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THUCYDIDES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY CHARLES FORSTER SMITH
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

IN FOUR VOLUMES
IV

HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR
BOOKS VII AND VIII

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ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ

Ζ

1. 'Ο δὲ Γύλιππος καὶ ὁ Πυθήν ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος, ἔπει ἐπεσκεύασαν τὰς ναύς, παρέπλευσαν ἐς Λοκροὺς τοὺς 'Επιζεφυρίους. καὶ πυθανόμενοι σαφέστερον ἢδη ὅτι οὐ παυτελῶς πω ἀποτετειχισμέναι αἱ Συράκουσαι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἔτι οἶον τε κατὰ τὰς 'Επιπολὰς στρατιὰ ἀφικομένους ἐσελθεῖν, ἐβουλεύοντο εἰτ' ἐν δεξιᾷ λαβόντες τὴν Σικελίαν διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐσπλεύσαι, εἰτ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Ἰμέραν πρῶτον πλεύσαντες καὶ αὐτούς τε ἐκείνους καὶ στρατιὰν ἀλλήν προσλαβόντες, οὐς ἀν πείθωσι, κατὰ γῆν ἐλθόσιν.

2 καὶ ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰμέρας πλείν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων νεῶν οὐπω παρουσῶν ἐν τῷ Ὁρηγῷ, ὅσοι ὁ Νικίας ὄμως, πυθανόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἐν Δοκροῖς εἶναι, ἀπεστειλεν. φθάσαντες δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην περαιοῦνται διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ, καὶ σχόντες Ὁρηγῷ καὶ Μεσσήνῃ ἀφικοινύνται ἐς Ἰμέραν.

3 ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄντες τούς τε Ἰμεραίους ἐπεσαυν ἐνυμπολεμεῖν, 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).
θουν σφετέρων ναύταις οὕτωι μή εἶχον ὅπλα παρασχεῖν (τὰς γὰρ ναύς ἀνείλκυσαν ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ), καὶ τοὺς Σελινουντίους πέμψαντες ἐκέλευον ἅπταιν οὖν ὑπόσχοντο στρατιάν ὑπό τίνιν εὐτέρεως τοὺς τόν Σικελῶν τινας, οἱ πολὺ προθυμότερον προσχωρεῖν ἐτοῦμοι ἦσαν τοῦ τε Ἀρχωνίδου νεωστὶ τεθυκότος, ὡς τῶν ταύτης Σικελῶν βασιλεύων τινῶν καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἄδυνατος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλος ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Γυλιπποῦ ἐκ

Δακεδαίμονος προθύμως δοκοῦντος ἥκειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Γυλιππὸς ἀναλαβὼν τόν τε σφετέρων ναυτῶν καὶ ἑπίβατῶν τοὺς ὑπλισμένους ἑπτακοσίους μᾶλιστα, Ἰμεραίους δὲ ὁπλίσας καὶ ψιλοὺς ἐνυμαφότερους χιλίους καὶ ἠπειάς ἐκατον καὶ Σελινουντίων τε τινὰς ψιλοὺς καὶ ἠπειάς καὶ Γελῶν ὀλίγους, Σικελῶν τε ἐς χιλίους τοὺς πάντας, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας.

Π. Οἱ οὖν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος Κορίνθιοι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις ναυσίν ὡς εἶχον τάχως ἐβοήθον καὶ Γογγύλος, εἰς τῶν Κορινθίων ἀρχόντων, μιᾷ νὺν τελευταῖος ὅρμηθείς πρῶτος μὲν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς

τὰς Συρακούσας, ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ Γυλιπποῦ καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου μέλλοντας ἐκκλησιάζεις διεκκώλυσε τε καὶ παρεθάρσυε, λέγων ὅτι νήσες τε ἄλλαι ἔτι προσπλέουσι καὶ Γυλιππὸς ὁ Κλεανθίδου

Δακεδαιμονίων ἀποστελέσαντος ἄρχων, καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἑπερρωστήσαντο τε καὶ τῷ Γυλιππῷ εὐθὺς πανστρατιά ὡς ἀπαντησόμενοι ἐξῆλθον ἢδη γὰρ καὶ ἔγγυς οὖντα ἃσθάνουτο
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
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αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ 'Ιετᾶς ὁ τότε τεῖχος ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ τῶν Σικελίων ἔλων καὶ ξυνταξάμενος ὡς ἐς μάχην
4 ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὰς 'Επιπολάς καὶ ἀναβὰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύήλου, ἥπερ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὸ πρῶτον, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἔτυχε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο καιροῦ ἐλθὼν ἐν ὧδ' ἐπτὰ μὲν ἡ ὁκτὼ σταδίων ἡδή ἐπιετελέστερο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα διπλοῦν τεῖχος, πλὴν κατὰ βραχὺ τι τὸ πρῶς
5 τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦτο δ' ἐτί φύκοδόμουν. τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὸν Τρώγιλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θαλάσσαν λίθοι τε παραβεβλημένοι τῷ πλέον ἡδ' ἦσαν καὶ ἐστὶν ἀ καὶ ἡμέρα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξειργασμένα κατελείπετο. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Συράκουσαι ἠλθον κινδύνου.

III. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι αἰφνιδίως τοῦ τε Γυλίππου καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων σφίσιν ἐπιόντων ἔθορον λήδης χαίρετον μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, παρετάξαντο δὲ. ὁ δὲ θέμενος τὰ ὑπελα ἐγγὺς κήρυκα προσπελμεῖν αὐτῶς λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται ἐξείναι ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πέντε ἡμέροι πάντως τὰ σφέτερα
2 αὐτῶν, ἅτοις εἶναι σπένδεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐν ὅληγορία ὑπονοοῦντο καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινόμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀντιπαρασκευά-
3 ζοῦτο ἄλληλοι ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ ὁ Γυλίππος ὅρὼν τοὺς Συρακοσίους ταρασομένους καὶ οὐ μέγας ἐξοντασσομένους, ἐπανήγε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν μᾶλλον. καὶ ὁ Νικίας οὐκ ἐπιήγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἦσυχαζε πρὸς τῷ

1 'Ιετᾶς, 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 Euryelus, 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 Trogilus 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. xcvii. 2.
² cf. vi. ciii. 1,
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ἐαυτοῦ τείχει. ὡς δ’ ἔγινον ὁ Γύλιππος οὐ προσιόντας αὐτούς, ἀπῆγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκραν τὴν Τεμενίτιν καλομένην καὶ αὐτοῦ

4 ἡνίσαυτο. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραία ἄγων τὴν μὲν πλειστὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς παρέταξε πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν ἄλλοσε, μέρος δὲ τι πέμψας πρὸς τὸ φρούριον τὸ Δάβδαλον αἱρεῖ, καὶ ὅσους ἔλαβεν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπ’ ἐκτεινεν· ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιφανές τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ

5 χωρίον. καὶ τριήρης τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἅλισκεται τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐφορμοῦσα τῷ λιμένι.

IV. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτείχιζον οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχόμενοι ἀνω πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τείχος ἀπλοῦν, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ δύναυτο

2 κωλύσαι, μηκὲτι οἰοί τε ὅσιν ἀποτείχίζει. καὶ οἱ τε Ἀθηναίοι ἀνεβεβήκεσαν ἡδή ἄνω τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τείχος ἐπιτελέσαντες, καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος (ἡν γὰρ τι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς τείχοις ἀσθενέσ) νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆει πρὸς αὐτὸ.

3 οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι (ἐτυχον γὰρ ἔξω αὐλιξόμενοι) ὡς ἥσθοντο, ἀντεπῆσαν· οἱ δὲ γνοὺς κατὰ τὰχος ἀπῆγαγε τοὺς σφετέρους πάλιν. ἐποικοδομήσαντες δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὡς ἠλότερον αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτη ἐφύλασσον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξυμμάχους κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχισμα ἡδη διέταξαν ἢπερ ἐμελλόν ἐκαστὸι φρουρεῖν.

4 Τὸ δὲ Νικία ἐδόκει τὸ Πλημμύριον 1 καλοῦμενον τείχισαι· ἐστὶ δὲ ἀκρα 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.

Nicias determined also to fortify the place called Plemmyrium, a headland opposite the city, which
"θ'περ προύχουσα τού μεγάλου λιμένος το στόμα σπενδιν ποιεύ, καὶ εἰ τειχισθείη, βῶν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο ἡ ἐσκομιδὴ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσεσθαι: δι' ἔλασσονος γὰρ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι τῷ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐφορμήσειν σφᾶς, καὶ οὗχ ὤσπερ νῦν ἐκ μυχοῦ τοῦ λιμένος τὰς ἐπαναγωγὰς ποιήσεσθαι, ἴμ τι ναυτικῷ κινῶνται. προσείχε τε ἦδη μᾶλλον τῷ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολέμῳ, ὅρων τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφίσιν, ἐπειδὴ Γυλιππος ἤκειν,

5 ἀνεπιστότερα οὕτα. διακομίσας οὖν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξετείχισε τρία φρούρια καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ σκήνη τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκεῖτο καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἦδη ἐκεῖ τὰ μεγάλα ὁρμεῖ καὶ αἱ ταχεῖαι νῆς. ὡστε καὶ τῶν πληρωμάτων οὐχ ἤκιστα τότε πρῶτον κάκωσις ἐγένετο τῷ τῇ γὰρ ὑδατὶ σπανίῳ χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐγχύθεν, καὶ ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ἁμα ὡπότε ἐξελθοιεν οἱ ναῦται, ὡπὸ τῶν ἰππεῶν τῶν Συρακοσίων κρατοῦντων τῆς γῆς διεφθειροντο. τρίτον γὰρ μέρος τῶν ἰππέων τοῖς Συρακοσίοις διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ, ἁμα μὴ κακουργήσουσε ξίλοιεν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν

7 τῷ Ὀλυμπιείῳ πολίχυν ἐτετάχατο. ἐπυνθάνετο δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Κορινθίων ναύς προσπλεούσας ο Ἡνίας καὶ πέμπει εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν εἰκοσι ναῦς, αἰτι εἰρητο περί τε Δοκρού καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν τῆς Σικελίας ναυλογενείν αὐτᾶς.

V. Ὅ δὲ Γυλιππος ἁμα μὲν ἐτείχιζε τὸ διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τεῖχος, τοῖς λίθοις χρώμενοι οὕς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσπαρεβάλοντο σφίσιν, ἁμα δὲ παρέτασεν ἕξαγων αἰεὶ πρὸ τοῦ τειχίσματος

10
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 Loeri, 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

2 Ἀθηναίοι ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔδοξε
tῷ Γυλιππῷ καὶ ἔρχετο τῆς ἐφόδου
cαὶ ἐν χερσὶ γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο μεταξὺ τῶν
tειχισμάτων, ἡ τῆς ἱπποῦ τῶν Συρακοσίων

3 οὐδεμία χρήσις ἦν. καὶ νικηθέντων τῶν Συρα-
κοσίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ νεκροὺς ὑπο-

στὸν βόος ἀνελομένοι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τροπαῖων

στησάσσων, ὁ Γυλιππὸς ξυγκαλέσας τὸ στρά-
tευμα ὧκ ἐφὶ τοῦ ἀμάρτημα ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ἔαυτοῦ

γενέσθαι: τῆς ἱπποῦ καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν
tῆς ὀφελίαν τῇ τάξει, ἐντὸς λιων τῶν τειχῶν
ποιῆσας, ἀφελέσθαι: νῦν οὖν αὐθίς ἐπάξειν.

καὶ διανοεῖσθαι οὕτως ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὡς τῇ

μὲν παρασκευῆς ὧκ ἑλασσον ἔξονται, τῇ δὲ

γνώμη ὧκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ἀξιώσουσι

Πελοποννήσιοι τε ὄντες καὶ Δωρίης Ἰώνων καὶ

ησιωτῶν καὶ ξυγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων κρατήσαντες

ἐξελάσσεσθαι έκ τῆς χώρας.

VI. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπίθηκας ἦν, αὐθίς

εἶπεν αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ Νικίας καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι

νομίζοντες, καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἐθέλοιεν, μάχης

ἀρχεῖν, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σφίσι μὴ περιορῶν

παροικοδομοῦμενον τὸ τείχος (ἡδὲ γὰρ καὶ ὅσον

οὐ παρεληλύθει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ τείχους
tελευτὴν ἢ ἐκείνων τείχισις, καὶ εἰ παρέλθοι, ταὐ-
tῶν ἡδὲ ἐποίει αὐτοῖς νικᾶν τε μαχομένους διὰ

παντὸς καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι), ἀντεπῆσαν οὖν τοῖς

2 Συρακοσίοις. καὶ ὁ Γυλιππὸς τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας
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 Gylippus 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, Gylippus 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 Gylippus, leading forth his hoplites more outside
ἐξω τῶν τειχῶν μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον προαγαγὼν ξυνέμισεν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δ’ ἵππεας καὶ τοὺς ἄκοντιστας ἢ πλαγίου τάξας τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, ἢ τῶν τειχῶν ἀμφοτέρων
3 αἰ ἐργασίαι ἐληγον. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ ἰππῆς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπερ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἦν, ἔτρεψαν· καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα νικηθέν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων
4 κατηράχθη ἐς τὰ τειχίσματα. καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐφθασαν παροικοδομήσαντες καὶ παρελθόντες τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκοδομίας, ὡστε μηκέτι μὴτε αὐτοὶ κωλύεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπεστερηκέναι, εἰ καὶ κρατοῦν, μὴ ἂν ἔτι σφᾶς ἀποτείχίσαι.

VII. Μετά δὲ τοῦτο αἰ τε τῶν Κορινθίων νῆς καὶ Ἀμπρακιώτων καὶ Λευκάδιων ἐσέπλευσαν αἱ υπόλοιποι δώδεκα, λαθοῦσα τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων βυζανίαν (Ἡρακλ. ἐς αὐτῶν Ἐρασινίδης Κορίνθιος), καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰσέβαλεν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. 2 του ἐγκαρσίου τείχους. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐς τὴν ἀλλήν Σικελίαν ἐπὶ στρατιάν τε φιλοτε καὶ ναυτικὴ καὶ πεζική ξυλλέξων, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀμα προσαξόμενοι εἰ τις ἡ μῆ πρόθυμος ἢν ἢ παντα-
3 πασιν ἐτὶ ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέμου. πρέσβεις τε ἄλλοι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἔς Δακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀπεστάλησαν, ὅπως στρατιὰ ἐτὶ περαιώθη τρόπῳ ὦ ἄν ἐν ὀλκάσιν ἢ πλοῖοις ἢ ἀλλως ὀπωσοῦν προχωρῆ, ὡς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
4 ἐπιμεταπεμπομένων. οἱ τε Συρακόσιοι ναυτικὸν

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1 μέχρι, before τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου in MSS., is deleted by Holm.

1 cf. ch. ii. 7; iv. 7; also vi. civ. 1.
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, 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 Gylippus 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
ἐπιθύμουν καὶ ἀνεπειρόντω ὡς καὶ τούτῳ ἐπι-
χειρίσοντες, καὶ ἐσ τάλλα πολὺ ἐπέρρωντο.

VIII. Ὅ δὲ Νικίας αἰσθάμενος τούτῳ καὶ ὅρῳν
κἀθ’ ἠμέραν ἐπιδιδόσαν τὴν τε τῶν πολεμίων
ἰσχύν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἀπορίαν, ἐπεμπὲ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐσ τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἀγγέλλων πολλάκις μὲν καὶ
ἀλλοτε κἀθ’ ἐκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων, μάλιστα δὲ
καὶ τότε, νομίζων ἐν δεινοὶς τε εἰναι καὶ, εἰ μὴ ὡς
τάχιστα ἡ σφᾶς μεταπέμψονσιν ἢ ἄλλους μὴ
ὁλίγους ἀποστελοῦσιν, οὐδεμίαν εἰναι σωτηρίαν.

2 φοβοῦμενος δὲ μὴ οἱ πεμπόμενοι ἡ κατὰ τοῦ
λέγειν ἀδυνασίαν ἡ καὶ μνήμης ἡ ἐλλιπεῖς γενό-
μενοι ἡ τῶ ὁχλῳ πρὸς χάριν τι λέγομεν οὐ τὰ
ὀντα ἀπαγγείλωσιν, ἐγραψεν ἐπιστολήν, νομίζων
οὕτως ἄν μάλιστα τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην μὴ ἔν τῷ
ἀγγέλῳ ἀφανισθείσαν μαθόντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
3 βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν
ψχοντο φέροντες οὗσ ἐπέστειλε τὰ γράμματα καὶ
όσα ἔδει αὐτοὺς εἶπεῖν· ὁ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἡδὴ ἐχων ἢ δ’ ἐκουσίων
κινδύνων ἐπεμέλετο.

IX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι καὶ Ἐυ-
ετίων στρατηγοῖς Ἀθηναίων μετὰ Περδίκκου στρα-
τεύσας ἐπ’ Ἀμφίπολιν Ὀμαξί πολλοῖς τῇ μὲν
πόλιν οὐχ εἶλεν, ἐς δὲ τῶν Στρυμόνα περικομίσας
τρίηρεις ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπολιορκεῖ ὀρμώμενος ἐξ
Ἰμεραίου. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα τοῦτο.

X. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἦκοντες ἐς
τὰς Ἀθηναίας οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νικίου ὁσα τε ἀπὸ
γλώσσης εἰρητο αὐτοῖς εἴπον καὶ εἰ τὶς τι ἐπηρώτα

1 With BH, the other MSS. γνώμης.
2 So MSS., Hude writes ὃς, 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 Eutition, 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 γνώμης, "from want of intelligence."
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ἀπεκρίνοντο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδοσαν. ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως παρελθὼς ἀνέγυμω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δηλοῦσαν τοιάδε.

XI. "Τὰ μὲν πρότερον πραχθέντα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἵστε· νῦν δὲ καιρὸς ὦν ἡσυχαῖος ὑμᾶς ἐν οἷς ἐσμέν

2 Βουλεύσασθαι. κρατησάντων γὰρ ἡμῶν μάχαις ταῖς πλείοσι Συρακοσίοις ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέμφθημεν καὶ τὰ τείχη οἰκοδομησάμενοι ἐν οἴσπερ νῦν ἐσμέν, ἢλθε Γύλιππος Δακεδαιμόνιος στρατιὰν ἐχὼν ἐκ τε Πελοποννήσου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελία πόλεων ἔστιν ὄν. καὶ μάχη τῇ μὲν πρῶτῃ νικάται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἰππεύσι τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς βιασθέντες ἀνεχωρήσαμεν εὖ τὰ

3 τείχη. νῦν οὖν ἡμεῖς μὲν πανσάμενοι τοῦ περὶ-τειχισμοῦ διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσυχάζομεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤμυπάση τῇ στρατιᾷ δυναίμεθ' ἣν χρήσασθαι ἀπανηλωκιών τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν τει-χῶν μέρος τι τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ), οἱ δὲ παρὼκοδομήκασιν ἡμῖν τεῖχος ἀπλοῦν, ὡστε μή εἶναι ἐτί περιτείχίσαι αὐτούς, ἢν μή τις τὸ παρατείχισμα τοῦτο πολλῆ στρατιὰ ἐπελθὼν ἐλη. ἧμβεβηκι τε πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἄλλους αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον, ὅσα γε κατὰ γῆν, τοῦτο πᾶσχειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τοὺς ἰππεάς ἐξερ-χόμεθα.

XII. Πεπόμφαι δὲ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον πρέσ-βεις ἐπ' ἄλλην στρατιὰν, καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐν Σικελία πόλεις Γύλιππος οἶχεται, τὰς μὲν καὶ πείσων ἤμυπαλεμεῖν ὅσα νῦν ἡσυχάζωσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ καὶ στρατιὰν πεζῆ καὶ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευῆν,
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 Gylippus, 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 assault this counter-wall 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 Gylippus 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 ἵν δύνηται, ἄξων. διανοοῦνται γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθῶμαι, τῷ τε πεζῷ ἀμα τῶν τειχῶν ἡμῶν
3 πειρᾶν καὶ ταῖς ναυσί κατὰ θάλασσαν. καὶ
deiνον μηδεὶς ὑμῶν δόξη εἶναι ὅτι καὶ κατὰ
θάλασσαν. τῷ γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν, ἦπερ κάκεινοι
πυθῶμαιντα, τῷ μὲν πρῶτον ἥκμαξε καὶ τῶν νεῶν
tῇ ξηρότητι καὶ τῶν πληρωμάτων τῇ σωτηρίᾳ,
yνὲν ᾠ τ’ τε νῆς διάβροχοι, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἦδη
θαλασσεύουσαι, καὶ τὰ πληρώματα ἑθαρται.
4 τὰς μὲν ἄρα ναῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνελκύσαντας δια-
ψύξει διὰ τὸ ἀντιπάλους καὶ τῷ πλῆθει καὶ ἐτὶ
πλείους τὰς τῶν πολεμίων οὐσας αἰεὶ προσδοκίαν
5 παρέχειν ὡς ἐπιπλεύσονται. φανεραὶ δὲ εἰσὶν
ἀναπειρόμεναι, καὶ αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις
καὶ ἀποξηράναι τὰς σφετέρας μᾶλλον ἐξουσία-
οῦ γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσιν ἄλλοις.
XIII. ‘Ἡμῶν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς ἀν περιουσίας νεῶν
μόλις τοῦτο ὑπῆρχε καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαζόμενοι,
ὡσπερ νῦν, πάσαις φυλάσσειν. εἰ γὰρ ἀφαιρῆ-
σομεῖν τι καὶ βραχὺ τῆς τηρήσεως, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
οὕτω ἔξομεν, παρὰ τʰν ἐκείνων πόλιν χαλεπῶς καὶ
2 νῦν ἐσκομμόμενοι. τὰ δὲ πληρώματα διὰ τόδε
ἐφθάρῃ τῆ ἡμῖν καὶ εἴτε νῦν φθείρεται, τῶν ναυτῶν
μὲν διὰ φρυγανισμὸν καὶ ἄρπαγῆν καὶ ὑδρεῖαν
μακρὰν ὕπο τῶν ἵππων ἀπολυμένων. οἱ δὲ
θεράποντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν,
ἀυτομολοῦσι, καὶ οἱ ξένοι οἱ μὲν ἀναγκαστοὶ
ἐσβάντες εὐθὺς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀποχωροῦσιν, οἱ
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[^1] 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
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δὲ ὑπὸ μεγάλου μυθοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαρθέντες καὶ οἴόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ γνώμην ναυτικὸν τε δὴ καὶ τάλλα ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνθεστῶτα ὀρῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτομολίας προφάσει ἀπέρχονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοι δύνανται (πολλή δ’ ἢ Σικελία), εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ, αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι, ἀνδράποδα 'Τκκαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ύπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τριπεράρχους τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀφήμηνται.

XIV. 'Επισταμένοις δ’ ὑμῖν γράφω ὅτι βραχεία ἀκμὴ πληρώματος καὶ ὀλίγοι τῶν ναυτῶν οἱ ἔξορμοντες τε ναῦν καὶ ξυνέχοντες τὴν εἰρέσιαν.

2 τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀπορώτατον τὸ τε μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι ταῦτα ἐμοὶ κωλύσαι τῷ στρατηγῷ (χαλεπὰ γὰρ αἱ υμὲτεραι φύσεις ἄρξαι) καὶ ὅτι οὐδ’ ὅποθεν ἐπιπληρωσόμεθα τὰς ναύς ἔχομεν, δ’ τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλαχόθεν ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη ἄφρ’ ὅν ἔχοντες ἥλθομεν τὰ τε ὅντα καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα γίγνεσθαι· αἱ γὰρ νῦν οὖσαι πόλεις ξύμμαχοι

3 ἀδύνατοι, Νάξος καὶ Κατάνη. εἰ δὲ προσγενησεται ἐν ἐτι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστε τὰ τρέφοντα ἡμᾶς χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὀρῶντα ἐν ὧ τε ἐσμέν καὶ ὑμῶν μὴ ἐπιβοηθοῦντων, πρὸς ἐκεῖνος χωρὶ-

1 αὐτοῖ, Hude prefers αὐτοῖ, 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, προσγενὴς being used not of a pretended, but of a real occasion, as in i. xxviii., xxiii. 5; cxviii. 1.

22
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."
σαι, διαπεπολεμήσεται αὐτοῖς ἀμαχεὶ ἐκπολυ-
ορκηθέντων ἦμῶν ὁ πόλεμος. ¹

4 "Τούτων ἐγὼ ἦδίω μὲν ἂν εἴχοι ὑμῖν ἐτερα
ἐπιστέλλειν, οὐ μέντοι χρησιμωτερά γε, εἰ δέι
σαφῶς εἰδότας τὰ ἐνθάδε βουλεύσασθαι. καὶ
άμα τὰς φύσεις ἐπιστάμενος ὑμῶν, βουλομένων
μὲν τὰ ἣδεστα ἀκούειν, αἰτιωμένων δὲ ύστερον, ἢν
τι ὑμῖν ἄπ' αὐτῶν μὴ ὅμοιον ἐκβῆ, ἀσφαλέστερον
ἡγησάμην τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλώσαι.

XV. Καὶ νῦν ὃς ἐφ' ἂ μὲν ἠλθομεν τὸ πρῶτον
καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑμῖν μὴ
μεμπτῶν γεγενημένων, οὔτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε:
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ Σικελία τε ἀπάσα ἐξυἱσταται καὶ ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου ἅλλη στρατιὰ προσδόκειμος αὐτοῖς,
βουλεύσασθε ἢδη ως τῶν γ' ἐνθάδε μηδὲ τοῖς
παρούσιν ἀνταρκόντων, ἀλλ' ἢ τούτους μετα-
πέμπειν δέον ἡ ἅλλην στρατιὰν μη ἐλάσσω ἐπι-
πέμπειν καὶ πεζήν καὶ ναυτικήν, καὶ χρήματα μὴ
ὁλίγα, ἐμοί δὲ διάδοχον τινα, ὡς ἀδύνατος εἰμι
2 διὰ νόσον νεφρίτιν παραμένειν. ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμῶν
ξυγγυμνῆς τυγχάνειν καὶ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐρρώμην πολλὰ
ἐν ἡγεμονίας ὑμᾶς εὑ ἐποίησα. τ' τι δὲ μέλλετε,
άμα τὸ ἥρε εὐθὺς καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀναβολὰς πρᾶσσετε,
ὡς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δι' ὁλίγου
ποριουμένων, τὰ δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου σχολαίτερον
μὲν, ὅμως δ', ἢν μὴ προσέχητε τὴν γνώμην, τὰ
μὲν λήσουσιν ὑμᾶς, ὃσπερ καὶ πρότερον, τὰ δὲ
φθησονται.”

XVI. 'Ἡ μὲν τοῦ Νικίου ἐπιστολὴ τοσαῦτα

¹ δ' 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.
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ἐδήλου. οἱ δὲ ᾿Αθηναίοι ἀκουόντας αὐτῆς τὸν μὲν Νικίαν οὐ παρέλυσαν τῆς ἄρχης, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ, ἐως ἄν ἑτεροι ξυνάρχοντες αἱρεθέντες ἀφίκονται, τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ δύο προσεϊλοντο, Μενανδρον καὶ Εὐθύδημου, ὅπως μὴ μόνοις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ταλαιπωροῖν: στρατιάν δὲ ἀλλήν ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπτευν καὶ ναυτικήν καὶ πεζικήν ᾿Αθηναίων τε ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων. καὶ ξυνάρχοντας αὐτῷ εἴλοντο Δημοσθένη τε τὸν ᾿Αλκισθένους καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Ῥουκλέους. καὶ τὸν μὲν ᾿Εὐρυμέδοντα εὐθὺς περὶ ἡλίου τροπᾶς τὰς χειμερινὰς ἀποπέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν μετὰ δέκα νεῶν, ἄγοντα εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἁργυρίου καὶ ἀμα ἀγγελοῦντα τοῖς ἐκεῖ ὅτι ἥξει βοήθεια καὶ ἐπιμέλεια αὐτῶν ἔσται.

XVII. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὕπομένων παρεσκευάζετο τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ὡς ἄμα τῷ ἡμί ποιησόμενος, στρατιάν τε ἐπαγγέλλων ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ χρήματα αὐτόθεν καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὅπλατας ἐτοιμάζων. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἱ ᾿Αθηναίοι εἰκοσι ναῦς, ὅπως φυλάσσοιν μηδένα ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς Πελο-

3 ποιηῆσον ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιοῦσθαι. οἱ γὰρ Κορίνθιοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ἤκον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελία βελτίων ἡγεσελλών, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄκαιρον καὶ τὴν προτέραν πέμψειν τῶν νεῶν ποιησάνθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωστο, καὶ ἐν

With H and Valla, the other MSS. omit καὶ ἐκατόν.

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, 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 son of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon 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, 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 Peloponnese, to see that no one should cross over from Corinth and the Peloponnese 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

3 He had been fined after the unsuccessful expedition to Sicily in 424 B.C.; cf. iv. lxv. 3.
4 £24,000; $116,040.
The Athenian squadron, generally twenty triremes, stationed on guard here during the whole war; cf. ii. lxix. 1.; lxxx. 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 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 they felt that the transgression had been rather on their own part; for the Thebans had entered Plataea in time of truce, and, although it had been stipulated in the former agreements 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
αὐτὸι οὐχ ὑπῆκουν ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐικότως δυστυχεὶν τε ἐνώμιζον καὶ ἐνεθυμῆσαι τήν τε περὶ Πύλου ἔμφ-3 φορᾶν καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλῃ αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. ἔπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ταῖς τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἔς Ἀργοὺς ὀρμόμενοι Ἐσπιδαύρου τε τι καὶ Πρασίῶν καὶ ἄλλα ἐδήσασιν καὶ ἐκ Πύλου ἁμα ἐληστεύοντο, καὶ ὀσάκες περὶ τοῦ διαφορᾶς γένοιτο τῶν κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφίσβητουμένων, ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἥθελον ἐπιτρέπειν, τότε δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι νομίζαντες τὸ παραϊμήμα, ὅπερ καὶ σφίσι πρότερον ἡμάρτητο, αὖθις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ αὐτὸ περιεστάναι, πρόθυμοι 4 ἦσαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τοῦτῳ σίδηρον τε περιήγγελλον κατὰ τοὺς ἄρμαξαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐργαλεῖα ἡτοίμαζον ἐς τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν. καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἁμα ὡς ἀποπεμψόντες ἐν ταῖς ὀλκάσιν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῖ τε ἐπόρυζον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐπεροπονησίους προσηνάγκαζον. καὶ ὁ χειμών ἐτελεῦτα, καὶ ὅγθουν καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷ δὲ ὅν Θουκυδίδης ἔννεγραψεν.

XIX. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιμνημομένου ἦρος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένων πρῶτα δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ἄρμαξαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσέβαλον ἥγειτο δὲ Ἁγίος ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων Βασίλευς. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς χώρας τὰ περὶ τοῦ πεδίου ἐδήσασιν, ἐπειτὰ Δεκέλειαν ἐτείχιζον, κατὰ πόλεις

1 iv. 26–41.
2 cf. vi. ev. 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 they 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 Lacedaemonians proposed arbitration, they were unwilling to resort to it; at this time, therefore, the Lacedaemonians, 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 Lacedaemonians. 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 Tatoï.
2 διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Δεκέλεια σταδίους μάλιστα τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν, παραπλήσιον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Βουστίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν φῶς οὔτε τὸ τείχος, ἐπιφανεῖς μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως καὶ οἱ ἐκμαχοὶ ἐτείχιζον οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἀπέστελλον περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ταῖς ὀλκάσι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, Δακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῶν τε Εἰλώτων ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων, ἦυμαρφό τέρων ἔξακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ Ἐκκριτον Σπαρτιάτην ἄρχοντα, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τριακόσιους ὀπλίτας, ὃν ἠρχον Ἑλεων τε καὶ Νίκων Θηβαῖοι καὶ

4 Ἡγῆσανδρός Ἐσπυρίεις. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι ὀρμήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταυράρου τῆς Δακωνικῆς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφείσαν· μετὰ δὲ τούτους Κορώνθιοι οὐ πολλῷ ὑπέρτον πεντακόσιους ὀπλίτας, τοὺς μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Κορώνθου, τοὺς δὲ προσμισθωσάμενοι Ἀρκάδων, ἄρχοντα. Άλέξαρχον Κορώνθιον προστάξαντες ἀπέπεμψαν. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι διακόσιους ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ τοῖς Κορώνθιοι, ὃν ἠρχε Σαργεύς Σικυώνιος.

5 αἱ δὲ πέντε καὶ εἶκοσὶ νῆσὶ τῶν Κορώνθιων αἵ τοῦ χειμῶνος πληρωθεῖσα ἀνθώρμουν ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ εἶκοσὶ Ἀττικαῖς, ἐωσπερ αὐτοῖς οἱ ὀπλίται ταῖς ὀλκάσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπῆραν· οὕτε πολύνε καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιληφθησάν,
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, 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 Xeron and Nicon, both Thebans, and Hegesander, a Thespian. Now these set out in the first contingent from Taenarum 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.
THUCYDIDES

ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς τὰς ὀλκάδας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις τὸν νοῦν ἔχωσιν.

XX. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἁμα Δεκελείας τὸ τειχισμῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱρός εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου περὶ τε Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τριάκοντα ἐστειλαν καὶ Χαρικλέα τὸν Ἀπόλλοδώρου ἀρχοντα, ὁ εἰρήτω καὶ ἐς Ἀργος ἀφικομένω κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παρακάλεϊν Ἀργείων ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὰς 2 ναῦς, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὡσπερ ἔμελλον, ἀπέστειλον ἐξήκοντα μὲν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πέντε Χίαις, ὀπλίταις δὲ ἐκ καταλόγου Ἀθηναίων διακοσίοις καὶ χίλιοις, καὶ νησιωτῶν ὅσοις ἐκασταχθέν τὸν τῇ πλείστοις χρήσασθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τῶν ὑπηκόων, εἷς ποθέν τι ἐνχὸν ἐπιτηδείουν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ξυμπορίσαντες. εἰρήτω δ' αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Χαρικλέους ἁμα περιπλέοντα ξυστρατεύεσθαι 3 περὶ τὴν Δακωνικὴν. καὶ ο μὲν Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Λίγινας προσπλεύσας τοῦ στρατεύματός τε εἰ τι ὑπελέειπτο περιέμενε καὶ τῶν Χαρικλέα τοὺς Ἀργείων παραλαβεῖν.

XXI. Ἔν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτου τοῦ ἱρός καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἤκειν ἐς τᾶς Συρακοῦσας, ἀγων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ὄν ἐπείσε στρατιῶν 2 ὅσην ἐκασταχθέν πλείστην ἐδύνατο. καὶ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἐφη χρὴναι πληροῖν ναῦς ὡς δύνανται πλείστας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπόπειραν λαμβάνειν ἐλπίζειν γὰρ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τι ἔργον ἄξιον τοῦ κινδύνου ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατ- 3 εργάσεσθαι. ξυνανέπειθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐρμοκράτης

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
οὔ όκιστα 1 ταίς ναυσί μή ἄθυμειν ἐπιχειρήσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, λέγον ὁδὲ ἐκεῖνοις πάτριοι τὴν ἐμπειρίᾳ ὁδὲ ἁίδου τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἡπειρότας μᾶλλον τῶν Συρακοσίων ὄντας καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ὑπὸ Μῆδων ναυτικοὺς γενέσθαι. καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τολμηροὺς, οίονες καὶ Ἀθηναίους, τοὺς ἀντιτολμῶντας χαλεπωτάτους αὐτοῖς 2 φαίνεσθαι: ὃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς πέλας, οὐ δυνάμει ἔστιν ὅτε προύχοντες, τῷ δὲ θράσει ἐπιχειροῦντες, καταφοβοῦσι, καὶ σφᾶς ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ ὀμοίως τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὑποσχέων. καὶ Συρακοσίους εὑ τελμῆσαι ἀπροσδοκήτως πρὸς τὸ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικὸν ἀντιστήναι πλέον τι, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκπλαγέντων αὐτῶν, περιεσομένους ἢ Ἀθηναίους τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τῆς Συρακοσίων ἀπειρίαν βλάψοντας· οἴειν οὖν ἐς τὴν πεῖραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀποκνεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι, τοὺς τε Γυλίππον καὶ τοῦ Ἐρμοκράτους καὶ εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους πειθόντων, ὄρμητό τε ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰς ναύς ἐπλήρουν.

XXII. Ὅ δὲ Γύλιππος, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο τὸ ναυτικὸν, ἄγαγὼν ὑπὸ νῦκτα πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν πεζὴν αὐτῶς μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ τείχεσι κατὰ γῆν ἐμελλε προσβαλεῖν, αἰ δὲ τριήρεις τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀμα καὶ ἀπὸ ξυνοθήματος πέντε μὲν καὶ τριάκοντα ἕκ τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἐπέπλεον, αἰ δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἕκ τοῦ ἐλάσσονος, οὐ ἦν καὶ τὸ νεώριον αὐτοῖς,

1 τοῦ, after ὂκιστα in MSS., deleted by Hude with GM.
2 For ἃν 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 landmen 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
περιέπλεον, 1 βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐντὸς προσμεῖξαι καὶ ἁμα ἐπιπλεῖν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθη- 
2 ναίοι ἀμφότεροθεν θορυβώνται. οἷοι Ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τάχους ἀντιπληρώσαντες ἐξήκοντα ναύς ταῖς 
μὲν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριά-
κοντα τῶν Συρακοσίων τὰς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι 
ἐναυμάχουν, ταῖς δὲ ἐπιλούσις ἀπηύθουν ἐπὶ 
τὰς ἐκ τοῦ νεωρίου περιπλεούσας. καὶ εὐθὺς 
πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἐναυμά-
χουν, καὶ ἀντείχον ἄλληλοι ἐπὶ πολὺ, οἱ μὲν 
βιάσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῶν ἔσπλουν, οἱ δὲ 
κωλύειν.

XXIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Γύλιππος, τῶν ἐν τῷ 
Πλημμυρίῳ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπι-
καταβάντων καὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τὴν γνώμην προσ-
εχόντων, φθάνει προσπεσών ἄμα τῇ ἕως αἱρινδίως 
τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ αἱρεῖ τὸ μέγιστον πρῶτον, ἐπειτα 
δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐλάσσων δύο, οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων τῶν 
φυλάκων, ως εἴδον τὸ μέγιστον ῥαδίως χηθηθεν.

2 καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρῶτον ἀλόντος χαλεπῶς οἱ 
ἀνθρωποί, ὅσοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ὅλκάδα τινὰ 
κατέφυγον, ἐξεκομίζοντο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν 
γὰρ Συρακοσίων ταῖς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ναυσὶ 
κρατουντῶν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ υπὸ τριήρους μιᾶς καὶ 
ἐν πλεούσης ἐπεδιοκόμτο ἐπειδή δὲ τὰ δύο τειχί-
σματα ἦλίσκετο, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Συρακοσίοι 
ἐτύγχανον ἢδη νικώμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν 
3 φεύγοντες ρᾶγον παρέπλευσαν. αἱ γὰρ τῶν 
Συρακοσίων αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος νῆς ναυμα-
χοῦσαι βιασάμεναι τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναύς 

1 καὶ before περιέπλεον, 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
οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐσέπλεον καὶ ταραχθείσαι περὶ ἀλλήλας παρέδοσαν τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ταῦτας τε γὰρ ἔτρεψαν καὶ ὑφ’ ὁν τὸ πρῶτον ἐνικώντο ἐν τῷ λιμένι. καὶ ἐνδεκα μὲν ναῦς τῶν Συρακοσίων κατέδυσαν καὶ τοὺς πολλούς τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἀπέκτειναν, πλὴρ ὄσον ἔκ τριῶν νεῶν, οὐς ἐξωρησάν τῶν δὲ σφετέρων τρεῖς νῆς διεφθάρησαν. τὰ δὲ ναυάγια ἀνελκύσαντες τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τροπαίον ἐν τῷ νησίδῳ στήσαντες τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἔαυτὼν στρατόπεδον.

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι κατὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν, τὰ δ’ ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ τείχη ἔχον καὶ τροπαία ἔστησαν αὐτῶν τρία. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔτερον τοῖν δυοῖν τείχοιν τοῖν ὑστερον λιβύεντοι κατέβαλον, τὰ δὲ δύο ἑπισκευάσαντες

2 ἐφρούρουν. ἄνθρωποι δ’ ἐν τοῖν τείχοιν τῇ ἀλώσει ἀπέθανον καὶ ἐξωρήθησαν πολλοί, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐξυμπαντα ἐξελώ. ὡστε γὰρ ταμειῶν χρωμεὼν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς τείχεσι πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα καὶ σῖτος ἐνήν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἱστία τεσσαράκοντα τριήρων καὶ τᾶλλα σκεύη ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ

3 τριήρεις ἀνελκυσμέναι τρεῖς. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐκάκωσε τὸ στράτευμα τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λήψις. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οὐδ’ οἱ ἐσπλοὶ ἀσφαλεῖς ἦσαν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων (οἱ γὰρ Συρακοσίοι ναυῶν αὐτοθι ἐφορμοῦντες ἐκώλυνος καὶ διὰ μάχης ἢδη ἐγίγνοντο
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.
ai ἐσκομιδαί), ἐς τὰ ἄλλα κατάπληξιν παρέσχε καὶ ἀθυμίαν τῷ στρατεύματι.

XXV. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο ναῦς τε ἐκπέμπουσι δώδεκα οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ 'Αγάθαρχον ἐπ’ αὐτῶν Συρακόσιον ἄρχοντα. καὶ αὐτῶν μία μὲν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὥχετο, πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, οὕπερ τὰ τε σφέτερα φράσουσιν ὅτι ἐν ἐπίσιν εἰσὶ καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἔτι μάλλον ἐποτρύνουσι γιγνεσθαι· αἱ δὲ ἐνδεκα νῆσες πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλευσαν, πυνθανόμενοι πλοία τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

2 γέμοντα χρημάτων προσπλεῖν· καὶ τῶν τε πλοίων ἐπιτυχοῦσαι τὰ πολλὰ διεφθειραν καὶ ξύλα ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν τῇ Καυλωνιάτιδι κατέ-καυσαν, ἃ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐτοίμα ἦν. ἐς τε Δοκροῦς μετὰ ταῦτα ἤλθον, καὶ ὄρμουσών αὐτῶν κατέπλευσε μία τῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοπο-νῆσου ἄγουσα Θεσπίων ὀψιλάτας· καὶ ἀναλα-βόντες αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἔπι τὰς ναῦς παρέπλευον ἐπ’ οἶκου. φυλάξαντες δ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι εἴκοσι ναυτὶ πρὸς τοῖς Μεγάροις, μίαν μὲν ναῦν λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ’ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀποφεῦγουσιν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας.

4 Ἕγενετο δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν σταυρῶν ἀκροβο-λισμοῦ ἐν τῷ λιμένι, οὗς οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸ τῶν πολεμίων νεωσόκων κατεπίναξαν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆσες ἐντὸς ὀρμοῖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-ναίοι ἐπιπλέουστες μὴ βλάπτοιεν ἐμβάλλοντες.

5 προσαγαγόντες γὰρ ναῦν μυριοφόρου 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 Lauis and Metapontum.
'Αθηναίοι, πύργους τε ξυλίνους ἔχουσαν καὶ παραφράγματα, ἕκ τε τῶν ἀκάτων ὄνευον ἀναδούμενοι τοὺς σταυροὺς καὶ ἀνέκλων καὶ κατακολυμβῶντες ἐξέπριον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεωσολίκων ἐβαλλον' οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ὀλκάδος ἀντεβαλλον' καὶ τέλος τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν σταυρῶν ἀνείλον οἱ 'Αθηναίοι. χαλεπωτάτη δ' ἦν τῆς σταυρώσεως ἡ κρύφιος· ἦσαν γάρ τῶν σταυρῶν οὓς οὐχ ὑπερέχοντας τῆς θαλάσσης κατέπηξαν, ὡστε δεινὸν ἦν προσπλεύσαι, μὴ οὐ προϊόν τις ὑσπερ περὶ ἐρμα περιβύλη τὴν ναῦν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους κολυμβηταὶ δυόμενοι ἐξέπριον μισθοῦ.

6 ὁμως δ' αὕθις οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐσταύρωσαν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ἄλληλους, οἰον εἰκὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγγὺς ὄντων καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἐμηχανώντο καὶ ἄκροβολισμοὶ καὶ πείραις παντοίαις ἐχρώντο.

9 Ἐπερψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις πρέσβεις οἱ Συρακόσιοι Κορινθίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Ακεδαίμονων, ἀγγέλουντας τὴν τε τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λῆψιν καὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας πέρι ὡς οὐ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἵσχυ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ταραχῇ ἡ σοθείεν, τὰ τέ ἀλλα δηλώσοντας ὅτι ἐν ἐλπίσιν εἰσὶ καὶ ἄξιωσοντας ξυμβοθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ, ὡς καὶ τῶν 'Αθηναίων προσδοκίμων ὄντων ἄλλη στρατιά καὶ, ἣν φθάσωσιν αὐτοὶ πρῶτον διαφθειράντες τὸ

1 About 250 tons.
of ten thousand talents ¹ 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-
παρὸν στράτευμα αὐτῶν, διαπεπολεμησόμενον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ταῦτα ἐπρασσόν.

XXVI. Ὡ δὲ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ ξυνελεύη αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὁ ἐδεί ἔχουτα ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν βοηθεῖν, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης καὶ πλεύσας πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ τε Χαρικλεὶ καὶ ταῖς τριάκοιτα ναυσὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμίσχει, καὶ παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀργείων ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπλεον ἐς τὴν Δακωνικήν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου τι τῆς Δυμηρᾶς ἐδήσαν, ἔπειτα σχόντες ἐς τὰ καταυτικὸν Κυθήρων τῆς Δακωνικῆς, ἐνθα τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστὶ, τῆς τε γῆς ἐστιν ἀ ἐδήσαν καὶ ἐτείχισαν ἱσθμῶδες τι χωρίον, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τε Εἰλωτες τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων αὐτόσε αὐτομολῶσι καὶ ἀμα λησταὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὅσπερ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου, ἀρπαγήν ποιῶνται.

3 καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ξυγκατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον παρέπλει ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας, ὅπως καὶ τῶν ἐκείθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβὼν τῶν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν πλοῦν ὅτι τάχιστα ποιῆται ὁ δὲ Χαρικλῆς περιμείνας ἐσώ τὸ χωρίον ἐξετείχισε καὶ καταληψίων φυλακὴν αὐτὸν ἀπεκομίζετο καὶ αὐτὸς ὑστερον ταῖς τριάκοιτα ναυσίν ἐπὶ οἴκων καὶ οἱ Ἀργείοι ἀμα.

XXVII. Ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ὄρακῶν τῶν μαχαιρόφορων τοῦ Διακοῦ γένους ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πελτασταί ἐν τῷ αὐτῶ θέρει τούτῳ τριακοσίοι καὶ χίλιοι, οὕς ἐδεί τῷ Δημοσθένει ἐς τὴν Σικεν

2 λίαιν ξυμπλεῖν. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναιοὶ, ὡς υστερον ἦκον, διενορύντο αὐτοῦς πάλιν ὅθεν ἤλθον ἐς Ὄρακὴν ἀποπέμπειν. 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

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1 Resuming the narrative at ch. xx. 3.
Δεκέλειας πόλεμον αὐτοῦς πολυτελές ἐφαίνετο· δραχμῆς γὰρ τῆς ήμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανεν.

3 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦ Δεκέλεια τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ τειχισθείσα, ὠστερον δὲ φρουραῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου ἐπιούσαις τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπικεῖτο, πολλὰ ἐβλάπτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον χρημάτων τ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθορᾷ ἐκάκωσε τὰ πράγματα. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ βραχείας γυγνόμεναι αἱ ἐσβολαὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τῆς γῆς ἀπολαύειν οὐκ ἐκόλυνον· τότε δὲ ξυνεχῶς ἐπικαθημένων, καὶ ὅτε μὲν καὶ πλεόνων ἐπιόντων, ὅτε δ' εὖ ἀνάγκης τῆς ἴσης φρουρᾶς καταθεούσης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ ληστείας ποιουμένης, βασιλέως τε παρόντος τοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων "Αγίδος, ὅς οὐκ ἐκ παρέργου τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο, μεγάλα

4 οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐβλάπτοντο. τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἀπάσης ἐστέρητο καὶ ἀνδραπόδων πλέον ἢ δύο μυριάδες ἑυτομολίκεσαν, καὶ τούτων πολὺ μέρος χειροτέχναι, πρόβατα τε πάντα ἀπολόωλες καὶ ὑποζύγια· ἵπποι τε, ὅσιμεραι ἐξελαυνόντων τῶν ἵππων, πρὸς τε τὴν Δεκέλειαν καταδρομὰς ποιουμένων καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλασσόντων, οἱ μὲν ἀπεχωλοῦντο ἐν γῆ ἀποκρότῳ τε καὶ ξυνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐτιτρώσκοντο.

XXVIII. "Ἡ τε τῶν ἐπιτηθείων παρακομιδὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας, πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ Ὁμιλοῦ 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 οὖσα, περὶ Σούνιον κατὰ θύλασθαν πολυτελῆς ἐγὺμετο· τῶν δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπακτῶν ἑδεῖτο ἡ πόλις, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλεως εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη. πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἐπάλξει τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι φυλάσσοντες, τὴν δὲ νύκτα καὶ ἔμπαντες πλὴν τῶν ἱππέων, οἱ μὲν ἐφ’ ὁπλοῖς ποιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος ἔταλαιπωροῦντο. μάλιστα δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶδεξεν ὅτι δύο πολέμους ἀμα εἰχον, καὶ ἐς γελονικίαν καθέστασαν τοιαύτην ἣν πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡπίστησεν ἀν τις ἀκούσας, τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς πολυορκομένους ἐπιτείχισμοῦ ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων μηδ’ ὅσ αποστήναι ἐκ Σικελίας, ἀλλὰ ἐκεὶ Συρακούσας τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀντιπολιορκεῖν, πόλιν οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω αὐτὴν γε καθ’ αὐτὴν τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸν παράλογον τοσοῦτον ποιήσαι τοῖς Ἐλλησι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τόλμης, ὅσον κατ’ ἄρχαι τοῦ πολέμου οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον ἐνομίζον περιοίσειν αὐτοὺς, εἰ οἱ Πελοποννησίων ἐσβάλοιεν ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὡστε ἔτει ἐβδόμῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐσβολὴν ἤλθον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἡδ’ τῶ πολέμῳ κατὰ πάντα τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω προσανελοῦν τοῦ πρῶτου 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’ ἀ καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τε τῆς Δεκελείας πολλὰ βλαπτοῦσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων μεγά-
λων προσπεπτόντων ἄδυνατο ἐγένοντο τοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ὑπὸ τούτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρου τοῖς ὑπηκοόνις ἐποίησαν, πλεῖον νομίζοντες ἂν σφίσι χρήματα οὕτω προσιέναι· αἱ μὲν γὰρ δαπάναι ὑμῖν ῥομοίως καθέστασαι, ὡσὶ καὶ μεῖζον τὸ πόλεμος ἦν, αἱ δὲ προσόδοι ἀπώλευτο.

XXIX. Τοὺς Θρακαίς τὸν Δημοσθένει ὑπερήσαντας, διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν τῶν χρημάτων οὐ βουλόμενοι δαπανᾶν, εὔθυς ἀπέτεμεν, προστάξαντες κομίσαι αὐτοὺς Διεισεδρείναι καὶ εἰπόντες ἀμα ἐν τῷ παράπλο (ἐπορεύοντο γὰρ δι’ Ἐυρίπου) καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους, ἦν τι δύνηται, ἀπ’ αὐτῶν βλάψαι. ὦ δὲ ἐς τε τὴν Ταναγραίαν ἀπεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρπαγήν τινα ἐποίησα τια διὰ τάχους, καὶ ἐκ Χαλκίδας τῆς Εὔβοιας ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας διεπλευνεῖ τὸν Ἐυρίπου καὶ ἀποβίβασες ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤγεν αὐτοὺς

3 ἐπὶ Μυκαλησοῦν. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα λαθῶν πρὸς τὸ Ἐρμαῖον ἡμίζετο (ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Μυκα-
λησοῦν ἐκκαίδεκα μάλιστα σταδίους), ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πόλει προσέκειτο οὕση ὧν μεγάλη, καὶ αἰρεῖ ἀφυλάκτως τῇ ἐπιπεσοῦν καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως μὴ ἂν ποτὲ τινα σφίσιν ἂπο ἱαλάσσης τοσοῦτον ἐπαναβάντα ἐπιθέσθαι, τοῦ τείχους ὡσκεύον ὑμών καὶ ἐστὶν ἥ καὶ πεπτωκότος, τοῦ δὲ βρα-
χέος ὅκοδομημένων, 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, 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 Dieitrephes 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 ἀνεψιμένων. ἐσπεσόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐρακεῖς ἐς τὴν Μυκαλησσόν ταῖς τε οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπόρθουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφόνευον φειδόμενοι οὕτε πρεσβυτέρας οὕτε νεωτέρας ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξής, ὅτω ἐνυχχοιεν, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναίκας κτείνοντες, καὶ προσέτη καὶ ύποξυγια καὶ ὅσα ἀλλα ἐμψυχα ἰδοιεν. τὸ γὰρ γένος τὸ τῶν Ἐρακῶν ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν φἀν θαρσήσῃ, φουκώτατον ἑστὶν.

5 καὶ τὸτε ἀλλη τε ταραχῇ ὡς ὀλίγη καὶ ἴδεα πᾶσα καθειστήκει ὁλέθρου, καὶ ἐπιπεσόντες διδασκαλείω παῖδαν, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἤν αὐτόθι καὶ ἀρτί ἔτυχον οἱ παῖδες ἐσεληνυθότες, κατέκοψεν πᾶντας· καὶ ἐμφορὰ τῇ πόλει πάση οὐδεμίας ἱσσων μᾶλλον ἐτέρας ἀδόκιτός τε ἐπέτεσεν αὐτῇ καὶ δευτί.

XXX. Οἱ δὲ Ἐθαβαιοὶ αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθον, καὶ καταλαβόντες προκεχωρηκότας ἦδη τοὺς Ἐρακας οὐ πολὺ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφείλοτο καὶ αὐτοὺς φοβήσαντες καταδιώκοντος ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπον, οὐ αὐτοῖς τὰ πλοῖα ὅ ἤγαγεν ὡρμει. καὶ ἀποκτείνοντοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσβάσει τους πλείστους, οὕτε ἐπισταμένους νεῶν, τῶν τε ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις, ὡς ἑφώρον τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὀρμισάντων ἐξω τοξοεύμινος τα πλοία· ἐπεὶ ἐν γε τῇ ἀλλή ἀναχωρήσει οὐκ ἀτόπως οἱ Ἐρακεῖς πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἐθαβαίων ἱππικόν, ὁπερ πρότον προσέκειτο, προεκδόντες τε καὶ ἐνστρεφόμενοι ἐν ἐπιχωρίῳ τάξει τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρησαν. μέρος δὲ τι καὶ ἐν τῇ

1 καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν after Εὐριπον in the MSS., deleted by Badham; Stahl deletes τὸν Εὐριπον καὶ.

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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 retreating 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."
ἀπολείπει αυτῇ δι' ἀρπαγήν ἐγκαταληφθέν ἀπόλετο, οἱ δὲ ξύμπαντες τῶν Ῥακών πευτήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἀπέθανον.

3 διέφθειραν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥηβαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ξυνεβοηθησαν εἰς εὐκοσι μᾶλιστα ἰππεας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας ὀμοῦ καὶ Ῥηβαίων τῶν Βοιωταρχῶν Σκιρφώνδαν τῶν δὲ Μυκαλησιῶν μέρος τι ἀπανηλώθη. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Μυκαλησίων πάθει χρησαμένην οὐδενὸς ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει τῶν κατὰ τῶν πόλεμων ἡσσον ὀλοφύρασθαι ἄξιω τοιαύτα ξυνέβη.

XXXI. Ὅ δὲ Δημοσθένης τότε ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τείχισιν, ὀλκάδα ὀρμοῦσαν ἐν Φειά τῇ Ἡλείων, ἐν ἦ τοι Κορίνθιοι ὀπλίται ἐσ τῆς Σικελίαν ἐμελλον περαίονασθα, ἀυτὴν μὲν διαφθείρει, οἱ δ' ἀνδρεὶς ἀποφυγόντες ύστερον λαβόντες ἄλλην ἐπλευν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφικόμενος οἱ Δημοσθένης ἐσ τῆς Ζάκυνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν ὀπλίτας τε παρέλαβε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου τῶν Μεσσηνίων μετεπέμβατο, καὶ ἐσ τῆν ἀντιπέρας ἦπειρον τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας διέβη, ἐσ Ἀλυζείαν τε καὶ Ἀνακτόριον, ὁ αὐτὸς εἶχον. ὅτι δ' αὐτὸ περι ταῦτα ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ἀπαντᾷ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ἀποπλέων, ὃς τότε τοῦ χειμῶνος τὰ χρήματα ἂγων τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀπεπέμφθη, καὶ ἀγγέλλει τα τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι πῦθουτο κατὰ πλοῦν ἥδη 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; at Pheia in Elis he found lying at anchor a merchant-ship in which the Corinthian hoplites 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 Acarnania, 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 winter 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

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4 The scene of his campaign in the summer of 426 B.C. (iii. 94 ff.).
5 cf. ch. xvi. 2.
κοσίων ἐαλωκός. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ καὶ Κόνων παρ’ αὐτοὺς, ὁς ἦρξε Ναυπάκτου, ἀγγέλλων ὥστι αἱ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι νῆις τῶν Κορινθίων αἱ σφίσιν ἄνθρωπούσαι οὕτε καταλύουσι τῶν πόλεισιν ναυμαχεῖν τε μέλλουσι πέμπειν οὖν ἐκείλευν αὐτοὺς ναῦς, ὡς οὐχ ἰκανᾶς οὔσας δυσών δεούσας εἴκοσι τὰς ἐαυτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυμαχεῖν. τῷ μὲν οὖν Κόνων δέκα ναῦς ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων τὰς ἀριστὰ σφίσι πλεύσας ἀφ’ ὧν αὐτοὶ εἶχον ἐξυμπέμποντι πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ αὐτοῖς δὲ τα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν ἄρματος ἦτοιμω-ξοντο, Εὐρυμέδων μὲν ἔστο τῆν Κέρκυραν πλεύσας καὶ πεντεκαίδεκά τε ναῦς πληροῖν κελεύσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀπλίτας καταλεγόμενοι (ἐνυψήρχε γὰρ ἦδη Δημοσθένει άποστρατόμενος, ἀσπερ καὶ ἤρεθή). Δημοσθένης δ’ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρ- νανίαν χωρίων σφενδονήτας τε καὶ ἀκονιστᾶς ἐξυπηρείρων.

XXXII. Οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῶν Συρακούσων τίτε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πλημμυρίου ἀλωσιν πρέσβεις οἰχόμενοι ἐστὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἑπειδὴ ἐπεισάν τε καὶ ἐξυπηρεί- ραντες ἔμελλον ἀξίων τῶν στρατῶν, ὁ Νικίας προπυθόμενος πέμπει ἐς τῶν Σικελῶν τοὺς τῆν δίοδον ἔχοντας καὶ ἐξυμμάχους, Κεντόριπας τε καὶ Ἀλικναίους καὶ ἄλλους, ὥστε μὴ διαφρή-

1 τῶν πόλεισι μετα-την τού Πλημμυρίου ἀλωσιν πρέσβεις οἰχόμενοι ἐς τὰς πόλεις, ἑπειδὴ ἐπεισάν τε καὶ ἐξυπηρεί- ραντες ἔμελλον ἀξίων τῶν στρατῶν, ὁ Νικίας προπυθόμενος πέμπει ἐς τῶν Σικελῶν τοὺς τῆν δίοδον ἔχοντας καὶ ἐξυμμάχους, Κεντόριπας τε καὶ Ἀλικναίους καὶ ἄλλους, ὥστε μὴ διαφρή-

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.
Syracusans. These two were joined by Conon,¹ who was in command at Naupactus and brought word that the twenty-five Corinthian ships ² 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 Corecyra, where he made levies of hoplites and directed the Corecyraeans 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,³ 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 ⁴ who were allies of the Athenians and controlled the territory through which the troops would have to pass—and these were the Centoripes,⁵ Alicyaeans and others—that

¹ Sicels, aboriginal inhabitants of Sicily; Siceliots, Hellenic colonists of Sicily.
² Centoripa was situated on the Symaethus above Catana and about twenty-five miles south-west of Aetna. It is now Centorbi (Holm, Gesch. Sic. i. 68). A town Alicyae in this region is unknown.
καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ Καμαριναῖοι ἄφικνυόται αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦντες, πεντακόσιοι μὲν ὄπληται, τριακόσιοι δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ τοξόται τριακόσιοι. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Γελώοι ναυτικόν τε, ἐς πέντε ναῦς, καὶ ἀκοντιστάς τετρακοσίους καὶ ἱππέας διακοσίους.

3. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακοσίοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐν τοῖς Σικελίοις πάθος ἐγένετο, ἐπέσχεσαν τὸ εὐθέως τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔπιχειρεῖν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Ἐυρυμέδων, ἐτοίμης ἦδη τῆς στρατιᾶς οὕσης ἐκ της Κερκύρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἥπειρος, ἐπεραιώθησαν χυμπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν Ἰόνιων ἐπ᾽ ἀκραὶ Ἰαπυγίαν· καὶ ὁμοθέντες αὐτοθεῖν κατισχοῦσιν ἐς τὰς Χοιράδας νῆσους Ἰαπυγίας, 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 also arrived with reinforcements, consisting of five hundred hoplites, three hundred javelin-men, and three hundred bowmen. The Geloans 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 Corecyra 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 ἐκατόν τοῦ Μεσσαπίου ἔθνους ἀναβιβάζονται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τῷ Ἀρτα, ὡσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς δυνάστης ὄνων παρέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἀνανεωσάμενοι τίνα παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἀφικνοῦν
tai ἐς Μεταπόντιον τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ τοὺς Μεταπόντίους πείσαντες κατὰ τὸ ἐξυμμαχικὸν ἀκοντιστάς τε ἐξυμπέμπειν τριακοσίους καὶ τριήρεις δύο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ταύτα παρέπτευσαν ἐς Θουρίαν. καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι νεωστὶ στύσει τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐναντίον ἐκπεπτωκότας·

καὶ βουλόμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτόθι πᾶσαν ἀθροίσαντες εἰ τις ὑπελέειπτο ἐξετάσαι καὶ τοὺς Θουρίους πείσαι σφίσι ἐξουσιασθείν τε ὡς προδρυμότατα καὶ, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἐν τούτῳ τύχης εἰσὶ, τούς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμίζειν, περιέμενον ἐν τῇ Θουρίᾳ καὶ ἐπρασσον ταύτα.

XXXIV. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τούτον οἱ ἐν ταῖς πείνα παρεῦκοσι ναυσίν, ἀὕperse τῶν ὀλκάδων ἐνεκα τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν κομήδης ἀνθώρμον πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς, παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία καὶ προσπληρώσαντες ἐτὶ ναῦς, ὡστε ὀλίγων ἐλάσσονται ἐκαὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν, ὑμίζουνται κατὰ Ἐρινεῦν τῆς Ἀχαίας ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῇ.

καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ χωρίου μηνοειδοὺς ὄντος ἕφ' ὑμῖν ὑμῖν, ὁ μὲν πεῖς ἐκκατέρωθεν προσβεβηθήνη—
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. 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 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 Θουπτα and Θουπιον as well as Θουπιον.
2 A small place east of Rhium.
κότες τῶν τε Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξομάχων ἔπὶ ταῖς ἀνεχούσαις ἀκραις παρετέκακτο, αἰ δὲ νῆς τὸ μεταξὺ εἴχον ἐμφάρξασαι ἤρχε 3 δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Πολυάνθης Κορίνθιος. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τρισίν (ἡρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Δίφιλος) ἐπέπλευσαν αὐτοῖς. καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσύχαζον, ἔπειτα ἀρθέντος αὐτῶς τοῦ σημείου, ἐπεὶ καιρός ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐνανμάχουν. καὶ χρόνον ἄντειχον πολύν ἄλληλοις. καὶ τῶν μὲν Κορινθίων τρεῖς νῆς διαφθείρονται, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων κατέδυ μὲν οὐδεμία ἀπλῶς, ἐπτὰ δὲ τινὲς ἀπλοὶ ἐγένοντο, ἀντίπροφοι ἐμβαλλόμεναι καὶ ἀναρραγεῖσαι τὰς παρεξειρεσίας ύπὸ τῶν Κορινθίων νεῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τούτο παχυτέρας τὰς ἐπωτίδας 5 ἐχούσων. ναυμαχήσαντες δὲ ἄντιπαλα μὲν καὶ ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρως ἄξιον νικᾶν, ὅμως δὲ τῶν ναυαγῶν κρατησάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἄνεμου ἀπωσίν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων οὐκέτι ἐπαναγωγήν, διεκρίθησαν ἀπ’ ἄλληλων, καὶ εἰσίξει οὐδεμία ἑγένετο, οὐδ’ ἄνδρες οὐδετέρως ἑάλωσαν’ οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὴν γῆ ναυμαχοῦντες ῥαδίως 1 διεσώζοντο, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οὐδεμία κατέδυ ναῦς. ἀποπλευσάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ναυπάκτον οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθὺς τροπαίον ἐστησαν ὡς νικῶντες, ὅτι

1 ραδίως 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. 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 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 εὐαντίων ναῦς ἄπλουσ ἐποίησαν καὶ νομίζαντες δὴ αὐτῷ οὖν ἦσασθαι δὴ ὄπερ οὐδ’ ὦτε ἔτεροι νικᾶν’ οὐ τῇ γὰρ Κορίνθιοι ἡγησαντο κρατεῖν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ ἐκρατοῦντο, οὐ τ’ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμιζον ἦσασθαι, εἰ μὴ πολὺ ἐνίκων.

8 ἀποπλευσάντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ διαλυθέντος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστήσαν ὀργανοῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀγαίᾳ ὡς νικήσαντες, ἀπέχον τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ, ἐν ὃ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὄρμουν ὡς εἰκοσιστάδιος καὶ ἦ μὲν ναυμαχία ὑστὼς ἐτελεύτα.

XXXV. Ὅ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυμέδων, ἐπειδὴ ἐυστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς οἱ Θούριοι παρεσκευάσθησαν ἐπτακοσίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις, τριακοσίοις δὲ ἀκοντιστάς, τὰς μὲν ναύς παραπλεῦν ἐκέλευσον ἐπὶ τῆς Κροτωνιάτιδος, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν πάντα ἐξετάσαντες πρὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Συβάρει ποταμῷ ἤγον διὰ τῆς Θουριάδος γῆς καὶ ὡς ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ Τλία ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κροτωνιάται προσπέμψαντες εἶπον οὐκ ἄν σφίζει βουλομένους εἶναι διὰ τῆς γῆς σφῶν τῶν στρατῶν ἐναι, ἐπικαταβάντες ἡνίάσαντο πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ 'Τλίου καὶ αἱ νῆς αὐτοῖς ἐσ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄπτησιν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραια ἀναβιβάσαμενοι παρέπλεον, ὅσχοιτε πρὸς ταῖς πόλεις πλῆρω Λυκρών, ἐν ψ. ἄφικοντο ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς Ῥηγίνης.

XXXVI. Οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι ἐν τούτῳ πυνθανόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλον αὐθις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀποπειράσαι ἐβούλουστο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πεζοῦ, ἦμπερ ἐπὶ 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 Crotонiates 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
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2 αὐτοὺς φθάσαι βουλόμενοι, ἐξυνέλεγον, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ τὸ τε ἄλλο ναυτικὸν ὡς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ναυμαχίας τι πλέον ἐνείδον σχήσοντες, καὶ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν ξυντεμόντες ἐς ἐλασσὸν στεριφωτέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐπέθεσαν ταῖς πρώρας παχείας, καὶ ἀντηρίδας ἦπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέτειναν πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξ πῆχεις ἐντός τε καὶ ἔξωθεν. ὥπερ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς ἐπεσκευασμένοι πρώραθεν ἐναυμάχουν· ἐνόμισαν γὰρ οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς οὐχ ὠμοίως ἀντινεαυσαπηγημένας, ἀλλὰ λεπτά τὰ πρώραθεν ἔχουσας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντιπρώροις μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐκ περίπλου ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἐλασσὸν σχῆσειν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ναυμαχίαν, οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ πολλαῖς ναυσίν οὐσαν, πρὸς ἑαυτῶν ἐσεθάναι ἀντιπρώροις γὰρ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρώμενοι ἀναρρίξειν τὰ πρώραθεν αὐτοῖς, στερίφοις καὶ παχέσι πρὸς κοῖλα καὶ ἁσθενῇ παιόντες τοῖς ἐμβόλοις. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἐσεσθαί σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὔτε περίπλουν οὔτε διέκπλουν, ὥπερ τῆς τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστευν ἀυτοῖς 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\(^1\)—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 διέκταυς was breaking through the line so as to ram the enemy's ship in the flank or stern.
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5 ὃστε μὴ περιπλεῖν. τῇ τε πρότερον ἀμαθίᾳ τῶν κυβερνητῶν δοκοῦσῃ εἶναι, τῷ ἀντίπρωπον ἐμφανίσεαι, μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ χρῆσασθαι πλεί-στοι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ σχῆσειν τὴν γὰρ ἀνάκρουσιν οὐκ ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐξωθομένοις ἄλλοσε ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταύτην δι' ὀλίγον καὶ ἐς ὀλίγον, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐαυτῶν.

6 τοῦ δ' ἄλλου λιμένος αὐτοὶ κρατήσειν. καὶ ἐμφανίσεσαν αὐτοὺς, ἢν πη βιῶσασθαι, ἐς ὀλίγον τε καὶ πάντας ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ, προσπί-πτοντας ἄλληλοις ταράξεσθαι (ὅπερ καὶ ἐβλαπτε-μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναυμα-χίαις, οὐκ οὖσας αὐτοῖς ἐς πάντα τὸν λιμένα τῆς ἀνακρουσεως, ὦσπερ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις) περι-πλεύσαι δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, σφῶν ἐχοντων τὴν ἐπιπλεύσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους τε καὶ ἀνά-κρουσιν, οὐ δυνήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἄλλος τε καὶ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου πολεμίου τε αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου καὶ τοῦ στόματος οὐ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ λιμένος.

XXXVII. Τοιαῦτα οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὴν ἕαυτῶν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐπινοή-σαντες καὶ ἀμα τεθαρσηκότες μᾶλλον ἢδη ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ναυμαχίας ἐπεχείρουν τῷ τε

2 πεζῷ ἢμα καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν. καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Γύλιππος οἱ
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 Gylippus led
προεξαγαγών προσήγε τῷ τείχει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθ’ ὅσον πρός τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἔωρα: καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὅλυμποιοῦ, οἳ τε ὁπλίται ὁσοὶ ἐκεῖ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς καὶ ἡ γυμνητεία τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα προσήγε τῷ τείχει· αἱ δὲ νῆες μετὰ τοῦτο εὐθὺς ἐπεξέπλεον τῶν 3 Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πρώτῳ αὐτούς οὕμοιν τῷ πεζῷ μόνῳ πειράσειν, ὀργύτες δὲ καὶ τάς ναῦς ἐπιφερομένας ἁφῶν, ἐθορυβοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπι τὰ τείχη καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς προσιούσιν ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὅλυμποιοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔξω κατὰ τάχος χωροῦντας ἱππέας τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς ἀντεπεξῆσαν, ἅλλοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, καὶ ἄμα ἔπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν παρεβοηθοῦν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις ἦσαν, ἀντανήγων πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς· καὶ αἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν ὁγδοὸκοντα μάλιστα. XXXVIII. Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσπλέοντες καὶ ἀνακρούομενοι 1 πειράσαντες ἀλλήλων καὶ οὐδέτεροι δυνάμενοι ἄξιον τι λόγου παραλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ ναῦν μίαν η ὁ δύο τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ Συρακοσίαι καταδύσαντες, διεκρίθησαν· καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἁμα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπῆλθεν.

2 Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραία οἱ μὲν Συρακοσίαι ἡσύχαζον, οὐδὲν δηλοῦντες ὁποῖον τι τὸ μέλλον ποιήσοντι· ὁ δὲ Νίκιας ἵδιν ἀντίπαλα τὰ 2 τῆς ναυμαχίας γενόμενα καὶ ἐλπίζων αὐτοὺς αὕθες ἐπιχειρήσειν, τοὺς τε τριήμαρχους ἡνάγκαζεν ἐπισκευάζειν τὰς ναῦς, εἰ τὸς τι ἐπεπονήκει, καὶ ὀλκάδας 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, ὅ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀντὶ λιμένος κληστοῦ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπεπήγγει. διάλειποῦσας δὲ τὰς ὀλκάδας ὅσον δύο πλέθρα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατέστησαν, ὅπως, εἰ τὰς βιῶσαμε ναις, εἰ ηατάφευξις ἀσφαλῆς καὶ πάλιν καθ' ἱσυχίαν ἐκπλουσ. παρασκευαζόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὀλην τὴν ἠμέραν διετέλεσαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι μέχρι νυκτὸς.

XXXIX. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία οἱ Συρακοσίοι τῆς μὲν ωρᾶς πρώτερον, τῇ δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ τε πέζου καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προσέμισσον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἀντικαταστάντες ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον αὐθίς ἐπὶ πολὺ διήγον τῆς ἴμερας πειρωμένοι ἀλλήλων, πρὶν δὲ Ἀρίστων ὁ Πυρρίχου Κορίνθιος, ἀριστος ὁν κυβερνήτης τῶν μετὰ Συρακοσίων, πείθει τοὺς σφετέρους τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἄρχοντας, πέμψαντας ὡς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιμελομένους κελεύειν ὅτι τάχιστα τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν πωλουμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μεταστήσαι κομίσαντας, καὶ ὅσα τις ἔχει ἑδώδη, πάντας ἐκεῖσε φέροντας ἀναγκάσαι πωλεῖν, ὅπως αὐτῶν ἐκβιβάζαντες τοὺς ναύτας εὐθὺς παρὰ τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιήσωσιν καὶ δὲ ὅλων αὐθίς καὶ αὐθημερὸν ἀπροσδοκήτοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιχειρῶσιν.

XL. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πεισθέντες ἐπεμψαν ἀγγελον, καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ παρασκευάσθη, καὶ οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἐξαίφνης πρύμναν κρουσάμενοι πάλιν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπλευσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκβιβάσαν αὐτοῦν ἀριστον ἐποιοῦντο: οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ὡς ἧσσημένους σφῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν

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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
ΤΗΤΥΧΙΔΙΔΕΣ

ἀνακρούσασθαι, καθ' ἴσοχίαν ἐκβάντες τά τε ἀλλα διεπράσσοντο καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἀριστον, ὡς τῆς γε ἡμέρας ταύτης οὐκέτι οἶμενοι ἄν ναυμαχήσαι. ἔξαιρθης δὲ οἱ Συρακοσίοι πληρώσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐπέπλεον αὕτης: οἱ δὲ διὰ πολλῶν θορύβου καὶ ἅσιτοι οἱ πλείους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐσβάντες μόλις ποτέ ἀντανήγοντο. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τῶν ἀπέσχοντο ἀλλήλων φυλασσόμενοι ἐπεῖτα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ύπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαμέλλοντας κόπω ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ ἐπιφερόμενοι ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἐνανιμάχοντο. οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι δεξάμενοι καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἀντιπρόροις χρώμενοι, ὡσπερ διενοθησαν, τῶν ἐμβόλων τῇ παρασκευῇ ἀνερρήγυσαν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς παρεξερεσίας, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες μεγάλα ἐβλαπτον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολὺ δ' ἐτι μείζω οἱ ἐν τοῖς λεπτοῖς πλοίοις περιπλέοντες τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ἐς τοὺς παρακολούθησαν τῶν πολεμίων νεών καὶ ἐς τὰ πλάγια παραπλέοντες καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς ναύτας ἀκοντίζοντες.

ΧΛΙ. Τέλος δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κατὰ κράτος ναυμαχοῦντες οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τραπόμενοι διὰ τῶν όλκάδων τὴν κατάφευξιν ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὸν ἕαυτων ὁμοίον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων νῆς μέχρι μὲν τῶν όλκάδων

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-

² cf. ch. xxxviii. 2.
ΤΗÚCÝDIDES

ἐπεδίωκον ἔπειτα αὐτοὺς ἀι κεραία ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσπλων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλκάδων δελφινοφόρων ἤρμεναι ἐκόλυνον. δῦο δὲ νῆες τῶν Ὀυρακοσίων ἐπαρομεῖναι τῇ νίκῃ προσέμειξαι αὐτῶν ἐγγύς καὶ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ ἦ ἐτέρα αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἕαλῳ. καταδύοντες δὲ οἱ Ὀυρακόσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπτὰ ναῦς καὶ κατατραυματίσαντες πολλάς, ἀνδρὰς τε τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ζωγρήσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντες ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ τροπαία τε ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ναυμαχιῶν ἔστησαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἣδη ἐχυρὰν εἰχον ταῖς μὲν ναυαὶ πολὺ κρείσσους εἶναι, ἐδόκουν δὲ καὶ τὸν πεζὸν χειρώσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι κατ’ ἀμφότερα παρεσκευάζοντο αὖθις.

XLII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυμέδων ἠξοντες τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν παραγύνονται, ναῦς τε τρεῖς καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μάλιστα ἔξω ταῖς ξενικαίς καὶ ὀπλίτας περὶ πεντακισχίλιους ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐμμέχων, ἀκοντιστάς τε βαρβάρους καὶ Ἑλληνας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας καὶ τὴν ἄληθεν παρασκευὴν ἱκανήν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηνακόσιοι καὶ ἐμμέχοις κατάπληξες ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα οὐκ ὀλίγῃ ἐγένετο, εἰ πέρας μηδὲν ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ κινδύνου, ὅροιντε οὕτε διὰ τὴν Δεκέλειαν τειχιζομένην οὐδὲν ἤσσον στρατὸν ἵσον καὶ παραπλήττον τῷ προτέρῳ ἑπεληλυθότα τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν πανταχὸς τοπληθη 78
men, but there the dolphin-bearing cranes\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) 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 'Αθηναίων ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ρώμη τίς ἐγεγένητο. οὐ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἵδων ὡς εἰχε τὰ πράγματα καὶ νομίσας οὐχ οἶν τε εἶναι διατρίβειν οὐδὲ παθεῖν ὅπερ ὁ Νικίας ἐπαθεν (ἀφικόμενος γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὁ Νικίας φοβερός, ὡς οὖν εὐθὺς προσέκειτο ταῖς Συρακύσαις, ἀλλ' ἐν Κατάνῃ διεχείμαζεν, ὑπερώφθη τε καὶ ἐφθασεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατιά ὁ Γύλιππος ἀφικόμενος, ἦν οὐδ' ἂν μετέπεμψαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι, εἰ ἐκεῖνος εὐθὺς ἐπέκειτο· ἐκανοὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἄμα τ' ἂν ἔμαθον ἔσοντος οὕτως καὶ ἀποτετειχισμένοι ἂν ἦσαν, ὡστε μηδ' εἰ μετέπεμψαν ἐτι ὁμοίως ἂν αὐτοὺς ὑφελεῖν), ταῦτα οὖν ἀνασκοπών ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ γνωρισκών ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα δεινότατός ἐστι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχος ἀποχρῆσασθαι τῇ παρούσῃ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκπλῆξει. καὶ ὅρων τὸ παρατέιχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, ὡς ἐκκόλυσαν περιτείχίσας σφᾶς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους, ἀπλοῦν τε ἄν καὶ, εἰ κρατήσει τις τῶν τε Ἐπιτολῶν τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ αὐθίς τοῦ ἐν αὐταῖς στρατοπέδου, ῥαδίως ἄν αὐτὸ ληφθέν (οὐδὲ γὰρ υπομείναι ἂν σφᾶς οὔδένα), ἥπειροτε ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ πείρᾳ, καὶ ξυντομωτάτην ἤγειτο

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

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 Gyipippus 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
διαπολέμησιν· ἦ γὰρ κατορθώσας ἐξειν Συρακούσας ἦ ἀπάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ οὐ τρίψεσθαι ἄλλως Ἀθηναίους τε τοὺς ἔνστρατευμένους καὶ τὴν ἐξυμπασάν πόλιν.

6. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὴν τε γῆν ἐξελθόντες τῶν Συρακοσίων ἔτεμνον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι περὶ τῶν Ἀναποι καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἑπεκράτουν, ὡσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, τῷ τε πεζῷ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν (οὔ δὲ γὰρ καθ’ ἑτέρα οἱ Συράκουσιοι ἀντεπεξῆσαν ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ἱππεύσι καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὄλυμπιείου).

XLIIL. Ἐπείτα μηχαναῖς ἐδόξε τῷ Δήμοσθένει πρότερον ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ παρατεχίσματος. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντι κατεκαύθησάν τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένων αἱ μηχαναὶ καὶ τῇ ἀλλῃ στρατιᾷ πολλαχῇ προσβάλλοντες ἀπεκρούοντο, οὐκέτι ἔδοκει διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τὸν τε Νικίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνάρχοντας, ὡς ἐπενόει, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τῶν Ἐπιπολόν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἀδύνατα ἐδόκει εἰναι λαθεῖν προσελθόντας τε καὶ ἄναβαντας, παραγγείλας δὲ πέντε ἡμερῶν σιτία καὶ τοὺς λιθολόγους καὶ τέκτονας πάντας λαβῶν καὶ ἀλλὴν παρασκευὴν τοξευμάτων τε καὶ ὅσα ἔδει, ἡν κρατῶσι, τειχίζοντας ἐχεῖν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ πρῶτον ὑπνοῦ καὶ Ἐυρυμέδων καὶ Μενανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν πᾶσαν στρατιὰν ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς, Νικίας δὲ ἐν τοῖς τειχεῖσιν ὑπε-

3 λέλειπτο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο πρὸς αὐταῖς 82
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 Demosthenes, 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 accordingly 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 Ἑὐρύχλου, ὑπερ καὶ ἡ προτέρα στρατιὰ
tὸ πρῶτον ἀνέβη, λανθάνουσί τε τοὺς φύλακας
tῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ προσβάντες τὸ τείχισμα ὁ
ήν αὐτῶι τῶν Συρακοσίων αἵροῦσι καὶ ἀνδρας
tῶν φυλάκων ἀποκτεῖνουσιν οἱ δὲ πλεῖοις δια-
φυγόντες εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὁ ἰν ἐπὶ
tῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τρία, ἐν μὲν τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἐν
dὲ τῶν ἄλλων Σικελιωτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων,
ἀγγέλλουσι τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τοὺς ἐξακοσίους τῶν
Συρακοσίων, οἱ καὶ πρῶτοι κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
5 τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν φύλακες ἦσαν, ἐφραζόν. οἱ δὲ
ἐβοήθουν τε εὐθὺς, καὶ αὐτῶις ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐντυχόντες ἀμυνομένους προθύμως
ἐτρεψαν καὶ αὐτῶι μὲν εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ
πρόσθεν, ὅπως τῇ παροῦσῃ ὑφῇ τοῦ περαίνε-
σθαι ὅν ἐνεκά ἦλθον μὴ βραδεῖσ γένονται ἄλλοι
dὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τὸ παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρα-
κοσίων, οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τῶν φυλάκων, ἦρουν τε
καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπέσυρον. οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ μετ'
αὐτῶι ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν προτειχισμάτων, καὶ
ἀδοκήτου τοῦ τολμήματος ἐν νυκτὶ σφίσι γενο-
μένου προσέβαλον τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκπεπληγ-
μένοι καὶ βιασθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶι τὸ πρῶτον
7 ὑπεχώρησαν. προίοντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν
ἀταξία μᾶλλον ἥδη ὡς κεκρατηκότων καὶ βουλο-
μένων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ μῆπω μεμαχημένου τῶν
ἐναντίων ὡς τάχιστα διελθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἂνεντων
σφῶν τῆς ἐφόδου αὕτης ἔστραφώσω, 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 Bocotians who first made a stand against
πρῶτοι αὐτοῖς ἀντέσχον καὶ προσβαλόντες ἑτρεψάν τε καὶ ἐς φυγήν κατέστησαν.

XLIV. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦδη ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ ἐγίγνοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦν οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι ῥάδιον ἦν οὐδ’ ἀφ’ ἔτερων ὅτι ἐπὶ τρόπῳ ἐκαστὰ ξυνηνέχθη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ σαφέστερα μὲν, οὕτω δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ παραγενόμενοι πάντα πλὴν τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς μόλις οἴδεν· ἐν δὲ νυκτομαχίᾳ, ἢ μόνῃ δὴ στρατοπέδων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, πῶς ἂν τις σαφῶς τι ἤδει; 

2 ἦν μὲν γὰρ σελήνη λαμπρά, ἐώρων δὲ οὕτως ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σελήνῃ εἰκὸς τὴν μὲν ὁφὸν τοῦ σώματος προορᾶν, τὴν δὲ γυνῶν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπιστεύσας. ὅπλαι δὲ ἀμφοτέρων οὐκ ὠλγοι

3 ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀνεστρέφοντο. καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν ἦδη ἐνικῶντο, οἱ δὲ ἔτι τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ ἁγισσητοί ἐχώρουν. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατεύματος αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἀρτὶ ἀνεβεβήκει, τὸ δὲ ἔτι προσανήγη, ὡστ’ οὐκ ἡπίσταντο πρὸς ὁ τι χρή χωρῆσαι. ἦδη γὰρ τὰ πρόσθεν τῆς τροπῆς γεγενημένης ἑτετάρακτο πάντα καὶ χαλεπὰ ἦν

4 ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς διαγινώναι. οἳ τε γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι κρατοῦντες παρεκελεύοντό τε κρανγῇ οὐκ ὀλίγῃ χρώμενοι, ἀδύνατον δὲν ἐν νυκτὶ ἀλλῳ τῷ σημὴναι, καὶ ἀμα τοὺς προσφερομένους ἐδέχοντο· οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξήγουν τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ πάν τὸ ἐξ ἑναντίας, καὶ εἰ φίλιοι εἰη 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 outcries. 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, πολέμιον ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τοῖς ἑρωτήμασι τοῦ ξυνθήματος πυκνοῖς χρώμενοι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλῳ τῷ γνωρίσαι, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς θόρυβον πολὺν παρεῖχον ἀμα πάντες ἐρωτώντες, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις σαφές αὐτὸ κατέστησαν· τὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνων οὐχ ὀμοίως ἑπίσταντο, διὰ τὸ κρατοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ διεσπασμένους ἤσσον ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν ἐντύχοιεν τις κρείσσους ὄντες τῶν πολεμίων, διέφευγον αὐτοὺς ἀτε ἐκείνων ἐπισταμένων τὸ ξύνθημα, εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὴ ὑποκρίνοντο, διεφθείροντο. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὕς ἤκιστα ἐβλαψε καὶ ὁ παιανισμὸς· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων παραπλήσιος ὄν ἀπορίαν παρεῖχεν. οὗ τε γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ ὁ σοῦν Δωρικὸν μετ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἤν ὁπότε παιανίσειαν, φόβου παρεῖχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οὗ τε πολέμιοι ὀμοίως. ὥστε τέλος ξυμπεσόντες αὐτοῖς κατὰ πολλὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ ἐταράχθησαν, φίλοι τε φίλοι καὶ πολίται πολίταις, οὐ μόνον ἐσ φόβου κατέστησαν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐσ χεῖρας ἄλλη-λοις ἐλθόντες μόλις ἀπελύσατο. καὶ διωκόμενοι κατὰ τὲ τῶν κρημνῶν πολλοὶ ῥήπτοντες εαυτοὺς

1 οἱ πολλοὶ MSS., Krüger deletes οί.
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 watch-word, 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
ἀπώλλυντο, στενῆς οὕσης τής ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν πάλιν καταβάσεως, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὁμαλὸν οἱ σφυρὲοι αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ἦσαν τῶν προτέρων στρατιωτῶν ἐμπειρία μᾶλλον τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διεφύγγανον, οἱ δὲ ὅστερον ἴκοντες εἰς ὧν οἱ διαμαρτύροντες τῶν ὁδών κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπιλανθάνοντο οὕς, ἐπειδὴ ἠμέρα ἐγένετο, οἱ ἁπτῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων περιελάσαντες διεφθείραν.

XLV. Τῇ δ' ύστεραία οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι δύο τροπαία ἐστησαν, ἐπὶ τε ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς ἢ ἡ πρόσβασις καὶ κατὰ τὸ χωρίον ἢ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ πρῶτον ἀντέστησαν, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς νεκροὺς 2 ὑποσπόνδους ἐκομίσαντο. ἀπέθανον δὲ οὐκ ὁλίγοι αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅπλα μέντοι ἐτὶ πλείω ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλήφθην οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τῶν κρημών βιασθέντες ἀλλεσθαὶ ψυλλοὶ 1 οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' ἐσώθησαν.

XLVI. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ὡς ἐπὶ ἀπροσδοκήτω εὑραγία πάλιν αὐθ ἀναρ- ρωσθέντες, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐσμὲν Ἀκράγαντα στάσιαζοντα πέντε καὶ δέκα ιαυσὶ Σικανίων ἀπέ- στελαν, ὡπως ἐπαγίγοντο τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δύναιτο. Γύλιππος δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐξ τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίαν ψέκτο αὕθες, ἄξων στρατιῶν ἐτί, ὡς ἐν ἐλπίδι ὁν καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱρῆσειν βία, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς οὕτω ξυνέβη.

XLVII. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τε τὴν γεγονημένην ξυμφόρον καὶ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐν τῷ
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 Glyippus 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 ἀπιδῶν, in the MSS. after ψυλοί, rejected by Pluygers.
ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΓΑΡ ἘΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΜΑΣΙΝ ἘΩΡΩΝ ΟΥ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ
2 ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΤΑΣ ΑΧΘΟΜΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΤΗ ΜΟΝΗ. ΝΟΣΩ ΤΕ
ΓΑΡ ἘΠΙΕΞΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΤ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΑ, ΤΗΣ ΤΕ ἩΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ
ΕΥΝΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΟΥΣΗΣ ΕΝ ᾨ ἈΣΘΕΝΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ
ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ ἌΜΑ ΕΝ ᾨ ἘΣΤΡΑΤΟ-
PΕΔΕΥΝΟΝΤΟ ἘΛΩΔΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΕΠΤΟΝ ᾨΝ ΤΑ ΑΛΛΑ
3 ΟΤΙ ΑΝΕΛΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΦΑΙΝΕΤΟ. ΤΩ ΟΥΝ
ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΕΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΔΟΚΕΙ ΕΤΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΙ ΜΕΝΕΙΝ, ἈΛΛ' ΑΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΝΟΘΕΙΣ ΕΣ ΤΑΣ ἘΠΙΠΟΛΑΣ ΔΙΕ-
ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΙΣΕΝ, ἘΠΕΙΔΗ ἘΣΦΑΛΤΟ, ἘΞΙΕΝΑΙ ἘΨΗΦΙΖΕΤΟ
ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΕΙΝ, ΕΩΣ ΕΤΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ ΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΕ
ΠΕΡΑΙΟΥΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΓΟΥΝ
4 ἘΠΕΛΘΟΥΣΑΙ ΝΑΥΣΙ ΚΡΑΤΕΙΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ὩΦΕ-
ΛΙΜΩΤΕΡΟΝ ἘΦΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ἐΝ ΤΗ ΧΩΡΑ ΣΦΩΝ
ἘΠΙΤΕΙΧΙΖΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ ή ΣΥΡΑ-
ΚΩΣΙΟΥΣ, ΟΥΣ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΡΑΔΙΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΧΕΙΡΩΣΑΣΘΑΙ.'
ΟΥΔ' ΑΥ ΑΛΛΩΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΩΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΚΟΣ
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΑΘΗΣΘΑΙ.

XLVIII. ΚΑΙ ὁ μὲν ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ἘΓΗΓΝΥΣΚΕΝ ὁ δὲ ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ἘΝΟΜΙΖΕ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ
ΠΟΝΗΡΑ ΣΦΩΝ ΤΑ ΠΡΆΓΜΑΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ, Τῂ ΔΕ ΛΟΓΩ
ΟΥΚ ἘΒΟΥΛΕΤΟ ΑΥΤΑ ἈΣΘΕΝΗ ἍΠΟΔΕΙΚΝΥΑΙ, ΟΥΔ' ἘΜΦΑΝΟΣ ΣΦΑΣ ΨΗΦΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΤΗΝ
ἈΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΓΓΕΛΤΟΥΣ ΓΕΙΝΕ-
ΣΘΑΙ ΛΑΘΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ ἂΝ, ὅΠΟΤΕ ΒΟΥΛΟΙΝΤΟ, ΤΟΥΤΟ
2 ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΠΟΛΛῷ ήσσον. Τῂ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΩΝ
ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ, ΑΦΙ' ᾨΝ ΕΤΙ ΠΛΕΟΝ ὩΙ ΟΙ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΗΣΘΑΝΕΤΟ
ΑΥΤΩΝ, ἘΛΠΙΔΟΣ ΤΙ ΕΤΙ ΠΑΡΕΙΧΕ ΠΟΥΝΡΟΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ
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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
σφετέρων ἐσεσθαι, ἵνα καρτερῶς προσκαθήμενοι· χρημάτων γὰρ ἀπορία αὐτῶς ἐκτρυχώσειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἤδη ταῖς ὑπαρχοῦσαις ναυσὶ θαλασσοκρατοῦντων· καὶ ἣν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ πράγματα ἐνδοῦναι, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο ὡς αὐτὸν καὶ 3 οὐκ εἴα ἀπανίστασθαί. ἃ ἐπιστάμενον τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ ἔτι ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἔχων καὶ διασκοπῶν ἀνείχε, τῷ δὲ ἐμφανεῖ τότε λόγῳ οὐκ ἔφη ἀπάξειν τὴν στρατιάν. εὔ γὰρ εἰδέναι ὅτι Ἀθηναίοι σφῶν ταῦτα οὐκ ἀποδέξονται ὡστε μὴ αὐτῶν ψηφισμένων ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι τε περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὦσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπιτιμήσει ἀκούσαντας γνώσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις εὖ λέγων διαζάλλοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτοὺς πείσθαι.

4 τῶν τε παρὸντων στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλείους ἐφη, οἱ νῦν βοῶσιν ὡς ἐν δεινοῖς οὕτες, ἐκεῖσε ἀφικομένους τάναντια βοησεθαι ὡς ὑπὸ χρημάτων καταπροδότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπήλθουν. οὕκοιν βούλεθαι αὐτοῖς ταὶ ἐπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων φύσεις ἐπὶ αἰσχρὰ τε αἰτία καὶ ἄδικως ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δεῖ, κινδυνεύσας τοῦτο παθεῖν ἱδία.

5 τὰ τε Συρακοσίων ἐφη ὀμοί ἐτὶ ἱσσώ 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 ἕνεκτροφούντας καὶ ἐν περιπολίοις ἅμα ἀναλύσκοντας καὶ ναυτικὸν πολὺ ἔτι ἐνιαυτὸν ἡδὰ βόσκοντας τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐτὶ ἀμηχανήσειν. δισχίλια τε γὰρ τάλαντα ἡδὴ ἀνηλωκέναι καὶ ἔτι πολλὰ προσοφείλειν, ἣν τε καὶ ὅτιον ἐκλίπωσι τῆς νῦν παρασκευῆς τῷ μὴ διδόναι τροφῆν, φθερεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα, ἐπικουρικὰ μᾶλλον ἢ δ' ἀνάγκης ὡσπερ τὰ σφετέρα ὡντα. τρίβειν ὅνν ἐφ' χρῆμα προσκαθημένους καὶ μὴ χρῆμασιν, οἷς ἐπολὺ κρείσσους εἰσὶ, νικηθέντας ἀπιέναι.

XLIX. Ὅ μὲν Νικίας τοσαῦτα λέγων ἵσχυρον ἕπεζο, αἰσθόμενος τὰ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἀκριβῶς, καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν καὶ ὅτι ἢν αὐτόθι τὸ 2 βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔγνωσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἐπικηρυκευόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡστε μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι, καὶ ἀμα ταῖς γοῦν ναυσίν, ἢ 3 πρότερον, ἐθάρσει 4 κρατηθεῖς. 5 ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης περὶ μὲν τοῦ προσκαθῆσθαι οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν ἐνεδέχετο· εἰ δ' ὅτι μὴ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων ψηφίσματος, ἀλλὰ τρίβειν αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' χρῆμα ἢ ἐς τὴν Θάψον ἀναστάντας τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἢ ἐς τὴν Κατάνην, ὅθεν τὸ τε πεξὼ ἐπὶ

1 Conjecture of Coraes for ὡς of most MSS.
2 τό, with all MSS., except BH ποῦ τό. Linwood conjectures πολὺ for ποῦ, which many editors adopt.
3 Stahl’s correction for ἢ of the MSS.
4 Gertz’s conjecture for ἐθάρσει of most MSS., ἐθάρσησε B
5 καὶ before κρατηθεῖς is inserted by Classen, followed by Hude.
6 Krüger’s correction for αὐτῶν 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 ἐπιόντες θρέψονται πορθοῦντες
tὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐκείνους βλάψοψι, ταῖς τὲ
ναυσὶν ἐν πελάγει καὶ οὐκ ἐν στενοχώριᾳ. ἦ πρὸς
tῶν πολεμίων μᾶλλον ἐστὶ, τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιή-
σονται, ἀλλ’ ἐν εὐρυχώριᾳ, ἐν ἦ τὰ τῆς
ἐμπειρίας χρήσιμα σφῶν ἔσται καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ
ἐπίπλους οὕκ ἐκ βραχέος καὶ περιγράμμον
3 ὀρμώμενοι τε καὶ καταρροῦντες ἐξούσιν. τὸ τε
ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, οὔτειν ἄρα ἐπι τῶ ν αὐτῷ ἔτι μένειν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τάχιστα ἡ ἔξανι-
στασθαί καὶ μῆ μέλλειν. καὶ ὁ Ἑὐρυμέδων αὐτῷ
4 ταύτα ἐξυπηρετεῖν. ἀντιλέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Νικίου
όκνους τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐνεχένετο καὶ ἀμα ὑπόνοια
μὴ τι καὶ πλέον εἰδῶς ὁ Νικίας ἰσχυρίζεται. καὶ
οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι τούτω τῷ ἅρπῳ διεμέλλησαν τε
καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον.

L. Ὅ δὲ Γύλιππος καὶ ὁ Σικανὸς ἐν τούτῳ
παρῆσαν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας, ὁ μὲν Σικανὸς
ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος (ἐν Γέλα γὰρ ὄντος
αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἡ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις στάσεις φιλία
1 ἐξεπεπτώκει)· ὃ δὲ Γύλιππος ἀλλὰν τε στρατιῶν
πολλὴν ἔχων ἤλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ
τῆς Πελοποννήσου τοῦ ἄρος ἐν ταῖς ὀλκάσιν
ὁπλάσις ἀποσταλέντας, ἀφικομένους ἀπὸ τῆς
2 Διβύης ἐς Σελυνώντα. ἀπενεχθέντες γὰρ ἐς
Διβύην, καὶ δόντων Κυρηναίων τριήρεις δύο καὶ
tοῦ πλοῦ ἡγεμόνας, καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλω Ἑὐε-

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

1 cf. ch. xlvi. 2 cf. ch. xix. 3.
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 Sicanus 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, 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
σπερίταις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Διβύων ξυμμαχήσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες τοὺς Δίβυς, καὶ αὐτόθεν παραπλεύσαντες ἐς Νέαν πόλιν, Καρχηδονικὸν ἐμπόριον, ὥθεντερ Σικελία ἐλάχιστον δύο ἁμερῶν καὶ νυκτὸς πλοῦν ἀπέχει, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ περαιώθεντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Σελινούντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἐλθόντων παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι καὶ ἄμφοτερα ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ. οἳ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ὀρῶντες στρατιάν τε ἀλλήν προσγεγενημένην αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἁμα όν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον χωροῦντα, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν τοῖς πᾶσι χαλεπώτερον ἱσχοῦντα, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πιεζόμενα, μετεμέλειον τε πρὸτερον όνκ ἀναστάντες, καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς οὔδεν ὁ Νικίας ἐτὶ ὁμοίως ἡμαντιοῦτο ἂλλ’ ἡ μὴ φανερῶς γε ἀξίων ψηφίζεσθαι, 2 προεῖπον ὡς ἐδύνατο ἀδηλότατα ἔκπλουν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πᾶσι καὶ παρεσκευάζοις ὅταν τις σημῆνη. καὶ μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτοίμα ἦν, ἀποτελεῖν ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείπειν ἐτύγχανε μᾶρ πανσέληνος ὤδα. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οἱ τε πλείους ἐπίσχειν ἐκέλευον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐνθύμιον ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ ὁ Νικίας (ἂν γὰρ τι καὶ ἀγανθεισμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσκείμενος) οὖδ’ ἂν διαβούλευσασθαι ἐτὶ ἐφη, πρὶν, όδ’ οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο, τρίς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μεῖναι, ὡς οἱ πρῶτοροι κινηθεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις μελλῆσασι διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μονὴ ἐγεγένητο.

1 Hude’s correction for ἄλλο εἰ of the MSS. Vulg. ἄλλ’ ἡ. 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.
LI. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τούτῳ πυθό-μενοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐγγιγγεμένοι ἦσαν μὴ ἀνεύειν τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότων ἦδη μηκέτι κρειςόνων εἶναι σφῶν μήτε ναυσὶ· μῆτε πεξῷ (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἐκπλουν ἐπιβουλεύσαι), καὶ ἀμα οὐ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀλλοσέ ποι τῆς Σικελίας καθεξομένους χαλεπωτέρους εἶναι προσπολεμέειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ὅς τάχιστα καὶ ἐν ῥ σφῖσι ξυμφέρει ἀναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς ναυμαχεῖν. 2 τὰς οὖν ἐπιλήρουν καὶ ἀνεπειρώντο ἡμέρας ὅσαι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκοιν ἵκαναι εἶναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶρος ἦν, τῇ μὲν προτέρα πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσέβαλλον, καὶ ἐπεξέλθοντος μέρους τινὸς οὐ πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππεων κατὰ τινας πύλας, ἀπολαμβάνουσι τε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τινας καὶ τρεψάμενοι καταδιώκουσιν· οὔσης δὲ στενῆς τῆς ἔσοδος οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὕππους τε ἔβδομη- κοντα ἀπολλύουσι καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οὐ πολλοὺς.

LII. Καὶ ταῦτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπεχώρησεν ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων· τῇ δ' ὑπεραία ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἐκπλέουσιν οὔσαις ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ τῷ πεξῷ ἀμα πρὸς τὰ τείχη ἐχώρουν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι ἀντανήγησαν ναυσιν ἐξ καὶ ὑγιδήκοντα 2 καὶ προσμείζατες ἐναυμάχουν. καὶ τὸν Ἐυριμέ- δοντα, ἔχοντα τὸ δεξιόν κέρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ βουλόμενον περικλησασθαί τὰς ναύς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἐπεξάγοντα τῷ πλώ πρὸς τὴν γῆν μᾶλλον, νικήσαντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὸ μέσον πρῶτον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπολαμβάνουσι κακείνον εν τῷ κοίλῳ καὶ μυχῇ 1 τοῦ λιμένος καὶ

1 ἐν τῷ κολλᾷ καὶ μυχῇ, Hude omits καὶ with C and brackets μυχῇ with Bothe.

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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.
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αὐτὸν τε διαφθείρονσι καὶ τὰς μετ’ αὐτοὺς ναῦς ἐπισπομένας· ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰς πάσας ναῦς ἦδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατεδιωκόν τε καὶ ἐξεὼθον ἐς τὴν γῇν.

ΙΙΙ. Ὅ δὲ Γύλιππος ὁρῶν τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμῶν νικώμενας καὶ ἔξω τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατοπέδου καταφερομένας, βουλόμενος διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ῥάον τους Συρακοσίους ἀφέλκειν τὴς γῆς φιλίας οὔσης, παρεβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν χηλὴν μέρος 2 τι ἔχων τῆς στρατιάς. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ (αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις) ὀρῶντες ἀτάκτως προσφερομένους, ἐπεκβοηθήσαντες καὶ προσπεσόντες τοῖς πρώτοις τρέπουσι καὶ ἐσβάλ- λουσιν ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν Δυσιμέλειαν καλου- 3 μένην. ὅστερον δὲ πλείονος ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος παρόντος τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπιβοηθήσαντες καὶ δείσαντες περὶ ταῖς ναυσίν ἔς μάχην τε κατέστησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ νικήσαντες ἐπεδίωξαν καὶ ὁπλίτας τε ὁ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς μὲν πολλὰς διέσωσαν τε καὶ ξυνήγαγον κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅσιὼν δὲ δεούσας εἰκοσὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐλάβον αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐμπρήσαν βουλόμενοι ἀλκίδα παλαιὰν κληματίδων καὶ δαδὸς γεμίσαντες (ἡν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ ἀνέμος οὐρίως) ἀφεῖσαν τὴν ναῦν 1 πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι δείσαντες περὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντεμηχανήσαντο 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 Syracusans, 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.
LIV. Metà dé toûto Συρακόσιοι μὲν τῆς τε ναυμαχίας τροπαίων ἔστησαν καὶ τῆς ἄνω τῆς πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀπολή-ψεως τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς ἑπόπους ἔλαβον, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἦς τε οἱ Τύρσηνοι τροπῆς ἐποίησαντο τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἦς αὐτοὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ.

LVI. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸν τε λιμένα εὑθὺς

1 ναυσὶ καὶ ἑπόποις καὶ μεγέθει, so most MSS. except B, which has ναῖς καὶ ἑπόπους καὶ μεγέθη ἔχουσαι.
2 ἑχουσαι, Duker’s correction for ἐχουσαι of the MSS.

1 cf. ch. li. 2.
2 It was the usual policy of Athens to overthrow oligarchies and establish democracies as a means of extending their
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;¹ and the Athenians set up a trophy for the fight in which the Tyrrenians 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,² 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.

¹  
²
παρέπλευσεν ἀδεῶς καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ διενοῦντο κλήσειν, ὡς μηκέτι, μηδὲ εἰ βούλοιτο, λάθοιεν

2 αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπλεύσαντες. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σωθῆναι μόνον ἐτί τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐκείνους κωλύσουσι, νομίζοντες, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων πολὺ σφῶν καθυπέρτερα τὰ πράγματα εἶναι καὶ, εἰ δύναντο κρατῆσαι Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καλῶν σφίσιν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὸ ἀγώνισμα φανεῖσθαι τοὺς τε γὰρ ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φόβου ἀπολύσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἐτὶ δυνατὴν ἔσεσθαι τὴν ὑπόλοιπον Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν τὸν υπερθέν ἐπενεχθησόμενον πόλεμον ἐνεγκείνην), καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαντες αὐτῶν αἰτίου εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἑτὸ τῶν ἐπείτα

3 πολὺ θαναμασθήσεται. καὶ ἢν δὲ ἄξιος ὁ ἄγων κατὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ στις ὅτι ὧ νι Αθηναίων μόνων περιεχόμενο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλῶν ξυμμάχων, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτῶν αὐτῶν μόνω, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ξυμβοληθησάντων σφίσιν, ἤγεμόνες τε γενόμενοι μετὰ Κορινθίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐμπαρασχόντες προκύνδυνεύσαι τε ¹ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μέγα μέρος ² προκόψαντες. ἐθνὶ γὰρ πλείστα δὴ ἐπὶ μίαν πόλιν ταύτην ξυνῆλθε, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ ξύμπαντος ὕχλου ³ τοῦ ἐν τῶ τόδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων τε πόλιν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων.

¹ te, deleted by Krüger, followed by Hude.
² μέρος, deleted by Krüger, followed by Hude.
³ Krüger’s emendation for λόγον 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 Syracusans 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 themselves superior, not to the Athenians only, but to their numerous allies as well, and that too not standing 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.
THUCYDIDES

LVII. Τοσοίδε γὰρ ἐκάτεροι ἐπὶ Σικελίαν 1 τε καὶ περὶ Σικελίας, τοὺς μὲν ἑυκτησίμους τὴν χώραν ἐλθόντες, τοῖς δὲ ἐνυδιασώσσοντες, ἐπὶ Συρακούσαις 2 ἐπολέμησαν, οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μάλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ ἕξυγενείαν μετ’ ἄλληλον στάντες, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκάστοις τῆς ἐνυπνίας ἢ κατὰ τὸ εὐμφέρον ἢ ἀνάγκη ἐσχεν. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν αὐτοὶ Ἰωνες ἐπὶ Δωρίας Συρακοσίους ἐκόντες ἠλθον, καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Λήμνιοι καὶ Ἰμβριοὶ καὶ Λιγνιται, οὐ τότε Λήμνιαν εἶχον, καὶ ἔτη Ἐστίαιας οἱ ἐν Ἕδηβοια Ἐστίαιαν οἰκοῦντες, 3 ἀποικοὶ ὄντες, ἐξενεστράτευσαν. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπῆκοι, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ ἐξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι, εἶσί δὲ καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ἐξενεστράτευσαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἐφεσίως καὶ Χαλκείδος καὶ Στυρῆς καὶ Καρυστιοῦ ἴπτε Ἕδηβοιας ἔσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κείων καὶ Ἀνδριοὶ καὶ Τηνιοὶ, ἐκ δ’ Ἰονίας Μιλήσιου καὶ Σάμως καὶ Χίου. τούτων Χίου οὖν ὑποτελεῖσθαι ὄντες φόρον ναῦς δὲ παρέχοντες αὐτόνομοι ἐξενείποντο. καὶ τὸ πλείστον Ἰωνες ὄντες οὐτοὶ πάντες καὶ ἑπ’ Ἀθηναίων πλήν Καρυστίων (οὕτω δ’ εἰσὶ Δρύοπες), ὑπῆκοι

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

1 Or, by adopting Heilmann’s and Boehme’s conjecture ως ἐκαστοι της ἐνυπνιας... εἶξον, “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.”

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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 Syracusans 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.\(^1\) The Athenians themselves, as Ionians, went of their own free will against the Syracusans, who were Dorians, and with them went as members of the expedition the Lemnians, the Imbrians,\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) Of the above-mentioned almost all were Ionians and colonists of Athens—except the Carystians, who are Dry-

\(^1\) 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).

\(^2\) cf. VI. lxxxv. 2.
δ' ὄντες καὶ ἀνάγκη ὀμοις Ἰωνές γε ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς
5 ἡκολούθουν. πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖς Αἰσιλῆς, Μηθυμναίοι
μὲν ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ φόρῳ ύπήκουσι, Τενέδιοι δὲ καὶ
Αὐνοι ὑποτελεῖς. οὕτω δὲ Αἰσιλῆς Αἰολεύσι
τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς 1 μετὰ Συρακοσίων
κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο, Πλαταϊῆς δὲ καὶ 2
ἀντίκρυς Βοιωτοῦ Βοιωτοῖς μόνοι εἰκότως κατὰ
6 τὸ ἔχθος. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Κυθήριοι Δωριῆς
ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Δακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι, Κυ-
θήριοι, ἐπὶ Δακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ἀμα Γυλίππω
μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ὑπλα ἐφερον, Ῥόδιοι δὲ, Ἀργεῖοι
γένος, Συρακοσίως μὲν Δωριεύσι, Γελάνως δὲ
καὶ ἄποικοις ἑαυτῶν ὄψι, μετὰ Συρακοσίων
7 στρατευμένοις, ἴνα γκάζοντο πολεμεῖν. τῶν τε
περὶ Πελοπόννησον νησιωτῶν Κεφαλλήνες μὲν
καὶ Ζακύνθιοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νησιωτι-
κόν μᾶλλον κατειργόμενοι, ὡς θαλάσσης ἐκρά-
τουν Ἀθηναίοι, εὐνείποντο. Κεφκυραῖοι δὲ οὐ
μόνοι Δωριῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ Κορινθίοι σαφῶς ἐπὶ
Κορινθίους τε καὶ Συρακοσίους, τῶν μὲν ἄποικοι
ὄντες, τῶν δὲ εὐγεγενεῖς, ἀνάγκῃ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
ἐυπρεποῦς, Βουλήσθηκε δὲ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κορινθίων
8 οὖχ ἦσον εἶποντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνίοι νῦν καλοῦ-

1 τοῖς, Lindau's conjecture confirmed by Μ.
2 καὶ ἀντίκρυς, Boehme's correction for κατ'αντίκρυ of the MSS.

1 An aboriginal people, dwelling near Mount Oeta; cf. Herodt. viii. 43.
2 cf. III. i. 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 Aenians. 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 Gylippus, 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 Cephallenians 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 Cercyraeans, 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 cf. vi. iv. 3. 5 cf. ii. vii. 3; vii. xxxi. 2.
μενοὶ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου ¹ καὶ ἐκ Πύλου τότε ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐξομένης ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρελήφθησαν. καὶ ἐτὶ Μεγαρέων φυγάδες οὖ πολλοὶ Μεγαρεύσι Σελευκουσίος οὐσί κατὰ ξυμφορὰν ἐμάχοντο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκοῦσιος μᾶλλον ἡ στρατεία ἐγήγεντο ἡδὴ Ἀργείωι μὲν οὖ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἐνεκα μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἐχθράς καὶ τῆς παραυτικά ἐκαστοῖ ἰδίας ὕφελίας Δωρίδας ἐπὶ Δωρίδας μετὰ Ἀθηναίων Ἰώνων ἥκολούθουν, Μαντινῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδων μισθοφόροι, ἐτὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ πολεμίους σφίσιν ἀποδεικνυμένους οὐκ ἦτες καὶ τότε τοὺς μετὰ Κορινθίων ἐλθόντας Ἀρκάδας οὐδὲν ἦσον διὰ κέρδος ἥγουμενοι πολεμίους, Κρήτης δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μισθῶ καὶ οὕτω πεισθέντες. ξυνέβη δὲ τοῖς Κρησί τὴν Γέλαιον Ῥοδίοις ξυγκτίσαντας μὴ ἔχου τοῖς ἀποίκοις, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποίκους ἐκόντας μετὰ μισθοῦ ἐλθείν. καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων τινὲς ἁμα μὲν κέρδει, τὸ δὲ πλέον Δημοσθένους φιλία καὶ Ἀθηναίων εὐνοία ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἐπεκούρησαν καὶ οἴετε μὲν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὀριζόμενοι. Ἰταλιώτῶν δὲ Θούριοι καὶ Μεταπόντιοι, ἐν τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις τότε

1 Hude reads ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου.

¹ Settled by the Athenians at Naupactus since 462 B.C. (1. 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, Dorians 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 Aetoli ans 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.
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στασιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν κατειλημένων,1 ξυνεστρά-
τευνον καὶ Σικελιωτῶν Νάξιοι καὶ Καταναῖοι,
βαρβάρων δὲ Ἐγέσταίοι τε, οἵπερ ἐπηγάγοντο,
καὶ Σικελῶν τὸ πλέον, καὶ τῶν ἔξω Σικελίας
Τυρσηνῶν τέ τινες κατὰ διαφορὰν Συρακοσίων
καὶ Ἰάπνυσες μισθοφόροι. τοσάδε μὲν μετὰ
Ἄθηναίων ἐθνη ἐστράτευνον.

LVIII. Συρακοσίωις δὲ ἀντεβούθησαν Καμαρι-
ναίοι μὲν ὁμοροί ὄντες καὶ Γελώι οἱκοῦντες μετ'
αὐτούς, ἔπειτα Ἀκραγαντίνων ἱσυχαζόντων ἐν
2 τῷ ἑπτ' ἐκείνα ἱδρυμένοι Σελινούντιοι. καὶ οἴδε
μὲν τὴν Σικελία τὸ πρὸς Λιβύην μέρος τετραμ-
μένοι νεμόμενοι, Ἰμεραιοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
Τυρσηνικὸν πόλιν μορίον, ἐν ὦ καὶ μόνοι
"Ελλήνες οἰκοῦσιν" ὦτοι δὲ καὶ ἔξω αὐτοῦ μόνοι
3 ἐβούθησαν. καὶ Ἔλληνικὰ μὲν ἑθη τῶν ἐν
Σικελίᾳ τοσάδε, Δωρίς τε καὶ2 αὐτόνομοι
πάντες, ξυνεμάχον, βαρβάρων δὲ Σικελοῦ μόνοι
ὅσοι μὴ ἀφείστασαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τῶν
d' ἔξω Σικελίας "Ελλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν
ἡγεμόνα Σπαρτιάτην παρεχόμενοι, νεοδαμώδεις
de τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ Εἰλωταῖς,3 Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ
μανσὶ καὶ πεξὼ μόνοι παραγενόμενοι καὶ Λευκάδιοι
καὶ Ἀμπρακιώται κατὰ τὸ ἕξυγγενές, ἐκ δὲ

1 κατειλημένωι: Reiske's emendation for κατειλημένων of
the MSS.
2 αὐτόνομοι, of preceding deleted by Bekker.
3 After Εἰλωταῖς the MSS. give δύνατα· δὲ τὸ νεωδαιμώδες
ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι, "Neodamodes means 'being now free.'"
The words are generally deleted, as not read by the Schol.
time to such straits by party erises 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 Tyrrenhians, 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 Tyrrenhian 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, ciiri. 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 cf. VI. lxii. 2; VII. i. 3.  
7 See on ch. xix. 3
Αρκαδίας μισθοφόροι ὕπο Κορινθίων ἀποσταλέντες καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἀναγκαστοὶ στρατεύοντες καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου Βοιωτοὶ.

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας τούτους οἱ Σικελιώται αὐτοὶ πλήθος πλέον κατὰ πάντα παρέσχοντο, ἀτε μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκούντες καὶ ἱδρύται πολλοὶ καὶ νῆσι καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἀλλος ὦμιλος ἀφθονος ἐξυπελεγη. καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντας αὕθις ὄς εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους Συρακόσιοι αὐτοὶ πλεῖω ἐπορίσαντο διὰ μέγεθος τε πόλεως καὶ ὅτι ἐν μεγίστῳ κυνηγών ἦσαν.

LIX. Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐκατέρων ἐπικουρία τοσαίδε ἐξυπελέγησαν, καὶ τοῖς ἤδη πᾶσαι ἄμφοτέροις παρῆσαν καὶ ὀυκέτι οὐδὲν οὐδετέροις ἐπῆλθεν.

2 Οἱ δ’ οὖν Συρακόσιοι εἰκότως ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἄγωνα σφίσιν εἰναι ἐπὶ τῇ γεγενημένῃ νίκῃ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐλεῖν τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄπαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοσοῦτον ὅν, καὶ μηδὲ καθ’ ἄτερα αὐτούς, μῆτε διὰ θαλάσσης μῆτε τῶν πεζῶν, διὰ-

3 φυγεῖν. ἐκλήσα τὸν τε λιμένα ἐνθεῖ τὸν μέγαν, ἔχοντα τὸ στόμα ὅκτω σταδίων μάλιστα, τριήρεσι πλαγίαις καὶ πλοίοις καὶ ἀκάτοις ἐπ’ ἄγκυρων ὀρμίζοντες, καὶ τάλλα, ἦν ἐτί ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ὀλίγον οὐδὲν ἐσ’ οὐδὲν ἐπενόουν.

LX. Τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ην τε ἀπόκλησιν

1 Syracuse (vi. iii. 2), Leucas (i. xxx. 2) and Ambracia (ii. 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. lxxxii. 2).
of kinship;\textsuperscript{1} from Arcadia\textsuperscript{2} mercenaries sent by the Corinthians; the Sicyonians, who served under compulsion;\textsuperscript{3} and, from outside the Peloponnesus, the Boeotians.\textsuperscript{4} 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\textsuperscript{5} 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

\textsuperscript{4} cf. ch. xix. 3.

\textsuperscript{5} The latter part of the summer of 413 B.C.

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ὁρῶσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διάνοιαν αὐτῶν αἰσθομένοις

2 Βουλευτέα ἐδόκει. καὶ ἔννεπλθόντες οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ταξιαρχοὶ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὡτὶ τά ἐπιτήδεια οὕτε αὐτίκα ἐτι εἴχον (προτεμψάσας γὰρ ἐς Κατάνην ὡς ἐκπλευσόμενοι ἀπείπον μὴ ἐπάγειν) οὕτε τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον ἐξείν, εἰ μὴ ναυκρατήσουσιν, ἐβουλεύσαντο τὰ μὲν τείχη τὰ ἄνω ἐκλιπεῖν, πρὸς δὲ αὐτὰς ταῖς ναυσίν ἀπολαβόντες διατείχοματι ὅσον οἶον τε ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τε σκεύεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἰκανοὶ γενέσθαι, τούτο μὲν φρουρεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πεζοῦ τὰς ναύς ἀπάσας, ὅσαι ἦσαν καὶ δυναταὶ καὶ ἀπλοῦντες, πάντα τινὶ ἐσβιβάζοντες πληρώσαι, καὶ διαναμαχόμαστε, ἡν μὲν νικῶσιν, ἐς Κατάνην κομίζεσθαι, ἢν δὲ μὴ, ἐμπρήσαστε τὰς ναύς πεζῇ ξυνατάξαμενοι ἀποχωρεῖν ἢ ἄν τάχιστα μέλλωσι τινος χωρίον ἢ βαρβαρικὸν ἢ Ἐλληνικὸν φιλίου ἀντιλήψεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐδοξεῖν

3 αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, καὶ ἐποίησαν· ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄνω τειχῶν ὑποκατέβησαν καὶ τὰς ναύς ἐπλήρωσαν πόλεις, ἀναγκασάστες ἐσβαίνειν ὅστις καὶ ὅπως· ἐδόκει ἡλικίας μετέχων ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι.

καὶ ἔννεπληρώθησαν νῆες αἱ πᾶσαι δέκα μάλιστα καὶ ἐκάτον· τοξῶσας τε ἐπὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὺς καὶ ἅκουστας τῶν τε Ἀκαριάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕξων ἐσεβίβαζον καὶ τάλλα ὡς οἴον τὸ ἢν ἐξ

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 taxiarchs 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
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ἀναγκαίον τε καὶ τοιαύτης διανοίας ἐπορίσαντο. 5 ὁ δὲ Νικίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἔταχμα ἦν, ὅρων καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῷ τε παρὰ τὸ εἰσόδος πολὺ ταῖς ναυσί κρατηθήματι ἀθυμοῦντας καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὁπάνω ὡς τάχιστα βουλομένους διακινδυνεύειν, ἡγικαλέσας ἀπαντας παρεκελεύσατο τε προτόν καὶ ἐλέξει τοιαῦτε.  

ΛXI. Ἀνδρεὶς στρατιώται Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, ὁ μὲν ἀγών ὁ μέλλων ὁμοίως κοινὸς ἀπασίν ἔσται περὶ τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἑκάστοις οὐχ ἦσον ἡ τοῖς πολεμίοις. 1 ἣν γὰρ κρατήσωμεν νῦν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἐστὶ τῷ τῆς ὑπάρχουσάν ποιείν πολὺν ἐπιδεῖν. 2 ἀδύμεῳ δὲ οὐ χρὴ ὀυδὲ πᾶσχειν ὑπὲρ οἱ ἀπειρότατοι τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν, οἱ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀγώσι σφαλέντες ἐπείτα διὰ παντὸς τῆς ἐλπίδα τοῦ 3 φόβου ὁμοίαν ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἐχουσίν. ἀλλ' ὅσοι τε Ἀθηναίων πάρεστε, πολλῶν ἡ ἡ πολέμων ἐμπειροὶ ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ἔστι καὶ τῶν ἐμπειροὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμωις παραλόγων, καὶ τῷ τῆς τύχης κἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίζαντες στήναι καὶ ὅσοι ἀναμαχοῦμενοι ἀξίως τούτων τῶν πλῆθους, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐφοράτε, παρασκευάζεσθε.  

ΛXII. ὁ δὲ ἀρωγὰ ἐυνῖδομεν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λιμένος στενοτητὶ πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ὁχλον τῶν νεῶν ἔσεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρασκευήν, οἰς πρώτοιν

1 οὐχ ἦσον ἡ τοῖς πολεμίοις, 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
τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐσκεμμένα ἦτοι·

καὶ γὰρ τοξότα πολλοὶ καὶ ἀκοντισταῖ ἐπιβησονται καὶ ὅχλος ὁ ναυμαχίαν μὲν ποιοῦμενοι ἐν πελάγει ὄν τὸν ἐχρῶμεθα διὰ τὸ βλάπτειν ἀν τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν νεῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνθάδε ἰμαγκασμένη ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεισόδοροι πρόσφορα ἔστατι. ηὔρητα δὴ ἡμῖν ὅσα χρῆ ἀντιναυπηγείσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπιφάνειος αὐτῷ παχύτατας, ὁπερ δὴ μάλιστα ἐβλάττομεθα, χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολαί, αἱ σχῆσουσι τὴν πάλιν ἀνάκρουσιν τῆς προσπεσοῦσις νεῶν, ἢν τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ἐπιβάται ὑποφέρωσιν. ἐς τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ ἰμαγκασμέθα ὡστε πεζομαχεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ τὸ μῆτε αὐτοὺς ἀνακρούσθαι μῆτε ἐκείνους ἐὰν ὁφελημον φαίνεται, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τῆς γῆς πλὴν ὅσον ἀν ὁ πεζὸς ἡμῶν ἐπέχη πολεμίας οὕσης.

Οὐν χρῆ μεμνημένους διαμάχεσθαι ὅσον ἄν δύνησθε, καὶ μή ἐξωθεῖσθαι ἐς αὐτῆν, ἀλλὰ ἐμπεσοῦσις νη τε νεῶς μή πρὸτερον ἀξιοῦν ἀπολύσθαι ἡ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεμίου καταστρώματος ὑπελέγετε. καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ὁπλίταις ὑμῖς ἕσον τῶν ναυτῶν παρακελεύομαι, ὅσῳ τῶν ἀνοίξου μᾶλλον τὸ ἐργον τοῦτο ὑπάρχει δὴ ἡμῖν ἐτὶ νῦν γε τὰ πλείω τῷ πεζῷ ἐπικρατεῖν. τοῖς δὲ ναύταις παραίνεται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ δὲ καὶ

1 i.e. if they board the hostile ships and fight hand to hand.
—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. 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
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δέομαι μη ἐκπεπλήχθαι τι ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἄγαν, τὴν τε παρασκευὴν ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων βελτίων νῦν ἔχοντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλείους, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὡς ἀξία ἐστὶ δια- σώσασθαι, οἱ τέως Ἀθηναίοι νομίζομενοι, καὶ μὴ ὅντες, ἡμῶν ¹ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῶν τρόπων τῇ μιμήσει ἐθαυμάζεσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἕλλαδα, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἐλασσον κατὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖσθαι, ἐς τε τὸ φοβερὸν τοὺς ὑπηκόους καὶ τὸ μη ² ἀδικεῖσθαι πολὺ πλείον, ³ μετείχετε. ὡστε κοινωνίᾳ μονοί ἐλευθέρως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅντες δικαίως ἀν ⁴ αὐτήν νῦν μὴ κατα- προδίδοτε, καταφρονήσαντες δὲ Κορινθῶν τε, οὐς πολλάκις νεικικατε, καὶ Σικελιωτῶν, ὃν οὐδ' ἀντιστήναι οὔδεις ἡκατέρων καὶ ἡμῖν ἡξίωσεν, ἀμύνασθε αὐτοὺς καὶ δείξατε ὅτι καὶ μετ' ἄσθενείας καὶ ξυμφορῶν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐπιστήμη κρείσσον ἐστὶν ἐτέρας εὐτυχοῦσης ῥώμης.

LXIV. Τούς τε Ἀθηναίους ὑμῶν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ναύς καὶ τάδε ὑπομομυήσκω, ὅτι οὐτέ ναῦς ἐν τοῖς νεωσοῦσις ἄλλας ὀμοίας ταῖσθε οὔτε ὑπελύστε, εἰ τε ξυμβιβάζεται τι ἄλλο ἡ ἡμετέρα μὴ τὸ κρατεῖν ὑμῖν, τοὺς τε ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εὐθὺς ἔπτε ἐκεῖνα πλευσομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὑπο- λοίπους ἡμῶν ἀδυνάτους ἐσομένους τοὺς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀμύνασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄν

¹ With Codex Paris: all the best MSS. υμῶν.
² Hude omits μη, 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.

⁴ The text is corrupt; most editors bracket ἄν.
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υπὸ Συρακοσίων εὐθὺς γήγνοισθε, οἷς αὐτοὶ ἵστε
οἷς γυνῶμη ἐπῆλθετε, οἳ δὲ ἐκεῖ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίωις.
2 ὡςτε ἐν ἑν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγῶνι καθεστῶτες
κατερήσατε, εἴπερ ποτὲ, καὶ ἐνθυμεῦσθε καθ' ἐκάστους
tε καὶ ξύμπαντες ὅτι οἱ ἐν ταῖς
ναυσίν ὑμῶν ἐσόμενοι καὶ πεζοὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
εἰσὶ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἡ ὑπόλοιπος πόλις καὶ τὸ
μέγα ὅνομα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, περὶ δὲν, εἰ τίς τι
ἐτέρος ἐτέρου προφέρει ἡ ἐπιστήµη ἡ εὐφυχία,
οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον καρφῶ ἀποδειξάµενος
αὐτῶς τε αὐτῷ ὁφέλιμος ἱένοιτο καὶ τοῖς
ξύμπασι σωτήριος.

LXV. Ὅ µὲν Νικίας τοσάντα παρακελευσάµενος
eὐθὺς ἐκέλευε πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς. τῷ δὲ
Γυλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις παρῆν µὲν
αισθάνεσθαι, ὀρῶσι καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν παρασκευὴν,
ὅτι ναυμαχήσουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, προηγγέλθη δ' αὐτοῖς
καὶ ἡ ἐπιβολὴ τῶν σιδηρῶν χειρῶν, καὶ
πρὸς τὰ πάλλα ἐξηρτύσαντο ὡς ἐκαστα καὶ πρὸς
2 τούτον τὰς γὰρ πρώρας καὶ τῆς νεῶς ἀνω ἐπὶ
πολὺ κατεβύρσωσαν, ὡς µὲν ἀπολισθάνου καὶ
3 µῆ ἔχοι ἀντιλαβὴν ἡ χεῖρ ἐπιβαλλοµένη. καὶ
ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἑτοῖµα ἦν, παρακελευσάντο ἐκεῖνοι
ὅτι τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ Γύλιππος καὶ ἐλέξαν τοιάδε.

LXVI. "Ὅτι µὲν καλὰ τὰ προειρηγασµένα καὶ
ὑπὲρ καλῶν τῶν µελλόντων ὁ ἀγῶν ἐσται, ὃ
Συρακοσίοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οὗ τε πολλοὶ δοκεῖτε

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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. Gylippus 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, Gylippus 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
ήμων εἰδέναι (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως αυτῶν προθύμως ἀντελάβεσθε), καὶ εἰ τις μη ἑπὶ ὁσὸν δεὶ ἡσθηται, 2 σημανοῦμεν. Ἀθηναίους γὰρ ἐς τὴν χώραν τήνδε ἐλθόντας πρῶτον μὲν ἑπὶ τῆς Σικελίας κατα- δουλώσει, ἔπειτ', εἴ κατορθώσειαν, καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς Ἀλλής Ἐλλάδος, καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν ἡδη μεγίστην τῶν τε πρὶν Ἐλληνῶν καὶ τῶν νῦν κεκτημένων, πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων ύπο- στάντες τῷ ναυτικῷ, ὡπερ πάντα κατέσχον, τὰς μὲν νεικίζομε ναυμαχίας, τὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος 3 νῦν νικήσετε. ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ ἐπείδαν ὡς ἄξιοι συν θευχεῖν κολοουσθῶσι, τὸ γ' ὑπόλοιπον αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἀσθενεστέρον αὐτὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἐστιν ἢ εἰ μηδ' φόβησαν τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ αὐχήματος σφαλλόμενοι καὶ παρά ἴσχυν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνδιδόασιν τὸ νῦν Ἀθηναίους εἰκὸς πεποιθέναι.

LXVII. Ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ τε ὑπάρχον πρόπερον, ὡπερ καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες ἐτι ὄντες ἀπετολμήσαμεν, Βεβαιότερον νῦν, καὶ τῆς δοκήσεως προσγεγενη- μένης αὐτῶν κρατίστους εἶναι, 1 εἰ τοὺς κρατίστους ἐνικήσαμεν, διπλασία ἐκάστον ἡ ἐλπὶς. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἡ μεγίστη ἐλπὶς 2 μεγίστην καὶ τὴν προβυμίαν παρέχεται. τὰ τε τῆς ἀντιμιμήσεως αὐτῶν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἡμῶν τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρω τρόπῳ ξυνήθη τε ἐστι καὶ ὅικ' ἀνάρμοστοι πρὸς ἐκάστον 2 αὐτῶν ἐσόμεθα. οἵ δ',

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

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

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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 ὁπλίται ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρὰ τὸ καθεστήκος ὡςι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοντισταί, χερσαίοι ώς εἰπεῖν Ἀκαρνάνες τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ναῦς ἀναβάντες, οὐ οὐδ’ ὅπως καθεξομένους χρῆ τὸ βέλος ἀφεὶναι εὐρήσουσι, πῶς οὐ σφαλοῦσί τε τὰς ναῦς καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πάντες οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν τρόπῳ κινοῦμενοι 3 παράξονται; ἐπεί καὶ τῷ πληθεῖ τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἀφελήσονται, εἰ τις καὶ τόδε ύμων, ὅτι οὐκ ἵσαις ναυμαχῆσιε, πεφόβηται ἐν ὀλίγῳ γὰρ πολλαὶ ἀργότεραι μὲν ἐς τὸ δράν τι δυνὴνται ἔσονται, ρᾶσται δὲ ἐς τὸ βλάπτεσθαι ἀφ’ οὐν ἡμῶν 4 παρεσκεύασται. τὸ δ’ ἀληθέστατον γνῶτε, ἐξ ὧν ἣμεις οἵμεθα σαφῶς πεπύθανεν ὑπερβαλλόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς παροῦσης ἀπορίας ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καθεστήκασιν οὐ παρασκευῆς πίστει μᾶλλον ἡ τύχης ἀποκινδυνεύσας οὕτως ὅπως δύνανται, ἢν ἡ βιασάμενοι ἐκπλεύσωσιν ἡ κατὰ γῆν μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ ἀποχώρησιν ποιώνται, ὅσ τῶν γε παρόντων οὐκ ἂν πράξαντες χείρον.

LXVIII. Πρὸς οὖν ἀυξᾶν τε τοιαύτην καὶ τύχην ἀνδρῶν ἑαυτήν παραδεδωκυίαν πολεμιωτῶν ὅργῃ προσμείξωμεν, καὶ νομίσωμεν ἃμα μὲν νομιμότατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτίους οὐ ἂν ὅσ ἐπὶ τιμωρία τοῦ προσπεσόντος δικαίωσωσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γινόμης τὸ θυμοῦμενον, ἃμα 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—Aeolians and others—put aboard ships, men who will not even know how to discharge their darts sitting down, will they 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 ἔχθροι καὶ ἐχθρίστοι, πάντες ἵςτε, οἳ γε ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἣλθον δουλωσόμενοι, ἐν φίλοις, καὶ κατώρθωσαν, ἀνδράσι μὲν ἄν τὰ ἀλγίστα προσέθεσαν, παισὶ δὲ καὶ γυναιξὶ τὰ ἀπρεπέστατα, πολεί δὲ τῇ πάσῃ τὴν αἰσχίστην ἐπίκλησιν. ἀνθ' ὁν μὴ μαλακισθῆναι τινα πρέπει, μηδὲ τὸ ἀκινδύνως ἀπελθεῖν αὐτοὺς κέρδος νομίσαι. τούτο μὲν γὰρ, καὶ ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν, ὁμοίως δράσοσιν· τὸ δὲ πραξάντων ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος ἂν βουλόμεθα τούσδε τε κολασθήναι καὶ τῇ πάσῃ Σικελία καρπουμένη καὶ πρὶν ἐλευθερίαν βεβαιοτέραν παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὅταν ἄγων καὶ κινδύνων οὕτω σπανώσατο οἳ ἀν ἐλάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι βλάπτοντες πλείστα διὰ τὸ εὐτυχῆσαι ὑφελώσιν.

LXIX. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ Γύλιππος τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς σφατέροις στρατιώταις παρακελευσάμενοι ἀντεπλήρουν τὰς ναῦς εὔθυς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἦσθάνοντο.

2 οὔ δὲ Νικίας ύπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ ὅριν οἶος ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ ὡς ἐγγύς ἦδη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅσον οὗκ ἐμέλλον ἀνάγεσθαι, καὶ νομίσας, ὅπερ πάσχοσιν ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι, πάντα τε ἐργῷ ἐτὶ σφίσιν ἐνδεῖ εἶναι καὶ λόγῳ αὐτοῖς οὕτω ἱκανὰ εἰρήσθαι, ἀδεις τῶν τριπλέρχων ἐνα ἐκαστοῦ ἄνεκάλει, πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάξων καὶ

1 καὶ before τὸ λεγόμενον, omitted by one inferior MS. and Valla, is deleted by most editors.

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BOOK VII. lxviii. 1–lxix. 2

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.
In this fashion, e.g. Ὑπερ Αἴγεως Αἴγειδη. 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 Euthydemus—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 πεζὸς ὑμα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ 
Συρακοσίου Σικανὸς μὲν καὶ Ἀγαθαρχος, κέρας 
ἐκατέρος τοῦ παντὸς ἔχων, Πυθὴν δὲ καὶ οἱ 
2 Κορίνθιοι τὸ μέσον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι1 
προσέμισσον τῷ ξεύγματι, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ρύμῃ 
ἐπιπλέοντες ἐκράτουσι τὸν τεταγμένον νεῶν πρὸς 
αὐτὸ, καὶ ἐπιειρώντο λύειν τὰς κλῆσεις, μετὰ δὲ 
τούτῳ πανταχόθεν σφίσι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ 
ξυμμάχων ἐπιφερομένων ὡς πρὸς τῷ ξεύγματι ἐτί 
μόνον ἡ ναυμαχία ἄλλα καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα 
ἐγήγετο, καὶ ἦν καρτερὰ καὶ οίᾳ οὐχ ἐτέρα 
3 προτέρων. πολλῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐκατέρως προδημία 
ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπιπλέον ὅποτε κελευσθεὶ 
ἐγήγετο, πολλῇ δὲ ἡ ἀντιτέχνησις τῶν κυβερνη-
τῶν καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οἱ τε ἐπι-
βάται ἐθέράπευσιν, ὅποτε προσπέσοι ναῦς νη,
μὴ λείπεσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος τῆς ἄλλης 
téχνης; πᾶς τε τίς ἐν οὗ προσετέκτακτο αὐτὸς 
4 ἐκαστὸς ἦπειργετο πρῶτος φαίνεσθαι. ξυμπεσο-
σών δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν νεῶν (πλείσται γὰρ 
δὴ αὐτὴ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἐναυμάχησαν. βραχὺ γὰρ 
ἀπέλιπον ξυναμφότεραι διακόσιαι γενέσθαι), αἱ 
μὲν ἐμβολαὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀνακρούσεις καὶ 
διέκπλους ὀλίγαι ἐγήγνυτο, αἱ δὲ προσβολαὶ, ὡς 
τύχοι ναῦς νη προσπεσοῦσα ἡ διὰ τὸ φεῦγειν ἢ 
5 ἄλλη ἐπιπλέουσα, πυκνότεραι ἦσαν. καὶ ὅσον 
μὲν χρόνον προσφέροιτο ναῦς, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κατα-

1 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, with B; Hude reads οἱ ἄλλοι Ἄ. 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. 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 manoeuvre διέκπλαυσ, see note on ch. xxxvi. 4.
στρωμάτων τοὺς ἀκοντίους καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἄφθονοις ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχρόντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσμείξειαν, οἳ ἐπιβάται ἐς χεῖρας οἴντες ἐπει-ρὸντο ταῖς ἄλληλων ναυσὶν ἐπιβαίνειν. Ξυνετύχανε τε πολλαχοῦ διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐμβεβληκέναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐμβεβλη-σθαί, δύο τε περὶ μίαν καὶ ἑστὶν ἐς καὶ πλείους ναῦς κατ' ἀνάγκην ξυνηρτήσθαι, καὶ τοῖς κυβερνη- ταῖς τῶν μὲν φυλακὴν τῶν δ' ἐπιβουλῆ, μῆ καθ' ἐν ἐκαστῶν, κατὰ πολλά δὲ πανταχόθεν, περιεστάναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπου μέγαν ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ἥμπι πιπτοῦσον ἐκπληξίν τε ἀμα καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκόης δόν οἱ κελευσταὶ φθέγγοντο παρέχειν.

7 πολλὴ γὰρ δὴ ἡ παρακέλευσις καὶ βοή ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τοῖς κελευσταῖς κατὰ τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλομυκίαν ἐγύγνετο, τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις βιάζεσθαι τε τῶν ἐκπλουσ ἐπιβοῶντες καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σωτηρίας νῦν, εἰ ποτε καὶ αὕτης, προθύμως ἀντιλαβέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις καλὸν εἶναι κωλύσαι τε αὐτοῦς διαιφυγεῖν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστους

8 πατρίδα νικῆσαντας ἐπανυξῆσαι. καὶ οἱ στρα-τηγοὶ προσέτι ἐκατέρων, εἰ τινὰ ποὺ ὀρθὲν μη κατ' ἀνάγκην πρύμναν κρουόμενον, ἀνακαλοῦντες νομαστὶ τὸν τριήραρχον ἡρώτων, οἱ μὲν Ἀθη-ναῖοι, εἰ τὴν πολεμιστάτην γῆν οἰκειοτέραν ἡδη τῆς οὗ δὲ ὀλίγον πόνου κεκτημένης θαλάσσης

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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
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ήγούμενοι ὑποχωροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι, εἰ οὐς σαφῶς ἐσασὶ προθυμομένους 1 παντὶ τρόπῳ διαφυγεῖν, τούτους αὐτοὶ φεύγοντας φεύγουσιν.

LXXI. Ὁ τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἵσορρόπου τῆς ναυμαχίας καθεστηκινας πολὺν τὸν ἁγώνα καὶ ξύστασιν τῆς γυώμης εἰς Kenn, φιλονικῶν μὲν ὁ αὐτόθεν περὶ τοῦ πλείουν ἣδι καλοῦ, δεδιότες δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μὴ τῶν παρόντων ἐτι 2 χείρῳ πρᾶξωσιν. πάντων γὰρ δὴ ἀνακειμένων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐσ τὰς ναῦς ὁ τε φόβος ἢν υπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐδενὶ ἐσικὼς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον τῆς τάξεως 2 ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς ναυ-

3 μαχίας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἤναγκάζοντο ἐχειν. δι' ὅλιγου γὰρ οὕσης τῆς θέας καὶ οὐ πάντων ἕμα τοῖς αὐτῷ σκοποῦντων, εἰ μὲν τινες ἱδοὶεν τῇ τοὺς σφετέρους ἑπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησαν τε ἄν καὶ πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν μὴ στερήσαι σφᾶς τῆς σωτηρίας ἑτρέποντο· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὶ ἱσσοῦμενον βλέψαι τε δολοφυμῷ τε ἀμα μετὰ βοῆς ἐχρώντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμεὼν τῆς ὑφεως καὶ τὴν γυώμην μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδουλοῦντο· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀντιπαλὸν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἀπιδόντες, διὰ τὸ ἀκρίτως ἄφυγεῖς τῆς ἁμίλλης καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἵσα τῇ δῴζῃ περιδεῶς ἐξυπανεύσιτες ἐν

1 'Αθηναίοις, after προθυμομένους, deleted by Duker.
2 ἀνώμαλον τῆς τάξεως, added by Classen.

1 Classen's emendation of the incomprehensible Vulgate seems to have the support of the Schol. διὰ τῆς ἀνώμαλίαν τῆς χώρας ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἐδείχον τὴν ναυμαχίαν. Bekker's emendation, δι' αὐτὸ ἀνώμαλον... for διὰ τῷ... is confirmed by one MS. (α₂) 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

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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. 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."
τοϊς χαλεπώτατα διήγον· αἰεὶ γὰρ παρ' ολύγον
4 ἡ διέφευγον ἡ ἀπώλλυντο. ἦ γάρ τῇ αὐτῷ
στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐως ἀγχώμαλα ἐναυ-
μάχουν, πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκούσαι, ὀλοφυρμός, βοή,
νικῶντες, κρατοῦμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἦν ἐν μεγάλῳ
κινδύνῳ μέγα στρατόπεδου πολυειδῆ ἀναγκάζοντο
5 φθέγγεται. παραπλήσια δε καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν
νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπασχοῦν, πρὶν γε δὴ οἱ Συρακόσιοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχούσης τῆς
ναυμαχίας ἔτρεψαν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἑπὶ-
κείμενοι λαμπρῶς, πολλῆς κραυγῆς καὶ διακε-
6 λευσμῆ χρώμενοι, κατεδίωκαν ἐς τὴν γῆν. τότε
δὲ ὁ μὲν ναυτικὸς στρατός, ἄλλοι ἄλλη, ὁσοι μὴ
μετέωροι ἐάλωσαν, κατενεχθέντες ἔξέπεσον ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ πεζὸς οὐκέτι διαφόρως, ἄλλῳ
ἀπὸ μίας ὀρμής οἵμων ὑπὲρ τε καὶ στόνῳ πάντες,
δυσανασχετοῦντες τὰ γιγνόμενα, οἱ μὲν ἑπὶ τὰς
ναῦς παρεβοῆθον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ
τείχους ἐς φυλακὴν, ἄλλοι δὲ, καὶ οἱ πλείστοι,
ἡδὴ περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπῃ σωθήσονται διε-
7 σκόπουν. ἦν τε ἐν τῷ παραυτικὰ οὐδεμιᾶς δὴ
τῶν ξυμπασῶν ἐλάσσων ἐκπλήξεις. παραπλήσια
τε ἐπεπόνθεσαν καὶ ἔδρασαν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πύλω· δια-
φθαρεῖσῶν γὰρ τῶν νεῶν τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις
προσαπώλλυντο αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ἄνδρες
diabetes, 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
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στον ὰν τὸ κατὰ γῆν σωθήσεσθαι, ἢν μὴ τι παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται.

LXXII. Γενομένης δ' ἱσχυρᾶς τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ πολλῶν νεῶν ἀμφοτέροις καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολομένων οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ εὐμμαχοὶ ἐπικρατήσαντες τά τε νανάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλουντο καὶ ἀποπλεύσαντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τροπαίοις ἐστησαν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι ύπὸ μεγέθους τῶν παρόντων κακῶν νεκρῶν μὲν πέρι ἡ ναναγίῳς οὖν ἐπενόουν αἰτῆσαι ἀναίρεσιν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐβουλεύοντο εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν. Δημοσθένης δὲ Νικία προσελθὼν γυνώμην ἐποιεῖτο πληρώσαντας ἐτί τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν βιώσασθαι, ἢν δύνωνται, ἀμα ἔρ τὸν ἐκπλουν, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖος ἐτί αἱ λοιπαὶ εἰσὶ νῆς χρήσιμαι σφίσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις περίληπτοι ὡς ἐξήκοντα, τοῖς δ' ἑναντίοις ἐλάσσονος ἢ πεντήκοντα. καὶ ξυγχωροῦντος Νικίου τῇ γυνώμη καὶ βουλομένων πληροῦν αὐτῶν οἱ ναῦται οὐκ ἤθελον ἐσβαίνειν διὰ τὸ καταπεπλήρωσθαι τῇ ἥσσῃ καὶ μὴ ἄν ἔτι οἴεσθαι κρατῆσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς κατὰ γῆν ἀναχωρήσουντες ἢδη ξύμπαντες τὴν γυνώμην ἐξοιοῦν.

LXXIII. Ἐρμοκράτης δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος ὑπονόησας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νομίσας δεινῶν εἶναι εἰ τοσαῦτη στρατιά κατὰ γῆν ἀποχωρήσασα καὶ καθεξομένη ποι τῆς Σικελίας βουλήσεται αὐθίς σφίσι τῶν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι, ἐσηγεῖται ἔλθων τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὕσιν ὡς οὐ χρεὼν ἀποχωρήσαι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς περιδείν, λέγων ταῦτα ἀ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ ἐξελθόντας ἢδη πάντας.
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
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Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἥμερας τὰς τὰς ὅδοὺς ἀποκοδομήσαι καὶ τὰ στενοῦς τῶν χωρίων προφθάσαντας φυλάσσειν. οἱ δὲ ἥμερας τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀρτί ἀσέμνους ἀπὸ ναυμαχίας τὰς μεγάλης ἀναπταμένους καὶ ἀμα ἐρτής οὐσίς (ἐτυχε γὰρ αὐτῶς Ἡρακλεὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν θυσία οὐσά) οὐ δοκεῖν ἂν ῥαδίως ἐθελήσαι ὑπακούσαι ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ περι- χαροῦς τῆς νίκης πρὸς πόσιν τετράφθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρτή, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἐπιτίθειαν ἂν σφῶν πείθεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἢ ὀπλα λαβόντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξελθεῖν. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἀρχουσι ταῦτα λογιζομένους ἐθαίνετο ἀπόρα καὶ οὐκέτι ἐπείθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἡρμοκράτης, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις τάδε μηχανάται, δεδώς μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καθ’ ἕστηκαν προφθάσωσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ διελθοῦτες τὰς ἀλεπώ- τας τῶν χωρίων” πέμπτε τῶν ἔποιον τινας τῶν ἐκνύτοι μετὰ ἱππέων πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίους στρατόπεδον ἧνικα ἥνεσκόταις οἱ προσελά- σαντες ἐξ ὅσου τις ἔμελλεν ἀκούσεσθαι καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τινας ὡς ὄντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτήδειοι (ἡσαν γὰρ τινες τῶς Νικία διάγγελοι τῶν ἐνδόθεν) ἐκέλευον φράζειν Νικία μὴ ἀπάγειν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ στρατέμα, ὡς Συρακοσίων τὰς ὅδοὺς φυλασσόντων, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἔστιν τῆς ἡμέρας παρασκευασάμενον ἀποχρωθεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον, καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες διήγησαν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

1 cf. ch. xlviii. 2.

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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 Syracuse¹—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.
1.LXXIV. Oi de pro's to árrhela épéschon tìn nuktà, nomísanteves ouk ápatèn einai. kai épeidh' kai òs ouk evthús órfmësan, édoxen autôi kai tìn épinoúsan ðmérav periweinai, ópwoz xuskeunásai to òs ek tòn dynatw oì stratiwtaì ðti xrhsmw-tata, kai tà mév ðllà pánta kataikpèin, ðnala-bontes de autà ðsa peri tò sòma ès dìaitan 2 ðpírhexen èpitièdeia ðfornmàsthai. Ïurrakòsioi de kai Gùlìppos tò mév pezò proxelexòntes tás te ðdoùs tás kata tìn xòran ð eikòs ðn tòus 'Athnàion ðènai aperfàrgwnsan kai tòn rîthron kai potamòn tás diabàseis èfylasson kai ès ðpòdoxhò ðtò strateúmatos ðs kólýsontes ð édokèi ètásso ntho: tais de nautì ðrospleusantes tás nàvès tòn 'Athnàion ápò tòu aîgamolow àfeIlkow èneptrhèsan de tìnas ðlígas, òspeter dianòthèsan, autòi ði 'Athnàioi, tás ð' állas kath' ðsuwìsan ouðevòs kólýnton ðs èkásthou ðoi èkptèptwknìan ðnadaìsmwneoi èkòmizòn ès tìn pòlivn.

LXXV. Metà de touto, èpeidh' èdokèi tò Êkìa kai tò Dìmosothènì ðkanìs fàreskeunánsthai, kai ð nàmasìs ð'dì tòu strateúmatos trítì ðméra 2 ápò tòs nàmamàsìa ègímnìto. deínìov ðòv ðn ðv kath' èn mónon tòn pragmàtov, ðti tás te nàvès àpolòlèkòtes pásas àpèxwroun kai àntì megálìs

1 i.e., though an immediate departure seemed forced on them by the circumstances.
2 cf. ch. lx. 2.

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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
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ἐλπίδος καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολείψει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξυνέβαινε τῇ τε ὁψεὶ ἐκάστῳ ἀλγεινα καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ αἰσθέσθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ νεκρῶν ἀτάφων

3 ὅντων, ὃποτε τις ἰδοί τινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κείμενον, ἐς λύπην μετὰ φόβου καθίστατο, καὶ οἱ ξόντες καταλειπόμενοι τραυματία τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς πολὺ τῶν τεθνεῶτων τοὺς ξῶσι·

4 ἦσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀθλιώτεροι. πρὸς γὰρ ἀντιβολίαι καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν τραπέμενοι ἐς ἀπορίαι καθίστασαν, ἀγείν τε σφᾶς ἀξιοῦντες καὶ ἕνα ἐκαστον ἐπιβοῶμενοι, εἴ τινα ποῦ τίς ἰδοί ἡ ἐταίρῳ ἡ οἰκείων, τῶν τε ἐξυσκήνων ἡ ἔπι ἀποίνων ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦντες ōσον δύνατο, εἴ τω δὲ προλίποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ ἀνεῖν ὀλίγων ἐπιθειασμῶν καὶ οἰμωνος ἀπολειπόμενοι, ὡστε δάκρυσι πάν τὸ στράτευμα πλησθεῖν καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τοιαύτη μὴ ῥαδίως ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καίτερ ἐκ πολεμίας τε καὶ μέγας ἡ κατὰ δάκρυνα τὰ μὲν πεποιθότας ἦδη, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν

5 ἐν ἀφανεὶ δεδότας μὴ πάθωσιν. κατήθεια τε τις ἀμα καὶ κατάμεμψις σφῶν αὐτῶν πολλῆ ἦν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλο ἡ πόλει ἐκπεπολιορκημένη ἐβέβηκαν ὑποφευγοῦσῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ ὡς μικρὰ μυριάδες γὰρ τοῦ ἐξυμπαντός ὀχλοῦ οὐκ ἐλάσσον τεσσάρων

1 ξῶσι, Classen’s suggestion; ὀρῷσι 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 ὅπι, 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 tent-mates 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 appeals 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 οὐκ ἄνευ οὐκ ἀληγοφ, and Valla translates, non sine multis obtestationibus ac ploratibus. Various conjectures have been offered as substitutes, e.g. ἀγράφσ (Heil-mann), συχνά (Poppe), ἀκτράφ (van Herwerden), ἀληγαν (Madvig). Stahl deletes ἀληγοφ as arising from a gloss, ἀλολυγ.}

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άμα ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ τούτων ὦ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφερον ὦ τί τις ἐδύνατο ἔκαστος· 1 χρήσιμον, καὶ ὦ ὀπλίται καὶ ὦ ἱππῆς παρὰ τὸ εἰώθος αὐτοῖ γε καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σιτία; 2 οἱ μὲν ἀπορία ἀκολούθων, οἱ δὲ ἀπίστια: ἀπηνυτομολοχήσαν γὰρ πάλαι τε καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι παραχρῆμα. ἔφερον δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἰκανά: σῖτος γὰρ οὐκέτι ἦν ἐν τῷ
6 στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ μὴν ἡ ἄλλη αἰκία καὶ ἡ 3 ἱσομοιρία τῶν κακῶν ἔχουσά τινα ὄμως τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν 4 κούφισιν, οὐδὲ ὃς ῥαδία ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐδοξάζετο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπὸ ὃς λαμπρότητος καὶ αὐχίματος τοῦ πρώτου ἐς οἶαν τελευτήν καὶ
7 ταπεινώτητα ἀφίκατο. μέγιστον γὰρ ἐτο τὸ διάφορον τοῦτο Ἑλληνικῷ στρατεύματι ἐγένετο, οἷς ἄντι μὲν τοῦ ἄλλους δουλωσομένους ἥκειν αὐτοὺς τοῦτο μᾶλλον δεδιότας μὴ πάθωσι ἔννεβή ἀπιέναι, ἄντι δὲ εὐχῆς τε καὶ παιάνων, μεθ' ὅν ἐξέπλεον, μᾶλλον τούτων τῶν ἐναντίοις ἐπιφημίσμασιν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, πεζοὺς τε ἄντι ναυβατῶν πορευομένους καὶ ὀπλιτικῶς προσέχοντας μᾶλλον ἡ ναυτικῶ. ὄμως δὲ ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ ἐπικρεμαμένου ἑτὶ κινδύνου πάντα ταῦτα αὐτοῖς οὐστὰ ἐφαίνετο.

LXXVI. Ὄρων δὲ ὥς Νικίας τὸ στράτευμα ἀνθυμοῦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ μεταβολῇ ὄν, ἐπιπαρισκόν ὁς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐθάρσυνε τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, βοὴ τε χρώμενος ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐκάστοις καθ'

1 ἔκαστος B, all other MSS. κατὰ τὸ.
2 All MSS. except C read, after σιτία, ὑπὸ τοὺς ὄπλοις, "under their arms."
3 ἡ ἱσομοιρία. Hude deletes ἡ, with Dobree, and reads ἱσομοιρία 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 psalms, 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 πολλὰ, deleted by Hude, as probably not read by the Schol.
οὺς γίγνοιτο ὕπο προθυμίας καὶ βουλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγονύσκων ὡφελείν.

LXXVII. "Ετι καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὡ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἐλπίδα χρῆ ἔχειν (ἡδὲ τινὲς καὶ ἐκ δεινοτέρων ἢ τοιοῦντε ἐσώθησαν), μηδὲ καταμέμφεσθαι ὕμᾶς ἀγαν αὐτοὺς μήτε ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μήτε ταῖς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν νῦν κακο-2 παθίαις. καγὼ τοι οὐδενὸς ὕμων οὔτε ῥώμη προφέρων (Ἄλλ᾽ ὀράτε δὴ ὡς διάκειμαι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου) οὔτε εὐτυχίᾳ δοκῶν ποι ὑστερός του εἶναι κατὰ τε τῶν ἱδιων βίων καὶ ἐς τα ἄλλα, νῦν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κινδύνῳ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις αἰωροῦμαι· καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐς θεοὺς νόμιμα δεδιήτημαι, πολλὰ δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια καὶ ἀνεπίφθωνα. 3 ἀνθ᾽ ὄν ἡ μὲν ἐλπὶς ὁμοὶς θρασεία τοῦ μέλλοντος, αἱ δὲ ξυμφοραὶ οὐ καὶ ἀξίαν δὴ φοβοῦσιν. τάχα δὲ ἄν καὶ λωφήσειαν ἱκανὰ γὰρ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις ἡπτύχηται, καὶ εἰ τῷ θεῶν ἐπίφθουν ἐστρατεύ-4 σαμεν, ἀποχρόντως ἡδὴ τετιμωρήμεθα. ἦλθον γὰρ που καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἡδὴ ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρους, καὶ ἀνθρώπεια δράσας ται ἀνεκτὰ ἐπαθον. καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς νῦν τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἐπίτειξιν ἡπιώτερα ἔξειν (οὕκτον γὰρ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄξιότεροι ἡδὴ ἐσμὲν ἡ φθόνον), καὶ ὀρῶντες ὕμας αὐτοὺς οἴοι ὀπλίται ἀμα καὶ ὀσοι ξυντεταγμένοι χωρεῖτε μὴ κατα-πέπληκχε ἄγαν, λογίζεσθε δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ 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
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εὐθὺς ἔστε ὅποι ἂν καθέξησθε, καὶ ἄλλη οὐδεμία ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐν Σικελία ὀὐτ’ ἂν ἐπιώντας δέξατο ῥαδίως ὀὐτ’ ἂν ἱδρυθέντας ποι ἐξαναστήσειν.

5 τὴν δὲ πορείαν ὥστ’ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ εὔτακτον εἶναι αὐτοί φυλάξατε, μὴ ἄλλο τι ἡγησάμενος ἐκαστὸς ἢ ἐν ὧ ἂν ἀναγκασθῇ χωρίῳ μίχεσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ

6 πατρίδα καὶ τείχος κρατήσας ἔξειν. σπουδῇ δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ νῦκτα καὶ ἥμεραν ἐσται τῆς ὀδοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ἑπιτήδεια βραχέα ἔχομεν, καὶ ἣν ἀντιλαβώμεθά τοι φιλίου χωρίου τῶν Σικελῶν (οὕτω γὰρ ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ Συρακοσίων δέος ἐτι βέβαιοι εἰσιν), ἤδη νομίζετε ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ εἶναι. προπέπεμπται ὁ’ ὡς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπαντᾶν εἰρήμενου καὶ

7 σισία ἁμα κομίζειν. τὸ τε ἔξυμπται γυνότε, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς στρατιώται, ἀναγκαῖον τε δν υμῖν ἀνδρᾶς ἁγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι, ως μὴ ὄντος χωρίου ἐγγὺς ὅποι ἂν μαλακισθέντες σωθεῖτε, καὶ ἣν νῦν διαφύγῃτε τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ τε ἄλλοι τευξόμενοι ὃν ἐπιθυμεῖτε ποι ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν μεγάλην δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ πεπτωκυναν επανορθώσουτε· ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχῃ οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί.”

LXXVIII. 'Ο μὲν Νικίας τοιάδε παρακελεύμενος ἀμα ἐπηεὶ τὸ στρατέμα καὶ, εἴ πη ὁρφον διεσπασμένον καὶ μὴ ἐν τάξει χωρῶν, ξυνάγουν καὶ καθιστᾶς, καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης οὔδὲν ἤσσον τοῖς καθ’ ἑαυτῶν τοιαύτα τε καὶ παραπληγία πέγων.

2 τὸ δὲ ἔχωρει ἐν διπλαισίῳ τεταγμένον, πρώτοι

1 For the sentiment, cf. Alcaeus, frg. 22 ἄνδρες πόλης πύργος ἀρείω; Soph. O. T. 56; Aesch. Pers. 349; Eur. frg. 825; Plut. Lycurg. 19; Dem. xviii. 299; Dio C. lxi. v. 3; Cie. ad. Att. vii. 11.

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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 ἠγούμενον τὸ Νικίου, ἔφετόμενον δὲ τὸ Δημο-
σθένους: τοὺς δὲ σκευοφόρους καὶ τὸν πλείστον
3 ὄχλον ἐντὸς ἑίχον οἱ ὀπλῖται. καὶ ἑπειδὴ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ 'Ανάπου ποταμοῦ, νῦρον ἐπ’
αὐτῷ παρατεταγμένους τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ἐμμ-
μάχων, καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοὺς καὶ κρατήσαντες
tοῦ πόρου ἑξώρουν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν· οἱ δὲ Συρα-
κόσιοι παριππεύοντές τε προσέκειντο καὶ ἑσα-
4 κοτίζοντες οἱ ψυλοί. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
προελθόντες σταδίους ως τεσσαράκοντα νῆλίσαντο
πρὸς λόφω τινὶ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι τῇ δ’ ύστερᾳ πρὸ
ἐπορεύοντο καὶ προῆλθον ως ἐίκοσι σταδίους, καὶ
κατέβησαν ἐς χώριον ἀπέδον τὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐστρα-
tοτείχου οὐκ ἠκολούθησαν, ξυλομένους ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων
λαβεῖν τι ἐξώδιμοι (ὡκεῖο γὰρ ὁ χώρος) καὶ ὑδ᾽ ἐμὲ
σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐφεσθαί αὐτόθεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρόσθεν
ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια, ἦ ἐμμέλλον ἱέναι, οὐκ ἔφθοιον
5 ἦν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ προελθόντες τῇ
δίσδουν τὴν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἀπετείχιζον· ἦν δὲ
λόφος καρπερῶς καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ χαράδρα
κρημνώδης, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀκραίων λέπας. τῇ δ’
υστεραίᾳ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι προῆσαν, καὶ οἱ τῶν Συρα-
κοσίων καὶ ἐμμάχων αὐτοὺς ἰππῆς καὶ ἀκοντισταῖ
ὦντες πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκώλυνοι καὶ ἐσκόντυζον
6 τε καὶ παριππευον. καὶ χρόνου μὲν πολὺν ἐμα-
χοντο οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι, ἐπείτα ἀνεχώρησαν πάλιν ἐς
τὸ αὐτὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίθεια οὐκέτι
ὄμοίος εἶχον· οὐ γὰρ ἐτὶ ἀποχωρεῖν οἶον τ’ ἦν
ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων.

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.

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hollow square, first the division of Nieias 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 Syraeusan 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 day¹ 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 Acraean Bald.² On the next day³ 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.

¹ Third day of the retreat.
LXXIX. Ἡραντες ἐπορεύοντο αὐθίς, καὶ ἐβιάσαστο πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐλθεῖν τὸν ἀποτελεχισμένον, καὶ ηὗρον πρὸ ἐαυτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποτελεχισμάτος τὴν πεζὴν στρατιάν παρατεταγμένην. Μένην οὔκ ἐπὶ θλίγων ἀσπίδων, στενὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ 'Αθηναίοι ἐτελεχισμένοι καὶ βαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἐπάντων οἴντος (δικνοῦντο γὰρ ῥᾶν οἱ ἄνωθεν) καὶ οὗ δυνάμενοι βιάσασθαι ἀνεχόμενοι

3 πάλιν καὶ ἀνεπαύστω. Ἐτυχον δὲ καὶ βρονταί τινες ἀμα γενόμεναι καὶ ὑδωρ, οἷα τοῦ ἔτους πρὸς μετὰ ποιῶν ἥδη οἴντος φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. ἀφ᾽ ὧν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι μάλλον ἐτι ἡθύμουν καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τῶ σφετέρῳ ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γίγνεσθαι.

4 ἀναπαυομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ Συρακοσιοὶ πέμπουσι μέρος τις στρατιάς ἀποτελεχισμένας ἐκ τοῦ ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦς ἵ προεληφθέσαι ἀντιπέμψαντες δὲ κάκεινοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τινας

5 εἰκολόντας. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πᾶση τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀναχωρήσαντες πρὸς τὸ πεδίον μᾶλλον οἱ 'Αθηναίοι νηλίσαντο. τῇ δὲ ύστεραίᾳ προὔχουσι, καὶ οἱ Συρακοσιοὶ προσέβαλλον τε παντάχ' αὐτῶς κύκλῳ καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραμματίζουν, καὶ εὶ μὲν ἐπίσειν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι, ὑπεχώρουν, εἰ δὲ ἀναχωροῦσιν, ἐπέκειται, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς υἱοτάτοις προσπίπτοντες, εἰ πως κατὰ βραχὺ τρεψάμενοι

6 παν τὸ στρατεύμα φοβήσειαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν τοιούτῳ ἀντείηκεν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι, ἐπείτα προελθόντες πέντε ἡ εἰς στάδιον ἀνεπάύστῳ ἐν

1 Fourth day of the retreat.  
2 cf. vi. lxx. 1.  
3 Fifth day of the retreat.
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
τῶν πεδίων· ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἕαυτῶν στρατόπεδον.

LXXX. Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς τῶν Νικία καὶ Δημοσθένει ἐδόκει, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς σφίζοι τὸ στράτευμα εἴχε τῶν τε ἐπιτηδεῖων πάντων ἀπορία ἦδη καὶ κατατετράυματισμένοι ἦσαν πολλοὶ ἐν πολλαῖς προσβολαὶς τῶν πολεμίων γεγενημέναις, πυρὰ καύσαντες ὡς πλείστα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν, μηκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδον ἦ διενοηθήσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἦν οἱ Συρακοσιαῖοι ἐτήρουν, πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἤν δὲ ἤξυμπασα ὅδος αὐτὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ Κατάνης τῷ στρατεύματι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Καμάριναν καὶ Γέλαν καὶ τὰς ταύτις πόλεις καὶ Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βαρβάρους. καύσαντες οὖν πυρὰ πολλὰ ἐχώρουν ἐν τῇ νυκτί. καὶ αὐτοῖς, οἷν φίλει καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις, φόβοι καὶ δείματα ἐγγάγεσθαι, ἀλλωσ τε καὶ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ διὰ πολεμίας καὶ πολεμίων ὁ πολὺ ἀπεχούτων ἱοῦσιν, ἐμπίπτει τεραχή· καὶ τὸ μὲν Νικίου στρατευμα, ὡσπερ ἦγεῖτο, ξυνέμενε τε καὶ προύλαβε πολλῷ, τὸ δὲ Δημοσθένους, τὸ ἤμισυ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πλέον, ἀπεσπάσθη τε καὶ ἀτακτότερον ἔχωρει. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἑω ἀφικνοῦνται ὦμως πρὸς τὴν θ' λαδαν, καὶ ἐσβάντες ἐς τὴν ὅδον τὴν Ἑλωρίνην καλουμένην ἐπορεύοντο, ὀπως, ἐπειδὴ γένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κακυπάρει, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἱοεῖν ἀνω διὰ μεσογείας· ἡπιζοὺς γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Σικελίους ταύτη ὁ ὁ χετεπεμψαν ἀπαντήσεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, ήφυρον καὶ ἐνταῦθα φυλακήν

1 ἀπὸ before πολεμίων deleted by Reiske.
2 Hude adopts Dobree's conjecture, ὡσπερ.
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.
Των Συρακοσίων ἀποτείχιζονταν τε καὶ ἀποσταρκοῦσαν τὸν πόρον. καὶ βιασάμενοι αὐτὴν διέβησαν τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐκώρουν αὐθίς πρὸς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, τὸν 'Ερνέον ταύτη γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐκέλευον.

LXXXI. Ἔν τούτῳ δ' οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, ὡς ἦ τε ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐγνώσαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπεληλυθότας, ἐν αὐτίᾳ τε οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Γύλιππον εἶχον ἐκόντα ἀφεῖναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ κατὰ τάχος διώκοντες, ἦ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἠσθάνοντο κεχωρηκότας, καταλαμβάνοντες περὶ ἀρίστου ὦραν. καὶ ὅστερ προσέμεθαν τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ύστεροις τ' οὕσι καὶ σχολαίτεροι καὶ ἀτακτότεροι χωροῦσιν, ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς τότε ἡ γενεταράχθησαν, εὐθὺς προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ οἱ ἱππηνὶς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκυκλούντο τε βίον αὐτοῦς δίχα δὴ ὀντας καὶ ἑυνήγγον

3 ἐς ταῦτο. τὸ δὲ Νικίου στράτευμα ἀπείχεν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἡσύστορον τε γὰρ ὁ Νικίας ἦγε, νομίζων οὐ τὸ ὑπομένειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐκόντας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡς τάχιστα ὑποχωρεῖν, τοσαῦτα μαχο-μένους ὅσ' ἂν ἀναγκαίωσατο. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐπύγχανε τε 1 τὰ πλείω ἐν πόνῳ ἡγεσεστέρῳ διὰ τὸ ὑστέρον ἀναχώρουντι αὐτῷ πρώτῳ ἐπικεί-σθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τότε γινοὺς τοὺς Συρακο-σίους διώκοντας οὐ προχώρηει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μάχην ἡγεσεστέρῳ, ἐως ἐνδιατρίβων κυκλούται τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ πολλῷ ἡθοῦσθοι αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ'

1 τε deleted by Dobree, followed by Hude.

1 Modern Cavallata.
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 came \(^2\) 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

\(^2\) Sixth day of the retreat.
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αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἀνειληθέντες γὰρ ἐστὶ χωρίου ϕ κύκλῳ μὲν τειχίου περιή, ὅδος δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἐνθέν, ἐλίας δὲ οὐκ ὁλίγας εἰχὲν, ἐβάλλοντο περιστάδον.

5 τοιαύταις δὲ προσβολαίς καὶ οὐ̃ ξυστάδου μάχαις οἱ Συρακόσιοι εἰκότως ἔχρωνοι τὸ γὰρ ἀποκινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπονεομένους οὐ πρὸς ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἦν ἐτὶ ἡ πρὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀμα φειδώ τέ τις ἐγήγνετο ἐπ’ ἐνυφραγία ἤδη σαφεὶ μὴ προανάλωθηναί τῶ καὶ ἐνυμίζου καὶ ὁς ταύτῃ τῇ ἱδέα καταδαμασάμενοι λήψεσθαι αὐτοῦ.

LXXXII. Ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὖν 2 δι’ ἡμέρας βάλλοντες πανταχόθεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ξυμμάχους ἐώρων ἤδη τεταλαιωρημένους τοῖς τε πραύμασι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακώσει, κήρυγμα ποιοῦνται Γύλιππος καὶ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οὶ ἔμμαχοι πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νησιωτῶν εἰ τις βούλεται ἐπ’ ἐλευθερία ὡς σφαῖς ἀπείναι καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν τίνες πόλεις οὐ πολλαὶ.

2 ἔπειτα δ’ ὑστερον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας τοὺς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ὁμολογία γίγνεται ὡστε ὅπλα τε παραδοῦναι καὶ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν μηδένα μήτε βιαίως μήτε δεσμοῖς μήτε τῆς ἀναγκαιοτάτης ἐνεδείᾳ διαίτης. καὶ παρέδοσαν οἱ πάντες σφαῖς αὐτοῦ ἐξακισχίλιοι καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δ’ εἰχὸν ἀπαν κατέθεσαν ἐσβαλόντες ἐσ ἀσπίδας ὑπτίας καὶ ἐνέπλησαν ἀσπίδας τέσσαρας καὶ τούτους μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπεκομίζου ἐς τὴν πόλιν Νικιάς δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀφικνοῦνται τῇ αὐτῇ ἱμέρα ἐπὶ τὸν

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

1 cf. ch. lvii. 4, ὑπήκοοι ὑντες καὶ ἀνάγκη... ἡκολούθεν.
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, Gylippus and the Syracusans and their allies made proclamation, first, that any of the islanders 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
ποταμῶν τὸν Ἑρυνεόν, καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς μετέωρόν τι καθίσε τὴν στρατιάν.

LXXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τῇ ύστερᾳ καταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ μετὰ Δημοσθένους παραδεδώκοιεν σφᾶς αὐτούς, λελεύνοντες κάκεινον τὸ αὐτὸ δράν: ὁ δὲ ἀπιστῶν σπένδεται ἵππεα 2 πέμψαι σκεψόμενον. ὡς δ’ οἱ χόμενος ἀπηγγείλεε πάλιν παραδεδωκότας, ἐπικηρυκεύεται Γυλίππω καὶ Συρακόσιος εἶναι ἔτοιμος ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων ξυμβηναί ὁσα ἀνήλωσαν χρήματα Συρακόσιοι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ταῦτα ἄποδοῦναι, ὡστε τὴν μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀφεῖναι αὐτοὺς· μέχρι οὐ δ’ ἂν τὰ χρήματα ἀποδοθῆ, ἀνδρας δώσειν Ἀθηναίων ὁμήρους, ἕνα κατὰ τάλαντον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Γυλίππος οὐ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ προσπεσόντες καὶ περιστάντες πανταχόθεν ἐβαλ-3 λον καὶ τούτους μέχρι ὅψε. εἰχον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ποιήσαντες σίτον τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορία. 4 ὅμως δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς φυλάκαντες τὸ ἱσυχάζον ἐμελλον πορεύσεσθαι. καὶ ἀναλαμβάνονσι τε τὰ ὁπλα καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐπαιά-5 νισαν. γιόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οτι οὐ λανθά-νουσι, κατέθεντο πάλιν πλὴν τριακοσίων μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν οὕτωι δὲ διὰ τῶν φυλάκων βιασάμενοι ἐχώρουν τῆς νυκτὸς ἦ ἐδύναντο.

LXXXIV. Νικίας δ’ ἐπειδὴ ἠμέρα ἐγένετο ἣγε τὴν στρατιάν· οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι προσέκειντο τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πανταχόθεν βάλ-2 λοντες τε καὶ κατακοντίζοντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι

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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 overtook Nicias and told him that the troops under Demosthenes had surrendered, bidding him do likewise; 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 Gylippus and the Syracusans that he was ready to agree, on behalf of the Athenians, 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. Gylippus 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 Athenians, 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
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The modern Falconara, called also Fiume di Noto.

Thucydides is silent as to the number of the slain. Diodorus (xiii. 19) puts the loss at the river at 18,000 and

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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.
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ο τι βούλονται, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους στρατιώτας παύσα-2 σθαί φονεύοντας. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος μετὰ τοῦτο
ξωγρεῖν ἥδη ἐκέλευεν καὶ τοὺς τε λοιποὺς, ὡςους
μὴ ἀπεκρύψαντο (πολλοὶ δὲ οὕτω ἔγενοντο), ἔννε-
κόμισαν ξύντας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οἱ τὴν
φυλακὴν διεξῆλθον τῆς νυκτὸς, πέμψαντες τοὺς
3 διωξομένους ξυνέλαβον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄθροισθέν
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς τὸ κοινὸν οὐ πολὺ ἐγένετο,
tὸ δὲ διακλατέν πολὺ, καὶ διεπλήσθη πᾶσα Σικε-
λία αὐτῶν, ἀτε οὐκ ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως ὀσπερ τῶν
4 μετὰ Δημοσθένους ληφθέντων. μέρος δὲ τι οὐκ
ὁλίγον καὶ ἀπέθανεν πλείστος γὰρ ὅ ἐν ἀνόµος
οὕτως καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐλάσσων τῶν ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ 1
πολέμῳ τοῦτῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις προσ-
βολαῖς ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πορείαν συχναὶς γενομέ-
ναις οὐκ ὁλίγοι ἐτεθηκέσσαν. πολλοὶ δὲ ὅμως
cαὶ διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν καὶ παραντικά, οἱ δὲ καὶ
δουλεύσαντες καὶ διαδιδάσκοντες ὑστεροῦν τοῖς
tοῖς ὑ ἄναχώρησις ἐς Κατάνην.

LXXXVI. Ἐνυπαθροισθέντες δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ὡςους ἐδύ-
ναντο πλεῖστος καὶ τὰ σκύλα ἀναλαβόντες,
2 ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
Ἄθηναιῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὄπόσους ἔλαβον
κατεβιβασαν ἐς τὰς Λιθοτομίας, ἀσφαλεστάτην
eἶναι νομίσαντες τήρησιν, Νικιαν δὲ καὶ Δημο-

1 Σικελικῇ 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 60,00 had belonged to the division of Demosthenes (ch. lxxxii. 3). But the full magnitude of the catastrophe is seen in the fact

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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.
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σθένη ἄκοντος Γυλίππον ἀπέσφαξαν. ὁ γὰρ Γύλιππος καλὸν τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐνόμιζέν ὦι εἶναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστρατηγοὺς κομίσαι
3 Δακεδαιμονίοις. Ἐννέβαινε δὲ τὸν μὲν πολεμιώτατον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, Δημοσθένη, διὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ Πύλῳ, τὸν δὲ διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδείωτατον τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἄνδρας τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ὁ Νικίας προοθυμήθη, σπονδάς πείσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσασθαι, ὡστε ἀφεθήναι. ἀνθ' ὄν οἳ τε Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἤσαν αὐτῷ προσφιλεῖσκακείνοι οὐχ ἢκιστα 1 διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύσας ἑαυτὸν τῷ Γυλίππῳ παρέδωκεν. ἄλλα τῶν Συρακοσίων τινές, ὡς ἐλέγετο, οἱ μὲν δεῖσαντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεκοινολόγησε, μὴ βασανίζομενος διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ταραχὴν σφίσων ἐν εὔπραγμα ποιήσῃ, ἄλλοι δὲ, καὶ οὐχ ἢκιστα οἱ Κορίνθιοι, μὴ χρήματι δὴ πείσας τινάς, ὅτι πλούσιος ἦν, ἀποδρα καὶ αὐθὸς σφίσι νεώτερον τι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται, πείσαντες τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀπέκτειναν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ο μὲν τοιαύτη ἢ ἔτι εὐγνύτατα τοὺτων αἰτία ἑτερνήκει, ἢκιστα δὴ ἄξιος ὄν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ Ἐλλήνων ἐσ τούτῳ δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τῆς πᾶσαν ἐς ἁρετὴν νεομισμενὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν.

LXXXVII. Τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς λιθοτομίαις οἱ Συρακόσιοι χαλεπῶς τοὺς πρῶτους χρόνους μετεχεῖ-

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1 διὰ τοῦτο, with B; Hude omits.

1 cf. v. xvi. 1.
the wish of Gylippus. 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\(^1\) 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 Gylippus 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,\(^2\) 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.

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\(^1\) 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 κοῖλῳ χωρὶῳ ὄντας καὶ ὀλίγῳ πολλοῦς οὗ τε ἢλιοί τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ π νύγος ἔτι ἐλύπει διὰ τὸ ἀστέγαστον, καὶ αἱ νύκτες ἐπυγιγνώ-μεναι τούναντίον μετοπωρίναι καὶ ψυχραὶ τῇ

2 μεταβολῇ ἐς ἀσθένειαν ἐνεωτέριζον, πάντα τε ποιούντων αὐτῶν διὰ στενοχωρίαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ προσέτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἐνυπνε-νμένων, οἳ ἐκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸ τοιούτων ἀπέθνησον, καὶ ὡσμαί ἦσαν οὐκ ἀνεκτοί, καὶ λιμῷ ἀμα καὶ δίψῃ ἐπιε-ξοντο (ἐδίδοσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστος ἐπὶ ὁκτὼ μῆνας κοτύλην ὕδατος καὶ δύο κοτύλας σίτου), ἀλλα τε ὀσα εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ ἐμπε-πτωκότας κακοπαθήσατε, οὐδὲν ο Γ τι οὐκ ἐπεγένετο

3 αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἐβδομίκοντά τινας οὕτω διητήθησαν ἀθρόου· ἐπειτα πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰ τινες Σικελιωτῶν ἢ Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐνυστράτευσαν,

4 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπέδοντο. ἐλήφθησαν δὲ οἱ ἄμπαν-τες, ἀκριβεία μὲν χαλεπὸν ἐξειπεῖν, ὦμος δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσοσιν ἐπτακισχιλῶν.

5 Ἐυνέβη τε ἔργων τούτο 1 τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε μεγίστον γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοιγε καὶ ὧν ἀκοῇ Ἕλληνικόν ἵσμεν, καὶ τοῖς τε κρατήσασι λαμπρότατον καὶ τοῖς διαφθαρέσσι δυστυχέ-

6 στατον· κατὰ πάντα γὰρ πάντως νικηθέντες καὶ

1 'Ελληνικόν, after τούτο, deleted by Krüger.
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

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).
ωὔδεν ὀλίγοι ἐς ὀὐδέν κακοπαθήσαντες, πανωλεθρίᾳ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον καὶ πεξὸς καὶ νῆς καὶ ὀὐδέν ὁ τι οὐκ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπενόστησαν. τάυτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Σικέλιαν γενόμενα.

1 According to Plutarch (Nicias, 2), 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 everything 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.
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
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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 δὲ τίνες τὴν ὑγίδον ἱστορίαν νοθεύσθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι Θουκίδιδου ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν φασίν εἶναι τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ Ξενοφῶντος. πρὸς οὖς λέγουμεν ὅτι τῆς μὲν θυγατρὸς ἂς οὐκ ἐστὶ δῆλον. οὐ γὰρ γυναικείας ἢν φύσεως τοιαύτην ἄρετὴν τε καὶ τέχνην μιμήσασθαι. ἐπειτα, εἰ τοιαύτη τις ἢν, οὐκ ἂν ἐσπούδασε λαθεῖν, οὔτ’ ἂν τὴν ὑγίδον ἐγραψε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κατέλιπεν ἄν, τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἐκφαίνουσα φύσιν. ὅτι δὲ οὖδὲ Ξενο-φῶντὸς ἐστιν, ὁ χαρακτὴρ μόνον οὐχὶ βοᾷ πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μέσον ἴσχυν χαρακτῆρος καὶ ύψηλος. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ Θεοπόμπου, καθά τινες ἥξισαν τοῖς δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς χαριστέροις Θουκίδιδου μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰς δ’ ἀκαλλώπιστος, δι’ ἐκτύπων γεγραμμένη καὶ πολλὰν πλήρης ἐν κεφαλαίῳ πραγμάτων καλλωπισθήναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐκτασιν δυναμένων. ἐνθὲν καὶ λέγουμεν ὅσ’ ἀσθενέστερον πέφρασται καὶ ὁλίγον καθότι ἀρρωστῶν αὐτὴν φαίνεται συντε-θειώς. ἀσθενοῦντος δὲ σώματος βραχὺ τι καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς ἀτονώτερος εἶναι φιλεῖ.
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... '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 λεγόμενα, 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. Ind. 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,
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 ἡγγέλθη, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡπίστον καὶ τοῖς πάνῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαπεφευγόσι καὶ σαφῶς ἀγγέλλουσι, μὴ οὖτω γε ἂν πανσυβί διεφθάρθαι ἐπειδή τε ἐγνωσαν, χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς ἀνυμπροδυναμείσι τῶν ῥητόρων τῶν ἐκπλουν, ὡσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ ψηφισάμενοι, ὕργίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρησμολογοῖς τε καὶ μάντει καὶ ὑπόσοι τι τότε αὐτοὺς θεωάσαντες ἐπιήλπισαν ὡς λήψονται

2 Σικελίαν. πάντα δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐλύσει τε καὶ περιειστήκει ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ φόβος τε καὶ κατάπληξις μεγίστῃ δῆ. ἀμα μὲν γὰρ στερόμενοι καὶ ἰδία ἐκαστοι καὶ ἡ πόλις ὀπλιτῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ ἵππεων καὶ ἡλικίας οἶαν οὐχ ἐτέραν ἑώρων ὑπάρχουσαν ἐβαρύνοντο· ἀμα δὲ ναῦς οὐχ ὀργόντες ἐν τοῖς νεώσοικοι ἱκανὰς οὐδὲ χρῆματα ἐν τῷ κοινῷ οὐδ' ὑπηρεσίᾳ ταῖς ναυσί ἄνελπιστοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωθησθαι, τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας πολέμους εὐθὺς σφίσαν ἐνόμιζον τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιὰ πλευσεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τοσοῦτον κρατήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθεν πολέμους τότε δὴ καὶ διπλασίως πάντα παρεσκευασμένους κατὰ κράτος ἥδη καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπικείσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους σφῶν μετ' αὐτῶν

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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.
3 ἀποστάντας. ὁμώς δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐδόκει χρῆναι μὴ ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ ναυτικόν, ὅθεν ἂν δύνωνται ξύλα ξυμπορισαμένους καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Εὐβοίαν, τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τι ἐς εὑτέλειαν σωφρονίσαι καὶ ἀρχήν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οὕτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ἢ προβουλεύσουσιν. πάντα τε πρὸς τὸ παραχρήμα περιδεές, ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν, ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν εὐτακτεῖν. καὶ ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

Π. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγεγυμνομένου χειμῶνος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεγάλην κακοπραγίαν εὐθὺς οἱ Ἑλληνες πάντες ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν μηδετέρων οὕτως ξύμμαχοι, ὡς, ἣν τις καὶ μὴ παρακαλὴ σφάς, οὐκ ἀποστατέον ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου εἰη, ἀλλ' ἐθέλοντί ἵτεόν ἐπὶ τούς Ἀθηναίους, νομίζοντες καὶ ἐπὶ σφάς ἐκαστοὶ ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατώρθωσαν, καὶ ἁμα βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι τὸν λοιπὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μετασχεῖν καλὸν εἶναι, οἱ δ' αὖ τῶν Δακεδαμοιῶν ξύμμαχοι ξυμπροθυμηθέντες ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρὶν ἀπαλλάξεσθαι διὰ τάχους πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπῆκοοι ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι διὰ τὸ ὀργώντες κρίνειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ μὴ ὑπολείπειν λόγον αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ γ' ἐπὶ τὸν θέρος οἷοὶ 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
The enmity was due to the establishment of Heracleia. The Trachinians being harassed by their neighbours, the Octaeans, had appealed to Sparta for aid and
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,\(^1\) the greater part of their cattle and exacted money from them. Furthermore, he compelled the Achaecans 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 Heraeleia to protect them. The colony fell owing to the hostility of the Thessalians and the bad conduct of Spartan governors.

\(^1\)
καὶ Δοκροῖς πέντε καὶ δέκα, καὶ Κορινθίοις πέντε καὶ δέκα, Ἀρκάσι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεύσι καὶ Σικυωνίοις δέκα, Μεγαρεύσι δὲ καὶ Τροχήνιοις καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἐρμιονεύσι δέκα· τὰ τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸ έαρ ἐξόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου.

IV. Παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι, ὡσπερ διευθυνόμενοι, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμώνι τούτῳ τῇ τε ναυπηγίᾳ, ξύλα ξυμποροσάμενοι, καὶ Σούνιον τείχισαντες, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἀσφάλεια ταῖς σιταιγυ-γοῖς ναυσίν εἴη τοῦ περίπλου, καὶ τὸ τε ἐν τῇ Δακωνίκη τείχισμα ἐκλιπόντες ὃ ἐνωκοδόμησαν παραπλέοντες ἐς Σικελίαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, εἰ ποῦ τι ἐδόκει ἀχρείον ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ξυστελλόμενοι ἐς εὐτέλειαν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων διασκοποῦντες ὡποῖς μὴ σφῶν ἀποστῆσανται.

V. Πρασσόντων δὲ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ὅντων οὔδεν ἄλλο ὡσπερ ἀρχομένων ἐν κατα-σκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου, πρῶτοι Ἑὔβοιας ὡς Ἀγιν περὶ ἀποστάσεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπρεσβεύ-σαντο ἐν τῷ χειμώνι τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ προσδεξά-μενος τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Λακε-δαύμοιος Ἀλκαμένη τὸν Σθενελάδον καὶ Μέλαν-θον ἄρχοντας ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἑὔβοιαν· οἱ δ' ἦλθον ἄχοντες τῶν νεοδαμώδων ὡς τρικσίους, καὶ 2 παρεσκευάζειν αὐτοῖς τὴν διάβασιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Λέσβοι ἦλθον, βουλόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστῆσαν καὶ ξυμπρασσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀναπείθεται Ἀγις ὡστε Ἑὔβοιας μὲν

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

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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\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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
The oligarchs, as shown by chs. ix and xiv. Chios had hitherto been noted for its loyalty to Athens.

2 Darius II reigned 423-404.

3 Mentioned as satrap at Sardis in 440 B.C. (i. 115) and...
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 Deceleia 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.
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υίὸν νόθον, ἀφεστῶτα περὶ Καρίαν, ὡσπερ αὐτῷ προσέταξε βασιλεὺς, ἡ ξώντα ἄξειν ἡ ἀποκτενεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Χίου καὶ Τισσαφέρνης κοινὴ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπρασσοῦν.

VI. Καλλίγειτος δὲ ὁ Λαοφῶντος, Μεγαρεὺς, καὶ Τιμαγόρας ὁ Ἀθηναγόρος, Κυζικηνός, φυγάδες τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἁμφότεροι παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ τῷ Φαρνάκου κατοικοῦντες, ἀφικνοῦνται περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καἱρὸν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν πέμψαντος Φαρναβάζου, ὡπώς ναῦς κομίσειαν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, καὶ αὐτός, εἰ δύνατο, ἀπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης προθυμεῖτο, τάς τε ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἁρχῇ πόλεις ἀποστῆσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τῶν φόρους, καὶ ἂφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν 2 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ποιῆσειν. πρασσόντων δὲ ταύτα χωρὶς ἐκατέρων, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους, πολλὴ ἅμιλλα ἐγίγνετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, ὡπῶς οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν 'Ἰωνίαν καὶ Χίον, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον πρότερον ναῦς καὶ στρατιὰν πείσουσι 3 πέμπειν. οἱ μὲν τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ τῶν Χιών καὶ Τισσαφέρνους παρὰ πολὺ προσεδέξαντο μᾶλλον. ἦπεν ἐπρασσε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἐνδίω ἐφορεύοντι πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὅν, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦνομα Λακωνικὸν ἡ οἰκία αὐτῶν1 ἐσχεν. Ἐνδίος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκα-

1 κατὰ τὴν Ἐνδίω deleted by Krüger and van Herwerden as gloss to ὅθεν, 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.
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4 λέιτο. ὃμως δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶτον κατά-
σκόπον ἐς τὴν Χίον πέμψαντες Φρύνιν, ἀνδρὰ
περίοικον, εἰ αὖ τις αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὀσασπερ
ἐλεγόν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ἱκανὴ ἔστι πρὸς τὴν
λεγομένην δόξαν, ἀπαγγέλακτος αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐϊ
tαῦτα ἀληθῆ ἀπερ ἢκουν, τοὺς τε Χίουν καὶ
tοὺς Ἐρυθραίους εὐθὺς ξυμμάχους ἐποίησαντο
καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐψηφίσαντο αὐτοῖς πέμ-
πειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἠλασσον ἢ ἤξυκοντα ἄφ’ ὃν οἱ
5 Χίοι ἐλεγόν ὑπαρχοῦσον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
dέκα τοῦτων αὐτοῖς ἐμελλὼν πέμψειν καὶ Μελαγ-
χρίδαν, ὃς αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος ἦν ἐπειτα σεισμοῦ
γενομένου ἀντὶ τοῦ Μελαγχρίδου Χαλκιδέα
ἐπεμποὺ καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα νέων πέντε παρε-
σκευάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δακωική, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν
ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἐνὸς δέουν εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ
ἐτελεύτα τῳδὲ ὁν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

VII. Τὸν δ’ ἐπιγεγραμμένου θέρους εὐθὺς
ἐπευγομένων τῶν Χιών ἠποστείλα τὰς ναῦς
καὶ δεδιότων μή οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ πρασσόμενα
αἰσθοῦνται (πάντες γὰρ κρύφα αὐτῶν ἐπρε-
σβεύοντο), ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄνδρας
Σπαρτιάτας ἐς Κόρινθον τρεῖς, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐτέρας θαλάσσης ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς
Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπερενεγκόντες τὰς ναῦς τὸν ἰσθμὸν
κελεύσωσι πλεῖν ἐς Χιόν πάσας, καὶ ὁ Ἀχις
παρεσκεύαζεν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας.
ἔσαν δὲ αἱ εὐμπασαι τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν νῆς
αὐτοῖς μιᾶς δέονσαι τεσσαράκοντα.

VIII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καλλίγειτος καὶ Τιμαγόρας
ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου οὐκ ἐκοινοῦσιν τὸν στόλον
ἐς τὴν Χίον, οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν ἢ ἠλθοῦν
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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, March, 412 B.C., 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
The Isthmian Games were held in Corinthian territory, and under the presidency of Corinth. They were a πριτηρίς, i.e. held every two years, in early spring or summer.
the money—twenty-five talents ¹—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 ² while he made the expedition an affair of his own. But as
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θίων, ἄλλα διατριβῆς ἐγγυγνωμένης, οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἔσθοντο τὰ τῶν Χίων μᾶλλον, καὶ πέμψαντες ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀριστοκράτη ἐπητιῶντο αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀριστουμένων τῶν Χίων, τὸ πιστὸν ναῦς σφίσι ἥμητεπειν ἐκέλευον ἃ τὸ ξυμμαχικον. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμψαν ἐπτά. αἴτιον δὲ ἐγένετο τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν νεῶν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν Χίων οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασόμενα, οἱ δὲ ὅλιγοι καὶ ξυνείδοτες τὸ τε πλῆθος οὐ βουλόμενοι πω πολέμου ἔχειν πρὶν τι καὶ ἴσχυρὸν λάβωσι, καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι προσδεχόμενοι ἤξειν, ὅτι διέτριβον.

X. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ Ἰσθμία ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι (ἐπηγγελθησαν γὰρ) ἔθεσαν ἐς αὐτά, καὶ κατάδηλα μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τῶν Χίων ἐφανή. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχόρησαν, παρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς ὅπως μὴ λήσουσιν αὐτοὺς αἱ νῆς ὑπὸ τῶν

2 Κεχρειών ἀφορμηθεῖσαι. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀνήγγειον μᾶ ὧν καὶ εἰκοσὶ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Χίον, ἀρχοντα Ἀλκαμένῃ ἔχοντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὸ πρῶτον ἵσαις ναυσὶ προσπλεύσαντες ὕπηγον ἃ τὸ πέλαγος. ὡς δὲ ἔπτι πολὺ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀλλ᾽ ἀπετράπωσαν, ἐπὶ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὰς γὰρ τῶν Χίων ἐπτά ναῦς ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ μετὰ σφῶν ἔχοντες οὐ πιστὰς ἐνομίζου, ἀλλ᾽ ύστερου ἄλλας προσπληρώσαντες ἃ ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα, παρα-

3 ἐπειδὰν θαυμάσαι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὰς γὰρ τῶν Χίων ἐπτά ναῦς ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ μετὰ σφῶν ἔχοντες οὐ πιστὰς ἐνομίζου, ἀλλ᾽ ύστερου ἄλλας προσπληρώσαντες ἃ ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα, παρα-

1 καὶ ξυνείδοτες B, the other MSS. omitting καὶ; Hude inserts οἱ.
2 ἐς is 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, 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 Cenchreiae without their knowledge. But the Peloponnesians, after the festival, put to sea for Chios with twenty-one ships under the command of Alcamenes. 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 αὐτοὺς καταδιώκουσιν ἐς Πειραιὰν τῆς Κορινθίας· ἐστὶ δὲ λίμήν ἐρήμως καὶ ἔσχατος πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ἡπιδαυρίας. καὶ μίαν μὲν ναῦν ἀπολλύσαι μετέωρον οἱ Πελοποννησίοι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἔνυναγαγόντες ὀρμίζουν. καὶ προσβαλόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβαντῶν θορυβὸς τε ἐγένετο πολὺς καὶ ἄτακτος, καὶ τῶν τε νεῶν τὰς πλείους κατατραμματίζουσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Ἀλκαμένη ἀποκτείονσιν· καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἀπέθανον.

XI. Διακριθέντες δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς πολεμίας ναύς ἐπέταξαν ἐφορμείν ἰκανάς, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς ἐς τινὸς νησίδιοι ὀρμίζονται, ἐν δὲ πολὺ ἀπεχοντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἐπὶ

2 θείειας ἐπεμπον. παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τῇ ύστεραιᾳ οἱ τε Κορίνθιοι βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς, καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς χωρον. καὶ ὄρωντες τὴν φυλακὴν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ἐπίποιον οὔσαν ἥπορον· καὶ ἐπενοήσαν μὲν κατακαῦσαι τὰς ναύς, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐξοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνελκύσαι καὶ τῷ πεξῷ προσκαθημένους φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ἔως ἃν τις παρατύχῃ διαφυγὴ ἐπιτηδεῖα. ἐπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀγις αἰσθόμενος ταύτα ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην Θέρμωνα.

3 τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρῶτον μὲν ἡγεῖται ὃτι αἱ νῆες ἀνηγμέναι εἰσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ (εἴρητο γὰρ, ὅταν γένηται τούτο, Ἀλκαμένη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἰππεά πέμψαι), καὶ εὐθὺς τὰς παρὰ σφῶν πέντε

1 τὶ, for τὸ of the MSS., Stahl's correction.
enemy as they sailed along the coast, until they put in at Peiræum 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.

XII. 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
nāv̂s καὶ Χαλκιδέα ἀρχοντα καὶ 'Αλκιβιάδην μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβούλοντο πέμπειν· ἔπειται ὥρμημένων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ τῶν νεῶν καταφυγῆν ἡγγέλθη, καὶ ἀδυμήσαντες, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀπόμενοι τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ πολέμου ἐπταίσαν, τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἕκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν οὐκέτι διενοόυντο πέμπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰς προανηγμένας μετακαλεῖν.

XII. Γνώσεις δὲ ὁ 'Αλκιβιάδης πείθει αὐτὸς ὡς Ἐυδίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφόρους μὴ ἀποκυνῆσαι τὸν πλοῦν, λέγων ὅτι θήσονται τε πλεύσαντες πρὶν τὴν τῶν νεῶν ξυμφοράν. Χίους αἰσθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς, ὅταν προσβάλῃ Ἰωνία, ῥαδίως πείσειν τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστασθαι, τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων λέγων ἀσθενεῖαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προθυμίαν. πιστότερος ἡ γὰρ ἄλλων φανεῖσθαι. Ἐνδίω τὸν αὐτὸ ἱδία ἔλεγε καλὸν εἰναι δι' ἑκείνου ἀποστήσατε τὰ Ἰωνίαν καὶ, μὴ Ἁγιδος τὸ ἀγώνισμα τούτο γενέσθαι, ἐτύχαν. 3 ἡ γὰρ τῷ Ἁγιδί αὐτοῦ διάφορος ὡς, καὶ ὁ μὲν πείσας τοὺς τὰς ἄλλους ἐφόρους καὶ Ἐνδίων ἀνήγετο ταῖς πείνει ναυσί μετὰ Χαλκιδέως τὸν Λακεδαιμονίου καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πλοῦν ἐποίησε.

XIII. Ἀνεκομίζοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτοῦ χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκελίας Πελοπονησίων ἐκκαίδεκα νῆες αἱ μετὰ Γυλίτππον ξυμπολεμήσασαι καὶ περὶ τῆς Λευκάδιαν ἀποληφθεῖσαι καὶ κοπεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄττικῶν ἐπταὶ καὶ εἰκοσι

1 He was suspected of an intrigue with the wife of Agis (Plutarch, Alcib. 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. 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 Gylippus 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
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νεῶν, ὅν ἦρχεν Ἡπποκλῆς Μενίσπου, φυλακὴν ἔχων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας νεῶν, αἱ λοιπαὶ πλῆν μᾶς διαφυγοῦσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον.

ΧΙ. Ὡ δὲ Χαλκίδεως καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλέοντες ὅσοις τε ἐπιτύχοιεν ἐξελάμβανον τοῦ μὴ ἔξαγγελται γενέσθαι, καὶ προσβάλοντες πρὸ ἰορίκῳ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀφέντες ἔναυθὰ αὐτοὺς, αὐτοὶ μὲν προξυγηγοῦμενοι τῶν ἐμπρασσόντων Χίων τισὶ καὶ κελευόντων καταπλεῖν μὴ προεπόνται ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφικνοῦνται αἰφνίδιοι τοῖς 2 Χίοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐν θαύματι ἦσαν καὶ ἐκπλήξει τοῖς δὲ ὅλίγοις παρεσκεύαστο ὡστε βουλὴν1 τυχεῖν ἐξελαγομένην, καὶ γενομένων λόγων ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκίδεως καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὡς ἀλλὰς νής πολλαὶ προσπλέουσι καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ νεῶν οὐ δηλωσάντων, ἀφίστανται Χίοι καὶ αὐθέν Τριφίλα Ἄθη-

3 ναίων. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τρισὶ ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες καὶ Κλαξομεναὶ ἀφιστάσιν. διαβάντες δὲ οἱ Κλα-

ξομενοί εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν ἡπείρου τὴν Πολικίαν ἔτει-

χίζον, εἰ τί δέοις σφίγων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νησίδος ἐν ᾧ οἰκοῦσι πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀφεστῶ-

τες ἐν τεῖχισμῷ τε πάντες ἦσαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἁπλέομου.

ΧΧ. Ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἁθηναῖς ταχὺ ἀγγελία τῆς Χίου

1 τε after βουλὴν deleted by Krüger; so also after ἀλλὰ 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 Alcibiades 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 Corycus,¹ 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 Alcibiades, 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 ² 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.
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άφικνείται καὶ νομίσαντες μέγαν ἥδη καὶ σαφῆ τοῦ κίνδυνον σφάς περιεστάναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ξυμμάχους οὐκ ἐθελήσειν τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως μεθεστηκίας ἰσοχάζειν, τά τε χίλια τάλαντα, ὅπι ἀνοίον τοῦ πολέμου ἐγλύχοιντι μὴ ἁψασθαι, εὐθὺς ἐλυσαν τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας τῷ εἰπόντι ἡ ἐπιψηφίσαντι ὑπὸ τῆς παροῦσῃς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κινεῖν καὶ ναῦς πληροῦν μὴ ὀλίγας, τῶν τε ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ ἐφορμουσῶν τὰς μὲν ὅκτω ἢδη πέμπειν, αἰ ἀπολιποῦσαι τὴν φυλακὴν τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδῶς διώξασαι καὶ οὐ καταλαβοῦσαι ἀνεκεχωρηκέσαι (ὑρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρομβιχίδης Διοτίμου), ἄλλας δὲ ὁ πολυ ὑστερον βοήθειν δώδεκα μετὰ Ἐρασκλέως, ἀπολιπούσας καὶ ταῦτας τὴν ἐφόρμησιν. τὰς τε τῶν Χίων ἐπτά ναῦς, αἰ αὐτῶς ξυνεπολιόρκουν τὰς ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ, ἀπαγαγόντες τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡλευθέρωσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους κατέδησαν. ἐτέρας δὲ ἀντὶ πασῶν τῶν ἄπελθουσῶν νεῶν ἐς τὴν ἐφόρμησιν τῶν Πελοποννησίων διὰ τάχους πληρώσαντες ἀντέπεμψαν καὶ ἄλλας διενοῦντο τριάκοντα πληροῦν. καὶ πολλὴ ἤν ἡ προθυμία καὶ ὀλύγον ἐπράσετο οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Χίων.

XVI. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ Στρομβιχίδης ταῖς ὅκτῳ

1 τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας 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
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ναῦσιν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Σάμον, καὶ προσλαβῶν Σαμίαν μίαν ἔπλευσεν ἐς Τέων καὶ ἄσυχίζειν ἥξιον αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χίου ἐς τὴν Τέων καὶ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς μετὰ τριῶν καὶ εἰκοσὶ νεῶν ἐπέπλευ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμα ὁ Κλαξομενίων καὶ Ἐρυθραῖων παρῆι.

2 προαισθόμενος δὲ ὁ Στρομβίχιδης προανήγγετο, καὶ μετεωρίσθεις ἐν τῷ πελάγει ὡς ἐώρα τὰς ναύς πολλὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Χίου, φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου· αἱ δὲ ἐδώκον. τὸν δὲ πεζὸν οἱ Τηίου τὸ πρώτον οὐκ ἐσδεχόμενοι, ὡς ἔφυγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐσηγάγοντο. καὶ ἐπέσχον μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ ὁ Χαλκιδέα ἐκ τῆς διώξεως περιμένοντες· ὡς δὲ ἐχρόνιζε, καθήρουν αὐτοῖ τὸ τείχος ὁ ἐνφοκοδόμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Τηίων πόλεως πρὸς ἦπειρον, ἐγκαθήρουν δὲ αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπελθόντες οὐ πολλοί, ὀν ἢρχε Στάγης, ὑπάρχος Τιςσαφέρνους.

XVII. Χαλκιδεὺς δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβίαδης ὡς κατεδίωξαν ἐς Σάμον Στρομβίχιδην, ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεῶν τοὺς ναύτας ὀπλίσαντες ἐν Χίω καταλιμπάνουσιν, ἀντιπληρώσαντες δὲ ταύτας τε ἐκ Χίου καὶ ἄλλας εἰκοσὶ ἐπλεον ἐς Μίλητον ἀποστήσαντες. ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὃν ἐπιτήδειος τοῖς προσεστῶσι τῶν Μιλήσιων, φθάσαι τάς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναύς προσαχαγόμενος αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς Χίους καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀποστείλαντι Ἐνδῖω, ὡσπερ ἐπέσχετο, τὸ ἀγώνισμα προσθεῖναι, ὡτι πλείστας

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 Χαλκί-
3 δέως ἀποστῆσας. λαθόντες οὖν τὸ πλείστον τοῦ
πλοῦ καὶ φθάσαντες οὐ πολὺ τὸν τε Στρομβιχίδην
καὶ τὸν Θρασυκλέα, ὃς ἔτυχεν ἐκ τῶν 'Αθηναίων
dώδεκα ναυσίν ἄρτι παρῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀφι-
στάσι τὴν Μίλητον. καὶ οἳ 'Αθηναίοι κατὰ πόλεας
μᾶς δεούσαις εἶκοσι ναυσίν ἐπιπλεύσαντες, ὡς
αὐτοὺς οὖν ἔδέχοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι, ἐν Δάδῃ τῇ ἐπι-
4 κειμένη νῆσῳ ἐφώρμονοι. καὶ ἦ πρὸς βασιλέα
ξυμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίως ἡ πρώτη Μιλήσιων
εὐθὺς ἀποστάντων διὰ Τισσαφέρνους καὶ Χαλκί-
dεως εἴενετο ὢδε.

XVIII. "Επὶ τοῖς δὲ ξυμμαχίαιν ἐποιησαντο
πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Τισσαφέρνη Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
οἱ ξύμμαχοι:

"Ὅποσην χώραν καὶ πόλεις βασιλέως ἔχει καὶ
οἱ πατέρες οἱ βασιλέως εἰχον, βασιλέως ἐστω καὶ
ἐκ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ὅποσα 'Αθηναίοις ἐφοίτα
χρήματα ἢ ἄλλο τι, κωλυόντων κοινὴ βασιλείας
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὅπως μῆτε
χρήματα λαμβάνωσιν Ἀθηναίοι μῆτε ἄλλο μηδέν.

2 "Καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κοινὴ
πολεμοῦντων βασιλείας καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι καὶ κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου τὸν πρὸς
Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐξέστω ποιεῖσθαι, ἢν μὴ ἄμφο-
tέροις δοκῇ, βασιλεῖ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοῖς
ξύμμαχοις.

3 "Ἡν δὲ τινὲς ἀφιστῶνται ἀπὸ βασιλέως, πολέ-
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having, in concert with the Chian forces and Chaleideus, 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 Thrasyycles—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 Chalcideus, 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
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μιοὶ ἔστων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοῖς ἐνυμάχοις, καὶ ἦν τινες ἀφιστώνται ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ἐνυμάχων, πολέμιοι ἔστων βασιλεῖ κατὰ ταύτα.

XIX. Ἡ μὲν ἐνυμαχία αὕτη ἐγένετο. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα οἱ Χιόι εὐθὺς δέκα ἐτέρας πληρώσαντες ναῦς ἐπλευσαν ἐσ 'Ἀναία, Βουλόμενοι περί τε τῶν ἐν Μιλήτῳ πυθέσθαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀμα ἀφιστάναι.

καὶ ἐλθοῦσας παρὰ Χαλκίδεως ἀγγελίας αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεῖν πάλιν, ὥστε Ἐμόργης παρέσται κατὰ γῆν στρατιὰ, ἐπλευσαν ἐσ Δίος ἱερῶν καὶ καθορῶσιν ἐκκαίδεκα ναῦς, ἂς ὑστερον ἐτὶ Ῥωσικλέους Διο-

μέδων ἔχων ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων προσέπλει. καὶ ὅσι ἐδον, ἐφευγον μιὰ μὲν νη ἐσ Ἐφεσον, αἱ δὲ λοιπὰν ἐπὶ τῆς Τέω. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν κενὰς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι λαμβάνουσι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσ τῆν γῆν φθασάντων.

αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἐσ τῆν Τηῆ τόλιν καταφεύγουσιν, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ Χιοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ναυσὶν ἀναγαγόμενοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀέβεδον ἀπέστησαν καὶ αὖθις Λήρως. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκαστοὶ ἐπ' οἴκον ἄπεκο-

μίσθησαν, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς καὶ αἱ νῆες.

XX. Ἡπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ τῇς τῶν Πελοποννησίων, κατα-

διωχθεῖσαι τότε καὶ ἐφορμοῦμεναι ἦσον ἀριθμῶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπέκπλονον ποιησάμενοι αἱφνίδιον καὶ κρατῆσαι ναυμαχία τέσσαρας ταῖς λαμβά-

νουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀποπλεῦσασαι ἐσ Κεγ-

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

1 On the mainland opposite.
enemies to both the Laedeaonians and their allies, and if any revolt from the Laedeaonians 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 desired 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 Haerae.\(^2\) 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 Cenchreiae, where

\(^{1}\) A small town of the Teians (Strabo, p. 644).

\(^{2}\) Ch. x. 3.
χρείας τῶν ἐς τὴν Χών καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν πλοίων αὐθικον παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ ναόαρξος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Δακεδαῖμονος Ἀστύνοχος ἐπήλθεν, ὥσπερ ἐγένετο ἢδη πάσα ἡ ναορχία.

2 Ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Τέω πεζοῦ καὶ Τισσαφέρνης αὐτοὺς στρατιὰ παραγενόμενοι καὶ ἐπικάθελον τὸ ἐν τῇ Τέω πείχος, εἰ τι ὑπελείφθη, ἀνεχώρησεν. καὶ Διομέδων ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ οὖ πολὺ ύστερον δέκα ναυσίν Ἀθηναίων ἀφικόμενοι ἐσπείσατο Τηῆς ὡστε δέχεσθαι καὶ σφᾶς. καὶ παραπλεύσας ἐπὶ Αἰρᾶς καὶ προσβαλῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν, ἀπέπλευσεν.

ΧΧΙ. Ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ ἡ ἐν Σάμῳ ἐπανάστασις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυνατοῖς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ ἔτυχον ἐν τρισὶ ναυσὶ παρώντες. καὶ ὁ δήμος ὁ Σαμίων ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινὰς τοὺς πάντας τῶν δυνάτων ἀπέκτεινε, τετρακοσίοις δὲ φυγή ζημιώσαντες καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅκιας νειμάμενοι, Ἀθηναίων τε σφίσιν αὐτονομίαν μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς βεβαιοῦσ ἢδη ψηφισαμένων, τὰ λοιπὰ διῴκουν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοῖς γεωμόροις μετεδίδοσαν οὔτε ἄλλου οὔδενος, οὔτε ἐκδοναὶ οὐδ' ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκεῖνοι οὐδ' ἐς ἐκεῖνοι οὔδεν ἐτι τοῦ δήμου ἔξην.

ΧΧΙ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Χῖοι, ὥσπερ ἦρζαντο, οὐδὲν ἀπολεῖποντες προθυμίας ἀνευ τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πλήθει παρῶντες ἀποστῆ- σαι τὰς πόλεις καὶ βουλόμενοι ἀμα ὡς πλεῖστος

1 υπὸ, omitted by Hude with F.

1 cf. ch. xix. 1.
they proceeded again to prepare for the voyage to Chios and Ionia. And Astyochus 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 Haerae, 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
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σφίσι ξυγκινδυνεύειν, στρατεύονται αυτοί τε τρισὶ καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Λέσβον, ὡσπερ εἰρητο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δεύτερον ἐτ' αὐτὴν ἱέοντι καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμα Πελοποινήσιων τε τῶν παρόνιων καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν εὐπομάχων παρῆκεν ἐπὶ Ἐλαζομενῶν τε καὶ Κύμης· ἦρχε δ’ αὐτοῦ Ἐυάλας Σπαρτιάτης, τῶν δὲ νεῶν

2 Δευτέρας περίοικος. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες καταπλεύσασι Μήθυμναν πρῶτον ἀφιστάσι, καὶ καταλείπονται τέσσαρες νῆες ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ αὐθίς αἱ λοιπαὶ Μυτιλήνην ἀφιστάσιν.

XXIII. Ἀστύνοχος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ναῦαρχος τέσσαρας ναυσίν, ὡσπερ ὀρμητό, πλέων ἐκ τῶν Κεγχρεῶν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Χίον. καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἱκοντος αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι ἐπλεον ἐς Λέσβον, ὧν ἦρχε Λέων καὶ Διομέδων. Λέων γὰρ ὑστερον δέκα ναυσὶ προσε-

2 βοήθησεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. ἀναγαγόμενοι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀστύνοχος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὅψε, καὶ προσλα-

βῶν Χίαν ναῦν μίαν, ἐπλει ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, ὅπως ὥφελον, εἰ τι δύναιτο. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν Πύρραν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῇ υστεραία ὡς Ἐρεσίων ἐνθα πυνθάνεται ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

3 αὐτοβοεὶ ἐάλωκεν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡσπερ ἐπλεον ἀπροσδόκητοι κατασχόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα τῶν τε Χίων νεῶν ἑκάτησαν καὶ ἀποβάντας τοὺς ἀντιστάντας μάχη νικήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἐσχατον.

4 ἐν πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀστύνοχος τῶν τε Ἐρεσίων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Μηθύμνης μετ' Ἐυβούλου Χίων

1 cf. ch. viii. 2.

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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 Eualas, a Spartan,
while the fleet was in charge of Deiniadhas, 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 Astyochus, the Lacedaemonian
admiral, sailed with four ships from Cenchreiae, 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 after-
wards with a reinforcement of ten ships from Athens.
On the same day, but at a later hour, Astyochus 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 Astyochus
learned of this from the inhabitants of Eresus and
from the Chian ships that came from Methymna
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veōν, αἱ τὸτε καταλειφθεῖσαι καὶ, ὡς ἡ Μυτελήνη ἔαλω, φεύγουσαι περιέτυχον αὐτῷ τρεῖς (μία γὰρ ἐαλὼ υπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων), οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τὴν Μυτελήνην ὀφρισθεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἐρεσον ἀποστήσας καὶ ὄπλισας, καὶ τούς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔαυτοῦ νεῶν ὀπλίτας πεζῇ παραπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν καὶ Μηθυμναῖον ἄρχοντα Ἐπεόνικον προστάξας. καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς τοῦ μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς Χίαις παρέπτει, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Μηθυμναίους θαρσήσειν τε ἴδοντας σφάς καὶ ἐμμενεῖν τῇ ἀποστάσει. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ πάντα ἱπατικότο, ἀπέπλευσε τῶν ἐαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἄναλαβὼν ἔσ τὴν Χίον. ἀπεκομίσθη δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζῶς, ὃς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐλλησποντῶν ἐμέλλησεν ἠνείαι. καὶ ἄπο τῶν ἐν Κενχρεῖᾳ ξυμμαχίδων Πελοποννησίων νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἡματα ταῦτα ἐσ τὴν Χίον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ πάλιν κατεστήσαντο καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς Κλαξομενίων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ Πολικυντής διεξειρεόμενην ἑλοντες διεκόμισαν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πόλιν πλῆ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως οὕτω δὲ ἐς Δαφνοῦντα ἀπῆλθον. καὶ αὐθίς Κλαξομεναὶ προσεχώρησαν Ἀθηναίοις.

XXIV. Τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ τ’ ἐπὶ Μιλήτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς εἰκοσὶ ναυσίν 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 (τὸν ἐαυτοῦ στρατὸν), i. e. the hoplites whom he had sent against Antissa and Methymna (§ 4). The force here designated must be ὁ 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 Cenchreia 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. xii. 1. But no satisfactory explanation has been given of ἀπὸ τῶν νεόν in this connection.
έφορμοῦντες ἀπόβασιν ποιησιμένοι εἰς Πάνορμον τῆς Μιλησίας Χαλκιδέα τε τῶν Λακεδαιμόνιων ἄρχοντα μετ’ ὀλίγων παραβοσθήσαντα ἀποκτείνουσι, καὶ τροπαίων τρίτη ἡμέρα ὑστερον διαπλέναντες ἐστησαν, ὅ οἱ Μιλησίοι ώς οὐ μετὰ
2 κράτους τῆς γῆς σταθεν ἀνείλουν· καὶ Δέων καὶ Διομέδων ἔχοντες τάς ἐκ Λέσβου Ἀθηναίων ναῦς, ἐκ τε Οἰνούσσων τῶν πρὸ Χίου νῆσων καὶ ἐκ Σιδούσσης καὶ ἐκ Πτελεου, ἄ ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ εἶχον τείχη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου ὁμόμενοι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Χίους πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιοῦντο· εἶχον δ’ ἐπιβάτας τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκ καταλόγου
3 ἀναγκαστοὺς. καὶ ἐν τε Καρδαμύλῃ ἀποβάντες καὶ ἐν Βολίσκῳ τοὺς προσβοσθήσαντας τῶν Χίων μάχῃ νικήσαντες καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείραντες ἀνάστατα ἐποίησαν τὰ ταύτην χωρία, καὶ ἐν Φάναις αὖθις ἄλλη μάχη ἐνίκησαν καὶ τρίτη ἐν Δευκωνίῳ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Χίου ἡδη οὐκέτι ἐπεξῆσαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν καλῶς κατεσκευασμενὴ καὶ ἀπαθὴ οὐσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν
4 μέχρι τότε διεπόρθησαν. Χίου γὰρ μόνοι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ὅν ἐγὼ ἡσθόμην ἡδαιμόνησάν τε ἀμα καὶ ἑσωφρόνησαν, καὶ ὅσω ἐπεδίδου ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, τόσω καὶ ἐκοσμοῦντο
5 ἐχυρώτερον. καὶ οὐδ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ τοῦτο δοκοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἄσφαλεστερον πράξαι, πρότερον ἐτόλμησαν ποιήσασθαι ἣ μετὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔμμαχων ἐμελλῶν κινδυνεύσειν καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσθάνοντο οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς 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.

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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
τας ἔτι μετὰ τὴν Σικελικὴν ξυμφορᾶν ὡς οὐ πάνυ πόνηρα σφῶν βεβαιῶς τὰ πράγματα εἶν’ εἰ δὲ τι ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπείοις τοῦ βίου παραλόγοις ἐσφάλησαν, μετὰ πολλῶν οἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ἔδοξε, τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ταχὺ ξυναίρεθησθαι, τὴν ἀμαρτιὰν
εἰργομένους δ’ οὐν αὐτοῖς τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ κατὰ γῆν πορθομένους ἐνεχείρησαν τινὲς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀγαγεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐ αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἀρχοντες αὐτοῖ μὲν ἦσυχασαν, Ἀστύχον δὲ εἰς Ἐρυθρῶν τὸν ναύαρχον μετὰ τεσσάρων νεῶν, ἀλλ’ παρῆσαν αὐτῶ, κομίσαντες ἐσκόπουν ὅπως μετριώτατα ἡ ὀμῆρος λήψει ἡ ἀλλὰ τῷ τρόπῳ καταπαύσουσι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράσσουν.

XXV. Ἔκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος χίλιοι ὀπλὶται Ἀθηναῖων καὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι Ἀργείων (τοὺς γὰρ πεντακοσίους τῶν Ἀργείων ψιλοὺς οὕτως ὀπλίσαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι) καὶ χίλιοι τῶν ξυμμάχων ναυσὶ δυοῖν δευτέρας πεντῆκοντα, ὑπὲρ ἦσαν καὶ ὀπλιταιγγυρί, Φρυνίχου καὶ Ὀνομάκλεου καὶ Σκιρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντων κατέπλευσαν ἐς Σάμου, καὶ διαβάντες ἐς Μίλητον

1 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Μιλήτηοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες αὐτοὶ τε, ὀκτακόσιοι ὀπλὶται, καὶ οἱ μετὰ Χαλκιδέως ἐλθόντες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τι ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ αὐτὸς Τισσαφέρνης παρῶν καὶ ἡ ἦππος αὐτοῦ ξυνεβαλον τοῖς

3 Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργείοι

1 ξενικὸν 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
τῷ σφετέρῳ αὐτῶν κέρα προεξάζαντες καὶ καταφρονήσαντες ὡς ἐπ’ Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ οὐ δεξιομένους ἀτακτότερον χωροῦντες, μικρῶται ὑπὸ τῶν Μιλησίων καὶ διαφθείρονται αὐτῶν ὀλίγων ἐλάσσονας τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους πρῶτους νικῆσαντες καὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον ὡσάμενοι, τοῖς Μιλησίοις ὑπὸ ξυμμείξαντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων τροπῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς εἰρων τὸ ἄλλο σφῶν ἤσσομενον, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Μιλησίων κρατούμενες ἦδη τὰ ὅπλα πίθευνε. καὶ ξυνέβη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτη τοῦς Ἰωνᾶς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Δωρίων κρατῆσαν τοὺς τε γὰρ κατὰ σφάς Πελοποννησίους οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐνίκων καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείων οἱ Μιλησίοι. στήσαντες δὲ τροπαίον τῶν περιτείχισμον ἰσθμόδους ὄντως τοῦ χωρίου οἱ Ἀθηναίοι παρεσκευάζοντο, νομίζοντες, εἰ προσαγάγοιντο Μίλητον, ῥαδίως ἀν σφίσαι καὶ τάλλα προσχωρῆσαι.

XXVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ περὶ δείλην ἤδη Ὀψίαν ἀγγέλλεται αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Σικελίας πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ὅσον οὐ παρεῖναι. τῶν τε γὰρ Σικελίωτῶν, Ὁμοκράτων τοῦ Συρακοσίου μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὑπολοίπου Ἀθηναίων καταλύσεις, εἰκοσὶ νῆς Συρακοσίων ἦλθον καὶ Σελυσίνται δύο, αὕτε ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, ἃς παρεσκευάζοντο, ἐτοίμαι ἤδη οὖσαι· καὶ Ἰθηρίμενε τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ξυναμφότεραι ὡς Ἀστύχου τὸν ναύαρχον προσταχθεῖσαι κομίσαι, κατέπλευσαν ἐς Δέρον.

1 Δέρον, Hude reads Ἐλεόν 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 Astyochus the admiral. They first put in
2 πρῶτον τὴν πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσον. ἐπείτα ἐκεῖθεν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπὶ Μιλήτῳ ὄντας Ἀθηναίους ἐς τὸν Ἰασικὸν κόλπον προτερον πλεύσαντες ἐβούλοντο
3 εἰδέναι τὰ περὶ τῆς Μιλήτου. ἐλθόντος δέ Ἀλκιβιάδος ἵππῳ ἐς Τειχιοῦσαν τῆς Μιλήσιας, οὕτε τοῦ κόλπου πλεύσαστες ἡνίσαντο, πυνθάνονται τὰ περὶ τῆς μάχης (παρὴν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ ξυνεμάχετο τοῖς Μιλήσιοις καὶ Τισσαφέρνει), καὶ αὐτοῖς παρῇ, εἰ μὴ βουλόνται τὰ τε ἐν Ἰωνία καὶ τὰ ἐξίπτωτα πράγματα διολέσαι, ὡς τάχιστα βοήθειν Μιλήτῳ καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀποτειχισθεῖσαι.

XXVII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἁμα τῇ ἐῳ ἐμελλόν βοηθήσειν. Φρύνιχος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρου ἐπύθετο τὰ τῶν νεῶν σαφῶς, βουλομένων τῶν ξυναρχόντων ὑπομείναντας διαναμαχεῖν, οὐκ ἐφὶ οὔτ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσειν τοῦτο οὔτ' ἐκείνοις οὐδ' ἀλλῳ οὔδεν ἐς δύναμιν
2 ἐπιτρέψειν. ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑστέρῳ, σαφῶς εἰδότας πρὸς ὅποιας τε ναῦς πολεμίας καὶ ὅσαις πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς σφατέραις, ἴκανος καὶ καθ’ ἰσχύιαν παρασκευασμένους ἐσται ἀγωνίσασθαι, οὖν ἐπετε τῷ αἰσχρῷ ἐκεῖξα ἡλόγως διακινδυνεύσει
3 σεῖν. οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι Ἀθηναίους ναυτικῶς μετὰ καρποῦ ὑποχωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ὁτους τό οὕτως τῷ αἰσχρῷ ἔνοπλοις ἢν ἠπατήθησιν. καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄν
3 οὐ μόνον τῷ αἰσχρῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ περιπάτειν ἤ μόλις

1 ἐξεστίν, after ὅπου γὰρ, deleted by Dobree.
2 ὁτείθει, after αἰσχρῷ, deleted by Krüger.
3 ἄν, 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 Iasic 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
ἐπὶ ταῖς γεγενημέναις ξύμφοραις ἐνδέχεσθαι μετὰ βεβαιοῦ ταρασκευῆς καθ ἐκουσίαν, ἢ πάνυ γε ἀνώγηκ, προτέρα ποι ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἢ ποῦ δὴ μὴ βιαζομένη γε πρὸς αὐθαίρετος κινδύνους ἴenance.

4 ὡς τάχιστα δὲ ἐκέλευε τοὺς τε τραυματίας ἀνάλαβοντας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα ἦλθον ἐχοντες, ἢ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εἰλήφασι καταλιπόντας, ὅπως κοὐφαί ὅσιν αἱ νῆς, ἀποπλεῖν ἐς Σάμον, κακείθεν ἢ δὴ ξυναγαγόντας πάσας τὰς ναῦς τοὺς ἐπιπλους, ἢν ποῦ καρίδος ἢ, ποιεῖσθαι.

5 ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε, καὶ ἔδρασε ταῦτα καὶ ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑστεροῦ, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢς ὅσα ἀλλὰ Φρύνιχος κατέστη, οὐκ ἀξίωντος εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι ἄφι ἐσπέρας εὐθὺς τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ ἀτελεῖ τῇ νίκῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀνέστησαν, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ τάχος καὶ πρὸς ὅργην τῆς ξύμφορᾶς ἀπέτλευσαν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐπὶ οἴκου.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἄμα τῇ ἑῳ ἐκ τῆς Τεἰχοῦσης ἀραντες ἐπικατάγονται, καὶ μείναντες ἡμέραν μίαν τῇ ύστεραια καὶ τὰς Χίας ναύς προσλαβόντες τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδῶς τὸ πρῶτον ξυγκαταδιωχθείσας εβούλοντο πλέοντας ἐπὶ τὰ σκέυη, ἢ ἔξειλοντο, ἐς Τειχοῦσαν πάλιν.

2 καὶ ὡς ἦλθον, Τισσαφέρης τῷ πεζῷ παρελθὼν πείθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰασον, ἢ ἢ Ἀμόρρης πολέμιος

1 καθ ἐκουσίαν, Hude omits with Cod. C, which simplifies the sentence.

2 ἢ ποῦ, from ποῦ of the MSS., Lindau. ποῦ δὴ, κτέ., 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 Teichiussa 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 Chalcidens had been pursued to port. They now wished to sail back to Teichiussa 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,

\[^{2}\text{cf. ch. xvii. 3.}\]
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ων κατείχε, πλεύσαι. καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ Ἰάσῳ αἰφνιδίοι καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων ἄλλῃ ἢ Ἀττικᾶς τὰς ναῦς εἶναι αἴροσίν καὶ μᾶλιστα

3 ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἐπηνέθησαν. καὶ τὸν τε Ἀμόργην ξώντα λαβόντες παραδιδόσιν οἱ Πελοποννησιοί Τισσαφέρνει ἀπαγαγεῖν, εἰ βούλεται, βασιλεῖ, ὅσπερ αὐτὸ προσέταξε, καὶ τὴν Ἰασον διεπάρθησαν καὶ χρῆματα πάνω πολλᾶ ἢ στρατιά ἐλαβεῖν. παλαιοπλουτὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον. τοὺς τε ἐπικούρους τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀμόργην παρὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κομίσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀδικήσαντες ἐννέαταν, ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ τε πόλισμα Τισσαφέρνει παραδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα πάντα, καὶ δοῦλα καὶ ἔλευθερα, ὅπως καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν στατήρα δαρεικὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐννέβησαν λαβεῖν, ἐπειτα ἄνεχόρησαν

5 ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. καὶ Πεδαρίτον τε τὸν Δέντος ἐς τὴν Χίον ἀρχοντα Λακεδαιμονίων πεμψάντων ἀποστελλοῦσι πεζῇ μέχρι Ἕρυθρῶν ἔχοντα τὸ παρὰ Ἀμόργου ἐπικουρικῶν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον καθιστᾶσιν. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

XXIX. Τοῦ δ᾽ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰασον κατεστήσατο ὁ Τισσαφέρης ἐς φυλακὴν, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, καὶ ῥηνὸς μὲν τροφῆν, ὡσπερ ὑπέστη ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονί, ἐς δραχμῆν Ἀττικῆν ἐκάστῳ πᾶσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ διέδωκε, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἐβουλεύτο τριῶ-

1 After λαβόντες the MSS. give Πισσοῦθου νόθον νῦν, ἀφεστῶτα δὲ βασιλέως, which van Herwerden deletes. cf. ch. v. 5.

2 ἐς, 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 Syracusans 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.
bolon διδόναι, ἡς ἄν βασιλέα ἐπέρηται· ἦν δὲ
2 κελεύῃ, ἐφὶ δώσειν ἐντελῆ τὴν δραχμὴν. Ἐρμο-
κράτους δὲ ἀντειπόντος τοῦ Συρακοσίου στρατη-
γοῦ (ὁ γὰρ Θηριμένης οὐ ναύαρχος οὖν, ἀλλ’
’Αστυόχος παραδοῦναι τὰς ναύς ξυμπλέων,
μαλακὸς ᾗν περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ), ὀμος δὲ παρὰ
πέντε ναύς πλέον ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ ἡ τρεῖς ὅβολοι
ὦμολογήθησαν. ἐς γὰρ πέντε ναύς καὶ πεντή-
κοντα τριάκοντα τάλαντα ἐδίδον τοῦ μηνὸς· καὶ
toῖς ἄλλοις, ὅσοι πλείοις νῆες ἦσαν τοῦτον τοῦ
ὕριῳ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐδίδοτο.

XXX. Τού δ’ αὐτοῦ χειμώνως τοῖς ἐν τῷ Σάμῳ
’Αθηναίοις προσαφιγμέναί γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ οἰκοθεν
ἀλλαὶ νῆες πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγοὶ
Χαρμίνος καὶ Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Εὐκτήμων, καὶ
tαῖς ἀπὸ Χίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πᾶσας ξυναγαγόντες
ἐβουλοῦτο διακληρωσάμενοι ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ Μιλήτῳ
τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐφορμεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Χίῳ καὶ
2 ναυτικοῦ καὶ πεζοῦ πέμψαι. καὶ ἐποίησαν
οὕτως: Στρομβιχίδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὄιομακλῆς
καὶ Εὐκτήμων τριάκοντα ναύς ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν ἐς
Μιλήτου ἐλθόντων χιλίων ὀπλιτῶν μέρος ἄγοντες
ἐν ναυσίν ὀπλιταγωγοῖς ἐπὶ Χίῳ λαχόντες
ἐπλεον, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἐν Σάμῳ μένοντες τέσσαροι
καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσίν ἑθαλασσοκράτουν, καὶ
ἐπίπλους τῇ Μιλήτῳ ἐποιοῦντο.

XXXI. Ὅ δ’ Ἀστυόχος 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 x 200 men x 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 month ²; 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).
ἐτυχε διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοὺς ὀμηροὺς καταλεγόμενοι, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπέσχεν, ἐπειδὴ ὡσθέτο τὰς τε μετὰ Θηριμένους ναῦς ἤκουσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν βελτίω ὄντα, λαβὼν δὲ ναῦς τὰς τε Πελοποννησίων δέκα καὶ Χίας δέκα

2 ἀναγεται, καὶ προσβαλῶν Πτελεφ καὶ υὸν ἐλών παρέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Κλαξομενᾶς, καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτῶν τοὺς τὰ 'Αθηναίων φρονοῦντας ἀνοικίζεσθαι ἐς τὸν Δαφνοῦτα καὶ προσχωρεῖν σφίσιν. ἐνεκέλευεν δὲ καὶ Τάμως 'Ιωνίας ύπαρχος ὅν.

3 ὡς δ' οὖν ἐσήκουσιν, προσβολὴν ποιησάμενος τὴν πόλει ὄψη ἠτελείστω καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἀνέμων μεγάλων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Φώκαιαν καὶ Κύμην, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι νῆς κατήραν ἐς τὰς ἐπικεκεμένας ταῖς Κλαξομεναίς νήσους Μαραθοῦσαν καὶ Πήλην καὶ Δρυμοῦσαν. καὶ ὅτα ὑπεξέκειτο αὐτὸθι τῶν Κλαξομενῶν ἡμέρας ἐμμείναντες διὰ τοὺς ἀνέμους ὅκτω τὰ μὲν διήρπασαν καὶ ἀνήλωσαν, τὰ δὲ ἐσβαλόμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Φώκαιαν καὶ Κύμην ὡς 'Αστύοχον.

XXXII. Ὅντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα Δεσβίων ἀφικνοῦνται προσβείς βουλόμενοι αὖθις ἀποστήμαν καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν πείθουσιν, ὡς δ' οἳ τε Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἳ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀπρόθυμοι ἦσαν διὰ τὸ πρότερον σφάλμα, ἀρὰς ἐπέλει ἐπὶ τῆς Χίου. καὶ χειμασθειότων τῶν νεῶν ὑστεροῦν

1 cf. ch. xxiv. 6.
2 i.e. the four under himself from Erythrae (ch. xxiv. 6) and the six which had come from Cenchreia to Chios (ch. xxiii. 5).
3 cf. ch. xxii.

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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, Pelo, and Drymussa. 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 ἄλλαι ἀλλοθεν ἐς τὴν Χίον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Πεδάριτος, τότε παριών πεζῇ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, γενόμενος ἐν Ἕρυθραίς διαπεραύουται αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐς Χίον. ὑπήρχον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέντε νεῶν στρατιώται ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέως ἐς πεντακοσίους ἔστιν ὅπλοις κατα-

λειφθέντες. ἐπαγγελλομένων δὲ τινῶν Λεσβίων τὴν ἀπόστασιν, προσφέρει τῷ τε Πεδαρίτῳ καὶ τοῖς Χίοις Ἀστύοχος λόγον ὡς χρή παραγενο-

μένους ταῖς ναυσίν ἀποστῆσαι τὴν Λέσβον. ἦ ἡ γὰρ ξυμμάχους πλείους σφάς ἔξειν ἡ τούς Ἀθη-

ναίους, ἦν τι σφάλλωνται, κακῶσειν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔσηκονουν, οὐδὲ τὰς ναῦς ὁ Πεδαρίτος ἐφῆ τῶν Χίων αὐτῶ προῆσειν.

XXXIII. Κάκεινος λαβῶν τὰς τε τῶν Κορυ-

θίων πέντε καὶ ἐκτην Μεγαρίδα καὶ μίαν Ἕρμι-

ονίδα καὶ ως αὐτῶς Δακονικᾶς ἤλθεν ἐχὼς, ἐπλεῖ 

ἐπὶ τῆς Μιλήτου πρὸς τὴν ναυαρχίαν, πολλὰ 

ἀπειλήσας τὸς Χίοις ὡς μὴν μὴ ἐπιβοηθήσειν, ἦν 

τι δεόνται. καὶ προσβαλῶν Κωρύκω τῆς Ἕρυ-

θραίας ἐνηνιάσατο. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου Ἀθη-

ναῖοι ἐπὶ τήν Χίον πλέοντες τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ 

τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, λόφον διείργοντος,1 καθωρμί-

σαντο, καὶ ἐλελήθεσαν ἄλλους. ἔλθοντος δὲ 

παρὰ Πεδάριτου ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐπιστολῆς ὡς Ἕρυ-

θραίων ἄνδρες αἰχμαλώτων ἐκ Σάμου ἐπὶ προδοσία 

ἐς Ἕρυθρας ἤκουσιν ἀφειμένοι, ἀνάγεται ὁ Λαστύ-

1 διείργοντος, for διείργοντο 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 above 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. 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, 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 ευθυς εσ τας 'Ερυθρας παλιν, και παρα τοσουτον εγενετο αυτω μη περιπεσειν τοις 'Αθηναιοις. διαπλευσας δε και ο Πεδιριτος παρ αυτων και αναξηταντες τα περι των δοκουντων προδιδοναι, ως ηυρουν απαν επι σωτηρια των ανθρωπων εκ της Σαμουν προφασισθεν, απολυσαντες της αιτιας απεπλευσαν, ο μεν εσ την Χιων, ο δε εσ την Μιλητουν εκομισθη, ωσπερ δεινοειτο.

XXXIV. 'Εν τοτε δε και η των 'Αθηναιων στρατια ταις ναυσιν εκ του Κωρικου περιπλεουσα κατ' Αργιουν επιτυγχανει τρισι ναυσι των Χιων μακραις, και ως ειδουν, εδωκον.1 και χειμων τε μεγας επιγιγνεται και αι μεν των Χιων μολις καταφευγουσιν εσ των λιμενα, αι δε των 'Αθηναιων αι μεν μαλιστα ορμησασαι τρεις διαφειρονται και εκπιπτουσι προς την πολιν των Χιων, και άνδρες αι μεν αλισκονται αι δ' αποθυγμισουσιν, αι δ' αλλαι καταφευγουσιν εσ των άπο τω Μιλαντι λιμενα Φοινικοντα καλουμενον. εντεθεν δ' υστερον εσ την Λεσβουν καθορμισαμενου παρεσκευαζοντο εσ των τειχισμων.

XXXV. 'Εκ δε της Πελοποινισου του αυτου χειμωνος Ιπποκρατης ο Λακεδαιμονιος εκπλευσας δεκα μεν Θουριαις ναυσι, ων ήρξε Δωριευς ο Διαγορον τριτος αυτος, μια δε Λακωνικη, μια δε Συρακοσια, καταπλει εσ Κυιδουν η δ' αφειςπικει 2 ηδη υπο Τισσαφερνους. και αυτους οι εν τη Μιλητι τω, ως ησθουσο, εκελευθαν ταις μεν ημισειαις των νεων Κυιδου φυλασσειν, τας δε περι Τορι-

1 ως ειδουν, εδωκον, Krüger and Boehme with B; Hude reads ωσπερ ειδουν, επεδωκον; Stahl and Classen ωσπερ ειχον ιδστες εδωκον.

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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 Laedaeemonian 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᾽ Αἰγύπτου ὑλκάδας προσ-
3 βαλλόμενας ἐυλαμβάνειν ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ Τριστὸν ἅκρα τῆς Κυνίδας προὔχουσα, Ἀπόλλωνος ίερὸν. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Σάμου λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἐπὶ Τριστὸν φρουρούσας ἐξ ναύς· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Κυνίδαν καταπλεύσαντες καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει ἀπειχίστω οὖσῃ
4 ὅλην εἰλον. τῇ δ᾽ ὕστεραία ἀθίθες προσέβαλλον, καὶ ὡς ἀμείνων παρξαμένων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ νύκτα καὶ ἑπεσελθόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριστοῦ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντων οὐκεθ’ ὁμοίως ἐβλαπτον, ἀπελθόντες καὶ δημόσαντες τὴν τῶν Κυνίδων γῆν ἐς τὴν Σάμου ἀπέπλευσαν.

XXXVI. Ἄπτο δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων Ἀστυῖχον ἥκοντος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, οἱ Πελο-
πονησίων εὐπόρωις ἐτί εἴχον ἀπαντά τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ γὰρ μισθὸς ἐδίδοτο ἀρκούντως, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰάσου μεγάλα χρήματα διαρ-
πασθέντα ὑπὸ τούς στρατιώτας, οἱ τε Μιλῆσιοι
2 προθύμως τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἔφερον. πρὸς δὲ τῶν
Τισσαφέρνη ἐδόκοιν ὄμως τοῖς Πελοπονησίοις
αἱ πρώται ξυνθήκαι, αἱ πρὸς Χαλκίδαν γενόμεναι, ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι καὶ οὐ πρὸς σφῶν μᾶλλον, καὶ ἄλλας ἐπὶ Ἐθριμένους παρόντος ἐποίουν· καὶ εἰσὶν αἴδε.

XXXVII. “Ξυνθήκαι Λακεδαιμονιῶν καὶ τῶν
ξυμμαίχων πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρείου καὶ τοὺς παῖδας
τοὺς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνη σπονδᾶς εἶναι καὶ φιλίαν 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 Lasus 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:

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2 "Όπόση χώρα καὶ πόλεις βασιλέως εἰς Ἰαρείου ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦσαν ἢ τῶν προγόνων, ἐπὶ ταῦτας μὴ ἴσαι ἐπὶ πολεμῶ μηδὲ κακῶ μηθεὶ μήτε Ἀλκεδαιμονίους μὴτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοὺς Ἀλκεδαιμονίων, μηδὲ φόρους πράσσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων μήτε Αλκεδαιμονίους μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοὺς Αλκεδαιμονίων μηδὲ Δαρείου βασιλέα μηδὲ ὧν βασιλεὺς ἀρχεῖ ἐπὶ Αλκεδαιμονίους μηδὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἴσαι ἐπὶ πολέμο μηδὲ κακῶ μηθεὶ.

3 "Ἡν δὲ τι δέωνται Αλκεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξυμμάχοι βασιλέως, ἢ βασιλεὺς Αλκεδαιμονίων ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὃ τι ἀν πείθωσιν ἀλλήλους, τοῦτο ποιοῦσi καλῶς ἔχειν.

4 "Τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίον καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κοινῆ ἀμφότερος πολέμειν. ἢν δὲ κατάλυσιν ποιῶται, κοινῆ ἀμφότερος ποιεῖσθαι. "Ὅπως δὲ ἀν στρατιὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ μεταπεμφαμένου βασιλέως, τῆς δαπάνης βασιλεία παρέχειν.

5 "Ἡν δὲ τὶς τῶν πόλεων ὅποσιν ξυνέθευστο βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεία ἢ χώραν, τοὺς ἄλλους κολύειν καὶ ἀμύνειν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἢν τὶς τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χώρᾳ ἢ ὅσης βασιλεὺς ἀρχεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν Αλκεδαιμονίων ἢ ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων, βασιλεὺς κολύετω καὶ ἀμυνέτω κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν."

XXXVIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτας τὰς ξυνθήκας Ἡθριμένης παραδοὺς Ἀστυνόχῳ τὰς ναῦς ἀπὸ- πλέων ἐν κέλητι ἀφανίζεται. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δέσβου

1 Hude inserts here βασιλεία καὶ Αλκεδαιμονίους, following Kirchhoff.
"1. WHATSOEVER TERRITORY AND CITIES BELONG TO KING DARIUS OR BELONGED TO HIS FATHER OR THEIR ANCESTORS, AGAINST THESE SHALL NEITHER THE LACEDAEOMIANS NOR THEIR ALLIES GO EITHER FOR WAR OR TO DO ANY HARM; NOR SHALL EITHER THE LACEDAEOMIANS OR THEIR ALLIES EXACT TRIBUTE FROM THESE CITIES. NOR SHALL KING DARIUS OR THOSE OVER WHOM THE KING RULES GO AGAINST THE LACEDAEOMIANS OR THEIR ALLIES FOR WAR OR TO DO ANY HARM.

"2. IF THE LACEDAEOMIANS OR THEIR ALLIES HAVE NEED OF ANYTHING FROM THE KING OR THE KING FROM THE LACEDAEOMIANS 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.


"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 LACEDAEOMIANS 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. LXXX. 4. Cf. also Xen. Hel., i. vi. 38.
'Αθηναίοι ἤδη διαβεβηκότες ἐς τὴν Χίον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ κρατοῦντες καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης Δελφίνιον ἐτείχιζον, χωρίον ἄλλως τε ἐκ γῆς καρτερὸν καὶ λιμένας ἔχον καὶ τῆς τῶν Χίων 3 πόλεως οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον. οἱ δὲ Χῖοι ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις πεπληγμένοι, καὶ ἄλλως ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐ πάνυ εὐ διακείμενοι, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν μετὰ Τυδέως τοῦ Ἰωνος ἤδη ὑπὸ Πεδαρίτου ἐπὶ ἀττικισμῷ τεθυνότων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως κατ’ ἀνάγκην ἐς ὀλίγον 1 κατεχομένης ὑπόπτως διακείμενοι ἄλληλοις ἵστυχαζον, καὶ οὔτ’ αὐτοὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὔτε οἱ μετὰ Πεδαρίτου ἐπίκουροι 4 ἄξιόμαχοι αὐτοῖς ἑφαίνοντο. ἐς μέντοι τὴν Μίλη- τον ἐπεμπον, κελεύοντες σφίσι τὸν Ἀστύοχον βοη- θεῖν· ὅς δ’ οὐκ ἔσηκον, ἐπιστέλλει περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Πεδαρίτος ὡς ἀδικοῦντος. 5 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Χίῳ ἐς τούτῳ καθειστήκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· αἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου νῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπίπλους μὲν ἐποιοῦντο ταῖς ἐν τῇ Μίλητῳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ ἀντανάγονει, ἀναχωροῦντες πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμου ἵστυχαζον.  

XXXIX. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐν τῷ αὐτῶ  

χειμῶν αἱ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ Καλλιγείτου 2 τοῦ  

Μεγαρέως καὶ Τιμαγόρου τοῦ Κυζικοῦ πρασ-  

σόντων παρασκευασθείσας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων  

ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι νῆς ἄρασι ἐπλεον ἐπὶ Ἰωνιας  

περὶ ἡλίου τροπᾶς, καὶ ἄρχων ἐπέπλεε αὐτῶν  

2 Ἀντισθένης Σπαρτιάτης. ἐμνέπεμψαν δὲ οἱ Δακε-  

1 ὀλίγον, for ὀλίγον of the MSS., Dobree’s correction.  

2 ὑπὸ, before Καλλιγείτου, deleted by Poppo.
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 Astyoehus 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 Pharnabazus,\(^1\) 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.
δαμόνιοι καὶ ἐνδεκα ἀνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν ἔμβουλος 'Αστυόχῳ, ὅν εἶν ἦν Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος. καὶ εἰρητο αὐτοῖς ἐσ Μιλήτων ἀφικομένους τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔμβουλος ἔκακος ἢ μὲλλει ἄριστα ἔσείν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ταύτας ἢ αὐτάς ἢ πλεῖον ἢ καὶ ἐλάχιστος ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου ὡς Φαρνάβαζον, ἦσ δοκή, ἀποπέμπειν, Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίον, ὅς ἐμεπεί, ἀρχοντα προστάζοντας, καὶ Ἀστυ-οχον, ἦν δοκή ἑν πάνειν τῆς ναυαρχίας, Ἀντιοθένη δὲ καθιστάναι πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς τού Πεδαρίτου

3 ἐπιστολάς ὑπώπτευον αὐτῶν. πλέουσαι οὖν αἱ νῆς ἀπὸ Μαλεάς πελάγηι Μηλὼν προσέβαλον, καὶ περιτυχόντες ναυσὶ δέκα Ἀθηναίων τάς τρεῖς λαμβάνουσι κενάς καὶ κατακαίουσιν. μετὰ δὲ τούτο δεδιότε μὴ αἱ διαλυόνται τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῆς Μήλου νῆς, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μηνύσωσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην πλεύσαντες καὶ πλεῖον τὸν πλοῦν διὰ φυλακῆς ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὴν Καῦνον τῆς Ἀσίας

4 κατήραν. ἑντεύθεν δὴ, ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ ὄντες, ἀγγελιάν ἐπεμπον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ ναῦς τοῦ ἐμπαρακομισθήματι.

XI. Οἱ δὲ Χίοι καὶ Πεδάριτος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οὐδέν ἦσαν, καὶ περὶ διλέγοντα, τὸν Ἀστυόχον πέμποντες ἁγγελίᾳ ἄξιονι σφίσι πολιορκουμένοι βοηθῆσαι ἀπάσαις τάς ναυσὶ καὶ μὴ περιδείν τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ξυμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰργομένην. 2 καὶ κατὰ ἥν ῥήστειαις πορθομένην. οἱ γὰρ

1 τοῖσ ἐνδεκα ἀνδράσι, of the MSS., deleted by van Herwerden.

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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.
οίκεται τοῖς Χίοις πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ μιᾶ γε πόλει πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πλείστοι γενόμενοι καὶ ἀμα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπωτέρως ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις κολαξόμενοι, ὡς ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βεβαίως ἐδοξε μετὰ τείχους ἱδρύσθαι, εὐθὺς αὐτομολία τε ἐχρήσαντο πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ τὰ πλείστα κακὰ ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν χώραν οὕτως ἐδρασαν.

3 ἔφασαν οὖν χρήναι οἱ Χίοι, ἦς ἔτι ἐλπὶς καὶ δυνατὸν κωλύσαι, τειχιζομένου τοῦ Δελφινίου καὶ ἀτελοῦς ὄντος, καὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐρύματος μείζονος προσπερβαλλομένου, βοηθήσαι σφίσιν. οὐ δὲ Ἀστυχος καίπερ οὐ διανοοῦμενος διὰ τὴν τότε ἀπειλήν, ὡς ἔφη ὁτα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους προθύμους ὄντας, ὁρμητὸ ἐς τὸ βοηθεῖν.

XLI. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Καύνου παραγίγεται ἀγγελία ὅτι αἱ ἔπτα καὶ εἰκοσὶ νῆς καὶ οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμβουλοι πάρεισι, καὶ νομίσας πάντα ύστερα εἶναι τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ ναῦς τε, ὅπως θαλασσοκρατοῖς μᾶλλον, τοσάττας ξυμπαρακομίσαι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ ἦκον κατάσκοποι αὐτοῦ, ἀσφαλῶς περαιώθηναι, εὐθὺς 2 ἄφεις τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίον ἐπλεῖ εἰς τὴν Καύνον. καὶ ἐς Κων τὴν Μεροπίδα ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἀποβὰς τὴν τε πόλιν ἀτείχιστον οὕτως καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐτυχὲς μέγιστός; γε δὴ ὧν μεμνημέθα γενόμενος, ξυμπεπτωκυίαν ἐκπορθεῖ, τῶν ἀνθρώ-
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,1 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 conveying 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 ες τα ορη πεθευγοτων, και την χωραν κατα-
δρομαις λειαν εποιειτο, πλην των ελευθερων.
3 τουτους δε αφιει. εκ δε της Κω αφικωμενος ες
την Κυδον νυκτος αναγκαζεται υπο των Κυδιων
παρανοωντων μη εκβιβασαι τους ναυτας, ολλ'
ωσπερ ειχε πλειν ευθυς επι τας των 'Αθηναιων
ναυς εικοσι, ως εχων Xαρμινος, εις των εκ Σαμου
στρατηγων, εφυλασσε ταυτας τας επτα και εικοσι
ναυς εκ της Πελοπονησου προσπλεούσας, εφ'
4 άσπερ και ο Αστυχος παρέπλει. επυθοντο δε
οι εν τη Σαμω εκ της Μηλου τον επιπλουν αυτων,
και η φυλακη τω Xαρμινο περι την Συμην και
Xαλκη και Ροδου και περι την Λυκιαν ήν' ήδη
γαρ ησθανετο και εν τη Καινω ουσας αυτας.

XLII. 'Επεπλει ουν οσπερ ειχε προς την
Συμην ο Αστυχος πριν εκπυστος γενεσθαι, ει
πως περιλαβοι που μετεωρους τας ναυς. και
αυτω υπηκ τε και τα εκ του αυρανου εγινεβελα
οντα πλινησιν των νεων εν τω σκοτει και παραχη
2 παρεχειν. και άμα τη έφω, διεσπασμενου του
ναυτικου, και του μεν φαινου ήδη οντος τοις
'Αθηναιοις, του ευωνυμου κερως, του δε άλλου
περι την νησον έτι πλανομενου, επαναγονται
κατα ταχος ο Χαρμινος και οι 'Αθηναιοι εξαι-
σοσιν ι τας εικοσι ναυσι, νομίσαντες άσπερ
εφυλασσον ναυς τας απο της Καινου1 ταυτας
3 ειναι. και προσπεσοντες ευθυς κατεδυσαν τε
τρεις και κατατραυματισαν άλλας, και εν τω
εργω επεκρατουν, μεχρι ου επεφανης αυτοις
παρα δοξαν αι πλειους των νεων και πανταχοθεν

1 τας απο της Καινου, deleted by Hude.
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

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4 ἀπεκλήσιοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐστὶν καταστάντες ἐξ μὲν ναῦς ἀπολλύσι, ταῦτα δὲ λοιπὰς καταφέυ-γουσιν ἐς τὴν Τευτλοῦσαν νῆσον, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐς Αλικαρνασσόν. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν Πελο-ποννησίοι ἐς Κυίδον κατάραντες καὶ ξυμμυγεισάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καύνου ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσὶ νεῶν αὐτοῖς ξυμπάσασι πλεύσαντες καὶ τροπαίον ἐν τῇ Σύμη στῆσαντες πάλιν ἐς τὴν Κυίδον καθωρμίσαντο.

XLIII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ναυσὶ πάσαις, ὡς ἁγθόντο τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας, πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σύμην καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ Κυίδῳ ναυτικὸν οὐχ ορμήσαντες, οὐδ̃ ἐκείνου ἐπ̃ ἐκείνους, λαβόντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σύμης σκεύη τῶν νεῶν καὶ Δωρύμοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀπεὶρῳ προσ-βαλόντες, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Σάμου.

2 Ἀπασαί δ' ἤδη οὖνσα ἐν τῇ Κυίδῳ αἱ τῶν Πελο-ποννησίων νῆσες ἐπεσκευάζοντο τε εἰ τι ἐδεί, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρνη (παρεγένετο γὰρ) λόγους ἐποιοῦντο οἱ ἐνδεκα ἄνδρες τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων περὶ τε τῶν ἤδη πεπραγμένων, εἰ τι μὴ ἠρεσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολέμου, ὅτω τρόπῳ ἀριστα ὧς ξυμφορώτατα ἀμφοτέρως πολε-μῆσεται. μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Δίχας ἐσκόπη τὰ ποιούμενα, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐδέτερας, οὔτε τὰς Χαλκιδῶς οὔτε τὰς Ἡβριμένους, ἐφὶ καλῶς ξυγκείσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ χόρας ὁσὶς βασιλείας καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἠρέξαν πρὸς τὸν παντοτό, ταύτης καὶ νῦν ἀξιώσει κρατεῖν (ἐτίν γὰρ καὶ νῆσους ἀπαίσας πάλιν δουλεύει καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Δοκροὺς καὶ τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτῶν), καὶ ἀντ' ἑλευ-

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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 Lacadaemonian 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
Θερίας ἄν Μηδικῆν ἄρχῃ τοῖς Ἂγαθοῖς τοῦ Ἑλλησ τοὺς
4 Λακεδαιμονίους περιθείναι. ἔτερας οὖν ἐκέλευε
βελτίους σπένδεσθαι, ἢταύταις γε οὐ χρήσεσθαι,
οὐδὲ τῆς τροφῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις δεῖσθαι οὐδὲν. ἀγα-
νακτῶν δὲ ὦ μὲν Τίτσαφέρνης ἀπεχώρησεν ἀπ'
αὐτῶν δὲ ἄργης καὶ ἀπρακτος.

XLIV. Οἷς ὥσ τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐπικηρυκευομένων ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἄνδρῶν, τὴν γυνώμην εἰχον
πλεῖν, ἐλπίζοντες νῆσόν τε οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ
ναυβατῶν πλῆθει καὶ πεζῶν προσάζεσθαι, καὶ
ἀμα ἤγονενοι αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἰσμο-
μαχίας δυνατοὶ ἐσεθαι, Τίτσαφέρνη μὴ αἰτοῦντες
2 χρήματα, τρέφειν τὰς ναῦς. πλεύσαντες οὖν
εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶν έκ τῆς Κνίδου, καὶ
προσβαλόντες Καμίρω τῆς Ῥοδίας πρώτη ναυς
τέσσαρες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, ἔξεφοβησαν μὲν τοὺς
πολλοὺς οὐκ εἴδότας τὰ πρασσόμενα, καὶ ἔφευγον,
ἀλλας τε καὶ ἀπείχος τοῦ σης τῆς πόλεως
εἰτα ξυγκαλήσαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις τε
καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῖς δυνῶν πόλεως, Λινδοῦ τε καὶ
Ἰηλύσου, Ῥοδίους ἐπεισαν ἀποστήναι Ληναίων.
3 καὶ προσεχώρησε Ῥόδος Πελοποννησίοις. οἱ δὲ
Ἀθηναίοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον παῖς ἐκ τῆς
Σάμου ναυσὶν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπλευσαν μὲν βουλό-
μενοι φθάσαι καὶ ἐφάνησαν πελάγιοι, ὑστερή-
σαντες δὲ οὖ πολλῷ τὸ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέπλευ-
σαν ἐς Χάλκην, ἐντευθεν δ' ἐς Σάμου, ὑστερον δὲ
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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
THUCYDIDES

ἐκ τῆς Χάλκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κω καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου
touς ἐπιτήδειον τοιούτων ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥόδον ἐπο-
λέμουν. οἱ δὲ χρήματα μὲν ἐξελεξαν ἐς δύο καὶ
tριάκοντα τάλαντα, οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, παρὰ τῶν
Ῥοδίων, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἱσύχαξον ἡμέρας ὕγδον εκ
ἀνελκύσαντες τὰς ναῦς.

XLV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐτί πρότερον, πρὶν ἐς
τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆναι, τάδε ἐπράσετο.
Ἀλκιβιάδης μετὰ τοῦ Χαλκιδῶς θάνατον καὶ
tὴν ἐν Μιλήτῳ μάχην τοῖς Πελοποννήσιοῖς
ὑποπτοὺς ὄν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης ἐπιστολής
πρὸς Ἀστύρχον ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος ὡστε ἀποκτεῖναι
(ἡν γὰρ τῇ Ἀγίδι ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἄλλως ἀπιστοῦς
ἐφαίνετο), πρῶτον μὲν ὑποχωρεῖ δεῖςας παρὰ
Τισσαφέρη, ἐπείτα ἔκακου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον
ἐδύνατο μᾶλιστα τῶν Πελοποννήσιων τὰ πράγ-
ματα, καὶ διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος τὴν τε
μισθοφορῶν ἔσνετες, ἀντὶ δραχμῆς Ἀττικῆς
ὡστε τριώβολον, καὶ τούτο μὴ ἐξυνεχώς, δίδοσθαι,
λέγειν κελεύων τὸν Τισσαφέρη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς
Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ πλείωνος χρόνου ἐπιστήμονες ὑντες
tοῦ ναυτικοῦ τριώβολου τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διδόσιν,
οὐ τοσοῦτον πείνα ὅσον ἢν αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ ναῦται
ἐκ περιουσίας ὑβρίζοντες, οἱ μὲν τὰ σώματα
χείρω ἐξωσὶ δαπανῶντες ἐς τοιαῦτα ἀφ’ ὅν ἡ
ἀσθένεια ἑμβαίνει, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολείπωσιν

1 χορὸν, deleted by Hude, following Krüger’s suggestion.
2 Hude follows Stahl in assuming a lacuna here, καὶ τοῦτ’
oὔ ἐξυνεχῶς, or words of this purport, being lost.

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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,¹ 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 Astyochus 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 ² 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,³ 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. xxix. 1.
³ The part of the sentence that follows would seem to be Thucydides' explanation of the reasons of the Athenians.
οὐχ ὑπολιπόντες ἐς ὁμηρείαν τὸν προσοφει- 3 λόμενον μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς τριημάρχους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων ἐδίδασκε δὸντα 2 χρή- ματα αὐτὸν πείσαι ὡστε ξυγχωρῆσαι πάντα ἐαυτῷ πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων τούτων δὲ Ἐρμο- κράτης ἤραντιοῦτο μοῦνος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑύμπαντος 4 ξυμμαχικοῦ. τὰς τε πόλεις δεσμέναις χρημάτων ἀπῆλασεν, αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τισσαφέρ- νους ὡς οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἀναίσχυντο εἰεῖν, πλουσιώ- τατοι ὄντες τῶν Ἔλληνων, ἔπικουρία δὲ ὁμος σωζόμενοι ἀξιόωσι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἄλλους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας 5 κινδυνεύειν τὰς δὲ ἀλλὰς πόλεις ἤφη ἀδικείν, αἰ ἂς Ἀθηναίοις πρότερον ἡ ἀποστῆναι ἀνῆλθον, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν τοσάτα καὶ ἐτὶ πλείω ὑπὲρ σφῶν 6 αὐτῶν ἔθελησοντι ἐσφέρειν. τὸν τε Τισσαφέρην ἀπέφαυνε νῦν μὲν, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήμασι πολεμοῦντα, εἰκότως φειδόμενον, ἢν δὲ ποτε τροφὴ καταβῆ παρὰ βασιλέως, ἐντελὴ αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν τὸν μισθὸν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰ εἰκότα ὑφελῆσειν. XLVI. Παρῆνε δὲ καὶ τῷ Τισσαφέρνει μὴ ἄγαν ἐπείγεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσαι, μηδὲ βουληθῆναι ἢ κομίσαντα ναῦς Φοινίσσας ἀσπερ παρεσκευάζετο ἢ Ἔλλησι πλεῖσοι μισθὸν πορί- ξοντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῆς τε γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ κράτος δοῦναι, ἐχειν δ’ ἀμφοτέρους εὰν δίχα

1 So B only, most MSS. ἀπολιπόντες.
2 ὡστε, before δὸντα, deleted by Reiske.

1 Or, reading ἀπολείφωσιν ὑπολιπόντες, "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 βασιλεῖ τεκεῖναι ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτῶς
2 λυπηροῖς τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπάγειν. γενομένης δὲ ἀν καθ' ἐν τῆς ἐς γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀρχῆς, ἄπορεῖν ἀν αὐτῶν οῖς τοὺς κρατοῦντας ξύγκαθαίρησε, ἡν μὴ αὐτὸς βούληται μεγάλη δαπάνη καὶ κινδύνῳ ἀναστάς ποτε διαγωνίσασθαι. εὐτελέστερα δὲ τάδ' εἶναι, βραχεῖ μορίῳ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ἀμα μετὰ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας αὐτοῖς περὶ ἕαυτοις
3 τοὺς Ἔλληνας κατατρίψαι. ἐπιτηδειοτέρους τε ἐφ' τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶναι κοινωνοῦς αὐτῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἦσσων γὰρ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐφίσσεσαι¹ τὸν λόγον τε ξυμφορώτατον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐχοντας πολεμεῖν τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ξυγκαταδούλουν ἀν σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης μέρος καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὅσοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἐλληνες οἰκοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ τοῦνατίον ἐλευθερώσοντας ἥκειν. καὶ οὐκ εἰκος εἶναι Δακεδαμοῦνας ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν τῶν Ἐλλήνων² ἐλευθεροῦν ὑν τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ἀπὸ δ' ἐκεῖνων τῶν βαρβάρων,³ ἡν μὴ ποτε
4 αὐτοὺς ἐξέλωσι,⁴ μὴ ἐλευθερῶσαι. τρίβειν οὖν ἐκέλευσε πρῶτον ἄμφοτέρους, καὶ ἀποτελόμενον ὡς μέγιστα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπειτ' ἥδη τοὺς
5 Πελοποννησίους ἀπαλλάξαι εκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ

¹ καὶ, after ἐφίσσεσαι, added by Gertz, followed by Hude.
² τῶν Ἐλλήνων, bracketed by Hude and most editors, after Valckenaer.
³ τῶν βαρβάρων, deleted by Hude, with B.
⁴ μὴ, before ἐξέλωσι, deleted by Madvig.
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 ἀναστάσει seems to be used because Alcibiades has in mind the ἐπίδεστος 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.
διενοεῖτο τὸ πλέον οὕτως ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ τῶν ποιομενῶν ἦρ ἑικάσαι. τῷ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδη διὰ ταῦτα, ὡς εὖ περὶ τούτων παραινοῦντι, προσθεῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐς πίστιν την τε τροφὴν κακῶς ἐπόριζε τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις καὶ ναυμαχεῖν οὐκ εἶα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Φωινίσσας φάσκων ναῦς ήξειν καὶ ἐκ περιόντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ἐφθειρε τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν ἀφείλετο γενομένην καὶ πάνω ἰσχυράν, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ καταφανέστερον ἦ ὥστε λανθάνειν οὐ προθύμως ξυνεπολέμει.

XLVII. 'Ο δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης ταῦτα ἀμα μὲν τῷ Τισσαφέρνηι καὶ βασιλεῖ, ὅπο παρ’ ἐκείνοις, ἀριστα εἶναι νομίζων παρῆνε, ἀμα δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κάθοδουν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπιθεραπεύων, εἰδὼς, εἰ μὴ διαφθείρῃ αὐτῇ, ὅτι ἐσται ποτὲ αὐτῷ πείσαντι κατελθεῖν πείσαι δ’ ἀν ἐνόμιζε μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου, εἰ Τισσαφέρνης φαίνοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιτιθέειος ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦσθοντο αὐτῶν ἰσχύοντα παρ’ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου προσπέμψαντος λόγους ἐς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ὡστε μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἐπὶ ὀλυγαρχία βούλεται καὶ οὐ πονηρίας τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐκβαλούσῃ κατελθῶν καὶ παρασχῶν Τισσαφέρνη φίλον αὐτοῖς ξυμπο-

1 ἦν, deleted by Krüger, followed by Hude.
2 οὖδὲ δημοκρατία, in the MSS. after πονηρία, deleted by van Herwerden.

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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
λιτεύειν, τὸ δὲ πλέον καὶ ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τριήραρχοί τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ δυνατώτατοι ὑρμήνυτο ἐστὸ καταλύσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

XLVIII. Καὶ ἐκείνηθι πρῶτον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐσ τὴν πόλιν ἐντεῦθεν ὑστερον, τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδη διαβάντες τίνες ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐσ λόγους ἰδοὺν, καὶ ὑποτείνοντος αὐτοῦ Τισσαφέρνη μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ βασιλέα φίλον ποιήσειν, εἰ μὴ δημοκρατοῦντο (οὕτω γὰρ ἀν πιστεύσαι μᾶλλον βασιλέα), πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἰχον αὐτοὶ τε ἐαυτοῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ πράγματα, οὕτε καὶ ταλαιπωροῦνται μᾶλλον, ἐσ ἐαυτοὺς περιποίησειν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπι-κρατήσειν. ἐς τῇ Σάμῳ ἐλθόντες ξυνίστασάν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐς ξυνωμοσίαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς φανερῶς ἔλεγον ὅτι βασιλεὺς σφίσι φίλος ἐσοιτο καὶ χρήματα παρέξοι Ἀλκιβιάδου τε κατελθόντος καὶ μὴ δημοκρατουμένων.

3 καὶ ὁ μὲν ὁχλος, εἰ καὶ τι παρατικα ἰχθετο τοῖς πρασοσμένοις, διὰ τὸ εὑροῦν τῆς ἑπτάδος τοῦ παρὰ βασιλέως μισθοὺ ἡσύχασεν. οἱ δὲ ξυνιστάντες τήν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ἐκοινωσαν, αὐθες κἀν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ ἐταρικοῦ τῷ πλέον τα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐσκόπουν.

4 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐφαίνετο εὐπορα καὶ πιστά, Φιλικῆς δὲ στρατηγῷ ἐτὶ ὄντι οὐδὲν ἥρεσκεν, ἀλλ' ὅ τε Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχίας ἡ δημοκρατίας δείσθαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἡθοποιοι τοῦ εὐσεβούς. 272
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
οὐδ’ ἄλλον τι σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ ὁτι τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου τὴν πόλιν μεταστήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ἔπαρκηθείς κάτεις, σφίσι δὲ περισσότερον εἶναι τούτο μάλιστα ὅπως μὴ στασιώσωσιν τῷ βασιλεί τε ὑπὸ εὐπορον εἶναι, καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἵδη ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὄντων καὶ πόλεις ἐχόντων ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ ὡς ἑλαχίστας, Ἀθηναίοις προσθέμενοι, οίς οὐ πιστεύει, πράγματα ἔχειν, ἔξων Πελοποννησίων, ὑπὸ ὅν κακὸν οὐδὲν πέπονθε, φίλους ποιῆσασθαι.

5 τὰς τέ ξυμμαχιὰς πόλεις, αἷς ὑποσχῆσεσθαι ὅλη σφᾶς ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ δημοκρατήσονται, εὐ εἰδέναι ἐφη ὅτι οὐδὲν μᾶλλον σφίσιν οὐθ' αἱ ἄφεστηκια προσχωρήσονται οὐθ' αἱ ὑπάρχουσαι βεβαιότεραι ἔσονται οὐ γὰρ βουλήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀλιγαρχίας ἡ δημοκρατίας δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἡ μεθ' ὀποτέρου

6 ἃν τύχωσι τούτων ἔλευθερους εἶναι τοὺς τε καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὀνομαζόμενους οὐκ ἐλάσσω αὐτοὺς νομίζειν σφίσι πράγματα παρέξειν τοῦ δήμου, ποριστὰς ὀντας καὶ ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ, ἔξω ὅν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ὤφελείσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι καὶ ἀκριτοὶ ἃν καὶ

1 οὐδ' ἄλλον, Vat., Hude reads ἢ ἄλλο with the other MSS.
2 ἐταίρων, with M, Hude retains ἐτέρων, with most of the MSS.
3 ὑποσχῆσεσθαι, Boehme, for ὑπεσχῆσθαι of the MSS.

1 i.e. the aristocrats.
2 The πορισταὶ 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 providers ² 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 (ἐσηγεῖοθαι) new sources of revenue.
THUCYDIDES

7 καταφυγήν εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνων σωφρονιστήν. καὶ
tαύτα παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἑπισταμένας τὰς
πόλεις σαφῶς αὐτῶς εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐτω νομίζουσιν.
οὐκοῦν ἐαυτῷ γε τῶν ἀπὸ ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ ἐν
tῷ παρόντι πρασσομένων ἀρέσκειν οὐδὲν.

XLIX. Οἱ δὲ ξυλλεγέντες τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυνωμοσίᾳ,
ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, τα τε παρόντα
ἐδέχοντο καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας πρέσβεις Πεισανδρον
καὶ ἄλλους παρεσκευάζοντο πέμπειν, ὅπως περὶ
tε τῆς τοῦ ἀλκιβιάδου καθόδου πράσσοντε καὶ
tῆς τοῦ ἐκεῖ δήμου καταλύσεως καὶ τὸν Τισσα-
φέρνη φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ποιήσειαν.

I. Γνωσὶ δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος ὅτι ἐσοίτῳ περὶ τῆς
tου ἀλκιβιάδου καθόδου λόγος καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι
ἐνδέχονται αὐτὸν, δεῖσας πρὸς τὴν ἑνεκτίωσιν τῶν
λεχθέντων υφ’ αὐτοῦ μή, ἣν κατέλθῃ, ὡς κωλυτή
2 ὁντα κακῶς δρά, τρέπεται ἐπὶ τοιόυδε τι. πέμπει
ὀς τὸν ἀστύοχον, τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχον,
ἐτὶ ὁντα τότε περὶ τὴν Μίλητον, κρύφα ἐπιστείλας
ὅτι ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα φθείρει
τισσαφέρνη Ἀθηναῖοις φίλον ποιῶν, καὶ τάλλα
σαφῶς ἐγγράφας· ἐγγυνώμην δὲ εἰναι εαυτῷ περὶ
ἀνδρός πολεμίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἄξιμ-
3 φόρου κακῶν τοὶ βουλεύειν. ο δὲ ἀστύοχος τὸν
μὲν ἀλκιβιάδην, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐσ
χείρας ὅντα, οὐδὲ διενεεῖτο τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀνελθὼν
δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐς Μαγνησίαν καὶ παρὰ Τισσα-

1 καί, in MSS. before ἐν, bracketed by Hude, following
Valla.

1 cf. vi. xcii. 2 for similar excuse.

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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

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θερινη ἄμα λέγει τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπισταλέντα ἐκ τῆς Σάμου καὶ γίγνεται αὐτὸς μηνυτής, προσέθηκε τε, ὡς ἐλέγετο, ἐπὶ ἰδίως κέρδεσι Τισσαφέρνει ἐαυτὸν καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων· δι’ ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς οὐκ ἐντελοῦσι οὖσις μαλακωτέρως ἀνθήπετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης πέμπει εὐθὺς κατὰ Φρυνίχον γράμματα ἐς τὴν Σάμου πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὄντας οἷα δέδρακε, καὶ ἄξιων αὐτῶν ἀποθνῄσκειν. θορυβούμενος δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος καὶ πάνυ, ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ὅπως διὰ τὸ μήνυμα, ἐπιστέλλει αὐτίς πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύροχου, τὰ τε πρότερα μεμφόμενοι ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἐκρύφθη, καὶ νῦν ὅτι ὅλον τὸ στρατεύμα τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐτοίμος εἰ ἔν τῇ Ἑλλάδῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἀστύροχος μηνὺει καὶ ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ.

II. Καὶ ὃς προήθετο αὐτῶν ὁ Φρύνιχος ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παροῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολήν, αὐτὸς προφθάσας τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξαγγελον γίγνεται ὡς οἱ πολέμιοι μέλλουσιν, ἀτειχίστου οὕσης τῆς Σάμου καὶ ἀμα τῶν νεῶν οἱ πασῶν ἐνδον ὀρμουσῶν, ἐπιθύμεσθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς πεπυσμένοις εἶτ, καὶ χρῆναι τειχίζειν τε Σάμου ὡς τάχιστα 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 Astyochus, 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 Astyochus gave information of this also to Alcibiades.

LI. And when Phrynichus learned betimes that Astyochus 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 τάλλα ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν. ἔστρατήγει δὲ καὶ
2 κύριος ἤν αὐτὸς πράσσων ταῦτα. καὶ οἱ μὲν
τὸν τείχισμὸν τε παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοι-
ούτον, καὶ ὡς μέλλουσα, Σάμος θᾶσσον ἐτείχισθη·
αἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐπιστολαὶ οὐ πολὺ
ὕστερον ἦκον ὅτι παραδίδοται τὸ στράτευμα
ὑπὸ Φρυνίχου καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ-
3 θήσεσθαι. δόξας δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐ πιστὸς
εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προειδῶς τῷ
Φρυνίχῳ ὡς ἔννειδότι κατ' ἔχθραν ἀνατιθέναι,
οὐδὲν ἐβλαψεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔννεμαρτύρησε
μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἕξαγγείλας.

LII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν Τισσα-
φέρην παρεσκευάζει καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ὅτι ὅπως φίλος
ἔσται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δεδιότα μὲν τοὺς Πελο-
pονησίους, ὅτι πλείοσι ναυσὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
παρῆσαν, βουλόμενον δὲ ὅμως, εἶ δύναιτό πῶς,
πεισθῆναι, ἅλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐν τῇ Κυίδῳ
διαφορὰν περὶ τῶν Θηριμένων σπουδῶν ἱσθετο
τῶν Πελοπονησίων (ὦδη γὰρ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν
καίρον ἐν τῇ Ρόδῳ ὅντων αὐτῷ ἑγεγένητο), ἐν ἃ
τὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου λόγον πρότερον εἰρημένον
περὶ τοῦ ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰς
ἀπάσας πόλεις ἐπηλίθθησαν ὁ Δίαχας, οὐ φάσκων
ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι ξυγκείσθαι κρατεῖν βασιλέα τῶν
πόλεων, ὅποτε καὶ πρότερον ἤ αὐτὸς ὁ οἱ πατέρες
ήρχον. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἅτε περὶ μεγά-

1 Heilmann's correction for ταῦτα of the MSS.
2 Πεισθῆναι, Hude reads πιστευθῆναι 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.

LII. 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 Peloponnesians¹ about the treaty of Therimenes—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.
λῶν ἀγωνιζόμενος, προθύμως τῷ Τισσαφέρνει θεραπεύων προσέκειτο.

Λ. Π. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου πρέσβεις ἀποσταλέντες ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, λόγους ἐποίοιςτο ἔν τῷ δήμῳ κεφαλαιούντες ἐκ πολλῶν, μάλιστα δὲ ὡς ἐξειν αὐτοῖς Ἀλκιβιάδην καταγαγοῦσι καὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων δημοκρατουμένοις βασιλέα τε ξύμμαχον ἔχειν καὶ Πελοπονησίων περιγενέσθαι. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδου ἀμα ἔχθρῶν διαβοῶντων ὡς δεινὸν εἴη εἰ τοὺς οὐμοὺς βιασάμενος κάτεινι, καὶ Εὐμολπίδον καὶ Κηρύκων περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν, δι’ ἀπερ ἐφυγε, μαρτυρομένων καὶ ἐπιθειαζόντων μὴ κατάγειν, οἱ Πεισάνδρος παρελθὼν πρὸς πολλὴν ἀντιλογίαν καὶ σχετλιασμὸν ἥρωτα ἕνα ἐκαστὸν παράγων τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ἡμών ἐλπίδα ἔχει σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει, Πελοπονησίων ναῦς τε οὐκ ἑλάσσουσι σφῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀντιπρόρους ἔχοντων καὶ πόλεις ξυμμαχίδας πλείους, βασιλέως τε αὐτοῦς καὶ Τισσαφέρνους χρήματα παρεχόντων, σφίσι δὲ οὐκέτι οὐντων, εἰ μὴ τις πείσει βασιλέα μεταστήναι παρὰ σφᾶς. ὅποτε δὲ δὴ μὴ φαίνει ἐρωτόμενοι, ἑνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι "Τοῦτο τοῖνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ πολιτεύσομεν τε σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἐς ὀλίγους

1 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, after πρέσβεις, deleted by Dobree.

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.

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μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν, 1 ἵνα πιστεύῃ ἡμῖν βασιλεύς, καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλέον βουλεύσομεν 2 ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἡ περὶ σωτηρίας (ὑπερον γὰρ ἔξεσται ἡμῖν καὶ μεταθέσθαι, ἢν μὴ τι ἀρέσκῃ), Ἀλκιβιάδην τε κατάξομεν, ὥς μόνος τῶν νῦν οἶος τε τούτο κατέργάσασθαι.

LIV. Ὁ δὲ δήμος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούων χαλεπῶς ἐφερε τὸ περὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας: σαφῶς δὲ διδασκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου μὴ εἶναι ἀλλὰν σωτηρίαν, δεῖσας καὶ ἀμα ἐπελπίζων 3 ὡς καὶ 2 μεταβάλειται, ἐνέδωκεν. καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεύσαντα τὸν Πεισάνδρον καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας μετ’ αὐτοῦ πράσσειν ὅπῃ αὐτοῖς δοκοὶ ἀρίστα ἔξειν τὰ τε 3 πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ἀμα τε διαβαλόντος καὶ Φρύνιχον τοῦ Πεισάνδρου παρέλυσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸν ξυνάρχοντα Σκιρωνίδην, ἀντέπεμψαν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς Διομέδουντα καὶ Λέοντα. τὸν δὲ Φρύνιχον ὁ Πείσανδρος φάσκων Ἰασον προδοῦναι καὶ Ἀμόργην διέβαλεν, οὐ νομίζων ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς 4 τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην πρασσομένοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τὰς τε ξυνωμοσίας, αἴτερ ἐτύγχαρον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐσιν ἐπὶ δίκαιως καὶ ἀρχαῖς, ἀπάσας ἐπελθὼν καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ὅπως ξυστραφέντες καὶ κοινὴ βουλευσάμενοι καταλύ- 5 σοὺσι τὸν δήμον, καὶ τάλλα παρασκευάσας ἐπὶ τοῖς παρούσιν ὡςτε μηκέτι διαμέλλεσθαι, αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν δέκα ἄνδρῶν τὸν πλοῦν ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρην ποιεῖται.

1 tὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν, omitted by Hude with C.
2 Βουλεύσομεν, B; Hude adopts Βουλεύωμεν of C, and begins the parenthesis at καὶ.

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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.

\[3 \text{επελπισον}, \text{Hude ἐπισον with CG.}\]
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LV. Ὅ δὲ Λέων καὶ ὁ Διομέδων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶν ἀφιγμένοι ἦδη ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς ἐπίπλουν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναύς καταλαμβάνουσιν ἀνειλκυσμένας τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἐς δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀπόβασιν τινα ποιησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας Ῥόδιων νικήσαντες μάχῃ ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Χάλκην, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐντεῦθεν μᾶλλον ἢ ἕκ τῆς Κῶ ἐποιούντο εὐφυλακτότερα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο, εἰ ποι ἀπαίροι τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικόν.

2 Ἡλθε δ' ἐσ τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ Ξενοφανίδας Λάκων παρὰ Πεδαρίτου ἐκ Χίου, λέγων ὅτι τὸ τείχος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἂν ἐπιτετελεσται καὶ, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσουσι πάσαις ταῖς ναυσίν, ἀπολεῖται τὰ ἐν Χίῳ πράγματα. οἰ δὲ διενούντο βοηθήσειν.

3 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Πεδάριτος αὐτὸς τε καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπικουρικῶν ἔχων καὶ τοὺς Χίους πανστρατιαὶ προσβαλὼν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῷ περὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐρύματι αἱρεῖ τὲ τι αὐτοῦ καὶ νεῶν τινῶν ἀνειλκυσμένων ἐκράτησεν. ἐπεκβοηθήσαστις δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρεσβευομένων τοὺς Χίους πρῶτους νικᾶται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ περὶ τῶν Πεδάριτον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδύνῃσκει καὶ τῶν Χίων πολλοὶ καὶ ὁπλα ἐλήφθη πολλά.

LVI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἕκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ ὁ λιμὸς αὐτῷ ἢ μέγας· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδροῦ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρην λόγους ποιοῦνται περὶ τῆς ὁμολογίας.

1 With M.
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 Xenophantidas, a Laconian, had come to Rhodes from Pedaritus at Chios, bringing word that the Athenian fortification 1 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 2 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 τὰ ἀπὸ Τισσαφέριος βέβαια ἦν, φοβουμένου τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μᾶλλον καὶ ἐτὶ βουλομένου, καθάπερ καὶ ὕπ’ ἐκείνου ἐδιδάσκετο, τρίβειν ἀμφοτέροις) τρέπεται ἐπὶ τοιόνδε εἰδὸς ὡστε τὸν Τισσαφέρνη ώς μέγιστα αἰτοῦντα παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ
3 ξυμβῆναι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης τὸ αὐτὸ βουληθῆναι, αὐτὸς μὲν δὲ τὸ δέος, ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρα ἐκείνου καὶ ὡς οὐ ξυμβησεῖντα, δοκεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβούλετο μὴ ἀδύνατος εἶναι πεῖσαι, ἀλλ’ ὡς πεπεισμένος Τισσαφέρνη καὶ βουλομένως προσχωρῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθη-
4 ναίοις μὴ ἱκανὰ διδόναι. ἦτε γὰρ τοσάτα ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, λέγων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ παρόντος τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους, ὡστε τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-
5 ναίων, καὶ περ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ τι αἰτοὴ ἤγγειροῦντων, ὡμως αἰτιον γενέσθαι Ἰωνίαν τε γὰρ πᾶσαν ἥξιον δίδοσθαι καὶ αὔθεις νῆσους τε τὰς ἐπικει-
6 μένας καὶ ἄλλας οἷς οὐκ ἐναντιομένων τῶν Ἀθη-
7 ναίων τέλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡδὸν ἤξιον δεῖσας μὴ πάνυ φωραθῆ ἀδύνατος ὄν, ναὸς ἥξιον ἐὰν βασι-
8 λέα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παραπλεῖν τὴν ἐναυτῶν γῆν
5 ὁποὶ ἂν καὶ ὅσαις ἂν βουληταί. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι τι, ἀλλ’ ἂν ἀπορα νομίσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐξηπατησθαι, δι’ οργῆς ἀπελθόντες κομιζοῦνται ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

1 With B, the other MSS. omit τό.

2 oὐκέτι τι, ἀλλ’, Hude omits τι with C and adopts ἡ after ἀλλ’ with Lindau.
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.

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LVII. Τισσαφέρης δὲ εὐθὺς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι παρέρχεται ἐς τὴν Καύνον, Βουλὼμενος τοὺς Πελοποννησίους πάλιν τε κομίσαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον καὶ ξυνθήκας ἐτὶ ἄλλας ποιησάμενος, ἄς ἂν δύνηται, τροφήν τε παρέχειν καὶ μὴ παντάπασιν ἑκεπεπολεμῶσθαι, δεδιώκας μή, ἣν ἀπορώσοι πολλαίς ναυσὶ τῆς τροφῆς, ἡ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀναγκασθέντες ναυμαχεῖν ἡσσηθῶσιν ἢ κενωθεῖσῶν τῶν νεῶν ἀνευ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἢ βούλονται· ἢτι δὲ ἐφοβεῖτο μάλιστα μή τῆς τροφῆς ἐξητήσει πορθῆσώσι τὴν ἡμείρον. πάντων ὑπὸ τούτων λογισμὸ καὶ προνοίᾳ, ὡσπερ ἐβούλετο ἐπανισσοῦν τοὺς Ἑλληνας πρὸς ἄλληλους, μεταπεμψάμενος ὑπὸ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τροφήν τε αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ σπουδᾶς τρίταις τάσι δε σπένδεται.

LVIII. "Τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος, ἐφορεύοντος δὲ Ἀλέξιππίδα ἐν Λακεδαιμονί, ξυνθήκας εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν Μαίανδρον πεδίῳ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ιεραμένη καὶ τοὺς Φαρυκοὺς παιδας περὶ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων.

2 "Χώραν τὴν βασιλέως, ὅσῃ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστι, βασιλέως εἶναι· καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βουλευτῶ βασιλεύσει ὑπὸς βουλεύται.

3 "Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἴέναι ἐπὶ χώραν τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ κακὸ μηδενί, μηδὲ βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μηδὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ κακῷ μηδενί. ἢν δέ 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 ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ κακῷ ἵν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κωλύειν· καὶ ἢ τις ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως ἵν ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἡ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, βασιλέως κωλύετο.

5 Ὁ τροφήν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς νῦν παροῦσαι Τισσαφέρη παρέχειν κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα μέχρι ἃν αἱ νῆς αἱ βασιλέως ἐλθοσι. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ἐπὶ αἱ βασιλέως νῆς ἀφίκονται, τὰς ἑαυτῶν νὰ ὅν ἡ βούλωνται, τρέφειν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦς εἶναι. ἡν δὲ παρὰ Τισσαφέρους λαμβάνειν ἐθέλωσι τὴν τροφήν, Τισσαφέρην παρέχειν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τελευτῶντος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα Τισσαφέρειν ἀποδοῦναι ὅπόσα ἃν λάβωσιν.

6 Ἡ πην δὲ αἱ βασιλέως νῆς ἀφίκονται, αἱ το Λακεδαιμονίων νῆς καὶ αἱ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αἱ βασιλέως κουφή τὸν πολέμον πολεμοῦντων καθ᾽ ὅ τι ἀν Τισσαφέρειν δοκῇ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχους. ἡν δὲ καταλύειν βούλωνται πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐν ὀραίῳ καταλύεσθαι.

7 "Ἡ πην δὲ αἱ βασιλέως νῆς ἀφίκονται, αἱ το 

LIX. Αἱ μὲν σπουδαὶ αὕτai ἐγένοντο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παρασκευάζετο Τισσαφέρης τᾶς τῇ Φοινίσσας νὰ ὅξων, ὅσπερ εἴρητο, καὶ τάλα ὅσπερ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ ἐβούλετο παρασκευάζομενος γοῦν δῆλος εἶναι.

LX. Βοωτοὶ δὲ τελευτῶντος ἴδῃ τοῦ χειμῶνος Ὀρωπῶν εἴδον προδοσία Ἀθηναίων ἐμφρουροῦντων. ξυνέπραξαν δὲ Ἐρετριῶν τε ἄνδρες καὶ αὐτῶν Ὀρωπίων ἐπιβουλεύουσε ἀπόστασιν τῆς
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 Phœnician 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.
Εὔβοιας· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἕρετρίᾳ τὸ χωρίον ὅν ἀδύνατα ἦν Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων μὴ οὐ μεγάλα βλάπτειν καὶ Ἕρετριαν καὶ τὴν ᾿Αλήνην Εὔβοιαν. 2 ἔχοντες οὖν ἴδη τὸν Ὄρωτόν ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Ὀδοὺν οἱ Ἕρετριῆς, ἐπικαλούμενοι ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν τοὺς Πελοπόννησίους. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῆς Χίου κακομενής βοήθειας μᾶλλον ὁμομυντο, καὶ ἄραντες πᾶσαις ταῖς ναυσίν ἐκ τῆς Ὀδοὺν ἐπέλευν. 3 καὶ γενόμενοι περὶ τὸ Τριόπτιον καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς πελαγίας ἀπὸ τῆς Χάλκης πλεούσας· καὶ ὡς οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεον, ἀφικνοῦνται οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Σάμου, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον καὶ ἐώρων οὐκέτι ἁνεν ναυμαχίας οἷον τε εἶναι ἐς τὴν Χίου βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα ὡτος, καὶ εἰκοστόν ἐτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τὸ δὲ ὄν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

LXI. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγραμμένου θέρους ἀμα τῷ ἴρε εὐθὺς ἀρχομένω Δερκυλίδας τε, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, στρατιὰν ἔχων οὐ πολλὴν παρεπέμβη πεξῆ ἐφ’ Ἐλλησπόντου Ἀβυδον ἀποστῆσων (εἰσὶ δὲ Μιλησίων ἀποικοι), καὶ οἱ Χῖοι, ἐν ὅσῳ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀστυσίχος ἥπορει ὁπὸς βοηθῆσοι ναυμαχίας πιεζόμενοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἡναγκάσθησαν. 2 ἐτυχὼν δε ἐτὶ ἐν Ὀδώ ὄντος Ἀστυχάχου ἐκ τῆς Μιλητοῦ Δέοντα τε, ἀνδρὰ Σπαρτιάτην, ὡς Ἀντισθένει ἐπιβάτης ἐξείδησε, κεκομισμένοι μετὰ τὸν Πεδαρίτον θάνατον ἀρχοντα καὶ ναῦς διότι καὶ ἕτερον βύλακες Μιλητοῦ οὖσαι, ἤν ἦσαν Θούριαν πέντε καὶ Συρακόσιαι τέσσαρες καὶ μιὰ Ἀναίτις καὶ μιὰ Μιλησία καὶ Δέοντος

1 τοῦτον, before κεκομισμένοι, omitted by Hude, with G.
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 Abydus, a Milesian colony; and the Chians, while Astyochus 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 Astyochus 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 Thurian, 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 ἐρυμνοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἀμα έξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀθη-ναίων δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἀναγαγμομένων ἕναν-μάχησαν· καὶ καρτερᾶς γενομένης ναυμαχίας οὔκ ἔλασσον ἐχοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ Χίοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι (ής γὰρ καὶ ὁφε ήν) ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

Ι.Χ.ΙΙ. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ εὐθὺς τοῦ Δερκυλίδου πεζῆ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου παρελθόντος, Ἀβυδος ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἀφίσταται πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν καὶ Φαρνάβαζον, καὶ Λάμψακος δυνών ἡμέραιν 2 ὑστερον. Στρομβιχίδης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χίου πυθόμενος κατὰ τάχος βοηθῆσας ναυσίν Ἀθηναίων τέσσαρι καὶ εἰκοσι, ὅν καὶ στρατιώτεις ἦσαν ὁπλίτας ἄγουσαι, ἐπεξελθόντων τῶν Λαμψακινῶν μάχη κρατῆσας καὶ αὐτοβοει Λάμψακον ἀτείχιστον οὕσαν ἐλών, καὶ σκεῦη μὲν καὶ ἀνθέλοντας ἀρπαγῆν ποιησάμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους πάλιν κατοικίσας, ἐπ’ Ἀβυδον ἠλθεν. 3 καὶ ὡς οὕτε προσεχόρων οὕτε προσβάλων ἐξόνατο ἐλείν, ἐς τὸ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Ἀβυδον ἀποπλεύσας Σηστόν πόλιν τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἦν ποτε 1 Μῆδοι εἰχον, καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ παντὸς Ἑλλησπόντου.

Ι.Χ.Ι.ΙΙΙ. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Χίοι τε θαλασσο-κράτορος μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀστύνοχος πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμα-χίαν καὶ τὸν Στρομβιχίδην καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπελι- 2 λυθότα ἐθάρσησεν. καὶ παραπλεύσας δυνὼν νεῶν Ἀστύνοχος ἐς Χίον κομίζει αὐτόθεν τὰς

1 ποτε, 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
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ναύς, καὶ ξυμπάσαις ἢδη ἐπίπλουν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμου. καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὑπόπτως ἔχειν οὐκ ἀντανήγγυτο, ἀπέπλευσε πάλιν ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

3 ὁ γὰρ τούτων τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐτὶ πρότερον ἢ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖας δημοκρατίᾳ κατελύετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνου ἢ τὴν Σάμου ἦλθον, τὰ τέ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐτὶ βεβαιότερον κατέλαβον, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σαμίων προστρέψαντο τοὺς δυνατοὺς ὡστε πειράσθαι μετὰ σφῶν ὀλιγαρχηθήματι, καίπερ ἐπαναστάντας αὐτοὺς ἀλληλοῖς ἵνα μὴ ὀλιγαρχῶνται. καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀμα οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινολογοῦμενοι ἐσκέψαντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ βουλεῖται, ἐὰν (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιτίθει οὗτος αὐτῶν εἰναι ἕως ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐλθεῖν), αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἤδη καὶ κινουνεύοντας, ὁρᾶν ὅτι τρόπῳ μὴ ἀνεθήσεται τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀμα ἀντέχειν, καὶ ἐσφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱδών οὐκὼν προθύμως χρήματα καὶ ἢν τὶ ἄλλο δέη, ὡς οὐκέτι ἄλλος ἡ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ταλαιπωροῦντας.

LXIV. Παρακελευσάμενοι οὖν τοιαύτα τὸν μὲν Πείσανδρον εὐθὺς τότε καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἀπέστελλον ἐπὶ οὔκου πράξοντας τάκει, καὶ εἰρητο αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων πόλεων αἰς ἄν

1 cf. ch. xlviii. 1.

2 ἱσχωσίν ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστάναι: τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ἐς τάλα τὰ ὑπῆκοα 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

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διέσπεμπον καὶ Διειτρέφη, ὃντα περὶ Χίου, ἡρημενον δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀρχεῖν, ἀπέστελλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχῆν. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Θάσου τὸν
3 δήμου κατέλυσεν. καὶ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ οἱ Θάσου δευτέρῳ μηνὶ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχιζον, ὡς τῆς μὲν μετ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἀριστοκρατίας οὐδὲν ἐτί προσδέομενοι, τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἑλευθερίαν ὁσμέραι 1 προσδεχόμενοι.
4 καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυγῇ αὐτῶν ἐξώ ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρὰ τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις, καὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδείων κατὰ κράτος ἐπρασσε ναῦς τε κομίσαι καὶ τὴν Θάσου ἀποστῆσαι. ἦν ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα ἓ ἐβούλοντο, τὴν πόλιν τε ἀκινδύνως ὀρθοῦσαι καὶ τὸν
5 ἐναντιωσόμενον δήμου καταλεύσαντες. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν Θάσου τάναντι τοὺς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστάσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, δοκεῖν δὲ μοι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων σωφροσύνη γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἀδειαν τῶν πρασσόμενων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἑλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπούλου εὐνομίας 2 οὐ προτιμήσαντες.

LXV. Οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τῶν Πεισανδροῦ παραπλεοντές τε, ὅσπερ ἐδέδοκτο, τοὺς δὴμον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατέλυνον, καὶ ἅμα ἐστὶν ἄφθον χωρίων καὶ ὁπλίταις ἐχοντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εὔμμαχοι 2 ἢλθον ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας. καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὰ πλείστα τοὺς ἐταίρους προεργασμένα. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδροκλέα τέ τις τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προ-

1 ὁσιμέραι, B; Hude reads ὅσιαι ἡμέραι with C.
2 The reading of Dion, Hal. and the Schol. for τῷ πολείστα τοὺς ἐταίρους προεργασμένα. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδροκλέα τέ τις τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προ-

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countries, some to one and some to another; and Dieitrephes, 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 soberness 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
estōta ἔνεπτύντες τινὲς τῶν νεωτέρων κρύφα ἀποκατένουσιν, ὅσπερ καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην οὔχ ἥκιστα ἐξῆλασε, καὶ αὐτὸν κατ' ἀμφότερα, τῆς τε δημαγωγίας ἕνεκα καὶ οἴόμενοι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ὡς κατίοντι καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνη φίλον ποιήσοντι χαριεῖσθαι, μᾶλλον τι διέθεεραν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνεπιτυχείους τῷ αὐτῶ τρόπῳ κρύφα

3 ἀνήλωσαν. λόγος τε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ προείρηματο αὐτοῖς ὡς οὕτω μισθοφορητέον εἴη ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους, οὕτω μεθεκτεόν τῶν πραγμάτων πλείσιον ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις, καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἂν μάλιστα τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὅφελεῖν οἷοί τε ὡσιν.

LXVI. Ἡν δὲ τούτο εὐπρεπὲς πρὸς τοὺς πλείσιον, ἐπεὶ ἔξειν γε τὴν πόλιν οὕτε παρακαὶ μεθίστασαν ἐμελλον. δὴ μοις μέντοι ὅμοι ἐτί καὶ βουλή ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυνάμου ἐνελέγετο: ἐβούλευν δὲ οὔδεν ὁ τι μὴ τοῖς ἐνενεστώσι δοκοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λέγουνες ἐκ τούτων ἠσαν καὶ τὰ ῥηθησόμενα πρότερον αὐτοῖς προὔσκεπτο. ἀντελεγέ τε οὐδεὶς ἐτί τῶν ἄλλων, δεδιῶς καὶ ὁ ὅρῶν πολὺ τὸ ἐνεστήκος: εἴ δὲ τις καὶ ἀντείποι, εὐθὺς ἐκ τρόπου τινὸς ἐπιτυχεῖον ἐτεθυνήκει, καὶ τῶν δρασάντων οὔτε ἕτης οὔτ' εἰ ὑπο-

1 μεθίστασαν, B and Valla, Hude μεθιστάναι with other MSS.
2 καί, Hude reads δεδίως ὁρῶν with C, the other MSS. have δεδίως καὶ ὁρῶν.

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 Hermae

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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.

2 i.e. by lot, the bean being used in drawing lots. This definition distinguishes the popular council, or θουλη of 500, from the Areopagus, η θουλη η εξ Αρειου πάγου.
πτεύοντο δικαίωσις ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν ὁ δήμος καὶ κατάπληξιν τοιαύτην ὡστε κέρδος ὁ μὴ πᾶσχων τι βλαϊον, εἰ καὶ σιγή, ἐνόμιζεν.

καὶ τὸ ξυνεσθηκός πολὺ πλέον ἤγοιμυμενοι εἶναι ἢ ἐτύγχανεν ὃν ἡσώντο ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ ἐξεν-ρεῖν αὐτὸ, ἀδύνατοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν, οὔκ εἶχον.

κατὰ δὲ ταύτῳ τούτῳ καὶ προσολοφύρασθαι τινὶ ἀγανακτήσαντα, ὡστε ἀμύνασθαι ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, ἀδύνατον ἦν· ἦ γὰρ ἀγνώτα ἂν ἦρεν ὁ ἤρει ἠγνώριμον ἀπιστον. ἀλλήλοις γὰρ ἄπαντες ὑπόπτως προσήκαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς μετέχοντά τινα τῶν γιγνομένων. ἐνῆσαν γὰρ καὶ οὔς οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ τις ἤπει τὸ ὁλιγαρχίαν τραπέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπιστον οὗτοι μέγιστον πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν καὶ πλείστα ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων ἁσφάλειαν ὥφελησαν, βέβαιον τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καταστήσαντες.

LXVII. Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ καιρῷ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδρὸν ἔλθοντες εὐθὺς τῶν λοιπῶν εἰχοντο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δήμον ξυλλέξαντες εἶπον γνώμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι ξυνγραφέας αὐτο-κράτορας, τούτους δὲ ξυνγράφαντας γνώμην ἐσπενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δήμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥήτην καθ' ὁ 2 τι ἄριστα ἢ πόλις οἰκήσεται. ἐπείτη ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐφήκε, ξυνεκλησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐς τὸν

1 αὐτὸ, C, the other MSS. αὐτό.

1 Or, "so as to defend himself against one who was plotting against him."

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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
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Κολωνοῦν (ἐστι δὲ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἔξω πόλεως ἀπέχουστο σταδίους μάλιστα δέκα), καὶ ἐσὴνεγκαν οἱ ἐξυγγραφῆς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτὸ δὲ τούτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνατεί εἰπεῖν ¹ γνώμην ἢν ἂν τις βούληται: ἢν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἡ γράφη- ται παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλω τῷ τρόπῳ βλάψῃ, μεγά-

λας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ λαμπρῶς ἐλέγετο ἣδη μήτε ἄρχην ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κόσμου μήτε μισθοφορεῖν, προέδρους τε ἐλέσθαι πέντε ἄνδρας, τούτους δὲ ἐλέσθαι ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ τῶν ἐκατὸν ἐκαστὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τρεῖς: ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς τετρακοσίους ὄντας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄρχειν ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα γιγνώσκωσιν αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ τοὺς πεντακισ-

χιλίους δὲ ἐξελέγειν ὅποταν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ.

LXVIII. Ἡν δὲ ὁ μὲν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην εἰπὼν Πείσανδρος, καὶ τὰλλα ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς προθυμότατα ἐξυγκαταλύσας τὸν δὴμον· ὁ μὲντοι ἀπαν τὸ πράγμα ἐννοεῖς ὅτω τρόπῳ κατέστη ἐς τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐπιμέληθείς Ἀντιφῶν ἥν,

¹ ἀνατεί εἰπεῖν, Sauppe's correction for ἀνατρέπειν or ἀνειπεῖν of the MSS.

¹ The γραφῆ 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 γραφῆ 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 προβούλευμα 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, 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.

LXVII. 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 to him, was punished by death or fine. See Schoemann, Gr. Alt. i, 497 ff. (2nd ed.).

2 cf. ch. lxv. 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 Aristot. 'Aθ. πολ. xxix.—xxxii.
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ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ' έαυτὸν ἀρετὴ τε οὐδενὸς ὕστερος καὶ κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆνα γενόμενος καὶ ἀ γνῶθε εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐς μὲν δήμον ὑ ὅ παριῶν οὐδὲ ἐς ἄλλον ἁγώνα ἐκούσιος οὐδενα, ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος, τοὺς μέντοι ἁγωνιζόμενος καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ πλείστα εἰς ἀνήρ, ὡστὶς ἑιμβουλεύσατο τι, 2 δυνάμενος ωφελεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε, ἐπείδη τὰ τῶν τετρακωσίων ἐν ύστερῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, ἀριστά φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων, αἰτιαθεῖς ὡς ἐγκατέ- στησε, θανάτον δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος. παρ- ἐσχε δὲ καὶ Φρύνιχος ἐαυτὸν πάντων διαφερόντως προθυμότατον ἐς τὴν ὁλιγαρχίαν, δεδιὼς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ ἐπιστάμενος εἰδότα αὐτὸν ὥσα ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύρχου ἐπισκέψει, νομίζων οὐκ ἀν ποτε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ εἰκός ὑπ’ ὁλιγαρχίας κατελθεῖν πολὺ τε πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ, ἐπειδὴπερ 4 ὑπέστη, φερεγγυώτατος ἐφαύνη. καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ τοῦ Ὄλυμπος ἐν τοῖς ἐγκαταλύουσι τῶν δήμου πρώτος ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὕτε εἰπεῖν οὕτε γινώσκει ἀδύνατος. ὥστε ἄπ' ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν καὶ ξυνετῶν πραξεῖν τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀπεικότως καίπερ μέγα ὃν προσωξ-

1 ἀλλ', deleted by Hude, after Gertz.
2 τε, Hude adopts γε, after Goeller.
3 ἐπείδη τὰ τῶν τετρακωσίων ἐν ύστερῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, the Vulgate with C and the Schol. Most of the best MSS. give ἐπείδη μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καὶ ἐς ἁγώνας κατέστη μετὰ τῶν τετρακωσίων κ.τ.λ.

1 Antiphon, of Rhamnus, was the earliest of the ten orators of the 'canon,' and the first λογογράφος. 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-

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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 Astyochus; 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. 1.

2 cf. chs. 1. and li.
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ησεν· χαλεπόν γὰρ ἥν τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἔτει ἐκατοστὼ μάλιστα ἐπειδῆ οἱ τύραννοι κατελύθησαν ἐλευθερίας παύσαι, καὶ οὐ μόνον μὴ ύπῆκουν ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμισὺ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου αὐτῶν ἄλλων ἀρχειν εἰσάγοντα.

LXIX. Ἐπειδῆ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐδενὸς ἀντεπόντος ἀμα 1 κυρώσασα ταῦτα διελύθη, τοὺς τετρακοσίους τρόπω τοιῷδε ύστερον ἥδη ἐσ το βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγον. ἦσαν δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες αἱ, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τείχει οἱ δὲ ἐν τάξει, τῶν ἐν 2 Δεκελεία πολεμίων ἕνεκα ἐφ' ὁπλοῖς. τῇ ὅτι ὑμέρα ἐκείνῃ τοὺς μὲν μὴ ξυνειδότας εἰσαγαγον, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀπελθεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ ξυνωμοσίᾳ εἰρήτῳ ἡσυχῇ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἀλλ' ἀπωθεῖν περιμένειν, καὶ ἢν τις εὐνυτήτα τοῖς ποιομένοις, λαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιτρέπεων. 3 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ Ἁνδριοί καὶ Τήνιοι καὶ Καρυστίων τριακόσιοι καὶ Λιγυμνῶν τῶν ἐποίκων, οὕς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεμψαν οἰκήσοντας, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἤκοντες ἐν τοῖς εαυτῶν ὁπλοῖς, οἷς ταῦτα προ-

4 εἰρήτο. τούτων δὲ διατεταγμένων οὐτως ἑλθόντες οἱ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ ξεφιδίου ἄφαινοι ἐκαστος, καὶ οἱ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατὸν μετ' αὐτῶν νεανίσκοι, 2 οἶς ἐχρῶντο εἰ τί που δεοι χειρουργεῖν, ἐπέστησαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου βουλευταῖς οὐσίν ἐν τῷ

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

2 With BC; Ἐλληνες νεανίσκοι, AEF.

1 Really 99 years: from 510 to 411.
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,

\(^1\) In 431 B.C.; cf. ii. 27.
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βουλευτηρίων, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐξεύαλη λαβοῦσι τὸν μισθὸν ἕφερον δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ ύπολοίπου χρόνου παντὸς αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐξουσίων ἐδίδοσαν.

LXX. 'Ως δὲ τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ ἦ τε βουλὴ οὐδὲν ἀντεπούσα ὑπεξήλθε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολίται οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον ἄλλη ἡσύχαζον, οἱ τετρακόσιοι ἕσελθόντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τότε μὲν πρυτάνεις τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπεκλήρωσαν, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, εὐχαίς καὶ θυσίαις καθιστάμενοι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχρῆσαντο, ὕστερον δὲ πολὺ μεταλλάξαντες τῆς τοῦ δήμου διοικήσεως, πλὴν τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐ κατήγον τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἕνεκα, τἀ δὲ ἄλλα ἐνεμον κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἄνδρας τέ τινας ἀκέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι εἰναι ὑπεξαιρεθῆναι, καὶ ἄλλους ἔδησαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μετέστησαν πρὸς τε Ἀγνω τὸν Ἀκεδαμονίων βασιλέα ὄντα ἐν τῇ Δεκελείᾳ ἐπεκηρυκέναι, λέγοντες διαλλαχῆναι βουλευθήκατε καὶ εἰκὸς εἰναι αὐτῶν σφίσι καὶ οὐκέτι τῷ ἀπίστῳ δήμῳ μᾶλλον ἐνγχωρεῖν.

LXXI. Ὁ δὲ νομίζον δὴ οὖν εὖ ὄντω τὸν δήμον τὴν παλαιὰν ἐλευθερίαν παραδώσειν, εἰ τε στρατιάν πολλὴν ἱδοι σφῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάζειν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πάνω τι πιστεύων μὴ οὐκέτι

1 The MSS. have οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι, Haacke deletes δὲ.
2 τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν, in the MSS. after νομίζον, deleted by Dobree, who also changes οὐδ’ to οὖν.

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 βουλὴ, the ten tribes took in turn the πρωτανεία 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 τετρακοσίων ἐλθοῦσιν οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, προσμεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στρατιῶν πολλὴν οὐ πολλὴν ύστερον καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας φυσερὰ μετὰ τῶν ἐλθόντων κατέβη πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλπίσας ὡς ταραχθέντας αὐτοὺς μάλλον ἂν χειρωθῆναι σφίσιν ὡς βούλονταί, ἢ καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν διὰ τὸν ἑνδοθέν τε καὶ ἑξωθεῖν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γευσόμενον θόρυβον τῶν γούν μακρῶν τείχῶν διὰ τὴν κατ' αὐτὰ ἑρη-2 μίαν λήψεως οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτεῖν. ὡς δὲ προσεμειξε τε ἐγγύς καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ μὲν ἑνδοθέν οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν ἐκίνησαν, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεάς ἐκτέμναντες καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἄνδρας τε κατέβαλον αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς προσελ-θεῖν καὶ ὀπλών τινῶν καὶ νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν, οὕτω δὴ γνοὺς ἀπῆγαγε πάλιν τὴν στρατιῶν. 3 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἐν τῇ Δεκελείᾳ ἔμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπελθόντας ὀλίγας τινὰς ἠμέρας ἐν τῇ γῇ μείναντας ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ οἰκού. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τε τῶν Ἀγίων ἐπρε-σβεύσατο οἱ τετρακόσιοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον, κἀκεῖνον μᾶλλον ἢδή προσδεχομένου καὶ παραινοῦντος ἐκπέμποντι καὶ ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα περὶ ξυμ-βάσεως πρέσβεις, βουλόμενοι διαλλαγῆναι.

LXXII. Πέμποντι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σάμον δέκα ἄνδρας, παραμυθησόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ διδάξοντας ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ βλάβη τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ ὀλυγαρχία κατέστη, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ 314
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
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σωτηρία τῶν ἐνυπάντων πραγμά των, πεντακισ-
χίλιοι τε ὅτι εἰτεν καὶ οὐ τετρακόσιοι μόνον οἱ
πράσσοντες· καίτοι οὐ πώποτε Ἀθηναίοις διὰ
τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἀσχολίαν ἔς
οὐδὲν πράγμα ὅτω μέγα ἐλθείν βουλεύσοντας,

2 εἶν ὁ πεντακισχίλιος ξυνέθειν. καὶ τάλλα
ἐπιστείλαντες τὰ πρέποντα εἰπεῖν ἀπέπεμψαν
αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κατάστασιν, δείσαν-
tες μή, ὅτε ἐγένετο, ναυτικὸς ὄχλος οὗτοι αὐτῶς
μένειν ἐν τῷ ὀλγαρχικῷ κόσμῳ ἔθελη, σφᾶς τε
μὴ ἔκειθεν ἀρξαμένου τοῦ κακοῦ μεταστήσωσιν.

LXXIII. Ἔν γὰρ τῇ Σάμῳ ἐνωτερίζετο ἡδὴ
tὰ περὶ τὴν ὀλγαρχίαν, καὶ ξυνέβη τοιάδε γενέ-
σθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν χρόνων τούτων ὅπερ οἱ τετρα-
κόσιοι ξυνίσταντο. οἱ γὰρ τότε τῶν Σαμίων
ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ οὔτε δήμος,
μεταβαλλόμενοι αὐθίς καὶ πειθόμενοι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ
Πεισάνδρου, ὅτε ᾔλθε, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ
ξυνεστῶτων Ἀθηναίων, ἐγένοντό τε ἐς τριακοσίους
ξυνωμότας καὶ ἐμελλον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς δήμῳ ὁντι
3 ἐπιθῆσθαι. καὶ Ἰπέρβολον τὲ τινὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων, μοχθηρὸν ἀνθρωπόν, ὡστρακισμένον οὐ
diὰ δυναμεῖος καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ
pονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην τῆς πόλεως, ἀποκτείνουσι
μετὰ Χαρμίου τε, ἕνω τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ τῶν
τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηναίων, πίστιν διὰντες
αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλα μετ’ αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ξυνέπραξαν,

1 cf. ch. xxi. 2 cf. ch. lxiii. 3.
3 Probably in 418 B.C. He was the constant butt of the
jokes of Aristophanes. See also Plutarch, Nicias 11; Aristides
7; Aleibiades 13.
4 cf. ch. xxx. 1; xli. 3; xlii. 2.

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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
4 τοῖς τε πλείοσιν ὃρμηντο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τῶν τε στρατηγῶν Δέωντι καὶ Διομέ-
δοντι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐχ ἔκοιντες διὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι ύπὸ
tοῦ δήμου ἐφερον τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν) τὸ μέλλον
σημαίνουσι καὶ Θεσσαβούλῳ καὶ Θεσσύλῳ,
tῷ μὲν τριηραρχοῦντι, τῷ δὲ ὀπλιτεύοντι, καὶ
ἀλλοις οἳ ἐδόκουν αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἐναντίωσθαι τοῖς
ξυνεστῶσι, καὶ οὐκ ἦδιον περιεδεῖν αὐτοὺς σφᾶς
tε διαφθαρέντας καὶ Σάμων Ἀθηναίοις ἀλλατρω-
θείσαν, δῆ ἡ μόνη ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ξυνε-
5 μεινεν. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ἔνα
ἐκαστὸν μετῆσαν μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα
tοὺς Παράλους, ἀνδρας Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ ἐλευθε-
ρους πάντας ἐν τῇ νῆ τῇ πλέοντας 1 καὶ αἰεὶ δὴ
ποτε ὀλιγαρχία καὶ μὴ παροῦσα ἐπικειμένους;
ο τε Δέων καὶ ὁ Διομέδων αὐτοῖς ναῦς τινας,
6 ὁπότε ποι πλέοιεν, κατέλειπον φύλακας. ὡστε
ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπετίθεντο οἱ τριακόσιοι, βοηθη-
σάντων πάντων τούτων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν Παρά-
λων, περιεγένοντο οἱ τῶν Σαμίων πλείονες. καὶ
τριάκοντα μὲν τινας τούς αἰτιωτάτους 2 ἀπέκτει-
ναν τῶν τριακόσιων, τρεῖς δὲ φυγῇ ἐξημίσαν
τοῖς δ’ ἀλλοις οὐ μηνισικακοῦντες δημοκρατούμενοι
tο λυπόδιν ξυνεπολίτευν.

LXXIV. Τὴν δὲ Πάραλον ναὶ καὶ Χαρέαν
ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τῶν Ἀρχεστράτου, ἀνδρὰ Ἀθηναίον,
γενόμενον ἐς τὴν μετάστασιν πρόθυμον, ἀποστεί-

1 ἐν τῇ νῇ πλέοντας, apparently not read by Schol.; deleted by Velsen, followed by Hude.
2 αἰτιωτάτους, 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-rectas 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.
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πουσιν ο' τε Σάμιοι καὶ οἱ στρατιώται κατὰ τάχος ἐσ τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγενημένα: οὐ γὰρ ἦδεσάν πώ τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἄρχον
tas. καὶ καταπλευσάντων αὐτῶν εὐθέως τῶν μὲν Παρίλων τινὰς οἱ τετρακόσιοι δῦ ἴ τρεῖς ἔδησαν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφέλόμενοι τὴν ναῦν καὶ μετεκβιβάσαντες ἐς ἄλλην στρατιώτιν ναῦν ἔταξαν

3 φρουρεῖν περὶ Εὐβοιαν. ὁ δὲ Χαιρέας εὐθὺς διαλαθὼν πως, ὡς εἰδέ τὰ παρόντα, πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμου ἐλθὼν ἀγγέλλει τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον πάντα δεινόσας τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς πληγαῖς τε πάντας ξημούσι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἔστιν οὐδεν πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παιδεῖς ὑβρίζουσιν, καὶ διανοοῦνται, ὁπόσοι ἐν Σάμῳ στρατεύονται μὴ ὄντες τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης, τούτων πάντων τοὺς προσήκοντας λαβόντες εὐρξεῖν, ἵνα, ἢν μὴ ὑπακούσωσι, τεθνήκωσιν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπικαταψευδόμενος ἔλεγεν.

LXXV. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν ὀλιγαρ-
χίαν μάλιστα ποιῆσαντας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων
touς μετασχόντας τὸ μὲν πρῶτων ὄρμησαν
βάλλουσιν ἐπειτα μέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου
cωλυθέντες καὶ διδαχθέντες, μὴ τῶν πολεμίων
ἀντιπρώρων ἔγχυς ἐφορμοῦντων ἀπολέσωσι τὰ

2 πράγματα, ἐπαύσαντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο λαμπρῶς
ηὐς ἐς δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι μεταστῆσαι τὰ
eν τῇ Σάμῳ ὁ τε Ὀρασύβουλος ὁ τοῦ Δήκου καὶ
Θράσυβλος (οὕτωι γὰρ μάλιστα προειστήκεσαν

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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 Chaercas, 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 Lyens and Thrasyllus, who had been the chief leaders in the revolution, being now
ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗΣ) ΌΡΚΩΣΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥΣ ΌΡΚΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΟΛΥΓΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ, Ζ ΜΗΝ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΕΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΌΜΟΝΟΗΣΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΩΣ ΔΙΟΙΣΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ΤΕ ΕΣΕΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΠΙ-3 ΚΗΡΥΚΕΥΣΕΙΣ ΗΑI. ΞΥΝΩΜΝΥΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΙΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΌΡΚΟΝ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΗΛΙΚΙΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΑΠΟΒΗΣΟΜΕΝΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΩΝ ΞΥΝΕΚΟΙΝΩΣΑΝΤΟ ΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΙ, ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΤΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙς ΑΠΟΣΤΡΟΦΗΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΟΥΤΕ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΆΛΛ' ΕΑΝ ΤΕ ΟΙ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΩΣΙΝ ΕΑΝ ΤΕ ΟΙ ΕΚ ΜΙΛΗΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ, ΔΙΑΦΘΑΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΗΑI.

LXXVI. 'ΕΣ ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΙΑΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΑΣΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΗΑΙ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ ΟΛΥΓΑΡ-2 ΧΕΙΣΗΑI. ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ, ΕΝ Ζ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΓΡΑΡΧΩΝ ΥΨΩΠΤΕΝΟΥΝ, ΕΠΑΝΟΣΑΝ, ΆΛΛΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΘΕΙΛΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΓΡΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑ-ΤΗΓΟΥΣ, ΌΝ ΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΛΟΣ
3 ΥΨΗΡΧΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΣΕΙΣ ΆΛΛΑΣ ΤΕ ΕΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΟ ΕΝ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΩΣ ΟΥ ΔΕΙ ΑΘΥΜΕΙΝ ΩΤΙ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΦΕΣΤΗΚΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΥΑΡ ΕΛΑΣΣΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΣΦΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΕΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ 4 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΟΡΙΜΩΤΕΡΩΝ ΜΕΘΕΣΤΑΝΑΙ. ΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΥΑΡ ΣΦΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΆΛΛΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΩΝ

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 ὁμοώντο (πόλιν τε γὰρ σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Σάμου ὅπικ ἀσθενῆ, ἀλλ’ ἢ παρ’ ἐλάχιστον δὴ ἦλθε τὸ Ἀθηναίων κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅτε ἐπολέμησεν, ἀφελέσθαι, τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίον ἀμυνεῖσθαι1 οὔτε καὶ πρῶτον), καὶ δυνατώτεροι εἶναι σφεῖς ἔχοντες τὰς ναῦς πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα τῶν 5 ἐν τῇ πόλει. καὶ δ’ ἕαυτος τε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ προκαθημένους καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἔστηκαν, καὶ2 ὅτι νῦν ἐς τοιοῦτο καταστήσονται μή βουλόμενοι σφίσι πάλιν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι, ὡστε αὐτοὶ καὶ δυνατώτεροι εἶναι εὑρείνει ἑκείνους τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ὑπ’ ἑκείνους εὑρίσκεσθαι. βραχύ τε τι εἶναι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἅξιον, ὃ3 πρὸς τὸ περιγιγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἡ πόλις σφίσι χρήσιμος ἢν, καὶ οὐδεν ἀπολωλεκέναι, οὔ γε μήτε ἀργύριον ἐτί εἶχον πέμπτειν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἐπορίζοντο οἱ στρατιῶται, μήτε βούλευμα χρηστόν, οὔτε ἔνεκα πόλις στρατοπέδων κρατεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ἡμαρτήκεναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλύσαντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφίζειν καὶ ἑκείνους πειράσεσθαι προσαναγκάζειν. ὡστε οὔτε τούτους, οὔτε ἀν βουλεύοιεν τι χρηστόν, παρὰ σφίσι χείρους εἶναι.

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

1 In 440 B.C. (i. exv.).
sway 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 wresting 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

² i.e. in giving them good counsel (ἐν τῷ βουλευμα χρηστῶν παρέχειν).
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7 Ἀλκιβιάδην τε, ἢν αὐτῷ ἄδειαν τε καὶ κάθοδον ποιήσωσιν, ἀσμείου τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως ξυμ-μαχίαν παρέξειν. τὸ τε μέγιστον, ἢν ἀπάντων σφάλλωνταί, εἶναι αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον ἡχοσι οὐ-ντικῶν πολλὰς τὰς ἀποχωρήσεις ἐν αἷς καὶ πόλεις καὶ ὑπὲρ εὐρήσωσιν.

LXXVII. Τοιαῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐκκλησίασαντες καὶ παραθαρσύναντες σφάς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο οὐδὲν ἦσοσι. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Σάμου, ὡς ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ ἤδη οὕτε ἡσθά-νυντο, ἡσύχαζον.

LXXVIII. 'Τπὸ δὲ τῶν χρόνων τούτων καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐν τῷ ναυ-τικῷ στρατιῶται κατὰ σφάς αὐτοὺς διεβόων ὡς ύπὸ τε 'Ἀστυνόχου καὶ Τισσαφέρνους φθείρεται τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλοντος οὔτε πρό-τερον ναυμαχεῖν, ἔως ἔτι αὐτοὶ τε ἔρρωντο μᾶλ-λον καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγον ἦν, οὔτε νῦν, ὅτε στασιάζειν τὲ λέγονται καὶ αἱ νῆς αὐτῶν οὐδέπω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τὰς παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Φοινίσσας ναῦς μένωντες, ἀλλὰς ὅνομα καὶ οὐκ ἔργον, κινδυνεύειν διατριβήσει- τὸν δ' αὖ Τισσαφέρην τὰς τε ναύς ταῦτας οὐ κομίζειν, καὶ τροφὴν ὅτι οὐ δικιαχῶς οὐδὲ ἐνετελῇ διδοὺς κακοὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. οὐκον ἐφασαν χρῆναι μέλλειν ἄτι, ἀλλὰ διαναυμαχεῖν. καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐνήγον.

1 οἱ δέκα πρεσβευταὶ, after Σάμου, deleted by van Her-werden.

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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 Astyochus 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 θρόον, καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ξυνόδου ὅστε διαναυμαχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐσηγ-γέλλετο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ταραχή, ἀραντες ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις οὖσαι δόδεκα καὶ ἕκατὸν καὶ τοὺς Μιλησίους πεζῆ κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης παρεῖναι ἐπλεοῦν ὡς πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην.

2 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ταῖς ἐκ Σάμου ναυσὶ δύο καὶ ὅγιολκοντα, αἱ ἔτυχον ἐν Γλαύκῃ τῆς Μυκάλης ὄρμουσι (διέχει δὲ ὅλιγον ταύτη ἡ Σάμος τῆς ἡπείρου πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην), ὡς εἰδον τὰς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυς ἐπιπλεοῦσας, ὑπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Σάμου, οὐ νομίζαντες τῷ πλῆθει διακινδυ-

3 νεύσαι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἱκανοὶ εἶναι. καὶ ἀμα (προήθῳντα γὰρ αὐτούς ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ναυ-μαχησεῖοντας) προσδέχοντο καὶ τὸν Στρομβι-χίδην ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου σφίσει ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Χίου ναυσίν ἐπὶ Ἀβύδου ἀφικομέναις προσβο-

4 θήσειν προπεπέμπτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου ἀπεχώρησαι, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννησίοι καταπλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ὁ πεζός. καὶ τῇ υστεραίᾳ μελ-

5 λόντων αὐτῶν ἐπιπλείν τῇ Σάμῳ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Στρομβιχίδης ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ναυσίν ἀφιγμένος· καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπέπλεον πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Μιλήτου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι προσγενομένων σφίσαι τῶν νεόν ἐπιπλοῦν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦνται τῇ Μιλήτῳ ναυσίν ὅκτω καὶ ἕκατὸν, βουλόμενοι διαναυ-
LXXIX. Astyochus 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—who 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. ch. lxii. 2.
μαχήσαι καὶ ὃς οὐδεὶς αὐτοὶς ἀντανήγετο, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμῳν.

LXXX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τούτῳ εὗθὺς οἱ Πελοποννησοὶ, ἑπειδὴ ἄθροις ταῖς ναυσίν οὐκ ἥξιμαχοι νομίσαντες εἶναι οὖν ἀντανήγετο, ἀπορήσαντες ὅποθεν τοσαῦτας ναυσὶ χρήματα ἦξοντιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κακῶς διδόντος, ἀποστέλλουσιν ὡς τὸν Φαριάβαζον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προσετάχθη, Κλέαρχον τὸν Ραμφίον ἤχοντα ναῦς 2 τεσσαράκοντα. ἐπεκαλεῖτο τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαριάβαζος καὶ τροφὴν ἐτοῖμος ἦν παρέχειν, καὶ ἁμα καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπεκηρυκεύετο αὐτοῖς 3 ἀποστήμαλ. καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὐτοῖς νῆες ἀπαρασι πάνω τὸ πέλαγος, ὅπως λάθοιν ἐν τῷ πλῆ τούς Ἀθηναίους, χειμασθείσαι, αἱ μὲν 1 Δῆλον λαβόμεναι αἱ πλεῖους μετὰ Κλεάρχου καὶ ὑστερόν πάλιν ἐλθόνται ἐς Μίλητον (Κλεάρχος δὲ κατὰ γῆν αὐθεὶς ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον κομισθείς ἤρχεν), αἱ δὲ μετὰ Ἑλίζου τοῦ Μεγαρέως στρατηγοῦ δέκα ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον διασώθεισαι Βυζάντιον ἀφιστάσιν. 4 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέμποντιν αἰσθόμενοι νεόν βοήθειαν καὶ φυλακὴν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον, καὶ τις καὶ ναυμαχία βραχεῖα γίγνεται πρὸ τοῦ Βυζάντιον ναυσὶν ὁκτὼ πρὸς ὀκτὼ.

LXXXI. Οἱ δὲ προεστῶτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ

1 kal., before αἱ μὲν, deleted by Stahl.

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

2 The finite verb is omitted; either there is anacoluthon or the text is corrupt.
μάλιστα Θρασύβουλος, αἰεὶ γε τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἐξόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μετέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὡστε κατάγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ τέλος ἀπ’ ἐκκλησίας ἔπεισε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ψῆφισα-μένων αὐτῶν Ἀλκιβιάδη κάθοδον καὶ ἀδειαν πλεύσας ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρη κατήγειν ἐς τὴν Σάμον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, νομίζον μόνην σωτη-ρίαν, εἰ Τισσαφέρην αὐτοῖς μεταστήσειεν ἀπὸ

2 Πελοποννησίων. γενομένης δὲ ἐκκλησίας, τὴν τε ἓδιαν ἐξυμφορᾷ τῆς φυγῆς ἕπητιάσατο καὶ ἀνωλοφύρατο ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλὰ εἶπὼν ἐς ἐλπίδας τε αὐτοὺς οὐ σμικρὰς τῶν μελλόντων καθίστη καὶ ὑπερβάλλων ἐμεγάλυνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν παρὰ τῷ Τίσσαφέρνῃ, ὡν οἷ τε οἴκοι τῆς ὀλιγαρχίαν ἔχοντες φοβοῦντο αὐτὸν καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ ἐξωμοσίαι διαλυ-θείην, καὶ οἷ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τιμιώτερον τε αὐτὸν ἄγοιεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πλέον θαρσοῖεν, οἷ τε πολεμοῦ τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ ὡς μάλιστα διαβάλλοντο καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχοῦσῶν ἐλπίδων ἐκπίπτοιεν. ὑπι-σχεῖτο δ’ οὖν τάδε μέγιστα ἐπικομπῶν ὁ Ἀλκι-βιάδης, ὡς Τισσαφέρης αὐτῷ ὑπεδέξατο ἡ μὴν, ἐὼς ἄν τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λείπηται, ἣν Ἀθηναίοις πιστεύοι, μὴ ἀπορήσειν αὐτοὺς τρόφης, οὐδ’ ἥν δὴ τελευτῶντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρωμὴν ἐξαργυρώ-σαι, τάς τε ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ ἡδὴ οὕσας Φοινίκων ναῦς κομιεῖν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὖ Πελοποννησίοις.

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

1 Those elected leaders in ch. Ixxvi.
Samos,¹ 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 Aspendus, and deliver them to the Athenians and not to the Peloponnesians; but, he had added, he could
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πιστεύσαι δ' ἂν μόνως Ἀθηναίως, εἰ σῶς αὐτὸς κατελθὼν αὐτῷ ἀναδέξατο.

LXXXII. Οἱ δὲ ἥκοντες ταῦτα τε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ στρατηγὸν τε αὐτῶν εὐθὺς εἰλοντο μετὰ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τὰ πράγματα πάντα ἀνετίθεσαν, τήν τε παραυτίκα ἐλπίδα ἐκαστός τῆς τε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν τετρακοσίων τιμωρίας οὐδενὸς ἄν ἡλλάξαντο, καὶ ἐτοίμων ἡδή ἦσαν\(^1\) τοὺς τε\(^2\) παρόντας πολεμίους ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων καταφρονεῖν καὶ πλείν\(^3\) ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. ο δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν τοὺς ἐγγυτέρω πολεμίους ὑπολιπόντας καὶ πάνυ διεκόλυσε πολλῶν ἐπενωμένων, τὰ δὲ τὸν πολέμον πρῶτον ἑφη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦρητο, πλεύσας ὡς Τισσαφέρη πράξειν. καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐκ-κλήσιας εὐθὺς ὅχετο, ἵνα δὴ δοκῇ πάντα μετ' ἐκείνου κοινοῦσθαι, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος αὐτῷ τιμιώτερός τε εἶναι καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι ὧτι καὶ στρατηγὸς ἡδή ἦρηται καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς οἶδος τε ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν. Ἑυνέβαινε δὲ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδη τῷ μὲν Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φοβεῖν, ἐκείνους δὲ τὸν Τισσαφέρην.

LXXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ πυρθανόμενοι τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου κάθοδον, καὶ προτερὸν τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπιστοῦντες, πολλῷ δὴ

\(^1\) διὰ τὸ αὐτικά, after ἦσαν: MSS. vary between διὰ and κατά. As an expression of time κατὰ τὸ αὐτικά is not found, and διὰ τὸ αὐτικά in this sense is impossible. The simplest remedy is, with Classen, to omit the phrase as a gloss on παραυτίκα above. Hude reads διὰ τὸ <τοὺς> αὐτικά τότε παρόντας . . .

\(^2\) τοὺς τε, C reads τότε, all other MSS. τοὺς τε.
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

3 καὶ πλείων, so B, the other MSS. πλεῖων τε. Hude omits both καὶ and τε.
2 μᾶλλον ἐτι διεβέβληντο. Ξυνηνέχθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, κατὰ1 τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπίπλουν ὡς οὐκ ἦθέλησαν αὐταναγαγόντες ναυ- μαχῆσαι, πολλῷ ἐς τὴν μισθοδοσίαν τὸν Τισσα- φέρην ἀρρωστὸτερον γενόμενον καὶ ἐς τὸ μυσεῖσθαι 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 ἄλλων τῶν ἄξιων λόγου ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ στρατιωτικόν,2 ὡς οὔτε μισθῶν ἐντελῇ πῶποτε λάβοιεν τὸ τε διδόμενον βραχὺ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτο Ξυνεχῶς· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὶς ἡ διαναμαχῆση ἡ ἀπαλλάξεται οἶθεν τροφὴν ἔξει, ἀπολείψειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς ναῦς· πάντων τε Ἀστύχοχον εἶναι αὐτον, ἐπι-
φέροντα ὀργᾶς Τισσαφέρνει διὰ ἵδια κέρδῃ.

LXXXIV. Ὥντων δ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀνα-
λογισμῷ Ξυνηνέχθη καὶ τοιόσοις τὶς θόρυβος

2 περὶ τὸν Ἐστύχοχον. τῶν γὰρ Συρακοσίων καὶ
Θουρίων ὅσῳ μᾶλιστα καὶ ἐλεύθεροι3 ἢν τὸ
πλῆθος οἱ ναῦται, τοσοῦτο καὶ θρασύτατα προσ-
πεσόντες τὸν μισθὸν ἀπῆτον. ο δὲ αὐθαδέστερον
tε τι ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ ἥπειλησε καὶ τῷ γε Δωριὲ
Ξυναγορεύοντι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ναῦταις καὶ ἐπανήρατο
3 τὴν βακτηρίαν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν

1 κατά, Duker’s correction for καὶ of the MSS.
2 καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ στρατιωτικόν, deleted by Krüger, as pleonastic, followed by Hude.
3 ἐλεύθεροι, so most MSS. Hude reads ἐλεύθερον 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, Astyochus 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 Astyochus. 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.
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4 ἡ γε, ἀλλὰ διελύθησαν ἀπ’ ἄλληλον. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ ἐνυφκοδομημένον τοῦ Τισσα-φέρους φρούριον οἱ Μιλήσιοι, λάθρα ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐνότας φύλακας αὐτοῦ ἐκβάλλουσιν. ξυνεδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ταύτα, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. οὐ μεντοι Δίκας οὔτε ἡρέσκετο αὐτοῖς, ἐφετερον Τισ-σαφέρνει καὶ δουλεύειν Μιλήσιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ βασιλέως τὰ μέτρια καὶ ἐπιθεραπεύειν, ἐσωὶ ἃν τῶν πόλεμον εὐ ἀπέταται. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι ὁργίζοντο τὰ αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ δι’ ἄλλα τοιούτοτροπα, καὶ νόσῳ ύστερον ἀποθανόντα αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶσαν θάψαι οὐ ἐβούλοντο οἱ παρόντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

LXXXV. Κατὰ δὴ τοιαύτην διαφοράν ὄντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τέτοιον Ἀστύχονος καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνην Μίνδαρος διάδοχος τῆς Ἀστυχοῦ ναυαρχίας ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπήλθε καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἄρχην· ο δὲ Ἀστυχος ἀπέτρεψε. ξυνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ Τισσαφέρης αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτὸι, Γαυλίτην ὁνομάζων, Κάτα διήλωσαν, κατηγορήσαντα τῶν τε Μιλή-σίων περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἁμα ἀπολογησάμενοι, εἰδὼς τούς τε Μιλήσιον πο- ρευομένους ἐπὶ καταβορί τῇ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἐρμοκράτη μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὁς ἐμελλε τὸν Τισσα-φέρην ἀποφαίνειν φθείροντα τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὰ πράγματα μετὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ ἐπαμφυτερί-
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.

Who had been so firm before in his demands (ch. xliii. 3) and his protests (ch. lii.).
3 ξοντα. ἐχθρα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢν αὐτῷ αἰεὶ ποτε περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀποδόσεως· καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα φυγὸντος ἐκ Συρακοσῶν τοῦ Ἐρμοκράτους καὶ ἐτέρων ἥκοντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον στρατηγῶν, Ποτάμιδος καὶ Μύσκωνος καὶ Δημάρχου, ἐνέκειτο ὁ Τισσαφέρης φυγάδι όντι ἦδη τῷ Ἐρμοκράτει πολλῶ ἐτί μᾶλλον καὶ κατηγορεῖ ἄλλα τε καὶ ὥς χρήματα ποτε αἰτήσας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οὐ τυχὼν τὴν ἐχθραν
4 οἱ πρόθοιτο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀστύνοχος καὶ οἱ Μιλῆσιοι καὶ ὁ Ἐρμοκράτης ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης διεβεβήκει πάλιν ἦδη παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρους ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

LXXXVI. Καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δῆλου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἡν τάτε ἐπεμψαν παραμυθησομένους καὶ ἀναδιάξοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, ἀφικνοῦνται παρόντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, καὶ ἐκκλησίας γενομένης λέγεων ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἥθελον ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ ἀποκτείνειν ἐβόων τοὺς τὸν δήμον καταλύνοντας· ἔπειτα
2 τῶν καὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀρχάσαντες ἄρχοντες. οἱ δ’ ἀπηγγελλον ὡς οὗτο ἐπὶ διαφθορᾶ τῆς πόλεως ἡ μετάστασις γένοιτο, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σωτηρία, οὗθεν ἰνα τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδοθῇ (ἐξείναι γάρ, ὅτε ἐσέβαλον ἦδη σφῶν ἄρχοντων, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι), τῶν τε πεντακισχίλιων ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μεθέ-

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

1 cf. ch. lxxv. 3. 2 cf. Xen. Hell. 1. i. 27 ff. 3 cf. ch. lxxii. 1.
Tissaphernes had always been at enmity with Hermocrates in connection with the payment of the wages; \(^1\) 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 \(^2\)—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 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, \(^3\) 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,
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ξονσίν, οί τε οίκεῖοι αυτῶν οὐθ' ύβρίζουσιν, ὀσπερ Χαιρέας διαβάλλων ἀπῆγγελλεν, οὔτε κακὸν ἔχοσίν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀυτῶν ἐκαστοί κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν. ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ εἰπόντων οὐδέν μᾶλλον ἐσήκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλέπαινοι καὶ γνώμας ἄλλου ἄλλας ἔλεγον, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλείων.
καὶ δοκεὶ 1 Ἀλκιβιάδης πρῶτος 2 τότε καὶ οὖδενός ἐλασσὸν τὴν πόλιν ὥφελησαι, ὥρμημένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ὁμορχαίοις πλείων ἐπὶ σφῖς αὐτούς, ἐν οὗ σαφέστατ' ἀν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἑλλάσποντον εὐθὺς εἶχον οἱ πολέμοιοι, κωλυτὴς 5 γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἄλλος μὲν οὐθ' ἀν εἰς ἰκανός ἐγένετο κατασχεῖν τὸν ὄχλον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦ τ' ἐπίπλου ἐπαυσε καὶ τοὺς ἱδία τοῖς πρέ-

σβεσιν ὀργιζομένους λοιδορῶν ἀπέτρεπεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἄποκρινόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀπέπεμπεν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους οὐ καλύποι ἄρχειν, τοὺς μὲν-τοι τετρακοσίους ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσειν αὐτούς καὶ καθιστάναι τὴν βουλήν ὡσπερ καὶ πρότε-ρον, τοὺς πεντακοσίους: εἰ δὲ ἐς εὐτέλειαν τι ἔλνετμηται, ὥστε τοὺς στρατευομένους μᾶλλον 6 ἔχειν τροφήν, πάνω ἐπαίνειν. καὶ τάλλα ἐκε-λευν ἀντέλευεν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τοῖς πολε-μίοις; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς σφοζομένης τῆς πόλεως πολλῆς ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ ἕπιμβήναι, εἰ δὲ ἀπαξ τὸ ἐτέρον σφαλίσεται, ἢ τὸ ἐν Ὁμορχαίῳ, οὐδὲ ὀτρ διαλλαγῆσεται τις ἐτὶ ἔσθεθαι.

7 Παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ Ἅργιεϊν πρέσβεις, ἐπαγγελ-

1 δοκεῖ, Classen's correction for ἐδοκε ἅν of the MSS.
2 πρῶτος, many editors accept πρῶτον of B.

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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 τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ ὡστε βοηθεῖν. ὅ δέ Ἀλκιβιάδος ἐπαινέσας αὐτούς καὶ εἰπὼν, ὅταν τις καλῇ, παρεῖναι, 9 οὕτως ἀπέπεμπεν. ἀφίκοντο δὲ οἱ Ἀργείοι μετὰ τῶν Παράλων, οἳ τότε ἑτάχθησαν ἐν τῇ στρατιωτικῇ νη ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων περιπλείν Εὐβοιαν καὶ ἁγείν Ἀθηναίων ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πρέσβεις Λαίσποδιαν καὶ Ἀριστοφώντα καὶ Μελησίαν οἳ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο πλέοντες κατ' Ἀργος, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ξυλαβόντες τοὺς Ἀργείους παρέδοσαν ὡς τῶν οὐχ ἦκιστα καταλυσάντων τὸν δήμον ὁμως, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας ἀφίκοντο, ἄλλ' ἁγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργοὺς ἐς τὴν Σάμον τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀφικνοῦνται ἢπερ εἰχον τριήσει.

LXXXVII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Τισσαφέρνης, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἐν Ὑπάλληλα καὶ τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδον κάθωδον ἤχθοντο αὐτῷ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς φανερῶς ἤδη ἀπτικίζοντι, Βουλόμενοι, ὡς ἔδοκε δή, ἀπολύσσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς διαβολὰς, παρεσκευάζετο πορεύεσθαι ὑπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας ναῦς ἐς Ἀσπενδόν, καὶ τὸν Δίχαν ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν τῇ δὲ στρατιᾷ προστάξειν ἐφι Τάμων ἑαυτοῦ ὑπαρχον, ὡστε τροφῆν ἐν ὅσῳ ἄν αὐτὸς 2 ἀπῆ διδόναι. λέγεται δὲ οὐ κατὰ ταὐτό, οὐδὲ ῥάδιον εἰδέναι τὸν γνώμην παρῆκλθεν ἐς τὴν

1 ἁγείν, Portus' correction for ἁγοντεσ of the MSS.

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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 \(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) πεµπτούς, before πρέσβεις, M—other MSS. πέµπουσι—generally deleted by editors.
"Ασπενδον καὶ παρελθῶν οὐκ ἦγαγε τὰς ναῦς. 3 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αἱ Φοίνικαι νῆς ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν μέχρι Ασπενδον ἀφίκοντο σαφές ἐστίν. δι’ ὦ τι δὲ οὐκ ἦλθον πολλαχῇ εἰκαζεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱνα διατρίβη ἀπελθὼν, ὅσπερ καὶ διενοήθη, τὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων (τροφὴν γοῦν οὐδὲν βέλτιον, ἄλλα καὶ χεῖρον ὁ Τάμως, ὣς προσετάχθη, παρεῖχεν), οἱ δὲ ἵνα τοὺς Φοίνικας προαγαγῶν ἐς τὴν "Ασπενδον ἐκχρηματίσατο ἀφεῖς (καὶ γὰρ ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐμελλε χρησεσθαι), ἀλλοι δ’ ὡς καταβοῆς ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς Δακεδαίμονα, τοῦ λέγεσθαι ὡς οὐκ ἄδικει, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς ὀίχεται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀληθῶς πε- 4 πληρωμένας. ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ σαφέστατον εἶναι τριβῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνοκωχῆς τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἄγαγείν, φθοράς μὲν, ἐν ὅσῳ παρήκε ἐκεῖσε καὶ διέμελλεν, ἀνισώσεως δὲ, ὅπως μιθετέρους προσθέμενοι ἰσχυροτέρους ποιήσῃ, ἐπεῖ, εἰ γε ἐβουλήθη, διαπολεμῆσαι ἂν 1 ἐπιφανεῖς 2 δὴ ποιοῦ οὐκ ἐνδοιαστῶς: κομίσας γὰρ ἄν Δακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νίκην κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔδωκεν, οἶ γε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀντιπάλως μᾶλλον ἡ ύποδεεστέρως τῷ ναυτικῷ ἀνθώρμουν. 5 καταφωρᾷ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ἴνα εἶπε πρόφασιν οὐ

1 ἄν, added by Dobree.
2 ἐπιφανεῖς, Reiske's conjecture for ἐπιφανεῖς 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. ἢ ἐφη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐλάσσοις ἡ ὁσα βασίλεις ἔταξε ξυλλεγήμανι ὁ δὲ χάριν ἀν δήπον ἐν τούτῳ μεῖζον ἐτὶ ἐσχεν, οὕτε ἀναλώσας πολλά τῶν βασιλέως, τά τε αὐτὰ ἄπ' ἐλασσόνων πράξασ. ἢς ἔδω τὴν Ἀσπενδον ὶτινι δὴ γυνώμη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἀφικνεῖται καὶ τοὺς Φοίνιξι ξυγγίγνεται καὶ οἱ Πελοποννησίοι ἐπεμψαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Φιλιππὸν ἄνδρα Λακεδαιμόνιον δύο τριήμεσιν.

LXXXVIII. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνη ὄσθετο παρὼν τὰ ἑπὶ τῆς Ἀσπενδος, ἐπέλει καὶ αὐτὸς ἱαβὸν τρεῖς καὶ δέκα ναύς, ὑποσχόμενος τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἀσφαλή καὶ μεγάλην χάριν (ἢ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄξειν Ἀθηναίοις τὰς Φοίνισσας ναύς ἡ Πελοποννησίων γε κωλύσεως ἐλθεῖν), εἰδῶς, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκ πλεῖονος τῆς Τισσαφέρνους γυνώμην ὅτι οὐκ ἄξειν ἐμελλε, καὶ Βοολόμενος αὐτὸν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐς τὴν έαυτοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν ὡς μάλιστα διαβάλλειν, ὅπως μᾶλλον δι' αὐτὸ σφίσιν ἀναγκαζούτο προσχωρεῖν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρας εὐθὺ τῆς Φασίλιδος καὶ Καῦνον ἄνω τῶν πλοίων ἐποιεῖτο.

LXXXIX. Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πεμφθέντες πρέσβεις ἐπειδὴ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγειλαν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ὡς κελεύει τε αὐτέχειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τοὺς πολεμίοις, ἐλπίδας τε ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχει κάκεινοι τὸ στρατεύμα διαλλάξειν καὶ Πελοποννησίων περιέσεσθαι, ἀχθομένους 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 ξυνωμοσία.
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, who were even
Λοῦς τῶν μετεχόντων τής ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ ἠδέως ἀν ἀπαλλαγέντας τῇ ἁσφαλῶς τοῦ πρώγματος πολλῷ δὴ μάλλον ἐπέρρωσαν. καὶ ξυνίσταντό τε ἡδὴ καὶ τὰ πρώγματα διεμέφυοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν πάνω1 τῶν εἰν τῷ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἁρχαῖς οὕτων, οἷον Θηραμένη τε τῶν Ἀγίων καὶ Ἀριστοκράτη τῶν Σκελίου καὶ Ἀλλούς, οἱ μετέσχον μὲν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι2 τῶν πραγμάτων, φοβοῦμενοι δὲ, ὡς ἐφασαν, τὸ τε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην σπουδὴ πάνω,3 τοὺς τε ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα πρεσβευομένους4 μὴ τι ἀνευ τῶν πλειόνων κακῶν δράσωσι τὴν πόλιν, οὗτοι ἀπαλλαξεῖεν5 τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἔργω καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι χρήμα ἀποδεικτοιναι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἵσαιτέραν 3 καθιστάναι. ἢν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν σχῆμα πολιτικοῦ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῖς, κατ' ἰδιαίς δὲ φιλοτιμίας οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ προσέκειντο, ἐν ὀπερ καὶ μάλιστα ὀλιγαρχία ἐκ δημοκράτιας γενομένη ἀπολλυται. πάντες γὰρ αὐθημερὸν ἁξιοῦσιν οὐχ ὅπως ἰσοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρῶτοι αὐτῶ ἐκαστος εἶναι: ἐκ δὲ δημοκράτιας αἱρέσεως γνωμομενῆς ράου τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων

1 στρατηγῶν, after τῶν πάνω, deleted by Classen. For τῶν πάνω cf. ch. i. 1.
2 ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι, Bekker's correction; ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι Ὁ, ἐν πρῶτοι, the other MSS.
3 σπουδῆς πάνω, Hude omits with CM and Schol.
4 πρεσβευομένους, CM and Schol., πρεσβευομένους ἐπεμπον, ABEFG and Thom. Mag. It is possible to construe the latter reading by changing obs to τοὺς, with Goeller.
5 οὗτοι ἀπαλλαξεῖειν for οὗ τὸ ἀπαλλάξειν of the MSS. οὗτοι
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
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6læssoûmenos tis férei. saféstata δ' autou̱s ἐπήρε τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἵσχυρά ὄντα καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς ὤν ἐδόκει μόνην τὸ τῆς ὀλυγαρχίας ἐσεσθαι: ἕγγωνίζετο οὖν εἰς ἐκαστὸς αὐτὸς πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι.

Χ. Oi δὲ τῶν τετρακοσίων μάλιστα ἐναντίον ὄντες τῷ τοιούτῳ εἴδει καὶ προεστώτες, Φρύνιχὸς τε, ὃς καὶ στρατηγήσας ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τότε δηνέχθη, καὶ Ἀρισταρχος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ Πεισανδρος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ δυνατῶτατοι, πρότερον τε, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα κατέστησαν καὶ ἐπειδή τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ σφῶν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἀπέστη, πρέσβεις τε ἀπέστελλον σφῶν ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα καὶ τὴν ὀμολογίαν προθυμοῦστο καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἑτιωνείᾳ καλουμένη τεῖχος ἐποιεύτο, πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐτι, ἐπειδή καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πρέσβεις σφῶν ἡλθον, ὀρῶντες τοὺς τε πολλοὺς καὶ σφῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας πρὸ-τερον πιστοὺς εἶναι μεταβαλλομένους. καὶ ἀπέστειλαν μὲν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Φρύνιχον καὶ ἄλλους δέκα κατὰ τάχος, φοβοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἐπιστεύλαντες παντὶ τρόπῳ ὀστίς καὶ ὀπωσοῦν ἀνεκτός ξυναλλαγῆναι 3 πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαίμονιοὺς. ὁκοδόμουν δὲ ἔτι προδυμότερον τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἑτιωνείᾳ τεῖχος. ἦν δὲ

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.

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his defeat\(^1\) are not his equals.\(^2\) 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.

\(\text{XC.}\) 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,\(^3\) and Aristarchus, a man who had been conspicuously and for the longest time opposed to the democracy, and Peisander,\(^4\) Antiphon,\(^5\) 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\(^6\) 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.\(^7\) And the purpose of

\(^{1}\) cf. ch. lxxi. 3; lxxxvi. 9.  
\(^{2}\) See map at end.
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toû teîchos h' γυνώμη αὐτῆ, ως ἔφη Θηραμένης καὶ οἰ μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἦν τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ, ἢν βία εὐπλέωσι, μὴ δέξωται ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἀλλ' ἦν τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον, ὅταν βούλωνται, 4 καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶ δέξωται. χυλὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἡσιώνεια, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν εὖθυς ὁ ἐσπλοῦς ἐστὶν. ἐτείχιζετο οὖν οὕτω ξὺν τῷ πρῶτον πρὸς ἦπειρον ὑπάρχοντι τεῖχει, ὡστε καθεξομένων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώπων οἶλιγων ἀρχειν τοῦ ἐσπλοῦ.1 ἐς αὐτῶν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος στενοῦ υἱότος τὸν ἐτερών πῦργον ἐτελεύτα τὸ τε παλαιὸν τὸ πρὸς ἦπειρον καὶ τὸ καιόν τὸ 5 ἐντὸς τεῖχος τειχιζόμενον πρὸς θάλασσαν. διωκόμησαν δὲ καὶ στοάν, ἦπερ ἦν μεγίστη καὶ ἐγγύτατα 2 τοῦτον εὖθυς ἐχομένη ἐν τῷ Πειραιᾷ, καὶ ἦρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς, ἢ ἦν καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἡμᾶς καζον πάντας τὸν ὑπάρχοντα τε καὶ τὸν ἐπεσπλέοντα ἐξαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν προαιροῦντας πωλεῖν.

XCI. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐκ πλέονός τε ὁ Θηραμένης διεθρόει καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος πρέσβεις οὐδὲν πράξαντες ἀνεχόρησαν τοῖς ξύμπασι ξυμβατικόν, φάσκον κινδυνεύσειν τὸ τεῖχος τούτο 2 καὶ τῇ πόλιν διαφθείραν. ἀμα γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐτύγχανον Εὖβοῖς ἐπικαλομένων κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν χρόνον τούτου δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γῆς, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ Τάραντος καὶ ἐκ Λοκρῶν Ἐταλιώτιδες καὶ Σικελικαὶ τινες, ὀρμοῦσιν ἢδη ἐπὶ Δᾶ τῆς Δακωνικῆς καὶ παρα-

1 τοῦ ἐσπλοῦ, BM; Hude follows Classen in changing to τοῦ τε ἐσπλού καὶ ἐκπλοῦ.
2 ἐγγύτατα, 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 Eetioneia 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 Euboeans, 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
σκευαζόμεναι τὸν ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν πλοῦν (ἥρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἡγησανδρίδας Ἡγησάνδρου Σπαρτιάτης). ὃς ἐφή Ῥημαμένης οὐκ Ἐυβοία μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς τειχίζουσι τὴν Ἡπείρων προσπλείν, καὶ ἐν μὴ τὸς ἤδη φυλάξεται, λῆσει διαφθαρέντας.

3 ἢν δὲ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐχόντων, καὶ οὐ πάνυ διαβολὴ μόνον τοῦ λόγου. ἐκείνοι γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν ἐβούλοντο ὅμιγαρ-χούμενοι ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὰς γε ναῦς καὶ τὰ τείχη ἐξοντες αὐτονομείσθαι, ἑξεργάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούτον μὴ οὖν ὕπο δῆμον γε αὕτης γενομένον αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα διαφθαρῆναι, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσαγαγόμενοι ἀνευ τειχῶν καὶ νεῶν ξυμβῆναι καὶ ὀπωσοῦν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχειν, εἰ τοῖς γε σώμασι σφῶν ἦδεια ἐσταί.

Χ'Β. Αἱ ὅπερ καὶ τὸ τείχος τούτο, καὶ πυλίδας ἔχων καὶ ἐσόδους καὶ ἐπασαγωγὰς τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπείχιζον τε προθύμως καὶ φθηραὶ 2 ἐβούλοντο ἑξεργασάμενοι. πρότερον μὲν οὖν κατ᾿ ὅλιγους τε καὶ κρύφα μᾶλλον τὰ λεγόμενα ἢν ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Φρύνικος ἦκὼν ἐκ τῆς ἐς Δακε-δαίμονα προσβείας πληγεῖς ὕπερ ἀνδρῶς τῶν περι- πόλων τινὸς εἰς ἐπιβουλής ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ πληθοῦση καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀπελθόν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα, καὶ οὐ μὲν πατάξας διέφυγεν, οὗ δὲ ἐξυνεργὺς, Ἀργείδος ἀνδρωπος, ληθεῖς 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 Hgesandridas son of Hege-
sander, a Spartan; and Theramenes declared that these were on their way, not to Euboea, but to Eetioneia 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
όνομα τοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπεν οúde ἀλλῷ τι ἢ ὅτι εἰδείῃ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐς τοῦ περιπολάρχου καὶ ἄλλοσε κατ’ οἰκίας ξυνίοντας, τότε ὤδη οὗδενς γεγενημένου ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ νεωτέρον καὶ ὁ Θηραμένης ἦδη θρασύτερον καὶ Ἄριστοκράτης καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν τετρακοσίων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἦσαν ὁμογόνους ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα.

3 ἀμα γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Δᾶς αἱ νῆες ἦδη περιπεπλευκυίᾳ καὶ ὄρμισάμεναι ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαύρου τὴν Αἴγιναν κατεκδημῆκεσαν καὶ οὐκ ἔφη ὁ Θηραμένης εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπ’ Ἐυβοιαν πλεούσας αὐτὰς ἐς Αἴγιναν κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὀρμεῖν, εἰ μὴ παρακληθείς ἦκοιεν ἐφ’ οἰσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ κατηγόρει· οὐκέτι οὖν οἰον τε εἶναι ἰσινχάζειν. τέλος δὲ πολλῶν καὶ στασιωτικῶν λόγων καὶ ὑποψιῶν προσγενομένων καὶ ἐργῳ ἦδη ἦπτοντο τῶν πραγμάτων· οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ τῷ τῆς Ἡμειοφείας τεῖχος ὀπλίται οἰκοδομοῦντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἄριστοκράτης ἤν ταξιαρχῶν καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φυλῆν ἔχων, ξυλοκλαμβάνοντι Ἀλεξικλέα, στρατηγὸν οὐτα ἐκ τῆς ὀλυγραχίας καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἑταῖρους τετραμμένου, καὶ ἐς οἰκίαν ἀγαγόντες εἰρξαν.

4 ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ ἀμα αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ἔρμων τῶν περιπόλων τις, τῶν Μονικήσι τεταγμένων ἄρχων· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ στίφος ταύτα ἐβουλεύτο. ὡς δὲ ἐσηργέλθη τοῖς τετρακοσίοις (ἔτυχον δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ

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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 Eetioneia—one of their number being Aristocrates, a taxiarch 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,


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1 πλήν, deleted by Hude, following Haase.

1 i.e. the present conduct of the Four Hundred.
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
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ēautō ἐφη ἦν ἡνδοκεῖν. καὶ ἐντεύθεν εὑθὺς ἀναβάντες οἱ τὸ ὀπλῖται καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνθρώπων κατέσκαπτον τὸ τείχισμα. ἂν δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ἡ παράκλησις ὡς χρῆ, ὡστὶς τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους βούλεται ἄρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων, ἑναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεκρύπτοτο γὰρ ὅμως ἔτι τῶν πεντακισχιλίων τῷ ὄνοματι, μὴ ἀντικρὺς δήμου ὡστὶς βούλεται ἄρχειν ὄνομαξειν, φοβοῦμενοι μὴ τῷ ὀντὶ ὡσι καὶ πρὸς τινα εἰπὼν τις τι ἄγνοια σφαλή. καὶ οἱ τετρακόσιοι διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἥθελον τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ὡς τίνα εἴναι οὔτε μὴ ὡς δήλους εἴναι, τὸ μὲν καταστῆσαι μετόχους τοσοῦτοι ἀντικρὺς ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς φόβοι ἐς ἀλλήλους παρέξειν.

ΧΞΠ. Τῇ δ' υστεραια οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι ἐς τὸ βούλευτηριον ὅμως καὶ τεθορυβημένοι ἐνελέγοντο: οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ὀπλῖται τὸν τὸ Ἀλεξικλέα ὃν ἐνελάβον ἀφέντες καὶ τὸ τείχισμα καθελόντες, ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνιχίᾳ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον ἔλθοντες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὀπλα ἐξεκλησίασάν τε καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ ἔθεντο αὖ ἐν τῷ Ἀνακῷ τὰ ὀπλα. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων τινὲς ἤρμημενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἀἰδρὶ διελέγοντό τε καὶ ἐπειδοῦ ὦσ ἱδοειν ἀνθρώπους ἐπιείκεῖς αὐτοὺς

1 ἀν after ἀντικρὺς, deleted by Hude, following Krüger.

1 i.e. that the man to whom he suggested a democratic revolution might himself be one of the Five Thousand.
2 The precinct of the Dioscuri, to whom the title of ἀνακτες 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.

XClII. 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 Alexicles, 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
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tε ἡσυχάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς παρακατέχειν, λέγοντες τοὺς τε πεντακισχίλιους ἀποφανεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐν μέρει ἣ ἄν τοῖς πεντακισχίλιοις δοκῇ τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἐσεσθαι, τέως δὲ τὴν πόλιν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ διαφθείρειν μηδὲ ἐς τοὺς 3 πολεμίους ἀνώσαι. τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς πολλῶν λόγων γιγνομένων, ἡπιώτερον ἡν ἡ πρότερον, καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολιτικοῦ. ξυνεχωρησάν τε ὡστε ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι ἐν τοῖς Διονύσου περὶ ὀμονοίας.

XCIV. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπήλθεν ἢ ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησία καὶ ὅσον οὐ ξυνειλεγμένοι ἴσαν, ἀγγέλλονται αἱ δύο καὶ πεσσαράκοντα νῆσαι καὶ ὁ Ἡγησανδρίδας ἀπὸ τῶν Μεγάρων τὴν Σαλαμίνα παραπλεῖν καὶ πάς τις τῶν ὀπλιτῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Θηραμένους καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐς τὸ τείχισμα ἐπλεοῦν αἱ νῆσες, καὶ χρησίμως ἔδοκεν κατα- 2 πεπτωκέναι. ὁ δὲ Ἡγησανδρίδας τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ἀπὸ ξυγκαιμένου λόγου περὶ τῆς Ἐπιδαυροῦ καὶ ταύτη ἀνεστρέφετο, εἰκός δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρὸντα στασιασμὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, δι’ ἐλπίδος ὡς κἂν ἐς δέον παραγένοιτο, ταύτη 3 ἀνέχειν. οἱ δ’ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἡγγέλθη αὑτοῖς,
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
εὐθὺς δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν Πειραιὰ πανδημεῖ ἐχώρουν, ὡς τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου μείζονος 1 ἀπὸ τῶν πολε-μίων οὐχ ἐκάς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ὄντος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς παρούσας ναῦς ἐσέβαινον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλας καθείλκον, οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος παρεβοϊθοῦν.

ΧΣV. Αἱ δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆσες παρα-πλεύσασαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι Σοῦνιον ὀρμίζονται μεταξὺ Θορίκου τε καὶ Πρασίδος, ὑστερον δὲ 2 ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Ὡρώπων. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἀξυνηκροτήτοις πληρώμασιν ἀναγκα-σθέντες χρήσασθαι, οἳ πολέως τε στασιαζούσης καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγίστον ἐν τάχει βουλόμενοι βοη-θήσαι (Ἑὔβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλήμενης τῆς Ἀττικῆς πάντα ἤμ), πέμπουσι Θυμοχάρη στρατη-3 γὸν καὶ ναῦς ἐς Ἐρέτριαν. ὁν ἀφικομένων ξῦν ταῖς πρότερον ἐν Ἑὔβοιᾳ οὕσας ἦν καὶ τριάκοντα ἐγένοτο. καὶ εὐθὺς νάυμαχεῖν ἡγακίζοντο· ὁ γὰρ Ἡγησανδρίδας ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ Ὡρώπου ἀνήγαγε τὰς ναῦς, διέχει ἐς μάλιστα ὁ Ὡρώπος τῆς τῶν Ἐρετρίδων πόλεως θαλάσσης 4 μέτρου ἐξῆκοντα σταδίους. ὡς οὖν ἐπέπλευε, εὐθὺς ἐπιπλήκον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς ναῦς, οἵομενοι σφίσι παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶναι· οἱ δὲ ἐτυχον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀριστον ἐπιστιξό-μενοι (οὗδὲν γὰρ ἐπωλείτο ἀπὸ προνοίας τῶν Ἐρετρίδων), ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπ' ἐσχάτα τοῦ ἀστεως οἰκίων, ὀπως σχολὴ πληρομένων φθάσειαν οἱ

1 η, after μείζονος, deleted by Hude, following the Scholiast.

1 i.e. through the occupation of Deceleia by the enemy; cf. vii. 27, 28.

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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 Attica—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

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πολέμιοι προσπεσόντες καὶ ἐξαναγκάσειαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὕτως ὅπως τύχοιεν ἀνάγεσθαι. Σημείων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Ὡρωπόν ἐκ τῆς Ἕρε-5 τίς, ὥστε χρῆ ἀνάγεσθαι, ἦρθη. διὰ τοιαύτης δὴ παρασκευῆς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀναγαργόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχῆσαντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἑρετριῶν ὁλίγον μὲν τινὰ χρόνον ὄμως καὶ ἀντέσχον, ἐπειτα ἐς φυγήν τραπόμενοι καταδιώκονται ἐς 6 τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἑρετριῶν ὡς φιλίαν καταφέυγοντο, χαλεπῶ- τατα ἐπιρράζαν φονεύόμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἕρετρίᾳ, ὃ εἶχον αὐτοῖς, περιήγηντο καὶ ὅσαι ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀφικνύονται 7 τῶν νεῶν. λαβόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι δύο καὶ εἰκοσὶ ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς δὲ ζωγρήσαντες τροπαίον ἐστησαν. καὶ ὕστερον οὐ̄ πολλῷ Εὐβοιῶν τε, ἀπασαν ἀποστήσαντες πλην Ὡρεῦ (ταύτην δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναίοι εἶχον), καὶ τάλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν καθίστατο.

ΧCVI. Τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ὡς ἦλθε τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοιῶν γεγενημένα, ἐκπληξὶς μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρῶν παρέστη. οὕτε γὰρ ἤ ἐν τῇ Σικελία ξυμφόρα, καίτερ μεγάλη τότε δύσασα εἶναι, οὕτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν 2 τῶν οὕτως ἐφόβησεν. ὁποὺ γὰρ στρατοπέδου τοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ ἀφεστηκότος, ἄλλων τε νεῶν οὐκ ὅσῳν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐσβισθομένων, αὐτῶν τε στασια-ζόντων καὶ ἀδηλοῦν ὄν ὅποτε σφίσθων αὐτοῖς ξυρράξουσι, τοσαυτῇ ἦ ξυμφόρα ἐπεγεγένητο, ἐν 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
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ἡ ναῦς τε καὶ τὸ μέγιστον Εὔβοιαν ἀπολωλέκεσαι, ἡς ἔστω ἡ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄφελόντο, πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως ἥθυμον; μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ δι’ ἐγγυτάτου ἐθορύβει, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι τολμήσουσι νεικικήκοτες εὐθὺ ὡς ἔπι τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐρήμου ὄντα νεῶν πλεῖν· καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἦδη ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι. ὁπερ ἂν, εἰ τολμηρότεροι ἦσαν, ῥαδίως ἄν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἡ διεστησαν ἄν ἐτι μᾶλλον τὴν πόλιν ἐφορμοῦντες ἢ, εἰ ἐπολιόρκουν μένοντες, καὶ τὰς ἄπ. Ἰωνίας ναῦς ἴνα γικασαν ἄν καίπερ πολεμίας οὐσας τῇ ὀλυναρχίᾳ τοῖς σφετέριοις οἰκείοις καὶ τῇ ξυμπάσῃ πόλει βοηθῆσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἑλλησποντός τε ἄν ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωνία καὶ ᾧ ἴησοι καὶ τὰ μέχρι Εὔβοιας καὶ ᾧς εἰπεῖν ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἄρχῃ πᾶσα. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ Λακεδαιμονίοι Ἀθηναίοις πάντων δὴ ξυμφορώτατοι προσπολεμῆσαι εγένοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς. διάφοροι γὰρ πλείστον ὄντες τῶν τρόπων, οἱ μὲν ὀξεῖς οἱ δὲ βραδεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχειρήτατοι οἱ δὲ ἀτολμοὶ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ναυτικὴ ἄρχῃ πλεῖστα ὥφελον. ἐδείξαν δὲ οἱ Συρακούσιοι μάλιστα γὰρ ὀμοίωτροποὶ γενόμενοι ἄριστα καὶ προσεπολέμησαν.

XCVII. Ἐπὶ δ’ οὖν τοῖς ἡγεμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς τε εἰκοσὶ ὀμοίως ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἐκκλησίαιν ἐξυγέλεγον, μίαν μὲν εὐθὺς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐς τὴν

1 εὐθὺ, Lobeck’s conjecture for εὖθυς of the MSS.
2 Hude reads with C, against the rest of the MSS., καὶ διεστησαν ἄν ἐτι μᾶλλον τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπολιόρκουν μένοντες κ.τ.λ.

1 cf. vii. lv. 2, where the same reason for the success of the Syracusans is given.

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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 Athenians\(^1\) 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
Πάνω καλομένην, οὕτε καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰόθεσαν, 
ἐν ἵπερ καὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους καταπαύσαντες 
τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ πράγματα 
παραδούναν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν ὁπόσοι καὶ ὅπλα 
παρέχονται καὶ μισθὸν μηδένα φέρειν μηδεμίὰς
2 ἀρχῆς, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπάρατον ἐπούσαντο. ἑγίγνοντο 
δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὦστερον πυκναί ἐκκλησίαι, ἄφ' ὃν 
καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν 
πολιτείαν. καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον 
ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναίοι φαίνονται εὗ πολιτεύσαντες· 
μετρία γὰρ ἦ τε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς 
ἐνυγκρασις ἑγένετο, καὶ ἐκ ποιήμων τῶν πραγμάτων 
γενομένων τούτο πρῶτον ἀνὴργευκε τὴν 
3 πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ ἄλλους 
μετ' αὐτοῦ κατιέναι, καὶ παρὰ τε ἐκείνου καὶ 
παρὰ τό ἐν Σάμῳ στρατόπεδον πέμψαντες διεκκε- 
λευοντο ἀνθίπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων.

XCVIII. Ἔν δὲ τῇ μεταβολῇ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς οἱ 
μὲν περὶ τὸν Πεύσανδρον καὶ Ἀλεξικλέα καὶ ὅσοι 
ήσαν τῆς ὀλυγαρχίας μάλιστα, ὑπεξέρχονται ἐς 
τὴν Δεκέλειαν Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ αὐτῶν μόνος (ἐτυχε 
γὰρ καὶ στρατηγῶν) λαβὼν κατὰ τάχος τοξότας 
τινὰς τοὺς βαρβαρωτάτους ἐξώρει πρὸς τὴν 
2 Οἰνόπην. ὅν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθυρίοις τῆς Βοιω-

1 πυκναί, for this reading of the MSS. Hude adopts ἐν 
πυκνί, 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,

2 The νουθεται were a committee of jurors (γιασταί) to whom ambiguities and contradictions in the laws, as well as proposed changes in them, were referred by the Senate.

3 The τοξοται in question are the police or city-guard of slaves, mostly drawn from Scythia (hence Βάρβαροι). See Boeckh, Θεον. i. 276–278.
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τίς τείχος, ἐπολιορκοῦν δ' αὐτὸ διὰ ξυμφοράν σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς Ὀινόης γενομένην ἀνδρῶν ἐκ Δεκελείας ἀναχωροῦντων διαφθορᾶς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐθελοντῆδον, προσπαρακάλεσαντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς.

3 κοινολογησάμενοι οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος ἀπατᾶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ὀινόη, λέγουν ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τάλλα ἔμβεβικασι Δακεδαιμονίοις, κακείνους δεὶ Βοιωτοῖς τὸ χωρίον παραδοῦναι ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ ἔμβεβικασθαί. οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ὡς ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πολυορκεῖθαι, ὑπὸσπονδοὶ ἐξέρχονται. τοῦτῳ μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ Ὀινόην τε ληφθεῖσαν 1 Βοιωτοὶ κατέλαβον καὶ ἦ ἐν ταῖς Ἀδηναῖς ὀλυγαρχία καὶ στάσις ἐπαύσατο.

ΧΣΙΧ. 'Τπὸ δὲ τούς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὡς τροφὴν τε οὐδεὶς ἐδίδον τῶν ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους τότε ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπεῦδον παρῆκεν 2 προσταχθέντων, καὶ αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες οὕδε τὸ Τισσαφέρνης πω ἦκον, ὁ τε Φίλιππος ὁ ξυμπεμφθεὶς αὐτῷ ἐπεστάλκει Μινδάρῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ καὶ ἀλλος, Ἰπποκράτης, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης καὶ ὡν ἐν Φασηλίδι, ὅτι οὔτε αἱ νῆες παρέσωστο πάντα τε ἀδικοῦστο ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους, Φαρνάβαζος τε ἐπικαλεῖτο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἦν πρόθυμος κομίσας τὰς

1 ληφθεῖσαν, with MSS., Hude emends to ληφθεῖσαν.
2 ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπεῦδον παρῆκε, deleted by Hude as not read by the Scholiast.

1 The general purport; there is no verb in the text for the subject οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι. After the long parenthesis the subject is resumed in ὅτε ὃ διὰ τοῦ Μινδάρου, "In these circumstances, then, Mindarius."
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

\[1\] cf. ch. lxxxvii. 6.
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ναῦς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς λουπὰς ἐτὶ πόλεις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἀποστήσας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρης, ἐλπίζων πλέον τι σχῆσειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Μίνδαρος πολλῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀπὸ παραγγέλματος αἰφνιδίου, ὁπως λάθοι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ, ἀρας ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ναυσὶ τρισὶ καὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα ἐπλεί ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησποντοῦ (προτερον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Θέρει τόδε ἐκκαίδεκα ἕκ αὐτοῦ νῆς ἐπέπλευσαν, αὐτὶ καὶ τῆς Χερσονήσου τι μέρος κατέδραμον): χειμασθεὶς δὲ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς καταρρεῖ ἐς τὴν Ἰκαρον, καὶ μείνας ἐν αὐτῇ ὕπο ἀπλοῖας πέντε ἥ ἡμέρας ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν Χίον.

C. Ὁ δὲ Ὄρασυλλος ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπηρκότα, ἐπλεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ναυσίν εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα, ἐπειγόμενος μὴ φθάσῃ ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντοῦ ἐσπλέυσας. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῇ Χίῳ εἰς καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν καθέξειν αὐτὸν, σκοπούς μὲν κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐν τῇ Δέσβῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἱππέρῳ, εἰ ἄρα ποι κινοῦτο αἷς, ὁπως μὴ ἁλθοιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μυθυμναν παραπλέυσας ἀλφιτά τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτιθεία παρασκευάζειν ἐκέλευθος ὡς, ἢν πλείων χρόνοις ἐγγίγνηται, ἐκ τῆς Δέσβου τοὺς ἐπιτελοὺς τῇ Χίῳ ποιησόμενος.

3 ἀμα δὲ ("Ερεσος γὰρ τῆς Δέσβου ἀφειστήκει) ἐβούλετο ἐπὶ αὐτὴν πλεύσας, εἰ δύνατο, ἔξελεν. Μηθυμναίων γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἄδυνατῶτατοι φυγάδες, διακομίσαντες ἐκ τῆς Κύμης προσεταιριστοὺς ὀπλίτας ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου

1 ἐγγίγνηται, Krüger's correction for γίγνηται of the MSS.

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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
μισθωσίμενοι, εὑμπασιν ὡς τριακοσίως, Ἀνα-
ξάρχου Ἐθβαιον κατὰ τὸ ἔγγυμενις ἡγουμένου,
προσέβαλον πρώτη Μηθύμνη· καὶ ἀποκρουσόντες
τὴν πείρας διὰ τούς ἐκ τῆς Μυτιλήνης Ἀθηναίων
φρουροὺς προελθόντας, αὐθεὶς ἔξω μάγχη ἀπωσθέν-
tες καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὀροὺς κομισθέντες ἀφίστασι τὴν
4 Ἐρεσον. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Ἐρᾶσυλλος ἐπ' αὐτῆν
πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ διενεῖτο προσβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι.
προαφιγμένος δὲ αὐτόσε ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἐρᾶσυβουλος
πέντε ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ὡς ἡγγέλθη αὐτοῖς
5 ἡ τῶν φυγάδων αὐτῆς διάβασις. ύστερίσας δὲ ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἐρεσον ἑλημον ἐφώρμει. ποσεγένοντο δὲ
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου τινὲς δύο νῆες ἐπ' οἴκου
ἀνακομιζόμεναι καὶ Μηθύμναιαι πέντε. καὶ αἱ
πᾶσαι νῆες παρῆσαν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ἀφ' ὦν
τῷ στρατεύματι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς κατὰ κράτος
μηχαναῖς τε καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἡν δύσωνται,
αἰρίσοντες τὴν Ἐρεσον.

Cf. Ὅ δὲ Μινδάρος ἐν τούτῳ καὶ αἱ ἐκ τῆς
Χίον τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες, ἐπιστισθημέναι
δυοῖν ἡμέραιν καὶ λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Χίων τ线索
τεσσαρακοστῶς ἐκαστος, Χιας, τῇ τρίτῃ διὰ ταχέων
ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκ τῆς Χίου οὐ πελάγιαι, ἦν μὴ
περιτύχον ταις ἐν τῇ Ἐρέσῳ ναυσίν, ἀλλὰ ἐν
ἀριστέρᾳ τῆς Λέσβου ἔχοντες ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν
2 ἡπείρου. καὶ προσβαλόντες τῆς Φωκαίδος ἐς τὸν

1 αἱ μηθύμναιαι B. 2 πέντε, added by Dobree.
3 οὐ, added by Haacke.

1 cf. ch. ν. 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.

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now with these troops, about three hundred in all, commanded by Anaxarchus a Theban on the strength of kinship,¹ 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 five² 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.

CI. Meanwhile Mindarus and the Peloponnesian ships at Chios, having spent only two days in provisioning and having received from the Chians three Chian tessaracosts ³ 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 Cartereia in the territory of

² Or, reading αἱ Μηθυμναῖαι, with B, "(all) the Methymnaean ships."

³ Literally "fortieths" of some local coin, possibly the golden stater; about 4d.; 8 cents.
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ἐν Καρτερεῖοις λιμένα καὶ ἀριστοποιησάμενοι, παραπλεῦσαντες τὴν Κυμαίαν δευτεροποιοῦνται ἐν Ἀργινούσσαις ἡπείρου ἐν τῷ ἀντι-πέρας τῆς Μυτιλήνης. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐτὶ πολλῆς νυκτὸς παραπλεῦσαντες καὶ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς ἡπείρου ἐσ Ἀρματοῦντα καταντικοῦ Μηθύμνης, ἀριστοποιησάμενοι διὰ ταχέων παραπλεῦσαντες Δεκτὸν καὶ Δάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ τὰ ταύτα χωρία ἀφικνοῦνται ἐσ Ὀρίτειον ἑδη τοῦ Ἑλλη-σπόντου, πρῶτον μέσων νυκτὸν. εἰς ὅ αἱ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς Σίγειον κατήραν καὶ ἀλλοσ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων.

CII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ Σηστῷ δυνῶν δεούσαι εἰκοσι ναυσίν ὄντες, ὃς αὐτοῖς οἱ τε φρυκτῶροι ἐσήμανον καὶ ἱσθάνουσα τὰ πυρὰ ἐξαίφυνς πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ φανέντα, ἐγνώσαν ὅτι ἐπε-πλέουσιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης νυκτὸς ὡς εἰχον τάχους ὑπομείξαντες τῇ Χερσο-νήσῳ, παρέπλεουν ἐπὶ Ἑλαιόντος, βουλόμενοι ἐκπλεῦσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν τάς τῶν πολεμίων 2 ναῦς. 3 καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἀβυδῷ ἐκκαίδεκα ναῦς ἔλαθον, προειρημένης φυλακῆς τῶν φιλῶν ἐπὶ πλω, ὡς αὐτῶν ἀνακώ ἐξουσίν, ἥν ἐκπλέωσιν τὰς

1 καὶ, added by Gertz after Ἀργινούσσαις, is adopted by Hude.
2 Krüger deletes τῆς ἡπείρου.
3 τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς, deleted by Hude, following Dobree.

1 If τῆς ἡπείρου is genuine, there must have been a town Arginussae on the mainland opposite the islands of that name. The Schol. on Ar. Frags. 33 mentions a town Arginussa. Deleting τῆς ἡπείρου, as Krüger suggests, we should have, "at the Arginussae, opposite Mytilene." With Hude's 380
Phocaea, where they dined, and then, sailing along the Cymaean coast, supped at Arginussae \(^1\) 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 Rhoeteum before midnight. Some of the ships even made harbour at Sigeium and other places in that neighbourhood.

CII. 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, \(^2\) although these had been cautioned by a friendly boat that sailed \(^3\) up to be on the alert in case the Athenians should try to leave the straits; but the ships commanded

text (adding \textit{Kal}) the meaning would be that they supped, some at the islands, others on the mainland.

\(^2\) \textit{cf. ch. xcix. (end)}.

\(^3\) The passage was so understood by the Scholiast (\textit{τῷ φιλῷ ἐπὶ πλω ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλίου ἐπὶ πλω}, \textit{τούτους ὑπὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ μετὰ Μινδάρου}). But commentators find the construction harsh and unexampled in Thucydides with \textit{προειρησθαῖ}. Tucker explains: "They escaped the notice of the ships at Abydos, who had given warning to their approaching friends (Miudarus) to keep a watch for them in case of their trying to sail out." So also Goodhart.
δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Μινδάρου ἀμα τή ἔω κατιδόντες 1 τὴν διώξιν εὐθὺς ποιομένας 2 οὐ φθάνουσι πάσαις, 3 ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν πλεῖοις ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ἰμβροῦ καὶ Λήμνου διέφυγον, τέσσαρες δὲ τῶν νεῶν αἱ ύσταται πλεύσασι καταλαμβάνονται περὶ τῶν Ἑλαιώντα.

καὶ μίαν μὲν ἐποκέιλασαν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι λαμβάνουσι, δύο δὲ ἐτέρας ἀνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν δὲ μίαν πρὸς τῇ 'Ἰμβρῷ κευὴν κατακαίουσιν.

CP. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ταῦς τε ἐξ Ἁβύδου ἕλμηγείσαις καὶ ταῦς ἀλλαὶς, ἕμπασαις ἐς καὶ ὑγδοόκουτα, πολιορκήσανς Ἑλαιώντα ταῦτα τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς οὐ προσεχώρει, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Ἁβύδου.

2 Οἱ δὲ Ἁθηναῖοι ψευσθέντες τῶν σκοπῶν καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἴμομεν σφὰς λαβεῖν τὸν παράπλουν τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν τευχομαχοῦσι, ὡς ἱσθοντο, εὐθὺς ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Ἐρεσον κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ δύο πε τέ ναῦς τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱροῦσιν, αἰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τότε θρασύτερον ἐν τῇ διώξει ἀπάρασι περιέπεσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡμέρα ύστερον ἀφίκομενοι ὀρμύζονται ἐς τὸν Ἑλαιώντα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἐμβροῦ ὀσαι κατέφυγον κομίζονται καὶ ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν πέντε ἡμέρας παρεσκευάζοντα.

CIV. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐναυμάχουν τρόπῳ τοιῶδε, οἱ Ἁθηναῖοι παρέπλεον ἐπὶ κέρως ταξίμενοι παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῆς Σηστοῦ, οἱ δὲ Πελοπον-

1 κατιδόντες, Hude reads κατιδόντας, with Gertz.
2 ποιομένας, Classen's correction for ποιωμένοι of the MSS.; Hude ποιωμένου with Krüger.

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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 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 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.

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8 πᾶσαι, Reiske's conjecture for πᾶσαι of most MSS.
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νήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου ἀντανήγησον καὶ 2 αὐτοὶ. καὶ ὡς ἐγνωσαν ναυμαχήσοντες, παρέ-
τεινον τὸ κέρας οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τὴν Χερσο-
νῆσον, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἰδάκου μέχρι Ἀρριανῶν, 3
νῆς ἔξι καὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα, οἱ δὲ αὖ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Δαρδάνου, νῆς ἔξι καὶ ὡγοῦ-
κοντα. κέρας δὲ τοῖς μὲν Πελοποννησίωι εἰχον 
τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Συρακόσιοι, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον αὐτὸς 
Μίνδαρος καὶ τῶν νεῶν αἱ ἀριστα πλέουσαι, 
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν Ἐράσυλλος, ο δὲ 
Ἐρασύβουλος τὸ δεξιὸν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί 4
ώς ἐκαστοί διεσάξαντο. ἐπευγομένων δὲ τῶν Πελο-
ποννησίων πρὸτερὸν τε ξυμμείζαι, καὶ κατὰ μὲν 
τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερχῶντες αὐτοὶ τῷ 
εὐονύμῳ ἀποκλήσαι τοῦ ἔξω αὐτοῦς ἐκπλου, εἰ 
δύναιτο, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον ἔξωσαι πρὸς τὴν γῆν 
οὗ ἔκασ ὡςαν, οἱ Ἀθηναίοι γνώτες, ἡ μὲν 
ἐξολοθρεῖτο ἀποφαρξάσθαι αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, 
5 ἀντεπεξῆγον καὶ περιεγάμηντο τῷ πλῆθῳ· τὸ δὲ 
εὐονυμον αὐτοῖς ὑπερεβεβλήκει ἤδη τὴν ἄκραν ἡ 
Κυνὸς σῆμα καλεῖται. τῷ δὲ μέσῳ, τοιούτῳ 
ξυμβαίνοντος, ἀσθενέσι καὶ διεσπασμέναι ταῖς 
ναυσὶ καθίσταντο, ἀλλωσ τε καὶ ἐλάσσοσι χρώ-
μενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ περὶ τὸ Κυνὸς 
σῆμα ὑεῖαν καὶ γωνία ἡ τὴν περιβολὴν ἔχουσα, 
ὧς τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνα αὐτοῦ γιγνόμενα μὴ 
κατοπτα εἶναι.

CV. Προσπεσόντες οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ 
τὸ μέσον ἔξωσαν τε ἐς τὸ ξηρὸν τὰς ναῦς τῶν 
Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔπεξεβησαν, τῷ ἔργῳ 
2 πολὺ περισχῶντες. ἀμῦναι δὲ τῷ μέσῳ οὐθ’ οἱ 
περὶ τὸν Θερασύβουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὑπὸ πλῆ-
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ponnesians, observing their movements from Abydus, 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, Thrasyllus 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 opponents 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
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θους τῶν ἐπικειμένων νεών ἐδύναντο οὕτ' οἱ περὶ τῶν Θράσυλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ευωνυμοῦ (ἀφανές τε γάρ ἦν διὰ τὴν ἀκραν τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα1 καὶ ἀμα οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκ ἔλαισσουσ ἐπιτε-

ταγμένοι εἰργον αὐτοὺς), πρὶν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι
diā τὸ κρατήσαντες ἀδεῶς ἄλλοι ἄλλην ναῦν
diώκεν2 ἦρξαντο μέρει τινὶ σφῶν ἀτακτότεροι
3 γενέσθαι. γυνότες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θράσυβουλου,
tάς ἐπὶ σφίζει ναῦς ἐπεχούσας, παυσάμενοι τῆς
eπεξαγωγῆς ἤδη τοῦ κέρως καὶ ἐπαναστρέφαντες
eυθὺς, ἤμυναντό τε καὶ τρέπουσι, καὶ τὰς κατὰ
tὸ νικήσαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μέρος ὑπολα-

βόντες πεπλανημένας ἐκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐς φόβοι

tὰς πλείον ἀμαχεὶ καθίστασαν. οἱ τε Συρα-

κόσιοι ἐτύγχανον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν
Θράσυλλον ἐνδεδωκότες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐς φυγὴν

όρμησαντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρων.

CVI. Γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς καὶ καταφυ-

γόντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων πρὸς τὸν Πύδιον3

μάλιστα ποταμὸν τὸ πρώτον, ὑστερον δὲ ἐς

"Αβυδον, ναῦς μὲν ὀλίγας ἐλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι

(στενὸς γὰρ ὅν ὁ Εὐλήσποντος βραχείας τὰς

ἀποφυγάς τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρεῖχε), τὴν μέντοι

νίκην ταύτης τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐπικαιροτάτην δὴ

2 ἐσχοῦ. φοβούμενοι γὰρ τέως τὸ τῶν Πελοπο-


νησίων ναυτικόν διὰ τε τὰ κατὰ βραχὺ σφάλματα

καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ χυμφοράν, 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, Μείδιον ABEF.

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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. xlii. 4; xcv. 7; cii. 2.
ΤΟΥ ΣΦΛΑΣ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΜΕΜΦΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ
ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ ΕΤΙ ΑΞΙΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΙ ΤΑ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΑ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ.

3 ΝΑΥΣ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΩΝ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΥΣΙ ΧΙΑΣ ΜΕΝ
ΟΚΤΩ, ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΝΤΕ, ΑΜΠΡΑΚΙΩΤΙΔΑΣ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ
ΚΑΙ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑΣ ΔΥΟ, ΛΕΥΚΑΔΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟ-
ΝΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΛΛΗΝΕΩΝ ΜΙΑΝ
ΕΚΑΣΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑ ΝΑΥΣ ΑΠΟΛ-
ΛΥΣΩΝ, ΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΆΚΡΑ
ΟΥ ΤΟ ΚΥΝΩΣ ΣΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΝΑΥΑΓΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΑΓΟΜΕΝΟΙ
ΚΑΙ ΝΕΚΡΟΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΙΣ ΥΠΟ ΣΟΠΟΥΝΔΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΔΟΝΤΕΣ
ΑΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΑΣ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΤΡΙΗΡΗ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΝ
5 ΤΗΣ ΝΙΚΗΣ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΆΦΙΚΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ
ΑΝΕΛΠΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝ ΆΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΙΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΒΟΙΑΝ ΆΡΤΙ ΕΥΜΦΟΡΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ
ΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΓΕΓΕΝΝΗΜΕΝΑΙ ΠΟΛÙ ΕΠΕΡΡΩΣΘΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ
ΕΝΟΜΙΣΑΝ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΥΝΑΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΩΙΤΜΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΑΙ, ΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ.

CVII. ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΝΑΥΜΑΧΙΑΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ
ΥΠΟ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΣ ΝΑΥΣ ΟΙ ΕΝ
ΣΗΣΤΩ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΕΠΕΤΕΛΕΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΥΖΙΚΟΝ ΑΦΕΣΤΗ-
ΚΩΝΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΤΑ 'ΑΡΩΜΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ
ΠΡΙΑΠΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΝΑΥΣ
ΟΡΜΟΥΣΑΝ, ΕΠΙΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΧΗ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΓΗ ΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΝΑΥΣ. ΆΦΙΚΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΖΙΚΟΝ ΑΝΤΕΙΧΙΣΤΟΝ ΟΘΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΗΓΑ-
2 ΓΟΝΤΟ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΑΝΕΠΡΑΒΑΝ. ΕΠΙΛΕΥΣΑΝ
ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΟΙ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ 'ΑΒΥΔΟΥ
ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ 'ΕΛΑΙΟΥΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΦΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ
ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΩΝ ΌΣΑΙ ΉΣΑΝ ΥΓΙΕΙΣ ΕΚΟΜΙΣΑΝΤΟ (ΤΑΣ
ΔΕ ΆΛΛΑΣ 'ΕΛΑΙΟΥΝΣΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΚΑΥΣΑΝ), ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ
ΕΥΒΟΙΑΝ ΑΠΕΤΕΜΨΑΝ ΊΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗ ΚΑΙ 'ΕΠΙΚΛΕΑ
ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΝΑΥΣ.

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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 \(^1\) 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 Elaensians had burned the rest—and sent Hippocrates and Ipieles to Euboea to fetch the ships that were there.

\(^1\) cf. ch. lxxx. 4.
CVIII. Κατέπλευσε δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ ὁ Ἄλκιβιάδης ταῖς τρισὶ καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Καύνου καὶ Φασήλιδος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, ἀγγέλλων ὅτι τὰς τε Φοινίκας ναῦς ἀποτρέψειε Πελοποννησίους ὡστε μὴ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνη ὅτι φίλον πεποίηκοι μᾶλλον 'Αθηναίοις ἡ πρότερον. καὶ πληρῶσας ναῦς ἐννέα πρὸς αἷς εἰχεν Ἀλκαρνασσέας τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἕξεπραξε καὶ Κών ἐτείχισεν. ταῦτα δὲ πρᾶξας ἀρχονταὶ ἐν τῇ Κώ καταστήσας πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἠδη ἐς τὴν Σάμον κατέπλευσεν.

3 Καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ασπένδου, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου πεπλευκύνας, ἄναζεύξας ἥλαινεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας. ὁντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Ἀντι- ἀνδροι (εἰσὶ δὲ Αἰολῆς) παρακομισάμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Ἰδής τοῦ ὁρός ὀπλίτας ἐσηγάγοντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Ὀρσάκου τοῦ Πέρσου, Τισσαφέρνους ὑπάρχον, ἄδικούμενοι, ὀσπερ καὶ Δηλίους τοὺς Ἀτραμῦττειον κατοική- σαντας, ὅτε ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων Δήλου καθάρσεως ἕνεκα ἀνέστησαν, ἔχθραν προσποιουμένους ἀδη- λον καὶ ἔπαγγείλας στρατείαν αὐτῶν τοῖς βελτίστοις, ἔξαγαγὼν ὡς ἐπὶ φιλία καὶ ξυμμαχία, τηρήσας ἀριστοποιουμένους καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατηκόντισεν. φοβούμενοι οὖν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον μὴ ποτε καὶ περὶ σφᾶς τι παρα- νομήσῃ, καὶ ἀλλα ἐπὶ βάλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀφένει

1 ἀρχοντα, B, Hude ἀρχοντα with most MSS.
2 ἀλλα, Hude reads ἀμα 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 Atramytteium, 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 pretence 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. Ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρης αἰσθόμενος καὶ τούτῳ τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὸ ἔργον καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ Κυίδῳ (καὶ ἑνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν οἱ φρουροὶ), διαβεβλήσθαι τε νομίσας αὐτοῖς σφόδρα καὶ δείσας μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐτι βλάπτωσι, καὶ ἀμα ἁχθόμενος εἰ Φαρνάβαζος ἐξ ἔλασσονος χρόνου καὶ δαπάνης δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς κατορθώσει τι μᾶλλον τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πορεύεσθαι διενειτό πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτι τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου, ὅπως μέμψηται τε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀντανδρόν γεγενημένων καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ περὶ τῶν Φοινικῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς εὑπρεπέστατα ἀπολογήσηται. καὶ ᾖφικόμενος πρῶτον ἐσ Ἐφεσον 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 Cnidos²—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.
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