

THUCYDIDES

BOOK I



MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO
DALLAS · SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

EDITED BY

E. C. MARCHANT, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

SBD-FFLCH-USP



317687

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1912

combine many thoughts, and to leave a listener in the lurch while he is expecting to hear something further: in consequence his brevity becomes obscure. Putting the matter shortly, I say that there are four instruments by which Thucydides fashions his style: the use of poetical words, variety of construction, roughness of composition, brevity of narrative. The "colours" of his style are harshness, succinctness, pungency, austerity, gravity, vehemence—but above all these the power of stirring the emotions.

The *brevity* of Thucydides¹ manifests itself in various ways. It is much more frequent with him than with other authors to leave words to be 'supplied' from the context: e.g. c. 70 *πεφύκεναι ἐπὶ τῷ μῆτε* αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν *μῆτε* τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἔαν (sc. ἔχειν αὐτὴν); c. 90 *ἡξίου* αὐτὸς *μὴ* τευχίζεω, ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . ὅσοις *ξυνειστέλλει* (sc. τὰ *τέλη*) *ξυνκαθελεῖν*. This is the grammatical figure called *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*. But often a whole clause is condensed into a single word, generally an adverb, as in c. 21 τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως (= οὕτως ὥστε ἀπίστα εἶναι) ἐπὶ τῷ μυθῳδῳς ἐκνευκικήτοα; c. 140 ἐνδέχεται τὸς ξυμφορὰς τῶν παρημάτων οὐχ ἡσσαν ἀμαθῶς (= ὥστε μὴ προλαβεῖν αὐτὰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους) χωρήσαι. As for *obscurity* it results most commonly from compression, and especially from his habits of omitting a step in an argument, and of suggesting ideas without developing them. For a clause omitted take c. 120 *χρὴ γὰρ* τοὺς ἡγμένους . . . τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, which follows immediately on τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους . . . οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασάμεθα ὥς οὐ καὶ

¹ e.g. Cicero, de *Oratore* ii. 56 *ita creber est rerum frequentia ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur*. Every one knows Quintilian's *densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides*.

IV. MIND AND STYLE

It is very difficult to arrive at a just appreciation of a genius so complex as Thucydides; and to deal adequately with so large a subject in a few pages is of course impossible. All that we can attempt here is to lay down lines of approach towards an understanding of his excellences. His faults are clear enough and strike even superficial readers who remain blind to the magnificence of his descriptions, the appropriateness and depth of his moral maxims, the pathos that so impressed the Greek critics, and even his originality. The judgment of Dionysius was warped by his rhetorical training. Yet on the whole no fairer criticism of Thucydides' style has been penned than a passage in the *περὶ τοῦ Θουκυδίδους χαρακτῆρος*¹ in which he rises for a moment above details and takes a comprehensive view of the matter. After blaming Thucydides for his frequent use of the 'figures of language' (see p. xlv), Dionysius says:—

'What is most conspicuous in him and most characteristic is the attempt to express the greatest number of facts in the smallest number of words, to

¹ This passage is repeated in the second letter of Dionysius to Ammaeus, which may be consulted in Prof. Rhys Roberts' edition. Cf. Marcellinus §§ 50, 51.

αὐτοὶ ἐξηγησμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἶσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο τὴν ἐξηγήσαν. Between the two sentences, in order to complete the sense, we have to supply: 'In acting thus they are only doing their duty.' This kind of ellipse is, of course, especially frequent with γάρ. The other principal cause of obscurity is touched on under the section on the speeches.

Examples of *Poetical* and *Ionic* forms and words: ¹ pref. pass. 3rd plur. in -ατα, pluperf. in -ατο, found also in Herod.; ἐπειρασάμεν beside ἐπειράθην, epic; Herod.; ἐμεψέθην beside ἐμεψέμεν, poets, Herod.; ἀλαΐ, poets, Herod., Xen.; ξυμπορά = 'occurrence, drama, Herod.; ὁμαιχμία Herod.; τυμωρία = 'help,' Herod., Hippocrates; πολέμος = 'belonging to war,' Herod., Hippocrates; νεοχμοῖν Herod.; ὀρύνω poets, Herod.; φονεύω, Herod., Xen.; Τρωάς, Έλλάς as adjectives for Τρωικός, Έλληνικός, poets, Herod. Among *poetical constructions* ² may be mentioned the dative with verbs of motion, giving the goal, as c. 13 ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμῖος ἦλθε; dat. with ἐπί, of hostile intent, c. 102 τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμάχων; dat. of agent with other tenses than perf. and pluperf. see c. 44, 7; 51, 3; neut. plur. of adjectives and especially of verbal in -έος as predicate; neut. sing. of partic. with article as abstract noun, e.g. τὸ δέδιος c. 36; τὸ βουλόμενον c. 90.

The rough, archaic style of composition (τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἀρμονίας) allows of harsh sounds and hiatus, arranges the words in a sentence according to their importance, without regard to the ear,³ 'so that each word may be seen conspicuously'; does not strive

after a rounded period, but places the short clauses side by side. All prettiness, τὸ κομψόν, is foreign to its nature, and so when Thucydides indulges in the mere mechanical 'figures of language,' *πάροσα* and *παρομοίωσις* (p. xlv) he is making a concession to a prevalent bad fashion. As a rule it is not by sentences, but by the effective position of single words that he strives to give dignity to his style. Closely bound up with the prevailing disregard of sound and form is the *variation of construction* that appears in many forms. A characteristic example occurs already in c. 3, 2, where the moods change rapidly (see note). The co-ordination of dissimilar clauses is very common, as in c. 1 ὅτι . . . ἦσαν καὶ . . . ὁρῶν. The *thought* is more important to him than the *form*. From this preference of the sense arise the numerous small irregularities of grammar such as (a) the enlargement or contraction of the subject in the course of a sentence, as in c. 49, 4; and (b) the 'anacoluthic' δέ, generally after a parenthesis, as in c. 11 ἐπειδὴ δέ . . . ἐκράτησαν . . . φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα κτλ.; but sometimes without parenthesis, as in ii. 65 ἐπεὶ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοῖς τὴν δύναμιν. (c) Here we may place the habit of joining two forms of construction as in c. 72 τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ προσβέβα . . . παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς ἦσθοντο κτλ.; c. 14 ὅλ' ἐ τε ἀφ' οὗ . . . ἔπειθεν . . . τὰς ναὺς ποιεῖσθαι. Constructions of the kind called *κατὰ σύνεσιν* are naturally frequent. A good example of these may be found in the freedom with which a nominative partic. is used, where strictly a gen. abs. is required, and conversely a gen. abs. for the nom. or other case; contrast, for instance, iii. 34 ὁ δὲ Πάγχης προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἰππῖαν . . . ὁ μὲν (Hippias) ἐξήγηθε παρ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνον ἐν φυλακῇ

¹ O. Diener, *de Sermone Thucydideis*, Lips. 1889.

² C. F. Smith, 'Some poetical constructions in Thuc.' *Am. Journ. of Phil.* vol. xxv. p. 61.

³ Blass, *Athische Beredsamkeit* 222.

ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, with iii. 13 βοηθησάντων δὲ ἑμῶν προθύμως, πόλιν προσλήψεσθε, or i. 114 διαβεβηκότες Περικλέους . . ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ.

As an illustration of the 'colours of style' enumerated by Dionysius, we shall refer to one sentence only. It contains all the qualities mentioned—disregard of smoothness, a pregnant brevity, incisiveness, grave dignity; and for its tragic solemnity it could not have been intensified by the addition of any detail. Any one can test Dionysius' list by thinking over c. 23, 2 οὔτε γὰρ πόλεως . . . στασιάζειν.¹

¹ Especially the emphasis thrown on the long words *ἡγούμεθων, ἀλυσόμεναι, ἀντιπολεμούμενων, στασιάζειν*, and the intrusion of the parenthesis which breaks the symmetry should be noticed. Thuc. makes his greatest effect by apparently simple means.

V. THE SPEECHES

1. Already in ancient times Thucydides is commended as the first historian who composed true speeches—*δημηγοροίαι*.¹ He has told us what method he followed: 'I have made every speaker say what seemed to me most appropriate on each occasion, taking care to keep as close as I could to the spirit of what was actually said.' If it is asked why Thucydides inserts these set speeches, the true answer is probably that oratory was in his day advancing rapidly in importance and in technical excellence, and that the *δημηγοροίαι*, the *λόγος*, held in Athenian life a place as important as that held by the *πράξις* or *ἔργον*. Already in Herodotus the persons speak, but in an informal, conversational manner. Direct speech in history was but a legacy received from epic poetry. Naturally, influence and power of political discourse were enormously enhanced by the appearance of rhetoric. The age of Pericles did not regard Themistocles as a great orator (see c. 138, 3); even Pericles did not, so Plutarch says, write out his speeches for the assembly; but he was probably the last great statesman who did not do so. Rhetoric found direct speech already existing in Ionic history;

¹ *αἱ δημηγοροίαι αὐτοῦ, ἐν αἷς οἰονταί τινας τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι δύναμιν* Dionys. *περὶ τοῦ Θουκ.* χ. c. 34.

THUCYDIDES
THE PELOPONNESIAN
WAR
BOOK II

EDITED BY

J. S. RUSTEN

*Associate Professor of Classics
Cornell University*



Pericles minimises the effect of the plague on the overall progress of the war (2.61.3-4, 64.1-2), and when Thucydides writes as a strategist (65.6-13) he is so far in agreement as not even to mention it. As a reporter of the disease his tone is quite different, and he even increases the horror by concentrating the sufferings of three years into one discrete and comprehensive essay, starting with the possible origins of the disease and his own aims in describing it, then offering a careful account of all its symptoms and discussing its psychological effects on the individual and the family. The first part has been admired for its wealth of medical observations, but even more significant (and influential) is the second; which raises for the first time issues – the ethical dilemma of treatment for victims of a contagious disease, the breakdown of authority and social restraints, the religious hysteria of some and the despairing nihilism of others – which will dominate plague literature from antiquity through Defoe's *Journal of the plague year* to Camus' *La Peste*.

vi. *Pericles' legacy*

ἐγγινετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. (Thuc. 2.65.9)

Despite the absence of personal detail,⁵⁹ Thucydides' portrait of Pericles reveals a leader unique in the history of Athens. His combination of intellect, patriotism, persuasive speech and incorruptibility provides a standard by which all subsequent politicians can be judged and found wanting (65.10), and his consistent, reasoned control of the passionate Athenian δῆμος prefigures the governance of spirit by reason in the Platonic soul.⁶⁰ The optimism for Athens expressed in the Funeral Oration, and in the judgement that its resources were sufficient to bear any disaster if only unity could be restored (65.10-13), are based on the achievement of Pericles.⁶¹ Thucydides possessed an equally vivid sense of the tragedies of war – the overconfidence, mistakes, missed opportunities and bad luck of the Sicilian expedition – but they derive from Athens' subsequent leadership.

⁵⁹ See 2.13n. and Westlake, *Individuals* 23-42.

⁶⁰ See 2.60.5-61.3nn.

⁶¹ De Romilly, 'L'optimisme de Thucydide'.

4. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

It is the language of Thucydides' history that paints for its readers the most vivid intellectual portrait of its author: it reveals, for instance, that he insists on examining emotions, thoughts and actions as far as possible in isolation from the individuals who engage in them; constructs elaborate (and sometimes unconvincing) patterns of parallel ideas; and rejects any form of expression that is facile or commonplace. Athens of the later fifth century was a hothouse of linguistic innovation,⁶² and in different ways he owes something to both Antiphon and Gorgias;⁶³ but although he began from their experiments, Thucydides alone created a personal style to match his subject. After some general information, we shall consider here primarily those techniques of language which combine to set him apart from other writers of Greek prose.⁶⁴

i. *Dialect*

Thucydides writes standard Attic Greek of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C., except that he uses the Ionic forms -πο- for -πρ- (e.g., ἔρπον), -σσ- for -ττ- (e.g., θάλασσα) and ἤν for ἐάν; he also uses the earlier Attic forms ἐς (for εἰς) and εἴν (for οὖν).⁶⁵

ii. *Narrative tenses*

Like several other historians, Thucydides uses narrative tenses with more variety than standard Greek usage would allow,⁶⁶ in addition to

⁶² See especially the studies on tragedy: A. A. Long, *Language and thought in Sophocles* (London 1988); Wilhelm Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik* (Tübinger Beiträge 20, Stuttgart 1934).

⁶³ See especially Denniston's sketch of Attic prose from Gorgias to Thucydides, *Greek prose style* 8-22; also J. H. Finley, 'The origins of Thucydides' style', *Three essays on Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass. 1967) 55-117.

⁶⁴ The most thoroughly documented account is in Schmid 181-204. An immense amount of bibliography is usefully summarised in the notes to W. Kendrick Pritchett's translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides* (Berkeley 1975); Dionysius' other relevant treatise, *On the peculiarities of Thucydides* (also known as 'The second letter to Ammaeus') is translated with notes by W. Rhys Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: three literary letters* (Cambridge 1901).

⁶⁵ B. Rosenkranz, 'Der lokale Grundton und die persönliche Eigenart in der Sprache des Thukydides und der älteren attischen Redner', *I.F.* 48 (1930) 127-78.

⁶⁶ Arvid Svensson, *Zum Gebrauch der erzählenden Tempora im Griechischen* (Lund 1930). Possibly related is the mixture of 'timeless' present, imperfect and aorist in some narratives of archaic poetry (West on Hes. *Theog.* 7).

the historical present, the imperfect occurs in many instances which would seem to require the aorist. Sometimes this phenomenon can be tied to verbs with distinct meanings, such as sending and commanding (Sm. 1891; Classen–Steup on 1.26.1, cf. 2.6.1, 10.1, 12.1–2, 85.2), or to verbs of saying (13 *passim*, 34.8); but there are other cases which resist classification (56.2, cf. Sm. 1898–9; K–G 1.143.3).

iii. Abstract nouns

Much more than earlier writers (and to a greater degree even than his contemporaries) Thucydides prefers abstract subjects;⁶⁷ as a result he must greatly expand his stock of abstract nouns, which he accomplishes especially by two methods.

(1) He employs or creates *verbal derivatives* in *-σις* and *-μα*.⁶⁸ Almost any page will produce examples, and from the Funeral Oration alone there are: 35.2 δόκησις, 35.3 βούλησις, 36.4 επιτηδεύσις, 37.1 ἀξίωσις, 37.3 ἀκρόασις, 38.2 τέργις, 39.1 ἄσκησις, 39.3 ἐπίτευξις, 41.1 παιδείσις, 42.4 ἀπόλαυσις, 43.6 κάκωσις, 44.3 τέκνωσις, 45.2 παραίνεσις, 37.1 δέλωμα, 39.1 μάθημα and ἔταμα, 40.4 δόξαλημα.

(2) He uses neuter adjectives and participles as abstract substantives.⁶⁹ 38.1 τὸ λυπηρόν ('anxiety'), 43.4 τὸ εὖδαιμον ('happiness'), 64.6 τῷ ἡδῇ προθύμῳ ('immediate effort'); 1.142.8 τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ('lack of practice'); 2.61.2 τὸ λυποῦν ('grief').

The second tendency is sometimes taken even farther, when an adjective or participle is converted into a neuter substantive followed by a noun as dependent genitive,⁷⁰ thus effectively reversing the normal relation between substantive and attribute:

τὸ αἰσχρόν τοῦ λόγου ('shameful reputation' 42.4)
τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσεω ('future success, which is uncertain' 42.4)
τῷ ἀχρεῖαι τῆς ἡλικίας ('useless [old] age' 44.4)

⁶⁷ Denniston, *Greek prose style* 24–40; Adam Parry, 'Thucydides' use of abstract language', *Yale French Studies* 45 (1970) 3–20.

⁶⁸ E. G. Sihler, 'On the verbal abstract nouns in *-σις* in Thucydides', *T.A.P.A.* 12 (1881) 96–104; R. Browning, 'Greek abstract nouns in *-σις*, *-τις*', *Philologus* 102 (1958) 60–73; Long, *Language and thought in Sophocles, passim*. On Thucydides' other neologisms see Schmid 186–190.

⁶⁹ See Denniston, *Greek prose style* 36–7; Sm. 2051; Pritchett 92 n. 32.
⁷⁰ Sm. 1025; K–G 1.267–8.

τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης ('their angry attitude' 59.3),
τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης ('your weak resolution' 61.2)
τῆς ... πόλεως ... τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν ('the city, which is prestigious because of its empire' 63.1).
τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν ('our resolution, which was not utterly defeated' 87.3)
τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον ('unshakeable resolve' 89.6)

Accompanying the increase in abstract nouns is a preference for lengthy attributive phrases, e.g. 37.2 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἑμῶν επιτηδευσμάτων ὑποψίαν ('suspicion about each other's daily activities'), 39.1 τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ ('our innate physical courage'); cf. 16.1, 39.3, 62.1.

iv. Sentence-structure: varieties of antithesis

Thucydides notoriously avoids predictability in the elaboration of his thoughts (see on *variatio* below), but this is much less true of their overall arrangement; in fact, in giving order to his ideas on the broadest level, he might be said to employ persistently a limited number of sentence structures.

His penchant for expressing ideas through contrast is so strong that the traditional μέν/δέ will not suffice;⁷¹ he also converts structures which are better known for other purposes into new varieties of antithesis. The most striking is the elevation of τε to a basic particle of sentence-co-ordination, either singly (to introduce a summary, 8.1, 41.1, 47.4, 59.2, 63.3, GP 500), with καί (39.1 τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν ... καὶ ἡ ταῖς παιδείαις, 41.1 τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἑκαστον, GP 515; even of alternatives, see on 35.1), with another τε (7.1, 84.3, 35.2 ὁ τε γὰρ ξυνειδώς ... ὁ τε ἀπείρος, cf. δέ ... τε in 51.2),⁷² or even in elaborate tripartite statements:⁷³

⁷¹ For some transitions effected through contrasts see nn. on 37.1, 46.1, 49.1. On the contrast between λόγος and ἔργον see 40.1 n.; for false antitheses with μέν/δέ see nn. on 42.4, 46.1.

⁷² Also οὐτε (μήτε) ... τε 1.1, 39.2, 65.2, cf. 5.5, 29.3. For other uses see 8.4n., and Bruno Hammer, *De τε particulae uti Herodoteo Thucydideo Xenophonte* (diss. Leipzig 1904).

⁷³ GP 504–5; Rusten, *C.Q.* 35 (1985) 15 n. 4. Cf. the sequence δέ ... τε ... τε ... τε 59–3.1.

οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ... τήν τε τῶν πέλας ... ἀθρόαι τε τῇ δυνάμει (39.2)
 φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ ... πλοῦτοι τε ... ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ... (40.1)
 οὔτε γὰρ ἱατροὶ ἦρκουν ... οὔτε ἅλη ἀνθρωπεία τέχνη ... ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς κέτευσαν ... (47.4)

Another form of contrast found repeatedly is negative-positive statement in various patterns (x represents the proposition to be accepted, y the one rejected):⁷⁴

- (a) 'not y, but x' (with ἄλλα, e.g. 40.2 τὸν ... μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλ' ἄρχειον νομίζομεν 'anyone who takes no part in these [civic affairs] we consider not "unpolitical", but useless').
- (b) 'not y, but x' (with δέ, e.g. 43.1 οὐκ ... τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερῶσκειν, κάλλιστον δέ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προέμενοι 'not consenting to deny the city their support, but granting her the fairest contribution of all').
- (c) with μάλλον in the second term ('not y, but rather x', e.g. 43.1 σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὥφελαν ... ἀλλὰ μάλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεομύετους 'examining the benefit [of defending the city] not in a single speech ... but rather studying daily the city's power in action').
- (d) with μάλλον in the first term ('not y rather, but x', e.g. 43.2 τὸν τάφον ἐπιστημύστατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κείνται μάλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα ... καταλείπεται 'a tomb that is most glorious, not rather the one in which they are buried, but the one in which their glory lives on').

The seemingly endless juxtaposition of alternatives in Thucydides by grammatical comparison – 'x rather than y' – is not to be taken literally to imply a mere preference, but as an emphatic acceptance of x and a complete rejection of y.⁷⁵ There are two forms: (1) 'x rather

⁷⁴ Also called the *σύνημα κατ' ἄρσιν* καὶ *θέσιν*. For details see Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 51–2; Ros 145–7; K–G n.586.

⁷⁵ A sense frequent in Antiphon also, and found already in Aesch. *Ag.* 1591 (of Atreus' banquet for Thyestes): *προθύμως μάλλον ἢ φίλος ... πάρεσχε δαίτη*. See Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 53–5, and for an exhaustive study Otto Schwab, *Historische Syntax der griechischen Comparison in der klassischen Literatur* (Vol. iv in M. Schanz, ed., *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache*, Würzburg 1893) 68–80.

than y' (e.g. 40.1 πλοῦτοι τε ἔργον μάλλον καιρῶι ἢ λόγου κόμπωι *χρῶμεθα* 'we use wealth as an opportunity for action rather than something about which to speak boastfully') and (2) 'not y rather than x' (e.g. 41.2 καὶ ὡς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μάλλον ἢ ἔργων ἔστιν ἀλήθεια αὐτῇ ἡ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως ... σημαίνει 'and that these statements are not a momentary verbal boast rather than factual truth, the power itself of the city makes clear').⁷⁶

v. Sentence-structure: 'open-ended expansion'⁷⁷

Readers of Demosthenes and Cicero have been taught to admire above all a sentence-structure that attains grammatical completeness only with its concluding words. When he wishes, Thucydides can employ this structure, e.g. in the lengthy sentence on the tyrannicides in 1.20.2, or the description of the final thoughts of the Athenian soldiers before they died in 2.42.4, which close respectively with the dramatic verbs *ἀπέκτειναν* and *ἀπηλλόγνησαν*.⁷⁸

But the most frequent form of structural elaboration in the work shows a different approach, seen fully developed in the opening sentence:

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαίρομενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρωι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο

⁷⁶ Negative-positive and comparative formulations can even be joined in statements like 37.1 (οὐ ζηλοῦσθι ... παρόδειγμα δὲ μάλλον ... ἢ μιμούμενοι = 'not y, but x rather than y') or, as an extreme example, 1.10.3: οὐκὼν ἀπιστοῖν εἰκός, οὐδὲ τὰς θυεῖς τῶν πόλεων μάλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζαν δὲ τὴν σπουδῆσαν βέλτην μεγίστην ... 'therefore one should not be sceptical, nor examine the appearance of cities rather than their power, but believe that expedition [the Trojan War] to have been the greatest ...' = 'therefore neither y', nor y' rather than x', but x').

⁷⁷ Denniston (*Greek prose style* 66–7) calls this the 'loose periodic structure', *Blau* (*Die altische Beredsamkeit* 1.219) the 'descending period' (*absteigende Periode*). Demetrius, *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* 19–21, may have it in mind when he separates the 'historical period' from the rhetorical and philosophical ones; but Thucydides uses it mostly in speeches.

⁷⁸ Two other long sentences with this structure, 1.2.2 and 1.9.2, are criticised for this very reason by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On the peculiarities of Thucydides* 15).

'Ελληνικὸν ὁρὼν ξυνοιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοοῦμενον.

According to strict grammar, the structure is complete in the first nine words. But for the thought this is only a point of departure, since ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον is qualified first with an indirect question, then with a series of nominative participles (ἀρξάμενος ... καὶ ἐλπίσας, τεκμαίρουστος ... τε ... καὶ ὁρῶν, all only superficially parallel); these in turn lead to subordinate clauses of three different types (μέγαν ... ἔσσεσθαι, ὅτι ... ἦσαν, τὸ ἄλλο 'Ελληνικὸν ... ξυνοιστάμενον), of which the last stubbornly refuses to succumb without a final antithesis. The impression is that of an initially simple idea gradually overwhelmed by the complex circumstances behind it – just the opposite of the period which achieves perfection with its final word.

This open-ended expansion is adopted by Thucydides in the most elaborate and ambitious sentences of Book 2. For example, in 64.3 an initial verb governs one subordinate clause which in turn develops into another, and this in turn introduces still one more – each clause is grammatically subordinate, but introduces new ideas of equal weight with the main verb; in 41.4 a verb is expanded with four participles in an elaborate antithetical structure; and in 43.1 an accusative + infinitive is elaborated with four accusative participles, the last of which introduces four more nominative participles before the thought is brought to a close. (For all these see nn. ad locc.)

vi. Variatio

The most famous characteristic of Thucydides' style is his frequent and deliberate avoidance of detailed grammatical parallelism, which it is customary to call (not quite accurately) μεταβολή or *variatio*.⁷⁹ The ways he can find to express logically parallel ideas with grammatically distinct constructions have been exhaustively catalogued⁸⁰ and are often discussed in the commentary, so that here a very few examples

⁷⁹ These terms and others (e.g. ποικιλία) certainly refer to variety; but ancient critics (e.g. [Longinus], *De subl.* 23.1, and even Dion. Hal. *De Thuc.* 53) apply them only to other authors and less eccentric techniques of variation. For Thucydides' brand of it – *pace* Ros (next n.) 49–72 – their lack of critical terminology matched their lack of admiration.

⁸⁰ J. G. A. Ros, *Die Variatio (variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thukydides*; Gösta Ottavik, *Die Koordination inkonzinier Glieder in der attischen Prosa* (Lund 1943).

will suffice: 36.4 διπὸ δι' οἷας ... καὶ μεθ' οἷας ... καὶ ἐξ οἷων (where all three prepositional phrases express the same idea); 44.2 λύπη οὐχ ὧν ... ἀλλ' οὐ; 44.3 ἐκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημιουθῆαι καὶ ἀσφαλείας (both causal); 48.4 τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν ... τὸ ἐνδόντες αἰετίζεσθαι; 40.2 οὐ τοὺς λόγους βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδραχθῆναι (the noun λόγους is parallel to the infinitive); 37.1 χρόμεθα ... πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούσῃ ... *περὶδειγμα δ' αὐτοὶ δυντες* (the contrasting words are in different cases). Often καὶ joins grammatically dissimilar elements, e.g. 11.1, 25.1, 28.1, 62.4; co-ordinating particles (μέν/δέ, τε/τε) may be followed by dissimilar verb forms (5.5, 29.3, 47.3).⁸¹

vii. Figures of speech

Litotes intensifies an idea by the negation of its opposite, e.g. 34.6 μὴ ἀβύνητος, 36.2 οὐκ ἀπὸνως, 36.4 οὐκ ... ἀπρεπῆ, 37.3 μάλιστα οὐ περαιοῦμεν, 40.2 μὴ ἐνδεὼς γινώσκει, 48.3 μὴ ἀγνοεῖν.⁸²

Oxymoron is the pointed juxtaposition of normally contradictory words or statements, e.g. 39.1 νεοὶ δυντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, 45.2 *μεγάλη ἡ δοξα ... ἥς ἐν τῷ ἐλπίστων ... κλέος ἦ*.⁸³

Polyptoton is the repetition of a word in different cases, usually placed together: 64.3 'Ελλήνων ... Ἑλλήνες, 64.5 ἔτεροι ἔτερον, 51.1 ἐτέρωι πρὸς ἔτερον.⁸⁴

viii. Word order

The most striking feature of Thucydidean word order is the displacement of logically cohering words for emphasis, called *hyperbaton*.⁸⁵

⁸¹ This sort of variation (unexpected elements within a clearly co-ordinated overall structure) is studied separately by Wilhelm Lüdtke, *Untersuchungen zum Aufbau des Thukydides: das sogenannte Anakoluth* (diss. Kiel 1930).

⁸² See in general K-G 1.25, n.180; Sm. 3032, 2694 (litotes in English does not always aim at the same effect). Thucydides may have viewed this device as an abbreviated form of negative-positive contrast (see under 'varieties of antithesis' above), e.g. οὐχ ἥσιστα compared with 7.44.6 μέγιστον καὶ οὐχ ἥσιστα ἐβλάψε.

⁸³ Schmid 196 n. 4, 197 n. 1.

⁸⁴ Sm. 3028d; B. Gygli-Wyss, *Das nominale Polyptoton* (Göttingen 1966).

⁸⁵ See especially Denniston, *Greek prose style* 47–59 and (with examples from Plato) Riddell, *Digest* §§287–303. Older, more specialised studies include F. Darpe, *De verborum apud Thucydidem collocacione* (diss. Münster 1865); H. Scheidling, *De hyperbato Thucydidæ* (Gymnasialprogramm Jauer, 1867), and the introduction (xxi–xliii) to the commentary on Thucydides 6 by A. W. Spratt (Cambridge 1905).

Word order can be manipulated in a variety of ways,⁸⁶ but most common is emphatic initial position: see nn. on 40.1 (πλούτῳ τε ... καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι ~ 42.4 οὔτε πλούτου ... οὔτε πενίας), 11.6 (ἐπὶ δδύναντον ἀμύνεσθαι οὐτω πόλιν), 43.1 (πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοῦς ὑμᾶς εἰδότες). Emphatic final position occurs also, especially for verbs, e.g. 39.2 κρατοῦμεν, 42.4 ἀπρηλλαγμένοι, 63.3 ἀσφαλὲς δουλεύειν.

Sometimes shifts of several words to emphatic positions produce the appearance of a deliberate interlacing of two groups, e.g.:⁸⁷

τὸν τε πλέονα κέρδος δὲ νῦν τυχεῖτε βίον ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν
 ἐσσεσθαι (44.4 = ἡγεῖσθε τὸν τε πλέονα βίον, δὲ νῦν τυχεῖτε, (γε-
 νέσθαι) κέρδος, καὶ τόνδε ἐσσεσθαι βραχὺν)
 εἰκός τε καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίωνα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ
 τοσούτου ἐπ' ὠφελαι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν
 ἡμερῶν ἐς 'Οδρύσας δδοῦ (39.3 = εἰκός τε καὶ Πανδίωνα ξυνάψ-
 ασθαι τὸ κῆδος τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπ' ὠφελαι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ
 τοσούτου μάλλον ἢ διὰ δδοῦ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς 'Οδρύσας)

One other distortion of word order unrelated to emphasis is the placement of a dependent genitive between a preposition and a genitive object: 13.2 ἀπὸ τούτων ... τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου, 42.4 δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ('through the luck of the briefest instant'), cf. 29.3 (just quoted).⁸⁸

5. THE TEXT

i. Earliest transmission

As we have seen (Introduction part 1) there is considerable disagreement over the manner in which Thucydides' work was composed; equal uncertainty surrounds the question of its publication. The Thucydidean *Nachlaß* must have been assembled and made public by an

⁸⁶ E.g. in 4.4 (οἱ δὲ κατὰ πύλους ἐρήμιους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεον λαθόντες καὶ διακόμεναι τὸν νοχλὸν ἐξηλθον οὐ πολλοί) the order of words seems to reflect the sequence of events.

⁸⁷ Cf. 39.2, 49.5; Denniston, *Greek prose style* 54 (where Thucydides ought to be included).

⁸⁸ The same order outside prepositional phrases at 19.2, 60.4 (see Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 69–70).

5. THE TEXT

editor of some sort, and Diogenes Laertius 2.57 tells us that this was Xenophon, the military man and historian who continued the story of Thucydides' war in his *Hellenica*. This is very plausible – too plausible, in fact, to be of evidential value, and it must be treated as a speculation of hellenistic biography.⁸⁹ There are, however, other features which may indicate Xenophon's contribution: the break in the *Hellenica* at the point (2.3.10) where Thucydides' war ends, and the corresponding absence of even the roughest notes in Thucydides for the years covered by Xenophon (410–404); also the language of the second preface (5.26), where Thucydides is mentioned in the third person, the writer in the first.⁹⁰

ii. Study and annotation

Regardless of how it was composed or released, Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*⁹¹ was an immediate sensation; no less than three historians of note wrote works that could be considered continuations⁹² and, without mentioning him by name, Plato shows an intimate acquaintance.⁹³ Ancient interest in his work continued unabated thereafter: literary researchers like Didymus, attesting rhetoricians like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, historians like Appian and Dio Cassius all had their reasons for knowing him well. The abundant medieval scholia are relatively disappointing, being largely concerned with rhetoric and vocabulary;⁹⁴ but the commentary on 2.1–45 in P. Oxy. 6. 853 (of the

⁸⁹ For the distinction see Introd. 1 above.

⁹⁰ See especially L. Canfora, *Thucydide continuato* (Padua 1970), 'Storia antica del testo di Thucydide', *Quaderni di storia* 3 (1977) 3–40 and Dover, *HCT* v. 431–44.

If we call it the 'lost work' after Herodotus (as most manuscripts do) we err in using a word he sedulously avoided; see Nicole Loraux, 'Thucydide a écrit la guerre du Péloponnèse', *MHTIS* 1987, 139–61.

⁹¹ Xenophon (*Hellenica* 1–2.3.10); Theopompus of Chios (*Hellenic Histories*; *FCG Hist* 115 f. 5–23, W. R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth-century Athens*, Washington 1968); and Cratippus of Athens (*FCG Hist* 64 f. 1).

⁹² For these and other reactions to his work in the 4th century see Schmid, *Geschichte* 208–10. Most striking is *Republik* 8.560c–d as a reminiscence of Thucydides 3.82.4–5, and the obvious dependence of *Memorabilia* on Pericles' Funeral Oration. For Thucydides and Plato see especially M. Pohlenz, *Platons Werdegang* (Berlin 1913) 238–56, and the notes on the Funeral Oration (37.1–2, 38, 40.1–2, 41.1). How Wilamowitz ('Thucydideslegende' 8) can speak of a 'century of neglect' for Thucydides is a mystery to me.

⁹⁴ Karl Hude, *Scholien in Thucydidem* (Leipzig 1927).