1.1. ὡς ἐπολέμησαν. Instead of using the accusative relative pronoun ὃν referring to τὸν πόλεμον, Thucydides uses an indirect question with a displaced object, literally, “He wrote the war, how they fought.” This figure is called prolepsis (literally, “anticipation”) or the “lilies-of-the-field construction” (from the biblical verse Matt. 6:28, “Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow” [καταθέτε τὰ κῆρυν τοῦ ἄγρου πώς αὐξάνονται]). “The subject of the dependent clause is often anticipated and made the object of the verb of the principal clause” (Sm. §2182).

εὖθὺς καθιστάμενον. Genitive absolute expressing time. Notice that in Greek, unlike the Latin ablative absolute, a participle may stand alone without a noun in the genitive when it is obvious what such a noun would be. Sm. §2072. The full expression would be εὖθὺς καθισταμένον τοῦ πολέμου, “the moment the war broke out.”

ἐλπίσας. “expecting.” Verbs meaning hope, expect, promise, threaten, swear, etc. take the future infinitive in indirect discourse. Sm. §1868.

τεκμαίομαι. After Homer—i.e., in classical Greek—this verb means “judge from signs or tokens.” But here, Thucydides has used it in a special sense, “taking as evidence for this judgment [that it was going to be the greatest war ever] the fact that . . .”
Commentary

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ζυνιστάμενον. Indirect discourse with accusative plus participle after a verb of perception (ὄρων). Sm. §2110–12.

τὸ μὲν... τὸ δὲ. When used with μὲν and δὲ without a following noun, the article behaves like a demonstrative. Sm. §1106–7. The combination ὅ μὲν... ὅ δὲ means “the one... the other,” and οἱ μὲν... οἱ δὲ means “some... and some...” Here, it takes up from τὸ ὄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν [the rest of Greece], to mean “part of the rest of Greece doing so straightaway, and part thinking about it.” We probably should imagine that after διανοούμενον could be supplied ζυνίστασθαι, “considering to join the league.”

1. ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν. “so to speak.” “Certain idiomatic infinitives are used absolutely in parenthetical phrases to limit the application of a single expression or of the entire sentence” (Sm. §2012, the absolute infinitive). E.g., ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, “so to say”; ἐκὼν εἶναι, “willingly”; ὡς ἔμοι δοξεῖν, “as it seems to me.”

ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. Here, ἐπὶ with the accusative expresses quantity or measure (Sm. §1689.3c)—as in ἐπὶ μικρὸν, “a little,” and ἐπὶ πλέον, “still more”—hence, “of the majority of mankind.”

3. εἴπεῖν. Epexegetical (explanatory) infinitive—i.e., an accusative of respect that happens to be an infinitive. An accusative of respect (Sm. §1600—1601) is an accusative in the vicinity of an adjective expressing in what respect that adjective is true, as in δειν ἀκριβῆν, “terrible with respect to battle.” Hence, here, “things impossible with respect to discovery.” Note that the infinitive limiting the meaning of an adjective—i.e., an epexegetical infinitive—is commonly active (or middle) where English often expects a passive (Sm. §2006). So one can here translate “impossible to discover” or “impossible to be discovered.”

ἐκ δὲ τεχνηρίων ὄν. In Greek, a relative pronoun whose antecedent is either genitive or dative can take its case from its antecedent rather than from its use in its own clause. Logically, one would expect this relative to be accusative plural ἀ, since it is the object of the participle σκοποῦντι and, at the same time, the object of πιστεύοντι, but it is attracted to the case of its antecedent, τεχνηρίων. Sm. §2522.

μοι πιστεύειν ζυμίκαινε. Literally, “to believe happens to me”—i.e., to retranslate, “I happen to believe.”
κατά... ἐς. Both mean “concerning.” LSJ s.v. κατά B.IV.2, s.v. ἐς A.IV.1. Thucydides avoids repeating the preposition κατά and characteristically avoids strict parallelism.

2.2. φαίνεται takes the participles καλομεμένη, οἰκομεμένη, οὗσιν, ἀπολείποντες, and μιαζόμενοι. Sm. §§2106, 2143.

νεμόμενοι. In the middle, νεμο means “possess, enjoy, or inhabit.” LSJ s.v. A.II. Crawley translates, “cultivate.”

ὁσον ἀποζήν. “as much as [necessary] to live off.”

ἀδηλον ὅν. Accusative absolute. “A participle stands in the accusative absolute, instead of the genitive, when it is impersonal, or has an infinitive as its subject. When impersonal, such participles have no apparent grammatical connection with the rest of the sentence” (Sm. §2076–78). Hence, “it being unclear when . . .”

όποτε. Indirect form of the interrogative adverb, used for indirect questions. The direct form would be πότε. See the chart in Sm. §346; cf. §2664.

τίς... ἄλλος. “somebody else.” Thucydides often separates words that ordinarily go together.

ἐφαινήσεται. This is the verb of the indirect question introduced by ὅποτε. In the middle, it means “take for oneself/themselves” and would ordinarily have an accusative of the thing and a genitive of the person, as in Thuc. III.58.5: τίς πατρίους τῶν ἐσομεμένων καὶ κτεινῶν ἐφαινήσετε [you will take the ancestral practices away from those who established and founded them]. There is no accusative object of ἐφαινήσεται because it can be inferred from what precedes—sc., γῆν (brachylogy, Sm. §3018k). After primary tenses, the mood of the original direct question is retained, but after secondary tenses, the mood may change to optative. Sm. §2677. Here, after the secondary leading verb ἀπανιστάτο, Thucydides chooses to retain the indicative. ἀπειρήτων ἅμα ὄντων can be taken either as a genitive absolute or as the genitive after ἐφαινήσεται. Classen and Steup (ad loc.) prefer the latter.

Notice the connectives in the first independent clause of this sentence. The main verb is ἀπανιστάτο, and dependent on it are five nominative plural participles connected by various coordinate conjunctions, some positive and some negative.
Commentary

2.3. τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀφίστη. Normally, we would expect ἡ ἀφίστη γῆς, but this is a characteristic mode of expression for Thucydides.

2.4. δυναμέει τιοί. Thucydides, who does not want to talk about cities yet, for that is the point of the discussion, uses such indefinite expressions to mean either territories or persons or both. Hence, “some powers became greater than some [others]” or “some people became greater than other people.”

τε ... ἐνεποίουν ... καὶ ἐπιμουλεύοντο. The τε ... καὶ combination connects the two finite verbs.

ἐμποίειος. When used of circumstances and conditions, this verb means “cause, produce.” LSJ s.v. II.3.

ἐπιμουλεύον means “plot against someone (dat.),” and the middle transformation makes the dative the subject, so ἐπιμουλεύομαι means “I get plotted against.”

2.5. γοῦν. Combination of γε and οὖν, usually translated, “at any rate.” “γοῦν commonly confirms a previous general assertion by giving a special instance of its truth” (Sm. §2830).

ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον. An adverb or a prepositional phrase can be made to serve as a noun by placing it in attributive position after an article. E.g., οἱ νῦν, “the now (men)” (i.e., contemporaries); οἱ ἐν τέλει, “those in office.” ἐπὶ πλείστον means “over the greatest distance” or “over the longest
period of time.” LSJ s.v. πλείστος IV.3. ἐκ πλείστου means “from the longest time ago.” LSJ s.v. ἐκ III.1. This expression seems to be a conflation of the two. Some editors have believed there is a textual problem here and want to read something like ἐκ παλαιότατον.

2.6. διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθήναι. ἐς τὰ ἄλλα means “in other parts of Greece.” αὐξηθήναι is the infinitive of indirect discourse after λόγου—hence, “of the theory that there was not the same increase in other parts of Greece due to immigration [as there was in Attica]” μετοικία means “settlement in Attica” by this interpretation. This reading argues that Attica increased its population by immigration, i.e., by the acquisition of metics. Other editors read μετοικήσεις, “migrations from the original land,” instead, arguing that because populations were shifting constantly, other cities in Greece could not grow, whereas Athens, being secure, did not lose population. Gomme translates, “Here is a very good example to prove my point that, owing to the continual shifting of population, the rest of Greece did not advance (in security) as much as Attica.” ὡς βέβαιον ὅν. Accusative absolute introduced with ὡς. Sm. §§2076–78. Usually, only participles of personal verbs in the accusative absolute have ὡς. Here, ὡς with the absolute construction marks the ground of belief on which the agent acts. Sm. §2086d. Hence, “[on the grounds that] it was secure.”

μείζον. Predicate accusative. “Verbs meaning to appoint, call, choose, consider, make, name, show, and the like may take a second accusative as predicate to the direct object” (Sm. §1613).

ἂστε introduces an expression of result. The two result constructions are ἂστε plus the infinitive and ἂστε plus the indicative. Sm. §§2249–78. ἂστε plus the infinitive is general, marking a possible result, but not an actual one (“so that as a general rule, most of the time, . . .”), as in “he behaved in such a manner as to please his friends.” ἂστε plus the indicative is specific, marking a result that actually happened, as in “so as a matter of fact, he actually . . .”

3.1. τότε. “the following, namely, . . .” τότε, the subject of δηλοῖ, stands as a pronoun representing the next sentence.
3.2. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι takes the following infinitives εἶναί, παρέχεισθαι, καλεῖσθαι, and ἐκνικήσαί. The clause οὐδὲ τὸίνομα . . . εἶχεν is parenthetical. καὶ πάνυ, “actually.” LSJ s.v. πάνυ 2.

ἀλλὰ τὲ καὶ. “especially.” ἀλλὰ is neuter plural to agree with ἐθνὴ. Greek does this in a reverse fashion from English, which would have “Pelasgians and others” where Greek would have “others and Pelasgians.” The combination here is kindred to the adverbial expression ἀλλὸς τὲ καὶ, “especially.” Sm. §2980.

καθ᾿ εἴκαστοις. “one by one.” LSJ s.v. κατὰ B.II.3.

3.3. οὔ μην οὐδέ. “nor again [and to add to this negative example] . . .” Sm. §§2921, 2768. The following μηδὲ negates the infinitive ἀποσκεφάλισθαι, as is regular.

ἀντίπαλος was originally used to indicate an opponent in wrestling, then to designate one member of a balanced pair, and then, as here, to mean “corresponding.” Here, it is a neuter adjective modifying ὅνομα. “The word order, unusual for Attic prose, seems to be caused by the intention to emphasize ἀντίπαλον” (Classen and Steup, ad loc.).

δ’ οὖν. “Thucydides frequently uses this combination of particles when he returns to the main subject of his discourse, after a digression or some subordinate discussion” (Classen and Steup, ad loc.).

3.4. ὡς ἐκαστοι. “each by themselves.”

τε . . . καὶ connects the prepositional phrase κατὰ πόλεις [city by city] and the adjective ἐμπεπτεῖς, with Thucydides’ characteristic avoidance of strict grammatical parallelism. Both serve to explain ὡς ἐκαστοι [severally]. Hence, “The Greeks, both severally city by city . . . and later as a whole . . .”

ὅσιν ἀλλήλοιν ἐξυνίσεαν. ἔννυ-ε-σαν. The present stem of ἔμμι has two forms, the long-vowel form ἔη- and the short-vowel form ἔε-. The long-vowel form is used only in the present active singular; the short-vowel is used in all other forms based on the present stem. This is the imperfect third plural active. The verb in this meaning (i.e., “understand”) takes the
genitive. LSJ s.v. II.3; Sm. §1361. The point is that they had a common language.

πλεκτό. Neuter plural accusative of the comparative used as an adverb. Sm. §345.

ξυνεξήλθον ought to be intransitive, but it seems to have στρατείαν as its object. LSJ (s.v. συνέχομαι II.4) explains στρατείαν as a cognate accusative—hence, “united for this expedition.” Notice that the MSS read ξυνήλθον, and ξυνεξήλθον is a conjecture by Carolus Gabriel Cobet (1813–89), a Dutch scholar.

4.1. ὅν. This relative incorporates its antecedent (Sm. §2536); i.e., there is no antecedent present in the main clause, but if it were there explicitly, it would have been genitive plural, a partitive genitive after the superlative adjective. Sm. §1315. So the genitive plural seems to serve as the object of the verb ἵσμεν. If this construction were artificially spread out, it would be παλαιότατος τούτων οἷς ἤσθη ἵσμεν.

τοῦ . . . ἵναι. Articular infinitive in the genitive, signifying purpose. Sm. §2032a.

5.1 βαρβάρων. Partitive genitive with the two relative clauses. Hence, “and of the barbarians, those who . . .”

ἐτράποντο. The active τρέπω is the transitive, meaning “to turn something,” but the middle τρέπομαι is intransitive, meaning “to turn around.”

οφετέρου αὐτῶν. Constructio ad sensum. οφετέρου, though a possessive adjective agreeing with the singular genitive καρποῦ, in meaning has a plural referent—hence, “belonging to them.” The intensive adjective αὐτῶν agrees with it in the genitive, by strict grammar, but is plural because of the meaning, even though, by strict logic, it ought to be singular since it modifies adjectively a singular form. Sm. §§926a, 1202.2b, 1203b.

ἐνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενείᾳ τροφῆς. “for the sake of food for the weak [among their dependents].” Smyth does not discuss the true dative with substantives, here τροφῆς, but see Schwyzer-Debrunner, 153.

τι καὶ ὀδέξης. “even carrying some glory [literally, “something of glory”] rather.” Cf., e.g., τι δυνάμεως at Thuc. II.49.6 and ἐλπίδος τι at II.51.6.
5.2. δηλοῦσι . . . ὀνειδιζόντων. A tricky sentence, but characteristic of many of Thucydides’ syntactic habits.

1. δηλοῦσι has no object, when we would normally expect one. Its “object” is the fact in the previous sentence, sc., that piracy brings no shame.

2. The subjects of δηλοῦσι are τινὲς and παλαιοὶ, which are connected by the τε before ἵππουτον and the καί that precedes παλαιοὶ. They make clear the fact (that piracy brings no shame).

3. τινὲς is modified by (a) a partitive genitive, τῶν ἵππουτον, and (b) the relative clause οἱ κόσμος τούτο δέχαται (ἐστι).

4. οἱ παλαιοὶ is modified by (a) a partitive genitive, τῶν ποιμένων, and (b) the present participle ἐρωτόμενες.

5. ἐρωτόμενες takes the accusative of what one asks (τὰς πύστεις) and the genitive of the person asked (τῶν καταπλεύσκων), and ἐρωτόμενες τὰς πύστεις is followed by the indirect question εἴ ἦσθι εἰσῃν, which defines what the inquiries were. The indirect form of a yes-no question is introduced by εἰ, “whether”—not to be confused with conditional εἰ, “if” (Sm. §2671)—and, after a leading verb in a primary tense, keeps the same mood as the direct question would have had. After a secondary tense, it may change to optative. Sm. §2677.

6. The rest of the sentence consists of two genitive absolutes marked by the two parallel participles ἀπαρχαίοντων and ὀνειδιζόντων, which are connected by οὔτε and the τε that follows οἷς.

7. These genitive absolutes are introduced by οἷς, which signifies that the substance of the absolutes is the opinion of the poets who question whether they are pirates. Sm. §2086d. In such circumstances, οἷς may be given the preliminary translation “on the grounds that.”

8. The genitive noun “subjects” of these genitive absolutes are in fact not genitive nouns but whole relative clauses, sc., ὁν πυνθάνονται [those whom they ask not disclaiming the fact] and οἷς ἐπιμελέσθη [those, to whom it was a concern to know, not reproaching].

9. ὁν πυνθάνονται has an incorporated antecedent (Sm. §2536). πυνθάνομαι takes the accusative of what is learned and the genitive of the person from whom it is learned. Here, the relative
is the genitive of the person from whom it is learned. Hence, “those from whom they learn not disclaiming the fact.”

10. οίς, with an incorporated antecedent, is dative with ἐπιμελές.

Why is εἴη optative? The rest of the sentence appears to be in primary sequence, but the past time implied in παλαιοὶ seems to have taken over this clause, which is optative because it is a relative clause in indirect discourse after ἐρωτώντες. Sm. §2619.

Hence, “and those, to whom it was a concern to know, not reproaching.”

A recapitulation of the sentence follows.

And some of the mainlanders make [this] clear even now, for whom it is a source of pride to do this [piracy] well, as do the old ones of the poets (make it clear) by asking for information [τὰς πύστας]—whether they are pirates the same way everywhere—from those who put into shore, since those from whom they inquire do not deny the business as unworthy, and those, to whom it is a concern to know, do not reproach [them].

5.3. νεμεῖται. νέμω means in the active “distribute” and in the middle “possess as one’s portion,” i.e., “have distributed to one.” It came to mean “live, dwell in a place.” Then, the middle in an absolute construction, with a country or land as subject, came to mean “be constituted, be maintained.” Hence, “many parts of Hellas live according to the old way.”

6.2. σημεῖον κτλ. “These parts of Hellas still living thus are a sign of the once similar ways of life in all parts.”

6.3. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι. “ἐν τοῖς is used before the superlative in all genders and numbers (esp. in Hdt., Thuc., Plato)” (Sm. §1089); i.e., the fixed phrase ἐν τοῖς simply intensifies the superlative. Hence, “the very first . . .” Notice that the words ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι count almost as one word, since the postpositive δὲ, which should be second in any clause, here comes after the πρῶτοι.

ἀνείμην. Perfect middle participle of ἀνίμη, “let go,” here meaning “relaxed.”

μετέστρησαν. Third plural intransitive root aorist of μεθίστημι, here meaning “changed, shifted.” It is inconvenient that the third plural transitive sigmatic aorist accidentally has the same form.
οἱ πρεσβύτεροι is the subject of ἔπαύσαντο, but the flow of the sentence (from the standpoint of the English speaker) is interrupted by οὐ πολίς χρόνος ἐπείδη. We would feel more comfortable if the order were οὐ πολίς χρόνος ἐπείδη οἱ πρεσβύτεροι . . . ἔπαύσαντο.

αὐτοῖς. This dative is hard to categorize. We would expect a genitive (i.e., “the older of them”). This dative seems to be Thucydides’ stylistic device to avoid two contiguous genitives. In poetry, a plural personal dative can stand alone to mean “among.” E.g., Ἱππόσων [among the Trojans] ( Homer. II. 6.477) Sm. §1531.

ᾔπενάντο. This intransitive middle, meaning “cease [doing something]” takes the supplementary participle φοροῦντες. Sm. §2098.

ἀφ’ οὐ. “because of which, from which cause.” Note that ἀφ’ οὐ more commonly stands for ἀφ’ οὐ χρόνου and means “since, after.”

ἀφ’ οὐ . . . κατέστησαν. “for which reason this fashion prevailed among [LS] s.v. κατέστησα II.6b] the older Ionians for a long time in accordance with their kinship [with the Athenians].”

6.4. ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον is parallel with μετρίᾳ, so that it virtually serves as another modifier of ἔφθη.

ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πόλλους. “in other matters with respect to the many [or toward the many].”

κατέστησαν. This third plural of the intransitive root aorist κατέστησαν is inconveniently identical to the third plural of the transitive sigmatic aorist κατέστησα. The transitive aorist means “appoint, ordain, establish.” The intransitive aorist means “be or come to be in a certain state.”

6.5. λίπα. “with olive oil.” This adverb is used by Homer in the phrase ἀλέησατο ἀλί πολυάρῳ [anoint oneself richly with oil] (e.g., II. 10.577). It is an adverb in ὀ (like σάφα), related to the neuter s-stem noun λίπος, “fat, grease.”

ἐστιν οἷς νῦν. Sm. §§2513–14. From the original nominative phrases ἐστιν ὅσις, “there is someone who . . . ,” and τιοίν οἱ, “there are those who . . . ,” there developed “oblique cases”—ἐστιν ὅν, ἐστιν οἷς, ἐστιν οἷς—which function as fixed phrases, as though they were simple genitive, dative, and accusative adjectives meaning “some.” Hence, “among some barbarians now” or “among some contemporary barbarians.”
πολλά . . . καὶ ἄλλα. Internal accusatives after διευθύνων, modified by ὀμοίωτροπα. Sm. §§1554a, 1573. This gives the translation “one would demonstrate that ancient Greece adopted many other customs similar to the barbarians.” But ὀμοίωτροπα is sometimes interpreted as a neuter plural used as an adverb (LSJ s.v.), giving “one would demonstrate in many other ways that ancient Greece lives similarly to the present barbarian.”

7.1. νεώτατα. The superlative degree of the adverb is represented by the neuter plural accusative of the superlative adjective. Sm. §345.

πλωμιστέρεον ὄντων. Genitive absolute. πλωμιστέρεον is the genitive of the neuter plural πλωμιστήρα, used as an impersonal expression, as Thucydides does frequently. Cf. Thuc. I.8.2, where πλωμιστήρα ἐγένετο means “things became more seafaring” or, more elegantly, “sea communications improved” (Warner). Thus, the genitive absolute means “when once sea communications were better.”

ἥδη corresponds to Latin iam and has three possible meanings: (1) “already, by this time”; (2) in contrast to something in the future, “immediately forthwith”; (3) after something has occurred first, “henceforth.” Like iam, it can refer to the past, the future, or the immediate present. Here, “seafaring being easier by this time.”

πρὸς τοὺς προσοχόους. “against the neighbors.” Sm. §1695.3c.

ἔκαστοι. Masculine plural. Without warning, Thucydides has switched from the cities (feminine) to the inhabitants of the cities with the masculine ἔκαστοι.

ἀντισακοῦσαν. Intransitive feminine singular active present participle, meaning “rising up, emerging.”

ἔφερον. Here, this verb has the special meaning “rob, plunder.” LSJ s.v. φέρω A.VI.2.

τῶν ἄλλων. Partitive genitive with the ὅσοι clause.

κάτω. In the context of dry land, ἄνω means “inland, away from the shore,” and κάτω means “toward the shore.” But in the context of the sea, ἄνω means “seaward,” and κάτω means “toward land.” Hence, ἄνωκατομένου (perfect middle participle) means “built inland.” Some editors (e.g., Classen) would read a feminine participle to agree with αἵ δὲ
παλαιαί (πόλεις). If we keep the masculine, it agrees with ὁς and means “migrate upcountry, shift one’s dwelling inland.”

8.1. Δίλου. The island name Δίλος is feminine. Sm. §232a.

8.2. Μίνω. Genitive singular of a noun stem originally in -ον - (like ἴμως). Sm. §267, 267a. In Attic, the genitive is shifted to the o-stem second declension. Hence, *Μίν-ον-ον > Μίνω.

ἀνέστησαν. Intransitive root aorist third plural of ἀνίστημι. The transitive ἀνίστημι means “make people emigrate.” LSJ s.v. III.A. Thus, the intransitive aorist means “be forced to emigrate.” LSJ s.v. B.II.2.

ὁτεπερ. “when in fact.” The intensifying suffix -περ, “indeed,” is there to make clear that Thucydides is referring back to an earlier point (I.4.1)—that Minos was the πρῶτος οἰκιστής.

8.3. Ἴδη. “by now.”

ὡς πλουσιότεροι ἑαυτῶν γεγονόμενοι. “as is natural with those who become richer than themselves,” i.e., richer than they were before.

ἐφίμενοι. Present active middle participle of ἐφίμημι, which, in the middle, means “desire” and takes a genitive. LSJ s.v. B.II.2.

9.2. The indirect discourse introduced by λέγοντα consists of five infinitive phrases.

Πέλοπα . . . τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἑχεῖν
ξυνενεχθῆναι (impersonal)
τυγχάνειν (parenthetical)
παραλαβεῖν
καταστήσασθαι

Πέλοπα . . . τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν . . . ἑχεῖν. “[they say] that Pelops had the naming of the country”; i.e., the country was said to be named after him.

δύναμιν περιπουρισμένον. “having acquired power for himself.” LSJ s.v. περιπουρίσω II.1.

ὁμως goes with the participle ὄντα. Sm. §2082. Hence, “even though still being.”


εὐνεχθῆναι. Aorist passive infinitive of ἕμφερω, used impersonally with the meaning “to fall out well, come to pass” (for someone [dat.]) LS s.v. συμφέρω B.III. The accusative neuter subject of this infinitive is μαίω. The dative of advantage is ἐγχώνοις.

ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείδων. We would expect an article (ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλείδων), but Thucydides often makes this omission. Cf. ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν at Thuc. I.12.3. Sm. §1136.

ἐγχώνοις, the dative after the impersonal εὐνεχθῆναι, is by anacoluthon picked up by the two genitives Εὐρυσθέως and Ἀτρέως, who are the two ἐγχώνοι in question, paired by μὲν... δὲ in the two genitive absolutes. καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος begins a third, nonparallel genitive absolute.

μητρός ἀδέλφου αὐτῷ δύνος. “being mother’s brother to him.” Atreus’s sister Nikippe was the mother of Eurystheus.

κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον. “in accordance with his relationship.” Thucydides often prefers a neuter singular adjective used substantively (Sm. §§1021–29) to an abstract noun like οἰκείωτη. Ἀτρέα is the dative indirect object after ἐπιτρέψαντος.

τυγχάνειν... θάνατον. Although this is printed as a parenthesis, it is still governed by λέγονι.

Χρυσίππου. Chrysippus was the son of Pelops and Astyche (a Danaid) and half brother of Atreus and Thyestes. Their mother, Hippodameia, urged them to kill her stepson Chrysippus, but they refused, so she did it herself.

βουλήμενων... Ἡρακλείδων is a genitive absolute. Hence, “the Mycenaean being willing out of their fear of the Heraclidae.”

Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν is introduced by λέγοντι (I.9.2), and the accusative subject Ἀτρέα is then modified by two participial phrases: (1) δύνατον δοκοῦντα εἶναι and (2) τὸ πλήθος τεθεραπευκτά. The neuter singular object of the participle, τὸ πλήθος, is then modified by two defining genitives (Sm. §1310), one a plain genitive (τῶν Μυκηνῶν) and the other a parallel relative clause (ὅσον Ἐὔφιθεῖς). The relative adjective ὅσος, which is the relative used to emphasize number, is attracted to the case of its antecedent (Sm. §2532)—which would be something like ἐξείνων if it were there, but it has been incorporated (Sm. §§2536, 2538). It is also genitive because it is the object of ἄγγελον, which takes the genitive.
τούς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήγατα. This infinitive phrase is an indirect statement after λέγουσι (I.9.2).

A recapitulation in clumsy, but syntactically transparent, English follows.

Those of the Peloponnesians who have received the clearest evidence by tradition from their ancestors say that Pelops was the first, by reason of accumulation of wealth, which he brought with him from Asia into a land of poor men, once he had achieved power for himself, [and that he] had the naming of the country, although still an immigrant; and [they say] that matters fell out later even better [greater] for his descendants, Eurystheus, on the one hand, having died in Attica at the hands of the Heracleidae, and Atreus, on the other hand, being brother to Eurystheus’s mother; and Eurystheus, when he used to go on military expeditions, having entrusted Mycenae and the rule [of it] to Atreus because of his family connection—[they say] Atreus fled from his father over the murder of Chrysippus—and when Eurystheus did not return again, with the acquiescence of the Myceneans out of their fear of the Heracleidae, [they say] Atreus, both seeming to be powerful and also having flattered the common people of the Myceneans and those whom Eurystheus used to rule, assumed the kingship; and [they say] that the Pelopidae ended up being greater than the Persidae.

9.3. τὸ πλέον. Thucydides sometimes uses τὸ πλέον instead of μᾶλλον. Sm. §1068.

9.4. προσπαρασχόν. “furnishing in addition.”

ἐἰ τῷ ἰκανῷ τεσσαράκοντα. Sm. §2354. ἐϊ does not really introduce a condition here but means “in case, on the chance that, supposing.” Hence, “supposing he is sufficient to provide evidence to anybody.”

ἐν τῷ σωφροσύνῳ ἄμα τῇ παραδόσει. I.e., Hom. Il. 2.101–8. ἄμα [besides] interrupts the phrase and connects it with the preceding argument. One could translate it “furthermore.”

οὖν ἄν κτλ. Present contrary-to-fact condition with ἐϊ μή plus the imperfect (ἐξήγη) in the protasis and the imperfect (ἐξηγήτει) plus ἄν in the apodosis. Sm. §2302 ff. Here, we would expect a past contrary-to-fact condition (with aorist indicative in both clauses). However, the imperfect
can sometimes refer to continual or habitual past action (Sm. §§2304, 2309b), and it then emphasizes the action’s continuity. Since Agamemnon was continuing to rule, the imperfect, rather than the aorist, is used here. Classen and Steup (ad loc.) explain this use of the imperfect differently, arguing that the statement is expressed from the standpoint of Homer, who was narrating it as present.

εἰκασθεὶς δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτη τῇ στρατείᾳ οἶκα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς. “one can conjecture from this expedition what kind they were before this.” Although χρή usually means “it is necessary,” it is sometimes used in a “less strong sense” amounting to “one can” (LS] s.v. III). cf. Thuc.11.51.2.

10.1. ὅτι μὲν Μυκήνας μιθρὸν ἦν, ἣ εἰ καί. The ὅτι (“because”) clause and the εἰ clause are parallel, both giving reasons for doubt. εἰ can be translated “given the fact that . . .” The εἰ clause is causal, expressing Thucydides’ real opinion, sc., the real reason one may doubt. Sm. §2246; Kühner-Gerth 2:487, §577.1.

ἀπιστοῦχα μὴ γενέσθαι. “Verbs and expressions of negative meaning, such as deny, refuse, hinder, forbid, avoid, [doubt], often take the infinitive with a redundant μὴ to confirm the negative idea of the leading verb” (Sm. §§2739–40).

οὐχ negates only the ἄκριβεῖ.

10.2. οἷμα governs a potential condition in indirect discourse, with a double protasis. The direct form of the condition would be εἰ ἔρημο-θέτη... ἥλπηθε δὲ... ἀπιστία εἰη ἄν (the so-called future less vivid). When it is downgraded to an infinitive phrase of indirect discourse after the leading verb οἷμα, the ἀπιστία εἰη ἄν becomes ἀπιστίαν εἰη ἄν, and the protases remain the same.

τοῖς ἐπεται. Adverb in attributive position after the article, which makes it into a noun, meaning “to those people then,” i.e., “to future generations.” Sm. §1153e.

Ἀθηναῖον δὲ... ἄν... εἰκάζοθαι. Second potential condition dependent on οἷμα. Here, the protasis is represented by the genitive absolute, the apodosis by the infinitive plus ἄν.
10.3. εἰκός. This picks up the idea of the beginning of the chapter—that is what the resumptive οὖν of οὖν is for (Sm. §2053)—sc., that there would likely be doubt. Here, Thucydides argues that there should be no doubt. οὖν εἰκός here means “it is not reasonable, not fair” (LSJ s.v. II) and takes three infinitives, sc., ἀπιστεῖν, σκοτεῖν, and νομίζειν. The negatives οὖν and οὖδε do not negate the infinitives, for that would require μή (Sm. §2726), but they negate εἰκός, then the νομίζειν δὲ shifts gears into a positive εἰκός. Hence, “therefore it is not reasonable to disbelieve . . . or to consider . . ., but it is reasonable to think that . . .”

λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν. “but falling short of those now.” LSJ s.v. λείπω B.II.3.

ἡν εἰκός κτλ. Here, εἰκός means “it is probable.” Hence, “which [sc., the army] it is probable that Homer, being a poet, enhanced toward the greater [i.e., exaggerated].”

ἐνδεεστέρα. Understand τῶν νῦν.

10.4. τὰς μὲν . . . τὰς δὲ. The article plus μὲν . . . δὲ means “the one . . . the other,” “some . . . some,” or “the ones . . . the others.” Here, the article serves as a pronoun. Sm. §1107. The partitive genitive χιλίων καὶ διαχώριων defines the group selected by the τὰς μὲν . . . τὰς δὲ. Hence, “[Homer] makes some of the twelve hundred ships (those of the Boeotians) 120 men and others (those of Philoctetes) 50.”

αʹπερέται indicates men who are both rowers and fighters at the same time. We get this definition from the lexicographer Pollux (1.95). Cf. Thuc. III.18.4, VI.91.4.

περίνεως. Accusative plural of an ο-stem noun of the Attic declension. Sm. §§237–39. Nouns of the Attic declension originally had a long vowel before the stem-formative -ο-, e.g., *περίνη-ο-ς, which then underwent metathesis of quantity (Sm. §34) to become περίνεως. Note that the accent remains on the antepenult, as in the ancestral form. The accusative results from the development *περίνη-ο-νς > *περίνη-ο-νς > περίνεως. The word means “a supernumerary or passenger.”

οἱ ἐν τελεῖ. Technical term meaning “those in office.” LSJ s.v. τέλος I.3.

ἄλλος τε καί. “especially, particularly.” Sm. §2980.
10.5. τὸ μέσον σωστῶντι. “to someone taking the average.” The dative goes with φάνεται.

ὁς. Here, “seeing that, given that” with the participle. Smyth does not seem to treat this use of ὁς. Cf. Thuc. II.65.11.

11.1. ἀποσχ. Dative of cause or motive. Sm. §1517.

ὁςον refers to the army and is the object of βιοτεύσειν. πολεμοῦντα also modifies the army (not the leaders, in the plural) and means "while it is fighting."

ἡ. Feminine dative relative pronoun used as a relative adverb meaning “for which reason, wherefore.” It refers to the fact that the Greeks did not employ their whole force in battle. LSJ s.v. ἡ II.2. This usage derives from the locative meanings of the dative. The combination ἡ καὶ is used especially with a comparative (μᾶλλον) to mark the beginning of a clause emphasizing the consequences of what has just been said. Cf., e.g., Thuc. I.25.4, II.2.3, III.13.2, IV.1.3.

τοῖς αἰεὶ ὑπελειπμένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες. “being a match for [the Greeks] who were left behind at any given time.” αἰεὶ modifies ὑπελειπμένοις, a present participle with imperfect force indicating repeated or customary action. Sm. §§1872a, 1893.

11.2. εἶλον appears to lack an object (although it can easily be supplied), but the expectation of an object is maintained until it finally appears (τὴν Τροίαν) with the repetition of εἶλον at the end of the sentence.

διέφερον. Why is this not aorist in a past contrary-to-fact protasis parallel to ἔθεον? Because the imperfect in a contrary-to-fact protasis is contrary not only to a present reality but also to a continuous (ζωνέχως) reality in the past. Sm. §§2304, 2309b.

ἀντέχω. “hold out.” In the active, this verb is generally intransitive, either absolute (i.e., without any complement) or with a dative of the party against which one holds out.

αὐτὰ γε δὴ ταῦτα. The combination γε δὴ means “a fortiori, particularly.” Denniston Gr. Part. 2, 246 (5). Hence, “since all expeditions are weakened by lack of money, this very one especially [a fortiori] was so weakened.”
διά τοῖς ποιητάς, “through the influence of the poets” (Warner); “under the tuition of the poets” (Crawley). Sm. §1685.2d. The preposition διά with the genitive expresses direct agency (“by”) and with the accusative expresses indirect agency (fault, merit), i.e., “thanks to, by the aid of.” LSJ s.v. B.III.1.

κατεσκήνωτος. Genitive singular masculine perfect active participle of κατέχω. LSJ s.v. B.III. Here, it is intransitive, meaning “prevailing.”

12.1. ἔπει καί. Thucydides often uses this combination to introduce remarks that add to what has been said before and that can therefore seem obvious or natural. The punctuation in the Oxford text takes this clause as dependent on the preceding independent δηλοῦται clause. Other editors (e.g., Classen and Steup) take the ἔπει καί as introducing an independent clause. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 2.461, §569a. Anmerkung 1: “The Greeks very frequently use ἔπει where the causal clause does not form a subordinate part of the main clause, but rather ἔπει has the force of γάρ in a main clause.”

12.2. χρονιὰ. Feminine adjective modifying ἄναχώρητος, meaning “tardy, late, after a long time.”

ἔστε μὴ ἤπαχωσαν αὔξηθηναι. The negative μὴ applies to both the participle and the infinitive, doing double duty to negate each.

ἐνεκχώσατο. “made political innovations.” This denominative omicron-contract verb based on the adjective νεωτός, “new,” usually occurs with a neuter plural noun or an adjective complement (πολλά). Chantraine (Formation des noms, §114) explains the adjective as νεό plus the “popular” expressive suffix “χ” plus the adjectival stem-formative “τό”.

ὁς ἐπὶ πολύ. “for the most part.” Cf. Thuc. II.13, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.

ἀφ᾿ ῾ων ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλις ἐκπέειν. “the exiles [those falling out] from which [sc., the cities] founded [new] cities.” ἐκπέειν is the vox propria for “be banished.” LSJ s.v. 3.

12.3. ἀποδασμός . . . ἄφ᾿ ὕν . . . “there was a portion [of the Boeotians] earlier in this land [Boeotia], part of whom also went on the expedition to Troy.” ἄφ᾿ ὕν refers to the collective ἀποδασμός, so the relative pronoun is plural. For ἄφ᾿ meaning “part of,” see Sm. §1684. N and LSJ s.v. I.6.

13.1. τὰ πολλά. Adverbial, meaning “generally.”

ἐπὶ ὑπὸς γέρας πατρικὶ βασιλεία. ἐπὶ with the dative expressing a condition, i.e., “on the basis of . . .” Sm. §1689.2c; LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ III.1, and s.v. ὑπὸς. Hence, “hereditary kingdoms with stated prerogatives.”

ἐξηρτύνετο. ἐξαρτύνω means in the active “fit out” and in the transitive middle “fit out for oneself.”

ἀντέχοντο. In the active, the verb ἀντέχω is generally intransitive and means “hold out.” In the middle, it takes the genitive and means “hold onto, cling to.”

13.4. ὁν ἵσμεν. Cf. 4.1.

13.5. καὶ δὴ ποτὲ. “already from the earliest times, from of old.”

τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . . ἐπισφαλόντων is the kernel of the genitive absolute, then τῶν Ἑλλήνων is modified with the appositives τῶν τε ἐντὸς . . . καὶ τῶν ἐξω. διὰ τῆς ἐξάνων [γῆς] is usually interpreted to mean “through their territory,” i.e., through Corinthian territory. For the omission of γῆς, cf. Sm. §§1027b, 1302.

τοῖς πολισῶϊς ποιητέος. Dative of agent with the perfect middle used in a passive sense (δεδημωταί). Sm. §1488–90. The dative of agent (instead of ὑπὸ plus the genitive) is used with the perfect and pluperfect middle, with the verbal in τέσος, and with verbal adjectives in τῶς.

κτισάμενοι refers to the Greeks, and παρέχοντες refers to the Corinthians. For this reason, some editors regard the κτισάμενοι phrase as a gloss, i.e., a marginal note that has worked its way into the text.

ἐμφότεροι. Neuter plural (as the accent shows—the feminine would be ἐμφότερα with a long ultima) referring to ἐμφότεροι in a constructio ad sensum. Sm. §926a. Hence, “providing a market, both kinds—sc., (1) by land through their isthmus between the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece and (2) across their isthmus between the Corinthian Gulf and the Saronic Gulf. This is the natural interpretation, but Gomme (ad loc.) says that it means they had harbors on both gulfs. He notes, “Thucydides says nothing of Corinth being on an ‘isthmic’ route between the two seas—of
sea traffic passing through her harbors between east and west." So, by his interpretation, “both kinds” mean “by land and by sea.”


14.2. ὁσπερ ἐκεῖνα. I.e., navies before the Trojan War.

14.3. ἀφ’ οὗ. “since.” LSJ s.v. ἀπό II. Sm. §1684b.

διὰ πᾶσης [νεώς], “over the whole ship, completely.”

15.1. περιποιημένοι. “acquire, gain possession of” (plus the accusative).

ὅμως. “nevertheless, still”; i.e., “despite what I have said, navies still . . .”

προσοχόντες. Intransitive thematic aorist of προσέχω. This verb is usually transitive, meaning “turn something toward something else” (e.g., προσέχω τὴν ναυ [bring a ship to port] or προσέχω τὸν ναῦ [apply the mind]). But as an intransitive taking the dative, it means “devote oneself to, cultivate.” LSJ s.v. 4b.

ἀτοῖς. Sc., τοῖς ναυτικῶις.

ὅσιν μή. A relative clause in the indicative may be definite or indefinite. Sm. §§2505, 2509. If it is definite, it refers to some particular person, event, matter, etc. that is explicit. When it is indefinite, it refers to the sort of person, event, matter in general. Here, the relative clause is indefinite—referring to any and all who conquered islands, i.e., to the unexpressed subject of κατεστράφοντο—and therefore takes the negative μή. Sm. §2506. If it had been definite, it would have taken the negative οὗ.

διαρκῆ. Accusative singular feminine of a two-ending s-stem adjective like ἀληθῆς. Sm. §292.

15.2. ὅθεαν. Adverb in -θεαν that serves as a substitute for ἐξ οὗ, the genitive of the relative, with πόλεμος as its antecedent. Sm. §§342, 2499.

ἐπιστῆ. Root aorist active used in a passive sense when referring to battle, meaning “was joined.” LSJ s.v. ἐπιστῆμη II.1.

ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου [γῆς]. Sm. §§1027b, 1302.

ἐπὶ καταστροφῆ. “for the purpose of subjection.”
πολύ. “[not] much away from their own territory.”

στρατευμά. Imperfect of ἔξεσθαι, “go out,” which ought to be intransitive but here seems to take an accusative object. It is usually explained as a cognate accusative or an internal object. Sm. §§1563, 1567. Cf. ἔξεσθαι ἄλλας ὁδοὺς [They went forth on other journeys] (Xen. Hell. 1.2.17). Hence, here, “they did not go out on foreign expeditions.”

οὐ γὰρ ξυνεστήρεσαν πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας πόλεις ὑπέρ. “for they had not joined as subjects to the largest cities,” i.e., in such alliances as the Delian League was to be. Crawley translates, “There was no union of subject cities around a great state.”

ὡς ἔκαστοι. “each by themselves.”

15.3. μάλιστα. “at the most.” The only exception in this period was the Lelantine War between the Chalcidians and the Eretrians ca. 700 B.C. (date quite uncertain).

16.1. ἐπιγένετο δὲ ἄλλος τε ἄλλοθι κοιλίματα μὴ αἰσχρῆναι. ἐπιγένομαι means “happen in addition,” with the implication of the unexpected or troublesome. LSJ s.v. II.1. τε goes with the following καί, making ἄλλος and τε quasi-parallel, but formally connecting ἐπιγένετο and ἐπιστράτευσο... καί... δούλωσε. Hence, “it happened to others and to the Ionians.” Cf. 3.2. Yet ἵστα is formally dative after ἐπιστράτευσο... and, at the same time, serves as a dative of interest with the genitive absolute πρὸς ἴσταντν κτλ. The adverb ἄλλοθι literally means “in another place” but here means “for other reasons.” LSJ s.v. II. αἰσχρῆναι is an infinitive occurring with μὴ after an expression of hindering (κοιλίματα). Sm. §§2038, 2744. Hence, “To several there occurred hindrances to increase, for various reasons, and to the Ionians [particularly]...”

17.1. τὸ ἑπ’ ἐαυτῶν. “their own interests.” LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ A.I.2c.

αἰσχρεῖν. Articular infinitive with object, τὸν ἵσταν ὁμών.

δι’ ἀσφαλείας. διά with a noun in the genitive often serves as an adverb—hence, “safely.” LSJ s.v. διά A.Πει. δι’ ἀσφαλείας ὁσον ἑδύνατο then means “as safely as they were able.”

εἰ μὴ εἰ. Stuart Jones so reads. Many MSS (A, B, E, G, M) read only εἰ μὴ, and nowhere else in Thucydides do we find εἰ μὴ εἰ, though it does
occur, e.g., at Pl. Grg. 48ab. In any case, it means “except.” LSJ s.v. εἰ VII.2a.

ἐκάστοις. Dative of agent with the unrepeated ἐπράχθη. Sm. §§1488, 1490.

οὖτο. This wraps up the arguments (τεχμήμα) why there were no large combined expeditions in the past.

κατείχετο. “was prevented, was held back.” This verb takes the infinitive with μὴ after verbs of hindering. Sm. §2739.

18.1. The backbone of the sentence is ἐπειδὴ . . . τίφημοι . . . κατελύ-θησαν . . . μάχη . . . ἐγένετο.

ἐπὶ πλέοσον ὦν ἤκουν χρόνον στασάμαμα. “although, for the longest time of all the [states] that we know, [Lacedaemon] was afflicted with faction . . .” The “faction” came to an end with the establishment of the Spartan constitution by Lycurgus, who brought εἰνομία to Sparta, more than four hundred years before the end of the Peloponnesian War.

δοῦλωσάμενος. Future participle of purpose with verb of motion. Sm. §2065.

οἱ τε ἄποστάντες . . . καὶ οἱ ἐμπολεμόραντες refers to two categories of Greeks: (1) those who were Persian subjects and subsequently revolted and (2) those who were allied against the Persians.

18.3. διενεχθέντες. Aorist passive participle of διαφέρω, “be different,” here meaning “being at variance, quarreling.” LSJ s.v. διαφέρω IV.

εἰ τινὲς που διαστατέν. This is not the protasis of a potential condition but, rather, the so-called iterative optative (Sm. §2340a), which is a transform into secondary sequence of an eventual conditional protasis—ἐὰν plus the subjunctive. The combination εἰ . . . διαστατέν, . . . ἐχώφουν forms a past general condition. διεστην, the intransitive root aorist of διστησμ (LSJ s.v. II.2), here means “stand apart, be divided.” Does it mean that they were in dispute with one another (Warner) or that they held off at first from the alliance and remained neutral (Crawley)? ἤδη means “eventually, by this time.” LSJ s.v. So the sentence can mean “If any Greeks were ever at odds, by this time they were joining with one of the two sides” or “If ever any Greeks were holding off from the alliance, by this time they were joining one of the two sides.”
"consequently." While ὲστε usually introduces result clauses (with finite verb) or result phrases (with infinitive), it sometimes introduces an independent coordinate clause. Sm. §2255.

τὰ μὲν ἢ τὰ δὲ. Here, the neuter plural articles used as demonstratives are adverbial. Sm. §1111. Hence, "on the one hand . . . on the other . . ." τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι. "getting practice." LSJ s.v. μελέτη II.1b.

19.1. φόρουν. Genitive with ὑποτελεῖς, meaning "subject to tribute."

ὁποῖς πολτείουσαι θεματεύοντες, θεματεύω, basically meaning "serve, treat," here means "see to it that, take care that" (LSJ s.v. II.3) and is therefore a verb of effort that takes ὠποῖς plus the future. Sm. §§2209–11.

Ἄθρηματοι δὲ κτλ. The verb ἰγιόντο, used absolutely here, serves for both subjects—sc., the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians—and the participles specify the manner in which each led their respective leagues.

τὰξαντες φέρεται. τάσω basically means "place in order" but here means "assess (a tribute or tax)." LSJ s.v. III.3. φέρειν, the vox propria for taxes, means "to pay" and is here most likely after τάσω analogously with infinitives after verbs of will and desire. Sm. §§1991–94. Alternatively, it is an epexegetical infinitive, as in "money to pay."

ἐξαιρείτας is in predicative position, implying a temporal effect. Hence, "with the alliance when it was intact."

20.1. μὲν οὖν marks a transition in the argument from the narrative to the discussion about the reliability of tradition. “Often the μὲν clause sums up and rounds off the old topic, while the δὲ clause introduces the new one” (Denniston, Gr. Part.2, 472). But here, instead of the expected δὲ, the new topic is introduced by the χαλεπά ὄντα phrase and the γὰρ following.

πιστεύσα. Epexegetical infinitive, i.e., an infinitive used as an accusative of respect with the adjective χαλεπά. Hence, "difficult with respect to trusting."

ἐξηκ. Adverb in attributive position, here meaning "one by one."

20.2. γοῦν. "for example." “γοῦν commonly confirms a previous general assertion by giving a special instance of its truth” (Sm. §2830).
τι. Subject of μεµηνύθηκα.

ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων. Rare use of ἐκ with genitive to mark the agent, instead of the usual ὑπό. Sm. §1688c.

ός προσειδότος. “This particle [ός] sets forth the ground of belief on which the agent acts, and denotes the thought, assertion, real or presumed intention, in the mind of the subject of the principal verb or of some other person mentioned prominently in the sentence without implicating the speaker or writer” (Sm. §2086).

20.3. μία ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον. “each assent with one vote.” This is the true case, the erroneous belief being that they have two votes each. LSJ s.v. προστίθημι B.3.

ἀταλαίπτωρος. “not painstaking.” This feminine adjective modifies ξητησις. Compound adjectives have two endings. Sm. §288.

21.1. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ... ἀποχρόντως. The backbone of this sentence follows.

οὐκ ἀμαρτάναι ἢν
(1) τις νομίζων τοιαῦτα
 ὅ διήλθον
(2) καὶ οὔτε πιστεύων
 ὃς ὑμνήσας
 οὔτε ὃς ξυνείθησαν (αὐτὰ)
 ὅντα ἐνεξέλεγτα
 καὶ ἐκκεντικοῦτα
(3) ἡγημαίμενος δὲ (ὅ διήλθον) ἡμηρήσαται

tοιαῦτα is predicative after νομίζων—hence, “thinking what I say to be such.” It refers to what has gone before, sc., the result of patient research for the truth.

ἐπὶ τὸ προσεγγίστερον τῇ ἀκροασίᾳ ἢ ἀληθεότερον. When two adjectives are compared with one another (as in “more attractive to hear than true”), both are put into the comparative degree. Sm. §1080. ἐπὶ makes the expression adverbial, as in ἐπὶ πλέον, “mostly.” Kühner-Gerth 1:505, §438.III.3b. Hence, “in a manner more attractive to hear than true.”

ός παλαί ἢναι ἀποχρόντως. Absolute infinitive. Sm. §2012c.
A translation of this difficult sentence (the difficulty of which can be seen by comparing how widely the translators differ) follows.

From the stated evidences, nevertheless, someone would not go wrong by considering what I have recounted to be very much of that kind [i.e., reliable]; not, rather, believing as the poets have sung with decorated exaggeration concerning these matters or as the chroniclers, in a manner more attractive to hear than true, have composed things that are incapable of being disproved and things that have—many of them in time—won their way into the fabulous in a way that cannot be believed [ἐπίστατος]; but (one would not go wrong) considering [what I have recounted] to have been researched from the clearest evidences, given that the matters are sufficiently ancient.

21.2. καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κτλ. Concessive expression with the participle in the genitive absolute. Sm. §2083. Hence, “although.”

ός παλαιὰ εἶναι. Absolute infinitive. Sm. §2012. Hence, “considering their antiquity.”

παυσάμενων . . . θαυμαζόντων. θαυμαζόντων is not, as one might think, a supplementary participle with πᾶσα, but a third genitive absolute participle parallel to κρίνοντων and παυσάμενον. There is no connective to separate θαυμαζόντων, a case of asyndeton. How do we know this without an explicit signal? First, the logic of the argument makes it necessary, since the point is overestimating the importance of the past. Second, μάλλον functions as a contrasting element, which serves to indicate the parataxis. Hence, “while men always judge the current war in which they are fighting to be the greatest but have a great wonder for the past when they have stopped [fighting], this war will stand out . . .”

dηλϊςει . . . γεγενήμενος is a species of indirect discourse. Like verbs of perception (Sm. §2110ff.), verbs of knowing and showing take the accusative and an accusative participle. E.g., τούτῳ τοῖς τῷ γράμμα παυσάμενος δηλϊςει τὴν διαθήκην οὕσαν [This clause now shows completely that the will was forged] (Dem. 45.34). (Sm. §2106) But when the subject of the verb of showing is the same as the subject of the participle, it is not repeated, and the participle is in the nominative. Hence, “Yet this war [itself] will stand out to anyone drawing conclusions from the facts themselves as greater than those [that preceded it].”
22.1. ὡς δὲ ἐν ἔδοξον ... εἶπεῖν. ὡς goes with εἶπεῖν, which represents an independent potential optative (Sm. §§1845, 1848) downgraded to an infinitive phrase. Here, ἔδοξον is personal rather than impersonal. Sm. §1983. Hence, “as it [literally, “they”] seemed to me they would have said what is most appropriate under the current circumstances.”

ἐξημένῳ. “[me] maintaining” (plus the genitive γνώμης) LSJ s.v. ἔχω C.I.1.

ὁτι ἐγγύτατα. “as closely as possible.”

οὕτως εἰμήτα. This οὕτως in the main clause is the hook on which hangs the ὡς that introduces the subordinate clause at the beginning of the sentence.

22.2. ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος. “from any Tom, Dick, or Harry”—literally, “one who chanced to be by.”

οὐ πιστολομένος ... ἀλλὰ ... ἐπεξέλθων. ἐπεξέχωσα means “discuss, relate, or examine accurately and fully.” LSJ s.v. II.3. Here, it refers not to the narrative but to the investigation—hence, “examine.”

οἷς. The referent of this relative is πραπαθόντων, but it is not the antecedent. The relative clause is nominal, and the antecedent is omitted (Sm. §2509); i.e., the whole relative clause is the object of ἐπεξέλθων. τε ... καὶ marks the parallel constructions οἷς οὕτως παρήν and (ἀ) παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων (ἀπηγγέλθη). παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων is elliptical, but the ideas can be filled out by the parallelism with the discussion of τὰ λεχθέντα at the beginning of the paragraph.

A translation of the sentence follows.

I deemed it worthy to write neither the facts of actions in the war that I picked up from any old source nor even as it seemed to me, but by investigating both events at which I was present and events reported to me by others, with as much accuracy as possible.

22.3. ὡς ... ἔχω. ἔχω plus the genitive means “to be well off for something, to excel at something.” LSJ s.v. B.II.2b. Hence, here, “according as anyone excelled at goodwill for one of the two sides or memory.” This is a comparative adverbial clause with the optative in secondary sequence...
(after ἔλεγον) indicating undefined frequency, sometimes called the iterative optative. Kühner-Gerth 2:491, §580.1.2. Cf. ξυνετίθεσαν... ὡς ἐκαστόν τι ξυμβάλοντι [they arranged [the stones] according as each fit] (Thuc. IV.4.2). It is akin to general protases (present general and past general) and general relative clauses. In primary sequence, the clause would have had ὡς ἀν plus the subjunctive.

22.4. τὸ μὴ μηθόδες αὐτῶν. The negative μὴ is here generalizing meaning “whatever is not romantic” (Sm. §2735), and αὐτῶν is partitive, referring to Thucydides’ history. Hence, “whatever of these pages is not romantic.”

ὅσοι δὲ... ἔξεi. The backbone of this sentence follows.

ἔξεi [it will be possible]
(τούτους) χρίνειν αὐτὰ ὅφελμα
ὅσοι βουλήσανται σωπεῖν
τὸ σαφὲς
τῶν τε γενομένων
καὶ τῶν μελλόντων

The ὅσοι βουλήσανται clause serves as the accusative subject of the complementary infinitive χρίνειν, which takes a double accusative. Sm. §1613.

αὐτὰ refers to the history, as it does earlier in the sentence.

τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὐθικα τὰτο γνθωτιπον τιοιτων καὶ παραπλαρίων ἔσοθα. “things that will someday be again like these or very nearly like these in accordance with what is human.”

ἀρχούντως ἔξεi. “it will be enough.” Sm. §1438.

ξυγκεῖται serves as the passive of ξυντίθημι, “compose.” LSJ s.v. συντίθημι II.3, s.v. συγκείμαι II.2.

23.1. μῆκος τε μέγα προιή. μέγα is predicative. Hence, “the length went on [to become] long.”

ξυνηγάζη. Aorist passive of συμφέρω, “happen.” LSJ s.v. B.III.2. Here, it is used impersonally, with παθηματα as the accusative subject of γενο-σθαι. Hence, “It happened that there were sufferings...” Strictly speaking, the infinitive phrase is the subject of ξυνηγάζη.
Φομικρών Φομικρῶν. Formula meaning "unprecedented." Literally, "such as there were not others."

23.3. οὐκ οὐκ ἔτερα. Neuter comparative of the adjective used as the comparative of the adverb. Sm. §345.

οὗκ ἐπιστά κατέστη. "became credible."

ἐπέσχον. The accent of finite verbs never recedes beyond the augment. Sm. §426. Here, the verb is intransitive, meaning "prevail, predominate, spread." LSJ s.v. ἐπέχω VI.2.

ἰσχυρότατοι is predicative. Hence, "and they were very strong."

παρὰ. "compared with" (plus the accusative). Sm. §1692.3c; LSJ s.v. C.1.7.

ἐστι παρ' οἷς. "among some." ἐστὶν οἷς is the dative plural of the fixed phrase ἐστὶν οἷς, "some." Sm. §2514. Whenever this fixed formula is used with a preposition, the preposition goes in the middle. Cf. Thuc. V.25.2, ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς.

ἀμα ξυνεπέθετο. "joined in attacking all at once." LSJ s.v. συνεπιτήθημι II.1.

23.4. αὐτῶν. Sc., τοῦ πολέμου; genitive after ἀρχομαι. Sm. §1348. Smyth (Sm. §1734.5) says that the active ἀρχομαι contrasts one beginner of an action with another; i.e., it indicates that someone begins before someone else. E.g., ἀρχεῖν πολέμου would mean "strike the first blow of the war." But the middle ἀρχομαι means "make one's own beginning," contrasting not with someone else but with the later stages of an action. LSJ s.v. I.

23.5. διότι ἐλυσαν. Implied indirect question after "causes and differences." LSJ s.v. διότι I.2.

τοῦ μὴ τινα ζητήσαι ποτε. Genitive articular infinitive of purpose. Sm. §§1408, 2032e. The verb ζητέω usually means "seek, ask" but may mean "feel the need to seek or ask," as here. LSJ s.v. III. Cf. Hdt. 1.94.

23.6. αὐδ' I.e., "as follows." The stated causes are those that Thucydides will presently narrate, namely, the affair of Epidamnus and the affair of
Potidaea. In the historical writers, ὡς especially indicates what is immediately to come in the narrative. LSJ s.v. ἠπό II.2.

ἀφ’ ᾗν. “as a result of which.” LSJ s.v. ἀπό III.6. Sm. §1684.1.c3.

24.5. To keep the subjects straight throughout this passage, bear in mind that ὡς serves to change from one subject to another. One party is the δῆμος, also called here οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, i.e., the democratic party. The other party is οἱ διόνυσοι, or the oligarchical party.

οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες. οἱ δὲ means the oligarchs, the διόνυσοι.

24.6. οἱ δὲ changes the subject to the democrats.

τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἐξουσιλλάβοντας φημοί. “to reconcile the exiles [the ousted oligarchs] to them [the democrats].”

25.1. ἐν ἄντον ἐγχοντο θέσσα τὸ παρόν. “they were at a loss how to handle the present [circumstance].” ἔχομαι is virtually a substitute for the verb “to be.” Cf. Thuc. III.22.6, ἐν ἀντίοις εἶναι. This meaning of ἔχομαι was oddly left out of the first printing of LSJ, but it is in the supplement to LSJ s.v. ἔχω C.V (“stand or be”). See LSJ s.v. τίθημι VII.1.Med.

ei παραδοθεῖν ... καί ... πειρῶντο. Indirect yes-no question in secondary sequence with optional optative. Sm. §§2638, 2671, 2677. The original direct question would have been a deliberative subjunctive: παραδῶμεν ... πειρώμεθα Sm. §§1805–8, (“whether we should hand over the city ... and try ...”).

τιμωρίαν τινὰ ... ἀπ` αὐτὸν ποιεῖσθαι. “to obtain some assistance from them [the Corinthians].” LSJ s.v. τιμωρία II (“succour”) s.v. ποιέω A.II.2.Med. (“procure for oneself, gain”).

ὁ δ’ αὐτοῖς ἄνειλε. ὁ δὲ is Apollo, and ἀναφέρω is the vox propria for giving an oracular response. LSJ s.v. III.

25.3. μίζει. Dative singular of the s-stem noun τὸ μίζος.

25.4. Κορινθίω τῶν ἀνδρῶν προσκεκλησόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν. “bestow the first portion of the sacrifices on a Corinthian.”

ὁμοία. Neuter plural used as an adverb. LSJ s.v. ὁμοίας (or ὁμοίως) C.I.
προφέχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαυφόμενοι. “boasting sometimes that they excelled.” Sm. §2515 (ἔστιν ὅτε); LSJ s.v. ἐπαύφω II.1 ad fin.

κλέος ἐχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς. The genitive participle modifies Φαιάκων. The Phaeacians “had naval affairs as their κλέος or source of renown.” ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον. The feminine dative relative pronoun ἥ is here used as a relative adverb meaning “for which reason, wherefore” and refers to the ground of the Corcyrean claims. LSJ s.v. ἥ II.2. This usage derives from the locative meanings of the dative. The combination ἥ καὶ is used especially with a comparative (μᾶλλον) to mark the beginning of a clause emphasizing the consequences of what has just been said. Cf. 11.1.

ὑπήρχον. ὑπάρχω often serves as a substitute for “to be.” LSJ s.v. Β.4.

26.1. οἰκῆτορά τε τῶν βουλόμενον ἴεναι κελεύοντες. “inviting anyone who wishes to go as a settler.”

φαντάζεται is grammatically construed with κελεύοντες ἴεναι but semantically more dependent on ἐπημετεροῦν.

26.2. δέτι. Dative singular of τὸ δέος followed by a clause of fearing.

26.3. κατ’ ἐπημετεροῦν modifies ἐκείνουν adverbially, meaning “brusquely, haughtily, threateningly.”

tοὺς φεύγοντας is the object of δέχονται and refers to the banished aristocrats.

27.1. ἐπὶ τῇ ἴση καὶ ὀμοίῳ. I.e., on the condition of equal status with the original colonists. The missing dative noun would be δίζη. LSJ s.v. ἴσος II.2.

27.2. ἐι ᾧ ἡκαλύπτομαι is not really a condition but an “in case” clause (Sm. §2354) with optative in secondary sequence. The asking is not causally dependent on the preventing, as in a true condition (e.g., “If they prevent . . . , then they ask.”); rather, they ask in case there will be prevention.

28.1. ὡς οὗ μετὸν ἀφετῆς Ἐπιδάμμαν. μετὸν is an impersonal neuter accusative absolute participle with ὡς. Sm. §2076. ὡς indicates that this is what the Corcyreans asserted. Sm. §2086.
28.2. δίκαιος δοῦναι. This construction usually means “pay a penalty” but here means “submit to arbitration.” LSJ s.v. δίκη IV.3.

τούτων χρηστεύειν. The infinitive phrase goes with the earlier ἔθελον, and the τούτων refers to ὀπόστερον. Hence, “they were willing that those should have control [of the colony].”

28.3. εἴον. The verb ἔαω usually means “allow,” but here, with a negative οὐκ, it means “persuade not to, advise against” and takes the infinitive. LSJ s.v. εἴειν. Cf. Thuc. I.133.

28.4. βουλεύεσθαι. In the middle, βουλεύω means “think about it.”

αὕτως. I.e., the Corinthians.

28.5. Καὶ ὑπετε. “under the condition that.” LSJ s.v. Β.I.4.

29.1. προσεροῦντα. Future participle of purpose with verb of motion. Sm. §2065.

ἀραντες. Intransitive aorist participle of ἀρκω, “get under sail.” LSJ s.v. Α.Ι.5.

29.3. ζευξάντες τὰς παλαιὰς. “having reinforced the older ships.” This means either fitting crossbeams from one side of the ship to the other (as explained by Gregory of Corinth, a grammarian of the twelfth century A.D.) or, possibly, fastening cables around the ship—or both.

29.5. αὕτως ξυνέβη. “it happened to them,” i.e., the Corcyreans as a whole, both those on sea and those besieging Epidamnus.

παραστήσασθαι. “caused it [Epidamnus] to come to terms.” LSJ s.v. Β.I.3. The subject is τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, i.e., the Corcyreans. Ἐπιδάμνον is the object of the participle πολιορκοῦντας and, by brachylogy (Sm. §3018k), of παραστήσασθαι.

ὑπετε. “under the condition that.” LSJ s.v. Β.I.4.

ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀποδίσοντα. I.e., they would sell the foreigners as slaves. In the middle, ἀποδίσομαι means “sell.” LSJ s.v. ΙΙ.3.
“keep the Corinthians by binding them,” i.e., keep them prisoner. δῆσαντας here agrees with the unexpressed subject of the infinitive and does not refer to the Corinthians.

30.2. τῆς γῆς. Partitive genitive with τέμνειν. Hence, “to waste parts of the land.” LSJ s.v. IV.3; Sm. §1341.

tὸ ἑπίνειον. “harbor.”

31.2. ὡς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Here, ὡς is a preposition taking the accusative. Sm. §1702.

31.3. καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν προσγενόμενον. αὐτῶν refers to the Athenians. Hence, “lest the Athenian navy added to the Corcyrean be an impediment.”

θέσθαι. After the noun ἐμπόδιον [impediment], which is analogous to a verb of hindering (without redundant µί). Sm. §2744.7. Cf. οὐ κωλύει τοῦτο ποιεῖν, meaning “nothing hinders doing this.” Hence, “lest [the combined navies] be an impediment to their managing [θέσθαι] the war in the way they want.”

32.1. προοφειλομένης. Προοφέιλω generally means “owe beforehand” and here means “owed as a long-standing debt.”

ξίμφορα δέοντα. Usually, δέοντα takes a genitive, but if the object is a neuter adjective or pronoun, it will be accusative. LSJ s.v. II.2; Sm. §1398.

τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔξωσαν. “they will keep their gratitude firm.” The position of the article shows that βέβαιον is predicative. Sm. §1168. In Thucydides and Plato, βέβαιος is always a two-ending adjective.

32.2. For τυγχάνω without a supplementary participle, see Sm. §2119. Construe ἤμην with τετυχῆ—hence, “it has turned out for us [to be] . . .”

tὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτίθεμαι. “The same old policy” is at once (a) unreasonable from your standpoint and (b) not in our interest.

πρὸς and ἐς mean the same thing, “regarding, with respect to.” Thucydides alternates these prepositions often (cf., e.g., I.38.1, III.37.2). πρὸς
ὑμᾶς [with respect to you] and ἐς τὰ ἵμέτερα [with respect to our interests] are parallel. ἐς τὴν χρείαν means “in the matter of [our] request.”

32.4. τῇ τού πέλας γρωμῇ. Dative with the preverb ξυν-. Hence, “the policy of a neighbor.”

32.5. τὴν ναυμαχίαν . . . Κορινθίους. The two accusatives can be explained by analogy with such expressions as νικὰ τὶνα ναυμαχίαν, which means “beat somebody in a sea battle.” Cf. Thuc. VII.66.2.

The nouns κάβωνος, ἀνάγνη, and συγγνώμη function without the expected ἔσται or ἔστι. Sm. §944.

εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ᾿ αὐτοίς. Real condition with future protasis. Sm. §2328.

The apodosis would be κάβωνος ἔσται. This embodies a threat or warning (minatory-monitory condition). ὑπ᾿ αὐτοίς means “under their power.”

εἰ μὴ μετὰ . . . τολμῶμεν. μὴ negates only μετὰ καχίας—not the whole clause (cf. Thuc. I.37.1, III.14.1)—and generalizes the expression (hence, “not from any sinister motive”). Sm. §2735. τολμῶμεν is indicative in a causal “if” clause dependent on συγγνώμη. Sm. §2247. ἑνάσσια is the neuter plural object of τολμῶμεν, which here has the meaning “venture on a policy opposite.”

33.1. κατὰ πολλά. “in many respects”—specifically, the three reasons introduced respectively by πρὸς τον, ἐπεῖτα, and τε.

ἂς ὁν μάλωσσα. ἂς μάλωσσα means “certainly.” Here, ἂς stands in a fixed phrase without a verb (Sm. §1766b), which can be supplied from context (e.g., ἂς ὁν μάλωσσα γένοιτο).

33.2. Τὶς εὐπραξία . . . ισχύν. The backbone of this sentence follows.

Τὶς εὐπραξία σπανωσέρα (ἔστιν)

ἡ τὶς τοῖς πολεμίως λυπηρώτερα

εἰ δύναμις πάρεστιν

columnName valueType value
false false
ες τοις πολλοις ἀφέτην. “virtue in the eyes of the world” (the usual meaning of this phrase).

οις δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν. “gratitude of those whom you will defend.” If this phrase were filled out, it would be χάριν τούτων οις δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε.

καὶ ὀλίγοι . . . παραγίγνονται. The backbone of this sentence follows.

καὶ ὀλίγοι . . . παραγίγνονται
δομενοι συμμαχας
διδόντες ουχ ἤρσον ἀσφαλειαιν . . .
ἐλευθερινοι
(τοιτοις ους) > οις ἐπικαλουνται

The relative clause οις ἐπικαλουνται is the indirect object of διδόντες with incorporated antecedent (Sm. §§2536, 2538). In the middle, ἐπικαλοῦσι means “call someone to one’s aid.”

33.3. αἰσθάνεται, being a verb of perception, takes an accusative plus a participle as the form of indirect discourse. Sm. §§2110–11.

φοβη τῳ ἐμετέρῳ. For the use of the pronominal adjective for the objective genitive, see Sm. §§1331, 1334.

πολεμειοντας. The verb πολεμεῖω is a desiderative of πολεμεῖο. Sm. §868; Schwyzer, 798.

δυναμένους παρ’ αὐτοῖς. “having powerful influence with them [the Spartans].”

προσαλαμβάνοντας ἦμας νῦν ἐς τὴν ἐμετέρῃν ἐπιχείρησιν. “overpowering us first in anticipation of an attempt on you.” The pronominal adjective is used for the objective genitive. Sm. §§1331, 1334.

μήδε δυναίν φθάσατο ἀμαρτάσων. μήδε continues the negative purpose clause with the subjunctive ἀμαρτάσωσιν. The verb ἀμαρτάνω, “miss, fail to,” here takes the genitive δυναίν (LSJ s.v. I.4)—hence, “fail at two things.” Gomme (ad loc.) says the two things are (1) to harm the Corcyreans and (2) to increase Corinth’s own security. φθάσατο is the root aorist middle infinitive of the verb φθάνω, meaning “to get there first, anticipate, be quick.” Some would argue that δυναίν is a dative of respect, that ἀμαρτάνω takes the infinitive φθάσατο, and that the entire phrase means “lest they fail to be first with respect to two things.” But ἀμαρτάνω ordinarily takes not an infinitive (as in “to fail to do something”) but,
rather, a participle. LSJ s.v. ἀμαρτάνω II.1. So φθάσων is here an infinitive functioning like an accusative of respect, and the phrase means “lest they fail in two aims with respect to being first.” The editors have striven mightily over this φθάσων, and some argue that it is an inserted gloss and thus does not belong there.

33.4. ἡμετέρον (ἐστι). “It is our job to . . .” By a construction according to sense, the neuter possessive pronoun is picked up by the genitive plurals διδῶντων and δεξιάνων.

34.1. μαθῶντων. Third plural aorist active imperative.

ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλῳ . . . εἶναι. “on the condition of being slaves.” LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.III.3; Sm. §1689.2c. The subject of the articular infinitive is nominative instead of accusative “when the infinitive, expressing some action or state of the subject of the main verb, has the article in an oblique case” (Sm. §1973a).

34.2. μετελθέων. “prosecute, pursue” a matter. LSJ s.v. μετέχομαι IV.3.

34.3. δεσμάς τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως μὴ ὑπουργεῖν. “nor render help [to the Corinthians] when they ask directly.” Cf. LSJ s.v. εὐθύς A2. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως could go adverbially with either δεσμάς or ὑπουργεῖν.

ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας . . . διατελεῖν. “That one who makes fewest his regrets for doing a favor to enemies would turn out safest.” ἐλαχίστας is in predicative position, so λαμβάνων is factitive. Cf. Thuc. II.43.2.

35.1. μηδετέρων. Here we have “μηδετέρων instead of οὐδετέρων because, although this relationship is actual, the hypothetical character of the participle δεχόμενου influences its object” (Classen and Steup, ad loc.); i.e., δεχόμενου is here tantamount to a conditional clause, as if the text were ἐὰν ἤμας δέχῃτε, οὐ λύσετε, an eventual condition with future apodosis, or future-more-vivid condition. This then influences any negative dependent on the participle and requires the negative μὴ of an “if” clause. Sm. §2728.

35.3. καὶ δεινὸν εἶ . . . Real condition with future indicative in the protasis, indicating a threat or warning. This is Smyth’s “emotional future
condition” (Sm. §§2297, 2328), sometimes called a minatory-monitory condition.

θήρονται, “they will consider you in the wrong if you are persuaded.” The “if” must be understood from the genitive absolute, which substitutes for a conditional. An object, ἵμα, is understood from the ἵμων of the genitive absolute. Cf. LSJ s.v. ἀδικήμα Ι.1, s.v. τίθημι Β.ΙΙ.3 (“consider”).

35.4. οἷς ὀπος ... ἀλλὰ καί. “not only not [so far from] ... but also.” Sm. §2763b. Hence, “you will not only fail to be preventers of your enemies, but you will also allow them to increase their strength.” πε- 

ριφάσεα means “overlook” and then “allow.” LSJ s.v. ΙΙ.2.

ἡν οὐ δίκαιον. The antecedent of ἡν is δίκαιον in the preceding sentence, and another προσαλβείν is to be understood. Hence, “to increase which power is not just.” What is just follows. There is a reversal of 

meaning with ἄλλος, and δίκαιον is used positively for the rest of the sentence; its subjects are the infinitives κωλύειν, πέμπειν, and βοηθεῖν, things that are just.

κάλείνων κωλύειν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους. “prevent their mercenaries [to be taken] from your strength.” ἐκέλεον is possessive and refers to the Corinthians. κωλύειν with accusative but no infinitive is 

rare, and perhaps προσαλβείσθαι is to be understood. Classen and Steup (ad loc.) say this is an unusual variation for the expression κάλείνοις ἐκείνος ὑμοσθόσθαι, meaning “prevent (them) from hiring oarsmen.” With ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας, understand ἄρχης.

ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς is tantamount to an adverb, meaning “openly.”

35.5. καὶ ναυτικῆς ... ἀλλοτρίως. “Since the alliance being offered is naval and not a land alliance, a rejection is not the same [as it would be for merely a land alliance].”

ἐκν and ἐκείνων must be understood as imperatives. This is rare in prose, where it is supposed to have “a solemn or formal force” (Sm. §2013).

36.1. This is a lollapalooza of a sentence and will repay careful study. Although it is very complicated, it has only one main verb, the third singular aorist active imperative γνώτα. The subjects of this imperative are the ὅτω ... λέγεσθαι clause and the (ὁς) φοβεῖται clause (whose relative is implied by the preceding ὅτω).
The indirect statement constructions after γνῶτω are participial after a verb of knowing. Sm. §2106. Further, when the participle applies to the subject of the verb of perceiving, as with βουλεύόμενος and προνοοῦν, it will be in the nominative instead of the accusative. Unfortunately, Smyth does not make this point clear, but it can be gleaned from his examples in Sm. §2106. Four constructions follow γνῶτω.

1. τὸ δεδίος τὸν φοβῆσον [that his fear frightens your enemies]
2. τὸ θαρσοῦν τὸν ἐκμενον [that your boldness will be weaker]
3. σὺ βουλεύόμενος τὸν δεδίος [that he is not making a decision about . . .]
4. σὺ προνοοῦν τὸν δεδίος [that he is not making provision for . . .]

The ὅπως clause follows upon σὺ προνοοῦν—hence, “he is not making provision . . . whenever he hesitates.” ἐνδιάμερη[τί] takes the complementary infinitive προσλάβειν—hence, “hesitates to attach a country to his side that . . .”

Next, consider the circumstantial participles ἴσχυν and ἀσθενεῖς ὅν. Thucydides is playing with the ironic contrasts between strength and weakness: what is weak seems strong and what is strong seems weak. This is crossed with the contrast between fear and boldness. The participles ἴσχυν and ὅν modify the two substantivized neuter participles τὸ δεδιός and τὸ θαρσοῦν. Thucydides likes to use a neuter participle instead of the corresponding abstract noun (e.g., τὸ δέος and τὸ θάρσος): this is known as the schema Thucydideum. The circumstantial participles can be regarded as causal. Hence, “His fear, because it has power, frightens the enemies more. . . . But if he does not accept us as allies, boldness, because it is weak, will be more deficient in the eyes of enemies, who are growing strong.”

μὴ δέξαμένου (ἡμᾶς). This is probably not a genitive absolute but a possessive genitive parallel to αὐτῷ—hence, “the boldness of the man who has not received us as allies”—but the implication is that his boldness is weak because he has not received the allies.

δι’ αὐτὰ [sc., ἐξήφεροντο] πειθόμενος. “although persuaded by virtue of these advantages.” Sm. §1685.2b. The concessive force of the circumstantial participle (Sm. §2066) arises out of the logic of the sentence.

αὐτὰς refers to τῶν Ἀθηνῶν [Athens]. Notice that it is not Ἀθηναίων. ὁσον αὐτῷ παροίνα. The fixed phrase ὁσον αὐτῷ means “almost, all but,” referring to time. Sm. §2766; cf. Thuc. II.94.1.
τὸ αὐτίκα περισχοπῶν. “restricting his vision to the immediate situation.” ἐς . . . πόλεμον goes with προσλαβεῖν; hence, “restricting his vision to the immediate situation, he hesitates for the war that is to come—indeed, is almost here—to attach to his side a country . . .”

οἰκεῖοτάι τε καὶ πολεμοῦταί. “he made a friend [οἰκεῖος] and an enemy [i.e., or an enemy].” Whether Corcyra is a friend or an enemy, the consequences will be very great. For τε καί used for alternatives, see Sm. §2976.

A more or less literal (and clumsy, but syntactically revealing) translation of the sentence follows.

To whomever it seems that these things are spoken as advantages but who fears lest, if he is persuaded by virtue of these advantages, he break the truce, let him understand that his fear, since it has strength, is more frightening to his enemies, but if he does not accept us as allies, his boldness will be more deficient in the eyes of his strong enemies; and [let him understand further] that he is deciding, at the same time, not more now concerning Corcyra than [concerning] Athens; and that he is not looking toward the greatest advantages for her [Athens] whenever, because he is looking only at the immediate situation, he hesitates to attach to himself, for the war that is going to come and is as good as present, a country that is made a friend or an enemy with the greatest consequences.

36.2. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἑταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλὸς παραπλοῦ κεῖται. “[Corcyra] is beautifully situated for the sailing route to Italy and Sicily.” The expression καλὸς κεῖται [is beautifully situated] is analogous to the use of ἔχω with an adverb (Sm. §1438), and παραπλοῦ is a case of the genitive with adverbs (Sm. §1441). The genitive is used with adverbs of quality or manner (ἐὖ, καλῶς, ὁμοίως, and several others) in connection with intransitive verbs (ἔχειν, εἶναι, καὶ κεῖσθαι) to indicate what the adverb applies to. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 1:382, §419.1. Cf. Thuc. III.92.4: τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς ἔδοξεν ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι . . . τῆς τε ἐπὶ Ὁρῶς παρόδου χαρὰς ἐξεῖν [they thought that the city was well situated for the war and would prove useful for the march along Thrace] (Smyth’s translation, Sm. §1441).

ἐξεῖθεν. “from that place,” i.e., from Sicily to the Peloponnesians.

τὸ ἐντένει ναυτικὸν with the adverb in attributive position means “the fleet from here,” i.e., from the Peloponnesus.
πρὸς τὰς ἔκτης. “to the things [events] there [Sicily and Italy].”

ἐπέλθειν and παραπέμφει are dependent on οἷς ἐάν—hence, “to prevent the reinforcing and the sending.” Sm. §2692. But οἷς ἐάν becomes μή ἐάν because of the ὀστε. Sm. §2759α.

36.3. The backbone of this sentence is μᾶθοιτε ἢν μὴ προϊσθαί ἡμᾶς τῷς. The ἢν is repeated: the first ἢν lets the reader know a potential is on its way, and the second marks the potential itself. Sm. §1765. τῷς, meaning “by means of this following thing,” stands for the whole of the next sentence down to the end of the speech. τῷς is defined by βραχυτάτῳ κεφαλαίῳ—hence, “by means of the very brief summary that follows.” τοῖς τε ξύμπισαι καὶ καθ’ ἔκαστον, a characteristic Thucydidean pairing of the grammatically nonparallel, can be taken either as adverbial or as appositive to βραχυτάτῳ κεφαλαίῳ.

τῷς μὲν ὄντα. Accusative absolute. Sm. §2076.

37.1. The backbone of this sentence is Ἀναγκαῖον... μνηθέντας ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφιστόρον... καὶ ιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον. Ἀναγκαῖον... μνηθέντας is interrupted by a long genitive absolute, which entails two clauses of indirect discourse following upon the word λόγον [argument]. The argument is specified by (a) περὶ τοῦ δέξασθαι (hence, “the argument about receiving them”) and (b) the two clauses of indirect statement introduced by ὡς, which are in turn joined by καὶ... καὶ. This parallelism is marked by οὐ μόνον... ἀλλ’. A translation of the sentence follows.

Since these Corcyreans have made an argument not only about receiving them but also that we are acting unjustly and that they themselves are unreasonably treated as enemies [i.e., that it is unreasonable that they should be brought to fighting], it is necessary for us, having first commented on both things, to move to the rest of the argument, so that...

μνηθέντας περὶ. “make mention concerning.” LSJ s.v. μιμήσις B.II.

ἀξίωσιν and χρείαν are parallel and contrasting words meaning, roughly, “request.” An ἀξίωσις is a worthy request from “us,” and a χρεία is a desperate needful request from “them.” An ἀξίωσις is a claim on the grounds of merit, whereas a χρεία is a claim on the grounds of necessity. μὴ ἀλογόσως ἀπώσισθε. μὴ here applies not to the subjunctive verb (i.e., this is not a negative purpose clause) but only to the adverb, as a
litotes. Hence, “in order that you may reject not unreasonably [i.e., with good reason].”


οἷεν γος goes with εξεμεχεν as a possessive.

οἳτε παρασαλωτες αἰσχύνεσθαι (βουλόμενοι). “nor wishing to be ashamed when they ask for their support.”

37.3. αὐτάρκηθε θεσιν κεμένη. “situated in an independent location.” The present κεμμαι serves as a substitute for the perfect middle (in passive sense) of τίθημι (Sm. §791); i.e., κεμένη is equivalent to the perfect middle τεθειμένη (rare or even unknown in Attic). θεσιν is a cognate accusative with τίθημι, except that τίθημι is represented by κεμένη. Sm. §1569. So θεσιν κεμένη means “situated in a situation.” αὐτάρκηθε is the accusative singular feminine of the s-stem adjective αὐτάρκης, -ς (self-sufficient, independent), which modifies θεσιν.

ἂν = τοῦτον οἷς. The antecedent, which would be genitive with δικαστάς (i.e., “judges of [cases]”), is omitted, and the relative pronoun whose case within its own clause ought to have been dative (i.e., “by means of which”) is attracted to the case of its ghost antecedent. Sm. §2531a. Hence, “makes them judges of cases in which they . . .”

37.4. τὸ ἀποσωδόν is a neuter adjective used instead of an abstract noun to mean “neutrality” and is the object of προβεβλητα.

The main verb προβεβλητα [put forward as a pretense for themselves] (LS) s.v. B.III.2b) is followed by five purpose clauses.

οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ἡμναδικῶσιν ἅλλ᾽ ὡσε ἄδικοι καὶ ὡσε μὲν βίαζονται (δὲ) ἔχωσιν (δὲ) ἀνασαχυτῶσιν 
oū δ᾽ ἄν λάθωσιν πλέον ἔχωσιν. “have more wherever they can get away with it.” οὗ is the relative adverb meaning “where,” not a genitive relative pronoun.
37.5. This sentence is a present contrary-to-fact condition: εἰ plus the imperfect indicative and the imperfect indicative plus ἄν. But there is no ἄν in the apodosis. “ἄν may be omitted in the apodosis of an unreal condition when the apodosis consists of an imperfect indicative denoting unfulfilled obligation, possibility, or propriety. Such are the impersonal expressions ἔθει, χρῄς, ἐξῆν, εἰσῆς ἵν, καλόν ἵν etc. with the infinitive, the action of which is (usually) not realized” (Sm. §2313).

δίδουν καὶ δεχομένως. Dative plural participles modifying αὐτοῖς. The Corcyreans could have demonstrated their uprightness by granting just judgments to others and accepting just judgments themselves (but they did not).

38.1. διὰ παντὸς. Sc., χρόνον. Hence, “always, through all time.”

38.2. τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι. “receive the customary marks of respect.” LSJ s.v. θαυμάζω 2b. The middle of θαυμάζω means “be respected,” and the neuter accusative τὰ εἰκότα is most easily explained as adverbial, meaning “with respect to the proper customary things.”

38.4. εἰ . . . ἐσμὲν . . . ἄν . . . ἀπαφέσκομεν. Mixed condition. The “if” clause is a real protasis (“if, as a matter of fact, . . .”), the first apodosis is a potential optative (“we would then . . .”), and the second apodosis returns with a present indicative to a real statement (“we now, as a matter of fact, are fighting . . .”). All of this is subordinate to δήλον ὅτι.

μὴ . . . ἄδικονμεν. “without being unjustly treated.” The negative of the circumstantial participle is μὴ because it is tantamount to an “if” clause, which would take negative μὴ. Sm. §2728.

38.5. This sentence is a present contrary-to-fact condition, where the apodosis without ἄν consists of an imperfect indicative denoting an unfulfilled propriety. Cf. 37.5; Sm. §2313. The two apodoses without ἄν are καλόν ἵν τούτῳ and αἰσχρόν ἵν ἡμῖν, and this contrast is marked by μὲν . . . δέ. Each of the two neuter adjectives in the impersonal construction is defined by an infinitive, εἰξαί and βιῶσονται. Strictly speaking, the infinitives are the subjects of ἵν, and the neuter adjectives are predicate adjectives.

κακομενην. “being in distress, when it was in distress.”
οὐ προσεποιήσαντο. “they did not try to lay claim to it.” The meaning “try” comes from the verb’s imperfect tense, sc., the “conative imperfect” (Sm. §1895). Alternatively, it may be regarded as an imperfect of resistance or refusal (Sm. §1896)—hence, “they refused to lay claim to it.” The Corinthians are making a dog-in-the-manger argument here.

εἴλοντες βίας ἔχουσιν. Where English prefers two coordinate verbs (“they took it by force and held it”), Greek usually prefers to put one of the verbs into a participle—hence, “having taken it by force, they held it.”

39.1. The key to this sentence is δίκη, which here means “arbitration” and is the antecedent of the relative pronoun ἣν, the hook on which the rest of the sentence hangs. It is the object of προσαλόημενον, which itself is one of the subjects of the infinitive δοκεῖν. The dependent clause introduced by ἣν has only one verb, δεῖ, and it is completed by the infinitive δοκεῖν, which itself has a complementary infinitive, λέγειν τι. οὖ negates δεῖ, but ἀλλὰ reverses the negation; i.e., “it is not proper for A and B, but it is proper for C.” The infinitive δοκεῖν has three accusative subjects.

τὸν προύχοντα
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφάλου προσαλοήμενον (δίκην)
ἀλλὰ τὸν . . . καθιστάντα

It is virtually impossible to translate this sentence into English literally with a relative clause in it, because of the peculiarly embedded position of ἣν, so one must make two sentences out of it, repeating the word arbitration.

And indeed, they say that they were willing earlier to have the matter decided by arbitration. But it is not proper for the party in the advantageous position and proposing arbitration from a position of security to think he is saying something [meaningful], but, rather, it is proper for the party who puts his deeds and likewise his words on an equal basis [proposing arbitration] before entering into hostilities [to think he is saying something meaningful].

καθιστάναι ἐξ ἴσου. “to bring into an equal state.” LSJ s.v. καθιστῆμι A.II.3. The present active of καθιστῆμι must be transitive, and its objects are ἔργα and λόγους. Thus, the Corcyreans are to put their deeds and words on an equal state with those of their adversaries. But both Warner and Crawley take καθιστάναι to be intransitive as if it were the aorist
participle καταστάντα, meaning “be in an equal position with respect to words and deeds.” LSJ s.v. B5.

39.2. ἵγοντο ἡμᾶς οὖ ἐπιώθεσθαι. “They realized that we were not going to overlook [the fact that they were besieging the place].”

οὖ ἐπιώθεσιν. The negative οὖ is used because it really belongs to ἄδιόντες rather than to the infinitive, and it is placed after ἄδιόντες for the sake of the contrast. Classen and Steup, ad loc.; Sm. §2738b.

39.3. The backbone of this sentence is χρήν plus two infinitives, προσέναι and ἔχειν. The accusative subject of the two infinitives is the Corcyreans, represented (a) by the accusative relative pronoun οὗς and (b) by the accusative participle κοινώσαντας. The first infinitive, προσέναι, is modified by a series of temporal expressions, and the second infinitive, ἔχειν, is modified by the parallel temporal adverb πάλαι.

ἀποχεύομενοι. “keeping away from, have no part in” (plus the genitive). LSJ s.v. I.

τὰ ἀποβάννα. “the consequences”—here, “consequences of policy, fortunes.”

A translation of the sentence follows.

They should have approached you then when they were most secure, not when we, on the one hand, are injured, and they, on the other hand, are at risk or when you are about to give a share of help, having at that time not had a share of their power, and when you are going to have an equal share of the blame from us, having hitherto kept yourselves aloof from their misdeeds; and only if they had long ago shared their power with you, should they have common fortunes [with you].

40.2. εἰ γὰρ ἐγνάτα. “granted the fact that it is specified.” This “if” clause is not really conditional but concessive. Sm. §2369 ff. Usually, such clauses are introduced by εἰ καί.

ὅτι μὴ. When the antecedent of a relative clause is indefinite, the negative is μὴ. Sm. §2506.

40.3. μὴ ἄνων ὑμῶν = μεθ’ ὑμῶν. This is a meiosis (Sm. §3032). Hence, “If you attack with them, it will be necessary [for us] to defend ourselves
against them and against you as well." In the middle, ἐμύνο means "ward off from oneself." LSJ s.v. B.1b.

40.4. ἀνάκυκλος γίγνεσθαι. "to be in a cease-fire with" (plus the dative). The preposition διά with genitive and stative verbs (e.g., εἶναι, ἔχειν, γίγνεσθαι) expresses a condition or state. LSJ s.v. A.IV.1a.

τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι. "not to establish the precedent." The precedent is defined by the result expression ὦστε plus the infinitive. Sm. §§2258, 2267.

40.5. εἰ χρή. Indirect question after δίχα ἐψηφισμένων.

40.6. φανείται καὶ ἀ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἤμιν πρόσειμα. "There will be some of your allies who will come over no less to us." The neuter plural relative ἀ with φανείται acts like a future of the expression ἐστιν ἀ (Sm. §2513) and is followed by the partitive genitive τῶν ὑμετέρων.

41.1. ἔχομεν has two sets of objects connected by μὲν ... δέ: (a) δικαι- ὑμία and (b) παρακάμπτω καὶ ἔχωμεν. Then ἔχωμεν χάριτος means "a claim on your gratitude" and is further modified by the relative clause introduced by ἃ—ἀντιδοθῆναι ἤμιν ... φομέν χρήμα "[which we say ought to be repaid to us]."

ἐπιχορήσθαι. "have dealings with one." This rare word means "to have a mutual give and take, have dealings that expect a return." At Hdt. 3.99, the word suggests intimate friendship.

41.2. ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδισά. "before the Persian War." LSJ s.v. ὑπὲρ B.IV. οἷς for ἐν οἷς. The preposition is not repeated. Sm. §1671.

41.3. τὰ οἰκεῖα χείρον τίθενται. "they value their own interests less." LSJ s.v. τίθημι B.II.

42.1. This sentence has two subjects: "you all" and the young person. The singular verb agrees with the second subject but applies to both. We would logically expect ἔξοιτε and μὴ νομίσητε. Sm. §§966, 968–69.

ἀξιόυτοι τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἤμας ἐμύνεσθαι. "let him consider it right for us to be supported in a similar fashion [as we supported you in the affair of Aegina]."
42.2. The backbone of this sentence is a series of neuter adjectives.

τὸ ἐέμφεσον . . . ἔπεται
καὶ τὸ μέλλον . . . κεῖται
καὶ οὐκ ἔξειον . . . κτίσασθαι
οὖρον (δὲ) ὑφελεῖν
μηδὲ ἐφέλεσθαι

ἔπεται is absolute (without any object) and means “is found in something,” and the “something” is expressed by the ἐν ὧ clause, meaning “where.” LSJ s.v. *ἔπτο II.4. Hence, “Expediency is most found wherever someone least makes a mistake.”

tὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου. “the future possibility of the war.”

αὕτη. Sc., τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου.

ὑφελεῖν. ὑφαίρεω with a genitive means “take away part of something.” LSJ s.v. II.2.

42.4. τοὺς ὁμοίους. I.e., powers as strong as yourselves, powers capable of retaliation.

τῷ αὐτῷ φανερῷ. “by something apparent at the moment,” i.e., an immediate advantage that turns out to be a long-range disadvantage.

διὰ κινδύνων τὸ πλέον ἔχειν. διὰ with the genitive noun expressing manner, with the force of an adverb—hence, “riskily.” Sm. §1685.1d; LSJ s.v. A.III.1c to πλέον ἔχειν is contrasted with the earlier τὸ ἀδίκειν. Hence, it is better not to harm other powers than to gain an advantage. τὸ πλέον ἔχειν or πλέονεξία (the active zeal to gain more and more power) is a thematic characteristic of the Athenians in Thucydides.

43.1. ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπέπτοσαίτες οἴς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὕτοι προεῖπομεν. The relative οἴς stands for τοῦτοι α. περιπάτω takes a dative of the circumstances met (LSJ s.v. II.3), and the relative, which logically should be accusative as the direct object of προείπομεν, is here attracted to the case of its ghost antecedent. Sm. §§2522, 2529, 2531. ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι refers to the meeting at Sparta in which the Corinthians voted in favor of the Athenians in the matter of the Samian revolt (Thuc. I.41.2). The main verb of the sentence is ἀδίκοιμον. Hence, “having fallen into the circumstances, . . . we think we deserve . . .”
44.1. ἐπιμαχίαν τῇ ἄλληλον βοηθεῖν. An ἐπιμαχία is a merely defensive alliance, not a full-scale alliance; the latter would have included an obligation for the Athenians to join the Corcyreans in a directly offensive policy. ἐπιμαχία is defined by an infinitive alone. Sm. §1987. τῇ ἄλληλον is for τῇ ἄλληλον γῇ (cf. I.15.2, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν), dative after βοηθεῖν. A συμμαχία is an alliance that is both offensive and defensive, in which the parties swear to have the same friends and enemies; the Delian League is an example.

44.2. ἐνωμοφοίην. “cause [acc.] to wear out by collision with [dat.].” Hence, “they wanted to cause them to wear out by collision with each other.”

ἡν τι δέη. “if ever it becomes necessary.” This is an eventual condition. Sm. §2337. The sequence is primary despite the past leading verbs ἔδοξεν and ἐβοήλοντο.

καθιστῶνται. In II.75.1, Thucydides uses the transitive expression καθιστῶνται ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατὸν [sent his army into battle]; in I.23.6, he uses the intransitive aorist κατέστησαν ἐς πόλημον [they went to war]. Here, the subjunctive middle intransitive καθιστῶνται means “in order that they may go to war [against those who are weaker].”

45.3. μὴ ναυμαχεῖν...κωλυέτων. Infinitives after a verb of will or desire. Sm. §§1991, 1997.

46.1. αὐτόῖς. Dative of agent with pluperfect middle with passive meaning. Sm. §1488.

46.5. ὁρμῶσονται. “came to anchor.” LSJ s.v. II.

47.1. ἄστραπτοπεδεύοντο. In land contexts, στρατοπεδεύω means “to encamp,” but in sea contexts, it means “to take a position” or, in the middle, “be stationed.” LSJ s.v.

Σύβοτα. The name is neuter plural.

48.1. μετεώρος. This word usually means “in midair, aloft,” but when applied to ships, it means “on the open sea.” LSJ s.v. II.2.
48.3. τὸ δ’ άλλο αὐτοί ἐπείχον τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες. “[The Corcyreans] themselves were extended along the other wing, having formed three squadrons.” ἐπείχον means more than “hold,” because it implies that the Corcyreans were extended. Cf. Thuc. III.107.4 for a parallel. The verb for the Athenians would have been ἤραν if it were there. τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες means “having formed three squadrons.” The Corcyreans formed the left, right, and middle of the battle line, with the Athenians in reserve beyond the Corcyrean right wing.

48.4. ἄριστα. Neuter plural accusative adjective used as an adverb. Sm. §1609.

49.1. ἀπειρώτερον ἐπὶ. Adverb meaning “still in the inexperienced fashion” (in contrast to the modern fashion). The comparative adverb is used because two adverbial expressions are being compared by implication, sc., “in the modern way” and “in the old-fashioned, inexperienced way.” Sm. §1080.

49.2. ἧν τε ἡ ναυμαχία κατέφερα, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ αὐχ ὁμοίως (οδόσα). “The sea battle was fierce, [being] not so much [fierce] in technique, but being . . .”

49.3. διέκπλοι. The διέκπλος was a special naval tactic much employed later by the Athenians, which consisted in sailing through the enemy’s line so as to ram their ships on the flank or in the rear (LSJ s.v.). Thucydides does not make the details of this maneuver very clear, but Polybius (1.51.9) describes it: διεκπλεῖεν μὲν οὖν διὰ τῶν πολεμίων νεών καὶ κατόπιν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἢμι προς ἐτέρους διαμαχομένοις, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ ναυμαχεῖν ἔστι πρακτικότατον κτλ. [to sail through the enemy’s line and to appear from behind, while they were already fighting others [in front], which is a most effective naval maneuver . . .]. See R. B. Strassler, ed., The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War (New York: Free Press, 1996), appendix G (“Trireme Warfare in Thucydides”).

49.4. εἴ πι τι πιέσωντο. Past general condition. Sm. §2340. Hence, “if anywhere they were being pressed.”

49.5. τρεψόμενοι. The middle of τρέπω is usually intransitive but is here transitive, meaning “having routed.” LSJ s.v. III. Cf. Xen. An. 5.4.16.
49-7. ἔχων πᾶς εἴησθε. “everyone was taking a hand in the work [gen.]” LSJ s.v. ἔχω C.1.1.

dιεκέχομαι οὐδὲν ἔτη. “there was no longer any distinction, any separation.”

50.1. ἀναδόμημεν. In the middle, ἀναδέω means “take in tow.” LSJ s.v. III.

καταδύομαι is optative because it is in a general relative clause in secondary sequence. Sm. §2568. καταδύω is usually intransitive (“go down, set, sink”), but the aorist can be causative (“cause to sink, disable”). LSJ s.v. II.1.

50.2. ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχομένων. “extending over much sea.” LSJ s.v. ἐπέχω V.

50.5. προῆλθεν ἐχθροῦντο. “backed water,” i.e., reversed direction not by turning around but simply by rowing backward, stern first. LSJ s.v. ἐχρόνω 9.

51.2. πρὶν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὡτι... “until some people, upon seeing them, said that...” Sm. §2434.

51.4. προσομοδιέω. Feminine plural aorist passive participle of προσομόζω. Hence, “making their way [through the wrecks].”

51.5. ὁρμοσάντω. “they anchored.”


52.2. ἀρκέντες. When applied to armies or fleets, ἀφθω “lift,” means “get them under way, set sail.” LSJ s.v. ἀφθω I.5.

αἰχμαλώτων τε περὶ φυλακῆς. There are two phrases in apposition to ἀσφαλείᾳ that define what those ἀσφαλείᾳ are: the prepositional phrase αἰχμαλώτων περὶ φυλακῆς and the parallel participial phrase ἐπισκευήν σύχ ὀψαν. The parallelism is marked by τε... καὶ.

ἐπισκευήν. “repair facilities.”
52.3. τοῦ δὲ ὁμιλάτε πλοῦ. This genitive is proleptic, going logically with the indirect adverb ὅππι in the next clause (“in what direction of sailing home”), which introduces the indirect question. The genitive is used with adverbs (e.g., ὅππι γῆς). Sm. §1439. In the middle, ὁμιλίζω, “get, give heed to,” can mean “travel, journey, get somewhere.” LSJ s.v. II.4. In the passive, it means “get back or return.” LSJ s.v. III. Hence, “They were more concerned with the question in what direction of sailing home they will get back.”

ἔσοι. Third plural subjunctive of an alpha-contract verb in a fearing clause; identical in form to the indicative. For the negative μὴ...οὖ in a negative clause of fearing (i.e., “[fearing that not”), see Sm. §2221.

54.1. τὰ κατὰ ὁμίλος ἔξενεχθέντα. The bodies and the wrecks had been carried back to the Corinthians by the current and the wind. The expression is related to the verb καταφέρω, which means “drive back to land.” LSJ s.v. II.2. Cf. Thuc. IV.3.1. Cf. also I.54.2, τὰ κατὰ ὁμίλος αὐτοῖς ναυαγία [The shipwrecks that had washed back to shore where they were].

56.2. ὅπως ἡμοιόσωσαν αὐτοῖς. ὅπως with the future after a verb of effort (πρασσόντων). Sm. §§2209–11. αὐτοῖς refers to the Athenians.

ἐπιθημοῦγοις. “magistrates.” This term was used specifically for the magistrates that Doric cities sent out to their colonies. Potidaea was a Corinthian colony, with annual magistrates sent out by Corinth, but it was also a member of the Delian League and a formal ally of Athens.

57.2. ἐπεπλέμονο. “had been made an enemy, had been treated as an enemy.” LSJ s.v. πολέμω. Gomme (ad loc.) says it means “was at war.” But cf. Thuc. I.37.1, where πολέμῳντο cannot mean “be at war” formally; there, it can only mean “treated as an enemy.”

ἔπρασσεν...ὅπως γένηται. “Verbs of effort sometimes have the construction of final clauses, and take, though less often, ὅπως with the present or second [i.e., thematic] aorist subjunctive or optative. The subjunctive may be used after secondary tenses” (Sm. §2214).

ἀὐτοῖς. I.e., the Athenians.

57.5. εἶ... ἐχοῦ... ἄν... ποιεῖσθαι. Potential condition in indirect discourse after νομίζων. The secondary sequence is determined by the
Commentary

leading verb, the imperfect προσέφερε λόγους. The original direct form would be εἰ . . . ἔχων, ποιοῖον ἄν. Smyth does not adequately treat conditions in indirect discourse. In general, the apodosis becomes the corresponding infinitive (i.e., the infinitive of the same voice and aspect as the direct verb), and original independent verbs with ἄν (i.e., potential optatives, imperfects, and aorists) retain the ἄν when transformed to the infinitive. The protasis retains its original form, but general protases introduced by ἦν may change from subjunctive to optative after secondary leading verbs (the optative option), losing their ἄν.

57.6. αὐτόν. I.e., Perdiccas.

†δέκα†. The daggers mean that the editor has despaired of fixing the text here. It is a locus desperatus. The issue is that this would mean eleven commanders on the same expedition, which the editor deems impossible. In 1.116.1, Thucydides says that Pericles had nine colleagues in command in a sea battle off Tragia, which is reasonable because there were ten generals on the Board of Generals. But where would we get eleven? The favorite emendation is τεσσαρών (Krüger), on the paleographical grounds that the MS had δ, meaning “four,” which was then interpreted wrongly as δέκα, “ten.” The objection to that is that Δ is the older form for “ten” and may have been used by Thucydides himself. But see 1.61.2, where Kallias sails to Macedonia with four colleagues in command.

ὁπώς μὴ ἀρεστήσουνταί. ὁπώς μὴ with the future after a verb of effort. Sm. §§2209–11.

58.1. εἰ ποὺς πείσειαν. “In case” clause with optative in secondary sequence. Sm. §2354. This clause sets forth the motive for the embassy.

[ἐπρασσομένῳ] ὁπῶς ἔτομάσαντο. The editor has bracketed ἐπρασσομένῳ, indicating that he thinks it does not belong in the text. The main verb of the sentence is ἀφίστανται, and there is no room for another finite verb in this elegantly balanced sentence. The ὁπῶς ἔτομάσαντο follows neatly after ἐλθόντες as a simple purpose clause in the optative in secondary sequence, and the ἐπρασσομένῳ is not needed.

The backbone of this sentence follows.

τότε ἀφίστανται
πέμψαντες
εἰ ποὺς πείσειαν
ελθόντες
ότως ἐτοιμάσαντο

ἐπειδή
οδύν [τε] ἡφοντο

όλλ
ἐπλευν
καὶ ὑπέσχετο
ἐσβολεῖν

ἡ ἰωσιν

It is in primary sequence, but the aorist participles intervene and shift the clause εἴ πως πείσαν and the clause ὅτως ἐτοιμάσαντο to secondary sequence, because the aorist participles indicate a time before the main verb (“having sent, having gone”). Sm. §2176. The grammars do not make this principle clear.

ἐκ πολλοῦ πρόσοντες. “negotiating for a long time.”

τὰ τέλη. “the authorities.”

59.2. μετὰ Φιλίππου κτλ. “in cooperation with Philip.”

61.1. τῶν πόλεων. Objective genitive—hence, “news about the cities.” Sm. §1332. The news is explained by the following ὅτι clause.

61.3. ἴσιμβασιν ποησάμενοι. “having made an agreement.” The point is that they came to a convenient accommodation with Perdiccas and made the best deal they could, because the matter of Potidaea was more pressing.

61.4. χωρίς δὲ τῶν ἴσιμβασιν πολλοῖς. Here, χωρίς is not an improper preposition taking the genitive but a simple adverb, and τῶν ἴσιμβασιν is a partitive genitive with πολλοῖς, which is parallel to τρισχιλίοις. Hence, “with many of the allies besides.” τρισχιλίοις and πολλοῖς are what Smyth calls, with picturesque precision, “datives of military accompaniment” (Sm. §1526).

61.5. κατ’ ὀλίγον δὲ προσήντες. “advancing by short marches.”
62.3. ἡ γνωμὴ τοῦ Ἀριστέως... ἔχοντι. Constructio ad sensum. ἔχοντι is dative even though it modifies τοῦ Ἀριστέως, because the expression ἡ γνωμὴ τοῦ Ἀριστέως is equivalent to ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀριστεί.

διακοσίαν ὑπὸν. When ὑπὸς is used as a collective noun meaning “cavalry,” it is feminine. LSJ s.v. II.

62.4. ὃποιος ἔφυγος τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν. τοὺς ἐκείθεν, meaning “the people from there [sc., Olynthus]” (Sm. §1153e), is the subject of the infinitive ἐπιβοηθεῖν, meaning “bring aid.” ἐπιβοηθεῖν is used absolutely, i.e., with no expressed object. Cf. Thuc. III.69.2. The whole infinitive phrase is the object of ἔφυγος. Hence, “in order to prevent the people from there from bringing aid.” Sm. §2744.2.

62.6. λογίδες. “picked troops.”

63.1. διακινδυνεύομ. Deliberative subjunctive in indirect discourse after ἰστόριον. Hence, “He was at a loss [concerning] which of the two risks he should take.”

ὁς ἐς ἐλαχιστον χωρίον. “over the shortest distance possible.” Here, ὁς goes with the superlative. Sm. §1086.

παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν. “along the breakwater.” LSJ s.v. II. The scholiast here says: χηλὴ καλεῖται οἱ ἐπιμορίζει τοῦ πόλεος θάλασσαν τεῖχος προς-βλημένων λίθων διὰ τὴν τῶν χιμάτων βίαν, μὴ τὸ τεῖχος βλάπτωσι [The stones built out in front of the sea wall, so the wall is not damaged by the force of the waves, is called the chele].

βαλλόμενος. “under fire, being shot at.”

64.1. τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ [τεῖχος]... ἀποτείχοσαντες. ἀποτείχιζω means simply “fortify,” “blockade,” or, possibly, “build a counter wall.” ἐκ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ means “on the north side,” i.e., toward the neck of the isthmus. It is contrasted with the following ἐς τὴν Παλληνὴν, meaning “toward Pallene,” i.e., toward the south. Pallene is the widened part of the peninsula, contrasted with the narrow neck in the north. Heerwerden bracketed τεῖχος because it seemed superfluous, and the parallel phrase τὸ δ’ ἐς τὴν Παλληνὴν does not have it. Thus, the phrase means simply “the north side of the city,” not “the north wall.” It is not altogether clear what Thucydides means here. Gomme (p. 18) implies that the Athenians built
a defensive wall around their camp on the north side of the city, i.e., not a circumvallation or a blockading wall. Crawley’s translation reads, “The wall [of the city] on the side of the isthmus had now works at once raised against it.” Warner’s translation reads “The Athenians at once built and manned a counter wall to the north of the wall across the isthmus.” But there is no wall “across the isthmus,” and Warner seems to have misinterpreted ε(animated)ται ισθµαι. Classen and Steup (ad loc.) say, “The blockading of Potidaea by a besieging wall was accomplished in the following fashion: first the north and later also the south city wall were invested by a circumvallation; in the west and east where the city extended to the sea, blockade was only possible with ships.” Whether Thucydides is talking about the city wall or the counter wall, whether the wall is no more than the defensive wall of the Athenian camp, and whether the wall extended across the isthmus are all unclear. But the following passage where the Athenians do not think they are strong enough to invest the south side of the city suggests a blockading wall, not merely the wall of the Athenian camp.

οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλῃ Ἀθηναῖοι. I.e., the Athenians back home in Athens.

65.1. ξυμβούλευε ... τιμήσας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλέον. “He counseled the others [except for five hundred defenders] to be on the lookout for a favorable wind and sail away.”

τὰ ἐπὶ τούτος. “what was necessary under these circumstances,” LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.III.3; Sm. §1689.2c.

όπως... ἔξει. ὁπώς with the future after a verb of effort (παρασκευάζειν). Sm. §2209–11.

65.2. ἦς τε Πελοπόννησον ἐπιράοντεν ὅπη... γενήσεται. πρῶσειν ἦς τινα means “to operate secretly.” LSJ s.v. πρῶσω 1.6b. ὅπη plus the future is not strictly a clause of effort here, because it is not introduced by ὅπως. It behaves rather like an indirect question: “He intrigued how the help was going to come.” But ὅπως and ὅπη are often linked in a fixed phrase, as in ὅπη ἔχει καὶ ὅπως (Pl. Resp. 612a), and it might be possible for an effort clause to be introduced by ὅπη.

66.1. ξυνεφήγεσθαι. Third singular pluperfect active intransitive of συρρήγνυμι, “break, dash together.” Hence, “had broken out.”
Commentary

᾿ανοικητήρ. “armistice, cease-fire.”

ιδία, “privately”—hence, “because the Corinthians had done these things on a private basis rather than as a matter of state policy.” Officially, Aristaeus and his men were “volunteers” coming to the aid of the Chalcidians, rather than a formal expedition from Corinth in consequence of a formal alliance with the Chalcidians. Gomme, ad loc.

67.2. οὗ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι υπάνα τὰς ὀποιὰς. The Thirty Years’ Truce (445 B.C.), which brought to an end the so-called First Peloponnesian War, in which Pericles attempted to create a land empire and which culminated in the revolt of Euboea, specified among other things that the sovereignty and independence of Aegina be guaranteed. Alternatively, there may have been a separate treaty between Athens and Aegina, by which Aegina agreed to become a member of the Delian League.

67.3. ξύλοις σφών αὐτῶν . . . τῶν εἰσθήτων. The ordinary Spartan assembly to which all citizens over thirty years of age were admitted.

68.1. τὸ πιστόν. Neuter adjective instead of abstract noun (the schema Thucydideum). Hence, “confidence.”

πολιτεία καὶ ὀμιλία. “constitution and way of life.”

ἀν’ αὐτοῦ. Sc., τοῦ πιστοῦ.

68.2. οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν. Sc., ἤμας.

68.3. δόν is here a complicated relative pronoun. It is genitive plural because it is partitive with the selecting phrases τοῖς μὲν and τοῖς δὲ. Hence, “some of whom you see already enslaved . . . against others of whom you see them [Athenians] plotting . . .” etc. Its antecedent is usually taken to be τὴν Ἑλλάδα by a constructio ad sensum—i.e., as meaning τοῖς Ἑλλήνας. But there is an element of causality in the clause: it is equivalent to ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . . “since, you see that of the Greeks some . . .” Sm. §2555.

ἐἰ ποτὲ ἄρα πολεμήρονται. “In case” clause (which Smyth calls an “if haply” clause)—hence, “in case they will someday go to war.” Sm. §2354. The combination ἐἰ ἄρα is used if the outcome is undesirable. Sm. §2796. Hence, “in case, heaven forbid, they will someday go to war.”
68.4. γάρ generally means that the preceding sentence requires explanation and that the sentence that follows will clear up the meaning. Hence, “What do we mean by saying that the Athenians are preparing in advance for war? Unless they are preparing for war, they would not . . .”

οὐ γάρ ἄν . . . εἶχον . . . ἐπολλόρσκουν. Potential imperfects, the independent part of a present contrary-to-fact condition. It is as if the protasis—i.e., the phrase “Unless they were preparing for war”—were suppressed. Sm. §§1784, 1786.

69.1. δουλοσώμενος. Here, this verb does not have passive meaning but means “make subject to oneself.” Cf. Thuc. I.18.2, V.29.3, VII.68.2.

ἀυτό. I.e., depriving the Greeks of liberty.

εἰπερ καὶ . . . φέρεται. Real conditional clause with indicative, meaning “even if in fact.” In the middle, φέρω means “carry off as a prize, win.” LSJ s.v. A.V.3. The prize is the reputation for virtue.

69.2. ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. “on explicit terms, for clear purpose.”

εἰ ἀδικοῦμεθα. Indirect question. Sm. §2671.

οἱ γὰρ δρόντες . . . ἐπέρχονται. “for efficient people, who have already made plans against those who are in a state of indecision, move without delay.” ἦδη is to be taken with βεβουλευμένων. καὶ connects βεβουλευ-μένωι and μέλλοντες, literally, “those who have made plans already and do not delay move.”

69.3. κατ᾿ ὀλίγον. “little by little.”

διὰ τὸ ἀνασθήσαν. Neuter adjective for abstract noun (the schema Thucydideum). Hence, “on account of your lack of perception.”

γνώντες δὲ εἰδότας περισσάν. Both participles are conditional. Sm. §2067. Hence, “but if they recognize that if you do know, you overlook . . .” The point is that if the Athenians think that they are getting away with their aggression because the Spartans do not notice, the former will move carefully, so as not to awaken the latter, but it will be even worse if the Athenians conclude that the Spartans do not even care and, thus, that no caution or hesitancy is necessary.

69.4. ἵσυνχάζετε picks up the idea in the preceding εἰδότας περισσάν. Hence, “you do nothing.”
τινα. Object of ἀµυνόμενοι. In the middle, ἀµύνομεν means “defend oneself against” and takes an accusative of the person. LSJ s.v. B.1.b.

τῇ μελλήσει, “by being about to do something.” The noun is related to the verb μέλλω, “to be about to, to delay.”

69.5. καίτοι ... ἐξιστατεύσατε. “and yet you used to be called reliable, whose reputation [it turns out] exceeded your action.” The relative clause marks a surprising conclusion because of ἀρα. “ἀρα is often used to indicate a new perception, or surprise genuine or affected; as when the truth is just realized after a previous erroneous opinion” (Sm. §2795).

τὸν τε γάρ Μήδον κτλ. This sentence has three coordinate independent clauses connected by καί.

ἀσεμν
καί ... περισσάτε
καί ... βουλέσθε

All the rest is dependent on one of these. The ἄσεμν clause takes an accusative and participle in indirect discourse after a verb of perception. Sm. §2106.

ἀσεμν ... τὸν Μήδον ... ἐλθόντα πρότερον
ἡ τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ... προσπατήσαι.

πρότερον here acts like πρὶν with the infinitive. Sm. §§2383c, 2458. τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν means “your defense forces” and is the subject of the infinitive προσπατήσαι.

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοῖ. “instead of attacking yourselves.” αὐτοῖ is the subject of the articular infinitive and is nominative because it refers to the subject of the main verb. Sm. §1973a.

Βουλέσθε has two complementary infinitives, ἀµύνεσθαι and καταστήσαι, and the subject is modified by two circumstantial participles, ἄγωνι-ζόμενα and ἐπισταμένοι. The latter is followed by two participles in indirect discourse after a verb of knowing with accusative subject (Sm. §2106), ἀφαλέντα and περικεφαλημένους.

The backbone of this sentence follows.

Βουλέσθε
ἀµύνεσθαι ἐπίόντας
καί ἐς τυχίας καταστήσαι
αγωνιζόμενου πρὸς δυνατωτέρους καὶ ἔπισταμένου τὸν βασιλείαν ὑφαλέντα καὶ ἤμας περιγεγενημένους ἐπεὶ . . . ἔφθειμαν.

ἐμένωθα ἐπιόντας. “to defend yourselves against the attackers.”

ἐς τυχαὶ . . . καταστήματα. The intransitive aorist καταστήματα means “to be in a certain state or position” and often occurs with the preposition ἐς, as in ἐς φόβον, ἐς δέος, ἐς τοὺς κυνήγιους—hence, “to be in fear, to be at risk.” LSJ s.v. καθίστημι B.V. ἀγωνιζόμενου explains the risk. Hence, here, “to stand the risk of fighting people more powerful by far.”

αἱ ὑμετέρας ἐλπίδες. ὑμετέρας stands for an objective ἐς ὑμᾶς, and the phrase means “hope placed in you.” Sm. §1197.

69.6. μηδεὶς . . . νομίσῃ. Prohibitive subjunctive. Sm. §1800.

αἰτία. “expostulation”—i.e., a friendly remonstrance rather than an accusation. LSJ s.v. 1.4. Classen and Steup translate, “Our suggestions are no κατηγορία but an αἰτία: for we are treating you as erring friends [φίλοι ἀμφισβήνοντες], not as enemies who have done wrong [ἔχθροι ἄδικησαντες]; therefore regard our intention not as hostile, but as friendly.”

70.1. εἰπέρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι. “if any others [are worthy—i.e., have a right—we certainly are]”; i.e., “if anybody has a right, we do.”

ἄλλως τε καὶ. “especially.”

ἐκλογισσοῦσα . . . ἐστα. The indirect question after ἐκλογιζόμενος is introduced by the question words οἷος and ὁος. Classen and Steup paraphrase the indirect question as οἷοι εἰςν Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς οἷς ὑμῖν ὁ ἀγών ἐστα, καὶ ὁοσον καὶ ὁς τοῖν ἤμοι διαφέρονται. But it is somewhat collapsed because the question word οἷος is the object of the preposition πρὸς, as is the participle διαφέροντας. Hence, “You do not seem ever to have considered what kind of men these Athenians are with whom you will have a fight or how much and how completely they are different from you.”

70.2. ἐξετάς. This adjective (meaning “quick, sharp, eager”) and the epexegetical infinitives ἐπινοῆσαι and ἐπιτελέσαι, which apply to the Athe-
nians, make logical sense. But the infinitives that apply to the Spartans hang in midair. They cannot logically be dependent on ὀξεῖς, since that would mean the Spartans were quick to do nothing. Maybe the Corinthians are being sarcastic and are really saying, “You are quick to keep what you have, thus initiate nothing, and quick to fail to bring to completion in actuality what is necessary.”

ἔργω...τόνομα ἐξεισθῆναι. “to bring necessary things into action, to accomplish what is necessary.” ἐξωσάμεναι is ordinarily intransitive but here has transitive force. LSJ s.v. II.2.

70.3. παρά. “beyond.” LSJ s.v. C.III.3.

τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον “It is your thing [characteristic, habit] to...” (plus the infinitives πράσσω, πιστεύω, and ὀνόμασθαι).

70.4. καὶ μὴ καὶ. “and in truth also.” Sm. §2921.

ὁντα...ἂν τι πάσησαι...τὰ ἐποίημα ἂν βιάσαi. The infinitives represent potential optatives in indirect discourse after ὁντα. The direct form would be, e.g., κτόμηθα ἂν τι. Sm. §1845.

70.6. ἀλλοτριωσάτοις, meaning “completely belonging to another (here, to the city), expendable,” is contrasted with ὀικεῖντα, meaning “completely one’s own.” The point is that the Athenians treat their bodies as if they belonged to the state and were expendable, whereas their ingenuity, intelligence, thought, and opinions belong to themselves but are used for the benefit of the city.

70.7. ἀ μὲν...μὴ ἐπεξέσκοποιν and ἀ δὲ ἂν...κτόμοντα are general relative clauses in primary sequence with ἂν plus the subjunctive (“whatever” clauses). Sm. §2567.

ὁντα governs two infinitives of indirect discourse, στέφεσθαι (with no accusative subject, since its subject is the same as that of the leading verb) and τυχεῖν.

ὁλίγα πρὸς τὰ μᾶλλοντα. “little in comparison to future things.” LSJ s.v. πρὸς C.III.4.

τυχεῖν πράξασθαι is the familiar use of τυχάνω with the participle to mean “to happen to do something,” here used in indirect discourse after
῾ηγούνται. Hence, “they think they happen to have achieved little . . .” The participle is nominative because it refers to the subject of the leading verb. But τυγχάνω with the participle can express a coincidence in time “just now.” LSJ s.v. II.1. So we may translate, “they think they have achieved little just then in comparison with things to come.”

ἅντελπίσαντες. “hoping instead”—i.e., as a substitute for the failed enterprise.

Σῖθαν τὴν χρείαν. Σῖθαν is an “empiric” aorist. “With adverbs signifying often, always, sometimes, already, not yet, never, etc., the aorist expressly denotes a fact of experience” (Sm. §1930). There is no such adverb here, but the eventual conditional protasis and the presence of the word πείρα are sufficient. χρεία here means “lack, loss.” Hence, “they always make up the loss.” Note that this “empiric” aorist does not cause the conditional clause to change to secondary sequence.

70.8. This sentence has two independent clauses, with the verbs μύχθοντας and ἀπολαλόμας. Dependent on the latter is the preposition διά, followed by two articular infinitives, κτάσθαι and ἤγεισθαι. After ἤγεισθαι is a predicative construction without εἶναι, consisting of two accusatives (“to think A is B”).

ἡγεισθαί

ἔως τὴν = μήπε ἄλλο
ἡ τα δέοντα πράξαι
ἡσυχίαν τε = οὐχ ἠσοον ἄρμασθον
ἡ ἁγόρασθαν.

Hence, “because they consider a holiday nothing else than to do what is necessary, and [because they consider] leisurely peace and quiet no less a trouble than [is] laborious activity.”

70.9. Συνελάπω. “summarizing, speaking concisely, in a word.” LSJ s.v. συνελάπω I.2b.

71.1. The backbone of this sentence follows.

διαμέλετε
καὶ οίσετε
τὴν ἠσυχίαν ἄρξεῖν
οὐ τούτως
Commentary

οἱ ἄν . . . πράσῳσι
καὶ οἱ [ἄν] δήλοι ὡσι
ἀλλ’ . . . νέμετε . . . τὸ ἵσον
ἐπὶ
tῷ μὴ λυπεῖν
καὶ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι

οὗ τοῦτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Partitive genitive with pronoun. Sm. §1317.
The negative applies only to τοῦτος. Hence, “not to those who . . . , but you . . .”

ὁραεῖν. From the meaning “be sufficient,” this verb came to mean “last, endure.” LSJ s.v. III.4.

οἱ ἄν τῇ μὲν πρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσῳσι. “whoever act justly in their preparation for war.”

μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες. This construction is absolute (i.e., without object) and means “not submitting, not giving in.” The negative is μὴ because the participle is embedded in the conditional clause ἵν ἄδικωνται.

The parallelism is between τῇ μὲν πρασκευῇ [preparations] and τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ [will/determination], i.e., between acting justly in whatever preparations for war there are and being firm in their resolve if they are harmed. These are the positive attitudes the Corinthians would like to see in the Spartans.

ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν . . . τὸ ἵσον νέμετε. “You exercise fairness on the basis of not injuring . . . and not being injured.” Crawley translates, “Your ideal of fair dealing is based on the principle that . . .” τὸ ἵσον is a neuter adjective used instead of an abstract noun (the schema Thucydideum). The verb νέμω basically means “distribute, dispense” and came to mean “manage, inhabit, possess, etc.” Its meaning here, “exercise, practice,” is unusual—and, indeed, is omitted from LSJ—but τὸ ἵσον νέμετε is parallel to the earlier δίκαια πράσῳσι and is similar to Thucydides’ usage in 1.120.1: τὸ ἰδίᾳ ἐξ ἵσου νέμοντας [administering private interests equitably].

αὐτοὶ ἁμονόμενοι. The subject of the infinitive is nominative because it refers to the subject of the leading verb νέμετε. Sm. §1973.

71.2. μόλες δ’ ἄν πόλει ὁμοία παροικοῦντες ἐτυγχάνετε τούτῳ. Potential imperfect. Sm. §1784. Hence, “You would acquire this [i.e., to harm none and not to be harmed] with difficulty [even if] you lived next to a city like [yours; i.e., with the same nonaggressive policy].”
ὡσπερ τέχνης. “as of an art or craft, [so in politics].”

τὰ ἑπηγγόμενα κρατεῖν. “The emerging new facts [of a craft] prevail [over the old-fashioned].” τὰ ἑπηγγόμενα has to be the subject of κρατεῖν, because any object would have been genitive. Here, κρατεῖν is used absolutely.

πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἑπετεχήσασθαι δεῖ. πολλῆς is in predicate position. Sm. §1169. Hence, “there is need for innovation to be abundant.”

71.4. ὀφεῖθο. Third singular perfect middle imperative of ὀφεῖμο, “put a boundary to.” The omega results from the lengthening of the initial vowel of ὀφεῖμο to form the perfect stem, an analogue to reduplication in verbs beginning with a single consonant. (It must not be called an augment. Augments have a different origin and signal past tense.) Hence, “let your slowness be put an end to.” (An archaic English construction frequent in Jane Austen is useful here for illustrating the Greek syntax. Jane said somewhere, e.g., “What shall he be done to?” In such a transformation, the object of an English preposition becomes the subject of the sentence.)

προῳθήκε. Second plural aorist middle subjunctive of προῷκθι. The aorist stem of ἔκακθι is ḕ (from *ye-), and the subjunctive morpheme is ~η/ω, so *γέ-η-σθε becomes ~η/σθε (it occurs only in compounds).

71.5. δι` ἐρημιάν. “from being left alone.”

72.1. παρατείνε. Neuter plural verbal adjective in τέος expressing necessity. Sm. §§471, 473. The use of the neuter plural is peculiar to Thucydides. It is formed from the verb παρατείνε, a compound of εἰμι, “be.” This construction usually acts like the impersonal passive periphrastic in Latin (e.g., eundum est mihi, “I must go”) and ordinarily has a dative of agent. Sm. §1488. But here, the participle ἀπολογομένους has drifted over into the accusative. Schwyzer-Debrunner, 410. (αὐτοῖς goes with ἔδοξεν.) The normal verbal of εἰμί is ἴτιον, but this is from the secondary formation *ἵτιτέο (Schwyzer, 705). Cf. Ar. Nub. 131. Either the neuter plural or the neuter singular of the verbal may be used in the impersonal construction, with no difference of meaning. Goodwin-Gulick §§1596–99 (here more helpful than Sm.).

῾ων ὤδευον and ὄν ἀπειροὶ ἴσον follow ἕπομνησον. Hence, “to remind the elders of what they knew and to give indication to the young of what they have not experienced.” The first relative takes its genitive case from the ghost antecedent. The filled-out expression would be ὑπὸμνησιν ἐκείνων ἀκτ. The second relative is genitive (a) from the ghost antecedent and (b) because ἀπειρος takes a genitive. LSJ s.v.

νομίζοντες... ὅπερ... τράπεσθα. Potential optative in indirect discourse. Sm. §1845.

72.2. οἴ τι μή ἀποκωλῦσιν. Real condition in indirect discourse in secondary sequence after past leading verb. The direct form would be βουλόμεθα... οἴ τι μή ἀποκωλῦσιν, “If there is no objection, we want to speak.” This indirect form then means “They said that if there was no objection, they wanted to speak.” Smyth’s treatment of conditional clauses in indirect discourse leaves much to be desired, but see Sm. §2619.

73. ἡμῶν with καταβοὴν. “against us.”

παρῆλθον... οὐ... ἀνεύροντες. This future participle signifies purpose after a verb of motion (Sm. §2065) and is parallel with the negative purpose clause ὡς μή... βουλέσθησαι.

73.2. ὃν ἀκοοῖ μᾶλλον λόγον μάρτυρες ἣ ὧψ τῶν ἀκοοσμένων. The contrast is between the direct experience of the audience (a better argument) and the ancient tales (not so convincing). Here, too, is a grammatical play of singulars and plurals, which may seem confusing. ἀκοοῖ [hear-say] is plural because its modifying genitive, λόγον, is plural. Hence, “of which stories hearsay is the witness, rather than the direct observation of those who are going to listen [to us],” ὃν is a relative adjective modifying λόγον, which is the incorporated antecedent. Sm. §2536. ἀκοόω is dependent in the future.

εἰ καὶ δι’ ὠχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται. δι’ ὠχλου εἶναι means “be or become troublesome.” LSJ s.v. ὠχλος II. The entire phrase is a kind of real condition with future indicative, which Smyth classifies (on the basis of its translation) as a “concessive clause” (Sm. §2375). This is not the so-called emotional future condition (Sm. §2328) but simply a real condition meaning “Even if it is going to be troublesome...,” “Granted that it will be troublesome...,” or “Although it will be troublesome...” The combination εἰ καὶ makes it “concessive.”
προβαλλομένοις. Μήτις. Hence, “Although it will be rather troublesome [tiresome] for us referring constantly to things that...” LSJ s.v. προβάλλω B.III.2. Some editors argue for the translation “tiresome to you,” but the middle seems to argue against it.

Ὅτε ἔδρωμεν. Definite past temporal clause with indicative denoting the same time as the principal verb (ἐκδιπλώδοτο). Hence, “When we were actually doing this..., the risk was being taken...” Sm. §2395A.

ἐπὶ ὑφελίω. “for a [certain] advantage.” LSJ s.v. ἑπὶ B.III.2 (of an end or purpose). The rest of the sentence is dependent on the word ὑφελίω, the antecedent of the relative pronoun ἦς, which is followed by two other dependent genitives linked by μὲν and δὲ, τοῦ μὲν ἔργου and τοῦ δὲ λόγου. τοῦ μὲν ἔργου is a defining genitive of the neuter noun μέρος, and τοῦ δὲ λόγου is the genitive complement of the verb στερίσκωµεθα, a verb in ἑκσκω derived from στερεω. Sm. §§526–28. Hence, “a part of the actual outcome of which [i.e., the good] you share in, but let us not be deprived of all of the credit.” In Thucydides, the word ἔργον tends to refer to actualities, facts, realities, brass tacks, material advantage, action—as opposed to λόγος, which refers to words, promises, theories, pretenses, reputation, talk. LSJ s.v. λόγος VI.2d.

εἰ τι ὑφελέτ. Real condition with present indicative. Hence, “if [in fact] reputation is an advantage.”

73-3. μὴ εὗ βουλευομένοις. The negative μὴ is used because the participle is equivalent to a conditional clause. Sm. §2728.

73-4. ἐσχε μὴ... αὐτὸν... πορθεῖν. “prevented him from sacking.” LSJ s.v. ἔχον A.II.10. For a summary of constructions after verbs of hindering, see Sm. §2744.

ἀδύνατον ἄν ὄντων. Although this looks like a simple genitive absolute, it is only an attributive genitive, modifying the implied τῶν Πελοποννησίων in the word τὴν Πελοποννήσιον. ἄν indicates that the original form was a potential optative or contrary-to-fact condition. Sm. §1845. The context indicates a contrary-to-fact condition, i.e., ἀδύνατον ἄν ἦσαν. Hence, “in which case [i.e., if he had sacked the cities of the Peloponnesians] they [the Peloponnesians] would have been unable to come to each others’ aid against so many ships.” The imperfect is used in a past contrary-to-fact condition (where we expect the aorist) if the action was continuous or habitual. Sm. §2304. “Being unable” is such a continuous state.
73.5. ὡς...οὖντὶ...οὖσις. Genitive absolute with ὡς, indicating that this was the opinion or ground of action of the barbarian. Sm. §2086.

74.1. αἰτιώτατος. “most responsible, most to be credited with, most instrumental in causing.”

ὁπερ. Sc., τὸ ναυμαχῆσαι.

74.2. τὸν ἄλλων ἔδη μέχρι ἕμον δουλεύόντος. “the others as far as Attica [literally, “up to us”] being already slaves [to the Persians].”

ἡξιώσαμεν [we resolved] is followed by four infinitives.

μηδὲ...προσπείν
μηδὲ...γενέσθαι
ἀλλὰ...χανδυνεύσαι
καὶ μὴ ὑγιοθήναι

μηδ’ ὡς...προσπείν. “not even under those circumstances [when nobody came to our aid and all were enslaved] to abandon the alliance.”

Notice the accentuation of ὡς, the demonstrative adverb. Sm. §2988.

οὐ προσυμφόρήσατε. “You did not come to our aid earlier.”

74.3. ὡστε φαμὲν οἷς ἴπρον αἵτων ὁφελῆσαι ἕμας ἐκ τιχείν τούτου. Consequently, we claim that we ourselves helped you no less than we gained this [help from you]—i.e., “We gave as much help as we received.” The appearance of ὡστε at the beginning of a sentence marks a strong conclusion. LSJ s.v. B.II.2.

ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκονυμένων τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι. “[You came to our aid] from inhabited cities and for the purpose of inhabiting [them] in the future.” For ἐπὶ plus the dative articular infinitive to express aim or purpose, see LSJ s.v. B.III.2; cf. Thuc. I.38.2. In the middle, νέμω means “inhabit.” LSJ s.v. A.III.1.

οἷς ἕμοι τὸ πλέον. Ironic—i.e., “You did not fear more for us than for yourselves.”

ἄτο τῆς οὐχ ὕποιης ἐπὶ. Understand πόλεως.

τὸ μέρος. Neuter accusative used as an adverb, meaning “partly.” Sm. §§1606, 1609. It is linked to the element of joint effort in ξινεσόσαμεν and implies, “we did our part in saving both you and ourselves.” Cf. Thuc. I.127.2.
ός διεφθαρµένων. ὡς plus the participle to express the opinion of the subject. Sm. §2086. διεφθαρµένων is the nominative plural masculine perfect middle participle of διαφθείρω. Hence, “in the belief that we were already in the state of having been completely ruined.”

75.1. Ἄρα marks a question. Sm. §2650. Ἄρα μὴ marks a question expecting the answer no. Hence, “We don’t deserve to be envied, do we?” Sm. §2651. However, Denniston (Gr. Part. 2, p. 46–47) argues that Ἄρα μὴ does not expect the answer no but simply is used in rhetorical questions and that it merely implies “that the suggestion made is difficult of acceptance.” He interprets the present passage as expecting the answer yes, with μὴ negating only the infinitive. Hence, “Do we not deserve not to be envied?” He also observes that this is the only example of Ἄρα in Thucydides.

γνώμης ξυνέσεως ἑνεκα. “because of the correct insight of our decisiveness.”

ἀρχής... τοῖς Ἑλλησ... ἐπιφθάνως διακεῖσθαι. The verb διακεῖσθαι, “to be in a certain state,” is frequently used with an adverb that defines the state. Hence, “to be in a state of being envied.” The adjective ἐπιφθάνως means “liable or subject to envy.” The phrase ἐπιφθάνως διακεῖσθαι takes a dative of the person who is envious and a genitive of the cause of the envy. Sm. §1405. Hence, “We do not deserve to be envied by the Greeks for our hegemony, do we?” or, following Denniston (Gr. Part. 2, p. 47), “Do we not deserve to be free of envy for our hegemony?”

ἀρχής γε. γε implies that while there may be other reasons for envy, the Athenians’ hegemony, at least, should not be begrudged them. Sm. §2821.

75.3. προσαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε. “to advance [our hegemony] to this degree.”

μάλιστα ὑπὸ δέους, ἔπειτα καὶ τιμῆς, ὑπεροφοροῦν καὶ ὑφελίας. “mostly out of fear [of Persia], then out of honor [of being head of the hegemony], and finally out of self-interest [the material and political advantage gained from such a position].”

75.4. Καὶ οὐχ ὑφελίας κτλ. The backbone of this sentence (without the embedded genitive absolutes) follows.
Ἀνέντας is the accusative plural aorist active participle of ἀνένται. The two participles in the sentence are not really parallel. The first, ἀπηθημένος, is a circumstantial (causal) participle (“since we were . . .”) and is logically parallel to the genitive absolutes. The second, ἀνέντας, is a supplementary participle linked with the infinitive κινδυνεύειν; i.e., ἀνέντας κινδυνεύειν means “to take the risk consisting of letting it go.” Sm. §§2094–2105. The meaning is clearer if we transform the expression out of the infinitive construction into a finite construction. It is like ἀδικὼ ταύτα ποιών, “I am guilty in doing this.” Sm. §2101. So κινδυνεύον ἀνένς means “I run the risk of letting go.” Thus, the whole construction means “It did not seem safe [for us] to run the risk of letting go.” Finally, ἀνέναι is used absolutely; i.e., it is a transitive verb without its expected object “hegemony,” which can be easily supplied from the course of the discussion.

καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄν τηλ. γὰρ signals that this sentence will explain what was meant by κινδυνεύειν. ἑγίγνοντο is imperfect (where we expect aorist, for past potential) because it refers to repeated events. Sm. §2304.

75.1. γοῦν introduces an argument made with specific examples—hence, “You Lacedemonians, for instance, . . .” Sm. §2830; Denniston Gr. Part. 2, 451 f. This usage of γοῦν has picked up the nickname “part proof,” because it confirms a preceding statement not with full argument but with a specific, telling example of its truth.

καὶ εἰ τότε . . . κινδυνεύειν. This is a mixed contrary-to-fact condition in indirect discourse after εὖ ὑμεῖν μή. The protasis, εἰ ἀπηθηθεῖσθε, is past
contrary-to-fact with aorist, and the apodoses are present contrary-to-fact with imperfects represented by infinitives with ἀν.

The backbone of this sentence follows.

εὖ ἴσμεν μή

ὑμᾶς ἢ ἂρχειν ἄν

ἡ κινδυνεύειν ἄν
ei ἀπήρθεσθε

The negative μή is unusual, since the negative of the infinitive in indirect discourse is regularly οὐ. But μή is often used after leading verbs of strong asseveration or belief, such as εὖ ἴσμεν or μαρτυρεῖν, “bear witness.” Sm. §2725.

ἀπήρθεσθε is the second plural aorist middle of ἀπαθήθημαι, “be hated, incur hatred.” Some editors and many MSS read the pluperfect ἀπήρθησθε, which would be parallel with the earlier perfect participle ἀπηρθήμενοις. αὐτοῖς [yourselves] emphasizes that the Lacedaemonians would themselves have acted just as the Athenians did.

A translation of the sentence follows.

And if then you had remained in your position of leadership for the whole time and had become detested, as we are, we are certain that you would have become no less severe to your allies and would be compelled either to rule harshly or to find yourselves at risk.

76.2. The main verb of this sentence is πεποίηκαμεν, and everything is dependent on it. The Athenians are represented by the nominative participles and the “if” clauses, but after the “until” clause (μέχρι οὗ), the subject switches to the Spartans. There is an embedded genitive absolute and an embedded accusative absolute.

The backbone of this sentence follows.

πεποίηκαμεν οὕδεν θαυμαστόν
ei εἰ ἐδεξάμεθα
καὶ μή ἄνειμεν

ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες
καὶ δοκοῦντες

μέχρι οὗ
χωῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ
(ὅν προφείς) οὕδεις ἀπετράπετο.
καθεστώτος. Genitive singular neuter perfect active participle of καθιστήμι in a genitive absolute consisting of the participle alone without a noun. Sm. §2072b. This is an impersonal construction followed by an infinitive phrase. Hence, “it being an established rule for the weaker to be hemmed in by the stronger.” LSJ s.v. καθιστήμι B.6.

τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρήσθη. “now you appeal to the argument from justice.”

παρατυχόν ἰσχύι τι κτισασθαι. Accusative absolute. Sm. §2076. Hence, “there being a chance to acquire something by force.”

προθείς. Nominative singular masculine aorist active participle of προτίθημι, “advance as a principle, propose.” LSJ s.v. II.4. Some editors prefer the meaning “put before, prefer to” (LSJ s.v. IV.3) and understand a genitive of comparison in τῆς ἰσχύος—hence, “no one preferring which [i.e., to force].”

οὐδείς πο... ἀπετράπηστο. “Nobody who put forth the argument from justice was ever diverted from acquiring more” or, by the other interpretation, “Nobody was ever diverted from acquiring more by preferring the argument from justice [to that of strength].”

76.3. οἵτινες χρησάμενοι... γένονται. If we accept the reading of some MSS and Stuart Jones, γένονται is an aorist subjunctive in a general relative clause without ἄν—hence, “those who [are of such a kind as to] employ.” This construction, without ἄν, is common in Homer and occurs occasionally in Attic prose. Cf. Thuc. III.43.5, IV.17.2, IV.18.4. Sm. §§2567b. But other editors read with other MSS the perfect γεγένονται, making this a simple indicative relative clause (Sm. §§2553, 2562), meaning “those who, as a matter of fact, are in the present enduring state of actually employing.”

76.4. ἄλλοις γ᾿ ἄν σὺν οἴομεθα τὰ ἰμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξα ἄν μάλιστα εἰ τι μετράζομεν. The first ἄν is anticipatory, preparing us for the upcoming ἄν with δεῖξα, which represents a potential optative. Sm. §1765. λαβόντας is a conditional participle, meaning “if they took over.” Sm. §2067. εἰ τι μετράζομεν [whether we are at all moderate] is an indirect question after δεῖξα and is equivalent to ὅσον μετράζομεν, “how moderate we are.” οὐν is inferential and “signifies that something follows from what precedes” (Sm. §2964).
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικείας. Neuter adjective for abstract noun (the schema Thucydideum)—hence, “from moderation, fairness.”

περιέστη. The intransitive root aorist of περιέστηµ, “surround,” used here metaphorically with the dative, i.e., “surrounded us, stood around us.” LSJ s.v. B.1.3. Hence, “resulted.”

77.1. ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις. I.e., in lawsuits conducted according to treaties between allied states.

παρ᾿ ἡµιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁµοίοις νόµοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις. “establishing courts here [by us in Athens] according to the similar laws [as we ourselves are judged].”

The speaker seems to be giving two instances of Athenian ἐπιεικεία (fairness): (1) they themselves lose occasionally in the treaty courts (showing fairness) and (2) when trials are held at Athens, the allies are judged on the same basis as Athenians. The question is complicated both philosophically and historically. One question is whether Thucydides, rather than indicating two instances of ἐπιεικεία, is saying that at one time, cases were tried in treaty courts, but now that they have been transferred to Athens, the allies still are treated fairly (one instance of ἐπιεικεία). Gomme’s long note on the matter (p. 243) should be consulted.

“Yet if we translate Thucydides’ sentence in what seemed to be the most natural way, we must assume that between Athens and many, at least, of the subject states αἱ συµβολαί had been abolished, though we have no explicit evidence of this and the case of Mytilene—so soon after her drastic punishment—would be a surprising exception. The other alternative is to suppose, with many scholars, that Thucydides is giving two examples of Athenian ἐπιεικεία—her submission to (unjust) verdicts in many δίκαι ἀπὸ συµβολῶν where these take place in allied courts, and her establishment of impartial courts (for other cases) at home.”

77.2. The backbone of this sentence includes an indirect question.

οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ

διότι

οὐχ ὄνειδίζεται.

Hence, “no one considers why the charge is not made.” διότι is usually a conjunction but here an indirect interrogative. LSJ s.v. l.2.
τούτο οὖν ὑπειδιέγεται (τιν.). τούτο refers to φιλοδίστεϊν. The construction with ὑπειδιέγεσθαι is an accusative of reproach and a dative of whom the reproach is leveled. Here in the passive transformation, the accusative charge τούτο becomes nominative and the datives remain, namely, the participles ἔχουσα and ὑπέστη.

πρὸς Ἰμές ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσοῦ ὀμιλεῖν. “have dealings with us on an equal basis.” LSJ s.v. ὀμιλεῖν A.III.1.

77.3. παρὰ τῷ μὴ ὀφεισθαί χρῆναι. There is much confusion about the meaning of this phrase. Somehow it must be made to mean “contrary to what they think is right,” but the μὴ is troublesome, and the παρὰ is ambiguous. The point is that the allies are so used to being treated on an equal basis that when they are overruled in the courts or by imperial power, instead of being thankful they did not lose more, they resent their subject status. παρὰ can mean “contrary to” (LSJ s.v. C.III.4) or “in accordance with” (LSJ s.v. C.I.7), and μὴ could go with ὀφεῖσθαι or with χρῆναι. I think it best to take παρὰ as “in accordance with” and μὴ as the simple negative with the articular infinitive ὀφεῖσθαι. Hence, “in accordance with the fact that they do not think it ought to be.”

ὁ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἄρχην. “either by some legal decision made by us or by reason of the power we wield by virtue of our hegemony.”

οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισμένοι χάριν ἔχουσιν. “They are not thankful that they are not deprived of more.” οὐ negates χάριν ἔχουσιν, and μὴ negates στερισμένοι, which is a supplementary participle giving the reason or cause for thanks. It is parallel to supplementary participles with verbs of rejoicing and grieving, which give the ground for the emotion. Sm. §2100. The negative is μὴ because the reason for the action is regarded as the condition under which it takes place. Sm. §2731.

toῦ ἐνδεικνύοντος χαλεπότερον φέρουσιν. χαλεπός φέρειν means “take ill, take amiss, get indignant at.” LSJ s.v. φέρω A.III.2. χαλεπότερον is the comparative of the adverb χαλεπῶς. Sm. §345. The genitive τοῦ ἐνδεικνύοντος goes with the χαλεπότερον φέρουσιν—hence, “they are more indignant about their loss.” It is a genitive of cause with expressions of emotion. Sm. §1405. For the genitive with the adverb, cf. Thuc. II.62.3. Thus, instead of being thankful for the greater part that they have, they are more indignant about the smaller part that has been taken away from them, the “part lacking,” and they are more concerned about that “than if we habitually were . . .”
εἰ . . . ἐπλεονεχτούμεν. We would expect a past contrary-to-fact protasis here with the aorist ("than if we had ...`). But it is imperfect here because it is contrary not only to a present reality but also to a continuous reality in the past. Cf. Thuc. I.11.2. Hence, "if we had been in the custom of . . ." Sm. §2304.

ἐξίνως. "under those conditions, in that case"—sc., if the Athenians ignored the law and openly aggrandized.

77.4. πλεονεχτεῖσθαι. In the active, πλεονεχτέω means "gain some advantage, get a larger share, grasp for more." In the middle, it means "be taken advantage of." LSJ (s.v. II.2) explains this usage as impersonal ("to be an act of πλεονεχεῖσθα"), but it is parallel to καταναγκάζεσθαι, which is personal.

77.5. γοῦν indicates that what follows explains what was meant by the last general statement by giving a particular instance of its truth. Sm. §2830.

ἡνέχοντο. Third plural imperfect middle of ἄνεχο, "hold up, endure." In the middle, it means "bear up with patience." LSJ s.v. C.II.1. It has a double augment, both the preverb ἀνα- and the root ἐχ- being augmented. Sm. §451.

εἰκότως is added as an afterthought with the meaning "fairly understandably after all" and leads to the next explanatory generalization.

77.6. This sentence begins as a straightforward potential condition (the so-called future less vivid) with εἰ plus the optative in the protasis and the optative plus ἄν in the apodosis. Sm. §2329. It considers the possibility of an event, without expecting it to come true. But then there is another qualifying protasis, a real protasis with future indicative, introduced by εἰπερ, meaning "if indeed, if in fact," which signals that the condition is unfavorable or to be feared. Sm. §§2328, 2328a.

The backbone of this sentence follows.

εἰ ἀδέξατε
μεταβαλότε ἄν τὴν εὐνοίαν
Ίν εἰλήψατε
εἴπερ γνώσεσθε ὁμοία
οία ὑπεδείκτε

ἄν is repeated, as in Thuc. I.76.4. Sm. §1765.

τὸ ᾿Αἴμητερον δέος. “fear of us.” The possessive pronominal adjective stands for the objective genitive. Sm. §§1331, 1334.

The sentence may be translated,

So if you should destroy us and take over our empire, you would quickly lose the goodwill you have gained because we were feared . . .

πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δὲ ὁλέγοι ἤγγισαμενοι. “when for a short time you were in leadership against the Mede.”

γνώσεσθε. ὁμοία γνωσοκεῖν means “to have similar attitudes and principles of action.” The definition in LSJ (s.v. γνωσοκέω II.1), “form a judgement, think,” does not adequately treat this pregnant meaning. γνώσεσθε is middle merely because the future of γνωσκεῖν is deponent γνωσθαι. Hence, “if, in fact, you are going to maintain a policy similar to that which you demonstrated when for a time you led against the Mede.”

asInstanceOf<IArticleAnimal> Neuter plural verbal adjective from μείγνυμι, “mix”—hence, “unmixed.” LSJ spells the word ὁμίκτας. It is used of cultural monsters—e.g., centaurs and Cyclopes—who are savage and socially incompatible. Here, it means that the Spartan customs are “incompatible, and inharmonious with the customs and manners of others, and therefore not conducive to sincere and candid intercourse” (Classen and Steup, ad loc.).

78.1. Βουλέυσθε is an imperative and is parallel with the aorist subjunctive πρόσθησθε with negative μή, which is a negative command or prohibitive subjunctive. Sm. §1800.

Ἷς οὖ περὶ βραχεῖν. “since it does not concern trifles.” This is a litotes meaning “since it concerns weighty matters.” LSJ s.v. βραχύς 4.

78.2. Φιλεῖ. Thucydides uses the verb φιλέω only in the meaning “be used to, be accustomed to, customarily do” (LSJ s.v. II) and usually with an infinitive. The subject is ὁ πόλεμος.

τὰ πολλὰ. Adverbial.
περιστασθαι. When used of events, περιστηµι means “turn out, come around to, depend on.” LSJ s.v. B.II.3 (middle).

ἐν ἵσον ἀπέχομεν. The antecedent of ἵσον is τυχας. ἵσον is adverbial, meaning “equally.” ἀπέχομεν means “be away from” and takes the genitive of the place (or event). LSJ s.v. ἀπέχω III. Hence, “chances from which we are equally removed.” The phrase means that neither side in a war has control over the accidents.

ἐν ἀδήλω χινδυνεύεται. “The risk is taken in uncertainty [of the outcome].” LSJ s.v. ἀδήλος II.1b.

78.3. τῶν ἐγγον πρότερον ἔχοντα. “They grasp at actions first.” LSJ s.v. ἔχω C.1.2 (middle with genitive).

κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἤδη. “but once they are already in trouble.” ἤδη goes with the participle. Sm. §2080.

78.4. ἐός ἐτι with the indicative (here, the missing verb ἐστι) means “so long as still.” Sm. §2422. Hence, “as long as we both still have [the opportunity of] sound and independent counsel.”

μὴ λύειν, μηδὲ παραβαίνειν, and λύεσθαι are indirect imperatives after the leading verb ἐγγον. Smyth treats this construction under the usage of verbs of will and desire. Sm. §1997; see also §2633.

ταύτη ἤ ἐν ὑψηλήθη. “in this direction wherever you may lead.”

80.1. ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμισί. “of the same age as myself.”

τινα. Masculine singular accusative of the indefinite pronoun, meaning “anyone [of you older men],” used as the subject of the infinitive.

τοῦ ἐγγον. τὸ ἐγγον, here the genitive object of ἐπιθυµῆσαι, is frequently used to refer to the deeds of war and fighting. LSJ s.v. I.1. Since this is a common Homeric usage, perhaps Thucydides has lent something of an epic flavor to the speech of Archidamus.

80.3. παρόμοιος ἰµῶν ἡ ἀλκη. παρόμοιος is a feminine two-ending adjective because it is compound. Sm. §288. ἀλκη is an epic and poetic word meaning “strength, prowess, courage, effectiveness of defense.” Hence, “our strength was comparable.”
When used of military aims, this construction means “against each objective.”

Here, the aorist middle infinitive of ἀφιέναι is transitive and means “undertake.” LSJ s.v. IV.4. The subject of the infinitive is an understood ἡμᾶς, implied in the accusative plural participle πιστεύοντας.


This picks up the rhetorical question πῶς; hence, “Is it by means of ships?” πότερον introduces direct alternative questions. Sm. §2656.

Real condition with futures, in which the simple logical connection between the clauses is emphasized. This is not what Smyth calls the “emotional future” (Sm. §2328) but merely a real (or “logical”) condition in the future. Cf. Sm. §2301; Kühner-Gerth 2:466, §573. Hence, “if we really are going to prepare . . . , it will take time.”

We would expect ἥ to mark the second of the direct alternative questions. But we have here the figure called hypophora. Sm. §3029. Denniston (Gr. Part. 2, 10–11) says, “The proferring and rejecting of successive suggestions may be done by a single speaker, who conducts, as it were, a dialogue with himself. This device, known as hypophora, is freely used, for liveliness and variety by the Greek orators.” Cf. Thuc. VI.38.5.

The direct object of these verbs, understood from the preceding, is χρήματα.

ἀιτόν is not a possessive with ὀπλος but a genitive with ὑπερφέρομεν—hence, “we surpass them.”

Real condition with futures. Sm. §2301.

“especially.” Sm. §2980.

“It is likely that . . .” (plus an infinitive). “ἐῖσθι regularly takes the aorist infinitive (never future), where the probability of the
occurrence of a future action is to be expressed” (Classen and Steup, ad loc.). Sm. §1868b.

82.1. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ άκτλ. This complicated sentence has only two main verbs, the indicative κελεύω and the hortatory subjunctive ἐκποτίζομεθα, both expressions of bidding and desire. They are connected by the καί that introduces the ἐκποτίζομεθα clause. κελεύω, meaning “bid,” introduces seven infinitives that represent indirect imperatives, ἐὰν, μὴ καταφωράν, μήπω κινεῖν, αἰτάσθαι, ἐξαρτύεσθαι. Smyth does not call them indirect imperatives but treats them under verbs of will and desire. Sm. §§1991–92. The understood subject accusative of these infinitives is ὑμᾶς, but it is omitted because it is already clear to whom Archidamus is speaking. Sm. §1972.

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ. “nor again surely not.” Sm. §§2768, 2921.

ἀνασθήτως. “with indifference.”

αὐτοὺς κελεύω... καταφωράν. αὐτοὺς refers to the Athenians. A rearrangement of the sentence follows.

οὐδὲ κελεύω (ὑμᾶς) ἐὰν αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν τοὺς συμμάχους οὐδὲ κελεύω (ὑμᾶς) μὴ καταφωράν (αὐτοὺς) ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀλλὰ... μήπω κινεῖν.

[I do not suggest you should allow them to injure the allies, nor do I suggest you should not catch them red-handed when they are plotting intrigues, but I do suggest . . .]

In my translation, English should is not potential but, rather, marks an indirect imperative. ἀλλὰ neutralizes the negatives, and κελεύω becomes positive.

αἰτάσθαι μήτε... δηλούντας μήτ' όσ' ἐπιπρέψομεν. αἰτάσθαι is used absolutely to mean “make your complaints.” δηλούντας agrees with the omitted subject ὑμᾶς, and the negatives are μὴ because they are still under the regimen of the indirect imperatives after κελεύω. Hence, “without suggesting [literally, “making clear”] war.” μήτ' όσ' ἐπιπρέψομεν is logically, though not grammatically, parallel. Hence, “nor as if we are about to give in.”

καί τοῦτο = καί ἐν τούτῳ. Temporal, meaning “and in this period of time, in this interval.”
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τὰ ἰμέτερα αὐτῶν. “our own resources.” αὐτῶν modifies τὰ ἰμέτερα by a constructio ad sensum. Sm. §§1200.2b, 1203b, 1203b.N.

εἰ . . . προσληψόμεθα is not really a condition but an “in case” clause, or according to Smyth’s categorization, an “on the chance that” clause. Sm. §2354.

ἀνεπιφθον . . . διασωθήμα. The infinitive διασωθήμα is the subject, and the neuter adjective ἀνεπιφθον is the predicate adjective. The infinitive has an accusative subject, προσλαβόντας, which is modified by the relative clause. Hence, “it is not invidious for those who are being plotted against to find safety by enlisting the aid of both Greeks and barbarians.”

ἐπιβουλεύμεθα. Instead of the expected third plural ἐπιβουλεύοντα, the verb is attracted to the first person by ὤστε ἰμέτερα αὐτῶν. This is somewhat awkward, and some editors have proposed τὰ αὐτῶν, “things here.”

82.2. ἢν δὲ μὴ . . . ἰμέν. Eventual condition with ἐὰν plus the subjunctive (omitted—it would have been ἐσακυωσι) in the protasis and a future indicative (ἰμέν) in the apodosis (the so-called future more vivid). Sm. §§2323, 2326a. ἱμέν (ibimus) has future force.

82.3. τοῦς λόγους αὐτῆς ὑποσχιμανόντας. αὐτὴ refers to παρασκεύην and is dative after ὑποσχέντος. Hence, “pronouncements hinting at things corresponding to our preparation.”

82.4. μὴ . . . νομίσητε. Prohibitive subjunctive aorist. Sm. §1800.

ὅσοι ἰμεῖν ἐξειφόρασται. “the better it is cultivated.”

Ἰς φειδεόθα χρή, I.e., it is necessary for the Spartans to spare the Athenian land, which they consider as a hostage.

ἄληπτοτέρος ἦσιν. “find them more difficult to deal with.” ἄληπτοτέρος is a comparative verbal adjective from ἄπιθανο with alpha privative. Cf. Thuc. I.37, 143.

82.5. ὀρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ . . . πράξομεν. ὅπως μὴ plus the future after a verb of effort (ὀρᾶτε). Hence, “See to it that we do not do something worse.”
όρισω serves as a verb of effort only with negative clauses. Sm. §§2209, 2210b, 2211.

82.6. οἷόν τε = οἷόν τ' ἐστι. “it is possible.” ἐστι is often omitted in this idiom.

καθ’ ὁτι χωρίσατε. “how it will come out”—literally, “according to what it will come out.” κατά indicates manner. Sm. §1660.2c.


83.2. ὀπλων . . . δαπάνης. “Pregnant genitives” dependent on εἶναι—hence, “about weapons . . . money.” These are predicate genitives acting like predicate adjectives. Smyth calls them “genitives of quality.” Sm. §1320. Here, the word δαπάνη means “financial resources.”

τὸ πλέον. Thucydides often uses τὸ πλέον instead of μᾶλλον. Sm. §1068.

ὤψελε ἐκεῖ here means “be effective”—for someone, in the dative (ἵπτερος-τας), against someone, in the accusative with πρὸς (πρὸς θαλασσίους).

83.3. αὐτήν. I.e., δαπάνην.

πορισόμεθα . . . ἐπαιρόμεθα. Hortatory subjunctives. Sm. §1797. LSJ s.v. ἐπαιρίζει II (“get excited, be carried away”).

τὸν ἄποφασιντον. “the consequences, things that follow.”

τὸ πλέον is here the object of ἔξομεν with the genitive τῆς αἰτίας. Hence, “the greater part of the blame for the consequences.”

οὕτω. οὕτως is used instead of ὃς to avoid the repetition of the relative. Sm. §2517.

ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα. “whichever way things turn out”—literally, “toward both things.” LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ C.I.3 (“of the quarter or direction towards or in which a thing takes place”).

84.1. σπεύδοντες τὲ is picked up by καὶ . . . νεμόμεθα. σπεύδοντες is a conditional participle. Sm. §2067.

σχολαίτερον ἢν παύσασθαι. “You would more slowly cease.” In the active, παύω is transitive and means “stop or hinder something.” In the
middle, it is intransitive and means “stop doing something,” and it very often occurs with a supplementary participle (e.g., παύω λέγων, “I stop speaking”). Sm. §2098. Without such a participle, it has the simple intransitive meaning “stop, cease, make an end.” LSJ s.v. I.3.

ἀπαραστατοῖ. This subject of the articular infinitive is nominative (rather than accusative) because it refers to the subject of the leading verb. Sm. §1973a.

84.2. εὐπρομήγατον ὑπὸ ἐξουμίζομεν. “We do not get puffed up with successes.”

tὸν ἐξουμίζονταν is dependent on ἡδονή. ἐπὶ τὰ δείνα after ἐξουμίζονταν ἰμάς means “toward risky enterprises.”

παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἰμίν. “contrary to our judgment”—literally, “contrary to what seems good to us.” δοκοῦν is the neuter participle of δοκέω.

ἐνεπείσθημεν. Aorist in the apodosis of a present general condition. The gnomic aorist (Sm. §1931) is equivalent here to a present indicative. Sm. §§1931a, 2338.

84.3. πολεμοῦν... διαμετάται. This complicated sentence has only one main verb, γνώμεθα, and the rest depends on nominative participles and adjectives, which govern further dependent constructions. The whole sentence explains what Archidamus means by πολεμοῦν, on the one hand, and εὐβουλοῦν, on the other; the first point is short, and the second point is greatly expanded.

The backbone of this sentence and a rough preliminary translation follows.

γνωμεθα

πολεμοι

tὸ μὲν ὅτι

αἰδὸς μετέχει σωφροσύνης πλείστον

εὐφρεία δὲ (μετέχει) αἰσχύνης (πλείστον)

eὐβουλοι δὲ

παιδεύομενοι

ἀμιθέστερον (plus the genitive τῆς ὑπεροφίας)

καὶ σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὡσε ἀνθρωποτείν

καὶ... μὴ ἐπεξέμεινα

νομίζειν δὲ
We are warlike because honor is the greatest part of prudence and
courage is the greatest part of honor; and we are wise
because we are educated less learnedly than to disdain the laws,
more wisely than to ignore them, [educated] not to at-
tack, but [educated] to consider.

αἰδῶς and αἰσχίνη are here synonymous; both mean something like “the
sense of honor.” The participle παιδεύομαι is causal and is parallel to
the two ὥστε clauses. The four parallel constructions after παιδεύομαι
need further analysis.

ἀμαθεότερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδεύομαι. The adverb is
ironic. Hence, “we are educated less learnedly than to disdain the laws,”
i.e., “we are not so sophisticated as to despise the laws.” Archidamus,
picking up on the charge that the Spartans are not elegantly educated,
turns it around by making that a virtue.

καὶ ἔναν χαλέπτητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηρχοιτείν (παι-
χαλέπτητις II. ὥστε . . . ἀνηρχοιτείν expresses the anticipated or possible
result (not the actual result). Sm. §2260. Hence, “we are educated—with
severe discipline—with more self-control than to pay no heed to them
[the laws].”

καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεία . . . ἑπεξείναι (παιδεύομαι). The basic construction
is παιδεύομαι μὴ ἑπεξεῖναι (τοῖς πολεμίοις) [educated not to go
against [the enemies]]. There is some dispute among commentators and
translators about the construction of ἑπεξείναι. Thucydides treats it as
intransitive without complement at II.21 but with a dative at VI.97, and
the latter seems to be the construction here. The negative μὴ goes with
the infinitive, not the participles—hence, “we have learned not to . . .”

ὀντες and μεμφόμενοι are two dependent participles connected by apposi-
tion. The participle μεμφόμενοι gives an example of what is meant by
being too clever. Sm. §2147g.

τὰ ἀχρεία ἔνετοι ἐγαν ὄντες. “being too clever with respect to useless
things”—e.g., making a fine theoretical assessment of the enemy’s prepara-
tions.

The contrast between λόγος and ἐγγυ α is the connection between
the participle μεμφόμενοι and the infinitive ἑπεξείναι. Hence, “while
cleverly criticizing in talk the enemies’ plans, not to go after them in fact in a manner inconsistent [with the words].”

νομίζειν δὲ ... διαφέρειν. “but [we are educated] to think that the plans and calculations of others are comparable to our own and [to think] that accidents that happen by chance cannot be determined by calculation.”

οἱ πέλας literally means “those nearby,” but in Thucydides it usually means simply “others.” Classen and Steup, at I.32.1.

85.1. μὴ παρόμενον. Negative hortatory subjunctive with first plural aorist active of παρέμειν, “give up, abandon.” LSJ s.v. III.1.

ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἐτέρων. “for us more than [for] others.”

85.2. ἔτοίμων ὑπών. I.e., the Athenians.

δίκαιας δοῦναι. “submit to arbitration.”

86.2. οἱ δ’ οὐχέτι μέλλουσιν. I.e., the allies. Sthenelaidas seems to be making a witty remark: “We will not put off helping. They don’t put off suffering!” For additional examples of Laconic humor, see Plutarch’s Apothegmata Laconica (Mor. 208B–236E).

86.3. παραδοτέα. For the neuter plural, see Sm. §§1052, 1003a. The impersonal construction of the verbal in τέος takes an accusative object. Sm. §2152.

μὴ λόγῳ αὐτοῖς βλασφημένους. The accusative participle has the negative μὴ because it is conditional. Sm. §§2067, 2728. It is the agent of the verbal διακρίθηκα. “Since the impersonal construction is virtually active, and hence equivalent to δεῖ with the accusative and infinitive . . . , the agent sometimes stands in the accusative” (Sm. §2152a). ἱμᾶς is to be supplied.

The sentence may be translated, “Decision by means of arbitration and words must not be made by us, if we ourselves are not being harmed by words”—i.e., “if it is not by words that we are being harmed.”

87.2. ἀναστήσω. Root aorist active third singular imperative.

87.6. προχειροθεσίων. Genitive feminine plural perfect active participle of προχορέω, “proceed, go well.” Hence, “[the truce] having gone well, succeeded [until this fourteenth year].” LSJ s.v. II.1.
89.3. Ἀθηναίων τὸ κοινόν. “the Athenian people.” This expression takes plural verbs by constructio ad sensum. Sm. §950.

διεκμίζοντο is transitive, with the objects παιδας and γυναικας. The clause ὥσαν ὑπεξέβηντο is somewhat condensed for ἐντεύθεν οἱ ὑπεξέβηντο κατοίκησις.

90.1. τὸ μέλλον. Object of αἰσθανόμενοι—hence, “what was about to happen.”

tα μὲν... τὸ δὲ πλέον. Adverbial, meaning “on the one hand . . . , but more . . . ”

ἡδιν ἐν ὀρόντες . . . μηδένα . . . ἔχοντα. ἔχοντα is a participle in indirect discourse after a verb of perceiving (ὁρόντες). Sm. §§2110–12. ὀρόντες is a causal participle, giving one of the reasons for sending the embassy. Sm. §2064. ἐν indicates an original potential optative (Sm. §§1845–46), which would have been ἡδιν ἐν ὀρόμεν, “we would prefer to see.” Hence, “on the grounds that they would prefer to see no one having . . . ” The negatives μήτε . . . μήτε . . . μηδένα are something of a puzzle. Ordinarily, the participle in indirect discourse after a verb of perceiving would take οἱ. Sm. §2608. But here, we have a case of a wish that the utterance would hold good. If this were a construction of verb of saying plus the infinitive involving the wish that the utterance would hold good, the negative of the infinitive in indirect discourse would be μή. Sm. §2723. By analogy, when the leading verb (here, ὀρῶ) takes a participle, the negative will be μή. Sm. §2608.

ὁρόντες . . . ἔξωτορόντων. By Thucydides’ usual stylistic habit of off-target parallelism, the nominative participle is balanced by the genitive absolute to express the two causes.

90.2. ἐνισχάθηκεν μετὰ σφὸν. “to join with them [the Spartans] in tearing down the surrounding walls.”

τὸν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου. “of the people outside the Peloponnese.”

ὄσος εἰσῆλθε (τὰ τείχη). “whose [walls] were still standing.” The relative ὦσις is used to emphasize the number (“however so many”). It is dative of possession. The pluperfect εἰσῆλθε marks the past of a continuing condition; i.e., ἔστηκα, “stand,” is a perfect with present meaning (Sm. §1946), and its pluperfect, εἰσῆλθε, has corresponding imperfect meaning.
τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ἔποτον τῆς γνώμης. Neuter adjective for abstract noun (the schema Thucydidum). Hence, “the intention and suspicion [that lay behind] the opinion.”

ός δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου . . . οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος. οὗς with the genitive absolute indicating the ground of belief. Sm. §2086d. οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος represents an original potential optative. Sm. §§1845–46. It really represents the apodosis of a potential condition, whose protasis is the clause ἐὰν ἐπέλθοι.

90.3. ἄπηλλαξαν. “got rid of, dismissed.” LSJ s.v. ὑπαλλάσσω A.1.3.

90.4. ὑπέτον is an aorist that lacks a corresponding present. As a substitute, the suppletive verb ὑπαγωγεύομαι is used for its present (instead of ὑπολέγω, which does not occur until the Roman period). Here, it means “add, subjoin, say in addition.” LSJ s.v. 3.

90.5. ὅποτε . . . ἔροιτο. General temporal clause (“whenever” clause) in secondary sequence. The primary form ὅποταν ἔροιτα loses its ἂν and becomes optative. Sm. §§2410, 2414. Smyth’s treatment of general temporal clauses is confusing and unclear. They behave exactly like eventual conditions (“if ever” conditions) and general relative clauses (“whoever” clauses) with the subjunctive plus ἂν in primary sequence and the optative without ἂν in secondary sequence.

91.1. οὐχ ἔχον ὅπος χρὴ ἄπιστήμα. Literally, “They had not how it was necessary to disbelieve.” The nominal ὅπος clause is the direct object of ἔχον. οὐχ ἔχο here means “be unable to, not know how to.” LSJ s.v. ἔχω A.III.2. Warner translates, “They did not see how they could reject such information.”

91.3. ἐφοβέσθω . . . μὴ . . . οὕτω ἀφφησθαι. Clause of fearing. Sm. §§2221, 2225. The negative μὴ . . . οὐ is used to express fear that something may not happen. The sequence is secondary after ἐφοβέσθω, and the eventual “whenever” clause οπότε . . . ἀκούσαν is optative for that reason. But why is ἀφφησθαι, the third plural aorist active subjunctive of ἀφιέμαι, not changed to the optative? “After secondary tenses, the subjunctive presents the fear vividly, i.e. as it was conceived by the subject. . . . The vivid use of subjunctive is common in the historians, especially Thucydides” (Sm. §2226).
91.4. ἔνα τε. Indirect imperative. Hence, “He said that they should go . . .” Sm. §§2633c, 1997.

91.5. ὅσα . . . βουλεύεσθαι. The verb in the relative clause is attracted into the infinitive by the running indirect discourse. Sm. §2631. This relative clause serves as an accusative of respect with συνένοι ὅπερ. Hence, “With respect to whatever they had deliberated with them, they [the Athenians] appeared second to none in judgment.”

91.6. ἰδίω. Adverb. LSJ s.v. ἰδίως VI.2. Hence, “in particular, privately.”

91.7. ἔφη χρήσαι . . . ἵ οικὸ νομίζειν ὁρθὰς ἔχειν. “he said it was necessary . . . to consider that these things [i.e., building the walls] were right.”

92.1. συνῄειν καὶ κωλύσας ὁπλοῦσθεν. “not for the purpose of prevention, but for the purpose of recommending a policy.” LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.III.2.

ἀντεκλήσθως. “without preferring any charge, without complaint.”

92.2. οὐ ἐνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἵ. The fixed phrase ἔστιν ἵ is adverbial and acts like a single adverb meaning “in some way, somehow, anyhow.” Sm. §2515. Hence, “not fitted together in any way.”

πάντα ὁμοίως κατούντες ἠπείγοντο. ἐπείγω means “hasten, hurry.” LSJ s.v. III.3. Because the simple verb (*ἐγώ) does not occur, ἐπείγω is not treated as a compound, and the augment goes onto the preverb. Sm. §450. κατεῖχω means “remove a thing from its place, disturb” and can be used of meddling with things that should be left alone. LSJ s.v. I.2. Hence, “they disturbed everything indiscriminately in their haste.”

93.4. ἀνθεκτά. Neuter plural nominative verbal adjective from ἀντέχω, which takes the genitive when it means “hold on to.” LSJ s.v. III.2. The full-grade root of this verb is *segh-* > *seχ- > χ-. Hence, in the verbal, the initial rough breathing shows up, as it does in the verbal adjective in *-tos—e.g., in the compound καθεκτάς. “checked, held back.” Because the χ is assimilated to the τ, giving χ, Grassmann’s Law (dissimilation of aspirates) does not operate. The neuter plural of the verbal is often used in
the impersonal construction. Sm. §2152; cf. §1052. Hence, “that the sea must be held on to.”

93.5. δύο ὀμαξάω. There is some argument about what this means. This sentence must somehow pertain to the width of the wall. Gomme (ad loc.) sees no difficulty: “There is no difficulty here either in the meaning or in the expression of it: two wagons, going in opposite directions, brought the stones up on to the wall (and, of course, passed each other; the wall would have had to be yet wider, if they were compelled to turn).”

93.6. ἀφιστάναι τὰς... ἐπιβουλάς. “fend off the attacks.” ἀφχέσειν. “will be enough, suffice” (intransitive). LSJ s.v. ἀφχέω III.4.

93-7. προσέχειν. “be devoted to, concentrate on” (plus the dative). LSJ s.v. προσείμεια II.2.

94.1. ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ ἱστιονικῇ. Temporal, meaning “during this period of command.”

95.1. The adjective βιαῖος, referring to Pausanias, means “arrogant, dictatorial, violent.” In the middle, the verb βιάζομαι means “act violently or dictorially.”

95.2. προσέχον τὴν γνώμην is like the expression προσέχειν τὸν νοὸν, “pay attention, give heed to.” LSJ s.v. προσέχω I.3. With the object γνώμην, the phrase means “be determined.” ὡς οὖ περισσόμεναι τάλλα τὰ καταστηρόμενοι. ὡς plus the future participle giving the ground of Athenian determination. Sm. §2086. Since there is a future participle, there is also an element of purpose here. Sm. §2065. οὖ περισσόμενοι is for οὖ περισσόμενοι ἢν βιάζομεναι and is a future-more-vivid condition downgraded to a participle. Originally, it would be ἢν βιάζομεναι, οὐ περισσόμεναι, “If ever he gets rough, we will not overlook it.” τε makes clear that τάλλα is the object of καταστηρόμενοι.

95.4. ἔσνεβη takes two infinitive phrases connected by τε... τε: “It happened to him to be recalled” [αὕτῳ καλεῖσθαι] and, at the same time, “it happened that the allies changed sides [μετατάξασθαι].”
95.5. τῶν ἁδικημάτων. Genitive of the charge—Smyth’s genitive of crime and accountability. Sm. §1375.

τὰ μέγιστα. Internal accusative object of ἁδικεῖν.

μὴ ἁδικεῖν. A verb of negative meaning (here, ἀπολέω, “acquit”) can take the infinitive with μή. Sm. §§2739–40.

95.7. οἱ δὲ αἰσθανόμενοι. δὲ changes the subject, now the Spartans. αἰσθανόμενοι has no explicit object but refers to what has just been said. ἀπαλλαξίοντες. ἀπαλλαξία is the desiderative of ἀπαλλάσσω. Sm. §868.


ἐποταῖς ἃς τε ἐδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα πρὸς τὸν βάσισαν καὶ ἃς ναῦς. The relative pronouns serve here as indirect interrogatives. Sm. §§339f, 2668. Hence, “They settled which cities were obliged . . .”

96.2. Ἑλληνωταμίαι . . . ἀρχή. “The office of Hellenotamiai was set up.” ἀρχή is appositive to Ἑλληνωταμίαι. On the assessment of the tribute by Aristides, see [Arist.] Ath. Pol. 23.4–5 and Thuc. V.18.5.

97.1. τοσάδε ἐπηλθοῦν. τοσάδε means “the several points to follow.” τόσος is the demonstrative that emphasizes quantity or number. Sm. §340. Hence, “they turned to the following series of enterprises.” ἐπι-ἐρχομαι means “accomplish.” LSJ s.v. III.3. The datives πολέμω and δια-χειρίζει are datives of means (Sm. §1506 ff.)—hence, “by means of warfare and the energetic management of affairs.”

ἀ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. The antecedent of the relative is τοσάδε. The dative αὐτοῖς is a remnant of the idiom πολέμως ἐγένετο πρὸς τούτους αὐτοῖς. Cf. Thuc. I.98.

προστηρεύοντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ. “those who in each case came in contact with them.”

97.2. τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου. “the digression from the narrative,” i.e., the Pentecontaetia.

‘Ἄττική Συγγραφή’ is the title of Hellanicus’s work.

ἐχεῖ = παρέχει. “provides, supplies.” The missing subject is ἡ ἐκβόλη.

98.4. παρὰ τὸ καθεστηρίζον. “contrary to the established [constitution of the Delian League].”

ός ἑκάστῃ is feminine because it refers to ξυμμαχία, which is here dative with ξυνέβη. The ὁς is a problem. Classen and Steup (ad loc.) expand this brachylogy (Sm. § 3017) as καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστῃ ἐδουλώθη ὁς ἑκάστῃ ξυνέβη δουλωθήσαι [and each of the others was enslaved as it happened to each one to be enslaved]. They explain that this refers to the fact that differing circumstances led to enslavement in each case. Hence, “then the others were enslaved for various reasons.” Warner translates, “and the process was continued in the cases of the other allies as various circumstances arose.”

99.1. Ἐκδειαὶ. “defaults in tribute and contributions of ships.”

ἀποστασίαν. Gomme (ad loc.) explains, “ἀποστασίαν here must mean something distinct from νεῶν Ἐκδειαί, and implies therefore ‘return home in the middle of a campaign’; not on the part of individual men or regiments or crews, but of whole contingents, recalled by their authorities.”

eἰ τῷ ἐγένετο. Real condition in the past, with a hint of generality. Smyth calls this “the indicative form of general conditions” (Sm. § 2342). Its generality is signaled by the indefinite pronoun. Cf. εἰ τίς τι ἐπηρῴα, ἀπεκρίνατο [If ever anybody asked anything, they answered] (Thuc. 7.10). Hence, here, “if ever it happened to anyone.” It refers to ἄποστασίαν alone, and Gomme translates, “occasional desertion.”


99.2. ποις καὶ ἄλλος. “in some other respects, in other ways.”

προσάγαγον... αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις. “reduce to subjection to them any who revolted.”

99.3. τὴν ἄποκρυσιν τῶν στρατευόν. “the shrinking from military expeditions.”
ίνα... ὁσι. Purpose clause that did not change to optative after a past verb. Sm. §2107. Thucydides prefers this “vivid subjunctive.”

ἡν ἐξείνοι ἔξωφερον. General relative clause in secondary sequence. The primary form would be ἡν ἐν ἐξείνοι ἔξωφερον. Sm. §§2567–68.

ὁπότε ἁπόστατεν. General temporal clause in secondary sequence. The primary form would be ὁπότεν ἁπόστατοι. Sm. §§2409, 2414.

πολέμου ἦν τό χωρίον κτιζόμενον. “The settlement of the place was regarded with hostility.” This construction, by which the attributive participle and its noun correspond to a verbal abstract noun plus a genitive (Sm. §2053), is traditionally known by its designation in Latin grammar as the ab urbe condita construction. Cf. Thuc. III.29.2: ἵμερας μάλα ἤπευν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ ἐπάλωκα Allocτά [It was about seven days since the capture of Mitylene].

102.2. τοῖς δὲ... τούτου Ἐνδεῖ ἔφανεν. τοῖς δὲ refers to the Spartans and serves both as the dative after ἔφανεν and as a dative with Ἐνδεῖ, which is a neuter plural adjective taking the genitive of what is lacking and the dative of the person(s) to whom it is lacking, used in place of the abstract noun Ἐνδεία. Hence, “It seemed to the Spartans that they lacked this [i.e., πειθομάχειν].” Some editors argue that τοῖς δὲ refers to the Athenians and means that the Athenians fell short of their reputation.

102.3. ἄμα ἀμφότερος. “with both parties”; i.e., both the Athenians and the Argives made an alliance with the Thessalians.

103.1. ἔφι ὤ. “on the condition that.” LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.III.3. This is a clause of proviso with future indicative (favored by Thucydides), which takes negative μή. Sm. §2279. The verb ἔμη has future force. Sm. §1880.

ἔγιναι. The direct form of this condition would be ἡν ἐλογίστηα... ἵπτο ὀδύλος; i.e., it is an eventual condition downgraded to an infinitive phrase. There are two possible explanations for the infinitive construction. It may continue the proviso, but changing the construction from ἔφι ὤ with the future to ἔφι ὤ with the infinitive. Sm. §2279. Hence, “on the condition that if anyone is caught, he is to be a slave.” Or the infinitive may be dependent on ἕνεβησαν (Classen-Steup). Hence, “They agreed that if...”
103.2. τοῦ Ἰθώμητα. Ἰθώμητα is the genitive of a masculine a-stem noun (like μαθήτης). Masculine a-stem nouns have taken on the genitive ending of o-stem nouns by analogy. In Attic, the ending is framed to rhyme with the o-stem nouns (e.g., μαθήτου). But in other dialects, such as Doric, the genitive ending "ο (from "οσο") is added to the stem-formative "α", yielding *Ἰθώμηταο, which becomes by vowel contraction Ἰθώμητα. Buck, Comp. Gr., §236.3. Thucydides uses the Doric form.

104.1. ἐπηγάγετο. "brought in as allies." LSJ s.v. ἐπάγω II.2.

105.3. ἢν δὲ καὶ βοηθοῦσιν ... ἀναστήσεται. Eventual condition with future apodosis (future more vivid) in indirect discourse after νομίζοντες. The leading verb is κατέβηκαν, but the conditional clause does not change to secondary sequence. Sm. §2599, 2619.

106.2. γνώντες. I.e., the Athenians were familiar with the place.
κατὰ πρὸςοπόν τε έίργον (αὐτοῖς) τοῖς ἀσλίταις. “hemmed them in in front by means of the hoplites.” LSJ s.v. πρόσωπον I.1. The hoplites are in the dative because, despite the fact that they are persons, they are here regarded as instruments. Sm. §1507b.

τοῖς ψυλοῖς is the object of the transitive sigmatic aorist περιστήρισαντες.

107.3. εἴ βούλοντο ... ἐμέλλον κωλάσειν. In primary sequence, this condition would have the form ἐάν βούλονται ... μέλλοι κωλάσειν, “If ever they want to ... , the Athenians are going to prevent ...” It is an eventual condition with future apodosis (future more vivid), with the peculiarity that the apodosis has μέλλω plus a future infinitive, rather than simple future. The future is put into the past by the use of the imperfect μέλλω—hence, “they were going to.” Then, with the past leading verb, the “if” clause goes into the optative and loses its ἄν. Hence, “If ever they wanted to ... , the Athenians were going to prevent ...” Smyth calls such constructions “past general conditions” (Sm. §2340) but does not treat the special case with μέλλω. He treats the imperfect of μέλλω only as a substitute for the potential aorist. Sm. §§1960, 2328.

107.4. τὸ δὲ τί is a fixed phrase functioning as an adverb meaning “partly.” The point is that there were some Athenians, a party within the
city, who were secretly trying to encourage the Spartans. LSJ s.v. ἐπάγω. I.4. ἐπήγον is a conative imperfect. Sm. §1895.

107.5. ὡς ἦκαστοι. “each for himself.” Sm. §2997.

107.6. ἀποφεῖν. The subject of this infinitive would be the Spartans. “When the subject of the infinitive is the same as the object (in the genitive or dative [here, αὐτοῖς]) of the governing verb [here, ἐπεστράτευσαν], it is often omitted” (Sm. §1978). Hence, “[The Athenians] thinking that [the Spartans] were at a loss in what direction to make their escape, [the Athenians] attacked them [the Spartans].” διέλθωσιν is subjunctive because it represents a deliberative subjunctive embedded in an indirect question.

καὶ τι καί. The first καί is copulative, the second adverbial. The first καί marks an addition to the preceding, the second the fact that the addition is surprising. Denniston, Gr. Part. 2, 294. Hence, “and even somewhat because of the suspicion . . .”

108.5. ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς. “in an amphibious landing”—i.e., landing from ships.


109.2. ὡς ἄναγγειλαν. Purpose clause in secondary sequence with optative. Sm. §21996.

109.3. αὐτῷ. The king—i.e., Artaxerxes, not Megabazus. ἄλλωσ. “in vain.” LSJ s.v. ἄλλος Ι.3.

111.1. ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες. An elliptical expression to limit the previous statement. If it were filled out, it would be ὅσα χρηστεύειν ἐδίναντο μὴ προϊόντες, “as much as they were able to control without advancing . . .” πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὁπλῶν. “far from the space in camp where the arms were stacked.” LSJ s.v. ὁπλὼν II.5.

112.4. ὑπὲρ Σαλαμίνος. “off Salamis.” LSJ s.v. ὑπὲρ I.1b. This is the Salamis on the eastern end of Cyprus.

113.1. φευγόντων. “After the battle of Oenophyta, the democratic party in Boeotia had driven out the anti-Athenian oligarchs. But the exiles had recovered some of their lost power” (Marchant, ad loc.—after Classen and Steup). Cf. Arist. Pol. 8.2.6.

ἄλλη ἄττα χωρία. “some other territory.” ἄττα is sometimes used for the indefinite τινά. Sm. §334a. It is not to be confused with ἄττα (with rough breathing), which is an alternative form for the indefinite relative neuter plural ἄττα. Sm. §339c.

ὁς ἕκαστος is parallel with ἔκαστον χλίος ὀπλάτως. The formula ὁς ἕκαστος means “each for himself.” Sm. §2997. Hence, “with individual contingents of the allies.”

113.3. ἐφ᾽ ὧν... κομιόμεναι. Clause of proviso with future indicative—hence, “on condition that they will get their men back.” Sm. §2279.

116.1. οί δὲ ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περιήγησαν ἔμπνευσαν. “The others happened [ἐγνώσαν] to be carrying around instructions to Chios and Lesbos to come to their aid.” Crawley translates, “carrying around orders for reinforcements.”

στρατιώτηδες. I.e., troop transport ships, rather than ships equipped for naval battles.

116.3. ἐσωγέλθησαν. Neuter plural impersonal participle in the genitive absolute without accompanying noun. Hence, “news having been brought.” This construction is used “when a subordinate clause with ὅτα follows upon the participle in the passive”; “The plural [of the participle] is used when the subject of the subordinate clause [here, Φοινίσσαν νῆς] is plural” (Sm. §2072c).

117.1. ἀφάγατῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. This is the camp on shore for the crews of the fleet. It had not been fortified with a stockade. Gomme, ad loc. and pp. 19–20.

118.2. ὃντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἔνας ἐς τοὺς πολέμους. μὴ is anomalous and has not been satisfactorily explained. Perhaps, because it is
bracketed by two μὴ expressions (εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχὺ and ἦν μὴ ἀνεφαρκα-
ζοντα), it results from a kind of negative momentum. Or perhaps, as
Marchant (ad loc.) suggests, μὴ gives a flavor of generality to the parti-
ciple (Sm. §2045), as if to say the Spartans are generally the kind of
people slow in attacking enemies.

πρὸ τοῦ. “before this time.” Here, the article is used as a demonstrative.
This happens rarely with prepositions, except with πρὸ. Sm. §1117:
ἀρισμένοις is dative after ἐδόξα and means “by starting, initiating, ini-
terning.” LSJ s.v. ἀει̇ς IV.4.

118.3. εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἀμείνων ἀσται. Indirect yes-no question after
ἐπιφώτος. Sm. §2671.
ξυλλήμενος, meaning “assist,” is here used absolutely (i.e., without a
complement). LSJ s.v. συλλαμβάνω VI.1.

119.1. δεηθέντες μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἐκάστων ἰδία. “having
asked of each of them privately city by city even earlier.” In their concern
for Potidaea, the Corinthians had, already before the congress at Sparta,
sent embassies to the individual cities on their own to ask them to vote for
war. ἐκάστων is the genitive of the person after δεηθαν. LSJ s.v. δέω II.2.

أنظمة ηρήσασθαι is not a result expression. ὡστε plus the infinitive is
often used with verbs of will and desire instead of the more common
simple infinitive. Sm. §2271. So this is equivalent to the simple infinitive
after δεηθέντες.

120.1. ὡς οὖ ἐνημησιμένοι τὸν πολεμόν εἰσι . . . καὶ (οὐ) . . . ἕννήγαγον.
“on the grounds that they have not voted for war and that they did not
convene us . . .”; i.e., the Corinthians can no longer criticize the Spartans
on those grounds, as they did in I.68.2, since they have now done just that.
This is a noun clause expressing the substance of the charge that the
Corinthians no longer wish to make. It can be regarded as either a causal
clause (Sm. §2240) or a simple dependent substantive clause (Sm. §2577).

ἐκ πάντων. “before all others.” LSJ s.v. ἐκ I.4.

120.2. φυλάξεσθαι σεῖτοις. “to be on guard against them.” LSJ s.v.
φυλάσσω C.II.1.
Commentary

τοὺς δὲ μεσόγειαν ... βουλεύσθαι. The backbone of this sentence follows.

χρή

τοὺς ... κατοικούμενους εἰδέναι

δότι ... ἔξοιμαι

 ἦν μὴ ἐμένωσι

καὶ (τοὺς ... κατοικούμενους) μὴ κριτὰς τῶν νῦν λεγομένων εἶναι
dὲ (τοὺς ... κατοικούμενους) προσδέχεσθαι

καὶ ἂν προελθεῖν

εἰ πρόοιντο

καὶ (τοὺς ... κατοικούμενους) βουλεύσθαι

The contrast is between those living inland (οἱ τὴν μεσόγειαν κατοικούμενον) and those living near the sea (οἱ κατωκῳδεῖν).

χρή takes four infinitives: εἰδέναι, ἔναι, προσδέχεσθαι, and βουλεύσθαι.

καταχωμίδην ... καὶ ... ἀντίληψιν. “export and exchange [trade].”

ὁν = τοὺς τῶν ᾧς. The relative pronoun, the direct object of δίδωσι, is attracted to the case of its ghost antecedent, which would have been a genitive defining ἀντίληψιν. “A demonstrative pronoun to whose case the relative is attracted, is usually omitted if unemphatic” (Sm. §2522).

ὁς μὴ προσήχοντων. ὁς means “on the grounds that.” Sm. §2086. The negative is μὴ because it is influenced by the prohibition “Do not be inept judges.” Sm. §2737c.

εἰ ... πρόοιντο. Third plural aorist optative middle of προίμη. The canonical form would be προείντο (< προῦ-ε-ντο), but this irregular form is confected on the analogy of the thematic optatives. Sm. §§777, 746c. Forms of ἐ-μι verbs often drift over into the thematic conjugation. This is the protasis of a potential (“should-would”) condition in indirect discourse after προσδέχεσθαι. The apodosis is represented by the infinitive προείντων with ὁν. Usually, προσδέχεσθαι takes a future infinitive, but that would have obscured the indirect form of the potential condition.

A recapitulation of the sentence follows.

It is necessary for those who dwell inland and not on a sea route to understand that unless they come to the defense of those living by the sea [τοῖς κατω], they will find that the export of their produce and reciprocal exchange of things that the sea grants to the land will
be more difficult; and [it is necessary] for them not to be inept critics of the things now said on the grounds that they do not apply [to them]; and [it is necessary for them] to expect someday, if they should abandon the interests of the maritime cities, danger would finally reach them; and [it is necessary for them] to make decisions now affecting themselves no less [than they affect us].

120.3. ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων. . . ἀγαθήν δὲ. Predicate genitives, denoting the person whose nature, duty, custom, etc. is to do what is set forth in the infinitive. Sm. §1304. Hence, “It is the custom of wise men to remain quiet . . .”

εὗ δὲ παρασχόν ἐκ πολέμου πολύν ἐξομήναι. παρασχόν is the neuter singular aorist active participle of παρέχω in an accusative absolute. Sm. §2076. Hence, “it being in their power to come to terms again out of a state of war.” LSJ s.v. παρέχω A. III. 2.

μήτε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαφήσεται. “not to be elated by their success in war.”

μήτε ἡδομένον ἀδικεῖσθαι. “nor gladly to suffer injustice.” The usual explanation for the fact that ἡδομένον is not plural like the preceding ἡδικουμένος is that it is singular as if τινα had preceded it—i.e., “It is the characteristic of brave men for anyone not to suffer injustice gladly.” This explanation has never seemed very convincing to me. I think, rather, that this anacoluthon is introduced in anticipation of the following sentence, where ὁ ὅκυ is singular.

120.4. ἀφαιρεθεὶ. In the active, the verb ἀφαιρέω takes the accusative of the thing and the dative of the person, i.e., “take something (acc.) away from someone (dat.).” In the passive construction here, the dative becomes the subject, and the accusative object, τὸ τερπνόν, remains, i.e., ἀφαίρεθα τι, “he got deprived of something.” It is a potential optative here.

τὸ τερπνόν. Neuter adjective for abstract noun (the schema Thucydideum). ὁν ἐνθυμέμετα θράσει ἐπισταὶ ἐπαφερόμενος. The participle ἐπαφερόμενος is in indirect discourse after a verb of perception. Sm. §2110. It is nominative because it refers to the subject of the leading verb. Hence, “He is not in the present enduring state of being aware that he is elated over unfounded self-confidence.” LSJ s.v. ἐνθυμέομαι 1.1d.
120.5. τυχόντα. With this reading, τυχόντα agrees with πολλά γνωσθέντα and takes the genitive ἀβουλοθέτου τῶν ἑναντίων. Further, ἀβουλοθέτους is predicative. Sm. §§1168–69. Hence, “Many things that have been badly planned succeed by finding enemies more unprepared.” But some MSS and some editors read τυχόντων, giving a genitive absolute—hence, “Plans succeed when the enemy happens to be more unprepared.” For τυγκάνω without a supplementary participle, see Sm. §2119; cf. Thuc. I.32.3.

κατορθώθη. Empiric aorist. “With adverbs signifying often, always, sometimes, already, not yet, never, etc., the aorist expressly denotes a fact of experience” (Sm. §1930). The adjective πολλά is tantamount to such an adverb.

ἐνθυµείται γάρ οὕδεις ὀμοία τῇ πίστει καὶ ἢγη ἐπεξερχέται. Gomme (ad loc.) says: “what a man plans in his confident belief in the future is very unlike what he carries out in practice.’ This is a satisfactory enough rendering of the MSS reading ὀμοία (Forbes, Widmann, Stuart Jones alone of modern editors).” According to this rendering, τῇ πίστει is a dative of means, ὀμοία is the direct object of ἐνθυµείται, and the particle of comparison is καί. Sm. §§1501a, 2875. Hence, literally, “no one plans in confidence things similar to what he accomplishes in fact.” But Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–74), one of the heroes of classical scholarship, suggested the reading ὀμοία here—in his five volumes of Animadversiones (1757–66), in which he proposed many corrections in the texts of Greek authors. Gomme continues: “if we read ὀμοία with Reiske and most others, we translate: ‘no one plans and carries out his plan in action with the same confidence.’ The essential point is that ὀμοία or ὀμοία τῇ πίστει goes with both verbs.”

dεξάζομεν, meaning “imagine, speculate, make plans,” is used absolutely.


121.1. ὀμνύνωμεθα. Aorist subjunctive.

αὐτὸν. Sc., τὸν πόλεμον.

121.2. κατὰ πολλά. “on many grounds.” LSJ s.v. κατά IV.1.
ἐν ὑμῖν πάντες ἐς τὰ παραγγελόμενα ἴματε. “[because] we will all obey orders together.” For the expression ἴναι ἐς τὰ παραγγελόμενα, cf. Thuc. III.55.3.

121.4. ἀλλοχόντες. Present for future. Hence, “They [the Athenians] will be defeated.” LSJ s.v. I.2. “The present is used instead of the future in statements of what is immediate, likely, certain, or threatening” (Sm. §1879).

eἰ δ᾿ ἀντίσηκεν. Potential conditional clause, emphasizing the possibility, but not the likelihood, of the condition. It is followed by an apodosis in the future (not the optative plus ὅν of a “should-would” condition) and therefore counts as a “mixed condition.” Sm. §2361. Hence, “If they should hold out [possible but not likely], we will [certainly] have more time to train our navy.”

ὅταν . . . καταστήσωμεν . . . περιεσώμεθα. Here, the eventual temporal clause—ὅταν plus the subjunctive (Sm. §2399)—emphasizes the Corinthians’ expectation that they will put their skill on an equal basis with the Athenians when necessary and will consequently prevail.

ὁ . . . προέχουσι. The editors disagree on the interpretation of the syntax here. προέχει, “surpass, excel,” is intransitive; therefore, the relative pronoun should be not a direct object but an adverbial accusative, functioning like such words as πολύ, μέγα, and ὁσοῦ. Smyth categorizes these as accusatives of measure and degree. Sm. §1609. This is Marchant’s interpretation. But because its antecedent is a missing τοῦτο in the main clause (which is the subject of καταστήσωμεν ἐστι) and because it is parallel to the preceding sentences with a neuter relative clause, it should be treated as a true direct object after προέχει. There is a disputed parallel at Soph. Ant. 208, where the MSS read τιμὴν προέχουσι. This is the explanation of Classen and Steup, (ad loc.). The meaning, at any rate, is clear: “Where they excel in skill, that [advantage] can be removed by us through training.” It is best, I think, to regard this as a mild anacoluthon driven by the parallelism of the preceding sentence. καταστήσωμεν is not the verbal in τίμης, signaling obligation or necessity, but the simple passive verbal adjective in τίμης (cognate with the Latin perfect passive participles), signaling possibility. Sm. §§425c, 472. It takes the dative of agent. Sm. §1488.
121.5. οὕστε ἔχειν . . . οἴσομεν. Despite its appearance, οὕστε ἔχειν is not a result phrase. It is an infinitive after a verb of will and desire (Sm. §§ 1991–92), strengthened with οὕστε, and has the flavor of a purpose clause. Kühner-Gerth 2:8, §473A6. οἴσομεν χάριματα [we will pay money] then has the force of “We will make contributions to have money for this purpose,” and the verb οἴσομεν slips over into the category of verbs of will and desire. χάριματα is used twice: as the object of οἴσομεν and as the object of ἔχειν. Cf. Thuc. V.17, ψηφισαµεν οὕστε καταλισθαί [having voted to make peace]; IV.132.3; VII.86.3. Cf. also 119.1.

ἡ is used here in the sense of εἰ δὲ μή, “otherwise.” Sm. §2859.

δεινὸν ἄν εἰ . . . πάσχειν. Mixed condition with two protases. The apodosis is δεινὸν ἄν εἰ, a potential optative—hence, “It would be terrible.” The protases are real conditions with future indicatives (οὐκ ἀπεισόησιν and οὐκ ἀφιεῖσθαι) indicating a threat or warning.

“The protasis commonly suggests something undesired, or feared” (Sm. §2328). Hence, “It would be terrible if they will not grow weary . . . and [if] we will not pay.” δεινὸν ἄν εἰ takes an εἰ clause rather than an ὅτι clause because it is tantamount to a verb of emotion. Sm. §2247.

φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεισόησιν. The lexicons list this verb under ἀπεισόησιν because there is no present in fifth-century Attic. Here, it means “fail, grow weary, sink from exhaustion.” LSJ s.v. IV.3. It takes a supplementary participle. Sm. §2098. Hence, “they will not grow weary of making contributions.”


οὐκ ἀπεισόησιν and οὐκ ἄφεσθαι δαπανήσεως. Despite the fact that these are protases and should have the negative μή, they have οὐ instead.

“When a single εἰ introduces a bimembered protasis as a whole, the μή clause and the ὅτι clause of that protasis may have οὐ. Such bimembered protases often depend upon a preceding apodosis introduced by αἰσχρόν, ἀποπνεῦν, δεινὸν, or θαυμαστάντων ἐστι (ἀν εἰ)” (Sm. §2698c).

καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἁφαυλεθέντης αὐτοῖς τούτος κακὸς πάσχειν. The basic construction is the articular infinitive in the dative after the preposition, ἐπὶ τῷ μή . . . κακὸς πάσχειν [for the purpose of not suffering ill]. The participle ἁφαυλεθέντης is nominative because it refers to the subject of the “if” clause, ἰμέτις. In the active, the verb ἁφαυλέω takes the accusative of the thing and the dative of the person,
"take something (acc.) away from someone (dat.)." In the passive construction here, the dative becomes the subject, and the accusative object remains, i.e., ἀφημένη τι, "he got deprived of something." Hence, "for the purpose of not suffering ill by our having been deprived of it [αὐτά—sc., τὸ χρήστα] by them [the Athenians]." αὐτὸς τούτος refers again to the money and is a dative of means modifying κακωσίς πάσχειν—hence, "to suffer ill by means of this very money."

The upshot follows.

Otherwise, it would be terrible if their allies will not grow weary of paying tribute to support their own slavery, and [it would be terrible] if we also will fail to spend money for the purpose of punishing our enemies and likewise for our own safety, and to avoid suffering harm by means of the very money we have been deprived of at their hands.

At I.120.2, the Corinthians complained that the Athenians deprived the Peloponnesians of money by siphoning off the profits of trade (τὴν κομίδην τῶν ὀργίων). The profits transferred to the Athenians would then be used to finance the Athenian war effort.

122.1. ὁσιά. The participle equates ἀπόστασις with παράφεσις; i.e., the defection of the Athenian allies means the withdrawal of tribute.

ἐπὶ ὁμοίως. "on set terms, on specified conditions, by definite rules."

οὐ μέν εὐφυέτος αὐτῷ προσομλήματα. "the one who meets it [war] with emotions under control."


ὁσιόν ἄν ἦν. "it would be bearable." ὁσιός is the verbal adjective of φέρω.

Ἀθηναίοι ἱκανοὶ καὶ . . . δυνατόστεροι. This is the main clause, with the copula missing. Sm. §944.

ὅστε ἔτι . . . ἐμφυγὸς ἐλαθα . . . χειρόσεσται. Real condition with futures in both protasis and apodosis—a minatory-monitory condition (Sm. §2328) embedded in a result clause.

ὁροῦν. Accusative of the short a-stem feminine noun ὡριά, "defeat."

φέρονται. Participle in indirect discourse agreeing with ὡροῦν after verb of perception.

ἀντιχώς δουλεύατω. "undisguised slavery." The adverb ἀντιχώς, "openly," serves as an adjective, despite the lack of an article to put it in attributive position (we would expect τὴν ἀντιχώς δουλείαν). Sm. §1132.
Commentary

122.3. ὁ καὶ λόγῳ ἑνδοκαθῆγαι αἰσχρόν (ἐστι). The antecedent of the neuter relative ὁ is the preceding sentence about slavery, and the infinitive κακοπαθεῖν is parallel to the infinitive ἑνδοκαθῆγα. Hence, "about which [slavery] it is shameful for there to be doubtful discussion, as it is shameful for so many cities to suffer under the rule of one."

ἐν ὥ. "in which case."

αὕτῳ. Sc., τὸ ἐλευθεροὶ εἶναι, implied by the preceding sentence.

tύραννον δὲ ἐϊμὲν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν. "but we allow a tyrant city to be established [in Greece]." ἐγκαθεστάναι is a perfect active infinitive intransitive (LSJ s.v. ἐγκαθίστηµι II), and "in Greece" is easily supplied from the preverb ἐν.

tοὺς δὲ ἐν μία μονάρχως ἄξιωμεν καταλέγειν. "We think it right to suppress autocrats in any given single [city]."

ὁπως... ἀπελλάσσαται. Indirect question after ἴσµεν. The subject, τάδε, refers to the Corinthians' conduct—namely, failure to establish freedom and allowing a tyrant city to flourish—i.e., to what has just been said. ὅσε usually refers to what is to follow (Sm. §1245) but occasionally refers to what precedes, if it has just been mentioned. Sm. §1247. Cf. Thuc. I.41.1. In the active, the verb ἀπελλάσσω means "deliver someone (acc.) from something (gen.)." In the middle, it means "be released from something (gen.)." Here the meaning of the perfect middle is "be free from the imputation of" (plus the genitive). LSJ s.v. B.II.6. Hence, "we do not know how this conduct is free from the imputation of the three greatest failings."

οὐ γὰρ περευγότες... μεταφράσσεται. The negative οὐ goes with the participle because it states a fact. Sm. §2728. "For you have not in fact avoided them [the failings], and you have moved to that contempt [of an enemy] that destroys most people and that from the fact that it trips up so many, gets its name changed to the opposite meaning, namely, stupidity." Marchant's translation is helpful: "For it is not the case that you are free from these errors in assuming that contempt which has proved ruinous to so many, ... and which from its tendency to trip men up, has received instead (sc. from prudent men) the opposite name of folly."

καταφρόνηµας basically means "contempt, disdain for others" but here modulates into the arrogance that underestimates an opponent's strength.
The jingle in the opposition καταφρονησις/ἀφροσύνη gives something of an apothegmatic flavor to the sentiment.

123.1. τί δεῖ μακρότερον . . . αἰτιάθαι. “What need [is there] to complain further about the past?”

ἐξ δόσον τοῖς νῦν ἐξημέρευ. “so far as it helps the present.”

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων. “concerning the future”—literally, “concerning things that are going to be then.”

τοῖς παρουσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ ἐπιμαλαιμεῖν. “It is necessary [for us] to labor yet more concerning the future by preserving present resources.”

βοηθέω here means “preserve, protect, maintain,” and the dative neuter plural participle means “what we have now.”

εἰ ἄρα πλοῦτων κτλ. Real condition with present, signaling an admitted fact. Hence, “given the fact that you now excel a little in . . .” Smyth categorizes such clauses as “concessive clauses.” Sm. §§2369–82. Usually, clauses that “indicate that the condition which they introduce may be granted without destroying the conclusion” are introduced by εἰ καί (Sm. §2370). Here, εἰ ἄρα is the equivalent. “ἄρα in a conditional protasis denotes that the hypothesis is one of which the possibility has just been realized” (Denniston, Gr. Part., 37). We can translate, “notwithstanding the fact that.” προφέρω here means “surpass, excel” (LSJ s.v. IV.2), indicating that the Spartans have surpassed their old situation, when their virtue was the product of labor. Presumably, the Corinthians are referring to the fact—stated by Thucydides in I.19—that the Spartans were now at the height of their power.

κατὰ πολλά goes with θαρσοῦντας. Hence, “with many reasons for boldness.” Sm. §1690.2c.

τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὑφελῶς. I.e., on the one hand, some Greeks will join in the struggle out of fear of Athens, whereas, on the other hand, others will do so out of a desire for advantage.

ἡδικηµένας is feminine because of an understood σπονδαῖς.

124.1. ὅστε here simply introduces the main sentence, not a subordinate result clause. Sm. §2255. The main verb is the following imperative μὴ μέλλετε—hence, “so don’t delay . . .”
῾υπάρχων. Neuter participle in accusative absolute, parallel with the following genitive absolute. Sm. §2076. The participle is in the accusative absolute because it is impersonal with an infinitive subject. The following genitive absolute is personal.

εἴπερ βεβαιῶτατον τὸ ταῦτα ἐξιμφέροντα καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτας εἶναι. Real condition with present indicative (the missing copula ἐστὶ) indicating an admitted fact. "Given the fact that it is most secure for there to be the same interests for both cities and individuals [i.e., for cities and individuals to have the same interests]." Smyth treats this construction rather too briefly under “Causal Clauses.” Sm. §2246. Cf. Thuc. I.77.6. The apodosis of this real condition is the negative imperative μὴ μέλλετε.

οὐ πρῶτερον ἢν τοῦκαντίον. “the opposite of which was formerly true.” In earlier conflicts, the Dorians usually had the upper hand.

῾ως ῶκτι ἐνδεχεται κτλ. The rest of the sentence is dependent on ἐνδεχεται, the verb of this causal clause, which means “since it is no longer possible” (LS s.v. II.2) and is followed by two infinitive phrases as subjects.

(ὃς) περιμένοντας
τοὺς μὲν βλάπτεσθαι
τοὺς δὲ μὴ πάσχειν.

Hence, since “it is no longer possible, if we [all] wait around, for some of us [i.e., “us Corinthians”] to be already harmed and for others [sc., “you Spartans"] not to suffer the same soon after.” The negative μὴ with the infinitive πάσχειν presents a problem. Usually, after a negative leading verb, a negative infinitive will have μὴ oủ. Thus, we would expect οὐκέτι ἐνδεχεται μὴ oủ πάσχειν. Sm. §§2745–46. Occasionally, it may have simple μὴ. Sm. §2749. But then the πολὺ οὔστερον needs a negative too. The sentence means “since it is no longer possible to avoid suffering the same thing, and that not much later.” By a kind of anacoluthon, we must assume that the μὴ serves both the infinitive and the adverbial phrase. Alternatively, if we had μὴ oủ oὺ πολὺ οὔστερον, the two oû’s would cancel each other out. In any case, it seems that Thucydides is trying to avoid a train wreck of accumulated negatives here.

The second infinitive phrase has an embedded conditional clause, a real condition with future protasis, signaling something unpleasant or regrettable. Sm. §2328. Its verb, γνωσθαι, is a verb of perception taking a participle in indirect discourse, which is nominative because it
refers to the subject of the leading verb. Sm. §2106. Hence, “if it comes to
be known that we have met together, on the one hand, but that we do not
dare to defend ourselves, on the other hand.”

124.2. ἀπ’ αὐτῶ. Understand πολέμου.

διὰ πλείονος. “lasting a long time.” This temporal construction in attribu-
tive position modifies τῆς . . . εἰρήνης peace.

ἀφ’ ἡσυχαίας δὲ μὴ πολεμήσατε οὐχ ὁμιοίως ἀκίνδυνον. “But failure to shift
to war out of a desire to avoid trouble is, by the same token, not without
risk.” ἀφ’ ἡσυχαίας is not easy to translate. It is contrasted with ἐκ πολέμου [by reason of war], and Classen and Steup (ad loc.) suggest that
ἀπό means the same as ἐκ by Thucydides’ frequent habit of variation with
prepositions. But there also seems to be some flavor of reluctance to shift
from inactivity to action. ὁμιοίως does not really mark a direct parallelism,
because Thucydides reverses field. He has the Corinthians say, “Keep your
eye on eventual peace [strengthened by war], but do not let that prevent
you from entering upon this necessary war. Inaction to avoid trouble is as
risky [ὁμιοίως] as going to war.”

124.3. παραστηρώμεθα ἐπελθέντες. The object of both the finite verb
and the participle is πολίν. παριστάμην here means “bring to terms, subject
to force.” LSJ s.v. C.II.1. παραστηρώμεθα is the sigmatic transitive aorist
subjunctive.

125.2. ἐδοθέμενον αὐτοῖς. Accusative absolute. Sm. §2076B. Hence,
“the decision having been made by them.” As the postpositive μὲν indi-
cates, εὐθὺς goes with the next constituent, i.e., ἀδύνατα ἢν.

ἀδύνατα ἢν ἐπιχειρεῖν. Thucydides often uses the neuter plural adjective
(here, ἀδύνατα) instead of the singular in impersonal constructions, i.e.,
those where an infinitive is the grammatical subject. Sm. §1052. Cf. 7.1.

καθισταμένοις ὑπὲρ ἐδιατριβή. “to them putting in order what was necessary.”
kαθισταμένοις is a dative of possession. Hence, “Their delay was . . .” The
present middle of καθιστάμην can be transitive. LSJ s.v. A.II.2b.

ἐναυτὸς μὲν οὐ διατριβή. Two nouns in a copulative sentence: “The
delay [LS] s.v. διατριβή II] was not a year.” ἕλασσον is neuter, rather than
feminine to agree with διατριβῆ, because it is in fact an adverb, “more
quickly [they prepared].” LSJ s.v. ἐλάσσων V. Cf. Thuc. IV.67.2; Hdt. 7.39.2. Hence, “Their delay was not a year—indeed, [they prepared] more quickly.” This has caused some puzzlement, and Gomme (ad loc.) asks, “Is Thucydides stressing the delay or the comparative rapidity?” Gomme believes he is stressing the delay: “in spite of their resolution that there was to be no delay, nearly a year passed before the invasion.”

126.1. ὅπως . . . εἶπ . . . ἂν μὴ τί ἐσακουόσωσιν. Eventual condition embedded in a purpose clause. The original form would be ἂν μὴ τί ἐσακουόσωσιν, πρόφασις ἔσται, (in Smyth’s terms, a future more vivid), “If ever they fail to heed, there will be a pretext.” When this is embedded in a purpose clause in secondary sequence, the main verb, the future, becomes present optative (Sm. §2196; it would become future optative only in indirect discourse or after verbs of effort [Sm. §1862b]), and the subordinate “if” clause may remain unchanged. Sm. §2610 (this section refers to indirect discourse, but the principle applies here).

126.5. ἐαυτῷ τί προσόρισεν Ὁλυμπια νεκρομαντία. “that the festival of Olympian Zeus was somehow appropriate to him because he was an Olympic victor.” Joined with verbs, the neuter unaccented τί means “something, any degree at all.” LSJ s.v. τίς A.II.11c.

126.6. εἰ δὲ . . . “but whether . . .” This is not a condition but an indirect yes-no question after κατενώσαμε and ἐδίηλου.

θύσαι πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἄλλα (ἄγνα) θύματα ἐπιχώρια. “They sacrifice many offerings, not animal victims, but bloodless cakes peculiar to the country.” The lexicographer Pollux, of the second century A.D., says (1.26), “Thucydides calls them ἄγνα θύματα in contrast with τὰ αἵμασσοντα καὶ σφαττομένα;” that is, “holy (bloodless) cakes in contrast with bloody sacrificed victims.” On the evidence of Pollux, editors supply ἄγνα and interpret it to mean “bloodless.” The scholiast to Thucydides says, “θύματα ἐπιχώρια, τινὰ πέριπτητα εἰς ζῷον μορφὰς τετυπωμένα [cakes shaped into the forms of animals]. Editors have accepted the conjecture πολλά of C. F. Hermann, instead of the πολλοί of the MSS, because “many people” would not be consistent with πανδημεῖ [with the whole people]. Carl (or Karl) Friedrich Hermann (1804–55), professor at Marburg and Göttingen, is to be distinguished from the far greater Gottfried Hermann (1772–1848), professor at Leipzig.
126.8. αὐτοκράτορος modifies τοῖς ἐνεά ἄρχουσι. Thus, the nine archons had a free hand to do whatever they chose.

φλαυρωφός εἴχον. “were in bad shape.” This is a common idiom, ἔχω plus an adverb being equivalent to εἴμι plus a predicate adjective. Sm. §1438.

καὶ τινὲς καὶ. The first καὶ is connective, the second καὶ an adverb intensifying ἀπέθνησαν. Sm. §2881. Hence, “and some even were dying.”

126.11. ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν κεκόπισαν ποιήσασθαι. This clause is dependent on ἀνωτέρας τινες. ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν introduces a clause of proviso (Sm. §2279) and means “on the condition that.” It takes future indicative (cf. Thuc. I.103.1). The negative of a clause of proviso is μη. Hence, “[The archons] raised them up [from their suppliant position] with the promise [proviso] that they [the archons] would do them no harm.”

ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλάκην. “those entrusted with guarding [them].” ἐπιπερεσται takes an accusative of the thing entrusted and a dative of the person to whom it is entrusted. The middle transformation makes the original dative the subject and leaves the accusative as it was.

127.1. τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἄγος κτλ. The particle δὴ resumes the argument after a long digression. Sm. §2846. Denniston, Gr. Part. 2, 225 (13).

δῆν. “Expressing, not incredulity, but contempt or indignation: ‘forsooth’” (Denniston, Gr. Part. 2, 265f.); “commonly used of apparent or pretended truth, and mostly with an ironical tone” (Sm. §2849). The force of the particle makes it clear that the Spartans are only hypocritically pretending to be concerned for the honor of the gods. Their real motive is exposed in the next participial phrases.

προσεπάμευον αὐτῷ. αὐτῷ refers to ἄγος.

τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. “what they wanted from the Athenians.”

127.2. παθεῖν ἄν... οὔσειν. The switch to the future from potential optative (represented by the infinitive plus ἄν in indirect discourse) marks the difference between the remote possibility, which is not expected, and the future certainty, which is expected.

τὸ μέρος. Neuter accusative used as an adverb—hence, “partly.” Sm. §§1606, 1609.
128.2. Χαλκοίκιον refers to a temple and statue of Athena on the Spartan citadel, which were made of bronze. Pausanias (the second-century A.D. author of a guidebook to Greece—not to be confused with the Spartan regent who is the subject of this story) says (3.17.2), τὸν τε ναὸν ὦμοιος καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῖν.

128.3. Ἑρμίνδα. “from the town of Hermione”—in Argolis at the southern tip of the peninsula called Acte.

πράσσειν. Infinitive of purpose after a verb of motion (ἀφικνεῖται). Kühner-Gerth 2:16–17, §472A7. Sm. §2009. This construction is rare in prose, where the future participle is more usual. Sm. §2065.

128.4. ἀπὸ τοῦτο. I.e., from what is to follow in the next sentence, introduced by γάρ.

128.5. οὗτο refers to Byzantium.

ἐάλωσαν. Third plural aorist active indicative of ἐλώσαμα, “fall into an enemy’s hands, be captured.” The citation form is ἐάλων, conjugated like ἔγνων. Sm. §682.

128.6. Ἑστιοῦς. Genitive singular of Ἑστιός. The noun is declined like βασιλεῖς (Sm. §275), but in the genitive, the expected ἰως contracts to ἰς. For this process, see Schwyzter, 252.

129.1. ἀπαλλάξαντα. “having replaced.”

ἐπιστῆ [παρὰ Παυσανία] is a pregnant construction, or brachylogy. Sm. §3017. Hence, “Xerxes in response gave a letter to Artabazus [οὗτο] [with orders] to send it on [παρὰ Παυσανία] to Pausanias [παρὰ Παυσανία].”

129.3. μὴ ἐπιστῆ ὡστε ἰτίναι πράσσειν. Although ἐπιστῆ might at first seem to be a verb of hindering, it does not take the construction of a verb of hindering, which would be a simple infinitive without ὡστε. Sm. §2038. Thus, ὡστε ἰτίναι is an ordinary result expression. ἰτίναι is the aorist infinitive of ἰνῆμα, “neglect.” LSJ s.v. II.7b. Hence, “let neither day nor night hold you back, with the result [if they did] that you [would] neglect to accomplish any of the promises you made to me.” For ἰνῆμα with the infinitive, cf. the near parallel μεθία τὰ δέοντα πράττειν at Xen. Mem. 2.1.33.
κεκωλίσθω. Perfect middle imperative. The verb is used absolutely. Hence, “Let there be no hindrance due to . . .” Some would argue that the subject of κεκωλίσθω is an unexpressed ταύτα—hence, “Let these things not be hindered.” It may be that the subject of κεκωλίσθω is the relative clause ἄν έμοι ύποσχη.

130.1. ἥρτο. Third singular middle indicative pluperfect of ἀείω, “lift.” Hence, “he was in a continuous state of being lifted up”; i.e., he became puffed up with self-regard. This precise usage is omitted from LSJ (although it may be implied by entry II). Cf. LSJ s.v. ἔπαρχοι II.2 (“to be elated”).

130.2. δυσπρόσοδον. “unapproachable, isolated from others.”

μετέστη. Third singular intransitive root aorist meaning “changed its allegiance”—to the Athenians. LSJ s.v. μεθίστημι B.I.4.

131.1. πρασσον τε ἐσθηκέλετο αὐτοῖς. Personal construction. Hence, “He was reported to them [the Spartans] to be scheming with the barbarians.” For the idiom πράσσειν ἐς τίνα, cf. LSJ s.v. πράσσω I.6. Some MSS read πρός τοὺς βαρβάρους.

ἔπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι. “They ordered [him] not to lag behind the herald.” LSJ s.v. λείπω B.II.2. This means he should accompany the herald back to Sparta.

εἰ δὲ μή. “otherwise.” Sm. §2346d.

πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάταις προσεκόμεν. Indirect discourse dependent on ἔπον. Hence, “[They said] that the Spartiates declare war on him.”

131.2. διαπραξάμενος. “by intrigue.” LSJ s.v. IV.

132.1. ἄν . . . ἐτιμωροῦντο. Potential imperfect. Sm. §1784. Hence, “[by trusting to which] they could have punished [such a man].” βεβαιος goes with πιστεύοντες.

132.2. ὑποψίας . . . μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι ἐίναι τοῖς παρούσι. “reasons for suspicion, namely, to be unwilling to be equal to the current [ways of doing things].” Warner translates, “unwilling to abide by normal standards.” The suspicion is defined by the infinitive phrase, which has a
nominative predicate adjective because it refers to the subject of the main verb (παρείχε). Sm. §1973. The infinitive phrase (not in indirect discourse, for then the negative would have been οὐ) is in apposition to the noun ὑπολογίζει. Sm. §1987.

ἐὰν τί ποι ἔξεξεν ὑπό τόν καθεστώτων νομίμων. “whether he had in any way at all departed from the customary mode of life.” ἔξεξεν is the pluperfect middle of ἔξεισθαι, a denominative alpha-contract verb based on the noun διάστημα, “way of living, mode of life.” ἔξεισθαι means to “change one’s habits from something (gen.).” The clause is an indirect question after ἀνασκόπησαν.

καὶ ὅτι . . . ἐξάψαν κτλ. This noun clause also follows on ἀνασκόπησαν. Hence, “They were examining to see whether . . . and [they were examining] the fact that he had presumed . . .”

132.3. ἐδόξησε. The subject of ἐδόξησε is the preceding action, i.e., ἐπιγράψατο. ἐδόξησε is a predicate noun.

ἐπεί γε δή ἐν τούτῳ καθεστήσατε. Denniston (Gr. Part.2, 245) calls the combination ἐπεί γε δή “emphatic limitative.” By “limitative,” he means the “predominating use of γε” (Gr. Part.2, 140), i.e., “at least.” Hence, “at least when he indeed got himself into this situation.” The pluperfect of καθιστησα, “come into a certain state, be” (LS s.v. B.V), has simple imperfect meaning.

παρόμοιον . . . τῇ παροίσιον διανοίᾳ. “in accordance with his present scheme.” Thus, the offense of setting up the inscription is very similar to the arrogance of his scheming with the Persians.

A recapitulation of the sentence follows.

However, [the action] of Pausanias seemed even then [i.e., when he set up the inscription] a crime, and once he got himself into this trouble [Medism] at any rate, it [the inscription] appeared much more to have been done [then] in accord with his present attitude [of Medism].

132.5. ἔγιναν. The subject is the Spartans.

μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι. The infinitive is in apposition to the noun τοῦτο. Sm. §1987. βουλέσθαι is an epexegetical infinitive, functioning like an accusative of respect, qualifying the adjective ταχεῖς. Sm. §2001.
πρὸν γε δὴ... γίγνεται. “at least until, indeed.” After a negative clause, πρὸν means “until.” When it takes the indicative, a definite time is expressed. Sm. §2432. Hence, “until [the messenger] in fact and indeed actually became an informant.”

κατὰ ἐνθυμηθὲν τινὰ ὅτι. Literally, “in accordance with some notice that...” LSJ s.v. κατά B.IV. Thucydides might have said simply ἐνθυμηθεῖς, “having noticed,” but this way he avoids the clash of participles with δεῖσας.

ィνα, ἦν ἡμιθή τὴς δοξῆς ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τι μεταγράφαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπίγνω. The outermost clause here is the negative purpose clause ἶνα... μὴ ἐπίγνω [so he [Pausanias] might not find out]. Embedded in the purpose clause are two protases connected by the coordinating conjunction ἦ. ἦν ἡμιθή τῆς δοξῆς means “if he [Argilos] ever be mistaken in his opinion.” It is an eventual condition. Cf. LSJ s.v. ψεύδοι A.I.3 (passive with gen.). The second protasis, ἦ... ἐκεῖνος τι μεταγράφαι αἰτήσῃ, means “if ever he [Pausanias] asked for it back to change something.” Notice that this narration is in the historical present tense. Sm. §1883.

ἀυτὸν ἠφελεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν. “He found it written to kill him.” The infinitive phrase ἀυτὸν κτείνειν is the object of the verb, and the perfect middle participle ἐγγεγραμμένον is predicative. The infinitive phrase can also be understood as an indirect imperative, corresponding to an active construction, Παυσανίας ἐγγεγραφάτα αὐτὸν κτείνειν—hence, “[he found that] Pausanias had written that [they] kill him.” Presumably, what stood in the letter was a direct imperative, κτείνετε τούτον.

133-1. ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς. “by arrangement.”

σκηνήσαμεν διπλὰν διαφράγματα καλέσαμεν. “having taken up quarters in a hut double by virtue of a partition.”

ός αὐτὸν. Here, ός is an “improper” preposition, i.e., a preposition that is not used as a preverb. ός plus the accusative is used “of persons only, . . . after verbs expressing or implying motion” (Sm. §1702). Hence, “[Pausanias having come] to him.”

tά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ. This is a misprint in the OCT. It should read αὐτοῦ, with a rough breathing (otherwise, it would refer to Pausanias).
In the middle, παραβάλλω is a gambling term meaning “throw one’s money on the table” and, hence, “put at risk, endanger.” Gomme, ad loc. LSJ (s.v. A.II.1b) cites only one late instance of the gambling term. But cf. Thuc. II.44.3, III.14.1, III.65.3, V.113. παραβαλλω and the ironic προτιμήθηκα are optatives in indirect discourse in secondary sequence after the leading verb ἔσθηντο, through the participle ἀποφαίνοντος, which governs the ὡς clauses.

(ὁς) προτιμήθηκα δὲ. Ironic. By its position after παραβαλλω, this phrase marks the contrast between his service and his reward. Hence, “that he was rewarded by being chosen . . .” προτιμάω means “to be honored before others, to be selected.” LSJ s.v. I.2. ἀποθανεῖν is thus an infinitive of purpose after a verb of choosing. Sm. §2009.

οὐκ ἔστιν ὁργίζονται. οὐκ ἔστω (with οὐ adherent) means “forbid.” Sm. §2692a. Hence, “told him not to be angry.”

ἀνίστατος. “safe removal from the temple.”

ἀξιόντος. “begging him.”

τὰ προσοψίμανα. Sc., πρὸς βασιλέα. Hence, “the business with the king.”

134.1. λέγεται . . . προσκαταφυγεῖν. The backbone of this sentence is λέγεται (impersonal) αὐτὸν γνώναι . . . χωρήσαι . . . καὶ προσκαταφυγεῖν [The story goes that he recognized . . . and ran . . . and escaped]. αὐτὸν μέλλοντα is the accusative subject of γνώναι. The ὡς εἰδε clause (“as he saw”) is dependent on the infinitive of indirect discourse, γνώναι. λέγεται can take either a personal construction (Sm. §1982) or, as here, an impersonal construction (Sm. §2017b).

ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσώπον ὡς εἰδε. “as he saw the face of one of the ephors who was approaching.”

εὕνοια. “out of goodwill [toward Pausanias].”

134.2. ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει. “They were too late in their pursuit.”

τὰς θύρας . . . ἀπωκοδόμησαν. “They walled up the doors.”

ἀπολαβόντες. Here ἀπολαξάω has the meaning “lock in.” LSJ s.v. IV.

134.3. ὡσπερ εἶχεν. “just as he was.”
134. ὁς ἄγος . . . ὄν. Accusative absolute. Sm. §§2076, 2078. Thucydidides uses ὁς with the accusative absolute many times (e.g., I.28.1). Here, it marks that this is the judgment of the goddess. Sm. §2086d.

ὁς ἀντὶ Παυσανίου. Literally, “as instead of Pausanias,” i.e., “as a substitute for Pausanias.”

135.1. ὁς . . . χρίματος. Genitive absolute with ὁς indicating the opinion or pretense of the Athenians. Sm. §2086d.

135.2. ἐκενθημόντο. ἐνεπαιμάμμα, “accuse also in addition,” takes the accusative of the person and the genitive of the charge. Sm. §1375.

135.3. ὁς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὁποὺ ἀν περιτέρωσιν. “to whom it had been commanded to [take him] and bring [him to Athens] wherever they encountered [him].” The omission of an explicit object (brachylogy) is frequent when it can easily be supplied from the context. Sm. §3018k. ἄγειν, the pregnant construction, supposes λαβεῖν καὶ ἄγειν. Sm. §3044.

136.2. κατὰ πύστὶν ἦ χωροῖ. “in accordance with inquiry where he went.” ἦ χωροῖ is an indirect question in secondary sequence (Sm. §2677) after the noun πύστιν. It is in secondary sequence because the formally present tenses of the main verbs are semantically historical. Sm. §§1883, 1858.

καταλύσαμε. καταλύω παρὰ τινα means “seek hospitality from someone, go and lodge with someone.” LS] s.v. II.2.

136.4. σὺ ἀξιὸὶ . . . φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι. ἀξιὼ (with ὃν adherent) means “he [Themistocles] regards it as unworthy.” Sm. §§2691, 2692a. Some prefer to translate, “begged him not to.” In the middle, τιμωρέω means “take vengeance on someone (acc.).” LS] s.v. I.3.

εἰ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεξιότης. Real condition in the past tense, signaling an actuality. Hence, “given the fact, after all, that he himself [Themistocles] had denied him [Admetus] something when he [Admetus] made a request of the Athenians.” ἄρα marks the protasis as something only just realized (“if after all”). Denniston, Gr. Part.1, 37f. The scholiast reports that Admetus had asked for an alliance with the Athenians and that Themistocles was instrumental in turning him down.
καὶ γὰρ ᾧν ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον πόλλῳ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς πάσχειν is indirect discourse, even though there is no explicit verb of saying. Sm. §2630. It is a potential optative in indirect discourse with ὑπ’ and the infinitive. Sm. §1845. ἐκεῖνον is a genitive of comparison after ἀσθενεστέρου, the object of ὑπ’. The meaning as the OCT has it is “he [Themistocles] might be the victim of one far weaker than he [Admetus];” i.e., Themistocles was at anyone’s mercy (Gomme, ad loc.). Some editors (Stahl and Hude) conjecture ἀσθενέστερος, which would give the meaning “he [Themistocles], being weaker [than Admetus], would be treated badly by him [Admetus]”; i.e., Admetus would be treating a weaker man badly. This then leads logically to the next sentiment, that it is ignoble to take vengeance on those weaker than you are.

αὐτὸς = Themistocles; ἐκεῖνο = Admetus.

χρείας τινὸς … καὶ σὺ ἐξ τὸ σῶμα σῴζεσθαι ἐναντιώθηναι. ἐναντιώθηναι is a passive deponent in the aorist and takes a dative of the person opposed (ἐκεῖνο) and a genitive of the matter opposed (χρείας τινὸς). The construction with ἐναντιώθηναι changes from a genitive to the logically parallel prepositional phrase plus the articular infinitive. With the accusative, ἐξ means “in regard to.” LSJ s.v. IV.2. Hence, “that he [Themistocles] opposed him [Admetus] in regard to some request of his [Admetus], but not in regard to saving his life [body].”

ἐπὶν ὡν ἐπὶ ἤν καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπ᾽ διώκειν is parenthetical and not part of the indirect discourse. ἐπὶν is nominative because it agrees with the subject of the preceding δηλ/οµικρονι(ε), i.e., Themistocles).

σωτήρας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. The ὅν after ἐκεῖνον δέ, which marks the infinitive (ἀποστερῆσαι) representing a potential optative, is repeated after the parenthesis. σωτήρας τῇ ψυχῇ [saving of his life] is synonymous with τὸ σῶμα σῷζεσθαι. It is genitive after ἀποστερέω, which should take both a genitive of the object and an accusative of the person; but by brachylogy (Sm. §3018k), the accusative is omitted, since it is clear from the object in the protasis, εἰ ἐκδοῖ οὐτόν. LSJ s.v. ἀποστερέω; Sm. §1630.

137.1. ὁ δὲ. The δὲ changes the subject to Admetus.

βουλόμενον. I.e., Themistocles, since he wanted to make his way to the king. This is a causal participle. Sm. §2664.
τὴν ἐτέραν θάλασσαν. I.e., the Aegean. The Molossi lived near the Adriatic coast, around Dodona.

137.2. εὶ μὴ σώσει . . . ἔρειν. Real condition with futures in both halves—i.e., a minatory-monitory condition in indirect discourse, embodying a threat, which is embedded in indirect discourse after ἐφη. Sm. §2328.

τὴν δὲ ἀσφαλέσαι . . . γένησαν. The whole sentence is in implied indirect discourse. ἀσφαλέσαι is the subject of the copulative infinitive εἴη, and the infinitive phrase μηδὲν ἐξῆγε serves as the predicate noun. Hence, “[He said] that [his] safety consisted in no one disembarking from the ship until such time as the voyage is resumed.”


ἀποσαλεύσῃς. “lying at anchor in the roadstead.” The simple verb σαλεύω means “to be tossed about”—hence, “ride at anchor.”

ὑπὸ τοῦ στατόπεδου. “some distance from the Athenian squadron.” When used of ships, ὑπὸ means “off a place.” LSJ s.v. A.11b. στατόπεδον here means a naval squadron. LSJ s.v. II.

137.3. ἔθεράπευσε. “conceded.” LSJ s.v. II.2.

κάτω . . . ἄνω. In the context of dry land, κάτω means “toward the coast,” and ἄνω means “inland.” Hence, “one of the coastal Persians.”

137.4. ὅτι may introduce direct discourse and function like quotation marks. Sm. §2590a.

ὁσον . . . ἰμινοῦμην. “for so long as I defended myself out of necessity against your father when he attacked me.”

ἐμοί . . . ἐχεῖνοι. Datives of advantage and disadvantage after ἐγένετο. Sm. §1481. Hence, “the retreat happened safely for me and dangerously for him.” LSJ s.v. γίγνομαι I.3. ἐν τῷ ἀσφάλει and ἐν ἐποιεῖτο ἄνω are adverbial phrases.

πάλιν goes with ἀποκομίδῃ. Hence, “the retreat back [to Persia].”

γράφεις . . . διάλυον. This parenthesis is a comment of Thucydides and does not form part of the letter. The participle is loosely connected to ἐδηλοῦ ἦ γράφον by a slight anacoluthon. Cf. Thuc. I.87.2.
138.2. αὐτῷ. I.e., Artaxerxes.

προϊπάχχουσαν ἄξιωσιν. “his previously existing reputation.”

ἀπὸ τοῦ πεῖραν διδοῖς ἔναντις φαίνεσθαι. “from the fact that he appeared intelligent and capable as he [regularly] gave proof.” He gave proof constantly of his capacity, and from the resulting appearance of intelligence, he became great among the Persians. διδοῖς and ἔναντις are nominative because they refer to the omitted subject of the infinitive, which is the same as the subject of the main verb, γίνεται. Sm. §1973.

138.3. διαφερόντως τι. “rather preeminently, rather specially.” The indefinite τι with adverbs (e.g., ἄγαν τι, πάνω τι) “may strengthen or weaken an assertion, apologize for a comparison, and in general qualify a statement” (Sm. §1268). Stahl argued that the expression went with the µαλλον ἐτέρον—hence, “rather markedly more than anyone else.” Others take it with θαυμάσαμ. ές αὐτό refers to the preceding, namely, his appearing to be intelligent.

θαυμάσαμ. An epexegetical infinitive (accusative of respect) with the adjective άξιος, specifying in what respect the adjective is true. Greek uses an active infinitive where English expects a passive. Hence, “worthy with respect to admiring” (the English parallel would be “worthy of being admired”). Sm. §§1712, 2006.

ές αὐτήν. “with respect to it [ἵναν].” Hence, “without advance study to benefit his native understanding, nor with subsequent second thoughts.” Marchant (ad loc.) explains it thus: “his opinion was not based on previous knowledge, nor, after giving it, had he to modify it because he found he was wrong.” Some argue that these participles refer specifically to the time before he entered politics (προμαθῶν) and to the time once he had entered politics (ἐπιμαθῶν)—hence, “without previous education before he entered politics and without having to take advice from others once he had entered politics.”

γνώμων γνώμων. “a judge, interpreter.”

εἰκάστης. “a guesser, diviner.”

κρίνας ἰσανός σὺς ὑπηλλακτό. “he was not removed from judging competently.” In this litotes, ὑπηλλακτό is the pluperfect middle of ἀπαλλάσσω,
signifying a continuous state in the past. Sm. §1952. LSJ s.v. B.II.6. Lattimore translates, “he was not incapacitated from judging accurately.”

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. “speak offhand, extemporaneously, improvise.”

138. ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίας φεύγοντος. “on the grounds that he was exiled on a charge of treason.” φεύγοντος is a genitive of possession with ὀστά, and the participle is introduced by ὡς to indicate that this is the ground of belief of the Athenians. Sm. §2086. Cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.III.1.

139. ἐπικαλοῦντες. ἐπικαλέω means “bring an accusation of some transgression (acc.) against someone (dat.).” LSJ s.v. IV.1.

ἐπεργασάω. “encroachment.” “The 'sacred land' was on the borders of the Megarid and Attica and sacred to the Goddesses of Eleusis. The ‘undefined land,’ not further specified here, was apparently some strip between the two territories which it had been agreed to leave neutral” (Gomme, ad loc.).


139. ἐπ’ ἐμφότερα [on both sides] is explained by the three ὡς χρῆ clauses meaning “to go to war or not to let the Megarian Decree be an impediment to peace but to rescind it.” The χρῆ is omitted in the second and third clauses by brachylogy. Sm. §3017.
140.1. τής μὲν γνώμης ... ἔχωμαι. In the middle and with the genitive, ἔχω means “cling to, hold to.” LSJ s.v. C.I.2.

tάς γνώμας τρεπομένους. Participle in indirect discourse after a verb of knowing. Sm. §2106. Strictly, “being changed with respect to their opinions”—hence, “change their opinion.”

dικαιῶ. “call on, urge, demand as a right.” This verb, somewhat stronger than the usual δέξω, takes an infinitive of will and desire (which is really an indirect imperative)—here, βοηθέω. Sm. §1992a. Hence, “I call on those of you who are persuaded to support the common decisions.” The direct form would be βοηθήσετε.

ἡν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλόμεθα. Eventual condition embedded within the δικαι-ω clause. ἄρα τι marks what is undesirable. Sm. §2796. καὶ means “even.” Hence, “Even if in some way [which I hope will not happen] we fail.”

μήδε κατορθούντας τής ἐξεύρεσις μεταποιήσθαι is parallel to βοηθέω after δικαιῶ and means “or otherwise not to claim some share of the credit for wisdom if we succeed.” LSJ s.v. μεταποιέω II (middle with genitive). Logically, κατορθούντας is parallel with the ἵν σφαλλόμεθα clause; but grammatically, there is an anacoluthon. It cannot be the accusative subject of μεταποιήσθαι, which is implied from the ἀναπειθέντες. Classen and Steup (ad loc.) say there is an unmarked change of subject. Perhaps it can be regarded as an accusative absolute. Sm. §2078a.

A recapitulation of the sentence follows.

And I call on those of you who are persuaded [by me] to support the decisions made in common, even if [god forbid] we fail, or otherwise [I call on you] not to claim a share of the credit for intelligence when we succeed.

ἐνδέχεται. “it is possible” (impersonal). Hence, “for it is possible for the contingency of events to proceed no less irrationally than even human plans.”

140.2. εἰρημένον. I.e., stipulated in the Thirty Years’ Truce.

δίκας ... διδόναι καὶ δέχομαι. “to make an offer of arbitration and to accept an offer of arbitration.”

ἐπιτάσσομεν ἦδη καὶ οἰκέτη αἰτιώμενοι. “giving orders now [like superiors] and no longer making requests [like equals].” The temporal
expressions ἡδη and οὖκέτι mark a change in the Spartan attitude. Crawley translates, “dropping the tone of expostulation and adopting that of command.”

140.4. ἄν πολεμεῖν... εἰ... μὴ καθέλομεν. Potential condition in indirect discourse after νομίζο. ὅπερ μάλιστα προφύσχοντα, εἰ καθαρθείη, μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. The antecedent of ὅπερ is ψήφωσια, and the relative is the subject of καθαρθείη, which is the verb of the protasis of an embedded potential condition in indirect discourse after προφύσχοντα. Hence (somewhat clumsily for English), “if which should be repealed, they claim particularly that there would be no war.” μὴ ἂν instead of οὖς ἂν is peculiar. See 139.1. μήδε... ὑπολίπησθε. Prohibitive subjunctive (Sm. §1840) parallel to the preceding μὴ νομίζῃ. Hence, “Do not have any lingering thought of regret.” ὡς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε. This clause gives the putative reason for regret. Sm. §§2240–41. διὰ μικρὸν [over a trivial matter] refers to the Megarian Decree.

140.5. τὸ γὰρ βραχὺ τι τούτο [for this little something] picks up the διὰ μικρὸν from the previous sentence. Thus, the little matter of the Megarian Decree is the testing ground of the Athenians' resolve. οἷς refers to the Spartans. εἰ... ἐπιταχθήσετε. Minatory-monitory condition (or “emotional future”). Sm. §2328. ὡς... ὑπακούσαντες. Here, ὡς occurs with the participle to give the ground of belief—i.e., what the Spartans believe were the Athenians' reasons. Sm. §2086. προσφέρεσθα, “behave toward” (plus the dative). LSJ, s.v. προσφέρω B.I.4. Here, the infinitive phrase acts as a noun, the object of καταστήσατε. Hence, “By standing firm, you would establish the clear principle of [their] behaving toward you on an equal basis.” Sm. §1990.

141.1. διανοήσετε. διανοέωμαι (always present middle deponent in early writers) is passive deponent in the aorist. Here, the aorist passive imperative has the meaning “decide, make a decision to.”
When applied to words, the verb δύναμαι is translated “means, signifies” and takes the accusative. LSJ s.v. II.3.

δικαίωσις. “demand based on a claim of right.”

πρὸ δικησ. “instead of negotiation or arbitration.”

tὴν γοῦ αὐτήν. . . ἐπιτασσαμένη. “A demand from equals imposed on others instead of arbitration, whether very great or very small, means the same slavery”; i.e., slavery is the result whether the demand is trivial or important. For τοῖς πέλας, cf. 32.4.

141.2. γνώτε has two objects, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου and the ὡς clause. Hence, “Listen in detail and know our war resources and that we will possess [resources] no weaker than what belongs to the other side.” Grammatically, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου is the object of γνώτε, but because it kicks off the sentence, it has the flavor of an accusative of respect—hence, “Regarding the matters of the war . . .”

141.4. ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε ἀμία ἀπότομες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανώντες καὶ προσέται καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργάμενοι. Causal participles. Sm. §2064. Hence, “since to mount naval or land campaigns takes them away from their farms and costs their own money and [since] they are barred from the sea [by Athenian naval power].”

141.5. αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βέβαιοι ἐφορεῖ ἀνέχονται. “Surpluses [of money], rather than forced taxation, sustain wars.” The Athenians have accumulated a war chest, whereas the Spartans will be forced to raise money by special assessments.

tὸ μὲν πιστὸν . . . προσαναλώσειν. ἤ τὸ μὲν refers to σῶμα, τὸ δὲ τὸ χρήμα. The adjectives πιστὸς and βέβαιος are predicative. Hence, “having in their bodies something that is reliable, but having in their money something that is insecure.” The infinitives are accusatives of respect, specifying in what respect bodies are reliable and in what respect money is not. ἐκ τῶν κακῶν κἂν περιγενέσθαι means “[reliable] in the fact that it would survive [from out of] the dangers,” ἤν marks this infinitive as a transformed potential optative. The infinitive phrase μὴ οὖ προσαναλώσειν has μὴ οὖ because of the preceding negative in οὐ βέβαιον. Sm. §§2745–47. Hence, “[not secure] with respect to its not going to be spent before [the war is over]”; i.e., it is not sure that it will not be spent.
141.6. μή πρὸς ὀμοίων ἀντιπαρασκευήν. The negative μή has the force of εἰ μή, “except.” Sm. §2346a. It negates the πρὸς ὀμοίων ἀντιπαρασκευήν—hence, “except against similar counterpreparations,” i.e., except against an enemy with the same resources as themselves.

ὁταν. “so long as.” ὅταν usually introduces a general temporal clause, but it seems to have causal meaning here; i.e., the Peloponnesians are incapable so long as they do not meet emergencies by means of using a single unified council and so long as each contingent consults its own interest. But “so long as” drifts over into “since.” μὴ goes with ἐπιτελοῖ (not with the participle) and is matched in the positive by παρ᾿ τε. By a constructio ad sensum, “all” becomes “each,” and the verb is singular with ἐκαίτος σπεύδῃ.

φιλεῖ μηδὲν. The verb is impersonal—in the sense “it usually happens”—with γίγνεσθαι. LSJ s.v. φιλέω II.2. The infinitive phrase μηδὲν ἐπιτελέσχε γίγνεσθαι, then, is the grammatical subject of φιλεῖ, and the regular negative for an infinitive not in indirect discourse is μὴ. Sm. §2711.

141.7. χρόνιοι. “at infrequent intervals, rarely.” ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν μορφῶ. “a small portion [of the time of any meeting together].” The preposition ἐν serves also for τῷ δὲ πλησιν (μορφῶ).

παρὰ τὴν ἐν τούτῳ ἁμέλειαν. παρὰ here means “resulting from, owing to,” a sense used specifically of the margin by which an event occurs, i.e., the sufficient cause. LSJ s.v. C.III.7. Hence, “Each one does not think that there will be harm owing to his own negligence.” βλάψαι is used absolutely.


τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπαντῶν ἰδίᾳ δοξάσμαι. “by means of the same opinion [being held] on a private basis by everybody.” ἰδίᾳ is adverbial. The “same opinion” is the notion that just preceded, namely, that it is somebody else’s responsibility to be concerned with the common purpose.

ὡστε . . . λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον. λανθάνειν takes the supplementary participle φθειρόμενον (it behaves like τυγχάνω with the participle). Sm. §2096. Hence, “with the result that it escapes [their]
notice that the common purpose is being corrupted as a whole.” ἀθρόον is predicative.

142.1. ὅταν here has causal meaning. Cf. 141.6.

σχολή is the opposite of ταιχύ. Hence, “so long as they delay by providing it slowly.”

μενεται. Verbal adjective built on μένω. Such adjectives in –τω are usually passive, but this one is active. Sm. §472c. Hence, “Opportunities do not wait around.”

142.2. ἐπιτείχεος. This noun and the verb ἐπιτείξω refer to building a fortified position within the enemy’s boundaries (as the Spartans eventually did at Decelea). The adjective ἐξαντιάς agrees with the nearer of the two elements. Sm. §1030.

142.3. τὴν μὲν γὰρ . . . ἀντεπιτειχισμένων. τὴν should refer to ἐπιτείχεος; then, πάλιν ἀντίπαλον would be in apposition to it, and the sentence would read “it is difficult to prepare a fortification in enemy territory—that is, an opponent city—even in peacetime.” ἀντίπαλος means “equal to an opponent” and here seems to mean something like “a city to balance in opposition.” But it makes no sense that such a “city” should be constructed in peacetime, so we must take the term “city” to be a kind of exaggeration. The ἂν of ἂν οὖν δὴ is asseverative, and the combination, meaning “indeed, forsooth,” is used to mark an a fortiori argument. Denniston, Gr. Part. 2, 281. Hence, “indeed far more difficult in wartime.” The a fortiori argument has, then, a further emphasis, οὐχ ἦσσον ἐξαιρεύοι—hence, “and no less [difficult] for them [the Spartans] when we have established fortified positions in their territory in return.” Gomme (ad loc.) takes τὴν as standing for ἐπιτείχεος and as the object of παρασκευάσασθαι (which he reads), and he proposes the emendation (πρὸς) πάλιν ἀντίπαλον. He translates, “it is a difficult matter to carry out an ἐπιτείχεος against a city of equal strength even in peacetime, let alone in war.” The interpretation of this passage remains obscure.

142.4. εἰ ποιήσονται . . . βλάπτομεν ἄν. Mixed condition. The protasis is a real condition with future, and the apodosis is a potential optative. Hence, “If they really intend to establish a garrison, they would harm [only] some part of the land.”
καταδρομαίς καὶ αὐτομόλαις. “by incursions and by [encouraging] desertions.” Αὐτομόλα refers here to the desertions of runaway slaves.

οἵ ἴκανον ἔσται ἐπιτειχίζειν τε καλύτειν. The basic construction is οἵ ἴκανον ἔσται καλύτειν ἤμας, and καλύτειν is followed by the two infinitives ἐπιτειχίζειν and ἀμύνεσθαι, which are connected by τε... καὶ. Sm. §1993. πλεύσαντας modifies ἤμας. Hence, “it [i.e., the Spartan garrison] is not enough to prevent us from sailing to their territory, building fortifications there, and attacking with our navy, which is our strength.” ἀμύνεσθαι here means not just “defend ourselves” but, rather, “retaliate.” LSJ s.v. B.Π.

142.5. πλέον γὰρ ἴμεπις ἔχομεν κτλ. It is necessary to sort out the genitives. ἐμπειρίας goes with πλέον to mean “more experience.” Sm. §1314. The brachylogy τοῦ κατὰ γῆν (πολέμου) defines ἐμπειρία. Hence, “we have more of experience of [warfare] on land out of naval [warfare] than...” Then, by change of construction, ἐμπειρία... ἐς τὰ ναυπηκά means “experience toward naval matters.” Hence, “we have more experience of land warfare as a result of [our experience] in naval [warfare] than they have experience of naval [warfare] from their [experience] of land [warfare].”

142.7. ἐξειργασθε. Second plural perfect middle of ἐξειργάζομαι. Hence, “you have not reached a state of complete accomplishment.” προσέτει οὐδὲ μελετήσας ἐκαθομένοι. “and in addition not even being allowed to practice.”

142.8. πλῆθει ἄμαθῶν ὀσμαύνοντες. “making their ignorance bold by means of their [momentarily superior] number.” The argument is that against a small squadron, the Spartans might risk an encounter.


142.9. τέχνης ἐστὶν. “is a matter of skill.” τέχνης is a so-called pregnant genitive. Cf. 83.2. Smyth calls such a construction a “genitive of quality.” Sm. §1320.
ὄταν τύχῃ, “whenever it chances, casually.”

ἐκ παρέμγου, “in spare time.”

μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεμγον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι is the subject of ἐνδέχεται. μηδὲν is a redundant negative. Sm. §2739 ff. Hence, “It is not possible for there to be any other spare-time activity with it [naval expertise].” Thus, learning naval warfare is a full-time job, which cannot be practiced as a hobby, and indeed, when practiced full-time, it leaves no time for anything else.

143.1. εἴ τε καί, τε links this condition with those that have gone before. καί here means “also.” Hence, “And if they also . . .” Denniston, Gr. Part. 2, 305.

κινήσαντες τῶν . . . χρημάτων. Κινέω plus the genitive means “apply something (here, the money) to an alien purpose.” LSJ s.v. I.2. Cf. Thuc. II.24.1, VI.70.4. τῶν αὐτῶν χρημάτων is a partitive genitive.

μὴ ὄντων . . . μετοίκων. Genitive absolute with negative μὴ serving as a second protasis. Hence, “If they should try . . . and if we were not equal . . . it would be terrible.” The first protasis, εἴ with optative, is potential; the second is in the form of a genitive absolute representing a contrary-to-fact protasis; and the apodosis, imperfect plus ἄν, is contrary-to-fact. Embedded in the μὴ ὄντων genitive absolute is the circumstantial participle ἐσβάντων, signifying means. Sm. §2063. Hence, “if we were not equal by means of going aboard ourselves and our metics going aboard.” Thus, the Athenians argue that without the foreign mercenaries (τοῖς ξένους), they have enough among themselves and their metics to do the job. The αὐτῶν stands for ἵμμων αὐτῶν.

τόδε τε ὑπάρχει. I.e., the fact that the Athenians are equal (ἄντιπολοι). ὅδε usually looks forward (meaning “the following”) but can occasionally refer backward to something just mentioned. Sm. §1247.

143.2. ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ. “on condition of the risk.” LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.III.3. δέξατο. δέχομαι, occurring here with the infinitives φεύγειν and ξυνα-γωνίζεσθαι, means “accept the offer to, decide to, prefer to.” LSJ s.v. I.1. τὴν . . . αὐτοῦ [πόλιν] φεύγειν. “be exiled from his own city.” Sm. §1027b.
ολίγων ἰμήρον... δόσεως. δόσεως is the object of the preposition ἐνεχα. μεγάλου μισθοῦ is an objective genitive dependent on δοσι—hence, “a gift of a large wage.” ολίγων ἰμήρον is a genitive of measure (Sm. §1325) dependent on μισθοῦ—hence, “a gift of a large wage of a few days.” It is unusual for ἐνεχα to precede its object (Sm. §1665a), but see Thuc. I.57.4.

143.3. τὰ δὲ ἱμέτερα... ἀπηλλάχθαι (δοσεί). ἀπηλλάχθαι is the middle perfect infinitive of ἀπαλλάσσω, which here means “escape, avoid, be free of a charge.” LSJ s.v. B.II.6. Hence, “Our situation seems to be free of the [difficulties] with which I have charged them.”

οὐχ ἄπο τοῦ ἱσσου. “not equally [but far better].” This litotes refers here to the superior Athenian navy.

143.4. καὶ οὐκέτι ἔκ τοῦ ὅμοιον ἔσται... καί. “will turn out to be more serious... than.” The argument is that if the Spartans invade the Athenians’ land, the Athenians will attack by sea, and the devastation of part of the Peloponnesus will be more serious to the Spartans strategically than the devastation of all of Attica would be to Athens. For καί as a comparative particle, see Sm. §2875.

ἀντιλαβεῖν. “take as a substitute.” ἄλλην stands for ἄλλην γῆν. Sm. §1027b.

143.5. ὅτι ἐγρύτατα τοῖτον διανοηθέντας. “putting ourselves in a frame of mind as close as possible to this [ideal]”—sc., that the Athenians were islanders. Sm. §§345, 1086.

ἀφεῖναι. Aorist active infinitive of ἀφιέμι.

χρῆ... ὅργισθέντας... μὴ διωμάχεσθα. “It is necessary that you not fight out of anger.”

πολλῷ πλείονοι modifies Πελοποννησίοις and means “who are more numerous by far.”

κρατήραντες... προαπολλυστα. κρατήραντες is a conditional participle. Sm. §2067. Hence, “For if we win, we will fight again against undiminished numbers [because fighting the Peloponnesians on land gives them an inexhaustible advantage of numbers].” καὶ ἣν σφαλόμεν is parallel with the conditional participle—hence, “And if we lose...” τὰ τῶν
εἰμιμάχων... προσαπόλλυτα means “our allies will be lost in addition.” προσαπόλλυτα, though present, is parallel with the future μαχοῦμεθα and has future force. “The present is used instead of the future in statements of what is immediate, likely, certain, or threatening” (Sm. §1879). τὰ τῶν εἰμιμάχων refers back to ἀλλά οὔπω ἁπάν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσοῦ μεγάλα in 1.143.3—hence, “the great advantages of [having] allies.”

τὴν τε ὀλόφυραν μὴ... πολείοθαι (χοί). This negative infinitive is dependent on the preceding χοί. Hence, “It is necessary to make lamentation not over houses and land but, rather, over [the loss of] men.”

αὐτά. I.e., fields and houses.

144.1. ἀφήνῃ τε μὴ ἐπιστάσθαι ἀμα πολεμοῦντες. “not to add to the empire during the war.” Sm. §2081.

ἀθανρέτους. “self-chosen, self-incurred, brought on oneself.”

144.2. ἐν ἀλλω λόγῳ ἀμα τοῖς ἔργοι. “in another speech when events warrant”—literally, “at the time of the events.” Sm. §1701.

ξενηλασίας. Curiously, this is mentioned here for the first time. The Spartans expelled non-Spartans from Lacedaemon from time to time. Cf. Xen. Lac. 14.4; Ar. Av. 1013–16.

οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε. οὔ κωλύει is equivalent to οὐδὲν κωλύει. Hence, “nothing in the truce forbids either this or that.” τόδε refers to the Megarian Decree, ἐκεῖνο to ξενηλασία. Ordinarily, ἐκεῖνο refers to the more remote matter mentioned (Sm. §1261), which would here be the Megarian Decree, mentioned first. But in this instance, ἐκεῖνο seems to refer to the policy of the more remote state, namely, Sparta, while τόδε refers to the policy of the nearer Athenians.

εἰ καὶ αὐτόνομος ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα. Real condition (not contrary-to-fact) in the past. Hence, “if [in fact] we made the truce while having them autonomous.” English would prefer to reverse the emphasis and say, “if in fact they were autonomous at the time we made the truce.” The point is, of course, ironic.

μὴ ὀφίσι ἐπιτηδειῶς αὐτονομεῖοθα. “to be autonomous not in a manner convenient to themselves”—i.e., ironically, whenever the Spartans let their cities become democratic instead of oligarchical. The scholiast argues
that the τοῖς Λασσεδαμονίοις of the MSS is no more than a gloss on ὁσί that has crept from the margin into the text.

ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι ὡς βούλονται. “but [conveniently] to themselves each, as they wish.”

144. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ takes three ὅτι clauses.

ὅτι ἐνέγκα (ἐστὶ) πολέμειν
(ὅτι) ... ἔξομεν
ὅτι ... περιφέρονται

The ἦν δεχόμεθα clause is dependent on ἔξομεν. It is an eventual condition with future apodosis (future-more-vivid condition) embedded in a ὅτι clause after εἰδέναι. The object of δεχόμεθα is the implied πολέμειν. ἥσον ἐγκεισόμενος means “about to press less hard.” LSJ s.v. ἐγκείμαι II. Hence, “we will find them less eager to fight.”

οὐχ ἄπο τοοῦνδε. “not from so great resources.”

ἔν. Sc., πετέσθων. In the middle, λείπεσθαι means “fall short of, be inferior to” and takes the genitive. LSJ s.v. λείπω B.II.3. For οὐ χρὴ instead of χρὴ μὴ, see Sm. §2714. χρὴ takes either οὐ or μὴ.

145. οὐδὲν καλεύομενοι πούμεσιν. Indirect discourse after ἀπεκρίναντο. Hence, “that they would do nothing on demand.”

146. ἐν αὐταῖς. Understand σπονδαῖς.

ἄκηρυκτος. “without heralds.” If the war had actually broken out, they could only communicate by means of heralds, so this is an indication that the war had not yet commenced.

σπονδόν γὰρ καλὰ. This γὰρ clause explains why there was suspicion—because such events (τὰ γινώσκειν) were tantamount to a breaking of the truce and a reason for war.