

A Dissent at Athens *ca* 424–421 B.C.

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THE AIM OF THIS ESSAY is to draw attention to a dissent that is perceptible as an echo or resonance in writings of Thucydides, Aristophanes, and Euripides. Its nuclear form is a short, alliterative sentence, *viz.* *πόνων παυσώμεθα*, and it is a way of saying, “Let’s stop the war.” It owes its form to poetry from the past and to various rhetorical exaltations of *πόνος* during the Archidamian War. The rhetoric presupposed an understanding, proverbial among Greeks, that you must work to get the good things of life.¹

Some rhetorical uses of *πόνος* have been noted in modern studies.² In the present essay, we shall see that its sense can vary in context. ‘Toil’ can denote war (hardship and horrors), or battle (a glorious thing), and so *πόνος* can be the ostensible point at issue in any speech—no matter whether for or against—where the subject is really war.

Likewise, even in a tragedy whose dramatic date, formal structure, and characters are a long way from the Archidamian War, an Athenian audience upon hearing debate over *ponos* at the same time a real war was going on would make a whole complex of associations. In Euripides’ *Suppliants* there is debate concerning an Athenian commitment to decisive action outside Athenian boundaries. The action, which clearly involves risks and hard work, is cited in the language of the play as a *πόνος*. Accordingly those who oppose the enterprise deplore *πόνοι*, while those who support it invoke the traditional

¹ The notion is ubiquitous. To cite a very few examples: Epicharmos 36 D-K, *τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰγάθ’ οἱ θεοί*; Aesch. *Pers.* 742; Antiphon the Sophist 49 D-K (359.2); Democritus 157, 182 D-K; Pind. *Ol.* 10.23; Soph. *Phil.* 1419–22. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 289. See also K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Berkeley 1974) 163.

² For *πόνος* as patriotic directive, see John Finley, “Euripides and Thucydides,” *HSCP* 49 (1938) 45–46 (= *Three Essays on Thucydides* [Cambridge (Mass.) 1967] 27–28); also V. Ehrenberg, “Polypragmosyne: A Study in Greek Politics,” *JHS* 67 (1947) 53–54; J. de Romilly, *Thucydide et l’impérialisme athénien* (Paris 1951) 119–21; G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester 1955) 18. The dissent has not to my knowledge been identified heretofore as a particularly formulated and pointed expression. G. Grossman, *Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges* (Zürich 1950), does not include *ponos* among the Schlagwörter he identifies and discusses.

wisdom. The debate is similar to one that can be supposed to have taken place at Athens *ca* 424–421 B.C.

πόνος

Most Greeks knew, or at least had heard, that *ponos* (pain, trouble, toil) was the price of greatness. With *ponoi* one could hope for all that was good in life, victory in battle, victory at Panhellenic games, or even—to take a single spectacular case, that of Herakles—godhood. At the same time, when parents, guardians, poets, or generals invoked *ponoi* as a necessary condition of a projected victory or desirable state of being, one usually saw beforehand the larger outlines of the requisite labor. An athlete could expect long gruelling work at practice and training before the supreme labor of the contest itself. A seasoned warrior knew about fear, exhaustion, wounds, and despair before battle. Citizens of a state at war understood more and more clearly, as time went on and as their own people both gave and received injury, what kinds of *ponoi* continuation of war entailed.

In wartime rhetoric, *ponos* has a place whose ambivalence Thucydides adumbrates early in his history. Corinthians at an assembly of Peloponnesians say that Athenians “toil on in trouble and danger all the days of their life” (μετὰ πόνων . . . μοχθοῦσι, 1.70.8), and then at a second assembly they say to their allies, “It is *your* heritage to win excellence from toil” (ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι, 1.123.1). Perikles in his Funeral Oration reminds his audience that their ancestors left them an empire not without toil (οὐκ ἀπόνως, 2.36.2). Then he praises Athenian facilities for recreation (τῶν πόνων ἀναπαύλας, 2.38.1) and judges his compatriots superior to their enemies by reason of their spontaneous approach to rigors of war. They do not have to practise them beforehand (ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη, 2.39.4). In his last speech, he stresses the importance and benefits of *ponos* in a remarkably concentrated way (2.62–64; see *infra*).

It is not surprising to find *ponos* being held up now as a good thing, now as bad, for the word in different contexts designates different sorts of feelings. It can be a specific bodily pain, resulting from disease, as in Thucydides 2.49.3, or a straining effort that wins renown and glory, as in Euripides’ *Heracles* (357). In an expansion of this latter sense, some Athenians—notably Perikles—made *ponos* an undertaking their compatriots should be proud to assume, not, however, with a view to acquisition of excellence. It was a precise directive to continue doing what had to be done to win the war at hand.

This was the form in which the word subsequently came to be a “commonplace of national rhetoric.”³ But for a while during the Archidamian War, there were dissenters.

Thucydides’ Testimony at 5.16.1

Thucydides, in assessing reasons for the willingness of various parties to make peace in 421 B.C., says Nicias wanted *inter alia* to put an immediate end to pain and toil (*i.e.* war) both for himself and for his fellow citizens: *βουλόμενος . . . ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι* (5.16.1). The formulation, almost epigrammatic, shows by arrangement and choice of words that readers are expected to pause and reflect on substance before going on. Note the chiasmic order, *πεπαῦσθαι . . . αὐτὸς . . . τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι*, and play on different aspects and voices of *παύειν*, also the alliteration in *p* and an irregular succession of medial *t* and *s* sounds that slow reading. As for choice of words, *πόνων πεπαῦσθαι* has strong associations with poetic and rhetorical diction.

Why does Thucydides compose so carefully here? Why use a phrase like *πόνων πεπαῦσθαι* that is originally from the Greek poetic vocabulary? That it does indeed derive from earlier poetry can be shown with a few examples. Homeric heroes, in formulaic description, made due sacrifices to the gods. Then after they had finished that task and had had a feast prepared, they would dine: *Iliad* 1.467 *et al.*, *ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαίτα/δαίνυντ’*, where *πόνος* is the work of making sacrifice; elsewhere Homer equates *πόνος* with *μάχη* (see LSJ⁹ *s.v.* I.1). Mimnermos 12 (West) commiserates Helios, who has toil for his lot all his days, and there is no rest for him or for his horses: *ἥελιος μὲν γὰρ ἔλαχεν πόνου ἡματα πάντα οὐδέ ποτ’ ἄμπανσις γίνεται οὐδεμία*. Theognis 1323 asks Aphrodite to end his suffering: *Κυπρογένη παῦσόν με πόνων*. Medea tells Jason not to try to enter her house: *παῦσαι πόνου τοῦδ’* (Eur. *Med.* 1319). In *Hippolytus* (189–90) the nurse declares that there is no respite from toil (*κοῦκ ἔστι πόνων ἀνάπαυσις*) in the painful life of humanity.

In early Greek poetry, therefore, *ponos* could be work toward a welcome end such as preparing for a sacrifice, or grim, as in war. Consequently, in varying circumstances, to have ceased from *πόνων* could be to have finished preparing a sacrifice or to have stopped fighting a battle (*Il.* 21.137), or to have put aside an onerous, as-

³ So Zuntz (*supra* n.2). See Lys. 2.55, Hypereides 6.26, and Lycurg. 82. I stress the word ‘subsequently’ in contrast to Zuntz. It takes time for a word to become a commonplace; before that happens, there must be a season (even if short) of freshness.

signed chore (Soph. *Ant.* 414). The phrase can also mean ‘to have died’ (Eur. *Tro.* 524, *Cresphontes* 449 N.; cf. *Alc.* 938, πολλῶν δὲ μόχθων εὐκλεῆς ἐπαύσατο.)

The phrase that combines a form of *παύειν* and a genitive singular or plural of *πόνος* is, as we see, well established in poetic vocabulary. It is also possibly ambiguous. Context, and in addition in some cases an adjacent qualifying word or phrase, define *πόνος*. Otherwise hearers may not know exactly what is intended.⁴ When Thucydides plays with variations on the phrase, using general context and the particular name, Nikias, as guides to meaning, he assumes his readers know which *πόνοι* he means. Nikias wanted to be free right away of the war, and he wanted to give his compatriots ease from the war. There was no need for Thucydides to explain further. *πόνων πεπαύσθαι* carried all the possible other directions noted *supra*, while simultaneously conveying what Nikias wanted, perhaps more or less in his own words. An old formula carried new weight when utilized as a slogan during the later years of the Archidamian War.

Aristophanes’ Testimony

In Aristophanes’ *Knights* the chorus yearns, “If ever there is peace, and if ever we cease from toils, don’t begrudge us our long hair and clean-scraped bodies” (579–80):

ἦν ποτ’ εἰρήνη γένηται καὶ πόνων πανσώμεθα,
μὴ φθονεῖθ’ ἡμῖν κομῶσι μηδ’ ἀπεστλεγγισμένοις.

Aristophanes in 424 in a play about Kleon and the Athenian demos (and Nikias and Demosthenes?) gives his chorus of knights essentially the same phrase Thucydides uses in summarizing Nikias’ aspirations in 421.⁵ Note that ἦν . . . πόνων πανσώμεθα is a metaphorical

⁴ See e.g. *Cresphontes* 449 N.: “For we should meet and mourn man as he is being born, all the bad things he enters upon. But the man who at last has died and is now released from toil (τὸν δ’ αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον) we should send happily and with our blessings out of his house.” The phrase *πόνων πεπαυμένον* metaphorically restates τὸν θανόντα, and both here and in *Knights* 579–80 *πάνασσθαι πόνων* would perhaps not be clear without the first half of the line. Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 260–70, where *πόνων* seems to be the correct reading (U. von Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* [Berlin 1921] 556–57 n.1); Soph. *Trach.* 1170–78, where Herakles recognizes that the *μόχθων λύσις* that was foretold for him and that he had misunderstood turned out to mean his death. There is no obvious reason to connect *πόνων πεπαυμένον* in *Cresphontes* with debate over continuation of the Archidamian War, especially in view of uncertainties about the date of the play. Euripides may have written it when forms of *παύω* with *πόνον/ων* had no political overtones; cf. *Med.* 1319.

⁵ We cannot be sure that Athenians recognized Nikias and Demosthenes behind the masks of Slaves A and B, nor that it was Aristophanes’ intention that they should do

restatement of ἦν ποτ' εἰρήνη γένηται, so there can be no doubt about the sense of πόνων.⁶ Known Athenians wanted a cessation of hostilities and expressed their want in this short, alliterative way. Nikias and people sympathetic to him and his positions—many of these were knights—may have said it often and emphatically in opposition to a variety of motions, tactics, or proposed strategies that appeared to be prolonging the war unnecessarily. Aristophanes therefore uses it as a characteristic current utterance. Thucydides with this in mind commemorated the phrase years later when he looked back and wrote about Nikias.

Two uses of *ponos* in *Wasps* could have sparked associations with dissent. At *Wasps* 466 ὦ πόνω πόνηρε Κομηταμυνία could be construed, “You long-haired Amynias, vile by reason of ‘*ponos*’ [which you everlastingly ask to be relieved from].” And at 684–85 Bdelykleon tells his father, “If someone gives you three obols, you are content, obols that you yourself acquired by marching and fighting on land and besieging, by having done a lot of work” (πολλὰ πονήσας). Aristophanes’ *Peace* 918–21 is also relevant. Trygaios has rescued Peace, and he brags, “I Trygaios from Athmone, deserve a lot from you. I rid the folk and the farm population of dreadful sufferings, and I stopped Hyperbolos’ clock”: πολλῶν γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξιος Τρυγαῖος Ἀθμονεὺς ἐγὼ δεινῶν ἀπαλλάξας πόνων τὸν δημότην ὄμιλον καὶ τὸν γεωργικὸν λεὼν Ὑπέρβολόν τε παύσας. The play, produced in 421, celebrates the Peace of Nikias. Trygaios’ words—and indeed the substance of what he says—are like the hope attributed by Thucydides 5.16 to Nikias.

Euripides’ *Suppliants*

Since there are no external indices to the time when Euripides wrote and produced *Suppliants*, historians of literature depend on whatever internal evidence they can establish. Among approaches that this limited body of material makes possible, comparison of metrical characteristics with those of other Euripidean plays has been judged promising, as has search for historical episodes that might

so; cf. K. J. Dover, *CR* n.s. 9 (1959) 198. See however A. H. Sommerstein, *CQ* n.s. 30 (1980) 46–47, who argues from *Knights* 85ff that the non-drinking slave was meant to represent Nikias. Editors and commentators, in any case, have long recommended the identification. Thucydides’ way of characterizing Nikias’ hopes at 5.16 may be a clue that Aristophanes wanted Athenians to think of Nikias at *Knights* 579.

⁶ Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 1054, κἄν ποτ' εἰρήνη φανῆ, where presumably the reinforcing dissent πόνων παυσώμεθα *vel sim.* no longer had a point.

have inspired elements of the story. There have also been attempts to detect Aristophanic echoes and historical persons behind the dramatic masks.⁷

The historical episode most generally accepted as an item of evidence is an Athenian defeat near Delion in 424. Its immediate aftermath may provide a *terminus post quem* for the play. After that battle, the Thebans would not let the Athenians pick up their dead, unless the Athenians left the temple they had fortified at Delion. The Athenians refused, and it was not until they had lost the temple in battle a short time later that the Thebans allowed them to pick up their dead from the earlier fight. At one point, an Athenian herald on his way to seek permission from the Thebans met a Theban herald on his way to the Athenians. The Theban told him to turn back and wait until he, the Theban, had transacted his own business (Thuc. 4.97.2). Inasmuch as the action in Euripides' *Suppliants* arises from the Theban refusal to let Argive mothers recover and bury husbands and sons who died attacking Thebes, and there is a scene of heralds from opposed armies meeting in transit, it is a fair assumption that the play postdates the historical episode.⁸

With this assumption in mind, we consider the chief relevant lines in *Suppliants* where *ponoi* are at issue. To begin with, the undertaking proposed by Adrastus and then by Aithra, namely that Athens persuade or force Thebes to let the Argive women bury their sons, is designated a *ponos* (185–87, cf. 316–19, 342, 345, 393–94). Next, Aithra, in urging Theseus to undertake that *ponos*, says, “Do you see how your city, when mocked for rashness, looks at her mockers with a glittering eye? Your city grows in her toil,” ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πόνουσι αὖξεται (321–23). Later, the chorus of Argive women sings that pious work is a beautiful monument for cities: καλὸν δ' ἄγαλμα πόλεσιν

⁷ E. B. Ceadel, “Resolved Feet in the Trimeters of Euripides and the Chronology of the Plays,” *CQ* 35 (1941) 75, argues from a proportion of resolved iambic feet to total number of iambic feet that the play was written in 424/3, but that certain political allusions in the play suggest a production date of 421/0. T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London 1967) 16–17, cf. 2ff, argues for a date before 423. Cf. other literature cited by C. Collard, *Euripides Supplices I* (Groningen 1975) 10–14, 438, with his review and assessment of major arguments.

⁸ Most scholars who have expressed an opinion agree that Euripides composed and produced *Suppliants* from one to four years after the events at Delion. Some, however (e.g. H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy: A Literary Study* [1961] 225), feel there is no necessary connection between events at Delion and the composition of the play. Collard lists the dates suggested by twenty-eight authorities. Of these, only Macurdy (420/19), Wecklein (418/7), and Schmid (417/16) opt for later dates. Collard himself concludes that Euripides composed *Suppliants* late in 424 and produced it in 423. For the purposes of the present essay, it will be assumed that Euripides composed and produced *Suppliants* some time during the years 424–421.

εὐσεβῆς πόνος (373). Next, the Theban herald rebukes Theseus: “Your city customarily busies itself with too much,” and Theseus replies, “The city in fact by virtue of hard toil is very happy.” *τοιγὰρ ποιοῦσα πολλὰ πολλ’ εὐδαιμονεῖ* (576–77). Then Adrastus speaks an epitaph over the fallen heroes in which he seems to address himself to all mankind. He asks: “Why do you acquire spears and arrange each other’s slaughter? Stop. Give up your toil, and in peace with peaceful men watch over your cities. Life is a little thing. You must pass through it as easily as you can, and not with toil” (950–54):

τί κτᾶσθε λόγχας καὶ κατ’ ἀλλήλων φόνους
τίθεσθε; παύσασθ’. ἀλλὰ λήξαντες πόνων
ἄστη φυλάσσεθ’ ἥσυχτοι μεθ’ ἥσυχτων.⁹
σμικρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ βίου. τοῦτον δέ χρῆ
ὡς ῥᾶστα καὶ μὴ σὺν πόνοις διεκπερᾶν.

In all these instances, *ponos* is an exertion, commitment, or toil that is political and therefore debatable. Theseus and Aithra speak *pro*, Adrastus and the Theban herald *contra*. In other Euripidean plays of the same general era (*viz. Medea, Hippolytus, Heraclidae, Heracles, Andromache, and Hecuba*) *ponos* is not debated and the word is not invested with political ambivalence.¹⁰

A Historical Context

In summer 425 there was reason for Athenians to consider ways of making peace. Thucydides writes that Messenians from Naupactus “began a series of incursions into Laconia, which their common dialect rendered most destructive. The Lacedaemonians, hitherto without experience of incursions or a warfare of the kind, finding the Helots

⁹ ἥσυχία is recognized as a word with strong political overtones. See R. A. Neil, *The Knights of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1909) 208f. Cf. Ehrenberg (*supra* n.2). Collard notes the antithesis *πόνοι/ἥσυχτοι* at lines 324–25 but not here.

¹⁰ In *e.g. Heracl.* 841, *μόλις δὲ πάντα δρῶντες οὐκ ἄτερ πόνων ἐτρέψαμεθ’*, where an attendant describes Athens’ victory over Argos, contemporary patriotic rhetoric can conceivably be heard. There are other like instances in the plays just listed, but praise and deprecation of *ponos*, *qua* Athens at war, are not set in opposition. After 421 it is not clear that *παύειν* + *πόνου/ων* had political overtones. See *Hel.* 1075, *πόνους γὰρ δαίμονες παύσουσί μιν*, and *Phoen.* 437, *παύσαι πόνων με καὶ σε καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν*. Note, however, *Tro.* 524. The chorus in bitter hindsight address all the Trojans (now dead) who had flocked to the gate to see the wooden horse. They call these hapless folk *πεπαυμένοι πόνων*, “you who are now released from toil.” What did Athenians think when they heard these words? Some of them had called out *πόνων πανσώμεθα* nine years before. Others had heard the phrase as resistance to their own position. There is a possibility of irony or *double entendre* here. This was 415, and many Athenians were assuming that their conquest of Sicily was as good as won, just a stepping stone in fact on the way to Africa. Cf. Schmid/Stählin I 478 n.1.

deserting, and fearing the march of revolution in their country, began to be seriously uneasy, and in spite of their unwillingness to betray this to the Athenians began to send envoys to Athens, and tried to recover Pylos and the prisoners. The Athenians, however, kept grasping at more, and dismissed envoy after envoy without their having effected anything” (4.41.2–4, transl. Crawley). Thucydides says ‘Athenians’, to be sure, but that complex citizenry was no closer to being monolithic here than anywhere else. Not every Athenian grasped for more. Some felt strongly that this would be a good time to stop.

A. W. Gomme noted Aristophanes’ *Knights* 794–96 as “a response to these offers of peace . . . but obscure in meaning.”¹¹ Not at all obscure, however, is the plea *πόνων πανσώμεθα* as uttered by the knights at lines 579–80. That seems a clear echo of a response that some Athenians voiced to the repeatedly fruitless comings and goings of the Spartan ambassadors.

At the beginning of spring 423, Athens and Sparta signed a one-year truce (Thuc. 4.117–19), and, after it ended, desisted more or less successfully from warfare until the Peace of Nicias in 421. Athenians could still have been arguing for or against *ponos* during these years. We assume in fact that they were. But such arguments began—as the evidence of *Knights* 579–80 suggests—between fall 425 (Messenian raids) and early 424.

Thucydides’ Testimony at 2.61–64

We turn now to Perikles’ last speech in Thucydides. Perikles addresses his fellow citizens in a meeting of the *ekklesia*. They are angry with him for the war, for the plague, for discomfort. The year is 430. In the course of his speech he tells them: (1) ‘I am the same man’ (2.60–61.2). (2) ‘You have changed’ (61.2–61.4). (3) ‘The *ponoi* against which you protest are necessary ones. Endure’ (62–64). In this last, Perikles brings up the word *ponos* over and over, as a brief enumeration shows.

The very first words are *τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον* (2.62.1). Note the portentous phrasing—“As for the toil of this war, what I have shown you many times on other occasions is enough. Your suspicion that it will grow bigger but that we shall not thereby be closer to winning is not right.” Other exhortations follow: “On both counts, do not appear inferior to your fathers who secured with toil (*μετὰ πόνων*) what you have. They did not receive it from oth-

¹¹ *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* III (Oxford 1956) 482 and 732. Cf. Neil, *ad loc.*

ers” (62.3). “It is reasonable that you support the honor your city receives from ruling, which you all enjoy, and not avoid the toil (μη̄ φεύγειν τοὺς πόρους)—or don’t pursue the honors” (63.1). “You know that your city has a very great name in all the world because you do not yield to disasters, and because you most spend your bodies and your toil (σώματα καὶ πόρους ἀνηλωκένοι) in war” (64.3). Finally, in emphatic position toward the end of the closing sentence, “Don’t let yourselves be seen weighed down by your present toil” (τοῖς παροῦσι πόροις βαρυνόμενοι) (64.6).

Perikles’ appeals to toil are sometimes noted or explained by scholars as invocations of a kind of national motto.¹² The explanation serves for the Epitaphios Logos, but in this last oration, where the incidence of one particular metaphor, that of *ponos*, is so dense,¹³ we may want to consider other explanations. Suppose, for instance, that Athenians had started expressing dissatisfaction with the war as early as 430 with the sentence *πόνων πανσώμεθα*.¹⁴ In that case, Perikles’ insistence on *ponoi* could be interpreted as a deliberate challenge: “You say, ‘Let’s desist from toil’. I say ‘Let’s toil’, and furthermore I’ll say it over and over so that you don’t misunderstand me.”

On the other hand, Thucydides may have taken a characteristic Periklean appeal and multiplied it with variations in this brief space because Perikles in Thucydides’ mind was associated with *ponos* in all its senses, quite different from Nicias whom Thucydides associated with deprecation of *ponos*, at least its rhetorical applications during the Archidamian War.

¹² See Zuntz and de Romilly (*supra* n.2).

¹³ Thucydides puts *ponos* in the mouth of Perikles eight times, a high percentage of the total number of times the word appears in the history. Bétant lists twenty instances in all, omitting *μετὰ πόνων* at 2.62.3; M. H. N. von Essen, *Index Thucydideus* (Berlin 1887) lists twenty-one.

¹⁴ Slogans or catchwords sometimes had long lives. *ἔσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς*, made up of common words, could be used every day in any city near water. At the same time, many years after the Persian Wars, the phrase had its own resonance. When an Athenian said *ἔσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς* in any patriotic context, he was understood to be citing Salamis and Themistokles. Gomme (*ad* 1.74.2) says the phrase became trite, but Thucydides’ repeated use of it may imply instead a continuing vigor of function. Cf. also *ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω* at *Ar. Eq.* 673. Neil comments: “It is an inference from this line and *Lys.* 129 that *ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω* was a current phrase with the old and poetical *ἔρω* . . .” Another possible example of longevity is Damon’s epigrammatic “give the people their own.” See *Andoc. De re ditu* 17; *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 27.4, with G. Kaibel, *Stil und Text der Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων* (Berlin 1893) 184, and J. E. Sandys, *Aristotle’s Constitution of Athens*² (London 1912) *ad loc.* Gomme notes a different coloring of *ἔσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς* at *Ath. Pol.* 23.1, (the Council of the Areopagos) *ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς*, and his observation is apposite to this essay. Cf. Grossman (*supra* n.2) 118–19, who cites Archidamos and Perikles using *καταφρόνησις* in contrary ways. One way of identifying a catchword is to find instances where it is being used in such contrary ways.

Summary

The following schematic reconstruction may be helpful in giving a sequence to words and events discussed here.

430 (?): Perikles and other Athenians who believe in prosecuting the war praise *ponos* in its old and common metaphorical sense, namely that toil through which good things come to men. At the same time, *ponos* means the war in which they are presently engaged.

Summer 425: Athenians take Sphacteria. Messenians begin raids on Laconia. Spartans begin to send ambassadors to Athens trying to negotiate a peace. The Athenians as a body reject these overtures, and their spokesmen, in arguing that they must continue to struggle, regularly appeal to *ponoi*, through which good things will come eventually to Athens. A minority of Athenians would like to negotiate a peace. They answer rhetorical praise of *ponoi* with the words *πόνων πανσώμεθα*, and in early 424 their dissent is included in Aristophanes' *Knights*.

Fall 424: Athenians defeated at Delion are not allowed to pick up their dead.

Some time after fall 424: Euripides composes *Suppliants*. He includes debate for and against *ponoi* and transmutes as framework for his story events that followed the battle near Delion.

Early 421: Aristophanes has Trygaios describe his service to Athens. The vocabulary and substance of his claim are very much like the hope attributed by Thucydides to Nikias (5.16).

After 404:¹⁵ Thucydides writing his history represents Perikles as urging Athens in 430 to accept and endure *ponoi*. At roughly the same time, Thucydides imbeds a counter-slogan *πόνων πανσώμεθα* in his description of Nikias' hopes for peace in 421: he wanted *πόνων πεπαύσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παύσαι*.

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¹⁵ See A. Andrewes, *PCPA* n.s. 6 (1961) 1–10, and A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* V (Oxford 1981) 384–444, esp. 398–99.