

of the situation narrated will compel us to accept τούς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου as the implied subject, and the ἐκεῖνοι referring back to this subject¹¹).

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11) Cf. C. G. Cobet's comment (op. cit. 311) on *HG* II. 3. 54: κελεύειν... ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, he says: "...Suaviter multi in talibus λέγει cogitando supplendum esse aiunt. Quem locum ad id confirmandum omnes afferunt ex vicinia II. 3. 20. miror neminem vidisse prorsus absurdum esse. Vide modo: οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν... παρείλοντο. Qui haec sine risu legere potest ἀγέλαστός τις εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ aut id quod scriptum est non intelligere... Satis habeo si nemo hoc loco abutetur ad demonstrandum λέγει eleganter omitti in κελεύω ἐπὶ ὄπλα". G. E. Underhill, *Xenophon Hellenica I, II* (Oxford 1915) *ad loc.* agrees that ἐκεῖνοι = οἱ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου, but maintains that τούς τρισχίλους must be supplied as an object of κελεύσαντες which would still leave the passage quite unclear.

TERMS FOR THALASSOCRACY IN THUCYDIDES

It seems to be generally agreed that, except for such minor peculiarities of vocabulary and style as have been noted by Wilhelm Schmid¹), the language of Thucydides does not show any important changes from passage to passage or book to book. Indeed, Mme. de Romilly flatly asserts: "It stands out clearly from all the studies made of the style and language of Thucydides, that these remain basically the same throughout all his work."²) Evidently overlooked is one possibly significant exception. The five words in the table below are of infrequent but important occurrence and are found only in the last four books, in the passages indicated.

1) W. Schmid, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, VII, 1, 5, 1948. p. 189, n. 3. "...die meisten Eigenheiten scheint B. VIII zu enthalten."

2) J. de Romilly, *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*, trans. P. Thody, N.Y., 1963, p. 9. Similarly as to the neoterisms, J. D. Wolcott, "New Words in Thucydides", *TAPA* 29 (1898) 104-157.

	Book	V	VI	VII	VIII
ναυκράτωρ		97.1			
		109.1	18.5		
ἑπιοκρατεῖν			71.2		
θαλασσοκρατεῖν				48.2	30.2
					41.1
ναυκρατεῖν				60.2	
θαλασσοκράτωρ					63.1

These words are not common in classical Greek; all occurrences in Thucydides are listed *supra* and all in Herodotus and the Old Oligarchy are listed *infra*, along with most of the citations from LSJ and the Stephanus *Thesaurus*.

A brief general digression may be justified by the fact that compound words of this type, a substantive followed by a verbal element, do not seem to receive much treatment in the grammars³). A rapid survey indicates that the earliest formations put the verbal element last, as in *δημοβόρος*. As early as Homer, however, a reversal of this order also became common, as in *τερπικέραννος*. Later the primitive practice was resumed. Formations of the type *καρποφόρος* expanded at the expense of those like *φερέκαρπος*⁴).

Homer, Aeschylus, and Aristophanes, as one would expect, are particularly rich in such compounds, but the verbal element is apt to be a form not capable of standing alone⁵). Forms like *πατροκτόνος* (Aeschylus, *Sep.* 752) are soon accompanied by forms like *ἀνδροκτονοῦσα* (*Eum.* 602). In Aristophanes, *Eq.* 830, we find *θαλαττοκοπεῖς*, said of Cleon. This sounds like parody of *θαλασσοκρατεῖν*. Compounds of this type become frequent in Thucydides⁶).

3) Whereas the word "hippopotamus" is mentioned by Buck, Debrunner, Schwyzer, Williger, et al. (cf. *ἵππαρος*, *ὄναγρος*), discussion of these thalassocratic terms is hard to find. While clearly important, they seem to be too self-conscious to interest the etymologists and too rare or too late or too etymological to interest the stylistists.

4) N. P. Andriotis, "Die wechselnde Stellung von Kompositionsgliedern im Spät-, Mittel- und Neugr.", *Glotta* 27, 1938, 92-134; 92, 102, 104. P. Chantraine, *Etudes sur le Vocabulaire Grec*, Paris, 1956, p. 13.

5) Ed. Williger, *Sprach. Untersuch. d. gr. Dichter des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen z. gr. u. lat. Gram., 8. Heft, Göttingen 1928, p. 26.

6) K. J. Dover notes at p. xiv of the introductions of his separate school editions, Oxford, 1965: VI: *πολυανδροῦσι*, *φυλοκρονοῖεν*, *ταχυνναυτοῦντι*; VII: *ξενοτροφούντας*, *ἀρχαιολογεῖν*; B. Rosenkranz 'Der lokale Grundton und die persönliche Eigenart in der Sprache des Thukydides und die älteren attischen Redner' *IF* 48 (1930) 127-178, pp. 154, 155, 162.

Compounds⁷⁾ of *-κρατέω* include: *άνθο-* in Lucian, *τοπο-* in Philo, *καθιππο-* in Pollux, *παντο-* in the Septuagint, *πολυ-* in Eunapius, *τειχο-* in Polyaeus, *χειρο-* in a magical papyrus, and one interesting if not exactly parallel example from Aristophanes, *Av.* 1282: *Σωκρατέω*. The verb *γυναικοκρατέω* occurs in Aristotle *Politics* 1269 B 24.

Κράτωρ uncompounded seems to be found only in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*⁸⁾. While *παγκράτιον* is found in Xenophanes, Pindar, and Herodotus, and *παγκρατής* in Pindar and Aeschylus, *παγκράτωρ* does not appear until a first century A.D. inscription at Susa⁹⁾. Lucian uses *Τιτανοκράτωρ*, and other authors, all late, use *ζωδιο-* (Damascius), *στοιχειο-* (Simplicius), *χιλιο-*, *όριο-*, *μεγαλο-* (Septuagint), *πολο-*, *οίονοπολο-*, *κοσμο-* (Orph. Hymns)¹⁰⁾, *άκτωο-*, *χρονο-* (Ptolemy), *τριγωνο-* (Pseudo-Ptolemy), *τοπο-*, *Ίππο-* (name of constellation Centaurus in Teucer of Babylon), *ώρο-*, *παντο-*, *ποντο-*, *ένιαντο-*, *φωτο-* and *ύπο-*¹¹⁾.

7) Compounds from Kretschmer-Locker *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch* and Buck-Petersen *Reverse Index*. Authors mostly the earliest in LSJ, where citations may be found.

8) Hjalmar Frisk, *Zur indoiranischen u. gr. Nominalbildung* (Följd 5, Ser. A, 4) Göteborg, 1934, p. 68, 69, derives *-κράτωρ* from **-κρατήτωρ*, with references and discussion of etymology and emergence in fifth century of *-τωρ* words in sacral, political, and tragic usage. E. Benveniste, *Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-Européen*, Paris, 2d printing 1935, p. 234, relates *-κράτωρ* to a lost neuter. Cf. M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, Basel 1950 p. 113 on formation of *κρατέω*; E. Fraenkel, *Geschichte der gr. Nomina Agentis*, Zweiter Teil, Straßburg 1912, p. 128, 129. See also Frisk, *Gr. Etym. Wörterbuch*, s. v. *κράτος*: "(ἐπι- usw.) *κράτησις* 'Macht, Herrschaft' (Th., LXX u. a.)", an interesting stylistic collocation. E. Schwyzer, *Gr. Grammatik*, (repr. 1959) p. 724, notes that *κρατήσαι* is posthomeric, and mentions 'Leumann's suggestion that *κρατήσαι* is by *Rückbildung* from *ἐπικρατέω* from *ἐπικρατής*, which is found in Homer. Both *ισοκρατής* and *ισοκρατία* are found in Herodotus, and *ισοκρατέω* and *άνισοκρατέω* in Sextus Empiricus. *άνοράτωρ*, for *άνορατής*, is found in Sophocles *Phil.* 486. E. Struck, *Bedeutungslehre*, Stuttgart 2d ed. 1954, 23, comments on the sudden abundance of (fifth century) coinages in *-κρατία*. R. Browning 'Greek Abstract Nouns in *-sis, -tis*' *Philologus* 102 (1958) 60-73, at p. 66 notes that the Old Oligarch uses only four nouns in *-σις*, but thirty-four abstracts in *-ία*, mostly verbal, including *δημοκρατία*. Thucydides and Hippocrates use more nouns in *-σις*, a trend continued by Plato.

9) Name in parentheses applies only to the compound immediately preceding. Unattributed compounds are from late astrological and magical writings cited in LSJ.

10) See Quandt, *Orphei Hymni*, Berlin 1955. *κοσμοκράτωρ* in 8. 11, 11. 11 of Helios, and Pan as Horned Zeus. Cf. in 4. 3 (LSJ) for *κόσμη πατήρ*.

11) The Stephanus Thesaurus cites *τριανοκράτωρ* from Inscr. Anconit. p. 41, n. 263.

Most of these compounds are thus not only later, but much later, than the fifth century B. C.

Smyth¹²⁾ says that such verbs are denominatives formed from real or assumed compound nouns. Clearly *ναύαρχος* (Aesch. *Pers.* 363) is etymologically senior to the verb *ναυαρχέω* found in Herodotus.

Similarly, *κράτος* antedates *κρατέω*, of which the agent suffix is *-κράτωρ*. Chantraine¹³⁾ suggests that *ὀλιγαρχία* (Herodotus) inspired the formation of *δημοκρατία* (Herodotus) and *ἀριστοκρατία* (Thucydides). Incidentally, *θεοκρατία* was coined by Josephus (*Ap.* 2, 7), and *πλουτοκρατία* is found in Xenophon¹⁴⁾; *γυναικοκρατία* is found in Aristotle *Politics* 1313 B 33.

Some confusion with derivatives of *κεράννυμι* is possible. E. g. *θεοκρασία*, with the first alpha long, is found in Iamblichus and Damascius, and attributed to Pherecydes (Diels *Vors.* 10 ed. I 44, 23). Cf. *χειροκρασία* with the first alpha short, in Philodemus etc. as equivalent of *χειροκρατία* in Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian. In the fifth century Aeschylus offers *δημοκράτου* (*Ag.* 457), for which Porson suggested *δημοκράντου*; and *θεόκραντον* (*Ag.* 1488).¹⁵⁾

It is against this background that we may wish to consider the custom of speaking of the discussion of thalassocracy by Thucydides in the *Archaeologia* (1. 1-23). There Thucydides uses none of the compound words in the list above. The word *θαλασσοκρατία*, indeed, is not used until Strabo¹⁶⁾. Thucydides does use the phrase *τῆς ... θαλάσσης ... ἐκράτησε* of Minos in

12) H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. G. Messing, Harv. U. P. 1959, p. 251, section 892.

13) P. Chantraine, *Etudes sur le Vocabulaire Grec*, Paris 1956, p. 19.

14) *ὀλιγαρχικός* is a new word in Thucydides. Adjectives in *-ικός* came into vogue at this time among the sophists, and are ridiculed by Aristophanes. J.D. Wolcott 'New Words in Thucydides' *TAPA* 29, 1898, 104-157, p. 155. Chantraine, *Etudes*, p. p. 21, 122-125. V. Ehrenberg, 'Origins of Democracy', *Historia* 1 (1950) 515-548, on political terms in Aeschylus and earlier, e. g. *δήμον κρατούσα χεῖρ*, *Sup.* 604.

15) Cf. also the seventh-century colony Naucratis. Homer yields no similar proper names, but Hippocrates and Cratippus are common later. See C.D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, 5th impr. 1952, p. 360, section 527, on composition from a limited number of conventionally selected 'name words'.

16) *θαλασσοκρατία* is not found before Strabo, 1. 3. 2, and scholiast to Thuc. 2. 62. 'Thalassocracy, as is well known, becomes a clear-cut idea in Herodotus', says A. Momigliano, 'Sea Power in Greek History', *CR* 58, 1944, 1-7, but he notes that its implications still present novel arguments (p. 3), citing Pericles in 2. 62.

1. 4. 1, and this divided form of expression for thalassocracy is found in other parts of the work¹⁷). He also uses such variant phrases as *ναυτικῶ ἰσχύσας* or *κρατῶν*¹⁸).

It will be observed that these divided forms in the Archaeologia, and in the reference to the Samians in c. 117, are written by Thucydides *propria persona* in his own narrative or exposition. In the speeches in Book I, while naval power, of course, is discussed, the concept of thalassocracy is not plainly expressed, and not only are the compound words not used, but the periphrases are correspondingly more remote from absolute thalassocracy¹⁹), with the exception of Pericles' resounding assertion (1. 143. 5): *μέγα γὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος*.

When we leap from Book I to Books V and VI, an immediate difference is noted in the three appearances of the compound word *ναυκράτωρ*, the first two in the speeches of the Athenian envoys at Melos, the last on the lips of Alcibiades as he says that sea power will ensure the safety of the Sicilian Expedition. These are the only uses of the word in Thucydides, and each one is in a direct quotation of speakers who are giving way to fatal arrogance.

The word *ἱπποκρατεῖν* is found only once in Thucydides, in Book VI as cited *supra* (6. 71. 2), where it is used to express what the Athenians fear if they do not receive reinforcements. The word is rare²⁰). We cannot be sure whether in this passage Thucydides intends to represent this particular word as used by the Athenians, or whether he selected it himself. In any event, it here sounds like a bitter and ironic echo of the previous boasting of Alcibiades (6. 18. 5):

“We shall be safe, *ναυκράτορες γὰρ ἐσόμεθα*”. This makes it seem likely that Alcibiades did in fact use that very phrase, and we may well believe that regardless of whatever verbiage was employed by the Athenians in whatever negotiation preceded the attack on Melos, the word *ναυκράτωρ* had come into the

17) E.g. in the Archaeologia, of the Ionians, 1. 13. 6; later in Book I, locally for fourteen days, of the Samians, 1. 117. 1. Also later, e.g. in Book VIII at 38. 2; 46. 1; 76. 4. Also 7. 57. 7.

18) E.g. in the Archaeologia: Agamemnon, 1. 9. 3; Polycrates, 1. 13. 6; Darius, 1. 16. 1.

19) E.g. 1. 36. 3; 42. 4; 80. 3; 121. 3; 141. 4; 142. 6-143. 2.

20) “Nur noch aus Späteren nachgewiesen”. Classen-Steup (4th Ed.). LSJ cites it for Demosthenes (19. 148), Polybius, and Onosander. *ἱπποκρατία* is found in Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1. 4. 24.

Athenian vocabulary of the time, with implications of overwhelming pride.

In Book VII we find the first appearance of the verb *θαλασσοκρατεῖν*, in the thoughts of Nicias indirectly reported, when he believed the situation not yet hopeless (7. 48. 2). The verb *ναυκρατεῖν* makes its first and only appearance in the thoughts, also indirectly reported, of the Athenians when they fear that they shall have no food if they lose their naval superiority (7. 60. 2).

Book VIII offers the two final instances of the verb *θαλασσοκρατεῖν*, one in Thucydides' own narrative of the Athenians at Samos (8. 30. 2) and one in the indirect report of the thought of Astyochochus (8. 41. 1). Finally, the word *θαλασσοκράτωρ*²¹⁾ is used by Thucydides himself *propria persona* in another narrative passage (8. 63. 1). These three occurrences of the compounds in Book VIII illustrate a progression of a sort which deserves comment. The first was a reference to the Athenian fleet, for which naval supremacy had long been customary and to be relied upon. The second is to the Peloponnesians, for whom the rule of the sea was an unnerving and insecure novelty.

The third, *θαλασσοκράτωρ*, is applied to the Chians. Now, although this great island had a navy of sixty ships²²⁾, it had been only a fraction of the forces of the Athenian Empire, and all its power can hardly be compared to the totality of the Peloponnesian League²³⁾, which itself had been definitely outclassed at sea by the Athenian Empire at the beginning of the war. To this extent, therefore, the attribution of "thalassocracy" to Astyochochus and then even temporarily to the Chians alone²⁴⁾, marks a shift from the normal state of affairs, a crumbling of the foundations

21) Found also in [Xen.] Ath. Pol. II, 2 and 14. The Old Oligarch prefers the divided form of expression, often with *ἀρχεῖν* or *ἀρχή*. See II, 1-16 *passim*. H. Frisch, *The Constitution of the Athenians*, Copenhagen 1942, comparing selected passages of the Old Oligarch with speeches of Pericles (Thuc. I, 140-144; 2, 60-64), notes that, where Pseudo-Xenophon says *θαλασσοκράτορες*, we find in Thucydides (that is, Thucydides attributes to Pericles) *τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος*. This is correct for the passages Frisch is discussing but would be misleading if understood to apply more widely. The first appearance of *θαλασσοκράτορες* in the Old Oligarch, at II 2, is little more than a definition, indicating that the author did not feel entirely at home with the term. See Frisch p. 243 for the Ionic character of the word.

22) N. G. L. Hammond, *History of Greece* (Oxford, 2d ed. 1967), p. 400.

23) Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 345. Even after the battle of Sybota, one hundred triremes or more, at the beginning of the war.

24) Cf. Samos, cited *supra* p. 2, fn. 1.

of established power, and a pettier meaning for a magnificent word.

The words *θαλασσοκρατεῖν* and *θαλασσοκράτωρ*, as well as *ναυκράτωρ*, are used by Herodotus²⁵). Perhaps Thucydides felt them to sound too Ionic a note for his introduction. It is clear that the word *ναυκράτωρ* had special emotional significance for Athenian pride, as its occurrences in V and VI show. There are obvious ironies in the echoes in VI and VII. Then finally in VIII, perhaps in continued irony, or perhaps in hastier and unrevised composition, Thucydides abandons whatever principle leads him to avoid the compounds in I.²⁶)

The nine occurrences of the five compounds tabulated at the beginning of this paper show a change not only in Thucydides' subject, but in his mood. The variation in his vocabulary, if not "basic", is at least worthy of consideration²⁷.

One pivotal passage remains to be considered in connection with the foregoing, the words of Pericles at 2. 62. 2, a reassurance deliberately withheld from the Athenians before, lest they grow too confident, and now pronounced in a distinct and more sonorous and solemn formula than any of the foregoing: ...*θαλάσσης ... κυριωτάτους*... In the avoidance of the terms elsewhere used by Thucydides, do we not feel that we have an indication that here he is reproducing a phrase actually used by Pericles?

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25) *θαλασσοκρατεῖν*: Herodotus 3, 122; Polyb. 1. 7. 6 and 16. 7. *θαλασσοκράτωρ*: Herod. 5. 83. 2, Xen. *Hell.* 1. 6. 2. *ναυκράτωρ*: Herod. 6. 9. 1; Sophocles *Phil.* 1072, for captain of a ship.

26) The simple verb *κρατεῖν* is very frequent in Thucydides (occurring about 260 times), besides several uses of *ἐπικρατεῖν*. The range of meanings is wide, and in some instances quite colorless.

27) W. Liebeschutz, 'The Structure and Function of the Melian Dialogue', *JHS* 88 (1968) 73-77, at p. 76 observes that the Sicilian Expedition is a unity and not part of a pattern involving the Dialogue. But the terms we have discussed provide a linguistic link.