THUCYDIDES

IV
THUCYDIDES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FOUR VOLUMES
IV

HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR
BOOKS VII AND VIII

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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frontispiece: Alcibiades</th>
<th>Facing Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>book VII</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book VIII</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>index</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MAPS:**

- Retreat of the Athenians: At end
- Siege of Syracuse
- Aegean Sea
- Peiraeus
- Battle of Cynossema
THUCYDIDES

BOOK VII
ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ

Ζ

1. 'Ο δὲ Γύλιππος καὶ ο Ἡρωμέν ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος, ἐπεὶ ἐπεσκεύασαν τὰς ναῦς, παρέπλευσαν ἐς Δοκροῖς τοὺς Ἐπιζευγοῖς. καὶ πυρθανόμενοι σαφέστερον ἦδη ὅτι οὐ παντελῶς πώ ἀποτειχισμέναι αἱ Συράκουσαι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἔτι οἶν τε κατὰ τὰς Ἐπισπολὰς στρατιᾶ ἀφικομένους ἐσελθεὶν, ἐβουλεύοντο εἰτ' ἐν δεξιᾷ λαβόντες τὴν Σικελίαν διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐσπλέυσαι, εἰτ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Ἰμέραν πρῶτον πλεύσαντες καὶ αὐτοὺς τε ἐκεῖνους καὶ στρατιὰν ἀλλήν προσλαβόντες, οὕς ἄν πεἶθωσι, κατὰ γῆν ἐλθοὺσιν. 2 καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰμέρας πλεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων νεῶν οὕτω παρουσῶν ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ, ἃς ἐν Νικιάς ὡμῶς, πυρθανόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἐν Δοκροῖς εἶναι, ἀπεστειλεν. φθάσαντες δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην περαιοῦνται διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ, καὶ σχόντες Ῥηγίῳ καὶ Μεσσήνῃ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Ἰμέραν. 3 ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄντες τοὺς τε Ἰμεραίους ἐπεσε πλεῖστον ἐμπολεμεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε ἐπεσθαί καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νεῶν.
I. Gylippus and Pythen, after refitting their ships, sailed from Tarentum along the coast to Epizephyrian Locri; and receiving now more positive information that Syracuse was not yet completely invested, but that it was still possible to come with an army and enter it by way of Epipolae, they deliberated whether they should risk sailing into the harbour, keeping Sicily on the right, or, keeping it on the left, should first sail to Himera and then, after having added to their forces the Himeraeans themselves and such others as they might persuade, should proceed overland. They decided to sail to Himera, especially since the four Athenian ships—which Nicias did after all¹ despatch when he learned that the enemy’s ships were at Locri—had not yet arrived at Rhegium. They succeeded in crossing the strait before the arrival of this watch-squadron, and after touching at Rhegium and Messene, arrived at Himera. While there they persuaded the Himeraeans to help them in the war, not only by going on the expedition themselves, but also by furnishing

¹ Nicias had paid little attention to the first reports of the approach of Gylippus, thinking that he was on a privateering mission rather than on one of war (vi. civ. 3).
τῶν σφετέρων ναύταις ὁσοὶ μὴ εἴχον ὄπλα παρασχεῖν (τὰς γὰρ ναύς ἀνείλκυσαν ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ), καὶ τοὺς Σελίνουντίους πέμψαντες ἐκέλευον ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιὰ ἐς τι χωρίον. πέμψειν δὲ τιν' αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν καὶ οἱ Γελώυ καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν τινες, οἱ πολὺ προθυμότερον προσχωρεῖν ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν τοῦ τε Ἄρχωνίδου νεωτερίτης τεθηκότος, ὃς τῶν ταύτη Σικελῶν βασιλεύων τινῶν καὶ ὑν ὅν ἀδύνατος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλος ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Γυλίππου ἐκ

5 Δακεδαίμονος προθυμώς δοκοῦντος ἤκειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Γυλίππος ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε σφετέρων ναυτῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν τοὺς ὀπλισμένους ἐπτακοσίους μάλιστα, Ἰμεραίως δὲ ὀπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφότερος χιλιός καὶ ἰππέας ἐκατον καὶ Σελινουντίων τέ τινας ψιλοὺς καὶ ἰππέας καὶ Γελώων ὀλίγους, Σικελῶν τε ἐς χιλιός τοὺς πάντας, ἐχώρει πρὸ τὰς Συρακούσας.

II. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δευκάδος Κορινθίων ταῖς τε ἀλλαὶς ναυσίν ὡς εἴχον τάχους ἐβοηθοῦν καὶ Γογγύλος, εἰς τῶν Κορινθίων ἀρχώντων, μιᾶ νηι τελευταῖος ὀρμηθεὶς πρῶτος μὲν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς 2 τὰς Συρακούσας, ὀλίγων δὲ πρὸ Γυλίππου καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοῖς περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου μέλλοντας ἐκκλησιάσειν διεκδικοῦσε τε καὶ παρεθάρσειν, λέγων ὅτι νηὶς τε ἀλλαὶ ἐτὶ προσπλέουσι καὶ Γυλίππος ὁ Κλεανδρίδου

3 Δακεδαίμονις ἀποστειλαντῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἐπερρόσχησάν τε καὶ τῷ Γυλίππῳ εὐθὺς πανστρατιά ὡς ἀπαντησόμενοι ἐξῆλθον· ἢδη γὰρ καὶ ἐγγὺς ὄντα ἴσθάνοντο
arms for such of the crews of their ships as had none (for their ships they had beached at Himera), and also sent a request to the Selinuntians to meet them at a certain place with all their forces. A small body of troops was also promised them by the Geloans and some of the Sicels, who were now ready to join them with far greater alacrity, both because of the recent death of Archonidas, who, being king of certain Sicel tribes of that region and a man of influence, had been a friend of the Athenians, and also because Gylippus had apparently come from Lacedaemon full of zeal. So Gylippus, taking of his own seamen and of the marines those that were equipped with arms, about seven hundred, of Himeraean hoplites and light-armed troops together one thousand and one hundred cavalry, of the Selinuntians some light-armed troops and cavalry, a few Geloans, and of the Sicels about one thousand in all, advanced against Syracuse.

II. Meanwhile the Corinthians had put to sea from Leucas with the rest of their ships and were bringing aid as fast as they could; indeed, Gongylus, one of the Corinthian commanders, though he had set out last with a single ship, was the first to arrive at Syracuse, being a little ahead of Gylippus. Finding the Syracusans on the point of holding an assembly to discuss the abandonment of the war, he prevented the meeting and encouraged them, saying that not only were still other ships about to arrive, but also Gylippus son of Cleandridas, who had been sent by the Lacedaemonians to assume the command. The Syracusans were encouraged, and at once went out with their whole army to meet Gylippus; for they were informed that he was already near. He, after
THUCYDIDES

αὐτῶν. ὦ δὲ Ἰετᾶς ἡτο τείχος ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ τῶν Σικελιῶν ἐλὸν καὶ ξυνταξάμενος ὡς ἐς μάχην
4 ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς καὶ ἀναβάς κατὰ τὸν Ἕμνήλον, ἵππει καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον,
ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἔτυχε δὲ κατὰ τούτο καιροῦ ἔλθων ἐν ὧ ἐπτὰ μὲν ἡ ὁκτὼ σταδίων ἦδη ἐπι-
ἐτετελέστο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα διπλοῦν τεῖχος, πλὴν κατὰ βραχὺ τι τὸ πρὸς
5 τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦτο δὲ ἐτὶ ὀκοδόμουν. τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὸν Ἑρώγιλον ἐπὶ τὴν
ἐτέραν θάλασσαν λίθοι τε παραβεβλημένοι τῷ πλέουν ἤδη ἤσαι καὶ ἔστω ὃ καὶ ἡμεργα, τὰ δὲ
καὶ ἐξεργασμένα κατελείπετο. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Συράκουσαι ἤλθον κυιδύνου.

III. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι αἰφνιδίως τοῦ τε Γυλίπ-
pου καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων σφόν επίοντων ἐθορυμῆσαν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, παρετάξαντο δὲ.
ὁ δὲ θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα ἐγγὺς κήρυκα προσπέμπει αὐτοῖς λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται ἐξείναι ἐκ τῆς
Σικελίας πέντε ἡμερῶν λαβόντες τὰ σφέτερα
2 αὐτῶν, ἐτοίμοι εἶναι σπένδεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐν
ὅλην ῥία τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι
ἀπέπεμψαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀντιπαρεσκευά-
3 ξοντο ἄλληλοις ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ ὁ Γυλιππος
ὁρῶν τοὺς Συρακοσίους ταρασσομένους καὶ οὐ
ῥάδιως ξυντασσομένους, ἐπανήγε τὸ στρατόπεδον
ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν μᾶλλον. καὶ ὁ Νικίας οὐκ
ἐπῆγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε πρὸς τῷ

1 Ἰετᾶς, Goeller's correction from Steph. Byz. of uncertain MS. readings.
taking on his way the Sicel fort of Ietae and marshalling his men in readiness for battle, reached Epipolae; and ascending it by way of Euryelas, where the Athenians also had made their ascent at first,¹ he formed a junction with the Syracusans and advanced against the wall of the Athenians. And he happened to have come at the critical moment when the double wall ² of seven or eight stadia in extent had already been completed by the Athenians down to the Great Harbour, except for a short stretch next to the sea, where they were still building. As for the rest of the encircling line, stones had already been dumped along the greater part of the stretch which ran to Trogillus and the outer sea, and it was left so, some parts half finished, other parts quite finished. So close had Syracuse come to destruction.

III. The Athenians were at first thrown into a tumult by the sudden attack of Gylippus and the Syracusans, but drew up to meet them. But Gylippus halted near them under arms and sent forward a herald to say that if they were willing to quit Sicily within five days, taking what belonged to them, he was ready to make a truce. They, however, treated the messenger with contempt and sent him back without any answer. After this they prepared for battle against one another. But Gylippus, seeing that the Syracusans were in a state of confusion and could not readily get into line, led his troops back into the more open ground. And Nicias did not lead the Athenians against him, but kept

¹ cf. vi. xcvi. 2.
² cf. vi. ci.iii. 1.
ἐαυτοῦ τείχει. ὡς δ' ἔγω ὁ Γύλιππος οὐ προσιόντας αὐτούς, ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἅκραν τὴν Τεμενῆτιν καλομένην καὶ αὐτοῦ
4 ἡγόλεσαντο. τῇ δ' ύστεραιά ἄγων τὴν μὲν πλεί-
στην τῆς στρατιάς παρέταξε πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἄθηναιῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν ἄλλοσε, μέρος
dὲ τι πέμψας πρὸς τὸ φρουρίον τὸ Δάβδαλον
ἄρει, καὶ ὅσους ἔλαβεν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπ-
ἐκτεινεν  ἢν δὲ οὐκ ἔπισας τοῖς Ἄθηναιοῖς τὸ
5 χωρίον. καὶ τριήρης τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀλάσκεται
tῶν Ἄθηναιῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐφορμοῦσα
tῷ λιμένι.

IV. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτείχιζον οἱ Συρακόσιοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι ἀνω πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τείχος
ἀπλοῦν, ὅπως οἱ Ἄθηναιοι, εἰ μὴ δύναντο
2 κωλύσαι, μηκέτι οἰοὶ τε ὅσιν ἀποτείχίζοι.
καὶ οἱ τε Ἄθηναιοι ἀνεβεβήκεσαν ἢδη ἀνω τὸ ἐπὶ
θαλάσση τείχος ἑπιτελέσαντες, καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος
(ἡν γάρ τι τοῖς Ἄθηναιοῖς τοῦ τείχος ἀσθενές)
νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιᾶν ἐπῆλε πρὸς αὐτὸ.
3 οἱ δ' Ἄθηναιοὶ (ἐπιχον γὰρ ἔξω αὐλίζομενοι) ὃς
ἡσθοῦντο, ἀντεπῆσαν τὸ δὲ γνώσε κατὰ τάχος
ἀπήγαγε τοὺς σφετέρους πάλιν. ἐποικοδομή-
σαντες δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ Ἄθηναιοι ψηλότερον αὐτοῦ
μὲν ταύτη ἐφύλασσον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξυμμάχους
κατὰ τὸ ἅλλο τείχισμα ἢδη διέταξαν ἢπερ ἐμελ-
λον ἐκαστοὶ φρουρεῖν.
4 Τῷ δὲ Νικίᾳ ἐδόκει τὸ Πλημμύριον 1 καλομένου
τείχισαι ἐστὶ δὲ ἅκρα ἀντιπέρας τῆς πόλεως,

1 Hude writes Πλημμύριον with C.
quiet near his own wall. When Gylippus saw that they were not coming up, he led his army off the field to the height called Temenites, and they bivouacked there. But on the next day he led out the main body of his army and stationed it opposite the walls of the Athenians, in order to prevent their sending reinforcements to any other point; then, sending a detachment against the fort at Labdalum, he captured it and put to death all whom he took in it; for the place (it should be explained) was not within sight of the Athenians. On the same day, too, an Athenian trireme that was keeping watch at the mouth of the Great Harbour was captured by the Syracusans.

IV. After this the Syracusans and their allies proceeded to build a single wall running upwards from the city across Epipolae at an angle with the Athenian wall, in order that the Athenians, if they could not prevent its completion, might no longer be able to wall them off. By this time the Athenians had finished their wall next to the sea and had come up to the high ground; and Gylippus, since a certain part of the Athenian wall was weak, took his army by night and advanced against this. But the Athenians, who happened to be bivouacking outside the walls, perceived this movement and advanced against him; and he, on observing this, quickly led his men back again. The Athenians accordingly built this part of the wall higher and kept guard there themselves; but their allies they now disposed along the rest of the wall, at the points where they were each to keep guard.

Niclas determined also to fortify the place called Plemmyrium, a headland opposite the city, which
ἡπερ προύχουσα τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος τὸ στόμα στενῶν ποιεῖ, καὶ εἰ τειχισθεὶς, ῥάων αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο ἡ ἐσκομίδη τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔσεσθαι· δι’ ἐλάσσονος γὰρ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐφορμήσειν σφάς, καὶ οὐχ ὀσπερ νῦν ἐκ μυχοῦ τοῦ λιμένος τὰς ἐπαναγωγὰς ποιῆσθαι, ἦν τι ναυτικὸ κινώντα. προσεῖχε τε ἦδη μᾶλλον τῷ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολέμῳ, ὄρων τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφίσιν, ἔπειδη Γύλιππος ἦκεν, 5 ἀνελπιστοτερα ὄντα. διακομίσας οὖν στρατιῶς καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔξετείχισε τρία φρούρια· καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε σκεῦν τὰ πλείστα ἔκειτο καὶ τὰ πλοία ἦδη ἐκεῖ τὰ μεγάλα ὄρμει καὶ αἱ ταχεῖαι 6 νῆσι. ὡστε καὶ τῶν πληρωμάτων οὖν ἥκιστα τότε πρῶτον κάκωσις ἐγένετο· τῷ τὸ γὰρ ὑδατι σπανίῳ χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐγγύθεν, καὶ ἐπὶ φρυγανισμοῦ ἀμα ὅποτε ἔξηθοιεν οἱ ναῦται, ὅπο τῶν ἱππεῶν τῶν Συρακοσίων κρατοῦντων τῆς γῆς διεφθείροντο. τρῖτον γὰρ μέρος τῶν ἱππεῶν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ, ἵνα μὴ κακουργήσοντες ἐξίοιεν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν 7 τῷ Ὀλυμπιείῳ πολίχνῃ ἐτετάχατο. ἐπινυθάνετο δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Κορινθίων ναῦς προσπλεούσας ὁ Νίκιας· καὶ πέμπει ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν εἴκοσι ναὺς, αἰς εἰρητὸ περὶ τε Δοκροῦ καὶ Ῥῆμιον καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν τῆς Σικελίας ναυλοχεῖν αὐτάς.

V. Ὁ δὲ Γύλιππος ἀμα μὲν ἔτειχίζε τὸ διὰ τῶν Ἐπιτολῶν τεῖχος, τοῖς λίθοις χρώμενος οὐσ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεβάλοντο σφίσιν, ἀμα δὲ παρέτασσεν ἐξάγων αἰεὶ πρὸ τοῦ τειχίσματος
juts out in front of the Great Harbour and makes its entrance narrow. If this were fortified, it seemed to him that the bringing in of supplies would be an easier matter; for the Athenians could keep watch upon the harbour of the Syracusans at nearer range, and would not, as now, be obliged to put out against the enemy from the inner bay of the Great Harbour, should they show any activity with their fleet. And in general from now on he gave his attention more to naval warfare, seeing that matters on land were less hopeful for themselves, now that Gylippus had come. Accordingly, taking over his ships and some troops he built three forts, in which most of the stores were deposited; and the large boats and the ships of war were now moored there. And it was especially in consequence of this that the condition of the crews then first began to decline. For their water supply was scanty and not near at hand, and at the same time, whenever the sailors went out to fetch firewood they suffered heavily at the hands of the Syracusan horsemen, who overran the country. For the Syracusans had posted a third part of their cavalry at the hamlet near the Olympieum on account of the troops at Plemmyrium, that these might not go out and commit depredations. Meanwhile Nicias, learning that the rest of the Corinthian ships were sailing up, sent twenty vessels to watch for them, with orders to waylay them in the neighbourhood of Locri, Rhegium, or the approach to Sicily.

V. Gylippus, on the other hand, continued to build the wall across Epipolae, using the stones which the Athenians had previously dumped along the line for their own use, and at the same time he continually
τοὺς Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο. ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἔδοξε τῷ Γυλίππῳ καίρος εἶναι, ἤρξε τῆς ἑφόδου· καὶ ἐν χερσὶ γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο μεταξὺ τῶν τειχισμάτων, ἢ τῆς ἵππου τῶν Συρακοσίων
3 οὐδεμία χρήσις ἦν. καὶ νικηθέντων τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδος ἀνελομένων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τροπαίων στησάντων, ὁ Γυλίππος ἔγκαλεσαι τὸ στρατεύμα οὐκ ἔφη τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ ἔαυτόν γενέσθαι τῆς γὰρ ἱπποῦ καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τὴν ὥφελιν τῇ τάξει, ἐντὸς λίαν τῶν τείχων ποιῆσας, ἀφελέσθαι νῦν οὖν αὖθις ἐπάξειν.
4 καὶ διανοεῖσθαι οὕτως ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦς ὡς τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔξοντας, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ἀξιώσουσι Πελοποννήσιοι τε ὀντες καὶ Δωρίης Ἰώνων καὶ ὑσιτῶν καὶ ἡγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων κρατήσαντες ἐξελάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

VI. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειδὴ καίρος ἦν, αὖθις ἐπῆργεν αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ Νικίας καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι νομίζοντες, καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἔθελονε μάχης ἄρχειν, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σφίσι μὴ περιορᾶν παροικοδομοῦμεν τὸ τείχος (ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρεληλύθει τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ τείχους τελευτήν ἢ ἐκείνων τείχισιν, καὶ εἰ παρέλθοι, ταῦτα τῶν ἥδη ἐποίει αὐτοῖς νικᾶν τε μαχομένοις διὰ παντὸς καὶ μηδὲ μάχεσθαι), ἀντετήσαν οὖν τοῖς 2. Συρακοσίοις. καὶ ὁ Γυλίππος τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας

12
led out the Syracusans and their allies and drew them up before the wall; and the Athenians would always draw up to meet them. But when it seemed to Gyippus that the right moment had come, he commenced the onset; and coming to close quarters they fought between the walls, where the cavalry of the Syracusans was of no use. And when the Syracusans and their allies had been defeated and had taken up their dead under a truce, and the Athenians had set up a trophy, Gyippus called his troops together and said that the mistake was not theirs but his own, for by arranging his line of battle too much between the walls he had deprived them of the benefit of their cavalry and javelin-men. He would therefore now lead them on again, and he urged them to make up their minds to this—that in point of men and equipment they would not be inferior; and as for their spirit, it was not to be endured if they, being Peloponnesians and Dorians, confronting Ionians and islanders and a mixed rabble, were not going to make it a point of honour to conquer them and drive them out of the country.

VI. After this, when there was a favourable opportunity, he led them on again. Now Nicias and the Athenians thought that, even if the Syracusans were unwilling to begin fighting, they themselves could not possibly look idly on while the wall was being built past their own—for already the enemy's wall had all but passed the end of the Athenians' wall, and if it once got by, from then on it would be all one to them whether they fought and conquered in every battle or did not fight at all—accordingly they advanced against the Syracusans. And Gyippus, leading forth his hoplites more outside
THUCYDIDES

έξω τῶν τείχῶν μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον προαγαγών ἐξυνέμισεν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δ’ ἵππεας καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς ἐκ πλαγίου τάξας τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, ἡ τῶν τείχῶν ἀμφοτέρων
3 αἱ ἐργασίαι ἔληγον. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ ἱππίης ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπερ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἦν, ἔτρεψαν καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα νικηθέν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων
4 κατηράξθη ἐς τὰ τειχίσματα. καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐφθάσαν παροικοδομήσαντες καὶ παρελθόντες τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκοδομίαν, ὡστε μηκέτι μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνος τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπεστερηκέναι, εἰ καὶ κρατοῦν, μὴ ἄν ἐτί σφᾶς ἀποτεΐχίσαι.

VII. Ἔστε ἀκόσμω ὅτε τῶν Κορινθίων νῆσι καὶ Ἀμπρακιώτων καὶ Δενκάλιων ἐσέπλευσαν αἱ ὑπόλοιποι δώδεκα, λαδοῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυλακήν (ἣργε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἐρασίνης Κορίνθιος), καὶ Ἑυνετείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις
2 τῶν ἑγκαρσίου τείχους. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐσὶ τὴν ἀλλήν Σικελίαν ἐπὶ στρατιάν τε φίλου καὶ ναυτικῆν καὶ πεζικῆν ξυλλέξον, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀμα προσαξόμενος εἰ τις ἢ μὴ πρόθυμος ἢν ἢ παντά-
3 πασίν ἔτι ἀφειστήκει τὸν πολέμον. προσβείς τε ἄλλοι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἐς Δακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀπεστάλησαν, ὅπως στρατιά ἐτι περαιωθῇ τρόπῳ ὅ ἂν ἐν ὅλκασιν ἡ πλοίαι ἢ ἀλλῷ ὀπωσοῦν προχωρῆ, ὥσ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
4 ἐπιμεταπεμπομένων. οὕ τε Συρακόσιοι ναυτικὸν

1 μῇ χρὶ, before τοῦ ἑγκαρσίου in MSS., is deleted by Holm.
1 cf. ch. ii. 7; iv. 7; also vi. civ. 1.

14
BOOK VII. VI. 2–VII. 4

the walls than before, closed with the enemy, having his cavalry and javelin-men posted on the flank of the Athenians, in the open space where the work on both walls ended. And in the battle his cavalry attacked the left wing of the Athenians, which was opposed to them, and routed it; and in consequence of this the rest of the army also was beaten by the Syracusans and driven headlong within the fortifications. And the following night they succeeded in building their wall beyond the works of the Athenians and in getting past, so that they themselves were no longer hampered by them, and had altogether deprived the Athenians, even if they should be victorious, of the possibility of ever investing them.

VII. After this the remaining twelve ships of the Corinthians, Ambraciots, and Leucadians,¹ which were under the command of Erasinides, a Corinthian, sailed into the harbour, eluding the watch kept by the Athenians, and helped the Syracusans to build the rest of their cross-wall. And Gyippus went into the other districts of Sicily to collect reinforcements for both his army and his navy, and at the same time to win over any of the cities that were either not zealously supporting the war or still held altogether aloof from it. And another set of envoys representing the Syracusans and the Corinthians were despatched to Lacedaemon and Corinth, in order that further troops might be sent across the sea in whatever way might be available—in merchant-ships, small craft, or in any other way whatever—in view of the fact that the Athenians also were sending home for fresh troops. Moreover, the Syracusans were manning a fleet and practising with
ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀνεπειρώντο ὡς καὶ τούτῳ ἐπι-χειρήσοντες, καὶ ἐς τάλλα πολὺ ἐπέρρωντο.

VIII. Ὁ δὲ Νικίας αἰσθόμενος τούτῳ καὶ ὁρῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπιδιδοῦσαν τὴν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἱσχὺν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἀπορίαν, ἐπεμπε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγγέλλων πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ἄλλοτε καθ’ ἐκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τότε, νομίζων ἐν δεινῷ τε εἰναι καὶ, εἰ μὴ ὡς τάχιστα ἡ σφᾶς μεταπέμψουσιν ἡ ἀλλούς μὴ ὀλίγους ἀποστελοῦσιν, οὐδεμίαν εἰναι σωτηρίαν.

2 φοβοῦμενος δὲ μὴ οἱ πεπομένοι ἡ κατὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἀδυνασίαν ἡ καὶ μνήμης ἐλλιπεῖς γενό-μενοι ἡ τῷ ὀχλῷ πρὸς χάριν τι λέγοντες οὐ τὰ ὄντα ἀπαγγέλωσιν, ἐγραψεν ἐπιστολήν, νομίζων οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην μηδὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ἀφανισθεῖσαν μαθόντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 3 βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν φῶντο φέροντες οὗ ἐπέστειλε τὰ γράμματα καὶ ὅσα ἔδει αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν· ὁ δὲ τά κατὰ τὸ στρατό-πεδον διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἡδὴ ἔχων ἡ δὲ ἐκουσίων κινδύνων ἐπεμέλετο.

IX. Ἔν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι καὶ Εὐ-ετίων στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων μετὰ Περδίκκου στρα-τεύσας ἐπ’ Ἀμφίπολιν Ὀραξὶ πολλοῖς τὴν μὲν πόλιν οὐχ εἶλεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα περικομίσας τριήρεις ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπολιορκεὶ ὁρμώμενος ἐξ Ἰμεραίου. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐπελεύστα τοῦτο.

Χ. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἡκοντες ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νικίου ὁσα τε ἀπὸ γλώσσης οὕρητο αὐτοῖς εἶπον καὶ εἰ τίς τι ἐπηρώτα

1 With BH, the other MSS. γνώμης.
2 So MSS., Hude writes ὣς, with Stahl.
a view to trying their hand at sea also; and in general they were much encouraged.

VIII. Nicias, perceiving this and seeing the enemy's strength and his own perplexities increasing day by day, on his part also sent word to Athens on many occasions, giving detailed reports of what was happening, and especially now, because he thought that they were in a critical situation and that there was no hope of safety unless the Athenians, with all possible speed, should either recall them or send out reinforcements in no small numbers. But fearing that his messengers might not report the actual facts, either through inability to speak or from lapse of memory,¹ or because they wanted to please the crowd, wrote a letter, thinking that in this way the Athenians would best learn his own view, obscured in no way by any fault on the part of the messenger, and could thus deliberate about the true situation. So the messengers whom he sent departed, bearing the letter and the verbal reports which they were to deliver; but as regards the camp, the object of his care was now rather to keep on the defensive than to run voluntary risks.

IX. At the end of the same summer Eueition, an Athenian general, made in concert with Perdiccas an expedition against Amphipolis with a large force of Thracians, and though he failed to take the city, brought some triremes round into the Strymon and blockaded it from the river, using Himeraeum as his base. So the summer ended.

X. The following winter the messengers of Nicias, on reaching Athens, gave the messages which they had been ordered to give by word of mouth, answer-

¹ Or, reading γνώμονα, "from want of intelligence."
THUCYDIDES

ἀπεκρίνοντο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδοσαν. ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως παρελθὼν ἀνέγνω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δηλοῦσαν τοιάδε.

XI. "Τὰ μὲν πρῶτον πραξθέντα, ὁ Ἀθη-
ναῖος, ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἔστε ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐσμεν

2 Βουλεύσασθαι. κρατησάντων γὰρ ἡμῶν μᾶχαις ταῖς πλείοσι Συρακοσίους ἐφ' ὦν ἐπεμφθημεν καὶ τὰ τείχη ὑιοδομησάμενοι ἐν ὑσπερ τῆς τῶν ἡμῶν, ἦλθε Γύλιππος Λακεδαιμόνιος στρατιάν ἔχων ἐκ τῶν Ἡλεων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελία πόλεων ἔστιν ὑπεν ὄν καὶ μάχη τῇ μὲν πρῶτη νικάται ὑπ' ἡμῶν, τῇ δ' ὑστεραια ἰππεύσι τα πολλαῖς καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς βιασθέντες ἀνεχώρησαμεν ἐς τὰ

3 τείχη. γυν οὐν ἡμεῖς μὲν παυσάμενοι τοῦ περί-

τειχισμοῦ διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσυχάζομεν

(οὔδε γὰρ ἐμπάση τῇ στρατιά δυναίμεθ' ἄν χρήσαι τὸν οὐκέτοις τῶν τει-

χῶν μέρος τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ), οἱ δὲ παρακοδομή-

κασιν ἦμιν τείχος ἀπλοῖν, ὡστε μὴ εἶναι ἐτὶ

4 τοῦτο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπελθὼν ἐλη. ἐμμβεβηκέ

τα πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἀλλοὺς αὐτοὺς

μᾶλλον, ὡστὶν συμβάσχειν, οὔδε

γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐξερ-

χόμεθα.

XII. Πεπόμφασι δὲ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον πρέσ-

βεῖς ἐπ' ἄλλην στρατιάν, καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐν Σικελία

πόλεις Γύλιππος οἶχεται, τὰς μὲν καὶ πείσων

εὐμπολέμειν ὅσα πον ἡσυχάζουσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν

ἐπὶ καὶ στρατιάν πεζῆ καὶ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευήν,
ing any questions that were asked, and delivered the letter. And the clerk of the city came before the Athenians and read them the letter, which ran as follows:

XI. "What has been done before this, Athenians, you have been informed in many earlier letters; but now it is more than ever the time for you to learn in what condition we are and then to take counsel. When in most of our battles we had beaten the Syracusans, against whom we were sent, and had built the fortifications in which we now are, there came Glyllipus, a Lacedaemonian, with an army collected from the Peloponnesus and from some of the cities in Sicily. In the first battle he was defeated by us, but on the next day, under pressure from their numerous cavalry and javelin-men, we drew back within our walls. At the present time, then, we have discontinued our work of circumvallation on account of the superior numbers of the enemy and are keeping quiet; for we cannot use our whole army because the guarding of the walls has absorbed a part of our heavy-armed force. The enemy meanwhile have built a single wall past ours, so that it is no longer possible to invest them, unless one should assail this counterwall with a large force and take it. So it has turned out that we, who are supposed to be besieging others, are rather ourselves under siege, at least by land; for we cannot even go far into the country because of their cavalry.

XII. "And they have also sent envoys to the Peloponnesus for another army, and Glyllipus has gone to the cities of Sicily, to persuade such of them as are now neutral to join them in the war, and to bring from other cities, if he can, still further reinforce-
2 ἦν δύνηται, ἄξων. διανοοῦνται γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, τῷ τε πεζῷ ἀμα τῶν τειχῶν ἡμῶν
3 πειρᾶν καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. καὶ
deinὸν μηδενὶ ὑμῶν δόξῃ εἶναι οτὶ καὶ κατὰ
θάλασσαν. τὸ γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν, ἤπερ κἀκεῖνοι
πυνθάνονται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡκμαζε καὶ τῶν νεῶν
τῇ ξηρότητι καὶ τῶν πληρωμάτων τῇ σωτηρίᾳ,

4 τὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνελκύσαντας δια-
ψύξει διὰ τὸ ἀντπάλους καὶ τῷ πλῆθει καὶ ἐτὶ
πλείους τὰς τῶν πολεμίων οὕσας αἴει προσδοκίαν
5 παρέχειν ὡς ἐπιπλέοντοι. φανεραὶ δὲ εἰσὶν
ἀναπειρόμεναι, καὶ αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνος
καὶ ἀποξηρᾶναι τὰς σφετέρας μᾶλλον ἔξοσια—

οὐ γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσιν ἄλλοις.

ΧΙΙΙ. Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς ἀν περιουσίας νεῶν
μόλις τούτῳ ὑπῆρχε καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαζομένοις,
ἐστέρ νῦν, πάσαις φυλάσσειν. εἰ γὰρ ἄφαιρή-

σομὲν τὶ καὶ βραχὺ τῆς τηρήσεως, τὰ ἐπιτηδεια

6 νῦν ἐσκομιζόμενοι. τὰ δὲ πληρῶματα διὰ τὸ 
θεράργυ τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτὶ νῦν φθείρεται, τῶν ναυτῶν
μὲν διὰ φρυγανίσμον καὶ ἄρπαγὴν καὶ ὑδρείαν

2 ἔκει ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπολυμένων. οἱ δὲ
θεράποντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶν ἄντιπαλα καθεστήκαμεν,

αὐτομολοῦσι, καὶ οἱ ξένοι οἱ μὲν ἀναγκαστοὶ

1 τῶν, after ναυτῶν in MSS., deleted by Poppo.

1 Lit. "dryness," as opposed to a water-logged condition (διάβροχοι).
ments for his army and navy. For they plan, as I hear, to make an attempt upon our walls with their land-force and at the same time to try their luck at sea also with their fleet. And let it not seem incredible to any of you that they will try also by sea. For our fleet, as the enemy also have learned, though at first it was in prime condition as regards both the soundness of the ships and the unimpaired condition of the crews, is not so now; the ships are water-logged, from having been at sea for so long a time already, and the crews have wasted away. For it is not possible to draw the ships up on shore and dry them out, because the fleet of the enemy, which is quite a match for us and in number is even superior, keeps us in continual expectation that it will sail against us. They keep practising in plain view; the initiative to make attack lies with them; and they have a better opportunity to dry their ships than we, for they are not blockading others.

XIII. "We, on the contrary, could hardly enjoy this advantage even if we had a great superiority in the number of our ships, and were not compelled, as now, to use them all for guard-duty. For if we relax our vigilance ever so little, we shall not have our supplies, which are even now with difficulty brought past their city and into our camp. And our crews have been and are still being wasted, for the reason that our sailors, forced to go out to a distance for wood and forage and water, are constantly being killed by the cavalry. And now that we have been reduced to equal terms with the enemy, our servants are deserting. Of the mercenaries also, some, who embarked on our ships under compulsion, go home to their cities on the first opportunity; others, who
δὲ ὑπὸ μεγάλου μισθοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαρθέντες καὶ οἰόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ γνώμην ναυτικῶν τε δὴ καὶ τάλλα ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνθεστῶτα ὅρωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτομολίας προφάσει ἀπέρχονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι δύνανται (πολλὴ δ’ ἡ Σικελία), εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ, αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι, ἀνδράποδα Ἰτακαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τρη-ράρχους τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀφήγηματι.

Χ.Ε. Ἐπισταμένοις δ’ ὑμῖν γράφω ὅτι βρασὶν ἀκμὴ πληρώματος καὶ ὅλησι τῶν ναυτῶν οἱ ἕξορμωντές τε ναῦν καὶ ἕξενχοντες τὴν εἰρεσίαν.

2 τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀπορώτατον τὸ τε μὴ ὅλον τε εἶναι ταῦτα ἐμοὶ κολύσαι τῷ στρατηγῷ (χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ ὑμετέραι φύσεις ἄρξαι) καὶ ὅτι ὁ πόρον ἐπιπληρωσόμεθα τὰς ναῦς ἔχομεν, δ’ τοῖς πολε-μίοις πολλαχόθεν ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη ἄφ’ ὃν ἔχοντες ἠλθομεν τὰ τε ὄντα καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα γίγνεσθαι: αἱ γὰρ νῦν οὗσαι πόλεις ἔξισὶ καὶ

3 ἀδύνατοι, Νάξος καὶ Κατάνη. εἰ δὲ προσγενή-σεται ἐν ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὅτε τὰ τρέφοντα ἡμᾶς χωρία τῆς Ἱταλίας, ὄροντα ἐν φ’ τε ἐσμὲν καὶ ὑμῶν μὴ ἐπιβοηθοῦντων, πρὸς ἐκεῖνος χωρῆ-

1 αὐτοὶ, Hude prefers αὐτοῦ, with most MSS.

1 i. e. as they would profess after they had got within the enemy’s lines. Or, “on any occasion for deserting,” i. e. whenever the deserters thought themselves unobserved by the Athenians or found themselves in the neighbourhood of the Syracusan troops, πρόφασι being used not of a pretended, but of a real occasion, as in ι. xxviii, xxiii. 5; cxviii. 1.
were in the first place stirred by the prospects of high pay and thought they were going to make money rather than to fight, now that, contrary to their expectation, they see on the enemy's side the fleet and everything else offering resistance, either go over as professed 1 deserters, or get away as best they can—for Sicily is large—and there are also some who, being themselves engaged in traffic, have persuaded the trierarchs to take Hyccarian slaves on board in their stead, and thus have robbed our navy of its perfection of discipline.

XIV. "You to whom I write understand that a crew only keeps at its prime for a short space, 2 and that it is only a few of the sailors who can both set a ship in motion and keep the oar-strokes in time. But of all these difficulties, that which causes me most distress is that I, the general, cannot prevent these abuses—for the temper of you Athenians is hard to control—and that we have no source from which to get recruits for manning our ships, while the enemy has many sources of supply; on the contrary, the resources that we brought with us must suffice for our present needs as well as make up for our constant losses; 3 for the only cities that are now in alliance with us, Naxos and Catana, cannot help us in this. And if but one advantage more shall be gained by the enemy—that the regions of Italy which supply us with food, seeing in what plight we are and that you are not sending reinforcements, should go over to the enemy—the

2 Or, "the really efficient part of a crew is always small."
3 Or, "the men we brought with us must serve for our present force as well as make up for our ever-recurring losses."
THUCYDIDES

σαι, διαπεπολεμήσεται αὐτοῖς ἀμαχεῖ ἐκπολιορκηθέντων ἥμων ὁ πόλεμος.1

4 "Τούτων ἐγὼ ἦδίω μὲν ἂν εἴχον ὑμῖν ἐτερα ἐπιστέλλειν, οὐ μὲντοι χρησιμώτερά γε, εἰ δὲι σαφῶς εἰδότας τὰ ἐνθάδε βουλεύσασθαι. καὶ ἀμα τὰς φύσεις ἐπιστάμενοι ὑμῶν, βουλομένων μὲν τὰ ἴδια άκούειν, αἰτιωμένων δὲ ὑπερεπον, ἢν τι ὑμῖν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν μὴ ὀμοίον ἐκβῆ, ἀσφαλέστερον ἐγγεύσιμον τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλώσαι.

XV. Καὶ νῦν ὡς ἐφ’ ἄ μὲν ἠλθομεν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑμῖν μὴ μεμπτῶν γεγενημένων, οὔτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ Σικελία τε ἀπασα ξυνίσταται καὶ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄλλη στρατιὰ προσδόκιμος αὐτοῖς, βουλεύσασθε ἡδὴ ὡς τῶν γ’ ἐνθάδε μηδὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνταρκοῦντων, ἀλλ’ ἡ τούτους μεταπέμπει δέοι ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰς μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐπιπέμπει καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ναυτικῆν, καὶ χρήματα μὴ ὀλίγα, ἐμοὶ δὲ διάδοχον τινα, ὡς ἀδύνατος εἰμὶ διὰ νόσου νεφρίτιν παραμένειν. ἀξιῶ δ’ ὑμῶν ξυγγρώμης τυχαίνειν καὶ γάρ ὅτ’ ἐρρώμην πολλὰ ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὑμᾶς εὐ ἐποίησα. ὅ τι δὲ μέλλετε, ἀμα τῷ ἦρε εὐθὺς καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀναβολὰς πράσσετε, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δι’ ὀλύγον ποριουμένων, τὰ δ’ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου σχολαίτερον μὲν, ὡμοί δ’, ἢν μὴ προσέχητε τὴν γνώμην, τὰ μὲν λήσουσιν ὑμᾶς, ὀσπέρ καὶ πρότερον, τὰ δὲ φθίσονται.”

XVI. Η μὲν τοῦ Νικίου ἐπιστολὴ τοσάῦτα

1 ὁ πόλεμος omitted by Hude, as not read by the Scholiast.
war will be all over for them without a battle, for we shall be besieged into surrender.

"I could have written you things more pleasant than these, but certainly not more useful, if you are to have full knowledge of the situation here before deciding upon your course; and, besides, knowing as I do your tempers—that you do indeed prefer to hear what is most pleasant, but afterwards find fault if the results are in any respect disappointing—I have thought it safer to reveal the truth.

XV. "And now I beg you to believe that neither your soldiers nor your generals have been blame-worthy so far as concerns the original objects of our expedition; but since all Sicily is united and the enemy expects another army from the Peloponnesus, decide at once upon a course of action, knowing that the troops which are now here are not a match even for the enemy which at present confronts us, but that you must either recall these or send to reinforce it another armament equally large, both army and fleet, and no small amount of money; and you must send a general to relieve me, since I am unable to remain because of a disease of the kidneys. And I submit that I have a claim upon your indulgence, for when I was strong I served you well in many a position of command. But whatever you intend to do, do it promptly at the opening of spring and without postponements, knowing that the enemy will procure fresh resources, some near at hand in Sicily, and others from the Peloponnesus, and that these last, though they will arrive less promptly, nevertheless, if you do not take care, will either elude you as they did before, or else outstrip you."

XVI. Such were the disclosures made by the letter
揭開。他們在尼克對軍事行動作出的反應，沒有你所想像的那樣積極。他們決定放下乒乓，沒有在戰略上做出任何決定，梅納 clown 和尤多斯蒙，他們只有一個目的，那就是保護他們自己的城市和他們的國家。他們在戰爭中扮演的角色是關鍵的，他們沒有像希臘其他城市那樣積極地參與戰爭。

第十七章。他們的軍事行動由埃皮米西斯的行動決定。他們的行動是由他們的國家和他們的公民出發的。他們在戰爭中扮演的角色是關鍵的，他們沒有像希臘其他城市那樣積極地參與戰爭。...

1 With H and Valla, the other MSS. omit καὶ ἕκατον.

1 Already mentioned as one of those who signed the treaty of Nicias, 422 B.C.; cf. v. xix. 2; xxiv. 1.

2 Last mentioned in active service in iv. 66–69.
of Nicias. But when the Athenians heard it read, they did not relieve Nicias of his command, but in order that he might not to have to face his difficulties alone while in ill-health, they chose two men who were on the spot, Menander and Euthydemus,\(^1\) to assist him until the arrival of the other two who should be chosen as his colleagues. And they voted to send another armament, both land-force and fleet, to be recruited from the Athenians on the muster-roll and from the allies. And as colleagues for Nicias they elected Demosthenes\(^2\) son of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon\(^3\) son of Thucles. Eurymedon was despatched to Sicily immediately, about the time of the winter solstice, with ten ships; and he took with him one hundred and twenty talents of silver,\(^4\) and at the same time bore a message to the army in Sicily that reinforcements would come and that care would be taken of them.

XVII. But Demosthenes remained behind and busied himself with preparations for his departure, which he planned to make at the opening of spring, sending to the allies requisitions for troops and getting ready at home money and ships and hoplites. And the Athenians also sent twenty ships round the Peloponnesus, to see that no one should cross over from Corinth and the Peloponnesus to Sicily. For the Corinthians, when the Syracusan envoys arrived and reported that the situation in Sicily was more favourable, felt much greater confidence than before, thinking that their former despatch of the fleet had been well timed, and

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\(^1\) He had been fined after the unsuccessful expedition to Sicily in 424 B.C.; cf. iv. lxx. 3.

\(^2\) £24,000; $116,640.
ολκάσι παρεσκενάζοντο αυτοὶ τε ἀποστελοῦντες ὀπλίτας ἐσ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Πελο-
ποννήσου οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ

4 Πεμψόντες. οὖν τε οἱ Κορινθιοὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
ἐπλήρουν, ὅπως ναυμαχίας τε ἀποτεπεράσσει πρὸς
τὴν ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ φυλακήν, καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδὰς
αὐτῶν ἦσσον οἱ ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι
κωλύοιεν ἀπαίρειν, πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν ἀντίταξιν
τῶν τριήμηρων τῆς φυλακῆς ποιούμενοι.

XVIII. Παρεσκενάζοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι, ὡσπερ τε
προουδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ
Κορινθίων ἐναγόντων, ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὴν
ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν,
ὅπως δὴ ἐσβολὴς γενομένης διακωλυθῇ. καὶ ὁ
Ἀλκιβιάδης προσκείμενος ἐξίδασκε τὴν Δεκέ-
λειαν τείχιζειν καὶ μὴ ἀνέναι τῶν πόλεμον.

2 μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγεγένητο τις
ῥώμη, διότι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐνόμιζον διπλοῦν τὸν
πόλεμον ἔχοντας, πρὸς τε σφᾶς καὶ Σικελιῶτας,
εὐκαθαριστούτερος ἐσεσθαί, καὶ ὅτι τὰς σπουδὰς
προτέρους λευκεῖνα ἤγοιντο αὐτοὺς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ
προτέρῳ πολέμῳ σφέτερον τὸ παρανόμημα μᾶλλον
γενέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐς Πλάταιαν ἠλθον Θηβαῖοι ἐν
σπουδαῖς καὶ, εἰρημένοι ἐν ταῖς προτέροις ἐυνηθ-
καῖς ὀπλὰ μὴ ἐπιφέρειν, ἢν δικὰς ἐθέλωσι διδόναι,

1 The Athenian squadron, generally twenty triremes,
stationed on guard here during the whole war; cf. II. lxix. 1.;
Ixxx. 4.
2 The Archidamian War, or the first decade of the
Peloponnesian War.
3 cf. II. ii. 1.
4 Referring to the Thirty Years' Truce; cf. I. cxv. 1.
accordingly not only were they themselves preparing to send hoplites to Sicily in merchant-ships, but also the Lacedaemonians were intending in the same manner to despatch troops from the rest of the Peloponnesus. The Corinthians were also manning twenty-five ships, in order that they might try an engagement with the squadron on watch at Naupactus\(^1\) and that the Athenians at Naupactus might not find it so easy to prevent their merchant-vessels from putting to sea, since they would be busy keeping watch upon the triremes arrayed against them.

XVIII. The Lacedaemonians were also making ready for their invasion of Attica, both in accordance with their previous resolution and because the Syracuseans and Corinthians urged it, when they heard of the reinforcements to be sent from the Athenians to Sicily, so that, as they said, these might be wholly prevented by the invasion. And Alcibiades was likewise insistently telling them that they should fortify Deceleia and not relax their efforts in the war. But most important of all was the fact that a degree of confidence had come to the Lacedaemonians, because they believed that the Athenians, once they had on their hands a twofold war—with themselves and with the Siceliots—would be more easily overthrown, and because they regarded the Athenians as having been the first to break the treaty. In the former war\(^2\) they felt that the transgression had been rather on their own part; for the Thebans had entered Plataea in time of truce,\(^3\) and, although it had been stipulated in the former agreements\(^4\) that neither party was to resort to arms if the other were willing to submit the question to arbitration, yet they themselves refused to respond
THUCYDIDES

αὐτοὶ οὐχ ὑπῆκονον ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ διὰ τούτο εἰκότως δυστυχεῖν τε ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐνεχυμοῦντο τὴν τε περὶ Πύλου ξυμ-3 φοράν καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλη αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. ἑπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ταῖς τριάκοντα ναυσίν ἐξ Ἄργους ὀρμώμενοι Ἑπιδαύρου τε τι καὶ Πρασιῶν καὶ ἀλλὰ ἐδήσαν καὶ ἐκ Πύλου ἀμα ἔληστεύοντο, καὶ ὁσάκις περὶ τοῦ διαφορά εὔνοιον τῶν κατὰ τὰς σπούδας ἀμφισβητούμενων, ἄς δίκαιος προκαλου-
μένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὅπερ ἡθελον ἐπιτρέπειν, τότε δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι νομίζαντες τὸ παρανό-
μημα, ὅπερ καὶ σφίσι πρότερον ἡμάρτητο, ἀνθις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ αὐτὸ περιεστάναι, πρόθυμοι
4 ἔδαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ σύνηρον τε περὶγγελλον κατὰ τοὺς ἔξυμμάχους καὶ τὰ ἀλλα ἐργαλεία ἦτοιμαζον ἐς τὸν ἐπιτείχι-
σμόν. καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἅμα ἦν ὡς ἀνο-
πέμψοντες ἐν ταῖς ὀλκάσιν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῖς τε ἐπορίζον καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς Πελοποννησίους προσ-
ηνάγκαζον. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ οὐχοὺν καὶ δέκατον ἐτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τὸδε ὁν
Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

XIX. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιμεγκειμένου ἦρος εὐθὺς ἀρχο-
mένου πρώτατα δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι ἐς τὴν 'Ἀττικὴν ἐσέβαλον' ἥγειτο δὲ
'Ἀγις ὁ 'Αρχιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς χώρας τὰ περὶ τὸ πεδίον
ἐδήσαν, ἑπειτα Δεκέλειαν ἐτείχιζον, κατὰ πόλεις

1 iv. 26-41. 2 cf. vi. cv. 1.
3 March, 413 b.c. 4 Situated almost due north of Athens, at the highest
to the summons when the Athenians invited them
to arbitrate. On this account they considered that
deserved their misfortune, having in mind both
the disaster at Pylos\(^1\) and any other that had befallen
them. But now the Athenians, setting out from
Argos with thirty ships,\(^2\) had ravaged a part of
Epidaurus and Prasiae and other places, and at the
same time were making predatory excursions from
Pylos; and as often as differences arose about any of
the points of dispute in the treaty and the Lacedae-
monians proposed arbitration, they were unwilling
to resort to it; at this time, therefore, the Lacedae-
monians, considering that the unlawful conduct,
of which they had themselves formerly been guilty,
had shifted round and now rested upon the
Athenians, were zealous for the war. And during
this winter they sent out requisitions for iron
to their allies, and in general were making ready
the tools needed in the fortification of Deceleia.
And at the same time they were not only devising
on their own part ways and means for sending
reinforcements in merchant-ships to the army in
Sicily, but were also compelling the rest of the
Peloponnesians to do likewise. So the winter ended,
and with it the eighteenth year of this war of which
Thucydides wrote the history.

XIX. At the very beginning of the next spring,\(^3\)
earlier than ever before, the Lacedaemonians and
their allies invaded Attica, under the command of
Agis son of Archidamus, king of the Lacedae-
monians. And at first they ravaged the plain of
Attica and then proceeded to fortify Deceleia,\(^4\)
point of the pass where the road to Boeotia cuts through the
eastern Parnes, the site of the present village of Tatoi.

31
2 διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Δεκέλεια σταδίους μᾶλιστα τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἕκατον, παραπλήσιον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον ἕκατον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τῆς χώρας τοὺς κρατιστοὺς ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν ὁκοδομεῖτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιφανὲς μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐτείχιζον, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἀπέστελλον περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ταῖς ὀλκασὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῶν τε Εἰλώτων ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων, ξυμαμφοτέρων ἐξακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ Ἐκκριτον Σπαρτιατην ἀρχοντα, Βοιωτῷ δὲ τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας, ὄν ἤρχον Ξένων τε καὶ Νίκων Θηβαίων καὶ Ἑγίσανδρος Θεσπιεύς. οὕτωι μὲν οὐν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι ὀρμήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταυνάρου τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκ τῶν πέλαγος ἀφείσαν· μετὰ δὲ τούτου Κορίνθιοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πεντακόσιον ὀπλίτας, τοὺς μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Κορίνθου, τοὺς δὲ προσμυθωσάμενοι Ἀρκάδων, ἀρχοντα Ἀλέξαρχον Κορίνθιοι προστάζαντες ἀπέπεμψαν. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι διακόσιον ὀπλίτας ὅμοι τοῖς Κορίνθιοις, ὃν ἤρχε Σαργεύς Σικυώνιος. αἱ δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσὶ νῆς τῶν Κορινθίων αἰ τοῦ χειμῶνος πληρωθεῖσα ἀνθώρμουν ταῖς ὑ Ἕλεστε καὶ ἐκκοσὶ Ἀττικαῖς, ἐσστέρ αὐτοῖς οἱ ὀπλίται ταῖς ὀλκάσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπήραν ὀὔπερ ἐνεκά καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπληρώθησαν,

1 οὔ πολλῷ πλέον deleted by Hude.
2 ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν deleted by Hude with Krüger and Stahl.
3 καὶ, before ἀρχοντα in the MSS., deleted by Hude.
apportioning the work to the several allied states. Deceleia is distant from the city of Athens about one hundred and twenty stadia, and about the same distance, or not much more, from Boeotia. The purpose of the fort they were building was to dominate the plain and the most fertile parts of the country, with a view to devastating them, and it was visible as far as the city of Athens. And while the Peloponnesians in Attica and their allies were building this fort, those in the Peloponnesus were at the same time despatching the hoplites in merchant-ships to Sicily, the Lacedaemonians having picked out the best of the Helots and Neodamodes,\(^1\) of both together about six hundred hoplites, with Eccritus the Spartan as commander, and the Boeotians having selected three hundred hoplites, in command of whom were Xenon and Nicon, both Thebans, and Hegesander, a Thespian. Now these set out in the first contingent from Taenarus in Laconia and made for the open sea; and following them, but not long afterwards, the Corinthians sent out five hundred hoplites, some from Corinth itself, others being Arcadians whom they had taken on for hire, appointing in command of them Alexarchus, a Corinthian. The Sicyonians also despatched at the same time as the Corinthians two hundred hoplites under the command of Sargeus, a Sicyonian. Meanwhile the twenty-five Corinthian ships, which had been manned during the winter, lay opposite the twenty Athenian ships at Naupactus, until their hoplites in the merchant-ships had got well on their voyage from the Peloponnesus; it was for this purpose, indeed, that

\(^1\) cf. v. xxxiv, 1. These were clans of new citizens made up of Helots emancipated for service in war.
ὁπως μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς τὰς ὀλκάδας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὰς τριήμερες τὸν νῦν ἔχωσιν.

XX. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἃμα Δεκελείας τῷ τείχισμῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱρος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου περὶ τε Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τριάκοντα ἐστειλαν καὶ Χαρικλέα τὸν Ἀπολλοδόρου ἄρχοντα, ὥστη καὶ ἐστὶ Ἀργος ἀφικομένῳ κατὰ τὸ ἐξωμαχικὸν παρακαλεῖν Ἀργείων ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὰς 2 ναῦς, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὥσπερ ἐμελλον, ἀπέστελλον ἐξήκοντα μὲν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πέντε Χίαις, ὁπλίταις δὲ ἐκ καταλόγου Ἀθηναίων διακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις, καὶ νησιωτῶν ὅσοι ἐκασταχόθεν οἶνον τῇ ἡ πλείστους χρήσασθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξωμαχών τῶν ὑπηκόων, εἴ ποθέν τι εἰχόν εὐπτηθεὶδον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξυμπορίσαντες. εὑρητὸ δὲ αὐτῷ πρῶτον μετὰ τοῦ Χαρικλέους ἃμα περιπλέουσαν ἐξοπτρατεύεσθαι 3 περὶ τὴν Δακωνικῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Αἰγίναι προσπλεύσας τοῦ στρατεύματος τε εἰ τῇ ὑπελέειπτο περίεμεν καὶ τὸν Χαρικλέα τοῦ Ἀργείων παραλαβεῖν.

XXI. Ἔν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτου τοῦ ἱρος καὶ ὁ Γυλιππος ήκεν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἀγων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ὕπεισε στρατιὰν 2 ὃς ἐκασταχόθεν πλείστην ἐδύνατο. καὶ ἔν γαρ γιάκαλέσας τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἐφ' ἡμῶν πληροῦν ναύς ὡς δύνανται πλείστας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀποτείχες λαμβάνειν ἐλπίζειν γὰρ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἄξιον τοῦ κυνδύνου ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ- 3 εργάσεσθαι. ἔναντεπειθεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης 1 τε, after Ἀργείων in MSS., deleted by Reiske, followed by Hude.

34
they had been manned in the first place—that the Athenians might not give their attention so much to the merchant-ships as to the triremes.

XX. Meanwhile the Athenians, simultaneously with the fortification of Deceleia and at the very beginning of spring, sent thirty ships round the Peloponnesus under the command of Charicles son of Apollodorus, whose orders were on reaching Argos to summon to the ships Argive hoplites, in accordance with the terms of their alliance. And they also were setting Demosthenes on his way to Sicily, as they had planned to do, with fifty Athenian ships and five Chian, twelve hundred Athenian hoplites from the muster-roll, and as many islanders as it was possible to get into their service from each place; and from their other allies who were subjects they collected whatever these had anywhere that was serviceable for the war. But Demosthenes had received instructions first of all, as he was sailing round, to co-operate with Charicles in his operations on the coast of Laconia. So he sailed to Aegina and waited there for any part of the armament that had been left behind, and also until Charicles should take on board the Argive hoplites.

XXI. In Sicily, during the same spring and at about the same time, Gylippus returned to Syracuse, bringing from each of the cities which he had prevailed upon as large a body of troops as he could secure. And calling together the Syracusans, he told them that they should man as many ships as possible and try their luck in fighting at sea; for he hoped thereby to accomplish something for the furtherance of the war that would be worth the risk. And Hermocrates most of all joined in urging them
οὕχ ἤκιστα¹ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, λέγων οὔδε ἐκεῖνος πάτριον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν οὔδε ἀίδιον τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἥπειρωτας μᾶλλον τῶν Συρακοσίων οὖντας καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ὑπὸ Μῆδων ναυτικοὺς γενέ-
θαι. καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τολμηρούς, οίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους, τοὺς ἀντιτολμῶντας χαλεπωτάτους αὐτοῖς² φαίνεσθαι ὅ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς πέλας, οὐ δυνάμει ἔστιν ὁτε προῦχοντες, τῷ δὲ θράσει ἐπιχειροῦντες, καταφοβοῦσι, καὶ σφάς ἀν τὸ 

4 αὐτὸ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐναυτίοις ὑποσχέωμαι. καὶ Συρα-

κοσίως εὐ εἰδέναι ἐφ' ὑπὸ τολμήσας ἀπροσδοκήτως πρὸς τὸ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικῶν ἀντιστήναι πλέον τι, διὰ τὸ τοιούτου ἐκπλαγέντων αὐτῶν, περιεσο-

μένους ἢ Ἀθηναίους τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τὴν Συρακοσίων ἀπειριάν βλάψοντας· ἴναι οὖν ἐς τὴν πειραῖν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀποκνεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακοσίοι, 

5 τοῦ τε Γυλίππου καὶ τοῦ Ἐρμοκράτους καὶ εἰ 

tοῦ ἀνθιόπνοντων, δομηντὸ τε ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰς ναύς ἐπλήρουν.

XXII. Ὅ δὲ Γυλίππους, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο 

tὸ ναυτικῶν, ἀγαγῶν ὑπὸ νῦκτα πᾶσαν τὴν 

στρατιὰν τὴν πεζῆν αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πλη-

μυρίῳ τείχεσι κατὰ γῆν ἐμμελεί προσβαλεῖν, αἴ 

dὲ τρίηρες τῶν Συρακοσίων ἅμα καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνθή-

ματος πέντε μὲν καὶ τριάκοντα ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου 

λιμένος ἐπέπλεον, αἴ δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα 

ἐκ τοῦ ἐλάσσονος, οὐ ἢν καὶ τὸ νεώριον αὐτοῖς,

¹ toû, after ἤκιστα in MSS., deleted by Hude with GM.
² For ἀν αὐτοῖς of the Vulgate.
not to be faint-hearted about attacking the Athenians with their ships, saying that with the Athenians also their maritime skill was not a legacy from their fathers or a possession for all time, but that on the contrary they were originally more landsmen than the Syracusans, and had only taken to the sea when forced to do so by the Persians. He added that those who with daring confront daring men like the Athenians appear most formidable to them; for that quality which enables the Athenians to terrorize their neighbours, to whom they are sometimes not superior in power, though they always attack them with confidence—this very quality the Syracusans would likewise exhibit to their opponents. And he said that he was well aware that the Syracusans, by daring unexpectedly to make a stand against the Athenian fleet, would have an advantage over them, dismayed as they would be on that account, which would more than outweigh the damage which the Athenians might inflict by their skill on the inexperience of the Syracusans. He urged them, therefore, to proceed to the trial of their fleet and not to shrink from it. So the Syracusans, under the persuasions of Gylippus, Hermocrates, and perhaps others, were eager for the sea-fight and began to man the ships.

XXII. When the fleet was ready, Gylippus led out his whole land-force under cover of night, intending in person to make an assault by land upon the forts of Plemmyrium, and at the same time, on a preconcerted signal, thirty-five Syracusan triremes sailed to the attack from the Great Harbour, while forty-five sailed round from the lesser harbour, where their ship-yard was, purposing to form a junction
περιέπλευσιν, βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐντὸς προσμεῖξαι καὶ ἅμα ἐπιπλεῖν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναῶν οἱ ἁμφοτέρων θορυβῶνταί. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι διὰ τάχους ἀνταπληρώσαντες ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ταῖς μὲν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα τῶν Συρακοσίων τὰς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ἐναυμάχουν, ταῖς δὲ ἐπιλοίποις ἄπηντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ νεωρίου περιπλεούσας. καὶ εὐθὺς πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἐναυμάχουν, καὶ ἀντείχον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ πολὺ, οἱ μὲν βιῶσασθαι βουλόμενοι τὸν ἔσπλουν, οἱ δὲ κωλύειν.

XXIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Γύλιππος, τῶν ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπικαταβάντων καὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῆς γνώμην προσεχόντων, φθάνει προσπεσῶν ἅμα τῇ ἑώς αἰφνιδίως τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ ἀιρεῖ τὸ μέγιστὸν πρῶτον, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐλάσσον δύο, οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων τῶν φυλάκων, ὡς εἴδον τὸ μέγιστον ραδίως ληφθέν.

καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρῶτου ἀλόντως χαλεπῶς οἱ ἀνθρωποι, ὅσοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ὀλκάδα τινὰ κατέφυγον, ἐξεκομίζοντο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν γὰρ Συρακοσίων ταῖς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ναυσὶ κρατοῦσιν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ὑπὸ τριήρους μᾶς καὶ εὐ πλεούσης ἐπεδίωκοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ δύο τείχισμα ἡλικετο, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐτύγχανον Ὑδη νικώμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν

3 φεύγοντες ῥαον παρέπλευσαν. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος νῆς ναυμαχοῦσαι βιασάμεναι τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς

1 kal before περιέπλευσιν, omitted with H and Valla.
with those inside the harbour and simultaneously attack Plemmyrium, so that the Athenians, thus assailed from both directions, might be thrown into confusion. But the Athenians, hastily manning sixty ships to oppose them, with twenty-five engaged the thirty-five Syracusan ships that were in the Great Harbour, and with the rest went to meet the squadron that was sailing round from the ship-yard. And so they at once engaged in battle in front of the mouth of the Great Harbour, and for a long time held out against one another, one side wishing to force the entrance, the other to prevent this.

XXIII. Meanwhile Gylippus, noticing that the Athenians on Plemmyrium had gone down to the sea and were giving their attention to the sea-fight, surprised them by making a sudden attack at daybreak upon the forts; and first he captured the largest, and afterwards the two smaller ones also, their garrisons not awaiting the attack when they saw the largest so easily taken. Of the garrison of the fort that was taken first, all that succeeded in escaping to the boats and to a certain merchant-ship were rescued and brought to camp, but it was with difficulty; for the Syracusans were at the time having the best of the fight with their ships in the Great Harbour, and a trireme, and that a fast sailer, was sent in pursuit. But when the other two forts were taken, the Syracusans, as it chanced, were by this time losing the fight, and those who fled from these forts had less difficulty in sailing past them. For the Syracusan ships that were fighting in front of the entrance, after they had forced back the Athenian ships, sailed into the harbour in disorder, and falling foul of one another made a present of
οὔδενι κόσμῳ ἐσέπλευν καὶ ταραχθεῖσαι περὶ ἀλλήλας παρέδοσαν τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ταῦτας τε γὰρ ἔτρεψαν καὶ ύφ᾽ οὐν τὸ πρῶτον ἐνικῶντο ἐν τῷ λιμένι. καὶ ἐνδεκα μὲν ναῦς τῶν Συρακοσίων κατέδυσαν καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτειναν, πλὴν ὅσον ἐκ τριῶν νεῶν, οὓς ἔξωγρησαν· τῶν δὲ σφετέρων τρεῖς νῆς διεφθάρησαν. τὰ δὲ ναυάγια ἀνελκύσαντες τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τροπαίον ἐν τῷ νησίδωρ στήσαντες τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου, ἀνεχόρησαν ἐς τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον.

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι κατὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὕτως ἐπεπράγγεσαν, τὰ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ τείχη εἶχον καὶ τροπαία ἔστησαν αὐτῶν τρία. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔτερον τοῖς δυοῖ τειχών τοῖς ὀστερον ληφθέντων κατέβαλον, τὰ δὲ δύο ἐπισκευάσαντες ἐφρούρουν. ἀνθρώποι δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς τειχῶν τῇ ἀλώσει ἀπέθανον καὶ ἔξωγρῆσαν πολλοί, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐάλω· ὡστε γὰρ ταμείῳ χρωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς τεῖχες πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα καὶ σῖτος ἐνήν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν τριηράρχων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἱστία τεσσαράκοντα τρυπῶν καὶ ταλλὰ σκεῦη ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ τρυπῆρεις ἀνελκυσμέναι τρεῖς. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἐκάκωσε τὸ στρατεύμα τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λήψις· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οὐδὲ οἱ ἐσπολοὶ ἀσφαλεῖς ἦσαν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων (οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι ναυσίν αὐτῶθι ἐφορμοῦντες ἐκώλυνον καὶ διὰ μάχης ἦδη ἐγίγνυντο.
their victory to the Athenians, who routed not only this squadron but also the ships by which they were at first being beaten inside the harbour. And they sank eleven of the Syracusan ships, slaying most of the men, except only the crews of three ships, whom they took alive; but of their own ships three were destroyed. And drawing up on shore the wrecks of the Syracusan ships and setting up a trophy on the little island that faces Plemmyrium, they withdrew to their own camp.

XXIV. The Syracusans had fared thus in the sea-fight, but they held possession of the forts on Plemmyrium and set up three trophies for these. One of the two forts last taken they demolished, but the other two they repaired and garrisoned. In the capture of the forts many men were killed or made prisoners, and much property in all was taken; for since the Athenians used the forts as a warehouse, there were in them many wares belonging to merchants as well as food, and also much property belonging to the trierarchs—in fact the sails and other tackle of forty triremes were taken there, as well as three triremes that had been drawn up on shore. But the greatest and most serious blow suffered by the Athenian army was the taking of Plemmyrium; for the work of bringing in provisions through the entrance to the harbour could no longer be carried on with safety (since the Syracusans lying in wait there with ships hindered this, and from now on the convoys could only make their

1 The trierarchs, appointed yearly from a selected list of well-to-do citizens, received from the state at the beginning of their year of service the bare ship, without rigging or equipment, which each had to provide for himself.
THUCYDIDES

ai ἑσκομιδαί), ἐσ θα τὰ ἀλλὰ κατάπληξιν παρέσχε καὶ ἀθυμίαν τῷ στρατεύματι.

XXV. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο ναῦς τε ἐκπέμπουσι δώδεκα οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Ἀγάθαρχον ἔπ' αὐτῶν Συρακόσιον ἄρχοντα. καὶ αὐτῶν μία μὲν ἐσθε Πελοπόννησον ὄχετο, πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, οἵπερ τὰ τε σφέτερα φράσουσιν ὅτι ἐν ἐλπίδι εἰσὶ καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐποτρυνοῦσι γίγνεσθαι· αἱ δὲ ἐνδεκα νῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλευσαν, πυθανόμενοι πλοῖα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις

2 γέμοντα χρημάτων προσπλεῖν. καὶ τῶν τε πλοίων ἐπιτυχοῦσα τὰ πολλὰ διέφθειραν καὶ ξύλα ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν τῇ Καυλωνιάτιδι κατέκαυσαν, ὅ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐτοίμα ἦν. ἐσ τε Δοκρούς μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον, καὶ ὄρμουσῶν αὐτῶν κατέπλευσε μία τῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοπον-

3 νῆσον ἄγουσα Θεσπιῶν ὀπλίτας· καὶ ἀνάλαβόντες αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς παρέπλεον ἐπ' οἴκουν. φυλάξαντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶ πρὸς τοῖς Μεγάροις, μίαν μὲν ναύν λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐσ τὰς Συρακούσας.

4 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν σταυρῶν ἀκροβολισμὸς ἐν τῷ λιμένι, οὕς οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸ τῶν πολιτῶν νεωσοίκων κατέπηξαν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, οὕτως αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆς ἔντος ὀρμοῖεν καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-

5 ναίοι ἐπιπλέοντες μὴ βλάπτοιεν ἐμβάλλοντες.

6 προσαγαγόντες γὰρ ναῦν μυριοφόρον αὐτοῖς ο'
entrance by fighting), and in general this event brought consternation and discouragement to the army.

XXV. After this the Syracusans sent out twelve ships under the command of Agatharchus, a Syracusan. One of these headed for the Peloponnesus, having on board some envoys who were to explain the situation in Sicily, that they were full of hope, and to urge the still more vigorous prosecution of the war on the continent of Greece. The other eleven ships sailed to Italy, since they heard that boats laden with supplies for the Athenians were approaching. And falling in with these boats, they destroyed most of them; and they also burned some timber in the territory of Caulonia, which was lying there ready for the Athenians to use in ship-building. After this they went to Locri, and while they were lying there at anchor, one of the merchant-ships that had sailed from the Peloponnesus arrived in port, bringing some Thespian hoplites. Taking these on board their ships, the Syracusans sailed along the coast toward home. But the Athenians, who were watching for them at Megara with twenty ships, captured one ship together with its crew, but they could not take the rest, which escaped to Syracuse.

Skirmishing also occurred in the harbour about the piles which the Syracusans drove down in the sea in front of their old dockyards with the object that the ships might lie moored inside the piles and the Athenians might not sail up and ram their ships. The Athenians brought up against the piles a ship

1 In Thucydides the term is used only of the part of the peninsula south of the river Laüs and Metapontum.
'Αθηναῖοι, πύργους τε ξυλίνους ἔχουσαν καὶ παραφράγματα, ἐκ τε τῶν ἁκάτων ὠνευον ἀναδούμενοι τοὺς σταυροὺς καὶ ἀνέκλων καὶ κατακολυμβῶντες ἔξεπριον. οί δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεωσοίκων ἐβαλλον· οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς ὀλκάδος ἀντέβαλλον καὶ τέλος τοὺς πολλούς τῶν σταυρῶν ἀνενόησαν τοῖς Αθηναίοι. χαλεπώτατη δ’ ἦν τῆς σταυρώσεως ή κρύφιος· ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν σταυρῶν οὐς οὐχ ὑπερέχοντας τῆς θαλάσσης κατέπηξαν, ὡστε δεινὸν ἦν προσπλεύσαι, μὴ ὑπ’ προιδῶν τις ἄσπερ περί ἔρμα περιβάλλῃ τὴν ναῦν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους κολυμβηταὶ δυνόμενοι ἔξεπριον μισθοῦ.

8 ὁμοί ὁ αὖθις οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐσταύρωσαν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷον εἰκὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγγὺς ὄντων καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἐμηχανῶντο καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς καὶ πείραις παντοίαις ἔχρωντο.

9 Ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις πρέσβεις οἱ Συρακόσιοι Κορινθίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιώτων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀγγέλλοντας τὴν τε τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λύσιν καὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας πέρι ὡς οὔ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἵσχυς μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ταραχῇ ἤσσεθείν, τά τε ἄλλα δηλώσοντας ὅτι ἐν ἐλπίσιν εἰσί καὶ ἀξιώσοντας ξυμβοληθεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτούς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ, ὡς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσδοκίμων ὄντων ἄλλη στρατιὰ καὶ, ἤν φθινόσωιν αὐτοὶ πρότερον διαφθείραντες τὸ

1 About 250 tons.
of ten thousand talents burden on whose deck were wooden towers and bulwarks; then from small boats they attached ropes to the piles and pulled them up with windlasses or broke them off, or else they dived down and sawed them off. Meanwhile the Syracusans kept hurling missiles at them from the dockyards, and they returned the fire from the merchant-ship; and finally the Athenians destroyed most of the piles. But the most troublesome part of the stockade was that which was out of sight; for there were some of the piles which they had driven down so that they did not project above the surface of the water, and consequently it was dangerous to approach the stockade, for any one if he did not look out might impale his ship as on a sunken rock. But these also were disposed of by divers, who dived down and sawed them off for pay. But nevertheless the Syracusans drove their piles down again. And they contrived many other devices against one another, as might be expected when the two armies were in hostile array so near to each other; and they resorted to skirmishing and to stratagems of every sort.

The Syracusans also sent to the Sicilian cities Corinthian, Ambraciot and Lacedaemonian envoys, to report the capture of Plemmyrium and to explain in regard to the sea-fight that they had been defeated, not so much by the strength of the enemy, as by their own confusion; and in general they were to declare that they were full of hope and to beg the cities to give them aid against the enemy with both ships and land-forces, seeing that the Athenians on their part were expecting another army, and, if the Syracusans could forestall them by de-
παρόν στράτευμα αὐτῶν, διαπεπολεμησόμενον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ταῦτα ἐπρασσόν.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ ξυνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὃ ἔδει ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν βοηθεῖν, ἀρας ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πλεύσας πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ τε Χαρίκλεϊ καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντας ναυσὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔμμισχε, καὶ παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀργείων ὀπλῖτας ἐπὶ τὰς 2 ναῦς ἐπλεοῦν ἐς τὴν Δακονικήν καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου τι τῆς Διμηρᾶς ἐδήμωσαν, ἐπειτα σχόντες ἐς τὰ καταντικρίου Κυθήρων τῆς Δακωνίκης, ἐνθα τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστὶ, τῆς τε γῆς ἐστὶν ἀ ἐδήμωσαν καὶ ἐτείχισαν ἵσθημιδές τι χωρίον, ὡν δὴ οἱ τε Εἰλωτές τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸσε αὐτομολῶσι καὶ ἀμα λησταί εξ αὐτοῦ, ὀσπερ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου, ἀρπαγην ποιῶνται. 3 καὶ οἱ μὲν Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ξυγκατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον παρέπλει ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας, ὅπως καὶ τῶν ἔκειθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβὼν τῶν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν πλοῦν ὅτι τάχιστα ποιήται ο ὁ δὲ Χαρικλῆς περιμείνας ἐως τὸ χωρίον ἐξετείχισε καὶ καταληπτῶν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπεκομίζετο καὶ αὐτὸς ὡστερον ταῖς τριάκοντας ναυσὶν ἐπὶ οἴκου καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀμα.

XXVII. Ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ὁρκῶν τῶν μαχαιροφόρων τοῦ Διακοῦ ἄγενως ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναῖας πελτασταὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ τριακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, ὡς ἔδει τῷ Δημοσθένει ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ξυμπλεῖν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ὡστερον ἦκον, διενοῦντο αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὅθεν ἥλθον ἐς Ὁρκήν ἀποπείμπειν. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς
stroying the present army before the new one came, the war would be at an end. The forces in Sicily were thus occupied.

XXVI. But as for Demosthenes, when the army was collected with which he was to bring aid to Sicily, he set out from Aegina, and sailing to the Peloponnesus effected a junction with Charicles and the Athenian fleet of thirty ships. Then taking on board some Argive hoplites, they sailed against Laconia, ravaging first a part of Epidaurus Limera; then landing on the coast of Laconia opposite Cythera, where the sanctuary of Apollo is, they ravaged portions of the land and fortified a place shaped like an isthmus, in order that the Helots of the Lacedaemonians might desert thither and that at the same time marauders might make it, as they had made Pylos, a base for their operations. Immediately afterwards, when he had taken part in occupying this place, Demosthenes sailed on toward Corecyra, in order that he might first take aboard some allied troops there, and then make the voyage to Sicily as quickly as possible. As for Charicles, he waited until he had completed the fortification of the place, and then, leaving a garrison there, sailed back home with his thirty ships, as did the Argives also at the same time.

XXVII. During this same summer there arrived at Athens thirteen hundred peltasts of the dirk-bearing Thracians of the tribe of Dii, who were to have sailed to Sicily with Demosthenes. But since they came too late, the Athenians were disposed to send them back to Thrace whence they had come. To keep them for the war that was being carried on

1 Resuming the narrative at ch. xx. 3.
Δεκελείας πόλεμον αὐτοὺς πολυτελές ἐφάυστο· δραχμὴν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκατόσ τοῦ ἐλάμβανεν. 3 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ Δεκέλεια τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς στρατιάς ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ τειχισθείσα, ὑστε- 4 ρον δὲ φρουράς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου ἐπιούσαις τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιφέκετο, πολλὰ ἐβλάπτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον χρημάτων τῷ ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ἀνθρώποις φθορὰ ἐκάκωσε τὰ πράγματα. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ βρα- χεῖαι γιγνόμεναι αἱ ἐσβολαί τῶν ἀλλὸν χρόνον τῆς γῆς ἀπολαῦει, οὐκ ἐκώλυνον· τότε δὲ ἐξενεχῶς ἐπικαθημένου, καὶ οτὲ μὲν καὶ πλεύσων ἐπιώντων, ὁτὲ δὲ ἀνάγκης τῆς ὦς φρουρᾶς καταθεούσης τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ληστεῖαι ποιουμένης, βασιλέως τε παρόντος τοῦ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων Ἀγίδος, ὃς οὐκ ἐκ παρέργου τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο, μεγάλα 5 οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐβλάπτοντο. τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἀπάσης ἐστέρηκο καὶ ἀνδραπόδων πλέον ἢ δύο μυριάδες ἡντομολόξεσαν, καὶ τούτων πολὺ μέρος χειροτέχναι, πρόβατα τε πάντα ἀπολώλει καὶ ὑποξύγια· ἴππου τε, ὅσημεραι εξελαυνόντων 6 τῶν ἱππέων, πρὸς τε τὴν Δεκέλειαν καταδρομᾶς ποιομένων καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλασσόντων, οἱ μὲν ἀπεχωλούντο ἐν γῇ ἀποκρότῳ τε καὶ ἐυνεχῶς 7 ταλαιπωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐτιτρώσκοντο.

XXVIII. Ἡ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρακομίδὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὔβοιας, πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ Ὡρωποῦ κατὰ γῆν
from Deceleia seemed too expensive, since each received as pay a drachma a day. It should be explained regarding Deceleia that, from the time when it was first fortified during this summer by the entire army and was then regularly occupied for the annoyance of the country by garrisons furnished by the several allied states and succeeding each other at fixed intervals of time, its occupation did much harm to the Athenians, and by destruction of property and wastage of men was one of the chief causes that brought ruin to their cause. For before this summer the enemy's invasions, being of short duration, did not prevent the Athenians from making full use of the land during the rest of the year; but at this time, the occupation being continuous, the enemy sometimes invading the country with a larger force and at others the regular garrison overrunning the country, as it was compelled to do, and carrying off booty, while Agis, the king of the Lacedaemonians, who was present in person, carried on the war in no desultory fashion, the Athenians were suffering great damage. For they were deprived of their whole territory, more than twenty thousand slaves had already deserted, a large proportion of these being artisans, and all their small cattle and beasts of burden were lost; and now that the cavalry were sallying forth every day, making demonstrations against Deceleia and keeping guard throughout the country, some horses were constantly going lame because of the rocky ground and the incessant hardships they had to endure, and some were continually being wounded.

XXVIII. There was this further disadvantage: the bringing in of provisions from Euboea, which had
διὰ τῆς Δεκελείας θάσσων οὕσα, περὶ Σούνιον κατὰ θάλασσαν πολυτελῆς ἐγίγνετο· τῶν δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπακτῶν ἐδείτο ἡ πόλις, καὶ ἀντὶ 2 τοῦ πόλεως εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη. πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἐπάλξει τὴν μὲν ἥμεραν κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλάσσοντες, τὴν δὲ νύκτα καὶ ξύμπαντες πλὴν τῶν ἵππων, οἱ μὲν ἐφ ὀπλοῖς ποιοῦμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἔπὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ θέρους 3 καὶ χειμῶνος ἔταλαπτοροῦντο. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίεζεν ὅτι δύο πολέμους ἀμα εἶχον, καὶ ἐς φιλονικίαν καθέστασαν τοιαύτην ἴτι πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡπίστησιν ἁν τις ἀκούσας, τὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ πολιορκουμένους ἐπιτείχισμοῦ ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων μηδ' ὅσ' ἀποστίχαι ἐκ Σικελίας, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖ Συρακούσας τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀντιπολιορκεῖν, πόλιν οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω αὐτῆν γε καθ' αὐτὴν τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸν παράλογον τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἐλλησι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τόλμης, ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἰ μὲν ἐναυτῶν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλεῖον χρόνων ἐνόμιζον περιοίσθεν αὐτοῦς, εἶ οἱ Πελοποννησίοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἐς τήν χώραν, ὡστε ἔτει ἐβδόμοις καὶ δεκάτω μετὰ τὴν πρότην ἐσβολὴν ἤλθον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἥδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ πάντα τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω προσανελόντο τοῦ πρότερου ὑπάρχοντος ἐκ Πελοποννησίου.
formerly been managed more expeditiously by way of Oropus overland through Deceleia, now became expensive, the route being by sea round Sunium. Everything alike which the city needed had to be imported, and Athens ceased to be a city and became a garrisoned fortress. For the Athenians had to keep guard at the battlements, during the day by relays, but at night everybody except the cavalry, some doing duty at the watch-posts, others upon the wall, both summer and winter, and so suffered great hardships. But what weighed most heavily upon them was that they had two wars on their hands at the same time; and yet they had been brought to such a pitch of determination as no one would have credited before it happened, if he had heard of it. That they, who were themselves being besieged by the Peloponnesians by means of a fortress in their country, should not even thus abandon Sicily, but should in turn be there besieging Syracuse in the same manner, a city which taken by itself is not smaller than the city of Athens; and that they should have caused the Hellenic world to make so amazing a miscalculation of their power and daring—inasmuch as at the beginning of the war some thought that they could hold out one year, others two years, others longer but never more than three years, if the Peloponnesians should invade their country—that in the seventeenth year after the first invasion of Attica they should have gone to Sicily, when already war-worn in all respects, and should have undertaken another war no whit less serious than that which was already being waged with the Peloponnesus—this, I say, was incredible. For all these reasons, and because at that time
4 δι' α καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τε τῆς Δεκελείας πολλὰ βλαπτοῦσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων μεγά- λων προσπιπτόντων ἁδύνατοι ἐγένοντο τοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρου τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐποίησαν, πλείω νομίζοντες ἂν σφίσι χρήματα οὕτω προσιέναι· αἱ μὲν γὰρ δαπάναι ὑμῖν ἀμοίβας καὶ πρίν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μείζονες καθέστασιν, ὅσοι καὶ μείζον ὁ πόλεμος ἦν, αἱ δὲ πρόσοδοι ἀπώλεσαν.

XXIX. Τοὺς οὖν Ὀράκας τοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ύστερήσαντας, διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν τῶν χρημάτων οὐ βουλόμενοι δαπανᾶν, εὐθὺς ἀπ- ἐπεμποὺ, προστάξαντες κομίσαι αὐτοὺς Διειστρέφει καὶ εἰπόντες ἄμα ἐν τῷ παράπλω (ἐπορεύοντο γὰρ δι’ Εὐρίπου) καὶ τοὺς πολέμους, ἦν τι δύνηται, ἂτ’ αὐτῶν βλάψαι. ὁ δὲ ἐς τῷ Θανάγραιαν ἀπεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρταγόραν τινα ἐποίησατο διὰ τάχους, καὶ ἐκ Χαλκίδος τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀφ’ ἐστέρας διέπλευσε τὸν Εὐρυποὺ καὶ ἀποβιβάσας ἐσ τῇ Βοιωτίαν ἤγεν αὐτοὺς

3 ἐπὶ Μυκαλησσόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα λαθῶν πρὸς τῷ Ἐρμαῖῳ ἥλιξετο (ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Μυκα- λησσοῦ ἕκκαλεκα μάλιστα σταδίους), ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἤμερᾳ τῇ πόλει προσεκτῶ ὡσὶ οὐ μεγάλη, καὶ αἱ ἐφιλάκτοις τε ἐπιπεσόν καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτους μὴ ἢν ποτὲ τινα σφίσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τοσοῦτον ἐπαναβάντα ἐπιθέσθαι, τοῦ τείχος ἀσθενῶς δέντο καὶ ἐστὶν ἢ καὶ πεπτωκότος, τοῦ δὲ βρα- χέος ὑκοδομημένου, καὶ πυλῶν ἀμα διὰ τὴν

1 cf. xxvii. 1.
Deceleia was doing them much injury and the general expenses which were accruing were very great, they became crippled in the matter of money; and it was at this time that they imposed upon their subjects, instead of a tribute, a duty of five per cent. on all commodities imported or exported by sea, thinking that in this way they should derive more revenue. For their expenses were not on the same scale as before, but had become far heavier, in proportion as the war had become greater, and their revenues were steadily failing.

XXIX. As for the Thracians,1 then, who had come too late for Demosthenes, the Athenians immediately sent them back, being unwilling on account of the present shortage of money to incur expense; and they commissioned Dieitrephees to conduct them, giving him instructions to use them, as he sailed along the coast (for they would go by way of the Euripus), in doing whatever damage he could to the enemy. So he disembarked them in the territory of Tanagra and made a hasty raid; then he sailed immediately after nightfall from Chalcis in Euboea across the Euripus and landing the Thracians in Boeotian territory led them against Mycalessus. During the night he bivouacked unobserved near the sanctuary of Hermes, about sixteen stadia distant from Mycalessus, but at daybreak assaulted the town, which was not large, and took it; for he fell upon the people off their guard and not expecting that anybody would ever march so far inland from the sea and attack them; furthermore, their wall was weak, and at some points had even fallen down, while elsewhere it had been built low, and at the same time the gates were open because of their
4 ἀδειαν ἀνεφημένων. ἐσπεσόντες δὲ ὁ Θράκης ἐς τὴν Μυκαλησῶν τὰς τε οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπόρθουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφόνευν ἰείδομένοι οὕτε πρεσβυτέρας οὕτε νεωτέρας ἥλικιας, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἔξις, ὅτω ἐντύχοιεν, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑποξυγία καὶ ὅσα ἀλλὰ ἐμψυκτὰ ἦδοιεν. τὸ γὰρ γένος τὸ τῶν Ἰουρίπων ὁμοία τῶς μάλιστα τῶν Βαρβαρίκων, ἐν ὃ ἦν θρασύς, φοινικώτατον ἐστὶν.

5 καὶ τότε ἄλλη τε ταραχὴ οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ ἱδέα πᾶσα καθεστήκει ολέθρου, καὶ ἐπιτεσόντες διδασκαλεῖ τοὺς παῖδος, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἢν αὐτόθι καὶ ἀρτι ἔτυχον οἱ παῖδες ἐσεληνύσαντες, κατέκοψαν πάντας καὶ ξυμφορὰ τῇ πόλει πάση οὐδεμιάς ἦσσων μᾶλλον ἔτερας ἀδόκητος τε ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῆ καὶ δεινῆ.

XXX. Οἱ δὲ Ἰουρίπην ἀνσώμενοι ἐβοῆθουν, καὶ καταλαβόντες προκεχωρηκότας ἡδὴ τοὺς Θράκας οὐ πολύ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφεῖλοντο καὶ αὐτοὺς φοβήσαντες καταδιώκουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν Εὐριπον, ὃν ἀντίοις τὰ πλοῖα ἐγαγεν ὀρμεῖ. καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσβάσει τοὺς πλείστους, οὕτε ἐπισταμένους νεῖν, τῶν τε ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις, ὣς ἔφορον τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὀρμισάντων ἔξω τοξεύματος τὰ πλοῖα· ἐπεὶ ἐν γέ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀναχωρήσει οὐκ ἀτόπως οἱ Θράκης πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἰουρίπην ἰππικόν, ὅπερ πρῶτον προσέκειτο, προεκθεόντες τε καὶ ξυστρέφομενοι ἐν ἐπιχωρίῳ τάξει τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἰλίγοι αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ διεθάρησαν. μέρος δὲ τε καὶ ἐν τῇ

1 καὶ τὴν ἡλάσσαν after Εὐριπον in the MSS., deleted by Badham; Stahl deletes τὸν Εὐριπον καὶ.
feeling of security. So the Thracians burst into Mycalessus and fell to plundering the houses and the temples and butchering the people, sparing neither old nor young, but killing all whom they met just as they came, even children and women, aye, pack-animals also and whatever other living things they saw. For the Thracian race, like the worst barbarians, is most bloodthirsty whenever it has nothing to fear. And so on this occasion: in addition to the general confusion, which was great, every form of destruction ensued, and in particular they fell upon a boys' school, the largest in the town, which the children had just entered, and cut down all of them. And this was a calamity inferior to none that had ever fallen upon a whole city, and beyond any other unexpected and terrible.

XXX. When the Thebans heard of this event they hastened to the rescue, and overtaking the Thracians before they had advanced far they took away their booty and putting them to flight pursued them to the Euripus, where the boats which had brought them lay at anchor. And most of those who fell were slain by the Thebans during the embarkation, for they could not swim, and the crews of the boats, when they saw what was happening on shore, anchored the boats beyond bowshot; for elsewhere as they were retreating¹ the Thracians made their defence against the Theban cavalry, which was the first to attack them, not unskilfully, dashing out against them and closing up their ranks again after the manner of fighting peculiar to their country, and in this few of them perished. And a certain number

¹ Thucydides explains why their chief loss was "during the embarkation."


THUCYDIDES

πόλει αὐτῆς δὲ ἀρταγόνη ἐγκαταληφθεῖν ἀπόλετο. οἱ δὲ ξύμπαντες τῶν Ὑμακῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ τριακοσίων καὶ χίλιων ἀπέθανον.

3 διέθειραν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ὡμβαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ Ξυμπάνθησαν ἐς εὐκοσί μάλιστα ἱππεῖς τε καὶ ὀπλίται ὁμοὶ καὶ Ὡμβαίων τῶν Βοιωταρχῶν Σκιρφώνδαν τῶν δὲ Μυκαλησίων μέρος τι

4 ἀπαινηλώθη. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Μυκαλησίαν πάθει χρησαμένην ὀδενός ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤσον ὀλοφυρασθαί ἄξιον τοιαύτα ἐξενέβη.

XXXI. Ὅ δὲ Δημοσθένης τότε ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Δακωνικῆς τεῖχισιν, ὁλκάδα ὀρμοῦσαν ἐν Φειά τῇ Ἡλείων, ἐν γὰρ Κορίνθιοι ὀπλίται ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐμελλον περαιοῦσθαι, αὐτὴν μὲν διαφθείρει, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ἀποφυγόντες ὑστερον λαβόντες ἄλλην

2 ἔπλεον. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἄφικομενος ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Ζάκυνθον καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν ὀπλίτας τε παρέλαβε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ναυτάκτου τῶν Μεσσηνίων μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἦπειρον τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας διέβη, ἐς Ἀλυσίαν

3 τε καὶ Ἀνακτόριον, ὁ αὐτὸι εἰχον. ὅντι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ ταύτα ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ἀπαυτὰ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ἀποπλέων, ὃς τότε τοῦ χειμῶνος τὰ χρήματα ἄγων τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀπεπέμψθη, καὶ ἀγγέλλει τὰ τε ἅλλα καὶ ὅτι πύθοιτο κατὰ πλοῦν ἦδη ὅν τὸ Πλημμύριον ὑπὸ τῶν Συρα-

1 cf. ch. xxvi. 3.  
2 The port of Olympia.  
3 cf. ch. xvii. 3; xix. 4.
also were slain in the town itself, being caught there while engaged in plundering. All together there were slain of the Thracians two hundred and fifty out of thirteen hundred. Of the Thebans and the others who took part in the rescue, in all about twenty horsemen and hoplites perished, and among them Scirphondas, one of the Theban Boeotarchs; and of the population of Mycalessus a considerable portion lost their lives. Such was the fate of Mycalessus, which suffered a calamity that, for the size of the city, was not less deplorable than any of the events of this war.

XXXI. At this time Demosthenes had finished building the fort in Laconia and was on his way to Corcyra;¹ at Pheia² in Elis he found lying at anchor a merchant-ship in which the Corinthian hoplites³ were about to be carried across to Sicily, and destroyed it; but the crew and the hoplites, having escaped, afterwards found another vessel, and continued their voyage. After this Demosthenes arrived at Zacynthus and Cephallenia, where he took on board some hoplites and sent to the Messenians of Naupactus for others; he then crossed over to the opposite mainland of Arcania,⁴ to the ports of Alyzeia and Anactorium, which the Athenians held. While he was attending to these matters, he was met by Eurymedon, who was returning from Sicily, whither he had been sent during the preceding winter⁵ with the money for the army; and he reported, among other things, that when he was already on his return voyage he had heard of the capture of Plemmyrium by the

¹ The scene of his campaign in the summer of 426 B.C. (iii. 94 ff.).
² cf. ch. xvi. 2.
κοσίων ἐαλωκός. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ καὶ Κόνων
παρ’ αὐτούς, ὃς ἦρξε Ναυπάκτου, ἀγγέλλων
ὅτι αἱ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι νῆς τῶν Κορυνθίων αἱ
σφίσιν ἀνθομοῦσαι οὐτε καταλύουσι τὸν πόλε-
μον¹ ναυμαχεῖν τε μέλλουσιν πέμπτειν ὅν ἐκε-
λευν αὐτοὺς ναῦς, ὡς ὅν ἴκανες οὕςας δυοῖν
dεοῦσας εἰκοσὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἑκεῖνων πέντε
καὶ εἰκοσὶ ναυμαχεῖν. τῷ μὲν οὖν Κόνωνι
dέκα ναῦς ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων τὰς
ἀριστα σφίσι πλεῦσας ἀφ’ ὃν αὐτὸι εἶχον²
ξυμπέμπουσι πρὸς τὰς εἰς τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ αὐτοῖι
dὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς στρατιάς τοῦ ἔλλογον ἡτοιμα-
ζουστο Εὐρυμέδων μὲν ἔς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσας
καὶ πεντεκαίδεκά τε ναῦς πληροῦν κελεύσας
ἀυτοὺς καὶ ὀπλάτας καταλεγόμενοι (ξυνήρχε
γὰρ ἡ ἰσ. Δημοσθένει ἀποτραπόμενος, ὅσπερ καὶ
ἡρήθη), Δημοσθένης δ’ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρ-
ναίαν χωρίων σφενδονήτας τε καὶ ἄκοντιστάς
ξυναγείρων.

XXXII. Οι δ’ ἐκ τῶν Συρακοσίων τότε μετὰ
tὴν τοῦ Πλημμυρίου ἀλωνιν πρέσβεις οἰχόμενοι
ἔς τὰς πόλεις, ἑπειδὴ ἐπεισᾶν τε καὶ ξυναγεί-
ραντες ἔμελλον ἀξειν τῶν στρατίων, ὁ Νικίας
προπυθόμενος πέμπτει ἔς τῶν Σικέλων τοὺς τὴν
dιόδον ἑξοντας καὶ ξυμμᾶχους, Κεντόριπάς τε
καὶ Ἀλκιναίους καὶ ἄλλους, ὅπως μη διαφρή-

¹ τῶν πόλεμον deleted by Hude, following Madvig.
² ἀφ’ ὃν αὐτοὶ εἶχον deleted by Hude.

¹ Prominent toward the end of the Peloponnesian War and,
later, restorer of the walls of Athens.
² cf. ch. xvii. 4; xix. 5. ³ cf. ch. xxv. 9.

58
Syracusans. These two were joined by Conon, who was in command at Naupactus and brought word that the twenty-five Corinthian ships which were lying at anchor opposite them did not abandon their hostile attitude, but were intending to fight. He therefore begged them to send him some ships, on the ground that his own eighteen ships were too few to contend against the twenty-five of the enemy. Accordingly Demosthenes and Eurymedon sent with Conon ten ships, the best sailers of all their fleet, to reinforce the ships at Naupactus. They then directed their own attention to the preparations for collecting troops for the expedition, Eurymedon sailing to Corcyra, where he made levies of hoplites and directed the Coreycraeans to man fifteen ships—he was now exercising the joint command with Demosthenes, to which he had been elected, and turned his face again toward Sicily—while Demosthenes gathered slingers and javelin-men from the region of Acarnania.

XXXII. Meanwhile the envoys, who after the capture of Plemmyrium had gone from Syracuse to visit the cities of Sicily, had succeeded in their mission, and having raised a body of troops were about to bring them home, when, Nicias, hearing of this in time, sent word to the Sicels who were allies of the Athenians and controlled the territory through which the troops would have to pass—and these were the Centoripes, Alycyaeeans and others—that

4 Sicels, aboriginal inhabitants of Sicily; Siceliots, Hellenic colonists of Sicily.
5 Centoripa was situated on the Symaethus above Catana and about twenty-five miles south-west of Aetna. It is not certain what the region is unknown.
σουσι τοὺς πολέμιους, ἀλλὰ ξυστραφέντες κωλύ-
σουσι διελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὅπερ πειράσειν·
'Ακραγαντῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν
2 ὁδὸν. πορευομένων δὲ ἡ ἡδή τῶν Σικελιωτῶν οἱ
Σικελοὶ, καθάπερ ἐδέοντο οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ἐνέδραν
tινὰ ποιησάμενοι ἀυφάκτοις τε καὶ ἕξαιφνης
ἐπιγενόμενοι διέφθειραν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους μάλιστα
καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις πλὴν ἔνος τοῦ Κορινθίου
πάντας· οὕτως δὲ τοὺς διαφυγόντας, ἐς τεν-
τακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἐκόμισεν ἐς τὰς Συρα-
κούσιας.

XXXIII. Καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ
Καμαριναῖοι ἀφικνοῦνται αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦντες, πεν-
tακόσιοι μὲν ὀπλίται, τριακόσιοι δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ
cαὶ τοξόται τριακόσιοι. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ οἱ
Γελώνες ναυτικὸν τε, ἐς πέντε ναῦς, καὶ ἀκον-
tιστάς τετρακοσίους καὶ ἵππεας διακόσιος.

2 σχεδὸν γὰρ τὶ ἡ ἡδὴ πᾶσα ἡ Σικελία, πλὴν
'Ακραγαντῖνων, οὕτως δὲ οὐδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων ἦσαν,
oi δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μετὰ τῶν
Συρακοσίων οἱ πρῶτοι περιορώμενοι ἔτοιμοι
ἐβοήθησαν.

3 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακοσίοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐν τοῖς
Σικελοῖς πάθος ἐγένετο, ἐπέσχον τὸ εὐθέως τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ
Εὐρυμέδων, ἐτοίμησεν ἡ ὅπις στρατιάς οὕσης ἐκ
τε τῆς Κερκύρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου, ἐπεραιώ-
θησαν ἐμπύαση τῇ στρατίᾳ τῶν Ἰόνιων ἐπ'

4 ἀκραν Ἰατυγίαν· καὶ ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοθεν κατ-
ισχοῦσιν ἐς τὰς Χοιράδας νῆσους Ἰατυγίας, καὶ
they should not allow the enemy to pass, but should get together and prevent their coming through; they would not, he said, attempt it by any other route, since the Agrigentines had refused to give them passage through their territory. And when the Siceliots were already on the march, the Sicels did as the Athenians requested, and setting an ambush and falling suddenly upon the Siceliots while they were off their guard, destroyed about eight hundred of them and all the envoys except one, the Corinthian; and he conducted those who made their escape, about fifteen hundred in number, to Syracuse.

XXXIII. About the same time the Camarinaeans\(^1\) also arrived with reinforcements, consisting of five hundred hoplites, three hundred javelin-men, and three hundred bowmen. The Geloans\(^2\) also sent a squadron of five ships and four hundred javelin-men and two hundred cavalry. For already almost the whole of Sicily—except the Agrigentines, who were neutral, but the rest without exception who had before been watching the course of events—had united with the Syracusans and was giving them aid against the Athenians.

As for the Syracusans, after the disaster that happened to them in the country of the Sicels they put off their project of attacking the Athenians immediately; but Demosthenes and Eurymedon, the army being now ready which they had gathered from Corcyra and the mainland, sailed with all their forces across the Ionian Sea to the Iapygian promontory. Proceeding from there, they touched at the Choerades, which are islands of Iapygia, and took

\(^1\) cf. vi. lxxxviii. 1, 2.  \(^2\) cf. vi. lxvii. 2; vii. i. 4.
THUCYDIDES

ἀκοντιστάς τέ τινας τῶν Ἰαπύγων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν τοῦ Μεσσαπίου ἔθνους ἀναβιβάζονται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τῷ "Ἀρτα, ὁσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς δυνάστης ὃν παρέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἀνανεωσάμενοι τινα παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἀφικνοῦν·

5 ταῖ Ἔμεταπόντιον τῆς Ἰταλίας. καὶ τοὺς Μεταποντίους πείσαντες κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν ἀκοντιστάς τε ἕλθεῖσθε πριν ἔρχεσθε δύο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ταῦτα παρέπλευσαν ἐς Ὀουρίαν. καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι νεώστη σταύσει τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐναντίον ἑκατοντακότας·

6 καὶ βουλόμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτόθι πάσαν ἀθροίσαντες εἰ τὸς ὑπελέειπτο ἑξετάσαι καὶ τοὺς Ὀουρίους πείσας σφίζει ξυστρατεύει τῶν προβιμότατα καὶ, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τούτῳ τύχης εἰσὶ, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχθροὺς καὶ φίλους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νομίζειν, περιέμενον ἐν τῇ Ὀουρίᾳ καὶ ἔπρασσον ταῦτα.

XXXIV. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνον τούτον οἱ ἐν ταῖς πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσι πανσίν, ἀπερ τῶν ὀλκάδων ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν κομίδῆς ἀνθώρμουν πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς, παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία καὶ προσπληρώσαντες ἐτὶ ναῦς, ὡστε ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσοντες εἰμαι αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν, ὀρμοῦνται κατὰ Ἐρυμένον τῆς Ἀχαῖας ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῇ.

2 καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ χωρίου μηνοειδὸς ὄντος ἐφ' ὄρμουν, ὃ μὲν πεζὸς ἐκατέρωθεν προσβεβοηθή-
on board their ships some Iapygian javelin-men, one hundred and fifty in number, belonging to the Messapian tribe; and after they had renewed an old alliance of friendship with Artas, who being a chieftain there had furnished them with the javelin-men, they arrived at Metapontum in Italy. There they persuaded the Metapontines to send with them, in accordance with the terms of their alliance, three hundred javelin-men and two triremes, and taking up these they sailed along the coast to Thuria.\(^1\) At Thuria they found that the faction opposed to the Athenians had recently been expelled in a revolution; and as they were desirous, after collecting their whole armament at that place, to hold a review of it, on the chance that anyone had been left behind, and also to persuade the Thurians both to take part with them in the expedition with all zeal and, in view of the Athenians’ present good fortune, to regard the same persons foes and friends as the Athenians did, they waited at Thuria and dealt with these matters.

XXXIV. About this same time the Peloponnesians in the twenty-five ships which lay facing the Athenian fleet at Naupactus in order to cover the passage of the merchant-ships to Sicily, having made preparations for a fight and having manned some additional ships, so that theirs were now but a little fewer than the Athenian ships, anchored off Erineus\(^2\) in Achaea in the district of Rhypae. The place where they were anchored was crescent-shaped, and the land army, consisting of the

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\(^1\) The city, not the country. Steph. Byz. says that the name of the city was written Θουρία and Θουριον as well as Θουριος.

\(^2\) A small place east of Rhium.
κότες τῶν τε Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνεχούσαις ἀκραίς παρετέκτο, αἰ δὲ νῆς τὸ μεταξὺ εἰχον ἐμφάρξασαι ἤρχε 3 ἐν τούτοις Πολυάνθης Κορίνθιος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τρισίν (ἤρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Δίφιλος) ἐπέπλευσαν αὑτοῖς. καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠσύχαζον, ἐπειτα ἀρθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ σημείου, ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὀρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐνανμάχουν. καὶ χρόνων ἀντείχον πολὺν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τῶν μὲν Κορινθίων τρεῖς νῆς διαφθείρονται, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων κατέδυ μὲν οὐδεμία ἄπλως, ἐπτὰ δὲ τινας ἄπλωι έγένοντο, ἀντιπροφορο ἐμβαλλόμεναι καὶ ἀναρραγεῖσαι τὰς παρεξερεσίας ὑπὸ τῶν Κορινθίων νεῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τούτῳ παχυτέρας τὰς ἐπωτίδας 5 ἐχοσὸν. ναυμαχάσαντες δὲ αὐτοπαλα μὲν καὶ ως αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρους ἁξιοῦν νικᾶν, ὡμοὶς δὲ τῶν ναυαγίων κρατησάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ ἀνέμου ἀπωσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν Κορινθίων οὐκέτι ἑπαναγωγήν, διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ διώξεις οὐδεμία ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἄνδρες οὐδετέρων ἐάλωσαν οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ναυμαχώντες ἡδύως 1 διεσώζοντο, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οὐδεμία κατέδυ ναῦς. ἀποπλευσάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ναυπάκτον οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθὺς τροπαίον ἐστησαν ὡς νικῶντες, ὅτι 7

1 ἡδύως with Vat. Hude reads καὶ διεσώζοντο with most MSS.
Corinthians and the allies from the neighbourhood, having come to their support, was drawn up on either side of them on the projecting headlands, while the ships held the intervening space blocking the entrance; and the commander of the fleet was Polyanthes, a Corinthian. Against these the Athenians sailed out from Naupactus with thirty-three ships under the command of Diphilus.\(^1\) At first the Corinthians kept quiet; then the signal was raised, when the moment seemed favourable, and advancing against the Athenians they engaged them. And for a long time they withstood one another. Three ships of the Corinthians were destroyed; of the Athenian ships, none was sunk outright, but some seven were rendered unseaworthy, being struck full in front and having their foreships stove in by the Corinthian galleys, which had their catheads\(^2\) thicker for this very purpose. The fight was undecided, so that either side claimed the victory—although the Athenians got possession of the wrecks because the wind drove these out to sea and the Corinthians no longer advanced against them—and they drew apart from one another. And no pursuit was made, nor were prisoners taken on either side; for the Corinthians and Peloponnesians were fighting near the shore and thus easily saved themselves, and on the side of the Athenians no ship was sunk. But when the Athenians had sailed back to Naupactus, the Corinthians at once set up a trophy in token of victory, because a larger number of the

\(^1\) He seems to have brought a reinforcement of fifteen ships and to have superseded Conon (cf. ch. xxxi. 4).

\(^2\) Beams projecting on either side of the beak and serving to strengthen it. The anchors hung from them.
πλείους τῶν ἐναντίων ναὸς ἀπλουσ ἐποίησαν καὶ νομίσαντες δὶ αὐτὸ οὐχ ἤσσασθαί δι᾽ ὅπερ οὐδ’ οἱ ἔτεροι νικᾶν ὕπ’ ὅτε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι ἤγησαντο κρατεῖν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ ἔκρατοῦντο, οἱ τ’ Ἀθηναίοι ἐνόμιζον ἦσσασθαι, εἰ μὴ πολὺ ἐνίκων.

ἀποπλευσάντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ διαλυθέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἔστησαν τροπαίον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ ὡς νικήσαντες, ἀπέχον τοῦ Ἐρυνεοῦ, ἐν δὲ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀρμοῦν ὡς εἰκοσιστάδιοι. καὶ ἡ μὲν ναυμαχία οὕτως ἐτελεύτα.

XXXV. Ὡ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυμέδων, ἐπειδὴ ἤυποτρατεύειν αὐτοῖς οἱ Θουριοὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν ἐπτακοσίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις, τριακοσίοις δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς, τὰς μὲν ναῖς παραπλείων ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ τῆς Κροτωνίατος, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν πεζὸν πάντα ἐξαιτάσαντες πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῷ Συβάρει ποταμῷ ἤγον διὰ τῆς Θουριάδος γῆς· καὶ ὥς ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰλίῳ ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κροτωνιαταὶ προσπέμψαντες ἐνποὺς οὐκ ἄν σφίσει βουλομένοις εἶναι διὰ τῆς γῆς σφῶν τὸν στρατὸν ἴναι, ἐπικαταβάντες ἤλυσαν πρὸς τὴν ἡλάσασαν καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰλίου· καὶ οἱ νῆς αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπήντων. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναβιβασάμενοι παρέπλευον, ῥήχοντες πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσι πλην Λοκρῶν, ἔως ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς Ρηγίνης.

XXXVI. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ πυθανόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλον αὖθις ταῖς ναυσὶ ἀποπειρᾶσαι ἐβούλοντο καὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πεζοῦ, ἡμυπερ ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τούτο, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν

1 cf. ch. xxxiii. 6.
enemy's ships had been disabled by them, and they considered that they had not been beaten for the very reason that made the other side consider themselves not victorious. For the Corinthians regarded themselves as conquerors if they were not decisively beaten, and the Athenians considered themselves defeated if they were not decisively victorious. When, however, the Peloponnesians had sailed away and their army on land had dispersed, the Athenians also set up a trophy in token of victory, in Achaea at a distance of about twenty stadia from Erineus, where the Corinthians were formerly stationed. And so the sea-fight ended.

XXXV. Demosthenes and Eurymedon, when the Thurians had been induced to join in the campaign with them with seven hundred hoplites and three hundred javelin-men, gave orders that the ships should sail along the coast toward the territory of Croton, while they themselves, after first reviewing all their land forces at the river Sybaris, advanced through the territory of Thuria. And when they came to the river Hylias and the Crotoneiates sent word to them that their army could not go through their territory with their consent, they went down and bivouacked near the sea at the mouth of the Hylias; and their ships met them at that point. On the next day they embarked their army and proceeded along the coast, touching at the various cities, with the exception of Locri, until they reached Petra in the territory of Rhegium.

XXXVI. The Syracusans, meanwhile, hearing of their approach, wished to make another trial with their fleet, and also with their land-force, which they had been collecting for the very purpose of striking
THUCYDIDES

2 αὐτοὺς φθάσαι βουλόμενοι, ξυνέλεγον. παρε-σκευάσαντο δὲ τὸ τε ἄλλο ναυτικὸν ὡς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ναυμαχίας τι πλέον ἐνείδουν σχῆσοντες, καὶ τὰς πρόφρας τῶν νεῶν ἔννεπτευρίτες ἐς ἐλασσόν στεριφωτέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὰς ἐσωτήριδας ἐπέ-θεσαν ταῖς πρόφρας παχείς, καὶ ἀντηρίδας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπετείναν πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους ὡς ἔπι ἔξι πῆχεις ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἔξωθεν ὥπερ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς ἐπεσκευασμένοι πρόφαθεν ἐναυμάχουν: ἐνόμισαν γὰρ οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς οὐχ ὅμοιοι ἀντινευρημένοι, ἀλλὰ λεπτὰ τὰ πρόφαθεν ἐγχύσας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντι-πρόφοις μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐκ περίπλου ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἐλασσός σχῆσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ναυμαχίαν, οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν οὕτων, πρὸς ἐαυτῶν ἔσεσθαι ἀντιπρόφοις γὰρ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρώ-μενοι ἀναρρήζειν τὰ πρόφαθεν αὐτοῖς, στερίφοις καὶ παχέστι πρὸς κοῖλα καὶ ἄσθενή παίοντες τοῖς ἐμβόλοις. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφόν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὕτε περίπλουν οὕτε διεκ-πλουν, ὥπερ τῆς τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστευον: αὐτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὸ μὲν οὐ δῶσειν διεκπλείν,1 τὸ δὲ τὴν στενοχωρίαν κωλύσειν

1 Deleted by Hude, following Cobet, as probably not read by the Schol.

1 i.e. did not attack front to front with the prow, but sailed round (περίπλους) and struck the hostile ship in the
a blow before the Athenian reinforcements came. They had prepared the fleet generally in such a way as, after the experience of the former sea-fight, seemed likely to offer some advantage, and in particular had shortened the prows of the ships, and had made them stouter by attaching to them thick catheads and stretching underneath stay-beams extending from them to the ships' sides for the length of six cubits both inside and outside the vessel, adopting the same plan as that followed by the Corinthians when they reconstructed their ships at the prows for the battle fought against the Athenian fleet at Naupactus. For the Syracusans thought that, in a contest with the ships of the Athenians which had not been built in the same manner for defence against their own, but were of light structure about the prows, inasmuch as the Athenians did not use prow-to-prow attacks so much as deploying and ramming the sides—they themselves would not be at a disadvantage, and that the fighting in the Great Harbour, where there would be many ships in a narrow space, would be favourable to them; for by employing prow-to-prow attacks they would crush the prows of the enemy's ships, striking as they would with beaks stout and solid against hollow and weak ones. The Athenians, on the other hand, would not find it possible in the narrow space to use either the deploying or the breaking-through manoeuvre, on their skilled use of which they depended most; for they themselves would as far as possible give them no opportunity of using the latter, and the narrow space would prevent side. The διέκτνα was breaking through the line so as to ram the enemy's ship in the flank or astern.
5 ὡςτε μὴ περιπλεῖν. τῇ τε πρῶτον ἀμαθίᾳ τῶν κυβερνητῶν δοκοῦσθαι εἶναι, τῷ ἀντίπροφρον ἐνυγκροῦσαι, μάλιστ' ἄν αὐτοὶ χρήσασθαι: πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς σχῆσειν τὴν γὰρ ἀνάκρουσιν οὐκ ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἑξωθομένους ἄλλοσε ἦ ἐσ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταύτην δι' ὀλίγον καὶ ἐς ὀλίγον, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑαυτῶν.

6 τοῦ δ' ἄλλου λιμένος αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν. καὶ ἱμμερομένους αὐτούς, ἢν πὴ βιάζωνται, ἐς ὀλίγον τε καὶ πάντας ἐς τὸ αὐτό, προσπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις ταράξασθαι (ὅπερ καὶ ἐβλάπτε μάλιστα τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους ἑν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναυμαχίαις, οὐκ ὠφθης αὐτοῖς ἐς πάντα τὸν λιμένα τῆς ἀνακρούσεως, ὤσπερ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις). περιπλεῦσαι δὲ ἐς τὴν εὕρησιν, σφῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπιπλευσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους τε καὶ ἀνάκρουσιν, οὐ δυνάσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου πολεμίου τε αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου καὶ τοῦ στόματος ὑμιᾶν ὄντος τοῦ λιμένος.

XXXVII. Τοιαῦτα οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐπινοήσαντες καὶ ἀμα τεθαρσηκότες μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ναυμαχίας ἐπεχείροιν τῷ τε πεζῷ ἀμα καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν. καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ὀλίγῳ πρῶτον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Γύλιππος.
them from deploying. But on the other hand they themselves would chiefly employ that method of crashing into their opponents prow to prow which had formerly been imputed to the ignorance of their pilots, because they would find it greatly to their advantage to do so; for it would not be possible for the Athenians, if forced out of line, to back water in any other direction than towards the land, and that, too, for only a short distance and to a short stretch of shore—the space in front of their own camp—inasmuch as the Syracusans would command the rest of the harbour. And the enemy, if they were forced to yield at any point, would be driven together into a small space and all to the same point, so that they would fall foul of each other and be thrown into confusion—the very thing that caused the Athenians most damage in all the fighting there, since it was not possible for them, as it was for the Syracusans, to back water to any part of the harbour. The Syracusans saw, moreover, that the Athenians would not be able to sail round into open water, since they themselves would control not only their entrance into the harbour from the sea outside, but also their backing out of the harbour into the sea, especially as Plemmyrium would be hostile to them and the mouth of the harbour was not large.

XXXVII. Such were the devices adopted by the Syracusans as appropriate to their own skill and strength, and at the same time they had now gained greater confidence as the result of the former sea-fight; so they made their preparations to attack simultaneously by land and by sea. And a short time before the fleet left its station Gyllippus led
THUCYDIDES

προεξαγαγών προσήγη τῷ τείχει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθ’ ὅσον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἔωρα· καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμπείου, οἱ τε ὁπλίται ὁσοι ἐκεῖ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ ἰππης καὶ ἡ γυμνητεία τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα προσήγη τῷ τείχει· αἱ δὲ νῆες μετὰ τούτῳ εὐθὺς ἐπέξεπλεον τῶν

3 Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρότον αὐτοὺς οἰόμενοι τῷ πεζῷ μόνῳ πειράσεωι, ὃς ὁμός δὲ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιφερομένας ἀφὼ, ἐθορυβοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμπείου καὶ τῶν ἔξω κατὰ τάχος χωροῦντας ἵππεας τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀκοντιστάς ἀντεπεξῆς, ἀλλοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, καὶ ἄμα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐγιαλῶν παρεβοήθησαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλῆρεις ἦσαν, ἀντανήγουν πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ναύς· καὶ αἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν ὑγδοχέκοντα μάλιστα. XXXVIII. Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσπλέοντες καὶ ἀνακρούόμενοι 1 πειράσαντες ἄλληλοι καὶ οὐδέτεροι δυνάμενοι ἅξιοι τι λόγον παραλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ ναῦν μίαν ἡ δύο τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ Συρακόσιοι καταδύσαντες, διεκρίθησαν καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμὰ ἀνὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπῆλθεν.

2 Τῇ δ’ ύστεραιᾳ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἵσυχαζον, οὐδέν δηλοῦντες ὅποιον τι τὸ μέλλον ποιήσουσιν· ο δὲ Νικίας ἵδιων ἀντίπαιτα τὰ 2 τῆς ναυμαχίας γενόμενα καὶ ἐπιπίζων αὐτοὺς ἀνθίς ἐπιχειρήσεις, τοὺς τε τριπήραχους ἱνάγκαζεν ἐπισκευάζειν τὰς ναῦς, εἰ τις τι ἐπεπονήκει, καὶ ὁλκάδας προ-

1 καὶ before πειράσαντες in the MSS., deleted by Classen.
2 τὰ τῆς with BH, Hude τῆς.
out the land-force from the city and brought it up against that part of the Athenians' wall that faced the city; and the troops stationed at the Olympieium—all the hoplites that were there and the cavalry and the light-armed forces of the Syracusans—advanced against the wall from the other side; and immediately after this the ships of the Syracusans and their allies sailed out against the Athenian fleet. The Athenians, who at first thought that the enemy would make an attempt with his land-forces only, were thrown into confusion when they saw the ships also suddenly bearing down upon them. Some arrayed themselves upon the walls and in front of them to meet their assailants there; others went out to confront the forces that were rapidly advancing from the Olympieium and the country outside, consisting of cavalry in large numbers and javelin-men; and still others began to man the ships or to run down to the beach to give aid. And when the vessels were manned they put out to meet the Syracusans with seventy-five ships; the ships of the Syracusans numbering about eighty. XXXVIII. But after they had skirmished with one another for a great part of the day, advancing and backing away, and neither side was able to win any advantage worth mentioning, except that the Syracusans sank one or two of the Athenian ships, they separated; and the land-force at the same time withdrew from the walls.

On the next day the Syracusans kept quiet, giving no indication of what they would do next. Nicias, on the other hand, seeing that the issue of the sea-fight had been a draw and expecting the enemy to attack again, compelled the trierarchs to repair their ships, in case any had suffered damage,
ὁμισε πρὸ τοῦ σφετέρου σταυρώματος, ὁ αὐτοὶς πρὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀντὶ λιμένος κληστοῦ ἐν τῇ
3 θαλάσσῃ ἐπεπήγηε. διαλειπότοσας δὲ τὰς ὀλκά-
das ὅσον δύο πλέθρα ἀπ' ἄλληλων κατέστησεν, ὀπως, εἰ τις βιάξιοτο ναι, εἰπ' κατάφευξις
ἀσφαλῆς καὶ πάλιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐκπλους.
παρασκευαζόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν
dιετέλεσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέχρι νυκτὸς.

XXXIX. Τῇ δ' ὑποσκάλε οἱ Συρακόσιοι τῆς
μὲν ὄρας πρώτην, τῇ δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει τῇ αὐτῇ
tοῦ τε πεζοῦ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προσέμισγον
2 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἀντικαταστάντες ταῖς ναυσὶ
tῶν αὐτοῦ τρόπου αὐθίς ἐπὶ πολὺ διήγον τῆς
ἡμέρας πειρόμενοι ἄλληλως, πρὶν δὴ Ἀρίστων ὁ
Πυρρίχου Κορίνθιος, ἀριστός ὁ νυκτερύντης τῶν
μετὰ Συρακοσίων, πείθει τοὺς σφετέρους τοῦ
ναυτικοῦ ἀρχοντας, πέμψαντας ὡς τοὺς ἐν τῇ
τόλει ἐπιμελομένους κελεύειν ὅτι τάχιστα τὴν
ἀγορᾶν τῶν πωλομένων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μετα-
στήσαι κομίσαντας, καὶ ὅσα τις ἔχει ἐδώδμα,
πάντας ἐκείς φέροντας ἀναγκάσαι πωλεῖν,
ὅπως αὐτοῦ ἐκβιβάζοντες τοὺς ναύτας εὐθὺς
παρὰ τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιῆσαντας καὶ δὲ ὅλῃν
αὐθίς καὶ αὐθημερὸν ἀπροσδοκητὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-
nαίοις ἐπιχειρῶσιν.

XL. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πεισθέντες ἐπεμψαν ἄγγελον,
καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ παρεσκευάσθη, καὶ οἱ Συρακοσίοι
ἐξαίφνης πρύμναν κρουσάμενοι πάλιν πρὸς τὴν
τόλην ἐπλευσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκβάντες αὐτοῦ
2 ἀριστοῦ ἐποίούντο. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες
αὐτοὺς ὡς ἡσυχεῖσιν σφῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
and anchored merchant-ships in front of the Athenian stockade, which had been planted in the sea in front of their ships to serve in place of an enclosed harbour. These merchant-ships he placed at intervals of about two hundred feet from one another, in order that any ships which should be hard pressed might find safe refuge inside and again sail out at leisure. In these preparations the Athenians spent the whole day until nightfall.

XXXIX. On the day following the Syracusans came into conflict with the Athenians at an earlier hour, but using the same offensive as before both by land and by sea. The two fleets faced one another in the same fashion and again spent a great part of the day in skirmishing, until at last Ariston son of Pyrrhichus, a Corinthian, the best pilot of the Syracusan fleet, persuaded the commanders of the Syracusan naval forces to send word to the officers in control in the city and request them to move down to the shore as quickly as possible the market in which goods are offered for sale, forcing all the hucksters to bring there whatever food supplies they had and sell them, in order that the crews might land and at once take dinner close to the ships, and then after a short interval on the same day make a second attack on the Athenians when they were not expecting it.

XL. The Syracusan commanders accordingly, being won over to this plan, sent a messenger, and the market was prepared. Then the Syracusans, suddenly rowing astern, sailed back to the city, where they disembarked and at once made their dinner on the spot. But the Athenians, thinking that the enemy had withdrawn to the city because
THUCYDIDES

ἀνακρούσασθαι, καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἐκβάντες τά τε ἀλλα διεπράσσοντο καὶ τά ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ὡς τῆς γε ἡμέρας ταύτης οὐκέτι οἴομενοι ἀν ναυμαχῆσαι. ἔξαιρος δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι πληρώσαντες τάς ναύς ἐπέπλεον αὐθείς· οἱ δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου καὶ ἄσιτοι οἱ πλείους οὖδεν κόσμῳ ἐσβάντες

μόλις ποτὲ ἀντανήγοντο. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀπέσχοντο ἀλλήλων φυλασσόμενοι· ἔπειτα οὐκ ἔδοκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαμέλλοντας κόπω ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ἀλλʼ ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ ἐπιφερόμενοι ἐκ παρακελέσεως ἐναυμάχον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι δεξάμενοι καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἀντιπρόροις χρώμενοι, ὄσπερ διενοήθησαν, τῶν ἐμβόλων τῇ παρασκευῇ ἀνερρήγυσαν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναύς ἐπὶ πολύ τῆς παρεξειρείας, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες μεγάλα ἐβλαπτοῦ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολὺ δʼ ἐτὶ μεῖζον οἱ ἐν τοῖς λεπτοῖς πλοίοις περιπλέουστοι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ἐς τε τοὺς παρθένους ὑποπτοῦστοι τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ πλάγια παραπλέουστοι καὶ ἐς αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς ναῦτας ἀκοντίζοντες.

XLII. Τέλος δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κατὰ κράτος ναυμαχοῦστε οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τραπόμενοι διὰ τῶν ὀλκάδων τῆς κατάφευξιν ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τῶν οἰκυτῶν ὁρμον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων νῆσες μέχρι μὲν τῶν ὀλκάδων

1 καὶ deleted by van Herwerden, followed by Hude.

1 Doubtless through the port-holes through which the oars passed.
they believed themselves to be outmatched, disembarked at their leisure and busied themselves with various other duties as well as with their dinner, in the belief that for that day at least there would be no more fighting at sea. But suddenly the Syracusans manned their ships and again sailed against them; whereupon the Athenians, in great confusion and most of them without food, embarked in disorder and at last with much ado got under weigh. For some time they held off from one another, keeping on their guard; but after a while the Athenians thought it unwise, by further delay, to exhaust themselves with fatigue by their own act, and decided to attack as quickly as possible, and accordingly bore down upon the enemy and with a cheer began the fight. The Syracusans received them, and employing their ships in prow-to-prow attacks, as they had planned to do, with their specially prepared beaks stove in the forward parts of the Athenian vessels for a considerable distance, while the men on the decks hurled their javelins at the Athenians and inflicted great damage upon them. But far greater damage was done by the Syracusans who rowed around in light boats, darted under the oar-banks of the hostile ships, and running up alongside hurled javelins from their boats in among the sailors.¹

XLI. Finally, by pursuing this manner of fighting with all their strength, the Syracusans won, and the Athenians took to flight, endeavouring to make their escape through the line of merchant-ships² into their own place of anchorage. The Syracusan ships pursued them hotly as far as the merchant-

¹ cf. ch. xxxviii. 2.
² cf. ch. xxxviii. 2.
THUCYDIDES

ἐπεδίωκον ἐπείτα αὐτοῦς αἱ κεραῖαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσπλων αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλκάδων δελφινοφόροι

3 ἦρμέναι ἐκώλυν. δύο δὲ νῆσι τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπαιρόμεναι τῇ νίκῃ προσεμείξαν αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς καὶ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν

4 ἐάλω. καταδύσαντες δ’ οἱ Συρακόσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπτὰ ναῦς καὶ κατατραυματίσαντες πολλάς, ἀνδρὰς τε τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ζωγρησάντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτεῖναντες ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ τροπαία τὸ ἀμφοτέρον τῶν ναυμαχιῶν ἔστησαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ήδη ἐχυρῶν εἰχον ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ πολὺ κρείσσους εἶναι, ἐδόκοις δὲ καὶ τὸν πεζὸν χείρωσεθαί. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι κατ’ ἀμφότερα παρεσκευάζοντο αὐθις.

XLII. 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυμέδων ἔχοντες τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν παραγύγνονται, ναῦς τε τρεῖς καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μάλιστα ξυλω ταῖς ἔσιν καὶ ὑπλίτας περὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ἐαυτῶν τε καὶ ἰούν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀκοντιστάς τε βαρβάρους καὶ Ἐλληνας ὀλίγους καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας καὶ τὴν

2 ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἱκανήν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις καὶ Ἑλληναῖοι κατάπληξις ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα ὀλίγῃ ἐγένετο, εἰ πέρας μηδὲν ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆι τοῦ κινδύνου, ὀρόντες οὔτε διὰ τὴν Δεκέλειαν τεχνιζομένην οὐδὲν ἴσσον στρατῶν ἵσον καὶ παραπλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεληλυθοῦσα τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν πανταχόσε πολλὴν.
men, but there the dolphin-bearing cranes\textsuperscript{1} that were suspended from the merchantmen over the channels between the vessels checked them. Two Syracusan ships, however, elated by their victory, approached too close to the cranes and were destroyed, one of them being captured together with its crew. The Syracusans, having sunk seven of the Athenian ships and damaged many others, and having taken prisoner most of the men upon them and killed the rest, then withdrew and set up a trophy for both the sea-fights. They now cherished the confident belief that they were far superior to the Athenians on the sea, and they thought that they should get the better of the army on land as well. So they, on their part, proceeded to make preparations to attack the enemy again on both elements.

XLII. At this juncture, however, Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived with the reinforcements from Athens, consisting of about seventy-three ships, including the foreign vessels, and nearly five thousand hoplites, both Athenian and allied, and not a few Barbarian and Hellenic javelin-men, slingers, and bowmen, together with an adequate supply of other equipment. The Syracusans and their allies were seized with no little consternation at the moment, wondering if they were never to have any final deliverance from their peril; for they saw that in spite of the fortification of Deceleia an army equal or nearly equal to the first one had come to reinforce it, and that the power of the Athenians

\textsuperscript{1} Projecting beams of a crane supporting heavy metal weights in the shape of dolphins, ready to be dropped upon hostile vessels passing near.
THUCYDIDES

φαινομένην· τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ στρατεύματι τῶν
3 Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ῥώμης τις ἐγεγένητο. ὡς δὲ Δημοσθένης ἱδὼν ὡς εἶχε τὰ πράγματα καὶ
νομίζας οὐχ οἶον τε εἶναι διατρίβειν οὔδὲ παθεῖν
ὂπερ ὁ Νικίας ἔπαθεν (ἀφικόμενος γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον
ὁ Νικίας φοβερός, ὡς οὐκ εὔθυς προσέκειτο ταῖς
Συρακούσαις, ἀλλ' ἐν Κατάνῃ διεχείμαζεν,
ὑπερῴθη τε καὶ ἐφθάσεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Πελο-
ποννήσου στρατιά ὁ Γύλιππος ἀφικόμενος, ἦν
οὐδ' ἄν μετέπεμψαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι, εἰ ἐκείνος
εὔθυς ἐπέκειτο· ἢκαὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἴομενοι εἶναι
ἄμα τ' ἄν ἔμαθον ἡσσός ὁντες καὶ ἀποτελε-
χισμένοι ἃν ἴσαν, ὡςτε μηδ' εἰ μετέπεμψαν ἐτι
ομοίως ἃν αὐτοὺς ὁφελεῖν), ταῦτα οὖν ἀνασκοπῶν
ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ γιγνώσκων ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ
παρόντι τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα δεινότατος ἐστι
τοῖς ἑναντίοις, ἔβούλετο ὁ τι τάχος ἀποχρήσασθαι
4 τῇ παρούσῃ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκπλήξει. καὶ
ὁρῶν τὸ παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, ὃ
ἐκώλυσαν περιτείχισαι σφᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
ἀπλοῦν τε ὅν καὶ, εἰ κρατήσει τις τῶν τε
Ἐπιτολῶν τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ αὖθις τοῦ ἐν
αὐταῖς στρατοπέδου, ῥαδίως ἄν αὐτὸ ληφθὲν
(οὔδὲ γὰρ ὑπομείναι ἃν σφᾶς οὕδενα), ἥπειροτο
ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ πείρᾳ, καὶ ἕντομωτάτην ἡγεῖτο

1 ταύτην, after ἕντομωτάτην, inserted by Madvig, followed
by Hude.

1 Or, "by a natural rebound after their misfortunes."
was apparently great in all directions. The first Athenian army, on the other hand, had, considering their past misfortunes, recovered a certain confidence. Demosthenes, seeing how matters stood, was of the opinion that it would not do to waste time and thus invite the same experience that Nicias had met with. For Nicias when he first came inspired terror; but as he did not immediately attack Syracuse but spent the winter at Catana, he came to be despised, and Gylippus forestalled him by coming from the Peloponnesus with an army. This force the Syracusans would not even have sent for if he had attacked without delay; for they would have supposed that they could cope with him unaided, and would not, therefore, have discovered that they were too weak until they had been completely walled in, so that, even if they had sent for reinforcements then, these would no longer have availed them to the same extent. Demosthenes, therefore, taking these facts into consideration and realizing that he also at the present time was most formidable to his opponents on the very first day after his arrival, wished at the earliest possible moment to reap the full benefit of their present consternation at his army. Accordingly, seeing that the Syracusan cross-wall, by which they had prevented the Athenians from completing their investment, was a single one, and that, if one should get control of the ascent to Epipolae and after that of the camp upon it, the wall itself could easily be taken—for the enemy would not then stand his ground against them—he was eager to make the attempt. He thought this to be the shortest way to end the war; for he would either
THUCYDIDES

5 διαπολέμησιν ἢ γὰρ κατορθώσας ἔξειν Συρακούσας ἢ ἀπάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ οὐ τρίψεσθαι ἄλλως Ἀθηναίους τε τοὺς ἐξουσιασμένους καὶ τὴν εὕμπασαν πόλιν.

6 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὴν τε γῆν ἔξελθοντες τῶν Συρακοσίων ἔτεμνοι οἱ Ἀθηναίοι περὶ τοῦ Ἀναπούν καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπεκράτουν, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, τῷ τε πεζῷ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν (οὐδὲ γὰρ καθ' ἑτέρα οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἀντεπέξιζαν ότι μὴ τοὺς ἅπενείς καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁλυμπιείου).

XLIII. Ἐπιτα μηχαναίς ἔδοξε τῷ Δημοσθένει πρότερον ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ παρατείχισματος. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντι κατεκαὔθησαν τὰ ὕπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένων αἱ μηχαναὶ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ πολλαχῇ προσβάλλοντες ἀπεκρούντο, οὐκέτι ἔδοκει διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ πεῖσα τὸν τε Νικίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξυλλοχοντας, ὡς ἐπενόει, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχειρησιν τῶν

2 Ἐπιτολῶν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἀδύνατα ἔδοκει εἶναι λαθεῖν προσελθῶντας τε καὶ ἀναβάντας, παραγγείλας δὲ πέντε ἡμέρων σιτία καὶ τοὺς λιθολόγους καὶ τέκτονας πάντας λάβων καὶ ἅλλην παρασκευὴν τοξευμάτων τε καὶ ὅσα ἔδει, ἦν κρατῶσι, τεῖχοις ἔχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ πρῶτον ὑπνοὺ καὶ Ἕρυμέδων καὶ Μένανδρος ἀναλαμβῶν τὴν πᾶσαν στρατιὰν ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιτολαῖς, Νικίας δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπε-

3 λέειπτο. καὶ ἐπειδή ἐγένοντο πρὸς αὐταῖς
be successful and take Syracuse, or else would lead
his army home and not wear out to no purpose both
the Athenians who took part in the expedition and
the entire state.

In the first place, then, the Athenians went out
and proceeded to ravage the land of the Syracusans
in the region of the Anapus river, and at this
time, as at first, they had the upper hand with their
army both by land and by sea; for on neither
element did the Syracusans come out to meet them
except with their cavalry and javelin-men from the
Olympieium.

XLIII. Afterwards it seemed best to Demo-
thenes, before going further, to make an attempt
with engines upon the cross-wall. But when he
brought his engines up they were burned by the
enemy, who defended themselves from the wall,
and the assaults which he made at many points
with the rest of his army were regularly repulsed;
it therefore seemed best not to waste more time,
and so with the consent of Nicias and his other
colleagues he undertook, as he had planned, the
attack upon Epipolae. Now it seemed impossible
to approach the heights in the daytime and make
the ascent without being observed; he accord-
ingly ordered provisions for five days, took with
him all the stonemasons and carpenters, and also
a supply of arrows, and whatever things they
would need while building a wall, in case they
should succeed in their undertaking, and after
the first watch, accompanied by Eurymedon and
Menander, led out the entire army and advanced to
Epipolae, leaving Nicias behind in the fortifications.
When they had reached Epipolae, taking the route
κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ἦπερ καὶ ἡ πρωτέρα στρατιά τὸ πρῶτον ἀνέβη, λανθάνουσί τε τοὺς φύλακας τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ προσβάντες τὸ τείχισμα δὲ ἦν αὐτόθι τῶν Συρακοσίων αἱροῦσι καὶ ἀνδρας τῶν φυλάκων ἀποκτείνουσιν· οἱ δὲ πλείους διαφυγόντες εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἢ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τρία, ἐν μὲν τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἐν δὲ τῶν ἅλλων Σικελιοωτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ἀγγέλλουσι τὴν ἑφοδον καὶ τοῖς ἔξακοσίοις τῶν Συρακοσίων, οἱ καὶ πρῶτοι κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν φύλακες ἦσαν, ἑφραζον. οἱ δὲ ἐβοήθουσι τε εὐθὺς, καὶ αὐτοὶς ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐντυχόντες ἀμυνομένους προθύμους ἐτρεφαν. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ὅπως τῇ παρούσῃ ὄρμῃ τοῦ περαίνεσθαι δόν ἕνεκα ἢλθον μὴ βραδεῖς γένονται· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τὸ παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, οὐχ ὑπομενοῦντων τῶν φυλάκων, ἦρουν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπέσυρον. οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν προτειχισμάτων, καὶ ἀδοκήτου τοῦ τολμήματος ἐν νυκτὶ σφίσι γενομένου προσέβαλον τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ βιασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὑπεχώρησαν. προϊόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ἀταξίᾳ μᾶλλον ἦδη ὡς κεκρατηκότων καὶ βουλομένων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ μῆτω μεμαχημένου τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς τάχιστα διελθείν, ἵνα μὴ ἀνέντων σφῶν τῆς ἑφόδου αὐθίς ἐξουσιαστώσεως, οἱ Βοιωτοὶ.
by Euryelus, which had been followed by the former army in the first ascent, they got by the Syracusan guards without being observed, and advancing to the Syracusan fort at that point captured it and killed some of the guards; most of these, however, fled at once to the camps, of which there were three upon Epipolae—one belonging to the Syracusans, one to the other Siceliots, and one to the allies—and brought word of the attack, informing also the six hundred Syracusans who were posted as an advanced guard on that part of Epipolae. These hastened at once to the rescue, but Demosthenes and the Athenians met them and put them to rout despite their vigorous resistance. This body of Athenians then straightway pressed forward, in order that, taking advantage of their present impulse, they might not be too late to accomplish the purpose for which they had come; while another party at the very first proceeded to seize the cross-wall of the Syracusans, where the guards did not wait to receive them, and to lay low the battlements. But the Syracusans and their allies, as well as Gylippus with his own troops, came up from the outworks; yet, since this daring attempt had been made upon them unexpectedly at night, they were still dazed as they attacked the Athenians and were at first forced back by them. But while the Athenians were by now going forward, in some disorder, considering themselves victorious and wishing as quickly as possible to push their way through all the enemy’s forces that had not yet been engaged, in order that they might not rally again when they themselves relaxed their onset, it was the Boeotians who first made a stand against
THUCYDIDES

πρῶτοι αὐτοῖς ἀντέσχον καὶ προσβαλόντες ἔτρεψάν τε καὶ ἐς φυγήν κατέστησαν.

XLIV. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦδη ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ἣν οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι ῥάδιον ἦν οὐδ' ἄφ' ἔτερων ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἐκαστα ἰσχυνέχθη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ σαφέστερα μὲν, ὁμοί δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ παραγενόμενοι πάντα πλήν τὸ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς μόλις οἴδεν· ἐν δὲ νυκτομαχία, ἢ μόνῃ δὴ στρατοπέδων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, πῶς ἂν τις σαφῶς τι ἦδει;

2 ἦν μὲν γὰρ σελήνη λαμπρά, ἔωρων δὲ οὐτῶς ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σελήνῃ εἰκὸς τῆν μὲν ὅψιν τοῦ σώματος προορᾶν, τὴν δὲ γνώσιν τοῦ οἴκειον ἀπιστεῖσθαι. ὁπλῖται δὲ ἄμφοτέρων οὐκ ὄλγοι

3 ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀνεστρέφοντο. καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν ἦδη ἐνικῶντο, οἱ δὲ ἔτι τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ ἀψίνητοι ἐχώρουν· πολὺ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτῶς τὸ μὲν ἀρτι ἀνεβεβήκει, τὸ δὲ ἔτι προσανηγεῖ, οὕτω εἰς ἡπίσταντο πρὸς ὁ τι χρῆ χωρῆσαι. ἦδη γὰρ τὰ πρόσθεν τῆς τροπῆς γεγενημένης ἑτεράρκατο πάντα καὶ χαλεπὰ ἦν ὕπο τῆς βοῆς διαγωνώναι. οὐ τε γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι κρατοῦντες παρεκελεύοντο τε κραυγῇ οὐκ ὄλγῃ χρώμενοι, ἀδύνατον δὲν ἐν νυκτὶ ἀλλο τῷ σημῆναι, καὶ ἀμα τοὺς προσφερομένους ἐδέχοντο· οὐ τε Ἀθηναίοι εξήτουν τε σφᾶς αὐτῶς καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔξ ἐναυτίας, καὶ εἱ φίλιοι εἰς τῶν ἦδη
them, and by making a charge routed and put them to flight.

XLIV. By this time the Athenians were getting into a state of so great confusion and perplexity that it has not been easy to learn from either side just how the several events occurred. In the daytime things are clearer, of course, yet even so those who are present do not know everything that happens, but each man barely knows what happens near himself; but in a battle by night—the only one that took place in this war between large armies—how could anyone know anything clearly? For though there was a bright moon, they could only see one another, as it is natural to do in moonlight—seeing before them the vision of a person but mistrusting their recognition of their own friends. There were, besides, large numbers of hoplites belonging to both sides moving about in a narrow space. And on the Athenian side, some were already being defeated, while others, still in their first onset, were advancing unchecked; but of the rest of their army a large portion had only just finished the ascent and others were still coming up, so that they did not know which body to join. For the front lines were already all in confusion in consequence of the rout that had taken place, and the two sides were difficult to distinguish by reason of the outeries. The Syracusans and their allies, as they were winning, were cheering one another and indulging in no little shouting—it being impossible in the night to communicate in any other way—while at the same time they held their ground against their assailants; the Athenians were trying to find their own comrades, and regarded as hostile what—
πάλιν φευγόντων, πολέμιοι ενόμιζον, καὶ τοῖς ἑρωτήμασι τοῦ ἐμνῆματος πυκνοῖς χρῶμενοι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλο τῷ γνωρίσαι, σφίζει τε αὐτοῖς θόρυβον πολὺν παρεῖχον ἀμα πάντες ἑρωτῶντες,
5 καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις σαφές αὐτὸ κατέστησαν τὸ δ' ἐκείνων οὐχ ὁμοίως ἤπισταντο, διὰ τὸ κρατοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ διεσπασμένους ἦσσον ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ὡστ' εἰ μὲν ἐντύχοιεν τις κρείσσους ὀντες τῶν πολεμίων, διέφευγον αὐτοὺς ἀτε ἐκείνων ἐπισταμένων τὸ ἱεὺρημα, εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ μὴ ὑπο-
6 κρίνοιντο, διεφθεῖροντο. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκεστα ἐβλαψε καὶ ὁ παιανισμός· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων παραπλήσιοι δὲν ἀπορίαν παρεῖχεν. οἴ τε γὰρ Ἀργείου καὶ οἱ Κερκυραίοι καὶ ὅσον Δωρίκον μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἦν ὄποτε παιανίσειαν, φόβον παρεῖχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἴ τε πολέμιοι 7 ὁμοίως. ὡστε τέλος ἕμμεσόντες αὐτοῖς κατὰ πολλὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐπεὶ ἀπάξ ἐταράχθησαν, φίλοι τε φίλοι καὶ πολιται πολῖταις, οὐ μόνον ἐς φόβον κατέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς χειρὰς ἀλλή-
8 λοις ἑλθόντες μόλις ἀπελύσατο. καὶ διωκόμενοι κατά τε τῶν κρημνῶν πολλοὶ 1 ῥύπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς

1 οἱ πολλοὶ MSS., Krüger deletes οἱ.
ever came from the opposite direction, even though it might be a party of friends belonging to the troops already in flight, and as they were constantly calling out the demand for the watchword, the only means they had of distinguishing friend from foe, they not only caused much confusion in their own ranks, everybody making the demand at the same time, but also made their watchword known to the enemy. They had not the same opportunity, however, of learning the enemy's watchword, because the Syracusans, who were winning the day and had not become scattered, had less difficulty in recognizing one another. The result was that if a body of Athenians, even though superior in number, fell in with a party of the enemy, these would make their escape, inasmuch as they knew the Athenian watchword, whereas if they on their part could not give the answer they were put to the sword. But that which put the Athenians at the greatest disadvantage and did them most harm was the singing of the paean; for the song of both armies was very similar and caused perplexity. Whenever, that is, the Argives or the Corecyraeans or any Dorian contingent of the Athenian army would raise the paean, the Athenians were just as much terrified thereby as when the enemy sang. And so finally, when once they had been thrown into confusion, coming into collision with their own comrades in many different parts of the army, friends with friends and citizens with fellow-citizens, they not only became panic-stricken but came to blows with one another and were with difficulty separated. And as they were being pursued by the enemy many hurled themselves down from the bluffs and perished; for the
ΤΗΝ ΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΠΟΛΩΝ ΠΑΙΝ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΟΜΑΛΟΝ ΟΙ ΣΟΦΟΜΕΝΟΙ άΝΩΘΕΝ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΙΕΝ, ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΌΣΟΙ ΉΣΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΩΝ ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΑ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ ΔΙΕΦΥΓΩΝ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΌΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΉΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΔΙΑΜΑΡΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΔΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΠΟΛΕΝΘΗΣΑΝ ΟΥΣ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ, ΟΙ ΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΛΆΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΕΦΘΕΙΡΑΝ.

XLV. ΤΗ Δ' ΌΣΤΕΡΑΙΑ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΔΥΟ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ, ΕΠΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΙΣ 'ΕΠΙΠΟΛΑΙΣ Ή Η ΠΡΟΣΒΑΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ Ή ΟΙ ΒΟΙΩΤΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΝΤΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ, ΟΙ Δ' ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΚΡΟΥΣ 2 ΥΠΟΣΤΟΝΔΟΥΣ ΕΚΟΜΙΣΑΝΤΟ. ΑΠΕΘΑΝΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΚ ΟΛΙΓΟΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ, ΌΠΛΑ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΕΤΙ ΠΛΕΙΩΝ Ή ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΚΡΟΥΣ ΕΛΗΦΘΗΝ ΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΡΗΜΝΩΝ ΒΙΑΣΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΑΛΛΕΣΘΑΙ ΨΙΛΟΙ 1 ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΩΛΟΝΤΟ, ΟΙ Δ' ΕΣΩΘΗΣΑΝ.

XLVI. ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΌΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΠΡΟΣΘΗΚΤΩ ΕΥΠΡΑΓΙΑ ΠΑΙΝ ΑΥ ΑΝΑΡΡΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ, ΌΣΤΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ, ΈΣ ΜΕΝ 'ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΑ ΣΤΑΣΙΑΖΟΝΤΑ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΣΙΚΑΝΟΥΝ ΑΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΑΝ, ΌΠΩΣ ΕΠΑΓΓΥΟΙΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΙΝ, ΕΙ ΔΥΝΑΙΤΟ. ΡΥΛΙΤΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΆΛΛΗΝ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΝ ΦΧΕΤΟ ΑΥΘΙΣ, ΑΞΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ ΕΤΙ, ΌΣ ΕΝ ΕΛΠΙΔΙ ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΤΩΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΡΗΣΕΝ ΒΙΑ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ 'ΕΠΙΠΟΛΑΙΣ ΟΥΤΟ ΧΥΝΕΒΗ.

XLVII. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΤΩ ΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗΝ ΧΥΜΦΟΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ
way down from Epipolae was narrow; and of those who in their attempt to escape got down to the level ground, the greater part, and especially those who belonged to the first expedition and therefore had a better acquaintance with the country, got through to the camp, but of those who had come later, some missed the roads and wandered about over the country, and these when day came were destroyed by the Syracusan cavalry, which were scouring the fields.

XLV. On the next day the Syracusans set up two trophies on Epipolae, one where the Athenian ascent was made, the other at the place where the Boeotians made the first resistance; and the Athenians recovered their dead under truce. Not a few were killed, both of the Athenians and their allies; the arms taken, however, were out of all proportion to the dead, for while some of those who were forced to leap down the bluffs perished, some escaped.

XLVI. After this the Syracusans, their earlier confidence now being restored as a result of their unexpected good fortune, sent Sicanus with fifteen ships to Agrigentum, which was in a state of revolution, in order that he might if possible win over that city; and Gylippus went out once more by land to the other parts of Sicily to secure additional troops, being in hope that he could even carry the walls of the Athenians by storm, now that the engagement on Epipolae had turned out thus.

XLVII. Meanwhile the Athenian generals were deliberating about the situation in view both of the calamity that had happened and of the utter dis-

1 ἄνευ τῶν ἀσπιδῶν, in the MSS. after ψιλοί, rejected by Pluylgers.
στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ πάντα ἀρρωστίαν. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἔωρον οὐ κατορθοῦντες καὶ 2 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀχθομένους τῇ μονῇ. νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐπιέζοντο καὶ ἀμφότερα, τῆς τε ὀρᾶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ταύτης οὐσίς ἐν ἦ ἀσθενοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀμα ἐν φῶ ἐστρατο- πεδεύοντο ἐλώδες καὶ χαλεπὸν ἦν τά τε ἄλλα 3 ὅτι ἀνελπιστώτατα αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο. τῷ οὖν Δημοσθένει οὐκ ἐδόκει ἔτι χρῆναι μένειν, ἀλλ' ἀπερ καὶ διανοηθεὶς ἐστάς Ἐπιπολᾶς διε- κινδύνευσεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαλτο, ἐξιέναι ἐψηφίζετο καὶ μὴ διατρίβειν, ἦσιν οὖν τὸ πέλαγος οἶον τε περαιοῦσθαι καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος ταῖς γοῦν 4 ἐπελθοῦσας ναυσί κρατεῖν. καὶ τῇ πόλει ὦφε- λιμώτερον ἐφη εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σφῶν ἐπιτεχίζοντας τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι ἢ Συρα- κοσίους, οὐς οὐκέτι ράδιον εἶναι χειρώσασθαι, οὐδ' αὖ ἄλλωσ χρήματα πολλὰ δαπανώντας εἰκός εἶναι προσκαθῆσθαι.

XLVIII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης τοιαῦτα ἐγάμωσκεν· ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἐνόμιζε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς πόνηρα σφῶν τὰ πράγματα εἶναι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ οὐκ ἐβούλετο αὐτὰ ἀσθενῆ ἀποδεικνύναι, οὐδ' ἐμβανὸς σφᾶς ψηφιζομένους μετὰ πολλῶν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῖς πολεμίοις καταγγέλτους ἠγνε- σθαι· λαθεῖν γὰρ ἄν, ὅποτε βουλουντο, τούτῳ 2 ποιοῦντες πολλῷ ἤσσον. τὸ δὲ τι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἄφ' ὅπι ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἤσθανετο αὐτῶν, ἐλπίδος τι ἐτί παρεῖχε πονηρότερα τῶν 92
couragement that now prevailed in the army. They saw that they were not succeeding in their undertaking, and that the soldiers were finding their stay burdensome. For they were distressed by sickness for a double cause, the season of the year being that in which men are most liable to illness, while at the same time the place in which they were encamped was marshy and unhealthy; and the situation in general appeared to them to be utterly hopeless. Demosthenes, therefore, was of the opinion that they should not remain there any longer, but since the plan which had induced him to risk the attack upon Epipolae had failed, his vote was for going away without loss of time, while it was still possible to cross the sea and to have some superiority over the enemy with at any rate the ships of the armament which had come to reinforce them. From the point of view of the State, also, he said, it was more profitable to carry on the war against the enemy who were building a hostile fortress in their own territory than against the Syracusans, whom it was no longer easy to conquer; and furthermore, it was not right that they should continue the siege and spend a great deal of money to no purpose.

XLVIII. Such was the judgment of Demosthenes. Nicias, however, although he also thought that their situation was bad, did not wish expressly to reveal their weakness, or that they should be reported to the enemy as openly voting in full council for the retreat; for, he urged, they would be far less likely, when they should wish to retreat, to do this unobserved. Besides, the affairs of the enemy, from such information as he had beyond the rest, still afforded some hope that they would turn out to be
THUCYDIDIDES

σφετέρων ἔσεσθαι, ἣν καρτερῶσι προσκαθήμενοι
χρημάτων γὰρ ἀπορία αὐτοὺς ἐκτρυχώσειν, ἀλλὰς
τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἤδη ταῖς ὑπαρχοῦσαις ναυσὶ
θαλασσοκρατοῦσιν· καὶ ἢν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν ταῖς
Συρακούσαις βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ
πράγματα ἐνδοῦναι, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο ὡς αὐτὸν καὶ
3 οὐκ εἰς ἀπανίστασθαι. ἄ ἐπιστάμενος τῷ μὲν
ἐργῷ ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἔχων καὶ διασκοπῶν ἀνείχεν,
tῷ δὲ ἐμφανεῖ τότε λόγῳ οὐκ ἔφη ἀπάξειν
τὴν στρατιάν. εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι ὅτι Ἀθηναίοι
σφῶν ταῦτα οὐκ ἀποδέξονται ὡστε μὴ αὐτῶν
ψηφισμένων ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οὗ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
ψηφιεῖσθαι τε περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πράγματα
ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁρώντας καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων ἐπιτι-
μήσει ἀκούσαντας ἡμῶσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις
εὖ λέγων διαβάλλοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι.
4 τῶν τε παρόντων στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς
πλέουσας ἔφη, οἳ νῦν βοῶσιν ὡς ἐν δεινοῖς ὑντες,
ἐκεῖσε ἀφικομένους τάναντια βοήσεσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ
χρημάτων καταπροδότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπῆλθον.
οίκοιν βούλεσθαι αὐτῶς γε ἐπιστάμενος τὰς
Ἀθηναίων φύσεις ἐπὶ αἰσχρὰ τε αἰτία καὶ ἀδίκως
ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων, εἰ δεῖ, κινδυνεύσας τοῦτο παθεῖν ἴδια.
5 τά τε Συρακοσίων ἔφη ὡμώς ἄτι ἴσσω τῶν

¹ The mental thought to be supplied is: “And it would involve them in personal danger if they did, for . . . .”
worse than their own, if they persisted in the siege; for they would wear the enemy out by cutting off his supplies, especially since now with their present fleet they were to a greater extent than before the masters of the sea. And, in fact, there was a party in Syracuse that favoured submitting to the Athenians, and it was secretly sending proposals to him and urging him not to withdraw. Having knowledge of these things, although in reality he still wavered between the two alternatives and kept pondering them, yet in the speech which he openly made at that time he refused to lead the army away. For he knew well, he said, that the Athenians would not approve of the generals withdrawing without any vote of their own to that effect. For those who would vote on their case would not be men who would form their judgments from seeing the facts with their own eyes, as they themselves had seen them, and not from listening to the harsh criticisms of others; on the contrary, whatever calumnies any clever speaker might utter, by these the Athenians would be persuaded. And of the soldiers now present in Sicily, many, he said—aye, the majority—who were now crying out that they were in a desperate plight, as soon as they arrived in Athens would cry out just the reverse, that their generals had been bribed to betray them and withdraw. Accordingly, he at any rate did not wish, knowing as he did the character of the Athenians, to be put to death on a shameful charge and unjustly at the hands of the Athenians, but rather to fight and die, if so he must, his own death at the hands of the foe. And bad as their own situation was, that of the Syracusans, he said, was still worse; for
σφετέρων εἶναι· καὶ χρήμασι γὰρ αὐτοῦς ξενοτροφοῦντας καὶ ἐν περιπολίοις ἀμα ἀναλίσκοντας καὶ ναυτικὸν πολὺ ἐτὶ ἐναυτῶν ἣδη βόσκοντας τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐτὶ ἀμηχανήσειν· δισχήλια τε γὰρ τάλαντα ἢδη ἀνηλωκέναι καὶ ἐτὶ πολλὰ προσοφελείν, ἢν τε καὶ ὀτιοῦ ἐκλίπωσοι τῆς νῦν παρασκευῆς τῷ μὴ διδόναι τροφῆν, φθερεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα, ἐπικουρικὰ μᾶλλον ἡ δὲ ἀνάγκης ὤσπερ τὰ σφετέρα ὅντα. τρίβειν οὖν ἐφή χρήναι προσκαθημένους καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν, ὥς τὸ πολὺ κρέασσοις εἰσί, νυκηθέντας ἀπιέναι.

XLIX. Ὡν μὲν Νικίας τοσάττα λέγων ἵσχυριζετο, αἰσθόμενος τὰ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἁκριβῶς, καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὰθι τὸ βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γίγνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἐπικηρυκευόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡστε μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι, καὶ ἀμα ταῖς γοῦν ναυσίν, ὡς τὸ πρότερον, ἔθαρσε κρατηθεῖς. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης περὶ μὲν τοῦ προσκαθήσθαι οὐδὲ ὀπωσοῦν ἐνεδέχετο· εἰ δὲ δεὶ μὴ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνευ Ἀθηναίων ψηφίσματος, ἄλλα τρίβειν αὐτοῦ, ἐφη χρήναι ἢ ἐς τὴν Θάγου ἀναστάντας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ ἐς τὴν Κατάνην, οὔθεν τῷ τε πεζῷ ἐπὶ

1 Conjecture of Coraes for ὡς of most MSS.
2 τὸ, with all MSS., except BH ποῦ τὸ. Linwood conjectures πολὺ for ποῦ, which many editors adopt.
3 Stahl's correction for ἡ of the MSS.
4 Gertz's conjecture for θαρσάτει of most MSS., ἔθαρσε B.
5 ἃ καὶ before κρατηθεῖς is inserted by Classen, followed by Hude.
6 Krüger's correction for αὐτῶς of the MSS.
in point of money, since they were supporting a mercenary force and at the same time bearing the expense of patrol guard-posts, and had now for a year been maintaining a large fleet besides, they were already embarrassed, and hereafter would be quite without resources; ¹ indeed, they had spent two thousand talents already and were in debt for many talents more, and if they should lose any portion whatsoever of their present force by not being able to pay for its maintenance, their cause would be ruined, since it depended upon mercenary troops and had not, like their own, the backing of necessity.² They ought, therefore, he concluded, to stay on and continue the siege, and not go back home beaten by money, in which they had by far the greater resources.

XLIX. To such effect Nicias spoke with confidence, because he had accurate knowledge of affairs in Syracuse, both of their lack of money and that a party existed there that wished the government to come under the control of the Athenians and was constantly making overtures to him to keep him from withdrawing; and at the same time, though beaten in the field, he had as much confidence as ever in the fleet at any rate. Demosthenes, however, would not consent on any consideration whatever to continue the siege; if they could not lead the army home without a vote of the Athenians, but must stay on in Sicily, he said that they should do this only after removing to Thapsus or to Catana.

¹ Or, “were in some respects already ill-provided, and in still others would be utterly at a loss what to do.”
² i.e. mercenary troops had to be bribed, but the Athenians were compelled to fight.
πολλὰ τῆς χώρας ἐπίοντες θρέφονται πορθοῦντες
tὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐκεῖνος βλάψουσι, ταῖς τε
ναυσίν ἐν πελάγει καὶ οὐκ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ἣ πρὸς
tῶν πολεμίων μᾶλλον ἐστὶ, τοὺς ἀγώνας ποιή-
σονται, ἀλλ' ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ, ἐν ἣ τά τῆς
ἐμπειρίας χρήσιμα σφῶν ἐσται καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις
cal ἐπιτύπλους οὐκ ἐκ βραχέος καὶ περιγράπτου
3 ὀρμώμενοι τε καὶ καταίροντες ἔξουσιν. τὸ τε
ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οἱ ἔφη ἀρέσκειν ἐν
tῷ αὐτῷ ἔτι μένειν, ἀλλ' ὁτι τάχιστα ἤδη ἔξανι-
στασθαι καὶ μὴ μέλλειν. καὶ ὁ ἕυομέδων αὐτῷ
4 ταῦτα ξυνηγορεύειν. ἀντιλέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Νικίου
δόκως τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐνεγένετο καὶ ἀμα ὑπόνοια
μὴ τι καὶ πλέων εἴδωδοι οἱ Νικίας ἰσχυρίζεται. καὶ
οἱ μὲν 'Ἀθηναῖοι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεμέλλησαν τε
καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐμενοῦν.

L. Ὁ δὲ Γύλιππος καὶ ὁ Σικανὸς ἐν τούτῳ
παρῆσαν ἐς τᾶς Συρακούσας, ὁ μὲν Σικανὸς
ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος (ἐν Γέλα γὰρ ὄντος
αὐτοῦ ἐτι ἢ τῶν Συρακοσίων στάσεις φιλία
ἐξεπεπτώκει). ὁ δὲ Γύλιππος ἄλλην τε στρατιὰν
πολλὴν ἔχου ἠθεν ἃτο τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ
tῆς Πελοποννήσου τοῦ ἤρος ἐν ταῖς ὀλίκαισιν
ὁπλίταις ἀποσταλέντας, ἀφικομένους ἀπὸ τῆς
2 Διβύης ἐς Σεληνοῦντα. ἀπενεχθέντες γὰρ ἐς
Διβύην, καὶ δόντων Κυρηναίων τριήρεις δύο καὶ
tοῦ πλοῦ ἡγεμόνας, καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλω Εὐδε-

1 Bauer's correction for ἐς φιλία, ἐς φιλία, ἐς φιλαί, ἐς
φιλία (B) of the MSS.

1 cf. ch. xlvi. 2 cf. ch. xix. 3.

98
BOOK VII. xlix. 2—l. 2

From this new base they could overrun with their army large tracts of the country and support themselves by ravaging the enemy's property, and at the same time do him damage; and as for the fleet, they would thenceforth do their fighting, not in a narrow space, which was more in the enemy's favour, but in the open sea, where there was plenty of room and the advantages of skill would be on their side, and they would not have to make their retreats and advances setting out from and falling back into a scant and circumscribed base. To sum up his position in a word, he said that he did not at all approve of remaining any longer in the same place, but urged that they should now as quickly as possible move to another place and make no delay. And Eurymedon concurred with him in these views. But since Nicias objected, some hesitation and delay ensued; and at the same time there was a suspicion that it was because of some superior knowledge that he insisted. And so in this way the Athenians delayed to the end and continued to remain where they were.

L. Meanwhile Gylippus and Sicanus⁠¹ had returned to Syracuse. Sicanus had failed to win over Agrigentum, for while he was still at Gela the party at Agrigentum that was friendly to the Syracusans had been driven out; but Gylippus brought with him a large additional force from Sicily as well as the hoplites that had been sent on board the merchant-ships from the Peloponnesus the preceding spring,⁠² and had reached Selinus on their way from Libya. It seems that they had been driven out of their course to Libya, where the Cyrenaeans had given them two triremes and pilots for their voyage; as they sailed along the shore of
THUCYDIDES

σπερίταις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Διβύων ἐγμαχήσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες τοὺς Λίβυς, καὶ αὐτὸθεν παραπλεύσαντες ἐς Νέαν πόλιν, Καρχηδονιακῶν ἐμπόριον, ὅθεν περι Σικελία ἐλάχιστον δύο ἡμέρων καὶ νυκτὸς πλούν ἀπέχει, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ περαιώθεντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Σελυσιντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακοσίοι εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἐλθόντων παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι καὶ ἀμφότερα αὕθις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ναυτὶ καὶ πεζῷ· οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ὀρόντες στρατιῶν τε ἄλλην προσγεγενμένην αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἁμα ὀγκεῖτο τὸ βέλτιον χωροῦντα, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν τοῖς πασὶ καλεπτώτερον ἵσχυντα, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πειξόμενα, μετεμελοῦντο τε πρότερον οὐκ ἀναστάντες, καὶ ὃς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ὁ Νικίας ἦτο ὡς ὁμοίως ἠμαχοῦτο ἄλλʼ ἡ 1 μὴ φανερῶς γε ἂξιῶν ψηφίζεσθαι, 2 προεύποροι ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀδηλότατα ἐκπλουν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάσι καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὅταν τις σημήνη. καὶ μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἠτοίμα ἦν, ἀποπλείων ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείπειν· ἐτύχγανε γὰρ πανσέληνος οὐσα. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οἱ τε πλείους ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐνθύμων ποιούμενοι, καὶ ὁ Νικίας (ἡν γὰρ τι καὶ ἄγαν θεισμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ προσκείμενος) οὐδ’ ἂν διαβουλεύσασθαι ἔτι ἐφί, πρίν, ὡς οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο, τρίς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μεῖναι, ὅπως ἂν πρότερον κινήσθη. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις μελλήσασι διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μονὴ ἐγεγένητο.

1 Hude's correction for ἄλλο εἰ of the MSS.; Vulg. ἄλλʼ ἡ.
2 μὴ in the MSS. before ψηφίζεσθαι, omitted by Steph.
Libya they had joined forces with the Euesperitae, who were being besieged by the Libyans, and had defeated the latter; and sailing thence along the coast to Neapolis, an emporium of the Carthaginians, from which place the distance to Sicily is shortest—two days and one night—and from there crossing to Sicily, they arrived at Selinus. As soon as these reinforcements arrived, the Syracusans began their preparations to attack the Athenians again on both elements—by sea and by land. The Athenian generals, on the other hand, seeing that the enemy had been reinforced by a fresh army, while their own situation was not only not improving, but on the contrary was daily growing worse in all respects, and especially through the distress caused by the sickness among the troops, repented that they had not moved away before. And since even Nicias no longer opposed as earnestly as before, but only urged that the matter be not openly put to a vote, they sent out word as secretly as possible to all the officers for a departure by sea from the camp, and that they should be ready whenever the signal should be given. But after all was ready and when they were about to make their departure, the moon, which happened then to be at the full, was eclipsed. \(^1\) And most of the Athenians, taking the incident to heart, urged the generals to wait. Nicias also, who was somewhat too much given to divination and the like, refused even to discuss further the question of their removal until they should have waited thrice nine days, as the soothsayers prescribed. Such, then, was the reason why the Athenians delayed and stayed on.

\(^1\) August 27, 413 B.C.
II. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πυθόμενοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐγγεγρημένοι ἦσαν μη ἀνέναι τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν κατεγειρόκτονοι ἦδη μηκέτι κρεισσόνων εἶναι σφῶν μήτε πεζῷ (οὔ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐπιβουλεύσαι), καὶ ἀμα οὐ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῆς Σικελίας καθεξομένους χαλεπωτέρους εἶναι προσπολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ ὡς τάχιστα καὶ ἐν ὁ σφίσι ἐξιμφέρει ἀναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς ναυμαχεῖν.

2 τὰς οὖν ναυᾶς ἐπλῆρον καὶ ἀνεπειρώντο ἡμέρας ὅσιαι αὐτῶς ἔδοκοι σεκαλαῖ εἶναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν, τῇ μὲν προτέρα πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσβαλλον, καὶ ἐπεξελθόντος μέρους τινὸς οὐ πολλῷ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπίπεδων κατά τινας πύλας, ἀπολαμβάνοις τε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τινας καὶ τρεψάμενοι καταδιώκουσιν ὑσίας δὲ στενῆς τῆς ἔσοδον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὑπονοῦσι τε ἐβδομήκοντα ἀπολλύοντες καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οὐ πολλοὺς.

III. Καὶ ταῦτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπεχώρησεν ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Συρακόσιων τῇ δ’ ύστερα καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἐκπλέοντ᾽ οὐσας ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ τῷ πεζῷ ἁμα πρὸς τὰ τείχη ἐχώρων. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι αὐτανήγονον ναυσὶν ἐξ καὶ ὑγειώδειστα

2 καὶ προσμείζομεν ἐναυμάχον. καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα, ἔχοντα τὸ δεξιῶν κέρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ βουλόμενον περικλήσασθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἐπεξάγοντα τῷ πλαῖ πρὸς τὴν ῥήν μᾶλλον, νικήσαντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ἐξωμαχοῦσι τῷ μέσῳ πρῶτον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπολαμβάνουσι κακεῖνον ἐν τῷ κοίλῳ καὶ μυχῷ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ

1 ἐν τῷ κοίλῳ καὶ μυχῷ, Hude omits καὶ with C and brackets μυχῷ with Bothe.
LI. The Syracusans on their part, on learning about this, were far more aroused than before and determined not to give the Athenians any respite, seeing that these had now of their own act confessed themselves no longer superior either with their fleet or with their land-force, for otherwise they would not have laid plans for their departure; and at the same time, because they did not want them to settle down somewhere else in Sicily where it would be more difficult to carry on war against them, they were determined to force them to fight a sea-battle as quickly as possible on the spot, in a place that suited themselves. Accordingly they regularly manned their ships and practised for as many days as they thought sufficient. Then, when the favourable moment came, they assaulted on the first day the Athenian walls, and when a small body of hoplites and of horsemen came out against them by certain gates, they cut off a number of the hoplites, and putting them to flight followed in pursuit; and as the entrance to the camp was narrow, the Athenians lost seventy horses and a few of the hoplites.

LII. So on this first day the Syracusan army withdrew; but on the following day they sailed out with their ships, seventy-six in number, and at the same time advanced with their land-force against the walls. The Athenians put out to sea to meet them with eighty-six ships, and closing with them commenced the battle. Eurymedon, who commanded the right wing of the Athenians, wished to surround the ships of the enemy, and had therefore steered his ships out from the line rather too near the shore, when the Syracusans and their allies, after they had defeated the Athenian centre, cut off him also in a recess.
THUCYDIDES

αὐτὸν τε διαφθείρουσι καὶ τὰς μετ’ αὐτοῦς ναῦς ἐπισπομένας· ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τὰς πάσας ναῦς ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατεδίωκον τε καὶ ἐξεώθουν ἐς τὴν γῆν.

LIII. ὁ δὲ Γυλλιππος ὅρων τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων νικωμένας καὶ ἔξω τῶν σταυρομάτων καὶ τοῦ ἐαυτῶν στρατοπέδου καταφερομένας, βουλόμενος διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ῥάν τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀφέλκειν τῆς γῆς φιλίας οὕσης, παρεβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν χηλήν μέρος

2 τι ἔχον τῆς στρατιᾶς. καὶ αὐτοῦς οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ (οὕτως γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους) ὁρῶντες ἀτάκτως προσφερομένους, ἐπεκβοηθήσαντες καὶ προσπεσόντες τοὺς πρῶτος τρέποσι καὶ ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν Δυσιμέλειαν καλούν

3 μένην. ὦστερον δὲ πλείονος ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος παρόντος τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπιβοηθήσαντες καὶ δεῖσαντες περὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς μάχην τε κατέστησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ νικήσαντες ἐπεδίώξαν καὶ ὀπλίτας τοῦ πολλοῦ ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς μὲν πολλὰς διέσωσαν τε καὶ ἔνηγαγον κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, δυνώς δὲ δεόνσας εἰκοσι οἱ Συρακοσίοι καὶ οἱ ξύμαχοι ἔλαβον αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδράς πάντας ἀπέκτειναν.

4 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐμπρήσαι βουλόμενοι οὐλκάδα παλαιὰν κληματίδων καὶ δαδὸς γεμίσαντες (ὁν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνέμος οὖριος) ἀφεῖσαν τὴν ναῦν 1 τῦρ ἐμβαλόντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι δείσαντες περὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντεμηχανήσαντό τε σβεστήρια κωλύματα καὶ παύσαντες τὴν φλόγα

1 τὴν ναῦν deleted by Bothe, followed by Hude.
of the inner bay of the harbour and destroyed both
him and the ships that followed him; and after that
they set about pursuing the entire Athenian fleet
and driving them ashore.

LIII. Now Gylippus, when he saw the ships of
the enemy being defeated and driven ashore at a
point beyond the stockades and their own camp,
wishing to destroy the men as they landed, and also
that the Syracusans might more easily tow the ships
away from a shore that would be friendly to them,
came down to the causeway with part of his army to
assist them. The Tyrrhenians, however, who were
guarding the causeway for the Athenians, saw these
troops rushing to the attack in disorder and went
out against them, and falling upon the first comers
put them to flight and drove them into the marsh
called Lysimeleia. But afterwards, when a larger
force of the Syracusans and their allies had now
arrived, the Athenian troops also went out against
them and, fearing for their ships, engaged in battle
with the enemy, whom they defeated and pursued,
killing a few hoplites; and as for the ships, they
saved most of them and assembled them at their
camp, but eighteen were captured by the Syracusans
and their allies and their crews slain to a man.
Against the ships also that remained the Syra-
cusans, wishing to set them afire, turned loose an
old merchant-ship which they had filled with faggots
and pine-wood, after casting fire into it, the wind
being in the direction of the Athenians. And the
Athenians, alarmed for their ships, devised in their
turn means for hindering and quenching the flames,

1 A quay which ran along by the swamp Lysimeleia toward
the Athenian camp.
καί τὸ μὴ προσελθεῖν ἔγγυς τὴν ὀλκάδα τοῦ κινδύνου ἀπηλλάγησαν. LIV. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Συρακοσίου μὲν τῆς τε ναυμαχίας τροπαῖον ἐστησαν καὶ τῆς ἄνω τῆς πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀπολήψεως τῶν ὑπηρτῶν, ὅθεν καὶ τούς ἢππους ἔλαβοι, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἦς τε οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ τροπῆς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τὴν Λίμνην καὶ ἦς αὐτοὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ.

LV. Γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς νίκης τοῖς Συρακοσίωις λαμπρᾶς ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ (πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐφοβοῦντο τὰς μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ναῦς ἐπελθοῦσας), οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἠθυμίας ἦσαν καὶ ὁ παράλογος αὐτοῖς μέγας ἦν, πολὺ δὲ μείζων ἐτὶ τῆς στρατείας ὁ μετάμελος.

2 πόλεσι γὰρ ταύταις μόναις ἦδη ὀμοιοτρόποις ἐπελθόντες, δημοκρατουμέναις τε, ὦσπερ καὶ αὐτοῖ, καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἢπποι καὶ μεγέθει 1 ἡχοῦσαι, 2 οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπενεγκεῖν οὔτ' ἐκ πολιτείας τι μεταβολῆς τὸ διάφορον αὐτοῖς, ὥ προσήγοντο ἄν, οὔτ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πολλῷ κρείσονος, σφαλμένου δὲ τὰ πλέον, τὰ τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ἡπόρουν καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν ἐκρατήθησαν, οὐκ ἄν φοντο, πολλῷ δὴ μάλλῳ ἐτὶ.

LVI. Οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίου τὸν τε λιμένα εὑδύς

1 ναυσὶ καὶ ἢπποι καὶ μεγέθει, so most MSS. except B, which has ναύς καὶ ἢππου καὶ μεγέθη ἡχοῦσαι.
2 ἡχοῦσαι, Duker's correction for ἡχοῦσαι of the MSS.
and having stopped the fire and prevented the ship from coming near, escaped the danger. LIV. After this the Syracusans set up a trophy, both for the sea-fight and for the cutting off of the hoplites at the wall—the engagement in which they had captured the horses; and the Athenians set up a trophy for the fight in which the Tyrrhenians drove the Syracusan infantry into the marsh, and also for their own victory with the main body of the army.

LV. The victory of the Syracusans having now proved decisive by sea also—for before this they had always been afraid of the new fleet that had come with Demosthenes—the Athenians were in utter despondency. Great had been their miscalculation, and far greater still was their regret at having made the expedition. For of all the cities with which they had gone to war, these alone were at that time similar in character to their own, democratic in constitution like themselves, and strong in ships, cavalry and size. And so, finding themselves unable either to bring about a change in their form of government, and thus introduce among them that element of discord by which they might have brought them over to the Athenian side, or to subdue them by means of a military force that was greatly superior, and having failed in most of their undertakings, they had even before this been at their wits' end, and now that they had suffered defeat even with their fleet, a thing that they could never have anticipated, they were in far greater perplexity still.

LVI. The Syracusans, on the other hand, began empire; but this resource was not open to them in democratic Syracuse.
παρέπλευς καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ διενοῦντο κλήσειν, ὅπως μηκέτι, μηδὲ εἰ βούλοιντο, λάθοιεν

2 αὐτοὺς οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ἐκπλεύσαντες. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σωθῆναι μόνον ἔτι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως ἐκείνους κωλύσουσι, νομίζοντες, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος πολὺ σφῶν καθυπέρτερα τὰ πράγματα εἶναι καὶ, εἰ δύναντο κρατῆσαι 'Αθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καλὸν σφίσιν ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας τὸ ἀγῶνισμα φανεῖσθαι τοὺς τε γὰρ ἄλλους Ἐλληνας εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φόβου ἀπολύσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἐτι δυνατὴν ἔσοδαι τὴν ὑπολοίπον 'Αθηναίων δύναμιν τὸν ὑστερον ἐπενεχθησόμενον πόλεμον ἐνεγκείν), καὶ αὐτὸι ἄξιοντες αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπετα

3 πολὺ θαυμασθῆσθαι. καὶ ἦν δὲ ἀξίος ὁ ἀγῶν κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι οὐχὶ 'Αθηναίων μόνον περιεγγυνοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλῶν ξυμμάχων, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ αὐτὸι ἀντὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ξυμβοληθησάντων σφίσιν, ἡγεμόνες τὲ γενόμενοι μετὰ Κορινθίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐμπαρασχόντες προκινδυνεύσαι τε 1 καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μέγα μέρος 2

4 προκόψαντες. ἐθνὶ γὰρ πλείστα δὴ ἐπὶ μίαν πόλιν ταύτην ξυνήθθη, πλῆν γε δὴ τοῦ ξυμπαντος ὀχλοῦ 3 τοῦ ἐν τὸ δὲ τὸ πολέμῳ πρὸς τὴν 'Αθηναίων τε πόλιν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων.

1 τε, deleted by Krüger, followed by Hude.
2 μέρος, deleted by Krüger, followed by Hude.
3 Krüger’s emendation for λόγου of the MSS.
at once to sail fearlessly about the harbour and
determined to close up the entrance to it, in order
that the Athenians might no longer be able, even if
they wished, to sail out unobserved. For the Syra-
cusans were no longer concerned with merely saving
themselves, but also with preventing the Athenians
from being saved, thinking, as indeed was the case,
that in the present circumstances their own position
was much superior, and that if they could defeat the
Athenians and their allies both by land and by sea
the achievement would appear a glorious one for
them in the eyes of the Hellenes. All the other
Hellenes, they reflected, would immediately be
either liberated from subjection or relieved from
fear, since the military forces that would remain to
the Athenians would not be strong enough to
sustain the war that would afterwards be brought
against them; and they themselves, being regarded
as the authors of all this, would be greatly admired
not only by the world at large but also by posterity.
And indeed the struggle was a worthy one, both in
these respects and because they were showing them-
selves superior, not to the Athenians only, but to
their numerous allies as well, and that too not stand-
ing alone but associated with the friends who had
come to their aid, thus taking their place as leaders
along with the Corinthians and Lacedaemonians,
having also given their own city to bear the brunt
of the danger and taken a great step forward in sea-
power. Indeed, a larger number of nations than
ever before had gathered together at this one city,
if one except the vast throng of those who in this war
rallied to the support of the city of Athens and the
city of the Lacedaemonians.
LVII. Τοσοίδε γὰρ ἐκάτεροι ἐπὶ Σικελίαν τε καὶ περὶ Σικελίας, τοῖς μὲν ἐξυγκτησόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἐλθόντες, τοῖς δὲ ἐξυνδιασώσοντες, ἔπει τῷ Συρακούσαις ἐπολέμησαν, οῦ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ ἐξυγκτησίαν μετ’ ἀλλήλων στάντες, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκάστοις τῆς ἐξυντυχίας ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἐξυμφέρον ἢ ἀνάγκη ἔσχεν. Ἄθηναῖοι μὲν αὐτῷ Ἰώνες ἐπὶ Δωρίδας Ἀθηναίων ἐκόμενες ἦλθον, καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἐτί κρόμενοι Δήμνοι καὶ Ἰμβριοὶ καὶ Λεγένται, οἱ τότε Ἀγίναν εἶχον, καὶ ἐτί Ἑστίαι οἱ ἐν Εὔβοια Ἑστίαιοι οἰκοῦντες, ἀποικοὶ ὄντες, ἔξυπνοι ἐξουσίστατοι. τῶν δὲ ἀλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ ἐξυμαχίας αὐτόνομοι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ἐξουσίστατοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἰερεμίας καὶ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Στυρῆς καὶ Καρυστίου ἄπτ’ Ἑυβοίας ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κείου καὶ Ἀνδροῦ καὶ Τήνου, ἐκ δ’ Ἰωνίας Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σάμοι καὶ Χῖοι. τούτων Χῖοι οὕς ὑποτελεῖσ ὄντες φόρου, ναύς δὲ παρέχουσι αὐτόνομοι ξυνεῖσποντο. καὶ τὸ πλείστου Ἰωνεὶς ὄντες οὕτω πάντες καὶ ἀπ’ Ἀθηναίων πλῆν Καρυστίων (οὕτω δ’ εἰσὶ Δρύσποις), ὑπήκοοι

1 Krüger Σικελία, followed by Hude.
2 Bauer’s correction for Συρακούσας of the MSS.
3 Εστίαιοι οἰκοῦντες, deleted by Hude, following Krüger.

1 Or, by adopting Heilmann’s and Boehme’s conjecture ὅς ἐκάστοι τῆς ἐξυντυχίας . . . εἶχον, “severally choosing their side, not so much from a sense of right or from obligations of kinship, as from the accident of compulsion or their own interest.”
LVII. For the following nations on either side had entered the war at Syracuse, coming against Sicily or in behalf of Sicily, to aid the Athenians to win the country or the Syracuse to save it; and they chose sides, not so much on the ground of right or even of kinship, but either out of regard for their own advantage or from necessity, according to the circumstances in which they each happened to be placed. The Athenians themselves, as Ionians, went of their own free will against the Syracuse, who were Dorians, and with them went as members of the expedition the Lemnians, the Imbrians, and the Aeginetans, who at this time held Aegina, as also the Hestiaeans who inhabit Hestiaea in Euboea, all these being colonists of the Athenians and having the same language and institutions as they had. Of the rest, some took part in the expedition as subjects, others in consequence of an alliance, although independent, and some were mercenaries. The peoples that were subjects and tributaries were the Eretrians, Chalcidians, Styreans and Carystians from Euboea; from the islands the Cean, Andrians and Tenians; and from Ionia the Milesians, Samians and Chians. Of these last, however, the Chians followed as independent allies, not subject to the payment of tribute but furnishing ships instead. Of the above-mentioned almost all were Ionians and colonists of Athens—except the Carystians, who are Dry-

2 cf. iv. xxviii. 4. The occupation of Lemnos was effected by Miltiades a few years after the battle of Marathon (Herodt. vi. 137-140), that of Imbros probably about the same time; of Aegina in 431 B.C. (II. xxvii. 1); of Hestiaea in 446 B.C. (I. cxiv. 5).
3 cf. vi. lxxxv. 2.
δ' ουτες και ἀνάγκη ὅμως Ἰωνές γε ἐπὶ Δωρίας
5 ἕκολούθουν. πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖς Αἰολῆς, Μηθυμναίοι
μὲν ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ φόρῳ υπήκοοι, Τεμέδιοι δὲ καὶ
Αἰγιοὶ υποτελεῖς. οὕτω δὲ Αἰολῆς Αἰολευτὶ
tοὺς κτίσασι Βοιῶτοι τοῖς ¹ μετὰ Συρακοσίων
κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο, Πλαταιῆς δὲ καὶ ²
ἀντικρυς Βοιωτῶν Βοιωτῶι μόνοι εἰκότως κατὰ
6 τὸ ἔχθος. Ἦδοιοι δὲ καὶ Κυθήριοι Δωρίης
ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοὶ, Κυ-
θήριοι, ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ἁμα Γυλίππῳ
μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ὅπλα ἐφεροῦν, Ἦδοιοι δὲ, Ἀργεῖοι
γένος, Συρακοσίως μὲν Δωριεῦσι, Γελώσει δὲ
καὶ ἀποικοὶ ἐυτῶν ὁυσί, μετὰ Συρακοσίων
7 στρατευμένοις, ἡναγκάζοντο πολεμεῖν. τῶν τε
περὶ Πελοπόννησον νησίωτῶν Κεφαλλήνες μὲν
καὶ Ζακύνθιοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νησίωτι-
κὸν μᾶλλον κατειργόμενοι, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἐκρά-
tουν Ἀθηναιοῖ, ἐξειποῦντο. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ οὐ
μόνον Δωρίης ἀλλὰ καὶ Κορινθίου σαφῶς ἐπὶ
Κορινθίους τε καὶ Συρακοσίους, τῶν μὲν ἀποικοὶ
ὄντες, τῶν δὲ ἑυγγενεῖς, ἀνάγκη μὲν ἐκ τού
εὐπρεποῦς, Βουλήσει δὲ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κορινθίων
8 οὐχ ἦσσον εἴποντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνῃοι νῦν καλοῦ-

¹ τοῖς, Lindau's conjecture confirmed by M.
² καὶ ἀντικρυς, Boehme's correction for καταντικρυ of the MSS.

1 An aboriginal people, dwelling near Mount Oeta; cf. Herodt. viii. 43.
2 cf. iii. 1. 2; vi. lxxxv. 2.
3 Those who had escaped to Athens at the siege of Plataea (iii. xxiv. 3), or those who had settled in Scione (v. xxxii. 1).
opians—and although they followed as subjects and under compulsion, nevertheless they were Ionians going against Dorians. Besides these there were Aeolians: the Methymnaeans, who paid service with ships and not with tribute, and as tributaries the Tenedians and Athenians. These, though Aeolians, were constrained to fight against Aeolians, that is, the Boeotians, their founders, who were on the side of the Syracusans; while the Plataeans were the only outright Boeotians who were opposed to Boeotians—as was natural considering their hatred. And there were the Rhodians and Cytherians, both Dorians; the Cytherians, although colonists of the Lacedaemonians, bore arms with the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians who were with Glyippus, while the Rhodians, Argives by descent, were compelled to make war not only upon the Syracusans, who were Dorians, but also upon the Geloans, their own colonists, who were serving with the Syracusans. Of the inhabitants of the islands off the shores of the Peloponnesus, the Cephalenians and Zacynthians went with the Athenians as independent allies, it is true, but on account of their insular position were under a measure of restraint, because the Athenians were masters of the sea. The Corecyraeans, who were not only Dorians but confessedly Corinthians, were serving against the Corinthians and Syracusans, though colonists of the former and kinsmen of the latter, under the specious pretext indeed of compulsion, but really quite as much from choice, on account of their hatred of the Corinthians. Also the Messenians, as they are now called, who live in

\[4 \text{ cf. vi. iv. 3.} \quad 5 \text{ cf. II. vii. 3; VII. xxxi. 2.}\]
μενοι ἐκ Ναυπάκτου¹ καὶ ἐκ Πύλου τότε ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐχομένης ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρεληφθησαν. καὶ ἐτὶ Μεγαρέων φυγάδες οὐ πολλοὶ Μεγαρεύσι Σελινονυτίοις οὐσὶ κατὰ ξυμφορὰν ἐμάχοντο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκούσιος μᾶλλον ἡ στρατεία ἐγύνευτο ἣδη Ἀργείοι μὲν οὗ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς Δακεδαιμονίων τε ἕχθρας καὶ τῆς παρατίκα ἐκαστοὶ ἰδίας ὀφελίας Δωρίης ἐπὶ Δωρίας μετὰ Ἀθηναίων Ἰώνων ἡκολούθουν, Μαυτινῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδων μισθοφόροι, ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ πολεμίως σφίσιν ἀποδεικνυμένους ἴναι εἰσθότες, καὶ τότε τοὺς μετὰ Κορινθίων ἐλθόντας Ἀρκάδας οὐδεὶς ἧσσον διὰ κέρδος ἤγομενοι πολεμίους, Κρήτες δὲ καὶ Ἀἴτωλοι μισθὸ καὶ οὕτω πεισθέντες. ξυνεβή δὲ τοῖς Κρήτηι τῇ Γέλαν Ροδίως ἕναντι ξυγκτίσαντας μὴ ἠν τοὺς ἄτοικους, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τούς ἄτοικους ἐκόντας μετὰ μισθὸν ἐλθεῖν. καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων τινὲς ἅμα μὲν κέρδει, τὸ δὲ πλέον Δημοσθένους φιλία καὶ Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίας ξύμηλαν ὄντες ἐπεκούρησαν καὶ οὐδὲ μὲν τῷ Ἰούλῳ κόλπῳ ὀριζόμενοι ἤταλιστῶς δὲ Θουρίων καὶ Μεταπόντιοι, ἐν τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις τότε

¹ Hude reads ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου.

¹ Settled by the Athenians at Naupactus since 462 B.C. (I. ciii. 3). Some of them were employed in garrison duty at Pylos in 425 B.C. (IV. xli. 2).
² iv. lxxiv. 2; vi. 43.
³ vi. iv. 2.
⁴ Five hundred according to vi. 43.
Naupactus, as well as the Messenians at Pylos, which was now in the possession of the Athenians, were taken along as participants in the war. Furthermore, there were a few exiles from Megara who, because of their misfortune, were fighting against the Selinuntians, who were Megarians. So far as the rest were concerned, their part in the expedition was, as compared with the others, of a more voluntary character. The Argives, on the one hand, were led to take part, not so much by their alliance, as by their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, and out of regard each for his own immediate advantage, associating themselves, Dori ans against Dorians, with the Athenians who were Ionians; the Mantineans, on the other hand, and other Arcadians went as mercenaries, for they were accustomed to go against any who at any time were pointed out to them as enemies, and at this time were led by desire of gain to regard as enemies the Arcadians who were with the Corinthians. The Cretans and the Aetolians were also induced by pay; and in the case of the Cretans it so fell out that, although they had assisted the Rhodians in the founding of Gela, they went, not with their colonists, but against them, and of their own free will, for hire. Some of the Acarnanians served, it is true, for gain, but the greater portion were moved by friendship for Demosthenes and goodwill toward the Athenians, whose allies they were, to come to their aid. All these were within the boundary of the Ionian Gulf; but of the Italiots the Thurians and Metapontians took part in the expedition, being reduced at this

5 cf. ch. xix. 4. 6 cf. vi. iv. 3. 7 cf. iii. vii. 1, xciv. 2, cv. 3, cvii. 2, exiv. 1.
οικούντες, καὶ Σικελιώτων Νάξιοι καὶ Καταναῖοι, 
βαρβάρων δὲ Ἐγεσταίοι τε, οὕτε ἐπηγάγοντο, 
καὶ Σικελῶν τὸ πλέον, καὶ τῶν ἔξω Σικελίας 
Τυρσηνῶν τέ τινες κατὰ διαφορὰν Συρακοσίων 
καὶ Ἰάπυγες μισθοφόροι. τοσάδε μὲν μετὰ 
Ἀθηναίων ἐθνη ἐστράτευον.

LVIII. Συρακοσίους δὲ ἀντεβοθήσαν Καμαρι-
ναίοι μὲν ὄμοροι οὐντες καὶ Γελώι οἰκούντες μετ’ 
αὐτοὺς, ἔπειτα Ἀκραγαντίων ἡσυχαζόντων ἐν 
2 τῷ ἔπτ’ ἐκεῖνα ἰδρυμένοι Σελυσοῦντιοι. καὶ οἴδε 
μὲν τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Διβύνη μέρος τετραμ-
μένον νεμόμενον, Ἰμεραῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν 
Τυρσηνικὸν πόντον μορίου, ἐν ϕ καὶ μόνοι 
"Ελληνες οἰκούσιν" οὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕξ αὐτοῦ μόνοι 
3 ἐβοθήσαν. καὶ Ἐλληνικὰ μὲν ἐθνη τῶν ἐν 
Σικελίᾳ τοσάδε, Δωρίης τε καὶ 2 αὐτόνομοι 
πάντες, ξυνεμάχουν, βαρβάρων δὲ Σικελοὶ μόνοι 
ὅσοι μὴ ἀφέστασαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῶν 
δ’ ἔξω Σικελίας Ἐλλήνων Δακεδαμόνων μὲν 
ἡγεμόνα Σπαρτιάτην παρεχόμενοι, νεοδαμώδεις 
δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ Εἰλωτας,3 Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ 
ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ μόνοι παραγενόμενοι καὶ Δευκάδιοι 
καὶ Ἀμπρακιώται κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς, ἐκ δὲ

1 κατειλημμένοι Reiske’s emendation for κατειλημμένων of the MSS.
2 αὐτόνομοι, οἱ preceding deleted by Bekker.
3 After Εἰλωτας the MSS. give δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμώδε 
ελευθερον ἢ ἡ εἶναι, “Neodamodes means ‘being now free.’”
The words are generally deleted, as not read by the Schol.
time to such straits by party crises that they could not do otherwise; and of the Siceliots the Naxians and the Catanaeans. Of Barbarians there were the Egestaeans, who had brought the Athenians to Sicily, and the greater part of the Sicels; and of those outside of Sicily a certain number of Tyrrenians, who had a quarrel with the Syracusans, and some Iapygian mercenaries. So many were the peoples who took part in the struggle on the side of the Athenians.

LVIII. The Syracusans, on the other hand, were aided by the Camarinaeans, who were their next neighbours, and the Geloans, who lived next to the Camarinaeans; then, since the Agrigentines were neutral by the Selinuntians, who were settled in the country beyond. All these occupied that part of Sicily which faces Libya, but the Himeraeans came from the part which faces the Tyrrenian Sea, where they were the only Hellenic inhabitants; and they alone from that region came to the aid of the Syracusans. Such were the Hellenic peoples in Sicily, all Dorians and independent, that fought on their side; but of Barbarians, the Sicels alone—those, that is, that had not gone over to the side of the Athenians. Of the Hellenes outside of Sicily there were the Lacedaemonians, who furnished a Spartan as commander-in-chief, but no troops except Neodamodes and Helots; the Corinthians, who alone were at hand with both a fleet and a land-force; the Leucadians and Ambraciots, both induced by the tie

1 cf. vi. lxxxviii. 6, ciii. 2. 2 cf. ch. xxxiii. 4.
3 cf. vi. lxvii. 2; vii. xxxiii. 1. 4 cf. ch. xxxiii. 2.
5 cf. vi. vi. 2, lxv. 1, lxvii. 2. 6 See on ch. xix. 3.
7 cf. vi. lxii. 2; vii. i. 3.
'Αρκαδίας μυσθοφόροι ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀποσταλέωτες καὶ Σικελίων άναγκαστοὶ στρατεύοντες καὶ τῶν ἕξω Πελοποννήσου Βοιωτοῦ. 4 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας τούτους οἱ Σικελίωται αὐτοὶ πλῆθος πλέον κατὰ πάντα παρέσχων, ἀτε μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκούντες· καὶ γὰρ ὅπλα τοῖς πολλοῖ καὶ νήσοι καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄλλοι ἄμιλοι ἀφθονοιξυνέλησαν. καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντας αὕτης ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους Συρακοσίους αὐτοὶ πλεῖον ἑπορίσαντο διὰ μέγεθος τε πόλεως καὶ ὅτι ἐν μεγίστῳ κυνήγῳ ἔσαι.

LIX. Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐκατέρων ἐπικουρίας τοσαίδε ἔστην γῆναν, καὶ τότε ἡδη πᾶσαι ἀμφοτέρους παρῆσαν καὶ εἰκῇ οὐδὲν οὐδετέρως ἔστηθεν.

2 Οἱ δ' οὖν Συρακοσίων εἰκότως ἐνόμισαν καλὸν ἀγώνα σφίσιν εἰπέν ἐπὶ τῇ γεγενημένῃ νίκῃ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔστην τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοσοῦτον ὅν, καὶ μὴδε καθ' ἐτερα αὐτοὺς, μήτε διὰ τὴν ἀθάνασιν μήτε τῷ πεζῷ, δια-

3 φυγεῖν. ἔκλησαν οὖν τὸν τε λιμένα εὐθὺς τῶν μέγαν, ἐχουσα τὸ στόμα ὁκτὼ σταδίων μάλιστα, τριήρες πλαγίαις καὶ πλοῖοι καὶ ἀκάτοις ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἔμμιστες, καὶ τάλλα, ἤν ἐτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ὄλγων οὐδὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἐπενόουν.

LX. Τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τε ἀπόκλησιν

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1 Syracuse (vi. iii. 2), Leucas (i. xxx. 2) and Ambracia (i. lxxx. 3) were sister states having Corinth as μητρόπολις.
2 cf. ch. xix. 4.
3 Because since 418 B.C. an oligarchic constitution had been forced upon them (v. lxxxi. 2).

118
of kinship; from Arcadia mercenaries sent by the Corinthians; the Sicyonians, who served under compulsion; and, from outside the Peloponnesus, the Boeotians. As compared with all these, who came from abroad, the Siceliots themselves supplied a greater number of troops of every kind, inasmuch as the cities they inhabited were large; and in fact the forces they collected comprised hoplites in large numbers, as well as ships, horses, and a miscellaneous horde of vast numbers. And again, in comparison with all the rest, speaking roughly, the Syracusans themselves provided the larger number, both on account of the greatness of their city and because they were in the greatest danger.

LIX. Such were the forces that had been brought together for the assistance of either side, and at this time both had all their contingents at hand, and no further reinforcements came to either.

The Syracusans and their allies, then, naturally conceived the thought that it would be a glorious achievement for them to crown the victory which they had won in the sea-fight by taking the whole vast armament of the Athenians and preventing their escape in either way, either by sea or by land. Accordingly, they began at once to close the entrance to the Great Harbour, which was about eight stadia wide, with triremes ranged broadside and with large and small boats, mooring them at anchor; and they made other preparations in case the Athenians should still venture to fight at sea, and there was nothing small about any of the designs they formed.

LX. But the Athenians, observing the closing of

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4 cf. ch. xix. 3.
5 The latter part of the summer of 413 B.C.
όρωσε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διάνοιαν αὐτῶν αἰσθομένοις

2 Βουλευτέα ἐόδοκει. καὶ ξυνελθόντες οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ταξιαρχοὶ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὔτε αὐτῖκα ἔτι εἴχον (προτεμυσάντες γὰρ ἐς Κατάνην ὡς ἐκπλευσόμενον ἀπείπου μὴ ἐπάγειν) οὔτε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐμελλὼν ἐξειν, εἰ μὴ ναυκρατήσουσιν,

ἐβουλεύσαντο τὰ μὲν τεῖχη τὰ ἄνω ἐκλιπεῖν,

πρὸς δὲ αὐταῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπολαβόντες διατείχισατι ὅσον οἶον τε ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τε σκεύεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενείσιν ἰκανοῖς γενέσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν φρουρεῖν, ὦπδ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πεζοῦ τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας, ὅσαι ἦσαν καὶ δυναταὶ καὶ ἀπλωτεραι, πάντα τινὰ ἐσβιβάζοντες πληρῶσαι,

καὶ διαναμαχήσαντες, ἢ μὲν νικῶσιν, ἢς Κατά-

νην κομίζεσθαι, ἢ δὲ μή, ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς ναῦς

πεζῆς ἐπνταξάμενοι ἀποχρεῖν ἢ ἂν τάχιστα

μέλλωσι τινος χωρίου ἢ βαρβαρίκου ἢ Ἐλληνικοῦ

φιλίου ἀντιλήψεθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐδοξεῖν

3 αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, καὶ ἐποίησαν· ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄνω
tειχῶν ὑποκατέβησαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρωσαν

πάσας, ἀναγκάσαντες ἐσβαίνειν ὅστις καὶ ὀπωσ-

οῖν ἐδοκεί ἡλικίας μετέχον ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι.

4 καὶ ξυνεπληρώθησαν ὃνες αἱ πᾶσαι δέκα μάλιστα

cαὶ ἦκατον· τοξότας τε ἐπ' αὐτὰς πολλοὺς καὶ

ἀκοντιστὰς τῶν τε Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

ξένων ἐσβιβάζον καὶ τάλλα ὡς οἶον τ' ἢν ἔξ

1 i.e. the upper extremity of their lines, under the bluffs of Epipolae and furthest from the harbour.

2 The reference is to contingents from peoples who, like the Acarnanians, were not under the Athenian empire but served for pay; cf. ch. lvii. 10.
the harbour and being aware of the general plans of the enemy, thought it desirable to hold a council. So the generals and the taxiaruchs came together and took counsel with reference to the difficulties which now confronted them both in other ways, and especially owing to the fact that they no longer had supplies for their immediate needs—for in the expectation that they would sail away they had already sent word to Catana and stopped the bringing in of provisions—and were not likely to have them in the future, unless they should hold the mastery at sea. They determined, therefore, to abandon their upper walls, and cutting off by means of a cross-wall the smallest possible space, close to the ships, that would suffice for the stores and for the sick, to put a garrison in this: they would then take the rest of their land-force and man all their ships, not only those which were fit for service, but also the less seaworthy, putting aboard every available man, and fight the issue out at sea; if they won, they would proceed to Catana, but if not, they would burn their ships, and, forming in line of battle, make their retreat by land, taking whatever route would enable them soonest to reach some friendly place, whether Barbarian or Hellenic. These plans having once been determined upon, they acted accordingly: they descended stealthily from the upper walls and manned all their ships, compelling everyone to embark who, provided he was of military age, seemed to be at all fit for service. So there were manned altogether about one hundred and ten ships; and they put on board a large number of archers and javelin-men, both of the Acarnanians and of the other foreigners, and in general they made such provision
THUCYDIDES

ἀναγκαίον τε καὶ τοιαύτης διανοίας ἐπορίσαντο.

5 ὁ δὲ Νικίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐτοίμα ἦν, ορῶν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῷ τε παρὰ τὸ εἰσωθῶς πολὺ ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατηθήναι ἀθυμοῦντας καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνιν ὃς τάχιστα βουλομένους διακινδυνεύειν, ξυγκαλέσασ ἀπαντάσας παρεκκλευ-

σατό τε πρῶτον καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

LXI. "Ἀνδρέας στρατιώται Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, ὁ μὲν ἁγὼν ὁ μέλλων ὁμοίως κοινὸς ἀπασίν ἔσται περὶ τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἐκάστοις ὦν ἡ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων. 1 ἡν γὰρ κρατήσωμεν νῦν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἐστι τῷ τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν ποιτείᾳ πολυν ἐπιδεῖν.

2 ἀθυμεῖν δὲ σφαλέντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὐτὶ τῶν πρῶτοι ἁγῶσιν ὑπεισαγωγὴς ἐπειτα διὰ παντὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ

3 φόβου ὁμοίων ταῖς ξυμμαχομεν ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' ὅσοι τε Ἀθηναίων πάρεστε, πολλῶν ἔδη πολέμων ἐμπειροὶ οντες, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ξυστρα-

παράλογων, καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίσαντες στήναι καὶ ὅτι ἀναμαχομενοι ἡμῶν τούτο τοῦ πλήθους, ὃς παντὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔφοράτε, παρασκευάζεσθε.

LXII. "Α δὲ ἀρωγὰ ἐνείδομεν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λιμένος στενότητι πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ὁχλον τῶν νεῶν ἑσεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς τήν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρασκευήν, ὁὶς πρῶτον

1 ὥν ἡ τῶν πολεμίων, deleted by Stahl, followed by Hude.
as was possible under the stress of necessity and with
the object they had in view. But when almost all
their preparations were ready, Nicias, seeing that the
soldiers were not only discouraged, because contrary
to their wont they had been badly beaten at sea,
but that they also, on account of the scarcity of
provisions, were anxious to risk a battle as soon as
possible, called them all together before giving the
order for battle and exhorted them, speaking as
follows:

LXI. "Soldiers of Athens and of our allies, the
impending contest will concern you all alike—a
contest both for salvation and for fatherland for each
of you no less than for the enemy; for if we win the
present battle with our fleet, it is possible for every-
one to live to see his own city, wherever it may be.
And we ought not to be discouraged, much less feel
as do the rawest recruits, who, when they have been
defeated in their first contests, cherish ever after-
wards a foreboding, inspired of their fear, that takes
on the colour of their disasters. But as many of you
here present as are Athenians, and have already had
experience in many wars, and you our allies, who
always take part in our campaigns, remember the
unexpected turns in war, and in hope that fortune
may take her stand on our side also, and with the
resolve to retrieve your defeat in a manner worthy
of this vast multitude of your army that you see
before you, make ready for battle.

LXII. "But as regards anything that could be
helpful to us, in view of the narrowness of the
harbour, in combating such a throng of ships as
will fill it and the forces which the enemy has placed
on their decks—conditions which injured us before

123
εβλαπτόμεθα, πάντα καὶ ἡμῖν νῦν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μετὰ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἐσκεμμένα ἦτοι·
2 μασταί. καὶ γὰρ τοξόται πολloi καὶ ἀκοντισταί ἐπιβήσονται καὶ ὅχλος ὁ ναυμαχίαν μὲν ποιοῦ-
μενοι ἐν πελάγει οὖν ἄν ἐχρώμεθα διὰ τὸ βλάπτειν ἄν τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν νεῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνθάδε ἡναγκασμένη ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν
3 πεζομαχία πρόσφορα ἔσται. ηὔρηται δὴ ἡμῖν ὅσα χρή ἀντιναυπηγείσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπωτίδων αὐτοὺς παχύτητας, ὥσπερ δὴ μάλιστα εβλαπτόμεθα, χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολαί, αἰ σχήσουσι τὴν πάλιν ἀνάκρουσιν τῆς προσπε-
σούσης νεῶς, ἢν τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ἐπιβάται
4 ὑπονομῶσιν. ἐσ τούτο γὰρ δὴ ἡ ἡναγκάσμεθα ὅστε πεζομαχεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ τὸ μῆτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνακρούσθαι μὴ ἔκεινος ἐὰν ὁφελη-
μον φαίνεται, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τῆς γῆς πλῆν ὅσον ἄν ὁ πεζὸς ἡμῶν ἐπέχη πολεμίας οὕσης.

LXIII. Ὡν χρη μεμνημένους διαμάχεσθαι ὅσον ἄν δύνησθε, καὶ μὴ ἐξωθεῖσθαι ἐς αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ ἐξυπερσούσης νηλ νεῶς μὴ πρότερον ἁξιοῦν ἀπο-
λύσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεμίου καταστρώματος
2 ὀπλίτας ἀπαράξητε. καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὅχι ἠγον τῶν ναυτῶν παρακελεύμαι, ὅσοι τῶν ἀνωθέν μᾶλλον τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο· ὑπάρχει δὲ ἡμῖν
3 ἐπὶ νῦν γε τὰ πλείω τῷ πεζῷ ἐπικρατεῖν. τοῖς δὲ ναύταις παραινῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόδε καὶ

1 i.e. if they board the hostile ships and fight hand to hand.

124
—all this has now been made ready by us also, as far as our circumstances permit, after consultation with our pilots. Indeed, many bowmen and javelin-men will go on board, and a multitude such as we should not use if we were making a fight in the open sea, because they would hamper our skill by increasing the weight of our ships, whereas in the land-battle that we are forced to fight here from the decks of our ships they will be of advantage. And we have contrived whatever counter-devices were necessary in the construction of our ships, and especially to combat the thickness of the enemy's catheads, a device from which we suffered most injury, we have provided grappling-irons, which will prevent the ship that has rammed us from backing off again, if the marines perform the service that will then devolve upon them.¹ For we have been forced to the extremity of having to fight a land-battle on shipboard, and it is manifestly to our interest neither to back water ourselves nor to suffer them to do so, especially since the whole shore, except the small part of it that our land-force holds, is hostile.

LXIII. "Remembering these things, you must fight to the last with all your strength and not allow yourselves to be driven ashore, but when ship collides with ship be resolved never to separate until you have swept into the sea the hoplites on the enemy's decks. And these things I urge upon the hoplites not less than upon the sailors, inasmuch as such work belongs rather to those on deck; and, besides, we still have the better of the enemy in most points with our land-force. As for the sailors, I exhort them, and at the same time I even implore
δέομαι μὴ ἐκπεπλήχθαι τι ταῖς ἵμμυφοραῖς ἀγαν, τήν τε παρασκευήν ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων βελτίων νῦν ἐχοντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλείους, ἐκεῖνην τε τὴν ἡδονήν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὡς ἄξια ἐστὶ δια-
σώσασθαι, οἳ τέως Ἀθηναῖοι νομιζόμενοι, καὶ μὴ ὄντες, ἡμῶν ¹ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῶν τρόπων τῇ μιμήσει ἐθαυμάζεσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἡλλάδα, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἔλασσον κατὰ τὸ ὕφελείσθαι, ἐσ τε τὸ φοβερὸν τοὺς ὑπνόκους καὶ τὸ μὴ ² ἀδικεῖσθαι πολὺ πλείον, ³ μετείχετε. ὡστε κοινοὶ μόνοι ἐλευθέρως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντες δικαῖως ἀν ⁴ αὐτῆς νῦν μὴ κατα-
προδίδοτε, καταφρονήσαντες δὲ Κορινθίων τε, οὖσ πολλάκις νευκίκατε, καὶ Σικελιωτῶν, ἃν ὦν ἀντιστήναι οὐδεὶς ἐως ἥκμαξε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἡμίν ἥξισθεν, ἀμύνασθε αὐτοὺς καὶ δείξατε ὅτι καὶ μετ’ ἀσθενείας καὶ ἵμμυφορῶν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐπιστήμη κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἔτερας εὐτυχοῦσης ῥώμης.

LXIV. Τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους ἡμῶν πάλιν αὖ καὶ τάδε ὑπομιμήσκο, ὅτι οὔτε ναῦς ἐν τοῖς νεωσόκοις ἄλλας ὁμοίας ταῖς δὲ οὔτε ὅπλιτῶν ἡλικίαι ὑπελίπτετε, εἰ τε ἕμβησται τὰ ἄλλα ἤ τὸ κρατεῖν ἡμῖν, τοὺς τε ἐνθάδε πολεμίους ἐνθάδε ἐπ’ ἐκείνα πλευσομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὑπο-
λοίπους ἡμῶν ἀδυνάτους ἐσομένους τοὺς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀμύνασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἂν

¹ With Codex Paris: all the best MSS. ἡμῶν.
² Hude omits μὴ, which is found only in B of the better MSS.
³ Hude rejects πολὺ πλείον, after Krüger.
them, not to be overmuch dismayed by our calamities, since the forces we now have on the decks are better and our ships more numerous; and I would have you—those of you that is who have hitherto been accounted Athenians without being so ¹—reflect how well worth preserving is the proud feeling that because of your knowledge of our language and your imitation of our ways you have been admired throughout Hellas, and in point of advantage have had no less a share in our empire than ourselves, while as regards the fear you inspired in our subjects and the freedom from injury you enjoyed you have had a much greater share. Do you, therefore, who alone are partners with us in our empire as free men, be just and do not utterly betray it; but with scorn both for the Corinthians, whom you have frequently beaten, and for the Siceliots, not one of whom, when our navy was at its best, ever presumed even to stand up against us, ward them off, and show that even amid weakness and misfortune your skill is more than a match for the strength and good fortune of your opponents.

LXIV. "As to those of you who are Athenians, I remind you once more that you left behind you in your docks at home no other ships like these nor hoplites of military age, and if the outcome shall be aught else but victory for you, your enemies here will straightway sail yonder, and our fellow-citizens who are left at home will be unable to ward off both the enemies there and the new invaders. Those of

¹ Referring to the resident aliens; cf. Schol. τοὺς μετοίκους λέγει.

² The text is corrupt; most editors bracket ἄυ.
THUCYDIDES

ύπὸ Συρακοσίους εὐθὺς γένοισθε, οἷς αὐτὸι ἵστε οἷα γνώμῃ ἐπῆλθετε, οἴ δὲ ἔκει ὑπὸ Δακεδαίμονίους.

2 ὡστε ἐν ἐνὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγῶνι καθεστώτες καρτερήσατε, εὔπερ ποτὲ, καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε καθ᾽ ἐκάστους τε καὶ ξύμπαντες ὅτι οἴ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ύμῶν νῦν ἐσόμενοι καὶ πεζοὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰσὶ καὶ νῆς καὶ ἡ ὑπόλοιπος πόλις καὶ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, περὶ ὅ, εἰ τὸς ἐτέρος ἐτέρου προφέρει ἡ ἐπιστήμη ἡ ἐνυψωσία, οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον καίρῳ ἀποδείξαμενος αὐτὸς τε αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμος γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς ξύμπασι σωτηρίοις."

LXV. Ὅ μὲν Νικίας τοσάντα παρακελευσάμενος εὐθὺς ἐκέλευε πληροῦν τὰς ναύς. τῷ δὲ Γυλίτππῳ καὶ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις παρῆν μὲν αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὥρωσι καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν παρασκευήν, ὅτι ναυμαχήσουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, προηγγέλθη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ ἐπιβολή τῶν σιδηρῶν χειρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τε τὰλλα ἐξηρτύσατο ὡς ἐκαστα καὶ πρὸς 2 τοῦτο τὰς γὰρ πρόφαρα καὶ τῆς υπερτοῦ ἄνω ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεβύρσωσαν, ὡσ τὶς ἀπολισθάνου καὶ 3 μὴ ἔχοι ἀντιλαβὴν ἡ χείρ ἐπιβαλλομένη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐτόιμα ἦν, παρακελεύσατο ἐκείνους οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ Γύλιππος καὶ ἔλεξαν τούτα.Δέ. 

LXVI. "Οτι μὲν καλὰ τὰ προειργασμένα καὶ ὑπὲρ καλῶν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγῶν ἔσται, ὁ Συρακόσιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οἱ τε πολλοὶ δοκεῖτε
you who are here would at once come under the power of the Syracusans—and you yourselves know with what purpose you came against them—and those who are there under the power of the Lacedaemonians. So, therefore, since you are constrained to fight this one battle on behalf of both yourselves and them, be steadfast now, if ever you were, and remember, one and all, that those of you who will now be aboard the ships are for the Athenians both army and navy, and all that is left of the State and the great name of Athens. For her sake, if anyone surpasses another in skill or in courage, he will never find a better occasion for displaying them, at once for his own advantage and for the salvation of us all.”

LXV. After making this exhortation Nicias immediately gave orders to man the ships. Gy lips and the Syracusans, on the other hand, observing the actual preparations which they were making, could easily perceive that the Athenians were going to fight at sea; furthermore, the device of the grappling-irons had already been reported to them, and while they were equipping their ships to meet every other contingency, they also took precautions against this. For they stretched hides over the prows and a considerable portion of the upper works of the ships, in order that when the grapnel was thrown it might slip off and not get hold. And when all was ready, Gy lippos and his generals exhorted their men as follows:

LXVI. "That the deeds which have already been achieved are glorious and that the contest will be for glories still to come, you, Syracusans and allies, seem to us most of you to be aware—otherwise you

129
ἡμῖν εἰδέναι (οὔδε γὰρ ἂν οὕτως αὐτῶν προθύμως ἀντελάβεσθε), καὶ εἰ τις μὴ ἐπὶ ὅσον δει ὡςθηται,
2 σημανοῦμεν. Ἅθηναιοὺς γὰρ ἐς τὴν χώραν τήνδε ἔλθοντας πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας κατα-
δουλώσει, ἐπεὶ, εἰ κατορθώσειν, καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν ἥδη μεγάσθην τῶν τε πρὶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ τῶν νῦν κεκτημένως, πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων ὑπο-
στάντες τῷ ναυτικῷ, ὥσπερ πάντα κατέσχον, ταῖς μὲν νεικίκατε ναυμαχίας, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος
3 νῦν νικήσετε. ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ ἐπειδὰν ὁ ἄξιοι τὰ προύχειν κολυσθῶσι, τὸ γ’ ὑπόλοιπον αὐτῶν
τῆς δόξης ἀσθενεστέρον αὐτὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἔστιν ἢ εἰ
μηδεὶς ὑφήθησαν τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τῶν παρ’ ἐλπίδα
tοῦ αὐχήματος σφαλλόμενοι καὶ παρὰ ἰσχύν
tῆς δυνάμεως ἐνδιδόσιν. ὁ νῦν Ἅθηναιοὺς εἰκός
πεποιθέναι.

LXVII. Ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ τε ὑπάρχουν πρότερον,
ὁπερ καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες ἐτὶ ὅντες ἀπετολμήσαμεν,
βεβαιότερον νῦν, καὶ τῆς δοκίμασις προσγεγενν
μένης αὐτῶν κρατίστους εἶναι, ἢ τοὺς κρατίστους
ἐνικήσαμεν, διπλασία ἐκάστου ἢ ἐλπίς. τὰ δὲ
πολλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἢ μεγίστη ἐλπίς
2 μεγίστην καὶ τὴν προβυμίαν παρέχεται. τὰ τε
τῆς ἀντιμιμήσεως αὐτῶν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἡμῶν
tῶν μὲν ἡμετέρῳ τρόπῳ ξυνήθῃ τέ ἐστι καὶ οὐκ
ἀνάρμοστοι πρὸς ἐκαστὸν τούτων ἐσόμεθα. οἱ δ’,

1 τὸ κρατίστους εἶναι MSS., Hude τοῦ, following Krüger; most editors delete τό.
2 ἐκαστὸν, B, most MSS. τὴν ἐκάστην. Hude reads τὴν
τέχνην ἐκάστην.

1 Or “unexpectedly deceived in their self-confidence.”

130
would not have laid your hands to the task so zealously; but if anyone has not perceived this as clearly as he should, we will make it plain. The Athenians came against this country in the first place for the enslavement of Sicily, and after that, if they should be successful, for that of the Peloponnesus also and the rest of Hellas, having already acquired a dominion greater than that of any Hellenes either of the past or of the present time; but you, the first men who ever withstood their fleet, with which they had obtained the mastery everywhere, have already defeated them on the sea and in all probability will defeat them in this present battle. For when men have once suffered abatement just where they claim to be superior, what is left of their self-esteem is weaker than it ever was—than if they had never thought themselves superior at all—and their pride being mortified by the disappointment, they give way out of all proportion to their actual strength. And at the present moment this is what the Athenians have probably suffered.

LXVII. "With us, however, the feeling that before animated us, which led us, even though we were inexperienced, to venture our all, is now more fully confirmed; and since there has been added to it the conviction that we are strongest, because we have defeated the strongest, the hope of each man is doubled. And, generally speaking, the greatest hope inspires in men the greatest zeal for their undertakings. Furthermore, as regards their imitation of our arrangements, whereas these are familiar to us as a part of our manner of fighting and we shall be able to adapt ourselves to meet each one of
ἐπειδὰν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλῖται ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ὄσι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ, χειραίοι ώς εἶπείν Ἀκαρνάνες τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ναῦς ἀναβάντες, οἳ οὖδ’ ὅπως καθεξομένους χρῆ τὸ βέλος ἀφεῖναι εὐρήσουσι, πῶς οὐ σφαλοῦσί τε τὰς ναῦς καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πάντες οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν τρόπῳ κινούμενοι

3 ταράζονται; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθει τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ὀφελήσονται, εἰ τις καὶ τὸ δὲ ύμῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἵσαις ναυμαχήσει, πεφόβηται· ἐν ὄλγῳ γὰρ πολλαὶ ἀργότεραι μὲν ἐς τὸ δρᾶν τι δὲν θυόλουν ἐσοῦνται, ῥᾴστατι δὲ ἐς τὸ βιάττεσθαι ἀφ’ ὧν ἡμῖν

4 παρεσκευάσται. τὸ δ’ ἄληθέστατον γνώτε, ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα σαφῶς πεπύθηκαι· ὑπερβαλλόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς παροῦσης ἀπορίας ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καθεστήκασιν οὐ παρασκευήσει πίστει μᾶλλον ἡ τύχης ἀποκινδυνεύσαι οὔτως ὅπως δύνανται, ἣν ἡ βιασάμενοι ἐκπλεύσωσιν ἡ κατὰ γῆν μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιῶνται, ὡς τῶν γε παρόντων οὐκ ἄν πράξαντες χείρον.

LXVIII. Πρὸς οὖν ἀταξίαν τε τοιαύτην καὶ τύχην ἀνδρῶν έαυτήν παραδεδωκυίαν πολεμιστάτων ὀργῆς προσμείξωμεν, καὶ νομίσωμεν ἀμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους οἳ ἣν ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρία τοῦ προσπεσόντος δικαίωσωσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον, ἀμα δὲ

1 For such men would not be able to stand up on deck.
them, yet from their point of view, as soon as they find many hoplites upon their decks, contrary to their established usage, and many javelin-men also, landlubbers so to speak—Acarnanians and others—put aboard ships, men who will not even know how to discharge their darts sitting down, they will not inevitably imperil their ships and all be in confusion among themselves, as they move about in a fashion not their own? Even by the superior number of their ships they will not be profited—in case any one among you has become afraid from the fact that he will have to fight against an unequal number; for in a small space a large number of ships will be slower to carry out any action they may plan, but very easily damaged by the devices which we have adopted. But if you seek the absolute truth, learn it from intelligence which we consider certain: it is through the overwhelming character of their misfortunes and because they are compelled by their present difficulties, that they have reached the desperate resolution—trusting more to fortune than to their own preparation—of risking a battle in whatever way they can, in order that they may either force their way out and sail away, or after defeat may make their retreat by land; for they know that in any case they could not fare worse than at present.

LXVIII. "Against a disorderly array like this, therefore, and against the fortune of our bitterest foes that has surrendered itself into our hands, let us give battle with fury; and let us consider that against enemies it is a most lawful act if for the punishment of the aggressor anyone thinks fit to glut his heart's animosity; and again, that vengeance
ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι ἐγγενησόμενον ἡμῖν, τὸ ¹
2 λεγόμενον που ἢιστον εἰναι. ὡς δὲ ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἐχθριστοι, πάντες ἠστε, οἳ γε ἐπὶ τὴν ἢμετέραν ἡλθον δουλοσόμενοι, ἐν φ', εἰ κατώρθωσαν, ἀνδράσι μὲν ἂν τα ἄλγιστα προσέθεσαν, παιοὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖξι τὰ ἀπρεπέστατα, πόλει δὲ τῇ πάσῃ
3 τὴν αἰσχύστην ἐπίκλησιν. ἀνθ' ὃν μὴ μαλακισθήναι τινα πρέπει, μηδὲ τὸ ἄκυδύνως ἀπελθεῖν αὐτούς κέρδος νομίσαι. τούτῳ μὲν γάρ, καὶ ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν, ὡμοίως δράσουσιν τὸ δὲ πραξάντων ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος ἄ βουλομέθα τούσδε τε κολασθήναι καὶ τῇ πάσῃ Σικέλλα καρπομένη καὶ πρὶν ἐλευθερίαν βεβαιοτέραν παραδοῦναι, καλὸς ὁ ἄγών. καὶ κινδυνών οὕτω σπανιώτατοι οἳ ἂν ἐλάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ σφαλήναι βλάπτοντες πλεῖστα διὰ τὸ εὐτυχῆσαι ὕφελῶσιν.

LXIX. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ Γόλιππος τοιαῦτα καὶ αυτὸν τοῖς σφετέροις στρατιώταις παρακελευσόμενοι ἀντεπλήρουν τὰς ναῦς ἐυθὺς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἥσσανοντο.
2 ὁ δὲ Νικίας ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ ὠρῶν οἷος ὁ κινδυνός καὶ ὡς ἐγγύς ἢδη, ἐπειδῆ καὶ ὡςον οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνάγεσθαι, καὶ νομίσας, ὃπερ πάσχοισιν ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀγώνι, πάντα τε ἐργῷ ἐτι σφίσιν ἐνεδεῖ εἶναι καὶ λόγῳ αὐτοῦς οὕτω ἴκανα εἰρήσθαι, αὕτῃ τῶν τριηράρχων ἐνα ἐκαστον ἀνεκάλει, πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάζων καὶ

¹ kal before τὸ λεγόμενον, omitted by one inferior MS. and Valla, is deleted by most editors.
I 34
on foes will be within our power—and that, as the proverb has it, is of all things the sweetest. And that they are enemies, and the worst of enemies, you all know; since they came against our land to enslave it, and, if they had succeeded in that, would have inflicted upon our men all that is most painful, upon our women and children the worst indignities, and upon the city as a whole the most shameful of appellations. Wherefore it is fitting that no one of us should be soft-hearted, or count it a gain that they should depart without risk to us. For this, even if they win the victory, they will do all the same; whereas if we accomplish, as it is likely we shall, that which we wish—that these men be punished, and that we hand over to Sicily, which enjoyed it before, a liberty still more secure—how glorious the prize! And of all hazards those are rarest which harm least in consequence of failure but benefit most because of success.”

LXIX. Gylippus and the Syracusan generals also, after they in their turn had thus exhorted their soldiers, began immediately to man their ships as soon as they saw that the Athenians were doing so. But Nicias, dismayed by the situation that confronted him and realizing the nature of the struggle and how near at hand it was now, since in a moment more they would put to sea, and thinking, as men usually do on the eve of great battles, that everything that had been done on their side was still incomplete, and what had been said by the generals was not yet adequate to the occasion, again called up the trierarchs one by one, addressing them by their father’s name, their own name, and that of

1 That of subject or slave.
άυτος ὄνομαστὶ καὶ φυλῆν, ἀξιῶν τὸ τε καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ὃ ὑπήρχε λαμπρότητός τι, μὴ προδιδόναι τινὰ καὶ τὰς πατρικὰς ἀρετὰς, ἢν ἐπιφανεὶς ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ γονοῦ, μὴ ἀφανίζειν, πατρίδος τε τῆς ἑλευθερωτάτης ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνεπιτάκτου πᾶσιν ἐστὶν διαίταν ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ τε λέγων ὡσα ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἡ ἔφις τοῦ καίρου ὅπερ ἀνθρώποι οὐ πρὸ τὸ δοκεῖν τινὶ ἀρχαιολογεῖν φυλαξάμενοι εἰσέπεν ἂν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων παραπλήσια ἐστὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ παῖδας καὶ θεοὺς πατρώους προφερόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ παροῦσῃ ἐκπλήξει ὡφέλιμα νομίζοντες ἐπιβοῦνται. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ἢκανά μόλλον ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα νομίσας παρηνήσθαι, ἀποχωρήσας ἤγε τοῦ πεζοῦ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ παρέταξεν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστου ἐδύνατο, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστη τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὡφελία ἐστὶ τὸ βαρσεῖν γίγνοιτο. οὐ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Εὐθύδημος (οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς ναυς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἐπέβησαν) ἀραντεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατοπέδου εὐθὺς ἐπλεον πρὸς τὸ ξένυμα τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τὸν παραλειμήθεντα διέκπλουν, βουλόμενοι βιάζομαι ἐστὶ τὸ ἔξω.

LXX. Προεξαγαγόμενοι δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ναυσὶ παραπλησίας τὸν ἄριθμὸν καὶ πρότερον, κατὰ τε τὸν ἐκπλουν μέρει αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσον καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον κύκλῳ λιμένα, ὡς πανταχόθεν ἀμα προσπίπτουν τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις,

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1 In this fashion, e.g. Θησεύς Αἰγέως Αἰγείδη. There were ten Attic tribes at that time.
2 cf. ch. lix. 2.
their tribe, and admonished them: if anyone had any claim to distinction, he urged him not to prove false to his own reputation; if any had illustrious ancestors, they should not dim the glory of their fathers’ deeds of valour; he also reminded them of their fatherland, the freest in the world, and of the uncontrolled liberty in daily life that all possessed in it; and then went on to add whatever else men would be likely to say at so critical a moment, when they do not guard themselves against uttering what might to some seem trite and commonplace—appeals to wives and children and ancestral gods such as are put forward in almost the same words in support of every cause—but in the dismay of the moment, thinking that these sentiments will be useful, shout them at the top of their voices. And when he thought that he had exhorted them, not enough, but as much as the scanty time allowed, he withdrew, and leading the infantry down to the sea drew them up so as to cover as large a space as possible, in order that they might render the greatest possible service in inspiring courage in the men on board the ships. But Demosthenes and Menander and Euthydemos—for these went on board to take command—putting off from the Athenian camp, sailed at once to the barrier of the harbour and the outlet that had been left in it, wishing to force their way to the outer sea.

LXX. But the Syracusans and their allies, who had already put out with about the same number of ships as before, were now on guard at the exit with a squadron of them and also round the rest of the harbour, their purpose being to fall upon the Athenians simultaneously from all directions; and at
καὶ ὁ πεξός ἀμα αὐτοὺς παρεβοήθει ἦπερ καὶ αἱ νῆσες κατασχοιεν. ἦρχον δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις Σικανὸς μὲν καὶ Ἀγάθαρχος, κέρας ἐκάτερος τοῦ παντὸς ἔχων, Πυθήν δὲ καὶ οἱ
2 Κορίνθιοι τὸ μέσον. ἐπεὶδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπορεύοντο τῷ ἄγματι, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ρύμῃ ἐπιπλέοντες ἐκράτουν τῶν τεταγμένων νεῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπειρώντο λύειν τὰς κλῆσεις· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πανταχόθεν σφύσι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ἐξεμμάχων ἐπιφερομένων οὐ πρὸς τῷ ἄγματι ἐτί μόνον ἢ ναιμαχία ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λυμένα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ην καρτερὰ καὶ οία οὐχ ἐτέρὰ τῶν
3 προτέρων. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐκατέρως προθυμία ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπιπλεῖν ὅποτε κελευσθεὶ ἐγίγνετο, πολλὴ δὲ ἡ ἀντιτέχνησις τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἄγωνισμὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οἱ τε ἐπὶ βάται ἐθεράπευον, ὅποτε προσπέσοι ναῦς νη, μὴ λείπεσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος τῆς ἀλλῆς τεχνῆς· πᾶς τε τὶς ἐν ὧς προσετέκτῳ αὐτὸς
4 ἐκαστὸς ὑπεύγετο πρῶτος φαίνεσθαι. ἔμμεσουσάν δὲ ἐν δλίγῳ πολλῶν νεῶν (πλείοντα γὰρ δὴ αὐτὰ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἐναμάχησαν· βραχὺ γὰρ ἀπέλιπτον ἐξαμφότεραι διακόσιαι γενέσθαι), αἱ μὲν ἐμβολαὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀνακρούσεις καὶ διέκπλουσ ὀλίγαι ἐγίγνουσον, αἱ δὲ προσβολαί, ὡς τὺχοι νάς νη προσπεσοῦσα ἢ διὰ τὸ φεύγειν ἢ
5 ἀλλὴ ἐπιπλέονσα, πυκνότεραι ἦσθαν. καὶ ὧς οὖν μὲν ἥρουν προσφέροιτο νάς, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κατα-

1 oί Ἀθηναίοι, with B; Hude reads oί ἀλλοί Ἀ. with most of the MSS. and Dion. Hal.
the same time their troops on land came up to help them wherever the Athenians' ships put to shore. In command of the Syracusan fleet were Sicanus and Agatharchus, each having a wing of the main fleet, while Pythen and the Corinthians held the centre. Now when the Athenian fleet drew near the barrier they charged and in the first onset had the better of the ships stationed there, and they set about trying to break the chains which fastened the boats together; but afterwards, when the Syracusans and their allies bore down upon them from all directions, the battle no longer raged next to the barrier only, but was becoming general all over the harbour. And it was obstinately fought, beyond any of the battles that had gone before. For on both sides much zeal was shown on the part of the sailors to make the charge whenever the order was given, and on the part of the pilots much pitting of skill against skill and mutual rivalry; and the marines took good care, whenever ship collided with ship, that the service on deck should not fall short of the skill of the rest; and everyone was eager to show himself foremost at the post of duty to which he had himself been assigned. And since many ships had come into conflict in a small space—for never did so many ships fight in so small a space, both sides together falling little short of two hundred—attacks with the beak were few because it was not possible to back water or to break through the line.\(^1\) But chance collisions were more frequent, as ship fell foul of ship in the attempt to flee or in making a charge upon another ship. And as long as a ship was bearing down, the men on the

\(^1\) On the manœuvring δεκτάος, see note on ch. xxxvi. 4.
στρωμάτων τοῖς ἀκοντίοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἀφθόνοις ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἔχρωντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσμείξειαν, οἱ ἐπιβάται ἐσ χείρας ἱόντες ἐπει-6 ῥώντο ταῖς ἄλληλων ναυσίν ἐπιβαίνειν. ἦν

υπερτύχανε τε πολλαχοῦ διὰ τὴν στενοχώριαν τὰ

μὲν ἄλλως ἐμβεβληκέναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶς ἐμβεβλή-

σθαί, δύο τε περὶ μίαν καὶ ἢτιν ἦ καὶ πλείους

ναύς κατ’ ἀνάγκην ξυνηρτησθαι, καὶ τοῖς κυβερνη-

ταις τῶν μὲν φυλακῆς τῶν δ’ ἐπιβουλῆς, μὴ καθ’

ἐν ἐκαστον, κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν, περιε-

στάναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπον μέγαν ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν

ξυμπεπτούσων ἐκπληξιέν τε ἀμα καὶ ἀποστέρησιν

τῆς ἀκοῆς ὧν οἱ κελευσται φθέγγοιτο παρέχειν.

7 πολλή γὰρ δὴ ἡ παρακέλευσις καὶ βοὴ ἀφ’ ἐκ-

ατέρων τοῖς κελευσταις κατὰ τε τὴν τέχνην καὶ

πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν ἐγάγνετο, τοῖς μὲν

Ἀθηναίοις βιάζεσθαι τε τὸν ἐκπλουν ἐπιβοῶντες

καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σωτηρίας νῦν, εἰ

ποτε καὶ αὕθας, προθύμως ἀντιλαβέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ

Συρακοσίοις καὶ ἕμμαχοι καλὸν εἶναι κωλύσαι

to αὐτῶς διαφυγεῖν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστους

8 πατρίδα νικήσαντας ἐπαυξήσαι. καὶ οἱ στρα-

τηγοὶ προσέτι ἐκατέρων, εἰ τινὰ τοῦ ὀρθὶν μὴ

κατ’ ἀνάγκην πρῦμναν κρουόμενον, ἀνακαλοῦντες

όνομαστὶ τὸν τριήραρχον ἡρώτων, οἱ μὲν Ἀθη-

ναίοι, εἰ τὴν πολεμιωτάτην γῆν οἰκειοτέραν ἢδὲ

tῆς οὐ δ’ ὀλίγου πόνου κεκτημένης θαλάσσης

140
decks of the opposing ship used against it javelins and arrows and stones without stint; but when they came to close quarters, the marines fought hand to hand in the attempt of each side to board the ships of the other. And it happened in many places, on account of the narrowness of the space, that while the ships of one side were ramming the enemy they were also being rammed themselves, and that two ships, sometimes even more, had unavoidably got entangled about one; it also devolved upon the pilots to make defence on one side and plan attack on the other, not at one point at a time, but at many points and in every direction; and the great din arising from the collision of many ships not only caused consternation, but also prevented the men from hearing the orders of their boatswains. For there was constant exhortation and shouting on the part of the boatswains on either side, both in carrying out their duties and as the rivalry of the moment inspired them; on the Athenian side they shouted to their men to force the passage out, and, if they would win a safe return to their fatherland, now, if ever hereafter, to set themselves zealously to the task; on the side of the Syracusans and their allies they cried that it would be glorious to prevent the enemy’s escape, and, by winning the victory, to exalt the honour each of his own native land. Moreover, the generals on each side, if they saw any ship in any part of the field drawing back when it was not absolutely necessary to do so, would call out the name of the trierarch and demand, the Athenian generals whether they were withdrawing because they considered the land of bitterest foes to be now more their own than the sea which Athens had
THUCYDIDES

ηγούμενοι ὑποχωροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι, εἰ οὖς ἱσασὶ προσθυμομένους 1 παντὶ τρόπῳ διαφυγεῖν, τούτους αὐτοὶ ἑπογυναῖς ἑξῆς.

I. LXXI. "Ο τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἱσορροποῦ τῆς ναυμαχίας καθεστηκυῖας πολλῶν τὸν ἁγώνα καὶ ξύστασιν τῆς γνώμης εἰς, φιλονικῶν μὲν ὁ αὐτόθεν περὶ τοῦ πλείονος ἢδη καλοῦ, δεδίοτες δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μὴ τῶν παρόντων ἐτι 2 χεῖρον πρᾶξουσιν. πάντων γὰρ δὴ ἀνακειμένων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὁ τε φόβος ἢν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐδενὶ ἔοικός καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνόμαλον τῆς ἡμέρας 2 ἀνάμωμαλον καὶ τὴν ἐπογυνία τῆς ναυ-

3 μαχίας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡγακόροιτο ἑχειν. δὴ ὅλοι τὰ διὰ οὕσης τῆς θεᾶς καὶ οὐ πάντων ἀμα ἡ τοῦ αὐτὸ σκοπούντων, εἰ μὲν τινες ἱδοεῖν τῇ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησαν τε ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν μὴ στερήσαι σφῶς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέρωσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τις ᾧσωμενον βλέπαντες ὁλοφυρμῷ τα ἀμα μετὰ ὑμᾶς ἐχρόντων καὶ ἂπὸ τῶν δρωμένων τῆς ὑψίσεως καὶ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδουλεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀντίπαλον τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπειδόντες, διὰ τὸ ἄκριτως ἐνεπεχεῖς τῆς ἀμύλλης καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἵσα τῇ ὀδὴ περιδεῖν ἑξαναπονεύοντες ἐν

1 'Ἀθηναῖος, after προσθυμομένου, deleted by Duker.
2 ἀνάμωμαλον τῆς τάξεως, added by Classen.

1 Classen's emendation of the incomprehensible Vulgate seems to have the support of the Schol. διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς χώρας ἀλλοι ἄλλοις ἐθέδωρον τῆν ναυμαχίαν. Bekker's emendation, δι' αὐτὸ ἀναμωμαλο... for διὰ τῷ... is confirmed by one MS. (no) and makes good sense if we take αὐτὸ to refer either to the idea that their fear was unparalleled or that the stake was so great: "For since the Athenians had
acquired with no little toil, and the Syracusan, whether, when they knew clearly that the Athenians were eager to escape no matter how, they would themselves flee before men who were in flight.

LXXI. And the armies on the shore on both sides, so long as the fighting at sea was evenly balanced, underwent a mighty conflict and tension of mind, the men of Sicily being ambitious to enhance the glory they had already won, while the invaders were afraid that they might fare even worse than at present. For the Athenians their all was staked upon their fleet, and their fear for the outcome like unto none they had ever felt before; and on account of the different positions which they occupied on the shore they necessarily had different views of the fighting.\(^1\) For since the spectacle they were witnessing was near at hand and not all were looking at the same point at the same time, if one group saw the Athenians prevailing anywhere, they would take heart and fall to invoking the gods not to rob them of their safe return; while those whose eyes fell upon a portion that was being defeated uttered shrieks of lamentation, and by the mere sight of what was going on were more cowed in spirit than the men who were actually fighting. Others, again, whose gaze was fixed on some part of the field where the battle was evenly balanced, on account of the long-drawn uncertainty of the conflict were in a continual state of most distressing suspense, their very bodies swaying, in the extremity of their fear, in accord with their opinion their all staked upon the ships, there was fear for the outcome like to none they had ever felt, and on this account they necessarily had different views of the sea-fight.  

143
τοῖς χαλεπώτατα διήγησιν. αἰεὶ γὰρ παρ' ὀλίγον
4 ἡ διεφεύγῃ ἡ ἀπώλειντο. ἢν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐώς ἀγχώμαλα ἐναυ-
μάχουν, πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμὸς, βοή,
νικῶντες, κρατοῦμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὧς ἄν ἐν μεγάλῳ
κυνήγῳ μέγα στρατόπεδον πολυειδὴ ἀναγκάζοιτο
5 φθέγγεσθαι. παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν
νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἔπασχον, πρίν γε δὴ οἱ Συρακόσιοι
καὶ οἱ ἕμμαχοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχούσης τῆς
ναυμαχίας ἐτρεψάν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπι-
κείμενοι λαμπρῶς, πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ διακε-
6 λευσμῷ χρώμενοι, κατεδίωκον εἰς τὴν γῆν. τότε
δὲ οἱ μὲν ναυτικὸς στρατός, ἄλλοι ἄλλη, ὡς μὴ
μετέωροι ἐάλωσαν, κατενεχθέντες ἐξῄπτεσαν ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον οὔ δὲ πεζὸς οὐκέτι διαφόρως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ
μιᾶς ὄρμης οἰμωγῆ τε καὶ στόνῳ πάντες,
δυσανασχετοῦντες τὰ γεγυμένα, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς
ναύς παρεβοήθουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ
τείχους ἐς φυλακῆν, ἄλλοι δὲ, καὶ οἱ πλείστοι,
ἡδη περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπῃ σωθήσονται διε-
7 σκόπουν. ἢν τε ἐν τῷ παρανυτικὸν ὀὔδεμάς δή
tῶν ἕμμασῶν ἑλάσσων ἐκπλήξεως. παραπλησία
tε ἐπεπόνθεσαν καὶ ἐδρασάν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πύλῳ. δια-
φθαρεισών γὰρ τῶν νεῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίωις
προσαπώλλυντο αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νύσσῃ ἄνδρες
diabeβηκότες, καὶ τότε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνέλπι

1 cf. iv. 14.
of the battle; for always they were within a hair's breadth of escaping or of perishing. And in the same Athenian army one might hear, so long as the combatants were fighting on equal terms, every kind of cry at the same time—wailing, shouting, "We are winning," "We are beaten," and all the divers kinds of cries that a great army in great danger would be constrained to utter. The men also on board the Athenian ships were affected in a similar way, until at last the Syracusans and their allies, after the fighting had been maintained a long time, routed the Athenians and pressing on triumphantly, with loud cries and exhortations, pursued them to the land. Thereupon as regards the naval force such ships as had not been captured in the deep water were driven to shore, some to one place, some to another, and the men tumbled out of the ships and rushed for the camp; as for the army on land, their emotions were no longer at variance, but with one impulse all broke forth into wailing and groaning, being scarcely able to bear what was happening, and ran along the shore, some to the ships, in order to help their comrades, some to what remained of their wall, in order to guard it; while still others, and these the greater number, were now concerned only about themselves and how they might be saved. And at the moment there reigned a consternation greater than any fear felt before. These men had now suffered a fate not unlike that which they had themselves inflicted upon the Lacedaemonians at Pylos; for when their fleet had been destroyed there, the men who had crossed over to the island were also as good as lost to them. And so at the present time the Athenians could have no hope of
ΣΤΟΝ ἩΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΣΩΘΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ, ἩΝ ΜΗ ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΓΙΓΝΗΤΑΙ.

LXXII. Γενομένης δ’ ἱσχυρᾶς τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ πολλῶν νεῶν ἀμφοτέρωσι καὶ ἄνθρωπων ἀπολομένων οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπικρατήσαντες τὰ τε ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκρῶς ἀνείλοντο καὶ ἀποπλεῦσαντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τροπαίον

2 ἔστησαν. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι υπὸ μεγέθους τῶν παρόντων κακῶν νεκρῶν μὲν περὶ ἡ ναυαγίων οὔδε ἐπενόουν αἰτήσαντι ἁναίρεσιν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἔβουν.

3 λεύοντο εὐθύς ἀναχωρεῖν. Δημοσθένης δὲ Νικία προσελθὼν γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο πληρώσαντας ἐτί τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν βιώσασθαι, ἡν δύνανται, ἀμα ἔρ τὸν ἐκπλουν, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖον ἐτι αἱ λοιπαὶ εἰσὶ νῆς χρήσιμαι σφίσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμιῶν ἤσσαν γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις περιλοιποί ὡς ἐξήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίους ἐλάσσονς ἢ πεντήκοντα. καὶ ἐξιγχωροῦσις Νικίου τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βουλομένων πληροῦν αὐτῶν οἱ ναῦται ὡς ἦθελον ἔσβαίνειν διὰ τὸ καταπεπληκθῆκα τῇ ἡσσῇ καὶ μὴ

5 ἄν ἔτι οἴεσθαι κρατῆσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς κατὰ γῆν ἀναχωρησότους ἦδη ἔμπαντες τὴν γνώμην εἴχον. LXXIII. Ἐμοκράτης δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος ὑπονοήσας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νομίσας δεινον εἶναι εἰ τοσαύτη στρατιὰ κατὰ γῆν ἀποχωρῆσασα καὶ καθεξομένη ποι τῆς Σικελίας βουλήσεται αὕθις σφίσι τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι, ἐσηγεῖται ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐν τέλει ὑπόσιν ὡς ὁ χρεών ἀποχωρῆσαι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς περιδείν, λέγων ταῦτα ἀ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ ἐξελθόντας ἦδη πάντας

146
getting safely away by land unless something quite extraordinary should happen.

LXXII. The battle having been thus stubbornly fought and many men and ships lost on both sides, the Syracusans and their allies were victorious and gathered up their wrecks and their dead and after that sailed home and set up a trophy. The Athenians, however, were so affected by the magnitude of their present ills that they did not even give a thought to wrecks or dead, or ask leave to take them up, but were planning an immediate retreat during the night. But Demosthenes went to Nicias and proposed that they should man once more what remained of their fleet and force their way out, if they could, at daybreak, saying that a larger number of seaworthy ships still were left to them than to the enemy; for there yet remained to the Athenians about sixty, but to their opponents less than fifty. Nicias agreed to this proposal, and the generals desired to man the ships at once; but the sailors refused to embark, because they were utterly dejected by their defeat and felt that it was no longer possible for them to win. So they were now unanimously of the opinion that they must make their retreat by land.

LXXIII. But Hermocrates the Syracusan, suspecting their intention and thinking that it would be a serious matter if so large an army, retreating overland, should settle somewhere in Sicily and be disposed to renew the war upon Syracuse, went to those in authority and explained that they ought not to permit the Athenians to withdraw during the night—giving the reason which led him to this opinion—but that the Syracusans and their allies
THUCYDIDES

Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τὰς τε ὀδοὺς ἀποκοδομήσαι καὶ τὰ στενόπορα τῶν χωρίων

2 προφθάσαντας φυλάσσειν. οἱ δὲ ξυμμέτρικως καὶ ἀντικροτήτης εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναργύρους ἀρτι ἀσμένους

ἀπὸ ναυμαχίας τε μεγάλης ἀναπεπαυμένους καὶ ἀμα ἐορτῆς οὐσίᾶς (ἐτυχε γὰρ αὐτῶς Ἡρακλεί
tὴν ἡμέραν θυσία οὐσία) οὐ δοκεῖν ἂν ῥαδίως ἐθελήσαι ὑπακούσαι. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ περι-
χαροῦς τῆς νίκης πρὸς πόσιν τετράφθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἐλπίζειν

ἀν σφῶν πεῖθεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἢ ὅπλα λαβόντας ἐν

3 τῷ παρόντι ἔξελθεῖν. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι ταῦτα

ἀργισμένοις ἐφαύνετο ἀπορα καὶ οὐκετε ἐπείθεν

αὐτοῖς ὁ 'Ερμοκράτης, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις τάδε

μισχαναται, δεδώσῃ ὁ Αθηναίων καθ' ἤσιν γινο

προφθάσωσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ διελθόντες τὰ χαλεπώ-
tατα τῶν χωρίων πέμπει τῶν ἑταίρων τινὰς
tῶν ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ ἱππεῶν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Αθηναῖων

στρατόπεδον ἦν καὶ ξυμμέτρικη φυλάσσεται· ὅπος

προσελά-
santes ἐξ ὅσον τὰς ἐξελλεῖν ἀκουσθῆναι καὶ

ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τινὰς ὡς ὄντες τῶν Αθηναίων ἐπιτιθοί (ἡσαν γὰρ τινὲς τῶν Νικία 

dιάγγελοι 
tῶν ἐνδοθεν) ἐκέλευον φράζειν Νικία μὴ ἀπάγειν 

τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ στρατεύμα, ὡς Συρακοσίων ταῖς

όδοις φυλασσόντων, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἤσιν τής

ἡμέρας παρασκευασάμενοι ἀποχωρεῖν. καὶ οἱ

μὲν εἰστόντες ἀπῆλθον, καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες διήγει-

λαν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν 'Αθηναίων.

1 cf. ch. xlviii. 2.

148
should immediately march out in full force and build barricades across the roads and forestall the enemy by guarding the narrow passes. Now the officials were as firmly of this opinion as Hermocrates and thought that these steps should be taken, but since the soldiers had as yet hardly had the rest they so eagerly desired after the great battle and, besides, there was a festival—for the Syracusans happened on this day to be offering a sacrifice to Heracles—they believed it would be no easy matter to induce the men to answer the summons; for in their great joy over the victory most of them had taken to drinking at the festival; and "We expect," they said, "that they would obey any orders from us rather than to take up arms and march out." So when it was clear to the officials, considering all these things, that the plan was impracticable, and Hermocrates was no longer making any impression upon them, he himself thereupon devised the following plan: fearing that the Athenians might leave quietly during the night and get through the most difficult places before they could prevent this, he sent certain of his own friends with some horsemen to the Athenian camp when it was growing dark. These rode up close enough to be heard and called upon certain persons by name, as though they were friends of the Athenians—for there were some who regularly reported to Nicias all that went on in Syracuse—and bade them tell Nicias not to lead his army away that night, since the Syracusans were guarding the roads, but to withdraw at his leisure, in the daytime, after having made full preparations. After saying this these men departed, and those who had heard reported it to the Athenian generals.

149
THUCYDIDES

LXXIV. Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀγγελμα ἐπέσχον τὴν νύκτα, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀπάτην εἶναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δὲς οὐκ εὐθὺς ὄρμησαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν περιμεῖναι, ὡς ἔκ τῶν δυνατῶν οἱ στρατιώται ὦτε χρησιμώτατα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα καταλιπεῖν, ἀναλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὰ ὧσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐς δίαιταν 2 ὑπήρχεν ἐπιτήδεια ἀφορμᾶσθαι. Συρακόσιοι δὲ καὶ Γύλιππος τῷ μὲν πεξὺ προεξελθόντες τὰς τε ὠδοὺς τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἦ εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱεάναν ἀπεφάργυσαν καὶ τῶν ἔθνων καὶ ποταμῶν τὰς διαβάσεις ἐφύλασσον καὶ ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡς κωλύσοντες ἢ ἐδόκει ἡτάσσοντο ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ προσπλεύσαντες τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐγαλοῦ ἀφέιλκον ἐνέπρησαν δὲ τινὰς ὀλίγας, ὡσπερ διενοήθησαν, αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας καθ' ἱσυχίαν οὐδὲνος κωλύσοντο ὡς ἐκάστην ποι ἐκπεπτωκυιάν ἀναδησάμενοι ἐκόμιζον ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

LXXV. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοκεν τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ικανῶς παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἦδη τοῦ στρατεύματος τρίτη ἡμέρα 2 ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐγίγνετο. δεινοὶ οὖν ἦν οὐ καθ' ἐν μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπολογεκότες πάσας ἀπεχώρουν καὶ ἀντὶ μεγάλης

1 i.e., though an immediate departure seemed forced on them by the circumstances.
2 cf. ch. lx. 2.
LXXIV. So the Athenians, in view of the announcement, in which they saw no trickery, stayed on for that night. And since, even as things were, they had not set out immediately, it seemed to them best to wait during the following day also, in order that the soldiers might pack up what was most useful, as well as they could in the circumstances, and then be off, leaving everything else behind and taking along only such of the supplies on hand as would serve for the sustenance of the body. But the Syracusans and Gylippus went out ahead of them with their infantry and blocked up the roads in the country by which it was likely that the Athenians would travel, set guards at the fords across the streams and rivers, and posted themselves, at such points as seemed favourable, for the reception of the Athenian army, with the intention of opposing its progress. They also sailed up with their ships and began to haul down the Athenian ships from the beach and tow them away; the Athenians themselves had already, it is true, burned some few of their ships, as had been their purpose with the whole fleet, but all the rest the Syracusans, at their leisure and without opposition, taking them one at a time according as they happened to have run aground, lashed to their own ships and brought to the city.

LXXV. After this, when it seemed to Nicias and Demosthenes that adequate preparations had been made, the departure of the army at last took place —on the third day following the sea-fight. And it was terrible, not in one aspect only of their fortunes, in that they were going away after losing all their ships, and, in place of high hopes, with
THUCYDIDES

καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν τῇ ἀπολείψει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ξυνεβαίνε τῇ τε ὁψεὶ ἐκάστῳ ἄλγεινα καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ αἰσθέσθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ νεκρῶν ἀτάφων ὅποτε τοῖς ἵδιοι τινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κείμενον, ἐς λύπην μετὰ φόβου καθίστατο, καὶ οἱ ξόντες καταλειπόμενοι τραυματία τι καὶ ἁσθενεῖς πολὺ τῶν τεθνεώτων τοῖς ξῶσι 1 λυπηρότεροι.

πρός γὰρ Ἀντιβόλων καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν τραπόμενοι ἐς ἀπορίαι καθίστασαν, ἀγείν τε σφας ἄξιοντες καὶ ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἐπιβοῶμεν, εἰ τινὰ ποῦ τε ήδι η ἐταίρων ή οἰκείων, τῶν τε ξυσκήνων ἦδη ἀπίοντων ἐκκρεμανύμενοι καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦντες ὅσον δύνατο, εἰ τῷ δὲ προλύτῳ ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σώμα, ὡς ἄνευ ὀλίγων ἐπιθειασμῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπολειπόμενοι, ὡστε δάκρυσε πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα πλησθὲν καὶ ἀπορία τοιαύτη μὴ ῥάδιος ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καὶ περὶ ἐκ πολεμίας τε καὶ μείζω ή κατὰ δάκρυα τὰ μὲν πεποιθῶτας ἤδη, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀφανεὶ δεδίότας μη πάθωσιν. κατήφειά τε τις ἁμα καὶ κατάμεμψις σφῶν αὐτῶν πολλῇ ἦν. οὔπερ γὰρ ἄλλο ἡ πόλει ἐκπεπολιορκημένη ἐβέκεσαν ὑποθευγούση, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐ σμικρὰ μυριάδες γὰρ τοῦ ξύμπαντος ὄχλου οὐκ ἑλάσσους τεσσάρων

1 ξῶσι, Classen's suggestion; ὀρῶσι is adopted by Hude.

1 "Faint" is Classen's interpretation of ὀλίγων, as used of the weak, scarcely audible voice of the dying, in their last complaints and appeals to the gods. Cf. Od. xiv. 492, φθεγξαμενος ὀλίγη ὀπί, speaking with faint voice. On the other hand, μέγας is often used of a loud shout. But most editors object to ὀλίγων. Arnold thinks that the negative
danger threatening both themselves and their State, but also in that, on the abandonment of their camp, it fell to the lot of each man to see things that were painful both to sight and mind. The corpses were still unburied, and whenever a man saw one of his own friends lying dead, he was plunged into grief commingled with fear; and the living who were being left behind, wounded or sick, far more than the dead seemed piteous to the living, and were more wretched than those that had perished. For turning to entreaty and lamentation, they drove the men to distraction; begging to be taken along and calling aloud upon each one if they saw anywhere a comrade or a kinsman, clinging to their tentmates now going away and following after them as long as they were able, and then, when the bodily strength of one or another failed, falling behind, though not without faint appearances to the gods and lamentations; so that the whole army, being filled with grief and in such perplexity, found it hard to depart, even out of a country that was hostile, and though they had endured already sufferings too great for tears and feared for the future what they might still have to suffer. There was also a general feeling of dejection and much self-condemnation. For indeed they looked like nothing else than a city in secret flight after a siege, and that no small city; for in the entire throng no fewer than four myriads

must be repeated, as if we had ὅκ ἄνευ ὅκ ὄλιγον, and Valla translates, non sine multis obtestationibus ac ploratibus. Various conjectures have been offered as substitutes, e.g. ἄνγρῶν (Heilmann), συχνῶν (Poppo), οἰκτρῶν (van Herwerden), ὄλιγῶν (Madvig). Stahl deletes ὄλιγον as arising from a gloss, ὄλοθρών.
άμα ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ τοῦτων ὦ τε ἀλλοι πάντες ἔφερον ὁ τι τις ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὁ ἱσόμοιρα καὶ Ὢ ὀπλῖται καὶ Ὢ ἱππῆς παρὰ τὸ εἰώθος αὐτοῖ γε καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σιτία, οἱ μὲν ἄπορία ἀκολούθων, οἱ δὲ ἀπιστία ἀπηντομολήκεσαν γὰρ πάλαι τε καὶ οἱ πλείστοι παραχρῆμα. ἔφερον δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἴκανα σῶτος γὰρ ὀψκέτι ἤν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ μὴν ἡ ἀλλη ἀικία καὶ ἡ ἰσόμοιρα τῶν κακῶν ἐχούσα τινα ὄμως τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν κούφισιν, οὔτ' ὥσα παρά τὸ παρόντι ἐδοξάζετο, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἀπὸ οίας λαμπρότητος καὶ αὐχενιατος τοῦ πρώτου ἐς οίαν τελευτήν καὶ 7 ταπεινωτητα ἀφίκατο. μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον τοῦτο Ἐλληνικῷ στρατεύματε ἐγένετο, οἷς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀλλοις δουλωσόμενους ἦκειν αὐτοὺς τοῦτο μᾶλλον δεδιότας μὴ πάθωσι ξυνέβη ἄπιεναι, ἀντὶ δ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ παιάνων, μεθ' ὧν ἐξέπλεουν, πάλιν τούτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιφημίσμασιν ἀφορμάσθαι, πεζοὺς τε ἀντὶ ναυβατῶν πορευομένους καὶ ὀπλικῷ προσέχοντας μᾶλλον ή ναυτικῷ. οἴμος δὲ ὑπὸ μεγεθοῦς τοῦ ἐπικρεμαμένου ἐτι κινδύνου πάντα ταῦτα αὐτοὺς οἴστα ἐφαίνετο. LXXVI. Ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Νικίας τὸ στράτευμα ἀθυμοῦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ μεταβολῇ ὤν, ἐπιταραχὸν ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχοντων ἐθάρσυνε τε καὶ παρεμπθεῖτο, βοῆ τε χρωμενὸς ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐκάστοις καθ' 1 ἕκαστος B, all other MSS. κατὰ τό. 2 All MSS. except C read, after σιτία, ὑπὸ τοῖς δροσίοις, "under their arms." 3 ἡ ἰσόμοιρα, Hude deletes ἡ, with Dobree, and reads ἰσόμοιρα with B.
were on the march together. And of these, the rest all bore whatever each could that was useful, while the hoplites and the horsemen, contrary to their wont, carried their own food, some for want of attendants, others through distrust of them; for there had been desertions all along and in greatest numbers immediately on their defeat. But even so they did not carry enough, for there was no longer food in the camp. Furthermore, the rest of their misery and the equal sharing of their ills—although there was in this very sharing with many some alleviation—did not even so seem easy at the moment, especially when one considered from what splendour and boastfulness at first to what a humiliating end they had now come. For this was indeed the very greatest reversal that had ever happened to an Hellenic armament; for it so fell out that in place of having come to enslave others, they were now going away in fear lest they might rather themselves suffer this, and instead of prayers and pæans, with which they had sailed forth, were now departing for home with imprecations quite the reverse of these; going too as foot-soldiers instead of seamen, and relying upon hoplites rather than a fleet. And yet, by reason of the magnitude of the danger still impending, all these things seemed to them tolerable.

LXXVI. But Nicias, seeing the despondency of the army and the great change it had undergone, passed along the ranks and endeavoured to encourage and cheer the soldiers as well as the circumstances permitted, shouting still louder in his zeal as he came to each contingent, and being

4 τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν, deleted by Hude, as probably not read by the Schol.
οὖς γίγνοντο ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ βουλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγονότικων ὡφελεῖν.

LXXVII. "Ἐτὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἐπιδίδα χρή ἔχειν (ἡδή τινες καὶ ἐκ δεινοτέρων ἡ τοιώνδε ἐσώθησαν), μηδὲ καταμέμφεσθαι ὡμᾶς ἄγαν αὐτοὺς μήτε ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μήτε ταῖς παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν υἱὸν κακο-2 παθίαις. καγὼ τοι oὐδενὸς υἱὸν οὔτε ῥώμη προφέρων (ἀλλ' ὁράτε δὴ ὡς διάκειμαι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου) οὔτε εὐνυχία δοκῶν ποι ὑπερός του εἶναι κατὰ τε τὸν ἱδίου βίον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, υἱὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κινδύνῳ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις αἰωροῦμαι καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐς θεοὺς νόμιμα δεδήμηται, πολλὰ δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα. 3 ἀνθ' ὅν ἡ μὲν ἐπίς ὅμως θρασεῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος, αἱ δὲ ξυμφοραῖ οὐ κατ' ἄξιαν δὴ φοβοῦσιν. τάχα δὲ ἄν καὶ λαθυσίαν ίκανα γὰρ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις ἡπτυχηται, καὶ εἰ τῷ θεῶν ἐπίθεθονοι ἐστρατεύ-4 σαμεν, ἀποχρόντως ἡδὴ τετιμωρήμεθα. ἣλθον γάρ του καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ἡδὴ ἐφ' ἐτέρους, καὶ ἀνθρώπεια δράσαντες ἀνεκτὰ ἔπαθον. καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκός νῦν τὰ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἐπικέειν ἡπιώτερα ἐξεν (οἴκτου γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄξιότεροι ἡδὴ ἐσμέν ἡ φθόνου), καὶ ὅρωντες ὡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἴοι ὁπλίται ἀμα καὶ ὅσοι ξυντεταγμένοι χωρεῖτε μὴ κατα-πέπληχθε ἄγαν, λογίζεσθε δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῖ τε πόλις

156
desirous, by making his voice heard as far as possible, to do some good:

LXXVII. "Even in your present condition, Athenians and allies, you should still have hope—in the past men have been saved from even worse straits than these—and not blame yourselves too much either for your reverses or for your present unmerited miseries. I myself, who have the advantage of none of you in strength of body—nay, you see how I am afflicted by my disease—and who was once thought, perhaps, to be inferior to no one in good fortune as regards both my private life and my career in general, am now involved in the same danger as the meanest among you. And yet my life has been spent in the performance of many a religious duty toward the gods and many a just and blameless action towards men. Wherefore, in spite of all, my hope for the future is still confident, and our calamities do not frighten me as much as they might well have done. Perhaps they may even abate; for our enemies have had good fortune enough, and if we have roused the jealousy of any of the gods by our expedition we have already been punished sufficiently. Others have ere now, we know, gone against their neighbours, and after acting as men will act, have suffered what men can bear. It is therefore reasonable that we also should now hope that the divine dispensations will be more kindly towards us—for we are now more deserving of the gods' pity than of their jealousy—and, furthermore you should, when you look upon yourselves and see what fine hoplites you are and what a multitude you are when marching in battle array, not be too greatly dismayed; nay, remember that
εὐθὺς ἔστε ὅποι ἄν καθεξήσθη, καὶ ἄλλῃ οὐδεμίᾳ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐν Σικελία οὔτ' ἄν ἐπιόντας δέξατο ῥαδίως οὔτ' ἄν ἱδρυθέντας ποὺ ἐξαναστήσειεν. 5 τὴν δὲ πορείαν ὅστ' ἀσφαλῆ καὶ εὐτάκτου εἶναι αὐτοὶ φυλάξατε, μὴ ἄλλο τι ἡγησάμενος ἐκαστος ἢ ἐν ὧ ἄν ἀναγκασθῇ χωρίῳ μάχεσθαι, τούτο καὶ 6 πατρίδα καὶ τείχος κρατήσας ἔξειν. σπουδὴ δὲ ὀμοίως καὶ νῦκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἔσται τῆς ὅδου· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια βραχέα ἐχομεν, καὶ ἢν ἀντιλα- βώμεθα τοῦ φιλίνου χωρίον τῶν Σικελῶν (οὔτοι γὰρ ἦμιν διὰ τὸ Συρακοσίων δέος ἐτί βέβαιοι εἰσιν), ἦδη νομίζετε ἐν τῷ ἐχύρῳ εἶναι. προτέ- πεμπται δὲ ὡς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀπαντῶν εὐρημένου καὶ 7 σετία ἀμα κομίξειν. τὸ τε ξύμπαν γνώτε, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς στρατιῶται, ἀναγκαῖον τε ὃν ὑμῖν ἀνδράσων ἀγαθοῖς γύγνεσθαι, ὃς μὴ ὅτος χωρίον ἐγγὺς ὅποι ἄν μαλακισθέντες σωθεῖτε, καὶ ἢν νῦν διαφύγητε τοὺς πολεμίους, οὗ τε ἄλλοι τευξόμενοι ὡν ἐπιθυμεῖτε ποὺ ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ οἱ 'Ἄθηναιοι τὴν μεγάλην δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως καίπερ πεπτωκυιάν ἐπανορθώσοντες· ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆς ἄνδρων κεναί.”

LXXVIII. Ὅ μὲν Νικίας τοιάδε παρακελευό- μενος ἀμα ἐπιήγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ, εἰ τῇ ὀρθῇ διεσπασμένον καὶ μὴ ἐν τάξει χωροῖν, εὐνάγων καὶ καθιστάς, καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν ἦσον τοῖς καθ' ἐαυτὸν τοιαῦτα τε καὶ παραπλῆσια λέγων. 2 τὸ δὲ ἐχώρει ἐν διπλασίῳ τεταγμένου, πρῶτον

1 For the sentiment, cf. Alcaeus, frg. 22 ἀνδρές πόλεως πάργως ἄρευοι; Soph. O. T. 56; Aesch. Pers. 349; Eur. frg. 825; Plut. Lycurg. 19; Dem. xviii. 299; Dio C. lvi. v. 3; Cic. ad. Att. vii. 11.
wherever you establish yourselves you are at once a city, and that in all Sicily there is no other city which could either sustain an attack from you or drive you out if you once made a settlement anywhere. And as to the march, you yourselves must see to it that it is safe and orderly, and each one of you must have no other thought than this—that the place, wherever it may be, in which you will be forced to fight, will be, if you conquer, both your country and your fortress. And we must make haste upon our journey both night and day alike, for such supplies as we have are scanty; and if we reach some friendly place in the country of the Sicels—and we can still depend upon them because of their fear of the Syracusans—then only you may consider that you are in security. Directions have been sent ahead to the Sicels that they are to meet us and bring provisions with them. Know the whole truth, fellow-soldiers: you must of necessity be brave men, since there is no place near at hand which you can reach in safety if you are cowards; and if you escape your enemies now, the rest of you will win all that you surely long to see once more, and those who are Athenians will raise up again, however fallen, the great power of their State; for it is men that make a State, not walls nor ships devoid of men.”

LXXVIII. Such were the words of exhortation which Nicias uttered as he passed along the ranks; and if he saw any part of the army straggling or not marching in line, he brought them together and into order; and Demosthenes did likewise, speaking in much the same terms to the soldiers under him. And now the army began the march, arrayed in a
μὲν ἡγούμενον τὸ Νικίου, ἐφεσάκηκεν δὲ τὸ Δημο-
σθένους· τοὺς δὲ σκευοφόρους καὶ τὸν πλείστουν
3 ὀχλον ἐντὸς εἰχον ὦ ὄπλιται. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο
ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Ἀνάτου ποταμοῦ, νηρὸν ἐπ'
αὐτῷ παρατεταγμένον τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμ-
μάχων, καὶ τρεφαμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ κρατήσαντες
τοῦ πόρου ἐχώρων ὦ τὸ πρόσθεν· οἱ δὲ Συρα-
κόσιοι παριππεύοντες τε προσέκειντο καὶ ἐσα-
κοντίζοντες οἱ ψυλοὶ. καὶ ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
προελθόντες σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ἑλίσσαντο
πρὸς λόφον τινα ὦ Ἀθηναίου· τῇ δ' ύστεραια πρὸ
ἐπορέυοντο καὶ προῆλθον ὡς εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ
κατέβησαν ἐς χωρίον ἀπεδόν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρα-
τοπεδέυσαντο, βουλόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων λαβεῖν
τι ἐδώδυμον (ἄκειτο γὰρ ὁ χώρος) καὶ ὑδρα μετὰ
σφῶν αὐτῶν φέρεσθαι αὐτόθεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρόσθεν
ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια, ἦ ἐμελλὼν Ἴναι, οὐκ ἀφθονον
5 ἦν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ προελθόντες τὴν
διόδον τὴν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἀπετείχίζον· ἦν δὲ
λόφος καρτέρος καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ χαράδρα
6 κρημνώδθης, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀκραίων λέπας. τῇ δ' ύστεραια ὦ Ἀθηναίοι προῆσαν, καὶ τῶν Συρα-
κοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων αὐτοὺς ἰππῆς καὶ ἀκοινωτῶν
ἀντες πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκώλυνοι καὶ ἐσθηκόντιξον
7 τε καὶ παρίππευον. καὶ χρόνον μὲν πολύν ἐμά-
χοντο οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ἐπειτα ἀνεχόρησαν πάλιν ὡς
to auto stratotêdon. kai ta épitêdeia oukéti omóis eîchon· ou gar éti apoxwreîn olon tv' ñn
upò twn îppéwv.

1 Second day of the retreat.
2 "Bald" is a term applied to several bare (unwooded) summits in the Appalachian range in the United States.
hollow square, first the division of Nicias leading the way, then that of Demosthenes following. The baggage-carriers and most of the miscellaneous throng were enclosed inside the ranks of the hoplites. When they reached the crossing of the river Anapus, they found some of the Syracusans and their allies drawn up there, and after routing these and securing the passage they went forward; but the Syracusan cavalry rode alongside and kept attacking them, while their light-armed troops showered javelins upon them. On this day the Athenians advanced about forty stadia and bivouacked at a hill; but on the next day\(^1\) they began the march early and after proceeding about twenty stadia descended into a level place, where they encamped; for they wished to get something to eat from the houses, the place being inhabited, and to get there a supply of water to take with them, since for many stadia ahead in the direction in which they were to go water was not plentiful. Meanwhile the Syracusans had gone ahead and were engaged in making a wall across the pass in front; and this was over a steep hill, with a precipitous ravine on either side, called the Aeraean Bald.\(^2\) On the next day\(^3\) the Athenians went forward, and the cavalry and javelin-men of the Syracusans and their allies, being in considerable force, sought to impede their march on either side by hurling javelins and riding alongside. For a long time the Athenians kept up the fight, but at length returned to the camp of the day preceding. And they no longer had provisions as before, for by reason of the enemy's cavalry it was no longer possible to leave the main body.

\(^3\) Third day of the retreat.
THUCYDIDES

LXXIX. Προ ἰ δὲ ἄραντες ἐπορεύοντο αὖθις, καὶ ἐβιάσαντο πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐλθεὶν τὸν ἀποτελείχισμένον, καὶ ήδρον πρὸ ἕαυτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποτελείχισματος τὴν πεζὴν στρατιῶν παρατεταγ-2 μένην οὐκ ἐπὶ ὀλίγων ἀσπίδων· στενὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ 'Αθηναίοι ἐπε-χομάχουν καὶ βαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἐπάντους ὄντος (δικυνοῦντο γὰρ ῥάον οἱ ἄνωθεν) καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι βιάσασθαι ἀνεχόμεν
3 πάλιν καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ τινὲς ἀμα γενόμεναι καὶ ὑδωρ, οἷα τοῦ ἔτους πρὸς μετόπωρον ἦδη ὄντος φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι· ἀφ' ὧν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι μάλλον ἐτι θύμιον καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γίγνεσθαι.
4 ἀναπαυομένων δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ Συρα-κόσιοι πέμπτους μέρος τί τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποτελείχι-ούντας ἐκ τοῦ ὅπωρθεν αὐτοὺς ἢ προεληλύθεσαν ἀντιπέμψαντες δὲ κἀκεῖνοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τῶν 5 διεκώλυσαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάση τῇ στρατιά ἀναχωρήσαντες πρὸς τὸ πεδίον μάλλον οἱ 'Αθη- ναίοι ἡνίσαντο. τῇ δ' υστεραία προωρών, καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι προσέβαλλον τε πανταχῇ αὐτοῖς κύκλῳ καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραμμάτιζον, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπίοις οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι, ὑπεχώρουν, εἰ δ' ἀναχωροῦεν, ἐπέκειντο, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ὑστάτοις προσπίπτοντες, εἰ πως κατὰ βραχὺ τρεψάμενοι
6 πάν τὸ στράτευμα φοβησείαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἀντεῖχον οἱ 'Αθηναίοι, ἐπειτα προελθόντες πέντε ἦ ἐξ σταδίους ἀνεπαύοντο ἐν

1 Fourth day of the retreat. 2 cf. vi. lxx. 1.
3 Fifth day of the retreat.

162
LXXIX. Early the next morning they set out again upon their march, and forced their way through to the hill where a wall had been built across the pass; there they found in front of them the enemy's infantry drawn up behind the wall, not a few shields deep, for the place was narrow. The Athenians attacked and tried to storm the wall; but when they found themselves targets for the missiles of large numbers of the enemy on the hill, which was steep—and of course the men up above them could reach them more easily—and were unable to force their way through, they drew back and rested. It so happened, furthermore, that at this same time there was some thunder and rain, as is apt to be the case toward the fall of the year; and this caused the Athenians to be still more despondent, for they believed that all these things too were conspiring for their destruction. While they were resting, Gylippus and the Syracusans sent a part of their army to build a wall across the line of march in their rear, at a point on the road by which they had come; but the Athenians sent a detachment of their own men and prevented it. After that the Athenians moved their whole army back into the more level country and bivouacked. On the next day they advanced again, and the Syracusans surrounded them and attacked them on every side, wounding many; if the Athenians attacked they retreated, but if they retreated they would charge, falling chiefly upon the rearmost in the hope that by routing them a few at a time they might put the whole army in a panic. Now for a long time, fighting in this fashion, the Athenians resisted, then after they had advanced five or six stadia they
THUCYDIDIES

tῶν πεδίων ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον.

LXXX. Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ Δημοσθένει ἐδόκει, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς σφίσει τὸ στράτευμα εἰς τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων πάντων ἀπορία ἦδη καὶ κατατετραματισμένοι ἦσαν πολλοὶ ἐν πολλαῖς προσβολαῖς τῶν πολεμίων γεγενημέναις, πυρὰ καύσαντες ὡς πλείστα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν, μηκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦ διενοχθησαν, ἀλλὰ τούναντιον ἢ οἱ Συρακοσιοί ἐτήρουν, πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἦ δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα ὁδὸς αὐτὴ ὤκ ἐπὶ Κατάνης τῷ στρατεύματι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἑτέρου μέρος τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Καμάριναν καὶ Γέλαν καὶ τὰς ταύτης πόλεις καὶ Ἑλληνίδας καὶ Βαρβάρους. καύσαντες οὖν πυρὰ πολλὰ ἐχώρουν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ. καὶ αὐτοῖς, οἷον φίλει καὶ πάσι στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις, φώβοι καὶ δέεματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἀλλως τε καὶ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ διὰ πολεμίας καὶ πολεμίων 1 οὐ πολὺ ἀπεχάντων ἴοδοις, ἐμπίπτει ταραχῇ καὶ τὸ μὲν Νικίου στρατεύμα, ὅσπερ 2 ἡγεῖτο, ἐξουμένει τε καὶ προῦλαβε πολλῷ, τὸ δὲ Δημοσθένεως, τὸ ἡμισὶ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πλέον, ἀπεσπάσθη τε καὶ ἀντικτότερον ἐχώρει. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἐω ἀφίκνυται ὅμως πρὸς τὴν θ' λασσαν, καὶ ἐσβάντες ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ἑλλορίνην καλουμένην ἐπορεύοντο, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴ γένουτο ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κακυπάρει, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὕπειρον ἄνω διὰ μεσογείας. ἦλπιζον γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ταύτης ὁ μὴ μετέπεμψαν ἀπαντήσεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἥδρον καὶ ένταῦθα φυλακήν

1 and before πολεμίων deleted by Reiske.
2 Hude adopts Dobree's conjecture, δισπέρ.
rested in the plain; and the Syracusans on their part left them and went back to their own camp.

LXXX. During the night, finding their army in wretched plight, since by now they were in want of all supplies and many had been wounded in many assaults made by the enemy, it was determined by Nicias and Demosthenes to kindle as many fires as possible and then withdraw the army, not now by the route which they had at first planned, but in the opposite direction to that in which the Syracusans were watching for them—that is, towards the sea. (But previously the line of march which I have been describing had not been toward Catana, but toward the other side of Sicily, in the direction of Camarina and Gela and the cities in that region both Hellenic and Barbarian.) So they kindled many fires and then set out during the night. And just as in all armies, and most of all in the largest, terrors and panics are apt to arise, especially at night and when they are marching through a hostile country with the enemy not far away, so confusion fell upon them also. The army of Nicias, as it was in the van, kept together and got a long distance ahead, but that of Demosthenes, about half or more of the whole, became separated and proceeded in considerable disorder. Nevertheless at dawn they reached the sea, and taking the road called Elorine marched on, intending when they reached the river Cacyparis to follow this stream up into the interior of the island; for they hoped that the Sicels, whom they had sent for, would meet them in that region. But when they came to the river, there also they found a Syracusan

1 i.e. towards the sea.  2 cf. ch. lxxviii. 2.  3 Modern Cassibili.
τινα τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀποτείχιζοντας τε καὶ ἀπο-
σταυροῦσαν τὸν πόρον. καὶ βιασάμενοι αὐτὴν
dιέβησαν τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐχώρουν αὖθις

7 πρὸς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, τὸν 'Ερινέων ταύτη γὰρ
οἱ ἤγεμόνες ἐκέλευον.

LXXXI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι, ὡς ἦ τε ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐγρωσαν
tοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπεληλυθότας, ἐν αἰτίᾳ τε οἱ
πολλοὶ τὸν Γϋλυππον εἰχον ἐκόντα ἀφεὶναι τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους, καὶ κατὰ τάχος διώκοντες, ἦν ὁ
χαλεπῶς ἁσθάνουτο κεχωρκότας, καταλαμβά-

2 νοσι περὶ ἀρίστον ὁραύν. καὶ ὅσπερ προσέμειξαν
ταῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ὡστέροις τ' οὔσι καὶ
σχολαίτερον καὶ ἀτακτότερον χωροῦσιν, ὡς τῆς
νυκτὸς τὸτε ἐξυπεράχθησαν, εὐθὺς προσπεσόντες
ἔμαχοντο, καὶ οἱ ἰππῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἑκ-
κλοῦντο τε βάσιν αὐτῶν δίχα δὴ ὅπως καὶ ἐξυπηγοῦ

3 ἐς ταύτῳ. τὸ δὲ Νικίου στράτευμα ἀπείχεν ἐν
τῷ πρόσθεν καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιον. θάσσον τε
γὰρ ὁ Νικίας ἥγε, νομίζων οὐ τὸ ὑπομένειν ἐν τῷ
τοιούτῳ ἐκόντας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι σωτηρίαν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅσ τὰχιστά ὑποχωρεῖν, τοσάτα μαχο-

4 μένουσι οὐ σὲ ἀναγκαζόμεναι. ὡ δὲ Δημοσθένης
ἐτύγχανε τὲ τὰ πλεῖον ἐν πόλις ἐξυπεράχτερον ὕπο
διὰ τὸ ὡστέρο ἀναχωροῦντι αὐτῷ πρῶτόν ἐπικει-
σθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὸτε γινοὺς τοὺς Συρακο-
σίους διώκοντας οὐ προχώρει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μάχην
ἐξυπεράχθησατο, ἐὼς ἐνδιατρίβως κυκλοῦται τε υπ'
αὐτῶν καὶ πολλὸθ' θορύβῳ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οι μετ'
guard blocking the way with a wall and a palisade. Forcing their way past them, they crossed the river and advanced again towards another river, the Erineus;¹ for their guides bade them take that route.

LXXXI. Meanwhile, when day came² and the Syracusans and their allies realized that the Athenians had gone away, most of them blamed Gylippus, saying that he purposely had let the Athenians get away; and pursuing them in hot haste, following the road which they could readily see that the enemy had taken, they overtook them about dinner-time. And when they came up with the troops under Demosthenes, which were far in the rear and proceeding in a rather leisurely and disorderly fashion, due to the confusion into which they had fallen the night before, they fell upon them at once and began a battle; and since they were separated from the others the Syracusan cavalry found it easier to surround them and drive them together. The division of Nicias was about fifty stadia ahead; for Nicias marched his men more rapidly, thinking that in the circumstances safety lay, not in standing firm and fighting of their own choice, but in retreating as rapidly as possible, fighting only as they were forced to do so. But it was the fortune of Demosthenes to be for the most part in more continual trouble because, being far in the rear on the retreat, the enemy pressed upon him first, and now also, when he saw the Syracusans in pursuit, he was more taken up with ordering his troops for battle than with pressing forward, and so wasted time until he was surrounded by the enemy and both he and his men

¹ Sixth day of the retreat.
αυτοῦ ἦσαν· ἀνειλθέντες γὰρ ἐστὶν χωρίον φιλότητος καὶ μὲν τειχίσθην περίπτως, ὅδε δὲ ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν, ἐλάσσονς δὲ οὐκ ὠλίγας εἰπάμενοι, ἐβάλλοντο περιστάδον.
5 τοιούται δὲ πρὸς θεολάλαιοι καὶ οὐκ ἄνευτον μάχαις οἱ Συρακώσιοι εἰκότως ἐχρῶντο· τὸ γὰρ ἀποκινδυνεύων πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπορριφομένους οὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνων μᾶλλον ἢν ἦν ἡ πρὸς τῶν Αθηναίων, καὶ ἀμα φειδώ τέ τις ἐγίγνετο ἐπὶ εὐπραγία ἢδη σαφεὶ μὴ προαναλωθήναι τῷ καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ ὑς ταῦτῃ τῇ ἰδέᾳ καταδαμασάμενοι λήψεσθαι αὐτοῦ.

LXXXII. Ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὖν 2 δ’ ἦμερας βάλλοντε 

2 πανταχόθεν τοὺς Αθηναίους καὶ εὐμμάχους ἐώρων 

4 ἦδη τεταλαιωρημένους τοὺς τε τραύμασι καὶ τῇ ἀλλῃ κακώσει, κήρυγμα ποιοῦνται Γύλιππος καὶ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ εὐμμάχοι πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ησιωτῶν εἰ τις βούλεται ἐπὶ εὐθυερία ὡς σφᾶς ἀπείναε καὶ ἀπεχώρησάν τινες πόλεις οὐ πολλαί.

3 ἐπεὶ οὔτε ὅστ’ οὐσίας 3 διαίτης 

3 καὶ παρέδοσαν οἱ πάντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐξακισχύλεται, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δ’ εἰχὸν ἄπαν κατέθεσαν ἐσβαλόντες ἐς ἀσπίδας ὑπίτιας, καὶ ἐνέπλησαν ἀσπίδας τέσσαρας. καὶ τούτοις μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπεκομίζον ἑς τὴν πόλιν Νικίας δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀφικνοῦνται τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν

1 Ἀθηναῖοι, after μετ’ αὐτοῦ, Krüger deletes.
2 Dobree’s correction for γοῦν of the MSS.

1 cf. ch. lvii. 4, ὕπηκοοι ὁντες καὶ ἀνάγκη... ἦκολοῦθουν.

168
were in a state of utter confusion. For huddled together in a plot of ground surrounded by a wall, on either side of which a road passed, there being inside the wall a considerable number of olive trees, they were pelted with missiles from every side. And the Syracusans had good reason to adopt attacks of this kind rather than contests at close quarters; for to risk their lives against men in despair was not now to their advantage, so much as to that of the Athenians. Besides, they considered that success was already assured; therefore everyone spared himself somewhat, not wishing to throw away his life before the end, and they all thought that even as it was, and following this manner of fighting, they would subdue and capture the enemy.

LXXXII. And so when they had assailed the Athenians and their allies with missiles from all sides throughout the day and saw that they were at length worn out by reason of their wounds and general misery, Glyippus and the Syracusans and their allies made proclamation, first, that any of the islanders \(^1\) who so wished might come over to their side on a guarantee of freedom; and some states, but only a few, came over. Afterwards, however, an agreement was made with all the rest of the troops under Demosthenes that if they would surrender their arms no one should suffer death either by violence or by imprisonment or by deprivation of the bare necessities of life. So they all surrendered, six thousand in number; and they gave up all the money they had, casting it into upturned shields; and four of these were filled. These captives the Syracusans immediately took to the city; as for Nicias and his men, they reached the

169
ποταμοὶ τῶν Ἐρινέων, καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς μετέωρον τι καθίσε τὴν στρατιάν.  

LXXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ μετὰ Δημοσθένους παραδεδόκοιεν σφᾶς αὐτούς, κελεύοντες κάκεϊνον τὸ αὐτὸ δράν: ὃ δ’ ἀπιστώτων σπένδεται ἵππεα 2 πέμψαι σκεψόμενον. ὡς δ’ ὁχόμενος ἀπήγγειλε πάλιν παραδεδωκότας, ἐπικηρυκεύεται Γυλίππω καὶ Συρακοσίως εἶναι ἐτοῖμος ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων ἐμβῆναι ὅσα ἀνήλωσαν χρῆματα Συρακοσίου ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ταῦτα ἀποδύναι, ὡστε τὴν μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατιάν ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς· μέχρι οὗ δ’ ἀν τὰ χρήματα ἀποδοθῆ, ἀνδρας δῶσεν Ἀθηναίων ὀμήρους, ἔα κατὰ τάλαντον. οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι καὶ Γυλίππος οὐ προσέδεχοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ προσπεσόντες καὶ περιστάντες πανταχόθεν ἐβαλ- 3 λον καὶ τούτους μέχρι ὑψε. εἶχον δὲ καὶ οὕτως ποιήσεις οὕτω τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορία. 4 ὅμως δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς φυλάξαντες τὸ ἡσυχάζον ἐμεῖλλον πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσι τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ οἱ Συρακοσίοι αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐπια- 5 νισαν. γνώτες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὅτι οὐ λανθά- νουσι, κατέθεντο πάλιν πλὴν τριακοσίων μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν· οὕτω δὲ διὰ τῶν φυλάκων βιασάμενοι ἔχωρουν τῆς νυκτὸς ἦ ἐδύναντο.  

LXXXIV. Νικίας δ’ ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο ἤγγε τὴν στρατιάν· οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι προσέκειτο τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πανταχόθεν βάλ- 2 λοντές τε καὶ κατακοντίζοντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι

1 Seventh day of the retreat.  
2 Eighth day of the retreat.
river Erineus that same day, and after crossing it
Nicias encamped his army on a height.

LXXXIII. The next day the Syracusans over-
took Nicias and told him that the troops under
Demosthenes had surrendered, bidding him do like-
wise; but Nicias was incredulous, and obtained a
truce that he might send a horseman and find out.
And when the horseman had gone and brought back
word that they had indeed surrendered, Nicias
announced by herald to Gyliippus and the Syracusans
that he was ready to agree, on behalf of the Athe-
nians, to repay to the Syracusans all the money
which they had spent upon the war, on condition
that they should let his army go; and until the
money should be paid, he would give Athenians as
hostages, one man for each talent. Gyliippus and
the Syracusans, however, would not accept these
terms, but renewing the attack and surrounding the
Athenian army plied these men also with their
missiles until evening. And they were in a wretched
plight through want of food and of all necessaries.
Nevertheless they waited for the quiet time of night
and intended then to proceed. But no sooner had
they taken up their arms than the Syracusans
perceived it and raised the paean. So the Athe-
nians, seeing that their movements were detected,
again put down their arms—all except about three
hundred men, who forced their way through the
guards and proceeded during the night by whatever
way they could.

LXXXIV. When day came Nicias led his army
forward; but the Syracusans and their allies kept
attacking in the same fashion, hurling missiles and
striking them down with javelins on all sides. The
THUCYDIDES

ἡπείγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσιναρον ποταμόν, ἀμα μὲν βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς πανταχόθεν προσβολῆς ἱππέων τε πολλῶν καί τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου, οἰόμενοι ῥών τι σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι, ἡν διαβῶσι τὸν ποταμόν, ἀμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας καί τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπι-

3 θυμία. ὡς δὲ ὑγροταὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐσπέρασαν οὐδὲν κόσμῳ ἐτί, ἀλλὰ πᾶς τε τις διαβίνησι αὐτὸς πρῶτος βουλόμενοι καί οἱ πολέμῳ ἐπικείμενοι χαλεπὴν ἦδη τὴν διάβασιν ἐποίουν· ἀθρόοι γὰρ ἀναγκαζόμενοι χαρείν ἐπέτειπτόν τε ἄλληλοις καί κατεπάτουν, περὶ τε τοῖς δοράσι καί σκεύεσιν οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐμπαλασώμενοι

4 κατέρρεουν. ἐς τα ἐπὶ θατέρα τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραστάντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι (ἣν δὲ κρημνᾶδες) ἕβαλλον ἀνωθὲν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πίνοντάς τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀσμένους καί ἐν κοίλῳ ὄντι τῷ

5 ποταμῷ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτῶς παρασταθήσαντο. οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπικαταβάντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μάλιστα ἐσφαξοῦν. καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς διεφθαρτο, ἀλλ' οὔδεν ἡσυχὸν ἐπίνετο ὀμοὶ τῷ πηλῷ ἡμα-

τωμένοι καί περιμάχητον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς.  

LXXXV. Τελὸς δὲ νεκρῶν τε πολλῶν ἐπ' ἄλληλοις ἦδη κειμένων ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καί διεφθαρ-

μένου τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ποτα-

μόν, τοῦ δὲ καί, εἰ τι διαφύγου, ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, Νικίας Γυλίππων ἐαυτὸν παραδίδωσι πιστεύσας 

μᾶλλον αὐτῷ ἢ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις· καὶ ἐαυτῷ μὲν 

χρήσατε ἐκέλευεν ἐκείνον τε καί Δακεδαιμονίους

1 The modern Falconara, called also Fiume di Noto.
2 Thucydides is silent as to the number of the slain. Diodorus (xiii. 19) puts the loss at the river at 18,000 and

172
Athenians pushed on to the river Assinarus, partly because they thought, hard pressed as they were on all sides by the attack of numerous horsemen and of the miscellaneous troops, that they would be somewhat better off if they crossed the river, and partly by reason of their weariness and desire for water. And when they reached it, they rushed in, no longer preserving order, but everyone eager to be himself the first to cross; and at the same time the pressure of the enemy now made the crossing difficult. For since they were obliged to move in a dense mass, they fell upon and trod one another down, and some perished at once, run through by their own spears, while others became entangled in their trappings and were carried away by the current. The Syracusans stood along the other bank of the river, which was steep, and hurled missiles down upon the Athenians, most of whom were drinking greedily and were all huddled in confusion in the hollow bed of the river. Moreover, the Peloponnesians went down to the water's edge and butchered them, especially those in the river. The water at once became foul, but was drunk all the same, although muddy and dyed with blood, and indeed was fought for by most of them.

LXXXV. At length, when the dead now lay in heaps one upon the other in the river, and the army had perished utterly, part in the river, and part—if any got safely across—at the hands of the cavalry, Nicias surrendered himself to Gylippus, having more confidence in him than in the Syracusans; and he bade him and the Lacedaemonians do with himself the captured at 7000; but it is evident that he includes the army of Demosthenes.
ὁ τι βούλονται, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους στρατιώτας παύσα-
σθαι φοινεύοντας. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος μετὰ τοῦτο
ξωγρεῖν ἢδη ἐκέλευεν καὶ τοὺς τε λοιποὺς, ὅσους
μὴ ἀπεκρύψατο (πολλοὶ δὲ οὔτοι ἐγένοντο), ξυμ-
κόμισαν ξύπνοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οἱ τὴν
φυλακὴν διεξῆλθον τῆς νυκτὸς, πέμψαντες τοὺς
διωξομένους ξυνέλαβον. τὸ μὲν οὐν ἀθροισθέν
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡς τὸ κοίνον οὐ πολὺ ἐγένετο,
tὸ δὲ διακλατέν πολὺ, καὶ διεπλήθη πᾶσα Σικε-
λία αὐτῶν, ἀτε οὐκ ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως ὡσπερ τῶν
μετὰ Δημοσθένους ληφθέντων. μέρος δὲ τὶ οὐκ
ὁλίγον καὶ ἀπεθανεν· πλεῖστος γὰρ δὴ φῶνος
οὕτος καὶ οὔδεν ἐλάσσον τῶν ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ
tὸ ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις προσβολαῖς τοῖς
cατὰ τὴν πορείαν συχνὰς γενομέ-
ναι οὐκ ὡλίγοι ἑτεθυνῄσκαν. πολλοὶ δὲ ὁμοὶ
cαὶ διεφυγον, οἱ μὲν καὶ παραντικὰ, οἱ δὲ καὶ
dουλεύσαντες καὶ διαδιδράσκοντες ὑστερον τοὺ-
tοις δὲ ὅν ἀναχώρησες ἐστὶ Κατάνην.

LXXXVI. Ξυναθροισθέντες δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ὅσους ἐδύ-
ναντο πλεῖστους καὶ τὰ σκύλα ἀναλαβόντες,
ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὁπόσους ἔλαβον
κατεβίβασαν ἐς τὰς λιθοτομίας, ἀσφαλεστάτην
εἶναι νομίσαντες τήρησιν, Νικιάν δὲ καὶ Δημο-

1 Σικελικῷ deleted by Dobree, followed by Hude.

1 Not more than 1000; for the total number of the captives was about 7000 (ch. lxxxvii. 4), and of these 6000 had belonged to the division of Demosthenes (ch. lxxxii. 3). But the full magnitude of the catastrophe is seen in the fact
whatever they pleased, but to stop slaughtering the rest of the soldiers. Whereupon Gylippus at last gave orders to make prisoners; and those of the survivors who had not been secretly appropriated by the Syracusan soldiers—and these were many—were brought in a body to Syracuse alive. They also sent men in pursuit of the three hundred, who had got through the guards the night before, and captured them. Now that part of the army which was collected into the common stock was not large, but that which was secretly taken by the soldiers was large, and all Sicily was filled with them, inasmuch as they had not been taken by capitulation, as had the force under Demosthenes. Besides, no small number had been killed; for the slaughter at the river had been very great—in fact, not inferior to any in this Sicilian war. And in the other frequent encounters which occurred on the march not a few had lost their lives. Notwithstanding all this, many escaped, some at the time, others afterwards, having become slaves and then making their escape; and the refuge for these was Catana.

LXXXVI. When the forces of the Syracusans and their allies had been brought together, they took with them as many of the captives as they could and the booty and returned to the city. All the rest of the prisoners they had taken of the Athenians and their allies they sent down into the stone-quarries, thinking it the safest way to keep them; but Nicias and Demosthenes they put to the sword, though against that eight days before the final surrender the Athenian army numbered 40,000.
σθένη ἀκοντος Γυλιππου ἀπέσφαξαν. ο γάρ 
Γυλιππος καλὸν τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐνόμιζεν οἰ εἶναι 
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστρατήγους κομίσαι 
3 Δακεδαιμονίωις. ἐξυνέβαινε δὲ τὸν μὲν 
pολεμιῶ-
taton αὐτοῖς εἶναι, Δημοσθένη, διὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ 
νῆσῳ καὶ Πύλῳ, τὸν δὲ διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδείο-
taton τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἄνδρας τῶν Δακ-
δαιμονίων ὁ Νικίας προνομήθη, σπονδᾶς πείσας 
4 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσασθαι, ὅστε ἀφεθήναι. ἀνθ' 
ὸν οἱ τε Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ προσφιλεῖς 
κάκεινος οὐχ ἦκιστα 1 διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύσας ἔαυτὸν 
tῷ Γυλιππῷ παρέδωκεν. ἀλλὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων 
tινές, ὡς ἐλέγετο, οἱ μὲν δεῖσαντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν 
ἐκεκοινολόγησα, μὴ βασανίζομενός διὰ τὸ τοιοῦ-
tον παραχθὸν σφίσιν ἐν εὐπραγίᾳ ποιήσῃ, ἄλλοι 
dὲ, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα οἱ Κορίνθιοι, μὴ χρῆμασι δὴ 
pείσας τινάς, ὅτι πλοῦσιοι ἦν, ἀποδρᾶ καὶ αὐθεῖς 
σφίσι νεώτερον τι ἅπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται, πείσαντες 
5 τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν. καὶ ὁ μὲν 
τοιαῦτη ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτία ἐτεθνύκει, 
ἦκιστα δὴ ἄξιος δὲν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἐλλήνων ἐς 
tοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς 
ἀρετὴν νεομοσμένην ἐπιτηδεύσωσιν.

LXXXVII. Τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς λιθοτομίαις οἱ Συρα-
κόσιοι χαλεπῶς τοὺς πρῶτους χρόνους μετεχεί-

1 διὰ τοῦτο, with B; Hude omits.

1 cf. v. xvi. 1.
the wish of Glylippus. For he thought that it would be a glorious achievement if, in addition to his other successes, he could also bring the generals of the enemy home to the Lacedaemonians. And it so happened that the one, Demosthenes, was regarded by the Lacedaemonians as their bitterest foe, on account of what had taken place on the island of Sphacteria and at Pylos; the other, for the same reason, as a very good friend; for Nicias had eagerly desired that the Lacedaemonian prisoners taken on the island should be released, when he urged the Athenians to make peace. For these reasons the Lacedaemonians were friendly towards him, and it was not least on that account that he trusted in Glylippus and surrendered himself to him. But it was said that some of the Syracusans were afraid, seeing that they had been in communication with him, lest, if he were subjected to torture on that account, he might make trouble for them in the midst of their success; and others, especially the Corinthians, were afraid, lest, as he was wealthy, he might by means of bribes make his escape and cause them fresh difficulties; they therefore persuaded their allies and put him to death. For this reason, then, or for a reason very near to this, Nicias was put to death—a man who, of all the Hellenes of my time, least deserved to meet with such a calamity, because of his course of life that had been wholly regulated in accordance with virtue.

LXXXVII. The prisoners in the stone- quarries were at first treated harshly by the Syracusans.

2 He was worth 100 talents, according to Lysias, xix. 47. His property was chiefly in silver mines. He employed 1000 slaves in the mines at Laurium (Xen., De Vect. iv. 14).
THUCYDIDES

ρισαν. ἐν γὰρ κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ὄντας καὶ ὀλίγῳ πολλοῦς οἱ τε ἦλιοι τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ πνίγος ἔτι ἐλύπει διὰ τὸ ἀστέγαστον, καὶ αἱ νύκτες ἐπιγιγνώ-μεναι τούναντίον μετοπωριναὶ καὶ ψυχραὶ τῇ
2 μεταβολῇ ἐσ ἁσθένειαν ἐνεωτέριζον, πάντα τε ποι-
οῦντων αὐτῶν διὰ στενοχωρίαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ
προσέτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἐχνυ-
νημένων, οὐ ἐκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ διὰ τὴν
μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸ τοιούτον ἀπέθνησκον, καὶ ὅσμαὶ
ἡσαν οὐκ ἀνεκτοί, καὶ λιμῷ ἁμα καὶ δίψῃ ἐπιέ-
ζοντο (ἐδίδοσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ἐπὶ ὅκτῳ
μήνας κοτύλην ὕδατος καὶ δύο κοτύλας σίτου),
ἀλλὰ τε ὁσα εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ ἐμπε-
πτωκότας κακοπαθῆσαι, οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐκ ἐπεγένετο
3 αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἐβδομήκοντά τινας οὕτω
dιητήθησαν ἀθρόοι· ἐπειτα πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
eἰ τινὲς Σικελιωτῶν ἢ Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐνυστράτευσαν,
4 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπέδοντο. ἐλήφθησαν δὲ οἱ ξύμπαν-
τες, ἀκριβείᾳ μὲν χαλεπῶν ξειπεῖν, ὁμος δὲ οὐκ
ἐλάσσους ἐπτακισχιλίων.
5 Ἐννέβη τε ἐργον τούτο 1 τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
tόνδε μέγιστον γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοίγε καὶ ὅν
ἀκοῇ Ἑλληνικῶν ἵμαυε, καὶ τοῖς τε κρατήσασι
λαμπρότατον καὶ τοῖς διαφθαρεῖσι δυστυχέ-
6 στατον· κατὰ πάντα γὰρ πάντως νικηθέντες καὶ

1 Ἑλληνικῶν, after τοῦτο, deleted by Krüger.
178
Crowded as they were in large numbers in a deep and narrow place, at first the sun and the suffocating heat caused them distress, there being no roof; while the nights that followed were, on the contrary, autumnal and cold, so that the sudden change engendered illness. Besides, they were so cramped for space that they had to do everything in the same place; moreover, the dead were heaped together upon one another, some having died from wounds or because of the change in temperature or like causes, so that there was a stench that was intolerable. At the same time they were oppressed by both hunger and thirst—the Syracusans having for eight months given them each only a half-pint of water and a pint of food a day; and of all the other ills which men thrown into such a place would be likely to suffer there was none that did not befall them. Now for some seventy days they lived in this way all together; then all the rest, except the Athenians and any Siceliots and Italiots that had joined the expedition, were sold. The total number of prisoners taken, though it is difficult to speak with accuracy, was nevertheless not fewer than seven thousand.

This event proved to be the greatest of all that had happened in the course of this war, and, as it seems to me, of all Hellenic events of which we have record—for the victors most splendid, for the vanquished most disastrous. For the vanquished, beaten utterly

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1 The scantiness of this allowance—only half the amount of food given to slaves—is best seen by a comparison with that which was allowed the Lacedaemonians taken on the island of Sphacteria, namely, "two quarts of barley-meal for each man and a pint of wine" (v. xvi. 1).
ou̱dèn o̱lýgon ès ou̱dèn kακοπαθή̄sandes, pa̱nω̱-
λεβρία δη̃ tò legỹmenon kai pex̄os kai v̄̃hes kai
ou̱dèn ʰ̃ ti oṽk àp̃̄ólēto, kai o̱lýgoi àp̃̄ õ̱l̃̄l̃̄o̱n
ēp̃ ʰ̃ oṽko̱n àp̃̄enous̃̃th̃̃savn. ta̱ūta mèν tã pe̱r̃̃i Σικε-
líavn geỹmena.

1 According to Plutarch (Nicias, 29), many of the Athenians
obtained their freedom, others who had already escaped
got food and shelter by repeating verses from Euripides, who
at every point and having suffered no slight ill in any respect—having met, as the saying goes, with utter destruction—land-force and fleet and every-thing perished, and few out of many came back home.\(^1\) Such was the course of events in Sicily.

was more popular with the Sicilians than any other foreign author. The thanks of these survivors, many of whom on their return expressed their gratitude to him, were doubtless the sweetest praise the poet ever heard.
BOOK VIII
INTRODUCTION

The article on the life and style of Thucydides, which goes by the name of Marcellinus, contains the following passage:

"Some say that the eighth book is spurious and not the work of Thucydides, while others say that it is his daughter's work, others Xenophon's. To these we say that it is clearly not his daughter's, for it is not in woman's nature to imitate such excellence in art. Besides, if she were so gifted, she would not have taken pains to conceal her identity, nor would she have written the eighth book only, but would have left many other things betraying her own sex. And that it is not Xenophon's work, the style all but cries aloud; for there is a wide interval between the plain and the lofty style. Nor indeed is it the work of Theopompus, as some have maintained; but to some, and especially the more accomplished, it seems to be indeed the work of Thucydides, but unadorned, written in rough outline and full of many matters in summary form, and admitting of embellishment and amplification. Wherefore we say further, that the exposition is rather weak and feeble, inasmuch as he apparently
INTRODUCTION

composed it while ailing. And when the body is a little sick, the reasoning power also is wont to be rather languid."  

The genuineness of Book VIII has been the object of attack in modern as well as in ancient times, but it may now be regarded as an accepted fact. Probably no scholar really doubts it. Ancient writers quote the book just as they do the other seven. The general characteristics are the same as in the other books. "There is," as Arnold rightly claims, "the same impartiality, the same clear and calm view of political transactions." And Jowett eloquently says: "The love of truth, the power of thought, the absence of moral approbation or disapprobation, the irony, the perception of character, the moderation of statement, the general excellence

1 λέγουσι δε τινες την ὁγδόνην ἱστορίαν νοθεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι Θουκίδιδον. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν φασίν εἶναι τὴν θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ Χευροφῶντος. πρὸς οὓς λέγομεν δι' τὴν μὲν θυγατρὸς ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἄλλος πᾶς ὁ γὰρ γυναικεῖς ἢν φύσεως τοιαύτην ἀρέτην τε καὶ τέχνην μιμήσασθαι. ἔπειτα, εἰ τοιαύτη τις ἢ, οὐκ ἂν ἔσπούδαση λαθεῖν, οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ὁγδόνην ἔγραψε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κατέλιπεν ἃν, τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκφαινοντα ἰδίου. δι' δὲ οὖν Ἑπιφάντου ἐστιν, ὁ χαρακτήρ μόνον οὐχὶ βούλησθαν τὸ μέσον ἰσχυοῦ χαρακτῆρος καὶ ὑψηλοῦ. οὐ μὴν οὖν Ὑπάτου, καθά τινες ἠξίωσαν τις δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς Χαριστέροις Ἐσθυνδίδου μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἂλλος δ' ἄκαλλαν στοιχεῖον, δι' ἐκτύπων γεγραμμένη καὶ πολλῶν πλήρης ἐν κεφαλαίῳ πραγμάτων καλλωπισθῆναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐκτάσεις δυναμένων. ἐνθεν καὶ λέγομεν ὡς ἀσθενέστερον πέφρασατο καὶ ὁλίγον καθότι ἀρρωστῶν αὐτὴν φανεῖται συμπε- 

θεῖως. ἀσθενοῦντος δὲ σωμάτος βραχύ τι καὶ δ' ἐνεργίαμος ἀπονότερος εἶναι φιλεῖ.
INTRODUCTION

... 'cry aloud' " for Thucydides. The vigour and terseness of style are as marked as ever. There is, it is true, occasional roughness and inaccuracy of expression to a greater extent than in the other books; but one who may have read criticisms before reading the book itself is sure to be astonished to find comparatively so few traces of the unfinished, either in style or content. The argument against the genuineness on the score of alleged "un-Thucydidean" words, phrases, or constructions falls to the ground on close examination. When the number of ἀπαξ λέγομενα, of unusual adverbs and of new-coined verbal substantives found in Book VIII is compared with similar forms in the other books, as for example Goodhart has done in his Introduction, the conclusion in favour of genuineness is unavoidable. Even the suggestion that the book was edited and revised by Xenophon rests on no better basis than the fact that his Hellenica is a continuation of it.

The most striking thing about the book is the omission of direct speeches, so marked a feature of all the preceding books (except V). The statement attributed to Cratippus, a contemporary of Thucydides (Dionysius, de Thuc. Iud. p. 847), that speeches were omitted in Book VIII because the author realized that they interfered with the narrative and bored the reader, is so absurd as to be amusing. It has been plausibly argued that the
omission does not necessarily imply either a deliberate change of practice on the part of the historian or even lack of revision. Any view on these points will doubtless always remain a matter of private judgment. My own view is that, if the historian had not been suddenly cut down, either by assassination at the hands of a robber, as one tradition has it, or by disease, the book would have received fuller revision, and the indirect speeches at several important points would have been turned into direct discourse.

Professor Goodhart well expresses the feeling of the reader in turning the pages of Book viii:

"The war enters upon a new phase after the defeat of the Sicilian expedition. The scene changes from Greece to Asia. But there is something more than a mere change of scene. Athens herself appears under new conditions, fallen greatly from her high estate, but appealing more than ever to our interest and sympathy. We have seen her before in the full blaze of Periclean splendour. But perhaps our admiration has been qualified by some feeling of aloofness. The people of Pallas Athene seem to dwell upon sunlit heights too far removed from the darkling ways of humanity. The picture of their life is like the fabric of a vision, and they themselves partake of its unreality. But the feeling vanishes when we see them in the grip of fate. Pity, akin to love, takes the place of admiration,"
INTRODUCTION

and we follow their fortunes with sympathy as keen and active as that which swayed the spectators of the final battle in the great harbour of Syracuse. So it may be that we get nearer to them in the closing scene than we have ever been before."
ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Η

I. Ἐσ δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὴ ἤγγελθη, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἢπίστονυ καὶ τοῖς πάντω πῶν στρατιω- τῶν εἰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαπεφυγόσι καὶ σαφῶς ἀγγέλλουσι, μὴ οὐτὼ γε ἂν πανσυδὶ διεφθάρθαι- ἐπειδὴ τε ἐγνωσαν, χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν τῶν ἑμπροσβυμηθεῖσι τῶν ῥητόρων τὸν ἐκπλουν, ὡσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸν ψηφισάμενοι, ὀργίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρησμολόγοις τε καὶ μάντεσι καὶ ὅποσοι τι τότε αὐτοὺς θείασαντες ἐπηλπισαν ὡς λήψονται

2 Σικελίαι. πάντα δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἔλυπει τε καὶ περιειστήκει ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένῳ φόβῳ τε καὶ κατάπληξις μεγίστῃ δῆ. ἀμα μὲν γὰρ στερόμενοι καὶ οἰδα ἐκαστός καὶ ἡ πόλις ὁπλιτῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ ἰππέων καὶ ἡλικίας οἷαν οὐν εὗρον ὑπάρχουσαν ἐβαρύνοντο· ἀμα δὲ νὰς οὗ όροντες ἐν τοῖς νεωσοίκους ἰκανὰς οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐν τῷ κοινῷ οὐδ' ὑπηρεσίας ταῖς ναυσὶ ἀνέλπιστοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωθή- σεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας πολεμίους εὐθὺς σφίσων ἐνόμικον τῷ ναυτηκῷ ἐπὶ τὸν Πει- ραιᾶ πλευσθῆσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοσοῦτον κρα- τήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοθεν πολεμίους τότε δῆ καὶ διπλασίως πάντα παρεσκευασμένους κατὰ κράτος ἢδη καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπικεί- σεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς εὐμμᾶχους σφῶν μετ' αὐτῶν

190
BOOK VIII

I. When the news reached Athens, even though the actual soldiers who had escaped from the action itself gave a clear report, they for long refused to believe that the armament could have been so utterly destroyed. When, however, they were convinced, they were angry with the orators who had taken part in promoting the expedition—as though they had not voted for it themselves—and they were also enraged at the oracle-mongers and soothsayers and whoever at that time by any practice of divination had led them to hope that they would conquer Sicily. Everything indeed on every side distressed them, and after what had happened they were beset with fear and utmost consternation. For having lost, both each man separately and as a state, many hoplites and horsemen and the flower of the youth, while they saw none like it left them, they were heavy of heart; and again, seeing no ships in the docks in sufficient number nor money in the treasury nor crews for the ships, they were at the moment hopeless of safety. They thought that their enemies in Sicily would sail with their fleet straight for the Peiraeus, especially as they had won so great a victory, and that their foes at home, now doubly prepared in all respects, would attack them at once with all their might both by land and by sea, and that their own allies would revolt and join them.
THUCYDIDES

3 ἀποστάντας. ὦμως δὲ ὦς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐδοκεῖ χρῆναι μὴ ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ παρασκενάζεσθαι καὶ ναυτικὸν, θεῖαν ἀν δύνωνται ξύλα ξυμπορισάμενοι καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς ἁσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Εὐβοιαν, τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τι ἐς εὐτέλειαν σωφρονίσατε καὶ ἄρχην τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οὕτως περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καίρος ἦ ἡ προβουλεύσουσιν. πάντα τε πρὸς τὸ παρα-χρῆμα περιδεῖσι, ὅπερ φίλει δῆμος ποιεῖν, ἐτοίμων ἦσαν εὔτακτεῖν. καὶ ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

II. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγυγρομένου χειμῶνος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεγάλην κακοπαραγίαν εὐθὺς οἱ "Εὐλήνες πάντες ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν μηδετέρων οὔτε ξύμμαχοι, ὡς, ἣν τις καὶ μὴ παρακαλῆ σφᾶς, οὐκ ἀποστατέον ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου εἶν, ἀλλ’ ἐθελοῦν ἵτεον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, νομίσαντες κἂν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐκαστοι ἔλθειν αὐτοὺς, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατώρθωσαν, καὶ ἀμα βραχὺν ἐσεσθαι τὸν λοιπὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μετασχεῖν καλὸν εἶναι, οἱ δ’ αὐ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοι ξυμπροθυμηθέντες ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρὶν ἀπαλλά-

2 ξεσθαι διὰ τάχους πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκουοι ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι διὰ τὸ ὀργώντες κρίνειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ μηδ’ ὑπολείπεσιν λόγον αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ ἥ’ ἐπιδύν θέρος οἶοι

192
Nevertheless it was their opinion that, as far as their present circumstances permitted, they should not give up, but should both make ready a fleet, providing timber and money from whatever source they could, and put their relations with their allies, and especially with Euboea, on a safe footing; moreover, that they should reduce the expenses of the city to an economical basis, and should select a board of elderly men who should prepare measures with reference to the present situation as there might be occasion. In the panic of the moment they were ready, as is the way with a democracy, to observe discipline in everything. And as they had determined, so they proceeded to act; and the summer ended.

II. The following winter, in view of the great disaster that had befallen the Athenians in Sicily, there was at once excitement among all the Hellenes. Some, who were allies of neither party, thought that, even if they were not called upon for aid, they should no longer hold aloof from the war, but should go of their own accord against the Athenians; for they believed, one and all, that the Athenians would have come against them if they had succeeded in Sicily; they also believed that the rest of the war would be short and that it would be glorious to have a part in it. The allies of the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, were more than ever animated by a common eagerness quickly to be relieved of their great hardships. But most of all the subjects of the Athenians were ready, even beyond their power, to revolt from them, because they judged of the situation under the influence of passion and would not even leave them the plea that they would be able to hold
Τοῦ ἐσονταὶ περιγενέσθαι. ἢ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων πόλεις πᾶσί τε τούτοις ἔθαρσει καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας αὐτοῖς ἔμμαχοι πολλῇ δυνάμει, κατ’ ἀνάγκην ἤδη τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προσ-
γεγενημένου, ἀμα τῷ ἤτο ὡς εἰκὸς παρέσεσθαι

4 ἔμελλον. πανταχόθεν τε εὐελπίδες ὅντες ἀπρο-
φασίστως ἀπετεθαί διενοῦντο τοῦ πολέμου,

λογιζόμενοι καλῶς τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ κινδύ-


νον τε τοιουτοῦ ἀπηλλάχθαι ἢ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁδὸς

καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων περιέστη ἢ αὐτοῦς,

eἰ τὸ Σικελικὸν προσέλαβον, καὶ καθελόντες

ἐκείνους αὐτὸς τῆς πάσης Ἐλλάδος ἤδη ἀσφαλῶς

ηγήσεσθαι.

III. Ἐὐθὺς οὖν Ἀγις μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν

ἐν τῷ χειμώνι τούτῳ ὀρμηθεὶς στρατῷ τίνι ἐκ

Δεκελείας τά τε τῶν ἐμμαχῶν ἡγυρολόγησεν

ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ τραπόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ Μηλίως

κόλπου Οἰκταῖον τε κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἔχθραν

τῆς λείας τῆς πολλῆς ἄπολαβων χρήματα ἐπράξατο, καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς Φιλισταῖς καὶ

touς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτη Θεσσαλῶν ὑπηκόους,

μεμφομένοι καὶ ἀκόντων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν, ὀμήρους

tε τινὰς ἤναγκασε δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα, καὶ

κατέθετο τοὺς ὦμέρους ἐς Κόρινθον, ἐσ τῇ τῆν

2 ἐμμαχίαν ἐπειράτο προσάγειν. Δακεδαιμόνιοι

de τὴν πρόσταξιν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἕκατον νεῶν τῆς

ναυπηγίας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ἔαυτοὶ μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοῖς

πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἑκατέρους ἔταξαν, Φωκεὺς δὲ

1 cf. iii, 92 ff. The enmity was due to the establishment of Hærcleia. The Trachinians being harassed by their neighbours, the Oetacæns, had appealed to Sparta for aid and

194
out through the following summer. The Lacedaemonian state was encouraged by all these things, and especially because their allies in Sicily would in all probability be present to help them with a large force as soon as spring came, since necessity had now compelled them to acquire a navy. Being hopeful, then, in every way, they determined to set their hands to the war wholeheartedly, reckoning that when it should have ended successfully they would thereafter be free from such dangers as would have beset them from the side of the Athenians if these had acquired the resources of Sicily in addition to their own; and that, having overthrown them, they would themselves now hold securely the hegemony of all Hellas.

III. Accordingly Agis their king set out with an army at once during this same winter from Deceleia, and levied money from the allies for the maintenance of the fleet; then turning toward the Malian Gulf, he carried off from the Oetaeans, in pursuance of a long-standing enmity, the greater part of their cattle and exacted money from them. Furthermore, he compelled the Achaean of Phthiotis and the other subjects of the Thessalians in that region—though the Thessalians were unwilling and remonstrated—to give him hostages and money; then he deposited the hostages at Corinth and tried to bring their countrymen into the alliance. The Lacedaemonians, moreover, made requisition upon the states for the building of one hundred ships, fixing the levy for themselves and the Boeotians at twenty-five each, the Spartans had colonized Heraclia to protect them. The colony fell owing to the hostility of the Thessalians and the bad conduct of Spartan governors.

195
καὶ Δυκροῖς πέντε καὶ δέκα, καὶ Κορινθίοις πέντε καὶ δέκα, 'Αρκάσει δὲ καὶ Πελληνεύησι καὶ Σικυονίοις δέκα, Μεγαρεύοσι δὲ καὶ Τροχύοις καὶ 'Επίδαυροις καὶ 'Ερμονεύησι δέκα παρεσκεύαζοντο ώς εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ ἔξομενοι τοῦ πολέμου.

IV. Παρεσκεύαζοντο δὲ καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι, ὅσπερ διενοθήσαν, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι τοῦτῳ τῆς τε ναυπηγίας, ξύλα ἐγκατορισάμενοι, καὶ Σούνιον τειχίσαντες, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἀσφάλεια ταῖς συναγω- γοῖς ναυσίν εἰς τοῦ περίπλου, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Δακωνικῇ τειχίσμα ἐκλιπόντες ὁ ἐνοφιοδόμησαν παραπλέωντες ἐς Σικελίαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, εἴ ποὺ τι ἐδόκει ἄχρειον ἀναλύσκεσθαι, ξυστελλόμενοι ἐς εὐτέλειαν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων διασκοποῦντες ὅπως μὴ σφῶν ἀποστῆσονται.

V. Πρασσόντων δὲ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ὅντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅσπερ ἀρχομένων ἐν κατα- σκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου, πρῶτοι Εὔβοιες ὡς 'Αγιν περὶ ἀποστάσεως τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἐπρεσβευ- σαντο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ. οἱ δὲ προσδεξά- μενοι τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦς μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Δακε- δαίμων Ἀλκαμένη τὸν Σθενελάδου καὶ Μέλαι- θον ἄρχοντας ὡς ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν οἰ δ' ἦλθον ἐχοντες τῶν νεοδαμώδων ὡς τρικαλοῖς, καὶ 2 παρεσκεύαζεν αὐτοῖς τὴν διάβασιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Δέσβιοι ἦλθον, βουλόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἔμπρασσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀναπείδευται 'Αγιν ὡς Εὔβοιας μὲν

1 cf. vii. xxvi. 2.
2 The clans of new citizens formed of Helota emancipated for service in war. Cf. v. xxxiv. 1; vii. xix. 3.

196
for the Phocians and Locrians at fifteen, for the Corinthians at fifteen, for the Arcadians, Pellenians and Sicyonians at ten, and for the Megarians, Troezenians, Epidaurians and Hermionians at ten. And they went on with their other preparations with the expectation of beginning the war promptly with the opening of spring.

IV. During this same winter the Athenians also were making their preparations to build ships, in accordance with their decision, and for this they had collected timber; and they fortified Sunium, in order that there might be protection for their grain-ships as they rounded the promontory. Furthermore, they abandoned the fortress in Laconia which they had built as they sailed along the Peloponnesian coast toward Sicily; and in general, if there seemed to be any useless expenditure anywhere, they entrenched in order to save money; but above all they kept an eye on their allies, that they might not revolt from them.

V. While both sides were carrying out these measures and busily equipping themselves for the war precisely as if they were just beginning it, first of all the Euboeans in the course of this winter sent envoys to Agis to discuss revolting from Athens. Receiving their proposals, he summoned from Lacedaemon Alcamenes son of Sthenelaïdas and Melanthus to take command in Euboea, and they came with about three hundred neodamodes, while Agis began arranging for their crossing. But in the meantime the Lesbians also came, they also desiring to revolt; and as the Boeotians assisted them in their negotiations, Agis was persuaded to delay matters so far as the Euboeans were concerned and began arranging
πέρι ἐπισχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Λεσβίοις παρεσκεύαξε τὴν ἀπόστασιν, Ἀλκαμένη τε ἀρμοστὴν διδοὺς, δὲ ἐς Ἐυβοίαν πλέει ἔμελλε, καὶ δέκα μὲν
3 Βοιωτοῦ ναὸς ὑπέκουντο, δέκα δὲ Ἀγις. καὶ
tαῦτα ἅνευ τῆς Λακεδαίμονιον πόλεως ἐπράσ
σετο: ὁ γὰρ Ἀγις ὅσον χρόνον ἦν περὶ Δεκέ
λειαν ἔχων τὴν μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν, κύριος
合击 καὶ ἀποστέλλειν εἰ ποί τινα ἐβούλετο στρα
tιάν καὶ ξυναγερέω καὶ χρήματα πράσσειν,
καὶ πολύ μᾶλλον ὡς εἰπεῖν κατὰ τούτον τὸν
καιρὸν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἕμμαχοι ὑπήκοον ἢ τῶν ἐν
tῇ πόλει Λακεδαίμονιον δύναμιν γὰρ ἔχων
4 αὐτὸς εὕθη ἐκασταχόσε δεινὸς παρῆν. καὶ ὁ
μὲν τοῖς Λεσβίοις ἐπράσσει, Χίου δὲ καὶ Ἐρυ
θραίου, ἀποστήναι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐτοίμαι ὄντες,
πρὸς μὲν Ἀγιν σικτ ἐπράσσοντο, ἕς δὲ τὴν Ἰακε
dαιμονια. καὶ παρὰ Τισσαφέρους, δὲ βασιλεῖ
Δαρείῳ τῷ Ἀρτακέρδου στρατηγὸς ἦν τῶν
κάτω, προσβευτὴς ἀμα μετ' αὐτῶν παρῆν.
5 εἰπήγετο γὰρ καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρης τοὺς Πελοποι
νησίους καὶ ὑπεισαγεῖτο τροφῆν παρέξειν. ὑπὸ
 βασιλέως γὰρ νεωτὶ ἐτύγχανε πεπραγμένος
tοὺς έκ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἁρχῆς φόρους, οὐς δὲ Ἀθη
 ναιόν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνιδῶν πόλεων οὐ δυνάμενοι
πράσσεσθαι ἐπωφείλησαν τοὺς τε οὐν φόρους
μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζε κομίεσθαι κακοφας τοὺς Ἀθη
 ναιόν, καὶ ἀμα βασιλεῖ ξυμμάχους Λακεδαίμο
νίους ποιῆσειν, καὶ Ἀμόργην, τὸν Πισσούθουν

1 The oligarchs, as shown by chs. ix and xiv. Chios had
hitherto been noted for its loyalty to Athena.
2 Darius II reigned 423–404.
3 Mentioned as satrap at Sardis in 440 B.C. (i. 115) and
198
their revolt for the Lesbians, giving them as harmost Alcamenes, who was to have sailed to Euboea; furthermore, the Boeotians promised them ten ships and Agis the same number. These negotiations were carried on without the authority of the Lacedaemonian state; for so long as he was stationed at Decceleia with his own force Agis possessed full power to send troops anywhere he wished as well as to levy them and to exact money. And at that time the allies hearkened to him far more, one might say, than to the Lacedaemonians in Sparta; for he had a force at his own disposal and his appearance anywhere instantly inspired fear. So he was working in the interest of the Lesbians, but the Chians\(^1\) and Erythraeans, who also were ready to revolt, betook themselves, not to Agis, but to Lacedaemon. And with them went an envoy from Tissaphernes, who was military governor of the coast-lands for King Darius\(^2\) son of Artaxerxes. For Tissaphernes was also trying to induce the Peloponnesians to come over to Asia, promising to furnish them maintenance. For the King, as it chanced, had lately demanded of him the tribute from his own province, for which he had fallen into arrears, since he was not able to exact it from the Hellenic cities because of the Athenians. He therefore thought that if he should weaken the Athenians he would be better able to collect his tribute; he also intended at the same time to make the Lacedaemonians allies of the King, and, in accordance with the King's command, either to take alive or to kill Amorges, bastard son of Pissuthnes,\(^3\) who again in 428 (iii. 31). Soon after the latter date he revolted. Tissaphernes was sent to suppress the revolt and, succeeding, became satrap himself.
THUCYDIDES

νίν νόθου, ἀφεστῶτα περὶ Καρίαν, ὡσπερ αὐτῷ προσέταξε βασιλεύς, ἢ ζῶντα ἥξειν ἢ ἀποκτενέων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Χίοι καὶ Τισσαφέρνης κοινὴ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπρασσον.

VI. Καλλιγείτος δὲ ὁ Λαοφόντος, Μεγαρεύς, καὶ Τιμαγόρας ὁ Ἀθηναγόρος, Κυζικηνός, φυγά- δες τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀμφότεροι παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ τῷ Φαρνάκου κατοικοῦντες, ἀφικνοῦνται περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονία πέμψαντος Φαρναβάζου, ὅπως ναῦς κομίσειαν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, καὶ αὐτός, εἰ δύνατο, ἄπερ ὁ Τισ- σαφέρνης προθυμεῖτο, τάς τε ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῷ ἀρχῇ πόλεις ἀποστῆσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τοὺς φόρους, καὶ ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ βασίλεις τὴν ξυμμαχίαν 2 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ποιῆσειν. πρασσόντων δὲ ταῦτα χωρίς ἐκατέρων, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαρνα- βάζου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους, πολλῇ ἀμιλλα ἐγέγνετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Χίον, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσ- ποντον πρότερον ναῦς καὶ στρατιὰν πείσουσι

3 πέμπειν. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ τῶν Χίων καὶ Τισσαφέρνους παρὰ πολὺ προσεδέξαντο μᾶλλον. ξυνέπρασσε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀλκιβιά- δης, Ἐνδίῳ ἐφορεύοντι πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένων ὄν, ὂθεν καὶ τούνομα Λακωνικόν ἢ οἰκία αὐτῶν 1 ἔσχεν: Ἔνδιος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκα-

1 κατὰ τὴν ἑκάτην deleted by Krüger and van Herwerden as gloss to οἴκων, followed by Hude.
was in revolt in Caria. Accordingly the Chians and Tissaphernes were negotiating in common for the same object.

VI. About the same time Calligeitus son of Laophon, a Megarian, and Timagoras son of Athenagoras, a Cyzicene, both being fugitives from their own countries and living at the court of Pharnabazus¹ son of Pharnaces, came to Lacedaemon. They had been sent by Pharnabazus to bring ships to the Hellespont, in order that he too, just as Tissaphernes was eager to do, might, if possible, cause the cities in his own province to revolt from the Athenians on account of the tribute, and by his own efforts secure for the King the alliance of the Lacedaemonians. As the two sets of envoys, those from Pharnabazus and those from Tissaphernes, were negotiating these matters separately, there was much rivalry among the people of Lacedaemon, one side trying to persuade the people to send ships and troops to Ionia and Chios first, the other to the Hellespont. The Lacedaemonians, however, were by far more inclined to accept the proposals of the Chians and Tissaphernes. For Alcibiades was cooperating with them, being an hereditary friend of the ephor Endius and on the most intimate terms with him. (This was, in fact, the reason why their house had acquired its Laconian name; for Endius was called Endius son of Alcibiades).² But in spite of

¹ Satrap of the territory along the Hellespont.
² The proof that Alcibiades was a Laconian name: it was borne by alternate generations in the family of Endius. Cleinias, Alcibiades' great-grandfather, determined that in his family also the name Alcibiades should alternate with his own name.
4 λείτο. ὃμως δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶτον κατά-
ρικον ἐς τὴν Χίον πέμψαντες Φρύνιν, ἀνδρὰ
περίοικον, εἰ αἳ τε νῆς αὐτῶς εἰσὶν ὀσασπερ
ἐλεγον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ἱκανὴ ἔστι πρὸς τὴν
λεγομένην δόξαν, ἀπαγγείλαντο αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰὴ
ταῦτα ἀληθῆ ἀπερ ἴκουν, τοὺς τε Χίους καὶ
tοὺς Ἐμυθραίους εὐθὺς ξυμμάχους ἐποίησαντο
καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νὰὺς ἐπισφάλειτο αὐτοῖς πέμ-
πειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἡ ἐξήκοντα ἀφ' ὃν οἱ
5 Χίων ἐλεγον ὑπαρχοῦσιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
δέκα τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον πέμψειν καὶ Μελαγ-
χρίδαν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος ἦν ἐπείτα σεισμὸν
γενομένου ἀντί τοῦ Μελαγχρίδου Χαλκίδεα
ἐπεμπτον καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα νεῶν πέντε παρε-
σκευάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δακωνίκῃ. καὶ ὁ χειμών
ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἔνος δέουν εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ
ἐτελεύτα τῶδε ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

VII. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς
ἐπειγομένων τῶν Χίων ἀποστείλας τὰς ναύς
καὶ δεδίτων μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ πρασσόμενα
αἰσθώνται (πάντες γὰρ κρύφα αὐτῶν ἐπε-
σχεύοντο), ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀνδρὰς
Σπαρτιάτας ἐς Κόρινθον τρεῖς, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐτέρας θαλάσσης ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς
Ἀθηνας ὑπερενεγκόντες τὰς ναῦς τὸν ῥήθμον
κελεύσωσι πλεῖν ἐς Χίων πάσας, καὶ ὥς ὁ Ἀγις
παρεσκεύαζεν ἐς τὴν Δέσβον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας.
ἡσαν δὲ ἡ ἐξήμπασαι τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν νῆς
αὐτοῖς μᾶς δεοῦσας τεσσαράκοντα.

VIII. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Καλλίγειτος καὶ Τιμαγόρας
ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου οὐκ ἐκοινώνυμον τὸν στόλον
ἐς τὴν Χίον, οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν ὁ Ἡλθον
BOOK VIII. vi. 3–viii. 1

their inclination, the Lacedaemonians first sent Phrynis, one of the Perioeci, to Chios to see whether the Chians had as many ships as they claimed, and whether in other respects the power of the city was equal to the representations made. When he brought back word that what they had heard was true, they at once made the Chians and the Erythraeans allies, and voted to send them forty ships, there being, from what the Chians said, no fewer than sixty already there. And at first they were going to send them ten of these under the command of Melanchridas, who was their admiral; but afterwards, when an earthquake occurred, instead of Melanchridas they sent Chalcideus, and instead of ten ships they made ready five in Laconia. So the winter ended, and with it the nineteenth year of the war of which Thucydides wrote the history.

VII. At the beginning of the following summer, as the Chians pressed them to send the ships, and were afraid that the Athenians might become aware of their negotiations—for all these embassies were kept secret from them—the Lacedaemonians sent to Corinth three Spartans, that they might as quickly as possible haul the ships over the Isthmus from the Corinthian Gulf to the sea on the side toward Athens, and give orders for the whole fleet to sail to Chios—the ships which Agis was getting ready for Lesbos as well as the rest. And the number of ships of the allied contingents at that place was all together thirty-nine.

VIII. Accordingly, Calligeitus and Timagoras, who were acting on behalf of Pharnabazus, did not join in the expedition to Chios, nor did they give
ἔχοντες ἐσ τὴν ἀποστολήν, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα, ἀλλ' υστερον ἔφε ἐαυτῶν διευθύντο
2 ἄλλο στόλο πλείω. ὁ δὲ Ἀγις ἐπειδὴ ἔωρα
tούς Δακεδαμούνοις ἐσ τὴν Χίον πρῶτον ὁρμη-
μένους, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄλλο τι ἐγίγνωσκεν, ἀλλ' ἐνελθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ ἔβου-
λεύσαντο, καὶ ἔδοξε πρῶτον ἐς Χίον αὐτοὺς
πλείω ἀρχοντα ἔχοντας Χαλκίδεα, ὃς ἐν τῇ
Δακωνικῇ τὰς πέντε ναύς παρεσκευάζει, ἐπειτα
ἐς Λέσβον καὶ Ἀλκαμενὴ ἀρχοντα, ὄντερ καὶ
Ἁγις διενείτο, τὸ τελευταίον δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλη-
pοτοῦν ἀφικέσθαι (προσετέκτο δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν
3 ἀρχων Κλέαρχος ὁ Ραμφίου), διαφέρειν δὲ τὸν
ἰσθμὸν τὰς ἡμισέας τῶν νεῶν πρῶτον, καὶ εὐθὺς
ταύτας ἀποπλεῖν, ὅπως μὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς τὰς
ἀφορμώμενας μᾶλλον τῶν νοῦν ἔχοσιν ἢ τὰς
4 υστερον διαφερομένας. καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλούν ταύτη
ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐποιοῦντο, καταφρονήσαντες
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἰδινασίαν, ὅτε ναυτικὸν οὐδὲν
αὐτῶν πολὺ πω ἐφαίνετο. ὅς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς,
καὶ διεκόμησαν εὐθὺς μίαν καὶ εἴκοσι ναύς.
IX. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπενεγομένων αὐτῶν τὸν
πλοῦν, οὐ προανεμήθεσαν ξυμπλεῖν πρὸ τὰ
Ἰσθμία, ἀ τότε ἦν, διεστάσειν. Ἀγις δὲ
αὐτοῖς ἐτούμος ἦν ἐκείνους μὲν μὴ λύειν δὴ τὰς
Ἰσθμιάδας σποιδάς, ἐαυτοῦ δὲ τῶν στόλον ἱδιον
2 ποιήσασθαι. οὐ ξυγχωροῦντον δὲ τῶν Κοριν-

1 £5000, $23,900.
2 The Isthmian Games were held in Corinthian territory, and under the presidency of Corinth. They were a τριτηρίτι, i.e. held every two years, in early spring or summer.
the money—twenty-five talents—which they had brought with them for the despatching of the ships, but intended to sail later with another armament by themselves. Agis, on the other hand, when he saw the Lacedaemonians eager for the expedition to Chios first, did not himself maintain a different view; but when the allies came together at Corinth and deliberated, they decided: in the first place, to sail to Chios with Chalcideus in command, he being in charge of the equipping of the five ships in Laconia; then to proceed to Lesbos with Alcamenes as commander—the one whom Agis was intending to send; and, finally, to go to the Hellespont, Clearchus son of Ramphias having already been assigned to command in this region. Furthermore, they decided to carry across the Isthmus half of the ships at first, and that these were to set sail immediately, in order that the attention of the Athenians might not be directed toward the ships that were setting out more than toward those that were afterwards being carried across the Isthmus. For they proposed to make the voyage from here to Chios openly, despising the impotence of the Athenians, because no considerable fleet of theirs was as yet making its appearance. And in accordance with their decision they at once conveyed twenty-one ships across.

IX. The Corinthians, however, although the others were impatient for the voyage, were not disposed to sail with them until they should have celebrated the Isthmian Games, which were held at that time. And Agis was quite ready to allow them to preserve inviolate the Isthmian truce while he made the expedition an affair of his own. But as
θιών, ἀλλὰ διατριβῆς ἐγγυνομένης, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἠσθοντο τὰ τῶν Χίων μᾶλλον, καὶ στέμψαντες ἐνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀριστοκράτη ἐπηγείωντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀρνομένων τῶν Χίων, τὸ πιστῶν ναύς σφίσει ξυμπέμπειν ἐκέλευον ἐς τὸ ξύμμα.

3 χικών: οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν ἐπτά. αὐτίον δ' ἐγένετο τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν νεῶν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν Χίων οὔκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασσόμενα, οἱ δὲ οἵνοι καὶ ξυνειδότες τὸ τε πλῆθος οὐ βουλόμενοι πω πολέμων ἔχειν πρὸν θέλουν λάβωσι, καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι προσδεχόμενοι ἤξειν, στὶ διετρίβου.

Χ. 'Εν δὲ τούτω τὰ Ἰσθμία ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι (ἐπηγγέλθησαν γάρ) ἔθεωρον ἐς αὐτά, καὶ κατάδηλα μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν Χίων ἐφάνη. καὶ ἔπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, παρεσκευάσαντο εὔθεια ὅπως μὴ λήσουσιν αὐτοὺς αἱ νῆες ἐκ τῶν

2 Κενχρείων ἀφορμηθεῖσαι. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐστήτην ἀνήγγειλαν μᾶλλον καὶ εἰκοσι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Χίον, ἀρχοντα Ἀλκαμένη ἔχοντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρὸν θέλουν ἵσας ναυσὶ προσπλεύσαντες ὑπῆγον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Πελοποννησίοι ἀλλ' ἀπετρά-πνοντο, ἐπανεχώρησαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὰς γὰρ τῶν Χίων ἐπτὰ ναύς ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ μετὰ σφῶν ἔχοντες οὐ πιστὰς ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ὑστερον ἂλλας προσπληρώσαντες ἐς ἐπτὰ καὶ τρία κοῦντα, παρα-

1 οἱ ξυνειδότες θ, the other MSS. omitting οἰ; Hude inserts οἱ.
2 ἐς added by Westermann.

1 During the truce, states which were at war with each other were allowed to send contestants and deputies to the 206
the Corinthians did not agree and delay ensued, the Athenians became more aware of the designs of the Chians, and sending Aristocrates, one of their generals, they charged them with the plot, and when they denied it, bade them, as their guarantee of good faith, send some ships along with the Athenian fleet as a contribution to the allied force; and they sent seven. Their reason for sending these ships was that most of the Chians had no knowledge of the negotiations, and the oligarchs, who were in the plot, were not only unwilling as yet to incur the hostility of the populace, before they had acquired any strength, but also because of the delay of the Peloponnesians no longer expected them to come.

X. In the meantime the Isthmian Games were celebrated, and the Athenians, since the truce had been proclaimed,1 sent deputies to them; and so the designs of the Chians became more manifest to them. And when they returned they immediately made arrangements that the ships should not set sail from Cenchreia without their knowledge. But the Peloponnesians, after the festival, put to sea for Chios with twenty-one ships under the command of Alcames. And the Athenians at first sailed up to them with an equal number of ships, and tried to draw them out into the open sea. But when the Peloponnesians did not follow them very far but turned back, the Athenians also withdrew; for they had the seven Chian ships in the ranks of their fleet and did not consider them trustworthy. But they afterwards manned additional ships, bringing their number up to thirty-seven, and then pursued the common games, these having a safe pass to and from the celebration.
πλέοντας αὐτούς καταδιώκουσιν ἐς Πειραιάν τῆς Κορινθίας· ἔστι δὲ λευκὴν ἐρήμος καὶ ἐσχατὸς πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ἑπιδαυρίας. καὶ μίαν μὲν ναῦν ἀπολλύσαι μετέφερον οἱ Πελοποννησίοι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ξυναγαγόντες ὀρμίζουσιν, καὶ προσβάλοντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβάντων θόρυβὸς τε ἐγένετο πολὺς καὶ ἀτακτος, καὶ τῶν τε νεῶν τὰς πλέον κατατραμματίζουσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Ἀλκαμένη ἀποκτείνουσιν καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἀπέθανον.

Χ. Διακριθέντες δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς πολεμίας ναύς ἐπέταξαν ἐφορμεῖν ἰκανὰς, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς ἐσ τι¹ νησίδιον ὀρμίζονται, ἐν φοίο πολὺ ἀπο-έχουσιν ἐστρατοπεδένοντο, καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ 2 βοήθειαν ἐπέμπον. παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς Πελο-ποννησίοις τῇ ύστεραιᾳ οἱ Τε Κορινθιοὶ βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς, καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον καὶ οἱ ἀλλοὶ πρόσχωροι, καὶ ὅρωντες τὴν φυλακὴν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ἐπίπονον οὕτων ἡπόρουν καὶ ἐπένοησαν μὲν κατακαῦσαι τὰς ναύς, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀνελκύσαι καὶ τὸ πεζὸ προσκα-θημένους φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ἐστὶν τὸς παρατύχως διαφυγὴ ἐπιτηδεία. ἐπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀγίας αἰσθόμενος ταύτα ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην Θέρμωνα. 3 τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρῶτον μὲν ἡγεῖδε διὸ καὶ νῆς ἀνηγμέναι εἰςε ἐκ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ (ἐφήτω γὰρ, ὅταν γένηται τούτῳ, Ἀλκαμένει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπιέα πέμψαι), καὶ εὐθὺς τὰς παρὰ σφῶν πέντε

¹ τι, for το of the M88., Stahl's correction.
enemy as they sailed along the coast, until they put in at Peiraeum in Corinthian territory. This is a deserted port, the last toward the borders of Epidauria. The Peloponnesians lost one ship out at sea, but brought the rest together and cast anchor. And now, when the Athenians attacked them, both by sea with their fleet and on land, having put men ashore, there was great confusion and disorder; and most of the Peloponnesian ships were disabled by the Athenians on the beach and their commander Alcamenes was slain. And some Athenians also were killed.

XI. After drawing off, the Athenians posted a sufficient number of ships to keep watch upon those of the enemy, but with the rest cast anchor at an islet not far distant, on which they proceeded to make their camp; and they also sent to Athens for reinforcements. For the Corinthians had joined the Peloponnesians the day after the battle, bringing reinforcements to their fleet, and not long afterward the peoples of the neighbourhood also came. And the Peloponnesians, seeing the difficulty of guarding the ships in a desert place, were in perplexity; and they even thought of burning the ships, but afterwards determined to draw them up on shore and, settling down there with their land-force, to keep guard over them until some favourable opportunity of escape should offer. And Agis, hearing of their predicament, sent to them Thermon, a Spartan. Now the first news that came to the Lacedaemonians was that the ships had put to sea from the Isthmus—for orders had been given to Alcamenes by the ephors to despatch a horseman as soon as that should happen—and they were planning to send
ΤΗΙΊΤΔΗΔΗΣ

ναῦς καὶ Χαλκίδεα ἄρχοντα καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβούλοντο πέμπειν· ἔστειτα ὀρμημένων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ τῶν νεῶν καταφυγῆν ἡγεῖσθη, καὶ ἄθυμησαντες, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀποτομοῦν τοῦ Ἰωνίκου πολέμου ἔπταισαν, τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτῶν οὐκέτι διενοῦντο πέμπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰς προανηγμένας μετακαλεῖν.

XII. Γνώσε δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πείθει αὖθις Ἔνδιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφόρους μὴ ἀποκυνῆσαι τὸν πλοῦν, λέγων ὅτι φθησοῦται τε πλεύσαντες πρὶν τὴν τῶν νεῶν ξυμφοράν Χίους αἰσθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτῶς, ὅταν προσβάλῃ Ἰωνία, ῥαδίως πείσειν τὰς πόλεις ἀφιστάσθαι, τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων λέγων ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀκαδαιμονίων προθμίαν. πιστότερος 2 γὰρ ἄλλων φανεῖσθαι. Ἔνδιόν τε αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ ἔλεγεν καλὸν εἶναι δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀποστῆσαί τε Ἰωνίαν καὶ βασιλέα ἡμοῦ ποιήσαι Ακαδαιμονίοις, καὶ μὴ Ἀγιοδότο τὸ ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο γενέσθαι· οὕτως 3 γὰρ τῷ Ἀγιδὶ αὐτῶς διάφορος ὄν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πείσας τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐφόρους καὶ Ἔνδιον ἀνήγετο ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ μετὰ Χαλκίδεως τοῦ Ακαδαιμονίου καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιοῦντο.

XIII. Ἀνεκομίζοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων τούτων καὶ αὐτὸ ἡ Σικελίας Πελοποννησίων ἐκκαθίσκει νῆσεις αὐτὶ μετὰ Γυλίππου ξυμπολεμήσασαι· καὶ περὶ τὴν Δευκάδιαν ἀποληφθεῖσαι καὶ κοπεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐπταὶ καὶ εἴκοσι

1 He was suspected of an intrigue with the wife of Agis (Plutarch, Alcibi. 23).
immediately their own five ships under the command of Chalcideus, and Alcibiades with him; afterwards, when they were eager to sail, word came to them about their ships having taken refuge at Peiraeum; and they were so discouraged, because in this their first undertaking in the Ionian war they had failed, that they from that time on ceased planning to send out the ships that were in home waters, but on the contrary even thought of recalling some that had previously gone out to sea.

XII. Now when Alcibiades learned of this, he again urged Endius and the other ephors not to shrink from the expedition, saying that their fleet would have completed the voyage before the Chians could hear of the disaster to their ships, and that he himself, when he reached Ionia, would easily persuade the cities to revolt by telling them of the weakness of the Athenians and the zeal of the Lacedaemonians; for he would be more readily believed than others. And to Endius he said privately that it would be an honour for him, through the agency of Alcibiades, to cause Ionia to revolt and to make the King an ally to the Lacedaemonians, urging him not to let this become the achievement of Agis; for he happened himself to be at variance with Agis.1 So having persuaded Endius and the other ephors, he put to sea with the five ships in company with Chalcideus the Lacedaemonian, and they made the voyage with all speed.

XIII. About the same time the sixteen Peloponnesian ships, which had served with Gyippus in Sicily throughout the war, were on their way home; and as they were off Leucadia they were intercepted and roughly handled by the twenty-seven Athenian
THUCYDIDES

... νεών, δ' ἦρχεν Ἰπποκλής Μενίπποι, φυλακήν ἐχὼν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας νεῶν, αἱ λοιπαὶ πλὴν μιᾶς διαφυγοῦσα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον.

XIV. Ὀ δὲ Χαλκιδεύς καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλέοντες ὅσοις τε ἐπιτύχοιεν ξυνελάμβανον τοῦ μὴ ἐξάγγελτοι γενέσθαι, καὶ προσβαλόντες πρῶτον Κωρύκῳ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀφέντες ἐνταῦθα αὐτούς, αὐτοὶ μὲν προξυγγενόμενοι τῶν ἄμβρασσόντων Χίων τισὶ καὶ κελευόντων καταπλεῖν μὴ προευτόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφικνοῦνται ἀφίλθιοι τοῖς 2 Χίοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐν θαύματι ἦσαν καὶ ἐκπλήξει τοῖς δ' ὅλοις παρεσκεύαστο ὡστε βουλὴν τυχεῖν ξυλλεγομένην, καὶ γενομένων λόγων ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκιδέως καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὡς ἀλλai νής πολλαὶ προσπλέουσι καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ νεῶν οὐ δηλοσάντων, ἀφιστάνται Χίοι καὶ αὕθες Ἐρυθραῖοι Ἀθη- 3 ναίων. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τρισὶ ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες καὶ Κλαζομενᾶς ἀφιστάσιν. διαβάντες δὲ οἱ Κλα- ζομενοὶ εὐθύς ἐς τὴν ἡπείρον τῆς Πολέμην ἐτεί- χουν, εἰ τι δέοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς νησίδος ἐν Ἰ οἰκούσι πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀφεστῶ- τες ἐν τείχισμῳ τε πάντες ἦσαν καὶ παρασκευὴν πολέμου.

XV. Ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς ταχὺ ἀγγελία τῆς Χίου

1 τέ after βουλὴν deleted by Krüger; so also after ἀλλαὶ below.

1 There were several places called Corycus. This one was the southernmost point of the Erythraean peninsula, about forty miles from Chios. Cf. Livy xxxvii. 12, Corycum Teiorum promonturium.
ships under the command of Hippocles son of Menippus, who was on the look-out for the ships from Sicily; but all except one escaped the Athenians and sailed into Corinth.

XIV. Meanwhile Chalcideus and Aleibiades as they sailed for Chios seized all whom they encountered, that their coming might not be reported. The first point on the mainland at which they touched was Corycens, where they released their captives; then after a conference with some Chians who were co-operating with them and who urged them to sail to Chios without giving any notice, they arrived at Chios suddenly. Now the people at large were in a state of wonderment and consternation, but the oligarchs had arranged that the council should chance to have just assembled; speeches were accordingly made by Chalcideus and Aleibiades, who announced that many additional ships were on the way, but did not disclose the fact of the blockade of their fleet at Peiraeum, and then the Chians revolted from Athens, and so later on did the Erythraeans. After this three ships were detached from the fleet and brought about the revolt of Clazomenae. And the Clazomenians immediately crossed over to the mainland and fortified Polichne, on the chance that they themselves might have need of it in case they should withdraw from the island on which they lived. These peoples, then, being in revolt, were all engaged in fortifying and preparing for war.

XV. News of the revolt of Chios came quickly

2 According to Pausanias (vii. iii. 9), the Clazomenians had removed to the island through fear of the Persians.
ἀφικνεῖται καὶ νομίσαντες μέγαν ἢδη καὶ σαφῆ τὸν κύδωνον σφάς περιεστάναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐυμμάχους οὐκ ἐθελήσειν τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως μεθεστηκήν ἡσυχάζειν, τὰ τε χίλια τάλαντα, ὁν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου ἐγλύχυντο μὴ ἀγαθαθαι, εὑρὸς ἔλυσαν τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας τῷ εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιφήσαντι ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ἐπηφίσαντω κυνεί καὶ ναῦς πληροῦν μὴ ὀλύγαι, τῶν τε ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ ἐφορμούσον τὰς μὲν ὀκτὼ ἢδη πέμπειν, αἱ ἀπολιποῦσαι τῆς φυλακῆς τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδῶν διώξασαι καὶ ὡς καταλαβούσαι ἀνεκεχωρίκεσαν (ἤρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρομβιχίδης Διοτίμου), ἀλλὰς δὲ ὡς πολὺ ὑστερον βοηθεῖν δώδεκα μετὰ Θρασυκλέους, ἀπολιποῦσας καὶ ταῦτας τὴν ἐφόρμησιν. τὰς τε τῶν Χίων ἐπτὰ ναύς, αἰ αὐτῶν ἵπποπολόροκοι τὰς ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ, ἀπαγαγόντες τοὺς μὲν δουλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἠλευθέρωσαν, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρους κατέδησαν. ἐτέρας δὲ ἀντὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀπελθοῦσον νεὼν ἐς τὴν ἐφόρμησιν τῶν Πελοποιησίων διὰ τάχους πληρώσαντες ἀντέπεμψαν καὶ ἀλλὰς διευρύσαντα τριάκοντα πληροῦν, καὶ πολλὴ ἤ προθυμία καὶ ὀλίγον ἐπράσσετο οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον.

XVI. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ Στρομβιχίδης ταῖς ὁκτὼ

1 τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημιάς deleted by Widmann, followed by Hude.

1 cf. ii. 24. Pericles had set this fund aside in the first year of the war, to be touched only in case a hostile fleet threatened the Peiraeus.
to Athens, and they felt that the danger which encompassed them was by now great and manifest, and that the rest of their allies would not be inclined to keep quiet when the greatest state of all had seceded. And so they took up the question of the fund of a thousand talents, which during the whole war they had jealously refrained from touching, and under the influence of their consternation immediately rescinded the penalties which had been imposed upon any speaker who should propose to touch this money, or any presiding officer who should put such a proposal to a vote, and then voted to use this fund and man a considerable number of ships. They also voted that of the ships which were employed in the blockade at Peiraeum there should be sent at once the eight that, leaving guard-duty, had gone in pursuit of the fleet under Chalcideus, but after failing to overtake it had returned to their post—the commander of these eight being Strombichides son of Diotimus—and that soon afterwards twelve others under Thrasycles should leave the blockade and go to the rescue. As for the seven Chian ships that were assisting them in the blockade of the vessels at Peiraeum, they withdrew them, freeing the slaves aboard them and putting the freemen in fetters. And in place of all the ships that had gone away they speedily manned others and sent them to continue the blockade of the Peloponnesians, and it was their intention to man thirty more. Great indeed was their ardour, and there was nothing trivial in their efforts to send out reinforcements against Chios.

XVI. Meanwhile Strombichides with his eight
THUCYDIDES

ναυσίν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Σάμουν, καὶ προσλαβῶν Σαμίαν μίαν ἐπλευσεν ἐς Τέων καὶ ἰσυχαζεῖν ἤξιον αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χίου ἐς τὴν Τέων καὶ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς μετὰ τριῶν καὶ εἰκοσὶ νεῶν ἔπετελε, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἄμα ὁ Κλαζομενίων καὶ Ἐρυθραῖων παρῆκεν. 2 προαισθόμενος δὲ ὁ Στρομβιχίδης προανήγητο, καὶ μετεωρίσθεις ἐν τῷ πελάγει ὡς ἑώρα τὰς ναύς πολλὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Χίου, φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου. αἱ δὲ ἐδιωκοῦν. τὸν δὲ πεζὸν οἱ Τήιοι τὸ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐσδεχόμενοι, ὡς ἐφυγον οἱ 'Αθηναίοι, ἐσχιγύροντο. καὶ ἐπέσχον μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ 1 Χαλκιδεά ἐκ τῆς διώξεως περιμένοντες. ὡς δὲ ἔχρονις, καθήρουν αὐτοὶ τὸ τεῖχος δὲ ἐνυκρόομησαν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι τῆς Τήιων πόλεως πρὸς ἤπειρον, ἐγκαθήρουν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπελθόντες οὐ πολλοί, δὲν ἤρχε Στάγης, ὑπάρχος Τισσαφέρους.

XVII. Χαλκιδεᾶς δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὡς κατεδώξαν ἐς Σάμουν Στρομβιχίδην, ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεῶν τοὺς ναύτας ὀπλάσαντες ἐν Χίῳ καταλιμπάνουσιν, ἀντιπληρώσαντες δὲ ταῦτας τε ἐκ Χίου καὶ ἄλλας εἴκοσὶ ἐπλέουν ἐς Μίλητον 2 ὡς ἀποστήσαντες. ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὅπως ἐπιτήδειοι τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν Μίλητον, φθάσαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναύς προσαγαγόμενοι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς Χίοις καὶ ἕαυτῷ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖ καὶ τῷ ἀποστείλαντι Ἑνδιῷ, ὅσπερ ὑπέσχετο, τὸ ἀγώνισμα προσθεῖναι, ὅτι πλείοντας

1 καὶ deleted by Bloomfield, followed by Hude.

1 cf. ch. xii. 2.
ships arrived at Samos; then after taking on an additional Samian ship he sailed to Teos, whose inhabitants he begged to keep quiet. But at this moment Chalcideus bore down upon him, sailing from Chios to Teos with twenty-three ships, and at the same time the land-force of the Clazomenians and Erythraeans was moving along the shore. Strombichides, however, observed the enemy in time and promptly put out to sea, and when he was in the open sea and saw how numerous were the ships from Chios, he made flight toward Samos; and the enemy pursued him. As for the land-force, the Teians would not at first admit them, but when the Athenians fled they brought them into the city. These troops waited for a while, expecting Chalcideus to join them after the pursuit; but when he tarried, they proceeded on their own account to demolish the fort which the Athenians had built on the mainland side of the city of Teos; and in this work they were assisted by a few of the Barbarian troops that had come up, their commander being Stages, a lieutenant of Tissaphernes.

XVII. Chalcideus and Alcibiades, after pursuing Strombichides to Samos, armed the sailors from the Peloponnesian ships and left them at Chios, and replacing the crews of these ships with substitutes from Chios and manning twenty additional ships, they sailed to Miletus, with the intention of causing it to revolt. For Alcibiades wished, since he was a friend of the leading men of Miletus, to win the Milesians over before the arrival of the Peloponnesian ships, and to fulfil his promise to secure for the Chians and himself and Chalcideus and for Endius the author of the expedition the credit of
τῶν πόλεων μετὰ τῆς Χίων δυνάμεως καὶ Χαλκι-
3 δέως ἀποστήσας. λαθόντες οὖν τὸ πλείστον τοῦ
πλοῦ καὶ φθάσαντες οὐ πολὺ τὸν τε Στρομβίχιδην
καὶ τὸν Θρασυκλέα, δὲ ἔτυχεν ἐκ τῶν 'Αθηνῶν
dῶδεκα ναυσίν ἀρτι παρὼν καὶ ξυνδιώκων, ἀφι-
στάσι τὴν Μίλητον. καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας
μᾶς δεούσαις εἰκοσι ναυσίν ἐπιπλεύσαντες, ὡς
αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι, ἐν Λάδῃ τῇ ἐπι-
4 κείμενη νήσῳ ἐφώρμουν. καὶ ἡ πρὸς βασιλέα
ξυμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίων ἡ πρῶτη Μιλήσιων
εὐθὺς ἀποστάντων διὰ Τισσαφέρνους καὶ Χαλκι-
dέως ἐγένετο ἦδε.

XVIII. "Ἐπὶ τοίσδε ξυμμαχίαις ἐποίησαντο
πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Τισσαφέρνη Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ
οἱ ξύμμαχοι.

"Ὅποσην χώραν καὶ πόλεις βασιλεύς ἔχει καὶ
οἱ πατέρες οἱ βασιλεῖς εἶχον, βασιλέως ἐστώ καὶ
ἐκ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ὅποσα 'Αθηναίοις ἔφοιτα
χρήματα ἡ ἄλλο τι, κωλυόντων κοινὴ βασιλεὺς
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὅπως μήτε
χρήματα λαμβάνωσιν 'Αθηναίοι μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν.

2 "Καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πρὸς 'Αθηναίους κοινὴ
πολεμοῦντων βασιλεὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι· καὶ κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς
'Αθηναίοις μὴ ἔξεστο ποιεῖσθαι, ἢν μὴ ἀμφο-
tέροις δοκῇ, βασιλεῖ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίωι καὶ τοῖς
ξύμμαχοις.

3 "Ἡν δὲ τινες ἀφιστώνται ἀπὸ βασιλέως, πολέ-
having, in concert with the Chian forces and Chalcides, brought to revolt the largest possible number of cities. Accordingly they made most of the voyage without being detected, barely anticipated the arrival of Strombichides and Thrasycles—who by chance had just come from Athens with twelve ships and joined in the pursuit—and induced Miletus to revolt. The Athenians followed at their heels with nineteen ships, and, when the Milesians would not admit them, took up their station at Lade, the island that lies off Miletus. And now, immediately after the revolt of Miletus, the first alliance between the Lacedaemonians and the King was concluded through Tissaphernes and Chalcides, on the following conditions:

XVIII. The Lacedaemonians and their allies have concluded an alliance with the King and Tissaphernes on the following terms:

"1. Whatsoever territory and cities the King holds or the forefathers of the King held, shall belong to the King; and from these cities whatsoever money or anything else came in for the Athenians shall be stopped by the King and the Lacedaemonians and their allies acting in common, to the end that the Athenians shall receive neither money nor anything else.

"2. And the war against the Athenians shall be waged in common by the King and the Lacedaemonians and their allies; and an end of the war against the Athenians is not to be made except with the consent of both parties, the King as well as the Lacedaemonians and their allies.

"3. If any revolt from the King, they shall be
μοι ἐστών καὶ Δακεδαίμονιος καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. καὶ ἣν τινες ἀφιστῶνται ἀπὸ Δακεδαίμονιον καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, πολέμου ἐστῶν βασιλεῖ κατὰ ταῦτα.”

XIX. Ἡ μὲν ξυμμαχία αὕτη ἐγένετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χίοι εὐθὺς δέκα ἑτέρας πληρώσαντες ναῦς ἐπλευσαν ἐς Ἀναία, βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ ἐν Μιλήτῳ πυθέσθαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀμα ἀφιστάναι.

2 καὶ ἐλθοῦσας παρὰ Χαλκιδέως ἀγγελίας αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεῖν πάλιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμόργης παρέσται κατὰ γῆν στρατιῶτα, ἐπιλευσαν ἐς Διὸς ἱερόν· καὶ καθαρώσων ἐκκαίδεκα ναῦς, ὑπὸ υστεροῦ ἐτὶ Θρασυκλέως Διο-

3 μέδων ἔχων ἀπ’ Ἀθηνῶν προσέπλει. καὶ ὡς εἴδον, ἐφευγὼν μὲν μὲν νηλ γὰρ ἐς Ἐφέσου, αἱ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Τέω. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν κενὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λαμβάνουσι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν φθασάντων.

4 αἱ δ’ ἀλλαὶ ἐς τὴν Τηήνων πόλιν καταφεύγουσι. καὶ οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ Χίοι ταῖς λοιπὰς ναῦσιν ἀναγάμοινοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς μετ’ αὐτῶν Δέβεδου ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἀνθίσεις Αἰράς. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκαστοὶ ἐπ’ οὐκο ἀπεκο-

220

THUCYDIDES

1 καὶ, before ὃτι, deleted by Poppo (with Valla).
2 With Meisterhans, Att. Ins. 17. 11; MSS. Ἐρᾶς.

1 On the mainland opposite.
enemies to both the Lacedaemonians and their allies, and if any revolt from the Lacedaemonians and their allies, they shall be enemies to the King in like manner."

XIX. Such was the alliance. And immediately after this the Chians manned ten more ships and sailed to Anaea,¹ wishing to learn about the situation in Miletus and at the same time to induce the cities to revolt. But a message came from Chalcideus ordering them to sail back again, since Amorges would soon arrive by land with an army, and so they sailed to the temple of Zeus; there they descried sixteen ships approaching with which Diomedon had left Athens even after the departure of Thrasyycles. When they saw these ships, they fled to Ephesus with one ship, while the rest made for Teos. Four empty ships were captured by the Athenians, their crews having escaped to the land; the other five took refuge at the city of Teos. The Athenians then sailed for Samos; and the Chians, putting out to sea with the rest of their ships and acting in concert with the army on land, induced Lebedos to revolt and then Haerac.² After this each contingent returned home, both the army on land and the fleet.

XX. About the same time the twenty Peloponnesian ships at Peiraeum, which had been chased to shore at the time above mentioned ³ and were being blockaded by an equal number of Athenian ships, made a sudden sally, and winning the victory in an engagement captured four of the Athenian ships; they then sailed back to Cenchreaiæ, where

¹ A small town of the Terians (Strabo, p. 644).
² Ch. x. 3.
χρείας τὸν ἐς τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν πλοῦν αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ ναῦαρχος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος Ἀστύρου ἐπήλθεν, ὡσπερ ἐγίγνετο ἦδη πᾶσα ἡ ναυαρχία.

2 Ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Τέω πεζοῦ καὶ Τισσαφέρης αὐτὸς στρατιὰ παραγενόμενος καὶ ἐπικαθελὼν τὸ ἐν τῇ Τέω τεῖχος, εἰ τι ὑπελείφη, ἀνεχώρησεν. καὶ Διομέδων ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ οὐ πολὺ ύστερον δέκα ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφικόμενος ἐσπεισάτο Τήνως ὡστε δέχεσθαι καὶ σφᾶς. καὶ παραπλεῦσας ἐπὶ Λίρας καὶ προσβαλῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐλάμβανε τὴν πόλιν, ἀνέπλευσεν.

XXI. Ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τούτον καὶ ἡ ἐν Σάμῳ ἑπανάστασις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυνατοῖς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τρισὶ ναυσὶ παρόντες. καὶ οἱ δήμοι ὁ Σαμίων ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινὰς τοὺς πάντας τῶν δυνατῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τετρακόσιοι δὲ φυγὴ ξημώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκίας νειμόμενοι, Ἀθηναίων τε σφίσιν αὐτονομίαν μετὰ ταύτα ὡς βεβαιώσαν ὡς ἐζησώμενοι, τὰ λοιπὰ διώκουν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοῖς γεωμόροις μετεδίδοσαν οὕτε ἄλλου οὐδενός, οὕτε ἐκδοῦναι οὔδ' ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων οὖδ' ἐσ' ἐκείνους οὐδὲν ἐτί τοῦ δήμου ἐξῆν.

XXII. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Χίοι, ὡσπερ ἤρξαντο, οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες προθυμίας ἀνευ τε Πελοποννησίων πλῆθει παρόντες ἀποστήσαται τὰς πόλεις καὶ βουλόμενοι ἀμα ὡς πλείστους

1 ἐπό, omitted by Hude with F.

1 cf. ch. xix. 1.
they proceeded again to prepare for the voyage to Chios and Ionia. And Astyocheus came to them from Lacedaemon and on him now devolved, as admiral, the command of the entire fleet.

Now when the land-forces withdrew from Teos, Tissaphernes came there in person with an army, demolished whatever was left of the fortification at Teos, and then withdrew. After his departure Diomedon, who arrived a little later with ten Athenian ships, made an agreement with the Teians to receive them also. He then sailed along the coast to Haeræ, and after making an assault upon the city without success sailed away.

XXI. There also occurred at this time the uprising at Samos which was made against the nobles by the common people in conjunction with some Athenians, who happened to be present on board three ships. And the common people of Samos slew some two hundred in all of the nobles, and having condemned to exile four hundred others, distributed among themselves their land and houses; and when the Athenians, after these events, granted them autonomy on the ground that they were now assured of their fidelity, they administered the affairs of the city thenceforth; and they neither gave to the landowners any other privilege nor permitted any one of the common people from that time on either to give his daughter in marriage to them or to take a wife from them.

XXII. After this, during the same summer, the Chians showed no abatement of the zeal which they had displayed from the beginning, in approaching the various cities in force, even without the Peloponnesians, and inducing them to revolt; and wishing at
THUCYDIDES

σφίσιν ἐγκινδυνεύειν, στρατεύονται αὐτοὶ τε τρισὶ καὶ δέκα ναυσίν ἐπὶ τὴν Δέσβον, ὡσπερ εἰρήτο υπὸ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων δεύτερον ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἱέναι καὶ ἑκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμα Πελοποννησίων τε τῶν παρόντων καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄμα ξυμμάχων παρῆσε ἐπὶ Κλαξομενῶν τε καὶ Κύμης ἣρχε δ' αὐτοῦ Ἐυάλας Σπαρτιάτης, τῶν δὲ νεῶν

2 Δευτεράς περίοικος. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες καταπλεύ- σασαι Μήθυμμαν πρῶτον ἀφιστάσι, καὶ καταλει- πονται τέσσαρες νῆες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ αὐθεὶς αἱ λοιπαὶ Μυτιλήνην ἀφιστάσιν.

XXIII. Ἀστύχοχος δὲ τὸ Δακεδαιμόνιον ναώρχος τέσσαρος ναυσίν, ὡσπερ ὀρμητό, πλέων ἐκ τῶν Κεγχρείων ἀφίκνεται ἐς Χίων. καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἱκοντος αἱ Ἀττικαῖ νῆες πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἔπλεον ἐς Δέσβον, ὥν ἠρχε Δέων καὶ Διομέδων Δέων γὰρ ὑπερον δέκα ναυσί προσε- 2 βοήθησεν ἐκ τῶν Ἄθηνῶν. ἀναγεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀστύχοχος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς όψι, καὶ προσλα- βῶν Χίων ναύων μίαν, ἔπλει ἐς τὴν Δέσβον, ὅπως ὡφελοῖ, εἰ τι δύνατο. καὶ ἀφίκνεται ἐς τὴν Πύραν, ἑκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑπεροίᾳ ἐς Ὑρεσίων ἐνθα πυρεθάνεται ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄθηναίων

3 αὐτοβοεῖ ἐάλωκεν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡσπερ ἔπλεον ἀπροσδόκητοι κατασχόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα τῶν τε Χίων νεῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἀποβάντας τοὺς ἀντιστάντας μάχῃ νικήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον.

4 ἢ πυθανόμενος ὁ Ἀστύχοχος τῶν τε Ἑρεσίων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Μηθύμνης μετ' Ἑυβούλου Χίων

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1 cf. ch. viii. 2.
the same time that as many as possible should share the danger with them, they made an expedition on their own account with thirteen ships against Lesbos. For they had been ordered by the Lacedaemonians to go against it next, and afterwards to proceed to the Hellespont. At the same time the land-force, consisting both of the Peloponnesians who were present and of the allies from that region, moved along the shore toward Clazomenae and Cyme, being under the command of Eulas, a Spartan, while the fleet was in charge of Deiniadas, one of the Perioeci. The fleet put in at Methymna and induced it to revolt first, and four ships were left there; the rest then effected the revolt of Mytilene.

XXIII. Meanwhile Astyochos, the Lacedaemonian admiral, sailed with four ships from Cenchreaiæ, as he had purposed, and arrived at Chios. And on the third day after his coming the twenty-five Athenian ships sailed to Lesbos, being under the command of Leon and Diomedon; for Leon had arrived afterwards with a reinforcement of ten ships from Athens. On the same day, but at a later hour, Astyochos put to sea, and taking besides his own one Chian ship sailed to Lesbos, in order to give what aid he could. On that day he reached Pyrrha, and thence on the next day Eresus, where he learned that Mytilene had been taken by the Athenians at the first assault. For the Athenians, arriving unexpectedly, had immediately sailed into the harbour and got the better of the Chian ships; they then landed and after defeating in battle those that resisted them took possession of the city. Now when Astyochos learned of this from the inhabitants of Eresus and from the Chian ships that came from Methymna
νεῶν, ἀντὶ τότε καταλείψεται καὶ, ὡς ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἕαλω, φεύγονται περιέτυχον αὐτὸ τρεῖς (μία γὰρ ἕαλω ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄθηναίων), οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην ὀρμησέν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἐρεσοῦν ἀποστήσεις καὶ ὀπλίσας, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν ὀπλίτας πεζῷ παραπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν καὶ Μῆθυμναν ἄρχοντα Ἐπεόνικον προστάξας. καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς τε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς Χίαις παρέπλει, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Μηθυμναίους θαρσήσειν τε ἱδοντας σφάς καὶ ἐμμενείν τῇ ἀποστάσει. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ πάντα ἡμαντίοτο, ἀπεπλευσε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Χίον. ἀπεκομίσθη δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ὃ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζῶν, ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐμέλλεσθαι ἱέναι. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Κεγχρεῖ ἑξεμμαχίδων Πελοποννησίων νεῶν ἀφικνούνται αὐτοὶς ἐς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Χίον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ταῖς τε ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ πάλιν κατεστήσαντο καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐς αὐτὴς Κλαξομενίας τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Πολίχνην τειχιζομένην ἐλόντες διεκόμισαν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πόλιν πλῆν τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀποστάσεως οὕτω δὲ ἐς Δαφνοῦτα ἀπῆλθον, καὶ αὐτὶς Κλαξομενέα προσεχώρησαν Ἀθηναίοις.

XXIV. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οὗ τ' ἐπὶ Μελήτῳ Ἀθηναίοι ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ

1 cf. ch. xxii. 2.
2 The text is most probably corrupt. These facts practically all commentators agree upon: Astyochus leaves first, taking with him his own force (τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατῶν), i.e. the hoplites whom he had sent against Antissa and Methymna (§ 4). The force here designated must be δ' πεζὸς Πελοπον-
with Eubulus—the ships which had been left behind on the occasion above mentioned,¹ and now fell in with him in their flight after the capture of Mytilene, being three in number, for one had been captured by the Athenians—he no longer advanced against Mytilene, but instead induced Eresus to revolt, supplied it with arms, and then sent the hoplites on his own ships by land along the coast to Antissa and Methymna, placing Eteonicus in command of them. He himself, meanwhile, took his own and the three Chian ships and sailed along the coast, hoping that the Methymnaeans would be encouraged by the sight of his fleet and would persevere in their revolt. But since everything at Lesbos was going against him, he took his hoplites aboard and sailed back to Chios. And the forces which had been landed from the ships² and were intending to proceed to the Hellespont were conveyed again to their several cities. After this, six of the allied ships from the Peloponnesus that were at Cenechreia joined them at Chios. As for the Athenians, they restored conditions at Lesbos, and sailing from there captured Polichne,³ the Clazomenian settlement on the mainland which was being fortified, and carried all the inhabitants back to the city on the island, except the authors of the revolt; for these had got away to Daphnus. And so Clazomenae again came back to the Athenian alliance.

XXIV. During the same summer the Athenians, who were at Lade with their twenty ships keeping

¹ cf. ch. xxii. 1.
² cf. ch. xiv. 3.
εφορμούντες ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς Πάνορμον τῆς Μιλήσιας Χαλκιδέα τε τῶν Δακεδαμώνιον ἁρχοντα μετ' ὀλίγον παραβοηθήσαντα ἀποκτείνουσι, καὶ τροπαίον τρίτη ἡμέρα ὡστερον διαπλεύσαντες ἑστησαν, ὅ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ὡς οὐ μετὰ 2 κράτους τῆς γῆς σταθεὶν ἀνεῖλον καὶ Λέων καὶ Διομέδους ἔχοντες τὰς ἑκ Δέσβου 'Αθηναίων ναῦς, ἐκ τῆς Οἰνοουσία τῶν πρὸ Χίου νήσων καὶ ἐκ Σιδούσης καὶ ἐκ Πτελεόυ, ὥς ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ ἐλχον τείχη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δέσβου ὁρμώμενοι τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Χίους πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιοῦντο· ἐλχον δ' ἐπιβάτας τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκ καταλόγου 3 ἀναγκαστοῦς. καὶ ἐν τῇ Καρδαμύλῃ ἀποβάντες καὶ ἐν Βολίσκρῳ τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν Χίων μάχῃ νικήσαντες καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείραντες ἀνάστατα ἑποίησαν τὰ ταύτη χωρία, καὶ ἐν Φάναις αδθεὶς ἀλλή μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν καὶ τρίτη ἐν Λευκώνῳ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἤδη οὐκέτι ἑπέζησαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν καλῶς κατε- σκευασμένη καὶ ἀπαθὴ ὦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν 4 μέχρι τοῦτε διεπόρθησαν. Χίοι γὰρ μόνοι μετὰ Δακεδαμώνιους δόν ἐγὼ ἡσθόμην ἡνδαίμονισάν τε ἀμα καὶ ἐσσωφρόνησαν, καὶ δόσῳ ἐπεδίδοιν ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζων, τόσῳ καὶ ἐκοσμοῦσθε 5 ἑχυρώτερον. καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ τούτῳ δοκοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον πράξαι, πρότερον ἐτολμήσαν ποιήσασθαι ἡ μετὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔμμαχων ἐμελλὼν κινδυνεύσειν καὶ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἡσθάνοντο ὦνδ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιλέγον-

1 A register kept by the taxarch of each tribe in which the name of every Athenian was entered at the age of eighteen. The liability for service extended from 18 to 60.

228
watch upon Miletus, made a descent at Panormus in Milesian territory and slew Chalcideus, the Lacedaemonian commander, who had come to the rescue with a few men; and two days later they sailed across and set up a trophy, which, however, the Milesians tore down on the ground that the Athenians did not have control of the country when they set it up. And now Leon and Diomedon, with the Athenian ships from Lesbos, began to make war upon the Chians by sea from the Oenussae islands, which lie off Chios, and from Sidussa and Pteleum, fortresses which they held in Erythraean territory, as well as from Lesbos; and they had on board as marines some hoplites from the muster-roll who had been pressed into the service. And landing at Cardamyle and Boliscus, they defeated in battle those of the Chians who came out to oppose them and slew many, and devastated the settlements in that region; and again at Phanae in another battle they were victorious, and also in a third battle at Leuconium. After this the Chians no longer came out against them, but the Athenians ravaged their country, which was well stocked and had been unharmed from the Persian wars down to that time. For next to the Lacedaemonians the Chians alone, of all the peoples that I have known, have been at once prosperous and prudent, and the greater their city grew the more securely they ordered their government. And even as regards this revolt, if men think that they did not consult their safety in undertaking it, they did not venture to make it until they were sure of incurring the danger in concert with many brave allies and perceived that not even the Athenians themselves, after the Sicilian
tas ēti metà tēn Sikeλikēn ξυμφορᾶν ὡς οὗ πάνυ πόνηρα σφῶν βεβαιῶς τὰ πράγματα εἶν' εἰ δὲ τι ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπείως τοῦ βίου παραλόγοις ἐσφάλη- σαν, μετὰ πολλῶν οἷς τὰ αὕτα ἔδοξε, τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ταχὺ ξυναρεθ᾽ ἁσσθαι, τῆν ἁμαρτίαν ἔνωσαν. εἰργομένοις δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ κατὰ γῆν πορθομένοις ἐνεχεύρησάν τινες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀγαγεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐ αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἤσχασαν, Ἀστύχον δὲ ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν τὸν ναὸ ἀρχόν μετὰ τεσσάρων νεῶν, αἱ παρῆσαν αὐτῷ, κομίζαντες ἐσκόπους ὅπως μετριῶτατα ἢ ὀμῆρον λήψει ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καταπαύσουσι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτα ἐπράσσον.

XXV. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος χίλιοι ὁπλίται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πεντα- κόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι Ἀργείων (τοὺς γὰρ πεντακοσίους τῶν Ἀργείων ψιλοὺς ἄντας ὀπλίσαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι) καὶ χίλιοι τῶν ξυμμάχων ναυσὶ δυοῖν δεόντως πεντήκοντα, ὃν ἤσαν καὶ ὀπλησάργωγοί, Φρυνίχου καὶ Ὀνομακλέους καὶ Σκιρινίδου στρατηγοῦντων κατέπλευσαν ἐς Σάμον, καὶ διαβάντες ἐς Μίλητον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Μιλήσιοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες αὐτοὶ τε, ὀκτακόσιοι ὁπλίται, καὶ οἱ μετὰ Xαλκιδέως ἐλθόντες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τί ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ αὐτὸς Τισσα- φέρνης παρῶν καὶ ἡ ἱππος αὐτοῦ ξυνέβαιλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοι ταῖς ξυμμάχοισι καὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι 1

1 gener of the MSS. deleted by Schaefer.
disaster, could any longer deny that their circumstances were beyond a doubt exceedingly bad. And if in the unexpected turns that belong to human life they were somewhat deceived, they made their misjudgment in common with many others who were of the same opinion—that the power of the Athenians would speedily be utterly overthrown. Now, however, that they were shut off from the sea and were being despoiled by land, some of them attempted to bring the city over to the Athenians. Their rulers perceived this, but themselves kept quiet; however, they fetched from Erythrae the Lacedaemonian admiral Astyochus with the four ships which were with him there, and considered what were the mildest measures, either the seizing of hostages or some other plan, by which they could put an end to the plot. They, then, were thus occupied.

XXV. At the end of the same summer there sailed from Athens to Samos one thousand Athenian and fifteen hundred Argive hoplites—for the five hundred of the Argives that were light-armed the Athenians had provided with heavy arms—together with one thousand from the allies. These troops were carried by forty-eight ships, some of which were transports, and were under the command of Phrynichus, Onomacles, and Scironides. From Samos they crossed over to Miletus and encamped there. But the enemy marched out against them—the Milesians themselves, to the number of eight hundred hoplites, the Peloponnesians who had come with Chalcideus, and a body of mercenaries belonging to Tissaphernes, together with Tissaphernes himself, who was present with his cavalry—and attacked the Athenians and their allies. Now the Argives with their wing rushed
τὸ σφετέρῳ αὐτῶν κέρα προεξάζαντες καὶ καταφρονήσαντες ὡς ἐπ' ἱωνάς τε καὶ οὐ δεξομένους ἀτακτότερον χωροῦντες, νικώνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μιλησίων καὶ διαφθείρονται αὐτῶν ὁλίγον ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους πρώτους νικήσαντες καὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον δῖκλον ὅσαμενοι, τοὺς Μιλησίους οὐξμμείξαντες, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων τροπῆς εἰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἔωρον τὸ ἄλλο σφών ἡσσωμενον, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Μιλησίων κρατοῦντες ἢδη τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται. καὶ ξυνέβη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ τοὺς ἱωνας ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Δωρίων κρατήσας τοὺς τε γὰρ κατὰ σφᾶς Πελοποννησίους οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἑνίκων καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους οἱ Μιλησίουι. στήσαντες δὲ τροπαίων τῶν περιτεχνισμὸν ἱσθμῶδος ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου οἱ Ἀθηναίοι παρεσκευάζοντο, νομίζοντες, εἰ προσαγάγοιντο Μιλητον, ῥαδίως ἄν σφίζει καὶ τᾶλλα προσχωρήσαι.

XXVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ περὶ δείλην ἢδη όψιν ἀγγέλλεται αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Σικελίας πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ὅσον οὖν παρεῖναι. τῶν τε γὰρ Σικελιωτῶν, Ἐρμοκράτους τοῦ Συρακοσίου μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι καὶ τὴν ὑπολοίπον Ἀθηναίων καταλύσεως, εἰκοσι υἱὲς Συρακοσίων ἠλθον καὶ Σελινοῦνται οὕτως, αἷς οὖν Πελοποννήσου, ἃς παρεσκευάζοντο, ἐτοίμαι ἢδη σὺσι: καὶ Θηριμένει τῷ Δακεδαμονίῳ ξυναμφότεραι ὡς 'Αστύνοχον τὸν ναύαρχον προσταχθεῖσαι κομίζαι, κατέπλευσαν ἐς Δέρων.1

1 Λέρων, Hude reads 'Ελεύθ with most MSS. But cf. xxvii. 31.
out ahead of the rest and advanced in some disorder, feeling contempt of the enemy as being Ionians and men who would not await their attack, and so were defeated by the Milesians and not fewer than three hundred of them destroyed. But the Athenians, after defeating the Peloponnesians first and then driving back the barbarians and the miscellaneous crowd—yet without engaging the Milesians, who after their rout of the Argives had withdrawn into the city, when they saw that the rest of their army was being worsted—finally halted, as being already victorious, close to the city itself. And it so happened in this battle that on both sides the Ionians were victorious over the Dorians; for the Athenians defeated the Peloponnesians opposed to themselves, and the Milesians the Argives. But the Athenians, after setting up a trophy, made preparations for shutting off the place, which had the shape of an isthmus, with a wall, thinking that, if they should bring Miletus over to their side, the other places would readily come over also.

XXVI. In the meantime, when it was already approaching dusk, word was brought to them that the fifty-five ships from the Peloponnesus and from Sicily were all but there. For from Sicily, where Hermocrates the Syracusan took the lead in urging the Siceliots to take part in what remained to be done for the complete destruction of the Athenians, there had come twenty Syracusan and two Selinuntian ships, besides those from the Peloponnesus, which they had been equipping and which were at last ready; and both squadrons were put in charge of Therimenes the Lacedaemonian with orders to take them to Astyocheus the admiral. They first put in
THUCYDIDES

2 πρώτον τὴν πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσον. ἐπείτα ἐκείθεν αἰσθάμενοι ἐπὶ Μιλήτῳ ὄντας Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὸν Ἰασίκον κόλπον πρὸτερον πλεύσαντες ἔβουλοντο

3 εἰδέναι τὰ περὶ τῆς Μιλήτου. ἔλθοντος δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἵππων ἐς Τειχιώσασαν τῆς Μιλήσιας, οἷπερ τοῦ κόλπου πλεύσαντες ἡνίκας, πυνθάνονται τὰ περὶ τῆς μάχης (παρῆν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ ξυνεμάχετο τοῖς Μιλήσιοις καὶ Τισσαφέρνει), καὶ αὐτοὶ παρῆμεν, εἰ μὴ βούλονται τὰ τε ἐν Ἰωνία καὶ τὰ ξύμπαντα πράγματα διολέσασι, ὥς τάχιστα βοηθείν Μιλήτῳ καὶ μὴ περιείθειν ἀποτελεῖθείσαι.

XXVII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμα τῇ ἐφ᾽ ἐμελλὼν βοηθήσειν Φρύνχος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρου ἐπούθετο τὰ τῶν νεῶν σαφῶς, βουλομένων τῶν ἑμαρχόντων ὑπομείναντας διανομάξῃ, οὐκ ἐφ᾽ οὐτ' αὐτὸς ποιήσειν τοῦτο οὔτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος οὔτ᾽ ἄλλου οὔδενι ἐς δύναμιν

2 ἐπιτρέψειν. ὅποι γὰρ ἔν υἱστέρῳ, σαφῶς εἴδότας πρὸς ὀπόσας τε ναύς πολεμίας καὶ ὡσιας πρὸς αὐτᾶς ταῖς σφετέραις, ἱκανῶς καὶ καθ᾽ ἑσυχίαν παρασκευασμένους ἐσταί ἀγωνίσασθαι, οὐδέπετε τῷ αἰσχρῷ ἐὰς ἀλόγως διακινδυνεύσῃ.

3 σειν. οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρόν εἴναι Ἀθηναίους ναυτικὸ μετὰ καιροῦ ὑποχορῆσαι, ἄλλα καὶ μετὰ ὁτουνοῦ τρόπου αἰσχρον ἐμβήσεσθαι ἣν ἀσθενῶν. καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄν 3 οὐ μόνον τῷ αἰσχρῷ, ἄλλα καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ περιπίπτειν ἡ μόλις

1 ἐστεῖν, after ἐπον γάρ, deleted by Dobree.
2 ἐνείπεω, after αἰσχρῷ, deleted by Krüger.
3 έν, added by Dobree.
to harbour at Leros, the island off Miletus; and from there, on finding that the Athenians were at Miletus, they sailed into the Iasie Gulf, wishing to know the state of affairs at Miletus. And when Alcibiades came by horse to Teichiuessa, a town in Milesian territory on that part of the gulf to which they had sailed and where they had bivouacked, they learned the story of the battle; for Alcibiades had been present and had fought with the Milesians and with Tissaphernes. And he urged them, if they did not wish to ruin matters in Ionia and their whole cause, to aid Miletus as quickly as possible, and not to suffer it to be invested.

XXVII. Accordingly they were proposing to go to its aid at daybreak; but Phrynichus, the Athenian general, when he received from Leros accurate information about the enemy's fleet, though his colleagues wished to wait and fight a decisive battle, refused either to do this himself or to permit them or anybody else to do it, so far as he had power to prevent it. For in a case where it would be possible to fight at a later time, after leisurely and adequate preparation and possessing full information as to the number of the enemy's ships they must meet and how many of their own they would have, he would never, he declared, yielding to the consideration of disgrace, hazard a decisive battle unreasonably. It was not disgraceful, he said, for Athenians to give way before a hostile navy upon occasion, but it would be more disgraceful if under any circumstances whatever they should be defeated and have to make terms. The state would incur, not only disgrace, but also the greatest danger; for, after their past misfortunes, it was
THUCYDIDES

ἐπὶ ταῖς γεγενημέναις ξυμφοραῖς εῦδέχεσθαι μετὰ βεβαίων παρασκευῆς καθ᾽ ἐκουσίαν, ἡ πάνυ γε ἀνάγκη, προτέρα ποι ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἢ ποὺ δὴ μὴ βιαζομένη γε πρὸς αὐθαίρετος κινδύνους ιέναι.

4 ὁς τάχιστα δὲ ἐκελεύε τοῦς τε τραυματίας ἀναλα- βόντας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὁσα ἠλθον ἐχουτες, ἀ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εἰλήφασι κατα- λιπόντας, ὅπως κούφαι ὅσιν αἱ νῆς, ἀποπλεῖν ἐς Σάμου, κακείθεν ἣδε ξυναγαγόντας πάσας τὰς ναι τοὺς ἐπίπλους, ἢ που καιρὸς ἤ, ποιεῖσθαι.

5 ὁς δὲ ἐπείσε, καὶ ἐδρασε ταύτα. καὶ ἐδοξην οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἡ υστερον, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσα ἀλλὰ Φρύνιχος κατέστη,

6 οὐκ ἄξυνετος εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἄφ᾽ ἐσπέρας εὐθὺς τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἀτελεῖ τῇ νίκῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀνέστησαν, καὶ οἱ Ἄργαϊ κατὰ τάχος καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἀπέ- ἐπευθυνόμεν οὕς τῆς Σάμου ἐπ᾽ οἴκου.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀμα τῇ ἐφ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Τειχιούρσης ἄραντες ἐπικατάγονται, καὶ μείναντες ἡμέραν μῖαν τῇ υστεραίᾳ καὶ τὰς Χίας ναύς προσλαβόντες τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδῶς τὸ πρῶ- τον ἕνγκαταδικεῖσας ἐβούλοντο πλέον ἐπὶ τὰ σκέψη, ἢ ἐξείλοντο, ἢς Τειχιούρσαν πάλιν.

2 καὶ ὁ ἥλθον, Τισεράγησας τῷ πεζῷ παρελθῶν πεῖθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰασον, ἐν ἡ Ἁμόργης πολέμος

1 καθ᾽ ἐκουσίαν, Hude omits with Cod. C, which simplifies the sentence.
2 ὁ ποὺ, from ποὺ of the MSS., Lindau. ποὺ δὴ, κτ.κ., would mean how then could they when there was no pressure go into self-chosen dangers?

1 i.e. when not fully prepared.
scarcely permissible for it when securely prepared of free will, or through absolute necessity, to take the offensive in any direction, much less was it permissible, when there was no pressure, to rush into self-chosen dangers. He urged them, therefore, as speedily as possible to take up their wounded and their forces on land and whatever stores they had brought with them, leaving behind, however, the spoils they had taken from the enemy's country, in order that the ships might be light, and sail back to Samos; then, making that their base, after bringing all their ships together, they might sally forth for attacks if opportunity should offer anywhere. As he advised, so he also acted; and consequently, though not on the present occasion more than afterwards, nor as regards this decision only, but in general in whatever circumstances he found himself, Phrynichus won the reputation of being a man of sagacity. Thus the Athenians, their victory incomplete, retired from Miletus immediately after nightfall; and the Argives, in all haste and indignant at what had happened, sailed home from Samos.

XXVIII. At daybreak the Peloponnesians weighed anchor from Teichiuissa and put to shore, and then, after waiting one day, took into their fleet on the next day the Chian ships that under the command of Chalcideus had been pursued to port. They now wished to sail back to Teichiuissa after the stores which they had put ashore there. On their arrival Tissaphernes, who had come up with his land-forces, persuaded them to sail against Iasus, where Amorges,

\(^2\) cf. ch. xvii. 3.
ὁν κατεῖχε, πλεῦσαι. καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ Ἰάσσω αἰφνίδιοι καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων ἄλλ’ ἢ Ἀττικάς τὰς ναὸς εἶναι αἰροῦσιν καὶ μάλιστα
3 ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἐπηνέβησαν. καὶ τὸν τε Ἀμόργην ξόντα λαβόντες 1 παραδεδοσιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι Τισσαφέρνει ἀπαγαγεῖν, εἰ βού-
λεται, βασιλεί, ὡσπερ αὐτῷ προσέταξε, καὶ τὴν Ἰασον διεπόρθησαν καὶ χρήματα πάνω πολλὰ ἢ στρατιὰ ἐλάβεν, παλαιόπλουτον γὰρ ἦν τῷ
4 χωρίον, τούς τ’ ἐπικούρους τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀμόργην παρὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς κομίσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀδικήσαντες εὐνέταξαν, ὅτι ἤσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ τε πόλισμα Τισσαφέρνει παρα-
δόντες καὶ τὰ ἀνδρώποδα πάντα, καὶ δοῦλα καὶ ἐλεύθερα, ὅν καθ’ ἔκαστον στατὴρα δαρεικὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ εὐνέβησαν λαβεῖν, ἐπειτ’ ἀνεχώρησαν
5 ὡς τὴν Μίλητον. καὶ Πεδάριτῶν τε τὸν Λέοντος ὡς τὴν Χῖον ἄρχοντα Δακεδαιμονίων πεμψάντων ἀποστέλλουσι πεζῷ μέχρι Ἑρυθρῶν ἔχοντα τὸ
παρὰ Ἀμόργου ἐπικούρικόν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου καθιστᾶσιν, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔτελευτα.

XXIX. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰασον κατεστήσατο οἱ Τισσαφέρνης ἐς 2 φυλακῆς, παρῆλθεν ὡς τὴν Μίλητον, καὶ μηνὸς
μεν τροφῆς, ὡσπερ ὑπέστη ἐν τῇ Δακεδαιμονί, ἐς δραχμῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐκάστῳ πᾶσι ταῖς ναυσὶ
diēdωκε, τοῦ δὲ λυποῦ χρόνον ἐβούλετο τριῶ-

1 After λαβόντες the MSS. give Πισσούθου νῦθον νιώτ', ἀφεντάτα δὲ βασιλέω, which van Herwerden deletes. cf. ch. v. 5.
2 ἡ, deleted by Hude, following van Herwerden.
an enemy, was in occupation. So they made a sudden attack upon Iasus and took it, as the inhabitants had no thought but that the ships were Athenian; and in the action the Syracuseans won most praise. Amorges was taken alive by the Peloponnesians and delivered over to Tissaphernes to lead home to the King, if he so wished, according to his orders; and they sacked Iasus, the army taking very much treasure, for the place was one of ancient wealth. As for the mercenaries who served with Amorges, they took them into their own camp, and without doing them any harm put them into their ranks, because most of them were from the Peloponnesus. The town they delivered to Tissaphernes, together with all the captives, both bond and free, agreeing to accept from him a Daric stater for each one of them. They then withdrew to Miletus. Pedaritus son of Leon, who had been sent by the Lacedaemonians to be governor at Chios, they dispatched by land as far as Erythrae in command of the mercenary force of Amorges, and there in Miletus they appointed Philippus governor. So the summer ended.

XXIX. During the following winter, after he had placed Iasus in charge of a garrison, Tissaphernes came to Miletus, where he distributed to all the ships a month's pay, as he had promised at Lacedaemon to do, to the amount of an Attic drachma a day for each man; for the future, however, he proposed to give only three obols until he should

1 cf. ch. v. 5.
2 Equivalent to twenty Attic drachmae, about 13s. 4d.; §3 25. It was named after Darius the Great who first coined it.
3 i.e., one half of a drachma.
BHUCYDIDES

Βολου διδόναι, ἑως ἂν βασιλέα ἐπέρηται· ἦν δὲ 2 κελεύη, ἐφη δώσειν ἐντελὴ τὴν δραχμήν. Ἐρμο-
kράτους δὲ ἀντειπόντος τοῦ Συρακοσίου στρατη-
γοῦ (ὁ γὰρ Θηριμένης οὐ ναυαρχος ὄν, ἀλλ'
'Αστύχωρ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς ἦμιπλέων,
μαλακὸς ἦν περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ), ὀμος δὲ παρὰ
πέντε ναύς πλέον ἄνδρι ἐκάστῳ ἢ τρεῖς ὀβὸλοι
οἰκονομήσασαν. ἐς γὰρ πέντε ναῦς καὶ πεντή-
konta triákonta tálavta ἐδίδου τοῦ μηνὸς καὶ
tois ἄλλοις, ὀσφ πλεοίνους νῆς ἦσαν τοῦτον τοῦ
αριθμοῦ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐδίδοτο.

XXX. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμώνος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ
'Ἀθηναίων προσαφηγμεναι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ οἰκοθεν
ἄλλαι νῆς πέντε καὶ τριάκonta καὶ στρατηγοὶ
Χαρμίνου καὶ Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Εὐκτήμων, καὶ
τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐπι
ἐβουλοῦν διακληρωθαίνειν ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ Μιλήτῳ
τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐφορμεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Χίου καὶ
2 ναυτικὸν καὶ πέζου πέμψατε. καὶ ἐποίησαν
ὁμοιοὶ Στρομβιχίδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὄρομακλῆς
καὶ Εὐκτήμων τριάκonta ναύς ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν ἐς
Μιλήτων ἐλθόντων χιλίων ὀπλιτῶν μέρος ἄγοντες
ἐν ναυσίν ὀπλιταγωγοῖς ἐπὶ Χίου λαχοῦντες
ἐπλέουν, οἳ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐν Σάμῳ μένοντες τέσσαρε
cαὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσίν ἐθαλασσοκράτουν, καὶ
ἐπίπλους τῇ Μιλήτῳ ἐποιοῦντο.

XXXI. Ὁ δ' Ἄστυχος ὡς τότε ἐν τῇ Χίῳ

1 cf. ch. v. 5.
2 i.e. fifty-five ships got the pay of sixty. Thirty talents (1,080,000 obols) would be the pay of sixty ships a month at the rate of three obols a man a day (3 obols × 200 men × 60 ships). This sum being given to fifty-five ships instead of
ask the King; if the King should so order, he would give the full drachma. But when Hermocrates the Syracusan general remonstrated—for Therimenes, not being admiral, but sailing with the fleet only to turn it over to Astyochus, was complaisant about the pay—a sum was agreed upon notwithstanding that was larger by five ships than three obols for each man.¹ For he gave for fifty-five ships thirty talents a month²; and to the others, according as there were more ships than this number, pay was given in the same proportion.³

XXX. The same winter, when the Athenians in Samos had received from home a reinforcement of thirty-five ships under the command of Charminus, Strombichides and Euctemon, after bringing together their ships which were at Chios and all their other ships, they proposed to blockade Miletus with the fleet and to send a force of ships and infantry against Chios, assigning the commands by lot. And this they did. Strombichides, Onomacles and Euctemon, with thirty ships and a portion of the thousand hoplites that had come to Miletus, whom they took on transports, sailed against Chios according to their lot, while the others, remaining at Samos with seventy-four ships, controlled the sea and made descents upon Miletus.

XXXI. But Astyochus, who chanced to be at sixty, Thucydides calls it παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον, more by five ships than the ordinary rate. The payment of three obols per man was calculated on sixty ships instead of fifty-five and the whole divided between the fifty-five crews.

¹ Fifty ships is the original number which came over (ch. xxvi. 1), and for these a definite sum (30 talents) is agreed upon. The "others" were ships that came later, or possibly the Chian ships (ch. xxviii. 1).
ἐπικεφαλίζοντας τήν προσοχήν τούς θυμάτων καταλειγόμενος, τούτων μὲν ἐπέσχεν, ἐπειδή ἦσθε τάς τε μετὰ Θηριωδεῖος ναίς ἥκουσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν βελτίω ὄντα, λαβὼν δὲ ναίς τὰς τε Πελοποννησίων δέκα καὶ Χίας δέκα 2 ἀνήγεται, καὶ προσβαλών Πτελεώ καὶ οὐχ ἔλοι παρέπλευσεν ἐπί Κλαζομενᾶς, καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτῶν τούς τὰ 'Αθηναίων φρονοῦντας ἀνοικίζοντας εἰς τὸν Δαφνώντα καὶ προσχωρεῖν σφίσιν. ξυνεκέλευε δὲ καὶ Τάμως Ἰωνίας ὑπαρχος ὅν. 3 ως δ' οὖν ἐσήκουν, προσβολήν ποιησάμενος τῇ πόλει οὐσὶν ἀντικίστροφοι καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἔλεγον, ἀπέπλευσεν ἀνέμω μεγάλῳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Φώκαιαν καὶ Κύμην, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι νῆς κατήραν ἐς τὰς ἐπίκειμένας ταῖς Κλαζομεναῖς νῆσοις Μάραθοςαν καὶ Πήλην καὶ Δρυμοῦσαν, καὶ ὅσα ὑπεξέκειτο αὐτόθι τῶν Κλαζομενῶν ἡμέρας ἐμμείναντες διὰ τοὺς ἀνέμους ὄκτω τὰ μὲν διήρπασαν καὶ ἀνήλωσαν, τὰ δὲ ἐσβαλόμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἔς Φώκαιαν καὶ Κύμην ως Ἀστύοχον.

XXXII. "Ορθοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐυταύθα Δεσβίων ἀφικνοῦνται προσβείς θαυμὼν οὐθείς ἀποστήναι· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν πείθουσιν, ως δ' οἱ τοῖς Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀπρόδυμοι ἦσαν διὰ τὸ πρῶτον σφάλμα, ἀρας ἐπλεῖ ἐπὶ τῆς Χίου. καὶ χειμασθείσων τῶν νεὼν ὕστερον

1 cf. ch. xxiv. 6.
2 i.e. the four under himself from Erythrae (ch. xxiv. 6) and the six which had come from Čenohreia to Chios (ch. xxiii. 5).
3 cf. ch. xxii.
Chios at this time, engaged in collecting hostages as a precaution against the treachery above mentioned, desisted from this work, when he observed that the ships under the command of Therimenes had come and that the affairs of the Peloponnesian alliance were improved, and taking the ten Peloponnesian ships and ten Chian he put to sea, and after attacking Pteleum without success proceeded along the coast to Clazomenae. There he ordered those who favoured the Athenian cause to remove inland to Daphnus and come over to the Peloponnesian side. In this order Tamos, who was lieutenant-governor of Ionia, also concurred. When the inhabitants of Clazomenae would not obey, he made an assault upon the city, which was unwalled, but being unable to capture it, he took advantage of a strong wind to sail away, he himself going to Phocaea and Cyme, while the rest of the fleet made harbour among the islands which lie off Clazomenae—Marathussa, Pele, and Drymusiana. There they remained eight days on account of the winds, and meanwhile either plundered and consumed the property of the Clazomenians that had secretly been stored on the islands or else put it aboard their ships; they then sailed to Phocaea and Cyme to join Astyochus.

XXXII. While Astyochus was still at Phocaea and Cyme, envoys of the Lesbians arrived, proposing to renew their revolt. And in fact Astyochus was persuaded, but as the Corinthians and the other allies were without zeal, in consequence of their former failure, he weighed anchor and sailed for Chios. There his ships, which had been scattered by a storm, arrived at length, some
2 ἀφικνοῦνται ἅλλαι ἄλλοθεν ἐς τὴν Χίον. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Πεδάριτος, τότε παρίδων πεζῇ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, γενόμενος ἐν 'Ερυθραῖς διαπεραίοιται αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐς Χίον· ὑπήρχον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέντε νεῶν στρατιώται ὑπὸ Χαλκίδεως ἐσ πεντακοσίους Ἐυν ὀπλοις κατα- 3 λειφθέντες. ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ τινῶν Λεσβίων τὴν ἀπόστασιν, προσφέρει τῷ τε Πεδαρίτῳ καὶ τοῖς Χίοις Ἀστύνοχος λόγον ὃς χρὴ παραγενο- μένους ταῖς ναυαῖς ἀποστῆσαι τὴν Δέσβον· ἡ γὰρ ξυμάγχους πλείους σφᾶς ἐξεῖν ἢ τοὺς Ἀθη- ναίους, ἦν τι σφάλλωται, κακώσεως. οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἔσικουν, οὕτος τὰς ναῦς ὁ Πεδάριτος ἐφ’ τῶν Χίων αὐτῷ προῆσειν.

XXXIII. Κάκεινος λαβὼν τὰς τε τῶν Κορινθίων πέντε καὶ ἔκτην Μεγαρίδα καὶ μίαν Ἐρμιονίδα καὶ ἀς αὐτὸς Δακωνικᾶς ἦλθεν ἔχων, ἐπλεῖ ἐπὶ τῆς Μιλήτου πρὸς τὴν ναυαρχίαν, πολλὰ ἀπειλῆσαι τοῖς Χίοις ἡ μὴ μὴ ἐπιβοηθήσειν, ἢν 2 τι δέωνται. καὶ προσβάλων Κωρύκῳ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἐννυλίσατο, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον πλέοντες τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, λόφου διείργοντος, 3 καθαρμένοι, 3 σαντο, καὶ ἑλελήθεσαν ἄλλης. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Πεδαρίτου ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐπιστολής ὡς Ἐρυθραίων ἄνδρες αἰχμάλωτοι ἐκ Σάμου ἐπὶ προδοσία ἕσ Ἐρυθραῖς Ἰκουσίν ἀφείμενοι, ἀνάγεται ὁ Ἀστύ- 1 διείργοντο, for διείργατο καὶ of the MSS., Krüger.

1 cf. ch. xxviii. 5. 2 cf. ch. xvii. 1. 3 Four in number; cf. ch. xxiii. 1.
coming from one quarter and some from another. After this Pedaritus, who at the time mentioned above¹ was moving along the shore from Miletus with a body of infantry, arrived at Erythrae and then crossed over with his army to Chios; and Astyochus also had ready to his hand soldiers from the five ships, to the number of five hundred, who had been left, together with their arms, by Chalcideus.² Since, now, certain Lesbians were renewing their proposals to revolt, Astyochus suggested to Pedaritus and the Chians that they ought to take their fleet to Lesbos and bring about the revolt of the island; for thus, he urged, they would either increase the number of their allies or, if they met with failure, would injure the Athenians. But they would not listen to the suggestion, and, furthermore, Pedaritus refused to deliver to him the ships of the Chians.

XXXIII. Astyochus therefore took the five Corinthian ships, a sixth from Megara, one from Hermione, and those which he himself had brought with him from Laconia,³ and sailed for Miletus in order to take over the office of admiral, with many threats against the Chians, and pledging himself not to aid them if they should have any need of him. Touching at Corycus in the territory of Erythrae, he spent the night there. And the Athenian fleet from Samos, which was on its way to Chios with the troops, also came to anchor there at the other side of the town, a hill intervening, so that neither fleet had seen the other. But Astyochus received during the night a letter from Pedaritus saying that some Erythraean prisoners that had been set at liberty had arrived at Erythrae from Samos for the purpose of
οχος ευθὺς ἐς τὰς Ἐρυθρὰς πάλιν, καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μὴ περιπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναῖοις. διαπλεύσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Πεδάριτος παρ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναζητήσατε τὰ περὶ τῶν δοκοῦντων προδιδόναι, ὡς πηύρον ἄπαν ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς Σάμου προφασισθέν, ἀπολύ-
σαντες τής αἰτίας ἀπέπλευσαν, ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Χίον, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἐκομίσθη, ὀσπέρ διενοεῖτο.

XXXIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιά ταῖς ναυσίν ἐκ τοῦ Κωρύκου περιπλέουσα κατ’ Ἀργίνων ἐπιτυχῶν τρισὶ ναυσί τῶν Χίων μακραίς, καὶ ὡς εἰδον, ἐδίωκον. ὁ πιγμῶν τε μέγας ἐπιγίγνεται καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν Χίων μόλες καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λιμένα, αἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν μάλιστα ἄρμησατε τρεῖς διαφθείρουνται καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Χίων, καὶ ἄνδρες ὁ μὲν ἄλογον ὁ δ’ ἀποθνησκοῦσιν, αἱ δ’ ἀλλαὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν ὕπο τοῦ Μίλαιντι λιμένα. Φοινικοῦντα καλούμενον. ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ὀσπέρ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον καθορμισάμενοι παρε-

XXXV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πελοπονήσου τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἰπποκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐκπλεύσας δέκα μὲν Θουρίας ναυσίν, δὲν ἦρχε Δωριεύς ὁ Διαγόροι τρίτος αὐτός, μία δὲ Λακωνίκη, μία δὲ Συρακοσία, καταπλεῖ ἐς Κύιδον· ἡ δ’ ἀφειστήκει ἡ ὅπ’ ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν τῇ Μίλητῳ, ὡς ἵσθοντο, ἐκέλευον ταῖς μὲν ἡμεσείαις τῶν νεῶν Κύιδον φυλάσσειν, ταῖς δὲ περὶ Τόρι-
betraying it; he therefore immediately set sail again for Erythrae, and thus narrowly escaped falling in with the Athenians. Pedaritus also crossed over and joined him at Erythrae; and they, having investigated the charges against those who were supposed to be intending to betray the town, when they found that the whole story had been given out only to effect the men’s escape from Samos, acquitted them and sailed away, Pedaritus to Chios, and Astyochus to Miletus, as he had originally intended.

XXXIV. In the meantime the Athenian armament also left Corycus, and as it was rounding the point of Arginum met with three Chian ships of war; and no sooner did they see them than they made pursuit. Now a great storm came on, and the Chian ships with great difficulty escaped to the harbour; but of the Athenian ships the three that had pursued most hotly were wrecked and cast ashore at the city of Chios, where the men aboard were either taken captive or put to death; the rest of the fleet escaped to the harbour called Phoenicus that lies at the foot of Mt. Mimas. Sailing thence they afterwards came to anchor at Lesbos and began preparing to build their fortifications.¹

XXXV. During the same winter Hippocrates the Lacedaemonian sailed from the Peloponnesus with ten Thurian ships, under the command of Dorieus son of Diagoras and two colleagues, and one Laconian and one Syracusan ship, and put in at Cnidos, which had at length revolted at the instigation of Tissaphernes. And when those in authority at Miletus heard of their coming, they gave orders that one half of the newly arrived ships should guard Cnidos and

¹ At Delphinium (ch. lxxxviii. 2).
πιον οὖσας τὰς ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου ὅλκαδας προσ-
3 βαλλοῦσας ξυλαμβάνειν' ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ Τριότοιον ἄκρα τῆς Κυδίας προύχουσα, 'Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.
πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Σάμου λαμβάνονται τὰς ἐπὶ Τριστέφο φρουροῦσας ἐξ
ναυῶν: οἱ δ' ἀνδρές ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν.
καὶ μετά τούτο ἐς τὴν Κυδίων καταπλεύσαντες καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει ἀτείχίστοι οὖσιν
4 ὁλίγον εἶλον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ αὕτης προσέβαλλον,
καὶ ὡς ἁμείνων φαρξαμένων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ νῦκτα καὶ ἐπεσελθόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰοτιπίου ἐκ
τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντων οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως ἐβλαπτοῦν,
ἀπεθάνοντες καὶ δημόσαντες τὴν τῶν Κυδίων γῆν
ἐς τὴν Σάμου ἀπέπλευσαν.

XXXVI. 'Τπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνου 'Αστυόχου
ἀκοῦτος ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, οἱ Πελο-
ποννησίου εὐπόροις ἐτεί εἶχον ἁπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ
στρατόπεδον. καὶ γὰρ μισθὸς εἴδοστο ἄρκοντως,
καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς 'Ιάσου μεγάλα χρήματα διαρ-
πασθέντα ὑπήτων τοῖς στρατιώταις, οἱ τε Μιλήσιοι
2 προθύμως τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἔφερον. πρὸς δὲ τὸν
Τισσαφέρνη ἑδόκουν ὅμως τοὺς Πελοποννησίους
αἱ πρῶται ξυνήθηκαί, αἱ πρὸς Χαλκιδέα γενόμεναι,
ἐνδεικτές εἶναι καὶ οὗ πρὸς σφῶν μᾶλλον, καὶ
ἀλλὰς ἐπὶ Θερμίδους παρόντος ἐποίουν· καὶ
εἰσίν αἰτε.

XXXVII. "Ξυνήθηκαί Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν
ξυμμάχων πρὸς βασιλεὰ Δαρείων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας
τῶν βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνη· σπουδᾶς εἶναι
καὶ φιλίαι κατὰ τάδε.
that the other half should cruise around Triopium and seize the merchantmen that touched there on the way from Egypt. Now this Triopium is a headland projecting from the territory of Cnidos and sacred to Apollo. The Athenians, being informed of their intentions, also sailed from Samos and captured the six ships that were on guard at Triopium, though their crews escaped. After this they sailed to Cnidos, and attacking the city, which was without walls, almost captured it. The next day they made a second assault, but as the inhabitants had strengthened their defences during the night and had been reinforced by the men who had escaped from the ships at Triopium, the Athenians could not do so much damage as before, and so they withdrew and, after ravaging the territory of the Cnidians, sailed back to Samos.

XXXVI. At about the same time Astyochus arrived at Miletus to take command of the fleet. The Peloponnesians were still well provided with all that their camp required, for sufficient pay was being given, the large amount of property plundered from Iasus was in the possession of the soldiers, and the Milesians were zealously prosecuting the war. Nevertheless, the Peloponnesians felt that the first compact with Tissaphernes, which had been concluded between him and Chalcideus, was defective and not so much to their interest as to his, and so they drew up another while Therimenes was there. And its terms were as follows:

XXXVII. "Compact of the Lacedaemonians and their allies with King Darius and the King's sons and Tissaphernes. There shall be a treaty and friendship on the following terms:
2 "Ὅποση χώρα καὶ πόλεις βασιλέως εἰςὶ Δαρείου ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡσαν ἡ τῶν προγόνων, ἐπὶ ταῦτας μὴ λέναι ἐπὶ πολέμων μὴδὲ κακῷ μηδενὶ μὴτε Λακεδαιμονίως μήτε τοὺς ἡεμᾶχους τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, μηδὲ φόρους πράσσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τοῖτων μὴτε Λακεδαιμονίως μήτε τοὺς ἡεμᾶχους τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων μηδὲ Δαρείου βασιλέα μηδὲ ὁν βασιλεὺς ἄρχει ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίως μῆτε τοὺς ἡμᾶχους λέναι ἐπὶ πολέμων μηδὲ κακῷ μηδενὶ.

3 "Ἡ δὲ τι δεσνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς ἡ ἡεμᾶχοι βασιλεως, ἡ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡ τῶν ἡεμᾶχων, ὡς τι ἀν πείθωσιν ἀλλήλους, τοῦτο ποιοῦσι καλῶς ἔχειν.

4 "Τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡεμᾶχους κοινῆ ἀμφότερος πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ κατάλυσις ποιώνται, κοινῆ ἀμφότερος ποιεῖσθαι. "Ὅποση δὲ ἀν στρατιὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ βασιλεὼς ἡ μεταπεμφαμένου βασιλεώς, τὴν δαπάνην βασιλεᾶς παρέχειν.

5 "Ἡν δὲ τις τῶν πόλεων ὁπόσαι ἐννέθεντο βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεῶς ἡ χώραν, τοὺς ἄλλους κωλύειν καὶ ἀμύνειν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἦν τις τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλεῶς χώρᾳ ἡ δὸς βασιλεὺς ἄρχει ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν ἡ ἐν τῶν ἡεμᾶχων, βασιλεὺς κωλύειν καὶ ἀμύνειν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν."

XXXVIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἅγιας Ὀηριμένης παραδοῦς ἀστυνόχοι τὰς ναύς ἀπὸ πλέων ἐν κέλητι ἀφαιρέται. οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς Δέσβου

1 Hude inserts here βασιλεα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως, following Kirchhoff.

250
BOOK VIII. xxxvii. 2–xxxviii. 2

"1. Whatsoever territory and cities belong to King Darius or belonged to his father or their ancestors, against these shall neither the Lacedaemonians nor their allies go either for war or to do any harm; nor shall either the Lacedaemonians or their allies exact tribute from these cities. Nor shall King Darius or those over whom the King rules go against the Lacedaemonians or their allies for war or to do any harm.

"2. If the Lacedaemonians or their allies have need of anything from the King or the King from the Lacedaemonians or their allies, whatever they shall persuade one another to do, this shall be right for them to do.

"3. The war against the Athenians and their allies both parties shall wage in common; and if they make peace, both shall make it in common.

"4. Whatsoever forces shall be in the territory of the King, on the summons of the King, shall be maintained at the expense of the King.

"5. If any of the cities that have entered into this compact with the King shall go against the country of the King, the rest shall strive to prevent this and aid the King to the extent of their power; and if any of those who inhabit the King's territory or any territory over which the King has dominion shall go against the territory of the Lacedaemonians or of their allies, the King shall strive to prevent this and give aid to the extent of his power."

XXXVIII. After making this compact Therimenes turned over the command of the fleet to Astyochus and sailing away in a skiff was never seen again. ¹ But

¹ He was doubtless lost at sea. The word is used of unexplained disappearance in IV. lxxxv. 4. Cf. also Xen. Hell., I. vi. 38.
Ἀθηναῖοι ἦδη διαβεβηκότες ἐς τὴν Χίον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ κρατοῦντες καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης Δελφῖνοιν ἐτείχιζον, χωρίων ἄλλως τε ἐκ γῆς καρτερῶν καὶ λιμένας ἔχον καὶ τῆς τῶν Χίων 3 πόλεως οὐ πολύ ἀπέχουν. οἱ δὲ Χῖοι ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις πεπληγμένοι, καὶ ἄλλως ἐν σφίσιν αὐτῶι οὐ πάνυ εὐ διακείμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ Τυδέως τοῦ Ἰωνοῦ ἦδη ὑπὸ Πεδαρίτου ἐπὶ ἀποκομμός σωματίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐς ὀλίγους 1 κατεχομένης ὑπόπτως διακείμενοι ἄλληλοις ἠσύχασαν, καὶ οὔτ' αὐτοὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὔτε οἱ μετὰ Πεδαρίτου ἐπίθεουροι ἄξιομαχοι αὐτῶι εφαίνοντο, ἐς μέντοι τὴν Μίλη- τον ἐπεμποὺ, κελεύουστε σφίσι τὸν Ἀστύρον Βοσ- θεῖν ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐστίκουει, ἐπιστέλλει περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Πεδαρίτος ὡς ἀδικοῦντος. 4 5 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Χίῳ ἐς τοῦτο καθειστήκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις: αἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου νήσος αὐτῶι ἐπίπλους μὲν ἐποιούντο ταῖς ἐν τῇ Μίλητῳ, ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ αὐτανάγοιεν, ἀναχωροῦντες πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμον ἠσύχασον.

XXXIX. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι αἰ τῷ Φαρ Γάζῳ Καλλιγείτου ὁ Μεγαρέως καὶ Τιμαγόρου τοῦ Κυσίκηνον πρασ- σόντων παρασκευασθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι νῆς ἀρασαὶ ἐπέλειν ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας περὶ Ἰλίου τροπᾶς, καὶ ἀρχων ἐπέσπει αὐτῶι 2 Ἀντισθένης Σπαρτιάτης, ξυνεπεμφαν ὃ δ' οἱ Λακε- 1 ὄλιγος, for ὄλιγον of the MSS., Dobree's correction.
2 ὑπὸ, before Καλλιγείτου, deleted by Foppo.
the Athenians at Lesbos, who had already crossed over with their army to Chios and exercised control over both land and sea, proceeded to fortify Delphinium, a place which in any case was strong on the landward side and also possessed harbours and was not far distant from the city of Chios. As for the Chians, since they had been beaten in many battles already, and, besides, were not on very good terms among themselves—nay, now that Tydeus son of Ion and his adherents had already been put to death on the charge of Atticism by Pedaritus and the rest of the city was by compulsion reduced to the rule of an oligarchy, they were now filled with suspicion of one another—they kept quiet; and it was thought that neither they themselves, for these reasons, nor the auxiliaries under the command of Pedaritus were a match for the enemy. However, they sent to Miletus urging Astyochus to help them; but when he would not hearken, Pedaritus sent a letter about him to Lacedaemon, accusing him of wrong-doing. Such was the condition into which the Athenians found that affairs had got in Chios; and their fleet at Samos made a number of descents upon the Peloponnesian fleet at Miletus; but when the latter did not come out to meet them, they retired again to Samos and kept quiet.

XXXIX. During the same winter the twenty-seven ships that had been equipped by the Lacedaemonians for Pharmabazus,¹ through the influence of Kalligeitus of Megara and Timagoras of Cyzicus, set sail from the Peloponnesus for Ionia about the time of the solstice; and Antisthenes, a Spartan, sailed with the fleet as its commander. And the

¹ cf. ch. viii. 1.
δαιμόνιοι καὶ ἕνδεκα ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν Ἑμμβουλίων Ἀστυφωνίων, ὥν εἰς ἦν Δίκαια ἢ Ἀρκεσιλαῷ, καὶ εἰρήτο αὐτοῖς ἐς Μιλήτου ἀφικομένους τῶν τε ἄλλων ἑξιμπιμέλεσθαι ἢ μέλλει ἀρίστα ἂξειν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ταύτας ἢ αὐτὰς ἢ πλείους ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσους ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς Φαρνάβαζον, ἢν ὁδήγη, ἀποπέμπειν, Κλέαρχον τὸν Ραμφίου, ὃς ἑξιπελθεῖ, ἀρχοντα προστάζαντας, καὶ Ἀστυφωνίων, ἢν ὁδήγη ᾗ παύειν τῆς ναυαρχίας, Ἀντισθένη δὲ καθίσταναι πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τοῦ Πεδαιτοῦ

3 ἑπιστολὰς ὑπόπτευον αὐτών. πλέουσαι οὖν αἱ νῆσες ἀπὸ Μαλέας πελάγια Μῆλῳ προσέβαλον, καὶ περιτυχόντες ναυσὶ δέκα Ἀθηναίων τὰς τρεῖς λαμβάνουσε κενὰς καὶ κατακαλώσῳ. μετὰ δὲ τούτο δεδιότες μὴ αἱ διαφυγοῦσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῆς Μῆλος νῆσος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μηνύσῳ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῶν ἐπίπλοιν αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην πλεύσαντες καὶ πλείω τῶν πλοίων διὰ φυλακῆς ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὴν Καῦνον τῆς Ἀσίας

4 κατήραν. ἐντεύθεν δὴ, ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεί δοντές, ἀγγελίαι ἐπεμπὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ ναῦς τοῦ Ἐμμπαρακομισθήναι.

XL. Οἱ δὲ Χίοι καὶ Πεδαιτοὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ χρόνον οὐδὲν ἔσχον, καὶ περὶ διαμέλλουσα, τῶν Ἀστυφωνίων πέμποντες ἀγγέλους ἡξίουν σφίσι πολυρκομένιοι βοηθῆσαι ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναύσι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Ἰωνία ἑμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐκ τε θαλάσσης εἰργομένην

2 καὶ κατὰ γῆν ληστείαις πορθομένην. οἱ γὰρ

1 τοῖς ἑνδέκα ἄνδρασι, of the MSS., deleted by van Herwerden.
Lacedaemonians also sent with him eleven Spartans to act as advisers to Astyochus, one of whom was Lichas son of Arcesilaus. Their orders were, on arriving at Miletus, to share with Astyochus the general oversight of affairs in whatever way would be for the best, and also to send this fleet, with either the same number of ships or more or fewer, to Pharnabazus in the Hellespont, should this course seem expedient, appointing as its commander Clearchus\(^1\) son of Ramphias, who was sailing with them; also, if it should seem best, to depose Astyochus from his office as admiral and put Antisthenes in his stead; for in view of the letter of Pedaritus they were suspicious of him. Accordingly these ships, sailing from Malea across the open sea, touched at Melos, and falling in with ten Athenian ships captured three of them, but without their crews, and burned them. After this, fearing that the Athenian ships that had escaped from Melos might, as actually happened, inform the Athenians at Samos of their approach, they sailed toward Crete, making the voyage longer as a measure of precaution, and put in at Caunus in Asia. From there, feeling that they were now in security, they sent a message to the ships at Miletus with a view to being convoyed along the coast.

XL. At this time the Chians and Pedaritus sent messages to Astyochus, notwithstanding his continuing to hold back, urging him, since they were being blockaded, to come to their aid with all his ships and not to look on and see the largest of the allied cities in Ionia shut off from the sea and devastated by forays on land. For the slaves of

\(^1\) cf. ch. viii. 2.
οικέται τοῖς Χίοις πολλοί οντες καὶ μοί γε πόλει πλὴν Δακεδαμονίων πλείστοι γενόμενοι καὶ ἀμα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπωτέρως ἐν ταῖς ἁδικίαις κολαξομενοί, ὡς ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν 'Αθηναίων βεβαιῶς ἔδοξε μετὰ τείχους ἱδρύσθαι, εὐθὺς αὐτομολία τε εχρήσαντο πολλοί πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πλείστα κακὰ ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν χώραν οὕτωι ἔδρασαν.

3 ἔφασαν οὖν χρῆναι οἱ Χίοι, ἦσος ἐτε ἕπτες καὶ δυνατὸν κωλύσαι, τείχοζομένου τοῦ Δελφινίου καὶ ἄτελοὺς ὄντος, καὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ναυσίν ἔρματος μεῖζονος προσπερβαλλομένου, βοηθῆσαι σφίσιν. ο ὁ Ἀστυχος καὶ περὶ οὐ διανοούμενος διὰ τὴν τότε ἀπειλήν, ὡς ἐώρα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους προθύμους οὕτοις, ὥρμητο ἐς τὸ βοηθεῖν.

ΧΛΙ. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Καύνου παραγίγνεται ἀγγελία ὅτι αἱ ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσὶ νῆσι καὶ οἱ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ξύμβουλοι πάρεισι, καὶ νομίσας πάντα υστερα εἶναι τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ ναῦς τε, ὅπως θαλασσοκρατοιεῖν μᾶλλον, τοσαῦτα ξυμπαρακομίσαι καὶ τοὺς Δακεδαμονίους, οἱ ἱκον κατάσκοποι αὐτοῦ, ἀσφαλῶς περαιωθήναι, εὐθὺς

2 ἄφεις τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίον ἐπλει ἐς τὴν Καύνου. καὶ ὡς Κὼν τὴν Μεροπίδα ἐν τῷ παράπληρο ἀποβᾶς τὴν τέ πόλιν ἀτείχιστον οὕσαν καὶ ὑπὸ σειμοῦ, ὅτα ἄτοις ἐτυχε μέγιστος γε δὴ ὁν μεμνήμεθα γενόμενοι, ξυμπεπτωκυιαν ἐκπορθεῖ, τῶν ἀνθρώ-

1 cf. ch. xxxiii. i.
the Chians, who were numerous—and indeed the most numerous in any single city except that of the Lacedaemonians—and at the same time, on account of their multitude, were punished more severely for every misdeed, now that the Athenian army seemed, with the advantage of a fortified position, to be firmly established, immediately began to desert to them in large numbers; and these, because of their knowledge of the country, wrought the greatest damage to it. So the Chians said that he ought to come to their aid now, while there was still hope and a possibility of checking the enemy, and while the fortification of Delphinium was still in progress and not yet completed, a stronger line of breastworks being now in process of construction round the camp and ships. And Astyochus, although he had not intended to do so, on account of his threat some time before, when he saw that the allies also were eager for the undertaking, was disposed to give the desired aid.

XLI. Meanwhile tidings came from Caunus that the twenty-seven ships and the Lacedaemonian advisers had arrived; whereupon Astyochus, thinking that everything else was of secondary importance compared with convoying so large a reinforcement of the fleet, so that they might be more completely masters of the sea, and with getting the Lacedaemonians, who had come to observe his conduct, safely across, immediately gave up the expedition to Chios and sailed to Caunus. As he proceeded along the coast he landed at Cos Meropis and sacked the town, which was without walls and by reason of an earthquake that had befallen it—the most violent of all within our memory—was now in ruins,
πων ἐσ τὰ ὅρη πεθευγότων, καὶ τὴν χώραν καταδρομαίς λειαν ἐποιεῖτο, πλὴν τῶν ἔλευθερων
3 τούτων δὲ ἀφίει. έκ δὲ τῆς Κω ἀφικόμενος ἐσ τὴν Κυίδου νυκτὸς ἀναγκάζεται ὑπὸ τῶν Κυιδίων
παραποιούντων μὴ ἐκβιβάσαι τούς ναύτας, ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ εἰχε πλεῖν εὔθυς ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν 'Αθηναίων
ναῦς εἰκοσὶ, διὸ ἐχὼν Χαρμῖνος, εἰς τῶν ἐκ Σάμου
στρατηγῶν, ἐφύλασσε ταύτας τὰς ἐπὶ τα καὶ εἰκοσὶ
ναύς ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προσπλεοῦσας, ἐφ’
4 ἄσπερ καὶ ὁ 'Αστύοχος παρέπλει. ἐπύθοντο δὲ
οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἐκ τῆς Μήλου τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν Χαρμίνος περί τὴν Σύμην καὶ
Χάλκην καὶ 'Ρόδου καὶ περὶ τὴν Λυκίαν ἦν, ἦδη
γὰρ ἤσθανετο καὶ ἐν τῇ Καύνῳ οὕσας αὐτῶς.
XLIII. Ἐπέπλει οὖν ὡσπερ εἰχε πρὸς τὴν
Σύμην ὁ 'Αστύοχος πρὶν ἐκπυττος γενέσθαι, εἰ
πως περιλάβοι πον μετεώρος τὰς ναύς. καὶ
αὐτῷ ὑετός τε καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξωνεφέλα
ὅντα πλάνησιν τῶν νεὼν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ ταραχὴν
2 παρέσχεν. καὶ ἀμα τῇ ἑώ, διεσπασμένον τοῦ
ναυτικοῦ, καὶ τὸν μὲν φανεροῦ ἦδη ὅντος τοῖς
'Αθηναίοις, τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου
περὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐτε πλανωμένου, ἐπανάγονται
κατὰ τάχος ὁ Χαρμῖνος καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναίοι ἐλάσ-
σσασιν ἠ τὰς εἰκοσι ναυσί, νομίζαντες ἄσπερ
ἐφύλασσον ναῦς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Καύνου 1 ταύτας
3 εἶναι. καὶ προσπεσόντες εὔθυς κατέδυσαν τε
τρεῖς καὶ κατετραμμάτισαν ἄλλας, καὶ ἐν τῷ
ἐργῳ ἐπεκράτουν, μέχρι οὗ ἐπεφάνησαν αὐτοῖς
παρὰ δόξαν αἱ πλείουσ τῶν νεῶν καὶ πανταχόθεν
1 τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Καύνου, deleted by Hudo.
the inhabitants having fled to the mountains; and by forays he despoiled the country of everything, except the free population, which he let go. Coming then from Cos to Cnidus by night, he was forced by the importunity of the Cnidians not to permit his sailors to land, but, just as he was, to sail straight against the twenty Athenian ships, with which Charminus, one of the generals from Samos, was on the look-out for the twenty-seven ships that were approaching from the Peloponnesus—the ships which Astyochus was sailing along the coast to meet. For the Athenians at Samos had received word from Melos of their approach, and the outposts of Charminus were on the look-out for them in the neighbourhood of Syme, Chalce, Rhodes and the coast of Lycia; for he was already aware of their being at Caunus.

XLII. Astyochus, therefore, sailed directly to Syme before his arrival was reported, on the chance that he might find the Peloponnesian ships somewhere on the high seas. But rain and the foggy state of the atmosphere caused his ships to lose their way in the darkness and confusion. At daybreak, when his fleet was still scattered and one part of it, the left wing, was already visible to the Athenians, while the rest of it was still wandering round the island, Charminus and the Athenians hastily put to sea against them with fewer than their twenty ships, thinking that these were the ships from Caunus which they were watching for. And falling upon them at once they sank three and damaged others, and in the general action were having the advantage until, to their surprise, the larger body of ships came in sight and they found
4 ἀπεκλήσοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς φυγὴν καταστάντες ἦξ μὲν ναῦς ἀπολλύσασε, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς καταφεύγοντες ἦς τῆς Τεντλούσσαν νῆσου, ἐντεύθεν δὲ
5 ἐς Ἀλικαρνασσόν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Πελο-
πονήσιοι ἐς Κνίδον κατάραντες καὶ ξυμμυγεισῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καύνου ἐπταῦ καὶ ἐκκοπή νεὸν αὐτοῖς
ξυμπάσασις πλεύσαντες καὶ τροπαίον ἐν τῇ Σύμη
στήσαντες πάλιν ἐς τὴν Κνίδον καθωρμῆσαντο.

XLIII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου
ναυσὶ πάσαις, ὡς ἄσθοντο τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας,
πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σύμην καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ
Κνίδῳ ναυτικὸν ὅψῃ ὀρμήσαντες, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπ᾽
ἐκείνους, λαβόντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σύμη σκεύη τῶν
νεῶν καὶ Δωρύμοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἦπείρῳ προσ-
βαλόντες, ἀπεπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

2 "Ἀπασαι ὅ ἢδη οὖσαι ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ αὐτῶν Πελο-
πονησίων νῆσες ἐπεσκευάζοντο τε εἰ τι ἐδει, καὶ
πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρη (παρεγένετο γὰρ) λόγους
ἐποιοῦντο οἱ ἐνδεκα ἀνδρεῖς τῶν Δακεδαμονίων
περὶ τῶν ἢδη πεπραγμένων, εἰ τι μὴ ἥρεσκεν αὐτοῖς,
καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολέμου, ὅτω ὑπὸ ἀριστοὶ καὶ ἐμφορίωτατα αμφότεροις πολέ-

3 μήστειν. μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Δίξας ἐσκόπει τὰ ποιοῦ-
μενα, καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς οὔδετέρας, ὅτε ταῖς
Χαλκιδέως ὅτε τὰς Θηριμένους, ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν
ξυγκείσας, ἀλλὰ δεινῶν εἰναι εἰ χώρας οὕς
Βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἠδὲ προτερον, ταύτης
καὶ νῦν ἄξιόψει κρατεῖν (ἐνῆ γὰρ καὶ νῆσους
ἀπάσας πάλιν δουλεύειν καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ
Δοκροῦς καὶ τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτῶν), καὶ ἀντ᾽ ἐλευ-
themselves being hemmed in on all sides. Thereupon they took to flight, losing six ships, but with the rest they fled for refuge to the island of Teutlussa, and thence to Halicarnassus. After this the Peloponnesians put in at Cnidos, where they were joined by the twenty-seven ships from Caunus, whereupon they sailed out with the whole fleet, set up a trophy at Syme, and finally came to anchor again at Cnidos.

XLIII. When the Athenians heard about the sea-fight, they sailed to Syme with all the ships they had at Samos. They did not, however, make an attack upon the fleet at Cnidos, nor the Peloponnesians upon them, but took aboard the naval stores that were at Syme and, after touching at Lorymi on the mainland, sailed back to Samos.

All the Peloponnesian ships were now at Cnidos and were engaged in making the necessary repairs; and as Tissaphernes had arrived, the eleven Laconian advisers were holding conferences with him touching matters that had already been negotiated, if any point in the agreements was unsatisfactory to them, as well as concerning future hostilities, in what way the war might be waged best and most advantageously for both parties. And it was Lichas who examined most closely what was being done, saying that neither of the treaties, neither that of Chalcideus nor that of Therimenes, was wisely framed; nay, he said that it was monstrous that the King should even now claim authority over all the territory which he and his ancestors had formerly ruled—for that would mean that all the islands should again be in slavery, as well as Thessaly, Locri and everything as far as Boeotia—and that
THUCYDIDES

θερίας ἀν Ἔλληνι ἄρχην τοῖς Ἔλληνι τους
4 Λακεδαιμονίους περιθείναι. ἔτερας οὖν ἐκέλευν
βελτίως σπένδεσθαι, ἤταυτας γε οὐ χρήσεσθαι,
οὐδὲ τῆς τροφῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις δεῖσθαι οὐδὲν.
ἀγανακτῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν Τισσαφέρνης ἀπεχώρησεν ἀπ᾽
αὐτῶν δὲ ὁ ὄρχης καὶ ἀπρακτός.

XLIV. Οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἐρυθῶν, ἐπικηρυκευομένων
ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, τὴν γυνώμην ἔχουν
πλεῖν, ἐπιξοντος νήσον τε οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ
ναυβατῶν πλήθει καὶ πεζῶν προσάξεσθαι, καὶ
ἀμα ἤγούμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης ξυμ-
μαχίας δυνατοὶ ἔσεθαί, Τισσαφέρνη μὴ αἰτοῦντες
2 χρῆματα, τρέφειν τάς ναῦς. πλεύσαντες οὖν
εἴθοις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμώνι ἐκ τῆς Κνίδου, καὶ
προσβαλόντες Καμύρῳ τῆς Ῥόδιας πρώτη ναυσὶ
tέσσαρι καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, ἐξεφόβησαν μὲν τοὺς
πολλούς οὐκ εἴδοτας τὰ πρασσόμενα, καὶ ἐφευγον,
ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἀπειχόντος σύσις τῆς πόλεως
eίτα ξυγκαλέσαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους τε
cαὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούς ἐνδοι πόλεως, Δίνδου τε καὶ
Ἰηλύσου, Ῥόδιους ἔπεισαν ἀποστῆναι Ἀθηναίων.
3 καὶ προσεχώρησε Ῥόδος Πελοποννησίως. οἱ δὲ
Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸν καυρόν τούτον ταῖς ἐκ τῆς
Σάμου ναυσίν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπέλευσαν μὲν βουλώ-
μενοι φθάσαι καὶ ἐφάνησαν πελάγιοι, ὑστερή-
σαντες δὲ οὐ πολλῷ τὸ μὲν παραχῆμα ἀπέπλευ-
σαν ἐς Χάλκην, ἐνευθεῖν δὲ ἐς Σάμου, ὑστερον δὲ
262
instead of bringing freedom the Lacedaemonians would place the Persian yoke upon the Hellenes. Accordingly he urged that another and better treaty be concluded; at any rate, the Lacedaemonians would not abide by this, nor did they want his support at all upon such terms. Tissaphernes was offended at this and went away from the conference in a rage without having settled anything.

XLIV. The Lacedaemonians, however, were minded to sail to Rhodes, since overtures were coming to them from the most influential men there; for they hoped that they could bring over to their side an island that was no mean power because of the large number of seamen and soldiers which it could furnish, and at the same time they thought that they would be able by themselves to maintain their fleet, on the basis of the existing alliance, without asking Tissaphernes for money. They therefore sailed at once that same winter from Cnidos, and touching first at Camirus in Rhodian territory with ninety-four ships, they so terrified most of the inhabitants, who knew nothing of the plan that was being negotiated, that they fled, especially since the city had no walls. Afterwards the Lacedaemonians called them together as well as the inhabitants of the two cities Lindus and Ialysus, and persuaded the Rhodians to revolt from the Athenians. So Rhodes came over to the Peloponnesian side. But the Athenians at this juncture, getting notice of their designs, sailed with the fleet they had at Samos, wishing to forestall them, and made their appearance out at sea; but finding that they were a little too late, they sailed back for the moment to Chalce, and thence returned
ἐκ τῆς Χάλκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κω καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου τοὺς ἐπίπλους ποιοῦμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥόδου ἐπο-4 λέμουν. οἱ δὲ χρήματα μὲν ἔξελεξαν ἐς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα τάλαντα, οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἡσύχαζον ἡμέρας ὑγδοῦκοντα ἀνελκύσαντες τὰς ναῦς.

XLV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδου αὐτοὺς ἀναστήναι, τάδε ἐπράσετο. Ἀλκibiάδης μετὰ τὸν Χαλκίδεως θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐν Μιλήτῳ μάχῃ τοῖς Πελοποννήσιοι ὑποττος ὄν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς Ἀστυπόχον ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος ὥστε ἀποκτείναι (ἣ γὰρ τῷ Ἀγίῳ ἔχθρος καὶ ἄλλως ἀπιστος ἐφαινετο), πρῶτον μὲν ὑποχωρεῖ δείσας παρὰ Τισσαφέρη, ἐπείτα ἐκάκου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο μάλιστα τῶν Πελοποννήσιων τὰ πράγ-2 ματα, καὶ διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος τὴν τε μυσθοφορὰν ξυνέτεμεν, ἀντὶ δραχμῆς Ἀττικῆς ὥστε τριώβολου, καὶ τούτο μὴ ξυνεχῶς, δίδοσθαι, λέγειν κελεύων τὸν Τισσαφέρη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου ἐπιστήμονες ὄντες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τριώβολου τοῖς ἐαυτῶν διδάσκαι, οὐ τοσοῦτον πενία ὅσον ἵνα αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ ναῦται ἐκ περιουσίας ύβρίζουτες, οἱ μὲν τὰ σώματα χείρῳ ἔχωσι δαπανώντες ἐς τοιαύτα ἀφ’ ὅν ἡ ἀσθένεια ξυμβαίνει, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολείποσιν

1 χρόνου, deleted by Hude, following Krüger’s suggestion.
2 Hude follows Stahl in assuming a lacuna here, καὶ τοῦτο ὃν ξυνεχῶς, or words of this purport, being lost.
BOOK VIII. XLIV. 3–XLV. 2

to Samos. Afterwards, however, making raids from Chalce and Cos and Samos, they carried on hostilities against Rhodes. The Peloponnesians, on the other hand, levied money from the Rhodians to the amount of thirty-two talents, but otherwise they remained inactive for eighty days, drawing their ships up on shore.

XLV. But in the meantime, and even before the Peloponnesians removed to Rhodes, the following negotiations were going on. After the death of Chalcideus and the battle at Miletus, Alcibiades, finding himself under suspicion with the Peloponnesians, and Astyocharus having received a letter from Lacedaemon ordering him to be put to death—for he was a personal enemy of Agis and in general appeared untrustworthy—at first withdrew in alarm to Tissaphernes and then proceeded to damage the Peloponnesian cause with him as much as he possibly could. Becoming his adviser in all matters, he cut down the pay of the troops, so that instead of an Attic drachma only three obols were given, and that not regularly, and he urged Tissaphernes to tell them that the Athenians, who had had experience in naval matters for a longer time, gave only three obols to their men, not so much through lack of money as with the purpose of keeping their sailors from growing insolent by reason of abundance; for some would injure their health by spending their money on things which bring on sickness, while others would desert their ships without leaving

1 £64,000; $305,900.
2 cf. ch. xxxix. 1.
3 The part of the sentence that follows would seem to be Thucydides' explanation of the reasons of the Athenians.
οὐχ ὑπολειπόντες ἐσ ὀμηρελαν τὸν προσοφει-3 λόμενον μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς τριμήραχους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων ἐδίδασκε δόντα ἡ χρή-ματα αὐτῶν πεῖσαι ὡστε ἀναγιρᾶσαι ταῦτα ἐαυτῷ πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων τούτων ἔντον ἔρμο-
κράτης ἱματιότο μόνος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ξύμπαντος
4 ἐξεμαχικοῦ. τάς τε πόλεις δεσμεύσας χρημάτων ἀπήλασεν, αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τισσαφέρ-
νους ὡς οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἀναίσχυντο εἰς, πλουσιω-
τατοὶ ὄρτες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπικουρία δὲ ὅμως σφοζόμενοι ἄξιονση καὶ τοῖς σῶματι καὶ τοῖς χρήσιν ἀλλούς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνης ἐλευθερίας
5 καινοπιρέων τὰς δ’ ἀλλὰς πόλεις ἐφ’ ἀδικεῖν, αὐτὸς ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον ἡ ἀποστήμην ἀνήλουν, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν τοσάτα καὶ ἔτι πλεῖο ὑπὲρ σφῶν
6 αὐτῶν ἐθελήσομεν ἐσφέρειν. τὸν τε Τισσαφέρνη ἀπεθανεῖν ὑπὲρ μὲν, τοῖς ἱδίοις χρήσιν πολεμοῦντα, εἰκότως φείδομεν, ἦν δὲ ποτε τροφὴ καταβῆ-
παρὰ βασιλέως, ἐντελὴ αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσεων τῶν μισθῶν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰ εἰκότα ὡφελήσειν.

XLVI. Παρήκει δὲ καὶ τῷ Τισσαφέρνη μὴ ἄγαν ἐπείγεσθαι τῶν πόλεων διαλύσαι, μηδὲ βουλθηθῆναι ἡ κομίσαντα ναὸς Φοινίσσας ἀσπερ παρασκευάζετο ἦν Ἑλληνεῖ πλεῖονα μισθῶν πορι-
ζοντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῆς τε γῆς καὶ τῆς βαλάσις τοῦ κράτος δοῦναι, ἔχειν δ’ ἀμφότερος ἐὰν δέχα

1 So B only, most MSS. ἐπολειπόντες.
2 ὡστε, before δόντα, deleted by Reiske.

1 Or, reading ἐπολειπότως ἐπολειπότες, “desert their ships, leaving behind,” etc. The guarantee would be an inducement to the captain to grant leave of absence to the detriment of

266
behind as a guarantee the part of their pay that was still due. He also taught him how by the use of money to persuade the trierarchs and generals to agree with him in these matters—all except the Syracusans, and of them Hermocrates alone opposed him, doing so on behalf of the alliance as a whole. Furthermore, when the several cities asked for money he dismissed them, taking it upon himself to answer on behalf of Tissaphernes that the Chians were shameless people, for though they were the wealthiest of the Hellenes and owed their salvation to outside help, nevertheless they expected others to risk their lives and their money also for the defence of their liberty. And as for the other states, which before they revolted used to lavish money upon the Athenians, he said that they were doing wrong unless they were willing at this time also to contribute as much or even more for their own protection. And he further explained that, though Tissaphernes, now that he was waging war on his own resources, was quite properly frugal, yet if ever supplies should come down from the King he would give the men their full pay and would render to the states all reasonable aid.

XLVI. Alcibiades also urged Tissaphernes not to be too eager to bring the war to an end, nor to take such a course, either by bringing there the Phoenician fleet which he was equipping or by providing pay for a larger number of Hellenes, as would give the command of both the land and the sea to the same people, but to let the dominion be divided between the two sides, so that it would be possible the service. On the smaller pay the sailors would have no balance in the hands of their captains.
τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔξειναι ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτὸ
2 λυπηροὺς τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπάγειν. γενομένης δὲ ἂν
καθ᾽ ἐν τῆς ἐς γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀρχῆς, ἀπορεῖν
ἀν αὐτὸν οἶς τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἐνγκαθαιρήσει, ἢν
μὴ αὐτὸς βούληται μεγάλη δαπάνη καὶ κινδύνῳ
ἀναστάτα ποτε διαγωνίσασθαι. εὐτελέστερα δὲ
tάδ’ εἶναι, βραχεὶ μορίῳ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ἁμα
μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας αὐτοὺς περὶ ἑαυτοὺς
3 τοὺς "Ελλήνας κατατρίψαι. ἐπιτηδειοτέρους τε ἐφ’
tοὺς 'Αθηναίους εἶναι κοινωνοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς
ἀρχῆς' ἡσυχος γὰρ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐφίεσθαι1 τοῖς
λόγοιν τε ἐμφυρώτατον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐχοντας
πολεμεῖν’ τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν γυνακαταδολοῦν ἂν
σφίσαι τε αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης μέρος καὶ
ἐκεῖνοι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ "Ελληνες οἰκούσι,
tοὺς δὲ τοῦντιον ἐλευθερώσωντας ἤκειν. καὶ
όυκ εἰκὸς εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπὸ μὲν σφόν
τῶν 'Ελλήνων2 ἐλευθερῶν νῦν τοὺς "Ελλήνας,
ἀπὸ δ’ ἐκεῖνων τῶν βαρβάρων,3 ἢν μὴ ποτὲ
4 αὐτοὺς ἐξελώσι,4 μὴ ἐλευθερώσαι. τρίβειν οὖν
ἐκέλευεν πρῶτον ἀμφότερος, καὶ ἀποτεμόμενον
ὡς μέγιστα ἀπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἐπεὶ τῆ ἡδὴ τοὺς
5 Πελοποννησίων ἀπαλλάξαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ

1 καὶ, after ἐφίεσθαι, added by Gertz, followed by Hude.
2 τῶν 'Ελλήνων, bracketed by Hude and most editors, after Valckenaer.
3 τῶν βαρβάρων, deleted by Hude, with B.
4 μὴ, before ἐξελώσι, deleted by Madvig.

268
for the King to lead the one party or the other against those that were troublesome to him. But if the dominion of both land and sea were united, the King himself would have no one with whom he could co-operate in destroying the stronger, and would have no alternative but sooner or later to rise up himself\(^1\) and, at great expense and risk, fight a decisive struggle. The cheaper course was this—at a small fraction of the expense and at the same time with security to himself to wear the Hellenes out one upon the other. The more suitable partners, he said, with whom to share the sovereignty were the Athenians; for they were less desirous of possessions on land and both their principles and practice in carrying on war were most consistent with his interests; for whereas the Athenians would co-operate with him in making subject to themselves the department of the sea and to him such of the Hellenes as lived in the King’s country, the Lacedaemonians, on the contrary, had come to liberate these. It was not reasonable, he added, to suppose that the Lacedaemonians would now be liberating the Hellenes from men who, like themselves, were Hellenes, and would not liberate them from the Persians who were Barbarians, unless these sooner or later got them out of the way. He therefore urged him, first to wear out both sides, then to curtail the power of the Athenians as much as possible, and finally to get the Peloponnesians out of his country.

\(^1\) The word ἄραρας seems to be used because Alcibiades has in mind the ἄραρας or third combatant in the games, who sits by to fight the victor. The policy he urges is that the King should sit by while the Athenians and Lacedaemonians fight and weaken each other, as otherwise he may have to “enter the ring” against a strong opponent.
διενοείτο τὸ πλέον οὕτως ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ τῶν ποιουμένων ἦν 1 εἰκάσαι. τῷ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδη διὰ ταῦτα, ὡς εὑ περὶ τούτων παραινοῦντι, προσθεὶς ἐαυτὸν ἐς πίστιν τὴν τε τροφὴν κακῶς ἐπορίζα τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις καὶ ναυμαχεῖν οὐκ εἰσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας φάσκων ναῦς ἤξειν καὶ ἐκ περιόντων ἀγωνιζόμεθα ἐφθειρέ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν ἀφεῖλετο γενομένην καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυράν, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ καταφανέστερον ἢ διότε λαυθάνειν οὐ προθύμως ξυνεπολέμει.

XLVII. Ὅ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης ταῦτα ἄμα μὲν τῷ Τισσαφέρνη καὶ βασιλεῖ, ὃν παρ’ ἐκείνους, ἀριστα εἶναι νομίζων παρῆνει, ἄμα δὲ τὴν ἑαυτὸν κάθοδον ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπιθεραπεύον, εἰδώς, εἰ μὴ διαφθερεὶ αὐτὴν, ὅτε ἢσται ποτὲ αὐτῷ πείσαντε κατελθεῖν πεῖσαι δ’ ἂν ἐνόμιζε μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον, εἰ Ἰσσαφέρνης φαίνοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείους 2 ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἠκουσώντο αὐτῶν ἰσχύνα τα παρ’ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου προσπέμψαντος λόγους ἐς τοὺς δυνατώτατος αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶς ὅστε μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς βελτιστοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἐπ’ ὀλιγαρχία βιοῦμεν καὶ οὐ πονηρία 2 τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐκβαλοῦσῃ κατελθῶν καὶ παρασχὼν Τισσαφέρνη φίλου αὐτῶς ξυμπο-

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1 ἦν, deleted by Krüger, followed by Hude.
2 οτιδ’ ἐνοκρατίς, in the MSS. after πονηρία, deleted by van Herwerden.
And Tissaphernes was more inclined to this course, so far as it was possible to conjecture from what he was doing. For he consequently gave his support and confidence to Alcibiades, as though he thought his advice in the matter good, and not only furnished wretched maintenance to the Peloponnesians, but also would not allow them to fight at sea; instead, he kept telling them that the Phoenician ships would come and that they would then contend with superabundant strength; and thus he injured their cause and diminished the vigour of their fleet, which had been very strong; and in general it was too evident to escape notice that he was not zealously co-operating in the war.

XLVII. This advice Alcibiades gave to Tissaphernes and the King while he was under their protection, not only because he believed it to be best, but also because he was at the same time working for his own restoration to his fatherland, knowing that, if he did not ruin that prospect, it would some day be possible for him to gain the consent of his countrymen and be restored. And the means by which he thought he could best persuade them was this—to make it appear that Tissaphernes was on intimate terms with him; and that, in fact, is what happened. For the Athenian soldiers at Samos perceived that he had great influence with Tissaphernes, partly because Alcibiades sent word to the most influential men among them to make mention of him to the best people and say that he wished to come home on condition of there being an oligarchy and not the villainous mob-rule that had banished him, and after securing the friendship of Tissaphernes to be a fellow-citizen
THUCYDIDES

λιτεύετοιν, τὸ δὲ πλέον καὶ ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τριήμαρχοι τε τῶν Ἁθηναίων καὶ δυνατῶτατοι ὤρμητο ἕστο καταλύσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

XLVIII. Καὶ ἐκινήθη πρὸτερον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐντεύθεν ὑστερον. τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδη διαβάντες τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐς λόγους ἥλθον, καὶ ύποτεύνοντος αὐτοῦ Τισσαφέρη μὲν πρῶτον, ἕπειτα δὲ καὶ βασιλέα φίλον ποιήσειν, εἰ μὴ δημοκρατότιτο (οὕτω γὰρ ἄν πιστέυσαι μᾶλλον βασιλέα), πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχον αὐτὸς τε ἐαυτοῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ πράγματα, ὡπερ καὶ ταλαιπωροῦνται μάλιστα, ἐς ἐαυτοὺς περιποιήσειν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ-κρατήσειν. ἔς τε τὴν Σάμου ἔλθοντες ἐξυνίστασάν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐς ξυνωμοσίαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς φανερῶς ἔλεγον ὅτι βασιλεὺς σφίσε φίλος ἐσοιτο καὶ χρήματα παρέξοι Ἀλκιβιάδου τε κατελθόντος καὶ μὴ δημοκρατουμένων.

3 καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄχλος, εἰ καὶ τι παρατίκη ἥχθετο τοῖς πρασσομένοις, διὰ τὸ εὐπορον τῇ ἐλπίδος τοῦ παρὰ βασιλεῶς μισθοῦ ἱσύχαζεν οἱ δὲ ἐξυστάντες τὴν ὀλγαρχίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλῆθει ἐκοίνωσαν, αὖθις καὶ σφίσων αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ ἐταιρίκου τῷ πλέον τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἔνκοπον.

4 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐφαίνετο εὐτορα καὶ πιστά, Φρυνίχρω δὲ στρατηγῷ ἐτὶ ὧντι οὐδὲν ἤρεσκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ τε Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὡπερ καὶ ἤν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὀλγαρχίας ἡ δημοκρατίας δεῖσθαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ.
with them; but of still greater moment was the fact that even on their own initiative the Athenian trierarchs at Samos and the most influential men were bent upon overthrowing the democracy.

XLVIII. This movement began first in the camp and from there spread to the city of Athens. Then certain men crossed over from Samos and had a conference with Alcibiades, and when he held out to them that he would first make Tissaphernes a friend and then the King also, if there were not a democracy—for so the King would have more confidence in them—the influential citizens, who are apt to bear the heaviest burdens, had great hopes for themselves personally that they would get the government into their own hands and prevail over the enemy as well. So they went to Samos and set about combining in a conspiracy such men as were suitable, at the same time saying openly to the people that the King would be a friend to them and would furnish money if Alcibiades were restored and they were not ruled by a democracy. The multitude, even if at the moment it was somewhat dissatisfied with the scheme, none the less kept quiet because the prospect of pay from the King seemed easy of attainment; while those who were trying to establish the oligarchy, as soon as they had made their designs known to the people, once more took up the proposals of Alcibiades for consideration among themselves and the majority of the members of the political clubs. And to most of these the proposals appeared practicable and trustworthy; Phrynichus, however, who was still general, did not find them at all satisfactory, but was of opinion that Alcibiades had really no more desire for an oligarchy than for a democracy, and had no other object in
οὔδ' ἄλλον τι σκοπεῖσθαι ή ὡς τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου τὴν πόλιν μεταστήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἔταιρων τι παρακληθεῖς κάτεισθι, σφίζει δὲ περιοπτέον εἶναι τούτῳ μάλιστα ὅπως μὴ στασιάσωσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ τε ούκ εὔπορον εἶναι, καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἡδη ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὄντων καὶ πόλεις ἐχόντων ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ οὐκ ἐλαχίστας, Ἀθηναίοις προσβέμενοι, οἷς ὦ πιστεύει, πράγματα ἔχειν, ἐξὸν Πελοποννησίους, ὑπ' ὄν κακὸν οὐδὲν πέπονθε, φίλους ποιήσασθαι.

ἐάν τὰς τε ἐξυμμαχίδας πόλεις, αἷς ὑποσχήσεθαι, δή σφαῖς ἀληθείας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ δημοκρατήσονται, εὐθ' εἰδέναι ἐφ' ὅτι οὐδὲν μᾶλλον σφίσων οὐθ' αἱ ἀφεστηκυῖαι προσχωρήσονται οὐθ' αἱ ὑπάρχουσαι βεβαιότεραι ἐσσονται οὐ γὰρ βολήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετ' ἀληθείας ἡ δημοκρατίας δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἡ μεθ' ὑποτέρου ἐὰν τὰ ὑψωσταὶ τούτων ἔλευθεροι εἰναι τοὺς τε καλοὺς κάγαθους ὑνομαξομένους οὐκ ἐλάσσω αὐτοὺς νομίζειν σφισὶ πράγματα παρέξειν τοῦ δήμου, ποριστάς ὄντας καὶ ἐσηγητῶς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ωφελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνος εἰναι καὶ ἀκριτοὶ ἄν καὶ

1 οὔδ' ἄλλο, Vat., Hude reads ἄλλο with the other MSS.
2 ἐταῖρων, with M, Hude retains ἐτέρων, with most of the MSS.
3 ὑποσχήσεσθαι, Boehme, for ὑποσχήσεσθαι of the MSS.

1 i. e. the aristocrats.
2 The ἄριστοι at Athens were a board appointed in times
view than in some manner, by bringing about in the state a change from its present order, to secure his own return at the invitation of his party associates. The Athenians, however, in the opinion of Phrynichus, must make it their chief concern to avoid being rent with factions. Neither was it in the interest of the King, he said, now that the Peloponnesians were at home on the sea quite as much as the Athenians and held possession of cities in his empire which were not the smallest, to attach himself to the Athenians, whom he did not trust, and thus involve himself in trouble, when it was possible to make friends of the Peloponnesians, from whom he had suffered no harm. As for the allied cities, to which forsooth they would promise an oligarchical form of government for the reason that they themselves would not be under a democracy, he said that he knew well that neither those which had revolted from the Athenians would be any more likely to come back into the alliance nor would those which still remained allies be more staunch; for they would not want to be slaves with either an oligarchy or a democracy in preference to being free with whichever form they might perchance have such freedom. And as to those who were called "the good and true" men,¹ he said that the allies believed that they would bring them no less trouble than the popular party, being as they were providers² and proposers to the people of evil projects from which they themselves got the most benefit. Indeed, so far as it rested with these men, they, the allies, would be put to death not only without trial but by methods of financial difficulty to devise and propose (ἐνυποίσαι) new sources of revenue.

²⁷⁵
THUCYDIDIDES

βιαλότερον ἀποθνῄσκειν, τὸν δὲ δήμου σφῶν τε
7 καταφυγῆν εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνων σοφρονιστὴν. καὶ
tαῦτα παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπισταμένας τὰς
πόλεις σαφῶς αὐτῶς εἰδέναι ὅτι οὕτω νομίζουσιν.
οὖκον έαυτῷ γε τῶν ἀπὸ Ἁλκιβιάδου καὶ ἔν
tῷ παρόντι πρασσομένων ἄρεσκειν οὔδεν.

XLIX. Οἱ δὲ ἐξυλλεγέντες τῶν ἐν τῇ ἦννωμοσίᾳ,
ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, τὰ τε παρόντα
ἐδέχοντο καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς πρέσβεις Πείσανδρον
καὶ ἄλλους παρεσκευάζοντο πέμπειν, ὅπως περὶ
tε τῆς τοῦ Ἁλκιβιάδου καθόδου πράσσοντες καὶ
τῆς τοῦ ἐκεί δήμου καταλύσεως καὶ τοῦ Τισσα-
φέρου φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ποιήσειν.

L. Γινοῦσ δὲ ο Φρούχος ὅτι ἔσοιτο περὶ τῆς
τοῦ Ἁλκιβιάδου καθόδου λόγος καὶ ὅτι Ἁθηναῖοι
ἐνεδέχονται αὐτῷ, δεῖσας πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίωσιν τῶν
λεγομένων ὅφ’, αὐτοῦ μή, ἡ κατελθή, ὡς κωλυτὴν
2 ὅτα κακὸς ὅρα, τρέπεται ἐπὶ τοιόνυμε τι. πέμπει
ὡς τῶν Ἀστυόχον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχον,
ἐπὶ δυτικεῖ τῇ τῇ Μιλήσει, κρύφα ἐπιστείλας
ὅτι Ἁλκιβιάδης αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα φθεύει
Τισσαφέρην Ἀθηναίοις φίλον ποιῶν, καὶ τάλλα
σαφῶς ἑγχράσας. ἐξυγγυμνὴν δὲ εἶναι ἐαυτῷ περὶ
ἄνδρος πολεμίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως. ἄμβ-
3 φόρου κακὸν τι βουλεύειν. ο δὲ Ἀστύοχος τοῦ
μεν Ἁλκιβιάδην, ἄλλος τε καὶ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐς
χείρας ἰοντα, οὔδε διενεχέτο τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀνελθὼν
δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐς Μαγνησίαν καὶ παρὰ Τισσα-

1 καὶ, in MSS. before ἔν, bracketed by Hude, following
Valla.

1 cf. vi. xcii. 2 for similar excuse.
even more violent, whereas the people were a refuge to themselves and a check upon the oligarchs. This understanding of the matter, he asserted, the allied cities had gained from the facts themselves, and he was quite sure that this was their opinion. Therefore, to himself at least not one of the schemes that were being advocated by Alcibiades at the present time was satisfactory.

XLIX. But the members of the conspiracy who had assembled went on as they had originally determined and accepted the present proposals, and prepared to send Peisander and others as envoys to Athens, that they might negotiate both about the return of Alcibiades and the overthrow of the democracy in that city and might make Tissaphernes a friend to the Athenians.

L. But Phrynichus, knowing that there would be a proposal for the recall of Alcibiades and that the Athenians would accept it, and also fearing, in view of the opposition he had shown in his own speech, that if Alcibiades came back he would do him injury as one who had been in his way, now had recourse to the following device. He sent to Astyochus, the Lacedaemonian admiral, who was at this time still in the neighbourhood of Miletus, secret information by letter that Alcibiades was ruining the Lacedaemonian cause by making Tissaphernes a friend of the Athenians, and also wrote an explicit account of his other doings; he added that it was pardonable in himself to devise evil for an enemy, even though this involved detriment to his state. But Astyochus did not even think of punishing Alcibiades, especially as he no longer came within his reach as formerly, but going up to Magnesia to visit him and
τῆς Σάμου καὶ γέγονε τις Αλκιβιάδης πέμπτευς κατὰ Φρυνίχου γράμματα ἐς τήν Σάμον πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὀντας οὐδὲ δέδρακε, καὶ ἄξιων

5 αὐτῶν ἀποθνῄσκειν. θορυβούμενος δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος καὶ πάνυ, ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ἄν διὰ τὸ μήνυμα, ἐπιστέλλει αὖθις πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύρχον, τά τε πρότερα μεμφόμενος ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἐκρύφθη, καὶ νῦν ὅτι ὅλου τὸ στράτευμα τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔτοιμος εἶν τὸ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ1 παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς διαφθείραι, γράφας καθ’ ἐκαστα, ἀτειχίστου οὖσης Σάμου, ὃ ἀν τρόπῳ αὐτὰ πράξεις, καὶ ὅτι ἀνεπίθετον οἱ ἤδη εἰς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δι’ ἐκείνους κινδυνεύοντε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλο πάν δρᾶσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρίστων αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆται. ὁ δὲ Ἀστύρχος μηνύει καὶ ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ.

II. Καὶ ὁς προῆσθετο αὐτῶν ὁ Φρύνιχος ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολήν, αὐτὸς προφθάσας τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξάγγελος γίγνεται ὡς οἱ πολέμιοι μὲλλοντες, ἀτειχίστου οὖσης τῆς Σάμου καὶ ἄμα τῶν νεῶν οὐ πασῶν ἐνδον ὀρμοὺσών, ἐπιθύμησεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς πεπυσμένος εἰς, καὶ χρῆται τειχίζειν τε Σάμον ὡς τάχιστα

1 τὸ ἐν τῷ Σάμῳ, bracketed by Hude, following Stahl.
Tissaphernes he not only told them the contents of the letter he had received from Samos, himself becoming an informer, but also attached himself, as it was said, to Tissaphernes for his own private gain, both in this and in other matters; and it was for this reason that in dealing with the question of the pay, which was not being paid in full, his insistence was rather feeble. Alcibiades immediately wrote a letter against Phrynichus to the authorities at Samos, telling them what he had done and urging that he be put to death. Phrynichus was exceedingly disturbed, since he was in the very greatest danger on account of the information he had given; he accordingly wrote again to Astyocharus, reproaching him because his former information had not been concealed, as in honour it should have been, and adding that now he was ready to furnish the Lacedaemonians the opportunity to destroy the whole Athenian army at Samos, stating in detail how he could do this, since Samos was without walls; it was not culpable in himself, he concluded, now that he was in danger of his life through their actions, to do this or anything else rather than perish himself at the hands of his bitterest enemies. But Astyocharus gave information of this also to Alcibiades.

LI. And when Phrynichus learned betimes that Astyocharus was working to injure him and that a letter from Alcibiades about these matters had all but come, he anticipated it by himself informing the army that the enemy intended, seeing that Samos had no walls and that not all the ships were anchored inside the harbour, to attack the camp; he said that he had certain information of this, and that they ought to fortify Samos as quickly as possible and
καὶ τὰλλα ἐν φυλακῆς ἔχειν. ἔστρατήγη εἰ δι καὶ 2 κύριος ἦν αὐτὸς πράσσων ταῦτα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν τειχισμῶν της παρασκευάζοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοι- ούτου, καὶ δις μέλλουσα, Σάμος βάσεων ἐτείχισθη· αἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβίαδον ἐπιστολαὶ οὐ πολὺ ύστερον ἦκον δι' ἐπιτάξθητο τοῦ στράτευμα ὑπὸ Φρυνίχου καὶ οἱ πολέμοι μέλλουσιν ἐπί-
3 θέσεσθαι. δόξας δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβίας οὐ πιστὸς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προείδος τῷ Ἐφρονίχῳ ὡς ξυνειδότη καὶ ἔχθραν ἀνατιθέναι, οὐδὲν ἐξελάφευν αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυνεμαρτύρησε μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἕξαγγειλας.

Λ.Ι.Ι. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν Τισσα-
φέρνη παρασκεύαζε καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ὅπως φίλος ἔσται τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, δεδίσα μὲν τοὺς Πελο-
πονησίους, ὅτι πλείοσι ναυσὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρῆσαν, βουλόμενον δὲ ὅμως, εἰ δύνατό πως, πεισθῆναι, 2 ἀλλος τε καὶ ἐπειδή τὴν ἐν τῇ Κυδῷ διαφορὰν περὶ τῶν Θηρομένων σπονδῶν ἄσθενο τῶν Πελοπονησίων (ὅτι γὰρ κατὰ τούτου τὸν καίρον ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ὅστοις αὐτῷ ἐγεγένητο), ἐν ᾗ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου λόγου πρότερον εἰρημένοι περὶ τοῦ ἔλευθερου τοῦς Ἀκαδαιμονίους τὰς ἀπάσεις πόλεις ἐπιλήθεσθεν ὁ Δίκας, οὐ φασκοῦν ἀνεκτῶν εἶναι ἔγκεισθαι κρατεῖν βασιλεὰ τῶν πόλεων, ὅποι ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἡ αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἤρχον. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἄτε περὶ μεγά-

1 Heilmann's correction for ταύτα of the MSS.
2 πεισθῆναι, Hude reads πεισθηθῆναι with CG.
keep a watch upon everything. Now he was general, and was within his powers in acting thus on his own authority. So they set about preparing the fortifications, and in consequence of this Samos, which in any case would soon have been ready, was more quickly fortified. Not long afterward came the letter from Alcibiades, saying that the army was being betrayed by Phrynichus and that the enemy would soon attack. But since Alcibiades was not regarded as a trustworthy man, but was believed, as he knew beforehand the plans of the enemy, to be actuated by personal enmity in attributing to Phrynichus a guilty knowledge of them, the accusation did Phrynichus no harm, but rather confirmed his statement by giving the same information.

I.III. After this Alcibiades continued to work on Tissaphernes and to urge him to be a friend to the Athenians. Now though Tissaphernes was afraid of the Peloponnesians, because they were there with a larger fleet than the Athenians, nevertheless he wanted to follow this advice if in any way he could do so, especially now that he had become aware of the disagreement that had arisen at Cnidos among the Peloponnesians\(^1\) about the treaty of Thermes—for by this time the Peloponnesians were at Rhodes, so that the dispute had already taken place—in the course of which disagreement Lichas had verified the statement made before by Alcibiades, that it was the Lacedaemonian policy to liberate all the cities, declaring that it was intolerable to agree that the King should be master of all the cities over which he himself or his fathers had ever before held sway. Alcibiades, then, as one that contended for

\(^1\) cf. ch. xliii. 3.
λων ἀγωνιζόμενοι, προθύμως τῷ Τισσαφέρρει θεραπεύων προσέκειτο.

LIPII. Οἳ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου πρέσβεις ἀποστάλειτε ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, λόγους ἐποιοῦντο ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κεφαλαίσθεντες ἐκ πολλῶν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅσ' ἐξεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀλκιβιάδην καταγαγόντο καὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον δημοκρατουμένοις βασιλεά τε ἦμμαχον ἔχειν καὶ Πελοποννησίων περιγενέσθαι. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδου ἀμα ἔθρον διαβουλώντων ὡς δειέν εἰς τοὺς νόμους βιασάμενος κάτεισι, καὶ Εὐμολπίδων καὶ Κηρύκων περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν, δὲ ἄπερ ἐπυγχεῖ, μαρτυρομένων καὶ ἐπιθειαζόντων μὴ κατάγειν, οὖς Πεισάνδρου παρελθῶν πρὸς πολλὴν ἀντιλογίαν καὶ σχετλιασμὸν ἡρώτα ἕνα ἐκαστὸν παράγων τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ἤμων εἰπίδα ἔχει σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει, Πελοποννησίων ναῦς τε οὐκ ἐλάσσοσα σφῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀντιπρόφοροι ἐχώντων καὶ πόλεις ἦμμαχίδας πλείους, βασιλείως τέ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τισσαφέρνους χρήματα παρεχόμενω, σφίσι δὲ οὐκέτι δυνῶν, εἰ μὴ τις πείσει βασιλέα 3 μεταστῆται παρὰ σφᾶς. ὅποτε δὲ δὴ μὴ φαίνειν ἐρωτώμενοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὃτι "Τούτῳ τοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν ἤμων γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ πολιτεύσομέν τε σωφρονέστερον καὶ εἴς ὀλίγους

1 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, after πρέσβεις, deleted by Dobree.

1 The priestly clan which provided the hierophants of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the interpreters of laws touching impiety.

2 The other great priestly house, who actually slew the
a great prize, was assiduously paying court to Tissaphernes.

LIII. Meanwhile the envoys that had been sent from Samos with Peisander arrived at Athens and made a statement before a meeting of the people, offering a summary of many arguments but urging with special emphasis that it was possible for them, by recalling Alcibiades and adopting a different form of democratic government, both to have the King as their ally and to prevail over the Peloponnesians. But as to the democracy, many others spoke against the scheme, and at the same time the enemies of Alcibiades loudly protested that it would be an outrage if, after defying the laws, he should be restored; the Eumolpidae\(^1\) also and the Ceryees\(^2\) bore witness against him on the score of the mysteries, for whose violation he had been banished, and protested in the name of the gods against bringing him back. Whereupon Peisander came forward and in the face of much protest and abuse took each one of the objectors aside and asked him what hope he had of the salvation of the state, now that the Peloponnesians had no fewer ships than they confronting them at sea and a larger number of allied cities, with the King and Tissaphernes furnishing the enemy with money, while they themselves no longer had money, unless someone should persuade the King to change over to the Athenian side. And when, in answer to this question, they all admitted there was no other hope, he thereupon told them plainly: "Well, this cannot be attained by us unless we form a wiser government and put the offices to a greater victims; they are generally mentioned in association with the Eumolpidae.

283
μᾶλλον τάς ἀρχάς ποιήσωμεν, ἣν πιστεύῃ ἡμῖν βασιλεύσει, καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλέον βουλεύσωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι περὶ σωτηρίας (ὕστερον γὰρ ἐξέσται ἡμῖν καὶ μεταθέσομαι, ἣν μὴ τε ἀρέσκῃ, Ἀλκιβιάδην τε καταξόμεν, ὃς μόνος τῶν νῦν οἷος τε τοῦτο κατεργάσασθαι.

LIV. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὸ μὲν πρῶτου ἀκοῦσέν χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὸ περὶ τῆς ὁλιγαρχίας σαφῶς δὲ διδασκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου μὴ εἶναι ἀλλην σωτηρίαν, δείσας καὶ ἀμα ἐπελπίζων ὡς καὶ μεταβαλεῖται, ἐνέδωκεν. καὶ ἐπιθύμαντο πλεύσαντα τὸν Πεισάνδρον καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας μετ' αὐτοῦ πράσσειν ὅπερ αὐτῶς δοκοῖ ἡ ἀρίστα ἐξεύ τά τε πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρνη καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ἀμα τε διαβαλόντος καὶ Φρύνιχον τοῦ Πεισάνδρου παρέλυσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸν Ἐννάρχοντα Σκιρωνίδην, ἀντέπεμψαν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Διομέδουντα καὶ Λέοντα. τὸν δὲ Φρύνιχον ὁ Πεισάνδρος φάσκων Ἰασον προδοθοῦνται καὶ Ἀμόργην διέβαλεν, οὐ νομίζων ἐπιτίθειον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην πρασσόμενοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πεισάνδρος τὰς τε ἕνωμοιας, αἰτερ ἐντυγχανον πρὸτερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὕσαι ἐπὶ δίκαιως καὶ ἀρχαῖς, ἀπάσας ἐπελθὼν καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ὅποις ἔστραφέντες καὶ κοινῷ βουλευσάμενοι καταλύσατε ἵνα τὸν τόπον ὅπου τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅστε μηκέτι διαμεθέλεσθαι, αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς ναῦς δέκα ἄνδρον τὸν πλοῦν ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρνη ποιεῖται.

1 τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσωμεν, omitted by Hude with C.
2 βουλεύσωμεν, B; Hude adopts βουλεύσωμεν of C, and begins the parenthesis at καὶ.
extent into the hands of a few, in order that the King may trust us, and unless in our deliberations we take less heed at present about the form of our government than about our salvation (for afterwards it will be possible for us to make a change if there is anything we do not like), and recall Alcibiades, who is the only man in the world to-day who is able to bring this result to pass."

LIV. The assembly was at first displeased when they heard the proposal concerning an oligarchy; but when they had been plainly shown by Peisander that there was no other salvation, through fear and at the same time because they expected to make a change later, they yielded. So they voted that Peisander and ten others should sail and conduct the negotiations with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades in whatever way might seem best to them. At the same time, when Peisander brought a false accusation against Phrynichus, they deposed him and his colleague Scironides from command and sent in their stead Diomedon and Leon to take charge of the fleet. For Peisander alleged that Phrynichus had betrayed Iasus and Amorges, and slandered him, because he did not believe him to be friendly to the negotiations with Alcibiades. And Peisander also visited all the clubs which chanced previously to exist in the city for the control of courts and officials and exhorted them to unite, and by taking common counsel to overthrow the democracy. Then, after he had made whatever other arrangements the circumstances demanded, so that there might be no further delay, he himself and the ten other men made their voyage to Tissaphernes.

*ἐπανίκων, Hude ἐπανίκων with CG.*

285
THUCYDIDES

LV. Ὅ δὲ Δέων καὶ ὁ Διομέδων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι ἀφιγμένοι ἦδη ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς ἐπίπλουν τῇ Ῥώδῃ ἐποίησαντο. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς καταλαμβάνουσιν ἀνειλκυσμένας τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἐς δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀπόβασιν τινὰ ποιησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας Ῥόδιων νικήσαντες μάχῃ ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Χάλκην, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐντεῦθεν μᾶλλον ἤ ἕκ τῆς Κω ἐποιοῦντο εὐφυλακτότερα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο, εἰ τοῖς ἀπαίροι τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικῶν.

3 Ἡλθε δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώδην καὶ Ἑνοφαυτίδας Δάκων παρὰ Πεδαρίτον ἐκ Χίου, λέγων ὅτι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦδη ἐπιτετελεσται καὶ, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσουσι πᾶσαι ταῖς ναυσίν, ἀπολεῖται τὰ ἐν Χίῳ πράγματα. οὐ δὲ διευοικῆντο βοηθήσειν.

3 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Πεδαρῖτος αὐτὸς τε καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπικουρικοῖν ἑχων καὶ τοὺς Χίους πανστρατιαὶ προσβάλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῷ περὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔρματι αἴρει τῇ τι αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὼν τινῶν ἀνειλκυσμένων ἐκράτησεν. ἐπεκβοηθήσαντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τρεχαμένων τοὺς Χίους πρῶτους νικᾶται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ περὶ τὸν Πεδαρίτον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπαθής κεῖ καὶ τῶν Χίων πολλοὶ καὶ ὅπλα ἐλήφθη πολλά.

LVI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ διαλάβοντός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ ὁ λιμὸς αὐτὸθι ἦν μέγας· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδρὸν Ἀθηναίον πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρην λόγους ποιοῦνται περὶ τῆς ὀμολογίας.

1 With M.
BOOK VIII. LV. I–LVI. I

LV. In the same winter Leon and Diomedon, who had by now reached the Athenian fleet, made an advance upon Rhodes. They found the ships of the Peloponnesians hauled up on the shore, and having effected a landing and having defeated in battle the Rhodians who rallied to the defence, they retired to Chalce and continued to carry on the war from there rather than from Cos; for it was easier for them to keep watch there in case the Peloponnesian fleet should put to sea in any direction.

Meanwhile Xenophonidas, a Laconian, had come to Rhodes from Pedaritus at Chios, bringing word that the Athenian fortification was now completed and that, unless they came to their aid with all their ships, the Peloponnesian cause at Chios would be lost. And they intended to go to their aid; but meanwhile Pedaritus himself, together with the mercenaries under his command and the Chians in full force, attacked that part of the Athenian fortification which protected the ships, capturing a portion of it and getting possession of some ships that had been hauled up on shore. But when the Athenians had come out to the rescue and turned the Chians to flight at the outset, the mercenary force that was with Pedaritus was also defeated, and he himself and many of the Chians were killed and arms were captured in great quantity.

LVI. After this the Chians were besieged by both land and sea more closely than ever and there was a great famine in the place. Meanwhile the Athenian envoys led by Peisander had reached Tissaphernes and were holding conferences regard-

1 cf. ch. xxxviii. 2; xl. 3.
2 cf. ch. xxviii. 5; xxxviii. 3.
2 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ (οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντα ἄπο Τισσα-
φέρνους βέβαια ἦν, φοβουμένου τοὺς Πελοπο-
νησίους μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπὶ βουλομένου, καθάπερ
καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου εἰδιδόσκετο, τρίβειν ἀμφοτέρους)
τρέπεται ἐπὶ τοιόνδε εἴδος ὡστε τὸν Τισσαφέρνη
ὡς μέγιστα αἰτοῦντα παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ
3 ἐξακολούθηναι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης τὸ
αὐτὸ βουληθῆναι, αὐτὸς μὲν διὰ τὸ δέος, ὡς γὰρ
Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρα ἐκείνου καὶ δοκεῖ ὡς ὑμ-
θησεῖται, δοκεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβούλετο μὴ
ἀδύνατος εἶναι τεῖσται, ἀλλ’ ὡς πεπεισμένῳ Τισσα-
φέρνει καὶ βουλομένῳ προσχωρῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους μὴ ἕκαστα διδόναι. οὖτε γὰρ τοσαῦτα
ὑπερβάλλουν ὥς Ἀλκιβιάδης, λέγων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ
παρόντος τοῦ Τισσαφέρνου, ὡστε τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὅ τι αὐτοῖς ἐπιχρωστῆτο,
ὁμως αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι Ἰωνίαν τε γὰρ πᾶσαν
ἡξίου δίδοσθαι καὶ αὕτης ηśćσος τε τὰς ἔπικε-
μένας καὶ ἄλλα ὡς οὐκ ἔναντιομένων τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων τέλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡδί ξυνόδορ, δεῖσθαι μὴ
πάνω φοραθῇ ἀδύνατος ὡς, ναῦς ἥξιον ἐὰν βασι-
λεὰ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παραπλεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν
5 ὅποι ἄν καὶ ὅσας ἂν βούλησται, ἐνταῦθα δὴ
οὐκέτι τι, ἀλλ’ ἀπορα νομίσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι
καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐξηπαθήσατε, δὲ ὀργῆς
ἀπελθόντες κομίζονται ἐς τὴν Σάμου.

1 With B, the other MSS. omit τὸ.
2 οὐκέτι τι, ἀλλ’, Hude omits τι with C and adopts ἂν after ἦν with Lindau.

288
ing the agreement. But Alcibiades (for his relations with Tissaphernes were not altogether firm, he being now more afraid of the Peloponnesians and still wishing to follow the policy inculcated by Alcibiades and wear out both parties) now had recourse to this device—that Tissaphernes should make as great demands as possible upon the Athenians and in this way come to no agreement with them. And Tissaphernes also, as it seems to me, wished the same thing, fear being the motive in his case; but Alcibiades, as soon as he saw that even on his own terms he did not want to reach an agreement, wished it to appear to the Athenians, not that he was unable to persuade him, but that the Athenians, after Tissaphernes had been persuaded and in spite of his wishing to come to terms, were not conceding enough. For Alcibiades made such excessive demands, speaking himself on behalf of Tissaphernes and in his presence, that although for a long time the Athenians yielded whatever he demanded, the blame for the failure must nevertheless fall upon them; for he insisted that all Ionia should be given up, after that the adjacent islands, and so on. When the Athenians did not oppose these demands, finally, at the third conference, fearing that his utter lack of influence would be openly exposed, he insisted that the King be permitted to build ships and sail along the Athenian coasts wherever he wished and with as many ships as he pleased. At that point the Athenians yielded no further, but believing that there was no way out of the matter and that they had been deceived by Alcibiades, departed in anger and made their way back to Samos.
LVII. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ εὐθὺς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι παρέρχεται ἐς τὴν Καῦνον, βουλόμενος τοὺς Πελοποννησίους πάλιν τε κομίσαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον καὶ ξυνθήκας ἐτί ἄλλας παιησάμενος, ὡς ἂν δύνηται, τροφὴν τε παρέχειν καὶ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι, δεδίως μὴ, ἢν ἀπορώσει πολλάκις ναυσὶ τῆς τροφῆς, ἢ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀναγκασθέντες ναυμάχειν ἡσσηθῶσιν ἡ κενωθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν ἄνευ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἄ βουλονται: ἐτὶ δὲ ἐφοβεῖτο μάλιστα μὴ τῆς τροφῆς ξητῆσει πορθήσωσι τὴν 2 ἤπειρον. πάντων οὖν τούτων λογισμὸς καὶ προνοία, ὡσπερ ἐβουλετο ἐπαινοῦν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μεταπεμφάμενος οὖν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τροφὴν τε αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ σπουδᾶς τρίται τάσει σπένδεται.

LVIII. "Τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Δαρείου βασιλεύσωσι, ἐφορεύόντος δὲ Ἀλεξιππίδα ἐν Λάκεδαιμον, ξυνθῆκαι ἐγένοντο ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Τισσαφέρνη καὶ Ἰεραιμένη καὶ τοὺς Φαρνάκου παῖδας περὶ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων.

2 "Χώραν τὴν βασιλέως, ὅση τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστί, βασιλέως εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βουλευτῶ βασιλεὺς ὅπως βουλεταί.

3 "Δικαιαδιμονίου δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἱέναι ἐπὶ χώραν τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ κακῷ μηδενὶ, μηδὲ βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μηδὲ τῶν 4 ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ κακῷ μηδενὶ. ἢν δὲ τις Λακε-
LVII. Immediately after this, in the course of the same winter, Tissaphernes proceeded to Caunus, wishing to bring the Peloponnesians back to Miletus, and after concluding with them such other agreements as he found practicable, to supply them with maintenance, and not be in a state of complete hostility; for he was afraid that, if they should be in difficulty about the maintenance of a large fleet, they might either be forced to fight the Athenians and suffer defeat, or that, their ships being emptied of men by desertion, the Athenians might get what they wanted without his help; and he was afraid, furthermore and chiefly, that in searching for supplies they might ravage the mainland. Taking all these possibilities into consideration, therefore, and as a precaution against them, and acting consistently with his policy to reduce the Hellenes to an equality with each other, he sent for the Peloponnesians and gave them supplies, and concluded with them a third treaty to the following effect:

LVIII. "In the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius, while Alexippidas was ephor at Lacedaemon, an agreement was made in the plain of the Maeander by the Lacedaemonians and their allies with Tissaphernes, Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnaces respecting the King's affairs and those of the Lacedaemonians and their allies.

1. "The King's country, as much of it as is in Asia, shall be the King's; and concerning his own country the King shall determine as he pleases.

2. "The Lacedaemonians and their allies shall not go against the country of the King to do any harm, nor the King against that of the Lacedaemonians or their allies to do any harm. If any of
δαιμονίων ἡ τῶν ἐν ἅπερ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐγείρε οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας χώραν, Ἀκαδαιμώνων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἅπερ κακῷ ἐπὶ Ἀκαδαιμώνων ἡ τῶν ἐν ἅπερ, βασιλέως κυριαρχεῖν.

5 Ἔριφη δὲ ταῖς ναυσί ταῖς νῦν παρούσαις Τισσασφέρην παρέχειν κατὰ τὰ ἐν γεγείμενα μέχρι ἀν αἱ νῆς αἱ βασιλέως ἐλθοντι. Ἀκαδαιμώνων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἅπερ ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἡν αἱ βασιλέως νῆς αἱκούνται, τὰς ἐαυτῶν ναυσί, ἡν θουλουται, τρέφειν ἐφ' ἐαυτῶς εἶναι. ἢν δὲ παρὰ Τισσασφέρους λαμβάνειν ἐθέλοντι τὴν τροφῆν Τισσασφέρην παρέχειν, Ἀκαδαιμώνως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἅπερ τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα Τισσασφέριν αὐτοῦ νᾶ αὖ λάβωσιν.

6 Ἑπὶ δὲ αἱ βασιλέως νῆς αἱκούνται, αἱ τῶν Ἀκαδαιμώνων νῆς καὶ αἱ τῶν ἐν ἅπερ κακῷ καὶ αἱ βασιλέως κοινῇ τῶν πολέμου πολεμοῦντων καθ' ὅ τι ἂν Τισσασφέρνη δοκὴ καὶ Ἀκαδαιμώνως καὶ τῶν ἐν ἅπερ κακῷ. ἢν δὲ καταλύειν θουλουται πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐν ὁμοίῳ καταλύεισαι.

LIX. Αἱ μὲν σπουδαὶ αὐταὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παρακεκαθότε Τισσασφέρης τάς τε Φοινίκας ναῦς ἄξον, ὡσπερ εἱρητο, καὶ τὰλλα διασπερ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ ἐβούλεται παρασκευαζόμενος ὡσὶν δήλος εἰναι.

LX. Βοώτοι δὲ τελευτῶντος ἐδο τοῦ χειμῶνος Ὑμωπων εἰλον προδοσία Ἀθηναίων ἐμφροοῦντον. Ἑπέπραξαν δὲ Ἐρετρίων τε ἅνδρες καὶ αὐτῶν Ὑμωπων ἐπὶ καθιελοῦντες ἀπόστασιν ὑπ'
the Lacedaemonians or their allies shall go with harmful intent against the country of the King, the Lacedaemonians and their allies shall prevent it; and if any from the King’s country shall go with harmful intent against the Lacedaemonians or their allies, the King shall prevent it.

3. "Maintenance for the ships now present shall be provided by Tissaphernes according to the compact until the King’s ships shall come; and the Lacedaemonians and their allies, after the King’s ships arrive, shall be at liberty to maintain their own ships if they so wish. If, however, they desire to receive maintenance from Tissaphernes, he shall furnish it; but the Lacedaemonians and their allies, when the war ends, shall pay back to Tissaphernes whatever money they have received.

4. "And when the ships of the King arrive, the ships of the Lacedaemonians and their allies and those of the King shall wage war in common, according as it may seem best to Tissaphernes and to the Lacedaemonians and their allies. And if they wish to end the war with the Athenians, it shall be ended on the same footing for both."

LIX. Such was the treaty they made. After this Tissaphernes set about preparing to bring the Phoenician ships, as had been agreed, and to carry out all the other things he had promised; and he wished it to be evident that at all events he was making preparations.

LX. When the winter was now ending the Boeotians took Oropus, where the Athenians had a garrison, by treachery. And they had the cooperation of some men of Eretria and of Oropus itself who were plotting for the revolt of Euboea.
Εὐβοίας: ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἑρετρία τὸ χωρίον ὤν ἀδύνατα ἦν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντον μὴ οὐ μεγάλα βλάπτειν καὶ Ἑρετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Εὐβοιαν. 2 ἔχοντες οὖν ἴδιν τὸν Ὄρωπον ἀφικνοῦνταί εἰς Ῥόδον οἱ ᾿Ερετριῆς, ἐπικαλοῦμενοι εἰς τὴν Εὐβοιαν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῆς Χίου κακουμένης Βοῆθειαν μᾶλλον ὀρμήντο, καὶ ἀραίτες πᾶσι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώδου ἐπελευ. 3 καὶ γενόμενοι περὶ τὸ Τριόπιον καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων ναύς πελαγίας ἀπὸ τῆς Χάλκης πλεούσας καὶ ὡς οὐδέτεροι ἀλλῆλοις ἐπέπλευον, ἀφικνοῦνται οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Σάμον, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίαν καὶ εὕρον οὐκέτι ἀνευ ναυμαχίας οὗν τε εἶναι ἐς τὴν Χίον βοηθῆσαι, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα ὁπότε, καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἐτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷ δὲ Θουκυδίδης εξενεγράψεν.

LXI. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγραμμένου θέρους ἄμα τῷ ἡρει εὐθὺς ἀρχομένῳ Δερκυλίδας τε, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, στρατιὰν ἔχων οὐ πολλὴν παρεπέμβατο πεζῇ ἐφ’ ᾿Ελλησπόντου Ἀβυδον ἀποστῆσον (εἰσὶ δὲ Μιλησίων ἀποικίας, τε οἱ Χίοι, ἐν ὅσιος αὐτοῖς Ῥ’ Ἀστυχος ἡπόρει οπως βοηθησοι ναυμαχίας πιεζόμενοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἀναγκάσθηαν. 2 ἔτυχον δὲ ἤτι ἐν Ῥώδου ὑμτος Ἀστυχοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μιλησίας Λέοντά τε, ἀνδρὰ Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς Ἀντισθένει ἐπιβάτης ἄνωξηθε, κεκοιμησμένου μετὰ τὸν Πεδαρίτου θάνατον ἀρχοντα καὶ ναυς δώδεκα, αἰ ἔτυχον φύλακες Μιλησίου ὕσσε, ὥν ἴσον Θοῦρτα φέντε καὶ Συρακοσίας τέσσαρες καὶ μία ᾿Αναίτις καὶ μία Μιλησία καὶ Λέοντος

1 τοῦτον, before κεκοιμησμένου, omitted by Hude, with C. 294
For since the place is opposite Eretria, it was impossible, while the Athenians held it, that it should not injure greatly both Eretria and Euboea in general. Now, therefore, that they had Oropus in their possession, the Eretrians came to Rhodes and invited the Peloponnesians to Euboea. They, however, were more intent upon relieving Chios, which was in distress; so they put off from Rhodes and sailed with all their ships. When they had arrived in the neighbourhood of Triopium they saw the Athenian fleet on the high seas as they were sailing from Chalce;¹ as neither fleet, however, advanced to attack the other, the Athenians arrived at Samos, and the Peloponnesians at Miletus, when they saw that it was no longer possible to bring succour to Chios without a fight. So this winter ended, and with it the twentieth year of this war of which Thucydides wrote the history.

LXI. During the following summer season, at the very opening of spring, Dercylidas, a Spartan, was sent overland with no small army to the Hellespont to effect the revolt of Abydos, a Milesian colony; and the Chians, while Astyocharus was still at a loss as to how he should bring relief to them, were so hard pressed by the siege that they were compelled to risk a fight at sea. Now it so happened that while Astyocharus was still at Rhodes they had brought from Miletus as commander, after the death of Pedaritus, a Spartan named Leon, who had come out with Antisthenes as a marine, and also twelve ships which chanced to be on guard at Miletus, of which five were Tharian, four Syracusan, one Anaean, one Milesian, and one Leon's own. After, there-

¹ cf. ch. lv. 1.
3 μία. ἐπεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν Χίων πανδημεί καὶ καταλαβόντων τι ἐρυμιῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἀμα ἐξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀθη-

LXII. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ εὐθὺς τοῦ Δερκυλίδου πεζῆ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου παρελθόντος, Ἀβυδος ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησσόντῳ ἀφίσταται πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν καὶ Φαρνάβαζον, καὶ Λάμψακος δυὸν ἡμέραν

2 ὑστεροῦ. Στρομβιχίδης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χίου πυθό-

3 καὶ ὡς οὔτε προσεχώρουν οὔτε προσβαλὼν ἐδύνατο ἔλειν, ἐς τὸ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Ἀβύδου ἀποπλεύσας Σηστὸν πόλιν τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἢν ποτε ¹ Μήδοι εἶχον, καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ

LXIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Χίοι τε βαλάσσο-

2 ὕδωτα ἔθραψεν, καὶ παραπλεύσας δυὸν νεῶν Ἀστύοχος ἐς Χίων κομίζει αὐτόθεν τὰς

¹ τὸτε, with B; Hude reads τότε with the other MSS.
fore, the Chians had sailed forth in full force and seized a strong position, and their ships at the same time to the number of thirty-six had put to sea against the thirty-two of the Athenians, they came to battle. It proved to be a stubborn fight, and the Chians and their allies did not have the worst of it in the action, but since it was by this time late they withdrew to the city.

LXII. Immediately after this, when Dercylidas had completed his march overland from Miletus, Abydus on the Hellespont revolted to Dercylidas and Pharnabazus, as did Lampsacus also two days afterwards. But Strombichides, learning of this, came from Chios with all speed to the rescue with twenty-four Athenian ships, of which some were transports and carried hoplites; and having defeated in battle the Lampsacenes who came out against him and taken at the first assault the city of Lampsacus, which was without walls, he made booty of goods and slaves but restored the free men to their homes, and then went against Abydus. And when its inhabitants would not yield and he was unable to take the city by assault, he sailed back to the coast opposite Abydus and made Sestus, a city of the Chersonese which the Persians once held, a fortress and watch-station for the control of the whole Hellespont.

LXIII. In the meantime not only had the Chians strengthened their command of the sea, but Astyochus also and the Peloponnesians at Miletus, learning the result of the sea-fight and about the departure of Strombichides and his fleet, took courage. So Astyochus sailed along the coast to Chios with two ships, took on the ships which were there, and with
ναύς, καὶ ξυμπάσας ἤδη ἐπίπλουν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμων· καὶ ὡς αὐτῶ διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὑπόπτως ἔχειν οὐκ ἀντανήγουτο, ἀπέπλευσε πάλιν ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

3 Ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτων τῶν χρόνων καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἦν ταῖς Ἀθηναίαις δημοκρατία κατελύτεο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τοῦ Πεισανδροῦ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἐς τὴν Σάμων ἠλθοῦν, τὰ τε ἐν αὐτῶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἔτι βεβαιότερον κατέλαβον, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σαμίων προτρέφαντο τοὺς δυνατοὺς ὡστε πειρᾶσθαι μετὰ σφόν ὀλιγαρχηθῆναι, καὶ περ ἐπαναστάτως αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἑλθοίς ἵνα μὴ ὀλιγαρχηθῶνται, καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτῶς ἀμαὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινολογούμενοι ἐσκέφαντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν, ἐπειδὴ δὴ οὐ βούλεται, ἐάν (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιτηδειον αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐς ὀλιγαρξίαν ἐλθεῖν), αὐτῶς δὲ ἐπὶ σφὸν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἤδη καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ὅραν ὅτι πρὸς μὴ ἄνεβησται τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀμα ἀντέχειν, καὶ ἐσφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων οἰκῶν προθύμως χρήματα καὶ ἴνα τὶ ἄλλο δεῖ, ὡς οὐκέτε ἄλλοις ἡ σφίσιν αὐτῶις ταλαιπωροῦνται.

LXIV. Παρακελευσάμενοι οὖν τοιαῦτα τῶν μὲν Πεισανδροῦ εὐθὺς τότε καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἀπέστελλαν ἐπὶ οἰκῶν πράξεως τάκει, καὶ ἐρήμως αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων πόλεων αἰς ἀν 2 ἤσχωσι χριαρχιάν καθιστάναι τοὺς δ’ ἡμῖσις ἐς τᾶλα τὰ ὑπηκόα χωρία ἄλλους ἄλλη
what was now the entire fleet advanced against Samos; but when the Athenians, because their two factions entertained suspicions of one another, would not come out to meet him, he sailed back again to Miletus.

For it was about this time, or somewhat earlier, that the democracy at Athens was being overthrown. When the envoys led by Peisander had come to Samos from Tissaphernes, they had got matters in the army itself still more firmly under their control and had instigated the influential men among the Samians also to attempt in concert with them to establish an oligarchy, although the Samians had risen in revolt against their own countrymen in order to avoid being governed by an oligarchy. At the same time the Athenians at Samos, after conferring among themselves, had determined, since Alcibiades would not agree with them, to let him alone—for he was not a suitable person, they thought, to come into an oligarchy—but by themselves, as being already actually in peril, to see to it that the movement should not be abandoned, and at the same time to hold out so far as the war was concerned; they had also resolved zealously to contribute from their own private resources either money or whatever else should be necessary, feeling that from now on the burdens they would bear would be for no others than themselves. ¹

LXIV. Having thus encouraged one another, they at once proceeded to send Peisander and half of the envoys home in order to arrange matters there, but also with instructions to establish oligarchies in any of the subject cities at which they should stop; the other half they sent to the rest of the subject
διέπεμπον καὶ Διειστρέφῃ, ὅντα περὶ Χίου, ἦρμηνευόν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐπὶ Ἑρακλῆς ἄρχειν, ἀπεστελλόν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρχην. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἦς τὴν Θάσου τῶν δήμων κατέλυσεν. καὶ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ οὗ Ἰάσιοι δευτέρω μενὶ μᾶλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχιζον, ὡς τῆς μὲν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἀριστοκρατίας οὐδὲν ἐτὶ προσδεόμενοι, τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθερίαν ὀσμερά προσδεχομένοι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυγὴ αὐτῶν ἐξω ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρὰ τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις, καὶ αὐτὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδείων κατὰ κράτος ἐπράσοσε γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν Θάσου ἀποστήσατο. ἦν γὰρ οὖν αὐτῶς μᾶλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξούλοντο, τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀκινδυνώς ὅρθοθετει καὶ τὸν ἐναντιωσόμενον δήμου καταλελύσατο. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν Θάσου τάναντία τοῖς τὴν ὅλη γεραχίαν καθιστάτω τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, δοκεῖν δὲ μοι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων σωφροσύνης γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ άδειαν τῶν πρασομένων ἑξώρισαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυσ ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπούλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτειμήσατε.

LXV. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῶν Πεισανδροῦ παραπλέοντες τε, ὀσπερ ἐεδοκηκτο, τοὺς δήμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατέλυσε, καὶ ἀμα ἐστιν ἀφ' ὧν χωρίων καὶ ὅπλατας ἔχοντες σφίσαι αὐτῶς ἡμιμάχους ἢλθον ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας. καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὰ πλείστα τοὺς ἐταιρίους προειρημένα. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδροκλέα τᾳ τῶν δήμου μάλιστα προ-

1 ὀσμερά, B; Hude reads ὀσμερα with C.
2 The reading of Dion. Hal. and the Schol. for τῆς... ὑπούλου αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον of most MSS.
countries, some to one and some to another; and Dicilephes, who was in the neighbourhood of Chios but had been elected to have command on the coast of Thrace, they sent to his post. When he reached Thasos he abolished the democracy there. About two months, however, after his departure the Thasians fortified their city, feeling that they no longer had any need of an aristocracy attached to Athens and daily looking for freedom to be given them by the Lacedaemonians. For there were Thasian fugitives, who had been expelled by the Athenians, now present with the Peloponnesians, and these, in concert with their friends in the city, were working with might and main to bring ships and effect the revolt of Thasos. They found, therefore, that the things they most desired had happened—the city had been brought to order and the democracy that would have opposed them had been abolished. In Thasos, then, the result was the opposite of what the Athenians who were establishing the oligarchy there desired, and it was the same, as it seems to me, in many others of the subject states; for the cities, having acquired sobriety of spirit and immunity in carrying out their designs, aimed at downright freedom, caring nothing for the hollow sham of law and order offered by the Athenians.

LXV. Peisander, then, and his companions proceeded along the coast abolishing the democracies in the cities, as had been determined upon, and came to Athens, bringing with them from some places hoplites as supporters. There they found that most of the business had already been accomplished by their associates. For some of the younger men had combined and secretly put to death a certain
Еστώτα ξυστάντες τινές τῶν νεωτέρων κρύφα ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔξηλασε, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμφότερα, τῆς τε δημαγωγίας ἕνεκα καὶ οἰόμενοι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδη ὡς κατιόντες καὶ τὸν Τιτσάφερνη φίλον ποιήσοντι χαριεῖσθαι, μᾶλλον τι διεφθείραν ἀκαθάρτειος τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ κρύφα

3 ἀνήλωσαν. Λόγος τε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ προείρηγαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς οὔτε μισθοφορητέον εἰ ἄλλος ἡ τοῖς στρατευόμενοις, οὔτε μεθεκτέων τῶν προγ-ματῶν πλείστοι ἡ πεντακισχιλίως, καί τούτοις οἱ ἀν μάλιστα τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὁφελεῖν οἰοὶ τε ὅσιν.

LXVI. Ἡν δὲ τούτῳ εὐπρεπές πρὸς τοὺς πλείστους, ἐπεὶ ἔζειν γε τὴν πόλιν οὔπερ καὶ μεθιστάσαν, ὡμοί οἱ μέντοι ὡμοὶ εἰ καὶ βουλὴ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου ξυνελέγετο. ἐβούλεσθον δὲ οὔδεν ὅ τι μὴ τοῖς ξυνεστῶσι δοκοῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λέγοντες ἐκ τούτων ἦσαν καὶ τὰ ἡσθισόμενα πρότερον αὐτοῖς προοίκεπτο. ἀντε-λεγέ τε οὐδεὶς ἐτὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐδείκτως καὶ ὁρῶν πολὺ τὸ ξυνεστήκος; οἱ δὲ τίς καὶ ἀντειποι, εὕθες ἐκ τρόπου τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου ἐπεθυμεί, καὶ τῶν δρασάντων οὔτε ξήτησις οὔτε ὑπο-

1 μεθιστάσαι, B and Valla, Hude μεθιστάζαι with other MSS.
2 καὶ, Hude reads δεδικέδραπω with C, the other MSS. have δεδικέδραπω καὶ δραπώ.

1 cf. vi. lxxxix. 5. Androcles, according to Plutarch (Alcib. 19), was the demagogue who produced slaves and metics as witnesses to prove Alcibiades guilty of mutilating the Hermæc
Androcles, the most prominent leader of the popular party, the man who had done most to bring about the banishment of Alcibiades. And him they destroyed for two reasons—on account of his being a popular leader, and somewhat the more because they thought it would gratify Alcibiades, who was likely to be recalled and to make Tissaphernes a friend; and some others that were inconvenient they secretly made away with in the same manner. Moreover, a proposal had already been openly made by them that no others ought to receive pay except those who were serving in the war, and that not more than five thousand should share in the government, and they only so far as they were especially competent to serve the state with both property and person.

LXVI. Now this was only a specious pretext intended for the masses, for the very same men who were endeavouring to change the government were going to have control of the state. The people, however, and the council chosen by the bean were none the less still convened; but they discussed nothing that was not approved by the conspirators; nay, not only were the speakers from this party, but what should be said had been previously considered by them. And no one of the others any longer spoke against them, through fear and because it was seen that the conspiracy was widespread; and if any one did oppose, at once in some convenient way he was a dead man. And no search was made for those who did the deed, nor if they were suspected was and profaning the Mysteries (Thuc. vi. xxviii. 1). See also Andocides, Myst. 27.

* i.e. by lot, the bean being used in drawing lots. This definition distinguishes the popular council, or Βουλή of 500, from the Areopagus, Η Βουλή ἡ ἡ Ἕλλην 'Αρείου νόσου.
THUCYDIDES

πτεύομαι δικαίωσις ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἦσυχίαν εἶχεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ κατάπληξιν τοιαῦτην ὡστε κέρδος ὁ μὴ πάσχων τι βλαίον, εἰ καὶ συγγένοι, ἑνόμιζεν.

3 καὶ τὸ ξυνεστηκὸς πολὺ πλέον ἡγούμενοι εἶναι ἢ ἔτυγχανεν ὅν ἡσώντο ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ ἐξευθείᾳ αὐτῶ, ἀδύνατο διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἅλλην ἀγνοεῖαν, οὐκ εἶχον.

4 κατὰ δὲ ταῦτα τούτο καὶ προσολοφύρασθαί τινι ἀγανακτήσαντα, ὡστε ἀμύνασθαι ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, ἀδύνατον ἢν ἢ γὰρ ἁγνῶτα ἄν ἤπειρος φέρει ἡγεῖρομαιν ἀπιστον. ἅλληλοις γὰρ ἀπαντεῖς ὑπόπτως προσήχαν οἱ τοῦ δῆμον, ὡς μετέχοντά τινατῶν ἐν γνωμένων. ἔνθασαν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ῥǔκ ἂν ποτὲ τις ἴδετο ἐς ὁλιγαρχίαν τραπέδωθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπιστον οὕτως μέγιστον πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν καὶ πλείστα ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων ἀσφάλειαν ὑφέλησαν, βέβαιον τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῷ δῆμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν καταστήσαντες.

LXVII. Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ καιρῷ ὁ περὶ τῶν Πεισανδρον ἠλθόντες εὐθὺς τῶν λοιπῶν εἰχόμενοι, καὶ πρώτῳ μὲν τοῦ δῆμον ἀφελέσαντες εἰπον γνώμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἔλεσθαι ἄνθρωπος ἀνεπαράστασις, τούτους δὲ ἐξηγοῦμεν εἰς τοῦ δῆμον ἢ ἡμέραν ῥήτην καθ' ὑμᾶς ἢ ἰδίως ἢ ἡμέρα ἐδήγη, ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐκκλησίας ἐς τὸν

1 αὐτῷ, C, the other MSS. αὐτῷ.

1 Or, "so as to defend himself against one who was plotting against him."
any legal prosecution held; on the contrary, the populace kept quiet and were in such consternation that he who did not suffer any violence, even though he never said a word, counted that a gain. Imagining the conspiracy to be much more widespread than it actually was, they were cowed in mind, and owing to the size of the city and their lack of knowledge of one another they were unable to find out the facts. For the same reason it was also impossible for any man that was offended to pour out his grievances to another and thus plot to avenge himself, for he would discover any person to whom he might speak to be either a stranger or, if an acquaintance, faithless. For all the members of the popular party approached each other with suspicion, as though every one had a hand in what was going on. And, indeed, there were among them men whom one would never have expected to change over and favour an oligarchy; and it was these who caused the greatest distrust among the masses and rendered the most valuable service toward the few in securing their safety by confirming in the populace this distrust of their own people.

LXVII. It was at this crisis that Peisander and his colleagues arrived and immediately applied themselves to the work that still remained to be done. First they called the popular assembly together and proposed a resolution that ten men should be chosen as commissioners, with full powers, for the drafting of laws, and that these men, after drafting such laws, should bring before the assembly on an appointed day a proposal embodying provisions for the best administration of the state. In the second place, when the day came they convened the
The γραφή παρανόμων, regarded as the great safeguard of the Attic constitution, was provided for annulling an illegal decree or law, and also for punishing the proposer. The latter could be held personally responsible only for a year from the time of the proposal of a decree or the enactment of a law; after a year the decree or law could be attacked and annulled by the same process as that against the proposer. Whoever brought a γραφή παρανόμων bound himself by oath to prosecute the case: after the oath was taken a decree or law was suspended if already enacted, and a προσδοκία could not be brought before the assembly until the suit had been tried and settled. The proposer, if the court decided against
assembly at Colonus, which is a precinct sacred to Poseidon lying at a distance of about ten stadia outside the city, and the commissioners brought in no other measure except the bare proposal that any Athenian should be permitted with impunity to offer any motion he pleased; and if anyone should move to indict the speaker for making an illegal proposal,\(^1\) or should in any other manner seek to do him harm, they imposed severe penalties upon him. After that, the proposal was at length offered without concealment that no one should any longer hold office under the constitution as at present established or receive a salary, and that they should choose five men as presidents, and these should choose one hundred, and each of the hundred three others in addition to himself; then these, being four hundred, should enter the senate-chamber and govern as they should judge best, being clothed with full powers, and they should convene the Five Thousand whenever it seemed to them advisable.\(^2\)

LXVIII. It was Peisander who proposed this resolution and in other respects assisted most zealously, to all appearances, in overthrowing the democracy. The man, however, who devised the method by which the whole matter was brought to this issue and who had for the longest time devoted himself to the problem was Antiphon, a man inferior him, was punished by death or fine. See Schoemann, *Gr. All. i*, 497 F. (2nd ed.).

\(^1\) cf. ch. lxxv. 3. There had been talk of limiting the franchise to 5000, and it was resolved at this same assembly to appoint 100 men to draw up a list of the 5000 (Aristot. *'Aθ. πολ.*, ch. xxix. ad fin.). But the list was never published. See ch. xcii. 11 and *'Aθ. πολ.* ch. xxxii. For the somewhat divergent account of Aristotle, see Aristotle, *'Aθ. πολ.* xxix.—xxxii.
ἀνὴρ 'Αθηναίων τῶν καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἀρετῆς τε οὐδενὸς ὑστερος καὶ κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἀ γνοὴ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐσ μὲν δήμον οὐ παρμὼν οὐδὲ ἂννον ἀγώνα ἐκουσίος οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως τῷ πλῆθει διὰ δόξαν δεινοτήτος διακελμένος, τοὺς μὲντοι ἠγονιζομένους καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ πλείστα εἰς ἀνήρ, ὡς ξυμβουλεύσατο τι, 2 δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε, ἐπείδη τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἑκακοῦτο, ἀριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων, αἰτιαθεὶς ὡς ξυγκατέ. 3 στησε, θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος. παρ- ἐσχε δὲ καὶ Φρύνιχος ἐαυτὸν πάντων διαφερόντως προθυμότατον ἐς τὴν ἀλιγαρχίαν, διδώσας τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ ἐπιστάμενος εἰδότα αὐτὸν ὅσα ἐν τῇ Σύμφῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύρχον ἔπραξε, νομίζων οὐκ ἄν ποτε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὑπ' ἀλιγαρχίας κατελθεῖν' πολὺ τε πρὸς τὰ δεινά, ἐπειδομένη 4 ὑπέστη, φερεγγυώτατος ἐφάνη. καὶ Ἑραμένης ὁ τοῦ Ἀγιώνος ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύουσι τῶν δήμων πρώτως ἡν, ἀνὴρ οὐτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε γνῶναι ἁδύνατος. ἀστε ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν καὶ ξυνετῶν πραχθὲν τὸ ἔργων οὐκ ἀπεικότως καίπερ μέγα ὁν προχώ.

1 ἀλλ', deleted by Hude, after Gertz.  
2 τε, Hude adopta γ', after Goeller.  
3 ἐπείδη τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἑκακοῦτο, the Vulgate with C and the Schol. Most of the best MSS. give ἐπείδη μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καὶ ἐν ἄγωνι κατέστη μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κ.τ.λ.

1 Antipphon, of Rhamnus, was the earliest of the ten orators of the 'canon,' and the first ἀγωγάραφος. Thucydides was said to have been a pupil of his, but the tradition is of doubtful authority, e. g. a second-hand remark of Pseudo-
to none of the Athenians of his own day in force of character and one who had proved himself most able both to formulate a plan and to set forth his conclusions in speech; and although he did not come before the assembly or willingly take part in any public contest, but was under suspicion with the people on account of his reputation for cleverness, yet he was the one man most able to help any who were involved in contests, either in court or before the assembly, in case they sought his advice. And in his own case, when at a later time the acts of the Four Hundred had been reversed and were being severely dealt with by the popular assembly, and he was under charge of having assisted in setting up that government, he manifestly made the ablest plea for his life of all men up to my time in defending these very acts. Phrynichus also showed himself beyond all others most zealous for the oligarchy, through fear of Alcibiades and the certainty that Alcibiades was aware of all the intrigues he had carried on at Samos with Astyochous; for he thought that in all probability Alcibiades would never be recalled by an oligarchical government; and when face to face with dangers, after he had once set to work, he proved himself a man who could quite be depended upon. Theramenes also, the son of Hagnon, was foremost among those who attempted to overthrow the democracy, being a man of no small capacity either in speech or in judgment. Consequently, conducted as it was by many able men, the plot not unnaturally succeeded, even

Plutarch (Vit. X. Orat.). Fifteen orations are extant under his name. See Jebb, Attic Orators, 1. i.

* cf. chs. 1. and 2.
THUCYDIDES

ρήσεν· χαλεπῶν γὰρ ἦν τὸν Ἀθηναίων δήμον ἔτει ἐκατοστῶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ οἱ τύραννοι κατελύθησαν ἔλευθερίας παύσαι, καὶ οὐ μόνον μὴ ὑπῆκοον ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου αὐτὸν ἄλλων ἁρχεῖν εἰσθήτα.

LXIX. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐδενὸς ἀντεπόντος ἀμα[1] κυρώσασα ταῦτα διελύθη, τοὺς τετρακοσίους τρόπῳ τοίῳδε ὑστεροῦ ἤδη ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆγαγον. ἦσαν δὲ Ἀθηναίοι πάντες αἱεῖ, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τείχει οἱ δὲ ἐν τάξει, τῶν ἐν 2 Δεκελεία πολεμίων ἑνεκα ἐφ’ ὁπλοῖς. τῇ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τοὺς μὲν μὴ ξυνειδότας εἰσαγαγεῖ, ὡσπερ εἰσδῆσαν, ἀπελθεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ ξυνω- μοίᾳ εἰρήτῳ ἡσυχῇ μὴ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἀλλ’ ἀπωθεῖν περιμένειν, καὶ ἦν τις ἐνιστηται τοῖς ποιουμένοις, λαβόντας τὰ ὁπλα μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.

3 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀνδριοὶ καὶ Τήνιοι καὶ Καρυστίων τριακόσιοι καὶ Ἀιγινητῶν τῶν ἐποίκων, οὐς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπεμψαν οἰκῆσοντας, ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἥκοντες ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν ὁπλοῖς, οῖς ταῦτα προ- 4 είρητο. τούτων δὲ διατεταγμένων οὕτως ἐλθόντες οἱ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ ξυφιδίου ἀφανοῦς ἐκάστος, καὶ οἱ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν μετ’ αὐτῶν νεανίσκοι, 2 οῖς ἤχρωντο εἰ τί ποι δέοι χειροπρεπεῖν, ἐπέστησαν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου βουλευταῖς οὕσιν ἐν τῷ

1 Wilamowitz's correction for ἀλλὰ of the MSS. ἀλλὰ will construe, but there is no real opposition here.

2 With BC; ἔλληνες νεανίσκοι, AEF.
though it was an arduous task; for it was difficult, after the lapse of almost one hundred years \(^1\) since the tyrants had been overthrown, to deprive of their liberty the Athenian people, who had been, not only not subject to anyone else, but for more than half of that period had themselves been accustomed to rule over others.

LXIX. When the assembly had been dissolved, with no opposition from anyone and immediately after sanctioning these measures, the leaders of the oligarchy then introduced the Four Hundred into the senate-chamber in the following manner: all the Athenians were at all times under arms, as a precaution against the enemy at Deceleia, some on the walls and some in the ranks. On that day, then, they let those who were not privy to their design go away as usual, but those who were in the conspiracy had been quietly told to remain, not close by their arms, but at some distance from them, and if anybody tried to oppose what was going on, to take their arms and permit no interference. And there were at hand some Andrians and Tenians and three hundred Carystians and some of their colonists from Aegina,\(^2\) whither they had been sent by the Athenians to inhabit the island, who had come for this very purpose in their own armour, and to these the same order had already been given. When these forces had been thus disposed, the Four Hundred, each carrying a concealed dagger and accompanied by the one hundred and twenty young men whom they made use of wherever there was any need of their handiwork, broke in upon the regular senators who were in the senate-chamber,

\(^{2}\) In 431 B.C.; cf. ii. 27.
THUCYDIDES

βουλευτηρίω, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ἔξειναι λαβοῦσιν τὸν μισθὸν ἐφερον δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπολοίπου χρόνου παντὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξιόσιν ἐδίδοσαν.

LXX. Ὡς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ὥς τε βουλὴ οὐδὲν ἀντειποῦσα ὑπεξῆλθε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολίται οὐδὲν ἐνεωτερίζον ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζον, οἱ τετρακὼσιοι ἐσελβοῦντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τότε μὲν πρωτάνεις τε σφόν αὐτῶν ἀπεκλήρωσαν, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς θεσοῦς, εὐχαίρησε καὶ θυσίας καθιστάμενοι ἐς τὴν ἄρχην ἐχρήσαντο, ὑστερον δὲ πολὺ μεταλλαξαντες τῆς τοῦ δήμου διοικήσεως, πλὴν τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐ κατηγόρου τοῦ 'Αλκιβιάδου ἐνεκα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἔνεμον κατὰ κράτος τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἄνδρας τε τινας ἀκέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς, οἱ ἐδόκουσιν ἐπιτίθειναι εἰναι ὑπεξαίρεθηναι, καὶ ἄλλους ἐδόσαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μετέστησαν πρὸς τε Ἀγιν τοῦ Λάκεδαιμονίων βασιλέα δυντα ἐν τῇ Δεκελείᾳ ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, λέγοντες διαλλαγὴν βούλευσθαι καὶ εἴκος εἰναι αὐτῶν σφίσι καὶ σύκετο τῷ ἀπίστῳ δήμῳ μᾶλλον ἐνυχώρειν.

LXXI. 'Ο δὲ νομίζων δὲν οὐ' εὐθὺς οὖτος τοῦ δήμου τὴν παλαιὰν ἐλευθερίαν παραδόσειν, εἴ τε στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἓδοι σφῶν, οὐκ ἄν ἡσύχαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ παρῴντι πάντω τι πιστεύον μὴ σύκετο

1 The MSS. have οἱ δὲ τετρακὼσιοι, Haaeckle deletes δὲ.
2 τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσύχαζε, in the MSS. after νομίζων, deleted by Dobree, who also changes οὐδὲ to οὐδὲ.

1 A drachma each day; see Boeckh, Pub. Econ. Ath., i. 327. For that day they took their pay from the regular official; for the rest of the month the 400 paid it to them.
2 They were proceeding in the constitutional way. In the regular θεουλη, the ten tribes took in turn the πρωτασίλα or executive control of public affairs for one-tenth of the year.
and told them to get their pay and go out; and they themselves brought them their pay for all the remainder of their term, and as they went out gave it to them.

LXX. When in this manner the senate had quietly withdrawn without making any opposition, and the citizens at large raised no disturbance but kept quiet, the Four Hundred entered the senate-chamber and for the present chose by lot prytanes from their own number, and with respect to the gods observed all the usual rites of prayers and sacrifices as they assumed office. Afterwards, however, they departed widely from the democratic manner of administration —except that they did not recall the exiles, because of Alcibiades—and in general governed the city in a high-handed way. A certain number of men, though not many, they put to death, for they thought it convenient to have them out of their way, while others they imprisoned, and also removed others from the city. Moreover, they made overtures to Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, who was at Deceleia, saying that they wished to make peace and that it was only reasonable that he should be more ready to come to terms with them, having no longer to deal with the faithless democracy.

LXXI. But Agis, thinking that the people would not in this way immediately surrender their ancient liberties, and that if they saw a large army of Lacedaemonians they would not remain quiet, and also not being quite sure at present that the Athenians were no longer in a state of disturbance, did not (about thirty-five days). The prytanes would have been now forty in number instead of fifty as usual, as the new council consisted of forty from each tribe (Aristot. 'Αθ. πολ., ch. xxxi.).
ταράσσεσθαι αυτούς, τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακόσιων ἔλθοσιν οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἀπεκρίνατο. προσμεταπεμφάμενοι δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στρατιῶν πολλὴν οὐ πολλὴν ὑστερον καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας φρουρᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἐλθόντων κατέβη πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπίσης ἡ ταραχθέντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἀν χειρωθήναι σφίσιν ἢ βούλονται, ἢ καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ ἀν διὰ τὸν ἐνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γενησόμενου θόρυβον τῶν γονῶν μακρῶν τείχων διὰ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὰ ἐρήμωσεν οὐκ ἀν ἀμαρτεῖν, ὡς δὲ προσέμειξε τε ἐγγὺς καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ μὲν ἐνδοθέν οὐδ' ὅπωστιον ἐκίνησαν, τοὺς δὲ ἑπτάες ἐκπέμψαντες καὶ μέρος τε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἄνδρας τε κατέβαλον αὐτῶν διά τὸ ἐγγὺς προσελθεῖν καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν καὶ νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν, οὕτω δὴ γνώσις ἀπήγαγε πάλιν τὴν στρατιὰν. 3 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἐν τῇ Δεκελείᾳ ἔμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἐπελθόντας οἵγας τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ γῇ μείναντας ἀπεπέμψαν ἐπὶ οἴκου. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἐγίν ἐπερσβεόντο οἱ τετρακόσιοι οὐδὲν ἦσσον, κάκεινον μᾶλλον ἡδὴ προσδεχομένου καὶ παραινοῦντο ἐκπέμπουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Δακεδαλίμωνα περὶ ξυμβάσεως πρέσβεις, βουλόμενοι διαλλαγῆναι.

LXXII. Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σάμον δέκα ἄνδρας, παραμυθησόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ διδάξοντας ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ ὄλυμπαρχία κατέστη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
make a conciliatory response to those who had come as envoys from the Four Hundred. He sent instead for a large additional force from the Peloponnesus, and not long afterwards himself took the garrison at Deceleia together with the new arrivals and came down to the very walls of Athens, hoping either that the Athenians, being now in confusion, would more readily submit on terms pleasing to the Lacedaemonians, or else that, in consequence of the turmoil that would in all probability prevail both inside and outside the city, he would not fail at the first assault to capture the long walls at any rate owing to the absence of troops to defend them. But when he came close and the Athenians made no move whatever from within the walls, but sending out the cavalry and a portion of the hoplites, light-armed troops and bowmen, shot down some of his men in consequence of their approaching too near and got possession of a number of arms and dead bodies, he at length recognized his mistake and led back his army. He himself, then, and his own troops remained at their post in Deceleia, but the reinforcements that had come he sent back home after they had remained a few days in Attica. After this the Four Hundred, notwithstanding their earlier experience, kept sending envoys to Agis, and as he now received them more readily and advised them to do so, they sent envoys also to Lacedaemon to negotiate an agreement, since they were now desirous of making peace.

LXXII. They also sent ten men to Samos to reassure the army there and to explain that the oligarchy had been set up, not for the injury of the city or the citizens, but for the salvation of the
σωτηρία τῶν ξυμπάντων πραγμά των, πεντακισ-
χιλίοι τε ὃτι εἰλὲν καὶ οὐ τετρακόσιοι μόνον οἱ
πράσσοντες· καίτοι οὐ πώποτε Ἀθηναίους διὰ
τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὴν ὑπεροφίαν ἀσχολίαν ἐς
οὔδεν πράγμα οὕτω μέγα ἐλθεῖν βουλευόντας,
2 ἐν οἱ πεντακισχιλίους ξυνελθείν. καὶ τάλα
ἐπιστείλαντες τὰ πρέποντα εἰπέναι ἀπέπεμψαν
αὐτοὺς εὔθυς μετὰ τὴν αὐτῶν καταστασίαν, δεὶςαν-
tες μὴ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ναυτικὸς ὁχλός αὐτὲ αὐτὸς
μένειν ἐν τῷ ὀλυγαρχικῷ κόσμῳ ἑθέλῃ, σφᾶς τε
μὴ ἐκείθεν ἀρξαμένου τοῦ κακοῦ μεταστήσωσίν.

LXXIII. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ Σάμῳ ἐνωστρέζετο ἡδή
tα περὶ τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν, καὶ ἔνεβη τοιαῦτε γενέ-
σθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸν χρόνον τούτον ὅπερ οἱ τετρα-
κόσιοι ξυνίσταντο. οἱ γὰρ τότε τῶν Σαμίων
ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἄντες δήμος,
μεταβαλλόμενοι αὐθίς καὶ πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ
Πεισάνδρου, ὅτε ἤλθε, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ
ξυνεστάτων Ἀθηναίων, ἐγενοντό τε ἐς τριάκοσιος
ξυνωμόται καὶ ἐμέλλον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς δήμῳ οὐτι
3 ἐπιθήσεται. καὶ Ἡ περιβολῆ τα τενα τῶν Ἀθη-
nαίων, μοχθηρῶν ἀνδρωπόν, ὀστρακισμένοι οὐ
dιὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ
πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως, ἀποκτείνουσι
μετα Χαρμίνου τε, ἐνος τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ τινῶν
τῶν παρὰ σφῖσιν Ἀθηναίων, πίστις διὸντες
αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλα μετ' αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐνεργείζαν,
whole Athenian cause; and also to explain that there were five thousand, not four hundred only, who were participating in the government, although, because of their military expeditions and their activities abroad, the Athenians had never yet come to consult upon any matter so important that five thousand had assembled. So after giving them these and other instructions as to the proper explanations to offer, they sent them off immediately after their own assumption of office, fearing lest—as actually happened—a crowd of sailors might of itself not be willing to abide by the oligarchical form of government, and so, the mischief having once begun at Samos, bring about their own overthrow.

LXXIII. For in Samos a reaction had already set in against the oligarchical movement, and the following events took place at about the very time when the Four Hundred were organizing. Those of the Samians who at the earlier time\(^1\) rose up against the aristocrats and were of the popular party changed sides again, being persuaded both by Peisander, on his arrival,\(^2\) and by his Athenian accomplices at Samos, and became conspirators; they were fully three hundred in number, and were intending to attack the others, as being of the democratic party. And Hyperbolus, one of the Athenians, a depraved fellow who had been ostracized,\(^3\) not through any fear of his power and consequence, but because he was a villain and a disgrace to the city, they put to death, herein acting in concert with Charminus,\(^4\) one of the generals, and a group of the Athenians at Samos, thus giving them a pledge of good faith. And in other like deeds they co-operated with them
ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΠΛΕΙΟΣΙΝ ὍΡΜΗΝΤΟ ἘΠΕΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΙΣΘΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΙ (ΟΥΤΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΧ ΕΚΧΩΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΤΙΜΑΣΘΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΕΦΕΡΟΝ ΤΗΝ ὈΛΥΓΑΡΧΙΑΝ) ΤΟ ΜΕΛΛΟΝ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΩΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΣΥΒΛΩΚΑΙ, ΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΡΕΠΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΙ, ΤΟΙ ΔΕ ΟΠΛΙΤΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ἈΛΛΟΙΣ ΟΙ ἘΘΟΚΟΝ ΑΙΕΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ἘΝΑΝΤΙΟΥΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΞΥΝΕΣΤΩΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ἩΞΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΔΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΣΦΆΣ ΤΕ ΔΙΑΦΘΑΡΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΆΜΟΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ ἈΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΘΕΙΣΑΝ, ΔΙ' Ἡ ΜΩΝΗ Ἡ ἈΡΧΗ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΣ ΤΟΤΟ ΞΥΝΕΜΕΙΝΕΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΩΝ ἘΝΑ ΞΙΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΗΣΑΝ ΜΗ ἘΠΙΤΡΕΠΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ἩΚΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΥΣ, ΆΝΔΡΑΣ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΣ ΠΆΝΤΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΝΗ ΠΛΕΟΝΤΑΣ 1 ΚΑΙ ΑΙΕΙ ΔΗ ΠΟΤΕ ὈΛΥΓΑΡΧΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΗ ἘΠΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΥΣ Ο ΤΕ ΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΙΟΜΕΔΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΝΑΙΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ, 6 ὈΠΟΤΕ ΤΟΙ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΕΝ, ΚΑΤΕΛΕΙΠΟΝ ΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ, ὍΣΤΕ ΕΠΕΙΔῈ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΕΤΙΘΕΝΤΟ ΟΙ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ, ΒΟΗΘΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΆΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ, ΜΆΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΥΝ, ΠΕΡΙΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΣΆΜΙΟΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΕΣ. ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΥΝΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΙΩΤΑΤΟΥΣ 2 ἈΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, ΤΡΕῖΣ ΔΕ ΦΥΓῗ ἘΞΗΜΙΩΣΑΝ ΤΟῖΣ Δ' ἈΛΛΟΙΣ ΟΥ ΜΗΝ ΣΙΚΑΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΞΥΝΕΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΝ.

LXXIV. ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΥ ΝΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΑΝ ἕΠ' ΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ, ΆΝΔΡΑ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ, ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΝ, ἈΠΟΠΕΙΡ-

1 ἐν τῇ νῃ πλέοντας, apparently not read by Schol.; deleted by Velsen, followed by Hude.
2 αὐτιωτάτους, in the MSS. before φυγῇ, transposed by van Herwerden.
and were eager to attack the populace. But the people, becoming aware of their design, disclosed it to Leon and Diomedon, two of the generals—for these submitted to the oligarchy unwillingly, because they held their office by the choice of the popular party—and also to Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, the former of whom was a trierarch and the latter a hoplite, as well as to others who were reputed to be always foremost in opposition to the conspirators; and they begged these not to look on and see them destroyed and Samos alienated from the Athenians, the island to which alone it was due that the empire had held together up to this point. These men, on hearing their plea, went to the soldiers one by one and besought them not to permit this thing, and especially to the men of the Paralus,¹ those who sailed on the Paralus being Athenians and free men one and all and always opposed to an oligarchy even before it came; and Leon and Diomedon, whenever they sailed to any other place, used to leave the Samians some ships as a guard. Consequently, when the three hundred attacked them, all these, and especially the crew of the Paralus, joined in the defence, so that the popular party in Samos prevailed. And they put to death of the three hundred some thirty who were chiefly responsible for the plot, and three they punished with banishment; as for the rest, they declared an amnesty, and enjoying a democratic government lived together henceforth as fellow-citizens.

LXXIV. The ship Paralus, having on board Chae- reas son of Archestratus, an Athenian, who had zealously worked for the change in government,

¹ For this state ship, see note at III. xxxiii. 1.
THUCYDIDES

ποισιν οί τε Σάμοι καὶ οἱ στρατιώται κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγέλοντα τὰ γεγενή-

µένα: οὐ γὰρ ἤδεισαν πω τοὺς τετρακόσιους ἀρχον-

tas. καὶ καταπλεοσάντων αὐτῶν εὐθέως τῶν µέν Παράλων τινὰς οἱ τετρακόσιοι δὺ ἢ τρεῖς ἔδησαν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφελόμενοι τὴν ναῦν καὶ 

µετεκβιβάσαντες ἢς ἄλλην στρατιώτων ναῦν ἔταξαν

3 φρουρεῖν περὶ Εὔβοιαν. ὁ δὲ Χαιρέας εὑρίς διαλαθῶν πως, ὡς εἰδε τὰ παρόντα, πάλιν ἐς τὴν 

Σάμον ἐλθὼν ἀγγέλλει τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὸ 

µείζον πάντα δεινόσας τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς 

πληγαῖς τε πάντας ξημιοῦσι καὶ ἀντεπείν ἐστιν 

οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ ὅτι 

αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παιδεῖς ὑβρίζονται, καὶ 

διανοοῦνται, ὡπόσοι ἐν Σάμῳ στρατεύονται µὴ 

ὀντες τῆς σφετέρας γυνῆς, τούτων πάντων τοὺς 

προσήκοντας λαβόντες εἰρζεῖν, ἢν, ἢν µὴ ὑπακοῦ-

σοςαι, τεθνήκωσιν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπικαταψευ-

δόμενος ἔλεγεν.

LXXV. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν ὀλιγαρ-

χίαν µαλιστα ποιήσαντας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων 

τοὺς µετασχόντας τὸ µὲν πρῶτον ὀρµησαν 

βάλλειν ἐπειτα µέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ µέσου 

κωλυθέντες καὶ διδαχθέντες, µὴ τῶν πολεµίων 

ἀντιπρόφορον ἐγγὺς ἐφοµοῦντων ἀπολέσωσι τὰ 

2 πράγµατα, ἐπαύσαντο. µετὰ δὲ τούτῳ λαµπρῶν 

ηδὴ ἢς δηµοκρατίαν Βουλόμενοι µεταστήσατε τὰ 

ἐν τῇ Σάµῳ ὥς τε Θρασύβουλος ὥς τοῦ Δύκου καὶ 

Θράσυλλος (οὕτω γὰρ µαλίστα προειστήκεσαν

320
was sent by the Samians and the Athenian soldiers with all speed to Athens to announce what had been done; for they did not yet know that the Four Hundred were in power. As soon as they came to port the Four Hundred at once threw some two or three of the crew into prison, and depriving the rest of their ship and transferring them to another vessel, a troop-ship, they assigned them to guard duty in the neighbourhood of Euboea. But Chaereas, on seeing the present state of affairs, immediately managed in some way to get off unobserved and returned to Samos, where he gave the soldiers an account of the situation in Athens, going beyond the facts in making them worse than they were. He said that they were scourging everybody by way of punishment, that it was not permitted to say a word against those who controlled the government, that the wives and children of citizens were being insulted, and that the oligarchy intended to seize and keep in confinement the relatives of all the men serving in the army at Samos who were not of their way of thinking, in order that, if they did not submit to their authority, these might be put to death; and he added many other false statements.

LXXV. On hearing these things the soldiers at first rushed upon those who had been the chief promoters of the oligarchy, and such of the others as had had a hand in it, to stone them; afterwards, however, when restrained by those who took a neutral position and admonished by them not to ruin their cause when the enemy's ships were lying so near in hostile array, they desisted. After this, Thrasybulus son of Lycus and Thrasyllus, who had been the chief leaders in the revolution, being now
ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗΣ ΔΙΡΚΩΣΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥΣ ΩΡΚΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ, Υ ΜΗΝ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΣΕΒΑΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΟΝΙΣΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΛΩΝΗΣΙΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΩΣ ΔΙΟΙΣΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ΤΕ ᾖΣΕΒΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ἘΠΙ-

3 ΚΗΡΥΧΕΥΣΕΒΑΙ. ΞΥΝΩΜΥΝΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΙΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΩΡΚΟΝ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΗΛΙΚΙΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ἈΠΟΒΗΣΟΜΕΝΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΩΝ ΞΥΝΕΚΟΙΝΩΣΑΝΤΟ ΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΙΣ, ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΤΤΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ἈΠΟΣΤΡΟΦΗΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΟΤΤΕ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ἈΛΛ' ΕΙΝ ΤΕ ΟΙ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΟΙΝΕΙΝ ΕΑΝ ΤΕ ΟΙ ΕΚ ΜΙΛΗΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ, ΔΙΑΦΘΑΡΗΣΕΒΑΙ.

LXXVI. ἘΣ ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΙΑΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΑΣΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΘΑΙ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ ΟΛΥΜΠΗ-

2 ΧΕΙΣΘΑΙ. ἙΠΟΙΘΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙΝ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ, ΕΝ Υ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΠΩΡΑΧΩΝ ὕΠΩΠΤΕΥΝΟΝ, ἘΠΑΥΣΑΝ, ἈΛΛΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΘΕΙΛΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΠΩΡΑΧΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑ-

ΤΗΓΟΥΣ, ΟΝ ΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ

3 ὙΠΗΡΧΟΙ. ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΣΕΙΣ ΆΛΛΑΣ ΤΕ ἙΠΟΙΘΥΝΤΟ ἘΝ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ὩΣ ΟΥ ΔΕΙ ΑΘΥΜΕΙΝ ΟΤΙ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ἈΦΕΣΤΗΚΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΑΡ ἘΛΑΣΣΟΥΣ ἈΠΟ ΣΦΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΕΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΖ

4 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΟΡΙΜΩΤΕΡΩΝ ΜΕΘΕΣΤΑΝΑΙ. ἘΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΣΦΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΒΑΥΤΙΚΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΆΛΛΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ὉΝ

1 i.e. Athens.
openly in favour of changing the government at Samos to a democracy, bound all the soldiers by the most solemn oaths, and particularly those who were of the oligarchical faction, that they would in very truth maintain a democracy and live in harmony, would zealously prosecute the war with the Peloponnesians, and would be foes to the Four Hundred and would make to them no overtures for peace. The same oath was also taken by all the Samians who were of military age, and in all they did and in whatever might result from the risks they ran the soldiers made common cause with the Samians, being convinced that neither for these nor for themselves was there any haven of safety, but that, should either the Four Hundred prevail or the enemy stationed at Miletus, they were doomed to utter destruction.

LXXVI. So during this period they had come to a state of bitter contention in Samos, the one party attempting to compel the city to accept a democracy, the other to impose an oligarchy upon the army. But the soldiers immediately held an assembly, in which they deposed their former generals and such of the trierarchs as they suspected, and chose others in their stead, among whom were Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus. Moreover, they rose in their places and made various recommendations for their own guidance, in particular urging that there was no need to be discouraged because the city had revolted from them; for it was the minority who had abandoned them, who were the majority, and also were in every way better provided with resources. For since they themselves possessed the entire fleet, they would compel the other cities under Athenian
ἀρχουσιν ἀναγκάσειν τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως διδόναι καὶ εἰ ἐκείθεν ὄρμωντο (πόλειν τε γὰρ σφίσων ὑπάρχειν Σάμων οἷκ ἀσθενή, ἀλλ' ἢ παρ' ἐλάχιστον δὴ ἦλθε τὸ Ἀθηναίων κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης, οτὲ ἐπολέμησεν, ἀφελέσθαι, τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου ἀμυνεῖσθαι1 οὔτε παρ' καὶ πρότερον), καὶ δυνατότεροι εἶναι σφέισι ἔχοντες τὰς ναῦς πορίζοσθαι τὰ ἐπιτίθεια τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ δι' εαυτοὺς τε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ προκαθήμενοι καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὸν Πειραιαῖ ἐσπλέου, καὶ2 οτι νῦν ἐς τοιοῦτο καταστήσονται μὴ βουλόμενοι σφίσι πάλιν τὴν πολεμίαν ἀποδοῦναι, ὅστε αὐτοὶ καὶ δυνατότεροι εἶναι εἰργεῖν ἐκεῖνοι τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰργεσθαι. Βραχύ τέ τι εἶναι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξιον, φι3 πρὸς τὸ περιγύνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἡ πόλις σφίσι χρήσιμος ἢν, καὶ οὐδεν ἀπολωλεκέναι, οἵ γε μὴς ἀργύριον ἐτὶ εἰχον πέμπειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐπορίζοντο οἱ στρατιῶται, μήτε βούλευμα χρηστόν, οὔπερ ἑνεκά πόλει στρατοπέδων κρατεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ἡμαρτήκεναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλύσαντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ σώζειν καὶ ἐκείνοις πειράσεσθαι προσαναγκάζειν. ὅστε οὗτε τούτους, οὗτε ἄν βουλευοίην τι χρηστόν, παρὰ σφίσι χείρους εἶναι.

1 ἀμυνεῖσθαι, with B; Hude reads ἀμύνεσθαι with the rest of the MSS.
2 καὶ δὴ νῦν ἐς τοιοῦτο καταστήσονται, Hude inserts δὴ, because καταστήσονται in the midst of infinitives is intolerable. Stahl assumes, with Haase, a lacuna after καὶ νῦν.
3 οὔτε, with most MSS.; Hude reads οὔτε with CG.

1 In 440 B.C. (L. cxv.).
away to make their regular contributions precisely as if their headquarters were at Athens. And they had, in Samos, a state that was not weak; on the contrary, it had come within a very little of wrestling from Athens the control of the sea when it waged war with her;¹ and as for the enemy, they would defend themselves against them from the same strong base as before. Furthermore, they were better able, since they possessed the fleet, to provide themselves with supplies than were the people of Athens. Indeed it was because they themselves had been stationed at Samos as an advanced guard that the Athenians at home had even before this commanded the entrance to the Peiraeus; and now, they added, the others would be brought to such a strait, in case they should not consent to give them back their constitution, that they themselves would actually be better able to exclude them from the sea than the others to exclude them. Trifling and indeed insignificant was the help which the city was able to give them in overcoming the enemy, and they had lost nothing, seeing that the people at home were able neither to send them money any longer—the soldiers now providing it for themselves—nor to give them good counsel, which is the object for which a state exercises control over armies in the field. Nay, even in this respect² the other party had erred in abolishing the laws of their fathers, whereas they themselves were trying to preserve them and would endeavour to compel the oligarchs also to do so. Thus the men in the army who could give good counsel were at least as good as those

¹ i.e. in giving them good counsel (ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ χρηστὸν παρτχείν).
THUCYDIDES

7 Ἀλκιβιάδην τε, ἣν αὐτῷ ἀδειάν τε καὶ κάθοδον ποιήσωσιν, ἁσμενον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως ξυμμαχίαν παρέξειν. τὸ τε μέγιστον, ἣν ἀπάντων σφάλλωνται, εἰναι αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον ἔχουσιν ναυτικὸν πολλὰς τὰς ἀποχωρήσεις ἐν αἷς καὶ πόλεις καὶ γῆν εὐρήσονται.

LXXVII. Τοιαῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐκκλησιάσαντες καὶ παραδεροῦντες σφάς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο οὐδὲν ἦσσον. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Σάμον ὡς ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ ἤδη οὗτε ἤσθάνοντο, ἠσύγκρουσι.

LXXVIII. Τὸ δὲ τῶν χρόνων τούτων καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατιώται κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεβοῦν ὡς ὑπὸ τε Ἀστυκχον καὶ Τισσαφέρνους φθείρεται τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλοντος οὔτε πρότερον ναυμαχεῖν, ἐως ἐτι αὐτοὶ τε ἔρρωντο μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅλιγον ἢν, οὔτε νῦν, οτὲ στασιάζειν τε λέγονται καὶ αἱ νῆς αὐτῶν οὐδέπω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τὰς παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Φοινίσσας ναῦς μενοῦντες, ἀλλὰς ὅνομα καὶ οὐκ ἔργον, κινδυνεύειν διατριβήναι τὸν δ' αὐ Τισσαφέρνη τάς τε ναῦς ταῦτας οὐ κομίζειν, καὶ τροφῆν ὅτι οὔ ξυνεχῶς οὐδ' ἐντελῇ δίδουσ κακοί τὸ ναυτικόν, οὐκοῦν ἐφασαν χρὴνα μέλλειν ἔτει, ἀλλὰ διαναναμαχεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐνήγγον.

1 οἱ δὲκα πρεσβευταί, after Σάμων, deleted by van Herwerden.
in the city. Alcibiades, furthermore, if they would merely secure for him immunity from punishment and restoration from exile, would gladly procure for them the alliance of the King. Finally, and most important of all, if they should wholly fail to attain their ends, so long as they possessed so large a fleet there were many places of refuge where they could find both cities and territory.

LXXVII. Having thus deliberated together in public assembly and encouraged one another, they went on with their preparations for war no less than before. And the envoys who had been sent to Samos by the Four Hundred, learning how matters stood after they had already reached Delos, remained there inactive.

LXXVIII. About this time the Peloponnesian soldiers in the fleet at Miletus were clamouring among themselves, saying that their cause was being ruined by Astyocharus and Tissaphernes; by the former because he was unwilling to fight, either before this while they themselves were still the stronger and the Athenian fleet was small, or now when the enemy were said to be rent with factions and their ships had not yet been brought together; nay, they kept waiting for the Phoenician ships which Tissaphernes was to furnish—a mere pretence and not a fact—and thus ran the risk of being worn out by delay; as for Tissaphernes, on the other hand, he was not only not producing these ships, but he was even doing harm to the fleet by not giving it maintenance regularly or in full. Therefore, they said, they ought to wait no longer but should fight to an issue. In all this it was the Syracusans who were most insistent.
LXXIX. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ ὁ Ἀστύρχος τὸν θρόνον, καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ εὐνόδου ὡστε διαναμαχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐσηγ-γέλλετο αὐτοὶ ἢ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ταραχῆ, ἄραντες ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις οὕσαις δώδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν καὶ τοὺς Μιλησίους πεζῷ κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης παρέναι ἐπλεον ὡς πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην.

2 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἑκ Σάμου ναυσὶ δύο καὶ οἰχοῦκοντα, αὖ ἐτυχον ἐν Γλαύκῃ τῆς Μυκάλης ὀρμοῦσαι (διέχει δὲ οὕλην ταύτη ἡ Σάμος τῆς ἡπείρου πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην), ὡς εἰδον τὰς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναύς ἐπιπλεόοντας, ὑπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Σάμου, οὔ νομίσαντες τῷ πλῆθει διακινδυ-νεύσαι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἰκανοί εἶναι. καὶ ἀμα (προησθοντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ναυ-μαχησίοντας) προσεδέχοντο καὶ τὸν Στρομβι-χίδην ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου σφίσι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Χίου ναυσίν ἐπ' Ἀβύδου ἀφικομένους προσβο-γίνεσιν. προπέπεμπτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννησίων καταπλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων καὶ τῶν

4 πληθυσμὸν ὁ πεζῶς καὶ τῇ ύστεραις μελ-λόντων αὐτῶν ἐπίπλειν τῇ Σάμῳ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Στρομβιχίδης ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ναυσίν ἀφιγμένος καὶ εὔθεις ἀπέπλεον πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς

5 Μιλήτου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι προσγενομένων σφίσι τῶν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦται τῇ Μιλήτῳ ναυσίν ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐκατόν, βουλόμενοι διαναν-
LXXIX. Astyocheus and the allies were aware of their murmuring, and it was determined after a council to fight a decisive battle; so when the disturbance at Samos was also reported to them, they put to sea with their entire fleet, one hundred and twelve in all, and bidding the Milesians proceed by land towards Mycale they sailed in the direction of Mycale themselves. But the Athenians, with the eighty-two ships whose base was at Samos and which happened then to be lying at Glauce on the promontory of Mycale—where Samos is only a short distance from the mainland, in the direction of Mycale—when they saw the Peloponnesian ships sailing against them, retreated to Samos, not thinking themselves strong enough in point of numbers to hazard their all on a battle. Besides, they had learned beforehand from Miletus that the enemy desired to fight, and they were expecting Strombichides to come to their aid from the Hellespont with the ships from Chios that had gone to Abydus; \(^1\) for a messenger had previously been sent to him. So they retired to Samos; but the Peloponnesians sailed on to Mycale and encamped there, together with the Milesians and the troops of the neighbouring peoples that constituted the army on land. The next day, when they were about to advance against Samos, word was brought to them that Strombichides had arrived with the ships from the Hellespont; so they sailed back at once to Miletus. The Athenians, on the other hand, on receiving these reinforcements, themselves made an advance upon Miletus with one hundred and eight ships, wishing to come to a decisive battle; but when

\(^1\) *cf. oh. lxii. 2.*
μαχήσαι καὶ ὅς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἀντανήγετο, ἀπεπλευσάν ἐπί πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμου.

LXXX. Ἔν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τοῦτο εὐθὺς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἀβρόταις ταῖς ναυσίν οὐκ ἄξιομαχοὶ νομίσαντες εἰναι οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, ἀπορήσαντες ὅποθεν τοσάταις ναυσὶν χρήματα ἐξομοίων, ἄλλως τε καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κακῶς διδόντως, ἀποστέλλουσιν ὡς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προσετάχθη, Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου ἐχοντα ναῦς 2 τεσσαράκοντα. ἐπεκαλεῖτο τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος καὶ τροφὴν ἐτοίμος ἦν παρέχειν, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπεκηρυκένετο αὐτοῖς 3 ἀποστῆναι. καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν Πελοποννήσιων αὐτοῖς νῆς ἀπάρασαί εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅπως λάθοιν ἐν τῷ πλω τοὺς 'Αθηναίους, χειμασθείσαι, αἱ μὲν1 Δῆλου λαβόμεναι αἱ πλείους μετὰ Κλεάρχου καὶ θυσερον πάλιν ἔθυσαί εἰς Μίλητον (Κλεάρχος δὲ κατὰ γῆν αὐθις ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον κομισθεῖς ἤρχεν), αἱ δὲ μετὰ Ἐλίξου τοῦ Μεγαρέως στρατηγοῦ δέκα ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον διασωθεῖσαι Βυζάντιον ἠφιστάσιν. 4 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέμπουσιν αἰσθομένοι νεὼν κοβῆθειν καὶ φυλακήν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, καὶ τὸς καὶ ναυμαχία βραχεία γίγνεται πρὸ τοῦ Βυζάντιον ναυσίν ὀκτὼ πρὸς ὀκτὼ.

LXXXI. Οἱ δὲ προεστῶτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ

1 καὶ, before αἱ μὲν, deleted by Stahl.

1 cf. ch. viii. 2; xxxix. 2.

330
nobody came out against them they sailed back again to Samos.

LXXX. During the same summer, immediately after this, when the Peloponnesians, though their whole fleet had come together, failed to come out to meet the enemy, thinking themselves unequal to the contest, they were perplexed, not knowing from what source they should get money to maintain so many ships, especially since Tissaphernes provided it wretchedly; so they sent Clearchus son of Rhamphias with forty ships to Pharnabazus, according to the orders with which he had originally set out from the Peloponnesus. For Pharnabazus was inviting them to come to him and was ready to furnish maintenance; moreover at the same time overtures were made to them for the revolt of Byzantium. So these forty Peloponnesian ships put out into the open sea, in order that they might escape detection by the Athenians as they made the voyage. Meeting with a storm, the greater number, under Clearchus, took refuge at Delos and afterwards came back to Miletus (though Clearchus afterwards went by land to the Hellespont and assumed command); the rest, to the number of ten, got safely into the Hellespont with their commander, Helixus of Megara, and effected the revolt of Byzantium. Afterwards, when the Athenians at Samos heard of this, they sent some ships to the Hellespont as a reinforcement and guard, and an insignificant sea-fight occurred off Byzantium, eight ships opposing eight.

LXXXI. Now among those who held control at

\(^1\) The finite verb is omitted; either there is anacoluthon or the text is corrupt.
μάλιστα Θρασύβουλος, αἰεὶ γε τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μετέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὡστε κατάγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ τέλος ὑπ’ ἐκκλησίας ἐπείσε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ψηφισταμένων αὐτῶν Ἀλκιβιάδη κάθοδον καὶ ἄδειαν πλεύσας ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρνη καθῆγεν ἐς τὴν Σάμον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, νομίζων μονὴν σωτηρίαν, εἴ Τισσαφέρνη αὐτοῖς μεταστήσειεν ἀπὸ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἤτοι ἐκκλησίας, τὴν τε ἰδίαν ξυμφορὰν τῆς φυγῆς ἐπηγιάσατο καὶ ἀνωλοφύρατο ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλὰ εἶπὼν ἐς ἑπιδίας τε αὐτοὺς οὐ σμικρὰς τῶν μελλόντων καθίστη καὶ ὑπερβάλλων ἐμεγάλυνε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν παρὰ τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, ἵνα οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν οὐλαμαχίαν ἐχοῦσε φοβοῦσαντα τοὺς καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ ξυστόμοσια διαλύθησεν, καὶ οὐ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τιμιώτερον τε αὐτὸν ἄγοιη καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πλέον παράοιεν, οὐ τε πολέμου τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ὡς μάλιστα διαβαλεῖτο καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχοντῶν ἑπιδίων ἐκπίπτοιεν. ὑπερσχεῖτο δὲ οὖν τὰς μέγιστα ἐπικομπῶν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ως Τισσαφέρνης αὐτῷ ὑπεδέξατο ἡ μῆν, ἡς ἢν τὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ λείπηται, ἢν Ἀθηναίων πιστεύσῃ, μὴ ἀπορήσειν αὐτοὺς τροφῆς, οὐδὲ ἢν δὲν τελευτῶν τὰ αὐτοῦ στραμμὴν ἐξαιρεῖται, τὰς τε ἐν Ἀσσένδω ἡδὲ οὐδὲς Φοινίκων ναὐς κομεῖν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὗ Πελοποννησίοις

1 τῆς φυγῆς, with Vat.; Hude brackets, after van Herwerden.

1 Those elected leaders in ch. lxxvi.
Samos, Thrasybulus, after he had effected the revolution, always held very strongly to the same opinion, that they should recall Alcibiades, and finally in a meeting of the assembly he won the majority of the soldiers to his view. And when these had passed a resolution recalling Alcibiades and granting him immunity, he sailed across to Tissaphernes and brought Alcibiades back to Samos, thinking that their only salvation was to convert Tissaphernes from the Peloponnesian side to their own. Accordingly, an assembly was held, in which Alcibiades complained with much lamentation of his personal misfortune in being exiled; he also spoke at length on matters of state, inspiring in them no slight hopes regarding the future, and went on to magnify to excess his own influence with Tissaphernes. His object was that those who were in control of the oligarchy at home should fear him and that the political clubs which conspired against him should more surely be broken up; also that the army at Samos should hold him in greater honour and feel a greater degree of confidence themselves; and finally that the enemy should be filled with all possible suspicions of Tissaphernes and so deprived of their present hopes. Accordingly, Alcibiades in a spirit of boasting went on and made these great promises: that Tissaphernes had solemnly pledged to him that, if he could but trust the Athenians, so long as he had anything left of his own they should not lack subsistence, no, not even if in the end he had to sell his own bed; and that he would bring the Phoenician ships, which were already at Appendus, and deliver them to the Athenians and not to the Peloponnesians; but, he had added, he could
πιστεύσαι δ' ἂν μόνως Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ σῶς αὐτὸς κατελθὼν αὐτῷ ἀναδέξατο.

LXXXII. Οἶ δὲ ἀκούοντες ταύτα τε καὶ ἀλλα πολλὰ στρατηγὸν τε αὐτὸν εὐθὺς εἶλοντο μετὰ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τὰ πράγματα πάντα ἀνετήθεσαν, τὴν τε παραυτικὴ ἐλπίδα ἐκαστὸς τῆς τε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν τετρακοσίων τιμωρίας οὐδενὸς ἦν ἠλλάξαντο, καὶ ἐτοίμοι ἦδη ἦσαν τοὺς τὲ παρόντας πολεμίους ἐκ τῶν λεγθέντων καταφρονεῖν καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οὐ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν τοὺς ἐγγυτέρω πολεμίους ὑπολιπόντας καὶ πάνυ διεκόλυσε πολλῶν ἐπειγομένων, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου πρῶτον ἔφη, ἐπειδή καὶ στρατηγὸς ἤρητο, πλεύσας ὡς Τισσαφέρνη πράξειν. καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐθὺς ὄχετο, ἵνα δὴ δοκῇ πάντα μετ' ἐκείνου κοινοῦσθαι, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος αὐτῷ τιμιώτερός τε εἶναι καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι ὅτι καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦδη ἤρηται καὶ εὗ καὶ κακῶς οἶος τε ἔστιν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν. ἔννεβαιν δὲ τῷ Ἀλκειβίαδῃ τῷ μὲν Τισσαφέρνῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φοβεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὸν Τισσαφέρνη.

LXXXIII. Οἶ δὲ Πελοποννησίων εὐ τῇ Μιλήτῳ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν Ἀλκειβίαδου κάθοδον, καὶ πρότερον τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ ἀπεστούντες, πολλῷ δὴ

1 διὰ τὸ αὐτικα, after ἦσαν: MSS. vary between διὰ and κατὰ. As an expression of time κατὰ τὸ αὐτικα is not found, and διὰ τὸ αὐτικα in this sense is impossible. The simplest remedy is, with Classen, to omit the phrase as a gloss on παραυτικα above. Hude reads διὰ τὸ <τῶν> αὐτικα τὸν παρόνται . . .

2 τοὺς τὲ, C reads τότε, all other MSS. τοὺς τὲ.
place confidence in the Athenians only on condition that he, Alcibiades, should be restored in safety and become surety to him.

LXXXII. As they heard these and many other promises, they not only elected Alcibiades general without delay, to act with the generals already in office, but also entrusted to him all their affairs; and there was not a man of them that would have exchanged for anything his present hopes both of his own safety and of having revenge upon the Four Hundred, and they were ready at that moment both to despise their present enemies on the strength of the words they had heard and to sail to the attack of Peiraeus. But Alcibiades roundly objected to their leaving behind them their nearer enemies and sailing against the Peiraeus, though many insisted upon that course; his first business, he said, since he had been elected general, would be to sail to Tissaphernes and arrange with him the conduct of the war. So after this assembly he at once went away to Tissaphernes, in order that he might be thought to be in communication with him about everything; at the same time he wished to be held in greater honour by him and to show him that he had now been elected general and was therefore in a position to do him either good or evil. And thus it fell out that Alcibiades was merely using Tissaphernes to frighten the Athenians and the Athenians to frighten Tissaphernes.

LXXXIII. When the Peloponnesians at Miletus heard of the recall of Alcibiades, although they were before this distrustful of Tissaphernes, they

\[ \text{Hude omits both } \text{sal and } \tau \varepsilon. \]
THUCYDIDIES

2 μᾶλλον ἐτι διεβέβληντο. Ξυνηνέχθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, κατὰ¹ τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶπλου ὡς οὐκ ἦθέλησαν ἀνταναγαγόντες ναυμαχῆσαι, πολλῷ ἐς τὴν μισθοδοσίαν τὸν Τισσαφέρνη ἄρρωστότερον γενόμενου καὶ ἐς τὸ μισείσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πρότερον ἐτι τούτων διὰ τὸν Ἀλκι-
3 βιάδην ἐπιδεδωκέναι. καὶ ξυνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰάπερ καὶ πρότερον οἱ στρατιώται ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν ἀλλών τῶν ἄξιων λόγου ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὗ μόνον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν,² ὡς οὔτε μισθὸν ἐνετελή πώποτε λάβοιεν τὸ τε διδόμενον βραχὺ καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ξυνεχῶς. καὶ εἰ μὴ της ἡ διαναμαχήσεις ἡ ἀπαλλάξεται ὅθεν τροφὴν ἔξει, ἀπολείψει τοῦς ἀνθρώπους τὰς ναῦς. πάντων τοῖς Ἀστύοχοι εἰναι αἰτίων, ἐπι-
φέροντα ὅργας Τισσαφέρνῃ διὰ ἱδία κέρδη.
LXXXIV. Ὁντων ὁ ἀυτῶν ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀνα-
λογισμῷ Ξυνηνέχθη καὶ τούσδε τῆς θόρυβος
2 περὶ τῶν Ἀστύοχοι. τῶν γὰρ Συρακοσίων καὶ Θουρίων ὅσοι μάλιστα καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ³ ήν τὸ
πλῆθος οἱ ναῦται, τοσοῦτοι καὶ θρασύτατα προσ-
πεσόντες τῶν μισθὸν ἀπήτουν. ὁ δὲ αὐθαδέστερον
τε τι ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ ἥπειλησε καὶ τῷ γε Δωριε
Ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ ναῦταις καὶ ἐπανήρατο
3 τὴν βακτηρίαν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν

¹ κατά, Duker’s correction for kal of the MSS.
² καὶ οὗ μόνον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν, deleted by Krüger, as pleonastic, followed by Hude.
³ ἐλεύθεροι, so most MSS. Hude reads ἐλεύθεροι with C, and brackets οἱ ναῦται.
were now filled with a still greater suspicion of him. For they had had this experience of him, that after they had refused to go out against the Athenians and fight when these made their advance against Miletus, Tissaphernes became far more slack in the matter of giving them their pay and thus intensified the hatred in which even before these events he was held by them on account of Alcibiades. So the soldiers would gather in groups, as had been their wont—and not the soldiery only, but also some of the others, who were men of consideration—and would cast up their accounts with one another, proving that they had never yet received their pay in full, but that what was given was short and even that not paid regularly; and they declared that unless they were either to have a decisive battle or get away to some place where they could get subsistence the crews would desert the ships; and for all this, they held, Astyochoius was to blame, because he bore with Tissaphernes' whims for the sake of his private gain.

LXXXIV. While they were thus reckoning up their grievances the following disturbance occurred in connection with Astyochoius. It seems that the Syracusan and Thurian sailors, in proportion as the majority of them were allowed most freedom, were to that degree also the most bold and importunate in demanding their pay from him. But he answered them somewhat haughtily and made threats; and against Dorieus, who was supporting the plea of his own seamen, he even raised his stick. When the mass of the troops saw this, in sailor fashion they

1 Which he carried according to the custom of Spartan generals.
THUCYDIDES

ός εἶδον, οία δὴ ναῦται, ὁρμήσαν ἐγκραγόντες ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀστύοχον ὡστε βάλλειν ὁ δὲ προϊδὼν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ βωμὸν τινα. οὐ μέντοι ἔβληθη 4 γε, ἀλλὰ διελύθησαν ἀπ’ ἄλληλων. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ ἑγκοδομημένον τοῦ Τιςσα-
féρους φρούριον οἱ Μιλήσιοι, καθὼς ἔπειπεσόντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐνούντας φύλακας αὐτοῦ ἐκβάλλοντες,
ξυνεδόκει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνομμάχους ταύτα, 5 καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. ὁ μέντοι
Λίχας οὐτε ἰρέσκετο αὐτοῖς, ἔφη τε χρηναῖ Τις-
saφέργει καὶ δουλεύειν Μιλήσιους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τους ἐν τῇ βασιλέως τὰ μέτρα καὶ ἐπιθεραπεύειν, ἔως ἂν τὸν πόλεμον εὐθὺ τὸνται. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι ὅργιζοντο τε αὐτὸ καὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ δὴ ἄλλα τοιούτοτα, καὶ νόσῳ ύστερον ἀποθανόντα αὐτῶν οὐκ εἰσαγαν θάψαι οὐ έβουλοντο οἱ παρόντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

LXXXV. Κατὰ δὴ τοιαύτην διαφορὰν ὄντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύοχον καὶ τὸν Τιςσαφέρην Μίνδαρος διάδοχος τῆς Ἀστύοχου ναυαρχίας ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπῆλθε καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ Ἀστύοχος 2 ἀπέπλευ. ξυνεπεμφε δὲ καὶ Τιςσαφέρης αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, Γαυλίτην ὄνομα, Κάρα διγλώσσου, κατηγορῆσοντα τῶν τε Μιλη-
sίων περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμα ἀπολογησόμενον, εἰδὼς τοὺς τε Μιλήσιους πο-
ρενομένους ἐπὶ καταβολή τῇ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἐρμοκράτη μετ' αὐτῶν, ὃς ἔμελλε τοῦ Τιςσα-
fέρην ἀποφαίνειν φθειρόντα τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὰ πράγματα μετὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ ἐπαμφοτερι-
cried out in rage and rushed at Astyochus with the intention of stoning him; he, however, saw this in time and took refuge at an altar. But he was not actually stoned, and they were separated. The Milesians, furthermore, took the fort of Tissaphernes that had been built in Miletus, falling upon it unawares, and drove out the garrison that was in it. These doings were approved by the allies in general, and especially by the Syracusans. Lichas, however, was not pleased with them and said that the Milesians and other inhabitants of the King’s country ought even to slave for Tissaphernes in a reasonable way and to court his favour until they should bring the war to a successful conclusion. But the Milesians were angry with him for these and similar sayings; and when he afterwards fell sick and died they did not suffer him to be buried where the Lacedaemonians who were present wished to lay him.

LXXXV. While the relations between the soldiers and Astyochus and Tissaphernes were in such discord, Mindarus came from Lacedaemon to succeed Astyochus as admiral and took over the command; and Astyochus sailed home. But Tissaphernes sent with him as envoy one of his retinue, Gaulites, a bilingual Carian, to lay accusation against the Milesians for taking his fort and at the same time to make a defence of himself, since he knew that the Milesians were on their way to Sparta chiefly to denounce him, and that with them went Hermocrates, who was intending to show that Tissaphernes, together with Alcibiades, was ruining the cause of the Peloponnesians and pursuing a two-faced policy.

1 Who had been so firm before in his demands (ch. xiii. 3) and his protests (ch. lii.).
3 ξοντα. ἐχθρα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἂν αὐτῷ αἰεὶ ποτὲ περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀποδόσεως· καὶ τὰ τελευταία φυγόντως ἐκ Συρακουσῶν τοῦ Ἐρμοκράτους καὶ ἑτέρων ἥκοντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναός τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον στρατηγῶν, Ποτάμιδος καὶ Μύσκωνος καὶ Δημάρχου, ἐνέκειτο ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φυγάδι οὖντι ἡδὴ τῷ Ἐρμοκράτει πολλῷ ἐτί μᾶλλον καὶ κατηγόρει ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς χρήματά ποτε αἰτήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐ τυχὼν τὴν ἔχθραν
4 οί πρόθοιτο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀστύνιος καὶ οἱ Μυλησιοί καὶ ὁ Ἐρμοκράτης ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης διεβεβηκεί πάλιν ἡδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνου ἐς τὴν Σάμου.
LXXXVI. Καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δήλου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἕδα τότε ἐπεμψαν παραμυθησομένους καὶ ἀναδιάξοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, ἀφικνοῦνται παρόντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, καὶ ἐκκλησίας γενομένης λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ δὲ στρατιώται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἦθελον ἄκονειν, ἀλλὰ ἀποκτείνειν ἐβόων τοὺς τοῦ δήμου καταλῦντάς· ἔπειτα
3 μέντοι μόλις ἰσχυράντες ἤκουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὡς οὔτε ἐπὶ διαφθορᾶ τῆς πόλεως ἡ μετάστασις γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρία, ὡς ίνα τοὺς πολεμίους παραδοθῆ (ἐξεῖναι γὰρ, ὅτε ἐσέβαλον ἡδή σφῶν ἄρχοντων, τῶν ποιήσατο), τῶν τε πεντακισχιλίων ὦτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μεθε-

1 πρεσβευτάδε, after τῶν τετρακοσίων, deleted by van Herwerden. cf. ch. lxxvii., note.

1 cf. ch. lxxv. 3.  
2 cf. Xen. Hell. i. i. 27 ff. 
3 cf. ch. lxxii. 1.
Tissaphernes had always been at enmity with Hermocrates in connection with the payment of the wages; and more recently, when Hermocrates had been banished from Syracuse and another set of generals had come to Miletus to take command of the Syracusan fleet— and they were Potamis, Myscon and Demarchus— Tissaphernes set upon Hermocrates, now that he was an exile, much more violently than ever, charging against him, among other things, that he had once asked him for money, and because he did not obtain it he had shown him enmity. Astyochus, then, together with the Milesians and Hermocrates, sailed away to Lacedaemon; Alcibiades, on the other hand, had already left Tissaphernes and crossed over again to Samos.

LXXXVI. And the envoys who had been sent by the Four Hundred, at the time above mentioned, to appease the soldiers at Samos and explain matters, now arrived from Delos when Alcibiades was already there; and at a meeting of the assembly they attempted to speak. But the soldiers were at first unwilling to hear them, and with shouts threatened to kill the subverters of the democracy; afterwards, however, when with difficulty they had quieted down, they heard them. The envoys announced that the revolution had been made, not for the destruction of the state, but for its preservation, not in order that Athens might be betrayed to the enemy (for that could have been done at the time of the Lacedaemonian invasion, when the revolutionists were already in power); they stated, moreover, that all the Five Thousand would participate in the government in their turn; furthermore,
THUCYDIDES

ξουσιν, ο’ τε οἰκεῖοι αὐτῶν οὔθ’ υβρίζονται. ὁσπερ Χαίρεας διαβάλλων ἀπήγγγλεταν, οὔτε κακοῦν ξούσιν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἔπι τοὺς σφετέρους 4 αὐτῶν ἐκαστοι κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν. ἀλλ’ ἐξαλέπαυνοι καὶ γνώμας ἄλλοι ἄλλας ἐλεγον, μάλιστα δὲ ἔπι τὸν Πειραιάν πλεῖν. καὶ δοκεῖ Ἄλκιβιάδης πρῶτος 2 τὸτε καὶ οὔδενος ἐλασσὸν τὴν πόλιν ὦφελήσαι, ὀρμημένοι γὰρ τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἐν φ’ σαφέστατ’ ἀν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἑλλησποντον εὐθὺς εἰχον οἱ πολέμιοι, κωλυτῆς 5 γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἄλλος μὲν οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς ἰκανὸς ἐγένετο κατασχεῖν τὸν ὀχλον, ἐκείνος δὲ τοῦ τ’ ἐπὶ πλου ἐπαυσε καὶ τοὺς ἰδία τοῖς πρέ- 6 σβεσιν ὀργηζομένους λοιδορῶν ἀπέτρεπεν. αὐτῶς δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος αὐτοῖς ἀπέτεμπεν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πεντακισχίλιους οὐ κωλύοι ἄρχειν, τοὺς μέν- τωι τετρακοσίους ἐκέλευν ἀπαλλάσσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάναι τὴν βουλὴν ὦσπερ καὶ πρότε- ρου, τοὺς πεντακοσίους· εἰ δὲ ἐς εὐτέλειαν τι ξυντέμηται, ὅστε τοὺς στρατευομένους μᾶλλον 7 ἐχεῖν τροφὴν, πάνυ ἐπαυσέων. καὶ τάλλα ἐκε- λευν ἀντέχειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τοῖς πολε- μίους· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς σφοζομένης τῆς πόλεως πολλήν ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ ἐξυμβηναι, εἰ δὲ ἀπαξ τὸ ἔτερον σφαλῆσται, ἢ τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ ἢ ’κεῖνο, οὔδ’ ὅτῳ διαλλαγήσεται τις ἐτὶ ἐσέσθαι.

8 Παρηγασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀργείων πρέσβεις, ἐπαγγελ·

1 dōkei, Classen’s correction for ἐδόκει of the MSS.
2 πρῶτος, many editors accept πρῶτον of B.
their relatives were neither being insulted, as Chaereas was slanderously saying, nor suffering any ill, but remained in their homes, each in possession of his own property. But though they said all this and more, the soldiers were none the more inclined to give heed to them, but were angry, and one after another offered various suggestions, but particularly that they should sail against the Peiraeus. And Alcibiades seems then in an eminent degree, and more than anyone else, to have benefited the state; for when the Athenians at Samos were bent upon sailing against their own people—and if they had the enemy would most certainly have been masters of Ionia and the Hellespont—it was he who prevented it. And in that critical moment no other man would have been able to restrain the crowd, but he stopped them from sailing, and reproaching those who were on their own private account angry at the envoys, he caused them to desist. And he sent the envoys away with this answer from himself: he did not object to the Five Thousand ruling, but bade them depose the Four Hundred and set up the senate as it had been before—the body of Five Hundred; and if there had been any curtailment with a view to economy, so that the soldiers in the field might have better maintenance, he quite approved of that. As for the rest, he bade them not yield a step to the enemy; for so long as the city was saved there was great hope of a reconciliation among themselves, but if once one party or the other should go to the ground, whether the one at Samos or that at Athens, there would be no one left to be reconciled with.

Envoys from the Argives also came to Samos with
λόμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ ὡστε βοηθεῖν ὦ δὲ Ἀλκεβιάδης ἐπαινέσας αὐτούς καὶ εἶπὼν, ὅταν τις καλῇ, παρέίναι, ὃ οὖν ἄπεπεμπεν. ἀφίκοντο δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ τῶν Παράλων, οἱ τότε ἐτάχθησαν ἐν τῇ στρατιώτει νη ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων περιπλείν Ἐὔβοιαν καὶ ἄγειν ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ἕως Ἀλκεβιαίνων ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πρέσβεις ἐκ δικοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοφόντα καὶ Μελησίαν οἱ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο πλέοντες κατὰ Ἄργος, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ἴσον τοὺς Ἀργεῖοι πάρεδοσαν ὡς τῶν οὐχ ἥκεστα καταλυσάντων τῶν δήμων ὅταν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνὰς ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλὰ ἄγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργοῦ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τὸν πρέσβεις ἀφικνοῦνται ἕπερ εἰχον τριήσει.

LXXXVII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Τισσαφέρης, κατὰ τὸν καῖρον τοῦτον ἐν ὧ μάλιστα διά τε τάλλα καὶ τὴν Ἀλκεβιάδου κάθοδον ἤχθοντο αὐτῷ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς φανερῶς ἡ ἀττικίζουτι, βουλόμενοι, ὡς ἐδόκει δὴ, ἀπολύσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς διαβολὰς, παρεσκευάζετο πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίκας ναὸς ἐς Ἀσπενδον, καὶ τὸν Δίκαν ἐκμπορεύεσθαι ἐκεῖνον τῇ δὲ στρατιᾷ προστάζειν ἐφ' Ἁμών ἐκατότων ὑπαρχον, ὡστε τροφὴν ἐν ὅσῳ ἀν αὐτοὺς ἠπῇ διδόναι· λέγεται δὲ οὗ κατὰ ταύτο, οὔδὲ ῥάδιον εἰδέναι τὴν γνώμην παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν

1 ἄγειν, Portus' correction for ἄγοντες of the M88.
offers of assistance to the Athenian democracy there; but Alcibiades dismissed them with words of commendation, telling them to come when summoned. Now the Argives had come with the crew of the Paralus, who at the time above mentioned had been sent out in the troop-ship with instructions to cruise round Euboea and to convey to Lacedaemon the three Athenian envoys from the Four Hundred, Laespodias, Aristophon and Melesias. But when they had got as far as Argos on their voyage, the crew had seized the envoys and delivered them to the Argives, on the ground that they were among those who had been chiefly instrumental in overthrowing the democracy. They themselves, however, did not go back to Athens thereafter, but came from Argos to Samos, bringing with them the envoys in their trireme.

LXXXVII. During the same summer, at the very moment when, for various other reasons and especially because of the recall of Alcibiades, the Peloponnesians were vexed with Tissaphernes, feeling that he was now openly favouring the Athenians, he, wishing, as it seemed, to clear himself in their eyes of these calumnies, prepared to go to Aspendus after the Phoenician ships, and bade Lichas accompany him; but as regards the army he would appoint Tamos in his place, so as to ensure supplies during his own absence. But the story is told in different ways, and it is not easy to be certain what motive he had for going to Aspendus,

1 cf. ch. lxxiv. 2.

2 πεπονοί, before πρέσβεις, M—other MSS. πέμπονοι—generally deleted by editors.
"Ἀσπενδοῦν καὶ παρελθὼν οὐκ ἦγαγε τὰς ναῦς.
3 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αἱ Φοῖνικαι νῆσες ἔπτα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν μέχρι Ἀσπενδου ἄφηκον τοὺς σαφῶς ἔστων. δὲ οὗ τὶ δὲ οὐκ ἦλθον πολλαχῇ εἰκάζεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔνα διατρ楂ὴ ἀπελθόν, ὡσπερ καὶ διενόθῃ, τὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων (τροφὴν γοῦν οὐδὲν βέλτιον, ἄλλα καὶ χεῖρον ὁ Τάμως, ὁ προσετάχθη, παρείχεν), οἱ δὲ ἴνα τοὺς Φοῖνικας προαγαγῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσπενδοῦν ἑκχρηματίσασιν ἄφεσι (καὶ γὰρ ὃς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐμελλε χρῆσθαι), ἀλλοι δὲ ὡς καταβοῦσα ἔνεκα τῆς ἔς Λακεδαιμονίαν, τοῦ λέγεσθαι ὡς οὐκ ἄδικει, ἄλλα καὶ σαφῶς οἰχεῖται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄληθῶς πεπληρωμένας. έμοι μὲντοι δοκεῖ σαφέστατον εἶναι τριβῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἄνοκοχῆς τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἄγαγείν, φθορᾶς μὲν, ἐν ὅσῳ παρῇ ἐκεῖσε καὶ διέμελλεν, ἀνισώσεως δὲ, ὅπως μηδέτεροι προσθέμενοι ἵσχυρότεροι ποιήσῃ, ἐπεὶ, εἴ γε ἐβουλήθη, διαπολεμήσαι ἄν ἐπιφανεῖς δὴ που οὐκ ἐνδοιαστῶς· κομίσας γὰρ ἂν Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νίκην κατὰ τὸ ἐδώκου ἡ ὑποδεεστέρως τῷ ναυτικῷ ἀνθώρμουν. 5 καταφωρᾷ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ἤν εἰπε πρόφασιν οὐ
1 ἄν, added by Dobree.
2 ἐπιφανεῖς, Reiske's conjecture for ἐπιφανές of MSS.
and why, after going, he did not bring back the ships. For that the Phoenician ships, one hundred and forty-seven in number, came as far as Aspendus is certain; but the reason why they did not finish the journey is variously conjectured. Some say that his purpose was to accomplish by his absence what he actually designed—to exhaust by delay the resources of the Peloponnesians (at any rate supplies were furnished no better, but even worse than before, by Tamos, to whom this duty had been assigned); others say that it was with the idea of bringing the Phoenician ships as far as Aspendus and then exacting money from them for their discharge (for in any case he was not intending to make any use of them); and still others say that it was because he was being denounced at Lacedaemon, and wanted the report to go out that he was not acting wrongly but, as everybody could see, had gone for the ships and these were really manned for service. To me, however, it seems perfectly clear that it was with the purpose of wearing out the resources of the Hellenes and keeping matters in suspense that he did not bring the fleet—of exhausting them while he was making the journey to Aspendus and delaying there, and also of equalizing them, that he might make neither side stronger by joining it. For if he had indeed wished it, he could, it seems plain, by appearing on the scene have brought the war to a definite conclusion; for by bringing his fleet he would in all probability have given the victory to the Lacedaemonians, who, in fact, even as it was were confronting the Athenians with a fleet that fully matched theirs and was not inferior to it. But that which convicted him most
κομίσας τὰς ναύς. ἐφ’ γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐλάσσουσιν ἡ ὁσας βασιλεὺς ἔταξε ἀνάκενων· ὁ δὲ χάριν ἀν δῇπον ἐν τούτῳ μείζω ἦτι ἐσχεν, οὔτε ἀναλώσας πολλὰ τῶν βασιλέως, τὰ τε αὐτὰ ἀπ’ ἐλασσόνων πρᾶξας. ἐς δ’ οὖν τὴν Ἀσπενδών ἤτινι δὴ γνώμῃ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἀφικνεῖται καὶ τοὺς Φοινίκης ξυγγίνηται· καὶ οἱ Πελοποννησίωι ἔσεμιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Φιλίππων ἄνδρα Δακεδαμίονιν δύο τριήρεσιν.

LXXXVIII. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνην ἤσθεντο παρόντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσπενδοῦ, ἐπλει καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τρεῖς καὶ δέκα ναύς, ύποσχόμενος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἀσφαλῆς καὶ μεγάλης χάριν (ἡ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄξειν Ἀθηναίοις τὰς Φοινίκας ναύς ἡ Πελοποννησίωι γε κωλύσειν ἔλθειν), εἰδὼς, ὡς εἰκός, ἕκ πλεῖονος τὴν Τισσαφέρνους γνώμην ὅτι οὐκ ἄξειν ἐμελλε, καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς Πελοποννησίωι εἰς τὴν ἔαντον καὶ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν ὡς μάλιστα διαβάλλειν, ὡς μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ σφίσιν ἀναγκάζοιτο προσχωρέωι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρας εὐθὺ τῆς Φασίλιδος καὶ Καύνου ἀνὸ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο.

LXXXIX. Οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πεμφθέντες πρέσβεις ἐπειδὴ ἀφικόμενοι ὡς τὰς Ἀθηναὶς ἀπῆγγειλαν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ὡς κελεύει τε ἀντέχειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐλπίδας τε ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχει κἀκεῖνοι τὸ στράτευμα διαλλάξειν καὶ Πελοποννησίων περιέσεσθαι, ἀχομένους καὶ πρότερον τοὺς πολ-

1 Referring, not only to the Four Hundred, but especially to the rest of the citizens who, in ch. lxix. 2, are designated as οἱ ἐν τῇ ξυμωσίᾳ.
clearly was the excuse he gave for not bringing the ships, when he said that they were not so many as the King had ordered to be collected; but he, on the contrary, would surely have won all the more gratitude in such a case, by saving a great deal of the King's money and obtaining the same results with smaller outlay. At any rate, whatever his intentions, Tissaphernes went to Aspendus and conferred with the Phoenicians; and the Peloponnesians by his orders sent Philippus, a Lacedaemonian, with two triremes to bring the ships back.

LXXXVIII. But Alcibiades, when he learned that Tissaphernes as well was on his way to Aspendus, sailed thither himself with thirteen ships, promising the army at Samos a sure and great benefit; for he would either secure the ships himself for the Athenians, or else at any rate prevent their joining the Peloponnesians. It is likely that he had long been aware of the purpose of Tissaphernes—that he had no intention of bringing the ships—and wished to prejudice him as much as possible in the eyes of the Peloponnesians on the score of his friendship for himself and the Athenians, that so he might be under greater compulsion to join the Athenian side. So he put to sea, laying his course eastward, straight toward Phaselis and Caunus.

LXXXIX. When the envoys sent by the Four Hundred arrived at Athens on their return from Samos and reported what Alcibiades had said—urging them to hold out and make no concessions to the enemy, and saying that he had great hopes both of reconciling the army to the people at home and of prevailing over the Peloponnesians—most of those who shared in the oligarchy,\(^1\) who were even
λοὺς τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ ἡδέως ἀν ἀπαλαγέντας πη ἁσφαλῶς τοῦ πράγματος
πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσαν. καὶ ξυνίσταντό τε ᾅδη καὶ τὰ πράγματα διεμέμφωτο, ἔχουτες
ηγεμόνας τῶν πάνυ 1 τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαίς ὄντων, οἰον ῎Ηηραμένη τε τῶν Ῥ Ἀγνώνος
καὶ Ἀριστοκράτη τὸν Σκελίου καὶ ἄλλους, οἱ μετέσχον μὲν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι 2 τῶν πράγμάτων,
φοβοῦμενοι δὲ, ὡς ἔφασαν, τὸ τε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην σπουδὴ πάνυ, 3
τοὺς τε ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα πρεσβευομένους 4 μὴ τι ἀνευ τῶν πλείων κακῶν δράσωσι τὴν πόλιν,
οὕτωι ἀπαλλάξειειν 5 τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἔργο καὶ μὴ ὀνοματε
χρημαὶ ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἵσαιτεραν
καθιστᾶναι. ἂν ἐτούτῳ μὲν σχῆμα πολιτικὸν
tοῦ λόγου αὐτοῖς, κατ’ ἱδίας δὲ φιλοτιμίας οἱ
πολλοὶ αὐτῶν τῷ τοιούτῳ προσέκειντο, ἐν ᾧ περ
καὶ μάλιστα ὀλιγαρχία ἐκ δημοκρατίας γενομένη
ἀπόλλυται. πάντες γὰρ αὐθημερὸν ἄξιοι σὺν ὦν
ὅπως ἔσοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρῶτοι αὐτὸς ἔκαστος
eignai. ἐκ δὲ δημοκρατίας αἱρέσεως γεγομένης
μᾶν τὰ ἀποβαινόντα ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμοίων

1 στρατηγῶν, after τῶν πάνυ, deleted by Classen. For τῶν
πάνω cf. ch. i. 1.
2 ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι, Bekker’s correction; ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι B,
ἐν πρῶτοι, the other MSS.
3 σπουδὴ πάνυ, Hude omits with CM and Schol.
4 πρεσβευομένους, CM and Schol., πρεσβευομένου ἐπεμπον,
ABEFG and Thom. Mag. It is possible to construe the
latter reading by changing οὕς to τοῖς, with Goeller.
5 οὕτωι ἀπαλλάξειειν for οὐ τὸ ἀπαλλάξειειν of the MSS. οὐτοί

350
before this in distress, and would have been glad to be safely rid of the business in any way, were far more encouraged. And they were already beginning to form groups and criticize the state of affairs, having as their leaders some of the very men who were members of the oligarchy and held office, such as Theramenes son of Hagnon, Aristocrates son of Scelias, and others. These had been among the foremost of those who had taken an active part in the revolution, but being afraid in real earnest, as they said, of the army at Samos and of Alcibiades, as well as of those who were sending envoys to Lacedaemon, who they thought might, by acting without the sanction of the greater number, work some harm to the city, they did not indeed openly profess that they wanted to avoid reducing the government to an extreme oligarchy, but maintained that they ought to appoint the Five Thousand in fact and not merely in name, and to establish the government on the basis of a greater equality. Now this phrase of theirs was a mere political catchword, and in their personal ambitions most of them eagerly pursued the sort of methods by which an oligarchy formed out of a democracy is most sure to come to ruin; for all demand forthwith, not equality, but each that he shall be quite the first himself; whereas under a democracy an election is held and every man acquiesces more readily in the result because he feels that those to whom he owes

is Stahl's correction, ἀπαλλαγεῖσιν, Abresch's (cf. Schol. ἀπαλλαγεῖσιν ἔχουσι). Some verb like ἔχειν has dropped out or is understood.
ἐλασσούμενος τις φέρει. σαφέστατα δ' αὐτοῦς ἐπήρε τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὠχυρὰ ὄντα καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδόκει μόνιμον τὸ τῆς ὀλυγραχίας ἑσεθαν. ἡγωνίζετο οὖν εἰς ἐκαστὸς αὐτὸς πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου γενόθαναι.

ΧϹ. Οἱ δὲ τῶν τετρακοσίων μάλιστα ἐναντίοι ὄντες τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰδεὶ καὶ προεστῶτες, Φρύνιχος τε, ὅσ καὶ στρατηγήσας ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τότε διηνέχθη, καὶ Ἱρίσταρχος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλέοντων ἐναντίοις τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ Πεισάνδρος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ δυνατῶτατοι, προτερὸν τε, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα κατέστησαν καὶ ἐπειδὴ τα ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ σφῶν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἀπέστη, πρέσβεις τε ἀπέστελλον σφῶν ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα καὶ τὴν ὄμολογίαν προβουλοῦντο καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἡτιωνείᾳ καλουμένη τεῖχος ἐποίοντο, πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐτι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πρέσβεις σφῶν ἦλθον, ὀρῶντες τοὺς τε πολλοὺς καὶ σφῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας πρὸ-

tερον πιστοὺς εἶναι μεταβαλλομένους. καὶ ἀπε-

στειλαν μὲν Ἀντιφῶνα καὶ Φρύνιχον καὶ ἄλλος δέκα κατὰ τάχος, φοβοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἐπιστειλάντες παντὶ τρόπῳ ὅστις καὶ ὀπωσοῦ ἀνεκτὸς ξυναλλαγῆμαι

3 πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαίμονιος. φῶκοδόμου ἐς ἐτι προβυμότερον τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἡτιωνείᾳ τεῖχος. ἢν δὲ

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1 i. e. the majority.
2 i. e. in an oligarchy all are of the same class, and the promotion of one is a slight upon the rest; but in a democracy the defeated candidate may claim that the electors were ignorant or prejudiced, that he was not beaten on his merits, and so pass the matter over.
3 cf. chs. xlviii., l. 4 cf. chs. xlix., liii. 5 cf. ch. lxviii. l.
his defeat are not his equals. But what most evidently encouraged these men was the fact that Alcibiades' position at Samos was so strong, and their opinion that the power of the oligarchy would not last long. Each one, therefore, strove to become the foremost leader of the people himself.

XC. But those of the Four Hundred who were most opposed to such a course—the leading spirits like Phrynichus, who had been general at Samos and had then quarrelled with Alcibiades, and Aristarchus, a man who had been conspicuously and for the longest time opposed to the democracy, and Peisander, Antiphon, and other men of the greatest influence—before this time, that is, as soon as they were established in power and then when the army at Samos had revolted from them in favour of a democratic form of government, had been sending ambassadors of their own to Lacedaemon and making earnest efforts to come to an understanding, and had also been constructing their fort in the place called Eetioneia; and now far more than ever, when their ambassadors returned from Samos, did they bestir themselves, seeing that not only the majority of the people but also men of their own party who had before been esteemed trustworthy were changing their views. So they despatched Antiphon, Phrynichus, and ten others in all haste, since they were alarmed by the situation both at home and at Samos, enjoining upon them to effect a reconciliation with the Lacedaemonians on any terms that would be at all tolerable. And they set to work with greater zeal than ever building their fort at Eetioneia. And the purpose of

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4 cf. ch. lxxi. 3; lxxxvi. 9. 7 See map at end.
τού τείχους ἡ γυνώμη αὐτή, ὡς ἔφη Ὡμηρόμενης καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἤνα τοὺς ἐν Σαμω, ἦν βία ἐπιπλέωσι, μὴ δέξωνται ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἀλλ’ ἤνα τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον, ὅταν βούλωνται, 4 καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ δέξωνται. χηλή γάρ ἔστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἡτησίσεια, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ὁ ἐσπλοῦς ἐστίν. ἐτείχησεν οὖν οὕτω ξύν τῷ πρότερον πρὸς ἡπείρου ὑπάρχοντει τείχει, ὥστε καθεξομένου ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώπων ὁλίγων ἄρχειν τοῦ ἐσπλοῦν1 ἐς αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος στενοῦ ὅντος τὸν ἔτερον πύργον ἐπελεύτα τὸ τε παλαιόν τὸ πρὸς ἡπείρον καὶ τὸ καίνον τὸ 5 ἐντὸς τείχος τειχεῖσμενον πρὸς θάλασσαν. διοικοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ στοάν, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη καὶ ἐγγυτάτα2 τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἔχομεν ἐκ τῶν Πειραιαῖ, καὶ ἠρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς, ἐς ἦν καὶ τὸν σίτον ἡμάγκαζον πάντας τὸν ὑπάρχοντα τε καὶ τὸν ἐπεσπλέοντα ἐξαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐντεύθεν προαιροῦντας πωλεῖν.

XCl. Ταύτ’ οὖν ἐκ πλέονός τε ὁ Ομηρόμενης διεθρόει καὶ ἐπειδή οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος προσβείς οὐδὲν πρᾶξαντες ἀνεχώρησαν τοῖς ξύμπασι ξυμβατικόν, φάσκων κινδυνεύσειν τῷ τείχῳ τούτῳ 2 καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαφθείραι. ἀμα γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐτύγχανον Εὐβοῖοι ἐπικαλομένοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τούτου δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νήσεως, δὴν ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ Τάραντος καὶ ἐκ Λοκρῶν Ἰταλιώτιδες καὶ Σικελικαὶ τίνες, ὀρμοῦσαν ἦδη ἐπὶ Λατὶς Δακικῆς καὶ παρα-

1 τοῦ ἐσπλοῦ, BM; Hude follows Classen in changing to τοῦ τε ἐσπλοῦ καὶ ἐσπλοῦ.
2 ἐγγυτάτα, bracketed by Hude following van Herwerden.
this fort was, as Theramenes and his adherents said, not that they might prevent the Samian fleet from entering the Peiraeus in case they should attempt to force their way in, but rather that they might admit the enemy whenever they wished with both his army and fleet. For Eetionecia is a mole extending out from the Peiraeus, and immediately beside it is the entrance to the harbour. It was therefore being connected by a wall with the wall which already existed somewhat inland, and in such a way that if only a few men were stationed inside it would control the entrance; for both the old wall running inland and the new inner wall that was being built facing the sea came to an end in the second of the two towers, the one that lay exactly at the mouth of the harbour, which was narrow. They also cut off with a wall inside the harbour a portico which was very large and immediately adjoined this inland wall; and this they controlled themselves, and compelled everybody to deposit in it the corn that was already on hand as well as to discharge there that which came in by sea, and to take it from there if they wished to sell it.

XCI. Now Theramenes had been freely talking about these proceedings for some time, and after the ambassadors came back from Lacedaemon without having accomplished anything toward an agreement for the people as a whole, he kept saying that this fort would in all probability bring ruin upon the city. For at this very time it so happened that, on the invitation of the Eubocans, ships from the Peloponnesus to the number of forty-two, among which were Italian vessels from Tarentum and Locri and some from Sicily, were already lying off Las in
THUCYDIDES

σκευαζόμεναι τὸν ἐς τὴν Εὐβοιαν πλοῦν (ἥρχε
dὲ αὐτῶν Ἡγησανδρίδας Ἡγησάνδρου Σπαρτιά
tης). ὡς ἐφ' Ἐθραμένης οὐκ Εὐβοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἡ
tοῖς τειχίζοντι τὴν Ἡτηώνειαν προσπλεῖν, καὶ
eἰ μὴ τις ἡ ἡδι φυλάξεται, λήσει διαφθαρέντας.

3 ἡν δὲ τι καὶ τοιούτων ἀπὸ τῶν τὴν κατηγορίαν
ἐχόντων, καὶ οὐ πάνυ διαβολή μονὸν τοῦ λόγου.
ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν ἐβούλουντο οἰνιγαρ-
χούμενοι ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τάς
γε ναῦς καὶ τὰ τείχη ἔχοντες αὐτονομεῖσθαι,
ἐξειργόμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μὴ οὖν ὑπὸ δῆμον
γε αὐθίς γενομένου αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μά-
λιστα διαφθαρήσαται, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
ἐσαγαγόμενοι ἀνεν τειχῶν καὶ νεών ξυμβήσει καὶ
ὀπωσοῦν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχειν, εἰ τοῖς γε σώμασι
σφῶν ἀδεια ἔσται.

XCI. Δι' ὁπερ καὶ τὸ τείχος τούτο, καὶ
πυλίδας ἔχουν καὶ ἐσόδους καὶἔπεσαγωγάς τῶν
πολεμίων, ἐτείχιζον τε προθύμως καὶ φθίναι
2 ἐβούλουντο ἐξεργασάμενοι. πρότερον μὲν οὖν
κατ' ὀλίγους τε καὶ κρύφα μᾶλλον τὰ λεγόμενα
ἡν ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Φρύνιχοι ἦκων ἐκ τῆς ἐς Δακε-
δαίμονα προσβείας πληγεὶς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τῶν περι-
πόλων τινὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ πληθοῦσῃ
καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀπελθὼν
ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα, καὶ οὐ μὲν πατάξας διέφυγεν,
ὁ δὲ ξυνεργὸς, Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος, ληφθεὶς καὶ
βασανιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων οὐδενὸς

1 καὶ, omitted by Hude with C.
Laconia and preparing for their passage to Euboea, under the command of Hegesandridas son of Hegesander, a Spartan; and Theramenes declared that these were on their way, not to Euboea, but to Eetionia to help the men who were fortifying it, adding that unless they immediately took precautions their cause would be lost before they knew it. And in fact there was something of the kind afoot on the part of those whom he thus accused, and what he said was not altogether mere calumny. For the persons in question wished above all, preserving their oligarchy, to rule both Athens and the allies, but, failing in that, to keep their ships at least and their fortifications and be independent; and if they were debarred from this course also, at any rate not to be themselves the first to meet with destruction at the hands of the restored democracy, but actually to bring in the enemy and, giving up walls and ships, make any sort of terms as to the fate of the city, if only they might have immunity for their own persons.

XCI. It was with this object in view that they were now diligently building this fort, which was furnished with posterns and entrances and ways for letting the enemy in, and they wished to have it finished in time. Now hitherto the talk had been confined to small groups and indulged in with some attempt at secrecy; but finally Phrynichus, after his return from his mission to Lacedaemon, was stabbed in full market as the result of a plot by a man of the frontier-patrol, and before he had gone far from the senate-chamber suddenly died. The assassin escaped, while his accomplice, an Argive fellow, was seized and put to the torture by the Four Hundred, but
ὁνομα τοῦ κελεύσαντος εἰπεν οὐδὲ ἀλλ' ὁ τι ἢ ὅτι εἰδεῖν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐς τοῦ περι-
πολάρχου καὶ ἄλλοσε κατ' οἰκίας ἐννιόντας, τότε
δὴ οὐδενὸς γεγενημένου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ
ὁ Θηραμένης ἤδη θρασύτερον καὶ Ἀριστοκράτης
καὶ ὁσοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τετρακοσίων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν
ἐξωθεν ἦσαν ὁμογενῶμοντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα.
3 ἂμα γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Δας αἱ νῆς ἢδη περι-
πεπλευκυναι καὶ ὀρμισάμεναι ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον
τὴν Αἰγιναν κατεδεδραμήκεσαν καὶ οὐκ ἔφη ὁ
Θηραμένης εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπ' Ἐυβοιαν πλεοῦσας
αὐτάς ἐς Αἰγιναν κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν
'Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὀρμεῖν, εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἥκοιεν
在外, ὁσοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ κατηγόρει· οὐκέτι οὐν
οίον τε εἶναι ἡσυχάζειν. τέλος δὲ πολλῶν καὶ
στασιωτικῶν λόγων καὶ υποψιῶν προσγενομένων
καὶ ἔργῳ ἦδη ἔπτυντο τῶν πραγμάτων· οἱ γὰρ
ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τὸ τῆς Ἡετιονείας τεῖχος ὀπλίται
οἰκοδομοῦντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀριστοκράτης ἢν
tαξιαρχῶν καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φυλῆν ἔχουν, ξυλ-
λαμβάνουσιν Ἀλεξικλέα, στρατηγὸν ὡστα ἐκ
tῆς ὀλυγαρχίας καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἑταῖρους
tετραμμένον, καὶ ἐς οἰκίαν ἄγαγόντες εἰρξαν.
5 ξυπεπελάβοντο δὲ ἄμα αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ
"Ερμων τῶν περιπόλων τις, τῶν Μουνιχίας
tεταγμένων ἀρχῶν" τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
6 τὸ στίφος ταῦτα ἐβούλετο. ὡς δὲ ἐσπρόχθη
tοῖς τετρακοσίοις (ἐτυχον δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ
358
did not reveal the name of anyone who instigated the deed nor anything else, except that he knew many who were wont to come together in the house of the commander of the frontier-patrol and at other houses. So now at length, when no signal action had been taken in consequence of this, Theramenes and Aristocrates and all the rest of the Four Hundred and those outside that body who were of the same way of thinking, went to work more boldly. For at this same time the Peloponnesian ships had already sailed round from Las, and after taking station at Epidaurus had overrun Aegina; and Theramenes said it was not likely, if their destination were Euboea, that they would have run up the gulf as far as Aegina and then put in to Epidaurus to anchor, unless they had come on invitation for the purposes which he himself had always been denouncing; it was therefore impossible, he concluded, to keep quiet any longer. Finally, when there had been many other seditious speeches and insinuations, they at last took hold of the situation in earnest. The hoplites in the Peiraeus who were engaged in building the fort at Etioncia—one of their number being Aristocrates, a taxiareach who commanded the contingent of his own tribe—arrested Alexicles, who was a general of the oligarchical faction and very favourably inclined toward the members of the political clubs, took him into a house and confined him there. Among those who took part with them in this exploit was Hermon, one of the frontier-patrol and commander of the detachment stationed at Munichia; and, most important of all, the mass of the hoplites were in sympathy with all this. But when the act was announced to the Four Hundred,
THUCYDIDIDES

ξυγκαθήμενοι, ευθὺς πλὴν ὁσοὶ μὴ βουλομένους ταύτα ἦν, ἑτοίμοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰ ὄπλα ἴηναι καὶ τῷ ὘θηραμένῃ καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἥπειλοιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ἑτοίμος ἔφη ἦναι ξυναφαρήσομενος ἴηναι ἤδη. καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐνα τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅστις ἦν αὐτῷ ὁμογνώμων ἐχώρει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐβοήθηε δὲ καὶ Ἄρισταρχὸς καὶ 7 τῶν ἱππεῶν νεανίσκου. ἦν δὲ θόρυβος πολὺς καὶ ἐκπληκτικός· οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ ἤδη ὅποτο τοῦ τε Πειραιᾶ κατειλήθηκαί καὶ τὸν ἐννειλημένον τεθνᾶναι, οἳ τε ἐν τῷ Πειραιᾷ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἀστέως ὅσον ὄπω ἐπὶ σφᾶς παρεῖναι. 8 μόλις δὲ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων διακαλυόντων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ διαθέοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα φερομένους καὶ Θουκυδίδου τοῦ Φαρσαλίου τοῦ προξένου τῆς πόλεως παρόντος καὶ προθύμους ἐμποδῶν τε ἐκάστους γιγνομένου καὶ ἐπιβουμένου μὴ ἐφεδρεύοντων ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμών ἀπολέσαι τὴν πατρίδα, ἡσύχασαν τε καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέ- 9 σχόντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὘θηραμένης ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ (ἡν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς στρατηγὸς), ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐνεκα, ὡργίζετο τοὺς ὀπλίταις· οὗ δὲ Ἄρισταρχὸς καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι τῷ πλήθες ἐχαλέπαινοι. 10 οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ὁμόσε τε ἐχώρον οἱ πλείστοι τῷ ἐργῷ καὶ οὐ μετεμέλοντο, καὶ τὸν ὘θηραμένην ἥροτον εἴ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐπ’ ἄγαθῳ τὸ τείχος οἰκοδομεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰ ἄμεινον εἶναι καθαιρεθέν, οὗ δὲ, εἴπερ καὶ ἐκείνοις δοκεῖ καθαρεύειν, καὶ

1 πλὴν, deleted by Hude, following Haase.

2 i.e. the present conduct of the Four Hundred.

360
who happened to be in session in the senate-chamber, immediately all except those who disapproved of this state of things were ready to rush to arms and began to threaten Theramenes and his followers. But he, justifying himself, said that he was ready to go immediately and assist in the rescue of Alexicles. So he took one of the generals who was in accord with him and proceeded to the Peiraeus; and Aristarchus and some young men of the Knights also went to the rescue. There ensued a tumult that was widespread and alarming; for the people in the city thought that the Peiraeus had been taken and that the man under arrest had been put to death, while the people in the Peiraeus thought that the men of the city were all but upon them. But owing to the efforts of the older men to stop those in the city who were running hither and thither and flying to their arms and also of Thucydides, the Athenian proxenus at Pharsalus, who was then in Athens and zealously threw himself in everybody’s way and loudly called upon them not to ruin the state when the enemy was near at hand awaiting his turn, the people were with difficulty quieted and refrained from attacking one another. As for Theramenes, he went to the Peiraeus (he was himself one of the generals) and, so far as shouting was concerned, showed anger at the hoplites; but Aristarchus and those who were opposed to the populace were really displeased. Most of the hoplites, however, grappled with the task in hand and showed no change of purpose, and they asked Theramenes whether he thought that the fort was being built with any good end in view, and whether it were not better demolished. He answered that if it seemed good to them
τὸ ἐφη ξυνδοκεῖν. καὶ ἐνεμεθεὶς εὐθὺς ἀναβάντες οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνθρώπων κατέσκαπτον τὸ τείχισμα.

11 ὡς, χρῆ, ὡς τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους βούλεται ἀρχεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων, ἵνα ἐνί μὲν τῷ ἔργῳ. ἐπεκρύπτοντο γὰρ ὡς οὕτως ἐν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίων τῷ οὖν ὅμοισι, μὴ ἀντικρυς δήμου ὡς τοὺς βούλεται ἀρχεῖν ὄνομαξειν, φοβοῦμενοι μὴ τῷ ὄντι ώσι καὶ πρὸς τινα εἰπὼν τὰς τρία ἀγνοίᾳ σφαλῆ. καὶ οἱ τετρακόσιοι διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἠθέλουν τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους οὕτω εἶναι οὕτε μὴ ὄντας δῆλους εἶναι, τὸ μὲν καταστῆσαι μετόχους τοσοῦτοις ἀντικρυς ἡμῶν ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δ' αὐτὰρ ἀφανεὶς φόβου εἰς ἀλλήλους παρέξειν.

XCIII. Τῇ δ' ὑπεραία οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι ἐσ τὸ βουλευτήριον ὡμοί καὶ τεθορυβημένοι ξυνελέγοντο· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ὀπλίται τοὺς τε Ἀλεξὶ κλέα δυν ξυνέλαβον ἀφέντες καὶ τὸ τείχισμα καθελόντες, ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνιχίᾳ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον ἐλθόντες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὁπλα ἐξεκλησίσιας εἰς καὶ δοξαί αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ ἅστυ καὶ ἐθέντο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀνακίρῳ τὰ ὁπλα.

2 ἐλθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων τινὲς ἦρμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ διελέγοντο τε καὶ ἐπείθον οὕς ἱδοεῖν ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικεῖς αὐτοὺς

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1 ἃν after ἀντικρυς, deleted by Hude, following Krüger.

2 i.e. that the man to whom he suggested a democratic revolution might himself be one of the Five Thousand.

The precinct of the Dioscuri, to whom the title of ἀνακτές was applied.
to demolish it, so it seemed to him also. Thereupon the hoplites and many of the people of Peiraeus at once mounted the fortification and began to tear it down. And the exhortation addressed to the crowd was, "Whoever wants the Five Thousand to rule in place of the Four Hundred, let him set to work." For in spite of everything they were still concealing their purpose under the name of the "Five Thousand," so as not to say outright, "Whoever wants the people to rule"; for they were afraid that the Five Thousand did in reality exist and that one man in speaking to another might without knowing it get into trouble. And in fact this was the reason why the Four Hundred did not wish either that the Five Thousand should actually exist or that it should become known that they did not exist—because they thought, on the one hand, that to make so many men partners in the government was outright democracy, and, on the other hand, that the uncertainty would inspire fear in each against his neighbour.

XCI11. On the next day the Four Hundred, though much disturbed, assembled nevertheless in the senate-chamber. But the hoplites in the Peiraeus, after they had released Alexieles, whom they had arrested, and demolished the fortification, went to the theatre of Dionysus in Munichia, and grounding arms held a meeting of the assembly; then, a vote to that effect having been passed, they proceeded straightway to the city and again halted in the Anacium. But certain men came to them from the Four Hundred, who had been chosen as their delegates, and talked with them, man with man, and tried to persuade any that they saw were
THUCYDIDES

τε ἡσυχάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακατέχειν, λέγοντες τοὺς τε πεντακισχίλιους ἀποφανεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἑν μέρει ἢ ἄν τοῖς πεντακισχίλιοις δοκῇ τοὺς τετρακισίους ἔσεσθαι, τέως δὲ τὴν πόλειν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ διαφθείρειν μηδὲ ἐς τοὺς 3 πολεμίους ἀνώσαι. τὸ δὲ πάν πλήθος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς λόγων γιγνομένων, ἥπιωτερον ἢν ἢ πρότερον, καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολιτικοῦ. ξυνεχώρησάν τε ὡστε ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι ἐν τού οὐνύσου περὶ ὁμοιοίας.

XCIV. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπῆλθεν ἢ ἐν Θυσινύσου ἐκκλησία καὶ ὅσον οὐ ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν, ἀνέγκλητον αἰ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νῆς καὶ ὁ Ἡγησανδρίδας ἀπὸ τῶν Μεγάρων τὴν Σαλαμίνα παραπλεῖν' καὶ πᾶς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Ἡθραμένους καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐς τὸ τεῖχισμα ἐπλεον αἱ νῆς, καὶ χρησίμως ἐδόκει κατα- 2 πεπτωκέναι. ὁ δὲ Ἡγησανδρίδας τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ἀπὸ ξυγκειμένου λόγου περὶ τὲ τὴν Ἐπιδαυρον καὶ ταύτῃ ἀνεστρέφετο, εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρόντα στασιασμὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, δι' ἐλπίδος ὡς κἀν ἐς δέον παραγένοιτο, ταύτῃ 3 ἀνέχειν. οἱ δ' ὄν Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς ἥγγελθη αὐτοῖς,
reasonable both to keep quiet themselves and to help to keep the rest in restraint, saying that they would publish the names of the Five Thousand, and that from these should be constituted in turn the Four Hundred in whatever way should seem best to the Five Thousand; meanwhile, they urged, they should by all means not ruin the city or drive it into the arms of the enemy. Finally, the whole body of hoplites, as speeches were made by many and to many, was more calm than before, and was now alarmed chiefly about the general safety of the state. So they came to an agreement to hold, on an appointed day, a meeting of the assembly in the precinct of Dionysus and consider the question of concord.

XCIV. When the time had come for the meeting of the assembly in the precinct of Dionysus and they had all but gathered there, it was announced that Hegesandridas with his forty-two ships had left Megara and was sailing along the coast of Salamis; and the hoplites to a man believed that this was precisely the move that had long since been predicted by Theramenes and his party and that the ships were coming in to occupy the fort; and they felt that its demolition had served a useful purpose. Now it may well be that Hegesandridas was acting in accordance with some prearranged understanding when he hovered about Epidaurus and that neighbourhood, but it is probable that in tarrying there he also had regard to the dissension prevailing among the Athenians, and was hopeful that possibly he might arrive in the very nick of time. However this may be, when his movements were reported to the Athenians they immediately advanced at a run.
THUCYDIDES

eὔθυς δρόμος ἐς τὸν Πειραιὰ πανδημεὶ ἐχώρουν, ὥς τοῦ ἱδίου πολέμου μεῖζονος 1 ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σοῦ ἐκάς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ λιμένι ὄντος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς παρούσας ναῦς ἐσέβαινον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλας καθεῖλκον, οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος παρεβοϊδοῦν.

XCV. Αἱ δὲ τῶν Πελοποννήσιων νῆς παραπλέυσασαι καὶ περιβαλόοντας Σούνιον ὀρμίζονται μεταξὺ Θορικοῦ τε καὶ Πρασιῶν, ὅστερον δὲ 2 ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Ὄμωπον. Ὅθηναιοι δὲ κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἄξυνγκρητίους πληρώμασιν ἀναγκασθεῖσσας προσῆσον, σοὶ πόλεως τε στασιαζούσης καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἐν τάχει βουλόμενοι βοηθῆσαι (Ἐὐβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλημένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς πάντα ἦν), πέμπουσι Θυμοχάρα στρατη.

3 γών καὶ ναῦς ἔς Ἑρέτριαν. Ὁν ἀφικομένων ἔμεν τοῖς πρότερον ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ οὔσαις ἐξ καὶ πριάκοντα ἐγένοντο. καὶ εὔθυς ναυμαχεῖν ἢναγκαίοντο· ὁ γὰρ Ἡγεσανδρίδας ἀριστοτοπωσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ Ὄμωποῦ ἀνήγαγε τὰς ναῦς, διέχει ἐξ μάλιστα ὁ Ὄμωπος τῆς τῶν Ἑρετρίων πόλεως βαλάσσης.

4 μέτρου ἐξήκοντα στάδιον. ὡς ὅπως ἐπέπλευε, εὔθυς ἐπλήρουν καὶ οἱ Ὅθηναιοι τὰς ναῦς, ὀλομένους σφῖσε παρὰ τὰς ναυσὶ τῶν στρατιῶτας ἐναίνει· οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀριστῶν ἐπιστιζόμενοι (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπωλέω ἀπὸ προνοίας τῶν Ἑρετρίων), ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔπ' ἐσχατα τοῦ ἀστεως οἰκίων, ὅπως σχολῇ πληρομένων φθάσειαν οἱ

1 4, after μεῖζονος, deleted by Hude, following the Scholiast.

1 i.e. through the occupation of Deceleia by the enemy; cf. vii. 27, 28.
with all their forces to the Peiraeus, thinking that a new war, launched by the enemy and more serious than their own domestic feud, was not far away, nay, was actually at their port. Some went aboard the ships that were lying ready, others began launching additional ships, while others still hastened to the defence of the walls and the entrance of the harbour.

XCV. But the Peloponnesians' ships, after sailing along the coast and doubling Sunium, came to anchor between Thoricus and Prasiae, but afterwards went on to Oropus. And the Athenians, in all haste and making use of unpractised crews under stress of necessity, inasmuch as the city was in a state of sedition and they were eager with the least delay to rally to the defence of their chief possession—for Euboea now meant everything to them, since they were debarred from Attica¹—sent Thymochares and some ships to Eretria. When they arrived and were joined by those already at Euboea the fleet numbered thirty-six ships. And they were forced to fight immediately; for Hegesander had no sooner breakfasted than he led out his ships from Oropus, and Oropus is only about sixty stadia distant from the city of Eretria by sea. When, therefore, he began his advance, the Athenians on their part began at once to man their ships, supposing that the crews were beside their vessels. But they chanced to be providing themselves with food for their breakfast, not in the market-place—for by design on the part of the Eretrians nothing was being offered for sale there—but from the houses in the furthest parts of the town; and this had been so arranged in order that while they were manning at their leisure the enemy
THUCYDIDES

πολέμιοι προσπεσόντες καὶ ἐξαναγκάσειαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὕτως ὅπως τύχον τὸν ἀνάγεσθαι. σημείων δὲ αὐτῶς ἐς τὸν ὤρωπὸν ἐκ τῆς Ερέας, ὅποτε χρὴ ἀνάγεσθαι, ἦρθη. διὰ τοιαύτης δὴ παρασκευὴς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀναγαγόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἑπετριῶν ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνου ὃμως καὶ ἀντέχον, ἔπειτα ἐς φυγήν τραπόμενοι καταδιώκονται ἐς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἑπετριῶν ός φιλίαιν καταφεύγουσιν, χαλεπώτατα ἐπραξαν φονεύομενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἐρέσια, ὃ εἴχον αὐτοὶ, περιήγησάνται καὶ ὅσαι ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀφίκονται ἐς τῶν νεῶν. λαβόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνοντες τοὺς δὲ ξωγρήσαντες τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. καὶ ὅστερον οὐ πολλῷ ᾿Εὐβοιάν τε, ἀπασαν ἀποστήσαντες πλὴν Ὀρεοῦ (ταῦτῃ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναίοι εἴχον), καὶ τάλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν καθίσταντο.

XCVI. Τοῖς δὲ Αθηναίοις ὃς ἤλθε τὰ περὶ τὴν ᾿Εὐβοιάν γεγενημένα, ἐκπλήξεις μεγίστη δή τῶν πρὶν παρέστη. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ξυμφορᾷ, καὶ περὶ μεγάλη τὸ τότε δόξας εἶναι, οὔτε ἄλλο οὖδέν 2 πω ὅπως ἐφόβησεν. οἵποι γὰρ στρατοπέδου τε τοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ ἀφεστηκότος, ἀλλὰν τε νεῶν οὐκ οὐσῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐσβησομένων, αὐτῶν τε στασιαζόντων καὶ ἀδηλοῦ ὃν ὁπότε σφίσειν αὐτοῖς εὐφράξουσι, τοσαύτη ἡ ξυμφορὰ ἐπεγεγέντο, εἰν 368
might surprise them by their attack and force them to put to sea in haphazard fashion. Besides, a signal had been hoisted at Eretria to apprise the Peloponnesian fleet at Oropus when to put to sea. So the Athenians put to sea under such disadvantage as regards preparation and engaged in battle off the harbour of Eretria; for some little time, however, they nevertheless did hold their own, but afterwards turned to flight and were pursued to shore. And such of them as took refuge in the city of Eretria, assuming that it was friendly, suffered a most cruel fate, being butchered by the inhabitants; but those who escaped to the fort in Eretrian territory which the Athenians themselves held were saved, as also all the ships that reached Chalcis. The Peloponnesians, having captured twenty-two Athenian ships and having either slain or taken prisoner their crews, set up a trophy. And not long afterwards they succeeded in persuading all Euboea to revolt except Oreus, which the Athenians themselves held, and proceeded to set in order the general affairs of the island.

XCVI. When the report of what had happened in Euboea reached Athens, there was greater consternation than ever before. For neither the disaster in Sicily, great though it seemed at the time, nor any other event had ever yet so frightened them. At a time when their army at Samos was in revolt, when there were no more ships to be had nor men to man them, when they were in a state of sedition at home and there was no telling when a conflict might break out among themselves, when, to crown all, a disaster had now come upon them of this magnitude, in which they had lost both their fleet
ΤΗ ΝΑΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΕΥΒΟΙΑΝ ἌΠΟΛΩΛΕΚΕΣΑΝ, ΕΞ Ἡ ΠΛΕΙΩ Ἡ ΤΗΣ ἌΤΤΙΚΗΣ ὙΦΕΛΟΝΤΟ, ΠΩΣ ΟΥΚ 3 ΕΙΚΟΤΩΣ ἩΘΥΜΟΥΝ; ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ Θ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΕΓΓΥΤΑΤΟΝ ΕΘΟΡΒΒΕΙ, ΕΙ ΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΙ ΤΟΛΜΗΣΟΥΙ ΝΕΥΚΗΚΤΟΤΕΣ ΕΥΘΥ 1 ΣΦΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑΙΑ ΕΡΗΜΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΝΕΩΝ ΠΛΕΙΝ: ΚΑΙ ΟΣΟΝ ΟΥΚ ἩΘΗ ΕΝΟΜΙΖΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΙΝΑΙ. ὌΠΕΡ ΑΝ, ΕΙ ΤΟΛΜΗΡΟΤΕΡΟΙ ἩΣΑΝ, ΒΑΔΙΩΣ ΑΝ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ Η ΔΙΕΞΤΗΣΑΝ ΑΝ ἘΤΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΦΟΡΜΟΪΤΕΣ Ἡ, ΕΙ ἘΠΟΛΙΩΡΚΟΝ ΜΕΝΟΝΤΕΣ, 2 ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ἈΠ' ΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΝΑΙΣ ἩΝΑΓΚΑΣΑΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΙΤΕΡ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΑΣ ΟΥΣΑΣ ΤΗ ΘΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΦΕΤΕΡΙΟΙΣ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΧΥΜΠΑΣΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΤΩ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΠΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΑΝ ἩΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΩΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΝΗΣΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΕΥΒΟΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ὩΣ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ 5 Η 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ἉΡΧΗ ΠΑΣΑ. ἈΛΛ' ΟΥΚ ΕΝ ΤΟΤΩ ΜΟΝΟ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΗ ΧΥΜΦΟΡΩΤΑΤΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΟΛΕΜΗΣΑΙ ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ, ἈΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ. ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ὙΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ, ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΞΕΙΣ ΟΙ ΔΕ ΒΡΑΔΕΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΤΟΛΜΟΙ, ΑΛΛΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙΝ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΗ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΩΦΕΛΟΥΝ. ἘΔΕΙΧΑΝ ΔΕ ΟΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΡ ὈΜΟΙΟΤΡΟΠΟΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΠΟΛΕΜΗΣΑΝ.

XCVII. ἘΠΙ Δ' ΟΥΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΓΓΕΛΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΟΙ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΝΑΙΣ ΤΕ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ ὉΜΩΣ ἘΠΛΗΡΟΥΝΝ ΚΑΙ ἘΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΞΥΝΕΛΕΥΟΝ, ΜΙΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ἘΣ ΤΗΝ

1 εὐθύς, Lobeck's conjecture for εὑθὺς of the MSS.
2 Hude reads with C, against the rest of the MSS., καὶ διέστησαν ἄν ἐτι μᾶλλον τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπολιώρκουν μένοντες κ.τ.λ.

1 cf. vii. lv. 2, where the same reason for the success of the Syracusans is given.
BOOK VIII. xcvi. 2–xcvii. 1

and, worst of all, Euboea, from which they derived more benefit than from Attica—had they not every reason to be despondent? But what alarmed them most and touched them most nearly was the possibility that the enemy, now victorious, might dare to make straight for Athens and attack the Peiraeus, which was now without ships to defend it; and they believed that they were all but there already. And indeed, if they had been more bold, the enemy could readily have done this very thing, and they would either, by setting up a blockade, have caused the city to be still more torn by factions, or else, if they had remained and laid siege to it, would have compelled the fleet in Ionia, though hostile to the oligarchy, to come to the rescue of their own relatives and of the city as a whole; and thereby the Hellespont would have been theirs, and Ionia, and the islands, and everything as far as Euboea—indeed almost the whole empire of the Athenians. But it was not on this occasion only that the Lacedaemonians proved the most convenient people in the world for the Athenians to make war upon, but on many others also. For being widely different in character—the one people being quick, the other slow; the one adventurous, the other timorous—it was especially in the case of a naval power that they were most helpful. And the Syracusans proved this; for it was because they were most similar in character to the Athenians1 that they made war upon them most successfully.

XCVII. However this may be, after the announcement of their defeat the Athenians, in spite of their difficulties, manned twenty ships, and also called meetings of the assembly—one immediately, which

371
Πύκνα καλουμένην, ούπερ καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰώθεσαν, ἐν ὑπερ καὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους καταπαύσαντες τοῖς πεντακισχίλιοις ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ πράγματα παραδούναι· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν ὁπόσοι καὶ ὅπλα παρέχονται· καὶ μισθὸν μηδένα φέρειν μηδὲμᾶς
2 ἀρχῆς, εἴ δὲ μῆ, ἐσπάρατον ἐπονήσαντο. ἐγίγνυτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ύστερον πυκνάλ ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφ᾽ ὧν καὶ νομοθέται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναίοι φαίνονται εὐ πολιτεύσαντες· μετρία γὰρ ἦ τε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἕγκρασες ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ ποιήμων τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων τούτο πρῶτον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν
3 πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ ἄλλους μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατιέναι, καὶ παρὰ τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐν Σάμω στρατόπεδον πέμψαντες διεκε- λεύοντο ἀνθάπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων.

XCVIII. Ἔν δὲ τῇ μεταβολῇ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον καὶ Ἀλεξικλέα καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν τῆς ὀλυγραχίας μάλιστα, ὑπεξέρχονται ἐς τὴν Δεκέλειαν. Ἀρισταρχος δὲ αὐτῶν μόνος (ἐτυχε γὰρ καὶ στρατηγῶν) λαβὼν κατὰ τάχος τοξότας τινὰς τοὺς βαρβαρωτάτους ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν
2 Οἰνόπην. ἦν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Βοιω-

1 πυκνάλ, for this reading of the MSS. Hude adopts ἐν Πυκνάλ, the conjecture of van Herwerden and Wecklein.

1 i.e. this was the first recognition of the Pnyx as once more the true seat of the assembly. The last assembly which had formally met had been held at Colonus (ch. lxvii. 2); one appointed, but not held, was to have met at the theatre of Dionysus (ch. xciii. 3).
was called to meet on that occasion for the first time in the place called Pnyx, where at other times also they had been wont to meet. At this meeting they deposed the Four Hundred, voted to deliver the management of affairs to the Five Thousand (and all who could furnish themselves with a hoplite's outfit were to belong to this number), and decided that no one was to receive pay for any office, the offender to be accounted accursed. Other meetings also were held later, at frequent intervals, as a result of which they appointed supervisors of the laws and voted the other measures pertaining to their form of government. And during the first period the Athenians appear to have enjoyed the best government they ever had, at least in my time; for there was a moderate blending of the few and the many, and this it was that first caused the state to recover from the wretched plight into which it had fallen. And they also voted to recall Alcibiades and others with him; and sending envoys both to him and to the army at Samos, they urged them to take a hand in their affairs.

XCVIII. At this change the party of Peisander and Alexicles and all the leading supporters of the oligarchy at once secretly left the city and went to Deceleia; but Aristarchus, alone of these, since he chanced to be a general, hastily took some bowmen of the most barbarous sort and proceeded to Oenoe. It was an Athenian fortress on the borders of Boeotia,

1 The 

2 The 

3 The 

4 The 

5 The 

6 The 

7 The 

8 The 

9 The
τίας τείχος, ἐπολιόρκοιν δ' αὐτῷ διὰ ξυμπορᾶν σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς Οἰνόης γενομένην ἀνδρῶν ἐκ Δεκελείας ἀναχωροῦντων διαφθορᾶς οἱ Κορινθιοὶ ἔθελοντιδόν, προσπαρακαλέσαντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς. 3 κοινολογησάμενος οὖν αὐτοῖς ο̣ Ἁρίσταρχος ἀπατᾷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Οἰνόη, λέγων ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τάλλα ξυμβεβήκασι Λακεδαιμονίως, κάκεινος δὲ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ χώριον παραδόοιναι ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ ξυμβεβάσθαι. οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ὡς ἄνδρὶ στρατηγῷ καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες οὔδὲν διὰ τὸ πολυρκεῖ-4 σθαί, ὑπόσπουδοι ἐξέρχονται. τοῦτῳ μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ Οἰνόην τε ληφθείσαν 1 Βοιωτοὶ κατέλαβον καὶ ἥ ἐν ταῖς 'Αθηναίαις ὀλγαρχία καὶ στάσεις ἐπαύσατο.

XCIX. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τοῦτον καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὡς τροφὴν τε οὐδεὶς ἐδίδον τῶν ὕπὸ Τίσσαφερνος τότε ὅτε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσπενδον παρῆι 2 προσταχθέν-των, καὶ αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες οὔδὲ ὁ Τίσσαφερνης πῶς ἦκον, ὃ τε Φιλίππος οἱ ξυμπεμφθείς αὐτῷ ἑπεστάλκει Μινδάρῳ τῷ ναϊρχῳ καὶ ἅλλος, Ἑπικράτης, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης καὶ ὁ ἐν Φασῆ-λιδι, ὅτι οὔτε αἱ νῆες παρέσοντο πάντα τε ἄδικοιντο ὕπὸ Τίσσαφερνος, Φαρνάβαζος τε ἐπικαλεῖτο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἦν πρόθυμος κομίσας τὰς

1 ληφθείσαν, with MSS., Hude emends to λειφθείσαν.
2 ὅτε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσπενδον παρῆι, deleted by Hude as not read by the Scholiast.

1 The general purport; there is no verb in the text for the subject ὁ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι. After the long parenthesis the subject is resumed in οὕτω δὴ ὁ Μινδαρος, "In these circumstances, then, Mindarus."
and the Corinthians, having called to their aid the Boeotians, were besieging it on their own account, because of a misfortune they had suffered at the hands of the garrison at Oenoe when they lost some men as they were returning from Deceleia. So Aristarchus, after first making his plans known to the besiegers, deceived the garrison at Oenoe by telling them that their partisans in the city had made terms with the Lacedaemonians, and that, among other things, this garrison must surrender the place to the Boeotians; for the agreement had been made on these conditions. The garrison trusted him because he was a general, being in complete ignorance because they were in a state of siege, and evacuated the fort under a truce. In this manner Oenoe was taken and occupied by the Boeotians, and thus the oligarchy at Athens and the struggle between the factions came to an end.

XCIX. During this summer, about the same time as these events, the situation of the Peloponnesians in Miletus was as follows: None of the officers appointed by Tissaphernes at the time when he went to Aspendus would give them maintenance, and neither the Phoenician ships nor Tissaphernes himself had yet come; Philippus, who had been sent with him, and also another person, a Spartan named Hippocrates who was at Phaselis, had written letters to Mindarus, the admiral, saying that the ships would never come and that they were being wronged in all things by Tissaphernes; moreover, Pharnabazus was inviting them to come and was eager, when he should have got the assistance of the Peloponnesian fleet, to do just what Tissaphernes

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1 cf. ch. lxxxvii. 6.
ναῦς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς λοιπὰς ἔτει πόλεις τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἀποστήσας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅσπερ καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρης, ἐπιτέλων πλέον τι σχήσειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὗτο δὴ ὁ Μίνδαρος πολλῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀπὸ παραγγέλματος αἰφνιδίου, ὅπως λάθος τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ, ἀρας ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ναῦσι τρισὶ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπλει ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλησπόντων (πρῶτον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τῶν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔσ αυτὸν νῆς ἐπέπλευσαν, αἱ καὶ τῆς Χερσονήσου τι μέρος κατέδραμον). χειμασθεὶς δὲ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς καταίρει ἐς τὴν Ἰκαροῦ, καὶ μείνας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ ἀπλοῖας πέντε ἡ ἡμέρας ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν Χίον.

Ο. Ὁ δὲ Ῥάσυλλος ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἐπείδ' ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπηρκότα, ἐπλει καὶ αὐτὸς ναῦσιν εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα, ἐπεισόμενος μὴ φθάσῃ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐς- ἐς πλεύσας. αἰσθομένοις δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῇ Χίῳ εἶν καὶ νομίσας αὐτῶν καθέξιν αὐτόν, σκοποῦσι μὲν κατε- στήσατο καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥέσβω καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, εἰ ἀρα ποιοῦντο αἱ νῆς, ὅπως μὴ ἀλθοῦν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μηθυμναὶν παραπλεύσας ἀλφιτὰ τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρασκευάζειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς, ἣν πλείων χρόνος ἐγγύγηται, ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου τοὺς ἐπίπλους τῇ Χίῳ ποιησόμενος.

3 ἀμα δὲ ("Ερεσος γὰρ τῆς Λέσβου ἄφειστηκε") ἐβουλευτὸ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν πλεύσας, εἰ δύνατο, ἐξελεῖν. Μηθυμναίων γὰρ σὺχ οἱ ἀδυνατώτατοι φυγάδες, ἰακομίαντες ἐκ τε τῆς Κύμης προσεταριστοῦς ὀπλίτας ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἁπείρου

1 ἐγγύγηται, Krüger’s correction for γίγνηται of the MSS.
was to have done and to cause the rest of the cities within his province to revolt from the Athenians, hoping to gain some advantage thereby. In these circumstances, then, Mindarus put off from Miletus, in good order and, giving his fleet the command without previous notice that his move might not become known to the Athenians at Samos, he sailed for the Hellespont with seventy-three ships; for earlier in this same summer sixteen ships had sailed thither and had overrun a portion of the Chersonesus. Mindarus, however, was caught by a storm and forced to make harbour at Icarus; there he remained five or six days by reason of bad weather and then went on to Chios.

C. When Thrasyllus heard that Mindarus had put to sea from Miletus, he also sailed at once from Samos with fifty-five ships, making all haste that the enemy might not enter the Hellespont before him. But learning that Mindarus was at Chios and believing that he could keep him there, he posted scouts both at Lesbos and on the mainland opposite, in order that, if the enemy’s ships should make a move in any direction, he should have knowledge of it; as for himself, he sailed along the coast to Methymna, and gave orders to prepare barley-meal and general provisions, with the idea that, if a considerable time elapsed, he would use Lesbos as a base for attacks upon Chios. At the same time, since Eresus in Lesbos had revolted, he wished to sail against it and take it if possible. For some exiles who had been driven out of Methymna, and those the most influential citizens, had brought over from Cyme about fifty hoplites that had been taken into their clubs, had hired still others from the mainland, and
μισθωσάμενοι, ξύμπασιν ός τριακοσίοις, Ἀναγραμνών Θηβαίοι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές ἡγουμένων, προσέβαλον πρώτῃ Μηθύμνη καὶ ἀποκρουσθέντες τῆς πείρας διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μυτιλήνης Ἀθηναίους φρουροὺς προελθόντας, αὖθις ἔξω μάχῃ ἀποσθέντες καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὀροῦ κοιμοθέντες ἀφιστάσι τὴν

4 Ἐρεσον. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Ἐρασύλλος ἐπ' αὐτήν πάσαις ταῖς ναισὶ διενείπτε προσβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι. προαφυγόμενος δὲ αὐτόσε ἢν καὶ ὁ Ἐρασύβουλος πέντε ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ὡς ἡγέλθη αὐτοῖς

5 ἡ τῶν φυγάδων αὐτῇ διάβασις· ὑστερίσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν "Ἐρεσον ἑλθὼν ἐφορμεῖ, ποσεγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου τινῶν δύο νησῶν ἔπ' οἰκον ἀνακομιζόμεναι καὶ Μηθύμναιαι τον πέντε· καὶ αἱ πάσαι νησὶ παρῆσαν ἐπὶ καὶ ἔξοχοντα, ἀφ' ὄν τῷ στρατεύματι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς κατὰ κράτος μηχανάς τε καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἢν δύσωρται, αἰρήσοντες τὴν "Ερεσον.

Cl. Ὁ δὲ Μίνδαρος ἐν τούτῳ καὶ αἱ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆσες, ἐπιστησάμεναι δυοῖν ἡμέραιν καὶ λαβώντες παρὰ τῶν Χίουν τρεῖς τεσσαρακοσίας ἐκάστους Χλας, τῇ τρίτῃ διὰ ταχέων ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκ τῆς Χίου οὖν πελάγιαι, ἢν μὴ περιτύχωσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐρέσῳ ναυσίν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀριστερὰ τὴν Ἐλεσβον ἔχοντες ἐπιεύον ἐπὶ τὴν

2 ἡπειροῦ, καὶ προσβαλόντες τῆς Φωκαίδος ἐς τὸν

1 αἱ μηθύμναι B. 2 πέντε, added by Dobree. 3 οὐ, added by Haacke.

1 cf. ch. v. 2, where the Boeotians support the Lesbians in their application to Agis for assistance; also iii. 2, where the Boeotians are said to be kinsmen of the Mytileneans.
now with these troops, about three hundred in all, commanded by Anaxarchus a Theban on the strength of kinship, had made an attack upon Methymna first; and when they had been foiled in this attempt by the timely arrival of the Athenian garrison in Mytilene, and had been again repulsed in a battle fought outside the walls, they had made their way over the mountain and had brought about the revolt of Eresus. Thrasyllus therefore now sailed thither with all his fleet, intending to assault the town. Thrasybulus also had already arrived there from Samos with five ships, after word had been brought to him of the crossing of the exiles; but being too late to save Eresus, he had merely anchored there on his arrival. The Athenian fleet was likewise reinforced by two vessels that were returning home from the Hellespont and by five Methymnaean ships, so that there were present in all sixty-five ships. It was with the troops from these ships that they were preparing to take Eresus by assault, with the aid of engines or in any way they could.

Cl. Meanwhile Mindarus and the Peloponnesian ships at Chios, having spent only two days in provisioning and having received from the Chians three Chian tessaracosts for each man, on the third day set sail in all haste from Chios, avoiding the open sea that they might not fall in with the Athenian fleet at Eresus, but keeping Lesbos on their left, and making for the mainland. They first touched at the harbour of Carterea in the territory of

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2 Or, reading at Methymnaion, with B., "(all) the Methymnaean ships."

3 Literally "fortieths" of some local coin, possibly the golden stater; about 4d.; 8 cents.
ἐν Καρτερείδοις λιμένα καὶ ἀριστοποιησάμενοι, παραπλευσάντες τὴν Κυμαλαν δευτεροποιοῦνται ἐν Ἀργινούσσαις ὡς ἥπειρος ἐν τῷ ἀντί-3 πέρας τῆς Μυτιλήνης. ἑστείθη δὲ ἐτε πολλῆς νυκτὸς παραπλευσάντες καὶ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς ἥπει-ροῦ ἤς Ἀρματοῦντα καταντερκυ Μηθύμνης, ἀριστοποιησάμενοι διὰ ταχέων παραπλευσάντες Λεκτὸν καὶ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαξίτον καὶ τὰ ταύτη χωρία ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Ῥοίτειον ἡδὴ τοῦ Ἑλλη-σόντου, πρὸ τοὺς μέσον νυκτῶν. εἰς δὲ αἱ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς Σίγειον κατῆραν καὶ ἀλλοσα τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων.

CIII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ Σηστῷ δυοῖν δεού-σαις εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ὄντες, ὡς αὐτοῖς φη σφτεροὶ ἐσήμαινον καὶ ἡσθάνοντο τὰ πυρὰ ἐξαιρήσεις πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ φανέρα, ἐγνώσαν ὅτι ἐσ-πλέουσιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης νυκτὸς ὡς εἶχον τάχους ὑπομείβαντες τῇ Χερσο-νήσῳ, παρέπλευον ἐπὶ Ἑλλαίοντος, βουλῶμενοι ἐκπλεύσαι ἐς τὴν ὑπογκωρίαν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων 2 ναύς. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἁβύδῳ ἐκκαίδεκα ναύς ἔλαβον, προειρημένης φυλακῆς τῷ φιλίῳ ἐπίπλοι, ὥσ ποι αὐτῶν ἀνακύκτω ἐξουσία, ἤν ἐκπλεύσειν τὰς 1 καὶ, added by Gertz after Ἀργινούσσαι, is adopted by Hude.
2 Krüger deletes τῆς ἥπειρος.
3 τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ναύς, deleted by Hude, following Dobree.

If τῆς ἥπειρος is genuine, there must have been a town Arginussae on the mainland opposite the islands of that name. The Schol. on Ar. Fraga. 33 mentions a town Arginussae. Deleting τῆς ἥπειρος, as Krüger suggests, we should have, "at the Arginussae, opposite Mytilene." With Hude's
Phocaea, where they dined, and then, sailing along the Cymaean coast, supped at Arginussae on the mainland opposite Mytilene. Thence they proceeded long before dawn along the coast until they came to Harmatus, on the mainland opposite Methymna; there they breakfasted in haste and then sailed along the coast past Lectum, Larisa, Hamaxitus and the other places in that region, arriving at Rhoeoteum before midnight. Some of the ships even made harbour at Sigeium and other places in that neighbourhood.

CIII. But the Athenians who were at Sestus with eighteen ships, when their signallers gave them notice and they observed the sudden blaze of numerous fires on the hostile shore, realized that the Peloponnesians were entering the straits. So that same night, making what speed they could and keeping close to the shore of the Chersonesus, they sailed toward Elaeus, wishing to get by the enemy's ships and out into the open water. And they did elude the sixteen ships at Abydos, although these had been cautioned by a friendly boat that sailed up to be on the alert in case the Athenians should try to leave the straits; but the ships commanded

text (adding καὶ) the meaning would be that they supped, some at the islands, others on the mainland.

2 cf. ch. xcix. (end).
3 The passage was so understood by the Scholiast (τῷ φίλῳ ἐπίπλω ὑπὸ τοῦ φίλου ἐπίπλον, τούτεστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ μετὰ Μινδάρου). But commentators find the construction harsh and unexampled in Thucydides with προειρήσθαι. Tucker explains: "They escaped the notice of the ships at Abydos, who had given warning to their approaching friends (Mindarus) to keep a watch for them in case of their trying to sail out." So also Goodhart.
δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Μινδάρου ἀμα τῇ ἕω κατιδόντες· τὴν διώξει εὐθὺς ποιομένας οὐ φθανοῦσι πάσαις· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν πλεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰμβροῦ καὶ Δήμου διέφυγον, τέσσαρες δὲ τῶν νεῶν αἱ υσταται πλέονται καταλαμβάνονται περὶ τῶν Ἑλαιούντα. καὶ μίαν μὲν ἐποκείλασαν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι λαμβάνοντι, δύο δὲ ἑτέρας ἀνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν δὲ μίαν πρὸς τῇ Ἰμβρῷ φευγήν κατακαίουσιν.

CIII. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ταῖς τη Ἐβοῦ συμμυγείσαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις, ξυμπάσαις δὲ καὶ ὁγισθοκοντα, πολιορκήσαντες Ἑλαιούντα ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς οὐ προσεχώρει, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Ἀβύδου.

Oi δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ψευσθέντες τῶν σκοπῶν καὶ ὁυκ ἀν οἰόμενοι σφᾶς λαθεῖν τῶν παράπλησιν τῶν πολεμῶν νεῶν, ἄλλα καθ' ἱσυχίαν τειχομαχοῦντες, ὡς ἠθοποιότα, εὐθὺς ἀπολειπόντες τὴν Ἑρεσον κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐς τῶν Ἐλλήσποντον καὶ δύο τε ναῦς τῶν Πελοπονησίων αἱροῦσιν, αἱ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τότε θραυστέρον ἐν τῇ διώξει ἀπαράσαι περὶ ἐποιεῖσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡμέρα ὑστερον ἀφικόμενοι ὀρμῆσαι ἐς τῶν Ἑλαιούντα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰμβροῦ δοσὶ κατέφυγον κομίζονται καὶ ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν πέντε ἡμέρας παρεσκευάζοντο.

CIV. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἑναυμάχουν τρόπῳ τούφε, οἱ Ἀθηναίοι παρέπλευσαν ἐπὶ κέρως ταχάμενοι παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῆς Σηρτοῦ, δὲ Πελοπον-
by Mindarus, which they descried at dawn—and these immediately gave chase—they could not outstrip with their entire fleet, but though most of their ships made good their escape to Imbros and Lemnos, four of them that brought up the rear were overtaken near Elaeus. One of these, which was stranded at the sanctuary of Protesilaus, was captured with all on board, and two others without their crews; the fourth, which had been deserted by its crew, the enemy burned close to Imbros.

CIII. After this Mindarus took all his ships, including those which had been at Abydus and were now united with his fleet, eighty-six vessels in all, and for that day invested Elaeus; but when it would not yield they all sailed back to Abydus.

The Athenians at Eresus, on the other hand, misled by their scouts and never imagining that the enemy could sail past them unobserved, were assaulting the walls at their leisure; but when they learned the truth they abandoned Eresus at once and hastened with all speed to the defence of the Hellespont. And they captured two of the Peloponnesian ships, which fell in with them at that moment, having put out into the open sea too boldly in their pursuit. A day later they reached Elaeus and cast anchor; then they brought thither the ships at Imbros that had taken refuge there and spent the next five days preparing for the battle.

CIV. When that time had elapsed they began the battle in the following manner. The Athenians, arrayed in single column, were sailing close in to shore in the direction of Sestus, when the Pelo-

* πᾶσας, Reiske's conjecture for πᾶσαι of most MSS.
νήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου ἀντανήγην καὶ 2 αὐτοὶ. καὶ ὡς ἐγνώσαν ναυμαχήσοντες, παρε
tεινον τὸ κέρας οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι παρὰ τὴν Χερσό
νησον, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἰδάκου μέχρι Ἀρριανῶν, νή
es ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Δαρδανοῦ, νῆς ἐξ καὶ ὕδατ
κοντα. κέρας δὲ τοὺς μὲν Πελοποννησίους εἴχον
tὸ μὲν δεξίον Συρακόσιοι, τὸ δὲ ἐτερον αὐτὸς
Μίνδαρος καὶ τῶν νεών αἱ ἀριστά πλέουσαι,
Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν Ῥασύβουλος, ὁ δὲ
Θρασύβουλος τὸ δεξίον: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ 4
ὡς ἔκαστοι διετάξαντο. ἐπειγομένων δὲ τῶν Πελο-
ποννησίων προτέρων τε ξυμμεῖξαν, καὶ κατὰ μὲν
tὸ δεξίον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερσχόντες αὐτοὶ τῷ
eψωνυμῷ ἀποκλήσας τοῦ ἐξὸς αὐτοὺς ἔκπλουν, εἰ
dύναντο, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐξώσας πρὸς τὴν γῆν
σὺν ἐκάς οὖσαν, οἱ Ἀθηναίοι γρώτες, ἱ μὲν
eβολοῦτο ἀποφάρζασθαι αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, 5
ἀντεπεξῆγαν καὶ περιεγκνοντο τῷ πλῆ. τὸ δὲ
eψωνυμὸν αὐτοῖς ὑπερεβεβλήκει ὡς τὴν ἄκραν ἡ
Κυνὸς σῆμα καλεῖται. τῷ δὲ μέσῳ, τοιοῦτον
ξυμβαλόντος, ἀσθενεῖ καὶ διεσπασμένας ταῖς
μασί καθίσχωτο, ἄλλος τε καὶ ἐλάσσοςι χρώ-
μενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ περὶ τὸ Κυνὸς
σῆμα δεξιὰν καὶ γωνιώδη τὴν περιβολὴν ἔχοντος,
ὅπετα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐπί ἐκείνα αὐτοῦ γγνύμενα μὴ
κάτοπτα εἰναι.

CV. Προσπεσόντες οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ
tὸ μέσον ἐξώσαν τε ἐς τὸ ἕρην τὰς ναῦς τῶν
Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπεξέβησαν, τῷ ἔργῳ
2 πολὺ περισχόντες. ἀμύναι δὲ τῷ μέσῳ οὐθ' οἱ
περὶ τοῦ Θρασύβουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὑπὸ πλή-
ponnesians, observing their movements from Aby-
dus, went out to meet them. When they both
realised that a battle was imminent, the Athenians,
with seventy-six ships, extended their line parallel
with the shore of the Chersonesus, from Idacus to
Arrhiana, while the Peloponnesians, with eighty-six
ships, extended theirs from Abydus to Dardanus.
The right wing of the Peloponnesians was held by
the Syracusans, the other by Mindarus himself, who
had there his fastest ships; on the Athenian side,
Thrasylus had the left wing and Thrasybulus the
right, the other generals being stationed at intervals
throughout the line. The Peloponnesians were
eager to strike the first blow, and by outflanking
the Athenian right with their own left wing to cut
them off from the exit to the straits, if possible,
meanwhile in the centre driving them to the shore,
which was not far distant. The Athenians perceived
their intention, and at the point where their op-
ponents wished to bar their way they proceeded to
extend their line to prevent it, and were succeeding in
this manœuvre; indeed, their left had already passed
the headland called Cynossema. But in the centre,
as the result of this movement, their line of ships
became weak and straggling; and especially since
the number of their ships was smaller and the turn
of the coast at Cynossema is sharp and angular, so
that what was happening on the other side of it was
not visible.

CV. Accordingly the Peloponnesians, falling upon
their centre, drove the Athenian ships ashore and
landed to follow up their victory, having had a
decided advantage in the action. To assist their
centre was in the power neither of Thrasybulus and
THUCYDIDES

θους τῶν ἐπικειμένων νεῶν ἐδύναντο οὐθ' ὅι περὶ
tῶν Ὁράσυλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου (ἀφανές τε
γὰρ ἢν διὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα1 καὶ ἀμα
ὁ Συρακόσιοι καὶ ὁι ἄλλοι οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἐπιτε-
tαγμένοι εἷργον αὐτούς), πρὶν ὁι Πελοπονήσιοι
dιὰ τὸ κρατήσαντες ἄδεως ἄλλοι ἄλλην ναῦν
dιώκειν 2 ἡρξαντο μέρει τινὶ σφῶν ἀτακτότεροι
3 γενέσθαι. γνώντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τῶν Ὁράσυβουλον,
tὰς ἐπὶ σφίσι ναῦς ἐπεχοῦσας, παυσάμενοι τῆς
ἐπεξεργαγῆς ἤδη τοῦ κέρως καὶ ἐπαναστρέψαντες
eὐθὺς, ἦμυναντό τε καὶ τρέπουσι, καὶ τὰς κατὰ
τὸ νικῆσαν τῶν Πελοπονησίων μέρος ὑπολα-
βόντες πεπλανημένας ἐκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐς φόβου
τὰς πλεούς ἀμαχεῖ καθίστασαν. οἳ τε Συρα-
kόσιοι ἐτύγχανον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦδη τοῖς περὶ τῶν
Θράσυλλον ἐνδεδωκότες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐς φυγὴν
ὀρμήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρων.

CVI. Γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς καὶ καταφυ-
gόντων τῶν Πελοπονησίων πρὸς τὸν Πύδιον3
μᾶλλον ποταμὸν τὸ πρῶτον, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς
'Αβυδον, ναῦς μὲν ὀλίγας ἐλαβον οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι
(στενὸς γὰρ ὁ 'Ελλήσποντος βραχείας τὰς
ἀποφυγὰς τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρεῖχε), τὴν μὲντοι
νίκην ταύτης τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐπικαιροτάτην δὴ
2 ἔσχον. φοβούμενοι γὰρ τέως τὸ τῶν Πελοπο-
nησίων ναυτικὸν διὰ τε τὰ κατὰ βραχὺ σφάλματα
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ξυμφοράν, ἀπηλλάγησαν

1 τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα, deleted by van Herwerden, followed by
Hude.
2 διώκειν, Vulgate, though a majority of the better MSS.
have διώκοντες.
3 So C, Mélidion ABF.

386
his men on the right, by reason of the multitude of the ships that were pressing hard upon them, nor of the followers of Thrasyllus on the left; for that part of the field was concealed from him by the headland of Cynossema, and at the same time the Syracusans and the rest who were arrayed against him, being not inferior in number, hemmed him in. But finally the Peloponnesians, pursuing fearlessly in the flush of victory, some chasing one vessel, some another, began to fall into disorder in a part of their own line. The Athenians under Thrasybulus, realizing this, now ceased extending their flank, and immediately facing about began to fight the ships that were bearing down upon them, and put them to rout; then intercepting the ships in the victorious part of the Peloponnesian line that had strayed out of line, they smote them and drove most of them into headlong flight without resistance. It so chanced that the Syracusans on their part had already given ground to Thrasyllus and his division, and they took to flight still more when they saw the rest fleeing.

CVI. After the rout was thus effected, the Peloponnesians fled for refuge for the most part to the river Pydias at first, but afterwards to Abydus. The Athenians took only a few ships—for the Hellespont is narrow and afforded their opponents places of refuge near at hand—yet the victory which they won in this battle was indeed most opportune. Hitherto they had been afraid of the Peloponnesian fleet, on account not only of the gradual losses they had suffered, but especially of their disaster in Sicily; but now they ceased either to reproach

1 cf. ch. xiii. 4; xcv. 7; cii. 2.

387
THUCYDIDES

tou sphi te autous kataxemdefeiai kai toux polemous eti a'xiou tov es ta vautika nomizein.

3 vain meintoi tov enantion lamvbanoisi Xias men okto, Korinthias de pente, Amprakioitidas de duo kai Boiotias duo, Lewkadiwn de kai Dakebaimovin kai Syrakosion kai Pellhenewin miaen ekastow autol de pente kai deka vain upol-

4 lvasin, stiasesantes de tropoiou eti th akras ou to Kynos sima kai ta navaniai prosagagomei kai nekrous tois enantiois upospoundous apodontes apesteilaw kai es tas Athinas trideri argelou

5 ths nikes. oi de afikomeneis ths neos kai anelipioston thn eutuhiain akousantes eti te tois peri thn Euboeian arti xumforoas kai kata thn staion gegevenemais polu epeirwsthisan kai enomiasan sfisiv eti duvata einai ta pragmaata, huproshmos antilambanontai, perigeneosei.

CVII. Metad de thn navmachian emera tetartis upo spoudhis episekunantas tas vain oi en Sistow Athnavoi eteleplow eto Kuzikow afestei-
kviain kai kaitidontes kata Arpagon kai Prisaton tas apo tov Vouantion okto vain ormuvas, epilepanseantes kai makhe krateisantes toux en th ge elabon tas vain. afikomevnoi de kai eto thn Kuzikow aiteioston osan prosogaga-

2 goyno palian kai hriama aneprazaan. eteleusan de en touto kai oi Pelopoynhstoi ek ths Athvou eto ton Eleiounta kai ton sfetirwv neow ton aixmaalo ton osai hsan ygieis ekomwasto (tans de allas Eleiounos katekasan), kai es thn Euboeian anepemfan 'Ippokrathe kai 'Epikeia koumounetas tas ekedhen vain.
themselves or to consider their enemy any longer of any account in naval matters. However, they did capture of the enemy's fleet eight Chian ships, five Corinthian, two Ambracian, two Boeotian, and one each belonging to the Leucadians, Lacedaemonians, Syracusans, and Pellenians; and they lost fifteen themselves. So they set up a trophy on the headland where the Cynossema stands, brought in the wreckage, restored to the enemy their dead under a truce, and sent a trireme to Athens to announce their victory. When the ship arrived and the Athenians heard the news of the good fortune that was beyond their hopes, coming as it did on the heels of the disasters that had recently befallen them in Euboea and in the course of their factional dissensions, they were greatly encouraged, and believed that their cause might still prevail if they should zealously lay their hands to the work.

CVII. On the fourth day after the battle, after they had hastily refitted their ships, the Athenians at Sestos sailed against Cyzicus, which had revolted; and desiring the eight ships from Byzantium lying at anchor off Harpagium and Priapus, they sailed against them, defeated in battle the forces which on shore aided them, and captured the ships. Then going on to Cyzicus, they brought it back into the Athenian alliance, since it had no walls, and levied upon it a fine of money. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians on their part left Abydus and sailed to Elaeus, where they recovered such of their captured ships as were sound—the Elaeusians had burned the rest—and sent Hippocrates and Epicles to Euboea to fetch the ships that were there.

1 cf. ch. lxxx. 4.
CVIII. Κατέπλευσε δὲ ύπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦτος καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ταῖς τριαὶ καὶ δέκα ναυσῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Καῦνου καὶ Φασῆλιδος ἐς τὴν Σάμου, ἀγγέλλων ὅτι τὰς τε Φοινίκας ναῦς ἀποτρέψειε Πελοποννησίων ὡστε μὴ ἔλθειν, καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρη ὅτι φίλων πεποίηκοι μάλλον
2 Ἀθηναίοις ἢ πρότερον. καὶ πληρώσας ναῦς ἐννέα πρὸς αἷς εἶχεν Ἀλκαρμασσέας τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐξέπραξε καὶ Κῶν ἑτείχισεν. ταύτα δὲ πράξαι ἄρχοντα 1 ἐν τῇ Κῷ καταστήσας πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἢδη ἐς τὴν Σάμου κατέπλευσεν.
3 Καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσπένδου, ὡς ἐπιθέτο τάς τῶν Πελοποννήσιων ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐς τὸν Ελλήσποντον πεπλευκεῖας,
4 ἀνάζευξας ἦλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ιονίας. ὡντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννήσιων ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Ἀντ-ἀνδροι (εἰσὶ δὲ Αἰολῆς) παρακομισάμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Ἰδης τοῦ όρους ὀπλίτας ἐσθήγαγοντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Ἀρσάκου τοῦ Πέρσου, Τισσαφέρνου ὑπάρχου, ἀδικοῦμενοι, ὡσπερ καὶ Δηλίους τοὺς Ἀτραμύττειον κατοἰκή-σαντας, ὅτε ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων Δήλου καθάρσεως ἐνεκα ἀνέστησαν, ἔχθραν προσποιησάμενοι ἀδη-λον καὶ ἐπαγγελλάς στρατείαν αὐτῶν τοῖς βελτίστοις, ἐξαγαγὼν ὡς ἐπὶ φιλία καὶ ξυμμαχία, τηρήσας ἀριστοποιούμενος καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς
5 ἕαυτον κατηκόντεσεν. φοβούμενοι οὖν αὐτῶν διὰ τούτο τὸ ἔργον μὴ ποτε καὶ περὶ σφᾶς τι παρα- νομήσῃ, καὶ ἄλλα 2 ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῶν ἄφερειν

1 ἄρχοντα, B, Hude ἄρχοντας with most MSS.
2 ἄλλα, Hude reads ἄμα with Poppo-Stahl.
CVIII. At about this same time Alcibiades sailed back to Samos with the thirteen ships from Caunus and Phaselis, reporting that he had prevented the coming of the Phoenician ships to join the Peloponnesians and that he had made Tissaphernes more friendly to the Athenians than before. He then manned nine ships in addition to those he had, and exacted much money of the Halicarnassians, and also fortified Cos. Having done these things and appointed a governor at Cos, when it was already nearing autumn he returned to Samos.

As for Tissaphernes, on hearing that the Peloponnesian fleet had sailed from Miletus to the Hellespont, he broke up his camp at Aspendus and set out for Ionia. For while the Peloponnesians were in the Hellespont, the Antandrians, who are Aeolians, had brought some hoplites from Abydus overland by way of Mount Ida and introduced them into their city, since they were being unjustly treated by Arsaces the Persian, lieutenant of Tissaphernes. Now this was the man who, when the Delians settled at Atramyttium, at the time when they were removed from Delos by the Athenians for the purpose of purifying that island, professing a quarrel which he did not openly declare and proffering opportunity of military service to their leading men, had led them out on an expedition on a pretense of friendship and alliance, and then, waiting until they were at their midday meal, had surrounded them with his own troops and shot them down. The Antandrians, therefore, fearing that on account of this act of his he might some day commit some outrage upon them also, and because, furthermore, he was imposing upon them

1 cf. ch. lxxxviii. 1.  
2 cf. v. 1.
οὐκ ἔδύναντο, ἐκβάλλουσι τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως.

CIX. Ὡ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης αἰσθόμενος καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὸ ἔργον καὶ οὗ μόνον τὰ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ Κυίδῳ (καὶ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπετυκεσαν οἶ φρουροῖ), διαβεβλήσθαί τε νομίσας αὐτοῖς σφόδρα καὶ δείσας μὴ καὶ ἀλλο τι ἐτὶ βλάπτωσι, καὶ ἀμα ἀχθόμενος εἰ Φαρνάβαζος ἢ ἐλάσσονος χρόνον καὶ δαπάνης δεξαμενός αὐτοὺς κατορθώσει τι μᾶλλον τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πορεύεσθαι διενέειτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐλληστὸντος, ὅπως μέμψηται τε τῶν περὶ τὴν "Αυτανδρον γεγενημένων καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ περὶ τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς εὐπρεπέστατα ἀπολογήσηται. καὶ ἀφικόμενός πρῶτον ἐς "Εφεσον θυσίαν ἐποιήσατο τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι."
burdens which they were not able to bear, had driven his garrison out of their acropolis.

CIX. When Tissaphernes heard of this further act on the part of the Peloponnesians, in addition to what they had done at Miletus¹ and Cnidos,—for there also his garrisons had been expelled—thinking that he had got into exceeding disrepute with them and fearing that they might do him some further mischief still, and at the same time because he was vexed that Pharnabazus should accept their services, and in less time and at less expense than himself be more successful in coping with the Athenians—for all these reasons he determined to go to the Hellespont and see the Peloponnesians, that he might complain of what had been done at Antandros and might also defend himself as plausibly as he could against the slanderous charges they made against him in connection with the Phoenician ships and other matters. And so he came first to Ephesus and offered sacrifice to Artemis.

¹ cf. ch. lxxxiv. 4. ² cf. ch. xxxv. 1.
INDEX

Abdera, Nymphodorus of Abdera, II. xxix. 1; situation of, II. xcvi. 1.
Abydus, a Miletan colony, revolts, VIII. lxii. 1; revolts; Strombichides recalled from, VIII. lxxix. 3; Lacedaemonian headquarters, VIII. ciii.-cviil.
Acamantis, an Athenian tribe, IV. cxviii. 11.
Acanthus, an Andrian colony, IV. lxxxiv. 1; addressed by Brasidas, ib. lxxvi.-lxxvii.; revolts, ib. lxxxviii.; Acanthian troops with Brasidas, ib. cxxiv. 1; provision respecting, in the treaty between Lacedaemon and Athens, V. xviii. 6.
Acanthus, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the treaty of peace, V. xix. 24.
Acarnan, son of Alcmene, eponymous hero of Acarnania, II. cli. 6.
Acarnania, people of, carry arms, I. v. 3; allies of Athens, II. vii. 3; ix. 4; lxviii. 7; III. xciv. 2; cli. 3; IV. lxxvii. 2; lxxxix. 1; cli. 3; VII. lvii. 10; lx. 4; lxvii. 2; invaded by the Ambraciots, II. lxxx.-lxxxii.; skillful slingers, II. lxxx. 8; VII. xxxi. 5; expedition of Phormio against Oeniadae, II. cii.; request a relation of Phormio as commander, III. vii. 1; attack Leucas, xciv. 1, 2; common council of, cv. 1; defeat the Ambraciots, cv.-cxliv.; conclude a treaty with the Ambraciots, cxiv. 3; colonize Anactorium, IV. xliii.
Achaia [in Peloponnesus], Achaean early name of the Hellenes, I. iii. 3; allies of the Athenians, I. iii. 3; restored to the Lacedaemonians, cxv. 1; at first neutral, except the Peloponnesians, II. ix. 2; colonize Zacynthus, II. lxvi.; not allowed to join in the foundation of Heraclia, III. xci. 5; redeemed from the Lacedaemonians by Cleon, IV.

xxi. 3; support the Peloponnesians in the engagement off Erineus, VII. xxxiv. 2.
Achaia [Pathlitis], IV. lxxv. iii. 1; subject to the Thessalians, VIII. iii. 1.
Acharnae, largest of the Attic demes, ravaged, II. xix. 2; reasons why the Lacedaemonians halted there, xx.; distress of the Athenians at seeing Acharnae ravaged, xxi.; ravage continued, xxiii.
Achelous, the river, II. cli. 2; III. vii. 4; cvii. 1.
Acheron, river in Thesprotis, I. xlvi. 4.
Acherusian lake in Thesprotis, I. xlvi. 4.
Achilles, followers of, the original Hellenes, I. iii. 3.
Acrae, in Sicily, founded by the Syracusans, VI. v. 2.
Acraean Bald, in Sicily, VII. lxxvii. 5.
Acragas, a river in Sicily VI. iv. 4.
Acropolis of Athens, taken by Cylon, I. cxxvi.; treasure on the Acropolis, II. xiii. 3; formerly the city, xv. 3; preserved from occupation in the plague, xvii. 1; treaties of peace recorded on tablets there, V. xviii. 11; xxiii. 4; xlvi. 11; inscription there commemorating the oppression of the tyrants, VI. iv. 1.
Acrothous, in Acte, IV. cix. 3.
Acte, the peninsula, IV. cix. 1.
Actium, in the territory of Anactorium, I. xxix. 3; xxx. 3.
Admetus, King of the Molossians, I. cxxxvii., cxxvii.
Aeantides, son-in-law of Hippias, husband of Archidice, VI. lix. 3.
Aegaleos, Mt., in Attica, II. xii. 2.
Aegean Sea, I. xcvi. 2; IV. cix. 2.
Aegina, early fleets of; first wars between Aeginetans and Athenians, I. xiv. 3; xli. 2; sends delegates to Lacedaemon, lxvii. 2; second war between the two, cv. 2; Aeginetans capitulate, cvii. 4; the independ-
ence of the Aeginetans demanded by the Lacedaemonians, cxxxix. 1; cxx. 3; expelled by the Athenians, who send thither colonists from Athens, and settled by the Lacedaemonians at Thyrea, II. xxvii.; assist Lacedaemonians in the war of Ithome, ibi; attacked by the Athenians in Thyrea, IV. lvi. 2; lvii. 1, 4; Aegina on the direct route from Athens to Argos, v. iii.; the Athenian settlers in Aegina at Mantinea, v. lxxiv. 3; the Sicilian expedition races to Aegina, vi. xxxii. 2; Athenian settlers in Aegina at Syracuse, vili. xxxvii. 2; aid in the oligarchical conspiracy at Athens, VIII. lxix. 3.

Aegidium, in Aetolia, III. xcvi. 2.

Aeneas, a Corinthian representative in treaty, IV. cxix. 2.

Aenianians, in Malis, v. li. 1.

Aenestias, ephor at Sparta, II. li. 1.

Aenetus, in Thrace, IV. xxviii. 4; founded by the Boeotians but tributary to the Athenians, VII. iv. 4.

Aecolian countries and cities: Cyme, III. xxxi. 1; Boeotia, VII. lvii. 5; Lesbians, VII. lvii. 5; Antandrus, VIII. cviii. 4.

Aecolian subjects of Athens, VII. lvii. 5.

Aecolians ancient occupants of Corinth, IV. xiii. 2.

Aeolians, ancient name of Calydon, III. clii. 5.

Aeolus, islands of, allies of the Syracusans, III. lxxxviii.

Aesimides, a Corcyraean commander, I. xlvii. 1.

Aeson, an Argive envoy to Lacedaemon, v. xi. 3.

Aethaea, Lacedaemonian Perioeci of, I. cli. 2.

Aethioplia, plague said to have started there, II. lvi. 1.

Aetna, eruption of, III. cxvi. 1.

Aetolia, customs of, I. v. 3; III. xciv. 4; disastrous campaign of the Athenians in, III. xciv.—xcviii.; persuade the Lacedaemonians to send an expedition against Nauactus, III. c.; participate in the expedition, III. cli.; Aetolians before Syracuse, VII. lvii. 9.

Agamemnon, power of, I. ix.

Agatharchidas, a Corinthian commander, II. lxxxiii. 4.

Agatharchus, a Sicilian commander, VII. xxv. 1; lxx. 1.

Agesander, Lacedaemonian envoy to Athens, I. cxxxi. 3.

Agesandridas, a Spartan commander, VIII. clii. 2; xciv. 1; xcvi. 3.

Agesippidas, a Lacedaemonian commander, V. ivii. 1.

Agis, King of Lacedaemon, III. lxxxix. 1; leads invasion of Attica, IV. ii. 1; retreats, IV. vi. 1; swears to the treaty of alliance, v. xix. 24; marches toward Argos but retires, v. liv.; attacks Argos, v. lvii.; surrounds the Argives, v. lviii., lxx.; makes a truce with the Argives, v. lxi. 1; censured, lxii. 2; lxiiii. 2; ten Spartiates chosen as advisers to him, lxiiii. 4; operations against the Argives, v. lxvi.; surprised by the enemy, v. lxvi. 1; defeats the enemy, v. lxx.—lxvii.; leads a new expedition to Argos, v. lxxiv. 1; invades Attica and fortifies Decelea, VII. xix. 1; xxvii. 4; raises money for a navy, VIII. iii. 1; his great powers, VIII. v. 3; enemy of Alcibiades, VIII. xii. 2; xiv. 1; rejects the overtures of the Athenian oligarchs, VIII. lxx. 2; lxxi. 1; repulsed from the walls of Athens, lxxii. 2; advises the Four Hundred to send envoy to Sparta, lxxvi. 3.

Agraeans, in Aetolia, II. clii. 2; III. cvii. 2; III. ivii. 4; cxxiv. 3; forced into the Athenian alliance, IV. lxxvii. 2; employed in a descent upon Sicily, IV. cl. 3.

Agrarianians, a people, in Paeonia, II. xcvi. 3.

Agrigentum (Acragas), founded by the Geloni, VI. iv. 4; won over to the Athenians by Phaeax, v. iv. 6; remains neutral between Syracuse and Athens, VII. xxxii. 1; xxxiii. 1; lviii. 1; falls into revolution, VII. xiv.; pro-Syracusian party driven out, VII. i. 1.

Alcaeus, archon at Athens, v. xix. 1; xxv. 1.

Alcamenes, a Lacedaemonian com-
INDEX

mander, VIII, v. 2; ordered to
Lesbos as commander, VIII, viii. 2;
slain by the Athenians at Pelium,
VIII, x. 4.
Alcibiades, urgent to annul the
treaty with the Lacedaemonians,
v. xiii.; Lacedaemonian prosenus,
xiii. 2; negotiates an alliance
with Argos, Mantinea and Elis,
v. xiv., xvi.; intrigues against
the Lacedaemonians, v. xiv.;
activity in the Peloponnesus, v.
iii., liii., lv.; persuades the
Athenians to declare the treaty broken
and resettle Helots at Pylos, v.
vi. 3; ambassador at Argos,
v. lii. 2; lxxvi. 3; seizes some sus-
ppected Argives, v. lxxxiv. 1;
appointed one of the generals of
the Sicilian expedition, vii.
vi. 2; extravagant character, vii.
xxii.; unpopularity helped to ruin
Athens, vii. xv.; victories at Olympia,
vii. xvi.; speech, vii. xvi.-xviii.;
accused of mutilating the Hermæ
and profaning the mysteries, vii.
xxviii. 1; begs in vain to be tried
before sailing, vii. xxix.; opinion
given in council of war, vii. xlviii.;
unsuccessful in proposals to Mes-
sene, vi. i. 1; Salamis comes
to take him home, vii. iii. 1; escapes
at Thurii and is condemned to
death, vii. lix. 6, 7; causes failure
of plot to betray Messene, vii.
lxxiv. 1; goes to Lacedaemon, vii.
xxxxviii. 9; speech there, vi.
lxxxix.-
xcii.; persuades the Lacedaemonians
to fortify Decelia, vii.
xxviii. 1; supports the Chians at
Sparta, VIII, vi. 3; persuades the
Spartan government not to give
up the Chian expedition, VIII.
xii.; sails to Ionia with Chalcidens,
viii. xii. 3; induces the revolt of
Chios, Erythrae, and Clazomenæ,
viii. xiv.; chases Strombichides into
Samos, VIII, xv. 3; induces revolt
of Miletus, VIII, xvii.; urges the
Lacedaemonians not to permit the
investment of Miletus, VIII, xxvi.
3; in disfavour with the Laced-
aemonians, he withdraws to
Tissaphernes and endeavours to
ruin the Lacedaemonian cause
with him, repulsing the revolted
cities when they beg money,
VIII, xiv.; advises Tissaphernes
to wear out the Lacedaemonians and
Athenians one upon the other,
VIII, xiv.; conspires with the
Athenians at Samos to overthrow
the democracy, VIII, xiv.-xix.;
opposed by Phrynichus, VIII,
xivii. 4-7; endeavours to ruin Phry-
 nichus, VIII, i. 1, 4; seeks to draw
Tissaphernes over to the Athenian
cause, VIII, iii.; persuades Tiss-
aphernes to make impossible de-
mands of Pelaander, VIII, iv.;
recalled by the Athenians at
Samos, he encourages the army
with extravagant hopes, VIII.
xxxxiv.; elected general, he restrains
the army from proceeding against
the Pelasgi; goes to Tissaphernes,
VIII, xxxii.; again restrains the
people from sailing to the Pelasgi
thus performing an eminent ser-
vice, VIII, lxxvi.; sails to Aegina,
promising to keep back the
Phocian fleet, VIII, lxxxiv.;
recalled by the Athenians at home,
VIII, xvii. 3; returns from Carystus
professing to have secured Tis-
saphernes' friendship for the
Athenians, VIII, cxxvi. 1; returns
to Samos, VIII, cxxvii. 2.
Alcidas, takes command of the
Peloponnesian fleet sent to Lesbos,
VII, xvi. 3; fleet despatched, III.
xxvi. 1; determines to return,
III, xxxii.; slanders his captives,
III, xxxii. 1; chased to Patmos
by the Athenians, III, xxxii.;
lixi. 1; sails to Corcyra, III, lixii.,
lixiv.; engages the Athenians,
III, lixvi., lixvii.; retires, lixiv.-
lixvi.; one of the founders of
Hermelida, III, xiiii.
Alcmenades, a Lacedaemonian, swears
to the treaty, v. xix., xxiv.
Alicnous, sanctuary of Zeus and
Alcmenes at Corcyra, III, lixi. 4.
Alcibiades, an Argive, prosenus of
the Lacedaemonians, V, lix. 4.
Alcmæon, son of Amphiaras, story
of, II, ciii. 6.
Alcmeonides, aid in the deposition
of Hippias, VI, lix. 4.
INDEX

Alexander, father of Perdiccas, king of Macedon, I. lvii. 2; cxxviii. 1; of Argive descent, II. xcix. 3.

Alexarchus, a Corinthian commander, VII. xix. 4.

Alexicles, an Athenian general of the oligarchical party arrested, VIII. xci. 4; released, xci. 1; flees to Decelea, xcvi. 1.

Alexippidas, ephor at Lacedaemon, VIII. lvi. 1.

Alcyaeans, in Sicily, VII. xxxii. 1.

Allies of the Athenians: character of the alliance, I. xix.; used to meet at Delos, I. xcvi.; members originally independent, I. xcvi. 1; their gradual subjugation, I. xcix.; allies at opening of the Peloponnesian War, II. ix. 4; allies present before Syracuse, VII. lvii.

Allies of the Lacedaemonians: formation of the league, I. xviii.; its character, I. xix.; allies summoned to Sparta, I. lviii.; again summoned, I. cxxiv.; vote for war, I. cxxv.

Almopias, in Macedonia, II. xcix. 5.

Alope, in Locris, II. xxvi. 2.

Alyzea, in Acarnania, VII. xxxi. 2.

Ambracia, sends troops to Epidamnus, I. xxvi. 1; furnishes ships to the Corinthians, I. xxvii. 2; xcvii. 1; xlviii. 4; allies of the Lacedaemonians, II. ix. 2; attack the Amphiochian Argives, II. lviii.; invade Acarnania, II. lxxxi.; retire, II. lxxxi.; send reinforcements to Alcidas, III. lxxix.; persuade the Lacedaemonians to attack Amphiochian Argos, III. cii. 6; join the Lacedaemonians in the expedition, III. cv., cvi.; defeated by the Acarnanians under Demosthenes, III. cvii., cviii.; most warlike of the Epirots, III. cvii. 2; deserted by the Peloponnesians, III. cxxi., cxi.; total destruction of their reinforcements, III. cxxii., cxii.; conclude a treaty with the Acarnanians, III. cxxv. 3; receive a Corinthian garrison, III. cxxv. 4; assist Gyllipus with ships, VI. civ. 1; VII. vii. 1; livii. 3; Ambracto envoys sent to the Siceliot cities after the capture of Plemmyrium, VII. xxv. 9; slain by the Sicels, VII. xxxii.; Ambracto ships present at Cynossema, VIII. cxxv. 3.

Ambraciac gulf, I. xxix. 3; liv. 1.

Amelinaid, an Athenian envoy, a guest of Sitalce, II. lxvii. 2, 3.

Amelinas, a Lacedaemonian envoy, IV. cxxxi. 3.

Amelincles, a Corinthian shipbuilder, I. xiii. 3.

Ammeas, a leader in the escape of the Plataeans, III. xxiii. 3.

Amorges, bastard son of Pisistratus, in revolt in Caria, VIII. v. 5; captured in Iassus, and handed over to Tissaphernes, VIII. xxvii. 3; said by Pselander to have been betrayed by Phrynichus, VIII. lii. 3.

Amphedas, a Lacedaemonian envoy to Argos, V. xxii. 2.

Amphias, an Epidaurian, representative in a treaty, IV. cxxix. 2.

Amphiaras, father of Amphiochus, II. lxviii. 3; of Alcmene, II. cii. 5.

Amphiochus, colonized by Amphiochus, II. lxviii. 3; the Amphiochians invite in Ambracto and coalesce with them; learn Greek from them, II. lviii. 5; place themselves under the protection of the Acarnanians, II. lxviii. 7; Achelous river runs through Amphiochia, II. cii. 2; Amphiochian Argos invaded by Ambractos and Lacedaemonians, III. cv.; Amphiochians in the battle of Iomene, III. cxii. 6; make treaty with the Ambractos, III. cxxv. 3.

Amphiochus, son of Amphiaras, II. lxviii. 3.

Amphipolis, formerly called "Nine Ways"; unsuccessful settlement of, by the Athenians, I. c.; attempted colonization of by Aristogoras; colonized by Hagnon, IV. cii.; captured by Brasidas, IV. cii.-cvi.; battle of Amphipolis, V. vii.-xi.; "Thracian gates" of, V. x. 1; makes Brasidas founder, V. xi. 1; ordered to be surrendered under treaty, V. xvii. 5; not surrendered, V. xxii., xxxv., xlvii;
INDEX

Athenian expedition against it abandoned, V, lxxxiii. 4; unsuccessfully attacked by the Athenians, VII. ix.
Amphilochia in Ozolian Locri, III. cl. 2.
Amyclae, temple of Apollo at, V, xviii. 10; xxxii. 5.
Amyntas, son of Philip of Macedon, II. xcv. 2; c. 3.
Amyrtaeus, "king of the Marses," in Egypt, I, cx. 2; ccxi. 2.
Anaciscus, a precinct of the Dioscuri at Athens, VIII. xcii. 1; aids the Corinthians, i. xli. 1.
Anactorium, at mouth of the Ambraecian gulf, I, iv. 1; ally of the Lacedaemonians, II. ix. 3; aids Lacedaemonians against Acarnania, II. lxxx. 2; lxxxii. 2; betrayed to the Acarnanians, IV, xlv. 11; not surrendered in the treaty of peace, V, xxi. 2; VII, xxxii. 2.
Anaca, a town of the Telans, VII. xix. 1; the Amaziins, with Carian, destroy Lyciae and his army, III. xix. 3; remonstrates with Alcidas for the slaughter of his captives, III. xxxii. 3; a menace to Samos, IV, lxxv. 1; aid the Chians, VIII, lxxii. 2.
Anapus, a river in Acarnania, II. lxxvi. 2.
Anapus, a river at Syracuse, VI. lxxvi. 2; xcv. 2; xcvii. 1; cxvii. 1; lxxxiv. 3.
Anaxilla, tyrant of Rhetium, IV, vi. 6; founder of Messene, xlvii.
Andocides, Athenian commander of reinforcements sent to Corcyra after Sybota, I, ii. 4.
Androcles, Athenian popular leader, active against Aeschines, murdered, VIII, lxxv.
Androcrates, shrine of, at Plataea, III. xxiv. 1.
Andromedus, Spartan envoy to Athens, V, lxxxi. 1.
Andros, island; the Andrians subjects and tributaries of Athens, IV, xiii. 1; VII. lxxii. 4; employed by the oligarchs at Athens, VIII, lxix. 3. Androsathenes, Olympic victor, V, lxxiv. 1.
Anerus, Lacedaemonian envoy to Persia, put to death, II. lxvii.
Antandrus, Acolian town in the Troad, captured by the Lesbians, IV, iii. 2; recaptured by the Athenians, IV, lxxv. 1; introduces a Lacedaemonian garrison, expelling the Persians, VIII, xviii. 4.
Anthus, in Macedonia, II. xxvi. 3; c. 4.
Anthesterion, Attic month, II. xv. 4.
Anticles, an Athenian commander, I, cxvii. 2.
Antimonidas, a Lacedaemonian envoy, V, xlii.
Antichus, King of the Cretians, II, lxxx. 6.
Antiphon, joint founder, with Eumenes, of Gela, VI, iv. 3.
Antiphon, soul of the oligarchical conspiracy at Athens, VIII, lxvii. 2; xxi. 1; characterization of, 64; sent to make peace with Lacedaemon, 64.
Antippus, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the treaty of peace, V, xix., xxiv.
Antissa, in Lesbos, defeats the Methymnaians, III, xviii. 2; taken by the Athenians, III, xviii. 3; Antonychus sends hoplites thither, VIII, xxii. 4.
Antithenes, a Lacedaemonian commander, VIII, xxxiv. 1.
Aphrodilla, in Laconia, IV, xlvi. 1.
Aphrodilte, temple of at Eryx, VI, xlviii. 2.
Aphyllis, in Pallene, I, xxvii. 2.
Aphiannus, river in Thessaly, IV, lxxxvii. 5.
Apidotians, tribe in Aetolia, III, xci. 5.
Apollo, Polycrates dedicates Rheneis to, I, xiii. 6; III, civ. 2; temple of, at Actium, I, xxx. 5; at Nau- pactus, II, xcv. 1; at Leucas, III, xcv. 2; at Delphi, IV, lxxxv. ii. 1; xcv. 2; at Amyclae, V, xxvii. 11; xcv. 4; at Argos, V, xiv. 11; opposite Cythera, VII, lxxvi. 2; on Tyriplum, VIII, xxxv. 5; of the Pythian Apollo, at Athens, II, xv. 4; at Delphi, IV, cxvii. 1; v, xvii. 2; of Apollo Pythaeus at Argos (?), V, iii.; altar of Apollo the Founder, at Naxos in Sicily, VI, iii. 1; of the Pythian Apollo in the Athenian Agora, VI, iv. 7; festival of Apollo
INDEX

Maloeis, III. iii. 3; shrine of Apollo Temenos at Syracuse, VI. lxxv. 1; c. 2; ancient oracle of Apollo at Alcmeon, II. ciii. 3; Homeric hymn to Apollo quoted, III. civ. 4.

Apollonia, a colony of Corinth, I. xxvi. 2.

Arcadia, did not change its inhabitants anciently, I. ii. 3; furnished with ships by Agamemnon for the Trojan War, I. ix. 3; Arcadian mercenaries at Notium, III. xxxiv. 2; part of Arcadia subjected to the Mantineans, V. xxxix. 1; allies of the Lacedaemonians against the Argives, V. iv. vili. ix.; summoned by the Lacedaemonians to Tegea, V. xiv. 3; present at Mantinea, V. lxxii. 2; lxxiii.; war between some Arcadians and Lepreans, V. xxxii. 2; furnish ships to the Lacedaemonians, VIII. iii. 2.

Arcadians on the Athenian side at Syracuse, VII. ivii. 2; on the Syracuse side, VII. xix. 4; viii. 3.

Archidice, daughter of Hippias, VI. i. 3; her epitaph, ibi.

Archelaus, son of Perdiccas, King of Macedonia, II. c.

Archers, at Athens, numbers of the horse and foot archers, II. xii. 8; horse archers sent to Melos, V. lxxiv. 1; to Sicily, VI. xcv. 4; barbarian archers, VIII. xcii. 1.

Archelaus, an Athenian commander at Potidaea, I. ivii. 6.

Archetimus, a Corinthian commander, I. xcvii. 2.

Archias, of Camarina, betrays Camarina to the Syracusans, IV. xxxv. 7.

Archias, a Heracleid, founder of Syracuse, VI. iii. 2.

Archidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians, L. lxxxvi. 2; speech of, I. vix. - lxxiv.; characterises the Lacedaemonians, I. xxxiv.; leader of second expedition into Attica, II. x. 3; second speech of, II. xi.; sends a herald to Athens, II. xii.; invades Attica, II. xii. 4; leads his army to Oenoe, II. xvi. 1; censured as dilatory, xviii. 5, 6; ravages Thessalian plain, xix. 2; reasons for his halt at Acharnae, xx.; retires, xxiii. 3; invades Attica a second time, II. lvii. 2; lviii. - lvii.; attacks Plataea, II. lxx.; ambassadors sent to Archidamus by the Plataeans, II. lxxvi. 2; offers terms to the Plataeans, II. lxxi. - lxxv.; invests Plataea, lxxxv.; lxxvi. lxxvii.; walls in Plataea, lxxviii.; invades Attica a third time, III. i.; again, III. xxi.; starts again but is turned back at the Isthmus by earthquakes, III. lxxvi. 3.

Archonidas, King of the Sicels, friend of the Athenians, VII. I. 4.

Archons, their former powers at Athens, I. cxxvi. 8; the archonship kept in their own family by the Pekstreitidae, VI. iv. 6.

Arcturus, rising of, II. lxxii. 2.

Argalus, an Andrian colony; a man from there servant of Pausanias, I. cxxvii. - cxxviii.; revolts from Athens and receives Brasidas, IV. ciii. 3; V. vi. 8; provisions respecting it in the treaty of peace, V. xviii. 5.

Arginus, Mt., opposite Chios, VIII. xxxiv.

Arginusas, a town on the mainland opposite the islands, VIII. vii. 2.

Argos, Amphibolichan, founded by Amphibolichus, II. lxxvii. 3; invaded by the Ambracians, II. lxxiv.; III. cliii. cv., civil.

Argos, in Peloponnese: Argives a Homeric name of the Hellenes, I. iii. 3; conclude alliance with Athens, I. cii. 1; assist Athenians at Tanagra, I. civ. 5; residence of Themistocles there, after his ostracism, I. cxxv. 3; cxxvii. 3; time reckoned there by succession of high priestesses, II. ii. 1; neutral at opening of war, II. ix.; Macedonian kings originally from Argos, II. xxviii. 3; refuse to renew the treaty of peace with Lacedaemon, V. xiv. 4; xxii. 2; lead confederacy against the Lacedaemonians, V. xxvii., xxviii.; aspire to lead the Peloponnese, V. xxvii. 2; alliance with the Mantineans,
INDEX

v. xxiv.; with the Eleans, v. xxxi.; with the Corinthians and Chalcidians, v. xxxi. 6; their alliance sought by the Lacedaemonians, v. xxxvi.; negotiations for alliance with the Boeotians, v. xxxvii., xxxviii.; compelled to make terms with Sparta, v. xli., xlii.; negotiations with Athens, v. xliii., xlv.; alliance with Athens, v. xlvi.; ineffectually urge the Corinthians to join their league, v. l. 5; aid the Eleans to exclude the Lacedaemonians from the Olympic Games, v. l. 3; aid Alcibiades in organizing the affairs of the confederacy, v. iii. 2; invade Epidauros, v. iii.; liv. 3; liv. 4; lvi. 6; take the field against the Lacedaemonians, v. liv.; surrounded by the Lacedaemonians, v. lix. 1; obtain truce, v. lx. 1; blame Thrasylus and Alciphron for making truce, v. lx. 5; join in besieging Orchomenus, v. lxi. 4; prepare against Tegea, v. lxi. 2; again attacked by the Lacedaemonians, v. lxiv.; dissatisfied with their generals, v. lxv. 5; position of the Argives at battle of Mantinea, v. lxvii. 2; defeated by the Lacedaemonians, v. lxx.--lxxiv.; make peace and alliance with the Lacedaemonians, v. lxxvi.--lxxx.; renounce their allies, v. lxxxviii.; have their government changed by the Lacedaemonians and the oligarchical party, v. lxxxi.; the popular party defeat the oligarchs and renew the Athenian alliance, v. lxxxii.; begin the long walls, v. lxxxii. 5, 6; ravage Phliasia, v. lxxxiii. 3; three hundred Argives of the Lacedaemonian party departed by Alcibiades, v. lxxxiv. 1; their fate, vi. lxi. 3; Argives again invade Phliasia, v. cxxv. 1; suspect some of their citizens of instigating a Lacedaemonian invasion, v. cxxvi. 1; treacherously attack and capture Orneae, vi. vii. 2; induced by Alcibiades to join the Sicilian expedition, vi. xxix. 3; xliii.; vii. lvii. 5; present in the various engagements before Syracuse, vi. lxvii. 1; lxx. 2; c. 2; vii. xlv. 6; invade Thryean territory, vi. xxv. 1; their lands wasted by the Lacedaemonians, vi. cv. 1; ravage Phliasia, vi. cv. 3; reinforce the Athenians before Miletus, vii. xxv. 1, 3; go home in a rage, vii. xxvii. 6; offer assistance to the Athenians at Samos, vii. lxxxvi. 8; an Argive one of the murderers of Phrynichus, viii. xci. 2.

Arianthidas, a Theban Boeotarch at Delium, iv. xci.

Aristagoras of Miletus, attempts to found a colony at Ennea-Hodoi, iv. cii. 2.

Aristarchus, a conspicuous leader of the oligarchical party at Athens, viii. xci. 1; vainly endeavours to prevent the destruction of the fort Eetionela, viii. xcii. 9; betrays Oenoe to Boeotia, viii. xcvii.

Aristeus, son of Adeimantus, commander of the Corinthian forces sent to Potidaea, l. ix. 2; chosen general of the Chalcidian forces, lxii. 2; engages the Athenians, lxi. 6; fights his way into Potidaea, lxii. 1; sails out of Potidaea, and destroys the force of Sermylans, lxv. 2; envoy to the King, l. lxvii. 1; given up by the Thracians to the Athenians and put to death, lxvii. 3, 4.

Aristeus, son of Pellichus, a Corinthian commander, l. xxix. 2.

Aristeus, a Lacedaemonian envoy, iv. cxxii. 3.

Aristides, son of Archippus, an Athenian general, iv. l. 1; lxxv. 1.

Aristides, son of Lysimachus, envoy to Sparta, l. xci. 3; settlement of Athenian tribute in his time, v. xviii. 5.

Aristocles, brother of Pleistoanax, accused of bribing the Delphian priestess, v. xvi. 2.

Aristocles, a Lacedaemonian polemarch, v. lxxi. 3; banished for cowardice at Mantinea, lxxii. 1.

Aristocrates, an Athenian general, swears to the treaty of peace, v. xix. 2; xxiv. 1; sent to Chios.
INDEX

to enquire into the treachery of the Chians, viii. ix. 2.
Aristocrates, son of Scelias, a leader in the oligarchical revolution and one of the heads of the moderate party, vii. lxxix. 2, 3; works with Theramenes, arrest Alexicles, viii. xcri. 2, 4.
Aristotelon, slayer of Hipparchus, i. xx. 2; vi. liv. 2, 2; liv. xlviii. 2.
Ariston, ablest pilot in the Corinthian fleet, vii. lxxxix. 2.
Aristonous, joint founder, with Pytius, of Agrigentum, vi. iv. 4.
Aristonous, of Larissa, a Thessalian commander, ii. xxii. 3.
Aristonymus, an Athenian, sent to proclaim the one-year truce, iv. cxixii. 1; refuses to admit Solone, 686.
Aristophan, an Athenian envoy, viii. lxxxi. 9.
Aristotele, son of Timocrates, an Athenian commander, iii. cv. 3.
Arms, the custom of carrying arms once common to all Helians, i. v. 3; vi. 1; first abandoned by the Athenians, 686.
Arnae, in Chalcidice, iv. ciii. 1.
Arno, the Boeotians expelled from, i. xii. 2.
Arna, in Macedonia, iv. cxxviii. 5.
Arnhia, in the Thracian Chersonese, vii. civ. 2.
Arrhabalaeus, King of the Lyncestians, iv. lxxiii. 3; attacked by Perdiccas, iv. lxxix.; defeated, iv. lxxxiv.; defeated by Brasidas and Perdiccas, iv. cxxiv.; Perdiccas' Illyrian troops desert to him, iv. cxxv. 1; defeated by Brasidas, iv. cxxvii., cxxviii.
Arscmen, a lieutenant of Tissaphernes, viii. cixii. 4; massacres the Deleans, 686.
Artabasus, son of Pharmaces, messenger of Xerxes to Pausanias, i. cxxix. 1; cxxxi. 5.
Artaphernes, a Persian envoy to Lacedaemon, intercepted by the Athenians, iv. 1.
Artas, an Iapygian prince, furnishes javelin-men to the Athenians, vii. lxxvii. 4.
Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, King of Persia, l. cixv. 1; succeeds to the throne, l. cxxxvii. 3;Themistocles' letter to, 686; reception of Themistocles, l. cxxxviii.; death of, iv. l. 3; father of Darius Nothus, viii. v. 4.
Artemeis, temple of, at Rhegium, vi. xliv. 3; at Ephesus, viii. cix. 1.
Artemisium, a Spartan month, v. xix. 1.
Artemisium, battle of, iii. lvi. 4.
Artyneae, magistrates at Argos, v. xlvii. 9.
Asia: the barbarians of Asia wear girdles in wrestling and boxing, i. vi. 5; Pelops brought his wealth from Asia, i. ix. 2; no single nation, even in Asia, could compare with the Scythians if united, ii. xxvii. 6; the Thracians of Asia, iv. lxxv. 2; "The King's country in Asia," viii. lvi. 2.
Asine, a city in Laconia, iv. xiii. 1; liv. 4; vi. xvii. 5.
Asopis, son of Pharnac, ravages the Laconian coast, iii. vii. 1; attacks Oenisidae, vii. 4; falls in descent upon Leucasp, vii. 5.
Asopus, river in Boeotia, ii. v. 2.
Apospil, station of Phoenician fleet, viii. lxxvi. 3; lxxxvi. 1; lxxxvi. 3; lvii. 1; xcvii. 2; cvi. 3.
Assembly of the Athenians: summoned by Pericles as general, ii. lxi. 3; Persander summons an assembly at Colonos, viii. lxvii. 2; assembly summoned to the temple of Dionysus in Munychias "for the restoration of harmony," viii. xcvi. 1; xcvi. 1; assembly usually held in the Pnyx, viii. xvii. 1.
Assembly of the Lacedaemonians: mode of voting, i. lxxvii. 9.
Assinarus, river in Sicily; capture there of Nicias division, vii. lxxiv.
Assyrian character used by the Persians, iv. 1. 2.
Asiaces, in Acharniae, captured by the Athenians, who expel Evarchus, ii. xxx. 3; town retaken and Evarchus restored to power, ii. xxxiii. 1, 2; landing of Phormio near Astacus, ii. ciii. 1.
Astymachus, spokesman of the
INDEX

Plataeans in their defence to force the Lacedaemonians, III. iii. 5.

Astyochus, a Lacedaemonian admiral, assigned to command of the whole navy in Asia, VIII. xx.; sails from Cenchreae, VIII. xxii. 1; too late for Mytilene, he induces Eresus to revolt, xxiii. 7, 3; summoned to Chios to avert a revolution, VIII. xxiv. 6; fails to recover Pteleum and Clazomenae, VIII. xxxi. 2, 4; enraged with the Chians for refusing to aid in the revolt of Lesbos, VIII. xxxiii. 1; xxxviii.; narrowly escapes the Athenians, xxxiii. 2; arrives at Miletus to take command of the fleet, VIII. xxxvi. 1; complained of, to Sparta, VIII. xxxviii. 4; at last determines to aid the Chians, VIII. xi. 3; sails to Caunus to meet the Lacedaemonian advisers, VIII. xii. 1; sacks Cos Meropis, xii. 2; defeats an Athenian squadron, VIII. xiiii.; receives orders from Sparta to put Alcibiades to death, VIII. xiv. 1; betrays Phrynichus to Alcibiades, VIII. i. 2; believed to have sold himself to Tissaphernes, I. 3; sails to Miletus with a view to relieve Chios, VIII. lx. 2, 3; offers battle to the Athenians at Samos, VIII. lxiii. 1, 2; murmured against by the soldiers of the fleet, VIII. lxxvii.; offers battle to the Athenians, but declines when they offer it, VIII. lxxix.; the fleet dissatisfied, VIII. lxxxii. 3; stoned by sailors when he offers to strike Dorieus, VIII. lxxxiv.; superseded by Mindaus, VIII. lxxxv. 1.

Atalante, island off Locris, garrisoned by the Athenians, II. xxii.; inundation, III. lxxix.; ordered to be restored to the Lacedaemonians under the treaty, v. xviii. 7.

Atalante in Macedonia, II. c. 3.

Athenaeus, a Lacedaemonian, IV. cxxii. 2; cxxii. 1.

Athenagoras, a popular leader at Syracuse, VI. xxxv. 2; speech of, xxxvi.-ix.

Athena, of the Brazen House, curse of, I. cxxviii. 2; chryselephantine statue of, in the Acropolis, II. xiii. 5; temple of, at Lecythus, IV. cxvi. 2; at Amphipolis, V. x. 2.


Athens: appearance of as compared with Sparta, I x. 2; rebuilt after the Persian War, I. lxxxix. 3; building of the city walls, I. xc., xci., xcli.; of the long walls, I. cvii. 1; cviii. 3; resources of, II. xili.; formed from the ancient communes, II. xv. 1; the early Polis, xv. 3 ff.; freedom of life in, II. xxxvii.; "School of Helias," II. xlii. 1; plague of Athens, II. xivii.-liv.; lviii.; III. lxxxvii.; revolution at Athens, VIII. xivii.-lxxii.; restoration of the democracy, VIII. lxxv.-lxxvi.; lxxxvi.; lxxxvii.-xxiii.; xvii.

Athenians: have always inhabited the same land, I. ii. 5; send colonies to Ionia and the islands, I ii. 6; xii. 4; the first Hellenes to adopt refined habits, I. vi. 3; governed by tyrants, L xviii. 1; VI. iii. 3-ix.; became sailors, I. xviii. 2; xcli.; IV. xii. 3; xvii. xxvi.; their hegemony, I. xviii., xix., xc., xcv., xcli.; treatment of their allies, I. xix. lxxvi., xcli.; III. x.; VI. lxxxvi., lxxxv., lxxv.; ignorance of their own history, I. xx. 2; VI. iii. 3; liv.; alliance with Corcyra, I. xlv.; send assistance to Corcyra, I. xiv.; fight with Corcyraeans against the Corinthians, I. xlii. 7; send reinforcements, I. l. 5; II.; order the Potidaeans to raze their walls, I. lvi. 2; quarrel with Perdiccas, I. lvi. 2; despatch troops to Potidaea, I. lvi. 6; lxi. 1; lxiv. 2; come to terms with Perdiccas, I. lxi. 3; defeat the Chalcidians, I. lii., lxxii.; invest Potidaea, I. lxiv.; ill feeling against the Corinthians, I. lxvi., lii. 4; exclude the Megarians from their harbours, I. lvii. 4; cxxvii. 1; speech of, at Sparta, I. lxiii.-lxxvii.; build their walls and the Peiraeeus, I. xcl., xciii.;
join in the capture of Byzantium and Cyprus, I. xcv.; subject Eion, Ceyros, Carystus, Naxos, I. xcviii.; conquer the Persians at the Eurymedon, I. c.; subdue the revolted Thracians, I. c., cl.; fail in attempt to colonize Amphipolis, I. c.; called in by the Lacedaemonians during the siege of Ithome, I. cl., cii.; dismissed by the Lacedaemonians, I. cii.; alliance with Argos, I. cii.; settle Helota at Naupactus, I. cii.; form alliance with the Megarians and occupy Nissa, I. cii.; aid the revolted Egyptians, I. cii.; defeated by the Corinthians and Epidaurians, I. cc. 1; defeat the Peloponnesians off Cecropheleia, I. cc. 1; war again with the Aegisthians, I. cc. 2; defeat the Corinthians, I. cc.; begin to build the long walls, I. cc. 1; complete them, ccl.; defeated by the Lacedaemonians at Tanagra, I. cc. 1; defeat the Boeotians at Oenophyta, I. cc. 3; compel Aegina to capitulate, I. cc. 4; take Chalcis and defeat the Sicyonians, I. cc. 5; driven out of Memphis, I. cxx.; their reinforcements destroyed, I. cxx.; attack Pharsalus without success, I. cxx. 1; defeat the Sicyonians and attack Oeniadae, I. cxx.; send ships to Egypt and Cypros, I. cxx.; take Chersonela but are defeated at Coronea, I. cxx.; the Athenian garrison at Megara slaughtered, I. cxx. 1; first invasion of Attica, I. cxx. 2; Euboea revolted but is reduced, ibid.; make a truce with the Lacedaemonians, I. cxx. 1; establish a democracy at Samos, I. cxx. 2; the Samians and Byzantines revolt, I. cxx. 5; defeat the Samians and blockade Samos, I. cxxi.; send reinforcements to Samos and capture it, I. cxxii.; desire the Lacedaemonians to drive away the curse of Taeus and of Athea, I. cxxviii., cxxxv. 1; discuss the demands of the Lacedaemonians, I. cxxxv.; final offer of arbitration to the Lacedaemonians, I. cxxxv.; seize the Boeotians in Attica and garrison Plataea, II. vi.; make ready to send embassies to the King, II. vii. 1; embassies to countries lying about the Peloponnesus, II. vii. 3; their allies, II. ix. 4; refuse to hear a messenger from Archidamus, II. xii. 1; their resources, II. xiii. 3-6; collect into the city by Pericles' advice, II. xiv.-xvi.; fondness for country life, II. xvi. 1; send an expedition round the Peloponnesus, II. xvi. 4; xxiii., xxiv., xxx.; angry with Pericles for not leading them out, II. xxi.; defeated at Phrygia; receive aid from the Thessalians, II. xxii.; sit apart a reserve for the war, II. xxiv.; send a fleet to Locri, II. xxvi.; expel the Aeginetans, II. xxvii. 1; make Nymphodorus their proconsul, and become allies of Sitalkes, II. xxxix.; invade Megara, II. xxxii.; fortify Atalanta, II. xxxii.; celebrate the funeral of the fallen, II. xxxiv.; funeral oration, xxxiv-xxxvi.; suffer from the plague, II. xiv.-liv., lvi.; again restrained by Pericles from going out against the enemy, II. lili. 2; send expedition round the Peloponnesus, II. lvi.; attack Potidaea, without success, II. lvi.; angry at Pericles, they send envoys to Sparta, II. lix.; addressed by Pericles, II. lxi.-lxiv.; Sicyon Pericles, then turn and elect him general, II. lxv.; capture Aristeus of Corinth and other envoys and put them to death, II. lxv.; send Phocion to the aid of the Amphipolitians, II. lxvii.; send Phocion with a fleet round the Peloponnesus, II. lxix. 1; despatch ships to collect money in Asia, II. lxix.; capture Potidaea, II. lxix. 1, 3; blame their generals; send colonists to Potidaea, II. lxv. 4; encourage the Plataeans to resist, II. lxxiii.; send expedition to Chalcide, but are defeated, II. lxxiv.; Phocion defeats the Peloponnesians at sea, lxxxi., lxxiv.; defeats them a second
INDEX

time, II. lxxxvi., xcii.; Athens thrown into a panic by Brasidas' raid in Salamis, II. xci., xciv.; expedition into Acarnania, II. cit.; warning received of the Lesbian revolt, III. ii.; attempt to surprise Mytilene, III. iii.; engage the Lesbians, III. iv.; blockade Mytilene, III. vi.; send expedition round the Peloponnesus, III. vii.; send another expedition, III. xvi. 1; their great expenditure in the war, III. xvii.; send reinforcements to Mytilene, and complete the blockade, III. xviii. 3; impose a property tax, III. xix. 1; take Mytilene, III. xxvii., xxviii.; capture Naxos and Erebus, III. xxxv. 2; put Salamis to death; condemn all the grown-up citizens, then repent, III. xxxv. 3; summon a second assembly; speeches for and against repealing the decree, III. xxxvi.-xl.; send a ship to Mytilene, III. xlix.; execute the Lesbians judged most guilty, divide the island among Athenian cleruchs, III. i.; occupy Minoa, III. ii.; arrest envoys from Corcyra, III. lxxii. 1; send a fleet to Corcyra, III. lxxv.; engage at sea with the Peloponnesians, III. lxxvii., lxxviii.; send twenty ships to Sicily, III. lxxvi. 1; the plague reappears, III. lxxxvii.; the Athenians ravage the Aeolian Islands, III. lxxxviii.; proceedings in Sicily, III. xc., xcix., c., cxv.; IV. xcv., xxv.; send a fleet round the Peloponnesian, III. xci. 1; land at Oropus and win a battle at Tanagra, ibi.; alarmed by the founding of Heraclia, III. xcii.; attack Leucas, III. xciv.; disastrous expedition into Aetolia, III. xcv.-xcviii.; purify Delos and restore the festivals, III. civ.; send reinforcements to Sicily, III. cxxv.; fortify Pylos, IV. iv.; take and lose again, Elion, IV. vi.; repulse the Lacedaemonians, IV. xi., xii.; defeat the Lacedaemonians in the harbour, IV. xiv.; cut off the Spartans in Sphacteria, IV. xv.; grant a truce to the Lacedaemonians, IV. xvi.; demand impossible terms, IV. xxi., xxii.; renew the blockade, IV. xxi.; find blockade difficult, IV. xxvi.; despatch Cleon with reinforcements, IV. xxvii., xxviii.; attack Sphacteria and capture the Lacedaemonians, IV. xxxi.-xxxviii.; again reject peace proposals from the Lacedaemonians, IV. xli. 3, 4; invade Corinthian territory, IV. xlii.-xliv.; aid the Corcyreans to capture Istone, IV. xlv.; deliver the prisoners to the Corcyreans, IV. xlvii.; proceed to Sicily, IV. xlviii. 6; aid the Acarnanians to capture Anactorium, IV. xlix.; capture a Persian envoy to Sparta, IV. l. 1, 2; send him back with a message of their own, IV. l. 3; order the Chians to dismantle their walls, IV. li.; capture Cythera, IV. lii., liv.; ravage the Laconian coast, IV. liv. 4; Iv.; capture Thyrea, IV. lvii.; quit Sicily; punish their generals, IV. lxv.; make an unsuccessful attempt upon Megara, IV. lxvii.-lxviii.; capture Nisaea, IV. lxix.; engage the Boeotian cavalry, IV. lxxii.; unwilling to engage Brasidas, IV. lxxiii.; re-capture Antandrus, IV. lxxiv. 2; plan invasion of Boeotia, IV. lxxv., lxxvi.; declare Perdiccas an enemy, IV. lxxvi.; defeated at Delium, IV. xc.-xcvi.; the Boeotians refuse to give up the dead, IV. xvii.-xcvi.; the Athenian garrison captured and the dead then given up, IV. cv., cl. 1; repulsed by the Sicyonians, IV. cl. 4; lose Amphipolis, IV. cii.-cvii.; Thucydides saves Elion, IV. cv.; driven from the long walls of Megara, IV. cxx. 1; lose Acte, IV. cxx. 2-5; lose Torone, IV. cxv.-cxi.; lose Lecythus, IV. cxxv.-cxi.; make truce for a year with the Lacedaemonians, IV. cxxvii.-cxi.; Scione revolts and is excluded from the treaty, IV. cxx., cxxii.; its destruction decreed, IV. cxxiii. 6; defeated by the Mendeans, who revolt, IV. cxxix.; capture Mende,
INDEX

IV. CXXX. 6, 7; come to an understanding with Pericles, IV. cxxxii. 1; again purify Delos, V. 1; send Cleon to Chalcis, V. li.; capture Torona, V. iii.; send embassy to Phanes in Sicily, V. iv., v.; defeated at Amphipolis, V. vi.-xii.; both sides eager for peace, V. xiv.; make treaty with the Lacedaemonians, V. xvii.-xix.; conclude alliance with the Lacedaemonians, V. xxii.-xxiv.; release the prisoners from the island, xxv. 2; take and destroy Cos, xxi. 21; replace the Delians in Delos; refuse a ten days' armistice to the Corinthians, lb. 3; begin to mistrust the Lacedaemonians, V. xxxv.; withdraw the Helots from Pylae, xxxv. 3; send ambassadors to Sparta, V. xxxvi. 1; negotiate ineffectually with the Lacedaemonians, IV. xxxv.; indignant at the destruction of Panactum, v. xiii. 2; the war party at Athens intrigue for the abrogation of the treaty, V. xiii.; treaty and alliance with the Arcives, v. xiv.; replace the Helots at Pylos, v. xvi. 3; solemnly record that the Lacedaemonians have broken their oaths, lb.; send a force to Argos, V. xii. 1; participate in the battle of Mantinea, v. xli.; xlxxi.-xlxxxiv.; invest Epidaurus, v. lxxxv. 5; their alliance is renounced by the Arcives, V. lxxxvii.; withdraw their troops from Epidaurus, v. lxxxiii. 3; the Danae revolt, v. lxxxiv. 1; again court the alliance of the Athenians and proceed to build long walls, v. lxxxiii. 5, 6; shut off Pericles from the sea, V. lxxxviii. 4; carry off 300 Argives whom they suspect, V. lxxxiv. 1; expedition against Melos, lb.; conference with the Melian authorities, V. lxxxv.-cxxxii.; blockade Melos, V. cxxxv., cxxv., cxxvi.; capture Melos, enslave the inhabitants and colonize the island, V. cxxvi.; determine to send an expedition to Sicily, VI. i.; VI. 1; vote to send envoys to Egypt, VI. vi. 3; decide on war, VI. viii.; debate in the Assembly, VI. viii.-xxxii.; enthusiasm for the expedition, VI. xxxiv.; greatly disturbed by the mutiny of the Hermæ, VI. xxvii.; Alcibiades accused of profaning the mysteries, but sent, as general, to Sicily untried, VI. xxviii.-xxx.; the expedition sails, VI. xxx.-xxxii.; review of the troops at Corynus, VI. xliii.; arrival at Rhegium, VI. xliii., xliv.; deceived by the Egaeans, VI. xli.; council of the generals, VI. xliii.-xli.; Alcibiades' opinion prevails, VI. i.; they sail to Syracuse, lb.; obtain possession of Catana, VI. ii.; not received at Camarina, VI. iii.; the Athenians summon Alcibiades home, VI. iii., lix.; Alcibiades escapes and is condemned to death, VI. lix. 6, 7; proceedings of the Athenians in Sicily, VI. lixii., lixii.; capture Hyccara, VI. lixii. 3; sail to Syracuse, VI. lxiv., lxv.; defeat the Syracusans, VI. lxvii.; fall in attempt on Messana owing to information given by Alcibiades, VI. lxvii.; send home for money and cavalry, lb.; embassy to Camarina, VI. lxviii. 3, 4; Euphemus' speech, VI. lxviii.-lxxvii.; they fail to win over the Camarinaeans, VI. lxxviii. 1, 2; negotiate with the Sicels, winter at Catana, and prepare for the spring campaign, lb.; receive aid from home, VI. xxiii. 4; xxiv. 4; prosecute the campaign, VI. xxvili.; capture Epipolae and fortify Labadum, VI. xxvili., xxvill.; receive reinforcements from Egæa, Naxos, and the Sicels, VI. xxvili.; begin wall of circumvallation and defeat the Syracusans in various engagements, VI. xxviii.-cl.; repulse the Syracusans from Epipolae, VI. cl.; begin double wall from Epipolae to the sea, VI. ccl. 1; VII. ii. 4; openly violate the peace with the Lacedaemonians, VI. cv.; Athenian ships arrive at Rhegium too late to head off Gyippus, VII. i. 2; make no answer to Gyippus' demand that they quit Sicily, VII. iii. 1, 2; are driven from
INDEX

Labdalam, VII iii. 4; repulse an attack on their lines, VII iv. 3; fortify Plemmyrium, VII iv. 4; defeat the Syracusans, VII v.; defeated by the Syracusans, VII vi.; aided by Perdiccas attack Amphipolis, VII ix.; the Athenians at home receive Nicias' despatch, VII xi.-xv.; send second expedition to Sicily under Demosthenes, VII xvi.; send fleet round the Peloponnesus, VII xx.; conquer the Syracusans at sea, but lose Plemmyrium, VII xxii., xxiii.; skirmish with the Syracusans in the harbour, VII xxv.; ravage Laconian coast and fortify an isthmus there, VII xxvi.; resolve to send back some Thracians who arrive too late for Demosthenes, VII xxvii.; these sack Mycale, VII xxix., xxx.; suffer terribly from the occupation of Decelea, VII xxvii., xxviii.; Demosthenes meets Eurydemus with news from Sicily, VII xxxi. 2; the two collect troops in Acrania and Corcyra, 3; the Athenians in Sicily induce the Sicels to destroy reinforcements on their way to Syracuse, VII xxxii.; Demosthenes arrives at Thurii, VII xxxiii.; the Athenians at Nanipactus fight an indecisive sea-fight with the Corinthians, VII xxxiv.; defeated at sea by the Syracusans, VII xxxvii.-xxii.; repulsed in night attack on Epilpolae, VII xxxii.-xxxiv.; generals hold a council, VII xxxvii.-xxxix.; Nicias wishes to delay and Demosthenes yields, VII xli. 4; Nicias at last consents to move, but terrified by an eclipse of the moon decides to remain 27 days longer, VII i.; again defeated at sea by the Syracusans, VII iii.; gain a slight advantage by land, VII iii.; why they failed to conquer Syracuse, VII iv.; list of allies, VII lv.; determine to fight their way out, VII ix.; Nicias addresses the troops, VII ix.-xlv.; addresses the trierarchs, VII lxix.; completely defeated, VII lxx., lxxi.; troops overwhelmed by misery refuse to renew the struggle, VII lxxii.; misled by information they delay their retreat three days, VII lxxiii., lxxiv.; misery and terror when commencing the retreat, VII lxxv.; encouraged and consoled by Nicias, VII lxxvi., lxxvii.; harassed for four days and at length confronted by the enemy, VII lxvii., lxx.; fall back, lxxix.; 3; recommence the retreat, changing their route, VII lixx.; seize with panic, VII lxix.; the division of Demosthenes over-taken and compelled to surrender, VII lixxi., lxxii.; Nicias' division meets the same fate at the river Asinaraus, VII lixxii.-lxxv.; three hundred escape, but are captured, VII lixxvii., lixxx.; Nicias and Demosthenes are put to death, VII lixxvi.; the prisoners are cruelly treated, VII lixxxvii.; the Athenians at home in dismay but determined not to yield, VIII i.; feeling among the allies of Athens and neutrals, VIII li. 2; prepare to build ships, fortify Sinium, retreat expenses wherever possible, VIII liii.; defeat a Peloponnesian squadron and blockade them in Peiraeus, VIII x. 11; consternation on the revolt of Chios; rescind the decree forbidding use of the reserve fund; prepare a great fleet for Asia under Stymphalides and Thracycles, VIII xv.; proceedings of the fleet, VIII xvi.-xx.; grant Samians independence, VIII xx.; fleet sails to Lesbos and takes Mytilene, VIII xxiii. 1, 2; invade Milian territory, VIII xxiv. 1; war with the Chians, 64; victory at Miletus, VIII xxv.; restrained by Phrynichus from battle at Miletus, VIII xxvi.; blockade Miletus with part of the fleet, sail to Chios with the rest; fail to take Cnidus which had revolted, VIII xxv.; blockade Chios, VIII xxxviii. 1; fail to draw Peloponnesians at Miletus out to battle, 64; defeated at sea, VIII xii., xiii., xiii.; Rhodes revolts and is attacked from
INDEX

Chalcis, Cos and Samos, VIII. xil.; the oligarchical party at Samos, at Alcibiades' instigation, prepares the way for a revolution, VIII. xil., xiv.; Phrynichus opposes, 64; Pelander sent to Thasophernes, VIII. xil.; Phrynichus outmanoeuvres Alcibiades, who seeks to ruin him, VIII. i., ii.; the Athenians at home agree to change the government, VIII. iii., iv.; send Pelander to negotiate with Alcibiades, VIII. iv. 2; remove Phrynichus and appoint Leon and Diomedon generals, 65; make descent upon Rhodes; defeat the Chians and press blockade, VIII. iv.; Pelander's mission fails through Alcibiades' unreasonable demands, VIII. iv.; Oropus betrayed to the Boeotians, VIII. ix.; fleet retires to Samos for the winter, 64; indecisive sea-fight with the Chians, VIII. ix.; Lampasus and Abydus in revolt, VIII. ix.; Strombichides retakes Lampasus, but falls against Abydus, 64; Astyochus' offer of battle declined, VIII. xl.; the conspirators at Samos give up Alcibiades, but prosecute their plan, VIII. xil.; put down democracy in the cities, VIII. xiv.; the conspirators at Athens declare for a government of 4000, VIII. xv.; terrorism prevails, VIII. xiv.; repeal the yapai fapkipoume; a government of 400 proposed, VIII. xiv.; leaders of the conspiracy: Pelander, Antiphon, Phrynichus, Theramenes, VIII. xiv.; install Four Hundred in place of the senate, VIII. xix., xx.; send heralds to Agis at Decelia, VIII. xxx.; send envoys to Sparta, VIII. xxi.; to Samos, VIII. xxii.; an oligarchical conspiracy at Athens defeated, VIII. xxi.; Chares sent to Athens on the Paralus, VIII. xcvii.; he brings back an unfavourable report, and the Samians swear allegiance to the democracy, VIII. xcvii.; Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus elected generals by the army, VIII. xcvii.; the men encourage one another, 64; commissioners sent by the Four Hundred do not venture beyond Delos, VIII. lxxvii.; Athenians at Samos refuse battle with Astyochus, but afterwards offer it, VIII. lxxix.; recall Alcibiades, VIII. lxxx.; army eager to sail to the Pelopæan but restrained by Alcibiades, VIII. lxxxi.; the envoys of the Four Hundred now come to Samos, VIII. lxxxvi.; Alcibiades again dissuades the army from sailing to Pelopæa, 64; the Argives offer assistance, 64; the Four Hundred in alarm send envoys to Sparta for peace on any terms, VIII. xce.; fortify Eustionela, 64; the envoys return unsuccessful, VIII. xcii.; Theramenes begins to withdraw from the oligarchs, 64; the hoplites, at his instigation, destroy Eustionela, VIII. xcii.; the Four Hundred induce the people to fix a day for an assembly "to restore harmony," VIII. xcii.; a Lacedaemonian squadron approaches and the Athenians hurriedly equip a fleet, VIII. xciv.; they are utterly defeated at sea and lose Euboea, VIII. xciv.; panic-stricken by their defeat, VIII. xcvi.; they recall Alcibiades, 64; the leaders of the oligarchy retire to Decelia, VIII. xxvii.; the Athenian fleet sails to the Hellespont, VIII. c.; attacks Eresus on the way, 64; the Athenian squadron at Sestus chased by the Lacedaemonian fleet, VIII. cii.; the fleet at Lesbos at once sails from Eresus to Ialium, VIII. ciii.; defeats the Lacedaemonians off Cynossura, VIII. c.; encouraged by this good fortune, VIII. c.; recover Cyzicus, which had revolted, VIII. c.; Alcibiades returns to Samos professing to have secured Thasophernes' friendship for the Athenians, VIII. c.;

Athletes wore loin-cloths in early times, I. vi. 5.

Athos, Mt., IV. cix. 2; V. iii. 6; xxxv. 1; lxxxii. 1.

Attinthians, a people in Epirus, II. lxxx. 6.
INDEX

Atreus, son of Pelops. I. ix.
Attica, early history of, I. ii. 5; Ionia colonized therefrom, I. ii. 6; xii. 4; II. xv.; anciently divided into communes, II. xv.; invaded by the Lacedaemonians, I. cxxiv.; II. xxi.; invasion in first year of the war, II. xviii.—xxiii.; in the second, II. xlvii., lv.; in the third, Plataea attacked instead, II. lxxi.; in the fourth, III. i.; in the fifth, III. xxvi.; in the sixth averted by an earthquake, III. lxxxix.; in the seventh, IV. ii. 1; vi.; in the nineteenth, VII. xix. 1.
Atamytteium, v. i.; VIII. civ. iv. 4.
Aulon, in Chalcedice, IV. civ. i.
Autocharidas, a Lacedaemonian general, v. xii. 1.
Autocles, an Athenian general, IV. iii. 1; representative in treaty, IV. cxix. 2.
Awful Goddesses, altars of, I. cxxvi. 12.
Axius, a river in Macedonia, II. xix. 4.

Barbarian, term not used in Homer, I. iii. 3; piracy of, I. v.; carry arms in daily life, I. vi. 1; Xerxes called “the Barbarian,” I. xiv. 3; xviii. 2; barbarian allies of Onemus, II. lxxx. 5, 6; various barbarous races: Aetolians, III. xcv. 5; Amphilochians, II. lviii.; in Athens, IV. cxxvi. 4; the Epirots, II. lxxiv., lxxxii.; the Illyrians, IV. cxxvi. 3; in Sicily, VI. ii.; xi. 7; the Taurians, I. xcvii. 1; the Thraceans, II. cxxvi., cxxvii., cl.
Battus, a Corinthian commander, IV. xliii. 1.
Bells, used by sentinels, IV. cxxxvi. 1.
Beroea, in Macedonia, I. lxxi. 4.
Bisaltia, in Macedonia, II. xcix. 6.
Bithynian Thraceans, IV. lxxv. 2.
Boeotarchs: Pythangelas, II. ii. 1; Diemporus, II. ii. 1; Pagondas, IV. xcl.; Arianthidas, IV. xcl.; Scaphon, 2. xxx. 3; their powers, V. xxxvii., xxxviii.
Boeotia: early condition, I. ii. 3, 4; formerly called Cadmeia, I. xii. 3; four councils of, V. xxxvii.
Boeotians: expelled from Arne by the Thessalians, I. xii. 3; subdued by the Athenians after Oenophyta, I. civ. 3; allies of the Athenians, I. cxi.; regain their freedom at Coronea, I. xxiii. 4; cf. III. li. 5; Ixvii. 3; IV. lxii. 6; those in Attica seized by the Athenians after the attempt on Plataea, II. vi. 2; furnish cavalry to the Lacedaemonians at the opening of the war, II. ix. 3; xii. 5; ravage Plataea, II. xii. 1; worst Athenians in cavalry skirmish at Phrygia in Attica, II. xxii. 2; supply half the besieging force at Plataea, II. lxxvii. 2; medism of the Boeotians referred to, III. lix. 2; invaded by the Athenians, III. xci.; assist Brasidas to save Megara, IV. 1. xxx., lxxii.; the democratic party in Boeotia consorted in Athenian invasion, IV. lxxvi., lxxvii.; the plot betrayed, IV. lxxxix.; Delium fortified by the Athenians under Hippocrates, II. xc.; defeat the Athenians, IV. xcl.—xcvi.; quibble about giving up dead to the Athenians, IV. xvii.—xcl.; capture Delium, IV. c.; Panactum betrayed to the Boeotians, V. iii. 5; refuse to join in the fifty years’ peace, V. xvii. 2; had only a ten days’ armistice with the Athenians, V. xxii., 2; xxxii.; fail to gain ten days’ armistice for the Corinthians, itô; the Lacedaemonians promise to bring the Boeotians into the treaty, V. xxxv.; the new ephors propose that they join the Argive alliance, V. xxxvi.; the Boeotians at first agree, V. xxxvii.; the Boeotian Councils reject the offer, V. xxxviii.; form a separate alliance with Lacedaemon, surrounding Panactum and their Athenian prisoners, V. xxxix.; take possession of Heraclea, V. li. 1; take part in the Lacedaemonian invasion of Argos, V. lvii.—lx.; summoned by the Lacedaemonians to Mantinea, V. lxxiv. 4; invite a small Lacedaemonian force to the Isthmus and then raise suspicion against Alcibiades, VI. lxi. 2; send aid to Sicily, VII. xix. 3; liviii. 3; Myca-

VOL. IV.
INDEX

Ilessus in Boeotia sacked by Thraceans, VII. xxix., xxx.; make the first stand against the Athenians on Epipolae, VII. xiii.; furnish ships to the Lacedaemonians, VIII. iii. 2; aid the revolt of Lesbos, VIII. v. 2; Oropus is betrayed to the Boeotians, VIII. ix. 1; lose two ships at Cynossema, VIII. cix. 3.

Boeum, in Doris, I. cvii. 2.
Bolbe, Lake, in Macedonia, I. lviii. 2; IV. cii. 1.
Bolissus, in Chian territory, VIII. xxiv. 3.
Bomilans, in Aetolia, III. xcvii. 3.
Bottiaea, a district of Macedonia, I. ccix. 3; c. 4.
Bottiaeans revolt from Athens, I. lviii. 5; lviii. 1; in conflict with the Athenians, II. lxxix.; invaded by Sitaclas, II. cl. 1; aid the Chalcidians to expel the Athenians from Elon, IV. vii.

Bottic, in Chalcidice, devastated by Phormio, I. lxv. 3; Athenians defeated there, II. lxxix.; ravaged by Sitaclas, II. c. 5.
Brasidas, son of Tellis, relieves Methone, II. xxv. 2; the first to gain distinction (formal thanks in the war, ibi; sent as adviser to Cheneus, II. lxxxv. 1; daring attempt against the Peiraeus, II. xciii.; sent as adviser to Alcidas, III. lxix.; conspicuously valiant at Pylos, IV. xi. 4; xii. 1; operations at Megara, IV. lxxx.-lxxxviii.; resumes preparations for expedition to Thrace, IV. lxxxv. 1; marches through Thessaly to Chalcidice, IV. lxxxviii.; favourable impression made by him, IV. lxxx.; expedition against Acanthus, IV. lxxxvii.; speech to the Acanthians, IV. lxxxv.-lxxxvii.; captures Amphipolis, IV. ciii.-civ.; repulsed from Elon, sets matters in order at Amphipolis, IV. civ.; good name, IV. cvii.; proceeds against Acte, IV. cix.; takes Torone and Lycus, IV. cx.-cxi.; receives public honours from the Scioneans, IV. cxxi.; refuses to surrender Scione under the truce, IV. cxxii.; receives the

Mendaeans in defiance of the truce, IV. cxxiii.; garrisons Mende and Scione, ibi.; defeats the Lyncestians, IV. cxxiv.; deserted by the Macedonians, IV. cxxv.; his speech to his soldiers, IV. cxxvi.; defeats the Illyrians, IV. cxxxvii., cxxxviii.; arrives at Arinna, IV. cxxxviii. 3; receives commissioners from Lacedaemon, IV. cxxxix.; attempt on Potidaea, IV. cxxxv.; defeats the Athenians at Amphipolis, V. vi.-x.; speech of, V. ix.; his death, V. x.; buried in the agora at Amphipolis, V. xi.; honoured as "founder," ibi.; a great enemy of peace, V. xvi. 1; his Helot soldiers settled at Lepreum, V. xxxiv.

Brauro, wife of Pittacus, King of the Edonians, assists in his assassination, IV. cvi. 3.

Briciniae, in Leontine territory, V. iv. 4.
Briessus (Pentelicus), Mount, in Attica, II. xxii. 1.
Bromicus, in Chalcidice, IV. cii. 1.
Bucollon, in Arcadia, IV. ccxiv. 2.
Budorum, a watch post in Salamis against Megara, II. xciv. 3; III. lii. 2.
Buphras, in Laconia, IV. ccviii. 4.
Byzantium, captured by Pausanias, I. cciv. 2; revolts from Athens, I. ccv. 5; capitulates, ccvii. 3; Pausanias' intrigues from there with Xerxes, I. ccxxvii.-ccxvi.; Pausanias expelled from there, I. ccxi. 2; revolts again, VIII. lxxx. 2, 3.

Cacyparis, a river in Sicily, VII. lxxx. 5.
Cadmeis, ancient name of Boeotia, I. xii. 3.
Caeadas, a chasm into which malefactors were flung at Sparta, I. xxxiv. 4.
Caeceinus, a river at Locris in Italy, III. cii. 3.
Cales, a river near Heraclea on the Pontus, IV. lxxv. 2.
Callias, Athenian name: (1) father-in-law of Hippas the tyrant, VI. iv. 1; (2) father of Hipponicus,
INDEX

III. xcl. 4; (3) son of Calliades, an Athenian commander, I. lxi. 1; lxii. 4; slain at Potidaea, I. lxv. 3. Calliocrates, a Corinthian commander, I. xxix. 2. Calliæns, an Aetolian tribe, III. xcvii. 3. Calligeitus, a Megarian exile at the court of Pharnabazus, sent as emissary to Sparta, VIII. vi. 1; vii. 1. Callirrhoe, ancient name of the fountain Enneacrinus at Athens, II. xv. 5. Calydon, name given to ancient Aeolis, III. cii. 5. Camarina, in Sicily, ally of the Leontines, III. lxxvi. 2; plan to betray it to Syracuse, IV. xxv. 7; makes truce with Gela, IV. lviii. 1; assigned Morgantina by the Syracusans, IV. lxv. 1; colonized by the Syracusans, VI. v. 3; re-colonized by Hippocrates, and again by Gela, i61; refuse to receive the Athenians, VI. iii.; send a small force to the Syracusans, VI. lxvii. 2; receive and hear envoys from Syracuse and from Athens, VI. lxxxv.-lxxxvii.; resolve on neutrality, VI. lxxxviii. 1; send aid to Syracuse, VII. xxxiii. 1; allies of the Syracusans, VII. lviii. 1. Campyes, son of Cyrus, King of Persia, I. xiii. 6; xiv. 2. Camirus, a port in Rhodes, revolts from Athens, VIII. xliii. 2. Canal, "King's" (Xerxes'), cut by the Persians across the isthmus of Athos, IV. cix. 2. Canaeas, a promontory in Pallene, IV. cx. 2. Carcinus, an Athenian commander, II. xxii. 2. Cardamyle, in Chios, VIII. xxiv. 3. Caria: the Carians expelled by Minos from the Cyclades, I. iv.; addicted to piracy; mode of burial, I. viii.; Athenians send lookout ships to the Carian coast in the Samian Insurrection, I. cxxvi. 1; maritime Caria subject to Athens, II. ix. 4; Athenians send a squadron of ships to the Carian coast to protect their Phoenician trade, II. lxix. 1; destroy an Athenian expedition, III. xix. 2; Amorges in Caria revolts from the King, VIII. v. 5. Carnea, festival at Lacedaemon, V. lxxv. 2, 5. Carneus, sacred month among the Dorians, V. liv. 2. Carteria, an island in Phocaeaean territory, VIII. cl. 2. Carthage: the Carthaginians defeated at sea by the Phocaeans, I. xiii. 6; Alcibiades' ambitious plans for attacking Carthage, VI. xv. 2; xc. 2; always in fear of an Athenian invasion, VI. xxxiv. 2. Caryae, in Laconia, V. iv. 3. Carystus, in Euboea, of Dryopian origin (VII. vii. 4), subjected by the Athenians, I. xcviii.; the Carystians become allies of the Athenians, IV. xiii. 1; xliii. 3; subject allies of the Athenians, VII. lvii. 4. Casmenae, in Sicily, colonized by the Syracusans, VI. v. 2. Catana: territory devastated by eruption of Aetna, III. cxxv. 1; founded by Chalcidians under Thucles, VI. iii. 3; declines to receive the Athenians, VI. i. 3; alliance with Athens voted, VI. ii. 2; VII. lvii. 11; Syracusan army eager to be led against Catana, VI. Ixix.; the Athenians by a false message draw the Syracusans to Catana while they sail to Syracuse, VI. lxiv., lxv.; the Athenians retire to Catana as winter comes on, VI. lxxxv. 1; their encampment at Catana destroyed by the Syracusans, VI. lxxv. 2; they rebuild it, VI. lxxviii. 5; start on various expeditions from Catana, VI. xcvii. 1; are supplied with horses from Catana, VI. xcvii. 1; Nicias informs the Athenians that Naxos and Catana are unable to support the Athenian army, VII. xiv. 2; Demosthenes thinks the winter spent at Catana a mistake, VII. xiii. 3; after defeat on Ephipolae wishes to retire to Catana, VII. xlix.; the Athenian army
INDEX

Chrysa, priestess of Hera, at Argos, II. ii.; causes conflagration of the temple; dies to Pheïus, IV. xxxi.; Cilicians defeated at Salamis in Cyprus, I. exil. 4.

Cimon, son of Miltiades, captures Eubo, I. xxviii.; I. conquers the Persians at the Eurymedon, I. e. 1. brings aid to the Lacedaemonians at the siege of Ithome, I. vi. 2. dies in Cyprus, I. exil. 4.

Cithæron, Mt., II. lxxv. 3; III. xxiv. 1.

Cithium, in Doris, I. exil. 2.

Cithium, in Cyprus, I. exil. 3.

Clarius, in Ionia, III. xxxi. i.

Clazomenes revolts from Athens, VIII. xiv. 3; Clazomenians fortify Poilichne, οὐδὲ; aid in the revolt of Teos, VIII. xvi.; subdued by the Athenians, VIII. xxii. 6.; repulse a Peloponnesian attack, VIII. xxxii. 1.

Chares, son of Bhamphias, a Lacedaemonian commander, VIII. viii. 3.; appointed to the Hellespont, VIII. xxxix. 2. sends troops to Pharnabazus with 40 ships, VIII. lxxix. 2. 3.

Cheridas, a Lacedaemonian, governor of Amphipolis, IV. cxxii. 3.; colleague of Brasidas in battle of Amphipolis, V. vii.-xi.; sets in order matters at Amphipolis after Brasidas’ death, V. xi. 3.; refuses to give up Amphipolis, V. xxi.; brings home troops of Brasidas, V. xxxiv. 1.

Cleopidas, an Athenian commander, III. iii. 2.

Chabudus, siphon of Sparta, V. xxxvi. 1.; favours the war party, οὐδὲ; negotiates with the Boeotians and Corinthians, V. xxxvii.-xxxviii.

Cleomedes, Athenian commander in battle of Melos, V. lxxix. 3.

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, expels the “accursed persons” from Athens, I. cxxvi. 12.

Cleomenes, uncle and regent for Pausanias at Sparta, III. xxvi. 2.

Cleon, influential demagogue at Athens, III. xxxvi. 6.; IV. xxx. 3.; carries the decree condemning the Mytilenaens to death, III. xxxvi.; speech against repeal of the decree, III. xxxvii.-xl.; moves and carries decree for slaughter of 1600 Mytilenaens captives at Athens, III. 1.; causes breaking off of negotiations with Sparta, IV. xxii., xiii.; boast of what he would do at Pylos if he were general, IV. xxvii. 5.; is offered his place by Nicias and forced to accept, IV. xxviii.; chooses Demostenes as colleague, IV. xxix.; arrives at Pylos, IV. xxx. 4.; with Demostenes attacks Spachies, IV. xxxi.-xxxvii.; surrender of the Lacedaemonians, IV. xxxvi.; Cleon’s mad promise fulfilled, IV. xxxix.; carries decree for the destruction of Scione, IV. cxxxii. 6.; leads expedition to Thrace, V. 2 ff.; captures Torone, V. ii. 3.; takes Galepeus and attempts Stageirus, V. vi. 1.; operations against Brasidas, V. vii.-xl.; slain, V. x. 9.

Cleone, in Acte, IV. clx. 3.

Cleone, in Argolis, in alliance with Argos, V. lxvii. 2.; sends troops to Mantinea, V. lxxiv. 4.; lxxiv. 2.; a Lacedaemonian army invading Argos turns back at Cleone in consequence of an earthquake, VI. cv. 1.

Cleopompus, an Athenian commander, II. xxxv. 2.; colleague of Hagnon against Potidæa, II. lviii.

Cnemon, a Spartan commander, ravages Zacynthus, II. lxvi. 2.; invades Acrania, II. lxxx.-lxxxi.; defeated by Phormio, II. lxxviii., lxxvii.; second defeat, II. lxxvi.-lxxviii.; exhortation to his fleet, II. lxxxvi.; concert with Brasidas an attack upon the Pelopæus, II. xxiii., xxiv.

Cnidus: the Liparaeans colonists of, III. lxxviii. 2.; revolts from Athens, VIII. xxxiv. 1.; attacked by the Athenians, VIII. xxxiv. 5.; persuades Astyochus to attack the Athenians under Charminus, VIII. xii. 3.; Lacedaemonian fleet assembles at Cnidus, VIII. xii. 5.; Lacedaemonian commissioners confer at Cnidus with Tissaphernes, VIII. xiii. 3-4.; Tissaphernes’ garrison expelled from Cnidus, VIII. clx.
INDEX

Colonnae, In the Troad, I. cxxxv. 1.
Colonus, near, temple of Poseidon there, VIII. lixvii. 2.
Colophon, taken by Paches and made an Athenian colony, III. xxxiv.
Conon, an Athenian governor of Naupactus, VII. xxxii. 4.
Copaen, from Copa on Lake Copaia in Boeotia, in the battle at Delium, IV. xxi. 4.
Cophus, port near Trosor, v. ii. 9.
Coreya, earliest sea-fight known, fought between the Coreysans and the Corinthians, I. xiii. 4; mother-city of Epidauns, I. xxiv. 2; refuses aid to the Epidauntans, L xxi. 7; neglect of the mother-city (Corey), I. xxi. 5; wealth, power and glory of; once occupied by the Phaeacians, I. xxxv. 4; besieges Epidauns, l. xxi.; sends embassy to Corinth, L xxviii.; victory over the Corinthians, I. xxix. 4; slaughters prisoners after the battle, I. xxx. 1; sends embassy to Athens, I. xxxv. 2; speech of Coreysans, I. xxxii.-xxxvi.; importance of Coreya, I. xxxvi.; xlv. 3; lxviii. 4; obtains alliance of the Athenians, I. xlv.; sea-fight against the Corinthians, L lxviii.-i.; offer the Corinthians battle, I. iii.; want to kill the Corinthian messengers, I. iii. 5; set up trophy on Sybota, L iv. 1; driven from Anactorium by the Corinthians, I. iv. 1; Corinthians intrigue with their Coreysan prisoners, ib.; under obligation to Themistocles, but afraid to shelter him, I. cxxvi. 1; receive an embassy from Athens, H. vii. 3; furnish ships to the Athenians, H. iv. 6; xxx. 1; fall into sedition, III. lix. 9; Ixx. 1; oligarchs, worsted in a law-suit by Pelthias, murder him and his partisans, III. lxx.; seek to win over the people, III. lix.; attack and defeat the people, III. lxxii.; fail to win over the slaves, III. lxxiii.; the people defeat the oligarchs, III. lxxiv.; Niceratus, the Athenian commander, tries to effect a reconciliation, III. lxxv.; negotiations and plots; the people disarm and remove the oligarchs from the temple of Hera to an island, ib.; the Coreysans and Athenians defeated by the Lacedaemonians, III. xxvii., lxxviii.; prisoners replaced in the temple of Hera, III. lxxix. 1; people persuade some of the aristocratic party to help man a fleet, III. lxxx.; the Lacedaemonian fleet retires on the approach of the Athenians, and the people massacre their opponents, III. lxxx.; reflections on the Coreysan atrocities, III. lxxxi.-lxxxiv.; this massacre the first example of the horrors of revolutionary warfare in Hellas, III. lxxxv. 1; the surviving oligarchs occupy Mt. Isthone, III. lxxxv.; iv. ii. 3; xli. 2; the people capture Mt. Isthone and treacherously massacre their prisoners, III. xlv.-lxvii.; the Sicilian expedition masters at Coreya, vi. xxx. 1; xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 6; xlii.; xliii. 1; Demosthenes sails to Coreya with reinforcements for Sicily, VII. xxi. 3; the Coreysans send aid to the Athenians at Syracuse, VII. xxxii. 5; xlv. 7; alarm the Athenians in the night-battle on Epipolae by their Doric paean, VII. xlv. 6.

Corinth: triremes first built there, I. xiii. 2; earliest naval engagement between the Corinthians and Coreysans, ib.; an early centre of commerce; Doryphoros, ib.; take the Epidauntans under their protection; hatred toward the Coreysans, I. xxv.; send aid to Epidauns, I. xxvi. 1; send also a colony, I. xxvii. 1; receive an embassy from Coreya, L xxviii.; beaten at sea by the Coreysans, L xxix.; send embassy to Athens, L xxxi. 3; speech of, L xxxvii.-xliv.; the Corinthians have the aid of many barbarian tribes of Epirus, L xlvii. 3; sea-fight with the Coreysans, L xlviii.-lx.; retire before the Athenian reinforcements, I. ii.; parley with the Athenians, I. iii.; set up a trophy at Sybota, claim
INDEX

the victory, l. lv.; capture Anactorium, l. lv. 1; their alliance sought by Pericles, l. vii.; send troops to Potidæa, l. ix.; bitter hatred of the Athenians, l. lxvi.; cf. l. ciii. 4; summon the allies to Sparta, l. lxvii.; speech of their delegates, l. lxviii.—lxxi.; make war on the Megarians, l. ciii. 4; defeat the Athenians at Halieis, l. cv. 1; invade Megara, òbì; are defeated, òbì; suffer great loss, l. cvi.; assist the Megarians to revolt, l. cxxiv. 1; urge on the war, l. cxxiv. 3; second speech of the Corinthians, l. cxxv.—cxxiv.; furnish ships to the Lacedaemonians, l. xx. 3; lose Solium, ll. xxx. 1; restore Evarchus, l. xxxiv. 1, 2; defeated in Cephalonia, òbì; prepare to assist the Lacedaemonian invasion of Aegina, l. lxx. 3; attacked and defeated by Phormio, l. lxxiii.—lxxiv.; second defeat, l. xxi.—xxii.; share in the projected surprise of the Peloponnes, l. xxii.—xxv.; induce their Corcyranian prisoners to attempt an oligarchical revolution at Corcyra, l. lxxiii.; refuse to aid the oligarchs at Isthmoe, l. lxxv. 3; garrison Ambraacia, l. cxxiv. 4; iv. xii. 3; repulse an Athenian invasion, iv. xiiii.—xiv.; driven out of Anactorium by the Athenians, iv. xii.; aid Brasidas, iv. lxx. 1; lxxiv. 1; join in one year’s truce, iv. cxxiv. 2; dissatisfied with the treaty between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, v. xvii. 2; xxv. 1; xxxv. 1; send envoys to Argos, v. xxvi.; re-established by the Lacedaemonians, v. xxx.; join the Argive alliance, v. xxxi. 6; apply to the Boeotians, v. xxxii. 5; the new Spartan envoys wish them to bring the Argives into the Lacedaemonian alliance, v. xxvii.; the negotiation fails, v. xxviii.; refuse to join the Athenian and Argive alliance, v. xvi.; l. 4; prevent construction of a fort at Athium by Autibiades, v. iii. 2; Corintian envoy at Mantinea, l. lv. 1; send a contingent with the Lacedaemonians against the Argives, v. lxi. 2; engage the Argives, l. lix. 2; too late for Mantinea, l. lxxiv. 2; do not join the Lacedaemonians against Argos, v. lxxvii. 1; declare war against the Athenians, v. xxvii. 3; withhold support from a Lacedaemonian attack on Argos, vi. vii. 1; receive an embassy from Syracuse, vi. lxxvii. 7; vote to send the Syracusans aid, vi. lxxviii. 8; send envoys with them to Sparta, òbì; send ships and troops to Sicily, vi. xii. 2, 5; civ. 1; vii. l. 1; iv. 7; vii. 1; xvi. 4; xxxi. 1; encouraged by reports from Sicily and man 25 ships against the Athenian fleet at Naupactus, viii. xvii. 4; Corinthian envoys go from Syracuse to the Sicilian states, vii. xxv. 9; fight Athenian fleet off Naupactus, vii. xxxvii.; claim victory, òbì; their forces before Syracuse, vii. liii. 5; Agris deposits Phthiotic Achaeian hostages at Corinth, vii. iii. 1; contribute ships to the Lacedaemonian fleet, òbì; allies in conference at Corinth, viii. viii.; refuse to join the Chian expedition till after the Isthmian Games, vii. vii. 1; the fleet is chased into Peiraeus by the Athenians, viii. x.; Corinthians come to its aid, vii. xi. 2; the fleet breaks the blockade, viii. xx. 1; the Corinthians discourage a second Lesbian revolt, vii. xxix. 1; send five ships to Astyocharus, viii. xxxi. 1; besiege Oenoe, viii. xxviii.; lose five ships at Cynossema, viii. cvii.

Coroneans in battle at Delium, iv. xxvi. 4.

Coronea, in Bocotia, defeat of Athenians there, l. xxxii. 2; iii. ixii. 5; iv. xiiii. 5.

Corenta, in Acarnania, l. cii. 1.

Cercyon, a part on the Erythian peninsula, viii. xiv. 1; xxxiii. 2; xxxiv.

Ceryphus, Lacedaemonian name of Pylos, iv. iii. 2; xxviii. 3;
ordered to be restored under the
treaty, v. xviii. 7.

Cos Meropis sacked by Astyocho, viii. xii. 2; cf. alliv. 3; iv. 1;
fortified by the Athenians, viii.
cviii. 2.

Cotyle, a measure, solid or liquid,
iv. xvi. 1; vii. lxxxvii. 2.

Cozyrtos, in Laconia, iv. lvi. 1.

Crani in Cephalenia, settlement of the
Helots there by the Athenians,
v. xxxv. 7; removal of these
Helots, v. lvi. 3; the Cranians,
ii. xxx. 3; xxxiii. 9.

Crannonians, of Thessaly, ii. xxii. 5.

Cratatesmenes, from Chalcis, one of the
founders of Zancle, vi. iv. 5.

Creneae, in Amphiochlos, iii. cv. 2.

Crestonians, in Acte, iv. cix. 4.

Cretan Sea, iv. liii. 5; v. cx. 1.

Crete, campaign of Athenians in,
ii. lxxxv. 6; Alcidas caught in
storm off, vii. lixix. 1; Cretan and
Rhodian origin of Gela, vi. lv. 3;
vii. lvii. 9; Cretan archers, vii.
xxv. 2; xlix.; Cretan mercenaries
with the Athenians before Syracu-
se, vii. lvii. 9.

Cresaean Gulf, i. cvii. 3; ii. lixix
1; lxxxiii. 1; its mouth, ii. lxxvii. 3;
Siphne thereon, iv. lxxvi. 3.

Crocyleum, in Astolia, iii. xxxi. 2.

Croesus, conquered by Cyrus, i. xvi.

Crommyon, between the Isthmus and
Mebara, iv. xiii. 4; xliv. 4; xlv. 1.

Crotona, a deme in Attica, ii. xix. 2.

Crotonians, in Italy, refuse passage to
an Athenian army, vii. xxx. 2.

Crusias, in Mykopolis, ii. lxxiv. 4.

Cyclades, colonized by Minos, l. iv.;
all subject to Athens except
Melos and Cythera, ii. ix. 5.

Cyclopes, oldest inhabitants of Sicily,
vi. li. 1.

Cydonia, in Crete, ii. lxxxv. 5.

Cyrene, shipyard of the Eleans, i.
xxx. 2; ii. lxxvii. 5; lxxvii. 1;
iii. lixix. 1; lxxvii. 1; vi. lxxxviii. 9.

Cydon, conspiracy of, i. cxvii.

Cyrene in Aegae, iii. xxxi. 1; vii.
xxii. 1; xxxi. 3, 4; c. 9; cf. 2.

Cyrene, in Italy, a colony from Chalcis
in Rubicon, vi. Iv. 5.

Cyrene, an Asarian, ii. cii. 1.

Cynoemon, a promontory in the

Hellespont, viii. civ. 6; cvl. 4;
battle there, viii. civ.-cvi.

Cymlia, on the border of Argos and
Laconia, iv. lvi. 2; dispute about,
v. iv. 4; xlv. 2.

Cyprus, subdued by Pausania, i.
xxiv. 2; civ. 2; cxviii. 5; attacked
by the Athenians, i. cxvii. 2.

Cypros, in Arcadia, v. xxvii. 1.

Cyrene, i. cx. 1; the Cyreneans
assist the Lacedaemonians on their
way to Syracuse, vii. l. 2.

Cyrrhus, in Macedonia, ii. c. 4.

Cyros, King of Persia, father of
Cambyties, i. xvi.; son of Darus,
ii. lv. 12.

Cythera, island south of Laconia,
attacked by the Athenians, iv.
ili.-viii.; the Athenians plunder
Laconia therefrom, v. xiv. 8; to
be restored to the Lacedaemonians
under the treaty, v. xvii. 7; the
Cytherians allies of the Athenians
before Syracuse, vii. lvii. 6.

Cythium, in Doris, i. civ. 2; iii.
xxv. 1; cit. 1.

Cyzicus, revolt from Athens, but
is retaken, vii. civ.; Timagoras
of Cyzicus, exile in Pharnabazus’
service, vii. vi. 1; vii. 1; xxxix. 1.

Dafthus, a Lacedaemonian, swears
to the treaty of alliance, v. xix.,
xxiv.

Damagetum, a Lacedaemonian, swears
to the treaty, v. xix., xxiv.

Damacon, a Lacedaemonian, one of
the founders of Heraclea, iii.
xvii. 5.

Damedaimus, a Sicyonian, iv. cxxix. 2.

Damasus, a name of the Hellenes in
Homer, i. lxi. 3.

Daphnis, near Clazomenae, vii.
xxii. 6; xxxi. 2.

Dardanus, in the Hellespont, viii.
civ. 2.

Doric stater, viii. xxvii. 4.

Darius, King of Persia, succeeds
Cambyses, i. xiv. 2; reduces the
Islands, i. lvii.; Aristagoras, the
Miletian, fleeing from Darius, iv.
civ. 5; influence of Lamprocene
tyrant with Darius, vi. lxxvii. 3;
Hippias takes refuge with Darius,
69.
INDEX

Darius II., son of Artaxerxes, King of Persia, viii. v. 4; xxxvii.; liv. i.
Dascos, joint founder with Menoeceus of Camarina, vi. v. 8.
Dascos, near Syracuse, vi. xcvi., 2.
D-asileum, satrapy in Asia Minor, i. cxxix. 1.
Daunia, ancient name of a part of Phocis, ii. xxix. 3; the "Daunian bird," 684.
Decelleia, fortification of, suggested by Alcibiades, vi. xcI. 6; vii. xviii. 1; this plan carried out by the Lacedaemonians, vi. xcvI. 2; vii. xviii. 4; xix. 1; terrible mischief to the Athenians therefrom, vii. xxv.; Agis at Decelleia, vii. ill. 1; the occupation of Decelleia causes the whole Athenian population to be on service, vii. lix. 1; the Four Hundred send heralds to Agis there, vii. lx. 2; Agis marches thence to Athens, vii. lxx. 1; returns the Four Hundred resume negotiations, 686; Corinthian troops in the garrison, vii. xvii. 2.
Deinomachus, a commander of the Spartan fleet, viii. xxiv. 1.
Delphi, temple of Apollo, near Tanagra, iv. lxxvi. 4, 5; fortified by the Athenians, iv. xc.; battle of, iv. xcI.-xcvI.: Bocotians charge the Athenians with sacrilege, iv. xcv.; xcvI., xcvII.: captured by the Bocotians, iv. c.; effect of their defeat at Delium upon the Athenians, v. xiv. 1; xv. 2.
Delos, purification of, by the Athenians, i. viii. 1; iii. civ.; first treasury of the Athenian alliance, i. xcI. 2; earthquake in Delos, ii. viii. 3; Peloponnesian fleet reaches Delos, iii. xxi. 1; purification of and ancient games at Delos, iii. civ.; the Delians settled at Atarneus in Asia, v. i.; vii. xviii. 4; the Delians brought back to Delos, v. xxxII. 1; treacherous massacre of the Delians at Atarneus, viii. xviii. 4.
Delphi, temple of, returned to the Delphians by the Lacedaemonians, i. cxx. 5; by the Athenians to the Phocians, 684; treasury of, i. cxi. 3; caIIII. 1; tripod at, i. c xxII.; iii. iv. 2; alleged corruption of the priestess by Phidias, ix. xvkI.; provision respecting Delphi in the treaty between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, v. xviii. 2; see also v. xviii. lo.
Delfinium, in Chios, fortified by the Athenians, vii. xxvi. ii.; xii. 3.
Demaratus, an Athenian general, vi. cv. 2.
Demarchus, a Syracusean naval commander, vii. lxxvi. 2.
Demarystuck, a magistracy at Mantineia, v. xvi. 2; at Elia, 686.
Democracy: Pericles' description of the Athenian democracy, ii. xxxvii.; xli.; Cleon's, iii. xxvi.; xxvI.; Diodorus', iii. xxIII.; weakneses of, ii. xiv. 2; iii. xxv.; everywhere friendly to Athens, iii. xvII. 1; lixxII. 1; vi. lixxII. 6; all classes equal in a democracy, ii. xxv.; more stable than oligarchy, vii. xxxI. 3.
Demodocus, an Athenian general, iv. lixxII. 1.
Demostenes, son of Aristocles, commands Athenian expedition round the Peloponnesus, iii. xci. 1; expedition against the Leonc- caulians, iii. xcvI. 1; against the Aetolians, 686; defeated by the Aetolians, 686; saves Naupactus, iii. cii. 3, 4; takes command of the Acharnians against the Ambrotos, iii. cv. 3; defeats the Ambrotos, iii. civ. cxi.; secret agreement with Menedes, iii. cvI.; destroys the Ambraciot re-inforcements, iii. cvIII. 6; Demostenes' share of booty; return home, iii. cvII. 1; sent on a special commission, iv. ii.; fortifies Pylos, iv. iii.-v.; disposition of his forces, iv. ix.; speech of, iv. x.; repulses the Lacedae- monians, iv. xi., xii.; chosen by Cleon and his colleagues at Spata- teria, iv. xxII. 1; plans and executes attack on Spata- teria, iv. xxxI.-xxvII.; forces the Lacedaemonians to surrender, iv. xxxvII.; attempts Megara, iv.
INDEX

Diodorus, an Athenian, opposes the
slaughter of the Myrmidons, I.
xxxii.-xlviii.

Dium, an Athenian commander,
VIII. xix. 2; makes an agreement
with the Telans, VIII. xix. 2; sent
with Leon to Lesbos, VIII. xxiii.
1; wages war against Chios, VIII.
xiv. 2; appointed with Leon to
chief command at Samos, VIII.
iv. 3; makes descent upon Rhodes,
VIII. iv. 1; supports the democratic
reaction at Samos, VIII. Ixxxiii. 4.

Diomede, an Andrian exile, com-
mander of 600 Syracusans, VIII.
xvi. 3; slain in battle, VI. xxvii. 4.

Dionysia, the ancient, H. xv.
4; city Dionysia, v. xx. 1.

Dionysus, temple of, "in the
marshes." H. xv. 4; at Corcyra,
III. Ixxxi. 5; theatre near Muny-
chia, VIII. xxvii. xxvii. 1.

Dioscuri, temple of, at Corcyra,
III. Ixxv. 3; at Torone, IV. cx. 1.

Diothenes, an Athenian commander,
IV. Ixiv.

Diphilus, an Athenian commander,
VIII. xxxiv. 3.

Dismen, in Macedon, IV. Ixxviii.
6.

Dismi, at Mt. Athos, IV. cix. 3; v.
Ixxvi. 1.

Dobrus, in Paonia, H. xxvili. 2;
xxix. 1; c. 3.

Dolopia, in Epirus, H. cl. 2.
Dolopians, in Thessaly, V. II. 1.

Dolopians, ancient inhabitants of
Scyros, L. xxvii. 2.

Dolphins, lead weights, used to
sink an enemy's ship, VII. xii. 2.

Doras, successor to Pausanias, L.
xxiv. 6.

Dorians, settlement in the Pelo-
pnnesus, L. xii. 3; coloniae Laced-
aemon, L. xviii. 1; their mother-
land attacked by Phocians, L. xvi.
2; contrasted with Ionians, L.
cxxiv. 1; v. ix. 1; VIII. lxxvii.
2; lxxxi. 3; Ixxxi. 2; VII. 4; VIII.
xxv. 5; Dorians in Asia Minor
Athenian subjects, H. ix. 4; Dorian
cities in Sicily allies of the Syrac-
usans against the Leontines, III.
Ixxxvi. 2; Dorian dialect spoken by
the Messenians, H. xiv. 7; Ixiv.
3; mixed with Chalcidian at
INDEX

Himera, vi. v. 1; Dorian panet of
their allies alarms the Athenians,
vii. xlv. 6; Dorian cities allied of
Syracuse, vii. lviii. 1-3.
Doricus, of Rhodes, twice victor at
Olympia, iii. viii.
Doria, son of Diogoras, commands
ten Thuringian ships, viii. xxxv. 1;
threatened violence by Astyochus,
viii. lxxxiv. 2.
Durus, a Thessalian, iv. lxxxviii. 1.
Dracon, in Thrace, Athenian
colonists slaughtered there, i. c.
2; iv. cii. 2.
Drachma; Corinthian, l. xxvii. 1;
Aeginetan, v. xivii. 3; Athenian
mercenaries paid one drachma per
day, vii. xxvii. 2; one drachma
per day paid by Tissaphernes, viii.
xxix.; on Alcibiades' advice Tissa-
phernes cuts this to one half
drachma, viii. xiv. 2.
Drees, a Thracian tribe, ii. cii. 3.
Droughts in the Peloponnesian war,
1. xxiii. 2.
Drynoma, island off Cleomenes,
viii. xxxii. 3.
Dryopion, Caryus of Ephesus
inhabited by, vii. lvii. 4.
Dryocephalae, in Bocotia, iii. xiv.
2.
Dyone, in Achaea, ii. lxxxv. 3.

Earth, temple of, at Athens, ii. xv. 4.
Earthquakes: frequency of, during
the Peloponnesian war, 1. xxiii. 2;
before the siege of Ithome, i. c.
2; cxxviii. 1; iii. lv. 5; at Delos,
ii. vii. 3; in the fifth year of the
war, iii. lxxxvii. 4; lxxxix. 1;
probable cause of inundation, iii.
xxxix. 5; Lacedaemonian expedi-
tions stopped by, iii. lxxxix. 1;
vi. xcv. 1; assembles interrupted
by, v. xiv. 4; L. 4; earthquake at
Athens, v. xiv. 1; at Corinth, v.
1. 4; at Cleone, vi. xcv. 1; at Sparta,
viii. v. 5; at Cos, viii. xii. 2; the
Lacedaemonians change admirals
because of an earthquake, vii.
v. 5.
Eccritus, a Spartan commander, vii.
xiv. 3.
Echecratides, King of Thessaly, i.
cxi. 1.

Echinades, islands at the mouth of
the Achelous, ii. cii. 3.
Eclipses of the sun, l. xxiii. 3; lll.
xxvii.; iv. iii. 1; they occur only
at new moon, ii. xxvii. 1; cf. iv.
iii. 1; eclipse of the moon, vii.
1. 4.
Edoni, old inhabitants of Amphipolis,
l. c. 5; expelled from Mygdonia,
ii. xxix. 4; defeat Aristagoras
attempt to colonize Amphipolis,
iv. cii. 2; destroy the Athenian
settlers, 69; driven out by Hagnon,
69; Myrminus, an Edonian town,
iv. cxi. 3; Pittaccus, King of, 69;
their whole force summoned by
Breaudius, v. vi. 4.
Ethonomia, part of the Pelasgi,
fortified by the oligarchs; de-
scription of, viii. xc.; xvi. 2;
xcl. 2; xcviii. 1; destroyed by the
soldiers at the instigation of Theramena,
viii. xcviii. 10.
Egates, town in Sicily, of Trojan
origin, vi. liii. 3; at war with
Selinus; appeal to Athens for
aid against the Syracuseans, vi. liii.;
deceive the Athenians about their
wealth, vi. vii. 1; xvi.; aid the
Athenians in capturing Myicum;
supply 30 talents, vi. lxxii.; ap-
pealed to for horses by the
Athenians, vi. lxxxviii. 6; xxviii. 1.
Egypt, revolts from the King, i. civ.
1; subdued by the Persians, l.
cix., cx.; destruction of Athenian
reinforcements, i. cx. 4; Egyptians
in the vast most warlike, i. cx. 4;
third Athenian fleet sent to Egypt
without results, i. cxi. 2; 4;
Egyptian body-guard of Pausanias,
i. cxxx. 1; visited by the plague,
ii. xuvii. 1.
Eldomene, in Macedonia, ii. c. 3.
Eighth, Council of, at Argos, v.
xvii. 9.
Elon, in Calchedon, a colony of
Mende, iv. vii.
Elon, upon the Strymon, besieged
by Cimon, i. xcviii. 1; taken by
Simonides, iv. vii.; Artaphernes
arrested there, iv. i. 1; Athenian
base in colonizing Amphipolis, iv.
ci. 4; saved by Thucydides, iv.
cvi. 4; cxi. 1; Cleon's base in
INDEX

operations against Amphipolis, V. vi. 1.
Eileus, in the Thracian Chersonese, VIII. civ. 1.; cii. 2.; ciiii. 2.
Elipebolion, Attic mouth, IV. cxviii. 12.; V. xvi. 1.
Eleaste, part of Thesprotia, I. xvi. 4.
Eleutheria, a temple at Athens, II. xvii. 1.
Eleutheria, in Attica, L cxiv. 2.; II. xix. 2.; xx. 2.; xxi. 1.; IV. lxviii. 5.; war of the Eleuthians against Naxos, II. xv. 1.
Himiloe, a Macedonian tribe, II. xlix. 2.
Him, the Eleans aid the Corinthians against Corcyra, L xxvii. 2.; xlvii. 1.; their naval arsenal, Cylicem, burned by the Corcyreans, I. xxx. 2.; furnish a naval contingent to the Lacedaemonian confederacy, II. ix. 3.; defeated by the Athenians, II. xxv. 3.; dissatisfied with the treaty between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, V. xvii. 2.; join the Argive alliance, V. xxx. 1.; quarrel with the Lacedaemonians about Lepeum, sb.; alliance with the Athenians, V. xlviii. 2.; xlvii. 2.; xlvii. 1.; exclude the Lacedaemonians from the Olympic Games, V. xlix. 1.; aid the Argives, V. lvii. 1.; angered about Lepeum, they return home, V. lxii. 2.; aid the Mantins against Epidaurus, V. lxxv. 5.; deserted by the Argives, V. lxxvii.
Ethomenes, in Leucadia, III. xlvii. 1.
Ilorine road, V. lvii. 2.; lxxv. 4.; reached by the retreating Athenians on the night after the fifth day, VII. lxxx. 5.
Hymn, a partly Trojan race in Sicily, VI. ii. 2.
Embattal, in Erythraea, III. lxxv. 2.; lxxvii. 6.
Empedon, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the treaty of peace, V. xlix., xxxiv.
Eumenes, Spartan envoy to Athens, V. xlvii. 3.; Ephor at Sparta, hereditary friend of Alcibiades, VIII. vi. 3.; persuaded by Alcibiades not to give up the expedition to Chios, VIII. xi.,

Engine, battering, used at Plataea, II. lxxvi. 4.; at Minos, II. ii. 3.; used to fire a wooden wall at Delium, IV. c.; at Leuctra, IV. cxxv. 2.
Enpeus, a river in Thessaly, IV. lxxviii. 3.
Ennea Hodo, Nine Ways, ancient name of Amphipolis, which see.
Enneacrinus, a fountain at Athens, II. xv. 5.
Ennomotie, the smallest divisions in the Lacedaemonian army, v. lxvii.
Enyaliion, sanctuary of Ares, near Megara, IV. lxvii. 2.
Eordia, a district in Macedonia, II. xlix. 3.
Ephesian games, III. clv. 3.
Ephesus, reached by Themistocles in his flight, L cxxxvii. 2.; Aiakos at Ephesus, III. cxxiii. 3.; cxxxiv. 1.; Athenian envoy to the King return thence, IV. i. 3.; a Chian ship escapes to Ephesus, VIII. xix. 3.; Tissaphernes sacrifices to Artemis at Ephesus, VIII. cix.
Ephors at Sparta; their powers, L lxxxvii. 1.; cxxxi. 1.
Ephyr, in Thesprotia, I. xlvii. 4.
Epicles, a Lacedaemonian general, VIII. cii. 2.
Epicydidas, a Lacedaemonian general, V. xii. 3.
Epidaus, a colony of the Corcyreans; its situation and origin, L xxiv.; asks aid of Corcyra; is refused, L xxiv.; applies to Corinth, L xxv.; receives aid in colonists from Corinth, L xxvi. 1.; besieged by the Corcyreans, L xxvi. 5.; surrendered, sb.; the affair of Epidaus, one of the avowed causes of the Peloponnesian war, L xxvi. 6.; cxlvii.; the Corcyrean prisoners taken at Epidaus, won over by the Corinthians, III. lxxv.
Epidaus, furnishes a contingent of ships to Corinth, I. xxvii. 2.; defeated by the Athenians at Halicarnassus, V. cv.; assists the Megarians to revolt, L cxviii. 1.; territory ravaged by the Athenians, II. xlv. 4 (cf. VI. xxxi. 2.); IV. xlv. 1.; war with the Argives, V. lll.;
INDEX

liv. 3; iv. 2; iv. 4; garrisoned by the Lacedaemonians, v. ivi. 1;
invades Argos, v. lxxv. 4; besieged by the Argive allies, v. lxxv. 3, 6;
the Argives agree by treaty to evacuate Epidaurus, v. lxxvi. 3;
liii. vii. 2; the Athenians evacuate Epidaurus, v. lixx. 2; the Epidauren
supply ships to the Lacedaemonians. VIII. ii.; a Peloponnesian fleet anchors at Epidaurus, VIII.
xxii. 3; xxiv. 2.

Epidaurus Lymna, in Laconia, iv. lv. 2; vi. cv. 2; VII. xviii. 2; xxvii. 2.

Epipolaris, its situation and importance, vi. xxvi.; VII. ii.; captured by the Athenians, VI. xxvii.;forded, VI. cl. 1; attacked by the Syracusans, VI. cii.; Glyippus enters by way of, VII. i. 2; the Syra-
cusans defeated there, VII. v.; the Syracusans victorious and carry their cross-wall past the Athenian
wall, VII. vi.; night-battle on Epipolae, VII. xiii.-xiv.

Epirus, tribes from there join Chonemus, II. iii. 5, 6.

Epidauros, Lacedaemonian commander on Sphacteria, IV. xxxi., xxxii. st.

Epispiyrian Locri, Glyippus and Pythen arrive, VII. i. 1.

Erasinides, a Corinthian commander, VII. vii. 1.

Erechtheus, King of Athens, II. xv. 1.

Erechtheus, strengthened by the Lesbians, III. xviii. 1; captured by Pachus, III. xxx. 1; Astyochus
causes a revolt there, VIII. xxii. 3; 4; it again revolts, VIII. c. 3; besieged by the Athenians, cl. 1;
cii. 2.

Eretria, war with Chalcis, I. xv. 3; subject ally of Athens, VII. liv. 4; betrays Crops to the Bocca-
tians, VIII. ix. 1; asks assistance from the Lacedaemonians, VIII. ix.
2; aids the Lacedaemonians to defeat the Athenians, VIII. xiv.

Erinna, in Doris, I. cxxi. 1.

Ereineus, in Achaia, VII. xxxiv. 1.

Ereineus, a river in Sicily, VII. lixx.
7; lxxxi. 3.

Erythrae, in Bocotia, III. xxiv. 2.

Erythrae, in Imola, III. xxxii. 2; revolts from Athens VIII. v. 4;

Eryx, in Sicily, VI. ii. 5; temple of Aproleite there, VI. xvi. 5.

Eunomus, a Lacedaemonian commander, VIII. xxiv. 3.

Eteocles (Tyrrenian) sea, IV. xxiv. 4.

Etruscan (Tyrrenian) ancients, IV. cix. 4.

Etesians (Tyrrenians), ancient inhabitants of Lemnos, IV. cix. 4.

Eulas (Eulas), a Spartan commander, VII. xxii. 1.

Eurichus (Eurichus), tyrant of Bassae, II. xxx. 1; xxiii. 1, 2.

Eurichus (Eurichus) chosen as founder by the Catanaeans, VI. iii. 5.

Eubes, revolts from Athens, but is subdued, I. cxxiv.; Athenian
flocks removed thither, II. xiv.; precautions for the safety of
Eubes, II. xxvi. (cf. III. xvii. 2); plundered by Locrian pirates, II.
xxvii.; Lacedaemonians form designs upon Eubea, III. xcxii.,
xxvii.; Athens supplied from
Eubea, VII. xxvii. 1; negotiations with Agis about a fresh
revolt, VIII. v. 1, 2; all Eubea
except Oreus revolts, VIII. xxv. 7; effect of its loss on the Athenians,
VIII. xxv. 1.

Eubulus, a Chian commander, VIII.
xxiv. 4.

Eucles, an Athenian general, IV. cix. 4.

Eucles, a Syracusan general, VI.
cii. 4.

Eucleides, one of the founders of
Himera, VI. v. 1.

Eucentor, an Athenian commander,
VIII. xxx.

Euenes, in Libya, VII. i. 2.

Eunuse, an Athenian commander,
attacks Amphipolis, without suc-
cess, VII. ix.

Eumachus, a Corinthian commander,
II. xxviii. 1.

Eumolpius, at Athens, protest.
INDEX

against recall of Alcibiades, VII.
iiii. 2.
Eupalium, a town in Ozolian Locris, III. xcvii. 2; cii. 1.
Euphamida, a Corinthian commander, II. xxxiiii. 1; IV. cix. 1; V. iv. 1.
Euphemus, Athenian envoy at Camarina, VI. lxxiv. 4; speech there, VI. lxxvii.-lxxxvii.
Eupompeides, a Platenean, III. xx. 1.
Euripus, strait between Euboea and the Mainland, VII. xxvii. 2.
Europus, in Macedonia, II. c. 3.
Eurybatas, a Corcyraean commander, I. xivii. 1.
Eurydra, western ridge of Epipolae, VI. xviiii. 2; VII. ii. 3.
Eurylochus, Spartan commander in expedition against Naupactus, III. c.-cii.; brings reinforcements to the Ambraciots at Ojpai, III. cvii.; defeated, III. cvii., cviiii.; his death, III. cii.
Eurymachus, negotiates intrigue with Platanean traitors, II. ii. 3; killed by the Plataneans, II. vii. 7.
Eurymedon, river in Pamphylia, Persian defeat there, L c. 1.
Eurymedon, son of Thucles, an Athenian commander, sent to Corcyra, III. lxxvi. II; lxxvi. 4; lxxxvi. 1; joins expedition of Nicias, III. xc. 4; despatched with fleet to Sicily, IV. 2; fleet detained at Pylos, IV. iii.; summoned by Demosthenes to his aid from Syracuse, IV. vili. 3; sails from Pylos for Sicily, stopping at Corecyra, IV. xvi. 1; operations there, ivii.; tried by the Athenians, IV. lxvi. 3; sent to Sicily as colleague of Nicias, VII. xvi. 1; returning from Sicily, meets Demosthenes at Corecyra, VII. xxxiiii. 2; returns with Demosthenes, VII. xxxiiii. 3; joins in attack on Epipolae, VII. xliii. 2; concurs with Demosthenes in urging withdrawal from Syracuse, VII. xliii. 2; slain, VII. iii. 2.
Euryphantes, slain at Attica by the Heracleidae, L ix. 2.
Eurytanians, an Aeolian tribe, III. xciv. 6.

Eustrophus, Argive envoy to Lacedaemon, V. xi. 3.
Euthydemus, an Athenian, swears to the treaty of peace, V. xix., xxiv.; appointed colleague of Nicias before Syracuse, VII. xvi. 1; commands with Demosthenes in the last sea-fight, VII. lxxiv. 4.
Euxine Sea, II. xvi.; lxxxvii. 1.
Evrenus, river in Aetolia, II. lxxvillii. 3.

Familens during the war, I. xxvii. 1; in Cyprus, I. ciii. 4; in Potidaea, II. lxx. 1; in Plataea, III. iii. 1; in Corecyra, IV. ii. 3.
Festivals: of Zeus Melichthes, I. cxxvi.; the Synoecia at Athens, II. xv. 2; of Apollo Males at Mytilene, III. iii. 3; Dionysia, V. xxxiiii. 4; Hyacinthia at Sparta, viiiii.; V. xii. 3; Panathenaea at Athens, V. xivii. 10; iv. 2; Gymnopaedia at Sparta, V. lxxvi. 2; Carnia at Sparta, v. iv. 2; lxxi. 5; of Heracles at Syracuse, VII. lxxvili. 2.

Five Hundred, council of, or senate, VIII. lxvi. 1; lxxiv. 4; lxxvi. 6.
Five Thousand, the sham government offered by the oligarchical conspirators at Athens, VIII. lxxvi. 5; lxxvii. 3; lxxvili. 1; lxxvii. 3, 6; cloak for restoration of the democracy, VIII. lxxxiv. 4; xcvii. 11; the oligarchs promise to publish the names, VIII. xcvi. 2; established by the Athenians, VIII. xvii.; excellence of the constitution, 604.

Four Hundred, government of, introduced by the oligarchical conspirators at Athens, VIII. lxvii.-lxx.; dispatch heralds to Aegis and to Sparta, VIII. lxxii. 2; lixi. 3; send commissioners to Samos, VIII. lxxvi. 1; detain crew of the Paralus who announce revolution at Samos, VIII. lxxvii.; reception of their envoys at Samos, VIII. lxxvii. 1-4; their envoys delivered to the Argives, VIII. lxxvi. 9; their envoys return to Athens and report from Alcibiades, VIII. lxxxvii.-lxxxix. 2; the leaders willing to betray Athens in order to save their own
INDEX

power, VIII. xx. 1; xci. 3; enter into negotiations with the populace after the destruction of Bethonela, VIII. xxii.; deposed, VIII. xcvi. I. Funerai, public, of those who first fell in the war, II. xxxiv.; Pericles’ funeral oration, II. xxxv.-xlvii.; Brasidas’ public funeral, v. xi. 1.

Galepsus, a Thasian colony in Thrace, joins Brasidas, iv. cv. 3; taken by Cleom, v. vi. 1.

Gaulites, a Carian, sent by Thessalae to Sparta to accuse the Macedonians, VIII. lxxxv. 1.

Gela, in Sicily, founded by Antiplus and Eutimus, VI. vi. 3; conference there, IV. lvi. 1; receives and assists Gyllippos, VII. l. 4, 5; sends aid to the Syracusians, VII. xxxiii, I. cv. 1. 1. 1.

Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, expels the inhabitants of Megara Hyblaeae, VI. iv. 2; cvx. 1; colonizes Camarina a third time, VI. v. 3.

Gerasites, in Euboea, Ill. ill. 5.

Gerasdela, Mt. I. cv. 3; cvii. 3; cviii. 2; IV. lxx. I.

Gerasites, a Spartan mount, IV. cvx. 1.

Heta, a people bordering on the Scythians, II. cvi. I; cvii. 4.

Gigoum, in Chalcdece, I. lxi. 5.

Glance, in the territory of Mycale, VIII. lxxix. 2.

Glancan, an Athenian commander, I. ii. 1.

Goaxis, whose sons killed Pittacus, King of the Eodonians, IV. cv. 3.

Gold mines in Thrace, worked by Thucydides, IV. cv. 1.

Gongylus, an Eretrian, envoy of Pansalpes, I. cxxvii. 6.

Gongylus, a Corinthian commander, VII. II. 1.

Gortynia, in Macedonia, II. c. 3.

Gortys, in Crete, I. lxxxi. 3.

Graka, a district in Boeotia, II. xxii. 3; III. xc. 3.

Grapho paremonon, at Athens, repealed, VIII. lxvii. 2.

Grasshoppers, golden, ornaments once worn at Athens, I. vi. 3.

Grestonia, a district of Macedon, II. xcx. 6; c. 4.

Guardians of the Law, Thermopylae, a magistracy at Eile, v. xcvil. 9.

Gyllippos, a Spartan, appointed commander at Syracuse, VI. xcvii. 2; arrives at Tarentum, VI. cv. 1; falls in mission to Thurii, VI. cv. 2; makes his way to Syracuse, VII. I. 2; offers battle on Epipolae, VII. 3; captures Labdala, I. 44; falls in attack on Athenian lines, VII. iv. 1; defeated, VII. v.; defeats the Athenians, VII. vi.; goes to seek reinforcements, VII. vi. 2; sends to Lacedaemon and Corinth for reinforcements, VII. viii. 3; encourages the Syracusans to try a sea-fight, VII. xxxii. 1; takes Plemmyrium, VII. xxxii., XXV.; makes diversion by land while the Syracusan fleet attacks, VII. xxxvii.; goes to collect reinforcements, VII. xcvii.; returns, VII. i. 1; supports with land-troops the naval attack, VII. III. 2; prepares for the great sea-fight, VII. lxxv.; addresses the troops, VII. lxvi.-lxvii.; blocks roads by which the Athenians would retreat, VII. lxxv.; captures Demosthenes’ division, VII. lxxvii.; refusés terms offered by Nicias; harasses retreating Athenians, VII. lxxxii.; receives Nicias’ surrender, VII. lxxvii.; opposes putting Nicias and Demosthenes to death, VII. lxxxvi. 2.

Gymnopaediae, festival at Sparta, v. Ixxxii. 2, 3.

Gyrtonians, a Thessalian people, II. xxii. 3.

Habronichus, Athenian ambassador to Sparta with Themistocles, I. xcl. 1.

Hecamis, Mt., in Thrace, II. xxvi. 1.

Haerse, in the territory of Téos, revolts from Athens, VIII. xix. 4; resists assault of the Athenian fleet, VIII. xx. 2.

Hagnon, son of Nicias, colleague of Pericles at Samos, I. cvii. 2; brings reinforcements to Potidaea, II. lvii. I (cf. VI. xxxii. 2); returns to Athens, II. lvii. 3; commander
INDEX

in Chalcidae, ii. xuv. 3; settles
Amphipolis, iv. cli. 3, 4; ediles
of Hagnon (Hagnonela) pulled
down there, v. xi. 1; swears to
the treaty of peace, v. xix., xxiv.
Halex, a river in Italian Locri, iii.
xxix.
Haliartians, in battle at Delium, iv.
xxii. 4.
Halicarnassus, an Athenian fleet
escapes thither, viii. xiii. 4; 
Athenians exact money there, 
viii. civ. 2.
Halicarnassus, defeat of the Athenians
there, i. cv. 1; ravaged by the
Athenians, ii. lvi. 5; again, iv.
civ. 9.
Halya, river in Asia Minor, l. xvi.
Hamaxis, in the Troad, viii. cl. 3.
Hampipi, v. lvii. 2.
Harbour, the Great, of Syracuse, vi.
ct. 3; vii. iv. 4; xxii. 2; defeat
of the Syracusans at the mouth
of, vii. xxiii.; second sea-fight
there, vii. xxxvi.-xli.; third sea-
fight, vii. iii.; fourth sea-fight,
vi. lxx. lixi.; the lesser harbour,
vi. xxi. i.
Harmodius, opposite Methymna, vii.
ci. 3.
Harmodius and Aristocles, consp.
spiracy of, against Hipparchus, I.
xx. 2; vi. lv. 1; lvii.-lviii.
Harpagium, on the Propontis, vii.
civ. 1.
Harpina, in the valley of the Alpheus,
v. i. 3.
Hera, a river in Thrace, ii. xxvi. 4.
Hegesander, a Thespian commander,
ii. xix. 3.
Hegesandrodes, a Spartan, naval
commander, viii. xci. 2; xcv.;
his fleet victorious over the
Athenians, viii. xcv.
Hegesippus, Lacedaemonian gover-
nor of Heraclea, i. iii. 1; dismissed
by the Boeotians, ibid.
Helen, sisters of, i. ix. 1.
Helice, a Megarian commander,
viii. lxxii.
Helianian, inscrupulous of, i. xvii. 2.
Helias, agitation in, before the war,
I. i.; ii. viii.; xi.; early condition
of, i. ii.; Trojan war, first com-
mon action of, i. iii. 1; name
derived from Hellas and not given
at first to the whole country, i.
iii. 2; Minos first possessor of a
navy in, i. iv.; piracy honorable
in Hellas, i. iv. 5; ancient custom of carrying arms, i. vi. 1;
older towns built inland, i. vii.;
colonies sent out, i. xii.; rise of
tyrannies, i. xiii. 1; the war be-
tween Chalcis and Eretria, the
first in which Hellas took sides, 
i. xv. 3; hegemony in Hellas trans-
ferred from Lacedaemon to Athens,
ii. xviii., xxiv., xxvi.; excitement in
Hellas over failure of the Sicilian
expedition, vii. ii.
Hellen, gave name to Hellas, i. iii. 2.
Hellenotamia, the officers who re-
ceived the tribute of the allies at
Athens, i. xcvii.
Hellepont, the allies in the Persian
war at the Hellepont, i. lixxix.;
Pausanias in command there, i.
xxv.; xcviii. 3; Pharnabazus,
satrap at the Hellepont seeks
aid of Lacedaemon, vii. vi.; the
Lacedaemonians determine to send
a fleet thither under Clearchus,
viii. vii. 3; Dercylidas sent
thither overland, vii. ixi., ixii.;
the Athenian fleet leaves the
Hellepont for Samos, vii. lixix.;
Clearchus proceeds thither, Byzan-
tium revolts, vii. lixx.; the
Hellepont saved to Athens by
Ableiades' preventing the fleet
nailing to the Peiraees, vii.
lixxvi. 4; xcvii. 4; the Pelo-
ponnesian fleet sails for the Helle-
pont, vii. xxix.; the Athenians
follow, vii. c.; operations in
the Hellepont and battle of Caryus-
sema, viii. cli.-cvii.; Tissaphernes
annoyed on hearing that the
Lacedaemonians had gone to the
Hellepont, viii. cvii. 3; cix. 1.
Helos, town in Laconia, iv. lv. 3.
Helotes, revolt and go to Mt. Ithome,
1. ct. 2 (cf. ii. xxvii. 2; iii. lv.
6; iv. lv. 2); surrender, i. cxi.
1; settled at Naupactus by the
Athenians, ibid.; murder of, at
Temenus, i. cxxviii. 3; carry
supplies into Sphacteria, iv. xxi.
7; desert to the Messenians in

425
INDEX

Pylus, IV. xii. 3; offer of freedom to and butchery of Helots, IV. xxx. 3, 4; 700 Helots sent with Brasidas, IV. xxx. 5; afterwards settled at Lepreum, v. xxxiv. 1; withdrawn from Pylus, v. xxxv. 7; replaced, v. liv. 5; a body of Helots and Neodamoses sent by the Lacedaemonians to Sicily, VII. xix. 3; livii. 3; taken by the Athenians to Syracuse, VII. xxxi. 2; livii. 8.

Hephaestion, forge of, believed to be in Hiera, III. lxxxviii. 3.

Hera, temple of, at Corcyra, I. xxiv. 7; III. xxxv. 6; lxxix. 1; lxxxi. 2; at Plataea, III. lxviii. 3; at Argos, burned down, IV. cxxviii. 2; at Epidaurus, v. lxxv. 6.

Heraclæa, in Trachis, founded by the Lacedaemonians, III. xxii. c. 2; failure of the colony, III. xxiii.; Brasidas reaches Heraclæa, IV. lxxviii. 1; regulated by the Lacedaemonians, v. xii.; the Heraclæans are defeated by the neighbouring tribes, v. ii.; taken over by the Boeotians, v. iii.

Heraclæa, in Pontus, IV. lxxv. 2.

Heracliæ, temple of, at Mantineia, v. lxvi. 5; lxvi. 1; festival at Syracuse, vii. lxxix. 2.

Heraclæidae, slay Eurystheus in Attica, I. ix. 2; conquer the Peloponnesus, I. xii. 3; Phlias, a Corinthian, one of the Heraclæa, I. xxv. 2; Archias, founder of Syracuse, a Heraclæan, VI. iii. 2.

Heraclæides, a Syracuse general; VI. lxxviii.; deposed on a charge of treachery, vi. clii. 4.

Heraeans, of Arcadia, V. lxvii. 1.

Hermæ, mutilation of the, vii. xxvii., xxviii.; excitement at Athens about, vi. lxxii., ix.; confession of one of the prisoners, vi. lix.

Hermæcondas, a Theban, III. v. 4.

Hermæ, temple of, near Mycaleus, VIII. xxii. 3.

Hermione, furnishes a convoy to the Corinthians, L. xxvii. 2; Pausanias uses a trireme of, I. cxxxviii. 3; cxxxvi. 1; territory ravaged by the Athenians, II. livi.

5; supplies ships to the Lacedaemonians, VIII. iii. 2; xxviii. 1.

Hermocrates, son of Hermon, speech at Gela, IV. lix.-lixv.; second speech, VI. xxxviii., xxxv.; encourages the Syracuseans after defeat, VI. lixii.; chosen general, VI. lxxiii.; cxxvi. 3; cxxv. 2; speech at Camarina, VI. lxxvi.-lxx.; deposed, VI. iii. 4; heartens the Syracuseans for naval enterprise, VII. xxii.; strategem to delay the Athenian retreat, VII. lxxiii.; urges the Sicilians to continue the war for the destruction of Athens, VIII. xxii. 1; demonstrates with Tissaphernes for reducing the ships' pay; goes to Sparta to expose him, VIII. lxxv.

Hermion, an Athenian, commander of the Peripoli, VIII. xxi. 5.

Hesiod, said to have been killed at Nemea, III. xv. 1.

Hesians, an Occean Lycran tribe, III. cli. 2.

Hestiaæ, in Eubea, the Hestians expelled by the Athenians, I. cxxiv. 5; as colonists from Athens, warring at Syracuse on Athens' side, VII. lvi. 2.

Hestiodorus, an Athenian commander at Potidæa, II. lix. 1.

Hiera, one of the Liparaean islands, III. lxxviii. 2.

Hieron, mentioned with Tissaphernes in the third treaty with the Lacedaemonians, VIII. lxvii. 1.

Hieranes, in Mælia, III. xxii. 3.

Hierophon, an Athenian commander, III. cv. 3.

Himera, invaded by the Athenians and Sicels, III. cxxv.; colonized from Zancle, VI. v. 1; only Hellenic city on north coast, VI. lixii. 2; VII. lvi. 2; reinforces Gylinux, VII. i. 5; ally of the Syracuseans, VII. lvi. 2.

Himeræum, in Tauræ, VII. ix.

Hippagretæa, one of the Spartan commanders at Sphacteria, IV. xxxviii. 1.

Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, never tyrant, I. xx. 2; slain by Harmodius and Aristogiton, I. xx.; VI.
INDEX

Hippas, eldest son of Peisistratus, i. xx. 2; vi. iv. 1; iv. 1; his children, vi. iv. 1; deposed by the Lacedaemonians, vi. lix.; goes to Persia; at Marathon, 480.
Hippas, commander at Notium, murdered by Pachus, III. xxxiv.
Hippocles, an Athenian commander, VIII. xiii.
Hippocrates, a Lacedaemonian commander, loses part of his fleet off Triopium, VIII. xxxv.; informa Mipsidas of Theseus' treachery, VIII. xcix.; sent to Euboea, VIII. cxi. 2.
Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, VI. v. 3; refounds Camarina, 604.
Hippolochiades, a friend of Brasidas in Thessaly, IV. lxxviii. 1.
Hippocrates, an Athenian general, III. xci. 4.
Hippocrates, a Spartan polemarch at Mantinea, V. lxxv. 5; banished for cowardice, V. lxxvii. 1.
Homer, how he names the early inhabitants of Hellas, I. iii. 3; as witness, i. ix. 3; x. 5; xii. 5; hymn to Apollo, III. civ. 4, 5.
Hyacinthia, a Lacedaemonian festival, V. xxiv. 4.
Hyamenes, an Oenian Locrian tribe, III. cl. 2.
Hybrae Gelatinis, in Sicily, attacked by the Athenians, VI. clxi. 6; clxii. 2; their corn burnt, VI. xcvi. 3.
Hybleon, a Sicel King, VI. iv. 1.
Hycorea, in Sicily, taken by the Athenians, VI. clxi. 9 (cf. VII. xiii. 3).
Hylias, a river in Italy, VII. xxxv. 2.
Hyllale harbour at Corcyra, III. lxxii. 3; lxxxii. 2.
Hyperbolus, an Athenian demagogue, put to death, VIII. lxxviii. 3.

Hysiae, in Argos, captured by the Lacedaemonians, v. lxxvil. 2.
Hysiae, in Boeotia, III. xxiv. 2.
Ilyneus, in Rhodes, VIII. xlv. 3.
Ippysia, promontory in Italy, VI. xxx. 1; xxxiv. 5; VII. xxxiii. 4.
Ippysians hired allies of the Athenians against Syracuse, VII. xiv. 11.
Isidion Gulf, VIII. xxxvi. 2.
Iassus, in Ionia, wealth of, sacked, VIII. xxviii. 3; Phrynichus accused by Pausander of its betrayal, VIII. lviv.
Iberians: the Scaniains originally Iberians, VI. ii. 2; most warlike of Barbarians, VI. xc.
Icarus, island in the Aegean, III. xxxix. 1; VIII. xxvii.
Ichthys, promontory in Elys, II. xxv. 4.
Icto, Mt., in the Troad, IV. iii. 3; VIII. civ. 4.
Idacus, in the Thracian Chersonese, VIII. civ. 2.
Idumea, hill in Amphipolhia, battle there, III. cxvii., cxviii.
Ietae, a fort of the Sicels, VII. ii. 3.
Ilyrians, hired by Perdiccas, IV. xxxiv. 4; desert, cxxv. 1; defeated by Brasidas, IV. cxxxi., cxxviii.
Imbrians, stand by Athens in the Mytilenean revolt, III. v. 1; Imbrians taken by Cleon to Pylos, IV. xxviii. 4; with Cleon at Amphipolis, v. vii. 2; allies of Athens at Syracuse, VII. iv. 2.
Inaros, king of the Libyans, revolt from the King, i. civ. 1; captured and impaled, i. cx. 3.
Inessa, a Sicel town, attacked by the Athenians, III. ciii. 1; crops burnt, VI. xcvi. 5.
Ionias, lieutenant of Perdiccas, I. xli. 9.
Ioleus, an Athenian, who swears to the treaty, v. xix. xxiv.
Ionia, colonized from Athens, I. ii. 6; xili. 4; xcv. 1; H. xv. 4; III. lxxvi. 2; habits of life common to the older Athenians and Ionians, I. vi. 2; Ionians possess a great fleet in the time of Cyrus, I. xii. 6; subdued by Cyrus and Darius

427
INDEX

I. xvi.; accept hegemony of Athens, I. xcv. 1; VI. lxxvi. 3; Ionian exiles urge the Lacedaemonians to raise revolution in Ionia, III. xxxi.; excluded from Heraclea, III. xcl. 5; Ionians and Tissa-
phernes beg aid at Sparta, VIII. v. 6; Ionia revolts, VIII. xiv.-xxii.; Tissaphernes demands all Ionia for the King, VIII. liv. 4.

Ionians, contrasted with Dorians, see under Dorians.

Ionian Gulf, I. xxiv. 1; II. xcvii. 5; VI. xii. 1; XXX. 1; xxxiv. 4; xlii. 1; civ. 1; VII. xxxiii. 1; liv. 11.

Ionian festivals: the Dionysia, II. xvi. 4; at Delos, III. civ. 2; at Ephesus, III. civ. 3.

Ipaeanae, an Ozolian Locrian tribe, III. ci. 2.

Iponians, colonists of the Locrians in Italy, v. v. 3.

Isarchidas, a Corinthian commander, I. xxix. 2.

Ischagoras, a Lacedaemonian commander, sent to reinforce Brasidas, IV. cxxxii; swears to treaty of peace, V. xix., xxiv.; envoy to Chalcidice, v. xxxi.

Isocrates, a Corinthian commander, II. lxxxiii. 4.

Ister, the river, II. xxvi. 1; xvii. 1.

Isthmian Games, VIII. ix. 1; x. 1.

Isthmionicus, an Athenian, swears to treaty of peace, v. xix., xxiv.

Isthmus, of Corinth, advantageous situation of, I. xiii. 1-5; Lacedaemonian allies summoned to the Isthmus, II. x.; xiii. 1; xviii. 3; III. xv. 1; earthquakes stop Lacedaemonian army at the Isthmus, III. lxxxix. 1; treaty of peace to be inscribed on a pillar at the Isthmus, v. xviii. 11; a small Lacedaemonian force comes thither during the excitement about the Hermæ, VI. lxi. 2.

Isthmus of Leucas, III. lxxxi. 1; IV. viii. 2.

Isthmus of Pallene, I. lvi. 2; lxii. 5; ixiv. 1.

Istone, Mt., on Corcyra, occupied by the oligarchs, III. lxxxi. 4; IV. ii. 3; xli. 1; capture of, ibi.

Italus, a Sicel King who gave name to Italy, V. ii. 4.

Italy, named from King Italus (VI. ii. 4), most of the Hellenic colonies in Sicily founded from the Peloponnesus, I. xii. 4; Lacedaemonians order their Italian allies to furnish ships, II. vii. 2; the Italian Locrians side with the Syracusans, the Rhegian with the Leontine, III. lxxxvi. 2; mission sent by the Athenians to Italy, IV. iv. 1; v.; Hermocrates advises the Syracusans to seek allies in Italy, VI. xxxiv.; Italian cities refuse to receive the Athenians, VI. xlv.; Syracusan envoy to Corinth and Sparta, sent to win over Italian cities, VI. lxxxviii. 7; Athenians obtain supplies therefrom, VI. ciii. 2; Gyllippus goes to Thurii and Tarentum, VI. civ.; the second Athenian expedition reaches Italy, VII. xxxiii.; Italian allies of the Athenians before Syracuse, VII. liv. 11; Italic prisoners of the Syracusans retained, with the Sicelots and Athenians, after the others are sold, VII. lxxxvii. 3; Italian vessels with the Lacedaemonian fleet, VIII. xcl. 2.

Itamenes, a Persian commander, III. xxxiv. 1.

Ithome, Mt., seized by Helots, I. cl. 2 (cf. III. liv. 5); besieged by the Lacedaemonians, I. cii. 1; surrendered, I. cii.

Ityx, legend of, II. xxix. 3.

Labdalum, a fort built by the Athenians on Epipolae, VI. xvii. 5; garrisoned by the Athenians, VI. xviii. 2; captured by Gyllippus, VII. iii. 4.

Lacedaemon: dress and habits of living of the Lacedaemonians, I. vi. 4; first to strip in the games. I. vi. 5; Lacedaemon contrasted with Athens, I. x. 2; had good laws, never subject to tyrants, I. xviii. 1; assume hegemony of the Hellenes, I. xvii. 2; their hegemony contrasted with the Athenian, I. xix.; enforce strict oligarchies
INDEX

among their allies, *ibi*; cf. I. lxxvi. 1; v. lxxxi. 2; promise aid to the Potidaeans, I. lviii. 1; summon their allies to Lacedaemon, I. lxvii. 1; their slothful character as contrasted with the Athenians, I. lxxix., lxx.; lxxxiv. 1; VIII. xcvii. 5; "liberators of Hellas," I. lxix. 1; II. viii. 4; III. lxxvii.; IV. lxxxv. 1; cviii. 2; v. ix. 9; VII. xliii. 3; xlvii. 3; lxxvii.; vote the treaty broken, I. lxxxvii.; they vote by cry not by ballot, *ibi*; their reason for considering the treaty broken and going to war, I. lxxxviii.; cxviii.; endeavour to prevent the rebuilding of the Athenian walls, I. xc. 1; deceived by Themistocles, I. xc.-xcii.; summon Pausanias to Lacedaemon, I. xcv. 3; cxxxli. 1; the Helots revolt, I. cl. 2; Athenians called in, I. cii.; dismissed, *ibi*; cause of the first open quarrel between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, *ibi*; assist the Dori to Phocian, I. cvii. 2; defeat the Athenians at Tanagra, *ibi*; cviii. 1; engage in the "sacred war," I. cvii. 5; invade Attica, I. cviv. 2; conclude thirty years truce, I. cvx. 1; alarm at growth of the Athenian empire, I. cviii.; consult the oracle, I. cviii. 3; summon allies again, I. cvix.; vote for war, I. cxxv.; send embassies to Athens, I. cxxvi. 1; bid the Athenians drive out the "curse of the goddess," *ibi*; Athenians answer, drive out the curse of Taenerus, I. cxxvii. 1; treatment of the Helots, I. cxxviii. 1 (cf. IV. lxxx. 3); final demand upon the Athenians, I. cxxxix.; Pericles refers to their expulsion of aliens, I. cvxii. 2 (cf. II. xxxix. 1); meditate sending embassies to the King, II. vii. 1; list of their allies, II. ix. 1; summon allies to the Isthmus before invading Attica, II. x.; attack Oenoe, II. xvii.; ravage Attica, II. xix.-xxii.; defeat Athenians at Phrygia, II. xxii. 2; retire, II. xxiii. 3; settle the Aeginetans at Thyrea, II. xxvii.; 2nd year) again invade Attica, II. xlvii. 2; reach Laureium, II. iv.; quit Attica, II. lvii.; reject offers of peace, II. lxix. 2; attack Zacynthus, II. lxvi.; send envoys to the King, II. lxvii.; Lacedaemonian slaughter of traders, *ibi*; (3rd year) attack and finally invest Plataea, II. lxxi.-lxxviii.; invade Acarnania, II. lxxx.; defeated at sea by the Athenians, II. lxxiii.; lxxxvi.; send advisers to their admiral, I. lxxvii.; 1; again defeated, II. lxxxvi.-xc.; plan attack on Peiraeus; ravage Salamis, II. xcii.; xciv.; (4th year) invade Attica, III. i.; send the Mytelineans envoys to Olympia, III. viii.; receive the Mytelineans into their alliance, III. xv. 1; summon the allies to the Isthmus, *ibi*; prepare to send a fleet to Lesbos, III. xvii.; send Salamis to Mytilene, III. xxv. 1; (5th year) invade Attica, III. xxvi.; too late to save Lesbos, III. xxxix.; bring Plataea to surrender, III. lii.; put the Plataeans to the sword, III. lxviii.; raze Plataea, *ibi*; prepare an expedition to Corcyra, III. lix.; engage the Athenians and Coreaeanians, III. lxxxvi.-lxxxviii.; retire, III. lxxxv.-lxxxvi.; (6th year) deterred by earthquakes from invading Attica, III. lxxxix. 1; colonize Heraclea, III. xcii., xciii., c.; bad administration of Heraclea, III. xciii. 3; v. iii. 1; send expedition against Naupactus, III. c.-cii.; invade Amphipolica, III. cv., cvii.; defeated, III. cvii., cviii.; desert the Ambraclots, III. cix., cvi.; (7th year) invade Attica, IV. ii. 1; return on the news of the capture of Pylos, IV. vi.; occupy Sphacteria, IV. viii.; assault Pylos unsuccessfully, IV. xi., xii.; their military prestige on land, IV. xii. 3; defeated in the harbour, IV. xiv.; make truce and send envoys to Athens, IV. xv., xvi.; speech there, IV. xvii.-xx.; break off negotiations, IV. xxi., xx.; their troops in Sphacteria attacked and
INDEX

forced to surrender, IV. xxxi.–xxxviii.; common belief that Lacedaemonians would never surrender, IV. xl. 1; sue for peace, IV. xli.; negotiate with the King, IV. l.; (8th year) the Athenians take Cythera, IV. lli.; liv.; the Lacedaemonians panic-stricken at their ill success in the war, IV. lv.; their garrison at Nisaea surrenders to the Athenians, IV. lxix. 5; encourage the expedition of Brasidas into Chalcidice, IV. lxxx.; capture Amphipolis, IV. cii.–cvi.; (9th year) truce for a year, IV. cxvii.–cxix.; Brasidas’ attempt on Potidaea, IV. cxxv.; (10th year) he defeats the Athenians and falls at Amphipolis, v. vi.–xi.; (11th year) Lacedaemonians eager for peace, v. xiv.; bring home Pleistoanax from exile, v. xvi. 2, 3; make a treaty with the Athenians, v. xvii.–xix.; alliance with the Athenians, v. xxii., xxiv.; fall into contempt with and displease the Peloponnesians, v. xxviii. 2; xxix.; send envoys to Corinth, v. xxx.; support the Lepreans against Elis, v. xxxi. 4; make war upon the Parnassians, v. xxxii.; emancipate the Helot soldiers of Brasidas and disfranchise the prisoners from Pylos, v. xxxiv.; conclude an alliance with the Boeotians in order to gain Panactum, v. xxxix.; (12th year) prepare to conclude a treaty with the Argives, v. xi., xli.; announce the destruction of Panactum at Athens, v. xlii.; their envoys at Athens are tricked by Alcibiades, v. xliii.–xliv.; refuse to give up the Boeotian alliance at the demand of the Athenians, v. xlv. 4; excluded by the Eleans from the Olympic Games, v. xliv.; (13th year) expelled from Heraclia by the Boeotians, v. lii.; lili.; start against Argos, but turn back owing to unfavourable sacrifices, v. liv. 1, 2; again start and return, v. lv. 3; garrison Epidaurus, v. lvi. 1; (14th year) march against Argos, v. lvii.; surround the Argives, v. lviii., lix.; furious with Agis for his truce with the Argives, v. lx. 2; lxiii.; march to support of Tegea, v. lxiv. 1; surprised by the Argives before Mantinea, v. lxvi.; gain great victory, v. lxxx.–lxix.; alliance with Argos, v. lxxvi.–lxxviii.; (15th year) send expedition to Argos but retire, v. lxxxii. 3; another expedition, v. lxxxiii. 1, 2; (16th year) again start, but sacrifices are unfavourable, v. cxvi. 1; ravage Argos, vii. 1; settle the Argive exiles at Orneae, tbi.; order the Chalcidians to assist Perdiccas; they refuse, tbi.; (17th year) send force to the Isthmus, which increases the panic over the Heraeans at Athens, vi. lx. 2; receive Corinthian and Syracusan envoys, vi. lxxxviii. 7, 8; Alcibiades speaks in their behalf, vi. lxxxix.–xcii.; appoint Gyllippus commander of the Syracusan army, vi. xciii. 2; (18th year) invade Argos, but are stopped by an earthquake, vi. xciv.; considering the Athenians guilty of breach of the treaty (vi. cv. 1, 2), they prepare for war with good spirit, vii. xviii.; (19th year) invade Attica and fortify Deceleia, viii. xix., 1, 2; send troops to Sicily, viii. xix. 3; lviit. 3; elated over the failure of the Sicilian expedition, viii. ii. 3, 4; raise money and order ships, viii. iii.; Agis at Deceleia negotiates with the Lesbians and Euboeans about revolt, viii. iv.; send a commissioner to Chios, and make alliance with Chios and Erythrae, viii. vi.; (20th year) order a fleet to Chios, viii. vii.; viii.; defeated at sea and driven into Peiraeum, viii. x., xi.; discouraged, viii. iii.; encouraged by Alcibiades, viii. xii.; cause the revolt of Chios, Erythrae, Clazomenae, Teos, Miletus, viii. xiv.–xvii.; make alliance with the King, viii. xviii.; break out of Peiraeum, viii. xx. 1; induce Mytilene and Methymna to revolt, viii. xxii.; baffled in their designs
INDEX

upon Lesbos, VIII. xxiii.; defeated by the Athenians before Miletus, VIII. xxv.; capture Iasus, VIII. xxviii.; fail to retake Clazomenae, VIII. xxxi.; lose six ships off Tripolium, VIII. xxxv.; make a new treaty with the King, VIII. xxxvi., xxxvii.; alter the government of Chios, VIII. xxxviii. 3; send aid to Pharmabazus, VIII. 1xx., lxx.; send advisers to Astyochoi, VIII. xxxix. 2; defeat an Athenian squadron, VIII. xiii.; distrust Alcibiades and order his death, VIII. xiv. 1; Astyochoi believed to have sold themselves to Tessaphernes, VIII. 1. 3; Pedaritus, their governor at Chios, is killed in battle, VIII. iv. 3; third treaty with the Persians, VIII. lvii., lviii.; invited by the Eretrians to Euboea, VIII. ix. 2; (21st year)send Dercyliadas to the Hellespont, VIII. lxii. 1; lxii. 1; offer the Athenians battle off Samos, VIII. lxiiii. 1; Agis at Deceleia receives heralds from the Four Hundred, VII. lxx. 2; their envoys sent also to Sparta, VIII. lxxii. 3; the sailors at Miletus complain of Astyochus and Tessaphernes, VIII. lxxvii.; Astyochus again offers battle to the Athenians, but declines it when they offer, VIII. lxxvii.; the Lacedaemonians send aid to Pharmabazus and cause revolt of Byzantium, VIII. lxxv.; open violence against Astyochus, VIII. lxxvi. 4, 3; Mindarus sent to succeed Astyochus, VIII. lxxv. 1; receive twelve ambassadors from the oligarchs at Athens, VIII. xc. 2; do not come to terms with them, VIII. xcii. 1; despatch a fleet to Euboea, ibi; defeat the Athenians at sea, VIII. xcvi.; do not follow up their success, VIII. xcvi.; leave Tessaphernes in disgust and sail to the Hellespont, VIII. xxix.; arrive at Rhoeoynom, VIII. cl. 3; chase the Athenian squadron at Sestus and capture a few vessels, VIII. ciii.; defeated off Cynossema, VIII. civ., cv.; lose eight more ships, VIII. civii. 1; aid in expelling the Persian garrison from Antandrus, VIII. civii. 4.

Lacedaemonius, son of Cimon, an Athenian commander, I. xiv. 2.

Laches, son of Melanopus, Athenian commander in Sicily, III. lxxvi.; attacks Mylei and Messene, III. xc. 2-4; attacks Italian Locris, III. clii. 3; invades Himera, III. cx. 1; superseded by Pythodorus, ibi; moves conclusion of one year truce, IV. cxviii. 11; swears to treaty of peace, V. xix., xxvii.; brings an Athenian force to Argos, V. lii. 1; reduces Orchomenus, ibi; slain at Mantinea, V. lxxiv. 2.

Lacon, a spokesman of the Plateaens, III. lli. 5.

Lade, island opposite Miletus, VIII. xvii. 3; xxiv. 1.

Laegers, a Paeonian tribe, II. xcvii. 3.

Laespodias, an Athenian general, VI. cv. 2; envoy, VIII. lxxvii. 9.

Laestrygonians, in Sicily, VI. ii. 1.

Lamachus, son of Xenophon, an Athenian commander, leads expedition to the Pontus, IV. lxxv. 1; swears to treaty of peace, V. xix., xxvii.; elected one of the three generals for Sicily, VI. vii. 2; advocates immediate attack on Syracuse, VI. xlix.; votes with Alcibiades, VI. i. 1; killed in battle, VI. cl. 6; his body recovered, VI. clii. 1.

Lamis, leads colony from Megara, VI. iv. 1.

Lampon, an Athenian, swears to treaty of peace, V. xiv., xxiv.

Lampsacus, given by the King to Themistocles for wine, I. cxxviii. 5; refuge of Hippias; its tyrants, VI. lix.; revolts from Athens, VI. lixi. 1; recovered, ibi.

Laodiceum, battle of, in Arcadia, IV. cxxvii.

Laphilus, a Lacedaemonian, swears to treaty of peace, V. xiv., xxiv.

Larissa, in the Hellespont, VIII. ci. 3.

Larissa, in Thessaly, assists the Athenians in the first invasion of Attica, II. xxii. 2, 3.

Las, in Laconia, VIII. xci. 2; xciiii. 3.

Laurium, II. iv. 1; VI. xci. 7.

Learchus, son of Callimachus,
INDEX

Athenian envoy to Sitalkes, II. lxvii. 2, 3.
Lebedos, in Ionia, revolts from Athens, VIII. xix. 4.
Lectum, a promontory, VIII. ci. 3.
Lecythus, citadel of Torone, IV. cxii. 2; captured by Brasidas, IV. cxiv.–cxvi.; dedicated by Brasidas to Athens, IV. cxvi. 2.
Lemnos, Athenians deposit Samian hostages there, I. cxv. 3; visited by the plague, II. xlvii. 3; supports Athens in the Lesbian revolt, III. v 1; Lemnians with Cleon at Pylos, IV. xxvii. 4; colonized from Athens, ibi; the island once inhabited by Tyrrenians, IV. cix.; with Cleon at Amphipolis, V. lxxii.; ally of Athens at Syracuse, VII. lxi. 2.
Leocorium, a temple at Athens, I. xx. 2; VI. lvi. 3.
Leocrates, son of Stroclus, an Athenian commander, I. cv. 2.
Leon, a Lacedaemonian, one of the founders of Heraclea, III. xcii. 5; another goes as envoy to Athens, V. xlv. 3; another succeeds Pedaritus at Chios, VIII. lxi. 2.
Leon, an Athenian, swears to the treaty of peace, V. xix., xxiv.; general sent to Lesbos, VIII. xxiii. 1; with Diomedon wages war upon the Chians, VIII. xxiv. 2, 3; appointed with Diomedon to chief command at Samos, VIII. lvi. 3; makes a descent upon Rhodes, VIII. liii. 1; supports democratic reaction at Samos, VIII. lxxxi. 4.
Leon, a place near Syracuse, VI. xcvii. 1.
Leontini, its people of Ionian descent, at war with Syracuse, III. lxxvi. 1; VI. xlv. 3; xlvii. 2; I. 4; lxxvi. 2; lxxvii. 1; lxxix. 1; at war with Syracuse, III. lxxvi.; obtain assistance from Athens, ibi; attack Messene, IV. xxv. 10; factional struggles, V. iv.; founded from Chalcis in Euboea, VI. iii. 3; restoration of Leontini an excuse for Athenian interference in Sicily, VI. viii. 2; xix. 1; xxxii. 2; xlvii.; xlvii.; lxii. 3; lxxvi. 2; lxxvii. 1; lxxxi. 2.
Leotychides, king of Sparta, I. lxxix. 2.
Lepreum, in Triphylia of Elis, cause of quarrel between the Eleans and Lacedaemonians, V. xxxi.; Helots and Neodamodes settled there, V. xxxiv. 1; a Lacedaemonian garrison there, V. lxix. 1; the Lepreans do not attend the Olympic festival, V. i. 2.
Leros island off Miletus, VIII. xxxvi. 1.
Lesbos: the Lesbians independent allies of Athens, I. xix.; aid the Athenians against the Samians, I. cxvii., cxvii.; furnish ships to the Athenians, II. ix. 5; revolt from Athens, III. ii.; kinsmen of the Boeotians, III. ii. 3; VII. lvii. 5; received into the Lacedaemonian confederacy, III. xv. 1; affairs in Lesbos set in order by Paches, III. xxxv.; the land divided among Athenian citizens, III. 1; Lesbian refugees capture Antandrus, IV. iii. 3; negotiate with Agis about a fresh revolt, VIII. v. 2; are again subdued, VIII. xxii., xxiii.; renew negotiations with Astyocharis, VIII. xxxii. 1; Pedaritus refuses them aid from Chios, ibi; the Athenian fleet puts in at Lesbos and prepares to attack Eretria, VIII. c.
Leucas, a Corinthian colony, I. xxx. 2; devastated by the Corcyreans, ibi; the Leucadians send troops to Epidaurus, I. xxvi. 1; furnish ships to Corinth, I. xxvii. 2; xlvii. 1; furnish ships to the Lacedaemonians, II. ix. 3; assist in the invasion of Acarnania, II. lxxx. 5; lxxxi. 3; a Leucadian ship sunk by an Athenian off Naupactus, II. xci. 3; xcll. 3; the Leucadians repulse an Athenian descent, III. vii.; send a squadron to reinforce Alcidas, III. lxix. 1; the Leucadian isthmus, III. lxxvi. 1; xcvii. 2; IV. VIII. 2; Demostrhenes sets out from Leucas against the Aetolians, III. xcv. 1; Glyippus reaches Leucas, VI. civ. 1; the Leucadians allies of the Syracusans, VII. vii. 1; lii. 3; lose one ship in the battle off Cynossema, VIII. cvii. 3.
INDEX

Leucimne, a promontory in Corecyra, I. xxx. 1, 3; xivii. 2; ii. 4; III. lxxix. 3.

Leucosia, in Chios, VIII. xxiv. 3.

Leuctra, in Laconia, v. liv. 1.

Libya: the king of Libya, Inaros, I. civ. 1; cr. 3; visited by the plague, II. xlviii. 1; trade with Laconia, IV. III. 3; Phocians returning from Troy are driven to Libya, vi. II. 3; a Peloponnesian fleet on the way to Syracuse driven to Libya, VII. I. 2; the Libyans besiege the Eusebira, δφ.

Lichas, a Lacedaemonian, envoy to Argos, V. xxii. 2; victor at Olympia, v. I. 4; struck by the umpires, δφ; envoy to Argos again, V. lxxxvi. 3; sent with ten others as adviser to Astycus, VIII. xxxix. 2; objects to the treaty made with the King, VIII. xlix. 3; iii.; reprieves the Milesians for driving out the Persian garrison, VIII. lxxxiv. 9; goes with Tissaphernes to Aspendus, VIII. lxxvii. 1; dies there.

Ligurians, drove the Sicilians out of Iberia, VI. II. 3.

Limenae, in Acanthia, II. lxx. 8.

Lindii, the acropolis of Gela, VI. lv. 3.

Lindus, in Rhodes, VIII. xlv. 2.

Liparaean (or Aeolian) islands, III. lxxxvii. 2; the Liparaeans are colonists of the Cnidians, δφ; invaded by the Athenians, δφ; again, III. cxv. 1.

Locrians, Opuntian, give hostages to the Athenians, I. cviii. 3; present at the battle of Coronea, I. cxviii. 2; furnish cavalry to the Lacedaemonians, II. ix. 2; Locrians defeated by the Athenians, II. xxvi.; Atalante, list off Locris, seized to prevent privateering from posts of Locris (cf. v. xviii. 7), II. xxvi.; inundation on the Locrian coast, III. lxxxix. 3; Athenians ravage Locrian coast, III. xcl. 6; Locrian cavalry pursue the Athenians after battle of Delium, IV. xxvi. 8; allies of the Lacedaemonians, V. lxiv. 4; supply the Lacedaemonians with ships, VIII. III. 2.

Locrians, Oscan, always carry arms, I. v. 3; old inhabitants of Nau- pactus, I. ciii. 3; allies of Athens, III. xxiv. 3; co-operate with the Lacedaemonians, III. cl.; go to war with the Phocians, V. xxxii. 2.

Locris, in Italy, in alliance with the Syracusans, III. lxxxvi. 2; defeated by the Athenians, III. xcviii.; again, III. ciii. 3; cause Messene to revolt from Athens, IV. I. 1; join the Syracusans in attacking the Rhegians, IV. xcviii., xxiv.; invited to Messene during a revolution, v. v. 1; expelled; make a treaty with Athens, δφ; hostile to the Athenian expedition to Sicily, VI. xlvii. 2 (cf. VII. xxxiv. 2); send ships to the Lacedaemonians, VIII. xxxii. 2.

Loryma, in Caria, VIII. xliii. 1.

Lydia, II. ix. 1; VIII. xliii. 4.

Lycochon, a Lacedaemonian, adviser to Cnemus, II. lxxxv. 1.

Lycomachus, a Corinthian general, IV. xliii. 1, 4; xlv. 2.

Lycon, in Upper Macedonia, II. xcviii. 2; under the rule of Arrhabaeus, IV. lxxvii. 1; invaded by Perdiccas and Braidas, δφ; invaded a second time, IV. cxvii. 1; Braidas retreats through Lycon, IV. cxxxv.-cxxxviii.; cxxvii. 2.

Lycozemes, an Athenian commander, sent to exact money in Carla and Lycia, III. xix.; falls in battle, δφ.

Lykaeulia, a marsh near Syracuse, VIII. lii. 2.

Lykastratus, an Olynthian, IV. cxvii. 2.

Macarius, a Spartan commander, accompanies Eurylochus, III. c. 2; slain at Olpe, III. cxv. 2.

Macedonia: Athenian expedition against, I. lvii.-lxxi.; invaded by Thrasiac under Sitalces, II. xcv.-cxi.; early history of, II. xcviii.; its Kings Temenids from Argos, II. xcviii. 3; its military strength increased by Archelaus, II. c. 1; Braidas in Macedonia, IV. lxxvi. 6; lxxxvi., lxxxvii.; second expedition of Braidas into Macedonia.
INDEX

IV. cxxvi.—cxxxviii.; the Athenians blockade Macedonia, v. lxxiii. 4; ravaged from Methone by the Athenians, vi. vii. 3.

Machaon, a Corinthian commander, II. lxxxiii. 4.

Maeander, plain of the, III. xix. 2; VIII. iviii. 1.

Maediens, a Thracian tribe, II. xxviiii. 2.

Maeonia, part of Arcadia, v. lxiv. 1; Maenolians at Mantinea, v. lxvii. 1; their hostages taken by the Argives, v. lxxvii. 1.

Magnaesa, in Asia, memorial of Themistocles there, I. cxxxviiii. 5; given to Themistocles by the King for bread, ibi; Astyochus goes thither to Tissaphernes, VIII. 1. 3.

Magnesians, subjects of the Thessalians, II. cit. 2.

Malea, cape in Lesbos, III. iv. 5; vi. 2.

Malea, cape in Laconia, IV. liii. 2; liv. 1; VIII. xxxiiii. 3.

Malian Gulf, III. xcvii. 3; VIII. ii. 1; darters and singlers therefrom, IV. c. 1.

Malians, III. xiiii. 1; v. ii. 1.

Maloeis, Apollo, festival of, at Mytilene, III. iiiii. 3.

Mantinea, troops of at the battle of Olympos, III. cvii. 4; cviiii. 3; they escape by a secret treaty with Demosthenes, III. cix., cxi.; the Mantineans fight with the Tegeans, IV. cxxxiv. (cf. v. lxv. 4); frequent violations of the treaty of peace in the Mantinean and Epidaurean wars, v. xxvi. 2; join the Argive alliance, v. xxix. 1; conquer a part of Arcadia, ibi; send at Alcibiades' bidding an embassy to Athens, v. xliii. 3; xliv. 1; alliance with Athens, v. xlvii., xlvii.; send a guard to the Olympic Games, v. i. 3; conference of the Argive allies at Mantinea, v. iv. 1; aid the Argives when invaded by the Lacedaemonians, v. lxvii. 1; compel the Argives to break their truce with the Lacedaemonians, v. lixi., lixii.; invaded by the Lacedaemonians, v. lxiv. 5.; battle of Mantinea, v. lxvii.—lxxiv.; one of the greatest of Hellenic battles, v. lixiv. 1; its moral effect, v. lxxxv. 1; the Mantineans invade Epidaurus with their allies, ibi; the Mantinean alliance renounced by the Argives, v. lxxvii.; compelled to come to terms with the Lacedaemonians, v. lxxxi. 1; induced by Alcibiades to join the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, VI. xxxxi. 3; xliii.; lii. 5; lxvii. 1; lxviii. 2; Mantinean troops before Syracuse are mercenaries, VII. ivii. 7.

Marathon, battle of, I. v. viii. 1; the Athenians boast that they fought alone, I. lxxiii. 4; the dead buried on the field, II. xxxiv. 5; Hippias at Marathon, VI. lix. 4.

Marathus, an island off Clazomenae, VIII. xxxi. 3.

Mareia, in Egypt, I. civ. 1.

Massalia, colonized by the Phocaeans, I. xiii. 6.

Metybeus, in Chalcidice, provision respecting, in the treaty of peace, V. xvii. 6; captured by the Olynthians, v. xcviiii. 1.

Medeion, in Acarnania, III. cvii. 2.

Medes, part of the garrison of the White Castle in Memphis, I. civ. 2; part of the body-guard of Pausanias, I. cxxxi. 1 (see Persians).

Medmaean, colonists of the Locians in Italy, v. v. 3.

Megabates, Persian satrap of Dascylium, I. cxxix. 1.

Megabazus, a Persian, ambassador to Lacedaemon, I. cxxix. 2.

Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus, a Persian, reconquers Egypt, I. cix. 3; cx.

Megara, furnishes aid to the Corinthians against the Coremaeans, I. xxvii. 2; xxvii. 4; xcviiii. 4; grievances against the Athenians, I. lxxvii. 4; forms alliance with Athens, I. civi. 4; builds long walls of Megara, ibi; ravaged by the Lacedaemonians, I. cviiii.; revolts from Athens, I. cxxiv. 1; Theagenes, a tyrant of Megara, I. cxxv. 3; Athenian restrictions against Megara required to be removed.
INDEX

by the Lacedaemonians, I. cxxxi. 9; counter charges of the Athenians, ibi; furnishes the Lacedaemonians with troops, II. ix. 2; invaded by the Athenians, II. xxxi. 2; invasions repeated later until the capture of Nisaea, ibi; some Megarians suggest to Brasidas surprise of the Peiraeus, II. xcii. 2; xciv. 2; Minoa, island in front of Megara, captured by the Athenians, III. li.; popular leaders attempt to bring in the Athenians, IV. lxvi. lixix.; the Athenians capture the long walls and Nisaea, IV. lxviii. lxix.; Megara saved by Brasidas, IV. lxx. lxxi.; Brasidas received into the city, IV. lxxii.; the exiles recalled, IV. lxxiv. 2; their revenge, ibi; long duration of oligarchical government at Megara, ibi; the Megarians reinforce the Boeotians after Delium, IV. c. 1; assent to the one year truce, IV. cxix. 2; dissatisfied with the treaty between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, v. xvii. 2; refuse to join the Argive alliance, v. xxxi. 6; act with the Boeotians, v. xxxviii. 1; aid the Lacedaemonians in the invasion of Argos, v. lviii. 3; lx. 2; lx. 3; Megarian exiles allies of the Athenians, vii. liii. 1; vii. lii. 1; vii. lii. 1; Megarians furnish ships to the Lacedaemonians, viii. iii. 2; xxxii. 1.

Megara Hyblaea, in Sicily, founded from Thapsus, mother-city of Selinus, vi. iv. 1; depopulated by Gelon, vi. iv. 2 (cf. xciv. 1); Lamachus wished to make it the Athenian naval station, vi. xlix. 4; garrisoned by the Syracusans, VI. lxv. 1; ravaged by the Athenians, VI. cxvi. 2; the Athenians capture a Syracusan ship off Megara, VII. xxv. 4.

Melanchridas, a Spartan admiral, VIII. vi. 5.

Melanthus, a Lacedaemonian commander, VIII. vi. 1.

Meles, a Lacedaemonian envoy to Mytilene, III. v. 4.

Melesander, an Athenian general sent to collect tribute in Lycia and Caria; slain in Lycia, II. lxix.

Melesias, envoy from the Four Hundred to Sparta, VIII. lxxvi. 9.

Melesippos, a Lacedaemonian, sent to Athens with final demands, I. cxxiii. 3; sent by Archidamus to Athens, II. xii.; parting words, ibi.

Meliteia, in Achaia, IV. lixviii. 1.

Melos, one of the Cyclades, hostile to the Athenians, II. ix. 6; ravaged, III. xci. 1; a colony of the Lacedaemonians; attacked by the Athenians, v. lxxiv. 2; conference with the Athenians, v. lxxv.-lxxvi.; blockaded by the Athenians, V. cxvii.; cvii. cvi.; capture; fate of its citizens, v. cvi.; capture of three Athenian ships near it, VIII. xxxix. 3.

Memphis, the "White Fortress" of, attacked by the Athenians, I. clv. 2; the city captured by the Persians, I. clx. 4.

Menander, an Athenian in Sicily, chosen colleague of Nicias, VII. xvi. 1; participates in the night attack on Eppioae, VII. xliii. 2; and in the last sea-fight, VII. lix. 4.

Menas, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the treaty of peace, V. xiv., xxv.; envoy to Thrace, V. xxvii. 1.

Mende, an Eretrian colony in Pallene, revolts from Athens, IV. cxxii. 2; cxxiii. 1; cxxiv. 4; repulses the Athenians, IV. cxxv.; taken by the Athenians, IV. cxxv.; the Peloponnesian garrison escapes, IV. cxxv. 3.

Mendesian, mouth of the Nile, I. cx. 4.

Meneculus, joint founder with Dascon of Camarina, VI. v. 3.

Menecrates, a Megarian, swears to the one year truce, IV. cxiv. 2.

Menedaftus, a Spartan commander with Eurylochus, III. c. 2; deserts his Ambraciot allies, III. cix., cxii.

Menon, a Thessalian commander, III. xxxii. 3.

Mercenaries: Peloponnesian, I. lx. 1; IV. lii. 2; lxxvi. 3; VIII. xxviii. 4; Thracian, II. cvii. 2; IV. cxxv. 2; v. vi. 2; VII. xxvii. 2;
INDEX

Metapontum, in Italy, allied to the Athenians, VII. xxxiii. 5; IV. xi.
Methana, between Epidaurus and Troezen, IV. xiv.; to be restored
to the Lacedaemonians under treaty, v. xviii. 7.
Methone, in Laconia, II. xxv. 2.
Methone, in Macedonia, a force of Methonaeans with Nicias at Mende,
IV. cxxix. 4; from Methone Athenians ravage Macedonia, VI.
VII. 3.
Methyrium, in Arcadia, V. viii. 2.
Methymna, in Lesbos; the Methymnæans do not join in the revolt
of Lesbos, III. ii. 1; v. 1; attacks Antissa, III. viii. 2; independent
allies of Athens, III. i. 2; VI.
Lxxiv. 2; VII. vii. 5; colonized from Boeotia, VII. vii. 5; revolt
from Athens, VIII. xxii. 2; re-
covered, VIII. xxiv. 6; exiles make
attempt on the city, VIII. c. 3; induce Eresus to revolt, ibi.
Metics, or resident aliens, at Athens,
serve in the fleet, I. cxxli. 1; III.
VII. 1; hoplites at Athens, II.
VIII. 7;.xxxi. 2.
Metropolis, in Acarnania, III. vii. 1.
Miletus, war with the Samians, I.
CXXV. 1; the Athenians sailing from Miletus defeat the Samians,
I. cxxvi. 1; Milesians with the
Athenians in expedition against
Corinth, IV. xlii. 1; aid in the
capture of Cythera, IV. iii., liv.;
allies of Athens before Syracuse,
VIII. iv. 4; the Milesians on
Alcibiades’ persuasion revolt from
Athens, VIII. xvii.; defeated by
the Athenians, VIII. xxiv. 1; con-
querr the Argive allies of the
Athenians, but forced to retreat
by the Athenians, VIII. xxv.;
Alcibiades urges relief for Miletus,
VIII. xxvi. 3; the Athenians retire
from Miletus, VIII. xxvii. 6; Tis-
saphernes comes thither, VIII. xxix.
1; an Athenian division watches
Miletus, VIII. xxx.; Astyochosus
assumes command of the fleet
there, VIII. xxxiii.; the Pelopon-
nesians at Miletus, VIII. xxxv.,
xxxvi., xxxix.; Astyochosus leaves
Miletus, VIII. xii.; Tissaphernes

xxix. 1; Arcadian, III. xxxiv.;
VII. xix. 4; Ixiiii. 3; Mantinean,
III. cix. 2; VII. vii. 9; Iapygian,
VII. xxxii. 4; Ixiiii. 11; Aetolian,
VII. ixiiii. 9; Cretan, VII. vii. 9;
under Tissaphernes, VIII. xxv. 2;
foreign sailors in Athenian service,
L. cxxi. 3; VII. xiiii. 2.
Messapians, an Ozolian Locrian tribe,
III. cii. 2.
Messene, in Sicily, submits to the
Athenians, III. xc. 4; revolts
from Athens, IV. i.; strategic
position, ibi; VI. xlviiii.; war
base of the Syracusans against
Rhegium, IV. xxiv.; defeated by
the Naxians, IV. xxv. 7, 9;
attacked by the Athenians and
Leontines, IV. xxv. 10; originally
named Zancle, VI. iv. 6; refuses
to receive Alcibiades, VI. l. 1;
attempt to betray Messene to the
Athenians frustrated by Alcibi-
ades, VI. lxxiv.
Messenians, in the Peloponnesus, old
inhabitants of Laconia, I. c. (cf.
IV. xiiii. 2); settled by the Athenians
at Naupactus, I. ciiii.; II. ix. 4;
accompany the Athenians in cruise
round the Peloponnesus, II. xxv.
5; aid Phormio at Naupactus, II.
xc.; serve with Phormio in Ar-
nania, II. cii. 1; hoplites and
ships with the Athenians at Cor-
cyra, III. lxxv. 1; lxxxii. 2; per-
suade Demosthenes to attack the
Aetolians, III. xxiv. 2; xxv. 2;
xvii. 1; bore brunt of battle at
Olpae, III. cviii.; cviiii. 1; deceiv-
by their speech the Ambracitens
at Idomen, III. cxxii. 4; Demo-
thenes wishes to settle them at
Pylos, IV. iii. 3; a Messenian
privateer joins Demosthenes there,
IV. ix. 1; the Messenians assist
in the capture of Sphacteria, IV.
xxxii. 2; stratagem of their
general, IV. xxxvi.; garrison at Pylos,
IV. xlii. 2; withdrawn, v. xxxv. 7;
replaced, v. lvi.; with the Athenians
before Syracuse, VII. vii. 8 (cf.
Helots).
Metagenes, a Lacedaemonian, swears
to the fifty years peace, V. xix.,
xxiv.
INDEX

invites the Peloponnesians to Miletus, VIII. lvii.; ix. 3; the fleet at Miletus offers battle to the Athenians, VIII. lxiii. 1; discontent of Peloponnesian sailors at Miletus, VIII. lxxviii.; the Milesians, acting in concert with the fleet, offer battle to the Athenians, VIII. lxxix.; the sailors at Miletus in open violence against Astyocharus, VIII. lxxxii.; lxxxiv. 1; the Milesians expel the Persian garrison, VIII. lxxxiv. 4; resent Lichas' reproof, 664; send envoys to Sparta to complain of Astyocharus, VIII. lxxxv. 2, 4; the Peloponnesian fleet leaves Miletus for the Hellespont, VIII. xcix.; c. 1; cviii. 5.

Mimae, Mt., VIII. xxxiv.

Mindarus, a Lacedaemonian, succeeds Astyocharus, VIII. lxxv. 1; sails to the Hellespont, VIII. xcix.; escapes the Athenian watch, VIII. cl.; captures four of the Athenian squadron, in the Hellespont, VIII. cl.; defeated off Cynossema, VIII. civ.; cv.

Mines, gold, on the coast opposite Thasos, IV. c. 2; cv. 1; silver mines at Larium, II. iv.; VI. xcl. 7.

Minoa, island off Megara, captured by Nicomedes, III. ii.; Athenian operations there, IV. lviii.; retained by the Athenians under the truce, IV. cviii. 5.

Minos, first lord of the sea, I. iv.; conquers the Cyclades; expels the Carians, 664; puts down piracy, I. viii. 2.

Minyan, Ochomones formerly called, IV. lxxv. 5.

Molossians, Admetus, their king, shelters Themistocles, I. cccxcvi., cccxcxvii.; they assist the Lacedaeomians against Acarnania, II. lxx. 6.

Molycrium, a Corinthian colony subject to Athens, II. lxxxiv. 4; taken by the Peloponnesians, III. iii. 2; the Molycrian Rhium, II. lxxvii. 2.

Morgantine, in Sicily, handed over to the Camarinesians, IV. lxv. 1.

Motye, a Phoenician settlement in Sicily, VI. ii. 6.

Munichia, a harbour of Athens, II. xii. 7; Peripoli stationed there, VIII. xxii. 5; a Dionysiac theatre near, VIII. xxii. 1.

Mycale, battle of, I. lxxvii. 2; Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets there, VIII. lxxvii.

Mycaleou, in Boeotia, sacked by the Thracian Diu, VII. xxiv., xxv.

Mycenae, I. ix.; the meagre remains do not disprove its former greatness, I. x.

Myconus, one of the Cyclades, III. xxxii. 1.

Mygdonias, part of, assigned by Perdiccas to the Chalcidians, I. lviii. 2; once inhabited by the Eodonians, II. xxiv. 4; ravaged by Sitalces, II. c. 4.

Mylas, a town of the Messenians in Sicily, III. xc. 2; captured by the Athenians, 664.

Myletidae, Syracusan exiles, take part in colonizing Himera, VI. v. 1.

Myroneans, an Oecian Locronian tribe, III. cl. 2.

Myronnnae, near Teos, III. xxxii. 1.

Myrcinus, an Eodonian town, goes over to Brasidas, IV. cvil. 3; Myrcician targeteers at the battle of Amphipolis, V. vi. 4; Cleon killed by a Myrcician targeteer, V. x. 2; Myrcician cavalry there, 664.

Myronides, an Athenian commander, defeats the Corinthians, I. cv. 4; defeats the Boeotians at Oeno-phyta, I. cvvil. 3; cf. IV. xcv.

Myrrhine, daughter of Callias, wife of Hippias, VI. lv. 1.

Myrtillas, an Athenian, swears to the treaty of peace, V. xix., xxiv.

Mysson, a Syracusan naval commander, VIII. lxxxv. 3.

Mysteries, profession of, at Athens, VI. xxviii.; Alcibiades accused; supposed to be part of a plot against the democracy, 664; Ix.; lxxi.; Alcibiades called home for trial, VI. lxxii. 1; lxxi. 4.

Mytilene, revolt from Athens, III. ii. 3, 4; concludes an armistice, III. iv. 4; sends envoys to Athens and Lacedaemon, III. iv. 4, 5; to Lacedaemon again, III. lv.;
INDEX

Mytilene blockaded, III. vi.; their envoys attend the Olympic festival at the bidding of the Lacedaemonians, III. viii.; their speech, III. ix.-xiv.; admitted to the Lacedaemonian alliance, III. xv.; attack Methymna, III. xvii. 1; blocked by land, 68.; Sallustus from Lacedaemon encourages them to hold out, III. xxv.; they capitulate to Paches, III. xxvii., xxviii.; Teutiasplus advises an immediate attack on Mytilene, III. xxxix., xxx.; Paches sends the most guilty to Athens, III. xxxv.; all grown up Mytilenaens condemned to death, III. xxxvi. 2; revulsion of feeling at Athens, 69.; speech of Cleon against the repeal of the decree, VII. xxxvii.-xl.; Biondus urges repealing it, III. xli.-xl.; repeal of the decree, III. xli. 1; a second ship to Athens sent to stay the slaughter, arrives in time, 69.; the captives at Athens put to death, Mytilene razed, III. l.; Lesbian refugees take Rhoteum and Antandrus, IV. iii.; driven out again from Antandrus by the Athenians, IV. lxxv. 1; Mytilene revolts again, VIII. xxii. 2; recaptured by the Athenians, VIII. xxii. 2; garrisoned by the Athenians, VIII. c. 5.

Myra, a city in Caria (III. xix. 2), given to Themistocles for meat by the King, I. cxxviii. 5.

Nausicles, a Platean traitor, II. ii. 2.

Naupactus, settled by Helots from Ithome, I. cii. 3; ally of Athens, II. ix. 4; headquarters of an Athenian fleet, II. lxxxix. 1; lxxxiv. 4; xcvii. 2; III. cxiv. 2; IV. xii. 2; the Peloponnesians hope to take it, II. lxxx. 1; victory of the Athenians off Naupactus, II. lxxxi., lxxxiv.; feigned attack of Peloponnesians on Naupactus, II. xo. 1, 2; second victory of the Athenians, II. xci., xcii.; Phorbas proceeds from Naupactus into Acarnania, II. cii., ciii.; Phorbas's son, Aepinus, succeeds him at Nau-
INDEX

xix.; lviii. 3; sent to Agis, VIII. v. 1.
Nericus, in Leucas, III. vii. 5
Nestus, a river in Thrace, II. xxv. 4.
Nicanor, a Chaonian leader, II. lxx. 5.
Nicasus, a Megarian, swears to the one year truce, IV. cxix. 2.
Nicaides, an Athenian, presiding officer of the assembly, IV. cxviii. 11.
Nicias, of Gortys, in Crete, II. lxxxv. 5.
Nicias, son of Niceratus, captures Minoa, III. ii.; ravages Melos, III. xcl. 1; defeats the Tanagraeans, tbi; ravages Locris, tbi; resigns command to Cleon, IV. xxvii., xxviii.; leads an expedition into Corinthian territory, IV. xlii.-xlv.; captures Cythera, IV. liii. liv.; swears to the treaty with the Lacedaemonians, IV. cxix. 2; leads an expedition against Mende and Scione, IV. cxxix.-cxxxi.; his anxiety for peace, v. xvi. 1; VII. lxxv. 3; tries to reverse the treaty of peace, v. xix., xxiv.; against Alcibiades he urges alliance with the Lacedaemonians, v. xlvi. 1; envoy to Sparta, v. xlv. 2; expedition to Chalcis under Nicias frustrated by Perdiccas, v. lxxxiii. 4; elected one of the generals of the Sicilian expedition, VI. viii. 2; his speech, VI. ix.-xv.; second speech, VI. xx.-xxiii.; gives estimate of forces required, VI. xxv.; argues in council of war for an attack on Selinus, VI. xlvii.; goes to Egesta, VI. lxii.; exhortation to his army, VI. lxvii.; defeats the Syracusans, VI. lxix., lxx.; saves Epipolae, VI. cii.; his ill-health, VI. cii. 2 (cf. VII. xv. 2; lxvii. 2); sole commander after the death of Lamachus, VI. ciii.; treats with contempt Gyllippus' force as privateers, VI. civ. 4; fails to prevent coming of Gyllippus, VII. i., ii.; fortifies Plemmyrium, VII. iv. 4; sends twenty ships to waylay the Corinthian ships, VII. iv. 7; writes report to Athens of the situation at Syracuse, VII. viii.; report,

xi.-xv.; by an ambush destroys some Syracusan reinforcements, VII. xxxii.; his dilatoriness, VII. xiii. 3; left in camp while Demosthenes attacks Epipolae, VII. xlvi. 2; refuses to lead the army away, VII. xlviii., xli.; superstition at eclipse of the moon causes him to decide to remain thrice nine days, VII. i. 4; addresses the troops to hearten them for the great sea-fight, VII. lxi.—lxiv.; exhorts the trierarchs, VII. lxix.; leads infantry down to the shore to encourage and support the fleet, VII. lix. 4; Nicias' and Demosthenes' proposal to renew the contest frustrated by the army, VII. lxxii.; retreat begun, VII. lxxv.; final exhortation, VII. lxxvi., lxxvii.; Nicias leads the van, VII. lxxviii. 2; Nicias and Demosthenes fail to give the Syracusans the slip, VII. lxxx. 1; Nicias' division crosses the Evenses, VII. lxxii. 3; overtaken and compelled to surrender, VII. lxxxii.-lxxxv.; Nicias and Demosthenes put to the sword, VII. lxxxvi.

Nicolaus, a Lacedaemonian envoy to the King, put to death, II. lxvii.

Nicomachus, a Phocian, betrays Demosthenes' plan against the Boeotians, IV. lxxxix. 1.

Nicomedes, a Lacedaemonian, general in place of King Pleistoanax, I. civl. 2.

Nicon, a Boetian, a commander of reinforcements for Syracuse, VII. xix. 3.

Niconas, a Thessalian, friend of Perdiccas, IV. lxxvii. 2.

Nicostratus, son of Dilecteles, Athenian commander in Corecyra, III. lxxv.; his humane conduct there, tbi; commands an expedition to Cythera, IV. liii. liv.; swears to the one year truce, IV. cxix. 2; with Nicias against Mende and Scione, IV. cxxix.-cxxxi.; with Laches brings an expedition to Argos, V. lxvi. 1; falls at Mantinea, V. lxxxiv. 2.
INDEX

Nightingale, "Daulian Bird," II. xxix. 2.
Nile, i. cii. 2; cx. 4.
Nine Ways, Kenna Hodol, old name of Amphipolis, I. c. 3; IV. cii. 3.
Nisa, the harbour of Megara, connected with the city by the long walls, I. cii.; occupied by the Athenians, II. cxiv. 1; restored under the thirty years peace, I. cxv.; Brasidas starts from Nisaen for dash against the Pelasgi, II. xxii. 1; Gideon demands its surrender after the blockade of Sphacteria, IV. xxi. 3; Lacedaemonian garrison there, IV. lixiv. 4; captured by the Athenians, IV. lixix.; Brasidas too late to save it, IV. lixv. 2; cavalry engagement before Nisaen, iv. lixiv. 4; the Athenians at Nisaen before battle with Brasidas, IV. lixiiii (cf. lixxvii. 7; viii. 5); not given up under the treaty, v. xlvii. 2.
Nisaen, temple of, at Nisaen, IV. cxviii. 4.
Nomothetae, appointed at Athens after the deposition of the Four Hundred, VIII. xxviii. 2.
Nolium, port of Coleophon, taken by Paches; reconquered by the Athenians, III. xxxiv.
Nymphodorus, of Abdera, proconsul of Athens, negotiates alliance between Sitalces and the Athenians and reconciles Perdiccas and the Athenians, II. xxix.

Obol, Arginon, v. xlviii. 6.
Odomantians, a people in Thrace, III. cl. 3.
Odrysians, a people in Thrace, II. xxv.; Sitalces, their king, becomes an ally of the Athenians, ibi; his campaign against Perdiccas, II. cvii., xviii.-cl.; the greatness and wealth of his kingdom, II. xcvii., xviii.
Odysseus, his passage of Charybdis, IV. xxiv. 4.
Ocanthae, an Ozolian Locrian tribe, III. cl. 2.
Ocecon, a town in Ozolian Locris, III. cvii. 3; xviii. 3; cii. 1.

Centra, in Acarnania, attacked by the Athenians, I. cxxi. 2; hostile to the Athenians, II. xxxii.; III. xxiv. 1; its situation, III. cii.; refuses to yield to Aetopon, III. xvi. 4; fugitives from Olpae find refuge there, III. cvii. 2; compelled to enter the Athenian alliance, IV. xlviiii. 2.
Oenoe, an Athenian fort on the Boeotian frontier, II. xvii. 1; unsuccessfully attacked by the Lacedaemonians, II. xiiii. 1; besieged by the Corinthians and Boeotians, VIII. xviii. 2; betrayed to the Boeotians, VIII. xviii. 3, 4.
Oenophyta, battle of, I. cviii. 3 (cf. IV. cvxi. 3).
Oenopion, islands before Chios, VIII. xxiv. 2.
Oenopion, in Thrace, a Thracian colony, revolted from Athens, IV. cv. 5.
Octarana, a people in Thessaly, III. xcvii. 2; VIII. ill. 1.
Oligarchy: oligarchies everywhere favoured the Lacedaemonians, III. lixiv. 1; their selfishness, VI. lixiv. 2; their cruelty and unscrupulousness, VIII. xlviiii. 2; fall victims to private ambition, VIII. lixiv. 3.
Olymphus, in Acte, IV. ciii. 3.
Olpae, a hill fort in Acarnania, III. cvii. 1; battle of Olpae, III. cxxi.-cix.; the Peloponnesians steal away from Olpae under truce with Demosthenes, III. cxi.; destruction of Ambraciot reinforcements on the way to Olpae, III. cxxi., cxliii., cxlix.
Olpaeans, a tribe in Ozolian Locris, III. cl. 2.
Olympia, treasury at, I. cxxi. 3; cxxi. 1; meeting-place of the council of the Peloponnesians, III. viii.; treaties inscribed on pillars there, V. xviiii. 1; exclusion of the Lacedaemonians from the games by the Eleans, v. xlix.
Olympian victors: Clytus, I. cxi. 3; Dorians, III. viii.; Androsthenes, v. xlx. 1; Lichas, v. I. 4; the Olympic truce, V. xlix.
Olympian Zeus, v. XXXII. 2; I. 1.
Olympicum, temple near Syracuse,
INDEX

VI. lxiv. 1; lxv. 3; lxx. 4; lxxv. 1; vii. iv. 7; xxxvii. 2, 3; xiii. 6. Olympus, Mt., in Thessaly, IV. lxxvii. 6.

Olynthus, in Chalcidice, occupied by the Chalciadics, I. viii. 2; situation, I. lxiii. 2; battle of, I. lxii., lxiii.; Olynthians decide engagement before Sparta, II. lxxix.; receive Mendean and Scionean women and children sent by Brasidas, IV. cxxiii. 4; ransom prisoners taken by Cleon at Tornone, V. iii. 4; provision respecting Olynthians in the treaty, v. xvi. 6; the Olynthians capture Mecysbera, V. xxxix. 1.

Osection, a Soconian, swears to the one year truce, IV. cxix. 2.

Onomax, Mt., in Corinthian territory, IV. cxxiv. 4.

Onomacrites, an Athenian commander, VIII. xxv. 1; xxx. 2.

Op护栏ians, an Attolian tribe, III. cxxiv. 5; cxxvi. 17; c. i.

Opiscus, drove the Ecdes out of Italy, VI. ii. 4; Opleia, VI. iv. 5.

Opus, in Locria, II. xxxii.

Oracle, Delphian, consulted by the Epidamnians, I. xxv. 1; forbids to let go the suppliants of Ithomean Zeus, i. ciii. 2; consulted before beginning the war, I. cxxviii. 3 (cf. I. cxxiii. 1); consulted by Cyclon, I. cxxvi. 4; orders Pan- sanius to be buried in the temple of Athena, I. cxxxiv. 4; oracle about the Peloponnesus, II. xvii. 1; about “pestilence” or “famine,” II. iv. 2; consulted by Alcmaeon, II. cii. 5; about colonising Hesperia, III. cxxii. 5; about Mesiod, III. cxxvi. 1; about the restoration of Peloponnesus, v. xvi. 2; about thrice nine years as duration of the war—only oracle verified, v. xxvi. 4; about the restoration of the Delians, v. xxxii. 1; oracles recited at the beginning of the war, II. viii. 2; cxxx. 3; oracles helpless in the plague, II. xiv. 4; often ruin those who trust them, v. ciii.; unpopularity of oracle-mongers after the Sicilian expedition, VIII. i.

Orchomenus, in Arcadia, besieged and taken by the Argives and Athenians, v. lxxxi. 3.

Orchomenus, in Boeotia, I. cxxii. 1; visited by earthquakes, III. cxxxvii. 4; formerly called “Minyan,” IV. lxvi. 3; conspiracy to betray the city, ib.; Orchomenians in the battle at Delium, IV. xxiii. 4.

Orontes, exiled son of a Theban king, I. cxxi. 1.

Orontes, in Maenalia, V. lxxiv. 3.

Oreolai, a people in Epirus, II. lxxx. 6.

Orestes, IV. cxxiv. 1.

Oreus, in Kuboes, the only city retained by Atena on the island after the second revolt, VIII. xcv. 7.

Ornesa, in Argolis, its people on the Argive side at Mantinea, V. lxvii. 2; lxxii. 4; lxxvii. 2; Argive exiles settled at Ornesa, VI. vii.; the town treacherously captured by the Argives, ib.

Orchis, in Kuboes, III. lxxxix. 2.

Orocles, king of the Paravaeans, II. lxxx. 6.

Oropus, in Boeotia, subject to the Athenians, II. xxxii. 3; III. xci. 3; IV. xcvii. 7, 8; on the Athenian border, IV. cxi., cxcix.; provisions from Euboia pass through Oropus for Athens, VII. xxviii. 1; betrayed to the Boeotians, VIII. ix. 1; a Peloponnesian squadron puts in at Oropus, VIII. cxv.

Ortygia, the original site of Syracuse, VI. iii. 2.

Oscus, a river in Thrace, II. xxvii. 4. Outraces of Themistocles, I. cxxxv.; of Hyperbolus, III. lxxxii. 3.

Pachus, an Athenian commander, sent with reinforcements against Mytilene, III. xviii. 3; obtains possession of the city, III. xxvii., xxviii.; takes possession of Antissa, III. xxvii. 3; pursues Aclidas, III. xxxii. 3; captures Notium by treachery, III. xxxiv.; reduces Pyrrha and Eresus, III. xxxv.; sends Salamis, with the most guilt of the Mytileneans, to Athens, ib.; ordered to put to
INDEX

dearth all the grown up citizens, III. xxxvi. 2, 3; order countermanded, III. xliv. xix.; about 1000 Mytileneans put to death on motion of Cleon, III. i. 1.

Paeonians, subjects of Sitalces, II. xcvii. 1; xcviii.
Pagonidas, a Boeotarch in the battle at Delium, IV. xci.; his speech, IV. xcii.; defeats the Athenians at Delium, IV. xcxii., xcvii.
Palaereans, in Acarnania, II. xxx. 1.
Pale, in Ceppelinia, I. xxvii. 2; II. xxx. 1.
 Pallene, peninsula in Chalcidice, I. lxiv. 1; IV. xxvi. 1; cxxxi. 1; cxxii. 1; its isthmus, I. lvi. 2; IV. cxxvi. 3.
Pammilus, founder of Selinus, IV. vi. 2.

Pamphylia, I. c. 1

Panactum, on the borders of Attica, betrayed to the Boeotians, v. iii. 5; to be restored under the treaty, v. xvii. 7; the Lacedaemonians promise to get it back for the Athenians, v. xxxv. 5; entreat the Boeotians to give it up to them, v. xxxvi. 2; demolished by the Boeotians, v. xxxix. 3; rage of the Athenians at its destruction, v. xliii.; the Lacedaemonians demand Pylos in return for it, v. xliv. 3; the Athenians request the Lacedaemonians to rebuild and restore it, v. xlv. 2.

Panaeans, II. cii. 3.

Panaerus, a friend of Brasidas in Thessaly, IV. lxxviii. 1.

Panathenaea, I. xx. 2; V. xliv. 10; VI. lvi. 2; lvii. 1.

Pandion, King of Athens, II. xxix. 3.
Pangeus, Mt., in Thrace, II. xcxii. 3.

Panormus, in Achaia, II. lxxvi. 1; xclii. 1.

Panormus, in Mileisan territory, VIII. xxiv. 1.

Panormus, a Phoenician settlement in Sicily, VI. ii. 6.

Pantagyas, a river in Sicily, VI. iv. 1.

Paralians, a part of the Mallians, III. xcvii. 1.

Paralus, a district in Attica, II. iv. 1; lvi. i. 3.

Paralus, Athenian sacred vessel, III. xxxii. 1; lxxvii. 3; the crew all freemen and enemies of the oligarchy, VIII. lxxiii. 5, 6; lxxiv. 1; sent to cruise off Euboea, VIII. lxxxvi. 9; mutiny and give up the Athenian envoys to the Argives, ibi; come to Samos with Argive envoys, ibi.

Paravaeans, a people in Epirus, II. lxxx. 6.

Parnassus, Mt., III. xcv. 1.
Parnes, Mt., in Attica, II. xxiii. 1; IV. xcvi. 7.

Parians, Thasos, a colony of the, IV. civ. 4.

Parrhasians, in Arcadia, V. xxxiii.

Pasilidias, Lacedaemonian governor at Torone, IV. cxxxii. 3; loses Torone to Cleon and is slain, v. iii. 1.

Patmos, island, III. xxxiii. 5.

Patrae, in Achaia, II. lxxxii. 3; lxxxiv. 3; extends walls to the sea, v. lii. 2.

Pausanias, guardian of king Pleistarchus, I. cxxxii. 2; victor at Platea, II. lxxi. 2; lxxxii. 1; III. liv. 4; Iviiii. 5; Iviiii. 1; takes command of the twenty ships, I. xciv.; takes Byzantium, ibi; becomes unpopular, I. xcvi. 1; summoned to Sparta, ibi; acquitted of conspiracy, ibi; negotiates with Xerxes, I. cxxxviii.-cxxxv.; recalling to Sparta and imprisoned, I. cxxxvi. charges against him, ibi; intrigues with Helots, I. cxxxvi. 4; betrayed by his servant, ibi; cxxxviiii.; escapes to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, I. cxxxviv. 1; is starved to death, ibi; ordered by the Delphian oracle to be buried in the temple, ibi.

Pausanias, son of Pleistoanax, king of Sparta, III. xxvi. 2.

Pausanias, a Macedonian, brother of Derdas, I. lxi. 4 (cf. i. lxx. 2).

Peace, treaty of five years between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, I. cxii. 1; thirty years treaty, I. cxxv., cxxvi.; II. i. 1; II. vii. 1; fifty years peace, V. xviii.; only nominal, V. xxvi.; peace and
INDEX

alliance for 100 years between the Acarnanians and Ambraciotis, III. cxiv. 3; treaty between Argos and Lacedaemon, v. lxxvii.; alliance, v. lxxix.; three treaties between Lacedaemon and Persia, VIII. xviii., xxxvi., lviii.; treaties inscribed on columns, v. xviii. 10; xxxii. 5; lvi. 3.

Pedaratos, Lacedaemonian governor of Chios, VIII. xxviii. 5; refuses to aid Astyocharus in the revolt of Lesbos, VIII. xxxii.; deceived by a thirty years treaty, I. cxv.; demanded by the Athenians after Sphacteria, IV. xxi. 3; occupied by Megarian exiles, IV. lxvi. 1; these brought back therefrom, IV. lxxiv. 2.

Peiraecus, a harbour in Corinthian territory, where a Peloponnesian fleet was blockaded, VIII. x. 3; xi. 3; xiv. 2; xv. 2; blockade broken, VIII. xx. 1.

Peiraecus, port of Athens, fortified by Themistocles, I. xci.; circuit of, II. xiii. 7; visited by the plague, II. xlviii. 2; Brasidas' scheme to attack Peiraecus, II. xciii., xciv.; final capture referred to, v. xxvi. 1; attack of the enemy on Peiraecus expected after the disaster in Sicily, VIII. i. 2; Peiraecus protected from attack by the army at Samos, VIII. lxxvi. 5; the army at Samos want to sail to the Peiraecus, VIII. lxxxii., lxxxvi. 4; the oligarchs fortify Eetioneia to protect the Peiraecus, VIII. xc.; tumult, the fort destroyed, VIII. xcii.; the hoplites in the Peiraecus march to Athens, VIII. xciii. 1; citizens rush to Peiraecus when a Lacedaemonian fleet appears off Salamis, VIII. xciv.; attack on Peiraecus expected after defeat off Euboea, VIII. xcvii.

Peisander, sent to Athens to forward the oligarchical conspiracy, VIII. xlix.; gains the consent of the people, VIII. liii., liv.; sent to negotiate with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, VIII. liv. 2; baffled by Alcibiades, VIII. lvi.; sent home with orders to put down democracy in the cities, VIII. lxiv., lxv. 1; proposes government of Four Hundred, VIII. lxvii.; breaks up the old Senate and installs the Four Hundred, VIII. lxix., lxx.; stirs up an oligarchical revolution at Samos, VIII. lxiii. 2; retreats to Deceleia on the dissolution of the Four Hundred, VIII. xxvii. 1.

Peisistratidæ, moderate character of their government, VI. liv. 5; overthrown by the Lacedaemonians, VI. liii. 3; lix. 4.

Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens, I. xx.; VI. liii. 3; liv. 2; his purification of Delos, III. civ. 1.

Peisistratus, grandson of the tyrant, VI. liv. 6, 7.

Peithias, a Corcyrean popular leader, murdered by the oligarchs, III. lxxx.

Pelargicum, on the Acropolis at Athens, II. xvii. 1, 2.

Pelasgians, most widely spread of ancient tribes in Greece, I. iii. 2; the Pelasgians of Acte, IV. cix. 4.

Pele, island off Clazomenae, VIII. xxxi. 3.

Pella, in Macedonia, II. xcix. 4; c. 4.

Pellene, in Achaea; the Pelleneans were allies of the Lacedaemonians, II. ix. 1; Pellene was regarded as mother-city of the Scioneans, IV. cxx. 1; join the Lacedaemonians in the invasion of Argos, v. lvi. 4; lxx. 3; lx. 3; furnish ships to the Lacedaemonians, VIII. iii. 2; lose one ship in the battle of Cynossema, VIII. cvii. 3.

Peloponnesus, frequent changes of early inhabitants, I. ii. 3; name derived from Pelops, I. ix. 2; divided into five parts, I. x. 2;
conquest by the Heracleidae, I. xii. 3; the greater part of Sicily and Italy colonized from the Peloponnese, I. xii. 4 (cfr. VI. lxxvii. 1); all the Peloponnese, except Argos and Achaia, included in the Laconian union, II. ix. 2; the plague little felt in the Peloponnese, II. liv. 5; provisions respecting the Peloponnesian cities in treaties between Lacedaemon and Argos, V. lxxvii. 3, 6; lxxx. I. 2, 4; employment of mercenaries from the Peloponnese, I. xxxi. 1; IV. iii. 2; lxxvi. 3; lxxx. 5; VI. xxii. 1; VII. xiv. 4; VII. lvii. 2; VII. 8; VIII. xxviii. 4; Pericles' account of the Peloponnesian character, I. cxxv. cxxvi. (For actions of Peloponnesians, performed under Lacedaemonian leadership, see Lacedaemonians.)

Pelops, gives his name to the Peloponnesian Wars, I. ix. 9.

Peloponnesian War, length of, V. xxxvi. (See War.)

Pelorus, a promontory near Messene, in Sicily, IV. xxv. 3.

Pentecostis, a division of the Laconian army, V. lviii. 3.

Peparethys, island of, III. lxxxix. 4.

Pericleus, King of Macedon, quarrels with the Athenians, I. lvi. lvii.; sends envoy to Sparta, I. lvii. 4; persuades the Chalcdians to revolt, I. lvii. 5; lviii. 1; assigns the Chalcdians part of Myrdonion, I. lviii. 2; reconciled to the Athenians, I. lxi. 3; deserts them, I. lxii. 2; again reconciled to the Athenians, II. xxix. 6; sends assistance to the Ambraciotas, II. lxxxv. 7; his perjury to Sitalces, II. xxv.; attacked by Sitalces, II. xxvii.-xxviii.; gains against Sitalces, II. cxxi. 6; marries his sister to Seuthes, lvii.; invites Brasidas, IV. lxxvii.; declared an enemy by the Athenians, IV. lxxviii.; with Brasidas wars upon Arrhabaeus, IV. lxxxviii.; assists Brasidas at Amphipolis, IV. cii. 3; ciii. 3; with Brasidas defeats the Lyncestians, IV. cxxxiv.; loses his army by a panic, IV. cxxxv. 1; quarrels with Brasidas, IV. cxxviii. 5; joins the Athenians, IV. cxxviii. 1; asked by Cleon for reinforcements, V. vi. 2; joins the Laconian alliance, V. lxxv. 2; blockaded by the Athenians, V. lxxxiii. 4; his territory ravaged by the Athenians, VI. vii. 3; aids the Athenians against Amphipolis, VII. ix.

Pericles, son of Xanthippus, defeats the Scylians and attacks Cenadania, I. cxxii. 2; subdues Euboea, I. cxxiv.; victor in sea-battle against the Samians at Tralgia, I. cxxi. 1; sails for Cyprus, I. cxxvii. 3; Samians capitate, I. cavi. 3; under the "curse of the Goddess," I. cxxvii. 1; leader of the Athenian State, lvii.; speech, I. cxxi.-cxxiv.; his counsel followed, I. cxxv.; VII. xxii. 5; offers his land as public property, II. xiii. 2; State's resources explained, lvii.; the Athenians angry with him, II. xxi. xxii.; leads in invasion of Megara, II. xxxi. 1; funeral oration, II. xxxv.-xxxvi.; leads expedition round the Peloponnese, II. lvi.; censured and fined by the Athenians, II. liv.; his speech in defence, II. lxv.-lxxv.; elected general II. lxxv. 1; characterization of Pericles, his death, II. lxv.

Perieres, one of the founders of Zancle, VI. lv. 5.

Perioeci, of Laconia, aid the Helots in revolt, I. cl. 1; assist in the foundation of Heraclea, III. xecii. 5; present at the attack on Pylos, IV. viii. 1; the Perioeci of Cythera, IV. iii. 2; Phrynia, one of the Perioeci, sent to Chios, VIII. vi. 4; Deinolochus, one of the Perioeci, a naval commander, VIII. xxii. 2.

Perrhaebia, in Thessaly, IV. lxxvii. 5.

Persia; the Persians form part of the garrison at Memphis, I. civ. 2; Persian luxury affected by Pausanias, I. cxxxv.; the language learned by Themistocles, I. cxxxvii. 1; Persian spoil on the Acropolis, II. xii. 4; visited by the plague, II. xiv. 1.
INDEX

Philip, a Lacedaemonian, governor of Melus, v. xxvii. 5; lxxxvii. 6; xcix.

Philochidas, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the one year truce, iv. cxix. 1; swears to the treaty, v. xix.; xxiv.; envoy to Thrace, v. xxi. 1; envoy to Athens, v. xlv. 3.

Philocrates, an Athenian, commander of reinforcements for Melos, v. cxvi. 5.

Philocrates, commander of the smallest ships that went to Troy, i. x. 4.

Philomela, story of, ii. xxix. 5.

Philip, in the Peloponnesian, money asked of it, for expedition against Epiphanus, i. xxvii. 2; Philian troops with Brasidas at Megara, iv. lxx. 1; the priestess Chrysa flies for refuge to Philus, iv. cxxiii. 3; meeting-place of the Lacedaemonian alliance before the invasion of Argos, v. lvii. 2; the Philipians participate in the campaign against the Argives, v. lviii. 4; lx. 1; lx. 5; invaded three times by the Argives, v. lxxxiii. 5; cxv. 1; lv. cv. 5.

Phocaea, in Ionia, the Phocaeans found Masalla, i. xiii. 6; conquer the Carthaginians in a sea-fight, ib.; Phocaean state, iv. iii. 2.

Phocaeans, a part of Leontini, v. iv. 4.

Phocis, the Phocians invade Doris, i. cvii. 2; become allies of the Athenians, i. cvii. 1; receive the temple of Delphi from the Athenians, i. cvii. 5; allies of the Lacedaemonians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, ii. ix. 2; Phocis once occupied by Thracians, ii. xxi. 5; Demosthenes plans to win them over, iii. cvii. 1; at enmity with the Locrians of Amphissa, iii. ci. 1; certain Phocians share in the Athenian plan to subdue Boeotia, iv. lxxvii. 3; the plan betrayed by Nicomachus, a Phocian, iv. lxxix. 4; to go to war with the Locrians, v. xxxvii. 1; summoned by the Lacedaemonians to Mantinea, v. lxiv. 4;
INDEX

furnish the Lacedaemonians with ships, VIII. iii. 2.

Phoenicians, addicted to piracy, I. viii. 1; services of the Phoenician ships to Persian Kings, I. xvi.; c. I. cx. 4; exil. 4; xxvi. 1; trade between Attica and Phoenicia, II. ixix.; their colonization of Sicily, V. ii. 6; policy as to the fleet urged on Tissaphernes by Ailebiades, VIII. xiv.; provisions of the treaty with regard to the ships, VIII. Iviii. 3, 4; the Peloponnesians impatient as to Tissaphernes' delay of the ships, VIII. lxxviii.; Ailebiades pretends that he will secure the ships for the Athenians, VIII. lxxxi., lxxviii., xviii.; Tissaphernes goes to Aspendus for the fleet; why he did not bring it, VIII. lxxviii.; the Peloponnesians abandon hope of the fleet, VIII. xci.; Tissaphernes determines to explain to them about the delay of the ships, VIII. cix.

Phoenicus, a harbour under Mt. Mimas, VIII. xxxiv.

Phoroneus, son of Asopus, sent against Potidæa, I. lxiv.; ravages Chalcidice, I. lxv. 3; colleague of Péricles at Samos, I. cxvii. 2; sent as general to the Amphipolitians, II. lxviii. 7; makes Naupactus his base, II. lxix. 1; lxx. 4; summoned by the Arcadians, II. lxxxi. 1; defeats the Lacedaemonian fleet, II. lxxxi., lxxiv.; asks for reinforcements, II. lxxv. 4; speech to his troops, II. lxxxi.; defeats the Lacedaemonians again, II. xc., xcl.; leads an expedition into Arcadia, II. cii.; returns to Athens, II. cii.

Photius, a Chaonian leader, II. lxx. 5.

Phrygia, in Attica, II. xxii. 2

Phrynechus, an Athenian commander, brings reinforcements to Miletus, VIII. xxv. 1; overrules his colleagues and declines battle, VIII. xxvii.; sagacious temper of, lxxvi.; VIII. lxviii.; opposes the proposal of Ailebiades to overthrow the democracy, VIII. lxvii. 4-7; out- wits Ailebiades, VIII. l. ii.; deposed, VIII. lv. 3, 4; a leader in the oligarchical conspiracy at Athens, VIII. lxvii. 2; xvi. 1; sent to Lacedaemon to make peace, VIII. xc. 3; killed, VIII. xci. 2.

Phrynis, a Lacedaemonian commissioner to Chios, VIII. vi. 4.

Phthiotis, see Achaia (Phthiotis).

Phrygus, a fortress in Elia, V. alii. 1.

Physca, in Macedonia, II. xci. 5.

Phyllia, in Arcadia, III. cxii. 2.

Pieria, in Macedonia, II. xci. 5; c. 4.

Pierius, in Thessaly, V. xiiii. 1.

Phoenix, Mt., in Thessaly, II. cii. 2.

Piracy, put down by Minos, I. iv.; honourable in ancient Hellas, I. v.; put down by the Corinthians, I. xiii. 5.

Plasouthes, Persian strait of Lower Asia (III. xxii. 2) aids the Samians to revolt, I. cxv. 4; assists the Persian party at Notium, III. xxxiv. 2.

Pitanate, division at Lacedaemon, an error, I. xx. 5.

Pittacus, king of the Etonians, murdered by his wife, IV. cxvii. 3.

Plague, at Athens, I. xxii. 3; II. lxvii.-lxxii.; appeared before in Lemnos, II. lxviii. 3; lawlessness caused by it, II. liii.; not serious in the Peloponnesus, II. lv.; in the fleet, II. lvii.; in the army at Potidæa, II. lxvii.; second outbreak at Athens, III. lxxvii.

Platæa, the Plataeans always allies of the Athenians, II. ii. 2; ix. 4; III. iv. 1; lxxv. 2; III. lxvii. 3; VII. lxv. 5; the town surprised by the Thessians in time of peace, II. ii. (cf. III. lxv.); surrender of, II. iii. 3; rally and attack the invaders 60; night battle in the streets, II. iv.; kill their Thessalian prisoners, II. vi. 7; send messenger to Athens, II. vi. 4; receive a garrison from Athens, II. vi. 4; their territory ravaged by the Bocotians, II. xvi. 2; Plataæa attacked by the Lacedæmonians, II. lxxi. 1; protest of the Plataeans to Archidamus, II. lxxi. 2; negotiations with Archidamus, II.
index

Ixxii.-Ixxiv.; Plataea inveased II. Ixxv.-Ixxviii.; part of the Plataeans break out of the town, III. xx.-xxiv.; surrender of Plataea, III. iii.; plea of the Plataeans to their Lacedaemonian judges, III. iii.-ix.; Plataeans put to death and Plataea razed, III. lxviii.; Plataeans serve with the Athenians at Megara, IV. Ivii.; Plataea not given up under the treaty, v. xvii. 2 (cf. III. iii. 2); Scione given to the Plataeans by the Athenians V. xxxii. 1; against their Boeotian countrymen at Syracuse, VII. lvii. 9.

Plataea, the battle of, I. cxxxix. 1; III. iv. 4; lvii. 3-5.

Platarchus, son of Leonidas, king of Sparta, I. cxxxix. 1.

Pleistosthenes, king of Lacedaemon, I. cxi. 1; invades Attica, I. cxiv. 2; accused of being bribed to retreat, II. xxi.; accused of bribing the Pythia, v. xvi. 2, 3; eager for peace, v. xvii. 1; swears to the treaty, v. xix., xxiv.; leads an expedition against the Parrhasians, v. xxxii.; starts to reinforce Agis, v. lxxvi. 1.

Pleistolus, aphetor at Lacedaemon, sworn to the treaty of peace, v. xix., xxiv.

Pleumumdrum, a promontory opposite Syracuse, fortified by Nicias, IV. Iv. 4; captured by Gyllippon, VII. xxii. 1; xxiii. 1; garrisoned by the Syracuseans, VII. xxiv. 1; seriousness of its loss, VII. xxiv.; xxxvi. 6.

Plenour, in Aetolia, III. cli. 3.

Plyx, where the Athenian assembly met, VIII. xvii. 1.

Polemarchus, magistrates at Mantinea, v. xlvii. 9; military officers at Lacedaemon, v. lxvi. 3; lxxi. 3.

Polichne, near Cleonemnus, fortified by the Cleonemnsians, VIII. xiv. 3; retaken by the Athenians, VIII. xxvii. 6.

Polichotae, inhabitants of Polichne in Crete, II. lxxxv. 5.

Pollis, in Locri, III. cl. 2.

Pollis, king of the Odomantians, in Thrace, v. vi. 2.
INDEX

vi. xxvi. 2; the Athenians escape tierceto after the battle of Sparta, it. lxxix. 7; Brasidas plans attack thereon, iv. cxxi. 2; Nicias starts from Potidaea against Mende, iv. cxxix. 2; Brasidas' attempt fails iv. cxxxv. Potidaea, in Attica, III. xxvi. 2.
Prassae, in Attica, VIII. xvii. 1.
Prasiae, in Laconia, destroyed by the Athenians, II. xvi. 6; ravaged, vi. civ. 2; vii. xviii. 3.
Praxipus, on the Propontis, VIII. civ. 1.
Priest, in Ionia, I. cxxv. 1.
Procles, (1) an Athenian commander, III. cxxi. 1; cxxviii. 5; (2) sworn to the treaty of peace, v. xix. cxxiv.
Procne, wife of Tereus, II. xxxiv. 3.
Pronision, in Cephallenia, II. xxx. 2.
Propylaea, of the Acropolis, II. xiii. 3.
Prochlium, in Aetolia, III. cii. 3.
Propontis, an island in the Nile, I. cix. 4.
Prote, an island near Pylos, IV. xiii. 5.
Protesas, an Athenian commander, sent to Corcyra, I. xiv. 2; cruises round the Peloponnese, II. xxiii. 2.
Protesillas, sanctuary of, near Eleans, VIII. ciii. 2.
Proxenus, a Locrion commander, II. ciii. 3.
Pythiades, at Athens, IV. cxxvi. 14; v. xvi. 9; vi. xiv.; VIII. lxx. 1; cf. iv. cxxvii. 11.
Pteleus, urbs incerta, to be restored to the Lacedaemonians under the treaty, v. xvii. 7.
Pteleum, a fort in Erythraean territory, VIII. cxxiv. 1; cxxvi. 2.
Proecorpes, a Theban exile, IV. lxxvi. 2.
Psychia, a small island near Corcyra, IV. xvi. 3.
Pythias, a river in the region of the Hellespont, vii. civ. 1.
Pydna, in Macedonia, besieged by the Athenians, I. lxi. 3; Thermistocles sent thither by Admetus, I. cxxxvii. 1.
Pylos, in Messenia, called Coryphasium by the Lacedaemonians, 400 stadia from Sparta, IV. iii. 2; fortified by the Athenians, IV. iv. v.; the news recalls the Lacedaemonians from Attica, IV. 6; unsuccessfully assaulted by the Lacedaemonians, IV. xi., xii.; the Athenians defeat the Lacedaemonian fleet and cut off the troops in Sphacteria IV. xiii., xiv.; Lacedaemonians obtain truce and send envoys to Athens, IV. xv., xvi.; the truce ends and the Athenians retain the Peloponnese ships, IV. xxvii.; sufferings of the Athenians blockading Pylos, IV. xxvii.; garrisoned by the Messenians from Naupactum, IV. xii. 2; Cleon's success at Pylos increases his confidence at Amphipolis, V. vii. 3; the Athenians repent that they did not make peace after Pylos; the Lacedaemonians disheartened by its capture, V. xiv.; the Athenians withdraw the Messenians at Pylos, V. lxxv. 6, 7; the Lacedaemonians negotiate with a view to the exchange of Pylos for Panactum, V. lxxvi. 2; lxxix. 2; lxxxi. 23; lxxiv.; the Athenians put the Helots back in Pylos, V. lv. 3; marauding expeditions from Pylos, V. cxxv. 2; vi. cv. 2; vii. xviii. 3; lxxvi. 2; the Lacedaemonians consider their misfortune at Pylos deserved because they began the war, VII. xviii.; the Athenian defeat in the Great Harbour at Syracuse like that of the Lacedaemonians at Pylos, VII. lxxxl. 7; Demosthenes, the greatest foe of the Lacedaemonians, Nicias their greatest friend, in the matter of Pylos, VII. lxxxvi. 3. (See Sphacteria.)
Pyranos, people of Pyraea in Thessaly, II. xxii. 3.
Pyrrha, in Lesbos, III. xvii. 1; xxv. 1; lxxv. 1; VIII. xxvii. 2.
Pyrrhus, joint founder with Aristonous of Agrigentum, VI. iv. 4.
Pythagoras, a Theban Eucetarch, surprises Platea, II. ii. 1.
Pythen, a Corinthian commander, VI. civ. 1; sails with Gyllippus to Himera, VII. i. 1; one of the commanders of the Syracusan fleet in the last sea-fight, VII. lxx. 1.
INDEX

Pythodorus, an Athenian archon, at the opening of the war, II. ii. 1; supersedes Laches in Sicily, III. cxv. 2; exiled, IV. lxv. 3; swears to the treaty of peace, v. xix., xxiv.; commands an expedition to Laconia which violates the treaty, VI. cv.

Quarries, at Syracuse, used as a prison for the Athenian captives, VII. lxxxvi., lxxxvii.

Reserve fund and ships set apart by the Athenians, to be touched only if the enemy attacked the city with a fleet, II. xxiv.; VIII. xv. 1.

Revenue, Athenian: six hundred talents yearly from subject allies, II. xiii. 3; property-tax for the first time resorted to, III. xix. 1; revenues from the Laureian silver mines, profits from the land and the law courts, VI. xcl. 7; the tribute commuted for a duty of five per cent. on all imports and exports, VII. xxviii. 4.

Rhamphias, a Lacedaemonian, one of the envoys who bring the last demands upon the Athenians, I. cxxxix. 3; returns from Chalcidice on the news of Brasidas’s death, V. xii., xiii.

Rhegium, in Italy, the Rhegians are Ionians and kindred of the Leontines, III. lxxxi. 2; VI. xlii. 3; xlvii. 2; lxix’ 1; sent with the Athenians against the Lipari islands, III. lxxxviii.; Athenian reinforcements arrive at Rhegium, III. cxv.; in revolution and at war with the Locrians, IV. i. 3; xxiv., xxv.; important position of, IV. xxiv. 4; Anaxilaus, tyrant of, VI. iv. 6; refuses to receive the Athenian expedition to Sicily, VI. xliii.; part of the Athenians stay at Rhegium till assured of a reception at Catana, VI. i., ii.; Gyllippus puts in there, VII. i. 2; the Athenians lie in wait there for the Corinthian fleet, VII. iv. 7.

Rheiti, in Attica, II. xix. 2.

Rheltus, a stream in Corinthian territory, IV. xlii. 2.

Rheneia, island near Delos, I. xiii. 6; III. cxxv. 2.

Rhiom, the Molycran, II. lxxxiv. 4; xxxvi. 1; the Achaean, II. lxxxvi. 3; xci. 5; V. lii. 2.

Rhodes, assists in the colonization of Gela, VI. iv. 3; VII. lii. 6, 9; Rhodian troops serve in the expedition to Sicily, VI. xiii.; VII. lii. 6; revolts from Athens, VIII. xlv. 2; Athenian fleet makes descents upon Rhodes, VIII. xlv. 4; lv.; the Peloponnesians quit Rhodes, VIII. ix.


Sablynthus, a Molossian, guardian of king Tharyps, II. lxxx. 6.

Saco, one of the founders of Himera, VI. v. 1.

Sadocus, son of Sitalces, made a citizen of Athens, II. xxix. 5; gives up Aristeus and the Lacedaemonian envoys to the Athenians, II. lxvii. 2, 3.

Salaethus, a Lacedaemonian sent to Mytilene, III. xxv. 1; arms the commons there, III. xxvii. 2; captured and sent by Paches with other captives to Athens; put to death, III. xxxv.

Salaminia, one of the two Athenian sacred vessels, III. xxxii. 1; lxxviii. 3; VI. liii. 1; lxi. 4.

Salamis, battle of, I. lxxiii. 4; cxxxvii. 4; overrun by Brasidas, II. xciii., xcv.; the Athenians blockade Megara from Salamis, II. xciv. 4; xcv. 3; III. ii. 2; guarded by Attic ships, III. xvii. 2; a Peloponnesian fleet off Salamis causes a panic at Athens, VIII. xcv.

Salamis, in Cyprus, I. xcii. 4.

Salsynthus, king of the Agraenaeans, III. xvi. 4; xcvii. 2; IV. lxxvii. 2.

Samaeans, in Cephalenia, II. xxx. 2.

Samithus, in Argolis v lxi. 5.

Samos, one of the first Hellenic states to possess a navy, I. xiii. 2, 6; Polycrates, tyrant of, ibi;
INDEX

III. cix. 2; revolts from Athens, i. xi. 5; xlii. 2; cxv. 3; defeated, cxvii.; surrenders, cxviii.; war with the Miletians about Priene, l. cxv. 2; Samian exile settle at Anaea, iii. xiv. 2; xxxii. 2; iv. lxxx. 1; Samians expel the Chalcidians from Zante and are themselves driven out by Anaxilas, vi. iv. 5; subject allies of the Athenians before Syracuse, vii. lvii. 4; Stroumbichides with an Athenian fleet sails to Samos, viii. xvi. 1; xvii. 1; xix. 4; uprising of commons against the nobles, viii. xxx.; Samos becomes headquarters of the Athenian fleet, viii. xxv. 1; xxvii. 4; xxx. 1; xxxii. 3; xxiv. 5; xxxvii. 5; xxxix. 3; xliii. 3; xlvii. 2; xlvii. 2; xlvii. 1; lxii. 3; lxx. 3; leading Athenians at Samos plot with Alcibiades the overthrow of the democracy, viii. xlvii.; plan to establish an oligarchy, viii. lxii. 3; 4; the oligarchical revolution crushed, viii. lxiii.; the Samians unite with the Athenians against the Four Hundred, viii. lxxv.-lxxvii.; part of the Athenian fleet leaves Samos for the Hellespont, viii. lxxv. 4; the Athenians at Samos recall Alcibiades, viii. lxxxi. 1; Alcibiades at Samos, viii. lxxxii. 1; lxxxii.; envoys of the Four Hundred come to Samos, viii. lxxxv. 1; Arrives offer aid, vii. lxxxvii. 8; Alcibiades leaves Samos to join Tissaphernes, viii. lxxxviii.; the Peloponnesians sailing for the Hellespont try to avoid the Athenians at Samos, viii. xci.; pursued, viii. c.; Alcibiades returns to Samos, viii. cvii.

Sardis, a hill in Caria, iii. xix. 2.

Sannii, an Andrian colony in Acet, iv. cix. 5; v. xviii. 6.

Saridea, lv. cxv. 4.

Sargena, a Sicilian commander, vii. xiv. 4.

Saronic Gulf, iii. xv. 1.

Scandia, city in Cythera, iv. lv. 4.

Scelea, in Pallene, founded by Pellenians returning from Troy, iv. cxx. 1; revolts from Athens, svi; the Scioneans crown Brasidas, iv. cxxi.; disagreement of the Lacedaemonians and Athenians about Scione, iv. cxxii.; the Athenians decree its destruction, iv. cxxii. 6; prepare to attack it, iv. cxxiii. 2; the Scioneans aid the Mendeans, iv. cxxiii. 3; the Peloponnesian garrison of Mende flees to Scione, iv. cxxiv. 3; Scione is invested, iv. cxxiv. 1; cxxiv. 4; provisions respecting Scione in the treaty, v. xviii. 7, 8; captured by the Athenians, the people slain, and the place given to the Platæans, v. xxxvii. 1.

Scirrhis, a district of Lacedaemon, v. xxxiv. 1; the Scirrhians hold left wing of the Lacedaemonian army in battle, v. lxvii. 1; lxvii. 2; lxvi. 2; lxvi. 2. Scironides, an Athenian commander, vii. xviii. 1; deceased, vii. lv. 2.

Sciphiades, a Theban Echestrarch, vii. xxx. 3.

Scyllamna, Mt., in Thrace, ii. xvi. 3.

Scyllaeum, promontory near Troizen, v. lili.

Seyros, island, subdued and colonized by the Athenians, i. xviii. 2.

Sicyon, the use of, at Lacedaemon, i. cxxi. 1.

Sicythia, ii. xvi. 1; xvi. 6.

Selinus, in Sicily, founded by colonists from Megara Hyblaea, vi. lv. 2; the Selinitanis war on Egesta, vi. vi. 1; xii. 2; Selinus a powerful city, vi. xx. 4; attack on Selinus instead of Syracuse urged by Nicians, vi. xlviii.; the Athenians sail toward Selinus, vi. lxvii. 1; joint Syracuse, vi. lxv. 1; lxvii. 2; assist Gylippus, vii. i. 5; allies of the Syracusians, vii. lviii. 1; contribute to the Sicilian fleet despatched to Asia, vii. xxvi. 1. Semyle, in Sthalia; defeat of the Strymilians by Aristeus, i. lxv. 2; provision respecting, in the treaty of peace, v. xviii. 8.

Sestum, siege and capture of (in the Persian war), i. lxxxix. 2; becomes
INDEX

Athenian headquarters in the Hellespont, VIII. lxii. 3; ch. 1; cix. 1; cv. I.

Seuthes, successor of Sitalkes as king of the Odrysians, II. xvii. 2; IV. c. 5; marries sister of Perdiccas, II. c. 8.

Sicani, ancient name of Sicily, VI. ii. 2.

Sicani, a river in Iberia, VI. ii. 2.

Siculus, a Syracusan general, VI. lxiii. I; sent to Agrigentum, VII. xvi.; unsuccessful there, VII. 1. 1; commands a squadron of the Syracusan fleet in the last sea-fight, VII. ix. 1.

Sicels, the majority join the Athenians, III. cix. 1; cv. I; IV. xiv. 9; VI. lxv. 2; lxxvii. 6; xviii. 1; cix. 2; VII. li. 11; aid the Naxians, IV. xiv. 9; came over on rafts from Italy to Sicily, VI. ii. 4; gave them their name to the island, VI. ii. 5; occupy central and northern parts, &c.; the Syracusans negotiate with the Sicels, VI. xiv.; lxxxviii. 3; Sicels of the interior friendly with the Athenians, VI. lxxxviii. 3-5; some Sicels aid Gylippus, VII. 1. 4; Iv. 3; Sicel allies of the Athenians destroy reinforcements on the way to Syracuse, VII. xxxii. 2; the Athenians expect aid from the Sicels in their retreat, VII. lxxxvii. 6; lxxx. 5.

Sicily: expedition sent thither by the Athenians under Laches, III. lxxxvi. lxxxvii. xci. xxix. cix.; reinforcements under Pythodorus, III. cv.; eruption of Aetna, III. cxvi.; proceedings of the second Athenian expedition in Sicily, IV. II. xxiv. xxv. lxv.; conference of the Sicelots at Gela, IV. lviii.-lxv.; embassy of Pheae from Athens to Sicily, v. iv. 5; original settlement of Sicily, VI. ii.; anciently called Sicania, before that Trinacia, VI. ii. 2; Hellenic colonies there, VI. iii.-v.; third and great Sicilian expedition: preparation for it, VI. I. VI. viii.-xxix.; the armament leaves Peiraeus, VI. xxx. xxiii.; its magnitude, VI. xxxi., xiii.; VII. xxxv. 5; reception of the news of it in Sicily, VI. xxxiii.-xii.; the Athenian fleet reaches Catana, VI. xiii.-iii.; course of the campaign until Syracuse is almost completely invested, VI. liii.-civ.; Gylippus arrives and enters Syracuse, VII. i., ii.; the good fortune of the Athenians begins to decline, VII. iii.-xvi.; Demosthenes to bring reinforcements, VI. xvii., xviii. 1, xx.; the Athenians at Syracuse lose command of the sea, VII. xxxi.-xxv., xxxvi.-xii.; the Syracusans gain a fresh victory at sea, VII. xvi.-lvi.; enumeration of the hostile forces, VII. lii., lvii.; last sea-fight, VII. lix.-lxii.; retreat and final surrender, VII. lxxii.-lxxxvii.; a Sicilian contingent is sent to the Lacedaemonian fleet in Asia, VII. xxxvi. 1; Sicilian ships in the fleet destined for Euobea, VIII. xcl. 2.

Sicyonians, defeated by the Athenians, I. cvii. 8; cxi. 2; aid the Megarians to revolt, I. cxxiv. 1; furnish ships to the Lacedaemonians, II. ix. 3; prepare ships for the Lacedaemonian invasion of Acarnania, II. lxxx. 3; with Brasidas at Megara, IV. lxx. 1; attacked by Demosthenes, IV. c. 3, 4; aid in preventing Alcibiades’ plan for fortifying Rhium, v. iii. 3; join in the invasion of Argolis, V. lvii.-lx.; a more oligarchical form of government established there by the Lacedaemonians, v. lxxi. 2; send troops to Sicily, VII. xix. 4; Iv. 3; contribute ships to the Lacedaemonian fleet, VIII. iii. 2.

Sidusia, a fort in Erythraean territory, VIII. xxiv. 2.

Sigelum, on the Hellespont, VIII. cl. 5, “Silver plow-share,” V. xvi. 2.

Simaethus, a river in Sicily, VI. lxv. 1.

Simonides, an Athenian general, IV. vii.

Simon, one of the founders of Himera, VI. v. 1.

Singuas, of Singus, in Sichonia, V. xviii. 6.

451
INDEX

Antilant, a people on the borders of Macedonia, II. xviii. 1.

Alpheus, port of Thespie, in Boeotia, plan to betray it, IV. lxxvi. 3; lxxvii.; failure of the plot, IV. lxxxix., ch. 3.

Aristocles, King of the Odrusians, ally of the Athenians, II. xxix.; expedition against Perdiccas, II. xcv.-cl.; dies and is succeeded by Seuthes, IV. cl.

Six Hundred, the council at Elis, v. xlvii. 9.

Socrates, an Athenian commander, II. xcviii. 2.

Sollium, a Corinthian town, taken by the Athenians, II. xxx. 1; Demosthenes stops there on his way to Astollia, III. xcv. 1; not recovered for the Corinthians, V. xxxii. 7.

Seleucus, a Phoenician settlement in Sicily, VI. ii. 6.

Solygela, a village in Corinthian territory, IV. xlix. 2; xlviii. i. 4.

Sophocles, son of Sostratus, an Athenian commander, III. cvv. 5; sent with Eurymedon to Sicily, IV. ii. 2; proceeds with Eurymedon to Corcyra, IV. xlvii. 1; exiled, IV. lxv. 3.

Sparta. (See Lacedaemon.)

Spartanus, in Bottica, Athenians defeated there, II. Ixxix. 2; provision respecting it in the treaty, V. xlvii. 5.


Sphacteria, island off Pylos, occupied by the Lacedaemonians, IV. viii.; blockaded by the Athenians, IV. xiv. 5; xxxvi.; successful attack upon, IV. xxx.-xxxix.; the calamity in Sphacteria the severest Sparta had ever experienced, V. xiv. 5; restoration of the prisoners taken there, V. xlvii. 2; these disfranchised at Sparta, V. xxxiv. 2.

Stages, a lieutenant of Timarchus.

Stageira, in Chalcis, an Attic colony, revolts from Athens, IV. lxxvii. 2; attacked unsuccessfully by Cleon, V. vi. 1; treaty provision respecting, V. xlvii. 5.

Stesagoras, a Samian commander, I. cxvi. 3.

Sthenelaidas, a Spartan ephor, I. cxv. 3; his speech, I. cxxxvi.

Sitolus, treaty provision respecting, V. xlvii. 5.

Stratocles, a Lacedaemonian envoy to the King, put to death, II. xlvii. 1.

Stratonice, sister of Perdiccas, wife of Seuthes, II. cl. 6.

Strymon, in Acanthus, II. lxxiii. 8; defeats the Chaonians, II. lxxiii. 5; certain Stratians expelled by the Athenians, II. cl. 1; the Peloponnesians on their way to Olpe pass Strymon, III. civ.

Strephus, in Mygdonia, I. lxii. 4.
INDEX

Strombichides, an Athenian commander sent against Chloe, VIII. xv. 1; avoids fight with Chalcides, VIII. xvi. 1, 2; too late to prevent revolt at Miletus, VIII. xvii. 3; sent to Chloe, VIII. xxx.; fails to recover Abydus, VIII. ixii. 3; 6b; returns to Samos, VIII. lxiv. 6.

Strongyle, one of the Aeolian Islands, II. lxxxvii. 2.

Strophocaus, a friend of Brasidas in Thessaly, IV. lxxviii. 1.

Strymon, a river in Thrace, I. c. 2; II. xxvii. 3; xix. 3; IV. cii. 1, 4; ciii. 4; cvii. 1, 6; VII. li. 1; rises in Mt. Scambrus, II. xxix. 3; lake formed by it, V. vii. 4.

Styphon, one of the Lacedaemonian commanders at Sphacteria, IV. xxxvii. 1.

Styrmans, a people of Euboia, VIII. lvii. 4.

Sumbium, promontory in Attica, VII. xxvii. 1; VIII. iv.; xciv. 1.

Syracuse, a river in Italy, VII. xxxv. 1.

Sybota, (1) islands off Thesprotia, I. xiv. 1; liv. 1; (2) a harbour in Thesprotia, I. i. 3; iii. 1; liv. 1; III. lxxvi.

Syne, in Epipolae, VI. xcivii. 2.

Syme, island between Rhodes and Chios, VIII. xii. 4.

Synoecia, a festival, II. xv. 2.

Syvocoon, at war with Leontini, III. lxxxvi. 2; Syracusans defeat the Athenians, III. cii. 2; cause Messene to revolt, IV. i. 1; attack the Rhigians, IV. xxiv., xxv.; hand over Morgantina to the Camarinesans, IV. lxxv. 1; aid the oligarchs at Leontini, V. iv.; Syracuse founded from Corinth by Archias, VI. viii. 2; mothercity of various places in Sicily, VI. v.; equal in size and resources to Athens, VI. xx.; VII. xxxviii.; at the news of the coming Athenian expedition, the Syracusans first doubt, then prepare, VI. xxxii. 3; xii., xiv.; the Athenians sail to Syracuse, then return to Catana, VI. i.-iii.; the Athenians entice them to Catana to cover their landing at Syracuse, VI. lixiv., lxv.; defeated by the Athenians, VI. lxvi.-lxvii.; encouraged by Hermocrates, VI. lxvii.; send envoys to the Peloponnesians, VI. lxviii.; extend their walls, and send envoys to Camarina, VI. lxv.; promised aid by the Corinthians, VI. lxxviii.; the Lacedaemonians appoint Gyippus to command the Syracusan forces, VI. xciii.; the Syracusans make some resistance to the Athenians near Megara and at the river Terias, VI. xciv.; defeated on Epipolae, VI. xcvi.; receive another check, and their counter-wall is destroyed, VI. xcviii.; again defeated, VI. cx.; repulsed in an attack on Epipolae, VI. cii.; negotiate with Nicias, VI. ciii.; change commanders, and are on the point of capitulating, VII. ii. 2; hear of Gyippus’ approach and go out to meet him, VII. ii. 3; take Labadus, VIII. iii. 4; build a counter-wall, VII. iv. 1; fall in an attack, VII. v.; defeat the Athenians and carry their wall past the Athenian line, VII. vi.; begin to form a navy, VII. vii. 4; xli., xlii.; sea-fight in the Great Harbour; defeated, but capture Plemmyrium, VII. xxii., xxiii.; scatter an Athenian supply fleet, VII. xxv. 1, 2; skirmish in the Great Harbour, VII. xxv. 5; send envoys to the Sicilian cities, VII. xxv. 9; Sicilian reinforcements arrive, VII. xxxiii. 1; prepare for sea-fight, VII. xxxvii.; engagement indecisive, VII. xxxviii.; rise to deceive the Athenians, VII. xxxix.; Syracusan victorious, VII. xl., xli.; confident of success, VII. xlii. 4; spirits dashed by Demosthenes’ arrival, VII. xliii. 1; defeat the Athenians in a night-battle on Epipolae, VII. xiii.-xiv.; a party of the Syracusans willing to come to terms with the Athenians, VII. xlvii. 1; the Syracusans attack by sea and land, VII. ii.-liv.; encouraged by their success, VII. lvi.; enumeration of the Syra-
Teanus, a promontory in Laconia, temple of Poseidon there, i. cxxxviii. 1; cxcviii. 1; curse of Teanus, i. cxxviii. 1; vii. xix. 4.

Tamos, a Persian, lieutenant of Tissaphernes, viii. cxxii. 5; lxxxvii. 1, 3.

Tanaatra, victory of the Lacedaemonians over the Athenians there, i. cvii.; cvii. 1; its walls raised by the Athenians, i. cvii. 2; the Tanagraeans defeated by the Athenians, iii. xci. 5; Boeotians gather there, iv. xci. 1; the Tanagraeans on the left wing in the battle of Delium, iv. ccxi. 4; the Boeotians return to Tanagra after the battle, iv. ccxvii. 1; Tanagra ravaged by Thracians under Dictriphes, viii. xxix.

Tantau, a Lacedaemonian governor of Thyrea, iv. lvii. 3.

Tarentum, hostile to the Athenians, vi. lxxxiv. 4, 5; lxiv. 2; civ. 2; Tarentum ships in the Lacedaemonian fleet intended for Euboea, viii. xci. 2.

Tastantios, of Ilyria, i. xxiv. 1.

Taurus, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the one year truce, iv. ccxii. 2.

Tegea, the Tegeans fight with the Mantineans at Lacedeemum, iv. cxxiv.; refuse to join the Argive alliance, v. xxxii. 1; take part in the Lacedaemonian expedition against Argos, v. lvii. 1; about to be attacked by the Argives, v. lxxii. 2; Tegea occupied by the Lacedaemonians, v. lxiv. 1; Tegeans on the right wing at Mantinea, v. lxvii-lxxiv.; the Lacedaemonian dead buried at Tegea, v. lxxxiv. 2; Lacedaemonian reinforcements under Pleistoonax get as far as Tegea, v. lxxiv. 1; the Lacedaemonians negotiate with the Argives from Tegea, v. lxxxvi. 1; lxxxvii.

Teichium, in Aetolia, iii. cxxvi. 2.

Teichiusa, a town in Misenian territory, vii. cxxxi. 3; cxxvii. 1.

Telsamenus, a Trachinian envoy to Lacedaemon, iii. ccxi. 2.

Telsander, an Aetolian envoy, iii. c. 1.

Teias, an Athenian commander at Melos, v. lxxxiv. 3.

Tellis, a Syracusan general, vi. ciii. 4.

Tellis, a Lacedaemonian, father of Brasidas, swears to the treaty of peace, vi. xix., xxiv.

Temeniadae, ancestors of the Macedonian kings, ii. cxxiv. 3.

Temenites, on Epipolae, vii. iii. 3; shrine of Apollo Temenites, vi. lxxv. 1; cxxv. 3; c. 2.

Tenedos, colonized from Boeotia (vii. lvii. 8); warns the Athenians of the Lesbian revolt, iii. ii. 1; Mytilenean prisoners placed there, iii. cxxvii. 2; cxxvii. 1; subject ally of Athens, vii. lvii. 5.

Tinos, one of the Cyclades; the Teneans subject allies of Athens, vii. lvii. 4; Tenians in the service of the oligarchs at Athens, viii. lxx. 3.

Teos, captives there butchered by Alcidas, iii. cxxii. 1; revolts from Athens, viii. xvi.; xix. 3; agrees to neutrality with the Athenians, viii. xx. 2.

Teres, King of the Odrysians, ii. cxxix.; lxvii. 1; xvii. 1.

Tereus, King of Daulia, in Phocis, ii. cxxix. 3.

Terias, a river in Sicily, vi. i. 2; lxiv. 2.
INDEX

Terraesean Gulf, in Southern Italy, vi. civ. 2.
Tessaracce, a Chian colon, viii. cl. 2.
Teuttiplas, an Elean; his speech, III. xxx.
Teuthius, an island near Rhodes, viii. xiii. 4.
Thapsus, near Syracuse, colonized by
Lamis from Megara, vi. lv. 1; vi. xviii. 1; xclx. 4; cl. 3; cli. 3; vii. xlix. 2.
Thryps, king of the Molossians, ii. lxxxv. 6.
Thrace, a Parian colony, revolts from
Athena, i. c. 2; invites the Lacedaeomians to invade Attica, I. cl. 1; subdued, ibid.; Thucydides
at Thasos, iv. clv. 4; cv. 1; mother city of Galepas and Oeyme, IV. xviii. 3; v. vi. 1; government
changed by the oligarchical conspirators at Samos, VIII. lxiv. 2; prepares to revolt, VIII. lxxv. 4.
Thrasymnestes, a Platanean diviner,
suggests plan of breaking out of
Plataea, III. xx. 1.
Thasus, tyrant of Megara, father
in-law of Cylon, I. cxxvi. 3, 4.
Thebes, aids Corinth against the
Corcyraeans at Epidamnus, I. xxvii. 2; once friendly to Persia,
I. x. 2; III. lvi. 4; IV. xvii. 5; lxxii. Thesbians surprise Platane in time of peace, II. ii. (cf. III. lvi. 2; VII. xviii. 9); are
defeated, II. iii.; surrender, II. iv.; send reinforcements, II. v. 1; come to terms, ibid.; their speech
against the Plataeans, III. lxxiv. li.; raise Plataea, III. lxxv. 2; defeated by the Athenians at Tanagra, III. xcii. 5; Thebans on the right wing at Delium, IV. xcvii. 4; dismantle the walls at Thebians, IV. cxxviii.; suppress a rising at Thebians, VI. xvii.; send aid to
Syracuse, VII. xix. 5; pursue the Thracians after the sack of
Mycalee, VII. xxx.
Themistocles, founder of the Athenian naval power, I. xiv. 2; xciii.; victor at Salamis, I. lxxiv.; honoured at Sparta, ibid.; outwits the Lacedaeomians about the
walls at Athens, I. xii., xcl.; founder of the Peiraecus, I. xcii.; implicated in the murder of
Pausanias, I. cxxv. 2; estranged, I. cxxv. 3; takes refuge with
Admetus, I. cxxvi.; flees to Ephesus, I. cxxvii.; letter to
Xenooe, I. cxxvii. 4; goes to the Persian court, I. cxxvii. 2; characterization, ibid.; dies, I. cxxvii. 4; the King's gifts to him, I. cxxvii. 5; buried in Attica, ibid.
Theor, a magistracy at Mantinea,
v. xlviii. 9.
Thera, one of the Cyclades, not allied
to Athens, II. ix. 4.
Theramenes, a leader in the oligarchical revolution at Athens, VII. lxxv. 4; forms moderate party
within the oligarchy, VIII. lxxix., xc. 3; xcl.; instigates the soldiers to destroy the fort at Eteoneia,
VIII. xcvii.
Therimnes, a Lacedaemonian admiral, brings reinforcements to
Astyocheus, VIII. xcvii. 1; xcvii. 2; persuaded by Alcibiades to go to the relief of Miletus, VIII. xcvii. 5; xcvii. 1; xcvii. 1; negotiates treaty with the King,
VIII. xcvii. 2; xcvii. 1; lost at sea, VIII. xcvii. 1.
Thermos, in Macedonia, taken by the
Athenians, I. lxi. 2; restored to
Pericles, II. xxix. 6.
Thermion, a Spartan commander, sent by Agis to Peiraecus, VIII. xi. 2.
Thermopylae, II. cl. 2; III. xcvii. 6; the battle compared to that at
Sphacteria, IV. xcvii. 3.
Theseus, unites the Attic communes
into one city, II. xv. 2; Theseum
at Athens, VI. lxii. 2.
Thesmophylaces, Guardians of the
Law, a magistracy at Elis, v. xivii. 9.
Theseus, in Boeotia, V. lxxvi. 3;,Thespians fight at Delium against the Athenians, IV. xcvii. 4; their walls dismantled, IV. cxxvii. 1; sedition of, VI. xcvii. 2; Thespian
hoplites on the way to Syracuse,
VII. xcvii.
Theseus, I. xcvii. 3; xlvii. 4; l. 3; II. lxxxv. 5.
INDEX

Thumelus, brother of Hippias, I. xxii. 2; vi. iv. 1.
Thumlus, fertile, I. ii. 3; in early times the Thumelians drive the Bœotians from Argo, I. xii. 3; allies of Athens, I. cii. 4; desert the Athenians at Tanagra, I. civ. 7; Athenians make an expedition thither, I. cxi.; assist the Athenians in the first invasion of Attica, II. xxii. 3; alarmed at the expedition of Sitalces, II. ci. 2; make war on Heraclea, III. xxiii. 2; V. ii. 1; traversed by Brasidas, IV. ixviii.; under a dynasty of powerful men, 464; refuse passage to Rhampissis, v. xiii.; anger with Agis for extorting money from the Achaeans of Ptilia, VIII. iii. 3.

Thoricus, in Attica, VIII. xcv. 1.
Thousand Argives, the, a select force trained at state expense, V. lxvii. 1; lxvii. 1; lxviii. 1.

Thrace, gold mines in, I. c. 2; IV. cv. 1; the Thracians destroy the Athenian colonists of Kamea Hodoi, I. c. 2; IV. cii. 2; march under Sitalces against Perdiccas, II. xxv. - ci.; the Thracians prefer receiving to giving, II. xvii. 4; Thracian mercenaries in Athenian service at Mende, IV. cxxix. 2; Thracians asked for aid by Cleon, v. vi. 2; Thracian mercenaries with Brasidas, 464; Thracians sack Mysia, VII. xxvii. 1; xxx.

Thracians, the Bithynian, in Asia, IV. ixv. 2.

Thrasylus, one of the steadiest opponents of the oligarchs at Athens, VIII. Ixxxiii. 4; persuades the army and the Samians to swear allegiance to the democracy, VIII. Ixxxv.; elected general, VIII. Ixxxvi.; secures recall of Alcibiades by the army, VIII. Ixxxi. 1; sails against Ereus, VIII. c. 4; aids Thrasylus at Cynossema, VIII. civ., cv.

Thrasylus, a steady opponent of the oligarchs at Athens, VIII. Ixxxiii. 4; gets allegiance sworn to the democracy, VIII. Ixxxv.; elected general with Thrasylus, VIII. Ixxvi.; follows Mindauros to Chios, VIII. c.; defeats him off Cynossema, VIII. civ., cv.

Thrasymelidas, an Argive general, makes terms with Agis, v. ix. 4; ix. 6; attacked by the Argives, 464.

Thrasymelidas, a Spartan admiral at Pylos, IV. vi. 2.

Thria, in Attica, I. cxiv. 2; II. xix. 2; xx. 3; xxxi. 1.

Thronium, in Locris, II. xxvii.

Thucydis, founder of Naos in Sicily, VI. iii. 1; of Leontini and Catana, VI. iii. 3.

Thucydides, son of Glaucus: motives for writing his history, I. 1; its truthfulness, I. xxvii. - xcviii.; V. xxvi. 5; the speeches only generally accurate, I. xcvii. 1; "a possession for all time," I. xcvii. 4; reasons for describing the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, I. xcvii.; attacked by the plague, II. xviii. 5; general on the coast of Thrace, IV. civ. 4; worked gold mines there, IV. cv. 1; arrives at Eion, but fails to save Amphipolis, IV. cve.; reputed Brasidas from Eion, IV. civ. 1; reasons for reckoning by months, V. xx.; exiled, V xxvi. 5; lived throughout the war, 464.

Thucydides, an Athenian commander, at Samos, I. cxvii. 2.

Thucydides, Athenian proconsul at Pharsalus, VIII. xcvii. 8; helps to prevent the panic after the destruction of Kétionea, 464.

Thuris, in Laconia, I. c. 2.

Thurii, in Italy: Alcibiades conceals himself there, VI. lxi. 6, 7; lxxvi. 2; refuses to receive Gylippus, VI. civ. 2; exerts the anti-Athenian party, VII. xcvii.; aids Demosthenes, VII. xxxv. 1; allies of the Athenians before Syracuse, VII. lvii. 11; sends ships to the Peloponnesian fleet in Asia, VIII. xxxv. 1; lxxi. 2; their sailors mostly freemen, and demand full
pay from Tissaphernes, viii. lxxiv. 2.
Thamis or Thamisus, a river on the border of Thessaly and Macedonia, i. xlv. 4.
Thamis, Mt., in Aetolia, iii. cvl. 5.
Thymochares, an Athenian commander, viii. xcv. 2.
Thyrea, in Laconia, given to the expelled Aeginetans by the Lacedaemonians, ii. xxvii. 2; ravaged by the Athenians, iv. lvi. 2; ivii. 3; stipulation with regard to Thyrreus inserted in the Argives in their treaty with Lacedaemon, v. xii. 2; invaded by the Argives, vii. xcv.
Thyssus, a city in Arcadia, iv. cix. 3; taken by the Dionysiac, v. xxxv. 1.
Thileas, a Thracian tribe, ii. xcvl. 4.
Timagoras, a Cyzicene exile at the court of Pharnabazus, goes as emissary of Pharnabazus to Lacedaemon, vii. vi. 1.
Timagoras, a Tarsian envoy to Persia, ii. lxxvi.
Timanor, a Corinthian naval commander, i. xxix. 2.
Timocrates, an Athenian, swears to the treaty of peace, v. xiv. xxiv.
Timocrates, a Lacedaemonian, sent as adviser to Cnaus, ii. lxxxi. 1; kills himself, ii. xcvii. 3.
Timoxenus, an Athenian commander, ii. xxxiii. 1.
Tissaphernes, a Trachinian envoy to Sparta, iii. xcvii. 2.
Tissaphernes, Persian military governor of the coast lands of Asia, sends envoy with the Chian to Sparta, vii. v. 4; intrigues with, vii. v. 3; negotiates a treaty between Sparta and the King, viii. xvii. 4; xviii.; demolishes a fort at Teos, vii. xx. 2; present with cavalry at the battle before Miletus, viii. xxv. 2; persuades the Lacedaemonians to go against Issus, viii. xxviii. 2; reduces the pay of the fleet, viii. xxix.; causes Caldos to revolt, viii. xxxv. 1; makes a second treaty with the Lacedaemonians, viii. xxxvii.; offended at Icchae's objections, he goes away, viii. xliii. 4; balances Lacedaemonians and Athenians against one another, viii. xiv., xlvii.; inclined to follow Alcibiades' advice, vii. iii.; persuaded by Alcibiades, he makes impossible demands of Pausanias, vii. iv.; makes third treaty with the Lacedaemonians, vii. iv.; more ready to fulfill his engagements, viii. ii.; his dilatory conduct complained of by the fleet, viii. lxxviii.; lxxx. 4; becomes more hateful to the Lacedaemonian fleet, viii. lxxixii.; his garrison in Miletus driven out, viii. lxxxiv. 4; sends complaint to Sparta against the Milesians, viii. lxxv. 1; his malignity against Hermocrates, viii. lxxxv.; goes to fetch the Phoenician ships, but does not bring them, viii. lxxxv.; sets off for Ionia, viii. xviii. 3; starts for the Hellespont to remonstrate with the Lacedaemonians, vii. cix.; goes to Ephesus to offer sacrifice to Artemis, ivth.
Tlepolemus, colleague of Pericles, at Samos, i. cxvii. 3.
Tolmæides, an Athenian, commands expedition round the Peloponnesus, i. cvii. 6; leads expedition against Boeotia, i. cxvii.; defeated at Coronea.
Tolophonians, an Oscan Locran tribe, iii. c. 2.
Tolophonos, an Aetolian envoy to Corinth, iii. c. 1.
Tomeus, Mt., near Pylos, iv. cxxviii. 4.
Toreno, in Chalcidice, taken by Brasidas, iv. ex.-cxiv.; watched over by Brasidas, iv. cxxvii. 1; entrusted to Pausanias, iv. cxxvii. 3; retaken by the Athenians, v. ii. iii.; provision in the treaty respecting it, v. xviii. 8.
Teryxias, a friend of Brasidas in Thessaly, iv. lxxviii. 1.
Trachinians, a Malian tribe, iii. xcvii. 1.
Tragis, an island off Samos, i. cxvi. 1.
Triones, a Trachian tribe, ii. xcvii. 1.
INDEX

Triballi, a Thracian tribe, II. xcvi. 4; IV. cli. 5.

Trinacria, ancient name of Sicily, VI. ii. 2.

Triopium, promontory of Cnidus, VIII. xxxv. 3, 4; ix. 3.

Tripod at Delphi, dedicated as a memorial of the Persian war, I. cxxxiil. 2; III. lvili. 2.

Tripodiscus, in Megara, IV. lxx.

Triteanes, an Ozolian Locrian tribe, III. cl. 2.

Troezen, in the Peloponnesus, ally of the Corinthians, I. xxviiil. 2; restored by the Athenians under the thirty years peace, I. cxvili. 1; ravaged by the Athenians, II. lvi. 5; its restitution demanded by Cleon, IV. xxii. 3; the Athenians raid it from Methone, IV. ivl. 2; furnishes ships to the Lacedaemonian fleet, VIII. iii. 2.

Trogilus, near Syracuse, VI. xcll. 1; VIII. il. 5.

Trojan colonists in Sicily, v. ii. 3; took, together with the Sicanians, the name of Elymi, ibi.

Trotillus, founded from Megara by Lamis, VI. iv. 1.

Twelve Gods, altar of, in Athenian Agora, VI. liv. 6.

Tydeus, a Chian, executed on a charge of conspiracy with the Athenians, VIII. xxvillii. 3.

Tyrtaeus, oath of Helen's suitors to him, I. ix. 1.

Tyrants in Hellas: Anaxilas of Rhegium, VI. iv. 6; Evarchus of Astacus, II. xxx. 1; xxvillii. 1, 2; Hippocles of Lampsacus, VI. lix. 3; Hippocrates of Gela, VI. v. 3; the Peisistratidæ at Athens, I. xx.; VI. liii. 3-liv. 4; Polycrates of Samos, I. xlii. 6; III. civ. 2.

Tyrrehenia (Etruria), the Tyrrenhians friendly to Athens, VI. lxxxvili. 6; aid the Athenians, VI. ciiil. 2; VII. liii. 2; liv.; livil. 11.

Tyrrenian Gulf, VI. lxiiil. 2; VII. lviii. 2; Tyrrenian Sea, IV. xxvill. 5.

Tyrrenians, the old Pelasgian inhabitants of Lemnos and Athens, IV. cix. 4.

Walls of Athens: rebuilding of, after the Persian War, I. xc.-xciiii.; the Long Walls, I. lxix. 1; civili. 1, 4; civili. 3; II. xciil. 7; of the Peiraeus, I. xciiil. II. xciil. 7; of Phalerum, II. xciil. 7.

War: the Peloponnesian, length and greatness of, I. xxvili.; causes of or reasons for the war, I. xxvili. 6-lv. 2; Iv.-lxvil. cvxvili. cxiivil. (cf. I. lxxxviii.) actual commencement of the war, II. i.; ii. 1 (cf. v. xx. 1); preparations and allies of either side, II. viil.-ix.

War, the Persian, I. ivl. 2; xxvili. 3; xxvili. 1; xii. 2; lxvi. 3; lxxxvili., lxxxvili., lxxxlil., lxxxvii., xc. 1; xcil. 8; xcvil. 7; xcvii. 7; cxiivil. 7; VI. lxxvill.; VIII. xxvill.; events of: Marathon, I. xvili. 1; lxxvili. 4; II. xxxvili. 5; VI. lix. 4; Thermopylæ, IV. xxvili. 3; Artemisium, III. liv. 4; Salamis, I. lxvili. 4; cxxvili. 4; Mycale, I. lxxxvili. 2; Platea, I. cxxxvili. 1; III. liv. 4; capture of Byzantium, I. cxxvili. 5; capture of Eion, Scyros, Naxos, I. xxvili.; battle of the Eurymedon, I. c. 1; Persian occupation of Sestus alluded to, VIII. lxiiil. 3; dedication of the tripod at Delphi, I. cxxxiil. 2; III. lvili. 2.

War, the Sacred, I. cxvil. 5.

War, the Trojan, first common enterprise of Hellas, I. iii.; compared to later wars, I. ix.-xi.; reason of its length, I. xi.; changes in Hellas after the return from Troy, I. xii. (cf. II. lxviiii. 3).

Xenares, (1) a Spartan ephor, V. xxxvi. 1; xlvi. 4; favours the war party, V. xxxvi. 1; negotiates with the Boeotians and Corinthians, V. xxxvi.-cxxxvili.; (2) a Lacedaemonian governor of Heraclea, slain in battle, V. li. 2.

Xenocleides, a Corinthian commander, I. xlvi. 2; III. cxvil. 4.

Xenon, a Theban commander, VII. vix. 3.

Xenophon, an Athenian commander,
INDEX

at Potidæa, II. lxx. 1; in Chalcidice, II. lxxix.

Xerxes, his expedition against Hellas, i. xlv. 1; cxviii. 2; III. lvi. 5; letter to Pausanias, I. cxxix.; warned by Themistocles after Salamis, I. cxxxvii. 3.

Zacynthus, the island of, aids the Coreyleans, I. xivii. 2; ally of the Athenians, II. vii. 3; ix. 4; III. xxiv. 1; xcv. 2; VII. lvi. 7; its position, II. lxvi. 1; invaded by the Lacedaemonians, II. lxxx. 1; an Athenian fleet at Zacynthus, IV. viii. 2; xiii. 2; furnishes troops to Demosthenes, VII. xxxi. 2; lvi. 7.

Zeus, God of Freedom, II. lxxxi. 2; Ithomean, I. ciii. 2; the Gracchus, I. cxxvi. 2; Nemean, III. xxvi. 1; Olympian, II. xv. 4; III. xiv. 1; V. xxxi. 2; xlix. 5; I. 1; temples of Zeus: at Athens, II. xv. 4; Coreyra, III. lxvi. 4; Mt. Lycaenum, v. xvi. 8; between Lebedas and Colophon, VIII. xix. 2; Mantinela, v. xivi. 11; Olympia, III. xiv. 1; v. 1. 1.

Zeuxidas, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the treaty of peace, v. xix., xxiv.
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