

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7
George Grote
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

Classics

From the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, Latin and Greek were compulsory subjects in almost all European universities, and most early modern scholars published their research and conducted international correspondence in Latin. Latin had continued in use in Western Europe long after the fall of the Roman empire as the lingua franca of the educated classes and of law, diplomacy, religion and university teaching. The flight of Greek scholars to the West after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 gave impetus to the study of ancient Greek literature and the Greek New Testament. Eventually, just as nineteenth-century reforms of university curricula were beginning to erode this ascendancy, developments in textual criticism and linguistic analysis, and new ways of studying ancient societies, especially archaeology, led to renewed enthusiasm for the Classics. This collection offers works of criticism, interpretation and synthesis by the outstanding scholars of the nineteenth century.

A History of Greece

Widely acknowledged as the most authoritative study of ancient Greece, George Grote's twelve-volume work, begun in 1846, established the shape of Greek history which still prevails in textbooks and popular accounts of the ancient world today. Grote employs direct and clear language to take the reader from the earliest times of legendary Greece to the death of Alexander and his generation, drawing upon epic poetry and legend, and examining the growth and decline of the Athenian democracy. The work provides explanations of Greek political constitutions and philosophy, and interwoven throughout are the important but outlying adventures of the Sicilian and Italian Greeks. Volume 7 continues the history of the Peloponnesian War from the Peace of Nicias to the disaster of the Sicilian Expedition and the coup d'état of the Four Hundred at Athens in 411 BCE.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7
George Grote
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection will bring back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7
George Grote
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

A History of Greece

VOLUME 7

GEORGE GROTE



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7
George Grote
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108009560

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2009

This edition first published 1850
This digitally printed version 2009

ISBN 978-1-108-00956-0 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY

GEORGE GROTE, Esq.

VOL. VII.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1850.

CONTENTS.

VOL. VII.

CHAPTER LV.

From the Peace of Nikias to the Olympic Festival of Olympiad 90.

	Page
Negotiations for peace during the winter after the battle of Amphipolis.—Peace called the peace of Nikias—concluded in March 421 B.C. Conditions of peace.—Peace accepted at Sparta by the majority of members of the Peloponnesian alliance.—The most powerful members of the alliance refuse to accept the truce—Bœotians, Megarians, Corinthians, and Eleians.—Position and feelings of the Lacedæmonians—their great anxiety for peace—their uncertain relations with Argos.—Steps taken by the Lacedæmonians to execute the peace—Amphipolis is not restored to Athens—the great allies of Sparta do not accept the peace.—Separate alliance for mutual defence concluded between Sparta and Athens.—Terms of the alliance.—Athens restores the Spartan captives.—Mismanagement of the political interests of Athens by Nikias and the peace party.—By the terms of the alliance, Athens renounced all the advantages of her position in reference to the Lacedæmonians—she gained none of those concessions upon which she calculated, while they gained materially.—Discontent and remonstrances of the Athenians against Sparta in consequence of the non-performance of the conditions—they repent of having given up the captives—excuses of Sparta.—New combinations in Peloponnesus—suspicion entertained of concert between Sparta and Athens—Argos stands prominently forward—state of Argos—aristocratical regiment of one thousand formed in that city.—The Corinthians prevail upon Argos to stand forward as head of a new Peloponnesian alliance.—Congress of recusant Peloponnesian allies at Corinth—	

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

iv

CONTENTS.

Page

the Mantineians join Argos—state of Arcadia—rivalship of Tegea and Mantinea.—Remonstrances of Lacedæmonian envoys at the congress at Corinth—re-defence of the Corinthians—pretence of religious scruple.—The Bœotians and Megarians refuse to break with Sparta, or to ally themselves with Argos—the Corinthians hesitate in actually joining Argos.—The Eleians become allies of Argos—their reasons for doing so—relations with Lepreum—the Corinthians now join Argos also.—Refusal of Tegea to separate from Sparta.—The Corinthians are disheartened—their application through the Bœotians to Athens.—The Lacedæmonians emancipate the Arcadian subjects of Mantinea—they plant the Brasidean Helots at Lepreum.—Treatment of the Spartan captives after their liberation from Athens and return to Sparta—they are disfranchised for a time and in a qualified manner.—The Athenians recapture Skiônê—put to death all the adult males.—Political relations in Peloponnesus—change of Ephors at Sparta—the new Ephors are hostile to Athens.—Congress at Sparta—Athenian, Bœotian, and Corinthian deputies, present—long debates, but no settlement attained of any one of the disputed points—intrigues of the anti-Athenian Ephors—Kleobulus and Xenarês.—These Ephors try to bring about underhand an alliance between Sparta and Argos, through the Bœotians—the project fails.—The Lacedæmonians conclude a special alliance with the Bœotians, thereby violating their alliance with Athens—the Bœotians raze Panaktum to the ground.—Application from the Argeians to Sparta, to renew the expiring treaty. Project of renewed treaty agreed upon. Curious stipulation about combat by champions, to keep the question open about the title to Thyrea.—Lacedæmonian envoys go first to Bœotia, next to Athens—they find Panaktum demolished—they ask for the cession of Pylus from Athens.—The envoys are badly received at Athens—angry feeling against the Lacedæmonians.—Alkibiadês stands forward as a party-leader. His education and character.—Great energy and capacity of Alkibiadês in public affairs—his reckless expenditure—lawless demeanour—unprincipled character, inspiring suspicion and alarm—military service.—Alkibiadês—Sokratês—the Sophists.—Conflicting sentiments entertained towards Alkibiadês—his great energy and capacity. Admiration, fear, hatred, and jealousy, which he inspires.—Alkibiadês tries to renew the ancient, but interrupted connection of his ancestors with

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS.

v

Page

Lacedæmon, as proxeni.—The Spartans reject his advances—he turns against them—alters his politics, and becomes their enemy at Athens.—He tries to bring Athens into alliance with Argos.—He induces the Argeians to send envoys to Athens—the Argeians eagerly embrace this opening, and drop their negotiations with Sparta.—Embassy of the Lacedæmonians to Athens, to press the Athenians not to throw up the alliance. The envoys are favourably received.—Trick by which Alkibiadès cheats and disgraces the envoys, and baffles the Lacedæmonian project. Indignation of the Athenians against Sparta.—Nikias prevails with the assembly to send himself and others as envoys to Sparta, in order to clear up the embarrassment.—Failure of the embassy of Nikias at Sparta—Athens concludes the alliance with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea.—Conditions of this convention and alliance.—Complicated relations among the Grecian states as to treaty and alliance.—Olympic festival of the 90th Olympiad—July 420 B.C., its memorable character.—First appearance of Athens at the Olympic festival since the beginning of the war. Immense display of Alkibiadès in the chariot-race.—The Eleians exclude the Spartan sacred legation from this Olympic festival, in consequence of alleged violation of the Olympic truce.—Alarm felt at the festival lest the Spartans should come in arms.—Depressed estimation of Sparta throughout Greece—Herakleia.

1-83

CHAPTER LVI.

From the Festival of Olympiad 90, down to the Battle of Mantinea.

New policy of Athens, attempted by Alkibiadès.—Expedition of Alkibiadès into the interior of Peloponnesus.—Attack upon Epidaurus by Argos and Athens.—Movements of the Spartans and Argeians.—The sacred month Karneius—trick played by the Argeians with their calendar.—Congress at Mantinea for peace—the discussions prove abortive.—Athenian lordship of the sea—the alliance between Athens and Sparta continues in name, but is indirectly violated by both.—Invasion of Argos by Agis and the Lacedæmonians, Bœotians, and Corinthians.—Approach of the invaders to Argos by different lines of march.—Superior forces and advantageous position of the invaders—danger of Argos—

Agis takes upon him to grant an armistice to the Argeians, and withdraws the army—dissatisfaction of the allies.—Severe censure against Agis on his return to Sparta.—Tardy arrival of Alkibiadês, Lachês, &c: with the Athenian contingent at Argos—expedition of Athenians, Eleians, Mantineians, and Argeians, against the Arcadian town of Orchomenus.—Plans against Tegea—the Eleians return home.—Danger of Tegea—Agis and the Lacedæmonians march to its relief.—Manceuvres of Agis to bring on a battle on fair ground.—Forward march and new position of the Argeians.—The Lacedæmonians are surprised: their sudden and ready formation into battle order.—Gradation of command and responsibility peculiar to the Lacedæmonian army.—Lacedæmonian line: privileged post of the Skiritæ on the left.—Uncertain numbers of both armies.—Preliminary harangues to the soldiers.—Battle of Mantinea.—Movement ordered by Agis, on the instant before the battle: his order disobeyed. His left wing is defeated.—Complete ultimate victory of the Lacedæmonians.—Great effects of the victory in re-establishing the reputation of Sparta.—Operations of Argeians, Eleians, &c., near Epidaurus.—Political change at Argos, arising out of the battle of Mantinea.—Oligarchical conspiracy of the Thousand-regiment at Argos, in concert with the Lacedæmonians.—Treaty of peace between Sparta and Argos.—Treaty of alliance between Sparta and Argos—dissolution of the alliance of Argos with Athens, Mantinea, and Elis.—Submission of Mantinea to Sparta.—Oligarchical revolution effected at Argos by the Thousand, in concert with the Lacedæmonians.—Oligarchy in Sikyôn and the towns in Achaia.—Violences of the Thousand at Argos: counter-revolution in that town: restoration of the democracy.—Proceedings of the restored Argeian Demos: tardiness of Sparta.—Alkibiadês at Argos: measures for the protection of the democracy.—Nominal peace, but precarious relations, between Athens and Sparta.—Relations of Athens with Perdikkas of Macedonia.—Negligence of Athens about Amphipolis: improvidence of Nikias and the peace-party: adventurous speculations of Alkibiadês.—Projected contention of ostracism between Nikias and Alkibiadês. Proposition supported by Hyperbolus.—Gradual desuetude of the ostracism, as the democracy became assured.—Siege of Mêlos by the Athenians.—Dialogue set forth by Thucydîdês, between the Athenian envoys and the Executive Council of Mêlos.—Language represented by

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS.

vii

Page

Thucydides as having been held by the Athenian envoys— with the replies of the Melians.—Refusal of the Melians to submit.—Siege and capture of Mélos.—Remarks upon the event.—View taken by Thucydides of this incident.—Place which it occupies in the general historical conception of Thucydides	84–161
--	--------

CHAPTER LVII.

Sicilian Affairs after the Extinction of the Gelonian Dynasty.

Expulsion of the Gelonian dynasty from Syracuse, and of other despots from the other Sicilian towns.—Large changes of resident inhabitants—effects of this fact.—Relative power and condition of the Sicilian cities. Political dissensions at Syracuse. Ostracism tried and abandoned.—Power and foreign exploits of Syracuse.—Sikels in the interior of Sicily—the Sikel prince Duketius—he founds the new Sikel town of Palikê.—Exploits of Duketius—he is defeated and becomes the prisoner of the Syracusans, who spare him, and send him to Corinth.—Duketius breaks his parole and returns to Sicily.—Conquests of Syracuse in the interior of Sicily—death of Duketius.—Prosperity and power of Agrigentum.—Intellectual movement in Sicily—Empedoklés—Tisias—Korax—Gorgias.—Sicilian cities—their condition and proceedings at the first breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, 431 B.C.—Relations of Sicily to Athens and Sparta—altered by the quarrel between Corinth and Korkyra and the intervention of Athens.—Expectations entertained by Sparta of aid from the Sicilian Dorians, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Expectations not realized.—The Dorian cities in Sicily attack the Ionian cities in Sicily.—The Ionic cities in Sicily solicit aid from Athens—first Athenian expedition to Sicily under Lachês.—Second expedition under Pythodôrus.—Indecisive operations near Messênê and Rhegium.—Defeat of the Messenians by the Naxians and Sikels, near Naxos.—Eurymedon and Sophoklés, with a larger Athenian fleet, arrive in Sicily.—Congress of the Sicilian cities at Gela. Speech of Hermodratês.—General peace made between the Sicilian cities. Eurymedon accedes to the peace, and withdraws the Athenian fleet.—Displeasure of the Athenians against Eurymedon and his colleagues.—Intestine dissension in Leontini—expulsion of the Leontine Demos, by the aid of Syracuse,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii

CONTENTS.

Page

—Application of the Leontine Demos for help to Athens. The Athenians send Phæax to make observations.—Leontini depopulated—the Demos expelled—Leontine exiles at Athens.—War between Selinus and Egesta—the latter applies to Athens for aid.—Promises of the Egestæans: motives offered to Athens for intervention in Sicily.—Alkibiadês warmly espouses their cause, and advises intervention.—Inspecting commissioners despatched by the Athenians to Egesta—frauds practised by the Egestæans to delude them.—Return of the commissioners to Athens—impression produced by their report. Resolution taken to send an expedition to Sicily.—Embarrassment of Nikias as opposer of the expedition.—Speech of Nikias at the second assembly held by the Athenians.—Reply of Alkibiadês.—The assembly favourable to the views of Alkibiadês—adheres to the resolution of sailing to Sicily.—Second speech of Nikias—exaggerating the difficulties and dangers of the expedition, and demanding a force on the largest scale.—Effect of this speech—increased eagerness of the assembly for the expedition—ardour and unanimity in reference to the plan.—Excitement in the city among all classes—great increase in the scale on which the expedition was planned.—Large preparations made for the expedition.—Review of these preliminary proceedings to the Sicilian expedition.—Advice and influence of Nikias.—Advice and influence of Alkibiadês.—Athens believed herself entitled to be mistress of the islands as well as of the sea..... 162–222

CHAPTER LVIII.

From the Resolution of the Athenians to attack Syracuse, down to the First Winter after their Arrival in Sicily.

Preparations for the expedition against Sicily—general enthusiasm and sanguine hopes at Athens.—Abundance in the Athenian treasury—display of wealth as well as of force in the armament.—Mutilation of the Hermæ at Athens. Numbers and sanctity of the Hermæ.—Violent excitement and religious alarm produced by the act at Athens.—The authors of the act unknown—but it was certainly done by design and conspiracy.—Various parties suspected—great probability beforehand that it would induce the Athenians to abandon or postpone the expedition.—The political enemies of Alkibiadês take advantage of the reigning excite-

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS.

ix
Page

ment to try and ruin him.—Anxiety of the Athenians to detect and punish the conspirators—rewards offered for information.—Informations given in—commissioners of inquiry appointed.—First accusation of Alkibiadês, of having profaned and divulged the Eleusinian mysteries.—Violent speeches in the assembly against Alkibiadês unfavourably received.—He denies the charge and demands immediate trial—his demand is eluded by his enemies.—Departure of the armament from Peiræus—splendour and exciting character of the spectacle.—Solemnities of parting, on ship-board and on the water's edge.—Full muster of the armament at Korkyra.—Progress to Rhegium—cold reception by the Italian cities.—Feeling at Syracuse as to the approaching armament—disposition to undervalue its magnitude, and even to question its intended coming.—Strenuous exhortations of Hermokratês, to be prepared.—Temper and parties in the Syracusan assembly.—Reply of Athenagoras, the popular orator.—Interposition of the Stratêgi to moderate the violence of the debate.—Relative position of Athenagoras and other parties at Syracuse.—Pacific dispositions of Athenagoras.—His general denunciations against the oligarchical youth were well-founded.—Active preparations at Syracuse on the approach of the Athenian armament.—Discouragement of the Athenians at Rhegium on learning the truth respecting the poverty of Egesta.—The Athenian generals discuss their plan of action—opinion of Nikias.—Opinion of Alkibiadês.—Opinion of Lamachus.—Superior discernment of Lamachus—plan of Alkibiadês preferred.—Alkibiadês at Messênê—Naxos joins the Athenians. Empty display of the armament.—Alkibiadês at Katana—the Athenians masters of Katana—they establish their station there. Refusal of Kamarina.—Alkibiadês is summoned home to take his trial.—Feelings and proceedings at Athens since the departure of the armament.—Number of citizens imprisoned on suspicion—increased agony of the public mind.—Peisander and Chariklês the commissioners of inquiry.—Information of Diokleidês.—More prisoners arrested—increased terror in the city—Andokidês among the persons imprisoned.—Andokidês is solicited by his fellow-prisoners to stand forward and give information—he complies.—Andokidês designates the authors of the mutilation of the Hermæ—consequence of his revelations.—Questionable authority of Andokidês, as to what he himself really stated in information.—Belief of the Athenians in his information

—its tranquillising effects.—Anxiety and alarm revived, respecting the persons concerned in the profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries.—Revival of the accusation against Alkibiadês.—Indictment presented by Thessalus, son of Kimon, against Alkibiadês.—Resolution to send for Alkibiadês home from Sicily to be tried.—Alkibiadês quits the army as if to come home : makes his escape at Thurii, and retires to Peloponnesus.—Conduct of the Athenian public in reference to Alkibiadês—how far blameable. Conduct of his enemies.—Mischief to Athens from the banishment of Alkibiadês. Languid operations of the Sicilian armament under Nikias.—Increase of confidence and preparations at Syracuse, arising from the delays of Nikias.—Manœuvre of Nikias from Katana—he lands his forces in the Great Harbour of Syracuse.—Return of the Syracusan army from Katana to the Great Harbour—preparations for fighting Nikias.—Feelings of the ancient soldier.—Harangue of Nikias.—Battle near the Olympieion—victory of the Athenians.—Unabated confidence of the Syracusans—they garrison the Olympieion—Nikias re-embarks his army, and returns to Katana.—He determines to take up his winter quarters at Katana, and sends to Athens for reinforcements of horse.—His failure at Messênê, through the betrayal by Alkibiadês.—Salutary lesson to the Syracusans, arising out of the recent defeat—mischiefs to the Athenians from the delay of Nikias.—Confidence of the Athenians at home in Nikias—their good temper—they send to him the reinforcements demanded.—Determined feeling at Syracuse—improved measures of defence—recommendations of Hermokratês.—Enlargement of the fortifications of Syracuse. Improvement of their situation. Increase of the difficulties of Nikias.—Hermokratês and Euphêmus—counter-envoys at Kamarina.—Speech of Euphêmus.—The Kamarinæans maintain practical neutrality.—Winter proceedings of Nikias from his quarters at Katana.—Syracusan envoys sent to solicit aid from Corinth and Sparta.—Alkibiadês at Sparta—his intense hostility to Athens.—Speech of Alkibiadês in the Lacedæmonian assembly.—Great effect of his speech on the Peloponnesians.—Misrepresentations contained in the speech.—Resolutions of the Spartans.—The Lacedæmonians send Gylippus to Syracuse	223–331
--	---------

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS.

xi

CHAPTER LIX.

From the commencement of the Siege of Syracuse by Nikias—
down to the Second Athenian Expedition under Demosthenês,
and the Resumption of the General War.

Page

Movements of Nikias in the early spring.—Local condition and fortifications of Syracuse, at the time when Nikias arrived.—Inner and Outer City.—Localities without the wall of the outer city—Epipolæ.—Possibilities of the siege when Nikias first arrived in Sicily—increase of difficulties through his delay.—Increased importance of the upper ground of Epipolæ. Intention of the Syracusans to occupy the summit of Epipolæ.—The summit is surprised by the Athenians.—The success of this surprise was essential to the effective future prosecution of the siege.—First operations of the siege—Central work of the Athenians on Epipolæ, called The Circle.—First counter-wall of the Syracusans.—Its direction, south of the Athenian Circle—its completion.—It is stormed, taken, and destroyed by the Athenians.—Nikias occupies the southern cliff—and prosecutes his line of blockade south of the Circle.—Second counter-work of the Syracusans—reaching across the marsh, south of Epipolæ, to the river Anapus.—This counter-work attacked and taken by Lamachus—general battle—death of Lamachus.—Danger of the Athenian Circle and of Nikias—victory of the Athenians.—Entrance of the Athenian fleet into the Great Harbour.—The southern portion of the wall of blockade, across the marsh to the Great Harbour, is prosecuted and nearly finished.—The Syracusans offer no farther obstruction—despondency at Syracuse—increasing closeness of the siege.—Order of the besieging operations successively undertaken by the Athenians.—Triumphant prospects of the Athenians. Disposition among the Sikels and Italian Greeks to favour them.—Conduct of Nikias—his correspondents in the interior of Syracuse.—Confidence of Nikias—comparative languor of his operations.—Approach of Gylippus—he despairs of relieving Syracuse.—Progress of Gylippus, in spite of discouraging reports.—Approach of Gylippus is made known to Nikias. Facility of preventing his farther advance—Nikias despises him, and leaves him to come unobstructed. He lands at Himera in Sicily.—Blindness of Nikias—egregious mistake of letting in Gylippus.—Gylippus levies an army and marches across Sicily

from Himera to Syracuse. — The Corinthian Goggylus reaches Syracuse before Gylippus—just in time to hinder the town from capitulating.—Gylippus with his new-levied force enters Syracuse unopposed.—Unaccountable inaction of Nikias.—Vigorous and aggressive measures of Gylippus, immediately on arriving.—Gylippus surprises and captures the Athenian fort of Labdalum.—He begins the construction of a third counter-wall, on the north side of the Athenian Circle.—Nikias fortifies Cape Plemmyrium.—Inconveniences of Plemmyrium as a maritime station—mischief which ensues to the Athenian naval strength.—Operations of Gylippus in the field—his defeat.—His decisive victory—the Athenians are shut up within their lines. The Syracusan counter-wall is carried on so far as to cut the Athenian line of blockade.—Farther defences provided by Gylippus, joining the higher part of Epipolæ with the city-wall.—Confidence of Gylippus and the Syracusans—aggressive plans against the Athenians, even on the sea.—Discouragement of Nikias and the Athenians.—Nikias sends home a despatch to Athens, soliciting reinforcements.—Despatch of Nikias to the Athenian people.—Resolution of the Athenians to send Demosthenês with a second armament.—Remarks upon the despatch of Nikias.—Former despatches of Nikias.—Effect of his despatch upon the Athenians.—Treatment of Nikias by the Athenians.—Capital mistake committed by the Athenians.—Hostilities from Sparta certain and impending.—Resolution of Sparta to invade Attica forthwith, and to send farther reinforcements to Sicily 332–393

CHAPTER LX.

From the Resumption of direct Hostilities between Athens and Sparta down to the Destruction of the Athenian Armament in Sicily.

Active warlike preparations throughout Greece during the winter of 414–413 B.C.—Invasion of Attica by Agis and the Peloponnesian force—fortification of Dekeleia.—Second expedition from Athens against Syracuse, under Demosthenês.—Operations of Gylippus at Syracuse. He determines to attack the Athenians at sea.—Naval combat in the harbour of Syracuse—the Athenians victorious.—Gylippus surprises and takes Plemmyrium.—Important consequences of the capture.—Increased spirits and confidence of the Sy-

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS.

xiii

Page

racusans, even for sea-fight.—Efforts of the Syracusans to procure farther reinforcements from the Sicilian towns.—Conflicts between the Athenians and Syracusans in the Great Harbour.—Defeat of a Sicilian reinforcement marching to aid Syracuse.—Renewed attack by Gylippus on the Athenians.—Disadvantages of the Athenian fleet in the harbour. Their naval tactics impossible in the narrow space.—Improvements in Syracusan ships suited to the narrow space.—The Syracusans threaten attack upon the Athenian naval station.—Additional preparations of Nikias—battle renewed.—Complete defeat of the Athenians.—Danger of the Athenian armament—arrival of Demosthenês with the second armament.—Voyage of Demosthenês from Korkyra.—Imposing effect of his entry into the Great Harbour.—Revived courage of the Athenians. Judicious and decisive resolutions of Demosthenês.—Position and plans of Demosthenês.—Nocturnal march of Demosthenês to surprise Epipolæ, and turn the Syracusan line of defence.—Partial success at first—complete and ruinous defeat finally.—Disorder of the Athenians—great loss in the fight.—Elate spirits, and renewed aggressive plans, of the Syracusans.—Deliberation and different opinions of the Athenian generals.—Demosthenês insists on departing from Sicily—Nikias opposes him.—Demosthenês insists at least on removing out of the Great Harbour.—Nikias refuses to consent to such removal.—The armament remains in the Great Harbour, neither acting nor retiring.—Infatuation of Nikias.—Increase of force and confidence in Syracuse—Nikias at length consents to retreat. Orders for retreat privately circulated.—Eclipse of the moon—Athenian retreat postponed.—Eclipses considered as signs—differently interpreted—opinion of Philochorus.—Renewed attacks of the Syracusans—defeat of the Athenian fleet in the Great Harbour.—Partial success ashore against Gylippus.—The Syracusans determine to block up the mouth of the harbour, and destroy or capture the whole Athenian armament.—Large views of the Syracusans against the power of Athens—new hazards now opened to endanger that power.—Vast numbers, and miscellaneous origin, of the combatants now engaged in fighting for or against Syracuse.—The Syracusans block up the mouth of the harbour.—The Athenians resolve to force their way out—preparations made by the generals.—Exhortations of Nikias on putting the crews aboard.—Agony of Nikias—his efforts to encourage the

officers.—Bold and animated language of Gylippus to the Syracusan fleet.—Syracusan arrangements. Condition of the Great Harbour—sympathising population surrounding it.—Attempt of the Athenian fleet to break out—battle in the Great Harbour.—Long-continued and desperate struggle—intense emotion—total defeat of the Athenians.—Military operations of ancient times—strong emotions which accompanied them.—Causes of the defeat of the Athenians.—Feelings of the victors and vanquished after the battle.—Resolution of Demosthenês and Nikias to make a second attempt—the armament are too much discouraged to obey.—The Athenians determine to retreat by land—they postpone their retreat, under false communications from Syracuse.—The Syracusans block up the roads, to intercept their retreat.—Retreat of the Athenians—miserable condition of the army.—Wretchedness arising from abandoning the sick and wounded.—Attempt of the generals to maintain some order—energy of Nikias.—Exhortations of Nikias to the suffering army.—Commencement of the retreat—harassed and impeded by the Syracusans.—Continued conflict—no progress made by the retreating army.—Violent storm—effect produced on both parties—change of feeling in the last two years.—Night march of the Athenians, in an altered direction, towards the southern sea.—Separation of the two divisions under Nikias and Demosthenês. The first division under Nikias gets across the river Erineus.—The rear division under Demosthenês is pursued, overtaken, and forced to surrender.—Gylippus overtakes and attacks the division of Nikias.—Nikias gets to the river Asinarus—intolerable thirst and suffering of the soldiers—he and his division become prisoners.—Total numbers captured.—Hard treatment and sufferings of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse.—Treatment of Nikias and Demosthenês—difference of opinion among the conquerors.—Influence of the Corinthians—efforts of Gylippus—both the generals are slain.—Disgrace of Nikias after his death, at Athens—continued respect for the memory of Demosthenês.—Opinion of Thucydidês about Nikias.—How far that opinion is just.—Opinion of the Athenians about Nikias—their steady over-confidence and over-esteem for him, arising from his respectable and religious character.—Over-confidence in Nikias was the greatest personal mistake which the Athenian public ever committed	394–485
---	---------

CONTENTS.

xv

CHAPTER LXI.

From the Destruction of the Athenian Armament in Sicily down to the Oligarchical Conspiracy of the Four Hundred at Athens.

Page

Consequences of the ruin of the Athenian armament in Sicily.
 —Occupation of Dekeleia by the Lacedæmonians—its ruinous effects upon Athens.—Athens becomes a military post—heavy duty in arms imposed upon the citizens.—Financial pressure.—Athens dismisses her Thracian mercenaries—massacre at Mykalêssus.—The Thracians driven back with slaughter by the Thebans.—Athenian station at Naupaktus—decline of the naval superiority of Athens.—Naval battle near Naupaktus—indecisive result.—Last news of the Athenians from Syracuse—ruin of the army there not officially made known to them.—Reluctance of the Athenians to believe the full truth.—Terror and affliction at Athens.—Energetic resolutions adopted by the Athenians—Board of Probûli.—Prodigious effect of the catastrophe upon all Greeks—enemies and allies of Athens as well as neutrals—and even on the Persians.—Motions of King Agis.—The Eubœans apply to Agis for aid in revolting from Athens—the Lesbians also apply, and are preferred.—The Chians, with the same view, make application to Sparta.—Envoys from Tissaphernês and Pharnabazus come to Sparta at the same time.—Alkibiadês at Sparta—his recommendations determine the Lacedæmonians to send aid to Chios.—Synod of the Peloponnesian allies at Corinth—measures resolved.—Isthmian festival—scruples of the Corinthians—delay about Chios—suspicions of Athens.—Peloponnesian fleet from Corinth to Chios—it is defeated by the Athenians.—Small squadron starts from Sparta under Chalkideus and Alkibiadês, to go to Chios.—Energetic advice of Alkibiadês—his great usefulness to Sparta.—Arrival of Alkibiadês at Chios—revolt of the island from Athens.—General population of Chios was disinclined to revolt from Athens.—Dismay occasioned at Athens by the revolt of Chios—the Athenians set free and appropriate their reserved fund.—Athenian force despatched to Chios under Strombichidês.—Activity of the Chians in promoting revolt among the other Athenian allies—Alkibiadês determines Milêtus to revolt.—First alliance between the Peloponnesians and Tissaphernês, concluded by Chalkideus at Milêtus.—Dis-

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00956-0 - A History of Greece, Volume 7

George Grote

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

CONTENTS.

Page

honourable and disadvantageous conditions of the treaty.—Energetic efforts of Athens—democratical revolution at Samos.—Peloponnesian fleet at Kenchreæ—Astyochus is sent as Spartan admiral to Ionia.—Expedition of the Chians against Lesbos.—Ill-success of the Chians—Lesbos is maintained by the Athenians.—Harassing operations of the Athenians against Chios.—Hardships suffered by the Chians—prosperity of the island up to this time.—Fresh forces from Athens—victory of the Athenians near Milêtus.—Fresh Peloponnesian forces arrive—the Athenians retire, pursuant to the strong recommendation of Phrynichus.—Capture of Iasus by the Peloponnesians—rich plunder—Amorgês made prisoner.—Tissaphernês begins to furnish pay to the Peloponnesian fleet. He reduces the rate of pay for the future.—Powerful Athenian fleet at Samos—unexpected renovation of the navy of Athens.—Astyochus at Chios and on the opposite coast.—Pedaritus, Lacedæmonian governor at Chios—disagreement between him and Astyochus.—Astyochus abandons Chios and returns to Milêtus—accident whereby he escaped the Athenian fleet.—The Athenians establish a fortified post in Chios, to ravage the island.—Dorieus arrives on the Asiatic coast with a squadron from Thuriî, to join Astyochus—maritime contests near Knidus.—Second Peloponnesian treaty with Tissaphernês, concluded by Astyochus and Theramenês.—Comparison of the second treaty with the first.—Arrival of a fresh Peloponnesian squadron under Antisthenês at Kaunus—Lichas comes out as Spartan commissioner.—Astyochus goes with the fleet from Milêtus to join the newly-arrived squadron—he defeats the Athenian squadron under Charminus.—Peloponnesian fleet at Knidus—double-dealing of Tissaphernês—breach between him and Lichas.—Peloponnesian fleet masters Rhodes, and establishes itself in that island.—Long inaction of the fleet at Rhodes—paralysing intrigues of Tissaphernês—corruption of the Lacedæmonian officers.—Appendix, in explanation of the Plan of Syracuse and the Operations during the Athenian Siege	486–566
---	---------