



**Thucydides in the 'Age of Extremes' and Beyond.  
Academia and Politics**

**Edited by Luca Iori and Ivan Matijašić**

**HCS**

*History of Classical Scholarship*

Supplementary Volume 5

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JOHN ENOCH POWELL, THUCYDIDES,  
AND HISTORICAL ANALOGY\*

— IVAN MATIJAŠIĆ —

ABSTRACT

*At the Annual General Meeting of the Classical Association in 1936, the young classical scholar and future politician John Enoch Powell (1912–1998) read a paper titled ‘The War and its Aftermath in their Influence upon Thucydidean Studies’. A typewritten version of the paper is preserved at the Churchill Archives Centre in Cambridge. It is now published for the first time in the appendix to this chapter, which discusses Powell’s paper and sets it within the wider intellectual and historical context of the 1930s. Powell makes some insightful analogies between the present political situation and the composition of Thucydides’ History, inspired by Schwartz’ Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides (1919), but also by his awareness of the situation in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. He also considers the moral interpretations of some important Thucydidean passages (esp. the Melian Dialogue: Thuc. 5.84–114) and shows a ‘realist’ approach to Thucydides. Powell’s paper displays his interest in contemporary politics, a strong historical diachronic perspective, and an analysis of scholarly works on Thucydides through the lenses of twentieth-century ideologies.*

KEYWORDS

*John Enoch Powell, Paul Maas, Giorgio Pasquali,  
Eduard Schwartz, Melian dialogue*

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## 1. Introduction

On a Saturday morning in early January 1936 at Westminster School in London, the members of the Classical Association gathered for the last day of the Annual General Meeting. At 11 am, a young man of 23 took the stage and delivered a paper titled ‘The War and its Aftermath in their Influence upon Thucydidean Studies’. The young man was John Enoch Powell, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the rising stars of British classical scholarship. In this chapter I will discuss Powell’s unpublished paper setting it against the background of Powell’s academic and political career and exploring its significance for Thucydidean scholarship.

But before tackling Powell’s paper, a brief introduction to our main character. John Enoch Powell was born in Birmingham in 1912. He was educated at King Edward VI School for Boys in Birmingham and obtained a scholarship to attend Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1930. He was a brilliant, if somewhat eccentric, student, and collected several important academic prizes. He was elected Fellow under Title A at Trinity in 1934 — a fixed-term, very competitive, and prestigious position. He obtained the Chair of Greek at the University of Sydney in early 1938 at the age of 25, and was designated Professor of Greek at Durham University from January 1940. However, when war broke out on 1 September 1939, Powell handed in his resignation, took the first flight back to England, and enlisted in the army. He concluded the war as a Brigadier in the Intelligence Corps, an extraordinary feat for someone who entered the war as a private soldier. However, after his hopes to become viceroy of India were shattered by the announcement of the appointment of Lord Mountbatten on 20 February 1947, Powell opted for a career in politics in the Conservative Party. He was elected MP for Wolverhampton South-West in the 1950 general election and remained continuously at Westminster until 1987. His political career has been controversial and divisive to say the least: his 1968 Rivers of Blood speech is still one of the best known and discussed political speeches of post-WW2 British politics.<sup>1</sup> Powell’s glaring eyes, thrilling voice, and villain’s moustache made his physical presence both hypnotic and sinister. It has been reported that Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1957 to 1963, could not stand having Powell opposite him in cabinet looking ‘like Savonarola eyeing one of the more disreputable popes’.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The most comprehensive biography of Powell is to be found in Heffer (1998). For his academic career: Todd (1995), Todd (2000), Matijašić (2020a), Matijašić (2020b).

<sup>2</sup> The phrase is quoted by Ferdinand Mount (2019: 3). I wish to thank Rowland Smith for this reference.

## 2. Powell's Published and Unpublished Papers on Thucydides

This paper is not about Powell's political career, which has been studied in recent years, not least thanks to the documents collected in the Churchill Archives Centre.<sup>3</sup> Instead, it will focus on his academic career, and especially the years 1930 to 1939, which is when war broke out and he abandoned academia for good, even though he continued to do some occasional academic work until the early 1950s.<sup>4</sup> He published his first article, in German, in 1931 and by 1940 he had published 48 articles in various international journals. He was also the author of several books: *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham* (Cambridge, 1936); *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1938); an edition of *Herodotus VIII* (Cambridge, 1939); *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939). He also translated Herodotus' Ionic Greek into the English of the King James Bible: two volumes were published by Oxford Clarendon Press in 1949.

As evidently displayed by this list of books and editions, the young Powell devoted much of his initial academic attention to Herodotus, but he also managed to revise H.S. Jones' text and *apparatus criticus* of Thucydides for an Oxford Classical Texts edition that eventually appeared in 1942. Between 1934 and 1939 he published seven articles on Thucydidean textual criticism and manuscript tradition and five book reviews on books related to Thucydides.<sup>5</sup>

What he managed to publish is only a little portion of his Thucydidean studies. Both the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge and the

<sup>3</sup> See Cosgrave (1989), Schofield (2013), and Corthorn (2019).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matijašić (2020a).

<sup>5</sup> Powell's published articles on Thucydides: 'Studies on the Greek Reflexive — Thucydides', *CQ* 28 (1934), 159–174; 'The Aldine Scholia to Thucydides', *CQ* 30 (1936), 146–150; 'The A Manuscript of Thucydides', *CR* 50 (1936), 117–118; 'The Bâle and Leyden Scholia to Thucydides', *CQ* 30 (1936), 80–93; 'A Byzantine Critic', *CR* 52 (1938), 2–4; 'The Archetype of Thucydides', *CQ* 32 (1938), 75–79; 'The Cretan Manuscripts of Thucydides', *CQ* 32 (1938), 103–108. Moreover, he published a short abstract of his 'The Papyri and the Text of Thucydides' in the *Actes du V Congrès International de Papyrologie* (Brussels, 1938), 344, and the summary of 'The War and its Aftermath in their Influence upon Thucydidean Studies', *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 33 (1936), 41–42, which will be discussed in detail below. Powell's reviews of books on Thucydides: R. Zahn, *Die erste Periklesrede* (Leipzig, 1934) in *CR* 48 (1934), 238; A. Grossinsky, *Das Programm des Thukydides* (Berlin, 1936) in *CR* 50 (1936), 174–175; H. Patzer, *Das Problem der Geschichtsschreibung des Thukydides* (Berlin, 1937) in *CR* 51 (1937), 173–174; J. Ros, *Die ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ (variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thukydides* (Paderborn, 1938) in *CR* 53 (1939), 13; V. Bartoletti, *Per la storia del testo di Tucidide* (Florence, 1937) in *Gnomon* 15 (1939), 281–282 (in German).



Churchill Archives Centre of Churchill College, Cambridge preserve several unpublished papers that Powell donated to these two institutions. Among the boxes at the Wren Library there are lecture notes on Thucydides, a 'Proposal for an Edition of Thucydides' dated 5 June 1937, translations of passages from the Athenian historian, photographic reproductions, and collations of Thucydides manuscripts.

The Churchill Archives Centre preserves the following unpublished papers on Thucydides by Powell:

1. 'The Moral and Historical Principles of Thucydides and their Influence in Later Antiquity', Fellowship dissertation, POLL 1/6/24: 162 typed pages;<sup>6</sup>
2. 'The Moral and Political Ideas of Thucydides', POLL 1/6/21: 17 typed pages;
3. 'The Papyri and the Text of Thucydides', POLL 1/6/19: 9 typed pages, which was presented at the papyrological congress in Oxford in 1937;
4. 'The Manuscripts of Thucydides at Venice and Cambridge', POLL 1/6/24: 62 typed pages;
5. 'The War and its Aftermath in their Influence upon Thucydidean Studies', POLL 1/6/19: 18 typed pages.<sup>7</sup>

These are all typewritten texts that Powell diligently transcribed from his own notes and left in tidy order in his personal archive, which he bequeathed to the Churchill Archives Centre. He never published these works not because they were not valuable pieces of scholarship, but rather because of personal reasons: the war changed his life for good. In the late 1940s and early 1950s he interacted with young scholars working on Herodotus and Thucydides — such as Bertrand Hemmerdinger, Mortimer Chambers, Jacqueline de Romilly, Haim B. Rosén<sup>8</sup> — and published the translation of Herodotus for OUP in 1949 after a thorough revision of the text and frequent exchanges with Paul Maas. But he never went back to working full-time on Thucydides. For this reason, it seems important to make these unpublished papers available: they are valuable documents related to Powell's biography and career, as well as for the history of classical scholarship and Thucydidean scholarship more broadly.

<sup>6</sup> Powell (1934).

<sup>7</sup> Powell (1936d).

<sup>8</sup> Several letters by these scholars are preserved among Powell's papers. For a study of his correspondence with Hemmerdinger: Matijašić (2020a).

### 3. The Italian Sojourns

His work on Thucydides and Thucydidean manuscripts allowed him to visit Italy in the early 1930s. Between 1933 and 1936 — before and during his Fellowship at Trinity — Powell repeatedly visited libraries in Venice, Florence, Parma, Rome, Turin, and Naples.<sup>9</sup> ‘He became fluent in the language [Italian]. [...] He saw the realities of Fascism, which further confirmed his view of the likelihood of war.’<sup>10</sup>

In May 1935 Powell attended the International Congress of Papyrology in Florence where he read a paper on the papyri of the Rendel Harris Collection at Woodbrooke College in Birmingham. He published a short article in the congress’ proceedings and his edition of the Rendel Harris Papyri in the same year.<sup>11</sup> Powell recalled his experience in Florence many years later when asked about his acquaintance and relation with the German textual critic Paul Maas. In a letter dated 10 October 1984 to Eckart Mensching, the author of Maas’ biography, Powell wrote:

I attended the biennial International Congress of Papyrology in Florence in May 1935, and after reading a paper to the Congress in Italian was taken off by Prof. Pasquali along with other scholars attending the Congress to a restaurant, where we conversed in Italian. On being complimented on my Italian, I replied that my German was better, whereupon we switched to German, and I remarked that the company might be surprised to know that my first German reading book was Wagner’s libretti. Thereupon a slight figure at the end of the table, thitherto silent and immobile, started into energetic interest. Paul Maas and I immediately discovered a common interest in Wagner [...] and in textual criticism. [...] We adopted *Du und Dich*, and our acquaintance had ripened into the greatest intellectual romance of my life, the intercourse with a mind whose judgment I was willing to accept as superior to my own.<sup>12</sup>

Powell’s friendship with Maas continued in the years prior to the outbreak of the war, and it was Powell who obtained a visa for the Jewish scholar to enable him to expatriate in late August 1939.<sup>13</sup> Maas spent the

<sup>9</sup> The Wren Library preserves several letters from the directors of Italian libraries granting Powell access to their manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> Heffer (1998: 21).

<sup>11</sup> Powell (1936b), (1936c).

<sup>12</sup> Mensching (1987: 121); cf. also Mensching (1987: 43–44). The transcription of the correspondence with Mensching is preserved in the Churchill Archives Centre.

<sup>13</sup> For more details on the journey see Mensching (1987: 71–73). Cf. Heffer (1998: 48), even though there are some inaccuracies in his account.

rest of his life in the UK and died in Oxford in 1964. He was a fundamental figure for classical scholarship and for Oxford University Press in the post-war period, and collaborated with Powell on his translation of Herodotus, published by OUP in 1949.

Going back to those spring days in 1935 in Florence, we have an exceptional witness that recorded Powell's participation in the social events on the fringes of the papyrological conference. Giorgio Pasquali — the eminent Italian classicist and author of the *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (1934)<sup>14</sup> — wrote an account of the conference for the literary magazine *Pan*, directed by the Fascist art critic and journalist Ugo Ojetti:<sup>15</sup>

But in other respects too, the greatest benefit of this, as of every other conference, is not to be found in the communications. Even those who remained silent during the sessions were able to discuss problems privately with highly competent colleagues whom they had known until then only by letter or name. I found very useful a conversation on the methods of textual criticism held with the most competent judge in this field (who is both the best living metricist and a great connoisseur of Greek poetry and a man, even though he was a professor, especially benevolent), Paul Maas: our friends Castiglioni and Terzaghi were present and participating, as well as a big Welsh boy who has already demonstrated his critical ingenuity, both acute and balanced, Enoch Powell; the memory of those two morning hours will not soon be erased from my memory.<sup>16</sup>

It is telling that Pasquali referred obliquely to the fact that Maas, being Jewish, was expelled from university by the Nazis, 'even though he was a

<sup>14</sup> Martin L. West, in the bibliographical note to his *Textual Criticism and Editorial Techniques*, mentioned Pasquali's *Storia della tradizione* alongside Havet's *Manuel de critique verbale* (1911) and Fränkel's *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonios* (1964), and wrote: 'Any of these may be read with considerable profit, especially Pasquali's wise opus' (West (1973: 6)).

<sup>15</sup> For Ojetti's biography: Cerasi (2013).

<sup>16</sup> Pasquali (1935: 292): 'Ma anche per altri aspetti il profitto maggiore di questo, come di ogni altro congresso, non si assomma nelle comunicazioni. Anche chi nelle sedute tacque, poté discutere privatamente problemi con colleghi competentissimi, che conosceva sino allora di lettera o di nome. A me è riuscita molto utile una conversazione sui metodi della critica testuale tenuta con il giudice più competente in tale materia (che è insieme il miglior metrico vivente e un grande conoscitore di poesia greca e un uomo, benché sia stato professore, singolarmente benevolo), Paul Maas: erano presenti e partecipi gli amici Castiglioni e Terzaghi e un ragazzone gallese che ha già dato prova di ingegno critico acuto insieme ed equilibrato, Enoch Powell; il ricordo di quelle due ore mattutine non si cancellerà presto dalla mia memoria.'

professor' ('benché sia stato professore'), which also ironically implies that university professors are not usually benevolent nor kind.<sup>17</sup> The expression gives us a glimpse of how some Italian scholars in the 1930s coped with the discriminations of the Jews by totalitarian regimes: in this case, by offering oblique references to personal tragedies. Maas was deposed from his Professorship in Königsberg in April 1934 at the age of 53, following the Nazi government's 'Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums' from 7 April 1933.<sup>18</sup>

The early 1930s were the years of Mussolini's greatest popularity. In October 1935 Italy declared war on Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and at the end of the conflict, on 9 May 1936, the Italian dictator proclaimed the empire.<sup>19</sup> In an interview conducted by the staff of the Imperial War Museum in 1987, Powell recalled that in 1935 'he asked a senior fellow at Trinity whether his fellowship could be suspended if he chose to go to Abyssinia to fight against the invading Italians'.<sup>20</sup> This of course never occurred, but it shows his romantic willingness to take part in a war. His wish would be fulfilled in September 1939.

Powell's Italian sojourns were evidently not only a chance to inspect manuscripts of Thucydides and meet fellow classicists, including Jewish scholars. His reflection on Thucydides was informed by his first-hand experience of Fascism and Nazism, his developing interest for international politics, and his preoccupation for the looming conflict.

#### 4. Powell, Eduard Schwartz, and Thucydides

The focus of this chapter is the paper that Powell presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Classical Association on 4 January 1936 titled 'The War and its Aftermath in their Influence upon Thucydidean Studies': the text is printed in the Appendix to the present chapter. A summary was published in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* in the same year (number 33, pages 41–42) and a report of Powell's most compelling references to Fascism and Nazism was printed on p. 8 of *The Times* on 6 January 1936 ('Thucydides in the Trenches'). However, in scholarly

<sup>17</sup> It reminds me of Gian Biagio Conte's dedication of a book to Adriano Prosperi and Michael D. Reeve, 'friends, even if colleagues'.

<sup>18</sup> See Mensching (1987: 27–32).

<sup>19</sup> De Felice (1974). Cf. Del Boca (1979), Labanca (2002).

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Heffer (1998: 29). The interview is preserved at the Churchill Archives Centre, POLL 1/6/26: see esp. p. 11 of the transcript.

circles it went almost unnoticed, except for a brief mention in Heffer's biography of Powell and in Earley's book *The Thucydidean Turn*.<sup>21</sup>

Let us now turn to Powell's own words at the Classical Association in 1936:

Ladies and Gentlemen, the effect of the late war upon classical scholarship has not in general been a beneficent one. The almost total cessation of work during the war itself, the removal of a rising generation of scholars, the impoverishment of the defeated powers, and latterly, the economic and financial difficulties, which have greatly hindered the free circulation of literature and ideas: all these have been prejudicial to healthy research. [...] Nevertheless, the study of Thucydides has not been among the branches of classical research which have suffered by the war. It may be claimed that on the contrary it has rather profited by it. In mere bulk the Thucydidean literature of the past seventeen years is probably superior to that of any preceding period of equal length, not even excepting the last third of the nineteenth century, the heyday of German scholarship.<sup>22</sup>

In the following pages Powell offered a very informed review of the publications that followed the Great War starting with a masterpiece of Thucydidean scholarship: Edward Schwartz' *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (1919). The book was dedicated to the memory of Schwartz' oldest son, Dr. Phil. Gerhard Schwartz. Born in Rostock on 29 October 1889, where his father was Professor of Greek, Gerhard Schwartz died on 2 November 1914 near the Alsatian town of Markirch (today Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines in France), not far from Strasburg where his father had moved since 1913.<sup>23</sup> Schwartz' work on Thucydides was fuelled by the events of the Great War and his son's death. He assumed that Thucydides was compelled to change his views of the war after Athens' defeat in 404 BC. This had great consequences for the composition of Thucydides' *History*: the role of Pericles was re-evaluated, his policy praised in the Funeral oration; the Sicilian episode was written not long after 413, while the Melian Dialogue that precedes it in the latest part of Book 5 was written after the defeat of 404. Thucydides died before he could finish his work. Schwartz believed that the documents included in Book 8 would have been incorporated in the narrative if the author had had the time to revise his text. The book was published in 1919, after Strasburg passed into French hands and Schwartz was forced to leave in haste. But he duly

<sup>21</sup> See Heffer (1998: 28) and Earley (2020: 131–135).

<sup>22</sup> Powell (1936d: 1).

<sup>23</sup> On Schwartz' biography see Momigliano (1979: 999–1005).

noted at the very end of the book: ‘Das Manuskript dieses Buches wurde im September 1917 abgeschlossen und ist im wesentlichen unverändert abgedruckt’ (‘The manuscript of this book was finished in September 1917 and is printed essentially unchanged’).<sup>24</sup>

Powell was an enthusiast of Schwartz’ work on Thucydides. He expressed his admiration both in his Fellowship dissertation and in the preface to his *The History of Herodotus*.<sup>25</sup> He also sent the book to Schwartz in March 1939, less than a year before his death: the enclosed letter, in German, survives.<sup>26</sup> In this letter, Powell mentioned his attitude towards the German nation and culture, ‘ein seltsames Gemisch von Liebe und Hass’ (‘a strange mix of love and hate’), and expressed the hope to visit Germany during Fall 1939 ‘falls der Krieg worauf ich hoffe nicht dazwischenkommt’ (‘if war does not come in the way, as I hope it will not’).<sup>27</sup> It turned out, war did in fact prevent him travelling to Germany in late 1939.

Powell’s *hate* for Germany is connected to contemporary events and Hitler’s regime (see below), while his *love* for German culture was stimulated by his passion for Nietzsche. He reported to *The Times* on 27 September 1962 (p. 15): ‘In my early twenties I read all Nietzsche — not just the main works but the minor works as well, all of them, and every scrap of published correspondence’. This familiarity with the writings of the great philosopher led him to believe that he had come to understand the German mind: for this reason, he was convinced that in the late 1930s war between the British empire and Germany was inevitable. In January 1936 he wrote:

Let us suppose that in 1925, say, a young Englishman addresses himself to a history of the Great War. It is to be a tragic whole, tracing German imperialism from its roots in the Napoleonic period to the final dissolution in 1918. He has made some progress with this scheme, when events in Europe apprise him that the war of 1914–1918 was only

<sup>24</sup> Schwartz (1919: 364). See also the autobiographical text ‘Wissenschaftlicher Lebenslauf’ in Schwartz (1938: 17–18).

<sup>25</sup> Powell (1934: 63): ‘But that streak of German war-time feeling which, never obtrusive but present always as an undertone, makes Schwartz’ book the most powerful piece of writing upon Thucydides that exists’; Powell (1939: vii): ‘That in spite of this restriction of my subject I have chosen to entitle this study “The History of Herodotus”, arises from a wish to indicate that I am here trying to do for Herodotus what Eduard Schwartz did for another Greek historian in his brilliant *Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*’.

<sup>26</sup> It was published by Mensching (1999).

<sup>27</sup> Mensching (1999: 77).

part of a larger contest still undecided. In 1935 and 1936 he occupies himself by recording provisionally the isolated conflicts which verge towards a greater. After which, he becomes a passive spectator, or an active participant, in the final struggle, until, as an elderly man in 1950, he can sit down to depict this greater and now finished whole, conceived as the historically inevitable self-defence and fall of the British Empire, and justifying to the world that humane and consistent policy which nevertheless might appear to have been the cause of the disaster. How much would the original draft require to be manipulated and altered before he admitted it into his finished work! And how great would be the contrast of tone between one stratum and another. This is not a very different situation from that with which we meet in the history of Thucydides, particularly in its first two books.<sup>28</sup>

These lines can be read from two different yet intertwined perspectives. On the one hand, Powell used Thucydides' historical work to strengthen his own ideas on the inevitability of an impending war that would just be a continuation of the first great conflict of 1914–1918. On the other, he exploited the present situation to support Schwartz' claim that the composition of Thucydides' *History* was radically changed after its author saw the final outcome of the conflict. Readings of Thucydides could also help to imagine future scenarios. There was indeed an Englishman who wrote a book on European history between 1914 and 1949. Ian Kershaw's *To Hell and Back. Europe 1914–1949* deals with the two world wars and the interwar period in a single historical narrative.<sup>29</sup> However, Kershaw wrote the book decades after the facts and was not a direct witness to the events of the war, which displays once again the uniqueness of Thucydides the historian: he realised at the outset that the conflict would be a great one and set off to describe its causes, depict its principal protagonists, and narrate the main events. Moses Finley lucidly wrote: 'That war [the Peloponnesian War] lives on not so much for anything that happened or because of any of the participants, but because of the man who wrote its history, Thucydides the Athenian'.<sup>30</sup>

Thucydides defined the Peloponnesian War as the war between Athens and Sparta and their allies that lasted for 27 years between 431

<sup>28</sup> Powell (1936d: 5).

<sup>29</sup> Kershaw (2015). It is interesting to recall that Kershaw's initial plan was to end his history with 1945, but then realised that 'the fateful course of the years 1945–9 was so plainly determined by the war itself, and reactions to it, that I thought it justifiable to look beyond the moment when peace officially returned to the continent' (Kershaw (2015: xx)).

<sup>30</sup> M.I. Finley in Finley & Warner (1972: 9).

and 404 BC. He identified three distinct phases: the Archidamian War from 431 to the Peace of Nicias in 421 BC; the years of ‘uneasy peace’ with smaller conflicts taking place in various parts of the Greek world,<sup>31</sup> including the famous siege and destruction of Melos in 416 BC (see below) and the Athenian expedition to Sicily (415–413 BC); finally, the so-called Decelean, or Ionian War, from 413 to the fall of Athens and the destruction of the Long Walls in 404 BC, even though he covered only the events up to 411 and left the work unfinished.<sup>32</sup> Whatever Thucydides might have written before 404 regarding the conflict had to be reworked when he realised its true proportions and consequences. ‘Der Krieg hat ihn [Thukydides] zum Historiker gemacht’ (‘It was the war that made Thucydides a historian’), wrote Werner Jaeger.<sup>33</sup> But if the Peloponnesian War made Thucydides a historian, it was Thucydides who created, so to speak, the Peloponnesian War.

## 5. Imperialism and the Melian Dialogue

Powell argued that the Great War changed scholarly approaches to Thucydides’ work. There was a ‘theoretical detachment’ in pre-war publications such as F.M. Cornford’s *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (1907),<sup>34</sup> but the conflict and its moral and political consequences made readers more tolerant towards some of Thucydides’ most harsh judgements. This is especially true for Thucydides’ considerations on the nature of Athenian imperialism, international politics, and the author’s own morality.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Thuc. 5.25.3: καὶ ἐπὶ ἕξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας ἀπέσχοντο μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑκατέρων γῆν στρατεῦσαι, ἕξωθεν δὲ μετ’ ἀνοκωχῆς οὐ βεβαίον ἔβλαπτον ἀλλήλους τὰ μάλιστα· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες λῦσαι τὰς μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη σπονδὰς αὐθις ἐς πόλεμον φανερόν κατέστησαν (‘For six years and ten months the two sides refrained from military operations against each other’s territory, but elsewhere the truce had only tenuous effect and they continued to inflict as much damage on each other as they could. And later on they were compelled to abandon the treaty made after those ten years and resort once more to open war’). The expression ‘uneasy peace’ is used in an important work by Westlake (1971).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Rhodes (2006: 101–154) and Fantasia (2012), two reference works on the history of the Peloponnesian War that rely on Thucydides’ periodisation. See also the chapters included in Section 1 of Balot, Forsdyke & Foster (2017): they follow the schematical division of Thucydides.

<sup>33</sup> Jaeger (1934: 482).

<sup>34</sup> Powell (1936d: 8). Cornford’s name does not feature in Powell’s paper, but his audience surely knew who the author of *Thucydides Mythistoricus* was. For Cornford’s biography: Hackforth (2004). For Cornford and Thucydides: Earley (2020: 23–51).



The central point on which any moral estimate of Thucydides must always turn is the Melian Dialogue. And in the opinions expressed about the purpose of this dialogue the change of attitude since the War has been most marked.<sup>35</sup>

In the summer of 416 BC, the Athenians sent a fleet of 38 ships and 3,000 soldiers to force the inhabitants of the island of Melos, a Dorian settlement, to become a tribute-paying member of their Athenian empire. Before setting up the siege, Thucydides reports that the generals sent delegates to start negotiations with the Melians, and they met the Melian magistrates and oligarchs behind closed doors: the ensuing dialogue, known since antiquity as the Melian Dialogue,<sup>36</sup> is one of the most discussed passages in Thucydides' work (Thuc. 5.84–114). It is normally assumed that the dialogue is a Thucydidean invention, but the historical substance of the episode remains open to debate.<sup>37</sup> In the dialogue the Athenians urged the Melians to submit or suffer a 'terrible fate' (τὰ δεινότατα παθεῖν),<sup>38</sup> while the Melians resisted the Athenians' ultimatum and resorted to justice, divine intervention, and their kinship with the Spartans. The result was that the Athenians set up a siege and in winter 416–415 BC the Melians were forced to surrender: the male population was exterminated, women and children were sold into slavery, and the Melian territory was given to 500 Athenian colonists.

In the pre-war period, most scholars agreed that the Melian Dialogue was a sheer condemnation of Athenian imperialism. There were notable exceptions. One of these exceptions – in addition to the famous remarks on the Melian Dialogue made by Friedrich Nietzsche in *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*<sup>39</sup> – was the Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge since 1902, J.B. Bury, in the chapters on Thucydides in his

<sup>35</sup> Powell (1936d: 9).

<sup>36</sup> Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 37–41.

<sup>37</sup> See the classic work of de Romilly (1947: esp. 230–259); Woodhead (1970: 3–11); Bosworth (1993); Hornblower (2008: 244). Previous references can be easily gathered from these works. According to Canfora (1992) (cf. also Canfora (2011: 166–192)) Thucydides consciously omitted the fact that Melos was a member of the Athenian empire before defecting, which he assumes from Isoc. *Paneg.* 100–102. Without citing Canfora, Seaman (1997: 409) states: '[...] there is no reliable evidence which refutes Thucydides' version of the Athenian expedition to Melos in 416. No ancient source, epigraphic or literary, shows that before 416 Melos was either allied to Sparta or subject to Athens; that she was not in fact both independent and neutral, just as Thucydides tells us.'

<sup>38</sup> Thuc. 5.93.

<sup>39</sup> Nietzsche (1886: nr. 92). On Nietzsche's readings of Thucydides, and esp. the Melian Dialogue: Zumbrunnen (2002: 246–251); cf. also Jenkins (2011).

lectures at Harvard in 1908, published under the title *Ancient Greek Historians*.<sup>40</sup> Bury noticed that the dialogue consisted in ‘the elimination of justice from the discussion’ and that, alongside the speech of Diodotus in the Mytilenean debate, it represented a ruthlessly realistic approach to state politics.<sup>41</sup> In Bury there is no condemnation of Athenian imperialism; on the contrary, he saw it as a display of political action and realism.

If Bury’s views were minoritarian before 1914, after that date opinions shifted dramatically. Powell reports, probably from personal knowledge, that Henry Montagu Butler (1833–1918), then Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, ‘wrote to his son in 1915, telling him to “re-read the Melian Dialogue, with Prussia and Belgium as protagonists”’.<sup>42</sup> Powell, too, indulged in providing some modern parallels:

But if Belgium, or Poland or Ireland (shall I add — Abyssinia?) have been teaching now one people, now another, the lesson of tolerance and an open mind towards Athenian action at Melos and its precipitate in Thucydides — a lesson which English scholars, at any rate, should hardly have needed after the Boer War — that is not the only change in our approach to Thucydides which contemporary events of the last twenty years have produced.<sup>43</sup>

He continues by examining the importance of sea-power in ancient and modern imperialism: ‘an insular power will be invincible despite all defeats on land so long — but so long only — as it retains undisputed command of the sea’.<sup>44</sup> In this domain Thucydides was indeed an outstanding teacher, especially in the so-called *Archaiologia*, the *Pentekontaetia*, and Pericles’ first speech. According to Powell, the everlasting Thucydidean law, expressed in many speeches by Athenian politicians, but nonetheless the voice of Thucydides himself, is that ‘an empire once formed is obliged by the inexorable necessity of self-preservation to pursue an imperial policy’.<sup>45</sup> This was a lesson that the British Empire was compelled to learn during the Great War and especially in the upcoming conflict with Nazi Germany.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Bury (1909: 138–140). For Bury’s biography: Whitby (2004).

<sup>41</sup> Bury (1909: 138).

<sup>42</sup> Powell (1936d: 9).

<sup>43</sup> Powell (1936d: 10).

<sup>44</sup> Powell (1936d: 10–11). Cf. Momigliano (1944).

<sup>45</sup> Powell (1936d: 12).

<sup>46</sup> On sea-power in Thucydides: Kallet-Marx (1993) and Kopp (2017). See also various contributions in Kopp & Wendt (2018).

The problems posed by the Melian Dialogue are also considered in Powell's unpublished Fellowship dissertation 'The Moral and Historical Principles of Thucydides and their Influence in Later Antiquity'.<sup>47</sup> Here Powell argues, against the opinion of most previous scholars, that an unprejudiced reading of the dialogue shows that both the Athenians' and Melians' standpoints are rational and in line with eternal human nature: the Athenians were compelled to preserve their empire by showing their military superiority; the Melians resisted the Athenians' demands — obstinately but rightly — expecting the aid of the gods and of the Spartans. Schwartz assumed that the Melian Dialogue was conceived after the end of the war and was intended to show the Athenians' arrogance (*ὑβρις*) as a prelude to the Sicilian disaster. Powell went against this opinion and supposed that there is no moral judgement in the depiction of the Athenians' actions at Melos: they acted according to necessity (*ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαίας*).

The moral issues raised by the Melian Dialogue have intrigued both ancient and modern readers. After discussing the Melian Dialogue and the Mytilenean debate, Powell summed up his opinion on national morality — or lack thereof — in Thucydides' work:

If, now, Thucydides represents nations in any moment of action as but following out logically the consequences of their positions, and that position itself as brought about by the natural forces of human nature, it follows that he believed moral rules inapplicable to the conduct of nations or communities. Often we hear that Thucydides suppresses moral judgments; rather is moral judgment absent from the outset: for his standpoint is Realpolitik, which considers what is, not what ought to be, and views morality and sentiment themselves as but a single force among the many whose interplay makes up the grand, un-moral, or indeed super-moral, sweep of history.<sup>48</sup>

In those same years — from a completely different perspective — Edward H. Carr was considering morality as a concept in the developing field of International Relations. In the famous book *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919–1939*, written just before the outbreak of the war and published in autumn 1939, 'still widely read worldwide and still somewhat shocking to untutored minds',<sup>49</sup> he questioned the very idea of morality in political sciences. As a former diplomat in the Foreign Office and participant at the

<sup>47</sup> Powell (1934: 60–68).

<sup>48</sup> Powell (1934: 75).

<sup>49</sup> Haslam (2004).

meetings that led to the Versailles treaties in 1919, Carr was convinced that Germany was treated unfairly and did not recognise that Hitler and Nazi Germany represented a menace to world peace.<sup>50</sup> At the same time he was also a proponent of *Realpolitik*. He considered national and international morality fictitious: the only morality is that of the individual, not of states. ‘Realists’, wrote Carr, ‘... hold that relations between states are governed solely by power and that morality plays no part in them’.<sup>51</sup> This is also Powell’s standpoint when analysing morality in Thucydides. He was not shocked by the lack of moral considerations in the conduct of the Athenian delegates in the Melian Dialogue, and instead viewed their requests as natural and even necessary in the context of imperialism. ‘The whole dialogue’, Powell concludes, ‘is the most elaborately finished piece of work which is to be found in the whole history’.<sup>52</sup>

## 6. Thucydides in Italy and Germany

Since Powell was a proponent of a realist reading of Thucydides, he could not but despise pacifist readings, especially Cochrane’s *Thucydides and the Science of History* (1929),<sup>53</sup> since he believed that these readings ignored ‘Thucydides’ ceaseless insistence on the changeless trends of human nature and the essential bi-polarity of Greece’.<sup>54</sup> It is significant that Powell employs the term ‘bi-polarity’: the concept was later discussed by Hans Morgenthau in *American Foreign Policy* in a section that is believed to be largely inspired by Thucydides.<sup>55</sup>

According to Powell, in contemporary Thucydidean studies there is something worse than pacifism, and that is ‘the national creed of modern Germany’. However, before focusing on Nazism, Powell discussed Fascism and the Italians’ attitude towards the study of antiquity after the march on Rome in 1922. In fact, he deemed worthy of explicit mention only Momigliano’s 1929 dissertation on the composition of Thucydides’ *History* (published in 1930) and explained this lack of publications on Athenian classical history with the political climate. During Fascism, Italian scholars tended to focus on the Roman imperial age rather than the Roman republic or the history of the Greek *poleis*, and hence studies

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Deutscher (1982: 79).

<sup>51</sup> Carr (1939: 153). Woodhead (1970), in his lectures on *Thucydides and the Nature of Power*, similarly claimed that power in Thucydides is neutral and thus amoral.

<sup>52</sup> Powell (1934: 65).

<sup>53</sup> See Earley in this volume, pp. 67–87.

<sup>54</sup> Powell (1936d: 12–13).

<sup>55</sup> Morgenthau (1951: 34, 45–52). Cf. Bloxham (2018: 176).

on Thucydides languished. As Momigliano wrote in 1945, ‘il vero male fatto dal Fascismo agli studi di storia antica non sta nelle sciocchezze che si dissero, ma nei pensieri che non furono più pensati’ (‘The real evil done by Fascism to the study of ancient history does not lie in the nonsense that was said, but in the thoughts that were no longer thought out’).<sup>56</sup> Powell also finds time and space to praise Gaetano De Sanctis whose name must be given ‘the honourable mention of a courageous exception’.<sup>57</sup> Powell, as well as his audience at Westminster School in London, knew that in 1931 De Sanctis, Professor of Ancient History in Rome, refused to sign the oath of allegiance to Fascism and was consequently ousted from his chair.<sup>58</sup> Like Paul Maas, albeit in a different context, De Sanctis was the victim of a totalitarian regime.

Powell was a profound connoisseur of German culture: at his own admission, he learned German from Wagner’s libretti and read all of Nietzsche (see above, § 4). He employed his knowledge of German literature combined with his hate for Nazism to formulate a strong opinion on Thucydidean studies under the Nazis:

A peculiar kinship has been detected between the ancient Greeks and modern Germans, the two purest and greatest examples of Aryan humanity. Not only the Greek civilization in general, but Thucydides in particular, has proved exceptionally congenial. The intensely political outlook of Thucydides may be made serviceable to a doctrine which asserts the absolute dominion of the state over every phase of individual existence; and, as the more striking figures of Caesar and Augustus had already been captured as prototypes of Mussolini, Hitler might still be made to look very like Pericles, — or Pericles, rather, too look like Hitler.<sup>59</sup>

Nazi Germany, with its ideological refusal to accept Rome as the centre of civilisation, relied on the romantic and nationalistic idea of a link between the German nation and the ancient Greeks. Political readings of Thucydides in post-war Germany were widespread and indeed encouraged, as shown by the works of Helmut Berve in his *Griechische Geschichte*,

<sup>56</sup> Momigliano (1950: 105–106). The work was published in a Festschrift for Benedetto Croce, but written between July and November 1945 in Oxford, as recorded in the preliminary footnote to the article itself and in a letter by Momigliano to De Sanctis on 1 July 1945: see Polverini (2006: 30–31).

<sup>57</sup> Powell (1936d: 13).

<sup>58</sup> He recalled this episode in his autobiographical writings published posthumously: De Sanctis (1970: 143–157).

<sup>59</sup> Powell (1936d: 14).

Werner Jaeger in the last chapter of his book *Paideia* (vol. 1), Felix Wassermann's 'Neues Thukydidesbild', and Heinrich Weinstock's essay 'Polis, der griechische Beitrag zu einer deutschen Bildung heute, an Thukydides erläutert', all quoted in Powell's 'The War and Its Aftermath'.<sup>60</sup>

'Great stress', Powell remarks, 'is naturally laid on the famous description of Periclean Athens in II 65 [Thuc. 2.65.9]: ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή'.<sup>61</sup> In this synthetic verdict, Thucydides exposes the pitfalls of Athenian democratic government in the age of Pericles, when 'it was a democracy by name, but in fact it was the rule of the leading man'. It follows Pericles' Funeral oration (2.35–46), the description of the plague of 430 BC (2.47–54), the initial difficulties of the Athenians in the war (2.55–59), and Pericles' speech to the enraged Athenians (2.60–64). Pericles' leadership had led the Athenians into an inevitable war with Sparta, but Thucydides' judgement was still largely positive, especially in the light of his successors. The statement that Pericles was the leading man (πρῶτος ἀνὴρ) of the Athenian state has had several readings throughout history, from Thomas Hobbes and the Jansenist Charles Rollin to nineteenth- and twentieth-century interpretations of democratic Athens.<sup>62</sup> It has been equated with the *princeps*, a category created centuries later by Augustus.<sup>63</sup> But Augustus and imperial Rome were already the prerogative of Mussolini and Fascism, while the kinship between the ancient Greeks and modern Germans, established already in the nineteenth century, allowed Nazi ideologists to connect the Thucydidean Pericles with Adolf Hitler.

## 7. Analogy as an Historical Tool

Analogy is a powerful tool in historical analysis. Thucydides' text has often been employed to construct analogies between past events that he described and present situations.<sup>64</sup> We have seen this mechanism taking place in Powell's reasoning regarding Thucydidean studies. Thucydides realised that the conflict between Athens and Sparta lasted for 27 years from 431 to 404 BC, eventually creating what is known to us as the

<sup>60</sup> Powell (1936d: 14–15). See Berve (1931–1933), Jaeger (1934), Wassermann (1931), and Weinstock (1934).

<sup>61</sup> Powell (1936d: 15).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Iori (2021: 160–175); Payen (2021: 179–186).

<sup>63</sup> Canfora (2006: 13–14).

<sup>64</sup> A fitting example is represented by the considerations of German historians and classicists on the eve of defeat in the First World War: see Butti de Lima (2010).

Peloponnesian War. Powell used Thucydides' model to offer a reading of the contemporary international situation, where a rising Germany led by Hitler would soon come to a clash with its neighbours and the British Empire.

The same mechanisms of historical analogy applied to Thucydides are also employed in fields outside the Classics. The anthropologist Marshall Sahlins famously compared Thucydides' Peloponnesian War with the war between the kingdoms of Bau and Rewa in the Fiji Islands between 1843 and 1855. More broadly, he stressed the significance of culture for historical analysis and its usefulness for both classical Athens and nineteenth-century conflicts in the South Pacific.<sup>65</sup> Even more significant is Thucydides' use in the field of International Relations since the end of WW2, and especially after the end of the Cold War. The international relation theorist and founder of the North American realist school Hans Morgenthau considered Thucydides' history only tangentially, but it was through the works of classical scholars such as Donald Kagan and Victor Davis Hanson that neoconservative circles have privileged Thucydides as an authoritative foreign policy guide.<sup>66</sup>

The most recent exploitation of Thucydides' analysis of the Peloponnesian War for present political purposes was carried out by the Harvard Professor of Government Graham Allison in the book *Destined for War*. He claimed that a rapidly ascending China threatens America's supremacy and is thus set on a collision course that he labelled the Thucydides' trap: a rising power challenging an established one brings often to war, just like Athens and Sparta at the outset of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>67</sup> Similar perspectives are also encouraged in non-scholarly publications. The neoconservative writer Robert D. Kaplan, in a seemingly harmless travel book titled *Mediterranean Winter*, connects the disastrous Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415–413 BC described by Thucydides in Books 6 and 7 with the Vietnam War: 'The differences between the Athenian misadventure in Sicily and America's in Vietnam — which came to an inglorious end six months before I set out for the Mediterranean — seemed less interesting than the similarities'.<sup>68</sup>

Examples could be multiplied exponentially, but it suffices to say that these readings of Thucydides are often simplistic, and they certainly tell us more about contemporary concerns than the Athenian historian.

<sup>65</sup> Sahlins (2004), with the observations in Hornblower & Stewart (2005).

<sup>66</sup> See Lebow (2012); Keene (2015); Bloxham (2018: 174–177, 193–203, 224–231).

<sup>67</sup> Allison (2017: vii). See the introduction to this volume, pp. 1–2, for further details on Allison's controversial book.

<sup>68</sup> Kaplan (2005: 101).

Equating Pericles with Hitler, as some German scholars did in the 1930s, is just another case of historical analogy, even though considered controversial then and now. Powell was very much aware of the risks of studying ‘the pitfalls into which contemporaries have fallen’ since the most recent publications he considered in his paper show a very high degree of partisanship that end up being a caricature rather than serious studies of the historian.<sup>69</sup> He then added in pencil an interlinear remark: ‘Perhaps this paper itself has been yet another, though an unintentional, illustration of that’.<sup>70</sup>

## 8. Conclusions

Why is a paper delivered by a 23-year-old Cambridge scholar in January 1936 important to twenty-first-century readers? And why does it matter for Thucydidean reception in academia and politics in the past hundred years? Powell used Thucydides’ analysis of the Peloponnesian War to define the Great War and the upcoming Second World War as a sole great war: when he delivered his speech at the General Meeting of the Classical Association, he was aware that the conflict did not end with the Paris peace conference of 1919 — whose terms for the defeated nations were heavily criticised by Edward H. Carr — and used Thucydides to reinforce his ideas. He also exploited Thucydidean scholarship to consider the current political situation across various European countries: the attitude towards the historian tells us a great deal about how contemporary events shaped the readings of some significant passages in Thucydides’ *History*. Pre- and post-war evaluations of the Melian Dialogue are the most evident case of this phenomenon. We are faced here with an interaction between ancient author and present needs in politics and war.

Powell was a proponent of textual criticism as the highest product of intellectual labour. In one of his unpublished texts preserved in the Wren Library (‘The Textual Criticism of Thucydides’), he called textual criticism ‘the ideal education and the queen of the human sciences’.<sup>71</sup> So far, Powell’s methods and academic outputs have always been considered as strictly philological.<sup>72</sup> The paper ‘The War and Its Aftermath’ shows instead a great interest in contemporary politics, a strong historical diachronic perspective, and an analysis of scholarly works on Thucydides through the lenses of twentieth-century ideologies. In my opinion, the

<sup>69</sup> Powell (1936d: 17).

<sup>70</sup> Powell (1936d: 17).

<sup>71</sup> Powell (1936a: 5).

<sup>72</sup> The only exception being Earley (2020: 131–135).



unpublished paper delivered in 1936 shows the first traces of the future politician. Perhaps Powell's views of international relations can be traced back to his deep acquaintance with Thucydides' analysis of the great conflict between Athens and Sparta. As Camilla Schofield remarked in *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain*: 'Powell's understanding of international relations was at least in part touched by his work on Thucydides, now read by students of international relations as one of the first proponents of a "realist" approach'.<sup>73</sup> In fact, we have seen that Powell, in his unpublished Fellowship dissertation, considered Thucydides' work from the perspective of Realpolitik.<sup>74</sup>

In 1936 Powell was certainly not alone in claiming that another great war was imminent. After the horrors of the Great War, perhaps not everybody in Britain was ready for another devastating conflict.

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<sup>73</sup> Schofield (2013: 30).

<sup>74</sup> Powell (1934: 75), see above p. 102.

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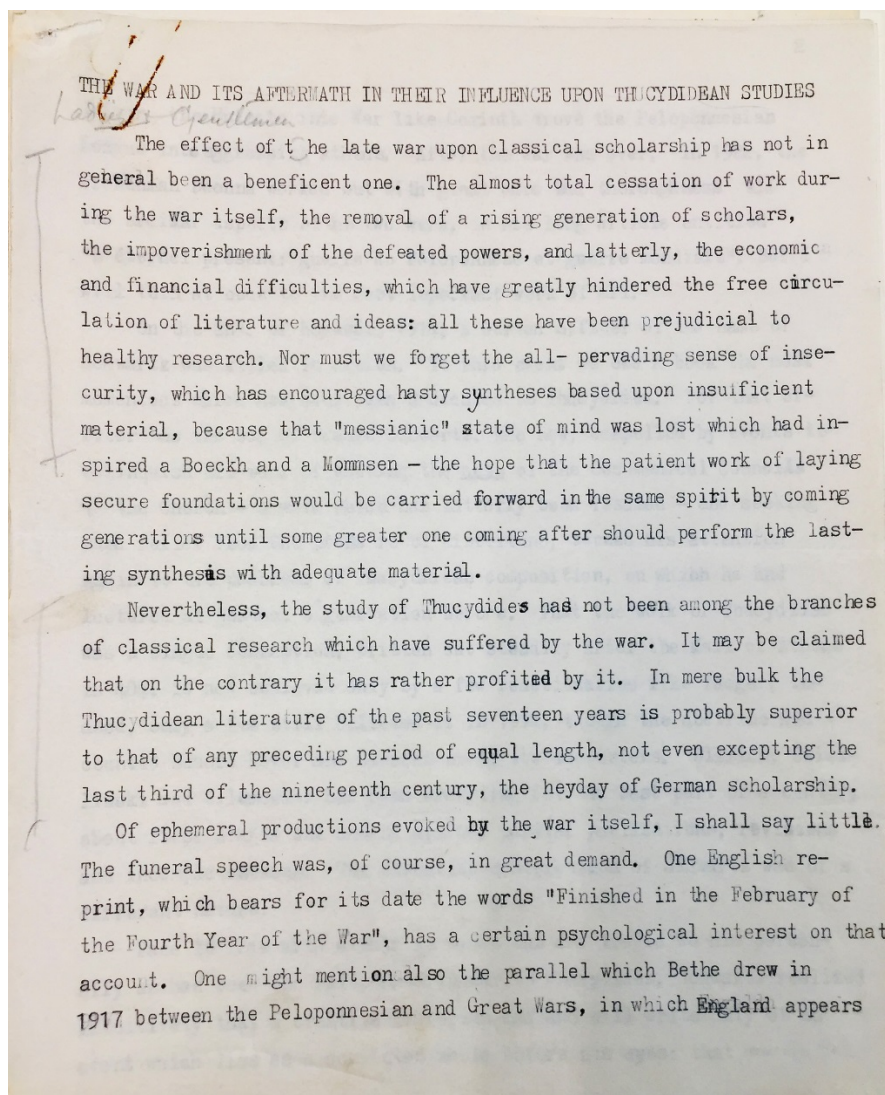
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## APPENDIX

‘THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH IN THEIR  
INFLUENCE UPON THUCYDIDEAN STUDIES’ (1936)

I publish here the transcription of Powell’s paper discussed in this chapter. The text is entirely typewritten, except for the Greek text which is handwritten by pen, the heading ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ (handwritten in pencil), and a sentence on p. 17. The transcription faithfully reproduces the original text: I have only added a few references and explanatory notes in the footnotes and reported the original page-number in brackets.



**Fig. 1** John Enoch Powell (1936), ‘The War and its Aftermath in their Influence upon Thucydidean Studies’, Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge, POLL 1/6/19, p. 1.

## TRANSCRIPTION

[p. 1]

THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH IN  
THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THUCYDIDEAN STUDIES

Ladies and Gentlemen,<sup>75</sup>

The effect of the late war upon classical scholarship has not in general been a beneficent one. The almost total cessation of work during the war itself, the removal of a rising generation of scholars, the impoverishment of the defeated powers, and latterly, the economic and financial difficulties, which have greatly hindered the free circulation of literature and ideas: all these have been prejudicial to healthy research. Nor must we forget the all-pervading sense of insecurity, which has encouraged hasty syntheses based upon insufficient material, because that “messianic” state of mind was lost which had inspired a Boeckh and a Mommsen — the hope that the patient work of laying secure foundations would be carried forward in the same spirit by coming generations until some greater one coming after should perform the lasting synthesis with adequate material.

Nevertheless, the study of Thucydides has not been among the branches of classical research which have suffered by the war. It may be claimed that on the contrary it has rather profited by it. In mere bulk the Thucydidean literature of the past seventeen years is probably superior to that of any preceding period of equal length, not even excepting the last third of the nineteenth century, the heyday of German scholarship.

Of ephemeral productions evoked by the war itself, I shall say little. The funeral speech was, of course, in great demand. One English reprint, which bears for its date the words “Finished in the February of the Fourth Year of the War”, has a certain psychological interest on that account. One might mention also the parallel which Bethe draw in 1917 between the Peloponnesian and Great Wars, in which England appears [p. 2] driving the Entente into War like Corinth drove the Peloponnesian League into aggressing Athens. After the war was over, in 1922, the Frenchman Deonna worked out with great care and thoroughness all the similar aspects of the two wars, in his long article entitled “L'éternel present: guerre du Péloponnèse et guerre mondiale”. But I will turn at once to the most important work of all.

On the 2nd of November 1914, a German officer of the name of Schwartz was killed in action. To this event we owe a book the most momentous which has ever been dedicated to Thucydides. For that officer was the son of Eduard Schwartz, who now, compelled by events to relinquish his work of editing the acta of the Oecumenical Councils of the Church — a work which has latterly been resumed — and seeking some relief from the pressure of misfortune,

<sup>75</sup> Added by pencil.

turned his attention again to the problems of Thucydidean composition, on which he had lectured at Rostock a generation before. That the work of Thucydides was a single conception, written out steadily after the fall of Athens in 404, is now believed only by a few reactionaries like Taeger; indeed, only a few still believed it in 1914, though the doctrine had counted Eduard Meyer and Classen among its supporters. Ullrich, Cwicklinski and Wilamowitz had been wrangling for the best part of a century about first drafts and second drafts, partial publications, revisions and incompletenesses. The essential contribution of Schwartz was of a different nature.

Face to face with events as momentous and tragic to him personally as had been the Peloponnesian war to Thucydides, Schwartz realised intuitively that a creative historian can and will write only of an event which lies as a completed whole before his eyes: that *σκοπέειν τὴν [p. 3] τελευτήν*,<sup>76</sup> true or not in ethics, is in history-writing an absolute law. From this realization followed a theory of Thucydidean composition which has been accepted ever since in its main lines, though its details are incessantly being tested, disputed and altered.

When the Archidamian war came to an end in 421, Thucydides, supposing like the rest of his contemporaries that the crisis was over and that Athens had won moral victory at least, set to work upon this unity, the Ten Years War. But within a few years the march of events taught him that the war must be resumed and fought to a finish. He therefore laid down his pen until the issue — this time, the final issue — should permit him to resume it. By this time he had reached a point in his first draft somewhere about the end of Book III. The Sicilian Expedition came and went, ending in disaster. Here at any rate was a perfect, if subordinate, unit. The restless mind of Thucydides seized upon it and shaped it into the only finished episode which he was destined ever to accomplish. As the Ionian war proceeded, there came a period in which a successful issue seemed not far off: we all remember Thucydides' enthusiastic praise of the restored moderate democracy of 411, which was followed by a series of victories. The historian felt himself able to resume work; and to this misjudgment we owe the existence of Book VIII. But the war continued, and Book VIII tails off in the middle of a sentence. Thenceforward Thucydides occupied himself in provisionally completing the Archidamian war from the point at which he had left off years before; until at last in 404 the final catastrophe presented him with that unity for which he had waited so long and which, when it came, was so different from the one he had originally expected.

Schwartz' second intuition was a vivid apprehension of the state of [p. 4] mind in which the historian, returned to his broken city after long exile, threw himself into the final phase of his work. By 1917 large sections of the German public were beginning to despair of the policy and the principles which had led them into the war. The rise could already be foreseen of a new generation, to which the German empire of the nineteenth century would seem anything but the glorious reality that it had been to the contemporaries of a Wilamowitz and

<sup>76</sup> A reference to Hdt. 1.32.9.



a Schwartz. Thucydides had stood in much the same relation to the epigoni of the Periclean age. And from this standpoint Schwartz won a vivid sympathy for ruthlessness — the ferocity, almost — with which Thucydides dismembered his previous work and set himself to rebuild it.

The central pillar of the new edifice was a belief in the inevitable nature of the struggle as the collision between two state-systems spiritually as well as physically opposed and concentrated around Sparta and Athens as about two poles. From this central idea grew out, on the one hand, the Archaeology and the Pentecontaetia, dominated as they are by the same characteristic dualism; on the other hand, that defiant panegyric of Periclean policy as the only rational and statesmanlike attitude towards the inevitable despite its tragic issue. For us, the Funeral Speech and the Apology of Pericles are the culminating points in that fragment of his final plan which was all that Thucydides was destined to achieve. They are sufficient to give us an inkling of what we might have possessed had the historian lived a few years more.

And here, before I pass to the development of Schwartz's work by his successors, may illustrate by a hypothetical case the way in which [p. 5] contemporary events can help us to understand the processes of a creative historian like Thucydides. Let us suppose that in 1925, say, a young Englishman addresses himself to a history of the Great War. It is to be a tragic whole, tracing German imperialism from its roots in the Napoleonic period to the final dissolution in 1918. He has made some progress with this scheme, when events in Europe apprise him that the war of 1914–1918 was only part of a larger contest still undecided. In 1935 and 1936 he occupies himself by recording provisionally the isolated conflicts which verge towards a greater. After which, he becomes a passive spectator, or an active participant, in the final struggle, until, as an elderly man in 1950, he can sit down to depict this greater and now finished whole, conceived as the historically inevitable self-defence and fall of the British Empire, and justifying to the world that humane and consistent policy which nevertheless might appear to have been the cause of the disaster. How much would the original draft require to be manipulated and altered before he admitted it into his finished work! And how great would be the contrast of tone between one stratum and another. This is not a very different situation from that with which we meet in the history of Thucydides, particularly in its first two books.

From this rather grim hypothesis we will turn back to those two scholars who have made the most notable additions to Schwartz's work: Pohlenz and Schadewaldt. Of these, Max Pohlenz, in a series of papers before the Göttingen society, overhauled the proofs of details on which rests the attribution of this or that section to a given stratum: in many points he succeeded in improving upon Schwartz. Of these I will mention only that the four speeches at Sparta in Book I, which Schwartz [p. 6] had split into two couples, the Corinthians and Archidamus belonging to the first draft, and the Athenians and Sthenelaidas to the second, were shown by Pohlenz — to me, at any rate, his proofs are convincing — to be a unity, written as a whole after 404.

More important than this, Pohlenz proposed a new criterion by which a speech might be attributed to the earlier or later strata. In I 22 Thucydides says that he will make his speakers say whatever is appropriate to the occasion, and will keep as nearly as possible to the gist of the original speeches. Now there are speeches, such as the Melian dialogue, which indisputably flout these conditions, just as there are other, such as the Corcyrean and Corinthian appeals to Athens in Book I, of which it may be claimed that they fulfil the promise. Pohlenz therefore proposed that the promise itself and the speeches which conform to it are early, while the speeches which violate dramatic probability in pursuit of a higher order of truth belong to the historian's later work.

This conception of a growing independence in Thucydides' attitude towards his material — a conception which had been implicit already in the work of Schwartz — forms the essence of Wolfgang Schadewaldt's contribution. In 1928, in an address given at Weimar, he attacked the problem from a new side. Everyone has been struck by the novellistic [*sic*] prolixity of those episodes in which Thucydides deals with Themistocles, both in his diplomacy at Sparta and in his banishment, with Pausanias, and with the Pisistratids. This prolixity, so much in contrast with the terseness of the surrounding Pentecontaetia or the grim relevance of the Sicilian expedition, called and still calls for an explanation.

Schadewaldt dubbed these episodes "paradeigmata", and elucidated [p. 7] them thus. He has demonstrated to his own satisfaction that the Sicilian Expedition was written up not, as Schwartz proposed, in 412 and subsequent years, but only in 404 after the fall of Athens. In the Sicilian disaster he proceeded to find the turning point in Thucydides' evolution as a historian, in that it first brought him face to face with the active operation of two powers — personality and chance — which in his earlier, "sophistic" days he had tended to scout. The history of the fifth century now began to present itself to him in a sequence of personalities: Pausanias and Themistocles, the types of Sparta and Athens, — Pericles, the spiritual heir of Themistocles, — Alcibiades, with all his faults, the brilliant heir of Pericles. The fatality of Athens had been her inability to tolerate just those persons who alone could have led her to success. Hence the ominous intrusion of the Pisistratid episode in the Sicilian Expedition at the moment of Alcibiades recall; hence the prolix and intensely personal episodes of Book I; and hence the notorious prominence of Pericles in the later strata. Schadewaldt, to put the matter in the nut-shell, made Thucydides develop [*sic*] from a historical scientist into a historical artist.

Although there have been indications of late that Professor Jacoby of Kiel contemplates a new attempt upon the stratification of Thucydides, it may, I think, safely be said that the lode which Schwartz opened in the days of the War is now well nigh worked out. Our conception of Thucydides as a personality has been immeasurably enriched by the work of Schwartz and his successors: for final consensus upon matters of detail, we shall have to wait till the controversies have died down and, to some extent, been forgotten.

[p. 8] Meanwhile you have perhaps been wondering whether it is only in Germany that the War had its influence on the study of Thucydides. It is natural that the influence should be most strongly marked in the country which has

hitherto produced the most literature on classical subjects, and which, as the defeated party, was most intimately touched by the war. Nevertheless, we are not without material from elsewhere. Many a pocket-edition of Thucydides, as I can testify from personal information, went into the trenches on both sides of the line. A highly gifted French journalist and critic, of the name Thibaudet, composed while on active service a study of the historian entitled “La campagne avec Thucydide”, which proved so popular that by 1922 it had attained to its seventh edition. In English the book of G.F. Abbott, “Thucydides, a Study in historical Reality”, was avowedly an offspring of the War, though not published until 1925. The two works may well be coupled together; for both writers were inspired by a belief in the spiritual similarity of the Peloponnesian and the Great Wars, and had re-read their Thucydides from that point of view. Widely though they differ in the particular conclusions at which they arrive, — the Frenchman is much the more alive to political realities — both exhibit characteristic features of the change which the War has wrought in our moral attitude to Thucydides, as opposed to the higher criticism of his text. To put the matter in a word, we have become more tolerant. To appreciate the gulf which separates pre- and post-war in this respect, one should for example turn from the priggish superiority of some of Arnold’s appendices, or the theoretical detachment of pre-war books like “Thucydides Mythistoricus”, to the ardent sense of kinship which animates a Thibaudet or an Abbott.

[p. 9] The central point on which any moral estimate of Thucydides must always turn is the Melian dialogue. And in the opinions expressed about the purpose of this dialogue the change of attitude since the War has been most marked. Amongst pre-war writers, I know of only one dissentient from the otherwise universal belief that the dialogue is a condemnation of Athenian imperialism. The dissentient is the late Prof. J.B. Bury, the “rationalist”, in those two chapters of his “Ancient Greek Historians” which are devoted to Thucydides. He ventured there to express the opinion that Thucydides took neither side, but developed both with an inexorable logic from the situation of either party. During the war, the Dialogue was much in men’s mind. Montague Butler, for instance, the then Master of Trinity, wrote to his son in 1915, telling him to “re-read the Melian dialogue, with Prussia and Belgium as protagonists”. Deonna, in the essay already referred to, is inclined to make a similar application. But meanwhile, on the German side, the Dialogue was beginning to take on a very different aspect.

Those signs of Thucydides’ moral disapprobation of Athenian policy, which before had been so evident to everyone, could now no longer be found. Instead, the student now saw the two irreconcilable principles of imperialism and nationalism expounded, without *hybris* on either side, in a language of striking power and beauty. And it was noticed that when Thucydides came to tot up the account, there was a distinct balance in favour of Athens.

[section added on an unnumbered page following p. 9] In a paper on “Politics and Morality in the Ancient World” contributed by Wilhelm Nestle to

Neue Jahrbücher for 1918, the Melian dialogue is interpreted, after Nietzsche,<sup>77</sup> as an essay on the irrelevance of morality to politics where the Athenians express the historian's own convictions. Nestle concludes with a significant sentence: "The manifestoes of our enemies reek of morality, humanity and liberality, of love and service for humanity, while their actions are those of the most ruthless policy; and when they attempt to lame our determination by their moral outcry against militarism and Machtpolitik — an attempt which unhappily appears to be successful with no small section of the German public — then we possess no better antidote against this dangerous suggestion than to study deeply the reality of politics, as Thucydides and Machiavelli after him have taught us to apprehend it".

[p. 9 continued] From Schwartz onwards, the *communis opinio* has everywhere been, that either Thucydides is absolutely impartial or else he sides with the Athenians. So generally are these views diffused, that in 1930 Momigliano at Turin could go [p. 10] a step further. Maintaining that the Melian dialogue belongs to the very earliest phase of Thucydidean composition, he actually claimed it as having been intended by Thucydides for the triumphal *finis* of the History of the Ten Years War as originally planned. Few will be able, I think, to accept this theory of Momigliano; yet many must agree with the summing-up of Schwartz, which I should like to quote: "Because the Melians refuse to comprehend that by the unalterable laws of politics a petty state has no *right* to independence, and that the Athenian demands do not exceed reasonable limits; because they would rather entrust themselves to vague hopes than coolly and calmly weigh up the distribution of forces, therefore a mind politically schooled must withdraw from their recalcitrant obstinacy the sympathy which a simple narrative of their hard lot would have produced if prefaced by no argumentation. The historian had good reason for leaving the last word with the Athenians".

But if Belgium, or Poland or Ireland (shall I add — Abyssinia?) have been teaching now one people, now another, the lesson of tolerance and an open mind towards Athenian action at Melos and its precipitate in Thucydides — a lesson which English scholars, at any rate, should hardly have needed after the Boer War — that is not the only change in our approach to Thucydides which contemporary events of the last twenty years have produced. Two of Thibaudet's chapters are entitled "L'impérialisme" and "La mer" — Imperialism, and the command of the sea, two problems which the war rendered particularly actual. It demonstrated to Germany the truth which similar bitter experience had taught Napoleon a century earlier: that an insular power will be invincible despite all defeats on land so long — but so long only — [p. 11] as it retains undisputed command of the sea. From this point of view, also, Thucydides began to be re-read: and the result repaid the effort. The Archaeology, the first Themistocles-episode (his rebuilding of the Walls and embassy

<sup>77</sup> Powell means the remarks in *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* in Nietzsche (1886: nr. 92).

to Sparta), and the Pentecontaetia — all were found to be strongly bound to one another and to the main history by the thread of “sea-power”. An analysis of the Archaeology from this standpoint has been most thoroughly and successfully conducted by Eugen Täubler in his “Archäologie des Thukydides” 1927. It has been put beyond doubt that Thucydides had grasped the fundamental importance of sea-power as a determining factor in Greek history from prehistorical times to the Peloponnesian War; and that from Minos who *παλαιότατος ὦν ἀκοῆ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτίσατο*<sup>78</sup> to the open exposition of naval policy in the first speech of Pericles, he is always quietly working to bring out the contrast of a land-power system and a sea-power system, and to emphasise the superior strength and flexibility of the latter.

Philosophic theory of the closing fifth century was already aware that with Athenian sea-power, Athenian imperialism was indissolubly connected:<sup>79</sup> nor has any question of Thucydidean criticism been more hotly agitated of late years than that which concerns the historian’s attitude to the Athenian *ἀρχή*. In the chapter on Thucydides in Dr. Glover’s “From Pericles to Philip”, which came out in 1917, we still read that “Thucydides makes it clear to those who can feel — not of course to others, for there is no evidence that he looked for a Thracian public — that he did not approve of the imperialism of Cleon and Alcibiades — nor of Pericles, after all”. But in the last twenty years students have realised more clearly than ever before that nowhere in the [p. 12] historian’s page is *ἀνάγκη* more dominant, nor morality more conspicuous by its absence, than where he treats of empire. Whether Pericles or Cleon or Alcibiades or Euphemus or some nameless Athenian spokesman has the floor, we hear the same argument, that an empire once formed is obliged by the inexorably necessity of self-preservation to pursue an imperial policy. It is the voice of Thucydides himself. And what has latterly sharpened understanding of this law, has been above all the predicament of the British Empire since the War, particularly in that aspect of it which may be labelled “Egypt”. I might give many illustrations: but Thibaudet will suffice; and I may add, that anyone who wishes for a clear and unbiassed exposition of British imperial aims will find it in an appendix to the Frenchman’s book.

It is unpleasant, but necessary, to turn from the illumination to the perversion which contemporary currents of thought have produced in the interpretation of Thucydides. The worst offender, as you will imagine, is National Socialism in Germany. But we will deal first with the effect of a milder complaint restricted almost entirely to Anglo-Saxon countries. I mean pacifism. It might be thought impossible to read the optimistic outlook of modern pacifism into a historian whose whole first book, in its final form, amounts to a

<sup>78</sup> Thuc. 1.4.1. Critical editions of Thucydides, including Alberti’s and the OCT (edited by H.S. Jones and revised by Powell himself), has *παλαιότατος* instead of *παλαιότατος*: this is a simple slip, not a variant reading.

<sup>79</sup> In May 1944, Arnaldo Momigliano published a remarkably synthetic, yet significant, piece on sea-power in ancient Greece where he discussed, among other things, the Athenian empire and thalassocracy: Momigliano (1944).

regular proof that, given the previous course of Greek history, the Peloponnesian war was logically inevitable. Yet the impossible has been achieved in C.N. Cochrane's "Thucydides and the Science of History" 1929 — a book which I am sorely tempted to designate as the worst on Thucydides since the War. By dint of selecting suitable passages from speeches and narrative, and ignoring Thucydides' ceaseless insistence on the changeless trends of human [p. 13] nature and the essential bi-polarity of Greece, Cochrane is able to reach the conclusion that the history of Thucydides "constitutes one of the most devastating indictments of war ever penned".

Yet though he is probably the worst, Cochrane is not the only offender. For instance, at our General Meeting three years ago, a celebrated English scholar linked Thucydides with Aristophanes and Euripides as a man after his own heart and an exponent of pacifist ideals. It is this misconception against which Abbott had not without eloquence argued in his chapter on "Detachment". Nevertheless the harm to be apprehended for Thucydidean studies from the now waning pacifism is not a tenth of that which threatens it from the national creed of modern Germany.

The effect of dictatorship on classical studies in Italy and Germany has been curiously different — in consonance with the divergent ideologies of Fascism and National Socialism. I am aware of no more than one single discursive Italian publication on Thucydides since the revolution of 1922; and in general there has been a marked decline in study of the free Greek and Roman republics, as against the Hellenistic monarchies and above all the Roman principate, upon which Italian scholars have tended to concentrate. For when every sentence is liable to be scanned for traces of anti-Fascist sentiment, it is obviously safer to begin by choosing a more congenial subject than a free Athens or a free Rome. But the name of G. de Sanctis [*sic*] must be given the honourable mention of a courageous exception.

In Germany, the effect of National Socialism has been the opposite. Racial doctrines, and political antipathy to the Holy Roman Empire and its cognate ideas, have had the result of discouraging study [p. 14] of the Italic peoples, and of Rome the mistress of the world. On the other hand, a peculiar kinship has been detected between the ancient Greeks and modern Germans, the two purest and greatest examples of Aryan humanity. Not only the Greek civilization in general, but Thucydides in particular, has proved exceptionally congenial. The intensely political outlook of Thucydides may be made serviceable to a doctrine which asserts the absolute dominion of the state over every phase of individual existence; and, as the more striking figures of Caesar and Augustus had already been captured as prototypes of Mussolini, Hitler might still be made to look very like Pericles, — or Pericles, rather, to look like Hitler.

There had been signs of the coming storm before it broke. Racial politics loomed ominously large in Helmut Berve's Greek History of 1932/3.<sup>80</sup> In Felix

<sup>80</sup> A typo: Berve's two-volume *Griechische Geschichte* was published in 1931 (vol. 1) and 1933 (vol. 2).

Wassermann's "Neues Thukydidesbild" of 1931, the claim was advanced that the Apology of Pericles and the Funeral Speech exemplified respectively the prime necessities of true democracy — absolute subordination of the individual to the state (Einfügung) and the existence of a leader (Führer). The three years of Nazidom have each seen a work entitled "Thukydides als politischer Denker", Thucydides the political thinker. Regenbogen, the author of the first, is still restrained, and discourages the hasty drawing of parallels without careful analysis of the original. But Jaeger, in devoting to Thucydides the last chapter of his first volume on "Paideia", is not ashamed to give the Thucydidean Pericles a number of touches reminiscent of someone else.

Finally, the dissertation of Dietzfelbinger published last year is a frank analysis of Thucydides as the early but unmistakable exponent of National Socialist ideology.

[p. 15] To anyone who desires a rapid insight into the pseudo-philosophy which present-day Germany is churning out to justify its régime, together with a synopsis of the probable effects of that philosophy in the classical field, I cannot do better than recommend a curious work published in 1934 by Heinrich Weinstock<sup>81</sup> and entitled "Polis, der griechische Beitrag zu einer deutschen Bildung heute, an Thukydides erläutert", "the Greek contribution to German education to-day, illustrated from Thucydides". The argument runs as follows. The old humanism of the nineteenth century was hopelessly involved with the fatal phenomena of individualism and liberalism. Now that the latter have happily been swept away, there must arise a new "third" humanism, worthy of the "third Reich". Hitler has taught us, that the individual can realize himself only in complete absorption in the state: Germany therefore must turn again to the Greek people, which never conceived of man except as a political animal, whose every activity is directed towards the state; it must turn above all to Thucydides, as to the essentially political historian of the Greek city-state.

The methods by which Thucydides is made to look National Socialist form a curious study. Using as his chief material the Funeral Speech, the Apology of Pericles and the Civil Troubles in Corcyra, (translations of which are appended,) Weinstock sets to work in the following manner. The reference to autochthony in the Funeral speech shows Thucydides to be conscious of the truth that only a racial state can be a true state — Blut und Boden. The sections of that speech which treat of παιδεία, declare Athens the School of Greece for the reason that she gives her citizens an education politically orientated. Great stress is naturally laid on the famous description of Periclean Athens in II 65: ἐγγίνεται τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή.<sup>82</sup>

[p. 16] Thucydides knew that there can be no true democracy without a Führer. And when he makes Pericles say of Athens, that the citizen οὐκ ἀπὸ

<sup>81</sup> He translated Thucydides in German into 1938.

<sup>82</sup> Thuc. 2.65.9.

*μέρους τὸ πλεόν ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται*,<sup>83</sup> he repudiates the numerical democracy beloved of liberals in favour of the organised hierarchy of a corporate state. Indeed, does not the whole second book emphasize the truth that upon matters of policy, the people are not capable of decision: their only natural function is to empower and approve the leader.

Two special curious features may be noticed. Nietzsche was notoriously a passionate admirer of Thucydides: he is also a deity in the Nazi Pantheon, along with Arminius and Wagner. He should therefore be particularly apt to Weinstock's thesis. Yet not only is National Socialism the evident negation of all the great atheist's ideals, but Nietzsche expressly admired Thucydides as the culmination of the sophistic movement, of which, as anti-political, individualist and liberal, Weinstock is obliged to make Thucydides the deadly foe. Unlike Italian fascism, which is atheist and anti-clerical, National Socialism hankers after religious justification, and represents the totalitarian state as the fulfilment of divine purpose, of the göttlicher Weltwille. Thucydides therefore appears as deeply convinced of the religious basis on which rest the state and human relationships generally. The Funeral speech and the Apology of Pericles — I quote Weinstock's actual words, to avoid the charge of misrepresentation — 'clearly, though with a manly restraint, point out the religious origin of all political existence, which can only stand on sure foundations when filled with the conviction that the norms of the racial com-[p. 17]munity are from God'. More clearly still, in his analysis of the Corcyrean revolution, Thucydides deplores the failures of religious restraint — *εὐσβεία μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον*,<sup>84</sup> and the immoral abuse of the divine gift of speech — *τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιοῦσει*.<sup>85</sup> By such means is it, that in the present-day Germany one of the chief monuments of the liberation of the human mind which is the deepest significance of Greek civilization for us, is being pressed into service as an additional justification for taking men's freedom away.

I have traced as best I could the reaction of Thucydidean studies to their environment in the course of two eventful decades. And if, towards the end, the country through which we travelled grew less attractive, or even, in some of its features, repulsive, I hope you will not have been thinking that I ought on that account to have turned aside or stopped short. Study of the pitfalls into which contemporaries have fallen, of the blind alleys up which they have been led, may have a very real value for ourselves. It seems only too clear that the genuine and beneficial impulse which the Great War itself imparted to the general comprehension of Thucydides has for some years been at an end. It has been succeeded by a period in which various kinds of partisanship run so high that any critical and discursive study of the historian, from whatever quarter emanating, can hardly escape the infection and must turn out to be not a

<sup>83</sup> Thuc. 2.37.1.

<sup>84</sup> Thuc. 3.82.8.

<sup>85</sup> Thuc. 3.82.4.



portrait but a caricature [*sic*]. Perhaps this paper itself has been yet another, though an unintentional, illustration of that.<sup>86</sup> In these circumstances, I conceive that our duty is one of ἐποχή — but by no means of idle ἐποχή. The text, the interpretation, the analysis, the historical and archaeological illustration of the historian all offer opportunities for the employment of abundant scholarly energy. Pro-[p. 18]gress in these ancillary but necessary studies cannot fail to mean that when at a more propitious season, synthesis can again be ventured, it will prove as superior to that of the last decades as this itself has been superior to the attempts of an Ullrich or a Roscher in the middle of the nineteenth century.

<sup>86</sup> The latter sentence (‘Perhaps — illustration of that’) is a hand-written interlinear addition.