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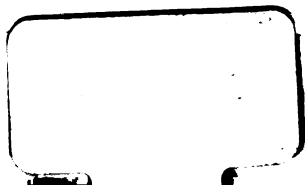
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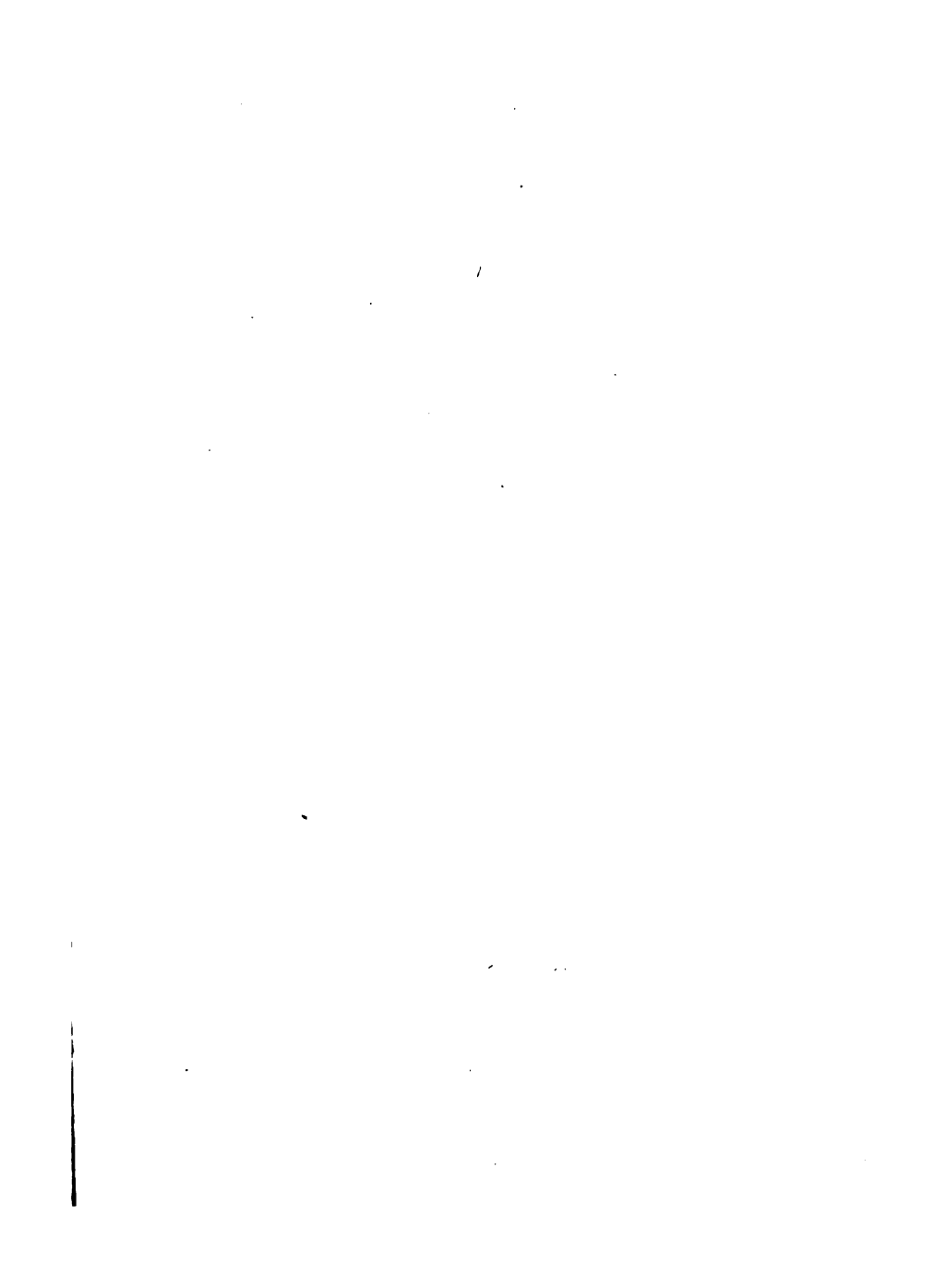
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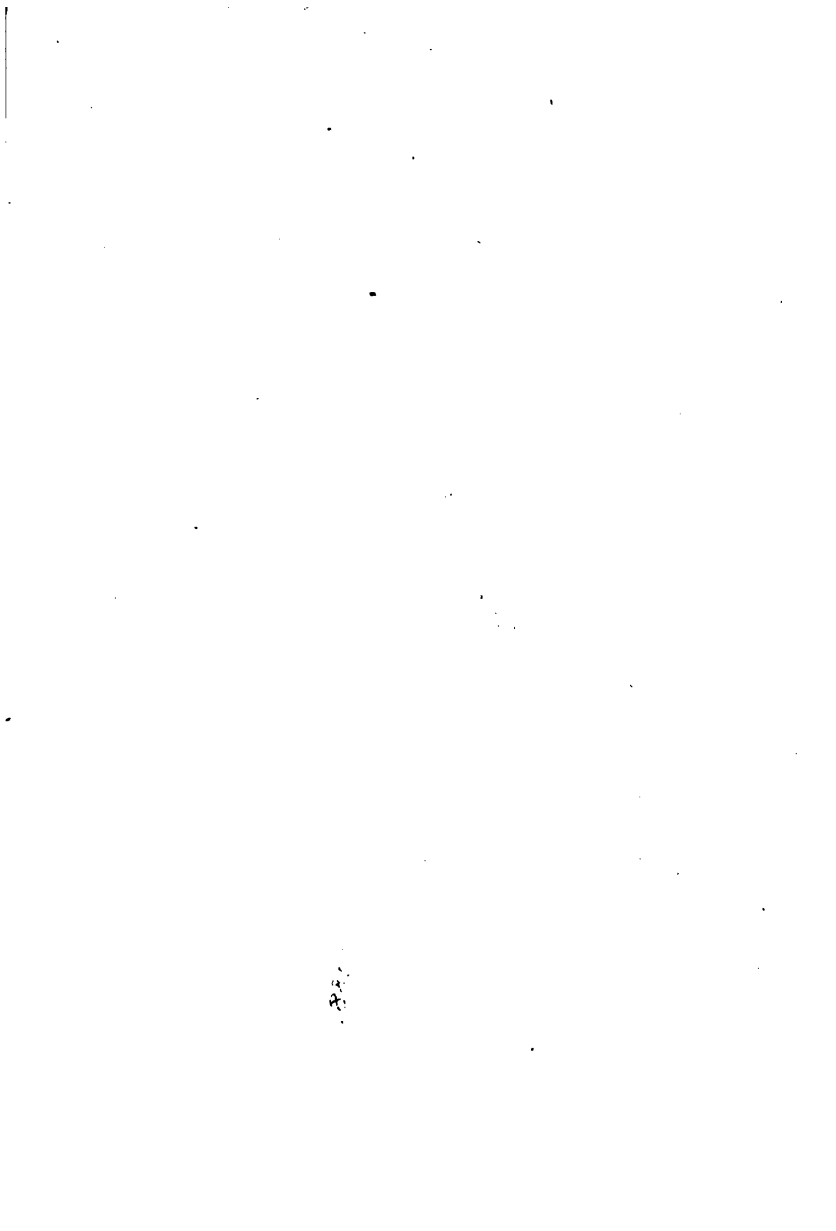
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XENOPHON
HELLENICA, BOOKS I, II

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE

PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

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P R E F A C E .

THE text adopted in the present edition of the first two books of Xenophon's *Hellenica* follows in the main the last revision of Dindorf, published in 1885, any departures from which are duly noticed as they occur.

The introduction is divided into several sections. The first tries rather perhaps to raise than to solve the main points in the complicated question as to the method of composition and the intention of the author in these two books,—a question, which, since the criticism of Niebuhr, has been vigorously discussed by Peter, Sievers, Breitenbach, and many other German scholars, but with results on the whole more negative than positive. The views taken in this and in the following section on the equally vexed question of Xenophon's chronology are chiefly based on those advanced by Breitenbach in his second edition in the Weidmann series of Greek and Latin Classics (Berlin, 1884). The third section endeavours to supply, from other authorities, what Xenophon himself almost entirely omits, an account of the internal affairs of Athens during the last seven and a half years of the Peloponnesian War; and for this portion of the introduction Gilbert's *Beiträge zur Innern Geschichte Athens* (Leipzig, 1877) has been found most useful. The fourth section states once again and discusses as briefly as possible the many difficulties of fact and of law occurring in Xenophon's version of the trial of the Generals after the battle of Arginusæ; and any completeness to which it may pretend is mostly due

to the many valuable suggestions kindly made by Mr. T. Case, Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College.

The notes are intended not only to explain the critical and grammatical difficulties in the text, which, though serious when they do arise, fortunately occur but seldom, but also to supply a commentary upon the history of the times, and to point out even at the risk of repetition the numerous gaps and points of obscurity in Xenophon's narrative.

To give greater completeness to the Edition, a chronological summary, a running analysis, and a copious index of proper names have been added.

Finally, the Editor is much indebted to Mr. Evelyn Abbott, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, for the great assistance which he has so generously given him, in carrying the book through the press, and for the many corrections and improvements which he has made for him throughout the whole work.

G. E. U.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

April, 1888.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA.

ALTHOUGH the writings of Xenophon, known as the Hellenica, have a certain unity of subject in so far as they all treat of Greek history, yet even a cursory examination soon reveals that they fall into two, if not three, parts, distinguished by intervals of time, by differences of style, and apparently by variety of purpose. The first part again subdivides into two, of which the one extends from bk. i. to bk. ii. 3. 10, and continues the history of the Peloponnesian War from the point where it was left in the unfinished work of Thucydides down to 411 B.C. to the destruction of the Long Walls of Athens—an event which Thucydides¹ himself takes as marking the end of the war: while the other takes up the course of events again after an interval of six months at ii. 3. 11, and relates what was virtually but another outbreak of the same war, down to the final pacification of Athens by Pausanias king of 404 B.C. to Sparta. The second part (bks. iii.—vii.) resumes. 403 B.C. the narrative of Greek history one and a-half years later, and continues it, without any serious break, down to 362 B.C., the year of the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. Two questions, therefore, arise at 401 B.C. to 362 B.C. once, (1) what is the relation of the first part to the History of Thucydides? and (2) what is the relation of the parts to one another?

As to the first question, evidence both internal and external alike points to books i. ii. being designedly a continuation of Thucydides. Diodorus Siculus (xiii. 42) says *Ξενοφῶν καὶ Θεόπομπος ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέλιπε Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιήνται*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus² and Marcellinus³ give similar testimony. And

¹ v. 26.

² Ad Pomp. 4.

³ Vit. Thuc. § 45.

internal evidence shows that it is not a continuation merely in the sense in which Thucydides continued Herodotus, or Theopompus continued Thucydides, by beginning an independent narrative at the point where that of the predecessor stopped; but that it was written with the express purpose of completing what Thucydides for some unknown reason had left unfinished. On no other hypothesis, except indeed that the beginning of the Hellenica itself is lost (which seems exceedingly unlikely), can it be explained why the author should begin, not only without an introduction—a preliminary which Xenophon dispenses with in other works—but without any explanation, however brief, of the events immediately preceding, and of the persons engaged in them, sufficient to put the reader in a position to understand the further development of their history. On the contrary, Xenophon plunges him ‘in medias res’ with the connecting phrase *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, which seems to refer to the battle of Cynossema, previously described by Thucydides¹. He is supposed to be already acquainted with Thymochares, the Athenian general, and Agesandridas², the Spartan general, who had a few months previously met in battle off Eretria; and also to know the place, i. e. the Hellespont, where the Athenian and Lacedaemonian fleets were stationed when this second (*αὐθις*) naval engagement took place; while not a word is said of the disaster which Diodorus (xiii. 41) relates to have overtaken Agesandridas off Mount Athos in the interval. Similarly, Dorieus is suddenly represented as sailing from Rhodes to the Hellespont, but in Thucydides³ he last appears at Miletus, whence Diodorus⁴ tells us that he had been sent by Mindarus to Rhodes. The Athenian generals are introduced with the article (*τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*) as if they had been already mentioned; but we are left to gather from Thucydides⁵ that they were Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus. Xenophon omits altogether to mention the movement of the Athenian fleet from Cyzicus to the mouth of the Hellespont⁶, and the corresponding movement of the Peloponnesian fleet from Elaeus to Abydos. So, too, (§ 6) Alcibiades sails up from no

¹ Cf. Thuc. viii. 107, 108 *πρὸς τὸ μετόπιστρον . . . ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις.*

² Thuc. viii. 95.

³ viii. 84.

⁴ xiii. 38.

⁵ viii. 104.

⁶ Cf. Thuc. viii. 107 with i. 1. 2.

one knows where, and (§ 12) Theramenes comes from Macedonia ; whereas Thucydides¹ had left the one in Samos and the other in Athens. The motive of Tissaphernes' journey to the Hellespont is never stated, and can only be supplied by a reference to Thucydides' narrative². All these passages, therefore, seem to take for granted an acquaintance with Thucydides, and if it be further supposed that the last fifteen chapters of Thucydides' eighth book have been lost—for to all appearances an interval of some five or six weeks must have elapsed since the last event mentioned in Thucydides and the first alluded to by Xenophon—even the points of obscurity in them are capable of explanation.

Again in books i.-ii. 3. 10 Xenophon adopts an annalistic mode of treatment, which it would appear from the later books was entirely foreign to his natural inclination for grouping events together. But so soon as he has brought his narrative down to the surrender of Athens, which Thucydides³ had announced as the goal of his undertaking, he drops this method, and relates the usurpation of the Thirty without any definite marks of time. And the fact that even in the first period he does not adhere consistently⁴ to Thucydides' chronological system of summers and winters, shows still more plainly that he was modelling his own work on that of somebody else. For once⁵ he forgets to give the beginning of the year, twice the beginning of the winter⁶, and, more often than not, he does not notice the end of the summers and winters—data which Thucydides never omits. And sometimes before he has finished with the narrative of one year, he anticipates the events of the next⁷. Further, Xenophon, like Thucydides, at the end of each year finds a place wherein to put a brief account of contemporary events, e.g. in Persia, Sicily, or elsewhere, which he could not well weave into his main narrative ; but, unlike Thucydides, he does not make it plain at what season of the year in question they occurred⁸. Finally, Xenophon⁹ skips over the interval of six months which elapsed between the surrender of Athens and the appointment of the Thirty without any definite mark of time

¹ viii. 92, 108.

² viii. 109.

³ v. 26.

⁴ Cp. *Intro.* § 2 on Xenophon's Chronology.

⁵ Probably at i. 5. 11. ⁶ i. 4. 20 ; 5. 15. ⁷ Cf. i. 1. 31 ; i. 5. 16.

⁸ Cf. i. 1. 37 ; 2. 19 ; 3. 1 ; 5. 21 ; 6. 1.

⁹ ii. 1. 8, 9.

at all, save the mention of an eclipse¹, so that, had we his narrative only, we should have no idea that any such interval had occurred.

All the evidence, therefore, external and internal alike, seems to show that Xenophon purposely intended the first part of the Hellenica to be a completion of Thucydides' unfinished history of the Peloponnesian War.

In discussing the second question, the relation of the two parts of the Hellenica to each other, we get little to help us from external testimony. A distinction into two parts does indeed seem to be implied in the words of Marcellinus²—*τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἐτῶν* (of the Peloponnesian War) *πράγματα ἀναπληροῖ ὁ τε Θεόπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν*. Similarly, too, Dionysius of Halicarnassus³ speaks of Xenophon's third great work as *τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ἦν* (sc. *ἱστορίαν*) *κατέλιπεν ἀτελεῆ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν ᾗ καταλύονται τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθέλιον, αὐτοῖς ἀνίστανται*. But both authors seem to make the distinction one of time only, and to regard the two parts as together forming a connected whole. Such a view, however, on a comparison of them, would appear to be quite untenable.

In books iii.—vii. all the trammels of Thucydides' system of arrangement and chronology disappear. Though they contain the history of forty years, the beginnings of years are only twice noticed⁴. Summers and winters are no longer taken as formal marks of time, but are casually mentioned only in conjunction with events⁵. And the events themselves are no more related year by year in the order that they occurred, but Xenophon groups them together wherever he sees a causal nexus between them, often narrating a connected series of events quite continuously, and then returning to his starting-point in order to bring up the general course of Greek history to the same date⁶.

Again, although even in the first two books Xenophon⁷ once breaks through the impersonal style of writing, which he had inherited from Thucydides, and in two or three other passages

¹ ii. 3. 4.

² Vit. Thuc. § 45.

³ Ep. ad Pomp. 4.

⁴ Cf. vii. i. 1; 2. 10.

⁵ Cf. iii. 2. 6; iv. 8. 7.

⁶ Cf. iii. i. 1–iii. 2. 20 with iii. 2. 21–31.

⁷ ii. 3. 56.

adds moral comments, such as are hardly to be found in the earlier historian, still in the later books he allows his own moral and theological proclivities to appear much more on the surface. The general theme of the five books seems to be the rise and downfall of Spartan greatness¹. As formerly in Athens, so now at Sparta, power gives birth to *ὕβρις*, *ὑβρις* to impiety, and impiety soon brings punishment in its train². Unwarned by examples, the Thebans use their supremacy with an insolence equally great, and are overtaken with a ruin still more rapid. As with states, so with individuals. Dercyllidas and Agesilaus show reverence towards the gods³, and reap an immediate reward for their piety: impiety as quickly meets with punishment. Xenophon is no longer the simple annalist of facts; now he appears in his better known character of the moralist, reading his lessons from the pages of human history.

The differences of style between the earlier and later books are no less marked. Books i, ii. are disfigured by omissions, by obscurities left unexplained, by unequal and disproportionate treatment of events, in themselves equally important, by unaccountable breaks and interruptions, and by a general want of finish—of which more hereafter. But books iii.-vii., whatever may be thought of their positive value as historical documents, contain a narrative which is indeed plainly and simply told, but at the same time with an admirable literary finish. In them Xenophon follows the requirements of literary, if not of historical, proportion. No incidents are related at undue length; no events, which he chooses to bring into his narrative at all, are scamped. The speeches and dialogues so frequently introduced are all appropriate and suitable to the occasion. In passing from the earlier to the later books, we seem to pass from chaos to order.

Finally, internal evidence seems to point to the earlier and later books of the Hellenics having been written at very different dates⁴. For in i. ii., with one exception, there are no allusions

¹ Cf. v. 3. 27; 4. 1.

² Cf. v. 4. 12; vi. 3. 1.

³ iii. 1. 17-19; 4. 11; 3. 20.

⁴ Rosenstiel (De Xenophontis Historiae Graecae parte bis edita) ingeniously tries to show by an examination of the use of certain words, and more especially of *ἔπειθαι* and *ἀκολουθεῖν*, and of *περί* and *ἀμφί*, that

to any event happening later than 403 B. C., though in several passages such allusions might have been aptly introduced¹. The exception is the last words of ii., where Xenophon speaks of the fidelity of the Athenian democrats to their oath of amnesty as continuing *ἔτι καὶ νῦν*. Here Niebuhr long ago pointed out that such praise can only mean that certain definite persons, who had been guilty of certain definite acts during the usurpation of the Thirty, had never down to that time been prosecuted or in any way attacked. Therefore the interval between the Amnesty and the time when these words were written cannot have been very long, not more than ten or fifteen years at most. Now Xenophon returned to Greece after his Asiatic expedition with Cyrus in 394 B. C. He must, therefore, have finished bk. ii. shortly after that date. But the last five books he must have written much later; for in vi. 4. 37, when recounting the events of 371, 370 B. C., he alludes to the death of Alexander of Pherae in 357 B. C., and in bk. vii. he ends his history with the battle of Mantinea in 362 B. C.

So far, therefore, it may be concluded that bks. i. and ii. were composed at a time, on a system, and with an object, quite different from bks. iii.—vii.

But, as already mentioned, the difficulties in bks. i., ii. do not end here: there still remain to be considered the strange omissions, the unequal and disproportionate treatment of events of very varying importance, and the numerous points of obscurity which disfigure these two books.

To begin with the omissions, which occur not only in the interval between the point where Thucydides ends and the Hellenics fall into three parts, the first extending from the beginning to ii. 3. 10, the second from ii. 3. 11 to v. 1. 36, and the third from v. 2 to the end. The first and third parts exhibit, he thinks, a more consistent use of the purely Attic dialect, while the second part is full of Ionisms. He therefore conjectures that the first part was written just after Xenophon's return from the expedition of the Ten Thousand, c. 400 B. C., that the second part was first composed immediately after the peace of Antalcidas, 387 B. C., but was re-edited (a hypothesis which he is obliged to make to account for the somewhat indiscriminate use of Attic and Ionic forms) at the same time that the third part was written, i. e. subsequent to 362 B. C.

¹ Cf. ii. 2. 19 with iii. 5. 8 and vi. 5. 55; ii. 4. 30 with iii. 5. 5, etc.

Xenophon begins, but frequently throughout the first two books. Xenophon does not mention¹ the Spartan offers of peace to the Athenians after the battle of Cyzicus, which, Diodorus says, were rejected through the influence of the demagogue Cleophon. The recovery of Pylos² by the Lacedaemonians, which the Athenians had held ever since 425 B.C., Xenophon represents as the mere expulsion of some runaway Helots; and he does not say a word about the unsuccessful expedition which the Athenians sent under Anytus to relieve their garrison in the place; nor about the recovery by the Megarians of their port of Nisaea at this same time, which had been in the possession of the Athenians since 424; nor yet about the battle, which shortly ensued, when the Athenians defeated the Megarians with great slaughter. Again, nothing is said about Alcibiades' plundering expedition against Cyme, though according to Diodorus³ it was one of the chief causes of the complaints against him, which brought about his downfall. Similarly⁴, Xenophon does not tell how in the year of his admiralty Lysander organized the oligarchical clubs in Asiatic Greece and the Aegean, which, after the battle of Aegospotami, did such good service to the Lacedaemonian cause. In bk. ii.⁵ Xenophon omits the selection of an oligarchical committee of Five at Athens, after the surrender of the city, who were called Ephors out of compliment to Sparta, and the struggle of some months between the oligarchs and democrats before the appointment of the Thirty, wherein, as a preliminary step, many of the generals, taxiarchs, and other important persons belonging to the democratic party were arrested. He omits, too, the third visit⁶ of Lysander to Athens in the autumn of 404 B.C., during which the Thirty were appointed, and also Lysander's further exploits in the Aegean in the next six months; and, stranger still, he omits to notice

¹ Cf. i. 1. 23 with Diod. xiii. 52, Nepos Alc. 5. The Scholiast on Arist. Frogs 1580, speaks of a second similar application after Arginusae, which, if authentic, is also omitted by Xenophon.

² Cf. i. 2. 18 with Diod. xiii. 64, 65.

³ Cf. i. 5. 15 with Diod. xiii. 73.

⁴ Cf. i. 6. 4, ii. 2. 5 with Diod. xiii. 70, 104, 14. 10, and Plut. Lys. 5.

⁵ Cf. ii. 3. 2 with Lysias xii. 43.

⁶ Cf. ii. 3. 2 with Lysias xii. 15.

Alcibiades' murder¹ and the share that Lysander had in bringing it about. So, too, the cruel decree² of the Spartans, forbidding any Greek state to give shelter to the Athenian exiles, is passed over; and the ultimate fate³ of the Thirty themselves is dismissed in a single unintelligible phrase.

Obscurities due to the omission of some important link in the chain of events, or to excessive brevity, are even more numerous. It has been already shown how Xenophon presupposes a knowledge of Thucydides, and that even then more has to be supplied to fill up the interval of six weeks between the two narratives; but the same defects are noticeable throughout. For example, the newly-appointed generals coming from Syracuse are made to take over the fleet at Miletus, which Xenophon had represented as built and still in dock at Antandros⁴. Thrasyllus was sent to Athens to procure reinforcements for the Athenian armament in the Hellespont⁵; but when at last he is given them, he takes them, without a word of explanation, to Ionia. No reason is assigned for the Lacedaemonian ambassadors and Hermocrates attaching themselves to the Athenian ambassadors⁶, to whom Pharnabazus promised a safe conduct to the Persian king after the capture of Byzantium. These ambassadors at Gordium meet other Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning from the king⁷, who are introduced with the definite article, as if already mentioned. What finally became of Hermocrates, when he attempted to return to Syracuse, is never stated⁸. Callicratidas at an important crisis sent ships to Sparta to procure supplies⁹, but nothing more is heard of them. Though in 409 B.C. Chalcedon was not captured by the Athenians¹⁰, yet in 405 B.C. it appears in their possession. Theramenes¹¹ in his defence against Critias refers, as to a well-known fact, to the banishment of Thrasylbulus, Anytus, and Alcibiades, although not a word has previously been said about them. After the death of Theramenes the Thirty forbid all *ἕξω τοῦ καταλόγου* to enter the city¹²; but it nowhere appears that they had been previously

¹ Cf. ii. 3. 42 with Plut. Alc. 39 and Nep. Alc. 10.

² Cf. ii. 4. 1 with Lysias. xii. 99 and Diod. xiv. 6.

³ ii. 4. 43.

⁴ i. i. 26 and 31.

⁵ i. i. 8 and i. 2. 2.

⁶ i. 3. 13.

⁷ i. 4. 2.

⁸ i. i. 27-29; 4. 7.

⁹ i. 6. 8, 9.

¹⁰ i. 3. 8 and ii. 2. 1.

¹¹ Cf. ii. 3. 44. with 13, 14, 21.

¹² ii. 4. 1.

driven out. Finally the Ten in the Piraeus are introduced with the definite article, although never before mentioned¹.

Still more unaccountable is the curious inequality and disproportionate length with which many episodes are treated. Personal details, as any one acquainted with the other writings of Xenophon might expect, are often given with considerable fulness, like the negotiations between Lysander and Cyrus², the stratagem whereby Conon contrived to send to Athens news of his blockade in Mytilene³, the measures adopted by Eteonicus to quell the mutiny of his troops at Chios⁴, the execution of Theramenes⁵, and the device of the oligarchical engineer to hinder the advance of Thrasybulus' siege engines⁶. On the other hand, many important events are dismissed in a few words, e.g. the expulsion of the Philo-Laconian party from Thasos and the consequent exile of Pasippidas⁷; the capture of Selybria⁸; the joint attack of Thrasybulus and Alcibiades upon Phocaea⁹; the capture of Delphinium by the Spartans¹⁰; the accusation of Erasimides *περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας* after Arginusae¹¹; the *στάσις* in which the demagogue Cleophon was slain; the revolt of the Athenian allies and the institution of Harmosts and Decarchies after the battle of Aegospotami¹²; the amnesty of Patroclides¹³, by which he attempted to unite all parties at Athens to sustain the coming siege; the opposition offered to Theramenes' proposals for peace with Sparta and the ultimate surrender of the city¹⁴; the appointment of the Thirty at Athens¹⁵; the return of Thrasybulus and the democratic exiles, and their reorganization of the constitution¹⁶; and lastly, the annihilation of the Thirty at Eleusis, and the final amnesty of Thrasybulus¹⁷. There is the same want of proportion in the speeches reported in these two books. While the speech of Alcibiades to his fleet before the battle of Cyzicus is dismissed in three lines¹⁸, the speeches of Callicratidas to the discontented Lacedaemonians and to the Milesian assembly are given at some length¹⁹. Similarly, only the bare subject of Alcibiades' speeches before the Athenian

¹ ii. 4. 19. ² i. 5. 2-7. ³ i. 6. 19-21. ⁴ ii. I. 1-4.
⁵ ii. 3. 56. ⁶ ii. 4. 27. ⁷ i. I. 32. ⁸ i. 3. 10. ⁹ i. 5. 11.
¹⁰ i. 5. 15. ¹¹ i. 7. 2; 7. 35. ¹² ii. 2. 6; 2. 5; 3. 6.
¹³ ii. 2. 11. ¹⁴ ii. 2. 22-23. ¹⁵ ii. 3. 2. ¹⁶ ii. 4. 39; 43.
¹⁷ ii. 4. 43. ¹⁸ i. I. 14. ¹⁹ i. 6. 5, 8-11.

senate and assembly on his return from exile is indicated¹; whereas the speeches of Euryptolemus in defence of the generals², and of Critias and Theramenes³, delivered on occasions of certainly no greater importance, are reported at an extraordinary length—greater, indeed, than any in the five later books.

To account for these defects various theories, more or less plausible, but none very satisfactory, have been started. Some of them may be at once dismissed. Thus there is no evidence, either internal or external, to show that for these two books Xenophon used the materials already collected by Thucydides for the completion of his work. Such a hypothesis furnishes no explanation whatever why some events should have been put in and others left out, why some parts should have been elaborated and others not, especially as in the more elaborated portions, e.g. the long speeches of Euryptolemus, Critias, and Theramenes, there are no traces of Thucydides' peculiarities of style. Still less defensible is the theory that in their present shape bks. i., ii. are an epitome of a larger work of Xenophon's own. For the characteristics of an epitome are to leave out unimportant details altogether, and to give a summary of the whole, laying most emphasis on the events of most importance. But in these books the case is frequently reversed.

More worthy of examination is Siever's⁴ theory, that these defects of omission and commission are due to Xenophon's partiality for Sparta and her constitution. In support of his view, he adduces the omission of the humiliating offers of peace through the mouthpiece of the ephor Endius after the defeat of Cyzicus; of the crushing defeat of the Megarians just after they had succeeded in recovering their port at Nisaea; of Agis' unsuccessful sally from Declea right up to the walls of Athens; of Lysander's organization of the oligarchical clubs among the Asiatic Greeks; of Lysander's cruel conduct towards the Milesians⁵; of the violent measures whereby Lysander set up the Thirty at Athens; of the part which Lysander played in procuring the assassination of Alcibiades—to which might be added the defective account Xenophon gives of the recovery of Pylos by the Lacedæmonians,

¹ i. 4. 20.

² i. 7. 16-33.

³ ii. 3. 24-49.

⁴ Comment. Inst. de Xen. Hell.

⁵ Diod. xiii. 104.

and the mean motive that he attributes to king Pausanias for checkmating Lysander's design of extermination against the Athenian exiles under Thrasybulus¹. But an almost equal number of omissions may be collected of incidents favourable to Sparta, and of insertions of things damaging to her reputation. Thus Xenophon never has a word of praise for Lysander, although he was the victor at Aegospotami, and the main cause of the downfall of Athens; and he evidently has a much greater admiration not only for the unsuccessful Callicratidas, between whose unselfish and patriotic behaviour and Lysander's meanness and ambition a tacit contrast is manifestly implied; but even for the hesitating Pausanias, who throughout showed himself at heart the consistent friend of Athens. Again, Xenophon omits the recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians, and the capture of Chios, Iasos, and Séstos by the Peloponnesians²—all Lacedæmonian successes most damaging to Athens. On the other hand, he relates in full the disastrous defeats of the Peloponnesians at Abydos, Cyzicus, and Arginusæ, and even gives verbatim Hippocrates' pitiable letter to the Spartan government. Neither does he gloze over the appointment of the ruffian Callibius to be harrmost at Athens, or the enormities committed by the Thirty under his sanction and under the protection of the Spartan garrison. Moreover, to take the converse of the theory, it seems to be just as much a matter of accident what incidents Xenophon happens to insert or omit favourable or damaging to the reputation of Athens. Thus, on the one side he does not relate the nefarious intrigues of the oligarchical party after the battle of Aegospotami, their appointment of the Five Ephors, their arrest under various pretences of the leading democrats, and their base invitation of Lysander to help them in suppressing the democracy. But on the other side, though he does indeed relate how conscience-stricken the Athenians felt after the battle of Aegospotami, fearing that now they themselves would suffer the fate that they had inflicted on defenceless people like the Melians, yet he omits Cleophon's opposition to Endius' offer of peace after the battles of Cyzicus and Arginusæ, and his still more foolish opposition to the comparatively mild conditions first offered by Sparta during the siege of Athens. Neither does he

¹ ii. 4. 29 φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ.

² Diod. xiii. 65, 104, 106.

record the failure of Anytus' expedition to relieve Pylos, and the subsequent trial of that demagogue, when he only escaped condemnation by bribing his judges, this being, as Diodorus¹ tells us, the first known instance of corruption in an Athenian law court.

It would seem, therefore, that Siever's theory is equally untenable with the others, and that Niebuhr's criticism is quite justified, that, however Philo-Laonian Xenophon may show himself in the five later books, his narrative in bks. i., ii. is quite impartial.

Later critics² have tried to discover traces of personal prejudice. Enough has already been said about Lysander, Callicratidas, and Pausanias, to dispose of the charge in their case; but Xenophon's picture of Alcibiades deserves more notice. It is true that he passes over some of Alcibiades' most splendid exploits in a word or two, like his capture of Selybria³, his escort of the Eleusinian procession by land, and his successful speeches in defence before the Athenian Senate and the Assembly. But, on the other hand, he passes still more briefly over his failure at Andros, his marauding expeditions from Samos in the winter of 408-407, for which the first complaints were brought against him at Athens, and his final disgrace and loss of his generalship; and he omits altogether the scandalous tales which Plutarch and other authorities delight to retail against him. Moreover, he even enlarges on the favourable feelings with which far the larger section of the Athenian people welcomed him on his return, while he dismisses the murmurs of his enemies against him in a few scarcely intelligible lines; and he dwells at some length on the patriotic advice which Alcibiades gave the careless Athenian generals just before the battle of Aegospotami, suppressing the fact, which Diodorus⁴ relates, that the would-be patriot was at the same time actuated by motives of private interest. The defects, therefore, in his picture of Alcibiades are neither more nor less than those to be found in his sketches of other persons, like Hermocrates, Callicratidas, and Conon, with whom he was certainly more in sympathy.

So far then the above examination has brought us only to

¹ xiii. 64.

² Cf. Hertzberg, Alcibiades.

³ Cf. *Plut. Alc.* 30.

⁴ xiii. 105.

the negative result, that there is no single key whereby to solve all the difficulties with which bks. i., ii. abound; and, indeed, that many of them admit of no explanation whatever. In some cases we can perhaps see that Xenophon's fondness for personal anecdote or interest in the art of war has led him to narrate little incidents, in themselves of no importance, at disproportionate length, but personal feelings either one way or the other do not help us to account for his omissions. Perhaps the most obvious theory to explain them is to regard them as due to want of personal knowledge; but even on this theory we can see no particular reason why Xenophon's treatment of events should be so uneven. For events occurring almost simultaneously at Athens, on the Hellespont, in Ionia, and elsewhere are related in one place with unaccountable fulness, in another with unaccountable brevity; and no known incidents of his life at all explain the difference.

Everything, therefore, would seem to point to Breitenbach's conclusion, hesitating though it is, being the true one, that bks. i., ii. are an attempt to complete the work of Thucydides, on the model of which they are manifestly planned, but are themselves for some reasons, which there is not evidence enough fully to explain, left unfinished; and that this want of finish is apparent both in the defective compilation of the materials, in which so much has been shown to be wanting; in the unequal treatment of the several parts, some of which seem to be only provisionally introduced; and in the obvious imperfection of the chronological arrangement, which falls so far short of Thucydides' system.

None the less it remains true, that Xenophon is far the best and most reliable authority for the last six and a-half years of the Peloponnesian War, and for the following usurpation of the Thirty. The orators Andocides, Isocrates, and Lysias, and the historians Diodorus and Plutarch, when they deal with the same events, can be used only to supplement, not to correct, Xenophon's narrative. Andocides and Isocrates indeed agree with Xenophon in all essentials, except that the latter always tends to exalt the character of Alcibiades, while Lysias was too violent a partisan of the democracy, and too much implicated in the events of the time for his authority to be preferred above that of Xenophon—e.g. in the picture he draws of Theramenes.

Diodorus seems to have followed Theopompus for his history of the years 411-404, and Ephorus for that of the years 404-403. Hence so long as he follows the former, who, having been exiled from Chios for his support of Sparta, was a violent oligarch and philo-Laconian, his narrative is intensely hostile to the Athenian democracy. Only in the bare facts is there any agreement between him and Xenophon, and even in these there are most extraordinary discrepancies, many of them owing to Diodorus' own carelessness in matters of chronology, which is so great that he often mixes up the events of different years¹. At Athens Alcibiades and Theramenes are his heroes, and are painted in the brightest colours. Every incident tending to glorify Sparta and the Spartan constitution is exaggerated. Every incident to the contrary is carefully softened down or altogether suppressed. Ephorus, on the other hand, was an impartial and truth-loving historian, and appears himself to have made considerable use of Xenophon's writings; and so with the change of the authority there is an evident change in the tone of Diodorus' narratives.

Plutarch, in his Lives of Alcibiades and Lysander, seems to have used both Ephorus and Theopompus, the former by preference. But his purpose being biographical, he aims rather to bring out the personal characteristics of his heroes by introducing striking stories and anecdotes than to give a consecutive account of a series of events. Still his two biographies are often useful for filling up some of the worst gaps in Xenophon's narrative: though wherever they differ in their accounts of the same events, Xenophon is always to be preferred.

If, therefore, it is in contrast with Thucydides' unequalled history of the first twenty and a-half years of the Peloponnesian War, that Xenophon's account of its conclusion in Hellenics i., ii. appears so meagre and unsatisfactory, it is in contrast with Diodorus and Plutarch that we are led to appreciate his merits. The later historian cares for history not for its own sake, but as an 'opus oratorium' in which he can display his own surprising talents. The biographer, however charming and artistic the result, evidently uses the facts of history only 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.' Xenophon alone by his simple and unvar-

¹ For an exhaustive comparison of Xenophon and Diodorus' chronology cf. Sievers, *Xen. Hellenica*.

nished style, by his evident impartiality and love of truth, even too by the very defects, which, however they may mar and disfigure his narrative, yet by their wholly fortuitous and unaccountable occurrence, tend rather to confirm its truth—leaves upon the mind of his reader the impression that his history, so far as it goes, is a history of facts.

§ 2. XENOPHON'S CHRONOLOGY.

CORRECT CHRONOLOGY.

B.C.	<i>Olym.</i>	<i>Year of War.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Ephor.</i>
411	92-2	21st	Theopompus	Misgolaïdas
410	92-3	22nd	Glaucippus	Isias
409	92-4	23rd	Diocles	Aracus
408	93-1	24th	Euctemon	Evarchippus
407	93-2	25th	Antigenes	Pantacles
406	93-3	26th	Callias	Pityas
405	93-4	27th	Alexias	Archytas
404	94-1	28th	Pythodorus	Endius

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLENICA.

B.C.	<i>Olym.</i>	<i>Year of War.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Ephor.</i>
411	93	23rd	Euctemon	Evarchippus
410				
409				
408				
407	25th	26th	Callias	Pityas
406				
405				
404				
			Pythodorus	Endius

In the first two books of the Hellenica we find that not only is the beginning of each year of the war marked by such phrases as τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἀρχομένου ἔαρος¹, (where Xenophon is evidently following the system of Thucydides²), but in several passages additional accuracy is apparently given by the mention of Olympiads, the year of the war, or the names of the eponymous archons and ephors, and also by the notice of contemporary events in Persia and Sicily³. But by all recent commentators such passages have been suspected, and in most cases with justice, to be interpolations.

It is true that both Herodotus and Thucydides occasionally give the names of Olympic victors: but Herodotus sometimes simply styles a man Ὀλυμπιονίκης⁴ as a general mark of distinction without specifying any particular victory, and sometimes relates the victories, whether in the chariot race⁵, pentathlum⁶, or pancratium⁷, as incidents in the lives of eminent men like Miltiades the Athenian or Demaratus the Spartan; but in no case does he use an Olympiad to fix a date. Thucydides once⁸ like Herodotus uses the epithet Ὀλυμπιονίκης as the mark of a distinguished man: twice⁹ however he gives the name of the victor to help fix the date, in the first instance not specifying the contest, in the second taking the name of the victor in the pancratium; but in both instances the celebration of the Olympic festival has an intimate connection with his general history of the war, and is not introduced merely as a chronological datum. Moreover, Polybius¹⁰ expressly states that Timaeus, the Sicilian historian, (flor. 264 B.C.) was the first to use the Olympiad as a chronological era, for which, however, the list of the victors in the less famous stadium or foot-race was chosen. Nevertheless, in i. 2. 1 the 23rd year of the war is called the 93rd Olympiad (really it was the third year of the 92nd): and in ii. 3. 1 the Olympiad is denoted by the name of the victor in the stadium.

¹ i. 2. 1; 3. 1; 4. 2; 6. 1; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1.

² v. 20.

³ i. 1. 37; 2. 19; 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.

⁴ v. 47, 71.

⁵ vi. 36, 70; ix. 103, 125.

⁶ vi. 92; ix. 75.

⁷ ix. 105.

⁸ i. 126.

⁹ iii. 8; v. 49; cf. 50.

¹⁰ xii. 12.

Again, Herodotus¹ once mentions the name of the eponymous archon at Athens to fix the date of one particular event, the invasion of Attica by the Persians; and Thucydides² sometimes gives the archon, ephor, and even the priestess of the Argive Hera, to mark some unusual occurrence; but neither of them ever use these official lists to distinguish successive years. Further, in two passages the names given in the text of the Hellenica are incorrect: for in ii. 3. 9, 10, a continuous list of twenty-nine ephors appears (probably inserted by a later hand), in which Pantacles immediately precedes Pityas, whereas Xenophon makes two whole years, if not three, elapse between i. 3. 1 and i. 6. 1, where Pantacles and Pityas are respectively mentioned, to mark the beginning of the years³; and exactly the same mistake is made with the archons. Evidently therefore the interpolator must have had before him complete lists of the ephors and archons, must have known the right names for the year 404, and then reckoned backwards from that year, but unfortunately overlooked the beginning of a new year in i. 4. 2, where no magistrates are mentioned, and also of the year the beginning of which Xenophon has omitted to mark at all. Of this however more below.

In three passages⁴ the numbers of the years of the Peloponnesian War occur. In the first the number 22 is right, and evidently depends on a comparison with Thuc. viii. 60, 109. The interpolator here, however, noticed the ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος of i. 4. 2, though in that passage he did not insert the year of the war; so that, when Xenophon again resumes in i. 6. 1 with τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔρει, he says that twenty-four years of warfare were now over. Really, however, the Peloponnesian War had continued for twenty-five years; and the interpolator was betrayed into this mistake, because Xenophon narrates the events of one year (407-406)⁵ without marking its beginning at all. So again in the third passage, instead of twenty-five years, it should be twenty-six. Thus the interpolator makes the war down to the surrender of Athens in the spring of 404 last only twenty-six

¹ viii. 51.

² Cf. i. 4. 12.

³ Cf. note on i. 5. 11.

⁴ ii. 1; v. 19.

⁵ i. 3. 1; 6. 1; ii. 1. 7.

years, whereas Thucydides¹ distinctly states that it lasted almost exactly twenty-seven years, April 431 to April 404².

As for the notices of Persian and Sicilian history, though it is certain that the chronology of the Hellenica does not at all agree with that in Diodorus Siculus, yet, as that author in well-known cases is so exceedingly inexact in his dates, this disagreement does not amount to much of an argument against them. The passages on Sicilian history, however, seem to be inconsistent with each other. For in i. 1. 37 Hannibal is said in 411 B.C. to have captured the cities of Selinus, and Himera; whereas in i. 2. 8, 10, 12 some Selinuntine ships are still found in 410 in the Aegean, acting as Peloponnesian allies, although Diodorus specially states³ that they were recalled to Sicily before the capture of the city. Again, the capture of Acragas is related twice over, once as happening in the year 407, and the second time as happening in 405. Diodorus puts it in the year 406. There is a similar inconsistency in one of the two references to Persian history. For in ii. 1. 8, 9 an event is assigned to the year 406, which it appears from Diodorus could only have happened in the year 405. The other reference, i. 2. 19, states a mere fact, which there is no means of confirming or denying. Inaccuracies of this kind, however, in a work left in so unfinished a state as bks. i. ii. of the Hellenica, hardly constitute a sufficient reason for bracketing them as spurious, especially when it is remembered that it was the custom of Thucydides, on whose system these books are evidently modelled, to insert at the end of each six months of his narrative such events as owing e.g. to their occurring in a different scene of the war, he could not weave into the main thread of his history.

We are left, therefore, for our genuine chronological data, only with the phrases *τοῦ δ' ἐπιώτερος ἔτους κ.τ.λ.* which serve to mark the beginnings of the successive years of the war, supplemented occasionally by additional marks of time like *ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος, χειμῶν ἔπγει κ.τ.λ.*; and here we are met by a fresh difficulty. For Xenophon continues Thucydides from the point where he breaks off in his narrative of the 21st year of the war

¹ v. 20, 26.

² For the list of ephors in ii. 3. 9, 10, cf. note ad loc.

³ xiii. 61.

in 411 B. C. Since the war ended in May 404, there ought to be seven such notices of the beginning of a new year : as a matter of fact, Xenophon gives only six ; somewhere or other therefore he has left one out, and the question arises, at what point ?

Dodwell, Schneider, and Weiske would begin a new year at i. 1. 11. But the events that Xenophon narrates between §§ 11 and 37 are all closely connected with each other, as well as by definite marks of time (cf. § 27 *εἰ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ*, § 32 *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου*), and cannot well be spaced over a whole year. Herbst and others put the beginning of 407 B. C. at i. 4. 8, but in that case it is hard to discover what were the movements of Alcibiades between the capture of Byzantium in 409 B. C. (cf. i. 3. 21) and his arrival at Samos (i. 4. 8) in 407, and how he could have ventured to return to Athens, if he had known of the intrigues between Cyrus and Lysander, which began in 408 B. C., and which they took such careful measures to conceal (i. 4. 1-8).

It is better, therefore, with Breitenbach¹, to suppose the omission to occur at i. 5. 11. For in i. 4. 21-23 Xenophon has brought down his narrative of Alcibiades' doings in the winter of 408-407 to his operations round Samos as his headquarters, which may very well have lasted till March or April 407. And in i. 5. 1-10 he tells us how Lysander, with the assistance of Cyrus, was occupied in collecting and fitting out a new Peloponnesian fleet, for which the winter months would be specially appropriate. Then having brought down his narrative of the movements on either side to the same point of time, he resumes at § 11 his account of their mutual operations against each other, which would naturally show fresh activity at the beginning of spring.

No sooner has Xenophon concluded the history of the Peloponnesian War with the story of the surrender of Athens, than he abandons Thucydides' system of chronology altogether. He does indeed mark the beginning of the year 404-403 with a τῷ δ' ἐπιόοντι ἔτει², but we are left to gather the respective times of the next year and a-half's events from the accidental mention of an eclipse (ii. 3. 4), of the end of summer (ii. 3. 9), of snow (ii. 4. 3), of the eight months' duration of the rule of the Thirty (ii. 3. 21),

¹ Jahrbuch f. Phil. und Päd. 1872.

² ii. 3. 1.

and of ripe fruit (ii. 4. 25). In fact, in this section of the book, Xenophon begins the practice, which he consistently follows throughout the rest of the Hellenica, of grouping events together, not according to the times at which they happened, but according to their causal connection.

§ 3. INTERNAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 411-403 B.C.

After the expulsion of the Four Hundred in the spring of ¹ July 411 B.C. the Athenian constitution became a modified democracy, which Thucydides ² declares to 410 B.C. have been the best government that the Athenians ever enjoyed within his memory. The two leading features were the abolition of all paid offices of whatever kind, and the limitation of the full citizenship to such Athenians as could furnish themselves with arms at their own expense. It was thus the nearest approach that we read of in Greek history to Aristotle's ideal *πολιτεία* ³, or model democracy, being based chiefly on the middle class, and combining in itself the best elements of oligarchy and democracy.

But though this constitution had already received ⁴ the approval of Alcibiades, and the Assembly had actually passed a decree for his recall, the breach still remained open between the Athenians in the city and the Athenians on board the fleet. The latter could not have been less than 10,000 in number, and had just unmistakably shown their democratical zeal in suppressing the simultaneous conspiracy of the oligarchical party in their midst ⁵: in fact, it was not until the return of Alcibiades three years later, in 408, that this breach was finally healed. Till then the city and the fleet were almost as much separated as two independent states; the city annually elected the usual number of ten generals; the fleet still retained at its head Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Thrasyllus, and apparently the

¹ The Athenian year began with the 1st of Hecatombaeon (c. the middle of July), when the magistrates entered upon their offices.

² viii. 97.

³ Ar. Pol. iv. 8. 3.

⁴ Thuc. viii. 86, 97.

⁵ Thuc. viii. 75, 76.

other generals whom they had chosen at the time of the revolution¹. Theramenes and Thrasyllus alone acted as a sort of go-betweens: for the former, being sent out by the city in 411 to try to prevent the Boeotians and Euboeans from building a dam across the Euripus, and failing in that object, finally joined Alcibiades at the Hellespont, and did not return to Athens till three years afterwards: while the latter, after the victory at Abydos in the autumn of 411, was despatched to Athens for reinforcements.

When at last these two divisions of the Athenian people again united, the union was due on the one side to a return at Athens, more or less complete, to the old extreme form of democracy, and on the other to the extraordinary successes of the *ναυτικός ἔχλος* under the command of Alcibiades. It is these changes and their connection with each other that must now be traced.

At the same time that the Four Hundred had been deposed, Thucydides tells us², a board of Nomothetae had been appointed with the object, if we may argue from the analogous appointment after the suppression of the Thirty in 403³, of adapting the old Solonian laws to the new constitution. Four months were assigned them for their work. But it would appear that nothing was really done: for six years afterwards Nicomachus, one of their number and called *ἀναγραφεὺς τῶν νόμων*⁴, had not yet sent in an account of his office, and c. 399 B.C. he was accused of having taken bribes to illegally alter and otherwise tamper with the special laws assigned to him for revision⁵. Thus the new constitution was never really put upon a permanent legal footing, and party feeling, which had shown itself in the condemnation of the most extreme of the oligarchical leaders, like Antiphon and Archeptolemus, was still too much excited to allow things to remain long as they were. In the early autumn of 411 B.C.⁶ the Athenians at home had been greatly encouraged by the news of their partial success at Cynossema. In the winter the general Thrasyllus, who had been one of the democratical leaders at Samos, had arrived at Athens with the

¹ Thuc. viii. 76.

³ Cp. Andocides, *Myst.* § 83.

⁵ Cp. Lysias l. c.

² viii. 97.

⁴ Lysias, xxx. §§ 2, 11, 28.

⁶ Thuc. viii. 106.

tidings of a fresh victory at Abydos, and with a request for reinforcements for the fleet. And in the spring **July 410 B.C.** Alcibiades totally annihilated the **409 B.C.** Peloponnesian fleet under Mindarus at Cyzicus. The completeness of his victory was vividly confirmed by the despatch written by Hippocrates, Mindarus' secretary, to the Spartan government for immediate help, which was accidentally captured and brought to Athens.

Once more the democratical party became active and powerful. For when the Spartans¹, in dismay at their defeat, sent Endius at the head of an embassy to offer as terms of peace, that both parties should accept the status quo, that the Peloponnesians would withdraw their garrison from Decelea, if the Athenians would withdraw theirs from Pylos, and that an exchange of prisoners should be arranged, the Assembly, notwithstanding the efforts of the *ἐπιεικέστατοι*, voted their rejection on the motion of the demagogue Cleophon. 'The Athenians,' says Diodorus, 'excited by their recent good fortune, thought that with their forces under the leadership of Alcibiades they would soon recover their old supremacy.'

Nor were their hopes entirely unfounded; for the victory at Cyzicus meant much more than the annihilation of the Peloponnesian fleet. It meant relief from the financial distress, which had prevailed at Athens ever since the Sicilian disaster, and more especially since the loss of Euboea. For immediately after the battle Alcibiades set up a custom house on the Bosphorus to exact toll from all passing ships; once again some of the Hellespontine and Thracian cities began to pay tribute; and once again the corn ships sailed as of old into Piræus². Money had been the basis of the Periclean democracy, and now money opened the way for a return to it. The fleet at the Hellespont maintained itself by marauding expeditions, and cost the home government nothing. Thus the President of the Treasury for the year was able to devote as much as twenty-three talents towards the expenses of certain sacrifices and festivals and of the *δωβελία*³, or Theoric fund, which was distributed among the poorer citizens to enable them to attend the theatre and shows, and which seems to have been the first of the

¹ Diod. xiii. 52, 53.

² i. i. 35.

³ C. I. A. i. 188.

distributions of public money to be restored. As the revenue continued to improve, the old system of payment for all offices little by little came once more into force, though the several dates of its reinstatement cannot be ascertained. Aristophanes in the Frogs¹, which was exhibited in 405 B.C., complains of the huge sums swallowed up by the *δικαστικὸς μισθός*, showing that by that time the change was complete.

There is equal difficulty in tracing the steps, whereby the restrictions on citizenship imposed after the dissolution of the Four Hundred, were gradually removed. Payment for public services evidently meant the readmission of the poorer citizens to the full discharge of all civic duties. But the means whereby this was brought about are unknown. All we can say is that Xenophon describes the Athenians as meeting for the trial of the generals after Arginusæ in 406 B.C., *πάντας κατὰ φυλάς*, as if by that time none were excluded from the Assembly.

One constitutional change can however be referred with certainty to this year on the authority of the historian Philochorus². The Senators, like the dicasts, henceforward were to sit in ten divisions denoted by the first ten letters of the alphabet. The reason of this measure is not stated, but in all probability it was directed against the members of the oligarchical clubs³, who were wont to sit together, and thus by their united action to acquire an influence totally disproportionate to their numbers⁴. Gilbert⁵ has ingeniously conjectured, that these democratical changes were carried through by a board of *συγγραφεῖς*, on the ground that Demophantus, the proposer of a decree of which more will be said hereafter, *συνέγραψεν*, and not, as usual, *εἶπεν*; and that an inscription⁶ of this year mentions *συγγραφεῖς*, though it does not explain the nature of their office; and further that on the analogy of Thucydides (viii. 67), when Pisander proposed to appoint ten *ἐνυγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες* and of Xenophon (Hell. ii. 3. 2), when the Thirty were chosen, *οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους*

¹ 141 sq., 1466 sq.

² Müller, Fragm. i. 403.

³ Cp. Thuc. viii. 66, esp. vi. 13.

⁴ A practice set on foot by Thucydides, son of Melesias; see Plut. Pericles c. 11.

⁵ Beitr. z. Inn. Gesch. Athens, p. 341 sqq.

⁶ C. I. A. i. 58.

συγγράφουσι, it may very well be argued that they were extraordinary magistrates chosen to draw up a new constitution, and this time in a democratical direction.

Two documents of this year illustrate still farther the growing power of the democrats. The first is the above-mentioned Psephism of Demophantus, preserved in Andocides' speech on the Mysteries¹, which decreed that all Athenians, both in the city and in the fleet, should swear to hold as a public enemy, who might lawfully be put to death, any one who should attempt to overthrow the democracy, or who should hold any office after the democracy had been overthrown. This oath was to be taken just before the Great Dionysia in the spring of 409 B. C. and finds its parallel in the oath sworn to by the Athenian democrats at Samos in 411 B.C.² The second is a psephism proposed by Erasinides³, who was afterwards one of the generals at the battle of Arginusae, that Thrasybulus⁴, one of the assassins of the oligarch Phrynichus, should be rewarded with a golden crown and the gift of citizenship, and that a proclamation to that effect should be made at the same Dionysia. Moreover at the same time the prosecutions against those implicated in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred, which had been suffered to lapse after the punishment of the worst offenders, seem to have been revived, and to have gone on with more or less vigour until the Amnesty of Patroclides in 405 B.C. Not only were individuals attacked, but whole classes, like the soldiers who had supported the Four Hundred, were punished with partial disfranchisement⁵, so that e.g. it was made unlawful for them to speak in the Assembly, or to become members of the Senate. Lysias⁶ says, that it was these prosecutions that ruined the democracy; for that numerous sycophants accused innocent persons for the sake of their wealth, while they left the guilty untouched, if only they were sufficiently bribed.

Meanwhile Alcibiades had pursued a career of unbroken

¹ Andoc. Myst. § 96 sqq. Gilbert, *Gesch. Ath.*, p. 344, proves against Droysen and Herbert that this decree belongs to the period after the Dissolution of the Four Hundred, and not to that after the expulsion of the Thirty. Cp. Grote, vii. 321.

² Thuc. viii. 75.

³ C. I. A. i. 59.

⁴ Cf. Thuc. viii. 92.

⁵ Andoc. Myst. § 75 sq.

⁶ Or. xxv. 14, 15.

success on the Hellespont and Bosphorus. In the summer of 410 he had been joined by Thrasyllus at the Hellespont with a considerable reinforcement from Athens, and the two generals combined to defeat the satrap Pharnabazus, first at Abydos, and then at Chalcedon, after which he was reduced to come to terms and to submit to see Chalcedon once more pay tribute to Athens. These successes were July 409 quickly followed by the capture of Selybria and B.C. to June Byzantium. On the other side the Athenians 408 B.C. had indeed to set the loss of Pylos in Messenia, and of Nisaea, the port of Megara—losses serious in themselves, but with little effect upon the revenue. Anytus, the demagogue, who had been despatched to relieve the former place was, on his return, accused of treachery, and only escaped, it was said, by bribing his judges¹. In the autumn of 409 B.C., therefore, Athens had regained the whole of the Thracian and Hellespontine provinces of her old empire, besides many of the islands in the northern Aegean. The Peloponnesian fleet had been annihilated. Pharnabazus, who had so long and so ably supported the Spartan cause, had been forced to consent to an armistice, and to promise a safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the Persian King. And all this had been mainly due to the courage and capacity of a single man, and him an exile; for Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission to return home granted him in 411 B.C.² So far indeed he had acted almost as a sovereign prince. Much still however remained to be done: Euboea and most of Ionia were still in open revolt. Before attempting their reconquest, Alcibiades seems now to have felt that a return to Athens was necessary for him, if ever there was to be a complete reunion between the city and the army. In the spring of 408, therefore, he sailed with all his ships to Samos: thence he despatched his friends and colleagues Thrasyllus and Theramenes to Piraeus with all the spoils of war and captured vessels to prepare the way for his reception, while he himself sailed with the remainder of the fleet to Caria, to collect still more money. The Athenians at home were by this time just as ready on their side to welcome him, and even before the arrival of Thrasyllus and Theramenes

¹ Diod. xiii. 64, 65.

² Thuc. viii. 97.

had chosen among the generals for the following year, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon. The news of his election reached Alcibiades at Gythium in Laconia, whither he had sailed from Caria, and he at once set out for Piraeus, which he entered on the day of the Plynteria (June), when the shrine of the goddess Athena was covered with a veil. Arrived in the harbour, even now he hesitated to land, so suspicious was he of the real feelings of the people towards him; and it was not until he had seen Euryptolemus and other relatives among the crowd that had assembled to meet him, that he ventured to set foot on shore. Then his partizans closed round him so as to form a sort of body-guard, and escorted him in their midst in triumphal procession from Piraeus to Athens.

In the city opinion was still much divided¹: some said, that he had been the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had plotted against him and procured his exile in order to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others maintained that he had been the real cause of all the Athenian misfortunes in the past, and would be just as dangerous in the future.

But for the moment Alcibiades, with his marvellous personality, carried all before him. The effect of his speeches in his own defence before the senate and assembly², was such that none dared raise a voice against him. It was at once decreed, that the column set up to record his condemnation in 415 B.C. should be cast into the sea, that his goods should be restored to him, and that the curse which the Eumolpidae had pronounced

July 408 against him should be recalled. He himself was B.C. to June proclaimed *στρατηγὸς ἀνακράτωρ* by sea and land, 407 B.C. as the only man able to restore Athens to her former power. The rich hoped to find in him a strong opponent to the ever-increasing encroachments of the extreme democrats. The poor saw in him a champion, who would relieve them of their poverty, and whom they would be glad to support, even though he should assume to himself the rights of sovereign power and make himself tyrant of Athens³. For the moment his enemies were silenced, although they continued, as events soon showed, as active as ever in their intrigues against him.

¹ i. 4. 13-17.

² Diod. xiii. 69.

³ Plut. Alc. 35; Diod. xiii. 69.

The demagogues seem to have been especially bitter, so completely were they overshadowed in the eyes of the people by their new rival for popular favour.

It was ominous too that Theodorus the high priest, in removing the old curse had said, that for his part he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth: while many of the pious and superstitious noted with foreboding, that Alcibiades had landed on the Plynteria, the unluckiest day in the whole year.

Meanwhile Alcibiades was occupied in fitting out a new fleet of 100 vessels, with the money that he had himself brought into the treasury. He chose Adimantus and Aristocrates, apparently out of the already elected generals for the year, to be his colleagues in the command¹. But before he sailed, hoping once for all to quiet the religious fears of the Athenians, as well as to assure them of his military prowess, he escorted with all his forces the annual procession along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, which ever since the fortification of Decelea by the Peloponnesians, had been obliged to go by sea, King Agis now venturing to offer no opposition.

At last in October all was ready for his departure, for which none were more eager than his enemies; some, according to Plutarch, because they feared that he would soon make himself tyrant; others, we may certainly suppose, because they wanted a clear field left them in which to prosecute their own schemes.

But during the four months that Alcibiades had stayed in Athens, an entire change had come over the aspect of affairs in Asia. The able and energetic Lysander had succeeded the incapable Cratesippidas as admiral of the Spartan fleet; and Cyrus, the younger son of King Darius, had taken the place of the vacillating Tissaphernes as Satrap of Sardis, and had announced his intention of supporting the Peloponnesians with money and by all means in his power, even persuading Pharnabazus, notwithstanding his solemn promises, to hinder the Athenian envoys from proceeding to the Persian coast².

Events soon proved the wisdom of Alcibiades' enemies in hastening his departure. His attack on the little island of Andros was only partially successful. Arrived at Samos, he

¹ Xen. Hell. i. 4. 22; Diod. xiii. 69.

² i. 4. 7.

tried in vain to draw Lysander out of the harbour at Ephesus to a general engagement. His overtures to Cyrus through the mouthpiece of Tissaphernes were rejected with scorn. Money and supplies soon ran short, and he was obliged to scour the neighbouring coasts on marauding expeditions, making in his requisitions, it would seem, but little distinction between friend and foe. To crown all, his lieutenant Antiochus, in defiance of his strict orders, ventured on a general engagement during his absence at Phocaea, and suffered a defeat at Notium; and do what he could, Alcibiades could not induce Lysander to give him an opportunity for revenge. Disappointed in their unreasonable expectations of a speedy conquest of Chios and even of all Ionia, the Athenians both at home and on board the fleet were now as vehement in their denunciations of Alcibiades as but shortly before they had been in his praises. All complaints against his conduct were eagerly listened to; and when Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, (not to be confused with the more famous Thrasybulus, the general), returned from the camp to Athens¹, and accused him of maladministration, of treasonable intrigues with Persia and the Peloponnesians, and of building forts of his own, like a sovereign prince, in Thrace², the people at once suspended Alcibiades from his command, ordered his colleague Conon to take his place, and in the annual elections, which happened to occur just at the same time, chose ten new generals, among whom Alcibiades was no longer one³. Alcibiades himself, finding that he was equally unpopular with his own troops, did not wait to hear the result of the accusations against him at home, but retired to his forts in the Thracian Chersonese.

At this juncture democrats of all shades seem to have combined to support the constitution, if we may judge **July 407 B.C. to June 406 B.C.** from the list of the new generals: for among them Thrasyllus, Leon, and Diomedon had all taken a prominent part in the counter movement against

¹ Gilbert refers a statement of Himerius (ap. Phot. Bibl. 377) to this affair: Κλεοφάν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγράφετο, and sees in it a formal *γραφὴ προδοσίας*. Cobet refers it to the year 415 B.C.

² Diod. xiii. 73; Plut. Alc. 36.

³ Plut. Lys. v; Nep. Alc. 7; Just. v. 5. 4; Lysias xiv. 38.

the oligarchs at Samos, in 411 B.C.¹; Erasinides² had proposed the decree to crown the assassin of Phrynichus the oligarch; Pericles was the son of the great Pericles and Aspasia; while Conon seems rather to have succeeded Nicias in the leadership of the more moderate party. The year was one of great financial distress, due to the difficulty of maintaining Conon's large fleet of 100 vessels, and to the Peloponnesians under the admiral Callicratidas once more taking the offensive by sea, and so cutting off the sources of Athenian revenue. To meet the deficiency all the gold in the Acropolis was coined into money³. Still, when the news reached Athens that Conon with all his fleet was blockaded at Mitylene, within thirty days the Athenians fitted out a fleet of 110 vessels, making all the inhabitants of Attica, rich and poor, slave and free, serve alike on board. About July, 406, the two fleets met off the islands of Arginusae, and the Athenians under the command of eight of their ten generals gained a complete victory over the Peloponnesians, Callicratidas himself perishing in the fight. In the ordinary course of things such a victory would have sufficed to insure for some time the political power of the successful generals. But unfortunately in the moment of victory the generals had neglected both to rescue the survivors clinging to the wrecks of the vessels, which had been disabled in the battle, and to bury the corpses of the dead. The news of this neglect excited great indignation among the Athenians at home. **July 406** A summons was immediately issued for their B.C. to June recall. Thereupon two of their number retired **405 B.C.** into voluntary exile: the remaining six returned to Athens, were hastily condemned almost without any form of trial, and all alike executed.

Although there seems to be no evidence for supposing the condemnation of the generals to have been due to an oligarchical conspiracy, its effect, no doubt, was to produce chaos once more among the political parties at Athens. Little indeed can be inferred from the list of the new generals, as they must have been elected just before the battle of Arginusae, which was apparently fought in June, while the trial cannot have taken

¹ Thuc. viii. 73.

² C. I. A. i. 59.

³ Arist. Frogs 720; Philoch. Frag. 120.

place till November. The democrats at any rate still clung to their old war policy; and Cleophon was again successful in procuring the rejection of a peace, which the Lacedaemonians offered about this time on the same terms as before¹—a fact which shows that the power of the demagogues was still as great as ever. Many, on the other hand, began to repent of their recent dismissal of Alcibiades, and even to advocate his immediate recall². The financial distress was greater than ever, and to meet it an extraordinary board of magistrates, called *Poristae*³, seems to have been appointed to consider ways and means. The fleet at Samos, paralyzed by the proceedings taken against its late generals at Athens, never followed up the results of its victory, though now commanded by the skilful Conon; and was soon unable to support itself by marauding expeditions, being entirely occupied in watching the movements of the enemy's fleet. For the Peloponnesians, after their disaster, had procured from the Spartan government the restoration of Lysander to the command; and he in the spring of 405 had completely restored its efficiency, being backed up, as before, by Persian gold.

It was probably about this time that the Athenians began to repent of their harsh treatment of the generals, who had won for them the victory of Arginusae: for in the spring elections Theramenes, who had taken the leading part in the prosecution, was rejected on the *δοκιμασία* after he had been actually chosen general, because he did not seem to be *εὖνους τῷ πλήθει*⁴; and at the same time complaints seem to have been brought before the assembly against those individuals, especially Callixenus, who had deceived the people in the trial. The assembly listened favourably to the complaints, and decreed that the persons accused should be bound over to stand their trial, but amid the internal confusions of the following year they all escaped. It is remarkable that Theramenes was not included in the accusation.

¹ Aristotle apud Schol. on Arist. Frogs 1532. Grote, viii. 1, throws doubt on this embassy.

² Arist. Frogs 1500 seqq.

³ Arist. Frogs. 1505, cf. Gilbert. Gesch. Athens, p. 387.

⁴ Lysias xiii. 13.

Probably just about the time that the newly elected generals entered upon their office, of whom only Strom- July 405
bichides, Dionysodorus, and Calliades are known B.C. to June
by name, all three being stout democrats, the 404 B.C.
tidings of the annihilation of the fleet at Aegospotami must have reached Athens¹. The citizens were at first stunned by the news, reflecting that at last the misery that they had inflicted on less powerful states, was about to return on their own heads². But next day the assembly met and resolved to block up two of the three harbours at Piraeus, and to prepare the city for a siege. Really little could be done: for the Athenians had no fleet, and the corn supply was entirely cut off now that the Hellespont, as well as Euboea, was lost, and the Peloponnesians still harried the country from Decelea. Five months, however, passed before the appearance of the dreaded Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was employed in the interval in receiving the submission of the Athenian allies, and in sending all the Athenian citizens and cleruchs, whom he captured, back to Athens in order to increase the number of mouths to be fed on the ever diminishing supply of corn. At last in November he appeared and blockaded Piraeus at the same time, that the two Spartan kings Agis and Pausanias advanced with the entire Peloponnesian forces close up to the city walls. Within the city, as a last despairing measure, the democrats carried a proposal made by Patroclides to grant an amnesty to all disfranchised citizens, more especially those who had suffered partial disfranchisement for the part they had taken in the Revolution of the Four Hundred³. The oligarchs, who saw that their day of power would soon and certainly come with the surrender of the city, seem at the time to have remained quiet. But the forces that the Athenians could muster, even with the citizens all thus united, were so obviously incapable of offering a successful resistance, that so early as December, when the corn supply had completely failed, envoys were sent to Agis with offers of peace on condition that the Athenians became allies of the

¹ Mommsen (*Chronologie*) dates it in the month Scirophorion (June to July).

² ii. 2. 3.

³ *Andoc. Myst.* § 73 seqq.

Lacedaemonians, and retained Piraeus and the Long Walls. Agis referred the envoys to the Ephors at Sparta, who alone, he said, had powers to conclude a treaty. But when they reached Sellasia on the Lacedaemonian frontier, the Ephors, on hearing the terms they had to offer, sent them back with an injunction not to return until the Athenians had come to a better decision. It appears however from the sequel of Xenophon's narrative¹, that they were at the same time informed, that a peace might be concluded if the Athenians would consent to the demolition of ten stadia of their Long Walls. For, when on their return the envoys announced before the Senate the result of their mission, Arcestratus was arrested for proposing submission to this condition, and at the same time Cleophon carried a decree in the Assembly forbidding any such proposal for the future on pain of death².

At this crisis Theramenes came forward and promised, that if the people would send him to Lysander, he would at least procure certain information as to whether in requiring the demolition of the Long Walls the Lacedaemonians meant the utter enslavement of Athens, or only a guarantee of Athenian good faith. Theramenes was accordingly despatched, but instead of returning at once with the necessary information, he stayed with Lysander for more than three months, waiting for the moment when the Athenians would be compelled by famine to accept any terms whatsoever. In the fourth month he returned, saying that he had been detained by Lysander, who had at last advised him to apply to the Ephors, as they alone had power to conclude a peace. Meantime Cleophon had been put to death on a false charge of failure in his military duties³, brought against him by the oligarchical conspirators, who were once again secretly active: and now hunger silenced all further opposition. Theramenes therefore and nine others were chosen to go to Sparta as ambassadors with full powers. At Sellasia the ten new ambassadors were again stopped by the Ephors; but when they said that they were invested with full powers, they were invited to attend a conference of the Peloponnesian confederates at Sparta, which had been summoned to consider

¹ ii. 2. 14, 15.

² Lysias xiii. 8; Aeschin. F. L. 76.

³ Lysias xiii. 15; cf. Xen. ii. 7. 35.

the fate of Athens. Here the Thebans and Corinthians advocated the total extirpation of the Athenian name; but the Lacedaemonians, guided, it would appear¹, rather by motives of self-interest than the patriotic sentiments, which they openly professed, refused to allow a city, which had wrought so much for Greek freedom in the past, to be wiped out of the map of Greece, and decided to offer terms, far harder indeed than those offered four months earlier, but reasonable under the circumstances. The terms were to be that the Athenians should demolish their Long Walls and their arsenal at Piraeus, that they should resign all their foreign possessions, and confine themselves to their Attic territory, that they should readmit all their exiles, and become the allies of Sparta, recognizing the same friends and enemies and following her leadership by land and sea. The number of ships, which they were to be allowed to keep, was left to the discretion of Lysander².

The day after their return to Athens, Theramenes, as spokesman of the ambassadors, recited the Lacedaemonian conditions, and proposed their acceptance. Even now a few, headed by Cleomenes, one of the younger demagogues, raised some opposition, but the prevailing distress was too great for any farther delay³. The peace was accepted, and on the 16th of Munychion (c. April) Lysander, coming from Samos, sailed into Piraeus along with many of the Athenian exiles. All the ships left in the dockyards were handed over to him, save twelve, which he permitted the Athenians to retain. Then his troops occupied the fortifications, and began the destruction of Piraeus and the Long Walls.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian War almost exactly twenty-seven years after its first outbreak in April 431 B.C.

§ 4. THE TRIAL OF THE GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSAE.

For this incident in Athenian history Xenophon, as being himself contemporary with the event, is undoubtedly the chief and the best authority. His account seems to be a simple and

¹ Cf. ii. 2. 20 with ii. 3. 41.

² ii. 2. 20, Diod. xiii. 107. Plut. Lys. 14.

³ Cf. Lysias xiii. 13.

impartial statement of the facts of the trial, and the points of obscurity are apparently due, not to any wilful perversions, but to omissions as to questions of fact and of law, which it is difficult to supplement from any other sources. Diodorus (flor. 15 B.C.) gives only a meagre narrative of the trial, based on Theopompus (flor. 333 B.C.), and evidently here, as in other passages, holds a brief in favour of Theramenes, though he condemns the treatment of the generals. Aristophanes' *Frogs*, exhibited in the year 405 B.C., shows us somewhat of the prevailing feeling at the time in Athens, and more especially as to the part played by Theramenes, which would seem to have incurred the general displeasure of the people. Plato (*Apology*, c. 32) and Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, i. 1. 18, iv. 4. 2) more fully describe the bold resistance offered by Socrates to the unconstitutional demands of the Assembly. It may therefore be gathered that the whole literary opinion of the day strongly disapproved the condemnation of the generals.

In his own narrative (i. 6) Xenophon gives a very brief summary of events. In the battle at Arginusae the Athenians, he tells us, lost twenty-five ships, crews and all, except a few survivors, who made their way to shore. The generals in command had ordered the trierarchs Theramenes and Thrasylbulus and some of the taxiarchs, with forty-seven ships, to rescue those still clinging to the wrecks, while they themselves sailed to Mytilene against Eteonicus. But a great storm¹ arose and prevented the rescue, and also, it would seem, their own passage across to Mytilene. Euryptolemus, however, in the course of his speech² adds several details. Immediately

¹ Grote (vii. 430) points out that immediately after the battle the Peloponnesian despatch boat brought the news of Callicratidas' defeat to Eteonicus at Mytilene, apparently without any difficulty, although its course was N.W.; and that afterwards the storm was not sufficient to stop the same boat from sailing out of the harbour and in again once more, nor yet to prevent Eteonicus' fleet from sailing S.W. to Chios: in fact the wind was *ὄβριος*, which means not 'fair,' but 'favourable': though it is true that Conon at the same time thought it more prudent to wait till the wind was *εὐδαιρέτος* before he started in pursuit. Probably therefore it blew a strong gale from the N. or N.E. Cf. Theramenes' speech (ii. 3. 35) and Diodorus (xiii. 100).

² i. 7. 17, 29.

after the battle, he says, the Athenian fleet returned to the Arginusae islands, and there the generals held a council of war. Diomedon wished to rescue the survivors on the wrecks, Erasinides to sail at once against the enemy: but Thrasyllus pointed out that both objects might be effected by leaving forty-seven ships under the command of the trierarchs Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and of other subordinate officers, to look after the twelve disabled vessels [thirteen of them must therefore have sunk in the interval, cf. 6. 34], while they themselves sailed with the rest of the fleet against Eteonicus at Mytilene. They accordingly tried, he adds, to sail (§ 31, ἐπλεον), but the storm prevented the rescue. Diodorus (xiii. 100) here makes an important addition: the sailors of the forty-seven ships refused to work *διά τε τὴν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κακόπαθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κυμάτων*, the general result being that the men clinging to the sinking ships were left to perish.

Afterwards the generals met together to draw up a despatch to the Athenian senate and people¹. Six of them wished to mention in it the orders given to Theramenes and Thrasybulus; but Pericles and Diomedon out of kindness to the trierarchs persuaded their colleagues to omit it. Accordingly in the despatch they merely wrote that the storm had prevented all rescue².

Xenophon³ goes on to relate that the Athenians at home, as soon as they heard the news, deprived all the generals of their command except Conon, and that they chose to be his colleagues Adimantus and Philocles. Diodorus states in addition that they summoned the generals home with all speed to stand their

¹ i. 7. 17.

² Diodorus (xiii. 101) gives quite a contradictory account of the despatch: he makes out that Theramenes and Thrasybulus had already returned to Athens before that the generals, suspicious that they might intrigue against them in the city, addressed a letter *πρὸς τὸν δῆμον* to explain that they had given orders to the trierarchs. Grote's attempt (vii. 429) to reconcile the two by supposing that Diodorus has confused a private letter addressed by the generals to their friends at Athens with the public despatch mentioned by Xenophon, is a mere subterfuge.

³ i. 7. 1; Diod. xiii. 101.

trial. Thereupon of the eight that had fought at Arginusae two, Protomachus and Aristogenes, retired into voluntary exile : the other six returned to Athens. Among the latter Erasinides was accused immediately on his arrival before a *δικαστήριον* probably on a *γραφὴ κλοπῆς δημοσίων χρημάτων* by Archedemus, who was at that time *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, other charges being made at the same time against his generalship. The result of the trial was apparently that a fine was imposed upon him and imprisonment until he should pay it.

Afterwards the generals jointly made a statement before the Senate as to the battle and the severity of the storm, of which Xenophon unfortunately does not give the details. Possibly it may have been the same as the defence that they afterwards made before the Assembly, that they had indeed given orders to Theramenes and Thrasybulus to rescue the shipwrecked crews, but that the violence of the storm had rendered all rescue impossible. This hypothesis would account for Theramenes saying at the first meeting of the Assembly, that in their despatch they blamed no one but the storm, and some two years afterwards maintaining in his defence against the accusations of Critias¹, that the generals had begun to accuse him first, so that he had acted, as indeed Critias had asserted, only in self-defence. Such too seems to have been the prevailing opinion as to his conduct at the time, if we may believe Aristophanes²; and Diodorus' account leaves much the same impression. On the other hand it is almost as easy to suppose that Theramenes, being *in extremis*, devised this defence, which, such as it is, seems excessively lame, on the spur of the moment, and that Diodorus invented his account of the trial to justify this subsequent defence. But, however this may be, on Timocrates' proposal, the Senate resolved to arrest the generals, and bring them before the Assembly.

The question here arises, what particular form of judicial machinery was thus set in motion against the accused generals. It has been very generally assumed³, that the accusation was an *εἰσαγγελία* of the form which Harpocration (s. v.) defines to be applicable *ἐπὶ δημοσίοις ἀδικήμασι μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναβολὴν μὴ*

¹ ii. 3. 35.

² Cf. Frogs 533, 964.

³ Cf. Schömann, De Comit. Athen., p. 206.

ἐπιδεχομένοις, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς μήτε ἀρχὴ καθέστηκε μήτε νόμοι κείνται τοῖς ἄρχουσι καθ' οὓς εἰσάξουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἢ πρῶτῃ κατάστασις γίνεται. In this case the ordinary procedure was (1) for the Senate, if after the preliminary hearing the charge appeared to be beyond its own competence, to refer it either to a heliastic court or, if the charge were very extraordinary, to the Assembly. Then (2) the Assembly when it met might either itself consider, whether there was sufficient evidence against the accused for the charge to lie, or, if there could be no manner of doubt upon that point, simply to determine what should be the method of the trial. Now Xenophon's narrative does to a certain extent support this theory: for Euryptolemus in his speech (§ 33) entreats the people not to convict the generals of *προδοσίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας*, and it is well known that in cases of *προδοσία* the *εἰσαγγελία* was the ordinary form of procedure. Again in § 4 Theramenes maintains at the first meeting of the Assembly, that the generals *δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν*: and in § 28¹ Euryptolemus urges the people not to deprive the accused of all opportunity of legal defence: so that both passages might be taken to imply, that at its first meeting the Assembly merely gave the case the usual preliminary hearing. On the other hand it must be remembered, that neither Xenophon nor Diodorus speak of the charge as an *εἰσαγγελία*, nor of the first meeting of the Assembly as summoned merely to consider the justifiability of the accusation; that all the precise information we possess about this particular kind of procedure is subsequent to the *νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός*, the date of which is certainly not earlier than the archonship of Euclides 403 B. C.; and that in this particular case the proceedings were irregular throughout.

There is indeed an obvious reason why Timocrates should have proposed in the Senate that the generals should be brought before the Assembly rather than before an ordinary Heliastic court: for Theramenes and his party would evidently expect to be able to work with much more effect upon the feelings of the Assembly, made up, as it was at this time, of the old, the young, and the infirm (the large majority of the able-bodied

¹ Cf. §§ 5, 23.

citizens being still on board the fleet), than upon the feelings of a comparatively select body of sworn dicasts.

Accordingly at the first meeting of the Assembly Theramenes and his followers appeared as the most prominent accusers of the generals, maintaining, that if *any one* was to blame for the death of the shipwrecked crews, it was the generals themselves, who in their despatch had simply mentioned the *storm* as the cause. In reply the generals made only a short defence, as the legal time for speaking was not allowed them, relating how they had given orders to Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and other capable men to rescue the crews, while they themselves were sailing against the enemy; and repeating that really it was the storm which had prevented the rescue¹. Their defence was supported by the evidence of the pilots and sailors of the fleet; and short as it was, produced such a favourable impression, that many came forward to go bail for the generals, and it was quite evident that, had a vote been taken, it would have been in their favour. It was, however, too late in the evening for a show of hands to be seen; so that it was resolved that the case should be adjourned to a second meeting of the Assembly, and that meantime the Senate should prepare a *προβούλευμα*, as to the method by which the generals should be tried.

In the interval occurred the festival of the Apaturia, which the members of each family met to celebrate in common, and at which the youths, just come of age, were registered on the roll of their demes. This time many a place was seen to be vacant, and many a family appeared in mourning garb. Theramenes and his party, availing themselves of these natural feelings of grief to kindle great indignation against the generals, seem to have induced not only the kinsmen of the dead to attend the second meeting of the Assembly, but, at least according to Xenophon's narrative², to have gone so far as to suborn men to appear among the crowd of real mourners, clad in black garments and with shaved heads, just as if they had been kinsmen.

At the same time too, they persuaded Callixenus to accuse the

¹ This is a direct contradiction to Theramenes' statement in ii. 3. 35, that the generals had asserted *οὐδὲν τ' εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας*

² Cf. note on § 8.

generals in the Senate, which met according to the decision of the Assembly, and at his instigation drew up a most monstrous *προβούλευμα*, that since the accusation and defence had been already heard at the previous Assembly (which of course was not true), at the next meeting the people should vote at once by tribes, without any further hearing of the case, upon all the generals collectively; that the votes should be given openly (i.e. not, as usual, by secret ballot); and that if the generals were found guilty, they themselves should be put to death and their goods should be confiscated. Thus in defiance of all Athenian legal procedure and traditions no real trial was to be granted to the generals at all, the voters were to be intimidated, and sentence was to be passed upon all the accused collectively instead of separately.

Accordingly at the next Assembly, Callixenus brought forward this *προβούλευμα*: and the general excitement thus produced was still further heightened by the declaration of a sailor, who had saved his own life by clinging to a meal-tub, that his drowning companions had bidden him, if he should escape, tell the people that the generals had left the most patriotic of the citizens to perish.

Hereupon Euryptolemus, who was cousin to Pericles, one of the accused generals, together with some others, threatened Callixenus with a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* for making so unconstitutional a proposal; but they were howled down by the people and forced to withdraw their threat, one Lyciscus even proposing that they should be included in the same vote as the generals, unless they gave way. Now, however, some of the Prytanes, who were presiding over the meeting, refused to put the question to the vote: but when Callixenus menaced them with the same treatment, they all withdrew their opposition except Socrates.

Foiled in this attempt to procure justice for the accused, Euryptolemus now came forward with an amendment to the *προβούλευμα*, or rather perhaps with an alternative proposal, in advocating which he was able to make a speech of considerable length in defence of the generals. In the course of it he stated and restated the facts of the case, and pointed out that two legal methods of procedure were open to the

people. Either the generals might be tried before the people¹ in accordance with the decree of Cannonus², which laid down certain most severe penalties against such persons as had injured the commonwealth: or they might be tried before a Heliastic court under the law against sacrilege and treason. But whichever of these two methods the people preferred, they ought to be tried *separately*, fair time being allowed for the accusation, defence, and taking of the votes. In conclusion therefore, Euryptolemus formally moved that the former of these two methods should be adopted, namely, that the accused should be separately tried according to the decree of Cannonus.

When the two proposals were put to the vote, the people preferred that of Euryptolemus: but *ὑπομοσαμένον Μενεκλέους* a second vote was taken, at which the Senate's proposal was adopted. Afterwards the eight generals were condemned to death, the votes being taken presumably on the method laid down in the *προβούλευμα*, and the six of them, who had returned to Athens, were immediately executed.

¹ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. Grote seems to be mistaken in laying so much emphasis on the fact that the people in the *ἐκκλησία* were not put on oath: for this passage alone, where Euryptolemus is emphasizing the proper legal procedure, would be sufficient to show that the Assembly had full competence to try such cases itself without referring them to a Heliastic court, and other analogous instances are produced by Schömann (De Comit. Athen., p. 206).

² τὸ Καννονοῦ ψήφισμα: cf. Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 1089. Although there is no particular reason why the words *δίχα ἕκαστον* should not have occurred in the decree, the balance of evidence seems on the whole to be against it. For in § 23 Euryptolemus insists just as much on the importance of separate trial for each of the accused, if the other constitutional alternative *κατὰ τὸν νόμον . . . ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολοῖς καὶ προδότης* should be adopted instead. Moreover, in § 34 he seems to put the words *δίχα ἕκαστον* into his amendment rather in opposition to the *μὲν ψήφῳ* of Callixenus' *προβούλευμα* than in close connexion with the *κατὰ τὸ Καννονοῦ ψήφισμα*. Finally, the Scholiast on Aristophanes (ad loc.) gives quite a different interpretation of the word *διαλελημμένον*, which commentators have assumed to refer to the supposed *δίχα ἕκαστον* of the decree, viz. *κατεχόμενον ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸν κατ' εἰσαγγελίαν ἀποκρινόμενον*—an interpretation which fits in very well with Xenophon's *δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν*.

What however was the nature of this *ἰπώμοσις*? Viewed simply in relation to the context, the passage seems to mean that Menecles challenged the vote on some formal ground, which rendered it necessary for the *ἐπιστάτης* to put the question to the vote again. Ordinarily, however, a *ἰπώμοσις* meant much more: it meant a determination in the mover of it to bring the question challenged under the cognizance of a court of law, and had the effect of suspending the validity of the resolution until the court had given its decision. But Xenophon never says a word about any such adjournment, and evidently implies that the second vote was taken immediately after the first and on the same day. We have therefore to suppose either that Menecles interposed a *ἰπώμοσις* of a kind not otherwise known, or that the neglect to carry into effect the adjournment that it entailed was merely one more among the many unconstitutional incidents of the day, unless indeed we may believe the otherwise untrustworthy author of the *Axiochus*¹ (c. vii.) who speaks of Theramenes and Callixenus having at a subsequent meeting² *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*

¹ It is impossible to attach much weight to this statement in the *Axiochus*, because, short as it is, it contains two obvious mistakes: (1) it speaks of *πρόεδροι*, although none were instituted before the archonship of Euclides, 403 B.C.; (2) it speaks of *τρισημύριον ἐκκλησιαζόντων*, which is evidently a fallacious computation of the whole body of Athenian freemen. Moreover, the whole dialogue, as Grote (Plato, cap. iv.) shows, is a late production, and possesses no authority.

² Gilbert here raises the question as to what became of Socrates' opposition, which both Plato and Xenophon represent to have been unswerving; and finds its solution in the hypothesis of an adjournment, because at a second meeting Socrates would no longer have been *ἐπιστάτης*. Probably, however, Socrates' scruple, which was a strictly legal one, was satisfied by his putting Euryptolemus' alternative motion to the vote, which contained a strictly legal proposal, although its rejection carried with it the passing of the Senate's *προβούλευμα*; for this seems to be the force of the preposition in composition in the words *διαχειροτονουμένων, διαχειροτονίας*. Nor need the interposition of Menecles' *ἰπώμοσις* have made any difference, if the question was immediately put again on the same day: in this case all that Socrates had to do was to put Euryptolemus' motion over again: and then, when it was rejected, the *προβούλευμα* was *ipso facto* carried. Cf. Goodwin in the *Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc.* 1885, p. 172.

suborned the proedri and so procured the condemnation of the generals.

However that may be, shortly afterwards the people repented of their injustice, and voted that a public prosecution should be instituted against those who had deceived the people. Callixenus and four others were accordingly arrested, Theramenes not being among the number, which seems to show that some distinction was drawn between his conduct and that of the rest, possibly because it was felt, as Diodorus insists at some length, that he was driven to it by the exigencies of self-defence. But before the accused could be tried, they all escaped amid the political confusion of the following year. Callixenus indeed ventured to return with Thrasylbus and the exiled democrats in 403 B. C., but hated by all, says Xenophon, he died of starvation.

§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

B. C.		EVENTS.	<i>Year of Campaign.</i> April to March.
411.	BOOK I. i. 1.	Agessandridas defeats the Athenian fleet.	21st, 411-410. c. Sept.
	2-7.	Battles at Rhoetium and Abydos.	Winter.
	8, 9.	Thrasylus goes to Athens: Tissaphernes at the Hellespont arrests Alcibiades.	
410.	10-13.	Alcibiades escapes and sails to Proconnesus.	
	14-19.	Battle of Gyzius.	
	20-22.	Alcibiades restores the Athenian dominion over the Bosphorus, &c.	
	23-31.	Sundry contemporary events:	
	32.	Revolt of Thasos to Athens.	
	33-34.	Sally of Agis from Decelea.	
	35-37.	Despatch of Clearchus to the Bosphorus, &c.	
	ii. 1-13.	Thrasylus ravages the coast of Ionia, suffers a severe repulse at Ephesus, retires to Notium, and sails thence to the Hellespont.	22nd, 410-409. Summer.

B. C.	EVENTS.	Year of Campaign. April to March.
	18. Lacedaemonians recapture Coryphasium.	?
	Spartan colonists massacred at Heraclaea.	?
409.	14-17. Thrasyllus joins Alcibiades at Lampsacus, where the two generals winter together and defeat Pharnabazus.	Winter.
	iii. 1-13. Athenians sail from Lampsacus to Proconnesus, then invest Chalcedon, and compel Pharnabazus to conclude an armistice with them and to promise a safe escort for some Athenian envoys to the Persian king.	23rd, 409-408. Summer.
408.	14-22. Siege and capture of Byzantium.	
	iv. 1. The Athenian and other envoys meet Pharnabazus at Gordium.	Winter.
	2-7. The envoys hear of the appointment of Cyrus to be satrap. Cyrus arrives and persuades Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys.	24th, 408-407. Summer.
	8-12. Alcibiades sails to Samos, while Thrasyllus sails with the main fleet to Athens; and then hearing of his election to be general, enters Piraeus in June.	
	13-20. Reception of Alcibiades in Piraeus and Athens.	
	His escort of the Eleusinian festival.	
	[v. 1. Lysander appointed to be Spartan admiral.]	
407.	21-23. Alcibiades sets sail with his newly equipped fleet first to Andros, and then to Samos, which he makes his head-quarters for winter operations against the Peloponnesians.	Winter.
	v. 1-10. Lysander collects a fleet of ninety vessels at Samos, negotiates with Cyrus, and makes preparations for renewing the war by sea.	

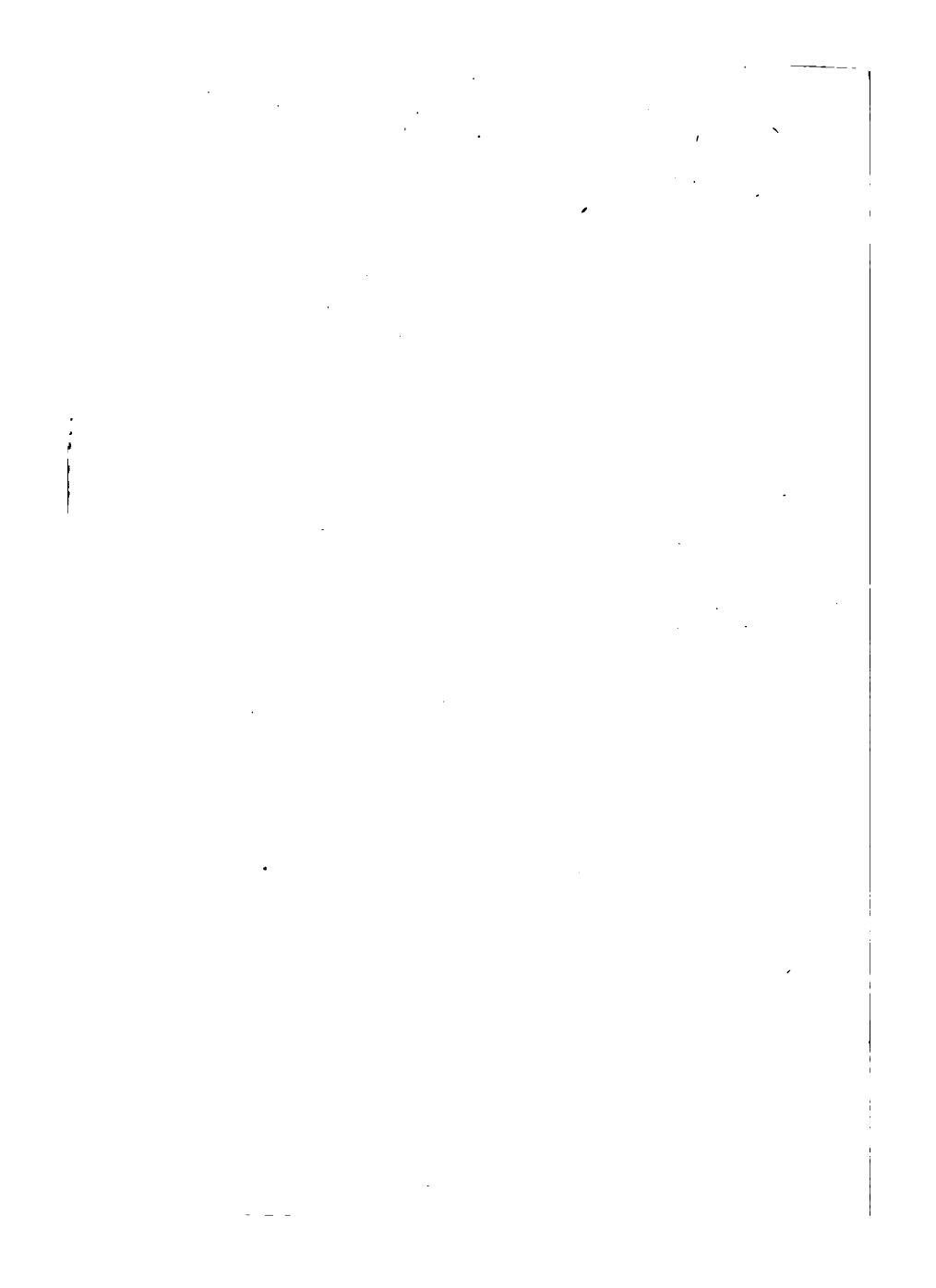
B. C.	EVENTS.	Year of Campaign. April to March.
11-19	Alcibiades joins Thrasybulus at Phocæa : in his absence Antiochus his lieutenant is defeated at Notium. Alcibiades returns to Samos, and soon afterwards withdraws in disgrace to the Chersonese. Conon succeeds him in the command of the fleet.	25th, 407-406. Summer.
406. 20.	Conon ravages the neighbouring territory of the enemy.	Winter.
vi. 1-12.	Callicratidas succeeds Lysander, and failing to get money from Cyrus, obtains supplies from the Milesians.	26th, 406-405. Summer.
13-23.	Callicratidas storms Methymna, and blockades Conon in the harbour of Mytilene.	
24-28.	The Athenians send out a fleet of 110 vessels to the rescue, which Callicratidas attempts to intercept.	
29-36.	Battle of Arginusæe.	
37-38.	Eteonicus despatches his ships to Chios and retires himself to Chios.	
	The Athenian fleet sail first to Mytilene, and then to Samos.	
vii.	Trial of the generals, who had fought at Arginusæe.	Winter.
BOOK II.	Eteonicus suppresses a mutiny among his troops at Chios, and obtains money from the Chians.	
i. 1-5.	The Spartans appoint Lysander to command their fleet for a second time.	
6, 7.	Cyrus is summoned to the presence of his father Darius.	
405. 8, 9.	Lysander arrives at Ephesus, where he fits out his fleet with money supplied him by Cyrus, who soon afterwards sets out to meet Darius, having first entrusted him with the revenues	27th, 405-404. Summer.
10-14.		

B. C.	EVENTS.	Year of Campaign. April to March.
	of his province. The Athenians make counter-preparations at Samos.	
15-21.	Lysander sails to Caria and Rhodes, and thence past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians set out from Samos, ravage the Persian territory, touch at Chios and Ephesus, and then at Elaëus on the Hellespont : whence, hearing that Lysander had taken Lampsacus, they take up a position opposite to him near Sestos.	
22-29.	Battle of Aegospotami.	
30-32.	Lysander captures the whole Athenian fleet and executes all the prisoners.	
ii. 1-4.	Lysander enters Byzantium and Chalcedon.	
	Dismay at Athens.	
5-9.	Lysander sails to Lesbos, where he reorganizes the government of the several states and despatches Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. General revolt of all the Athenian allies except Samos. Lysander restores the Aeginetan, Melian, and other exiles to their native cities, and afterwards blockades Piræus.	
10, 11.	Siege of Athens : proclamation of an amnesty.	Winter.
	Fruitless negotiations for peace first with Agis and then with the Ephors.	
404.	16-20. Mission of Theramenes to Lysander. Three months afterwards Theramenes returns and heads an embassy to Sparta.	
	Council of the Peloponnesian allies upon the fate of Athens.	
	The Athenians accept the offered terms.	
	Lysander enters Piræus, and begins the demolition of the Long Walls.	

B. C.	EVENTS.	Year of Campaign. April to March.
iii. 1-5.	Appointment of the Thirty. Lysander sails to Samos, and Agis evacuates Decelea. Lycophron of Pherae defeats the Larisaeans.	404-403. Summer.
6-10.	Lysander reduces Samos and returns in triumph to Sparta.	Winter.
11-21.	The Thirty begin a reign of terror, supported by the Spartan harmost and garrison.	Winter.
22-56.	Accusation and execution of Theramenes.	
403.	iv. 1-22.	The democratic exiles, headed by Thrasylbulus, seize Phyle and march upon Piraeus, where they defeat the Thirty in battle, Critias being among the slain.
23-27.	The Thirty are deposed and the Ten appointed in their place, with whom constant war is waged by Thrasylbulus and the democratic exiles.	403. Summer.
28-38.	At the invitation of the oligarchs the Spartans send Lysander and Libys to their aid. But Pausanias intervenes, and after some slight military operations effects a reconciliation between the contending factions.	
39-42.	Pausanias disbands the Peloponnesian army. Thrasylbulus marches up to Athens, and restores the democratic constitution.	
43.	Final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, and proclamation of an universal amnesty.	

§ 6. DATES IN THE LIFE OF XENOPHON.

B.C. circa 444.	Birth.
424.	Saved by Socrates at the battle of Delium (Strabo, p. 403).
401.	Accompanies Cyrus on his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and after the battle of Cunaxa conducts the retreat of the Ten Thousand to Trapezus, and then to Chrysopolis.
399.	Enters with many of the Ten Thousand the service first of Seuthes, King of Thrace, and then of Thimbron, the Lacedaemonian. Exiled from Athens.
396.	Accompanies King Agesilaus on his Asiatic expedition.
394.	Returns with the King to Sparta, and is present on the Lacedaemonian side at the battle of Coronea. Settles shortly afterwards at Scillus in Elis.
c. 373.	Expelled from Scillus by the Eleans, whereupon he retires to Corinth. The sentence of exile revoked by the Athenians.
c. 356.	Death.



XENOPHON: HELLENICA, I, II.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

In a second sea-fight Agesandridas the Lacedaemonian defeats the Athenians.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ 411-410
'Αθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυ- B.C.
μάχησαν αὐτῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν
δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου 'Αγησανδρίδου.

Dorieus trying in vain to enter the Hellespont, Mindarus puts out from Abydos to escort him, but is met by the Athenians. The two fleets engage, and on the arrival of Alcibiades, the Athenians drive the Peloponnesians back to Abydos with a loss of 30 ships. The Athenians leave only 40 ships at Sestos: the rest disperse to collect money, while Thrasyllus sails to Athens to ask for reinforcements.

Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ 'Ρόδου 2
εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι
καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρα. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν 'Αθη- 411. Oct.
ναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ
ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς
φυγῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὡς
ἦνοιγε, περὶ τὸ 'Ροίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν 3

317 Δευ

411-410 Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι
 B.C. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδύτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο
 4 στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν
 τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν
 θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει,
 5 ὅπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
 ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐνανμάχησαν περὶ Ἀβυδὸν κατὰ τὴν
 ῥόνα μέχρι δειλῆς ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικῶντων, τὰ
 δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ δυοῖν δεούσαις
 6 εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων
 ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδὸν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρε-
 βοήθει, καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ Ἰππῷ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
 μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 7 ἰππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς
 ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τὴν γῆν
 ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς
 8 κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα
 νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλη ᾤχοντο ἐπ' ἀγρυρολογία ἐξω τοῦ Ἐλ-
 λησπόντου καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὧν τῶν στρατηγῶν,
 εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ
 ναῦς αἰτήσων.

Alcibiades visits Tissaphernes, who had now reached the Hellespont, but is arrested by him and sent to Sardis. A month afterwards he escapes to Clazomenae, and thence to Cardia, whither the Athenians had retreated from Sestos. Meantime the Peloponnesian ships, 60 strong, had sailed to Cyzicus. Alcibiades returns to Sestos, and leads the combined Athenian fleet, 86 strong, to Proconnesus.

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἐλλησπόντον ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ξενία

τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβῶν εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσ- 411-410
 κων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίους. ἡμέραις δὲ ^{B.C.}
 τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαν- 10
 τιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρία Ἰππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς
 ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς· οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῶ Ἀθηναῖοι, 11
 αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλείν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν
 ἐξήκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
 καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε
 τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πε- *scrip*
 λοπονησιῶν νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἶεν εἰς Κυζίκον,
 αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναὺς περιπλεῖν
 ἐκείσε ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ 12
 μέλλοντος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισπλεῖ Ὀθραμένης εἴκοσι
 ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν
 ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφοτέροι ἠργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκι- 13
 βιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις
 τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθροαὶ δὲ
 γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα
 τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ
 περὶ ἀρίστου ὄραν ἦγον εἰς Προκόννησον.

He takes measures to conceal his arrival, and exhorts his troops to fight bravely; for they had no money, while their enemies had plenty from the Persian king.

Ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπέθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶη καὶ 14
 Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ περσῶ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν
 αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὕστεραία Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν
 ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶη καὶ ναυ-
 μαχεῖν καὶ περσομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν,
 ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἀφθονα παρὰ
 βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραία, ἐπειδὴ ὤρμισαντο, τὰ 15

- 411-410 πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθρουσε παρ' ἑαυτὸν,
 B.C. ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγέλαι τοῖς πολεμίρις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
 νεῶν ἐπεκλήρυξέ τε, ὃς ἂν ἀλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν δια-
 πλέων, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν.

BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

Alcibiades surprises the Peloponnesian fleet manœuvring outside the harbour, and after a hard fight by sea and land captures the whole of it. Mindarus is slain. Cyzicus surrenders to Alcibiades. He exacts money from its citizens, and from other neighbouring states, and establishes a toll-house on the Bosphorus.

- 16 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευσάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕψους πολλῶ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγυὸς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζόμενας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας
 17 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννησίοι ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῶ ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἔφυγον πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναυ-
 18 τίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ᾤχοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προκόννησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκεῖνας δὲ
 19 αὐτοὶ κατέκασαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτῆν
 20 ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει

ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἔπλευσεν 411-410
 εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν. καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσε- B.C.
 δέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Σηλυβριανοὶ δὲ 21
 ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, χρήματα δὲ ἔδωσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικό- 22
 μνοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν,
 καὶ δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην (348)
 ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκατα-
 λιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγῶ δύο, Θηραμένη καὶ
 Εὐύμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων
 πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναϊτο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους.
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ᾤχοντο.

The despatch of Mindarus' secretary is captured and carried to Athens. The satrap Pharnabazus arms the Peloponnesian fugitives to guard his coasts, and urges their commanders to build new ships at Antandros.

Παρὰ δὲ Ἴπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς 23
 Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἔάλω εἰς Ἀθήνας
 λέγοντα τάδε· Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα.
 πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομε τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρνάβαζος 24
 δὲ παντὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς
 συμμάχοις παρακελευσόμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἔνεκα ξύλων,
 ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ, ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σᾶ
 ῆ, ἰμάτιον τ' ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνῶν,
 καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν 25
 πόλεων στρατηγούς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι
 τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπόλεσαν, χρήματά
 τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδῆς κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυ- 26
 πηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ
 τεύχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρσαν πάντων
 μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρα-

411-410 κοσλοῖς ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστὶ. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα
B.C. διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδῶνα ἐβόηθει.

Story of the exile of the Syracusan commanders at Antandros, and of Hermocrates' accusation against Tissaphernes and expedition against Syracuse.

- 27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἰκοθεν ὅτι φεύγειεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰν, ὡς ἀδίκως φεύγειεν ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήνεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ αἰεὶ παραγγελόμενα, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἠγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσαν. ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι αὐτ' ἐκέλευν. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκέλευς ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοῖη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι δίδοναι. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ αὐτ' ἐκέλευν στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τε Ἐπιδόκου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι κατάρξαι αὐτούς, ἐπὶ εἰς Συρακοῦσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπέ-
30 πέμψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἰδίῃ δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτη προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὧν γὰρ ἐγίνωσκε τοὺς ἐπικεικιστάτους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερ-

νητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρῶ καὶ πρὸς 411-410
 ἐσπέραν συναλλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεξυ- B.C.
 νοῦτο ὅτι ἐμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν, κἀκείνους ἐδίδασκε
 κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρήμα, τὰ δὲ βου-
 λευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ 31
 συνεδρίῳ εὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλευεῖν τὰ
 κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
 Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ
 ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζου, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι
 χρήματα λαβῶν, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακοῦσας
 κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦγον οἱ
 διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον
 τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

*The Spartan harmost Eteonicus is expelled from Thasos.
 The admiral Cratesiphidas takes command of the ships
 that Pasiphidas had collected.*

Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου στάσεως γενο- 32
 μένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ Λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἄρμοστής
 Ἑτεόνικος· κατατιθεῖς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει
 Πασσιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυ-
 τικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη
 Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.

*Agis makes a sally from Decelea, but retreats hastily before
 Thrasyllus. In reward the Athenians vote Thrasyllus 50
 triremes and considerable reinforcements.*

Περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις 33
 ὄντος Ἄγισ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομῆν ποιούμενος πρὸς
 αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θρασύλλος δὲ ἐξα-
 γαγῶν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
 ὄντας ἀπαιτᾶς παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον,
 ὡς μαχοῦμετο, ἂν προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἄγισ 34

in the near

- 411-410 ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
 B.C. ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ
 διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφί-
 σσαντο ὀπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἰππέας δὲ
 ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα.

Agis sends Clearchus with a small squadron to the Bosphorus to cut off the Athenian corn supply. Clearchus loses three ships in the Hellespont, but with the rest safely reaches Byzantium.

- 35 Ἄγισ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἶργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχήσοι καὶ ὄθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σίτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.
- 36 δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἕκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ᾤχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀτικῶν ἐννεά νεῶν, αἱ ἅει ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν.

Contemporary events in Sicily.

- 37 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀγνίβα
 ἠγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι
 στρατιᾶς αἰροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μῆσὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας
 Σελινούντα καὶ Ἰμέρα.

(413)

CHAPTER II.

Thrasyllus sails with his fleet to Samos: he makes numerous descents upon the Ionian coast, till he is stopped by Stages the Persian. 410-409 B.C.

Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει [ὧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, ἢ προστεθείσα ξυγῶρῖς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβότας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἀρχουτος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτῆμονος,] Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος, [ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένοις,] ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. 410 April. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πύγεια· καὶ 2 ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινας τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες 3 πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπλευσαν εἰς 4 Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφῶνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κόμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα c. June. ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης 5 δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἕνα μὲν ζῶν ἔλαβεν, ἐπτα δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν 6

410-409 ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσό-
B.C. μενος.

Thrasyllus attacks Ephesus, but is defeated with great loss by the citizens, Syracusans, and the troops of Tissaphernes.

(61)

Τισσαφέρης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρα-
τιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἰππέας ἀπέστειλε παραγ-
γέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θρά-
7 συλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν
εἰς Ἔφεσον ἔπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν
Κορησοῦν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας καὶ πελταστὰς
καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ
τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο στρα-
8 τόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν σφίσι, οἳ τε
σύμμαχοι οὗς Τισσαφέρης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἳ τ'
ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτέρων πέντε, αἱ
ἔτυχον τότε παραγευόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαι μετὰ Εὐ-
κλέους τε τοῦ Ἴππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους
9 στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσῃσι δύο. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησοῦ ἐβοήθησαν·
τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰ
ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς
παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κακέῃ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
10 καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τρό-
παιον ἐναυθὰ ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησοῦ.
τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενο-
μένοις ἀριστεία ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ
οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ αἰεὶ· Σελινουσίοις
δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλόλει, καὶ πολιτεῖαν ἔδωσαν.

*The Athenians retreat to Notium, and sail thence to Lesbos, 410-409
where they fall in with the Syracusans, and chase them
back to Ephesus with the loss of four ships. Thrasyllus
joins the Athenian squadron at Sestos, and the combined
force then crosses to Lampsacus.* B.C.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες 11
ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κάκει· θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλευον
ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. ὁρμούντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνη
τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεύσασα ἕξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρα-
κοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες 12
τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατε-
δίωξαν εἰς Ἐφεσον· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους 13
Θρασύλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην
δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα,
ἀπέλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστόν πρὸς
τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπανα ἢ στρατιὰ διέβη
εἰς Λάμψακον.

*The unconquered troops of Alcibiades refuse to associate with
the defeated troops of Thrasyllus, until in combination they
win a brilliant victory over Pharnabazus at Abydos.*

Καὶ χειμῶν ἐπήει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, 14
εἰργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύζαντες τὴν 410 Oct.
πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ᾤχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ'
εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκι- 15
βιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ
ἐβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὡς αὐτοὶ
μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἠττημένοι ἦκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα
δὴ ἐχειμάζον ἅπαντες Λάμψακον τειχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστρά- 16
τευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδον· Φαρνάβαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις
πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ ἠττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τούς τε ἵππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ

- 410-409 B.C. 17 ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. ἐκ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξήλθον δέ τινες καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.

The Lacedaemonians recapture Coryphasium, i.e. Sphacteria. Massacre of the Spartan colonists at Heraclea. Revolt of the Medes.

- 18 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφειστώτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφήκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν Ἑρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας, προύδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ
- 19 ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀρμοστῇ Λαβώτᾳ. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.

CHAPTER III.

The Athenian fleet sails from Lampsacus to Proconnesus and the Bosphorus. Alcibiades invests Chalcedon, and successfully resists a joint attack made on his lines by Hippocrates from within and Pharnabazus from without. Hippocrates was slain.

- 409-408 B.C. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, [Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορευόντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένοῦς,] April. ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, [δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτων τῷ πολέμῳ παρελλυθόντων,] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Προκόννησον

παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ ⁴⁰⁸⁻⁴⁰⁸
 Βυζάντιον ὀρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχη- ^{B.C.}
 δόνη. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνηιοι προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς ²
 Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς
 Ὀρῆκας ἀστυγέτονας ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν ³
 τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἵππείας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παρα-
 πλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπήτει τὰ τῶν
 Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πολέμησειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς.
 οἱ δὲ ἀπέδωσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρα- ⁴
 τόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστει πεποιημένους,
 ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ
 θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν
 ξυλίῳ τείχει. ἐνταῦθα Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ⁵
 ἄρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς
 μαχομένους· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ,
 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν περιτειχισμάτων προσεβόηθει
 στρατιᾷ τε καὶ ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἴπποκράτης μὲν οὖν ⁶
 καὶ Θράσυλλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον
 πολὺν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς
 ἵππείας ἐβόηθησε. καὶ Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ
 μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ⁷
 Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμίξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἴπποκράτη
 διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτευχισμά-
 των ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν
 Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

While Alcibiades is absent collecting money on the Hellespont, the Athenians come to terms with Pharnabazus, who agrees to send Athenian envoys to the Persian king, and to allow Chalcedon again to become tributary to Athens. The Athenians agree to suspend all hostilities till their return.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ᾤχετο εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσ- ⁸

- 409-408 B.C. ποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι τάλαντα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσον περ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίους, ἕως ἢν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν.

*After some delay Alcibiades swears to the treaty at Chryso-
polis and Pharnabazus at Chalcedon. Pharnabazus goes
to Cysicus, where he is met by the Athenian envoys, and
also by some Spartan envoys.*

- 10 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὄρκους οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἔλδων πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκεν, ἔχων Χερρουσιέτας τε πανδημίαι καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης
- 11 στρατιώτας καὶ ἰππέας πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κάκεινον ὁμνῦναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὁμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεινος αὐτῷ ὁμείται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὡμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσόπολει οἷς Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεμφε
- 12 Μιτροβάται καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμφ καὶ Διοτίμφ τὸν τε κοινὸν
- 13 ὄρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλοις πίστει ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπήει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοδίκης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιππίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ

τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἤδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, 400-408
καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. B.C.

The Athenians besiege Byzantium. While Clearchus the Spartan harmost is away, collecting forces to raise the siege, some Byzantines betray the city to Alcibiadēs. The garrison, unable to resist, surrender. Story of Anaxilaus at Sparta.

Καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἤγευ' οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ 14
Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος
ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυ- 15
ζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρμοστής καὶ σὺν
αὐτῷ τῶν περιοίκων τιτὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν οὐ πολλοὶ
καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἐλίξος Μεγαρεὺς καὶ
Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι 18
ὡς οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἰσχύν, ἐπεισάν
τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος 17
δὲ ὁ ἄρμοστής οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἀν' τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, κατα-
στήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας
τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἐλίξω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν
Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις
παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν
τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ
Πασσιπίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ καὶ ἄς Ἀγυσαυδρίδας
εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης ὦν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι
ναυπηγηθείησαν, ἀθροαὶ δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς
συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ
στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ 18
Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων
Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ
Ἀναξίλαος, ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον ἐν Λακεδαί- 19
μονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτι οὐ προδοίη τὴν

- 409-408 πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι, παῖδας ὄρων καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῶ
 B.C. ἀπολλυμένας, Βυζάντιος ὦν καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν
 γὰρ ἐνόητα σίτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώ-
 ταις διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολέμιους ἐφη εἰσέσθαι,
 οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους·
 20 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας
 τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θοράκιον καλουμένας εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα
 21 καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Ἐλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας
 οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν
 ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντῃ οἱ πολέμοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν
 22 ἔχοντες, ὅτι ποιήσειαν, παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοῦς. καὶ
 οὗτοι μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας
 ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρᾶς
 καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

CHAPTER IV.

Pharnabazus and the envoys are met at Gordium by some Spartan envoys with the news that Cyrus has been appointed satrap at Sardis, and ordered to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war.

- 408-407 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορ-
 B.C. διεῖψ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγ-
 April. μένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πόρονομοις
 αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἱ τε
 Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Βοιώτιος ὄνομα καὶ οἱ μετ'
 αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 3 πάντων ὧν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ
 Κύρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμη-

σων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι 408-407
 τὸ βασιλείου σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ἣ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· B.C.
 Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροισ-
 μένων. [Τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον.]

Cyrus on his arrival persuades Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys on various pretexts, so that they did not return till three years afterwards.

Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ 4
 ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα μὲν παρὰ βασι-
 λέα ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ 5
 Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ
 μὴ οἴκαδέ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν 6
 κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξει αὐτοὺς
 παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψει, ὡς μηδὲν
μὲνῃται: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ 7
 Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτοὺς, φάσκων ὁμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ
 θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριο-
 βαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν
 εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατό-
 πεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

Alcibiades designs to return to Athens. Thrasybulus reduces Thasos and the rebels in Thrace. Thrasyllus leads the main fleet back to Athens. Meantime the Athenians elect Alcibiades general.

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 8
 ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου· ἐκείθεν δὲ
 λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν
 Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκείθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τὰ-9
 λαντα ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριά-

- 408-407 **B.C.** κοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ᾤχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρὶα τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσου, ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων
 10 καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἦκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγούς εἶλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἰκοθεν.

Alcibiades sails from Samos and on hearing the news with some hesitation enters Piraeus on the day of the Plynteria.

- 11 Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσι, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς Γυθελίου ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆν τῶν τριήρων, ὡς ἐπυρθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἢ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει.
 12 ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνουν οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδέιους,
 June 408. κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα ἢ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἢ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ἔβασθαι.

Various feelings of the Athenians towards him: some said that he was the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had contrived his exile to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others, that he was the cause of all the Athenian misfortunes.

- 13 Καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν

ὡς κράτιστος εἴη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος [ἀπελογήθη ὡς] 408-407
οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλαττον B.C.
ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ
αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου αἰεὶ τὸ κοινὸν
αὐξήσας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως
δυνατοῦ, ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς 14
αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἡσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια,
ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα
αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας 15
δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους,
κινδυνεύων αἰεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ
οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν
ἅπασαν ὄρων ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίη
φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴων περ αὐτὸς 16
ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως·
ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν
πλέον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἑλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ'
αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς τοιοῦτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἴοισπερ πρότερον, x
ἕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐ-
τοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ
τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἐτέροις βελτίοισιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι· οἱ 17
δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροικομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη,
τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυ-
νεύσαι ἡγεμῶν καταστήναι.

Alcibiades lands and is escorted to the city by his friends. His defence before the Senate and Assembly is favourably received. He is chosen commander-in-chief, and conducts the sacred procession to Eleusis safely by land. Then having equipped 100 triremes and large reinforcements, he sails with them to Andros. He gains a slight success over the Andrians, and then sails to Samos.

Ἄλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν 18

- 408-407
B.C. οὐκ εὐθὺς, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ
- 19 παρείησαν. κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιδάκτος, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκέλους καὶ τοὺς φίλους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄπτοίτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.
- 20 ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἡσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἶός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν
- 21 ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατέλεξτο στρατιάν, ὄπλιτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἰππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τρίτῃ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν
- 22 ἡρημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύρειον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς
- 23 καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οἱ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τρόπαιόν τε ἔστησε καὶ μείρας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπλευσε εἰς Σάμον, κακείθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

October
408.

CHAPTER V.

Lysander is appointed Spartan admiral and collects a fleet of 70 ships at Ephesus, where he waits till Cyrus' arrival at Sardis. 408-407 B.C.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῶ χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκείθεν λαβών, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἐπλευσεν, ἐκείθεν δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἐβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεϊς ἀφίκετο. ἔπει δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρου ἐλεγον ἃ πεποικῶς εἶη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι.

Lysander obtains from Cyrus promises of vigorous support and increased pay for the Peloponnesians.

Κῦρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ 3 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν ἔχων δὲ ἦκειν τέλαντα πεντακόσια· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπη, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρῆσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἂν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπήνουν καὶ 4 ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μετὰ χρήματα ἀναλώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνάτον δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μῶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς δίδόναι, ὀπόσας ἂν 5

408-407 B.C. βούλονται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε
 6 μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιῶν ὁ
 Κύρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ
 7 πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης. ἐκ
 δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ
 τριῷβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι
 μὴνὸς προῦδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον
 εἶναι.

*The Athenians in despair send envoys to Cyrus, but he
 refuses to see them. Lysander had now 90 ships at
 Ephesus.*

8 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον,
 ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κύρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους.
 9 ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγον-
 τος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν
 ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴδὲ οἴτινες ἰσχυροὶ ᾧσι, ἀλλὰ
 10 πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο,
 ἀνεγκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὖσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα
 ἡσυχίαν ἤγειν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς.

*Alcibiades crosses to Phocaea to visit Thrasybulus, leaving
 his fleet at Samos, in charge of Antiochus, with strict
 orders not to fight. But Antiochus disobeys, and draws on
 a general engagement at Notium, in which he is defeated
 by Lysander with a loss of 15 ships.*

11 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβουλον ἐξ Ἑλλησπόν-
 407-406 B.C. του ἤκουτα τειχίζειν Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν,
 April. καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερ-
 νήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς.
 12 Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νοτίου

εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς 407-408
 πύργους τῶν Λύσανδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ¹³ B.C.
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν
 αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν
 πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει.
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύ-
 σαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἤνοι-
 ξεν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐνανμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ 14
 Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὐ ἔφυγον
 ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ
 μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγήθησαν. Λύσανδρος
 δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ἐπὶ
 τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς
 Σάμον.

*On his return to Samos Alcibiades tries in vain to renew
 the battle and avenge the defeat.*

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔλθων εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη 15
 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ
 πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιο ναυμαχεῖν.
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς
 ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡϊόνα.

*On hearing of this affair the Athenians at home choose ten
 other generals in place of Alcibiades, who, finding himself
 unpopular also with his fleet, sails away to the Chersonese.*

Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, 16
 χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε
 καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλέκεναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς
 εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα,
 Περικλέα, Ἐρασιπύδην, Ἀριστοκράτη, Ἀρχέστρατον,

- 407-406 Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένη. Ἀλκιβιάδης
 B.C. 17 μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν
 τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
 τεῖχη.

*Conon succeeds Alcibiades at Samos; he mans only 70 ships
 out of 100, and with them ravages the neighbouring
 coast.*

- 18 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἄνδρου σὺν αἰς εἶχε
 ναυσὶν εἴκοσι ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἐπλευ-
 σεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἄνδρου
 19 ἔπεμψαν Φανοσθένη, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περι-
 τυχῶν δυοῖν τριήροιω Θουρίαιω ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι
 δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατε-
 ψηφισμένω αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν,
 πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες ἀφείσαν οὐδὲ χρή-
 20 ματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο
 καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας
 τριήρεις ἑβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον
 ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων
 χώρας ἐλήζετο.

Contemporary events in Sicily.

- 21 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν
 στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρα-
 τίας δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἰλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶ, μάχη μὲν
 ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἑπτὰ μῆνας.

CHAPTER VI.

*Callicratidas succeeds Lysander at Ephesus. His answer 406-405
to Lysander's empty boast. B.C.*

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει ᾧ ἢ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας April.
καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη,
[Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθηνη-
σιν,] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη
τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν]
ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου 2
ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι
θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίη καὶ ναυμαχία νενικηκώς.
ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου
παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν
Μιλήτῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλατ-
τοκρατεῖν.

*He increases his fleet to 140 vessels, and prepares for battle;
but finding himself traduced by Lysander's friends, he
assembles the Lacedaemonians and tells them that he had
come only in obedience to the Spartan government, and
was ready to return if they so wished.*

Οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου 3
ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδης πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάν-
δρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου
καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύ-
τας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὕσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν,
πᾶρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. κατα- 4
μαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος,
οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούν-
των ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παρα-

406-405 **B.C.** ₁ πίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικά καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γινωσκόντων, ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τούτου, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδης συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιαύδε.

2 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἶκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικά βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἂ. ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἴστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ· συμβουλευέτε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.

The malcontents thus quieted, he tries to get supplies from Cyrus, but failing, appeals to the Milesians for help, till money should come from Sparta.

3 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἶκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἤκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κύρον ᾗτει 7 μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδης δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν, ὀργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἕνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἦν σωθῆ οἴκαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέ- 8 πλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον· κακέϊθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀβροστας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἶκοι ἄρχουσι

πείθεσθαι ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους εἶναι εἰς 406-405
 τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλείστα B.C.
 κακὰ ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπουθέναι. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι ὅ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα
 βλάβωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος
 ἤκωσι, οὗς ἐγὼ ἐπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας, ἐπεὶ τὰ 10
 ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ
 ὄντα οἶχεται· Κύρῳ δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ
 ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου
 θύρας φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι. ὑπισχυοῦ- 11
 μαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ
 χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχόμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώ-
 σειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξομεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι
 καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνου θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 τιμωρεῖσθαι.

With the supplies so obtained, he sails to Chios and Lesbos, where he takes Methymna by storm, and captures many prisoners; all the Greeks he sets free except the Athenians.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα 12
 οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον
 χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ
 ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμῶν ἐκάστῳ τῶν
 ναυτῶν ἐφοδιασάμενος ἐπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμ-
 ναν πολεμίαν οὖσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μήθυμ- 13
 ναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀττικίζόντων, προσβαλὼν
 αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα 14
 πάντα διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα
 συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελευ- (52)
 ὄντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μήθυμναίους
 οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ

406-405 ἐκείνου δυνατὸν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα τοὺς
 B.C. μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφήκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς
 15 καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι δὲ
 εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν
 δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνό-
 μενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκείσε φύγοι.

intercept

He chases Conon, returning towards Samos, into the harbour of Mytilene, where he captures 30 of the Athenian ships, and blockades the rest. Cyrus thereupon sends him money.

- 16 Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἐρασινίδης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων
 17 ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθεὶς, ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν,
 18 τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἤλθεν.

Conon by a stratagem contrives to send a ship to Athens with the news. In thirty days the Athenians equip a fleet of 110 vessels, manned by both slaves and free.

- 19 Ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτου οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορήσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ

ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν 408-405
 νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ B.C.
 ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἄριστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς
 ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοιλὴν ναῦν μεταβιβάσας καὶ τὰ παρῤῥύ- C
 ματα παραβαλῶν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνείχον, 20
 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἶη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὥς μὴ
 καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιούντας. πέμ-
 πτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον
 ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμούντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι
 ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἕξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ
 Ἑλλησπόντου ὤρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δ' 21
 ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀπο-
 κόπτουτες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόν-
 τες ἐν τῇ γῆ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον
 τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ
 δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ, ἀναδησάμενοι
 ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ 22
 τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναὺς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη
 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων
 δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὤρμι-
 σατο εἰς τὸν εὐριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλ- 23
 λικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν
 ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ. οἱ δὲ 24
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκου-
 σαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβι-
 βάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ δούλους
 καὶ ἔλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν
 ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν
 ἱππέων πολλοί.

406-405 B.C. *The Athenian fleet sails to Samos, and anchors at the Arginusae islands, mustering more than 150 strong. Callicratidas leaves 50 ships under Eteonicus at Mytilene, and sails to Cape Malea with 120 ships to meet the Athenians.*

- 25 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κάκειθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἤθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὔσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
- 26 ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὔσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἀναχθεῖς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρα ἀντίον τῆς
- 27 Μυτιλήνης. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεῖπνοποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις· αὐταὶ δ' εἰσὶν
- 28 ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καὶ τινῶν αὐτῷ ἐξαγγελιάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἑξαπιναίως προσπέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγεγνόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχευεν, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.

BATTLE OF ARGINUSAE.

Callicratidas refuses to flee before the superior numbers of the Athenians. The fight begins; and when Callicratidas falls into the sea and is drowned, the Peloponnesians flee to Chios and Phocaea with a loss of 69 ships. The Athenians retire to Arginusae with a loss of 25 ships.

- 29 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὧδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἠγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

Διομέδων ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἄριστο- 406-405
B.C.
 κράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασιπίδης· παρὰ δὲ
 Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾷς τεταγμένοι·
 ἔστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος δνόματι Ἴππεύς· ἔχόμεναι
 δ' αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷς· ἐπὶ δὲ
 ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν
 συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεν- 30
 τεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θρασύλλος ἐτέραις πεν-
 τεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων
 τὰς ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δὲ Ἄριστογένης. οὕτω δ' 31
 ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοίεν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἔπλεον.
 αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἀπάσαι
 ἐπὶ μιᾷς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασ-
 μέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
 Καλλικρατίδας. Ἐρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρα- 32
 τίδῃ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀπο-
 πλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῶ πλείονες
 ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ
 κάκιον οἰκείται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ ἀισχρὸν
 ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐνανμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, 33
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ δισκεδασμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλοῦσης τῆς νεῶς ἀποπεσῶν εἰς
 τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχος τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ
 τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν
 Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς
 Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινοῦσας
 κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες 34
 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἕκτος ὀλίγων τῶν
 πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων
 Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἑννέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ'
 ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα.

408-405 *The Athenian generals commission Theramenes and other*
 B.C. *officers to rescue the crews of their sunken vessels with*
47 vessels, while they themselves sail against Eteonicus at
Mytilene. But both projects are prevented by a storm.

35 Ἐδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένη τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τρόπαιον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ἠύλιζοντο.

Eteonicus, by spreading false news of a victory, succeeds in despatching his fleet to Chios, and in marching himself to Methymna.

36 Τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλῃς πάντα ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρήμα δὲ αὐθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν 37 ἅπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον, ἣν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὖριον, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπήγευε εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας.

*Conon meets the Athenian fleet with the news about Eteonicus. 406-405
The fleet sails to Mytilene, makes an attempt on Chios, and
finally returns to Samos.* B.C.

Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι 38
ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργιουσιῶν
ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέ-
πλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν
εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν
ἐπὶ Σάμου.

CHAPTER VII.

*The Athenian generals are replaced by ten others, Conon
alone being re-elected. Of the six who returned to Athens,
Erasinides is accused by Archedemus of corrupt practices,
and sentenced by the court to imprisonment.*

Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν
πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἴλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ
τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν
Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς
Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἕξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ 2
Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρα-
σύλλου καὶ Ἐρασιπίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε
προεσθηκῶς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελούμενος
Ἐρασιπίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ,
φάσκων ἕξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ
δήμου· κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε
τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δεῖσαι τὸν Ἐρασιπίδην.

408-405 B.C. *The other generals also, after informing the Senate about the battle and the storm, are arrested by its order.*

- 3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλή ἐδῆσε.

Before the Assembly Theramenes and others attack the generals for not having rescued the shipwrecked crews, alleging as evidence the official despatch.

- 4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ἣ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγοροῦν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχέιν διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυ μαρτύριον ἦν ἐπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα.

In defence the generals recount the facts, bringing forward some of the sailors as witnesses.

- (357) 5 Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προτέθη σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλείοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξειαν τῶν τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιω ἰκανοῖς καὶ ἔστρατηγηκόσιω ἤδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις· καὶ εἶπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιω ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρέιχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολλούς.

The defence is favourably received, but, it being dark, the assembly adjourns without a vote being taken, after commissioning the Senate to bring forward a proposal as to the procedure of the trial. 408-405 B.C.

Τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον· ἐβούλουτο δὲ 7
πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ
ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν· τότε γὰρ ὄψε ἦν καὶ
τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθέωρων· τὴν δὲ βουλήν προβουλεύ-
σασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὄψω τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίναιτο.

Themamenes avails himself of the Apaturia to excite the Athenians against the accused.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε 8
πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σὺννευσι σφίσιω αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν
περὶ τὸν Θεραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα November 408.
ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρωῖ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν
ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἤκοιεν, ὡς δὴ
συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλιξένου ἔπει-
σαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν.

At the second meeting of the Assembly Callixenus introduces the proposal of the Senate, that the people should decide, without further hearing, upon all the accused at once by a single vote.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἔπολουν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλή εἰσήνεγκε 9
τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ
τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων
ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρα ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψη-
φίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θείναι δὲ εἰς (355)

- 406-405 B.C. τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν 10 προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ, εἰς τὴν ὑτέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἔνδεκα παραδῶναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς 11 θεοῦ εἶναι. παρήλθε δὲ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, ἔαν σωθῆ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.

Euryptolemus and others threaten to indict Callixenus' proposal as unconstitutional, but are compelled to withdraw their threat.

- 12 Τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες γεγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμος τε ὁ Πεισιδάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ξνιοὶ ταῦτα ἐπῆμον, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ μὴ τις ἔασει τὸν δῆμον 13 πράττειν δ' ἂν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἦπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἔαν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλήσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις.

The Prytanes refuse to put the question to the vote, but are all frightened into submission except Socrates.

- 14 Τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων τιῶν οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὐτὸς Καλλίξενος ἀναβάς κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβῶν καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ 15 φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἄλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν.

SPEECH OF EURYPTOLEMUS.

406-405
B.C.

'Pericles and Diomedon were chiefly to blame, because they had persuaded their colleagues not to mention in their despatch the orders they had given to Theramenes and others to rescue the crews.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν 18 στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλευέσων ἃ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας 17 βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσι ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἴτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων 18 ἰδίᾳ ἁμαρτόντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι.

'Two courses were open to the Athenians: the generals might be tried, either before the assembly according to the decree of Cannonus, or before a court according to the law against sacrilege and treason.

Οὐκ ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ δῖα 19 ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστα τάληθῇ πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. συμβουλεύω δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἑμοῦ οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἔξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἂν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ ἅμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἡμέραν

406-405 δόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις
B.C.

- 20 μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. Ἰστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννονοῦ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῆ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῆ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέ-
- 21 κατον εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῆ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχροὺν γάρ μοι ἐστιν ἐκείνον περὶ πλείονος ποιείσθαι ἢ τὴν ὄλην πόλιν.
- 22 τοῦτο δ' εἰ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν καταγνωσθῆ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι.

'But in either case they ought to be tried fairly and separately. Undue haste ought to be avoided, especially in the case of generals who had deserved so well of their country.

- 23 Τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρινέσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον διηρημένον τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἐάν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν ἐάν τε μή, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατηγορῆσαι, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ
- 24 ἀπολογήσασθαι. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικούντες τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀνάιτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδικούντες
- 25 ἀπολοῦνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκούντες κρινεῖτε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμόνιους τοὺς ἐκείνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας, τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν

(357)

νόμον. τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπέλεγσθε ; ἢ 408-405
 μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἂν ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώ- B.C.
 σήτε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ, ἂν παρὰ τὸν 26
 νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλίξενος τὴν βουλὴν ἐπεισεν εἰς τὸν
 δῆμον εἰσευγεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ; ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ 27
 αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείναιτε, μεταμελήσαι δὲ ὕστερον ἀνα-
 μνήσθητε ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι
 καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότες. δεῖνὰ δ' ἂν 28
 ποιήσατε, εἰ Ἄριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον κατα-
 λύνουσι, εἶτα δὲ Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις (355)
 οὖσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ
 τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προὔθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς τοὺς
 πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
 πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς 29
 γε, ὧ Ἄθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν ὄντας τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὗς
 μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν
 πράττειν πειρᾶσθε.

'To return to the facts : Diomedon proposed to rescue the crews, Erasinides to sail against the enemy, Thrasyllus to do both by dividing the fleet.

Ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν ἅπαντας Ἐθράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἔφη γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι.

406-405 'According to Thrasyllus' proposal 47 vessels were told
B.C. off to rescue the crews, and the rest were to sail against
the enemy, but the storm prevented both projects. Many
survivors would witness to the truth of this.

- 30 Καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἑκαστοῦ
ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ
τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς
τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς· αὗται ἅπασαι γίνονται ἑπτὰ καὶ
τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἑκάστην ναῦν τῶν ἀπολω-
31 λυῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων τριηράρχων
ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύβουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ
ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγορεῖ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις
ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἰκανῶς
καὶ καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους μὴ καλῶςπραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχ-
θέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ
ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο
32 κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι
ὁ χειμῶν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πράξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρε-
κελεύσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
αὐτομάτου, ὧν εἰς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ κατα-
δύσης νεῶς διασωθεῖς, ὧν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ
κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ἥπερ
τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα.

'On all grounds therefore the generals ought to be acquitted.'

- 33 Μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ
τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἠττημένοις τε καὶ
ἀτυχούσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν
δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας, οὐχ
ἰκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πράξαι τὰ προσταχ-
θέντα· ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς

νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιῶν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθο- 406-405
 μένους. B.C.

At first the people accept Euryptolemus' proposal to try the generals separately, according to the decree of Cannonus; but at a second vote the Senate's proposal is preferred, and the eight generals are condemned and six of them executed. Not long afterwards the people repent of the injustice.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ 34
 Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκαστον
 ἢ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἢν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων
 δὲ διαχειροτουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν
 Εὐρυπτολέμου ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν *Α. Λ.*
 διαχειροτουλαῖς γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατη-
 γῶν ὀκτῶ ὄντων ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ. καὶ οὐ 35
 πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ
 ἐψηφίσαντο, ὅτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς
 αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν,
 εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ
 ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων.
 ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν
 ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξενος
 δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισού-
 μενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

406-405 *The Peloponnesian soldiers at Chios, hard pressed by want,*
 B.C. *form a plan to sack the city. Eteonicus discovers the plot,*
and by prompt measures puts it down. He asks and
obtains from the Chians a contribution of money.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου στρατιῶται
 ὄντες, ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ
 ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν
 ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυ-
 πόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ
 Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέ-
 2 ρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὁπόσοι εἶσαν. πυ-
 θόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἑτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε
 τί χρῶτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων·
 τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρήσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει
 εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατα-
 σχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ
 πράγματα, ἂν κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους
 συμμαχούς πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ
 εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας διαβολὴν σχοίεν καὶ οἱ στρα-
 3 τιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ᾧσιν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ
 μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας
 ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχῶν τιμὴ ὀφθαλ-
 μιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπίοντι ἐξ ἰατροῦ, κάλαμον ἔχοντι,
 4 ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων τινῶν
 διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ

Ἐτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παρα- 408-405
 γελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ B.C.
 ὁ ἀκούων δεδιῶς μὴ ὀφθείη ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
 Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε
 συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ
 νεωτέρισωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς
 ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσιῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην
 ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρήνει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενη-
 μένου οὐδὲν εἰδῶς, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε.

*On the appeal of her Asiatic allies, supported by envoys from
 Cyrus, Sparta appoints Lysander to be secretary and
 Aracus to be admiral of the fleet.*

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χίοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλ- 8
 λεγέυτες εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐβουλευσάντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεσθηκό-
 των πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά
 τε ἐρούοντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσουστας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὐ
 φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν,
 ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. καὶ ἀπε-
 πέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτα
 λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύ-
 σανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον· οὐ γὰρ
 νόμος αὐτοῖς δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς
 παρέδοσαν Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ
 εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων].

*Cyrus, having put Autoboesaces and Mitraeus to death, is
 summoned before Darius to answer for his conduct.*

Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοι- 8
 σάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαριαίου ἀδελφῆς
 [τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός], ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαν-
 τῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι

406-405 βασιλεί μόνον ἢ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χεῖρῖς, ἐν
 B.C. ἢ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι. Ἰεραμένης
 9 μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαριαῖον δεῖνόν εἶναι εἰ
 περιφύεται τὴν λαὸν ὕβριν τούτου· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν μετα-
 πέμπεται ὡς ἄρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.

III

Lysander, on his arrival at Ephesus, collects all the ships he can from Chios, Antandros, and elsewhere, gets a fresh supply of money from Cyrus, and refits his fleet. The Athenians make similar preparations at Samos.

10 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορευόντος,
 405-404 ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμε-
 B.C. νος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς
 ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἰ ποῦ τις ἦν,
 καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυ-
 11 πηγείτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ἤτει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ
 εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἶη, καὶ ἔτι
 πλείω πολλῶ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι,
 12 ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰργύριον, ἐπὶ
 τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν
 ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ
 οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ
 Σάμῳ.

Cyrus, before going up to his father in Media, leaves Lysander in charge of all the tribute of his satrapy, and warns him against fighting with the Athenians.

13 Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπὶ
 αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἄρρωστῶν
 ἐκείνον καλοῖη, ὧν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδείας ἐγγύς
 14 Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὗς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας. ἦκουτα δὲ
 Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ

πολλῶ πλείους ναῦς ἔχη· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ 405-404
 βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. B.C.
 παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων,
 οἱ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ
 ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν
 πατέρα.

*Lysander takes Cedreiae in Caria by storm, and then sets out
 for Rhodes. - The Athenians sail to Chios and Ephesus,
 and choose three additional generals.*

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδούς τὰ 15
 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπτος ἀνέ-
 βαινε, μισθὸν διαδούς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῆς Καρίας
 εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρεαῖς τῇ ὑστεραῖα
 προσβολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν
 δὲ μισοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀπέπλευσεν
 εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι 16
 τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς ἐπόουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν
 Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν,
 καὶ στρατηγούς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προσείλοντο Μέ-
 νανδρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον.

*Lysander sails past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians
 put out to sea from Chios.*

Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ 17
 πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλοῦν. 378.
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφῆστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι. ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμῖα
 αὐτοῖς ἦν.

405-404 B.C. *Lysander takes Lampsacus by storm. The Athenians, 180 strong, sail in pursuit, first to Elaëus, then to Sestos, where they anchor off Aegospotami, opposite Lampsacus, and offer battle.*

- 18 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὔσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυθηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρήσαν περὶ ἠγεῖτο δὲ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος.
- 19 προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὔσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα
- 20 σώματα πάντα ἀφήκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλείοντες ὤρμισαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιούντι ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ
- 21 εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· διέχει δ' ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτην σταδίου ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο.

For four days they try in vain to draw Lysander out of his harbour. Alcibiades points out to them the disadvantages of their position, but their generals scorn his advice and refuse to move.

- 22 Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβαλόντων, προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς
- 23 τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχουσι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποτα-
- 24 μούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν

ἔπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας 405-404
 ὃ τι ποιούσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ B.C.
 πρότερον ἔξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐταὶ ἦκον.
 ταῦτα δ' ἐποίησε τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανή-
 γουτο. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν 25
 Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμούντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει,
 τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα στα-
 δίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ
 πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς
 ὀρμῆναι, ἀλλὰ μεθορμῖσαι εἰς Σηστόν παρήνει πρὸς τε
 λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν
 βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ 26
 Μενανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν
 στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνων. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄχρητο.

BATTLE OF AEGOSPOTAMI.

On the fifth day, at a given signal from his scouts, Lysander suddenly rows across the strait with his whole fleet, and surprises the Athenians while they are scattered along the shore obtaining provisions. He captures without a blow the entire Athenian fleet, except Conon's squadron and the Paralus, and most of the crews.

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς 27
 Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὴν κατιδω-
 σιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν
 Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποιοῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἑκάστην
 ἡμέραν, τὰ τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρο-
 νοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνταπήγεν, ἀποπλέοντας
 τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν.
 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε. Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθύς 28
 ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· συμπαρήει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ
 τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλοον, ἐσήμηνεν
 εἰς τὰς νῆας βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ

405-404 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ
 B.C. μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ
 ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθροαὶ καὶ ἡ
 Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβεν πρὸς τῇ
 γῆ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἀνδρας ἐν τῇ γῆ συνέλεξεν· οἱ
 δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τευχύδρια.

Conon escapes to Cyprus. The Paralus carries the news to Athens. Lysander brings his prisoners to Lampsacus, and sends Theopompus to Sparta to announce his victory.

- 29 Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἀβαρινίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ
 μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἰστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτῶ
 ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ
 Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγελοῦσα τὰ γενοῦσα.
- 30 Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τᾶλλα
 πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβεν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατη-
 γῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ἦ δ' ἡμέρα
 ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον
 λησθῆν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γενοῦσα, ὃς
 ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε.

Lysander summons a meeting of his allies at Lampsacus at which they make many complaints of Athenian cruelty. In revenge he executes all the Athenians among his captives, except the general Adimantus.

- 31 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους
 ἐκέλευσε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
 κατηγοραὶ ἐγίνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ τε ἤδη
 παρενενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ
 κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν

τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, 405-404
 Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας B.C.
 κατακρημνίσειαν· Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, 32
 καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκ-
 κλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος·
 ἠτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινων προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος
 δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ
 Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἶη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος
 εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

CHAPTER II.

Byzantium and Chalcedon submit to Lysander, who sends the Athenian garrisons in them and elsewhere back to Athens, hoping thereby the sooner to reduce the city to starvation.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῃ κατεστήσατο, ἐπλεῖ ἐπὶ
 τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο,
 τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ
 δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον
 εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο
 Ἀθηναῖοι. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων 2
 καὶ εἴ τινα που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς
 Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκέισε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοσε
 δ' οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῃ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ
 καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θάττον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι.
 καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνας Σθενέλαον

405-404 ἄρμωσθην Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς
 B.C. ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.
 (262)

The Athenians, on hearing of their disaster, reflecting that the vengeance they had taken on many subject states was about to return upon their own heads, resolve to prepare the city for a siege.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἢ συμφορὰ, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διήκειν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων ὥστ' ἐκεῖνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίου τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ Ἰστιαίας καὶ Σκιωναίου καὶ Τορωναίου καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὕστερατᾷ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἣ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχωῶσαι πλὴν ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εὐτρεπίσειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

Lysander sails to Lesbos, where he reorganizes the governments of the several states, and despatches Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. All the Athenian allies revolt, except the Samians.

5 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσλαίς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ
 6 ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυ-

μαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατέειχον τὴν πόλιν.

405-404
B.C.

Simultaneously the Spartans and their allies under king Pausanias invade Attica and encamp in the Academy, and Lysander, having restored Aegina and Melos to their exiled citizens, blockades Piraeus.

Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπέμψε πρὸς Ἄγιν τε εἰς 7
Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακο-
σίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος
τοῦ ἐτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Πανσανίου. ἐπεὶ 8
δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσε ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ [τῷ καλουμένῳ
γυμνασίῳ]. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιαν ἀπέ- 9
δακε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγιωῆταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους
αὐτῶν ἄθροίσας, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλα-
μίνα ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ νηυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἴσπλου.

The Athenians maintain an obstinate resistance till all their corn fails; then they send envoys to Agis with offers of an alliance, but he refers them to the Ephors at Sparta; by whom, however, they are refused permission to enter the country.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ 10
θάλατταν ἠπόρουσαν τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμ-
μάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν
εἶναι σωτηρίαν μὴ παθεῖν ἢ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας
οὐδ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον αἰτία ἐτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ 11
ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ

- 405-404 B.C. ἀποθυησκότων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο
περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σίτος ἐπελε-
λοῖπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἄγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμ-
μαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντας τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν
13 Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιείσθαι. ὁ δὲ
αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι
κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα
13 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ'
ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον] τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ
ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἰάπερ καὶ πρὸς
Ἄγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται
14 εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἦκειν βουλευσαμένων. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις
ἐπεὶ ἦγον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
ἀθυμία ἐπέπεσε πᾶσιν· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθῆσθαι,
καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ
λιμῶ ἀπολείσθαι.

*Still they will not hear of demolishing their Long Walls, and
even arrest Archestratus for making such a proposal.*

- 15 Περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο
συμβουλευεῖν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο
εἰρήνην ποιείσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν
τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίοις καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου· ἐγένετο δὲ
ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλευεῖν.

*Theramenes procures his own despatch to negotiate with
Lysander, but after waiting more than three months returns
with the information, that the Ephors alone had power to
make peace. However he and nine others are chosen as
plenipotentiaries and sent to Sparta.*

- 16 Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι
εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἤξει

Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν 405-404
 βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. B.C.
 πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ
 πλεόν, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλε-
 λοιπέναι τὸν σίτον ἅπαντα ὅ,τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι 17
 αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς
 Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἤρέθη πρὸς βεν-
 τῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτῳ δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσαν- 18
 δρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων
 Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλη, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, ὅτι
 ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης
 καὶ πολέμου.

*An audience is given to them at Sparta, where many accusa-
 tions are brought against the Athenians, especially by the
 Corinthians and Thebans; but the Spartans refuse to
 destroy Athens utterly, and offer terms of peace.*

Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν 19
 Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἤκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι.
 αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν
 ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκου, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν
 ἣ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίους,
 ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν 20
 Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν
 τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ'
 ἐποιούντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πει-
 ραιαῖά καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας
 καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχθρὸν καὶ φίλον

405-404 νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
B.C. κατὰ θάλατταν ὄποι ἀν ἡγῶνται.

The Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few, readily accept the terms offered.

- 21 Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανέφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχέιτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἦκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ
22 λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραῖα ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δὲ τιῶν αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην.

Lysander and the exiles enter Piraeus and begin the destruction of the Long Walls, celebrating the first day of Greek Freedom.

- 23 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῆσαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

Contemporary events in Sicily.

- 24 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διούσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράνησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἠττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπᾶνει δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.

CHAPTER III.

404-403
B.C.

The Athenians appoint Thirty men to draw up a new constitution, whereupon Lysander sails to Samos, and Agis withdraws from Decelea.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ῶ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἥ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Εὐδίκου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορευόντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχοντος, δὴν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἤρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ᾧδε.] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἀνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς 2 πατέριους νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὗς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ἤρέθησαν οἷδε, Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἴππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀνατίσιος, Πείσιων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θεόγυις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φεῖδων, Δρακουτίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἴππόμαχος, Μνησιθείδης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

Contemporary events in Thessaly and Sicily.

Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε. September 404.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος 5 τύραννος μάχῃ ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριαν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίοις συνοικούντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν

404-408
B.C.

πόλιω ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.

Samos surrenders at discretion. Lysander, after reorganizing the government, dismisses the allied fleet, and at the head of the Lacedaemonian ships returns to Sparta in triumph with all the spoils of war.

- 6 Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντη, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἐμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὠμολόγησαν ἐν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα
- 7 παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόητα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἀφήκε τὸ
- (154) 8 τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τὰ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεω ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτίσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

A list of the Ephors to show the duration of the war.

- 9 Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους [εἰς δ' ἐξάμημος καὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελευτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβόλας ἄλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπουδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτου οἶδε, Βρασίδης, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδης, Ἐξάρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγε-
- September 404.

νίδας, Ὀνομακλήης, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, 404-403
 Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας, B.C.
 Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιπ-
 πίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παν-
 τακλήης, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Εὐδίκος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος
 πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν.]

The Thirty delay to publish the new constitution, and put their own creatures into the senate and other offices. They proceed to purge the city of all extreme democrats, and to support their violent measures they procure from Lysander a Spartan garrison with Callibius as harmost.

Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἤρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ 11
 τεῖχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ
 ἐφ' ὅτε συγγράφαι νόμους, καθ' οὓσιντας πολιτεύσουτο,
 τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι,
 βουλῆν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει
 αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ 12
 δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς
 κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον θανά-
 του· καὶ ἢ τε βουλή ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἱ τε
 ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν
 ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη 13
 αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου
 πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ
 Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρά-
 ξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι
 καταστήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισ-
 χουῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον 14
 ἀρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν
 φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ
 θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοῖ ἃ πράττειεν, τῶν δὲ φρου-

404-408 ρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνε-
 B.C. λάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους,
 ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχε-
 σθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλειστοὺς ἀν-
 τοὺς συνθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.

A disagreement arises between Critias and Theramenes, the former urging a policy of indiscriminate bloodshed.

- 15 Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετηγῆς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἐνεκα τῆ πόλει καὶ
- 16 εἶπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δὲ, ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο τῷ Θηραμένει, ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἡττόν τι οἶει ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπι-
- 17 μελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἢ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἰκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν.

To satisfy Theramenes the Thirty nominate three thousand to participate in the government; a measure which Theramenes criticizes as at once dangerous and absurd.

- 18 Ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένη, μὴ συρροείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς

μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ 404-403
 πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ 19
 πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν
 κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίουσ, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν
 τούτου ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ
 οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς
 οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς
 τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βίαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
 ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους.

*By a stratagem the Thirty strip all the Athenians, except
 the Three Thousand, of their arms: they now begin a reign
 of terror, putting to death their own personal enemies and
 rich citizens for the sake of their money.*

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν 20
 μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου
 ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν ᾧ
 ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν
 πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα πάντων πλήν
 τῶν τρισχιλίων παρέιλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενο- 21
 μένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅ,τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς
 μὲν ἐχθρας ἕνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων.
 ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα
 δίδοναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐ-
 τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημῆσθαι.

• (34)

*When Theramenes opposes these measures, the rest of the
 Thirty conspire against him, and Critias openly accuses
 him before the Senate.*

Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βού- 22
 λοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν
 εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκο-

M 403 φαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμ-
B.C. βάνοιεν (ἦν εἶων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικούντας,
 23 ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων
 ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ
 ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλοιντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ
 πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς
 λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανί-
 σκοις οἱ ἐδόκουσιν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ
 24 μάλῃς ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν.
 ἔπει δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν
 ὧδε.

SPEECH OF CRITIAS.

"The numerous executions were necessitated by the long duration of democracy at Athens, and had the full approval of the Lacedaemonians."

ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλεί-
 νας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὅπου πο-
 λιτεία μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλεί-
 στους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλι-
 γαρχίαν μεθιστάσι διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν
 Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον
 ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες
 μὲν τοῖς ὀλοῖς ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι
 ὀλιγαρχίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περι-
 γώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο,
 ἔσθ' ὅτε βέλτιστοι αἰεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν
 ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίστα-
 καὶ ἂν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ,
 ἐν δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα
 γόν ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται
 κεῖ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν δίδοναι.
 ὅτι

Theramenes had shown himself not an enemy only, but a traitor; though he had been foremost in making peace with Sparta and in putting down the democracy, he now wished to make his peace with the people and so secure a safe retreat. 404-403 B.C.

Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένη τούτουι οἷς δύναται 27 ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς· τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἦν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τούτουι τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τιὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίουν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως 28 καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῆ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε 29 οὐ μόνον ὥς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίοις μὲν ἀνθρώποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αἰθῆς πιστοὶ γίνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπέισατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ.

In the past he had been highly honoured by the people; then he had been foremost in promoting the revolution of the Four Hundred, and foremost again in bringing about their fall. Well therefore had he deserved the nickname of Buskin.

Ἵνα δὲ εἰδήτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ 30

404-403
B.C.

φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πε-
πραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἄγωνα, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο
τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ
ἐπρώτευσεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤσθητο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ
ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ
ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικα-

- 31 λείται· [καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττει μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν
ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.] δεῖ
δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἀνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν
δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἦν δέ τι ἀντι-
κόπτη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ δια-
πονείσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὐρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς
ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ξυθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψη,
εὐθὺς εἰς τὰναντία πλέοιεν;

*'By such shifts he had caused the death of many; he had
procured the condemnation of the generals after Arginusae
to save his own life.'*

- 32 Καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν
θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις
μὲν μεταίτιος εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολω-
λέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων.
οὗτος δὲ τοῖ ἐστὶν ὅς ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρα-
τηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου
ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν
κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περιωθείη.

*'Death was the only punishment meet for such a man. If
they should condemn him they would, but follow the
example of Sparta; while if they acquitted him, he was
sure to prove the ruin of them all.'*

- 33 Ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ

ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρέ- 404-408
 πόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ
 φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὡς μὴ καὶ
 ἡμᾶς ταῦτο δυνασθῆ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν
 καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ
 ὑμᾶς. ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιούμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε.
 καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δῆπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἢ Λακε- 34
 δαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ
 τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
 ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἶσθε αὐτὸν
 καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης
 πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς
 οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονήτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε,
 ὡς οὗτος σωθεῖς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσῃε
 τῶν ἐναντία γινωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων
 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς
 ἐλπίδας.

THE RAMENES SPEAKS IN HIS OWN DEFENCE.

Really the generals at Arginusae had been the first to accuse him. In alleging the violence of the storm he had offered a reasonable defence, so that in accusing him they had pronounced their own condemnation. Critias knew nothing of the matter, being at that time in Thessaly.

‘Ο μὲν ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς 35
 ἔλεξεν, Ἄλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ
 τελευταῖον κατ’ ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γὰρ ἔμε τοὺς στρατη-
 γοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον δῆπου
 κατ’ ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν
 μοι ὑφ’ ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχούοντας ἐν τῇ
 περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ
 τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλείν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας

404-403 δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ'
 B.C. ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκουτες γὰρ οἷόν τε
 εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς
 38 ἀποπλέοντες ᾤχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν
 * παρανεομηκένας· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγ-
 χανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν
 κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὤπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δε-
 σπότας.

*'But it was not men like himself who endangered the exist-
 ence of the Government, but those who had wished to put
 to death the foremost men in the state.*

37 Ὡν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο·
 τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς
 ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν
 ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας
 τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἶμαι
 ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τὰ τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν
 38 πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν
 τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστῆναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς
 ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπά-
 γεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγιγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι
 ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε κάγαθους συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ
 τούτου καὶ ἐγὼ ἠρξάμην τὰναντία· τούτοις γιγνώσκω.
 39 ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλα-
 μινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι,
 ἀδικούντος δ' οὐδὲ ἕν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται,
 φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται·
 ἐγιγνώσκω δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ
 Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε
 αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσ-
 40 μενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσονται. Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος

ὕφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένοι, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις 404-403
 εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι B.C.
 τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν.

'He had consistently resisted such measures as the arrest of the metæci, the seizure of arms, the hiring of the Spartan garrison, the banishment of leading citizens.

Ἄντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρήναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ ⁴¹ νομίζων χρήναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξήν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γε δέοινο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαστας. οὐδὲ γε τὸ ⁴² φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἠγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσονται, τοῖς δ' ἠγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσονται.

'Did such conduct show him to be a friend or a traitor? Surely those rather were traitors who by such evil counsel had made so many enemies.

Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ πότερα· εὐμενῆς ⁴³
 ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ᾧ

- 404-403 Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιείσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχους
 B.C. πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἰσχυροὺς ποιούσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε
 χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας ἀπο-
 κτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους
 ποιούντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ
 44 καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν
 ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ᾧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε
 Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄντων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἢ
 ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίνεσθαι ἢ
 ἢ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς
 νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κρᾶ-
 τιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν
 ἠγείσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.

'He had indeed turned against the Four Hundred, but only when he had perceived that they had deluded the people with the vain hope of a Spartan alliance.

- 45 Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγὼ εἶμι οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε μεταβῆ-
 λεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
 τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δῆπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψη-
 φίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάση πολιτείᾳ
 46 μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκεῖνοι
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίσταν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ Μελάνθιον
 καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγούντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ
 τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς δ' ἐβούλοντο τοὺς
 πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις τὴν
 πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενός ἐγὼ διεκάλωσα,
 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων;

'He was nicknamed the Buskin for suiting both sides; but what of Critias who suited neither side? He had consistently advocated a moderate constitution, opposed alike to extreme democracy and extreme oligarchy.'

404-403
B.C.

Ἄποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον 47
ἀρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς
τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν
τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ
ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ 48
δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ
πρόσθεν οἰόμενοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ
οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν
πόλιν δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίως
εἰμι οἱ οὐκ οἶονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν,
πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννείσθαι τὴν πόλιν κατα-
στήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων
καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν
πρόσθεν ἀριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.

'If Critias could convict him of treachery to such a policy, he was indeed worthy of death.'

Εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δε- 49
μοτικαῖς ἢ τυραννικαῖς τοῖς καλοῦς τε καὶ κακοῖς ἀποστε-
ρεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν
ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πέποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ
τὰ πάντων ἔσχατα παθῶν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκην.

Critias, seeing that Theramenes would be acquitted by the senate, arbitrarily erases his name from the roll of the Three Thousand and condemns him to death in the name of the Thirty.

Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλή δὴλη 50

404-408
B.C.

ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθουρβήσασα, γνούς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστήναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ

51 ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι ὅλον δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτουὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

Theramenes takes refuge at the altar, appealing against this illegal procedure; but Critias, relying on the guard he had posted round the senate house, hands him over to the Eleven.

52 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἰκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὄνπερ νόμον οἷτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν

53 καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οἷτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοί,

θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γινώ- 404-408
σκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ
ὑμῶν ἐκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκάλεσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριά- 54
κοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἔνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένη. ἐκείνοι δὲ
εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου
τοῦ θραυστάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας,
Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτοῖ κατακεκριμένον
κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ
ἔνδεκα οἱ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε.

*The senate, panic stricken, passively allows Theramenes to be
dragged away from the altar and hurried to execution.
His last sayings.*

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυ- 55
ρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς
καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γινόμε-
να. ἡ δὲ βουλή ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὀρώσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ
τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρω καὶ τὸ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ
βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες
ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν 58
ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα
οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δ' ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἶπεν
ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρητο, Ἄν-
δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀπο-
θνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον
ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, Κριτία τουτ' ἔστω
τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀπο-
φθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκείνου δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἀγαστοῦν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον
μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

CHAPTER IV.

404-403 B.C. *The Thirty expel all not on the roll of the Three Thousand from Attica. The refugees assemble in Megara and Thebes.*

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθαιεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προείπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

Thrasylbulus, starting from Thebes with a few refugees, seizes Phyle, repulses the attack of the Thirty, and makes a successful sally upon their camp, his forces being now increased to 700.

- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὄρηθεις ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισηκίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππευσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν 3 οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ 4 τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. γινώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμ-

πουσιν εἰς τὰς ἑσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ 404-403
 Φυλῆς τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ B.C.
 τῶν ἰππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν
 χωρίῳ λασιῷ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συν- 5
 ειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν
 αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ὅσον
 τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἠσυχίαν εἶχεν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίστατο ὅποι 8
 ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, καὶ οἱ ἰπποκόμοι ψήχον-
 τες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ
 περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὄπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι
 μὲν οὖς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν
 ἕξ ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλέον
 ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἰππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν
 καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόν-
 τες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον 7
 στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὄπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ
 σκευὴ ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἕξ ἄστως ἰππεῖς
 βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσ-
 μείναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες
 ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ.

*The Thirty seize Eleusis as a place of retreat for themselves,
 by a stratagem capturing all the able-bodied Eleusinians.
 Next day they compel the Athenian knights and the Three
 Thousand to condemn all these prisoners to death.*

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ 8
 σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσα-
 σθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ
 παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα
 Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιή-
 σαντες [ἐν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι], φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι

- 404-403 πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον
 B.C. ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ
 τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξίεναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ
 τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ'
 ἐξίοντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπῆρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες
 συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν Ἰππαρχον ἐκέλευον
 θ ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔνδεκα. τῇ δ'
 ὑστεραία εἰς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ κατα-
 λόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἰππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ
 Κριτίας ἔλεξεν, Ἕμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν
 κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν
 ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων
 μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων κατα-
 ψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ
 φοβῆσθε. δείξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε
 10 φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ
 ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδεῖου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν ἦν δὲ
 ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον
 ἔμελεν.

Thrasylbulus marches upon Piraeus, but unable to hold so large a town against the forces of the Thirty, occupies a strong position on Munychia.

- Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
 περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς
 εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα,
 εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς
 ἰππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς
 11 τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἄμαξιτον ἀναφέρουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
 ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ
 κύκλος ὦν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὕτω πολλοῖς
 οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ

ἀσπεως εἰς τὴν Ἴπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον 404-403
 μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς B.C.
 τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· (62)
 καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πευτήκοντα
 ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ 12
 ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ
 πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκουισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ
 γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῆσαν οἱ
 ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας,
 τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὄπλα ἔχων,
 κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν·

*Thrasybulus addresses his troops. 'On the right they had
 against them the men they had already defeated, on the left
 the hated Thirty. The gods were evidently now on their
 side: for victory was certain over an enemy placed in so
 unfavourable a position.'*

* Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνήσαι 13
 ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν
 ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε,
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ
 ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας καὶ οἰκιῶν
 ἐξήλανον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαί-
 νοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηται οἱ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε
 ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ ἠνυχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα 14
 ἐναντίοι μὲν αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ
 δειπνοῦντες συναλαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγορά-
 ζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικούντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδη-
 μοῦντες ἐφυγαδεύομεθα, νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ

404-408 καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρώμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις
B.C.

- 15 οὔσι τρόπαια ἴστασθαι διδάσκει· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσκασιν
ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὔτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκου-
τίσειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι
δύναιτ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες
καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς
16 κατατρώσομεν. καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειεν τοῖς γε
πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δ', ἐὰν ὑμεῖς,
ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται
μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπε-
τεύσουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ
τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους
ἀνατρέπειν.

*'Every one of them must fight, remembering the high stakes
at issue, and the vengeance due to all of them.'*

- 17 'Ἄλλ', ᾧ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις
ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὧν. αὕτη γὰρ
ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλη, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους
καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυ-
ναῖκας. ᾧ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι
τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις
ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὧν καλοῦ
τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ παιᾶνα·
ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐυνάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες
ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

*Warned by the seer, who is himself the first to fall, Thra-
sybulus waits for the enemy to attack, whereupon he gains
a complete victory, Critias himself being among the slain.*

- 18 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους,
ἠσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ

πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ 404-408
 τρωθεῖη· ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, B.C.
 ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δὲ ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι
 θάνατος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 19
 ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς
 ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος· ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις
 ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαιπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ·
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὄμαλου.
 ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ
 Ἴππομάχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης
 ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ
 μὲν ὄπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν
 ἐσκύλευσαν.

When after the battle the troops of the two factions met together, Cleocritus, the sacred herald, proclaims on behalf of the refugees with Thraisybulus, that they had no quarrel with their fellow-citizens, but only with the Thirty, who in eight months had caused the death of more Athenians than the Lacedaemonians in ten years. The Thirty withdraw their forces to Athens.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους
 ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιώντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.
 Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὐφρονος ὢν, 20
 κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν, Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξε-
 λαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν
 μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχῆκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ
 ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλ- (50)
 λίστων, καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτητα γεγενήμεθα καὶ
 συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κекινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ
 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων
 ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶων 21
 καὶ μητρῶων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας, (294)

404-403
B.C.

πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδοῦ-
μενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνουτες
εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριά-
κοντα, οἱ ἰδίῳν κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκ-
τόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσὶν ἢ πάντες Πελοπου-
22 νήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. ἔξδν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ
πολιτεύεσθαι, οὔτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλε-
πώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ
ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν.
ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν
ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὗς
πολλὰ κατεδακρῦσαμεν. ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς
μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.

*At a meeting of the senate open dissension breaks out among
the Three Thousand, until they vote to depose the Thirty
and appoint Ten in their place.*

23 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάντῃ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ
ἐρημοὶ συνεκάθητο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων
ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς
ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ
ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεῖη καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς
ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδίκηκεναι, αὐτοὶ
τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν
δέοιτο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν
χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν.
καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι,
ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέεσθαι. καὶ εἴλοντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

The Thirty retire to Eleusis. The Ten supported by the Knights keep guard over the city. Their opponents at Piraeus make new weapons and organize their ever increasing forces. 403-402 B.C.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσίνῳ ἀπήλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα 24
 τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων
 ἀλλήλοισι σὺν τοῖς ἰππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον
 δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδεῖῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς
 ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ'
 ἑσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς
 ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, αἰεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπείσειεν
 τινας αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἤδη 25
 ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποῖ, ὄπλα ἐποιούντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλα, οἱ
 δὲ οἰσύνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα
 γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ
 ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν
 ὀπλίται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνήτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ
 ἰππεῖς ὡς εἰ ἑβδομήκοντα· προνομᾶς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ
 λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν
 Πειραιεῖ.

Meantime they make constant sallies, in revenge for which the knights ruthlessly butcher some Axionians. In return they kill the knight Callistratus, and soon venture to march close up to the walls of Athens.

Τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὄπλοις 26
 ἐξῆει, οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν.
 περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰζωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν
 ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσί-
 μαχος ὁ ἰππάρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ

403-402 πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἰππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ
 B.C. 27 καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλ-
 λίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρό-
 νουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον.
 εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ
 ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλ-
 λοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα
 ἀμαξιαλοὺς λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος
 βούλοιο τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς
 ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρέιχε.

*In response to an appeal from the Three Thousand at Athens
 and the Thirty at Piræus, the Spartans send out Lysander
 as harmost and his brother as admiral to blockade Piræus,
 so that the tables are once more turned.*

28 Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν
 τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄσ-
 τεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύοντων, ὡς ἀφεστηκὸς τοῦ δήμου
 ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἶόν τε
 εἶη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ κατὰ τε γῆν
 καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείησαν,
 συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ
 αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἄρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 29 ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν
 Ἐλευσινιάδε συνέλεγεν ὅπλαίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους·
 ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν
 εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν
 ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὐ
 μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ.

But Pausanias, out of jealousy against Lysander, persuades three of the ephors to let him head a second expedition to Athens. All the allies follow him, except the Corinthians and Boeotians, who refuse to join, and with them he encamps near the Piraeus. 408-402 B.C.

Οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Πausανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκίμησοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίᾳ ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ 30 σύμμαχοι. πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κοριθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιούντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκεῖαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πausανίας ἔστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιῶν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

Pausanias summons the refugees at Piraeus to disperse, and on their refusal makes a half-hearted attack upon them. Failing in this and in a similar attack the next day he advances with all his forces and gains a complete victory over Thrasybulus and his supporters.

Πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πausανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαντῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπέβουτο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ὤν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῆ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ 32 προσέθεόν τινας καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρείχον, ἀχθεσθεῖς

403-402 παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἔλᾶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ
 B.C. τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοὺς
 ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν
 ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ
 33 θέατρον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἱ τε πελτασταὶ
 πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ
 εὐθύς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξενον, ἐσφεν-
 δόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώ-
 σκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα. οἱ δ' ἐν
 τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει
 Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακρά-
 τῆς ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμο-
 34 νίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὄρων δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
 Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ
 παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας
 μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ
 πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ
 δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς βαθείαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα
 δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ
 ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ
 ἑκατόν.

Pausanias urges the two factions at Piraeus and Athens to send envoys to him and the ephors present in his camp; and when they arrive in obedience to his summons, he sends them on to Sparta, where they both tender a complete submission to the Lacedaemonian supremacy.

35 'Ο δὲ Πανσανίας τρόπαιον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν

πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπέιθοντο. ⁴⁰⁸⁻⁴⁰⁹
 διίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς ^{B.C.}
 προσιέναι ὡς πλείστοις συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι
 οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυ-
 θέντες κοινῇ ἀμφοτέροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.
 ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἔφορος ὦν συνήκουεν' 38
 ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συ-
 στρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφο-
 τεροὶ τῆς μετὰ Πανσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς
 μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα
 προθύμως ἐπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς
 πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ
 ἄστει ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ 37
 μέντοι οὗτοι ὄχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἐπεμπον δὴ καὶ
 οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν
 παραδιδάσκει καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι β,τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμο-
 νίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν.

The Spartan government despatches fifteen commissioners to arrange the terms of reconciliation. These settled, Pausanias disbands his army, and Thrasybulus marches up to Athens.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι 38 (206)
 ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ
 ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πανσανίῳ διαλλάξαι ὅπη δύναντο κάλ-
 λιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ὅτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους πλὴν τῶν
 τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάν-
 των δέκα. εἰ δὲ τινες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν
 αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων 39

403-402 Παισανίας μὲν διήκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
 B.C. ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ
 Ἀθηνῶ.

SPEECH OF THRASYBULUS.

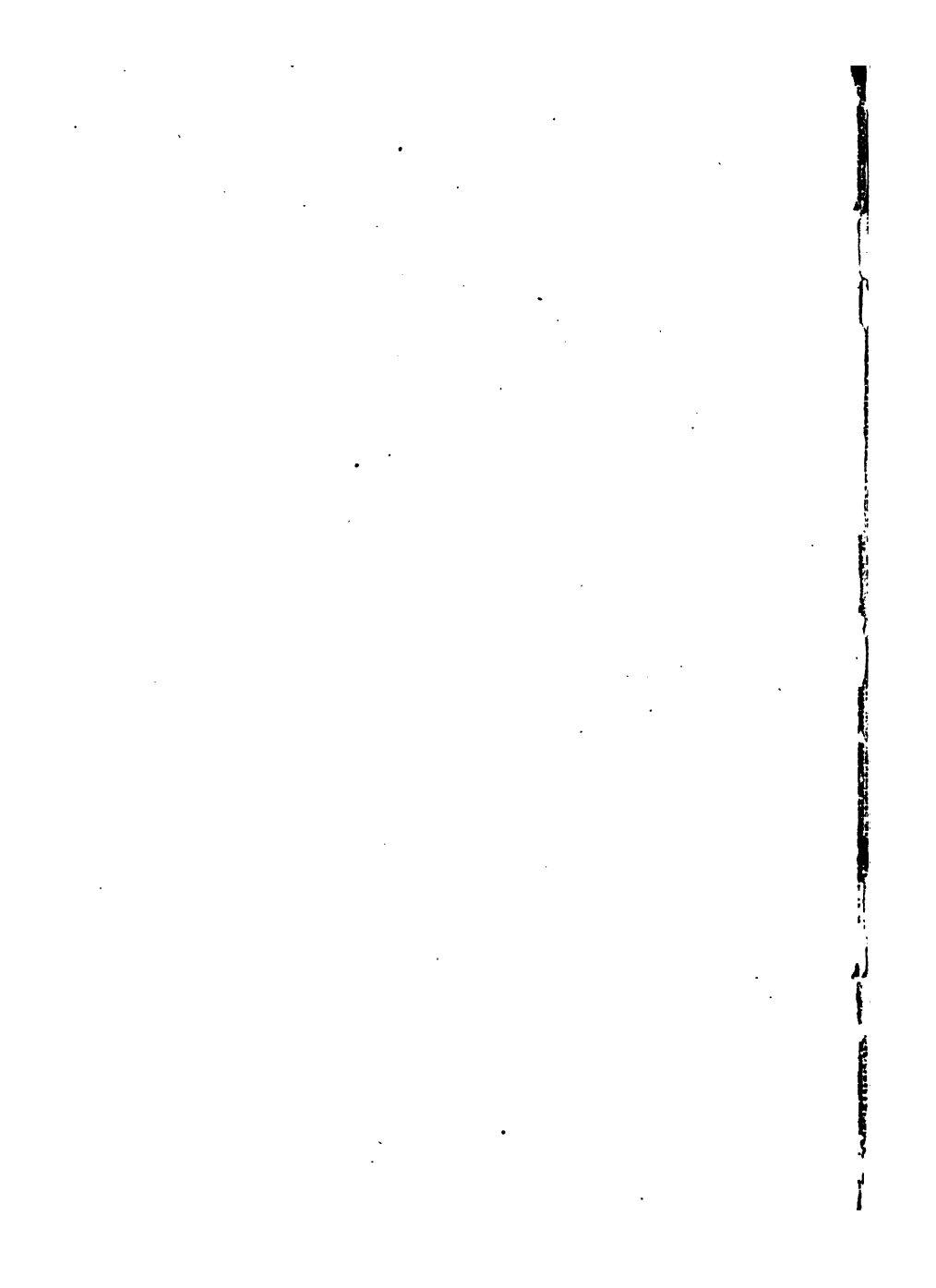
'On what grounds did their opponents claim to rule over them? Facts had shown them to be no juster, braver, or wiser than themselves. Even the Lacedaemonians had forsaken them. Once more he wished his followers to show themselves the better men by keeping their oath of reconciliation.'

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύ-
 40 βουλος ἔλεξεν, Ἔμῳ, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄσπεως ἄνδρες,
 συμβουλευέω ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν
 γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσασθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῶν μέγα φρονη-
 τέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δι-
 377) καιώτεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὦν
 οὐδὲν πρόποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἠδίκηκεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ
 πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῦ ἔνεκα
 κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν
 προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα φρο-
 41 νητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὡς
 ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν
 πρόχειν, οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα
 καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων
 ἐχόντων παραλέλυσθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ
 οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἴγε ὦ περ τοὺς
 δάκνουτας κύνας κλοιῶ δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω
 42 κακίνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἠδίκημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴ-
 χονται ἀπίοντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιώ ἐγὼ
 ὦν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς

τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὐρκοὶ καὶ ὄσιοί 403-402
 ἔστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν B.C.
 δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆ-
 σθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

The Athenians then reorganize their constitution; but shortly afterwards, hearing the Thirty are forming a conspiracy, they seize and slay their generals, but come to terms with the rest, to which ever since they have faithfully adhered.

Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· 43
 ὕστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς
 Ἐλευσίνοι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημίῃ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν
 στρατηγούς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς
 δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμφαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους
 ἔπεισαν συναλλαγήναι· καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ
 μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς
 ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.



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XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS I, II

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PART II.—NOTES

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NOTES.

§ 1. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα.* For the interval that must have elapsed between the points, where Thucydides' narrative ends and Xenophon's begins, see *Introd.* pp. 6, 7.

αὐτοῖς, in a second battle; the Athenian victory at Cynossema being apparently the first (*Thuc.* viii. 106).

§ 2. *ἐκ Πόδου.* For the positions of Dorieus, Mindarus, Tissaphernes, and Alcibiades at this time see *Introd.* pp. 6, 7.

τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, i. e. Thrasyllus and Thrasylbulus (*Thuc.* viii. 104). *ὡς ἦνοιγε*, 'as soon as he got clear,' i. e. of the narrow strait of the Hellespont. *περὶ τὸ Πόρτειον* must be joined with *πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε*. The imperfect tense expresses the attempt.

§ 3. *εἰς Μάδυτον*, in the Thracian Chersonese not far from Sestos.

§ 4. *ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν*, i. e. to Abydos.

§ 5. *ἔξ ἑωθινοῦ.* Mindarus had moved his fleet from Elaeus to Abydos (cf. *Diod.* xiii. 45), so that, since Ilium is twenty miles from Abydos, and since he saw Dorieus entering *ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ*, in all probability the fight must have been renewed the day after Dorieus' arrival in the Hellespont. Moreover the Athenian ships seem (cf. §§ 2, 3) to have sailed from Madytus, fought against Dorieus and returned to Madytus again before the second battle—a process, which, considering the twenty or thirty miles thus traversed, must have occupied several hours. Further, since Madytus was nearly opposite to Abydos, the second battle must have been fought somewhere between the two cities, and consequently much higher up the Hellespont than the first. *Diodorus* (l. c.) speaks of one battle only, making Mindarus sail down from Abydos to the support of Dorieus at the Dardanian promontory. Accordingly Breitenbach, wishing to reconcile the two accounts, regards *ἔξ ἑωθινοῦ* as an interpolation.

§ 6. *Φαρνάβητος* was satrap of Phrygia Minor and Bithynia, and was now in league with the Peloponnesians (*Thuc.* viii. 80, 99).

§ 7. *συμφράξαντες*, 'having formed in close order.'

§ 9. *συλλαβόν.* Though after this Alcibiades could never again hope to delude the Athenians with promises of Persian aid (*Thuc.* viii. 82), his own naval successes round Samos and now in the Hellespont seem to have been sufficient to secure for him their confidence. Tissaphernes

BOOK I.

I.

BOOK I. evidently wanted to retrieve his position in the opinion of the Peloponnesians (Thuc. viii. 109).

I.

§ 10. *μετὰ Μαντιθέου*: Mantitheus is mentioned again i. 3. 13.

§ 11. *οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῶ, κ.τ.λ.* From this point some commentators date the campaign of 410-409, because Diodorus says that the battle of Cyzicus was fought *ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος λήγοντος*. But Diodorus by the end of the winter means February, not, like Thucydides and Xenophon, the beginning of April.

εἰς Καρδίαν. On the west coast of the Chersonese.

§ 12. *Θηραμένης*. (Diod. xiii. 47, 49.) After trying in vain to prevent the Euboeans and Boeotians from uniting Euboea with the mainland by a bridge across the Euripus, Theramenes had sailed to the Aegean islands in order to replace the democracies in the various states, had then lent aid to king Archelaus of Macedon in the siege of Pydna, and finally joined Thrasybulus (cf. *supr.* § 8) on the Thracian coast.

§ 13. *ἐξελομένους τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία*, i. e. the sails of the greater of the two masts. So too, vi. 2. 27, Iphicrates leaves his large sails behind to make his ships lighter and more manageable for fighting.

εἰς Πάριον. On the E. shore of the entrance to the Propontis.

§ 14. *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. *τοῖς στρατιώταις* in the *ἐκκλησία*.

§ 15. *ὠρμίσαντο*, i. e. at Proconnesus in the Propontis.

§ 16. *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔγγυς, κ.τ.λ.* See note on the battle of Cyzicus at the end of the volume.

ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, i. e. by Alcibiades. Cobet and others conjecture *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, 'from the harbour'; an idea already sufficiently expressed by *ἀπειλημμένας*.

§ 18. *ταῖς εἴκοσι*. The article is accounted for by the previous mention of the Athenian fleet (cf. *infr.* i. 6. 26). There is no need to suppose that *ἀρίστους* has dropped out of the text (cf. Plut. Alc. 28).

ἀπάσας. The Peloponnesians did not succeed in collecting a fleet again till Lysander was appointed admiral in 408 B. C.; cf. Plato, Menex. 243 *μᾶ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες ναῦς*.

Συρακοσίων. Thucydides (viii. 26) relates that the Syracans had sent a squadron under Hermocrates to aid the Lacedaemonians.

§ 21. *Πέρινον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν*. Both on the N. coast of the Propontis.

§ 22. *Χρυσόπολιν*, on the Bosphorus, opposite Byzantium.

δεκατεντήριον. The establishment of this custom-house was of the greatest importance to Athens now that her treasury was exhausted, and she had lost so many of her subject allies, more especially Euboea (Thuc. viii. 95).

ἐξέλεγον . . . καὶ . . . ἐ καταλιπόντες: from the confusion of the order of thought in these two lines, commentators have suspected the MS. reading.

§ 23. ἐπιστολέως: this officer held the second command in the Lacedaemonian fleet (cf. vi. 2. 25 and note on i. 5. 1).

ἔάλω. The MSS. read ἐάλωσαν.

κᾶλα. This is Bergk's conjecture for the MS. καλά. The word is equivalent to ξύλα and is used by Aristophanes, Lys. 1251, to denote ships. τὰ καλά = 'our honour is gone' hardly seems to suit the passage.

ἀπεσούα, Doric form of ἀπεσούη, aor. pass. of ἀποσεύω, is explained by Eustathius as ἀπήλθε, τίθηκε.

πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομεν. Doric for πεινώσι οἱ ἄνδρες. ἀπορούμεν. For the offers of peace apparently made by the Spartans at this time (cf. Introd. pp. 11, 26).

§ 24. Φαρνάβαζος. Diodorus (xiii. 51) says that the Peloponnesians fled to his camp.

§ 25. τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγούς, i. e. the generals from the several states in the Peloponnesian confederacy.

§ 26. ναυπηγουμένων. Genitive absolute, sc. αὐτῶν.

§ 27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ. This and the similar formulae in §§ 31, 32, 33 seem to mean that all the events here mentioned occurred just about the time of the battle of Cyzicus.

Ἑρμοκράτους. The leader of the oligarchical party at Syracuse (cf. Thuc. viii. 85).

μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσαν. In the MSS. these words are placed after χρῆναι διδόναι in § 28. In this case the phrase λόγον διδόναι would have to bear the unusual sense 'to give an opportunity of speaking,' and the words μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσαν must then be an appeal made by the generals to their soldiers to give them a fair hearing, when they returned to Syracuse,—an appeal quite uncalled for after the loyalty which these soldiers had just shown them. If however the words be transposed, with Dindorf, to their present position in the text, the passage at once becomes intelligible. When the soldiers refused to elect new generals, notwithstanding the news that the present generals had been exiled, Hermocrates told them that they ought not to rebel against the home government; but that if any one had any charge to make against himself or his colleagues, both he and they were in duty bound to give an account of their commands. As however no one brought any accusation against them, they consented to continue in command till their successors arrived.

νενικήκατε. Many parallels may be found for this abrupt change to the oratio recta (cf. infr. i. 4. 14, vi. 5. 35, etc.).

ἡμετέραν . . . ὑμετέραν. There is no need to transpose these words: ἀρετή can very well mean courage and skill in commanding; προθυμία, sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν, 'zeal in obeying.'

§ 29. δεομένων. Genitive absolute.

κατάξειν, 'would bring them back from exile.'

§ 30. προσομιλοῦντες. The pres. part. expresses frequency.

ὧν = τούτων οὖς.

ἀνεξυπότο. Doric for ἀνεκοινοῦτο.

§ 31. κατηγορήσας. Thucydides (viii. 85) narrates, how in 411 B.C. Hermocrates had accused Tissaphernes at Sparta of playing a double game between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. He is mentioned (*infr.* i. 3. 13) as accompanying some Spartan envoys, who, at the same time as some Athenian envoys, were to meet Pharnabazus at Cyzicus, 409 B.C. Since Diodorus puts his expedition against Syracuse in 408 B.C., it must have been shortly after this meeting that he obtained from Pharnabazus the assistance described in this passage. Tissaphernes was the personal enemy of Pharnabazus.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον, cf. ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο . . . ἀπεπέμψαντο. The chronological sequence of events here seems to be hopelessly confused. How could the old generals have at the same time waited for the new ones to arrive and been sent on their way with promises of future help? Why in § 31 does Xenophon tell the story already narrated by Thucydides (viii. 85) of what had already happened to Hermocrates early in 411, and couple with that his visit to Pharnabazus, which must certainly have been subsequent to his exile, mentioned in § 27 as apparently occurring about the beginning of 410 B.C.? and why does he insert at this point his preparations for his attack upon Syracuse, which was not actually made till 408 B.C. according to Diodorus (xiii. 63)? Again, to what interval of time does ἐν τούτῳ refer? for the new ships building at Antandros in the spring of 410 cannot have been finished till the summer, i. e. after the beginning of the next campaign. Perhaps it may be interpreted to mean the time following the agreement made between the old generals and the army, inclusive of the time required for building the ships. ἦκον must therefore be translated as a pluperfect, 'had arrived.'

εἰς Μίλητον. This agrees with Thucydides, l. c.

§ 32. Ἐν Θάσῳ. Thasos had revolted from Athens in 411 B. C., two months after Diotrephes, an Athenian oligarch, had put down the democracy, then existing, in favour of an oligarchy (cf. Thuc. viii. 64), and had since submitted to the government of a Spartan harmost. Now it appears that the popular party under Ecphantus had expelled Eteonicus the harmost and his supporters, and admitted Thrasybulus with an Athenian force just after the battle of Cyzicus: cf. this section with §§ 22. 12, and with Demosthenes (c. Lept. § 67), who adds that this affair further led to τὸν περὶ Θράκην πόσον entering the Athenian alliance.

ἀρμοστῆς. In 423 B. C. the Spartans appointed governors in Thrace (Thuc. iv. 131), and in 413 king Agis made Alcamenes harmost of Euboea (Thuc. viii. 5). But it was not till the admiralty of Lysander,

408 B. C., that it became a principle of the Lacedaemonian hegemony to appoint these officers backed up by oligarchies of ten in all the subject states; cf. Diod. xiv. 10 *καταστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Λύσανδρον τούτῳ προσέταζαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἐκάστῃ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένοις ἀρμυστὰς ἐγκαθιστάντα*: τὰς γὰρ δημοκρατίας προσκείμενους οὐκ ἀκεδαιμόνιοι δὲ διλαρχίας ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι. Other instances of harmosts in these books are (i. 2. 18) Labotas in Heraclea, (i. 3. 5) Hippocrates in Chalcedon, (i. 3. 15) Clearchus in Byzantium, (ii. 3. 14) Callibius at Athens.

Πασισπίδας. It is impossible to determine whether Pasippidas was actually *ναύαρχος* in succession to Mindarus, or whether he merely filled his place till the newly appointed successor Cratesippidas arrived.

§ 33. **Ἀκελείας.** Agis had commanded this *ἐπιτελιχισμός* ever since its fortification in 413 B. C. (Thuc. vii. 19).

Θράσυλλος had returned to Athens immediately after the battle at Abydos (supr. § 8) to procure reinforcements.

§ 34. *τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*, 'of those in the rear.'

§ 35. *σχήσοι καὶ ὄθεν*, 'should also seize the places from which, etc.' καὶ **Κλέαρχον**. καὶ is to be retained: the passage means that, just as Agis prevented provisions coming into Athens by land, so also Clearchus was to do the same by sea. Clearchus had been designated to command a squadron in the Hellespont in 412 B. C., and on his arrival there in 411 B. C. Byzantium had revolted to him (Thuc. viii. 8, 39, 80).

§ 36. *εἰς Σηστόν*. Sestus was at this time occupied by the Athenians (cf. supr. § 11), so that it has been proposed to read *εἰς Ἀβυδον*.

§ 37. **Ἄννιβα**. This Hannibal was the son of Gisco, and according to the narrative of Diodorus (xiii. 62) he captured Himera two years later, in 409 B. C. Dindorf regards this reference to Sicilian affairs and the similar ones in i. 5. 21, ii. 2. 24, so too the references to Persian history, i. 2. 19, ii. 1. 8-9, as interpolations: but they may very well be justified on the analogy of Thuc. ii. 28, iii. 87, 92, etc., and indeed, since the Sicilian Greeks and the Persians had begun actively to interfere, they may be regarded as necessary to the understanding of the course of the war.

§ 1. **Ὀλυμπιάς.** See Introd. § 2. on Xenophon's chronology.

προσθεθεῖσα ξυνώρις. Pausanias (v. 8. 3) relates, that the two-horse chariot race was first added in the 93rd Olympiad, i. e. 408 B. C. or two years later than this date on Breitenbach's calculation, or one year on Bruckner's.

Θορκόν. On the S. E. coast of Attica.

Θράσυλλος supr. i. 8 was sent to obtain reinforcements for the Hellespont, but now, for some unexplained reason, he takes his new fleet

HELLENICA.

BOOK I. to Ionia. Probably the Athenians were already completely masters of the Hellespont, and so could afford to use their forces elsewhere.

II. *ὡς ἅμα καὶ, κ.τ.λ.*: probably a gloss. Peter translates the words, 'together with those who were to serve as peltasts'; but anyhow *ὡς* is out of place.

§ 2. Πύγεια. A small town five miles S.W. of Ephesus.

§ 4. *εἰς Νότιον*. The harbour of Colophon, N.W. of Ephesus.

ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, 'when the corn was ripening,' i. e. about June.

§ 5. Στάγης. Thucydides (viii. 16) calls him *ἑπαρχος Τισσαφέρους*.

§ 6. τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. The famous temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

§ 7. Κορησσόν, a hill four and a-half miles S.W. of Ephesus.

§ 8. σφίσιον can hardly be right. Sauppe conjectures Ἐφέσιον.

§ 9. *ὡς εἰ ἑκατόν*, 'about a hundred.'

§ 12. *αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι*, 'crews and all.'

§ 13. *ἀπέλευσεν*, 'he let go free,' is a correction of Dindorf for the MS. *κατέλευσεν*. The sense evidently requires some such change in the text, as it can scarcely be true that Thrasyllus 'stoned to death' the cousin of his own friend Alcibiades. Others conjecture *κατέλευσεν* or *κατηλέησε*.

§ 15. *ὄντες . . . ἤκουεν*: two different constructions are here used after *ὡς*.

§ 16. Ἀλκιβιάδης as the commander-in-chief alone is mentioned, though it appears from Plut. Alc. 29 that Thrasyllus also took part.

§ 18. Κορυφάσιον. Xenophon here gives rather a one-sided version of the recapture of Coryphasium or Pylos on the Messenian coast by the Spartans, which the Athenians had held ever since it was seized by their general Demosthenes in 425 B. C. Diodorus (xiii. 64) says that the place was at this time garrisoned by some Messenians, and when they were attacked by the Spartans, the Athenians sent a fleet of thirty vessels under Anytus to raise the siege. Anytus, however, was unable to weather Cape Malea, and therefore returned to Athens; whereupon the Messenians shortly after surrendered. Xenophon omits altogether to notice the important recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians about the same time (Diod. xiii. 65).

τοὺς ἐποίκους. It appears from Thuc. iii. 92, viii. 3 that when the Spartans in 426 B. C. settled 6000 colonists at Heraclea, they refused to allow any Achaeans to join in the settlement: and that in 413 B. C. king Agis had extorted money and demanded hostages of the Achaeans of Phthia.

§ 19. *καὶ ὁ ἑναυτός, κ.τ.λ.* Dindorf prints this section in brackets for the same reasons as *supr.* I. 37.

§ 1. παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, i. e. the united forces of Alcibiades and Thrasyllus, who had wintered at Lampsacus, *supr.* 2. 15.

§ 2. Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον, now in possession of the Lacedaemonians (cf. *supr.* 1. 35).

§ 4. πύστις πεποιημένος, i. e. πρὸς τοὺς Βιθυνούς.

§ 6. Ἀλκιβιάδης. According to Plutarch's account, Alcibiades had been previously engaged in repelling Pharnabazus' attack on the outside of the Athenian siege works.

§ 7. στενοπορίαν. The narrow passage in between the river and the Athenian lines.

§ 8. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοί. Thrasyllus and Theramenes (cf. *Diod.* xiii. 66).

§ 9. τὸν φόρον . . . ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν. There is no evidence to show whether this φόρος was the εἰκοστή or five per cent. duty on all imports and exports, for which the Athenians in 413 B.C. commuted the tribute originally assessed by Aristides (*Thuc.* vii. 28); or whether in the interval they had returned to the old system.

§ 13. Πασωνπίδας was exiled (i. 1. 32) on suspicion of treachery at Thasos. In the interval therefore he must have been recalled. These Spartan envoys, who were evidently sent to counteract the influence of the Athenian envoys, are not to be confused with those who (*infr.* 4. 2) met Pharnabazus at Gordium with the news of Cyrus' appointment to be satrap of Sardis.

ἤδη φεύγων (*supr.* 1. 27-32). Xenophon apparently inserts these words to denote that Hermocrates was not with the envoys as commissioned by the Syracusan government, but hoping to gain, as he actually did, some aid for the expedition which he was preparing against his country.

§ 15. Κλέαρχος: cf. i. 1. 35.

νεοδαμωδῶν. The name given to newly manumitted Helots: what their privileges were, cannot be ascertained (cf. *Thuc.* iv. 26, 80, vii. 58).

§ 17. ἄλλαι. There seems to be no need to change the MS. reading to ἄλλα ἄλλη. The construction ἄλλαι—καί—καί—καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι is somewhat irregular, but the meaning is plain.

ἐπιβάτης ordinarily means either a marine or a private passenger. There is no evidence to show that it was a title of an inferior naval officer (cf. *Thuc.* viii. 61).

§ 18. οἱ προδιδόντες. An anacoluthon: the nominative has no verb. The interrupted sentence is taken up again at § 23 with ἐπεὶ δέ.

§ 19. ὑστερον. Byzantium surrendered a second time to the Lacedaemonians in the autumn of 405 B.C. (cf. ii. 2. 1).

ἀπέφυγεν. Pregnant meaning, 'got off by saying.'

§ 20. ἀνολεῖντες. *Diodorus* (xiii. 66) and *Plutarch* (*Alcib.* 31) give

HELLENICA.

BOOK I. a much fuller and somewhat different account of the capture of Byzantium, detailing an elaborate stratagem of Alcibiades, and speaking of
 ————
 III. a hard-fought battle within the town.

IV. § 2. οἱ τε Λακεδαιμονίων. Although Xenophon introduces these envoys with the article οἱ, as if already mentioned, they evidently cannot be the same as those mentioned in ch. 3. 13 as journeying to Persia. Probably therefore they had been despatched previously by the Spartans to procure the dismissal of Tissaphernes from Sardis.

πάντων ὧν by attraction for πάντα ὧν.

§ 3. πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. In the Anabasis (i. 9. 7) Xenophon describes Cyrus more exactly as *σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων . . . οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίων ἀθροίζεσθαι.*

κάρανον. Doric for κάρηνος, 'chief.' Segaar however considers it to be a Persian word, to account apparently for Xenophon's explanation of the term.

§ 5. μὴ εἰδέναι. For the success of this measure cf. note on § 8.

§ 6. μέμνηται, sc. ὁ Κύρος. Some commentators have needlessly conjectured *μέμνοντο*, sc. οἱ πρεσβεῖς; for Pharnabazus aimed not so much to avoid the remonstrances of the envoys, as the displeasure of Cyrus.

§ 7. ἐναντοὶ τρεῖς, i. e. they returned to Athens in the spring of 405 B. C. just before the battle of Aegospotami.

οὐ παρὰ βασιλεία. Some word like ἀναγάγοι must be supplied from ἀπέειν immediately preceding.

§ 8. βουλόμενος, κ.τ.λ. Cyrus' measures to prevent the news of his own arrival, and of the intention of the Persian king to aid the Lacedaemonians from reaching the Athenians, must have proved successful. Otherwise it is hard to believe that Alcibiades would have chosen this moment to return to Athens; whereas, supposing him to have been in ignorance, no moment could have seemed more propitious. He had restored the Athenian dominion over the Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespont, had concluded a favourable treaty with Pharnabazus, and had sent an embassy to the Persian king in the hope of bringing him over to the side of Athens.

§ 9. Θρασύβουλος here reappears in Xenophon's narrative, nothing having been said of him since the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B. C.; cf. *supr.* note on i. 32. From this passage it would seem that the Lacedaemonian party had once more gained the upper hand in the island.

§ 10. στρατηγούς εἶλοντο. It is not to be supposed that only three generals were elected instead of the usual ten. Xenophon probably names the three who were to command the fleet.

φεύγοντα. Thucydides (viii. 95) says that the people *ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . κατέιναι* in the year 411 B.C., but Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission, so that perhaps now the decree may have been renewed. The curse pronounced over him by the priestly family of the Eumolpidae was certainly not recalled till his return in 408 B.C.

§ 11. **Γυθείου.** On the southern Laconian coast.

τοῦ . . . κατάπλου. The genitive may be made to depend on **κατασκοπήν**, or be regarded as a sort of partitive genitive dependent on **δπως**. The meaning is the same in either case.

§ 12. **ἡρημένους**, sc. *τοὺς πολίτας*, from the preceding **πόλις**.

Πιλυτήρια. The washing of the statue of the goddess took place on the 25th of Thargelion, i. e. about June 12; cf. Mommsen, *Heortologie*.

ἀνεπιτήδειον. So Plutarch, *Alcib.* 34 *ὄθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀπρακτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσιν οὐ φιλοφρόνως οὐδ' εὐμενῶς ἐδόκει προσδεχομένη τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ θεὸς παρακαλύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἑαυτῆς.*

§ 13. **ἄχλος . . . θαυμάζοντες**, a construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν*.

οὐ μὲν corresponds to **οἱ δὲ** § 17.

μόνος, i. e. alone of those who had been banished at the same time.

ἀπελογήθη ὤς. Dindorf incloses the words in brackets as a gloss: *ἀπελογήθη* is used passively.

ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ: 'from the resources of the state'; cf. i. 6. 7 *κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατόν*.

§ 14. **ὑπερβαλλόμενοι**, MSS. *ὑπερβαλλόμενοι*, literally 'having put off that which seemed to be just to another time'; i. e. the demand for an immediate trial, which seemed to be just.

ἑστέρησαν. The oratio recta is somewhat irregular, but is due to the length of the sentence.

§ 15. **δουλεύων** is appropriate as expressing the relation between Alcibiades as a subject, and the Persian king as a master.

§ 16. **εἶναι.** Dindorf inserts *εἶναι* from one MS. It is a contracted expression for *τῶν τοιούτων οἷοσπερ αὐτὸς ἦν ὄντων εἶναι*, 'they denied that it was the part of men who were such as he was, to need, etc.'

οἷοσπερ πρότερον, κ.τ.λ. The words, as they stand in the text, are a correction, almost universally adopted, of the unintelligible MSS. *τοιούτος οἷος*. But even so corrected it is very hard to extract any meaning out of them. **τοῖς . . . ἐχθροῖς** is the dat. depending on *ὑπάρχειν*, and *οἷοσπερ* is the dat. instead of the nom. by attraction after *τοιούτοις*: the sequence of cases *δυνασθεῖσιν . . . λειφθέντας* is very irregular. Perhaps therefore the passage might be rendered: 'they said that nothing was left to his enemies except to appear to be what they had been before

HELLENICA.

BOOK I. (i. e. to try to appear to be as powerful as they really had been in the oligarchy of 411 B. C.), and afterwards, when they should really have gained power, to make away with the best citizens, and thus being themselves alone left remaining, to be courted by their fellow-citizens for the very reason that they would have no better men to employ.

IV.

§ 17. τῶν τε φοβερῶν, κ.τ.λ. γενέσθαι is the infinitive dependent on φοβερῶν. Translate: 'and that there was a danger that he alone would be the author of the evils that it was feared would befall the state': φοβερῶν . . . γενέσθαι = φοβερῶν μὴ ἐπιτρέπαι.

§ 19. Join παρεσκευασμένων μὴ ἐπιτρέπαι.

§ 20. αὐτοκράτωρ. For a parallel cf. Thuc. vi. 8, when Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were appointed στρατηγοὶ αὐτοκράτορες.

σῶσαι, i. e. to secure what remained and to recover what was lost of the Athenian power.

πρότερον μὲν. For the first time since the ἐπιτέλεις was established at Decelea, Alcibiades now conducted the procession to Eleusis, as of old, along the Sacred Way. He evidently meant it to be not only a military demonstration, but an act of atonement to the priestly party, whose hatred he had so deeply incurred (cf. Thuc. viii. 53). Plutarch indeed says that he roused such enthusiasm among the common people, that they hoped that he would make himself tyrant (cf. Thuc. vi. 15).

§ 21. τρίτῳ μηνί. The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated on the 20th of Boedromion, i. e. Oct. 4: the Plynteria on the 25th of Thargelion, i. e. June 12. Alcibiades therefore must have stayed at Athens within a week of four months.

ἡρημένοι κατὰ γῆν, i. e. Alcibiades selected them out of the college of generals to command the troops on board his fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 72) erroneously mentions Adimantus and Thrasybulus. For the latter was still absent from Athens (cf. Hell. i. 4. 9, 5. 11). It appears from i. 4. 22, 5. 18 that Conon must have accompanied Alcibiades as second commander of the fleet, as he was left by him to carry on the siege of Andros.

§ 22. τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας. This failure to capture Andros was made a matter of reproach against Alcibiades by his enemies at Athens (Plut. Alc. 35).

§ 23. ἐπολέμει. Diodorus and Plutarch state that Alcibiades made plundering expeditions to Caria, Cos, and Rhodes, apparently in the winter 408-407 B. C.

V.

§ 1. πρότερον τούτων, i. e. a little before Alcibiades sailed for Andros and Samos, in the autumn of 408 B. C. Xenophon now proceeds to bring his account of the doings in the enemy's camp up to the same date.

τῆς ναυαρχίας. The origin of the admiralty at Sparta, like that of other Lacedaemonian institutions, is shrouded in some obscurity. Herodotus (iii. 56) speaks of a Spartan naval expedition undertaken against Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, about 525 B.C., but does not mention who was the commander. He does however apply the title of *ναύαρχος* to Eurybiades at the battle of Salamis (viii. 42), but he calls king Leoty-chides, who commanded the Greek fleet at Mycale in 479 B.C. *στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος* (viii. 131), showing that at that date the office was not permanently separated from the kingship. From this time, with the doubtful exceptions of the regent Pausanias and Dorcis (Thuc. i. 95), we hear nothing of the admiralty till the time of the Peloponnesian War, after the outbreak of which till its close a tolerably complete list of admirals can be made out all the time that the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea. The list begins with Cnemus 430–429 B.C. (Thuc. ii. 66, 80, 93), who seems, like the other Spartan magistrates, to have entered on his office in September. Alcidas succeeded after a year's interval, 428–427 (Thuc. iii. 16, 26), and then after another year's interval, Thrasymelidas, 426–425 (Thuc. iv. 11). In 425 the Spartans lost their entire fleet at Pylos, and built no more ships until after the Athenian disaster at Syracuse. In 413–412 Melancredidas was admiral of the newly built fleet: he was followed in the two next years by Astyoehus (Thuc. viii. 20) and Mindarus (Thuc. viii. 85), who perished at the battle of Cyzicus in the spring of 410 B.C. It is doubtful whether Pasippidas, who was commissioned to collect together what ships he could (Xen. i. 1. 32) was actually admiral or not, and it is doubtful again, when the titular admiral Cratesippidas took command over the ships that he had thus collected, although Xenophon narrates the fact as occurring apparently in the campaign of 411–410. At any rate Cratesippidas was not succeeded by Lysander till the autumn of 408 (Xen. i. 5. 1). At the end of his year of office Lysander was followed by Callicratidas, who was drowned at the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. (c. June). After an interval of some months the fleet was handed over to Lysander as *ἐπιστολεύς* or second in command, the nominal admiral being Aracus. Then there is a gap of one year in our information, during which Lysander was again actual commander of the fleet, whoever may have been the titular admiral, and for the following year (404–403) Libys, the brother of Lysander, was appointed to be admiral.

As to the powers of the office Aristotle (Pol. ii. 9. 33) calls it *σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία*—a criticism which seems, however, to be true only of Lysander, and possibly of Teleutias, the brother of king Agesilaus (392–391 B.C.); and which seems tacitly to refer to Aristotle's previous definition of the kingship as merely a *στρατηγία διὰ βίου*. In this respect the admiral was indeed another king, having a power independent of

BOOK I. and parallel with that of the two ordinary kings. But in another respect his position was far inferior and more precarious: for the office was, as a general rule (the case of Cratesippidas, who was sent out to command whatever ships he could find, being apparently an exception), an annual one—at least so it would appear from the list of admirals that can be made out with tolerable certainty so long as the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea—and moreover the same individual could not legally hold it twice (Xen. ii. i. 7). In the case of Lysander indeed the ephors discovered an easy evasion of the law, by appointing him for two years *ἐπιστολεύς* or second in command to a merely nominal admiral: and it was while holding this subordinate position that Lysander attained to his greatest power, and acted like a sovereign prince in the Aegean. Thus at the siege of Athens (405–404) he appears as commander of the fleet quite on an equality with the kings Agis and Pausanias in command of the army, and further to have the advantage over them in that his action was not hampered by the presence of a colleague. Again, when any admiral had proved himself inefficient or untrustworthy, the Spartan government preferred, as they did with the kings, rather to send out *σύμβουλοι* to advise him than simply to deprive him of his office (cf. Thuc. vi. 85, viii. 39), unless this was absolutely necessary.

The office of the *ἐπιστολεύς* or second in command has already been referred to in the case of Lysander. But in ordinary cases the secretary was appointed, as Pollux (i. 96) declares, to be simply *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόλου διάδοχος τοῦ ναύαρχου*. Thus after the death of Mindarus, his secretary Hippocrates took the command of the fleet (Thuc. i. 1, 23), and the admiral Callicratidas left his secretary Eteonicus at the head of the squadron blockading Conon at Mytilene, while he himself sailed to meet the Athenians at Arginusae, and after his death his place was filled by Eteonicus until the arrival of a definitely appointed successor.

As to the method of election to the admiralship nothing at all is known, though it is plain that the post must have been regarded as of great significance in the struggle of political parties at Sparta. Thus the choice of Lysander three times to command the fleet, once as admiral and twice as secretary, followed by the choice of his brother Libys and later of his friend Anaxibius, points to the supremacy of his party in the home government, and similarly the appointment of his opponent Callicratidas in the autumn of 407 must mean a temporary check to his policy, though but few details can be made out from the confused and unchronological account of Plutarch.

ἱββομήκοντα. This was the first fleet the Spartans had collected since the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B. C. (sup. i. 18).

ἐν Σάρδεσι: from Gordium in Phrygia Minor (sup. 4. 3), where he had been in the spring of 408.

- § 2. τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος πρόσθεσιν: these must be the same as in 4. 2.
 § 5. τὰς συνθήκας (cf. Thuc. viii. 29, 45, 58). One mina = 100 drachmae = 600 obols, or three obols a day for every sailor in a crew of 200.
 § 9. ἦν Ἄλκιβιάδου (cf. Thuc. viii. 46).

μηδὲ οἵτινες = μηδένας οἵτινές εἰσι: 'none of the Greeks whatever.'

§ 11. Cf. *Intro.* § 2 on Xenophon's chronology for the reasons for putting the beginning of the new year at this point.

Θρασύβουλον. Xenophon does not relate how Thrasybulus sailed from Thrace and Thasos (*supr.* 4. 9), nor why he was now fortifying Phocaea. This town was occupied by the Spartan admiral Astyochus 412 B. C. (cf. Thuc. viii. 31), and after Arginusae, 406 B. C., the Peloponnesians fled to it for refuge. But, like Cyzicus, it may have been un-walled, and so liable to occupation by either side, so that there is no need to change *τειχίζειν* into *ἐπιτειχίζειν*. Diodorus (xiii. 73) has a different story altogether, that Alcibiades sailed not to Phocaea, but to Clazomenae.

Ἀντίοχον. Plutarch (*Alc.* 36) calls him an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. In ch. 10 he relates a story of the manner in which, as a boy, he gained the friendship of Alcibiades.

§ 13. ὡς ἕκαστος ἦνοιξεν: 'as each got clear of land.'

§ 15. Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡλιόνα. Delphinium was in Chios. Diodorus (xiii. 76) ascribes the capture of Delphinium and Teos not to Lysander, but to Callicratidas, and therefore to the year 406 B. C. Hence some commentators have proposed to read *Τέων*, or *Τήϊους* instead of *Ἡλιόνα*.

§ 16. ἡγγέσθη. Plutarch (*Alc.* 36) makes a certain Thrasybulus, son of Thraso [to be distinguished from the famous Thrasybulus], return to Athens immediately after the battle, and there formally impeach Alcibiades for general misconduct. Diodorus (xiii. 73, 74) here again gives quite a different account: the general discontent at Athens was, according to him, increased by the accusations of some Cymaeen envoys, who complained that, after the battle of Notium, Alcibiades had made a descent upon Cyme and ravaged its land, notwithstanding that it was an allied state. But something must be wrong in Diodorus' account, because Thucydides (viii. 31, 100) distinctly states that Cyme was on the Peloponnesian side. Nepos (*Alc.* 7) has yet another version, that Alcibiades was accused at Athens, not for the defeat at Notium, which he does not mention, but for his failure in an attempt upon Cyme.

ἄλλους δέκα. Since the battle of Notium must have taken place in the spring of 407, and elections were held at Athens about May 1, it would seem that Xenophon must mean, not an extraordinary election of generals to replace Alcibiades, but the ordinary elections for the year 407-406, at which Alcibiades failed to secure re-election. Other-

BOOK I. wise we should expect to hear not of ten, but only of two or three new generals appointed to supersede him in command of the fleet. Cf. Intro. p. 32.

V.

§ 17. τὰ ἐαυτοῦ (Diod. xiii. 74, Plut. Alc. 36): a castle named Pactyes near the Thracian town of Bysanthe on the Propontis.

§ 18. τῆς Ἀνδροῦ, where apparently he had been left by Alcibiades (i. 4. 23).

Φανοσθένης: since the name of Phanosthenes does not occur in the list of the new generals, it would seem that he was one of the generals of the preceding year, and that he was sent to replace Conon at Andros in the interval which elapsed between the election of the new generals in May, and their entering office in July.

§ 19. Δωριέα: cf. i. 1. 2, Thuc. viii. 35, 84.

ἐξ Ἀθηναίων. Rhodes was one of the subject allies of Athens, and therefore under her jurisdiction.

παρ' αὐτοῖς, i. e. at Thurii.

ἐλεήσαντες, because of the fame he had won as an Olympic victor. Cf. Thuc. iii. 8.

§ 20. ἐβδομήκοντα. Plutarch (Lys. 4) speaks of the impoverishment of Athens at this juncture.

VI.

§ 1. ἡ σελήνη, κ.τ.λ. On the chronological data see Intro. p. 20 sqq. This eclipse occurred on April 15, 406 B.C.

ὁ παλαιός, κ.τ.λ. Probably the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, called 'old' in opposition to the newer Parthenon.

§ 4. τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων. Diodorus (xiii. 70) states that Lysander during his period of office organized the various oligarchical clubs in the Ionian states in his own favour, promising them the government of their cities (cf. ii. 2. 2).

ἀνεπιτηδείων. Translate: 'since often unsuitable men were appointed, who had only just studied naval matters, and did not know how to employ men.' Dindorf corrects the MS. reading to ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων γενομένων, and omits οὐ before γιγνοσκόντων,—changes, which certainly give an easier meaning, but there seems to be no absolute necessity to change the text.

§ 5. πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε, κ.τ.λ.: 'in relation to those measures for which I am myself ambitious, and our country is accused, etc.'

§ 8. πέμψας πρῆφεις. Xenophon nowhere relates the result of their mission.

§ 11. ἐκείνα: the money from Lacedaemon.

θαυμάζειν: a stronger word than θεραπεύειν.

§ 12. οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι: 'those who were accused of opposing him.'

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, sc. δοῦναι: 'promising themselves to give money from their private means.'

ἐφοδιασόμενος κ.τ.λ.: 'having had his seamen paid five drachmae apiece.'

§ 13. τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἔχόντων: 'those who were in power.'

§ 15. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροῦς. Grote (vii. 406) overlooks the fact that Callicratidas allowed the Athenians to be sold.

μοιχῶντα. Plutarch ('non posse suaviter,' etc., xviii. 6) explains: αἰσχρῶς καὶ κρύφα πειρᾶν καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι τὴν θάλατταν.

§ 16. εἰς ὀλίγας: cf. supr. 5. 20.

ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα: the thirty Athenian ships captured § 17 seem to be reckoned by anticipation: for according to § 3 and Diod. xiii. 76 the number was now 140.

§ 17. κατακλυθεῖς, i. e. prevented from beaching his ships under the city walls.

§ 19. κοίλην ναῦν: 'the ship's hold.'

τὰ παραρρήματα: what particular kind of coverings these were, is unknown. Apparently the crews remained below during the day-time to escape the notice of the enemy, and to fit out the ships. They had to wait five days before they caught the Peloponnesians off their guard.

§ 20. ὡς . . . εἶναι: ὡς is here used with the infinitive, like ὥστε.

§ 21. ὡς ἕκαστοι ἦνοιγον: 'as they severally got clear of land.' This seems a simpler rendering than to take ὡς, as Peter does, as qualifying ἕκαστοι only, and τε as copulative, ἦνοιγον . . . ἐβοήθουν. The logical order of ideas appears to be somewhat confused in the phrases ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες . . . ἐγειρόμενοι . . . εἰσβάντες.

The detail with which Xenophon narrates this incident of personal skill and courage is noticeable.

§ 22. Διομέδων. Xenophon does not say where he was coming from: from the context it would appear that it was not from Athens.

§ 24. δούλους. To enrol slaves, even as rowers in the fleet, was a very exceptional measure. These slaves who fought at Arginusae were rewarded with their freedom, and were given allotments of land together with the same political privileges as the Plataeans enjoyed at Athens (cf. Arist. Frogs 190, 693; Müller, Fr. Hist. Gr. i. 56, 80).

τῶν ἱππέων: the knights formed the second of Solon's five classes and were usually exempt from naval service (cf. Thuc. iii. 16).

§ 27. ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινοῦσαις: three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

§ 28. ἀνέσχεν, sc. ὁ χειμῶν, 'when the storm ceased.'

§ 29. Ἐρασινίδης. Xenophon nowhere relates how he escaped from Mytilene, in which, according to § 16, he was blockaded together with

BOOK II. § 24. ἐπανάγοντο: imperfect, to express that the Athenians also did so for four days.

I. § 25. Ἀλκιβιάδης: last mentioned as sailing to these forts, i. 5. 17. According to Diodorus (xiii. 105) he now demanded a share in the command of the fleet. Lysias (xiv. 38) actually accuses Alcibiades of having betrayed, in conjunction with Adimantus, the Athenians at Aegospotami in revenge for this repulse. But, if Xenophon's account of the circumstances be correct, any treachery on his part seems to have been quite impossible, and in the following year it was Adimantus and his party who contrived the assassination of Alcibiades.

§ 26. αὐτοὶ . . . ἐκείνῳ: for this the regular construction of nominative and accusative in oratio obliqua cf. ii. 2. 17, Thuc. iv. 28.

§ 27. τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, i. e. those who had been ordered by him to follow the Athenian movements, supr. § 24.

§ 28. τὸν ἐπίπλουν. Diodorus (xiii. 106) gives a totally different account of the battle, making the Athenians, led by Philocles, take the offensive.

δίκροτοι, i. e. with only two out of the three tiers of oars manned.

Πάραλος: this and the Σαλαμνία were sacred vessels used by the Athenians for religious missions, for conveying ambassadors, and for carrying the commands of the home government to the generals: cf. infra vi. 2. 14; Thuc. vi. 53; viii. 86.

συνέλεξεν: cf. supr. διεσκευασμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

εἰς τὰ τευχύδρια, i. e. of Sestos. Xenophon omits to relate its capture. Diodorus (l. c.) puts the event immediately after the battle.

§ 29. τὰ μεγάλα . . . ἰστία. Lysander must have left them behind to lighten his ships for rowing; cf. i. 1. 13. Xenophon says nothing more about Cónon till just before his great victory over the Lacedaemonians at Cnidus in 394 B. C.; cf. iii. 4. 1.

§ 30. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους: according to Plutarch (Lys. 11) 3000 in number.

§ 31. τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα. So Plutarch (Lys. 9), Philocles ἐπεισε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀποκόπτειν τὸν δεξιὸν ἀντίχειρα τῶν ἀλισκομένων, ὅπως δόρυ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνανται, κώπην δ' ἐλαύνωσι.

§ 32. ἤτιάθη . . . μέντοι, i. e. in contradiction to the pretended reason for sparing his life. The evidence against Adimantus is very doubtful. Lysias (xiv. 38) speaks of Alcibiades τὰς ναῦς Λυσάνδρῳ μετὰ Ἀδειμάντου προδοῦναι, where he is certainly misrepresenting much of Alcibiades' conduct. Indeed, in another speech (ii. 58), he regards the cause of the disaster as doubtful, εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακία εἴτε θεῶν διανοία. Pausanias (iv. 17, x. 9) preserves the Athenian tradition, that Adimantus and Tydeus were the traitors, the latter being the bitterest opponent of Alcibiades. Isocrates (v. 62) expresses no decided opinion. The ac-

cusation of treachery brought by Conon against Adimantus (mentioned by Demosthenes xix. 191) belongs to a much later date, c. 393, after the amnesty of 403. In the midst of such uncertain evidence it is impossible to form a definite opinion either way, especially as accusations of treachery to account for so irretrievable a disaster would lie so ready to hand.

παρανομείν. The MS. D has interpolated in it after *παρανομείν* — *νικήσας ἔφη ποιεῖ ἃ παθεῖν ἐμελλες ἤτηθησεί, εὐθὺς τοῦτον ἀπέσφαξε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν*, which exactly agrees with the story of his answer given by Plutarch (*Lys.* 13).

§ 1. *Καλχηδόνα.* This city was, by the treaty with Pharnabazus in 409 B.C., left in the hands of the Lacedaemonians, and must therefore at some time since have been taken by the Athenians.

οἱ δὲ προδόντες: cf. i. 3. 18.

τότε: before the surrender of Athens.

ὑστερον: after the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C.

§ 2. *εἰδὼς ὅτι . . . ἴσασθαι.* The construction is altered owing to the intermediate clause *ὄσφ . . . Πειραιῶ:* cf. iii. 4. 27.

ὄσφ πλείους: the correlative *τοσοῦτφ* is wanting before *θάπτον:* cf. iv. 2. 11.

Βυζαντίου, κ.τ.λ. As masters of the Bosphorus, the Lacedaemonians could now prevent the passage of all corn ships on their way to Athens; cf. i. 1. 35; ii. 1. 17.

ἄρμυστήν. It appears from Diodorus (xiv. 13) and Plutarch (*Lys.* 13) that Lysander now established, in connection with the oligarchical clubs that he had previously organized in Asia Minor and the Aegean, a system of decarchies or councils of ten men in every subject state, to replace the democracies, and to support the Spartan harmost or governor, and his garrison; cf. note on i. 5. 8.

§ 3. *ὁ ἕτερος τῶ ἑτέρφ:* in partitive apposition to the nominative, as if *ἄμωσον* had preceded: the genitive absolute would have been more regular.

Μηλίου: cf. Thuc. v. 116.

Ἰστιαίας: cf. Thuc. i. 114.

Σκιωναίου καὶ Τορωναίου: cf. Thuc. v. 3, 32.

Αἰγιήτας: cf. Thuc. i. 108, ii. 27.

§ 5. *εἰς Λέσβον.* The Athenians had held this island, with the exception of Methymna, since they had recovered it after its revolt in 412 B.C. (*Thuc.* viii. 23).

κατεσκευάσατο. For the system introduced cf. note on § 2. The same is meant *infra* by *πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν.*

§ 6. *τῶν ἠνωρίμων,* i. e. the oligarchs, who often too called themselves *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί.* For the conduct of the Samian democrats cf. *Thuc.* viii. 21.

BOOK II.

I.

II.

BOOK II. § 7. πλὴν Ἀργείων, who had concluded an alliance with Athens in 420 B.C. (Thuc. v. 47), to which they seem now to have been faithful.

II.

§ 8. τῶ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ: evidently a gloss.

§ 9. πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας: most of them had settled at Thyrea, on the south border of the Argolis; cf. Thuc. ii. 27.

τῆς αὐτῶν, sc. πατρίδος.

τὰ πλοῖα: the corn ships.

§ 10. ἐνόμιζον δέ, κ.τ.λ. This is one of the chief passages on which the theory of Xenophon's philo-Laconism in Hellenics I, II has been based. But when compared with the impartiality of the rest of the books, it may very well be that Xenophon is merely chronicling what were actually the feelings of the Athenians at the time.

ἐκείνοις: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀτίμους. The proposal was made by Patroclides (Andoc. i. 73). It did not apply to the exiles (cf. infr. § 20), but only to those who had been in any measure disfranchised for the part they had played in the oligarchical revolution of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.; cf. *Intro.* p. 35.

παρ' Ἄγιν. Lysander had already crossed with part of his fleet to Asia in order to lay siege to Samos; cf. infr. § 16.

§ 12. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος: for the almost supreme power of Agis, when he was at Decelca, cf. Thuc. viii. 4, 71.

§ 13. Σελλασία: the frontier town of Lacedaemon.

αὐτόθεν: temporal, 'at once,' 'on the spot.'

§ 15. τῆς καθαιρέσεως. This shows that the Athenian envoys were not simply dismissed by the Spartans, but had definite terms proposed to them, on which a peace could be concluded.

τῶν μακρῶν τευχῶν . . . ἑκατέρου. There were two long walls joining Athens and Piraeus, and one joining Athens and Phalerum; ἑκατέρου must therefore mean each of the two outer walls.

ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα. This was the work of the demagogue Cleophon; cf. *Lysias* xiii. 11.

§ 16. Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων. τοιούτων is the predicate, the participle having no subject, as *supr.* i. 2. 26.

παρὰ Λύσανδρον: now engaged in the siege of Samos; cf. *supr.* § 11.

εἰδὼς . . . Λακεδαιμονίου πότερον . . . ἀντέχουσι. The Greek idiom often puts the subject of the dependent sentence as the direct object of the principal verb.

πίστεως ἕνεκα, i. e. as a pledge that the conditions would be observed.

τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλέον: from December 405 to the end of March 404 B.C.

ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε = τὸν καιρὸν φυλάττων, ἐν φ.

διὰ τὸ ἐπλεοπιπῆναι τὸν σῖτον: it seems to be impossible to reconcile this with the statement in § 11 that the corn supply had already failed three months ago, before Theramenes' mission to Lysander.

ἄπαντα δ, τι: for the irregularity cf. Cypri. i. 6. 11 δ τι . . . ταῦτα.

§ 17. εἶτα without δέ strengthens the opposition between the sentences.

οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος: cf. the answer of Agis supr. § 12.

ἦρέθη . . . εἰς Λακεδαίμονα: εἰς expresses motion; 'to go to Lacedaemon.' δέκατος αὐτός: 'with nine others.'

§ 18. Ἀριστοτέλη: cf. ii. 3. 2, 13. Afterwards he was one of the Thirty, and was sent by them to Sparta to obtain a Lacedaemonian garrison for Athens.

§ 19. ἐξαιρεῖν, sc. τὰς Ἀθήνας, to be supplied from Ἀθηναίους.

§ 20. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ: cf. Justin v. 7 'Negarunt Spartani se ex duobus Graeciae oculis alterum eruturos.' Infr. ii. 3. 41, however, Theramenes attributes to them mere motives of political expediency.

καθέντας = κατελθεῖν ἐφέντας, 'having allowed to return.' Plutarch and Diodorus add as one of the conditions, that the Athenians were for the future to confine themselves to their own territory [τῶν γε πόλεων πασῶν ἐκχωρηῆσαι]. Plutarch (Lys. 14) professes to give the actual words of the treaty: καβαλλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καὶ ἐκβάνοντες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τὰν αὐτῶν γὰρ ἔχοντες ταῦτά κα δρῶντες τὰν εἰρήναν ἔχοιτε, αἱ χρῆθοιτε, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἀνευτες. Περὶ τῶν ναῶν τῷ πλήθει οὐκ οἶόν τί κα τηρεῖτε, ταῦτα ποιεῖτε.

§ 23. Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει, i. e. from Samos, which he was still besieging: he entered the city, according to Plutarch (Lys. 15), on the 16th of Munychion, i. e. the beginning of April, 404 B. C.

κατέκαπτον: 'began to demolish.' The work was not completed till the autumn of this year; cf. ii. 3. 11.

νομίζοντες: on the question of Xenophon's impartiality, cf. Introd. pp. 14, 15, and note on supr. § 10.

§ 24. ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα. Xenophon has already, in i. 5. 21, narrated this same defeat of the Carthaginians and capture of Acragas as events of the year 407, 406. But it appears from Diodorus (xiii. 87, 92) that the capture did not occur till eight months after the defeat, i. e. December 406, and that Dionysius made himself tyrant of Syracuse about June 405. In this passage (ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι, i. e. autumn) it is put a few months later.

§ 1. Εὐδίκου. Some MSS. read Εὐδίου, which Dindorf corrects to Ἐνδίου, because an ephor of that name for the year 413 B. C. is mentioned in Thuc. viii. 6. But Εὐδίκου is the reading of the best MS. both here and infra § 10.

II.

III.

BOOK II.

III.

ἀναρχίαν, i. e. this year was not named, like the other years, after the ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος.

§ 2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ. This decree was passed, on the proposal of Dracontides, in the autumn 404, five months after the conclusion of the peace, ii. 2. 23. Xenophon passes over all the intervening events, viz. the nomination of five ephors through the agency of the oligarchical clubs, the embitterment of internal dissensions, the arrest of the democratical leaders, and the invitation sent by the oligarchs' to Lysander, who was still besieging Samos, to interfere in the domestic politics of Athens (§ 9, in September). When he arrived in Athens, his oligarchical partisans easily procured the passing of the decree mentioned in the text through the assembly with all the usual legal forms, backed as they were by the threats of Lysander, on the ground that the Athenians had not completed the demolition of the walls within the time prescribed in the treaty. Of the Thirty ten were nominated by Theramenes, ten by the five ephors, and ten by the assembly itself.

οἶδε. Most had been members of the Four Hundred in 411 B. C.

§ 3. πρὸς Σάμον, i. e. back to Samos.

ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας, which Agis had first occupied in the summer of 413 B. C.

§ 4. περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν: September 3.

§ 5. ἀπώλεσε. It appears from Diodorus (xiii. 109-113) that Dionysius was never really master of these two towns, but was defeated by the Carthaginians in marching to the relief of Gela, and then led the inhabitants of Gela and Camarina back with him to Syracuse, and that all this happened in the year 405 B. C.

ὑπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπεστάλησαν. Diodorus relates that the Syracusan knights or aristocrats rebelled against Dionysius, and fled to Catania. Unger therefore conjectures ἀπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπέστησαν.

§ 7. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις. Thucydides (viii. 21) relates that the Samian δῆμος had in the year 412 B. C. expelled 400 of the aristocrats.

δέκα ἀρχοντας . . . φρουρεῖν, i. e. Lysander organized the government of Samos in the same way as he had previously done in the other subject states; cf. note on ii. 2. 2. Φρουρεῖν is expegetical, ὥστε φρουρεῖν, unless indeed it be a gloss.

ἀφήκε, because with the surrender of Samos the reduction of the Athenian empire was complete; cf. ii. 2. 6.

§ 8. εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. Diodorus (xiii. 106) and Plutarch (Lys. 16) give a much more detailed account of the triumphal entry of Lysander, with considerable exaggeration of the treasures that he brought back with him.

ἀ περιεγένοντο. Contrast the conduct of Lysander, when Callicratidas succeeded him in 406, i. 6. 10. παρέδειξε: cp. supr. i. 14.

§ 9. *ἔξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτώ*. Thucydides (v. 26) distinctly says that the war from the Theban attack on Plataea down to the capture of Athens lasted almost exactly twenty-seven years, and if to this the six months be added down to Lysander's return to Sparta in Sept. 404, the total number of years is twenty-seven and a half. Morus (Xenophon, Hellenic. p. xxiii) ingeniously shows how the interpolator arrived at the mistaken total. For it appears from Thuc. v. 36 that the ephors entered on their office about the autumnal equinox. When the war began therefore, Aenesias, who had entered on his office in Sept. 432, had still four months of his ephorate to run. Twenty-seven more names would bring us down to September 404. Then the interpolator adds a twenty-ninth, because Eudicus must have entered on his office just before Lysander returned.

§ 11. *Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα*. Xenophon takes up the narrative where he left it in § 2.

καθῆρέθη: the aorist expresses the completion of the process, the beginning of which several months before was expressed by the imperfect *κατέσκαπτον*, supr. 2. 23.

ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι: for a similar use of *ἐφ' ᾧτε* with an infinitive cf. iii. 5. 24.

κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. Diodorus (xiv. 4) adds *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων ὥστε τοῦτους καλεῖσθαι μὲν ἄρχοντας, εἶναι δ' ὑπέρτας τῶν τριάκοντα*. Moreover, as appears from §§ 12, 23, 28, they had transferred all judicial powers to the *βουλή*.

§ 12. *πρῶτον μὲν*. Xenophon, as already mentioned, passes over entirely the arrest of the democratical leaders in the months before the nomination of the Thirty; cf. note on § 2.

ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, i. e. in the time when the government was still a democracy.

ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας, i. e. by bringing quibbling accusations against the rich in the popular law courts.

συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι: for a similar construction cf. ii. 4. 17.

οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. Even Lysias (xii. 5) admits that at first the conduct of the Thirty had at least a show of justice about it.

§ 13. *Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην*: two members of the Thirty; cf. supr. § 2.

σφίσι συμπράξαι, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'that Lysander would join them in effecting that guards should come'; cf. § 14 *συνέπραξεν*.

§ 14. *τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν*. Partitive genitive with *οὓς*.

ἧκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους, κ.τ.λ.: 'would be least likely to allow themselves to be set aside,' i. e. from a share in the government.

ἀν: notice the unusual omission of *ἄν* with *ἀνέχεσθαι*, the first of the two opposed sentences.

BOOK II. § 15. ἐπεὶ δέ: the apodosis is wanting. It is virtually taken up at § 18 with the words ἐκ τούτου.

III.

ὅτε καὶ φυγῶν. The date and cause of his banishment are unknown. He was in Athens at the time of the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., had proposed the recall of Alcibiades c. 408 B.C. (cf. Plut. Alc. 33), and was an exile in Thessaly during the trial of the ten generals in 406 B.C. (cf. infr. § 36). So that some have supposed that he was banished in 407, as being mixed up with the affairs of Alcibiades. He came back with the other exiles after the capture of Athens, and was nominated one of the five ephors; cf. Lysias xii. 78.

§ 16. οὐκ ἐγγωροίη, κ.τ.λ.: 'that it was impossible for those who aimed at extraordinary power not to put out of the way those who were most capable of hindering them.'

ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, as it stands, is out of place. Jacobs therefore brackets it. Hermann proposes to read ἢ ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, which gives the sense that the passage requires.

§ 18. οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, although Theramenes was one of them. οἱ τριάκοντα is similarly used as a proper name in ii. 4. 21, 23, 38, after several of the number had been killed.

οὐχ ἥκιστα, i. e. μάλιστα.

τοὺς μεθέξοντας = οἱ μεθέξουσι. Similarly the Four Hundred, in 411 B.C., had pretended to enroll 5000 citizens from those capable of supplying themselves with heavy armour at their own expense; cf. infr. § 48. It appears from § 51 that no member of the 3000 could be condemned without the warrant of the Senate, while any other Athenian could be put to death simply at the orders of the Thirty.

§ 19. βουλομένους, κ.τ.λ. κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι must be joined with τρισχιλίους, as appears from the order of the words. The meaning is, 'though wishing to take the best of the citizens into partnership, they had taken only three thousand.'

τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντα is in the accusative absolute.

οἶόν τε εἶη, as if ὥσπερ εἰ ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος ἔχει had preceded.

ἡμᾶς, i. e. the Thirty.

§ 20. κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα: τοὺς τρισχιλίους is to be supplied as the object of κελεύσαντες, as is apparent from the following ἐκείνοι = οἱ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου. Most commentators interpret the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα as equivalent to ἵνα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, arma capere, 'having bidden the three thousand to take up their arms': but Mr. E. Abbott would translate, 'having set them on the arms,' i. e. having bidden them to seize the arms of the other citizens, while the latter were away from home, —an interpretation which gives the meaning that the context requires. Cobet (Mnemosyne vi. 47) points out that the passage must indicate some stratagem by which all ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου were induced to leave

their arms behind them, but denies that any such meaning can be extracted from the words as they stand: he conjectures, therefore, that several words have fallen out of the text.

τοὺς φρουροὺς: the Spartan garrison.

§ 21. ἕκαστον, i. e. τῶν τριάκοντα, 'that each of the Thirty should seize one of the Metoeci.'

§ 22. λαμβάνοιεν: the optative expresses frequency.

§ 23. τῷ παντί, adverbial, 'in every point,' 'altogether.'

πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς: to whom the judicial power had been transferred; cf. note on § 11.

παραγενέσθαι: just outside the senate house; cf. § 50.

συνέλεξαν. The Thirty summoned the Senate, and directed the course of procedure; cf. Lysias xiii. 37 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὐ νῦν οἱ πρυτανεῖς καθέζονται.

§ 24. πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ: 'more than is expedient.'

μεθυστάσι: from the preceding words τὴν πολιτείαν can be easily supplied.

§ 25. τοῖς οἷσις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν, i. e. τοιούτοις οἷσις ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσμεν.

§ 26. λυμνίεται with the dative has the same meaning as with the accusative, 'to injure,' 'do mischief to.'

§ 27. οἷς δύνатаι, 'by what means he can.'

ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ. After this one would expect μαρτύριον to follow, which however is really implied in ἦν κατανοῆτε, εὐρήσετε.

πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, without ἄν, to express the certainty of the supposed case.

§ 28. αὐτῷ . . . ἀρέσκει, an anacoluthon, just as if, not ἀρξας and ἐξορμήσας, but ἐπεὶ . . . ἤρξε . . . ἐξώρμησε had preceded.

αὐ: cf. infr. § 30 πρῶτος αὐ ἡγεμῶν.

§ 29. ὅσῳ πολεμίοις. Here there is no correlative comparative with ὅσῳ, although one is implied in the meaning: 'men are more ready to trust enemies than traitors.' Here ὅσῳ may be translated 'inasmuch as'; cf. Cyrop. vi. 2. 19.

§ 30. κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἄγωνα, 'just as his father Hagnon had been.' Hagnon was one of the πρόβουλοι appointed immediately after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. viii. 1), who according to Lysias (xii. 65) prepared the way for the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.

προπεπέστας. For the facts alluded to cf. Thuc. viii. 68, 92.

§ 31. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος, κ.τ.λ. Morus and other commentators put this sentence in brackets as a gloss, such an explanation being quite superfluous before such an audience. Moreover ἀποβλέπει ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων cannot possibly be translated in the sense required, viz. 'fits neither foot.'

δεῖ . . . οὐ : . . δεινὸν εἶναι must be translated together.

εἰς πράγματα, i. e. 'to dangerous undertakings.'

εἰ δὲ μή, 'otherwise,' more fully explained by εἰ . . . πλείουν.

§ 32. δῆπον: cf. § 24.

πλείστοις . . . ἔξ ὀλιγαρχίας = πλείστοις τῶν βελτιόνων and πλείστοις ἐκ δημοκρατίας = πλείστοις τοῦ δήμου.

ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη: cf. *Introd.* p. 40, on the 'Trial of the Generals.'

§ 33. πῶς δὲ οὐ, sc. χρῆ:

ὡς . . . ποιούμεν . . . ἐννοήσατε: cf. note on § 27.

§ 34. τῶν ἔξω. The democrats in exile.

§ 35. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον. For how this assertion of Theramenes is to be reconciled with Xenophon's narrative in *i.* 7. 4 cf. *Introd.* p. 42, on the Trial.

προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, accus. absolute, 'that although orders had been given me by themselves, I had not rescued,' etc.

μὴ ὅτι, elliptic phrase μὴ (λέγε) ὅτι, 'much less to.'

φάσκοντες γάρ, κ.τ.λ. This is a direct contradiction to the generals' own statement in *i.* 7. 6. Probably Theramenes means, that if the generals said that a rescue was possible, and yet in their despatch made no mention of any orders given to himself and other subordinate officers, they would themselves appear responsible for the death of the shipwrecked sailors. But the generals never said anything of the kind.

§ 36. *παρανενομηκέναι. A word is required meaning that Critias had misunderstood the matter. Wolf therefore conjectures παρανενομηκέναι, Cobet παρανενομηκέναι.

ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. In the *Mem.* *i.* 2. 24 Xenophon adds Κριτίας . . . φυγῶν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἐκεῖ συνῆν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνην χρωμένους: cf. note *supr.* *ii.* 2. 15. Theramenes ridicules Critias for taking exactly the opposite side in Athens to what he had taken in Thessaly: for the Penestae, like the Helots in Lacedaemon, were 'adscripti glebae.'

§ 38. μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., 'up to your being put into the senate and to magistrates being appointed, and to the notorious sycophants being tried, so far we were all of the same opinion.'

τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας: cf. § 12 οὐς πάντες ἤδσαν ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας. For the adverb ὁμολογουμένως cf. *Demosth.* *xxix.* 14 τὸν ὁμολογουμένως δοῦλον.

§ 39. Λέοντος: for the previous history and democratical proclivities of Leon, cf. *Thuc.* *viii.* 23, 55, 73, *supr.* *i.* 5. 16, *vi.* 16. Plato (*Apol.* 32) gives a fuller account of this incident, in which Socrates was involved, and showed his courage.

Νικίου. The Athenian general at Sicily. Nothing more is known of the son here mentioned.

§ 40. Ἀντιφώντος. Not to be confused with Antiphon the rhetorician, who was executed for the part he played in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred. Nothing more is known of this Antiphon, unless he is to be identified with the Antiphon mentioned in Memorab. i. 6. 1.

ἕνα ἕκαστον: cf. note on § 21.

§ 41. ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα, κ.τ.λ., § 20.

τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους: cf. Diod. xv. 63, Polyænus i. 45. 5, whence it appears that the Spartan reasons for sparing Athens were based as much on policy as on generosity; cf. supr. ii. 2. 20.

δίοιτο. If the reading be right, the present tense must show that Theramenes alludes to the feeling that the Lacedæmonians entertained towards the Athenians at the moment he was speaking. Cobet (Mnem. vi. 46) corrects it to γ' ἐδίοιτο.

§ 42. τὸ φρουροῦς μισθοῦσθαι, § 13.

ἕως ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν, κ.τ.λ., 'until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of the ruled.'

Θρασύβουλον . . . Ἄνυτον . . . Ἀλκιβιάδην. In §§ 13, 14, 21 Xenophon alludes only in general terms to the banishment and execution of the leading democrats. More extraordinary still, he never even mentions the assassination of Alcibiades at this time by Pharnabazus, at the wish of Lysander, who had been instigated by Critias to accomplish it; cf. Plut. Alc. 38. For Thrasylbulus cf. infr. ii. 4. 2 sqq. Anytus was one of the leading democrats, and after his return from exile was the foremost accuser of Socrates.

§ 44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω, sc. δεῖν γίνεσθαι.

αὐτοῦς, Thrasylbulus and the exiles.

ἡγεῖσθαι, sc. αὐτοῦς, accus. and infin. depending on οἶμαι.

ποι τῆς χώρας, partitive genitive.

§ 45. Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ.: 'again as for his saying that I am of a character always to change,' etc.

ἔψηφίστατο: cf. Thuc. viii. 69.

§ 46. ἐκείνοι μὲν, κ.τ.λ.: 'the Lacedæmonians were as vigorous as ever'; cf. Thuc. viii. 70.

ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρμα, i. e. the fort Eetionea; cf. Thuc. viii. 90.

ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος. So Thucydides (viii. 92) attributes the discovery and exposure of the plan to Theramenes.

§ 47. κόθορνον, cf. § 30.

§ 48. δραχμῆς . . . μετέχοιεν, i. e. should be made senators, a drachma being the daily pay for sitting in the Senate. Cobet thinks the expression too artificial, and conjectures αὐτῆς, i. e. τῆς πόλεως.

τὸ μέντοι . . . ὠφελεῖν, κ.τ.λ. If the reading be correct, the sentence as it stands is an anacoluthon. Xenophon begins with τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις (sc. ὠφελεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν) καὶ μεθ' ἑκαστοῦ καὶ μετ'

BOOK II. *ἀσπίδων ἀφελεῖν*, as if he were going on to say *τὴν πολιτείαν ἀρίστην παρέχειν ἡγούμην*. Instead of doing so however he breaks off with *διὰ τούτων* (i.e. *διὰ τῶν δυναμένων ἀφελεῖν καὶ μεθ' ἵππων, κ.τ.λ.*) in the same sense as Demosthenes uses the phrase *τὰς διὰ τῶν δλίγων πολιτείας* and entirely alters the construction. Translate: 'but to support the constitution with the help (*σύν*) of those who are able to do so both with horses and with shields. . . . I say, I used formerly to think that a constitution formed by (*διὰ*) such men is the best,' etc.; cf. note on § 18. For the part that Theramenes played in the Four Hundred cf. Thuc. viii. 68.

§ 50. οὐ βιωτόν, 'unendurable.'

τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας: cf. § 22.

ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις, 'at the bar,' a railing made of lattice work, with which the dicasts were surrounded.

§ 51. προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἶον δεῖ, 'that it is the duty of such a president as a man ought to be.' οἶον is attracted into the case of *προστάτου*. Two constructions are here founded: (1) *νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἶον δεῖ . . . ὀρῶντα . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν*, and (2) *νομίζω προστάτην εἶναι οἶον δεῖ, ὅς ἂν ὀρῶν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπη*.

ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις: cf. § 11 *αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους*: and in the Mem. i. 2. 31 Xenophon speaks more specifically of ὁ Κριτίας . . . τῶν τριάκοντα ἂν νομοθέτης μετὰ Χαρκλέους.

τῶν ἔξω, genitive dependent on *κυρίους*: *θανατοῦν* is added epexegetically.

συνδοκοῦν, used absolutely; cf. § 35 *προσταχθέν*.

§ 52. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν, where stood the altar at which the senators took their oath.

§ 53. καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες, i.e. 'especially when you perceive.'

§ 54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα: cf. note on i. 7. 10. The Thirty seem to have retained this old democratical magistracy, filling it however with the most violent of their partisans.

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες, a nominativus pendens without an accompanying finite verb.

τὰ ἐκ τούτων = τὰ λοιπά, lit. 'what comes next.'

§ 56. ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, i.e. 'having jerked out the last drop.' The *κότταβος* was a convivial practice, consisting in jerking out the last drop from a cup, which was supposed to furnish an omen by its sound in falling. Then the guest, who had just drunk, handed on the cup to the guest whose turn came next.

ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω. Here for the only time in the first two books the noble death of Theramenes draws from Xenophon a remark in the first person. His portrait of him agrees well with that in Thucydides (viii. 68, 89, 92); cf. Arist. Frogs 968. Theramenes in the Trial of the Generals does not scruple to sacrifice the lives of others to secure his own. In bring-

ing about the second oligarchical revolution he is as skilful and successful in his intrigues as he was in the first. So soon as he perceives that the policy of the Thirty is leading them to certain destruction, he opposes them with the same skill as he had used in setting them up; and when at last his opposition brings him into personal danger, the nobler side of his character shines out, till he drinks the cup of hemlock with the courage and cheerfulness of Socrates. But after all that can be said in his favour, it is hard to understand Aristotle's judgment on Theramenes, quoted by Plutarch (Nicias 2), where he mentions him in the same category with the statesmen Nicias and Thucydides, as βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατριῆν ἔχοντες εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, though at the same time admitting the justice of his nickname of κόθορνος. Beloch indeed (Die Politik Athens seit Perikles), relying on Theramenes' own words in § 48, tries to show that he consistently aimed to establish a moderate democracy at Athens, based on the middle classes, who had some stake in the state, both when he joined the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411, and when he became one of the Thirty in 404 B.C., and that he turned against his colleagues on both occasions, not from a mere wish to save his own life, but because he really disapproved of the extreme form of oligarchy, which they had introduced, based as it was upon robbery and murder. From the epithet δ κομψός, which is given to him by Aristophanes, we may conclude that he was in the habit of drawing delicate distinctions; and very delicate distinctions indeed are required to free him from the charge of treachery in his conduct at the trial of the generals and the capitulation of Athens.

BOOK II.

III.

§ 1. προείπον μὲν . . . ἦγον δέ. It appears that here Xenophon is summarizing in a few words numerous acts of violence on the part of the Thirty. He omits altogether the edict of the Lacedaemonians forbidding any state to harbour the Athenian refugees; cf. Plut. Lys. 27, Isocr. 7. 67, Diod. xiv. 6, 32. ἦγον, 'evicted.'

IV.

ἄγοντες, sc. οἱ τριάκοντα.

§ 2. Θρασύβουλος: cf. ii. 3. 42.

Φυλήν, between Mounts Cithaeron and Parnes, on the road from Athens to Thebes.

§ 4. φυλάς: the Athenian army was organised on the basis of Cleisthenes' ten tribes. Cp. Hdt. vi. 111, and note infr. § 23.

§ 5. συνειλεγμένων . . . περὶ ἑπτακοσίων: cf. iv. 6. 12 καὶ ἀπέθανον . . . περὶ τριακοσίων.

ἦδη shows that some considerable interval had elapsed since § 3.

§ 6. ἀνίσταντο, κ.τ.λ., 'had already risen and were going.' The notion of motion implied being shown by ὅποι. The nom. is οἱ πολέμοι understood. ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, 'from the camp.'

BOOK II. § 8. οὐκέτι νομίζοντες, κ.τ.λ. Lysias (xxv. 22) represents dissensions as having already broken out among the Three Thousand themselves.

IV.

καταφυγήν, Eleusis being a fortified town.

παραγγέλαντες, sc. ἐλθεῖν.

ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν has probably crept into the text from τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν immediately above. For if the Athenian knights are meant in the sense of 'under the protection of the knights,' we should rather expect σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν: and it can hardly mean the Eleusinian knights, because it appears, from what immediately follows, that the review was of the whole forces, horse and foot alike. Moreover ἐξέτασιν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν can scarcely be equivalent to ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων. Classen conjectures ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις.

ἀναγαγόντα, i. e. from the coast to Athens.

τοῖς ἑνδεκα: cf. ii. 3. 54.

§ 9. τὸ Ὀιδεῖον, built by Pericles for musical contests.

Ἐλευσινίων. Both Lysias (xii. 52) and Diodorus (xiv. 32) say that the Salaminius were involved in the same fate as the Eleusianians, but they put the total number of victims altogether at 300 only.

φανερῶν . . . τὴν ψῆφον: cf. the decree of the Senate as to the trial of the generals, i. 7. 9.

§ 10. τῶν πολιτῶν, the Three Thousand.

ἀναφέρουσαν. The participle is here transposed as πεμφθέντα i. 1. 23.

§ 11. ἔτι μὲν, 'for a while,' here opposed to a second action, which has not yet begun—ἐπεὶ δέ.

μὴ ἀνίεναί, i. e. 'to prevent their march back again to Athens.'

ὁ κύκλος, 'the wall surrounding Piræus.' Thucydides (ii. 13) calls it sixty stadia, or nearly seven miles round.

Ἴπποδάμειον. Hippodamus, the Milesian architect, had laid out the town of Piræus.

Βενδίδειον, the temple of Bendis, the Thracian Moon-goddess.

ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα. This unusual depth was on account of their great number. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was eight.

§ 12. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 'behind them.'

αὐτόθεν, 'from the place itself,' i. e. from Munychia and the Piræus.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔπλα, i. e. spear and sword.

§ 13. οὗς . . . ἐδιώξατε: cf. § 4.

ἡμέραν πέμπτην, 'four days ago'; cf. Anab. iv. 5. 24 ἐνάτην ἡμέραν. τοὺς φιλιτάτους . . . ἀποσημαίνοντο. ἀποσημαίνεσθαι is properly applied to the confiscation of goods and chattels only. Here, in his indignation, the speaker applies it to citizens.

παραγεγέννηται. The subject is 'the exiled citizens': with οἱ

. . . φοντο supply παραγενέσθαι ἄν.

§ 14. συνελαμβανόμεθα, 'were arrested.'

οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ, 'non modo . . . sed ne quidem.'

ἐν εὐθείᾳ χειμῶνα: cf. §§ 2, 3, 7.

§ 16. τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις. The dative may be either after δεθήσειν or after μάχεσθαι.

ἀμαρτήσεται . . . ὧν . . . μεστή, i. e. τούτων ὧν.

φυλαττόμενοι δέ, κ.τ.λ., 'but to protect themselves they will always be skulking behind their shields.'

ἐναλλομένους makes better sense if taken of the enemy, 'to drive them back, when they leap upon our ranks.'

§ 17. οὕτω πλούσιος ὧν καλοῦ: here οὕτω belongs to καλοῦ. Its force is strengthened by the interposition of πλούσιος ὧν, 'however rich he may be.'

τὸν Ἐνυάλιον, 'the war-god'; cf. Anab. i. 8. 18 τῷ Ἐνυάλῳ ἐλελίξειν.

§ 18. μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι . . . τραθείη, i. e. in order that the guilt of being the first to shed a fellow-citizen's blood might be upon the enemy.

§ 19. τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων. Neither Xenophon, Lysias, Diodorus, Nepos, nor Justin mention the appointment of these magistrates, who are here introduced with the article as if already known to the reader. Plutarch (Lys. 15) says εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκίνησε (Λύσανδρος) τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ καταστήσας ἀρχοντας. In any case they must have been subordinate to the Thirty, who were αὐτοκράτορες, and it can only have been after the refugees from Athens had fled to the Piræus that their office was of any importance.

§ 20. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, one of the Eumolpidae, the hereditary heralds in the Eleusinian mysteries, Arist. Frogs 1085.

§ 21. ὀλίγου δεῖν, 'almost,' used absolutely.

ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσίν, from September 404 to April 403.

δέκα ἔτη, i. e. the last ten years of the Peloponnesian War, known as the Decelean War. Isocrates (xii. 24, 67) says that the Thirty put 1500 citizens to death.

§ 22. τῶν . . . ἀποθανόντων . . . ἔστιν οὓς, 'some of those who have been slain.'

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀρχόντες: of the Thirty at Athens twenty-seven, and of the Ten at Piræus nine, were still left alive.

καὶ διὰ τῷ, κ.τ.λ., i. e. as well as an account of their defeat.

§ 23. διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους: cf. note on § 8.

τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεὶ: the followers of Thrasylbulus, now in occupation of Piræus.

οὐδὲν δεῖοντο, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'they had no need of these evils'; i. e. there was no reason why they should suffer them.

καὶ εἰλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς, i. e. one from each tribe; cf. iv.

BOOK II. 2. 8 εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. Cleisthenes in 509 B.C. had divided the Athenians into ten tribes, Hdt. v. 66. It appears from Lysias (xii. 55) that these Ten were of that section of the oligarchical party of which Theramenes had been the leader, and that they were chosen because it was thought that *δικαίως ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς τε τριάκοντα μισέσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ φιλεῖσθαι*.

IV.

§ 24. Ἐλευσινιάδαι: their *καταθύγη*, § 8.

σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι: shields were part of the equipment of the hoplites or heavy-armed soldiers. The Athenian knights were now obliged to serve as horsemen by day and as hoplites by night.

§ 25. οἱ δέ, i. e. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

ἡμέρας δέκα, since they had occupied Piraeus.

ἰσοτελείαν. Such *μετοίκιον*, as paid no *μετοίκιον*, but paid the same taxes as full citizens, were called *ἰσοτελεῖς*. Before *ἰσοτελείαν*, *τούτους* must be supplied: the infin. *ἴσασθαι* depends on *πιστὰ δάντες*.

ποιούμενοι . . . λαμβάνοντες. The present participles here denote frequent repetition.

ὀπώραν: cf. § 26 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. This shows that it was already summer time, although Xenophon has not marked the beginning of another year.

§ 26. Αἰζωνίων. This is Palmer's conjecture for τῶν ἔξω νέων, which is quite unintelligible. Αἰζώνη was a village between Hymettus and the west coast of Attica.

§ 27. πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. Xenophon (Mem. ii. 7. 2) makes Aristarchus describe the necessities to which Athens was reduced by these attacks from Piraeus; cf. Isocr. xvi. 13.

εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ, κ.τ.λ. To complete the construction ἐρῶ before δεῖ is required. For the genitive τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ ἀφ' εἰπεῖν cf. Plat. Rep. 439 B τοῦ τοξότου οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν.

τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, the open space between the Lyceum and the city wall.

μέλλοιεν . . . προσάγειν, sc. οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

§ 28. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, i. e. by order of the Ten, who, instead of fulfilling the hopes with which they had been appointed (§ 23), πολὺ μείζον στάσιμ καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ . . . ἐποίησαν: cf. Lysias xii. 55.

συνέπραξεν, i. e. with the ambassadors.

ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, with which to collect a mercenary army, as the Spartans refused to send any troops of their own; cf. Lysias xii. 59, 60. Isocrates (vii. 77), citing it as an instance of the *ἐπιείκεια τοῦ δήμου*, says, that shortly after its restoration the democracy repaid this loan to the Lacedaemonians, as a debt incurred by the Athenian state, and not merely by the oligarchs, who had contracted it; cf. Dem. p. 460.

§ 29. ὄντω δὲ προχωρούντων, 'while things were going on in this way;' cf. ii. 2. 16 τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων.

φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ. So Diodorus xiv. 33 and Plutarch, Lysander, 21.

τρῆς, i. e. a majority out of the Five Ephors.

φρουράν: a Lacedaemonian word for an army. Lysander had only mercenary forces.

§ 30. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων: cf. iii. 5. 5, where the Lacedaemonians charge the Boeotians with having persuaded the Corinthians to refuse to follow.

εὐορκεῖν: consistently with the Treaty of Peace concluded in 404 B. C., ii. 2. 22.

ἐγγίγνωσκον: 'supposed' (wrongly).

ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ: the level ground between Piraeus and Hymettus. The fugitives from the violence of the Thirty and the Ten flocked round Pausanias at Piraeus, where the king so far showed his real feelings as to refuse the presents offered him by the Thirty; cf. Lysias xviii. 8-12.

§ 31. ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν: 'so far as cries went,' i. e. in appearance only. βοή is the battle cry. Thuc. viii. 92 joins the same two prepositions with the same meaning.

ἑξ ἑξ morae: according to Xenophon (Rep. Laced.) the whole Spartan army was divided into six morae. Contrast Thucydides v. 68.

τὸν κοφὸν λιμένα. κοφόν is 'dumb,' 'quiet,' in the sense of 'smooth.' Curtius supposes it to be the innermost part of the harbour.

✕ § 32. ἐνέπτας: 'pressing on.' Xenophon uses the word intransitively also in the Cyrop. vii. 1. 29.

✓ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης, lit. 'the men ten years from military age,' which at Sparta was fixed at eighteen. The use of the neuter τὰ is a Lacedaemonian usage; cf. iii. 4. 23, iv. 5. 15.

τὸ Πειραιοῦ θέατρον. Πειραιοῦ is the old locative case. The theatre was on the hill of Munychia.

✕ § 33. ἐπὶ πόδα, 'foot by foot,' i. e. slowly.

ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, in the north-west part of Athens.

✓ § 34. πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ, i. e. formed eight deep in front of the light-armed troops.

✕ εἰς χεῖρας μὲν εἰδξαντο, 'let them come to close quarters.'

ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς, on the coast, south of Phalerum.

✓ § 35. λέγοντας . . . πέμπειν: present participle where the future would naturally be expected, as ii. 1. 29, iv. 37.

δίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, 'he created a division among,' etc.

πρὸς σφᾶς: to himself and the Ephors.

Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι, i. e. in accordance with the terms of the former treaty; cf. ii. 2. 20.

§ 36. νομίζεται: cf. Xen. Rep. Lac. viii. 5 πάρεσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐδέν, ἦν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκλήῃ: ὀρώντες δὲ ὁ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος, πάντας σαφροῖζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκόσ: cf. Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 30.

τῆς μετὰ Παισανίου γνώμης, two modes of expression are here confused: (1) τῆς Παισανίου γνώμης ὄντες, and (2) μετὰ Παισανίου ὄντες.

τὰς . . . σπονδὰς: here, 'the terms,' or 'offers of peace.'

ἰδιώτας opposed to οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ in § 37.

§ 37. χρῆσθαι δ, τι βούλονται: for the expression cf. ii. 1. 2.

§ 38. οἱ ἔφοροι: the three remaining in Sparta.

οἱ ἔκκλητοι: Hermann (Gr. Staatsalterth. § 25) identifies these with the μικρὰ ἔκκλησία, mentioned in iii. 3. 8. But in v. 2. 33, where they are again mentioned, no distinction seems to be drawn between them and the πλῆθος, who formed the ordinary assembly. Cp. iv. 6. 3; v. 2. 11; vi. 3. 3.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν. This implied, as far as practicable, a restitution of the confiscated property; cf. Harpocr. sub voce σύνδικοι..

αὐτοῖς: to those who διήλλαξαν, i. e. to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians.

§ 39. ἀνεθρόντες . . . εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. This procession, which Lysias (xiii. 86) describes at some length, Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 7) puts on the 12th of Boedromion, i. e. 26th Sept. 403 B. C.

κατέβησαν . . . οἱ στρατηγοί. Cobet inserts ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν. Some words of this kind are evidently required to complete the sense; cf. § 42 ad fin.

§ 40. γνοίητε, sc. ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς.

§ 41. ἢ ὡς, i. e. ἢ ἡ κρίσις ὡς.

παράλευσθε: the best MSS. give περιελήλυθεν, which is quite unintelligible. Some word is required in the perfect tense, meaning to 'outwit,' as opposed to γνώμη . . . πρόχειν. In his earlier editions Dindorf conjectured παρελύθητε, which in his last edition he has changed to παραλέυσθε. Translate, 'ye have been outdone.'

πῶς, οἷγε, i. e. πῶς ἐπὶ τούτοις, οἷ γε.

κλοῖφ δῆσαντες, κ.τ.λ. The allusion is to a law of Solon preserved in Plutarch (Solon 24) κίνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κλοῖφ τριπήχει δεδεμένον.

κακείνοι repeats the subject οἷ γε, strengthening the comparison after οὗτοι.

§ 42. ὑμᾶς. Thrasylbulus now addresses his own followers.

§ 43. ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο. Euclides was created ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος, and in his archonship and the following years a complete revision of the Solonian laws and constitution took place to suit the altered condition of affairs, when Athens had lost her sovereign rights and her empire over the subject allies; cf. Andoc. i. 88 sqq.

ξένους μισθούσθαι. Justin (v. 10. 11) gives an account of the affair but little more intelligible than Xenophon's. The Thirty, it would appear, were suspected of once more conspiring to regain their supremacy at Athens.

τοὺς Ἐλευσίνοι. The Thirty, their adherents, and such other Athenians as had since joined them; cf. §. 38. Ἐλευσίνοι is the locative case.

μὴ μνησικακήσειν: cf. Cor. Nepos, Thras. iii. 2 'Legem tulit (Thrasylbulus) ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multaretur, camque illi oblivionis appellarunt.' The oath was taken by the knights, the senate, and the whole people; and Andocides (i. 90) preserves the actual words, καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα, οὐδὲ τούτων δεῖν ἐθέλοι εὐθύνas δίδοναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἤρξεν.

ἔτι καὶ νῦν. It is impossible to fix with any exactitude what time is denoted by these words. Xenophon accompanied Cyrus on his expedition against his brother in 401 B.C., a time which allows too short an interval to give the words any real meaning; and he did not return to Greece till 394 B.C. On the other hand it cannot be very long after the events described, because the praise assigned to the Athenians must mean that consistently with the amnesty they did not prosecute certain definite persons, who had been implicated in the enormities of the Thirty, and such prosecutions were only likely to have taken place in the succeeding ten or fifteen years. We may therefore perhaps infer that Xenophon wrote these words not very long after his return to Greece.

NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

(1. 1. 16.)

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔγγυς, κ.τ.λ. Diodorus (xiii. 49-51) gives a much fuller account of the battle, and conceives it quite differently. Plutarch (Alc. 28) seems to follow Xenophon in the main, but to add details from the same source as Diodorus.

According to Diodorus, the several divisions of the Athenian fleet united at Cardia, and then sailed up the Hellespont to Proconnesus, taking care to pass Abydos by night, that the increase in their numbers might not be noticed by the enemy. Mindarus, with the help of Pharnabazus, had just taken Cyzicus by storm. Next day the Athenians disembarked their soldiers, under Chares, upon the Cyzicene territory, and with their fleet in three divisions, under Alcibiades, Thrasylbulus, and Theramenes, sailed against the enemy at Cyzicus. Alcibiades went ahead in order to προκαλέσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, the other two generals

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aiming to surround them and cut them off from the city. Mindarus saw only Alcibiades' ships, and, despising their numbers, sailed out to meet them; whereupon Alcibiades by pretending flight drew him *πορρωτέρω τῆς πόλεως*, till suddenly he faced about, and Theramenes and Thrasybulus, seeing his signal, sailed towards the city and cut off the Peloponnesians. Mindarus, now seeing the whole Athenian fleet (nothing is said about any mist), fled to shore at Cleri, where Pharnabazus was encamped. Alcibiades hotly pursued him, sunk some of his ships, took others, and tried to drag others off the beach. The Peloponnesian land forces and the troops of Pharnabazus now came to the assistance of Mindarus, whereupon Thrasybulus disembarked his marines and sent word to Theramenes to bring up the soldiers under Chares. Meanwhile Mindarus, supported by the mercenaries of Pharnabazus and also by Clearchus, firmly stood his ground. When however Theramenes arrived with the reinforcements and joined Thrasybulus, first the mercenaries broke the line and fled, and then Clearchus was obliged to retire. Theramenes and his troops now went off to the help of Alcibiades. Mindarus was thus obliged to divide his forces: one division he sent to oppose Theramenes, while he himself at the head of the other made a brave resistance against Alcibiades, until after many heroic exploits he was himself slain. His death was the signal for a general flight among the Peloponnesians; but the Athenians were unable to pursue them far, because their retreat was covered by Pharnabazus, who now arrived on the scene.

According to Plutarch, Alcibiades, on arriving in the Athenian camp, hearing that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were in Cyzicus, determined to fight, and exhorted his troops accordingly. Then he sailed with the whole fleet to Proconnesus, where he ordered *ἐντὸς περιβάλλειν τὰ λεπτὰ πλοῖα*, that no news of his intended attack might reach the enemy, his precaution being much aided by a great thunderstorm and thick mist. Then the whole fleet set sail, and when the mist gradually lifted, Alcibiades saw the Peloponnesian fleet *πρὸ τοῦ λυμένου τῶν Κυζικηνῶν*. Thereupon he ordered the other generals to keep behind out of sight, while he himself, sailing on in front with forty ships, *προκαλείτο τοὺς πολεμίους*. The Peloponnesians, despising his small numbers, sailed to meet him, and at once joined battle; but when the rest of the Athenian fleet came up, they turned and fled. At this juncture Alcibiades, *διεκπλεύσας* with twenty of his fastest vessels, made for the shore, disembarked, and slew many of the enemy, as they fled from their ships. Mindarus (who is not mentioned as being on board the Peloponnesian fleet at all) and Pharnabazus now came up to the rescue, but in vain: for Alcibiades quickly slew Mindarus and put Pharnabazus to flight.

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- Καλλίξενος**: i. 7. 8, accuses the generals before the Senate; § 9, moves the Senate's *προβούλευμα* in the Assembly; § 12, threatened with *γραφὴ παρανόμων*; § 14, denounces the Prytanes; § 35, accused of deceiving the people, escapes from Athens, afterwards returns, and dies of hunger.
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Ionia up the Hellespont to Lampsacus, which he takes by storm; §§ 22-30, surprises the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami and captures the whole of it; §§ 31, 32, executes the Athenian prisoners; 2. 1, 2, subjugates the Hellespont, sending back all the Athenian garrisons to Athens; § 5, reorganizes Lesbos, and other revolted Athenian allies; §§ 7-9, blockades Piraeus; § 23, enters Piraeus and begins the destruction of the Long Walls; 3. 3, 6, besieges and captures Samos; §§ 7-9, dismisses his fleet and returns to Sparta in triumph; § 13, helps the Thirty to procure a Spartan garrison; 4. 28-30, cf. 36, appointed to be harmost of Athens, he collects a mercenary force at Eleusis to support the Thirty against Thrasybulus, but is thwarted by Pausanias.
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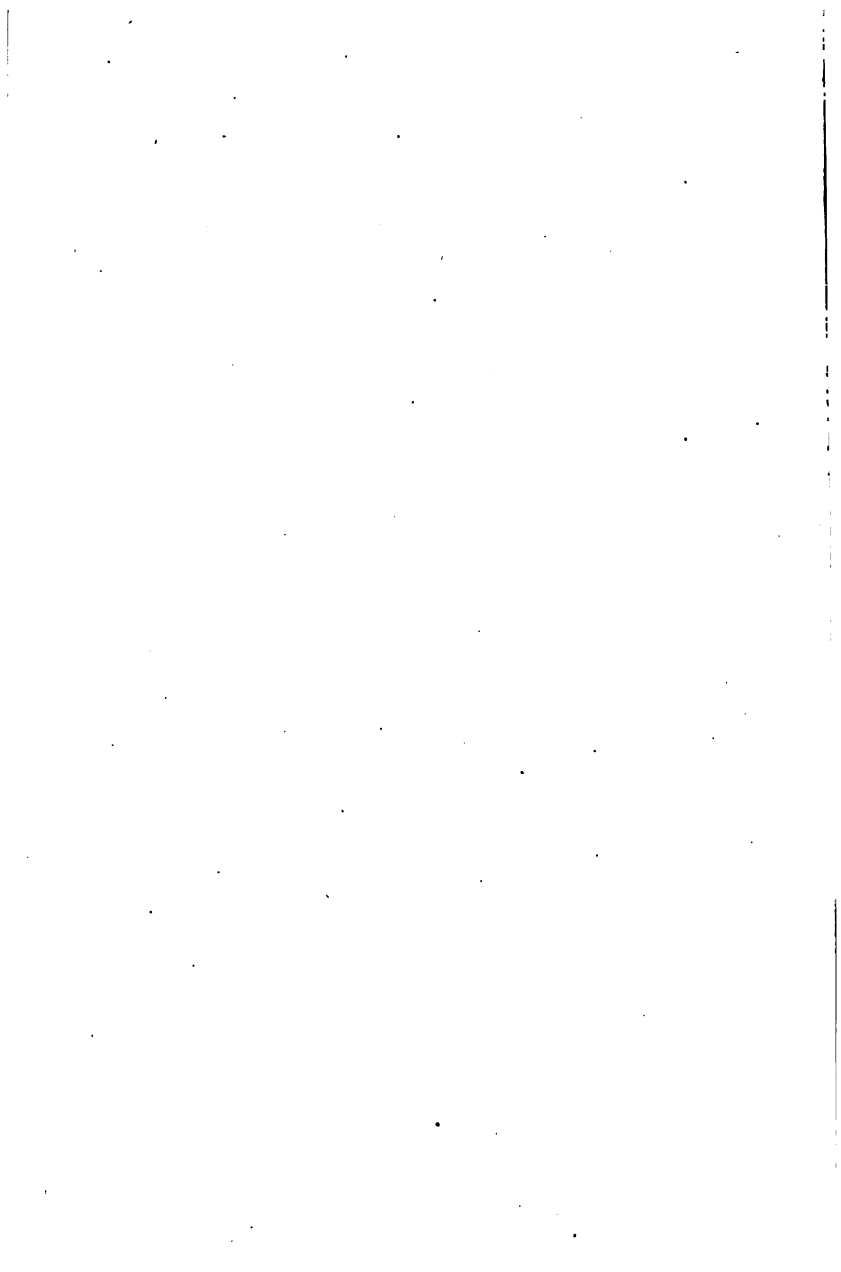
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- Σηπτός: i. 1. 7, 11, headquarters of the Athenians on the Hellespont; § 36, Clearchus' ships flee to Sestus; 2. 13, Thrasyllus joins the main Athenian fleet at Sestus; ii. 1. 20, 25, Athenian fleet sails to Sestus and anchors fifteen stades from the town.
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 Φυλή: ii. 4. 2-5, 7, occupied by Thrasybulus and successfully defended against the attacks of the Thirty; cf. §§ 10, 12.
- Φωκαία: i. 3. 1, temple of Athena in Phocaea burnt; 5. 11, Alcibiades joins Thrasybulus at Phocaea; 6. 33, Peloponnesian fleet after Arginusae mostly flees to Phocaea.
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