to sail around from Thapsus into the Great Harbour at Syracuse and themselves gone down about daybreak from Epipolae to the level ground. Laying down doors and planks through the marsh where the soil was clayey and firmest and crossing over on these, they took at daylight the ditch, and all but a little of the stockade, and later the remaining part. A battle occurred also, in which the Athenians were victorious, those of the Syracusans on the right wing fleeing to the city, those on the left along the river. Wishing to cut off the latter from the crossing, the three hundred picked men of the Athenians pushed on at a run to the bridge. But

<sup>1</sup> The Lysimeleia.



## THUCYDIDES

Συρακόσιοι (ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ ἐνταῦθα) ὁμόσε χωροῦσι τοῖς τριακοσίοις τούτοις, καὶ τρέπουσίν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτῶν ξυνεφοβήθη καὶ ἡ πρώτη φυλὴ  
 6 τοῦ κέρως. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Λάμαχος παρεβοήθει ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν μετὰ τοξοτῶν τε οὐ πολλῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους παραλαβών, καὶ ἐπιδιαβὰς τάφρον τινὰ καὶ μονωθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν ξυνδιαβάντων ἀποθνήσκει αὐτός τε καὶ πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτους μὲν οἱ Συρακόσιοι εὐθύς κατὰ τάχος φθάνουσιν ἄρπάσαντες πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπιόντος ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπεχώρουν.

CII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγόντες ὡς ἐώρων ταῦτα γιγνόμενα, αὐτοὶ τε πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως<sup>1</sup> ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἀντετάξαντο πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ μέρος τι αὐτῶν πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς, ἡγούμενοι ἐρήμον αἰρή-  
 2 σειν. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεκάπλεθρον προτείχισμα αὐτῶν αἰροῦσι καὶ διεπόρθησαν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κύκλον Νικίας διεκώλυσεν· ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' ἀσθενεῖαν ὑπολειμμένος· τὰς γὰρ μηχανὰς καὶ ξύλα ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἦν καταβεβλημένα, ἐμπρήσαι τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἔγνω ἀδυνάτους ἐσομένους ἐρημίας ἀνδρῶν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ  
 3 περιγενέσθαι. καὶ ξυνέβη οὕτως· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προσῆλθον οἱ Συρακόσιοι διὰ τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τε τὸν κύκλον

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, omitted by Hude with C.





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## THUCYDIDES

βοήθεια ἤδη κάτωθεν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδιω-  
 ξάντων τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐπανήει, καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα αὐτῶν  
 ἐκ τῆς Θάψου, ὥσπερ εἶρητο, κατέπλεον ἐς τὸν  
 4 μέγαν λιμένα. ἃ ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄνωθεν κατὰ τάχος  
 ἀπῆσαν καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα στρατιὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων  
 ἐς τὴν πόλιν, νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς παρ-  
 ούσης σφίσι δυνάμεως ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι κωλύσαι  
 τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τειχισμὸν.

CIII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον  
 ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέ-  
 δοσαν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Λαμά-  
 χου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκομίσαντο. καὶ παρόντος ἤδη  
 σφίσι παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ τοῦ ναυ-  
 τικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν καὶ τοῦ  
 κρημνώδους ἀρξάμενοι ἀπετείχιζον μέχρι τῆς  
 2 θαλάσσης τείχει διπλῶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους. τὰ δ'  
 ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐσήγετο ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας  
 πανταχόθεν. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν πολλοὶ  
 ξύμμαχοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ πρότερον περιεω-  
 ρῶντο, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Τυρσηνίας νῆες πεντηκόντεροι  
 τρεῖς. καὶ τὰλλα προυχώρει αὐτοῖς ἐς ἐλπίδας.  
 3 καὶ γὰρ οἱ Συρακόσιοι πολέμῳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐνό-  
 μιζον ἂν περιγενέσθαι, ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Πελοποννήσου ὠφελία οὐδεμία ἦκε, τοὺς δὲ  
 λόγους ἐν τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐποιοῦντο ξυμβα-  
 τικοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ μόνος  
 4 εἶχε Λαμάχου τεθνεῶτος τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ κύρωσις  
 μὲν οὐδεμία ἐγίνετο, οἷα δὲ εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀπορούντων καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὶν<sup>1</sup> πολιορκουμένων,  
 πολλὰ ἐλέγετο πρὸς τε ἐκείνον καὶ πλείω ἔτι

<sup>1</sup> πρὶν, Hude omits, with C.



the round fort from the Athenians below, who had chased away the enemy there, and their ships at the same time were sailing down, as they had been ordered, from Thapsus into the Great Harbour. Seeing these things, the men on the heights and the main army of the Syracusans hastily withdrew into the city, thinking that with the force they then had at their disposal they could no longer prevent the building of the wall to the sea.

CIII. After this the Athenians set up a trophy and restored their dead to the Syracusans under truce, themselves getting back the bodies of Lamachus and his men. The whole of their armament being now present, both fleet and land-force, starting from the bluff of Epipolae they proceeded to cut off the Syracusans by a double wall down to the sea. Provisions were coming in for the army from all quarters of Italy. And there came also as allies to the Athenians many of the Sicels, who before had been hesitating, and from Tyrrhenia three fifty-oared galleys. And other matters were progressing according to their hopes. For the Syracusans no longer thought they could win at war, as no aid had come to them even from the Peloponnesus; and indeed they were discussing terms of agreement, not only among themselves, but even with Nicias, who now since the death of Lamachus had sole command. No decision was reached; but, as is natural when men are in perplexity and more straitly besieged than before, many proposals were made to



## THUCYDIDES

κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ τινα καὶ ὑποψίαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τε ἐφ' ὧν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ξυνέβη ἔπαυσαν, ὡς ἢ δυστυχία ἢ προδοσία τῇ ἐκείνων βλαπτόμενοι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀνθείλοντο, Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Εὐκλέα καὶ Τελλίαν.

CIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Γύλιππος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου νῆες περὶ Λευκάδα ἤδη ἦσαν, βουλόμενοι ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν διὰ τάχους βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς αἱ ἀγγελίαι ἐφοίτων δειναὶ καὶ πᾶσαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐψευσμένοι ὡς ἤδη παντελῶς ἀποτετειχισμένοι αἱ Συράκουσαί εἰσι, τῆς μὲν Σικελίας οὐκέτι ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν εἶχεν ὁ Γύλιππος, τὴν δὲ Ἰταλίαν βουλόμενος περιποιῆσαι, αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ Πυθὴν ὁ Κορίνθιος ναυσὶ δυοῖν μὲν Λακωνικαῖν, δυοῖν δὲ Κορινθίαιν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπεραιώθησαν τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐς Τάραντα, οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πρὸς ταῖς σφετέραις δέκα Λευκαδίας δύο καὶ Ἀμπρακιώτιδας τρεῖς προσπληρώσαντες ὕστερον ἔμελλον πλεύσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Γύλιππος ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος ἐς τὴν Θουρίαν πρῶτον πρεσβευσάμενος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρός ποτε πολιτείαν καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι, ἄρας παρέπλει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἄρπασθεις ὑπ' ἀνέμου,<sup>1</sup> ὃς ἐκπνεῖ ταύτη μέγας κατὰ βορέαν ἐστηκώς, ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ πάλιν χειμασθεις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τῷ Τάραντι προσμίσγει· καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὅσαι ἐπόνησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
3 χειμῶνος ἀνελκύσας ἐπεσκεύαζεν. ὁ δὲ Νικίας πυθόμενος αὐτὸν προσπλέοντα ὑπερεῖδε τὸ πλῆθος

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὸν Τεριναῖον κόλπον, in MSS. after ἀνέμου, deleted by Goeller.





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## THUCYDIDES

τῶν νεῶν, ὅπερ καὶ οἱ Θούριοι ἔπαθον, καὶ ληστικώτερον ἔδοξε παρεσκευασμένους πλεῖν καὶ οὐδεμίαν φυλακὴν πω ἐποιεῖτο.

CV. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτου τοῦ θέρους καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἐσέβαλον αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλὴν ἐδήωσαν. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀργείοις τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐβοήθησαν, αἴπερ τὰς σπονδὰς φανερώτατα τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτοῖς ἔλυσαν. 2 πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ληστεῖαις ἐκ Πύλου καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀποβαίνοντες μετὰ τε Ἀργείων καὶ Μαντινέων ξυνεπολέμουν, καὶ πολλάκις Ἀργείων κελευόντων ὅσον σχόντας μόνον ξὺν ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μετὰ σφῶν δηώσαντας ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἤθελον· τότε δὲ Πυθοδώρου καὶ Λαισποδίου καὶ Δημαράτου ἀρχόντων ἀποβάντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λιμηρὰν καὶ Πρασιᾶς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐδήωσαν τῆς γῆς, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤδη εὐπροφάσιστον μᾶλλον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι ἐποίησαν. 3 ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Φλειασίαν τῆς τε γῆς αὐτῶν ἔτεμον καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου.



the small number of his ships, just as the Thurians had done, and thinking they were coming equipped rather as privateers than as men-of-war, he took as yet no precautions.

CV. About the same time in this summer, the Lacedaemonians and their allies invaded Argos and ravaged most of the country. And the Athenians brought succour to the Argives with thirty ships, an act which violated their treaty with the Lacedaemonians in the most overt manner. For before this they waged the war, in cooperation with the Argives and Mantineans, by predatory excursions from Pylos and by making landings round the rest of the Peloponnesus rather than in Laconia; and although the Argives frequently urged them only to make a landing with arms on Laconian territory, devastate in concert with them even the least part, and then go away, they refused. But at this time, under the command of Pythodorus, Laespodias, and Demaratus, they landed at Epidaurus Limeria, Prasiae, and other places, and laid waste some of their territory, and so gave the Lacedaemonians from now on a more plausible excuse for defending themselves against the Athenians. After the Athenians had withdrawn from Argos with their ships, and the Lacedaemonians also had retired, the Argives made an incursion into Phliasia, ravaging part of their land and killing some of the inhabitants, and then returned home.



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