

Thucydidean Themes

SIMON HORNBLOWER

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Preface and Acknowledgements

I am delighted and proud that Oxford University Press is publishing this collected volume of my Thucydidean themes, and am grateful to Hilary O'Shea for encouraging me to proceed with the project, and for advice in the early stages. For more about the book itself—what it consists of, and what it seeks to do—see Section 8 of the Introduction, below 18, 'This Book'. The Introduction does not summarize the individual chapters, though it draws on and refers to them. Nor does it offer a general and rounded introduction to Thucydides and his History, or an account of modern work on him, such as have been recently and very well provided both by Jeffrey Rusten in his edited *Oxford Readings in Thucydides* (Rusten (2009a), 1–28) and by Peter Rhodes in Martin Hammond's *World's Classics Thucydides* (Hammond (2009), ix–lxiv). It seeks, rather, to fulfil the promise made in the preface to the final volume of my commentary (*CT* III, viii), by offering my own view of Thucydides, 'as arrived at after the completion of the... commentary, and of my other work on Th[ucydides]', in particular by saying what I believe to be distinctive, and distinctively admirable, about him.

Many debts were incurred in the writing of these papers, but they were acknowledged individually at the time of first publication, and those expressions of gratitude have usually been retained here at the beginning of each chapter, though sometimes in shortened form. Where I have had help with the revised version of a chapter, I have added appropriate thanks. I thank warmly Maria Fragoulaki for compiling the Index of Thucydidean Passages; in the course of doing so, she picked up many errors in the proofs, and omissions in the General Index. For permissions to reprint, see below, xvii.

S. H.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Aesch. | Aeschylus |
| Ain. Tact. | Aineias 'the Tactician' |
| Aischin. | Aischines |
| Anab. | Anabasis |
| Ar. | Aristophanes |
| Arist. | Aristotle |
| Arr. | Arrian |
| Ath. Pol. | <i>Athenaion Politeia</i> (Athenian Constitution), attributed to Aristotle) |
| B. | Bacchylides |
| bk. | one of the eight books of Th. |
| comm. | commentary |
| Curt. | Quintus Curtius Rufus |
| Eur. | Euripides |
| Dem. | Demosthenes |
| Diod. | Diodorus of Sicily |
| Hell. | <i>Hellenika</i> |
| Hdt. | Herodotus |
| I. | Isthmian ode (of Pindar) |
| Lys. | Lysias |
| N. | Nemean ode (of Pindar) |
| O. | Olympian ode (of Pindar) |
| O. O. | The 'Old Oligarch' (Ps.-Xen., <i>Athenaion Politeia</i>) |
| Oxy. Hist. | The Oxyrhynchos Historian |
| P. | Pythian ode (of Pindar) |
| Paus. | Pausanias |
| Plut. | Plutarch |
| Pol. | Polybius |
| Soph. | Sophocles |
| Steph. Byz. | Stephanos of Byzantion |
| Strab. | Strabo |
| Sud. | Suda or Suidas |
| Tac. | Tacitus |
| Th. | Thucydides |
| Xen. | Xenophon |

APF
Arch. Reps.
ATL

Barrington's Atlas

BE
Bechtel, HP

Beloch

Bétant

BMC Cyrenaica

BMI III

BNJ
Brill's Companion

Buck and Petersen

Burkert, GR
Busolt

CAH
CEG

CID

Clarendon, *History*

C/S

See Davies
Archaeological Reports
B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 4 vols. (Princeton, 1939–53)
R. Talbert (ed.) *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (2000), and *Map-by-map Directory* (also 2000)
J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin Épigraphique*
F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (1917)
K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 4 vols. in 8, 2nd edn. (1912–27)
E.-A. Bétant, *Lexicon Thucydideum*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1843)
E. S. G. Robinson, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica* (London, 1927)
E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part III (Oxford, 1890)
Brill's New Jacoby (online resource, 2006–)
A. Rengakos and A. Tsakmakis (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Thucydides* (Leiden, 2006)
C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives: arranged by terminations with brief historical introduction* (Chicago, 1945)
W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985)
G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* 3. 2 *Der Peloponnesische Krieg* (Gotha, 1904)
Cambridge Ancient History
P. A. Hansen (ed.) *Carmina epigraphica Graeca: saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr.* (Berlin, 1983)
G. Rougemont and others, *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes* (Paris, 1977–)
Edward, Earl of Clarendon (ed. W. Dunn Macray). *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1888)
Thukydides erklärt von J. Classen, bearbeitet von J. Steup, 3rd to 5th edns. (Berlin, 1900–22)

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| CT | S. Hornblower, <i>A Commentary on Thucydides</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991, 1996, 2008). Cited as CT I, II, III. |
| Classen | See C/S |
| Davies, APF | J. K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC</i> (Oxford, 1971) |
| De Ste Croix, OPW | G. E. M. de Ste Croix, <i>The Origins of the Peloponnesian War</i> (London, 1972) |
| DGE | E. Schwyzler, <i>Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora</i> (Leipzig, 1923) |
| DK | H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.), <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 6th edn. 4 vols. (Berlin, 1952) |
| FGE | D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> (Cambridge, 1980) |
| FGrHist | F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 15 vols. (Berlin, 1923–58) |
| Fornara (followed by ‘no.’) | C. W. Fornara, <i>Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 1 Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War</i> , 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1983) |
| Greek Historiography | S. Hornblower (ed.), <i>Greek Historiography</i> (Oxford, 1994) |
| Greek Personal Names | S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds.), <i>Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence</i> (Oxford, 2000) |
| Greek World | S. Hornblower, <i>The Greek World 479–323 BC</i> , 3rd edn. (London, 2002) |
| Harding | P. Harding, <i>Translated Documents of Greece and Rome. Vol. 2: From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus</i> (Cambridge, 1985) |
| HCP | F. W. Walbank, <i>A Historical Commentary on Polybius</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957–79) |
| HCT | A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, <i>A Historical Commentary on Thucydides</i> , 5 vols. (Oxford, 1945–81) |
| IACP | M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds.) <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> (Oxford, 2004) |
| IEG ² | M. L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi graeci</i> , 2 vols., 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1992) |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| IG | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> |
| IJG | R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, Th. Reinach, <i>Recueil des inscriptions juridiques Grecques deuxième série</i> (Paris, 1898) |
| IPriene | F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Inscripfen von Priene</i> (Berlin, 1906) |
| IvO | W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (eds.), <i>Olympia</i> , vol. 5, <i>Die Inschriften</i> (1896) |
| K/A | R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), <i>Poetae comici graeci</i> (Berlin, 1983–2001) |
| Kl. Pauly | <i>Der kleine Pauly</i> , 5 vols. (Munich, 1964–75) |
| Kl. Schr. | <i>Kleine Schriften</i> |
| Krüger | K. W. Krüger (ed.), <i>Thukydides</i> , 2nd edn. (1858–1860) |
| LGPN | P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (so far: I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA), (Oxford, 1987–2010) |
| LIMC | <i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> (Zurich, 1981–97) |
| LSAG ² | L. H. Jeffery rev. A. W. Johnston, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> ² (Oxford, 1990) |
| LSJ ⁹ | H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edn. (1940), with P. G. W. Glare, <i>Revised Supplement</i> (Oxford, 1996) |
| LSCG | F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités Grecques</i> (Paris, 1969) |
| LSS | F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités Grecques, Supplément</i> (Paris 1962) |
| Macan | R. W. Macan, <i>Herodotus</i> , 5 vols. (London, 1895–1908) |
| Marchant | E. C. Marchant, <i>Thucydides Book VI</i> (London, 1897) and <i>Thucydides Book VII</i> (London, 1893) |
| Maurer | K. Maurer, <i>Interpolation in Thucydides</i> (Leiden, 1985) |
| ML | R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century</i> , rev. edn. 1988, pbk. 1989 (Oxford) |
| NGSL | E. Lupu, <i>Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents</i> (Leiden, 2005) |

- OCD³ S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1996)
- OCT *Oxford Classical Text*
- OGIS W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Orientis graecae inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig, 1903–05)
- OMS See Robert, OMS
- Parker, ARH R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996)
- Parker, Miasma R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1983)
- Parker, Polytheism and Society R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005)
- PECS R. Stillwell (ed.), *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976)
- Pf. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1949 and 1953)
- Pindar's Poetry* S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patron and Festivals from Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2007)
- PMG D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graecae* (Oxford, 1962)
- Popp H. Popp, *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegführung der Griechen im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Diss. Erlangen, 1957
- Poppo–Stahl E. F. Poppo, rev. J. M. Stahl, *Thucydides historiae* (1876–85)
- Pritchett, GSW W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, 5 vols. (Berkeley, 1971–91)
- Purposes of History* H. Verdin, G. Schepens, and E. de Keyser (eds.), *Purposes of History: Studies in Greek Historiography from the 4th to the 2nd Centuries BC* (Louvain, 1990) = *Studia hellenistica* 30
- Rawlings H. R. Rawlings III, *The Structure of Thucydides' History* (Princeton, 1981)
- RE A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 83 vols. (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)

- RFP R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (eds.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis* (Oxford, 1996)
- Rhodes, *Ath. Pol. Comm.* P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford, 1981; repr. with Addenda, 1993)
- R/O P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne (eds.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (Oxford, 2003)
- Robert, OMS L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969–90)
- SEG *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*
- SGDI H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, and O. Hoffmann (eds.), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften* (Göttingen, 1884–1915)
- Syll.³ W. Dittenberger (ed.) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1915–24)
- Th. and Pi. S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry* (Oxford, 2004)
- ThesCRA *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, 6 vols. (Basle and Los Angeles, 2005)
- Thucydides S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* (1987; repr. with corrections 1994)
- Tod M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1946 and 1948)
- Torone I A. Cambitoglou, J. K. Papadopoulos and others, *Torone I: The Excavations of 1975, 1976, and 1978. Text: Part I* (Athens, 2001)
- TrGF B. Snell, S. Radt, and R. Kannicht (eds.), *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971–)
- Wade-Gery, EGH H. T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford, 1958)
- Walbank, HCP See HCP

Places of Original Publication

- Ch. 1. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 94 (1992), 179–97
- Ch. 2. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22 (2007) [= I. Malkin, C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou (eds.). *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean* (London, 2009)], 49–51
- Ch. 3. S. Hornblower (ed.) *Greek Historiography* (Oxford, 1994), 131–66
- Ch. 4. S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds.) *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence* (Oxford, 2000), 129–43
- Ch. 5. A. Ch. Christopoulou (ed.) *Proceedings, 2nd Int. Conference of Boiotian Studies, Levadia, Sept. 1992* (Athens, 1995) vol. 2, 667–78 (much shorter version)
- Ch. 6. A. Rengakos and A. Tsakmakis (eds.) *Brill's Companion to Thucydides* (Leiden, 2006), 615–28
- Ch. 7. A. Sommerstein and J. Fletcher (eds.) *HORKOS: The Oath in Greek Society* (Bristol, 2007), 138–47
- Ch. 8. *Historia* 31 (1982), 241–5
- Ch. 9. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1997), 177–86
- Ch. 10. *Phoenix* 54 (2000), 212–25
- Ch. 11. *Chiron* 32 (2002), 237–47
- Ch. 12. R. Lane Fox (ed.) *The Long March: Studies in Xenophon's Anabasis* (New Haven, 2004), 243–63
- Ch. 13. H. van Wees (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (London, 2000), 57–82
- Ch. 14. V. Fromentin, S. Gotteland and P. Payen (eds.) *Ombres de Thucydide: la réception de l'historien depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle* (Paris, 2010), 27–33
- Ch. 15. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 115 (1995), 47–65

- Ch. 16. P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Pres. M. H. Hansen* (Copenhagen, 2000), 363–84
- Ch. 17. A. Moreno (ed.), *Epitedeumata* (forthcoming)

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- Ch. 6. Brill, Leiden
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- Ch. 17. A. Moreno

Introduction

Looking back, I cannot think of a better preparation for writing about Hitler and Stalin than the familiarity I acquired at Oxford in the 1930s with Thucydides, Tacitus, and those sections of Aristotle's *Politics* that deal with the Greek experience of tyranny.

(Bullock (1993), xix)

some readers have found his political speculations of interest

(extract from the anonymous entry on 'Thucydides' in
M. Drabble (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford, 1985), 981)

I. DISTINCTIVENESS?

I wish, in this Introduction, to ask how Thucydides is distinctive—and distinctively admirable, if he is, as I believe he is. (Not everyone thinks so: contrast the two politically-angled epigraphs printed above, the one enthusiastic, the other condescending towards and tepidly dismissive of both Thucydides and his admirers.) In 2009, we think and hope that we understand, a little better than did earlier generations,¹ Thucydides' relationship to other authors, both his predecessors and his contemporaries; the range of the authors who

¹ This no doubt sounds arrogant and condescending. In fifty years from now, it will no doubt sound merely quaint and erroneous.

are now thought to be relevant to Thucydides is, as Jeffrey Rusten has rightly observed, wider than it once was.² And that covers only ‘respectable’ authors and types of writing. There is also the influence of genres of writing not thought of as obviously literary at all. The Marxist David Craig’s ‘third law of literary development’ ordains that ‘a new genre is likely to piece itself together out of motifs, styles, means of circulation that had belonged to some medium not thought of as art proper’; he adds that such an emergence is likely to take place at a time of social upheaval or rapid change.³ Does this work for ancient Greek historiography (which certainly emerged in a period of rapid change)? For Herodotus, one might think in this connection of oracular modes of speech; for Thucydides, there is the influence of law-court speeches,⁴ informal philosophical discourse,⁵ and of real-life written military reports to the home authorities by generals in the field.⁶ But how does Thucydides differ from these other authors and influences, and how (if at all) does he rise above them?

II. THE CONNECTING THREADS

First it will be necessary to review some of the authors who have been fruitfully compared to Thucydides—the connecting threads.⁷ Above all, there is Homer and epic.⁸ That there is a generally Homeric

² Rusten (2009b), 14.

³ See Craig (1975b), 160. I owe my knowledge of this to Michael Silk’s keynote paper (‘The Greek dramatic genres: theoretical perspectives’) at the Comic Interactions conference held at UCL on 17–18 July 2009, organized by Emmanuela Bakola, Lucia Prauscello, and Mario Telo.

⁴ An under-studied topic; but see Plant (1999).

⁵ Shanske (2007), with the reservations of Rood (2008). For Th. and Protagoras, see Farrar (1988).

⁶ Thucydides himself, in his capacity as *strategos*, must surely have written such reports. See *Thucydides* 39 f. for the possible influence of such writing, but my suggestion has not been taken up.

⁷ See also my ‘additional note’ at Rusten (2009a), 86–8, a selective update of *Thucydides* 110–35 (repr. in Rusten). On Th.’s relation to other writers, there are perceptive remarks throughout Greenwood (2006), ch. 1.

⁸ I take the opportunity of noting that J. Gordon Howie, whose article about Homeric *aristeia* in modern Greek was summarized by me at CT II 39 n. 99, has now

dimension to Thucydides is not a new thought: Hermann Strasburger drew some basic parallels (such as the choice of a great war as a theme) half a century ago.⁹ What is new is the working out of the influence at the level of detail. A simple example: it has been noticed¹⁰ that when Thucydides makes one of his agents say or think that some course of action or result will be ‘easy’, *ῥάδιον*, *ῥαδίως*, or *ῥᾶρον*, that will often turn to be ironic, a warning signal that the enterprise will fail. Rood accepts this, but takes it further, acutely noting that ‘only the gods do things with ease’, and citing appropriate Homeric passages.¹¹ Occasionally one of the Thucydidean scholia points us intelligently to a Homeric parallel. A good example is the remarkable chiasmic and asyndetic four-word sequence from the great Syracusan sea-battle (‘lamentation, shouting, “we’re winning”, “we’re beaten”’); a scholiast aptly sends us to some lines of the *Iliad* which seem to have been specially popular in antiquity and are clearly illuminating here, though there is no actual lexical overlap.¹² Much more often, we have to detect the presence of Homer for ourselves (for an example see below, 139, prefatory remarks to Ch. 6). Spectacular progress has been made in this area (the publication of the ‘New Simonides’ in 1991 arguably provided the missing link between epic and historiography);¹³ but we still need a study of Thucydides and Homer¹⁴ to match that recently and perceptively carried out by Pelling for Herodotus’ creative adaptation (not merely echoing) of Homer.¹⁵

published a separate full-length study (nearly 80 pages) specifically devoted to ‘the *Aristeia* of Brasidas’: Howie (2005).

⁹ Strasburger (1982) [1951].

¹⁰ Connor (1984), 112 n. 9; CT I. 241, first n. on 2. 3. 2; Rood (1998), 34 n. 30; Pelling (2007), 180 n. 3.

¹¹ Rood (1998), 34 n. 30; *Iliad* 15. 361–6 and 20. 444; *Odyssey* 14. 358.

¹² Th. 7. 71. 4 (ὀλοφνυμὸς βοή, νικῶντες κρατοῦμενοι) with CT III, 700; the scholiast cites *Iliad* 4. 450–1, ἐνθα δ’ αἰμ’ οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχολὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν | ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων... Popularity: see further below n. 18. No lexical overlap: the point (lexical similarity is not the only sort) is important. See e.g. Morrison (2007), 10, and I am indebted to a paper by Ralph Rosen at the Comic Interactions conference (above, n. 3).

¹³ Boedeker and Sider (2001). For the point made in the text, see Hornblower (2001), one of the chapters in that collection. But nothing comes of nothing, and for even earlier poetic precursors of historiography, such as Mimnermos, see E. Bowie (2001). ¹⁴ See however R. Williams (1993). ¹⁵ Pelling (2006).

Tragedy and Thucydides owe a shared debt to epic; that was one main conclusion of the late Colin Macleod in his now classic essay on Thucydides and tragedy.¹⁶ It is certainly a complex business to disentangle Thucydides' precise relationship to tragedy. Let us return to the cries of battle-winners and battle-losers (above). In between Homer and Thucydides there is Aeschylus—Clytemnestra, describing the fall of Troy which she has not witnessed but is imagining, speaks of 'cries that do not blend' (βοῶν ἄμικτον), and says 'the voices of captors and victors may be heard separately, in their double fortune', καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα | φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς.¹⁷ Did Thucydides have the one poetic passage in mind more than the other? And a fourth author is relevant to our inquiry: Aristophanes. A 'pare-epic' passage from the *Clouds* of 424 quotes one of the Homeric lines which have been our starting-point.¹⁸ (For comedy see further below.) Thucydides' clearest borrowings from tragedy or the tragic register occur, not surprisingly, at moments of high emotion or drama.¹⁹

Epinikian poetry—the victory odes composed by Pindar, Bacchylides, and some earlier figures for athletic and equestrian victories at games—has been largely ignored in modern Thucydidean scholarship. But Thucydides and Pindar were paired by ancient literary critics, and, taking their cue, I have argued in a monograph that the style and outlook of the two authors repays comparative treatment.²⁰

¹⁶ Macleod (1983), 140–58 at 157 (doubting whether tragedy was a literary influence on Th., and suggesting that Hdt. 'another tragic historian' was a much more direct influence). On Th. and tragedy, see now Rutherford (2007).

¹⁷ Aesch. Ag. 321, 324 f. (tr. C. Collard); see (again) CT III, 700.

¹⁸ Ar. *Peace* 1270–301, esp. 1276, which quotes *Iliad* 4. 450 (ἐνθα δ' ἄμ' οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχολή πέλεν ἀνδρῶν) *verbatim*. This Homeric intertext was discussed by Martin Revermann in his paper 'Paraepic Comedy' at the conference mentioned above, n. 3.

¹⁹ See e.g. 6. 24. 3 for the passionate desire for the Sicilian expedition which seized the Athenians in 415, ἔρωσ ἐνέπεσε, with CT III, 361. This has often been noted in its tragic aspect. Less often discussed is the 'doomed craving' at 6. 13. 1 (Nikias uses the unusual and poetic word *δυσέρωτας*); see CT III, 335. Tragic register: see the 'tragic' iambic trimeter at the clausal 7. 87. 5, with CT III, 744.

²⁰ *Th. and Pi.*, and below n. 78; cf. Chs. 10 and 11 below for the full and minute attention accorded by Th. to Lichas' victory at the Olympic games of 420 bc (5. 49–50. 4). The idea of 'desire for what is absent' is epinikian as well as tragic; see the refs. given in the preceding note for *δυσέρωτας*.

Thucydides and comedy might seem another improbable pairing. Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides alludes directly to any comic poet or poem, Athenian or Syracusan (contrast Herodotus' mention of the tragedy of Phrynichos, 6. 21. 2). Indirect parallels surely exist between Thucydides and Aristophanes, but they should not be forced at the level of detail.²¹ It is nevertheless true that the two writers disparaged and presumably disapproved of some of the same Athenian politicians;²² for instance, they use the same word *μοχθηρός* to dismiss the 'wretched' Hyperbolos, and this might be a faint echo of comedy by Thucydides.²³ And Thucydides' account of the Sicilian Expedition recalls some of the themes and even onomastic details of the *Birds* of March 414.²⁴

But there may be another and less direct connection. Jeffrey Rusten has constructed an interesting argument according to which the survival of the plays of Old Comedy, which are cited by the historians of the fourth century (Ephoros, Theopompos, Duris, Aristotle), is owed to 'the power of Thucydides' History', which meant that the fifth century bc would be a permanent object of historical study.²⁵

Medical writings and Thucydides have long been compared. Scholarship has tended, for obvious reasons, to focus on the main plague description (2. 47. 3–54), and very interesting work continues to be done on this lexically extraordinary section.²⁶ But it has been shown

²¹ On the over-ingenious attempt of Vickers (1997) to squeeze out of Aristophanes non-obvious allusions to specific historical material preserved in e.g. Thucydides and Plutarch, see the decisive objections of Dover (2004), 241–5. Dover 242 observes that Old Comedy seems to avoid mention of the Plague, and this renders very dubious one of Vickers' particular arguments. Vickers (2008) uses the same method for Sophocles, detecting Alkibiades everywhere. ²² Lowe (2007), 58.

²³ Ar. *Knights* 1304 with Th. 8. 73. 3 (and see CT III, 969 for Plato the comic poet). But see above, n. 12: such verbal similarities are only one possible indicator of relationship.

²⁴ CT III, 362, 6. 24. 3 n. on καὶ εὐέλπιδες... Again, Dover (2004), 241 protests against over-interpretation at the level of detail.

²⁵ Rusten (2006), 556f., citing *FGrHist* 70 Ephoros F 73 (from Diodorus: Aristophanes and Eupolis); 76 Duris F 73 (anecdote about Eupolis, also in *BNJ*); 115 Theopompus F 85–100 (= book 10 'On the Athenian demagogues', cf. Connor (1968), 102f.); Aristotle fr. 575 (Aristophanes' *Babylonians*). Lowe (2007), 5, has a different explanation (Old Comedy valued and thus preserved because of its supposed linguistic purity).

²⁶ Thomas (2006), and the items listed at Rusten (2009a), 504 (nos. 315–22); add Bosworth (2009), 182: Th.'s treatment of the plague deaths is to be explained by his 'perpetual obsession with the unusual'.

that the influence of the doctors extends beyond this, and that it helps to explain the recurrent Thucydidean notion of mixture and blending as something politically desirable; one key passage is authorial comment, not a speech.²⁷

The most interesting, immediate, and important, but also the most elusive, influence on Thucydides is surely his contemporary Herodotus (see below, Ch. 14 for the two as in some sense rivals). Thus, to return to our earlier example (people who think something will be ‘easy’), it is not enough to identify the Homeric aspect to this ironic usage. Herodotus is ironic in just this way too, though his favoured word for ‘easily’ is *εὐπετέως*.²⁸ But Thucydides’ closeness to and distance from Herodotus will occupy us for much of the latter part of this Introduction, so I leave this topic here for the moment.

Herodotus brings me to the thesis of Bernard Williams, who is here building on some remarks of Nietzsche.²⁹ The political philosopher Raymond Geuss,³⁰ in an eight-page obituary essay on ‘Bernard Williams as philosopher’, has rightly remarked the surprisingness of the Nietzsche/Williams’ conclusion: ‘who’, he asks, ‘is a better guide to human life, Plato or Thucydides? Given this choice, virtually all European philosophers for the past two thousand years would have chosen Plato’. But not Nietzsche (whose views in this area Geuss then spends two pages summarizing); and not Williams either.

III. ‘RATIONALITY AT RISK TO CHANCE’

The title to this subsection is taken from Bernard Williams’ 1989 Sather lectures, *Shame and Necessity*.³¹ The quoted words are Williams’ epigrammatic characterization of Thucydides’ view of the world, a view which Thucydides is said to have held in common with Homer and above all Sophocles, but which markedly differs from the essentially

²⁷ See CT III, 352 f. (on 6. 18. 6, Alkibiades speaks) and 1035 (on 8. 97. 2, authorial), citing de Romilly (1976), Rechenauer (1991), 298–303, and Brock (2006). Cf. already CT I, 456 (on 3. 62. 3, the Thebans speak). ²⁸ See Rood (1998), 34 n. 30.

²⁹ Williams (1993), 161; see also Shanske (2007), 129–34, 138–42.

³⁰ Geuss (2005), 29. ³¹ Williams (1993), 164.

optimistic world-views of Plato and Aristotle. Geuss (above) well develops the point, with some examples of Thucydidean individuals, to argue that Thucydides is immune to the ‘wishful thinking’ of the great philosophers: ‘good men suffer catastrophic failure (Nikias); unworthy men reap the benefits of others’ achievements (Kleon in Pylos); men exhibit pre-eminent virtue in some contexts and fall into decadence in others (Pausanias).’³²

The claims here made for Thucydides are very high. I do not wish to challenge the picture of Thucydides which they present, but instead I shall suggest that they treat him too much in isolation from Herodotus, or else regard Herodotus as some kind of outmoded precursor. (Herodotus’ complicated presentation of Xerxes—far from a stereotypical tyrant but capable of magnanimity—is depiction of flawed failure, as is his Miltiades and—especially—his wholly secular Aristagoras).³³ But let us first examine the notion of a world where rationality is ‘at risk to chance’³⁴—a world, in fact, of contingency and counterfactuality.

IV. ‘NEITHER FIVE NOR THREE’: CONTINGENCY AND COUNTERFACTUALS

When first my way to fair I took
Few pence in purse had I,
And long I used to stand and look
At things I could not buy.

³² Geuss (2005), 31.

³³ Pelling (2007). Hdt.’s Aristagoras is in his way as interesting and complex a character as—say—Th.’s Nikias, though less sympathetically portrayed.

³⁴ On chance in both Hdt. and Th. see Esther Eidinow, forthcoming, on Luck, Fate, and Fortune. Game theory will also shed light here. Th. and game theory is the subject of a UCL Ph.D. in progress by Manuela dal Borgo, jointly supervised by Prof. Steffen Huck of the Economics Department and myself. Game theory distinguishes usefully between ‘exogenic’ decisions i.e. those affected by e.g. the supernatural, and ‘endogenic’ ones, where such considerations are not relevant, and the agents act in accordance with strict rationality.

Now times are altered: if I care
 To buy a thing, I can;
 The pence are here and here's the fair,
 But where's the lost young man?
 —To think that two and two are four
 and neither five nor three
 The heart of man has long been sore
 And long 'tis like to be.

(A. E. Housman, *Last Poems*).

Modern historians are fascinated by the implications of the idea that events could have turned out otherwise than they did, and of the idea that chance played a part in the way they did turn out. Niall Ferguson's edited collection *Virtual History*³⁵ assembles some cleverly argued examples of counter-factual history, some of them preceded by solidly documented narratives of the actual sequence of events. The editor's ninety-page Introduction is a virtuoso performance, but finds little time or space for the ancient world, apart from nods at Polybius and Tacitus. The false inference, that the classical Greek historians (not to mention Homer) had nothing to contribute in this area, has to my knowledge been drawn from this near-silence.³⁶ But Herodotus and Thucydides both make effective and dramatic use of counterfactual assertions. It is important to recognize (as is insufficiently done by the contributors to the Ferguson volume) that full-dress counterfactuality is—and not only in the ancient world³⁷—a mode of rhetorical utterance, an emphatic focusing device, designed to draw special attention to a hinge-moment in history. It can be traced directly to Homer, and his 'if...not' formulae, on which important work has been done by Irene de Jong (who sees them as setting up an interaction between narrator and narratee) and Heinz-Günther

³⁵ Ferguson (1997).

³⁶ By some of the speakers and participants at a workshop on Counterfactuals held on July 1–2 2009 at the UCL Department of Economics, and organized by Steffen Huck.

³⁷ For Clarendon, see below, Ch. 17, 362 (Cromwell's remark to Falkland). A well-known example from Gibbon concerns the battle of Poitiers in AD 732, but for which battle 'the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet' (ch. 52; Gibbon (1896–1900), 6. 15). Rightly quoted by Ferguson (1997), 8.

Nesselrath.³⁸ The most celebrated example in all Herodotus is introduced with attention-grabbing words of (ostensible?) defiance: he will now say something he knows will be unpopular, but he will say it all the same. (Pause, surely. Then out it comes...) 'Had the Athenians, in terror at the approaching danger, left their country, or had they stayed there and come to terms with the Persians...' (etc.: 7. 139, a highly elaborated chapter).

Thucydides' most developed example is close to the end of the whole work (and it has been noticed that the counterfactuals pile up in this closing section). It is a set of reflections on the hypothetical consequences of a more aggressive Peloponnesian exploitation of the Euboians' recent change of side. It begins with a favourite expression for the 'magnitude' of the 'shock' (*ἐκπληξίς μεγίστη*) produced at Athens by this turn of events; it continues with a Thucydidean rarity, an authorial rhetorical question; and then settles down to an exploration of the counterfactual possibilities.³⁹ This is emotional language, and it has been argued that Thucydides' judgement is astray here.⁴⁰ So too (from the central point of the Sicilian narrative) his clausal comment 'so close did Syracuse come to destruction' exaggerates the direness of the Syracusans' plight at the moment of Gongylos' arrival; the distortion may be partly due to a wish to force a parallelism with Mytilene, where the identical expression was used.⁴¹ But less spectacular (i.e. not 'full-dress') examples of counterfactuals can be detected at some other points; for instance, when he uses little phrases like 'and they would have done, *καὶ ἔμελλον*, but they were prevented by an earthquake which happened' (1. 101. 2).⁴²

Let us move on to the related concept of contingency, and begin with an example. Thucydides' account of the downfall of the Peisistratid

³⁸ See below, Ch. 3, 89 and n. 70, citing (for Homer) de Jong (1987) and Nesselrath (1992) on 'Beinahe-Episoden'. See also CT II, 18 (on 4. 106).

³⁹ For all this see CT III, n. on 8. 96. 4, esp. 1031, noting that Aristotle in the *Poetics* ('that unsatisfactory book', as Bernard Williams called it: Williams (1993), 213 n. 35) would presumably not have approved of the sort of history which concerned itself with what might happen, as opposed to what did happen.

⁴⁰ Moreno (2007), 124 ff.

⁴¹ 7. 2. 3 n. on *παρὰ τοσοῦτον*... (cf. 3. 49. 4). See CT III, 546 f. on the book 7 passage; but also (for the exaggeration) 7. 2. 1 n. on *καταλαβόν*... (p. 544).

⁴² Below, Ch. 3, 89 [= *Greek Historiography*, 158], and (from the same edited collection) Derow (1994), 81.

tyranny (6. 54–9) is an excursus within a detailed narrative of events which took place a century later (415). I have argued⁴³ that one overlooked purpose of the excursus is to bring out the importance of the strongly-felt same-sex motivation, a feature entirely ignored by Herodotus in the equally extended excursus in his Book 5. Thucydides wishes to show that the liberation of Athens was the result of a ‘daring deed’ and the ‘chance of a love affair’,⁴⁴ not of any high-minded ideology of liberation.⁴⁵ This, then is contingent history.⁴⁶

It would be wrong, though, to regard this aspect as Thucydides’ own exclusive and innovative contribution, because contingency and counterfactuality are present in Herodotus all right,⁴⁷ and in his treatment of this very same episode of sixth-century history—but at the end of the Peisistratid narrative, not the beginning or middle. He says (5. 65. 1) that the tyrants (under siege on the Acropolis by this point of the narrative) were well provisioned, and that the Spartans would have given up the siege and gone home, had it not been for the chance, *συντυχίη*—a bad one for the tyrants, a good one for the others, says Herodotus with impartial focalization—that their children were captured, forcing them to come to terms.⁴⁸

I have chosen this example partly because of its historical importance (no fall of Peisistratids = no Athenian democracy), partly because it makes a point of general validity, namely that it is very hard, and is getting harder by the year (see below) to identify an admirable feature of Thucydides which is *not present in Herodotus also*, though it may wear a different aspect, or be concealed.⁴⁹ Indeed, my main worry

⁴³ CT III, 436 ff., and individual notes on 6. 54–9. See now Pothou (2009), 147.

⁴⁴ 6. 54. 1. Note ‘one ... purpose’. I do not deny the simultaneous validity of other types of explanation.

⁴⁵ But see 6. 54. 3 n. on *ἐπιβουλεύει*... for a sentence which may hint that the ideological motive was present after all.

⁴⁶ See already *Th. and Pi.* 301 n. 46. That footnote acknowledged the advances made in this general area by H.-P. Stahl; and see now Grethlein (2010), 204–80.

⁴⁷ I do not repeat what I said about contingency in Hdt. at *Th. and Pi.* 301 f., where I concentrated on the Ionian Revolt, esp. 5. 36. 1 (threefold convergence of chance on Aristagoras. For convergence of several desires, motives, almost causes—the first in the list is divine commands, hardly a ‘desire’—cf. Orestes at Aesch. *Cho.* 300 ff.: πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς ἓν συμπέτνονσαν ἔμεροι). For Aristagoras see above, n. 33.

⁴⁸ See CT III, 6. 59. 4 n. on *ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων*...

⁴⁹ See Derow, quoted below n. 55.

about the conclusions of Bernard Williams (and therefore also with Nietzsche, whom he follows with acclaim) is one of exceptionalism: what they say about Thucydides is true and important, but neither of these modern thinkers does justice to the achievement of Herodotus, who in many respects got there first.⁵⁰ (A noticeable tendency in recent work on Herodotus has been to abridge or even deny the difference from Thucydides.)⁵¹ A reply to this might be to say, in lawyerly fashion: ‘if, which is not admitted, it is true that Herodotus got there first, then it does not matter, because we will still have identified important fifth-century BC advances’; and that is a far from ridiculous or weak position. But since our concern is specifically with Thucydides, we cannot quite rest content with that.

V. CAUSATION AND METHODOLOGY

Let us look at another example, still in the general area of causation. Thucydides closes his *Archaeology* and opens his pre-war narrative proper with a justly famous bridge passage where he distinguishes authorially (*ἡγοῦμαι*, ‘I think’) between the ‘truest cause’ and those which were openly alleged (1. 23. 6). The passage is not only methodologically but structurally important, because we will find an echo-with-a-difference at the start of the Sicilian narrative (6. 6. 1); this may even have been near the intended opening of the second great

⁵⁰ Denis Feeney, *à propos* of the alleged discovery by Th. of ‘historical [as opp. mythical] time’, observes ‘In general [the scope of these two words is not clear to me], it seems to me that Williams does not appreciate what Herodotus achieved, and claims too much for Thucydides’: Feeney (2007), 243 f. n. 34 (cf. CT III, 1055), approving Wecowski (2004), 158. For Williams, Hdt. is both polymathic ‘hedgehog’ and holistically wise ‘fox’—like Tolstoy, in fact. (On this antithesis, taken from Isaiah Berlin who took it from Archilochos, see *Thucydides* 145. Its usefulness is beginning to seem doubtful.) But note that Hdt. never actually uses any form of the ‘fox’-word *πολυμαθής* (which so interests Williams), as opp. the common ‘hedgehog’-word *σοφίη* and cognates.

⁵¹ I may refer here to two successful but still unpublished UCL doctoral theses supervised by me: Aris Rogkoti, degree awarded 2003 (see provisionally Rogkoti (2006)) and Vassiliki Zali, degree awarded 2009 (on Hdt.’s speeches). The convergence between Hdt. and Th. should not (see below) be taken so far as to collapse the two together; nor do Rogkoti or Zali do this.

pentad of a projected but uncompleted ten-book whole.⁵² Deep *versus* surface causation: is this not a conceptual breakthrough? Yes and No. To be sure, nobody (as far as we know) had put the matter as starkly and as sharply and above all as self-consciously as this, a point I return to in a moment; but now consider a not-very-pivotaly positioned paragraph of Herodotus. Aryandes, satrap of Egypt, has decided to send an army westwards to help Pheretime. 'At least, that charge [sc. the accusation of murdering Arkesilaos] was the pretext for the expedition, but the army was sent, as it seems to me, in order to conquer the Libyans': αὐτῇ μὲν νυν αἰτίῃ πρόσχημα τοῦ λόγου ἐγίνετο, ἐπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύων καταστροφῇ (4. 167. 2).

The essential similarity is patent: stated pretext versus underlying cause. Even Herodotus' first-person parenthesis ('as it seems to me') is paralleled by Thucydides' ἡγοῦμαι, though the latter's single verb is a shade more confident than Herodotus' 'seems' formula. Thucydides' avoidance of the vocabulary of seeming is evidently deliberate, when you consider that he had used it a few chapters earlier (1. 10. 3, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, about the inferences to be drawn from the numbers of ships of the contingents in Homer's *Catalogue*).

The real difference is, I suggest, to be sought in the entire context. Thucydides' *Archaeology* has several functions, but one of them is undoubtedly to provide an explicit and cumulative lesson in how to do history:⁵³ the 'truest cause' sentence stands at the climax of this didactic mini-essay. Herodotus' explicit and implicit statements of method tend, by contrast, to make their appearance more suddenly and 'on the wing'.⁵⁴ This is not to say that they lose rather than gaining in emphasis; but we do not have (as we do with Thucydides) a feeling of a solemn statement which forms the culmination of a gathering

⁵² See (for some complications attending this view, which is that of Rawlings), *CT* III, 301, part of the note on the second, 'Sicilian', passage cited in the text above.

⁵³ *CT* I, 3. I owe the point to my late teacher David Lewis. Cf. Rhodes in Hammond (2009), xxxii: Th. 'reveals more of how he thought one should set about establishing the truth in those passages where he deals with events earlier than the fifth century'.

⁵⁴ But Wecowski (2004) has made a good case for the methodological importance of Hdt.'s preface. I am, however, not so sure as he is that Hdt. is poking fun at the theft-of-women motif. Quarrels about women were not ridiculous: serious matters of property and territory might be at stake. See Th. 6. 6. 2 with *CT* III, 303, and Hornblower (2006), 308. Horace made the point (Helen not the only woman to have ever started a war), in an indelicate pair of lines deleted from some school editions: *Sat.* 1. 3. 107 f.

methodological momentum.⁵⁵ Thucydides is (in one of his registers—an important qualification) a self-conscious professional. Or as Oswyn Murray neatly put it in 1986: 'Thucydides is first of all a historian's historian: he is obsessed with methodology'.⁵⁶ This explicitness, then, is one feature which differentiates him from Herodotus.

But merely to draw attention, more aggressively, to one's own methodology is (it may be objected) not admirable in itself. It is more important that Thucydides addressed what to us are real difficulties of method, and was, as far as we can see, the first to do so. The announcement (1. 22. 1–2) about speeches and narrative, and the different ways in which he will go about recording them, has no true counterpart anywhere in Herodotus. The closest, I suppose, is the latter's reply to carping critics who evidently did not accept his account of the Constitution Debate held at Persia (6. 43. 3⁵⁷ with 3. 80–2); but the reply takes the form, not of a statement of method about speech-recording, but of a historical argument from analogy and probability, one whose application is limited to this particular case. In effect, he says 'because Mardonios in 493 put down tyrannies and set up democracies in Asia Minor, it is reasonable of me to say that a Persian a quarter of a century earlier could have advocated democracy'. (One wonders, did this silence the doubters?)

Matthew Fox and Niall Livingstone, in a recent discussion of the role of rhetoric in ancient historiography, begin by denying Thucydides any special 'scientific' status: they insist—cf. above 11 and n. 51 for the modern tendency to collapse Herodotus and Thucydides—that his speeches *and more lengthy narrative descriptions* (NB: italics added)⁵⁸ appeal 'just as much to his audience's rhetorical sensibilities as Homer's or Herodotus'. But they go on to note that Thucydides

⁵⁵ Derow (1994), 82, discussing causation, starts by saying he hopes he will not be taken to be saying that Thucydides was Herodotus, and continues 'Thucydides was capable of analytical explanation in a way that Herodotus was not, or chose not to reveal'. This puts it well—both the generalization, and the qualification which follows it. ⁵⁶ Murray (1986), 193.

⁵⁷ The rhetoric of the reply (unexpected, and made 'on the wing', as usual) is good. I shall now say something which will be a 'very great surprise, μέγιστον θῶμα, to those who did not accept' what I said about Otanes. Then, surely (cf. above on the counterfactual 7. 139), pause for emphasis. Then the statement of what Mardonios did.

⁵⁸ Another feature of modern work is a recognition that Th.'s narratives, as well as speeches, are rhetorical constructs: below, Ch. 3; Rood (1998); Dewald (2005); Schwinge (2008). But Th. himself (at 1. 22) addresses only the problem of ascertaining fact.

displays 'unease about rhetoric' and that he is the first to show awareness of the 'tension between an audience's expectations of rhetorical display and the requirements of historiography'.⁵⁹ These points are well taken: Thucydides' worries speak to our worries. It does not diminish him (much?) if we add that the whole famous chapter may have been partly intended as one in the eye for Herodotus. That is, polemic and the competitive spirit may have provided, as it so often did in Greek historiography, the stimulus to a higher achievement.

VI. SECULAR CAUSATION?

Let us, in our search for the admirably distinctive in Thucydides, return to causation. We have seen that he cannot safely be credited with having invented historical as opposed to mythical time. Is it Thucydides' achievement to have got rid of the gods? Here is a good representative statement of what many thoughtful readers feel: 'Arguably it is not until Thucydides that the idea of a sustained narrative without the divine is born.'⁶⁰ The implied statement about the secular character of Thucydidean narrative is essentially right, though it needs qualifying in one small respect: whatever Thucydides' own religious attitude, he fluctuates in the degree to which he is willing to allow in religious motivation as a factor controlling the decisions and outlook of the agents in his history. In particular, the final phase of the Sicilian narrative has (I have argued) more of a flavour of religious foreboding, and of consciousness of imminent divine vengeance, than any other part of the work.⁶¹ This both is and is not 'narrative without the divine'.

But what of Herodotus? Here too the Herodotus-Thucydides convergence has had its effect: recent⁶² work has inclined towards a

⁵⁹ Fox and Livingstone (2007), 548; part of a good discussion.

⁶⁰ Kearns (2004), 59. For a similar view, see Veyne, quoted below, 26, as the epigraph to Ch. 1, and Drachmann (1922), 28.

⁶¹ See *CT* III, 725, n. on 7. 79. 3; there is a contrast with 6. 70. 1, on which see my long n. (*CT* III, 477–81), which argues for a re-interpretation of the Greek.

⁶² And not only recent. Gomme (1954; his Sather lectures), 157 remarks, in exactly this connection (the gods and human action), that 'the contrast between the two historians [Hdt. and Th.] has been too sharply drawn' (he meant, by Thibaudet in 1922!).

view of Herodotean religion which is not so very different from that of Thucydides. I think of Scott Scullion's picture (influenced by Walter Burkert) of Herodotus as pious sceptic.⁶³ The matter cannot be pursued here; but note that some parts of Herodotus are less obviously haunted by the divine than others—it has been remarked that book 5, for instance, is (like the biblical book of Esther) close to being god-free.⁶⁴ And even when Herodotus lets in an epiphany, an auditory experience of Pan in book 6, his narrative manner is cagy, oblique, and distancing.⁶⁵

VII. CONCLUSION

Here, finally, is an attempt at a personal statement of why I find Thucydides distinctively admirable. He is inexhaustibly rich and varied. The intellectual power and calibre⁶⁶ is astonishing, but it is maturely and not obtrusively displayed; and he has a heart as well as a head (though we may, if we like, complain that his compassion is more easily evoked by Greek than by barbarian suffering, as at Mykalessos, about to be discussed). But I still believe (see n. 38) that these points can be made only by giving examples—as Nietzsche and Bernard Williams do not—and that the multilevel achievement can be adequately grasped only by working through his text slowly, and preferably (if this is not too autobiographical an addition) by teaching or other shared reading. In the three volumes of my commentary, the general title of which deliberately lacks a restricting adjective such as 'historical', I have tried to exploit every available

⁶³ Scullion (2006).

⁶⁴ See my forthcoming Cambridge green-and-yellow commentary on Hdt. bk. 5. The observation about bk. 5 was made (as I recall) by Tim Rood at the successful 2002 Cambridge workshop which became Irwin and Greenwood (2007); see Pelling (2007), 197–8 and n. 68. ⁶⁵ Hornblower (2001), on Hdt. 6. 105.

⁶⁶ This word deliberately echoes Andrewes (*HCT* 4. 19; cf. *CT* II, 491). In the course of an argument on astronomical matters, he notes that in Th.'s day the length of the solar year had been worked out, and he comments nicely 'a man of Thucydides' calibre would have been interested, and, if he was, the required calculation would have been possible'.

approach (historical,⁶⁷ literary, rhetorical, onomastic,⁶⁸ epigraphic, religious,⁶⁹ philosophical, textual,⁷⁰ archaeological) because I am convinced that that is the only way to begin to do justice to so complex and many-layered a text. The same applies to the essays in the present book, which use different techniques to examine a plurality of Thucydidean themes (hence the book's title; see further Section 8 below).

If I were now⁷¹ allowed to single out just one passage of Thucydides for special but representative praise, I would offer the Mykalessos episode. This was a surprise attack, by Thracian mercenaries on their way home after being discharged by the Athenians for reasons of economy, on the Boiotian town of Mykalessos (7. 29–30: 413 BC, towards the end of the Sicilian Expedition). Among other horrors, the children of an entire school were butchered. I will not here repeat what I have said in my commentary about it; I note now only three features. First, there is the delicate handling of the question of responsibility for the massacre (the Thracians? Diitrephes, the Athenian commander who was escorting them? The Athenians back home and

⁶⁷ P. Thonemann's study of Amorges (announced at CT III, 771) is now Thonemann (2009). Like Moreno (2007), 124–6, he has, if right, cast doubt on Th.'s reliability on one point. On Sicilian culture and theatricality (CT III, 12–21) see now Willi (2008); and note that S. Amato, *Dall' Olympieion al fiume Assinaro* is now complete with the appearance of vol. 3 (2008). Epigraphy continues to supplement Th.: see Maddoli (2007) for (?) the Spartan Endios (Th. 8. 12. 2 etc.) at Karian Iasos, but I suggest (forthcoming proceedings of the *Labraunda 60 Years* conference) that the identification is uncertain. That Th. had his dislikes (see e.g. below, Ch. 6, the Argives) is not proof of his unreliability. We must distinguish between senses of 'bias': manifestations of sympathy (or its opposite) need not entail outright falsification. See CAH 6² 4–5 (on Xen.).

⁶⁸ See below, Ch. 4. Th.'s naming strategies are an extreme example of the Thucydidean student's need to build up a picture by means of detail. I hope that Sophia Panaretou's UCL doctoral thesis in progress, 'Naming and non-naming strategies in Th.', will do this.

⁶⁹ Ch. 9 below (Plataian perjury) is relevant here, as well as the more obvious Chs. 1, 2 (Delphi and the amphiktion), and 8 (the Ephesia). So are Chs. 10 and 11 (Lichas at Olympia), and sections 4 and 5 of Ch. 5: Th. and Boiotia(ns).

⁷⁰ The best MS of Valla's Latin translation of Th., Vaticanus Lat. 1801, has now been published in photographic reproduction Chambers (2008). See below, Annex, no. 21.

⁷¹ In *Thucydides*, 191–205, I chose to illustrate Th.'s virtues by means of four passages: 3. 49 (Mytilene reprieve); 7. 69 (Nikias' 'old-fashioned' speech); 2. 80–2 (Peloponnesians in Akarnania); and 7. 45 (aftermath of the battle of Epipolai).

their financial mistakes? The war itself?). Second, the narrative skill, in particular the varying of descriptive 'pace', and the way in which the episode is integrated both with the larger surrounding Sicilian military narrative, and with the smaller-scale Athenian financial excursus to which it forms a pendant.⁷² Third, the compassionate indignation which Thucydides, in the course of this short section, twice expresses *in his own authorial person* about a relatively minor (in terms of numbers of human beings involved) consequence of Mediterranean-wide warfare: 7. 29. 5 and 30. 3. This feature ought⁷³ on its own to be enough to give the lie to the nonsense often⁷⁴ talked by International Relations specialists about Thucydides the supposedly hard-boiled neo-realist. (As with Thucydides' 'conservatism', discussed below in connection with Grotius and Clarendon,⁷⁵ much elementary error has been caused by ascription to Thucydides himself of sentiments placed by him in the mouth of speakers). Thucydides evidently feels that it was specially lamentable and disgraceful to kill the non-combatants at Mykalessos, and this shows that there was, at least in the mind of one shrewd and normally unsentimental contemporary observer, some notion of morally operative 'laws of war' long before the Geneva Convention.⁷⁶

Herodotus too had plenty of distinct registers, but the analytical excursuses which are a feature of Thucydides (most conspicuously the Plague and its moral aftermath, and the stasis at Kerkyra and at Athens)⁷⁷ are absent. The lexical and syntactical variety is less; for instance, Herodotus' speeches are composed in a Greek which is roughly uniform stylistically with the narrative, whereas those of Thucydides rival for difficulty the Greek of Pindar, that other exponent of what Dionysius of Halikarnassos called the 'severe style'.⁷⁸

⁷² See CT III, 598 and 600, and now Schwinge (2008), 126–30; below, 118.

⁷³ As noted at CT III, 588.

⁷⁴ But not by Osiander (2001), 18 f., two thoughtful pages. Note esp. 19: 'little is said in the speeches [in Th.] that is not contradicted by other speakers, and the narrator pointedly abstains from resolving this didactic tension into any synthesis of his own'; cf. also Winton (2000), 114. Interesting remarks in Ober (2009); see also Sheets (1994) and Low (2007), ch. 1. ⁷⁵ Ch. 17, 357 and n. 29.

⁷⁶ Cf. generally Sheets (1994). This is not quite the same thing as the religious 'laws of war' governing e.g. treatment of sanctuaries, for which see below, Ch. 5, 134, and n. 56, discussing some slippery Thucydidean evidence.

⁷⁷ See CT III, 944 ff. on 8. 66.

⁷⁸ *Th. and Pi.* ch. 12.

Other differences could be listed (no dreams in Thucydides but dreams in every book of Herodotus except the last two;⁷⁹ no male homosexuality in Herodotus but two instances in Thucydides;⁸⁰ Thucydides had first-hand high-level military experience, unlike Herodotus;⁸¹ Herodotus occasionally, Thucydides never, tells us what any individual (as opposed to whole armies, 5. 60. 3) looked like;⁸² Herodotus often, Thucydides rarely,⁸³ notes discrepant accounts. And so on). But in the end we are not awarding prizes; we are dealing with two historians of equal genius but who have a different personal manner and evoke a different atmosphere. The above remarks are generated only by the need to warn against facile imputation to Thucydides of implied superiority to Herodotus.

VIII. THIS BOOK

The Thucydidean essays collected in this book are corrected, updated,⁸⁴ and sometimes heavily revised versions of articles from learned journals, and of chapters from edited volumes, including *Festschriften* and conference proceedings.⁸⁵ The first of them dates from 1982, but

⁷⁹ Winton (2000), 111. This absence had already been noticed by Robert Parker in his entry on 'dreams in antiquity' in the *Oxford Companion to the Mind*; cf. CT III, 436.

⁸⁰ See above, 10, and below, 278–9 on 1. 132. 5. ⁸¹ Above, n. 6.

⁸² I think of the height of Phye and Artachaies (1. 60. 4; 7. 117. 1), the beauty of Philippos of Kroton (5. 47. 2), the ugliness-then-beauty of Ariston's wife (6. 61), the crimson cloak of Syloson (3. 139. 2). The partial and fleeting exceptions in Th. tend to occur in sections where there are other reasons to suspect Herodotean colouring (1. 130, Pausanias' Persian dress, with *ἐνδύμενος*, a Herodotean word but a Thucydidean *hapax*; 6. 58. 1, Hippias' facial expression, with CT III, 450). Astyocho's baton at 8. 84. 2 is as much a weapon as an item of officer's insignia (below, ch. 13). Historians after Th. were not so reticent about people's physical characteristics, appearance or dress: Xen. *Hell.* 3. 3. 3 presupposes Agesilaos' lameness; and see e. g. J. Hornblower (1981), 202 nn. 109 and 110 for the visual contrast between Antigonos and Eumenes, and 222–3 for the former's best-known feature, his one eye. Plutarch surely got this sort of thing from his prose sources. Attic tragedy knew all about the importance of differences in dress (see Finglass (2007), 253 for a particularly good example), and so did much theatrically-minded Hellenistic historiography. The dress-distinctions at Th. 1. 6 are impersonal (cf. 2.49) and answer Hdt. 5. 87. 3. ⁸³ See below, 82 n. 57.

⁸⁴ When another scholar's article or book-chapter has been reprinted, or a book has appeared in a new edition, I usually give the later reference, in addition to or instead of the original version.

⁸⁵ In the last category, note that Ch. 5 (on Boiotia and the Boiotians) appeared in an almost completely inaccessible Greek volume of the proceedings of a 1992 conference,

the arrangement is not by date of publication (see below). Referencing has been made uniform across the whole selection, and a consolidated bibliography and set of abbreviations has been provided. In two chapters (3 and 5), I have inserted subheadings with numbers and titles, for greater clarity.

Not included are: my reviews of books about Thucydides,⁸⁶ articles on Thucydides in works of reference,⁸⁷ or material which I have already reprinted as sections of Introductions to the second and third volumes of my commentary.⁸⁸ As in the final volume of commentary, Thucydidean and other references are now given in 'arabic' not Roman numerals, thus 3. 3. 3 not iii. 3. 3.

From what has been said above (Section 5) it will, I hope, be clear that this book shares the aims of the three volumes of commentary whose completion preceded it; above all, it adopts—like the commentary—a plurality of approaches, and seeks to apply the techniques of different disciplines—history, literature, religion, and so on. To that extent it is a companion to the commentary, and Part II is (unlike the more general essays which form Part I) arranged by the main relevant Thucydidean book. But *Thucydidean Themes* is also intended as a free-standing contribution to the study of Thucydides in several of his aspects, including his reception (Part III). A commentary of normal type must, conventionally and if (in my view) it is to be of any serious use, proceed in lemmatic fashion—that is, step by step and passage by passage. But a book of the present sort

and has in any case now been largely rewritten, and much expanded. It is thus, in effect, new. Chs. 8 (on Th. 3. 104 and the Ephesia) and 9 (on 4. 110 and Chalkidic Torone) have also been rewritten very extensively.

⁸⁶ There are twenty-one of these; I give a list as an Annex to this Introduction. The one I most regret having written in the way I did is no. 5, a short 1982 review of Rawlings. The review was far from being unfavourable, but I now think that the book was better and more important than I then realized, and it pains me that I did not do it justice.

⁸⁷ In this category are a supplement to H. T. Wade-Gery's *OCD* 'Thucydides' (3rd edn., 1996, 1520–1), and articles on Thucydides for *Der neue Pauly* (12/ 1 (2002), 505–12) and on Th.'s reception (antiquity to the present day) in A. Grafton, G. Most, and S. Settis *The Classical Tradition*, forthcoming.

⁸⁸ In this category are 'Thucydides' use of Herodotus' (CT II, 122–37, but originally in *Lakonian Studies*... *Hector Catling*) and 'Thucydides and the Athenian *Boule*' (CT III, 23–31, but also, at greater length, in L. Mitchell and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Greek History and Epigraphy* (2009), 251–64).

allows (especially in the most general section, Part I, but not only there) the exploration, across his entire work, but still *via* the examination of detail, of important general Thucydidean themes.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ I add here a word about the remarkable photograph on the dust-jacket of this book. It is a satellite photograph of the summer 2001 eruption of Mt Etna in eastern Sicily, a phenomenon described by Thucydides (3. 116, winter 426/5), and also by Pindar (*P.* 1. 19–26). For discussion, see *Th. and Pi.* 104f. and nn. 72–4 (and 188 n. 24), noting that Th. had displayed lively interest in volcanoes in a passage not many chapters before this (see 3. 88. 3 on Hiera, one of the Aeolian islands, where ‘the locals say that Hephaistos has his forge’; below, 305 n. 60). The Etna eruption, Th. tells us, ‘*is said*’ to have occurred fifty years after the previous one, which was perhaps witnessed by Pindar in person in the 470s, or at any rate was in Pindar’s mind because some third party had told him of it; let us call that one ‘Pindar’s eruption’. Th. adds, as part of the same construction (i.e. we are still in the realm of what *is said*), that Etna has erupted three times in all since the Greeks settled in Sicily. The natural way of taking these reports of what ‘*is said*’ is to posit a first eruption, earlier than that of the 470s, so that Pindar’s will be no. 2 and Th.’s will be no. 3. Now from Diodorus (14. 59. 3, a section of military narrative) we know that in 396 there had been a ‘recent’ eruption of Etna. Th. shows no knowledge of this eruption. So was he dead or no longer working on his history by that date? The inference is likely, but not quite certain, unless we think that Th. kept his work up-to-date with total efficiency appropriate to the age of word-processors.

Annex: List of Thucydidean or Thucydides-Related Reviews

1. L. Edmunds, *Chance and Intelligence in Thucydides*, TLS 12 Mar. 1976
2. J. de Romilly, *The Rise and Fall of States According to Greek Authors*, TLS 5 Aug. 1977
3. D. Proctor, *The Experience of Thucydides*, TLS 7 Nov. 1980
4. A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides Vol. V: Book VIII*, TLS 3 Apr. 1981
5. H. R. Rawlings III, *The Structure of Thucydides’ History*, TLS 12 Feb. 1982
6. S. Cagnazzi, *La spedizione ateniese contro Melo del 416 A.C. Realta e propaganda*, CR 37 (1987), 106–7
7. H. D. Westlake, *Studies in Thucydides and Greek History*, CR 40 (1990), 359–61
8. L. Kallet-Marx, *Money, Expense and Naval Power in Thucydides’ History 1–5.24*, CR 44 (1994), 333–6
9. J. Roisman, *The General Demosthenes and his Use of Military Surprise*, CR 44 (1994), 336–7
10. J. Wickersham, *Hegemony and Greek Historians*, CR 45 (1995), 96–7
11. K. Maurer, *Interpolation in Thucydides*, BMCR 1995.12. 11
12. C. Orwin, *The Humanity of Thucydides*, CR 47 (1997), 30–32
13. G. Crane, *The Blinded Eye: Thucydides and the New Written Word*, CR 47 (1997), 265–7
14. W. K. Pritchett, *Thucydides’ Pentekontaetia and Other Essays*, CR 47 (1997), 270–2

15. H. Leppin, *Thukydides und die Verfassung der Polis*, BMCR 2001.09.41
16. G. Crane, *Thucydides and the Ancient Simplicity*, *Prudentia* 31 (2000), 31–2
17. S. Lattimore (translator) *Thucydides: the Peloponnesian War*, AJP 121 (2000), 646–51
18. G. Alberti, *Thucydidis Historiae* vol. 3 (Books 6–8), CR 52 (2002), 238–40
19. P. Debnar, *Speaking the Same Language: Speech and Audience in Thucydides' Spartan Debates*, CR 53 (2003), 35–7
20. (with C. Stewart), M. Sahlins, *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa*, *Anthropological Quarterly* 78 (1) (2005), 269–77
21. M. Chambers (ed.), *Valla's Latin Translation of Thucydides (Vatican ms. Lat. 1801)*: photographic reproduction, with Introduction by Chambers, CR 60 (2010), 305

Part I

General

The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, Or, What Thucydides Does Not Tell Us

[The original version of this chapter had a footnote explaining that the paper was given as a Loeb Classical Lecture at Harvard in March 1990, and expressed appropriate thanks for hospitality. It also thanked Robert Parker and Ernst Badian for subsequent comments and improvements.

A word of clarification. Because this paper speaks of Thucydides' religious 'silences', and seeks to identify some of these, it is sometimes cited as if it said or implied that there is no religion in Thucydides at all. This was not quite my point. I would draw attention to a sentence early on: 'we can often do no more than correct Thucydides out of Thucydides', and, in similar vein, the first part of the final sentence of all: 'without Thucydides, we would lack many of the texts with which to correct Thucydides'. See below 26 and 53. There is plenty about religion in Thucydides, but the expression of it is often oblique, and it needs to be looked for with care (for religion and religious anxiety in the Peloponnesian War, see now Rubel (2000); Eidinow (2007a) 26–32, 153; Eidinow (2007b); and Flower (2009)). His occasional use of the religious *mot juste* is noted in *CT*, with appropriate epigraphic citations. Since the article reprinted below was (see n. 8) slanted towards books 1–3, for obvious reasons to do with the progress of the commentary at the time the Loeb Lecture was delivered, I now give examples of such casual technical accuracy taken from *CT* II and III, covering books 4–8: see *CT* II, 450–5 on the cluster of religious terms used about the posthumous heroization of Brasidas at 5. 11. 1; *CT* III, 124 f. on καταδικάζομαι at 5. 49. 1 (this word is not exclusively religious); 142 on κυριώτατοι and 140 ff. on the mysterious, but clearly religious, βοτάμια, both at 5. 53; 143 on διαβατήρια at 5. 54. 2; 475 f. on σφάγια at 6. 69. 2; 574 f. (n. on 7. 18. 2, cf. *CT* II, 464 f. on 5. 16. 1) on words formed in ἐνθυμ-. If προσήρχοντο at 4. 121. 1 could be proved to

come from *προσάρχομαι* and to mean 'offered first-fruits to', that would be another example, and a choice one. But at *CT* II, 381–5, I argued at length that it derives from *προσέρχομαι*, and means that the people of Skione *went up to* Brasidas to greet him like an athlete. (There is still a religious tinge to the episode.) Finally, see below, 134, for *δμώχητες δαίμονες* at 4. 97. 4.

In the same way his awareness of the mythically-based kinship factor in Greek international relations does not always hit you in the eye. See below, Ch. 5, 131f. on Boiotian kinship.]

The most surprising feature of Thucydides' account is that one thing is missing: the gods of the time.

(Veyne (1984) 232)

E. Badian has spoken of Thucydides and his 'contempt for established Greek religion'.¹ This is strong language. I am not, however, concerned in this chapter with the tricky question of Thucydides' own religious beliefs, if he had any. My theme is a different one, namely: the *consequences* for our understanding or misunderstanding of the second half of the fifth century, of Thucydides' relative neglect of the religious factor in his narrative. The speeches will concern me less; they admittedly go some way to redress the general imbalance. For instance, Badian has reminded us² that it is not from the main narrative of the Theban attack on Plataia, but from subsequent references in speeches, that we learn that the attack achieved military surprise by taking advantage of a religious festival. But on the particular issues I shall be discussing, no speeches have much of a bearing.

The religious silences of Thucydides are in their way quite as scandalous as the political silences of Xenophon, for which he is so often denounced.³ I shall try to show that Thucydides seriously understated the religious aspect of the war he set himself to describe. But in this area as in so many others we can often do no more than correct Thucydides out of Thucydides. That is, *we* choose to play up what *he* chose to play down. Our justification for doing this, a perilously arrogant justification, consists in the little that we think we know about Greek religion. Occasionally we can point to an item of

¹ Badian (1993) 112.

² *Ibid.*, citing 3. 56. 2 and 3. 65. 1.

³ Cawkwell (1973), 57f.

non-Thucydidean evidence as a control on Thucydides. But that is a rare luxury.

I begin by giving a few individual examples of religious silence or distortion in Thucydides, some familiar some perhaps less so. I shall then try to trace a connected story, plotting the phases of the story by reference to some recurrent religious themes.

The first minor silence can be introduced in the form of a question: what about the Olympic Games of 432? They are never mentioned by Thucydides, but they certainly happened: we know⁴ the names of three of the victors, one of them a Spartan who was victorious in the four-horse chariot event. The contrast with Thucydides' handling of the 428 Olympic festival, four years later, is very marked: that event was turned by the Spartans into a strongly anti-Athenian occasion, and Thucydides gives the Mytilenaeans a speech which suitably exploits their own status as suppliants of Zeus Olympios and Zeus Hikesios, the god of suppliants.⁵ We should like to know what was the atmosphere at the 432 Olympics: presumably Athenians were present, as competitors or pilgrims. This raises a neglected general question, to which I shall return, about access to the panhellenic festivals in the Peloponnesian War. On the question of the Olympics he is not so much silent as capricious: were it not for the meal he makes of the 428 festival our question about 432 would not be a legitimate one. Much the same applies in such areas as finance: it is only because he *occasionally* tells us detail about tribute, *eisphora* levels, and so forth (see e.g. 3. 19; 4. 57. 4; 7. 28. 4), that we can reasonably complain that we do not get more.

My second example is from book 2. Here Thucydides is not so much capricious as partial. The Funeral Oration is introduced, at ch. 34, with an unusually rich amount of detail, including what is for Thucydides a rare aesthetic comment, namely, that it took place in the most beautiful suburb of the city. But he never mentions the *epitaphios agon* or funeral contest, which we now know, from the evidence of three inscribed bronze vessels, to have been a feature of the funeral by the mid-fifth century. From Pausanias and Aristophanes' *Frogs* we know that this was a brilliant and lively affair including as it did a

⁴ Moretti (1957), 105f.

⁵ 3. 9–14; Zeus: 3. 14. 1.

torch-race.⁶ Thucydides does not merely pass it over in silence; his choice of language in the final chapter of the Oration positively shouts out his refusal to take any notice of it. I am referring to the metaphorical use of the words *στέφανον*, *ἄθλα*, *ἀγώνων* 'crown', 'prizes', 'games'.⁷

Examples could be multiplied.⁸ In book 3, for instance, brilliant studies by Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Lowell Edmunds have illustrated the religious significance of the so-called 'monosandalism' of the Plataians who broke out of the siege of Plataia.⁹ That is, their reason for leaving one foot unshod was not, as Thucydides thought, in order to get a better footing in the mud, although this quaint explanation satisfied Gomme. It has to be said, without disparaging other aspects of Gomme's achievement, that the problems of penetrating Thucydides' indifference to religion are made worse by Gomme's own blind spot about religion. (Too often, Gomme simply leaves religious phrases or sentences with no, or very little, commentary.¹⁰) On the

⁶ Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1298; Paus. 1. 30. 2; Vanderpool (1969); Stupperich (1977), vol. 2. 41 n. 5; Clairmont (1983), ch. 3; Knigge (1988), 158. On Th.'s silence about the games, see Loraux (1986a), 37–9. ⁷ 2. 46.

⁸ My examples are mostly taken from the first three books of Th., on which see *CT* I; but note e.g. the mention of the Attic deme Kolonos at 8. 67. 2, describing a crucial meeting of the Athenian assembly in the oligarchic year of revolution, 411. (It was at Kolonos that the oligarchy of the 'Four Hundred' was set up.) In Th., the choice of Kolonos is not explained. But the religious significance of Kolonos was pointed out by Siewert (1979): there was a cult of Poseidon 'the horsey' at Kolonos, and this cult made it specially suitable for an anti-democratic gathering (for the cavalry as politically suspect see e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 3. 1. 4). Siewert's view is followed by Ostwald (1986), 373 n. 40. Cf. also Connor (1990). Th.'s selectivity in this instance is the more intriguing because on this occasion the religious aspect actually makes the political event more intelligible. Even on his own political terms, Th. could have afforded to say a little more about it.

Again, 5. 11. 1 is a remarkably understated reference to what may have been oikist cult at Amphipolis paid to the Athenian Hagnon in his lifetime. So I argued in *CT* II; but this has been challenged by Jones (2010), 93–6. ⁹ 3. 22.

¹⁰ Examples, at random, are the 'rites of beginning the sacrifice', which the Corinthians complain they are not granted by the Kerkyraians, 1. 25. 4; see Burkert (1983), 37 and n. 14.

Again, Th.'s mention of the altars of the *σεμνὰ θεαί* ('solemn goddesses' i.e. Erinyes/Eumenides) at 1. 126. 11 surely deserved more than a merely topographical ten words of commentary.

Or there is the very interesting paragraph about the Mytilenean festival of Apollo Maloeis, 3. 3. 3, which got no comment from Gomme at all. But see, for Apollo Maloeis,

monosandalism, Vidal-Naquet comments¹¹ that Thucydides 'had the honesty to give us the detail which allows us to contradict him'. But just *why* he gave the detail, and the unsatisfactory explanation for the detail, remain totally baffling questions. Both Vidal-Naquet and Edmunds compare what is actually a slightly different sort of passage, 5. 70, where Thucydides goes out of his way to deny a religious motive for a military practice: the Spartans, says Colonel Thucydides,¹² march to the sound of flutes not for religious reasons, *τοῦ θείου χάριν*, but simply in order to keep in step. Here, the indictment against Gomme has to be extended to Andrewes: not a relevant word in the 1970 volume of the historical commentary; nor does the passage feature in the *index locorum* to Pritchett's religion volume in *The Greek State at War*.¹³ In the book 5 passage Thucydides' denial is so curiously explicit and uncalled-for that we may reasonably suspect that he is contradicting somebody; but if so his target is not Herodotus:¹⁴ there is nothing relevant in Herodotus. The passage is incidentally of great interest as showing that Thucydides had the vocabulary for distinguishing the religious from the non-religious sphere in the way that the present chapter seeks to do: more than any other passage in Thucydides, 5. 70 provides a reply to possible objections on the lines 'how would Thucydides have expressed a distinction of the kind you seek to draw, between religious and other sorts of motive?'

Let us begin with the beginning, the foundation of what we call the Delian League. The Ionians and others approached Athens in virtue of kinship, *κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές*, and asked them not to allow Pausanias

FGH Hist 4 Hellanikos F33 with Jacoby's comm.; Kallimachos fr. 485 Pf.; and other refs. given at *CT* 1, 385. On the stratagem, see Popp, 122; Holladay and Goodman (1986), 153.

Festivals in Th. are not so common that we can afford to disregard them: the attempted exploitation of the festival at 1. 126. 4–6 (the Kylon affair) is oddly parallel to the Apollo Maloeis incident in book 3; the mention of festivals at 2. 38. 1 is virtually the only reference to religion in the whole Funeral Oration; and the paragraph about the festival of Herakles at Syracuse (7. 73. 2) is of interest—but not for religious reasons but because it contains the only mention of drunkenness in all Th. On the Plataian 'sacred month' during which the Thebans attacked at the start of the whole war, see below, Ch. 7, 160. For the Karneia, see *CT* III, 144 (on 5. 54. 2) and for the Olympic festival of 420, see *CT* III, 122–35 (on 5. 49–50. 4).

¹¹ Vidal-Naquet (1986), 70.

¹² *Thucydides* 109 and n. 47. See below, 87 and *CT* III, 186f.

¹³ Pritchett, *GSW* 3. ¹⁴ *CT* II, 122–37.

the Regent to mistreat them (1. 95). The reference to kinship, or relationship, is a reference to Athens' role, an essentially religious role, as mother city of Ionia. It would be wrong to deny that Thucydides stresses this theme. One purpose of the *Archaeology* is to introduce us to a number of key themes and concepts, and that kinship is one such concept: at any rate the precise phrase *κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές* strikes us as early as the sixth chapter of book 1. So too the idea of Athenian autochthony, that is, the idea that the Athenians sprang from the soil and were not immigrants, is introduced in the *Archaeology* (1. 2. 5) and then picked up, in very similar language, early in the Funeral Speech (2. 36. 1). Nevertheless, it will be my contention that Thucydides did not bring out remotely adequately the significance of such religious themes.

Modern scholarship on the Dorian versus Ionian issue nicely reflects the healthy recent move away from seeing everything in political (that is to say, ultimately in Thucydidean) terms. In 1956, Édouard Will published a 100-page essay on Dorians and Ionians.¹⁵ Itself a reaction against some nineteenth-century (and later) excesses, Will's own work had the unfortunate effect of persuading a generation of scholars that it was legitimate to reduce the difference between Ionian and Dorian to an absolute conventional minimum. Will's thesis was not challenged head on for a quarter of a century, until J. Alty's elegant paper 'Dorians and Ionians'.¹⁶ Alty showed, above all on the evidence of two crucial passages of Thucydides himself,¹⁷ that the difference between Ionian and Dorian was taken more seriously than Will allowed, though we must concede to Will that for rhetorical purposes the same speaker, actually Hermokrates, might be made both to deny, and later on to assert, the relevance of the racial factor, depending on the situation at the time (in 424 Hermokrates takes a pan-Sicilian line, in 415 he urges the repelling of the Ionian invader¹⁸). Alty was, however, absolutely right to restate the religious significance of the difference. In fact, the point had already been quietly and unpolemically insisted on by L. H. Jeffery. She mentioned Will's book, but noted

¹⁵ Will (1956). ¹⁶ Alty (1982).

¹⁷ 3. 86. 2 (stressing the kinship between the people of Rhegion and of Leontinoi, *Πηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές Λεοντίνων*); 8. 25. 3 ('they [the Argives] thought that, being Ionians, they would be sure to run away', *ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰωνάς τε καὶ οὐ δεξιόμενους*). But on the latter passage (which is disparaging of the Argives), see CT III, 822 f., and Price (2001), 157. ¹⁸ 4. 61. 2–3; 6. 77. 1.

in the same breath the fifth-century inscription from Paros that runs 'it is not lawful for a Doric stranger or a slave to be a spectator of the rites of Kore of the City' (*DGE* no. 773).¹⁹ Paros, as we know from an important fourth-century inscription found by the Americans in the Athenian agora in 1936, was firmly claimed as an Ionian *apoikia* of Athens: she was required to send religious offerings to the Dionysia and Panathenaia in 372 BC²⁰—and in the fifth century, too, on the evidence of general texts like ML no. 46 lines 41 ff. and ML no. 69 lines 57 f.

To return to 479: Herodotus has in fact already put us on notice that Athens intended to make a stand as metropolis of Ionia: he says (9. 106. 3) that Athens resented Sparta's proposals to evacuate Ionia because it amounted to a decision about her own, i.e. Athens', colonies *οὐκ ἔδόκεε...Πελοποννησίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποικιέων βουλευεῖν*. We have, however, to be careful here: Herodotus was no more of a *contemporary* authority for the year 479 than was Thucydides. Decades of imperial propaganda, some of it religious in character, stood between Herodotus and the event he here reports.

In those imperial decades that followed there are plenty of relevant episodes. Some of Thucydides' silences in the early years are explicable by reference to the scale of his narrative. Thus his account (1. 98. 2) of the taking of Skyros in the 470s does not mention the Bones of Theseus, which as we know from other evidence the Athenian leader Kimon took back to Athens. There he ceremonially reburied them in a purpose-built shrine somewhere east of the agora.²¹ But the narrative pace hereabouts in Thucydides' *Pentekontaetia* is perhaps too rapid for this omission to signify.

Other explanations are available for other omissions. Plutarch, for instance, who knew something about Delphi, got hold of a story that Sparta in the 470s tried to expel the medizing states from the Delphic amphiktion, the 'international' organization (twelve 'tribes', twenty-four votes) that controlled the affairs of the sanctuary.²² But some scholars doubt the truth of the story.²³ In any case it has (it may be

¹⁹ Jeffery (1976), 48 f. n. 4. ²⁰ R/O no. 29.

²¹ Plut. *Kim.* 8 (with Blamire (1990)) and *Thes.* 36; Camp (1986), 66.

²² Plut. *Them.* 20. On the Delphic amphiktion, Busolt and Swoboda (1926), 1292–310 remains valuable, but is out-of-date on the epigraphic side, for which, see Lefèvre (1998) and Sanchez (2001). Cf. below, Ch. 2.

²³ E. M. Walker, *CAH* 5. 36, but see Bengtson (1951) and Flacelière (1953).

urged) no place in a skeleton narrative about the growth of Athenian power (even though it was Themistokles who is said to have foiled the Spartans—just as he did on another occasion that Thucydides *did* recount, and at discursive Herodotean length. I refer to the building of Athens' walls after the Persian Wars: 1. 90–3).

Such an explanation, in terms of narrative scale, is not, however, available for another story in Thucydides book 1, that of the boastful epigram put up at Delphi by the Spartan Regent Pausanias: 1. 132. 2–3. Ps.-Demosthenes (actually Apollodoros) 59. 98 says that it was the Delphic amphiktion that took disciplinary action against Pausanias and ordered the inscription erased. In Thucydides it is merely 'the Spartans', οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, who do the erasing. *This* story is in an ample and 'Herodotean' section of Thucydides, in which a mention of the amphiktion would *not* have been out of place or scale. It does begin to seem that Thucydides' refusal to mention the amphiktion was deliberate. Fornara's attempt²⁴ to dismiss Demosthenes' version of the erasure is unsatisfactory because it does not address the wider question of Thucydides' attitude to amphiktionic issues.

These anecdotes, then, raise the question of Thucydides' utter failure to mention the amphiktion at all, especially in the period of the two Peloponnesian Wars, when (as I shall argue) it may be relevant even to a minimalist and political reconstruction of a Thucydidean type. The nearest he comes to the word is the epic and untechnical *περικτιόνων*, used in a sacred context (3. 104. 3) about the island 'neighbours' of Delos. Contrast, with Thucydides' silence, some statistics about Herodotus: Herodotus mentions the amphiktion five times, moreover he mentions the amphiktionic delegates called the Pylagoroi twice and the Pylaia once. In these passages the states and officials are found in a variety of roles. One of the passages has the amphiktion performing a clearly political action, the punishment of Epialtes the medizing traitor.²⁵

We must, admittedly, be careful to avoid anachronism. In modern histories of Greece the Delphic amphiktion does not hit the headlines

²⁴ Fornara (1967). But see Trevett (1990). Already Bonner and Smith (1943), 2 n. 10, had accepted that Th.'s story might be incomplete.

²⁵ Amphiktion: Hdt. 2. 180. 1; 5. 62. 2; 7. 200. 2; 213. 2; 228. 4. Pylagoroi: 7. 213. 2; 214. 2. Pylaia: 7. 213. 2. Epialtes: 7. 213. 2.

until the modern author gets to the fourth century; in particular, amphiktionic evidence plays a necessary part in any reconstruction of the Third Sacred War of the 350s and 340s.²⁶ One revisionist historian, Noel Robertson, has even argued that the so-called First Sacred War of the sixth century was a fiction, a back-projection of Philip's war. He has been refuted in his extreme position by G. Lehmann who showed that awareness of the First Sacred War is shown at dates earlier than Philip.²⁷

But my concern is the period of the Second Sacred War, that is, the mid-*fifth* century: this war is fleetingly mentioned by Thucydides, who speaks (1. 112. 5) merely and vaguely of the Spartans 'handing over the *hieron*' to the Delphians (presumably after an unattested loss of Delphian control) and Athens 'handing it over [i.e. back?]' to the Phocians—which must itself have been followed by an unattested Delphian recovery.²⁸ No word anywhere about the amphiktion, whose job it surely was to stop this kind of thing, and no modern scholar reproaches Thucydides for this (the narrative is admittedly running at breakneck speed at this point). Should we be equally careful to avoid anachronism in this period too? That is, was Thucydides right to keep the amphiktion out of sight in his narrative of the two Peloponnesian Wars? (The speeches are less of a difficulty. True, the idea of drawing on Delphic treasures is raised in speeches in book 1—see 121. 3; 143. 1—and in real life the amphiktion would certainly have had something to say about this. But Thucydides' speeches generally avoid the technical language needed to express this sort of thing.) Anachronism is a danger, it is true. But there is another danger equally pernicious, what we might call the evidence trap. Ancient historians are occupationally prone to confuse the two statements 'x is the first example of phenomenon p' with the quite different proposition 'x is the first *attested* instance of phenomenon p'. Thus changes in Athenian politics in the 420s have been detected, and there is good ancient support for this—but part of the trouble is that we do not have old comedy or Thucydides to tell us about politicians earlier

²⁶ See Diod. 16. 23 ff.: the Third Sacred War began after the amphiktion imposed a large fine on the Phokians; it continued with attempts (e.g. 24. 2; 5) to get the amphiktionic decrees rescinded. It was the amphiktion which eventually declared war, 28. 4.

²⁷ Robertson (1978); Lehmann (1980); Davies (1994).

²⁸ Buckler (1989), 11.

than Kleon. Again, Finley has insisted, with some justice, that talk of harsher Athenian imperialism in the Kleon period implies a false contrast with an earlier period for which we have little imperial evidence of any kind, so we cannot say whether policy then was harsh or soft.²⁹

I am suggesting a historical and literary conclusion. The historical is that our impression that the fifth-century amphiktion, which does not happen to be well attested epigraphically, was a negligible entity, is due to Thucydides' systematic policy of silence. This policy was perpetuated by the Oxyrhynchos Historian and Xenophon, in each of whose histories there are cues, albeit slight ones, for a mention of the Delphic amphiktion.³⁰ The epigraphic silence before 346 is anyway not complete: we have after all an important amphiktionic law of 380 BC (*Syll.*³ 145), a warning against any temptation to think the amphiktion was dormant in the pre-Philip period. The literary conclusion is that Thucydides' silence about the amphiktion is an aspect of his indifference to religion. It might be objected that in his account of the Second Sacred War Thucydides does after all zero in on the sanctuary of Delphi, he merely ignores the organizational aspects. But this is to admit that he treats religion as a thing apart, not paying attention to the ways in which religion and politics interact.

With this in mind let us turn again to the amphiktion, remembering that, though we may have no amphiktionic lists before 343 we do have those eight Herodotus passages. We can go further, thanks to an interesting inscription.³¹ It is annoyingly fragmentary and cannot in honesty be dated earlier than the middle of the fifth century. It seems (though everything about it is very uncertain) to be an Athenian alliance with the Delphic amphiktion: relevant surely to that Second Sacred War. Finally it is tempting, even in the shadow of Fontenrose's scepticism, to adduce another Delphic item, the mid-fifth century oracle that allegedly hailed Athens as an 'eagle

²⁹ Connor (1971); Finley (1978) [1981].

³⁰ The occasions on which a mention of the amphiktion might have been conceivable are first, the 390s, when there was fighting between Phokians and Lokrians over disputed land near Parnassos (*Hell. Oxy.* 21. 3 Chambers and *Xen. Hell.* 3. 5. 3 ff.); and second, the plan of Jason of Pherai in the late 370s to preside at the Pythian festival games, and perhaps to touch the sacred money as well: *Xen. Hell.* 6. 4. 30.

³¹ *IG* I³ no. 9, not in ML. See also Roux (1979), 239 ff.

in the clouds for all time'.³² Again, Plutarch (*Kimón* 8) reports an amphiktionic aspect to Kimon's activity on Skyros.

Here we ought to broaden the discussion, and ask whether it is plausible to suppose that the great sanctuaries are likely to have been the objects of political attention and even manipulation in the fifth century as well as the fourth (and sixth, see *Hdt.* 5. 62 for the Alkmaionids); and if so, why. There is no reason why they should *not* have been. One can point to some tangible moral advantages implicit in the things sanctuary authorities did: imposing sacred fines (*n.* 26 and *Syll.*³ 145), putting a price on the head of a man like Epialtes, excluding enemies from the games altogether as the Eleans did to Sparta at Olympia after 420 (*Th.* 5. 49. 1), having a say in prestigious decisions involving rich sanctuary treasures and in any temple rebuilding projects which might be on hand (again, see *Hdt.* 5. 62 for the Alkmaionids and the amphiktion); and so on. But perhaps Catherine Morgan is right, in her book on the early history of Olympia and Delphi,³³ to put it more vaguely: 'the lack of constraints imposed by *single-state* control made *inter-state* sanctuaries ideal contexts for political activity of many kinds'.

This general truth explains the importance, in another theatre of the First Peloponnesian War (461–446), of control of the *Nemean Games*; this has been noticed and argued for independently by D. M. Lewis and K. Adshead.³⁴ Again, Thucydides is absolutely no help here: the story has to be pieced together from scraps like Pindaric scholia. It is no good saying that the political importance of the sanctuaries must have been eclipsed in the time of the classical superpowers: that is, anachronism, as if one were to apply, to the fifth century BC, Stalin's famous question, 'how many divisions has the Pope?' Certainly, control of the panhellenic sanctuaries and their festivals was to matter again in the hellenistic period: in 315 BC Kassandros presided at the Nemean Games (*Diod.* 19. 64), and in 290 BC Demetrius Poliorketes actually held the Pythian Games at Athens at a time when Delphi was in the hostile hands of the Aitolians (Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 40). Is it credible that such things should matter in the archaic age³⁵ and again

³² Parke and Wormell (1956), no. 121; Fontenrose (1978), 327.

³³ Morgan (1990), 137.

³⁴ Lewis (1997a), 14 f.; Adshead (1986), 72–85.

³⁵ See above on *Hdt.* 5. 62 (the Alkmaionids); and cf. McGregor (1941).

in the hellenistic, but that the period covered by Thucydides should happen to be the only period when such control did *not* matter? Or is it not more plausible that, as I would prefer to suggest, the anomaly is merely apparent, and due to the nature and prejudices of our main source? That is, the reason why we hear so little in the Thucydidean period about struggles for control of the great sanctuaries *lies in Thucydides' narrow view about the kind of thing that mattered.*

Something similar is surely true of historical coverage of the main relevant organizational body, the Delphic amphiktion. The amphiktion matters in Herodotus; it is absent from Thucydides and his continuators Xenophon and the Oxyrhynchos Historian; it matters again in Diodorus book 16, which covers Philip II and the Third Sacred War.³⁶ The amphiktion is mentioned twice in the surviving text of Polybius.³⁷ The first mention is from 220 BC, and records Greek resentment at, and determination to put a stop to, Aitolian control of the amphiktionic council and the Delphic temple. This control had, however, begun long before, in 277 BC, and the spread of Aitolian influence via the amphiktion during this period has to be traced through inscriptions.³⁸ Perhaps lost literary histories, recording the events of the third century, mentioned the institution. Later still, Strabo was certainly interested in the topic; and Pausanias reports how the emperor Augustus thought it worthwhile reorganizing the amphiktion.³⁹ And we have noticed Plutarch's interest already—though with his Delphic connections such an interest was to an extent natural and personal. My suggestion is that the prejudices of Thucydides are responsible for the anomalous fifth- and early fourth-century period during which Greek historiography neglected the amphiktion.

I return to Apollo Pythios and his sanctuary at Delphi in the fifth century BC. They were, we have seen, being paid attention by Athens

³⁶ This war surely helped to kindle the historical interests that led Kallisthenes and his kinsman Aristotle to compile a list of Pythian i.e. Delphic victors: R/O no. 80. Kallisthenes did after all write a monograph on the Third Sacred War, though we do not know if this work, or his *Hellenika*, talked about the amphiktion.

³⁷ Pol. 4. 25. 8 (the vote of 220 BC. For the importance of this passage, see below, Ch. 2, 56 n. 11); 39. 1, a quotation from the elder Cato.

³⁸ Flacelière (1937); Nachtergaele (1977).

³⁹ Strabo 9. 3. 4, 7, and 9; Paus. 10. 8. 2–5 with Bowersock (1965), 97f. and Daux (1975).

at the time of the First Peloponnesian War. But what of Sparta? The evidence here is actually even better: it comes *in a way* from Thucydides himself. The Tanagra campaign of 458 BC began with an operation by Sparta on behalf of her metropolis, the tiny central Greek state of Doris. That much Thucydides *does* tell us (1. 107. 2). If Athens could take her religious role as metropolis seriously, so it seems could Dorian Sparta take hers as an *apoikia*. But there is more to the episode than that, as we see if we consider Sparta's own standing in the amphiktion. That standing was in fact as precarious as it could be, despite Sparta's special relationship with Delphi.⁴⁰ In 1957, Georges Daux showed⁴¹ that Spartan representation in the 24-vote amphiktion was not, as one might reasonably but wrongly assume, exercised through the Dorians of the Peloponnese, where after all Sparta was actually situated. It was, anomalously, exercised through *and only through* the Dorians of the Metropolis, that is, the little state which Sparta was so piously protecting in 458. As Daux saw and Gomme in his note on the passage did not,⁴² the significance of the Spartan campaign of 458 takes on an extra dimension in the light of this simple fact about the composition of the amphiktion.

We may digress here, and notice a line of Spartan policy on which Andrewes insisted in several places, namely, Sparta's perennial ambitions in central and northern Greece, particularly in Thessaly. Perhaps because Andrewes chose to set out the evidence in articles about Lysander in the 390s,⁴³ his thesis has not had its proper impact on fifth-century studies. But the evidence is overwhelming, though it is true that it is most nakedly seen at the time of the Korinthian War of the 390s, when Sparta actually garrisoned towns in Thessaly. But already Kleomenes I in about 500 had ambitions in Thessaly and so did Leotychides in the 470s.⁴⁴ What has this to do with the Delphic

⁴⁰ See e.g. Hdt. 6. 57. 2 (the Pythioi at Sparta), with Parker (1989), 154f.

⁴¹ Daux (1957). It is much to be regretted that the late Professor Daux's Sather lectures on the Delphic amphiktion were never published. I know of them only through Dow (1965), 66, and Daux's own remarks in Daux (1975). On Athenian relations with Delphi in the fifth century, see Daux (1940), a brief but valuable paper.

⁴² Gomme in fact has no note on the passage whatever, not even on the word *metropolis*. ⁴³ Andrewes (1971) and (1978).

⁴⁴ *Greek World* 10, citing Hdt. 7. 72 (Leotychidas) and 95ff., citing Pi. P. 10. 1ff. (Kleomenes).

amphiktiony? Quite a lot, if we recall that Thessaly had a built-in majority in the amphiktiony. If there is anything in this (and we should always beware the dangers of treating the *Pentekontaetia* as if it were straight-forwardly comparable to the Greece of Philip II) we might note the attempt by Athens in ch. 111 of Thucydides' *Pentekontaetia* account to put a king of Thessaly on the throne. When we come to look at the Spartan foundation of Herakleia Trachinia in 426, we ought to recall Andrewes' point about the perennial Spartan tendency to move north when she has the chance. What I shall be trying to add is a religious dimension to Herakleia.

To sum up so far, both the occasions when Sparta does directly intervene in the First Peloponnesian War have a religious aspect: the move in defence of Doris, and the Second Sacred War. We can reasonably complain that Thucydides' treatment of the religious aspects of these episodes is less than satisfying.

I now need to say something more about Athens in the *Pentekontaetia*. Apollo Pythios was not the only Apollo: there was Apollo Delios, the god of Ionian Delos, an island that for Thucydides (1. 96. 2) is merely the *ταμείον* or treasury of the league; but surely there was more to it than that: Delos was a great Ionian religious centre⁴⁵—although it is possible that Athens was having it both ways because (as was noted a century ago⁴⁶) Delos had a religious appeal not just for the Ionian but for some of the Dorian islanders in Athens' empire. But at any rate the Spartans, at least until their period of control after 404, had no place on Delos.

Generally, in the period of the *Pentekontaetia*, religion was, contrary to the impression of Thucydides' narrative, extensively used by the Athenians as a propaganda device inside their empire and even as an instrument of oppression and expropriation. For instance there is the Great Dionysia. The propaganda aspect of this festival has recently been examined:⁴⁷ there was an imperial aspect to the festival that actually included some kind of physical display or depiction of the allied tribute in the presence of the allies: Isok. 8. 82. Then there is religious expropriation. It may, for instance, be relevant to the revolt

⁴⁵ See further below. Full documentation is given by Smarczyk (1990), 464–82 and 504–25. See also Heinrichs (1989), 160. ⁴⁶ Paton and Hicks (1891), xxiv.

⁴⁷ Goldhill (1987) [1990]; see also Connor (1990).

of Samos in 440 that there were, as we know from inscriptions, boundary stones or *horoi* on the island delimiting sacred, i.e. expropriated, property.⁴⁸ This property might be leased out to individual Athenians, as we know was done on Euboea and probably also at Mytilene. Incidentally Thucydides is our authority (at 3. 50) for the earmarking of the 300 Mytilenean *kleroi* for the gods, as part of the punitive settlement after their revolt (427). Not for the first time we see with irritation what Thucydides could have told us more often, had he felt like it.

But the main focus of Athenian religious energies outside Attica, throughout the *Pentekontaetia* and beyond,⁴⁹ was surely Apollo's island of Delos. It is true that the treasury was moved at some point from Delos to Athens, but the Athenians were still actively involved in the sanctuary's affairs on the eve of the Peloponnesian War: Delian temple accounts of 434–432 are dated by Athenian as well as Delian officials.⁵⁰ And in 1960, David Lewis suggested⁵¹ on the basis of a clutch of inscriptions, one of them new at the time, that in 432 the Athenians appeased Apollo Delios by building him a new shrine at Phaleron, the occasion for the appeasement being the Delian earthquake recorded by Thucydides at 2. 8. But above all there is the evidence of a famous and splendid passage of Thucydides. What I have been saying about the cult of Apollo Delios is intended as a prelude to what I shall be saying about the rich chapter, 3. 104, which describes Athens' purification of

⁴⁸ Hornblower and Greenstock (1984), 145 ff. See Smarczyk (1990), 58–153 and Parker, *ARH* 144 f. (accepted by Osborne (2000), 110, n. on his no. 206) for an explanation of these inscriptions as evidence of 'appropriation of allied land for the benefit of absentee landlords, in this case the gods and heroes of Athens' (Parker, *ARH* 145).

⁴⁹ John Barron, in two important and influential studies, suggested that in the course of the 450s and 440s, there was a shift of imperial attention away from Apollo Delios and towards Athena, but this seems to me mistaken. See Barron (1964), 48 (Athena adopted 'as the League's chief patron 'in place of Delian Apollo') and—less bluntly—(1983) 11. His conclusions were partly based on an interpretation of the island *horoi* which is now out of favour: above, n. 48.

⁵⁰ There is no good evidence for the hallowed date 454 for the treasury move. It could have been earlier: Pritchett (1969) and Chankowski (2008), 37. Parker, *ARH* 150 rightly observes that even after the move, 'Athenian interest in the island was not at an end.' For the accounts from the late 430s, see ML 62 (Chankowski (2008), 399 ff. no. 1), and on all aspects of classical Athenian control of Delos, and the merging of Athenian and Delian affairs, see now Chankowski (2008).

⁵¹ Lewis (1960) [= (1997), 150–7].

Delos in 426. That chapter gives precious information about Athens' religious policy in the Archidamian War, but it is information for which Thucydides has not prepared us by anything in book 1. Or rather, by anything in the *main* narrative of book 1, because he has, once again, used the *Archaeology* to introduce an important theme, this time the Delian theme: as early as 1. 8 he carefully inserts an advance mention of the 426 purification, when talking about Karians and Phoenicians of the age of Minos.

So much for introduction about religion in the First Peloponnesian War and the Athenian Empire. I now move on to the position on the eve of, and during, the main Peloponnesian War. Let us accept that religion would be counting for something in the great war, and stand back and look at the religious cards Athens had to play. They were not very good ones. She had no panhellenic sanctuary in or near her territory, unlike Korinth or Argos. It is true that the Great Panathenaia had some explicitly Olympian features, and that some of its competitive events, though not those which were competed for by the ten Kleisthenic Athenian tribes, were open to foreigners like the Argive winner in Pindar's Tenth *Nemean*. But none of this was the same as games based on a truly panhellenic sanctuary.

Nor was Athens' mythology very promising, although much could be and was done with the various Athenian manifestations of Athena, such as Athena Nike, in effect a remodelled cult after the mid fifth century, with a priestess appointed by lot from all Athenians; or Athena Athenon Medeoussa.⁵² But even Athena had non-Athenian commitments: 'it can come as a surprise to realize that Athena, the familiar "city-holding" goddess of the Athenians, performed the same

⁵² For Athena Nike, see ML 44 with SEG 12. 80. On Athena Athenon Medeoussa, there is still much of value in Barron (1964) even if (nn. 49 and 50 above), one rejects his main assumptions; on this cult, see also Smarczyk (1990), 66–70; Ma (2009), 129–31. *μεδέων, μεδέουσα* combine (LSJ⁹) the notions 'guardian' and 'ruler'. If we translate Athena Athenon Medeoussa 'Athena who cares for Athens', we privilege the first meaning to the neglect of the fiercer and more majestic second. When Kallimachos (*H.* 4 to Delos line 5) calls Apollo *ἀοιδῶν μεδόντα*, he means something like 'lord of song' ('signore del canto', D'Alessio (2007), 131; 'ruler of songs/singers', Morrison (2007), 148; 'lord of minstrels', A. W. Mair, Loeb tr.), though the idea that he is also protector or patron of singers is no doubt also present. See also Hunter (1999), 164 (on Theoc. *Id.* 7. 46) for Apollo *Ὠρομέδων*, 'ruler of the seasons'.

office from the acropolis of Sparta.'⁵³ (And we can add that Athena Polias was worshipped as city-protectress at many other places as well.) Thucydides' neglect of the building programme on the acropolis, a programme of which the Nike temple was a part, is a famous silence, and here I shall do no more than mention it.

But in general the mythological and religious pool available to Athens was not promising. It has been said⁵⁴ that 'in glamour and ancient renown, Athenian mythology can scarcely compete with several other regional mythologies of Greece'; that is, with the Theban and Peloponnesian legends. Athens, then, would have to make do with what she could. God, in the form of Delphic Apollo, had declared that he would help the Spartans whether they asked him to or not: 1. 118. So much for Delphi. The other great sanctuary was Olympia: I postpone yet again the question how welcome Athens was at Olympia, but it was a very Dorian shrine.

Athens' assets were: first Theseus, though we should not forget his roles outside Attica, for instance as founder—albeit as a patriotic Athenian—of the Isthmian Games. We have seen that Theseus played his part in the 470s at Skyros. But that was not quite all. There were many aspects of the Delos purification of 426. One of them, an aspect Thucydides does not mention, is the well-attested myth that the festival of the Delia was founded by Theseus himself: Plutarch *Theseus* 21. So Theseus was not quite forgotten in the 420s. The Athenian hero was not purely local but had a pan-Ionian role that could be turned to imperial advantage.

Second, there was Eleusis and the myth of the Athenian benefaction of corn to Greece. This theme is found in the mouth of an Athenian orator in Xenophon's *Hellenica*. The orator is a hereditary priest of the Eleusinian Mysteries, who tells a Spartan audience that Triptolemos first gave the gift of corn to Herakles, the founder of the Spartan state, and to the Dioscuri who were Spartan citizens (6. 3. 6). Eleusis as an international cult center is absent in Thucydides, indeed Eleusis scarcely features at all except in indirect mentions like the scandal of the Mysteries in book 6 (28. 1; 61. 1) or the antiquarian digression about Eumolpus at 2. 15. But from an inscription of (probably) the 420s⁵⁵ we see that Athens issued a bold invitation to all Greece to bring

⁵³ Parker (1989), 142.

⁵⁴ Parker (1987), 187.

⁵⁵ ML no. 74.

offerings to Eleusis *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*, 'according to tradition', whether or not that tradition was 'invented';⁵⁶ and in accordance with the Delphic oracle. This last detail cannot, however, be used to show that Delphi was after all supporting an Athenian imperialist move in the Archidamian War, because of the uncertainty not only about the date of the inscription but about the date of the oracle. And the text as a whole may⁵⁷ simply be an expansion and rationalization of existing arrangements. So it would be too much to claim that it was only in the post-Periclean period that Athens deliberately exploited and magnified the panhellenic aspects of Eleusis. Those aspects were in any case not entirely a fifth-century invention: the Mysteries had been open to all from an unknown date.⁵⁸ All we can say for sure is that Eleusis is never likely to have been out of Athenian thoughts: for one thing it was not just a very special sanctuary but a major garrison deme and a first line of defence against a Peloponnesian invasion.⁵⁹ Further than that we cannot safely go without a firm date for the crucial inscription.

Third and most important there was Delos and the Athenian claim to be mother city of Ionia. This, unlike Theseus and Eleusis, is a theme that Thucydides does report richly if not quite fully. But before asking why Athens made the sudden decision in 426 to boost what Thucydides says was the dilapidated festival of the Delia, I want to turn back to Sparta and *her* use of the religious weapon in the years 431–421.

Just twelve chapters earlier in book 3 than the digression about the Athenian purification of Delos, Thucydides gives us an even longer digression about a major Spartan initiative in central Greece, the Spartan foundation of Herakleia in Trachis or Herakleia Trachinia in 426 (3. 92–3). Thucydides gives strategic motives for the foundation, which was a large affair, 10,000 settlers if we can believe Diodorus (12. 59), though this claim may have been contaminated by hellenistic theories about the *huriandros polis* as the ideal city or community. The strategic motives given, in terms of the route to the north and access to Euboea, are all right as far as they go. They go some way to

answer Wade Gery's famous complaint that Thucydides gives us nothing between the methods of tragedy and of the laboratory notebook, e.g. an intelligible account of strategy.⁶⁰ But even on their own terms they do not go far enough if we subscribe, as I have made clear I do, to the view that Herakleia is just one link in a long chain of northern involvements starting with Kleomenes in the sixth century and ending only in the fourth.⁶¹

Thucydides does, however, repeat from book 1, virtually verbatim, the statement that the Spartans were responding to an appeal by Doris the metropolis of Sparta, as well as from the Trachinians. That is a valuable detail, borne out by Diodorus who says that the Trachinians, who were having difficulties with their neighbors the Oitaia, invoked the Spartans' ancestor Herakles who had made his home in Trachis: this reminds us of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* in which Herakles actually dies there.⁶² The Spartans were surely delighted to respond to the double appeal, not least because (as Thucydides rather than Diodorus tells us) the Trachinians had originally considered bringing in the Athenians but decided against it. True or false? Recent work on Thucydides' narrative technique has taught us to be wary of his statements about intentions, especially unfulfilled ones.⁶³ At the very least we must allow for the possibility that it would be rhetorically effective for the Trachinians at Sparta to pretend that they had considered the Athenians but rejected them in advance. But from Sparta's point of view, it would be a splendid propaganda coup to send out a big colony, which other Greeks would be invited to join: we know that she enjoyed the goodwill of the Greek world at the beginning of the war.⁶⁴ Here was a chance to exploit that goodwill. (Incidentally she also enjoyed the goodwill of Pythian Apollo,⁶⁵ so it is not surprising to learn from Thucydides that Apollo too sanctioned the Herakleia venture.)

But what of Herakles? He was not, of course, exclusively Spartan property: Boardman has argued⁶⁶ that Herakles was annexed by the

⁵⁶ Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983).

⁵⁷ As Ernst Badian pointed out to me.

⁵⁸ Note also the evidence for the spread of the extra-Attic cult of Demeter Eleusinia: see Parker (1988).

⁵⁹ For the military importance of Eleusis, see *Greek World* 133; and for Eleusis as a place of muster, see Wankel (1976), 875, n. on Dem. 18. 177.

⁶⁰ *OCD* 1518 col. 1.

⁶¹ *Greek World* 215.

⁶² Easterling (1982), 9 f.

⁶³ Hunter (1973); Schneider (1974); Westlake (1989) ch. 14. See *CT I*, n. on ἡγουμένων at 1. 5. 1.

⁶⁴ 2. 8. 4. The Greek here actually says ἡ δὲ εὐνοία... τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 'the good will of mankind', which is broader even than the 'Greek world' of my rendering. But para. 1 of the ch. (ἡ τε ἅλλη Ἑλλάς, 'the rest of Greece') shows what Th. had in mind.

⁶⁵ 1. 118. 3, with *CT I*.

⁶⁶ J. Boardman, *CAH* 4² 421 ff. and refs. there given to a series of articles.

Athenian Peisistratids. But there is no doubt that though Herakles is curiously invisible in Sparta at the level of cult,⁶⁷ he had a very special connection with Sparta, as Kallias the Torchbearer reminded his Spartan audience in 371 (see the Xenophon passage cited above). As we have seen, Herakles is specifically mentioned not by Thucydides but by Diodorus. Can we trust this detail? It might be objected that Diodorus' source Ephoros was merely working in an allusion to Herakles, in whom he had an undeniable interest of his own, as several fragments show.⁶⁸ But I think this would be needlessly sceptical: the new colony was after all called Herakleia, like those two other colonies with a Spartan connection: that planned by Dorieus in Sicily in the late sixth century (Hdt. 5. 43), and the Lucanian Herakleia founded in c. 433, in which Sparta's nearby colony Taras predominated.⁶⁹ Anyway, the Dorian or at least anti-Ionian character of Herakleia in Trachis is made clear by Thucydides' report (above) of the colony's prospectus.

That is not all. I wish now to draw attention to a feature of the colony's organization that Thucydides does report, but without bringing out its significance. One of the oikists or founders was the Spartan Alkidas, who features prominently if not very honorably earlier in book 3 (3. 16. 3, 30–2). His appointment has puzzled modern scholars, after what Thucydides, at least, seems to have thought a dim performance at Mytilene and in the East Aegean—although there has been a recent scholarly reaction in favour of Alkidas.⁷⁰ Gomme said sneeringly of Alkidas that he was rewarded for his earlier failures in the easy aristocratic manner by the Herakleia job.⁷¹ I suggest that there is more to Alkidas' appointment than that; in fact his name made him a singularly suitable oikist for Herakleia, because as early as Pindar and as late as Virgil, Alkidas, or Latin Alcides is one of the names for Herakles (P. *Ol.* 6. 68). It needs little proof that Greeks took lucky names seriously;⁷² and oikists, in particular, might be chosen

⁶⁷ Parker (1989), 146. ⁶⁸ *FGrHist* 70 FF 13–18, 34, 115–18, 130.

⁶⁹ For Lucanian Herakleia, see Strabo 6. 1. 14 = *FGrHist* 555 Antiochos F 11, with Neutsch (1968), 6.

⁷⁰ Roisman (1987); Badian (1993) at 35. ⁷¹ Gomme, *HCT* 2. 395.

⁷² Alkidas: in the mythographer Apollodoros, the alternative name of Herakles is spelt *Ἀλκείδης* (2. 14. 12), but *Ἀλκίδας* is simply the Doric form of this name, which Th. gives correctly and *more suo* (below, Ch. 4, 107 [= *Greek Personal Names*, 138]). I am grateful to the editors of *LGNP* for confirmation of this interpretation (which does

because their names seemed appropriate: thus an inscription (Tod no. 200 = R/O no. 100) shows that the Athenians in the 320s sent a colony to the Adriatic under an oikist with the name Miltiades, a name famously associated with an archaic Athenian outpost on the Chersonese. In Alkidas, I submit, we have an item comparable to the monosandalism of earlier in book 3: that is, an item of which we gratefully owe our knowledge to Thucydides, but the religious significance of which he either overlooked or chose not to bring out. If the second of these explanations is right (i.e. he chose not to bring it out), we have to ask why. My answer would be that Thucydides was reacting against Herodotus who like many Greeks back to Homer and down to Sophocles saw significance in proper names for themselves. For instance Herodotus (9. 91) has a speaker exploit the literal meaning of Hegesistratos, 'leader of the army'. This kind of thing is totally absent from Thucydides, unless you agree with Enoch Powell⁷³ who thought he found three puns in Thucydides.

Before I leave Herakleia generally, I want to comment on one aspect of the mention of the Dorians of the Metropolis. As we saw earlier, these central Greek Dorians had a special value to Sparta because they were a toe-hold in the Delphic amphiktion. But I would like to offer the suggestion that one aim of the Spartans at Herakleia was to put that matter on a rather better footing: this time there was no Themistokles to foil them. In the fourth century, when epigraphic evidence begins, Herakleia exercises a vote of its own in the amphiktion, one of two Malian votes. How old was that arrangement? In the standard works on the subject, a book by Roux and an excellent dissertation by Zeilhofer, the question is not considered,

not accept the apparent implication of Bechtel, *HP* 36 f., where *Ἀλκείδης* and *Ἀλκίδας* are listed separately, as derived from *Ἀλκε-* (**αλκω*) and *Ἀλκι-* respectively); in *LGNP* II, under *Ἀλκίδας*, the four men from Lakonia (nos. 2–5) include the *Ἀλκείδης* so spelt by Hdt. (6. 61. 5), again *more suo* (below p. 109). Poralla (1913) lists all three classical instances under *Ἀλκίδας*. [NB: this paragraph originally appeared as part of n. 30 to ch. 4 below, but its aim was to justify and amplify the line taken in the present ch. and in *CT* I some ten years earlier, so I have moved it to here, where it really belongs.]

For names as omens generally, see Fraenkel (1950) on line 687. David Lewis pointed out to me that Melanthios (Hdt. 5. 97) was a very apt name for an Athenian envoy to Ionia at the time of the Ionian revolt: Melanthos (Hdt. 1. 147) was father of the Kodros whose sons colonized Ionia, setting out from Athens.

⁷³ Powell (1937); but see *Thucydides* 94.

but Flacelière in 1937 asserted as incontrovertible fact that it was Sparta who got one of the old Malian votes transferred to Herakleia 'so as to augment her influence in the amphiktiony'.⁷⁴ What Flacelière does not consider is the date at which this 'augmentation' happened, nor does anybody else that I can find; certainly not Gomme, since he does not consider this aspect of Herakleia at all. Clearly, 404 is a theoretical possibility, or indeed any date before Leuktra in 371. But 426 is surely a very strong candidate, given the original support of the Delphic oracle for the colony—not that the amphiktiony and the oracle are at all the same thing. But Sparta was deeply interested in Delphi in 426, and it is not frivolous to recall by ways of analogy and as a final reason for that interest, the military aspect of Eleusis. Delphi was four things: a *polis* of sorts,⁷⁵ the seat of an oracle, a sanctuary run by an amphiktiony—and a place of muster for operations in central Greece. Thucydides 3. 101 is the prime text for this period: a Spartan army assembles at Delphi.

I conclude that despite Thucydides' silence there was an amphiktionic aspect to the foundation of Herakleia, just as there was to Sparta's earlier help to the metropolitan Dorians. Sparta is now trying to get another, new, amphiktionic vote, just as earlier she was protecting the nearest thing she had to an existing vote.

So much for Herakleia. How was it all viewed at Athens? Thucydides, writing with evident hindsight, knew that Herakleia turned out a flop for all sorts of reasons, not least the fact that the harsh and positively unjust behaviour of the Spartan governors drove people away: 3. 93. 2; 5. 52. 1 (below, 130). But what was the mood in 426 itself?

To answer that we need to look at the position of Athens inside the Greek religious world at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Did religious life just go on normally as the war raged? And were the Athenians and their allies welcome at—were they even admitted to—the great panhellenic festivals? (Of which the Nemean is the only one not mentioned by Thucydides.⁷⁶) One passage at the very beginning of

⁷⁴ Flacelière (1937), 40 n. 2; Zeilhofer (1959); Roux (1979).

⁷⁵ In the ordinances of the Labyadai (a phratry of Delphi), inscribed about 400 BC, 'il est remarquable que la cité delphique n'était pas intervenue dans le règlement de ces questions': *JG*, commenting on their no. XXVIII = R/O no. 1.

⁷⁶ For the Pythian games, see 5. 1; for the Isthmia see 8. 10. 1 and discussion below; for the Olympic Games, see n. 79 below. Nemea features, as a place name only, at 5. 58–60, cf. 3. 96. 1.

book 5 may imply, what was surely true, that the Athenians were included in the Pythian truce of 422, but the passage is unfortunately corrupt (5. 1).

Let us begin with the Olympic festival of 428, which we have already noticed. Were there Athenians at those games? This is a question that has forced itself on the attention of commentators, because those games included a very famous victor, the Rhodian Dorieus, a member of the family celebrated in Pindar's Seventh *Olympian*. The chief evidence for Dorieus' victory is, unexpectedly, Thucydides himself (3. 8): 'unexpectedly', because of Thucydides' usual, though not quite uniform, indifference to athletics⁷⁷ and to that athletic success that an inscription of the Periclean period shows the Athenian state took very seriously indeed.⁷⁸ Dorieus is one of a very small handful of Olympic victors whom Thucydides notices, the others being Kylon, Alkibiades and the Spartan Lichas. The games themselves are mentioned in passing in the *Archaeology* in a digression on athletic dress.⁷⁹ The problems about Dorieus' Olympic victories are numerous, and I cannot go into them all here. The only one that directly concerns us is this: Dorieus was a Rhodian, and the Rhodians, though Dorians, were Athenian allies, and (it is said⁸⁰) Athenian allies were excluded from Olympia *de facto* if not *de jure*. Therefore Thucydides is wrong to call Dorieus a Rhodian; he must already have been a Thurian as he later became. But what of the premise about exclusion of Athens and her allies in the Archidamian War period? This is an idea that can be traced as far back as Grote,⁸¹ who had no better evidence than the first clause of the Peace of Nikias. This clause stipulated (5. 18) that the common sanctuaries should be open to all, to sacrifice and consult the oracles and attend the festivals without fear according to ancestral custom. Grote assumed that this clause implied earlier exclusion. It implies, of course, nothing of the sort. It does, however, suggest that there had been difficulties, and that Athenian pilgrims were not altogether welcome at the games. Thus in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (line 188) it is clearly implied that Athenians needed Boiotian permission

⁷⁷ See *Thucydides*, 139 and n. 10, citing the remarkable 4. 121. 1: the people of Skione garland and go out to greet him like an athlete. (For the text, see *CT* II, 381–5, and 2009 introductory n. above.)

⁷⁸ *IG* I² 131. ⁷⁹ 1. 6. 5; 6. 16. 2; 5. 50.

⁸⁰ Beloch 3² 1. 43 n. 2; van Gelder (1900), 80 n. 2; Hönle (1968), 210.

⁸¹ Grote (1888), 5. 454.

to visit Delphi. But (to revert to Dorieus) competitors themselves were always privileged and even sacred persons. Before we finish with Dorieus (who appears in Thucydides only as part of a dating formula) let us make one final suggestion that would affect, though not entirely remove, the problem: when we find, in Xenophon's *Hellenika*, a date given in the form of an athletic victory, we are told by modern commentators as a matter of course to ignore it as an intrusion by a later hand. There is no reason why the text of Thucydides should be thought immune from this sort of intrusion: Jacoby⁸² thought that there are more such scholiasts' glosses in Thucydides than modern scholars realize.

To return to Athenian access to the sanctuaries of Greece. The unargued assumption is often made that the Athenians and their allies⁸³ were kept out of Delphi and Olympia in the war. For instance an Athenian dedication from Dodona (*Syll.*³ 73) is regularly⁸⁴ explained in terms of the unavailability of Delphi in the 420s, although it is quite undated and there is thus an element of circularity in the whole argument. Actually things are not so simple. The Messenians from Naupaktos, Athenian allies, made a remarkable war-dedication at Olympia and a simultaneous one at Delphi some time in the period I am concerned with. The Olympia dedication is known to ancient historians as ML no. 74, but to art historians as the marvellous Nike of Paionios. There is an intriguing difference over this inscription between Tod no. 65 and ML. Tod, without explanation, put it 425 BC, ML, also without explanation, put it 'c.421 BC' Why? The only explanation can be the very assumption I have been examining, about exclusion of Athenian allies. In fact, there is no real difficulty in supposing that the dedication of 'Brasidas and the Akanthians from the Athenians' (*Syll.*³ 79: mid-420s?) should have gone up alongside and stood next to the Messenian dedication. In any case the general position was complicated after 420 when Sparta fell out with Elis, the

⁸² *FGrHist* 323a *Hellanikos* F 24 comm. n. 18.

⁸³ An inscription attests dealings between the Athenian ally (Th. 4. 42. 1) Andros and Delphi, at some time in this period: *LSCG* no. 38 = *CID* no. 7. But the date, and therefore the historical significance, of the text is uncertain; see Smarczyk (1990), 513 n. 49.

⁸⁴ Parke (1967), 136, 149; but see Parker (1985), 326 and n. 99.

state that controlled the sanctuary. Thereafter we really *can* speak of exclusion, but it is exclusion not of Athens but of Sparta (5. 49. 1; cp. above). As for Athens in the 420s I conjecture that Athenian individuals were not formally excluded from the 428 Olympics, and that theoroi or sacred ambassadors went on attending on Athens' behalf then and at other times in the Peloponnesian War. The only evidence is from much later: in book 8. 10, a shamefully neglected passage, we are told that in 411, i.e. in war-time, the Athenians were sending theoroi to the Isthmia for it had been announced to them, ἐπηγγέλθησαν γάρ, and so they got a clearer idea of what was going on in Chios. This passage proves official Athenian attendance at a sanctuary in hostile territory; but we may feel a tiny doubt: why tell us that the festival had been announced to them unless it was abnormal for it to have been announced to them? To return to the Olympia of 428: the sanctuary was not actually closed to Athens, but nor was it a very friendly place judging by Thucydides' report of the festival.

What though of the Delphic oracle? Official Athenian consultations in the Peloponnesian War are hard to find, though we know from Thucydides and Aristophanes⁸⁵ that chresmologoi and manteis were doing brisk business. One Delphic consultation might be claimed: the oracular sanction for the Delian purification of 426. I find this idea incredible in view of Thucydides' ironic language. His words are κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τινα, 'according to some oracle' (3. 104. 1). This surely means something other than Apollo at Delphi, though it is true that after the plague Apollo the god of purification would be a natural recourse. The reference must be, however, to something less than fully respectable. It can either be to the original oracles, which, as Herodotus tells us, moved the Peisistratids to purify the island (*Hdt.* 1. 64. 2). Or there is another possibility I should like to offer. We are told by a hellenistic author, Semos of Delos, that 'Delian prophets' predicted Athenian rule of the sea (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 396 F 12). Jacoby in his commentary connected this item with Peisistratos' activity on Delos. Anyway we can safely rule out Pythian Apollo.

To sum up, I would describe Athens' standing at the two greatest sanctuaries in the early 420s as follows: unloved, but not actually locked out. Just the moment, we might think, for a propaganda

⁸⁵ Th. 2. 8. 2 and 8. 1. 1; Ar. *Birds*.

counter-attack, especially in the aftermath of the Herakleia initiative. That brings me to 3. 104 and the purification of Delos, described as the work of 'the Athenians'. This is itself a silence: what individuals if any were involved? In some books it is stated as fact that Nikias was responsible. This is simply wrong. More recently the politician Kleonymos has been suggested, because he is now known to have proposed a decree about Delos in precisely 426.⁸⁶ However, Lewis told me he was unconvinced. My own candidate is the historian Thucydides himself.

Just why Thucydides chose to insert this long and brilliant excursus, with its Homeric quotations, just here, is an old problem. The first answer is surely literary: we are in the middle of a long boring slab of north-western campaigning and this colorful chapter certainly livens things up. (Incidentally, that is surely one reason for the bit about the poet Hesiod's death at 3. 96, a piece of *τὸ μυθώδες* if ever there was one.) A second answer was suggested thirty years ago by Sir Ronald Syme,⁸⁷ tongue just perceptibly in cheek: had Thucydides been formulating views on the 'Homeric Question'? We can add a third: Herodotus (4. 35) had quoted a hymn about Delos by one Olen of Lycia: is Thucydides hinting that Olen is low-grade authority next to Homer?

But if we accept that the episode did indeed happen when it did, we can ask why it happened; that is, we can move on from literary to historical considerations. One answer I have already hinted at: purification after the plague. Diodorus, i.e. Ephoros, characteristically has this motive, though this has been unnecessarily questioned in modern times;⁸⁸ Thucydides equally characteristically does not. If it is urged that the plague back in book 2 is a long time ago in narrative terms, my reply is that the second outbreak has just been described by Thucydides at 3. 87, and it is here that he sums up the plague's effect on manpower.

The second motive has already, I hope, emerged by implication: Delos was to some extent a reply to Dorian Herakleia. Thucydides

⁸⁶ Nikias: see *CT I*, 517 ff. and Chankowski (2008), 69 f. Kleonymos: see Mattingly (1988) [= (1996), 487]. See also Brock (1996), a reference to which was already added in the 1997 paperback edn. of *CT I*, at 518.

⁸⁷ Syme (1962) [1991], 42.

⁸⁸ Mikalson (1984), 221. But see *CT I*, 319 (on 2. 47. 4).

tells us about Herakleia, and he tells us about Delos soon after, but he does not connect the two.

Third, there is the Peisistratid connection. Peisistratos was in some ways the founder of Athenian maritime greatness, at very least a more considerable military figure than Herodotus gave him credit for being. But he was a tyrant, whom it is a little odd to find Athens recalling so specifically. Was this perhaps defiance: if we are to be labelled 'the tyrant city' let us make the most of it and take a leaf out of the book of the tyrants whom those Spartans deposed? This Peisistratid aspect is in Thucydides, but it is not explained.

Fourth there is Theseus, the legendary founder of the Delia that the Athenians were now reconstituting.⁸⁹ We have already seen that the Skyros episode showed he, too, had an imperial aspect. This aspect is not in Thucydides 3. 104.

But fifth, finally and most important, Delos was the centre of Ionianism, and Athens was making a strong bid to bring Ionian cult within her control. Hitherto, the centre of Ionian cult had been the Panionia in Asia Minor. In my view the purification of Delos, and the reestablishment of the Delia, did not actually bring cult activity at the Anatolian Panionia to an end; it was merely a more attractive and more politically accessible alternative to it from the point of view of Ionians in the empire. Thucydides says that Ionians flocked to the new Delia 'as they now do to the Ephesia', i.e. the Panionia, as I argued in 1982,⁹⁰ against those scholars who equated the Ephesia with a festival of Ephesian Artemis. If I was right, the passage is proof positive that the Panionian festival went on in Thucydides' time. This puts the new Delia in its context: a revamped Ionian festival, not replacing but complementing and overshadowing the Panionia. A magnificent imperial gesture indeed. It may have been followed, as we have seen, by an almost equally assertive action at Eleusis, about which Thucydides is completely silent.

Pythian Apollo was not, however, pleased with what was going on at the home of Delian Apollo, and his reaction is the other official Pythian response. In 422 the Athenians went further than they had done in 426 and actually evacuated the Delians from Delos (5. 1).

⁸⁹ Tausend (1989).

⁹⁰ Below, Ch. 8.

Shortly afterwards (5. 32) they put them back again, on the orders of the god at Delphi, whom they had consulted because of misfortunes in battle. This is after the end of the Archidamian War, in fact in the Peace of Nikias period; but we can surely connect it with the Pythian Apollo's encouragement to Sparta in 432 (1. 118). This is not the last time Delphi looked after Delos: there are fourth-century examples.⁹¹

The Dorian/Ionian divide is something I have treated, for my own purposes, as if it was purely religious. It was not, it was racial as well; it was also linguistic. From the point of view of the comparative philologist, it ought to be very interesting that a military trick in book 3 (112. 4) involves the use by Demosthenes of some Dorian-speaking Messenian troops, *Δωρίδα τε γλώσσαν ἰέντας*. But the passage was not picked up by a philologist until Anna Davies studied it,⁹² and remarked on its interesting assumption that for Thucydides' readers Dorian dialects were a distinct and recognizable group.

It is sometimes said that the Peloponnesian War itself polarized the Dorian/Ionian distinction. There is a danger here of the evidence trap: we just happen to have Thucydides for those three decades. Actually, the truth is more troubling. For Thucydides, one feature of the war was that it *muddled* colonial religious ties; thus his list of the allies before Syracuse in book 7 (57–8) notes as a singularity that Dorians fought Dorians and so on. Athens could in effect trump the old allegiances: thus an inscription from North Aegean Neapolis, recording Athenian honors to the city, has an erasure where there had once been carved the words 'because they are colonists of the Thasians': ML no. 89. Having started as the leader of the Ionians, Athens was redefining and extending the role of religious metropolis. To put it bluntly, what she now wanted was control of the Aegean, Dorian and Ionian alike: hence her attempts to coerce Dorian Melos because (Thucydides says) they were islanders and because they had not yet submitted: 3. 91. 2 and 5. 84. 2. But this was not exactly new. It would after all have taken some ingenuity to justify, in terms of *τὸ ξυγγενές*, the incorporation in 458 of Aigina, the 'star ruling in the Dorian sea' as Pindar had once called it (*Paian* 6. 123 ff.). And new epigraphic evidence from the ten-year period of Athenian control of Boiotia

(457–446) now suggests the very startling possibility that two Boiotian cities, Orchomenos and Akraiphia, were actually tributary members of the Delian League.⁹³ No crude Ionian/Dorian formula will account for these remarkable facts.

In this chapter I have tried to show that alongside the military and political struggle of the Peloponnesian War there was a religious war for the hearts and minds, and that if Thucydides had had a different outlook we would know a good deal more about that war. But equally, without Thucydides we would lack many of the texts with which to correct Thucydides; indeed without him we would hardly have a Peloponnesian War at all.⁹⁴

⁹³ Lewis (1981), 77 [= (1997a), 20] n. 43 for Orchomenos; and for Akraiphia, see Lewis, *CAH* 5². 116 n. 72. Cf. below, 128. ⁹⁴ See Loraux (1986b), 146.

⁹¹ Wankel (1976), 731 ff.

⁹² A. M. Davies (1987) [2002].

2

Thucydides and the Delphic Amphiktiony

[What follows is part two of a longer study, 'Did the Delphic Amphiktiony play a Political Role in the Classical period?'.¹ Part one argued, against some recent views,² that the Delphic amphiktiony was exploited for political purposes in the fourth century BC—particularly by the Thebans in the years between 373, when the temple of Apollo was burnt down, and the Third Sacred War of the mid-350s. In this period they used the amphiktiony to apply pressure against their enemies the Phokians. The most impressive single item of evidence for the political view of the amphiktiony in the 360s is an Athenian inscription of 363 honouring an ascertainably pro-Phokian Delphian called Astykrates, who had been exiled 'contrary to the laws of the amphiktions'.³ The Athenian inscription remarkably purports to declare the amphiktionic condemnation null and void. None of my argument was intended to deny that the amphiktiony was an important religious entity with important religious functions.]

This chapter discusses the role of the Delphic amphiktiony in the fifth century BC, with special reference to Thucydides. The evidence is much less full for the fifth century than for the fourth; even so I shall have to be selective. But there is a plausible case for saying that the Spartans after 480 are the equivalents of the Thebans after 371: they tried to maximize their influence with the amphiktiony. I argued this in 1991–2, and it is this which has now prompted a seven-page reply by François Lefèvre in 2002, in an appendix to *CID* IV.⁴

¹ Hornblower (2009).

² Chiefly Bowden (2003); see also Buckler (1985) and (1989).

³ *IG* II² 219; M. J. Osborne (1981), 49–51 no. D11. (But see n. 38 of my original article for minor textual improvements suggested to me by A. Matthaiou).

⁴ Ch. 1 above; *CTI*, on 1. 107 and 112 and 3. 92. Criticized at length by Lefèvre, *CID* IV (2002), 436–44, cf. 452: 'un certain excès d' "historicisme" '.

The starting point is George Daux's 1957 demonstration, accepted by Roux, Lefèvre, and Sanchez, that fifth-century Sparta was represented in the amphiktiony through and only through the so-called 'Dorians of the metropolis'.⁵ This small community in central Greece, Doris, thus had an importance for the Spartans which had little to do with strategic considerations but much to do with the kind of kinship relationship so well investigated recently by scholars like C. P. Jones.⁶ It is remarkable that Thucydides uses identical language to carefully flag the metropolis relationship on the only two occasions when he mentions Spartan military help to Doris, first in 457 (the Tanagra campaign against Phokis), and then in 426. His Greek is ἐς Δωριῆς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν (1. 107 and 3. 92). This is the Homeric technique of using repeated phraseology to make a comparison. The designation is amphiktionic. Might the or rather some Spartans (as always, different Spartans will have been differently motivated) have been worried about their precarious toe-hold in the amphiktiony? So I suggested in Ch. 1, precisely on the evidence of Thucydides. He is not a crude writer and I think that so far from suppressing the amphiktionic aspect here, he is in his subtle way actually hinting at it. In 1992 I noted that without little Thucydidean touches of this sort it would not be possible for us to draw the slightly different picture which I believe it possible to draw. Spartan action against the Phokians and in favour of Doris in 458/7 is very relevant to the Second Sacred War of 450, also fought against the Phokians. This did not happen, with a bang, in 450. Like the Third War, it flowed out of earlier developments. As for the 426 intervention, it led to the founding of Herakleia-in-Trachis, a new city which would have a vote in the amphiktiony by 343. Kip in 1911 argued that the Spartans at some time between 426 and 343 got one of the old Malian votes in effect transferred to the Oitaians, that is to Herakleia, to augment Spartan influence in the amphiktiony. I agreed. (The Oitaians, I should explain, are regularly designated by their city ethnic of Herakleia.) Béquignon, whom I followed in 1991, suggested the date was 426 itself.⁷ Anyone who dislikes that date must argue for another in the period 426–343.

⁵ Daux (1957), 95–120; Roux (1979), 5 and n. 2; Lefèvre (1998), 53; Sanchez, (2001). See above, 37.

⁶ Jones (1999).

⁷ Kip (1910), 19; Béquignon (1937) 350 n. 1; cf. Flacelière (1937), 40 n. 2.

That the Spartans tried to manipulate the amphiktion as early as 478 is explicitly said by Plutarch: 'the Spartans tried to expel medizers so as to control the votes completely and carry out their own wishes'—striking words, but Themistokles stopped them.⁸ Some moderns disbelieve this, fancying in their modest way they know more about Delphi than did Plutarch, a Delphic expert, an amphiktionic representative of Boiotia, and an attested epimelete and agonothete.⁹ Lefèvre, who accepts the story, says against me that it was one thing to try to take over the entire amphiktion as in 478, another to exert huge energy on behalf of a single vote.¹⁰ True. But the failure of the bigger attempt helps explain the urgency of the lesser project.

Almost finally, two *a priori* considerations, of similar sorts. First, if the hellenistic Aitolians were not merely taking further what classical predecessors like Spartans and Thebans had tried to do, that makes them improbably innovative.¹¹ Second, why should Delphi have been so different from that other panhellenic place Nemea? David Lewis' elegant and convincing account of the First Peloponnesian War, of 460–446, was in terms of competition between Korinthians and Argives for control of Kleonai and the Nemean games and festival.¹² Delphi's organization was different (more complex); the basic idea is not.

I want to put aside detail now and address the fundamental grounds of disagreement between myself and Lefèvre. He quotes a 1992 sentence of mine and says he agrees with the first half but not the second. What I had said was that the amphiktion was *active and important* in the fifth century and that we should not conclude otherwise from Thucydides' silence about it. He thinks I am right against

⁸ Plut. *Them.* 20: [Θεμιστοκλῆς] φοβηθεὶς μή....[οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι] παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις.

⁹ *Syll* 829A (cf. Jones (1971), 26).

¹⁰ Lefèvre, *CID IV* (2002), 443 n. 42.

¹¹ Note in particular Polybius 4. 25. 8 (220 BC): 'they also added a clause in the decree engaging to recover for the Amphiktyonic council its ancient laws, and its authority over the Delphic temple, of which it had been deprived by the Aetolians, who wished to control the affairs of the temple themselves' (tr. Paton). Above, 36.

¹² Lewis (1981) [= (1997a), 9–21]; cf. Hornblower (2002), 27–30, cf. 21. I do not here try to bring the intriguing but fragmentary Athenian decree *IG I³*. 9 into the mid-century story, though I note that Lefèvre *CID IV* (2002), 463, para. 3, thinks (against Sánchez (2001), 109–11) that it may be 'abusif de dénier à l'amphiktionie toute dimension symmachique'.

Sordi that it was active; in 1957 she concluded from Thucydides' silence that it went to sleep in the fifth century. But he thinks I was wrong to say it was important.¹³ But what does 'important' mean in this context? Lefèvre goes on to argue forcefully that the amphiktion was not an instrument of direct political hegemony, though oddly he accepts Plutarch's startling formulation in his *Life of Themistokles* (quoted above). He says that the amphiktion was not an instrument of power, it conferred only prestige, 'il n'est pas un instrument du pouvoir, mais ne confère que du prestige'.¹⁴ It is the 'only' ('ne...que') which I object to there. I would now want, as a result of the work I did for *Thucydides and Pindar*,¹⁵ to emphasize this, 'soft' political aspect, much more than I once did. To that extent I no longer subscribe, if I ever did, to the 'historicizing' tendency Lefèvre attributes to me—at least as far as the fifth century goes (the 360s were, I have tried to show, rougher and more direct). Lefèvre said in 1998 that the organization of the games was the most prestigious thing the amphiktion did.¹⁶ I can only applaud this. But he then devotes only two pages to that topic, and treats it in isolation. His short list of the 'rare appearances', the 'rare apparitions', of the amphiktions in the fifth century¹⁷ includes the Pythia of 462, when Arkesilas was crowned by the amphiktions, as Pindar tells us in his Fourth *Pythian* (lines 66–7). But Pindar could have said exactly this about each and every one of the many fifth-century Pythian victories he celebrated!¹⁸ Pindar makes a meal of the detail of Arkesilas' chariot victory (we may conjecture) only because the poem was much longer than usual, and he was no doubt being paid much more for writing it.

The Pythia, we know for certain, were musical as well as equestrian and athletic. Perhaps we can go further. Did the amphiktions go in for theatre too? Lefèvre's list of amphiktionic 'appearances' includes, as well as Pindar, some later fifth-century literary references such as the fragmentary *Amphiktions* of the comic poet Telekledes, and the famous 'panhellenic' passage in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (lines 1129–31; 411 BC). But there is another, tragic, passage which has been intriguingly exploited recently. Oliver Taplin has suggested that a choral lyric in

¹³ Lefèvre *CID IV* (2002), 438.

¹⁴ Ibid. 449.

¹⁵ Hornblower (2004).

¹⁶ Lefèvre (1998), 236.

¹⁷ Lefèvre, *CID IV* (2002), 441.

¹⁸ Note Paus. 10. 7 etc.

Sophocles *Trachiniai* may be evidence for theatrical performances at the Pylaia, and wonders, cautiously, if there was a 'political or diplomatic dimension' to this. The chorus addresses 'you who inhabit the harbour by the rocky hot springs, and the spurs of Oita, and you by the inner Malian gulf, and the shore of the maiden-goddess of the golden shuttle, where the celebrated gatherings of the Hellenes at the Pylai are held', ἐνθ' Ἑλλάνων ἀγοραὶ Πυλάτιδες κλέονται (lines 633–9).¹⁹ Taplin's suggestion is appealing.

What I tried to do in *Thucydides and Pindar* was to integrate agonistic festival success with other kinds of what Pindar calls *kudos*. Influence with the organising body was worth having and intriguing for. The fifth-century Spartans were the greatest military power in Greece, but they also thought it worthwhile to win equestrian success at panhellenic games. Conversely, a quarrel with the organizers could lead to humiliating exclusions, like that of the Spartans by the Eleians from the Olympic games of 420 (Th. 5. 49–50; below, Ch. 10). Was Delphi so different? Then there is Thessaly and Jason. He is said to have planned in 370 to usurp some of the amphiktion's functions. Xenophon was not sure what he had in mind for the 'sacred monies'. But he does say he planned to arrange the festival and games himself, note the explicit αὐτός, implying a contrast with the amphiktion.²⁰ As for the Thebans, the boy victor in the running-race at the revived Pythian games of 346, presided over by Philip, had a resonantly historical and Pindaric name. He was Aioladas, surely a direct descendant of Pagondas son of Aioladas, who won the battle of Delion, 424, and for whose family Pindar wrote a *daphnēphorikon*. Like that royal victor Arkesilas more than a hundred years earlier, this interesting young man will have received his crown from the hands of the amphiktions.²¹

¹⁹ Taplin (1999), 33–57 at 46 ff. The passage is cited by Lefèvre (1998), 193 n. 149, but merely as one of the literary testimonia for the location of the sessions of the amphiktion. Similarly Sánchez (2001), 32, 62.

²⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 30, πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς διατιθέναι.

²¹ Paus. 10. 7. 8. See *Pindar's Poetry*, 35–9, and below, 119.

3

Narratology and Narrative Techniques in Thucydides

[The method outlined in this chapter was taken much further, and applied systematically to Th.'s text as a whole, by my former pupil Tim Rood, in his outstanding full-length monograph (1998), although he disagrees with me on a number of detailed points. The final and now shortened footnote (92) of the original version of my paper mentioned Rood's work, then in progress as a doctoral dissertation begun in 1991 and supervised by Chris Pelling. Despite Rood's book, I hope that my chapter still has value, as a thematically organized treatment of various ways of applying narratology to an ancient historical text. With this in mind, I have now broken it up into ten labelled sub-divisions.

My treatment of the anachrony at Th. 1. 44, 45, and 50 (the delayed mention of the Athenian decision to reinforce the squadron sent to Kerkyra, below 70–3) was criticised by Stahl (2006), esp. 333. I replied in App. 1 to CT III, at 1055–9.

On counter-factuals ('if...not' sentences; 'Beinahe-Episoden') in Th., a topic discussed below, 89 f., see now CT III on 8. 96. 4, and above, 7–11.

The 1994 published version did not say how I came to write the paper at all. It appeared in *Greek Historiography*, which was mainly the book of a 1991 Oxford seminar. I had hoped that one of the speakers in my seminar, namely the late Don Fowler (died 1999), would speak about narratology and the Greek historians, and apply to factual prose texts some of the Homeric insights of Irene de Jong. But his paper talked instead about a handful of modern text-book histories of ancient Greece, which was ingenious, but not what I wanted. So in 1992 I decided to try to do the job myself, angling it towards Thucydides.]

I. INTRODUCTION

In his classic book *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, Wayne Booth speaks of 'the rhetoric that makes me believe in Thucydides' *History* as a report of actual events'.¹ The remark is an aside, specifically a disclaimer: Booth is actually saying that he has not discussed, and does not propose to discuss, the rhetoric which is found in narrative history. But he implies that such an analysis is possible. By contrast, Gérard Genette, in his *Narrative Discourse*, scarcely glanced at historiography at all. Genette returns in his more recent *Fiction et diction* to the difference between fictional and factual writing and concludes that fictional writing is parasitic on factual; and that narratology should be willing to cross the boundary between fiction and fact.²

By narratology I mean 'the theory that deals with the general principles underlying narrative texts'. That is the definition offered by Irene de Jong in what is surely a strong candidate for any prize for the most successful application of narratology to an ancient text, her excellent if algebraically written book *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*.³ I want in the course of this paper to address the basic question whether narratology can be simply transferred from poetic or fictional texts to historical ones, as Booth asserts and Genette now seems to agree. There is an even more fundamental issue at stake: are history and fiction separate genres? Modern historians, not to mention biographers like Peter Ackroyd in his *Dickens*, are readier than ancient historians to run history and fiction together. Simon Schama's amusing *Dead Certainties* is a good example; Schama incidentally writes in his Afterword that since ancient Greek times, 'historians have...differed on the implications of the term [*historia*], sometimes imagining themselves lined up behind opposing

¹ Booth (1983), 408.

² Genette (1980), 67–286; Genette (1991), 65–93. See also Barthes (1986), 127–41.

³ De Jong (1987). Some of her narratological insights are exploited by Edwards (1991), 1–10; see also Rutherford (1992), 67 f. and S. Richardson (1990). Homer's 'objectivity' is approached by Griffin (1980), without de Jong's arsenal of technical narratological terms; but the upshot is similar: see Griffin 139 for emotional effects not spelt out, but produced in the course of the narrative or in speech by one of the poet's characters.

platoons commanded by Herodotus or Thucydides', Thucydides representing here objectivity, Herodotus representing gossip, hearsay, and the fantastic.⁴

But these questions of genre are very broad and deep. My theme is a (slightly) narrower one, the sense in which there is an identifiable rhetoric of history; but above all I am interested in the *differences* between the way historians and fictional writers use narrative devices. The relevant chapter (3) of Genette's *Fiction et Diction* is less illuminating on this second topic than might have been hoped. It is largely concerned to examine schematically the relation between author, narrator, and character or *personnage*, in a way which has to be qualified immediately to cater for writers like Thucydides, Xenophon, and Caesar who feature as historical agents in their own narratives. In fairness, Genette does make this qualification. But the schemata, qualified or not, do not seem to get us very far.

The shape of this chapter is as follows. First, I will discuss some of the general narrative techniques relevant to Thucydides' rhetoric of history. Second, I will look at narratological devices in particular, trying where appropriate to ask how Thucydides' use differs from a poet's or a fiction writer's, and why. Third, finally and briefly, I will sum up by recapitulating those differences.

Let me begin as if Booth is in the right to say there is such a thing as a rhetoric of history and see where that gets us. Remarks like Booth's are capable of arousing strong emotions among professional students of ancient history. Books or articles which treat ancient historiography as *nothing more* than a branch of rhetoric are unsettling,⁵ clearly

⁴ Ackroyd (1990); Schama (1991), 325. But history written like a novel is no novelty; see already Carlyle (1837). Not to mention the procedures of Shakespeare in the history plays.

⁵ Strong emotions: see e.g. the report of Wiseman (1988), 263, in the course of a review of Woodman (1988). See also Momigliano's famous reply to Hayden White, reprinted as Momigliano (1984), 49–59, discussing White (1973) and (1978). Note esp. Momigliano 49: 'I fear the consequences of [White's] approach to historiography because he has eliminated the research for truth as the main task of the historian. He treats historians, like any other narrators, as rhetoricians, to be characterized by their modes of speech.' See also Green (1991), 4, reviewing Momigliano (1990). Momigliano is there quoted as saying to Hayden White at a seminar 'after all, we do have these inscriptions and these artefacts. They are there. We cannot disregard them. What then are we to do about them?' With this cf. Momigliano 51. See also Murray (1991), 63:

because they may tend to suggest, or may be taken to suggest, that the events narrated by the ancient historical writer *did not happen at all* and that would put ancient historians out of a job. We may agree that there is a problem: can we apply, to ancient historical writers, techniques of analysis successfully applied to poetry and fiction, without thereby committing ourselves to the view that the history *is* fiction? Put like that, the fallacy becomes obvious. By examining the *techniques* of historical presentation we do not necessarily imply that the subject-matter of that presentation is true or false. True facts can be presented rhetorically or non-rhetorically. Or rather, true facts may be presented with a rhetoric which is more or less *obtrusive*. (I put it that way so as to make a gesture in the direction of those fundamentalists who refuse to believe in the possibility of totally objective descriptions, or as Genette calls them, 'zero-focalized statements'.⁶) The historian who recounts facts which are on any common-sense view demonstrably true may still have a problem. We may call it Cassandra's problem. How to get people to believe the true things you are saying? *Magna est veritas, et praevalerebit* is a noble doctrine, but in a highly agonistic culture like the fifth century BC *veritas* surely needed all the rhetorical help she could get. So in what follows, I am not particularly concerned with the truth or falsity, with what philosophers call the truth-function, of the Thucydidean texts I shall be discussing. Instead, I shall try to apply some of the insights of narratology.

II. FOCALIZATION

The chief, or one chief, contribution of narratology is the rigorous and scientific study of what has been called focalization,⁷ that is, the different perspectives or points of view from which events are viewed

Momigliano 'visibly distressed at the view of his American colleague Hayden White that history was a form of rhetoric'.

⁶ 'Zero-focalized statements': Genette (1980), 189.

⁷ For focalization generally, see Bal (1985), 100–15. For a defence of the use of the term against e.g. Davidson (1991), 10–11 (who prefers 'gaze') and Rood (1998), 294–6, see Pelling (2009), 509 n. 5 and 512 n.11.

and interpreted. The narrator is the person narrating. The focalizer is the person who orders and interprets the events and experiences which are being narrated. Secondary or embedded focalization is when the first focalizer or interpreter quotes or refers to a focalization or interpretation by a person other than him- or herself. This may be explicit or implicit depending on whether the word for thinking is included. A simple explicit example is in Thucydides book 5: the Boiotians and Megarians thought Argive democracy would be less congenial than Spartan oligarchy. A simple implicit example is in book 6, where, as often, an embedded focalization is introduced by γάρ, 'for...': 'the generals did so and so, for otherwise the Syracusan cavalry would do damage to their own light-armed troops'. Here the embedding is implicit, i.e. there is no word like 'the generals saw that'. But sometimes γάρ introduces material whose focalizer is really Thucydides himself, the obvious example being that at 2. 13. 3, from the account of Athenian finances ostensibly taking the form of encouragement by Perikles. A more controversial and much-discussed case is 7. 42: Demosthenes on his arrival in Sicily didn't want to suffer what Nicias had suffered, followed by a long explanatory bracket. The problems arise because scholars disagree about whether the explanatory bracket represents Thucydides' reasoning or that of Demosthenes.⁸ Dover has however shown from the *nominative* and *finite* tenses that the reasoning is Thucydides' not Demosthenes'; contrast the accusatives and infinitives in the book 6 passage about the cavalry. That is, the focalization in book 7 is *not* embedded—Thucydides is the only and primary focalizer. It would be nice if all focalization problems could be so neatly solved.

⁸ Focalization in Th.: 5. 31. 6 (Boiotians and Megarians); 6. 64. 1 (Syracusan cavalry); 2. 13 (finances); 7. 42. 3 (Demosthenes' arrival), on which see Dover (1988), 74–82 and CT III, 621ff. Th. 2. 20 (which purports to give Archidamos' thinking) is an intermediate case, in that *oratio obliqua* and indicative construction are mixed. See the interesting discussion of Pelling (1991), 127 n. 27. In general, my statements in the text are dogmatic; Pelling is no doubt right to protest to me that things are greyer than that, and 7. 42 does *also* give Demosthenes' view, just as 2. 13 does *also* give the eventual view of the Athenians on whom Perikles' persuasive power was exercised—and of Perikles himself (I mean, Perikles the literary and rhetorical construct. Note the way that Perikles omits to mention the financial trierarchies, surely because this would be depressing to individual rich Athenians). And what are we to make of simple statements like 'a bit of the wall was weak' at 7. 4. 2? (with which compare the weak wall at *Iliad* 6. 434: Andromache? Or Homer?)

So much for the technical terminology, which as a matter of fact I shall, apart from plain focalization itself, make little use of. But this is not out of obscurantism, or because results have not been achieved by the application of narratology to ancient texts. On the contrary, the brilliant work of de Jong on Homer and now on the messenger-speeches of Euripides⁹ has revealed previously unnoticed subtleties. Nevertheless I think we have to admit (for instance) that sometimes we cannot determine, and perhaps should not ask, whether a certain statement or expression of Thucydides represents his own feeling or that of his agents. So for instance (a simple example) at 3. 49, the first lot of Athenian sailors on their way to execute the Mytileneans were not hurrying on their horrible mission, ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον.¹⁰ Who thought the mission horrible, Thucydides or just the sailors? This problem resembles what has been called deviant focalization,¹¹ which is when the narrator is made to say things which really belong, so to speak, to the focalizer. But we can call the Thucydidean example deviant only if we think (as I do not) that Thucydides—or rather what Wayne Booth would call the implied Thucydides as opposed to the man Thucydides—was too detached to be capable of saying on his own account that the mission was horrible.

III INFERRED MOTIVATION AND OTHER NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES

To be sure, Thucydides' narrative technique did not lack students, even before the arrival of narratology. Momigliano once wrote witheringly of the present 'ridiculous adoration of so-called prosopography (which as we all know claims to have irrefutably established the

⁹ De Jong (1991).

¹⁰ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον: 3. 49. 4. Close analysis of the exact words chosen does not resolve the ambiguity: the adjective ἀλλόκοτον carries the idea of 'unusual' (an objective, factual judgment, cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 182a, though at Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1191 the idea of 'unwelcome' is also present); but the statement that the sailors were not hurrying (οὐ σπουδῇ) implies lack of enthusiasm (subjective).

¹¹ Fowler (1990).

previously unknown phenomenon of family ties').¹² In the same way the sceptic, aware, as we shall see, that there is for instance some good narratology in Longinus, might want to say that narratology is new words for old insights, and that the new words will not last whereas the insights will. Actually Genette engagingly faces this possibility in the Afterword to *Narrative Discourse*. But he was too modest. Narratology, like prosopography, is based on detail and minutiae, and for such work, precise instruments are needed. But we can admit that narratology does not exhaust narrative technique, hence both terms feature in my title. Mention of Longinus prompts a word about Dionysios of Halikarnassos' *On Thucydides*, which I shall not refer to much because Dionysios was more interested in the speeches and the great set pieces than in the routine narrative which in chapters 13 and 14 of his treatise he objects to as cursory.

Returning to modern work, particularly notable, as straightforward jargon-free analysis, are two books by Stahl and de Romilly.¹³ And some of the findings of Fehling on Herodotus¹⁴ have a bearing on Thucydides; though direct *Quellenangaben*, or citation of sources with a view to inviting the reader's or listener's belief or complicity, are much rarer in Thucydides. The usual example is in book 2: 'the Thebans say this, but the Plataians don't agree.'¹⁵

Moreover there are two monographs on Thucydides, both getting on for forty years old now, which address some issues which narratologists have subsequently treated, though under newer and more technical names. I refer to the books by Schneider and Hunter, to which should be added an excellent more recent chapter by Westlake

¹² Prosopography: Momigliano (1966), 103. Momigliano's reply to Hayden White (above, n. 5) similarly takes the line 'there's nothing new under the sun', see esp. 58 on the 'rediscovery of rhetoric' (my italics). This is relevant to the advocacy of a return to rhetoric by Eagleton (1983), 205 f.; Eagleton's discussion of narratology is at 104 f., but he does not make it quite clear enough that narratology, which is one of the new approaches implicitly rejected in the conclusion to the book, is itself, in effect, the study of a branch of rhetoric.

¹³ Stahl (1966), Eng. tr. Stahl (2003); de Romilly (1956). Note also Kitto (1966), ch. 6, and Gomme (1954), chs. 6–7. Of older studies, see Cornford (1907). The late Colin Macleod's work was of the first importance, but he concentrated mainly on the speeches, except in Macleod (1983), ch. 13, 'Thucydides and Tragedy'.

¹⁴ Fehling (1989).

¹⁵ 'The Thebans say this, but the Plataians...' (2. 5. 6). The discrepancy between the two versions is itself an important fact, and that is no doubt why Th. includes it.

(1989). They all deal with the problem of inferred motivation. How, to take an extreme example, did Thucydides know what was going on in the heads of hypothetical Minoan pirates?¹⁶

To expand on inferred motivation: it is clear that Thucydides made inferences about motive all the time. In this respect he is no different from any modern historian. John Ehrman's life of Pitt the Younger, of which two volumes so far have been published, is full of inferred motivation, and so is Woodward and Bernstein's *Final Days*, about the end of the Nixon presidency. It has on the cover the words 'history as gripping as a novel'.¹⁷

This issue, on which I will say more later, is what narratologists call the problem of *restricted access* to information or knowledge. It has been discussed by de Jong in her narratological study of the Euripidean messenger-speech. Indeed, she glances in passing at the relevant recent work on Thucydides, notably Schneider, to make her point that Euripides' messengers are like Thucydides in that they often have to guess what was in the mind of the agent or speaker: compare the messenger in Euripides' *Phoenissae*.¹⁸ That is because these messengers are posing as omniscient narrators, to put the matter narratologically.

But narrative technique in Thucydides is too broad a topic and I propose to concentrate on those techniques which I suggest have been too little studied or (as far as I can find) not studied at all, but which *either* make us believe that what Thucydides says is true, *or* make us accept his account of them as convincing. Sometimes, obviously, these two things, truth and convincingness, coincide, for instance over the question (to which I shall return) whether the number of hoplites

¹⁶ Schneider (1974); Hunter (1973); Westlake (1989), ch. 14, 'Personal Motives, Aims and Feelings in Thucydides', with Badian (1993), 231 n. 45, adding the important case of Sthenelaidas at 1. 86.

¹⁷ Ehrman (1969–83); see e.g. 2. 19–20 for Pitt's thinking at the time of the Ochakov affair; Woodward and Bernstein (1976).

¹⁸ De Jong (1991), 25, citing Eur. *Phoen.* 1187 ff. For Homeric characters knowing things they have not heard, see Taplin (1992), 70 n. 36, 150, 223, and Hainsworth (1993), 202, cf. 114; Janko (1992), 404. Modern students of ancient historiography are sometimes uncomfortable when their author claims implausible access; see e.g. Paul (1984), 4: Sall's claims to privileged access amount to a 'novelistic freedom' which is a 'disservice to sober history'. This is very strong, given that, as we have seen (nn. 16 and 17), so many ancient and modern historians do the same.

who died from the plague was indeed 4,400.¹⁹ On other occasions we shall be concerned with, for instance the causes of the Peloponnesian War or the reasons for the Sicilian Expedition, we would not I think (despite Thucydides' use both times of the word ἀληθεστάτη) want to say, at least this side of paradise, that Thucydides' accounts of the causes of the war or the expedition were true or false. We would say that they were convincing or unconvincing. In this second kind of case Thucydides' narrative techniques may add to the convincingness of his case.

To repeat, I shall not try to deal with techniques which have already been well studied. For instance Connor²⁰ in an excellent short article in 1985 called 'Narrative Discourse in Thucydides', looked at the alternation between abstraction and vividness. He also as we shall see later, discussed multiple perspective as part of the secret of Thucydides' often-remarked authority, though he did this without using the language of focalization. But he did not really explain *why* multiple perspective confers authority. Again, it was noted by Kitto that Thucydides can achieve results by pacing his narrative differently at different points—e.g. 1. 106, the very detailed death of the Corinthians by stoning, gains much of its effect by being placed as it is inside the most telegraphically brief of all Thucydides' digressions, viz. the *Pentēkontaetia*.²¹ This pacing is what narratologists like Mieke Bal call rhythm.²² Or there are techniques of closure, e.g. 'so perished Plataia, in the ninety-third year of its alliance with Athens'. Here the date is more than a date, it has pathetic effect. Compare Odysseus' dog Argos dying 'in the twentieth year'. Or Thucydides may end an episode by trailing a coat, compare the end of the *Kerkyraika*, casually mentioning the return of the prisoners who will introduce the main stasis section two books later.²³ Openings in Thucydides are equally worth study: the opening of the whole work can be seen as an act of simultaneous linguistic homage to and rebellion against Herodotus, a relationship comparable to that between Virgil's *Aeneid* and Homer's *Iliad*, as

¹⁹ 3. 87. 3 (hoplite losses in plague).

²⁰ Connor (1985).

²¹ 1. 106 with Kitto (1966), 271.

²² Bal (1985), 68–76.

²³ Closure: 3. 68. 5 (Plataia), cf. *Odyssey* 17. 327 (Odysseus' dog Argos), with Russo in Russo, Fernandez-Galiano and Heubeck (1992); Th. 1. 55. 1 (with CT 1, 97, citing 3. 70. 1). For 'endings' in Hdt. see Lateiner (1989), 44–50. See generally Levene (1992), 53 n. 3; Roberts (1996).

expressed in the first lines of the two epics. Thucydides' second main opening, at 1. 24, is itself Homeric in manner.²⁴

All these techniques are there and are brilliantly used by Thucydides. But some of them have *been* studied, and anyway they are emotional effects; and even Connor does not quite satisfy my purpose which is to explore the way in which—to return to Wayne Booth—Thucydides makes us believe that his actually subjective reports are objectively accurate and (I would add) his interpretations convincing-looking.

IV. NARRATIVE DISPLACEMENT

So the first topic I wish to discuss is what I shall call *narrative displacement*. This resembles what Bal and Genette call anachrony (or even achrony), i.e. chronological deviation.²⁵ It is the technique by which an item in Thucydides loses or occasionally gains²⁶ (but much more often loses) its impact by being placed at a point other than we'd expect it. I suggest that a difference between historical writing and other, i.e. fictional, kinds is that the fiction writer or poet is usually concerned to *gain* impact by such displacement; it is the historian who may need to *lose* uncomfortable facts by putting them in the wrong file or box. The closest fictional equivalent to this deliberate losing and playing down of an item is the detective writer who leaves a clue in an unexpected place so as to reduce its impact. (What the

²⁴ For 'openings' generally, see Nuttall (1992); also Dunn and Cole (1992); Lateiner (1989) 35–43 for 'beginnings' in Hdt. On the opening of the whole of Th.'s history (1. 1) and on 1. 24, see CT I, 4–7 and 67; on 1. 1. 1 and on the similarities to and differences from Hdt., see CT I, 4–5 (nn. on *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ ἐνέγραψε, and on ὡς ἐπολέμησαν*...). For the relation of Virgil's opening to Homer's, see Nuttall (1992), 3.

²⁵ For achrony and anachrony, see Bal (1985), 53, 66–8; Genette (1980).

²⁶ For simple Thucydidean examples of *gain* in emphasis, achieved by displacement, see the two passages which anticipate the eventual fall of Athens, 2. 65. 12, and, even more emphatic, 5. 26. 1. Note also 6. 15. 4. There is also an interesting forward reference at 4. 81. 2 to the main Sicilian expedition. A question from Lesley Brown, after the original delivery of this paper, forced me to think of examples of emphasis by displacement. My paper had concentrated on 'de-emphasis', in an ugly modern word. Cf. also 2. 31. 2 (plague).

film-maker Alfred Hitchcock called the McGuffin.) But that is different because the essence of, say, a Sherlock Holmes story, to use a favourite de Jong example, is that the importance of the stray item *does* eventually get revealed.

It is reasonable to speak, where Thucydides is concerned, of a thing being put 'other than where we'd expect it' because Thucydides is by and large a linear or serial sort of writer. It would not be nearly so reasonable to complain about such dislocation in Herodotus, because *his* narrative is already structured in a much more complicated and richer way; see John Gould's brilliant 1989 book²⁷ for the complicated reciprocity network. That is, Herodotus is more like Proust, whose anachronies were studied by Genette.²⁸ Another way of making the point about linear and non-linear writers is to say that in this respect as in others, the *Odyssey* is like Herodotus and the more serial *Iliad* is like Thucydides. But Bal actually takes the first twenty lines or so of the *Iliad* to illustrate anachrony, of a rather stylized sort: the order of themes is DCBA compared to the real-life ABCD.²⁹

²⁷ Gould (1989).

²⁸ This was the feature of Proust's novel to which Evelyn Waugh took such exception: see Waugh (1980), 270 (letter of February? 1948 to John Betjeman): 'I am reading Proust for the first time. Very poor stuff. I think he was mentally defective. I remember how small I used to feel when people talked about him & I didn't dare admit I couldn't get through him. Well I can get through him now—in English of course—because I can read anything that isn't about politics. Well the chap was plain barmy. He never tells you the age of the hero and on one page he is being taken to the WC in the Champs Elysées by his nurse and the next page he is going to a brothel. Such a lot of nonsense...' And again at 273–4 (letter of a few days later, 16 March [1948] to Nancy Mitford, also about Proust: 'I... am surprised to find him a mental defective. No one warned me of that. He has absolutely no sense of time. He can't remember anyone's age...' etc. One can imagine Waugh's reaction if he could have known that precisely this feature of Proust would one day be hailed as an ultra-sophisticated narrative device. Compare Taylor (1990), 38–9, discussing the 'embarrassing incoherence of temporal sequence in *Othello*', and quoting the late 17th-cent. critic Thomas Rymer's complaint that Shakespeare cannot decide whether Act Three 'contains the compass of one day, of seven days, or of seven years, or of all together'. Taylor adds: 'modern criticism dignifies and neutralizes this impossibility by calling it a "double time-scheme".'

²⁹ For the *Iliad* as Thucydides and the *Odyssey* as Herodotus, see Griffin (1987), 99; but see CT I, 524. Barthes (1986), 129, calls Herodotus 'zigzag history'. It has to be said, however, that book 1 of Thucydides also zigzags a good deal; this helps to soften or conceal its anachronies, cf. n. 38 below. The other seven books are more linear, though there are sudden jumps forward like 2. 100 on Archelaos of Macedon (reigned 413–399), a remarkable prolepsis, given that the narrative has reached only the year

Let us return to narrative dislocation in Thucydides. I shall take a simple example from book 1 (1. 50).³⁰ The Athenians have decided, half a dozen chapters earlier, to send just ten ships to help the Kerkyraians (1. 44, cp. 45). That decision was taken at Assembly meeting no. 2. At meeting no. 1 they had actually inclined to favour the Corinthians. But the pro-Kerkyraian decision at no. 2 was the last decision we were told about, and we were also told that this modest commitment of forces was the result of a very punctilious desire not to break the Thirty Years Peace. So far so good. But in the ensuing battle narrative, we are suddenly confronted with a fresh Athenian squadron of twenty ships looming up over the horizon, which (Thucydides says) the Athenians had sent out in addition to the first ten, fearing that the ten would not be sufficient. Let us call this decision no. 3. This is very interesting, though as a piece of narrative construction it has not attracted attention from commentators: there is nothing whatsoever in Gomme. One of the interesting things is the implication that there had been another debate in the Assembly, a debate totally unrecorded by Thucydides, at which decision no. 3 was taken. It is inconceivable that some executive authority like the *boulē* or the *stratēgoi* (or Perikles alone, as Plutarch apparently thought) audaciously took the decision

429/8. On the opening of the *Iliad*, see Bal (1985), 54–5. But even Bal's analysis (DCBA) is too simple, because the narrative returns to D. For the principles which may govern such complexities of arrangement, see Fraenkel (1950), 119 f., on Aesch. Ag. line 205.

³⁰ In view of the importance of this example for my argument, I give the relevant Thucydidean passages in full, with translations: *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ οὐχ ἦσαν τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίοις ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζω (εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι) ξυμπλεῖν, ἐλύοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους σπονδαί), ἐπιμαχίαν δ' ἐποίησαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, εἰάν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἦν ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους (1. 44. 1).* 'The Athenians heard both sides, and they held two assemblies; in the first of them they were no less influenced by the arguments of the Corinthians, but in the second they changed their minds and inclined towards the Kerkyraians. They would not go so far as to make a full offensive and defensive alliance with them; for then, if the Kerkyraians had required them to join in an expedition against Corinth, the treaty with the Peloponnesians would have been broken. But they concluded a purely defensive alliance by which the two states promised to help each other if an attack were made on the territory or the allies of either.'

without the Assembly's authorization.³¹ Historically, I find this alternative totally unacceptable. Either way there are things we are not told.³²

προεῖπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίοις, ἢ μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν κατὰ δύναμιν. προεῖπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἔνεκα τὰς σπονδὰς (1. 45. 3). 'The commanders received orders not to fight the Corinthians unless they sailed against Kerkyra or to any place belonging to the Kerkyraians, and tried to land there, in which case they were to resist them to the best of their ability. These orders were intended to prevent a breach of the treaty.'

ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὥς καὶ ἐπεπαιάνιστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ Κορινθιοὶ ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλευούσας, ἃς ὕστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθῶν ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δείσαντες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ αἱ σφέτεροι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν ὧσιν (1. 50. 5). 'It was now late in the day and the paian had already been sounded for the attack, when the Corinthians suddenly began to back water. They had seen sailing towards them twenty ships which the Athenians had sent to reinforce the previous ten, fearing what actually happened, that the Kerkyraians would be defeated, and that the original squadron would be insufficient to protect them.' (Translations by Jowett, adapted.)

³¹ ML 61, 19 ff. (official accounts of the second squadron) rules out surreptitious explanations. I add a word about the slightly different accounts of (a) Plutarch (*Per.* 29. 1 and 3), who personalizes things (after a general admission that 'the people voted help') by saying 'Perikles sent' too small a force at first, out of malice towards Lakedaemonios, and then that he (third person singular again) stiffened this force later after criticism; and (b) Diodorus (12. 33. 2), who smooths over the awkwardness in his basically Thucydides-derived account by saying that the Athenians 'sent ten triremes and promised to send more later if necessary', thus facilitating his mention of the subsequent twenty ships a few lines later at para. 4. Even if these accounts preserve true and/or independent traditions (rather than merely being reworkings of Thucydides) they are irrelevant to the question of the presentation adopted by Thucydides, the earliest extant account.

³² In a helpful letter he sent me after the original delivery of this paper, David Lewis observed, 'as far as 1. 50. 5 is concerned, there is some preparation at 1. 44. 2, which asserts that attitudes to the Corcyrean situation have now moved to a new phase and doesn't encourage the belief that they are now trying to avoid war'. There is some force in this, though 'asserts... that attitudes have moved to a new phase' is a little too strong for the simple account—nothing about new thinking—in 44. 2 of Athenian worries and motives, viz. (i) they thought war was inevitable, (ii) they did not want Kerkyra's navy to fall into Corinth's hands, (iii) they wanted to embroil them more and more with each other, and (iv) they reasoned that Kerkyra was conveniently situated. In any case, note that (a) 44. 2 precedes 45. 1 with its emphatic statement (see n. 30) about Athens' wish to avoid a breach of the Thirty Years Peace, and (b) Lewis' point does not remove the main oddities I am concerned with, viz. the suppression of the third debate, which surely occurred, and the postponement, until a very different sort of narrative context, of any statement of the result of that debate. Flower (1992) now argues that Th. suppressed completely another Assembly debate, in 425. Cf. also, for 415, ML 78 comm.

To some extent, it must first be said, this is an attempt to get round the difficulty of what Don Fowler in a valuable article on Ekphrasis³³ has called linearization, where an author has to decide what order to present details in. Film-makers talk of the need to discard everything but the *spine* of a story when filming it. Some apparent anachronies in Thucydides are perhaps attempts to solve the linearization problem, like the important scene-switch signalled by 'interea Manlius' in Sallust's *Catiline*; though perhaps the better analogy, for the understanding of the Thucydides passage, is with the archaic use of *delay* as an effective narrative device.³⁴ At 1. 50 Thucydides was faced with a problem of presentation. Having got the Athenians to Kerkyra he was reluctant to go back to Athens to describe the assembly meeting at which decision no. 3 was taken. I now give two innocuous examples of events narrated, for reasons of linearization, out of natural sequence. (i) From book 3 we learn under the year 427 BC that Itamenes and his barbarians had occupied Notion in 430 BC, the time of the second Peloponnesian invasion of Attica. This event really belonged in book 2. (ii) In book 4 we are told in the middle of the main Megarian narrative that Brasidas happened to be in the region preparing a hitherto unheard-of expedition to Thrace: a 'flashback'.³⁵

By contrast, the effect of the dislocation at 1. 50 is profound. Thucydides here reveals only incidentally, and in a non-political context, that the Athenians had in fact trebled their commitment to Kerkyra. He thus leaves artfully undisturbed the impression, clearly stated at 1. 44–5, that the behaviour of the Athenians had been scrupulous

³³ Fowler (1991).

³⁴ On Sall. *Cat.* 28. 4, see Syme (1964), 79f. For archaic narrative use of delay, see above all Fraenkel (1950) app. A at 805, discussing Hdt. 1. 110–12: a significant detail is deliberately held back until the point in the story when it is most necessary and important. (This is not just an 'archaic' poetic device. In Tennyson's *Morte d'Arthur*, the narrative of Sir Bedevere's third visit to the lake, when he actually does throw the sword Excalibur in, suppresses the fact that he turned his eyes away when throwing. The fact is disclosed only later, in Sir Bedivere's report to King Arthur. This is more effective, if only because otherwise the poet might have had to repeat the item.) In technical language (see below) delay is a sort of analepsis. For anticipation (prolepsis), see below n. 38.

³⁵ Innocuous dislocation: 3. 34. 1 (Notion); 4. 70 (Brasidas). This second example is surprise technique with no obvious other motive for suppressing a previous decision. The explanation is delayed until ch. 79. With 1. 50 compare 4. 96. 8, arrival of the Lokrians (trivial but comparable).

throughout, i.e. they had been anxious not to break the Thirty Years Peace. I am not concerned now with the question, *did* the Athenians break the peace, but with the belligerency of their psychology: were their actions likely to lead to a breach of the peace? This, we may reasonably say, is manipulation of narrative to suit a political thesis. The thesis is that argued for by E. Badian in 1990:³⁶ Thucydides systematically understated Athenian aggressiveness in the run-up to the war. Once we start looking for other examples we soon find them. There are items in books 2, 3, and 4³⁷ which ought, in the narrative sense of ought, to have been mentioned in book 1 (I mean, that they belonged there chronologically), and would have had a different impact there. In fact they would have tended to put the pre-war behaviour of the Athenians in a more aggressive light, or the Spartans' behaviour in a more favourable one. The items are, the Akarnanian alliance left timeless or achronic in book 2; the refusal of the Spartans, at the beginning of book 3, to respond positively to the Mytilenean appeal which we are specifically told had been made well before the war broke out; and the foundation of Amphipolis referred back to in book 4, an event which from other evidence we can date to 437. But perhaps the most spectacular dislocation is the extraordinary treatment of a crucial incident in the *Pentekontaetia*. The incident is the Spartan decision in 440 to try to go to war with Athens over Samos,

³⁶ Badian (1993) [originally 1990], 141: Th. 'had to give up any full treatment of that notable incident (the Spartan decision about Samos) and decided to bring it in obliquely, from the perspective of the Corinthians'. Cf. 141–2: 'One of the most important decisions in the Pentekontaetia, which ought to have been central to the account of it on any reasonable assessment, had to be totally banished from it.'

³⁷ Malign anachronies: 2. 68 (Akarnania); 3. 2. 1 (Mytilene appeal); 4. 102 (foundation of Amphipolis); 1. 40. 5 (Samos). Another way of making my point would be to say that book 1 argues that the war was inevitable, whereas Sparta's behaviour over Mytilene showed that this was not quite true. So the rebuff to Mytilene is kept out of book 1 and Th. conceals the vulnerability of his book 1 thesis. I accept that *one* of Th.'s reasons for displacing his material from one context to another is to give the material greater explanatory power: Th. has an economical mind and uses things where they will do the most work. This does not, I think, dispose of 1. 44 and 50, but it may go some way to account for 1. 40. 5 (the Samos debate), and perhaps also (as Pelling suggests to me) for the fact, if it is a fact, that Th. gives a fuller exploration of the character of the Athenian empire in the Mytilenean context of book 3 than in book 1. But structural considerations are relevant to the latter example: book 1 was already very heavily freighted.

an action from which they were prevented by the Corinthians. We learn about this not from the *pentēkontaetia* narrative, where we will be thoroughly alert to such flashpoints in the history of the Athenian empire, but from a Corinthian speech much earlier in the book where the topics being discussed are different. The Corinthian reference is, in technical language, an external analepsis. That is, it looks back to an event not inside but outside Thucydides' own narrative. Compare the story of Odysseus' scar in *Odyssey* 19, or, from a speech, the Meleager story told by Phoinix in *Iliad* 9.³⁸ Almost all other analepses in Thucydides' speeches are either *internal* or they draw on Herodotus. I have discussed this last topic elsewhere.³⁹

Badian, with no particular interest in narratology, has shown (above, n. 36) how this distortion actually helps Thucydides' general picture of Spartan aggressiveness. He has argued that (1) there was a general autonomy clause in the Thirty Years Peace, (2) that it was in virtue of this clause that the Spartans were tempted to act, and (3) that Thucydides by dislocating the incident was able to report it less than fully and thus to suppress the autonomy aspect, which would have done the Spartans credit.

It may be objected that if Thucydides did not want to highlight an incident, he had the option of simply not mentioning it at all, whether in narrative or speech. There is no simple answer to this; it is not enough to insist that Thucydides was not a novelist and so could not take such liberties. That will not do, because he fails to mention other events which we think or know did happen, such as the peace of Kallias. My analysis takes Thucydides' treatment as we have it and seeks to identify and explain its peculiarities. In this regard I would insist once again (*CT* II, 133) on the singularity of the Samos item. It is

³⁸ 'External analepsis': Genette (1980), 49; and de Jong (1987), 85, cf. *Iliad* 9. 527 (Meleager) = external analepsis in speech; and *Odyssey* 19. 363 (Odysseus' scar) = external analepsis in narrative. Most of the Thucydidean dislocations which I discuss in the present section are analepses (references back), but for examples of prolepsis (anticipation), see n. 26 above; note that 1. 40 is in one sense an anticipation (events of 440 'really' belong in the *Pentēkontaetia* which at 1. 40 is still to come, see n. 29 above for book 1 as a zigzag), and in another and more straightforward sense, the sense I have adopted in my text, a reference back or analepsis: in 431, 440 lay in the past. For prolepsis in another historian, see *Ath. Pol.* 13: the post-Peisistratid *diapsephismos* or review of the citizen body is mentioned well in advance of its natural context.

³⁹ See *CT* II, 122–37 (and 19–38); cf. below, 121 f.

unique in being the only important past event which we are told about only in a Thucydidean speech.

A more radical objection would urge that Thucydides' displacement of the Spartan decision over Samos in 440 has the effect not of de-emphasizing but of emphasizing or highlighting the decision (cp. n. 26 for other examples of this). I would agree that the Corinthians' point has great rhetorical force where it is, and that to that extent the treatment is emphatic. But I would still maintain that a positioning later in the book, specifically somewhere in or at the end of the *pentēkontaetia*, would have highlighted the *legal* issue much more clearly, and drawn attention to a possible line of Spartan justification (cp. Badian in n. 36). In any case we should not forget the possibility that by putting the episode where he does, Thucydides is able to suppress the autonomy aspect altogether, an aspect which favoured Sparta.

Thucydides achieves an effect similar to that achieved by dislocation, through the use of what Bal calls iterative presentation. For instance, it is not until book 4 that we are told that the Athenian invasions of the Megarid took place *twice* yearly; the invasions themselves were mentioned as an *annual* event in book 2.⁴⁰ In book 2 we are in effect being told to bear the invasions in mind in the narrative which follows. Fair enough (there are other examples of this shorthand),⁴¹ but why did Thucydides not use the same economical device for the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica? In any case, why keep back until book 4 the very material point that the invasions were not just once but twice yearly? From the literary point of view this is perhaps an example of what (with reference to Homer, see n. 40) has been called a 'technique of increasing precision'. Historically, the effect is to reduce

⁴⁰ Iterative presentation: Bal (1985), 78; and see N. J. Richardson (1993), 358, on 24. 768–92. For Megara in Th., see 4. 66. 1, contrast 2. 31. 3. It may *also* be true that Th.'s reason for delaying the information that the invasions were twice yearly is the desire to place it where it will make most impact, cf. n. 34 above. But we should also compare Homer's 'technique of increasing precision', for which, see Taplin (1992), 198, and Hainsworth (1993), 144. In Th., 5. 43. 2 is more precise than 6. 89. 2 (Alkibiades' ancestor who renounced his proxeny is a mere ancestor in the second passage, but grandfather in the first). There are, however, special reasons for this; see *CT* II, 134: speeches (and 6. 89 is from one) are often less precise than narrative. See further n. 43 below.

⁴¹ See e.g. 2. 24. 1 (with *CT*); 2. 34. 7.

the impact of the Athenian invasions of the Megarid, and so perhaps to carry through the distortion already effected by the notoriously low profile he accords to the Megarian decrees. David Lewis has recently suggested that Thucydides 'was not all that interested in Megara and may not be a reliable guide'.⁴² (Cf. below, 142.) We can perhaps particularize a little further and say that Thucydides had an intermittent blind spot not just about the scale but perhaps also (since two invasions a year suggest greater commitment than one) the aggressiveness of Athenian designs on Megara. Or is the truth rather that Thucydides knew perfectly well, but wanted *us* not to know? (Or not to know all at once: it is after all Thucydides himself who eventually tells us that the invasions were twice yearly.) This question does not arise in quite the same way when we deal with narrative organization in a poem or a novel.

Another well-known instance of what we may call the Megara phenomenon is the postponement till book 6 of a candid authorial acknowledgement of the huge scale of the Athenian attack on Epidaurus, adverted to in book 2 but without comment. Again, Thucydides has masked Athenian aggression (or rather Athenian failure to stick to the Periklean defensive strategy) by a narrative device, although again we may wish *at the same time* to speak of 'increasing precision'. (Sometimes Thucydidean authorial judgements are attached, as here, not to the relevant slab of narrative but to some later incident. A striking case is the opinion that it was a mistake for Nikias to winter at Katana. The fact is given baldly and briefly in book 6, the judgement half way through 7!)

Similarly, the statement at the beginning of book 3 that the Athenians made cavalry forays 'as usual' is a way of playing down an Athenian tactic which meant that Athenian abandonment of Attica was less complete than Perikles had urged at the end of book 1.⁴³ Defending

⁴² Lewis, *CAH* 5², 388. But in the discussion after the original delivery of my paper, Lewis wondered whether Th.'s iterative handling of e.g. the 'Megara phenomenon' might have been his way of signalling that an initiative or policy did not come to anything. This does not seem to me satisfactory, because of such striking counter-examples as Sitalkes' invasion (*CT* I, introductory n. on 2. 95–101), not to mention the inconclusive but exhaustively documented Peloponnesian diplomacy in book 5.

⁴³ 6. 31. 2, contrast 2. 56 (Epidaurus); 6. 72 and 88 with 7. 42 (see n. 8 above); 3. 1. 2 (cavalry), with Spence (1990). At 1. 139. 1, the 'iterative' verb *φoιτῶντες* masks Spartan

Attica can hardly be called 'aggressive' behaviour; but the general effect of Thucydides' presentation is to make Athens seem more pacific and quietist than was really true.

Here I should like to digress briefly and ask whether Badian's view of Thucydides as systematically malicious and mendacious is plausible. In another paper, Badian represents the fifth-century Athenians as cynical treaty-breakers in their dealings with Macedon; this suggestion developed, in a different theatre of diplomacy, the thesis of his earlier and more general 1990 paper on the origins of the Peloponnesian War. In the discussion which followed Badian's second paper at its delivery in Oxford, David Lewis replied by quoting Nikias' implied complaint⁴⁴ that the Athenians were incapable of saying 'No' to anybody who asked for an alliance, and were constantly landing themselves with undesirable commitments as a result; Lewis suggested that the Athenians were often only vaguely aware of what their existing

readiness to negotiate, for which see Badian (1993), 157. (*Contrast* the same word at 4. 41. 4, combined with explicit criticism of Athens' greed. But by then Perikles was dead). I suppose one could say that 6. 31 and 7. 42 are examples of Th. delaying something until it is most relevant. The biggest example of this is the suppression of much Sicilian material until the beginning of book 6 (the beginning of the second 'pentad' of Th.'s work, on the theory of Rawlings (1981), cf. *Greek Historiography*, 16. Compare the postponement of a formal introduction of Sejanus until 4. 1, the beginning of the second half of the first 'hexad' of Tacitus' *Annals*). But since I have managed to give the impression to some reviewers of *CT* III that I accept the ten-book 'pentad' theory completely (rather than regarding it as an attractive but unprovable hypothesis), I repeat here the caution expressed at *Greek Historiography*, 16f.: book-numbers for such works appear to have been a fourth-century innovation, and Th. may have done no more than envisage a whole in two halves. (The eight-book division was not the only one known in antiquity, and does not certainly go back to Th. There was a thirteen-book edition: scholiast on 3. 116. 3.) Some Sicilian (or rather S. Italian) items are delayed very long indeed, e.g. 7. 33. 4–5, the Athenian alliances with Artas of Messapia and the Metapontines. These may date from as early as the 430s. Perhaps Th. is merely keeping them back until they are most relevant; or perhaps he wished to increase the sense that the whole expedition was a mad shot in the dark (see now *CT* III, 607 ff.). The more he revealed early in books 1 or 6 about antecedent Athenian diplomatic relations with Sicily and S. Italy, the more sensible the 415 expedition would appear. But this would take away from the tragic effect. On the implications for Th. of the recent claim that ML 37 (Athenian alliance with the Egestaia of W. Sicily) dates from 418/7 not 458/7 (Chambers and others (1990)), see *CT* III, 305 ff.

⁴⁴ Th. 6. 13. 2. Another possibility is that the Athenians were like Bismarck, and liked to 'scatter promises so that they would not have to keep them': Taylor (1954), 278. Badian's 'second paper' is now Badian (1993), 171–85.

treaty commitments were. We might say that the Badian view is a conspiracy theory of Athenian foreign policy, and the Lewis view is a cock-up theory. I should like to suggest a compromise. We can certainly admit that many voters in the Assembly would have hazy or non-existent notions of the up-to-date diplomatic position when they came to vote on a particular treaty. To this extent David Lewis is surely right. But we have to reckon with the existence of regional experts, like Diotimos who was a western expert (Euphemos at Th. 6. 75 may be another, if ML 37 dates to 418). For the north, the Assembly and Council would look to men like Hagnon or Thucydides himself, with his Thracian influence. If Athens *did* enter into inconsistent treaty arrangements, men like Diotimos, Hagnon, or Thucydides the *stratēgos* can reasonably be held to blame. So to that extent Badian is right. It is another matter whether Thucydides the historian was as manipulative as Badian thinks, but there are certainly some serious oddities as I have tried to suggest. And it is sinister that so many of the narrative tricks have the effect of diminishing Athenian duplicity or aggressiveness. I want to stress this. If the explanation was purely literary (i.e. to do with linearization), we would expect a more even distribution in terms of political implication, some oddities tending to favour Athens, some not. But, with one apparent exception, that does not seem to be so.⁴⁵

Agreed, not all suppression by means of iteration signifies politically; for instance there is Nikias' reference to his own 'other letters' in

⁴⁵ For Diotimos, see 1. 45. 2, *FGrHist* 566 Timaios F 98, and Lykophron, *Alexandra* 732–5; cf. *CT* I, 90 and III, 5. For ML 37, see above, n. 43. For Hagnon, see 2. 58. 1 (with *CT* I, 329) and 95. 3. See Badian (1993), 242 n. 18. The Spartans, says Th. under 414/13, came to think that they had been at fault in 431 (σφέτερον τὸ παρανόμημα μᾶλλον) because the Thebans had attacked Plataia in time of peace, and *they themselves had refused arbitration when offered*. His point is that the Spartan retrospective attitude towards 431 contrasted with their attitude to the current situation (winter 414/13) when they considered that Athens was the peace-breaker. But this is not a dislocation; it is a report of a new fact about the way the psychological situation had changed by 414. As Badian (1993) 143 put it, 'we are meant to see the Spartans as developing a conscience only when things begin to go wrong'. There is absolutely no doubt that Th. here has in mind not Spartan attitudes as they had been in 431 (that would indeed make 7. 18 to that extent an anachrony or delayed report) but as they developed many years later than 431. This is proved by his mention, at the end of 7. 18. 2, of Pylos (425) and other disasters. I labour this point but it is sometimes misunderstood. I would only add, by way of comment on or qualification to Badian, that 5. 32. 1 shows that Th. is impartial in that the Athenians have similarly intermittent consciences. (See now *CT* III, 574f. and below, Ch. 7.)

book 7, and there is the reference to other Spartan embassies to Persia in book 4.⁴⁶ These are, we may say, innocuous instances of iteration.

V. DEVICES FOR CREATING AUTHOR/READER INTERACTION

I now pass on to try to discuss the light thrown by narratology on the supposedly godlike objectivity or pseudo-objectivity of Thucydides. For de Jong in her book on Homer, the main target is the school of Homeric thought which holds that Homer is an objective narrator. (De Jong herself actually thinks Homer neither subjective nor objective but multiple.) We could profitably apply to Thucydides some of de Jong's detailed techniques for unmasking the complexities of epic narrative, and in particular for demonstrating that there is a concealed subjective personality behind apparently objective statements. There is, arguably, nothing new here except the word narratology. Longinus in *On the Sublime* had already noticed, ch. 26, that Homer 'gives a sense of urgency with the line "you would say that they were tireless..."'.⁴⁷ My problem as a historian is to ask whether it makes any difference that Thucydides is a historian not an epic poet or (to use a favourite example of the narratologists) Nick Carraway in Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*. There is no actual second person singular in Thucydides—I mean outside speeches—but there is some *implied* second person. I had to look up 1. 10, where he says in effect you would make wrong inferences about Athens and Sparta from their physical remains, before I could be quite sure that there is no second person there. Thucydides uses roundabout expressions like 'if somebody were to look', or 'I think there would be much disbelief'. And we can add the two (there are only two) authorial rhetorical questions in Thucydides. Contrast Herodotus' relatively free use of the second person: 'if *you* look into the matter, you will find that all

⁴⁶ Innocuous iteration: 7. 11. 1; 4. 50. 2, focalized through Artaxerxes. (Not malign: already prepared for at 1. 82. 1.)

⁴⁷ Longinus, *On the Sublime* 26, citing *Iliad* 15. 697. For other such second-person verbs in Homer (always singular, and always negative in form), see *Iliad* 4. 85 (γνοίης); 4. 429, 6. 697, and 17. 366 (φαίης); 4. 223 (ἴδοις). Cf. also 1. 397f.; 4. 539; 13. 127.

Persian names without exception end in “S” ...; and ‘you will not be able to sleep with a Babylonian temple-prostitute after she has once gone with a man, however much you pay her’. And there are other passages where Herodotus comes very close to addressing his readers or hearers direct, although the second person remains implicit: ‘I shall now say something which will come as a great surprise to those of the Greeks who didn’t accept what I said [in book 3] about a Persian advocating democracy.’ Here ‘those of the Greeks’ is close to ‘those of you Greeks’, but the person is third. So too with the final sentence of Xenophon’s *Hellenika*: ‘that’s as far as I go, somebody else can worry about the sequel’.⁴⁸

Let us look at some particular devices. First, the ‘self-conscious narrator’.⁴⁹ One way in which a narrator can inspire belief in categorically uttered proposition *p* is by at the same time expressing diffidence about proposition *q*. So in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus, who is pretending to Penelope to be a Cretan, says with artful diffidence, ‘I don’t know if Odysseus had the brooch when you knew him (οἰκόθι)’; that is, ‘my clinching piece of evidence may (I pretend to think) cut no ice with you at all’—a brilliant piece of bluff. Tom Stinton discussed something like this a number of years ago in his article ‘*Si credere dignum est*’, citing Herodotus on Rhampsinitus, ‘I personally don’t believe the king put his daughter in a brothel’, a way of encouraging belief in the incredible things which have preceded.⁵⁰ I have found an

⁴⁸ Second person in Hdt.: see Lateiner (1989), 30–1 (an excellent discussion), on e.g. 1. 139, 199. 4; and add 2. 30. 1, and *φέρε* (‘come, now, well’: LSJ⁹ A. IX. 1) at 2. 14. 1, 105. 1. Christopher Pelling interestingly suggests to me that such personal Herodotean interventions are more common in explicitly ‘ethnographic’ contexts. For rhetorical questions (to the reader or hearer) in Hdt., see Lateiner (1989), 64, noting that most of them are in the Egyptian book 2; this fits Pelling’s observation. See also the valuable remarks of Lang (1984), 39–41. Implied second person in Hdt.: 6. 43. 3. Implied second person in Th.: 1. 10. 2, 21. 2, and 22. 4 (where even the famous *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ*, ‘possession for ever’, perhaps suggests ‘you will possess it for ever’). ‘Cross-referencing’ falls into this category: see Th. 5. 1 and 6. 94. 1 with *CT* II, 422 f., III, 520, and *Greek Historiography*, 17 n. 30. Rhetorical questions in Th.: 7. 44. 1 and 8. 96. 2. End of *Xen. Hell.*: 7. 5. 27. For Tacitus’ (rare) addresses to his audience, see Shotter (1989) on 4. 11. 5.

⁴⁹ For the ‘self-conscious narrator’, see Booth (1983), 205 with n. 28, and ch. 8 generally; de Jong (1987), 46.

⁵⁰ Stinton (1976) [= (1990), 236–64], esp. 61 on Hdt. 2. 121. For Odysseus and the brooch, see *Odyssey* 19. 237 with Rutherford (1992). Tacitus’ reservations at *Annals*

entertaining footnote example in a modern historian: Braudel, *Mediterranean World*, ‘I have mislaid the precise reference’; this remark, which only a Braudel could get away with, nicely contrasts with and encourages respect for the massive documentation in the other thousands of footnotes.⁵¹ In a way, Homer uses this device in a famous first-person-singular pronouncement, when he says in the *Catalogue of Ships*, ‘as for the rank and file that came to Ilium, I could not name or even count them, not if I had ten tongues’ etc. ‘But here are the captains of the fleet and here are the ships from first to last. First the Boiotians, with Peneleos’ etc.⁵² Herodotus’ statement, that ‘to list all the captains of the Persian side is not necessary for the *logos* of my inquiry’, performs something of the same function when attached to the very circumstantial list which follows.

With all this compare Thucydides 3. 87: the number of cavalry who died from the plague was 300, the number of hoplites was 4,400, but the number of the other ranks could not be ascertained. Here Thucydides does not invoke the Muses, but the effect of saying ‘thetic losses could not be ascertained’ is surely to strengthen our disposition to believe that very circumstantial 4,400 for the hoplites. There is a parallel in Herodotus. He is talking about the massacre of the Tarentines by the Messapians. Their allies, the men of Rhegion, lost 3,000 men, but as for the Tarentines the number was too big to count, οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμός. This expression not only reinforces the chillingness of this greatest of Greek massacres, but adds credence to the preceding 3,000. Returning to Thucydides, the word ἀνεξεύρετος is passive in form, it was not able to be found out about. But the effect is to take the reader into Thucydides’ confidence, i.e. *you* could not find out and *you* could not expect *me* to do so either.⁵³ It is important incidentally

4. 10–11 are comparable in a general sort of way. Part of the humour of the penultimate scene (Act 5, scene 2) of Sheridan’s *School for Scandal* derives from this special sort of circumstantiality. The (wholly made up) story of the duel between Sir Peter Teazle and Charles Surface is narrated in absurd detail, but note the pseudo-caution of e.g. ‘Sir Peter forced Charles to take one [of the pair of pistols] and they fired *it seems, pretty nearly together*’ [my italics].⁵¹ Braudel (1972), 1. 171 n. 4.

⁵² Self-conscious avoidance of numerical precision: Homer, *Iliad* 2. 488 ff. (But see Kirk (1985), 167: the poet is also saying that he *can* recall the detail if the Muses help.)

⁵³ Hdt. 7. 96. 1; Th. 3. 87. 3 (cf. 4. 101. 2); Hdt. 7. 170. 3 (Tarentine massacre). Other artful Herodotean combinations of precision and hesitation are the famous 1. 1. 3 (‘on the fifth or sixth day’—said about the mythical abduction of Io!), cf. 1. 30. 1; 3. 42. 1.

to realize that it now seems agreed⁵⁴ that there was no hoplite *katalogos* or register, so the historical fact is that Thucydides' evidence for the figure 4,400 may not have been as good as Gomme, for example, supposed. His note on the passage⁵⁵ confined itself to the *katalogos* issue and he simply observes, in effect paraphrasing Thucydides, that there was no muster of the *thetes* etc.

A final example: the death of Lamachos comes as a shock, like the death of Petya Rostov in *War and Peace*. Its stark specificity is I suggest highlighted by the indeterminacy which follows, 'five or six others were killed with him'.⁵⁶

In this connection (indeterminacy) I would emphasize just how rare in Thucydides are such statements of doubt or ignorance, or statements of alternative versions like the Theban–Plataian discrepancy I mentioned earlier, and we can add from book 1 the two-pronged statement that Themistocles died of illness or some say he took poison, λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν. The flavour in this section is anyway Herodotean. As for expressions of uncertainty or conjecture, phrases like δοκεῖ δέ μοι naturally proliferate in the *Archaeology*, and several are found in the unfinished book 8, e.g. a doubt about the whereabouts of the Phoenician fleet. Elsewhere they are few: a famous piece of diffidence in book 5 about the Spartan numbers at Mantinea and one in book 7 where he says that the night made the battle at Epipolai hard to be sure about.⁵⁷

Before I leave this point, let me note another much used or abused numeral in Thucydides. In book 7 he says that 'more than 20,000' slaves deserted from Attica after the Spartans fortified Dekeleia, and

See Lateiner (1989), 32–3, partly drawing on unpublished work by Rubincam (cf. below, n. 58).

⁵⁴ Hansen (1986), 83–9 = App. V, 'The So-called Hoplite *Katalogos*'; Andrewes (1981). ⁵⁵ Gomme, *HCT* 2. 388.

⁵⁶ Lamachos' death: 6. 101, cf. Tolstoy (1957), 1252.

⁵⁷ Rarity of expressions of doubt or uncertainty in Th.: 1. 138. 4 (death of Themistocles); 8. 87. 3 (whereabouts of Phoenician fleet, with *CT* III, 1005 f.); 5. 68. 2 (battle of Mantinea); 7. 44. 1 (Epipolai; cf. perhaps *Iliad* 12. 176, with *Greek Historiography*, 67); cf. Woodman (1988), 16 f. Add 6. 60. 2 and 7. 87. 4 (and 86. 5 is also relevant). Note however the suggestion of Packman (1991), 410–11: sometimes Th. projects his own disbelief on to the reader or on to one of his characters. Cf. Pelling (1989), 40 on Plutarchan 'characterisation by reaction'. The most famous admission of difficulty in Th. is at 1. 22, the chapter on method, a rather special case. Th.'s use of οὐ τοσούτον, 'not so much', has some bearing on the question of alternative versions: see below. 4. 122. 6 is a rare and emphatic adjudication between claims.

they lost all their cattle. Where on earth did Thucydides get this figure (which is regularly cited in books on ancient slavery as one of the few hard quantitative bits of data that we have)? For my present purpose I note merely the rhetorical effect of saying not 'about 20,000 slaves' but the more precise-sounding 'more than'.⁵⁸

VI. PRESENTATION THROUGH NEGATION

There are other, less obvious, rhetorical devices for producing an emotionally and intellectually satisfying interaction between narrator and narratee. Let me turn to presentation through negation, as de Jong calls it. This is a way in which the poet, under the guise of making an objective statement of fact, actually engages in a sort of dialogue with the listener's expectations. De Jong's examples from the *Iliad* are 'Agamemnon did not stop fighting' (understand 'although you'd have expected him to because he was wounded'); or 'Patroclus did not take Achilles' spear'. Admittedly, some Homeric negatives are not much more than ways of singling out the one thing which *will* be talked about, such as the opening of *Iliad* 2: 'all the other gods were asleep, but not Zeus...' Nevertheless, de Jong has surely identified an important narrative device.⁵⁹

Presentation through negation is certainly to be found in Thucydides, from the second chapter of the whole work (Greece in very early times 'not regularly settled', οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη; the implication is perhaps, 'not as you would expect if you merely read back present conditions into the past'). Further on in book 1, Thucydides describes

⁵⁸ 7. 27. 5, taken very seriously by e.g. Jones (1960), 4, cf. Westermann (1960), 86–8; Garlan (1988), 66. On this passage, and on numerals in Th. generally, see Rubincam (1979)—a valuable article—esp. 85 on Th. 7. 27. On that passage in particular see the interesting Rubincam-influenced study, Hanson (1992), a good stab at reconciling his beliefs that (1) Th. here operated with numerals in a rhetorical way, and (2) that he did make some sort of genuine calculation. (See now *CT* III, 591). Similar problems are posed by 2. 70. 2 and 7. 48. 4: 2000 talents begins to look like a conventional Thucydidean figure in siege contexts; but *ML* 55 = Fornara 113 shows that the order of magnitude is about right.

⁵⁹ Presentation through negation: de Jong (1987), 61–8, citing *Iliad* 11. 255 and 16. 140. Negatives which single out what will be talked about: *Iliad* 2. 1 ff., cf. 11. 1 ff.; note also 9. 29 ff., cf. 9. 693 ff.: 'all were silent except...'; 11. 717, 'my father would not let me fight, but...'; and even 1. 22–4.

the situation at the beginning of the First Peloponnesian War, when Athens was laying siege to Aigina. The Corinthians, as a diversionary tactic, sent an expeditionary force into the Megarid, thinking that the Athenians would be unable to deal with both situations and would have to withdraw their force from Aigina; note as usual the inferred motivation. But the Athenians, says Thucydides, did not move their army away from Aigina, but sent out their oldest and youngest to Megara under Myronides. Here the force of the words 'they did not move their army' is comparable to 'Agamemnon did not stop fighting.' The expression, however, is (it may be objected) perfectly natural after νομίζοντες etc., that is, after the statement that the Corinthians were hoping in effect that the Athenians would move their army. But as we saw, that statement of hope is itself merely a Thucydidean inference from the fact that the Corinthians had invaded the Megarid.

Another possible reply might go like this, a reply which draws on the difference between the subject-matter of poetry and the facts in which the historian deals. It can be objected that the statement about what the Athenians did *not* do differs from the statement about Agamemnon because Thucydides' report is a telescoped way of saying the following. There was a debate in the Athenian Assembly. Some people said, 'Let's bring the army back from Aigina.' Others said, 'No, don't let's move it, let's leave it where it is and send out the oldest and youngest to Megara under Myronides.' This second view, as a matter of historical fact, prevailed. All Thucydides has done is abbreviate drastically (we are after all in the very skeletal *Pentēkontaetia* narrative). Similarly, and more explicitly, book 8 opens with an account of Athenian gloom at the Sicilian Disaster, and Thucydides tells us 'they decided they must not give in, but instead...'. Here too it is possible that there really was a defeatist element which favoured an accommodation with Sparta, and Thucydides is telling us about it in abbreviated style. (Or is he telling us that surrender might be expected of an ordinary *polis*, but Athens was special?) The Homer passages can't plausibly be unpacked in quite the same way; it seems far-fetched to argue that Homer meant that Agamemnon wondered 'shall I stop fighting?' and decided 'No, certainly not'.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ 1. 1. 1; 1. 105; 8. 1. 3. Note also 1. 90. 5, Themistokles did not present himself to the Spartan magistrates [as you would expect under normal circumstances]; and 3. 50. 2,

In any case, the passage from Thucydides book 1 is a simple example of Thucydides taking his readers aside and establishing his own credentials: you and I know, as sensible strategists, that the expected thing would be to move back the army, and so on; or perhaps this is again a way of saying that Athens was special: if it were any *other* city you would expect the main army to have been recalled in such a crisis. In any case, the denouement has already been cleverly set up in advance. That is, the statement 'they did not move their army' is made to look innocently factual by another narrative technique, that of inferred motivation—I refer to the statement about what the Corinthians were hoping for. Thucydides' access in all this was in fact very restricted, but the effect is that of a dry military report.

Now take a similar but more complicated instance, from book 3.⁶¹ The Athenians realized that the Peloponnesian preparations described in the previous chapter were the result of a calculation (*κατάγνωσιν*, a word implying some contempt) of Athenian weakness. The Athenians therefore wanted to show that the Peloponnesians' decision, or judgement, was wrong, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκασιν, and that they, the Athenians, were able, *without moving the fleet from Lesbos*, to repel the danger

Athens did not [as you might expect] impose tribute on Mytilene after its revolt. At 1. 18. 1, Sparta 'did not have a tyrant' (lit. 'was untyranted') implies expectations derived from more normal places (at least, normal in Th.'s view; see CT I, 42, on 1. 13. 1). Again, the statement at 2. 65. 8 that Perikles did *not* take bribes (*χρημάτων τε διαφανὸς ἀδωρότατος*) perhaps suggests the cynical contrary expectation ('as you might expect from a politician'); or it may be polemical (Plut. *Per.* 32 shows that financial accusations were current against Perikles); or there may, as my pupil Kate Emmett suggested to me, be an implied contrast with Kleon. Note in any case that the phrase picks up Perikles' own claim at 2. 6. 6, where the language is less obviously negative (*χρημάτων κρείσσων*, 'superior to [the temptations of] money'). At 2. 39 (the Funeral Oration), Perikles' negatives or implied negatives mean 'unlike the Spartans'. Note also the nice piece of negative presentation at 8. 73. 3: Hyperbolos was *not* ostracized because of his power and influence. Does this imply (wrongly) that this was the usual reason for ostracism? (See now CT III, 969). Or is it rather just a strong condemnation of H.?

⁶¹ 3. 16. 1. Again and for the same reason (see n. 30 above) I give the Greek in full, with translation: αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφάν παρασκευαζομένους, δηλώσαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκασιν ἀλλ' οἱ τε εἰσι μὴ κινούντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ ῥαδίῳ ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐπλήρωσαν ναὺς ἑκατόν.... The Athenians realized that the activity of the Spartans was due to a conviction of Athenian weakness. So they decided to show them that they were mistaken, and to prove that, without moving their fleet from Lesbos, they were fully able to deal with this new force which threatened them from the Peloponnese. So they manned a hundred ships.' (Translation again by Jowett, adapted.)

from the Peloponnese. This is very neatly done by Thucydides. The Greek for 'without moving their fleet' is *μὴ κινούμεντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικόν*. Again, I suggest, the implied aside to the reader is 'without moving their fleet as you'd expect'. But this time the Athenians are the focalizers, and the negative 'without moving', *μὴ κινούμεντες*, with its implied 'as you would expect', does double duty. Partly, it repeats the exchange with the Thucydidean reader which was a feature of the book 1 passage (you and I, says Thucydides, would expect this). This is after all narrative, not speech. But more noticeably this time it describes what the Athenians thought the Peloponnesians expected (we do after all have *μή* not *οὐ*, perhaps because the negative is subjective not objective in sense, or more likely because the whole expression is a sort of conditional, 'even if they didn't move...', 'without moving...'). Or rather, the negative gives what Thucydides thought the Athenians thought the Peloponnesians expected. The focalization here is very complex. Compare, from *Iliad* 6, the statement that Hektor did not find Andromache at home: as Hektor expected, and, surely, as the audience would expect. And, we may add, as Helen just now *was*: the special anxiety of Andromache is thus brought out.⁶²

These Thucydidean examples are admittedly not as emphatic as the Homeric ones. Here is an example where emphasis *does* seem to be conferred by a comparable phrase, one pointed out to me by Christopher Pelling. In book 8 (the account of the oligarchic revolution of 411), the commissioners, *ἐνυγγραφεῖς*, proposed nothing else, *ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν*, but just this, *αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο*. This is an emphatic way of saying 'you might have expected something else', probably, 'they held back their specific proposals'. (Andrewes compares a fragment of Theopompus.) The alternative explanation, rejected by Andrewes in his note on the passage, is that the negative is polemic against somebody or other.⁶³

That brings me to a very intriguing negative usage: 5. 70, the Spartans march to the sound of flutes 'not for religious reasons but to keep

⁶² *Iliad* 6. 371 (Andromache not at home), contrast 6. 323 ff. (Helen at home.)

⁶³ 8. 67. 2 (the *ἐνυγγραφεῖς*); Andrewes cites *FGrHist* 115 F 347b, 'where a similar phrase implies "not as you might expect"'. However, David Lewis remarks to me (n. 32 above) that *ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν* 'surely only records that they didn't make the proposals they were asked to make in 67. 1'. But his view and mine are not incompatible. Other examples: 1. 139. 3; 2. 51. 1 (which actually includes a reference to what was usual or ordinary, i.e. what you might expect), 2. 78. 4; 4. 14. 3; 6. 41. 1; 7.75. 5; 7. 77. 5.

in step'. This is oddly emphatically put. At first sight this *does* sound like explicit polemic, something surely peculiar to historians as opposed to novelists (though I suppose Jane Austen's celebrated exclamation in *Mansfield Park*, 'let other pens dwell on guilt and misery', is a kind of light-hearted polemic against other more lurid novelists. Or there are Fielding's remarks in *Tom Jones* about reptile critics. And poets are capable of being polemical, a point to which I shall return later.) At Thucydides 5. 70 we look at the Spartan sections of Herodotus to see if it is he who is being got at over these mysterious flutes. But he is not. Of course, there were plenty of fifth-century writers other than Herodotus and one of them, lost to us, may be the target. This possibility is perhaps weakened by Aulus Gellius 1. 11, his only quotation of Thucydides, and a paraphrase of this very passage. Gellius *doesn't* show awareness that the issue was part of a debate between the historians of antiquity. But as Holford-Strevens says, Aulus Gellius mentions very few Greek historians anyway. Again, I suggest, we should consider the possibility that the apparently objective and categorical statement 'not for religious reasons' conceals a more subjective and rhetorical apostrophization of the reader. 'Not, as you might think, for religious reasons.'⁶⁴

There is incidentally no 'pathetic apostrophe' in Thucydides of the kind frequently found in *Aeneid* 10. Compare, from the *Iliad*, Homer's narrative interjection, 'the blessed gods did not forget you, Menelaos', or the authorial vocatives used towards other favourites of the poet, like Patroklos in the *Iliad* and Eumaios in the *Odyssey*.⁶⁵ Historians generally do not have it unless we are to count the vocative near the

⁶⁴ The flutes: 5. 70 with 29 above and CT III, 186; Aulus Gellius 1. 11; Holford-Strevens (1988), 181 f. Note, by way of contrast, some other 'negative flutes' (as we may call them) at Hdt. 1. 132. 1: the Persians do not play flutes at their sacrifices, or use altars, or fire, etc. Here the negatives are (cf. the last words of 131. 1) a shorthand way of saying that in these respects Persian sacrifice is unlike Greek; see Burkert (1990), 14 and 20; also J. Gould in *Greek Historiography*, 98. Finally, there is an interesting piece of 'presentation through negation in Xenophon's *Hellenika*, 5. 4. 64: Timotheos (on Kerkyra) *did not* change the existing laws. Here the negatives are, as Cawkwell (1979) 298 (asterisked n. on the Xen. passage) suggests, an oblique way of drawing a contrast with a 'future' event, Chares' famously disastrous expedition of 361/0, Diod. 15. 95. 3 and Aen. Tact. 11. 13, with Whitehead (1990), 133.

⁶⁵ Pathetic apostrophe: Homer, *Iliad* 4. 127 (Menelaos) or *Odyssey* 14. 55, 17. 272, etc. (Eumaios), with Parry (1989), 300–26, Kirk (1985), 343 on *Iliad*, 4. 127; and Russo in Russo and others (1992), 33, on *Odyssey*, 17. 272; Taplin (1992), 169 n. 28; Harrison

end of Tacitus' *Agricola*, 'tu vero felix Agricola'.⁶⁶ Returning to negatives in Thucydides, another puzzle is the notoriously awkward one at 1. 125. After the Spartan war vote 'not a year elapsed but slightly less' before the war broke out. This may be polemical against lost authors who said that a full year did elapse; or Thucydides may be stressing the relative rapidity of Sparta's mobilization and therefore culpability. But it can hardly mean 'the period of diplomatic to-ing and fro-ing which now elapsed was not, as you might think, a year'.⁶⁷

A related mannerism οὐ τοσοῦτον, 'not so much' *x* as *y*, is however specifically and characteristically Thucydidean; and may similarly *both* negate an expectation *and* signal a disagreement with a received view. An example of the second is from the *Archaeology*: it was not so much the oaths of Tyndareus as Agamemnon's power which led to the Trojan expedition. (This device has a further function: it enables Thucydides to mention a second view, economically, in addition to his main one. So the 'not so much' formula can sometimes represent an exception to Thucydides' avoidance of alternative versions, for which see n. 57.) For a very singular instance of a negated expectation see, from Perikles' obituary, the authorial judgement that the Sicilian Expedition failed, not so much because of bad judgement—as you might think from reading my books 6 and 7 which you haven't got to yet—as because it was marred in the execution.⁶⁸

A final sort of negation, implied this time, is the use of 'instead of', ἀντὶ. Thucydides certainly uses this device: he says of the defeated Athenians in Sicily that instead of doing some enslaving as they (and

(1991), 98, on Virgil, *Aeneid* 10. 139. Homer uses apostrophe towards, but not quite exclusively towards, the three 'favourites' mentioned in my text. (Melanippos son of Hiketaon, a very minor character, is apostrophized at *Iliad* 15. 582, see Parry (1989), 311.) See also Martin (1989), 235 f. and now Morrison (2007), 91–2.

⁶⁶ Tac. *Agric.* 45. 3.

⁶⁷ 'Not a full year, but less': 1. 125. 2. I suppose the interpretation I rule out in the text ('not, as you might think, a year') might work if the whole chapter could be taken as a basic decision to delay, in which case Th. is drawing attention to the relative speed with which war broke out. But things are not so simple, because the chapter also contains the explicit words that they decided (to make proper preparations but) *not* to have any delay, μέλλειν! See CT I, 238.

⁶⁸ For 'not so much' see Westlake (1969), 161–7; Thucydidean instances: 1. 9. 1; 2. 65. 11. The latter instance might also carry the suggestion 'as you might think from noting Athens' tendency to recklessness, which my History contains so much about'.

the reader?) had expected, they were themselves at risk of enslavement. With this compare, from the *Odyssey*, Telemachos' jeer at Ktesippos—instead of a marriage feast your father would be getting ready a funeral.⁶⁹

VII. 'IF ... NOT' PRESENTATION: COUNTERFACTUALS

I pass now to the use of 'if ... not', which de Jong calls another example of interaction between narrator and narratee, and a 'congenial feature of story-telling'. She cites, from *Iliad* 3, 'Paris would have choked on his shoulder strap and Menelaus would have pulled him in, *had not* Aphrodite the daughter of Zeus broken the strap'.⁷⁰ There are numerous examples of such counterfactuals in Thucydides, such as 1. 101. 2: the Spartans at the time of the Thasos episode promised to invade Attica and they would have done so (or they intended to do so), καὶ ἐμελλον, but they were prevented by the earthquake. But the most celebrated examples are two practically identical phrases from books 3 and 7, about the peril of Mytilene (book 3) and the arrival of Gylippos (book 7): so close did Mytilene/Syracuse come to fatal danger, παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον κινδύνου. These are in effect highly rhetorical uses of the epic 'if ... not' formula. That is, Thucydides is

⁶⁹ For 'instead of *x*, *y*' in Th., see 7. 75. 7 (and 4. 62. 3 is comparable, though from a speech; note also 7. 11. 4, from Nikias' letter); cf. *Odyssey* 20. 307. See now CT II, 226 (on 4. 62. 3).

⁷⁰ 'If ... not' expressions: de Jong (1987), 68–81, esp. 70 on *Iliad* 3. 373 ff. See however Nesselrath (1992), ch. 1, esp. 8–9, doubting whether de Jong's account of the purpose of the 'if ... not' passages in the *Iliad* ('to confirm Homer's status as a reliable presentator', de Jong 81) does justice to the whole range of instances, of which he says there are 46 rather than de Jong's 33. The poet, Nesselrath suggests (9 n. 10) wants us to be aware of the whole range of fascinating possibilities. The whole *Iliad* can be seen as one giant 'if ... not', an episode in the Trojan War which could have produced a totally different outcome to that war: Nesselrath, 27. This is an extension not a refutation of de Jong. See also Lang (1989). Tod no. 116 (R/O no. 19, 386 BC) has a good 'if ... not': 'if the generals had believed him (Phanokritos of Parion, the honorand), the enemy triremes would have been captured', in other words, 'if they had *not* disregarded his information as they actually did ...'.

saying that the two places would have fallen had it not been for the arrival of the second trireme and Gylippos respectively. The rhetoric is surely enhanced by the repetition, though oddly neither Gomme in book 3 nor Dover in book 7 comments on either passage in any way at all, let alone refers the reader to the parallel.⁷¹ But in justice to Dover he has (not in the commentary) provided an excellent discussion of counterfactuals in Thucydides,⁷² singling out 8. 96, the possible consequences of the recent defection of Euboia. In his use of *this* device (I mean 'if...not') Thucydides surely differs not at all from the poets and novelists.

VIII. DENOMINATION (ATTRIBUTIVE DISCOURSE)

Then there are evaluative and affective words. We have looked at one example already, ἀλλόκοτον in the description of the second trireme sent to Mytilene. Another interesting and for the historian very important case is from book 4, the Pylos/Sphakteria episode. Here the Spartans are said to make a formal protest against the injustice of the unreasonable Athenian attitude to the petty Spartan infringements of the truce made a little earlier. Thucydides' phrase for 'protesting against injustice' is ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες. But who is the focalizer here, Thucydides or the Spartans? Or to put it traditionally, is Thucydides endorsing the Spartan view that the Athenians were in the wrong? The Greek incidentally picks up another equally ambiguous phrase a couple of lines earlier, the Athenians pleaded various trivial-seeming infractions of the truce, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι.⁷³ To whom did they seem trivial, Thucydides or the Spartans? The word here is δοκῶ

⁷¹ Thucydidean examples: 1. 101. 2 (Thasos and earthquake): 'so close did they come to destruction'; 3. 49. 4 and 7. 2. 4 with CT I, 440 and III, 546 f. (the latter passage is more important because it is a way of saying that the Athenian expedition nearly succeeded). See Pelling (1989), 237, on Plut. *Ant.* ch. 48.

⁷² Dover (1988) 74, discussing 8. 96: Euboia (see above, Introduction). Cf. Pelling (1989) on Plut. *Ant.* 50. 4. Other relevant Thucydidean texts are 2. 18. 4, 1. 9. 5, and perhaps 1. 11. 2 ('the Greeks would have taken Troy earlier if...').

⁷³ Evaluative and affective words: Griffin (1986), esp. 47; de Jong (1987), 136–46. Thucydidean examples: 3. 49. 4, cf. n. 19 above; 4. 23. 1 (Pylos/Sphakteria 'injustices'

which *only* takes the infinitive so the infinitive is no help, contrast φαίνομαι (I was taught at school φαίνομαι ὦν quod sum, quod non sum φαίνομαι εἶναι). I think we have to accept that Thucydides has left the issue suspended, but I also think the heavy concentration of evaluative or affective language ('trivial', 'injustice') leaves in our minds a bad impression of Athens. Or rather, of Kleon, because Thucydides' spite has here got the better of his patriotism. Incidentally we should not mind leaving such issues suspended. There are other places where Thucydides has, I think, left his meaning deliberately fluid or unstable. Adam Parry argued for this instability in an article on the translation of the phrase κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως at 2. 65—Perikles 'restrained the people freely'. Does this mean he led them in a liberal way or that he led them like free men? Parry says in effect that translation has its limits and that both meanings are simultaneously there.⁷⁴

Evaluative words like ἀλλόκοτον and ἀδίκημα take us into another and very interesting area, which has been called attributive discourse or denomination. The classic example⁷⁵ is from Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. It has been shown that the heroine is variously referred to as Emma, Madame Bovary, the young woman, etc. depending on the rhetorical needs of the situation. So too Homer, and the Euripidean messengers. The Euripidean *tour de force*, according to de Jong, is the messenger in the *Ion* who comes up with a new description of one character every time he mentions him. But de Jong shows⁷⁶ that it is not always easy to see why the variations occur; I would suggest

etc.). On the latter instance, Pelling comments to me, 'I'd have thought that δοκοῦντα grammatically must be dependent on the main verb ἀπεδίδσαν for its tense, i.e. "seemed οὐκ ἀξιόλογα" at the time. That of course does not exclude an atmosphere of Thucydidean dismissiveness...'. Th.'s whole expression for 'protesting against injustice' etc. is relevant: ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸ τῶν νεῶν. The definite article means 'the injustice, the one (we all know about) concerning the ships'. That is, Th. here subscribed to the view that the injustice was real. (This is more plausible than 'bringing as a charge the affair concerning the ships, and calling it an injustice'.)

⁷⁴ On ἐλευθέρως at 2. 65. 8, see Parry (1989), 143–7.

⁷⁵ Attributive discourse/denomination: de Jong (1987), 94ff. See also de Jong (1993), discussing the significant use of nouns like 'wife', 'king', 'husband' to describe the central figure in the *Odyssey*.

⁷⁶ De Jong (1991), 102, on *Eur. Ion* 1122ff. See also Pelling (1989) on Plut. *Ant.* 25. 3 for the kind of context in which Kleopatra is called 'the Egyptian woman'. The devices I discuss in this whole section are what Taplin (1992), 52, aptly calls 'colouring' devices.

metrical convenience if I did not know how unpopular this explanation is with literary scholars. Another equally shameful explanation is simple *variatio*. A frivolous example comes to mind here. About the time I was writing this paper, Robert Maxwell died mysteriously. I heard one radio broadcast which began by saying that the final inquest on Mr Robert Maxwell had just taken place. It went on a bit later to say, 'It is still not clear whether *the publisher* had already had a heart attack before his body hit the water.' The words 'the publisher' here are surely rather ludicrous, he hardly fell into the water in his capacity as a publisher. One can think of better ways of effecting the *variatio*—for instance 'it is still not clear whether the *overweight 67-year-old* had already had a heart attack', etc.

This kind of attributive discourse or denomination is certainly a feature of Thucydidean narrative, though it must be said that on the whole he sticks to proper names or ethnic descriptions without a lot of variation or circumlocution. One interesting exception however is the use of 'Spartiates' in the Pausanias excursus in book 1, to refer not to full Spartan citizens but to the larger decision-making group whom Thucydides normally calls Lakedaimonians. Here Westlake has suggested a written source, and if that is right we have here an explanation which is not available for such variations in poets. It is true that Pindar and Aeschylus echo Homer, a topic recently explored by Gregory Nagy, so Homer is a kind of source for other poets. But such echoes are surely more self-conscious. Returning to Spartiates (properly so-called) in Thucydides, denomination varies here too, not every full Spartiate always getting called that. There is in fact a rhetorical aspect to *this* change in denomination if Andrewes was right in the final volume of the *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* to say that Thucydides slightly prefers 'Spartiate' to 'Lakedaimonian' in first introductions; perhaps because the word is heavier and more portentous.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Spartiates: Westlake (1969), ch. 1; Andrewes, *HCT* 5. 50 f. Th. may have preferred 'Spartiates' for another reason also: it had a more technical sound, *Λακεδαιμόνιος* being the regular word in poetry—though it is true that *Σπαρτιητέων* (metrically three long syllables, by two separate synizeses) occurs in Tyrtaios, *IEG*² fr. 23a, line 21. Th. is perhaps saying 'I pass up the trite associations of the word *Lakedaimon* in favour of the stricter *Spartiate*'. At 1. 128. 3, Pausanias is a 'Lakedaimonian', but 'the Spartiates' are mentioned in the next breath. Pelling suggests to me that this may be Th.'s way of hinting that Pausanias found himself at odds with Spartan traditions.

The most promising area is Thucydides' use of patronymics.⁷⁸ Melesippos is given his patronymic not on the occasion of his first appearance but at his most *solemn* first appearance. Melesippos is the Spartan herald who, when he is being escorted out of Attica, says that this day will be the beginning of troubles for Greece. The reader has in fact already met Melesippos in book 1, where he is merely Melesippos. In book 2 however, the solemn moment, he becomes 'Melesippos the son of Diakritos a Spartiate man'. The treatment of Archidamos is comparable. In book 2 when he leads the Spartan invasion he is Archidamos son of Zeuxidamos and king of Sparta. But at his first appearance in book 1 he is just Archidamos the king, no patronymic. Spartan kings are not, however, always treated even *this* respectfully. There is one and only one mention in all Thucydides of Kleomenes I, the famous late sixth-century king of Sparta. It is not in the *Archaeology* where you might expect it but at 1. 126, and is very incidental. Kleomenes drove out the people who were contaminated as a result of the Kylon affair and dug up their graves. Here Kleomenes is just *Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος*, not even specified as king. What is the explanation for this? Perhaps it is precisely because the reference is so incidental. Thucydides does not want to distract the reader by focusing too much attention on Kleomenes himself. Contrast the first mention of Kleomenes in Herodotus, where he is given as Kleomenes son of Anaxandrides. Kleomenes was of course a big personality in Herodotus and maybe Thucydides reacts against this. Incidentally I note as a curiosity that Xenophon in the *Hellenika* calls King Demaratos, a man never mentioned by Thucydides at all, just Demaratos the Spartan. But Xenophon's use of patronymics is famously arbitrary, thus Agis occurs without patronymic or title presumably because he is assumed to be familiar to us already from Thucydides whom Xenophon is in some sense continuing.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Griffith (1961).

⁷⁹ Patronymics (or not) in Th.: 2. 12. 1, contrast 1. 139. 3 (Melesippos); 2. 19. 1, contrast 1. 79. 2 (Archidamos); 1. 126. 12, contrast Hdt. 3. 148. 1 (Kleomenes). For Demaratos and Agis in Xen., see *Hell.* 3. 1. 6 and 1. 1. 33. With such delayed introductions, compare *Iliad* 18. 249–52 on Poulydamas, a character who has been active much earlier (e. g. 14. 449), but who is formally introduced just before his really decisive intervention in book 18 (cf. 22. 100). This is like Th.'s treatment of Perikles, who at his first introduction is merely 'Perikles son of Xanthippos' (1. 111. 2, a military command

A related issue is demotics. This is easy. There *are* none in Thucydides. Contrast Herodotus; and Xenophon who uses demotics, though only to distinguish the two Thrasybouloi. This Thucydidean feature is an example of his universality.⁸⁰ Demotics are parochially Athenian.

This is the place to mention Thucydides' intriguing use of 'the so-called';⁸¹ especially with place-names, such as the so-called Paralos or the two Athenian ones at 6. 57: the Leokoreion and the Kerameikos. That chapter is odd because we have already had the phrase 'so-called Leokoreion' once, at 1. 20; and we have already met the Kerameikos in the context of the Funeral Speech, where however it was periphrastically called the most beautiful suburb. There are about thirty relevant instances of *καλούμενον* or variants in Thucydides and there are disproportionately many, actually fourteen, Athenian and north Greek places like Krousis. I suggest Thucydides feels coy about showing off his own special knowledge of these areas. But there are others like Peloponnesian Kynouria in book 4. A remarkable instance, because it is the only time Thucydides uses the phrase 'the so-called' of something other than a place, is 1. 112, 'the so-called Sacred War'. This *is* I think a distancing device.⁸²

Then there's the use of the disparaging *τις*, 'a certain', 'somebody called...' (another buttonholing device, 'the sort of person you might not have heard of'). A fine example is in book 8: Hyperbolos—contrast the more respectful treatment of a more serious demagogue, Kleon. Is *τις* disparaging? The question has been discussed with reference to Herodotus' introduction of Themistocles, which some

as general), but who gets not one but two subsequent descriptive introductions, both of which stress his political primacy (1. 127. 1–3; 1. 139. 4). For delayed description in Homer see Macleod (1982), 123, on *Iliad* 24. 448–56.

⁸⁰ See *Thucydides*, 97 n. 98, with refs.

⁸¹ 'The so-called': 2. 55. 1 (Paralos); 6. 57. 1 (Kerameikos), cf. 2. 34. 5 ('most beautiful suburb'); 1. 20. 2 and 6. 57. 3 (Leokoreion); 2. 79. 4 (Krousis); 4. 56. 2 (Kynouria); 1. 112. 5 (Second Sacred War). Perhaps some of these would be more fairly rendered 'a place [or whatever] called X', cf. 4. 70. 1 on the village of Tripodiskos, where the phrase is *ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔχουσα*, 'having the name...', cf. Oxy. Hist. 24. 2 for 'so-called Mysian Olympus' (contrast the simple form 'Mysian Olympus' at Hdt. 1. 36. 1), and 'the mercenaries called Derkylideioi'; also 24. 5: 'the place called Lions' Heads'.

⁸² With Th.'s 'the so-called sacred war' or (a more neutral translation) 'what is called the sacred war', compare another distancing formula, the opening of [Hippokrates] *On the Sacred Disease*: *περὶ τῆς ἱερῆς καλουμένης νόσου ὧδ' ἔχει* 'I am about to discuss the disease called "sacred"' (Loeb *Hippokrates*, tr. W. H. S. Jones, 2. 139). [I have here removed some incautiously formulated material on religion; cf. above, 25.]

scholars think is a slighting use of *τις*. Fornara however⁸³ argues the opposite in his 1971 book on Herodotus. He notes that in the *Anabasis* Xenophon calls himself 'a certain Xenophon, an Athenian'; and points to Homer's introduction of Dolon with the word *τις*. But I am not completely persuaded by this because Dolon is surely not intended as an admirable character. It does seem that Thucydides' use of *τις* for Hyperbolos helps to leave a negative impression. It is not of course the only thing in that unusually judgemental sentence of Thucydides which does so, he calls him *μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπος*, after all. But it should be added to our collection of devices for buttonholing the reader.⁸⁴

Finally in this area there is the way Thucydides refers to himself. This is a question much discussed by Homerists interested in the poet's objectivity. In fact, Thucydides fluctuates: in the first preface in book 1 he uses the third person, but book 5 has both third and first in the course of a single chapter.⁸⁵

IX. NARRATIVE VOICES

Lastly, but very important, narrative voices in Thucydides. Events are described 'indirectly', i.e. from a certain viewpoint. This phenomenon has been fully discussed by James Davidson in an interesting article on the 'gaze' in Polybius.⁸⁶ But I slightly part company with

⁸³ Hyperbolos: 8. 73. 3. On *τις*, see Fornara (1971), 68–73, discussing Hdt. 7. 143. 1. Th.'s use of *τις* for Hyperbolos may carry the further suggestion that nobody outside Athens (or Samos) would have heard of this miserable creature. Cf. also 8. 92. 5 (Hermon). When Th. does *not* want to be dismissive, he can use *ἄνθρωπος*, 'a man', as at 3. 29. 2 (Teutiaplos) or 6. 72. 2 (the admirable Hermokrates; see *CT* III, 484). On the switch between the polite or at least neutral *ἄνθρωπος* to the more contemptuous *ἄνθρωπος* at 6. 64. 2 and 65. 1 (describing the same unnamed individual), see *CT* III, 467 f.

⁸⁴ For Dolon, see *Iliad* 10. 314 (which Oliver Taplin tells me he thinks 'surely disparaging'); Xen. *Anab.* 3. 1. 4.

⁸⁵ Self-reference in Th.: 1. 1. 11; 5. 26. 1. Cf. Wheeldon (1989), 45 ff. First person plurals: 1. 4 (cf. Hdt. 3. 122. 2); 8. 41. 2 (Koan earthquake).

⁸⁶ Narrative voices: Davidson (1991)—but on 'gaze', see above, n. 7—and more recent work, e.g. Morrison (2007), comparing Archaic Greek and Hellenistic narrative poetry. The careful ordering of the similes at *Iliad* 2. 455–83, conditioned by a Trojan viewpoint, well illustrates this phenomenon.

him when he says that this sort of thing is infrequent in Thucydides, and cites only the great final sea-battle at Syracuse in book 7, a *tour de force* which moved Macaulay and even Dionysios of Halikarnassos to admiration. I would say that for instance much of the Sitalkes invasion in book 2 is not so much narrated as *perceived* by the terrified Greeks and Macedonians who were on Sitalkes' route. But the focalization is subtle because as Hammond showed forty years ago and Badian has recently reminded us, the actual path of the invasion is described from the point of view of the invaders. Connor in his 'Narrative Discourse' (n. 20) adds the daring Peloponnesian raid on the Peiraeus in book 2, where the perspective shifts several times in a paragraph. 'There was no fleet on the look-out' (Peloponnesian point of view), 'and there was no expectation that the enemy would make an attack' (Athenian point of view). Connor briefly reanalyses one or two other famous instances of multiple perspective, notably (Davidson's example) the sea-battle at Syracuse, which is experienced rather than described; the arrival of the news of the Sicilian Disaster. (But Thucydides passed up the nice story in the last chapter of Plutarch's *Nikias* about the arrival of the news of the disaster in a barber's shop in the Piraeus, and the poor man responsible getting tortured by the authorities instead of having a haircut.) Finally I would add that multiple perspective or varied focalization helps with the problem, when did Thucydides think the Peloponnesian War began? Notoriously, he seems to wobble between dates. But the reason why he sometimes hankers for the view, inconsistent with his other indicators, that the invasion of Attica by Sparta and her allies was the decisive event, is surely that he was adopting an Athenian perspective or focalization.⁸⁷

However there is a problem about singling out episodes in Thucydides which seem to be in a particular narrative voice. The problem is that which has run through this paper—the difference between the narrating of fact and other kinds of narration. An excellent example

⁸⁷ Narrative voices in Th.: 2. 95–101 (Sitalkes), with Hammond (1973) 200, and Badian (1993), 181; 2. 93–94. 1 (Piraeus raid) with Connor (1985); 7. 71 (Syracuse sea-battle); 8. 1 (news of Sicily, contrast Plut. *Nik.* 30). On the beginning of the war, see CT I, 236. Adam Smith (1963), 88 (contrast 90) praised Tacitus over Th. for 'indirect' narration!

is the *Potidaiaitika*. It was long ago noticed⁸⁸ by Westlake that the episode seems to be seen through the eyes of Aristeus son of Adeimantus, who comes out of it and other episodes rather well. But is this narrative skill; or is the truth merely that Thucydides interrogated Aristeus and that his oral account lies behind those chapters? Aristeus is perhaps straightforward enough. More serious difficulties arise when we turn to the messier book 8 and ask how far Alkibiades is the focalizer. Alkibiades was surely an informant whom Thucydides would have been mad not to use; but take a judgemental interjection from book 8: Phrynichos thought that Alkibiades didn't sincerely care for either oligarchy or democracy, 'which was true', *ὅπερ καὶ ἦν*.⁸⁹ This could be Thucydides' own judgement; or it could be just a report of Alkibiades' cynical endorsement of what Phrynichos thought. That is, positing Alkibiades as an oral informant does not this time help us with the problems of focalization or voice.

There is another relevant text in book 4: the account of the battle of Solygeia. This battle has been studied in articles by Sieveking in the 1960s and Ron Stroud in the 1970s;⁹⁰ Stroud accepts Sieveking's ingenious suggestion that the unusual imperfect 'the place was steep' rather than the expected 'the place is steep' indicates interrogation by an eyewitness, i.e. participant. But here surely the language of narratology helps. The primary narrator-focalizer is Thucydides but the secondary/embedded focalizers are the participating soldiers.

I end the main section of this chapter with a warning, one I have probably disregarded myself from time to time. We should never discuss a Thucydidean habit without asking if Herodotus exemplifies it also.

X. CONCLUSION

To conclude, I summarize. There is surely no doubt that Thucydides uses, with great rhetorical skill, narrative devices also found in poetry and fiction, and those devices are interesting enough. Even more

⁸⁸ Aristeus: 1. 60–5; Westlake (1969), ch. 4. ⁸⁹ 8. 48. 4.

⁹⁰ Solygeia: 4. 43. 3 with Sieveking (1964), 162; Stroud (1971), 244. The word for 'steep', *πρόσαντες*, literally means 'steep-facing' (i.e. facing somebody or other, in this

interesting, to me at least, are the respects in which narrative is *differently* handled in historical and in fictional texts. I shall recapitulate these.

First, narrative displacement or anachrony (and we can add iterative presentation) are generally used by Thucydides to lessen the impact of an irreducible event or a fact; a novelist by contrast generally uses displacement to highlight or emphasize an item. The difference arises because for novelists there is no such thing as an irreducible fact: they simply need not include anything which does not fit the picture. The technique is, I argued, specially effective in Thucydides because he is normally so serial or linear.

Second, presentation through negation is used by Thucydides (remember those flutes) in a way recognizable from Homer or messenger-speeches; but there is a complicating factor, namely that in a history, unlike a novel, such negation may be a polemical way of flagging a controversy. I am not forgetting that, as Tom Stinton and now Denis Feeney have shown, poets like Stesichoros, Bacchylides, Pindar, or Euripides can be polemical in tone when denying a version of a myth.⁹¹ But for instance Aeschylus does not say, 'Agamemnon was king not, as you all thought, of Mycenae but of Argos', he just transposes the early action of the *Oresteia* to Argos.

Third, presentation through negation may, I suggested, be a telescoped way of reporting an actual debate in which somebody really did advocate the course not followed: 'let's bring the army back from Aigina', etc. This way of looking at the device wouldn't be appropriate if we were dealing with a poetic or fictional text.

Fourth, Thucydides may vary denomination for rhetorical reasons, but this may occasionally, as with the loose use of Spartiates, be an indication of a written source.

case the Athenians). So the focalization is even more complex than just Th. on the one hand and the soldiers on the other: we have a shift of focalization from the Corinthians who have just retreated (*ὑποχωρήσαντες*) to the Athenians, because the place was steeply facing *them*.

⁹¹ Stinton (1990) and Feeney (1991), 14–19; cf. e.g. Bacchylides 19, Pindar, *O.* 1, etc. Passages like Soph. *OC* 374–6 (cf. 1294–5) by their repetitive form, i.e. their emphasis of a departure from the usual version, come close to an explicit statement to the audience that the poet is taking a controversial line. From comedy, cf. Ar. *Knights* 514–16 ('not out of stupidity, *ὅπ' ἀνοίας*' [as you might think]), or *Ach.* 514 ff.

Fifth, when Thucydides uses a particular narrative voice, that may be just artistry, but it may also or alternatively be a sign that real people (Aristeus, Alkibiades) were his oral informants.

Narratology is in its infancy.⁹² The present chapter represents the thoughts which a historian, currently working on the second half of a commentary on Thucydides, has come up with so far.

⁹² See above, 59.

4

Personal Names and the Study of the Ancient Greek Historians

[In the first footnote of the original version, I began by recording gratitude to Peter Fraser, the honorand of the volume in which the chapter appeared: the paper was originally delivered at a colloquium held at the British Academy on 11 July 1998 to celebrate Fraser's 80th birthday. I went on to recall his graduate classes in the 1970s, where Greek personal names already featured, like Podilos, 'Footy', as Fraser called him (for this man, see Holleaux (1968), 4, 146–62; and Crampa (1969), 93 f.). I then thanked members of the audience for reactions at the time, and Carolyn Dewald for comments on a draft of the written version. In this Ch. *LGPN* is sometimes cited by vol. no. only.]

An influential trend in the study of the Greek historians is the sceptical approach which stresses the formulaic and rhetorical features of the texts, and disputes their factual truthfulness. W. K. Pritchett, in a notably bad-tempered book, has called this the 'Liar School' of historiography. He was thinking of the study of Herodotus. This so-called 'school' is supposed to include, all in the back row of the same badly behaved classroom, François Hartog, Stephanie West, and, above all, Detlev Fehling.¹ But there is also what can be called a Liar School of Thucydides, whose recalcitrant pupils would I suppose include Virginia Hunter and Tony Woodman. I do not think there is exactly a Liar School of Polybius, although James Davidson and others have started to treat him too as an artful rhetorician. There is certainly a Liar School of the vulgate Alexander-historians.²

Modern defenders of the ancient historians have responded to the sceptical challenge in different ways. One approach is to refuse to allow the significance or even the presence of formulaic patterns or numbers. Thus it is certainly true that the number 2,000 occurs frequently in Herodotus and Thucydides for a field force of hoplites; Fehling treats such multiples of 10 and 20 as 'typical numbers', and tells us (230) that such powers of ten 'convey the arbitrary character expected in organizations created by powerful autocrats'.³ But the decimal basis for military activity is hardly arbitrary if we think of Kleisthenes of Athens (not an autocrat) and his tribal reforms with their undoubted military aspect; and the turn-out of 2,000 is surely intrinsically plausible for a field force and is anyway not confined to non-Greek armies in Herodotus, and is applied frequently to Greek i.e. non-autocratic armies in Thucydides. In any case, a respectable statistician would insist that the number of occurrences of 2,000 has to be weighed against the number of occurrences of different totals for similar groups. This is an obvious point not always remembered.

Another way is to apply external controls. Pritchett's entire book is an exercise in this method. The range of controls which can be applied to an author as rich as Herodotus is very extensive. Thus Pritchett's chapter on the Skythians, which is a sustained attack on François Hartog, draws on archaeological and ethnographical data as well as on ancient and modern literary testimony. Actually Hartog was aware of the relevance of the sort of archaeological material assembled by, for instance, Rostovtzeff, though he thought that there were mismatches between the archaeology and Herodotus' text. The same technique can be used for Xenophon, at least in the *Anabasis*. For the austere Thucydides and for Polybius, the range of controls is smaller because they contain less ethnography and anthropology. This is where epigraphic and particularly onomastic evidence comes in, a category of evidence almost wholly ignored in arguments of the kind I have been discussing above.

It is surprising to me that personal names should have so little interested the great commentators on Herodotus and Thucydides. There were indeed honourable exceptions like Wilamowitz, but his studies of the name-rich chapters of Thucydides (4. 119 and 5. 19),

¹ Pritchett (1993). See also S. West (1985) and (1991); Hartog (1988); Fehling (1989).

² Hunter (1973); Woodman (1988); Davidson (1991).

³ Fehling (1989), 230 for 'powers of ten'.

the 'signatories' to the treaties of 423 and 421, were simply ignored by Gomme, whose authority was such that subsequent commentators and scholars ignored them also. To some extent this general neglect of onomastic evidence by historiographers was because until the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (LGPN) there was no properly scientific way of establishing whether a particular name was common everywhere, or rare anywhere, or common but only in a specific region. It is the last possibility, obviously, which interests or ought to interest the student of the Greek historians. Why? Because, surely, if it can be shown that Herodotus or Thucydides or Xenophon⁴ or Hieronymos of Kardia or Polybios or Appian uses a name for, say, a Thessalian from Pharsalos which epigraphy (by which I mean of course LGPN) allows us to say is common in Thessaly and especially common at Pharsalos, then the presumption must be that the ancient historian in question did his research and wrote the name down and in a word got it right. That is, we have an important and sophisticated, but deplorably under-utilized, control on the accuracy and authenticity of a historiographical text. I shall raise in a moment, and try to answer, possible objections to this claim.

Let me start with Herodotus and two spectacular and fairly recent epigraphic finds which bear on his control of detail. They are both attestations in suitable epigraphic contexts of personal names which also occur in Herodotus, both as it happens from book 4, though in very different sections. The first is Sostratos of Aigina (4. 152), the second is Skyles, the unfortunate bilingual half-Skythian (4. 78). First Sostratos—in 1970 a stone anchor⁵ was found at Tarquinii in Etruria bearing a dedication to Apollo by Sostratos of Aigina, a name known

⁴ For Xenophon note the interesting unpublished observation of M. D. Reeve, cited by Andrewes at *HCT* 5. 5, n. on Th. 8. 1. 1: at *Xen. Mem.* 3. 5. 1, τοῦ πάνυ Περικλέους (used to distinguish Perikles from his homonymous son) may allude to the etymology of Perikles' name, 'the really famous one'. For Xenophon's signalling of an ethnic (*Μυσός*, 'the Mysian') used as a personal name, see *Xen. Anab.* 5. 2. 28, with P. M. Fraser in *Greek Personal Names*, 153f. From Xenophon's *Hellenika*, note that Polycharmos of Pharsalos (4. 3. 8) may now be attested in a Pharsalian dedication (*CEG* 792). LGPN IIIB shows the name to be well established in Thessaly—but it is not rare anywhere.

⁵ For the anchor see *LSAG*² 439 no. E. The text runs Ἀπόλλωνος Αἰγινάτα ἐμί. Σόστρατος ἐποίησε ἡ—, 'I belong to Aiginetan Apollo; Sostratos [son of...] had me made'.

from Herodotus as that of an exceptionally wealthy trader, who may of course be related rather than identical to the man now attested in Etruria. David Harvey pointed this out in 1976;⁶ medievalists use the term 'floating kindreds'⁷ for cases such as this, where we can plausibly posit a prosopographic link of some sort which, though strictly indeterminate, may be enough for the social and economic historian as opposed to the biographer or political historian for whom strict identity is crucial. Since the publication of LGPN IIIA, which contains the Peloponnese broadly defined so as to include Aigina, we can see that Sostratos is not a rare name generally [and there are plenty in III B, IV, and V A]; from Aigina itself, however, there are just three instances, the other two (i.e. the ones apart from our man) both from the Roman period, perhaps examples of historical names, in this case names given for their Herodotean associations.⁸ Oswyn Murray showed in a classic paper in 1972 how popular an author Herodotus was in the post-classical period.⁹ This is thus an example where LGPN forbids us to construct arguments based on the rareness of the name; we must be content to register the exotic context in which the inscription was found, confirming Herodotus' picture of Sostratos as a spectacular entrepreneur. I leave out of account the so-called SO-amphorae or wine jars, ingeniously connected to SO-stratos by Alan Johnston, though these trade marks may be relevant.¹⁰

The other name is Skyles, whose mother was Greek and whose father was Scythian, and who tried to lead a double life in Olbia as a culture-Greek but was detected and came to a miserable end after he went too far and actually got himself initiated into Bacchic, that is, Dionysiac worship. From the tie-up with the Thracian families of Teres and Sitalkes we can date Skyles to about 460 bc. His sad story, which resembles the nearby story of Anacharsis (4. 76–7) with a neat,

⁶ Harvey (1976), 207.

⁷ Reuter (1997), 190.

⁸ See LGPN IIIA. 416 (78 men called Sostratos, including the three Aiginetans, who are nos. 7–9). [The editors of *SEG* (50. 330), noticing the present chapter, described me as 'writing without reference to' the Aiginetan dedication of Sostratos which they had reported at *SEG* 48. 370 (a marble base found in 1978). But LGPN IIIA (published in 1997, and cited by me in Hornblower and Matthews (2000), see above) includes the original publication of this item among the various testimonia provided under no. 7, who is the famous Herodotean Sostratos with whom we are here concerned.]

⁹ Murray (1972).

¹⁰ Johnston (1972).

perhaps over-neat symmetry, has been seen by Hartog as a kind of sermon on the need to respect cultural frontiers. The whole Skyles episode, then, is for Hartog an elegant literary construct and part of an imaginary Skythia,¹¹ a nomadic culture which is the mirror-image of the autochthonous Athenians. Hartog's word 'imaginary' seems to be what has enraged Pritchett,¹² though Hartog surely means not that Herodotus made it all up but that his work was an intellectual construct (what Pat Easterling has called a 'mental map'¹³) in that he structured and selected his material according to principles of balance and reciprocity (Greeks/others; Skythians/Athenians) and so forth. Hartog's accusations about mis-matches do, however, imply that Herodotus was willing to sacrifice accuracy to elegance, and strictly it is only on this fairly limited terrain that controls of the Pritchett sort become relevant. The gold ring I am about to mention is not intended to align me with the positivist Pritchett against Hartog, who is less interested in the relationship between Herodotus' text and the world than in the inner relationships inside Herodotus' text. (That is, Pritchett has not refuted Hartog; they are simply doing different kinds of thing.) But it is of some interest to know that Skyles probably existed and was as historical as the Thracian kings with whom Herodotus connects him, just as ten years ago it was satisfying to find the names of younger relatives of precisely those royal Thracian kings inscribed in Greek on the gold and silver plate from Rogozen in Bulgaria—I refer to Sadokos and Kersebleptes, long known to us from the pages of Thucydides and Demosthenes.¹⁴

I return to Skyles himself. Many years ago, a gold ring was found south of Istria, though it was properly published only in 1981. It has the name Skyles in the genitive (ΣΚΥΛΕΩ) engraved round its bevel,¹⁵ and it also has on it in Greek what looks like an order to one Argotas, a Skythian name, presumably a subordinate of Skyles. How far we

¹¹ Part I of Hartog (1988) is called 'The Imaginary Scythians: Space, Power and Nomadism'.

¹² Pritchett (1993), 191–226, 'Hartog and Scythia', esp. 191, 213, 219.

¹³ Easterling (1989).

¹⁴ B. Cook (1989); Z. Archibald, *CAH* 6: 454 and (1998), ch. 11, 'Metalware and Silver Plate of the 4th Cent. BC'; *SEG* 37. 618. For Sadokos, see Th. 2. 29. 5; for Kersebleptes, Dem. 23. 8, etc., spelling him Kerso-; on the spelling, see R/O 236, commenting on their no. 47.

¹⁵ Dubois (1996), 11–15 no. 4; Boardman (1994), 196, 339 n. 33.

take the ring as proof that Herodotus knew what he was talking about depends on how common the name was in that part of the world. Elaine Matthews, after checking unpublished *LGN* files, kindly tells me that it is exceedingly rare anywhere, rather surprisingly as it is, I suppose, a 'Tiername' and related to the ordinary Greek word for a dog; there are certainly none in published *LGN* volumes, in contrast to Sostratos. However, as Laurent Dubois observes in his edition of the Greek dialect inscriptions of Olbia, the name Skyles occurs in Greek on bronze coins of Nikonias not far away (c.450).¹⁶

Sostratos and Skyles are relatively big names, but as always with social history it is the smaller names which are as, or more, revealing—for instance, the name Alazeir, which Herodotus (4. 164) gives as the name of the father-in-law of Arkesilaos III of Kyrene. The name is local, possibly Berber, and presumably means a bull, for that is the only way of making sense of the Delphic oracle given to Arkesilaos about the killing of a bull. Now the name Ἀλάδδερ son of Battos occurs in a grave-inscription of the first century BC from Kyrene, and from Barke-Ptolemais we have the name Ἀλάττειρ on a coin.¹⁷ There is no doubt on this evidence that Herodotus' information about North African nomenclature was first-rate.

Thucydides is more sparing with personal names than Herodotus; there are 473 named persons in Thucydides as compared to 940 in Herodotus, almost exactly half the Herodotean total over a roughly comparable length of text. Moreover, there are some heavy and unbalancing concentrations in particular chapters of Thucydides. There are thirty-six, for example, in 5. 19 alone (repeated in 5. 23)—the names of those who swore to the two treaties of 421 BC. Other differences also exist between Herodotus and Thucydides in their attitude to names; I have pointed out elsewhere¹⁸ that Thucydides, unlike Homer, Herodotus, the tragedians, Pindar, and Plato, does not play games with names. Thus in Homer, the names Achilles and Odysseus are

¹⁶ Dubois (1996), 11, suggesting that this is Herodotus' Skyles. [*LGN* IV (2005), 313].

¹⁷ *SGDI* 4859 with Masson (1974); cf. *Pindar's Poetry* 13 f. and n. 47. For Alatteir, see *BMC Cyrenaica* clxxviii no. 40c + clxxx; 105 no. 45 (*LGN* I, 24). On the name Panionios, see Hornblower (2003).

¹⁸ See *Thucydides*, 94. To that discussion add Plato, *Grg.* 463e2 for Polos the 'colt', with Dodds (1959), 226.

charged with meaning: 'grief to the army' and 'charged with odium' respectively, or so we are told; and Gregory Nagy has observed that sons are often given names which express paternal qualities, thus Telemachos, Eurysakes, and Astyanax.¹⁹ These are not quite name-games, but the renaming of Alkyone as Kleopatra in the *Iliad* (9. 555–62) is close to being such a game: it has often been noticed that Kleo-patra is Patro-klos back to front.²⁰ Herodotus also likes punning with names, like the Aiginetan Krios, the 'ram', or Leon the handsome 'lion' from Troezen who 'may have reaped the fruits of his name' when he was sacrificed by the Persians, or Hegesistratos of Samos, whose name means 'leader of the army'—when the Spartan king Leotychidas asks this man his name, he replies 'host-leader', and Leotychidas says 'I accept the omen'.²¹ The kind of thing Leotychidas was doing with Hegesistratos is related to the type of divination known as 'kledonomanancy', by which chance utterances are treated as portents of the future.²² If Thucydides avoids this sort of thing it may partly be due to his different attitude to religion: *nomen omen* was not a congenial equation to a man of his secular outlook. Thucydides does, however, show an interest in place-names, like the identity of Pylos and Koryphasion, or the etymology of the names for Sicily early in book 6.²³ As for personal names, he goes polemically out of his way to deny the identity of the historical Thracian name Teres and the mythical Thracian name Tereus,²⁴ and in book 8 he makes a sophisticated point about the Spartan Endios. He there says (8. 6) that Alkibiades was a family friend, a πατρικὸς ξένος of Endios; indeed (Thucydides continues) this was how the Spartan name of Alcibiades had come into his, Alkibiades', family, for Alkibiades was the name of Endios' father. This is fascinating stuff, obviously too fascinating to be written by Thucydides(!), and Classen therefore bracketed it all. Steup and Andrewes, however, rightly declined to follow him.²⁵ It is hard to

¹⁹ Nagy (1979), 146 n. 2 to para. 9; Svenbro (1993), 68 f.

²⁰ Griffin (1995), 135, 138, and L. Dubois in *Greek Personal Names*, 50.

²¹ Hdt. 6. 50. 3 (Krios); 7. 180 (Leon), with Jameson and others (1994), 74; 9. 91. 2 (Hegesistratos). Cf. 5. 65. 4: Peisistratos, an explicitly Homeric name.

²² Roberts (1984), 14, 29.

²³ 4. 3. 1 (Koryphasion); 6. 2–5 (the *Sikelika*, e.g. 6. 2. 2, 6. 4. 4, 6. 4. 6).

²⁴ 2. 29. 3. For the polemic, see Jones (1999), 30.

²⁵ See CT III, 775; and C. Habicht in *Greek Historiography*, 119.

parallel this remark of Thucydides in any other ancient author, showing what an acute social historian he was when he bothered to play the role. His remark is good because it more or less explicitly recognizes two features of Greek naming: (1) exchange of names between different cities for reasons of *xenia*, friendship,²⁶ and (2) the alternation of names between grandparent and grandchild.²⁷ This second phenomenon is, so my anthropologist friends tell me, common in traditional central African societies, the idea being that you should not name the child of your loins after yourself but should nevertheless assert continuity.²⁸ (The Greek avoidance of father–son homonymy was of course far from absolute—the famous fourth-century Athenian politician and orator Demosthenes was Demosthenes son of Demosthenes from the deme of Paiania.)

All that said, it remains true that Thucydides does not splash names around or exploit them as Herodotus does.²⁹ This does not mean, though, that names in Thucydides are not significant. On the contrary I have argued elsewhere that the name of the Spartan Alkidas, one of the three oikists of Herakleia (3.92.5), was an appropriate name (though Thucydides does not say so) because Alkidas or Alkeides is an alternative name for Herakles.³⁰ The second oikist, Damagon, 'leader-out-of-the-people' is also suitable, and Woodman and Martin have

²⁶ Herman (1987), 19 f., 135 n. 50, citing among other examples Hdt. 3. 55. 2 (Archias' son called Samios because of the Samian connection); see below, n. 27. Cf. also Fraser in *Greek Historiography*, 154.

²⁷ Dem. 43. 74 is probably the most explicit statement in any ancient Greek source: 'I gave the oldest son my own father's name, as was right, δίκαιον'. See also Hdt. 3. 55 (Archias again, see n. 26 above: grandfather and grandson) and 6. 131. 2, Agariste the mother of Perikles 'got her name from Agariste the daughter of Kleisthenes'; also Th. 6. 54. 4: Peisistratos son of Hippias 'had his grandfather's name'. See also Eur. *Ph.* 769 (Menoikeus) and Pi. *O.* 9. 63 ff. (Opous), with Svenbro (1993), 75 ff. Cf. Fraser in *Greek Historiography*, 150.

²⁸ For the continuity point, see Csapo and Miller (1998), 98. But they do not explain the usual avoidance of direct father–son naming (for another ancient Greek example of this, see above n. 4: Perikles). For modern Greece, note the interesting remarks of Stewart (1991), 56–8.

²⁹ I do not find convincing the attempts of Vickers (1995), esp. 196 f., to detect complicated name-play in Th., who is supposed to use the words βίᾱ and βίαιος ('violently' and 'violent'), at 6. 54. 3 and 4, because the Greek word for 'violence', βία, lurks in the name Alkibiades.

³⁰ See above, Ch. 1, 44 n. 72 [containing material originally given in the present n.]; and CT I, 507.

pointed out that the third oikist, Leon, is named after Herakles' own animal, the lion.³¹ Again, there are some choice examples in Thucydides' book 4, where Brasidas goes up through hostile Thessaly and needs help from Sparta's friends in that part of the world. Chapter 78 gives some fine Thessalian names, notably Strophakos, Hippolochidas, a suitably horsey name for an aristocratic Pharsalian, Nikonides of Larisa, Torumbas, and Panairos.³² Now Strophakos is a good Thessalian name, which occurs (with an omega in the first syllable) in an Athenian inscription³³ which Christian Habicht has recognized as a list of Thessalians, and there is a Strophakos with an omicron at precisely Pharsalos.³⁴ It is more surprising to find that Nikonides, which sounds a common sort of formation, is actually rare outside Thessaly (eight Thessalians in III B, variously spelt). Lastly there is Torumbas, emended by Olivier Masson from the manuscripts' Torylaos, an item missed by Alberti in his excellent new text of Thucydides, where he prints Torylaos without comment.³⁵ Masson's Torumbas is daring but attractive in view of the Torymbas attested in an inscription from Thessaly.³⁶ There is an obvious problem of circularity here, though—Thucydides' accuracy can be affirmed on the strength of Strophakos, but hardly on the strength of Torumbas because that is an emendation from something else. We have no way of telling whether Thucydides wrote the name down wrong or whether Torylaos is a scribal corruption. (In this connection I note that badly corrupt names in Quintus Curtius Rufus are a special problem, into which, however, I cannot enter here, for reasons of space.)

These things are, however, matters of degree and it would be a very austere principle to refuse to allow that a personal name has corroborative value if it differs slightly from an epigraphically attested form. There is a good example in Arrian, who early in book 3 of the *Anabasis* describes an episode of the history of the island of Chios and names a

³¹ Woodman and Martin (1996), 492.

³² See CT II, 102 f. and 257–8 (nn. on 4. 78), with acknowledgments to C. Habicht and to Tracy (1995), 88. For a possible epigraphic attestation of a Thessalian mentioned in Xen. *Hell.*, see above, n. 4. Aristocratic horsey names: Dubois in *Greek Personal Names*, 41.

³³ IG II² 2406, 7 [LGPV III B, 387]. ³⁴ IG IX (2) 234, 89.

³⁵ Masson (1980), 1486–8 = (1990), 328–30 [LGPV III B, 411]; Alberti 2 (1992), 170.

³⁶ IG IX (2) 6a, 6.

man called Phesinos as one of three ringleaders of an anti-Macedonian rising.³⁷ Now it has long been noticed (Pomtow,³⁸ Berve,³⁹ Fraser,⁴⁰ and George Forrest, who pointed it out to me in an epigraphy class thirty-five years ago) that Phesinos is a characteristically Chian name. In LGPN I, which includes the Aegean islands, there are twenty-six men called Phesinos, all from Chios; most of them are attested on inscriptions or coins, and there is a clear early hellenistic example, Oineus son of Phesinos, in a Chian decree found at Delphi.⁴¹ In other volumes of LGPN there are one from Sicily, two from Ionian Teos, and one from Lydia (all Imperial). It is only a slight catch that what the best manuscripts of Arrian actually have is 'φισινον'; it is surely legitimate to emend this and still maintain that the name is a tribute to the truthfulness of Arrian or his sources. Incidentally, it would be wrong to emend the orthography of personal names in literary texts so as to make them conform with local epigraphically attested forms. Mausolus in Demosthenes' speech *On the Freedom of the Rhodians* should remain Μαύσωλος and not be 'emended' to Μαύσσωλλος merely because that is how he appears on the inscriptions of Karian Labraunda. Similarly, we should respect the different attitudes of the historians to dialect forms. For Herodotus, Lichas becomes Liches, and King Leonidas becomes Leonides, whereas Thucydides keeps the Doric forms Lichas, Archidamos, and Sthenelaidas, not Liches, Archidemos, and Sthenelaidas, and the Aeolic forms Pagondas and Skirphondas, rather than Pagonides and Skirphonides. This Thucydidean preference, perhaps part of a more ecumenical attitude, may be relevant to his willingness to retain dialect forms in the two treaties (5. 77 and 79) between Argos and Sparta (though he stops short of putting speeches into dialect!). Thucydides has Leotychides at 1. 89, as Peter Rhodes points out to me, but this is surely under the influence of Herodotus, who featured this man prominently. At 5. 52 the manuscripts have Hegesippidas, but this is usually emended to Hag- in view of the Doric spelling of this name at 5.56.

So far I have been speaking about ways in which LGPN confirms a historian's authenticity because the name is demonstrably rare, or can

³⁷ Arr. *Anab.* 3. 2. 5 with Bosworth (1980), 267.

³⁸ Syll³ 402 n. 13.

³⁹ Berve (1926), 2. 381.

⁴⁰ Fraser (1978), 367, discussing the occurrence of the name in the intriguing Chian list of names SEG 17. 381 (perhaps, as Fraser suggests, a list of gymnasiarchs?). A Phesinos occurs at C line 9. ⁴¹ Syll³ 402, 39.

be shown to be generally rare but common in the region the historian is writing about. But of course *LGP*N can settle arguments in a negative way, or rather it can weaken arguments for identity, by showing that a historically interesting name was onomastically common. Let us take another Thucydidean example, a topical one in view of a recent epigraphic debate which puts in question the traditional dates of fifth-century Athenian inscriptions. I refer to the claim by Mortimer Chambers, based on new techniques of laser enhancement, that the Athenian alliance with the Sicilian city of Egesta (ML 37) dates not from 457 but from 418 BC, the archonship of Antiphon not Habron.⁴² This dating (or the slightly earlier date of 421/0, archonship of Aristion) had always been advocated by Harold Mattingly and his followers.⁴³ One subsidiary argument concerns the name of the proposer of the amendment to the decree, Euphemos. This, as it happens, is also the name of the Athenian speaker at the Kamarina debate reported by Thucydides in his Sicilian book 6 (6. 81), and scholars of the Mattingly school⁴⁴ have long toyed with the attractive possibility that Thucydides' Euphemos and the proposer of the Egesta amendment are one and the same, that is, this Euphemos is a western expert. But *LGP*N II has forty-three Athenian Euphemoi, over a dozen of whom come from the classical period, while other *LGP*N volumes attest many Euphemoi elsewhere in the Greek world. So we must be cautious⁴⁵ before saluting Euphemos as a twice-attested western expert. If he were in Homer, by the way, we should be told his name 'auspicious speaker' was significant (we may recall the Euphamos, the Doric equivalent of Euphemos, in Pindar, *Pythian*, 4).

We can be glad that Herodotus, Thucydides, and Arrian preserved all the personal names they did; but why did they do so? In the cases of Herodotus and Thucydides the mention of a personal name is, I think, one way in which the authors in question guarantee the reliability of the information given, and this may be true even where the person named is not explicitly named as a source. A well-known instance in Herodotus is the story of the Persian/Theban banquet

⁴² Chambers and others (1990).

⁴³ Mattingly (1996), 1, 4, 99–106, 264, 272, 276, 473–6.

⁴⁴ Mattingly (1996), 473; Smart (1972), 135 n. 55.

⁴⁵ The late D. M. Lewis pointed out to me on a postcard many years ago in this connection that the name Euphemos was fairly common at Athens.

before the battle of Plataia; the story is explicitly attributed by Herodotus (9. 16) to Thersandros of Orchomenos, a most unusual example of a named source-attribution in the *Histories*. I suspect that Thucydides' Thessalians perform something of the same function of authenticating the surrounding narrative, although Thucydides, *more suo*, does not cite them as sources. The view usually taken by Gomme was that such small circumstantial details were merely evidence that Thucydides had not worked up his material, and that the names would have disappeared in the final version. This does not work, though, for Brasidas' Thessalian friends because they come in the pre-Delion narrative and it is only after Delion, about chapter 100, that the case for incompleteness becomes at all plausible (though in my view not really plausible even then). If we look at the distribution of names and patronymics between cities, a similar conclusion emerges. Ronald Stroud has recently studied the names and patronymics of Korinthians in Thucydides and points out that there are exceptionally many of them; he suggests that Thucydides spent his exile in Korinth, was specially well informed about Korinth, and drew heavily on Korinthian informants.⁴⁶ I have reservations about some of this, especially the location of the exile,⁴⁷ but Stroud is surely right that the density of Korinthian names and patronymics is one clue to the identity of Thucydides' oral informants for affairs in Greece and of course Sicily, especially anything involving Syracuse, the daughter city of Korinth.

As for Arrian, it is a small tribute to him that he transcribed the name Phesinos correctly from one of his two main sources, presumably Ptolemy; more credit goes to Ptolemy himself for getting the name right. Perhaps the most spectacular crop of names in Arrian is not in his *Anabasis* at all but in the *Indike*. I refer to the list of trierarchs assembled in 326 BC on the banks of the river Hydaspes (*Indike*, 18). Arrian's source, probably Nearchos, gives names, patronymics, and places of origin or fief-holding. It is from this list that we learn that Eumenes of Cardia's patronymic was Hieronymos; this precious statement of filiation is the basis for the usual assumption that another Hieronymos, the great historian Hieronymos of Kardia, was a close relation of Eumenes who figures so prominently in Hieronymos'

⁴⁶ Stroud (1994).

⁴⁷ *CT* II, 21–38.

narrative of the early Successors.⁴⁸ The list of trierarchs includes a Macedonian, Demonikos son of Athenaios, whose name meant nothing to us until 1984 when Paul Roesch published a Theban proxy decree from the 360s honouring one Athenaios son of Demonikos, surely the father of the trierarch in the *Indike*.⁴⁹ Roesch ingeniously suggested⁵⁰ that this was a naval family: the father perhaps provided ship-building timber for Epaminondas' naval programme and the son was a trierarch. However that may be, the inscription provides a check on the accuracy of the names recorded by Arrian in the *Indike*, and surely permits us to suppose that an accurate list does indeed underlie it. Belief in the connection between Eumenes and Hieronymos is thereby strengthened.

All this is interesting if one finds names interesting. I want to end by considering the obvious literary objection. What if Thucydides (to confine ourselves to him) inserted Strophakos as local colour into his narrative (what Roland Barthes called the 'reality effect')⁵¹ or just to enhance his own credibility? The Greek novelists took pains to make their personal names sound authentic. Thus Habrokomes in Xenophon of Ephesos is taken from the older Xenophon's *Anabasis*, not from the *Cyropaedia*. In other words, the novelist borrows not from the novel but from the work of history, thus gaining in verisimilitude; compare Michael Crawford on Petronius and Phlegon (*Greek Personal Names*, 145–8), or the way Chariton sets his novel in the Syracuse of Thucydides, or the way the *Metiochus and Parthenope* is set in the Samos of Herodotus' Polykrates and includes the real-life Metiochos son of Miltiades. Ewen Bowie has discussed reasons for choices of personal names in Heliodorus, including Egyptian-sounding names apparently chosen 'simply to impart Egyptian decor', though Bowie shows that more sophisticated, intertextual, motives may also have been at work—the desire to evoke earlier works of literature.⁵²

Quite apart from the difference in dates and atmosphere, nobody is likely to want to say that Thucydides or even Herodotus behaved like Xenophon of Ephesos or Heliodoros. But what of Ephoros or the more spicy Alexander-historians like Curtius? Diodorus' account of

the aftermath of the Syracusan defeat of Athens contains a debate about what to do with the Athenian prisoners, and includes a long speech by a man called Nikolaos, otherwise unknown to history and thought by Jacoby⁵³ to be a sheer invention by Ephoros (see Diod. 13. 19–28). The name is plausible enough, 'victory of the people', and from *LGNP* we learn that the name Nikolaos occurs in Syracusan and Korinthian contexts. One sixth-century Korinthian example occurs, oddly enough, in the work of another Nikolaos, Nikolaos of Damascus,⁵⁴ who is generally thought to have drawn on precisely Ephoros. So the Diodoran Nikolaos of 413 BC is perhaps an example of an invented name for a fictional character, included as local colour in the writings of a serious classical Greek historian.

A wholly invented personality, if that is what Nikolaos is, comes as a bit of a surprise in the context of the Peloponnesian War. Modern students of the Alexander-historians are more hardened: at one time we were told by W. W. Tarn⁵⁵ that Bagoas the eunuch, who features in Curtius and elsewhere, was an invention designed to disparage Alexander, who is supposed to have got drunk in public and kissed Bagoas; then E. Badian insisted that Bagoas was real,⁵⁶ and now Hammond and Gunderson have returned to something like the Tarn position.⁵⁷ The name at any rate is perfectly plausible, for among the trierarchs on the Hydaspes (see again Arrian, *Indike*, 18) is a solitary Persian, Bagoas son of Pharnouches (para. 8). As always with such arguments, however, one can say either that the trierarch strengthens the idea that the eunuch was authentic, or that the trierarch shows that the inventor of the eunuch knew how to construct a plausible character. Thus, at one extreme, Robin Lane Fox actually goes so far as to identify trierarch and eunuch, and adds the further conjecture that Bagoas' father, Pharnouches, was a well-attested hellenized Lycian who features in Arrian's *Anabasis* book 4 (3. 7; 5. 2 ff.), where he is given a military command which he bungles badly.⁵⁸ At the other extreme we have Berve, who absolutely rejected the identification of trierarch and

⁴⁸ J. Hornblower (1981), 8. ⁴⁹ SEG 34. 355. ⁵⁰ Roesch (1984).

⁵¹ Barthes (1989), 141–8; cf. Csapo and Miller (1998), 117.

⁵² Bowie (1995). Cf. *LGNP* I, preface, 1.

⁵³ Commentary on *FGrHist* 566 Timaios F 99–102 (IIIB. 583).

⁵⁴ *FGrHist* 90 Nikolaos F 59. 1–2.

⁵⁵ Tarn (1948), 319–26, 'Alexander's attitude to sex'.

⁵⁶ Badian (1958).

⁵⁷ Hammond (1980), 322 n. 114; Gunderson (1982).

⁵⁸ Lane Fox (1980), 260–1.

eunuch, and who pointed to stereotypical eunuchs called Bagoas in Pliny the Elder and Ovid.⁵⁹

The problem of the plausible onomastic fiction is found in less exotic contexts than Bagoas' sexual encounter with Alexander. There is a serious discrepancy between Polybius and Appian on the causes of Rome's first Illyrian war; Appian has an appeal by the Adriatic island city of Issa to which Rome was honourably responding.⁶⁰ Peter Derow pointed out many years ago⁶¹ that Appian's name for one of the Issian ambassadors, Kleemporos, is attested in an Issian inscription of the first century BC, and we can add that since 1973 there have been further epigraphic occurrences of this rare name in suitably Illyrian contexts.⁶² This looks like corroboration of Appian, but not everyone is convinced. W. V. Harris wrote in 1979, 'Derow interestingly shows that Appian gave the authentic name (Kleemporos) of an Issian ambassador, but his conclusion that Appian's over-all account is to be preferred does not follow.'⁶³ I am not sure if Harris' position is that the ambassador was indeed called Kleemporos but that nothing follows from this, or whether he means the whole tale is false including the authentic but plausible name Kleemporos. The English 'authentic' can express both truth and deceitful verisimilitude.

Do names then not help us at all in deciding whether a historian was truthful or a liar? Things are, I suggest, not as bad as that. It is a question of motive. It is possible for the sceptic to see reasons why an ancient Greek historian might have invented Nikolaos or Bagoas, or even Kleemporos: desire to balance a speech by Gylippos, desire to blacken Alexander's reputation by alleging discreditable drunken sexual activity, desire to present Roman motives for Adriatic involvement in a favourable light. The only conceivable motive for Thucydides

inventing Strophakos the authentic-sounding Thessalian would be to provide novelistic colour or to convince us of his own accuracy. Are we to suppose he (so to speak) rang up some literary crony in Larisa and said, 'Look, I'm writing this novel about a war between Athens and Sparta set in the recent past, pure fiction of course but I want it to look as realistic as possible so I need a few convincing-sounding Thessalian names for the narrative I'm just getting to. Can you have a look at the local phone book and let me have half a dozen names?' These motives are not at all plausible for Thucydides. On the contrary, the precision with which epigraphy confirms the accuracy of his personal names is to my mind one of the most striking though least recognized confirmations of his general accuracy.

⁵⁹ Berve (1926) 2. 98 n. 3, citing Pliny, *NH* 13. 41 and Ovid, *Amores*, 2. 2. 1. Note Berve 99. 1, arguing against the identification of eunuch and trierarch.

⁶⁰ Pol. 2. 2–5; App. *Illyrike* 7.

⁶¹ Derow (1973), adducing Sherk (1969) no. 24. Note Derow, 129 n. 40, for awareness of possible sceptical counter-moves: 'those who urge fabrication might assume, for example, that his [Appian's] source was a member of Caesar's staff in 56 or perhaps someone with an interest in Dalmatian epigraphy'.

⁶² SEG 31. 594; 596. See Fraser (1993), 173 f. and nn. 79 and 80 ('names in—*εμπορος* seem in general to be very rare'; he goes on to cite Diemporos at Th. 2. 2. 1). See below, Ch. 5, 135, and n. 59.

⁶³ Harris (1979), 195–6 n. 4.

5

Thucydides on Boiotia and Boiotians

[The original paper, a very much shorter version of this chapter, was delivered at the Second International Congress of Boiotian Studies in September 1992. An asterisked footnote at the beginning of the published version thanked the organizers for their invitation, the demarch and community of Levadheia for their hospitality, and D. M. Lewis for his comments on a slightly later version of the paper. It has now been heavily revised, and entire new sections added. I am grateful to Maria Fragoulaki for comments on the new version.]

The modern work which treats the factual subject-matter of the present chapter most fully is Buck (1994), 9–26, ‘Boiotians in the Peloponnesian War’, cited as Buck 1994. This is almost the same as Buck 1990, which was used by me in the first version of the present chapter. I assume that Buck 1994 supersedes Buck 1990, though the latter is not cited in the later book, or listed in the bibliography. Buck (1979) 161 f. had already treated the Theban attack on Plataia, and this material is in effect repeated at both Buck (1990), 42, and 1994, 11. All these discussions are useful, but I think he overstates his case, which is that Th. tends to confuse the League with Thebes, and that the Thebans were not such imperialists as has been thought. (See n. 1 below, and already my *CT* II, n. on 4. 133. 1, disagreeing with Buck about the general point raised by that passage.) Buck thinks in terms of like-minded hoplite oligarchies.

My own perspective is Thucydidean; I am interested in why he puts his emphases where he does, and in his language, which I assume to be chosen with care. When he says ‘Thebans’ I take him to mean ‘Thebans’, and ‘Boiotians’ when he means ‘Boiotians’, though rhetorical needs may sometimes produce slight distortions. When he keeps ‘the Boiotians’ anonymous, as he does in the first half of book 5, I take this to be deliberate. It may be right to say, with Buck (below) that this really means ‘the faction of Leontiades of Thebes’, but we know about that faction from the Oxyrhynchos historian, not from Thucydides, for whom Leontiades is merely a patronymic; and Thucydides’ decision for anonymity needs to be respected and interrogated.]

I. INTRODUCTION

How important were Boiotia and its most powerful city Thebes¹ in Thucydides’ thinking? The heaviest concentration of Boiotian material is without doubt in the middle part of book 4, culminating in the battle of Delion. But he maintained, throughout his work, a strong interest in the Theban–Plataian clash which began the war proper. *Stasis* generally was a constant preoccupation of Thucydides: powerful, though not specifically Boiotian, occurrences of the word at 1. 2. 6 and 8. 98. 4 ‘book-end’ the entire History. It is with a programmatic report of *stasis* at Boiotian Plataia that he begins the war-narrative proper, even though he does not use the actual word. Naukleides and his faction open the city gates to the Thebans, and Thucydides adds a characteristically confident statement of treacherous motive (2. 2. 2 under 431). What is this if not *stasis*? As late as an advanced stage of the Sicilian expedition, he reminds us that the Theban attack, all those years before, had taken place in time of peace, *spondai*, and was thus a violation of oaths (7. 18. 2, under winter 414/13, describing Spartan sentiments. See below, Ch. 7). Let us look more closely at the treacherous Plataian motive. Thucydides says plainly, and with his usual confidence about collective motives, that Naukleides and company wanted to hand the city over to the Thebans. But Buck² infers from Thucydides’ mention of the two (Theban) Boiotarchs Pythangelos and Diemporos that, ‘in spite of Thucydides’ turn of phrase’, the attack was made ‘under League auspices’ and that Plataia was to be brought into the Boiotian League.³ One might rather wish to say, with Gomme, that ‘we are left to suppose that the other Boeotarchs had no part in the attack’, though he adds ‘but not necessarily that they disapproved of it’. As Gomme says, citing para. 4 (κατὰ τὰ πατρία τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν), the Thebans ‘professed to be acting for

¹ This formulation is deliberately cautious. But it will be seen that I do not entirely follow Buck (1994), 9 (more aggressively Buck (1990), 41), who challenges the usual view that the Thebans dominated the Boiotian League in this period, and that ‘Theban control was tightened and enlarged during the war’.

² Buck (1994), 11.

³ But the more usual and better view is that the federation was formed in 446, that Plataia was already a member, and that it had two votes down to 431: M. H. Hansen, *IACP* 432.

all Boiotia' and this (*professed*) seems a better expression than 'under League auspices'.

Boiotian *stasis* is registered briefly in the summer of 414, though again without the use of the word: the *dēmos* of Thespiiai rose against the governing group, but the attempted coup was foiled with Theban⁴ help, and some of the democrats were arrested, while others fled to Athens (6. 95. 2. For the weakening of the pro-Athenian element at Thespiiai and Theban interference aftermath of Delion in 424, see 4. 133. 1, discussed further below). There were always Athenian sympathizers at both Plataia and Thespiiai, but at some periods they were forced out, and actually moved to Athens. The existence of such groups meant that Theban control of Boiotia was never quite complete, even after the Thebans had been strengthened by the annexation of Plataian territory and votes in 427.

It was a Boiotian town, Mykalessos, which in summer 413 suffered what Thucydides, at the end of a very full and horrible section of narrative, described as the most deplorable fate of the entire war, considering the size of the place (7. 29–30, esp. 30. 3). He handles with very great but inexplicit artistry the responsibility, including that of his fellow-Athenians, for the atrocity.⁵ Only one Boiotian is actually named: the Theban Boiotarch Skirphondas (30. 3).⁶ See above, 16f.

If we are to assess the role of Boiotia in Thucydides, we should take an inclusive view of what 'Boiotia' means. Denis Knoepfler has taught us that the affairs of Boiotia and Euboia are at all times closely interconnected,⁷ and Al Moreno has argued for the paramount importance of Euboia to fifth-century Athenian economic interests.⁸ It is not surprising that Thucydides shows noticeable interest in the

⁴ βοηθησάντων Θηβαίων, 'the Thebans came to their help' i.e. that of the governing group at Thespiiai. This is the reading of the Vatican MS ('B') only; the rest have Ἀθηναίων, and Valla evidently read this too; but it is probably wrong, unless taken to mean 'although the Athenians came to the help of the democrats'.

⁵ CT III, 598. The idea (Buck (1994), 19) that the walls of Mykalessos had been deliberately neglected, so as to allow easy entry by Federal hoplites in case of trouble by democrats, is ingenious, and would add yet another layer of causal responsibility for the massacre. The degree of irresponsibility thus imputed to the League is incredible, and unwarranted by anything in Th., other than the fact of the neglect.

⁶ For the name, see below, n. 61.

⁷ See for instance Knoepfler (2000). In Th., note the early coupling at 1. 113. 2 (446 BC). ⁸ Moreno (2007), esp. 77–123. See most obviously 8. 96. 2.

frontier regions between Attica and Boiotia: not only Panakton in the first half of book 5, but also, and over a wider space of narrative, Oropos and the Oropia, a fertile and important zone disputed for centuries between the Athenians and Thebans, and separated from Euboia only by a small sea-channel.⁹ Similarly, there is awareness of Boiotian designs on and actual occupation of Herakleia in Trachis, on which more below.

Again, we shall see (Section IV below) that the Aiolian kinship connection between Boiotia and Lesbos is a factor in the narrative right through to virtually the last page of Thucydides' text, where he himself draws attention to it, when naming a Theban.¹⁰ There are also kinship links between Boiotians and Megarians, and between Thebans and Aiginetans. Both links are, I think, subtly alluded to by Thucydides.

Thucydides seems to have recognized that Boiotian and Theban power was potentially massive; but he was not a prophet. What modern historians call the Theban hegemony was a phenomenon of the fourth century, specifically the 360s. But as often with Thucydides, we are prisoners of his viewpoint and priorities, though (again, as often) he allows us glimpses out of the prison cell. It is possible to imagine a Thucydidean account which placed greater emphasis on Boiotia. Thus it has often been noticed that Pagondas' tactics at Delion in 424 anticipate those of Epaminondas at Leuktra in 371, though Thucydides did not live to see the second of those battles. The innovation is the strengthened left wing. Pagondas himself came from a distinguished Theban family, one which was celebrated by Pindar in a lyric poem called a *daphnēphorikon* (fr. 94b Maehler), and which may have produced victors in the panhellenic games. It is even possible that this Pagondas had a son Aioladas who was second-in-command of the Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea in 362, where both men died.¹¹ Was this family personally known to Thucydides (who is careful to tell us Pagondas' patronymic, also Aioladas, 4. 91)? And did

⁹ See CT on e.g. 2. 23. 3, 7. 28. 1, 8. 60. 1.

¹⁰ The Aiolian kinship aspect of Boiotian and Theban foreign relations is entirely ignored by Buck, even when Th. himself spells it out, as at 3. 2. 3, 7. 57. 5 (Lesbian Methymna, Tenedos, and Ainos), and 8. 100. 3. See below.

¹¹ See Pindar's *Poetry*, 38, where a speculative family history is offered; cf. above, 58.

the Thebans already, in the last quarter of the fifth century, have their eye on the amphiktionic control which we see them exercising in the 360s? (See above, introduction to Ch. 2.) Probably not; but thoughtful Thebans, so much closer than the Spartans to amphiktionically important Thessaly, may have noticed the implications of the new Spartan foundation at Herakleia in Trachis (3. 92, under 426 BC). As for the federal Boiotian set-up, which modern students think so important in the rise of Thebes, we shall see that Thucydides knows of some of its institutions, and alludes to them casually but accurately. It is intriguing to speculate whether he saw the potential of this kind of collective multi-polis organization.

But maybe we should think, not in terms of the years Thucydides was writing about, but of the years in which he was writing. If, as I think possible for other reasons, Thucydides was still alive and noticing in the first half of the 390s, and if he lived to see the new pattern of political forces which led to the outbreak of the Korinthian War, he must have been aware that the Thebans, enriched by the Peloponnesian War (Oxy. Hist. 20. 4 Chambers), were on the way up. The rise of Thebes, like the rise of Dionysios I of Syracuse and the Athenian revival, may just possibly have coloured Thucydides' presentation of fifth-century events. So it is worth looking more closely at his sources for Theban and Boiotian affairs.

II. THUCYDIDES' SOURCES OF INFORMATION

First in time of Thucydides' sources is the Homeric Catalogue of Ships in book 2 of the *Iliad*. The implication of Thucydides' statements (1. 12. 3) that 'the Boiotians settled Boiotia in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy...but some were there already and these joined the Trojan expedition' is that Thucydides had studied the Catalogue well. But this we knew already; compare his remarks about Philoktetes' contingent (1. 10. 4), or Minyan Orchomenos (4. 76. 3, cf. *Iliad* 2. 511). But he clearly knew another tradition also, perhaps derived from Hellanikos, that which tried to date the subsequent settlements of Greece, including the Dorian invasion; hence the words 'in the sixtieth year'. What he is trying to do is reconcile Homeric data about

Boiotia with what for him were more modern chronologies.¹² From the same passage (1. 12. 3) we learn that Thucydides knew that Boiotia was once called Kadmeis; see below.

Of prose authors, the first in time is Hekataios of Miletos. It is likely that Thucydides drew on him. Note the similarity between their descriptions of Chaironeia, the first, or depending on your viewpoint the last, city of Boiotia (*FGrHist* 1 F 116 and Th. 4. 76. 3. See also F117, from Stephanus of Byzantium, on Koroneia. Stephanus goes on to say that there are no moles in Koroneia.¹³ That is not the kind of detail we should expect Thucydides to pick up).

But it is to Herodotus that Thucydides is most conspicuously indebted for his Boiotian history. That is true everywhere; for instance a topographical detail in book 3 (the *hērōon* of Androkrateis at 24. 1, cf. Hdt. 9. 25. 3) surely presupposes Herodotus' account of the battle of Plataia. But it is particularly true of the elaborate pair of speeches in Thucydides book 3, the exchange between the Plataians and the Thebans in front of the five Spartan 'judges' (chs. 52–68). This episode contains circumstantial details. One of the Plataian speakers has the good Boiotian patronymic Asopolaos. This is an evident 'potamonym', and belongs to a class formed from the river Asopos, although we can now see that there is no other bearer of the precise name in *LGPNIIB* or any other volume of the *Lexicon*. The Plataian speech in particular follows closely the narrative account of Herodotus (6. 108). This is not surprising. I have argued elsewhere¹⁴ that Thucydides is here merely obeying a self-imposed stylistic rule. The rule is that factual material about the past tends, *when it occurs in Thucydidean speeches*, to derive *either* from Herodotus *or* from Thucydides' own narrative elsewhere; for instance—to take a good Boiotian example—Pagondas' reference to the mid-fifth-century battle of Koroneia, in his speech before the battle of Delion, presupposes the facts given in the *Pentekontetia* narrative (4. 92. 6, cf. 1. 113. 2).

By contrast, factual material about the past tends, *when it occurs in non-speech sections of Thucydides* (I use that inelegant expression so as to include the excursuses and digressions as well as the wartime

¹² See Kirk (1985), 179.

¹³ See Pearson (1939), 52 for the probability that the moles were in Hekataios.

¹⁴ *CT* II, 129–34; cf. above, 74.

narrative proper) to derive from a much wider range of sources. (We have just noted one example, the complex interweaving of Homeric material with non-Homeric in Thucydides' handling of the troubled sequel to the Trojan War.) This means that the non-speech parts of Thucydides are full of factual references to past i.e. pre-479 or even pre-431 events for which we have no non-Thucydidean authority. But there is hardly a single pre-431 fact *in a speech* in Thucydides which is not already known to us, usually from Herodotus. The important exceptions are very few indeed. The biggest is the Peloponnesian League debate about Samos in 440. This is attested only by the Korinthian speech at Athens in reply to the Kerkyraians before the outbreak of war (1. 40. 5, and possibly the broken opening to ML 56). More relevant from the Boiotian point of view is the implication (3. 55. 3) that the Plataians were already Athenian citizens in 427. This is a well-known and intractable problem.¹⁵ Another Boiotian example¹⁶ is a passage (2. 71. 2) which seems to imply that some sort of solemn guarantee of eternal immunity from attack was made to the Plataians in 479 BC. This is from a Plataian speech and implies a fact which is not attested in Herodotus or elsewhere. But as a general rule the thesis I have argued for holds up. Thucydides' use of Herodotus, whom he notoriously never names, is, however, not straightforward.

One of Thucydides' motives for including very specific information about an individual, for instance the names and patronymics of persons of only small or medium importance, is to correct a predecessor. This proposition can, as it happens, be best illustrated by a Boiotian item, the Theban attack on Plataia at the beginning of book 2. Thucydides is emphatic and specific (2. 2. 1) that the leaders of the attack were the Boiotarchs¹⁷ Pythangelos the son of Phyleidas and Diemporos¹⁸ the son of Onetoridas. Why the exact names and patronymics? For once we can answer this question (often such instances of Thucydidean precision have no discernible motive. Gomme was often inclined to regard them as evidence of the unfinished state of Thucydides' text). Now Herodotus had, in one of his

¹⁵ Discussed in CT I, 449 f. ¹⁶ See below, Ch. 7, 168, citing Badian.

¹⁷ See above for their status as Boiotarchs. I do not think Th. is stressing League involvement. ¹⁸ On the name, see below, n. 59.

rare forward-looking references (7. 233. 2), said that this attack was led by Eurymachos the son of Leontiades, a man whom Thucydides does mention in the context of the Plataia siege (2. 2. 3), but not as leader of the attack. And Thucydides gives the total of the Theban contingent as a little more than 300, contrast Herodotus' 400. Thucydides was evidently correcting Herodotus.¹⁹ Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides mention any part played, in this crucial episode of Theban history, by Pagondas or any other member of his distinguished family, the Aioladai (see above). Yet it is hard to think that they all stood entirely aloof. Or were they content to shine in the military and athletic spheres? Or does their absence suggest a lack of unanimity? If so, and Thucydides meant us to notice the absence, he demands great attentiveness from his readers, because Pagondas will not be introduced until late in the long book 4. So it will not be until that point in the narrative that readers who rely on Thucydides' text alone for knowledge of Boiotian affairs will be a position to reflect retrospectively on Pagondas' absence from the attack on Plataia years before.

So far, Thucydides appears to take over some of his Boiotian material from Herodotus, while silently correcting it on minor but definite points of fact. This suggests an interest in what, for both men, were topical Boiotian affairs. In Thucydides' case, this interest is considerable, if judged by inches of text: the space devoted to the Theban and Plataian arguments is generous, even after we have made allowance for literary considerations. I mean, for the pathetic effectiveness of including all that rhetorically elaborated material about the past, when the Spartan judges are concerned only with their own 'brief question' (3. 53. 2, *ἐπερώτημα βραχύ*, cf. 52. 4 and 68. 1), 'what good have you done for the Spartans and their allies in the war?'²⁰

I mentioned above that Hellanikos was a possible source for Thucydides. The idea cannot be formally disproved. But against it, perhaps, is the likelihood that the ill-tempered mention of Thucydides which introduces the *Pentekontaetia* narrative (1. 97. 2) was a last-minute swipe prompted by the recent appearance of Hellanikos' work, not

¹⁹ See Reid Rubincam (1981), 47 ff., accepting that Th. was trying to correct Hdt., but arguing that, when allowance is made for Hdt.'s loose figures, the factual discrepancy between the two versions may not have been all that great.

²⁰ On the repeated 'brief question', see now Barker (2009), 248–54.

long before the end of the Peloponnesian War. (Hellanikos mentioned the battle of Arginousai, an event of 406 BC: *FGrHist* 323a F25). On the other hand, if Thucydides was aware of the 390s, then awareness of Hellanikos is also formally possible for sections other than the *Pentekontaetia*. We must look more closely at the passage with which we began (1. 12). There, as we saw, Thucydides says that the land of the Boiotians was once called Kadmeis. At first sight it is tempting to connect this with the work of Hellanikos called the *Phoronis*, a two-part fragment of which (see F1 a and b) shows that Kadmos, the mythical founder of Aiolian Thebes, was handled by Hellanikos, who was after all a native of the Aiolian island of Lesbos. But Hekataios (*FGrHist* F 119) and many an early poet were all interested in Kadmos. And in fact a probable fragment of Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F 51) says that 'Boiotia was formerly called Aonia', i.e. *not* Kadmeis (the Aones are also mentioned in Hekataios F119). Thucydides is here either independent of Hellanikos or else correcting him, cf. above on Herodotus. The latter possibility implies awareness, and we can accept this, given that, for instance, Thucydides' chapter about the house of Atreus may owe something to Hellanikos (1. 9).²¹ But this is all dangerous ground: Hellanikos, of whose relevant works we have only short quotations, could have given more than one name for early Boiotia; and the poetic traditions about the house of Atreus were rich and varied.

After Homer, Hekataios, Herodotus, Hellanikos, and perhaps Pindar, our fifth source must be informal or oral tradition, because we have now exhausted the obvious written sources. ('Hesiod the poet' features by name in Thucydides only for the bizarre story of his death: 3. 96. 1).

Sometimes we can make a particular conjecture, based on a name or patronymic. Eupompidas son of Daimachos is mentioned in the Plataian siege-narrative (3. 20. 1); he is one of the Plataian generals. Now Daimachos is not a common name, but a historian Daimachos of Plataia is known to have written about sieges in the fourth century (*FGrHist* 65). Was he the son of the Thucydidean general, and did the latter supply both his son and Thucydides with information about the epochal siege of his native city? There is a complication, because we

²¹ With CT I, 32.

know of another Daimachos, who wrote about India in the Hellenistic period (*FGrHist* 716); history-writing was perhaps a family tradition. Some think that it was he who wrote about sieges.²² But Jacoby in his commentary more plausibly identified the fourth-century Daimachos as the poliorketic writer, because he seems²³ to be mentioned by Athenaios Mechanicus in what looks like a chronologically-arranged list. It names Daimachos before Alexander the Great's siege expert Diades, who is in turn named before Pyrrhus.

It is, then, possible that reliable information, going back to Eupompidas or his family, may lie behind Thucydides' vivid account of the break-out from the siege of Plataia. But he used Herodotus in his speeches, and oral or other traditions in his narrative of this episode and the speeches made then. There was no shortage of emigré Plataians at Athens in the early fourth century for him to talk to (see esp. Lys. 23; cf. above, Section I, for the Thespian refugees at Athens, attested by 6. 95. 2).

III. THUCYDIDES ON BOIOTIA AND BOIOTIANS

I pass now to Thucydides' awareness of and attitude to Boiotia and Boiotians more generally, and his detailed handling in the narrative. His knowledge of federal Boiotia is unobtrusive, and revealed only when his narrative compels it, so that the contrast with the precious analytical chapter of the Oxyrhynchos Historian is very marked (ch. 19 Chambers); but it is equally true that Aristotle in the *Politics*, a century later, did not have much to say about the Greek federal groupings which were a more noticeable phenomenon in his day.²⁴ As for Thucydides, it is true that he knows of Boiotarchs, the federal Boiotian officials, and gets their number right ('who are eleven,' he says parenthetically: 4. 91, and cf. above for Skirphondas in bk. 7); but then so

²² Schwartz (1969); Garlan (1974), 84 n. 1; Whitehead (1990), 37 n. 110.

²³ The passage is corrupt and Daimachos' name is the result of a (plausible) emendation. See Whitehead and Blyth (2004), 71 f.

²⁴ But for the Arkadian League, see 1261*29 with M. H. Hansen in Nielsen and Roy (1996), 80–8.

did Herodotus know that there were people called Boiotarchs (9. 15. 1). And Thucydides' narrative of the battle of Delion positively requires them (there was a split among the Boiotarchs. Pagondas had the support of his Theban colleague Arianthidas son of Lysimachidas,²⁵ but he needed to persuade the others to fight by powerful rhetoric: 4. 91 and 93. 1; see below, Ch. 12, 249 n. 27). A more striking federal usage is the anonymous 'hipparchos of the Boiotians' (he is mentioned because killed at Th. 4. 72. 4). A 'hipparch' is a regular linguistic formation for a cavalry commander, and hipparchs are familiar at Athens, Thessaly, and in Alexander's army. But this is a federal official, and the word is (perhaps surprisingly) a Thucydidean *hapax*.²⁶ Thucydides knows how Boiotia fitted together politically and geographically: he uses the term *συντελεῖ* (4. 76. 3) for Chaironeia's relation of subordination to Orchomenos (4. 76. 3; for the verb cf. Oxy. Hist. 19. 3 Chambers).²⁷ Commentators have been less struck by this correspondence than by the fact that in the account given by the Oxyrhynchos Historian (again 19. 3), Chaironeia is grouped with Akraiphnion and Kopai, a state of affairs usually explained by the assumption that Chaironeia's status changed after 424. Again, Thucydides correctly brackets the cities round Lake Kopais together (4. 93. 4): Haliartos—the only mention of this place in all Thucydides—Koroneia, and Kopai. In the Oxyrhynchos Historian (as above), the grouping is noticeably similar: Haliartos, Lebadeia, and Koroneia. Thucydides speaks of the 'four councils of the Boiotians, who have complete authority', *ἅπαν τὸ κύρος* (5. 38. 2). He does not explain that this means the four rotating federal Boiotian councils, and that these mirrored four city councils inside each Boiotian city. This double system was made more or less clear only in 1906, with the discovery of the Oxyrhynchos historian.²⁸ We must in any case qualify the description above: some of the cities of Boiotia were tiny, and were dependent on larger cities. It is improbable

²⁵ Who may well be commemorated on the victory monument for Aigospotamoi: ML 95d. ²⁶ See my note on the passage, CT II, 241.

²⁷ Buck (1994), 118 with n. 2 on p. 162, notes that later writers such as Polybius (5. 94. 1) use the word *synteleia* for a league, but the root is evidently old, in this sense.

²⁸ In CT III, 89–90, I have argued that Oxy. Hist. 19 first describes the set-up in the individual (larger) cities and then says 'that is how the cities were organized, and federal Boiotia was also organized in the way I have just described'. The Oxy. Hist. makes clear the local/federal distinction which Th. takes for granted.

that there were four councils in each of the very small places.²⁹ Thucydides tells us enough for his purpose, namely the understanding of foreign policy, but no more. In keeping with his presentation of the four councils acting in concert, he operates throughout this section with an undifferentiated concept 'Boiotians', without separate mention of individual Boiotian cities or ethnics. This continues into the military narrative which culminates in the battle of Mantinea in 418: 'the Boiotians' send a notably large force to help the Spartans (5. 57. 3). With this, contrast the very strong Theban–Plataian polarity in books 2 and 3, the description of the *stasis* at Thespias in 414 which failed because of Theban intervention (6. 95. 2, cf. 4. 133. 1), and the Boiotian force of 300 hoplites sent to Sicily in 413 led by 'Xenon and Nikon the Thebans, and Hegesandros the Thespian' (7. 19. 3 with 25. 3–4: some of the Thespians are ferried to Syracuse by Syracusans). And we have seen that Skirphondas the Boiotarch gets his Theban city-ethnic in the aftermath of the Mykalessos episode (7. 30. 3). In the list of allies before the final sea-battle, we are reminded (7. 57. 5) that the Plataians, though Boiotians, were ranged, through enmity, *ἐχθρος*, on the opposite side from 'the Boiotians' i.e. the Thebans mainly, but also the Thespians after the purge of Attikizers in 424 and 414.³⁰

Thucydides makes Pagondas proudly allude to the battle of Koroneia, fought in 446 (4. 92. 6; cf. the Theban speakers at 3. 67. 3). That was when the Boiotians, at the battle of Koroneia, threw off the decade of Athenian control which had begun at Oinophyta (1. 108. 3. At Oinophyta the Athenians retrieved their defeat at Boiotian Tanagra two months earlier, para. 1). But the ten-year period itself is reported in a mere eight unemphatic words. This is severe compression, even allowing for the rapidity of most of the *Pentekontaetia* narrative.³¹

²⁹ I am here indebted to correspondence with M. H. Hansen. See the excellent introduction to his chapter on Boiotia in *IACP* (431 f.).

³⁰ Here the needs of rhetoric—the Plataians were outright Boiotians uniquely fighting against Boiotians because of enmity—do bring Th. close to equating Thebans and Boiotians, but not quite. The Thebans at Syracuse were accompanied by Thespians.

³¹ Speakers (3. 62. 5 and 4. 92. 6) are made to attribute Athenian success in Boiotia to Boiotian *stasis*, perhaps between cities, so Lewis, *CAH* 5². 116; contrast Gehrke (1985), 166 n. 16, who thinks in terms of struggles inside the cities). But it is from the *Old Oligarch* (3. 11), not Th., that we learn (if that is the right word) that the Athenians, during their control of Boiotia supported oligarchies there; but see below ch. 16: this may not be contemporary evidence.

Epigraphic evidence suggests that certain inland Boiotian cities, Orchomenos and Akraiphnion, were actually tributary members of the Athenian empire.³² We would hardly guess this from Thucydides, who usually gives the impression that the empire was maritime; but it is not actually inconsistent with what he says.

Pagondas' rhetoric, and Boiotian military effectiveness, enabled the Boiotians to win the battle of Delion in 424. But the price paid by some Boiotian poleis was heavy, above all Thespiiai: 'the men of Thespiiai were cut down fighting hand to hand', he says (4. 96. 3), and the probable Thespian casualty list survives (*IG* VII. 1888). It is a remarkable text,³³ 101 names, no patronymics (this is normal practice everywhere, including Athens), but two are specified as Olympic and Pythian victors respectively. A little later Thucydides tells how the walls of Thespiiai were demolished by the Thebans³⁴ because of alleged Thespian *attikismos* (tendency to side with the Athenians); he explains that the opportunity to do so was provided by Thespian losses at Delion, where the city had lost the flower, *anthos*, of its population (4. 133. 1, cf. 6. 95. 2 for a failed democratic uprising). The noun *anthos* is common in poetry in the metaphorical sense, but is a Thucydidean hapax, and I have suggested that Thucydides knew that the fallen included those victors in the panhellenic games, and that *anthos* is his own brief, Pindaric tribute.³⁵

After Delion, Boiotia never again occupies the centre of the Thucydidean narrative, except that 'the Boiotians' are prominent in the intrigues of book 5. Unless we count the briefly and spectacularly pseudo-Boiotian moment of the Spartan Lichas son of Arkesilas at the Olympic games of 420 (5. 50. 4: he competed as a Boiotian), the closely narrated diplomacy of book 5 features no glamorous individual

³² D. M. Lewis, *CAH* 5². 116 n. 72; above, 53.

³³ See *CT* II, 406, citing e.g. Pritchett, *GSW* 4. 132f.

³⁴ Not the Boiotian League as a whole, as Buck (1994), 18 would like, calling this 'another possible interpretation of [Th.]'. It is more than that; it is a rewriting of Th. Note that Buck does not interpret 6. 95. 2 in the same way, although here too Th. mentions the Thebans only (for the MS readings, see above n. 4).

³⁵ See *Th. and Pi.* 44f. If we want the name of a possible Thespian informant for Th., there is Ptoiodoros at 4. 76. 2, where the ms. variant 'from Thespiiai' is preferable to 'from Thebes': see Gomme's n. and mine. As we shall see in Section VI (see n. 64), Buck (1994), 16 treats him as a Theban without discussion.

Boiotian to match Pagondas in book 4. (What was Pagondas doing in the years after 424? It is as much of a mystery as his doings before that year, cf. above for the attack on Plataia). Indeed we shall see in Section 5 that the 421–416 narrative features no named Boiotian at all, by contrast with the Argives in this period (for whom see below Ch. 6); and in this section of narrative Thucydides does not even differentiate between the individual Boiotian cities, except to say that some Plataians were given the territory of Skione to cultivate (5. 32. 1); this non-differentiation is, as we saw, a kind of acknowledgment of federalism. Thucydides does comment on the preference of the Boiotians for Spartan oligarchy over Argive democracy.³⁶ The Boiotians are paired in this context with the Megarians in a significantly emphatic way (5. 31. 6 and again at 38. 1)³⁷ which may remind us of the kinship connection discussed above (131–2).

The Boiotians do not feature much in book 6, except when we are told (6. 61. 2) that after the affair of the Mysteries the Athenians feared Boiotian collusion with the Spartan army; and he reports the *stasis* at Thespiiai, suppressed with Theban help, with which we began this chapter (6. 95. 2). In Sicily, the Boiotians' greatest moment of glory was when they turned the tide during the night battle at Epipolai. They were the first to stem the Athenian attack by charging them, and putting them to flight. Accordingly, one of the two Syracusan trophies was erected at the precise spot where this had happened (7. 43. 7 and 45. 1). Thucydides gives no names, and the Boiotians are undifferentiated, as often. They must be the troops which had recently arrived with Xenon and Nikon of Thebes and Hegesandros³⁸ of Thespiiai (see above on 7. 19. 3 and 25. 3–4). Their success at Epipolai is perhaps to be explained, in part, by their freshness as recent arrivals. The brief mention of Thespian *stasis* in book 6 (95. 2) helps to explain and prepare us for the arrival and activity of these Thespian troops in book 7: the anti-Athenian dissidents at Thespiiai have again (cf. 4. 133. 1) been suppressed or driven out

³⁶ If the Thebans are chiefly meant (see below), cf. perhaps 3. 62. 3, the Thebans at Plataia claim that at that time their government is not a *dynasteia* or family clique (as at the time of the Persian Wars) but an 'isonomous oligarchy'. But this may be little more than tendentious rhetoric: *CT* I, 456.

³⁷ See *CT* III, 74.

³⁸ Buck (1994), 22 calls him a Boiotarch, but Th. does not say this.

through Theban intervention. But we are also reminded of the constant need for such intervention.

In book 8 the Boiotians are not prominent, except (not a negligible exception) when stirred by kinship considerations. For this, see Section IV below.

The single Boiotian-related theme which we encounter most persistently in the second half of the History has to do with precarious Spartan control of Herakleia in Trachis, some way away from Boiotia to the north west; for us, who know of developments in the first decades of the fourth century culminating in the battle of Leuktra in 371, the theme has special interest. The Boiotians did not feature explicitly in Thucydides' very ample account of the original Spartan foundation (3. 92–93, under 426), though we may conjecture that Boiotians were among the Greeks 'other than the Ionians, Achaians and some other *ethnē*' who joined the colony (3. 92. 5). One phrase from that account (93. 3, at end) will recur: the Spartans ran the place badly, *οὐ καλῶς*. In 422, three named and high-status Spartans put right those matters in Herakleia which seemed to them to be wrong, *μὴ καλῶς*, but again the Boiotians are not mentioned (5. 12. 1). But that changes in 419, when we find the Boiotians playing a central role: they take Herakleia over because of Spartan mis-management, *οὐ καλῶς* again (5. 52. 1, part of a two-chapter narrative—chs. 51 and 52—spread over a winter and the start of a summer). In just fourteen lines, Thucydides names two Spartan commanders, Xenares and Agesippidas, but he leaves 'the Boiotians' entirely anonymous, not even specifying whether the Thebans were prominent, as they probably were. (See below, Section 6, for a suggestion as to why he presented matters in this onomastically lopsided way). By 413/12, the Spartans had probably reacquired Herakleia.³⁹ In 399 the Spartans, under Herippidas, again have to intervene at Herakleia to restore order (Diod. 14. 38. 4), but in 395 the Boiotians and Argives seized the city. The sequence continued, but we cannot follow it here. Thucydides has identified a Spartan–Boiotian flashpoint. From the Boiotian, specifically the Theban, point of view, Herakleia was always a source of anxiety, raising as it did the prospect of actual encirclement by the Spartans.⁴⁰ See above, 46, and below, 271, 319 f.

³⁹ See 8. 3. 1 with CT III, 756, n. on *κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἔχθραν*.

⁴⁰ Andrewes (1971a), 217–25; Cook (1990).

IV. BOIOTIA AND KINSHIP

One interesting feature of Thucydides' narrative is that he more than once alludes, explicitly or implicitly, to the *συγγένεια* or kinship tie between Boiotia and Lesbos, Aiolian regions both. The prime text is close to the end of the whole work (8. 100. 3), Anaxandros the Theban is chosen for a mission involving Lesbos, 'because of the tie of kinship', *κατὰ τὸ συγγενές* (a favourite Thucydidean tag; cf. 1. 95. 1 for the Ionian kinship which lay at the root of the Athenian empire). There are several other passages relevant to the Boiotian–Lesbian link (3. 2. 3 *συγγενῶν ὄντων*; 7. 57. 5, Lesbian Methymna, Tenedos, and Ainos fight at Syracuse 'as Aiolians alongside the Aiolian Boiotians who founded them'; 8. 5. 2). Note also that the presence of Hermaiondas the Theban at Mytilene (3. 5. 2) is to be explained by this kinship tie, though this time Thucydides does not draw attention to it.⁴¹ Thucydides was too generally aware of such ties⁴² for this Boiotian–Lesbian connection to be very important for our purposes. But Thucydides does dwell on it noticeably (incidentally it provides a link between the Mytilenaiian and Plataian episodes which fill the entire first half of book 3). Indeed I have suggested that the Boiotians, 'conservative folk on the whole, seem to be energetic in bk. 8 only when kinship provides the motor'.⁴³

The Boiotian–Lesbian kinship raises another interesting but (from the Thucydidean point of view) less obviously visible kinship, that between Boiotia and Megara. The connection itself was admirably treated by K. Hanell long ago.⁴⁴ He showed that one strand of the relevant myth can be traced to Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F78, the mythical Megareus who gave his name to Megara came from Boiotian Onchestos). This sentimental connection is, I have suggested, part of what Thucydides means when he says (4. 72. 1, under 424) that the Boiotians were alarmed by the danger posed to Megara by the Athenian designs on that city, because 'the danger was close to home', literally 'not alien to them': *οὐκ ἀλλοτρίου τοῦ κινδύνου*. Gomme, who

⁴¹ Buck (1994), 15 registers Hermaiondas' mission but not the kinship connection.

⁴² See above for 1. 95, and CT II, 61–80, esp. 73 ff. for Boiotia and Lesbos; Maria Fragoulaki, *Kinship in Thucydides*, forthcoming.

⁴³ CT III, 763, discussing 8. 5. 2.

⁴⁴ Hanell (1934), 24–48.

in his note on the passage characteristically interprets this in purely secular military terms, was right too: the danger to the Megarid threatened Boiotia in a simple strategic sense. But Thucydides was well aware that sentimental or religious considerations could sometimes be very relevant to military decisions (see 1. 107. 1, the Spartans help their metropolis Doris in central Greece).⁴⁵ He here hints at it (if he does so at all) very delicately, using exactly the expression ('not alien') which the Theban poet Pindar before him had, with typical *litotes*,⁴⁶ used for the father-son relationship (*Pythian* 1. 59). There is, in Thucydides' Plataian debate (3. 64. 3, the Thebans' speech), a similarly delicate and unobtrusive hint at another and more frequently invoked kinship relationship, that between Thebes and Aigina. There is a Pindaric dimension here too. For Pindar (*Isthmian* 8. 17 f.), as for Herodotus (5. 80. 1), the nymphs Thebe and Aigina were sisters, daughters of the river-god Asopos.⁴⁷ A third sister was Kerkyra.⁴⁸ There is thus a link between the Plataian affair in book 3 of Thucydides and the Kerkyraian *stasis* which immediately follows it. Mythical kinship links thus connect the three main episodes of Thucydides book 3. It is impossible to say whether or how far Thucydides intended or was aware of this.

Kinship ties are in a way a manifestation of religion; certainly the metropolis-daughter-city relationship was expressed religiously (Thucydides 1. 25. 4 and much other evidence). It is to Thucydides' handling of Boiotian cults and festivals, that is, to religion in the full sense, that we may now turn.

V. CULTS AND FESTIVALS⁴⁹

At first sight, the title of this section may appear unpromising: after all, Thucydides does not even give details of the Plataian *hieromēnia* during which the Thebans attacked (3. 56. 2, from the speech of the

⁴⁵ See also below for the bracketing of the Boiotians and Megarians at 5. 31 and 38.

⁴⁶ Köhnken (1976). ⁴⁷ See *Th. and Pi.* 118 and 209.

⁴⁸ Bowra (1953), 54–65.

⁴⁹ Buck clearly does not regard Boiotian cults and festivals as having much relevance to his book about Boiotia and the League in 432–371. See Schachter (1983–94), and his brief entry (as 'A. Sch.') 'Boiotia, cults of' in *OCD*; also the valuable material

Plataians, not contradicted by the Thebans at 3. 65. 1); and yet he does tell us about the festival of Apollo Maloeis⁵⁰ at Aiolian Mytilene, mentioned in a similar military connection (3. 3. 3). And elsewhere he lets us know a fair amount about Plataian cult. In 429 Archidamos sacrifices in the Plataian agora to Zeus of Freedom, *Eleutherios*, a panhellenic cult attested in later literary sources and now in an important inscription of the third century BC (2. 71. 2).⁵¹ He then invokes the gods and heroes who protect this land of Plataia (2. 74. 2). The formula is a usual one.⁵² Thucydides allows the Plataians to dwell, with pathetic elaboration, on the cult for the dead of the battle fought in their territory in 479 (3. 58. 4): clothing and other customary offerings, the finest produce of the earth, and every sort of first-fruits have been brought every year, they say.⁵³ After the destruction of Plataia, the Spartans dedicate the place to Hera, and the narrative of Thucydides gives details (3. 68. 4).⁵⁴

The other main religious passage concerns the sanctuary of Apollo at Delion,⁵⁵ which was in Boiotian territory (see 4. 90 f.). In the well-known argument in *oratio obliqua* between the Boiotians and Athenians about the violation of the temple's sanctity (4. 97–9), the Boiotians are presented as outraged traditionalists. There is no remotely comparable passage anywhere in Thucydides, and even after allowing for the

in *IACP* 437–59, nos. 198–223: the entry for each Boiotian *polis* gives the evidence for its cults.

⁵⁰ For the interesting and extensive evidence for the deity and the festival, see my *CT I* n. on the passage.

⁵¹ Details in *CT I*, 358. On this well-attested cult see Schachter (1983–94) 3. 125–43; also Boedeker (1998), 239–43. For the post-classical 'Plataia' theme, see below, Ch. 15, 309 f.

⁵² See e.g. the opening of *Syll.* 581, treaty between Rhodians and Hierapytnians of Krete, c.200 BC: 'the priests and sacrificers shall pray to the Sun and to Rhodes and to all the other gods and goddesses and to the founding deities and to the heroes who possess the land and territory of the Rhodians' *CT I*, 359, n. on 2. 74. 2 quoted Burkert, *GR* 205 for invocation of protective gods and heroes who 'together circumscribe the sacral sphere'.

⁵³ Parker, *Polytheism and Society*, 29 n. 87 (and for first-fruits, see his discussion at *ThesCRA* 1. 2(d) (2004) 275 f.); Schachter (1983–94), 3. 135.

⁵⁴ See *IACP* 449 ff., no. 216, at 451. (The hostel now built was presumably for the Daidala festival to Hera.)

⁵⁵ See Schachter (1983–94), 1. 44–7 and Chankowski (2008), 66 f., for this cult and sanctuary.

needs of rhetoric,⁵⁶ it may be right to make inferences about the degree of conservative Boiotian piety. The passage is full of interesting religious detail (e.g. the mention of sacred water at 97. 3), but much of this will not have been peculiar to Boiotia. However, the invocation (4. 97. 4) of Apollo and of the 'deities who share his cult',⁵⁷ the *δμωχέτες δαίμονες*, introduces a most unusual epithet, which we are told by the ancient commentators is a peculiarly Boiotian word; this idiolect may support the idea that Thucydides wishes to underline normal Boiotian piety, making the Theban impiety of 431 the more shocking.

So much for the poleis of Boiotia (and we should add the Mykalessian temples sacked at 7. 29. 4). What of the Boiotian federal sanctuary? It would be too much to hope that Thucydides might have solved the problem of where the confederacy met. He was perfectly capable of doing so, if his narrative had required it. As things are, we are unsure whether Onchestos (with its sanctuary of Poseidon) performed this function in the classical period, as we know it did in hellenistic times.⁵⁸

VI. NAMING AND ANONYMITY

Before we close, the problem of Thucydides' handling of Boiotian and especially Theban names must be confronted. I begin with Thebans. Having supplied us with the names and patronymics of three prominent

⁵⁶ Chaniotis (1996), 84 with n. 77 makes no allowance for this factor in his treatment of Th. 4. 97–8, and reaches unsafe conclusions. He writes '[Th.] limits the right to *asylia* to persons who were either wronged or wronged others willingly' (this refers to 4. 98. 6). But Chaniotis, here and throughout his discussion, equates Th.'s own views with the tendentious rhetoric of his Athenian speakers. The latter imply, speciously (see *CT* II, 313, first n. on 4. 98. 6), that they are in Boiotia as a result of an involuntary lapse. They are nothing of the sort; they are invaders. They then go on to say, concessively and in passing, that if you do wrong voluntarily, you are allowed to take refuge at an altar. This (see my second n. on 4. 98. 6) is a mere amplification of their previous idea, about doing wrong under pressure of emergencies. It is unwise to treat this (with Chaniotis) as of 'decisive importance' in understanding the changes in Greek attitudes to *asylia*.

⁵⁷ Schachter (1983–94), 1. 46 speculates, reasonably enough, that these were 'Artemis and Leto, or perhaps local heroes?' but does not comment on the unusual word. ⁵⁸ Schachter (1983–94), 2. 220 f.

Thebans close together at the beginning of book 2 (the two Boiotarchs Pythangelos son of Phyleides and Diemporos⁵⁹ son of Onetorides, and a few lines later Eurymachos a 'very influential Theban', son of Leontiades (I)),⁶⁰ Thucydides thereafter appears, especially in book 5, to change his policy, or at any rate his practice, to one of much greater anonymity. Eurymachos in particular is never mentioned again. At Delion in 424 we learn the names and patronymics of the two Theban Boiotarchs, Pagondas son of Aioladas and Arianthidas son of Lysimachidas (4. 91). Pagondas is the only named Theban in Thucydides to deliver a speech, and a fine one it is too. Otherwise we have a sprinkling of named commanders or men sent on missions (Hermaiondas in book 3, Xenon, Nikon, and the Boiotarch Skirphondas⁶¹ in book 7, Anaxandros in book 8: 3. 5. 2; 7. 19. 3; 7. 30. 3; 8. 100. 3).

The puzzle is that no Theban or other Boiotian is named in book 5 at all (or indeed in book 6). And yet 'the Boiotians' are very active politically in 420/19. Buck,⁶² who does not acknowledge the problem, cheerfully supplies names. He becomes progressively more sure that we can see the hand of Leontiades (II)'s faction in Boiotian politics of winter 421/0: 'presumably the faction of Leontiades' becomes 'the faction of Leontiades' further down the page. This is supposed to be justified by the Oxyrhynchos Historian's analysis of the factions in 395, where Astias and Leontiades (II) are said to have controlled Thebes 'for a considerable time', *χρόνον... συχρόν*.⁶³ The retrojection from 395 into the Thucydidean years may or may not be right. An obvious objection—especially if we posit activity by Leontiades (II)

⁵⁹ On the unusual and interesting name, see Fraser (1993), 174 n. 80, discussing *Κλεέμπορος* and other *-emporos* formations (which he says 'seem in general to be very rare'), including Th.'s Theban; see above, Ch. 4, 114, n. 62.

⁶⁰ 2. 2. 2 and 3. (I use (I) to distinguish him from his grandson Leontiades (II), the man in the Oxyrhynchos Historian).

⁶¹ The name is unique (no other in *LGP* III B or other vols.) but looks authentic. Bechtel, *HP* 559 says it is formed from the Phokian place-name Skirphai. Skirphai is not securely located, and though Steph. Byz. calls it a Phokian *polis*, it is refused *polis* status by *IACP* 406. The name is said in *IACP* to be a variant of *Κίρφης*, which is however not a *polis* but a steep mountain, according to Strabo (9. 3. 3).

⁶² Buck (1994), 21.

⁶³ For Oxy. Hist 20. 2, see Buck (1994), 24. But did they control it by force or by persuasion? (*κράτους* or *πειθοῦς*)? Chambers now reverts to the reading 'persuasion', which was that of the ed. princeps.

as early as 420—is that it makes Leontiades (II) a kind of Theban General Franco, running the show for decades. But in any case (a) Thucydides nowhere names Leontiades (II) at all, nor any other Boiotian in this narrative context, and (b) Buck is surely now violating his own principles, by equating Boiotia with Thebes.

Buck even feels able to name the leader of the Theban opposition: in his summing-up chapter he writes⁶⁴ of ‘the old democratic faction of Ptoiodoros in the days of the rule of Leontiades’ faction’. But Ptoiodoros, mentioned under the year 424, is likelier to be a Thespian than a Theban, a textual and historical point never addressed by Buck (above, n. 35).

What answers are available for this marked anonymity? First, an answer in terms of Thucydides’ ignorance, or because he was not sure enough of his ground. If the historian who was aware that Eurymachos was very influential in 431 does not say the same about Eurymachos’ son Leontiades (II) a decade later, we should respect that decision and not rewrite him. That is, the anonymity tells us something about the limits of his information about Boiotian politics and prosopography.

A second explanation might appeal to considerations of composition. Book 5, it might be argued, has some rough features and other signs of incompleteness, and in a final version Thucydides would have added names. Andrewes wrote of the ‘scrappy and disjointed’ character of the book 5 narrative apart from the Mantinea campaign,⁶⁵ but he did not discuss the names question. This ‘analyst’ answer is not wholly adequate, if only because in this section there are several named Spartans, one outspoken Korinthian, Euphamidas, and (most unusually) some named Argives. In any case, note that Gomme tended to treat *naming* (and the specification of patronymics) as evidence of imperfect finish, at least when the individuals concerned were minor (but who is to say what counts as minor?).

The third approach assumes that Thucydides’ decision is deliberate, and seeks to explain it as an artistic or other type of preference. The prevailing mood in Thucydidean studies is unitarian not analyst, but naming and non-naming strategies have not yet been properly

studied.⁶⁶ What might Thucydides have thought was gained by presenting Boiotian politics in this way? If we ask what was distinctive about Boiotian arrangements, by comparison with Argive, Korinthian, or Spartan, the answer is that Boiotia was federally organized. We have seen that Thucydides knew this perfectly well, and we may suggest that he wishes (especially at 5. 37–8) to bring out an institutional tension between the Boiotarchs and the Boiotian federal council. Again, the contrast between the two named Spartans and the anonymous Boiotians in the Herakleia narrative of book 5 (chs. 51–2) may emphasize collective Boiotian disquiet at rampant Spartan individualism (‘not good’ behaviour). But what of the Thebans who are named? We have seen that one reason for the heavy amount of onomastic detail at the start of book 2 is to correct Herodotus.

Whatever the right explanation or mix of explanations (the three explanations here suggested are not mutually contradictory), the special anonymous character of the book 5 narrative should not be simply ignored and ‘corrected’. We should certainly not interpret Boiotian politics during the years around 420 in terms of purely Theban names.

There is, however, less to say about places other than Thebes. It is natural that named Plataians drop out after book 3. Thespians noticeably interested Thucydides, and after the war he may well have talked to emigrés from both cities. (Not only at Athens: the Plataians resettled at Skione were not far from his own northern property). Hegesandros and (probably) Ptoiodoros are the only named Thespians, but that is two more names than we know of from Thucydides from Boiotian cities other than Thebes or Plataia.

VII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Thucydides has much to say about Boiotia, especially if we take a broad and inclusive view of what ‘Boiotia’ means: kinship ties with Aiolian islands, chiefly Lesbos, and perhaps also with Megara,

⁶⁴ Buck (1994), 116; cf. 16 for Ptoiodoros as a ‘Theban exile’.

⁶⁵ *HCT* 5. 377.

⁶⁶ Work in progress by S. Panaretou should put that right.

are important, though sometimes referred to in allusive ways. He is forthcoming about Boiotian cults, especially those at Plataia and Delion, and leaves an impression of normal Boiotian conservative religious feeling. We shall see (below, Ch. 15) that his very full attention to Plataia and its Persian Wars-related cults were important in the development of the 'Plataia' theme and the Persian Wars tradition generally, in the fourth century and Hellenistic periods. By contrast, the converse phenomenon, the theme of Theban medism, which was still very much alive in the time of Alexander, features specifically in Thucydides only in the course of the argument between the Plataians and Thebans in book 3 (56. 4 and 62. 1).

Boiotian ambitions outside Boiotia are traced by Thucydides through episodes involving areas and places such as Euboia, Oropos, Panakton, and Herakleia in Trachis. We might have wished for more information about individual Boiotians: Pagondas is the only named Boiotian to be allowed a speech. After the destruction of Plataia and the battle of Delion, Thucydides tends, with important exceptions, to speak of the undifferentiated Boiotians, and this is a kind of recognition of the Boiotian federalism which, characteristically, he does not explain in the manner of the Oxyrhynchos Historian, but with whose institutions he is evidently familiar. His usual refusal to subdivide 'Boiotians' is also a recognition of the Theban-dominated reality, but, equally, passages like the Thespian *stasis* of 414 (6. 95. 2) remind us, if the usually accepted MSS reading is correct, of the need for Theban intervention. The persistent anti-Athenian activity of 'the Boiotians' in the second half of the History is mainly the work of Thebans: Athenian friends at e.g. Plataia and Thespiiai had been kept down or driven out. If there were internal divisions at Thebes (and there were divisions in all Greek cities), Thucydides does not let us see them; for hard evidence we have to wait until the Oxyrhynchos Historian's partially retrospective analysis of the situation as it was in 395. Thucydides may have told us all he could find out, and if he avoids obvious constructions in terms of Leontiades or anybody else, we should respect that. No dislike by Thucydides of Boiotians as such can be detected (contrast his impatience with the Argives, below Ch. 6), and as we have just seen he is not much concerned to remind us of Theban medism in 479; but the Theban oath-breaking, which began the whole twenty-seven-year war, is never lost sight of.

6

Thucydides and the Argives*

[I add two points, both arising out of 150f. below = 626 of the original chapter. First, I ought to have qualified my picture of poor Argive military performance in Th. by mentioning that he fair-mindedly records that it was the Argives who first broke the Syracusan line in the battle at 6. 70. 2; see *CT* III, 471 = 6. 67. 1 n. on *δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας*... Second, Robert Parker reminds me that the contrast which Th. draws at 5. 70, between the impetuous onrush of the Argives, and the orderly advance of the Spartans, invites comparison with Homer, *Iliad* 3. 1–9: the Trojans came on with clamour, but the Achaeans came on in silence. Strabo 12. 8. 7 (574c) makes interesting use of the Homeric passage.]

I. INTRODUCTION: BEYOND ATHENS AND SPARTA

Thucydides is often held responsible for a certain thematic narrowing in the writing of history, from the hospitable ethnographic sweep of Herodotus to the more limited subject-matter of war and politics. There is much truth in this (though there is hardly one of Thucydides' eight books which does not have well-informed material, sometimes presented in self-consciously ethnographic mode, about the Thracians with whom he was personally familiar).¹ But Thucydides was perhaps responsible for another sort of narrowing as well, namely a lopsided preoccupation with just two

* I am very grateful to Peter Rhodes for reading and improving a draft of this chapter.

¹ See Zahrnt in *Brill's Companion*, 589–614.

states, Athens and Sparta.² Again this must be qualified: the Spartans are not very prominent in the Sicilian books 6 and 7, except for one individual Spartan, Gylippos, and for a speech made at Sparta by another individual, the Athenian Alkibiades. Nevertheless a tendency to see the Peloponnesian War as a two-power contest is discernible early on in his work. The opening sentence of the whole book speaks of 'the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians', but by chapter 18 the polarization is sharper and simpler: the Athenians are now presentationally opposed to the Spartans, one *polis* to another. The shift is effected in part by the land-sea antithesis, so prominent in ancient literature and not least in Thucydides (see already 1. 2. 2): the one power, he says (1. 18. 2) was strong by land, the other by sea, and so the Greeks after the Persian Wars aligned themselves with either the Athenians or the Lakedaimonians.³ In this way we hardly notice that in the famous 'causation' paragraph (1. 23. 6) it is the Spartans, not the Peloponnesians at large, who are said to fear the Athenians and be forced to war as a consequence. This essentially two-power view helps to explain a feature which some have found puzzling: the historian's reluctance to say more than he does about the Persians and their money. Though there is much about the Persians in book 8, and though the importance and eventual decisiveness of this factor is conceded in a passage which must be one of the latest to be written (2. 65. 12, explicitly looking forward to the final Athenian defeat), it is less prominent than might have been expected in the post-421 narrative (particularly in book 5, where the revolt of Amorges probably 'belonged' in the narrative sense). Half a century ago, before 'analyst' views of Thucydides had gone right out of fashion, this anomaly could be explained by reference to the unfinished character of Thucydides' History, especially in books 5 and 8. But the unitarian wind has been blowing strongly now for many years, and such explanations are

² See Rhodes (Th. and Athenian history) and Cartledge/Debnar (Sparta and the Spartans in Th.) in *Brill's Companion*, 522–46 and 559–87. The poetry of Pindar, by contrast, opens a window on to the Greek world away from Athens and Sparta. See *Th. and Pi.* ch. 5 for an attempt to exploit this evidence.

³ This cleverly introduces another determining principle of categorization, not just geographical like 'Peloponnesos' but according to sets of allies; cf. 2. 1. 1 for the beginning of the 'war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians and their respective allies'. This, what we may call the 'tug-of-war' (rather than 'two-power') conception, allows in the non-Peloponnesian allies of the Spartans such as Boiotians (or rather some of

at a discount.⁴ Oswyn Murray, noting that Thucydides 'systematically ignores the significance of Persia—the war is a war of Greek states', goes on to pose the good question: 'would [Thucydides] ever have faced the fact that ultimately it was Persian gold which defeated the Athenians?'⁵

Lopsidedness and preoccupation with Athens and Sparta characterizes much modern scholarship as well as Thucydides. To some extent this has been put right in recent years. It had long been noted that pressure exerted by the Corinthians on the Spartans complicates the simple two-power formulation about the war's origins alluded to above, though Andrewes once argued that Thucydides fell out of love with this Korinthisan motif over time, in favour of the more absolute formulation we have already met. Pelling notes the composition problem in this connection but concludes that 'our methodology must still be to begin by addressing the text as we have it'.⁶ Be all that as it may, there is no denying the strongly Korinthisan slant of the narrative decision to explore the outbreak of war via lengthy treatment of episodes involving two Korinthisan colonies, Kerkyra and Potidaia (rather than, say, the stated alternatives, Megara or Aigina: 1. 67. 2–3). Korinthisan pressure on the Spartans continues well into the war narrative (at 2. 80. 2 and 3, the Spartans are 'persuaded' by the eagerness of the Corinthians to take an initiative, cf. 6. 88. 10 for something similar, four whole books and a decade and a half later). All this called for an examination of Korinth on its own terms. Now we have Salmon's full-length monograph on 'wealthy Corinth', and Stroud's detailed study of examination of 'Thucydides and Corinth', arguing that Thucydides' Korinthisan information was specially full and good, and explicable by visits or even residence there during his exile after 424.⁷ This 'Korinthisan hypothesis' is intriguing, although if

them): 2. 9. 2. I here avoid talking of the 'Peloponnesian League' because this is a modern expression and perhaps notion.

⁴ The analyst case was ably made by Andrewes (1961). Rood (1998), 154 will have none of it: 'Andrewes' case is suspect both on historical and literary grounds.'

⁵ Murray (1986), 195; cf. Wiesehöfer (2006). Another view: Moles (2010), 30 f.

⁶ Andrewes (1959); Pelling (2000), 93; he there concedes the incompleteness of Thucydides' History but his n. 22 startlingly throws a doubt even on this, by hinting that the closure of the work as we have it imitates that of Herodotus. This is unitarianism with a vengeance. Flory (1993) makes a slightly different point when he suggests that Thucydides abandoned his work in despair, rather than actually leaving it unfinished.

⁷ Salmon (1984); Stroud (1994); Stickler (2010).

Stroud is right, it is curious that Thucydides does so little to bring out the real nature of Korinthisian ambitions in the First Peloponnesian War, and in particular Korinthisian rivalry with the Argives in that period.⁸

So, of states other than Athens and Sparta, Korinth has been well discussed. Other states or parts of the Greek and non-Greek world are covered in the present volume, and I have written about Thucydides and Boiotia elsewhere.⁹ Thucydides' treatment of Megara and the Megarians deserves separate treatment, which might start from David Lewis' remark that Thucydides 'was not all that interested in Megara and may not be a reliable guide'.¹⁰ But I wish, picking up the rivalry theme mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph, to concentrate on Thucydides' treatment of the Argives.¹¹

II. THUCYDIDES AND ARGIVE INDIVIDUALS

There is a nice symmetry between Thucydides' presentation of the Korinthians and Argives: if the Korinthians were—as we have seen—instrumental in bringing about the Archidamian war of 431–421, the Argives were, in a very different way, instrumental in ending it. By 421, the Spartans were anxious for peace, and one reason for this was that 'the [or 'their', *αὐτοῖς*] thirty years' peace' between the Spartans and Argives was about to run out and they did not want to fight the Athenians and Argives simultaneously (5. 14. 4). 'The' thirty years peace? Thucydides uses the definite article, but he has nowhere told us of this peace of 451 BC.¹² This silence makes very eloquently the point that Thucydides is, outside the years 421–415, as parsimonious with Argive

⁸ See for all this Lewis (1997b); cf. above, 35. Th. could hardly be expected to go into the competition between Korinthians and Argives for control of the Nemean games (Lewis brilliantly reconstructs this), but the struggle went much wider than that. ⁹ Above, Ch. 5. ¹⁰ Lewis, *CAH* 5²: 388. See above, 76.

¹¹ Not 'Thucydides and Argos', for reasons given at *Greek World*, xiv–xv. In the present chapter, I expand on Thucydidean suggestions very briefly made at *Greek World*, 76 f. In ch. 7 of that book (a completely new chapter in the 2002 edn.) I sketched and discussed Argive history in the 5 and 4 cents. generally, and I do not intend to repeat that here. ¹² *CT* II, 460.

information as he is prodigal with Korinthisian. Given the focus of the *Pentekontaetia* narrative in book 1, it is not too surprising that it does not feature there at the point where Thucydides was discussing the 450s. It would however have been helpful in the early part of book 5 to have some information about Argive politics in the years leading up to this point. Thus it seems to have been assumed by all parties at the time, including Thucydides, that once the thirty-year peace of 451 runs out, the Argives will automatically want to fight the Spartans, but this cannot—surely—have been the unconditional wish of every Argive. I discuss below some individual Spartan sympathisers there (and cf. 5. 76. 2 on the anti-democratic movement at Argos in 418 after the battle of Mantinea, specifically noting, though without giving personal details, that there were supporters, *ἐπιτιθήδαιοι*, of Sparta at Argos *even before this time*, *πρότερον*; see also 76. 3 for 'the men who were acting for the Spartans').¹³ Thucydides says firmly, and to our eyes disparagingly, that the Argives joined the Athenians on the Sicilian expedition out of hostility towards the Spartans and out of self-interest, rather than because of their alliance, sc. with the Athenians (7. 57. 9). The long chapter from which this sentence comes is a virtuoso effort from the literary point of view—Thucydides plays on every conceivable variation of the colonising theme—but some of the generalizations are historically on the crude side. The sweeping and cynical generalization about Argive motives is surely a libel on at least some of those who crossed the Adriatic with Nikias and ended up dying there with him.¹⁴

Let us start with individuals. Stroud can point to an impressive total of Korinthisian names and patronymics in Thucydides. By contrast there are just three named Argives in Thucydides' account of the ten-year 'Archidamian' War (431–421), one man and two women—an unexpected ratio for this least female-friendly of historians. For all three acts of naming we can, as it happens, offer an explanation in terms of Thucydides' relationship to a literary predecessor. The man is Pollis,¹⁵ who in 430 BC joined a six-man Peloponnesian deputation

¹³ On this chapter, see further below.

¹⁴ See below, 145 and n. 19 for the casualty list recording them (cf. *CT* III, 666).

¹⁵ The name is unremarkable; it is represented in each of the six published volumes of *LGP*N, including several from Athens itself (vol. II), where the Argive Pollis

(the others were Aristeus the well-known Korinthian, three Spartans, and a Tegean, all duly named) which was intercepted on its way to the Persian king to ask for money (2. 67). Thucydides specifies that Pollis was there in a private capacity, *ἰδίᾳ*. The Six were executed by the Athenians without trial, 'although they had things they wished to say' (para. 4); Thucydides' language is restrained, but may indicate moral disquiet at these summary executions. Herodotus had mentioned this same discreditable episode in a proleptic passage (7. 137), but he specified only 'Aristeus son of Adeimantos, a Korinthian man' as having accompanied what he vaguely calls 'the messengers sent by the Spartans to Asia'. Herodotus saw this as the working out of divine justice, Thucydides naturally does not. But there may be another and smaller-scale correction of Herodotus: Pollis the Argive was not sent by the Spartans, as Herodotus could be taken to imply; he went on his own initiative. (*ἰδίᾳ* here means 'as a private individual' rather than 'as a formal representative of the Argive state'; cf. 5. 60. 1, which is a clearer formulation of this negative idea. But Pollis was certainly not 'sent by the Spartans', as Herodotus had put it.)

The second named Argive is Chrysis the priestess of the Heraion who had been in office for forty-eight years when the war began in 431 (2. 2. 1) but who burnt it down in 424 (4. 133. 2). In fear of the Argives she fled to Phleious, and the Argives then appointed our third Argive, Phaennis, 'as the law prescribes' (para. 3). Thucydides adds very punctiliously that Chrysis had been in office for eight years of this war and half of the ninth. Why all the chronological specificity? Here too there may be a literary motive. Hellanikos (of Lesbos) wrote a wide-ranging work on the priestesses of Argos in at least three books (*FGrHist* 4 FF 74–84), and Thucydides' unexpectedly full material about these two priestesses surely relates to this treatise in some polemical way. But we cannot say exactly how, because Hellanikos, unlike Herodotus, survives only in fragments and none of them are about Chrysis or Phaennis. (For Thucydidean polemic against another treatise of Hellanikos, the 'Attike Xyngraphe', see 1. 97. 2, and for criticism of chronological systems by incumbents, of the 'Priestesses'

met his end. The best known is vol. IIIA no. 9, the Spartan navarch who bought Plato out of slavery. Of the Argive Pollis, Mitsos (1952), 147 says that he was 'clearly an oligarch', *προφανὴς ὀλιγαρχικός*, but this goes slightly beyond the evidence.

type, see 5. 20. Note that by giving the 'year of this war' in which Chrysis fled, Thucydides now fixes her by his own summer-and-winter system, having fixed her in Hellanikan style in book 2.)

The situation improves when we move out of the period of Argive neutrality. In fact the position suddenly reverses itself (see below for what I mean by this). Book 5 is full of diplomacy and fighting involving the Argives, and we might hope to meet some named Argive individuals, and we do: two men, Eustrophos and Aison,¹⁶ who the Argives hope will be congenial to the Spartans (5. 40. 3); and then two more shortly afterwards, who on their own initiative (we are reminded of Pollis in 430) offer arbitration to the Spartan king Agis and manage to deflect for the moment the clash between the Argive and Spartan armies. They are Thrasylos or Thrasylos,¹⁷ 'one of the five generals', and Alkiphron, the *proxenos* of the Spartans (5. 59. 5). Thrasylos incurred the anger of his own army for this and was nearly stoned by them 'in the Ravine, where they [habitually] decide cases that arise out of a campaign, before they enter the city' (5. 60. 6. We shall return to this episode below). It is noticeable that, like Pollis, most or all of these men have leanings towards Sparta. The Spartan counterpart of Alkiphron is Lichas son of Arkesilas, *proxenos* of the Argives (5. 76. 3; see below). After book 5 and the Peace of Nikias period, the Argives play an active role throughout books 6–8, but there are no more names. It is possible that a casualty list (*SEG* 29. 361) makes good the Thucydidean deficiency, if, as has been suggested, it records the Argive dead in the Sicilian expedition.¹⁸ There are no patronymics (only names of phratries),¹⁹ but casualty lists do not normally give

¹⁶ For these names see *CT* III, 96.

¹⁷ The manuscripts have both spellings. The majority reading is with double lambda, but M (in the British Library) and E (Palatinus; in Heidelberg) have single lambda at ch. 59; by ch. 60 the fickle London manuscript changes its mind so that it only E has the single lambda. Alberti's apparatus prints both forms of the name *proparoxytone* (*Θράσυλλος*, *Θράσυλος*), but *LGPN* IIIA 212 prefers the single lambda spelling and accents the name *Θρασύλος*, like *Αισχύλος*. For such trisyllabic proper names in *-λος* and *-υλος* as *proparoxytone*, see Chandler (1881), 78 para. 280. The Athenian Thrasy(l)los is also variously spelt in modern editions, e.g. at 8. 100. 1, where Alberti has the double lambda whereas *OCT* has *Θράσυλος* [sic: wrong accent].

¹⁸ Clairmont (1983); 235 f., cf. *SEG* 33. 293.

¹⁹ Contrast *ML* 35, the casualty list at Athens for the Argive dead of the battle of Tanagra (457), an inscription which uses the four tribes.

patronymics anywhere.²⁰ It may be asked, what kind of naming am I looking for in the very ample 415–411 narrative? The kind of thing I miss is incidental mentions like that of Skirphondas the Theban Boiotarch who was killed at Mykalessos (7. 30. 3), or Anaxandros the Theban who is sent to a command on Lesbos in 411 (8. 100. 3).

So that is all the Argive names we are given by Thucydides: seven names, made up of five men and two women, with no patronymics²¹ in sight—a relatively meagre haul. Contrast the twenty-five named Korinthians and thirteen patronymics;²² or the clutches of Boiotians (names and patronymics) in books 2–4 (2. 2. 1–2; 3. 20. 1; 4. 91). The only section where the ratios are reversed is in the Peace of Nikias period (5. 24–116) where although there is plenty about the diplomatic manoeuvres of Boiotarchs and Korinthians as well as Argives, there are no named individuals from these places to match the Argives Aison, Eustrophos, Thrasylos, and Alkiphron. We could add, to the Argive total in Thucydides as a whole, king Agamemnon, ‘ruler of the islands and all Argos’ (1. 9. 4, quoting *Iliad* 2. 108, where however the majestic word ‘Argos’ has its usual Homeric ambiguity, ‘Greece’ as well as the Peloponnesian city). But that still makes only eight Argives, with, at a pinch, just one patronymic, Atreus the father of Agamemnon, who is also, I suppose, a sort of Argive (1. 9. 2). What is the explanation for the parsimony with Argives? Thucydides fails even more completely with Aigina—not a single named Aiginetan anywhere²³—but there is an easy explanation for this: the island was repopulated with Athenian settlers at the beginning of the war (2. 27) and its independent history came to an end for the time being. No similar explanation is available for the Argives, except that they were out of the actual fighting from 431 to 421; but this need not (see above) have precluded some discussion by Thucydides of the state of opinion there. And

²⁰ Cf. *IG* VII. 1888: Boiotian Thespiiai; and much Athenian evidence.

²¹ Argives in the classical period were normally identified by name, patronymic and phratry: for references to recent discussions, see *SEG* 34. 295.

²² Figures from Stroud (1994), 269, noting that this is a higher percentage of patronymics even than the percentage for Athenians. The Korinthian–Argive discrepancy remains marked even if we discount for the Korinthians’ prominence in the Archidamian War and their active role in books 6 and 7 as founders of Syracuse.

²³ Contrast the many named Aiginetans in Herodotus and Pindar, with some prosopographical overlap between the two authors. See *Th. and Pi.* 218–21 and Hornblower (2007a), 291, 302–5.

Argos was surely as accessible to Thucydides in his exile as was Korinth (at 5. 26. 5 he asserts personal familiarity with the Peloponnese generally, not just Korinth. See further below for the question of knowledge or ignorance). Thucydides seems almost resolutely to refuse to name Argive individuals even when he mentions their participation in some episode or other. We have already noted Thucydides’ comments on the political situation at Argos straight after the battle of Mantinea. This whole chapter (5. 76), set in Argos and concerned with Argive politics, is notable for the way it names a prominent Spartan, Lichas, and a prominent Athenian, Alkibiades, but leaves the key Argive players anonymous. It is not surprising that the contemptuously described Argive assassin of the Athenian Phrynichos in 411 is left without a name (8. 92. 2: Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος). But the envoys who arrive with the Athenian state ship the Paralos a few chapters earlier (86. 9) are of higher status and we might have hoped to be told who they were.

III. IGNORANCE?

Did Thucydides simply not know much about Argos and the Argives? I examine this possibility in the present section. Or did his reluctance to provide personal detail flow from dislike of some sort? That will be the subject of the next section, ‘Contempt?’

We have seen that he had opportunities to visit Argos after 424. More important, there is plenty of evidence that he knows really quite a lot about Argive institutions. I pass rapidly through these, under three overlapping categories: socio-political, military, and religious.

There is, as we have seen, no shortage of political material, including specification of factions (ch. 76). ‘The Argive democracy’ is called just that (5. 30. 6, cf. 29. 1 and 44. 1), one of a group of passages which form an unusual acknowledgment in Thucydides that constitutional issues mattered in Greek states.²⁴ The mention of the five Argive *lochoi* or squadrons (5. 72. 4, see below) is a small detail which may hint at a Kleisthenic-style mid-century reorganization of the Argive citizen

²⁴ Rhodes (1993), 44 n. 7.

body into five local groupings alongside the old four-tribe gentilicial scheme.²⁵ Again, we can hardly complain that Thucydides has kept us in the dark about Argive diplomacy when it is the subject of his only two dialect treaties (5. 77 and 79). Finally, he knows that the whole Argive population, *πανδημεί*, women and slaves included, joined in the building of the long walls of Argos (5. 82. 6). No doubt this (literally) constructive and participatory female activity²⁶ was commoner in Greek warfare than our literary sources allow us to see (cf. 1. 90. 3, the wall-building at Athens organized by Themistokles, and perhaps SEG 47. 410: Messene). But here, at any rate, we have some collective Argive women to place alongside the named priestesses we have already met.

As for more conventional military coverage Thucydides, in his account of the battle of Mantinea, feels no need to apologize for the difficulty of getting at the truth about the Argives. (Contrast 5. 68. 1 for the initial Spartan numbers and 5. 74. 3 for the Spartan dead.) He knows that the Argives had five generals (5. 59. 5) and five squadrons (for this number five, see above) and one thousand picked men (5. 67. 2).²⁷ And as we have seen, he knows of the practice of holding courts-martial 'in the Ravine', though it looks as if the troops in 418 started to stone Thrasylos there, apparently without any kind of judicial process (5. 60. 6; note the follow-up: 'he survived by fleeing to an altar. But they nevertheless confiscated his property.' Stoning is the paradigm of the undisciplined collective act,²⁸ so I suggest that there is a distinction here between the attempted stoning and the subsequent

²⁵ See Andrewes' excellent long note on the passage in *HCT*. This (neither the Th. passage nor Andrewes' discussion of it) does not seem to be taken account of in Piérart (1997; cf. *IACP* no. 347), a superb study which in other respects offers the best account of Argive 5th-cent. social and political structures, based on new epigraphic finds.

²⁶ Not quite the same as, for instance, disruptive behaviour such as hurling tiles from rooftops. On women in warfare, see Hornblower (2007b), 42–6.

²⁷ On the possible relation between this thousand and that at 5. 81. 2, see *CT* III, 177, 207, and *Greek World*, 85 and n. 31. At Tanagra in 457 there were also one thousand Argives: 1. 107. 5.

²⁸ See *CT* III, 158 f. and below, Ch. 13, 273. For the sequence 'attempted stoning—fleeing to an altar' cf. Th. 8. 84. 3 (with Ch. 13 below). But it also has a mythical prototype. Lokrian Ajax (the 'Lesser Ajax') angered the Greeks by his rape of Cassandra, so they tried to stone him, but he fled to Athena's altar; see M. L. West (2003), 144–5, from the *Ilioupersis* of Arktinos of Miletos; cf. also Eur. *Ion* 1222–4 and 1255 (Kreousa). For the attempted stoning of a general, see also Eur. *IA* 1349–51 (Achilles).

confiscation, which by contrast *was* a legally valid act). In which case the mention of the Ravine is more than just a topographical indicator but is barbed, a reminder of the military discipline that was being violated. We shall have more to say about Argive indiscipline. He knows that the Argives, after a minor incursion, sold some Spartan booty for not less than 25 talents (6. 95; the precision is remarkable). Finally, at the level of grand strategy, Thucydides well perceives the reasons for the importance of the Argives' enemy Epidauros (5. 53).²⁹

Argive religion, taking religion to include both myth and colonial relationships (which were certainly conceived by Greeks in religious terms), is rewardingly covered by Thucydides. He knows (or is he quoting Hellanikos here?) of the customary procedure for replacing an absconded priestess (above, 144). He is remarkably well informed about the cult of Apollo Pythaios at Asine and the politico-religious issues involved (5. 53).³⁰ He reports fully the Argive manipulation of the religious calendar (5. 55, an episode which interestingly anticipates their very similar behaviour in 388 BC, as reported by the more conventionally religious Xenophon (*Hell.* 4. 7. 2)).

Argos the colonizing metropolis is not as prominent in Thucydides as in Pindar,³¹ but it is there all the same, most obviously at the point where he explains that the policy of Perdikkas king of Macedon was affected by what the Argives were doing 'because he himself was ancestrally from Argos' (5. 80. 3; this and 2. 99. 3 recall and perhaps reprise Herodotus 5. 22 and 8. 137ff.) Less often noticed is a glancing description, in the 'Catalogue of Allies' before Syracuse, of the Rhodians as *Ἀργεῖοι γένος*, 'Argives by descent' (7. 57. 6). These two words allude economically to the myth of Rhodian origins which was so magnificently elaborated in Pindar's *Olympian* 7.³²

Above all Thucydides brings out well the mythical basis for Argive claims to hegemony. The very early mention of Agamemnon's Argos (see above for this Homeric quotation) may, like much in the

²⁹ But Cawkwell (1975), 69, correctly notes that this explanation is inapplicable before the expiry of the Argive–Spartan treaty in 421. See *CT* III, 142, and Hdt. 5. 46. 2.

³⁰ See the exemplary study of Barrett (1954), elucidating Thucydides by reference to Bacchylides and conversely. The religious word *βοράμια*, which should not be emended, reminds us by its technicality of how much Th. 'takes for granted' in this area to use Gomme's expression, see the Intro. to *HCT* 1, 1945. See above, 25.

³¹ *Th. and Pi.* 206 and n. 312.

³² See *Th. and Pi.* 206 and n. 312; *CT* III, 664.

Archaeology, be programmatic. It prepares us for the Argive ambition after 421 to exercise leadership over Peloponnesos (5. 28. 2).³³ this is then explicitly framed in terms of 'ancient hegemony' in the fine chapter describing the form taken by the encouragement offered by the Argive generals on the eve of the battle of Mantinea (5. 69. 1 and 2).

IV. CONTEMPT?

It seems clear that mere ignorance will not do as an explanation of Thucydides' relative silence about Argive individuals. Let us try another approach. I have suggested elsewhere³⁴ that it was because Thucydides did not admire the Argives that he juxtaposes the Argive army's treatment of Thrasylos—a near-lynching—with the more disciplined Spartan army's treatment of their king Agis on the same occasion (5. 60. 5–6 and 63. 2–4; for the rough handling of Thrasylos see above, 145). The Spartans wait until they get home and do things properly; the Argives go out of control in a way we have discussed already. There is a further subtle contrast between the Argives (and others) and the Spartans in another item we have already looked at: the Argives were cheered up before the battle of Mantinea by speeches about their ancient hegemony; the Spartans knew that experience and previous achievement is what matters, not fine oratory (5. 69. 1 and 2). But this cannot be pressed as specially anti-Argive because the Mantinians and Athenians need hortatory speeches too. More directly anti-Argive is the following chapter (5. 70) where the Argives are said to advance *ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ*, 'eagerly and impetuously' (Smith in the Loeb tr.), 'with great violence and fury' (Warner), literally 'violently and in passion'. The first adverb is a rarish word, found here only in Thucydides in either adverbial or adjectival form. By contrast the Spartans march slowly and to the sound of pipes, so as to keep in step. Colonel Thucydides³⁵ rarely makes his military judgments explicit, preferring to let the narrative speak for itself, but the implied comparison here is surely to the advantage of the Spartans.

³³ For the fuller version in Diodorus/Ephorus (12. 75. 5–6), see *Greek World*, 78 f.

³⁴ See below, Ch. 13, 274, and *Greek World*, 76. ³⁵ Murray (1986), 195.

In the battle the one thousand picked Argives do well (5. 72. 3), but their main army is defeated and the day is smashingly won by the Spartans. A similar picture of Argive indiscipline is painted in book 8 where the Argives confront some Milesians in the year 411 (8. 25). They despise them as being Ionians, but this is shown in the event to be badly misplaced arrogance.³⁶ A couple of chapters later, we learn that the Argives are furious about this reverse and so scuttle off home from Samos (8. 27. 6, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ τάχος καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἀπέπλευσαν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐπ' οἴκου). Again, no explicit comment, but this we may guess that Thucydides thought this craven and contemptible behaviour. The most explicit criticism of the Argives comes, however, back in book 5. It brings together our military and mythical or sentimental categories. The Argives suggest to the Spartans a treaty which will contain a fall-back clause providing in some circumstances for a re-enactment of the archaic Battle of the Champions (5. 41. 2, cf. Hdt. 1. 82. Thucydides' way of referring here to the archaic past is 'as once before', ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε). The Spartans, we are told, considered this proposal *μωρία*, 'folly' but agreed to it because keen to secure Argive friendship at any price. The main focalizers for the word 'folly' are certainly the Spartans, but one may suspect that Thucydides agreed. The Argives seem—even in the eyes of the Spartans, who hardly personify modernity—to be so many fossils, childish obsessed with past and mythical greatness.

V. CONCLUSION

I have tried in this chapter to identify and explain an unevenness in Thucydides' treatment of the Argives. He knows plenty but except in the period 421–415 he has been sparing of the kind of personal detail he supplies for comparable states. If I may intrude a personal note, I added an entirely new chapter on Argos when in 2002 I rewrote a text-book history of classical Greece (above, n. 11) because I had become convinced, in the twenty years since the first edition, that Argos deserved the same degree of attention as Korinth and Boiotia

³⁶ Good discussion of this episode in Alty (1982), 3. 'Arrogantly' is Alty's word.

(not to mention Athens and Sparta). I suspected that I had been originally misled by Thucydides' distribution of attention into believing that Argos mattered less than it did. Just because the Argives were precluded from certain kinds of action for three decades, by a bilateral treaty with the Spartans entered into in 451, this was not an excuse for ignoring them. The explanation of Thucydides' treatment which I have offered in the present chapter is in terms of his own attitudes. An obvious riposte is to say that Thucydides was always at the mercy of his information, that his coverage of most issues is patchy and selective, and that it is therefore futile to try to detect and explain patterns in his coverage. There is probably something in this. For example, I think that if he had known the name of the Boiotian hipparch, a high-status position, who is mentioned *honoris causa* as having been killed at Megara in 424 (4. 72. 4, cf. above, 126), he would have told us it. But I hope I have shown that a thread—impatience with Argive backward-lookingness and indiscipline—runs through the Argive episodes he recounts. Non-naming is one way of indicating contempt or disapproval. We have seen that in the case of the Argive assassin of Phrynichos, but we cannot be sure that the historian knew this fellow's name. There are clearer examples: 'one of the prisoners' (6. 60. 2) is usually thought to be the orator Andokides, whom Thucydides had surely talked to, but with whose version of the Athenian events of 415 he was 'evidently...not satisfied'.³⁷ I suggest that Thucydides may consciously or unconsciously have allowed his negative feelings about the Argives to keep them in onomastic obscurity for much of his narrative.

³⁷ Dover *HCT* 4. 337; *CT* III, 453 f.

Part II

More specific—Arranged by Main Relevant Thucydidean Book

Thucydides and Plataian Perjury*

[In the original (2007) version of this chapter, I began section 3 by saying ‘I do not know whether the English word ‘perjury’ can have a plural but if not it has one now’. When I sent Stephanie West a copy of my chapter, she immediately pointed me to Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, ‘At lovers’ perjuries, they say, Jove laughs’ (II. ii. 92). The line is itself a virtual translation of Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1. 633, *Iupiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum*.]

This chapter is a reply to Dr Stephanie West’s study “*Ὁρκου πάσις ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος*: The Aftermath of Plataean Perjury”.¹ She raises important questions about Thucydides’ treatment of religion. But I shall argue that we shall go wrong if we concentrate on Plataian behaviour to the exclusion of Thebes, and especially on Plataian perjury to the neglect of the matching, prior and much longer-lived allegation of Theban perjury.

It may be helpful to summarize what I take West’s argument to be, putting it more crudely than she does herself. She holds, invoking several contemporary tragedies, that perjury was thought to be a very serious business in ancient Greece and (see esp. 443) that it was in part because the Plataians were perceived to be tainted by perjury that the Athenians did not help them in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. The perceived perjury was of two sorts, the second more obviously relevant to Athenian disapproval than the first: a general

* I am grateful to Riet van Bremen, Esther Eidinow, Robert Parker, and Alan Sommerstein for reading and improving this paper.

¹ West (2003), 438–47. References in my text or notes without author or date, in the form ‘443’ are to this article. I have followed West in using the English word ‘perjury’, although nowadays it has become altogether secularized and suggests a legal not a religious offence. ‘Oath-breaking’ would be better.

sort going back through the *Pentekontaetia* (the Plataians should have helped to liberate the Greeks from Athenian oppression because obligated to do by oaths taken in 479) and a particular sort: the Plataians were alleged by the Thebans to have sworn an oath not to kill some prisoners at the time of the Theban attack on Plataia which in Thucydides' view began the war. The Plataians denied that they had sworn an oath to this effect and Thucydides (2. 5. 6) reports the two claims without adjudication and then never reverts to the matter of the oath specifically. But it is an interesting consequence of West's view that Thucydides must have had it in mind constantly thereafter without coming clean about it. This if it could be established would throw new light on his literary technique.

This chapter falls into four sections. First (I), I discuss the general importance of perjury with reference to one of West's non-Thucydidean passages in particular, and I argue that although perjury was undoubtedly very serious, allegations of perjury might be made so as to score a diplomatic or moral point, a particularly useful weapon if the other person had just accused *you* of perjury. People so accused would naturally ignore the accusation, and when they did, they often got away with it—and not just in Thucydides but in Herodotus too. Then (II), I look at what the Athenians actually did do for the Plataians, which was not nothing.² In Section III, I look at the alleged oath about the Theban prisoners; and in (IV) at the harder problem of the 479 oaths (harder because Thucydides does not tell us exactly what the Plataians had sworn to). I end with a brief Conclusion (V).

I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Perjury was, we can readily agree, a serious charge. I begin with a Thucydidean passage. In winter 419/18, Alkibiades persuaded the Athenians to inscribe the words 'the Spartans have not kept their oaths' under the stele carrying the Peace of Nikias (Th. 5. 56. 3). We can be

² West (2003), 442 speaks of 'Athenian failure to act in support of the city [Plataia]'.
³ It goes on: 'it has neither hands nor feet. But it is swift in pursuit, until it has seized all a man's offspring, all his house, and destroyed them. But the offspring of a man who keeps his oath will be better off the long run.'

sure that some Spartans felt uncomfortable about this. But as Andrewes commented in his note on the passage, the Athenians 'recorded Sparta's breach of faith to justify their own somewhat dubious action' (the details of that action do not matter for our purpose). This expresses an important truth: accusations of oath-breaking were not exactly routine and might be very serious indeed, but on occasion they might be little more than point-scoring diplomacy. In a similar way, Thucydides records the Spartan demand that the Athenians get rid of the Alkmaionid 'curse' (i.e. Perikles, 1. 127. 1) and the Athenians make the counter-demand (*ἀντεκέλευον*, 1. 128. 1) that the Spartans get rid of the curse of Tainaron. In response, neither side did anything at all.

Now let us look at a passage which is important for West; not only does she discuss it explicitly towards the end of her paper (446) but it features, in Greek, in the title of her article. It is the well-known story in Herodotus of Glaukos the Spartan who, according to a speech delivered by the Spartan king Leotychidas at Athens, contemplated keeping something which had been entrusted to him for safe-keeping, a *παραθήκη* (6. 86a2), but incurred the displeasure of Delphic Apollo merely for entertaining the dishonest thought. It is from the frightening verse response of the oracle that West borrows the Greek part of her title; the words she uses mean 'Oath has a nameless child'.³ She seems to cite the Glaukos story in support of the proposition that 'the Spartans took a graver view of perjury than other Greeks'. The story is however far from straightforward:⁴ as always one must look at the entire narrative context, not just the speech in isolation. I cannot discuss it in all its aspects—for instance it has been noticed that Leotychides' words 'come strangely from a man who was made king thanks to corruption of a Pythia (6. 66)'⁵—but I would stress two points only. First, it is easy to miss the complete irrelevance of oaths to the actual situation in which Leotychides makes his speech. The background is that the two

⁴ See Johnson (2001), 20–4.
⁵ Johnson (2001), 21, citing earlier literature (Immerwahr (1966), cf. also Johnson 20 n. 51 for How and Wells (1912)).

Spartan kings Kleomenes and Leotychides have left some Aiginetan medizers (Persian sympathizers), including Krios (a very prominent figure) and Kasambos, as hostages in Athens. In the relevant chapter (6. 73. 2) the word for hostages is not the normal ὄμηρος (perfectly good Herodotean Greek, cf. e.g. 6. 99. 1 and 2) but παραθήκη.⁶ Liddell and Scott under παραθήκη solemnly cite the Aigina passage (6. 73) for the separate sense 'of persons, *hostage*', but the truth is rather, as Macan says in his note on that passage, that 'the word is not haphazard, but smooths the way for the wondrous argument put into the mouth of Leotychides, c. 86 *infra*.' That argument is an attempt to get the Athenians to surrender the hostages by telling the story of what happens to Glaukos. There is ferocious emphasis in the whole chapter (86) on oaths and perjury.⁷ But there is no real analogy with the Athenian situation, and not just because, as Macan saw, the suggested equivalence between human hostages and deposited money is a sleight of hand. It is more important for our purposes to note that though Gomme and some of his generation were not much interested in oaths⁸ and religion generally, we should not go to the other extreme. Not every Greek activity was accompanied by oaths and we have no reason at all to think that the Athenians swore an oath when they accepted the hostages. Leotychides is made cunningly to insert the idea of an oath into the Glaukos story at the point where Glaukos, who has asked for time to think about the matter, is represented as contemplating swearing on oath that he never received the money deposited with him (εἰ ὅρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λήισσεται, 86γ1). For the analogy with the Athenians to work, they would need to have been contemplating a denial on oath that they had received the hostages at all. They do nothing of the sort: they merely say that the men had been

⁶ But note that at ch. 86 (unlike ch. 73, where παραθήκη is the unanimous reading of the mss.) some MSS have not παραθήκη but παρακαταθήκη, which would reduce the echo: Scott (2005), 313 n. on 6. 86.

⁷ It is a weakness of Johnson (2001) that he does not mention oaths at all. I do not, incidentally, accept Johnson's own ingenious theory that Leotychides' story is meant as a warning to the Aiginetans not the Athenians.

⁸ For an example of some important oaths altogether neglected by Gomme, see 4. 86. 1 and 88. 1 (Brasidas at Akanthos) with CT II 10, 281; Badian (1999).

deposited by both kings, so they would not give them back to only one (see below).

The second point is that the Athenians are not at all impressed by Leotychides' argument and refuse to do what he asks. They do not suffer the fate of Glaukos, whose family was wiped out root and branch. So it was not enough to say the 'O' word to get your opponent to back off.⁹

I end this section by making two general and perhaps obvious points. First, 'the Spartans' is a simplification: it made a difference which Spartans you were dealing with, so that the Athenians were in a way right to object to dealing with one king only. There were tensions within the Spartan elite, and religion might be a weapon¹⁰ here too (as we have seen it was between states). We see this most clearly from the chapter (5. 16) where Thucydides describes the faction-fighting surrounding the recall of Pleistoanax. Second, attitudes might shift over time in changed circumstances; this is sometimes no more than a variant of my first point because a group holding one view might be replaced by a group with another view. Thus when we are told (7. 18. 2, see further below, Section III) that the Spartans came to think that they had been religiously wrong at the beginning of the war, that does not mean that Thucydides kept this item up his sleeve for six books;¹¹ they could have changed their minds under the influence of adverse events, or the 'they' in question could have changed.¹²

⁹ It is nevertheless true, as Robert Parker points out to me, that if it is rhetorically useful to represent as oath-breaking an offence which was not, then that confirms the odium associated with oath-breaking, whereas if the Athenian offence was not really oath-breaking then there was no reason for them to be punished for it. I agree with this; my argument is designed to show that the Glaukos story is treacherous in its implications.

¹⁰ Religion scruples might also, in a competitive elite, be a way for one side to retreat without losing face; for another competitive elite, cf. Liebeschuetz (1979), 14, discussing religious 'vitiation' of elections to a magistracy.

¹¹ Above, Ch. 3, 78 n. 45, though Pelling (2000), 265 n. 44 may well be right that there could have been Spartan scruples earlier than 414/13 (perhaps this is another way of saying that there was more than one opinion at Sparta, as there certainly was).

¹² Indeed, 'could have changed' is too weak a formulation. Thucydides (5. 16. 1, under 421) was convinced that the return of King Pleistoanax (426) had helped to realign Spartan policy in a more pacific direction.

II. DID THE ATHENIANS FAIL TO HELP THE PLATAIANS?

I now turn to the alleged failure of the Athenians to help the Plataians. I do not wish to exaggerate and deny completely that it was a failure. The Athenians could have done a lot more than they did: the breakout from Plataia early in book 3 is expressly said by Thucydides to have been motivated by realisation that there was 'no help from Athens', ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδεμία ἐλπίς ἦν, 3. 20. 1) and this negative presentation ('no help') means 'contrary to what might have been expected from their promise at 2. 73' (below). In what follows I ignore purely military considerations. West herself concedes that there were 'sound strategic considerations' against Athenian intervention (442). To have sent an army to Plataia might have been suicidally foolish; it would also perhaps have violated Perikles' advice to the Athenians not to incur dangers of their own choosing (1. 144. 1). If it be objected 'but the obligation to help an ally was not optional' it can be replied that we are not told the terms of the initial Plataian appeal to Athens or indeed that they appealed at all. Thucydides is quite vague: he describes how the Athenians reacted 'when they were told, ἡγγέλθη, what had happened at Plataia' (2. 6. 2). By whom were they told? If by the Plataians, did they formally invoke their alliance? Possibly not. They were not exactly a united *polis*.¹³ On the contrary, the Peloponnesian War began, as we saw above (117 f.), with internal *stasis*: the Thebans were invited in by 'Plataian men, Naukleides and those with him' (2. 2. 2; we learn only from the Plataian and Theban speeches in book 3 that this was during a sacred time of the month and so specially outrageous, 3. 56. 2 and 65. 1). This invitation will be an important part of the Theban case in book 3 (65. 2). History took a neat revenge on the Thebans nearly half a century later, because the Spartan seizure of

¹³ Gomme, *HCT* 2. 6 n. on 2. 5. 7, ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἀνδρας, says 'presumably the Plataians, Naukleides and his friends (2. 2) suffered the same fate' i.e. were killed along with the Theban prisoners. But Gomme himself goes on to cite 3. 68. 3: at the end of the affair the territory of Plataia was given over to some Megarian exiles and those pro-Spartan Plataians who still survived, ὅσοι... περιῆσαν. Gomme evidently stresses the fact that some did not survive, but equally clearly some did, and we can only wonder what role they played in the siege.

the Theban citadel the Kadmeia in 382 BC would also be at the invitation of a dissident group, and would also take advantage of a religious festival (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 25–9; for the Thesmophoria, para. 29).

Let us now consider what the Athenians actually do about Plataia when they are told what had happened (above). The Athenians send a message to the Plataians not to do anything irreversible, νεώτερον, with the prisoners they had taken. But it is important to note that the Athenians take simultaneous action in regard to the Thebans, arresting all Theban nationals in Attica (both items 2. 6. 2, recounted one straight after the other). Evidently the idea was to apply diplomatic pressure to both sides: normal great-power practice then as now. Two paragraphs later (2. 6. 4) we are told that the Athenians, who have by now learnt that the Plataians have already killed the prisoners, took food to Plataia and left a garrison there, removing the non-combatants to Athens.

In the next phase of Plataian narrative (2. 71–9) the Athenians also take a hand. This time the Spartans have marched against Plataia under King Archidamos. This time we do hear of formal ambassadors, πρέσβεις, sent by the Plataians to Athens (2. 73. 3). Of this, West says (440) 'the Plataeans cannot get the Athenians to approve any terms acceptable to Archidamus; here too they are caught by old oaths (2. 73. 3)'. This is fair précis and comment as far as it goes, but it summarizes only the Athenians' final sentence, and does not do justice to their reply as a whole. In a series of urgent negative expressions they tell the Plataians 'the Athenians say that in all the time since we became allies, we have never abandoned you when you were being wronged, ἀδικουμένους, nor will we do so now, but will help you as far as we can, κατὰ δύναμιν' (then they tell the Plataians to mind their paternal oaths). Now I do not want to defend the Athenians against the obvious criticism that their behaviour in the sequel fell well short of the expectations which this proud speech must have generated. But if the Athenians really felt unease at Plataian perjury (and I have yet to deal with that), then this, assuming that Thucydides has reported it correctly,¹⁴ was a surprisingly robust response and one which betrays

¹⁴ I think that such very short speeches in Thucydides stand a better chance of being authentic than his long and elaborate ones, though this can hardly be proved.

no trace of that supposed unease. On the contrary, there is a clear implication that it is the Plataians who in the Athenian public view have been wronged (by the Thebans, I imagine, as well as the Spartans). This reply must be the product of a debate in Assembly or Council, and is, we must assume, the official Athenian position. It leaves open just what scale of help was 'in the Athenians' power' (*κατὰ δύναμιν*), but that need not be mere hypocrisy: we do not need to invoke religious unease to explain why the Athenians do not promise to confront a royally-led Spartan invasion army.

In the penultimate slice of Plataian narrative, the exciting breakout episode (3. 20–4), the Athenians who were under siege with the Plataians, *ξυμπολιορκοῦμενοι*, joined them in their escape (3. 20. 1). Presumably these Athenians are the garrison which we were told about in the previous book (above). The total of the escapers was 212 (24. 2), but this is not broken down by Thucydides into Plataians and Athenians. We shall however see that some Athenians stayed behind to the bitter end and shared the Plataians' fate.

This slice of narrative gives way to a slice of the story of Mytilene (3. 25–50). The latter includes a sentence which has been felt 'particularly worrying'.¹⁵ The Spartan Salaithos has been captured in Mytilene and taken to Athens where he is summarily executed 'although he made various offers, including one to get the Spartans to withdraw from Plataia, which was still under siege' (36. 2). Why did the Athenians show such 'lack of interest' (West's expression)¹⁶ in this offer by Salaithos? We do not know. But we should not assume that everyone at Athens felt the same way (see the closing part of section I above). The general Athenian mood at this moment was undoubtedly one of anger (*ὑπὸ ὀργῆς* in the next line); but it would be surprising if some of the cooler heads—Thucydides himself among them?¹⁷—were not intrigued by this astonishing offer, and would at least have liked to probe it further. (Thucydides admired Salaithos, I think; see 25. 1 for the dry description of his remarkable single-handed exploit, getting into Mytilene down a ravine, all very different from that other Spartan commander who is prominent in this episode, the supine and cruel

¹⁵ West (2003), 442 n. 20.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ This is the likely period of Thucydides' maximum political activity and awareness, in the period immediately before his generalship.

Alkidas, chs. 31–2.) But it was not really very likely that Salaithos could, in the modern expression, 'deliver'. So his execution does not prove much about Athenian attitudes to Plataia and the Plataians.

And so to the tragic finale. Two hundred Plataians were executed and twenty-five Athenians who *ξυνεπολιορκούντο*: that verb again for 'sharing a siege' (3. 68. 2). This third and final Plataian narrative concludes 'so ended the Plataian business in the 93rd year after their alliance with the Athenians' (68. 5). The reminder of the long-standing Athenian alliance has reproachful point, and I have commented elsewhere that Thucydides' closure here has 'pathetic precision'.¹⁸ But I continued in a bracket 'though we should not forget the honourable handful of individual Athenians who shared the Plataians' fate'.

After that, the Plataians were given citizenship at Athens if they did not have some form of it already (3. 55. 3 with commentaries, and [Dem.] 59. 94–107), and some years later the Plataians, or some of them, were given the territory of the Skionians in Chalkidike to cultivate (5. 32. 1: 421). Plataians, though themselves ethnic Boiotians, fought at Syracuse in 413 alongside the Athenians, and against other Boiotians, including but evidently not only Thebans, 'from hatred' (*κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος*, 7. 57. 5, note the emphatic polyptoton *Βοιωτοὶ Βοιωτοῖς*). Not all of the Plataians went north to Chalkidike: in the early fourth century, if you wanted to find a Plataian at Athens, you went to the fresh cheese market on the last day of the month (Lysias 23. 6). There was no shortage of Plataians to give Thucydides their version of events, whether at Athens or in Skione, not far from his Thracian possessions (4. 105. 1). In the 340s the Athenian orator Apollodoros ([Dem.] 59) tells the whole history of the Plataians in the fifth century, drawing freely on Thucydides, and citing them as a paradigm of virtue and loyalty appropriately rewarded. Orators are not historians, and this orator's point is that the citizenship imposed on the Plataians involved certain restrictions. But the praise of the Plataians as greater benefactors of the Athenians than any other Greeks (para. 107) would be surprising if the Plataians were felt to be tainted with perjury. It would have been better to use a different 'paradigm' altogether. It is to perjury that

¹⁸ CT I, 465 f., quoted by West (2003), 446 but without my bracketed continuation.

we may now turn. But before doing so I conclude this section by suggesting that although the Athenians did not save Plataia, nor on the other hand did they abandon it completely, nor did they neglect the Plataians after their city fell. And some Athenians gave their lives for Plataia. I do not see in all this an Athenian horror of the Plataians to compare with, for instance, the religiously-motivated and fatal abandonment, by their allies, of the temple-robbing Phokians in the 350s.

III. THE PERJURIES OF 431

Let us look at Thucydides' handling of the supposed perjury of the Plataians in putting their Theban prisoners to death, with particular attention to his account of Athenian attitudes, for that is the essential aspect. I shall look at (1) the passage mentioning the perjury itself (2. 5. 6), (2) the supposed divine comment on the perjury (2. 77. 5–6), and (3) the coverage of the killing of the prisoners in the Plataian and Theban speeches in book 3.

(1) The Plataians put some Theban prisoners to death: *Θηβαῖοι μὲν ταῦτα λέγουσι καὶ ἐπομόσαι φασὶν αὐτούς· Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθὺς ὑπόσχεσθαι ἀποδώσειν, ἀλλὰ λόγων πρῶτον γενόμενον ἦν τι ξυμβαίνωσι, καὶ ἐπομόσαι οὐ φασιν*, 'this is the Theban version, and they add that the Plataians swore an oath. The Plataians do not admit that they promised to give the men back immediately but only if they came to an agreement after negotiations, and they deny that they swore an oath' (2. 5. 6). West is quite right (438) that it is unusual for Thucydides to give unadjudicated alternatives like this: 'we shall find no parallel to this report of conflicting accounts between which he could not decide'. What is unusual is not so much that he gives two versions but that he does not decide between them. (At 4. 122. 6 he says firmly that 'the truth', *ἡ ἀλήθεια*, lay with the Athenians rather than the Spartans on the important question whether Skione was taken before or after the truce of 423, and at 8. 87 he wonders why the Phoenician fleet did not arrive and says that different people offer different explanations. He plumps for one of these himself. See above, Ch. 3, 82 n. 57).

There is no hope of retrieving the truth about the Plataian oath if Thucydides was not able to do so. We can only ask how important it was in the minds of contemporaries, in particular Athenian contemporaries including Thucydides himself.

For the full understanding of the episode we must look not only at para. 6, but at para. 5 which gives the matching Plataian claim against the Thebans, namely that their actions, in trying to take their city in time of peace, were impious, *οὔτε τὰ πεποιημένα ὅσια δράσειαν ἐν σπονδαῖς σφῶν πειράσαντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν*. This is an accusation of perjury because *spondai*, the libations which accompanied the making of a peace treaty, in this case the Thirty Years Peace of 446, were themselves routinely sealed by oaths (cf., from Thucydides' own narrative, 5. 19. 2, *ᾧμνον δὲ οἶδε καὶ ἐσπένδοντο*, and for the terms of the oath see 5. 18. 9). We shall go wrong if we forget that the Theban claim against the Plataians was a *counter-claim* of perjury. This sort of 'tu quoque' ('you, too') accusation was, as we have seen in Section I, a standard sort of move in Greek diplomacy. To say so much is neither to deny the truth of the Theban claim (though Thucydides as we have seen was not sure), nor to deny that the Plataians had at very least made a conditional promise on the lines set out in para. 6 (a promise to give the prisoners back if that should be agreed after negotiation) and it was shocking to break it. Of the two perjury accusations, that against the Thebans was by far the longer-lasting (cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 9. 7). The Theban invasion of Plataia was remembered by the Spartans in 413 as a religious offence which they themselves had committed by proxy (7. 18. 2, *σφέτερον τὸ παρανόμημα*; for the noun cf. the verb *παρανομηθεῖσαν* at 5. 16. 1, of the irreligious recall of King Pleistoanax). This religious offence by their Theban allies, the Spartans now believed, 'explained their [own] misfortunes' in the years after 431: *εἰκότως δυστυχεῖν*. On these two words Dover well comments: 'the belief that the gods punish the breaking of oaths is one of the oldest and firmest in Greek theology. The parties to an international agreement swore oaths that they would keep it; if they broke it, they must expect divine punishment.'¹⁹ But if we keep in mind that the Theban attack on Plataia was itself a breach of oaths, then certain

¹⁹ Dover *HCT* 4. 394 (on treaty-oaths, see further Bolmarcich (2007). West (2003), 446 n. 44 cites this Thucydidean passage briefly.

other key passages treated by West will (I suggest) look rather different.

(ii) Let us turn to the supposed divine intervention (2. 77. 5–6): if there had been a wind to fan the flames, as the enemy hoped there would, they [the Plataians] could not have escaped; but in fact this also is said, *λέγεται*, to have occurred, that heavy rain and thunder quenched the flames and the danger was averted.²⁰ It has been contended²¹ that Thucydides' *λέγεται* may here indicate religious uneasiness: 'a claim to divine intervention in this emergency, if it could be made to seem cogent, might be regarded as effective refutation of the charge of perjury' [sc. committed by the Plataians]. But there is another possibility (always on the assumption that *λέγεται* does indeed have a religious flavour), namely that it might be regarded as effective *confirmation* of the charge of perjury committed by the Thebans (and Spartans; see Section IV below). Indeed, we can go further. There are²² three weather phenomena here (lack of wind; rain; and thunder), and though the lack of wind made the fire less dangerous, and the rain put it out, the thunder was not worth mentioning unless it was seen by some as an indication of the attitude of Zeus. It would surely have been taken to show that Zeus was on the side of the Plataians, which would suggest, not only that the Plataians had not offended him, but that the Thebans had. Thucydides, whatever he himself thought of such reasoning, will have known that most of his readers would sympathize with it, and by choosing to mention the event (thunder and all), he deliberately makes it very difficult for his readers to believe that the Plataians had in fact been guilty of oath-breaking.

(3) Third and finally, the speeches in book 3. There is a remarkable omission in the Theban speech, which deals among other things with the killing of the prisoners: the Thebans do not repeat the charge of perjury but use the weaker and non-religious word *ὑποσχόμενοι*, 'promising', about the Plataians' undertaking not to kill them (3. 66. 2). It is only to be expected that the Plataians themselves should pass over

²⁰ West (2003) 440 f. (whence the quotation in my text); for the 'uneasiness', she cites Westlake (1977), 354.

²¹ I owe the point which follows, and the formulation of it, to Alan Sommerstein.

this topic quickly and vaguely, 3. 56. 2). This does not necessarily show that Thucydides wants us to think that the Thebans (considered as artificial speakers) have abandoned the accusation, still less that the real-life Thebans really had abandoned it. But it does surely weaken very considerably the suggestion that Thucydides wants us to remember the issue of Plataian perjury over the prisoners, or that he wants to suggest that other people remembered it. He evidently wants us to focus our minds elsewhere. It is a fact that he never, either in narrative, speech, or authorial comment, returns to this alleged initial Plataian perjury after he has once recorded it (at 2. 5). He does, by contrast, return to the undisputed Theban perjury as late as book Seven, as we have seen.

IV. THE OATHS OF 479

The Plataian perjury which is solemnly alleged by the Spartan king Archidamos in the second Plataian episode in 429 (2. 71–9, esp. 72) is quite different: nothing is now said about the killing of the prisoners two years earlier. The background is that two years after the original Theban attack, the Spartans invaded Plataia rather than plague-ridden Attica.²³ The Plataians protest against this Spartan breach of oaths, but this time they do not invoke the Thirty Years Peace (that was now a dead letter) but the special oaths sworn after the battle of Plataia in 479. These oaths guaranteed to the Plataians their territory and city and their autonomy and promised to defend the Plataians if anyone marched against them unjustly or to enslave them (2. 71. 2). Archidamos (if Thucydides has reported him correctly, and for the sake of argument I assume that he did) has had plenty of time, two years in fact, to think of a reply.²⁴ He knows perfectly well that the Plataians will protest in something like this way, and his reply, as Kagan says, 'shows that sophistry is not foreign to Sparta'.²⁴ He says that the

²³ Kagan (1974), 102. Note Thucydides' emphatic presentation by negation (above, Ch. 3, 83), in effect 'they did not invade Attica (because of the plague) but instead...'.
²⁴ No doubt in consultation with advisers.

²⁴ Kagan (1974), 103; see also his discussion on 104.

Plataians should keep their oaths by joining in the liberation struggle against Athens, *ξυνελευθεροῦτε*. It is an impudent suggestion, made only as a 'tu quoque' allegation of a kind we are beginning to be familiar with, and Thucydides makes clear that Archidamos himself does not take it seriously because he immediately settles for less. He says 'if you can't or won't do that', *εἰ δὲ μή*, 'then stay neutral'. This is surely a cavalier way of treating an oath: had Archidamos checked with the gods that mere neutrality would be acceptable as an alternative to keeping an alleged oath to join actively in liberation? Ernst Badian argues that the Plataians themselves do here accept their own perjury because at no stage do they deny Archidamos' interpretation of the oaths, but I agree with Christopher Pelling that Badian makes too much of this because Thucydides does not give the Plataians a proper reply at all. The Plataians are given one direct speech alleging Spartan perjury, then Archidamos makes his counter-accusation, also in direct speech, and the Plataians are given no further full reply in direct speech but ask to consult the Athenians. As Pelling says, 'for all we know, they did protest'.²⁵

But in any case the crucial opinion is that held at Athens and at this point we must remind ourselves what, on Archidamos' interpretation of the undertakings made in 479, would have amount to oath-keeping by the Plataians, namely the obligation to fight against the Athenians not just now but as part of a liberation process which ought to have been conducted over the past fifty years. Where? Badian suggests, as candidates for the cities whose liberation Archidamos has in mind, Aigina, Megara, Potidaia.²⁶ But it is not plausible to suppose that even the most god-fearing Athenian (let us call him Nikias), before or after 429, would have lost sleep over the idea that the Plataian allies of Athens were breaking oaths by not fighting against themselves, the Athenians. And the Athenian robust response, discussed above (see 161 on 2. 73. 3, the official and public Athenian message of encouragement to the 'wronged' Plataians) shows that this obvious reading of Athenian attitudes is in fact the correct one.

²⁵ Badian (1993), 111 and 115; Pelling (2000), 265 n. 44. These are two valuable studies from which I have learned much.

²⁶ Badian (1993), 115 f.

V. CONCLUSION

I do not think the Athenians showed continuing unease at Plataian perjury. They did not leave the Plataians to their fate completely. On the two occasions when the Plataians are accused of perjury, it is as a reply to better-founded accusations of perjury which they themselves have just made.

8

Thucydides, the Panionian Festival, and
the Ephesia (3. 104)*

[What follows is a heavily rewritten version of my original article in *Historia* 31 (1982), 241–5, which argued that the Ephesia festival of Th. 3. 104. 2 is to be identified not with the Artemisia but with the Panionian festival. I continue to believe this to be the right solution. The changes I have now made are partly intended to make the argument simpler and clearer; they include an examination of a far from straightforward passage of Herodotus; and they involve what I hope is a more satisfactory interpretation of a passage of book 15 of Diodorus about the move of the Panionia to a safer site near Ephesos. This revised interpretation is mainly the result of comments by the late Prof. A. Andrewes, in a private letter of 10 July 1982, and of a published article by P. J. Stylianou. I have also corrected some slips pointed out by Stylianou (for which I thank him) or else noticed by myself, and have done some updating of footnotes. Stylianou (1997), 379 f., n. on 15. 49. 1, merely restates his position briefly: the Ephesia is asserted to be not identical with the Panionia.

Andrewes began his letter ‘Thank you for Thucydides and the Ephesia, the main thesis of which is clearly right’. But he went on ‘Such qualification as I retain concerns a certain opacity at the end, esp. the penultimate paragraph’.

* An initial footnote thanked Mr. P. M. Fraser for reading and improving the article and added ‘the usual exemption clause, about responsibility for views expressed, applies’. I repeat those thanks to the late P. M. Fraser, although the article is now different from what he saw. I add thanks to Tony Andrewes (for his letter of 1982, see above), and the late David Lewis (for a postcard of 13 April 1983 pointing out a mistake, but starting ‘I am not quarrelling with the conclusion’). And I must now thank Alan Griffiths for help in 2009, mainly with Herodotus 1. 148.1, and Rosaria Munson, with whom I have discussed the same Herodotus section profitably. See her forthcoming Cambridge commentary (with Carolyn Dewald) on Herodotus book 1.

By this he meant my discussion of Diodorus’ date for the move of the site, and of the Panionion inscription (for which see below, nn. 21 and 24).

My article provoked a reply (Stylianou (1983)), denying the identity of the Ephesia and the Panionia, although Stylianou 245 immediately conceded one of my contentions: ‘That the Ephesia cannot be the same as the Artemisia, at least for the Roman imperial period, may be accepted without further argumentation. The occurrence of both festivals in the same inscription seems conclusive.’ I replied in turn to Stylianou at CT I. 528, Chankowski (2008), 17, rejects my identification of Ephesia and Panionia, but does not wrestle with the evidence of Diod. 15. 49 or Hdt. 1. 148. See also Frame (2010), 622–4.

The hellenistic history of the Panionion is not my concern here; it is the subject of a UCL Ph.D. dissertation of 2003 by Michael Metcalfe; see also Boffo (1985), 123–8.]

In one of his richest and most colourful chapters (3. 104), Thucydides describes the purification by the Athenians of Delos in the winter of 426/5 BC. After the purification, he says (end of para. 2), the Athenians staged the penteteric festival, the Delia; in former times the Ionians and islanders had flocked to Delos with their wives and children *as they now do to the Ephesia*, and held a gymnastic and musical festival with choruses: καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ τῶν περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν. ξύν τε γὰρ γυναῖξι καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἰωνες¹ καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς, χοροὺς τε ἀνήγον αἱ πόλεις.

There then follows, in support of the above account of the nature of the festival, a long pair of extracts from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. Thucydides continues (para. 6) ‘such is the testimony of Homer to the great antiquity of a great gathering and festival at Delos. In later years the islanders and the Athenians continued to send choruses and offerings, but most elements of the festival, were

¹ P. M. Fraser thought the words ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἰωνες inept—but cf. Th. 2. 15. 4—and suggested that they could represent an early interpolation; perhaps (he thought) a marginal gloss was incorporated into the text? That would dispose of the problem of interpretation. What follows assumes that Th. wrote the text as we have it: Maurer (1995) does not discuss the ch. specifically, but his general line is hostile to hypotheses of interpolation. Fraser further observed that the punctuation would be improved by a comma after Ἐφέσια.

abandoned, naturally enough, when Ionia had its troubles. But now, the Athenians restored the games and added chariot-races, which had not been held in the past' (tr. M. Hammond): τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὀμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ· ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἵπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

What is the festival of the Ephesia referred to in para. 2? There are, it would seem, three possibilities: (1) the Ephesia is identical with the Artemisia, (2) the Ephesia is identical with the Panionian festival, and (3) the Ephesia is identical with neither festival, but is a 'festival in its own right, independent of either Artemisia or Panionia'.² I deal with these views in that order, but will be arguing for (2). It is a curious feature of the older phase of work that, whereas distinguished scholars usually adopted either view (1) or view (2), they tended not to argue for their position, but instead simply ignored the position they did not adopt.

(1) An erroneous (as will be argued), but commonly held, view is that the Ephesia is simply the name for the regular festival of Artemis at Ephesus, the Artemisia. This view goes back to an ancient scholiast,³ and seems to be accepted by the standard modern commentaries, those of Classen-Steup and (by implication) Gomme, neither of which, however, refers to the scholiast. Gomme merely refers to M. Nilsson's *Griechische Feste*.⁴

Nilsson's view, in as far as it was not simply taken over from Guhl, was based on a passage in the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos.⁵ This passage, to put it in its context and summarize it,

² Stylianou (1983), 249.

³ See Hude's edn. of the scholia (Leipzig, 1927), 223: ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια· ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος.

⁴ Nilsson (1906), 243, cf. 144 with n. 4 and 178 n. 3. Nilsson relied partly on the authority of Guhl (1843), 116 (who does not argue for his view), partly on a passage of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, discussed and cited below. Nilsson (1967, 1974) does not touch on the question. Wade-Gery (1952), 3, also appears to identify Artemisia and Ephesia; Wilamowitz (1937), 141 n. 1 does not discuss the point explicitly, but seems not to identify Panionia and Ephesia.

⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4. 25. 4: παρ' οὗ (sc. Amphiktyon) τὸ παράδειγμα λαβόντες Ἰωνεὺς θ' οἱ μεταθέμενοι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὰ παραθαλάττια τῆς Καρίας

says that Servius Tullius tried to integrate Romans and Latins, in this imitating Amphiktyon. Amphiktyon had already been imitated by the Dorian and Ionian Greek settlers in Anatolia, who built temples at Triopion (on the Knidos promontory) and at Ephesos, where they built a temple to Artemis. There, *ἐνθα* (i.e., presumably, at both places, though the passage is often cited as if it treated Ionia only), they established festivals of a pan-ethnic kind. Nowhere does Dionysios use the word *Ἐφέσια* or *Ἐφέσεια*. His description of Tullius' policy (an essentially political policy), however, makes it likely that the Panionian festival (itself a political as well as a religious institution) was what he had in mind. There is no support in this passage for the crude identification of the Ephesia with the regular festival of Artemis at Ephesos.

Now for the positive evidence against the identification Ephesia/Artemisia. This was not cited by Nilsson, or by his followers, but, equally, it has not featured in the discussions of those scholars who implicitly accept the identification Ephesia/Panionia. It was given by Dittenberger as long ago as 1903,⁶ three years before Nilsson brought out his *Griechische Feste*; moreover, Dittenberger was merely repeating the conclusion reached by Hicks in 1890:⁷ the Ephesia and the Artemisia cannot be identified, *because both festivals are mentioned in the course of a single Greek agonistic inscription of Roman date*.⁸ We can add that Pollux mentions the Ephesia and the Artemisia as distinct festivals, though he regards both as festivals of Artemis.⁹ The identification of Ephesia and Artemisia did not, then, hold in the Roman period, and the same is likely to be true of Thucydides' day.

καὶ Δωριεῖς οἱ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους τὰς πόλεις ἰδρυσάμενοι ἱερά κατεσκεύασαν ἀπὸ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων· Ἰωνεὺς μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, Δωριεῖς δ' ἐπὶ Τριωπίῳ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἐνθα συνιόντες γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις κατὰ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας χρόνους συνέθουν τε καὶ συνεπανηγύριζον καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπετέλουν ἱππικοὺς καὶ γυμνικοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ μουσικὴν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθήμασι κοινοῖς ἐδωροῦντο. Nilsson (1906), 178 n. 3 remarks that the dependence ('Anlehnung') on Thucydides 3. 104 is unmistakable.

⁶ OGIS no. 10 n. 2.

⁷ BMI III, 79.

⁸ BMI III no. DCV (= Bördor and Merkelbach (1980), no. 1605; cf. also L. Robert, *OMS* II, 1138–41): a record of the victories of the boxer Photion of Laodikeia and Ephesos; date thought to be Hadrianic. For his victories in the *μεγάλα Ἐφέσια*, see lines 2–3 and 10; but then see line 13: Ἀρτεμείσια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνδρῶν πνυγμῆν.

⁹ 1. 37: ἑορταὶ δὲ ἐντιμοὶ..... Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἐφέσια. Hesychius, vol. 2 ed. Latte (Copenhagen, 1966), 243 just says: Ἐφέσια· ἀγὼν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιφανής.

One further possibility should, however, be mentioned, suggested by Hicks but ignored by Dittenberger. Hicks¹⁰ observed that in the relevant inscription the festivals *κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*,¹¹ the *μεγάλα Ἐφέσεια*, and the *Ἀρτεμισία ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* are 'named side by side as if quite distinct', and adduced this fact against Guhl (above, n. 4), who identified the *Ἐφέσεια* with the *Ἀρτεμισία* 'as if the identification needed no proof'. However, Hicks, not reported on this point by Dittenberger, went on to suggest that the Ephesia, which he equates with the Great Ephesia, might have been a more splendid, four-yearly version of the ordinary, annual Artemisia. This Hicks offered as a mere conjecture, unsupported, as he admits, by evidence. It is coldly treated in Knibbe's very full Pauly article on Ephesos,¹² published in 1970, where it is said to have no support ('keine Bestätigung'). Hick's suggestion is in fact unlikely to be right, if only because the Artemisia could itself be styled 'Great',¹³ and because nothing in the hellenistic and Roman inscriptions suggests that the Artemisia was felt to be less prestigious than the Ephesia, in any respect save that, being annual not quadrennial,¹⁴ its honours (we may suppose) lacked the rarity value of the Ephesia.

To sum up this part of the argument: the identification of Artemisia and Ephesia in Thucydides is unlikely to be right, because in the inscriptions of Ephesos the two festivals are distinct.

(2) Now for the view—also widely held in the twentieth century¹⁵—that by the Ephesia Thucydides was referring to the Panionian festival. There are three main reasons for believing this.¹⁶

¹⁰ BMI III. 79.

¹¹ This festival is not to be identified with the Ephesia, the descendant of the old Ionian festival, any more than the Ephesia is to be identified with the Artemisia; Ionia is not the same as Asia. The festival of the *κοινὰ τῆς Ἀσίας* is well attested: see SEG 27. No. 843 lines 23–4. ¹² R.-E. Supp. 12, col. 279.

¹³ BMI III no. DCV lines 12–14: *νικήσαντα τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν Ἀρτεμισίων*. ¹⁴ BMI III. 79.

¹⁵ See below nn. 31 and 32 for some prominent holders of this view. Stylianos (1983), 248, spoke of himself as having 'refuted' the identification of Ephesia and Panionia, but 'refute' is a strong word, and I do not see that or where he has done this, as opposed to merely *rejecting* the identification.

¹⁶ Stylianos (1983), 247 says 'it would not have occurred to scholars to equate Ephesia and Panionia, but for Diodorus' statement', etc. This is not quite right: the argument is cumulative, and rests at least as much on Thucydides' own language, and on the modern feeling that in this context we miss a reference to the great Panionian festival so prominently and programmatically described by Herodotus, but never mentioned by Thucydides under that name at all. Indeed, Stylianos seems to concede

First, Thucydides' own parenthetic reference to the Ionians ('as the Ionians now do ...') surely indicates an important pan-Ionian festival, one of comparable prestige to the Delia. What better candidate than the Panionian festival can we think of? The Panionia, held at Mykale, were the subject of an important chapter of Herodotus,¹⁷ one which immediately precedes and introduces an account of the Ionian cities. (This passage, incidentally, shows no obvious or explicit awareness that the Panionia had been moved from the Mykale site by whatever time Herodotus wrote or thought that passage. See however further below on this problem). One could even say that it would be surprising if Thucydides—who knew the text of Herodotus very well, and is often to be found in critical conversation with it—had *not* compared the Delia to the Panionia.¹⁸

Second, Diodorus, in an excursus given under 373 BC, says that the festival of the Panionia was moved from its old site near Mykale to a safe place *near Ephesos*, because of wars in the Mykale region.¹⁹ The mention here of the location near Ephesos makes it attractive to identify Thucydides' Ephesia with the Panionia. The problem is, to know the date of this move, and of the move back again from Ephesos to Mykale. There certainly was such a move back, because by Strabo's time (and probably much earlier), the Panionia was again held at Mykale; and Prieneans served as priests.²⁰ I return to these dating problems in a moment.

as much on p. 249 when he says, 'It is *only* [my italics] Thucydides' statement that it was a festival of the Ionians that has given rise to the confusion.'

¹⁷ 1. 148.

¹⁸ Thus Wilamowitz (as above, n. 4), after saying that the Panionia no longer existed in Herodotus' time [we shall return to this point below], observed that when Th. speaks of the pan-Ionian festival of the Delia, he compares it not to the Panionia but to the Ephesia. To be sure, this does not show that Wilamowitz identified Panionia and Ephesia, but it does imply that a reference to the Panionia would have been expected in this context.

¹⁹ 15. 49. 1: *κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐννέα πόλεις εἰώθεισαν κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι σύνοδον τὴν τῶν Πανιωνίων, καὶ θυσίας συνθῆναι ἀρχαίας καὶ μεγάλας Ποσειδῶνι περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μυκάλῃ ἐν ἐρήμῳ. ὕστερον δὲ πολέμων γενομένων περὶ τοὺς τοῖς τόπους οὐ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν τὰ Πανιωνία, μετέθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν εἰς ἀσφαλὴ τόπον, ὃς ἦν πλησίον τῆς Ἐφέσου.* ('In Ionia, nine cities were accustomed to hold the common Panionion meeting, and to make the great ancient sacrifices to Poseidon at a deserted spot near a place named Mykale. But later, because of wars in that region, they were unable to hold the Panionia, so they moved the festival to a safe place near Ephesos.')

²⁰ In his most extended section on the Panionia (8. 7. 2, from his section on Achaia), Strabo links the Panionian religious rites with Priene, as if unaware of the move of site;

The third reason for identifying the Thucydidean Ephesia with the Panionia is more intangible. It lies in the association between the cultic 'kings' of Ephesos and the rituals which took place at the Panionion. This association is most clearly and relevantly attested in a difficult and fragmentary inscription published in 1967.²¹ It is a mid-fourth-century sacred law²² found at the Panionion itself, mentioning on the one hand both Panionian altar and sacrifices, and on the other hand a 'king of the Ephesians', βασιλέα τὸν Ἐφε[σίων].²³ It also mentions 'sceptre-carrying basileis', βασι[λέας] σκηπτούχους. The date of the inscription is said to be 349–333 BC.²⁴ But it is possible²⁵ that the connection between Panionia and Ephesos was already made by in the sixth-century mythographer Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F155), quoted by Strabo at the beginning of his main Asia Minor section (14. 1. 3, 633c): here we learn that the royal seat of the Ionians (τὸ βασιλεῖον τῶν Ἰώνων) was established at Ephesos, that the descendants of Androklos the oikist of Ephesos are called kings even nowadays, καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὀνομάζονται βασιλεῖς, and that they enjoy various privileges, including front seats at the (unspecified) games, προεδρίαν ἐν

moreover, he speaks of those Panionian rites as practised near Priene in his own day: συνελοῦσιν Ἴωνες τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι, and τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου Ποσειδῶνος, ὃν καὶ νῦν ἔτι τιμῶσιν Ἴωνες. See also (from his Asia Minor section, with a back-reference to his earlier discussion) 14. 1. 20 (639c), description of the Panionion, 'where the Panionia, a common festival of the Ionians is held, and a sacrifice to Helikonian Poseidon; and Prieneans serve as priests. But this was covered in the section on the Peloponnese', ὅπου τὰ Πανιώνια, κοινὴ πανήγυρις τῶν Ἰώνων, συνελεῖται τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ θυσιά· ἱεράνται δὲ Πριηνεῖς· εἴρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς.

²¹ Hommel in Kleiner, Hommel and Müller-Wiener (1967), 45–63, 'Die Inschrift'; Greek text and German tr. at 49f.; cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1968, no. 469.

²² See most obviously lines 12ff., which set out the parts of the animal to be given to the priest. The inscription was published too late to be treated by F. Sokolowski in any of his main collections (but see Sokolowski (1970)); and Lupu (2005) regrettably does not include texts from Asia Minor (but see his App. B, 'Checklist of Significant New Documents from Asia Minor', at 399 no. 23).

²³ Lines 6–7, 9, 22 of the inscription; see also L. Rubinstein, 'Ionia', *IACP* 1053–107 at 1057; Debord (1999), 178. Griffiths observes that the Greek could mean 'king of the Ephesia' (i.e. the festival).

²⁴ In 1982 (at 245), I took this inscription to date from the period when the festival of the Panionia was celebrated at Ephesos, and to be supporting evidence for the fact and 4th-cent. date of the move; but I now think this was wrong, and that the festival had moved back to Mykale well before the likely date of the inscription.

²⁵ Cf. Rubinstein, as in n. 23 above; Sokolowski (1970), 112.

τοῖς ἀγῶσι. But the correspondence is imperfect: the family are here said to superintend the sacrifices in honour (not of Poseidon Helikonios but of) Eleusinian Demeter. Nevertheless, we seem to have a firm indication of Ephesian religious primacy among the totality of the Ionians. If 'even now' refers to Strabo's own day (the early years of the first century AD), we have remarkable cultic longevity.²⁶

I now return to the problem of Diodorus' date for the move of site. As we have seen, Diodorus reports this move discursively under the year 373.²⁷ He begins his account with a description of the ancient Panionian festival, and then says that wars 'later' (ὕστερον δὲ πολέμων γενομένων) caused the move to the safer site near Ephesos. He is describing the earthquake of 373, which was supposedly caused by the refusal of the men of Achaian Helike to make copies of certain oracles available to the Ionians, a refusal which angered Poseidon. Strabo has the same story (earthquake; Ionian appeal to Helike; anger of Poseidon), and he explicitly dates these events to 373, 'two years before Leuktra'.²⁸ Thus, although Strabo does not actually speak of a move of site of the Panionian festival, he confirms Diodorus' dating.²⁹ Scholars of school of thought no. (2) seek to link the Thucydides and Diodorus (+ Strabo) passages, arguing or assuming that the move of site to near Ephesos had occurred by 426, or whenever Thucydides was writing, perhaps as late as the 390s, and that that is why Thucydides calls the Panionia the Ephesia. The late G. E. Bean can be taken as a good, clear representative of this second view. He writes:³⁰ 'some time during the fifth century it became impossible to celebrate the Panionia owing to the constant hostilities, and it was transferred to a safer place near Ephesus;

²⁶ The alternative is that 'even now' refers to the time of Artemidoros of Ephesos (about a century earlier than Strabo), because he may have been the intermediary between Pherekydes and Strabo: Lenschau (1944), 203. For Artemidoros ('gift of Artemis') in this section of Strabo see above all 14. 1. 22 (640–41c), the famous story of Alexander's rejected offer to pay for the temple of Artemis at Ephesos.

²⁷ 15. 48. 1–49. 6.

²⁸ 8. 7. 2 (384–385c). It is tempting to think that we have here not two sources but one, namely Ephoros, who was used by both Diodorus and Strabo. With Strabo's μῆνις of Poseidon cf. Diod. 15. 49. 3 μηνίσαντα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα.

²⁹ Andrewes in 1982 (see above Introductory n.) insisted to me that Diodorus does make the link between the move and the earthquake, 'and Strabo's link between the request to Helike and the earthquake gives him support which is not invalidated by the fact that Strabo doesn't mention the move'.

³⁰ Bean (1979), 178. Cf. also Bean's entry 'Panionion', *PECS* 670.

Thucydides refers to it under the name of the Ephesia.³¹ Bean's view has been held by others, e.g. the German excavators of the Panionion.³²

The difficulty with this is that Diodorus' account, as it stands, associates the move of site to Ephesos with the earthquake of 373 (and, as we saw, Strabo corroborates this). And yet Thucydides' expression 'as the Ionians now do to the Ephesia' implies (on the view of the Ephesia here taken) that the move had already taken place much earlier, in fact by the time he wrote those words: 390s at latest. The solution I adopted in my Thucydides commentary of 1991,³³ and which I continue to think is the right one, was indebted to a suggestion of Stylianou himself,³⁴ viz. that Diodorus here incompetently abbreviated a digression in his source Ephoros, who had dated to 373 the move *back from Ephesos to Mykale*. Diodorus confused the date of this move with the earlier move *from Mykale to the safe spot near Ephesos*. That earlier move had taken place by whenever Thucydides wrote his chapter about the Delia, perhaps at the end of the fifth century. It remains to try to establish a context for this move away from Mykale to Ephesos.

We must first, however, look more closely at Herodotus. He, as we have seen, does not explicitly allude to a move of site. One solution would, then, be to suppose that he described the early fifth-century position, but did not update his text so as to take account of events later in the century.³⁴ That is, he first wrote what he did about the Panionion at a time when it was still a 'live' sanctuary, and he never adjusted his text subsequently. But his tenses must be examined.

He says (1. 148. 1) that the Panionion *is a sacred place of Mykale*, τὸ δε Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἱρός, facing north, and set apart by the Ionians to Poseidon Helikonios. Mykale, he continues, *is a promontory on the mainland* (Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρη), at which delegates from the Ionian cities *regularly celebrated* a festival to

³¹ Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Winer (1967). See esp. 13 f. (Kleiner) and 62 (Hommel). See also *IPriene* ix; Magie (1950), 867 n. 49; Smarczyk (1990), 473 and n. 185 (accepting my 1982 view; but see below n. 33). D. Knibbe, *R.-E. Supp.* xii, 1970, col. 278, 'Ephesos', identifies the Ephesia of the later inscriptions with the old Panionian festival of Diod. 15. 49. ³² CT I. 528, on Th. 3. 104. 3.

³³ Stylianou (1983), 248. But note that Smarczyk (as above, n. 31) dismissed Stylianou's treatment of Diodoros as arbitrary and unconvincing, and preferred to follow my 1982 view!

³⁴ A parallel might be Hdt. 7. 113. 1, where the non-mention of Amphipolis (founded in 437) has caused some surprise; see e.g. Macan's commentary.

which they ascribed the name Panionia (ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὁρτὴν, τῇ ἔθεντο οὖνομα Πανιώνια). Some scholars, implicitly or explicitly pressing the frequentative or iterative imperfect form of the verb (ἄγεσκον), have confidently detected an indication here that Herodotus is speaking about a vanished state of affairs,³⁵ and about a festival which was indeed in abeyance in his own time.³⁶ I shall follow this view, but with hesitation.

The passage as a whole is a little puzzling, in that it seems to point in two different chronological directions: Herodotus begins by using the present tense about the Panionion as a sacred place (no awareness here of any move of site),³⁷ but he then switches to past tenses when speaking about the celebration and naming of the Panionia by the Ionian cities.³⁸ The difficulty has not hitherto been felt to be troublesome, as far as I have been able to find. Alan Griffiths, noting that para. 2 (about the endings of Greek names for festivals) has often been deleted by editors, suspects that the *whole chapter* is not by Herodotus at all: 'if we are dealing with an assortment of annotations tidied up and ionicised, this would account for the inconcinnity between past and present that you note.' I am reluctant to get rid of para. 1 as well as para. 2, but I am reassured that Griffiths agrees that the changed tenses could do with an explanation.

³⁵ So, in general terms, Wilamowitz (1937), 141 ('Die Panionien bestanden zu Herodots Zeit nicht mehr'); Stylianou (1983), 249 and n. 24. Kleiner, in Kleiner, Hommel and Müller-Wiener (1967), 11 singles out ἄγεσκον.

It may be relevant to the 5th-cent. history of the Panionia that the festival-derived personal name Panionios is not found again after the grim episode recounted by Herodotus at 8. 104–6. See Hornblower (2003), 51 f. As I observed there, this Chian (named in perhaps 520 BC?) is one of the earliest pieces of evidence for the Panionian festival itself; but (as I also observed) there is more than one explanation why the name was never used again: perhaps the festival was in decline, but perhaps also the Chian castrator was not an attractive role model.

³⁶ Whatever that time was: there are good grounds for thinking that Herodotus' date of 'publication' was later than the end of the Archidamian War of 431 to 421. See Fornara (1971).

³⁷ At Hornblower (2003), I said that Herodotus at 1. 148 uses the present tense about the Panionion and does not indicate any awareness of a move away to Ephesos. That was true as far as the first part of ch. 148. 1 goes, but I ought to have taken into account the past tense of ἄγεσκον later in that paragraph.

³⁸ The Herodotus commentaries are no help. D. Asheri (Florence, 1988, tr. Oxford, 2007) has general notes on the Panionion and on Helikonian Poseidon, but nothing on the implications of Herodotus' tenses, especially but not only the vital ἄγεσκον.

Although the chapter is Herodotus' fullest account of the Panionion, it is not his first: he has already dropped it into the narrative once (1. 141. 3, meeting at the Panionion of the Ionians other than the Milesians), and in the next chapter he speaks in the present tense of 'the Ionians who possess the Panionion', οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί (1. 142. 1). But what of ἄγεσκειν in ch. 148? How hard should we press the past tense³⁹ which sets it off from the statement a few lines earlier that the Panionion 'is a sacred place'? It is one thing for Herodotus to say that Mykale is a promontory: that is permanent geographical fact.⁴⁰ To explain away 'the Panionion is a sacred place' on these lines is not so easy. If we think ἄγεσκειν means that celebrations at the Panionia had stopped, he is saying in effect that the Panionion 'is a sacred place—but one where nothing religious happens any more'.⁴¹ I think this must be the right way of taking the paragraph as a whole.

In conclusion, though I accept (with Wilamowitz, Kleiner and Stylianou) that the tense of ἄγεσκειν implies that the Panionia was not celebrated in Herodotus' day, the matter does not seem to me as clear-cut as is usually assumed. But let us proceed on the supposition that, at some point in the fifth century, the Panionian festival did indeed cease to be held at the Panionion. When did this happen? We may now invoke Thucydides' statement, near the end of his *pentekontaetia* narrative, that the Milesians and Samians were fighting 'for Priene', i.e. for possession of the place, in 441.⁴² This, we may suppose,⁴³ was the troubled context ('the wars' of Diodorus) in which the Panionia was moved to the safe place

³⁹ Andrea L. Purvis in *The Landmark Herodotus* (Strassler (2006), 80) actually has 'the Ionians come together from their various cities and gather together to celebrate the festival they named the Panionia', but these present tenses seem to be simple mistranslation. Griffiths points out to me that Rawlinson also had a present tense ('assemble'), and that this stands uncorrected in Lawrence's Nonesuch edition. And, it may be added, in the more recent reprints of Rawlinson with introductions by W. G. Forrest, H. Bowden, and R. Thomas.

⁴⁰ In view of the importance of Mykale as battle-site in book 9, we might see this first mention of the place as a kind of narrative 'seed'.

⁴¹ I had qualms about this, but Rosaria Munson tells me she is happy with it.

⁴² Th. 1. 115. 2. Prof. Andrewes in his letter of July 1982 (see above, Introductory n.) insisted that we should not dilute this: 'I never much cared for Gomme's border quarrel [a reference to *HCT* 1. 349: 'it was rather a quarrel, of the usual type, over border lands']. *περὶ Ἰλρίνης* ought to mean fighting for possession'.

⁴³ So Kleiner in Kleiner, Hommel and Müller-Wiening (1967), 14. Judeich (1892), 241 n. 1 had already suggested that the wars might have found their origin in the old quarrel between Samos and Priene.

near Ephesos. As Andrewes put it to me in 1982:⁴⁴ 'it is tiresome of Thuc. not even to hint about the position of Priene at the end of the story. Possibly the fact that its neighbours were by 441 fighting for it should be taken as indicating that Priene was already at a low ebb, and the move of the festival far enough back for Thucydides to find it unremarkable.' I think that this is right, and that there is a direct connection between the move from Mykale to Ephesos and the events of 441 concerning Priene. The move back to Mykale will then have happened in 373.

Finally, Griffiths asks me 'even granted that the festival had to be moved at some point to safer quarters in Ephesian territory, why would the other Ionians have agreed to the name-change?' The question is a good one, but perhaps many Ionians did in fact go on calling it the Panionian festival all through the bad times, and perhaps Thucydides' choice of terminology is conditioned in some way by his desire to distance himself from Herodotus. Barbara Kowalzig has raised interesting and important questions about how the move of the Ionian festival, and what she calls the 'migrated Panionion at Ephesos', might relate to matters of Ionian identity; these questions cannot be pursued here.⁴⁵

(3) Finally, there is the sceptical and minimalist view (Stylianou) that the Ephesia was a festival in its own right, not to be identified with either the Artemisia or the Panionia. Clearly, there is no way of refuting the view that by 'Ephesia' Thucydides meant just that, and no more. But it would be surprising if he expected his readers not only to know what he was talking about, with this rapid reference to what in the classical period is an otherwise poorly attested (and so minor?) festival,⁴⁶ but also to understand why the analogy with the Delia was a telling one. By contrast,—as already argued under (2) above—the Panionia and the Delia make a suitably prestigious and well-frequented pair of pan-Ionian festivals.

⁴⁴ See above, Introductory n.

⁴⁵ Kowalzig (2007) 104, cf. 111. Other important discussions are Parker, *ARH* 150 f. and Constantakopoulou (2007), 55 f., 71 ff. None of these scholars seem troubled by Hdt. 1. 148. 1 and its varying tenses.

⁴⁶ Stylianou (1983), 249 n. 28 draws attention to the reported use of the word *Ἐφέσεια* by Sophocles (fr. 97 *TrGF*, from Steph. Byz., *Ἐφέσιος*). Cf. A. W. Pearson (1917), 61: 'Did Sophocles by an anachronism refer to the Pan-Ionic festival of the Ephesia (3. 104)? An allusion to the magic letters is unlikely' (that is, to the *Ἐφέσεια γράμματα*). This tantalizing one-word fragment does not get us very far. Radt in *TrGF* has no comment on the fragment.

9

Thucydides and 'Chalkidic' Torone (4. 110. 1)

[In the original version of this chapter, I thanked the late Sir Kenneth Dover and Robin Osborne for reading and much improving a draft of this article; Pernille Flensted-Jensen for subsequent helpful comments; and John Papadopoulos for sharing with me his thoughts on Thucydides and Torone—including his 'anti-Euboian thesis', if I may call it that—when I visited the site of Torone in September 1995 and he showed me round.

Papadopoulos replied to my paper in Papadopoulos (1999); and see Papadopoulos (2005), 571–95, esp. 583–95. See also *IACP* 847 no. 620, 'Torone' (Pernille Flensted-Jensen); and *Torone I*, 37–88, 'Historical and Topographical Introduction' by Cambatoglou and Papadopoulos, esp. 41–44, where the line taken is more moderate than in Papadopoulos (1996) or (1997), in that it is acknowledged (41) that 'Chalkidic Torone' at Th. 4. 110. 1 *might* mean colonial origins from Euboian Chalkis (see also below, n. 2). Note that *Torone I* (publication date 2001) was evidently too late to be used by *IACP* (2004).

The ostensible subject of my chapter is small—a single word in Thucydides—but the chapter contributes to a much larger debate, one concerned with nothing less than the identity of the main pioneers of Greek overseas settlement in the early archaic age. My conclusions were specifically approved by Lane Fox (2008), 395 n. 54, cf. text at 62 f. This is consistent with the strongly 'pro-Euboian' thesis of his book: the Euboians are the 'travelling heroes' of his title; contrast the 'phantom Euboians' of Papadopoulos (1997).

My paper deals in perceptions and image-making as well as in factual realities: its final section seeks to show how colonizing roles were magnified, if not invented, by later generations anxious to claim prestigious founding fathers.

Finally, P. M. Fraser's posthumously-published book on Greek ethnic terminology (Fraser (2009)) has taught me much about an unfamiliar but important area of ancient Greek vocabulary, and alerted me to an aspect of the word *Χαλκιδική* which I had neglected in 1997. See below, 185 f.].

John Papadopoulos, armed with his specialist knowledge of the Chalkidike area in general and especially of Torone, has argued powerfully and elegantly against the popular scholarly view that the Euboians were active colonizers in the North Aegean.¹ He points to the variety of the places of origin—not Euboian only—of the artefacts found at Torone. He suggests that Chalkidike derived its name from *chalkos* or *chalk-* (copper or bronze), and that the place-name indicates metal exploitation, not a colonial connection with Chalkis in Euboea. This view involves serious (I would say fatal) linguistic difficulties,² but these are not the prime concern of this article. I am not an archaeologist but a student of the History of Thucydides, which is, however, crucial to Papadopoulos' argument at one point,³ and I wish to explore this aspect further. I am not merely offering an attempt at the elucidation of Thucydides: I shall end by making a suggestion designed to marry Papadopoulos' archaeological findings with both the modern scholarly consensus and the consensus of the ancient evidence.

Torone is not like Lefkandi, a site of prime archaeological importance, but one which is hard to pin down in the classical literary sources.⁴ On the contrary, we are fortunate that in seven rich chapters (4. 110–16), Thucydides placed Torone and its topography under his powerful microscope. Like Papadopoulos, I shall be mostly concerned with the very first sentence of that section, where Brasidas 'marched against Chalkidic Torone', *στρατεύει ἐπὶ Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν*.

¹ Papadopoulos (1996), (1997), and (2005), 571–95.

² Kenneth Dover pointed out to me, in a letter dated 18 Nov. 1996: 'if *Χαλκιδική* is directly derived from *χαλκός*, what on earth is that *-ιδ* doing? I see from Buck and Petersen, 643, that there are no examples of *-ιδικός* as a double formative attached to a stem; in *πυραμίδικός* the stem is *πυραμίδ-*, and in the mysterious *βαλιδικός* it is probably *βαλιδ-*. I would conclude that *Χαλκιδικός* is the adjective of *Χαλκίς*'. Papadopoulos (2005), 590–2 acknowledges the linguistic difficulty, but still hankers for his *chalkos*-derivation. ³ Papadopoulos (1996), 166.

⁴ Papadopoulos (2005), 3, puts it well: 'Torone without Thucydides would have been just another archaeological site.'

What does this mean? It is essential to grasp that the passage must be taken with Thucydides' other reference of the same sort, a few chapters further on. Brasidas, he says (4. 123. 4), took the women and children of Skione and Mende to 'Chalkidic Olynthos', *ὑπεκκομίζει ἐς Ὀλυνθον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*. No explanation of 'Chalkidic Torone' will be altogether satisfying unless it can also account for 'Chalkidic Olynthos' (only thirteen chapters later, and also said about a north Greek site) without producing two violently different senses, and unless the explanation can account for Thucydides' sudden specification of Olynthos—a place frequently met with in books 1 and 2, contrast Torone⁵—as 'Chalkidic'. In some ways it is the description of Olynthos as 'Chalkidic' which is the real oddity. Apart from these two occurrences, Thucydides does not in this portion of narrative (i.e. 4–5. 24) use 'Chalkidic' as an adjective for a place. We do find 'from Arne of the Chalkidike', *ἐξ Ἀρνῶν τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς* (4. 103. 1), which Gomme glossed as 'Arnai in the territory of the Chalkidike'; but that is slightly different.

The meaning of 'Chalkidic Torone' is crucial for Papadopoulos, who wishes to deny that Torone was a colony of Euboian Chalkis. He points out, quite rightly, that in the northern sections of books 4 and 5, Thucydides regularly gives colonial indicators in the explicit form 'an *apoikia* of *x*' (see further below). So Mende is introduced as 'an *apoikia* of the Eretrians' (4. 123. 1). But he does not do precisely this for Torone; therefore (so Papadopoulos reasons) we may conclude that 'if Torone was ever a true colony of Chalkis, Thucydides would have used the word *ἀποικία*'.⁶ Clearly, we can go no further without establishing the meaning of 'Chalkidic Torone', because there have always been readers who have understood Thucydides' expression 'Chalkidic' Torone to be a way of saying that Torone *was* a colony of Euboian Chalkis.⁷ If Thucydides did assert this, the assertion is of the greatest importance for archaeologists and historians, given the shortage of other hard specific literary evidence for colonization of places in Chalkidike by Euboian Chalkis.⁸

⁵ 4. 110. 1 is Th.'s first introduction of Torone.

⁶ Papadopoulos (1996), 166, and again (2005), 584.

⁷ The list begins with Ephoros in the 4th cent. BC (see below on Diod. 12. 68). In modern times, see e.g. Bradeen (1952).

⁸ Strabo 7 fr. 11 and Pol. 9. 28 (from a speech, but I suspect reflecting Polybios' or Ephoros' own ideas), are vague and do not specify sites; I return to them later. At

The following translations or interpretations of 'Chalkidic Torone' have been offered (I do not forget 'Chalkidic Olynthos', and will return to it).

(1) '*Torone [or Olynthos] in Chalkidike*'. This is the pretty well unanimous version of translators, including Jowett, de Romilly (Budé edn.: 'en Chalcidique' both times), Crawley, Smith (Loeb), Warner (Penguin), S. Lattimore.⁹ It is even adopted by Hobbes, who for me is usually the final court of appeal on any point of translation. He has 'of Chalcidea' (Torone) and 'in Chalcidea' (Olynthos). The reason for the discrepancy is not obvious, but he seems to be taking the adjective geographically both times, unless 'of' is supposed to imply ownership (sense (ii) below).

This translation is surely wrong. The choice of 'in Chalkidike', rather than the more obvious 'Chalkidic', may represent an attempt to distance oneself from the implied interpretation of 'Chalkidic' as meaning 'of Euboian Chalkidic origin', an interpretation which E. Harrison attacked a century ago in an influential article.¹⁰ But this hardly accounts for Hobbes, who died in 1679.

Why is the translation wrong? First, it is simply inexact. 'Chalkidic' does not mean 'in Chalkidike' in Greek, any more than it does in English. The description of Arne ('of the Chalkidike': see above) comes closer to giving the sense 'in Chalkidike'.¹¹

We might be tempted to say that, in technical grammarian's language, *Χαλκιδικός* is a 'ktetic' adjective, whereas the 'ethnic' is *Χαλκιδεύς*.¹² Similarly the ktetic of 'Eretrian' is *Ἐρετρικός*, and the ethnic is *Ἐρετριεύς*. But the matter is not so simple, because the *feminine* form of the ethnic *Χαλκιδεύς* is (by a common type of

Strabo 7 fr. 35 (Stagira), *τῶν Χαλκιδικῶν* surely does not refer to colonisation, in view of Th. 4. 88. 2: Stagiros [*sic*] explicitly said to be a colony of the Andrians; for the importance of the Andrian connection, see Badian (1999), 16–17. On Diod. 12. 68 (above, n. 7) see below.

⁹ But not, I am glad to say, M. Hammond (2009), who has 'Chalcidian Torone' and 'Chalcidian Olynthos'.

¹⁰ Harrison (1912).

¹¹ But no doubt we should not press Thucydides' usage too rigorously. Kenneth Dover writes: 'I don't attach too much importance to the adjective (instead of the expected *τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς*) in iv. 110. 1 and 123. 4, because it wouldn't surprise me in the least if Thucydides varied his language at different times (cf. *HCT* 4. 437)'.

¹² Steph. Byz., under *Χαλκίς*, says explicitly that the ethnic is *Χαλκιδεύς* and variants, and the ktetic is *Χαλκιδικός*. For 'ethnics', 'ktetics' and 'topics', see Fraser (2009), 15–59.

adjustment) *Χαλκιδική*.¹³ So we cannot say for sure if the adjective in Thucydides' description *Τορώνη ἡ Χαλκιδική* is ktetic or ethnic, and the same is unfortunately true of 'Chalkidic Olynthos', because Olynthos is also feminine!¹⁴ (See above for *ἐς Ὀλυνθον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*). The combination of ethnic and city-name is a perfectly possible one: Thucydides speaks of 'Boiotian Orchomenos', *Ὀρχομενὸς ὁ Βοιωτίας* (3. 87. 4). The ktetic would have been *Βοιωτιακός*, and this might, I suppose, have conveyed the meaning 'member of the Boiotian Confederacy'. In fact, I think that 'Chalkidic Torone' is likelier to be a ktetic than an ethnic.

Second, and in my view most interesting: for Thucydides to introduce Torone, a relatively big player in the book 4 narrative, with a merely geographical specification, would be highly exceptional in this part of the work (4–5. 24). It is striking that Thucydides is here so punctilious about giving colonial relationships.¹⁵ This surely creates a very strong presumption that his specification of Torone must contain a statement about origins or ethnic affiliations, rather than about location. As we have seen, Papadopoulos¹⁶ uses the allegedly 'coherent and consistent' terminology of Thucydides to make the point that Mende—explicitly called an Eretrian *ἀποικία*—is introduced differently from Torone. But to speak of coherence and consistency in this connection assumes precisely what needs to be proved (see Dover, quoted above at n. 11, for Thucydidean variation). It is much more important that Thucydides should not be made to treat Torone too differently from Mende, Skione, Akanthos, and the other places. That he uses a ktetic or ethnic expression for Torone, but not an identical type of expression for Mende (that would have been *Μένδη ἡ Ἐρετρική*),¹⁷ is not a difference which should be pressed.

(2) 'Torone the Chalkidian place', i.e. the member of the Chalkidic State or Chalkidic League (if one believes that such a league existed in the fifth century as well as the fourth).¹⁸

¹³ Fraser (2009), 46 n. 90.

¹⁴ As is *Νάξος*. See below for 'Chalkidic Naxos' at 4. 25. 7.

¹⁵ Ridley (1981); *CT* II, 74–80; Badian (1999). ¹⁶ Above, n. 6.

¹⁷ Cf. the epigram (*FGE* 618–19, 'Plato' no. XI) about the uprooted Eretrians: *Εὐβοίης γένος ἔσμεν Ἐρετρικόν, ἀγχι δὲ Σούσων / κείμεθα φεῦ γαίης ὅσον ἀφ' ἡμετέρης*.

¹⁸ For Larsen (1968), the Olynthos-centred Chalkidic set-up, whose beginnings are described at Th. 1. 58. 2, was federal; Zahrnt (1971) preferred to call the 5th-cent.

This interpretation seems to have been favoured by Gomme¹⁹ and (with a qualification) Larsen.²⁰ Gomme never offered an actual translation of *Χαλκιδική Τορώνη*, but (in 1956, at least) he believed that the language used about Lekythos, one of the promontories of Torone, 'seems to imply that Torone was a member of a Chalcidic federation'. Lekythos is referred to (4. 114. 1) by the words *ὡς οὔσης Χαλκιδέων*, literally 'as being the property of the Chalkidians'—the genitive plural of the ethnic form *Χαλκιδεύς*.²¹ Now this, as Walbank remarked in his Polybius commentary,²² indicated a general change of view on Gomme's part between 1945 and 1956, because in the first volume of his Thucydides commentary,²³ Gomme had concluded 'there is no proof [of a Chalcidic federation] before the fourth century', although he did go on to concede the force of the argument that the name Chalkideis indicates federalism.²⁴ But what of the particular argument from the description of Lekythos (4. 114)? It is surely unsafe; the focalizer²⁵ of the statement ('as being the property [not of the Athenians but] of the Chalkidians') is not Thucydides but Brasidas. The statement is tendentious, a way of asserting a Chalkidic claim to Lekythos and Torone, i.e. 'on the grounds that it was the property of the Chalkidians'. We should recall that it was partly on the initiative of 'the Chalkidians' that Brasidas was sent north from Sparta in the first

organization a 'state' or 'Staat'; he thought the true Chalkidic federal state was a 4th-cent. phenomenon, while admitting (71) that we lack definite testimony on the form taken by the 'state'. There is a risk of pressing Th.'s constitutional silences too hard: he is not exactly a rich source of knowledge about the Boiotian confederacy either, though he drops hints (above, Ch. 5). No great damage is done by thinking of 'the Chalkidians' in the 5th cent. as a league, though no doubt federal institutions were more developed in the 4th cent. Flensted-Jensen in *IACP* 813, col. 1, concludes that the Chalkidians after 432 constituted a unitary state, but is not sure whether it was yet federal.

¹⁹ See *HCT* 3. 589 and 591.

²⁰ Larsen (1968), 67 and n. 1. For the qualification, see below.

²¹ In his n. on 4. 110. 1 ('Chalkidic Torone'), he refers forward to his n. on 114. 1 on Lekythos, there described as 'property of the Chalkidians'. But at 114, Gomme refers back to 110. 1, quotes the Greek, *Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν*, and says, 'It seems to imply that Torone was a member of the Chalcidic federation.' It is not clear what 'it' refers to here, but since he reserved the substantive comment until ch. 114, I assume he put most weight on the description (but whose? see my text) of Lekythos.

²² *HCP* 2. 163, n. on Pol. 9. 28. 2.

²³ *HCT* 1. 203–8, esp. 206 f.

²⁴ Presumably it was this concession which made Zahrnt (1971), 57 n. 22 say that Gomme in *HCT* 1 left the question open. ²⁵ For this term see above, Ch. 3, 62–4.

place (4. 79. 2 and 81. 1); he may have wished to strengthen feelings of Chalkidian solidarity by championing their collective territorial claims to places like Lekythos. So his words (this is after all a little piece of indirect speech) are aspirational rhetoric, rather than constitutionally precise evidence of federalism. For some such reason, I imagine, Larsen thought that the Chalkidian league merely claimed Torone as a *de jure* member.²⁶ This is the qualification mentioned above.

And in fact there are other reasons for supposing that Torone was *not* a member of the Chalkidian state or league in the fifth century.²⁷ Zahrnt²⁸ (who, consistently with his general view, talks of membership of the Chalkidic state rather than league) rightly stresses the tension between Olynthians and Toronaiaans implied by Thucydides' narrative of the attack on Torone, led as it was by a named Olynthian, Lysistratos.²⁹ Zahrnt plausibly argues that this tension, and Torone's physical distance from Olynthos, kept Torone politically as well as geographically apart from the secessionist movement of 432, and the subsequent Olynthos-centred unification of 'the Chalkidians'.

There is a further, but inconclusive, item of evidence at the beginning of book 5 of Thucydides (5. 3. 4). When Torone is taken by Kleon, the prisoners are sorted out. The Greek is αὐτοὺς [i.e. the Toronaiaans] δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος Χαλκιδέων ἦν. Some translators see here a clear distinction between the Toronaiaans and the Chalkidians. Everything depends on how we take ἄλλος ('other' or 'also?'):³⁰ 'the Toronaiaans, the Peloponnesians, and any other Chalkidians' is one possible translation,³¹ and implies that the Toronaiaans were themselves Chalkidians. But 'the Toronaiaans, the Peloponnesians, and also any Chalkidians who were there'³² implies that they were not. The ambiguity cannot be definitely resolved,³³ so the passage is compatible with either view of the political status of the Toronaiaans.

²⁶ See above, n. 18. But Larsen thought that ch. 110 ('Chalkidic Torone') might mean 'Chalcidic only in the ethnic sense'.

²⁷ IACP 847 col. 2 (Flensted-Jensen) says firmly that Torone was a member of the Chalkidian Federation at least until 380, but does not go into the difficulties.

²⁸ Zahrnt (1971), 249.

²⁹ Th. 4. 110. 2. Compare the role of Kritoboulos the Toronaian at Hdt. 7. 127.

³⁰ See LSJ⁹ under ἄλλος, sense II. 8, in enumerations, 'as well', 'besides'.

³¹ Jowett and now M. Hammond (2008). So too C/S.

³² Hobbes, Crawley, Warner, the Budé edn., S. Lattimore.

³³ I wondered in 1997 if the separation of Toronaiaans from Chalkidians by Peloponnesians favoured the 'enumerative' sense (above, n. 30). But Kenneth Dover

(3) *Torone the colony of Euboian Chalkis*. Having eliminated (1) the geographical and (2) the political translations or interpretations of 'Chalkidic Torone', we come to the third, which is 'Torone the colony of Euboian Chalkis'. (This resembles, but is importantly different from, the fourth view we shall consider, namely that 'Chalkidic Torone' refers to ethnic affiliation all right, but that the *ethnos* is a local Ionian one, perhaps masked by the tantalizing expression 'Chalkidic *genos*' used by Herodotus.³⁴)

View no. (3) has been something of a heresy since 1912 (see above on Harrison), and as we have seen, it is important for Papadopoulos that it be proved wrong. What does it have in its favour?

First, and very important, is a consideration we have already mentioned: most northern places in books 4 and 5 of Thucydides are given an indication of colonial origin. Thucydides is not a mechanical writer, but we are entitled to ask: why not Torone? This, however, still leaves it open, *which* Chalkis, or which set of Chalkidians, are in question. (See (4) below.)

Second, Diodorus (12. 68), evidently derived from Thucydides ultimately, but proximately from Ephoros, called Torone explicitly a colony of the Chalkidians, ἀποικία τῶν Χαλκιδέων. This can be handled in two opposite ways. You can say³⁵ that this simply shows the incompetence of Ephoros or Diodorus, who misunderstood Thucydides, or read him too hastily. But the argument could be reversed, and this is the other and preferable way of handling the evidence. We might prefer to say that it is interesting evidence for how Ephoros, who knew ancient Greek better than any modern scholar, read or interpreted Thucydides in the fourth century BC. We have already seen that Polybios and Strabo subscribed to the view that the Euboian Chalkidians (specified as such in Strabo, and evidently meant by Polybios) were active as colonizers in Thrace and Chalkidike. If their information also derives from Ephoros (whom Polybios, echoed by

commented: 'in v. 3. 4 I think the main point is: main rebels, and enemy, and a few other rebels. The wording itself doesn't help us to decide whether ἄλλος is of the 'other' or the 'also' type'.

³⁴ 7. 185. 2 and 8. 127. See Jones (1996), 318 f.

³⁵ With Harrison (1912), 165 f. He lays the blame at Diodorus' own door; he detects other signs of faulty abridgment. This may be right, but Ephoros should not be left out of account, as he is in most discussions of the problem.

Strabo, regarded as an excellent authority on colonial foundations),³⁶ then Ephoros meant what he said in the passage which underlies Diodorus. Ephoros may have been wrong, but he meant what he said. It is in any case important not to write off Strabo and Diodorus, still less Polybius, as late writers unworthy of attention. Behind some or all of them stands Ephoros, and he knew his Thucydides very well (below, Ch. 15, 302). In other words, Ephoros, as transmitted by Diodorus, may have done two separate but related things: he may have paraphrased what he thought Thucydides was saying; and he may, consciously or unconsciously, have imposed a well-informed view of his own. (Note that there is independent, i.e. non-Diodoran, testimony that Ephoros himself mentioned 'Torone, a city in Thrace'; this was in the fourth, 'Europe', book of his Histories.)³⁷ At the end of this paper, we shall explore the possibility that Thucydides was also wrong (or misled by propagandist exaggeration), but also meant what he said.

Third, how else would Thucydides have expressed the idea 'x, a colony of Euboian Chalkis' *except* by saying 'Chalkidic x'? (This accepts, but reverses, Papadopoulos' correctly premised argument that, because Thucydides calls Mende an *apoikia* of Eretria, but does not do the same for Torone, therefore Torone was no true *apoikia* of Chalkis). The odd truth is that, when flagging places in narrative,³⁸ Thucydides does not label any place '*apoikia* of Chalkis'. What, then, does he call colonies of Chalkis when he wants to call them that? The answer is: 'Chalkidian', *Χαλκιδικαί*. The closest Thucydidean parallel (as has often been remarked) to 'Chalkidic Torone' is to be found in the *Sikelika* (6. 2–5), though it actually concerns a city in Italy. He calls Kyme 'a Chalkidic city in Opikia', *ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως*.³⁹ Now Zahrnt⁴⁰ denies the applicability of the parallel, on the grounds that, in western contexts, Chalkidian is often a mere synonym for 'Ionian'. By itself this is a correct observation;⁴¹

³⁶ Pol. 9. 1. 4 and Strabo 10. 3. 5 = *FGrHist* 70 T 18a and b.

³⁷ *FGrHist* 70 F35, from Harpokration.

³⁸ As opposed to speeches, such as 6. 76. 2: Hermokrates calls the Leontinoi *ἄποικοι* of the Chalkidians.

³⁹ 6. 4. 5 (Zankle founded jointly from Kyme and Euboian Chalkis), with CT III, 293 f. Note also 'Chalkidic Naxos' at 4. 25. 7 (the Sicilian Naxos, not the Aegean one).

⁴⁰ Zahrnt (1971), 14.

⁴¹ See e.g. 4. 61. 2, in the mouth of Hermokrates.

but it is perverse to deny that 'Chalkidic Kyme' (6. 4. 5) means 'colonized from Euboian Chalkis', given that (a) the passage in question comes in the middle of the *Sikelika*, with its plethora of colonial facts; and (b) Livy and Strabo say that Cumae/Kyme was indeed colonized from Euboian Chalkis. (Kallimachos follows Thucydides closely here, but does not give Kyme an adjective.)⁴²

But, it may be objected, what of Chalkidic Olynthos (4. 123)? The objection is a serious one. Nobody has even suggested that Olynthos was founded (in a straightforward sense, see below) by Euboian Chalkis.⁴³ The above argument, apparently so cut-and-dried, immediately looks less impressive. Not that Olynthos' history began with 432 and the concentration on or synoikism of Olynthos.⁴⁴ Olynthos features in Herodotus, who tells us, in a passage already mentioned,⁴⁵ that in 480 BC, the Persian Artabazos gave Olynthos, previously occupied by Bottiaians, to 'the Chalkidic *genos*'; and so the Chalkidians held Olynthos'. For Zahrnt, this Persian gift explains why Olynthos is 'Chalkidic' for Thucydides. In any case, something other than 'directly and uniquely colonized from Euboian Chalkis' must be meant by 'Chalkidic Olynthos'. So the simple sense (iii) for 'Chalkidic Torone' seems to fail because it does not meet the criterion we insisted on initially, that 'Chalkidic Torone' and 'Chalkidic Olynthos' be given similar meanings. To put the problem starkly: either Olynthos shows that Thucydides does not, after all, use 'Chalkidic x' consistently to indicate a colony, or else (a solution I refer) we need to find a sense of 'colony' which might be true of Olynthos also.

A second big objection to taking 'Chalkidic' to mean 'from Euboian Chalkis' is the point from which the present study began, namely Papadopoulos' strongly urged archaeological doubts. I am not competent to assess these, but if Papadopoulos is right, Thucydides is wrong, and that indeed is why Papadopoulos wants Thucydides to be saying something other than what Diodorus in ancient times, and Bradeen in modern, take him to be saying.

⁴² Livy 8. 22. 5 with Oakley (1998), 631–3; Strabo 5. 4. 4. Both seem independent of Th. For Kallimachos (fr. 43 Pf. lines 58 ff., on Zankle), see below Ch. 15, 305 n. 60.

⁴³ It is supposed to have been a Bottiaian foundation. See my text; and *IACP* 834, no. 588. ⁴⁴ For which, see 1. 58. ⁴⁵ 8. 127.

(4) *Torone the place of Chalkidic origin or ethnic affiliation*, taking 'Chalkidic' to be a reference (not to the people of Euboian Chalkis but) to the Ionian group who feature in Herodotus⁴⁶ as the 'Chalkidic *genos*' (see above).

This view essentially goes back to Harrison (1912), and is favoured by Zahrnt (1971) and Papadopoulos (1996). In between Zahrnt and Papadopoulos, Knoepfler (1990) strongly reasserted the Euboian presence in Chalkidike. He made particular use of the calendars of the cities in question. They are only one criterion of origin, though an important one. Knoepfler⁴⁷ calls calendars 'the safest clues for the determination of any Greek population's precise origin'.

Onomastic evidence can also be valuable evidence of colonial origins.⁴⁸ Knoepfler (again) has done important work on the Chalkidic name-pool, though he concludes that the evidence for Chalkidian names in both Thrace and Sicily is corroborative of the literary traditions, rather than probative.⁴⁹

Another possible criterion is numismatic: Torone, Andrian-colonized Stagira, and some other places in Chalkidike used the Euboian weight-standard, but Akanthos, an Andrian colony (4. 84. 1) used the Attic⁵⁰ But I am not sure what evidential force this has. Generally, Robin Osborne comments to me that it is risky to assume that the city whose cultural artefacts dominate a new settlement is the city responsible for founding that settlement.

At a more theoretical level, one might want to observe that ethnicity is a complex affair, as much a matter of perception (or of what people

choose to emphasize) as of actual attributes or habits.⁵¹ Malkin (1994) well shows the importance of perceptions as well as of hard facts in the study of colonial origins.

It would be difficult to disprove the existence of these non-Euboian Chalkidians, and insofar as the arguments would need to be archaeological, I am not the person to try to disprove them. Instead, I shall offer a speculative way of marrying views (iii) and (iv). My starting point is Osborne's insistence⁵² on 'the limited extent to which early settlement abroad can be regarded as "official" ...'; he stresses the 'mixed nature of the settlers'. One can accept this,⁵³ while retaining some reservations, for instance in cases where there is a really strong oikist tradition, or hard evidence of continuing control exercised by the distant metropolis.⁵⁴

I offer now a hypothetical sequence, one which leaves open the possibility that the Chalkidians were not Euboian in reality.

The Chalkidians of the Chalkidike, whoever exactly they were, grew in power in the fifth century. It is surely likely that their members included *some* descendants of settlers from Euboea in general and from Chalkis in particular, settlers who had moved there when the Greek world was still young (let us avoid talk of 'Dark Ages'), by a process more like drift than oikist-organized 'colonization'.⁵⁵ The Chalkidians' takeover of Olynthos in 480 was a great boost. In the course of the fifth century, by a process comparable to Athenian fifth-century usurpation or exaggeration of the role of 'mother-city' of the Ionians,⁵⁶ the Chalkidians started to think bigger than they had previously done. One aspect of this bigger thinking was the desire to stress that the link with Euboian Chalkis was widespread in Chalkidike. But why pick on Euboian Chalkis? Part of the answer is (perhaps: I leave

⁴⁶ And Thucydides, as Kenneth Dover reminds me; see 4. 61. 4, referring to the ethnic affinity of Leontinoi. Dover adds 'and, after all, Thuc. is content to use *Χαλκιδεῖς* and *Χαλκιδικός* with reference to Chalkis, Chalkidike, and colonies founded by Chalkis in Sicily and Italy, normally leaving it to the reader to understand the reference but adding *ἐπὶ Θράκης* in ii. 79. 1 and 95. 2 and vi. 10. 5'.

⁴⁷ Knoepfler (1990), 100 f., quoted by Papadopoulos (1996), 167, who, however, thinks that the evidence of calendars is not conclusive; see also Papadopoulos (2005), 587–8. Knoepfler's view seems to me clearly preferable.

⁴⁸ Fraser (1993), a brilliant study: personal names confirm the Syracusan origin of settlers in the Adriatic region (cf. Diod. 15. 13. 3; see CT III, 407–8).

⁴⁹ Knoepfler in Matthews (2007), 119: personal names 'cannot prove the Euboian origin of all the settlements of the West and of Thrace', but 'bring very welcome confirmation of the historiographical tradition'.

⁵⁰ Osborne (1996), 255 [(2009), 241]: chart. For the importance of Akanthos' Andrian origins, see Badian (1999), 17 and n. 27.

⁵¹ See Morgan (1996); and cf. Diod. 12. 35.

⁵² Osborne (1996), 128 [(2009), 122].

⁵³ Note that Th. himself accepts (4. 109. 4) that the Akte (Athos) promontory contained only 'a small Chalkidian element', *καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐν βραχύ*. But (as so often) he resists generalization. He is explicit that Gela was a mixed (Kretan–Rhodian) foundation (6. 4. 3 and 7. 57. 9), but ignores the mixed character of 'Chalkidic' Naxos in Sicily (4. 25. 7 and 6. 3. 1), though the name makes it obvious that there were also settlers from Aegean Naxos. See CT III, 276, 279, 289; also CT I, 71 (on Apollonia at 1. 26. 2).

⁵⁴ See CT III, 276–8 for fuller discussion.

⁵⁵ Cf. Th. on the 'small Chalkidic element' in Akte (4.109.4). I assume this element was of Euboian origin.

⁵⁶ Smarczyk (1990), 385–618; CT I on 1. 2. 6 and 1. 12. 4.

this to the archaeologists) that there was a genuinely Euboian Chalkidic element in the population of the Chalkidike; but another part is the wish, by people with many non-Greek neighbours,⁵⁷ to emphasize their Hellenism.⁵⁸ We may compare the way in which descent from Argos, and thus a claim to Hellenic descent, was asserted by various individuals and communities, in early classical times,⁵⁹ in the fourth century,⁶⁰ in hellenistic times,⁶¹ and when the Romans had appeared in Greece.⁶² The choice of Chalkis—if it was a cynical choice, and not one grounded, as Knoepfler and others think, in real colonial events—was an obvious one, given the identity of name.

Why then ‘Chalkidic Olynthos’ (4. 123)? Olynthos, the centre of the Chalkidic league or state, surely associated itself with Euboian Chalkis *but at one remove*, i.e. via the takeover of 480 BC described by Herodotus. Thucydides has not so far mentioned Olynthos itself since book 2 (ch. 79), certainly not so far in the book 4 and 5 narrative, where, as we have seen, his colonial flagging becomes pretty well routine.⁶³ On this view, Thucydides was, or may have been, a little incautious in accepting the Euboian Chalkidian origins of both Torone (proximately) and Olynthos (ultimately); but that would not be much different from his somewhat incautious acceptance of the Athenian claim to be metropolis, in a tangible and organized sense, of Ionia.⁶⁴

My explanation of ‘Chalkidic Torone’ and ‘Chalkidic Olynthos’ thus combines the simple view (3) that Euboian origins are after all being asserted by Thucydides, with the possibility (explanation 4) that the reality was in fact more complex, in fact that Papadopoulos and others may well be right to identify wholly non-Euboian features in the archaeological record, and to believe that the ‘Chalkidic *genos*’ was ‘really’ non-Euboian in origin. I am in effect arguing that the distinction between the Chalkidic *genos* on the one hand and the Euboian Chalkidian settlers (if any) on the other would not have been accepted in the fifth or fourth centuries. Whether the blurring was

deliberate contemporary propaganda (slippery word) put about by the Chalkidians is unclear, but the possibility is an intriguing one and would fit the kind of thing being done by the Chalkidians’ great rivals and enemies, the Athenians, in the same period. The difference is that the Athenians stressed and unduly magnified their *own* colonizing role in Ionia; whereas the fifth-century Chalkidians of Chalkidike, for expansionist reasons, and because as Greeks *in partibus* they were anxious to advertise their own hellenic credentials, stressed and perhaps magnified the colonizing role of *somewhere other than themselves*, in fact, of Euboian Chalkis. In any case, we may need to escape from talk of ‘true colonies’, because such talk may mislead us into assuming once-for-all colonization by a single city: both the facts and the perceptions may have been more complex.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ I end with Kenneth Dover’s general observation to me on the topic of this chapter, and can do no better than to quote him direct: ‘I am sure you are right in emphasising the role of claims and beliefs, often perhaps counterfactual, in questions concerning colonisation, as indeed in genealogy. I would add, the influence of ruling families. If the “founder” of a colony was from Chalkis, or was believed to be, the people of the colony ten generations later might well assert that *they* were descendants of *his* ancestral city, even though in fact he had scraped together a range of adventurers from all over. Dialect doesn’t help, as we see from the case of Halikarnassos’ [for which, see Hornblower (1982), 14 n. 69].

⁵⁷ See esp. Th. 4. 109. ⁵⁸ Cf. Th. and Pi. 156, 372.

⁵⁹ Hdt. 5. 22. 2: Alexander I of Macedon.

⁶⁰ Tod 194 (not in R/O): Nikokreon of Cyprus.

⁶¹ SEG 34. 282: Aspendos in Asia Minor.

⁶² Livy 32. 22. 11: Macedonian kings again.

⁶³ There is the individual Olynthian at 4. 110. 2, but he does not provide a cue for a colonial label. ⁶⁴ 1. 2. 6 and 1. 12. 2.

10

Thucydides, Xenophon, and Lichas: Were the Spartans Excluded from the Olympic Games from 420 to 400 BC?

[On these games, and Thucydides' remarkable handling of them (5. 49–50. 4), see *Th. and Pi.* 273–86 and *CT* III, 122–35; and for Lichas, see further Ch. 11 below. Lane Fox (2010) now suggests that Th. got the documents in the second half of his work from Lichas.

The original version thanked Jim Roy and Alan Griffiths for help. At n. 26 below, I have left unaltered the lengthy quotation from a letter sent to me by Dr Roy, although he has now published the main suggestion for which I there quote him: see Roy (2009), 73–4. But his letter to me was fuller.]

I. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine the consequences of one of the most tense and dramatic moments in the history of the ancient Greek Olympic Games. I refer to the exclusion of the Spartans from the sanctuary of Olympia and from the Olympic Games of 420 BC by the people of Elis who controlled the games and the festival; and the flogging, by the Eleian umpires, of the distinguished Spartan athlete Lichas son of Arkesilas when he crowned his charioteer publicly. Lichas' gesture was intended, so Thucydides tells us (5. 49–50), to show that the winning chariot was his and not that of the Boiotian state, in whose name the victory had been announced; Lichas thus provocatively exploded a fiction which had been made necessary by the exclusion of the Spartans. Thucydides (who was, it is attractive to suppose, present on the

occasion and knew in detail what he was talking about)¹ says that everyone was afraid the Spartans would make an armed attack and force their way in. Recently discovered archaeological evidence for a pitched battle at around this period in the actual sanctuary of Nemea, on the other side of the Peloponnese, not to mention the fighting at Olympia itself during the Games of 364 BC, shows that this kind of thing could indeed happen at a sacred and panhellenic site.² It has been well said (Rood (1998), 106) that Thucydides describes the Lichas episode in 'splendid detail'. Certainly the two rich and in many respects uncharacteristic chapters which Thucydides devotes to it repay close study, for their subject-matter, their architecture, and their vocabulary.

In this paper I confine myself to one aspect of the 420 episode: its bearing on a war fought some twenty years later, the war of about 400 BC between Sparta and Elis,³ described by Xenophon in the *Hellenica* (3. 2. 21–3) in terms of revenge for Eleian behaviour. The actions for which revenge was sought are specified by Xenophon: the exclusion of the Spartans from the Olympic Games, the whipping of Lichas, and the Eleian refusal to allow the Spartan king Agis to make a sacrifice and prayer for victory (?414 or 413, see below, 201, n. 10). Falkner (1996) has studied the 'revenge' aspect to the war of 400. She plausibly concludes that there was more to the war than revenge, but does not deny that revenge was important. She does not, however, discuss one important question: did the ban relate to an exclusion from the festival of 420 only (and perhaps from the sanctuary for a further couple of years after that), or were the Spartans excluded not only in 420, but for

¹ So Clark (1999), 125, who says that Thucydides' description of the Olympia festival of 420 is 'so vivid and full of detail that I am tempted to conclude that the historian actually attended'. He adds (126): 'Perhaps few would be surprised to learn that Thucydides had attended the first Olympics after his banishment from Athens. Among other enticements, he may have perceived an opportunity to recite parts of his histories publicly or in private gatherings there.'

² For the battle at Nemea, unattested by ancient literary sources, see Miller (1990), 61 and n. 38, 130; cf. Andrewes *CAH* 5.² 488–9 and n. 48; for 364, see Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 28–32 with Roy (1994), 203–4.

³ The exact date of this war has been much discussed but the gap between the various views is not wide. I shall for convenience speak of it as having happened 'in' 400 although it lasted for two years and is uncertainly dated. For a good recent discussion, see Tuplin (1993), 201–5.

the entire two decades thereafter, in fact until the Sparta-Elis war? If the second possibility is right, as the current orthodoxy maintains, then the Spartan grievance of 400 was, clearly, much more serious.

II. THE PROBLEM: A ONE-FESTIVAL BAN OR A TWENTY-YEAR BAN?

I say 'the current orthodoxy', but the truth is that most scholars who write about either the 420 episode or the 400 war do not address the issue at all. Previous commentators on Thucydides (C/S; *HCT*), and commentators on Xenophon (Breitenbach (1884); Underhill (1900); Krentz (1995)) and Pausanias (Hitzig and Blümner (1896–1910); Frazer (1898)) are no help on this point; nor are the great German histories of Greece. Beloch in volume 2 passes over the 420 episode altogether, and mentions it only retrospectively in volume 3.1 when treating the 400 war (Beloch 3². 1. 17). Busolt (1230–1), describing the events of 420, says nothing about the length of the ban, and since his history did not go down to the Spartan–Eleian War, he had no occasion to return to the topic. Scholars too numerous to list speak of the Spartans having been banned from the Olympic Games 'of 420 BC' and strictly this might be thought to imply a ban in and only in 420;⁴ but I suspect that most of these scholars have not consciously addressed the issue of the length of the ban at all. In one recent collection of essays on the fourth century, by contrast, we do find the categorical assertion that the Spartans were banned from the Olympic Games until 400. No modern references are given by the author of this statement (Hamilton (1997), 50), who merely refers to Thucydides, Diodorus, and Pausanias. Similarly, Stephen Hodkinson states as fact that 'after 420 no Spartiate was able to compete until Elis had been disciplined at the end of the Peloponnesian War' (Hodkinson (1989), 98, citing Thuc. 5. 49–50 and Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 21–31); a similar assumption is made by Marta Sordi (Sordi (1984a), 23 and n. 13; (1984b), 153).

⁴ Roy (1998), an important treatment, speaks of 'continuing Spartan resentment at being barred from Olympia'; this is non-committal on the length of the exclusion. See further below, 211–12.

Paul Cartledge, without arguing the matter, says more cautiously that the ban of 420 'possibly' lasted until 400 (Cartledge (1987), 249).

What I have called the current orthodoxy (i.e. a ban for the whole period 420–400) appears to date from 1968 and the publication of Augusta Höhle's Tübingen dissertation about Olympia. According to Höhle, 'it emerges clearly ("unambiguously", "unequivocally", the German is *eindeutig*) from Xenophon' that the Spartans were excluded until the war of 400.⁵ Anyone who did not consult the Xenophon passage might suppose from Höhle's formulation that Xenophon said in so many words that the Spartans had been excluded from the Olympic festival during the entire period beginning with the games at which Lichas was whipped, right through until the Sparta-Elis war twenty years later. Actually Xenophon says no such thing. Höhle can only be making an inference from Xenophon's language, and, as I shall argue in a moment, an incorrect inference.

Höhle's 'excellent' dissertation was rightly hailed as such by Luigi Moretti, the modern Hippias of Elis—that is, the author of *Olympionikai* (Moretti (1957))—who immediately accepted correction by Höhle on one vital point.⁶ Clearly, if it could be shown that there was a single Spartan victor in the Olympic Games of 416, 412, 408, or 404, the argument for a twenty-year exclusion would fail whatever Xenophon may or may not have said and thought. And in fact Moretti in 1957 had provisionally assigned a Spartan Olympic victor to the year 416: one Lakrates (Moretti (1957), no. 342), who fell fighting at Athens in the year 403 and who is explicitly said by Xenophon to have been an Olympic victor (*Hell.* 2. 4. 33). But this is not an Olympic victor like some of those recorded by Pausanias, conveniently provided with the year of his Olympic victory. The range of possible Olympiads for Lakrates is large, as Moretti acknowledged by putting a question-mark in front of the date 416. And in any case, in his first and second supplements to *Olympionikai* (Moretti (1970), 296; (1987), 69),⁷

⁵ Höhle (1968) [1972]: 155 n. 3: 'dass dies der Fall war, geht eindeutig aus Xen. *Hell.* 3, 2, 21 hervor.'

⁶ For the correction of Moretti (1957), see Höhle (1968) [1972]: 130 (continuation of n. 3 from 128–9).

⁷ In the 1987 list, which incorporates and amplifies that of 1970, Moretti rightly rejected an attempt to re-categorize Lakrates as an Athenian who fought for the Spartans.

Moretti withdrew the 416 dating in deference to Hönle, and re-assigned Lakrates to 424 or some even earlier Olympiad. Was Moretti right to change his mind like this? I shall argue that he need not have changed it, although Lakrates' dates remain uncertain and 424 may indeed be right for him.⁸ I shall return in section V to the absence of other Spartan victors between 420 and 400.

III. THE EVIDENCE OF XENOPHON

Since the Olympic victor lists do not solve our problem, it is time to look at the evidence of Xenophon for the war of 400. He says (*Hell.* 3. 2. 21–3):

τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδᾳ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις καὶ ὅτι ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους καὶ Μαντινέας, καὶ ὅτι δίκην φάσκοντες καταδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυνον καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἤρκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχας παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἄρμα, ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Λίχας στεφανώσων τὸν ἡνίοχον, μαστιγοῦντες αὐτόν, ἄνδρα γέροντα, ἐξήλασαν. (22) τούτων δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ἀγίδος πεμφθέντος θύσαι τῷ Διὶ κατὰ μαντείαν τινα ἐκώλυνον οἱ Ἡεῖοι μὴ προσεύχεσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντες ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶη οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ. ὥστε ἄνθρωπος ἀπῆλθεν. (23) ἐκ τούτων οὖν πάντων ὀργιζομένους ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς.

At the same time as Derkylidas was active in this way in Asia, the Spartans decided to bring the Eleians to their senses.⁹ The Spartans had long been angry with the Eleians for the following reasons. First, they made an alliance with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineians, then they prevented

⁸ A later date than 424 might indeed have advantages, but without knowing what event he won, we cannot say whether it would be desirable to posit a shorter interval than twenty-one years between his Olympic success and his death in action. If so, the available candidates are 416, 412, 408, and 404.

⁹ Strictly, the whole long sentence has no main verb to go with the nominative *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. When Xenophon starts again at the beginning of 3. 2. 23, it is with a different construction involving *ἔδοξε...σωφρονίσαι*, with the Spartan authorities (ephors and assembly) in the dative. For clarity I have given the idea represented by *σωφρονίσαι*, 'bring them to their senses', twice.

the Spartans from competing in the horse races and athletic contests at the Olympic Games, claiming that a judgment had been awarded against Sparta. And they went further than this. Lichas had handed over his chariot to the Thebans and the Thebans were announced as the winners; but when Lichas came on to the course and put the garland on the head of the charioteer, the Eleians whipped him, though he was an old man, and drove him out. (22) At a later time than this, when Agis had been sent, in accordance with an oracle, to sacrifice to Zeus, the Eleians prevented him from praying for victory in war, saying that it was an ancient convention that Greeks should not consult the oracle about wars against Greeks; so Agis went away without having sacrificed. (23) With all these reasons for being angry, the ephors and the Assembly decided to bring the Eleians to their senses.

As remarked above, there is nothing here which says explicitly that the ban lasted beyond or much beyond the Olympic festival of 420 BC. Why then does Hönle take Xenophon to be saying 'unequivocally' that it did so last? I assume she relies on the imperfect tense of the vital verb *ἐκώλυνον*, that is, she takes it to mean they *went on preventing* the Spartans, over a long period of time. Is this assumption right? Four considerations suggest that it is not.

(a) The words *τούτων δ' ὕστερον*, 'at a later time than this' (3. 2. 22), suggest that we have now left the 420 episode of 3. 2. 21 behind.¹⁰ The only way of escaping this conclusion is to suppose that Xenophon means to say 'the Spartans were excluded in 420 and remained excluded thereafter. At a date later than the original act of exclusion, but while it was still in force, Agis attempted to sacrifice to Zeus'. This seems to me a roundabout and implausible way of taking the passage. It is much better to suppose that Xenophon intends the following simple sequence of separate events: (i) alliance between Elis and Athens, Argos, and Mantinea (for which see Th. 5. 47 and *IG I³* 83); (ii) brief exclusion at Olympic festival in late summer of 420 and whipping of Lichas (*Thuc.* 5. 49–50); (iii) subsequent episode involving king Agis in about 414.

(b) If the imperfect *ἐκώλυνον* in 3. 2. 21 (grievance no. 2, the 'Lichas' grievance) is pressed, we must logically be prepared to treat the imperfect *ἐκώλυνον* at 3. 3. 22 (grievance no. 3, the prevention of Agis'

¹⁰ Agis' attempted sacrifice is usually (see Cartledge (1987), 249) dated to about 414 or 413 BC, when the Spartans were contemplating re-entering the war. Diodorus says (14. 17. 4) that it was the other king, Pausanias, but this is usually corrected.

attempted victory-sacrifice) in the same way. And yet nobody has ever suggested that *this* act of prevention went on for years. What the Greek there perhaps means is that the prevention of Agis arose from a fixed state of mind on the part of the Eleians.¹¹ Or we can, even more simply, refer Xenophon's imperfect at 3. 3. 22 to a period of time, perhaps days or even weeks (but not years, still less multiples of four years): no doubt Agis on his (single) visit made more than one attempt to get his way, but was baffled by Eleian intransigence for which the imperfect was the appropriate tense. Linguistically, the two sentences, though sprawling, are in one crucial respect comparable: both occurrences of the imperfect ἐκώλυον are 'resolved' by aorists emphatically placed at the end of the respective sentences (ἐξήλασαν, 'they drove him out', and ἀπῆλθεν), matching the initial aorist of ἐποίησαντο, 'they made an alliance' (grievance no. 1). Three grievances, three aorists.¹² This argument seems to me the really decisive one.

(c) It has sometimes been urged that, in the entire section quoted above, Xenophon is generally indebted to Thucydides (so the older commentators, and Soulis (1972), 115). The suggestion is not necessary, given that Xenophon's estate was not far from Olympia and he was well placed to find out for himself what happened. But of course the two passages invite comparison. The alliance alluded to by Xenophon is fully reported by Thucydides (5. 47, giving a text of the treaty); and the handling of the 420 Olympia incident is roughly similar in the two authors. But there are differences. Thucydides mentions both a ban on Spartans sacrificing and on their participation in the games, whereas Xenophon concentrates on the exclusion from the games and ignores the perhaps (in practice) slightly longer-lasting, but not

¹¹ We may compare the present participle κωλύοντων at Th. 5.13.1 with Gomme's good note (1970: ad loc.: not 'the Thessalians prevented them' but 'the Thessalians were for preventing them').

¹² I am very grateful to Alan Griffiths for help on the linguistic point. We may compare, but also contrast, Hdt. 5. 22. 2, another passage about attempted exclusion at the Olympics, which has a verb of exclusion in the same imperfect tense: 'they tried to have Alexander of Macedon excluded (ἐξέργον)...but he was vindicated (ἐκρίθη εἶναι Ἑλλήν). Here the imperfect is conative and is resolved by a word indicating that the attempt at exclusion failed (i.e. 'they tried to exclude him but they failed'). The two Xenophonic exclusions are resolved rather differently: the Eleian exclusion of the Spartans culminated in their driving Lichas out altogether; their exclusion of Agis culminated in his departure without having sacrificed.

separate, ban on sacrificing (see below, 217; and see (d) for the point that the two bans were not separate). Xenophon's *μαστιγοῦντες*, 'whipping', may, as Andrewes notes (*HCT* 4. 67) in his contribution to Gomme's commentary on Thucydides, be slightly stronger than Thucydides' *πληγὰς ἔλαβεν*, 'received blows', and Xenophon adds—perhaps from his own good knowledge of Spartan affairs—the interesting detail, not in Thucydides, that Lichas was a *γέρων*, a man of over sixty and perhaps a member of the *gerousia*, in 420. He also specifies that the chariot was announced as Theban (Thucydides has the more general 'Boiotian').¹³ Thucydides' word for Lichas' crowning of the charioteer is *ἀνάδησε* by contrast with Xenophon's *στεφανώσων*; finally, the verb for the exclusion is *εἴργω* in Thucydides, but *κωλύω* in Xenophon, and Xenophon's emphatic closing aorist *ἐξήλασαν*, 'they drove him out', does not correspond to anything in Thucydides. On the other hand, both¹⁴ have the semi-technical word *καταδικάζω* in the middle voice (Thucydides also has the noun *καταδίκη*) closely combined with the participle *φάσκοντες*.¹⁵ Now Thucydides, who began his narrative with the aorist passive *εἴρχθησαν* (5. 49. 1), 'they were excluded', switches to the imperfect of the same verb by 5. 50. 2: *Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἴργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ, θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων, καὶ οἶκοι ἔθνον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐθεώρουν πλὴν Λεπρεατῶν*, 'the Spartans were being excluded from the sanctuary, that is from sacrificing and competing, and sacrificed at home. But the other Greeks participated in the festival, except for the people of Lepreon' (for the Lepreates, see below, n. 25). Again (cf. (b) above), nobody has ever suggested that Thucydides is talking about more than one Olympic festival. The Olympic festival, and the advance preparations for it, went on for many days. Thucydides means that for the duration of the festival, and for as long thereafter as the ban from the sanctuary lasted, the Spartans were excluded, and so they 'did their sacrificing at home', as we might translate the interesting expression *οἶκοι ἔθνον*. It is just possible that Xenophon recalled and reproduced Thucydides' imperfect tenses. But even if the dependence on Thucydides is denied (and

¹³ I return elsewhere to the question of which author is correct. Both have their supporters. ¹⁴ As noted by Roy (1998), 362.

¹⁵ For the verb *καταδικάζω*, compare, e.g., *IG* II² 1126, line 5, about the Delphic amphiktion. For the (semi-)technicality, see above, Ch. 1, 25.

the differences are at least as striking as the similarities), it remains true and important that Thucydides' repeated imperfect tenses show that Xenophon's imperfect tenses need not, and I would say should not, be taken to extend to any festival later than that of 420.

One aspect of Thucydides' imperfects must be discussed. It will be seen (below, 211–12) that there are reasons for thinking that the exclusion of the Spartans from the sanctuary was lifted a couple of years later, at some point between 418 and 416. It might be argued that this interval—less than an Olympiad but more than ephemeral—explains the imperfect tenses of Thucydides, who does after all talk of the Spartans 'being prevented from sacrificing or competing in the games', *εἴργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων* (5.50.2):¹⁶ this was both a general sanctuary-ban which would last beyond the end of the festival, and a festival-specific ban.¹⁷ But though this interpretation is possible, I do not think that it is necessary. First, Thucydides' language at 5.50.2 picks up 5.49.1, *εἴρχθησαν ὥστε μὴ θύειν μηδ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι*—but there Thucydides, as we have noted already, uses the aorist passive. Second, Thucydides uses the imperfect tense elsewhere in his account: he uses it both for the Greeks other than the Lepreans who sent sacred envoys (*ἐθεώρουν*) and for the Eleians who kept guard (*φυλακὴν εἶχον*); both of these verbs surely apply to the period of the festival of 420 only. In any case this particular argument, i.e. in terms of a general ban on sacrificing, is much less relevant to Xenophon, because, as we have seen, he ignores the ban on sacrificing and focusses exclusively on the ban from the games.

(d) It has been pointed out to me by Jeremy Trevett that Xenophon's account of the foiling of Agis' attempt to sacrifice at Olympia in 414 or 413 has a bearing on the main problem; indeed it has, and it powerfully supports my conclusion. The reason given for the Eleian refusal to let him sacrifice is in terms of ancient Greek convention. If the ban was in force at that date, why did the Eleians not simply bar him on the grounds that the Spartans had not yet paid the fine? And why did Agis bother to try to sacrifice? The implication must be that

¹⁶ I agree with C/S that there is no call to delete the last three words, as do some editors.

¹⁷ See further (d) below for these two aspects of the ban, which should not, however, be regarded as two separate exclusions.

the general ban on Spartans was no longer in force. This conclusion can be avoided only if we do one of two things. (1) We should have to separate the ban on competing from the ban on sacrificing, and suppose that the ban on sacrificing was lifted whereas the ban on competing was not. But there is no reason to do this: for one thing, Thucydides joins the two bans very closely together. (It is true that, as we have seen, Xenophon in his account of 420 omits the ban on sacrificing, but that has no weight in this regard.) (2) Alternatively, we should have to suppose that although the 420 ban was still in force in 414 or 413, the Eleians for some reason chose to invoke a different principle altogether, perhaps one they felt more confident about invoking.¹⁸ Or we might want to say that the Eleians really did use both arguments (non-payment of fine; ancient convention), but Xenophon, who after all ignores the sacrificial aspect of the 420 ban, chose to focus only on the ancient convention. Neither of these possibilities, (1) or (2), are as plausible as the simple explanation that here we have further evidence that the ban was no longer in force, at any rate by 414 or 413.

(e) For what it is worth, Diodorus (14. 17. 4), in his account of the war of 400, uses not the imperfect but the aorist tense for the critical exclusion of the Spartans from the Olympic Games: 'they did not allow...' (*καὶ διότι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις Λακεδαιμονίους οὐκ εἶσαν ἀγωνίσασθαι*). (The plural *τὰ Ὀλύμπια* does not, incidentally, mean more than one Olympic festival; it is standard Greek for a single occurrence of the festival: cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 28.) Diodorus precedes this with the statement that the Eleians prevented (*διεκώλυσαν*, aorist again) King Agis (whom he calls Pausanias) from sacrificing (Diod. 14. 17. 1). This must be from Ephoros, who may well have got it from Xenophon. (The Eleian alliance with Athens has disappeared in the opening phrase *ἀλλὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἐνέκαλον*.) It would be possible to take Diodorus' order of grievances to imply that the ban was still in force after Agis' visit, but I suggest that Diodorus' order is not significant and that his aorists show that he was thinking of two episodes, not of one episode and a long-drawn-out process.

¹⁸ The principle of not consulting the oracle about wars against the Greeks was not a very sound one, 'more honoured in the breach than in the observance', as Underhill (1900), 95, puts it, citing Th. 1. 118.

Diodorus, like Beloch, found room for the 420 exclusion only as a retrospective ingredient of his account of the Sparta–Elis war, not as part of his 420 narrative. Under 420 he merely records that Hyperbios of Syracuse (Moretti (1957), no. 334) won the *stadion* in the ninetieth Olympics, and follows this with a narrative of the year which obviously goes back ultimately to Thucydides (Diod. 12. 77). He or Ephoros evidently thought the Lichas episode not worth bothering with at all.

IV. THE EVIDENCE OF PAUSANIAS

Pausanias, who visited Olympia and did an excellent job of reporting what he saw there (Habicht (1985) [1998], 149), is (we may think) in a different category from Diodorus. Here is an intelligent observer, who made inquiries of his own. For instance the Spartan–Eleian war leads him to mention an extraordinary and fascinating archaeological find of his own time: the skeleton of a soldier in hoplite armour was found in the roof of the temple of Hera, a casualty (Pausanias claims, with implausible precision) of the fighting between Sparta and Elis. The man had crawled up there to die and his remains were not found for five hundred years (5.27.11). But did Pausanias have anything independent to offer on the causes of the war, in particular on the length of the Spartan exclusion? At first sight, yes. In his book on Sparta (3.8), he says that in the kingship of Agis, there were other Spartan grievances against the Eleians (*ἀλλὰ τε ἐγένετο ἐς Ἡλείους ἐγκλήματα*), and in particular they were annoyed with the Eleians because *they were being excluded* by the Eleians from the Olympic Games and the sanctuary at Olympia (*ὅπ' αὐτῶν εἰργόμενοι μάλιστα ἤχθοντο*). There then follows a narrative essentially similar to Xenophon's. Here, it might seem, is (in the present or continuous participle *εἰργόμενοι*) proof that Hönle was right and that the ban was in force in 400. Indeed it could be thought a little surprising that she cites Xenophon rather than Pausanias in support of her view: does he not here commit himself to a twenty-year ban as the cause of the Spartan–Eleian war? And if so, did he not perhaps have good independent evidence for so doing? However, the sentence just quoted is not Pausanias' only treatment of the war. He returns to it in book 6 when he

deals with Olympia itself. There (6.2.2) he mentions statues of both Arkesilas and his son Lichas, the Lichas who, 'the Spartans being excluded from the games at that time' (*εἰργομένων τηρिकाῦτα τοῦ ἀγῶνος Λακεδαιμονίων*)—and then there follows the story of Lichas' victory, the proclamation in the name of the Theban *dēmos*, the crowning of the charioteer, and the whipping. The vocabulary is a blend of Thucydides (notably the use of *εἰργω* rather than *κωλύω* for the exclusion) and Xenophon (notably *μαστιγοῦσιν* for the corporal punishment), with some words not in either author (in Pausanias the charioteer is crowned with a *ταινία* or fillet). Pausanias then continues: 'it was because of this Lichas that the campaign of the Spartans against the Eleians in the time of king Agis occurred, and a battle inside the Altis'. Even allowing for the natural focus, in the context of Olympia and its statues, on Lichas personally, this is rather a startling simplification, and particularly startling because of the markedly different emphasis from Pausanias' own book 3. In book 6, the 'other grievances' of book 3 have disappeared entirely, and even the 420 exclusion is not given as a grievance but as hardly more than a temporal indicator expressed by a genitive absolute construction ('the Spartans being excluded at that time'). Pausanias does not here write like somebody with special knowledge of the war's causes; he is surely writing from a memory of what he knew from Xenophon (and Thucydides). In light of this, I suggest that in book 3 he is similarly indebted to the two great written authorities.¹⁹ The most, I suggest, that interpreters of the Hönle persuasion can plausibly extract from Pausanias 3. 8 is the possibility that Pausanias read Xenophon's imperfect tenses in the way that Hönle seems to have read them. But even if that is right (and see below for a different and preferable way of taking the Pausanias passage), it would not settle the meaning of the Xenophon passage as a whole. In particular, the problem of Xenophon's repeated *ἐκώλυον* remains: Xenophon, it will be recalled, uses it of two distinct episodes, one of which (Agis' attempted sacrifice) certainly did not extend over a period of years. There is also the problem that in Xenophon, that

¹⁹ For Pausanias' familiarity with Thucydides and Xenophon, see Habicht (1985), 103, 133; cf. (1998), xvi [preface to rev. edn.]. Eide (1992), who in any case does not discuss Th. 5. 49–50, merely succeeds in showing that Pausanias did not go to Thucydides for every detail.

attempted sacrifice occurred 'at a date later than' (τούτων δ' ὕστερον) the Lichas affair.

How else might Pausanias be taken? Pausanias' evidence is curious on any view, though his two treatments of the causes of the Sparta–Elis war are not actually inconsistent. In book 3 he mentions 'other grievances' but not (specifically) Lichas. In book 6 he mentions Lichas and absolutely no other grievance, but as we have seen this emphasis is pardonable in the context of a description of statues at Olympia. In my view, the clue to the correct interpretation of the passage in book 3 lies in the word ἐγένετο, 'arose'. The verb is applied to the entire reign of king Agis, viz. 427–400 BC. Pausanias can be paraphrased as follows: 'various causes of complaint arose during Agis' reign [of 427–400]: what had irked them in particular in this period was being excluded—ἐιργόμενοι, as in book 6—both from the games [420 BC] and from the sanctuary [420 again, and perhaps a couple of years thereafter (below, 211–12); but perhaps there is also a reference to the subsequent refusal of Agis' attempt to sacrifice for victory]. Pausanias does *not* say: "in the time of King Agis they brought up/levelled various grievances against the Eleans, and in particular that they were [sc. at that time, 400 BC] being excluded..."²⁰

V. THE OLYMPIC VICTOR LISTS

One argument for a Spartan exclusion during the whole period 420–400 is the absence of Spartan victors in this period, whereas in the four-horse chariot event there are attested Spartan victors in 448, 444, 440, 432, 428, 424, and 420, and again in 396, 392, and 388.²¹ This argument has, however, very limited force for the following reasons:

²⁰ Alan Griffiths objects that 'in all these ἀλλά τε καί structures the vague preamble only really exists as a foil to highlight the emphasized item', i.e. ἐγένετο is just part of the vague preamble. But we cannot be sure that there were no other grievances: it is only too likely.

²¹ The full facts and references are in Moretti (1957), but the position can be taken in at a glance from the table at Hodkinson (1989), 97. On Kyniska, see R. van Bremen in *Pindar's Poetry*, 370, n. 118.

(1) The lists for this period are far from complete. Under 412, for instance, Moretti (1957) lists just one victor from anywhere in any event, Exainetos of Agrigentum (Moretti no. 346). His victory is dated and certain (Diod. 13. 34. 1). So the games of 412 happened. (2) It might be that Spartans competed in 416 to 404, but none of them won. (3) What about Lakrates (above, 200)? If we want, we can always, with the Xenophontic obstacle removed, revert to 416 for him (or 412, or 408, or 404). Note also that the only reason for assigning Kyniska's first victory to 396 (Moretti no. 373) is the belief, challenged in the present paper, that for political reasons she could not have won before 400.

VI. SOME ARGUMENTS FROM GENERAL PROBABILITY

Let us move away from the detail of Xenophon's account and from the specific evidence, positive and negative. There are some general arguments as well.

(a) If the Spartans had been excluded from the Olympic festival throughout the period 420–400, I should have expected the fact to have made more of an impression on our sources. If Xenophon, Diodorus/Ephoros, and Pausanias are really trying to tell us that the strongest power in the Greek world (and the most feared, at least after the Spartans had retrieved their prestige at Mantinea in 418: Th. 5. 75) suffered a twenty-year exclusion from the most prestigious athletic event in the Greek world, their manner of presenting the fact is remarkably subdued. Then there is Thucydides: the Hönle view has interesting implications for his narrative technique. From his mention (5. 49. 1) of the 'first' victory of Androstenes the Arkadian at the Olympic Games of 420, it follows that he wrote or at least revised his account of the 420 Olympics after 416 at the earliest. His account betrays, however, not the slightest awareness that the ban against the Spartans was still in force at the time of writing, as on Hönle's view it must have been. This is not impossible, particularly if one takes the view that book 5 is unrevised, but it is mildly uncomfortable.

(b) The Spartans, as we know from Herodotus, 'valued the things of the gods more than the things of men' (5. 63). However irritating (and unfair?)²² the behaviour of the Eleians was, there must surely have been plenty of members of the Spartan elite who would rather have paid the sacred fine than risk divine (and general Greek) disapproval. It is noticeable that no armed Spartan intervention was made after the Lichas episode (although Thucydides says that there was a general fear of this). Why not? A feeling that Lichas had gone too far and was getting too big for his boots?²³ Or simply the calculation that with Argive, Athenian, and Mantineian troops ready to intervene, it would be prudent to show restraint (Roy (1998), 366)? Or scruples about acting like Kleomenes 1 (Hdt. 5. 72; 6. 80–1) and disregarding, or countenancing the disregard of, the ordinary pieties?²⁴ The term 'Sparta' is an abstraction, and even 'the Spartans' is a simplification: no doubt these various motives, and others, were present in different mixtures in the minds of different individual Spartans. My guess is that at some time before the festival of 416, and therefore well before those of 412, 408, or 404, the Spartans did in fact pay up, agreeing to some face-saving formula of the kind suggested by the Eleians in

²² Roy (1998), esp. 365.

²³ For Spartan envy of their own leading men, cf. Th. 4.108.7. Höhle (1968) [1972], 156, suggests 'a certain opposition' to Lichas on the part of other Spartans.

²⁴ We may compare the end of the entire episode. Twenty years later, after the Spartans' successful war against Elis, they 'did not take the management of the sanctuary away from the Eleians—although this prerogative had not been the Eleians' in ancient times—because the Spartans thought the rival claimants [the Pisatans] were peasants who were not competent to do the job' (Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 31: τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καί περ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἡλείους ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτοὺς [lit. 'they did not exclude them from the management'], νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιουμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι). The negative presentation here—'the Spartans did not take away the management'—is interesting; it surely implies 'as they might have done' or 'as you might have expected'; perhaps there is also the implication that the possibility was discussed, and that one Spartan faction wanted the Eleians deprived of their role. But the fact is that they did not depose them, and here too we should allow for more than one shade of opinion. The single motive given by Xenophon is purely practical (the incompetence or unworthiness of the Pisatans 'peasants'), but some Spartans would surely have felt religious unease at treating the Eleians in this way, despite the argument that the Eleians had not enjoyed their rights for all previous time. The pious Xenophon for once treats a religious episode in thoroughly Thucydidean manner, by suppressing the religious motive in favour of the more worldly one.

Thucydides. It is even possible that we can identify the *quid pro quo* for their readmission: maybe the Spartans did after all, as James Roy suggests to me, restore the disputed city of Lepreon to the Eleians as the latter had demanded in 420 as the price for lifting the Olympic ban (Th. 5.49.5).²⁵ Lepreon was still not Eleian in 418, but is called 'Eleian' by Aristophanes in 414 (*Birds* 149), and Dr Roy suggests to me that it became Eleian in negotiations 'not too long before' the date of that play.²⁶ I am very happy with this suggestion, and with the formulation 'not long before', which would be consistent with a date for the

²⁵ Lepreon features in Thucydides' narrative of the 420 games as more than just an object of dispute; he tells us that 'the other Greeks, except the Lepreatai, sent *theoroi*, sacred envoys, to the festival' (οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐθεώρουν πλὴν Λεπρεατῶν). Gomme (*HCT* 4. 66) comments on this 'presumably because they had invited, or at least accepted, Lacedaemonian armed assistance'. In light of this it is mildly surprising to find that there was a victor from Lepreon in 420 (Moretti (1957), no. 338, derived from Paus. 6. 7. 8: Theantos, victor in the boys' boxing event). This is not, however, formally inconsistent with Thucydides: *theōroi* are not the same as athletes. In any case we must reckon with Paus. 5. 5. 3: victors from Lepreon were proclaimed as Eleians. For a good discussion and explanation of Theantos' participation, see Nielsen (2005).

²⁶ Dr Roy, who thinks my overall conclusions are right, kindly allows me to quote in full his interesting and plausible suggestion, which strengthens my conclusions:

'To be honest I had not thought a great deal about the question. I had however given some thought to another question—how Elis recovered Lepreon—without then finding much enlightenment, and it may now make more sense in the light of your arguments. At Th. 5. 62. 1–2 Elis had still not recovered Lepreon, but by the outbreak of the Spartan-Elean war c. 400 Lepreon was again Elean (though it broke away in the conflict): cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 25. It was presumably already Elean by 414 because Aristophanes *Birds* 149 calls it Elean. Elis presumably recovered Lepreon either by force or by negotiation, and force seems very unlikely in these years. Negotiation on the other hand, with some resolution of the Elean-Spartan dispute (even if patently not a complete or lasting resolution), would be a suitable occasion for resolving also the question of Sparta's admission to the Olympics, and Sparta may have been willing to make such a concession as restoring Lepreon to Elis in order to resolve the Olympic problem. The situation would then somehow have deteriorated again before Agis was refused permission to sacrifice and pray (as you say, possibly in 414 or 413). Aristophanes' reference to Elean Lepreon also makes more sense if, not too long before the *Birds* in 414, Lepreon had been the subject of Spartan-Elean negotiation. All this is rather speculative, I admit, but it seems to me to fit your line of argument well.' See now Roy (2009), 73–4.

So too Sommerstein (1987), 208, in his note on the Aristophanes passage, comments that 'by 414 the Eleians may have recovered control of Lepreon'; Dunbar (1995), 182, does not consider the point. 'Lepreon' is chosen, as both Sommerstein and Dunbar note, for its similarity to an adjective suggesting scaly skin (see line 151), but that does not affect the Eleian point.

negotiations and the re-admission of the Spartans after 418 but shortly before 416 and the Olympic Games of that year; the Spartans surely had a strong motive for clearing the issue up before then. However, that agreement, if agreement there was, did not stop the Spartans from nursing their grievance against the Eleians for many years to come—as they did on any view of the length of the ban.²⁷

One advantage of the suggestion above about Lepreon is that it may help to dispose of the difficulty that a fine of more than 33 talents (2,000 minai = 200,000 drachmai) is, as Mr J. W. Roberts points out to me, an enormous sum which the Spartans might have found hard to afford (though at Th. 6. 95 the Argives take Spartan booty worth at least 25 talents). We do not know if the fine was (i) paid at all, or (ii) paid in full, or (iii) paid on the partial basis suggested by the Eleians at Th. 5. 49. 5. If (iii), then perhaps the Eleians waived their share (nine-tenths?) in consideration for the return of Lepreon.

²⁷ It is entirely plausible that the Spartans should have long resented even a short-term ban which had been lifted many years previously; that is, it cannot be objected against me that anything short of a twenty-year ban makes the Spartan declaration of war against the Eleians look like unbelievably petty remembering of remote events. After all, Xenophon mentions the quadruple alliance of 420 as another of Sparta's grievances against the Eleians, and this alliance lasted only until the winter of 418/17 (Th. 5. 78).

11

ΛΙΧΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΣ

[This chapter, of which a summary appeared at *SEG* 52. 82, was delivered as a paper at a conference in Hamburg to celebrate the 75th birthday of Christian Habicht in 2001, and was then published in his *Festschrift*, a special number of *Chiron*: 32 (2002). I have not removed the references to this occasion from the opening paragraph.

In the first footnote to the original 2000 version, I thanked Elaine Matthews and Peter Fraser for onomastic help; John Oakley for valuable correspondence, and for permission to reproduce plate 1, which is taken from Oakley (1997), and which Professor Oakley now allows me to use yet again (Fig. 1; as also in *CT* III, 133, fig. 2); and the organizers of the Hamburg conference, namely Klaus Bringmann, Jürgen Deininger, Malcolm Errington, and the late Peter Herrmann, and the audience on that occasion, including and especially Habicht himself, for their comments after the paper. I ended by recording affectionate personal gratitude to Professor Habicht and his wife Freia.]

I am delighted to contribute this small offering in celebration of the happy event of Professor Christian Habicht's seventy-fifth birthday. In this chapter, I have chosen to isolate what is in effect an epigraphic problem. I have done so because it has two aspects which relate to the honorand's own work. First, it has on any view a connection with the island of Samos, and I do not need to rehearse the enormous contribution which Habicht has made to the history of that important island. My chapter is, I hope, suited to its recipient for a second reason as well. The chapter concerns a possible foreigner resident in Athens, and this is another topic which has engaged Habicht on several recent occasions, including a chapter ('Foreign Names in Athenian Nomenclature') in the *Festschrift* for P. M. Fraser.¹ That

¹ Habicht in Hornblower and Matthews (2000), 119–28.

Festschrift was devoted to the value of onomastic evidence (the evidence of personal names), and the present paper, like Habicht's chapter in that book, makes use of such onomastic evidence. I have a third and final reason for choosing my subject. That reason is that the general theme of the birthday conference at which this paper was read in 2001 was 'Neue Beiträge' ('new contributions', sc. to epigraphy), and a crucial piece of epigraphic evidence for my topic was published in 1997. It is in fact a painted Athenian *kalos* vase on the Rome art market, but I count it as an epigraphic item of evidence because a *kalos* vase is after all a kind of inscription. The new pot (Fig. 1) was published by John Oakley in his fine 1997 monograph on the Achilles Painter.² It carries the name ΛΙΧΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΣ—or ΣΑΜΙΩΣ; the penultimate letter could be an omicron or an omega—an inscription which Sir John Beazley³ (discussing a vase found and published at the end of the nineteenth century), and now Oakley (discussing both the new vase and that long known) interpret 'Lichas beautiful son of Samieus'. (The new vase settles one important point: the final letter is a sigma; see below, 222.) In this paper I shall argue, against Beazley and Oakley, that Samios is not a patronymic but indicates a connection with the island of Samos; it is in fact a sort of ethnic. The man was in my view either a Spartan visitor to Athens who was affectionately given the nickname 'the Samian'; or else he was an actual Samian. If I am right it follows that that though the vases are Athenian, Lichas himself is not. The name Lichas/Liches is not otherwise found at Athens but is very much at home in Sparta (though not confined to Sparta). Indeed the best known classical bearer of the name is a prominent Spartan known to us from Thucydides, Lichas son of Arkesilas. Thirty years ago there was a flurry of interest in the Thucydidean Lichas, because of an epigraphic attestation of a new classical Liches son of Arkesileos (that is, in Doric, Lichas son of Arkesilas) as *archon* on Thasos in 398/7 BC. This is discussed below, 219 f.⁴ But another Lichas, the 'Lichas kalos Samios' who is the subject of the present paper, did not

² Oakley (1997), no. 172.

³ Beazley (1963), 995, 1595.

⁴ See esp. Pouilloux and Salviat (1983), 376–403 (cf. SEG 33. 702); J. and L. Robert, BE (1984), no. 314; Cartledge (1984); CT III, 995.



Figure 1. The Lichas Kalos Samios vase, J. H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (Mainz, 1997), plate 94 (=137 no. 72, discussed at 12)

feature in the discussions at that time, although the onomastic aspects of Lichas son of Arkesilas featured prominently in the arguments then being conducted. Nor indeed has this 'Lichas kalos Samios' made much scholarly impact at all, outside modern works on Greek vase-painting, since his first attestation in 1896.⁵ And yet Spartan–Samian connections in the archaic and classical periods are particularly well attested (below, n. 22).

The famous Lichas son of Arkesilas was an Olympic equestrian victor in 420 BC (Th. 5. 49–50) and was then prominent in the east Aegean diplomacy of 411 BC described in Thucydides book 8. His Olympic victory, and the games at which he won it (posing initially as a Boiotian because the Spartans were banned from Olympia by the Eleian organizers at the time),⁶ fill two long and untypically 'athletic' chapters of Thucydides. They are full of both literary and historical interest, but they are not my concern now.⁷ My concern in the present paper is rather with the name, and its various classical bearers. In Thucydides' account, Lichas is not actually named until towards the end of the episode, in fact at the final paragraph of the second of the two chapters (50. 4), where he is called 'Lichas son of Arkesilas the Spartan', *Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλου Λακεδαιμόνιος*. G. Alberti's recent Thucydides text, which since its completion in 2000 is the best text of Thucydides that we have, rightly prints the genitive in the form *Ἀρκεσίλου* which is the form quoted by Photios; the manuscripts have *Ἀρκεσιλάου*. That is, Thucydides gives the correct Doric form of the name, contrast Herodotus' Ionic form *Ἀρκεσιλέως*. (4. 159ff.). So too Herodotus in his usual Ionic Greek spells an earlier, equally high-ranking and possibly related⁸ bearer of the name Lichas as *Λίχης* (1. 67. 5) although the correct Doric spelling must have been *Λίχας*. See above, Ch. 4, 109.

⁵ An exception is H. Volkmann, 'Lichas (4)' in *Kl. Pauly* 3. 633–4. But this entry is conspicuously full of muddles, the worst of which is that it identifies the Thucydidean Lichas with 'Lichas kalos Samios', a wildly improbable, not to say impossible, notion, not argued for by the modern works cited in support. See further below n. 17.

⁶ For this ban see above, Ch. 10, where I argue that the ban lasted for only a few years, not the twenty years accepted in modern books. But the exclusion continued to rankle at Sparta, and was one stated reason for the Sparta–Elis war of c.400 BC: Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 21.

⁷ I discuss them in *Th. and Pi.* 273–86 and *CT* III, 122–35.

⁸ See below n. 11.

In Thucydides' narrative the patronymic Arkesilas has also been delayed, and for even longer than Lichas himself: we have already met Lichas, twenty chapters earlier in book 5, in a diplomatic context, where he was not given his patronymic (5. 22. 2). So why does Thucydides save it for the account of the games of 420? I suggest that the addition of the father's name Arkesilas was specially appropriate because of the athletic context of chapters 49–50. A Pindaric aspect comes in here: Pindar often addresses adult as well as boy victors not as *X* but as son of *Y*, where it is certain or likely that the father too was a great athlete, thus Theaios of Argos in *Nemean* 10 is addressed as 'son of Oulias' (line 24); and odes like that and *Olympian* 13 elaborate on the victories of ancestors on both sides; *Olympian* 13 says that Thessalos, the carefully named father of Xenophon of Korinth, had himself won a running event at Olympia (line 35, 'the foot-racing glory of his father Thessalos is dedicated by the streams of the Alpheos', *πατὴρ δὲ Θεσσαλοῖ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ ῥεέθροισιν αἶγλα ποδῶν ἀνάκειται*). David Young put it well in his study of *Isthmian* 7: 'recognition of the victor's distinguished relatives is itself a convention of the genre'.⁹ The name Arkesilas is itself emphatically Pindaric, as we shall see below.

Outside the pages of Pindar, we may recall that the 'Damonon inscription' from fifth-century Sparta records not only the equestrian victories of Damonon himself but also those of his son Enymakratidas. (*IG* V. 1. 213). Pindar has no victory ode for a Spartan, though there were plenty of available Spartan equestrian victors. The most famous was, precisely, Lichas' father Arkesilas. Plutarch quotes a poem by the Athenian Kritias which shows that the victories of Arkesilas were proverbial (Plut. *Kim.* 10. 6). Like many Pindaric victors, Lichas came from a family of such wealthy victors, and I suggest that by the delayed patronymic Arkesilas, Thucydides reminds us of the fact. Lichas, in fact, belongs to what H. T. Wade-Gery called the 'international aristocracy of Greece',¹⁰ and whatever we think of 'aristocracy' the word 'international' is right: Lichas was famous for his hospitality to strangers at Spartan festivals (Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 61, Plut. *Kim.* 10. 5). We can trace some of Lichas' contacts and connections by means of prosopography, the study of individuals, their names, careers and connections. And this is what I shall now do, ending with the difficult

⁹ Young (1971), 19.

¹⁰ Wade-Gery, *EGH* 246.

Athenian attestation of the name, an attestation which forms the title of my paper.

First, Lichas himself was *proxenos* for the Argives. This is a fact which Thucydides explicitly tells us elsewhere (5. 76. 3).

Second, Lichas' family may have had proxeny or marriage ties with the royal house of Kyrene, in which the names Battos and Arkesilas alternated; this Kyrene connection for Thucydides' Lichas was suggested by the late D. M. Lewis.¹¹ Such suggestions can now, thanks to the ongoing computer-aided *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (LGPN), be tested scientifically, and this one holds up reasonably well because we can check statistically the distribution of the names Lichas/Liches and Arkesilas/Arkesilaos/Arkesileos: the name Lichas is very much at home in both Sparta and Kyrene, a colony of a Spartan colony (Thera), though certainly not confined to those two cities; Arkesilas and Arkesilaos are both fairly common names everywhere.¹² But the

¹¹ Lewis (1977), 33 n. 44. Lewis ends that note by citing the Liches at Hdt. 1. 67. 5, 'a possible sixth-century ancestor', cf. above.

¹² In vol. I (1987, the islands and Cyrenaica) there are six men called Lichas, four from Cyrenaica, one from Euboea, and one from Paros; there is also the Thasian Liches discussed in my text. In IIIA (1997, covering the Peloponnese, western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia) there are twelve men called Lichas, of whom no fewer than five are Spartans (the others include the Akarnanian, already mentioned, and another Akarnanian possibly identical with the first; an undifferentiated Peloponnesian attested in the 3rd cent. BC arbitration text SEG 13. 278; two Arkadians, a Sicilian, and a man from Pompeii). In II (Athens and Attica) and IIIB (Central Greece, including Boiotia and Thessaly) there are none. In VA (coastal Asia Minor), there are four men called Lichas: two from Ephesos (both hellenistic) and two from Kolophon (both late 4th cent. BC). In VB, there will be three from Miletos: *Milet* I (3) no. 138 col. I, line 64 and other refs.; *ibid.* no. 141 line 5; *ZPE* 7 (1971), 202 line 16. In addition a Lichas attested in Egypt may (but see Fraser, next n.) be the elephant-hunter who is also listed (twice!) in vol. IIIA under Akarnania, see above. This is not a huge haul, and the Spartan cluster is noteworthy.

Arkesilas and Arkesilaos are not uncommon names anywhere, but note that LGPN IIIA lists two Arkesilaos from Sparta apart from Lichas' famous father, and one Arkesilas. LGPN II lists the kings of Kyrene under 'Arkesilaos' and there are no Kyrenaians with this name; but there are two men from Kyrene listed under 'Arkesilas', one of them a restoration. Apart from the kings of Kyrene and the Spartan father of Lichas, pre-400 BC bearers of the names Arkesilas or Arkesilaos are rare (but that is true of all pre-400 names in LGPN!); they include a late 5th cent. Sicilian from Katane, a 5th cent. BC Euboian from Eretria, and a couple of Athenians, including one in the Erechtheid casualty list ML 33, line 154. In VA (coastal Asia Minor), there is one Arkesilas (Magnesia, 2nd cent. BC).

combination of the two names is the striking feature which Thucydides' text shares with the Thasian inscription (above, 214), and which surely makes, if not identity, then at least close connection likely. (To that extent much of the argument in 1983–4 is irrelevant for our purposes because we are not concerned to establish strict identity: mere kinship—that is, a family connection with Thasos—is quite interesting enough. By contrast, for the Thasian Lichas to be relevant to Thucydides' composition date, strict identity is required; see below, 220).

I must at this point say more about the name Lichas. The Lichas best known to hellenistic historians is the elephant-hunter son of Pyrrhos of Akarnania;¹³ and there are some other bearers of the name not yet included in LGPN because they are attested in regions not covered. In 1972, Fraser remarked that the name Lichas is 'not very uncommon'¹⁴ and he gave three historical examples, all hellenistic (they are listed among the men called Lichas cited at n. 12 above). Fraser's fourth example, the fictional Tarentine Lichas in Petronius (*Sat.* 100 ff.), is proof rather than disproof of the contention that Lichas was a markedly Spartan name, because Taras or Tarentum was Sparta's best-known colony, 'Lacedaemonium Tarentum' as the poet Horace calls it (*Odes* 3. 5. 56). Such onomastic accuracy in ancient writers of fiction can easily be paralleled, and has recently been discussed by Michael Crawford.¹⁵ So I conclude that in the archaic and classical periods Lichas is a good Spartan and Kyrenaiian name. This brings us right into Pindar's world because two of Pindar's finest odes, *Pythians* 4 and 5, were written for Arkesilas king of Kyrene; readers of Thucydides' account of the games of 420 would surely recall this when they encountered, on the page or in recitation, Lichas' royal patronymic Arkesilas.

Third there is the island of Thasos in the north Aegean. In 1983, a new Liches son of Arkesileos turned up on an inscription as an official at Thasos in 397 BC. (*SEG* 33. 702). This caused great excitement for its implications for Thucydides' composition date. The point is that

¹³ OGIS 82 line 2 and SB 7306, with Strabo 16. 4. 14–15 (hunting-ground and altars of Lichas) and the evidence of some papyri; cf. Fraser, next n.

¹⁴ Fraser (1972), 2. 308 n. 370, cf. n. 371.

¹⁵ Crawford 'Mirabilia and Personal Names' in Hornblower and Matthews (2000), 145–8.

Thucydides refers to Lichas' death from sickness at a later date', ὕστερον (8. 84. 5). If we stretch 'later' to cover fourteen years, and identify the Thasos official with the Thucydidean athlete-diplomat, then it follows that Thucydides was writing after 397. Some scholars reject the identification; but even if we are sceptical about precise identity, it would, given the combination of the names, be perverse (see above) to deny that the two men called Lichas son of Arkesilas were related, and it is the family's international connections, not only those of Lichas the individual, which I am interested in. This is what medievalists call 'floating kindreds', cases where we can be confident of *some* relationship but not of exact identity or relationship.¹⁶

That leads to my fourth, last, and most neglected Lichas, who is the real subject of my paper today. He is listed in volume II of *LGNP* (1994, covering Athens and Attica) as 'Lichas son of Samieus'; the evidence cited by *LGNP* is the inscribed Athenian 'kalos-vase' or 'beautiful young-man-vase' already known to Beazley (above n. 2). It is a white pot of a type called lekythos by the Achilles painter and is in the British Museum in London. But in fact there are now two such pots because a new, more legible one turned up recently on the Rome art-market and was published in 1997 (Fig. 1), too recent for inclusion in *LGNP* II. As we have seen already, the inscriptions on the pots go ΑΙΧΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΣ (or ΣΑΜΙΩΣ; the letter could be an omicron or an omega) which Beazley and Oakley (above nn. 2 and 3) interpret 'Lichas beautiful son of Samieus'.¹⁷ But this is not very polite to the Achilles painter because it implies he did not know ancient Greek very well: the genitive of Samieus ought to be Σαμειέως not Σαμίως or Σάμιος. This is not absolutely universal however. Professor Oakley reminds me¹⁸ that Πειραιεύς can go Πειραιώς in the genitive,

¹⁶ See above, Ch. 4, 103. See *CT* III, 995.

¹⁷ Volkmann (above, n. 5) does not grasp that Beazley thought in terms of a patronymic 'son of Samieus', but says wrongly that Beazley reads the third item of the inscription as meaning 'the Samian', by contrast with Bosanquet's view that the word refers to 'den Hdt. 3. 55, Xen. hell. 3. 1. 1. genannten Spartaner Samios'. This seems to imply that the Herodotean Samios and the Xenophontic nauarch called Samios are identical—a chronological absurdity. (There has also been some typographic error in the attempt to reproduce the Greek of the third item of the inscription, and I have not attempted to quote it as given by Volkmann.)

¹⁸ In an e-mail communication dated 18 April 2000.

as in the MSS of Thucydides. That is, the epsilon and omega can elide. But with personal names the longer form -έως is far more normal and in what follows I assume that Σαμίως is not a patronymic of a name in -εύς. There is the further point that Samieus is as Elaine Matthews confirms to me, a name unattested anywhere else except this one attestation at Athens which I believe to be false.

But let us assume that this man, putative father of Lichas, does indeed have the unique name Samieus. What sort of name is it? Fraser points out to me that if it exists at all, and he is now very doubtful, it could after all indicate a connection with Samos. He further notes that there exists an exact analogy for an example of an omicron-stem ethnic turned into a name—termination -εύς in the name Μηλιεύς, which derives from Μηλος.

Let us now consider the possibility that the penultimate circle-shaped letter represent an omicron not an omega. Σάμιος could be a patronymic only if it were the genitive of Σάμις which is however a name unattested anywhere (for the hypothetical form cf. Ψαύμιος at Pindar *Olympian* 4 line 10, the genitive of Ψαύμις the athletic victor from Sicilian Kamarina). The nearest approach, and again I am grateful to Fraser for guidance, is a feminine form Σαμίς from Thessalian Pherai.¹⁹

But I think that Bosanquet, who first published the British Museum vase in 1896,²⁰ was right to think that Lichas/es is not an Athenian; *LGNP* enables me to say this confidently; there are, and this is a very important onomastic argument indeed, no other Athenians called either Lichas/es or Samieus, and the name Samieus is attested nowhere in the Greek world at all. In other words I disagree with M. Osborne and S. Byrne, the editors of *LGNP* II, for assigning them to Athens at all. They should in my view not be in that volume. But which volume should they be in?

Bosanquet attractively suggested that the Lichas of the vase was not an Athenian but a *Spartan* who moved in wealthy Athenian circles in the mid-fifth century BC, and was son of a Spartan Samios, a name attested at Sparta (see below). Bosanquet wrote at a time when the last letter of the name was hard to decipher and he thought the word

¹⁹ *IG* IX (2) 437; cf. *LGNP* IIIB. 373.

²⁰ Bosanquet (1896), 164–8.

could be a patronymic ending in an upsilon, thus Σαμίου. The importance of the new Rome pot is that it forces us to eliminate this possibility. The final letter we can now say is a definite sigma. We might still however want to keep Bosanquet's general conclusion—that is, that 'Lichas Samios' is a Spartan—while insisting that the name is a nominative. That is, I suggest that Samios is a kind of nickname,²¹ 'the Samian'. This suggestion requires that the penultimate circle-shaped letter be interpreted as an omicron not an omega. If so our hypothetical Spartan visitor to Athens, with his authentically Spartan name, may possibly be related to Thucydides' Lichas son of Arkesilas; and perhaps also to the sixth-century Liches in book 1 of Herodotus (above n. 8).

If this is right, Lichas' family is linked, with various degrees of certainty or probability, to the following places: Argos, Kyrene, Thasos, Athens and even maybe Samos if as I am suggesting 'Samios' on the vase is not a patronymic but a sort of nickname implying links with Samos, an island with close links with Sparta.²² Let me amplify that point. Herodotus mentions a Spartan called Samios by his father Archias for just this friendly reason (3. 55). It was this name Samios which Bosanquet thought he had detected in the genitive form, and Bosanquet duly cited Herodotus in this connection. My own different but related suggestion is (see above) that the name is in the nominative. With such an ethnic one might compare the ostrakon cast against 'Kallias the Mede', a way of characterizing the Athenian Kallias as pro-Persian (and thus a traitor).²³ To call Lichas a 'Samian' might then be an affectionate (rather than, as in an ostracism, hostile) way of alluding to the Samian connection; in fact a sort of nickname. On this hypothesis Lichas Samios would have been a young Spartan who on visits to Athens moved in sympotic philo-Lakonian circles.

²¹ I owe this way of putting the matter to conversation in Hamburg with Herwig Maehler.

²² Cartledge (1982). 'Lichas kalos Samios' does not feature in this otherwise excellent article, though if my nickname suggestion is right it is yet more support for Cartledge's general position.

²³ SEG 42. 32, from the Kerameikos, O 849, one of a long-awaited batch of ostraka finally published in S. Brenne, *Ath. Mitt.* 107 (1992), 161–85. The Kallias ostrakon is O 849. See also Brenne (1994), 16: the word *Mādos* is scratched out, and Brenne offers speculations as to why.

Against this suggestion, it can be urged, and has to be acknowledged by me, that in those not very common *kalos* vases which have three elements, 'x kalos y', the third or 'y' element is usually a patronymic,²⁴ and I cannot find a precise parallel to a *kalos* inscription, as opposed to an ostrakon, which works in quite the way I want. There are in fact not many *kalos* vases with a patronymic. The main group is precisely a set of lekythoi by the Achilles painter, discussed by Robinson and Fluck in their section under Diphilos, who is named as Diphilos Melanopou *kalos*, just as Axiopieithes is Axiopieithes Alkimachou *kalos*.²⁵ The only other possible instance of a *kalos* name with ethnic not patronymic is unfortunately also a controversial one, which has the unusual sequence καλὸς Καρύστιος Μόρυλλ(λ)ος.²⁶ This might mean Moryllos of the Euboian polis of Karystos, especially since the vase was found at Euboian Eretria; though Robinson and Fluck (followed in *LGPV* II) in the end say that Karystios is an Athenian personal name, they fail to make clear what they wish to do about Moryllos, which is certainly a unique Athenian name on the evidence of *LGPV* II as is Karystios, who also features in that Athenian volume.

So to see Samios as a sort of ethnic is not altogether easy. On the other hand the onomastic arguments against the very existence of the names Samis or Samieus, and the arguments against having an Attic Lichas, seem to me to be very strong indeed against the Beazley/Oakley view which is implicitly accepted in *LGPV* II, and which thus has to rank as the prevailing orthodoxy.

If I am right that Σάμιος is a nominative and means 'the Samian' there is an obvious alternative and much simpler possibility: why should the Lichas of the pot not have been an actual Samian visitor to or Samian metic resident at Athens, rather than a Spartan? After all there are hellenistic men called Lichas from Ephesos, Kolophon, and Miletos, cities reasonably close to Samos, but on the Asiatic mainland (see n. 12). This is certainly possible. There are three considerations which perhaps tell against this:

²⁴ Robinson and Fluck (1937), 100.

²⁵ Ibid., 98–102; their main discussion of Lichas is at 100–2, rather than at 137 (the actual entry for Lichas in their alphabetical catalogue).

²⁶ Ibid., 125.

1. There is no other example of the name Lichas or Liches from, precisely, Samos (see *LGNP* I), just as there is none from Athens, with the exception of the doubtful case we are concerned with. But the Thasian Liches (above) is a warning that inscriptions can surprise us at any time and in any case *LGNP* I does have one Lichas (*sic*; cf. (2) below) from Ionian Paros and one from Ionian Euboia. In view of these men, and of the three Milesians and the Ephesians and Kolophonians (n. 12 above), Robinson-Fluck went too far when they said that Lichas is a Dorian name.²⁷
2. If Lichas were a Samian we might have expected his name to have the Ionic form Liches like the Thasian (*Λίχης Ἀρκεσίλε[ω]*) who turned up in 1983. But this argument is not decisive because of the various people called Lichas attested in Ionian Paros, Miletos etc. (See (1) above.)
3. The Samian theory is vulnerable to the same objection as is my own Spartan theory, namely that in that position in the formula the word ought to be a patronymic not an ethnic. However (obviously) I do not myself want this objection to be valid.

This chapter thus ends on a note of uncertainty, though I confess that I hanker for the solution that Lichas was a Spartan with the nickname Samios. But 'Samios' may just mean what it says, the man was a straightforward Samian. It seems to me that there are disadvantages to any interpretation of the enigmatic formula which is the title of the chapter. And we should remember that it belongs to a sub-class of *kalos*-vase which is itself slightly odd in one respect. That is, there is an oddity in using lekythoi, a funerary type of vase, for life-affirming *kalos*- inscriptions and this has never been explained except perhaps by the universal truth that death ritual often affirms the opposite of death e.g. funeral games from Homer onwards. The Lichas *kalos* inscriptions both occur on lekythoi, but there is also one enigmatic bronze castanet in Amsterdam which goes *KA...ΛΙΧΑΣ*.²⁸

I end with a final thought concerning the name Lichas in its Spartan aspect. Sophocles in the *Trachiniai* features a mythical Lichas who is associated in the play with Sparta's Dorian ancestor Herakles; this is perhaps why Robinson and Fluck say, not quite accurately that the

name is ultimately Dorian. Might this mythical Lichas explain Spartan fondness for the name Lichas? But Sophocles' Lichas met a horrible end, killed by Herakles by being thrown against a cliff which then took Lichas' name (the word *lichas* is said to be related to *lithos*, 'a rock').²⁹ So that idea does not work. And there I leave Lichas and his connections.

²⁹ Cf. Strabo 10. 1. 9, citing Aeschylus F 25e Radt, a fragment of which we now have a fuller papyrus version.

²⁷ Robinson and Fluck (1937), 100.

²⁸ Ibid., 101.

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‘This was Decided’ (ἔδοξε ταῦτα):
The Army as *polis* in Xenophon’s
Anabasis—and Elsewhere

[My earlier first footnote thanked Robin Lane Fox, the organizer of the Oxford seminar at which the paper was delivered in 2001, and various members of the audience for comments, at the time or afterwards (see individual notes below). I now add thanks to Luke Pitcher for editing the original text for the Yale volume. In the notes, *Anab.* is usually Xenophon’s *Anabasis*.

Although this chapter appeared in an edited collection devoted to Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, my main argument was Thucydidean: the behaviour of the Ten Thousand was not as peculiar as is often said or assumed, but resembled that of other classical and hellenistic Greek armies far from home, in particular the Athenian and allied army in Sicily, 415–413. Such armies are the ‘elsewhere’ of my title. Central to the investigation is a surprising sentence in Thucydides to the effect that Nikias did not want the option of withdrawal from Sicily to be ‘openly voted on among many’: 7. 48. 1, with n. 4 below.]

A soldier’s job is to obey orders. This simple proposition might seem hard to argue with. In recent times it has been challenged only when offered as a defence in trials for atrocities perpetrated in war. My concern is not, however, with such ethically extreme situations. My chapter looks at those interesting historical episodes and even entire periods where armies seem on occasion to do the leading, and to exercise voting pressure on their commanders, rather than being unquestioningly led by those commanders. The classic example is from ancient Greece, and is described in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the subject of Lane Fox (2004). But was the behaviour described by Xenophon exceptional? I shall argue that on the contrary it was not unique,

but rather an extension of a tendency found in other Greek (but not Roman) armies, especially in classical democratic Athenian armies, coalition armies, or both. The Athenian expeditionary force in Sicily in 415–413, described in detail by Thucydides, is a particularly rewarding comparative case study: it was not purely Athenian but Athenian-led and was thus a coalition army. That was just a decade and a half earlier than the army of the Ten Thousand. But I shall also glance for comparison at revolutionary armies in some other and very different periods in history.

But first, the *Anabasis*. Edward Gibbon, in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, makes a celebrated comparison between Xenophon’s *Anabasis* and his *Cyropaedia*. It is contained—like so many of Gibbon’s best remarks—in a footnote: ‘the *Cyropaedia* is vague and languid, the *Anabasis* circumstantial and animated. Such is the eternal difference between fiction and truth.’ I am not however primarily concerned in this chapter with the literary qualities or rhetorical artfulness of the work. The theme of my chapter can be adequately introduced by the sentence of Gibbon’s text to which the footnote I have just quoted belongs. In the second volume of the *Decline and Fall*, the historian contrasts the disgraceful retreat of the emperor Jovian with the glorious conduct of Xenophon’s Ten Thousand: ‘instead’, says Gibbon, ‘of tamely resigning themselves to the secret deliberations and private views of a single person, the united councils of the Greeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular assembly.’ It is that phenomenon, the ‘generous enthusiasm of the popular assembly’ in a tight military spot, which I want to explore.¹

I shall not spend much space and time in establishing the point that the army of the Ten Thousand in some senses behaves like a political entity, like a *polis* in fact. In 1992 Andrew Dalby, in a perceptive article, qualified this by saying that it behaved less like a *settled polis* and more like a colonizing expedition or like the army in the *Iliad*, particularly in the way it provisions itself and hands out booty. But the basic *polis* point was elegantly made long ago by K. W. Krüger in his nineteenth-century commentary on a key passage in the *Anabasis*, where he noted that Xenophon invites a show of hands, just

¹ Gibbon (1896–1900), 2, 523 and n. 119.

as in an Athenian political assembly. And we can add, bearing in mind that the law-courts were as important an element of Athenian democracy as was the *ekklēsia*, that the army easily accommodates notions of military hierarchy to the mentality of the law-courts: at one point the captains (*lochagoi*) are appointed as the *dikasts* (jurors) at a trial of malefactors. The Greek title of my chapter, *ἔδοξε ταῦτα*, is intended to make the point in two short words; those words, first found near the beginning of the whole work, and then several times in book 5, are a formula of participatory approval. I do not say ‘democratic’ approval, because that would beg certain questions. After all, even oligarchies, or at any rate some kinds of broad-based oligarchies, had mechanisms for gauging majority opinion among what was usually defined as the hoplite or heavy-armed infantry class—which is after all what most of the Ten Thousand belonged to. Thus the Spartan Cheirisophus, soon after Xenophon’s invitation just mentioned, finds it equally natural to invite a show of hands. I hope I do not need to prove that the Ten Thousand behave up to a point like a kind of *polis*. On the contrary, I take that as my axiom or starting point. Qualifications such as ‘up to a point’ are necessary because in actual battle Xenophon reports his own orders to his men as just that, orders which he expects to be obeyed. He uses the verb *παράγγελλω* on one occasion for this ordering, where the form of the orders is closely paralleled by the regular form of those reported by Arrian and Ptolemy as given by Alexander, a royal commander. And we hear of ‘the generals’ meeting to decide on a plan of attack. But it is the element of grass-roots discussion and the implied possibility of rejection that interests me today. How unusual was it among Greek armies?²

There is in the modern literature a tendency to treat the Ten Thousand as being, in G. B. Nussbaum’s words, ‘unusual if not unique as an army in having an independent self-contained organisation like that of any normal society’. My quotation is from the introduction to what

² Dalby (1992); see also Marinovic (1988), esp. 193. Krüger (1826), 154–5, n. on Xen. *Anab.* 3. 2. 9; for show of hands cf. also Cheirisophus at *Anab.* 3. 2. 33. *Lochagoi* as *dikasts*: *Anab.* 5. 7. 34. First use in *Anab.* of *ἔδοξε ταῦτα*: 1. 3. 20, and several times thereafter, e.g. 3. 2. 38, and a notable clustering in bk. 5 ch. 1. For hoplites, *Anab.* 1. 2. 3, enumeration of the force by military categories, Xen. gives straightforward orders: *Anab.* 4. 3. 29, with Pearson (1960), 206 and n. 74. Meeting of generals: *Anab.* 4. 8. 9.

remains the standard and very useful monograph on the social organization of the Ten Thousand, published in 1967. Disconcertingly, Nussbaum goes on, two pages later, to say that he does not seek to ‘apply the results obtained’, as he puts it, or to ‘exploit the *Anabasis* as a document of its own time’. In a footnote he briefly mentions, only to disclaim treatment of them for lack of space, other comparable armies such as the Athenian armament at Syracuse, the fleet at Samos in 411 and Alexander’s army. And those are the only mentions of those overseas armies in the whole of Nussbaum’s book. (There are, to be fair, a couple of allusions to Thucydides thereafter, but they are insignificant.) This is surely a strange procedure. If the army of the Ten Thousand was unusual and even unique, then why mention the other armies? But if those other armies are relevant, then surely we need to know at every stage whether a piece of behaviour attested for the Ten Thousand really is unusual military behaviour or whether on the contrary it is standard, or rather whether something like it is attested in, for instance, the Sicily of 415–413. In a word, we have a problem of what modern historians call exceptionalism. Nussbaum does in his text suggest also that there are similarities between the decision-making procedures of the Ten Thousand and Spartan civil practice. But he does not develop this parallel, which might have led him into some interesting if uncomfortable directions, uncomfortable I mean for his uniqueness thesis. But my main point is the need to look at other armies. Even Dalby has little to say about armies other than that in the *Iliad*.³

Mention of Sicily and 415 leads us to an important passage in Thucydides book 7. Halfway through that book we are told that the Athenian commander Nikias ‘did not want the option of retreat or withdrawal from Sicily to be openly voted on among many’. On the meaning of the slightly unusual expression *μετὰ πολλῶν* I follow Hobbes, who renders it ‘with the votes of many’.⁴ What do the words, so translated, actually imply? Their politically wide scope is startling: they seem to suggest that all, most, or many of the ordinary troops,

³ Nussbaum (1967), 9, 11.

⁴ The passage is Th. 7. 48. 1: οὐδ’ ἐμφανῶς σφᾶς ψηφίζομένους μετὰ πολλῶν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν (cf. 7. 50. 3). I follow most edd. in accepting the soundness of the text, though Krüger tried to delete *μετὰ πολλῶν*. The only way (but see below for Griffiths)

not just generals or even senior officers (*taxiarchoi*) and *triērarchoi*, ship commanders, were going to be voting. That is, they would be casting real literal pebbles, *ψηφοί* or more likely exercising *χειροτονία*, 'holding up of hands' as in the *Anabasis*, on this basic question of retreat. (The Athenians at home were capable of using strictly inaccurate *ψηφος* formations such as *ψηφίσματα*, 'decrees', *ψηφίζεσθαι* 'I vote', to describe most kinds of assembly voting, which actually took place not by ballot or pebbles but by show of hands. This, it is thought, is evidence that the assembly originally used pebbles.)⁵

Order commentaries on Thucydides toyed with the idea that by the words 'with many' Thucydides meant nothing larger than a meeting of the generals augmented by *taxiarchoi*, as at a meeting described twelve chapters later, which we may note results in a decision introduced by *ἔδοξε ταῦτα*, the Xenophontic motto of my title. I concede that Thucydides' words *μετὰ πολλῶν* do not have quite the same implication as *μετὰ πάντων* ('with everybody') would have had. But 'voting with many' surely implies a body considerably larger than generals plus taxiarchs, in fact the mixed or perhaps just Athenian rank-and-file troops. I argue this not just from the words themselves, which as we have seen are difficult, but from what Nikias goes on to say at the end of the same chapter (7. 48. 4), to the cynical effect that many or most of the ordinary soldiers, who were now so vociferous for withdrawal, would no doubt change their minds when they got back to Athens. If this is right, 'with many' are rather surprising words to use of an army which, and this is important, has not yet disintegrated as a fighting force; contrast the situation after the final sea

of avoiding Hobbes's rendering is to take *μετά* ('with') to refer to a vote taken by a few but in the midst, i.e. the presence, of many. But this would mean that Th. said the same thing twice in different ways, because then *ἐμφανῶς* and *μετὰ πολλῶν* would both mean something like 'publicly' or 'openly', and Th. is not usually a redundant writer outside heavily rhetorical passages (on the difficult *φόβοι καὶ δέϊματα* at 7. 80. 3, see *CT* III, 727). Note that we have already been told (Th. 7. 47. 1) that the soldiers are fed up with the delay. On 7. 48. 1, see now *CT* III, 632–4, but note Griffiths' scepticism, reported at 634, and his radical alternative suggestion that we take *μετὰ πολλῶν* closely with the noun *ἀναχώρησιν*, 'their (own) withdrawal with large forces'.

⁵ For the verb *ψηφίζεσθαι* in the context of a military gathering, see e.g. *Anab.* 1. 4. 15 and 5. 6. 11. *χειροτονία* in the *Anab.*: 3. 2. 9 and 38. Assembly and pebbles: Hansen (1987), 41. Cf. Eur. *Hcl.* line 141 with Wilkins (1989), 69, for vague use of *ψηφος* in tragedy; see also Easterling (1985), 3 n. 10 for good remarks on this topic.

battle where the utterly disheartened sailors refuse to re-embark. But normally a general who is about to send his troops into attack or is faced by an enemy onslaught does not, for elementary practical reasons, say to the mass of his men, 'hands up who think we should fight; those in favour? those against? abstentions? Sorry, I think I missed a few people at the back' and so on. The Thucydides passage raises a problem too little discussed in the voluminous literature about Athenian democracy, namely how did the *ψηφος*-minded Athenians adapt to the concepts of taking orders on the battlefield, and of chains of command? I am not forgetting, and I shall return to this point, that the army in Sicily in 413 was far from being solely Athenian. But I do wonder how not just Athenians in particular but Greeks in general reconciled their normal and cherished voting habits with the necessities of army discipline. Xenophon's *Anabasis* is the prime text, but before we can use the *Anabasis* and the Ten Thousand, we need to be clear about the extent to which that army's procedures were abnormal. I shall be looking not only at other ancient Greek armies but at armies in other periods of history.⁶

Most of my material will be from the Peloponnesian War period (431–404) or later. I cannot go back systematically to cover earlier periods of Greek history or earlier literary texts such as the Homeric poems. I restrict myself to two pre-Thucydidean passages. The *dēmos* as army was a notion familiar to Pindar. In an ode written in about 470 BC for Hieron of Syracuse, he has what is undoubtedly the first statement of the constitutional triad of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, made famous in a much later document, the constitutional debate in Herodotus. For my purposes the *noun* is the relevant part, because Pindar uses for democracy one standard Greek word for 'host' or army, namely *στρατός*. Conversely, there is a nice example of an army (or rather navy) turning itself at short notice into a voting *dēmos* in Herodotus' account of Samian history in the sixth century BC. A large

⁶ Dover, *HCT* 4. 425; also C/S on bk. 7 at 121. For the later meeting see Th. 7. 60. 2, with which compare the meeting early in the *Anab.* (1. 7. 2), where Kyros addresses only the generals and *lochagoi*. For *ἔδοξε ταῦτα* after this meeting, see Th. 7. 60. 3, cf. 7. 74. 1. All armies, even the Achaemenid Persian, have such meetings of senior officers (see above n. 3 for *Anab.* 4. 8. 9). The situation after the final sea-battle: Th. 7. 72. 3 (but Jordan (2000), 74, observes that 'the fleet mutinied, the army did not'; cf. *CT* III, 703).

contingent of Samian malcontents (enough to fill forty triremes, therefore as many as 8,000 men) was sent off to Egypt by Polykrates. But en route they 'decided not to continue with their voyage'. What sort of assembly does this indicate, and how was it organized? The answer might provide us with a naval analogue to the Ten Thousand, more than a century earlier.⁷

I shall start my detailed classical discussion not at the obvious place, namely Athens, but at Sparta and Syracuse. The Athenian Thucydides comments that the Spartans have this thing called a chain of command; he speaks as if it were something remarkable and unexpected, the king hands down orders to the polemarchs, the polemarchs to the *lochagoi*, and so on down the line. It has always amused me that Thucydides thinks this worth commenting on as a peculiarity; you would think any decent army would have to operate on some such lines and that if the Athenian set-up was very different the results would be comically ineffective. But the passage is perhaps part of a rather conventional rhetorical polarization and forms a pair with Perikles' contrast in the Funeral Oration between relaxed Athenian military arrangements and the arduous exertion of the Spartans. This is surely overdone, though to say why would take me too far afield. The implication of both passages is of rigidity, discipline, and hierarchy in the Spartan army, not an atmosphere in which dissenting votes and voices, and criticism of commanders, might be expected to flourish. The truth I believe to be slightly different.⁸

Spartans and Argives differed in their treatment of generals who they thought had let them down. The Spartans in 418, cheated of a hoped-for confrontation with a hostile coalition, preserve discipline for the moment, but they punish their king Agis and place limits on his freedom when they get home. On the same occasion the Argives, by contrast, set about lynching their commander Thrasylos by stoning him on their return. I think Thucydides disapproves of the Argives

⁷ Pi. P. 2. 87, cf. P. 10. 8. The Constitutional Debate: Hdt. 3. 80–82. The Samians: Hdt. 3. 45. 1, *καὶ σφὶ ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν*, a passage appositely cited by the late Thomas Braun in the discussion after the original delivery of this chapter, and which I now gratefully incorporate.

⁸ Chain of command: Th. 5. 66. 3–4. Funeral oration: Th. 2. 39. For Greek (in-) discipline, see Pritchett GSW 2. 232–5.

here and elsewhere, but characteristically he does not spell out this disapproval. Though Spartans may on occasion Say it with Sticks they do not on the whole Say it with Stones; stoning is the paradigm of the undisciplined collective act. Or rather, as I have pointed out elsewhere, one unusual Spartan does, namely Amompharetos, who in Herodotus drops a huge rock at the feet of the Spartan regent Pausanias before the battle of Plataia in 479 and says 'there is my vote [pebble] against retreat'. This sort of Spartan *parrhēsia* or outspokenness can be paralleled from Thucydides; again in 418, an old soldier shouts out to King Agis that he is curing one ill with another, a proverbial expression, by his excessive eagerness to fight. This rather Herodotean-sounding anecdote is followed by an equally Herodotean comment: 'whether because of the shout or for some other reason', Agis acted on it. We would like to know more: did the old man's shout get him into trouble? Obviously not, one would think, but if not, it is worth reflecting that no such military anecdote has come down to us from supposedly open democratic Athens.⁹

Still staying with Thucydides, there is a very revealing and impressive story early in book 7. Gylippos, recently arrived in Sicily from Sparta, leads his troops straight into a disastrous attack involving loss of life because the terrain was unsuitable for the operation of the Syracusan cavalry. He promptly does what very few people do in any walk of life, then or now: he apologizes and takes all the blame himself. It is worth reflecting what a risk Gylippos took here by admitting having caused friendly deaths, given the chronic Spartan jealousy of their leading men, as commented on by Thucydides in connection with an earlier leader, Brasidas. Gylippos risked getting into trouble back home among the enemies he surely had. Thucydides I think admired the brave way Gylippos restored morale by taking responsibility and addressing the troops under him as if they were equals with a right to complain. This shows at the very least a flexible attitude to military command and we would say it shows Gylippos to be a very good general indeed. How typical he was is hard to say. Did Thucydides

⁹ Thrasylos: Th. 5. 60 with CT III, 158–9 and above, 148 f. Amompharetos: Hdt. 9. 55. 2 with Flower and Marincola (2002), 205. See below, Ch. 13, at 273–4. The old Spartan soldier: Th. 5. 65. 2–3, with CT III, 171 for other examples (Homeric and historical) of age as conferring licensed outspokenness towards kings.

single this out because it was paradigmatic and illustrative, or because it was abnormal (just as he remarks that Brasidas was not bad at speaking 'for a Spartan', where surely we are meant to understand abnormality)? But I would be surprised if Gylippos behaved in a totally different and better way just because he was abroad; on the contrary, the view more usually found in Thucydides is that Spartans abroad behaved conspicuously badly.¹⁰

The mixed character of Gylippos' troops is, however, relevant to my topic. The nature of Gylippos' relationship to the local Syracusan command structure is a difficult problem, well discussed by Kenneth Dover, who plausibly concludes that Gylippos initially had some sort of overall authority which however dwindled as the Syracusan position strengthened. But it is clear that in such an anomalous and diplomatically delicate situation, persuasion, and a civilian willingness to accept blame, were more appropriate than they would have been for a Spartan general of a purely Spartan army. Even in the Spartan-led Peloponnesian League, allies needed persuading: we recall from Herodotus the speech of Soklees the Korinthian, who in the late sixth century protests at chatty length against the Spartan plan to restore the Athenian tyranny. Allies who could think of no better reason for refusing service could always invoke a venerable Peloponnesian League clause about providing military help 'unless prevented by gods or heroes'. I shall return later to the subject of mixed armies.¹¹

Let us with all this in mind broaden things out and ask what sort of armies tend historically towards indiscipline, and the debating and questioning of orders. There is a good story of the Duke of Wellington's first cabinet meeting as prime minister in 1828, after which he is supposed to have remarked, 'I gave them their orders, but they wanted to stay behind and discuss them.' This anecdote cannot be quite true, given that he had for many years been a cabinet minister in Lord Liverpool's administration, but it indicates the relevant aspect of the

¹⁰ Gylippos takes the blame: Th. 7. 5. 3. Xen. makes an apology at *Anab.* 3. 3. 12, but then goes on to offer a partial self-justification. For Spartan jealousy of their leading men, see Th. 4. 108. 7. Brasidas' ability at speaking: Th. 4. 84. 2. Spartans abroad behave badly: Th. 1. 77. 6, said by an anonymous Korinthian speaker.

¹¹ See Th. 6. 93. 2 and 7. 2. 1 with Dover, *HCT* 4. 367 and 380–382 (but see *CT* III, 545 for a qualification). Soklees: Hdt. 5. 92. 'Prevention of gods or heroes': Th. 5. 30. 1 with *CT* III, 68–9.

civilian–military divide quite neatly. So what sort of soldiers want to debate orders and reject normal hierarchical habits?

First, there are (as I have hinted already) those armies which have disintegrated as fighting forces. In a way they are no exception to the norm because in a way they are by definition no longer armies. I am not thinking of the situation whereby, say, everyone in a trench has been killed by a shell and the senior man present assumes command. All armies must have mechanisms of this sort; the Roman system of *suffects* must have grown out of some such notion. A decapitated army which still forms a military entity needs to grow a new head or heads, and that is what happens with the Ten Thousand; Xenophon tells his colleagues that the enemy expect them to disintegrate because leaderless, and suggests how they should deal with the problem, including voting (*ψηφίζεσθαι*) to deal collectively with indiscipline, something he implies had been a problem hitherto. Near the other end of the *Anabasis* the organization of the Ten Thousand temporarily but badly breaks down; but unity is soon restored, by consensus decision (the Greek word is *δόγμα*). In any case, it is important to remember that we hear of army *ekklēsiai* or assemblies in the Greek army described by Xenophon long before Kyros and the other generals have been killed.¹²

By disintegration, I am thinking more of, say, Crete in 1941, where in the retreat to the south of the island parts of the British, Australian, and New Zealand forces became totally leaderless and undisciplined. To take another example from modern Greek history, the Greek army in its headlong retreat to Smyrna in August 1922 lost discipline pretty completely with the exception of one unit which forced its way to the sea and got away in good order, taking a group of civilians with it. This sort of irreversible breakdown does not however seem to have happened by the time of the meeting 'with many' envisaged by Nikias, because at this point in the narrative the decisive sea-battle is still some way in the future; and in any case Nikias and Demosthenes continue to lead and maintain authority over their troops right to the

¹² The first military meeting: *Anab.* 1. 3. 2, where it is called an *ἐκκλησία*; but at 5. 6. 1, when the generals summon a meeting of the army, the verb is *συνέλεξαν*, the verbal form of *σύλλογος*. For the noun, see Christiansen and Hansen (1983) = Hansen (1989); Errington (1994).

very end. On the other hand it is reasonable to guess that in Sicily the command structure crumbled gradually over time, that is, that rank-and-file views and protests became more vocal and permissible, and were taken more into account, as the expedition neared its catastrophic close. Thus Thucydides says that because of the eclipse 'most of the Athenians urged the generals to wait'. The word for urged is *ekeleuon*, from a verb which can mean 'I order' but can also (as here) mean something milder such as 'invite'. Hobbes nicely translates this passage 'the greatest part of the Athenians called upon the generals to stay'. Whatever verbal expression we choose, the impression is of gatherings and knots, something like the Roman *contio* perhaps.¹³

In parenthesis, I suggest that, as a general rule in Greek history, the feelings of the common soldiery were more vocal and were taken more seriously when religious obstructions were in question. The reason was perhaps that the troops feel they have god on their side and he outranks the top brass. Thus near the beginning of Plutarch's *Alexander* we hear of the Macedonians' doubts before the battle of the River Granikos. 'Most of them', says Plutarch (without specifying further) were afraid of the depth of the river and some thought they ought to respect the custom by which Macedonian kings did not take the field in the month Daisios. Alexander ignores the first objection but does something about the second, by the Gordian-knot solution of renaming the month as another Artemisios. The standard English translations say 'most' and then 'some' of 'the Macedonian officers'. But the Greek does not say 'officers'; the words are quite unspecific.¹⁴

Second there are what we might call irregular armies, those whose members have an anarchic tendency to want to debate things and question authority. This can produce friction when such troops have to cooperate with regular forces. There is a good example from Greece of a later period, well discussed by Mark Mazower in his excellent book *Inside Hitler's Greece*. He is describing the *andartes* (partisans, guerrillas) of occupied wartime Greece:

¹³ Xen. says the enemy thought the Greeks would all perish from indiscipline: *Anab.* 3. 2. 29. Unity restored: *Anab.* 6. 4. 11. Crete in 1941: Clark (1962), 158. Retreat from Smyrna: Llewellyn-Smith (1998), 295–6 and 299. Reactions to the Sicilian eclipse: Th. 7. 50. 4 with CT III, 642. ¹⁴ Plut. *Alex.* 16.

As members of a revolutionary army, the *andartes* had no time for the conventional forms of military hierarchy. They greeted each other proudly as 'Fellow-combatant'. Professional soldiers had trouble getting used to their ways. A British NCO who tried to stop his charges falling out of line before they had been given permission was reminded angrily by one that 'in ELAS every soldier has his rights!' They talked back to their superior officers, demanding explanations for orders, and wasting time to demonstrate their independence. What was the *andarte* fighting for if not freedom?

But as Mazower shrewdly adds on the next page, 'accusations of ill-discipline need to be examined carefully, especially as the *andartes* have to be judged by the standards of an irregular force rather than that of a professional army, as American and British officers tended to do'.¹⁵

Third, there are revolutionary or extreme left-wing armies, at least in the early phases of a revolutionary movement. The *andartes* Mazower is thinking of fall into this category too, because he is talking about the workings of ELAS, the military branch of EAM, the resistance arm of KKE, the Greek communist party. Or there is the French revolutionary army in its first *levée en masse* phase. Simon Schama describes an initial proposal to have officers elected for short periods from the rank and file and then for commissions to rotate; soldiers wore liberty caps in military council meetings, and when they wrote to superior officers they began '*salut et fraternité* from your equal in rights'. But Schama also shows that this did not last long; St-Just had a few delinquents shot publicly in the old-fashioned way and normal hierarchy and discipline was restored.¹⁶

Might we want to say that the armies of radical democratic Athens also belong to this authority-questioning type? Specific evidence for Athenian attitudes and practice is curiously hard to come by; the most concrete passage I know actually points the other way. The Athenian fleet at Samos are complaining that the government back home are not even providing 'good counsel, for the sake of which a city rules over armies'. This implies a very modern conceptual divorce between the state and the armies which act in its name, and carries the equally modern implication that in normal times the army was subordinate

¹⁵ Mazower (1995), 315–16.

¹⁶ Schama (1989), 764.

to the state. True, the passage is rhetorically slanted and comes from a most exceptional period, the year 411 when the democracy was briefly replaced by the oligarchy of the so-called Four Hundred. But it remains the most explicit counter to the usual and often correct view, what we might call the 'men are the city' view found from Alkaios to Thucydides' Nikias, which conceived of a Greek *polis* as the totality of male hoplites, a principle that certainly facilitated the procedures we encounter in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. The Thucydides book 8 passage I have cited makes it at first sight odd that Nussbaum (see above n. 4) cites Samos in 411 as a *parallel* to the situation of the Ten Thousand. What he presumably means is that the fleet at Samos does in fact operate in general as a kind of city in exile; indeed for several years after 411 there was a de facto separation between the city of Athens and one set of its commanders overseas, the generals at the Hellespont. But I am not sure how far we can push 411. It was perhaps a bit like the revolutionary situation in Turkey after the First World War, when legitimacy gradually seeped away from the moribund Ottoman regime to Atatürk and his army. The fleet at Samos began as a dissident group from the controlling regime but in the end symbolized and imposed a return to legitimacy. A better example is Thucydides' remark that in 415, at the time of the profanation of the Eleusinian Mysteries, Alkibiades' enemies feared that 'the army' (*strateuma*) might be favourable to him and that 'the people' (*ho dēmos*) might be lenient. This, as Dover remarks, is a 'striking exception' to the normal position in a Greek state, whose nature 'normally precluded a difference of allegiance between "civilians" and "the army"'.¹⁷

What was the more normal situation in Athens? One way into the problem is via military discipline. Pritchett's collection of the evidence makes it clear that most of the evidence was Spartan; there is very

¹⁷ The fleet at Samos: Th. 8. 76. 6, with CT III, 979–980 (defending the tr. and interpretation given in my text above). For the idea that 'men are the city', see most memorably Th. 7. 77. 7 (but for poetic precursors see CT III, 720). Behind both texts lie perhaps the stirring words of Ajax at Homer, *Iliad* 15. 734–8 (with CT III, 719). For the generals at the Hellespont between 410 and 407, see Andrewes (1953). For 415 and Alkibiades, see Th. 6. 29. 3 with Dover, *HCT* 4. 290, and CT III, 380. In fact, both 'army' and 'people' are suspected of being pro-Alkibiades, but it remains curious that Th. should distinguish the two. Note also the distinctions made between the various interest groups at Th. 6. 24. 3.

little from Athens. True, there was an offence of 'leaving the ranks', *λιποτάξιον*, which we find in the orators. There was also an offence of *ἀστρατεία*, not appearing for military service when called on to do so. But though there was a word *ἀταξία*, indiscipline, it did not as far as I can find constitute grounds for an indictment. There must however have been procedures for dealing with military insubordination and indiscipline in the armies of classical Athens; my point is that the precise mechanisms are elusive and do not seem to have included corporal punishment. The Aristotelian treatise known as the *Constitution of the Athenians* says that generals have full power to arrest for insubordination or to cashier or inflict a fine, but that is all. Famously, the Athenians used Skythians (barbarians from the north) for police purposes, part of the democratic ideology. As Virginia Hunter puts it, 'the whip was considered too demeaning a punishment to be used against the free'. Her book does not specifically consider military policing at Athens except for a couple of pages on patrolling duties by young trainee soldiers, the so-called *ephebes*. Pritchett concludes his general section on Greek military discipline with a section on the *Anabasis* and remarks 'we gain the impression that discipline was very lax even in a mercenary army'. When the Athenian Xenophon in the *Anabasis* punishes individuals physically, he might have justified himself by reference to an earlier collective agreement by the troops concerned. Actually his rhetoric is splendidly anti-political: 'you had swords in your hands, not voting pebbles, and you could have come to their help if you had wanted.' What he really did, I suggest, was behave more like a Spartan than an Athenian: it is noticeable, as I have said already, that most of Pritchett's material about Greek military discipline is Spartan. (One episode has been cited to show that Athenian generals could inflict the death penalty. We learn from the orator Lysias that Lamachos, one of the Athenian generals on the Sicilian expedition, put to death a soldier who had been caught signalling to the enemy; but Pritchett thinks, presumably from the silence of the *Athenian Constitution*, that by the fourth century, generals had lost this power.) To sum up, democratic Athens does seem for ideological reasons to have been laxer about military discipline than some other states, conspicuously Sparta: Pritchett quotes with approval Gilbert's comment about Athens, 'the punishments for insubordination were light'. This is true even after allowing for on the one hand a rhetorical

tendency to exaggerate the contrast between Athens and Sparta, and on the other hand for the phenomenon I have already noticed, namely Spartan *parrhēsia* as anecdotally exemplified by Amompharetus and by the angry old Spartan man who shouts at King Agis sixty years later.¹⁸ But the Athenian situation is anyway only partially relevant because neither the expeditionary force in Sicily nor the Ten Thousand were purely Athenian. They were mixed armies and this brings me to my next head.

The fourth sort of army which is hard to control because it is argumentative is the ethnically mixed army, a topic I have already considered in connection with Gylippos. The higher up the command structure the mix goes, the harder the control. Thus in the last phase of the Second World War the friction between Eisenhower and Montgomery was notorious, and more recent post-Cold War coalitions have shown similar strains. This sort of army is very relevant to the two cases we have been considering, the Ten Thousand and the army before Syracuse. Nussbaum talks of the 'Athenian armament before Syracuse' but this is inaccurate. Just how the integration was achieved in Sicily at the level of detail is an interesting but insoluble problem. For instance, Dover addresses but cannot answer the question, how the ten-tribe Athenian system was adapted in military contexts to accommodate allies whose communities were still organized on the old four-tribe Ionian model, or were even three-tribe Dorian communities.¹⁹

I mentioned above stresses and insubordination in coalition armies. That was one reason for the tensions I discussed in my 'sticks and stones' paper, though it was not an aspect I was particularly concerned with there. The Spartan Astyochos threatens some Thourian and Syracusan sailors with his *baktēria* or staff, and they get very angry and try to rush him so that he flees to an altar. Thucydides stresses that they were angry because they were free men. Evidently they did not recognize Spartan authority. It was no good trying to impose

¹⁸ λιποτάξιον: see e.g. Dem. 21. 103, with MacDowell (1991). For Pritchett, see above, n. 9. Powers of generals: *Ath. Pol.* 61. 2, and Chris Carey reminds me of the sanctions at Lys. 3. 45 (on which, see Carey (1989), 112). Skythians: Hunter (1994), 181. Xenophon on physical discipline: *Anab.* 5. 8. 21. Lamachos: Lys. 13. 65.

¹⁹ On the tribal problem, see Dover, *HCT* 4. 372 and *CT* III, 528, both on Th. 6. 98. 4.

authority by violence like Astyochos; you needed the tact of a Gylippos or the charisma of an Alexander, or if you did use force you needed to know how to justify it afterwards like a Xenophon.²⁰

The fifth factor making (in antiquity at least) for unusual and self-directing if not actually undisciplined armies is that of great distance from home. To be sure, the temporary breakdown in the organization of the Ten Thousand takes place at by no means the furthest point from home, but the troops are still very far from their own Greek *poleis*. It is relevant to this distance-point that the only successful mutiny against Alexander took place at the point furthest from the Graeco-Macedonian homeland, on the River Beas. Distance and consequent problems of communication are easily forgotten by us. Their consequences for the development of Roman imperialism have been explored by J. S. Richardson in his 1986 book *Hispaniae*, where he makes fruitful use of D. K. Fieldhouse's concept of 'peripheral imperialism' in the nineteenth century. That is, untrammelled and far-reaching decisions made by the military leaders on the spot. This is self-directed military action not in the sense that the troops have rejected the authority of their commanders or think they can do without it (sense A), but in the sense that there is no control from the home government over an army whose internal command structure may well be perfectly intact (sense B). Sometimes absence of policy can be explained in this way. The British prime minister Lord Salisbury a century ago always took the sensible view that it was no use even discussing what happened in Afghanistan because it was simply too far away and inaccessible for routine intervention. In classical Greek history there is at first sight an instructive Spartan example of something like peripheral imperialism, the initiatives taken by Brasidas in north Greece. But I have argued elsewhere that for essentially literary reasons Thucydides has masked the degree to which the Spartan decision-making elite back home approved and directed his activities (*CT* II, 38–61). In any case Brasidas maintained tight discipline even in the remotest section of his retreat, proving that distance from home control need not erode local authority. Or, as I put it just now, self-directing in sense B does not necessarily imply undisciplined, though it may do.

²⁰ For Astyochos see Th. 8. 84. 1, with Ch. 13 below.

Now Sicily was not Greece, but it was not quite Afghanistan either. Unlike the Ten Thousand, who were answerable to no single governing group back in Greece, and unlike Alexander's army, whose ultimate source of authority is the king himself, who leads the campaign in person, the army in Sicily never quite forgets the authority of the assembly in the Pnyx, which however it is not realistic to consult. On the one hand the generals debate whether to withdraw, on the other hand both Nikias and Demosthenes refer to the political risks of withdrawing without a vote of the Athenians in Athens. Nor is the distinction between Athenians at Athens and Athenians in Sicily a sharp one. Nikias makes that point for me neatly. He says, in a sentence I have already mentioned, 'of the soldiers now present in Sicily, many, indeed the majority, who were now saying loudly what a desperate plight they were in, would on their return say equally loudly that their generals had been bribed to withdraw'. At this point, we may think, the two senses of 'self-directed' began to run together: the absence of clear guidelines, as we would now say, from home is tending to erode the authority of the commanders on the spot, and the situation is further complicated by the dual status of the troops themselves. That is, they are subordinates for the moment but may end up sitting in judgement on their commanding officers. This, it should be emphasized, is not a peculiarly Athenian and democratic paradox because the Spartan Agis was in a similar situation in 418 BC (5. 65. 2–3).²¹

Sixth and finally, there is the obvious point that mercenary soldiers are likely to be more outspoken than citizen hoplites. This needs to be qualified a little; the citizen–mercenary distinction is not always clear-cut in classical Greek warfare, and the fluid vocabulary reflects this. In any case, military service involved pay for all concerned. And mixed or coalition armies sometimes behave very like mercenary ones. Early in the *Anabasis* the troops initially refuse to go further when they realize the real object of the expedition is the Persian king, but this can be paralleled in Herodotus by the Korinthian refusal over a century earlier to take further part in an attack on Athens when they realized what the object of that expedition was. We may also recall

²¹ Spain: J. S. Richardson (1986), 177. Demosthenes: Th. 7. 49. 2, it is impossible to withdraw the army from Sicily 'without a vote of the Athenians'. Nikias: 7. 48. 4.

that the expedition of Kyros did at least initially have Spartan backing; and that thereafter the Spartan attitude to the Ten Thousand is curiously ambiguous. It is not quite safe to treat them as a mercenary force in the sense of a body with no state ties whatsoever. When the question of the supreme command comes up at a late stage of the expedition, Xenophon hints plainly that the Spartans will have an interest in the outcome and will be less than pleased if a non-Spartan is appointed.²²

To conclude a long discussion, the expeditionary army in 413, at the stage reached when Nikias is said not to want a general meeting, does seem to show signs of being self-directing in sense A. That is, it shows a tendency to take or at least influence decisions at a level which in 415, when the expedition set out, would I suspect have been above it. To that extent it behaves like a *polis*. The reasons are a combination of some of my six factors. The army is not mercenary, though pay was as always an incentive: Thucydides remarks on the ordinary soldier's hopes of eternal pay, in his paragraph about the motives of the various Athenian social groups on the confident morning of the Sicilian expedition. It has not yet disintegrated by the middle of book 7, but the imminence of danger and possible defeat may have made a difference. The army is not an irregular army, so that factor is irrelevant. Nor is it wholly Athenian, but it does manifest some of the Athenian laxity of discipline, which makes it a sort of distant relative of the anti-hierarchical revolutionary armies of other periods of history. (We should not forget that it was on the Sicilian expedition that Lamachos ordered the death penalty for a traitor, an item which has come down to us from an orator, not Thucydides. But Lamachos was dead by the end of book 6.) The army was mixed, and this may have encouraged the sort of freedom of expression I have noted in such armies; though Thucydides makes Nikias dwell on purely Athenian sentiments. Thus, though in his final pre-battle speech he will be including metics and other foreigners in his exhortation, he is, in the earlier chapter of Thucydides I am concerned with (7. 48. 4), worried only about what *most of the Athenians* are thinking and about political

²² The Persian king the real target: *Anab.* 1. 3. 1. Korinthian refusal: Hdt. 5. 74. 1 and 75. 1; cf. also 92. 1a and 93. 2. Xen. on the idea of a non-Spartan commander for the Ten Thousand: *Anab.* 6. 1. 26–8.

reprisals from them when they are once again voters on the Pnyx back in Athens.

Finally the army is far from home and home control and this may have made a difference. In this connection we can add that the theme of the Sicilian expedition as an intended and super-ambitious act of colonization is very marked in Thucydides' account of 415–413. Now Nikias says very early on, and indeed when he is still at Athens, 'you must think of yourselves as going there to found a city in alien and hostile territory'. That is, he is already making the city–army equation and this helps prepare us for the idea of the army as a participatory body in book 7. In the same way it is natural that the army of the Ten Thousand also turn to thoughts of founding a colony by the time we get to book 6 of the *Anabasis*. Well and good, but one could turn that point upside down and say that most Greek colonies were military enterprises, and that the role of the oikist was rather more powerful and untrammelled than that of a political leader of a peaceful metropolis. We have seen already that Andrew Dalby rightly insisted on the differences between settled city and colonies and thus on the differences between the Ten Thousand and a regular *polis*. One of his points was that oikists have single rule, just as authority over the Ten Thousand 'for the time being rested with Xenophon and those whom he chose to consult'. For several weeks the ordinary soldiers are not consulted formally, as opposed to being told that it was all right to talk to Xenophon when he was eating or even to wake him up in his sleeping-bag, which is not quite the same thing as a democratic mechanism of decision.²³

The transition from Athenian *polis*-mindedness and criticism of superiors, to Macedonian individual military *parrhēsia* is nicely effected for us by Euripides, an Athenian poet, but one who left his bones in Macedon, as Thucydides put it in his epigram for him, and whose tragedies were evidently familiar to Macedonian officers of Alexander's time. The particular passage I have in mind is that from

²³ 'Eternal pay', ἀίδιος μισθοφορά: Th. 6. 24. 3. Nikias addresses metics: Th. 7. 63. 3 (with CT III, 677–8, defending this interpretation of the Greek). For the colonization theme, see Avery (1973), esp. 8–13. Key texts on this are Nikias at Th. 6. 23. 2 and 7. 77. 4; Hermokrates' alleged reflections at 7. 73. 1; and the authorial Th. at 7. 75. 1. Everyone knew it was all right to wake Xen.: *Anab.* 4. 3. 10. See Dalby (1992), 22.

the *Andromache*. It was quoted, as Plutarch tells us, by a furious Kleitos, moments before his violent death at Alexander's hands. Kleitos' criticism of Alexander took the form of a one-line quotation from Peleus' speech against Menelaos, 'Alas what a bad custom is in Greece', inoffensive enough on its own but everyone present knew how it went on: 'when an army sets up a trophy, it isn't the hard-working troops who get the credit, it is the general, though he was only one spear among many.' So the line was enough to 'push Alexander to murder' (in the title of André Aymard's brilliant discussion of the Euripidean verse). Interestingly, the sentiments and language of the Euripidean Peleus are exactly echoed in Xenophon's *Anabasis* when the dissident Arcadian elements in the army grumble about the recent choice of a Spartan commander. Euripides may be in Xenophon's mind here. So the *Andromache* neatly connects three armies discussed in my paper: those of democratic Athens, the Ten Thousand of Xenophon, and the Macedonian army of Alexander.²⁴

I must deal briefly with Alexander's army as a collective; it too occasionally behaved like a voting community. It was not an irregular, a revolutionary, or a disintegrating army, but it was an ethnically mixed one. Before the battle of Issos in 333, Alexander makes some concession to this by including the 'leaders of the allies' alongside the generals and ilarchs in what has been called a council, although it is not much more than a one-sided speech of exhortation. His army did also, for much of the time, operate a long way from its domestic base, although as I have observed already, when Alexander was alive it took its ultimate source of authority with it, in the person of the king and his close advisers. But just how much the Macedonian army assembly could and could not do is an endlessly and not always very intelligently debated constitutional question. I have mentioned the Beas mutiny already, but mutinies are by definition a suspension of normality. Otherwise we hear of the army's role at moments of crisis like trials of prominent alleged traitors or conspirators such as Philotas in Alexander's lifetime, and after his death the army reject his so-called Last Plans. One curious incident takes place in remote Sogdiana: the

²⁴ On Eur. *Andr.* lines 639–700 and Plut. *Alex.* 51, see Aymard (1967). For the possible Xenophonic echo, see *Anab.* 6. 2. 10.

Macedonians come across descendants of the Branchidai of Greek Miletos, deported in the Persian Wars a century and a half earlier. They are now bilingual though they have not forgotten their ancestral customs completely. Alexander leaves their fate to be settled by the Milesians in his army, but when their opinions varied he told them that he would himself decide. Their destruction was ruthless and total.²⁵

We need to distinguish between Alexander and his Successors. The closest similarities with the Ten Thousand actually arise in the narrative of Hieronymos of Kardia, that is, in the eastern sections of Diodorus books 18–20. Diodorus uses the very Xenophontic image, ‘like a democratically run city’, about the army of Hieronymos’ uncle Eumenes, and Plutarch’s near-identical expression guarantees Hieronymos’ origin. Perhaps Eumenes’ Greekness is relevant to his affable and democratic attitudes. So too there is a definite flavour of the *Anabasis* about the lifelike camp vignette which Hieronymos records under the year 317, where Eumenes tells the Macedonian *πλήθος* (massed crowd) the Aesop fable about the lion who pulled out his own claws and teeth to ingratiate himself with the father of the girl he had fallen in love with, only to be clubbed to death by the man. When Eumenes had finished, the crowd shouted ‘right!’ and he then dismissed the assembly; the word is *ekklēsia*. Notoriously, this was an unusual period of military history when armies are found bargaining with the lives and persons of their commanders, such as Eumenes himself. We could hardly ask for a more spectacular inversion of the usual pyramid of command than this, and there is a distant but definite parallel with Nikias’ fear that he will one day find himself politically at the mercy of his own troops. More generally, the writings of Xenophon were influential in the early successor period at the level of both historiography and of military practice; we ought therefore not to consider the similarities between the Ten Thousand and the early Successor period as a purely historical question but as a historiographical one. Xenophon’s *Anabasis* may have influenced Hieronymos’ literary presentation and also the actual conduct of some of the

²⁵ ‘Council’ before Issos: Arr. *Anab.* 2. 7. 3. Trial of Philotas: Curt. 6. 11. Last Plans: Diod. 18. 6. Branchidai (a story doubted by some modern scholars): Curt. 7. 5. 28–35.

real-life generals he was writing about. After all, Arrian reports that Alexander himself, in his speech of encouragement before the battle of Issos, is said, *λέγεται* to have recalled in some detail the exploits of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand. Of this Brunt remarks, ‘not necessarily false. Al[exander] is likely to have read Xenophon.’ Xenophon could have known not only of the real-life Sicilian expedition of 415–413 but of Thucydides’ handling of it. This is not quite impossible on the composition dates, but the fate of that expedition was not such as to encourage imitation.²⁶

We have spent a long time away from Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, to which we can now return. I conclude that, so far from being unusual or unique, the Ten Thousand resemble in some ways the mixed expeditionary force of 415–413 and perhaps other mixed or Athenian armies too. There are obvious enough differences from 413: the Athenian assembly retains a control which is not forgotten by the generals on the spot in Sicily even when it can no longer be consulted. And those generals are appointees of the assembly back home, not elected by the troops. But I have tried to suggest that Thucydides’ reference to ‘voting with many’ is up to a point comparable to the Ten Thousand, and may indicate similar behaviour in the army whose conduct is best known to us in detail after the Ten Thousand, namely the expeditionary force of 415–413 in Sicily. I argued finally that there are also interesting parallels not just with 413 but with the armies of the early

²⁶ ‘Like a democratically run city’, *ὡς ἂν τινος δημοκρατουμένης πόλεως*: Diod. 19. 15. 4 with J. Hornblower (1981), 188 and n. 22 (Hieronymos’ characterization of Eumenes’ successful proposal for daily council meetings to be attended by ‘all the satraps and generals who had been chosen by the mass of the army’). Cf. Plut. *Eum.* 13. 5 and 15. 3. Eumenes was a Greek, but the Macedonians among the Successors also knew that it could be politic to consult their troops; see Diod. 18. 33: Ptolemy was popular because he permitted *parrhēsia* to his commanders, unlike Perdikkas. Cf. also Diod. 19. 61 for an important ‘common assembly’, *κοινὴ ἐκκλησία*, of the soldiers, called by Antigonos (note the language used: *δόγμα, ἐψηφίσαντο, ἐψηφίσαντο*). For Hieronymos and Xen., see J. Hornblower (1981), ch. 5 generally. The Aesop fable of the lion: Diod. 19. 25, with J. Hornblower (1981), 19. Eumenes’ troops trade him for their ‘baggage’ i.e. booty: Diod. 19. 43. 8, with Holleaux (1968), 3. 15–26. Alexander before Issos: Arr. *Anab.* 2. 7. 8, with Brunt (1976–83), 1. 147 n. 4. I am grateful to Robert Parker for pointing out to me the relevance of another category of Hellenistic evidence, epigraphically attested honorary decrees by a segment of armed forces for their commanders. For Rhamnous in Attika, where the groups doing the honouring are a wonderfully varied mix of soldiers and non-soldiers, see Osborne (1990), 277–93.

Successor period, though here we must reckon with knowledge of the Ten Thousand and of Xenophon's *Anabasis* on somebody's part. To the objection that Nikias' army was itself unusual in being mixed I would say No, many of the classical armies we hear of were also mixed or coalition armies; one need think only of the general Demosthenes' army in north-west Greece which included some Doric-speaking Messenians, the battle of Delion, both battles of Mantinea, the battles of the Korinthian War, that of Leuktra, and the Greek force at Chaironeia, although I am not forgetting that all of these armies stayed together for far shorter periods than did the army in Sicily. Coalition commanders did not of course expect to consult the rank and file of their allies, only their commanders. But stories like that of Astyochos and his *βακτηρία*, used against ordinary Syracusan and Thourian troops (above, 240–1, and below, Ch. 13), show that normal discipline was harder to exercise against nationals of other states. I have conceded that it is significant that we hear about soldiers voting in Thucydides book 7 but not in book 6. I do however wonder if dialogue between commanders and ordinary troops, and *parrhēsia* by the latter, may have been commoner than we tend to think. Perikles in 431 'summoned no assembly or *sylogos*', where the reference in *sylogos* is to a military meeting. And *that* suggestion, namely that rank-and-file *parrhēsia* and participation in Greek and even Macedonian military discussions was greater than is normally assumed, not just in Athens but especially there, is the main thesis of this paper. The question then arises, how with such informal and even anarchic attitudes did Greek armies fight, let alone win battles, even against each other? The answer would require another paper altogether. It would have to do with civically generated cohesiveness and determination not to let one's fellow fighters down, as attested by the Athenian ephebic oath and other evidence, not just Athenian but Spartan too, and Greek generally. The laxer discipline of Greek, especially Athenian and Ionian, armies and navies compared to the Persian lash or head-through-the-porthole punishments found in Herodotus, or to Roman harshness as described in Polybius book 6, needs in fact a political explanation, and it will not quite do to shunt off the Ten Thousand into the 'unusual if not unique' category. I hope I shall not be taken to be arguing something more than I am in fact doing. I am not saying that what the Ten Thousand were doing was standard

military practice. I contend that it is interesting because extreme, but that it was an extreme version of something which has left traces in the behaviour of earlier and later armies as well. That is perhaps why the Ten Thousand adapted so easily to behaving like a sort of *polis*.²⁷

²⁷ In connection with Delion, note that Pagondas needs to *persuade* the Boiotians, a federal and so in a way a mixed army, to fight (Th. 4. 91 and 93. 1; cf. above, Ch. 5, 126). Perikles in 431: Th. 2. 22. 1 with the modern works cited at n. 12 above. Ephebic oath: Tod (1948), no. 204 = R/O no. 88. Persian harshness: Hdt. 5. 33. 2, the degrading punishment of Skylax of Myndos. The Romans: Pol. 6. 37. See on all this Hornblower (2007b), 36.

13

Sticks, Stones, and Spartans: The Sociology of Spartan Violence

[At *CT* III, 992, n. on Th. 8. 84. 2, the passage which is the starting-point of my study, I summarized the argument of this chapter. On the following page (993, fig. 6), I illustrated a sixth-century limestone relief sculpture from the Sparta museum (Fitzhardinge (1980), 75 and fig. 84), which I failed to take account of in 2000, but which has been thought to depict a Spartan *baktēria* or staff the kind mentioned by Th.: for this suggestion, see Sekunda (1998), 23–4. In the long fig. 6 caption (which gives other modern refs.), I discuss this possibility sceptically, and because I am not convinced of the object's relevance to Th. 8. 84, the illustration is not repeated here.

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I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Sticks and stones. My object in this chapter is to elucidate a passage in book 8 of Thucydides, but at the same time I hope to make a contribution to the sociology of Spartan violence,¹ and to try to explain what it was that made Spartan treatment of their fellow-Greeks so

¹ Sociology has been defined as the scientific study of social variables. The variable with which I am concerned is violence, and I shall be seeking to identify and explain the specific features of the Spartan variety of violence.

unpopular as to help lose them the so-called Archidamian War of 431–421 bc. In particular I shall be arguing that Spartans had an unacceptable tendency to treat other, free, Greeks as if they were helots.

But first the Thucydides passage. In 411 bc the Spartan commander Astyochos is confronted by some Syracusan and Thourian sailors, free men, as Thucydides insists, who are angrily demanding their arrears of pay; their spokesman is the Thourian Dorieus. Astyochos threatens them all and raises his stick against Dorieus; the word for 'stick' is *baktēria*, which is found here only in all Thucydides.² Astyochos' threat evidently enrages the sailors all the more and he is met with an attempted stoning. Or so Jowett, and Warner in the Penguin, translate *βάλλειν*. But in fact the word is a bit vaguer: the sailors rushed on him so as to *throw* things at him, precise missiles unspecified; and in view of an attempted earlier stoning of the Argive commander Thrasylos by his own troops (Th. 5. 60. 6), where the historian uses the precise verb for to 'stone', namely *λεύειν*, we might want, giving Thucydides credit for taking care over his vocabulary, to keep the book 8 verb vague.³ Anyway, Astyochos, like Thrasylos, takes refuge at an altar.⁴ No doubt all this can be explained simply as *originating* from the grievance about pay, but surely the graphically described and escalating violence is

² The modern word 'bacteria' for a micro-organism derives from the rod-like shape of some (but only some) of them; confusingly, 'bacillus' (the Latin equivalent of *βακτηρία*) is reserved for rod-like bacteria, which are not the only types; other types are spherical (cocci) or curved (spirilla and other names); see Kadner (1992), 571 col. 1. I considered calling this chapter 'Thucydides and Bacteria', but that would sound like yet another attempt to identify the Great Plague of 430 bc...

³ Hobbes has 'strike'; the Budé has 'frapper'; M. Hammond (2009) has 'to strike Astyochus down'.

⁴ Th. 8. 84. 2–3: *ὄντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀναλογισμῷ ξυνηνέχθη καὶ τοιούδε τις θόρυβος περὶ τὸν Ἀστυόχον. τῶν γὰρ Συρακοσίων καὶ Θουρίων ὅσων μάλιστα καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἦσαν τὸ πλῆθος οἱ ναῦται, τοσοῦτω καὶ θρασύτατα προσπεσόντες τὸν μισθὸν ἀπῆλθον. ὁ δὲ αὐθαδέστερόν τε τι ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ ἠπεύλησε καὶ τῷ γε Δωριεὶ ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ναύταις καὶ ἐπανήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἶδον, οἷα δὴ ναῦται, ὥρμησαν ἐκραγέοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀστυόχον ὥστε βάλλειν· ὁ δὲ προιδὼν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ βωμόν τινα. οὐ μέντοι ἐβλήθη γε, ἀλλὰ διελύθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.* ('While these thoughts were passing through their minds, the behaviour of Astyochos caused a disturbance. The Syracusan and Thourian sailors were for the most part free men, and therefore bolder than the rest in crowding round him with demands for pay. Astyochos answered them roughly and threatened them; he even raised his stick against Dorieus [of Thourioi] who was pleading the cause of his own

exceptional: that is why Thucydides reports it. It is the escalation I am interested in.

'Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never harm me', says the playground rhyme, making the point that physical violence counts for more than words. Contrast, with the implication of this modern rhyme, a nice ancient story, told by Plutarch, whose proximate source is conceivably Ephoros but whose ultimate source is goodness knows who.⁵ Plutarch is describing a brush between Themistokles and the Spartan commander Eurybiades in 480 BC during the Persian Wars; Eurybiades raised his staff—the word is again *baktēria*—against Themistokles as if to strike him. 'Strike me, but hear me', Themistokles is famously supposed to have replied: *πάταξον μὲν, ἄκουσον δέ*. What Themistokles is saying is: my words matter more than your physical violence. In Plutarch, Eurybiades' threat may be intended half-humorously, because it follows an exchange prompted by Eurybiades' proposal to withdraw the Greek fleet to the Isthmus of Corinth. Themistokles objects to the Spartan proposal, and Eurybiades says 'at the games, Themistokles, those who start too soon get a beating' (a reference to the canes carried by judges at athletic contests),⁶ to which Themistokles replies, 'Yes, but those who are left behind do not win the crown of victory.' That is, Eurybiades' threatened action with his *baktēria* continues the athletic metaphor. But there is no doubt (always assuming that the story is not just apocryphal) that he

sailors. When the men saw this, they lost all control of themselves, as sailors tend to do, and rushed at him, intending to stone him; but he saw what was coming and ran to an altar. He took refuge there and escaped unhurt, and they dispersed.') Astyochos was lucky to get away with his life: Diodorus (14. 7. 6–7) describes a comparable incident at Syracuse at the end of the fifth century: a man called Dorikos, a military appointee of Dionysios, threatens to strike an outspoken individual and is killed by the man's angry fellow-soldiers. Cf. Diod. 19. 71. 5: attempted stoning of Akrotatos in 314 BC.

⁵ Plut. *Them.* 11.3, with Frost (1980), 128–9, citing other references to the same incident (see n. 6, below) and also the nice comparable 'cynic' story of Diogenes being repulsed by Antisthenes (Diog. Laert. 6. 21).

⁶ For such canings by 'rod-bearers' at the games, see below, n. 41. This opening part of the exchange between Themistokles and Eurybiades has obviously been lifted from Hdt. 8. 59, the famous argument between Themistokles and Adeimantos the Korinthian; in Plutarch's *Themistokles* (followed by Plutarch himself elsewhere, *Mor.* 185b), Adeimantos' role as 'feed' has been transferred to Eurybiades. But the ensuing part of the Plutarchan exchange, involving the threat with the *baktēria*, is not in Herodotus and, whatever its historicity, it is, I suggest, significant that Plutarch's source told it about a Spartan, not a Korinthian.

is carrying the *baktēria* anyway, and that this stick is no mere metaphor. Why is he carrying it?

Answer: because he is a Spartan officer (or at any rate a Spartiate, see n. 8), and the *baktēria* seems to be a distinctive part of a Spartan officer's uniform, used to threaten actions of characteristically Spartan violence. The prime text is again found in a Plutarch *Life*, that of Nikias (19. 4), here probably drawing on the contemporary Philistos: after the arrival in Sicily of the Spartan Gylippos, who invites the Athenians to leave the island, some Athenians soldiers jeeringly ask his herald if the presence of 'a single Spartan rough cloak and staff' (*ἐνὸς τρίβωνος καὶ βακτηρίας Λακωνικῆς*) has suddenly strengthened the Spartan position by so very much.⁷ Plutarch goes on to say (19. 6) that the Syracusans flocked round Gylippos because they recognized in his cloak and staff the symbols of the majesty or honour of Sparta (*τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης*, which I take to be a hendiadys). In the earlier passage (the jeering Athenian question) Gylippos is being referred to metonymically by the two badges of his status or office. At any rate Andrewes, in his valuable note on the Thucydides, book 8, passage about Astyochos, cited 19. 4 as evidence that the *baktēria* or staff was specifically Spartan and adds the suggestion that it may have been 'part of the insignia of office in the Spartan armed forces'.⁸ But though the cloak finds its way into modern discussions of

⁷ The latest commentary on Plutarch's *Nikias* (Piccirilli's, in Bertinelli et al. (1993)) is more interested in the cloak than in the staff. The source: Philistos and Timaios are both cited in this chapter of Plutarch, but the choice is perhaps an unreal one because Timaios himself used Philistos, i.e. both authorities may have had the story, Philistos being the ulterior source.

⁸ See *HCT* 5. 279, of *CT* III, 992. Hans van Wees suggests to me that the *τρίβων* and *βακτηρία* might indicate (not officer but) Spartiate status. In favour of this, he observes that the *tribōn*, at any rate, was not confined to officers but was 'part of the austere dress-code supposed to apply to all Spartans'. This interpretation is possible, since Gylippos does seem to have been the only Spartiate in the force sent to Sicily (7. 58; cf. 6. 91. 4), but Andrewes' suggestion about the staff as insignia of office remains attractive, and is (I think) the more natural way of taking the Plutarch passages, especially since (see text below) the arrogant and violent use of the staff is in the historical period always associated by our literary sources with Spartan officers. But in the end it does not make a great deal of difference whether we think that Gylippos was being regarded as a Spartiate or as an officer, because of the overlap between those two statuses; for this overlap, see e.g. Lazenby (1985), 14. Van Wees makes the further valuable point that sticks are (in the post-Homeric period at any rate) part of a 'leisure class' symbolism (see van Wees (1998), 358 f.). This certainly fits with his suggestion

Spartan officer's equipment,⁹ the staff as far as I can see does not.¹⁰ Nor, despite inquiries from Sir John Boardman and the custodians of the Beazley archive, have I been able to find an illustration of a staff-carrying Spartan warrior on a painted pot, though it has been thought to be depicted on a limestone relief sculpture in the Sparta Museum.¹¹

The Astyochoi episode is not the only example of threatening use by a Spartan officer of his *baktēria*. There is also a passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* in which the Spartan officer Klearchos uses his *baktēria* to strike slackers.¹² And in the same author's *Hellenica*, Mnasippos, again a Spartan officer, uses his *baktēria*, and also the point of his spear, to strike some insubordinate officers.¹³ The other main Xenophontic reference to *baktēria* is a curious one. It is in the *Anabasis* again: after the Greeks catch sight of the sea and shout 'θάλαττα, θάλαττα', they make a pile of stones, oxhides, staves, *baktēriai*, and some captured wicker shields (4. 7. 26). We are not told what they do to this pile (e.g. do they make a bonfire of it?) or whether the purpose is in some way religious, but the moment is one of release

that the staff might have indicated a Spartiate or full Spartan citizen; but equally, it reinforces my suggestion (below) that the staff was an insultingly arrogant, because only quasi-military, accoutrement.

⁹ See Cartledge (1977), 15 and n. 38; Lazenby (1985), 32 and 179 n. 54.

¹⁰ The enormous and fascinating Pauly-Wissowa article 'Stab' by F. J. de Waele (1929) altogether ignores the military or pseudo-military passages from Thucydides and Xenophon which are my main concern, even in his short section at cols. 1901–4 on the staff as 'Abzeichen oder Amtstitel', i.e. badge of office of judges, etc. (The author is evidently most interested in the magical staves or wands) to which he moves on at col. 1904. Much the same is true of the Daremberg-Saglio entry 'baculum' (Saglio (1877–1919) though this has some nice illustrations of kinds of staff, e.g. those carried by beggars. ¹¹ On Sekunda (1998), see above, Introduction.

¹² Xen. *Anab.* 2. 3. 11, cited by Andrewes in *HCT*; cf. Pritchett, *GSW* 2. 244, who says of the world of Xenophon's *Anabasis* that 'the hegemon [leader] carried a cane' and cites this passage in support. Pritchett does not quite say that what he calls the 'cane' was carried *only* by Spartan officers (there are some non-Spartan ones in the *Anabasis*) but at 243 he does rightly insist that Spartan attention to military discipline was exceptional. (Hans van Wees points out that Klearchos actually has *both* a staff in his right hand *and* a spear in his left, and in disciplining soldiers chooses whichever of the two he thought appropriate. I agree with van Wees that this may well imply a 'hierarchy of violence': some people are more suitably hit with a spear, others with a staff; cf. below, 269, for Odysseus in the *Iliad*.)

¹³ Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.19. See Pritchett, *GSW* 2. 242.

from strain and by depositing their staves the Greek soldiers seem to be saying goodbye to something, perhaps an arduous phase of the trek, a phase characterized by strict discipline. In any case, the other Xenophontic passages, and Thucydides on Astyochoi, make clear the link between the *baktēria* and the violent self-assertion, or assertion of authority, by Spartan—and it seems *only* Spartan—officers.

Other passages may be relevant, even though *baktēriai* are not always mentioned by that word. Even in the mythical period the violent use of the *baktēria* was a problem, judging from the anecdote in Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* (11) about Alkander, the young man who struck Lykourgos with his stick (the verb is again πατάσσω, cf. Themistokles' reply to Eurybiades, already quoted) and put out his eye or at any rate injured it; after this *baktēriai* were no longer carried in Spartan assembly meetings. Again, in Herodotus, Kleomenes I goes round poking Spartiates in the face with his staff: Herodotus' word is *skēptron*, on which more below. This sort of stick- or club-wielding is, as Daniel Ogden has shown, something of a tyrannical motif. On the Kleomenes passage in particular Forrest amusingly comments 'even the Spartans found this extension of their youthful habits irksome', a reference to the roughness of Spartan education.¹⁴ And it is possible that we should take quite literally the description, in Thucydides, book 1, of the Spartan regent Pausanias as unacceptably violent (*βίαιος*) in his treatment of other Greeks, especially the Ionians (who therefore turned to the Athenians instead). Plutarch in his *Aristides* illustrates the sort of thing the Ionians were thinking of: Pausanias' idea of discipline was to inflict blows (*πληγαί*: with his *baktēria*, one wonders?) and even to make them stand with an iron anchor round their necks.¹⁵ As Pritchett notes,¹⁶ citing this evidence, the severity of

¹⁴ Hdt. 6. 75, with Forrest (1980), 91. For tyrants and clubs, see Ogden (1997), 96 f., citing the Pisistratids of Athens, and the Penthelidai of Mytilene, who used to beat people with clubs (*Arist. Pol.* 1311^b26 f.). The word for 'club' there is *κορύνη*, which is a Homeric word for a mace (*Il.* 7. 141); in Theocritus (7.19), it is a shepherd's staff. Ogden also cites Polykrates of Samos in this connection (Hdt. 3. 142), but the *σκήπτρον* there mentioned is really just a synonym for the tyrant's power, *δύναμις*, which is mentioned in the same breath.

¹⁵ Th. 1. 95. 1; Plut. *Arist.* 23. The more normal equivalent of the anchor (perhaps specially appropriate for sailors?) was the shield. For standing with one's shield as a Spartan punishment, see Xen. *Hell.* 3. 1. 9, with Pritchett, *GSW* 2. 241.

¹⁶ Pritchett, *GSW* 2. 243 f., cf. 242. See above, Ch. 12, 239, 248–9.

Spartan military discipline was exceptional; elsewhere, e.g. in Athens, military discipline was surprisingly lax.

My final and very revealing example is from Plutarch's *Lysander* (15. 7), a story which in a way encapsulates the whole thesis of my chapter. The Spartan Lysander has appointed the Spartan Kallibios as harmost or military governor of defeated Athens. Kallibios, says Plutarch, once raised his *baktēria* to strike Autolykos the wrestler (a character in Xenophon's *Symposium*). When Autolykos gripped him by the legs and threw him to the ground Lysander showed no sympathy with Kallibios' rage but actually reprimanded him and told him that he did not know how to govern free men (ἐλευθέρων ἄρχειν).

I shall return at the end of this chapter to Spartan physical violence and Greek reactions to it. For the moment I want to stay with the *baktēria*. Perhaps the modern scholars who ignore the *baktēria* in their books about armour, military equipment, and so forth, are right in a way, because the *baktēria* is only quasi-military; it is also found in non-military contexts (but then, so are cloaks). I suggest that this ambiguity of function is itself significant, that is, the use of a *baktēria* as opposed to a proper weapon was itself an insulting manifestation of Spartan military arrogance. This is a paradox, but an intelligible one: the Spartans were the best and most disciplined soldiers in Greece, and most of Spartan military behaviour was (as Thucydides makes Perikles imply, 2. 39) in contrast with the more relaxed approach of others like the Athenians. It was precisely this general superiority which, I suggest, enabled the Spartans to indulge in minor and no doubt (to other Greeks) irritating informalities which others could not afford—rather like Field Marshal Montgomery's famous unauthorized pullovers, which he wore with battle-dress.¹⁷ This special sort of arrogance, almost inverted snobbery, can be paralleled from other areas of Spartan military behaviour. For instance, there is Thucydides' statement that the Spartans (unlike the Argives, Mantinians, and Athenians) were able to dispense with conventional battle

¹⁷ Chandler and Beckett (1996), 281, for the way Montgomery 'disdained uniform regulations. His own unauthorized uniform consisted of a plain grey sweater or a khaki shirt'. Cf. also, from semi-fiction, Anthony Powell, *The Military Philosophers* (Powell (1968), 183), where Montgomery is certainly the real-life original of the general 'wearing a pullover protruding visibly for several inches below his battledress blouse'.

exhortations because they knew that what counts is long experience, deeds not words (5. 69. 2).

There is another, more profound, reason why, in my view, the use of *baktēriai* by Spartan officers is interesting. It is not just a manifestation of a savage and violent attitude to discipline, on which more in a moment, nor is it just an aspect of Spartan military superiority of the kind I have just mentioned. It is also, I shall be suggesting, a spill-over from other areas of life, in particular from domestic Spartan attitudes to, and treatment of, their helots. I make this suggestion because of the curious fact, often noted in antiquity and by modern scholars, that the *baktēria* was a Spartan speciality in what are obviously non-military contexts.¹⁸ Did Spartans, away from the battlefield, go about with *baktēriai* in order to assert themselves symbolically or physically against helots, the equivalent of our going for a walk with a big stick so as not to be attacked by a dog? (That is, for intimidation and as an arrogant assertion that one belongs to a superior order of creation,¹⁹ rather than necessarily because the stick will actually be used.) If so, we might want to say, not so much that the officer class were using a less than completely military weapon, but rather that the helot hostility which was a permanent condition of Spartan life meant that a non-military object, used at Athens by jurors and elsewhere by judges, beggars, wanderers, and so forth, had a special quasi-military function in *Sparta*. I develop this point later. But first some questions of meaning and function.

II. WHAT EXACTLY WAS A BAKTĒRIA?

Now for a short antiquarian digression. The regular words for a staff are *baktēria* (Gk. βακτηρία), and *skēptron* (Gk. σκήπτρον). The Latin version of *baktēria* is *baculus*. It seems almost too good to be true, but

¹⁸ The point is made in comedy, Ar. *Eccles.* 74, and by Theophrastus, *Char.* 5 (21) 9, the Man of Petty Ambition, with Lane Fox (1996), 151 and n. 247. See now Diggle (2004), 242–3, but note CT III, 993, final para.

¹⁹ Whitby (1994), 110–11, concludes, rightly, that the essential Spartan attitude was that 'they were superior, the helots inferior, an attitude that might seem naïve, but is not implausible for that reason'.

Caesar in his description of the fighting against the Nervii in his *Gallic Wars* (2.25) mentions a *primipilus* or chief centurion called Sextius Baculus, Sextius the walking-stick, or rather Sextius the walking walking-stick. Was he a ferocious disciplinarian? One thinks of the nickname of the military disciplinarian near the beginning of Tacitus' *Annals* (1.20), 'cedo alteram', 'give us another', because he broke so many canes on the backs of the soldiers he flogged. The other main word, *σκήπτρον*, is the word from which our 'sceptre' derives, via the Latin *sceptrum*; a related Latin word is *scipio*, which provided a cognomen for a well-known branch of the *gens* Cornelia; the *scipio eburneus* or ivory staff was carried by *virī triumphales*. Livy tells us that one was given to Eumenes II of Pergamum as a mark of Roman favour (42. 15). There is also a third word, *skytalon* (Gk. *σκύταλον*) which is related to but distinct from the *skytalē* (Gk. *σκυτάλη*) used by high-ranking Spartans to send messages wrapped round a stick. The specifically Spartan use of a stick to send messages in this way nicely illustrates the evident Spartan feeling that a stick was good for saying things with. But let us look at the possible distinctions between our two main words. How do *βακτηρία* and *σκήπτρον* differ?

(1) Liddell-Scott, and Chantraine, distinguish *βακτηρία* as the prose word and *σκήπτρον* as the verse word,²⁰ and this seems to be true, though *βακτηρία* would fit easily into an iambic line. Thus Lykophron in the famous prophecy of comprehensive Roman rule speaks of 'sceptre [or rather sceptres] and monarchy of land and sea' (*γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης σκήπτρα καὶ μοναρχίαν*, *Alex.* 1229; cf. 1445), she does not end the line with *βακτηρίαν*. Even when the talk is of beggars' staves, Homer uses *σκήπτρον*, as in the *Odyssey* about the staff of Irus (18. 103); and Sophocles makes Teiresias predict Oedipus wandering in poverty with a *σκήπτρον* (*O.T.* 456). But a prose author like Diodorus uses *βακτηρία*, as in the Riddle of the Sphinx, where the three-legged, i.e. old, man uses a staff as his third leg (4. 64. 4). The clarity of this distinction is muddled slightly, but only slightly, by the verse use of *βάκτρευμα* for a 'staff' (in a roundabout expression, Euripides, *Phoen.* 1539), and of *βάκτρον* for a 'stick' or 'cudgel' by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 202; *Ch.* 362) and Euripides (again *Phoen.*, 1719).

²⁰ LSJ⁹, entry under *βακτηρία*, and Chantraine (1968–77), 4. 1016, entry under *σκήπτρομαι*.

But these are not common nouns, unlike *βακτηρία* and *σκήπτρον*, which are clearly the standard words. Etymology does not help much, because both nouns seem to be related to verbs which contain the meaning 'lean on' (hypothetical **βάκω*; cf. *βακτρέύω*, 'I support with a staff'; *σκήπτω*, 'I lean on a staff').²¹ Even kings use their sceptres not just as purely token wands of office but to lean on, like Agamemnon at *Iliad* 2. 109, where the word for 'leaning' is *ἐρεισάμενος*.

(2) The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in the good entry 'sceptre' (1992, vol. 10, col. 1), says that *baculus* was a long staff and *sceptrum* a short staff. But if true for any period, this does not work for the Greek equivalents, in view of all the passages (see 1, above) where *σκήπτρον* is used for a beggar's staff, i.e. surely not a short one; and Xenophon in *On Horsemanship* (11. 4) talks of a rider striking a horse's thighs with a *βακτηρία*, hardly a long staff. Eurybiades and Astyochus raise their *βακτηρίαι* in order to threaten or strike; this surely suggests that the Spartan officer's *baktēria*, at any rate, was something less unwieldy than a man-size staff—perhaps more the length of a walking stick or even a baton.

(3) The third and most tempting solution is to distinguish by function and to see *σκήπτρον* as the more elevated of the two, a symbol of royal charisma, and *βακτηρία* as the everyday equivalent. This is initially attractive, if only for the slightly frivolous reason that it is *σκήπτρον* which has the resonances of our 'sceptre' and which led to it etymologically, whereas *βακτηρία* has given its name ('bacteria') only to a type of micro-organism and is not, in modern languages, a word with splendid associations (although it has been said—*Encyclopaedia Britannica* again—that 'in a sense bacteria are the dominant living creatures on Earth, having been present for perhaps three-quarters of Earth history and having adapted to almost all available ecological habitats': Kadner (1992), 570, col. 1). After all, if Thucydides' only use of *βακτηρία* is in the Astyochos passage, his only use of *σκήπτρον* is in a very royal and grand context indeed, namely the reference in the *Archaeology* (1. 9. 4) to the Homeric 'Handing Down of the Sceptre of Agamemnon' (*σκήπτρου παράδοσις*, *Il.* 2. 100 ff.). And Herodotus, as we have seen, uses *σκήπτρον*, not *βακτηρία*, to describe the staff of

²¹ See Chantraine (1968–77), 4. 1016 (*σκήπτομαι*); 1. 158 f. (*βακόν, βακτηρία*).

King Kleomenes. This third line of approach overlaps, it may be thought, with our first, because Homer and tragedy are naturally concerned with kings, charisma, and elevated uses. But this is not right, because Homer also mentions beggars and wanderers, as we have seen, and so does tragedy; and both use *σκήπτρον* for this kind of non-royal staff. So *skēptron* = grand, *baktēria* = humble does not work. As for Herodotus and Kleomenes, the significance of Kleomenes' *σκήπτρον* is reduced when one observes that Herodotus, for some reason, never uses the word *βακτηρία* anywhere, preferring either *σκήπτρον* or some form of *σκύταλον*.²²

It would seem that the only explanation which really works is the poetry/prose explanation. But we should not abandon the functional approach altogether because, although *σκήπτρον* is far from being exclusively royal or charismatic, we do not seem to find *βακτηρία* in royal contexts, though it does occur at some elevated and famous moments. Astyochos is not a king, but he is a high-ranking Spartan. And there is a much more famous instance of the word. Polybius uses *βακτηρία* to describe, not the insignia of a king, but the instrument used by an arrogant young Roman to give orders to a king. I refer to so-called Day of Eleusis in Egypt, in 167 BC when Popillius Laenas used his vine-wood *βακτηρία* to draw a circle round the Seleucid king Antiochus III in the sand, telling him not to leave the circle until he had complied with the Roman demands.²³ And the emperor Tiberius appears to describe Sejanus, remarkably, as his *bacillum* or staff, in a curious inscription elucidated by Sir Ronald Syme.²⁴ So *βακτηρία* can be used in heavily symbolic and elevated contexts, though the word is not used either in verse, or for the staff actually used by kings. However, we do have one special and official function of *βακτηρία*, that with which we started, namely as the baton of a Spartan officer.

²² But Macan, n. on Hdt. 7. 52. 2, is probably right to say that Herodotus is being poetical when he makes Xerxes entrust his sceptre (plural, *σκήπτρα*) to Artabanus. For *σκύταλον*, see Hdt. 3. 137. 2, and for *σκυταλῖς* 4. 60. The *σκυταλισμός* at Argos was a kind of 'clubbing to death', see Diod. 15. 57. The *σκυτάλη* (for which, see OCD³, entry under 'skytale', citing D. H. Kelly) was different, a stick for sending messages; see Dunbar (1995), on Ar. *Birds* 1283.

²³ Polyb. 29. 27. 5, with HCP, and Gelzer (1969), 148.

²⁴ Ehrenberg and Jones (1976), no. 41, with Syme (1979).

III. STAFF OR SCEPTRE? STICKS AS SYMBOLS

Let us pursue this line of inquiry further, asking, with Wittgenstein, not for the meaning but the use. I should like temporarily to lay aside my concern with the difference between *σκήπτρον* and *βακτηρία*, and ask the broader question, when and why does a stick become a symbol? The anthropologist Edmund Leach distinguishes and tabulates three aspects of human behaviour: (1) *natural biological activities* like breathing, metabolic processes and so on; these do not concern us; (2) *technical actions* like digging a hole or boiling an egg; (3) *expressive actions* which either say something about the state of the world as it is, or else purport to alter it by metaphysical means (Leach (1976), 9). The difference between (2) and (3) may seem obvious but it is useful for the understanding of how royal regalia and insignia of office can work.

The sceptre (to stay for the moment with the English word) has a very long history as an item of royal regalia, as can be seen from Cannadine and Price's *Rituals of Royalty* (1987). In the early second millennium BC, the sceptre features in Babylonia, being mentioned in the Sumerian King List as one of the 'elements of culture'; Jasper Griffin gives other parallels from the empires of the Near East. At the other end of antiquity, sceptres feature in late Roman imperial ceremonial.²⁵ There is a story that Charlemagne gave away one sceptre to a holy man *for use as a staff* (Nelson (1987), 156). The implied distinction sceptre/staff is interesting; compare perhaps Wagner's description of Wotan, now in the non-royal guise of the Wanderer, at the beginning of Act 1, Scene 2, of *Siegfried*: 'he wears a long dark blue cloak. He carries a spear *as a walking stick*', 'einen Speer führt er als Stab'. Of course, there can be upgrading as well as downgrading; thus an innocent and prosaic walking stick can turn into an offensive, even lethal, weapon, especially if it is adapted in some way (e.g. a sword-stick, i.e. a sword concealed in an ostensible walking-stick; or a so-called 'Penang Lawyer', i.e. a walking stick whose head has been scooped out and metal, usually lead, inserted).

²⁵ Near East: Kuhrt (1987), 30; Griffin (1980), 9f. and n. 35. Later Roman ceremonial: Price (1987), 98.

What makes a staff a sceptre? What makes a spear a staff? Surely one important feature of regalia is their relative *uselessness*. In Leach's language, they have a purely or largely expressive function and it is very important that they have little or no technical function, or rather that their one-time technical functions have atrophied. Clearly, we are now very close to the ritual or religious functions of sceptres or wands (Latin *lituus*), a large area which I cannot here enter. But we must note that Agamemnon's royal sceptre (see above) was originally made by Hephaistos and given by him to Zeus, and so on—a way of claiming divine or religious sanction for kingship. Nor can I explore biblical rods or staves, such as Aaron's flowering rod in *Numbers* or the rod in *Exodus* which turns into a serpent. But it is intriguing that Mary Douglas draws attention to the 'staff between the legs' as a term for the male sexual organ (Douglas (1993), 132). She cites a passage of *Genesis* (49.10), Jacob's blessing on Judah: 'the sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor the ruler's staff from between his feet'. Given Spartan anxieties about manpower shortage, *oliganthrōpia*, we might wonder whether the Spartan *baktēria* symbolizes more than merely military potency, or substitutes for it perhaps. Other societies have used batons as symbols of sexual potency or generation. Thus in heraldry, the bar sinister or *baton sinister* denotes illegitimacy: another sexually symbolic use of a staff.

The sceptre (in the English not the more extended ancient Greek sense which includes the staff of the beggar or wanderer) is not an obvious object for assertion by physical means; its symbolic power—like that of other items of regalia such as its frequent concomitant the orb, which supposedly symbolizes the world—is actually enhanced by its relative physical powerlessness or uselessness as a weapon. I say 'relative' because of course any kind of stick can be an offensive weapon, and because, as we shall see, it appears that the modern military baton developed originally from the medieval mace, a very offensive weapon indeed; after all, the punishment or torture known as *bastinado* derives from the same root as 'baton'. But it surely remains true to say that the royal sceptre derives part of its symbolic power from its lack of physical cutting or piercing power. One might compare the king at chess, which in one way is the weakest piece on the board (in the strict sense of 'piece', i.e. non-pawns), but which is simultaneously and in another way the strongest piece because the outcome of

the game depends on its safety: a brilliant anonymous medieval insight into the symbolism and psychological workings of royalty.

Neither *βακτηρία* nor *σκήπτρον* is much use as a stabbing or throwing *spear*, which is the weapon they most closely resemble. For one thing they are often curved, indeed Theophrastos implies that what made Spartan *βακτηρία* so sought-after was precisely their elegant curve (see above n. 18). Probably this does not mean that the thing was curved for its whole length (though some strangely-shaped staffs are depicted iconographically) but that the curved part is the handle. Either way, a clumsy spear-substitute.

What are the other, i.e. non-magical and non-military, functions of sticks or staves? Answer: as support for the fumbling legs of an old or blind person, that is, as a third leg—compare Oedipus and the Riddle of the Sphinx, already mentioned. For this reason *βακτηρία* is often translated 'walking-stick', as in Lysias' speech (24) for the cripple, who has two of them. At Athens, the jurors carried *βακτηρία*, presumably because of their (real or notional) old age; and the *βακτηρία* features as (surely) an old man's prop in an anecdote in Plutarch's *Phokion* about how Phokion, then well into his eighties, angrily struck the ground with his *βακτηρία* during a diplomatic interview with Polyperchon and King Philip Arrhidaios, for whom Polyperchon was acting as protector.²⁶

But it is hard to imagine that Thucydides' Astyochos, to return to him, carried a *βακτηρία* either as a spear substitute, or because he was decrepit and had difficulty getting about: he is after all a serving officer. There is another technical or functional use for the object, as for the modern field marshal's *baton*, a French word in origin which is used by the Budé translation of Thucydides to render Astyochos' stick of office. That function is the direction, the drilling, or if you like the choreographing, of a mass of individuals. It may be helpful to pursue the use of 'baton' in English. It is used of the sticks carried

²⁶ [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 63. 2, with Rhodes, *Ath. Pol. Comm.*; Dem. 18. 210, with Wankel (1976). For Phokion see Plut. *Phok.* 33. 10. I do not think the staff here is a military or diplomatic wand of office. For another nice hellenistic example, which I am not sure how to categorize, see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34. 8, with J. Hornblower (1981), 104: Antigonos Gonatas, a Macedonian king of about 50 years old, strikes his son Halkyoneus with his *baktēria* and calls him barbarous, for bringing him the head of his enemy Pyrrhus. This is perhaps a 'royal' *baktēria* rather than an old man's support. For the humiliating aspect of this incident, see below, 269. On any view it is interesting that the outraged Antigonos is not a Spartan, although he behaves like one here.

by conductors of orchestras, by field marshals—and by policemen. The policeman's baton (or nightstick, truncheon, or billy) does not get us very far; it has some symbolic or expressive function, but unlike the musical conductor's baton it is also an instrument for hitting or threatening people with, as by Astyochos or Mnasippos or Eurybiades.²⁷ The conductor's baton is more promising: it enables its wielder to exert direction and control (it has some slight symbolic function as well). Similarly, the modern field marshal's baton and the officer's swagger-stick are primarily expressive of status: the symbolic stick or staff is found in the British army as long ago as the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns: the 'running footmen' who carried his messages were equipped with a gold-, silver-, or bronze-tipped staff to indicate status.²⁸ The ceremonial baton in mainland Europe goes back to fifteenth-century Venice. The baton apparently developed from the medieval mace, which is in every sense a sceptre with knobs on. This is not irrelevant to the ancient Greek sceptre: note *Iliad* 1. 246 for the gold nails or studs on the sceptre by which Achilles swears solemnly during the great quarrel with Agamemnon. But, to return to the modern period, at some point the mace loses its knob and becomes a baton, as in the marvellous Titian portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere, and a Velasquez of the Count-Duke Olivarez.²⁹ These are what E. Oakeshott describes as the 'plain straight' type of baton, like 'short lengths of gas-pipe'.

²⁷ See the multi-author entry 'Police' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1992), 969 col. 2.

²⁸ D. Chandler, 'The Great Captain-General 1702–1714', in Chandler and Beckett (1996), 82. Dr Parrott (see next note) thinks these staves developed from the medieval *halberd*.

²⁹ For the Velasquez, see e.g. Lopez-Rey 1963, pl. 88. Titian: Hope 1980, 81, fig. 35. For directing me to the Titian and Velasquez portraits, I am grateful to Dr Catherine Whistler, Assistant Keeper of Western Art at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. For suggestions and information about the baton in Renaissance and Early Modern European armies, I am grateful to Sir Michael Howard and especially to Dr David Parrott of New College, Oxford, both for a very helpful letter dated 4 Feb. 1997 and for sending me to Oakeshott (1980), ch. 3, and esp. p. 68: 'Its [the mace's] role as a commander's baton... was always nebulous, for such batons were indeed "weapons" made specifically for that purpose. Countless portraits of military leaders, from monarchs to field-officers, show them holding batons; 80 per cent of them being plain straight objects like short lengths of gas-pipe, though a few show mace-like *bastoni* or war-hammers, or in even fewer instances, actual maces... These *bastoni*... are of exactly the same shape as those with which Pharaoh after Pharaoh is shown clubbing captives on countless temple reliefs from the first Dynasty to the Ptolemies.'

But one may wonder whether the field-marshal's baton, to return to that, was perhaps originally functional, a device for drilling troops, i.e. for indicating to one large group of people what they should do. (There may also have been a cavalry aspect: the baton as a stiff whip, compare Xenophon's use of *βακτηρία* in the *On Horsemanship*, cited above.) Now it is certain that Spartan army drill was distinctive in its attention to the chain of command, which enabled the ingredients of a Spartan army to take up position with notable speed (Th. 5. 66). Here, surely, is one obvious military sphere for the operation, in a Spartan but no other military context, of a *βακτηρία*.

One can only speculate whether and how the *baktēria* was used for other functions performed by army commanders in antiquity, that is, for judicial or ritual purposes: ancient generals were not just fighters or givers of orders but also performed some of the functions of judge and priest. (We have seen that Achilles swears by his sceptre, and cf. Hektor at *Iliad* 10. 320, 328; note also the fillet-adorned sceptre of the priest Chryses at *Iliad* 1. 14f.) That, as I say, is speculation. We *can* however be sure that the Homeric *skēptron* was normally used in political assemblies as an aid to rhetoric; that is, you gestured with it. This can be inferred from Antenor's reminiscent account in the *Teichoskopia* of Odysseus' abnormal failure to move his sceptre forwards and backwards when speaking; instead he kept it still (*Il.* 3. 218 f.: *σκήπτρον δ' οὐτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα, ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν*). Oratory is a major function of a Homeric leader, who, as Phoinix says at *Iliad* 9. 443, had to be a speaker of words and a doer of deeds, in that order. It is a reasonable guess that in the historical period also (i.e. not just in Homer), a *baktēria* or *skēptron* could be used in political or forensic contexts to enhance rhetorical gestures in the way Antenor takes for granted. This does not seem to me so very far away from the function I have just been positing, that is, the use of a baton as a directional device when drilling troops: in both cases the sceptre or baton is being used to emphasize authoritative discourse, whether military instructions or political advice.

G. S. Kirk, in his commentary on *Iliad* 2. 109,³⁰ distinguishes nine separate uses of the staff or sceptre in Homer, six of which he calls

³⁰ Kirk (1985), 128 f.; of. Finglass (2007), 217–18. See also, for sceptres in Homer, van Wees (1992), 276–80, criticizing the idea that there was only *one* sceptre which was passed round in meetings.

'broadly sacred and institutional', while the other three are 'broadly secular'. The sacred and institutional uses include uses by priests and heralds as well as by kings, and some of them overlap quite a bit, as Kirk admits. The secular uses are as an accompaniment to declamation (7: Kirk cites the Antenor passage I have just quoted); as something to lean on, as an aid to walking (8: we have looked at this use too, a moment ago); and finally as something with which to push or beat people (9). This last, violent use is the use with which this paper began. The best *attested* use of a *baktēria* is indeed—as we have seen from several passages—threatening or hitting people. We shall see very shortly that this is also true of the Homeric *skēptron*.

But we still need to ask why the Syracusan and Thourian sailors got quite as angry with Astyochos as they did. For the understanding of that, to which I turn in my next section, we must keep in mind the important point that physical powerlessness, relative as with the *βακτηρία* or pretty well absolute as with the royal sceptre of a medieval or modern anointed king or queen, is a particularly effective way of asserting symbolic power. And a particularly offensive way, if you are on the receiving end and happen not to recognize the legitimacy of the power in question.

IV. SPARTANS, HELOTS, AND FREE GREEKS

I wish to develop the point about the simultaneous effectiveness and insultingness of a physical threat made with a non- or quasi-military weapon or pseudo-weapon. Moses Finley, that great student of, and expert on, ancient and modern slavery, illustrated the psychology of slaves and slave-owners by quoting a story in Herodotus of a slave uprising against the Skythians, or rather an uprising of the offspring of Skythian mothers and of the slaves with whom they had intermarried in the absence of their husbands.³¹ At first the Skythians attacked their slaves with conventional weapons and got nowhere. Then one of them said:

³¹ Hdt. 4.3, cited by Finley (1980), 118, describing the story as 'paradigmatic, not as history, since it is fictitious from beginning to end, but as ideology'.

What are we doing, Skythians? Let us put aside our spears and bows and let each of us take his horse-whip and go up to them. As long as they see us carrying arms, they think they are our equals in birth and bravery; but when they see us with whips instead of weapons they will realise that they are our slaves and will flee.

And so of course it turned out. Finley's point was that slave-owning rests on a large element of bluff, of an assumption on both sides that the inequality of the relationship is inevitable—one reason for the rarity of slave revolts in antiquity.

But helots were unusual, and there is good evidence that Spartans feared helot uprisings as e.g. Athenians did not fear uprisings of their slaves.³² I want here to bypass the large question of how wretched and discontented helots actually were and how much of a threat they represented. I am aware that some critics have expressed doubts,³³ but on the whole I align myself with George Forrest who once wrote memorably that it is not easy to picture a happy helot (Forrest (1980), 31), though I accept that one must distinguish between Lakonian and the more obviously dissident Messenian helots. In any case helots *did* revolt from time to time. The Messenian ones were a formerly free people, from the region to the west of Sparta, and though subjugated in the eighth century BC they never forgot their freedom. How much force was needed against such people?

In *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, Fogel and Engerman say that 'what was crucial to the system was not cruelty but force'. The slave-owners of the American South 'stroved to use force not cruelly but optimally' (Fogel and Engerman (1974), 232). This sort of consideration, i.e. the usefulness of able-bodied helots, may make us doubt the most horrific stories of Spartan physical brutality towards helots. But such stories certainly circulated. The most specific are Thucydides' famous though problematic description of the mysterious liquidation of two thousand helots,³⁴ and the account (also problematic) of the Kinadon conspiracy in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, in which a variety of impromptu weapons are mentioned

³² See Th. 5.23.3, with CT II, 498.

³³ Talbert 1989, with Cartledge (1991); Whitby (1994); Cawkwell (1997), 52.

³⁴ Th. 4.80, with CT II, 264–7.

but not, as it happens, *baktēriai*.³⁵ Then there is a fragment of the Athenian oligarch Kritias³⁶ which says that Spartiates at home always took away the *porpax* or inside handle of their shields, out of suspicion of the helots, but since *on campaign* (note the distinction) they could not do this, they carried an actual spear (not a *baktēria*) so as to be superior to, or stronger than (*κρείττων*), the helot who tries to revolt with a shield alone. Moving down in time, there is the rather dubious statement of the hellenistic writer Myron of Priene³⁷ that the helots had to submit to a given quota of beatings per year. And finally there are the stories of real violence carried out by the sinister so-called *krypteia*, though some modern scholars wonder if these stories, some of them rather late, represent traces of a transformed initiation ritual. Even if some of these items are untrustworthy in detail, it would be perverse to deny that real violence against helots was carried out, and with real weapons.

But the *threat* of violence, and surely (to repeat Moses Finley's point) the endless symbolic reminders of underclass status, were surely at least as important for intimidating both kinds of helot, Lakonian and Messenian, as the actual physical coercion—especially given the numerical disparity between helots and the vastly outnumbered

³⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 3. 3. This interesting chapter has been discussed by Lazenby (1997). Lazenby minimizes the helot aspect and makes some valid points against Simon Hornblower and others who may have been guilty of over-interpreting the Kinadon episode. But I think that Lazenby plays down the helot aspect too far. (1) Helots are number one in Kinadon's list of support groups, ahead of *neodamodeis*, *hypomeiones*, and *perioikoi*; as Peter Krentz says in his commentary on 3. 3. 6 (Krentz (1995), 179), the groups are listed in descending order of threateningness. (2) There is no reason why we should accept that Kinadon's professed motive, the wish to be inferior to nobody in Sparta, was the whole story. If he were a freedom-fighter on behalf of an underclass we should hardly expect, after the event, that the authorities would advertise the fact. They evidently broke him physically, and it is a familiar feature of such regimes that they need to discredit the victim as well as killing him, to avoid making a martyr of him. In his physical state Kinadon was no doubt too far gone to shout 'death to helot-oppressors' as he was flogged round the city. (3) The relevance of the occupation of Kythera by Pharnabazos and Konon a few years later (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 8. 8) should be borne in mind (see Lewis (1977), 144): Spartan foreign policy in this period makes best sense on the supposition that the Spartans were unusually nervous about the helot threat.

³⁶ DK 88 B37, from Libanius, translated by Cartledge (1979), 352.

³⁷ *FGHist* 106 F2, discussed by Whitby (1994), 107.

full Spartan citizens or Spartiates. Plato says that some favour coercion of slaves by whips and goads as if the slaves were wild beasts, and this comes very soon after a specific mention of helots.³⁸ This, perhaps, is where the *baktēria* comes in, a Spartan institutional equivalent of the horse-whips of the Skythians. As I have pointed out earlier, when making the analogy with taking a big stick with you when going for a walk, the *baktēria* is attested as specially Spartan in non-military as well as military contexts. It is important that the *baktēria* is both a weapon in a crude sense and also not quite a weapon. This is perhaps what helped to keep the helots down in civil life—and it is, I suggest, what enraged free Greeks against whom the *baktēria* was raised in anger. Themistokles' witty reply to Eurybiades was exceptional in that he urbanely declined to be provoked, but we have seen that Eurybiades' gesture may itself have been part of a half-humorous athletic joke. I am suggesting that to strike or threaten someone with a *baktēria* was specially demeaning. Note, from mythology, the interesting case of Tlepolemos, who accidentally killed Likymnios while beating a servant, a *θεράπων*, with a *βακτηρία*. And it was surely humiliating when Antigonos Gonatas struck his grown-up son Halkyoneus with his *βακτηρία*.³⁹

This suggestion is strengthened by what we might call the class-specific use of the Homeric *skēptron*. When Odysseus in *Iliad* 2 is trying to redirect the Achaeans who are all streaming towards the ships, he grabs Agamemnon's *skēptron*. When he meets a *basileus* or other superior person (*ἔξοχον ἄνδρα*), he reasons with him with pleasant words; no mention of any use of the sceptre (2. 188). But ten lines or so later we hear that when Odysseus meets a man of the people (*δῆμον τ' ἄνδρα*), he strikes him with his sceptre (2. 199, *τὸν σκήπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν*) and shouts at him. And a little later Odysseus famously beats the plebeian Thersites very severely with his sceptre (265 f.). We should perhaps place in the same category Priam's angry chasing away of what looks like the generality of the Trojans at *Iliad* 24. 247: *σκηπανίῳ δῖεπ' ἀνέρας*, where *σκηπανίῳ* is an obvious variant

³⁸ Plato *Laws* 777a, cf. 776c. See Garnsey (1996), 53 f.

³⁹ Apollodorus 2. 8. 2. But note that in Pindar's version, *Ol.* 7. 27, the homicide is not accidental, and there is no servant: the act is committed in a fit of anger, and with a staff of olive wood, *σκάπτῳ*; note again the prose/poetry distinction between the two words. Antigonos Gonatas: see n. 26.

for *σκήπτρον*. The *skēptron* keeps its violent and insulting aspect in tragedy: Oedipus at the crossroads strikes Laius with his *skēptron* (Soph. O.T. 811 f.). Oedipus does not of course know who Laius is, so he is no exception to our rule that striking with the staff is appropriate for people below the level of your own peer group. So *baktēriai* and *skēptrā* are found in epic, tragedy, and mythology (cf. Likymnios, above) as striking-weapons in various hands, rather than just in the hands of Spartans, but, as I have argued, in the historical period things narrow down: the examples I have found almost without exception involve Spartans in military contexts. (For Antigonos Gonatas, see n. 26).

We are now ready to return to Greek reactions to the violent threats of the Spartan officer class. I have been trying to link Spartan violent behaviour to the presence of the helot population and to the unremitting psychological awareness by Spartiates of the helots. Other explanations have been offered for Spartan violence, explanations perhaps equally and simultaneously true. Thus James Redfield has interestingly offered an explanation in terms of Spartan upbringing. Spartiates, he notes, 'were raised predominantly by women, then evicted into the male world of asceticism and competition, and we may attribute to the abruptness of this change the rigid and yet uncertain self-control of the Spartans; for all their discipline, they were certainly (as we meet them in the histories) more than other Greeks subject to fits of rage and violence' (Redfield (1995), 173).

There is no doubt that other Greeks found Spartan military behaviour (and the Spartiates they met were usually operating in military contexts) a bit of a shock. Thucydides' comment (4. 84. 2) that the Spartan general Brasidas was 'not bad at speaking, for a Spartan', is an obvious comment on the more usual Spartan method, which was to Say it with Sticks—and not just sticks with messages politely wrapped round them. They also Said it with Fists. In the middle of his 'Brasidas' narrative in books 4–5, Thucydides offers an interesting contrast with Brasidas, when he described how Polydamidas, left in command of the north Greek town of Mende, struck a Mendaian in the face at a critical moment in the struggle between Athens and Sparta for the support of that region, whereupon the Mendaian crowd became furiously angry. Result: Mende went over to Athens. This was, for Sparta, an expensive loss of self-control (4. 130).

The problem went wider. At the beginning of the war, we are told, a lot of goodwill was felt towards the Spartans because they came as liberators from the tyranny of Athens (Th. 2. 8. 4). But by 421 that goodwill had evaporated after a decade during which Greece was able to see how real-life Spartans actually behaved. 'That is a disgraceful way to liberate Greece' (οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν αὐτόν), some Samian exiles tell the brutal Spartan commander Alkidas when he slaughters some prisoners in cold blood (Th. 3. 32. 2). Similar language is used about the failure of what was to some extent a 'goodwill' project, the founding of a new colony at Herakleia in Trachis, a project in which incidentally the same Alkidas, a nasty piece of work, was involved. The Spartan governors behaved harshly and sometimes positively unjustly or disgracefully (χαλεπῶς καὶ ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς; note the repetition of οὐ καλῶς, 'disgracefully', literally 'not well': Thc. 3. 93. 2; see above, Ch. 1, 46; Ch. 5, 130; and below, Ch. 15, 319 f.). Does 'harshly' mean that the *baktēria* was too much in evidence? The colony was composed of Greeks from all over the place, with some specified exceptions, such as Ionians and Achaians. We have already seen what *Ionians* thought of the harshness and violence of an earlier Spartiate, Pausanias the regent. They would hardly have been falling over themselves to join Heraklia even if it had been open to them. Alkidas and Polydamidas: these are the types who lost Sparta the Archidamian War at the vital level of goodwill and morale. Essentially, I suggest, they were making the capital mistake of treating free Greeks like helots. The story of Lysander's remark to Kallibios (above, 256) makes the point beautifully and explicitly.

I return at last to Astyochos. Andrewes' note on the passage makes the perfectly valid point that the specifically mentioned free status of the Syracusan and Thourian crews clamouring for their pay is evidence that the crews were mostly not slaves. No doubt this is fair inference, but I do not think Thucydides' prime intention here was to leave behind material for the socio-economic historian. What he says is that their *boldness* in demanding their pay was due to their being free men, literally 'to the extent that most of the sailors were free men, by so much were they bolder' (see n. 4). And then Astyochos raises his *baktēria*, and they make a move to stone him or throw whatever we think they were going to throw. It is true that Thucydides does not say 'because they were free men they did not like being threatened with a

baktēria': their free status is mentioned before the *baktēria*. He explains their loss of control by reference to another fact about them, namely that they were sailors: 'just like sailors' (οἷα δὴ ναῦται), he says about their passionate reaction. But we are surely meant to understand that the outspokenness and self-respect of these free men, emphatically so labelled, was very relevant to the way the episode developed. In fact, I suggest, they were angry enough to start with because they wanted their pay, but their anger was then greatly increased because as free men they did not care to be treated like helots (cf. Dem. 21. 180: this was *hybris*). When Thucydides uses the word ἐλεύθεροι, 'free men', in close proximity to a Spartiate, it is difficult not to think immediately of helots, not just of the hypothetical slave sailors with whom Andrewes sees a contrast. So too Lysander, by telling Kallibios that he does not know how to rule free men, has surely got helots at the back of his mind.

There is an objection to the above argument. If the *baktēria* was an instrument of normal Spartan military discipline (and the Astyochoi and Mnasiippos passages are listed in Pritchett's section on this subject, above n. 12), why do I need to drag in the helots? Was not the trouble simply that other Greeks did not like being subjected to Spartan military discipline which was harsher than their own? The objection dissolves if we remember that extensive Spartan military use of helots in the classical period means that the distinction between treatment of helots, on the one hand, and military discipline on the other, is unreal. Even if the 7:1 proportions given by Herodotus⁴⁰ for the battle of Plataia in 479 are exaggerated, the disproportion of helots to Spartiates is beyond dispute. These people had to be kept under somehow, and all the more so in the periods during which they were fully armed and used as hoplites (at Plataia, Herodotus says, they were only lightly-armed). It is surely plausible to suppose that one reason for the harshness of Spartan military discipline was precisely the helot presence.

For this line of reasoning to work completely, it would be good to be able to show that Spartiates were violent, specifically that they used the *baktēria*, only against helots and not against other Spartiates, i.e. that Spartan military discipline was selective. That is not wholly

⁴⁰ Hdt. 9. 28, with the ingenious explanation of Hunt (1997).

probable. Inter-Spartiate violence happened. The Spartiates were a highly-strung as well as highly-trained bunch of thugs. It happened sometimes, we can safely say. But not all that often, I would guess. Violence *within* the group was surely abnormal (I mean between adults, leaving aside corporal punishment of boys and possibly 'invented traditions' of floggings at the temple of Artemis Orthia). Let us remember King Kleomenes. What he did with his staff or σκήπτρον was to poke in the face *any Spartiate he met*. The evidence of insanity consists not so much in the action but in the fact that it was done at random, and above all in the specification of the victims, namely fellow members of the elite. Herodotus is quite clear that the insanity consisted in doing it *to Spartiates*. Similarly the Spartans themselves were shocked at Alkander's facial attack on Lykourgos (see above, 255), although they had themselves started to throw things at him (βαλλόμενος).⁴¹

V. EPILOGUE: SAYING IT WITH STONES

The stick, staff, or *baktēria* was an instrument of discipline, actual or symbolic. The reaction of the Argives to their commander Thrasyllus in 418 BC (Th. 5. 60. 6) was an act of indiscipline, namely an act of attempted stoning, which is the paradigm of the undisciplined collective act. (Perhaps the sailors were going to stone Astyochoi too: they were going to throw *something* at him.) Discipline presupposes responsibility, and though stoning is a formally prescribed punishment in *Numbers* and *Leviticus* (where the idea is to avoid pollution

⁴¹ Incidentally, Spartans seem to have regarded it as specially outrageous when, unusually, they themselves were beaten or flogged by other Greeks: in 420 BC, the distinguished Spartan Lichas, son of Arkesilas, was flogged ('received blows') from the umpires (ῥαβδοῦχοι, literally 'rod-bearers', attendants to the presiding magistrates) at Olympia for a festival offence (Th. 5. 50. 4). The Spartans remembered this incident and held it against the Eleians, who managed the Games, as much as two decades later, and it was one of the reasons for the Spartan-Elean War of 402–400, according to Xenophon (*Hell.* 3. 2. 21). Xenophon speaks of Lichas actually being whipped (μαστιγούμενος) and adds that he was a γέρων, i.e. over 60 and perhaps a member of the *gerousia*; this would presumably make the beating or whipping a special humiliation in Spartan eyes. See above, Ch. 10.

by contact),⁴² nevertheless the avoidance of individual responsibility is presumably the motive behind stonings like that of Stephen in *Acts of the Apostles* (7.58) or the attempted stoning in Kazantzakis' *Zorba the Greek*,⁴³ or the proposed stoning of Antigone in Sophocles' play. Thucydides did not admire the Argives (above, Ch. 6), and by juxtaposing the Argive action and the corresponding Spartan one, which was to wait till their king and commander got home and then punish him by due process of law, he makes in typically poker-faced fashion the point that Spartans may be harsh but they are disciplined, whereas the miserable Argives... The Spartans, then, Say it with Sticks, wrapped or unwrapped. They do not Say it with Stones (in the historical period at least, contrast the near-lynching of Lykourgos).

Or rather one eccentric historical Spartan does Say it with Stones (above, 233). The Spartan soldier Amompharetos, in Herodotus' account of the battle of Plataia in 479 (9. 55), votes against withdrawal by picking up a huge boulder, staggering towards the commander Pausanias, and dropping it at his feet. That is my vote ('pebble') against retreat, he says. At one level this is a parody of Athenian voting methods, and thus (to paraphrase Thucydides on Brasidas) quite a sophisticated joke for a Spartan. But David Grene is also right in his translation of Herodotus to insist that we visualize the episode: Pausanias wondering a bit nervously exactly what the fellow is going to do with this enormous stone. Yet this is no act of non-collective, one-man stoning. It turns—to everyone's relief—into an act of voting.

Spartans, we can after all conclude, Say it with Sticks; they leave it to less disciplined folk to Say it with Stones. But the stick or *baktēria* of a Spartan officer, and particularly the servile symbolism which came with it, were more than free Greeks could stomach.

⁴² Note also in this connection the stoning of Greek *pharmakoi* or scape-goats: see Bremmer (1996). For ancient Greek stoning, see Parker (1983), 194f. and n. 20, and other modern refs. at CT III, 158–9.

⁴³ Ch. 22; this aspect is more strongly developed in Cacoyannis' 1964 film of the book.

Part III

Reception

Thucydides' Awareness of Herodotus, Or Herodotus' Awareness of Thucydides?

[This chapter was originally a paper delivered in Bordeaux on 16 March 2007 at a conference on the reception of Thucydides. The first, asterisked, footnote of the published version thanks the organizers (and editors of the conference proceedings) Valerie Fromentin and Sophie Gotteland.]

The first phase of Thucydides' reception is in many ways the hardest for us to evaluate, that is, Thucydides' reception by his own contemporaries, and by the writers of the first few decades of the fourth century.¹ My concern in this chapter is with an undoubted contemporary, none other than Herodotus. I shall consider the possibility that Herodotus knew of Thucydides' work, rather than the other way round.²

The proposition that Herodotus was a contemporary of Thucydides rests on a handful of forward-looking passages in his history, where he alludes to events of the time of the main Peloponnesian war of 431–404. The most convincing of them are well known, have been much discussed, and can be easily listed. He speaks (7. 233. 2) of the Thebans who led the attack on Plataia which began the war. Thucydides

¹ See below, Ch. 15.

² The possibility considered in this chapter is adumbrated briefly in *CT* II, 145 (the last three lines of the eight-line note in square brackets at the end of the page), cf. 27 n. 83. For an argument that Th. should be thought of as a contemporary rather than a successor of Hdt., and that Hdt. could 'well be seen as responding to [Th.];' see now Irwin (2007), 193. She is mainly concerned with the relationship between the 'Minos passages' of the two authors, Hdt. 3. 122 /Th. 1. 4 (but she also discusses e.g. Th. 1. 8, the Karians). The relationship between those Minos passages has been much discussed recently: see *CT* III, 1055, App. 1, 'Passages from 1–5. 24 Reconsidered', on Th. 1. 4.

(2. 2) corrected him on this point (see above, Ch. 5, 123). Herodotus mentions the death of the Korinthian Aristeus in 430 (7. 137), as does Thucydides (2. 67), not exactly correcting him on the facts, but with a different and non-religious slant. I shall come back to this item later. Again, Herodotus says (6. 98) that in the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, there were more evils, *κακά*, for the Greeks than in the previous twenty generations, some arising from the Persian Wars themselves, some from the struggles of the leading Greek states, *τῶν κορυφαίων*, for hegemony. Now, Artaxerxes died in 424, so this ('struggles') seems to be, among other things, a reference to the so-called Archidamian War of 431–421. Finally, Herodotus says (9. 73) that the Spartans abstained, for religious and sentimental reasons, from ravaging the Attic deme of Dekeleia in the 'war which happened many years later between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians' (for the ravaging of Dekeleia in 413 see Th. 7. 18 and 27–8). This also shows, in the usual view which I share, that Herodotus did not know about the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia in 413, because that brought an end to the Spartan abstention from ravaging.

My title is a paradox. Could Herodotus, surely a considerably older man, really have known about what Thucydides was writing? Less radically, could Herodotus and Thucydides really have been working side by side on their very differently executed projects? It is possible, even in modern times, for two distinguished authorities working at the same time and in the same field to take little or no notice of each other. A celebrated modern example of this is the relationship between Émile Durkheim and his contemporary Max Weber, each of whom can be regarded as the founder of the discipline of sociology. But in their writings they show a 'total lack of interest in each other's work'.³

I do in fact firmly believe that Thucydides wrote his history in reaction to Herodotus and that he is part of the history of the reception of Herodotus. But, as is well known, neither author mentions the other, so we are not talking about strict proofs. A pair of lengthy parallel passages concerns the murder of Hipparchos the brother of the tyrant Hippias and son of the tyrant Peisistratos, in the late sixth century BC. Herodotus narrates this at length in his book 5 (55–65), Thucydides

in his book 6, in an excursus, written in notably Herodotean manner, placed exactly in the middle of the first book of his two-book account of the Sicilian expedition (54–9). Much has been written about the relation between the two accounts, and such great scholars as F. Jacoby and K. J. Dover have pronounced firmly that Thucydides and Herodotus are in agreement both in general and in detail.⁴ It is to me extraordinary that the biggest difference of all appears to have gone unnoticed. I refer to the complete absence in Herodotus of the homosexual aspect of the affair. Dover says nothing about any such relation between Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and about the sexual advances made by Hipparchos towards Harmodios. Thucydides by contrast repeatedly uses the language of sexual passion and jealousy, and speaks more than once of the pass made by Hipparchos at the young man (*πειρᾶν*, 54. 3 and 4, cf. 56. 1). This is the correct word for a sexual pass. As a result, the novelist Mary Renault, in her 1978 novel *The Praise Singer* (about the poet Simonides) drew closely and with acknowledgement on Thucydides, not on Herodotus, for her brilliant depiction of this episode. Thucydides also shows himself aware of Spartan male homosexuality, when he casually uses the word *παιδικά* of the young lover of Pausanias the Regent (1. 132. 5). In complete contrast, Herodotus nowhere mentions Greek homosexuality, except to say in passing in book 1 that the Persians learned pederasty from the Greeks (1. 135). Which of them wrote his account first? Now it might be argued that it was Thucydides who was first and that Herodotus knew and disliked Thucydides' account, which he had perhaps heard in recitation. Recitation, to which I shall return at the end of this paper, is the only way in which Herodotus could have been aware of any part of Thucydides' narrative, if we accept that Thucydides was still adding to his history in the early 390s. That is made likely by the material about Archelaos king of Macedon at the end of book 2 (100. 2), which has the feel of an obituary to it. Now Archelaos died in 399 (Diod. 14. 37). The implications for Thucydides' composition date are obvious. However that may be, Thucydides, we can safely say, was still writing in 404 at the earliest, because he was aware of the fall of Athens in 404 (see most fully 5. 26. 1). On this hypothesis, Thucydides

³ Lukes (1973), 397.

⁴ For full references, see CT III, 433–40.

originally wrote the excursus on the tyrannicides separately from the Sicilian expedition of 415–413 and then recycled it. In the same way Puccini reused some very early student material for his mature opera *La Bohème*. But it is surely more probable that Herodotus has priority, and that Thucydides added the male homosexual dimension to accounts such as Herodotus' (we should not forget Hellanikos and others, including poetic versions) which omitted or suppressed it, than that that dimension was censored by Herodotus. In which case we need not, after all, suppose that Thucydides' version of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton story originally had a literary or recitational existence separate from its narrative context.

I wish to concentrate, in the rest of this paper, on two episodes narrated in the early part of Thucydides' history, and to discuss the possibility that they have a Herodotean aspect. They are the two sections which we know as the *Kerkyraika* and the *Potidaiatika*, the affairs of Kerkyra (Corcyra, Corfu), in the north-west, and Potidaia in the north-east, both of them Korinthian colonies. They are the publicly alleged pretexts which began the Peloponnesian War. Between them, they make up a large part of Thucydides book 1. But they spill over into later books as well. Famously, Thucydides describes *stasis*, civil strife, at Kerkyra under the year 427 (3.82–4), an obvious candidate for a separate recitation piece, and he finishes off the *stasis* story in a particularly gruesome section of book 4 (46–8). As for Potidaia, that story is concluded in book 2, in a remarkably vivid chapter (70).

I shall take them in reverse order, that is, Potidaia first and Kerkyra second. Potidaia, in Thucydides, is subjected by the Athenians to a lengthy and horrific siege, which lasts for nearly two years, and ends only in winter 430/29 after great suffering, including the best-attested case of cannibalism in all of classical antiquity (2. 70. 1), 'they even tasted each other', note the fastidious formulation. The siege ends (para. 3) by an agreed withdrawal of the population, the men with one item of clothing, the women with two, an interesting and poignant detail which Thucydides does not explain.

Now, another siege of Potidaia is described at length—by Herodotus (8. 126–8). This siege took place in 480–479. It was a siege of Greeks by Persians, specifically by the Persian Artabazos. He had no trouble with his siege of neighbouring Olynthos, whose inhabitants he slaughtered and threw into the lake nearby. But the god Poseidon,

who had been slighted by Artabazos, protected Potidaia, as well he might, because the city's name is of course the Doric form of 'Poseidon-town'. So the siege was, from the Persian point of view, a failure. One detail stays in the reader's memory: the system of communication by arrows, between Artabazos and the traitor Timoxenos of Skione inside the city of Potidaia, breaks down when a message-bearing arrow goes astray and by unlucky chance wounds a Potidaian in the shoulder. A crowd gathers round, 'as happens in war', and the treachery is discovered—a nice example of contingency in history. This memorable story or stratagem was picked up in the middle of the fourth century by Aineias Taktikos in his treatise *How to Survive under Siege*, written in about 360 BC; Aineias lifts the story straight from Herodotus, down to the detail 'as happens in war' (31. 25–7). Now Macan, in his fine commentary on Herodotus of a century ago, asserted confidently that Herodotus' failure to say anything about another siege of Potidaia half a century later—the siege described by Thucydides—proves that Herodotus was unaware of the later siege and therefore could not have been composing his history as early as 430. On the contrary, it seems to me very possible that Herodotus elaborates on this earlier and unsuccessful siege precisely because he was aware, and knew that his listeners would be aware, of the later and partially successful one. A siege of Potidaia would surely be of particular interest to Athenian and Korinthian listeners if another siege of the same place was going on at that same moment. But did Herodotus need to derive his knowledge of the later siege from Thucydides? I return to this question a little later. Before we leave Potidaia, let us ask what possible link there might be between the two salient and almost surreal details we have identified: cannibalism in Thucydides; and the wounded shoulder in Herodotus. The answer is of course that the link is the mythical Pelops, whose shoulder was eaten by the absent-minded Demeter before he could be rescued from the cooking-pot, and so had to make do for ever after with a shoulder made of ivory. This is the shocking version which Pindar refused to tell in *Olympian* 1. But which of Herodotus or Thucydides improved the other's story?

A final detail: the death of Aristeus son of Adeimantos, which, as I said above, features proleptically in Herodotus (7. 137), is a further Potidaian overlap. This is because Aristeus was the Korinthian

commander at Potidaia, and was captured by the Athenians on a mission to the Thracian king Sitalkes, son of Teres, to try to persuade him to help the besieged Potidaians. Herodotus was as interested in Sitalkes and his family, if not to the same degree, as was the part-Thracian Thucydides. Sitalkes and his unnamed sister feature in Herodotus' remarkable story of Anacharsis and Skyles the Dionysiac initiate (4. 80. 2). In about 430, all Greece trembled at the huge 150,000 host assembled by Sitalkes on the northern borders of Greece proper (see Th. 2. 98. 3), and Herodotus' allusions are surely topical, not just because of Aristeus and Potidaia, but because of the contemporary threat of Sitalkes and his Thracian horde.

Now for Kerkyra. Here the forward-looking aspect of Herodotus' account is even more conspicuous. As I mentioned earlier, both Potidaia and Kerkyra were Korinthian colonies. But Herodotus does not mention this colonial relationship in his Potidaia narrative. His Kerkyra narrative in the middle of book 3, part of the story of Periandros, is in sharp contrast. Here he says (3. 49. 1): 'if after the death of Periandros, relations between the Korinthians and Kerkyraians had been friendly, the Korinthians would never have taken part in the expedition against Samos, on account of this incident (the interception by Samians of three hundred Kerkyraian boys sent by Periandros to be castrated in Sardis). But the fact is that ever since the Korinthians originally founded the island of Kerkyra, the two peoples have been on bad terms.'

It is hard to read this sentence and not think of the quarrel between Kerkyraians and Korinthians which opens Thucydides' narrative proper. We may recall the reported Korinthian complaints that the rest of their colonists love them and do them honour, but the Kerkyraians do not give them the usual privileges in their common festivals, nor do they allow a Korinthian man to begin the sacrifice like the other colonies (Th. 1. 25). Thucydides there (para. 3) actually uses the very strong word *μῖσος*, hatred, for Korinthian feelings about the Kerkyraians, and this idea will be repeated, with a different word *ἔχθος*, 'hostility', many books later, in the catalogue of ships before the great sea-battle in the harbour of a another Korinthian colony, Syracuse (7. 57. 7).

If we move on in Herodotus to book 7, the pre-Salamis narrative, we find the Kerkyraian attitude equivocal; their promised sixty ships

do not arrive, and accordingly they do not, unlike the Potidaians, feature on the serpent column at Delphi (ML 27 coil 9 for the Potidaians). But note the detail (168. 3) that the Kerkyraians boast that their fleet is second only to that of the Athenians in size; we recall the speech of the Kerkyraians to the Athenians at Thucydides book 1 (36. 3): there are three mighty Greek fleets, ours, yours and the Korinthian.⁵

If we add a third of the immediate causes which were thought by contemporaries to have led to the main Peloponnesian War, namely the hostility between Athenians and Aiginetans, we will find that here too there are possible pre-echoes in Herodotus, who has much to say in books 5 and 6 about Aiginetan–Athenian hostility. The detailed correspondences are, however, less striking, and in any case Thucydides himself notoriously under-reports both this and the fourth of the alleged causes, that concerning Megara.

There is, then, a case for saying that Herodotus gave special attention to the siege of Potidaia because of a contemporary siege of the same city fifty years later; and that he goes out of his way to remark on the hostility between Kerkyraians and Korinthians because he is not unaware, and he knows his audience are not unaware, of an important and topical manifestation of that hostility. Could he have heard Thucydides' account of these events?

That Thucydides could have pre-recited selected sections of his work is a possibility which should not be ruled out. Certain parts of the work lend themselves particularly to recitation.⁶ One candidate I have already mentioned; the *stasis* at Kerkyra. But there are plenty of others. I have, after experiments, worked out that the entire Sicilian narrative books 6 and 7 would take about eight hours to recite, something like an evening at the opera. Some closures and false closures can be explained very well by the recitation hypothesis; thus 7. 75. 6–7 anticipates the real closure at 7. 87. But ch. 75 closes off the tremendous and theatrical or rhetorical narrative of the final sea-battle, which is surely, like the Kerkyraian *stasis*, another very suitable candidate for a recitation unit.

⁵ Cf. Munson (2001), 221.

⁶ See CT III, 31 (= General Introduction section 6, 'Possible Recitation Units in 5. 25–8. 109').

We have seen that Herodotus is unlikely to have been aware of the 413 fortification of Dekeleia by the Spartans. Could he have been aware of the diplomatic build-up in 416 to the great Sicilian expedition of 415–413? It is a curious fact that the city which in Thucydides' account (6. 6) precipitated that expedition, namely Egesta, features twice in Herodotus. One of those expeditions is the Dorieus episode in book 5: a man from Kroton called Philippos of Kroton, an Olympic victor, is given hero-cult at Egesta because of his beauty (5. 47. 2). And then Gelon of Syracuse mentions Egesta in book 7 in his reply to the Spartans, who have asked for military help (158. 2). Now the Dorieus expedition, or rather the Dorieus disaster, which involved the loss of a considerable Spartan army, can be seen as a kind of Spartan precursor and equivalent of the Athenian expedition some one hundred years later. Both expeditions were imperialist attempts to get control of Sicily, except that the Spartans started from the western not the eastern end.⁷ But a Herodotus who is aware of the Sicilian disaster of 413 runs up against our chronological argument from Dekeleia. The objection is not, however, fatal. There was an Athenian expedition to Sicily in 427–424, and it is very likely that Egesta featured here too. This, rather than the great expedition of 415–413, could have been in Herodotus' mind when he described the adventures of Dorieus and his army.

A final detail: both Philippos of Kroton in the late sixth century, and Kleinias the son of Alkibiades, at the battle of Artemision in 480, are said to have equipped their own personal triremes with their own personally paid-for crews (5. 47. 1 and 8. 17). When we hear this we think, surely, of the famous Alkibiades, another Olympic victor like Philippos. Of this later Alkibiades, Thucydides says, in very similar and emphatic language, that he left Sicily on his recall with his *own* ship (6. 50. 1 and 61. 6). Surely Thucydides means us to remember Kleinias, his great-grandfather, and also Philippos. But is it not also possible that Alkibiades, fatherless since 446 and the battle of Koroneia, was already known in the 420s for his private trireme, something like the modern equivalent of a private jet? Did Herodotus write as he did about Kleinias son of Alkibiades because he knew his contemporary audience would immediately think of the young glamorous Alkibiades son of Kleinias of their own time?

⁷ See *CT* III, 5–12 (= General Introduction, section 2, 'The Sicilian Expedition in Context').

But any theory needs to be tested scientifically against counter-evidence and against controls. An obvious objection is that there are many elaborate local and personal stories in Herodotus which have no Peloponnesian War resonance to them, and it is arbitrary to single out and privilege those which do. To this I have no reply, except to repeat that the parallels seem too verbally and thematically striking for this negative reaction to be justified.

More fundamentally, is there an alternative to the idea that the middle-aged or elderly Herodotus heard a youngish Thucydides at some time read out extracts from his work in the mid-420s? The occasion could have been sympotic, or even public, such as one of the panhellenic festivals: Thucydides knows a lot about the games of 420 at which the Spartan Lichas was excluded but competed as a Boiotian (5. 49–50; see above, Ch. 10). We should remember that another and surely related Spartan Lichas—the name is a rare one—had featured in Herodotus book 1 (67. 5 f.).

An alternative exists. It is a prosaic and commonsense one. We do not need theories about literary indebtedness. We do not need Thucydides and his embryonic History to put awareness of the Peloponnesian War into Herodotus' head, whether we are thinking of great themes like Greek ambitions for Sicily, or the Korinthian–Kerkyraian hostility, or the private trireme of the wealthy family of Alkibiades. All that the parallels I have listed show is shared preoccupation with the places and people who in one way or another precipitated wars in the period 431–415: the Kerkyraians, the Potidaians, the Aiginetans, the Egestaans, Alkibiades. Whether we want to go further and posit awareness by Herodotus of Thucydidean recitation pieces, will depend on whether we think that there are close verbal parallels. 'His own ship', 'our navy second only to yours', and so on. But any such linguistic argument can always be reversed, so that it will be Thucydides who was echoing Herodotus' language. I have to say that I think this latter line of explanation the most convincing of those available.

But in conclusion, I repeat that I am impressed by the extent to which Herodotus and Thucydides share certain political and personal preoccupations of a noticeably topical character. To the limited extent that Thucydides' great theme of the Peloponnesian War seems to have left its mark on his predecessor's history as well, we can speak of Herodotus as part of the reception of Thucydides. But that, it may be said, is a rather special sense of the word 'reception'.

15

The Fourth-Century and Hellenistic Reception of Thucydides

[An opening footnote thanked, for help of various kinds: Christian Habicht, Fergus Millar, Peter Parsons (in connection with n. 74 and the Thucydides papyri), Christopher Pelling, and Rosalind Thomas.

On the general subject of this chapter, see an article which appeared simultaneously with my own: Nicolai (1995). This is now translated as '*Ktema es aei*: Aspects of the Reception of Thucydides in the Ancient World', Rusten (2009a), 381–404.

I add here a particular item which I wish I had known about when I wrote the original article. My knowledge of it is owed to Chaniotis (2005), 239 f. An Athenian inscription of about 10/9–3/2 BC (*IG II²* 1035, complete new edition reproduced at *SEG* 26. 121), deals with the restoration of the sanctuaries of Attica. It evokes what Chaniotis calls 'places of memory' associated with Athens' great past; and the Peloponnesian War features briefly and by name at the admittedly fragmentary line 41. But Chaniotis, discussing the long text as a whole (240) and noting the exceptional character of the Peloponnesian War allusion, remarks that the inscription displays a 'preference for events which mark the beginning of new eras...for wars against barbarians...and for victories that legitimate claims'. That conclusion nicely fits the thesis of the article reprinted below (see esp. 319): in post-classical Greece, the Peloponnesian War never had the emotional appeal of the Persian Wars.]

How well known was Thucydides' history in the fourth century BC and the hellenistic period? Gomme, with an eye on Polybius, once wrote of the 'nearly complete silence about Thucydides in what remains to us of ancient writers before the age of Cicero and Dionysios of Halikarnassos'.¹ This is startling at first and has to my knowledge led to the

misconception that Thucydides virtually disappeared after his own time. Gomme was however referring merely to specific mentions or discussions of Thucydides by name: he went on to speak of the 'silent compliment paid him by Kratippos, Xenophon, Theopompos, and Philistos'. Even this is far from a complete list, and Gomme's possibly misleading paragraph can serve as my starting-point.

My own treatment essentially stops after such second- and early-first-century BC figures as Polybius, Agatharchides, and Poseidonios. This may seem a mad terminal date in view of such rich evidence for Thucydidean reception as is provided by Dionysios, Plutarch, Lucian, and Cassius Dio, not to mention even later figures. But the importance of Thucydides in the imperial period (and after) is not in dispute. My chosen period is, by contrast, still a relatively dark corner and it is worth trying to light it up. To cover all three periods—fourth-century, hellenistic, imperial—would need a book not an article. I deal mainly with the Greek historians of the period, but I look also at e.g. the orators, the poliorcetic writer Aineias Taktikos, the philosophers Plato and Aristotle, and the poets Kallimachos, Lykophron, and even Lucretius.

In this chapter, I hope to show that post-classical knowledge of Thucydides was never negligible. I do *not* propose to go to the opposite extreme. Such transparent and accessible charmers as Herodotus and Xenophon were widely read and known in the fourth century and early hellenistic periods, in a way that the difficult Thucydides was surely not.²

The questions, how well known was Thucydides, and what influence did he have and why did he not have more, are worth pursuing for their own sake. But I have a further motive for pursuing it. In 1987, I suggested³ that the speeches in Thucydides might have

of his speech without mentioning Th.? Polybius does not make against Timaios the obvious points that Timaios' version differed from Th.'s, therefore one or the other, and more likely Timaios, must be wrong. This raises the question whether Polybius knew Th.'s work; cf. below, 290 with n. 10.

² Herodotus: Murray (1972). Xenophon: Münscher (1920). Note also J. Hornblower (1981), 196–201: in real life, Eumenes of Kardia was influenced by Xen.'s writings; also Lewis (1977), 149–52 (Alexander's ideas about collaboration between the upper classes of Greece/Macedon and Persia were not as original as Tarn supposed, but were anticipated in the writings of Xen.). Knowledge of Th. as evidenced by the papyri: below, n. 74. ³ *Thucydides*, 47–50; *CT I*, 75f.

¹ *HCT* 3. 523 with 733 (cf. Gomme (1962), 126), discussing Hermokrates' speech at Th. 4. 59–65, and the problem, why does Polybius (12. 25k) criticize Timaios' account

influenced fourth-century treatises like the Aristotelian *Rhetoric to Alexander*. The assumption that there is a relationship of some kind is surely plausible, and lies behind the Thucydidean insights of Macleod who pointed out parallels between things said by Thucydidean speakers and things advocated by fourth-century handbooks. My 1987 suggestion was intended as a caution: if I was right, the evidential value of the handbooks, for the elucidation of Thucydides' speeches, is reduced—though not eliminated.⁴

I need to show that an influence in the direction I postulate was at least possible. The author of a recent study of justice in Thucydides' speeches has challenged my suggestion, asking 'why should we suppose that fourth-century theory was uniquely influenced by Thucydides?'⁵ I do not actually need to show that theory was *uniquely* influenced by Thucydides, but I certainly ought to show that such influence could indeed have been exerted. I am here concerned to knock away a possible counter-argument from the reception, or rather alleged non-reception, of Thucydides by the fourth century in general and by the Aristotelians in particular, i.e. Aristotle himself and authors closely connected to him.

Of modern studies of the reception of Thucydides, the most obvious and nowadays usually cited is, because of its omissions, not satisfactory, namely the final section ('Nachwirkung') of Luschnat's 1971 *Realencyclopädie* article.⁶ Better, in many ways, is an older work, an intelligent Munich dissertation of 1935 by Strebel.⁷ This not only provides valuable supplementation on some of the authors Luschnat deals with, but discusses authors wholly absent from Luschnat, such as Kallisthenes, Ephoros, Timaios, and Agatharchides. (We can add that Aineias Taktikos and—in effect—the Atthidographers are regrettable absentees from both Luschnat and Strebel). Yet we shall see that Kallisthenes contains one of the two most precious texts for anyone interested in the fourth-century reception of Thucydides' speeches; the other is in Aineias Taktikos. Strebel does not exaggerate the importance of Thucydides in the hellenistic period; on the contrary he notes⁸ a falling-off of interest in Thucydides and accounts for this,

⁴ Macleod (1983), esp. chs. 10 and 11 (Mytilene and Plataia debates).

⁵ Heath (1990). ⁶ Luschnat (1971). ⁷ Strebel (1935).

⁸ Strebel (1935), 26.

plausibly no doubt, in terms of changes in stylistic taste. I return to this below. Strebel's dissertation is however itself short and incomplete and the whole question bears reopening.

My chapter falls into two main parts. In Section I, I give the evidence. This is selective. To 're-do' Luschnat from the ground up would be absurd, because there is naturally much valuable material in Luschnat about the (regrettably few) authors whom he does treat, such as the continuators of Thucydides; Philistos; Isokrates; Plato; Aristotle. Logically an attempt to re-do Luschnat would require repeating what he does say, plus a lot more: the result would be a very long chapter. I confine myself to (a) giving material relevant to or found in the authors treated by Luschnat, only where Luschnat has omitted it or it is specially illuminating; and (b) discussing more fully the authors Luschnat does not treat. In Section II, I broaden things out and offer more general (and speculative) reflections on the way in which Thucydides and his period were viewed by educated post-classical Greeks. Section III is a brief conclusion.

The aim of Section II needs expanding. Having I hope established in Section I that neglect of Thucydides was far from total, I still need to explain, in Section II, *why* he was neglected—if only partially and relatively; and to say what he meant to those who still read him. Only a handful of the later Greek historians proclaimed themselves Thucydides' imitators (a slippery notion, n. 60), or can be so described with confidence: Philistos (imitation certain, and explicitly attested), Hieronymos of Kardia (influence very probable); Agatharchides of Knidos (imitation explicitly attested, but attestation ambiguous). Philochoros has in modern times been compared to Thucydides (whom he knew, if only *via* Androtion) and there are indeed features in common. Phylarchos shared Thucydides' interest in Sparta and continued Hieronymos—but he also continued the frothier Duris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76), and modelled himself more on the latter than on the former. Polybius is problematic but influence is certain, if only at the level of methodology. This list is short and we shall have to ask why it is not longer. Some of the material in Section I is Thucydidean material from authors not (as far as we can see) profoundly influenced by Thucydides; I include it because the factual question of awareness is basic. There is however an important distinction to be made between awareness of an author and imitation of that author.

So we may wish to say Philochoros knew Thucydides, if only at second hand, and resembled or even imitated him; whereas Androtion, who knew him at first hand, resembled him less. It is the profounder question of perspective and 'world view' which I discuss in Section II.

I

First, a general remark about the method we should employ in this more factual section. Gomme was strictly right to talk of 'silence' about Thucydides, if by that we mean that there is a post-classical dearth of specific references to Thucydides by name. To put that another way, a computer search for the name 'Thucydides' might mislead us into thinking that Thucydides was indeed not much read after his own time. This would be a mistake: 'not mentioned' is not the same as 'not read'. Even in the fifth century BC the same principle applies: it would be wrong to argue that, merely because Thucydides does not mention Herodotus by name, he did not know Herodotus' work well.⁹ When dealing with a period like the fourth century, and especially the hellenistic period when our literary evidence survives in such tatters (even Polybius is far from complete), it is even more true that we must proceed indirectly, and be ready to detect oblique influences, influences exerted in ways which do not immediately jump on to computer screens. (I stress 'immediately'; I realize that computers can do more sophisticated jobs than looking for the name 'Thucydides'). In all periods of ancient history the ordinary problems of intertextuality are made more acute by the habits of ancient authors like Polybius when using each other's works. I discuss these questions elsewhere.¹⁰ Ancient methods of book-production and 'information retrieval' may explain some of the oddities, as may the insight of

⁹ CT II, 122–37; Rubincam (1981).

¹⁰ *Greek Historiography* 54–72, esp. 72 for Pol.'s knowledge of Th.; Eckstein (1995), 60. Janko (2000), 147–8, discussing the distinction between truth/instruction and poetry/enthralment, and citing a variety of ancient texts, notes (148 n. 3) that Pol. 2. 56. 11–12 (the aim of tragedy and history are different, etc.) partly echoes Th. 1. 22. 4. See below, 315 and n. 76 ('tragic history').

Momigliano that there were senses in which ancient texts were transmitted orally long after the advent (tendentious word) of literacy; this last consideration also helps to explain the instability of some of our texts.¹¹ But not all anomalies can be explained. Strabo and Plutarch were 'well-read', whatever we mean by that; but they did not behave like Schwartz or Jacoby. Modern ancient historians, trained in rigorous *Quellenforschung*, occasionally forget this. It is however true that once we leave the safe ground of explicitly attributed quotations or 'fragments' in the special sense used by Jacoby and Diels/Kranz, matters become subjective. One reader may detect influence which another denies. Jacoby's principle, notably applied to Diodorus, was to refuse to assign to a historian material for which attribution evidence was indirect.¹² Thus there is surely more Poseidonios in Diodorus than Jacoby prints under his no. 87; the question is, how much?¹³ In what follows, there is much subjectivity. But at least some relevant texts will have been aired.

Let us return to the specific problem of the reception of Thucydides.

I do not linger on the continuators of Thucydides, considered in that capacity only, *viz.* Kratippos, Theopompos, Xenophon in the *Hellenika*, the Oxyrhynchos Historian.¹⁴ Two, at least, were not slavish continuators. Thus the Oxyrhynchos historian seems to have overlapped with Thucydides, or to have covered some of the same ground by way of what narratologists call analepsis (flashback).¹⁵ As for Xenophon in the *Hellenika*, it says something about his attitude to Thucydides that he 'continues' him without a methodological introduction,

¹¹ Momigliano (1980); Thomas (1989), 123.

¹² For Jacoby's principle, and an acknowledgment that he often broke it, see Vorrede to *FGrHist* IIA at v; cf. Jacoby (1956), 60 n. 114. Cf. Brunt (1980).

¹³ Poseidonios: Kidd (1988), 295: 'There is still no control over the possible extent and fidelity of this use [sc. Diodorus' use of Posidonius], nor has there been any recent study on Diodoros and Poseidonios on the scale of Jane Hornblower for Hieronymos of Kardia, and there is still no alternative between printing the whole of Diodoros as Poseidonios, or none of him apart from the sentence in [Diod. book] 34'. Cf. Malitz (1983).

¹⁴ Bloch (1940), 303–41. Kratippos disliked Th.'s speeches (*FGrHist* 64 F 1)—but evidently read them!

¹⁵ Schepens (1993), 202 says that Th.'s continuators are really his discontinuators. Oxy. Hist.: see the ref. to Pedaritos (a Spartan who features in Th. bk. 8), and the explicit mention of Th., at ch. 5 line 40 of the Florentine fragments (p. 7 Chambers); this is remarkable as the only explicit reference to Th. in the surviving text of the Oxy. Hist. Cf. CT III, 834–5, citing Bleckmann (1998), 202–6.

but equally it says something that he does not *quite* continue him; there is a short gap. That is a mild distancing device.

I now glance at the evidence for specific knowledge of Thucydides in Xenophon. First, the *Hellenika*. The list of the places destroyed by Athens in the war, thoughts of which caused Athenian insomnia after Aigospotamoi, is perhaps derived from common knowledge, rather than from Thucydides (*Hell.* 2. 2. 3. The places are Melos, Histiaia, Skione, Torone, and Aigina). True, all feature in Thucydides, and the reference to the Melians as 'colonists of the Spartans', *Μηλίων τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους*, echoes Thucydides (5. 84. 2). And the coverage Xenophon gives to Melos (whose conquest after siege is also mentioned in the relevant sentence), as contrasted with the other places which are merely a string of names, corresponds *in parvo* to the Thucydidean ratio between the elaborate Melian Dialogue and the briefly reported destruction of Skione, etc. Nevertheless it would be rash to insist that Thucydides must be in Xenophon's mind. Melos and Skione were bracketed as *the* great fifth-century Athenian outrages by Isokrates (4. 100, cp. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 9. 5 with n. 29 below), and this hardly reflects Thucydides' balance. There are other possible echoes of Thucydides, e.g. *Hell.* 6. 2. 9 recalls Th. 1. 36, advantages of Kerkyra; *Hell.* 4. 7. 5 might (or might not) owe something to the athlete comparison at Th. 4. 121. 1; *Hell.* 2. 4. 17 may recall Th. 2. 43, the Funeral Speech; and *δοκῶν* in Derkylidas' introduction (*Hell.* 3. 1. 8) perhaps suggests Archidamus' at Th. 1. 79. 2.

Xenophon's other writings naturally offer less; and I cannot here discuss the Pseudo-Xenophontic *Athenaion Politeia*, the *Old Oligarch*, a text normally thought to be earlier than Thucydides. The *Anabasis*¹⁶ offers one particularly intriguing text, from Xenophon's speech to his troops at Byzantium (7. 1. 27). This rhetorical statement of Athens'

¹⁶ The *Old Oligarch* has many parallels to Th.; see below, Ch. 16. The *Anabasis* of Xen. does not feature in Luschnat (1971). As Davies, *APF* xxix n. 1, notes, the inferior MSS. of *Anab.* 7. 1. 27 have 400 triremes. Davies further notes that Aischin. (2. 175) also has 300, or rather 'not fewer than 300'; so again (cf. above on the *Hellenika*), we must reckon with common knowledge; cf. Arr. *Ach.* 545.

Ehrhardt (1994), 3f., 'Retreat in [Xen.] and [Th.]', suggests that Xen. 'stylised his own narrative [of the retreat of the Ten Thousand] to some extent as a response to [Th.]'; but at 4 he wonders whether Th. wrote his account of the Athenian retreat after news of the escape of the Ten Thousand reached Greece.

financial and naval resources in 431 seems loosely dependent on the Thucydidean Perikles' account of resources (2. 13; note esp. Xenophon's 300 triremes, cp. Th. 2. 13. 8).

But Xenophon's knowledge of Thucydides has never been seriously questioned. The greatest single debt is the arrangement by campaigning seasons in the more obviously Thucydidean of the two parts of the *Hellenika* (1. 1. 1–2. 3. 10, after which there is a stylistic break). This chronological arrangement, the so-called Thucydidean *διαίρεσις*, has been discussed in relation to the identity of the Oxyrhynchus Historian,¹⁷ who used the same *διαίρεσις*; yet Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*On Thuc.* 9 = Usener–Radermacher 336) says nobody used it after Thucydides. This is a puzzle: it ignores not only the Oxyrhynchus Historian (whom Dionysios might not have known) but also Xenophon (whom Dionysios surely knew) and Hieronymos of Kardia (below). We are not here concerned with the bearing of this on the identity of the Oxyrhynchus Historian (who, it has been said, cannot be Kratippos or Theopompos, in view of Dionysios' statement). More relevant for our purposes is the impression given by Dionysios that historians after Thucydides turned their backs on him. But surely this was not entirely true. Dionysios evidently forgot Xenophon or for some reason failed to mention him when discussing *διαίρεσις*. So one famous back was not turned, that of Xenophon; not to mention the Oxyrhynchus historian—and Hieronymos.¹⁸ The point about arrangement by campaigning seasons is important: historians who used it committed themselves to a military conception of history. Xenophon in the *Hellenika* did turn his back on Thucydides, but only after the 'stylistic break'. That does not mean there is no fighting after that point, but the work thereafter takes on a character of its own.¹⁹

¹⁷ Bloch (1940), 308–16; contrast Shrimpton (1991), 190f.

¹⁸ For Hieronymos, see J. Hornblower (1981), 101. Shrimpton (as in n. 17) notes that Bloch overlooked Xenophon; then Shrimpton tries to save Dionysios' credit by saying 'the fact that [Th.] spawned a few slavish imitations need not detain Dionysios and does nothing to undermine his main point: the style quickly died out'. But Shrimpton in his turn overlooks Hieronymos. Dionysios used Hieronymos (*FGrHist* 154 F 13, the Roman *archaiologia*), but said that nobody could bear to read him through to the end (T 12).

¹⁹ Tuplin (1993), for *Hellenika* 'Part Two'. Xen. surely wrote 1. 1. 1–2. 3. 10 before the rest; for the opposite idea, that he wrote this section last, having discovered Th. late in

We shall find, when we move away from *διαίρεσις* to other features of Thucydides' history, that here too, backs were not completely turned. The speeches of Thucydides are the hardest part of the work. They are however only one of *four* component elements of his work. The second is narrative proper. The third is material on method. The fourth is constituted by the disquisitions (e.g. on *stasis* at 3. 82–3) and the other excursuses (including the *Archaeology* and the *Sikelika*, 1. 1–20 and 6. 2–5). Some of these disquisitions and excursuses, perhaps because of their outré subject-matter and difficulties of vocabulary, evoked imitations in unexpected places. For instance we shall see that after Philistos' early and notable effort (Diod. 14. 70. 4–71. 4), the most strikingly Thucydidean 'plague passage', before Procopius or perhaps Cassius Dio, is not in a historian, but in the Roman poet Lucretius. I return to this general issue in (II); and in any case we shall see that some other disquisitions, e.g. that on *stasis*, did find imitators. Here in Section (I) I am concerned with the factual issue of the reception of the four components: speeches, narrative, excursuses, statements on method.

Before Aineias and the historians, the orators. On Isokrates' relation to Thucydides, Luschnat is full. I disagree, however, on the supposed connection between Isokrates (4. 50) and Thucydides' Funeral Oration (2. 41. 1) on Athenian *paideia*. Thucydides' Perikles does not have culture or education in mind at all.²⁰ This is important.

life, see de Sanctis (1951), 127–61; Krentz (1989b). See also Henry (1967), 46: sceptical, on whether Xen. had Th. in mind in his reference to Melos, but not allowing sufficiently for the verbal chime. On Xen.'s relation to Th., see Soulis (1972); but the best discussion is now Rood (2004), esp. 344, criticizing Soulis (for contempt for Xen., and over-mechanical gathering of shared words and phrases), and 351–9 on Melos; cf. *CT* III, 255. See also Breitenbach (1967), 1669–80. He is not much interested in traces of Th. in Xen. *Hell.* books 3–7, which he treats at 1680–701, though at 1688 he notes the parallel between 6. 2. 9 and Th. 1. 36, see above, 292. For the interesting relationship between Th. and Xen. (*Hell.* 3. 2. 21) on the Lichas affair of 420 BC, see above, Ch. 10, 202–3.

Some of the chronological indicators in the early, 'Thucydidean', part of Xen. *Hell.* may be interpolated: Lewis, *CAH* 5.² 8 and n. 25. See also Riedinger (1991).

²⁰ Luschnat (1971), 1277; see *CT* II on 2. 41. 1 and the important observation of Habicht there cited (now Habicht (1994), 130). Th. anyway has *παιδεύσις* not *παιδεία*. But the incorrect idea that Th.'s Perikles called Athens an 'education to Greece' is, it seems, too firmly established to be easily uprooted.

In the fifth century BC Athens was an imperial, in the hellenistic age it was a university, city. Fourth-century Athens—the Athens of Isokrates' *Panegyric*—is transitional: it had an empire of sorts, but also a developing awareness of the cultural past. The difference is the difference between Thucydides and Isokrates. By the time of the orator-politician Lykourgos (330s and 320s) this introverted emphasis on *paideia* had gone further: Humphreys notes the paradox that Lykourgos' attempts to return Athens to the age of Perikles actually look from the perspective of history like an attempt to prepare Athens for its hellenistic role.²¹ Lykourgos knew his Thucydides (see e.g. *Leok.* 128 f. on the death of Pausanias the Regent). But except for the admiration for Spartan stability (with *Leok.* 12 on *eunomia* cp. Th. 1. 18), Lykourgos' horizon is not that of Thucydides, the historian *par excellence* of the foreign entanglements which Lykourgos made it his life's business to avoid. (I return to Thucydides' admiration for Sparta below.)

From the foreign affairs perspective, Demosthenes may seem a more promising pupil of Thucydides, and some influence has since antiquity been detected.²² The justification of past Athenian (and Spartan) imperialistic excesses in the Third Philippic (9. 30) is remarkable: roughly, the line is, those offences were bad, but they were at least committed within the Greek family, not by outsiders. This is certainly a novel way to read such passages of Thucydides as the *Melian Dialogue*.

Different issues are raised by the Pseudo-Demosthenic Apollodoros, whom Trevett has now put on the fourth-century literary map as a considerable orator in his own right.²³ Apollodoros displays, in the speech *Against Neaira*, an interesting relationship to Thucydides. In his Plataian digression (59. 94–106) he both uses and departs from Thucydides. Whether or not Trevett is right (and I think he is) to detect an authoritative written source behind the departures,²⁴ the detailed awareness of Thucydides is certain.

²¹ Humphreys (2004) [originally 1985], 108.

²² Strebel (1935), 12 cites Schaefer 1.¹ 289 [= 1.² 320–1]. Schaefer was right (cf. my text) to claim an 'inner relationship' between Dem. and the Periklean period. For details (ancient judgements; particular stylistic comparisons), see Blass (1893), 19 f., 87 f., 142 ff. Lucian, *Adv. ind.* 4 says that Dem. copied out Th. eight times.

²³ Trevett (1992).

²⁴ Trevett (1990), esp. 416–17 on Daimachos of Plataia (*FGrHist* 65), on whose relation to Th. see above, Ch. 5, 124. Carey (1992), 132–40 is sceptical about Trevett's

I shall not itemize every historical *exemplum* in an orator which could be derived from Thucydides: not all are rewarding. Thus Aischines could have got his references to Tolmides or the Sicilian Expedition (2. 75–6) from Thucydides—or from someone else, or from general knowledge (cf. above, 292; also below n. 65 for oratorical divergences from Thucydidean terminology for the war and its parts). Nor are all oratorical differences from Thucydides worth pursuing: it may be too charitable to see the fifth-century material in Andokides (3) *On the Peace* as an informed dialogue with Thucydides. One instance in Lysias is worth stopping over, the allusion to Themistokles' wall-building against the wishes of the Spartans (12. 63). This is surely from Thucydides (1. 90–2); note that it is from a readable and Herodotean digression and that the chronological context is close to the Persian Wars (for the significance of these points see Section 2 below). For Lysias' Funeral Speech (Lys. 2), see below, n. 39.

My first non-oratorical author, Aineias Taktikos, is hard to fit in to any genre and is best dealt with separately. He will however enable us to pass on smoothly to other signs of fourth-century awareness of Thucydides' *speeches*. For that is, in the context of the present discussion, the most remarkable thing about Aineias: he knows the speeches of Thucydides, or rather he casually recycles part of one speech. That Aineias drew on Thucydides' narrative for some of his material is not perhaps surprising, given the military content of much of his treatise. Thus Aineias' chapter (2) about Plataia reproduces facts in Thucydides (2. 2–6). Aineias edited, by simplifying, paraphrasing, reducing and amplifying, what he found in Thucydides' narrative;²⁵ but the Thucydidean derivation is clear. Even more remarkable, as I have already implied, is the echo in Aineias Taktikos (38. 2) of a Thucydidean speech, that of Brasidas before the battle of Amphipolis (Thuc. 5. 9.8).²⁶ The resemblance was pounced on by Aineias' first editor, the

suggestion. But Th. 1. 132–3 does not tell the whole story: above, Ch. 1, 32. [1992, 176].

²⁵ Whitehead (1990) [2002], 102. Simplification: Hunter and Handford (1927), 107; also lxxxi and n. 1 (other Thucydidean reminiscences). The phrases there quoted look like echoes of speeches, not narrative.

²⁶ Ain. Takt. 38. 2: τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον οἱ πολέμοιοι φοβούνται τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος καὶ παρόντος ἢ δὲ ('An enemy is more fearful of a force which *may* come to attack them [sic] than of one which is already there', tr. Whitehead). Cf. Th. 5. 9. 8: ἐλπίς γὰρ

great Casaubon, in 1609, and it has never since been disputed. After Whitehead's splendid modern commentary on Aineias, nobody (to anticipate a possible objection) can any longer regard Aineias' book as just a military manual and thus too specialized to have implications beyond itself; it is a great deal more than just that. Not, agreed, a rhetorical treatise, but still a wide-ranging document about how to achieve and maintain civic *homonoia* or harmony, and about the ways (including the posting of suitable announcements) to keep up morale among troops and civilians alike. Aineias was writing about 350 bc: he mentions (31. 24) the 'Lokrian maidens' tribute, discontinued in about 346 but still in being when he wrote.²⁷ That such an author, at such a date, casually reuses a Thucydidean speech, is relevant to the question, could the author of the *Rhetoric to Alexander* have known Thucydides' speeches?

Aineias is no narrow or philistine soldier, but he is no Aristotelian either. I move to an obviously 'Aristotelian' historian, in the strict sense of 'historian', Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124). Kallisthenes was Aristotle's relative, and they collaborated in the compilation of a list of Pythian victors.²⁸ Nobody who described the Pamphylian sea parting to do obeisance to Alexander (F31) could be described as exactly a thorough-going Thucydidean.²⁹ I shall however suggest below that Kallisthenes imitated Thucydides on *stasis* but if so it was at two

μάλιστα αὐτοὺς οὕτω φοβηθῆναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ ὕστερον δεινότερον τοῖς πολέμοιοις τοῦ παρόντος καὶ μαχομένου. ('This should complete their panic, as the second wave of attack is always more terrifying to the enemy than the force which is already there and fighting them', tr. M. Hammond (2009).)

²⁷ Whitehead (1990) [2002], 188 f.

²⁸ Tod no. 187 = R/O no. 80, with Spoerri (1988).

²⁹ The fair comparison is, however, with Kallisthenes' *Hellenika* rather than with the 'Deeds of Alexander'. The former seems to have been less aggressively anti-Theban than was Xen. *Hell.*: CAH 5.2 10 f. Beyond that, characterization is precarious. It gave space to natural portents like earthquakes (FF 19–22); but cf. Th. 1. 23. 2–3, 3. 87. 4, 3. 116, etc. As for the 'Deeds of Alexander', (1) it lay behind the other main accounts to be found in the Alexander-historians, including Ptolemy, until it ran out with the disgrace and death of its author; (2) Pol.'s criticisms of Kallisthenes as military historian (12. 17–22) recoil on Pol., see Walbank, *HCP* 2. 364. These two points overlap: Brunt (1976–83), 1. 462 notes 'if we believe that Polybius demonstrates that C[allisthenes] had no understanding of war, we must on the same reasoning convict A[ristobulus] and Pt[olemy]'. On Kleitarchos and the vulgate tradition, see below, 315. Generally, assessing the debt of the Alexander-historians to Th. is tricky: what is Arrian himself, what is from Ptolemy/Aristoboulos and what from Kallisthenes? What,

removes, *via* Ephoros who in turn comes *via* Diodorus. Of attested fragments of Kallisthenes, one in particular (F44) has a bearing on our subject. This fragment³⁰ was plausibly regarded by Jacoby as a development of Thucydides' methodological demand (1. 22), and others (Strebel, Pearson, Lendle) agree.³¹ Pearson went further: 'we may suspect that Callisthenes not only admired the work of Thucydides but that he discussed with Aristotle some of the literary and moral issues which it raised'.³² Pearson also wished to see in fragment 8 (from Kallisthenes' *Hellenika*; the account of the Spartan speech at Athens in 370/69, stressing past *Athenian* services to Sparta) a reminiscence of Perikles in Thucydides (2.40.4): the Athenians make friends by conferring rather than receiving favours. This is, perhaps, too much of a commonplace for the parallel to be cogent.³³ But it is surely reasonable to postulate engagement with Thucydidean speeches, and with Thucydidean principles of speech-writing, among Aristotelians active as both historians and rhetoricians (for Kallisthenes' facility with rhetoric see *inter alia* F2, the encomium on Hermias). The Peripatetic Praxiphanes of Mytilene also handled the relation between poetry and history in dialogue form, with special attention to Thucydides. And there is other Peripatetic evidence.³⁴

indeed, is Alexander's own contribution to the tradition? Th. 8. 46. 3, *κοινωνοὺς... τῆς ἀρχῆς* is surely echoed at Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 9, but is the echoer Arrian or a source? (Not Kallisthenes, at this late point). Christian Habicht reminds me of the classical Greek history at *Anab.* 1. 9; this looks like Arrian's own (i.e. not taken from an earlier Alexander-historian), but where did he get his material? Th. and Xen., Bosworth concludes (see his comm.). The reference to Melos and Skione at para. 5 (see 292 above) might suggest Isokrates, cf. Ael. Arist. 1. 302 ff.; but, as Bosworth notes, Arrian's odd slip, in making Skione (as well as Melos) an island, recalls Th. 4. 120. 3.

³⁰ The fragment (FGrHist 124 F 44) is from Athenaios Mechanikos: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱστοριογράφος Καλλισθένης φησὶ δεῖ τὸν γράφειν τι πειρώμενον μὴ ἀστοχεῖν τοῦ προσώπου, ἀλλ' οἰκείως αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τοὺς λόγους θεῖναι* ('for the historian Kallisthenes says "in attempting to write anything, one must not prove false to the character, but make the speeches fit both the speaker and the situation"'). Tr. Pearson (1960), 31).

³¹ Jacoby, comm.; Pearson (1960), 31; Strebel (1935), 21 f.; Lendle (1992), 159 f.

³² Pearson (1960), 31, citing Arist. *Poet.* 1450^b 5–12. Note however Sacks (1986), 384 with n. 10: Kallisthenes may not have been thinking just of history-writing, but of the criteria for any kind of oratory. On Kallisthenes F44, see also Fornara (1983), 145 f.

³³ See Blundell (1989), 35; and other refs. at CT I, 307.

³⁴ Strebel (1935), 20; Wehrli (1969) F 18; Momigliano (1990), 45, cf. 64. The Praxiphanes fragment (from Marcellinus) is defended by Momigliano (1971), 66 f.

But what of the scholarch, Aristotle himself? His attitude to history in general, and to Thucydides in particular, *has* received some attention.³⁵ The most obvious Thucydidean debtor among the works of Aristotle is the *Athenaion Politeia* (I leave aside the question of Aristotle's own authorship).³⁶ Thucydides was an obvious source for the events of 411 BC, and for other items also, and that was that. But what of the *Politics*? As always we must proceed obliquely. Silent polemic, or unflagged disagreement (n. 47) is one indicator. Thus Aristotle's explanation of the Mytilenean Revolt as prompted by a quarrel about heiresses (*Pol.* 1304^a 4 ff., contrast Th. 3. 2. 3) is informative about the attitudes both of Thucydides (the reticence about women is characteristic) and of Aristotle, who is surely here engaged in argument with Thucydides over priorities if not over facts (there is no formal contradiction). Other indications of knowledge are more straightforward. I single out one passage in particular, because it shows Aristotle to be familiar with a Thucydidean speech, the Thebans' at Plataia in Thucydides book 3; the Thebans artfully contrast family cliques, *δυναστεῖαι*, and more open and equitable forms of government (3. 62. 3). W.L. Newman remarked that Aristotle (1292^b 7 and 1293^a 25 ff.) 'probably had before him' the Thucydides passage;³⁷ surely plausible. More generally, Aristotle's conception of the development of constitutions (*Politics* 1293 certainly envisages the transition of one oligarchic form to another) goes back ultimately to the simple Thucydidean progression (1. 13. 1): *basileiai*, hereditary aristocracies, based on stated privileges, are succeeded by tyrannies.³⁸ Herodotus' constitutional debate in book 3 (80–2) also has the idea of development and decline,

Praxiphanes was a pupil of Aristotle's pupil Theophrastus, and the latter was certainly interested in Th.: Cicero, *Orator* 69. Other Peripatetic evidence: Cic. *Brutus* 46–8, of explicitly Aristotelian origin (not necessarily Aristotle himself, but perhaps a member of the school): this includes at para. 47 an inaccurate citation of Th. 8. 68 on the oratory of Antiphon (cf. CT III, 50 f., with refs. to Canfora and others; on Praxiphanes see esp. Canfora (1997a) 51–6). See Douglas (1966), 38; also introd. xlv–xlvii on the Aristotelian *Συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν* (Cicero's source in the *Brutus*); Luschnat (1971), 1287.

³⁵ Luschnat (1971), 1284–8; Weil (1960).

³⁶ Rhodes, *Ath. Pol. Comm.* 15–30; de Ste Croix (1975), 56 n. 34.

³⁷ Newman (1902), 183; on *δυναστεία*, see Murray (1965), 180. For another possible near-quotation of Th. in the *Politics*, see Kallet-Marx (1993), 81: *Pol.* 1271^b 10 on Spartan finance = Th. 1. 80. 4 (Archidamos), a *speech* n.b.

³⁸ See CT I on Th. 3. 62. 3 and 1. 13. 1, and *Thucydides* 126 f.

notably from extreme democracy to tyranny, as indeed does Solon (F9 West 3–4). But it is Thucydides who first writes like a systematizing political scientist.

Aristotle, I said, ‘ultimately’ goes back to Thucydides. Implied by that ‘ultimately’ is the intervening figure of Plato, and it may be more correct to apply to Plato what I said about Aristotelian ideas about constitutional change and their debt to Thucydides.

The relation between Thucydides and Plato continues to exercise moral philosophers, for whom it is of no particular interest whether Plato was consciously engaged in argument with Thucydides. The most important and striking parallels between Plato and Thucydides are between *Republic* 8 and the Kerkyraian *stasis*.³⁹ Here is the answer to our question, who imitated Thucydides on *stasis*? The answer is to be found in Plato and in Aristotle’s *Politics* (which also resembles Thucydides on *stasis*),⁴⁰ rather than in the historians. Among the latter, Diodorus in two passages comes closest. The first (13. 48, from Ephoros in the first instance, but ultimately from some unknown source) relates a recrudescence of *stasis* at Kerkyra itself under the year 410, in obviously Thucydidean manner. The second (15. 57. 3–8) is even more interesting. It, too, derives from Ephoros but here the ultimate source is within conjecture: perhaps Kallisthenes.⁴¹ The passage describes the *σκυταλισμός* or ‘crucifixion’ at Argos after the battle of Leuktra (371 BC). Note especially the introductory claim (57. 3) that this *stasis* was accompanied by the *greatest* slaughter ever recorded in Greece, a very Thucydidean-looking superlative.

³⁹ Rutherford (1995), 66–8 supersedes all previous discussions. Gomme (1962), 122–38 minimized the parallels between Plato and Th. For the Platonic *Menexenos*, discussed by Gomme, see Coventry (1989), esp. 3 n. 8 on the tradition of the *epitaphios* or funeral oration, on which, see Loraux (1986a). Fourth-cent. examples differ from the Thucydidean Funeral Speech as much as they resemble it (cf. Todd (2007), 153), though Lysias 2. 48–53 has clear echoes of Th.’s *pentēkontaetia*. These are well discussed by Todd (2007) 249–57, who notes, with citation of Thomas (1989), 202 n. 19, that this and [Dem] 59. 94–106, for which, see above, 295 and n. 24, are the ‘only two passages in the Orators where clear dependence on [Th.] can be identified’. See also Todd 242 f. and nn. 49 and 50 for imitation of Th. 7. 71. 1 (the emotions of the spectators at the sea-battle at Syracuse) at Lys. 2. 38.

On the difference between the outlook of Plato and that of Th., see Williams (1993), and above, 6 f. ⁴⁰ Lintott (1992), 126, compares Th. 3. 82 with Arist. *Pol.* 1296^b.

⁴¹ *CAH* 6.2 10.

The whole excursus may have looked more leisurely and Thucydidean in the Ephoran or Kallisthenean original. It faintly reflects the horror of Thucydides’ account, and I refer not only to the main account in book 3 but to what is surely the most repulsive section of narrative in all Thucydides, the *final* phase (4. 47–8) of Kerkyraian *stasis*.

Finally, Plato and Thucydides, admirers of Sparta both, may owe a shared debt to the historical Sokrates, who on the evidence of the *Crito* was the first intellectual laconizer.⁴²

I return to historians proper. I have already looked at the definite fragments of Kallisthenes, because of his Aristotelian connections; and I later slipped in the notion that there was in Ephoros, and so perhaps in Kallisthenes, material reminiscent of Thucydides in one of his moods.

Philistos of Syracuse was an early supporter of Dionysios I, and a genuine believer in tyranny as a form of rule (*FGrHist* 556 T5d). Noting this, Lewis says ‘a historian of this character will have found much to interest him in the hard world of Thucydides, and in fact it is clear that he was the most determined imitator of Thucydides in antiquity’.⁴³ There is confident ancient testimony about his imitation of Thucydides (T 15–17, from Dionysios, Quintilian, Hermogenes, Cicero).⁴⁴ Even without such testimonia the relation is unmissable: Philistos’ plague passage (Diod. 14. 70 f., see above) is a close piece of virtuoso imitation.

The big lost historians active in the fourth century before Alexander were Kallisthenes (whom we have looked at), Theopompos, Ephoros. The last two were both supposedly pupils of Isokrates (for whom see above). Theopompos was a continuator of Thucydides, and as a Chian would, it has been suggested, have read Thucydides book 8 closely, and noted especially the judgment on Chian prudence and prosperity (8. 24).⁴⁵ There is solid evidence for knowledge of Thucydides: Theopompos tried to improve on a formulation in the

⁴² *Thucydides*, 124–6; 162 f. on Plato, *Crito* 42e.

⁴³ Lewis, *CAH* 6.2 123, cf. 144 n. 103 (plague).

⁴⁴ Luschkat (1971), 1288–91; Zoepffel (1965). On the ?Philistan papyrus *FGrHist* 577 no. 2 and Th., see Bosworth (1992).

⁴⁵ Shrimpton (1991), 38–9.

Funeral Oration.⁴⁶ This specific evidence for knowledge increases the likelihood that Theopompos book 10 'On the Demagogues' is part of an *argument* with Thucydides⁴⁷ (although Hellanikos no doubt also provided much for Theopompos to disagree with; see below). But the historical text on which Theopompos worked more comprehensively was Herodotus (*FGrHist* 115 FF 1–4).⁴⁸ Theopompos (F 381) said he would include myths in his history; this is usually seen as a knock at Thucydides.⁴⁹

Jacoby⁵⁰ says the two most important things about Ephoros: he was a compiler; and he had enormous influence in antiquity (I return to this in Section II). Because of Jacoby's exclusion principle (n. 12), a study of the Ephoros fragments collected by him (*FGrHist* 70) may conceal a basic fact: Ephoros depended extensively on Thucydides for the fifth century BC. Modern scholarship, always on the alert for controls on Thucydides, has tended to interest itself in the many *divergences* from Thucydides to be found in Diodorus/Ephoros. For our purpose the general factual dependence is the crucial point: it is large-scale, and it has never been in doubt.⁵¹ It is a commonplace that Ephoros organised his material differently from Thucydides, and intruded much explicit moralising of a fundamentally non-Thucydidean sort; this is one of the things which commended him to Diodorus. (Others were his absence of Theopompan rancour—i.e. he liked Ephoros' 'sound' reputation; and his vast chronological coverage. Use of Ephoros saved Diodorus many a choice.) But to treat the reception of Thucydides without treating Ephoros is absurd. The success of Ephoros' derivative but readable work no doubt had the effect, as such works often did in antiquity, of helping to push the original into a

siding. But insofar as Ephoros on the classical period went on being read in antiquity, it is important to remember that so, in a way, did Thucydides too.

Another medium in which Thucydides, or some of him, survived, was *via* the Atthidographers. (We have mentioned one parochial history of Athens already, the *Athenaion Politeia*.) The first of the Atthidographers proper was Hellanikos, but strictly we have to speak of his reception by Thucydides, rather than the other way round (Th. 1. 97). Further relations are speculative, but Jacoby was right⁵² that it was remarkable for Hellanikos to take Athens as his theme at a time when other East Greeks were fawning on Lysander. This aligns him with Thucydides, whatever their pedantic differences. One point about Hellanikos: wherever we are tempted to think a post-Thucydidean author 'must be' correcting Thucydides, e.g. on *pentēkontaetia* details, we should recall the possibility that some lost assertion of Hellanikos, rather than a surviving one of Thucydides, was the real target.

There is enough material in Thucydides to justify Pearson in devoting a chapter (2) of his *Local historians of Attica*⁵³ to 'Thucydides' place in the tradition'. This material is not the most important element in Thucydides; it tends to feature in antiquarian excursuses (e.g. 1. 126, 2. 15–16, and 3. 104); but those excursuses are there, and they are valuable evidence on Athenian antiquities, particularly religious.⁵⁴ They were not however all that Atthidographers used Thucydides for. An example: Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 F 42) said the Athenians ostracized Hyperbolos for his worthlessness, *φαιλότης*. Thucydides (8. 73) said Hyperbolos was ostracized for his *πονηρία*; the nouns hardly differ in meaning and Androtion *may* have had Thucydides in mind. Much has been written on the problem of how many years Hyperbolos was ostracized for and when; very little, by contrast, has been said on the reception aspect of the argument.⁵⁵ (Cp. n. 47 for

⁴⁶ *FGrHist* 115 F 295 (from Theon), with which cf. Th. 2. 45. 1. See Jacoby's comm. and Lane Fox (1986), 107; Shrimpton (1991), 114. Luschkat (1971), 1271 suggests that Theopompos' description of Lysander (*FGrHist* 115 F 20) as 'superior to [the temptations of] all pleasures', *ἡδονῶν ἀπασῶν κρείττων*, may echo Th. 2. 60. 5, where Perikles says he is 'superior to [the temptations of] money', *χρημάτων κρείσσω*. But the phrase was common; see LSJ⁹ under *κρείσσω* III, and, for *ἡδονῶν κρείσσω* in particular, DK 68 Demokritos B 214.

⁴⁷ Connor (1968), 29, for 'willingness to disagree with [Th.]' as one of Theopompos' characteristics; and 106, 119–20 for Theopompos' (surely deliberate) divergences from Th. ⁴⁸ Christ (1993). ⁴⁹ Shrimpton (1991), 64.

⁵⁰ *FGrHist* 70, Introduction at 30 and 32.

⁵¹ Ed. Schwartz (1959), 21 f.; Jacoby (as in n. 50 above), 31; Barber (1935), 98.

⁵² *FGrHist* 323a, Introduction at 20.

⁵³ Pearson (1942). Luschkat (1971), 1294, disposes of the supposedly 'un-Thucydidean' Atthidographers too summarily. ⁵⁴ Pearson (1942), 37.

⁵⁵ Harding (1993), 161 directs the reader to Jacoby's comment that, on Hyperbolos, Androtion, and Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F 30) 'judged like [Th.]' (*FGrHist* 328 F 42 comm.). The relation of Androtion F 8 (Phormio) to Th. 3. 7 remains elusive. F 43 (the number of *συγγραφεῖς* in 411) corrects Th. 8. 67. 1; see CT III, 948 f.

Theopompos.) Theopompos' disagreement from Thucydides, and Androtion's near-quotation from him, alike testify to the persistence of Thucydides' text.

Philochoros' dependence on Thucydides is likely; Jacoby collects a long list of the relevant fragments,⁵⁶ while conceding that Philochoros' knowledge of Thucydides came *via* Androtion (see n. 55 for one example) and insisting that Philochoros 'used Thucydides extensively without sacrificing his independence from him'.⁵⁷ For Jacoby, Philochoros was the first scholar among the Atthidographers,⁵⁸ while for Pearson, 'in their bald presentation of the facts, the fragments [of Philochoros] recall the apparent impartiality of Thucydides'.⁵⁹

The Atthidographers have brought us up against Thucydides' excursuses. In this respect the Atthidographers resemble Plato and Aristotle, who were interested in Thucydidean excursuses of a different sort.

Another kind of excursus was represented by Thucydides' *Sikelika* (6. 2–5). This was surely read carefully by Timaios of Tauromenion, the first great historian of the West. But there are very few surviving fragments of Timaios about early Sicilian settlement such as would allow us to examine the relationship properly. We know that Timaios had views about the autochthony of the Sikans (F38), but this matter was already controversial by Thucydides' time (6. 2. 2). The hellenistic writer who seems to have drawn most heavily on Thucydides' *Sikelika* is Kallimachos in the *Aitia* (esp. book 2, 'On the Sicilian cities'). However, Thucydides' *Sikelika* is itself demonstrably indebted for some of its facts to another contemporary writer, namely Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555), whose work was itself surely available to Hellenistic scholars like Timaios and Kallimachos (given that it was certainly available to Strabo and Dionysios of Halikarnassos in the time of Augustus). Timaios' awareness of Thucydides is specifically demonstrated by fragments dealing with events and topics later than the colonising period. That Timaios concerned himself with Thucydides personally is explicitly attested by two fragments (*FGrHist* 566

⁵⁶ *FGrHist* 328, Introduction 230f. and (giving the references) n. 80. Jacoby refers to his commentary on FF 8–10, 34, 38, 39, 94, 117, 118, 121, 128 ff.

⁵⁷ Jacoby (as in n. 56 above), 230.

⁵⁸ Jacoby, 227. See also below.

⁵⁹ Pearson (1942), 135.

FF 135–6, both from Marcellinus); they concern Thucydides' place of exile and death (Italy, according to Timaios. Not probable). And Timaios disagreed with Thucydides' Sicilian Expedition narrative on points of detail (e.g. F 101). Nor should Hermokrates at Gela (n. 1) be forgotten. Whatever the implications of this problem for Polybian reception of Thucydides, it is possible that Timaios' different handling of Hermokrates' speech was offered as silent polemic against Thucydides. (Hardly as explicit polemic, in which case Polybios' silence on the Thucydidean version of this speech would be even odder). One of Timaios' contributions, it has been said, was to provide or invent the speeches on the Syracusan side which Thucydides lacked. We are told that Timaios set out to rival Thucydides (T18, from Plutarch, *Nicias* 1). This sort of testimonium is, however, hard to evaluate, and the same as we shall see is true of Photios' statement that Agatharchides imitated Thucydides. The problem about words like *zelosis* 'imitation', is in part one of attribution: do these testimonia reflect something actually said by Timaios (or Agatharchides) or are they Plutarch's (or Photios') way of making a literary point? The emphatic and widely shared view that Philistos imitated Thucydides surely rests on something solid (elastic though the ancient notion of *zelosis* is); but the testimonia about Timaios and Agatharchides are isolated and ambiguous.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Not much Timaios on early Sicilian settlement: Pearson (1987), 43. For Kallimachos' *Aitia*, see fr. 43 Pf. (= fr. 50 Massimilla) lines 1–83, with D'Alessio (2007), 421–31. See esp. lines 36 ([Theok]les at Naxos), 39 (Thapsos), 46–7 (Gela), 51ff. (Hyblaian Megara), and esp. 58ff., with D'Alessio (2007) 427 n. 22 (Zankle/Messina, founded jointly by people from [Chalkidic] Kyme—above, ch. 9, 191 n. 42—and from Euboian Chalkis, λαὸς ὁ μὲν Κύμης ὁ δὲ Χαλκίδος, with Perieres and Krataimenes as oikists, named both by Kall. and by Th., who at 6. 4. 5 calls them ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ Κύμης, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος. At this point, Kall.'s echo of Th. could not be much closer: the poet has simply versified the historian). We should also reckon with the Hymns. At *H. 3 to Artemis*, lines 46–9, Kallimachos situates the anvils of Hephaistos on the Aiolian islands, and D'Alessio (2007), 102 n. 11 notes that this location is already in Th. 3. 88. 3 (above, 20 n. 89); but to claim definite Thucydidean derivation would be incautious.

Another phenomenally learned poet, Lykophron (the author of the *Alexandra*), owes greater and more obvious debts to Hdt. than to Th. Nevertheless the Peloponnesian War, Th.'s subject, may be glanced at very briefly at lines 1435 ff., where Kassandra predicts 'many struggles and intervening fights' on land and sea, as part of the story of the secular east–west conflict—itself a thoroughly Herodotean notion—which has occupied her since line 1280. But the Persian Wars and Xerxes' invasion, including a memorable snapshot of Xerxes himself as a striding giant, are dealt with

We come, not quite last but certainly not least, to Hieronymos of Kardia (*FGrHist* 154). Explicitly 'Thucydidean' testimonia and fragments are lacking, but we have learned by now not to give up just because Hieronymos fails the 'computer test'. One point of resemblance to Thucydides has already been mentioned (above, 293), the likely division of the narrative by campaigning seasons. There are others: the absence of gods as causal factors (chance, *tychē*, plays a role but it is circumscribed); the search for deeper causes for e.g. the Lamian War; the obsessive interest in the unity (*τὰ ὅλα*) of Alexander's empire (cp. Thucydides on *ἀρχή*); the preference for the lowest and most believable of competing statistics; last and most subjective, the unmistakably high quality of the narrative as it has come down through the relevant books (18–20) of Diodoros.⁶¹ Hieronymos, not Xenophon, was Thucydides' real successor.

I postpone Phylarchos (*FGrHist* 81); see above, 289, and below, 312 and 315.

Polybius' awareness of Thucydides is problematic. I discuss it, and Polybius' possible knowledge of Hieronymos, elsewhere (n. 10). I conclude that on the one hand Polybius' three-tier analysis of causation (3. 6) looks like an attempt to refine Thucydides' two-tier version (1. 23); and there are other Polybian echoes of Thucydides on methodology. On the other hand—and this was the oddity which prompted Gomme's remark with which this chapter began—there is the apparent implication (n. 1) that Polybius was ignorant of Hermokrates' speech at Gela, reported by Thucydides (some scholars have detected an echo of, precisely, Hermokrates at Gela in Agelaos' warning at Naupaktos, Pol. 5. 103. Not necessary, see *HCP*). Polybius may have had better recall of the methodological chapters of Thucydides, especially those

far more amply (lines 1413–34). Obviously, this distribution of attention is to be explained in part by simple relevance to Kassandra's main theme. But, at a profounder level, the asymmetry fits the general thesis of the present chapter (Section II below): in the post-classical Greek world, the Persian Wars were a more acceptable and popular topic than the Peloponnesian War.

For Timaios as supplying speeches not given by Th., see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 566 FF 99–102. On the width and freedom of the ancient concept of *zēlos*, imitation, see Parsons (1993), 162.

⁶¹ J. Hornblower (1981), 235 concludes that the dominant influence on Hieronymos ultimately must have been Th.: 'in his account of *aitiai* [causes] and his analysis of the struggle for total power Hieronymos shows his desire to be a political historian.'

early in book 1, than of routine Thucydidean narrative and particular speeches. In this he is perhaps unlike Kallisthenes and other Aristotelians, who *were* interested in Thucydides' speeches and in his principles in composing them. In any case it did not for whatever reason occur to Polybius that Thucydides was a stick with which to beat Timaios. A final and obvious warning: Polybius is not fragmentary like Hieronymos or Agatharchides, but nor is he complete either, in the sense that Herodotus or Thucydides were complete. A papyrus find tomorrow might disclose Polybius in explicit dialogue with the dead Thucydides, and we should all look appropriately foolish.

Then there is Agatharchides of Knidos, another second-century BC historian of stature, but one who survives in fragmentary form (*FGrHist* 86). He is a bridge between the figures just mentioned (the historian Polybius on the one hand and the Peripatetics on the other) because he too was a 'Peripatetic'.⁶² And he was supposedly an imitator of Thucydides (T2, from Photios). But for the difficulties of such evidence see above on Timaios.

Finally, Polybius' continuator Poseidonios (above, 291). Specific Thucydidean influence has been detected in Poseidonios' introduction to the Sicilian slave war (*FGrHist* 87 F108); and his more general interest in detailed 'recording as well as explaining' might, if we had more of him, recall Thucydides.⁶³

This nearly completes my review of the evidence. But there is one Thucydidean excursus which has not yet featured much, the *Archaeology*. (See however above on Aristotle's possible awareness of Th. 1. 13.) The *Archaeology* did continue to be read—among the antiquarians. Thus a scholion of Aristarchos on Homer's *Odyssey* (3. 71) rebukes Thucydides for saying (1. 5. 2) that piracy was not reprehensible in Homeric times.⁶⁴

⁶² Fraser (1972), 2. 773 n. 163; 786 n. 217; Ameling (2008), 28–30 and n. 82.

⁶³ Slave war reminiscent of Th.: Reinhardt (1953), 633 (but note the rather different picture in Verbrugghe (1975)). Detailed recording as well as explaining: Kidd (1989), 50.

⁶⁴ Strebel (1935), 24. The Aristarchus scholion is in Dindorf's edn. See S. West in Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth (1988), 164 f. Strebel (1935), 24, gives other instances. Pfeiffer (1968), 225 remarked: 'it could not be very surprising if Aristarchus had also written the first commentary on Thucydides'; cf. Luschnat (1971), 1312 f. The scholia on Th. badly need a full-length modern study; see provisionally Luschnat (1954).

I repeat, I do not think that Thucydides was, in the period I have covered, as influential or popular as was Herodotus. But I believe I have adduced enough evidence for knowledge of Thucydides, on the part of writers engaged with rhetoric, history, or both, to make it plausible to suppose that the authors of fourth-century rhetorical handbooks could have read him. Aineias Taktikos is relevant as showing casual knowledge by a writer aiming at a fairly catholic readership; Kallisthenes as showing Peripatetic interest.

II

Bigger questions loom behind these testimonia and fragments. What did fourth-century and hellenistic Greeks think about Thucydides and the period he described, above all the Peloponnesian War itself and its various phases?⁶⁵ Why did he, and it, and they, not feature

⁶⁵ For what past Greek history and earlier Greek historians meant to Pol., see Millar (1987).

The terminology used, after Th.'s own time, for the phases of the Peloponnesian War, and the war itself, is relevant. De Ste Croix, *OPW* 294f. is a useful collection of texts from Th. and later writers, but there is still something to be said. Th. does not seem to have affected nomenclature until after the fourth century, i.e. after the fading of family memories about what, after all, were real and traumatic events, as well as a mere subject for a historian. 'Archidamian War' is first attested in a lost speech of Lysias (fr. 17 Carey: Harpokration under Ἀρχιδάμιος πόλεμος, also citing Deinarchos V 3 Coronis for this); but Th. had called it the 'First' or 'Ten Years War': 5. 20. 3, 25. 1, and 26. 3. See Busolt 854 n. 1. The 'expedition to Sicily' is called just that by Isaios (6. 14), hardly a technical expression or echo of Th. 2. 65. 1. As for the final phase, for Th. (5. 26. 3, with his mind very much on the whole twenty-seven years), it was just 'the war that followed/flowed out of' the uneasy peace; cf. also (with de Ste Croix, *OPW* 295), 4. 81. 2; though there is Thucydidean authority of a sort (8. 11. 3) for the modern 'Ionian War'. But in the 4th cent. it was called the 'Dekeleian War'; see e.g. Isok. 14. 31 and 8. 37. Schepens (1993), 194 and n. 75 argued that Isokrates got the expression from Oxy. Hist./Kratippos, partly on the grounds that (he claims) no fourth-century literary source other than Isokrates uses it. Not true; see Dem. 57. 18. The expression may have been in common circulation in Athens, and reflect the real-life impact of the Dekeleian occupation (which Th. described at 7. 28, and note 7. 27. 2 for 'the war from Dekeleia').

The whole twenty-seven year war was, for Th., 'the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians' (1. 1. 1), or 'the war against the Peloponnesians/Athenians', depending on viewpoint (de Ste Croix, *OPW* 294); he does not refer to 'the Peloponnesian War',

more prominently in what survives (n.b. the qualification) of the historiography of the next few centuries? Why does he appeal to the authors who do use him?

But first I wish to pick out the kind of Thucydidean item which did and did not have fourth-century and Hellenistic mileage.

The fate of Plataia, treated by Thucydides in narrative and speeches recurs with noticeable frequency (Aineias Taktikos, Apollodoros, Aristotle—obliquely—in the *Politics*, and we can add Isokrates 14).

though at e.g. 5. 28. 2 we have 'the Attic War'. The 4th-cent. orators naturally had a more fragmented view, cf. e.g. Isaios 5. 42 for a reference to somebody who had fought in 429 at Spartolos in the north (see Th. 2. 79), and see de Ste Croix, *OPW* 295, for oratorical references in e.g. Andokides to the phases of the war as if they were separate wars. The war had to recede some considerable way into the past, before the long Thucydidean perspective could be recovered. The first demonstrable use of 'the Peloponnesian War'—an un-Thucydidean expression, as we have seen above, but one which may betray his influence—is in Diodorus' source; see Diod. 12. 37. 2, 74. 6, and 75. 1; 13. 107. 5. But what is the source? The first and last passages are from the (hellenistic) chronographic source, on which see n. 72 below; the second and third (12. 74. 5 and 75. 1) look at first blush like Ephoros recycling Th., and it would be interesting if we could be sure that Ephoros already thought in terms of 'the Peloponnesian War'. But note (a) that these two passages actually and sloppily refer to what was really the Ten Years or Archidamian War, and (b) Diodorus' language here may be contaminated by the chronographic material in the vicinity. If so, we cannot securely push 'Peloponnesian War' back to Ephoros and the mid-4th cent., rather than the 3rd, or whenever the chronographer was working.

By the time of Strabo, Th. does, I think, lie behind the subdivision of the war, which was now a matter of academic study (cf. Th.'s own use, in the *Archaeology*, of 'The Catalogue of Ships', or 'The Handing Down of the Sceptre' for parts of Homer's *Iliad*). Thus Strabo not only speaks of 'the Dekeleian War' (9. 1. 17), but subdivides the Archidamian War: see 13. 1. 39 for the 'Pachetian part of the Peloponnesian War', τῷ Παχητίῳ, a reference to Th. 3. 1–50, the Mytilene revolt. This looks like an allusion to Th. (though others than Th. wrote about the Peloponnesian War—and about Paches, see Plut. *Nik.* 6 and *Arist.* 36. 5). But did Strabo use Th. direct, or Th. mediated by Ephoros? To discuss Strabo's general use of Th. would take us too far afield, and Strabo is anyway strictly outside the chronological scope of my inquiry. In a nutshell, some passages indicate that Strabo was using Ephoros who was using Th., whereas others point to Strabo's direct knowledge of Th. At 10. 5. 1, the language used of the punishment of the people of Melos in 416 is ἡβηδὸν κατέσφαξαν, compare Diod. 12. 80 ἡβηδὸν ἀπέσφαξαν. Both, then, seem to be quoting Ephoros; contrast Th.'s language at 5. 116. 4, ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίῳ ὅσους ἡβώντας ἔλαβον (cf. Strabo 13. 2. 3 on the punishment of the people of Mytilene, again ἡβηδὸν as at Diod. 12. 55; again the word is not in Th. book 3—or anywhere else). But Strabo on Methana (8. 6. 15) surely implies, or at any rate claims, first-hand knowledge of Th., because he says the name 'is spelt Methone in some copies of Th.': παρὰ Θουκυδίδη δὲ ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις Μεθώνη φέρεται.

Why? A prosaic and not ridiculous answer might be to point to the number of Plataian refugees at Athens: if you wanted to find a Plataian in early fourth-century Athens you went to the fresh cheese market on the last day of the month (Lys. 23. 6). There were simply a lot of Plataians in Athens making a lot of noise about their monstrous treatment. But this will not quite do (for one thing Aineias is not an Athenian). There is surely a deeper reason for the interest in Plataia, namely its quite exceptional prominence in the Persian Wars tradition, a prominence which seems actually to have increased as the classical period melted into the hellenistic.⁶⁶ More generally, the elucidation of the mid fourth-century absorption with the Persian Wars, and of the faking of documents to 'verify' the importance of those wars, is one of the outstanding achievements of modern scholarly work on ancient Greece or rather Athens; the discovery of the 'Troezen Decree' in 1959 gave the stimulus.⁶⁷ And here is one clue to the problem of Thucydides' relative unpopularity which we shall shortly address: Thucydides (and his speakers) ostentatiously kept the Persian War theme, so crucial an element in the 'invention of Athens', out of sight.⁶⁸ This cannot have done anything for Thucydides' appeal in an age which was growing progressively more not less interested in myth-making about the Persian Wars. Inasfar as Thucydides' handling of Plataia was an exception to his austere reluctance to expand conventionally, ἀρχαιολογεῖν on this particular topic (note esp. 3. 58. 4–5), it was natural that Thucydides on Plataia should have continued to attract interest.

I turn now to the excursuses. The *Archaeology* was perhaps drawn on by Plato and Aristotle for its brief account of constitutional

⁶⁶ *CAH* 6². 879, and for the 'Persian Wars tradition' see A. J. S[pawforth], entry in *OCD*³. For hellenistic Plataia as a place where reminders of the Persian Wars were taken to the point of tedium, see Herakleides Kretikos (Ps-Dikaiarchos) 1. 11 ed. Pfister (1951), tr. Austin (2006) no. 101; cf. the inscribed decree of the Greeks at Plataia in Boiotia honouring Glaukon son of Eteokles (mid-3rd cent. bc), Etienne and Piérart (1975), tr. Austin (2006), no. 63, mentioning joint cult of Zeus Eleutherios (liberator) and Concord and the 'contest which the Greeks celebrated on the tomb of the good men who fought against the barbarians for the liberty of the Greeks'. But the Plataian cult of Zeus Eleutherios is already in Th. (2. 71. 2); see above, Ch. 5, 133. The role of Plataia is not, then, 'invented' but 'exaggerated' tradition. See also Badian (1993), 109–23.

⁶⁷ Habicht (1961); ML no. 23; J. K. Davies in *Greek Historiography*, 193–212.

⁶⁸ Loraux (1986a).

progression; otherwise it was quarried by antiquarians such as Homeric scholiasts. Other excursuses like that on Kylon or the Attic synoikism (1. 126; 2. 15–16) had their uses for the Attidographers. The novelistic story of Pausanias the Regent (Apollodoros, Lykourgos) and the wall-building of Themistokles (Lysias) are the exceptions which prove the rule that Herodotus was more popular than Thucydides: these are from very Herodotean sections of Thucydides. (Note that Kleitarchos discussed Themistokles' death, *FGrHist* 137 FF 33–4, as did Theopompos *FGrHist* FF 85, 87—both in conscious contradiction of Thucydides? Or of Hellanikos?) The *pentēkontaetia* does not seem to have had much of an after-life: too skeletal to appeal to rhetorical minds? But the Attidographers worked on this period too, see *FGrHist* 328 Philochorus F34 on the Sacred War, cp. Th. 1. 112. So also did Theopompos, FF88, 153. However, as we have repeatedly seen, fragments of this sort may reflect disagreement with Hellanikos as well as or rather than with Thucydides. Finally in this antiquarian category, Thucydides' *Sikelika* was read by Kallimachos and probably Timaios.

Then there is the Plague Account. In the hellenistic period, nasty plagues did occur,⁶⁹ but as we saw historians between Philistos and Procopius (*de bell. Pers.* 2. 22–3) do not seem to have wanted to 'do a Thucydides' on them, except perhaps for a nod towards Thucydides by Cassius Dio (73.14.3. note the Thucydidean νόσος μέγιστη ἣν ἐγὼ οἶδα, 'the greatest plague I know of'). Otherwise the clearest imitations are in the Roman poets, above all Lucretius' famous description of, precisely, the great Plague at Athens (6. 1138 ff.);⁷⁰ there are also passages in Virgil (*G.* 3. 478 ff.) and Ovid (*Met.* 7. 523 ff.). Thucydides' own plague description does however merge into a general treatment of moral decline (2. 53), much in the manner of the Kerkyraian *stasis* section in book 3. So to that limited but important extent the post-Thucydidean fortunes of the plague digression follow those of that main *stasis* section, to which we may now turn.

⁶⁹ Sallares (1991), 266 and n. 75.

⁷⁰ There are, however, some non-Thucydidean (perhaps Hippocratic?) insertions. Rawson (1985), 177, suggested that Lucretius supplemented Th. with a lexicon of Hippocratic terms. Sinclair (1981), 145–6 thinks Lucretius could have consulted both Th. and the Hippocratic treatises for himself. Smith (1964) speculates that Luc. 5. 1440–7 echoes the early chs. of Th.

Stasis itself recurred after Thucydides' day; but we have seen that although the Argive σκυταλισμός is a possible Ephoran or Kallisthenean imitation of Thucydides, it was in the main the philosophers who picked up Thucydides' initiative in this area. Even in the hellenistic world there was *stasis*: Phylarchos, who for Polybius was the archetype of the tragic historian, had the unusual privilege of recording *stasis* in the one city, Sparta, which Thucydides (1.18.1) had reported as wholly free from *stasis*. Phylarchos shows no obvious trace of Thucydidean influence; but it is hard to believe that this historian of Sparta's hellenistic time of troubles did not read Thucydides. (By contrast, the author of First Maccabees, who made kin out of the Spartans and Jews (1 Macc. 12: 21), hardly got this 'fact' from Thucydides, though when reading modern assessments of this sober and excellent work it is impossible not to be reminded of Thucydides).

As for methodology, the passages on causation were I believe known to Polybius, who elaborated Thucydides on this issue. The programmatic statement on speeches was known to Kallisthenes and (I argued) other Peripatetic writers such as Theophrastus and Praxiphanes. Thucydides' remarks on chronology could have featured explicitly in the arguments of people like Timaios, Eratosthenes, and Apollodoros the chronographer (not to be confused with the orator already mentioned); but the point cannot be demonstrated. There are however particular fragments of such writers which may well have formed part of a dialogue with Thucydides' particular data as opposed to his methodological statements. Thus Eratosthenes worked out a date for the start of the Peloponnesian War (*FGrHist* 241 F1=BNJ); Apollodoros mentioned Hykkaron in Sicily (*FGrHist* 244 F8, cp. Th. 6. 62. 3, etc.); incidentally he also dated Thucydides' own death (F7), though hardly as part of an 'argument' with him. More speculatively, Jacoby thought Apollodoros rejected Thucydides on the date of Themistokles' death.⁷¹ By contrast it is for our purposes striking that the hellenistic chronologist behind the *Marmor Parium* or Parian Marble (*FGrHist* 239) is interested in battles between Greeks and Persians, and in cultural achievements, but is not concerned to report battles

⁷¹ Jacoby (1902), 241 f.

between Greeks; exceptions are the fourth-century (n.b.) battle of Leuktra and the Phocian seizure of Delphi.⁷²

Of particular Thucydidean speeches, the Funeral Oration continued to have an impact (Theopompos, Kallisthenes, and we can add the Platonic *Menexenus*, n. 39), but there was, as we noted, some post-classical distortion here: from Isokrates' *Panegyric* on, there was a tendency to retroject anachronistically onto Perikles a pride in Athenian culture as opposed to power (for this hellenistic view of Athens see e.g. *Syll.*³ 704E, and above on the *Marmor Parium*). Perikles' no less magnificent Last Speech (2. 60–4) was neglected in antiquity just as it has been neglected in more recent times: one reason (I suggest) is that it was concerned with external Athenian successes, whereas the Funeral Speech dealt with the Athenian way of life (that is what *πολιτεία* means), and this is what later Greeks chose to remember.

This study is not concerned with Roman historians as such, but Sallust's debate between Cato and Caesar in the *Bellum Catilinae* is modelled on the Mytilene Debate of Thucydides. And Sallust's definition of optimate/*popularis* ideology translates a sentence from Thucydides on *stasis* (Sall. *BC* 38. 3 = Th. 3. 82. 8 *init*; Sallust's definition should thus be used with caution by Roman historians trying to define a *popularis* or an optimate). Finally, Livy's account of the Roman acceptance of Capua's formal surrender or *deditio* (7. 29–31) draws on the Kerkyra debate in Thucydides book 1 (1. 32–43).⁷³

The Thucydidean Hermokrates at Gela was notoriously not cited by Polybius (n. 1). But equally we allowed (305) for the possibility that Timaios' account of the speech was silent polemic against Thucydides.

⁷² See Tod (1948), 312, commenting on his no. 205, the *Marmor Parium* (not in R/O). It was as a cultural achievement that Th.'s History rated mention by Diodorus' chronographic source: 12. 37. 2; 13. 42. 5; cf. 14. 84. 7. But Ephoros, Theopompos, and Diyllos also got in on this ticket. (See however n. 65 above: the chronographer mentioned the 'Peloponnesian War'.)

⁷³ Frederiksen (1984), 183, 199 n. 28 on Livy's knowledge of Th. But large stretches of Livy are indebted to Pol., and Thucydidean echoes in such stretches might have a bearing on Pol.'s own knowledge of Th. Rawson, *CAH* 8.² 453, notes that Plutarch says (*Cato ma.* 2) that the elder Cato took a small amount from Th., but she doubts whether he 'was able to come to real grips with either the language of the thought of the great historian'; she contrasts Xenophon with his 'easy Greek'. Going back further, not much can be got from Plut. *Fab.* 1. 8, which says that some compare Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus' oratory to Th.

In all this, however, the gaps in our knowledge must never be forgotten. If it were not for the survival of Aineias Taktikos, nobody would have offered Brasidas before Amphipolis in Thucydides bk. 5 as a likely candidate for the reception of Thucydides' speeches.

But it is the routine narrative of Thucydides which forms the greater part of his text. Apart from Plataean allusions, this tends not to be referred to or criticized much. (Nobody at any date wrote a treatise *On the Malice of Thucydides*, like Plutarch's on Herodotus; Diodorus' inaccurate complaint at 1.37.4, that Thucydides and Xenophon omitted to discuss Egypt, is very mild and anyway combined with a general tribute to their acknowledged truthfulness). I now turn to address the more general question, why did Thucydides' main theme and period not attract later historians?

The *relative* neglect of Thucydides, compared to Herodotus, is a fact. Some reasons, banal but still true, have already been hinted at. There is, for example the purely stylistic answer: the difficulty and tiresome characteristics of Thucydides (and Philistos) caused them to be driven off the market by such as Theopompos. So Theophrastos (n. 34); so Cicero, and so, in effect, Strebel.⁷⁴ Certainly an Alexander-historian

⁷⁴ Th. driven off the market: the papyri are relevant, though here too Hellenistic neglect of Th. should not be exaggerated, as sometimes. Useful list dressed by Bouquiaux-Simon and Mertens (1991). In a stimulating article, Malitz (in *Purposes of History*, 323–49) claims (344) that no Th.-papyrus survives from the last three cents. bc. This ignores the 3rd-cent. bc. P. Hamburg 2. 163 = Turner (1956), 96–8, which allows Willis (1968), 217, to include Th. (who certainly belonged to the historical 'canon'; see Radermacher (1919), 1837–8) in his short list of eleven authors papyrologically represented at all periods of antiquity, Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine. But this statistic should itself be used with caution because P. Hamburg is the *only* hellenistic papyrus of Th. Malitz suggests that Egyptian readers were more interested in the history of their own day (and their own country) than in old Greece: very relevant to the theme of the present chapter. Malitz 342 f. says that the early books of Th. were more often cited than the later, but see Bouquiaux-Simon and Mertens (1991) 198. In any case, Peter Parsons pointed out to me in 1995 that the picture can change suddenly. Thus POxy vol. 57 (1990) contained twenty-five Th. pieces, all from bks. 1–4; but vol. 61 (1995) contained thirteen pieces, eleven of them from bks. 5–8 (there is no Th. in more recent vols.). In general, the Oxyrhynchos material is too late for my purposes; it is mostly AD. See also Alberti (2000), x, for three more (non-Oxyrhynchos) papyri, all from bks. 1 or 2.

Cicero: note *Brutus* 66 about Philistos and Th. He says they both lacked admirers (*amatores desunt*), because their successor Theopompos' lofty and elevated style got in the way of appreciation of their brief and abrupt apophthegms (Brunt (1993), 191–2 detects 'a certain irony' here on Cicero's part). For Strebel, see above, 288.

like Kleitarchos had more success than the less colourful and supposedly 'Thucydidean' accounts used by Arrian, namely Ptolemy and Aristoboulos (Arrian's so-called 'main sources'). One must be careful here: recent work has tended to depreciate Arrian, and at the same time there has been a reaction against over-confident characterizations of the 'rhetorical' Kleitarchos. More generally, the notion of 'tragic history', as exemplified by Kleitarchos and as opposed to a more responsible and Thucydidean model, has been put in question.⁷⁵ For one thing, it has often been noted that nothing could be more tragic than some of Thucydides.⁷⁶ More recently, Thucydides has been placed under the lens of narratology, and can be seen to use rhetorical devices of an essentially Homeric type.⁷⁷ Returning to Thucydides' relative unpopularity in hellenistic times, it may be that the most we should say is that fashions changed, not that Thucydides was a stranger to rhetoric. As for the difficulty of Thucydides, this should not be over-done: in some ways Herodotus, with his infinitely more complex structure, is a far harder author than the more linear and serial Thucydides.

There is a second and related answer: derivative but easier accounts like that of the popular Ephoros made it unnecessary to go back to Thucydides. There is thus a certain justice in the fate of Ephoros himself, eventually 'pickled in Diodorus' *Bibliothēke*.⁷⁸

Third, there is the religious perspective. Thucydides kept the gods out, and the hellenistic world was not happy with this exclusion. Even Polybios startlingly brings on Philip V of Macedon pursued by the Furies (23. 10. 2).

We might be tempted to suppose that a fourth reason for Thucydides' loss of ground was his virtual exclusion of women. But though there are women in e.g. Hieronymos and Phylarchos, the world of these two remains patriarchal. If hellenistic readers missed women in

⁷⁵ *Greek Historiography*, 44.

⁷⁶ Brunt (1993), 209. The whole chapter (181–209) is important, and goes far beyond its misleadingly narrow title 'Cicero and historiography'.

⁷⁷ *Greek Historiography*, 131–66.

⁷⁸ J. Hornblower (1981), 236. In his unpublished Princeton dissertation, the late D. M. Lewis showed that Alexandrian scholars went to Ephoros, not Th., for their ancient history—but they did so in order to 'correct' the text of Th. himself! See Lewis (1952).

Thucydides it was not because they disapproved of his patriarchal attitudes but because they wanted more sensationalism.

But can we go further and ask why Thucydides' *period* seemed not to offer the attractions of some others? After all, if the success of Ephoros was partly responsible for a decline in Thucydides' fortunes, we still need to ask why, *given that Ephoros handled the fifth century as well as the fourth*, a historian like Polybius seems naturally to look to the fourth century for his exempla. Millar⁷⁹ has rightly drawn attention to the remarkable language in which Polybius (2. 62) refers to the Athenian financial and naval mobilization in 378 BC. 'Who [Polybius asks] has not read that when the Athenians, in conjunction with the Thebans, entered upon the war with the Lacedaemonians, and despatched an army of twenty thousand men, and manned a hundred triremes, they resolved to supply the expenses of the war by a property tax? And that accordingly they had a valuation taken, not only of the whole land of Attica and the houses in it, but of all other property; but yet the value fell short of six thousand talents by two hundred and fifty.' This is an amazing amount of detail. The assumption of knowledge here is in part a rhetorical device, but Polybius would not have written so unless the assumption was plausible. At this point and often, Polybius' own horizon⁸⁰ is firmly fourth-century, as is that of the imaginary apostrophized reader. We must not exaggerate the significance of this. Polybius' home city was Megalopolis, an entirely new city which sprang to life only after Leuktra. It was natural that Polybius should have a special interest in this period, when Arkadia had an independent history for the first time. (Cf. Thucydides' own digressions about e.g. Teres and Sitalkes, surely a function of his northern connections: 2. 29–30 and 4. 105. 1). But the elision of the fifth century, and indeed the fourth, is detectable even in Lykophron's *Alexandra*: see above (n. 60) for the way the poet jumps (line 1435) from the Persian Wars to Alexander.

⁷⁹ Millar (1987), 12.

⁸⁰ I owe 'horizon' in this intellectual sense to Fraser (1972), vol. 1, ch. 11, 'The Horizon of Callimachus'. Pol.'s horizon here may be 4th-cent., but Wiedemann observes that his argument from probability about resources is constructed in Thucydidean fashion, and recalls the argumentation of the *Archaeology*: see *Purposes of History*, 289–300, arguing against the view of Wooten (1974) that the main influence on Polybian rhetoric was Demosthenes, not Th.

And we have noted the curious distribution of attention in the *Marmor Parium*.

A way forward may be to draw out the thematic implications of the contrast with Herodotus. To simplify greatly, two features (charm apart) seem to have ensured that Herodotus would have a hellenistic and Roman future. First, he showed a way to accommodate new or apparently new places and races (the 'other') to a Greek perspective.⁸¹ Second, his greatest single theme was the Persian Wars, the struggle against the Barbarian 'other'. This was a perpetual struggle, and new enemies could be redefined in Herodotean terms. Spawforth has shown⁸² how the Persian War theme established itself, or rather was deliberately established, as a theme in Roman civic discourse, as the Romans 'took over' the Persians and pleased their Greek subjects by identifying their own enemies, such as Parthians, as new editions of Persians. Some of the Herodotean resonances were luck: it was perhaps predictable that there would always be non-Greeks to threaten Greeks and so that there would be Greek historians (like Nymphis, *FGrHist* 432, and others) who would need the Herodotean modalities. It was *not* predictable that the third-century BC Gauls would so obligingly repeat the Persian desecrations at Delphi, facilitating Herodotean descriptions of the god looking after his own⁸³ (but for this theme compare already Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 30).

Contrast with this Thucydides and his subject-matter. Quite simply, there was never again a destructive twenty-seven-year war between two powerful Greek cities and their dependencies; this general lack of a contemporary referent surely contributed to the lowering of detailed interest in Thucydides' narrative. But there is another reason. One outstanding exception to post-classical falling-off of interest in Thucydides' narrative is constituted by Plataia, an interest we have explained above in terms of Plataia's Persian War role. One answer, then, to the question why Thucydides lost ground was precisely his unfashionable attitude to the Persian Wars. He was not of course a

⁸¹ Murray (1972); Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993). A referee for *JHS* commented that in the expanded world of the 'Greek' East, Hdt. could have appealed to a non-Greek readership because he was 'pro-barbarian' (Plut. *Mor.* 857a), whereas Th. had nothing to offer here. With this cf. Malitz (above, n. 74).

⁸² A. Spawforth in *Greek Historiography*, 233–47.

⁸³ Mitchell (1993), 13–26.

historian of the Persian Wars, but even given his chosen time-span he could have said a lot more than he did about them. After all, the Persian Wars were what fuelled Greek and especially Athenian self-esteem in the post-480 fifth century; witness the celebratory building-programme on which Thucydides is so notoriously silent.

Let us however return to the simple point about the irrelevance of a twenty-seven-year war between city-states. It is part of the truth, but only part, to say that Greek historiography showed diminished interest in Thucydides because Hellenistic history was history for kings.⁸⁴ Obviously, Hieronymos' most glamorous agents were royal men and women, but there were other components too, see below. Polybius has plenty of kings, but he also has cities as agents—and leagues (*ethnē, poleis, dynastai* in the usual formulation). And Thucydides could, one suspects, have read Aratos of Sikyon's memoirs (*FGrHist* 231) without feeling too much intellectual dislocation. Nor was parochial involvement with Athenian history a proof of mere antiquarianism: on the contrary, Philochoros proves that local history could be dangerously topical even in an age of kings, because he was put to death by Antigonos Gonatas for being too partial to Ptolemy Philadelphos (*FGrHist* 328 T1). In any case kings were not unknown to Thucydides (see 2. 99–100; 5. 80).⁸⁵

These are however minor qualifications, some of them merely ways of saying that the hellenistic world had features which could have led it to refer its own history and politics to Thucydides and the Thucydidean period. The fact is, it referred to them only to a limited degree, and part of the reason must indeed, I conclude, lie in Thucydides' subject-matter, defined simply as a long and destructive, but actually non-recurrent inter-Greek war. The appeal of this was just too narrow—it was perhaps even perceived as rather shameful compared to the glorious Persian Wars—and its importance for later Greek history was too slight.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ O. Murray (1986) 199 on 'History for Kings'

⁸⁵ On the political partialities of Philochoros and other Attidographers, P. J. Rhodes (1990).

⁸⁶ As Fergus Millar put this second point when commenting on a draft, 'the material covered by [Th.] did not have a very high profile later because, compared to the Persian War, the rise of Macedon or Alexander's conquests, it simply was not very important in the overall development of the Greek world'. See however below for a way of divorcing Th.'s 'theme' (or one major theme: 'liberation') from his 'material' in the sense of the particular late fifth-century events described. In any case see n. 92:

Narrow and slight, but not non-existent. I should like finally to suggest a way of refining our definition of Thucydides' theme, so as to explain those historians who do seem definitely to have imitated him. (Philistos is easiest: he simply handled Thucydides' own subject-matter, though without apparently providing a genuinely Syracusan perspective on the Sicilian expedition,⁸⁷ and then he moved on to the Dionysioi). What, in particular, of Hieronymos? That Thucydides' sober method appealed to him can be taken for granted; but what of Thucydides' subject-matter?

One key theme of Thucydides' history is the idea of liberation betrayed, specifically liberation from Athens, to be achieved by Sparta. Liberation is proclaimed early in book 2 (2. 8, recalled as late as 412/11: 8. 46. 3), and its betrayal is insistently reported thereafter. Disappointment and betrayal are already well to the front in book 3: some Samians from Anaia tell Alkidas he is liberating Greece disgracefully (*οὐ καλῶς*, 3. 32. 2). Then there was Herakleia, which had an anti-Ionian aspect and was surely intended as a refuge from Athens, in fact as a concrete act of liberation. The Spartans (Alkidas again!) ruined the Herakleia colony, so initially attractive to other Greeks, by behaving *οὐ καλῶς* 3. 93. 2, cp. *μὴ καλῶς* at 5. 12.1 (the Spartans themselves tried to put things right in 422). But in 419 the Spartan governor of Herakleia was thrown out by the Boeotians for governing *οὐ καλῶς* (5. 52. 1). We are not meant to miss the cumulative force of these recurrent instances of *οὐ καλῶς* (Cp. 5. 57. 1 where *οὐ καλῶς* is used about Peloponnesian disaffection from

Cicero thought that there were lessons to be drawn from the Thucydidean period, and others before him may have thought similarly. And, as a *JHS* referee remarked, '[Th.]'s theme, especially his publicity for *Athens* (good or bad is all the same) was very important for later Greek history *under Rome*'. On the other hand I concede that (to stray outside my time-limit) Pausanias in the second cent. AD resembles Pol. in saying more about the fourth cent. BC than about the Pentekontaetia or the Peloponnesian War: Habicht (1985), 102f.

Peloponnesian War 'shameful': I am here indebted to a comment by Christian Habicht, who continues 'if one had to read about it, Ephoros may have been selected as reading easier to be digested than Th. Cicero, of course, had no reason to feel that way—and he was certainly more able than many others to appreciate the literary genius of Th.'

⁸⁷ Brown (1958), 67: 'we could do with an account criticizing [Th.] and rooted in Sicilian tradition. But both Philistos and Ephoros chose to follow [Th.] here, and Diodorus seems not to have made any use of Timaeus at this point.'

Sparta; and see 3. 68. 4, 4. 108. 5 for Spartan cynicism generally). See above, Ch. 1, 46; Ch. 5, 130; and Ch. 13, 271.

'Liberation gone sour' is a theme which surely had its attractions in an age, like the early Successor period, which had seen a string of competitive proclamations of the 'Freedom of the Greeks',⁸⁸ starting with the *diagramma* of Polyperchon in 319 (Diod. 18. 55). Alexander was a kind of self-proclaimed liberator of Asia, but his historian Kallisthenes could hardly be expected to expose the hollowness of that claim. Hieronymos, by contrast, saw through some of the propaganda of the period he described, though he had to be careful how he put it; he could hardly say openly that the Antigonid liberation was executed *οὐ καλῶς*. So for instance he 'comments cynically on the insincerity of Ptolemy's rival professions' (Diod. 19. 62. 1),⁸⁹ and adds that Antigonos had by contrast decided to liberate the Greeks 'in very truth' (19. 78. 2). Hieronymos, to repeat, could not say '*οὐ καλῶς*' openly to an Antigonid patron; but it has been plausibly suggested that he *could* read him an oblique sermon on freedom, by describing that enjoyed by Nabataean Arabs. Hieronymos, that is, must have had an opinion on the Lamian and Chremonidean Wars, attempted wars of liberation both, and found indirect means to express his attitude.⁹⁰ One reason for the appeal of Thucydides to such a man should now be clear. Kings had at the most obvious level replaced Athenians and Spartans; but the issue of liberation and its betrayal was still a live one.

Hieronymos' attention to Thucydides' text was however (if the above is on the right lines) unusually sophisticated. More usually, the 'liberation' motif was the cue to bring out those two standard post-Peloponnesian War *topoi*, the liberation of Athens by Thrasyboulos with Theban help, and its mirror-image, the liberation of the Theban Kadmeia by Pelopidas with Athenian help. These tended to be mentioned on those occasions when an orator like Deinarchos in the 320s (Dein. 1. 25; 38–9) wished, unusually, to be polite about Thebes. (The more familiar forensic move was to recall Thebes' shameful medism of 480 BC, cp. Isok. 14. 30, 59 etc.). Thus when Plutarch in the

⁸⁸ Spartan propaganda and its failure: Raaflaub (1985), 248–57. Later Greek and Macedonian use and abuse of liberation: Heuss (1938); Seager and Tuplin (1980: Seager (1981); Gruen (1984), ch. 4.

⁸⁹ J. Hornblower (1981), 175–6.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 172–9.

Aratus refers to the liberation from tyrants effected by Aratos (16. 4), it is to Thrasyboulos and Pelopidas that he or his source refers.

Did Thucydides' theme of Spartan liberation then disappear altogether after Hieronymos of Kardia? Perhaps; but I have a final speculation to offer. It concerns Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who is the last Hellenistic link in the long Freedom-of-the-Greeks chain which runs from Sparta's announcement in 431 BC, through Flamininus' proclamation at the Isthmian Games of 196 BC, and ends with Nero's at the Isthmian Games in AD 67. I have sometimes wondered where Flamininus got this idea from, and in particular whether it is significant that he spent formative time at the South Italian town of Taras/Tarentum, which is precisely Sparta's only historical colony (for Flamininus' Tarentine period see Plut. *Flam.* 1). What we call the Sicilian Expedition of 415 BC was in fact directed at South Italy too, a point well made by some Syracusan ambassadors to South Italy after the Athenian invasion has begun (Th. 6.88.7). Memories of that period of crisis in South Italian history were surely kept green at Taras, and we would hardly expect the Tarantines to offer Flamininus a cynical version of the liberation theme. Not everything about 'soft Tarentum', *molle Tarentum*, was modelled on the tough metropolis, but the place which summoned Archidamos of Sparta in the 330s to fight for it against Messapians surely never forgot that it was also Spartan Tarentum, *Lacedaemonium Tarentum*: after all, at not-distant Thourioi, Gylippos' father Kleandridas had a *hērōon* of which traces survived to Roman times. Memories of the Athenians, who in the fifth century had played the 'barbarian card' by allying themselves with the Messapian king Artas, will have been correspondingly bitter.⁹¹ But that is no more than speculation.

III

My aims in this chapter have been: (1) to show, without I hope exaggeration, that Thucydides did not at all disappear from view in the post-classical world; (2) to suggest reasons for his *relative* (n.b.) neglect and to make some distinctions between the reception of the different

⁹¹ For the *hērōon* of Kleandridas, see CT III, 534–5. For Artas, Th. 7. 33. 4 with M. Walbank (1978), no. 70, and CT III, 607–8.

elements in Thucydides' work; (3) to suggest what the appeal of his subject-matter might nevertheless have been to those who thought his stylistic difficulties were justified by the thematic rewards.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to ask why Thucydides' fortunes apparently (I stress apparently) improved with writers like Cicero and Dionysios of Halikarnassos. We may be dealing with inscrutable matters of intellectual taste: Rawson actually speaks of a 'fashion' for Thucydides and his style in the 50s BC.⁹² In any case, if I am right the question to some extent collapses: there was no dramatic change in the perception or reception of Thucydides, because he had not disappeared from sight in the fourth, third, and second centuries BC. An obvious difference is that we have so much more of Cicero and of Dionysios, not to mention Plutarch and some other writers of the 'Second Sophistic', than of many of the fragmentary authors mentioned in this paper; and yet we happen to know that (for instance) Philodemos, tatters of whose prose writings survive by a miracle, explicitly discussed Thucydides in perhaps the 70s BC and in a way which implies that he was a familiar stylistic model.⁹³ The fragmentary character of hellenistic literature is a good note on which to end, because it enables me to stress again and finally the tentative character of this inquiry, as of any inquiry concerning the lost historians of Greece.

⁹² Rawson (1985), 222. More than style is at issue here: note her remarks on the perceived value of Th.'s subject-matter, citing Cicero, *Orator* 120: the orator should know the history of earlier imperial nations, *imperiosorum populorum* (she takes this to include Athens and Sparta), as well as of famous kings. A *JHS* referee noted that the revived interest in Th. 'doesn't show a change in the perception/reception of the *History* so much as of *Athens* and of the classical period (which Hdt., however glorious and perennial his story, missed out on)'.

⁹³ Th. exercised Philodemos in his fragmentary rhetorical writings. See *Rhetoric* 1, 151 Sudhaus, col. 7 lines 20–2: ο[ὗ] δὲ τῆν Θουκυδίδ[ου] λέξιν ζηλ[οῦ]σιν, a clear statement that Th. already had his imitators (whatever that means, see n. 60 above) even in or before Philodemos' time. Cf. Rawson (1985), 144. To that extent, Philodemos looks forward to Dionysios of Halikarnassos. If we had more rhetorical treatises of this and earlier dates, our ideas about Th.'s influence might have to be revised further still. Philodemos does not feature in the *index locorum* of Luschnat (1971).

Note also that Marcellinus' biography of Th., which prefaces modern editions, 'though in its present form not earlier than the fifth century AD, preserves the learned discussion which was going on at the time of Didymus (first century BC) about the mysterious family connections and about the equally mysterious death of the Athenian historian': Momigliano (1971), 87. See now Canfora (1997a), 17–19.

16

The *Old Oligarch* (Pseudo-Xenophon's *Athenaion Politeia*) and Thucydides: A Fourth-Century Date for the *Old Oligarch*?

[Robin Osborne argues against the conclusion of the original paper on which this chapter is based in the introduction to his second edition of the *LACTOR Old Oligarch* (Osborne (2004)). He thinks that if the author of the treatise had wanted to be 'ludic', he would have made it more obvious that that is what he was doing. The traditional, fifth-century, date for the treatise is upheld by Marr and Rhodes (2008), 3–6, who opt for a date between 431 and 424; see 31–2 for a list of 'dates assigned' by various scholars.

The original published version thanked Glen Bowersock, Maria Brogiato, Alan Griffiths, Herwig Maehler, Oswyn Murray, and Peter Rhodes for comments at different stages; and Katerina Zacharia for the invitation to give the paper at the UCL Greek and Latin department lunchtime seminar on 18 February 1998. In thanking Glen Bowersock, I quoted some of his reactions. He told me that he would explain the parallels between Thucydides and the *Old Oligarch*, one of which at any rate he had described in the past as 'striking' (Th. 1. 143. 5 and O.O. 2. 14, 'if we were islanders...'), in the way I have indicated in my text at 333 with nn. 27 and 28: certain striking phrases of the historical Perikles were both picked up by Thucydides and lived on in educated people's memories. On the other hand, Bowersock added that 'A Fourth-Century Date for the treatise seems to me entirely defensible if not provable', and concluded by saying that he 'could rest comfortably with A Fourth-Century Date for the *Old Oligarch* but not because he had read Thucydides or was contributing to a symposium'.]

The *Old Oligarch* is a curious work and has elicited some curious modern reactions. My favourite is from Jennifer Tolbert Roberts' recent book *Athens on Trial*. In a gem of political correctness, she

writes that although she will be using the conventional name *Old Oligarch*, 'no slight to old age is implied in my use of the epithet'.¹ My paper deals with both Athenian democracy and also (in ways which will emerge shortly) with Thucydides, and is thus I hope a suitable tribute for the honorand of the offered volume, who has not only transformed our understanding of the first topic through a vast output, but has also notably, though less prolifically, advanced our understanding of the second.²

My subject is a short prose treatise preserved among the writings of Xenophon, familiarly known as the *Old Oligarch* (henceforth *O.O.*), a nickname said to originate from Gilbert Murray, though no-one is quite sure.³ The more pompous and correct title is the *Athenian Constitution* of Pseudo-Xenophon, not to be confused with the *Athenian Constitution* of Pseudo-Aristotle, the so-called *Ath. Pol.* My thesis in a nutshell will be that *O.O.* is a *fourth-century* work about the *fifth-century* Athenian democracy and empire, which the author pretends are still in existence; that it is in fact a clever (if clumsily written), ludic work of imaginative fiction which perhaps belongs to the genre of literature associated with the *symposion* or ritualized drinking session (I do not mean that the treatise itself was recited at an actual *symposion*). Be that as it may, it is the date which is the novelty about my interpretation.

¹ Roberts (1994), 52. The first numbered footnote of a chapter often gives the bibliography to the subject. However, the literature on the *Old Oligarch* is enormous, and I hope I may be allowed merely to refer to the items listed after my own entry 'Old Oligarch' in *OCD*³ 1063f. (esp. Gomme (1962) 38–69), to which add Gigante and Maddola (1987). Since 1996, there have been other discussions of the *Old Oligarch*, notably Ober (1998), chapter 1A, and a good article by Mattingly (1997), dating the treatise to 414, after the Hermokopid affair of 415, see 3.5, but before the fortification of Dekeleia in 413 and its consequences (2.14–16) and attributing it to an allied oligarch. To take this argument on its own terms, the non-mention of Dekeleia is not decisive; Attika was ravaged after 413, indeed worse ravaged (*Hell. Oxy.* 20 [Chambers]). Mattingly cites other recent works, e.g. Fontana (1968), dating the treatise to 410–406. Other dates: Lang (1972) 165–9 (430s: Kleon is the author, and Perikles' Funeral Speech is a reply); Leduc (1976), 200 ff. (421–418); Smart (1977), 250 and n. 12 (dating *O.O.* to 405). See also Lapini (1997).

² The first point hardly needs exemplifying; for Thucydides, see e.g. Hansen and Christensen (1983) [also in Hansen (1989), 195–209, with addenda at 210f.]; and Hansen (1993), 161–80.

³ Bowersock (1968), 463 n. 1. Murray used the nickname in Murray (1897), 167–9.

I begin by saying something about the contents of the treatise itself. The *O.O.* takes the form of an ostensibly admiring tribute to what is evidently the fifth-century Athenian democracy and its empire. The author generally praises the *dēmos* for the way it organizes things, though his defiant opening sentence makes or purports to make his own position clear. 'I do not' he says 'approve of the constitution chosen by the Athenians because it gives power to the vulgar at the expense of the good', though he immediately goes on to say that they preserve their constitution and manage affairs very well, understand 'from their own point of view'. Moreover his use of expressions like the *βέλτιστοι* or 'best men', when he clearly means wealthy and oligarchic persons, has usually been taken to indicate his real sympathies. In other words, the praise is ironic, the salute of an enemy, and the principle underlying the treatise is *fas est et ab hoste doceri*. But there is an obvious possibility that the speaker is really a very clever democrat choosing to adopt a grumpy oligarchic persona as an amusing and unorthodox way of praising democracy. Contrast for instance Paul Cartledge in the new *Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, for whom *O.O.* is 'certainly an oligarch'.⁴ I cannot develop this point here, but would merely note that every ostensible piece of praise for oligarchy or criticism of democracy turns out, sometimes after a further sentence or two, to be back-handed, i.e. would really give pleasure to a sophisticated democratic listener. (Note e.g. 1.9: as a result of these excellent measures the *dēmos* would soon fall into slavery; or the remarks at 1.13 on the way the people become wealthy and the wealthy poorer, cf. 2.9–11 on the mechanisms by which the *dēmos* enjoys costly pleasures at public expense which the rich have to pay for privately.) On my view there are actually three levels to *O.O.*: the surface level is praise of fifth-century democracy for looking after itself so well. This (on the normal view) is the insincere praise, actually the criticisms, of a fifth-century oligarch and hater of Athenian imperialism, level 2. This is itself (on my view) a cover for level 3, which is democratic after all, in the sense that the criticisms would themselves give joy to fourth-century democratic listeners.

The structure and sequence of thought of the *O.O.* are not transparent, but I shall attempt to describe them. The three-chapter

⁴ Cartledge (1997), 10.

division is arbitrary, but there is no reason to think it is original to the author. The first chapter, up to paragraph 13, discusses the general social and political set-up at Athens. The author then moves on to the empire, *περὶ δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων* ('about the allies'), and talks of the ways in which the empire is run for the benefit of the Athenians. The last two paragraphs of chapter 1 deal with naval matters (the connection of thought is that naval expertise is necessary for the policing of a maritime empire). This enables the author to move on to military topics, such as defensibility, in the early part of chapter 2. But from military self-sufficiency the argument spreads out to include economic self-sufficiency e.g. 2. 7 ff., including a notable exploration of island ideology. There is a jump in thought at 2. 17 and 18, where the author talks about the political methods of the democracy, e.g. it blames others for its own decisions, and it refuses to let itself be mocked in comedy. Chapter 3 is much concerned with legal issues. Here the tone is more explicitly critical or pseudo-critical, and so is the section on Athenian policy towards *stasis* abroad. In 3. 11, near the end of the work, places are listed where the Athenians have misguidedly supported oligarchies (Boiotia, Miletos). This could however be seen as an ingeniously coded warning, by a democrat, of the risks of supporting non-democratic regimes. That is, it is not really a criticism at all; see above.

The strange modern name *Old Oligarch* alerts us to a problem I do not want to get into, namely authorship; I shall be concerned instead with date and purpose. The O.O. is one of a number of problematic shortish prose works of the late classical Greek period. It is rather *more* problematic than the Aristotelian *Athēnaion Politeia*, whose date (about 330 BC) is pretty clear and whose didactic purpose is straightforward, the only problem being its precise relation to Aristotle and the Academy. The O.O. is rather *less* problematic than a very odd pamphlet indeed, the *Peri Politeias* or *On the Constitution* attributed to Herodes, which deals with events in Thessaly in about 400 BC. Though H. T. Wade-Gery tried to argue that this was a genuine late fifth-century BC work written by the notorious oligarch Kritias, the most authoritative modern view, that of D. A. Russell, sees the Herodes treatise as a product of the Second Sophistic i.e. the second century AD.⁵ That is a very startling jump indeed. Nobody has yet tried to

detach the O.O. from the Classical period, nor shall I be trying to do so. Incidentally August Boeckh thought Kritias was the author of the O.O.⁶

I. A FOURTH-CENTURY DATE?

The present chapter is an attempt to fulfil a promise I made in 1995 in an article on the fourth-century and Hellenistic reception of Thucydides. In a (now re-worded) footnote about the O.O. in that article, I said I hoped to return to the intertextual relation between Thucydides and the O.O. The present chapter is something else as well, an attempt at an amplification of the entry on the O.O. which I wrote for the new *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD) in 1996.⁷ Previous editions of that dictionary (1949, 1970) had no separate entry at all; the O.O. was disposed of in a couple of sentences in the entries on Xenophon. But my views were and are unorthodox, so (quite apart from considerations of space) I felt inhibited from coming completely clean about them in a work of reference. So in the entry I indicated my doubts but made it clear they were heretical and ended up saying that the usual view sees the O.O. as 'good evidence for facts and attitudes about Athenian democracy', i.e. that of the fifth century, and I could have added the fifth-century Athenian empire. But that is what I want to challenge in this paper. A *Festschrift* is a kind of celebration, and thus a good sympotic occasion on which to explore the idea of the O.O. as in some sense sympotic; after all, *symposia* were as we shall see occasions for paradoxes and riddles. That is to say, my paper may share some of the deplorably frivolous characteristics I shall be trying to impute to the O.O.

I hope to show that O.O. is in some sense a fictional work, that it is in a pretentious word 'ludic'. Above all I want to argue that it is a product not of the fifth century at all but that it is, like some of Plato's dialogues, a product of the fourth century but with a carefully crafted

⁶ Boeckh (1886), 389 ff., the long note (b); he was not alone, see the references in Treu (1967), 1960.

⁷ Hornblower, above, Ch. 15, 292 at n. 16, and in OCD³ entry on 'Old Oligarch'.

⁵ Wade-Gery, 'Kritias and Herodes', in *EGH* 271–92; but see Russell (1983), 111.

dramatic date in the fifth. Richard Rutherford's recent book on Plato shows how much care Plato took about historical verisimilitude in e.g. the *Theaetetus* and *Symposium*.⁸ I avoid saying that *O.O.* is not serious because the word 'serious' is treacherous,⁹ and I do not want to say that *O.O.* was unserious in any sense which implies it lacks bite. But I do want to say that it is hypothetical and imaginary, and that it shows knowledge of Thucydides and should not be treated as independent evidence as it is by many ancient historians.¹⁰ I shall also suggest that *O.O.* belongs to the genre of *symposion* literature and that that this explains some of its peculiarities.

Recent work in two distinct areas has prompted me to try these two ways of looking at an old problem. First, intensive work has been done since about 1960 on literary and epigraphic forgeries, or rather on what has been called 'invented tradition'.¹¹ Christian Habicht, John Davies, Anthony Grafton, and others have identified the fourth century BC as the great period of this sort of invention.¹² Literary scholars are familiar with the problems posed by such works as the Platonic *Menexenus* which has a clear intertextual relation to the straight type of Funeral Speech.¹³ Second, the *symposion* and sympotic literature have in recent years been an area of intense recent activity, much of it directly by or indirectly to the credit of Oswyn Murray.¹⁴

My starting point has to be Thucydides, but before I get on to him let us look at the kind of arguments which historians have used hitherto for the dating of the *O.O.* For instance Glen Bowersock in the late 1960s thought that the lack of any reference at 3. 11 to the revolt of Samos means the treatise must have been written before 441 BC.¹⁵ But the *O.O.* was not giving an exhaustive list of places where Athens

⁸ Rutherford (1995). ⁹ See Silk (2000), 301–49.

¹⁰ Including my own past self, see Hornblower and Greenstock (1984), a translated sourcebook which includes a number of *O.O.* passages, treated as straight evidence for the 5th cent. ¹¹ Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983).

¹² Habicht (1961); Davies (1994), discussing the more extreme view of Robertson (1978); Grafton (1990). Alan Griffiths reminds me that the 4th cent. is also the period when the novel begins to be born, and that many of those are set back in the classical period too, such as the Metiochos–Parthenope romance about goings-on at the court of Polykrates of Samos.

¹³ Coventry (1989). ¹⁴ See Murray (1990).

¹⁵ Bowersock (1966), also (1968), introduction to *O.O.* (But see end of introductory note above.)

tolerated oligarchies, and in any case the facts about Samos (what kind of regime was installed after the revolt?) are not quite certain.¹⁶ Other historians have pounced on 2. 5, where the *O.O.* says that long land journeys are unthinkable for a land power. But Brasidas made such a journey in 424 BC (see Th. 4. 78 for his lightning march through Thessaly to Thrace); therefore—we are told—the *O.O.* must antedate 424.¹⁷ My view of the dating problem, as conventionally formulated, comes closest to that of Gomme, who had an exhilaratingly short way with most of the internal dating arguments, 'as though careful statement, a fine accuracy about constitutional detail, were characteristic of [the *O.O.*]'': Gomme himself opted for 420–415, refusing (for instance) to be impressed by the argument from 2. 5, the supposed impossibility of long land journeys if you are a land power, something (see above) allegedly unthinkable after Brasidas and 424. On the contrary, Gomme rightly said, Brasidas' difficulties getting through Thessaly illustrate and do not contradict this. Gomme makes one very interesting point which could be taken much further and indeed in a totally different direction altogether: he noted in effect (p. 51) that the absence of reference to an important event should not necessarily be taken to indicate a *terminus ante quem*; it might also be evidence that a considerable time had elapsed since that event. Gomme dated the work as we saw to 420–415 but I shall try to take the logic of his point further.

A better approach is *via* Thucydides. Factual allusions apart, the main reason for dating *O.O.* to the third quarter of the fifth century is the set of parallels with Thucydides, who is normally assumed to be echoing *O.O.* (Nestle was so impressed by the similarities that he actually thought the author of the *O.O.* was Thucydides himself.)¹⁸ The passages which most obviously suggest intertextual relation with Thucydides are: 1. 8, *ἐλεύθερος εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν*, 'to be free and to rule', cf. Th. 3. 45. 6 *ἐλευθερίας ἢ ἄλλων ἀρχῆς*, 'freedom or rule over

¹⁶ See CT I, 192 f., first note on 1. 117. 3.

¹⁷ Cited and rightly rejected by Gomme (1962), 50.

¹⁸ Nestle (1948), 387–402. See Nestle (1948), 394–7 and Leduc (1976), 106 for particular parallels (but on Nestle's p. 391 on *ἀνάγκη*, 'necessity', in *O.O.*, see Treu [1967], 1961–2). I have added a few items to Leduc's table of parallels, to which however I am generally indebted.

others', a very important interesting and characteristically Greek equivalence, also found in Herodotus, Plato, and Polybius (see further below and n. 30); 1. 9 on *eunomia*, obedience to law, cf. Th. 1. 18. 1, itself indebted to Herodotus and perhaps Tyrtaios before him; 1. 16, the allies are made to come to Athens for judicial proceedings, cf. Th. 1. 77. 1; 1. 18 on the allies' need to flatter the Athenian people, cf. Th. 3. 11. 7; 1. 19–20 on naval experience, cf. Th. 1. 142; 2. 1 on numerical inferiority in infantry, mitigated by allied contributions, cf. Th. 1. 143 καὶ Πελοποννησίοις...στρατεύειν; 2.4, ravaging of Peloponnesian territory, cf. Th. 1. 143.4; 2. 10–11, desirable things flow into Athens, cf. Th. 2. 38. 2 and 1. 120. 2; 2. 9, relaxations, cf. Th. 2. 38. 1; 2. 14, 'if we were islanders', εἰ γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντες cf. Th. 1. 143. 5 εἰ γὰρ ἡμεν νησιῶται ('strikingly similar' as Bowersock says in his note in the Loeb ed.); 2. 16 the Athenians convey their property to the islands for safety, cf. Th. 2. 14, the evacuation of cattle etc. to Euboea.

So much for chapters 1 and 2 of the O.O., which have the greatest concentration of Thucydidean echoes.¹⁹ But chapter 3 contains at least one passage which has always been thought to have great historical importance and must be discussed separately, namely 3. 11 on the Athenians' occasional support of oligarchs (the βέλτιστοι or 'upper classes'), a policy which O.O. says always turned out badly for them. He instances Boiotia where the *dēmos* was soon enslaved, Miletos where the upper classes revolted and cut down the *dēmos*, and Messenia where the Athenians preferred the Spartans to the Messenians, but soon the Spartans overthrew the Messenians and made war on the Athenians. As long as O.O. was considered to be an independent and fifth-century source, the generalization here was thought to be of great value, because it identifies a feature of Athenian policy (occasional toleration of oligarchies) which Thucydides does not identify or comment on explicitly either in his own person or in the mouths of speakers, but which can be inferred from his own narrative and from some epigraphic evidence.²⁰ But how independent are O.O.'s

particular exempla? Let us start with the last (the Athenians preferred the Spartans to the Messenians). This is usually and surely rightly taken to be a reference to the Athenian help to the Spartans at the time of the helot revolt, see Th. 1. 102. 3, an episode shortly followed by the First Peloponnesian War in which (for at least some of the time) the Spartans did indeed fight the Athenians. There is nothing here that could not have been derived from Thucydides, although of course the Athenian expedition to help the beleaguered Spartans was a well-known event mentioned, for instance, by Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1137f.). As for Athenian interference in Boiotia, this probably refers to the ten-year period of Athenian control from 457 (see Th. 1. 108. 3); more than one Theban speaker in Thucydides says that the Athenians exploited *stasis* at this time (3. 62. 5, 4. 92. 6) and it is conceivable that these cryptic references lie behind the O.O.'s claims. It is not easy to make anything of the Milesian reference. Miletos features in the prehistory of the Samian revolt described in Thucydides book 1 (Th. 1. 115. 2ff.), and there is trouble at Miletos in book 8 of Thucydides, but nothing in either book which can be brought into obvious connection with the O.O.'s account. For an attested oligarchic slaughter of the *demos* at Miletos we have to wait until 405 BC, just before the battle of Aigospotamoi (Diod. 13. 104. 5–6; Plut. *Lys.* 8); this is well beyond Thucydides' chronological range, but well before the date of O.O. on the view taken in the present paper, and it might conceivably lie behind O.O. 3. 11. Athenian support of oligarchy at mid-fifth-century Miletos is not impossible and is usually assumed, but the epigraphic evidence is complicated and very hard to interpret; in particular the O.O.'s statement about Athenian support of Milesian oligarchy has exerted a powerful pull on all interpretations. Epigraphically-attested Milesian *molpoi* and *prosetairoi* can no longer safely be regarded as oligarchic officials, and in one inscription the *prosetairoi* have been eliminated altogether.²¹ Where does all this leave the O.O.? The material about the Messenians can easily be explained as Thucydidean in origin, and that about Boiotia can possibly be so explained. The Milesian material has no counterpart in Thucydides, and may conceivably be independent evidence derived from some good (or bad) non-Thucydidean source. As for the opening generalization about support

¹⁹ See below n. 25 for Leduc's separation of chs. 1–2 from 3.

²⁰ Hornblower and Greenstock (1984), 101f.; *Greek World*, 16: the Athenian Tribute Lists include the names of Karian dynasts like Pigres and Sambaktys, hardly democrats. For oligarchies in the Athenian empire, indirectly attested by Th., see e.g. *CT* I, 99 (Poteidaia), 192f. (Samos?), 410 (Mytilene). But note on this whole topic the remarks of Lewis (1997a) 56: crude talk of support of democracy may be unsophisticated; what mattered was 'control of personnel'.

²¹ For a succinct account see Rhodes (1992), 58f.; see the detailed study of Gehrke (1980).

of oligarchies, this may be just an extrapolation from the three instances given, and if with Leduc we regard these as distortions of popular tradition, we shall not take the generalization very seriously either; nor shall we take it any more seriously if we think that Messenia and Boiotia derive from Thucydides and that Miletos is a travesty of events mentioned in Thucydides books 1 or 8. But if we take the most charitable view possible of the *O.O.*'s information we can say that his particular Milesian information is good and independent of Thucydides, and that his generalization is compatible with what we know from epigraphic evidence and from the implications of Thucydides' own narrative (above n. 20). But in any case, on the view taken in this paper, the *O.O.*'s evidence is that of a fourth-century commentator, and it should be treated with appropriate caution, as we treat for instance that of Isokrates.

The parallels discussed above are not the only possible points of contact with Thucydides, but I hope they are enough to make the point.²² I regard all these parallels as cumulatively impressive, that is, I would be unhappy with the agnostic objection that these are coincidences. But I accept that such an agnostic position cannot be disproved.

A more plausible objection to my position is the line that both authors were just voicing contemporary preoccupations (e.g. with sea-power) in contemporary language, perhaps drawing on a common source.²³ De Romilly came close to this line of argument as we shall see very shortly. Again, Claudine Leduc, in an extremely valuable and intelligent monograph, laid out a table of parallels between the *O.O.* and two speeches of the Thucydidean Perikles (the first war-speech at the end of book 1, and the Funeral Oration), and she concluded that *O.O.* and Thucydides both refer to speeches actually made by

²² On the 400 trierarchs of *O.O.* 3. 4, see *CT* I, 257 f., on. 2. 13. 8 (Hornblower [1991]): Th. there has the figure 300. It is true that this is his figure for triremes rather than trierarchs; but it is clear that *O.O.* did not simply lift his figure from Th. So where did *O.O.* get his figure from? I note that Andok. 3. 9 has 400 ships; this is usually emended to 300 in order to make Andokides agree with Th. and Aischin. 2. 175. But if we decline to emend this historically very wayward text, we have further evidence for the possibility that *O.O.* was aware of Andok. 3 (see below, 341, 343) and thus further evidence for a late date for *O.O.* ²³ So Treu (1967), 1980.

Perikles.²⁴ In her view the first two chapters of the *O.O.* (but not the third)²⁵ were largely inspired by the real-life Perikles, though she thought that *O.O.* added material derived from the school of Antiphon (this was part of her general view that *O.O.* is a sort of sophistic *agon* or competitive exercise). The trouble with this view is that it ignores the entire problem of the authenticity of Thucydides' speeches. Leduc's view works only if we assume that the Thucydidean Funeral Oration reproduced Perikles' language and thought faithfully and in detail; but there are good reasons for thinking that Thucydides' Funeral Speech is a very idiosyncratic example of the genre, above all in its concentration on the present as opposed to the past.²⁶ Nor is there any better reason for thinking that Perikles' first war speech (1. 140–4) is authentic in the strong sense required for this version of the 'common source' theory to work. So it will not do to ignore the authenticity problem completely. One might however try to take a compromise view. It is certainly possible that Thucydides incorporated some of Perikles' more memorable phrases into his text.²⁷ 'Such striking phrases lived on in the memory of educated people'²⁸ and could explain why they surface again in the *O.O.* But though this may dispose of some of the catchier expressions like 'if we were islanders', there is still a problem if we accept, with Leduc, that there is a sustained similarity between the strategic analyses of Thucydides' Perikles and of *O.O.*, whether or not memorably expressed (and not all the above parallels are verbally striking)

²⁴ Leduc (1976), 106 and 146 (the analysis of strategies is so close it is from the same source). Kalinka (1913), 233 had already suggested that the common source for 'if we were islanders' might be Perikles; this was rejected by Frisch (1942), 273 f.

²⁵ Leduc (1976), 101. She thinks that ch. 3 of *O.O.* has no such obvious point of reference as chs. 1 and 2, which she thinks recall the Funeral Oration of Perikles (or, as I would prefer to say, the Thucydidean Perikles; and we have seen that the Thucydidean narrative as well as speeches are drawn on, see above on Th. 2.14). In particular Leduc (1976), 220 ff. thinks that the material about Boiotia, Miletos, and Messenia (3.11) is (not from Thucydides but) derived from and a distortion of popular and erroneous tradition. On this section see above.

²⁶ See *CTI*, 294–316, citing Loraux, Ziolkowski, and others.

²⁷ Glen Bowersock would, as he kindly tells me, explain the Thucydides/*O.O.* parallels in this way. An example, as he points out to me, is the use of *ἐραστός*, 'lovers', at Th. 2. 43. 1, for which see *Ar. Eq.* 732 (cf. my commentary on the Thucydides passage).

²⁸ In Bowersock's good expression (personal communication).

A variant of the 'common source' objection would be to claim that the thought in question goes back to Herodotus, and that its afterlife is to be explained primarily as a piece of Herodotean rather than Thucydidean reception.²⁹ I have already acknowledged that this line of explanation may help to explain *eunomia* at O.O. 1.9, and it may also have a bearing on my first and more important example, 'freedom or rule over others'. This powerful and dangerous thought also occurs in Herodotus, Plato's *Gorgias*, and Polybius.³⁰ Is this evidence that the conjunction of the two concepts (freedom, rule over others) was a mere commonplace? On the contrary, I would say that Plato in the *Gorgias* is engaged in a running argument with Thucydides (a view I hope to argue elsewhere) and that Plato has the Thucydides passage specifically in mind. As for Herodotus, I have no difficulty with the idea that the idea of freedom as rule over others was passed on from Herodotus to Thucydides; in other words it can be added to the already long list of items which Thucydides got from Herodotus.³¹ But though the *content* of the idea may be traceable from Herodotus through to Polybius,³² the *versions* of Thucydides and O.O., both short, snappy and easily reduceable to just four words of quotation, are I suggest closer to each other than either is to the more leisurely and roundabout versions of Herodotus or Plato; so that it is plausible to posit a direct relation. In any case the force of the list of Thucydides/O.O. parallels is cumulative, and Herodotus is not relevant to those of them

²⁹ Awareness of Herodotus on the part of O.O. is plausible enough; cf. Leduc (1976), 123, citing Gigante (1953), ch. v (esp. 96 ff.) for the influence of Herodotus' 'Persian Debate' (Hdt. 3. 80 ff.) in particular. And Alan Griffiths points out to me that ἀποδείξω at the end of 1. 1, an emphatic position, 'surely echoes Herodotus' ἀπόδειξις ἥδε right at the beginning of his work', and I agree with this, though we should not forget ἀποδείξιν at Th. 1. 97. 1 (also in emphatic position, at the beginning of the *pentēkontaetia* narrative) and 2. 13. 9.

³⁰ Hdt. 1. 210 ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων, 'you have made the Persians free men instead of slaves, and and instead of being ruled, to be the rulers of all others'; Pl. *Grg.* 452d5, αἵτιον ἅμα μὲν ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πόλει ἐκάστω, 'a cause not only of freedom for mankind generally, but also of rule over others by individual men in their own cities', with Dodds' note. 'Powerful and dangerous': the freedom in question is Isaiah Berlin's positive sinister and imperialistic type of freedom, see Berlin (1969), 118–72.

³¹ See CT II, 137–45

³² Whom I do not need to consider separately; he was acquainted with Thucydides' work (above, Ch. 15, 306) – but also with that of Herodotus.

which seem directly to conjure up the *Pentēkontaetia* or the Peloponnesian War.

A final objection to my view would be that on certain basic issues, for instance, the class struggle, the outlooks of Thucydides and the O.O. are very different.³³ So be it; all I need to show, or render probable, is that the O.O. was aware of Thucydides' *History*. I do not need to demonstrate coincidence of political outlook.

The normal view is that Thucydides knew of the O.O. and was replying to it. This view has the great authority of Momigliano, who argued that Thucydides, especially in his early chapters on sea-power, knew of and was responding to O.O.³⁴ On the relation between O.O. and Thucydides on the sea-power question, the fullest study is a 1962 article by Jacqueline de Romilly,³⁵ who accepted similarities of detail, but concluded that the two works were different in tone as indeed they are, and that O.O. does not breathe a war-time atmosphere, a point I shall come back to. Like Frisch,³⁶ then, she dates O.O. before the start of the Peloponnesian War, because she thinks O.O. dates from a time of peace. (Note that at 3. 2 ὁ πόλεμος with the definite article need not refer to a particular war). I said above that she accepts close similarities of detail, but in fact she does not in the article mention the first parallel in my list above i.e. 'freedom or rule over others'. The 'freedom' parallel does however feature glancingly and for a different purpose in de Romilly's book on *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*.³⁷ In neither place does she directly address the question whether Thucydides specifically knew the O.O.; her position, roughly, is that talk of sea-power was in the air, which I take to mean she thinks both men were drawing on a common fund of phrases and concepts.

The strong or Momigliano view of the relationship between the two texts seems to me wholly implausible. By assuming that Thucydides went out of his way to reply to O.O. it attributes very considerable importance to an awkwardly written and badly organized pamphlet which no other contemporary writer quotes or shows knowledge of: it is mentioned by no-one before Demetrios of Magnesia in the time of Cicero (Diog. Laert. 2. 57), and there are no papyrus fragments.

³³ Leduc (1976), 146.

³⁴ Momigliano (1960), esp. 59.

³⁵ de Romilly (1962).

³⁶ See Frisch (1942), 62.

³⁷ de Romilly (1963), 81.

We should not easily accept that a minor work with no immediate future in front of it should have influenced the greatest work of its age; that the molehill should have moved the mountain. I am not saying that Thucydides thought nobody worth a reply; he famously disparages Hellanikos at 1. 97, and I have argued elsewhere that there are 139 distinct Thucydides passages which show specific knowledge of Herodotus.³⁸ We can add that, rather surprisingly, Thucydides puts Euripides right on a point of fact: I refer to 6.16, where Thucydides makes Alkibiades say that his chariots came first, second and fourth in the 416 BC Olympic Games, whereas Euripides' epinikion, quoted by Plutarch at *Nikias* 11, says they came first second and third. I agree with Dover (commentary *ad loc.*) that this is explicit correction. But I do not think that O.O. is in the Hellanikos/Herodotus/Euripides class. However, as with the agnostic position already mentioned, disproof is not to be had.

Let us however consider the third and remaining possibility. There would surely (Thucydidean composition problems apart, on which I shall say more below) be powerful attractions in the idea that the treatise was the work of someone who knew his Thucydides well. That is, Thucydides was not responding to O.O., the O.O. was recycling Thucydides, the major work affected the minor not the other way round. Why has nobody argued for this? Answer, because there are, or have been assumed to be, two objections to this view of the intertextual relationship between the two works.

The first and biggest objection to any such account of the relationship as I have offered is that on the usual view Thucydides' history was not available before the end of the whole Peloponnesian War, and nobody (since at least E. Belot in 1880,³⁹ and until the present paper) has put forward so late a date for the O.O. as post-404, when the empire presupposed by the O.O. had ceased to exist. This then is the

³⁸ CT II, 137–45 (Annex B to Introduction).

³⁹ I owe my knowledge of Belot to Leduc (1976), 29. Apparently Belot thought the O.O. was an open letter to Agesilaos and dated from 378. But his reasons seem to have been no more than the supposed parallels with late plays of Aristophanes (O.O. 2. 16 is supposed to show knowledge of *Lys.* 34 [?], and the ban on comedy in O.O. refers to *Ar. Ecc.* 798–9 [?]). But in any case my own view is that the O.O. was written in the 4th cent. but is about the 5th cent.; I do not think it purports to describe the 4th-cent. Athenian empire.

dilemma: Thucydides (see 2. 65 and 6. 15) was clearly and explicitly aware of the end of the war and of the end of the Athenian Empire. Therefore if the O.O. was later than because derivative from Thucydides, the O.O. was also *a fortiori* writing after the end of the empire. But (and this is the other horn of the dilemma) the treatise at many points assumes the existence of the Empire (see esp. O.O. 1. 14 and 3. 5, but really, *passim*). So the empire both did, and did not, still exist for the O.O. Which is logically impossible. How to resolve the dilemma? My answer will be that the O.O. is located in the imaginary past; the fairly recent past but still the past. That is, we must make an elementary distinction between the imperial situation which O.O. presupposes, and the non-imperial date at which it was actually written or spoken. (To return briefly to Thucydides' composition date, I would add that in my view the material about Archelaos of Makedonia at 2.100 virtually compels a terminal date later than 399, the known date of Archelaos' death. This means that the O.O. is later still.)

The second objection has to do with the reception of Thucydides. I suspect that an unspoken assumption which has made scholars resistant to the order Thucydides—O.O. is the traditional view, held by e.g. Gomme and Luschnat, that Thucydides virtually disappeared from sight between Philistos and Cicero, being thought too difficult and rebarbative to have exerted influence. I believe this view to be false, and for reasons of space I hope I may refer for a full refutation to my study of the fourth-century BC and Hellenistic reception of Thucydides (Ch. 15, above). I there tried to show that, contrary to the orthodoxy, Thucydides was fairly widely read and known in the fourth century, and not just by the likes of Kallisthenes and Praxiphanes of Mytilene but by less obviously intellectual figures such as Aineias the Tactician.

My solution then, which I shall amplify, is that an early fourth-century author familiar with Thucydides could, for purposes of argument (see further below for a suggested context), imagine himself back in the arrogant world of the Athenian empire. That in short is how I explain the correspondences between O.O. and Thucydides.

Is there any alternative? Yes there is. I deliberately wrote a moment ago as if there was such a thing as definite publication date for Thucydides and I implied that once we have fixed his last mentioned event

to 404 or 399 or whenever, we have established a date earlier than which nobody could have been aware of anything he said. But this is (it may well be objected) an unsophisticated position. We might, especially if we notice that most of the parallels I have listed are with the early books of Thucydides, wish to escape from so rigid a notion of 'publication'. Some of Thucydides' own work, particularly the early books, could have been issued, to a limited and elite public, some years before 404. Certain memorable phrases or thoughts could thus have got into circulation, for re-cycling by the O.O. This is an interesting possibility, which would just allow us to retain a fifth-century date for the O.O., I mean a date for its composition as well as for its dramatic setting. But this semi-oral view of Thucydides, as—at least in the first stage of composition—a *reciter* not too different from Herodotus, is itself unorthodox; so to avoid piling up heresies let us assume that Thucydides' *History* was given to the world at one go, in perhaps the 390s.

If my argument so far is accepted we have a date for O.O. in or after the 390s. Not much later, surely; elaborate linguistic analyses (see Frisch's introduction)⁴⁰ have shown affinities with literary texts of the later fifth century, such as the Hippocratic corpus (some of which is however fourth-century rather than fifth). An enormous amount could be said, and I have not room to say it, about the style of the O.O., which is essentially Attic Greek with some Ionisms like *θαλασσοκράτορες* at 2. 2 or *ἄσσα* for *ἅτινα* at 2. 17. I would say only two things. First, the pull of the assumed fifth-century date has been very strong. Thus the unusual and early form of the comparative of *ὀλίγος*, 'few', namely *ὀλείζους*, occurs at 2. 1 and was regarded by Max Treu as a compelling argument for a fifth-century date.⁴¹ The word is however merely Wilamowitz's ingenious emendation for the MSS *μείζους*, which certainly gives the wrong sense and must be replaced by *something* with the contrary sense; but it is surely bad method to use an emendation to support an argument for dating. The second point is more important. The appearance or non-appearance of devices like *homoioleuton* can be argued about; and scholars disagree about whether our author uses only the 'strung-together style', *λέξεις εἰρομένη*, or whether there are traces of periodic structure, *λέξεις κατεστραμμένη*—as if Lysias were not capable of using both in the

same speech! Gomme was surely right to refuse to let all this pin us down as to date. Gomme (above n. 1) started his essay by sarcastically listing the contradictory views held on the subject in modern times, quote 'Its style betrays simply the uneducated man' (one view) or, 'it can be given its place in the orderly development of Attic *Kunstprosa*' (another view). Actually Gomme's own view comes nearer the first of these views, because he says at 60f. 'it is usual to attribute both the looseness of structure—the poor logical order—and the inelegant style to the fact that this is so early an example of Attic prose: we must not [we are told] expect the orderly arrangement of material nor the developed style that was the result of the sophists' labours'. But, Gomme protests, why is there not an orderly arrangement of material? Essentially Gomme's position, with which I agree, is that 'our author could not manage this [i.e. structural sophistication], and did not care to try, and the reason is not his date, nor because he was writing prose and not verse, Attic and not Ionic, but because he was not the man to do it'. This I suggest applies across the board, and Gomme is right to conclude that O.O.'s style is peculiar to himself. 'Crude' and 'chaotic' do not equal 'early', and the absence of a Gorgianic feature surely does not entail 'earlier than Gorgias' or I suspect one could end up 'proving' that Henry James wrote before Jane Austen. It is salutary to recall Herodes *Περὶ πολιτείας*, which some good students of Greek prose style have put 400 BC, others in the second century AD (above, 326).

My final task in this section is to suggest a particular date, bearing in mind the stress on the *imperial* aspect of the Athenian *politeia*, using that word in its Thucydidean and Demosthenic⁴² sense of 'way of life' rather than narrowly 'constitution'.⁴³ If we ask, when in the early fourth century a treatment of the old fifth-century democracy and empire might have been specially attractive and topical, there is an obvious answer: the period just before the Second Athenian Confederacy was formed in 378/7 BC. That was a time when Athenian pamphleteers were looking defensively or critically at their own imperial past. I think above all of Isokrates' *Panegyricus* of 380 BC, which has often been seen as a manifesto for the new confederacy. With its general tone compare O.O. 1. 1 with its reference to Greek criticism of

⁴⁰ Frisch (1942), ch. 7.

⁴¹ Treu (1967), 1977.

⁴² For *πολιτεία* as meaning 'way of life', see MacDowell (1990), note on para. 63.

⁴³ See Leduc (1976), 95 ff. for an excellent discussion of literary *politeiai*.

Athens—not something which bothered the fifth-century Athenians much. Like O.O. (2. 9 and 3. 2), the *Panegyricus* talks about the extraordinary number of Athenian festivals, thus Isokrates (4. 46) says that Athens is just one great big *panegyris*; like O.O. the *Panegyricus* boasts of the Peiraeus as a market for the world's luxuries, 4. 42, which the Loeb edn. compares to Perikles at Thucydides 2. 38. 2 but O.O. 2. 7 would have been just as apposite. 380 then is my preferred date, but 393 or so, the brief revived imperialism of Thrasybulos, would also just be possible, the time when, as the Thebans in Xenophon say (*Hell.* 3. 5. 10) 'everyone knows that you Athenians want to get back the empire you once had'. This too was a period of lively debate about the fifth-century past, as evidenced by the 'Theramenes papyrus' published in 1968,⁴⁴ or Andokides' *De Pace* with its reference to the material perquisites of empire which the Athenians are said to want to recover (3. 15). But that was a flash in the pan, whereas 380–377 inaugurated a more sustained and successful imperialistic revival and is moreover a period when we know from Isokrates that the old empire was put in the dock for criminal cross-examination by intellectuals. (Isokrates himself defends fifth-century atrocities like Melos and Skione by asserting their rarity, 4. 100). We can be sure, from the negative pledges in the inscription known as the Charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy (R/O no. 22), that the kinds of behaviour described in the O.O. (above all the legal abuses) were under conscience-stricken review about 380 BC. *Sea-power* was also under review at that time, see Momigliano (above, n. 34, at his p. 61) on Isokrates' *Panegyricus*, the work I mentioned a moment ago.

I return here briefly to de Romilly, and observe that in the run-up to 380 Athens was not actually at war, so her point about the atmospheric divergence between O.O. and Thucydides, if right, falls neatly into place.

There are incidental advantages to my late date for the treatise. Some passages make better sense if *thought* in the fourth century not the fifth.⁴⁵ Take for instance the statement (2. 18) that the Athenians

⁴⁴ See Henrichs (1968); Merkelbach and Youtie (1968); Andrewes (1970).

⁴⁵ Indeed, it is arguable that this is true of the treatise as a whole. Oswyn Murray puts it better than I can, so I can only quote him in full: 'I like your piece: though it is not capable of proof, it does put the O.O. into some sort of context, which it clearly

do not allow the *demos* itself, as opposed to individual fat cat politicians, to be mocked in comedy. There is indeed some evidence for censorship of comedy in e.g. 440–437 and 415, and Jeffery Henderson has recently made sense of the O.O.'s remarks in fifth-century terms.⁴⁶ But the closest parallel to O.O. 2. 18, though with a different slant, is again in Isokrates, this time from a pamphlet of the 350s, his *De Pace* 8. 14: 'although this is a free government, there is no freedom of speech except that which is enjoyed in the Assembly by the most reckless orators, and in the theatre by the comic poets'. As a statement *about* the 350s this is simply bizarre; Isokrates is still I suggest in a kind of fifth-century time-warp, note 8. 6 with its very Andokidean reference to getting back the power we once enjoyed, i.e. under the fifth-century Delian League. I suggest that both O.O. and Isokrates derived their knowledge of old comedy from reading it as literature of the past; note the rather literary flavour of O.O.'s generalizing remark 'for the most part very few poor men or democrats appear in comedy'. This seems to me rather in the manner of Aristotle's *Poetica* (1450) on old comedy as political, rather than rhetorical like that of the fourth century. I ought in fairness to point out that David Lewis' solution to the puzzle about this anachronism in Isokrates is 'I can't believe that anything got Isokrates to a comedy much after the age of 25'! (the *De Pace* was written when he was in his 80s).⁴⁷ But even on that view Isokrates has got the fifth century in mind, as he certainly has elsewhere in the *De Pace*, see e.g. paragraph 82, much exploited by scholars

lacks in the 5th cent. The problem is of course that there isn't any evidence for a possible literary context in the fifth century, so that is no real argument. To make the 5th-cent. case, I suppose one could play around with the context of the *Epidemiai* of Ion of Chios; one might even try to imagine where a real Socratic dialogue would have taken place. But the positive strength of views like yours is that you are surely right to see the O.O. as distanced from the phenomena. This has been felt by many, and is what causes all the theories—foreignness, exile, disgruntled political persona, distancing in date. They all reflect what every reader feels—this is distanced, not immediate experience. So your theory and all others seem to rest on this common response, and in a curious way the agreement about the phenomenon may be more significant that disagreement about the explanation. Might you not say this somewhere?

⁴⁶ Scholiast on Ar. *Ach.* 67 (tr. Fornara [1983], no. 111); cf. Pickard-Cambridge (1988) select addenda at p. 364, section on political censorship in the theatre. See now Canfora (1997) and Henderson (1998), 255–73 at 260–5.

⁴⁷ Lewis (1997b) (a paper written in 1956).

like Goldhill,⁴⁸ which described the display of tribute at the City Dionysia. To return to the O.O., it is then not too surprising that when he departed from Thucydides, he came up with some oddities. Incidentally, it should not worry us that the O.O. contains some non-Thucydidean material alongside the Thucydidean. Some of the topics dealt with are simply not the kind of thing that Thucydides wrote about (for instance, the reference to comedy at O.O. 2. 18 itself comes into that category). There are other items which are indeed the sort of thing Thucydides might have included but did not, for instance the allusions to Athenian support of Milesian oligarchs at 3. 11. This could be from (e.g.) Hellanikos: I do not need to show that O.O. went to Thucydides for *everything*.

One imperial section demands a word, the material at O.O. 3. 5–7 about tribute reassessment. O.O. says assessments usually took place every four years, and is the only author to tell us this fact, which inscriptions however confirm.⁴⁹ How did O.O. know this, it may be objected, unless he really was a fifth-century author? My answer would be this: O.O. is specially knowledgeable about and interested in *festivals*, perhaps picking up a paragraph of Thucydides' Funeral Oration (2. 38), and what I suggest he knows here is not so much the four-year interval itself as the fact that assessments took place at the time of the quadrennial Great Panathenaia, which they did. But I would not in fact want to rule out epigraphic knowledge by our author. For instance the reassessment of 425, the famous Thoudippos decree mentions the system of adjudication, *diadikasia*, which O.O. also talks about (3. 6).⁵⁰ Epigraphic awareness is more a fourth- than a fifth-century phenomenon.

I note finally that the rather unusual word *hyperoria* at 1. 19, referring to overseas territory owned by Athenians, is of great interest. Thucydides does not mention the phenomenon, but the odious practice of cultivating land outside Attika, in defiance of local rules about land-owning, was one of the grievances abjured in 377. Now it is true that the word, though exceedingly rare before the fourth century, is found, in an ordinary and innocuous sense just meaning 'abroad', in

⁴⁸ Goldhill (1987), 60 f. (101 f. of the reprint).

⁴⁹ See Mattingly (1997), 352 f. for this part of the treatise.

⁵⁰ ML no. 69.

Thucydides (once only) and in a fifth-century decree, the proxeny decree for Leonidas of Halikarnassos;⁵¹ but there is a more loaded use (illegitimate overseas territorial possessions) in Andokides' *De Pace* of the late 390s. Did O.O. have this in mind? If so, we have another argument for A Fourth-Century Date. (On O.O. and Andokides 3, see also above n. 22.)

II. DID THE O.O. BELONG TO THE GENRE OF SYMPOTIC LITERATURE?

I come now to the sympotic part of my chapter. I emphasize that it is detachable from my part I, that is, the part concerned with dating, and indeed could be true even on a fifth-century date; my main aim has been to throw doubt on the usual literal-minded approach to the dating of the O.O. and on the usual view of its relationship to Thucydides.

I said near the beginning of this chapter (above, 324) that I am tempted to a sympotic interpretation of the O.O. by recent work on the *symposion*. But there is nothing new under the sun, and in fact the view that the O.O. is a sympotic work goes back to Ernst Kalinka's very full German commentary of 1913.⁵² Kalinka advanced his view cautiously; he thought that if O.O. originated in a sympotic context it may have undergone revision and one can easily agree with that. If I suggest that the O.O. belongs to the genre known as sympotic literature, I am not thereby implying that it was actually performed in a real *symposion*; the genre of sympotic literature (for which see Murray, below n. 58) could include imaginary or purely literary productions, but there is no doubt that such a genre existed. The surprising thing these days, when virtually no sympotic stone has been left unturned, is that as far as I am aware nobody has re-examined Kalinka's suggestion. Part of the reason may be its dismissal by Frisch in his edition of

⁵¹ Walbank (1978), no. 22 and Th. 8. 72 for neutral 5th-cent. uses of *ὑπερόριος*, but for the 'loaded' use (specifically overseas *territorial possessions*) see Andok. 3. 36 with O.O. 1. 19; the practice is abjured at Tod, *GHI* 123. 35 ff. (R/O no. 22).

⁵² Kalinka (1913), 56 f.

1942 ('This perverted theory of Kalinka's, which unfortunately disfigures his excellent large commentary, found no followers').⁵³ Kalinka's view was advanced on general grounds to do with the nature of the treatise which he saw as emanating in an oligarchic *hetaireia* or club, the rude word for which was *xynomosia*; from this it was a natural step to the sympotic suggestion, because the *symposion* was the social glue of the *hetaireia*. But Kalinka did add an argument from the second persons singular and plural, which he evidently thought indicated a real or dramatic confrontation or *agon* between two debaters. See most strikingly 1. 8, 'what *you* think of as not proper *eunomia*', ὃ γὰρ σὺ νομίζεις οὐκ εὐνομεῖσθαι. (Forrest and others have also thought the O.O. was part of a real debate).⁵⁴ Frisch dismissed this argument on the grounds that the second person can be used in argumentative contexts without a real interlocutor, and he adduced examples. Let that be so; the second persons are at least *consistent* with a real or imaginary *agōn*.⁵⁵ Kalinka by the way would have preferred second persons plural to singular, but Angus Bowie has recently shown that a two-person *symposion* was possible; he cites Plutarch's *Antony*.⁵⁶ But in any case Frisch ignored Kalinka's main point which had to do with the social and political milieu in which the treatise is likely to have emerged.

True, the idea that the O.O. was sympotic is not self-evident if one looks at the content. The subject-matter of sympotic literature, we are told by its modern students, is usually appropriate to its social context, yet the O.O. does not, it has to be admitted, go on about food, drink, or sex. The closest approach in this line is the paragraph about luxuries at 2. 7; if we remember Kalinka's point that what we have may have been an adaptation of a more context-specific original, it does not take much imagination to see how this paragraph could represent what survives of a gourmandizing list of goodies for the table. Fish-cakes if not actual courtesans.⁵⁷

⁵³ Frisch (1942), 101.

⁵⁴ Forrest (1975), 44f., cf. e.g. Bonanno (1982) and Leduc (1976), 98. Maria Broggiato points out to me that if there is a dialogue element to the O.O., that could favour the *symposion*-literature hypothesis, cf. e.g. Theognis 1153–6 for picking up and reversing someone else's theme.

⁵⁵ For the O.O. as an *agōn*, see Leduc (1976), *passim*.

⁵⁶ A. Bowie (1997), 5 and n. 31, citing Plut. *Ant.* 70.

⁵⁷ I here allude to Davidson (1996).

But just to look for food, drink, and sex is to limit the sympotic genre unduly. *Symposia* had other features as well. I list three. First the *symposion* was an occasion for riddles, γρίφοι, and paradoxes. The fourth-century comic poet Antiphanes connects riddles and *symposia* explicitly.⁵⁸ If we start from the maxim which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Alkibiades, that democracy is acknowledged folly (6.89.6), we shall have no difficulty with the idea that the survival and success of democracy is a riddle of a pretty basic and important sort, a riddle to which the O.O.'s author had perhaps undertaken to provide the answer. A related feature of *symposia* is paradox; one thinks of the conclusion of Plato's *Symposium*, where Sokrates is heard arguing that tragedy and comedy are one. It goes without saying that the O.O. is rich in political paradox.

Second, the *symposion* had a martial aspect, at least in the Archaic period before the *symposion* lost its *songfulness*, as Martin West delightfully puts it.⁵⁹ I have already pointed out that there is a good deal about military matters in the second chapter of the O.O., though this is as we have seen compatible with a peace-time composition date.

The third feature of the *symposion* is the political. Murray and others have shown that the *symposion* was an instrument of aristocratic control in the Archaic period, and that it never forgot its origins completely; this makes it a very good fictional setting for a critique—real or ironic—of democracy. However, both Murray and now Angus Bowie insist, surely correctly, that the *symposion* was not always and not necessarily anti-democratic.⁶⁰ On my view (see above, 325) the voice of O.O. is the voice of a democrat; if so he may be posing as an oligarch for the purposes of the *symposion* at which he is performing, or rather (bearing in mind our distinction between real *symposia* and sympotic literature) at which he imagines himself to be performing, a *symposion* of democrats who have appropriated to their own purposes the forms of a one-time aristocratic institution (there are parallels for this sort of appropriation, e.g. in the sphere of cavalry service).

⁵⁸ For 'speaking riddles when drinking', λέγειν γρίφους παρὰ πότον, see Antiphanes fr. 55 (K/A). See also Murray in *OCD*³ under 'symposium literature' (note esp. his section 2 on prose sympotic works).

⁵⁹ In *OCD*³ under 'elegiac poetry, Greek'.

⁶⁰ Murray (1990), 150 f.; cf. Bowie (1997), 3.

To conclude. Whether our author is a real oligarch, or a democrat adopting an oligarchic persona, or just one of the Quiet Athenians whom L. B. Carter discussed in his book of that title,⁶¹ we cannot say. Nor, if I am right, do we need to worry about the passages which have been taken to show that the author was a non-Athenian or perhaps an Athenian exile writing outside Attika (a lot has been written about whether *αὐτόθι* at e.g. 1. 2 has to mean 'there' or whether it can mean 'here'). Frisch thought the author a non-Athenian, Ste. Croix an Athenian because of the first persons plural at 1. 12.⁶² We can simply sidestep that issue because if the author is Athenian but assuming a fictional persona it could just as well have been the persona of an outsider, a Gulliver figure. However, the possibility of so radical an uncertainty reinforces my feeling that the literary identity of the O.O. is too slippery a question to be left to the ancient historians. What is called for is not Gomme or Ste. Croix but Umberto Eco—see his entertaining discussion of Alexandre Dumas' *The Three Musketeers*,⁶³ a novel which has d'Artagnan sauntering down a Paris street which did not exist until several decades after the date at which the novel is supposedly set. Whatever the truth about the author of the O.O. as opposed to his text, which is all we have, I suggest that his chosen medium of expression—backward-looking and ludic—was appropriate to his frivolous fourth-century milieu, in the age of impudent forgery, spoof and invented tradition.

What follows if I am right in this chapter? Simply this, that historians should be wary of treating the O.O. as usable evidence for the fifth century. But it becomes a valuable document about fourth-century attitudes to imperialism, and (as Oswyn Murray puts it to me) if I am right, the O.O. 'joins the *Menexenus* in the ironic literature of nostalgia that tells us so much about fourth-century attitudes'; and its interest for students of literature is if anything thereby increased.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Carter (1986). ⁶² De Ste. Croix (1972), 307–10.

⁶³ Eco, 'The Strange Case of the Rue Servandoni', in Eco (1995), ch. 5.

⁶⁴ Oswyn Murray draws my attention to Burckhardt's claim that the forgery is more interesting than the genuine document.

17

Thucydides and Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*

For Oswyn Murray

[This paper was delivered in September 2004 at a one-day colloquium at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, to mark the retirement of Oswyn Murray. The colloquium proceedings will be published as a Festschrift called *Epitedeumata*, to be edited by A. Moreno, to whom I am grateful for permission to publish this paper here, in advance of the Festschrift. The preamble to the delivered paper was partly of a personal nature, and is not reproduced here, but it will feature again in *Epitedeumata*. It made the point, *inter alia*, that Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, i.e. of the English Civil War of the 1640s, was conceived as advice to a king, Charles I. As H. R. Trevor-Roper once put it, Clarendon 'intended that his history be read by the King, not for his pleasure but for his profit'.¹ This puts it into the category, not just of historiography, but of what in the ancient Greek world is called *περὶ βασιλείας* literature, writings about kingship, and this was the subject of Oswyn Murray's Oxford D.Phil. thesis.²

The handout which accompanied the delivered paper began with a time-line, which I give below, because the seventeenth century is a long way away chronologically from the rest of the contents of the present volume. For a chatty modern biography of Clarendon, see Ollard (1987), but for the intellectual milieu, two masterly and elegant essays are essential: Trevor-Roper (1974) [= (1992) 173–94] and (1987b). I am grateful for the enlightenment and entertainment of many conversations, about Clarendon, Gibbon, and much else, with the late Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre). At UCL, I have profited from discussion of Clarendon with Nicholas Tyacke.

¹ Trevor-Roper (1965), 23; cf. (1974), 10 [= 1992, 180]; Clarendon (1978), vi.

² The thesis remains unpublished, but see now Murray (2007).

Edward Hyde, 1609–74, created Earl of Clarendon 1661: basic dates

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 1625: | accession of Charles I |
| 1629–40: | period of Charles' 'personal rule' i.e. without parliament |
| 1641: | Grand Remonstrance, followed (Jan. 1642) by Charles' attempted arrest of the Five Members, making war likely. |
| 1642, 22 Aug.: | Charles raises his standard at Nottingham: Civil War begins |
| 1643: | Clarendon appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer by Charles I |
| 1645: | decisive battle of Naseby |
| 1646–8: | Clarendon writes draft of <i>History</i> in Jersey, taking story up to 1644 |
| 1649, 30 Jan.: | Charles I executed |
| 1651: | battle of Worcester crushes immediate hope of a restoration |
| 1658, 13 Jan.: | Charles II in exile makes Clarendon Lord Chancellor |
| 1658, 3 Sept.: | death of Cromwell |
| 1660, 29 May: | restoration of Charles II on his 30th birthday |
| 1660–7: | Clarendon in effect prime minister; Chancellor of Oxford University |
| 1667: | fall of Clarendon; flees to France; resigns Chancellorship of Oxford |
| 1667–74: | Clarendon writes his <i>Life</i> and works it into a new version of the <i>History</i> in sixteen books i.e. subdivisions |
| 1674, 9 Dec.: | Clarendon dies at Rouen |
| 1704: | reign of Queen Anne, Clarendon's grand-daughter through James II's marriage to Anne Hyde; <i>History</i> published] |

My subject is the relation to Thucydides (and other classical writers) of the history of the English Civil War by the seventeenth-century historian and statesman Edward Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon. I shall call him Clarendon, although he was still plain Mr Hyde when he began writing the *History*. This work fills six closely-printed volumes in the standard modern edition.³ My interest in Clarendon generally, and in his Thucydidean dimension specifically, was fired by my friendship with a great modern Clarendon scholar, Hugh Trevor-Roper. His special lecture in 1974 on the tercentenary of Clarendon's death⁴ was

³ Standard edn.: Clarendon (1888) and reprints. I cite (as 'Clarendon, *History*') by the original books and paragraphs, as given by Macray. See also Clarendon (1978), a selection, with good introduction by Trevor-Roper.

⁴ Trevor-Roper (1974) [= (1992), 173–94].

an eloquent and graceful tribute not just to Clarendon but to one of Trevor-Roper's predecessors in the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, Sir Charles Firth, who had given a similar special lecture in 1909, the tercentenary of Clarendon's birth.⁵ Trevor-Roper does not mention this lecture in his own; it seems clear both that he admired it, and that he wanted to go beyond it, in particular by reconstructing the Great Tew background of Clarendon's youth,⁶ and the ideal of history-writing which Clarendon derived from it. He also, I think, wanted to stress, as Firth had not done, either in the lecture or his three-part study of Clarendon's *History* in 1904, the extent to which Clarendon's work, a classic of historiography, was inspired by Graeco-Roman models.⁷

Until a few years ago, the classical dimension to Clarendon had been ignored to the point of perversity. I give two examples. B. H. G. Wormald's book on Clarendon⁸ has a section 'historiography'; it discusses the influence of Machiavelli and of the psalms, on which Clarendon wrote a devotional-cum-political commentary. But it says nothing about the ancient historians. Again, Firth quotes Clarendon's tract *On the Active and Contemplative Life* for his hero's view of history.⁹ Clarendon there says 'there was never yet a good history made but by men conversant with business', and Firth goes on to summarize what Clarendon says about Strada, Bentivoglio, Grotius, and D'Avila. To anyone familiar with Polybius book 12, and its insistence on the primacy of serious history written by men with experience of government and generalship, the jump to what for Clarendon was the modern world is surprising, after what is practically a translation of a well-known saying of Polybius.¹⁰ After all, 'business' is, if we

⁵ Firth (1938), 103–28: lecture delivered 1909, tercentenary of Clarendon's birth.

⁶ For this, 'a kind of continuing seminar or reading party at the Oxfordshire house of Lucius Cary', see Trevor-Roper (1987b), 166.

⁷ Firth (1904). See Trevor-Roper (1974), 13 [= (1992), 181].

⁸ Wormald (1951), 159–239.

⁹ Clarendon (1727), 180 for Polybius. Euripides' fragmentary *Antiope* included a debate between the (contemplative) musician Amphion and his (active) shepherd brother Zethos; Plato exploits this in *Gorgias* (485e–486a); Clarendon will have known it. See, briefly, Trevor-Roper (1974), 15 [= (1992), 183] for Clarendon's awareness of the historian's need to be a man of action, 'as all great historians and political writers have been from Demosthenes and Cicero to Davila and Grotius'.

¹⁰ Polybius 12. 28. 3 (after citing Plato): 'it will be well with history either when men of action undertake to write history... or when would-be authors regard a training in

think away the modern associations of 'businessman', a good translation of one nuance of the Greek *πράγματα*, as in 'pragmatic historian', *πραγματικὸς ἱστορικός*. But if we go back to the tract itself, we find that Firth cut the quotation short. After the remarks about men of business, Clarendon gives an example—none other than Polybius: 'Polybius was a counsellor, and an officer in a part of the wars which he writ.' Clarendon does not here mention Thucydides, as he could have done, but he goes on to speak of Livy and his personal familiarity with Augustus, and then of Tacitus, who 'besides his noble extraction, underwent several employments in the commonwealth, and was afterwards consul in the time of Nerva'. Now Sir Ronald Syme, for whom Tacitus was a provincial from Cisalpine Gaul with a chip on his shoulder,¹¹ might not have liked the implications of 'noble extraction' (Clarendon was misled, as people usually were before the nineteenth century, by the patrician-sounding *nomen* Cornelius). But Syme would have approved of the insistence on the credentials of the 'consular historian'. If we add, to these remarks in the Tract, Clarendon's frequent citations of ancient historians in the History itself, it seems inexcusable to omit them in analysing his intellectual make-up. That is not less but more true if we agree with the brutal assessment of McGillivray that Clarendon was not an original mind, but a conventional and platitudinous thinker.¹²

But, as we have seen, one classically-trained historian, Trevor-Roper, was always alert to the ancient aspect of Clarendon's writings, though he never developed it at length. And now we do have a treatment of just this aspect of Clarendon. Philip Hicks' 1996 book *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume* has a chapter called, precisely, 'Clarendon as the English Thucydides'.¹³

actual affairs as necessary for writing history', τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔξει τότε καλῶς, ὅταν ἡ οἱ πραγματικοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γράφειν ἐπιχειρήσωσι τὰς ἱστορίας... ἡ οἱ γράφειν ἐπιβαλλόμενοι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔξιν ἀναγκαίαν ἡγήσονται πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν. Cf 12. 25g. 1: 'it is neither possible for a man with no experience of warlike operations to write well about what happens in war, nor for one unversed in the practice and circumstances of politics to write well about that subject'. The phrase 'pragmatic history', *πραγματικὴ ἱστορία* (1. 2. 8; 12. 25e. 1), means (see Walbank, *HCP* and esp. (2002), 6–8) 'political and military history' rather than 'history written by men of affairs'; but high-level experience is one main precondition for the writing of 'pragmatic history'.

¹¹ Syme (1958a) and (1958b).

¹² McGillivray (1974) 224.

¹³ Hicks (1996), ch. 3.

He makes good points, including some negative ones (thus he notes that whatever his admiration for Thucydides, Clarendon was not carried away to the extent of writing fictitious speeches for his agents, of the sort which take up so much of Thucydides). Nevertheless, the generality of Hicks disappoints; by that, I mean that he hardly engages with the actual text of the History. A classicist, addressing the problem of Clarendon's relation to the ancient historians, might start with the particular authors actually quoted by Clarendon, ask who they are and who they are not, how they are used, and whether there are patterns in their use. Then he or she might look at non-attributed allusion, what may conveniently be called an intertextual relationship stopping short of actual citation; then at shared, perhaps actually borrowed, presentational and narrative technique; then our inquirer might ask whether the two authors have a theory of causation in common, as demonstrated both by explicit statements of method and by their handling of particular episodes. Finally structure: does the imposing sixteen-book edifice that is Clarendon's History have a discernible architecture, and can we suggest particular debts to ancient models? That at any rate is what I will try briefly to do in this paper. Hicks' generalizing approach is consistent with his stated position, which is that, despite certain parallels entitling us to call Clarendon's history Thucydidean, nevertheless 'Clarendon did not extensively model his work stylistically or thematically after Thucydides' History'. I do not seriously disagree with this, though I shall suggest that it is too negative, especially on the stylistic side. I distinguish here between decorative and effective use of ancient texts, and propose to argue that Clarendon's use is effective, not just decorative.

First I try to meet two objections to a project of my sort. The first I have hinted at already. There were other influences on Clarendon, notably the Bible,¹⁴ and it is wrong to privilege ancient historians. My answer to this is that I am well aware of the simultaneous importance of the Bible. Indeed I will try, when I come on to patterning and structure, to show that at moments of high emotion Clarendon deploys these as two barrels of the same gun. Equally, I realize that Clarendon was well read in what for him was modern history too. Then there is

¹⁴ And note 7. 312, quotation (in Latin) from the Babylonian Talmud.

Machiavelli, not quite a historian, though himself well versed in Roman history. But modern opinion seems divided on the extent of Clarendon's debt to Machiavelli, and the evidence of Clarendon himself is ambivalent.¹⁵

The other objection is that it is wrong to privilege Clarendon: he was not writing in intellectual isolation, but in silent dialogue with and polemic against one important work, the 1647 history of the early years of the Long Parliament by the parliamentarian Thomas May, himself a talented classicist.¹⁶ Clarendon never names May, just as Thucydides never names Herodotus. He is the opposite of Clarendon in many ways. Clarendon was a devoted Oxonian, and both Firth and Trevor-Roper quote his moving letter to the Vice-Chancellor resigning as Chancellor. Clarendon never mentions Oxford without approval and warmth verging on poetry; thus Charles I was received back by Oxford after one absence 'as Apollo should be by the Muses'.¹⁷ May was a Cambridge product, and even went to Oliver Cromwell's own college, Sidney Sussex. He precociously translated that most precocious of Latin poets, Lucan, into English verse, and frequently quotes Lucan in Latin and then in his own translation; indeed he supplies his own translation of all other ancient texts he cites, an anti-elitist procedure which is the opposite of Clarendon who never translates his Latin (as opposed to his Greek, which he translates into either English or Latin). May always says who it is that he is quoting, but Clarendon sometimes does not, and some will again think this to be elitism. Thus towards the end of the Cromwell obituary, there are two Latin quotations in one paragraph.¹⁸ The second is from Velleius Paterculus on Cinna and is attributed, but the first is just thrown at us, and has defeated Macray. This one, Cromwell was one of those men *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt nisi ut simul laudarent* ('even their

¹⁵ Hill (1970), 257 said that 'Clarendon saw Cromwell as Machiavelli's prince in action, regarding him with a mixture of repulsion and admiration'; he cited only Raab (1964), 152. But Clarendon himself had said that Cromwell 'was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavelli's method': *History*, 15. 156; cf. Trevor-Roper (1965), 34. Raab 150 cites Clarendon, *History*, 10. 169 for 'the common old adage, that he who hath drawn his sword against his prince ought to throw away the scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again'; but see also Raab 153 n. 2 citing 15. 156 (as quoted above). ¹⁶ May (1647). ¹⁷ Clarendon, *History*, 6. 99.

¹⁸ Clarendon, *History*, 15. 147: quotes Velleius (by name) 2. 24, also Pliny, *Epistles* 3. 12. 4 (but without giving name).

enemies could not slander them without at the same time praising them'), is in fact from a letter of the younger Pliny, most of which is about the relations between Caesar and Cato. Is there an oblique hint here at the tyrannicide theme? 'Further voices' in Clarendon?¹⁹ It is apt for Clarendon's mixed portrait of Cromwell and so more than decorative, but non-attribution is a way of excluding non-polite readers. Christopher Hill, noting that Clarendon insisted that history should be written not only by men of business but men of the best and most liberal education, says 'the only readers he envisages are cultured gentlemen like himself, certain of their superiority to the common herd'. Well, perhaps, but it is May not Clarendon who uses a word in untranslated Greek script: ἀκμή, referring to the golden age of Elizabeth.

May's history is far shorter and less ambitious than Clarendon's, and lacks his geographical as well as his chronological range. Clarendon is sometime accused of parochiality; unfairly. The Interregnum allows him to include a description of a Madrid bullfight, witnessed on his diplomatic mission there; a disastrous campaign by the Cromwellian Venables on Hispaniola, the island which now contains Haiti and the Dominican republic; and even two pages about the succession in 1655 to the senile pope Innocent X Pamphili, memorably painted by Velasquez, of Cardinal Chigi, who took the name Alexander VII.²⁰ (It was hoped that Chigi would favour Charles II's restoration.) Clarendon is good on Innocent; he'd 'outlived the understanding and judgment he had been formerly master of, and lost all the reputation he had formerly gotten, and, as Jehoram, he departed without being desired'. But this Europeanism is only partial; Clarendon is parochial in that he failed to understand why other crowned heads of Europe, including popes, did not exert themselves harder on behalf of Charles I or of his son.

May's fondness is for Latin poets (Juvenal, Seneca, Statius, Lucan) and his use of them falls mostly into the decorative category. Not always: there is a neatly deployed line from Claudian, used of the

¹⁹ 'Further voices' refers to modern work on Virgil, which detects subtle subtexts beneath the main text. See Lyne (1987).

²⁰ Clarendon, *History*, 12. 90 (bull-fight at Madrid); 15. 9–10 (Hispaniola); 14. 120, (senility of Pope Innocent X).

monopolies which characterized Charles' personal rule: '*regia privatis crescunt aeraria damnis*', rendered by May 'By loss of private men th'Exchequer grows'. So too he makes apt use of Tacitus on Thræsea Paetus, when characterizing Sir John Elliott: '*sibi periculum, nec aliis libertatem*' (he brought danger on himself without achieving freedom for others). We need look no further than May for an explanation of what many regard as Clarendon's artistically disastrous decision to include wholesale quotation of documents/declarations verbatim, including some in Scotch dialect. We need not think of the Argive-Spartan dialect treaties in Thucydides as the model;²¹ it is enough that May, the parliamentary secretary, included them as a matter of course. The real difference between May and Clarendon, or so it surely seemed to Clarendon, was the Polybian one: May could not write pragmatic history because he was no 'man of business': he had held no great office of state, and had commanded no armies. Clarendon was an agent in his own work; that is why, like Thucydides and Caesar, he usually calls himself 'the Chancellor' in the third person.

We must mention one man other than either May or Clarendon who drew on ancient Greek history: Charles I himself. A reply to parliament, written at high speed outside York in May 1642, at a time when Clarendon was absent, seems to be Charles' own composition: 'what is tyranny, but to admit no rules to govern by but their own wills? And they knew the misery of Athens was at its highest when it suffered under the Thirty Tyrants.'²² Here the royal memory presumably finds itself on Plutarch's *Lysander*. As often, we are struck by the high degree of eloquence and literacy of written communications on both sides, even when they are turning out answers to short order and under pressure. So, we should make no unique and exaggerated claims for Clarendon's own classical learning.

Let us turn to Hicks and to the ways in which Thucydides and Clarendon resemble each other, for instance by covering a civil war. Thucydides was a specially important writer in the disturbed middle decades of the seventeenth century, and Hicks is not wrong to give him prominence, though he loses sight of Clarendon's other favourite ancient writers too completely. And we must reckon with some caprice

and personal reading habits on Clarendon's part. Thus he quotes Velleius Paterculus five times, four of them in the last two of the sixteen books (but the first and fifth are identical). Clarendon, it would seem, just happened to be reading Velleius at the time, 'a good Roman historian', he calls him.²³ We should remember this when assessing the significance of the two Thucydides quotations close together in book 1. Nobody is falling over themselves to write about 'Clarendon as the English Velleius Paterculus'.

Two features in particular strike Hicks as Thucydidean about Clarendon: he wrote in exile, and he wrote about a civil war. More important, both were contemporaries and 'pragmatic' historians. If Thucydides 'had in his veins the blude of kings' (Hobbes), Clarendon was grandfather of two rulers, Mary and Anne. As for exile, this is true enough. Syme once said that exile can be the making of a historian. Wormald's less grand formulation is that 'Clarendon wrote the *History* because he had nothing else to do'.²⁴

That Thucydides wrote about a civil war is more controversial, or would have seemed so until a few years ago. To be sure, there is the abstract analysis of *stasis*, as ancient Greeks called it, at Kerkyra, and the central part of book 8 is a very non-abstract narrative of *stasis* at Athens in 411. But the *History* as a whole as a story of civil war? Surely not. But now we have a book arguing exactly that.²⁵ It is ingenious, but does not wholly convince. A commonsense objection is that on Price's thesis it is hard to see why Thucydides treated the Kerkyra *stasis* as a separate type of phenomenon.

A third point of similarity is that both writers evolved over time, though it has been unfashionable to say this about Thucydides since Connor's unitarian monograph of 1984.²⁶ For Clarendon it is certain: in 1646–8 he wrote a first draft on Jersey, then twenty years later, after Charles II so ungratefully announced 'bid the chancellor begone', he wrote an autobiography from memory. Then finally, when his son visited him in France and brought the 1640s MS, he welded Life and

²¹ Th. 5. 77 and 79.

²² Clarendon, *History*, 5. 284.

²³ See below, Appendix. 'A good Roman historian': Clarendon, *History*, 15. 135. Clarendon, *History*, 9. 19 = Vell. Pat. 2. 74 (but this, *nihil muliebri praeter corpus gerens*, 'her body was the only feminine thing about her') is ultimately from Sallust, used by Velleius; 15. 1 = 2. 19; 15. 135 ('a good Roman historian') = 2. 9; 15. 147 = 2. 24; 16. 98 = 2. 74 (the same Velleius quotation as at 9. 19).

²⁴ Wormald (1951), 159.

²⁵ J. J. Price (2001).

²⁶ Connor (1984).

history into what we have. Macray gives the provenance of each section, and this enabled Wormald to do what cannot be done for Thucydides: to identify precisely the bias of hindsight.

Then there is religion, a matter covered selectively by Thucydides; some would go further, thus Paul Veyne remarked that 'one thing is absent from Thucydides: the gods'.²⁷ Clarendon invokes divine providence—as many in this period did, Cromwell included;²⁸ but Firth complained that Clarendon's history suffered from the fundamental defect that it is a 'history of a religious revolution in which the religious element is omitted'. Fashions change in Clarendon studies as in Thucydidean, and for Hill, one of Clarendon's strengths is precisely that he saw the Civil War not in religious but in class terms. Hill does not quite make Clarendon a Marxist *avant la parole*, because he thought he did not go far enough, but 'class terms' is Hill's expression. Clarendon shows that men of new wealth were attacking the ruling class. This economic motive apart, Firth is right to imply that Clarendon's focalization or point of view is exclusively royalist. 'They' are the anti-royalist party, malicious and enigmatic.

A more important similarity is conservatism—or rather, perceived conservatism. Thucydides' real politics are extremely hard to pin down, once we have accepted (as many scholars, even now, find it very hard to accept) that the speeches in his History cannot be used straightforwardly as evidence for what he himself believed. But he was certainly thought of in Clarendon's time as a conservative who hated democracy. Hobbes' translation of Thucydides was published in 1628, and in his autobiography, written in Latin elegiacs, he says it showed him the follies of democracy, '*democratia quam sit inepta*'. Another influence on Clarendon and the Great Tew circle was the contemporary Dutch lawyer-historian Hugo Grotius (de Groot), who invoked Thucydides in justification of his conservatism. The sentence from Thucydides, which Trevor-Roper calls a favourite quotation of

²⁷ Veyne, cited above, Ch. 1, 26.

²⁸ Trevor-Roper (1987b), 211: 'Like Gibbon, he [Clarendon] paid lip-service to Providence; but having done so, he concentrated his attention on "second" or secular causes.' Note Clarendon, *History*, 5. 382: 'I cannot but observe some unhappy circumstances and accidents in this important business of the navy, which *looked like* [my italics] the hand of Providence to take that strength of which his majesty was most confident out of his hands.'

Grotius, is contained in the following declaration by Grotius in a letter, 'I embrace that opinion of Thucydides, that it is right to preserve that form of government which has come down to us'.²⁹ Modern Thucydidean scholars will be shocked at the method here, because the passage is not an utterance of Thucydides himself but is loosely quoted from a speech—and not even a speech of Perikles or some other worthy role-model. It is from a speech of Alkibiades, and not only that, but perhaps the most morally dubious speech in the entire History, delivered at Sparta in 415/14. In it, Alkibiades seeks to justify his treason towards his native Athens.³⁰ So it is a bad mistake to claim that Thucydides here speaks in own voice. There were people in the late fifth century BC who invoked the 'ancestral constitution', sometimes honestly, more often dishonestly; but this much-abused notion is kept almost completely³¹ out of sight by Thucydides, a man impatient with slogans. But we are concerned with perceptions, not realities, and it is as a conservative that Thucydides was perceived in the seventeenth century, on the basis of passages like this.

But detecting similarities between Thucydides and Clarendon should not be pushed too far. In some ways, Clarendon recalls not the austere soldier Thucydides but Cicero: Sir Fitzjames Stephen's comment on Clarendon 'few men have sung their own praises with such calm assurance'³² recalls Seneca's remark that Cicero praised himself '*non sine causa sed sine fine*'. Both men had collaborative ideals, for Clarendon a mixed monarchy, for Cicero '*concordia ordinum*'.

²⁹ Grotius uses Thucydides to justify conservatism: 'exosculor illud Thucydidis, ὅπερ ἐδέξατό τις σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως, τοῦτο δίκαιον ξυνδιασώζειν', 'I embrace that dictum of Thucydides, that it is right [just] to help to maintain that form of government of the city which one has inherited' (Grotius (1928–61), 1. 195, letter to de Thou, cited by Trevor-Roper (1987b), 193 and n. 78 on 294: 'one of his [Grotius'] favourite quotations is the phrase in which Thucydides expressed the same conviction: "whatever form of government we have received, that we should keep". "Republica", he would write in his exile, "contentus fui qualem acciperam" [Grotius (1928–61), 4. 800, to Lingelsheim].

³⁰ Th. 6. 89. 6 (Alkibiades at Sparta): δικαιούντες ἐν ᾧ σχήματι μεγίστη ἡ πόλις ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἐλευθερωτάτῃ οὖσα καὶ ὅπερ ἐδέξατό τις, τοῦτο δίκαιον ξυνδιασώζειν, 'thinking it right to help to maintain that form of government under which the state had been at its greatest and its most free, and which we had inherited'. Note the way in which Grotius (n. 27 above) has slightly changed and simplified this.

³¹ The possible exception is at Th. 8. 76. 6. See CT III, 980f., n. on τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλύοντας. ³² Stephen (1892), 1. 337, cited by Firth (1938), 117.

Historians disagree whether the post-Restoration settlement represented a delayed success for Clarendon's political philosophy. Some think so, just as similar claims have been made in recent times for Cicero and the principate.³³

Let us pass on to Clarendon's actual use of the ancient writers. Whom does he cite? Details are provided in the Appendix below; a summary follows. In descending order of frequency we have, of Greek authors, Plutarch (five quotations), Thucydides (two, already considered above), and one each of Aristotle (quoted in Latin), and Aelian;³⁴ and of Roman authors Tacitus (easily first, with eleven quotations), Velleius (five), Cicero, Seneca (three each), Livy (two), then with one each, Lucan, Pliny the Younger, Aurelius Victor, and Virgil (for the tag '*sua si bona norint*').³⁵ Herodotus and Sallust are absent, and this time (contrast the *Tract*) there is no specific allusion to Polybius. In addition to Clarendon proper, a long petition which he quotes from the Levellers surprisingly uses Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. All this is not far off the statistical profile offered by Peter Burke in his study of the relative popularity of ancient historians 1450–1700,³⁶ though this was mainly based on numbers of editions and translations rather than citations. Surprises are Clarendon's fondness for Velleius, who does not make it into Burke's lists at all, and his non-citation of Sallust: Clarendon goes to Cicero for Catiline and to Velleius for Jugurtha. Xenophon is not cited, although Clarendon's fondness for character-sketches may owe something to the *Anabasis* as well as to Plutarch and Sallust. Burke detects in this period a shift in taste from virtue to prudence, from Plutarch to Tacitus. Clarendon is even-handed (or transitional?) between the two. In addition to the *History* and the *Tract* I mentioned, we have Clarendon's commonplace books from the Jersey years which record his reading, and in which he copies out thoughts which struck him. These are in the Bodleian library.³⁷ It is clear from these that Clarendon read Thucydides in the translation of his friend Hobbes. Clarendon did know Greek; in an amusing letter to Mr Secretary Nicholas on 7 March 1647, he says 'do you not think me a foolish fellow, now I spend my time in studying laws and Greek, neglecting to

³³ Habicht (1990), 98 f.

³⁴ See below n. 51.

³⁵ From *Georgic* 2. 458.

³⁶ Burke (1966).

³⁷ Clarendon's commonplace books: unpub. Bodl. MS Clarendon 126.

get so much French as may serve to beg with when I am driven into that country?'³⁸ But just as proficient classicists today nevertheless use Loeb editions with their facing translations, Clarendon read Thucydides in the translation by Hobbes. This is easily proved. In the Commonplace book he writes 'What Alcibiades holds in Thucydides is very true by our own experience, that a state like any other thing will wear out itself if it rest'. This is taken verbatim from Hobbes.³⁹ This gives a useful control in cases where Thucydides is not cited. If we are struck by coincidence of thought between Clarendon and something we recall from Thucydides, we can check against Hobbes and if there is identity or close verbal resemblance, the case for influence will be strong. 'Buried Thucydides', we may call this.

I start with Thucydides because in a way that is what Clarendon does. There are two citations. They come in rapid succession at chs. 149–50 of bk 1, but that is not as far on as it sounds, because all of chs. 14–147 is an insert from the *Life*. It follows that when he came to draw the whole opus together, he used Thucydides almost straight away. On any scheme these are the first quotations of any sort. They are decorative, but also programmatic, and so effective.

The first quotation poses a problem of identification. Clarendon says, apropos of ship-money, that Council-table and Star chamber enlarged their jurisdiction vastly, 'holding (as Thucydides said of the Athenians) for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited'.⁴⁰ Macray sends us to a passage of Thucydides book 2 (2. 53). But this is the account of the merely temporary breakdown of

³⁸ Clarendon (1773–86), 2. 345, letter to Nicholas.

³⁹ Hobbes' translation of Thucydides 6. 18. 6 (καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν μὲν ἡσυχάζῃ, τρύψεσθαι τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι): 'a state as well as any other thing, will, if it rest, wear out of itself'; compare Clarendon, commonplace book (Castle Elizabeth, Jersey), folio 56: 'what Alcibiades holds in Thucydides is very true by our own experiences, that a state, as well as any other thing, will wear out itself [*sic*], if it rest'. Gibbon ch. 71 'all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance'.

⁴⁰ Clarendon, *History*, 1. 149: 'holding (as Thucydides said of the Athenians), for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited'. Macray cites Th. 2. 53 about the Athenians in the plague ('but what any man knew to be delightful and to be profitable to pleasure, that was made both profitable and honourable'). But see the much closer generalization by the Athenian delegates at Melos about the Spartans (Th. 5. 105): 'For the Lacedaemonians... the shortest way one might say it all thus: that most apparently of all men, they hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for just that which profiteth.' (All translations Hobbes.) That the Commonplace books (folios

Athenian morality after the plague, and neither language nor thought is quite the same. Macray has in fact made a mistake of identification,⁴¹ pardonable because the original mistake is Clarendon's. All falls into place once we see that Clarendon should have said 'Spartans'. Here is the right passage, which is from the Melian Dialogue. In Hobbes' version, the Athenians say of the Spartans 'most apparently of all men, they hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for just that which profiteth'. It is an interesting error.⁴² Did Clarendon subconsciously attribute to Thucydides a conservative cynicism about his own fellow-countrymen, the 'inept democrats' of Hobbes' later phrase? Note Clarendon's own remark 'so fluctuating and unsteady a testimony is the applause of popular councils'. This is, we may say, a blend of Thucydides and Tacitus.

Clarendon's other direct Thucydides quotation is again via Hobbes, a complex thought about violence and injustice from the Athenians' speech at Sparta, early in the work.⁴³ Note again, as with Grotius, the preference for speeches, and, like Grotius (above, n. 27), Clarendon attributes the observation to Thucydides himself, not to a speaker. In the commonplace books also we find Clarendon excerpting speeches (Perikles, Kleon, Alkibiades) but here he is careful to record who is speaking. This second quotation seems to me more than just decorative. When Clarendon uses Plutarch, it is nearly always for well-known sayings, for instance Sulla's boast that no friend ever surpassed him in benefaction, and no enemy in doing harm (that is said of Strafford in his obituary); or Perikles' claim that the Athenians never put on mourning because of him.⁴⁴ Clarendon says this of Charles I, and it is as untrue of Charles as of Perikles. Macray cites the Lives for these, but some also occur in Plutarch's

50–4) show that Clarendon read Th. in Hobbes' version was correctly noted by Trevor-Roper (1987b), 184, asterisked footnote.

⁴¹ J. Scott (2009), 405–33 at 417 with n. 41 discusses Clarendon's use of the Thucydides passage, but does not correct the error. His interesting study does not otherwise have much to say about Clarendon.

⁴² But not an isolated one. See Appendix below, under Cicero (Clarendon confuses Cinna and Catiline). ⁴³ Clarendon, *History* 1. 150 cites Thucydides (1. 77).

⁴⁴ Clarendon, *History*, 3. 205 (Plutarch, *Sulla* 35 cited for comparison with Strafford); 1. 163: 'no Englishman had ever worn black gown through his occasion', citing Plutarch (*Pericles*, 38).

Apopthegmata, and Clarendon may have got them there. By contrast, the unobvious and undecorative quotations from Thucydides, especially the sophisticated second one, suggest that Clarendon has really thought about their application, even if he made a muddle in citing the first.

Tacitus, with eleven quotations, heads the list of authors quoted in any language. But they disappoint. The *Histories*, a work which is much more obviously about a civil war than is Thucydides, are less drawn on than one might have expected, except that one magnificent quotation forms the closure to book 11 and Charles' execution; and there is an apt use of Mucianus' epigram '*qui deliberant, desciverunt*', meaning that to deliberate about rebellion is tantamount to having already rebelled.⁴⁵ Many of the Tacitus quotations are from the *Agricola*, and several occur in the polished obituary of Clarendon's beloved Falkland. From Clarendon's letters we know that the *Agricola* was the conscious model here.⁴⁶

I cannot discuss every technique in Clarendon which might owe a debt to Thucydides,⁴⁷ but shall say a word about 'Buried Thucydides'. Here is an example. Narratologists have identified a feature called 'if...not' presentation in Homer and Thucydides. It is a form of causal speculation of a counterfactual sort, 'If this had not happened, then some train of events would or would not have been started'. Clarendon's account of the causes of the war might be described as one long exercise in 'if...not' presentation (for these techniques, see above, Introduction, 8–9, and Ch. 3, 89). That is another way of describing his deeply held view that non-avoided but avoidable mistakes and culpable lethargy were responsible for turning blunders into catastrophe. If the earl of Essex had not been slighted by the king, the parliamentarians would not have had a decent initial commander. If the king had not listened to the impetuous Digby he would never have tried to arrest the Five members. (This is nicely Polybian, the blaming of bad advisers, i.e. advisers other than Clarendon himself,

⁴⁵ Licinius Mucianus (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 78): Clarendon, *History*, 7. 294.

⁴⁶ Obituary of Falkland: Clarendon, *History*, 7. 217–34. See Appendix.

⁴⁷ Example of narrative sophistication: see the prolepsis at Clarendon, *History*, 13. 15: 'in the end, (that the discourse of this affair may not be resumed again hereafter,) after a long imprisonment...' etc. Cf. Th. 4. 50. 3 with CT II.

just as the promising Philip V of Macedon was misled by evil counselors.) I single out one. The passing by the Commons of the Grand Remonstrance in November 1641 meant war. But the vote was a close thing, achieved (in Clarendon's account) only by prolonging the debate through the night so that some drifted away. As Oliver Cromwell left the chamber [his first appearance in the narrative proper, signalled Thucydidean-style by his first name, contrast an earlier proleptic reference to 'Cromwell' alone] he said to Falkland 'if the remonstrance had been rejected he would have sold all he had the next morning and never have seen England more; and he knew there were other honest men of the same resolution.' Then comes Clarendon's closural comment: '*so near* was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance!' We may here be put in mind of another close vote, in 427 BC, on the fate of Mytilene—a section of Thucydides which we know Clarendon studied. The second trireme on its mercy mission got there just in time to prevent the carrying out of the death sentence by the first. Then comes Thucydides' closure: in Hobbes' translation it is '*so near* were the Mytileneans to their danger'.⁴⁸

Another form of 'buried Thucydides' may be characterization. Charles I is represented as a pious ditherer.⁴⁹ We think of Nikias, and there are hints that Thucydides' Nikias has affected presentation in detail. Charles in 1643 sent a letter by his own servant, fearing it might be suppressed or wrongly communicated by the parliamentary messengers. Nikias sent a letter from Sicily to Athens in Thucydides book 7, and in Hobbes' translation, motive and language are the same, fear that it might be 'suppressed by the messenger'.⁵⁰

Last in this category I repeat an item I have noticed in print, the account of the terrific storm which accompanied (excellent cautious choice of word!) Cromwell's death on 3 September 1658.⁵¹ This has a Thucydidean character because Thucydides does not assert but merely insinuates a causal aspect to his claim that earthquakes and eclipses were more frequent *with* the Peloponnesian War: *μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα*.

⁴⁸ Clarendon, *History*, 4. 52 for Cromwell's alleged remark to Falkland, cf. Hobbes' tr. of Th. 3. 49. ⁴⁹ Charles 'irresolute': e.g. Clarendon, *History*, 8. 26.

⁵⁰ Charles I/Nikias on messengers: Clarendon, *History*, 6. 222, cf. Th. 7. 8 in Hobbes' tr.

⁵¹ Clarendon, *History*, 15. 147, cf. Th. 1. 23 with Hornblower (2001), 145.

Clarendon's lively narrative technique would repay close work. Charles I's escape from Hampton Court is told out of sequence in reverse order, first his absence is detected, then Clarendon jumps back several hours to narrate the escape. So too Thucydides starts with the fact of the Spartans' exclusion from the Olympic games of 420, then goes back in time to explain how it came about.

Finally, structure. The sixteen-book division is Clarendon's own, though book 5 complicates things in ways I cannot go into. Livy wrote in decades, Tacitus and perhaps Polybius in hexads and it has even been suggested that Thucydides planned his work in pentads. Some of this is the result of modern research, but Polybius' scheme is explicit. In any case Clarendon certainly gave thought to book closures. Here is the wonderful and sombre close to book 5, the sombre raising of the king's standard at Nottingham which inaugurated the Civil War. His basic principle is annalistic, as we can see from his apologies for departing from it, thus he ends book 10 by saying he has 'contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages and important transactions of two whole years into one book'; this is directly imitated from Tacitus.⁵² Clarendon uses epigraphs, quoted material prefixed to chapters, only for three books: 11, 12, 13. This is no accident. These books are absolutely central in the sense that the king is executed at the end of book 11. Epigraphs are always biblical, closures tend to be classical, not one but two from Tacitus at the end of book 11.⁵³ This is decorative, we may say. (Sometimes there is an actual running together of classical and biblical: an anecdote from Aelian about a lion as portent of tyranny includes the expression 'which sought whom he might devour'; this is however not Aelian but from the first epistle to Peter).⁵⁴ I return to closures. Clarendon is too great an artist always to end on a pompous ancient or biblical note. Book 15, whose climax is the much admired obituary of Cromwell, ends famously not with a sentence from Velleius or Tacitus, but with three plain English monosyllables: a 'brave bad man'.

⁵² Self-conscious departure from annalistic system: Clarendon, *History*, 10. 179, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6. 38. 1, '*quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi ...*'.

⁵³ Clarendon, *History*, 11. 268, quoting in rapid succession Tac. *Agric.* 2 and *Hist.* 1. 28.

⁵⁴ Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 1. 29) and the lion fable: Clarendon, *History*, 7. 291, but see also 1 Peter 5. 8.

I end with an avowedly speculative thought about structure. 16 divides neatly into 4 by 4, and though the narrative pace is far more rapid in books 12–16 (the Interregnum) I am tempted to think in terms of tetrads. One feature of Roman annalistic history is that it places significant deaths at the end of books. Now Clarendon places a significant death immediately or nearly immediately before books 4, 8, 12, and 16. The deaths are: Strafford beheaded near the end of book 3; Pym dies of natural causes very close to the end of book 7; Charles I and some close companions beheaded at the end of book 11; and Cromwell at the end of book 15. Beheaded, died, beheaded, died. (Charles dies at the end of January but Clarendon's narrative years end in March, old style.) These are not the only deaths which are terminal in the literary sense, because Sir John Hotham is executed at the end of book 8, and the providential deaths of Cardinal Mazaryn and of Louis de Haro close the entire work at the end of book 16. But Strafford, Pym, Charles I, and Cromwell are deaths on a far higher level of importance than these, and my final suggestion is that their distribution is strategically placed on a tetradic scheme.

Appendix: Clarendon's Greek and Latin quotations, given by him with or without attribution by name

References to Clarendon's *History* are given first (see above, n. 3, for method of citation), followed by the reference to the relevant ancient author, given in a bracket. Macray's indexes in vol. 6 are useful, but neither complete nor infallible (note that Velleius Paterculus is there entered under 'Paterculus').

Greek

Plutarch (five quotations): 1. 163 (*Pericles*, 38, Plutarch not named); 3. 205 (*Sulla*, 35, Plutarch named); 6. 42 (*Alc.* 22, Plutarch cited by name for the story of the 'Athenian nun' who refused to curse Alkibiades); 7. 131 (*Pyrrhus*, 21, Plutarch not named); 7. 279 (*Marius*, 42; Plutarch named).
 Thucydides (two quotations, both by name): 1. 149 (5. 105, see above n. 40); 1. 150 (1. 77).
 Aristotle (cited by name): 4. 305 (*Nic. Eth.* 5. 1. 14).
 Aelian (cited by name): 7. 291 (*Var. Hist.* 1. 29).

Latin

Tacitus (eleven quotations, one of them used twice; Tacitus not named except where here specified): 1. 163 (*Agric.* 3); 3. 36 and 6. 168 (both quoting *Hist.* 5. 5, about the Jews; Tacitus named both times); 7. 224 and 226 (different parts of *Agric.* 9), 231 (*Agric.* 29), 232 (*Agric.* 22)—all from the Falkland obituary; 7. 294 (*Hist.* 2. 78, Tacitus named); 11. 258 (*Agric.* 45); 11. 268 (*Agric.* 2 and *Hist.* 1. 28, Tacitus not named but referred to as 'he' and 'the same writer'). In addition note, as a twelfth, 15. 127 (letter from W. Howard to the King, *Tac. Ann.* 1. 2 quoted, naming Tacitus).
 Velleius Paterculus (five quotations, one used twice): 9. 19 (2. 74, Velleius not named; but this, *nihil muliebre praeter corpus gerens*, 'her body was the only feminine thing about her', is ultimately from Sallust, used by Velleius); 15. 1 (2. 19, Velleius named); 15. 135 (2. 9, 'a good Roman historian'); 15. 147 (2. 24, Velleius named); 16. 98 (2. 74, the same Velleius quotation as at 9. 19; as before, Velleius not named).
 Seneca the Younger (three quotations, two attributed by name): 6. 403 (*ben.* 4. 30); 7. 130 (*Ep.* 70 quoted, but without naming Seneca); 14. 12 (*ben.* 5. 16).
 Cicero (two specific quotations, neither attributed by name): 7. 84 (*Cat.* 7; remark wrongly said to be about Cinna, really about Catiline); 7. 224 (*ad Att.* 2. 1). In addition, note 7. 73 (general reference to the *Catilinarian Orations*; 'Tully' named).
 Livy (two quotations, from the same section, and given close together): 7. 310 and 312 (24. 45; Livy named in. ch. 310, and book number given ('lib. 24')).
 Virgil (not named): 1. 161 (*Georgic* 2. 458).
 Ovid (not named): 15. 112, address to the king by the Levellers (*Met.* 1. 658–9).
 Lucan (not named): 7. 217, *turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore* (*de bello civili*, 9. 108).
 Pliny the Younger (not named): 15. 147 (*Ep.* 3. 12. 4).
 Aurelius Victor (not named): 6. 23 (*de Caes.* 13).

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Compiled by Maria Fragoulaki

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