

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE SPEECH OF ENDIUS IN DIODORUS SICULUS 13. 52. 3–8

After their fleet was destroyed at Cyzicus in 410, the Spartans sent an embassy to Athens to propose peace; Diodorus records the speech given by their chief envoy, Endius. It appears to have escaped notice that Endius' arguments are largely drawn from the speech of Pericles in Thucydides 1. 140–44:

(1) Endius asserts that the Spartans farm the entire Peloponnesus, but the Athenians only a small part of Attica (52. 4), reversing Pericles' contrast of a part of the Peloponnesus with all of Attica (143. 4);

(2) Endius calls the Athenians the most impoverished people in the world (52.4): contrast Pericles' remarks about the poverty of the Peloponnesians (141. 3–4);

(3) Endius boasts that their soldiers campaign eagerly because of their high pay (52. 5): compare Pericles' dismissal of the putative advantages gained by offering higher pay (143. 1–2);

(4) Endius claims that the Athenians seek to escape the miseries and expenses (δαπάνας) of war, because they must pay the εἰσφοράς from their own resources (52. 5): Pericles had predicted that the difficulty of meeting expenses from their own resources would prevent a sustained Peloponnesian war effort (141. 4–5, using the words δαπανῶντες and εἰσφοραί);

(5) Endius considers the use of their own citizens on their ships a liability for the Athenians (52. 6): Pericles had regarded the Athenians' naval experience and the skill of their citizen-helmsmen as important assets (142. 5–143. 1).

Diodorus' *Endquelle* for Endius' embassy is undoubtedly the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.¹ Endius' opening words, stating the proposed terms of peace (52. 3), are probably reproduced from that source. Since the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* seem to have lacked set speeches (so far as we may judge from the extant portions), Diodorus' immediate source, Ephorus, probably deserves credit for the clever pastiche of Periclean arguments which forms the main part of Endius' speech.

Endius' speech, in fact, forms a natural counterpart to Pericles': Pericles had urged the Athenians to make war, and Endius now urges them to make peace. Conscious imitation of Thucydides may be discerned also in the other two speeches in Diodorus 13, the pair of speeches on the fate of the Athenian captives in 413, which mirrors Thucydides' pair of speeches on the fate of the Mytileneans in 427.² Nicolaus takes Diodotus' part, urging clemency on the ground of expediency; his plea on Nicias' behalf resembles Diodotus' claim that the *demos* of Mytilene was well-disposed toward Athens and had been an

1. So E. Ruschenbusch, "Atthis und Politeia," *Hermes* 109 (1981): 318.

2. Diod. Sic. 13. 20–27 (Nicolaus), 28. 2–32 (Gylippus); Thuc. 3. 37–40 (Cleon), 42–48 (Diodotus).

unwilling participant in the city's revolt.³ Gylippus, like Cleon, carries the day with demands for exemplary severity and a denial of the appeal to pity. In Gylippus' view, the Athenian people are responsible for the war, not merely Alcibiades, the proposer of the expedition, just as Cleon had insisted that all the Mytileneans were guilty, not only the Few.⁴ Diodorus' pair of speeches has as its premise a deliberate contradiction of Thucydides' statement that Gylippus opposed the execution of Nicias and Demosthenes, thinking that it would be a splendid prize to take the enemy generals with him to Sparta (7. 86. 2): such originality must come from Ephorus rather than Diodorus.⁵ Indeed, the very rarity of speeches in Diodorus may be taken as a sign that he is reproducing rather than composing his speeches.⁶ The speech of Endius, therefore, as well as those of Nicolaus and Gylippus, may be seen as testimony to Ephorus' regard for Thucydides' rhetorical craftsmanship.⁷

GEORGE E. PESELY

*State University of New York
at Buffalo*

3. Diod. Sic. 13. 27. 3–4; cf. Thuc. 3. 47. 3. An echo of Pericles' Funeral Oration may be detected in Nicolaus' characterization of Athens as "the common school of all mankind" (13. 27. 1; cf. Thuc. 2. 41. 1), and an aphorism about hatred being short-lived recalls Pericles' last oration (13. 27. 2; cf. Thuc. 2. 64. 5). Nicolaus mentions the Athenian blockade of Sphacteria in 425 (13. 24. 2); his appeal to the Syracusans to take the initiative in ending the quarrel with Athens seems to owe something to the speech of the Spartan envoys at the time of the blockade of Sphacteria (13. 23. 1–3; cf. Thuc. 4. 17–20).

4. Gylippus' speech mentions the Athenian decision to execute the inhabitants of Mytilene (13. 30. 4, falsely implying that the decree had been carried out). For the guilt of all the Athenians, not just Alcibiades, see 13. 31. 2 (cf. Thuc. 3. 39. 6). Among imitations of Thucydides may be noted Gylippus' description of the Athenians as aggressors (13. 29. 4–5, 30. 2; cf. Thuc. 3. 39. 3, 40. 5); allusions to the prosperity of Athens (13. 30. 1; cf. Thuc. 3. 39. 2–3) and to the Athenians' likely treatment of the Syracusans if they had been victorious (13. 29. 5, 30. 3, 7; cf. Thuc. 3. 40. 5); and the claim that the Athenians would remain enemies even if treated mercifully on this occasion (13. 32. 5; cf. Thuc. 3. 40. 3). Like Cleon, Gylippus denies compassion to deliberate offenders (13. 29. 3, 6; cf. Thuc. 3. 40. 1).

5. The malicious misrepresentation of Gylippus' position is in keeping with Ephorus' anti-Spartan bias, for which see G. L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 88–90, 96–105. Diodorus' version of the decision at Syracuse diverges from those of Philistus (*FGrH* 556 F 55) and Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 FF 100b–101), as reported by Plutarch (*Nicias* 28). The allusion to the Peace of Callias at 13. 25. 2 rules out Theopompus as a possible source (cf. *FGrH* 115 FF 153–54).

6. At 20. 1. 1–2. 2 Diodorus expresses his aversion to frequent speeches in historical narratives. There is only one other set speech in the second decade of Diodorus, Theodorus' speech in 396/95 calling for the overthrow of Dionysius' tyranny (14. 65–69). Theodorus' speech, like Nicolaus', alludes to Gelon (14. 66. 1–3, 67. 1; cf. 13. 22. 4), and Theodorus' good advice, like Nicolaus', is thwarted by a Spartan (14. 70. 1–2; cf. 13. 33. 1). The Spartan Pharacidas who prevents the establishment of Syracusan freedom in 396/95 plays a role similar to Cleophon's in 410, who prevents the acceptance of Endius' peace proposal (13. 53. 2). All four speeches would appear to be of common origin.

7. I thank R. Sealey and E. S. Gruen for helpful comments.

VALERIUS VALERIANUS IN CHARGE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS' MESOPOTAMIAN CAMPAIGN

Valerianus' finest hour came early in A.D. 194 when the armies of Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger clashed on Mt. Amanus in Syria. Severus' troops were forcing the Cilician Gates against Niger's last-ditch stand. Niger's men, it is said, fought resolutely and were on the verge of victory, when a miraculous