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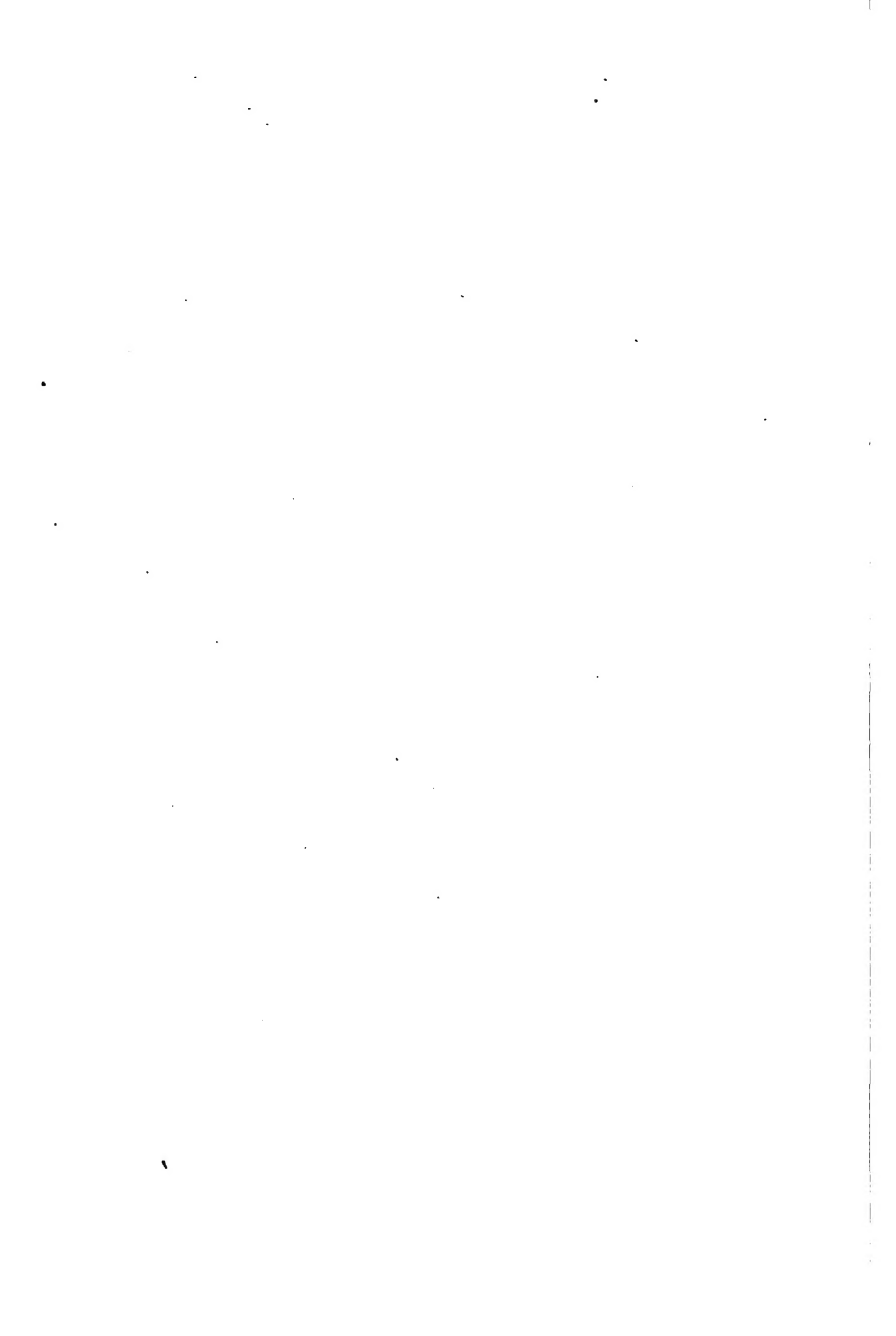
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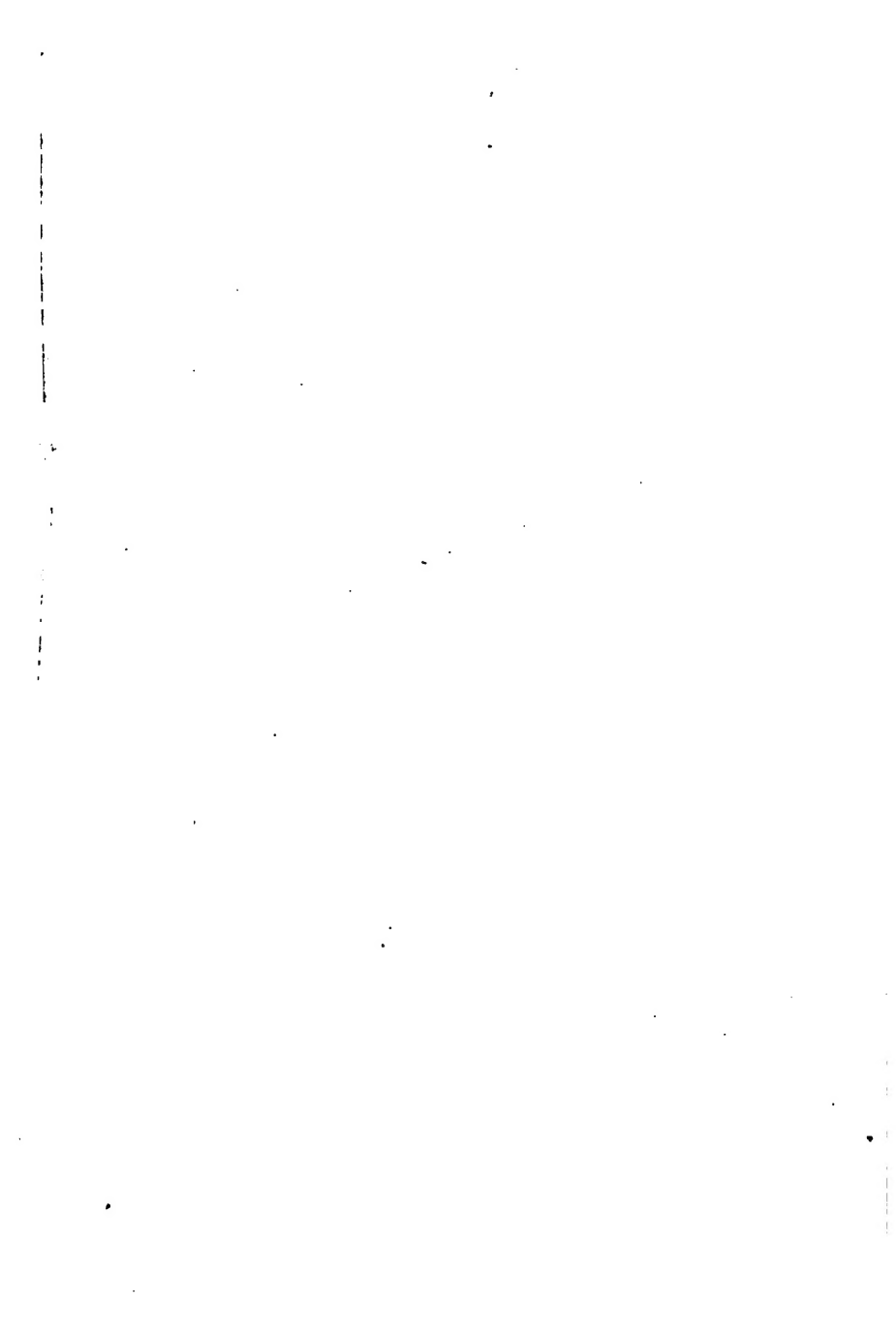
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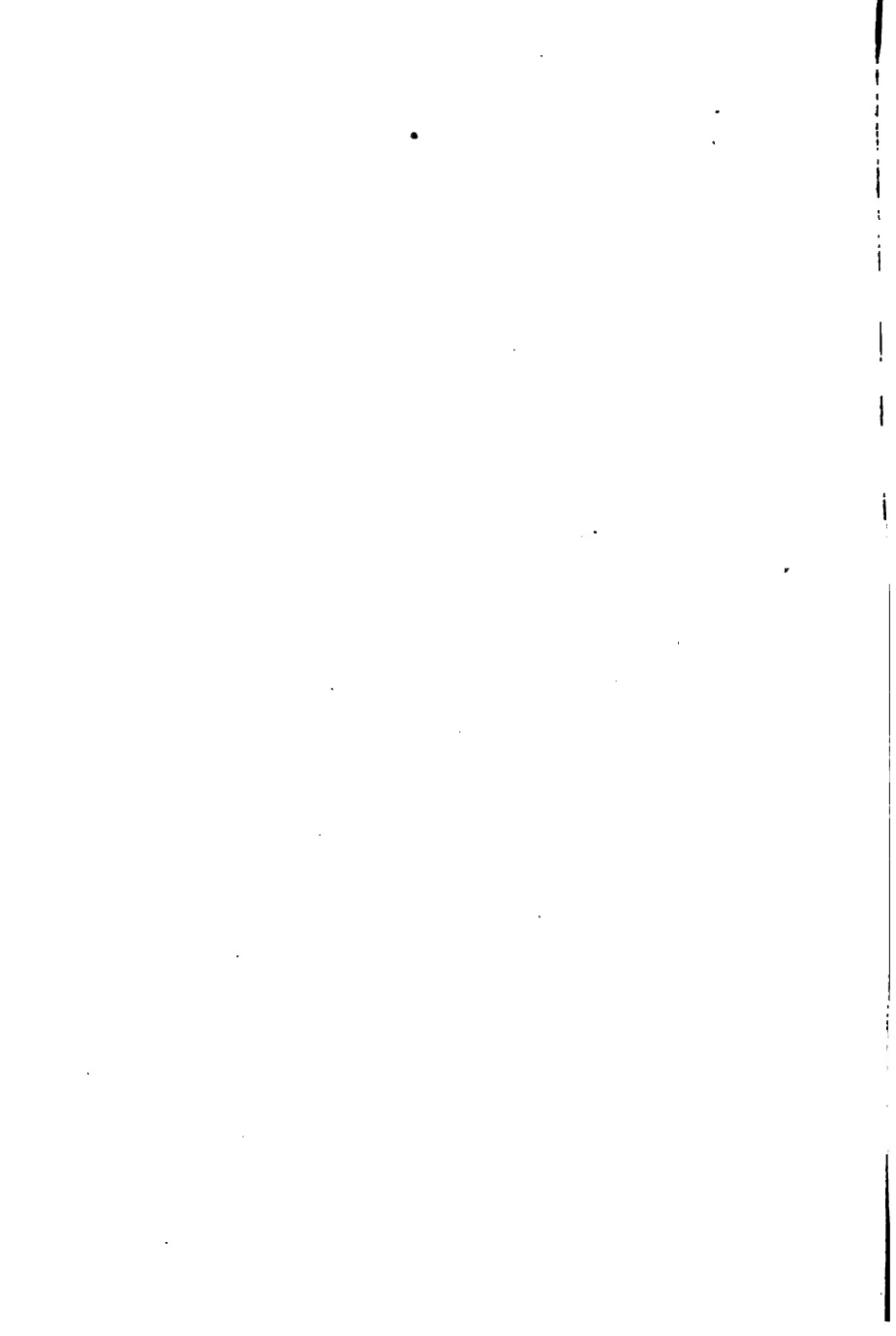
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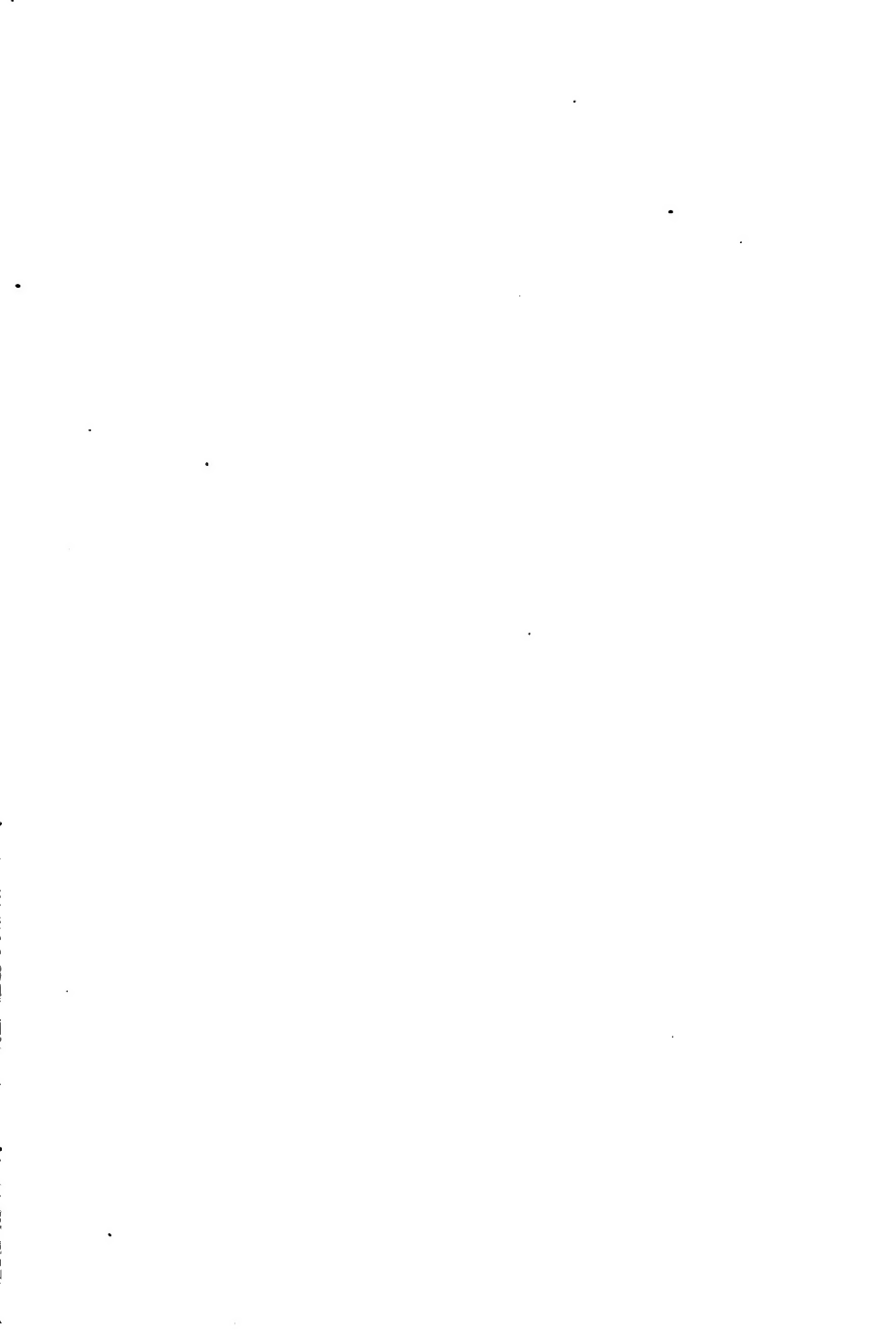
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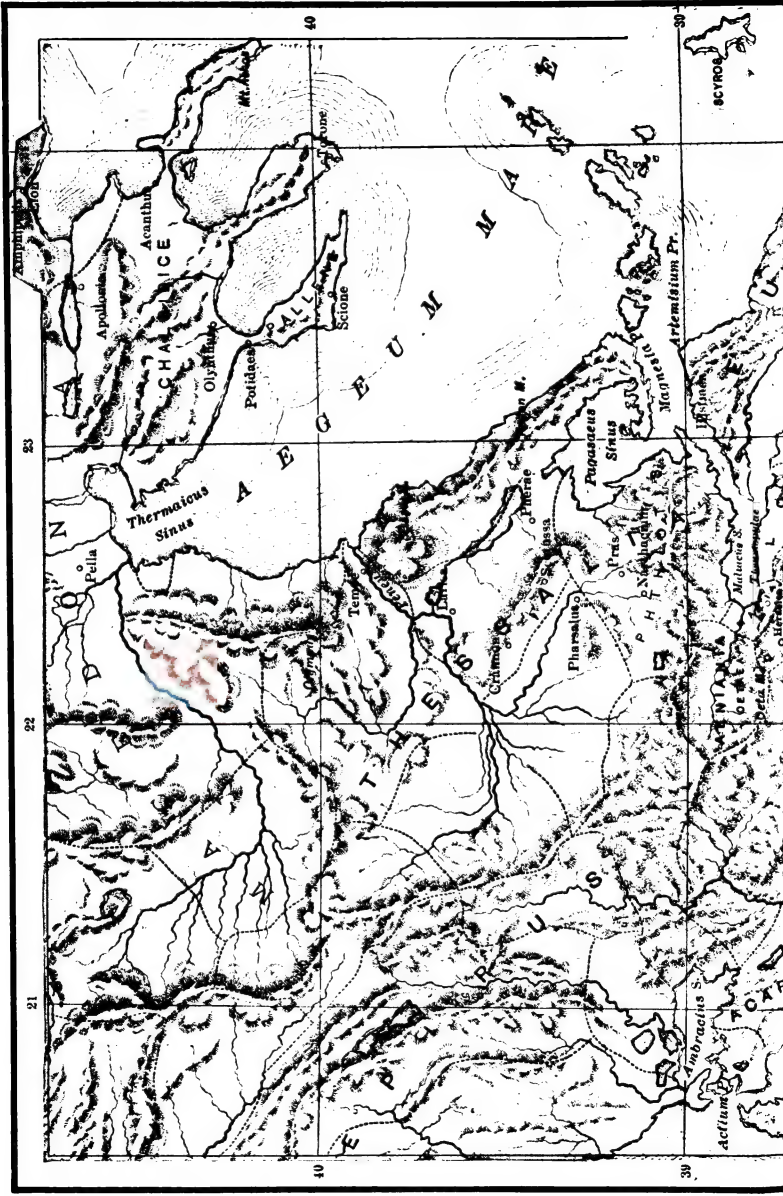


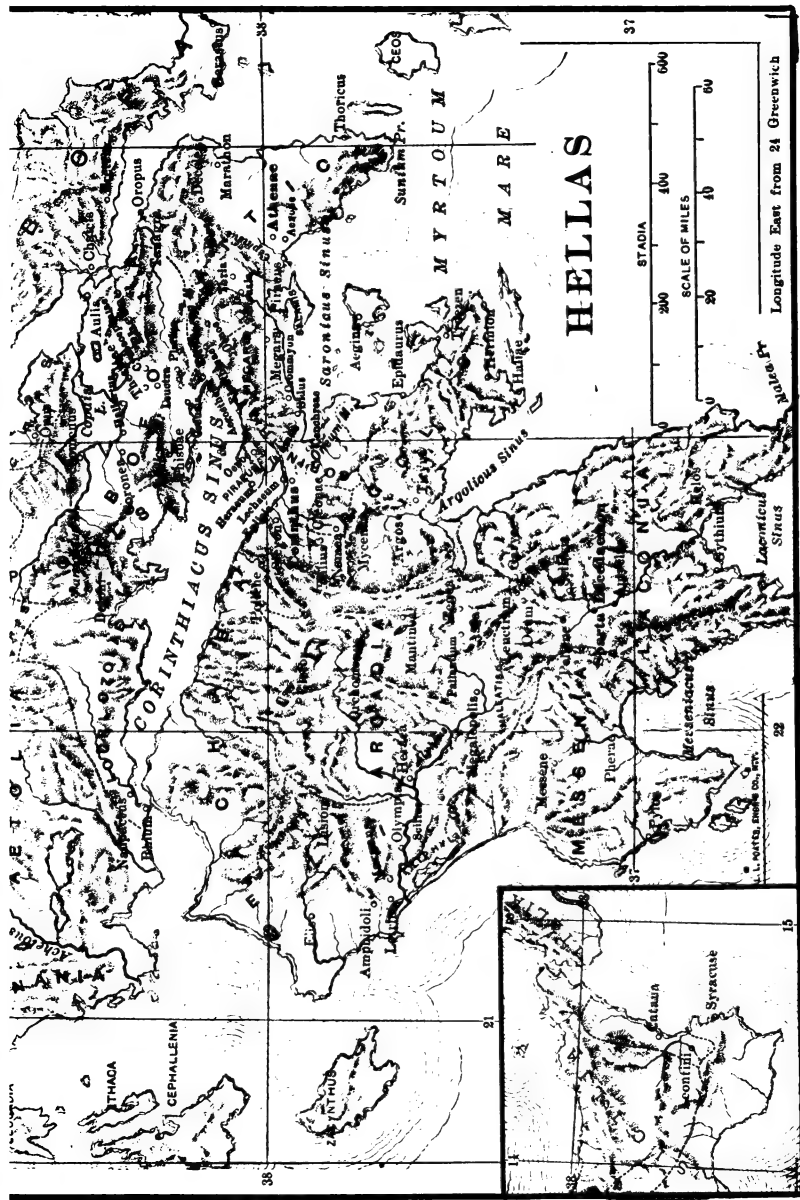
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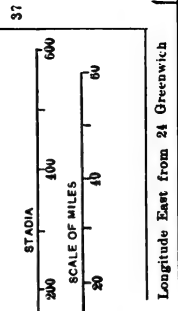
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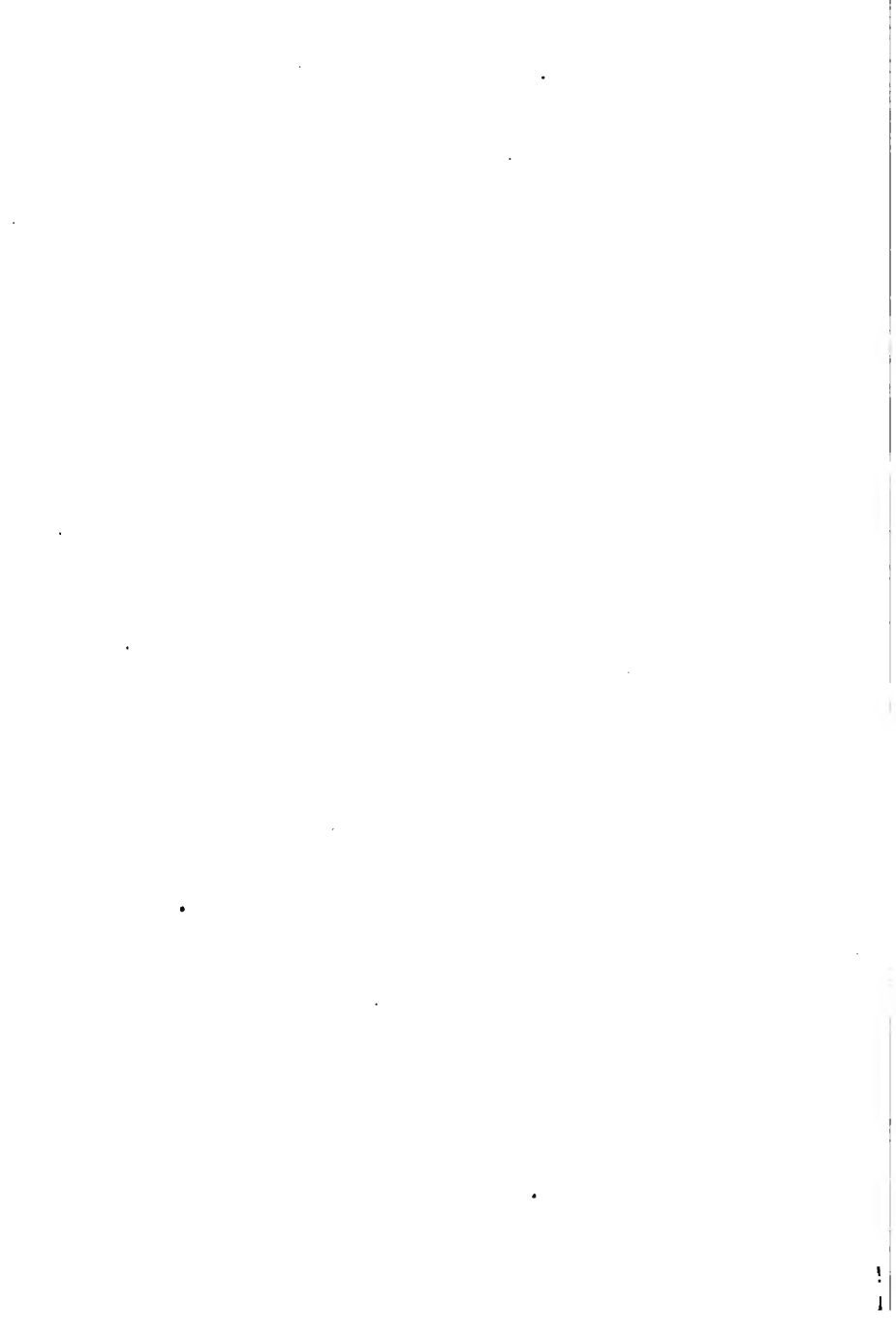


# HELLAS



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# XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

## SELECTIONS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES

BY

CARLETON L. BROWNSON, PH.D.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



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W. P. I

## PREFACE

It was Xenophon's fortune in the *Hellenica* to speak after such masters as Herodotus and Thucydides and to deal with an age of less momentous events than those which they described. He is, nevertheless, the able historian of a most interesting period. He would have deserved well of the world if he had done no more than tell the story of the closing years of the Peloponnesian War; to this, however, he has added a description of the gallant struggle of conquered Athens to win back her lost liberty and power, of the masterful though ungenerous rule of Sparta, and of the successful striving of the Thebans for primacy and glory. He does not introduce us to a Themistocles or a Pericles, yet his Agesilaus and Epaminondas are characters scarcely less interesting. Still more important to the student of history, he fills almost alone the gap between the Greece of the fifth century and the Greece of the time of Philip of Macedon, completing the record of the old era and tracing the development of the new conditions and problems which confronted Demosthenes.

The primary aim of this edition of the *Hellenica* has been to include within one volume of reasonable size those portions of Xenophon's work which are historically most important. In the first two books nothing has been omitted; in the following books enough has been retained to enable the reader to follow the main historical current and the fortunes of the most prominent characters. The result is a body of text about equivalent in amount to the first four books. Wherever chapters or parts of chapters are omitted, brief summaries of them are provided, in order to keep the connection unbroken and to make later allusions intelligible.



As the choice of the selections has been determined by their historical value, so the notes give particular attention to matters of history and frequent references to other authors who deal with the period covered by the *Hellenica*. In general, the notes have been prepared especially for the use of college Freshmen; but those on the first two books are full enough, it is believed, to afford to teachers in secondary schools an opportunity of avoiding the monotony of overmuch *Anabasis* by spending an occasional half year on the *Hellenica*.

It is almost unnecessary to say that in the preparation of this volume free and constant use has been made of the standard editions and commentaries, particularly those of Büchschütz, Breitenbach, Kurz, Grosser, Sorof, and Underhill. The editor is also indebted to the authors of the various special articles and treatises which are mentioned throughout the book. The text is mainly that of Keller. In some cases, however, Keller's judgment seems at fault and his readings have not been followed. The Appendix aims to justify, so far as may be, the text here offered and also to present in convenient and readily accessible form such matters as are of value to teachers and more advanced students.

The editor takes real pleasure in acknowledging his indebtedness and expressing his thanks to the general editor of this series, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, for most helpful advice and criticism.

NEW YORK CITY.

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# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF XENOPHON

Xenophon, the Athenian soldier and man of letters, was the son of Gryllus and belonged to the somewhat aristocratic political class which was known as the Knights. He was born in the rural deme Erchia, of which his contemporary Isocrates, the orator, was also a native. With regard to the date of his birth <sup>1</sup> *Life*, authorities, both ancient and modern, are in conflict, but it seems altogether probable that it should be placed about the year 430 B.C. Nothing is known about his youth and early manhood, which were passed during the troublous times of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.), save only that he became a close associate of the philosopher Socrates, whose influence affected his whole life and character. When he reached the age of military service (c. 412 B.C.), the Peloponnesian War was entering upon its last phase. A large part of Attica was permanently occupied or overrun by a Spartan army under King Agis, while in the eastern Aegean, the principal scene of active warfare, the opposing fleets maintained a doubtful contest. It is not recorded, nor is it likely, that Xenophon bore any part in the foreign campaigns of these closing years of the war; for it was only under exceptional circumstances <sup>2</sup> that the Knights, who normally served as cavalrymen, were assigned to sea duty, and but two small detachments of them were sent out from Athens in the years from 412 to 404 B.C. for strictly military service.<sup>4</sup> The consequent inference that Xenophon remained continuously in

<sup>1</sup> A list of the authorities on this subject and a fuller discussion of some disputed points will be found in Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I. p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* before the battle of Arginusae, *Hellenica* 1. 6. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Hell.* 1. 1. 34 and 1. 4. 21.

Athens is strongly confirmed by the manifestly long duration of his association with Socrates and by the fullness of detail and vividness which characterize his descriptions<sup>1</sup> of events in the city during this period. He did, no doubt, take part with his fellow-troopers in the defense of the walls of Athens, first against the hostile army under Agis, and later, after the battle of Aegospotami, against the combined land and naval forces of the Peloponnesians.

In 401 B.C., three years after the close of the war, came the expedition with Cyrus, the great experience of Xenophon's life, the story of which his *Anabasis* has made so familiar. Returning to Asia Minor at the head of the Ten Thousand in 399 B.C., he entered<sup>2</sup> with them the service of Thibron, commander of the Lacedaemonian forces in the newly begun war against the Persians. He served also, perhaps still in command of his old comrades,<sup>3</sup> under Thibron's successors in the Asiatic campaign, Dercylidas and King Agesilaus, and when the latter was recalled to Greece in 394 B.C. to face Sparta's enemies at home, Xenophon accompanied him and was present<sup>4</sup> at the great battle of Coronea, where the king defeated the allied armies of the Athenians, Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives.

It seems to have been at some time during the years spent in Asia Minor (399-394 B.C.) that Xenophon was formally banished from Athens, either, as most ancient authorities state,<sup>5</sup> on account of his taking part in the expedition of Cyrus, the enemy of Athens, or on the ground of "Laconism,"<sup>6</sup> as shown, apparently, in his enlisting himself and the Ten Thousand in a Lacedaemonian army, and in his own friendship for the Lacedaemonians, particularly Agesilaus. No doubt all these causes combined to bring about the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. especially *Hell.* 1. 4. 12 f. (the return of Alcibiades), 1. 7 (the trial of the generals after Arginusae), and 2. 2. 3 f. (the events which followed the battle of Aegospotami).

<sup>2</sup> *Anab.* 7. 8. 26, *Hell.* 3. 1. 6. See Appendix I. p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Hell.* 3. 2. 7; but not after 395 B.C. in any event (*Hell.* 3. 4. 20).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 18.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Chrysostom 8. 130, M, Pausanias 5. 6. 5, Diogenes Laertius 2. 6. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 51.

unfortunate result. At the time when Xenophon first conceived the plan of accompanying Cyrus (401 B.C.), Socrates expressed the fear that it might be "a cause for accusation against him on the part of the city."<sup>1</sup> This fear might have proved groundless had not Xenophon returned from the expedition in the conspicuous position of leader and thereupon aggravated his original offense by joining a Lacedaemonian army.<sup>2</sup> The date of the decree of banishment cannot be fixed exactly; but Xenophon's own statement<sup>3</sup> that in the early part of 399 B.C. he was preparing to return home, "for the sentence of banishment had not yet been passed upon him," would naturally imply that this sentence followed very soon thereafter.<sup>4</sup>

After Coronea (394 B.C.) Xenophon followed Agesilaus, whom he greatly admired and whose intimate friend he had become, to Sparta. There he lived for several years, accompanying Agesilaus on his various campaigns,<sup>5</sup> and there his two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, were educated in the traditional Spartan training.<sup>6</sup> About 387 B.C. he was presented by the Spartans with an estate at Scillus, in Elis,<sup>7</sup> where he enjoyed the life of a country gentleman, "hunting and entertaining his friends and writing his histories," as his biographer says,<sup>8</sup> until 371 B.C. In this year, when the power of the Spartans was broken by the battle of Leuctra,<sup>9</sup> and Elis reclaimed<sup>10</sup> the territory of which she had been deprived<sup>11</sup> by them, Xenophon was forced to flee from Scillus and took refuge in Corinth.<sup>12</sup> Good fortune, however, followed close upon ill; for in 369 B.C., as it seems, the Athenian decree of banishment against him was revoked.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Anab.* 3. 1. 5.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Athens itself contributed troops to this very army, but rather for the purpose of getting rid of them than of aiding the Lacedaemonians. Cp. *Hell.* 3. 1. 4.      <sup>3</sup> *Anab.* 7. 7. 57.      <sup>4</sup> See Appendix I. p. 350.

<sup>5</sup> This is inferred from the vividness and minuteness of his descriptions of these campaigns in *Hell.* 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Plut. Ages.* 20, *Diog. Laert.* 2. 6. 54.

<sup>7</sup> *Anab.* 5. 3. 7, *Diog. Laert.* 2. 6. 52, *Paus.* 5. 6. 5.      <sup>8</sup> *Diog. Laert.* 2. 6. 52.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 14.      <sup>10</sup> *Hell.* 6. 5. 2.      <sup>11</sup> *Hell.* 3. 2. 30.      <sup>12</sup> *Diog. Laert.* 2. 6. 53.

<sup>13</sup> *Diog. Laert.* 2. 6. 59. At this time the Athenians entered into alliance with Sparta, and Xenophon's "Laconism" could more easily be forgiven.

He nevertheless maintained his residence at Corinth until the close of his life, though he probably visited Athens occasionally and certainly sent his sons thither to serve in the Athenian cavalry.<sup>1</sup> In this service one son, Gryllus, lost his life, being killed in a skirmish which immediately preceded the battle of Mantinea<sup>2</sup> (362 B.C.). Xenophon himself died at Corinth about the year 354 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

All the works which were ascribed to Xenophon in antiquity<sup>4</sup> have been preserved. The most important of them are (1) the *Writings*. *Anabasis*; (2) the *Memorabilia*, a volume of memoirs of Socrates; (3) the *Hellenica*, a history of Greece during Xenophon's own times; and (4) the *Cyropaedia*, a historical romance, almost a novel, though nominally a biography of Cyrus the Great, king of Persia in the sixth century B.C. Besides these major works Xenophon wrote a number of shorter essays or treatises on various subjects. The complete list of his writings, with their approximate dates,<sup>5</sup> is as follows:

*Cynegeticus*, on hunting, 402 B.C.

*Hellenica*, Part I.,<sup>6</sup> c. 393.

*Oeconomicus*, on household management, 386 (?).

*Memorabilia*, between 384 and 380.

*Hellenica*, Part II., probably between 385 and 380.<sup>7</sup>

*Hiero*, on the disadvantages of a tyrant's life, 383.

*Symposium*, a description of an imaginary dinner party and the conversation of the guests, especially Socrates, 380.

*Lacedaemoniorum Respublica*, on the Lacedaemonian Constitution, 378.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 54 f., where the famous anecdote is told regarding Xenophon's reception of the news and his words, ἦδειν θνητὸν γεγεννηκῶς, *I knew my child was mortal*; cp. also *Hell.* 7. 5. 15-17.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix I. p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> The complete list is given by Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 57.

<sup>5</sup> These are taken, for the most part, from A. Roquette, *De Xenophontis Vita*.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 21 f., for the divisions of the *Hellenica* and the reasons therefor.

<sup>7</sup> Roquette (*op. cit.*) puts it after 371 B.C. For arguments in support of the earlier date see Appendix III. p. 358 f.

*Anabasis*, probably published<sup>1</sup> in 371 or a little later.

*Hipparchicus*, on the duties of a cavalry general, 365.

*De Re Equestri*, on horsemanship, after 365.

*Cyropaedia*, finished after 364.

*Hellenica*, Part III., 357 or a little later.

*De Vectigalibus*, on the Athenian revenues, 355.

Three other works were also ascribed to Xenophon by the ancients :

*Agesilaus*,<sup>2</sup> an encomium upon the famous Spartan king.

*Apologia Socratis*, in defense of Socrates.

*Atheniensium Respublica*, on the Constitution of Athens.

The last two are almost certainly spurious, and the *Agesilaus* is so regarded by most scholars.

## II. THE HELLENICA

Xenophon's *Hellenica* records the history of Greece during a period of nearly fifty years, from the autumn of 411 B.C. to the summer of 362 B.C. Thucydides, the great historian of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.), carries his account of that struggle only as far as 411 B.C.; here, therefore, Xenophon begins. The first two books of the *Hellenica* describe the last campaigns of the Peloponnesian War, the fall of Athens (404 B.C.), and the subsequent contest between rival factions in the conquered city (404-401 B.C.). The third book is largely devoted to the war in Asia Minor (399-394 B.C.) between Sparta, now the recognized champion of Greece, and the Persians. During its progress, however, hostilities began again in Greece, where the Thebans defeated a Spartan force in the battle of Haliartus (395 B.C.). The fourth book recounts the story of the so-called Corinthian War (394-387 B.C.), in which Thebes, Athens, Corinth,

Subject and  
Scope.

<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that the *composition* of the greater part of it should be placed considerably earlier. See Appendix III. p. 359, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The biographical portions of the *Agesilaus* are very largely transcribed, almost *verbatim*, from the *Hellenica*.



and Argos united against Sparta. In this indecisive contest Sparta won important victories by land in the battles of the Nemea and Coronea (394 B.C.), but was defeated in the naval battle of Cnidus (394 B.C.) and was unable to prevent the rebuilding of the walls of Athens, destroyed at the close of the Peloponnesian War. The fifth book describes the termination of the Corinthian War by the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), the consequent reestablishment of Spartan supremacy, and Sparta's unworthy abuse of her power in the subjugation of weaker states and the treacherous seizure of the citadel of Thebes (383 B.C.). Ultimately, however, the Thebans recovered their citadel and once more allied themselves with the Athenians against Sparta. In the war which followed the Athenians established a new maritime confederacy and defeated the Spartans in the naval battle of Naxos (376 B.C.). The sixth book tells of the conclusion of peace between Athens and Sparta, but renewed war between Sparta and Thebes. In the great battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.) the Thebans won a decisive victory, which they followed up by the invasion of Laconia. The seventh and last book continues the account of the war, in which all the states of Greece became involved. In the final battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.) the Thebans were again victorious, but their success was neutralized by the loss of their great leader, Epaminondas.

Briefly, the *Hellenica* is the story of the triumph and fall of Sparta, and the rise of Thebes. It is a story of almost incessant warfare, which exhausted all Greece and prepared the way for the supremacy of Macedonia, under Philip and Alexander the Great.

It has been stated that the *Hellenica* begins at the point (411 B.C.) where Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War breaks off. Nevertheless, Xenophon prefixes no word of introduction to his history, but plunges at once *in medias res* and tacitly presupposes the reader's acquaintance with Thucydides; in order, therefore, to make the first book of the *Hellenica* intelligible, it becomes necessary to sketch the general course of the Peloponnesian War from 431 to 411 B.C.

The name which history has given to this struggle between the Athenian and Peloponnesian confederacies finds its explanation in the fact that our accounts of the war are written from the standpoint of the Athenians, to whom such a designation was the natural one. It should be remembered, however, **The Peloponnesian War.** that it was not merely the ancient Peloponnesian confederacy, under the headship of Sparta, against which the Athenians were pitted; for Sparta also numbered among her allies the more important states of northern Greece, — Boeotia, Megara, Phocis, and Locris. The Athenians, on the other hand, while their allies in Greece proper were few and comparatively weak, possessed a maritime empire which included almost all the Greek islands and the cities on the coasts of the Aegean and the Hellespont. The contest, therefore, was one in which practically the entire Greek world was involved, a contest for supremacy between two great states, Sparta and Athens, yet at the same time between the military confederacy of the one and the naval confederacy of the other.

It is not essential, for the present purpose, to consider in detail the events of the early years of the war. Spartan successes by land alternated with Athenian successes by sea until the war was interrupted for a time by the vain Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). There followed a few years of tangled intrigue and universal unrest and dissatisfaction, accompanied by actual violations of a treaty that still remained nominally in force. At length in 415 B.C. Athenian ambition was tempted by the opportunity which seemed to offer itself of subjugating the important city of Syracuse, in Sicily. This project was warmly urged by Alcibiades, a young, wealthy, talented, and unscrupulous popular leader. The Athenians enthusiastically voted to send a powerful expedition to Sicily and chose Alcibiades as one of the three generals in command. When the fleet was almost ready to set forth, Athens awoke one morning to find that the statues of the god Hermes throughout the city had been mutilated during the night. Suspicion attached to Alcibiades, and was strengthened by charges which were now

# HELLENICA

... against him of retaining the Eleusinian mysteries, the  
... of Athenian... but his enemies succeeded in  
... an immediate trial... sail at once  
... the matter and by compelling him to sail at once  
... let the charges still hanging over him. Not long  
... after the departure of the fleet, increasing popular  
... at Athens over these acts of sacrilege and a general  
... were connected in some way with a plot to over-  
... the manner led to the dispatch of a state trireme to  
... orders to bring Alcibiades home to stand trial. On  
... voyage Alcibiades secured and made his way to Sparta,  
... to arrange himself with the Athenians. He advised  
... to send an army  
... against a permanent camp there and  
... from strengthening their forces. In pursu-  
... the Spartan commissioner Cyriippus, one of  
... to use all the Spartan energy in the  
... to send a new force against them-  
... the Athenians received  
... were defeated both by land  
... were annihilated 413 B.C.  
... of ships and  
... The Spartans  
... in Greece  
... in Asia  
... had kept  
... in the

Yet the Athenians, crippled and imperiled as they were, displayed great energy and determination. To the surprise of all Greece they managed to equip a new fleet, subjugated the revolted Lesbians, and not only achieved some successes against the Chians, who had also revolted, but even defeated a Peloponnesian fleet which was sent to their aid (412 B.C.). But the allies of Athens continued to fall away from her and she was not equal to the task of recovering them all. Their defection not only reduced her military strength but also deprived her of the revenues on which she had depended.<sup>1</sup> The Peloponnesians, on the other hand, were now able to send forth a fleet as numerous and efficient as that of the Athenians, and to maintain it by the subsidies received from Tissaphernes; for they had already concluded a formal treaty with the Persian king.<sup>2</sup> Thus, for the first time in many years, they challenged the power of Athens on her own element, and, furthermore, carried the war into the enemy's country, not merely by establishing themselves in Attica, but by prosecuting naval operations on the islands and coasts of Athens' maritime empire.

Meanwhile Alcibiades again assumes a prominent rôle. Having fallen into disfavor with the Spartans and being condemned to death by them, he fled to Tissaphernes, in whom he thought to find a means of effecting his return to Athens. He first persuaded the satrap to scant his supplies of money to the Peloponnesians, representing to him that it was to the interest of Persia that neither Greek power should triumph, but rather exhaust one another by continued warfare;<sup>3</sup> next, he caused a report to be circulated among the Athenian forces, who were making their headquarters at Samos, that he could and would win for them the active aid of Tissaphernes on condition that he himself be recalled to Athens and an oligarchical government established there in

<sup>1</sup> This explains the frequent expeditions which were undertaken for the purpose of collecting money, — expeditions which seriously interfered with the proper work of the Athenian fleet (*Hell.* I. I. 8, I. I. 12, I. I. 20, *et passim*).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Hell.* I. I. 14.

<sup>3</sup> So Tissaphernes himself puts it, *Hell.* I. 5. 9.

place of the democracy. Many influential Athenians in the fleet at Samos really desired such a change of government, and plans were set on foot to accomplish it. When the time came for Alcibiades to fulfill his promise of enlisting Tissaphernes on the Athenian side, he failed to do so; but the leaders of the oligarchical movement had gone too far to retreat. Throwing over Alcibiades, whom they now suspected and feared, they succeeded by various machinations in setting up at Athens the so-called government of the Four Hundred (May, 411 B.C.). The news of this event was received by the Athenian sailors at Samos, who were stout democrats, with the greatest indignation. Under the leadership of Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, they bound themselves to preserve the democracy and to hold no communication with the Four Hundred, and elected new generals whose loyalty to the democracy was unquestioned; a little later they formally recalled Alcibiades, who was still with Tissaphernes, and on his arrival at Samos added him to the number of the generals. The situation of the Four Hundred at Athens immediately became critical. Some of their leaders were ready to betray the city to the Spartans for the sake of maintaining their own power, and with this intention began to build a fort commanding the entrance to Piræus; but a more moderate party, headed by Theramenes, divined this treasonable purpose and pulled down the fort.<sup>1</sup> At this moment a Peloponnesian fleet under Agesandridas appeared off Piræus, apparently by previous arrangement with the traitors among the Four Hundred. The Athenians hastily manned some ships and followed the Peloponnesians round Cape Sunium to the Euboean coast. There a battle took place in which the Peloponnesians were completely victorious. This unfortunate event, involving to the Athenians the loss of Euboea, a principal source of their food supply, seemed a fatal blow. It was not, however, an unmixed evil, for the gravity of the situation compelled internal harmony at Athens; the Four Hundred were deposed, and a modified form of democracy reestablished.

<sup>1</sup> See Theramenes' own account of these events, *Hell.* 2. 3. 45-46.

The victorious Peloponnesians failed to follow up their advantage by an immediate attack upon Piræus, which might at this time have proved successful; and meanwhile Athenian fortunes in the East took a favorable turn. The Spartan admiral Mindarus, angry with Tissaphernes, who had entirely cut off his supplies of money to the Peloponnesians, accepted the invitation of Pharnabazus, satrap of Phrygia and Tissaphernes' rival, to transfer his fleet to the Hellespont. Thither the Athenians, under Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, were forced to follow; for it was absolutely essential that they should not lose control of the Hellespont, through which lay the route of their grain-ships from the Euxine Sea. The opposing fleets quickly came to battle off Cynossema, and the Athenians, though outnumbered, were victorious. Soon afterwards Tissaphernes set out for the Hellespont,<sup>1</sup> in order to ingratiate himself again with the Peloponnesians. Midway in the account of his journey Thucydides' history of the war abruptly breaks off.

Xenophon's *Hellenica* takes up the story at about this point, but its opening paragraphs by no means form a consistent and close continuation of the final chapters of Thucydides. The first words of the *Hellenica*, "And after this," do not refer to the last event mentioned by Thucydides. The hostile fleets and individual commanders are found at the beginning of the *Hellenica* in places more or less removed from those where Thucydides left them. The scene of the opening battle of the *Hellenica*, which is not stated by Xenophon, cannot be inferred from the concluding chapters of Thucydides. In a word, the connection between the two histories, instead of being exact, is extremely loose. Yet there can be no doubt that it was Xenophon's intention to complete the interrupted narrative of his predecessor. The fact that he begins the *Hellenica* without any introduction or statement of his purpose or description of the existing situation<sup>2</sup> or identification of the lead-

The Relation  
of the  
*Hellenica* to  
Thucydides.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Hell.* I. I. 9.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller treatment of this subject see Appendix II.      <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 14.

ing personages inevitably suggests such a conclusion; and this conclusion is confirmed by the explicit statements of several ancient writers.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the *Hellenica* in its present form is more than a mere supplement to Thucydides; for it not only finishes Thucydides' appointed task, the history of the Peloponnesian War, but also covers a long period thereafter.<sup>2</sup> There is abundant evidence, however, that just that part of the *Hellenica* which deals with the Peloponnesian War was written a number of years earlier than the succeeding part.<sup>3</sup> Xenophon did halt, therefore, at the point where Thucydides had intended to halt. It is a fair inference that originally he purposed nothing more than the completion of Thucydides' work. That such was really the case is further indicated by the fact that in the first part of the *Hellenica* — the Supplement to Thucydides, as it may be termed — Xenophon appears to imitate in more than one respect<sup>4</sup> Thucydides' own method of treatment, whereas in the later part this imitation disappears entirely.

It seems clear, therefore, that in undertaking the *Hellenica* Xenophon's primary aim was to finish the narrative which Thucydides had left incomplete.<sup>5</sup> How, then, can the looseness and inexactness of the connection between the *Hellenica* and Thucydides be explained? In answer to this question various theories have been offered, — either that something has been lost from the beginning of the *Hellenica*, or from the end of Thucydides' history, or that Xenophon intended to prefix an introduction to the *Hellenica* but failed to do so. Each one of these theories may be said to offer a possible explanation of the facts, but, on the other hand, each is pure assumption, based upon little or no definite evidence. It is much safer to explain the inconsistencies and evident omissions between Thucydides and the *Hellenica* by the

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Marcellinus. See Appendix II. p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 13 f.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 21 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix II. p. 352.

<sup>5</sup> This statement, of course, does not imply and is not intended to imply that Xenophon proposed to publish the first part of the *Hellenica* with the work of Thucydides or as the work of Thucydides.

*Hellenica* itself; for in the body of that work are found quite similar omissions and inconsistencies.<sup>1</sup> It happens, for example, that Xenophon does not secure precise continuity between different parts of his narrative, or introduces his reader to a wholly unexplained situation, or omits to mention facts of material importance.<sup>2</sup> Such imperfections, which are apparently due either to lack of information or, more often, to lack of care, are found in considerable numbers throughout the *Hellenica*, though particularly in the earlier part. Their existence seems to justify the belief that the looseness of the connection between the *Hellenica* and Thucydides is simply another instance of Xenophon's defective workmanship. It is entirely comprehensible that an author who sometimes fails to weld together smoothly the successive portions of his own history should also fail to join his work perfectly to that of a predecessor.

The *Hellenica*, as it has come down to us, consists of seven books, but this division, which was certainly made by some early editor or critic and not by the author himself,<sup>3</sup> is wholly artificial and meaningless. Far more important is the natural and original division of the work into different parts written at different periods. For the *Hellenica*, covering as it does the years from 411 to 362 B.C., was Xenophon's history of his own times, and it was wholly natural that he should write it part by part, as time went on, instead of waiting till toward the close of his life to tell the whole story in its entirety. In fact, the investigations of many scholars have proved beyond reasonable doubt that the *Hellenica* falls into three main divisions, written at considerable intervals: Part I. (1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10), finishing Thucydides' interrupted story of the Peloponnesian War, 411-404 B.C.; Part II. (2. 3. 11-5. 1. 36), from the close of the Peloponnesian War to the Peace of Antalcidas, 404-387 B.C.; Part III.

The Divisions of the *Hellenica*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some typical examples are cited in Appendix II. p. 354.    <sup>2</sup> See below, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> The division into *seven* books was apparently not the only one known in antiquity. See Appendix III. p. 356, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller statement of the arguments upon which the conclusions indicated in this section are based, see Appendix III.



(5. 2. 1—the end), from the Peace of Antalcidas to the battle of Mantinea, 387–362 B.C.

Part I., the Supplement to Thucydides, differs in several important respects from the succeeding parts. Its manifestly conscious imitation of certain Thucydidean peculiarities of treatment<sup>1</sup> is found nowhere else in the *Hellenica*. On the other hand, some of the characteristics which mark Xenophon's historical method in the later portions of the *Hellenica* and in his other works do not appear in Part I. In style and diction also Part I. has been found to be wholly unlike the remainder of the work and to resemble closely the very earliest of Xenophon's writings. All these considerations justify the conclusion that it was written a considerable time before Parts II. and III., that it was, indeed, one of the first products of Xenophon's literary activity.<sup>2</sup>

It remains to determine more precisely, if possible, the date of the composition of Part I. Being a supplement to Thucydides, it was certainly written after Thucydides' history was published. It is generally believed that Thucydides died not earlier than 400 B.C., and his history was not given to the world until after his death. It follows, therefore, that Part I. could not have been written before 401 B.C., when Xenophon left Athens to join the Ten Thousand.<sup>3</sup> From that time until 394 B.C. he was constantly engaged in military service,<sup>4</sup> and could hardly have found time for literary work. But Part I. must have been composed very soon after he returned to Greece in 394 B.C. and found a home and quiet at Sparta; for, as already stated, it is clearly one of the earliest of his writings. The date of its composition, therefore, may be placed with much probability at 393 B.C. or a very little later.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III. p. 357, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> In line with this conclusion is the fact that Part I. shows a knowledge of Asia Minor and the adjoining regions which Xenophon gained only by personal observation during and after 401 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> This is the conclusion reached by Roquette (*op. cit.*). Others, with less reason, place it after 387 B.C.

Some years after the completion of Part I. Xenophon turned again to historical work. Probably his interest therein was roused anew by the famous Peace of Antalcidas,<sup>1</sup> which was concluded in 387 B.C. and which manifestly marked an epoch in Greek history. He continued his narrative, therefore, down to 387 B.C., finishing what has been termed Part II. (2. 3. 11-5. 1. 36). This middle portion of the *Hellenica*, while considerably later than Part I., was also considerably earlier than Part III. Such a conclusion is deduced with much certainty from various casual allusions<sup>2</sup> in Part II., which serve to fix approximately the time of its composition, and from a comparison of its style with that of Part III. In the light of all the available evidence it seems probable that Part II. was written during the period from 385 to 380 B.C.

Part III. (5. 2. 1—the end), covering the years from 387 to 362 B.C., was the work of Xenophon's old age. Doubtless the great battle of Mantinea,<sup>3</sup> fought in 362 B.C., furnished the impulse which led him to take up again the task he had twice laid down. It was not, however, until some time after Mantinea that Part III. was completed; for 6. 4. 35 contains a reference to an event which took place as late as 358 or 357 B.C. This passage, taken in connection with the fact that Xenophon probably died about 354 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> fixes the date of the composition of Part III. with sufficient definiteness.

Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian War, groups the events which he describes by years and seasons.<sup>5</sup> His year begins with the opening of spring and is divided into two parts, summer (*θέρος*) and winter (*χειμῶν*). He always marks carefully the close of the summer season and, similarly, the close of the winter, *i.e.* of the year; and at the latter point he always states the total number of years elapsed since the outbreak of the war. In Part I. of the *Hellenica*, which follows the annalistic method of

Interpolations in Part I. of the *Hellenica*:<sup>6</sup>  
(1) Chronological Data.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 14.   <sup>2</sup> *E.g.* 2. 4. 43, 3. 5. 25, 4. 3. 16. See Appendix III. p. 357 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Appendix II. p. 352.

<sup>6</sup> For additional details see Appendix IV.

Thucydides<sup>1</sup> and adopts a similar "year" (from spring to spring), no less than four different means of chronological determination are employed: (a) The beginning of the year is marked, by various formulas, in the case of six of the seven years which Part I covers.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, as in Thucydides, particular events are occasionally assigned to particular times within the year by such phrases as "at the beginning of winter,"<sup>3</sup> "during the summer,"<sup>4</sup> "when winter came on."<sup>5</sup> (b) In four cases<sup>6</sup> the number of years elapsed since the beginning of the war is stated. (c) In five cases<sup>7</sup> the notice of the beginning of a new year is followed by the mention of the name of the eponymous archon for that year at Athens and that of the eponymous ephor at Sparta. (d) In two cases<sup>8</sup> the new year is designated as the year of an Olympic festival.

The chronological data comprised under (b), (c), and (d), *i.e.* the references to years of the war, to archons and ephors, and to Olympiads, have been pronounced spurious by the unanimous judgment of all scholars. It has been shown (b) that the number of the years of the war is in every single case stated incorrectly, a circumstance which is sufficient to mark these statements as interpolations. Further, (c) the names of the archons and ephors for the year are given incorrectly in two<sup>9</sup> out of five cases; and, since Xenophon marks plainly the beginnings of *six* years, it is difficult to understand why the names of archons and ephors are inserted in only five instances and not in the sixth,<sup>10</sup> except on the theory that these insertions are the work of a careless interpolator. To

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in I. 2. 1 τῶ ἀλλῷ ἔτει (409 B.C.), in I. 3. 1 τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους (408 B.C.), in I. 4. 2 ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος (407 B.C.), and in I. 6. 1, 2. 1. 10, and 2. 3. 1 τῶ ἐπιόντι ἔτει (406, 405, and 404 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> I. 1. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 2. 1. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 2. 1. 1.

<sup>6</sup> I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, 2. 1. 7, and 2. 3. 9.

<sup>7</sup> I. 2. 1, I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, 2. 1. 10, and 2. 3. 1.

<sup>8</sup> I. 2. 1 and 2. 3. 1.

<sup>9</sup> I. 2. 1 and I. 3. 1.

<sup>10</sup> I. 4. 2 (the beginning of 407 B.C.). In this case the notice of the new year does not stand at the beginning of a chapter, and it consists of the simple phrase ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος and not, as elsewhere, of a formula with ἔτει or ἔτους. For these reasons it seems to have been overlooked by the interpolator. This first error led to a second and a third. For the interpolator was evidently working backward

these considerations must be added the fact that neither of Xenophon's predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides, employs the lists of eponymous magistrates to distinguish successive years. Again, (*d*) not only is one of the two Olympiads incorrectly placed,<sup>1</sup> but we know<sup>2</sup> that the Olympiads were not employed for the determining of dates until a century after Xenophon's time.

The notices of the beginnings of new years — comprised under (*a*) above — are not absolutely accurate or complete, but, while it is possible that they also have been interpolated, the probability is that they are Xenophon's own.<sup>3</sup>

It is Thucydides' custom, after he has described the more important operations of a given season at the principal scene of hostilities, to summarize in detached references the minor events of the war during the same season. This method of treatment is found not infrequently in the *Hellenica*<sup>4</sup>; but the occasional references, which appear in the present text of Part I., to occurrences which have nothing to do with the Peloponnesian War and which take place outside Greece, are justly regarded as interpolations. Such are the references to events in Sicily,<sup>5</sup> in the Persian Empire,<sup>6</sup> and in Thessaly.<sup>7</sup> These passages are condemned not merely because of their complete lack of connection with the subject in hand, but also because they present inexplicable difficulties of chronology and phraseology, and are sometimes manifestly inaccurate in statements of fact as well

from 404 B.C. with his lists of archons and ephors, and he places correctly the names of those for 404, 405, and 406 B.C. (at 2. 3. 1, 2. 1. 10, and 1. 6. 1, respectively); but having missed the beginning of 407 B.C. (at 1. 4. 2) he assigns the magistrates for that year to 408 B.C. (at 1. 3. 1) and, consequently, the magistrates for 408 B.C. to 409 B.C. (at 1. 2. 1).

<sup>1</sup> At 1. 2. 1 (409 B.C.). The Olympiad in question fell in 408 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> On the excellent authority of Polybius, 12. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix IV. p. 361. In 1. 3. 1, however, τοῦ ἐπιώντος ἔτους should probably be regarded as an interpolation, both because of the sentence in which it stands (see below) and because its place is abundantly supplied by the following ἐπεὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* 1. 1. 27, 1. 1. 32, 1. 2. 18.

<sup>6</sup> 1. 2. 19 and 2. 1. 8-9.

<sup>5</sup> 1. 1. 37, 1. 5. 21, 2. 2. 24, and 2. 3. 5.

<sup>7</sup> 2. 3. 4.

as inconsistent with one another and with other portions of the *Hellenica*. It must be supposed that they were inserted by some early scholar for the purpose of giving to Part I. a closer outward resemblance to Thucydides. The same purpose on the part of some interpolator is the probable explanation of various allusions to conflagrations and eclipses,<sup>1</sup> — allusions which are wholly irrelevant, yet at least comparable with those found in Thucydides.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, the passage in 2. 3. 9-10, containing a list of the eponymous ephors at Sparta during the Peloponnesian War, is almost certainly interpolated. It is intimately connected with an incorrect statement of the duration of the war,<sup>3</sup> and is manifestly copied in part from Thucydides.<sup>4</sup>

In many respects Xenophon was admirably fitted to be the historian of his own times. He was clear sighted and honest, a master of the art of war as well as a scholar, his varied travels had given him a considerable knowledge of the peoples and localities with which his narrative is concerned, his Athenian birth and his close association with Lacedaemonians enabled him to understand and to appreciate both sides of the important questions of the day, and, lastly, his intimate friendship with King Agesilaus afforded him exceptional opportunities to acquire accurate information. On the other hand, his personal preferences and prejudices were strong, and he lacked the studious carefulness which is necessary to the ideal historian. All these qualifications and disqualifications of its author are exhibited in the *Hellenica*. It has unquestioned merits and unquestioned defects. The latter must necessarily receive a disproportionate amount of consideration, because an understanding of them is essential in order to enable one to qualify and supplement the narrative of the *Hellenica*, and so obtain a wholly correct view of the period which it covers; but it should not be forgotten that these defects are balanced and more than balanced by positive excellences.

**The Defects  
and Merits  
of the  
*Hellenica*.**

<sup>1</sup> I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, 2. 3. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Making it 28½ years instead of 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IV. p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> 2. 2.

Mention has already been made<sup>1</sup> of the inconsistencies which are found in the *Hellenica*. They appear, in greater or less number, throughout the entire work. The author alludes to an event as though already described of which he has told us nothing, or takes up the thread of a given subject at a later point than that where he dropped it, or introduces us without explanation to a situation which is unintelligible to us, or a personage who is unknown. More extraordinary than such inconsistencies is the fact that many events of considerable importance are either dismissed very briefly or entirely omitted, while, on the other hand, trivial matters are frequently treated with great fullness.<sup>2</sup> So, for example, no mention is made of two of the most momentous results which followed the battle of Leuctra, viz. the reëstablishment of Messenian independence by Epaminondas and the foundation of Megalopolis as a capital for the Arcadian league<sup>3</sup>; yet an entire chapter is devoted to the fortunes of the small town of Phlius.<sup>4</sup>

For such omissions, inequalities of treatment, and inconsistencies various explanations have been offered. Some critics have maintained that the *Hellenica* which has come down to us is merely a later epitome of Xenophon's original work.<sup>5</sup> This theory, besides

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The more important instances of omissions, inequalities of treatment, and inconsistencies are considered, as they occur, in the notes. On the whole subject cp. Breitenbach's *Hellenika, Einleitung zum ersten Bande*, §§ 3-10, Underhill's *Commentary on the Hellenica*, Introd. pp. xxi-xxxiii, and Dakyns' *Works of Xenophon*, Vol. I. p. lxxv and Vol. II. pp. xlii-liiii.

<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, we find several references (e.g. 7. 1. 27, 7. 4. 9, 7. 4. 27) to the accomplished fact of Messenian independence, and, similarly, a casual allusion (7. 5. 5) to the Megalopolitans.

<sup>4</sup> 7. 2.

<sup>5</sup> This view was first put forward by Campe (*Xenophons ausgewählte Schriften, Zweite Abtheilung, Einl.* p. 8) after Lobeck (*ad Soph. Ajac.* p. 443) had suggested a doubt of the *Hellenica* being a genuine work of Xenophon. Campe was followed and stoutly supported by Kyprianos (*Περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος*) and Grosser (in various monographs, particularly *Neue Jahrb.* 95 [1867] 737 f. and *Zur Charakteristik der Epitome von Xenophons Hellenika*). The epitome theory, however, has been abundantly refuted by Hänel (*Besitzen wir Xenophons Hell. Gesch. nur im Auszuge?*) and Vollbrecht (*De Xen. Hell. in epitomen non coactis*). Cp. also Nitsche (*Über die Abfassung von Xen. Hell.*).

being inherently improbable, has not even the merit of explaining the facts; for an epitome would naturally abbreviate trivial matters and preserve all references to weighty events,—just the things which the *Hellenica* in its present form does not do. Again, it has been held that the *Hellenica* is a collection of *materials* for a history rather than the finished historical product; that it consists merely of memoranda which Xenophon noted down from time to time as events passed, intending them for his own use and not for publication.<sup>1</sup> No doubt Xenophon must have kept a diary and taken notes of current happenings at or about the times of their occurrence, but any idea that the *Hellenica* is merely a published diary or was made up of detached bits, successively added at short intervals, is abundantly disproved, not only by very many passages which were certainly written long after the events they describe,<sup>2</sup> but also by the fact that each of the three Parts of the *Hellenica* proves upon examination to be an organic whole, its various portions clearly interrelated to one another;<sup>3</sup> further, many passages<sup>4</sup> show that Xenophon was consciously writing for publication and not for himself alone. Other apologists<sup>5</sup> for the *Hellenica* maintain that it is an unfinished work, perhaps published by strangers after Xenophon's death. This hypothesis can no more be disproved than it can be proved; yet some of the difficulties which stand in the way of its acceptance may be pointed out. In the first place, critics have inevitably compared Xenophon's history with those of his greater predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides, and have been led, either consciously or unconsciously, to deem it unfinished because of its marked inferiority to them; yet it is manifest that the only solid basis for declaring that a history which

<sup>1</sup> Cp. especially Wyttenbach (*Selecta princip. Histor.*, praef. p. x) and Büchschütz (in his edition of the *Hellenica*, *Eint.* p. 7).

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* 2. 4. 43. 3. 5. 25. 4. 4. 15. 6. 4. 27-37, 1. 7. 35. 3. 1. 5. For the first four passages see Appendix III. pp. 357-360.

<sup>3</sup> This is pointed out by Nitsche, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* 4. 2. 16. 4. 3. 16. 4. 8. 1. 5. 4. 1. 6. 4. 37. 7. 2. 1. 7. 5. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Hertlein (*Observationes criticae in Xen. hist. Graec.* II. p. 1) and Christ (in Müller's *Handbuch* 7. 301); among the editors, Breitenbach, Büchschütz, Blake, and Sorof.

shows serious defects is therefore unfinished, must be a knowledge of the historical abilities and qualities of *its author*, not those of other historians. Such knowledge with regard to Xenophon is not obtainable, for the reason that no other one of his works is similar to the *Hellenica* or required the same sort of talent. Broadly speaking, the *Anabasis* is a history, but it describes an altogether simple incident of only two years' duration, whereas the *Hellenica* covers fifty years of the most diverse and complicated events. The two works are so entirely different that it is no more possible to argue from the skill and completeness with which the story of the *Anabasis* is told that Xenophon must have been able to produce a better *Hellenica*, than it would be to argue that the author of an excellent description of a year's travels in France could necessarily write a good history of the Napoleonic period. Secondly, it is difficult to find a reason why Xenophon should have left the *Hellenica* unfinished. Part I. was surely written almost forty years, Part II. twenty years or thereabouts, before his death.<sup>1</sup> That he did not cease to be interested in the writing of history is shown by the fact that he returned to it more than once and was engaged in it during the closing years of his life. Why should he have left, not merely the last chapters of the *Hellenica* but the entire work, unfinished? Thirdly, it must be remembered that some of the best modern histories are characterized by noteworthy omissions and by lack of proportion, even though their authors have enjoyed the advantages of the printed page and, in many cases, of following a host of predecessors; such defects, therefore, are easy to understand in one who wrote an entirely independent history of his own times and before the invention of printing.

All the various theories which we have just considered appear to owe their origin to an unwillingness to admit that Xenophon was in any way incapacitated for writing a first-rate history; yet just this is the natural explanation, and in all probability the correct explanation, of the defects of the *Hellenica*. For the available evidence in regard to the inconsistencies, omissions, and inequalities

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 22-23.



of treatment which have been pointed out seems to justify fully the following conclusions: (1) Xenophon was not sufficiently careful to connect together the various portions of his narrative so as to leave no imperfect joints or rough edges, and the inevitable result was inconsistencies.<sup>1</sup> The same lack of care is probably the reason for many of his omissions.<sup>2</sup> (2) In some cases both omissions and brief, inadequate references to events which we expect to find more fully treated, are due simply to incomplete information or the entire absence of information; for Xenophon did not make the *Hellenica* his life work, as Herodotus and Thucydides made their histories, nor did he search all over the Greek world, as they did, for full knowledge. On the other hand, campaigns in which he personally shared or incidents of which he was an eyewitness are often described at disproportionate length.<sup>3</sup> (3) Xenophon sometimes indulges his individual tastes to the extent of losing sight of historical values. Thus, he is extremely fond of personal anecdotes and of the devices of military strategy, and consequently gives overmuch space to them;<sup>4</sup> while more important matters, in which for some reason he feels little or no interest, are either passed over entirely or treated with undue brevity. (4) The *Hellenica* is not an impartial history, and to its partiality are due serious omissions and serious inequalities of treatment. Xenophon's love for Sparta and her institutions and his enthusiastic admiration for King Agesilaus lead him continually to make much of the successes of Agesilaus and the Spartans, and to pass over their reverses lightly and briefly. He does not misstate facts, but he does give his reader wrong impressions. It is noteworthy that he does not favor Sparta at the expense of Athens, though of this he has been unjustly accused.<sup>5</sup> True, the Athenians had ban-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Underhill, *Introd.* pp. xxviii f.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* 1. 7 (the trial of the generals after Arginusae), 2. 3. 15-56 (the contest between Critias and Theramenes), 3. 1. 10-3. 2. 20, 3. 4. 4. 1, 4. 5 (campaigns with Dercylidas and Agesilaus).

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* 3. 1. 10-28, 4. 1. 3-15, 5. 4. 25-33, 1. 6. 19-21, 6. 5. 17-19.

<sup>5</sup> Especially by Niebuhr (*Kl. histor. Schriften* 1. 464 f.) and Sievers (*Comment. hist. de Xen. Hell.*).

ished him, yet he is wholly just to his native city, not only in his account of the last years of the Peloponnesian War, but also elsewhere in the *Hellenica*. It was the Thebans, who first threatened and then overthrew the supremacy of Sparta, whom he could not forgive and to whom he could not be just. He cannot choose but describe their victories over the Spartans at Leuctra and Mantinea, but many of their other achievements he leaves entirely unmentioned.<sup>1</sup> Still more serious is the fact that he is guilty of ill-natured suggestions which reflect upon the Thebans,<sup>2</sup> that he puts wrong constructions upon their acts,<sup>3</sup> and too openly rejoices, when occasion offers, in their calamity.<sup>4</sup> Herein lies altogether the most considerable fault of the *Hellenica*.

There still remains, however, much to be said on the other side. Xenophon's history covers a period of fifty years, yet he has not been convicted of a single absolute misstatement in the story of all that time. His essential honesty shows itself in his free condemnation of the sins of the Spartans<sup>5</sup> and even of Agesilaus,<sup>6</sup> and in his frank recognition of the military talent of Epaminondas, the great Theban who brought ruin to Sparta.<sup>7</sup> His general accuracy and trustworthiness have been repeatedly proved in cases where he is in conflict with other ancient authorities for the period with which he deals. His narrative possesses the great merits of simplicity, clearness, straightforwardness, and freedom from exaggeration or a striving after effect. His judgments of events and his characterizations of leading personages are generally sound and true. His style, even though it is sometimes abrupt and uneven, is for the most part easy and graceful and picturesque, and many of the speeches which he puts into the mouths of envoys, soldiers, and statesmen are really masterly in their concise directness and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 27. Similarly, Xenophon does not tell us of the victory won by the Thebans over the Lacedaemonians at Tegyra (375 B.C.), of the great extension of Theban power in northern Greece before and after the battle of Leuctra (cp. *Hell.* 6. 5. 23), or of the successes achieved by the Thebans in Thessaly.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* 4. 2. 18, 3. 5. 21, 5. 4. 20, 6. 5. 23-27. <sup>8</sup> *E.g.* 7. 1. 33-40, 4. 2. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* 3. 5. 21, 7. 5. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* 5. 4. 1, 3. 5. 12-13, 6. 3. 7-9.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* 3. 4. 29, 5. 4. 24-34.

<sup>7</sup> 7. 5. 8 and 19.

their clear portrayal of conditions. All in all, the *Hellenica* is much the best authority we have for the half century which it covers. This is a fact not to be forgotten when we compare Xenophon with his predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides, and realize his distinct inferiority to them. For if the *Hellenica* is far from being a great history, it is also far from being a poor one.

### III. OTHER AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD COVERED BY THE HELLENICA

The author who serves most frequently to supplement the *Hellenica* is Diodorus, 'the Sicilian,' who lived during the age of Augustus and compiled what he termed a *Historical Siculus Library*. This 'library' was a history of the world, written in Greek and extending from the earliest times down to Julius Caesar's campaigns in Gaul. It was divided into forty books, of which fifteen (1-5 and 11-20) have been preserved. Books 13-15 treat of the period covered by the *Hellenica*. Diodorus' history is a composite reproduction of the works of many older historians, and his trustworthiness depends in large measure upon the sources from which he draws. In books 13-15 his principal authorities for the history of Greece were Ephorus and Theopompus, who lived a generation later than Xenophon and whose works are no longer extant. In general, however, Diodorus is a rhetorical historian, fond of exaggeration, of imposing situations, and of multiplying adjectives and adverbs. He is almost entirely lacking in critical judgment, or even real comprehension of the events which he describes. Further, his chronology is wholly untrustworthy. Hence, although he sometimes enables us to fill up the gaps in the *Hellenica* or adds fuller details, he can never be accepted as an authority of equal weight with Xenophon.

Plutarch, the great biographer, was a Boeotian and was born about the middle of the first century A.D. Among his famous *Lives* are included those of Alcibiades, Lysander, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Artaxerxes, — all prominent figures in the story of the *Hellenica*. His life of Epaminondas is unfortu-

nately lost. Plutarch was a master of the art of biography and his detailed characterizations of his heroes are invaluable. His life of Pelopidas, the friend of Epaminondas, is perhaps the most useful to students of the *Hellenica*; for, since Plutarch was a fellow-countryman of Pelopidas, he writes of him and of the Thebans with full appreciation, even enthusiasm, and thus corrects the wrong impression which Xenophon in his dislike for the Thebans conveys. Of course the methods and aims of a biographer are necessarily different from those of a historian. Plutarch seeks to make us acquainted with his characters on every side, and a description of the historical events in which they figure is only one of many means to that end, not his exclusive object. Exact chronology is not essential and is not found in Plutarch, nor does he always resist the natural tendency to make the subject of his biography the center of every situation. He evidently borrowed not a little of his historical material from Xenophon himself, more from Ephorus and Theopompus.<sup>1</sup> Like Diodorus, Plutarch often supplements the story of the *Hellenica*, but he cannot be held to be in the right where he differs from Xenophon.

The one work of the philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) which is valuable for the present purpose is his *Constitution of the Athenians*. This treatise, lost for centuries, was discovered in 1890 on a papyrus manuscript found in Egypt. It Aristotle. contains (1) an account of the historical development of the Athenian constitution from the earliest times down to the fourth century B.C., and (2) a full and systematic description of the government which existed at Athens in Aristotle's own day. Chapters 34-40 cover the same period (411-401 B.C.) as the first two books of the *Hellenica*, and have not only shed important light upon Xenophon's story, but in some points added materially to our knowledge. In occasional cases, on the other hand, it is entirely clear that Aristotle has fallen into error; for, while he is a most competent and trustworthy authority in regard to matters

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dippel, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Xen. hist. graec. et Plut. vitas quaeritur*.

which lay within the range of his own observation, he is necessarily dependent in the historical part of his treatise upon writers who preceded him.

Lysias was a wealthy manufacturer at Athens during the closing years of the Peloponnesian War. He was not an Athenian by

**Lysias.** birth, but belonged to the class known as metics, or resident aliens. When Athens was captured and the Thirty Tyrants came into power, Lysias and his brother Polemarchus were among those whose wealth tempted the avarice of the Thirty<sup>1</sup> and who were therefore proscribed and arrested. Lysias escaped, though with the loss of most of his property; his brother was summarily put to death. After the reëstablishment of the democracy Lysias returned to Athens and became a famous advocate and orator. Two of his orations deal with the reign of terror under the Thirty Tyrants; the first is that *Against Eratosthenes*, one of the Thirty, whom he brought to trial as the murderer of Polemarchus; the second is the oration *Against Agoratus*, one of the tools of the Thirty. Both these speeches must be read with a grain of allowance; for Lysias the advocate would naturally make his prosecutor's plea in a court of law as strong as possible, and Lysias the man had abundant reason to be biased against the Tyrants whom he attacks. Nevertheless, his vivid and detailed description of the conditions which existed at Athens after the city's surrender and under the Thirty, brings the real situation home to the reader as no history can.

In isolated instances other orations of Lysias, or of Andocides, Isocrates, and Demosthenes, confirm or complete various references in the *Hellenica*.

As compared with the above-mentioned authorities Xenophon is easily the most important and trustworthy. Without him we should be almost helpless. His contemporary record, written without ulterior purpose and free alike from adornment and from exaggeration, is our central source of information. Where other writers supplement the *Hellenica*, their aid is most welcome;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Hell.* 2. 3. 21.

where they contradict, it is generally agreed that the *Hellenica* deserves the preference.

#### IV. THE SYNTAX AND STYLE OF XENOPHON

In all his writings Xenophon frequently departs from the ordinary usages of Attic prose, either admitting words and constructions which are wholly un-Attic or, more often, employing with great freedom those which are found only occasionally in the best Athenian prose writers. The fact that Xenophon spent much the larger part of his life outside Athens and in close intercourse with other Greeks sufficiently explains these peculiarities. Such of them as are illustrated most often in the following *Selections* are here briefly summarized. It should be distinctly understood, however, that even in these points Xenophon follows the strict Attic usage far more frequently than he deviates from it.

A. **Agreement.**—A neuter plural subject occasionally takes a plural verb. *E.g.* γράμματα . . . ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, I. I. 23; also 2. 3. 8 and 4. 2. 7.

B. **Reflexive Pronouns.**—The third person of the reflexive is sometimes used for the second. *E.g.* εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας, I. 7. 19; so ἐαυτῶν (for ὑμῶν αὐτῶν), I. 7. 29 and αὐτοὺς (for ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς), I. I. 28.

C. **Prepositions.**—(1) Σύν, a preposition found *very* rarely in Attic prose, is used very frequently instead of μετά with the genitive.

(2) Ἀμφί, also un-Attic in prose, is occasionally found with the accusative, instead of περί. *E.g.* 2. 3. 46, 5. 4. 7.

D. **Conjunctions.**—(1) Τε. A single τε, the so-called “postscript or afterthought τε,” serving “to complete or extend a previous statement,” is found more frequently than in ordinary Attic prose. *E.g.* I. I. 15, I. I. 27, I. I. 35, I. 4. 3, I. 4. 13, I. 4. 17, I. 6. 6, I. 6. 7, etc.

(2) Τε . . . τε, serving to bring two statements into the closest possible relation to each other, is not a rare combination in the *Hellenica*. *E.g.* I. I. 28, I. 4. 16, I. 6. 33, 5. 4. 34, etc.

(3) *Καί* . . . *δέ*, standing at the beginning of a clause, where *δέ* serves as connective and *καί* = *also*, frequently takes the place of the usual prose combination *δέ καί*. *E.g.* 2. 4. 6, 2. 4. 15, 3. 4. 24, 6. 3. 11, etc.

(4) *Γε μήν* is one of the most frequent mannerisms of the later books of the *Hellenica*, sometimes introducing with emphasis a new thought, more often weakened to equivalence with simple *δέ*, and thus standing sometimes as correlative to a preceding *μέν*. *E.g.* 2. 3. 33, 2. 3. 42, 3. 1. 7, 4. 2. 17, 5. 4. 1, 6. 3. 14, etc.

(5) *Μέχρι*, *until*, a conjunction seldom used in Attic prose, appears several times. *E.g.* 1. 1. 3, 1. 1. 6, 1. 1. 27, 1. 2. 16, 1. 3. 6, 1. 3. 11.

**E. Tenses.** — The so-called "objective" imperfect and pluperfect, representing in indirect discourse a present or perfect indicative of the direct discourse, are found with unusual frequency. *E.g.* *ὄρωντες* . . . *ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν* (instead of *ἔστι* or *εἶη*), 5. 4. 19; also 1. 5. 3, 2. 1. 14, 2. 2. 15, 4. 2. 5, etc.

**F. Final Clauses.** — Xenophon stands alone among Attic prose writers in employing the poetic *ὡς* as a final particle. *E.g.* 1. 4. 6, 1. 6. 28, 2. 3. 14, 3. 4. 15, etc.

**G. Object Clauses.** — Besides the ordinary *ὅπως* with the future indicative (or the subjunctive or optative) Xenophon shows many wholly irregular uses. The following are illustrated in these *Selections*:

(1) *ὅπως ἄν* with the optative, *βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη*, 2. 3. 13.

(2) *ὡς* with the subjunctive, *φυλάξασθαι . . . ὡς μή . . . δυνασθῆ*, 2. 3. 33.

(3) *ὡς* with the future optative, *προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο*, 2. 1. 22.

**H. Result Clauses.** — Xenophon departs from the regular usage of Attic prose writers in employing *ὡς* as well as *ὥστε*, both with the infinitive and with the indicative. *E.g.* (with infinitive) 1. 6. 20, 7. 5. 19; (with indicative) 4. 4. 16, 5. 4. 22.

**I. Infinitives.** — Xenophon occasionally uses both the present

and the aorist infinitive in a future sense after *verba sentiendi et declarandi*, especially οὐ φημι and οἶμαι. This seems to be merely an extension of the ordinary Greek use of the present or aorist *object* infinitive after verbs of hoping, expecting, promising, and the like; in such cases, therefore, οὐ φημι = *I refuse*, and οἶμαι = *I expect*. *E.g.* οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι, 5. 1. 32, *he refused to receive* (note that if the infinitive were in indirect discourse, the meaning would be, *he said that he did not receive*); also οὐ φαμένον πολυπραγμανεῖν, 1. 6. 3, *refusing to intermeddle*; οὐκ ἔφη . . . οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων . . . ἀνδραποδισθῆναι, 1. 6. 14; οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιώται ᾤοντο (*expected*) ἀπιέναι, 4. 7. 4; ᾤεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν, 5. 1. 15.

**J. Participles.** — The circumstantial participle with ὡς, most often in the genitive absolute, is employed with unusual frequency as the equivalent of a participle or clause in indirect discourse. *E.g.* ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνης τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζομένων, 3. 4. 1, *reported to the L. that the king and Tissaphernes were preparing this expedition*; τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικῶντων, 4. 3. 14, *in consequence of the report that the L. were victorious*; τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἠσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, 1. 4. 14; προεῖπε . . . ὡς καὶ τοῦτοις νικητήριον δώσων, 4. 2. 5; also 5. 1. 25, 6. 5. 24, 6. 5. 28, 6. 5. 37.

**K. Anacolutha** of various sorts abound in Xenophon. *E.g.* 1. 3. 18, 1. 6. 4, 2. 2. 2, 2. 2. 3, 2. 3. 15, 2. 3. 28, 2. 3. 54, 3. 4. 27, 3. 5. 23, 4. 3. 13, 4. 8. 9, 5. 1. 28, 5. 4. 1, 5. 4. 13, 5. 4. 35, 6. 3. 6, 6. 4. 2, 6. 5. 25, 6. 5. 42, 7. 5. 18.

**L. Poetical and rare words or forms of words.** Xenophon was a citizen of the world, and he continually employs words and forms which are unknown to the vocabulary of the stricter Attic prose writers. Instances of this sort will be noted as they occur.



## ABBREVIATIONS

- B. = Babbitt's *Grammar of Attic and Ionic Greek*, 1902.  
G. = Goodwin's *Greek Grammar* (revised edition), 1892.  
GMT. = Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*  
(enlarged edition), 1890.  
Gl. = Goodell's *School Grammar of Attic Greek*, 1902.  
GS. = Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek* (first part), 1900.  
HA. = Hadley's *Greek Grammar* (revised by Allen), 1884.  
KG. = Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik, 11ter Teil* (revised by Gerth),  
1898-1904.  
S. = Smyth's *Greek Grammar*, 1908.





## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

### BOOK I

THE FURTHER COURSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. 411-406 B.C.

- 1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἰ  
 Ἀθηῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυ-  
 μάχησαν αὐτῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν  
 2 δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. μετ' ὀλί-  
 γον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλάσ-5  
 πόντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ

CHAPTER I, §§ 1-10. *Naval warfare in the Hellespont. The battle of Abydos. Alcibiades is arrested by Tissaphernes, but escapes.* 411 B.C.

1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: loosely connecting the *Hellenica* with the final chapters of Thucydides. See Introduction, p. 19 f. and Appendix, pp. 351-355.—ἡμέραις: S. 1513; HA. 781; B. 388; G. 1184; Gl. 526 c.—ἦλθεν: apparently to the Hellespont. See App. p. 353 f.—Θυμοχάρης: earlier in this year (411 B.C.) he was defeated by Agesandridas in an action off Euboea. Introd. p. 18. Soon afterwards Agesandridas was summoned to the Hellespont to reën-

force Mindarus, the Spartan admiral (who had just lost the battle of Cynossema), and thither Thymochares appears to have followed him. Thucydides 8. 95 and 107.—ἐναυμάχησαν αὐτῖς: again, with reference to the recent battle of Cynossema. Thuc. 8. 104-106. See Introd. p. 19 and App. p. 354.

2. μετ' ὀλίγον τούτων: τούτων is gen. of comparison, since μετ' ὀλίγον = ὀλίγῃ ὕστερον. S. 1437, 1431; HA. 755; B. 363; G. 1153-4; Gl. 517.—Δωριεὺς: a lieutenant of Mindarus, who had been sent on a special mission to Rhodes (Diodorus 13. 38) and was now trying to rejoin his commander. Cp. 5. 19 and App. p. 352.—ἀρχο-

δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρα. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰκοσι ναυσίν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὡς ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ 10  
 3 Ῥοίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πρά-  
 4 ξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας 15

μένου χειμῶνος: of 411-410 B.C. See Introd. p. 23 f. — ἅμα ἡμέρα: the usual formula is ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. — τοῖς στρατηγοῖς: Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus. Alcibiades, also one of the generals, had not yet reached the Hellespont. See § 5 and Thuc. 8. 108. — ἀνηγάγοντο: *put.out*. In nautical language ἀνά and κατά mean respectively 'out' (to sea) and 'in' (to shore). — πρὸς τὴν γῆν: connect with φυγῶν. — ὡς ἤνοιγε: *as he got clear*. The verb seems to mean to 'open out' a clear course, to get under way, free of other ships, shores, etc. Cp. 5. 13 and 6. 21. The impf. here and in ἀνεβίβαζε with reference to the *process*, — as one after another of the ships got clear and was beached. — Ῥοίτειον: Rhoeteum, on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, near its entrance.

3. ἐμάχοντο: the subject is the Peloponnesians. — ἀπὸ τε . . . γῆς: for not all the ships were beached.

— μέχρι: see Introd. IV. D. 5. — Μάδυτον: in the Thracian Chersonese, *i.e.* on the European coast of the Hellespont, near Sestus. — στρατόπεδον: *fleet*. Cp. 6. 3. 18 τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ ναυτικά καὶ τὰ πεζικά, *both fleets and armies*. In the *Hell.* στρατόπεδον may mean (a) an army, — *e.g.* 2. 7, — (b) its camp, (c) a fleet, or (d) its station, — *e.g.* 6. 21 and 36.

4. Μίνδαρος: Spartan admiral for the year 411-410 B.C. — κατιδὼν: the verb frequently means, as here, to see at a considerable distance or with some difficulty, to descry. Cp. § 2 above; also § 16 below, 6. 15, etc. — ἐν Ἰλίῳ: connect with θύων. Xerxes and Alexander the Great likewise visited the famous site of Troy to sacrifice to Athena (Herod. 7. 43 and Arrian, *Anab.* 1. 11). — θάλατταν: *i.e.* to Abydos (opposite Madytus), where the main Peloponnesian fleet lay, drawn up on the shore (hence

τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ  
 5 Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχη-  
 σαν περὶ Ἄβυδον κατὰ τὴν ἥονα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν νικῶντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισ-  
 6 πλεῖ δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ 20  
 τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἄβυδον· καὶ ὁ  
 Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπεισβαίων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς  
 τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 7 τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἵππεῦσι καὶ πέζοις παρεκελεύετο. συμφρά-  
 ξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι 25  
 πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριά-

καθελκίσας). — ἀναλάβοι: lit. *pick up*. It is often used, as here, of a general who unites to his command detached units.

5. κατὰ τὴν ἥονα: *along the strand*. ἥων is a poetic word. See *Intro.* IV. L. — ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ: the morning of the day after Dorieus' arrival. Diodorus (13. 45) runs together the two battles described in §§ 3 and 5. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ: *at some points . . . at others*. For the acc. see S. 1609; HA. 719; B. 336; G. 1060; Gl. 540. — Ἀλκιβιάδης: whom Thucydides (8. 108) leaves at Samos. See *App.* p. 352. Diodorus (13. 46) and Plutarch (*Alc.* 27) agree with the statement of Xenophon that Alcibiades' arrival decided the issue of the battle. — ἐπεισπλεῖ: *eis* in the compound means *into* (the Hellespont), *ἐπί besides, i.e.* in addition to, or to

aid, the original force. Cp. § 12. — δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι: *twenty lacking two*, as *duodeviginti* in Latin. Note that δεούσαις agrees with ναυσίν.

6. Φαρνάβαζος: Persian satrap of Lesser Phrygia and Bithynia, and Tissaphernes' rival. It was the aid he had offered to the Spartans which led them to bring their fleet to the Hellespont. See *Intro.* p. 19. — μέχρι: to be joined with the preceding, *ἐπεισβαίων κτλ.*; *as long as* the depth of the water permitted. See critical note. — τοῖς ἄλλοις: explained more precisely by the following appositives. — παρεκελεύετο: *sc.* to follow his example.

7. συμφράξαντες: *i.e.* ranging them close together on the shore, so as to form a wall (*φράγμα*). — παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ: *hav-*

κοινὰ ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἄς αὐτοὶ  
 8 ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετ-  
 ταρακόοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλη ὥχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν  
 ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὧν τῶν 30  
 στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ  
 9 στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρ-  
 νης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλησπόντον· ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν  
 μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλ-

*ing marshaled themselves on the shore.* — κενὰς: *i.e.* abandoned by their crews. Cp. the opposite expression αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, *men and all*, 2. 12 and often. — ἄς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν: *i.e.* before the arrival of Alcibiades, when they were *at some points defeated* (§ 5). αὐτοί, to indicate the recovery of *their own* ships in contrast with the capture of the enemy's. — Σηστόν: opposite Abydus.

8. ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν: Athens had lost so many of her tributary allies since the Sicilian disaster that she was almost without revenues; her generals, therefore, were continually occupied in raising money for the support of their fleets, by voluntary or involuntary contributions from friends or enemies. Cp. §§ 12, 20, 21, etc. The Spartans, on the other hand, were able to rely upon Persian subsidies, first from Tissaphernes and now from Pharnabazus. Cp. § 14 and *Introd.* p. 16 f. — ἐξαγγελῶν . . .

αἰτήσων: S. 2065; HA. 969 c; B. 653, 5; G. 1563, 4; Gl. 583 b. See note on ὡς μαχοῦμενος § 33.

9. Τισσαφέρνης: Persian satrap of Lydia and Ionia. In 412 B.C. he had concluded an alliance with the Lacedaemonians and had engaged to support their fleet. Alcibiades, however, persuaded him to reduce and finally to cut off altogether his supplies of money to the Lacedaemonians, whereupon the latter sought a new paymaster in Pharnabazus. See note on § 6 and *Introd.* pp. 17-19. Tissaphernes now comes to the Hellespont to set himself right, if possible, with the Lacedaemonians (Thuc. 8. 109), and he welcomes the opportunity of arresting Alcibiades as a means to that end. Doubtless the purpose of Alcibiades' visit was to win for the Athenians what he had long promised them, *viz.* the active aid of Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8. 47, 56, 81, 88). — ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα: the

λαβὼν εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα 35  
 10 πολεμῆν Ἀθηναίους. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον  
 Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν  
 Καρίᾳ ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλα-  
 ζομενάς.

11 Οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῶ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Μῦδαρον 40  
 πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα, νυκτὸς  
 ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης  
 ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἑπακ-  
 τρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησιῶν νῆες  
 ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἶεν εἰς Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῆ 45

former were ceremonial presents of meat and drink, the latter were 'keepsakes,' like the Homeric *κειμήλια*. — Σάρδεσι: capital of Lydia. — βασιλέα: S. 1140; HA. 660 c; B. 446, n.; G. 957.

10. Μαντιθέου: nothing is definitely known about him, although he may well be the same as the Mantitheus of 3. 13. — ἀλόντος: an attributive participle. S. 2050 a; HA. 965; B. 650; G. 1559; Gl. 582. — εὐπορήσαντες . . . ἀπέδρασαν: 'construction according to sense,' although the *grammatical* subject is singular.

§§ 11-18. *The Athenian fleet is reunited and takes the offensive. The battle of Cysicus.* 410 B.C.

11. Here, in all probability, begins the twenty-second year of the war, — 410 B.C. See App. p. 361 f. — αἰσθόμενοι: *having learned.* —

μέλλοντα: supplementing *αἰσθόμενοι*. S. 2110; HA. 982; B. 661; G. 1588; Gl. 586 a. — ἐξήκοντα: according to Diodorus (13. 49) Mindarus had received considerable reënfforcements. The Athenians have only forty ships (§ 8), — hence their secret retreat. — νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν: a rather careless repetition from the preceding section. — Καρδίαν: around the Chersonese, on its N. W. coast. Hence the *περιπλεῖν* below. — σὺν: see Introd. IV. C. 1. Xenophon ordinarily uses the simple dative to indicate military accompaniment (*e.g.* §§ 2, 5, 9, 11, etc.), but sometimes, with no difference of meaning, the dative with σὺν (*cp.* 4. 9, 5. 18, 2. 2. 7, etc.). — Κύζικον: an Athenian possession, which was now captured by Mindarus (Diod. 13. 49). — πεζῆ: *by land*, across the Chersonese.



ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῦν ἐκέλευε ἐκέλευ-  
 12 σεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος  
 ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηραμένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν  
 ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν ἐτέ-  
 13 ραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφοτέρω ἡργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκιβιά-50  
 δης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένους τὰ

12. ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν: for *bat-  
 tle*, equivalent to ὡς ναυμαχίον-  
 τος. For the use of ὡς with a  
 prepositional phrase denoting pur-  
 pose is analogous to the use of  
 ὡς with the fut. part. (see note  
 on § 33). With such phrases  
 in the *Hell.* ὡς is used or omitted  
 with equal frequency and without  
 appreciable difference in meaning  
 or attendant circumstance. ὡς ἐπὶ  
 here = ἐπὶ (*ἀργυρολογίαν*) in § 8.  
 — ἐπεισπλεῖ: see on § 5. — Θηρα-  
 μένης: see *Introd.* p. 18. He had  
 been sent from Athens with thirty  
 ships to prevent the bridging of  
 the straits of Chalcis, from Euboea  
 to Boeotia. After failing in this  
 attempt he employed his force in  
 aiding King Archelaus of Mace-  
 donia, — hence he comes ἀπὸ  
 Μακεδονίας (*Diod.* 13. 47-49). —  
 Since the time when the Athenian  
 fleet refused to acknowledge the  
 government of the Four Hundred  
 at Athens, it had been under gen-  
 erals of its own choosing (*Introd.*  
 p. 18), among whom Alcibiades,  
 Thrasylbulus, and Thrasyllus were  
 the most prominent. Theramenes,

although himself one of the Four  
 Hundred, had helped to destroy  
 that government and was mainly  
 responsible for the repeal by the  
 Athenian Assembly of the decree  
 of banishment against Alcibiades.  
 He was therefore accepted by the  
 fleet as one of its generals. Until  
 407 B.C., when the reunion between  
 the Athenian city and fleet was  
 fully accomplished, the latter con-  
 tinued to choose its own generals,  
 and kept always at its head Alc-  
 cibiades, Thrasylbulus, Thrasyllus,  
 and Theramenes. — Θρασύβουλος:  
 who later became the liberator of  
 Athens from the Thirty Tyrants.  
 — ἡργυρολογηκότες: see on § 8.

13. εἰπὼν: *bidding*. For the fol-  
 lowing inf. see S. 1997; HA. 946 b;  
 B. 669, N.; G. 1523, 2; Gl. 658. —  
 καὶ τούτοις: *these also*, as well as  
 his original force. — διώκειν: not  
 'to accompany' him, which would  
 be ἀκολουθεῖν or ἔπεισθαι, but *to  
 follow after* him when they had  
 made ready; for Alc. (αὐτός) went  
 on ahead. — ἐξελομένους . . . ἰστία:  
 = 'having cleared for action.' A  
 trireme regularly had two sails,

μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθροαὶ δὲ  
 γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἕξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα  
 τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ  
 14 περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόνησον. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύ- 55  
 θοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶη καὶ Φαρνάβαζος  
 μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ  
 ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιή-  
 σας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν  
 καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἔφί, 60  
 χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἀφθονα παρὰ βασι-  
 15 λῆως. τῇ δὲ προτεραία, ἐπειδὴ ὠρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα  
 πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὅπως  
 μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν,  
 ἐπεκλήρυξέ τε, ὃς ἂν ἀλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, 65

the larger of which, with all its  
 tackling, was removed when a bat-  
 tle was imminent. In action the tri-  
 reme depended entirely on its oars.  
 — ἕξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα : = 40 (§ 8) +  
 6 (§ 11) + 20 + 20 (§ 12). — νυκτὸς  
 . . . ἡμέρᾳ : respectively time within  
 which and time when. S. 1444, 1539;  
 HA. 759, 782; B. 359, 385; G. 1136,  
 1192; Gl. 515, 527 c. — ἄλλῃ : *next*,  
 an unusual meaning of the word. —  
 περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν : about midday.

14. ἐν Κυζίκῳ : see on § 11. —  
 αὐτοῖς : *i.e.* the soldiers gathered in  
 the ἐκκλησία. — ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζο-  
 μαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν : *i.e.* against  
 Mindarus, Pharnabazus, and Cyzi-  
 cus respectively. — χρήματα : see  
 on § 8.

15. ὠρμίσαντο : at Proconnesus.  
 — πλοῖα : *i.e.* merchant vessels. —  
 καὶ : *even*. — συνήθροισε : translate  
 by the plupf. Cp. *Anab.* I. 1. 2 τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε,  
*the province of which he had made*  
*him satrap*. — ἐξαγγείλαι : for the  
 mood see S. 2196; HA. 881; B.  
 590; G. 1365; Gl. 638 c. — τε :  
 the postscript *τε*, connecting the  
 two clauses. See *Introd.* IV. D. 1.  
 — ἀλίσκηται : a vivid futurè con-  
 dition. S. 2565; HA. 916; B.  
 623; G. 1434; Gl. 616 a. Note  
 that the opt. might have been used  
 instead, on the principles of indir.  
 disc. — εἰς τὸ πέραν : *to the other*  
*side, i.e.* to Cyzicus. — διαπλέων : the  
 prep. means *across*, as frequently.

- 16 θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕοντος πολλῶ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾶ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ 70 λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα οὐσας.
- 17 οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις οὐσας πλείους τε πολλῶ ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῶ λιμένι, ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμά- 18 χοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς 75 εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῆ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ᾤχοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προκόννησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν οἱ 80

16. ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν: see on § 12. — ὕοντος πολλῶ: *while it was raining heavily*. The dat. in πολλῶ is one of manner; for the part. see S. 2072 b; HA. 972 a; B. 657, N. 1; G. 1568 (end); Gl. 589. — καθορᾶ: see on κατιδών § 4. — ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: *cut off by him, i.e. Alcibiades, who got between Mindarus and the harbor of Cyzicus under cover of the storm*. Diodorus (13. 49–51) and Plutarch (*Alc.* 28) give varying accounts of this battle. — ἐξήκοντα: as in § 11.

17. οὐσας: see on μέλλοντα § 11. — πρότερον: *i.e.* when the two fleets lay at Sestus and Abydus watching one another (§ 11).

Since then the Athenian fleet had increased from forty to eighty-six ships (§§ 11–13), an increase which Alcibiades had taken care to conceal from the Peloponnesians (§ 15). — πρὸς: *near, at the mouth of*.

18. ταῖς εἴκοσι: the article may be used with a numeral to designate a part of a given whole. S. 1125 a; HA. 664 a; G. 948 a. — περιπλεύσας: *around the contending fleets, so as to land and attack Mindarus in the rear*. — καὶ αὐτός: *as well as Alcibiades*. — τὰς δὲ ναῦς: *first in its sentence for emphasis, — the crews escaped, but the ships were captured*. — τῶν Συρακοσίων: *femi-*

Συρακόσιοι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 19 ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ  
 Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.  
 20 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρή-  
 ματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο 85  
 κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προ-  
 κόννησον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμ-  
 21 βρίαν. καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον· Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, χρή-  
 22 ματα δὲ ἔδωσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικόμενοι τῆς Καλχηδο-90  
 νίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτὴν, καὶ δεκατευτήριον  
 κατεσκευάσαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν  
 ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες  
 ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγῶ δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εὐμα-  
 χον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων 95

nine. In 412 B.C., after the failure of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse (Introd. p. 16), the Syracusans sent a contingent of twenty ships to the Peloponnesian fleet. Thuc. 8. 26.

§§ 19-22. *The results of the Athenian victory.*

19. αὐτὴν: i.e. the city.

20. ἀπέπλευσεν: ἀπό in composition = *back*, as frequently. — Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν: on the northern coast of the Propontis.

21. τὸ στρατόπεδον: see on § 3. — οὐ: for the accent see S. 180 a; HA. 112 a; B. 69, 1; G. 138, 1; Gl. 18.

22. Καλχηδονίας: the so-called

chorographic genitive, a species of partitive genitive. S. 1311; B. 355. — Χρυσόπολιν: on the eastern side of the Bosphorus, opposite Byzantium. — τὴν δεκάτην: cp. the English 'tithe.' This source of revenue was of the utmost importance to Athens, impoverished as she was through the loss of her tributary allies (see on § 8). Furthermore, the possession of the Bosphorus as well as the Hellespont secured the route of the Athenian grain ships from the Black Sea (cp. § 35 and Introd. p. 19). — πλοίων: S. 1392; HA. 748; B. 362; G. 1117; Gl. 509. — καὶ: *also*, besides the necessary custom-

πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιτο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους.  
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ᾤχοντο.  
23 παρὰ δὲ Ἴπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς  
Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθή-  
νας λέγοντα τάδε· Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσ- 100  
24 σῦα. πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρ-

house officials. — ἐπιμαρτυρεῖσθαι: S. 2008; HA. 951; B. 592; G. 1532; Gl. 565. — τι ἄλλο: S. 1573; HA. 716 b; B. 334; G. 1054; Gl. 536 b. — δύναιτο: a vivid future condition in indirect discourse, hence the opt. It is the purpose, *i.e.* the thought, in the minds of the generals which leads to the indir. disc. construction. S. 2622 e; HA. 937; B. 677; G. 1502, 2; Gl. 651, 3. Note (1) that the subjunctive might have been retained, as in § 15, and (2) that the apodosis of the condition is the inf. (of purpose) βλάπτειν *understood*.

§§ 23-26. *The Spartans report their defeat. Pharnabazus aids them to build a new fleet.*

23. Ἴπποκράτους: according to Thuc. 8. 107 he was one of the two officers sent to Euboea to bring Agesandridas' fleet to the Hellespont (see on § 1). The fact that both he and Agesandridas reached the Hellespont in safety tends to discredit Diodorus' story (13. 41) of the total destruction of this fleet. See App. pp. 353 and 354 f. — ἐπιστολέως: *vice-ad-*

*miral*, a Spartan title. — γράμματα πεμφθέντα: a word or phrase which depends upon a participle (here παρὰ . . . Λακεδαίμονα) is sometimes separated from it by the noun with which the participle agrees. — ἐάλωσαν: plural verb with neut. plural subject. See Introd. IV. A. — εἰς Ἀθήνας: because of the idea of motion involved in ἐάλωσαν, — *captured and brought to Athens*. The truly 'laconic' dispatch which follows is in the Spartan (Doric) dialect. — κᾶλα: Spartan for *timber*, *i.e.* *ships*. — ἀπεσῦα: Doric 2 aor. pass. from ἀποσεύω, — *is gone*. — πεινῶντι τῶνδρες: Attic πεινώσι οἱ ἄνδρες. — ἀπορίομες: ἀποροῦμεν. — Diodorus (13. 52-53) states that the defeat at Cyzicus so discouraged the Spartans that they made overtures for peace, which the Athenians, persuaded by the demagogue Cleophon, rejected. Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 34. 1) tells a similar story of Spartan peace proposals after the battle of Arginusae, four years later. It seems likely that both authors are refer-

νάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι  
καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἔνεκα  
ξύλων, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ, ἕως ἂν τὰ  
σώματα σῶα ᾗ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον 105  
δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέ-  
25 στησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγ-  
καλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγούς καὶ  
τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάν-  
δρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ 110  
26 ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδῆς κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγουμένων  
δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι  
ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα.  
διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρακοσίοις ἐν  
Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας 115  
εὐθύς εἰς Καλχηδῶνα ἐβοήθει.

ring to the same incident, but that one of them is in error regarding the date of it. If this be so, it is safer to follow the authority of Aristotle than that of Diodorus.

24. ἔνεκα ξύλων: *on the score of timber* (cp. *κᾶλα* above), in contemptuous contrast to τὰ σώματα. — ὡς: *saying that*. S. 2086; HA. 978; B. 656, 3; G. 1574; Gl. 593 c. — ἕως ἂν . . . ᾗ: *so long as*, etc. Connect with μὴ ἀθυμεῖν. For the subjunctive see S. 2401; HA. 916; B. 623; G. 1434; Gl. 631. — ἐφόδιον: *subsistence*.

25. τοὺς . . . στρατηγούς: the generals from the various states of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

— Ἀντάνδρῳ: at the foot of Mt. Ida. Thucydides (4. 52) speaks of it as an excellent place for ship building. It was there that Aeneas fitted out his fleet (Verg. *Aen.* 3. 5-6).

26. ναυπηγουμένων: *sc. αὐτῶν*. S. 2072 a; HA. 972 a; B. 657, N. 1; G. 1568; Gl. 590 a. — ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις: *together with the Antandrians*. A personal dative with ἅμα is unusual. — εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία: *i.e.* the title and privileges of benefactors and honorary citizens, not infrequently conferred, by a legislative act, upon individuals or states. — ἐστί: *sing.* because εὐεργεσία and πολιτεία are conceived as a single notion.

27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακο-  
 σίων στρατηγοῖς οἰκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.  
 συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἐρμοκρά-  
 τους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφο- 120  
 ράν, ὡς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον·  
 παρήνεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ  
 πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλό-  
 μενα, ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφίκων-  
 28 ται οἱ ἡρημένοι αὐτ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέ- 125  
 λευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ

§§ 27-31. *The banishment of the Syracusan generals.*

27. ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ: Xenophon here drops the main thread of his narrative in order to summarize events which were of minor importance, or happened at a distance from the principal seat of war. Cp. κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου § 32 and περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους § 33. See Introd. p. 25. — φεύγοιεν: had been banished. The present has a perfect meaning; for as νικᾶν = to be victorious, i.e. to have conquered, so φεύγειν = to be an exile, i.e. to have been banished. Cp. S. 1887; HA. 827; B. 521; GMT. 27. — ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου: the gen. of agent because φεύγειν serves as the passive of ἐκβάλλειν to banish. S. 1752; HA. 820; B. 513; G. 1241; Gl. 499 a. — Ἐρμοκράτους: Hermocrates had distinguished himself as leader of the Syracusans at the time of the great

Athenian expedition against their city (415-413 B.C.). See Introd. p. 16. Diodorus states (13. 63) that it was through the machinations of political opponents that he and his colleagues were banished. — προηγοροῦντος: acting as spokesman. — ἀδίκως . . . παρὰ τὸν νόμον: i.e. their banishment was both undeserved and illegal. — τε: the postscript τε. See § 15 and Introd. IV. D. 1. — καὶ τὰ λοιπά: in the future also. For the case see on τὰ μὲν § 5. — ἄνδρας . . . παραγγελλόμενα: good men toward (i.e. in obeying) each successive order. — ἀφίκωνται: for the mood see S. 2401; HA. 921; B. 623; G. 1465; Gl. 631. — ἐκείνων: ἐκεῖνος is sometimes used instead of a reflexive, the pronoun being chosen from the point of view of the writer and not that of the subject of the sentence. Cp. S. 1259; KG. 467, 12. 28. ἄρχειν: i.e. to remain in

ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῦν  
στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοῖη  
τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι δίδοναι, μεμνημένους  
ὄσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ<sup>130</sup>  
ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγό-

command. — τριήραρχοι . . . ἐπι-  
βάται . . . κυβερνήται: these were  
the men of rank in the fleet and  
were presumably of the better  
class. Hence they were naturally  
especial partisans of Hermocrates,  
who was the leader of the oligar-  
chical party in Syracuse. — στασιά-  
ζειν: *i.e.* by retaining the com-  
mand. — τις: of the Syracusan  
soldiers and sailors whom they  
were addressing. — ἐπικαλοῖη: opt.  
in indir. disc. S. 2619; HA. 932,  
2; B. 673; G. 1497, 2; Gl. 662. —  
λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι δίδοναι: *they*  
*said that they* (the soldiers) *ought*  
*to give them* (the generals) *a hear-*  
*ing*. Despite the previous mani-  
festation of the good will of the  
soldiers, the generals assume an  
attitude of humility, in order to  
excite still further and surer sym-  
pathy. They do not ask for sup-  
port or restoration to their com-  
mand, only protection. That they  
give so great a reason (in the fol-  
lowing lines) for so small a request  
is in line with the whole spirit of  
their behavior. Their real aim is  
to obtain what they actually did  
obtain, — the aid of the soldiers in

securing their recall from banish-  
ment. Cp. ὁμόσαντες . . . κατάξειν  
αὐτοὺς κτέ., *having sworn that they*  
*would bring them back from exile*,  
etc., § 29. The phrase λόγον  
δίδοναι (which ordinarily means  
'to render an account') is used as  
here in 5. 2. 20. — μεμνημένους: in  
agreement with the subj. of δίδοναι,  
which refers to the soldiers. — τε:  
correlative with the following τε,  
not with καί. See Introd. IV. D. 2.  
— αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτούς: αὐτοὶ is used  
to strengthen the following reflex-  
ive (S. 1235; HA. 688; B. 473;  
G. 997) on account of the contrast  
with μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. Note that  
αὐτούς stands for the reflexive of  
the second person. See Introd.  
IV. B. and S. 1230; HA. 686 a;  
B. 471, N. I; G. 995. — νενικήκατε:  
an abrupt change from indirect to  
direct discourse. The second per-  
son instead of the first because, in  
the spirit of the foregoing, the gen-  
erals are not claiming credit for  
themselves. — μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων:  
*i.e.* with the Peloponnesians, while  
αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτούς refers to their  
campaigns at home, in Sicily. —  
ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε: *have proved*



νατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ  
 τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν  
 29 καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσαν. οὐδενὸς  
 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτωμένον, δεομένων ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο 135  
 οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τ' Ἐπικύδου καὶ  
 Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ  
 τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι κατάξεν αὐτούς,  
 ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅποι  
 30 ἐβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμο- 140  
 κράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε  
 ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὧν γὰρ  
 ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ  
 κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρῶ καὶ  
 πρὸς ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ 145

*yourself invincible.* — τάξιν . . .  
 τὴν κρατίστην: *the best* (i.e. most  
 honorable) *post* in the line of bat-  
 tle. *E.g.* in the battle of Abydus,  
 according to Diod. 13. 45. — ἀρε-  
 τήν: *skill*. — ὑπάρχουσαν: *exhib-*  
*ited*. Connect with προθυμίαν.

29. δεομένων: see on ναυπηγου-  
 μένων § 26. In this case the posi-  
 tive subject is easy to supply from  
 the preceding negative οὐδενός.  
 — ἀφίκοντο: for the mood see  
 S. 2395, c.; HA. 922; B. 619; G.  
 1464; Gl. 631. — Δήμαρχος Ἐπικύ-  
 δου: cp. Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρον § 2.  
 The article is omitted in 6. 3. 2  
 also, but nowhere else in the *Hell*.  
 — Γνώσιος: the Ionic genitive.  
 S. 268, D. 1; HA. 201, D.; B. 110,

2; G. 255. — κατάξεν: *would bring*  
*them back-from-exile* (κατά-).

30. ἰδίᾳ: *in particular*, in con-  
 trast with πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες. — οἱ  
 . . . προσομιλοῦντες: *those who had*  
*associated with Hermocrates*. The  
 imperfect participle. S. 1872 a. 1;  
 HA. 856 a; B. 542, 1; G. 1289. —  
 ἐπόθησαν . . . κοινότητα: *felt the*  
*loss of his care and enthusiasm*  
*and good-fellowship*. κοινότης  
 in this sense is extremely rare. See  
 Introd. IV. L. — ὧν . . . ἐπιβατῶν:  
*for the best of those whose acquaint-*  
*ance he made, both trierarchs and,*  
*etc.* ὧν = ἐκείνων οὗς. S. 2522,  
 2529; HA. 996 and a; B. 484,  
 486; G. 1031, 1032; Gl. 614. —  
 συναλίζων: a poetic word. —

ἀνεκοινοῦτο ὃ τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν, κακέϊους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρήμα, τὰ  
 31 δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἠγύδοξε, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαί-  
 150 μωνι Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα λαβῶν, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν  
 τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον  
 155 καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

ἀνεκοινοῦτο: *communicated* (to them). — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ: *sometimes . . . sometimes*. Adv. acc.

31. τὰ πολλὰ . . . ἠγύδοξε: *enjoyed the greatest reputation*. — κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους: in the preceding year (411 B.C.), on the ground that Tissaphernes was proving himself disloyal to the Lacedaemonian cause (Thuc. 8. 85; cp. also *Introd.* pp. 17 and 19). Xenophon recalls this bit of previous history in order to explain whither Hermocrates went (cp. ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλοντο § 29) and why he received from Pharnabazus, who was Tissaphernes' rival, such ready assistance. Note the differing use of the various participles: 'since Hermocrates had accused . . . and had been adjudged to speak the truth, when he

came to Pharnabazus he received money . . . and busied himself in preparing,' etc.— Ἀστυόχου: who preceded Mindarus as admiral of the Spartan fleet and supported Hermocrates' accusation. — πρὶν αἰτῆσαι: S. 2453; HA. 924 a; B. 627; G. 1470; Gl. 568.— πρὸς . . . κάθοδον: *with a view to his restoration*. According to Diodorus (13. 63 and 75) Hermocrates made two attempts, in 409 and 408 B.C., to effect his return to Syracuse by force. In the second attempt he lost his life. Cp., however, note on 3. 13.— ἐν τούτῳ: *meanwhile*, used rather loosely with reference to § 29.— ἦκον: *had come*. S. 1906; HA. 827 a; B. 521, N.; G. 1256; Gl. 454 f.— τῶν Συρακοσίων: *partitive genitive*.

§§ 32–36. *The revolt of Thasos. Agis repulsed before the walls of*

- 32 Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἀρμοστής Ἐτεόνικος. καταϊτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πράξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ 160 δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκείνος ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.
- 33 περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἄγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομήν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θράσυλλος 165 δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Δύκειον
- 34 [γυμνάσιον] ὡς μαχοῦμενος, ἂν προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ

*Athens. Clearchus is sent to Byzantium.*

32. **Θάσῳ**: Thasos, originally an Athenian possession, had revolted to Sparta in 411 B.C.—**κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον**: see on § 27.—**ἐκπίπτουσι**: = ἐκβάλλονται. Cp. **φεύγειν** § 27.—**ἀρμοστής**: the Spartan governor in a dependent state bore this title.—**Πασιππίδας**: it is altogether probable that he was the Spartan admiral for the year 409–408 B.C. In that case the presumption is that the *στάσις* in Thasos took place during his term of office and that Xenophon has anticipated (as in the preceding section) in describing it here.—**ἐπὶ**: to the command of.—**Κρατησιππίδας**: admiral for the year 408–407 B.C.

33. **περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους**:

see on § 27.—**Θρασύλλου**: cp. § 8.—**Δεκελείας**: where the Spartans, under King Agis, maintained a permanent camp in order to prevent the Athenians from cultivating their lands. See *Intro.* p. 16.—**προνομήν**: a word used only by Xenophon and late writers. See *Intro.* IV. L.—**τοὺς ἄλλους**: *i.e.* non-citizens, *viz.* metics and strangers.—**Δύκειον**: the Lyceum was a gymnasium outside the walls of Athens to the eastward, later famous as the place where Aristotle taught.—**ὡς μαχοῦμενος**: for the purpose, or with the intention, of fighting. The fut. part. without *ὡς* is used to express purpose, but only after verbs of motion. After other verbs *ὡς* must be used, and it is not infrequently found after verbs of motion also.

ταῦτα Ἄγεις ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι  
 τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν 170  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι  
 ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὀπλίτας τε αὐτὸν κατα-  
 λέξασθαι χιλίους, ἰππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντή-  
 35 κοντα. Ἄγεις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ  
 σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι 175  
 τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἶργειν  
 τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχῆσοι καὶ ὄθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν  
 σίτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν

Sometimes the fut. part. with ὡς denotes 'alleged purpose,' but there are hardly any sure instances of this use in the *Hell*. In occasional cases the combination does not indicate purpose at all, but only the thought or statement or belief of some one that something will come to pass. For this use see 3. 5. 19, 4. 2. 18, 7. 5. 20. Cp. also on § 12.

34. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν: lit. *behind all*, i.e. in the rear. — ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε: *what he had come for*. The phrase is used as an acc. of specification. — τε . . . δέ . . . δέ: the transition from the copulative to the adversative connection is not rare. S. 2981; HA. 1040 b; KG. 520, *Anm.* 3.

35. ἰδὼν: Decelea is high enough so that one can easily see Piraeus, though nearly twenty miles distant. — πλοῖα . . . σίτου: from the Black Sea. See on § 22.

Πειραιᾶ: the port of Athens. — καταθέοντα: *sailing in*. For κατά- see on ἀνηγάγοντο § 2. θεῖν, which may be compared with the English 'run before the wind,' means sailing in distinction from rowing. — πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον . . . εἶργειν: for the tense of the inf. see S. 1885; HA. 826; B. 522; G. 1258; Gl. 454 d. — τῆς γῆς: S. 1392; HA. 748; B. 362; G. 1117; Gl. 509. — εἰ . . . φοιτᾷ: *unless one* (i.e. they, the Lacedaemonians) *should also occupy the places from which the imported grain came in* — σχῆσοι: opt. in indir. disc. representing the fut. ind. of dir. disc. For this form of fut. protasis see S. 2328; HA. 899; B. 602; G. 1405; Gl. 648 b. Note that in the apodosis the present (εἶναι) is used instead of the future, to emphasize the *reality* of the situation described. — τε: as in § 15. — καί: *also*. As Agis is cutting off the

Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντιῶν πέμψαι εἰς Καλχη-  
 36 δόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθει- 180  
 σῶν νεῶν ἕκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων  
 πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ὄχετο.  
 καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἱ αἰεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα  
 διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκείθεν δὲ 185  
 37 εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν. [καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν  
 ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ  
 Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἰρούσιν ἐν τρισὶ  
 μῆσιν δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινούντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.]

Athenian grain supply from Attica, so some one must *also* cut off the supply from abroad. — **Κλέαρχον**: the Clearchus of the *Anabasis*. — **πρόξενον**: corresponding to the modern *consul*, except that the *πρόξενος* was a citizen of the state where he performed his duties, not of the state which he represented. The Spartan *πρόξενος* at Athens was an Athenian, the American consul at Athens is an American.

36. **δόξαντος τούτου**: *when this had been determined upon*. — **στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν**: *transports rather than war ships*. This explains why Clearchus was defeated by an inferior force (*ἐννέα*). — **τὰ πλοῖα**: *i.e.* Athenian grain ships. — **Σηστόν**: Sestus was the Athenian station. Cp. § 11 and 2. 13. It was probably through

mere inadvertence that Xenophon wrote Sestus here, instead of Abydus, the Peloponnesian station (Grote). — **εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν**: see on **εἰς Ἀθήνας** § 23.

[§ 37. *Notice of events in Sicily.*]

37. It is almost certain that this section is an interpolation. See *Introd.* p. 25; also note on 2. 10. — **ὁ ἐνιαυτός**: Xenophon's year runs from April to April (*Introd.* p. 24). The year now ended is that from April, 410 to April, 409 B.C. — **Ἀννίβα**: not the famous Hannibal. For the genitive form see S. 225; HA. 149; G. 188, 3.

CHAPTER 2, §§ 1-11. *Thrasylus' expedition to Asia Minor. He defeats the Milesians and invades Lydia, but is repulsed with loss before Ephesus.* 409 B.C.

1 Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει [, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενη- 2  
 κοστή, ἣ προστεθεῖσα ξηωρίς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου,  
 τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος  
 ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτή-  
 μονος,] Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Ἰορικήν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος 5  
 δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους  
 τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτα-  
 σταῖς χρησόμενος ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς  
 2 Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς  
 Πύγεια· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήγῃ καὶ προσέ- 10  
 βαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές

1. ἄλλῳ: see on ἄλλῃ I. 13. [ᾧ . . . Εὐκτήμονος]: this passage is almost certainly spurious. Both the Olympic date and the names of the Athenian and Spartan magistrates are incorrect. See *Introd.* p. 24 f. — ᾧ: for the dat. see on ἡμέρα 4. 12. — τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή: the ninety-third Olympiad was in fact 408, not 409 B.C. The Olympic era began with 776 B.C. — ἣ . . . Ἡλείου: the statement is probably taken from Pausanias, who notes (5. 8. 10) the addition of this 'event' to the Olympic games in 408 B.C. — ἐφόρου: *i.e.* the eponymous ephor, by whose name the year was designated at Sparta, as by the eponymous archon at Athens and by the consuls at Rome. — ὄντος: a noun depending upon ἐπί temporal is sometimes

modified by a pres. part. S. 2053 a; KG. 438, I. 2. — Ἰορικήν: on the S.E. coast of Attica. — πλοῖα: here ships of war, — the only case in the *Hell.* where the word has this meaning. Cp. on I. 15 and 36. — ὡς . . . χρησόμενος: *in order to employ them as peltasts also.* See on ὡς μαχόμενος I. 33. ἅμα καί = a strengthened καί. — ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους: see *Introd.* p. 24. — Σάμον: a principal base of operations for the Athenians during the closing years of the war. — Thrasyllus was sent to Athens to obtain reinforcements for the fleet in the Hellespont (I. 8), but since the Athenian victory at Cyzicus rendered such reinforcements unnecessary he turned his attention to the revolted cities of Asia Minor.

2. Πύγεια: a small town S.W.

τινες τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθη-  
 3 ναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς  
 ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ 15  
 ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τροπαίων ἔστησαν.  
 4 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρα-  
 σκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφώνιοι  
 δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον  
 εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε 20  
 πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα  
 5 καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ  
 ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέ-  
 δου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοη-  
 θησάντων τῶν ἰππέων ἓνα μὲν ζῶν ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ 25  
 6 ἀπέκτεινε. Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ  
 θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσούμενος.  
 Τισσαφέρης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρα-  
 τιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλήν καὶ ἰππέας ἀπέστειλε παραγ-

of Ephesus. — διεσπαρμένους ὄν-  
 τας: = simply διεσπαρμένους. The  
 combination of the two parts.  
 is rare, but comparable to the use  
 of the perf. part. with finite  
 forms of εἶναι. Cp. also 5. 5 εἶναι  
 τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, where  
 εἶναι . . . ἐχούσας = ἔχειν.

3. βοηθήσαντες πρὸς: in a  
 friendly sense. πρὸς with the  
 acc. instead of the usual dat. (as in  
 § 2) is due to the original idea of  
 motion in βοηθεῖν. — ἐκτός: = πλὴν.  
 Cp. the English 'outside of.'

4. Νότιον: the port of Colo-  
 phon. — ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου: in  
 June. — πολλήν: in great quan-  
 tities.

5. Στάγης: a lieutenant of Tis-  
 saphernes (Thuc. 8. 16). — κατὰ  
 τὰς ἰδίας λείας: for private plun-  
 der. — βοηθησάντων τῶν ἰππέων:  
 although the cavalry (of the Athe-  
 nians) came to the rescue. — ἓνα  
 . . . ἑπτὰ: of the plunderers, not  
 the cavalry.

6. ὡς . . . πλευσούμενος: see  
 on ὡς μαχούμενος I. 33. —

γέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἐφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. 30  
 7 Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν  
 εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἔπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας  
 πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας καὶ  
 πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς  
 τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσ- 35  
 8 ἦγε δύο στρατόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν  
 Ἐφέσιοι οἱ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ  
 Συρακόσιοι οἱ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ  
 ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ  
 ἤκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἰππῶνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου 40  
 τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινοῦσαι δύο.  
 9 οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν

τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι: the famous 'Diana of the Ephesians' (*Acts of the Apostles* 19. 24-41). Tissaphernes seeks to rouse the people by representing that the goddess herself is endangered.

7. εἰσβολήν: *i.e.* into Lydia. — Κορησσόν: a mountain south of Ephesus. — ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα: *on the opposite side.* — ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ: see on I. 2. — στρατόπεδα: see on I. 3.

8. ἐβοήθησαν: its subjects (if the text be correct; see critical note) are οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἐφέσιοι, οἱ σύμμαχοι, Συρακόσιοι, and Σελινοῦσαι. — τε: *and.* See *Introd.* IV. D. 1. — οὓς: its antecedent is σύμμαχοι. Cp. § 6. — προτέρων: *i.e.* the ships built at Antandrus to replace those destroyed at Cyzicus.

See I. 18 and note, and I. 25. — ἔτυχον παραγενόμεναι: S. 2096 a; HA. 984; B. 660, N.; G. 1586; Gl. 585 a. — Σελινοῦσαι δύο: the reference is to the crews rather than to the ships, so that we should expect οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Σελ. δυοῖν. The intervening relative clause (αἱ ἔτυχον κτέ.) is probably responsible for the changed form of expression. Selinus was a town in Sicily, which had sent two ships with the Syracusan twenty to aid the Peloponnesians. See note on I. 18. These two ships, like those of the Syracusans, had evidently been replaced by new ones built at Antandrus.

9. πρὸς: in a hostile sense. Cp. the opposite use in § 3. —



Κορησσω̄ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀπο-  
κτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν  
καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. 45  
ἔφυγον δὲ κάκει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς  
10 τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν  
καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσω̄. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ  
Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεία ἔδοσαν καὶ  
κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκῆν ἀτελεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ 50  
ἀεί. Σελινουσίοις δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ  
11 πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑπο-  
σπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κάκει  
θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.

ὡσεὶ: *about*, a rare equivalent for simple ὡς. — παρὰ: *by*.

10. πρὸς: *at*. — κρατίστοις γενομένοις: *who had proved themselves very brave*. Cp. γεγόνατε I. 28. — κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς: *i.e.* they not only awarded honors to the Syracusans and Selinuntines as a body, but also to many individuals. — οἰκῆν ἀτελεῖ: (permission) *to dwell tax free* (in Ephesus). οἰκῆν is parallel with ἀριστεία. For the case of ἀτελεῖ see S. 1060; HA. 941; B. 631; G. 928, 1; Gl. 571 c. — τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀεί: *to any one who at any time desired it*. For the use of ἀεί with the part. cp. I. 27, and for its position after the part. cp. 2. 4. 8. — ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει: *when their city had been destroyed, i.e.* afterwards. It is true that the interpolator in I. 37

puts the capture of Selinus by the Carthaginians in 410 B.C. Diodorus, however, dates it in the year 409–408 B.C. (13. 54), and he specifically states (13. 61) that at that time all the Sicilian ships which had been supporting the Peloponnesians returned to Sicily to aid in repelling the Carthaginian attack. The fall of Selinus, therefore, must have come later than the defense of Ephesus (409 B.C.), in which the Syracusans and Selinuntines took part.

11. τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες: *to ask for a truce in order to recover the bodies of the dead was regarded as an acknowledgment of defeat.* — ἐπὶ: *towards*.

§§ 12–17. *After capturing four Syracusan ships Thrasyllus joins*

- 12 ὀρμοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παρα-55  
 πλεύσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ  
 εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλα-  
 βον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς  
 13 Ἐφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θρασύλ-  
 λος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ 60  
 Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα,  
 κατέλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστόν  
 πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἅπανα ἢ στρατιὰ  
 14 διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ χειμῶν ἐπήει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμά-  
 λωτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομί-65  
 αῖς, διορῦζαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ὥχοντο  
 15 εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῃ  
 συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ πρότε-  
 ροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλλου

*Alcibiades in operations in the Hellespont.*

12. τῆς Λέσβου: for the case see on Καληγηδονίας I. 22. — πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι: cp. § 8. — αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι: *men and all*, lit. *with (the) men themselves*. See S. 1525; HA. 774 a; B. 392, 3, N.; G. 1191; Gl. 525 a. With this construction the omission of both σύν and the article is the rule.

13. Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . κατέλευ-  
 σεν: not enough is known regard-  
 ing this Alcibiades to make it clear  
 why he should have been put to  
 death by Thrasyllus, who was a  
 friend of Alcibiades the general.  
 See critical note.

14. χειμῶν: of 409-408 B.C. —  
 εἰργμένοι . . . ἐν λιθοτομίαις:  
 probably because the Athenian  
 prisoners taken by the Syracu-  
 sans in 413 B.C. had been similarly  
 treated. Cp. Thuc. 7. 86 f. —  
 Δεκέλειαν: see on I. 33. — οἱ δέ:  
*and some (few)*. οἱ δέ is used  
 without a preceding οἱ μὲν when it  
 refers to the smaller part of the  
 whole number.

15. συντάττοντος . . . πᾶν: *when  
 Alcibiades tried to marshal together  
 the entire army, i.e. his own troops  
 and those of Thrasyllus*. The  
 pres. part., coincident in time with  
 the impf. ἐβούλοντο, is conative.  
 S. 1878 and a; HA. 825; B. 523;

συντάττεσθαι, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκείνοι δὲ 70  
 ἡττημένοι ἦκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες Λάμ-  
 16 ψακον τειχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἄβυδον·  
 Φαρνάβαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχη  
 ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τοὺς τε  
 ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε 75  
 17 Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκοτός ἀφείλετο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης  
 ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡσπά-  
 ζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξῆλθον δὲ τινὰς καὶ  
 ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον καὶ ἐπόρ-  
 18 θουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ 80  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφε-

G. 1255; Gl. 459 a. — ὡς . . . ὄντες . . . ἦκοιεν: a union of the two usual methods of expressing a cause as stated or felt by the subject of the verb. For the former see on ὡς ὄντων I. 24; for the latter see S. 2242; HA. 937; B. 598, N.; G. 1506; Gl. 659 a. — ἐχείμαζον: the winter of 409-408 B.C.

16. ἵπποις πολλοῖς: = ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς. — μέχρι: see Introd. IV. D. 5. — ἀφείλετο: i.e. the pursued.

17. συνέβησαν . . . αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς: made friends with one another of their own accord. For the strengthening αὐτός with the reflexive see on I. 28, and for the reflexive used as a reciprocal see S. 1231; HA. 686 b; B. 471, N. 2; G. 996. — ἐξῆλθον . . . ἐξόδους: and they made some other expeditions also. For the acc. see S. 1567; HA.

715 b; B. 333; G. 1051; Gl. 536 a. — εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον: i.e. into the interior.

§ 18. *The recapture of Pylos. The betrayal of the Heracleans.*

18. The section summarizes the disconnected events of the year 409-408 B.C. See on I. 27, and cp. τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ and κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν with the phrases employed in I. 27, I. 32, and I. 33. — Κορυφάσιον: the Laconian name for Pylos in Messenia, which had been held by the Athenians since its occupation by Demosthenes in 425 B.C. It was garrisoned largely by Messenians, and was a favorite place of refuge for runaway Helots. According to Diodorus (13. 64) it fell at this time because stress of weather held back the relief expedition which the Athenians sent

στῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οὔιταίους πολεμίους ὄντας, προέδωσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς 85 ἐπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἀρμοστῇ Λαβῶτῃ.

19 [καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.]

out. — Xenophon's account of the recapture of Pylos is curiously inadequate and misleading, — inadequate, considering the extreme importance of the events which had resulted from the Athenian occupation of the fortress, and misleading, because the recapture is represented as merely an affair between the Spartans and some fugitive Helots. See *Introd.* p. 27. — The recovery of Nisaea, the port of Megara, from the Athenians, which took place at about this time (*Diod.* 13. 65), is entirely passed over by Xenophon. See *Introd.* p. 27 and *App.* p. 354. — τοὺς . . . ἐκ Μαλέας: those of the Helots who had revolted and fled from Malea to Coryphasium. Cp. *ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας* I. 23. The extremely rare attributive position of the partitive gen. is found nowhere else in the *Hell.*, except in cases where the gen. plur. of *πᾶς* depends upon the superlative of an adj. Cp. 2. 3. 49. — τοὺς ἐποίκους: connect with

ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ. In 426 B.C. the Spartans had newly colonized Heraclea, in Trachis, but had refused to accept any Achaeans as colonists (*Thuc.* 3. 92); and in 413 B.C. the Achaeans of Phthiotis (who are here referred to) had been harshly treated by King Agis (*Thuc.* 8. 3). They now revenged themselves by betraying the Heraeans, to whose aid they had ostensibly come. — πρὸς: = εἰς, about, — an almost unknown use of the word. See *Introd.* IV. L. πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους serves as an acc. subject of ἀπολέσθαι. S. 908; HA. 600 b; B. 304; G. 906.

[§ 19. *The revolt of the Medes.*]

19. This section is almost certainly spurious. See *Introd.* p. 25. We have no other record of the event here described. — τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως: βασιλεύς, referring to the Persian king, usually takes the article when modified by an adj. or a genitive. See on I. 9.

- 1 [Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηναῖς 3  
ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος.] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν  
ἔληγε, [Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ'  
'Αντιγένους, ἕαρος ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν  
τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότων,] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς 5  
2 Προκόννησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ  
Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὄρμησαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύ-  
σαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνην. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσιόν-  
τας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν  
κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θρᾶκας ἀστυγείτονας ὄντας. 10  
3 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς  
ἰππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς  
τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπήγει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ  
4 δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδωσαν. Ἀλκι-  
βιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν 15  
ἔχων καὶ πίστει πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχη-

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1-7. *The Athenians lay siege to Calchedon. Pharnabazus aids the Calchedonians.* 408 B.C.

1. [Τοῦ . . . ἔτους: probably an interpolation. See *Intro.* p. 25, note 3. — ὁ . . . ἐμπεσόντος]: this passage is in all probability spurious. See *Intro.* p. 26 and *App.* p. 362 f.—Φωκαίᾳ: on the Ionian coast, north of Smyrna. — [Παντακλέους . . . παρεληλυθότων]: an interpolation. Both the names and the statement of the number of years elapsed are incorrect. See *Intro.* p. 24 f. — στρατοπέδῳ: see on 1. 3.

2. Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον: whither the Spartans had sent Clearchus. Cp. 1. 35 and 36. — πρὸς: *near*. — λείαν: *i.e.* whatever could be carried off as booty. — Θρᾶκας: they had migrated from Thrace to Asia Minor.

3. εἰ δὲ μή: *otherwise*. S. 2346 d; HA. 906; B. 616, 3; G. 1417; Gl. 656 c.

4. πίστει πεποιημένος: *i.e.* πρὸς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς. — ἀπετείχιζε: *proceeded to invest*. The impf., the tense of progress, may present an act in the *first stage* of its progress. S. 1900.

δόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν  
 5 καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν ξυλίνῳ τείχει. ἐνταῦθα  
 Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς μαχοῦμενος· οἱ<sup>20</sup>  
 δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ  
 ἔξω τῶν περιτειχισμάτων προσεβοήθει στρατιῶ τε καὶ  
 6 ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἴπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θράσυλλος  
 ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον πολύν, μέχρι  
 Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς ἵππείας<sup>25</sup>  
 ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ'  
 7 αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνά-  
 βαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμείξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἴπποκράτην  
 διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτευχισμά-  
 των ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν<sup>30</sup>  
 8 Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ τούτου  
 δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ᾤχετο εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς

—ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν: from the Bosphorus to the Propontis. — ποταμοῦ: part. gen. depending on the clause ὅσον . . . ἦν, which is itself parallel in construction with Καλχηδόνα. The river broke the line of the wall, but the wall was carried as near as possible (cp. § 7) to each bank of the river.

5. ἐνταῦθα: temporal. — Ἴπποκράτης: cp. I. 23. — ὡς μαχοῦμενος: see on I. 33. — ἔξω: the Athenians were inside the wall. — ἵπποις: as in 2. 16.

6. Ἴπποκράτης μὲν οὖν: contrasted with ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβα-

ζος § 7. — μέχρι: see Introd. IV. D. 5. — Ἀλκιβιάδης: who up to this time had been engaged against Pharnabazus. Cp. Plut. Alc. 30.

7. συμμείξαι: this spelling, instead of συμμῖξαι, is shown by inscriptions to be correct. — στενοπορίαν: a very rare word, found also in 3. 5. 20. It is explained by the following clause.

§§ 8-13. *The Athenians at Calchedon conclude a compact with Pharnabazus, who agrees to conduct an Athenian embassy to the Persian king.*

Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ  
 συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι  
 9 τάλαντα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα 35  
 πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ  
 ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχη-  
 δονίουσ' Ἀθηναίοις ὅσον περ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα  
 χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχη-  
 δονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν. 40  
 10 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὄρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἔλων πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον  
 ἦκεν, ἔχων Χερρονησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης  
 11 στρατιώτας καὶ ἰππέας πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνάβα-  
 ζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κάκεινον ὀμνύναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλ- 45  
 χηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθεν,

8. χρήματα πράξων: see on I. 8.  
 — οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ: Thrasyllus  
 and Theramenes. — ὑπὲρ Καλχηδό-  
 νος: *i.e.* in consideration of their  
 sparing Calchedon. Connect with  
 the following. — δοῦναι... Φαρνάβα-  
 ζον: *that Pharnabazus should give.*  
 The inf. is not in indir. disc.  
 S. 1868; HA. 948 a; B. 549, 2;  
 G. 1286. — πρέσβεις: the object  
 of this embassy is not stated.  
 Presumably it was to negotiate for  
 an alliance.

9. ὑποτελεῖν... ἀποδοῦναι...  
 πολεμεῖν: as δοῦναι in § 8; for  
 ὄρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον = ὤμοσαν.  
 — τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα: *i.e.* the  
 tribute unpaid since Calchedon  
 revolted in 411 B.C. — παρὰ βα-

σιλέως: the phrase limits the  
 subject, yet the choice of the  
 preposition is determined by  
 the verb. The idea is 'until the  
 ambassadors to the king should  
 return from the king.' See S.  
 1660 a; HA. 788 a; B. 398, N. 3;  
 G. 1225, 1. — ἕως... ἔλθωσιν:  
 connect with μὴ πολεμεῖν.

10. ἐκείνην ἔλων: through trea-  
 son, according to Diodorus (13. 66)  
 and Plutarch (*Alc.* 30). The lat-  
 ter gives a detailed account of the  
 capture.

11. κάκεινον: *him also, i.e.* Alci-  
 biades as well as the other gener-  
 als. — μέχρι ἔλθοι: *until he should*  
*come.* For the opt. see S. 2420;  
 HA. 921; B. 677; G. 1502, 3; G1.

12 οὐκ ἔφη ὁμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκῃως αὐτῷ ὁμείται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνάβαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ καὶ Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε 50 κοινὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλοις πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο.

13 Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθύς ἀπήει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοκύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν 55 δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιπίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἤδη φεύγων ἐκ

631. — οὐκ ἔφη: the subject is Alcibiades. — ὁμείται: see on σχήσοι I. 35.

12. οἷς: = ἐκείνοις οὓς (see on ὦν I. 30) and is made definite by the following appositives. — τὸν τε κοινὸν ὄρκον: *the official oath*. The τε leads us to expect a second acc., but instead we have an independent sentence, describing the personal pledges which the two leaders as individuals (*ἰδίᾳ*) exchanged. Nevertheless, Pharnabazus procured the assassination of Alcibiades a few years later. Cp. Plut. *Alc.* 39.

13. ἀπαντᾶν . . . εἰς Κύζικον: *i.e.* to come to Cyzicus to meet him. — Μαντίθεος: see on I. 10. — σὺν δὲ τούτοις . . . μετὰ δὲ τούτων: see *Introd.* IV. c. 1. — Ἀργεῖοι: the Argives had been allies of

Athens since 420 B.C. Cp. 2. 7 and Thuc. 5. 47. — Πασιπίδας: see on I. 32. It is probable that he had not yet been exiled. He naturally headed a Lacedaemonian embassy which was sent out just at the close of his term as admiral, — precisely as Antalcidas did twenty years later (see 5. 1. 25 and note). — Xenophon does not state why the Lacedaemonians (and Syracusans) attached themselves to this Athenian embassy. See *Introd.* p. 27. — Ἑρμοκράτης: in this same year, 408 B.C., according to Diodorus (13. 75; see note on I. 31), he was killed in an attack on Syracuse. It seems impossible to reconcile this statement with the present passage. The chances are that Diodorus is in error, especially as



14 Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. καὶ Φαρ-  
 νάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἤγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον 60  
 ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκρο-  
 15 βολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαν-  
 τίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ  
 τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμῶδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ  
 Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἐλιξος Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοιω- 65  
 16 τοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ὡς οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἰσχύν, ἐπεισάν  
 17 τινὰς τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος  
 δὲ ὁ ἀρμοστής οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, κατα-  
 στήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας 70  
 τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἐλίξω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν

Polybius says (12. 25) that Hermocrates fought at Aegospotami in 405 B.C. The whole matter, however, must remain uncertain. See critical note. — ἤδη φεύγων: *who was already an exile* (cp. I. 27), while his fellow-ambassador, Pasippidas, had not yet been banished.

§§ 14–22. *The siege and capture of Byzantium.*

14. ἤγεν: *was conducting*. The impf. because Pharnabazus remained for a time within reaching distance of the belligerents. See on § 17 below. — ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς: *i.e. eminus et cominus*.

15. Κλέαρχος: cp. I. 35 f. — Λακεδαιμόνιος: *the Lacedaemonian*, not to be connected with

ἀρμοστής. So Μεγαρεῖς below. — ἀρμοστής: *as harmost*. So ἄρχων below. — περιοίκων: the descendants of the original Achaean inhabitants of Laconia. They were free, but not citizens. — νεοδαμῶδων: Helots who had been emancipated. — Μεγαρεῖς: Byzantium was a colony of Megara. — τούτων: the demonstrative, used for contrast with the preceding personal pronoun, can be best translated by an emphasized 'their.'

16. κατ' ἰσχύν: unusual for βία or κατὰ κράτος. See Introd. IV. L.

17. παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον: the road which Pharnabazus was taking from Cyzicus (§ 13) to Gordium (4. 1) led along the Propontis, and somewhere on its coast Clearchus

Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθὸν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν  
 τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι καταλειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ  
 Πασσιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ καὶ ἄς Ἀγησανδρίδας<sup>75</sup>  
 εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως  
 ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείσαν, ἄθροαι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι  
 κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιῶσαι ἀπο-  
 18 σπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν<sup>80</sup>  
 Βυζαντίων, Κυδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ  
 19 Λυκούργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος, ὅς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου

must have met the satrap. — εἰς τὸ πέραν: as in I. 15. — καὶ ναῦς . . . Θράκης: and to collect ships, (namely) what others were in the Hellespont . . . and at Antandrus, and what Agesandridas commanded on the coast of Thrace. ἄλλαι, which is contrasted with ἄς Ἀ. εἶχεν, is attracted into the relative clause and agrees in case with the relative. S. 2536; HA. 995; B. 485; G. 1037; Gl. 613 d. — Πασσιππίδου: see on § 13 and I. 32. — Ἀντάνδρῳ: cp. I. 25. — Ἀγησανδρίδας: cp. I. 1. — ἐπιβάτης: usually 'marine,' but here apparently the title of some subordinate officer in the Spartan navy. So in Thuc. 8. 61. — Μινδάρου: Mindarus had now been dead two years (cp. I. 18), but it would seem that Agesandridas had been on 'detached service' (as in I. 1) at the time of

the battle of Cyzicus and, having no admiral or fleet to return to, had remained at his post. — ὅπως . . . ναυπηγηθείσαν: parallel with the parts. of purpose ληψόμενος and συλλέξων. — ποιῶσαι: part. of means. S. 2063; HA. 969 a; B. 653, 2; G. 1563, 3; Gl. 583.

18. οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν: those who wanted to betray the city. The part. is conative. See on 2. 15. — The sentence here begun is interrupted by the long parenthesis ὅς ὑπαγόμενος . . . μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους (§ 19); then it is resumed (in ἐπεὶ δέ) without reference to the preceding, so that the original subject οἱ προδιδόντες is left without a verb. A case of anacoluthon. See *Introd.* IV. K.

19. ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου: we should say 'when tried for his life.' For the gen. see S. 1379;

ὑστερον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν,  
 εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ προδοίῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι, παῖδας  
 ὄρων καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῶ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὦν καὶ 85  
 οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόητα σίτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις δίδοναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ  
 20 τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάστο,  
 νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλού- 90  
 μενον εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.  
 21 ὁ δὲ Ἐλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες  
 ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντη  
 οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι ποιήσαιεν,  
 22 παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν 95  
 εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων  
 ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρᾶς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

HA. 745 b; B. 367, n.; G. 1133.  
 — ὑστερον: probably after 405 B.C.,  
 when the Lacedaemonians re-  
 gained possession of Byzantium  
 (2. 2. 1). — ἀπέφυγεν: was  
 acquitted. Cp. the usual law-court  
 terms δῶκειν, to prosecute, ἀλί-  
 σκεσθαι, to be convicted, etc. —  
 παῖδας . . . καὶ γυναῖκας: the normal  
 order of these words in Greek. —  
 ἀπολλυμένους: for the gender see  
 S. 1055; HA. 615, 1; B. 422; G.  
 924 a. — δίδοναι: the pres. inf. in  
 ind. disc. often represents an impf.  
 S. 1866 a; HA. 853 a; B. 646;  
 G. 1494; Gl. 577 a. — εἰσέσθαι:  
 from εἰσίστημι.

20. αὐτοῖς: for the dat. see S.

1488; HA. 769; B. 380; G. 1186;  
 Gl. 524 b. — παρεσκευάστο: imper-  
 sonal. S. 935; HA. 602 d; B.  
 305, n.; G. 1240, 2; Gl. 493 a. —  
 Θράκιον: a square in Byzantium,  
 described in *Anab.* 7. 1. 24.

21. κατεῖχον: were masters.  
 — οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι ποιήσαιεν:  
 not knowing what (they were) to  
 do. In this use οὐκ ἔχειν = ἀπορεῖν,  
 or, in Latin, *non habere*. For the  
 opt., representing an interrogative  
 subjv., see S. 2677 b; HA. 932,  
 2 (2); B. 673; G. 1490; Gl. 621.

22. ἀποβαινόντων: sc. αὐτῶν.  
 See on 1. 26. — ἔλαθεν ἀποδρᾶς:  
 see on ἔτυχον 2. 8. — ἀπεσώθη εἰς  
 Δεκέλειαν: see 2. 14 and on 1. 23.

1 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν 4  
 Γορδίῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πε-  
 2πραγμένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομέ-  
 νοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἱ  
 τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος [ὄνομα] καὶ οἱ 5  
 μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι πάντων ὧν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ  
 3 βασιλέως, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ

CHAPTER 4, §§ 1-7. *The Persian king sends his son Cyrus to aid the Lacedaemonians. The detention and final return of the Athenian ambassadors.* 407 B.C.

1. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ κτλ.: continuation of 3. 13.—Φρυγίας: for the gen. see on 1. 22.—τὸν χειμῶνα: of 408-407 B.C.

2. ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος: of 407 B.C. See *Introd.* p. 24 and note 10.—καταβαίνοντες: from Susa to Sardis.—οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις: the use of the article would imply that these ambassadors had been previously mentioned, yet such is not the case. See *Introd.* p. 27. Their mission, however, may be inferred from the results which they report (§ 3).—τι: correlative with the καὶ preceding Κῦρος in § 3.—[ὄνομα]: see critical note.—οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι: *the messengers besides*, lit. *the others*, (namely) *messengers*. See S. 1272; H.A. 705; B. 492, N. 2; G. 966, 2. It seems clear, both from the pre-

ceding and from the following, that these 'messengers' were attached to the Lacedaemonians, but their exact function is not known.—πάντων ὧν: inverse attraction, *i.e.* of the antecedent to the case of the relative. See S. 2533; H.A. 1003; B. 484, 2; G. 1035; Gl. 613 c.—πεπραγότες εἶεν: this second perf. in a transitive sense, as here, is rare.

3. Κῦρος: also a nom. to ἀπήντησαν.—ἄρξων: purpose. It depends—though rather loosely and remotely—upon the idea of motion in ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες. See on 1. 33.—πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ: Cyrus' commission is described more definitely in *Anab.* 1. 9. 7: κατεπέμφθη . . . σατραπῆς Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι. Cp. also *Anab.* 1. 1. 2. Castolus was the mustering place for all the inhabitants of Asia Minor

καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλεῖον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ<sup>10</sup> ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροισμένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον. 4 ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα παρὰ 5 βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος 15 δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκαδέ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 6 μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψω, ὡς μηδὲν<sup>20</sup> 7 μέμψηται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ

west of the Halys River, whence it appears that Cyrus' *military* authority extended beyond the three provinces above mentioned and that both Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were made subordinate to him. — *τε*: see Introd. IV. D. I. — *τοῖς κάτω*: = τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάτῃ. — *καὶ τάδε*: *this also, i.e.* among other things. — *κάρανον*: probably a Doric word, used because the letter was written to Spartans, or at least translated by them.

4. ἀκούοντες . . . καὶ ἐπειδὴ . . . εἶδον: part. and temporal clause are parallel, as fut. part. and ὅπως clause in 3. 17. — ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα κτέ: *wished most, i.e. if possible, etc.*, while εἰ δὲ μὴ, *otherwise* (see on 3. 3),

introduces the less acceptable alternative. *μάλιστα μὲν*, instead of *μὲν μάλιστα*, would be the usual and natural order, but cases are frequent where *μὲν* (as well as *δέ*) is out of its logical place.

5. εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι: see on εἰπών I. 13. — *μὴ οἴκαδέ πω*: = *μήπω οἴκαδε*, — a frequent separation. — *τὰ πραττόμενα*: the Persian alliance with Sparta.

6. ὡς . . . μέμψηται: the purpose of κατεῖχε. For ὡς see Introd. IV. F. The subject of μέμψηται is Cyrus.

7. ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς: the three years must be reckoned from the time when the Athenian ambassadors set out with Pharnabazus, *i.e.* the summer of 408 B.C. (cp. 3.

Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς, φάσκων ὁμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα· πέμψαντες δὲ Ἄριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτούς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο 25 στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

8 Ἄλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάμου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα 30 ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα

14), and not from the time when their detention began, *i.e.* the spring of 407 B.C. (cp. § 2); for Pharnabazus' request (*ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου*) must have been presented to Cyrus before the latter went back to Persia in the summer of 405 B.C. (cp. 2. I. 14). It follows that the ambassadors returned to the Athenian fleet shortly before the final battle of Aegospotami (*c.* August, 405 B.C.). — *ἐπειδὴ οὐ*: *sc.* ἀγειν ἐξείη. — *πέμψαντες*: *i.e.* Cyrus and Pharnabazus. — Ἄριοβαρζάνει: who later succeeded Pharnabazus as satrap. Cp. 5. I. 28.

§§ 8-12. *Alcibiades returns to Athens.*

8. Ἄλκιβιάδης κτί.: after the capture of Byzantium (3. 21) the Athenians had gained possession of all the cities on the Hellespont except Abydus (Diod. 13. 68).

Now, at the end of nearly four years of continuously successful leadership, Alcibiades felt safe in returning to Athens, which he had not seen since he set out with the Sicilian expedition in 415 B.C. Still, he would hardly have chosen the present time for his return if he had known of the arrival of Cyrus and the consequent danger to the Athenian cause, — just what Cyrus had taken care to conceal (§ 5). — *εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάμου*: *straight for Samos*. For Samos see on 2. I. — Alcibiades wishes to show that Athens is mistress of the sea not only in the Hellespontine region, but on all the coasts of Asia Minor; and, furthermore, to collect money enough to make his welcome at Athens the more cordial. — *Καρίας*: for the case see on I. 22.

9. Θρασύβουλος: see on I. 12. — *σύν*: see on I. 11 and cp. § 11

ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ὄχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων  
 10 καὶ λιμοῦ. Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς 35  
 Ἄθηναις κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἦκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγούς εἶλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἴκο-  
 11 θεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' 40  
 ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς ἐπυνθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριά-

below. — **Θάσον**: since the time when Thasos had revolted from the Lacedaemonians (1. 32) the struggle between opposing factions in the state had evidently continued (cp. **στάσεων** below and Diod. 13. 72). Thrasybulus now aids the pro-Athenian faction to obtain supremacy. — **ἔχουσαν κακῶς**: *in a bad state*.

10. **Θράσυλλος**: who returned to Athens bringing a great number of captured ships, in order to prepare the way for Alcibiades. — **κατέπλευσε**: for the meaning of the prep. see on **ἀνηγάγοντο** 1. 2. — **πρὶν ἦκειν**: see on 1. 31. — **στρατηγούς**: there were ten in all. Probably the three whom Xenophon names were those assigned to the command of the fleet. Cp. § 21 and Thuc. 6. 8 and 7. 16. See also on 1. 12. — **φεύγοντα**: technically in-

accurate, for the decree of banishment against Alcibiades had been repealed in 411 B.C. (Thuc. 8. 97). In a sense, however, he could be called an exile until he actually returned to Athens. — **ἐκ τῶν οἴκοθεν**: = **ἐκ τῶν οἴκοι**. The influence of **ἐκ** determines the choice of the adverb by a kind of attraction analogous to that in 3. 9.

11. **εὐθύ**: = **εὐθὺς ἐπὶ** § 8. For the following gen. see S. 1437; HA. 757; B. 360; G. 1149; Gl. 518 b. — **Γυθείου**: the principal port of Laconia, where the Spartan navy yard was located. By this rather contemptuous inspection of the enemy's port Alcibiades again (see on § 8) seeks to show how completely Athenian naval supremacy is reestablished. — **παρασκευάζειν**: **πυνθάνομαι**, like **ἀκούω** and **αἰσθάνομαι**, is followed by the

κοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς  
 12 αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνουν οὔσαν καὶ στρα-  
 τηγὸν αὐτὸν ἤρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς 45  
 ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα ἧ Πλυν-  
 τήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς  
 Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ  
 καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 13 οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ἄψασθαι. κατα-50

inf. instead of the part. when the reference is to a mere report or rumor. HA. 986; B. 661, N. 3; G. 1592, 1; Gl. 588 b. — *κατάπλου*: grammatically dependent upon *κατασκοπήν*, but explained by the following clause *ὅπως . . . ἔχει*, *how the city felt toward him* (with reference thereto). A case of prolepsis. S. 2182; HA. 878; B. 717, 18.

12. *αὐτόν*: the use of *αὐτός* in place of the indirect reflexive (cp. *ἑαυτῷ* above) is frequent. — *ἤρημένους*: construction according to sense, for *τοὺς πολίτας* is easily understood from *ἡ πόλις* (cp. *οὔσαν*) above. — *ἰδίᾳ*: in contrast with the public action of choosing him general. — *ἡμέρα ἧ*: the dat. without a prep. is used in *definite* expressions of time when, ordinarily with words meaning day, night, month, or year. In this case *ἡμέρα* is not definite in itself, but is made so by the following relative, while the relative in its turn is made

definite by the specifications contained in its clause. — *Πλυντήρια*: on this day, early in June, the clothing of the ancient wooden statue of Athena Polias was removed and washed (= *πλύνειν*), while the statue itself was veiled from sight. — *δ*: its antecedent is the preceding statement, *κατέπλευσεν . . . Ἀθηνᾶς*. — *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*: see note on *ἡμέρα* above. Yet even when a definite time is stated, *ἐν* with the dat. is sometimes found in a meaning closely approaching that of the gen. of time, *i.e. in the course of*. Cp. S. 1542 c; KG. 426, *Anm.* 6. — *ἔργου*: for the gen. see S. 1345; HA. 738; B. 356; G. 1099; Gl. 510 b.

§§ 13–19. *His reception at Piræus, and the comments of his friends and his enemies.*

13. The vividness of the following (§§ 13–19) description seems to show that Xenophon himself was one of the curious crowd which gathered at Piræus. See *Introd.*



πλέοντος 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 εἶη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος [ἀπελογήθη ὡς] οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου 55 δυναμένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου αἰεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὐξοντος 14 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ· ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἠσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλ-

p. 10 and note 1. More elaborate and rhetorical, but less trustworthy, accounts of Alcibiades' return are given by Plutarch (*Alc.* 32 f.), Diodorus (13. 68–9), and Nepos (*Alc.* 5 f.). — ἔστωις: Athens in distinction from Piraeus, as frequently. — θαυμάζοντες: construction according to sense, referring to ὄχλος. — οἱ μὲν: correlative with οἱ δέ in § 17. — καὶ μόνος . . . πολιτευόντων: and that he alone was not banished justly, but because he was plotted against by those who had less power than he and spoke less well and ordered their political doings with a view to their own private gain. — [ἀπελογήθη ὡς]: see critical note. — ἐπιβουλευθεῖς: parallel with οὐ δικαίως, — 'not for just cause, but because,' etc. — ἐκείνου: see on I. 27. — μοχθηρότερα λεγόντων: for political power at Athens depended very largely upon oratorical ability. — τε: see

Introd. IV. D. 1. — ἐκείνου . . . δυνατοῦ: whereas he was always advancing the common weal, both from his own means and from the power of the state. ἐκείνου is emphatic by contrast with the preceding τῶν . . . πολιτευόντων, as τὸ κοινόν by contrast with τὸ ἴδιον κέρδος. — δυνατοῦ: lit. power (cp. 6. 7 and 14), but with especial reference to the resources upon which that power depended.

14. For the facts alluded to in this and the following sections see Introd. p. 15 f. — ἐθέλοντος . . . μυστήρια: and that although he was willing then to be brought to trial at once, when the charge had just been made that he had committed sacrilege against the mysteries. The sentence still remains dependent upon λέγοντες, δέ connecting φύγοι and ἐστέρησαν. — ὡς ἠσεβηκότος: equivalent to a clause in ind. disc. See Introd.

λόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα  
 15 αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμη-  
 χανίας δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθί-  
 στους, κινδυνεύων αἰεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι·  
 τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν  
 16 πόλιν ἄπασαν ὀρώων ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως  
 ὠφελοίη φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴων περ

IV. J and S. 2120; B. 661, N. 4; G. 1593, 2; Gl. 594. — τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι: *i.e.* an immediate trial.

15. ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων: kept in the condition of a slave by helplessness. — τοὺς ἐχθίστους: the Spartans and the Persians. — κινδυνεύων . . . ἀπολέσθαι: referring to the sentence of death which was passed upon Alcibiades at Sparta and perhaps to his imprisonment by Tissaphernes (I. 9); yet this statement, like the preceding one (ἠναγκάσθη κτέ.), contains a deal of kindly exaggeration. — παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν: an exceedingly rare substitute for the usual καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. — τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους: in contrast with τοὺς ἐχθίστους and explained by the following appositives πολίτας and συγγενεῖς. — ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν: *i.e.* making mistakes in the conduct of the war. The part. agrees with the nearer of the nouns which it modifies. S. 1053; HA. 616; B. 421; G. 924 b.

— οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίη: see on 3. 21.

16. οὐκ . . . χρῆσθαι: and they said it was not the part of those who were such as he to desire revolution or a change in government. For under (lit. from) the democracy it had been his fortune (ὑπάρχειν) to have the advantage over his contemporaries and to be at no disadvantage with his elders, while on the other hand it had been the fortune of his enemies to be held in just the same estimation (lit. to seem to be, to be thought to be, just such) as before (*i.e.* before Alcibiades was exiled), but afterwards, when they had gained power, to slay the best men and, since they alone were left, to be accepted (ἀγαπᾶσθαι) by the citizens for this reason only (αὐτό), *viz.* that they could not avail of better men. The mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the mysteries, in which at the time of his banishment Alcibiades was accused of being concerned, were supposed to

αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν δέισθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλεόν ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦ-70  
σθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἷοις περ  
πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσω ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτί-  
στους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγα-  
πᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἐτέροις βελτίοισιν οὐκ  
17 εἶχον χρῆσθαι· οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς 75

be connected in some way with a plot to overthrow the democracy. Alcibiades' friends try to prove that he could not have desired any such end. Their reason is, the proud position he held under the democracy. This is shown by the fact that his enemies, although they triumphed over him and banished him, were held in just as low esteem after his banishment as before (cp. § 13). Their later gain in public favor was only apparent, as is explained in the latter part of the section.—*ἔφασαν*: repeating and replacing *λέγοντες* § 13.—*τῶν οἰωνπερ αὐτός*: *αὐτός* also would naturally be attracted to the gen. Cp. 2. 3. 25 and see S. 2532; HA. 1002; B. 485, N. 2; G. 1036. For the nom., as subj. of a verb to be supplied, see KG. 555, *Ann.* 11.—*καινῶν*: cp. Lat. *res novae*.—*δεῖσθαι*: subj. of *εἶναι*.—*ὑπάρχειν*: representing the impf. of the dir. disc. See on *διδόναι* 3. 19. Its subjects are *ἔχειν*, *ἐλαττοῦσθαι*,

*δοκεῖν*, *ἀπολλύναι*, and *ἀγαπᾶσθαι*.—*τε . . . τε*: see *Introd.* IV. D. 2.—*αὐτοῦ*: the attributive position of the personal pronoun is extremely unusual.—*τοιούτοις*: for the dat. see on *ἀτελεῖ* 2. 10.—*οἷοις περ*: for the attraction in case see note and grammar references on *οἷωνπερ* above.—*ὑστερον δυνασθεῖσιν*: the dat. in agreement with *ἐχθροῖς*. *ὑστερον* refers to the time, 411 B.C., when the oligarchs, Alcibiades' enemies (as they are here termed), set up the government of the Four Hundred (see *Introd.* p. 18) and put to death many of the leaders of the democracy (*τοὺς βελτίστους*).—*αὐτούς*: acc. as subj. of *ἀγαπᾶσθαι*, passing out of immediate dependence upon *ὑπάρχειν*.

17. *οἱ δέ*: *i.e.* Alcibiades' enemies, correlative with *οἱ μὲν* in § 13, from which *λέγοντες* is to be supplied.—*ὅτι . . . εἴη*: the statement, though exaggerated (see on

κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει  
 18 γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσοι ἡγεμῶν καταστῆναι. Ἄλκι-  
 βιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ  
 εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ 80  
 19 παρήσαν. κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνα-  
 κτος, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ  
 τοὺς φίλους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβάς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄπτοιτο, μὴ  
 20 ἐπιτρέπει. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογία- 85  
 σάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἠδίκηται, λεχθέν-  
 των δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ

§ 15), has a very considerable basis of truth. See *Introd.* pp. 15-18. — τῶν . . . γενέσθαι: of the things which were in danger of befalling the state, in contrast with τῶν παροχομένων κακῶν above. φοβερῶν ὄντων is about equivalent to ἃ ἔοικε or μέλλει, and hence takes the inf. (instead of μὴ γένηται or γένοιτο), although the construction is very unusual. Cp. S. 2001; HA. 952; B. 641; G. 1521; Gl. 565 a. — κινδυνεύσοι: would likely, followed by καταστῆναι. — ἡγεμῶν: synonymous with αἴτιος. — The shorter space which is given to the comment of Alcibiades' enemies is no doubt proportionate to their smaller number.

18. πρὸς τὴν γῆν: the acc. because of the motion which preceded ὀρμισθεὶς. Cp. πρὸς in 3. 2. — ἐπι-

τηδείους: prolepsis. See on § 11. — εἰ: (to see) whether, introducing an ind. question.

19. κατιδὼν: i.e. distinguishing in the crowd. See on I. 4. — Εὐρυπτόλεμον: not the one mentioned in 3. 13, who was still with Pharnabazus. — ἄπτοιτο: opt. in ind. disc., which is suggested by the purpose, i.e. thought, implied in παρεσκευασμένων. See on δύ- ναιτο I. 22. — ἐπιτρέπειν: connect with παρεσκευασμένων.

§§ 20-23. He defends himself in Athens and is appointed general-in-chief. After conducting the Eleusinian procession by land he sails for Andros and Samos.

20. ἠσεβήκει . . . ἠδίκηται: the tenses of the dir. disc. are retained. Alcibiades' words were 'I had not (at the time of my

τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθῆεις ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἶός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν πρότεραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια<sup>90</sup> τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας·  
 21 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὀπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἰππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τετάρτῳ μηνί<sup>95</sup> ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ἡρημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί.

banishment) been guilty of impiety' and 'I have been wronged.' — ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν: representing the aor. ind. in the apodosis of an unreal condition; hence ἂν. S. 1848; HA. 964 (b); B. 647; G. 1308; Gl. 579. — αὐτοκράτωρ: i.e. general-in-chief, with authority over his nine colleagues. See on § 10. — ὡς: on the ground that, in the thought that. See on 1. 24. — σῶσαι: here for ἀνασῶσαι, to recover. — πρότερον μὲν: correlative with μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα § 21. πρότερον seems to be equivalent to the superlative πρῶτον and to be used in its stead because but two acts of Alcibiades are mentioned. — τὰ μυστήρια: the central feature of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, which took place annually in September–October, was a procession from Athens to the temple

of Demeter, with whose worship the mysteries were connected, at Eleusis. In recent years the procession had gone by sea, because the presence of the Spartans at Decelea made the land route dangerous. By now escorting the procession with his army Alcibiades accomplishes the twofold object of setting himself right with those who had suspected him of profaning these very mysteries, and of displaying his military power in ostentatious defiance of the Spartans. — ἀγόντων: impf. part. See on προσομιλοῦντες 1. 30. — ἐποίησεν: caused to be conducted (ἄγεσθαι).

21. τετάρτῳ: see on §§ 12 and 20. — συνεπέμφθησαν: i.e. by vote of the ἐκκλησία, but apparently at Alcibiades' own request. Conon also accompanied him. See on 5. 18. — ἡρημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί:

- 22 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας  
 χώρας εἰς Γαύριον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους<sup>100</sup>  
 ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέ-  
 κτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οἱ αὐτόθι ἦσαν.
- 23 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ  
 ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κακῆθεν ὀρμώμενος  
 ἐπολέμει.

1 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῶ<sup>5</sup>  
 χρόνῳ Κρατησιπίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας  
 Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς  
 Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον  
 ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἐφέσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς 5  
 ἔχων ἑβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κύρος εἰς Σάρδεϊς ἀφίκετο.

*i.e.* they had been assigned at the time of their election (§ 10) to service by land, just as Alcibiades, Thrasylbulus, and Conon were given command of the fleet.

22. *χώρας*: for the gen. see on I. 22. — *ἐκβοηθήσαντας*: *i.e.* from the city (cp. *τὴν πόλιν* below). — *καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας*: loosely added at the end of the sentence, but parallel in construction to *Ἀνδρίους*. The reference is to the Lacedaemonian garrison.

23. *ἔπλευσεν*: leaving Conon with twenty ships to besiege the city of Andros. Cp. 5. 18. — *Σάμον*: see on 2. 1. — *ὀρμώμενος*: *i.e.* using Samos as a base for his (mainly predatory) operations.

CHAPTER 5, §§ 1-9. *Lysander*

BROWNSON. HELLENICA — 6

*becomes Spartan admiral and receives zealous support from Cyrus.*

1. *πρότερον τούτων*: *i.e.* before Alcibiades' departure for Andros, which took place in the autumn of 407 B.C. See on 4. 20. — *Κρατησιπίδα . . . παρεληλυθυίας*: the admiral's term of office was probably from midsummer to midsummer. Cratesippidas was admiral for the year 408-407 B.C. Cp. I. 32. He has not been mentioned since his assumption of the command. — *ἑβδομήκοντα*: the first fleet of consequence which the Spartans had collected since the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C. (I. 18). Cp. 4. 11. — *Κύρος . . . ἀφίκετο*: cp. 4. 2-3.

2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμό-  
 νος πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρ-  
 νους ἔλεγον ἅ πεποικῶς εἶη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο  
 3 ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. Κῦρος 10  
 δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς  
 οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν· ἔχων δὲ  
 ἦκεν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπη, τοῖς  
 ἰδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἅ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ  
 καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο, 15  
 4 ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπήρουν καὶ  
 ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, διδά-  
 σκοντες ὅτι, ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

2. τοῖς . . . πρέσβεσιν: probably the ambassadors mentioned in 4. 2. It would be natural for them to arrange for the meeting and to introduce Lysander to Cyrus.— ἅ πεποικῶς εἶη: see on I. 9.— προθυμοτάτου: pred. adj. after γενέσθαι, but attracted to the case of Κύρου. See on ἀτελεῖ 2. 10.— γενέσθαι: *to show himself*.

3. Xenophon's interest not only in Cyrus, but in personal anecdote generally, explains the fullness with which he describes the following negotiations. See Introd. p. 30.— αὐτός: for the case see S. 1973; HA. 940 b; B. 631; G. 927; Gl. 571.— οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέαι: *had no other intention*.— κατακόψειν: *would coin into money*, a technical term. With similar magnificence

Tissaphernes, as reported by Alcibiades, promises to coin his bedstead into money to give to the Athenians (Thuc. 8.81).— ἐκάθητο: the 'objective' impf., representing κάθημαι of the dir. disc. See Introd. IV. E and S. 2624; HA. 936; B. 676; G. 1489; Gl. 624 c. It will be noted that this change of tense, which is the exception in Greek, is the rule in English.

4. τάξαι: *to fix upon*.— τῷ ναύτῃ: *for each sailor*, i.e. as the daily rate of pay. For the use of the art. see S. 1120 f; HA. 657 c; G. 951.— δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν: = 6 obols = 18 cents. It appears from § 7 that the former rate was 3 obols, which was also the usual rate in the Athenian navy. Thuc. 8. 45. Hence ἀπολείψουσι τὰς

ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀνα-  
 5 λώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατόν 20  
 δ' εἶναι παρ' ἅ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν.  
 εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα  
 μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὅπόσας ἂν βούλων-  
 6 ται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν  
 ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιῶν ὁ 25  
 Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἶπεν ὅτι  
 εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης.  
 7 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ  
 τριῶβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ

ναῦς. — μείω . . . ἀναλώσει: because the war would be so speedily ended. μείων is a poetic word, frequent in Xenophon instead of the usual ἐλάττων. See *Introd.* IV. L.

5. παρ' ἅ . . . ἄλλα: nearly equivalent to ἄλλα ἢ (*than*) ἅ, but with the difference that ἄλλα, being postponed, sums up the preceding with emphasis, like a demonstr. following a rel. clause. See S. 1252; HA. 996 b; G. 1030. — εἶναι . . . ἐχούσας: = ἔχειν. S. 2091; HA. 981; B. 651; GMT. 830. — καὶ: besides, i.e. Cyrus must regard not only the king's instructions, but also the compact (τὰς συνθήκας), which had been concluded in 411 B.C. between the Persians and the Lacedaemonians (Thuc. 8. 58). — τριάκοντα μνᾶς . . . τοῦ μηνός: = one mina per

day. A mina = 100 drachmas = 600 obols, i.e. 3 obols per man per day for a crew of 200. For τοῦ see on τῷ § 4.

6. ἐσιώπησε: inceptive aor. S. 1924; HA. 841; B. 529; G. 1260; Gl. 464. — αὐτῷ προπιῶν: *after drinking his health*. In such cases the cup from which one drank was often presented to the person pledged. Cyrus does better. — τί . . . ποιῶν: *by doing what*, i.e. *by what act*; the question is expressed by the part., as frequently. — ὅτι: introducing a direct quotation. S. 2590 a; HA. 928 b; G. 1477; Gl. 623. — εἰ . . . προσθείης: the omitted apodosis supplies itself from the preceding clause.

7. τέτταρες ὀβολοί: this increase had the desired (cp. § 4) effect. See on § 20 and Plut. *Lys.* 4. — τὸν προοφειλόμενον: *arrears of pay*.



ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ 9 Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἄπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἴτινες 35 ἰσχυροὶ ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς 10 στασιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἤγευ, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ 11 ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβου- 40 λον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἤκουτ' ἀποτευχίζειν Φώκαιαν διέ-

— ἔτι . . . προέδωκεν: gave them a month's pay in advance (πρό) besides.

9. δεομένου: concessive. — λέγοντος: for its meaning and the construction which follows it see on εἰπὼν I. 13. — ἄπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει: explained by the clause σκοπεῖν . . . στασιάζοντες. The impf. with reference to Tissaphernes' habitual policy, for which see Introd. p. 17. — ὅπως . . . ὦσιν: in such object clauses the fut. ind. is more usual; but see S. 2214; HA. 885 b; B. 593, 1; G. 1374, 1; Gl. 638 c. — μηδὲ οἴτινες: = μηδένας οἴτινες εἰσι, none of the Greeks whatever. — αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς: see on αὐτοὶ καθ' αἑαυτοῦ I. 28.

§§ 10-15. In the absence of Alcibiades the Athenians are defeated

by Lysander in the battle of Notium.

10. συνετέτακτο: had been organized. Cp. 2. 15. — ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ: connect with οὔσας. — ἐνενήκοντα: note that Lysander had been reënforced by 20 ships since reaching Ephesus (cp. ἐβδομήκοντα § 1). It seems likely, comparing I. 32 and Diod. 13. 65 and 70, that these were the ships which his predecessor, Cratesippidas, had commanded.

11. ἀκούσας: for its use with a following inf. (ἀποτευχίζειν) see on παρασκευάζειν 4. 11. — Θρασύβουλον: when last heard from (4. 9) he was occupied in the region of Thrace. Thence he had evidently proceeded to the Hellespont. See Introd. pp. 21 and 27. — ἀποτευχίζειν: as in 3. 4. — διέ-

πλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον  
 τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῦν ἐπὶ τὰς  
 12 Λυσάνδρου ναῦς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ  
 ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας 45  
 13 παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πρῶρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. ὁ  
 δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύ-  
 σασ ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοή-  
 θουν πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέ-  
 πλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου 50  
 καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἕκα-  
 14 στος ἤνοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν  
 τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι  
 οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ  
 ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. 55  
 Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαῖον

πλευσε: for the prep. see on I. 15.  
 — ἐπὶ: in command of. Cp. the  
 use of ἐπὶ with the acc. in I. 32. —  
 τὸν . . . κυβερνήτην: the choice of  
 Antiochus for so responsible a po-  
 sition appears to have been a case  
 of favoritism. See Plut. *Alc.* 36.

12. Νοτίου: whither Alcibiades  
 had transferred his fleet from  
 Samos (4. 23). Again Xenophon  
 leaves it to the reader to supply  
 the omission. See on Θρασύβου-  
 λον above. — παρ' αὐτάς: we  
 should say 'right past.' Lysan-  
 der's ships were drawn up on shore  
 (cp. καθελκύσας below), prows sea-  
 ward. Antiochus was trying to  
 provoke the Spartans to battle.

Plutarch (*Alc.* 35 and *Lys.* 5) and  
 Diodorus (13. 71) add that he  
 shouted insults and contemptuous  
 challenges to them as he sailed past.

13. καὶ πάσας: καὶ emphasizes  
 πάσας in contrast with the preced-  
 ing ὀλίγας, 'every one he had.'  
 — ἠνοιξεν: got clear and under way.  
 See on I. 2.

14. διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί:  
 with their ships scattered. Note  
 the predicate position and use of  
 the part. — τῶν ἀνδρῶν: first in  
 its sentence, — the crews as con-  
 trasted with τριήρεις. — ἀναλαβὼν:  
 having picked up, — used here with  
 reference to the deserted or dis-  
 abled ships of an enemy. Cp. I. 4.

στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δὲ  
 15 Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν  
 εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα  
 τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις  
 βούλοιο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανή-  
 γαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν  
 εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι  
 16 Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡίονα. οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ  
 ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ,  
 οἴομενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι  
 τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα,

15. *τις*: = French *on* or German *man*, i.e. *they*, the enemy. Cp. I. 35. — *βούλοιο*: opt. in ind. disc. See on *δύναντο* I. 22. — *πολλαῖς ναυσὶν*: an exaggeration. Alcibiades, starting from Athens with 100 ships, had left 20 at Andros (cp. § 18 and note on 4. 23) and lost 15 in the battle of Notium; he had been joined, as the use of *ἀπάσαις* above indicates, by the 30 ships of Thrasybulus (cp. § 11 and 4. 9). On paper, therefore, he now had 95 ships against Lysander's 90 (§ 10), — not 'many' more. It is possible that some of Lysander's ships were disabled in the battle of Notium, or that Xenophon forgot to subtract from the Athenian number the ships lost at Notium. See on § 20. It should be noted that captured ships were but seldom immediately added to

the victorious fleet, presumably because crews with which to man them were usually lacking. See on 6. 3. — *Δελφίνιον*: a fortress on the island of Chios, established by the Athenians in 412 B.C. as a base of operations against the revolted Chians. — *Ἡίονα*: the port of Amphipolis, in Thrace.

§§ 16-20. *Conon succeeds Alcibiades in command and reorganizes the fleet.*

16. *ἀμελειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν*: neglect of duty and dissolute conduct, the latter resulting in the former. — *στρατηγούς εἵλοντο ἄλλους*: i.e. Alcibiades failed of reëlection. Apparently he was permitted to serve out the unexpired portion (see below) of his term as *general*, but was immediately deposed as *general-in-chief* (cp. 4. 20), being succeeded by

Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογόνην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ<sup>70</sup> στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς<sup>18</sup> Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἄνδρου σὺν αἰς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἄνδρον ἔπεμψαν Φανοσθένην, τέτ-<sup>75</sup>  
<sup>19</sup>ταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περιτυχὼν δυοῖν τριήρου Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμα-

Conon (see on § 18). — The battle of Notium took place in the early months of 406 B.C., probably in March. The annual elections at Athens seem to have been held in April, and the magistrates-elect assumed office in July. Therefore, since Xenophon's years are reckoned from spring to spring, the notice of the beginning of a new year should have been inserted here (§ 16) instead of being postponed to 6. 1. Probably Xenophon wished to sum up all the results of the battle of Notium before *formally* passing to the story of the year which followed it. See on Παισιππίδας 1. 32. — Περικλέα: a son of the great Pericles and Aspasia.

17. πονήρως . . . φερόμενος: *being in disfavor*. — εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη: *to his castle*, near Pactye. Cp. 2. 1. 25 and Diod. 13. 74.

18. Κόνων: he had been left in Andros by Alcibiades to prose-

cute the siege of the city. See on 4. 21 and 23. — σὺν: see on 1. 11. — αἰς εἶχε ναυσὶν: see S. 2522, 2536; HA. 995 and a; B. 484, 485; G. 1037, 1038; Gl. 613 d. — ψηφισαμένων: just as Alcibiades, after his election as one of the ten generals (4. 10), had been chosen ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ (4. 20), so Conon was now made general-in-chief, manifestly both for his present unexpired term (see 4. 10 and on § 16 above) as general, and for the year 406–405 B.C., for which he was now general-elect. — ἐπὶ: see on 1. 32. — Φανοσθένην: probably one of the generals elected with Alcibiades for the year 407–406 B.C.

19. Θουρίαιν: Thurii was a town in southern Italy, which, like Syracuse and Selinus (cp. 1. 18 and 2. 8), had sent ships to aid the Spartans after the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 8. 35, etc.). — αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι: see on 2. 12. —

λάτους ἅπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων<sup>80</sup> αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλέησαντες ἀφείσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξά-  
 20 μνοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριή-  
 ρεις ἑβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ<sup>85</sup> ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων

Δωριέα: the same who appears in 1. 2. — ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου: evidently at the time when Rhodes was a member of the Athenian confederacy; for, in many kinds of cases, the Athenian courts assumed jurisdiction over the allies. — ὑπὸ: because of the verbal and passive idea contained in φυγάδα, which = φεύγοντα. See on 1. 27. — αὐτοῦ θάνατον: for the case constructions see S. 1385; HA. 752 a; B. 370; G. 1123; Gl. 514 a. — πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς: i.e. the Thurians. The phrase is added to explain how Dorieus, a Rhodian exile, came to be in command of Thurian ships. — ἐλέησαντες ἀφείσαν: Dorieus was a famous athlete, with a long record of victories in the Olympic and other games. Pausanias (6. 7. 2) relates how this fact moved the Athenian Assembly to spare him.

20. ἀθύμως ἔχον: cp. § 8. The subsequent defeat at Notium had naturally increased the despondency. — τριήρεις ἑβδομήκοντα κτέ.: the high pay which the Lacedaemonians received from Cyrus had had the desired effect of causing Athenian seamen to desert. Cp. § 4 and note on § 7. Conon deemed it the best policy to man fully (συμπληρώσας) a smaller number of ships. He also desired, as appears from 6. 16, to weed out the poorer element among the crews. Cp. Plutarch, Lys. 4. — οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ ἑκατόν: this confirms the results of the calculation on § 15; for 95 + Conon's 20 (§ 18) = 115. If the number had been many 'more than 100,' it would have suited Xenophon's present point to say so. — τῶν . . . στρατηγῶν: still, in all probability, the generals for

21 χώρας ἐλήζετο. [καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιω εἶλοντο Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶ, μάχη μὲν ἠττήθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἑπτὰ μῆνας.]

1 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [, ᾧ ἢ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας 6 καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πιτυὰ μὲν ἐφορευόντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν,] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν] 5 2 ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδί-

the year 407-406 B.C. See on §§ 16 and 18. — *χώρας*: partitive with ἄλλῃ. S. 1439 a; HA. 757; B. 360; G. 1088; Gl. 507 d.

[§ 21. *Notice of events in Sicily.*]

21. This section is almost certainly an interpolation. Cp. 1. 37 and see *Introd.* p. 25. The same notice of the capture of Acragas (*Agrigentum*) is repeated in 2. 2. 24.

CHAPTER 6, §§ 1-5. *Callicratidas becomes Spartan admiral. His straightforward course when he finds himself hampered by Lysander's friends.* 406 B.C.

1. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει: see on 5. 16. — [ᾧ . . . ἐνεπρήσθη: these irrelevant allusions are probably spurious. Cp. 3. 1 and 2. 3. 4, and see *Introd.* p. 26. — ᾧ: for the dat. see on ἡμέρα 4. 12. — ἐξέλιπεν:

cp. ἐκλείψω (*e.g.* 2. 3. 4), whence comes the English word. This eclipse occurred on April 15th (406 B.C.). — ὁ παλαιὸς . . . νεὸς: on the Acropolis at Athens. It was destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C., but afterwards rebuilt, at least in part. *παλαιὸς* distinguishes it from the newer Parthenon. — Πιτυὰ . . . Ἀθήνησιν]: an interpolation. Cp. 2. 1 and 3. 1, and see *Introd.* p. 24 f. — παρεληλυθότος . . . χρόνου: see on 5. 1 and 1. 32. — [καὶ . . . ἐτῶν]: an incorrect and spurious statement. Cp. 3. 1 and see *Introd.* p. 24. — ἐπὶ: see on 1. 32. — Καλλικρατίδαν: Plutarch (*Lys.* 5) and Diodorus (13. 76) are enthusiastic in their eulogies of Callicratidas; Xenophon, more effectively, allows his character to reveal itself by his deeds and words.

δου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι  
 θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίῃ καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νενικηκώς.  
 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου  
 παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν<sup>10</sup>  
 Μιλήτῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ὁμολογήσειε θαλατ-  
 3 τοκρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμο-  
 νεῖν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αἷς  
 παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου  
 καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα<sup>15</sup>  
 ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὔσας τετταράκοντα  
 καὶ ἑκατόν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολε-  
 4 μίοις. καταμαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων κατα-

2. For the following passage (§§ 2-11) see on 5. 3.—ἐν ἀρι-  
 στερᾷ Σάμου: *i.e.* between Samos  
 and the mainland.—οὗ . . . νῆες:  
 Xenophon's own words, not quoted  
 from Callicratidas,—hence the  
 impf.

3. οὐ φαμένου . . . πολυπραγμο-  
 νεῖν: *refusing to intermeddle*. See  
 Introd. IV. 1 and KG. 389, *Anm.* 7.  
 The middle forms of φημί are ex-  
 tremely rare in Attic prose. See  
 Introd. IV. L.—πρὸς αἷς . . .  
 ναυσὶ: see on 5. 18.—τετταρά-  
 κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν: therefore Lysan-  
 der had handed over only his  
 original 90 ships (5. 10) and had  
 not incorporated in his fleet the  
 ships captured at Notium. See on  
 5. 15, but also on §§ 16 and 26 be-  
 low.—ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος: see on

5. 1. 33. In the *Hell.* the fut. part.  
 with ὡς is particularly frequent  
 after παρασκευάζεσθαι, where it is  
 hardly distinguishable from an  
 object infinitive.

4. καταμαθὼν: the nom. is left  
 without a verb, the sentence being  
 interrupted by numerous explana-  
 tory clauses and ultimately begin-  
 ning anew with ἐκ τούτου δέ. See  
 on 3. 18 and Introd. IV. κ.—τῶν  
 Λυσάνδρου φίλων: Xenophon has  
 omitted to mention Lysander's  
 activity in building up and reor-  
 ganizing, in the interest of Sparta  
 and of himself personally, the oli-  
 garchical clubs in the Asiatic cities  
 (see on 2. 2. 5 and cp. 3. 4. 7).  
 Their members, as he had in-  
 tended, now show themselves his  
 zealous friends.—καταστασιαζόμε-

στασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι ξυιέντων τὰ ναυτικά καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον εὖ γιγνωσκόντων ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τέ τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο· ἐκ 25 τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιαύδε.

5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι 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 30 ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἵστε γὰρ αὐτὰ

vos: supplementing καταμαθών. See on μελλοντα I. II. — μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν: made the greatest mistake. — πολλάκις . . . ἐκεῖ: since they frequently sent out, in place of men who were proving themselves fit and were just coming to understand naval matters and knew well how to deal with men, those who were unacquainted with the sea and unknown to the people of those parts (ἐκεῖ). Of course the first two lines are intended to describe a Lysander, the third a Callicratidas. — χρηστέον: sc. ἐστί. — τε: connecting παραπίπτοιεν and κινδυνεύοιεν. — τι παθεῖν: to come to grief.

5. βούλεται: professes. — τὸ κατ' ἐμέ: so far as I am concerned. — ποιῶ: for the mood see S. 1805; HA. 866, 3; B. 577; G. 1490; Gl. 471. Cp. in 3. 21 the same construction in secondary sequence. — πρὸς ἃ . . . αἰτιάζεται: in view of the ambition which I cherish (i.e. to perform my appointed task) and the charges which our city incurs (with reference to § 4). πρὸς governs the entire clause, taken as a substantive, and it is unnecessary to supply an antecedent for ἃ. Note that ἃ is cognate acc. (acc. of the inner obj.) with the middle φιλοτιμοῦμαι and the passive αἰτιάζεται.



ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλευέτε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν 35 ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.

6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἴκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἦκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κῦρον ἦτει μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας ἐπι- 7 σχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεῖς τῇ ἀναζολῇ καὶ 40 ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεῖς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωπάτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἔνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἂν σωθῆ ἡ οἴκαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαι- 8 μονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον· κακῆῖθεν πέμψας 45 τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν.

Ἔμοι μὲν, ὦ Μιλησιοὶ, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλείιστα 50 9 κακὰ ἦδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖ-

§§ 6-11. *Callicratidas' dealings with Cyrus and with the Milesians.*

6. εἰπεῖν: *to propose*, — hence the following obj. inf. πείθεσθαι and ποιεῖν. — ἐφ' ἃ ἦκει: obj. of ποιεῖν. See on I. 34. — εἶπε . . . ἐπισχεῖν: see on I. 13.

7. ἀχθεσθεῖς . . . ὀργισθεῖς: note the chiasmic order of participles and datives. S. 3020; B. 717, 5; Gl. 682 a. — εἰπὼν . . . εἶναι: the unusual inf. in ind. disc. after εἶπεῖν meaning *to say* is found in the

*Hell.* only here and in 2. 2. 15. S. 2017, N.; HA. 946 b; B. 669, 1; G. 1523, 2; Gl. 658. — κολακεύουσιν: *toady to*. — σωθῆ οἴκαδε: cp. εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν I. 36.

8. πέμψας τριήρεις: Xenophon nowhere states the result of their mission. See *Introd.* p. 27. — ἐμοὶ μὲν . . . ὑμᾶς δέ: the thought is, duty constrains *me* and self-interest should constrain *you*. — ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι: see on I. 27.

9. ἐξηγεῖσθαι: *to lead the way*,

σθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα τε καὶ  
 μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακε-  
 δαίμονος ἤκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας,  
 10 ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὡς 55  
 περιττὰ ὄντα οἴχεται· Κύρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
 αἰεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου  
 11 θύρας φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι. ὑπισχνού-  
 μαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ  
 χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώ- 60  
 σειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖξωμεν τοῖς βαρβάροις  
 ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς  
 ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.

12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα  
 οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον 65  
 χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ

*i.e.* set an example.—ὅπως ἂν . . .  
 βλάπτωμεν: for this use in final  
 clauses see S. 2201; HA. 882;  
 B. 590, N. 2; G. 1367; Gl. 638 c; *GMT.* 328.—οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος:  
 see on 3. 9.

10. ἐπεὶ: logically, the reason  
 introduced by ἐπεὶ is contained in  
 the part. ἀποδοὺς. Cp. note on  
 ποιῶν 5. 6.—ὡς περιττὰ ὄντα: the  
 alleged reason. See on 1. 24.  
 That Lysander's real purpose was  
 simply to make trouble for his suc-  
 cessor is shown by the fact that at  
 the close of the war he retained  
 and took home to Sparta the sur-  
 plus Persian funds which were at  
 that time in his possession (2. 3. 8).

—φοιτᾶν: *to keep going.* Cp.  
 φοιτήσεσιν § 7.

11. τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν κτί.:  
*the good results we achieve during  
 the time in which we are await-  
 ing, etc.*—ᾧ: the prep. expressed  
 with the antecedent is not repeated  
 with the rel. S. 1671; HA. 1007;  
 B. 487, N.; G. 1025.—ἐκεῖνα: the  
 money from Sparta.—θαυμάζειν:  
*paying court to.*

§§ 12-18. *After capturing  
 Methymna he defeats Conon and  
 blockades him in the harbor of  
 Mytilene.*

12. ἐναντιοῦσθαι: *sc. αὐτῷ.*—  
 εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων: *pro-  
 posed a grant of money.*—ἰδίᾳ:

ταῦτα ἐκείνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμῖαν ἐκάστω τῶν ναυ-  
 τῶν ἐφοδιασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν  
 13 πολεμῖαν οὔσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μηθυμναίων  
 προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν 70  
 τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀπτικιζόντων, προσβαλὼν αἰρεῖ  
 14 τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πάντα  
 διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα  
 συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ  
 κελεύοντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μηθυ- 75  
 μναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων εἰς  
 15 τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατὸν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρου-

in contrast with the public appropriation. Cp. 4. 12.— Λέσβου: chorographic genitive. See on 1. 22.

13. προσχωρεῖν: as in 2. 4.— ἐμφρούρων ὄντων: = ἐμφρουρούωντων, i.e. the adj. is employed in an active, instead of the usual passive, sense.— τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων: those who had control of the government.— κατὰ κράτος: by storm. See on 3. 16.

14. ἀνδράποδα: captives, i.e. prisoners.— ἀποδόσθαι: to sell, into slavery.— καὶ τοὺς Μηθυμναίους: the Methymnaeans also, as well as the Athenians. See note on § 15 below.— οὐκ ἔφη . . . οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων . . . ἀνδραποδισθῆναι: refused to have any Greek enslaved. ἀνδραποδισθῆναι is obj. inf. after οὐκ ἔφη. See on § 3 and

Introd. IV. 1. οὐδένα is used instead of μηδένα because it serves simply to repeat the preceding οὐκ.— εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατὸν: 'if he could help it'; literally, as in § 7, so far as his power went. For the use of ἐκείνος instead of the reflexive see on 1. 27.

15. τοὺς μὲν: the Methymnaeans. ἐλευθέρους is used predicatively after ἀφῆκε.— τοὺς δὲ . . . φρουροὺς . . . ἀπέδοτο: an act apparently inconsistent with Callicratidas' previous declaration that no Greek should be enslaved. This declaration, however, was made in reply to the request of his allies that he should sell the Methymnaeans also. The phrasing of this request shows clearly that both the allies and Callicratidas himself regarded the enslavement of the

ροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατ- 80  
ταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐδίω-  
κεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκείσε  
16 φύγοι. Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ  
τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρί-  
στους ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου 85  
καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἐρασινί-

*Athenians* as a matter of course, a question which required no consideration and which was consequently left out of account in Callicratidas' reply. What the Spartan admiral objected to was the enslaving of the inhabitants, combatants and non-combatants alike, of captured towns which had chanced to be in possession of the Athenians. — τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα: *the captives who were slaves, i.e. originally.* — πάντα: both Athenian and Methymnaean. — Κόνωνι: last heard from (§ 2) at Samos. According to Diodorus (13. 77) he had come to the relief of Methymna, but finding himself too late had anchored near one of the so-called Hundred Islands, between northern Lesbos and the mainland. These movements Xenophon characteristically omits to describe. See *Introd.* pp. 21 and 27. — μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν: *dallying with the sea*, whose lawless lord Callicratidas claims to be.

μοιχῶν is one of the rarest of Xenophon's unusual words. See *Introd.* IV. L. For the use of the participle see S. 2098; HA. 981; B. 660; G. 1580. — κατιδὼν: see on I. 4. — ὑποτεμνόμενος: conative. See on 2. 15. Callicratidas assumes that Conon will make for Samos, the Athenian base. Cp. § 2 and on 2. 1.

16. ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις: *with his ships going fast.* For the pred. use of the part. cp. 5. 14. Note that πλεῖν is a general term and may refer to *rowing*, just as we say that a *steamer* 'sails'; for sailing in the stricter sense the technical word is θεῖν. See on I. 35. — ἐκ πολλῶν . . . εἰς ὀλίγας: Conon had reduced the number of the Athenian ships from more than 100 to 70 (5. 20). For the use of εἰς with ἐκλελέχθαι (*selected and transferred to*) cp. ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας I. 23. — ἐκλελέχθαι: for the more usual ἐξειλέχθαι. — τοὺς ἀρίστους: see on 5. 20. — Λέων καὶ

δης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα,  
 17 διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς  
 ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθείς, ἤναγκάσθη ναυ-  
 μαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπόλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα · 90  
 οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον · τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν  
 νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε.  
 18 Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει  
 ἰνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκπλον ἔχων· καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψά-  
 μενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ 95  
 στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ  
 19 ἦλθεν. ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ  
 κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορήσαι, οἱ  
 δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας 100  
 τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεύσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέ-  
 ρας, ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας

Ἐρασινίδης: cp. 5. 16 and see on §§ 29 and 30 below. According to Lysias (21. 8) Arcestratus also was with Conon at Mytilene, and died there.—ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα: in § 3 Callicratidas is said to have had 140 ships, while in § 26, after capturing 30 more from the Athenians (§ 17), he has 170. In the present passage it seems clear that Xenophon has obtained the number 170 by inadvertently adding in too soon the 30 captured ships.

17. κατακωλυθείς: *i.e.* from reaching the inner harbor and

beaching his ships. See below. For the use of the part. see on παραγενόμεναι 2. 8.—πρὸς τῷ λιμένι: *at the mouth of the harbor*, as in I. 17.—οἱ ἄνδρες: see on τῶν ἀνδρῶν 5. 14.

18. καὶ (before ἐκ): *also*.—χρήματα . . . ἦλθεν: because Callicratidas had now proved himself too able a commander to be slighted or alienated.

§§ 19–23. *Conon sends to Athens for aid. Meanwhile, Diomedon is defeated by Callicratidas.*

19. σίτων . . . εὐπορήσαι: cp. ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες I. 10.—ἦν:

καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μεταβιβάσας καὶ τὰ  
 20 παραρῦματα παραβαλόν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως  
 ἀνεῖχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἶη, ἐξεβίβα- 105  
 ζεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦν-  
 τας. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ  
 ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον  
 καὶ ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ  
 ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὤρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. 110  
 21 τῶν δ' ἐφορμούτων ὡς ἕκαστοι ἦνοιγον, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας

= ἐξῆν. — κοίλην ναῦν: the hollow (part of the) ship, *i.e.* the hold. — μεταβιβάσας: the prep. in composition marks, as frequently, a *change*; the natural place for the marines was on deck. — παραρῦματα: *curtains*, hung along the sides of the ship, ordinarily serving for protection, here for concealment. — All the details of Conon's stratagem Xenophon describes with characteristic fullness. — See on 5. 3 and *Intro.* p. 30.

20. οὕτως ἀνεῖχον: *continued thus*, *i.e.* oarsmen on board, marines in the hold, etc. — εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν: *at evening*. — εἶη . . . ἐξεβίβαζεν: S. 2568; HA. 914. B. (2); B. 625; G. 1431, 2; Gl. 627 *fin*. The process was repeated for four days. — ὡς . . . ποιοῦντας: *so that it might not be evident to the enemy that they were doing this*, *i.e.* disembarking. Conon could not conceal the launching of the ships, which the enemy must interpret as

preparatory to an attempt at escape. He was careful, therefore, to allow them to believe, as they naturally would, that this attempt was to be made by night. Hence they kept close watch at night and were consequently tired and less vigilant during the day. For ὡς instead of the usual ὥστε see *Intro.* IV. H. Note that the clause expresses 'intended result,' *i.e.* purpose. S. 2267; HA. 953 a; B. 595, N.; G. 1452; Gl. 566 b. — καταδήλους εἶναι: the *personal* construction, followed by the part. in ind. disc. ποιοῦντας. S. 2107; HA. 981; B. 661; G. 1589; Gl. 585 a. — ἐπὶ: as in 2. II. — εἰς τὸ πέλαγος: *to the (open) sea*, *i.e.* in a southerly and then south-westerly direction, while the other went northward.

21. ἕκαστοι: *i.e.* one after another. The same idea is carried out by the impf. ἦνοιγον and by the pres. parts. which follow.

ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι, ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχη, ἀναδη-<sup>115</sup> σάμενοι ἀπήγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν.  
 22 ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὠρμίσατο εἰς τὸν εὐριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων.<sup>120</sup>  
 23 ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 24 ἄλλῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἅπαν-<sup>125</sup>

The order of words leads *backward* by successive steps, thus indicating climactically the complete lack of preparation in the blockading fleet. — ἦνοιγον: for the meaning see on I. 2. — ἐγειρόμενοι: cp. ἀνεπαύοντο in the preceding section. — τυχόντες . . . ἀριστοποιούμενοι: added as an afterthought, to explain the haste and consequent confusion (τεταραγμένοι). — εἰσβάντες δέ: continuing the sentence with particular reference to the immediately preceding clause. — στρατόπεδον: see on I. 3.

22. Διομέδων: one of the ten Athenian generals (5. 16). It seems clear — from the small-

ness of his fleet, as well as from § 24 — that he was not sent out from Athens to relieve Conon. Probably he was on 'detached service' in Asiatic waters and had chanced to learn of Conon's plight. — εὐριπον: a narrow channel which connected the northern harbor of Mytilene with the southern. It was in the former that Conon was blockaded. Diomedon apparently entered the southern harbor and anchored near the entrance to the connecting εὐριπος. For εἰς see on πρὸς τὴν γῆν 4. 18.

§§ 24-33. *The Athenians by great exertions assemble a new fleet. The battle of Arginusae.*

24. ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ: of military

τας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους · καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς  
 δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπήραν. εἰσέβη-  
 25 σαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν  
 εἰς Σάμον, κακείθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον δέκα · ἤθροι-  
 σαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων<sup>130</sup>  
 συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως  
 δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὔσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ  
 26 πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Καλλι-  
 κρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὔσαν,  
 αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐπεό<sup>135</sup>  
 νικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεῖς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο  
 τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ [ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλή-  
 27 νης]. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δει-  
 πνοποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις · αὐταὶ δ' εἰσὶν

*age, i.e.* from eighteen to sixty years old. — *δούλους*: it was only in the greatest emergencies, as at the battle of Marathon (Paus. I. 32. 3), that Athenian slaves were employed for military service. Those who fought at Arginusae were rewarded with freedom and allotments of land. Aristoph. *Frogs* 693 f. — *τῶν ἰππέων*: *the Knights*, the second of the four political classes into which Solon divided the citizens of Athens. They were ordinarily exempt from naval service. Cp. Thuc. 3. 16 and *Introd.* p. 9.

25. *εἴ τινες . . . οὔσαι*: *whatever ships they happened to have abroad, i.e.* small detachments en-

gaged in some special service. Cp. I. 36 and on § 29.

26. *ἀκούων . . . οὔσαν*: see on I. 11 and 4. 11. — *αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε*: to maintain the blockade. — *πεντήκοντα . . . εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν*: it will be noted that Callicratidas had added to his fleet the 30 ships taken at the battle of Mytilene (cp. §§ 3 and 17, and note on § 16), but not the 10 which were captured from Diomedon (§ 23). See on 5. 15. — *Ἐπεόνικον*: cp. I. 32. — *ταῖς εἴκοσι κτί.*: *the remaining* 120. See on I. 18. — *Μαλέα ἄκρᾳ*: the southernmost point of Lesbos.

27. *ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις*: three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.



[ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ] ἀντίον τῆς<sup>140</sup>  
<sup>28</sup> Μυτιλήνης. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καὶ τινων  
 αὐτῷ ἐξαγγελιάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ  
 μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἐξαπιναίως προσπέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπι-  
 γενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινού<sup>145</sup>  
<sup>29</sup> σας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ  
 εὐώνυμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὦδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ  
 εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἠγείτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα Διομέδων ἑτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ  
 Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασινί<sup>150</sup>  
 δης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ  
 μίᾳς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι

28. ἀνήγετο: the tense mean-  
 ing of the impf. is made clear by  
 the following sentence. — ὡς: see  
 Introd. IV. F. — ἀνέσχεν: *i.e.* the  
 rain.

29. ἀντανήγοντο . . . τῷ εὐ-  
 νόμῳ: *i.e.* the left wing pushed  
 out to sea, while the right re-  
 mained near the land, thus form-  
 ing a line of battle which faced  
 about N.W. — ἠγείτο: *i.e.* Aristoc-  
 rates was in the lead as the  
 left wing put out to sea in column  
 formation. When, therefore, the  
 proper position was reached and  
 the line faced about, he was on  
 the extreme left. — μετὰ ταῦτα:  
*next in order*, reckoning from  
 left to right. — ἐπετέτακτο Ἀριστο-  
 κράτει: *was stationed behind*

*Aristocrates*. For this use of ἐπὶ  
 (in composition) cp. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν  
 I. 34. Pericles and Erasinides  
 commanded the rear line of the  
 left wing, which, like the front line,  
 consisted of 30 ships. — Ἐρασινί-  
 δης: when last mentioned (§ 16)  
 he was with Conon and Leon  
 at Mytilene. His presence at  
 the battle of Arginusae can be  
 explained only on the assumption  
 (which finds some slight con-  
 firmation in Lysias 21. 8) that  
 he was in command of the ship  
 which succeeded in running the  
 blockade of Mytilene. See on  
 § 30. — παρὰ Διομέδοντα: still  
 reckoning from left to right. —  
 ἐπὶ μίᾳς: *one deep*, *i.e.* in single  
 line, unlike the wings. See below.

Ἴππεύς· ἐχόμεναι δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ  
 30 τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας 155  
 Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν  
 Θράσυλλος ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρω-

— ἐχόμεναι: *next* (lit. holding on) to the Samians. — ταξιάρχων: ten taxiarchs, one from each Athenian tribe (φυλή), commanded the tribal divisions (τάξεις) of hoplites. They were subordinate to the generals. — καί: *also*, emphasized by the following αὐταί.

— ἐπὶ ταύταις: *behind these*. Cp.

ἐπετέτακτο. It would seem that Xenophon is not quite exact in describing the Athenian formation in the center, *i.e.* the 20 ships of the Samians and of the taxiarchs, as ἐπὶ μιᾶς. There was evidently a rear line, which included not only 'the three ships of the nauarchs,' but also 'others' (ἄλλαι). Now, since there were 'more than 150' ships in the fleet (§ 25) and since the various detachments whose exact numbers are here given total only 143 ( $60 + 20 + 3 + 60$ ), the 'others' must have numbered at least 10. Therefore the rear line in the center consisted of about 13 ships, as against 20 in the front line. Diodorus, however, states (13. 98) that the Athenian center included the Arginusae islands

and was broken by them. It may be supposed, therefore, that the ships of the rear line were posted at irregular intervals among the islands and did not reënforce the front line, ship for ship, as was the case on the wings. The support afforded by the islands explains why the Athenian generals made the center so weak as compared with the wings. Their judgment in this respect was justified by the issue of the battle; for the Athenians seem to have suffered scarcely any losses in the center. See on 7. 30. — τῶν ναυάρχων: the meaning of the term is uncertain; for, while 'nauarch' was the regular title of the Spartan admiral, the Athenian fleet was commanded by the στρατηγός. In 5. 1. 5, the only other passage where the word nauarch is used of an Athenian, it designates the commander of a fleet of 13 ships. Hence it is inferred that the Athenians may have applied the term to the commanders of small detached squadrons. See on § 25. — εἴ τινες . . . συμμαχίδες: *whatever other ships there were* (namely, ships) *of the allies*.

τομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων τὰς ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δ'  
 31 Ἀριστογένῃς. οὕτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν  
 διδοῖεν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 160  
 ἀντιτεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾷς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν  
 καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμένοι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν.  
 32 εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας. Ἑρμῶν δὲ  
 Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ὅτι εἶη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν 165  
 Ἀθηναίων πολλῶ πλείους ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ  
 εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται αὐτοῦ ἀπο-

30. *Λυσίας*: the list of the ten generals which is given in 5. 16 does not include the name of Lysias. Probably he was chosen to take the place of Arcestratus, whose death at Mytilene (see on § 16) had doubtless been reported at Athens by Erasinides (see on § 29). Leon, the third of the generals who were with Conon at Mytilene (§ 16), was probably in command of the ship which was captured by the Spartans (§ 21), and remained a prisoner of war.

31. *οὕτω*: i.e. in double line, except at some points of the center. See on § 29. — *ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν*: so as not to give (the enemy) a chance of breaking-through-their-line. The *διέκπλουν*, a favorite maneuver in Greek naval warfare, consisted in driving at full speed between two ships of the enemy's line, — breaking

oars and inflicting any other possible damage on the way, — and then turning to attack the unprotected sterns or sides of the hostile ships. In the *περίπλους* (see below) the same object was accomplished by rowing around the end of the enemy's line. Both maneuvers required skilled seamanship, and at Arginusae the advantage in this respect was with the Lacedaemonians, as against the hastily collected, heterogeneous crews of the Athenian ships. — *ἔπλεον*: see on § 16. — *ὡς πρὸς*: see on I. 12.

32. *ὅτι εἶη καλῶς ἔχον*: that it was well. For *εἶη ἔχον* as the equivalent of *ἔχοι* see on 5. 5. — *αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις . . . ἦσαν*: see on οὐ . . . νῆες § 2. — *πλείους*: cp. §§ 25 and 26. — *οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται*: would fare none the worse. For οὐ μὴ with the subjv. in an em-

- 33 θανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, πρῶτον μὲν ἄθροαι, ἔπειτα  
 δὲ διεσκεδασμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβα- 170  
 λούσης τῆς νεῶς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη  
 Πρωτόμαχός 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  
 34 πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ 175  
 τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδρά-  
 σιν ἔκτος ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων,  
 τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἑννέα, τῶν πασῶν  
 οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα.  
 35 ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν 180  
 καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον  
 τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ

phatic future denial see S. 1804; HA. 1032; B. 569, 2; G. 1360; Gl. 489 a.

33. τε . . . τε: connecting closely (see *Introd.* IV. D. 2) the two clauses which describe disaster to the Lacedaemonians on both the right and the left wings.—*ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεῶς*: sc. τινὶ τῶν πολεμίων.

§§ 34–38. *The losses on either side. The Athenians are unable to rescue the crews of their disabled ships. The blockade of Mytilene is raised.*

34. αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν: the reason for the loss of the crews is indicated in the following section.—

πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα: Diodorus states (13. 100) that the Peloponnesians lost 77 ships in all in this engagement, which he truly describes (13. 98) as the greatest naval battle ever fought by Greeks against Greeks.

35. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ: *and it was also resolved.* καί indicates that the generals did not stop with achieving a victory, but *also* tried to perform all their further duties.—*Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον*: see on 1. 12. Since both men had served as generals, Thrasybulus in the preceding year (cp. 4. 10 and 7. 5), it was natural that they should be chosen for the present important service.—*τριηράρχους*:

τὰς καταδεδυκίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ 185  
χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον  
36 δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ἠϋλίζοντο. τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπη-  
ρετικὸς κέλῃς πάντα ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν.  
ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ  
ἐκπλεῦν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὐθις 190  
πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανώμένους καὶ  
βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι  
37 αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν ἅπασαι. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνοι κατέπλεον,  
ἔθνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε 195  
δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ

the Athenian 'trierarch' was not simply the commander of a trireme. His first and most important duty was to fit out and maintain, at his own expense, the ship which was assigned to him. The state, which furnished the ship and paid its crew, imposed the expense of its equipment and maintenance (for a yearly term) upon wealthy citizens as a kind of direct tax.—*καταδεδυκίας*: *disabled, in a sinking condition*; not 'sunken,' as the following phrase clearly shows.—*ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις*: *sc. πλεῖν*, whose subject is to be supplied from the τοῖς στρατηγῶις of the principal clause.—*τὰς . . . ἐφορμούσας*: *cp. § 26.*

36. ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλῃς: *the dispatch boat*. See on 2. 1. 28.—*αὐτῶν*: plur. with reference to Eteonicus and his men.—*στρατόπεδον*: see on 1. 3.—*βοῶντας*: *i.e.* so that the Athenians also might hear and be as much depressed by the news as the Peloponnesians were encouraged. Eteonicus' object is to effect his withdrawal from Mytilene in good order and without hindrance.

37. *κατέπλεον*: for the meaning of the prep. see on 1. 2.—*ἔθνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια*: *made the (usual) thank-offerings for good news*. The acc. is cognate.—*τοῖς ἐμπόροις*: *the traders*, who accompanied an army or fleet to sell provisions

ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον (ἦν δὲ τὸ  
 38 πνεῦμα οὖριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς  
 δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπήγειν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τε 200  
 πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδαιότερος ἦν,  
 ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν  
 Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίου. οἱ δὲ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκείθεν δ'  
 ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι 205  
 ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

1 Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν 7  
 πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἶλοντο Ἀδείμαντον  
 καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατη-

to the soldiers or sailors; for there was no official commissary department in Greek warfare. — ἐνθεμένους: for the case see S. 1060; HA 941; B. 631, 1; G. 928, 1; Gl. 571 c. — πλοῖα: to be distinguished from τριήρεις below. See on 1. 15. — δέ: almost equivalent to γάρ, as frequently in Homer. — τὰς τριήρεις: supply ἀποπλεῖν.

38. εὐδαιότερος: i.e. after the storm, § 35. — Xenophon does not mention the peace proposals which (according to Aristotle, *Const. Ath.* 34. 1) were made by the Spartans after Arginusae, but rejected by the Athenians. See on 1. 23.

CHAPTER 7, §§ 1-7. *The Athenian generals, except Conon, are deposed and are put upon their*

*defense for abandoning the men on the disabled ships.*

1. Xenophon was probably present at the trial of the generals, which he describes in this chapter with unusual fullness. See *Introd.* pp. 10 and 30. — πλὴν Κόνωνος: who had taken no part in the battle. Leon also might have been excepted for the same reason. The fact that he was nevertheless deposed confirms the view that he was now a prisoner of war, whom it would be useless to continue in a merely nominal command. See on 6. 30. — Ἀδείμαντον: cp. 4. 21. — τρίτον: it is not to be supposed that there were henceforth only three generals, instead of the usual ten. See on 4.

γῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον  
 2 εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἕξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους<sup>5</sup>  
 καὶ Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ  
 Θρασύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου  
 τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμε-  
 λόμενος Ἐρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγορεῖ ἐν  
 δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἕξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν<sup>10</sup>

10. — οὐκ ἀπῆλθον: *did not return.* ἀπό in composition frequently means 'back.' Protomachus and Aristogenes chose to go into exile rather than stand trial. — τῶν ἕξ: see on ταῖς εἴκοσι I. 18.

2. ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὼς: *who was at that time a leader of the people.* The term προεστηκὼς (or προστάτης) τοῦ δήμου was not the title of any public office, but describes the politician of influence and power, — not unlike the modern party leader or 'boss.' — καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος: *and had charge of the theoric fund.* The festival of the god Dionysus, of which dramatic performances were the principal feature, and various other religious festivals were celebrated by the Athenians with great pomp. On such occasions every citizen who might apply for it received from the state a largess of two obols for each day of the festal season, a sum which enabled him to keep the holiday properly or, in the case of

the Dionysus festival, covered the cost of admission to the theater. The public fund which was set aside to meet this expense was called the theoric (θεωρεῖν = to be a spectator) or the two-obol fund (διωβελία). Inasmuch as the money which Erasinides is accused (see below) of embezzling might have come in part to this fund, its guardian, Archedemus, assumes jurisdiction in the matter. — ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν: every Athenian magistrate was empowered to impose fines, not exceeding a prescribed amount, for offenses which lay within his official sphere. He might also, as in the present instance, follow up the fine by prosecuting the culprit in court. — ἕξ Ἑλλησπόντου ἔχειν χρήματα: probably the reference is to contributions levied in the Hellespontine region. Cp. I. 8, I. 20, etc. Apparently the charge of embezzlement against Erasinides is mentioned by Xenophon because it was the exciting cause of the proceedings

χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου· κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην. 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 15 χρῆ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλή 4 ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγοροῦν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δίκαιους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν διότι οὐκ ἀνεί-

against all the generals. — ἔδοξε: as in 6. 35.

3. διηγοῦντο: the reference is to a preliminary hearing before the Senate. That body, finding 'probable cause' against the generals, and, in view of the seriousness of their alleged offense, refers the matter to the Assembly (see εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι below) for final decision. — Τιμοκράτους: evidently a senator, but otherwise unknown, as are most of those who take an active part against the generals in the following proceedings, e.g. Callixinus (§ 8), Lyciscus (§ 13), and Menecles (§ 34). — καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους: the others also, as well as Erasinides. — ἔδησε: it appears from §§ 22 and 33 that the generals were held by their accusers to be guilty of treason (προδοσία). Persons charged with so serious a crime might be imprisoned, without bail, by the Senate.

4. κατηγοροῦν: followed by the ind. disc. inf. εἶναι. — Θηραμένης: himself one of the officers detailed (see 6. 35) to pick up the men on the disabled ships. He now seeks to save himself by accusing the generals. In 2. 3. 35 he does indeed claim that he did not attack the generals until he was attacked by them. If this claim has any basis of truth, — which is doubtful, — it must be supposed that at the preliminary hearing before the Senate (as at the formal trial before the Assembly, § 5) the generals had stated that Theramenes and Thrasybulus were commissioned to rescue the shipwrecked crews. It is evident, however, from § 6 that the generals do not try to represent these officers as blameworthy. — δίκαιους εἶναι κτί.: that they ought to render an account. For the personal construction see S. 1982; HA. 944 a; B. 634; G. 1527; Gl. 574 a. —



λοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλον<sup>20</sup>  
καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον ἣν ἔπεμ-  
ψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον,  
5 ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ  
οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ  
προτέθη σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγ-<sup>25</sup>  
μένα διηγούντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλείειν,  
τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν τριη-  
ράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη,  
6 Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις· καὶ  
εἶπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον<sup>30</sup>  
ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους οἷς προσετάχθη.  
καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευσόμεθα

ναυαγούς: both living and dead.  
— ὅτι: to be connected with μαρ-  
τύριον. — ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι:  
according to the statement of Eu-  
ryptolemus in § 17 f. it was out  
of kindness to Theramenes and  
Thrasylbulus that the generals  
made no reference to them and  
their unperformed mission in this  
official report.

5. ἀπελογήσατο: agreeing in  
number with the appositive ἕκα-  
στος. — οὐ γὰρ . . . νόμον: the clause  
explains βραχέως. — σφίσι: for αὐ-  
τοῖς. The use of the indir. reflexive  
is exceptional, since the clause in  
which it stands is not dependent  
upon the preceding clause. See  
K.G. 455, *Ann.* 9 — κατὰ τὸν  
νόμον: which allowed every ac-

cused person a definite time in  
which to make his defense. —  
πλείειν: were (in the act of) sail-  
ing. The pres. opt. represents the  
impf. indic. of the direct discourse.  
Cp. ἔπλεον § 31 and see GMT.  
673; S. 1862 a; H.A. 935 b; B.  
675, I. N.; G. 1488; Gl. 624 b.  
*fin.* — τριηράρχων: partitive. —  
ἱκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν: see on  
6. 35.

6. δέοι: sc. αἰτιάσασθαι, from  
the following clause. — αὐτοῖς: i.e.  
the generals. The nom., in agree-  
ment with οἱ στρατηγοὶ above,  
would be more regular. See on  
αὐτός 5. 3. — αἰτιάσασθαι: com-  
plementary to ἔχειν, which is equiv-  
alent in meaning to δύνασθαι. S.  
2000 a; B. 638; Gl. 565 b. — ὅτι γε:

φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ  
 χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ  
 μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν 35  
 7 συμπλεόντων πολλούς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν  
 δῆμον· ἐβούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι  
 ἀνιστάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν (τότε γὰρ ὀψὲ ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων)·  
 τὴν δὲ βουλήν προβουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ 40  
 8 οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνουντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἄπατού-

*just because.* — ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος . . .  
 εἶναι: the inf. depends upon an  
 affirmative (φάσκομεν) to be sup-  
 plied from the preceding ψευσό-  
 μεθα. See on 1. 29.

7. ἔπειθον: *were on the point  
 of persuading.* For this use of  
 the impf. see GMT. 38; S. 1895 a;  
 B. 527. — τὰς χεῖρας: the regular  
 manner of voting in the Assembly  
 was by a show of hands. — ἂν  
 καθεώρων: potential indic. GMT.  
 245; S. 1784; HA. 858; B. 565;  
 G. 1335; Gl. 461 b. — προβουλεύσα-  
 σαν: matters to be considered by  
 the Assembly must first be passed  
 upon by the Senate, whose so-  
 called προβούλευμα (*i.e.* proposal  
 or preliminary decree) was then  
 brought before the Assembly. —  
 εἰσενεγκεῖν: *should bring in* (to  
 the Assembly) *a proposal.* Con-  
 nect with ἔδοξε. — This resolution  
 directing the Senate to report a  
 method of procedure was appar-  
 ently a ruse on the part of the

accusers, who intended thereby  
 to prejudice the case against the  
 accused. The supporters of the  
 generals seem not to have un-  
 derstood at the moment the real  
 purport of the resolution, but to  
 have assumed that a method of  
 procedure was to be prescribed for  
 use only *in case* the Assembly  
 should decide to entertain the  
 charges at all. The matter must  
 have been 'rushed' through in a  
 more or less irregular way, since it  
 was too dark (see above) to dis-  
 tinguish the upraised hands. — κρί-  
 νουντο: the opt. represents an  
 interrogative subjv. of the direct  
 discourse. See on 3. 21.

§§ 8–11. *Themamenes' device to  
 arouse Athenian feeling against  
 the generals. The Senate proposes  
 an immediate vote upon their case.*

8. ἐγίγνετο: *was celebrated.* —  
 Ἄπατούρια: a family festival, held  
 in the month of Pyanepsion (Oc-  
 tober–November), at which the

ρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσι  
 αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένη παρεσκεύασαν  
 ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῶ κεκαρ-  
 μένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν ἦκοιεν, ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ  
 Καλλιξείνου ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρα-  
 9 τηγῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλή εἰσή-  
 νεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξείνου εἰπόντος τήνδε·  
 Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ 50  
 ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκη-

members of each Athenian clan (φρατρία) gathered together for common rites and festivities. These clan-meetings, marked on this occasion by the presence of many who had been bereaved, evidently gave Theramenes and his agents both the idea and the opportunity of gathering for their own purposes a great crowd of mourners. See below.—σφίσι αὐτοῖς: for the reflexive as a reciprocal see on 2. 17.—παρασκεύασαν: *suborned*. παρασκευάζειν very frequently suggests bribery or corrupt scheming. The whole tone of Xenophon's narrative implies clearly that Theramenes packed the Assembly with mourners of whom many, at least, were not really kinsmen of the lost. The same implication is evident in the indefinite and rather contemptuous ἀνθρώπους (instead

of τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν ἀπολωλότων), and still more in the ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες, which can mean only *pretending that they were kinsmen*. For the frequent ironical use of δὴ cp. 2. 3. 18, 5. 4. 6.—μέλανα ἱμάτια . . . κεκαρμένους: the usual signs of mourning.—Καλλιξείνου: see on § 3.—ἔπεισαν: it is not unlikely that this word contains a suggestion similar to that in παρεσκεύασαν.

9. ἐντεῦθεν: after the Apaturia and the meeting of the Senate.—γνώμην: *proposal*, i.e. προβούλευμα.—εἰπόντος: εἰπεῖν in parliamentary language means *to move*. So γράφειν (of a motion put into writing) and συγγράφειν.—κατηγορούντων κατὰ: κατηγορεῖν is normally followed by the gen. without a prep. (cp. §§ 4, 6, and 8), but on account of the accumulation of genitives κατὰ is here inserted for

κόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς·  
 θείναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστη  
 δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ  
 στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυ-55  
 μαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μή, εἰς  
 10 τὴν ὑστέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι  
 καὶ τοῖς ἔνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεῦσαι,  
 11 τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι. παρήλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν  
 ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπι-60  
 στέλλω δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, εἰὰ σωθῆ, ἀπαγ-  
 γείλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλουτο τοὺς  
 12 ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους. τὸν δὲ Καλ-

the sake of clearness. — διαψηφί-  
 σασθαι: subj. of the conventional  
 ἔδοξε (cp. the English 'Resolved')  
 which introduced the προβούλευμα.  
 S. 2013 b; HA. 957 a; B. 644 and  
 N.; G. 1540. — ἀδικεῖν: to be guilty,  
 a regular court use of the word. —  
 τοὺς νικήσαντας: revealing in a sig-  
 nificant way the animosity of the  
 προβούλευμα. — εἰς τὴν προτέραν  
 κτέ.: in judicial proceedings Athe-  
 nian law prescribed a secret bal-  
 lot. It is possible that even under  
 the method of voting which is here  
 described secrecy might have been  
 preserved. The probability is,  
 however, that these phrases of Cal-  
 lixinus' proposal meant an 'open'  
 vote in flat disregard of the law.  
 Such a proceeding would have been  
 quite in line with the other illegal-  
 ities which marked the course of

the trial. Cp. § 5 and on §§ 12 and  
 34 below. Of course Callixinus'  
 purpose in prescribing an 'open'  
 vote was to make wholesale intimi-  
 dation possible.

10. τοῖς ἔνδεκα: the Eleven, a  
 Board which had charge of con-  
 demned prisoners and of the exe-  
 cution of the death sentence. —  
 τῆς θεοῦ: Athena, the state deity.  
 A tenth part of the revenue derived  
 from confiscations was regularly  
 paid into her treasury.

11. παρήλθε δέ τις: this man  
 was evidently a tool of Therame-  
 nes, and his story about as real as  
 the grief of the sham mourners. —  
 ἐπιστέλλειν: representing an impf.  
 See on 3. 19. — τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους:  
 those who were perishing. — ἀρί-  
 στούς: pred. adj. — γενομένους: as  
 in I. 28.

λίξεινον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι<sup>65</sup> τινές. τοῦ δὲ Δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῆρουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐξόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις ἑάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν  
 13 ὁ ἄν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἤπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλήσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ γο  
 14 ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν

§§ 12-15. *Euryptolemus and others, who object to the illegality of the procedure, are howled down. The Prytanes also, except Socrates, yield to intimidation.*

12. *προσεκαλέσαντο*: served a summons (to court) on Callixinus. — *παράνομα*: any citizen who questioned the legality of a proposed measure might declare before the Assembly his intention of bringing an 'indictment for an unconstitutional proposal' (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) against the author of such measure. The effect of this declaration was to stop any further consideration of the measure by the Assembly, pending a decision on its constitutionality by the heliastic court (*δικαστήριον*) before which its author was brought for trial. It appears from the following (§§ 16-33) speech of Euryptolemus that the points in which he held Callixinus' proposal to be illegal were (1) that it allowed the generals no opportunity to be

heard in their own defense, and (2) that it deprived them of their constitutional right to a separate trial. — *συγγραφέναι*: see on εἰπόντος § 9. — *Εὐρυπτόλεμος*: cp. 4. 19.

13. *ἐπὶ τούτοις*: *thereupon*. — *εἰπόντος*: as in § 9. — *Λυκίσκου*: see on § 3. — *καὶ τούτους . . . καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς*: *καί* is frequently found in each of two comparative clauses, where the English would employ its equivalent — *also* — but once. HA. 1042. — *ἀφῶσι τὴν κλήσιν*: *withdraw the summons*. With *κλήσιν* cp. *προσεκαλέσαντο* § 12. — *τὰς κλήσεις*: the plur. takes into account the *ἄλλοι τινές* (§ 12) as well as Euryptolemus.

14. *τῶν πρυτάνων*: the Senate of Five Hundred was made up of fifty members from each of the ten Athenian tribes. Each tribe's delegation served for one tenth of the year under the name of Prytanes as a kind of standing committee of the Senate, attending

δὲ πρυτάνεών τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψή-  
 φισω παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὐθις Καλλίξιενος ἀναβὰς κατη-  
 γόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβῶν καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ  
 15 φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὠμολόγουν 15  
 πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου·  
 οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν.  
 16 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην 80  
 ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου

to current business and presiding over the meetings of both the Senate and the Assembly. The chairman (ἐπιστάτης) of the Prytanes, who was chosen each day by lot, was also chairman of the Senate and the Assembly. — προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν: *put the question to vote.* — παρὰ τὸν νόμον: see on παράνομα § 12. — κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά: lit. *urged the same charge against them, i.e.* threatened them with the same treatment which Lyciscus had proposed (§ 13) for Euryptolemus and his supporters. — οἱ δέ: *i.e.* ὁ ὄχλος. — καλεῖν: see on προσεκαλίσαντο § 12. — τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας: *those who refused.* See on οὐ φάμενου 6. 3.

15. Σωκράτους: the philosopher, who chanced to be ἐπιστάτης (see above) for this particular day. Since he steadfastly refused to put

the question, his place was apparently taken by another from among the Prytanes. See on § 34, and for other accounts of Socrates' conduct cp. Plato, *Apol.* 32 B and *Gorg.* 474 A, Xen. *Mem.* 1. 1. 18 and 4. 4. 2. — οὐκ . . . ἀλλ' ἢ: *not otherwise than.* See L. and S. on ἀλλ' ἢ.

§§ 16–33. *The speech of Euryptolemus in defense of the generals.*

16. Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων: these opening words of apparent hostility to the generals are well calculated to induce the rabble to grant the speaker a hearing. — Euryptolemus does not follow precisely the order which he here proposes. His accusation is contained in §§ 17–18, his defense in §§ 29–33, his advice in §§ 19–29. — Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου: this Pericles, son of the great Pericles and Aspasia,

καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλευσῶν ἃ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι μετέπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελεῖσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἶτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδίᾳ ἀμαρτόντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι; οὐκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιῶντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστ' ἀληθῆ πύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ

was a cousin of Alcibiades, as was also Euryptolemus (4. 19).

17. κατηγορῶ . . . αὐτῶν: in a measure ironical, for Euryptolemus is really calling attention to the kindness (cp. φιλανθρωπίας § 18) of Pericles and Diomedon. — ὑμῖν: *i.e.* the Assembly. — ὅτι ἐπέταξαν . . . ἀνείλοντο: the contents of the proposed γράμματα. The dispatch which was actually sent contained no reference to Theramenes and Thrasylbulus. Cp. § 4.

18. εἶτα νῦν . . . ἀμαρτόντων: then have they (Pericles and Diomedon) now the blame in common (sc. with Theramenes and Thrasylbulus), although it was those men alone (*i.e.* the latter) who blundered? ἀμαρτόντων refers to

the failure of Theramenes and Thrasylbulus to rescue the shipwrecked crews. κοινὴν associates the men who concealed (see § 17) this blunder with those who made it, while the contrasted ἰδίᾳ urges the injustice of such an association. εἶτα frequently introduces, as here, a question which is asked sarcastically or in indignation. — ἀντὶ: *in return for*. — φιλανθρωπίας: see on § 17. — ἐκείνων: referring, as in the preceding line, to Theramenes and Thrasylbulus.

19. οὐκ: *no*. For the accent see on I. 21. — ἂν . . . γε: *at least if*. — καὶ ὅθεν: = καὶ ταῦτα (ποιῶντες) ἐξ ὧν. — σφᾶς αὐτοὺς: = ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς. Cp. I. 28 and see Introd. IV. B. — ἡμαρτηκότας: sup-

μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς. συμβουλευώ δ' 95  
 ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔστιν  
 ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας εἰδότες κολά-  
 σεσθε ἢ ἂν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ ἅμα πάντας καὶ καθ'  
 ἓνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες  
 αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον 100  
 20 πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἴστε δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 πάντες ὅτι τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ  
 κελεύει, εἴαν τις τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῆ, δεδεμέ-

plementary part. in ind. disc. See on I. II. — εἰς: *towards*, i.e. *against*. — θεοὺς . . . ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς: corresponding respectively to ὅσια and δίκαια above. — ἐν οἷς: *in pursuance of which*. The antecedent of οἷς is a cogn. acc. to be supplied with συμβουλευώ. — εἰδότες: *with full knowledge*. — ἅμα πάντας: i.e. in case all should prove equally guilty. Of course this is not inconsistent with the speaker's contention that all the generals should have a separate trial. Cp. §§ 23, 26, 34 and on § 12. — ἀλλὰ καὶν: *yet at least*. καὶν (= καὶ ἄν, i.e. εἴαν) is sometimes found in the sense of *even, at least*, where it is impossible to supply the protasis which the ἄν seems to introduce. See KG. 398, *Anm.* 2. — μὴ ἄλλοις κτέ.: the speaker artfully implies his full confidence in the real, independent judgment of the people. The use of μὴ instead of οὐ

is due to the influence of the introducing verb, συμβουλευώ.

20. τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα: it has been supposed that this decree provided in definite terms for a separate trial for each accused person. There seems, however, to be no sufficient evidence to support such a view. Doubtless the right to a separate trial was a fundamental principle in Athenian law. The main point with Euryptolemus was to secure for the generals — what had thus far been denied — a real trial, of whatever sort it might be, and he proposed a trial under the decree of Cannonus because that decree, being ἰσχυρότατον (*exceedingly strict*), prescribed as severe penalties as the enraged Assembly could desire. If *any* trial were granted, it would follow as a matter of course that each general should be tried separately. — ἀδικῆ: *is an offender*



νον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῆ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα <sup>105</sup> αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι.  
 21 κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῆ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοι ἐστὶν ἐκείνον περὶ  
 22 πλείονος ποιείσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ μὴ <sup>110</sup> βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῶ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτη, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν καταγνωσθῆ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα  
 23 αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὧ <sup>115</sup> ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρινέσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν [ἐνὸς

against, i.e. *has wronged*. For the pres. with pf. meaning see on φεύγειν I. 27. — ἀποδικεῖν: an unusual equivalent for ἀπολογεῖσθαι, and probably an archaic word from the actual text of this ancient decree. — ἐν τῷ δήμῳ: i.e. before the Assembly, whereas the second law which is cited (§ 22) called for a trial before a heliastic court (ἐν δικαστηρίῳ). — βάραθρον: *the pit*, which served in early times as the place and the means of executing the death sentence. Later, poisoning by hemlock became the usual method of execution.

21. ἂν . . . γε: as in § 19.

22. ἐστὶν ἐπὶ: *applies to*. — προδιδῶ . . . κλέπτη: the tense as

in ἀδικῆ § 20. — τὰ ἱερὰ: any articles preserved in a temple and thereby consecrated. — μὴ ταφῆναι: assuming the death sentence as a matter of course. For the inf., which retains the actual language of the law, see on διαψηφίσασθαι § 9.

23. ὁποτέρῳ . . . τῷ νόμῳ: *πότερος* and *ὁπότερος*, like *οἶτος*, regularly take the article when they stand in agreement with a noun. KG. 465, 8. — κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον: a vital point, here for the first time directly stated, though already implied in the *πρῶτον Περικλέα* of § 21. Euryptolemus seeks (1) a *trial* for the generals, and (2) a *separate* trial. See on §§ 12 and 20. — διηρημένων . . .

μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἐάν  
 τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν ἐάν τε μή, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατηγορή-  
 24σαι, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ ἀπολογήσασθαι]. τούτων δὲ γι- 120  
 γνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης  
 τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ᾧ  
 25 Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀπολοῦνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ  
 τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκοῦντες κρινεῖτε καὶ οὐ  
 συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς ἐκείνους ἑβδομή- 125  
 κοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας, τούτους ἀπολ-  
 26 λύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες  
 σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὄν ἂν βούλη-

τριῶν μερῶν: lit. *three parts of the day having been separated from one another, i.e. the day being divided into three parts.*—[ἐνὸς . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι]: probably added by some commentator to explain the preceding clause. Speaking broadly, the explanation is correct, but it is confused—particularly in uniting συλλέγεσθαι and διαψηφίζεσθαι, two acts which would necessarily come at opposite ends of the day—and the Greek is faulty.—ἐάν τε . . . ἐάν τε: manifestly intended by the interpolator to mean *whether . . . or*, a meaning which they cannot have in classical Greek. See GMT. 493 and 680, and cp. the preceding note.

25. ὑμεῖς: emphatic. The preceding section has described the results to the *accused*, and the speaker now lays stress upon the

results to their *judges*.—εὐορκοῦν-  
 τες: for each citizen was under  
 oath to obey and uphold the laws.  
 —τοὺς . . . ἀφελομένους: obj. of  
 ἀπολλύντες.—ἐκείνους: common  
 obj. of ἀφελομένους and νενικη-  
 κότας.—ἑβδομήκοντα: cp. 6. 34  
 and note thereon.—τούτους: re-  
 peating with emphasis τοὺς ἀφelo-  
 μένους καὶ νενικηκότας.

26. τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες . . .  
 ἐπείγεσθε: *but what in the world  
 do you fear, that you are in such  
 great haste?* καὶ gives a tone of  
 impatience to the question, imply-  
 ing that there could be no reason-  
 able ground for fear. For the use  
 of the participle in the question  
 see on τί ποιῶν 5. 6.—οὕτως:  
 limiting σφόδρα.—ἢ: *or*, intro-  
 ducing a δεδιότε to be supplied from  
 the preceding δεδιότες. After a  
 general question ἢ often introduces

σθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλιζεύς<sup>130</sup> νος τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν, μὴ 27 ψήφῳ; ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείναιτε· μεταμελήσαι δὲ ὕστερον ἀναμνήσθητε ὡς ἀλγεῖν ὄν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἦδη ἐστὶ, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανά- 28 του ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότας. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ 135 Ἄριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, εἶτα

a particular inquiry, suggesting in itself the answer or explanation which seems to the questioner most likely. — ἀλλ' οὐκ: *sc. δέδιτε τοῦτο*, but do not fear this, i.e. that your will may be thwarted. The clause introduced by ἀλλ' οὐκ serves to emphasize the preceding thought by denying its opposite. — ἂν: *sc. κρίνητε*. — μὴ ψήφῳ: explaining παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

27. καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα: *who is actually (καί) innocent*. καί, emphasizing the following, indicates the enormity of the crime that might be committed. — μεταμελήσαι: subj. of ἐστὶ. — ἦδη: *in itself*, i.e. in general, even when no great issue is at stake. — πρὸς δ' ἔτι: = προσέτι δέ, and especially, in contrast with ἦδη. — καί: emphasizing the following, as in καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον above. — ἡμαρτηκότας: agreeing with the (indefinite) subj. of μεταμελήσαι. For μεταμέλειν used personally see L. and S.

28. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ

Ἄριστάρχῳ μὲν . . . ἔδοτε . . . , τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς . . . ἀποστερήσετε: *you would do a dreadful thing if, while you granted to Aristarchus . . . , you shall deprive the generals, etc.* The first of the two protases is logically subordinate to the second; for what the speaker would characterize as δεινὰ is not the past act described in ἔδοτε, but the possible (future) performance of an act so inconsistent with it. See GMT. 509; S. 2170. Note the use of the fut. indic. ἀποστερήσετε where the aor. opt. would be more normal. S. 2356; HA. 901 a; B. 612, 1; G. 1421, 2. — Ἄριστάρχῳ: in 411 B.C. Aristarchus helped to establish the oligarchical government of the Four Hundred (*sc. Introd. p. 18*). Upon its overthrow he fled to the border fortress of Oenoe and treacherously betrayed it to the enemy. — πρότερον: connect with ἔδοτε. — τὸν δῆμον: = τὴν δημοκρατίαν. — καταλύοντι . . . προδιδόντι: *destroyer . . . betrayer*.

δ' Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις πολεμίους οὔσω, ἔδοτε  
 ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸν  
 νόμον προύθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν  
 κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, 140  
 29 τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν ὄντας τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα  
 μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν  
 πειρᾶσθε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ'  
 ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. 145  
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέ-  
 πλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως  
 ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς,  
 Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν  
 ταχίστην πλεῖν ἅπαντας. Θράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερ' ἂν 150  
 ἔφη γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ

The pres. tense lays stress not so much upon the particular acts as upon the abiding depravity which prompted them. Cp. προδιδῶ and κλέπτῃ § 22.—ἢ: *as*, not referring to ἡμέραν for its antecedent.—τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων: *these same (privileges)*.

29. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε: *sc. τοῦτο ποιήσῃτε*.—ἑαυτῶν ὄντας: *which are your own, i.e. which you yourselves have enacted and therefore should not regard as a hostile, external kind of compulsion*. For ἑαυτῶν (= ὑμῶν αὐτῶν) cp. § 19 and on I. 28.—ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καί: with καί—*also*—the speaker turns

from the law to the facts. Here begins his defense of the generals. See on § 16.—γεγενῆσθαι: = *πεποιῆσθαι*. Cp. ἐγένετο § 8.—κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ: a significant insertion, reminding the Assembly once more (cp. §§ 25, 28) of the victory won by the accused generals.—εἰς τὴν γῆν: *i.e. to the Arginusae*. Cp. 6. 33.—ἐπὶ κέρως: *in column, i.e. following in line one after another, whereas the contrasted phrase ἐπὶ φάλαγγος means 'in line abreast.'*—πρὸς Μυτιλήνην: the acc. instead of the dat. by a kind of attraction due to πλεῖν. See on 3. 9.

30 τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι· καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλι-  
 πειν τρεῖς ναῦς ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν ὀκτώ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα  
 καὶ τὰς Σιμιῶν δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς·<sup>155</sup>  
 αὗται ἅπασαι γίνονται ἑπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες  
 περὶ ἐκάστην ναῦν τῶν ἀπολωλυῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν.  
 31 τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων τριητάρχων ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύ-  
 βουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 κατηγορεῖ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν<sup>160</sup>  
 ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ  
 καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχθέντας  
 ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ ποιή-  
 σαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο<sup>165</sup>

30. *δοξάντων τούτων*: *if this should be decided upon*. — *καταλιπεῖν*: in the mind of the writer the preceding *ἔφη* has passed into a verb of advising or urging, corresponding to *ἐκέλευεν* above; hence the obj. inf. (not in ind. disc.) *καταλιπεῖν*. — *συμμορίας*: *division*. Each general had commanded 15 ships. See 6. 29 and 30. — *ὀκτώ*: for Conon and Leon were not present at the battle. See on 6. 30 and 7. 1. — *τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων κτέ.*: the 23 ships here mentioned were stationed in the center, and evidently incurred no losses whatever. See on 6. 29. — *περὶ*: 'for,' 'to deal with.' — *δώδεκα*: according to 6. 34 the Athenians

lost 25 ships. It must be supposed that at the time in question 13 of this number had sunk, while the remaining 12 were still afloat but drifting helplessly.

31. *ἔπλεον*: impf. of attempted action. That the attempt failed is clear from 6. 35. — *ἱκανῶς*: *adequately*, with special reference to the provisions for saving the shipwrecked. — *τὰ . . . πραχθέντα*: acc. of specification, instead of a gen. dependent upon *ὑπέχειν λόγον*. — *μὴ*: because of the conditional idea in *πραχθέντα*. Similarly *μὴ ποιήσαντας* below. — *τοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν*: *sc. ταχθέντας*. — *διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο*: connect with *κρίνεσθαι*. The supposition contained

32 κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων  
 ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πράξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ  
 παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὧν εἰς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν  
 ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεὸς διασωθείς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ 170  
 ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως  
 33 [ἤπερ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα]. μὴ τοίνυν,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας  
 ὁμοῖα ποιήσῃτε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχούσιν, ἀντὶ  
 δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδο- 175  
 σίαν καταγρόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας [οὐχ ἱκανοὺς  
 γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πράξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα].

in μὴ ποιήσαντας is now stated as a fact.

32. ἀμφοτέρων: with reference to τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχθέντας and τοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν above, *i.e.* both the generals and the trierarchs. — μηδὲν: either the sailing against the enemy or the rescue of the shipwrecked. For the redundant negative see S. 2739; HA. 1029; B. 434; G. 1615, Gl. 572. — ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου: by mere chance, as contrasted with external aid. — ὧν: *sc.* ἐστίν. — εἰς τῶν . . . στρατηγῶν: probably Lysias. Cp. Diod. 13. 99. — καταδύσης: see on καταδεδυκίας 6. 35. — καί: = καίπερ. — [ἤπερ . . . προσταχθέντα]: this phrase should logically refer to the other *generals*, but in fact it describes the *trierarchs*, being almost a repetition of μὴ ποιή-

σαντας . . . ἐκέλευσαν above. Apparently it was a marginal note, inserted — for the purpose of explaining τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ — by some commentator who did not fully understand the situation and the argument. See critical note.

33. μὴ τοίνυν κτί.: 'do not, then, in the face of your victory and your good fortune, act as if you were beaten and unfortunate; nor, in the face of heaven's visitations, show yourselves unreasonable by laying to men's charge treason instead of powerlessness.' Manatt. — τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων: *i.e.* the storm. — ἀγνωμονεῖν: a rare word, found only in late writers. See *Introd.* IV. L. — [οὐχ . . . προσταχθέντα]: probably a marginal note on ἀδυναμίας which has been incorporated in the

ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶν-  
 τας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.  
 34 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην· κατὰ τὸ 180  
 Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκα-  
 στον· ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μῆ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν.  
 τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν  
 τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ  
 πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. 185  
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων  
 στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ.

text. See critical note.—γεραίρειν: a poetical word.

§§ 34-35. *The generals are condemned and executed. The later repentance of the Athenians.*

34. ἔγραψε γνώμην: offered a resolution. For ἔγραψε see on εἰπόντος § 9. Euryptolemus offers his γνώμη as a substitute for that of the Senate, the προβούλευμα.—τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα: cp. § 20 and note thereon.—δίχα ἕκαστον: probably these words are not quoted from the decree of Canonus, but are added by Euryptolemus in opposition to the μῆ ψήφῳ κρίνειν (see below) of the Senate's proposal. Cp. § 23.—διαχειροτονουμένων: the prep. in composition indicates the choice now to be made *between* the two proposals. The question before the Assembly, therefore, is essentially the same as that which Socrates had refused to put to

vote, viz. on the acceptance or rejection of the προβούλευμα. It would seem, however, that Socrates' place as ἐπιστάτης has now been taken by another. See on § 15.—ἔκριναν: decided in favor of.—ὑπομοσαμένου: having interposed an objection under oath, questioning in some way the legality of the proceedings. The legal effect of such a ὑπωμοσία should have been to postpone any further consideration of the pending question; the fact that a second vote was nevertheless immediately taken was simply one more of the unconstitutional incidents which marked the course of the trial. See on § 9.—Μενεκλέους: see on Τιμοκράτους § 3.—μετὰ ταῦτα: the Senate's proposal being now adopted, a vote is taken in the manner thereby (§ 9) prescribed on the guilt or innocence of the generals.—ὀκτὼ . . . ἕξ: cp. §§ 1 and 2.

35 καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἷτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι, ἕως ἂν 190 κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξεινον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξεινος δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς 195 εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισοῦμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

35. μετέμελε: this statement is confirmed by Dioḡ. 13. 103 and Plato, *Apol.* 32 B. — ἐξηπάτησαν: translate by the plupf. — προβολὰς: a *προβολή* was a complaint presented to the Assembly, alleging an offense against the state. If the Assembly voted that the complaint was justified, the accused was then brought to trial before a heliastic court. — καταστήσαι: sc. αὐτούς (from αὐτῶν above) as subject. — ἐδέθησαν: since a defendant's bondsmen were responsible for his appearance in court, it followed logically that they were permitted to keep him in confinement until the time fixed for his trial. — ὕστερον: in

the winter of 405–404 B.C., during the siege of Athens. — Κλεοφῶν: a popular leader of the democratic party, who opposed the acceptance of the terms of peace which were offered to the besieged Athenians. For this reason the oligarchs, by means of a trumped-up charge, procured his condemnation and execution. Probably the reference in *στάσεως* is to the disorders which accompanied these proceedings. Cp. Lysias 13. 12. — κατελθὼν: see on *κατάξειν* I. 29. — οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς: the exiled democrats under Thrasybulus, who overthrew the Thirty Tyrants and returned in triumph to Athens in the autumn of 403 B.C. Cp. 2. 4. 10–39.



## BOOK II

THE CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. CIVIL STRIFE IN  
ATHENS. 406-401 B.C.

1 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου στρατιῶται ὄντες, 1  
 ἔως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργα-  
 ζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο  
 καὶ τροφήν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι,  
 συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθη- 5  
 σόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει,  
 2 ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὅπόσοι εἶσαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ  
 σύνθημα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί χρῶτο τῷ  
 πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων· τό τε γὰρ

CHAPTER I, §§ 1-7. *Eteonicus suppresses a conspiracy in the Peloponnesian fleet. He is succeeded by Lysander.*

1. μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου: during the battle of Arginusae Eteonicus, vice-admiral of the Peloponnesian fleet, was maintaining the blockade of Mytilene. Upon receiving news of the Spartan defeat he dispatched his ships to Chios and retired with his land forces to Methymna, in Lesbos. Thence he had evidently sailed to Chios, although Xenophon fails to mention that fact. See *Introd.* p. 27, and *cp.* I. 6. 26 and 36-38. — στρατιῶται ὄντες: for the order of words see on I. 1. 23. — ὥρας: = ὠραίων, *the produce of the season.* — ἐργα-

ζόμενοι: parallel in construction with ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας. — μισθοῦ: S. 1372; HA. 746; B. 353; G. 1133; Gl. 513. — χειμῶν: of 406-405 B.C. — γυμνοὶ: *poorly clad*, a sense in which this word is often used. — τε: see *Introd.* IV. D. I. — ὡς . . . ἐπιθησόμενοι: see on I. 1. 33. — τῇ Χίῳ: although a friendly city. — οἷς . . . ἀρέσκοι: for οἷς ἂν ἀρέσκῃ of the *dir. disc.* — ἀλλήλους: *proleptic.* See on I. 4. 11.

2. The detail with which Xenophon describes the following incident is characteristic. See *Introd.* p. 30. — σύνθημα: *plot.* — τί χρῶτο τῷ πράγματι: *how he should deal with the matter.* τί is cogn. acc. For the optative see on I. 3. 21. — τε . . . τε:

ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρήσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ 10  
 εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ  
 πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν  
 κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους  
 πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους  
 Ἕλληνας διαβολὴν σχοῖεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς 15  
 3 τὰ πράγματα ὧσιν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεν-  
 τεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν,  
 καὶ ἐντυχὼν τῷ ὀφθαλμῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπίοντι ἐξ  
 4 ἰατροῦ, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομέ-  
 νου καὶ ἐρωτῶντων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνθρώπος, 20  
 παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον  
 εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες  
 ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, αἰεὶ ὁ ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ  
 5 ὀφθείη ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας  
 τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦ- 25  
 ται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσιν τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσή-  
 νεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν·  
 προσίων δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνε

see Introd. IV. D. 2. — σφαλερὸν: *dangerous*. Hence the following μὴ. Similarly δεινόν . . . μὴ below. — αὖ: *on the other hand*; for note that τὸ ἀπολλύναι implies the possible success of Eteonicus in suppressing the conspiracy and is thus logically contrasted with ἂν κρατήσωσι. — συμμάχους: allied troops who were concerned in the plot. — μὴ . . . σχοῖεν: *lest they* (the Spartans) *might incur harsh*

*criticism among, etc.* — σχοῖεν . . . ὧσιν: for the variation in mood see S. 2225; HA. 887; B. 594; G. 1378; GMT. 321. — τὰ πράγματα: *the* (Spartan) *cause*.

4. ὅτι: *because*, answering διὰ τί. — κατὰ: *as a result of*. — αἰεὶ ὁ ἀκούων: *each one as he heard it*, in partitive apposition with πάντες. For this use of αἰεὶ with a part. and its position see on τῷ βουλομένῳ αἰεὶ I. 2. 10.

τε καὶ παρήγει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς,  
6 καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ<sup>30</sup>  
Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγόντες εἰς Ἔφεσον  
ἐβουλευσάντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμ-  
πειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ  
Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ  
τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε καὶ<sup>35</sup>  
7 τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν  
πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτά λέγοντες  
ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον  
ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον· οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς  
δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν<sup>40</sup>  
Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
παρεληλυθότων].

8 [Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κύρος ἀπέκτεωεν Αὐτοβοι-

5. ὡς: *as though*. Cp. ὡς συγ-  
γενεῖς ὄντες I. 7. 8. — διέδωκε:  
note the distributive meaning of  
the prep.

6. ἐβουλευσάντο . . . πέμπειν:  
*resolved in view of the existing  
situation to send*. — ἐπὶ: see on I.  
I. 32. — εὖ φερόμενον: *being in high  
favor*. Cp. πονήρως φερόμενος  
I. 5. 17. Lysander was especially  
popular among the oligarchs of  
the Asiatic cities, whose cause he  
had energetically advanced during  
his previous term as admiral. See  
on I. 6. 4. — κατὰ: as in § 4. —  
ἐν Νοτίῳ: cp. I. 5. 12-14. — ναυ-  
μαχίαν: cogn. acc.

7. σὺν: see Introd. IV. c. 1. —  
ταῦτά λέγοντες: *with the same  
message*. For the occasional use  
of the pres. part. where the fut.  
(cp. ἐροῦντας above) is more usual,  
see S. 2065; HA. 969 c; B. 653,  
5; GMT. 840. — ἐπιστολέα: see  
on I. I. 23. — [ἐτῶν . . . παρεληλυθό-  
των]: this incorrect statement is  
undoubtedly an interpolation. Cp.  
I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, and see Introd.  
p. 24.

[§§ 8-9. *Cyrus commits a deed  
of despotic arrogance.*]

8. This section and the follow-  
ing are probably spurious. Cp. I.  
2. 19 and see Introd. p. 25; also

σάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς  
τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶν-45  
τες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιούσιν  
βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς, ἐν  
9 ἢ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι. Ἰεραμέ-  
νης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον δεινὸν  
εἶναι εἰ περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν 50  
μεταπέμπεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.]

10 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος,  
ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικό-  
μενος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν  
ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ πού 55  
τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάν-  
11 δρω ἐναυπηγεῖτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κύρον χρήματα

the following notes. — Δαρειαῖον: Δαρειαῖος is a very rare variant for Δαρείος. The use of the two forms in successive lines is extraordinary and can hardly be ascribed to Xenophon. — Ξέρξου . . . πατρός: a mistake. The father of Darius was Artaxerxes, not Xerxes. — κόρη . . . χειρίς: respectively the long and the short sleeve of the Persian cloak (κάνδης). It would seem from the following clause that the act referred to was symbolical of submission. — μακρότερον: for the gender see S. 1048; HA. 617; B. 423; G. 925; Gl. 544. — ἔχων: one who has. For the part. without the art. as an indef. substantive see

S. 2052 a; HA. 966; B. 650, 1; G. 1560, 2; GMT. 827.

9. Ἰεραμένης: probably the father of Autoboesaces and Mitraeus. — δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ: cp. I. 7. 12. — ὡς ἀρρωστῶν: the interpolator (see above) makes Darius' illness merely a pretext for the recall of Cyrus; but according to § 13 and *Anab.* I. I. I it was the real reason.

§§ 10-14. *Lysander refits and reënforces the Peloponnesian fleet. The recall of Cyrus.* 405 B.C.

10. [ἐπὶ . . . Ἀλεξίου]: an interpolation. See *Introd.* p. 24. — Ἀρχύτα: for the form see on Ἀντίβα I. I. 37. — Ἀντάνδρω: cp. I. I. 25.

- ἦπει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνη-  
 λωμένα εἶη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῶ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος  
 12 τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος 60  
 τὰ ἄργυριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε  
 καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρε-  
 σκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ  
 ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.
- 13 Κύρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ 65  
 αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἄρρω-  
 στῶν ἐκείνον καλοῖη, ὧν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδίας  
 ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας.
- 14 ἦκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,  
 εἰὰν μὴ πολλῶ πλείους ναῦς ἔχη· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα 70  
 πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολ-  
 λὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντα τοὺς φόρους  
 τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων; οἱ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ  
 χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε

11. ἔχοι: *had received*. See on πλείοιεν I. 7. 5. — ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε: cp. I. 5. 3.

12. ἐπὶ: as in § 6. — παρεσκευάζοντο . . . πρὸς: *were making preparations in reference to*, i.e. *about, upon*. — στρατηγοί: Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles (I. 7. 1). — Σάμῳ: cp. I. 6. 38 and on I. 2. 1.

13. ἐπὶ τούτοις: as in I. 7. 13. — ἄρρωστῶν: see on § 9. — Καδουσίων: who dwelt on the western coast of the Caspian Sea.

14. οὐκ εἶα: *warned him not*. — εἶναι: in indir. disc., depending

upon a verb of saying suggested by οὐκ εἶα. — ὥστε . . . πληροῦν: translate with *could* or *might*; for the inf. expresses the result which the action 'tends to produce,' i.e. a possible result. — τούτου ἕνεκεν: *as far as that* (i.e. money) *was concerned*. — παρέδειξε: *assigned*. — τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα: *'the balance on hand'* Blake. — ὡς εἶχε φιλίας: *how friendly he was*. The genitive is partitive; S. 1441; HA. 757 a; B. 360; G. 1092; Gl. 507 d. For the 'objective imperfect' εἶχε cp. ἐκά-

τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ, 75  
ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

- 15 Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδοὺς τὰ  
αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπτος ἀνέ-  
βαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῆς Καρίας  
εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν 80  
Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρείαις τῇ ὑστεραία προσ-  
βολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἶρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν  
δὲ μισοβάρβαροί οἱ εἰοικότες. ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν  
16 εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι τὴν  
βασιλέως κακῶς ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἐφε- 85  
σον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ  
στρατηγούς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προσείλοντο Μέναν-  
17 δρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου  
παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔπλει πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πρὸς τε

θηγο 1. 5. 3 and see Introd. IV. E.  
— ἀνέβαινε: the same journey  
which is mentioned in *Anab.* 1.  
1. 2.

§§ 15–19. *Minor operations of  
the hostile fleets.*

15. διαδοὺς: see on § 5.— Κα-  
ρίας: for the case see on Καλ-  
χηδονίας 1. 1. 22.— Κεράμειον:  
cp. the variant form Κεραμικόν in  
1. 4. 8.— τῇ ὑστεραία προσβολῇ:  
*on the next day's attack.* τῇ  
ὑστεραία is almost always used  
alone, with ἡμέρα understood.—  
ἐξηνδραπόδισεν: this proceeding is  
explained and justified by the  
following clause. Contrast Ly-

sander's treatment of *Greek* cap-  
tives, § 19, and see on 1. 6. 15.  
Note the combination of the aor.  
with the historical pres.— δέ: =  
γάρ, as in 1. 6. 37.

16. τὴν βασιλέως: sc. χώραν.—  
Χίον . . . Ἐφeson: regular stations  
of the Spartan fleet.— τοῖς ὑπάρ-  
χουσι: see on § 12.— προσείλον-  
το: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι is still the subj.,  
but is probably used in this case  
with reference to the Athenians  
at home.

17. πρὸς . . . τὸν ἑκπλον: *i.e.*  
in order to close the Hellespont  
against the Athenian grain ships  
from the Black Sea. See on 1. 1.

τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν 90  
 πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελά-  
 18 γιοι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν· Λύσανδρος δ'  
 ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὔσαν  
 Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρήσαν  
 19 περὶ ἧ· ἠγείτο δὲ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβαλόντες 95  
 δὲ τῇ πόλει αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ  
 στρατιῶται οὔσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίτου καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα  
 20 πάντα ἀφήκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας  
 πλέοντες ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιούντι 100  
 ναυσὶν ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀριστο-  
 ποιούμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ  
 21 εὐθύς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθύς ἐπισιτι-  
 σάμενοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμ-  
 ψάκου· διείχε δὲ ὁ Ἑλλάσποντος ταύτη σταδίου ὡς 105

22 and cp. a similar attempt made by Agis, I. I. 35.—αὐτῶν: the Lacedaemonians. Construe with ἀφεστηκυίας.—πελάγιοι: whereas Lysander's route lay along the coast, παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν. On the adverbial force of the adj. see S. 1042; HA. 619; B. 425; G. 926; Gl. 546.

18. Λάμψακον: which Alcibiades had fortified in 409 B.C. (I. 2. 15).

19. αἰροῦσι . . . διήρπασαν: the change of tense as in § 15.—τὰ ἐλεύθερα . . . ἀφήκε: following the principle laid down by Cal-

licratidas (I. 6. 14, 15). Cp. § 15 above.—σώματα: persons. Cp. Eng. everybody.

§§ 20-28. *The battle of Aegospotami.*

20. κατὰ πόδας: in their wake.

21. εὐθύς ἐπισιτισάμενοι: as soon as they had provisioned. For the use of the adv. see S. 2081; HA. 976; B. 655; G. 1572; Gl. 592.—Αἰγὸς ποταμοῦς: i.e. where 'Goat's Rivers' empty into the Hellespont.—διείχε . . . σταδίου κτί.: was about fifteen stadia wide. The impf. is sometimes found instead of the pres. when a still exist-

- 22 πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβάλλων, προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς 110
- 23 τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὄψὲ ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς 115
- 24 ποταμούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας ὃ τι ποιούσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐταὶ ἦκον. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ 120
- 25 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγοντο. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν 120

ing condition is described only with reference to past events. So in English.

22. ὄρθρος: *early dawn*, regarded here as part of the night. Cp. Plato, *Crito* 43 A. — παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν: cp. παρασκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν § 16, and see on I. 1. 12. — παραβλήματα: about the same as the παραρύματα of I. 6. 19. — προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο: verbs of commanding, like verbs of attention, care, and effort, are sometimes followed by an obj. clause with the fut. ind. or (rarely) the fut. opt. S. 2218; HA. 885 and a; B. 593; G. 1372-3; Gl. 638 a; GMT. 355.

Here ὡς takes the place of the regular ὅπως. See *Intro.* IV. G. 3, and cp. GMT. 351 and App. IV.

23. ἐπὶ: = πρὸς in I. 6. 17. — λιμένι: of Lampsacus. — ἐν μετώπῳ: *in line*, as contrasted with ἐπὶ κέρως (*in column*). See on I. 7. 29.

24. ἐκβῶσι: *sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*. — κατιδόντας: *constructio ad sensum*, referring to the men on board τὰς ταχίστας. — ἐξεβίβασεν: *sc. as obj.* the sailors of the (main) Peloponnesian fleet. — πρὶν . . . ἦκον: S. 2441; HA. 924; B. 627; G. 1470; Gl. 644 a. — ἐπανήγοντο: *iterative*.

25. κατιδὼν: see on I. 1. 4.



τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾶ πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μειόν-  
 τας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολε-  
 μίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν  
 καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστόν<sup>125</sup>  
 παρήνει πρό; τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὐ ὄντες ναυμα-  
 26 χήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα  
 δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν·  
 27 αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 ᾤχετο. Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι<sup>130</sup>  
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὶ  
 κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ  
 τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκά-  
 στην ἡμέραν, τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ κατα-  
 φρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανήγεν,<sup>135</sup>  
 ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ  
 μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε.

— τειχῶν: cp. I. 5. 17 and note thereon. — μὲν: correlative with the δὲ before πολεμίους. — πρὸς: as in I. 3. 2. — τοῖς πολεμίους: sc. ὀρμοῦντας. — μεθορμίσαι: for the force of the prep. see on I. 6. 19. — οὐ . . . ναυμαχήσετε: the change to dir. disc. as in I. 1. 14.

26. αὐτοὶ: for the case see on αὐτός I. 5. 3. The regular nom. is retained despite the contrasted acc. ἐκείνον. — στρατηγεῖν: see on εἶναι § 14.

27. ἐπεὶ . . . Ἀθηναίοις: when the Athenians sailed out against

him on the fifth day. For the dat. see S. 1498; HA. 771 a; B. 382; G. 1166; Gl. 523 a. — τοῖς . . . ἐπομένοις: i.e. Lysander's scouts, who regularly followed the Athenians on their return voyage (§ 24). — δὴ: ironical, as frequently in the *Hell.*, implying that Lysander was not a foe to be despised. — ἀποπλέοντας: for the acc. see on ἐνθεμένους I. 6. 37. — ἄραι ἀσπίδα: according to Herodotus (6. 115) this method of heliographing was employed at the battle of Marathon, 490 B.C. For the inf. see on I. 1. 13.

28 Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθύς ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλείν, συμπαρήει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλου, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κρά- 140 τος. διεσκευασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους 145 ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ 29 τειχύδρια. Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγι'ω τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἰστία, καὶ 150 αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγέλλουσα 30 τὰ γεγονότα. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς

28. συμπαρήει: *i.e.* aboard the fleet. Lysander knew that whatever fighting might take place would be on shore. — εἰς τὰς ναῦς: connect with βοηθεῖν. — δίκροτοι: *i.e.* having only two of the three tiers of oars manned. — ἡ Πάραλος: this and the Salaminia were the state triremes, employed for religious missions, for conveying ambassadors, and as dispatch boats. — πρὸς τῇ γῇ: as in I. I. 7. — συνέλεξεν: the tone is that of the colloquial English 'gathered in.' — τειχύδρια: probably of Sestus. The word is found only here. See

Introd. IV. L. — Diodorus (13. 106) gives a different account of this battle, though he also ascribes its result to Athenian neglect.

§§ 29–32. *Conon escapes with nine ships. The fate of the captured Athenians.*

29. τὰ πράγματα: as in § 2. — τὰ μεγάλα . . . ἰστία: left on shore by Lysander in preparation for battle. See on I. I. 13. Conon's object was to delay the enemy's pursuit. — Εὐαγόραν: prince of Salamis in Cyprus. — ἀπαγγέλλουσα: *with the tidings.* For the pres. see on λέγοντες § 7.

αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν,  
 ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα<sup>155</sup>  
 καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ἧ δ' ἡμέρα ταῦτα κατειργάσατο,  
 ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον ληστήν εἰς Λακεδαί-  
 μονα ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος  
<sup>31</sup> ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς  
 συμμαχοὺς ἐκέλευσε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώ-<sup>160</sup>  
 των. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων, ἃ τε ἤδη παρενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισ-  
 μένοι ἦσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν  
 δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ  
 ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριῆρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν,<sup>165</sup>  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατακρημνίσειαν. Φιλο-  
 κλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους  
<sup>32</sup> διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ ἔδοξεν  
 ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν  
 Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ<sup>170</sup>

30. αἰχμαλώτους: according to Plutarch (*Lys.* 11) 3000 in number. — ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα: a frequent order of words in Greek, while the English reverses it. Philocles and Adimantus are especially mentioned because of what is said of them later (§ 32). — Θεόπομπον . . . ληστήν: who consequently had a fast ship. — τριταῖος: see on πελάγιοι § 17.

31. δῆ: *of course*. — τῶν Ἀθηναίων: obj. gen. — ἃ ἤδη παρενομήκεσαν: for the facts cp. 2. 3 below. For the tense of the verb

see *Introd.* IV. E. — κρατήσειαν: for the opt. see on δύναιτο I. I. 22. — τῇ: *i.e.* the expected. — τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα: according to Plutarch (*Lys.* 9) the right thumb, ὅπως δόρυ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνωνται, κώπην δ' ἐλαύνωσι, *so that they could not carry the spear, but might still ply the oar*. — ὅτι . . . κατακρημνίσειαν: parallel with the preceding relative clauses. ὅτι is declarative (*that*), not causal. — κατακρημνίσειαν: *threw overboard*.

32. ἐπελάβετο: *attacked, opposed*. For the following gen.

περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἠτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τιῶν προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἄνδριους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἶη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

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1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῃ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλει 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 καὶ εἴ τινα πού ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέ-

see on ἔργου 1. 4. 12. — ἀποτομῆς: not used elsewhere in this sense. See Introd. IV. L. — ἠτιάθη μέντοι κτλ.: this charge of treason, which was wholly natural in view of Adimantus' release and of the almost incredible negligence in the Athenian camp, is repeated more or less directly by other writers (Lys. 2. 58, 12. 36, 14. 38, Paus. 4. 17, 10. 9, Plut. Lys. 11). Whether it was justified or not must remain uncertain. — ὃς . . . κατεκρήμνισε: the offense restated in justification of the punishment. — ἀρξάμενος: ἀρχεῖν means to be the first to do something, ἀρχεσθαι to do something which has not been done before. S. 1734, 5; HA. 816, 4; Gl. 500 b. Hence ἀρξάμενος does not imply that the Spartans had

followed, or were about to follow, the Athenian example.

CHAPTER 2, §§ 1-4. *Byzantium and Calchedon yield to Lysander. The receipt at Athens of the news of Aegospotami.*

1. τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῃ κατεστήσατο: the reference is to the establishment of an oligarchical decarchy under a Spartan harmost. Cp. §§ 2 and 5 below and 3. 4. 2; also Plut. Lys. 13. — Καλχηδόνα: in 408 B.C. this city was in the hands of the Spartans (1. 3. 8 f.). Since then it must have been captured by the Athenians. Cp. Introd. p. 27. — οἱ προδόντες: three years before. See 1. 3. 16-20. — Ἀθηναῖοι: i.e. Athenian citizens.

2. εἴ τινα: render as equiva-

πεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδούς ἐκείσε μόνον πλείουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὄσφ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θάπτον τῶν ἐπιτη-<sup>10</sup> δείων ἔνδειαν ἔσσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνας Σθενέλαον ἄρμοστὴν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκευάζεν.

- 3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἢ συμφορὰ, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ<sup>15</sup> τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διήκειν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίου τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαν-<sup>20</sup>

lent to ὄντινα. — εἰδὼς ὅτι . . . ἔσσεσθαι: a blending of two constructions, viz. (1) ὅτι with a finite verb and (2) the ind. disc. inf. An anacoluthon (Introd. IV. κ) of this sort is especially frequent when ὅτι and the inf. are separated by an intervening clause (here ὄσφ . . . Πειραιᾶ). Other cases in the *Hell.* are 3. 4. 27, 5. 4. 35, 6. 5. 42. The present instance is particularly noteworthy because εἰδέναι is regularly followed by the participle or a ὅτι clause, not by the ind. disc. inf. — ὄσφ ἂν πλείους . . . θάπτον: *the more . . . the more quickly*. With θάπτον *sc.* τοσοῦτῳ. — Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνας: the possession of these two cities closed the Bos-

porus to Athenian grain ships from the Black Sea. See on I. 17 and I. I. 22.

3. τῆς Παράλου: *cp.* I. 29. — ἐλέγετο: iterative, the news passing from mouth to mouth. — μακρῶν τειχῶν: connecting Athens and Piraeus. — ὁ ἕτερος: anacoluthon, as though πάντες ὄμωζον, instead of οἰμωγὴ, had preceded. The gen. abs. would be the regular construction. — πενθοῦντες: another case of anacoluthon, οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη being equivalent to πάντες ἐγρηγόρησαν (οὐκ ἐκοιμήθησαν). For the affirmative to be supplied from a preceding negative see on δεομένων I. I. 29. — αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς: the strengthening intensive, as in I. I. 28. — Μηλίου . . . Ἰστιαίας

τες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαίᾳς καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τυρωναίους καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.  
 4 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι πλὴν ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εὐτρεπίζεν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

5 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσμίασι ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας

κτί. : when Melos surrendered to the Athenians in 416 B.C., all the men who were taken were put to death and the women and children sold into slavery. Thuc. 5. 116. The Histiaeans were expelled from their city in 445 B.C. Thuc. 1. 114. Scione and Torone were captured in 421 B.C. The men of Torone were carried as captives to Athens, those of Scione were put to death; the women and children of both cities were sold into slavery. Thuc. 5. 3 and 32. The Aeginetans were expelled from their island in 431 B.C. A large number of them settled in Thyrea, in Peloponnesus. There they were taken prisoners by the Athenians in 424 B.C. and put to death. Thuc. 2. 27 and 4. 57. — The above enumeration of Athenian crimes has been unjustly adduced as showing an anti-Athenian prejudice on Xenophon's part. Probably the final ἄλλους

πολλούς is a rhetorical exaggeration, but for the rest Xenophon is simply stating undoubted facts, and facts which were sure to be vividly recalled by the Athenians at just this time. The whole description of the scene at Athens is manifestly that of an eyewitness. See *Intro.* p. 10.

4. λιμένας : at this time Athens had three harbors : Munichia and Zea on the eastern side of the Piraeus peninsula, and on the western side the main harbor of Piraeus, including a harbor for war ships (*Κάνθαρος*) and one for merchantmen (*ἐμπόριον*). It was the last mentioned (*ἐμπόριον*) which was now left open. — ἀποχῶσαι : the word is found only in the *Hell.*

§§ 5-9. *All the allies of Athens, except the Samians, go over to the Spartans. The city is blockaded by sea and land.*

5. κατεσκευάσατο : = κατεστή-

πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνην · εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης<sup>30</sup>  
 χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ  
 6 ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ  
 καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν  
 ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων · οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρί-  
 7 μων ποιήσαντες κατέιχον τὴν πόλιν. Λύσανδρος δὲ<sup>35</sup>  
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἄγιν τε εἰς Δεκελείαν καὶ  
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί.  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελο-  
 8 ποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγέλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου  
 Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Πανσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαντες<sup>40</sup>  
 ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρα-  
 τοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ [τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ].  
 9 Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγινα ἀπέδωκε τὴν

σατο § 1. In all the cities which fell under his control Lysander set up the same form of government, — a Spartan harmost with a native decarchy made up, wherever possible, of the members of the oligarchical clubs which Lysander had himself established. See on I. 6. 4, and cp. 3. 4. 2 and 7. Such governments could be relied upon to support him in his ambitious schemes (see on 3. 3. 3). — ἄλλας . . . Μυτιλήνην: see on I. 30. Mytilene is especially mentioned because it was the principal city of the island and at last accounts (I. 6. 38) was in the hands of the Athenians. — ἐπὶ Θράκης: as in I. 3. 17.

6. γνωρίμων: *notables*, one of

the various terms by which Xenophon designates the aristocratic, oligarchical faction. This faction was everywhere pro-Spartan.

7. ἔπεμψε: *sent word*. — Ἄγιν . . . Δεκελείαν: see on I. 1. 33. — σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί: cp. with the simple dat. in § 5 and see on I. 1. 11. — Ἀργείων: who remained faithful to their alliance with Athens. See on I. 3. 13. — παραγγέλαντος: *at the command of*.

8. Ἀκαδημεία: a gymnasium just outside the walls of Athens to the northward, famous in later days as the place where Plato taught. The following explanatory phrase is probably an interpolation.

9. ἀπέδωκε . . . Αἰγινήταις:

πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσασας, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς 45 αὐτῶν ἐστέρουτο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμίνα ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἰσπλου.

- 10 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουσαν τί χρῆ ποιῆω, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμαχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν εἰ μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ 50 διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδ' ἐπὶ 11 μὴ αἰτία ἐτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀπο- 55

see on § 3. — τῆς αὐτῶν: *sc. πατρίδος*. — πλοῖα: *merchantmen*, especially grain ships. See on I. I. 15 and I. 2. 1.

§§ 10-15. *The besieged Athenians sue for peace, but are unwilling to accept the terms offered by the Lacedaemonians.*

10. εἰ μὴ: *except*. The connection is not quite logical, for *to suffer the pains which they had inflicted* could not properly be called *safety*; but οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν may be understood to mean loosely 'no way out of it,' 'nothing for it.' — &: construe with ἠδίκουν as well as ἐποίησαν. — οὐ τιμωρούμενοι: *not in retaliation*, with which is contrasted διὰ τὴν ὕβριν. — ἠδίκουν: = ἀδίκως ἐποίησαν, *had inflicted unjustly*; that is, ἠδίκουν repeats ἐποίησαν with an

added adverbial idea which is justified by and supplements διὰ τὴν ὕβριν. For the plupf. meaning of the impf. see on ἀδικῆ I. 7. 20. — οὐδὲ . . . μὴ; *not a single*. οὐδὲ . . . εἰς is regularly stronger than οὐδεῖς. Cp. *none* and *not one* in English. — ἐκείνοις: the Lacedaemonians. — For the tone of this section see on § 3.

11. τοὺς ἀτίμους: the reference is particularly to members of the oligarchical faction who had been concerned in the revolution of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C. (see *Introd.* p. 18) and had consequently forfeited, either wholly or in part, their political rights. Through a measure known as the *Amnesty of Patroclides* these men were now restored to full citizenship, and the oligarchical party



θηρσκότων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ  
 διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει,  
 ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἄγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι  
 εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ,  
 12 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς<sup>60</sup>  
 Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις,  
 13 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,<sup>65</sup>  
 αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρή-  
 14 νης, κάλλιον ἤκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις  
 ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν,  
 ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὦντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι,  
 καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἐτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ<sup>70</sup>  
 15 λιμῶ ἀπολεισθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τευχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως  
 οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν

was thus materially strengthened.  
 — οὐ διελέγοντο: *refused to make overtures*. The impf. denotes 'resistance to pressure.' — σύμμαχοι εἶναι Δ. ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη κτί.: *i.e.* to recognize the hegemony of Sparta while still retaining their own independence. — ἐπὶ τούτοις: *on these terms*.

12. οὐ γὰρ . . . κύριος: *for he had no authority, i.e.* to conclude peace. For the inf. see on εἶναι I. 14.

13. [πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς]: an interpolation. Sellasia was in

Laconia, being a town near the northern frontier. — πρὸς Ἄγιν: *sc.* ἔλεγον. — αὐτόθεν: *from that very spot*, without coming any further. — εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης: note the ind., *if they really had any desire for peace*. — κάλλιον βουλευσαμένους: *i.e.* with a more reasonable proposal.

14. ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν: *while they should be sending*. — τῷ λιμῶ: *the* (before-mentioned) *famine*. Contrast λιμῶ (without the art.) § 11.

15. συμβουλεύειν: *to propose*

ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς  
 προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο  
 δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίου καθελεῖν ἑκα- 75  
 τέρου· ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμ-  
 16 βουλευεῖν. τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσαν-  
 δρον, εἰδὼς ἦξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδί-  
 σασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν 80  
 ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρω  
 τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελ-  
 λον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὃ τι τις λέγοι

*any measure.* — εἶναι: in ind. disc., depending upon εἰπών. See on I.

6. 7. — Λακεδαιμονίοις: construe with εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι. — ἐφ' οἷς: see on ἐπὶ τοῖτοις § II. — προυκαλοῦντο δὲ κτί.: Sparta's terms had evidently been made known to the Athenian ambassadors at Sellasia (§ 13). — μακρῶν τειχῶν: see on § 3. — ἑκατέρου: instead of ἐκάστου, because the reference is to each of two walls. The gen. is partitive, depending upon ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίου, which serves as the obj. of καθελεῖν. See on πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους I. 2. 18. — ἐγένετο ψήφισμα: this was the act of the demagogue Cleophon, and it was on this account that the oligarchs brought about his death. See on I. 7. 35.

§§ 16-23. *Theramenes is sent to Lysander and afterward to Sparta. The harder terms of*

*peace which the Spartans now offer are accepted.*

16. τοιούτων ὄντων: sc. τῶν πραγμάτων, conditions being such. — Λύσανδρον: who at this time with part of his fleet was besieging Samos. Cp. § 6. — ἦξει: would come back. — βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι: note the emphasis upon the part., whether it was because they wished . . . that they insisted. Cp. I. 5. 6. — πίστεως ἕνεκα: to obtain a guarantee of good faith, parallel with βουλόμενοι. — τρεῖς μῆνας κτί.: from December, 405, to the last of March, 404 B.C. For Theramenes' mission and conduct cp. Lys. 12. 68-70. — ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε: waiting for the time when. — ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον: it seems from this that the statement in § II was an exaggeration. — ἅπαντα: anything and every-

- 17 ὁμολογήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχει,<sup>85</sup> εἶτα κελεύει εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὢν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἠρέθη πρεσβευτῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκα-  
 18 τος αὐτός. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα<sup>90</sup> Ἀθηναίου ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους  
 19 κυρίου εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἤκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτούς.<sup>95</sup> ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἣ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἔξαιρεῖν.  
 20 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδρα-

*thing*, further explained by ὅ τι τις λέγει.

17. κατέχει, κελεύει: representing the imperfects of the dir. disc. See on I. 7. 5. — εἶτα: often used without δέ when a μὲν has preceded. — κύριος . . . ἐφόρους: for the cases see on I. 26. — ὢν: = ἐκείνων ᾤ. — εἰς: because of the idea of motion contained in πρεσβευτῆς. — δέκατος αὐτός: *with nine others*. The phrase serves to designate Theramenes as the leader of the embassy.

18. μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων: *with others*, (namely) *Lacedae-*

*monians*. See on I. 4. 2. — Ἀριστοτέλην: afterwards one of the Thirty. See 3. 2 and 13.

19. ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ: lit. *on what condition*, i.e. *with what proposals*. — καλεῖν . . . ἤκον: i.e. εἰς Σπάρτην. — ἀντέλεγον . . . μὴ σπένδεσθαι: for the redundant negative see on μηδέν I. 7. 32. For the facts as explained by the Thebans see 3. 5. 8. — ἔξαιρεῖν: sc. Ἀθήνας, from Ἀθηναίους.

20. οὐκ ἔφασαν . . . ἀνδραποδεῖν: the statement of Justin (5. 7) is familiar: *negarunt Spartani se ex duobus Graeciae oculis alterum*

ποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις 100  
 κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην  
 ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας  
 καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγά-  
 δας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπισθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν 105  
 21 ὅποι ἂν ἠγῶνται. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέ-  
 σβεις ἐπανεφέρουν ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ'  
 αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι  
 ἦκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν  
 22 ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἀπήγγελλον 110

eruturos, the Spartans said that they would not put out one of the two eyes of Greece. More than thirty years later, when seeking an alliance with the Athenians, the Spartans reminded them of this act of clemency (*Hell.* 6. 5. 35). — τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις: the Persian wars. — ἐποιοῦντο: conative impf., offered to make. — ἐφ' ᾧ: on condition that. For the following inf. see S. 2279; HA. 999 a; B. 596; G. 1460; Gl. 567. — τὸν Πειραιᾶ: i.e. τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχη. — τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας: allowing their exiles to return. These exiles were mostly of the oligarchical party, which was thus still further strengthened. See on § 11 and 3. 2. — τὸν αὐτὸν . . . Λακεδαιμονίοις: a conventional formula for the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance. Note

that ἐχθρὸν and φίλον are pred. accs. and that Λακεδαιμονίοις depends upon τὸν αὐτόν (S. 1500; HA. 773 a; B. 392, 2; G. 1175; Gl. 525 a). — ἐπισθαι . . . ἠγῶνται: another common formula, indicating recognition of the Spartan hegemony. — Sparta's terms were severer than those at first offered (§ 15), yet they cannot be called unduly harsh. They are stated in substantially the same form as here by Diodorus (13. 107) and Plutarch (*Lys.* 14), — who gives what purports to be an exact copy of the proposals formulated at Sparta, — except that both these writers add the condition that Athens should relinquish all her foreign possessions.

21. φοβούμενοι: see on θαυμάζοντες 1. 4. 13. — μέλλειν: to delay.

- οὶ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δὲ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαίνεσαντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 115
- Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῆσαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.
- 24 [Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔλθεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ 120 Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάει δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.]
- 1 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἧ τὸ στάδιον 3

22. ποιοῦντο: ind. disc. for the ἐπιούνο of § 20. — προηγόρει: as in I. 1. 27.

23. κατέπλει: coming from Samos (see on § 16). According to Plut. *Lys.* 15 the formal surrender took place on the 16th of Munichion, i.e. toward the close of April (404 B.C.). — κατέσκαπτον: began to tear down. See on I. 3. 4. — ὑπό: to the music of. — ἄρχειν: was the beginning.

[§ 24. Notice of events in Sicily.]

24. This section is almost certainly an interpolation. Cp. I. 1. 37, I. 5. 21, and see *Introd.* p. 25.

The capture of Acragas has been already recorded in I. 5. 21. — Ἑρμοκράτους: not the Hermocrates of I. 1. 27 f. — ἐτυράννησε: became tyrant. See on ἐσιώπησε I. 5. 6.

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1-3. *The establishment of the Thirty Tyrants. Lysander sails for Samos, and Agis disbands the Peloponnesian army.* 404 B.C.

1. [ᾧ . . . ᾧδε]: an interpolation. With the first clauses (ᾧ . . . ἄρχοντος) cp. ᾧ . . . Εὐκτήμονος I. 2. 1, and see *Introd.* p. 24 f. The latter part of the passage (ὄν . . . ᾧδε) depends upon the preceding, and must also be re-

ένικα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύον-  
τος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντας, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι,  
ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἤρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρ-  
χίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχ-  
2 χία ὧδε.] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι,  
οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολι-

garded as spurious. For the case of  $\psi$  (and  $\eta$ ) see on I. 4. 12. — οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν κτέ. : *i.e.* they do not name the year after him as archon eponymous, but write ἐπὶ ἀναρχίας (*i.e.* in the archonless year) instead of ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος.

2. Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ κτέ. : Xenophon is characteristically brief (see *Introd.* p. 27) in his description of the establishment of the Thirty. We learn from other writers that after the fall of Athens the extreme oligarchs, strengthened by the enfranchisement (2. 11) and restoration (2. 23) of many of their number, began a vigorous campaign to overthrow the existing democracy and set up an oligarchy in its stead. With this purpose they appointed a central committee of five so-called ephors and succeeded in imprisoning several prominent democratic leaders. They were opposed, however, not only by the extreme democrats, but by a party of moderates, headed by Theramenes. Finally, they summoned Lysander from

Samos, whither he had gone after the surrender of Athens (see on § 3), and with the help of his threats intimidated the Assembly into passing the decree here mentioned. That this was a compromise between the extreme oligarchs and the moderates is indicated by the fact that ten of the Thirty were named by the ephors and ten by Theramenes. The remaining ten were nominally chosen by the Assembly from among 'those present,' but actually they were not representatives of the democrats. Thus Athens fell under a government modeled after the oligarchical decarchies which Lysander had established (see on 2. 5) in other captured cities. For the whole matter cp. *Lys.* 12. 43 f. and 71-76, 13. 13 f., *Arist. Const. Ath.* 34. 3, *Diod.* 14. 3 f., *Plut. Lys.* 15. — οἱ . . . συγγράψουσι : *i.e.* they were appointed to draw up a constitution based upon the legislation of Solon and Cleisthenes, discarding the radical, extreme democracy of more recent times. According to Aristotle

τεύσουσι. καὶ ἠρέθησαν οἶδε· Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἴππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἴέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαίρεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θεόγνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἴππόμαχος, Μνησιθείδης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

4 [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 ἀπέκτεινεν.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Σύρακόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῶοι

and Diodorus it was one of the conditions of the peace of 404 B.C. that Athens should be governed according to τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν. For the rel. clause of purpose see S. 2554; HA. 911; B. 591; G. 1442; Gl. 615. — Κριτίας: Critias, a returned exile, was leader of the extreme oligarchs.

3. ἀπέπλει Δ. πρὸς Σάμον: for the third time. Since he first undertook the siege of Samos (see on 2. 16) Lysander had been recalled to Athens to receive the surrender of the Athenians (see

on 2. 23) and again to aid in establishing the Thirty. — ἐκάστους: the several contingents of the allies.

[§§ 4-5. Notice of events in Thessaly and Sicily.]

4. This section and the following are probably interpolations. See Introd. p. 25 f. — ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν: on September 3d. — ἄρξαι: the tense as in ἐτυράνησε 2. 24.

5. Λεοντῶοι . . . συννοικοῦντες: they had been subjugated and compelled to remove to Syracuse.

Συρακοσίοις συνοικούντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν<sup>25</sup>  
 πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ  
 καὶ οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην  
 ἀπεστάλησαν.]

- 6 Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντη,  
 ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσ-<sup>30</sup>  
 βάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡμολόγησαν ἐν  
 ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα  
 7 παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς  
 ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδούς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα  
 πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας [φρουρεῖν]<sup>35</sup>  
 8 ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ  
 Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπά-  
 γων τὰ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ  
 Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς  
 παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τε<sup>40</sup>  
 τρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο τῶν  
 φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ  
 9 εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα

— ἀπέστησαν εἰς: *revolted and re-  
 turned to*. Cp. on I. I. 23. — εἰς  
 Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν: apparently  
 to coöperate with traitors who  
 had offered to surrender the city  
 to Dionysius.

§§ 6-10. *The surrender of  
 Samos. Lysander returns to  
 Sparta in triumph.*

6. ὁμολογεῖν: *i.e.* to come to  
 terms. — οὕτως: *on these terms*.

7. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις: the

aristocrats whom the popular  
 party, aided by the Athenians, had  
 driven into exile in 412 B.C.  
 Thuc. 8. 21. — δέκα ἄρχοντας: the  
 usual decarchy. See on 2. 5.

8. ἀκρωτήρια: as trophies. —  
 πλὴν δώδεκα: cp. 2. 20. — ἰδίᾳ: in  
 contrast with the public booty. —  
 περιεγένοντο: for the agreement  
 cp. I. I. 23 and see Introd. IV. A.  
 — παρέδειξεν: as in I. 14. — εἴ τι:  
 see on εἴ τινα 2. 2.



Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους [ , εἰς ὃ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, 45 ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπονδῶν, 10 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἶδε· Βρασίδης, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεῦ 50 ξίππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιπίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἄρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Ἐνδιος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρη- 55 μένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν].

11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἠρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὓστινας πολιτεύσονται,

9, 10. [εἰς ὃ . . . κατέπλευσεν]: almost certainly an interpolation. See *Introd.* pp. 24, 26. — ἐξάμηνος: *sc.* χρόνος. — ὀκτώ: an error for ἑπτά. The war lasted from 431 to 404 B.C. — οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι: *i.e.* the eponymous ephors. — πέμπτῳ . . . σπονδῶν: the Athenians reduced Euboea in 446 B.C., and in the following year concluded a thirty years' truce with Sparta. *Thuc.* I. 114 f. — Here ends the First Part of the *Hellenica*, completing Thucydides' story of the Peloponnesian War. See *Introd.* p. 21 f.

§§ 11–14. *The rule of the Thirty Tyrants. They obtain a Spartan garrison to support them.*

11. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἠρέθησαν: resuming the narrative of § 2. The Thirty were probably appointed in the early summer of 404 B.C. — ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι: see on ἐφ' ᾧ 2. 20. In this case ἐφ' ᾧτε, indicating the terms on which, *i.e.* the powers with which, the Thirty were appointed, approaches very near to a meaning of purpose. — πολιτεύσονται: opt. in implied ind. disc., suggested by ἐφ' ᾧτε. In the corresponding καθ' οὓς

τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἐμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύ-  
 ναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς  
 12 ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὐς πάντες ἤδεσαν  
 ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφιντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς  
 καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖ; ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον  
 θανάτου· καὶ ἢ τε βουλή ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἷ  
 65 τε ἄλλοι, ὅσοι συνῆδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι,  
 13 οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν  
 ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλουντο, ἐκ τού-  
 του πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην·  
 τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς 70

πολιτεύσουσι of § 2 the ind. is retained. See GMT. 134, 574. — ἐμελλον: as in 2. 21. — ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς: i.e. from their own (oligarchical) partisans.

12. ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ: i.e. before the recent overthrow of the democracy. — συκοφιντίας: συκοφάνται were professional informers, who extorted money from individuals by threats of prosecution or brought suits for the sake of obtaining a share of the fines which might be imposed. — καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς: properly 'men of culture,' but the term is often, as here, a conventional designation for the aristocratic party. Cp. βελτίστους § 22 and γνωρίμων 2. 6. — ὑπήγον θανάτου: see on 1. 3. 19. — ἡ βουλή... κατεψηφίζετο: for the Thirty had conferred upon their Senate judicial functions.

13. ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη: Xenophon alone among Attic writers occasionally uses the opt. with ἂν in object clauses, instead of the regular fut. indic. See Introd. IV. G. 1, and GMT. 351 and App. IV. In such cases ὅπως is really interrogative and its clause an indir. question with the potential opt. The Thirty asked themselves *how it would be possible*. GMT. 351, 2; GS. 447. — πρῶτον μὲν: according to Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 37. 2) the establishment of a Spartan garrison in Athens was one of the *last* acts of the Thirty. It is altogether probable, however, that Aristotle is in error. See Introd. p. 33 f. — Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην: both members of the Thirty (§ 2) and the latter apparently a friend of Lysander (2. 18). — φρουροὺς... ἔλθειν: το

σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκπο-  
δὼν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσασαυτο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέ-  
14 ψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνούντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε  
φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἄρμωστήν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς  
πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν 75  
Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαι-  
νοίη ἃ πράττειεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος  
αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκ ἐτι τοὺς πονη-  
ροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἡκιστα  
μὲν παρῶθεν ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι ἐπι- 80  
χειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.  
15 τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμο-

*a*id them in securing the coming of a garrison. φρουροὺς is subj. of ἐλθεῖν, which is the obj. inf. after συμπρᾶξαι, while σφίσι depends upon σύν in composition. — δῆ: ironical (*forsooth*), as in I. 27, I. 7. 8. It was not merely against τοὺς πονηροὺς that the Thirty had designs. — θρέψειν αὐτοί: *that they would maintain it* (the garrison) *themselves*, i.e. at their own expense.

14. φρουροὺς: 700 in number. — ἄρμωστήν: with a Spartan har- most installed in the Acropolis, Athens now had a government entirely similar to those which Lysander had established in other captured cities. See on 2. 5. — ὡς: see Introd. IV. F. — τῶν φρουρῶν: part. gen. depending upon τινάς, the understood obj.

of συμπέμποντος. — οὓς ἐβούλοντο: *the ones whom they wished (to arrest)*, as contrasted with those whom they had arrested in expectation of the support of public opinion (§ 12). Note that *whomsoever they wished* would have been οὓς βούλοντο. — οὓς ἐνόμιζον . . . λαμβάνειν: *who they thought least willingly endured being thrust aside, and who, if they undertook to offer any opposition, would obtain supporters in the greatest numbers*. Note the predicative use of πλείστους.

§§ 15–20. *Theramenes opposes the violent measures of Critias. Three thousand citizens are chosen to share in the government and all the other Athenians are disarmed.*

15. ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει: leaders respectively of the extreme

γνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετῆς ἦν  
ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς 85  
εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ  
καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ,  
ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῆ πόλει καὶ  
16 εἶπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο  
τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκ-90  
τεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανω-  
τάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ  
εἷς, ἥττόν τι οἶε ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς  
17 χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐθήης εἶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθυησκόν-

oligarchs and the moderates (see on § 2). It was not strange, therefore, that they ultimately disagreed.—*ἐπεὶ δέ*: the temporal clause which is herewith introduced is left without an apodosis, the original plan of the sentence being obscured in the mind of the writer by the numerous dependent clauses which follow. Cp. I. 6. 4 and see *Intro.* IV. κ.—*ἅτε*: for its use and meaning with the part. see S. 2085; HA. 977; B. 656, 1; G. 1575; Gl. 593 a.—*καὶ*: also, *i.e.* Critias was prompted in his bloodthirsty policy not only by other motives, but also by a desire for revenge.—*φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου*: at some time during the year 407-406 B.C. He had returned with the other exiles upon

the fall of Athens (see on § 2). For the prep. see on I. 1. 27.—*καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς*: as in § 12.—*ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ κτί.*: the change to dir. disc. as in I. 25.

16. *οἰκείως ἐχρήτο*: treated as a friend.—*μὴ οὐκ*: for the double neg. see S. 2745; HA. 1034; B. 434; G. 1616; Gl. 572 a.—*εἰ δέ κτί.*: a transition to dir. disc. as in the preceding §, but without the inserted *ἔφη*. Cp. *νεμικήκατε* I. 1. 28.—*ἥττόν τι . . . ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*: you think that it is any the less necessary to look out for this government just as if it were a monarchy. Note that *τυραννίς* does not mean, as English derivatives would suggest, an unjust or despotic government, but merely the absolute rule of one who is not of royal blood.

των πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί 95  
 τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἢ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν  
 ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο  
 τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν δια-  
 18 μένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα,  
 ἦδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἤκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ 100  
 συρρυνείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισ-  
 19 χιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ  
 Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη  
 ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελ-  
 τίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, 105  
 ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτου ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοῦς

17. καὶ ἀδίκως: *and unjustly*  
 100.— πολλοὶ . . . συνιστάμενοι:  
*it was evident that many were*  
*banding together.* For the per-  
 sonal construction see on I. 6. 20.  
 — τις: as in I. 5. 15.— λήψοιτο:  
 for this form of fut. cond. see on  
 σχήσοι I. 1. 35. It is frequently  
 used, as here, in a threat or warn-  
 ing.— τῶν πραγμάτων: *the gov-*  
*ernment*, as in I. 6. 13.

18. οἱ . . . τριάκοντα: this term  
 is used to designate the tyrants as  
 a body even when, as here, it does  
 not refer to the whole number.  
 Cp. 4. 23.— οὐχ ἤκιστα: = *μάλιστα*.  
 — τοὺς μεθέξοντας: = *οἱ μεθέξουσι*.  
 — δὴ: *ironical* again. The Thirty  
 had no intention of surrendering  
 any part of their authority. Sim-  
 ilarly, in 411 B.C., the oligarchy  
 of the Four Hundred enrolled a

body of five thousand citizens to  
 whom they promised, but never  
 granted, a share in the govern-  
 ment.

19. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα: *in regard*  
*to this also.*— τὸ πρῶτον μὲν: *in*  
*the first place*, correlative with  
 ἔπειτα δέ below.— βουλομένους . . .  
 τρισχιλίους: *that, wishing to make*  
*the best of the citizens their asso-*  
*ciates, they made just three thou-*  
*sand (their associates).* The words  
 κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι do double  
 duty. See KG. 597, 2 f.— ὥσπερ  
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . ἔχοντα: the acc.  
 absolute, which is regular with the  
 part. of an impersonal verb, is occa-  
 sionally used with other verbs when  
 ὡς or ὥσπερ introduces the abso-  
 lute clause. S. 2078; HA. 974; B.  
 658, N.; G. 1570; Gl. 591 a;  
 GMT. 853.— ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην

καὶ ἀγαθούς εἶναι, καὶ οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὐτ'  
 ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ',  
 ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας,  
 βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατα- 110  
 20 σκευαζομένους. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιή-  
 σαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ  
 καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες θέσθαι  
 τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς  
 φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ 115  
 ὄπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακο-  
 μίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

κτί. : *must of necessity be, etc.* For εἶναι see S. 2004; HA. 952; B. 641; G. 1521; Gl. 565. — οὐτ' . . . οἶόν τε εἶη: (*as if*) *it would not be possible.* The clause is parallel with the preceding acc. abs., but with change of construction, as though introduced by ὡσπερ ἂν εἶ. Cp. ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες . . . , ἐκεῖνοι δὲ . . . ἤκοιεν I. 2. 15. — βιαίαν τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . κατασκευαζομένους: *establishing a government of violence.* Note the pred. use of βιαίαν. — ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων: *weaker than the governed, i.e. those outside the 3000.*

20. ἐξέτασιν: *i.e. a review* under arms. — τῶν ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου: all the other citizens except the 3000. With καταλόγου cp. καταλέγουσι § 18. — ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ: *in different places, thus*

dividing the disfranchised and presumably disaffected citizens into small, easily manageable divisions. — θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα: *to pile their arms.* — ἐν ᾧ . . . ἀπεληλύθεσαν: *while they were away, i.e. from the mustering places.* The citizens are temporarily relieved from duty by the order to pile arms. When they have straggled off, for rest or for food, their arms are seized by the emissaries of the Thirty. — τοὺς φρουροὺς: the Spartan garrison. — τῷ ναῷ: of Athena, *i.e. the Parthenon.* — Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 37. 2) puts the disarming of the Athenians after the execution of Theramenes. See on § 13.

§§ 21-23. *Arbitrary executions and confiscations by the Thirty. Theramenes' continued*

21 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἔξῃ ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ  
 τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον,  
 πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν<sup>120</sup>  
 καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα δίδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοί-  
 κων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι,  
 22 τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημῆσθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ  
 καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιο. ὁ δ' ἀπε-  
 κρίνατο· Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας<sup>125</sup>  
 βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν.  
 ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἶων,  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα  
 λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώ-  
 23 τερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν<sup>130</sup>  
 ὁ τι βούλοιντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς  
 βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμε-

*opposition leads them to plot against him.*

21. ὡς ἔξῃ ἤδη: *thinking that (ὡς) it was now possible.* For the acc. abs. see on § 19. — τῶν μετοίκων: dependent upon ἓνα, which is obj. of λαβεῖν. The brother of Lysias, the orator, was one of those who were thus seized and put to death. See *Introd.* p. 34 and cp. *Lys.* 12. 5-17. The metics were for the most part merchants and manufacturers, and many of them were wealthy. — ἕκαστον: of the Thirty.

22. ἔφη: the insertion of a superfluous ἔφη after an introduc-

ing verb of saying (here ἀπεκρίνατο) is not unusual. — καλόν: *honorable.* — συκοφαντῶν: see on § 12. — λαμβάνοιεν . . . εἶων: see on εἶη I. 6. 20. — μηδέν: instead of οὐδέν because the part. is conditional, — *even though guilty of no wrong-doing.* — πῶς οὐ: = ἄρα οὐ, *nonne.* — τῷ παντὶ: *altogether.* — ἐκείνων: = τῶν ἐκείνους πεπραγμένων. A 'short-cut comparison.'

23. ποιεῖν ὁ τι βούλοιντο: the dearest hope of the Thirty. Cp. ὅπως βούλοιντο § 13, ὁ τι βούλοιντο § 21. — βουλευτὰς: who now have judicial power. Cp. § 12. — ὡς . . . πολιτείας: *on the ground*

νον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης  
 24 ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 135  
 ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

ἽΩ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείους  
 τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὅπου πολιτεία  
 μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δὲ  
 ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν 140  
 μεθιστᾶσι διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων  
 τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ  
 25 τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἰοῖς  
 ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν,  
 γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ 145  
 μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ  
 ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 26 γνῶμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ ἐάν τινα  
 αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα  
 ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν δίκαιον 150

that he was injuring the government, i.e. the oligarchy.

§§ 24-34. Critias' speech against Theramenes.

24. τοῦ καιροῦ : = ἡ καιρός ἐστι, than is fitting. — ἀνάγκη : sc. ἐστί, it is inevitable. — τοῖς . . . μεθιστᾶσι : sc. τὴν πολιτείαν. — πολυανθρωποτάτην : the population of Athens and Piraeus at this time, after the great losses incurred in the Peloponnesian War, was probably about 100,000.

25. γνόντες μὲν . . . γνόντες δέ :

believing . . . knowing. Hence the former is followed by the inf., the latter by a ὅτι clause. — τοῖς οἰοῖς ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν : = τοιοῦτοις οἰοῖς ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσμεν. See on τῶν οἰων-περ αὐτός I. 4. 16. — ὁ μὲν δῆμος . . . οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι : the democracy . . . the aristocrats. See on καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς § 12. — γνῶμη : ἀρροῦσα.

26. ἐάν . . . αἰσθανώμεθα . . . εἰ . . . λυμαινεται : the first states the general principle, the second passes to the particular, actual case.



εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστά-  
 27 σει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηρα-  
 μένην τουτονὶ οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ  
 ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε  
 ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα 155  
 οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλόμεθα ποιή-  
 σασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα  
 ἐγίνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν  
 28 δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ 160  
 δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς  
 πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενή-  
 μεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς  
 μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῆ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν 165

— λυμαίνεται: here with the dat., in § 23 with the acc. The meaning of the verb is unchanged. — ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει: lit. *this establishment*, i.e. *this (established) government*. Cp. καθίσταμεν above.

27. τουτονί: here. S. 333 g; HA. 274; B. 147; G. 412; Gl. 210. — οἷς δύναται: *by what means he can*. — ἀπολλύντα: conative pres. — ὡς ταῦτα ἀληθῆ: *as proof that this is true*. — τὰ παρόντα: *the present proceedings*. — εἰ . . . ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκε: *if he had held these views*. — πολέμιος μὲν ἦν: without ἄν, since the conclusion is stated as a past fact. On the other hand, ἂν ἐνομίζετο states what

would be true in the present, assuming the reality of εἰ ἐγίνωσκε. Note that the first apodosis is logically subordinate to the second, — *although an enemy, still he would not*, etc. Cp. I. 7. 28.

28. νῦν δέ: *but as it is*, turning from the unreal hypothesis to the actual fact. — αὐτός: emphatic, 'it was *he* who began.' The nom. is left without a verb, the sentence continuing in the changed form αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει. See Introd. IV. κ. — ὅπως: purpose, since οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει means not merely *he disapproves*, but *he expresses his disapproval, he opposes*. — αὖ: *again*, in the event

29 τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ  
 προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόν-  
 ναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεωότερον προδοσία  
 πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ  
 φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίοις μὲν ἄνθρω- 170  
 ποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὖθις πιστοὶ γίνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν  
 προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπέισατο πώποτε  
 30 οὐδείς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ  
 καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν,  
 ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ 175  
 ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα  
 Ἄγωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μετα-  
 στησαί εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευσεν ἐν ἐκείνοις.  
 ἵπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον,

of another change in the govern-  
 ment.

29. τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον . . .  
 ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον: *as much more  
 dreadful a thing than war, as it  
 is harder.* — τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ  
 κτέ.: the thought is 'as much  
 more hateful, as men's treatment  
 of the former is harsher than their  
 treatment of the latter.' Trans-  
 late *and more hateful, inasmuch  
 as, etc.* — σπένδονται: *make peace.*  
 — ὃν . . . λαμβάνωσι: *whomever  
 they catch playing the traitor, a  
 pres. gen. protasis.* The apod.  
 is contained in the gnomic aorists  
 ἐσπέισατο and ἐπίστευσε, which are  
 equivalent to presents and paral-  
 lel with σπένδονται and πιστοὶ

γίνονται. — τοῦ λοιποῦ: *for the  
 future.*

30. ὅτι . . . ποιεῖ: *that these  
 doings of his are nothing new.*  
 καινὰ is predicative. — τιμώμενος:  
 concessive. — κατὰ . . . Ἄγωνα:  
*like his father, Hagnon.* Connect  
 with the following. — τοῖς τετρα-  
 κοσίους: for the history of the oli-  
 garchy of the Four Hundred (411  
 B.C.) see *Introd. p. 18.* That Hag-  
 non and Theramenes were in fact  
 prominent in the movement is  
 proved by the statements of other  
 authorities. Cp. *Lys. 12. 65, Thuc.*  
*8. 68, Arist. Const. Ath. 32. 2.* —  
 ἀντίπαλόν τι . . . συνιστάμενον: *that  
 some opposition to the oligarchy was  
 gathering.* The Athenian fleet re-

31 πρῶτος αὐτῶν ἡγεμῶν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο · ὅθεν 180  
 δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται [· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος  
 ἀρμόττει μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ · ἀποβλέπει  
 δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων]. δεῖ δέ, ὡς Θηράμενες, ἀνδρα τὸν  
 ἀξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα  
 τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δέ τι ἀντικόπτη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλε- 185  
 σθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον  
 καταστῶσιν · εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ,  
 32 εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψη, εὐθὺς εἰς τάναντία πλέοιεν ; καὶ  
 εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι,  
 σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος 190  
 εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις  
 δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος δὲ τοῖ  
 ἔστιν ὅς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν

fused allegiance to the new govern-  
 ment. — αὐτῶν: changing sides again.  
 — ἐκείνους: the Four Hundred.

31. δήπου: *of course*. — ἐπι-  
 καλεῖται: *is nicknamed*. — [καὶ . . .  
 ἀμφοτέρων]: probably a marginal  
 note, in explanation of the pre-  
 ceding, which has been incorpo-  
 rated in the text. The second  
 clause appears to mean *and he*  
 (*i.e.* Theramenes) *faces both ways*.  
 — δεῖ . . . οὐ προάγειν κτί.: *ought*  
*not to be clever at leading his com-*  
*rades into dangerous undertakings,*  
*etc.* — ἕως . . . καταστῶσιν: *lit.*  
*until they come into a fair breeze,*  
*i.e.* get a favoring, instead of an  
 adverse, wind. — εἰ δὲ μή: *other-*

*wise*, more fully explained by εἰ  
 . . . πλέοιεν. See on I. 3. 3. —  
 πῶς . . . ποτε: *how in the world*.

32. εἰσὶ μὲν . . . θανατηφόροι:  
 logically subordinate to the fol-  
 lowing δέ clause. See on § 27. —  
 δήπου: as in § 31 above. — μεταί-  
 τιος εἰ . . . ἀπολωλέναι: *αἴτιος* and  
 its compounds are followed by the  
 simple inf. as well as the inf. with  
 τοῦ. S. 2002; HA. 952; B. 641; G.  
 1526; Gl. 565 a; GMT. 749, 798. A  
 noun denoting the person affected  
 stands in the dat., — here πλείστοις.  
 — ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας = τῶν βελτιόνων,  
 dependent upon πλείστοις. — τῶν  
 βελτιόνων: cp. βέλτιστοι § 25. —  
 καί: = *καίπερ*. ταχθεὶς is there-

τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὁμῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν 195  
 33 ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῆίη. ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰεὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ 200  
 δυνασθῆ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλευόμενα καὶ ὡς προδιδόμενα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς  
 34 δ' εἰκότα ποιούμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δῆπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι 205  
 πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιοθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὗτος σωθεῖς μὲν 210  
 πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνω-

fore concessive, being subordinate to ἀνελόμενος below. — καταδύντας: see on καταδεδυκίας I. 6. 35. — ἐν τῇ . . . ναυμαχίᾳ: of Arginusae. For the facts here referred to see I. 6. 35 and I. 7. 4f.

33. γε μὴν: but indeed, introducing the conclusion. See Introd. IV. D. 4. — πῶς . . . οὐ: as in § 22. — ὡς μὴ . . . δυνασθῆ: instead of the regular ὅπως μὴ with the fut. indic. See Introd. IV. G.

2, and GMT. 351 and App. IV. — ὡς . . . ποιούμεν: see on ὡς ταῦτα ἀληθῆ § 27.

34. καλλίστη κτί.: Critias is said to have been the author of a treatise on the Spartan constitution. Athenaeus II. 463 e, Pollux 7. 59. — τοῖς πλείοσι: i.e. τῶν ἐφόρων. — ἐν: connect with ἀξιοθῆναι. — ὡς: causal. — τῶν . . . ὑμῖν: of those who hold opposite views to yours, i.e. your political opponents. Cp. ἐγίγνω-

σκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

- 35 Ὁ μὲν ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο · Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν · Ἄλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὁ 215  
τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον δῆπου κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος 220  
ὡς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκείνοι δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι  
36 ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν 225  
παρανενοηκέναι · ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρῶν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατε-

σκε § 27. — τῶν ἔξω: *i.e.* democrats who were in exile.

§§ 35-49. *Theramenes' defense.*

35. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον . . . λόγου: it is *possible* that this claim has a basis of truth (see on I. 7. 4), but the following statements are in direct contradiction of Xenophon's narrative (I. 7. 3-6) and must be regarded as wholly false. The generals never accused Theramenes of neglect of duty (see I. 7. 6), and it was they, not he, who maintained (*ib.*) that the storm prevented the rescue. — δῆπου: putting this doubtful as-

sertion as though it were a matter of common knowledge. See on § 31. — προσταχθέν: acc. abs., concessive. From μοι supply ἐμέ as subj. of ἀνελέσθαι. — ἀπολογούμενος: *saying in my defense.* — οὐδέ . . . μὴ ὅτι: *not even . . . much less.* S. 2763 d; HA. 1035 a; B. 442, N.; G. 1504; GMT. 708. — εἰκότα: *what was reasonable.*

36. παρανενοηκέναι: *has misunderstood (the matter)*, a sarcastic note. — Θετταλίᾳ: where Critias had gone when banished from Athens. Cp. § 15 and *Mem.* I. 2. 24. — δημοκρατίαν

σκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ᾧπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας.  
 37 ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μὴδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο ·  
 τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς 230  
 ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν  
 ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμω-  
 ρίας τυγχάνειν · ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν  
 οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τὰ τε πεπραγμένα  
 38 καὶ ἂν ἡν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν 235  
 μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν  
 καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκο-  
 φάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτὰ ἐγιγνώσκομεν · ἐπεὶ  
 δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε κάγαθούς συλ-  
 λαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καγὼ ἤρξάμην τἀναντία τούτοις 240  
 39 γιγνώσκειν. ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος

κατεσκεύαζε: quietly and artfully suggesting that he (Theramenes) was not the only political turncoat. — πενέστας: *serfs*.

37. μὴδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο: herein Theramenes means to indicate that, despite the charges made against him, he is no friend of democracy. For the opt. (of wish) see S. 1814; HA. 870; B. 587; G. 1507; Gl. 476. — τῆς μεγίστης: made emphatic by its separation from τιμωρίας. — ὅστις . . . ἐστίν: this is the all-important question. In his answer to it lies the strength of Theramenes' able defense. — ἂν . . . κρίνειν: apod. of εἰ κατανοήσετε. S. 2356; HA. 901 a; B.

612, 1; G. 1421, 2. — ἕκαστος ἡμῶν: Theramenes on the one hand, Critias and his following on the other.

38. καταστήναι . . . βουλείαν: *came into your membership in the Senate*. — πάντες: *all of us, i.e. of the Thirty*. — ἐγιγνώσκομεν: as in §§ 27, 34. — καλοὺς τε κάγαθούς: not in the party sense. — καγὼ: *I also, i.e. as their attitude changed, so did mine toward them*.

39. Λέοντος: general in 406–405 B.C. Cp. 1. 5. 16, 6. 16. Socrates was detailed by the Thirty to arrest Leon, but refused obedience. Plato, *Apol.* 32 c. —

τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἓν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῆδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται· ἐγγύγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, 245 καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πρόποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς 40 ἡμῖν γενήσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὐπλεύσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει 250 γεγεννημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντίειπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ 41 μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἀντίειπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ 255 νομιζῶν χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. 260

ἱκανοῦ: *able*. — οὐδὲ ἓν: see on οὐδὲ μὴ 2. 10. — Νικίου: a famous statesman, commander of the Sicilian expedition, and one of the richest men of his time.

40. ἀλλὰ μὴν: *and further*. — Ἀντιφῶντος: not the orator Antiphon, who was executed in 411 B.C. Thuc. 8. 68. — ὑπόπτως . . . ἔξοιεν: in an active sense, *would cherish suspicion*. — ἓνα ἕκαστον: as in § 21.

41. τὰ ὄπλα . . . παρηροῦντο:

cp. § 20. — οὐδέ: because the thought is 'nor did the Lacedaemonians (any more than I) wish to make the city weak.' — ἐξῆν: *it was possible*. For the omission of ἄν see S. 2313; HA. 897; B. 607; G. 1400; Gl. 460. — γ': emphasizing τούτου, *if this had been what they wanted*. — καὶ μηδένα: *no one at all*. — λιμῷ: note that it was Theramenes himself who was most responsible therefor. Cp. 2. 16.

42 οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξόν  
 αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως  
 ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατή-  
 σειν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ  
 τῆδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ 265  
 αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκι-  
 βιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδεν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον  
 ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσ-  
 γενήσονται, τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι  
 43 πολλοὶ φανήσονται. ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ 270  
 πότερα εὐμενῆς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ  
 οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι,  
 οὐδ' οἱ συμμαχοὺς πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι,  
 οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ  
 μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς 275

42. φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι: cp. § 13 f. — ἕως . . . κρατήσκειν: 'until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of the ruled.' Underhill. — ἐμέλλομεν: being dependent upon ἐξόν, which implies non-fulfillment (see on ἐξήν above), it stands in the impf. ind. after the analogy of a protasis contrary-to-fact. — γε μὴν: and further. Cp. ἀλλὰ μὴν § 40, and see Introd. IV. D. 4. — Θρασύβουλον: one of the foremost Athenian leaders during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War (cp. I. I. 12 et passim), afterwards at the head of the movement which resulted in the expul-

sion of the Thirty (cp. chap. 4). — Ἄνυτον: an able supporter of Thrasybulus against the Thirty, in later days notorious as one of Socrates' accusers. — Ἀλκιβιάδην: he had not returned to Athens after Aegospotami (cp. I. 25). Xenophon fails to mention the fact that Critias, who hated and feared Alcibiades, procured his assassination through the help of Lysander. Cp. Plut. Alc. 38 f. — οὕτω γε: see on τοῦτον γε § 41. — τὸ ἀντίπαλον: the opposition, as the term is used in modern politics. — ἱκανοί: as in § 39.

43. οὗτοι . . . οὗτοι: taking up with emphasis the preceding par-



οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας ἀποκτείοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολ-  
 λούς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιούντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον  
 44 τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ  
 δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε.  
 πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄντων καὶ τοὺς 280  
 ἄλλους φυγάδας ἢ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλε-  
 σθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἂ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ  
 οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ  
 εἶναι. εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν  
 εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἠγείσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι 285  
 45 τῆς χώρας. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγὼ εἶμι οἶος αἰεὶ ποτε  
 μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δῆπου ὁ δῆμος  
 ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πο-  
 46 λιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε 290  
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνέισαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ

ticipial substantives. Cp. τούτους I. 7. 25. — οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας: a statement of fact. Contrast μηδὲν ἀδικούντας § 22. — προδιδόντες . . . τοὺς φίλους: with reference to § 33.

44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω: *my policies*, subj. of γίγνεσθαι. — μᾶλλον ἂν . . . βούλεσθαι: *would prefer*. — ἢ: correlative with πότερον. — τὸ κράτιστον: *the best element*. — ἂν ἠγείσθαι: parallel with νομίζειν. — τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν: *to set foot*, subj. of εἶναι.

45. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν: *and again, as to his statement*. — οἶος . . . μεταβάλλεσθαι: S. 2003; HA. 952; B.

641; G. 1526; Gl. 565 a. — ταῦτα: referring to the following. — ἐπὶ: *in the time of*. — καὶ αὐτός: καὶ emphasizes the pronoun (cp. καὶ μηδένα § 41), *it was the people itself which voted*. For the fact cp. Thuc. 8. 54, 69, Arist. Const. Ath. 29. 1.

46. For the events referred to in this section see Introd. p. 18. — ἐκεῖνοι: the Lacedaemonians. — οὐδὲν ἀνέισαν: *did not relax their efforts at all* in prosecuting the war. — οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ . . . Ἀρισταρχον: *i.e.* the three who are named and their fellow generals. For ἀμφὶ

Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγούντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ<sup>295</sup> 47 διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον 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<sup>300</sup> 48 ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδε γ' αὖ αἰεὶ ἐναντίος<sup>305</sup> εἰμὶ οἱ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννείσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων

see Introd. IV. c. 2. — στρατηγούντες: = στρατηγοὶ ὄντες. — τῷ χώματι: *the peninsula* (Eetionea), commanding Piraeus. — ἑταίροις: members of the oligarchical clubs, which bore the name *ἑταιρία*.

47. ἀποκαλεῖ: regularly used of an abusive name. — ποτὲ καί: both words add emphasis to the question, *whatever in the world*, etc. Cp. τί καὶ δεδιότες I. 7. 26.

48. ἐκείνοις μὲν κτέ.: *am forever at war with those who do not think there could be a good democracy until*, etc. — οἱ . . . ἂν ἀποδόμενοι:

*those who would sell*. The participle with ἂν represents a pot. opt. S. 1845; HA. 987 a; B. 662; G. 1308; Gl. 595. — δραχμῆς: gen. of price. — αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν: *should have a share in it, i.e. τῆς πόλεως*, the government. For the opt. see S. 2450; HA. 924, 921 b; B. 627, 624; G. 1470, 1471, 2; Gl. 644 c. — οἱ οὐκ οἴονται κτέ.: *who do not think that a good oligarchy could be established until they should bring the state to being ruled absolutely by a few*. — τό: connect with διατάττειν. — τοῖς δυναμένοις . . .

καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν  
 πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλο- 310  
 49:9 μαι. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς  
 δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ αἰσθητοὺς ἀπο-  
 στερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε. εἰ γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ  
 ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς,  
 ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως 315  
 ἀποθνήσκω.

50 Ὡς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη ἐγέ-  
 νετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ  
 ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύ-  
 ξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγήσάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ 320

**ἀσπίδων**: *i.e.* those who are able at their own expense to equip themselves as horsemen (*μεθ' ἵππων*) or hoplites (*μετ' ἀσπίδων*).

— **ὠφελεῖν**: dependent upon *δυναμῆνός* and used intransitively.

— **διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν**: *i.e.* to establish a government in which citizenship should be limited to the class just mentioned. — **πρόσθεν**: in the time of the Four Hundred. — This section contains an effective statement of Theramenes' position as a moderate, the foe of extremists in either camp. It is this attitude on his part which explains and justifies the high praise bestowed upon him by Thucydides and Aristotle, who also bear witness to the excellence of the government which he was instrumental in establishing after the fall of the Four

Hundred, a government based upon the principle of limited citizenship as described above by himself. See Thuc. 8. 68. 4, 8. 97. 2, Arist. *Const. Ath.* 28. 5, 32. 2, 33. 2. It is unfortunate that Theramenes was not more worthy of praise as a man.

49. **ἐγώ**: emphatic, for Critias had been guilty, in Thessaly and Athens, of both the offenses here mentioned. — **πράττων ἢ πρότερον κτί.**: note the alliteration. — **πάντων**: see on I. 2. 18. — **ἐσχατώτατα**: the superl. of a superl., *ἔσχατος* being the normal form.

§§ 50-56. *The condemnation and execution of Theramenes.*

50. **δῆλη . . . ἐπιθορυβήσασα**: *had shown its good will by applause.*

— **ἀναφεύξοιτο**: = *ἀποφεύξοιτο*, *would escape*. — **οὐ βιωτὸν**: *unen-*

διαλεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξήλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέ-  
 λευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ  
 51 ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ,  
 ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἴου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν  
 ὀρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ 325  
 ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες  
 οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανε-  
 ρῶς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς και-  
 νοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίους ὄντων μηδένα  
 ἀποθνήσκω ἀνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ 330  
 καταλόγου κυρίου εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ  
 οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλό-

*durable. — τοὺς . . . ἔχοντας: see § 23. — φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ: in plain sight of the Senate. — τοῖς δρυφάκτοις: the bar or railing, separating the Senate from the auditorium.*

51. προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι . . . , ὃς ἂν κτέ.: a blending of two constructions, (1) *it is the duty of a leader of the right sort (οἴου δεῖ) . . . not to allow, etc., and (2) he is a leader of the right sort who . . . does not allow, etc.* For προστάτου see on I. 7. 2. — οἴου: for the assimilation in case see on § 25 and I. 4. 16. — τοῦτο: referring to the preceding. — καινοῖς νόμοις: which the Thirty had been chosen to frame, § 11. — τῶν ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου: see on § 20. The gen. depends directly upon κυρίου, which is further explained by the inf. θανατοῦν. — Θηραμένην . . .

ἐξαλείφω: Aristotle relates (*Const. Ath.* 37. 1) that in order to reach the case of Theramenes the Thirty directed the passage of two laws, the first giving them the power of life and death over all those ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου, the second excluding from 'the catalogue' all who had taken any part (as Theramenes had) against the Four Hundred. Kenyon reconciles this version of the story with Xenophon's by supposing that the second law mentioned by Aristotle was brought before the Senate after Theramenes had concluded his defense, and was passed by them under pressure of intimidation. Xenophon, then, has simply made the scene more dramatic by omitting a superfluous detail of legal procedure and recording only (in Θηραμένην . . .

γου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς  
 52 θανατοῦμεν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἴκε- 335  
 τεύω τὰ πάντων ἐνομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξα-  
 λείφειν μῆτε ἐμὲ μῆτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὄνπερ  
 νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ  
 53 τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο  
 μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἀρκέ- 340  
 σει ὃδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδειξάι,  
 ὅτι οὗτοι 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 γινώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν 345  
 54 ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου. ἐκ δὲ  
 τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκείνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς

ἐξαλείφω) its result. — συνδοκοῦν: acc. abs. — ἡμεῖς: *we* (emphatic), not the Senate, before whom Theramenes was originally (cp. §§ 23, 34) brought for trial.

52. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν: *i.e.* upon the steps of the altar of Hestia in the Senate chamber. — ἔφη: see on § 22. — τὰ . . . ἐνομώτατα: 'only bare justice' (Grote), a cogn. acc., explained by the following appositive infs. — ἐπὶ: *in the power of*.

53. τοῦτο . . . τοῦτο: as ταῦτα § 45. — ὑμῶν . . . θαυμάζω: *I am surprised at you*. θαυμάζειν

with the gen. often implies censure. — ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοί: *i.e. gentlemen*, in the old English sense of that word. — εἰ: conditional in form (hence μὴ), but in sense = ὅτι. S. 2247; HA. 926; B. 598, 1; G. 1423; Gl. 654. — καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες: lit. *and that too, although you know*, *i.e. especially when you know*. S. 2083; HA. 612 a; B. 656, 2; G. 1573.

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα: see on I. 7. 10. The Board was now made up of the most violent oligarchs. — ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην: lit. *upon* or *at Theramenes*, *i.e.* to seize him. —

ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου  
 τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν <sup>350</sup>  
 ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν  
 νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἔνδεκα  
 55 οὐ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν,  
 εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ  
 ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς <sup>355</sup>  
 ἐπεκαλείτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ  
 δὲ βουλή ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὀρώσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυ-  
 φάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευ-  
 τηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι  
 56 ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν <sup>360</sup>  
 ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα  
 οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς  
 εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπή-  
 ρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ  
 ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ <sup>365</sup>  
 λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν·

εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας: anacoluthon, as  
 though ἐκεῖνοι εἰσελθόντες had  
 been in the gen. abs. See Introd.  
 IV. κ. — οὐ δεῖ . . . πράττετε: at  
 the proper place (the prison) do  
 what follows from this, i.e. put  
 him to death.

55. ὁμοίους . . . πλήρες: pred.,  
 the supplementary parts. being  
 understood. — τὸ ἔμπροσθεν: the  
 space before. — ἀγνοοῦντες: with  
 βουλή, construction according to  
 sense.

56. μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ: with

a very loud voice, lit. with his  
 voice (made) very loud. τῇ  
 μεγάλῃ φωνῇ would mean with  
 his loud voice. — οἰμώξοιτο: would  
 suffer, would rue it. — σιωπήσειεν:  
 inceptive aor. — ἄρα: then. — τὸ  
 κώνειον: see on βάραθρον 1. 7. 20.  
 — ἀποκοτταβίσαντα: throwing out.  
 The reference is to the game called  
 κότταβος, in which one threw the  
 last drops from a wine cup into a  
 metal basin, at the same time pro-  
 nouncing the name and wishing  
 the health of the one whom he

Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς<sup>370</sup> ψυχῆς.

1 Ἰθραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα,<sup>4</sup> ὡς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυρανεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον 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 πολ-<sup>5</sup> λούς ἀγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὄρμηθεις ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς

loved. The sound made by the drops striking the basin was regarded as an augury of the success or failure of one's suit. Here 'Theramenes invokes and prophecies for Critias the destruction which was so soon to overtake him.' — τῷ καλῷ: *my beloved*, colloquial Attic. — ταῦτα: subject. — ἀποφθέγματα: predicate. — ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω: here for the first time in the *Hell*. Xenophon speaks in the first person. See App. p. 356. — ἀνδρὸς: poss. gen. with ἐκεῖνο. — τὸ . . . ἀπολιπεῖν: in explanatory apposition with ἐκεῖνο. — τὸ φρόνιμον: Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 1. 40. 96) translates by *animi aequitatem*. — παιγνιώδες: *playfulness*.

CHAPTER 4, §§ 1-7. *Further excesses of the Thirty. Thrasybu-*

*lus with a small band of exiles seizes Phyle and twice defeats forces sent against him by the tyrants.*

1. ὡς ἔξον ἤδη: as in 3. 21. — ἦγον: *evicted*. — χωρίων: *farms, estates*. — φευγόντων: *sc. αὐτῶν, and when they fled*. See on 1. 1. 26. — καὶ ἐντεῦθεν: *from there* (Piræus) *also*. — Μέγαρα . . . Θήβας: the Spartans, at the instigation of the Thirty, issued an order forbidding any Greek state to harbor Athenian refugees (τῶν ὑποχωρούντων), but Thebes and Argos led the way in disobeying this order.

2. ἐκ δὲ τούτου: according to Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 37. 1) the seizure of Phyle took place before the execution of Theramenes. See on 3. 13 and 3. 20. — Θρασύβουλος: cp. 3. 42 and 3. 44. — ὡς: connect

σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς 10  
 τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας  
 οὐσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες  
 τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν  
 3 μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομέ-  
 νων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτεριχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκή- 15  
 σιαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,  
 ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ ὑστε-  
 ραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστν, μάλα  
 συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόν-  
 4 τες. γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατή- 20  
 σοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς  
 ἔσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τοὺς τε  
 Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων δύο  
 φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ  
 5 ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἤδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς 25  
 τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίων, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει

with ἑβδομήκοντα. — Φυλὴν: a strong mountain fortress on the border between Attica and Boeotia. — ἰππεῖσι: the cavalry was an aristocratic body and stoutly supported the Thirty. — καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὐσης: the weather being very fine indeed. An emphasizing καί is frequently prefixed to μάλα, while the latter adverb is as frequently connected with nouns which contain an adjective idea. — εὐθὺς μὲν: μὲν is correlative with δέ in § 3.

3. ἐκπολιορκήσιαν: force them

to surrender. — χιῶν: Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 37. 1) states that Phyle was seized 'at the beginning of the winter,' i.e. of 404-403 B.C. — ὑπό: because of the passive meaning of ἀποβαλόντες, which = ἀποστρηθέντες.

4. τὰς ἔσχατιὰς: the outlying districts, in the direction of Phyle. — ὅσον: about. — δύο φυλάς: there were ten divisions of cavalry (as of hoplites), one from each of the tribes (φυλαί).

5. περὶ ἑπτακοσίων: the com-



τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα  
 6 στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἤσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς  
 ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους 30  
 ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύ-  
 βουλον τὰ ὄπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν  
 οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἐξ  
 ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν  
 ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν 35  
 καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόν-  
 7τες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον  
 στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὄπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον  
 καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς  
 βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσ- 40  
 μείναντες δ' ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκου-  
 8τες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα,  
 οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλή-

bination serves as a gen., with  
 συνειλεγμένων. See on πρὸς ἑπτα-  
 κοτίους I. 2. 18. Note that some  
 time has passed since § 2 and that  
 Thrasylbulus' force has vastly in-  
 creased.

6. πρὸς: towards. — ἀνίσταν-  
 το: sc. οἱ φρουροί, were getting  
 up and going. That the verb is  
 used in this free sense, implying  
 motion, is clear from the following.  
 — ὅποι . . . ἕκαστος: i.e. going  
 about their several duties. — τῶν  
 ὀπλων: the camp, strictly the place  
 where the arms were piled. — ἔστι

. . . οὓς: = ἐνίους. S. 2513, 2514;  
 HA. 998; B. 486, N.; G. 1029; Gl.  
 614 a. — ἐπικαλούμενον: see on 3.  
 31. — καὶ . . . δέ: and also, correla-  
 tive with τε. See Introd. IV. D. 3.

7. τροπαῖον στησάμενοι: in this  
 phrase Xenophon generally em-  
 ploys the middle of ἰσθάναι, while  
 classical writers use only the active.  
 — ἐπὶ: as in I. 2. 11.

§§ 8-9. The Thirty treacher-  
 ously seize many Eleusinians and  
 force the Three Thousand to con-  
 demn them to death.

8. τὰ πράγματα: as in 3. 17. —

θησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγήν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἰππεύσιν 45 ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασίν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἰππεύσιν, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν 50 ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξίοντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς 9 τοῖς ἔνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία εἰς τὸ ᾠιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν 55 τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἰππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν

ὥστε: purpose. S. 2267; HA. 953 a; B. 595, N.; G. 1452; Gl. 566 b.— εἰ δεήσειε: *if it should prove necessary*. — παραγγείλαντες: without a following inf. expressed, as in 2. 7.— ἐξέτασιν: *sc.* τῶν Ἐλευσινίων.— τε: see Introd. IV. D. 1.— ἐν τοῖς ἰππεύσιν: lit. *among the* (Athenian) *horsemen*, i.e. the horsemen were posted around the reviewing ground as a guard, and made possible the execution of the plan described below.— πόσης . . . προσδεήσονται: *how large an additional* (πρόσ-) *garrison they* (the Eleusians) *would require*. —

ἀπογράφεσθαι: *to register*. — τὸν ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ: as αἰεὶ ὁ ἀκούων I. 4. So τὸν ἐξίοντα αἰεὶ below.— πυλίδος: in the town wall.— ἀναγαγόντα: to Athens.— According to Lysias (12. 52) and Diodorus (14. 32) Salamis suffered in a similar way at the hands of the Thirty.

9. ᾠιδεῖον: a building designed for musical performances. The one which is here referred to was just outside the city to the southeast — ὥσπερ καὶ . . . οὕτω καὶ: for the idiom see on I. 7. 13.— καὶ τῶν . . . μετέχειν: a cardinal principle of government with the Thirty was,

κιδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειληγμένων Ἐλευσινίων 60  
καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε  
καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε  
10 φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν  
τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ ᾽Ωιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα  
ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον 65  
ἔμελεν.

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 70  
ἰππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς  
11 τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς  
ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ  
κύκλος ὦν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὐπω πολλοῖς

as Socrates (*Apol.* 32 C) says, 'to involve as many as possible in their misdeeds.' See on 3. 39. — Ἐλευσινίων: for the gen. see on I. 5. 19. — ἵνα . . . φοβῆσθε: that you may have the same hopes and fears as we. For the case of ἡμῖν see on Λακεδαιμονίους 2. 20. — φανεράν: predicative. For the fact see on I. 7. 9.

§§ 10–12. *Thrasylbulus takes possession of Piraeus. The Thirty dispatch a force against him.*

10. ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει . . . ἦσαν: were in one half of the Odeum, fully armed. — τῶν πολιτῶν: i.e. the Three Thousand. The gen. is partitive. — ἐκ τούτου: four days

after the battle of § 6. See § 13. — περὶ . . . συνειλεγμένους: who had now gathered to the number of about 1000. Thrasylbulus' victory had quickly brought new recruits to his standard. — ἀναφέρουσαν: leading up, i.e. from the low plain between Athens and Piraeus. For the order of words see on I. 1. 23.

11. ἔτι μὲν: for a while, i.e. until the time indicated by the correlative ἐπεὶ δέ clause. — ἀνιέναι αὐτούς: to let them come up. Cp. ἀναφέρουσαν above. — ὁ κύκλος: i.e. the line of the town wall of Piraeus on the land side. The wall itself had been destroyed

οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ 75  
 τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἴπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει  
 πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδί-  
 δειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα  
 12 ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ 80  
 ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ  
 πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ  
 γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῆσαν οἱ 85  
 ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας  
 τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὄπλα ἔχων,  
 13 κατὰ μέσον στας ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν  
 διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνήσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν  
 προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν 90

(2. 20), but its ruins would still make a natural line of defense. — οὔσι: agreeing with αὐτοῖς to be understood after ἐδόκει. — Μουνιχίαν: the hill on the eastern side of the Piraeus peninsula. — Ἴπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν: named after Hippodamus, a famous architect, who laid out the town of Piraeus. — Βενδίδειον: the temple of Bendis, the Thracian Artemis. — οὐκ ἔλαττον: = οὐκ ἐπὶ ἔλαττόνων. Cp. μισθὸς πλέον (= πλεόνων) ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, *pay for more than three months*, *Anab.* I. 2. 11. S. 1074; HA. 647. — ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπί-

δων: the line of battle was normally eight men deep. In this case the extraordinary depth was due to the limited space. For ἐπὶ see on ἐπὶ μῆς I. 6. 29.

12. οὐ πλέον: see on οὐκ ἔλαττον above. — εἰς: *to the number of*, practically equivalent to ἐπὶ above. — αὐτόθεν: *from the place itself, i.e. Piraeus.* — θέσθαι: *to ground.*

§§ 13-17. *Thrasylbulus' speech to his troops.*

13. πολῖται: Thrasylbulus gives his men the title of which the Thirty had deprived them. — ἡμέραν πέμπτην: *four days ago.*

πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαννον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ῥοντο,<sup>95</sup>  
 14 ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ ἠύχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνούντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικούντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημούντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ<sup>100</sup>  
 γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὖσι  
 15 τροπαῖα ἴστασθαι διδῶσι· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκον-  
 τίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι<sup>105</sup>  
 δύναιτ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς

S. 1585; HA. 721; G. 1063. — ἐδιώξατε: cp. § 6. — οὗτοι δὴ: *even these*, although the fact seems too good to be true. — πόλεως . . . οἰκιῶν: note the rhetorical omission of the articles. — ἀπεσημαίνοντο: the verb regularly means, as in 3. 21, *to confiscate*. Thrasylulus bitterly applies it to rulers who have treated lives as lightly as property. — παραγεγένηται: subj. οἱ τριάκοντα. — οὗτοι: inserted for the sake of the contrast with ἡμεῖς.

14. ὄπλα μὲν: as contrasted with their other helpers, οἱ δὲ θεοί.

— ποτέ: *once*, contrasted with νῦν below. — οἱ δὲ καί: see on 1. 2. 14. — οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ: *not only not . . . but not even*. S. 2763 c; HA. 1035 a; G. 1504. — χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν: cp. §§ 2, 3.

15. καὶ . . . δέ: see on § 6. — βάλλειν: *sc. δόρατα*. — ὑπὲρ: *over the heads of*. — πρὸς ὄρθιον: *up hill*. — δόρατα . . . ἀκόντια . . . πέτρους: referring to the three classes (§ 12) of troops under Thrasylulus. — αὐτῶν: for the gen. see S. 1350; HA. 739; B. 356; G. 1099; Gl. 510 d.

- 16 κατατρώσομεν. καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἂν τις δεησέιν τοῖς γε πρω-  
 τοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μίχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὡσπερ  
 προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλγῃ, ἁμαρτήσεται μὲν 110  
 οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὀδύς, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύ-  
 σουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσω· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὡσπερ  
 τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομέ-  
 17 νους ἀνατρέπειν. ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν ὅπως  
 ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὧν. 115  
 αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα  
 καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παιδας, οἷς εἰσὶ,  
 καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαν-  
 τες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ  
 καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος 120  
 ὧν καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς  
 ἦ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε  
 πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας.
- 18 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους 125  
 ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ

16. ᾤετο ἂν: see on ἂν καθεώρων  
 I. 7. 7. — τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις: of  
 the enemy. — νῦν δέ: as in 3. 28. —  
 ὧν: = τούτων ὧν.

17. ὅπως . . . συνείσεται: obj.  
 clause after οὕτω ποιεῖν as an ex-  
 pression of striving. — αἰτιώτατος  
 ὧν: of being chiefly responsible. —  
 τιμὰς: i. e. the honors that belong  
 to citizenship. — παιδας . . . καὶ  
 γυναῖκας: see on I. 3. 19. — δῆτα:  
 surely. — οὕτω: connect with κα-

λοῦ. οὕτως is not infrequently sep-  
 arated for the sake of emphasis  
 from the word which it limits. —  
 παιᾶνα: the battle song, usually  
 addressed to Apollo and invoking  
 his aid. The paean was also a song  
 of thanksgiving after victory. —  
 Ἐνυάλιον: the war god, Ares.

§§ 18-22. *The Thirty are de-  
 feated and Critias is killed. Cle-  
 ocritus' plea for a reconciliation.*

18. ὁ μάντις: the article be-

πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη· ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μὲντοι 19 θάνατος, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 130 ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ 135 Ἴππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὄπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ 140 διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὐφάνος ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖ-

cause seers were regularly attached to Greek armies. — πέσοι: for the opt. see S. 2449; HA. 937; B. 677; G. 1502, 3; Gl. 644 c. — ἡγησόμεθα ἡμεῖς . . . ὑμῖν ἐπομένοις: chiasmus. So νίκη ὑμῖν . . . ἐμοὶ θάνατος. See on I. 6. 7.

19. τὰ ὄπλα: i.e. τὰς ἀσπίδας. Cp. § 12. — τέθαπται: lies buried. — Κηφισοῦ: a small stream which crosses the road leading from Athens to Piraeus and empties into the bay of Phalerum. — τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων: a Board appointed by the Thirty (Arist. 35. 1; cp. 3. 11). The use of

τῶν would imply that they had been previously mentioned, yet such is not the case. See Introd. p. 27. — Χαρμίδης: uncle of the philosopher Plato and a kinsman of Critias. — περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα: serving as a nominative. See on § 5.

20. ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ: the herald of the initiated, i.e. those initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, for which see on I. 4. 20. By virtue of the sacredness of his office Cleocritus was able to command attention. — κατασιωπησάμενος: causative, having obtained

ται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε ; τί ἀποκτείνει βούλεσθε ; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχῆκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ 145 ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιώται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας.

21 πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶν καὶ μητρῶν καὶ συγγενείας καὶ 150 κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν 155 ὀκτῶ μηνσὶν ἧ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦν-

22 τες. ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστα- 160 σθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὗς πολλὰ κατεδακρῦσαμεν.

*silence.*— ἡμῶν: for its position see S. 1181; HA. 673 c; B. 458; G. 977, 2; Gl. 554, 553 a.

21. ἑταιρίας: *comradeship.*— ὀλίγου δεῖν: *almost.* S. 2012 d; HA. 956; B. 642, 1; G. 1534; Gl. 569. — πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν κτέ.: several authorities agree in the statement that 1500 citizens were put to death by the Thirty. Arist. 35. 4, Isocr. 7. 67, Aeschin. 3. 235.—

ὀκτῶ μηνσὶν: probably June, 404 B.C.—February, 403 B.C. See on 3. 11.— δέκα ἔτη: a round figure for the nine years from 413 B.C., when the Spartans formally renewed the war by occupying Decelea, to 404 B.C.

22. ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι: *but for all that.*— τῶν . . . ἀποθανόντων: part. gen. with ἔστιν οὗς, for which see on § 6.— πολλά: cogn. acc.,



Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν · οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ δια  
 τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς  
 23 τὸ ἄστυ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ 165  
 ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηον 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 170  
 ἡδικηκέναι, αὐτοῖ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδί-  
 δασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοντο 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 175  
 εἶλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

= *bitterly*. — λοιποὶ: the survivors of the Thirty and of the Ten in Piraeus. — καὶ . . . ἑαυτῶν: *on account also of the fact that their followers were hearing such things.* καὶ and πρὸς in comp. support one another in indicating an *additional* reason — besides the defeat — for the retirement of the vanquished. — ἀπήγαγον: according to Lysias (12. 53) the victors allowed them to depart unmolested in the hope of a speedy reconciliation.

§§ 23-27. *The Thirty are deposed and retire to Eleusis. A board of Ten is chosen, which continues the war against the democrats in Piraeus.* 403 B.C.

23 οἱ τριάκοντα: now only

twenty-seven. See on 3. 18. — πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ . . . συνεκάθηον: *were naturally (δὴ) very greatly dejected, etc., when they held their session, etc.* The adjs. are pred. — τι βιαιότερον: *anything particularly violent*. — μηδὲν ἡδικηκέναι: the inf. after πιστεύειν, though in ind. disc., regularly takes μή. S. 2725; HA. 1024; G. 1496; Gl. 579 a; GMT. 685. — οὐδὲν δέοντο κτέ.: *'they had no need of these evils, i.e. there was no reason why they should suffer them.'* Underhill. — δέκα: these Ten, who were supposed to be moderate oligarchs and opposed to Critias and his faction, were chosen to bring about a reconciliation. They

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπήλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἰππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀιδεῖῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ 180 τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιεν 25 τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὄπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ 185 δὲ οἰσύνια, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκούντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οὔτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλι-

simply continued, however, the policy of the Thirty. Cp. Arist. 38. 1 f., Lys. 12. 54 f. — ἀπὸ φυλῆς: from each tribe. See on 1. 5. 4.

24. Ἐλευσινάδε: cp. § 8. — καὶ μάλα: as in § 2. — ἐξεκάθευδον . . . ἐν τῷ Ὀιδεῖῳ: lit. *slept out in the Odeum* (see on § 9), i.e. they were put upon guard duty with quarters in the Odeum. ἐκκαθεύδειν is found only here. See Introd. IV. L. — ἵππους καὶ . . . ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες: in order to serve, as described below, both as horsemen and as hoplites. Normally the horseman did not carry a shield. See on μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων 3. 48. — The Ten considered the cavalry more loyal to the oligarchical cause than the hoplites of the Three Thousand, who had deposed the Thirty. — δι' ἀπιστίαν:

cp. ἀπιστούντων above. — τὸ ἀφ' ἑσπέρας: = τὸν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας χρόνον, *the time from evening on*. — κατὰ: along. — πρὸς: as in § 6.

25. πολλοὶ: pred. — παντοδαποί: cp. ξένοι below. — ὄπλα: shields, as in § 19. The democrats had been deprived of their arms (3. 20) and had to equip themselves as best they could. — ἐλευκούντο: probably in order to give themselves a 'smart' and soldierly appearance. — ἡμέρας δέκα: since the occupation of Piraeus. — καὶ εἰ: *even if*. — ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσσεσθαι: dependent upon πιστὰ δόντες. The ἰσοτελεῖς were a favored class of resident aliens who, while enjoying no political rights, stood upon an equal footing with citizens in respect to taxes and privileges before the courts. — πολλοὶ μὲν

ται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνήτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰππεῖς  
 ὡσεὶ ἐβδομήκοντα· προνομᾶς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβά- 190  
 νοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκάθειδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ.  
 26 τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὄπλοις ἐξήει,  
 οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ  
 Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέ-  
 τυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς 195  
 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος  
 ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέγφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν  
 27 χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἰππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν  
 Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἰππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον  
 φυλῆς Λεοντιδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ 200  
 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, ὃς ἐπεὶ  
 ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχαν-

. . . πολλοὶ δέ: in part. apposition to the subj. of ἐξήσαν.— ὡσεὶ: as in I. 2. 9.— ὀπώραν: cp. ὥρας I. 1.

26. ἔστιν ὅτε: sometimes.. Cp. ἔστι οὗς § 6.— Αἰξωνέων: of the deme Aexone, south of Athens, on the coast.— πολλὰ: earnestly. See on § 22 above.

27. ἀνταπέκτειναν: ἀντί, in retaliation.— ἰππέων: part. gen. with Καλλίστρατον.— ἐπ' ἀγροῦ: in the country.— μέγα ἐφρόνουν: lit. *thought large*, i.e. *were proud, confident*. A following dat. with ἐπί gives the reason or occasion for one's pride or confidence. Cp. §§ 29, 40, 41.— εἰ δὲ καὶ κτέ.: and if I may also tell of this deed, etc.

Instead of the expected apod.,— 'I will tell the story,'— the story itself follows. The phrase is a formula of apology for mentioning an unimportant incident; but it is characteristic of Xenophon to be interested in an ingenious scheme like the one here described. See *Introd.* p. 30.— τοῦτο: see on ταῦτα 3. 45.— μηχανοποιοῦ: for the gen. see on ἀνδρός 3. 56.— τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον: an open space between the Lyceum (for which see on I. 1. 33) and the city wall.

§§ 28–30. *The Thirty and the oligarchs in the city request aid from the Spartans. Lysander is*

νάς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους  
 λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιτο 205  
 τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἕκαστος  
 28 τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρείχε. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις  
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, τῶν  
 δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστews, καὶ βοθηεὶν κελευόντων,  
 ὡς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσαν- 210  
 δρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἶόν τε εἷη 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 ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφ- 215  
 29 θῆναι. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσίνῳ ἀδε συνέλεγεν  
 ὀπλίτας 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 αὐτὸ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ 220  
 τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Πausanίας ὁ

*sent to Athens as harmost, and is followed by King Pausanias with a Peloponnesian army.*

28. τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ: the Three Thousand or, more exactly, their rulers, *i.e.* the Ten. — οἶόν τε εἷη . . . ἐκπολιορκῆσαι: practically equivalent to ἐκπολιορκῆσειεν ἄν, and hence serving as apod. to εἰ . . . ἀποκλεισθείησαν. GMT. 502; S. 2359. — συνέπραξεν: *sc.* τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. For the following infs. see on ἐλθεῖν 3. 13. — ἑκατόν τάλαντα: wherewith to em-

ploy mercenaries (cp. μισθοφόροις § 30), for the Spartans declined to send out their own troops. Lys. 12. 59. This loan was magnanimously repaid by the democracy after the restoration. Arist. 40. 3, Isocr. 7. 68, Dem. 20. 12. — αὐτοῖς: the Thirty (Arist. *l.c.*) and the Ten. Connect with δανεισθῆναι.

29. πάλιν αὐ: *again* (as in earlier days) *in their turn* (as contrasted with the Piraeus party, cp. § 27). — ἐπί: see on μέγα ἐφρόνουν § 27. — προχωρούντων:

βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα  
 ἄμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἄμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθή-  
 30 νας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. συνεί-  
 ποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ 225  
 Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν  
 ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον  
 ποιούοντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκίαν  
 καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας ἐστρατοπε- 230  
 δεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ  
 δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις  
 31 τὸ εὐώνυμον. πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πausanίας πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ

see on τοιούτων ὄντων 2. 16. —  
 εἰ = ὅτι, as after θαυμάζω 3. 53.  
 — τρεῖς: *i.e.* a majority of the five  
 ephors, to whose authority even  
 the kings were subject. — φρουράν:  
 the regular term for a Lacedaemo-  
 nian army.

30. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κοριν-  
 θίων: the very states which a year  
 before had urged the destruction  
 of Athens (cp. 2. 19). Since  
 then, however, the Thebans had  
 shown the utmost sympathy with  
 the exiled democrats. See § 1  
 (and note thereon) and § 2. In  
 fact, the old anti-Athenian feeling  
 had been largely dissipated by the  
 present helplessness of Athens,  
 and it was time to be jealous of  
 the power of Sparta. Five years

later the Thebans and Corinthians  
 again refused to follow a Spartan  
 leader (3. 2. 25), and in 395 B.C.  
 they bore a foremost part in actual  
 war upon Sparta (3. 5. 3 f.). —  
 εὐορκεῖν ἂν: *i.e.* that they would be  
 observing the treaty to which they  
 had sworn in 404 B.C. The prot.  
 is contained in στρατευόμενοι, —  
 hence the following μηδέν. —  
 ἐγίγνωσκον: *supposed*. — Ἀλιπέδῳ:  
 the plain between Athens and  
 Piraeus. — Λύσανδρος: now subor-  
 dinate to Pausanias.

§§ 31–37. *After winning a  
 victory over Thrasybulus' troops  
 Pausanias persuades both parties  
 to send ambassadors to Sparta,  
 seeking a reconciliation.*

31. ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν: *to go*

δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, <sup>235</sup>  
 ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἶη εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ὤν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ ὑστεραία λαβὼν  
 τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἰππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα,  
<sup>32</sup> σκοπῶν πῆ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἶη ὁ Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ <sup>240</sup>  
 δὲ ἀπρόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ  
 παρείχον, ἀχθεσθεῖς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἐλᾶν  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβῆς συνέπεσθαι.  
 σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν  
 μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίω <sup>245</sup>  
<sup>33</sup> ξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλι-  
 ζόμενοι οἱ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ  
 Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθύς ἐκδραμόντες ἤκοντι-

*off to their homes.* Pausanias is not offering the exiles restoration to their former homes and property, but is simply bidding them, as an armed mob, to disperse. — ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν: lit. *so far as concerned* (doing it, — the attacking) *only* (ὅσον) *by means of shouting*, i.e. the attack was merely for appearance' sake, a pretense. — δύο μόρας: the Spartan army consisted of six μόραι, or regiments, varying in strength according to the size of the army which was to be put in the field. — τρεῖς φυλάς: see on § 4. — παρήλθεν: *along* the line of the Piraeus wall. — κωφὸν λιμένα: *the still harbor*, apparently the small inlet west of Eëtionea (3.46).

32. ἐλᾶν: a rare form of the inf., instead of ἐλαύνειν. — ἐνέντας: *at full speed.* — τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβῆς: with τὰ δέκα supply ἔτη in the sense of year-classes, each 'year-class' including those men who reached military age (ἡβῆ), i.e. the age of 20, in the same year. The whole expression, therefore, means all soldiers between 20 and 30 years old. The youngest ten (or fifteen) year-classes are frequently employed for a charge. Cp. 3. 4. 23, 4. 5. 14, 16, etc. — πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον: for Piraeus was now without walls. See on § 11.

33. οἱ ψιλοὶ: i.e. οἱ πελτασταί. — ἠκόντιζον κτέ.: *asyndeton* is em-

ζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξενον, ἐσφενδόνων · οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι 250 ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα · οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν 34 ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὄρων δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ 255 ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγγελλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμε- 260 νος παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλι- ναν · καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκα- 35 τόν. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας τροπαῖον στησάμενος ἀνεχώ- 265 ρησε · 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'

ployed to lend vividness to the description. — ἔβαλλον: *sc.* πέτρους. Cp. πετροβόλοι § 12. — ἐπὶ πόδα: backwards, *i.e.* still facing the enemy. — πολεμάρχω: πολέμαρχος was the title of the commander of a Spartan μόρα. — τεθαμμένοι: see on τέθαπται § 19. — Κεραμεικῷ: the outer (πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν) Ceramicus was the usual burial place for Athenians who had fallen in battle.

34. πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων: *i.e.* τῶν ψιλῶν, who are thus relieved. — ἐπ' ὀκτώ: eight deep. — βαθεῖαν: as μεγάλη 3. 56. — εἰς χεῖρας ἐδέξαντο: let them come to close quarters. — Ἀλαῖς: a marshy tract near the head of Piraeus harbor.

35. οὐδ' ὡς: not even thus, *i.e.* although they had disobeyed and attacked him. — οἷα: . . . λέγοντας: with what proposals. — τοὺς . . .

ἐπείθοντο. δίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε  
 πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, 270  
 λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν,  
 ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι  
 36 εἶναι. ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἔφορος ὦν συνή-  
 κουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφό-  
 ρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, 275  
 ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ  
 τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακε-  
 δαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς  
 ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἄστει ιδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλῃ- 280  
 37 τον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ᾤχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον  
 δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ

ἐφόρους: see § 36. — δίστη: *he divided*. — ἐκέλευε: *sc.* those whom he won over to the cause of peace. — σφᾶς: *i.e.* himself and the ephors, as above. Cp. ἐαυτῶν I. 6. 36. — οὐδὲν δέονται: *they had no desire*. — διαλυθέντες: *becoming reconciled*.

36. νομίζεται: *it is customary*. — τῶν ἐφόρων: they were present merely to observe and, if called upon, to advise; for in the conduct of a campaign a Spartan king had absolute power. Cp. on § 29. — τῆς . . . ὄντες: a blending of two forms of expression, (1) μετὰ (*on the side of*) Πausανίου ὄντες, and (2) τῆς Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες. — ἔπεμπον: *sc.*

as subj. Pausanias and the ephors. — τοὺς τ' ἐκ κτεί.: *both the envoys from Piræus, having the proposals for peace with the Lacedæmonians, and the envoys from those in the city as individuals, viz. C. and M.* ιδιώτας describes the envoys from the city as unofficial, for they do not represent the government (of the Ten), but only that fraction of the Three Thousand which Pausanias had won over.

37. δὴ: *naturally*. — οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως: *the authorities in the city, i.e. the government of the Ten*. Contrast ιδιώτας above. — αὐτοί: as contrasted with τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ be-



μὲν παραδιδόασι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλονται· ἀξιούν δ' ἔφα-  
 σαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαι- 285  
 μονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν.  
 38 ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι,  
 ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ  
 ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπη δύναιντο κάλ-  
 λιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς 290  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν  
 τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδέκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάν-

low. — χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλονται: a formula for unconditional surrender. χρῆσθαι denotes purpose. For ὃ τι with χρῆσθαι see on 1. 2.

§§ 38-42. *A Spartan commission arranges the terms of the reconciliation. Thrasybulus and his troops enter Athens. Thrasybulus' speech before the united factions.*

38. οἱ ἔφοροι: the three who remained at Sparta. — οἱ ἔκκλητοι: = ἡ ἐκκλησία, the Spartan Assembly. Cp. 6. 3. 3 with 5. 2. 11. — πεντεκαίδεκα: Aristotle (38. 4) puts the number at ten. — διαλλάξαι: *to bring about a reconciliation.* — ἐφ' ᾧτε: as ἐφ' ᾧ in 2. 20. — ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους: lit. *as regarded their relations to one another*, while the following clause of the compact provides for individuals, the return of exiles, etc. — ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν: as in

§ 31, except that here the phrase involves the restoration of the exiles to their former properties.

— τῶν ἑνδέκα: see 3. 54 and note.

— τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα: see § 19 and note. Observe the tense of the part., — *who had ruled, i.e.* before the occupation by Thrasybulus. The Eleven and the Ten in Piræus, the creatures of the Thirty, had no doubt followed their masters to Eleusis. Aristotle states (*Const. Ath.* 39. 6) that not only the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten in Piræus were excluded from the peace and amnesty, but also the Ten in Athens who succeeded the Thirty. He further says (38. 3) that these Ten had been deposed before the coming of Pausanias, and were replaced by a second Ten. It seems probable, however, that he is wrong on both these points. —

των δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν  
 39 αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων  
 Πausanias μὲν διήκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς 295  
 ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν  
 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν, (ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν)  
 40 οἱ στρατηγοί. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἔλεξεν· Ἰμῶν,  
 ἔφη, ὧ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γνῶναι  
 ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γνοιήτε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε 300  
 ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν  
 ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιοτέροι ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος  
 πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς  
 ἠδίκησεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ  
 καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιο- 305  
 σύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία  
 41 ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τού-  
 του γένοιτο ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ

Aristotle gives in full (39), and Andocides less fully (1. 90), the terms of the compact and the oath — to forget the past and bear no malice — which was taken by all parties, from which it appears that even the Thirty and their underlings might be included in the amnesty in case they rendered their accounts, as all Athenian magistrates were required to do, for the offices which they had held. — αὐτοῖς: the arbitrators.

39. διήκε: *disbanded*. — ἀνελθόντες κτλ.: according to Plutarch (*Glor. Athen.* 7) the entry of the

democratic exiles into Athens took place on the 12th of Boedromion (Oct. 4th, 403 B.C.), a date which was afterwards observed as a day of thanksgiving.

40. γνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς: recalling the famous proverb γνῶθι σαυτόν, *know thyself*, i.e. 'take just measure of thyself,' which was inscribed in golden letters at the entrance to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. — ἐπὶ τίνι: see on μέγα ἐφρόνου § 27. — σκέψασθε εἰ: instead of a clause with ἢ, correlative with πότερον above.

41. κρίσις: *test*. — ἢ ὡς: *than*

γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ 310 τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἔχόντων περιελήλασθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἷγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῶ δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω κάκεινοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδίκημένῳ 42 τούτῳ δῆμῳ οἴχονται ἀπίοντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄν- 315 δρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὦν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὄσιοί ἐστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις 43 χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς 320 καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρω δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκού-

*the way in which.* — γνώμη: *intelligence, judgment.* — περιελήλασθε: *have been worsted.* — δῆ: to show contempt for this last of all possibilities. — πῶς: *sc. ἐπὶ τούτοις.* — τοῖς: generic. — δάκνοντας κύνας . . . παραδιδόασιν: copying almost the exact words of a well-known law of Solon. Plut. *Solon* 24. The subj. is general, *men.* — οὕτω: the point of the comparison is contained in the part. rather than the finite verb. Cp. I. 6. 10. — κάκεινοι: repeating οἷγε with emphasis. Cp. I. 7. 25, 2. 3. 43. — τούτῳ: for its position see S. 1181; HA. 673 c; B. 458; G. 975; Gl. 553 a.

42. μέντοι: *however.* The preceding clauses, stating both the

provocation (ἡδίκημένῳ) and the opportunity (κλοιῶ δῆσαντες . . . οἴχονται), might suggest to Thrasylbulus' followers (ὑμᾶς) the thought of revenge. He therefore hastens to discountenance any such idea.—ὁμωμόκατε: see on § 38.—οὐδέν: see on οὐδένα I. 6. 14.—τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς: *your other virtues.* — ἀνέστησε: *dismissed.*

§ 43. *Ultimate reconciliation with those at Eleusis. The terms of the compact and amnesty are faithfully observed.*

43. ἐπολιτεύοντο: *i.e.* they carried on their government,—performed the duties and exercised the rights of free citizens, πολῖται.—ὑστέρω χρόνῳ: according to Aristotle (40. 4) two years later.

σαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσίνοι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι. καὶ 325 ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

—ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους: with reference to the compact of § 38, to which in concluding his story of the Athenian revolution Xenophon reverts. — μὴ: see on *μηδέν* § 23. — μνησικακήσειν: note the derivation, and cp. the Eng. 'amnesty.' — ἔτι καὶ νῦν: *to this day*,

*i.e.* the time when these words were written, *c.* 385 B.C. See *Introd.* p. 23 and *App.* p. 357. Other authorities also, especially Aristotle (40. 1-3), bear witness to the fine spirit of forgiveness which the Athenians showed and their fidelity to their oaths.

## BOOK III

WAR BETWEEN SPARTA AND PERSIA. THE ACCESSION OF  
AGESILAUS AND HIS EXPEDITION TO ASIA. OUTBREAK  
OF THE CORINTHIAN WAR. 401-395 B.C.

1 Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ 1  
τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἡξίου,  
οἷόσπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους  
πολέμῳ, τοιοῦτους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι.  
οἱ δ' ἔφοροι δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμίῳ τῷ 5  
τότε ναύαρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο.  
κακῆως μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος ἔπραξεν.  
ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρου περιέπλευ-  
σεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα  
Σύννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ 10  
2 πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ὡς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στρατευμά  
τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ

CHAPTER I, §§ 1-2. *The Lacedaemonians aid Cyrus in his expedition against Artaxerxes.* 401 B.C.

1. οἷόσπερ αὐτὸς κτί.: for the aid rendered by Cyrus to the Lacedaemonians cp. I. 5. 2-9, I. 6. 18, 2. I. 11-14; for his present project and preparations cp. *Anabasis* I. 1. — γίνεσθαι: *should show themselves.* — Σαμίῳ: Samius is not referred to in the *Anab.*, although I. 2. 21 records the fact which is stated below, that a Lacedaemonian fleet aided in preventing Syennesis from opposing Cyrus at the 'Cilician Gates.' A month later,

when this fleet joined Cyrus at Issi, it was under the command of Pythagoras (*Anab.* I. 4. 2), who had presumably succeeded Samius as nauarch. The *Anab.* mentions (I. 4. 3) what Xenophon here passes over, that the Lacedaemonians also sent to Cyrus 700 hoplites under Chirisophus, who was afterwards Xenophon's colleague in conducting the retreat of the Ten Thousand. — δέοιτο: *asked.* — καὶ (in κακῆως) μέντοι: *and in fact*, indicating the actual performance of the duty laid upon Samius. — σὺν τῷ: *sc. ναυτικῷ.*

ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

15

3 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ ἄξιος βασιλεῖ δόξας γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμφθη ὧν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὧν Κῦρος, εὐθὺς ἤξιον τὰς Ἴωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμεναι τὸν Τισσαφέρην, ὅτι Κῦρον, ὅτ' ἔζη, ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἡρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις, καὶ ἠξιούν, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσίν,

2. ἡ μάχη: at Cunaxa, near Babylon, in the autumn of 401 B.C. Cp. *Anab.* 1. 8. — θάλατταν: the Euxine. Cp. *Anab.* 4. 7. 20-24. — Θεμιστογένει . . . γέγραπται: it would seem that Xenophon's own *Anabasis* was not published at the time when these words were written. See App. p. 359, note 1. Themistogenes is otherwise unknown.

§§ 3-7. *The Ionian cities seek the aid of Sparta against Tissaphernes. An army is sent to Asia under Thibron. His successes and failures.* 400-399 B.C.

3. πολλοῦ ἄξιος: Tissaphernes had been the first to report to the king the projected expedition of Cyrus against him (*Anab.* 1. 2. 4-5, 2. 3. 19), had fought creditably at Cunaxa (*ib.* 1. 10. 7), and

had afterwards done his best to prevent the escape of the Ten Thousand (*ib.* 2. 3-3. 5). — ὧν τε αὐτὸς . . . καὶ ὧν Κῦρος: Tissaphernes had been satrap of Lydia and Ionia up to 407 B.C., when Cyrus was commissioned (see on 1. 4. 3) as governor of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and general of all the troops of western Asia Minor. Tissaphernes now receives, in addition to the small satrapy which was left to him in 407 B.C. (*i.e.* ὧν αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε), both the territories and the military authority which had belonged to Cyrus. — ὅτι Κῦρον . . . ἡρημέναι ἦσαν: the Ionian cities had been tributary to Tissaphernes (see above note), but all of them except Miletus had revolted and gone over to Cyrus

ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως 25  
 ἢ τε χώρα μὴ δροῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν.  
 4 οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἄρμο-  
 στήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμῶδων εἰς χιλίους,  
 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἤτή-  
 σατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίους 30  
 ἵππείας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν  
 τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἵππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος  
 5 τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιτο. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε μὲν στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε 35  
 αἱ πόλεις ἐπέιθοντο ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι.  
 καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὄρων Θίβρων τὸ ἵππικὸν  
 εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐ κατέβαινε, ἡγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι

(*Anab.* 1. 1. 6). The latter's departure (401 B.C.) and subsequent death left them for the moment practically independent. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν: *should undertake the protection of them also.*

4. νεοδαμῶδων: see on 1. 3. 15. — εἰς χιλίους: serving as an obj. acc. See on 2. 4. 5. Upon this expression depends the part. gen., while στρατιώτας is appositive. — ἤτήσατο . . . παρ' Ἀθηναίων: under the terms of the treaty of 2. 2. 20. — τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἵππευσάντων: the Athenian horsemen had made themselves odious as the most zealous and unscrupulous supporters of the oligarchy. Cp.

2. 4. 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 24, 26, 31. For the gen. see on φρουρῶν 2. 3. 14.

5. εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο: in 399 B.C. Thus the circumstances above related involve Sparta in war with the Persians, her allies during the late struggle with Athens. — μὲν: continued by a second μὲν two lines below, and ultimately contrasted with the δέ after ἐπεὶ (§ 6). — τότε: indicating that these words were written after the prestige and authority of the Spartans in Asia were destroyed by the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C. Cp. *Introd.* p. 28. — τὸ ἵππικόν: *i.e.* of the enemy. Greek armies were almost always weak in cavalry. — ἡγάπα: *was satisfied.* Xeno-

ὦν, δύναίτο ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀδήωτον διαφυλάττειν.  
 6 ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου συνέμειξαν 40  
 αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἤδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ  
 Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἐκοῦσαν προσέ-  
 λαβε καὶ Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἀλίσαρναν, ὧν Εὐρυσθένης  
 τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίου· ἐκείνῳ δ' αὕτη ἡ χώρα δῶρον ἐκ βασιλέως 45  
 ἐδόθη ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατείας· προσε-  
 χώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος, ἀδελφοὶ  
 ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὁ μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλαιγάμβριον, ὁ  
 δὲ Μύριναν καὶ Γρύνειον· δῶρον δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις  
 ἦσαν παρὰ βασιλέως Γογγύλῳ, ὅτι μόνος Ἐρετριέων 50  
 7 μηδίσας ἔφυγεν. ἦν δὲ ἄς ἀσθενεῖς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ  
 κράτος ὁ Θίβρων ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν  
 Αἴγυπτίαν καλουμένην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατο-  
 πεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο

phon does not try to conceal his dislike and contempt for the incompetent Thibron. Cp. the following sections. — ταύτην: summing up the preceding clause.

6. οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου: the remnant of the Ten Thousand, numbering from 5000 to 6000, joined Thibron at Pergamus. They were commanded by Xenophon himself, who in all probability continued to serve with them under Thibron. See App. p. 350. — Προκλῆς: who bore a part in the expedition of Cyrus. Cp. *Anab.* 2. 1. 3. — Δημαράτου: a king of

Sparta, who was deposed in 491 B.C. and fled to Persia. He afterward accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. — Γογγύλῳ: an ancestor, probably the grandfather, of the Gorgion and Gongylus above mentioned. He had 'medized' during the period of the Persian Wars. Cp. Thuc. 1. 128. — ὅτι: the reason is contained in the part. μηδίσας. Cp. 1. 6. 10. — ἔφυγεν: was banished.

7. ἦν ἄς: see on ἔστι οὗς 2. 4. 6. — γε μὴν: see Introd. IV. D. 4. — τὴν Αἴγυπτίαν καλουμένην: so called because Cyrus the Great



ἐλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὤρυττεν, ὡς ἀφαι- 55  
ρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους  
ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ ξύλα  
καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὖ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν  
ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ  
Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ 60  
οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν  
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

8 Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευ-  
σομένου, Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα,  
ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο 65  
δὲ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἰκαδε καὶ  
ζημιωθεὶς ἔφυγε· κατηγοροῦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι  
9 ὡς ἐφείη ἀρπάζειν τῷ στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ  
Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στρατεύμα, γνούς ὑπό-  
πτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸν Φαρνά-70  
βαζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν

settled there a number of captured  
Egyptians. *Cyrop.* 7. 1. 45.—  
φρεατίαν κτέ: *i.e.* he sunk a shaft  
(φρεατίαν) and from the bottom  
of it dug a tunnel (ὑπόνομον) to  
strike the city's water main.—ὡς  
ἀφαιρησόμενος: see on ὡς μαχοῦ-  
μενος 1. 1. 33.—τὸ ὄρυγμα: *i.e.*  
τὴν φρεατίαν.—αὖ: *lit.* in his  
*turn*, indicating an act which off-  
sets or answers that of another.  
—χελώνην: = the Lat. *testudo*.—  
καὶ ταύτην μέντοι: *this also, how-*  
*ever.* καὶ . . . μέντοι = καὶ . . . δέ.—  
πέμπουσιν: *sent word*, as in 2. 2. 7.

As a verb of ordering it is followed  
by the inf.

§§ 8-9. *Thibron is succeeded*  
*by Dercylidas.* 399 B.C.

8. ἄρξων: *to assume command.*  
—καὶ . . . δέ: see on 2. 4. 6.—ἐπι-  
καλεῖτο: as in 2. 3. 31.—Σίσυφος:  
a Corinthian hero, famed for his  
cunning.—ζημιωθεὶς ἔφυγε: *was*  
*condemned and banished.*

9. ὑπόπτους . . . ἀλλήλοις: just  
as they had been twelve years  
before (see *Introd.* p. 19); further-  
more, Tisaphernes' recent honors  
(§ 3) had increased his rival's

εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐλόμενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἄμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμεῖν.

Sections 9-28. Dercylidas carries on a successful campaign in the satrapy of Pharnabazus, gaining possession of nine cities.

CHAPTER 2. After building a wall across the Chersonese to protect the Greek cities from the Thracians, Dercylidas marches to Caria, where he finds the united forces of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. He offers battle, but Tissaphernes proposes a conference. A truce is concluded, to continue until each party has referred to his home government the other's demands.

Meanwhile, the Lacedaemonians declare war upon the Eleans, and after two campaigns receive their submission. 399-397 B.C.

1 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἄγισ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν 3  
δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραΐᾳ,  
γέρων ἤδη ὢν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἐτι  
ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ  
κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, 5  
καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασι-  
λείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγησί-

jealousy.— τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν : see on I. I. 6.

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1-4. *The death of Agis and the accession of Agesilaus.* 397 B.C.

1. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο : *i.e.* after the Elean War. See above.— Ἄγισ : who had reigned in Sparta since 426 B.C.— ἀποθύσας : *ἀπό* in comp. often indicates the rendering of some payment or service which is due or belongs to another; here of offering to Apollo his appointed share (τὴν δεκάτην, cp.

Eng. *tithe*) of the Elean booty.— ἔκαμεν : inceptive.— Ἡραΐα : a town in Arcadia.— ἀπηνέχθη μὲν . . . ζῶν : logically subordinate to the following δέ clause, *i.e.* concessive. Cp. 2. 3. 27.— σεμνοτέρας . . . ἄνθρωπον : *more splendid than belongs to man.* Magnificent funeral honors were paid to Spartan kings, who as descendants of Heracles were counted semi-divine.— ἐπεὶ . . . αἱ ἡμέραι : *i.e.* when the prescribed (ten) days of mourning had passed.— Λεωτυχίδης : he

2 λαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου· Ἄλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὃ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, 10 ὁ ἀδελφός κα ὡς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι ὢν τὸ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη 3 σε εἶναι ἐαυτοῦ. . . . οἱ μὲν τοιαυτ' ἔλεγον. Διοπεΐθης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, Λεωτυχίδῃ συναγορεύων εἶπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἶη φυλάξασθαι τὴν 15 χολὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντίειπεν ὡς οὐκ οἶοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν χολὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁπότε μὴ οἱ 20 4 ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῦντο. τοιαυτὰ δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἶλοντο βασιλέα.

Sections 4-11. A conspiracy against the Spartan government, headed by Cinadon, is discovered and suppressed.

was reputed to be the son of Alcibiades, and had been disowned by Agis. Plut. *Lys.* 22.

2. κα: Doric for ἂν. — ὡς: = οὕτως, *in that case*. — ἐμὲ ἂν . . . βασιλεύειν: after the preceding gen. abs. one might have expected here ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος; but this 'laconic' dialogue is made more effective by the omission of any such introducing phrases. — τὸ: = σὺ.

3. χρησμὸς: quoted in full by Plutarch, *Ages.* 3, *Lys.* 22. — φυλάξασθαι: *to beware of*. —

χολὴν βασιλείαν: Agesilaus was lame. — Λύσανδρος: Lysander was a friend of Agesilaus, and supported his claims in the hope of winning through his accession a controlling influence in Sparta. See on 2. 2. 5. — μὴ . . . χωλεύσαι: *lest one should get a sprain and become lame*. Lysander seeks to minimize and ridicule the objection. — μὴ . . . βασιλεύσειε: *lest one who was not of the royal stock should become king*. As subj. supply τις from the preceding clause. — οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους: see on § 1.

1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκη 4  
 ὦν μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τριήρεις Φοινίσσας,  
 τὰς μὲν καταπλεύσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπλη-  
 ρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατασκευαζομένας, προσακού-  
 στας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, 5  
 ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡς βασιλέως  
 καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζομέ-  
 2 νων· ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη εἰδέναί. ἀνεπτρωμένων δὲ  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων 10  
 καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων  
 καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸ  
 πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν,  
 πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστῆναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριά-  
 κοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμῶ- 15

CHAPTER 4, §§ 1-4. *Agesilaus is sent to Asia. His desire to sacrifice at Aulis, like Agamemnon, is frustrated by the Boeotians.*  
 396 B.C.

1. μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός: *i.e.* Herodas had chartered a ship and gone to Phoenicia on a trading expedition. — τριήρεις: we learn from other sources that Pharnabazus and the Cyprian prince Euagoras had persuaded the Persian king to fit out a fleet against the Spartans. This fleet was put under the command of the Athenian Conon, who had been at the court of Euagoras (cp. 2. 1. 29) since Aegospotami. — Φοινίσσας: Phoenicia, one of the

few coast states of the Persian empire, was the main source of its naval strength. — καταπλεύσας: see on ἀνηγάγοντο I. 1. 2. — προσακούσας . . . καὶ: see on 2. 4. 22. — εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα: connect with ἀναγόμενον. For the order of words see on I. 1. 23. — ὡς . . . παρασκευαζομένων: see Introd. IV. J and on I. 4. 14. — ὅποι: *i.e.* against whom.

2. καὶ . . . καὶ: *both . . . and*, although in the second clause the expected τῷ πεζῷ is replaced by a different construction. — τὸ πεζόν: prolepsis. Cp. on I. 4. 11. — ὡς ἐσώθη . . . ἀναβάν: a proof of the weakness of Persia. — τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν: 'as lieutenants and

δων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελεθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἱ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου. ἐπαγγεилаμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδόασί τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσαπερ ἤτησε καὶ ἑξαμήνου σῆτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τὰλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἕκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὄτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἐθύετο. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιώταρχοι

advisers,' says Plutarch (*Ages.* 6). Cp. § 20. — σύνταγμα: *contingent*, in apposition with εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους. — λογισμῷ: *calculation, conclusion, viz.* that there was every probability of success. — αὐτός: *i.e.* on his own account. — δεκαρχίας: see on 2. 2. 5. — ἐκείνου: see on ἐκείνων 1. 1. 27. — διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους: who were jealous, as were the Spartan kings (cp. 2. 4. 29), of the prominence and power of Lysander. — τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας: *viz.* democracies. Cp. § 7. — μετ' Ἀγησιλάου: in whom Lysander hoped to find a pliant tool. See on 3. 3.

3. ἑξαμήνου: *sc.* χρόνου. — τὰ διαβατήρια: the sacrifice to Zeus and Athena which was always

offered by a Spartan commander before crossing the Laconian frontier. — ταῖς πόλεσι: the Thebans and the Corinthians refused to send contingents, as they had refused to join the Spartans against Athens in 403 B.C. and against Elis five years afterward (see on 2. 4. 30); the Athenians also, who had sent troops with Thibron (1. 4) and against Elis, now for the first time declined to follow a Spartan leader. Pausan. 3. 9. 1-3. — θῦσαι . . . ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων: thereby Agesilaus wishes to mark his expedition as a national undertaking, like Agamemnon's.

4. βοιώταρχοι: the presiding officials of the Boeotian league. —

ὅτι θύοι, πέμψαντες ἰππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἶπαν μὴ θύειν<sup>30</sup>  
καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
βωμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὀργιζό-  
μενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ  
ἐπὶ Γεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ  
στρατεύματος πλείστον εἰς Ἐφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.<sup>35</sup>  
5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισσαφέρνης  
πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν  
αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ  
τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισ-  
σαφέρνης· Εἰ τοῦνν θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ<sup>40</sup>  
πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι ἂν σε ταῦτα διαπραξά-  
μενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. Ἄλλὰ βουλοίμην ἂν, ἔφη,  
εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἔξαπατᾶσθαι. Ἄλλ' ἔξεστιν,  
ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως σοῦ πρᾶτ-  
τοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσειν ἐν<sup>45</sup>

τοῦ λοιποῦ: *further*, with θύειν.—  
ὀργιζόμενος: Agesilaus never for-  
got this insult, but remained  
throughout his life a bitter en-  
emy of the Boeotians.—Γερα-  
στόν: at the southern extremity of  
Euboea.

§§ 5-6. *Tissaphernes concludes  
a truce with Agesilaus and em-  
ploys the time thus gained in  
obtaining reinforcements from  
Persia.*

5. ἐκείσε ἀφίκετο: very soon  
after his arrival in Asia Agesilaus  
must have met Xenophon. For  
the close friendship between the

two men see *Introd.* p. 11.—καὶ  
. . . καὶ: for the idiom see on I.  
7. 13.—εἶναι: *sc.* δεόμενος.—τῇ  
παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι: *our own Hellas*,  
suggesting that the Asiatic coast  
was only an Eastern Hellas.—  
διαπραξάμενον: containing the es-  
sential part of the apod.—τούτων  
πίστιν: *a guarantee on this point*.  
τούτων refers back to ἔξαπατᾶσθαι,  
but is further explained by the  
following inf. clause.—πράττοντος  
ταῦτα: *i.e.* conclude a truce.—  
τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς: *your domain, i.e.*  
the coast region, with its Greek  
cities.—ἐν: *during*.

- 6 ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθείσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσε τοῖς πεμφθείσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἑριπίδα καὶ Δερκυλίδα καὶ Μεγίλλω ἢ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκείνοι δὲ ἀντόμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἢ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς. 50 ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἂ ὤμοσεν εὐθύς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στρατεύμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.
- 7 Ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος 55 διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γιννώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' 60 Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἰὲ παμπληθῆς ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησί-  
8 λαος ιδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος βασιλεύς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμηνε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν ὕστερον· οἱ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου 65

6. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθείσι: *when these things had been said.*—πράξειν: *would negotiate.*—τὴν εἰρήνην: *the peace suggested by § 5.*—ἔχειν: *keeping, observing.*

§§ 7-10. *Lysander's friends pay court to him instead of Agesilaus. The king finds a method of humiliating Lysander, and, at his own request, sends him to the Hellespont.*

7. συντεταραγμένων: *perf. of a pres. state, hence parallel with the following pres. parts.*—ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων: *i.e. in the time of the Athenian empire.*

8. ἔμηνε: *enraged, an exceptional meaning for this word in the active. See Introd. IV. L.*—καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον: *Agesilaus also, as well as the Thirty.*—οἱ . . . ἄλλοι τριάκοντα: *the rest of*

οὐκ ἐσίγων, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοίη Λύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ὁ Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἷς γνοίη αὐτὸν συμπράτοντά τι ἠττωμένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὡς δ' αἰεὶ τὰ ἐναντία ὦν ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ, ἔγνω δὴ τὸ γιγνόμενον· καὶ οὔτε ἔπεσθαι ἑαυτῷ ἔτι εἶα ὄχλον τοῖς τε συμπράξαι τι δεομένοις σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔλαττον 9 ἔξοιεν, εἰ αὐτὸς παρείη. βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν· ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύγε 75 τοὺς φίλους ἠπίστω. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τοὺς γε βουλομένους ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι· τοὺς δέ γε αὐξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' ἴσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἔπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ 80 χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μὴτ' αἰσχύνομαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ μὴτ' ἐμποδῶν σοὶ ὦ, ἀπόπεμψόν ποί με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν 10 ὦ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοὶ εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος αἰσθό 85

*the Thirty, i.e. besides Lysander.* — τῆς βασιλείας: *than royalty.* — ἠττωμένοις: lit. *defeated, i.e. of their objects.* — οὔτε . . . τε: = *neque . . . et.* — ἔλαττον ἔξοιεν: *would fare worse.*

9. ἀτιμία: dat. of cause. — μὲν ἄρα . . . ἠπίστω: *you certainly (μὲν, which here = μὴν) were, then (ἄρα), a man who understood, i.e. you are now such a man. For*

*the impf. of a 'truth just realized' see S. 1902; HA. 833; B. 527, N.; GMT. 39.* — σύγε: *you at least, implying that Agesilaus' conduct was exceptional.* — καί: *emphasizing the following, perhaps it is indeed true that, etc.* — ποιεῖς . . . ἔπραττον: *without difference of meaning.* — ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ: lit. *from what is left, i.e. at least.* — ὅπως ἂν: *see on I. 6. 9.* — ἐν καιρῷ: *useful.*



μενος Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πείθει ἀποστῆναι ἔχοντα τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἰππέας ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἤκεν<sup>90</sup> ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἤσθη τε τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.

- 11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ<sup>95</sup> πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι<sup>100</sup> Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχει, ὅτι ἐπιорκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς

10. Σπιθριδάτην: who probably held some official position under Pharnabazus. Cp. *Anab.* 6. 5. 7. — ἐλαττούμενόν τι: had suffered a (τι) slight. For the pres. with perf. meaning see on φεύγειν 1. I. 27. — περὶ αὐτόν: i.e. what he had, as we say, 'about him.' There was no time to turn real estate into money. — ἀναβιβασάμενος: sc. ἐπὶ ναῦν. The verb is used as the causative of ἀναβαίνειν (cp. § 4). — χώρας . . . ἀρχῆς: respectively geographical and political.

§§ 11-15. *Tissaphernes, having*

*received reënforcements, declares war openly. Agesilaus by a sudden march into Phrygia gains rich booty, but an unsuccessful cavalry skirmish leads him to take measures to improve his cavalry.*

11. μέγα φρονήσας . . . ἐπί: see on 2. 4. 27. The aor. is inceptive. — τῷ . . . παρὰ βασιλέως: the order of words as in § 1. So τὴν παροῦσαν . . . Ἀγησιλάῳ below. — στρατεύματι: for στρατεύμα πολὺ . . . μετεπέμπετο § 6. — οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι: see on 2. 2. 18. — φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ: see on με-

θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι συμμαχοὺς ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθύς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἅς 105 ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευσόμενῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 12 εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους. ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἰππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ 110 Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἠγγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ' ἰππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον περιῆγε, νομίζων ἰκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ 115 ἰππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθύς τὰναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβάλων ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς 120 13 παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον

γάλη τῇ φωνῇ 2. 3. 56. — ὡς εἰς στρατείαν: see on I. 1. 12. — Καρίαν: Tissaphernes' own residence was in Caria (§ 12). — ἀγορὰν: where the troops might buy provisions. — τοὺς συστρατευσομένους: see on 2. 3. 18.

12. ἡ δὲ Καρία . . . ἦν: parenthetical, indicating the point of the preceding clause; hence δέ. Cp. ἦν . . . οὐριον I. 6. 37. — ἀπάτην: cp. § 6. — τῷ ὄντι: con-

nect with ὀρμήσειν. — διεβίβασεν: *i.e.* from Sardis due south across (διά in comp.) the mountains. The cavalry, however, he *led around* (περιῆγε) the mountains, making a long circuit to the eastward. — τὰναντία: *in the opposite direction*. — Φρυγίας: the satrapy of Pharnabazus. — ἀναλαμβάνων: see on ἀναλάβοι I. 1. 4. — ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς: used actively, and limiting αὐταῖς to be supplied from πόλεις.

χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος  
 Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ  
 λόφον τινά, ὡς προϊδοιεν τί τᾶμπροσθεν εἶη. κατὰ  
 τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἰππεῖς οἱ περὶ 125  
 Ῥαθίην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρό-  
 μοιοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρνα-  
 βάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον.  
 ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ  
 μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέροι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰππεῖς 130  
 ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρ-  
 βαροι τοὺς πρώτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες,  
 τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὤρμη-  
 14 σαν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, 135  
 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανεῖνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν  
 ἰππέας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφ-  
 θησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἰππεῖς. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησι-  
 λάου σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι,  
 15 καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς 140  
 ἵππομαχίας, θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ  
 προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι φανέν-

13. ὄντος: sc. αὐτοῦ, i.e. Agesi-  
 laus. — Δασκυλείου: where Phar-  
 nabazus had his residence. — αὐτοῦ:  
 connect with προϊόντες. — ὡς: see  
 Introd. IV. F. — καὶ οὗτοι: repeat-  
 ing the subject and contrasting it  
 with the Greek horsemen. — τοῦ-  
 τον: for its position see on τούτω  
 2. 4. 41. — ἐπὶ τεττάρων: as in 2.  
 4. 11. — οὐ πλέον: = οὐκ εἰς πλείους.

Cp. on οὐκ ἔλαττον 2. 4. 11. εἰς  
 here refers to the breadth of the  
 front line. Cp. 2. 4. 12.

14. ἐτρέφθησαν: an unusual  
 form instead of the 2 aor. ἐτρά-  
 πησαν.

15. ἄλοβα γίγνεται: i.e. the  
 liver of the victim was found to  
 lack one of its lobes, — a most un-  
 favorable sign, which forbade the

τος στρέφας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γινώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἵππικὸν ἱκανὸν κτήσαιοτο, οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω τούτο κατασκευαστέον<sup>145</sup> εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμῆν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε· προειπὼν δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὕτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι<sup>150</sup> ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως ζητοίη.

16 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσον· ἀσκῆσαι δ' αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τε ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἧτις<sup>155</sup> ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς, ἧτις κράτιστα ἵππευοί· καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἄθλα προύθηκεν, ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανεῖεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὄραν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δ' ἵππόδρομον τῶν ἵππα-<sup>160</sup>ζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελε-

proposed advance (προόδω). — ἐπὶ θάλατταν: *i.e.* to the Ionian coast. — ἱκανόν: *adequate*, both in numbers and in efficiency. — ἔγνω: *he decided*. — δραπετεύοντα: *cp.* 2. 4. 16. — ἐποίησεν . . . ζητοίη: *he caused these things to be done with all the eagerness with which one would seek a man to die in his stead*. προθύμως *practically repeats συντόμως*.

§§ 16-19. *Agesilaus' preparations in Ephesus.* 395 B.C.

16. *συνήγαγε*: from the various places where the troops had been quartered for the winter. — ἄθλα προύθηκε: a favorite method with Agesilaus of obtaining efficient service. *CP.* 4. 2. 5. — ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι: *should be in the best condition of body*. ἔχοι is opt. in implied ind. disc. For the gen. with the adv. see S. 1441; HA. 757 a; B. 360; G. 1092; Gl. 507 d. — καὶ . . . δέ: *and . . . also*. — φανεῖεν: *should prove themselves*.

17 τῶντας. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἣ ἦν θέας  
 ἐποίησεν· ἥ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεσιτὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ  
 ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ὠνίων, οἳ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἳ τέκτο-  
 νες καὶ οἳ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἳ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἳ ζωγράφοι 165  
 πάντες πολεμικὰ ὄπλα κατεσκευάζουσι, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν  
 18 ὄντως οἴεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. ἐπερρώσθη  
 δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα  
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ  
 τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφά- 170  
 νους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβουτο,  
 τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῶεν, πῶς  
 οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι;  
 19 ἠγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην  
 τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι 175  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυ-  
 μνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὀρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν  
 διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους  
 διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν  
 τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι. 180

17. καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν: *the entire city also*, as well as the *gymnasia*, etc. — *θέας*: connect with *ἀξίαν*. — *παντοδαπῶν* . . . *ὠνίων*: both adjs. limit both the nouns which they inclose. — *ζωγράφοι*: to paint the devices on the shields. — *ὥστε* . . . *οἴεσθαι*: *sc. τινά*, so that one might have thought. See on *ὥστε πληροῦν* 2. I. 14.

18. *ἐκεῖνο*: referring to the following, as in 2. 3. 56. — *Ἀρτέμιδι*:

see on I. 2. 6. — *σέβουτο* . . . *ἀσκοῖεν* . . . *μελετῶεν*: opt. in a less vivid fut. protasis; for *πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς* . . . *εἶναι* = *εἰκότως ἂν εἶη*. See GMT. 555; S. 2359 f.; B. 564.

19. *ληστῶν*: *i.e.* Greek raiding parties. — *λευκοὺς*: *sc. αὐτοὺς ὄντας*. — *μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι*: *i.e.* never exposing their skins to the sun, as the Greeks did in their athletic exercises. Cp. *γυμνάζειν* (from *γυμνός*, *stripped*) and *γυμνάσιον*. — *ἡ*: be-

20 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἀφ' οὗ  
 ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε οἱ μὲν περὶ  
 Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέπλεον, διάδοχοι δ'  
 αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἑριπίδαν παρήσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα  
 μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 185  
 νεοδαμῶδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἑριπίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους,  
 Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ  
 προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην  
 ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ  
 σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζουσιν ὡς ἀγωνιού- 190  
 21 μνοι. ὁ μὲντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν  
 αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν  
 τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν  
 εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου  
 πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, 195  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον  
 ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων

cause of the comparative idea in  
 διοίσειν, *the war would be no  
 harder than, etc.*

§§ 20-24. *Hostilities are re-  
 sumed. Agesilaus wins a victory  
 at the Pactolus River.*

20. ἀφ' οὗ: *sc. χρόνου, since.*  
 — οἱ περὶ Ἑριπίδαν: *i.e.* Herip-  
 pidas was at the head of the  
 second Thirty, as Lysander had  
 been of the first. Cp. § 2. — ἐπί:  
 see on I. I. 32. — τοὺς Κυρείους:  
*i.e.* the remnant of the Ten Thou-  
 sand (cp. I. 6), who had perhaps  
 been commanded up to this time

by Xenophon. See *Introd.* p. 10.  
 — τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων: *i.e.* the  
 contingents of the allies, as in I.  
 I. 25. — τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας:  
 the fertile and wealthy province  
 of Lydia (cp. § 21). — ὅπως: con-  
 nect with προεῖπεν. — αὐτόθεν: *at  
 once.* — οὕτω . . . παρασκευάζουσιν  
 ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι: *lit. might so pre-  
 pare . . . as men about to con-  
 tend, i.e. might prepare . . . to  
 contend.* See on ὡς ἀπαντησόμε-  
 νος I. 6. 3.

21. πάλιν: as before, § 12. —  
 ἐμβαλεῖν: *fut.* — Σαρδιανόν: *of*

πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ δὲ  
 22 τετάρτῃ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς. καὶ τῷ μὲν  
 ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν διαβάντι τὸν 200  
 Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατι-  
 δόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους εἰς  
 ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ  
 Ἀγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας. οἱ δ' αὖ  
 Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντι- 205  
 23 παρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν. ἔνθα  
 δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γινώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις  
 οὐπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν παρε-  
 σκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἠγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ  
 δύναίτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθύς 210  
 ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλι-  
 τῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς  
 δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑψηγεῖσθαι. παρήγγειλε δὲ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς  
 24 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέ- 215  
 ξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν,

*Sardis*, the capital of Lydia.—  
 πολλά: pred., *in abundance*.

22. εἶπεν: as in I. I. 13.—ὁ  
 ἡγεμὼν: *i.e.* of the Persian horse-  
 men, who are referred to in αὐτοῖ  
 below.—αὖ: as in I. 7.

23. τῶν παρεσκευασμένων: cp.  
 τῆς παρασκευῆς § 11. Agesilaus  
 had both hoplites and peltasts as  
 well as cavalry.—τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα  
 . . . ἦγεν: contrasted with παρ-  
 ἤγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν.  
 The orders to τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης

and to the peltasts are merely in-  
 cidents of the movement described  
 in τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν.—ἐκ τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν: equivalent to a part.  
 gen.—τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης: see on 2.  
 4. 32.—ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς: *to close  
 quarters with them*.—παρήγγειλε:  
*sent word*. The horsemen were  
 already facing the enemy (§ 22),  
 and hence in advance of Agesilaus  
 and the infantry.—ὡς: *in the  
 assurance that*.

24. πάντα τὰ δεινὰ: *i.e.* peltasts

ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἰρούσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταί, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ δ' 220 Ἀγησίλαος κύκλω πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἃ ἤνυρε πλέον ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ἃς Ἀγησίλαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγαγεν. 225

25 Ὅτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὦν· ὥστε ἠτιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφα- 230 λήν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας· ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν αἴτιος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀξιοῖ σέ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν 235

and hoplites as well as horsemen. — ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ: in (not 'into') the river, i.e. in trying to cross to their camp on the opposite side (§ 22). — ἔφευγον: note the impf., fled on, i.e. after successfully crossing the river. — ἄλλα τε κτέ.: see on 2. 1. 30. — ἤνυρε: brought. — καὶ . . . δέ: as in 2. 4. 6.

§§ 25-29. *Tissaphernes is beheaded by order of the Persian king. His successor negotiates with Agesilaus. The latter is*

*given command of the Spartan fleet.*

25. γνοὺς: as in § 15. — αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς: see on 1. 2. 19. — τοῦ . . . τὰ ἑαυτοῦ: for his affairs' going badly. According to Diodorus (14. 80) the king was also influenced in his action by his mother Parysatis, who had never forgiven Tissaphernes for his enmity to Cyrus. — τῶν πραγμάτων: the trouble. — τὰς . . . πόλεις: i.e. the Greek cities.



26 αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειε ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, Σὺ δ' ἀλλά, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἔως ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησί-<sup>240</sup> λαος, ἐκείσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης δίδωσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἦε ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυ-  
 27 γίαν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως<sup>245</sup> γινώσκει καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὄντω αὐτὸς βούλοιο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιῶδε λογισμῷ, ὡς εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τό τε πεζὸν πολὺ ἂν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ' ἐν οὐσης τῆς ἰσχύος ἀμφοτέροις, τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ πεζοῦ<sup>250</sup>  
 28 ἐνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίαις τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὀπόσας ἐκάστη

26. τῶν . . . τελῶν: *the authorities*, especially the ephors. See on 2. 4. 29. — ἀλλά: *at least*. — τὴν Φαρναβάζου: Tithraustes, like Tissaphernes in 1. 9, was glad to sacrifice Pharnabazus' satrapy in order to save his own. — ἐπειδὴ καὶ: an additional reason, — besides the fact that hostilities would naturally cease, pending word from Sparta. — τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν: *i.e.* Lesser Phrygia, as distinguished from Greater Phrygia. See on 1. 3.

27. ἔρχεται . . . ἄρχειν: *there came (an order) . . . to command*. The construction is simply the passive of πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι . . . στρατεύεσθαι in 1. 7. — καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ: no one except Agesilaus was ever given command of both the land and sea forces of Sparta. Plut. *Ages.* 10. — ὅπως γινώσκει: *as he might think best*. — ὡς . . . ἂν . . . εἶναι: see on ὅτι . . . ἔσεσθαι 2. 2. 2. — καθ' ἐν . . . ἀμφοτέροις: *the strength of both (lit. for both) being united*.

βούλοιο τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καιναί, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο χαρίζε-<sup>255</sup>  
<sup>29</sup>σθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Πείσανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον κατέστησε, φιλό-  
 τιμον μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ  
 παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν  
 τὰ ναυτικὰ ἔπραττεν· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὠρμη-<sup>260</sup>  
 σεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορευέτο.

1. Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τὸν Ἀγησί-<sup>5</sup>  
 λαον καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ  
 οὐδαμῇ διανοοῦμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ  
 μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγάλας αἰρήσειν βασιλέα,  
 ἀπορῶν τί χρῶτο τοῖς πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην<sup>5</sup>  
 τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, δούς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα  
 τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ  
 μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς  
 πόλεσι ἐφ' ᾧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.

28. ἐγένοντο καιναί, κτί.: *the result was new ships, etc., lit. there came into being new ships, etc.* Agesilaus wished to reënforce the Lacedaemonian fleet in order to meet Conon (see on § 1), who was gathering strength and in the preceding year had helped the Rhodians to revolt from Sparta. Diod. 14. 79.

29. ἀπειρότερον . . . ὡς δεῖ: *rather inexperienced in making the needful provisions.* Plutarch (*Ages.* 10) calls the appointment of Pisander a case of sheer favoritism.

CHAPTER 5, §§ 1-2. *Tithraustes undertakes through bribery to incite the other states of Greece to hostilities against Sparta.*

1. πραγμάτων: *power.* Cp. 1. 6. 13.—αἰρήσειν: *would overcome.*—τί χρῶτο τοῖς πράγμασι: see on 2. 1. 2.—χρυσίον . . . ἀργυρίου: *gold to the value of fifty talents of silver.* The phrase serves merely to translate the gold darics of Persia into Greek notation.—τοῖς προεστηκόσιν: see on 1. 7. 2.—ἐξοίσειν: for the tense see GMT. 113.—It should be noted

ἐκεῖνος δ' ἔλθων δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδα τε <sup>10</sup>  
καὶ Ἴσμηνία καὶ Γαλαξιδώρω, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ Τιμολάφ  
τε καὶ Πολυίνθει, ἐν Ἄργει δὲ Κύλωνί τε καὶ τοῖς μετ'  
αὐτοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ  
χρυσίου ὁμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομί-  
ζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ <sup>15</sup>  
χρήματα εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακε-  
δαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον,  
συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

3 Γιγνώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ  
μή τις ἄρξει πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμό- <sup>20</sup>  
νιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι  
Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου  
χώρας Φωκεύσι τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς χρήματα τελῆσαι, νομί-  
ζοντες τοὺς Φωκέας τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν

that Tithraustes' gold was but a slight factor in bringing about the war against Sparta. For the important states of Greece were more than willing to enter upon the struggle. Argos was always hostile to the Spartans, Athens was only waiting her opportunity to be revenged, and Thebes and Corinth had already shown their ill-will toward Sparta and their jealousy of her power (cp. 4. 4 and see on 2. 4. 30 and 3. 4. 3). Throughout the Greek world the Spartans had shown themselves harsh masters and had alienated former friends.

2. καί: = καίπερ. — νομίζοντες

. . . εἶναι: lit. *thinking that it was theirs to rule, i.e. in the hope of recovering their former power.* — εἰς . . . πόλεις: connect with διέβαλλον. — συνίστασαν: conative.

§§ 3-7. *War breaks out between Locris and Phocis. The Thebans support the former, whereupon the Phocians appeal to Sparta for aid, which is readily granted. The Thebans seek assistance at Athens.*

3. τοὺς Ὀπουντίους: as contrasted with the Ozolian or Western Locrians. — ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου . . . τελῆσαι: *to levy money from the territory which was in dispute between the Phocians and them-*

Λοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ ἐπεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς οἱ Φωκεῖς 25  
 ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα  
 4 ἔλαβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἄνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἔπεισαν  
 τοὺς Θηβαίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς, ὡς οὐκ εἰς τὴν  
 ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὁμολογουμένην φίλην  
 τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Λοκρίδα ἐμβεβληκότων αὐτῶν. 30  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα  
 ἐδήρουν τὴν χώραν, εὐθύς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις  
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἠξίουν βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διδάσκον-  
 τες ὡς οὐκ ἤρξαντο πολέμου, ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ  
 5 τοὺς Λοκρούς. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄσμενοι ἔλαβον 35  
 πρόφασιν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργι-  
 ζόμενοι αὐτοῖς τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 δεκάτης ἐν Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελή-

*selves* (i.e. the Locrians). The order of words, separating the dat. Φωκεῦσι and ἑαυτοῖς from the adj. on which they depend, is analogous to that in 4. 1.—πολλαπλάσια χρήματα: i.e. property many times the value of the money which the Locrians had levied.

4. ὡς: on the ground that.—τὴν ὁμολογουμένην . . . Λοκρίδα: lit. *that which was admitted to be friendly and allied territory, namely Locris, i.e.* 'the territory which was indisputably Locrian and hence friendly to them' (the Thebans).—αὐτῶν: the Phocians.—διδάσκοντες: *setting forth*.

5. στρατεύειν: the simple inf. after ἔλαβον πρόφασιν. S. 2004;

HA. 952; B. 641; G. 1521; Gl. 565. Below, however, καιρόν is followed by the articular inf.—τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως . . . δεκάτης: *both on account of their claiming* (gen. of cause) *Apollo's tenth, i.e. of the spoils of the Peloponnesian War.* According to Plutarch (*Lys.* 27) the Thebans were the only allies of Sparta who had ventured to ask for a share of the spoils. Their request was refused by the Spartans, who now ill-naturedly and unfairly put it as though the Thebans had asked for the tenth which was to be dedicated to Apollo. Cp. 3. 1 and note.—Δεκελεία: the Spartan headquarters. Introd. p. 16.—τοῦ . . . μὴ ἐθελή-

σαι ἀκολουθήσαι. ἤτιῶντο δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους  
 πείσαι μὴ συστρατεύειν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὡς<sup>40</sup>  
 θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὐκ εἶων καὶ τὰ  
 τεθυμένα ἱερὰ ὡς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὅτι οὐδ'  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησιλάῳ συνεστράτεον. ἐλογίζοντο  
 δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑβρεως· τά τε γὰρ ἐν<sup>45</sup>  
 τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς σφίσιιν ἔχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάου,  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδῶν σφί-  
 6 σιν εἶναι. οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφεινον, Λύσαν-  
 δρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτούς τε<sup>50</sup>  
 τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα παρῆναι καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρα-  
 κλεώτας καὶ Μηλιᾶς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας εἰς Ἀλιάρτον.  
 ἐκείσε δὲ καὶ Πausanίας, ὅσπερ ἐμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι,  
 συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, ἔχων Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους. καὶ ὁ<sup>55</sup>  
 μὲν Λύσανδρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελεύόμενα ἔπραττε καὶ  
 7 προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ Παν-

σαι . . . καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι :  
 see 2. 4. 30 and note. — θύειν τ'  
 ἐν Αὐλίδι κτί. : see 4. 4. — οὐδέ :  
 not . . . either, i.e. they did not  
 serve against Piraeus nor on the  
 Asiatic expedition either. For  
 the fact see on 4. 3. — καὶ καλὸν  
 καιρὸν εἶναι : that it was also a  
 favorable time, apart from the  
 other reasons for their readiness  
 to begin war. — κρατοῦντος : being  
 victorious.

6. οὕτω γιγνωσκούσης : being

thus minded. — φρουρὰν . . . ἐφαι-  
 νον : the regular phrase for calling  
 out, summoning to arms, a Lace-  
 daemonian army. Cp. ἐξάγει φρου-  
 ράν 2. 4. 29. — Λύσανδρον : who  
 had returned from Asia shortly  
 before. Cp. 4. 20. — Οἰταίους κτί. :  
 peoples who lived in the region  
 of the Malian Gulf. — Ἀλιάρτον : a  
 town in Boeotia. — ἐμελλεν ἡγεῖ-  
 σθαι : was to have chief command.  
 — Ὀρχομενίους : Orchomenus was  
 the second city of Boeotia.

σανίας, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῶ, καθεζόμενος ἐν Τεγέα τοὺς τε ξεναγοὺς εἰέπεμπε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων στρατιώτας περιέμενεν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θεβαίοις ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τοιάδε.

- 8 Ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ψηφισαμένων χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὀρθῶς μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσασθε, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνὴρ εἶπεν, ὃς ἔτυχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμαχοῖς καθήμενος. ὅτε δὲ παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τότε ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσαστο μὴ συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς. δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὀργιζομένων ἡμῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν. 9 πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιούμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἐγένεσθε, προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν τῷ δήμῳ, ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ὑμῖν

7. διαβατήρια: see on 4. 3. — ἐγένετο: *proved favorable*. — ξεναγοῦς: Spartan officers who raised and commanded the contingents of the allies. — περιοικίδων: *sc. πόλεων*, Laconian towns round about Sparta, the homes of the Perioeci (see on I. 3. 15).

§§ 8-15. *Speech of the Theban envoys at Athens.*

8. ἃ μὲν . . . ψηφισαμένων: *as to the fault you find with us on the ground that we voted*. The

part. is gen. abs., instead of dat. in agreement with ἡμῖν. — χαλεπῶ: viz. the destruction of Athens. See 2. 2. 19. — εἰς ἀνὴρ: a certain Erianthus, according to Plut. *Lys.* 15. — εἶπεν: see on εἰπόντος I. 7. 9. — ἐν τοῖς συμμαχοῖς: *in the assembly of the Lacedaemonian allies*.

9. τῶν ἐν ἄστει: the oligarchs in Athens as opposed to the democrats in Piraeus. Cp. 2. 4. 24, 26, etc. — ἀφικόμενοι: 2. 4. 28 f.—

σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει· ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐτοσὶ ὑμᾶς  
 10 ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βού-  
 λουισθ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν 80  
 πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέ-  
 σθαι ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῦτε;  
 ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μάλ-  
 λον διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε  
 πλείστων ἤρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. 85  
 ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι ἀποσταῖεν, ἔκρυσπον τὴν  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέστη-  
 11 σαν, τότε ἔφηναν οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν ἐγίνωσκον. καὶ νῦν  
 γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς συνασπι-  
 δούντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε, ἀναφανή- 90  
 σονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ  
 λέγομεν, ἐὰν ἀναλογίσησθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ  
 ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν

παρέδοσαν: the same word which Thrasylbulus uses in 2. 4. 41. — τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι: so far as it depended upon them, for all they did to prevent it. For the inf. see S. 2012 c; HA. 956, 956 a; B. 642, 1; G. 1534, 1535; Gl. 569. — ἀπολώλατε: you have (already) perished. This is putting it more forcibly than if the speaker had said ἀπωλώλιτε ἂν, you would have perished.

10. καὶ μὴν: and further, turning to a new point. — ἀρχὴν: dominion. — τοῦτο . . . γενέσθαι: how

is the happening of this more likely, i.e. how is it more likely that this should happen. γενέσθαι, which is subj. of ἐστὶ understood, appears to refer to the future; in fact it has no meaning of time whatever, the future idea being contained in εἰκός. Cp. on σέβοντο 4. 18. — ὅτι: because. Connect with φοβηθῆτε. — ἕως . . . ἀποσταῖεν: so long as they had no one to whom (ὅποι, cp. 4. 1) to revolt. — προέστησαν: offered themselves as leaders. — ἐγίνωσκον: see on § 6.

11. Ἀργεῖοι: see on § 1. Ar-

12 αεί ποτε δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; Ἡλεῖοί γε μὴν  
 ἦν ἔστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχθροὶ 95  
 αὐτοῖς προσγεγένηται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας  
 καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οἳ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ  
 μάλα λιπαροῦμενοι ὑπ' ἐκείων πάντων καὶ πόνων. καὶ  
 κινδύνων καὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων μετεῖχον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπρα-  
 ξαν ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ποίας ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ 100  
 τιμῆς ἢ ποίων χρημάτων μεταδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς; ἀλλὰ  
 τοὺς μὲν εἰλωτας ἀρμοστὰς ἀξιούσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ  
 συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὄντων, ἐπεὶ ἠτύχησαν, δεσπότηται  
 13 ἀναπεφῆναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὓς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν  
 φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας 105  
 διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχέκασιν· ὑπὸ τε γὰρ  
 τῶν ἀρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὓς  
 Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει. ὃ γε μὴν τῆς

gos was the only Peloponnesian state which had not fought with Sparta against Athens. — αεί ποτε: a strengthened αεί.

12. γε μὴν: correlative with the preceding μέν. See Introd. IV. D. 4. — ἦν ἔστερημένοι: as a result of the war described in Chap. 2. See abstract on p. 197. — ἐχθροί . . . προσγεγένηται: have been added to the number of their enemies. — Κορινθίους . . . τί φῶμεν: for the double acc. see S. 1622; HA. 725 a; B. 340; G. 1073; Gl. 536 c. — χρημάτων: i.e. booty. See on § 5. — εἰλωτας ἀρμοστὰς: almost certainly an exaggeration. — ἐπέτυχεσαν: since they (i.e. the

Spartans) achieved success. — The indictment brought against the Spartans in this section and the following goes far toward clearing Xenophon of the charge of blind partisanship. See Introd. p. 31.

13. ἀλλὰ μὴν: as in 2. 3. 40. — ἐλευθερίας: the freedom of Greece had been Sparta's avowed aim in the Peloponnesian War. Cp. 2. 2. 23. — ἀρμοστῶν . . . δέκα ἀνδρῶν: see on 2. 2. 5. At this time Lysander's decarchies had been overthrown (4. 2 and 7); Spartan harmosts, however, were still ruling, not only in the Asiatic cities, but (according to Demosthenes 18. 96) in continental Greece and



Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' αὐτοῖς συμβαλόμενος  
 εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρατῆσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ 110  
 14 μεθ' ὑμῶν κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός,  
 εἰάν ὑμεῖς αὖ προστῆτε τῶν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικουμένων,  
 νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πρόποτε γενέσθαι;  
 ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχετε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μόνον δήπου  
 ἠγεῖσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων 115  
 καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχετε καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγί-  
 στην δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἠγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. καίτοι  
 ἤμεν πολλοῦ ἀξιοὶ καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὡς ὑμεῖς  
 ἐπίστασθε· νῦν δέ γε εἰκὸς τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρως  
 ὑμῖν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Λακεδαιμονίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ 120  
 ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτριῶν,  
 ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένων βοη-  
 15 θήσομεν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρὴ εἶδεῖναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων πλεονεξία πολὺ εὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρχῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες 125  
 ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων ἤρχετε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι ὄντες  
 πολλαπλασίων ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὀπλισμένων  
 πλεονεκτοῦσι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς· εἰ γε μέντοι  
 ἐπίστασθε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ πολὺ

in the Aegean islands. — καί: as in § 2. — συμβαλόμενος: especially in the time of Cyrus, 1. 5. 1 f. — μεθ' ὑμῶν . . . αὐτούς: a flattering suggestion that Sparta owed her success against Athens merely to Persian aid.

14. εἰκός . . . γενέσθαι: as in § 10. — αὖ: in your turn, as contrasted with Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέ-

στησαν § 10. — ἤδη: strengthening the following superl. — τῶν πρόποτε: of all the states that have ever been. — ἤρχετε: held sway. — πάντων: explained by the following appositives. — τῷ παντί: as in 2. 3. 22. — οὐδέ: *by no means*, a strengthened οὐ.

15. καί . . . μέντοι: as in 1. 7. — πλεονεξία: assumed dominion. Similarly πλεονεκτοῦσι below. —

μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει ἢ τῇ<sup>130</sup>  
ἡμετέρᾳ.

16 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων  
πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο  
βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ  
ψηφισμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ<sup>135</sup>  
Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρακινδυνεύοιεν χάριτα αὐτοῖς  
ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἢ ἔλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ  
συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ γε μεθ' ὑμῶν  
17 μαχοῦμεθα ἐκείνοις, ἂν ἴωσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὲ  
Θηβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι,<sup>140</sup>  
οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Πausανίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τό τε οἴκοθεν ἔχων στρα-  
τευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ  
ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ<sup>145</sup>  
Φωκέων καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων  
στράτευμα, ἔφθη τὸν Pausanίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενό-  
18 μενος. ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ  
τῇ . . . πόλει: dependent upon  
μείζω ἀγαθὰ.

§§ 16-20. *The Athenians vote to aid the Thebans. Lysander, reaching Haliartus before Pausanias, is defeated and slain by the Thebans.*

16. ὁ μὲν: *i.e.* the spokesman of the embassy. — Θρασύβουλος: the liberator of Athens. — ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψηφισμα: *giving them the decree for an answer.* ψηφισμα is cogn. acc. — ἀτειχίστου . . .

Πειραιῶς: cp. 2. 2. 20. — παρακινδυνεύοιεν . . . ἀποδοῦναι: *would brave the danger of repaying.* — χάριτα: an unusual (Ionic) form for χάριν. See *Introd.* IV. L. — ἡμεῖς . . . μαχοῦμεθα: positive aid, as contrasted with the mere neutrality of the Thebans.

17. Κορίνθιοι: see on 4. 3. — κατ' ἐκεῖνα: *in that region.*

18. οὐκέτι . . . ἔχων ἀνέμενε: *he no longer quietly awaited, i.e. οὐκέτι negatives the entire phrase.*

Λακεδαιμόνος στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ἦει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπειθεν<sup>150</sup> αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτονόμους γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκώλουν, προσέ-  
 19 βαλε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ἐβόηθουν οἳ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, εἴτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ<sup>155</sup> εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν, ἄδηλον· τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι.<sup>160</sup>  
 20 ὡς δὲ ἄνω ἤδη ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ στενοπορία ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοὺς, ὑποστρέφαντες οἱ ὀπλίται ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὡς δὲ ἔπεσον αὐτῶν

— ἔπειθεν: conative. — ἀφίστασθαι: from the Thebans.

19. οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . ἐβόηθουν: according to Plutarch (*Lys.* 28) the Thebans had intercepted a letter from Lysander to Pausanias and, learning in this way the Spartan plan of campaign, had marched at once to Haliartus, leaving the defense of Thebes to the Athenian force which had come to their aid. They reached Haliartus before Lysander, occupied the town with a portion of their army, and with the rest waited outside the walls for Lysander's coming. — ὀπλίται . . . ἰππεῖς: in part. apposition to Θηβαῖοι. — ὁπότερα: sc. ἐγένετο,

*which of the two things happened, which of the two things it was.* ὁπότερα thus prepares the way for the following double question. — ὡς κρατήσων: *in the belief that he would be victorious.* See on ὡς μαχόμενος I. I. 33. — δ' οὖν: *at any rate.* — πρὸς τὰς πύλας: the acc. because of the idea of motion in ἔστηκε. — τὸ ὄρος: Mt. Helicon, south of Haliartus.

20. δυσχωρία . . . αὐτοῖς: *came upon rough country and narrow ways.* — οἱ ὀπλίται: *i.e.* of the Spartans. There is a similar abrupt change of subject in the following sentence. — ἔβαλλον: *sc.* βέλη, especially stones. Cp. πε-

δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπεκυλίνδουν  
 πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐνέκειντο, 165  
 ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους καὶ ἀποθνή-  
 21 σκουσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ  
 πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποικηκέναι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία, ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο  
 ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τοὺς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 170  
 ἅπαντας οἴκαδε ἐκάστους, ἐκ τούτου μείζον δὴ ἐφρόνου  
 ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Πausanίας ἀνεφαίνετο  
 ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος στρατεύμα, πάλιν αὖ ἐν  
 μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἠγοῦντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν  
 σιωπὴν τε καὶ ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι 175  
 22 αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραία οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες  
 συμπαρετάξαντο ὃ τε Πausanίας οὐ προσῆγεν οὐδὲ  
 ἐμάχετο, ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μείζον φρό-  
 νημα ἐγίνετο· ὁ δὲ Πausanίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρ-  
 χους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας ἐβουλεύετο πό-ερον μάχην 180  
 συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τὸν τε Λύσανδρον ἀναιροῖτο

τροβόλοι 2. 4. 12.—ἐτρέφθησαν :  
 see on 4. 14.

§§ 21–25. *Pausanias and the Athenians reach Haliartus. Pausanias does not venture an attack, but requests a truce for the recovery of the dead, agreeing to evacuate Boeotia. On his return to Sparta he is tried and condemned to death.*

21. μείζον . . . ἐφρόνου ἐπὶ :  
 see on 2. 4. 27. — πάλιν : *again*. —  
 αὖ : *on the other hand*, indicating  
 the change in the situation. See  
 on πάλιν αὖ 2. 4. 29. — ἔφασαν :

*sc.* as subj. Xenophon's informants.  
 — This section and the following  
 reveal Xenophon's anti-Theban  
 feeling. See *Introd.* p. 31.

22. Ἀθηναῖοι : see on § 19. —  
 πολὺ μείζον : predicative. Its posi-  
 tion between τό and φρόνημα is  
 most unusual. — πολεμάρχους : see  
 on 2. 4. 33. — πεντηκοντῆρας : the  
 Spartan μόρα (regiment) was  
 divided into eight πεντηκοστῦες  
 (companies), each commanded by a  
 πεντηκοντήρ. — συνάπτοι . . . ἀναι-  
 ροῖτο : for the mood see on 1. 3. 21.

- 23 καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Παν-  
 σανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς  
 Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκῶς εἶη καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρα-  
 τευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν 185  
 παντάπασιν οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ  
 προθύμως στρατεύονται· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν  
 ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον εἶη, τὸ  
 δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἔκειντο, ὥστε  
 οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὔσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ῥάδιον 190  
 εἶη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς  
 24 νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι  
 εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοῖεν τοὺς νεκρούς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ᾧτε  
 ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν

23. *λογιζόμενος* δέ: the sentence here begun is left incomplete, the thought being resumed with the verb in the finite form *ἐλογίζοντο*. See *Introd.* IV. κ. — *οἱ ἐν τέλει*: including probably not only the officers above mentioned, but also the two ephors who regularly accompanied a Spartan king. See 2. 4. 36. — *ἠκολούθουν*: the mood is retained in *ind. disc.*, although the verbs preceding and following are changed to the opt. In general this variation is not unusual (cp. § 25 below); in the present case the retention of the *impf.* is necessary, for the *pres. opt.* standing in its stead might be understood to represent a *pres. ind.* See *GMT.* 670, 673; *S.* 2632, 2623 b;

*HA.* 933, 935 b; *B.* 674, 675, 1; *G.* 1482, 1488; *Gl.* 624 b *fin.* — τὸ ἱππικόν: *proleptic*. — *ἔκειντο*: the objective *impf.*, representing *κείνται* of *dir. disc.* See on *ἐκάθητο* I. 5. 3. — *οὔσι*: conditional, in agreement with *αὐτοῖς* understood. — *ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων*: *ἀπό* instead of *ἐπί* (*υφρον*) because of the idea of an attack *from* the towers. Cp. note on I. 3. 9. — *εἶη*: the opt. is due to *indir. disc.*, not to *ὥστε*, which here equals simply *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο*. *GMT.* 605; *S.* 2255; *HA.* 927 a; *G.* 1454. Note that *εἶη* represents an *ἐστί* which in combination with *ῥάδιον* amounts to a *pot. opt.* See on *σέβοντο* 4. 18.

24. *εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ᾧτε*: *except on condition that*. — *ἀπιέναι*: *sc.* as

καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας. 195  
τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀθύμως  
ἀπῆσαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ὑβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρόν  
τις τῶν χωρίων του ἐπιβαίη, παίοντες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς  
ὁδοὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμο-  
25 νίων διελύθη. ὁ μέντοι Πausανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, 200  
ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου. κατηγορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ  
ὄτι ὑστερήσειεν εἰς Ἀλίартον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συν-  
θέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι  
ὑποσπόνδους ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ ἐπειράτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνα-  
ρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβῶν ἐν 205  
τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ παρόντος ἐν  
τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη· καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς  
Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν  
οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη.

subj. αὐτούς, *i.e.* the Spartans. —  
καὶ μικρόν: *even a little*. — χωρίων:  
as in 2. 4. 1. — του: *any one's*.

25. ὑστερήσειεν . . . ἐπειράτο  
. . . ἀνῆκε: see on ἡκολούθουν  
§ 23. — Λυσάνδρου: gen. after the  
comparative in ὑστερήσειεν. —  
δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . ἀνῆκε:  
in 403 B.C., as described in 2. 4. 29—

39. Pausanias had been tried on  
this charge shortly after the event,  
and acquitted by only a small  
majority of the court. Paus. 3. 5.—  
ἐτελεύτησε . . . νόσῳ: *died a natural  
death*, more than ten years later.  
For the inferences which are  
drawn from this statement see  
Intro. p. 28 and App. p. 357 f.

## BOOK IV

## THE CORINTHIAN WAR. 395-387 B.C.

CHAPTER 1. A resumption (from 3. 4. 29) of the story of the war in Asia. Agesilaus ravages Phrygia and captures many cities. After a visit to Paphlagonia he goes into winter quarters at Dascylium. A meeting is arranged between him and Pharnabazus, which results in nothing more than mutual expressions of personal good will. 395-394 B.C.

1 Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαι-2  
μόνιοι ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ᾔσθοντο τά τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα  
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκίας  
ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνό-  
2 μισαν καὶ στρατεύειν ἀναγκαῖον ἠγήσαντο εἶναι. καὶ 5  
αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν  
Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν Ἐπικυδίδαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο,  
τά τε ἄλλα διηγείτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι  
3 αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησί-  
λαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤνεγκεν, ἐνθυμούμενος 10  
καὶ οἶον τιμῶν καὶ οἶον ἐλπίδων ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὁμῶς

CHAPTER 2, §§ 1-8. *In view of the danger at home the Spartans recall Agesilaus. He unwillingly returns, bringing with him many of his Asiatic troops.* 394 B.C.

1. Ἀγησίλαος . . . ἦν: as described in Chap. 1. — τὰ χρήματα: cp. 3. 5. 1, and see note thereon for the undue emphasis which Xenophon lays upon this circumstance. — τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις: Thebes and Athens had been

arrayed against Sparta at Haliartus (3. 5. 22), and as a result of the success there achieved the great states of Corinth and Argos, as well as Euboea, Locris, Acarnania and other smaller states, had joined the anti-Spartan league. Diod. 14. 82.

2. αὐτοί: contrasting the Spartans at home with Agesilaus in Asia.

3. οἶον ἐλπίδων: cp. ἐλπίδας . . . αἰρήσειν βασιλεία 3. 5. 1. At

δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδήλωσε τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελόμενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον εἶη βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· εἰ μὲντοι ἐκεῖνα καλῶς γένηται, εὖ ἐπίστασθε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ<sup>15</sup> ἐπιλάβωμαι ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν παρέσομαι πράξων ὧν 4 ὑμεῖς δεῖσθε. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ δὲ καλῶς τὰκεῖ γένοιτο, λαβόντες 5 αὐτὸν πάλιν ἤκειω εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνε- 20 σκευάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέλιπεν Εὐξενον ἀρμοστήν καὶ φρουροὺς παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα δύναιτο διασώζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὄρων ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' Ἑλληνας<sup>25</sup> στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἄθλα προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἧτις ἄριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὅστις εὐοπλότατον λόχον ἔχων συστρατεύοιτο καὶ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ<sup>30</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις, ὅστις εὐιπποτάτην καὶ εὐοπλοτάτην τάξω παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ τούτοις νικητήριον δώσων.

the time of his recall Agesilaus had planned a march to the eastward, hoping to penetrate to the heart of the Persian empire, — a triumph which fate was reserving for Alexander the Great. *Hell.* 4. 1. 41, *Plut. Ages.* 15. — συμμάχους: *i.e.* from the Asiatic cities. — ἐκεῖνα: matters in Greece. — οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάβωμαι: see on οἰκῆται 1. 6. 32.

4. ἐδάκρυσαν: inceptive. — λαβόντες αὐτόν: *with him.*

5. διασώζειν: *to keep safe.* — Ἑλληνας: *Greeks* (not the Greeks), who were fellow-countrymen and better fighters than the Persians. — ἄθλα προύθηκε: as in 3. 4. 16. — προεῖπε . . . ὡς . . . δώσων: *proclaimed . . . that . . . he would give.* See *Introd.* IV. J.



6 τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ εἰδεί-  
 7 ησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ εὐκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ 35  
 ἄθλα τὰ μὲν πλείστα ὄπλα ἐκπεποιημένα εἰς κόσμον  
 καὶ ὀπλιτικὰ καὶ ἰππικά· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι χρυ-  
 σοῖ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἄθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο ἢ ἀπὸ  
 τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσοῦτων μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων,  
 παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὄπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν κατε- 40  
 8 σκευάσθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, κριταὶ  
 κατέστησαν Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Μέναςκος καὶ Ἡριπί-  
 δας καὶ Ὀρσιππος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως.  
 καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ  
 στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἣν περ βασιλεὺς 45  
 ὄτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.

9 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφηναν· ἡ δὲ  
 πόλις, ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ

6. κρίσιν: *decision*.—εὐκρινεῖν: apparently in the meaning *to select carefully, i.e. to choose only such soldiers as would stand the test of the march to the Chersonese.*

7. τὰ μὲν πλείστα: in part. ap- position to ἄθλα.—ἦσαν δὲ καί: *and there were also*.—οὐκ ἔλαττον . . . ταλάντων: *cost not less than four talents, lit. were produced from (an outlay of) not less, etc.* For ἔλαττον, equivalent to ἀπὸ ἐλάττονος, cp. 2. 4. 11; for the number of ἐγένοντο see Introd. IV. A.—παμπόλλων . . . ὄπλα: *arms worth very much money, viz.*

*arms which were provided for the troops by their cities or officers in the hope of winning the prizes offered.* χρημάτων is gen. of measure. S. 1325; HA. 729 d; B. 352 and N.; G. 1085, 5; Gl. 506 a.

8. ἀπὸ πόλεως: see on ἀπὸ φυλῆς 2. 4. 23.—βασιλεὺς: Xerxes, in 480 B.C.

§§ 9–15. *The Spartan army takes the field. The deliberations of the allies at Corinth. The opposing forces meet at the Nemea.*

9. φρουρὰν ἔφηναν: see on 3. 5. 6.—Ἀγησίπολις: son of the exiled Pausanias (3. 5. 25).—τοῦ

γένους ὄντα καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός, ἡγείσθαι τῇ  
 10 στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆσαν μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμό- 50  
 νιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες  
 ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην συμφορώτατα σφίσιν  
 11 αὐτοῖς ποιήσαιτο. Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν·  
 Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι  
 τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρᾶγμα οἴονπερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. 55  
 οἷ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι  
 εἰσὶν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πορρωτέρω γίνωνται,  
 ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ  
 12 ῥεῦμα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡσαύτως, ἔνθεν  
 μὲν ἐξέρχονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ 60  
 παραλαμβάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ δυσμα-  
 χώτεροι γίνονται. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, καὶ ὅποσοι  
 σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται, ἂν μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς  
 σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τυπτομένους·  
 65 ἂν δ' ἔτι ἔνδον ὄντων τὸ πῦρ προσφέρωσι, πάσχοντας  
 μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένους δὲ τοὺς σφῆκας. ταῦτ' οὖν  
 ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγοῦμαι κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν

γένους: as in 3. 3. 3. — τῇ στρατιᾷ: lit. for the army. Similarly ἡγείσθαι is followed by the dat. in 5. 2. 28, 5. 4. 35, and 7. 5. 9; more often, however, by the gen.

10. συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο: i.e. οἱ ἐναντίοι.

11. Τιμόλαος: cp. 3. 5. 1. — ὅμοιον . . . οἴονπερ: like . . . as. τοιοῦτον . . . οἴονπερ, such . . . as, would be more natural. — τὸ . . . πρᾶγμα: lit. the case of the

Lacedaemonians. The phrase is merely a circumlocution for οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. — ὅσῳ: a corresponding τοσοῦτω with ἰσχυρότερον is wanting, as in 2. 2. 2.

12. ἐνθεν: sc. ἐκεῖ, at the place whence. — τυπτομένους: agreeing with the anteced. of ὅποσοι. — ἔνδον: i.e. in their nests. — τὸ πῦρ: the article because πῦρ is the usual means of destroying wasps. — μάλιστα μὲν: see on I.

αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος τὴν  
 13 μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. δόξαντος δ' εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφί-  
 σαντο ταῦτα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο 70  
 καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὀπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι πᾶν τὸ  
 στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιού-  
 μεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσι τοῖς πολεμίους παρέχοιεν, ἐν  
 τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες  
 14 καὶ Μαντιωέας ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφιάλον. καὶ πορευό- 75  
 μενοι, σχεδόν τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ  
 Νεμέᾳ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν  
 τῷ Σικυῶνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπιεί-  
 κειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες

4. 4. — τὴν μάχην: *the impending battle.*

13. ἡγεμονίας: see on § 18.— εἰς ὀπόσους: *how many deep.* εἰς, as in 2. 4. 12.— λίαν βαθείας: this would involve reducing the breadth of the front and therefore— κύκλωσι τοῖς πολεμίους παρέχοιεν—*give the enemy a chance of surrounding (by outflanking) them.*— καὶ δὴ . . . παρειληφότες: *having also picked up already.*— τὴν ἀμφιάλον: *sc. ὁδόν, the sea-girt road.* If the text is correct, the reference may be to some road bearing this name which led along or near the Argolic Gulf.

14. πορευόμενοι: agreeing with both the following subjects.— σχεδόν τι ἅμα: *at almost the same time.*— οἱ μὲν . . . Κορινθίους: *the Corinthians and their allies.* The

Corinthians are made most prominent because the war was in their territory.— τῇ Νεμέᾳ: *the district of Nemea*, southwest of Corinth. Thus far the allies had advanced on the road toward Sparta, following the plan of Timolaus (§ 12). They retraced their steps, however, on learning that the Spartans were already to the northward of them (ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι).— ἐμβαλόντων: *i.e.* into the territory of the Corinthians.— αὐτῶν: the Spartans. For the gen. abs. despite the following αὐτοῦς cp. ψηφισαμένων 3. 5. 8.— κατὰ: *by, by way of.*— Ἐπιείκειαν: between Sicyon and Corinth.— ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων: a Greek army was particularly vulnerable to an attack upon the right flank, since the shield was carried on the left arm.

αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξέουτες μάλα κακῶς ἐποίουν οἱ γυμνήτες 80  
 15 τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὡς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτη  
 προῆσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν  
 χώραν· καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπε-  
 δεύσαντο, ἔμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ προΐοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπεύ- 85  
 χον τῶν πολεμίων, κἀκείνοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι  
 ἤσυχίαν εἶχον.

16 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐκατέρων. συνελέγησαν γὰρ  
 ὀπλίται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἑλείων  
 δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωρείων καὶ Λασιωνίων ἑγγὺς 90  
 τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἐπι-  
 δαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἐρμιονέων καὶ Ἀλιέων  
 ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις  
 ἰππεῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἑξακοσίους, Κρήτες δὲ  
 τοξόται ἠκολούθουν ὡς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδονῆ- 95  
 ται Μαργανέων καὶ Λετρίνων καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάτ-  
 τους τετρακοσίων. Φλειάσιοι μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν·

15. ἐπὶ θάλατταν: *i.e.* the shore of the Corinthian Gulf, in order to escape the attack from the heights. — καὶ . . . ἀπελθόντες: *the others (i.e. the enemy) also, however, retired.* — τὴν χαράδραν: the dry bed of the Nemea River, which empties into the gulf between Corinth and Sicyon.

§§ 16–17. *Enumeration of the opposing forces.*

16. ἐκατέρων: *on either side.* — ὀπλίται: in apposition to the following numerals, but standing at

the beginning like a head-line or caption, — *as for hoplites.* — εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους: = ὡς ἑξακισχίλιοι. So εἰς and περί throughout the following passage. See on πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους I. 2. 18. — Τριφυλίων . . . Λασιωνίων: peoples in Elis, Ἑλείων referring only to the inhabitants of the city of Elis. — Ἐπιδαυρίων . . . Ἀλιέων: in Argolis. — Κρήτες τοξόται: who were mercenaries. — καὶ μὴν: as in 3. 5. 10. — Μαργανέων . . . Ἀμφιδόλων: also Eleans. — Φλειάσιοι: Phlius

- ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἢ μετὰ  
 17 Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. ἧ γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἠθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, 100  
 Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ',  
 ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους,  
 Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν ἕξ Εὐβοίας  
 ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ  
 τοσοῦτον· ἰππεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν [ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ 105  
 παρήσαν] εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἑξακοσίους,  
 καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἕξ Εὐβοίας εἰς ἑκατόν, Λοκρῶν δὲ  
 τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντήκοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς  
 τῶν Κορινθίων πλεόν ἦν· καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι  
 καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες παρήσαν αὐτοῖς. 110
- 18 Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἑκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ  
 Βοιωτοὶ ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι κατήπειγον

was an important city south of Sicyon.—*ἐκεχειρίαν*: i.e. a holy truce on account of some religious festival.—The above enumeration gives the Spartans a total of 14,800 men, while the opposing army is said (§ 17) to have numbered more than 25,500. On the Spartan side, however, Xenophon has omitted to list the contingents of the Tegeans and Mantineans (mentioned in § 13), of the other Arcadians, and of the Achaeans (mentioned in § 18). With these contingents added the Spartan army was no doubt about equal in size to that of the enemy. Diodorus (14: 83) gives the Spartans 23,500 men.

17. *γε μὴν*: as in 3. 5. 12.—*ἠθροίσθη*: lit. *was gathered together*, i.e. *consisted of, amounted to*.—*Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν*: for the reason see 3. 5. 6.—*Εὐβοίας . . . Λοκρῶν . . . Μηλιεῖς . . . Ἀκαρνᾶνες*: see on § 1.—*τῶν ἕξ Εὐβοίας*: to distinguish these from the Thracian Chalcidians.—*Ὀπουντίων . . . Ὀζόλαι*: see on 3. 5. 3.—*καὶ ψιλῶν*: *of light-armed troops also*, as well as horsemen.—*τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων*: in the same sense as *οἱ περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους* § 14.

§§ 18–23. *The battle of the Nemea.*

18. *ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον*: while occupying the left wing the

τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔσχον καὶ κατ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ 115 ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρήγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν παντελῶς ἐποίησαντο τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα μὴ διασπασθείησαν, 120 ἐπηκολούθουν, καίπερ γινώσκοντες ὅτι κίνδυνος εἴη

Thebans faced the Spartans, who constituted the right wing of the opposing army. Xenophon implies, therefore, that the Thebans were afraid, or at least unwilling, to fight with the Spartans, but eager for battle as soon as they were pitted against a less formidable foe, the Achaeans. The truth seems to be that the Thebans, Athenians, Corinthians, and Argives succeeded one another at regular intervals in occupying the right wing, and that with this position went the supreme command of the army. The Thebans, therefore, must needs wait until they were on the right wing before they could give the order for battle, and it may be that they preferred to do so for the sake of having the glory of the leadership. Xenophon is putting a harsh construction upon an act that was probably not at all discreditable. See *Introd.* p. 31. — ὡς . . . ἐσομέ-

νης: saying that there would be a battle. See on ὡς μαχοῦμενος I. I. 33. — τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα: the sixteen-deep (formation), which had evidently been agreed upon by the allied forces. Cp. § 13. — ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ: i.e. they bore away toward the right as they advanced, instead of moving straight forward. Thucydides says (5. 71) that this was a tendency with Greek soldiers, being due to a desire not to expose the right, unprotected (cp. on § 14) side to the enemy. — πολεμίων: gen. after ὑπερέχοιεν. S. 1403; HA. 749; B. 364; G. 1120; Gl. 509 b. — ἵνα μὴ διασπασθείησαν: the Athenians occupied the left wing. It is clear, therefore, that the rest of the army followed the Thebans in the movement toward the right, and the Athenians were compelled to do likewise *in order not to be detached* from the rest of the line. The result was that they were outflanked. — κίνδυνος . . .

19 κυκλωθῆναι. τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἦσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθύς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς 125 μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἐκάστους οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἔταξαν, παρηγγύησαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ὑπερέτεινον τὸ κέρας, ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἕξ φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ 130 20 τέτταρες κατὰ Τεγεάτας. οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρῃ, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἡγούντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμειξαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαι- 135 μονίων ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπιᾶς γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ 21 ἔπιπτον ἐκατέρων. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἄτε δὴ 140

κυκλωθῆναι: see on στρατεύειν 3. 5. 5.

19. ἐπαιάνισαν: see on 2. 4. 17. The aor. is inceptive. — ὡς εἰς μάχην: see on 1. 1. 12. — ξεναγοὶ: see on 3. 5. 7. — ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ: *to follow the van*, a usual expression for advancing to the attack. — οἱ ἕξ φυλαί: see on 2. 4. 4; and for the art. on 1. 1. 18. — Τεγεάτας: who were next to the Spartans to the left.

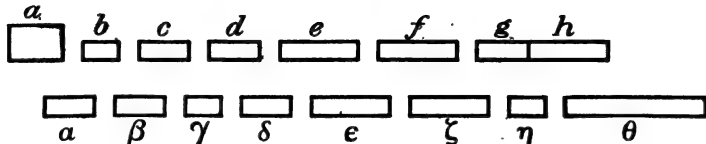
20. Ἀγροτέρῃ: a title of Arte-

mis as the goddess of hunting. — τὴν χίμαιραν: see on τὸ πῦρ § 12. — τὸ ὑπερέχον: *sc. μέρος, the part* of their force *which outflanked* the Athenians. — Πελληνεῖς . . . Θεσπιᾶς: Pellene and Thespieae were towns in Achaea and Boeotia respectively. — ἐν χώρᾳ: *in their places*. — ἐκατέρων: added as an afterthought and dependent upon *τινές* understood. Trans. *that is to say, some of each side*.

21. ὅσον . . . Ἀθηναίων: *that*

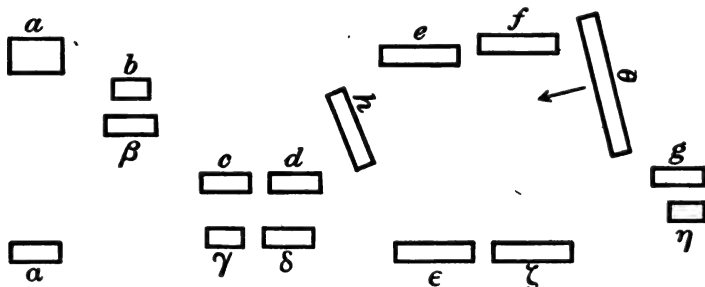
## SKETCH PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE NEMEA

I. Positions at the beginning of the battle, both armies swinging to the right.



*a*. Boeotians. *b*. Thespians. *c*, *d*. Contingents of allies. *e*. Corinthians. *f*. Argives. *g*. Four φυλαί of Athenians. *h*. Six φυλαί of Athenians.  $\alpha$ . Achaeans.  $\beta$ . Pelleneans.  $\gamma$ - $\zeta$ . Contingents of Spartan allies.  $\eta$ . Tegeans.  $\theta$ . Spartans.

II. Changed positions toward the close of the battle.



*a*. Boeotians returning from pursuit. *b*. Thespians fighting *ἐν χώρᾳ*. *c*, *d*. Boeotian allies in pursuit. *e*. Corinthians returning from pursuit. *f*. Argives returning from pursuit. *g*. Four φυλαί of Athenians in pursuit. *h*. Six φυλαί of Athenians in flight.

$\alpha$ . Achaeans in flight.  $\beta$ . Pelleneans fighting *ἐν χώρᾳ*.  $\gamma$ - $\zeta$ . Spartan allies in flight.  $\eta$ . Tegeans in flight.  $\theta$ . Spartans moving diagonally across the field.

ἀπαθείς ὄντες, συντεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέτταρας φυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως

*part of the Athenians which they covered, i.e. faced.*—ἐπορεύοντο: *i.e. backwards and in an oblique*

direction across the field of battle. Hence they encountered successively (§ 22) the various contin-



ἐπαναχωρήσαι παρήλθον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν  
 22 πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν· τοῖς δ'  
 Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, 145  
 καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρώτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου  
 συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοῆσαι παρεῖναι  
 τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ  
 παίοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπε-  
 λάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωρούντων. ἔτι δ' 150  
 ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν  
 ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς  
 23 αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἠττώμενοι τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη· ἔπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων  
 Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατό- 155  
 πεδον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ  
 πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον.  
 καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

1. Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας 3  
 ἐβόηθει· ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυ-  
 λίδας ὅτι νικῶέν τε αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν

gents of the opposing army  
 (except the four tribes of Atheni-  
 ans) as the latter were returning  
 from the pursuit. — αὐτῶν: see on  
 ἐκατέρων § 20. — πλὴν εἴ τις: sc.  
 ἀπέθανε.

22. Ἀργείοις: who had evi-  
 dently been next in line to the  
 Athenians. — ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου: in  
 front. — παρεῖναι: from παρίημι,  
 to let the foremost pass by. — τὰ  
 γυμνά: i.e. the unshielded side.

23. τεῖχη: of Corinth. — Κο-

ρινθίων: i.e. the Spartan sympa-  
 thizers among them.

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1-9. *Agésilau's*  
*homeward march.*

1. Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος: resuming  
 the narrative interrupted at 2. 8. —  
 Ἀμφιπόλει: in eastern Macedonia.  
 — Δερκυλίδας: Agésilau's pre-  
 decessor in Asia (3. 1. 8), who had  
 probably returned to Greece a year  
 before (cp. 3. 4. 20). — νικῶέν: for  
 the tense see on φεύγειν I. 1. 27.  
 — αὖ: contrasting the victory of

τεθνάναι ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπληθεῖς · ἐδήλου δὲ  
 2 ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν. ἐρο-  
 μένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου · Ἄρ' ἄν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν καιρῷ  
 γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώ-  
 τας τὴν νίκην ὡς τάχιστα πύθοντο ; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ  
 Δερκυλίδας · Εὐθυμότερους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντας  
 εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σὺ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἂν ἀπαγ- 10  
 γέλαις ; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ φιλαπόδη-  
 μος ἦν, εἶπεν · Εἰ σὺ τάττοις. Ἄλλα τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ  
 προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὖ γέ-  
 3 νηται, πάλιν παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. ὁ μὲν  
 δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο · ὁ 15  
 δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν  
 ἀφίκετο. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κρανώνιοι καὶ Σκο-  
 τουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς,  
 καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τὸτ'

the Nemea with the former defeat at Haliartus (3. 5. 19 f.). — **τεθνάναι**: changing from the *ὅτι* construction to the inf. in ind. disc. — **ὀκτὼ κτέ.**: according to Diodorus (14. 83) the Spartans and their allies lost 1100 men, the opposing army 2800.

2. **ἐν καιρῷ**: as in 3. 4. 9. — **αἱ συμπέμπουσαι κτέ.**: for the order of words see on 1. 1. 23. — **εἰκὸς . . . εἶναι**: see on *γενέσθαι* 3. 5. 10. — **παραγένου**: *i.e.* at the battle. — **ἀλλὰ τάττω**: *well, I do.* — **τάδε**: the impending campaign. — **ὥσπερ . . . ἔφαμεν**: cp. 2. 3.

3. **διαλλάξας**: *having passed through*, a most unusual meaning of the word. Introd. IV. L. — **Λαρισαῖοι . . . Φαρσάλιοι**: this list of Boeotian allies shows the results of a series of successes which, according to Diodorus (14. 82), were achieved by the Theban general Ismenias in Thessaly and the Malian region shortly after the battle of Haliartus. These events Xenophon has omitted to mention. See Introd. pp. 27 and 31. — **καὶ . . . εἰ**: *and indeed.* — **φυγάδες**: it was the Spartan sympathizers who had

4 ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ 20  
 τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις  
 μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρᾷ ἔχων τῶν  
 ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ  
 ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ  
 5 τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. ὡς 25  
 δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νομίσαντες  
 οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέ-  
 ψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως  
 6 ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἅ ἐκάτεροι  
 ἡμάρτανον, πέμπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν μάλα εὐρώστους 30  
 ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς  
 7 ἀναστροφὴν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν  
 ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ  
 δὲ πειρώμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς 35  
 8 ἵππους ἠλίσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος  
 ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν  
 Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία γίγνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον  
 αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἠλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρό- 40  
 9 σθεν, πρὶν ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε

been exiled.—ἐτύγχανον: *sc.* ὄντες.

4. ἐν πλαισίῳ: the usual formation when an army was exposed to attacks from all sides.

5. ἐν καλῷ: *expedient*. Cp. ἐν καιρῷ § 2.—σωφρόνως: *cautiously*.

6. παραγγέλλειν: *sc.* διώκειν.—αὐτούς: intensive, in contrast with

τοῖς ἄλλοις.—ἀναστροφὴν: *a chance to turn around*.

7. πλαγίους: *i.e.* turned half way around.

8. δ' οὖν: as in 3. 5. 19.—ἐν τῷ ὄρει: added to distinguish the mountain Narthacium from the town of the same name.

μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖόν τ' ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα ἠδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ἱππικῇ ἐνεκικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς συνέλεξεν ἱππικῶ. τῇ<sup>45</sup> δ' ὑστεραία ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια.

- 10 Ὀντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἥλιος μηνοειδῆς ἔδοξε φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι ἠττημένοι εἶεν οἱ Λακε-  
 50 δαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος Πείσανδρος τεθναίῃ. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο.  
 11 εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδον τὸν ἐπίπλου ἀλλήλοις, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον ὄντα σὺν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις  
 εἶναι, Κόνωνα δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντα τετάχθαι ἔμπρο-  
 12 σθεν αὐτοῦ. ἀντιπαραταξαμένον δὲ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου,

9. Πραντός: Pras, a town near Narthacium. — τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας: Thessaly had been famed since the earliest times for its horsemen. — συνέλεξεν: *i.e.* in Asia. Cp. 3. 4. 15 f. — μέχρι πρὸς: *even to*.

§§ 10-14. *Agesilaus learns of the Spartan defeat at Cnidus, but conceals the truth from his army.*

10. τῇ ἐμβολῇ: *the entrance, i.e.* to Boeotia. — μηνοειδῆς:  *crescent-shaped*. This partial eclipse of the sun took place on Aug. 14th (394 B.C.). Xenophon apparently connects it as an evil omen with the bad news received by Agesilaus. — τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ: *the art. is*

used as though the famous battle of Cnidus were already known to the reader. In fact, Xenophon has told us nothing even of the previous operations of the opposing fleets, or of the successes achieved by Conon. See on 3. 4. 1 and 28. — Πείσανδρος: cp. 3. 4. 29.

11. εἶναι κτέ.: *in ind. disc.* suggested by the preceding clause. — Φοινίσσαις: see on 3. 4. 1. — Κόνωνα: whom Xenophon now mentions for the first time since his flight after Aegospotami (2. 1. 29). — τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: *manned by Greek mercenaries and volunteers; for Conon received no official support from any state of Greece.*

καὶ πολὺ ἔλαττόνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύ-  
 μου συμμάχους εὐθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμεί-  
 ξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολὰς ἐχούσῃ τῇ τριήρει πρὸς 60  
 τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν  
 γῆν ἐξέωσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναῦς σφύζεσθαι ὅπη  
 δύναιντο εἰς τὴν Κνίδου, αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ μαχόμενον  
 13 ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἠνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι 65  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἶη αὐτῷ οἶον ἀγαθῶν  
 μὲν γιγνομένων ἠδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν ὀρῶεν,  
 οὐκ ἀνάγκη εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μετα-  
 βαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευ-  
 14 τηκῶς, νικῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ 70  
 ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοῖς διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυ-  
 μένων· ὥστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους

12. καί: as in 3. 5. 2. — πολὺ ἔλαττόνων: Diodorus (14. 83), however, makes Pisander's fleet only slightly inferior in numbers to the *combined* fleets of Conon and Pharnabazus. — αὐτῷ: dat. of disadvantage. — ἐμβολὰς: *i.e.* injuries inflicted by the rams (ἔμβολοι) of the enemy's ships. — μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν: cp. Xenophon's characterization of Pisander in 3. 4. 29.

13. αὐτῷ: as in § 12. — οἶον . . . μετέχειν: see on 2. 3. 45. — ἀγαθῶν γιγνομένων: gen. abs., conditional. Therefrom supply αὐτῶν,

*i.e.* τῶν ἀγαθῶν, after μετέχειν. — εἶναι: changing to the inf., as in § 1. — μεταβαλὼν: *sc.* τὰ ἠγγελλόμενα, *the report*. Cp. the similar procedure of Eteonicus, 1. 6. 36.

14. ἅμα . . . λέγων: S. 2081; HA. 976; B. 655; G. 1572; Gl. 592. — ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια: *offered a sacrifice as if for good news*. Cp. 1. 6. 37 and note. — διέπεμπε: *διά* in comp. = Eng. *around*. — τῶν τεθυμένων: part. gen. Note that after the gods had received their portion of the sacrificial victim, the remainder of the flesh was

ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικόντων τῆ νουμαχία.

- 15 Ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βοιω-75  
τοί, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες, Εὐβοεῖς,  
Λοκροὶ ἀμφοτέροι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων  
μὲν μόρα ἢ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβάσα, ἡμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς  
ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἔτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμῶδεις  
συστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὗ Ἡριππίδας 80  
ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων  
Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὄσας διῶν  
παρελαβεν· αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο ὀπλίται Ὀρχο-  
μένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταί γε μὴν πολὺ πλείους οἱ  
μετ' Ἀγησιλάου· ἵππεῖς δ' αὖ παραπλήσιοι ἀμφοτέ-85  
16 ροις τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων·

commonly eaten.— τῷ λόγῳ ὡς . . . νικόντων: see *Intro.* IV. J and cp. 3. 4. 1.

§§ 15–21. *The battle of Coronea.*

15. Βοιωτοὶ . . . Λοκροὶ ἀμφοτέροι: the roll of the allies is the same as at the Nemea (2. 17) save for the substitution of Αἰνιᾶνες (cp. 3. 5. 6) instead of Μηλιεῖς and Ἀκαρνανῆες. Portions of the several contingents, however, had been left behind at Corinth to guard the isthmus.— διαβάσα: *i.e.* across the Corinthian Gulf. By the same route Agesilaus was compelled to return home after Coronea (4. 1); for despite their victories at the Nemea and at Coronea the Spartans were unable to

force the passage of the isthmus.— ἡμισυ μόρας: without the usual attraction in gender. S. 1313; HA. 730 e; G. 1090.— τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ: this *mora* had evidently been on garrison duty in Orchomenus since its revolt from Thebes (3. 5. 6).— οἱ . . . νεοδαμῶδεις: cp. 3. 4. 2.— οὗ . . . ξενικοῦ: including the contingents of the Spartan allies (3. 4. 2) and the remnant of the Ten Thousand (3. 4. 20). *Ages.* 2. 11.— ὄσας . . . παρέλαβε: as in 2. 12.— αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο: as in 2. 4. 12.— πελτασταί: see on ὀπλίται 2. 16.

16. ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις κτέ.: no authority states the numbers of the opposing forces at Coronea,

διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οἷα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος. εἶχε 90 δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξιὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον 17 εἶχον. συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγῇ πολλῇ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἠνίκα δ' ἀπέιχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, 95 ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ 100 εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον 18 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα. κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δὲ τις αὐτῷ

but it is clear that they were about equal. Cp. *Ages.* 2. 7 and 9. — διηγήσομαι: Xenophon himself was present at the battle. See *Intro.* p. 10. — ἐγένετο (*sc.* τουαύτη) οἷα οὐκ ἄλλη: lit. *proved to be such as no other*. For the inference drawn from this statement see *App.* p. 357. — ἐφ' ἡμῶν: *in our time*. — οἱ σὺν Θηβαίοις: replacing the οἱ περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους of 2. 14 because the battle of Coronea was fought in Theban territory and the

Thebans played the most prominent part in it. — τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ: *sc.* στρατεύματος. — Θηβαῖοι . . . δεξιοί: as at the Nemea (2. 18).

17. ἀπό: *on the part of*. — ὅσον: as in 2. 4. 4. — ἐφέροντο: *rushed*. — ὡς: *about*, with τριῶν. — ὧν: = ἐκείνοι ὧν. — τῶν συνεκδραμόντων: *pred. part. gen.* — εἰς δόρυ: *within spear thrust*.

18. ξένων: probably *mercenaries* (see on *ξενικῶ* § 15), although the reference may be to the Asiatic

ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόφαντες ἐν τοῖς 105  
 σκευοφόροις εἶσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθύς ἐξελίξας τὴν φά-  
 λαγγα ἤγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς  
 συμμάχους πρὸς Ἐλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλό-  
 μνοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρω-  
 19 μένωσ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρείον μὲν ἕξεστιν 110  
 εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἰλετό γε τὰ ἀσφα-  
 λέστατα. ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας  
 ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὄπισθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε  
 τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ  
 συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέ- 115  
 κτειον, ἀπέθνησκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν  
 διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες  
 20 ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν νίκη Ἀγησιλάου ἐγεγένητο,  
 τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσεήνεκτο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα,  
 προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν ἰπέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι 120  
 τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὄγδοῆκοντα σὺν ὄπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ νεφῷ  
 εἰσι, καὶ ἡρώτων τί χρῆ ποιεῖν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ πολλὰ  
 τραύματα ἔχων, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ'  
 εἶαν τε ἀπιέναι ἢ βούλωτο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα.  
 τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὄψε, δειπνοποιησάμενοι 125  
 21 ἐκοιμήθησαν. πρῶ δὲ Γύλιον τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι

troops (§ 17). — ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις: hence in the rear of Agesilaus. — ἐξελίξας: *having wheeled*. — πρὸς Ἐλικῶνι πεφευγότας: *were fugitives at Mt. Helicon*. The perf. denotes the accomplished result, hence πρὸς is followed by the dat. rather than the acc. — διαπεσεῖν: *to break through*.

19. παρέντι: see on παρείναι  
 2. 22. — ἐωθοῦντο κτλ.: the asyndeton helps to paint the fierceness of the contest. Cp. 2. 4. 33.

20. Ἀγησιλάου ἐγεγένητο: *had fallen to Agesilaus*. — τῷ νεφῷ: of Athena Itonia. — τοῦ θείου: *the deity, i.e. Athena*.

21. παρατάξαι κτλ.: a challenge



τε ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἴστασθαι, καὶ στεφανῶσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς 130 αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἱ τε σπονδαὶ γίνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἑκατὸν ταλάντων.

Sections 21-23. A skirmish in Locris results in a slight loss to the Spartans.

CHAPTER 4. Agesilaus returns to Sparta. Civil war breaks out in Corinth, and many of the pro-Spartan party are massacred. The remainder retaliate by admitting a Spartan *mora* within the Long Walls connecting Corinth with its port, Lechaëum. Here a battle is fought, in which the Spartans are victorious. The war continues in a desultory way, carried on for the most part with mercenary forces. The Athenian Iphicrates and his peltasts win noteworthy successes. Agesilaus ravages the territory of Argos and captures the Long Walls of Corinth, while Teleutias, his brother, gains possession of the Corinthian dockyards. 394-391 B.C.

1 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόν-5

to the Thebans, as well as a ceremony in honor of victory. — τῷ θεῷ: in honor of the god, i.e. Apollo, the national deity of the Dorians.

— ὑποσπόνδους κτί.: see on 1. 2.

11. — δεκάτην . . . ἀπέθυσεν: see on ἀποθύσας 3. 3. 1. — τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας: sc. χρημάτων, the money realized from the sale of the booty taken in Asia.

CHAPTER 5, §§ 1-8. *Agesilaus invades Corinth and captures*

*Piraeum. While exulting over his success he receives word of disaster to a Spartan mora.* 390 B.C.

1. τῶν φευγόντων: i.e. of the Corinthians. The strife between parties in Corinth (see abstract of Chap. 4) had resulted in the exile of many of the oligarchs, who favored Sparta, and in a close union between Corinth and Argos, the former state apparently

των ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα  
 ἔχοιεν καὶ σφύζοντο ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέ-  
 φοιντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον,  
 Ἄγησιλάου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν 5  
 εἰς Ἴσθμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ μῆν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίγνεται,  
 καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν  
 θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὡς Ἄργους Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὡς  
 δ' ἦσθοντο προσιόντα τὸν Ἄγησίλαον, καταλιπόντες  
 καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν 10  
 πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ  
 2 Κεγχρειαῖς ὁδόν. ὁ μέντοι Ἄγησίλαος ἐκείνους μὲν  
 καίπερ ὀρῶν οὐκ ἐδίωκε, κατασκηνήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
 αὐτός τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθνε καὶ περιέμενε, ἕως οἱ φυγάδες  
 τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ 15  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος  
 Ἄγησιλάου ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν Ἴσθμια. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ  
 ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἅ τῶν ἄθλων δις ἕκαστος ἐνίκηθη, ἔστι  
 3 δὲ ἅ δις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

yielding its independence. See below. — πόλει: Corinth. — Πειραιῶ: a peninsula on the western side of the isthmus of Corinth. — καὶ τότε: i.e. as in the previous year (see abstract). — Ἴσθμια: the Isthmian games, celebrated every two years in honor of Poseidon. — ὡς Ἄργους . . . ὄντος: as though Argos was Corinth, i.e. included Corinth (see above), and hence had the right to direct the Isthmian games, which had always been under the superintendence of the

Corinthians. — μάλα: connect with πολλῷ. — κατὰ τὴν . . . ὁδόν: by the road (leading) to Cenchreae.

2. τῷ ἱερῷ: the sacred precinct of Poseidon. — ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν: all over again. — ἔστι μὲν ἅ . . . ἐνίκηθη: in some events individual contestants were beaten twice, i.e. having entered in both sets of games. — ἐκηρύχθησαν: i.e. as victors.

3. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ: the minuteness of detail in the following narrative is doubtless due to the fact

ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στρατεύμα. 20  
 ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ'  
 ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως·  
 ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δέισαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἢ  
 πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἴφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις  
 τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς 25  
 νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτοῦς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ  
 θερμὰ προῆει, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε.  
 καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, ἡ δὲ μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέ- 30  
 4 ρευσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μικρῶ, καιρίῳ δ'  
 ἐνθυμήματι ἠυδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρᾳ φερόντων  
 τὰ σιτία οὐδενὸς πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὄντος  
 διὰ τε τὸ πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι

that Xenophon himself accom-  
 panied Agesilaus on this campaign.  
 See Introd. pp. 11 and 30. — ἄστυ:  
 Corinth. — ὡς . . . τῆς πόλεως: *as  
 though the city (Corinth) was go-  
 ing to be betrayed to him.* — μετε-  
 πέμψαντο: *i.e.* from Piraeum. —  
 Ἴφικράτην: Iphicrates, the Athe-  
 nian, had introduced changes in the  
 equipment of his mercenary force  
 which amounted to developing a  
 new order of troops, combining the  
 merits of both light and heavy-  
 armed soldiers. Besides the light  
 shield (πέλτη), from which these  
 troops took their name, he gave  
 them a linen corselet instead of  
 the heavy metal θώραξ of the hop-

lite and a new, lighter kind of  
 boots. He also increased their  
 efficiency on the offensive by con-  
 siderably lengthening both spear  
 and sword. Troops thus equipped  
 were almost as dangerous as hop-  
 lites, while still capable of much  
 more rapid movement. Xenophon  
 says (4. 17) that the Spartan allies  
 stood in absolute terror of Iphi-  
 crates and his peltasts. See  
 abstract of Chap. 4. — παρεληλυ-  
 θότας: leaving Piraeum so much  
 the weaker. — θερμὰ: *hot springs.*

4. μικρῶ, καιρίῳ δέ: a μὲν would  
 naturally be expected after μικρῶ.  
 — πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ: the order of  
 words as in μάλα σὺν πολλῶ § 1.

ὕδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν 35  
 δὲ ἔχοντες οἶα δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ῥιγούντων δ' αὐτῶν  
 καὶ ἐν σκοτῶ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπει  
 ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν  
 χύτραις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἄλλος ἄλλη, καὶ πολλὰ  
 καὶ μεγάλα πυρὰ ἐγένετο, ἅτε πολλῆς ὕλης παρούσης, 40  
 πάντες μὲν ἠλείφοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδειπνησαν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος  
 ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος· ὑφ' ὅτου δ' ἐνεπρήσθη οὐδεὶς  
 5 οἶδεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ τὰ ἄκρα ἐχό-  
 μενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἐτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ 45  
 Ἑραιοὺν κατέφυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ δούλοι  
 καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλείστα. καὶ  
 Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ θάλατταν  
 ἐπορεύετο· ἡ δὲ μόρα ἅμα καταβαίνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἄκρων Οἰνόην τὸ ἐντετειχισμένον τεῖχος αἰρεῖ καὶ τὰ 50  
 ἐνόητα ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον.  
 οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἑραίῳ καταπεφευγότες ἐξῆσαν, ἐπιτρέφοντες  
 Ἀγησιλάῳ γνῶναι ὃ τι βούλοιο περὶ σφῶν. ὁ δ' ἔγνω,  
 ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγέων ἦσαν, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς 55

— καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν . . . σπειρία :  
 parenthetical. — οἶα δὴ . . . σπει-  
 ρία : lit. *light clothing such as*  
*naturally* (δὴ) *they had in sum-*  
*mer, i.e. since it was summer.* —  
 ἔλαττον δέκα : for the omission of ἡ  
 see S. 1074 ; HA. 647 ; B. 426, N.  
 4 ; G. 1156. — ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ποσειδῶ-  
 νος : cp. § 1.

5. Ἑραιοὺν : a temple of Hera

at the western extremity of the  
 Piraeum peninsula. — ἐντετειχισμέ-  
 νον : *which had been fortified*  
*therein, i.e. in Piraeum.* — καὶ πάν-  
 τες δὲ : *and all in fact, not simply*  
*the mora just mentioned.* — ἐν τῷ  
 Ἑραίῳ καταπεφευγότες : see on πρὸς  
 Ἐλικῶν 3. 18. — γνῶναι : as in  
 3. 4. 15. — τῶν σφαγέων : *i.e. those*  
*concerned in the massacre de-*

6 φυγάσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραθῆναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ  
 ἐξῆι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡραίου πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα·  
 πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἄλλοθεν τε πολλαὶ παρήσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιω-  
 τῶν ἦκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἂν ποιούντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν.  
 ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν οὐδ' 60  
 ὄρᾶν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστη-  
 κότης αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγάγοι· καθήμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 περὶ τὴν λίμνην κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος ἐθεώρει  
 πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ὄπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν 65  
 αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι· οἱ  
 γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες αἰεί πως ἀξιοθέατοι  
 7 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ  
 εἰκότος ἀγαλλομένῳ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεύς τις  
 προσήλαυσε καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ 70  
 πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὅ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσδραμῶν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς  
 ὦν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὡς  
 scribed in Chap. 4. See ab-  
 stract.

6. πρεσβεῖαι: even before this time (390 B.C.) negotiations looking toward a general peace had been undertaken. Cp. 8. 12 f. — ἐρησόμενοι: referring to the Boeotians only, and agreeing with a πρέσβεις which in the writer's thought is the subj. of ἦκον. — ἐδόκει: seemed, i.e. pretended. — τοῦ προξένου: their proxenus. See on I. I. 35. — τοῦ . . . οἰκοδομήμα-

tos: the circular structure near the lake. The lake in question was a short distance east of the Heraeum; the reference in οἰκοδομήματος is unknown. — τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων: sc. τινές. — τῶν ὄπλων: as in 2. 4. 6.

7. εἰκότος ἀγαλλομένῳ: lit. seeming like one exulting. Xenophon emphasizes the pride that went before destruction. — Λεχαίῳ: the principal port of Corinth. — τὸ . . . πάθος: for the art.

ἤκουσεν, εὐθύς τε ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ<sup>75</sup>  
 ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ξενα-  
 8 γοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευεν. ὡς δὲ συνέδραμον  
 οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἠριστοποιήντο,  
 ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὅ τι δύναιντο ἤκειω τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ  
 σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν ὑψηγείτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ<sup>80</sup>  
 δορυφόροι τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῇ, τοῦ  
 μὲν ὑψηγουμένου, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἤδη δ' ἐκπεπερα-  
 κότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου, προσ-  
 ελάσαντες ἰππεῖς τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ  
 ἀνθηρημένοι εἶσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσε, θέσθαι<sup>85</sup>  
 κελεύσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε  
 πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραίων· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὰ  
 αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

9 Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ  
 ἐρωτώμενοι ὅτι ἤκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι<sup>90</sup>  
 ἐμέμνηντο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει βούλονται εἰς  
 ἄστυ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δ'  
 ἐπιγελάσας· Ἄλλ' οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας

see on τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ 3. 10. The incident is narrated in §§ 11-17 below. — πεντηκοντῆρας: see on 3. 5. 22. — ξεναγοὺς: see on 3. 5. 7. — κήρυκα: subj. of καλεῖν.

8. ἐμφαγοῦσιν: after swallowing. — τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν: lit. those about the royal tent, i.e. his messmates. δαμοσίαν is Doric for δημοσίαν. — οἱ δορυφόροι: probably referring to the king's body-guard. — τοῦ μὲν: i.e. Ἀγησιλάου.

— τῶν δέ: i.e. τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν. — πλατὺ: plain. — θέσθαι . . . τὰ ὄπλα: to ground arms. — τὸ στράτευμα: which had meanwhile overtaken him. — διετίθετο: exposed for sale.

§§ 9-17. Agesilaus returns to Corinth. The disaster to the Spartan mora described.

9. ὅτι: why, i.e. for what purpose. ὅ τι represents the τί of the dir. question. — ἔστυ: Corinth.

ιδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν  
 θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμεύατέ οὖν, ἔφη· 95  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντες  
 10 γνῶσεσθε ποῖόν τι τὸ γεγενημένον ἐστί. καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ἤγε πρὸς τὴν  
 πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέ-  
 βαλεν, εἰ δέ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων καὶ κᾶων 100  
 ἐπεδείκνυεν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων  
 μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ ἀνήκε, κατὰ θά-  
 λατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἄτε δὲ ἀθήους τοῖς  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις γεγενημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, 105  
 πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν  
 ὄσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί·  
 οὗτοι δ' ὥσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ  
 11 οἰκείῳ πάθει περιῆσαν. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος  
 τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἄμυκλαῖοι αἰεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς 110  
 τὰ Ἰακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, εἴαν τε στρατοπεδευόμενοι  
 τυγχάνωσιν εἴαν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε  
 δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἄμυκλαίους κατέλιπε  
 μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαιῷ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέ-

10. τροπαῖον: commemorating  
 the defeat of the *mora*. Trophies  
 were held inviolable. — καὶ . . .  
 μέντοι: and . . . indeed. — Κρεῦ-  
 σιν: a Boeotian port on the Cor-  
 inthian Gulf. — πλὴν ὄσων: *except*  
 (among those) whose. — ἐν χώρᾳ:  
*i.e.* without taking to flight. See  
 on 2. 20.

11. Ἄμυκλαῖοι: Amyclae was

one of the larger towns of La-  
 conia. — αἰεὶ ποτε: as in 3. 5. 11.  
 — ἀπέρχονται: *sc.* οἴκαδε. — τὰ  
 Ἰακίνθια: a yearly festival in  
 honor of Apollo. — ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα:  
*for the paean*, here simply the  
 hymn to Apollo. Cp. on 2. 4.  
 17. — καὶ τότε δὴ: turning from  
 the general αἰεὶ ποτε to the parti-  
 cular case. — κατέλιπε: *i.e.* before

μαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς ἔταξε 115  
 φυλάττειν τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ  
 τῇ τῶν ἰππέων μόρᾳ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορινθίων  
 12 τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς παρῆγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέιχον ὅσον εἴκο-  
 σιν ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυῶνος, ὁ μὲν πολέ-  
 μαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὖσιν ὡς ἑξακοσίοις ἀπῆει 120  
 πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Δέχαιον, τὸν δ' ἵππαρμωστὴν ἐκέλευσε  
 σὺν τῇ τῶν ἰππέων μόρᾳ, ἐπεὶ προπέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμυ-  
 κλαιεῖς μέχρι ὀπόσου αὐτοὶ κελεύοιεν, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ  
 ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ  
 καὶ ὀπλίται οὐδὲν ἠγνόουν· κατεφρόνουσιν δὲ διὰ τὰς 125  
 13 ἔμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφίσιν. οἱ  
 δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἄστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἴππονίκου,  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἴφικράτης, τῶν  
 πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς  
 ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἰππέων, ἐνόμισαν 130  
 ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν  
 γὰρ πορεύοιτο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκουτιζομένους ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ  
 γυμνὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν διώκειν, ῥαδίως ἂν  
 ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις τοὺς ὀπλίτας.  
 14 γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέ- 135  
 ταξε τοὺς ὀπλίτας οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἴφικράτης

marching to Piraeum (§ 3). —  
 ἔταξε: *detailed*.

12. ἀπῆει πάλιν: *started back again*. — μεταδιώκειν: *sc. αὐτόν, i.e. the polemarch*. — κατεφρόνουσιν: *contemptuously thought*; hence followed by the inf. in ind. disc. — μηδένα: *exceptional for οὐδένα*. S.

2723; HA. 1024; G. 1611; Gl. 564.

13. Ἴφικράτης: *see on § 3*. — τὰ γυμνὰ: *see on 2. 22*. Corinth was to the right of the Spartans as they marched past. — ἀποφυγεῖν: the subj. is Callias and Iphicrates. — γνόντες ταῦτα: *having come to this conclusion*.



λαβὼν τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἤκοντιζοντο καὶ ὁ μὲν τις ἐτέρωτο, ὁ δὲ  
 καὶ ἐπεπτώκει, τοὺτους μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς  
 ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον· καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς<sup>140</sup>  
 μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν· ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέ-  
 λευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης ἀποδιῶσαι τοὺς προσκειμένους.  
 15 ὡς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ἤρουν τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς  
 ὀπλίται ὄντες πελταστὰς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ<sup>145</sup>  
 ἀνεχώρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, αἶτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἔκα-  
 στος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴφικράτην, οἱ τε  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλιν ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου  
 παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ  
 διώξει κατηκόντιζον ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο<sup>150</sup>  
 16 ἐγένετο, πολὺ ἤδη θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 κακῶς ἔπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν

14. ὁ μὲν τις: τις marks ὁ μὲν  
 as indefinite both in identity and  
 in number. Trans. *many a one*. —  
 τοὺτους: referring to the wounded  
 only, as is clear from ἐσώθησαν  
 below. — ὑπασπιστὰς: slaves who  
 carried the shields of the hop-  
 lites. — τῇ ἀληθείᾳ: for according  
 to Spartan ideas those who later  
 (§ 17) saved their lives by flight,  
 lost their honor. — τὰ δέκα ἀφ'  
 ἧβης: see on 2. 4. 32.

15. ἤρουν: *caught*. — τε: cor-  
 relative with δέ after ἐπεὶ. See on  
 I. I. 34. — ἐξ . . . βολῆς: starting  
 from a spear's throw away; for  
 the peltasts had approached only

near enough to reach the Spartans  
 with their missiles. — ὀπλίται . . .  
 πελταστὰς: since they were hoplites  
 pursuing peltasts, a second reason  
 for the failure of the pursuit. πελ-  
 ταστὰς stands in a loose apposition  
 to οὐδένα. — ἐκέλευε: *i.e.* Iphicra-  
 tes. — ἀνεχώρουν: *i.e.* the Spar-  
 tans. — αἶτε κτλ.: explaining ἐσπαρ-  
 μένοι. — ὡς τάχους . . . εἶχεν: *as*  
*swiftly as each one could*. For the  
 gen. τάχους see on σωμαίων 3. 4.  
 16. — οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου . . . ἄλλοι:  
 in part. apposition with οἱ περὶ τὸν  
 Ἴφικράτην. — ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου . . .  
 ἐκ πλαγίου: *in front . . . on the*  
*flank*.

τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἧβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι πλείους αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἔπεσον. ἤδη δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς παραγίγνονται καὶ σὺν 155 τούτοις αὖθις δίωξιν ἐποιήσαντο. ὡς δ' ἐνέκλιναν οἱ πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἕως ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ πάσχοντες τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ αὖθις, 160 αὐτοὶ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι θρασύτεροί τε καὶ αἰεὶ πλείους οἱ ἐγχει- 17 ροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνίστανται ἐπὶ βραχύν τινα γήλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ὡς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Λεχαιίου ὡς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα στάδια. αἰσθό- 165 μενοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαιίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοῖαρια παρέπλεον, ἕως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γήλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες ἤδη, ὅτι ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὀρώντες καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπί- 170 πτουςιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς Λέχαιον ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ 18 διακοσίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

16. οἱ ἵππεῖς: the Spartan cavalry mentioned in §§ 11, 12. — τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις: those of the Spartan hoplites who pursued. — τοῦτοις: neuter. — καὶ αὖθις: again and again.

17. ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα: sixteen or seventeen. — οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαιίου:

*i.e.* the garrison of Spartan allies (§ 11). — κατὰ: opposite. — τοὺς ὀπλίτας: *i.e.* Callias' troops (§ 14). — ἐμπίπτουςιν . . . εἰς τὴν θάλατταν: plunged into the sea, in order to reach the boats. — πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους: this number does not represent the total loss, for all

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν μόραν 175  
 ἔχων ἀπῆει, ἄλλην δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Λεχαιῷ. διὼν  
 δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὀψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς  
 πόλεις, ὡς δ' ἐδύνατο πρῳαίτατα ἐξωρμάτο. παρὰ δὲ  
 Μαντινείαν ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος  
 παρῆλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιῶται 180  
 τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι θεάσα-  
 19 σθαι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μάλα καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπετύγχανεν Ἴφι-  
 κράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδούντι μὲν  
 καὶ Κρομμῶνι ὑπὸ Πραξίτου, ὅτε ἐκείνος εἶλε ταῦτα  
 τὰ τείχη, ἐν Οἰνῷ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ 185  
 Πείραιον ἐάλω, πάνθ' εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι  
 Λέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι.  
 οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῆ παριόντες ἐκ  
 Σικυῶνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παρα-

the wounded except the few mentioned in § 14 must have been left upon the field. The great, irreparable loss, however, was that of the Spartan reputation for invincibility.

§§ 18-19. *Agesilaus returns to Sparta. The further successes of Iphicrates.*

18. *σφαλεῖσαν*: *defeated*. — *διὼν ἐπ' οἴκου*: *as he passed along homeward, i.e. through* (διά in comp.) *the Peloponnesian towns.* — *Ὀρχομενοῦ*: in Arcadia. — *ὄρθρου*: the time before daybreak, in this case so early that *he passed by Mantinea while it was still dark.* For the adverbial force of the adj.

*σκοταῖος* see on *πελάγιοι* 2. 1. 17. — *ἀναστὰς*: *setting out*. See on *ἀνίσταντο* 2. 4. 6. — *οὕτω χαλεπῶς κτλ.*: *so unwillingly, it seemed to him, would the soldiers behold, etc.* For the personal constr. in *ἐδόκουν* see S. 1983; HA. 944; B. 634; G. 1522, 2; Gl. 574 a. — *τοὺς Μαντινέας*: according to 4. 17 they had been ridiculed by the Spartans for their fear of Iphicrates' peltasts.

19. *μάλα . . . ἐπετύγχανεν*: *was very successful*. — *Σιδούντι . . . Κρομμῶνι*: Corinthian towns on the isthmus. Their capture by Praxitas, a Spartan polemarch, is described in 4. 13. — *Οἰνῷ*: see

πλέοντες εἰς Λέχαιον καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενοι, πράγματα 190  
εἶχόν τε καὶ παρείχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.

CHAPTERS 6-7. Agesilaus invades Acarnania, defeats the forces of the Acarnanians, and devastates their territory.

The Acarnanians yield and become allies of Sparta. Agesipolis leads a Spartan army into Argolis and lays waste the territory of the Argives. 389-387 B.C.

- 1 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. 8  
ἐν ᾧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὖ  
καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττη πόλεις γενόμενα διηγήσομαι,  
καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἀξιωματημονεύτους γράψω, τὰς  
δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγου παρήσω. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φαρ-5  
νάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμο-  
νίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ  
πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδίας πόλεις τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς  
ἄρμοστὰς ἐξήλανον καὶ παρεμβούντο τὰς πόλεις ὡς  
οὔτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσοιεν ἐάσοιέν τε αὐτονόμους. 10  
2 οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἤδοντό τε καὶ ἐπήνουν καὶ  
ξένια προθύμως ἔπεμπον τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ  
ὁ Κόνων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκειν ὡς οὕτω μὲν

§ 5. — πράγματα εἶχόν τε καὶ παρείχον: suffered and caused trouble.

CHAPTER 8, §§ 1-6. Pharnabazus and Conon follow up their victory at Cnidus by expelling the Spartan harmosts from the islands and coast cities. Dercylidas, however, holds Abydos and Sestus against them. 394 B.C.

1. ἐν ᾧ: connect with τὰ . . . γενόμενα, — what happened . . .

while, etc. — μὴ: because τὰς ἀξίας is indefinite, i.e. contains a conditional idea. — τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ: i.e. of Cnidus, 394 B.C. See 3. 11 f. — ἄρμοστὰς: see on 3. 5. 13. — οὔτε . . . τε: as in 3. 4. 8.

2. οἱ δέ: i.e. the people of the cities. — τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ: who was in chief command; for the victorious fleet, although it included some Greek ships and sailors, was

ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλῃαι ἔσονται, εἰ δὲ  
 δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερός ἔσοιτο, ἔλεγεν ὡς μία 15  
 ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἰκανὴ εἶη παρέχειν καὶ κίν-  
 δυνος εἶη μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθιοιντο, συ-  
 3 σταίεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπέειθεγο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς  
 δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δούς τετταράκοντα τριτή-  
 ρεις εἰς Σηστὸν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παρήει 20  
 ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ  
 καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὢν, ὅτε  
 ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρμοσται  
 ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβυδον καὶ διέσφζε φίλην  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυ- 25  
 4 δηνοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ  
 πρόσθεν φίλοις οὔσι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανῆναι  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις  
 πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δέ τινες ἐν  
 συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων βέβαιοι φανῶσι, τοῦτ' εἰς 30  
 τὸν ἀπανταῆ χρόνον μνημονεύεται. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως

a Persian fleet. See on 3. 4. 1 and 4. 3. 11. — οἱ Ἕλληνες: *i.e.* the European Greeks. — συσταίεν: as against the national enemy, Persia.

3. εἰς Σηστὸν . . . ἀπαντᾶν: as in 1. 3. 13. — παρήει ἐπὶ . . . ἀρχήν: in order to begin operations by land against Abydus (§ 6). καὶ γὰρ introduces a statement of the reason why such operations were necessary. — Δερκυλίδας: who had been sent to Asia by Agesilaus (3. 2) to report the Spartan victory at the Nemea. — πάλαι

πολέμιος: in 405 B.C., according to 3. 1. 9, Dercylidas had been punished on a false charge brought by Pharnabazus. — κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβυδον: *took possession of Abydus*, as *de facto* harmost.

4. οὔσι: made virtually perf. by πρόσθεν. S. 1885; HA. 826; B. 522; G. 1258; Gl. 454 d. — εὐεργέτας: *i.e.* more than mere φίλοις. For the acc., after ὑμῖν, see on ἐνθεμένους 1. 6. 37. — φαίνεσθαι: the subj. is indef., as the following τινές shows. — ἔστι δὲ

ἔχον ὡς εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἐτι  
 ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήπου, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόν-  
 των τῆς θαλάττης, ἱκανὴ ἦν ἢ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ  
 φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὄσφ δὲ μᾶλλον αἰ<sup>35</sup>  
 ἄλλαι πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, το-  
 σούτῳ ὄντως ἢ ὑμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανείη ἄν. εἰ  
 δέ τις τοῦτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατ-  
 ταν ἐνθάδε πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοεῖτω ὅτι Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν  
 οὐπω ναυτικὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ<sup>40</sup>  
 ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα  
 ἢ Ἑλλάς· ὥσθ' ἑαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος  
 5 γενήσεται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως  
 ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπέισθησαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰόντας ἄρ-  
 μοστὰς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμποντο.<sup>45</sup>  
 ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ χρήσιμοι  
 ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβὰς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, καταντικρὺ  
 ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλεον ὀκτῶ σταδίων,  
 ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ,  
 ἠθροῖζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων<sup>50</sup>  
 ἄρμοσταὶ ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι  
 οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν δεῖ, ἐννοουμένους ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ

. . . ὡς κτί.: *but it is not this way, that, etc.* For ἔστι . . .

ἔχον see on εἶναι ἐχούσας I. 5. 5.

—εἰ . . . ἐκρατήθημεν: Dercylidas avoids stating the fact directly, as a cause.—οὐδὲν . . . ἐσμέν: *we are therefore (ἄρα) done for, lit. no longer anything.*—σὺν τῇ τύχῃ: *along with fortune.*—Ἑλληνικόν: see on § 2. The adj. is made

emphatic by its position, as also οἱ βάρβαροι below.

5. ἰόντας: *who came, i.e. in flight from their cities.*—ὄσοι . . . ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: see abstract of Book 3, Chap. 2.—ἔσχον: *obtained.*—οὐδ' ἐκείνους . . . δεῖ: *they ought not to be discouraged either.* οὐδ' ἐκείνους is the negative form of καὶ τούτους (*these also*) above.—

Ἄσῖα, ἣ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ  
 μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ Αἰγαί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία ἃ  
 δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ὄντες βασιλέως. καίτοι, 55  
 ἔφη, ποῖον μὲν ἂν ἰσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον,  
 ποῖον δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὃ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν  
 δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσθαι. τούτους αὖ τοι-  
 6 αὐτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος  
 ἐπεὶ ἦρε τὴν τε Ἄβυδον καὶ τὸν Σηστόν οὕτως ἔχοντα, 60  
 προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Λακεδαί-  
 μονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ  
 ἐπέβηοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτούς τὴν  
 θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδήου τὴν τῶν Ἄβυδων  
 χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέ- 65  
 φεσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα  
 ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ' Ἑλλάσποντον πόλεις,  
 ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλείστον ναυτικὸν ἀθροισθείη. ὀργι-  
 ζόμενος γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ  
 παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐλθεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ 70  
 7 τιμωρήσασθαι ὅ τι δύναιτο. καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν  
 τοιούτοις ὄντες διῆγον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς

ἐξ ἀρχῆς: *from all time.* — ἐστί: for the pres. see on οἶσι § 4. — δύνανται: the subj. is the inhabitants of these cities. — καίτοι: *and yet*, even granting the danger from the king. — μέλλοι: the opt., instead of the ind., indicates the improbability of the attempt. — ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι: *'kept them from being panic-stricken.'* Manatt.

6. πλεῖν: cp. τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι § 5. — ἐπ' οἴκου: to Dascylium (3. 4. 13). — εἰς τὸ ἔαρ: εἰς with the acc. sometimes means 'on the coming of' a given time. — ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει: from Dercylidas (3. 1) and Agesilaus (3. 4. 4. 1).

§§ 7-11. *Pharnabazus ravages the Laconian coast, captures Cythera, and furnishes money to*

συμπληρώσας καὶ ξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ νήσων εἰς Μῆλον, ἐκείθεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. κατα- 75 πλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φεράς ἐδήλωσε ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλαττίας ἐκακούργει ὃ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβούμενος δὲ τὴν τε ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν σπανοσιτιάν, ταχύ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὠρμίσθη 80 8 τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικῶντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοῖεν ἐξέλιπον τὰ τεῖχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφήκεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τεῖχος φρουρούς τε καὶ Νικόφημον 85 Ἴ�θηναῖον ἀρμοστήν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἴσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας καταπλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα εἶχεν, ὤχετο ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπο- 90

*the allies at Corinth. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.* 393 B.C.

7. συμπληρώσας: as in I. 5. 20. — νήσων: the Cyclades. In this sense νῆσος often lacks the art., being treated as a proper name. — Μῆλον: the westernmost of the Cyclades. — Φεράς: a town on the Messenian Gulf. — τῆς παραθαλαττίας: sc. χώρας. — τὰ τῆς βοηθείας: lit. *the matter of the relief force*, which the Spartans might send against him. — τῆς Κυθηρίας: Cythera was an island south of Laconia.

8. τὴν πόλιν: the city bore the same name as the island. — ἀρμοστήν: this title is occasionally given by Xenophon to other than Spartan governors. — τοῖς συμμάχοις: *the allies*, i.e. the forces of the anti-Spartan league. — πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεῖ: merely in the sense of fighting valiantly against the king's enemy, Sparta, in return for the aid received from the Persians; for it is clear that no formal alliance existed between Persia and the anti-Spartan league.



9 πλέων. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος ὡς εἰ ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τά τε μακρὰ τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχος, οὐ εἰδέναι ἔφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, καὶ 95 τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλείστα ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς 100 τὸν ἀνατειχισμόν. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὤρθωσε, τά τε αὐτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδούς, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ἅ καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐθελούσiai συνετεί- 105 χισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγαθῖνον ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ

9. λέγοντος . . . καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη: an. anacoluthon, the construction of the part. in the gen. abs. passing into that of the finite verb. — τὰ μακρὰ τείχη . . . καὶ τὸ . . . τείχος: destroyed in 404 B.C. See 2. 2. 20–23. — τοῦτο: strictly a cogn. acc. Trans. *thereby*. — κεχαρισμένος ἔσει: fut. perf.

10. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος: for the first time, apparently, since he left Athens as general in 407 B.C.

Cp. 1. 4. 10 and 21, 2. 1. 29. — πολὺ . . . ὤρθωσε: thus opening to Athens a new career; for the city's naval strength depended upon fortified connection with a fortified port. — ἄλλο εἴ τι: instead of the usual εἴ τι ἄλλο, for which see on εἴ τινα 2. 2. 2. — ἦν . . . &: see on ἔστι . . . οὗς 2. 4. 6. — Βοιωτοί: who in 404 B.C. had urged the total destruction of Athens. See 2. 2. 19 and on 2 4. 30. — τῷ

11 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 110  
 οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένη ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις  
 αὐτὸν ἐπιστολεύς ὧν τραθεὶς ἀπήλθεν, Ἑριππίδας ταύτας  
 ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόαινος μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς  
 παρ' Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναῦς ἐξέλιπε τὸ Ῥίον.  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο 115  
 Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑριππίδου ναῦς ἦλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸ  
 τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει.

12 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ  
 τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων  
 ἀνορθοίη, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφων 120  
 τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν  
 πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταῦτα διδά-  
 σκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὄντα στρατηγόν, ἢ καὶ  
 ἀποστῆσαι αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ἢ παῦσαι γ'  
 αὐτὸν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γνόντες δὲ οὕτω, 125  
 πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδα πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστά-

... κόλπος: *i.e.* the Corinthian Gulf.

11. ἐπιστολεύς: see on I. I. 23. — Ἑριππίδας: last mentioned in 3. 17. — τὸ Ῥίον: a promontory commanding the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. — μετὰ τοῦτο: probably in 392 B.C. — Τελευτίας: according to 4. 19 a brother of Agesilaus. — ἐπί: as in I. I. 32. — αὐτὸν . . . πάλιν: *i.e.* there was again (πάλιν) an undisputed master of the gulf, but this time (αὐτὸν) it was Teleutias. See on 2. 4. 29 and 3. 5. 21.

§§ 12-15. *Futile peace negotiations.* 392 B.C.

12. καὶ τὸ τεῖχος . . . εὐτρεπίζοι: in a word, that Conon was using the king's money and ships for the individual benefit of Athens. — ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου: *with his* (the king's) *money.* — Τιρίβαζον: successor to Tissaphernes and Tithraustes, hence Conon's superior. — καὶ ἀποστῆσαι . . . παῦσαι γε: *i.e.* they might even (καὶ) accomplish the first-mentioned result, but at least (γε) the second. — γνόντες οὕτω: as in 5. 13. /

ξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ  
 13 πόλει ποιείσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνωνος  
 Ἑρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ Καλλιμέ- 130  
 δοντα. συμπαρακάλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων  
 πρέσβεις· καὶ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίν-  
 14 θου καὶ Ἄργους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας  
 ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ  
 πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης οἷα σπερ βασιλεὺς 135  
 ἐπεθύμει. τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων  
 Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, τὰς τε νήσους  
 ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτονόμους  
 εἶναι. καίτοι, ἔφη, τοιαῦτα ἐθελόντων ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν  
 ἕνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς πολεμοίῃ ἢ χρήματα δα- 140  
 πανώη; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι δυνα-  
 τὸν οὔτε Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν οὔθ' ἡμῖν  
 15 αὐτονόμων οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων. τῷ μὲν δὴ Τιριβάζῳ  
 ἀκούοντι ἰσχυρῶς ἤρεσκον οἱ τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι·  
 τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν. οἱ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι 145

14. ἐκεῖ: *i.e.* at Sardis, Tiribazus' capital. — καὶ ταύτης: see on καὶ ταῦτα 2. 3. 53. — οἷα σπερ . . . ἐπεθύμει: *just such a peace (i.e. in respect to its terms) as the king had desired* (ἐπεθύμει retaining the tense of the dir. disc.). In fact, the terms now proposed by the Spartans were more favorable to the king than those which he had himself offered (3. 4. 25) in 395 B.C. For their own ends the Spartans were now willing to sac-

rifice the Asiatic Greeks, while by establishing the principle of local autonomy they hoped to cripple their enemies at home. See § 15 and on 5. 1. 33. — πόλεων . . . βασιλεῖ: for the cases see S. 1409, 1523 b; HA. 739 a; B. 356, 392, 1; G. 1128; Gl. 510 d. — οὐδέ: emphasizing the following, — 'the king ought not to molest us, for we can't harm *him*.'

15. λόγοι: *words only* (repeating the λόγοι above), not a reason-

ἐφοβούντο συνθέσθαι αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖεν, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖσαν ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οἳ τ' Ἄργεῖοι, οὗ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἂν τὴν Κόρινθον δύνασθαι ὡς<sup>150</sup> Ἄργος ἔχειν τοιούτων συνθηκῶν καὶ σπονδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε ἕκαστος.

Sections 16-39. Tiribazus is superseded, and the Spartans send an army and a fleet to Asia. Thrasybulus sails to Asia with an Athenian fleet and wins over or captures many cities. Iphicrates defeats a Spartan force near Abydus. 392-388 B.C.

able basis for a peace.—Λήμνου . . . Ἴμβρου . . . Σκύρου: these islands, which were among the earliest possessions of Athens, had been lost to her as a result of the Peloponnesian War, but had apparently returned to their allegiance after the battle of Cnidus.

—τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις: Thebes, the leading city of the Boeotian league, had long sought, and with partial success, to make the other members of the league her absolute subjects.—οἳ: referring to τὴν Κόρινθον . . . ἔχειν.—ὡς Ἄργος: see 5. 1 and notes.

## BOOK V

THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS. THEBES AND ATHENS AGAIN AT WAR  
WITH SPARTA. 389-375 B.C.

CHAPTER I, sections 1-24. The Athenians are harassed by pirates from Aegina. Antalcidas becomes Spartan admiral. Desultory fighting by sea and land. Teleutias makes a descent upon Piraeus, disabling Athenian triremes and carrying off merchant ships. 389-387 B.C.

25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου<sup>1</sup> διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἴφικράτους καὶ 5 Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ᾤχετο εἰς Ἀβυδὸν. ἐκείθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὡς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων· ὀρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν

CHAPTER I, §§ 25-28. *Antalcidas returns from Persia and makes himself master of the Hellespont.* 387 B.C.

25. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας: Spartan admiral for the year 388-387 B.C. In the autumn of 388 B.C. he had gone to the Persian court to renew the peace negotiations which had failed four years before (4. 8. 12 f.). He now, in the spring of 387 B.C., returned (κατέβη), bringing with him the treaty framed by the Persian king. For its terms see § 31 below. — Τιριβάζου: who was now once more satrap in Asia Minor. Cp. 4. 8. 12 and the

following abstract. — Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι: at this time, largely through the successes of Thrasybulus and Iphicrates (cp. 4. 5 and 4. 8), the Athenians had taken the position of prominence in the war against Sparta. — ἢ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν: *which he himself* (the king) *directed them to* (sc. χρῆσθαι). For this meaning of ἔλεγεν cp. 1. 5. 9. — Νικόλοχον: vice-admiral under Antalcidas. — λόγον ὡς μεταπεμπομένων: for the constr. cp. 4. 3. 14 and see Introd. IV. J. Antalcidas wished to make the Athenians anxious for the safety of Calchedon, which Thrasybulus

26 Περκώτῃ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαί-  
 νετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίωκον ἰο  
 αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκείνοι παρέ-  
 πλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἄβυδον ἀφίκετο, ἡκηκόει  
 γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακου-  
 σῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἴκοσι, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ  
 ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων 15  
 ναῦς ὀκτώ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Θράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις  
 27 Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμμειῖξαι. ὁ δὲ Ἄνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ  
 αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις  
 ὀκτώ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς  
 ἄριστα πλεύσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, εἴ 20  
 τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνῆδρευεν ὡς ἐδύ-  
 νατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίωκεν· οἱ δὲ  
 ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεύσας  
 ταῖς ἄριστα πλεύσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφει· παραγγείλας  
 δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς 25  
 ὑστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας  
 ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ ὕστεροι ἀλισκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν

had recovered to them two years before. — Περκώτῃ: on the Hellespont, a short distance from Abydus.

26. Δημαίνετον κτί: Athenian generals who had been sent to the Hellespont to support Iphicrates. — τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου: *sc.* ὁδόν. — παρέπλευσαν: had sailed past Percote, expecting to find Antalcidas farther on the way to Calchedon. — τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν: sent

by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, whom Sparta had befriended. — ὅπως: connect with ἀφίκετο. — ἀναλάβοι: as in I. 1. 4. — ὁ Κολλυτεὺς: *i.e.* of the Attic deme Collytus. The addition distinguishes this Thrasybulus from his more famous namesake, who had lost his life a year before.

27. προσπληρώσασθαι κτί: *i.e.* if any of the twelve captains were short of men, they were ordered to

τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων  
 28 ἡλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἤλωσαν ἅπασαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤλθον αὐτῶ  
 αἶ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἴκοσι, ἤλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ 30  
 Ἰωνίας, ὅσῃς ἐγκρατῆς ἦν Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν  
 δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ  
 παλαιοῦ τῶ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤδη  
 ἀνακεκλημένος ὤχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγημε τὴν βασι-  
 λέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς 35  
 πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσι, ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάτ-  
 τῃς· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν  
 ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμαχοὺς κατῆ-  
 29 γεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς  
 πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον κατα-

draw upon the crews of the ships left behind. — καὶ . . . βραδυτέρων: even by the slower Spartan ships. — ἡλίσκοντο . . . ἤλωσαν: impf. and aor. denote respectively the process and the result.

28. ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας: an anacoluthon. — τε . . . δὲ καί: cp. τε . . . καὶ δέ in 2. 4. 6 and 3. 4. 24. In the present case the changed order (δὲ καί for καὶ . . . δέ) is due to the repetition of ἤλθον. — ὅσῃς: i.e. so much of Ionia as the Persians had recovered after the battle of Cnidus (cp. 4. 8. 1). — Τιρίβαζος: who was thus aiding Antalcidas in order to force Sparta's Greek enemies, especially Athens, to accept the king's peace. — Ἀριοβαρζάνους: mentioned in 1. 4. 7. He had now

succeeded to the satrapy of Pharnabazus. See below. — καὶ γὰρ ἦν: sc. Antalcidas. — ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγημε κτί.: in this way Pharnabazus, Sparta's bitter enemy (4. 8. 6), was removed from the scene and prevented from opposing the king's plans for peace with the Spartans. — τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς: especially grain ships. See on 1. 1. 22. — ἑαυτῶν: see on 1. 6. 36. — κατῆγεν: = καταπλεῖν ἡγάγκαζεν.

§§ 29-31. A general desire for peace. The terms of the king's message.

29. πολλὰς: sc. οὐσας. — ὡς πρότερον: at the close of the Peloponnesian War; for then also it was the Persian alliance with Sparta which had conquered

πολεμηθείσαν, συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις βασιλέως γεγενημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρουροῦντες μόρα μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόρα δ' ἐν Ὀρχομενῶ, φυλάττοντες δὲ 45 τὰς πόλεις, αἷς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπόλωτο, αἷς δὲ ἠπίσταν, μὴ ἀποσταίεν, πράγματα δ' ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οἳ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουρὰν τε πεφασμένην. ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν 50 ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὠφελήσει, καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὴν 30 εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρεῖναι τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπακοῦσαι ἢ βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην καταπέμποι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ 55 βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγίνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε·

31 Ἄρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ

Athens. — πολιορκούμενοι: *being beset*. For the fact see abstract above. — διὰ ταῦτα μὲν: μὲν repeats the μὲν with οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, after διὰ ταῦτα has repeated and summed up the reasons which influenced them. — ἐν Λεχαίῳ: see 4. 5. 18. — ἐν Ὀρχομενῶ: see 4. 3. 15 and note. Two *morae* was a third of the whole Spartan army. See on 2. 4. 31. — πράγματα ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες: cp. 4. 5. 19. — πολέμῳ: see on ἀτιμία 3. 4. 9. — φρουρὰν πεφασμένην: see on 3. 5. 6. —

ἡ τῶν μηνῶν ὑποφορὰ: the Argives in times past had sought to escape threatened Spartan invasions by pleading a sacred truce on account of some religious festival, shifting the time of such festival to suit their purpose.

30. ὑπακοῦσαι: the prep. in comp. suggests submission. — παρεγένοντο: probably at Sardis. — τὰ... σημεῖα: = τὸ... σφράγισμα 1. 4. 3.

31. Note that this so-called 'Peace' was rather an edict from



Ἄσιά πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενάς  
καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς 60  
καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Δήμνου καὶ Ἴμ-  
βρου καὶ Σκύρου· ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι  
Ἀθηναίων. ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχον-  
ται, τούτοις ἐγὼ πόλεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων  
καὶ πεζῆ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν. 65  
32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις,  
ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ  
Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουσαν ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι. ὁ  
δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι τοὺς ὄρκους, εἰ μὴ 70

the Persian king than an agree-  
ment between equals. The terms  
which it prescribed were essen-  
tially the same as those proposed  
by Antalcidas five years before  
(see 4. 8. 14 f. and notes), except  
that Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros  
were guaranteed to Athens. Of  
course the purpose of this modifi-  
cation was to incline the Athenians  
to accept the treaty. — **Κύπρον**: the  
inclusion of Cyprus was important,  
for at this time almost the whole  
of the island had been subdued  
by Euagoras, prince of Salamis (cp.  
2. 1. 29), who was in revolt from  
the Persian king and was actively  
supported by the Athenians. —  
**ὁπότεροι**: *whichever*, i.e. of the  
two contending parties in Greece,  
—as though to imply that there  
was not a definite understanding

between Persia and one of those  
two parties, namely, the Spartans.  
— **ἐγὼ**: note the change of per-  
son from Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς  
above. — **μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομέ-  
νων**: it was under this clause that  
the Spartans assumed, to their  
own great advantage, the rôle of  
champions or executors of the  
peace. See §§ 33 and 36 below.

§§ 32-34. *All the Greek states  
accept the peace, Thebes under com-  
pulsion. The Argives are forced  
to depart from Corinth.*

32. **ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν**: *in  
the name of all the Boeotians*, i.e.  
Thebes wished to be acknowl-  
edged as sovereign over all Bœo-  
tia. See on 4. 8. 15.—**ὁ δὲ  
Ἀγησίλαος κτί**: the following  
scene took place at a second con-  
gress, held in Sparta.—**οὐκ ἔφη**

ὀμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτο-  
νόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν  
Θηβαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι  
ταῦτ' εἶη. Ἴτε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτᾶτε·  
ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι <sup>75</sup>  
33 ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ᾤχοντο. ὁ δ'  
Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελλεν,  
ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθύς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν  
διέπεμπε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιόικους ἐπισπεύ- <sup>80</sup>  
σοντας, διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ξεναγούς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν  
δὲ αὐτὸν ὀρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρήσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι  
λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφιαῖσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ οὕτω  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι δ' εἰς τὰς  
σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες <sup>85</sup>  
34 τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ' αὖ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμ-  
πον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος

δέξασθαι: see Introd. IV. 1.—  
εἶναι: see on δοῦναι 1. 3. 8.

33. τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν: see on 3. 4. 4 and cp. 4. 5. 6.—  
ἐθύετο: i.e. the sacrifice preliminary to an expedition against the Thebans.—ἐγένετο: as in 3. 5. 7.—  
διαβατήρια: see on 3. 4. 3.—  
ξεναγούς: see on 3. 5. 7, where King Pausanias gathers his army in the same way as Agesilaus here. It will be noted that the Spartans still summon and command their allies, despite the autonomy provision of the king's peace. Nom-

inally, indeed, the states of the Spartan confederacy had always been autonomous, and so the Spartans still pretended to consider them; practically, however, Sparta retained absolute control of her own allies, while she deprived the other Greek states of theirs. Thus she obtained a more commanding position than she had ever held before.

34. Κορίνθιοι . . . Ἀργείων: for the relations between the two states see on 4. 5. 1.—οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον: the impf. as in διελέγοντο 2. 2. 11.

καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἄργείους, τοῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἄργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς ἢ τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐκόντες κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

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35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὤμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεύς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικά στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὐτῆ 100  
36 πρώτη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον

— καὶ τούτοις: *i.e.* coercing them also, as well as the Thebans.— ἀπίοιεν: parallel with ἐκπέμψοιεν, *i.e.* ἀπειμ retains in the opt. its normal fut. meaning.— αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς: lit. *itself in control of itself*, *i.e. independent*. For the combination of intensive and reflexive see on 1. 1. 28.— σφαγεῖς: see abstract of Book 4, Chap. 4.— αὐτοὶ γνόντες: *of their own accord*.— κατεδέχοντο: see on κατάξιν 1. 1. 29.— τοὺς . . . φεύγοντας: see on 4. 5. 1.

§§ 35-36. *The results of the peace.* 386 B.C.

35. ὤμωμόκεσαν: it is probable that the peace was not finally ratified until the early part of 386

B.C.— μὲν δὴ . . . οὕτω: the same formula with which Xenophon concludes his account of the civil war in Athens (3. 1. 1).— τὸν . . . πόλεμον: *i.e.* the Corinthian War, now ended.— καθαιρέσεως: dependent upon ὕστερον, the order of words as in 3. 5. 3.

36. For the significance of the summing-up contained in this section see App. p. 358.— ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κτί.: 'while in the war it was rather a case of holding their own with their antagonists, yet,' etc. μᾶλλον modifies the whole clause, comparing the slight success of the Spartans in the war with the great diplomatic success

ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ ἰοῦ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττοντες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὐπερ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἔπαυσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους, φρουρὰν 110 φήναντες ἐπ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

CHAPTER 2, sections 1-10. The Spartans chastise those among their allies whose loyalty had wavered during the war: the wall of Mantinea is destroyed and its inhabitants scattered in villages; the Phliasians are compelled to recall their exiles. 386-384 B.C.

11 Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγιστα 2 τῶν περὶ Ὀλυθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς

which followed.—ἀντιρρόπως . . . πράττοντες: cp. the frequent phrase εὖ πράττειν. For the tense of the part. see on προσομιλοῦντες I. I. 30.—τῆς . . . καλουμένης: the so-called Peace of Antalcidas. Strictly, ἐπί is temporal, in the time of.—προστάται: champions, in effect executors. The Peace of Antalcidas was the result of negotiations in which only Persia and Sparta had a share (see on §§ 25 and 31). It was really a treaty between these two powers alone, to be by them imposed upon the anti-Spartan states of Greece. The

Persian king's threat, contained in the last clause of his message, was to make war in company with those who desired peace, i.e. especially the Spartans, upon all who refused to accept the treaty. Hence the rôle of champions of the peace fell naturally to the Spartans, and they played it in a way to advance greatly their own interests.

CHAPTER 2, §§ 11-19. Acanthus and Apollonia send ambassadors to Sparta. The speech of Cligenes. 383 B.C.

11. Ἀκάνθου . . . Ἀπολλωνίας . . . Ὀλυθον: cities on the peninsula

Λακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἔφοροι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦγον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ  
 12 τοὺς συμμάχους. ἔνθα δὴ Κλειγένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν · 5  
 ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἴομεθα  
 λαυθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα μέγα φυόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.  
 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὀλυνθος  
 σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν πόλεων προση-  
 γάγοντο ἐφ' ᾧτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμ- 10  
 πολιτεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν  
 τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακε-  
 δονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Μακε-  
 13 δόνων βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα  
 αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο · 15  
 καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχοντας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ  
 Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων · καὶ  
 Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἦσθάνομεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν  
 πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακε-  
 δονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολ- 20

of Chalcidice. — τοὺς συμμάχους :  
*i.e.* delegates from the allied states,  
 sitting in joint session with the  
 Spartan Assembly. See on 1.  
 33.

12. πρᾶγμα : *danger*. Cp.  
 πράγματα παρέχειν. — ὅτι μὲν :  
 μὲν is not followed by a correla-  
 tive δέ, but none the less suggests  
 a contrast between the statement  
 contained in its own clause and  
 something yet to come which the  
 Spartans do *not* know. — ἐπὶ  
 Θράκης : as in 1. 3. 17. — τῶν

πόλεων : *sc.* τινάς. — προσηγάγοντο  
 . . . προσέλαβον : thus forming the  
 Olynthian league, which forty  
 years later, in the time of Demos-  
 thenes, bore an important part  
 in the struggle against Philip of  
 Macedon. — ἐφ' ᾧτε . . . χρῆσθαι :  
 see on 2. 2. 20. — τῶν μειζόνων :  
 indicating that the earlier acquisi-  
 tions were small cities. — Ἀμύν-  
 του : father of Philip and grand-  
 father of Alexander the Great.

13. Πέλλαν : at that time capi-  
 tal of Macedonia. — ὅσον οὐκ : *all*

λωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσό-  
 14 μεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴουεν. ἡμεῖς  
 δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πα-  
 τρῖοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολιταὶ εἶναι· εἰ μὲντοι  
 μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ' ἐκείνων γίγνε- 25  
 σθαι. καίτοι νῦν γ' ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὀπλίται μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐλάττους ὀκτακοσίων, πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ  
 τοσοῦτοι· ἵππεῖς γε μὲντοι, ἐὰν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν  
 15 γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἢ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. 30  
 ἠκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἶη  
 συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμ-  
 μαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ  
 τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύι, ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ  
 οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκείνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ 35  
 Ποτειδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὖσαν,  
 νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι  
 αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυ-  
 ρῶς αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηται· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦ-

*but*, lit. *only not*. — ἴουεν: the tense as in ἀπίοιεν I. 34.

14. αὐτοπολιταὶ εἶναι: as opposed to συμπολιτεύειν § 12. — τις: as in I. 5. 15, instead of the direct ὑμεῖς. — ὀκτακοσίων: the text is almost certainly corrupt, for the number here given is shown by the following narrative and by the statements of other authorities to be too small.

15. συμπέμπειν: *i.e.* with the

Athenian and Boeotian envoys. — ὁρᾶτε: *take care*. For the following ὅπως μὴ with the fut. ind., instead of the more usual μὴ with the subjv., see S. 2220 a; HA. 887 a; B. 594, N.; G. 1379; Gl. 638 d. — ἐκείνα: lit. *those matters*, referring rather indefinitely, but no less distinctly, to the Athenians and the Thebans. — Ποτειδαιαν: an important city only a few miles distant from Olynthus. — ταύτης: *i.e.* Παλ-

σαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὁμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν<sup>40</sup>  
 16 πρεσβείας πέμπειν διδαξούσας ταῦτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ  
 καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι  
 ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν εἴῃ, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἀθροίζομένης  
 δυνάμεως ἀμεληῆσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς γιγνομένης. τί γὰρ<sup>45</sup>  
 δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ  
 τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν  
 λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμποριῶν, πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν  
 17 διὰ τὴν πολυσιτίαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές γ'  
 εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θωράκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσι<sup>50</sup>  
 μὲν καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνους  
 ἔσονται, πολλὴ καὶ αὕτη δύναμις προσγένοιτ' ἂν αὐ-  
 τοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολουθούντων. καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγ-  
 γαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἂν αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων

λήνης. — ὁμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν: the speaker skillfully transforms a weak point in his case — the fact that no one else had complained of the Olynthians — into a strong one.

16. τῆς μὲν . . . , πολὺ δὲ . . . : the first clause is logically subordinate to the second, as in I. 7. 28. Trans. with *while* . . . , *nevertheless*, etc. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ . . . εἴη: referring to Sparta's successful attempt to break up the Boeotian league by means of the Peace of Antalcidas (5. 1. 32 f.). Hence ἐπιμεληθῆναι is secondary, and the following obj. clause may take the opt., for which see on ὄσιν I. 5. 9. — καθ' ἐν: as in 3. 4.

27. Therewith corresponds ἀθροίζομένης below. — καὶ ταύτης: as in 4. 8. 14. — οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον: whereas Boeotia had never been strong except κατὰ γῆν. — τί γὰρ δὴ καί: for the force of καί in a question see on I. 7. 26. — γε μὴν: see Introd. IV. D. 4.

17. ἀλλὰ μὴν: as in 2. 3. 40. — ἀβασίλευτοι: for that reason they could more easily be added to the Olynthian league. — ὑπ' ἐκείνους: the acc. on the same principle as in πύλας 3. 5. 19. — πολλή . . . δύναμις: predicate. — αὕτη: subject. — τὰ . . . χρύσεια: in later days the wealth derived from the gold mines of Mt. Pangaeum

ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὃ τι οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δῆ-  
 18 μῳ μυριόλεκτόν ἐστι. τό γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις  
 λέγοι; καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῷ δύνασθαι  
 καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὔξεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἡμεῖς μὲν  
 οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλ-  
 60 λομεν ὅτι οὕτω τὰ κεῖ ἔχει· ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλευέσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ  
 ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι,  
 ὡς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὖσαν, οὐπω δυσπά-  
 λαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολι-  
 19 τείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὐται, ἂν τι ἴδωσιν ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ  
 ἀποστήσονται· εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται ταῖς τε 65  
 ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἃς ἐψηφισ-  
 μένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ γινώσκονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων  
 ἔπεσθαι κερδαλέον ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ'  
 ὑμῶν ἴωσι, τὰ τε αὐτῶν σφύζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια  
 ἀρπάζουσιν, ἴσως οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὐλυτα ἔσται. 70  
 20 Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς  
 συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευον συμβουλεύειν ὃ τι γι-  
 γνώσκει τις ἄριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμ-  
 μάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον

aided Philip to make himself mas-  
 ter of Greece.—ἡμεῖς: emphatic  
 in contrast with ἐν τῷ . . . δῆμῳ.

18. φρόνημα . . . τί: the double  
 acc. as in 3. 5. 12.—καὶ τόδε: the  
 speaker takes care not to defeat  
 his own ends by representing  
 Olynthus as too formidable a  
 power for Sparta to subdue easily.  
 —οὖσαν: supplementary.

19. ἐπιγαμίαις: the right of

intermarriage.—ἐγκτήσεσι: the  
 right of holding real property in  
 one another's dominions.—παρ'  
 ἀλλήλοις: connect with the pre-  
 ceding verbal nouns.—εὐλυτα  
 ἔσται: sc. as subj. τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

§§ 20-24. *The Spartans de-  
 cide upon war against Olynthus,  
 whither Eudamidas with an ad-  
 vance-guard is sent.*

20. λόγον: permission to speak,



στρατιὰν ποιεῖ·, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι 75  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς  
 21 μυρίους σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο  
 ἀργυρίον τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι διδόναι τῇ βουλομένη  
 τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγιναῖον κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἰππέας  
 τε εἴ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων ὀπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν 80  
 22 τῷ ἰππεῖ δίδοσθαι· εἰ δὲ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν  
 στρατιάν, ἐξεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιούν στατήρι  
 23 κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν,  
 ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταῦτα  
 καλὰ μὲν εἶη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ 85  
 περανθῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ αὕτη ἡ  
 παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζοιτο, ὡς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν  
 ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονός τε, ὅση ἂν ταχὺ  
 ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων· τούτου γὰρ γενο-  
 μένου τὰς τε οὐπω προσκεχωρηκυίας πόλεις στήναι ἂν 90  
 24 καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας ἦττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων

a hearing, as in I. I. 28. For the fact see on I. 33.—στρατιὰν ποιεῖν: to make (i.e. raise) an army, an unusual expression.—τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα: i.e. its proportionate share of a total army of 10,000.

21. λόγοι: proposals. Thereon depends ἐξεῖναι.—τριώβολον Αἰγιναιῖον κατὰ ἄνδρα: three Aeginetan obols (= half an Aeginetan drachma) per day for each man, i.e. in order to pay for a substitute. The Aeginetan drachma, which was the standard in many parts

of Greece, was worth nearly half as much again as the Attic drachma (see on I. 5. 4).—ἰππέας . . . δίδοσθαι: if any state normally furnished horsemen (but wished to give money instead), pay equal to that of four hoplites (i.e. two drachmae) be given for each horseman.

22. στατήρι: = two drachmae.

23. μὲν: subordinating, as in § 16 above.—ὅση . . . ἐξέλθοι: as large as could set forth quickly.—προσκεχωρηκυίας: gone over, i.e. to the Olynthians.

δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. ὁ μέντοι Εὐδαμίδας ἐξίων Φοιβίδα, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη τῶν ἐφόρων 95 τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτεΐδαϊαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκοῦσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη ἐκείνων οὔσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενος 100 ἐπολέμει ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.

25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύετο. ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἔστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον· στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θη- 105 βαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἴσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἐκάτερος τῶν ἐταιριῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἴσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδα. ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν, καὶ 110 26 ἐπεὶ εἰσφκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὦ Φοιβίδα, τῆδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι

24. Σκιριτῶν: a people who lived on the northern frontier of Laconia. — Φοιβίδα: subj. of μετιέναι. — αὐτός: Eudamidas. — ἐκείνων: *i.e.* the Olynthians.

§§ 25-31. *The seizure of the Cadmea.*

25. τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου: gen. of separation. — ἐν Θήβαις: *i.e.* in the district of Thebes. Cp. ἐν τῇ

Νεμέᾳ 4. 2. 14. — γυμνάσιον: probably the so-called Heraclium, southwest of the city. — στασιαζόντων: the democratic party was anti-Spartan, the oligarchical party pro-Spartan. — πολεμαρχοῦντες: the polemarchs were the chief officials of Thebes. — Ἴσμηνίας: cp. 3. 5. 1. — ἐταιριῶν: *political clubs*. Cp. 2. 3. 46.

ὑπουργῆσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσης ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς  
 ὀπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ  
 γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θήβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαι- 115  
 27 μονίους καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι  
 νῦν μὲν, ὡς ὄρας, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ  
 στρατεύειν Θηβαίων ἐπ' Ὀλυθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ  
 ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξης, εὐθύς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν  
 ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἰππέας συμπέμψομεν· ὥστε πολλῇ 120  
 δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἐκείνος  
 Ὀλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἔσει  
 28 Θήβας, πολὺ μείζω πόλιν Ὀλύνθου. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα  
 ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι  
 ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἔραστής, οὐ μέντοι 125  
 λογιστικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ὠμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν,  
 ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπέναι· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν  
 ἦ καιρός, πρὸς σὲ ἦξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Λεοντιάδης, καὶ  
 29 αὐτὸς σοι ἡγήσομαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλή ἐκάθητο ἐν 130  
 τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ  
 θεσμοφοριάζειν, θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας  
 πλείστη ἦν ἐρημία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας

27. ἀποκεκήρυκται κτλ.: showing that the democratic party was now in control. Cp. also the fact mentioned in § 15.—μηδένα: a redundant negative. See on I. 7. 32.—ἡμεῖς: emphatic,—*we*, your friends.—Ὀλυνθον . . . Θήβας: the chiasmic arrangement emphasizes the contrast in thought.

28. προορμῆσαι: *i.e.* in order

to dispel any possible suspicion on the part of the Thebans.—ἐκέλευσεν: *sc.* ὁ Λεοντιάδης.—σοι: see on στρατιᾷ 4. 2. 9.

29. ἐν τῇ . . . στοᾷ: instead of in the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, the usual place of meeting.—θεσμοφοριάζειν: the Thesmophoria was a festival in honor of Demeter, celebrated by women

ἐφ' ἵππου ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδα  
καὶ ἡγεῖται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. κατὰστίσας δ' 135  
ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοὺς  
τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν μηδένα  
παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὄντινα μὴ αὐτὸς κελεύοι,  
30 εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν. ἔλθων δὲ εἶπε τάδε·  
ἽΟτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρό- 140  
πολιν, μηδὲν ἄθυμείτε· οὐδενὶ γάρ φασι πολέμιοι  
ἦκειν, ὅστις μὴ πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύ-  
οντος ἐξεῖναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια  
θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἴσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμο-  
ποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ- 145  
των τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες ἀπαγάγετε  
31 τοῦτον ἔνθα εἴρηται. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα  
παρήσαν τε καὶ ἐπέιθοντο καὶ συνελάμβανον· τῶν δὲ  
μὴ εἰδόντων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ  
μὲν ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ 150  
ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ οἴκαδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν·  
ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον τὸν Ἴσμηνίαν ἦσθοντο ἐν τῇ Κα-  
δμείᾳ, τότε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ταῦτὰ  
γιγνώσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἴσμηνία μάλιστα

only. — ἀποστρέφει: ἀπό in comp., back. — παριέναι: to let in, from παρήμι.

30. λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἴσμηνίαν: the scene is precisely similar to that between Critias and The-ramenes, 2. 3. 51 f. — πολεμο-ποιοῦντα: both in the past (cp. § 35) and by now befriending Sparta's enemies, the Olynthians

(§§ 27, 34). — ἔνθα εἴρηται: to the place where you have been directed to take him. So Critias uses the phrase οὐ δεῖ (2. 3. 54) instead of saying 'prison.'

31. οἱ... γινώσκοντες: as in 2. 3. 34. It includes both οἱ μὲν and οἱ δέ.— Ἀνδροκλείδα: his name is coupled with that of Ismenias in 3. 5. 1.

32 τριακόσιοι. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν 155  
 ἀντὶ Ἴσμηνίου ἄλλον εἶλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθύς  
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ἦρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας  
 τῷ Φοιβίδῃ, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὁ μὲντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ 160  
 μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πεπραχῶς εἴη, δίκαιος  
 εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον  
 ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ',  
 ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ἐστί τὰ  
 33 πεπραγμένα. ἔπειτα μὲντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς 165  
 τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
 ὡς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν  
 πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἐωράτε γὰρ  
 αἰεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχον-

§§ 32-36. *Leontiadēs in Sparta.*  
*The Spartans decide to retain the*  
*Cadmea. Ismenias is condemned*  
*and executed.*

32. πολέμαρχον . . . ἄλλον:  
 Archias. Cp. 4. 2 and Plut. *Pelop.*  
 6. — χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας: Xenophon  
 does not allude to the more in-  
 tense anger which was felt through-  
 out the other states of Greece at  
 the treacherous seizure of the Cad-  
 mea. The Spartans so far yielded  
 to public opinion as to punish  
 Phoebidas by a heavy fine and  
 suspension from his command  
 (Plut. *l.c.*, Diod. 15. 20), yet they  
 retained possession of the Theban  
 citadel (§ 35). — οὐ προσταχθέντα:

predicative, *without authorization.*  
 — ὁ μὲντοι Ἀγησίλαος: according  
 to Plutarch (*Ages.* 23 f.) Agesi-  
 laus was suspected of being the  
 real author of the plot which Phoe-  
 bidas carried out. Diodorus (*l.c.*)  
 even says that general instructions  
 had been secretly given to Spar-  
 tan commanders to seize the Cad-  
 mea if they found an opportunity.  
 — δίκαιος εἴη: for the personal  
 constr. see on 1. 7. 4. — αὐτό:  
 nearly equal to *μόνον*. — ἀγαθὰ ἢ  
 κακὰ: from the point of view of  
 policy, not of morality.

33. τοὺς ἐκκλήτους: see on  
 2. 4. 38. — ἐλέγετε: iterative. —  
 δυσμενέσι: used substantively. —

τας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ 170  
 μὲν τὸν ἐν Πειραιεὶ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ  
 ἠθέλησαν συστρατεύειν, Φωκεῦσι δέ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς εὐμενεῖς  
 34 ὄντας ἐώρων, ἐπεστράτευσον; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμ-  
 θίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν  
 ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν αἰὲ προσεΐχετε τὸν 175  
 νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν  
 ὑφ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν  
 ὑμᾶς δεῖ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν  
 μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων  
 ἂν δέησθε, ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν 180  
 35 ἐπιμελήσθε. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε  
 τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατεῖληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ  
 Ἴσμηνίᾳ κρίσιν ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δι-  
 καστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων  
 ἓνα ἀφ' ἐκάστης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ 185

οὐκ . . . οὐκ : the first = *nonne*, intro-  
 ducing both the following clauses ;  
 the second negatives ἠθέλησαν  
 only. Trans. *did they not refuse*  
 . . . , and, etc. — ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν . . . δῆ-  
 μον : see 2. 4. 30 and note. — Φω-  
 κέυσι . . . ἐπεστράτευσον : see 3. 5. 4.

34. ἐποιοῦντο : conative impf.,  
 for it seems that the proposed alli-  
 ance (§ 15) had not been actually  
 concluded. — τότε μὲν : *i.e.* before  
 the seizure of the Cadmea, as is  
 clear from the correlative νῦν δ'  
 ἐπεὶ κτέ. — βιαζομένους . . . εἶναι :  
 see on 1. 32. — σκυτάλη : the Spar-  
 tan cipher dispatch. A narrow

strip of leather was wound diago-  
 nally around a staff, and upon the  
 surface thus formed the message  
 was written lengthwise of the staff.  
 The strip was then unrolled, its  
 message thus becoming unreadable,  
 and sent to its destination. The  
 recipient was provided with a staff  
 of the proper size, which enabled  
 him to read the dispatch. — ἐκεῖθεν :  
 from Thebes, *i.e.* by the Thebans.

35. ὥσπερ : used, as in § 28, of  
 carrying out a course of action con-  
 sistent with a beginning already  
 made. — Ἴσμηνίᾳ . . . ποιῆσαι : lit.  
*to make a trial for Ismenias*, *i.e.*

δὲ συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγορεῖτο τοῦ Ἴσμηνίου καὶ ὡς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος γεγενημένος εἶη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετειληφὼς εἶη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκεῖνός 190  
36 τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεοντιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι 195  
πλείω ὑπηρέτουν ἢ προσετάπτετο αὐτοῖς.

Sections 37-43. Teleutias is sent against the Olynthians and defeats them in a pitched battle. 382 B.C.

CHAPTER 3. Teleutias is defeated and slain before Olynthus. King Agesipolis, who succeeds him in the command, dies of fever. Olynthus is ultimately starved into submission.

On complaint of Phliasian exiles the Spartans make war upon Phlius, which is reduced after a long siege. 381-379 B.C.

1 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ 4

to bring Ismenias to trial. — κατηγορεῖτο: passive. — ὡς βαρβαρίζοι: a strange accusation in a Spartan court after the Peace of Antalcidas! Note that the first three charges really cover the same ground, descending gradually from the general to the specific. — τῷ Πέρσῃ: i.e. Tithraustes. Cp. 3. 5. 1. — τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως . . . εἶη: as stated in 3. 5. 1. — ὅτι τῆς . . . ταραχῆς κτί.: i.e. that he had been responsible for the Corinthian War. Here lay the real

cause of Ismenias' condemnation.

36. τὸ μὴ οὐ . . . εἶναι: 'that he was not full of great and evil undertakings.' For the double neg. see on 2. 3. 16; for the unusual τό with the inf. in ind. disc. see GMT. 794; S. 2034 g.

CHAPTER 4, § 1. Righteous retribution overtakes the Spartans. 379 B.C.

1. This section suffices to show that Xenophon was not a blind partisan of Sparta. Cp. 3. 5. 12 and see Introd. p. 31. — λέγειν . . .

Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὡς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γὰρ οἱ ὁμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θήβαις 5 ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, πρότερον οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τοὺς τε τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουλευθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραν- 10 νεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἑπτὰ μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἤρκεσαν καταλῦσαι. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο διηγήσομαι.

2 Ἦν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχοις, καὶ τὰλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἄριστα.

ὡς: *mention (cite) as proof that.* Cp. 2. 3. 27. — ἀσεβούντων . . . ἀνόσια ποιούντων: the first refers to the spirit or intent, the second to the actual deed. — ἀμελοῦσι: *i.e.* leave unpunished. — τε . . . τε: connecting the two clauses. See *Intro.* IV. D. 2. — γὰρ: not *for*, but more like *namely*, introducing the concrete case in point. — ὁμόσαντες: *i.e.* on the conclusion of the Peace of Antalcidas, 1. 32. — ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων κτί.: *by the very men, unaided, who had been thus wronged.* — ἐκολάσθησαν: *i.e.* at Leuctra in 371 B.C. (6. 4. 9 f.). — οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς: for the emphatic separation see on οὐδὲ . . . μὴ 2. 2. 10. — τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων: see on 3. 5. 14. — κρατηθέντες: *conquered*, —not *defeated*, for the

Spartans had in fact suffered defeats. — τοὺς . . . εἰσαγαγόντας . . . καὶ βουλευθέντας: standing at the beginning of the clause as though the obj. of a verb to come, but ultimately replaced by the slightly different and more precise expression τὴν τούτων ἀρχήν. — ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν: as though ἐκείνους οἱ εἰσήγαγον . . . καὶ ἐβουλήθησαν had preceded; that is, αὐτοὶ is attracted to a nom. which exists only in the writer's thought.

§§ 2-12. *The liberation of Thebes.*

2. τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχοις: there were probably three polemarchs, although Xenophon mentions only Archias and Philip by name. — τὰλλα: *i.e.* besides the duties which properly fell to



τούτῳ δ' ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα καὶ 15  
 πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὦν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγόντων  
 Θηβαίων συγγίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ  
 Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον  
 τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ  
 τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δούς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο ὡς δεῖ ἕκαστα 20  
 3 γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἐξ τοὺς  
 ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ  
 ἄλλο ὄπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν  
 νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ  
 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκα- 25  
 περ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ  
 Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν δὲ ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν.

him as γραμματεῖς. — καὶ πρόσθεν . . . ὦν: see on οὔσι 4. 8. 4. — τῶν . . . Θηβαίων: part. gen. For the fact see 2. 31. According to Plutarch (*Pelop.* 6) Sparta commanded the Athenians not to receive these exiles, but the Athenians disobeyed the command out of gratitude for the protection which the Thebans had given to Thrasybulus and his fellow-exiles in 404 B.C. (see 2. 4. 1 and note). — τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν . . . τυραννίδα: lit. *the facts about Archias and the tyranny in connection with Philip*. Apparently it is for the sake of exact correspondence between the two phrases that περὶ Φίλιππον is used in the second instead of the

simple genitive. — γνοὺς: *having found out*. — μισοῦντα: Plutarch (*l.c.* 7) says that Phillidas had obtained the post of γραμματεῖς for the express purpose of betraying the polemarchs. — μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ: = μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς ἐμίσει.

3. ὁ Μέλων: Plutarch (*Pelop.* 8) makes Pelopidas, later famous as general and friend of Epaminondas, the leader of the enterprise. — τὴν χώραν: *i.e.* Boeotia. — ὡς δὴ . . . ἀπιόντες: *as if returning from the country*. They were disguised, according to Plutarch (*Pelop.* 8 f.), as farmers and hunters. — ἡνίκα περ . . . ὀψιαίτατοι: *sc. ἀπιόντες ἦλθον, at the time when the last returning laborers came in*.

4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρ-  
 χοις, ὡς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ 30  
 δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς  
 τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότε  
 ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ— ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι — μάλα ἠδέως  
 5 προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησάν τε καὶ  
 συμπροθυμούμενου ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι 35  
 κελυόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἐταίρας, ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ  
 Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ  
 6 ἄλλους ὡς θεραπαίνας. κἀκείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς  
 τὸ προταμιεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν  
 εἶπε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἰ 40  
 γυναῖκες, εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν οἱ  
 μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας δούς  
 οἶνον εἰς ἐνὸς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ  
 τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἐταίρας δῆ, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ'  
 ἐκάστῳ. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ καθίζοντο, παίειν εὐθὺς 45

4. τὰ ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο: *made the other arrangements*. The acc. is cognate. — ὡς: here equal to ἄτε. — Ἀφροδίσια: not a festival in honor of Aphrodite, but simply a farewell banquet. — καὶ δὴ καί: = καὶ δέ. — πάλαι ὑπισχνόμενος: as πρόσθεν ὦν § 2.

5. ἐμεθύσθησαν: at this stage of the affair, according to the famous story which Plutarch (*Pelop.* 10) tells, a messenger brought Archias a letter, bidding him to read it at once, since it related to serious matters. In fact, it con-

tained a full account of the plot against the polemarchs. Archias, however, put the letter aside with the remark *Εἰς αὐριον τὰ σπουδαῖα*, 'Serious matters for to-morrow.' — κελυόντων: see on I. I. 26.

6. προταμιεῖον: an anteroom adjoining the treasury, hence a safe place. — εἰς ἐνός: *sc.* οἴκον. S. 1302; HA. 730 a. The gen. dependent upon an omitted οἶκος or νεώς (*temple*) is analogous to the English 'at Jackson's,' 'to St. Peter's.' — δῆ: ironical. See on I. 7. 8.

7 ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα ἀποκτείνει τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλλίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεοντιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν 50 πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδα πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσιέναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώ- 55 πησαν. ἐξιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλείσθαι· εἰ δὲ λήψονται ἀνεωγμένην, ἠπέιλησαν ἀποκτείνειν ἅπαντας 8 τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἀνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων 60 ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὡς δὲ ἀνέφξε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθύς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὄπλων καθελόντες ὤπλισαν, καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὄπλα.

7. ἀμφί: see Introd. IV. c. 2. — Λεοντιάδου: cp. 2.25 f. — χωρὶς: alone, in contrast with the banqueters. — κατακείμενος: upon the dining couch. — εἶπον . . . κεκλείσθαι: 'they ordered that the door should be shut (and remain so),' the perf. inf. signifying 'that the action is to be *decisive* and *permanent*.' S. 1865 c; G. 1275; GMT. 110. — ἀποκτείνειν: for the tense see on δοῦναι I. 3. 8.

8. ἀνάκειον: *prison*. — τοὺς δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν: presumably because so many of them were political prisoners, *i.e.* democrats and friends of the conspirators. — τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὄπλων: *i.e.* captured arms, which were hung in the *stoa* as trophies. — Ἀμφεῖον: the shrine of Amphion, a Theban hero. — θέσθαι . . . τὰ ὄπλα: *to stand under arms, i.e.* in readiness.

9 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξιέναι πάντας Θηβαίους, 65  
 ἰππέας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. οἱ  
 δὲ πολῖται, ἕως μὲν νύξ ἦν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον·  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἦν καὶ φανερόν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχὺ  
 δὴ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐξεβοή-  
 θουν. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἰππέας οἱ κατεληλυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς 70  
 πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις Ἀθηναίων δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ'  
 εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ᾧ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐπεβοήθουν.  
 10 ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀρμοστῆς ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο τὸ  
 νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καὶ  
 Θεσπιάς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιᾶς αἰσθό- 75  
 μενοι προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἰππεῖς ἀπαντήσαντες  
 ἀπέκτεωαν αὐτῶν πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον  
 ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἤδη  
 11 παρήσαν, προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ

9. ἐξιέναι: *i.e.* from their houses.  
 — ὡς: as in I. I. 24. — ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα  
 ἦν: at daybreak, according to Plu-  
 tarch (*Pelop.* 12 f.), the citizens  
 gathered in assembly and elected  
 Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon as  
 Boeotarchs (cp. 3. 4. 4), thus as-  
 serting once more the claim to  
 headship in Boeotia which the  
 Peace of Antalcidas had forced  
 Thebes to relinquish (I. 32 f.).—  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς . . . τῶν στρατηγῶν: *for*  
 (*i.e. after*) those of the Athenians  
 who were on the borders, *viz.*, two  
 of the generals. In all probability  
 some portion of the text, explain-  
 ing how an Athenian force chanced  
 to be on the borders ready to assist

the Thebans, has been lost. It  
 is clear from § 19 that the two  
 Athenian generals knew before-  
 hand of the plot against the pole-  
 marshs and that they acted without  
 orders from the Athenian govern-  
 ment.—εἰδότες . . . ἐπεβοήθουν:  
*knowing the thing* (*i.e. errand,*  
*purpose*) *for which they* (the The-  
 bans) *had sent out* the horse-  
 men, *came to their aid.* The text, how-  
 ever, is very uncertain.

10. Πλαταιᾶς: Plataea, an ally  
 of Athens at the outbreak of the  
 Peloponnesian War, had been cap-  
 tured and destroyed by the Spar-  
 tans in 427 B.C., but rebuilt by  
 them after the Peace of Antalcidas

- ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες τὴν τε προθυ- 80  
 μίαν τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων ἐώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυ-  
 γμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναβάσῃ,  
 ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίοιεν ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν  
 ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπιούσι διδοίεν. οἱ δὲ  
 ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ἤτουν, καὶ σπεισάμενοι καὶ ὄρκους 85  
 12 ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξιόντων μέντοι,  
 ὅσους ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες  
 ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐπιβοθηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ  
 διεσώθησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν 90  
 ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.
- 13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπίθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν  
 ἄρμοστὴν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ  
 φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν 95

in order to serve as a check upon the power of Thebes. Both Plataea and Thespieae were now occupied by Spartan garrisons.

11. ὀλίγοι ὄντες: connect with ἔγνωσαν. The garrison numbered 1500, while the attacking force was ten times as large. Diod. 15. 25 f. — τε: connecting ἔγνωσαν and ἐώρων. See *Introd.* IV. D. I. — καὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων κτέ.: *since also (καί) large prizes were offered to those who ascended the acropolis first, an additional reason for the προθυμία referred to.* — ἐπὶ τούτοις: *on these*

*terms, summing up the preceding.*

12. ἐξιόντων: gen. abs. Cp. *κελευόντων* § 5. — ὄρκους: not Spartans, but Theban oligarchs (hence τῶν ἐχθρῶν) who had taken refuge in the acropolis after the death of the polemarchs. — ἐξεκλάπησαν: *were spirited away.*

§§ 13–18. *The Spartans declare war upon Thebes. Agesilaus declines to take command. The expedition of Cleombrotus.*

13. τὴν βοήθειαν: *the relief force which was sure to come under the circumstances.* Cp. 4. 8. 7.

λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἧβης εἶη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἶη τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἕξω στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. κακεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ' ἔνεκεν 100 κατέμεινε, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγοίη, λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσειε τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἶα οὖν αὐτοὺς βου-  
 14 λεύεσθαι ὁποῖόν τι βούλοιντο περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θήβαις 105 σφαγὰς ἐκπεπωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν. προϊόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ 110 περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λελυμένοις, ὡς περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πευτήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ

— ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἧβης: see on 2. 4. 32. — τῆς ἑαυτῶν: *sc.* χώρας. — οὕτω δὴ . . . ἀπεδείκνυε: an anacoluthon. One would expect this clause to be parallel with ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα . . . εἶη and to be followed by a principal verb agreeing with Ἀγησίλαος above. — ὄντα: *applied*. — λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται: Agesilaus had made enemies at Sparta by his extreme war policy, especially in support of pro-Spartan oligarchs — εἶα οὖν κτέ.: *i.e.* he took no part in the

discussion of the present question.

14. Κλεόμβροτον: brother and successor of Agesipolis. See abstract of Chap. 3. — μάλα χειμῶνος: see on μάλα εἰημερίας 2. 4. 2. — τὴν . . . δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδόν . . . τὴν ἐς Πλαταιάς: the first the eastern, the second the western route over Mt. Cithaeron. — οἱ πελτασταί: *i.e.* of Cleombrotus. — ἄκρῳ: of Mt. Cithaeron. — τοῖς . . . λελυμένοις: cp. § 8. — ὡς περὶ: *about*, *i.e.* the same meaning which either word alone would have. —

πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς  
 15 Πλαταιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιάς 115  
 ἀφίκετο, ἐκείθεν ὀρμηθεῖς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς οὔσας  
 Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μεώας δὲ ἐκεῖ περὶ ἐκ-  
 καίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπιάς. κακῆ  
 μὲν ἀρμοστήν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμά-  
 χων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων· παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ 120  
 χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν οἰκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε  
 16 ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ'  
 ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀπήγεεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ  
 Κρεύσιος τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀπο-  
 ροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ εἰρήνη 125  
 εἶη· ἤγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ στράτευμα,  
 17 ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα κακουργήσας. ἀπι-  
 ὄντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαισίος ἐπεγένετο, ὃν καὶ  
 οἰωνίζοντό τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ  
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλ- 130  
 λοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ  
 καθῆκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄρους κατε-  
 κρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὄπλα ἀφαρπασ-

ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας: ἔτι, because not long afterwards Plataea was reduced by the Thebans.

15. Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς: a village near Thebes.

16. Κρεύσιος: see on 4. 5. 10; and for the gen. form see on Γνώσιος 1. 1. 29.—καὶ μάλα: as in 2. 4. 2.—πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς: the alliteration is perhaps intended to picture the impatience

of the soldiers. For ποτέ in a question see on 2. 3. 47.

17. σημαίνειν: = σημείον εἶναι.—τῶν μελλόντων: sc. γενήσεσθαι. The reference is to Cleombrotus' defeat at Leuctra a few years later.—τὸ καθῆκον . . . ὄρος: a spur of Mt. Cithaeron.—αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι: baggage and all. For the idiom and constr. see on 1. 2. 12.—ὄπλα: i.e. shields.

- 18 θέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ  
 δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις πορεύεσθαι, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν 135  
 τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπον λίθων ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς  
 ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγιοσθένους  
 ἐδείπνησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐλθόντες  
 ἐκομίσαντο τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἦδη ἕκαστοι  
 ἀπῆσαν· ἀφῆκε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος. 140
- 19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ῥώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἦδη  
 παριόντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας  
 ἐνέβαλλον, οὕτως ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τὸ δύο στρα-  
 τηγῶ, οἱ συνηπιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς 145  
 περὶ Λεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέ-  
 κτειναν, τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.
- 20 Οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἰ μηδένας  
 ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοιόνδε  
 εὐρίσκουσι μνηχάνημα. πείθουσι τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς 150

18. τῆς Μεγαρικῆς: see on Καλχηδονίας I. I. 22.—ὡς ἐδύναντο: *i.e.* after the loss of so much of their baggage.

§ 19. *The Athenian generals who aided the Thebans are punished.*

19. τὴν . . . ῥώμην: Cleombrotus' expedition, therefore, was not without some result. — ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι: *i.e.* as it had been before the Peace of Antalcidas, when the Spartans were unable to pass the isthmus of Corinth. — ἦν . . . ἐνέβαλλον: for the objective impf. see *Introd.* IV. E. — τὰ δύο στρα-

τηγῶ: see § 9 and note. — στρατηγῶ, οἱ συνηπιστάσθην: an extreme case of the not unusual mixture of dual and plural.

§§ 20-24. *Sphodrias' raid into Attica.* 378 B.C.

20. αὖ . . . καὶ αὐτοί: *i.e.* the Thebans as well as the Athenians (§ 19). — φοβούμενοι, εἰ μηδένας κτέ.: lit. *being fearful, if (in case that) no others except themselves should make war, etc., i.e.* feeling that their position was dangerous in case, etc. πολεμήσοιεν is opt. in implied ind. disc. — πείθουσι κτέ.:



ἀρμοστήν Σφωδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κἀκείνος πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἤγεεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν πρῶ δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων πρὸ ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Θριάσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ' ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στρατεύμα πάμπλου προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ ἰππεῖς καὶ ὀπλίται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύχανον Ἀθήνησιν ὄντες παρὰ Καλλίᾳ τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὡκυλλος· οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὡς

there is some question whether Xenophon is right in representing Sphodrias' act as inspired by the Thebans. Cp. the story in 3. 5. 3 f. and see *Introd.* p. 31. — ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο: referring to χρήματα δόντες only. — ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃε: the purpose of the Thebans, not of Sphodrias. — ἀπύλωτος ἦν: evidently the new fortifications of Piraeus, begun by Conon (4. 8. 10), had not been entirely com-

pleted. — καθανύσειν: sc. τὴν ὁδόν, would finish the journey.

21. Θριάσι: locative form of Θρία, an Attic deme near Eleusis. — ἐνταῦθα: *thereupon*. — ὥστε: purpose. See on 2. 4. 8.

22. πρέσβεις: the object of this embassy is unknown; perhaps it had come to protest against the act of the two Athenian generals (§§ 9, 19). — οὕτω . . . ὡς: = οὕτω . . . ὥστε. See *Introd.* IV. H.

εἰ ἤδουσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει 170  
 ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὐτοὺς παρείχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ  
 23 προξένῳ, οὐ τάχιστ' ἂν ἠρέθησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὡς  
 εὐδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ  
 εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς 175  
 πόλεως. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι ἀφεί-  
 24 θησαν. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ  
 ὑπήγον θανάτου.

Sections 24-33. Sphodrias disobeys the command to return to Sparta for trial, yet is nevertheless acquitted.

34 Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον  
 τὸν δῆμον ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαντο,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε  
 ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν  
 τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς 5  
 35 πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

— καταλαμβανόμενον: conative, *that an attempt was making to seize Piræus.* — καὶ ταῦτα: as in 2. 3. 53.

23. οὐδέ: *i.e.* that the state was not cognizant of this attempt *either*, any more than they, the ambassadors. — Σφοδρίαν: made emphatic by its position, *as for Sphodrias.* The natural Eng. order would be: ἔφασαν εὖ εἰδέναι ὅτι πεύσοιντο Σφοδρίαν ἀπολωλότα. — μηδέν: see on μηδένα 4. 5. 12.

24. ὑπήγον θανάτου: as in 1. 3. 19.

§§ 34-41. *Athens aids the Thebans. Agesilaus' campaign against Thebes.*

34. οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλὰ καί: see on οὐχ ὅπως 2. 4. 14. — ναῦς ἐναυπηγοῦντο: the renewed activity of the Athenians in naval affairs, which is here only suggested, culminated in the following year (377 B.C.) in the formation of what is known as the Second Athenian Confederacy. This Confederacy ultimately came to include not only Thebes and Euboea, but many Aegean islands and mari-

φρουράν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησί-  
 λαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομ-  
 βρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν στρατιάν.  
 ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὄ τι τῇ πόλει δοκοίη ἀντειπεῖν <sup>10</sup>  
<sup>36</sup> παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ  
 μή τις προκαταλήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ράδιον ἔσται  
 εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς  
 Κλητορίου τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας,  
 ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως γένοιτο τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, <sup>15</sup>  
<sup>37</sup> εἴ τι δεηθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας,  
 πρὶν ἐν Τεγέα αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ  
 τοῖς Κλητορίου ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δούς μηνός, ἐκέλευε  
 προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὀρχο-  
 μενίοις εἶπεν, ἕως στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέ- <sup>20</sup>  
 μου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν  
 στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔφη πρῶτον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ  
<sup>38</sup> δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαι-  
 ρῶνα, ἐλθὼν εἰς Θεσπιάς ἐκεῖθεν ὄρμηθεις ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν  
 τῶν Θηβαίων χώραν. εὐρῶν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον τε <sup>25</sup>  
 καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλω τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὰ πλείστου  
 ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδεύομενος ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη καὶ

time cities, and gave to Athens a position of greater prominence and strength than she had held since the Peloponnesian War. Strangely enough, the whole matter is entirely passed over in the *Hellenica*, except for the above vague allusion. See *Introd.* p. 27.

35. σφίσι: for the dat. see on

στρατιᾷ 4. 2. 9. — εἰπὼν ὅτι . . . ἂν . . . ἀντειπεῖν: see on ὅτι . . . ἔσεσθαι 2 2. 2.

36. Κλητορίου . . . Ὀρχομενίοις: Cleitor and Orchomenus were towns in Arcadia. — εἴ τι δεηθείη: sc. αὐτοῦ, if he had any need of it.

37. πρῶτον: i.e. before doing anything else.

μετ' ἄριστον ἐξάγων ἐδήου τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ  
 τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμοι,  
 ὅπου ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρήσαν αὐτῷ<sup>30</sup>  
<sup>39</sup> ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμννούμενοι. καὶ ποτε  
 ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ  
 τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς τέως ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἐξαίφνης διὰ  
 τῶν ὠδοποιημένων τοῦ χαρακώματος ἐξόδων ἐξελαύ-  
 νουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἀπιόντων πρὸς δείπνον καὶ συσκευα-<sup>35</sup>  
 ζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων τῶν μὲν ἔτι  
 καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύνουσι.  
 καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν  
 ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν  
 περιοίκων ἕνα, Εὐδικον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὰς φυγά-<sup>40</sup>  
<sup>40</sup> δας, οὐπω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους. ὡς δὲ ἀνα-  
 στρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἱ  
 τε ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τὰ δέκα  
 ἀφ' ἥβης ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι  
 τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐώκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι που ἐν<sup>45</sup>

38. τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ  
 κτί.: *the parts of the country on  
 his side of the stockade and trench.*  
 χώρας is part. gen. with the entire  
 following phrase; σταυρωμάτων  
 and τάφρου depend upon πρὸς  
 ἑαυτοῦ, which amounts to an adv.  
 of place, e.g. ἔξω, *outside*. — γὰρ:  
 the following clause explains why  
 Agesilaus kept to his own side  
 of the stockade. — ὡς ἀμννούμενοι:  
 see on ὡς μαχοῦμενος I. I. 33.

39. οἷα δὴ: = ἄτε. — συσκευα-  
 ζομένων: *making their prepara-*

*tions, i.e. for going away.* — ἔτι  
 καταβεβηκότων: *being still dis-*  
*mounted.* The perf., of an accom-  
 plished result continuing as a  
 present state (cp. on 4. 3. 18), is  
 here so entirely equivalent to the  
 pres. as to take the adv. of con-  
 tinuance, ἔτι.

40. οἱ ἱππεῖς: of the Spartans.  
 — ἐώκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι κτί.: *i.e.*  
*acted like people who had drunk*  
*a little with the midday meal, and*  
*hence lacked the steadiness of*  
*nerve and judgment to wait for*

μεσημβρία· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν ὥστ'  
 ἑξακοντίζεω τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνούντο δ' οὖν. ἀναστρέ-  
 41 φοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσοῦτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν δώδεκα. ὡς δὲ  
 κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι αἰὲ μετ' ἄριστον καὶ οἱ  
 πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦγεν ὡς 50  
 οἶόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρήλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἔσω τῶν  
 χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε καὶ ἕκαε  
 μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀπο-  
 χωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς. καὶ  
 ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαν κατέλιπεν ἀρμοστήν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπερ- 55  
 βαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμμαχοὺς διῆκε,  
 τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.

Sections 42-66. Phoebidas is defeated and slain. Agesilaus conducts a second fruitless campaign against the Thebans. Cleombrotus undertakes to lead an army into Boeotia, but is unable to force a passage over Mt. Cithaeron.

The Athenians defeat the Spartans in the naval battles of Naxos and Alyzia. 378-375 B.C.

the right moment before throwing their spears; consequently ἐξικνούντο οὖν.—ἀναστρέφοντες . . . δώδεκα: a kind of inverse partitive apposition, *i.e.* ἀναστρέφοντες refers to the whole and δώδεκα to the part, yet it is the latter which is subj. of the verb. Note that ἀναστρέφοντες is concessive.—ἐκ τοσοῦτου: more than a spear's throw.

41. καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι: *i.e.* as well as Agesilaus himself, § 38.—δι' ἐρημίας: *i.e.* finding the stockade still ungarrisoned. With ἐρημίας

supply πολεμίων, as in δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων 3. 4. 21.—ἔσω: a poetic form. Introd. IV. L.—ταῦτα ποιήσας: *i.e.* Agesilaus felt that he had accomplished enough so that he could retire without loss of prestige; in fact, his campaign had been almost as fruitless as that of Cleombrotus during the preceding winter (§§ 14-18).—Φοιβίδαν: although he had been nominally punished for the seizure of the Cadmea (see on 2. 32), he was evidently not out of favor.—ὑπερβαλὼν: *i.e.* over Cithaeron.

## BOOK VI

PEACE BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA. THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA.  
THE FIRST THEBAN INVASION OF LACONIA. 374-369 B.C.

CHAPTERS 1-2. The Pharsalians seek the aid of Sparta against Jason of Pherae, but their request is refused. Jason becomes ruler of all Thessaly.

Peace is concluded between Athens and Sparta, but the treaty is almost immediately broken. A Spartan expedition against Corcyra results in total failure. An Athenian fleet under Iphicrates sails around Peloponnesus. 374-372 B.C.

1 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὄρωντες ἐκ τῆς 3  
Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς, φίλους ὄντας, καὶ καταπεφευγότας  
πρὸς αὐτούς, ἰκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιᾶς μὴ σφᾶς περιιδεῖν  
ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπῆρουν τοὺς Θηβαίους,  
ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἡσχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ 5  
ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς  
ὧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων στρατεούντας

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1-3. *The Athenians send envoys to Sparta to treat for peace.* 371 B.C.

1. Πλαταιᾶς . . . Θεσπιᾶς : since 376 B.C. Boeotia had been free from Spartan invasion, and the Thebans had been actively and successfully engaged in re-establishing their supremacy over the other Boeotian cities. In the early part of 372 B.C. (probably) they attacked and captured Plataea (see on 5. 4. 10), and razed the city to the ground. Its inhabitants, expelled from Boeotia, were kindly received at Athens.

Shortly afterwards Thespieae also was destroyed, and its population apparently scattered in villages.

Diod. 15. 46. — φίλους ὄντας : for a century and a half the friendship between Athens and Plataea had been exceedingly close. See below. — μὴ σφᾶς . . . γενομένους : *not to look on and see them without a city.* For the part. with περιιδεῖν see S. 2103; G. 1585; GMT. 148, 885. — μὲν . . . γε μὴν : *while . . . , still.* See on 5. 2. 16. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ : *partly . . . partly.* — κοινωνεῖν . . . αὐτοῖς : Thebes and Athens had been

τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκίας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ 10 φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιῆσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλωντο, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν αἰρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἴππονίκου, Αὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου, Δημό- 15 στρατος Ἀριστοφῶντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισόδοτος, 3 Μελάνωπος, Λύκαιθος. καὶ Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημηγόρος παρῆν· ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἴφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ εἰρήνην ποιῆσειν, οὕτως Ἀθήνησιν τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης· 20 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν

allies since 378 B.C. See 5. 4. 34 and note.—*φίλους ἀρχαίους* . . . *Φωκίας*: Phocis had been allied with Sparta in the Peloponnesian and Corinthian wars, but Thucydides (3. 95) bears witness to the friendly feeling of the Phocians toward Athens.—*πόλεις πιστάς*: Plataea and Thespieae had brilliantly distinguished themselves in the Persian wars. It was the Plataeans alone who aided the Athenians in the battle of Marathon, and the Thespians alone who fought to the death in company with the Spartans at Thermopylae. Thebes, on the other hand, had sided with the Persians,

a fact which the Athenians and Spartans were prone to remember against her. Cp. § 20 and 5. 35.

2. *ἐκ τούτων*: causal.—*Καλλίας Ἴππονίκου*: for the omission of ὁ cp. 1. 1. 29 and note.

3. *Καλλίστρατος*: leader of the party which favored peace with Sparta.—*εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη*: Callistratus had accompanied Iphicrates on the cruise mentioned in the above abstract.—*χρήματα πέμψειν*: Iphicrates had been much hampered by lack of money.—*οὕτως*: summing up the preceding, as *ἐπὶ τούτοις* in 5. 4. 11.—*ἦν . . . ἔπραττε*: where the Eng. would use the plupf.—*ἐκκλήτους*: see on

Καλλίας ὁ δαδουῦχος. ἦν δ' οὗτος οἶος μηδὲν ἤττον ἤδεσθαι ὑφ' αὐτοῦ· ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινούμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἤρξατο ᾧδὲ πως.

25

4 ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔχω μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ πατρώων ἔχων παρεδίδου τῷ γένει. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν δηλώσαι, ὡς ἔχουσα ἡ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκείνη γάρ, ὅταν μὲν πόλεμος ᾦ, στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς 30 αἰρεῖται, ὅταν δὲ ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιούς ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει. κἀγὼ πρόσθεν δις ἤδη ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις διεπραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ τρίτον ἤκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν διαλλαγῆς 35 5 τυχεῖν. ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ὑμῖν, ἄλλα δὲ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν τε καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντας φίλους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἢ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ σωφρόνων μὲν δήπου ἐστὶ μηδὲ 40

2. 4. 38. — ὁ δαδουῦχος: i.e. torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries, an honorary and hereditary office. Cp. 2. 4. 20 and note. Callias, already mentioned in 4. 5. 13 and 5. 4. 22, was famous for his wealth and for his patronage of sophists. Apparently Xenophon did not admire him. — οἶος . . . ἤδεσθαι: see on 2. 3. 45. Note the accumulation of aspirated words in this clause, as well as the alliteration in ἤττον ἤδεσθαι. — καὶ τότε δὴ: indicating that in the following speech Cal-

lias was true to his character as above described.

§§ 4-6. *The speech of Callias.*

4. τὴν προξενίαν: cp. 5. 4. 22. — πατὴρ πατῆρ πατρώων: this rhetorical combination suggests Callias' training by the sophists, as do various points in the following. — ἡμᾶς: not the 'modest plural,' but referring to Callias' family. — στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς: e.g. Callias, 4. 5. 13; Hipponicus, Thuc. 3. 91. — δις ἤδη: the occasions alluded to are uncertain.



εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἶη πόλεμον ἀναυρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν, οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν 6 εἶη μὴ εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὄπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τρι-  
πτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης 45  
ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ  
ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιον τοῖν ὑμετέροιον  
πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην  
τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν  
δίκαιον ἦ ὑμᾶς, παρ' ὧν ἐλάβετε σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων 50  
ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δηώσοντας, ἡμᾶς τε, οἷς ἐδώκαμεν,  
μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὡς πλείστην τούτοις ἀφθονίαν τρο-  
φῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν πεπρωμένον ἐστὶ  
πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἄρχε-

5. μικρά: emphasized by contrast with a total absence of differences — ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν. — εἶη: opt. because σωφρόνων ἐστί amounts to an opt. with ἂν, — 'wise men would not undertake war,' etc. Cp. on 3. 4. 18. — τῶν θαυμαστῶν: pred. part. gen., the adj. being neuter.

6. ἦν: impf. with reference to the time when war broke out. — μηδέ: i.e. not even to begin war, much less to continue it now. — λέγεται μὲν: καὶ . . . δέ serves as correlative, instead of the expected λέγεται δέ. — Τριπτόλιμος: a legendary ruler in Eleusis, who was initiated into the mysteries by Demeter herself and who carried

from Attica throughout Greece both the cult of the goddess and the knowledge of her art, — agriculture. In all this sacred lore Callias, the δαδοῦχος, is naturally at home. — πρῶτοις ξένοις: predicative. — Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ: see 3. 3. 3 and note. — Διοσκούροιον: Castor and Pollux, putative sons of King Tyndareus of Sparta. — ἦ ὑμᾶς . . . ἡμᾶς τε: a slight irregularity, instead of ἦ . . . ἦ or τε . . . τε. — μὴ οὐχί: for the double neg. see S. 2745, 2746; HA. 1034 b; B. 434; G. 1617; Gl. 572 a. — ἡμᾶς: i.e. you and ourselves. — δέ: then. For its use in an apodosis see S. 2837; HA. 10; 6 c; B.

σθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, κατα- 55  
λύεσθαι ἢ δυνατὸν τάχιστα.

7 Μετὰ τοῦτον Αὐτοκλῆς, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφῆς εἶναι  
ρήτωρ, ὦδε ἠγόρευεν· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν  
ἂ μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ  
ἄγνοῶ· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οἵτινες βούλονται, ἦν ἂν ποιή- 60  
σωνται φιλίαν, ταύτην ὡς πλείστον χρόνον διαμένειν,  
διδασκτέον εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἷτια τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς  
δὲ αἰεὶ μὲν φατε· αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρῆ εἶναι,  
αὐτοὶ δ' ἔστε μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντί-  
θεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τοῦτο 65  
πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠγήσθε. καίτοι τί  
8 τοῦτο αὐτονομία προσήκει; ποιείσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ  
ἀνακοινοῦμενοι τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἠγείσθε·  
ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται  
στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ τὸ 70  
πάντων ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομία, καθίστατε ἔνθα μὲν  
δεκαρχίας, ἔνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας· καὶ τούτων τῶν  
ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελείσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν,  
ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βία κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις. ὥστ'

601, N.; G. 1422. — καταλύεσθαι :  
sc. αὐτόν.

§§ 7-9. *The speech of Autocles.*

7. The following just arraignment of the selfish policy of the Spartans is the more interesting because reported, without comment, by a pro-Spartan historian. — διδασκτέον: sc. τούτοις. — τοῦτο πρῶτον: cogn. acc., *this is the first stipulation you make.* — ἀκολουθεῖν

. . . ἠγήσθε: cp. 2. 2. 20. — τί . . . προσήκει: *how is this consistent with autonomy?*

8. τὸ . . . ἐναντιώτατον: in apposition with the following sentence. S. 994; HA. 626 and b; B. 318; G. 915; Gl. 504. — δεκαρχίας: see on 2. 2. 5. — τριακονταρχίας: as at Athens. See on 2. 3. 2. — ἀρχόντων: proleptic with ἐπιμελείσθε. — ὅπως . . . ἄρχωσιν: see

9 εόικατε τυραννίσι μάλλον ἢ πολιτείαις ἡδόμενοι. καὶ 75  
 ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταπτεν αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις  
 εἶναι, μάλα γινώσκοντες ἐφαίνεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἔάσοιεν  
 οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν τε ἑαυτῆς καὶ  
 οἷς ἂν βούληται νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ  
 τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Κα- 80  
 δμείαν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμους  
 εἶναι. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι οὐ παρὰ  
 τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀξιούν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὺς  
 δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλεῖστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.  
 10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπῆν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν, ἡδο- 85  
 μένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐποίησε.  
 μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν· Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὧ  
 ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἀμαρτήματα καὶ  
 ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχην μοι δοκῶ  
 εἰπεῖν· οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γινώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν 90

on ὧσιν 1. 5. 9. — εόικατε . . . ἡδόμενοι: *you manifestly delight*. εόικα, like σύνουδα, is followed by a suppl. part. either in the nom. or (much more frequently) the dat. S. 2133; KG. 481, *Anm.* 3. Cp. 4. 5. 7, 5. 4. 40. — πολιτείαις: *free governments*.

9. βασιλεὺς προσέταπτεν: *i.e.* in the Peace of Antalcidas. See note on 5. 1. 31. — τῶν πόλεων: of Boeotia. See 5. 1. 32. — αὐτοῖς: intensive. — ὅπως: occasionally used with the superl. instead of ὡς. — πλεονεκτοῦντας: contrasted with τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, a little

milder than ἀδικοῦντας. For the meaning of φαίνεσθαι with the part. see S. 2143; HA. 986; B. 661, N. 3; G. 1592, 1; Gl. 588 c. Cp. also note on εόικατε § 8.

§§ 10-17. *The speech of Callistratus.*

10. παρὰ: *on the part of*. So ἀπό (ἀφ' ἡμῶν) below.— τοῖς ἀχθομένους: for almost all the Greek states were represented at this congress, as allies either of Athens or of Sparta.— ὅπως . . . ἀμαρτήματα: *that mistakes have not crept in*. ὅπως is practically equivalent to ὅτι or ὡς, though

οὐδέποτε ἔτι χρηστέον. ὀρώ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἀναμάρτητον διατελοῦντα. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι ἐνίοτε γίγνεσθαι ἀνθρώποι ἀμαρτάνοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν κολασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς 11 ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὑμῶν δὲ ἔγωγε ὀρώ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως πραχθέντα 95 ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα· ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ καταληφθεῖσα ἐν Θήβαις Καδμεία· νῦν γοῦν, ἃς ἐσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους πόλεις γενέσθαι, πᾶσαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἡδίκηθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γεγένηται. ὥστε πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀκερδές 100 ἔστι νῦν ἐλπίζω πάλιν μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους 12 φιλίᾳ ἔσεσθαι. ἃ δὲ βουλόμενοί τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην διαβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ φοβούμενοι μὴ Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλθῃ ἔχων παρὰ βασιλέως χρήματα, διὰ τοῦθ' ἤκομεν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὡς 105 φλυαροῦσι. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δήπου ἔγραψε πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκείνῳ λέγοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες τί ἂν φοβούμεθα βασιλέα; ἢ τοῦτο οἶεταί τις, ὡς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται

strictly the indir. form of a πῶς οὐ question (e.g. 2. 3. 22). S. 2668 c; GMT. 706. — ἀναμάρτητον διατελοῦντα: with omission of ὄντα, as in 4. 3. 3. — καὶ εὐπορώτεροι: *even easier to deal with*, as opposed to οὐδέποτε ἔτι χρηστέον.

11. ἀγνωμόνως: intentionally euphemistic and conciliatory. — ὧν: referring to τὰ . . . πραχθέντα. — ἡμᾶς: as in § 6, continuing the conciliatory tone.

12. ἃ . . . διαβάλλουσιν: see on ἃ . . . εἶπεν 2. 3. 45. — μὴ Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλθῃ: apparently the Spartans had again sent Antalcidas to Persia, in order once more to obtain the king's aid in bringing about peace; yet it seems improbable, despite Diod. 15. 50, that the Persians initiated or took part in the present negotiations. — ἔγραψε: in 387 B.C. The following inf. as after προσέταπεν § 9. — ὡς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται

χρήματα ἀναλώσας ἄλλους μεγάλους ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον 110  
 ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἃ ἔγνω ἄριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ  
 13 πεπρᾶχθαι; εἶεν. τί μὴν ᾔσκομεν; ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ  
 ἀποροῦντες γνοίητε ἂν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ  
 θάλατταν ἰδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν  
 τῷ παρόντι. τί μὴν ἔστιν; εὐδηλον ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων 115  
 τινὲς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ βου-  
 λοίμεθ' ἂν ὧν ἕνεκα περιεσώσατε ἡμᾶς ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνω-  
 14 μεν ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἔτι  
 ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν  
 τὰ ὑμέτερα, αἱ δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονούσαι, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστη 120  
 πόλει οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν  
 ἡμεῖς φίλοι γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπὸν τι  
 προσδοκῆσαιμεν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς ἂν  
 ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἱκανὸς γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπήσαι; κατὰ  
 θάλαττάν γε μὴν τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς βλάψαι τι ἡμῶν ὑμῶν ἐπι- 125  
 15 τηδείων ὄντων; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι μὲν πόλεμοι αἰεὶ ποτε  
 γίνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ

κτέ: in explanatory apposition with τοῦτο.—ἑαυτῷ: for him.—πεπρᾶχθαι: passive.

13. εἶεν: so much for that, a formula of transition.—ἔτι . . . οὐκ ἀποροῦντες: sc. ᾔσκομεν, that it is not because we are in straits.—τινὲς: i.e. the Thebans.—οὐκ ἀρεστά: οὐκ instead of μή, the regular neg. of the protasis, because it limits ἀρεστά only.—ἂν ἕνεκα: = τούτων ἕνεκα ὅτι, because.—περιεσώσατε ἡμᾶς: i.e. in 404 B.C., despite the wishes of the Thebans.

See 2. 2. 19 f. and cp. 2. 3. 25, where the same verb is used in reference to the same act.—ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν: apparently the feelings which we rightly conceived, i.e. our deserved gratitude.

14. ἵνα: like ut in ut ita dicam, whereas the Eng. uses an inf.—εἰσὶ μὲν . . . καὶ: for the irregular correlation cp. on λέγεται μὲν § 6.—τὰ ὑμέτερα . . . φρονούσαι: i.e. which side with you.

15. ἀλλὰ μέντοι: = at vero.—ὅτι μὲν . . . καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς: as in

- ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθίς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δεῖ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς 130  
τάχιστα πρὶν τι ἀνῆκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ποιή-  
16 σασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινώ οἵτινες ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονεικοῦσιν ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν ἡττηθέντες τὴν ἄσκησιν καταλύσω- 135  
σιν, οὐδέ γε τῶν κυβευτῶν οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἔαν ἔν τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους.  
17 ἂν χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδέποτε καταστῆναι, ὥστ' ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ' ἀπο- 140  
βαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα.  
18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ 145  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τε ἀρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεζικὰ, τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἔαν. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίῃ, τὸν μὲν

§ 14. — ἀλλά: see on δέ § 6. — μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ: a blending of the two formulas μᾶλλον ἢ and ἀλλὰ οὐ; hence the neg. is untranslatable.

16. ἀλλὰ μὴν: as ἀλλὰ μέντοι

§ 15. — τὴν ἄσκησιν: their athletic training, i.e. their careers. — ἐπι-

τύχωσι: succeed, as in 4. 5. 19.

17. ὥστ' . . . ἀποβαλεῖν: explaining τοιοῦτον. — ἀναστρεφοίμεθα: ἀναστρέφεσθαι, like the Lat. *versari*, is sometimes weakened to practical equivalence with εἶναι.

§§ 18-20. Peace is concluded. The exclusion of the Thebans.

βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ <sup>150</sup>  
 μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικου-  
 19 μένοις. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμ-  
 μαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπογραφάμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 ὀμωμοκυῖαις πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες <sup>155</sup>  
 πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μετα-  
 γράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοὺς ὀμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἄγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μεταγράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν τὸ

18. μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον: it will be remembered (see 5. 1. 36 and note) that the Spartans had interpreted the last clause of the Peace of Antalcidas as giving them the right and imposing upon them the duty of enforcing its provisions. As Xenophon says, they became *προστάται* of the treaty. It was because of their abuse of this position that the peace now concluded had no *προστάται* and bound no one to help coerce unwilling states. Herein lies the great difference between the two treaties.

19. ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτί.: that the Spartans *took the oath for* (i.e. *in the name of*) *themselves and their allies* is not strange, despite the fact that these allies were conceded by the Spartans (see on 5. 1. 33) and proclaimed by the treaty itself to be autonomous. For the Spartan confederacy was an old established

confederacy, whose constitution and practical workings were well known. The Athenian confederacy, on the other hand, was of recent formation (see on 5. 4. 34), and the Athenians had emphasized in every way the independence of its members in order to clear themselves of the suspicion of striving after a subject empire such as they had ruled in the days before the Peloponnesian War. Hence in the present instance they were careful not to assume any right to act for their allies. — ἀπογραφάμενοι: *having signed their names.* — οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν: the appositive repeats the original subject in more definite, exact form. — μεταγράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτούς: the Thebans were members of the Athenian confederacy under the name *Θηβαῖοι*, not *Βοιωτοί*, and it was as members of that confederacy that they were present at the congress. Hence

πρῶτον ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἀπεγράψαντο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ  
 βούλουτο ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς εἶναι, ἐξαλείφειν ἂν ἔφη, εἰ 160  
 20 κελεύοιεν. οὕτω δὴ εἰρήνην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιοημένων,  
 πρὸς δὲ Θεβαίους μόνους ἀντιλογίας οὔσης, οἱ μὲν  
 Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὡς νῦν Θεβαίους τὸ  
 λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπὶς εἶη, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ  
 Θεβαῖοι παντελῶς ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἀπῆλθον.  
 1 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τε φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν πό- 4

they signed the treaty as Θεβαῖοι, but without waiving—at least in their own intent—their claim to be acknowledged as supreme over all Boeotia. It was probably in the course of subsequent discussion that they suggested that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding of their attitude, the word Θεβαῖοι be changed to Βοιωτοί. They felt strong enough now to insist upon what they had been forced to yield (cp. 5. I. 32 f.) in 387 B.C. Plutarch (*Ages.* 28) tells the story in a somewhat different way. He describes a stormy scene between Agesilaus and Epaminondas, the leader of the Theban embassy, Agesilaus demanding that the Thebans acknowledge the independence of the Boeotian towns, and Epaminondas replying by asking whether Sparta was prepared to acknowledge the independence of the Laconian towns. Thereupon Agesilaus, angered at this retort, struck out the name of the

Thebans from the treaty.—ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἀπεγράψαντο: the two verbs are closely connected, because changing the signature would amount to changing—so far as the independence of the Boeotian towns was concerned—the terms to which the Thebans had sworn.

20. εἰρήνην: concluded about midsummer, 371 B.C.—γνώμην: acc. of specification.—τὸ λεγόμενον: according to the common saying, in apposition with Θεβαίους . . . δεκατευθῆναι. See on τὸ . . . ἐναντιώτατον § 8.—δεκατευθῆναι: in the time of the Persian wars the Greeks had sworn that the property of those who, like the Thebans, voluntarily went over to the Persians, should be appropriated and made to pay a tithe to the Delphian god, Apollo. Herod. 7. 132. For the tense of the inf. see on δοῦναι I. 3. 8.

CHAPTER 4, §§ 1-3. *Cleombrotus invades Boeotia.*

1. τῶν πόλεων: referring espe-



λεων ἀπήγον καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμ-  
 ποντο, καὶ ὅσα ὕστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς  
 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γενομένους, πάντα ἠνάγκασαν ἀπο-  
 2 δοῦναι. Λακεδαιμόνι μὲντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων 5  
 τοὺς τε ἀρμοστὰς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπήγαγον, Κλεόμ-  
 βροτον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπερω-  
 τῶντα τὰ οἴκοι τέλη τί χρή ποιεῖν, Προθόου λέξαντος  
 ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη διαλύσαντας τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς  
 ὄρκους καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι 10  
 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅπόσον βούλοιο ἐκάστη  
 πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μὴ τις ἐφῆ αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι,  
 τότε πάλιν παρακάλεσαντας ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βού-  
 λουτο βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὕτω  
 γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἶεσθαι τοὺς τε θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι 15  
 3 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία  
 ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκείνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἠγγήσατο· ἡδη

cially to the cities which Iphicrates had recently captured. See abstract of Chap. 2 above.

2. Κλεόμβροτον κτέ.: an anacoluthon, the original plan of the sentence being lost in course of the long parenthesis which follows. — ἐν Φωκεῦσι: Cleombrotus had been sent to Phocis, probably in the early part of this year, to protect it from Theban attack. Cp. 3. 1. — τὰ . . . τέλη: as in 3. 4. 26. — συμβαλέσθαι: *i.e.* funds for the war, the temple of Apollo at Delphi to be the treasury. — ὅσοι . . . βούλουτο: according to the

last clause of the treaty, 3. 18. — γὰρ ἂν: ἂν belongs to εἶναι. — τοὺς τε θεοὺς . . . καὶ τὰς πόλεις: the former, because the Spartans would thus be keeping their oaths; the latter, because no one would be compelled, as some of the allies in Cleombrotus' army actually were, to serve against their will.

3. φλυαρεῖν: since the Thebans had practically given notice of their intention to keep the Boeotian towns, it seemed absurd to disband an army that was already close to the scene. —

γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν· ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἦσθετο οὐχ ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα διαλύοντας, ὡς ἀντιτάττοιτο πρὸς αὐτόν, οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. καὶ ἦ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὄρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αἰρεῖ, καὶ τριήρεις τῶν Θηβαίων δώδεκα λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ οὐ πολὺ διαλείποντες, οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμαχούς ἀλλ' ἦ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι προσιόντες ἔλεγον· ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν

ἦγεν: *i.e.* the Spartans to their destruction. — ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ: resuming in a different form the sentence begun in § 2. — οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ: as in 2. 4. 14. — ὡς ἀντιτάττοιτο: the purpose of οὐδὲ διαλύοντας. — διὰ Θισβῶν: *i.e.* by a more southern route than the Thebans had expected him to take. — Κρεῦσιν: see on 4. 5. 10. The possession of this

port secured Cleombrotus' communications with Peloponnesus.

§§ 4-15. *The battle of Leuctra.*

4. ἀλλ' ἦ: *except.* Cp. 1. 7. 15.

5. σου: poss. gen. with the following clauses, *i.e.* they will recall *your deeds* as therein described. Cp. 7. 5. 8 ἐπαινώ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον . . . ἐποίησατο, *I praise his pitching his camp.* — εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς κτέ.: see 5.

Θηβαίων ἐδῆωσας, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάου αἰὲ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνας. εἶπερ οὖν ἡ σαυτοῦ κήδη ἡ τῆς<sup>40</sup> πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δὴ, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὡσπερ λέγεται. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύνετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ<sup>45</sup> Θηβαίων οἱ προσετώτες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῦντο, ἀποστήσονται μὲν αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσονται· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τὰπιτήδεια, ὅτι κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἄτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν πολλοὶ<sup>50</sup> αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκων ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μὲν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους ἠττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνήμα, αἱ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ<sup>55</sup> Λακεδαιμονίων τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὡς οἱ τε νεφῶ

4. 15 f. — ὕστερον στρατεύων: see abstract of 5. 4. 42 f. — Ἀγησιλάου αἰὲ ἐμβάλλοντος: see 5. 4. 36 f. and abstract of 5. 4. 42 f. — τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς: *i.e.* do not wish to be exiled. — κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων: *i.e.* the war party at Sparta interpreted Cleombrotus' inborn love of peace as merely a disloyal fondness for the Thebans.

6. οἱ προσετώτες: the seven Boeotarchs, of whom Epaminondas was one. — αὐτῶν: gen. of separation. — πολιορκήσονται: fut. mid. with passive meaning. S. 807; HA. 496; B. 515, 1; G. 1248; Gl. 353. — πεφευγότες πρόσθεν: as described in 5. 2. 31.

7. λεγόμενος: passive. — τῶν παρθένων: Molpia and Hippo,

πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνεώγοντο, αἷ τε ἱέρειαί λέγοιεν ὡς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὄπλα 60 ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες λέγουσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα 8 τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων. εἰς δ' οὖν τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἐναντία ἐγίγνετο, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρθοῦτο. ἦν μὲν 65 γὰρ μετ' ἄριστον τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ ἡ τελευταία βουλή περὶ τῆς μάχης· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρία ὑποπινόντων καὶ 9 τὸν οἶον παροξύναι τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἑκάτεροι καὶ πρόδηλον ἤδη ἦν ὅτι μάχη ἔσοιτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπιέναι ὠρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτίου στρα- 70 τεύματος τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεσκευακότων καὶ σκευοφόρων τινῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων μάχεσθαι, περιόντες κύκλῳ οἷ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος μισθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Φλειάσιοι ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἐπέστρεψάν τε 75 αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν

according to Pausanias (9. 13. 5), who describes the incident here referred to. — ἀνεώγοντο: *were opening*, the impf. retained from the dir. disc. — ἀφανῆ εἶναι: *had disappeared*. — τεχνάσματα: Ionic for τεχνήματα. Introd. IV. L.

8. δ' οὖν: *but at any rate*. — καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης: *i.e.* as well as by their own efforts or merits. — ἐν τῇ μεσημβρία ὑποπινόντων: cp. 5. 4. 40. The part. would naturally agree with αὐτοὺς instead of standing in the gen. abs.; but see

S. 2073 b; HA. 972 d; B. 657, 1, N. 2.

9. ὠρμημένων: gen. abs. with the three following substantives. — ἀγορὰν παρεσκευακότων: see on ἐμπόροις I. 6. 37. — οὐ βουλομένων: Epaminondas, fearing treachery, had given his Boeotian allies permission to withdraw, if any wished to do so. The forced return of these unwilling troops and of the camp followers can hardly have added much strength to the Theban army. — Ἰέρωνος: a Spartan. — Ἡρακλεῶται: cp. 3. 5. 6 and

Βοιωτῶν· ὥστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μείζον τε καὶ ἄθροώ-  
 10 τερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στρατεύμα. ἔπειτα  
 δέ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξύ, προετάξαντο μὲν  
 τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἵππείας, 80  
 ἀντετάξαντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἦν  
 δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἵππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς διὰ τε τὸν  
 πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς,  
 τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρό-  
 11 τατον ἦν τὸ ἵππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ 85  
 πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἤκεν ὁ  
 συντεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα  
 ὅποια δοθείη αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο·  
 τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι  
 12 καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. τοιοῦτον 90  
 μὲν οὖν τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος  
 τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν  
 ἄγειν· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς

note. — πολὺ μὲν: μὲν repeats the μὲν after πρῶτον above.

10. πεδίου: pred. — τοῦ μεταξύ: sc. χωρίου. — πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους: Orchomenus (see on 3. 5. 6) was the only Boeotian city which still remained independent, despite the efforts of the Thebans to subjugate it. — πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς: see on 3. 1.

11. ὁ συντεταγμένος: *the man who was detailed, i.e. to take a particular horse and serve in the cavalry.* — λαβὼν ἂν . . . ἂν ἐστρατεύετο: for the impf. with ἂν, of customary action, see S. 1790;

HA. 835; B. 568; G. 1296; Gl. 461 a; and for the repetition of ἂν see S. 1765; HA. 864; B. 439, N. 2; G. 1312. — ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα: *i.e.* without any preliminary training.

12. εἰς τρεῖς: for the meaning of the prep. see on εἰς 3. 4. 13. — τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν: the tactical unit in the Spartan army, being one half of a πεντηκοστής (company) or one sixteenth of a μόρα (regiment). The strength of the ἐνωμοτία, here 36 men, varied naturally with that of the μόρα. See on 2. 4. 31. — τοῦτο . . .

δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πενήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν 95  
 13 εὐχείρωτον ἔσοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθῆσθαι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὅτι ἠγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἤττηντο οἱ τῶν 100  
 Λακεδαιμονίων· φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὀπίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὁμως δὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεῖ τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἂν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι καὶ ζῶντα ἀπευε- 105

τὸ βάθος: lit. *and that this turned out for them not more than twelve in depth, i.e. this formation resulted in their being not more, etc.* For πλέον (= εἰς πλείους) see on 2. 4. 11. So ἔλαττον below = ἐπὶ ἐλαττώων. — συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν: *were massed together*. In the battle of Leuctra Epaminondas employed for the first time his famous λοξῆ φάλαγξ, or oblique line of battle, gathering his best troops in a deep column on the left wing and with them making the attack, while the remaining, weaker part of the line was held back, serving principally to keep the left wing from being surrounded. It will be remembered that as long ago as the battle of Nemea the Thebans had shown a fondness for the deep-column formation (4. 2. 18), and that at

Nemea and at Coronea they had defeated the troops opposed to them (4. 2. 20, 4. 3. 18). In both these battles, however, they occupied the right wing and were pitted against the allies of the Spartans. Epaminondas now puts his strength on the left wing in order to meet Cleombrotus and the Spartans themselves, who formed the opposing-right wing.

13. καὶ δὴ: = ἤδη, *already, straightway*. The following καί = *also*. — συνεβεβλήκεσαν . . . ἤττηντο . . . ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν: the plupf. sometimes denotes the *immediate* accomplishment of an action, 'it was all over with.' S. 1953; GMT. 52. — σαφεῖ . . . τεκμηρίῳ: pred. to τούτῳ, hence the absence of the article. Cp. 5. 2. 17. — γὰρ: as in 5. 4. 1. — ζῶντα:

κείν, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 14 τῷ χρόνῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀπέθανε Δείνων τε ὁ πολέ-  
 μαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώ-  
 νυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ συμφορεῖς  
 τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου 110  
 ὠθούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἑώρων τὸ δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐνέ-  
 κλωαν· ὁμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ ἡττημένοι ἐπεὶ  
 διέβησαν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν  
 οὔσα αὐτοῖς, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ χώραν ἔνθεν ὠρμητο. 115  
 ἦν μέντοι οὐ πᾶν ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλον  
 τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι  
 τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν ἰστάναι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ 120  
 15 μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι  
 ὀρώντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεώτας  
 ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὀρώντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὄντων ἐκεῖ  
 ὡς ἑπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίου, αἰσθανό-

Cleombrotus was mortally wounded and died before the fight ended, — the first Spartan king since Leonidas to lose his life upon the battle-field.

14. πολέμαρχος: see on 2. 4. 33.—Σφοδρίας: cp. 5. 4. 20 f.—τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν: see on 4. 5. 8.—καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς: here begins the main clause, καί meaning also. The reference in ἱππεῖς is probably to the Spartan king's bodyguard,

a picked force of 300 men, who were really hoplites, though bearing the name ἱππεῖς.—συμφορεῖς: probably *aides*.—ἔτυχεν οὔσα: the trench, therefore, was not one which had been dug for purposes of defense.—πᾶν ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ: for the order of words see on 4. 5. 4.—ἰστάναι: see on 2. 4. 7.

15. Σπαρτιατῶν: i.e. full Spartans or peers (ὄμοιοι), while Λακεδαιμονίων above includes also

μενοι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως ἔχοντας<sup>125</sup> πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ οὓς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους τῷ γεγενημένῳ, συλλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρῆ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἔεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ<sup>130</sup> ταῦτα καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδосαν.

- 16 Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀγγελῶν τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαιδιῶν τε οὔσης τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος· οἱ<sup>135</sup> δὲ ἔφοροι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πάθος, ἔλπουντο μὲν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνάγκη· τὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι εἶων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπέδосαν· προεῖπαν δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ<sup>140</sup> πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἦν ὄρᾶν, ὧν μὲν ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ ἀναστρεφομένους, ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἠγγελμένοι

Perioeci and Neodamodes. The Theban loss is reckoned by Diodorus (15. 56) at 300.—οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους: *i.e.* not merely loath to fight, but *not even*, etc. The allies could now safely reveal the feelings which many of them had long cherished toward Sparta.

§ 16. *The effect of the news at Sparta.*

16. γυμνοπαιδιῶν: a Spartan festival, celebrated with singing,

dancing, and gymnastic exhibitions.—τῆς τελευταίας: *sc.* ἡμέρας.—ἔνδον: *i.e.* ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ.—διαγωνίσασθαι: *to finish* (διά-) *its performance*.—ἦν ὄρᾶν κτί.: *cp.* the similar scene in 4. 5. 10. On this occasion, however, the law which condemned the survivors of a defeat to ἀτιμία was suspended; for Sparta was poor in men and dared not sacrifice so many. Plut. *Ages.* 30.



ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιμόντας.

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- 17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι ταῖν ὑπολοίπων μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης· ἐξέπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἕξω μορῶν μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης ἐστράτευτο· καὶ τοὺς 150 ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ τότε καταλειφθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον.
- 18 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὐπω ἴσχυεν· ἡ δὲ πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι. προθύμως δ' αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο Τεγεᾶται· ἔτι γὰρ ἕξων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λακωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ 155 ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι· γὰρ ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικωνῖοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας. 160 ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικωνίων συμπληροῦν, ἐφ'

§§ 17-18. *The Spartans send out a relief force under Archidamus.*

17. μόραιν: note the dual. Since there were six μόραι in all (2. 4. 31), Cleombrotus had evidently taken four with him to Phocis. — τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης: the oldest men who were ever called upon for service abroad. Cp. 5. 4. 13 and see on 2. 4. 32. — τῶν ἕξω μορῶν: i.e. the

four which had been under Cleombrotus and were now at Leuctra. By the present order the oldest five year-classes belonging to these μόραι were sent out to join them. — ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς: in public offices.

18. τῆς ἀσθενείας: described in 5. 4. 58. — ἔτι ἕξων: this phrase is used because a little later (5. 6-9) Xenophon tells of the overthrow and partial annihilation of Stasippus' faction. — ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν: see

19 ὧν διενουῶντο τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθύς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν 165 εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπε- 20 ποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' 170 ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἠνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περὶ τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο. καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κήρυξ. πρὸς μέντοι Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὄντα, ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ 175 Θηβαῖοι, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν, διαλογιζόμενοι πῆ τὸ 21 μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. ὁ δ' εὐθύς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρου, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ θάλατταν, συλλαβῶν δὲ τό τε ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰππέας, καίπερ ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ τῶν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πεζῇ διεπορεύθη εἰς 180

abstract of Book 5, Chap. 2. — διαβιβάζειν: *i.e.* across the Corinthian Gulf.

§§ 19-26. *The Theban herald is coldly received at Athens. Jason comes to the aid of the Thebans. A truce is concluded, and the defeated Spartan army retires.*

19. ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει: *i.e.* τὰ διαβατήρια (see on 3. 4. 3). — πάντων: gen. of cause. S. 1405; HA. 744; B. 366; G. 1126; Gl. 509 c.

20. ὅτι μὲν . . . ἠνιάθησαν: a

contrasted δέ clause—'but (although) they did not speak out their feelings'—is suggested, but left unexpressed. See on 5. 2. 12. — ἐπὶ ξένια: representatives of other states were regularly entertained as public guests in the Prytaneum (see on 1. 7. 14). — Ἰάσονα: see abstract of Chap. 1.

21. ὡς βοηθήσων: this pretense (see on 1. 1. 33) put the Phocians, Jason's enemies, off their guard. — διεπορεύθη: *i.e.* through Phocis.

τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρότερον ὀφθεῖς ἢ ἀγγελθεῖς ὅτι πορεύοιτο. πρὶν γοῦν συλλέγεσθαί τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρω γιγνόμενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ  
 22 δέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων 185 τῶν Θηβαίων ὡς καιρὸς εἶη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἄνωθεν μὲν ἐκείνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου γεγενημένου οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἶη διακινδυνεύσαι, ὥστε ἢ ἔτι μείζω καταπράξαι ἢ στερηθῆ-  
 23 ναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης νίκης. οὐχ ὀράτε, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, ἐκρατήσατε; οἷεσθαι οὖν χρῆ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν, εἰ ἀναγκάζονται, τοῦ ζῆν ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγάλους 195  
 24 ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ διακινδυνεύειν· τοὺς δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδασκεν οἷον μὲν εἶη ἡττημένον στράτευμα, οἷον δὲ νενικηκός. εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι, ἔφη, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλευέω 200

— ἀγγελθεῖς: the pers. constr. is used for the sake of parallelism with ὀφθεῖς. — γοῦν: at any rate.

22. ἄνωθεν: i.e. from the top of the hill on the slope of which the Spartan camp was situated. Cp. § 14. — ἀντιπροσώπους: note that the Thebans are ready to assume the heavier part of the task. — ὥστε: used precisely as in 3. 17.

23. ἀναγκάζονται: i.e. should

find themselves in a like position, as compared with ἐν ἀνάγκῃ above. — τοῦ ζῆν . . . διαμάχεσθαι: would fight it out (διά-) reckless of their lives, lit. having given up all thought of life.

24. ἐπιλαθέσθαι . . . πάθος: to forget the disaster which has befallen you, i.e. by winning in the future such a victory as shall enable you to forget it. The text,

ἀναπνεύσαντας καὶ ἀναπαυσαμένους καὶ μείζους γεγενημένους τοῖς ἀηττήτοις οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἵεναι. νῦν δέ, ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ διαλέγονται περὶ φιλίας τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πειρᾶσθε σπονδὰς λαβεῖν. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ 205 προθυμοῦμαι, σῶσαι ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ προξενεῖν ὑμῶν.

25 ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα, ἔπραττε δ' ἴσως ὅπως διάφοροι καὶ οὗτοι ἀλλήλοις ὄντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐκείνου δέοιντο. οἱ μὲντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, πράττειν περὶ 210 τῶν σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλλθη ὅτι εἴσαν αἱ σπονδαί, παρήγγειλαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι δειπνήσαντας συνεσκευάσθαι πάντας, ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς πορευσομένους, ὅπως ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἀναβαίνοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, πρὶν καθεῦδειν παραγγείλαντες 215 ἀκολουθεῖν, ἤγουντο εὐθύς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας τὴν διὰ Κρεῦσιος, τῷ λαθεῖν πιστεύοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

26 μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορευόμενοι, οἷα δὲ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ ἐν

however, is uncertain. For the acc. in *πάθος* (instead of the gen.) see S. 1358; HA. 742 b; G. 1108; Gl. 511 b *fin.* — *οὕτως*: summing up the preceding participles. — *εἰς μάχην ἵεναι*: = *μάχεσθαι*, hence with the dat. — *πατρὸς*: perhaps Lycophron, who is mentioned in 2. 3. 4.

25. *καλοῦντο*: apparently Xenophon has in mind others with whom Jason had pursued similar tactics. — *ἐκείνου*: instead of the reflexive. See on *ἐκείνων* I.

1. 27. — *συνεσκευάσθαι*: *to have their baggage packed and ready*. See on *κεκλείσθαι* 5. 4. 7. — *ἀφ' ἑσπέρας*: lit. *from (the beginning of) evening*, i.e. *at the fall of evening*. — *τὴν διὰ Κρεῦσιος*: apparently the route was changed as well as the time, the line of march leading around Mt. Cithaeron instead of over it. Cp. 5. 4. 16 f. — *τῷ λαθεῖν κτλ.*: perhaps the Spartans remembered the incident described in 5. 4. 12.

26. *οἷα δὲ*: as in 5. 4. 39. —

φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδόν, εἰς Αἰγόςθυνα τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνοῦνται. ἐκεῖ δὲ περιτυγχάνουσι τῷ<sup>220</sup> μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου στρατεύματι. ἔνθα δὲ ἀναμείνας, ἕως καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε πᾶν ὁμοῦ τὸ στρατεύμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκείθεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.

Sections 27-37. A digression on Jason and his successors.

CHAPTER 5, sections 1-21. A new peace congress is assembled under the presidency of Athens, and the several states swear to defend any whose autonomy may be violated.

The Mantineans rebuild their wall, disregarding the remonstrances of the Spartans. Civil war breaks out in Tegea; the partisans of Sparta are killed or banished by the opposing faction, aided by the Mantineans. The principal Arcadian cities, except Orchomenus, unite for mutual protection against Sparta and establish a central government. Agesilaus invades Arcadia, but retires without accomplishing anything. 371-370 B.C.

22 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ ἤσθοντο διαλελυμένον αὐτῷ τὸ στρατεύμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἠθροισμένοι ἐτύγχανον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραιᾶς, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἠθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακε-5

χαλεπὴν ὁδόν: cp. Cleombrotus' experiences on this same road, 5. 4. 17 f. — σύμμαχοι: *i.e.* those who had not joined Archidamus on his march northward.

CHAPTER 5, §§ 22-32. *The Thebans come to the aid of the Arcadians. The invasion of Laconia.* 370 B.C.

22. οἱ Ἀρκάδες: *i.e.* the Arca-

dians and their allies, *vis.* the Eleans and the Argives. Cp. § 23. Similarly, οἱ Θεβαῖοι below includes the Theban allies enumerated in § 23. — αὐτοὶ δέ: *while they themselves.* — Ἡραιᾶς: Heraea was a town in western Arcadia. — τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν: *to be members of the Arcadian confederacy.* See the above abstract. —

δαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δ' ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβηθηκότες παρῆναι ἔλεγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς 23 Ἡραίας καὶ συμμιγνύουσι τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἔγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν μὲν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἑώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπιέναι παρεσκευάζοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἄρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλείοι ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες 15 μὲν τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερεπαινοῦντες δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ· ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγενημένοι καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ 20 Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς· ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἰππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἰκέτευον μηδα-

ἐνεπίμπρων: a most unusual form from ἐπιπρήμι, following the inflection of contracts in -άω. Cp. S. 746 b; HA. 419; B. 170, 4; G. 630; Gl. 372, 2.—οὕτως: as in 4. 24.

23. ἔπειθον: conative, *urged*.—Φωκεῖς κτί.: this roll of Theban allies indicates a vast extension of the power of Thebes in northern Greece, a result which naturally followed the battle of Leuctra but

is not alluded to by Xenophon save in this indirect way. See *Introd.* p. 31.—Ἡρακλεῶται: the Heracleans, as well as the Phocians, had fought on the side of the Spartans at Leuctra. Cp. 4. 2 and 9.—τὴν . . . ἐρημίαν: *the dearth of men*. The Spartans, few in number at best, had lost heavily at Leuctra, and had since been deserted by very many of their allies.—λέγοντες: *describing*.—

μῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακε-<sup>25</sup>  
<sup>24</sup> δαιμονίων χώραν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἤκουον μὲν ταῦτα,  
 ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἢ Λακωνικὴ  
 ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρὰς δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 εὐπροσδοπατοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῶ  
 τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμῶδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν<sup>30</sup>  
 Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίου·  
 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη  
 φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς καὶ  
 συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύνα-  
 μιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐν τῇ<sup>35</sup>  
 ἐαυτῶν. ἃ δὴ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς  
<sup>25</sup> ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἰέναι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ μέντοι  
 ἦκον ἔκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ὑπισχνού-

πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν: the inf. with πρὶν after a negative sentence is unusual. See S. 2455 and d; GMT. 629; also note on I. I. 31.

24. Σκιρίτιδος: see on 5. 2. 24. — φρουροὺς: predicative. — τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων: see abstract above. — Μαλεάτιδος: a frontier district to the west of Sciritis. — ὡς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν . . . καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν κτί.: *that the force of the Lacedaemonians would gather quickly and that they would fight, etc.* For this use of the part. with ὡς see Introd. IV. J. Note that in the second clause it is inconsistently replaced by the inf. in ind. disc. with αὐτούς, despite the introductory ὡς and the correla-

tion with καί . . . καί; also that δύναμιν is grammatically in apposition with τοῦτο. — οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς: Xenophon is not loath to ascribe to the Thebans a lack of courage. See Introd. p. 31. According to Plutarch (*Pelop.* 24) Epaminondas and his associates in the command of the army were near the close of their term of office, and by prolonging the expedition rendered themselves liable to the penalty of death.

25. ἦκον ἔκ τε Καρυῶν . . . παρήσαν δέ: for the combination τε . . . δέ see on I. I. 34. Caryae was a village in northern Laconia, east of Sciritis. — ἦκον . . . λέγοντες: *sc. τινές.* Cp. on ἔχων 2. I. 8.

μενοι αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἂν τι ἐξαπα-  
 τῶντες φαίνωνται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρήσαν δέ<sup>40</sup>  
 τινες καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες  
 ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανείησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν,  
 ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ περίοικοι ὑπὸ τῶν  
 Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν βοηθεῖν· πάντα οὖν ταῦτα  
 ἀκούοντες καὶ παρὰ πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπίσθησαν,<sup>45</sup>  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες  
<sup>26</sup>κατὰ Οἶδον τῆς Σκιρίτιδος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα  
 προελθὼν ὁ Ἰσχόλαος ὑφίστατο, οὐδένα ἂν ταύτῃ γ'  
 ἔφασαν ἀναβῆναι· νῦν δὲ βουλόμενος τοῖς Οἰάταις  
 συμμάχοις χρῆσθαι, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· οἱ δὲ ἀνέβη<sup>50</sup>  
 σαν παμπληθεῖς Ἀρκάδες. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀντιπρόσωποι  
 μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχόλαον ἐπεκράτουν· ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν  
 ἀναβαίνοντες ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον αὐτούς, ἐνταῦθα ὁ τε  
 Ἰσχόλαος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μὴ τις<sup>55</sup>  
<sup>27</sup>ἀμφιγνοσηθεῖς διεφυγε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ  
 Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς  
 Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο τὰ πεπραγμένα  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, πολὺ δὴ θρασύτερον κατέβαων.

— φάσκοντες . . . ἔλεγον δέ: chang-  
 ing from part. to finite verb, as in  
 4. 8. 9. As a result the dependent  
 structure of the ἐπεὶ clause is forg-  
 gotten, and the thought is resumed  
 in πάντα . . . ἀκούοντες below as  
 though an independent sentence  
 had preceded. See *Intro.* IV. κ.  
 — εἰς: *in*. See on πρὸς 3. 5. 19.  
 — καὶ νῦν: *even now*, when inva-

sion was merely threatened.—  
 καὶ παρὰ πάντων: *and from all*  
 (masc.). Connect with ἀκούοντες.

26. τὰ δύσβατα: to the north  
 of Oeum. — ὑφίστατο: *had made*  
*his stand there*. — νῦν δέ: *but in*  
*fact*. Cp. on 2. 3. 28. — Ἀρκά-  
 δες: an appositive, — *namely, the*  
*Arcadians*. — ἀναβαίνοντες: an af-  
 terthought, *climbing up thereon*.



καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθύς ἔκαον καὶ ἐπόρθουν· ἐπεὶ 60  
 δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν δια-  
 βαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας ἱερῷ  
 ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὀπλίται· ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν 65  
 Εὐρώταν παρῆσαν κάοντες καὶ πορθοῦντες πολλῶν  
 28 κάγαθῶν μεστὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν  
 γυναικες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὀρῶσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέ-  
 ποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται ἀτείχιστον  
 ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος ἄλλη διαταχθεὶς, μάλα ὀλίγοι 70  
 καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύλαττον. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς  
 τέλεσι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Εἰλωσιν, εἴ τις βούλοιο ὄπλα  
 λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν  
 29 ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμπολεμήσαιεν. καὶ  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλεόν ἢ ἑξακισ- 75  
 χιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὐτοῖσι παρεῖχον συντεταγμένοι  
 καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔμενον μὲν  
 οἱ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐβοήθησαν δὲ τοῖς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι

27. Σελλασίαν: see on 2. 2.  
 13.—γεφύρας: over the Eurotas  
 River.—πόλιν: Sparta.—Ἀλέας:  
 a title of Athena.

28. ἀτείχιστον . . . τὴν πόλιν:  
 an unwall'd city. See on 2. 3. 56.  
 —ἄλλος ἄλλη διαταχθεὶς: a phrase  
 which indicates to the eye the few-  
 ness of the Spartans.—λαμβάνειν  
 (after πιστά): obj. of προειπεῖν.  
 —ὡς . . . ἐσομένους: as ὡς συνελ-

θοῦσαν ἂν § 24. The part. limits  
 the subj. of λαμβάνειν.—This  
 wholesale emancipation of Helots  
 seemed necessary on account of  
 the defection of the Perioeci (§ 25).

29. ἀπογράψασθαι: as in 2. 4.  
 8.—αὐτοῖσι: i.e. as well as the  
 enemy.—ἔμενον: remained true.  
 —οἱ . . . μισθοφόροι: whom Agesi-  
 laus had brought home with him  
 from Arcadia. See abstract above.

καὶ Πελληγεῖς καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἤδη καὶ 80  
 30 τοὺς ἀπογεγραμμένους ἤττον ὠρρώδουν. ὡς δὲ προῖόν  
 τὸ στράτευμα ἐγένετο κατ' Ἀμύκλας, ταύτῃ διέβαινον  
 τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπε-  
 δεύοιντο, εὐθύς ὦν ἔκοπτον δένδρων κατέβαλλον πρὸ  
 τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύνατο πλείστα, καὶ οὕτως ἐφυλάτ- 85  
 τουτο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, κατα-  
 λείποντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας  
 ἐτρέποντο. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέρα τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ  
 προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον εἰς Γαῖαόχου  
 κατὰ τάξεις, οἱ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ 90  
 ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ Λοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρήσαν.  
 31 οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἱππεῖς, μάλα ὀλίγοι φαινό-  
 μενοι, ἀντιτεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐνέδραν δὲ ποιή-  
 σαντες ὀπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ  
 τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, ἅμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς 95  
 ἤλαυνον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνέκλιναν.  
 ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγὴν  
 ὤρμησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ  
 τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρα-  
 32 τοπεδεύσαντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβα- 100

30. κατ' Ἀμύκλας: *opposite Amyclae*, a city a few miles south of Sparta. — τε . . . δέ: as in § 25. — ἀρπαγὴν: the Arcadians were notoriously fond of plundering. Cp. 5. 2. 19. — Γαῖαόχου: Doric form of the Homeric *γαιήοχος*, a title of Poseidon. For the gen. see on ἐνός 5. 4. 6. The *race-course* was evidently a part of the sanctuary of

Poseidon, who, according to tradition, was the creator of the horse.

31. ποιήσαντες: agreeing with οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, whose parts are οὗτοι and οἱ ἱππεῖς below. — ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν: *sc.* οἰκία. For the Tyndaridae see on 3. 6. — ἔμενε: *stood firm*.

32. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ . . . αὐτοῖς: *and that they would make no fur-*

λείν ἂν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἤδη τι ἐδόκει θαρραλέωτερον εἶναι· ἐκείθεν μέντοι ἀπάρων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐφ' Ἔλος καὶ Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, Γυθείῳ δέ, ἔνθα τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. 105 ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν περιοίκων οἳ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.

33 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες 110 πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὡκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ καὶ Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλουθεὺς σχεδὸν πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμησκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς αἰεὶ ποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς 115 μεγίστοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν,

*ther* (ἔτι) *attempt upon the city.* — *θαρραλέωτερον*: *more certain.* — Ἔλος καὶ Γύθειον: cities on the Laconian Gulf. — *προσέβαλλον*: it seems likely that the attack was successful, though the matter is uncertain. — *ἐπέθεντο*: *sc.* Γυθείῳ.

§§ 33-36. *Deliberations at Athens. The speeches of the Spartan ambassadors and their effect.*

33. δόγμα βουλῆς: = *προβούλευμα*, for which see on I. 7. 7. — ἔτυχον παρόντες: not implying that the presence of these envoys was

accidental, for they were undoubtedly sent for the express purpose of soliciting Athenian aid, but rather that they chanced to reach Athens at just the time when the Athenians were preparing to discuss the matter. — *ὑπολοίπων . . . αὐτοῖς*: the order of words as in 3. 5. 3. — *ὅθεν*: *wherefore*, indicating the reason for *ἔλεγον* only, not for *παραπλήσια ἔλεγον*. — *ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς*: *cp.* *ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ* 5. 2. 35. — *τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν*: *i.e.* Hippias, son of Pisistratus, in 511 B.C. The plur. is used be-

καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ Μεσση-  
 34 *νίων*, προθύμως βοηθεῖν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅσ' ἀγαθὰ εἶη,  
 ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφότεροι ἔπραττον, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες μὲν 120  
 ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον κοινῇ ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμνή-  
 σκοντες δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοί τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠρέθησαν  
 ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων  
 φύλακες, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συμβουλομένων,  
 αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ γῆν ὁμολογουμένως ὑφ' ἀπάντων τῶν 125  
 Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες προκριθείησαν, συμβουλομένων αὖ  
 35 ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὠδέ πως εἶπεν·  
 Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὁμονήσωμεν, νῦν  
 ἐλπίς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. οἱ  
 μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πάνυ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θρούς τις 130  
 τοιοῦτος διήλθεν ὡς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὖ ἔπρατ-  
 τον, ἐπέκειντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἡνίκα κατεπολέμησαν  
 αὐτούς, Θηβαίων βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς

cause Hippias was remembered merely as one of the Pisistratidae. — ἐπολιορκοῦντο: *i.e.* in the Third Messenian War, 464–455 B.C.

34. δὲ καὶ: correlative with τε (after ἀνεμίμνησκον § 33), as in 2. 4. 6. — εἶη: representing an impf., as is clear from the context. See on ἡκολούθουν 3. 5. 23. — ἠρέθησαν . . . προκριθείησαν: the variation in mood is not unusual. See on ἡκολούθουν 3. 5. 23. — ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ: referring to the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, 477 B.C. — τῶν κοινῶν

. . . φύλακες: the treasury of the Confederacy was first at Delos, afterwards at Athens. — τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων . . . συμβουλομένων: an exaggeration, to suit the present purpose. The Spartans had found themselves practically forced to accept the situation.

35. ἐλπίς . . . δεκατευθῆναι: see on 3. 20. — διήλθεν: *i.e.* in the Assembly. — ὅτε . . . ἡμῖν: changing to dir. disc. — ἐπέκειντο: *were hostile*. — κατεπολέμησαν αὐτούς: in 404 B.C. — Θηβαίων βουλομένων κτί.: for the fact, already often

- 36 Ἀθήνας, σφεῖς ἐμποδῶν γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ πλείστος ἦν <sup>135</sup>  
 λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους βοηθεῖν δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικη-  
 σάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ'  
 αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τε-  
 γεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἐπεστρά-  
 τευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς <sup>140</sup>  
 λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως  
 τοὺς Μαντινεάς ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον  
 ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν,  
 ὅτι ὄπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.
- 37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, <sup>145</sup>  
 ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἄλλὰ

referred to, see 2. 2. 19. — σφεῖς: the Spartans.

36. ὁ πλείστος . . . λόγος: *i.e.* the point which the Spartans talked about most, as contrasted with μέγιστον above, the point which weighed most with the Athenians. — κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους: see abstract above, p. 320. — οὐ γὰρ . . . ἐπιστρατεύοιεν: continuing the indir. quotation, although γὰρ gives the clause an independent form. S. 2629; GMT. 675. — ἀδικησάντων . . . βοηθησάντων: causal. — σφῶν: referring to the Spartans, *i.e.* to the logical subject of the clause πλείστος ἦν λόγος. — ἐπιστρατεύοιεν: pres., since the invading army was at this moment in Laconia. — οἱ Ἀρκάδες: particularly mentioned instead of the Thebans, because it was between the Arca-

dians and the Spartans that the trouble began. — βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις κτί.: for the facts alluded to in the following see abstract above, p. 320. — θόρυβος . . . οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν κτί.: the freedom of talk and action here indicated was characteristic of the Athenian Assembly. — δικαίως: limiting βοηθῆσαι, but placed early in its clause for emphasis. — τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον: cp. οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λακωνίζοντες 4. 18.

§§ 37-48. *The speeches of the Corinthian Cliteles and the Phliasian Procles.*

37. τούτων . . . ἐκκλησίας: *while the Assembly itself (i.e. independently of the speakers) was trying to determine these matters.* Note that διορίζω is identical in derivation with the Eng. *determine.* —

ταῦτα μὲν, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν ἡμῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνην ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινα ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὡς χρήματά τινων ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆν <sup>150</sup> ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδρωσαμεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ Θεβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθῆτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ ταῦτα ὧν <sup>155</sup> αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὄρκων ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἱμεῖς ὁμόσαιμεν; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβισαν <sup>38</sup> ὡς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλειτέλους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδῶν γένοιτο Λακε- <sup>160</sup> δαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρώτους ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θεβαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῦτο δῆλον εἶναι· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς οἴονται ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι <sup>39</sup> αἰτούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἠγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας <sup>165</sup> βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυτμενεῖς ὄντας ὑμῖν Θεβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκούντας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἶμαι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὅποτε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἶχετε. συμ-

ἀντιλέγεται: *is a disputed point.*

— εἰς τὴν χώραν . . . ἐλθόντες: *i.e.* on their way to Arcadia.— καὶ ταῦτα: as in 2. 3. 53.— ὡς . . . εἰρηκότος: see Introd. IV. j.— ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια: parallel in fact, though not in form.

38. Προκλῆς: a particular friend of Agesilaus (5. 3. 13).— τῶν ἄλλων: *i.e.* besides the Spartans.— τοῦ ἄρξαι: dependent upon ἐμποδῶν.

39. ἐγὼ μὲν: *i.e.* whatever others may think.— πόρρω: *i.e.* in

φορώτερόν γε μεντὰν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσαιτε ἐν ᾧ ἔτι 170  
 εἰσὶν οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἂν ἢ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι  
 40 ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. εἰ δέ  
 τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἂν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν, ἐνθυμήθητε  
 ὅτι οὐχ οὓς ἂν εὖ ἀλλ' οὓς ἂν κακῶς τις ποιῆ φοβεῖσθαι 175  
 δεῖ μὴ ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν. ἐνθυμείσθαι δὲ καὶ  
 τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτᾶσθαι μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ιδιώταις  
 καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν ἐρρωμενέστατοι ᾖσιν, ἵνα  
 ἔχωσιν, εἴαν ποτ' ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν τῶν  
 41 προπεπονημένων. ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καιρὸς 180  
 παραγεγένηται, εἴαν δεομένοις βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίους, κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους  
 ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων μοι δο-  
 κοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εὖ παθεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ἀλλ'  
 εἴσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα ὀρῶντες καὶ νῦν καὶ 185  
 εἰς αἰί, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα οἳ τε σύμμαχοι  
 καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἅπαντες Ἑλληνές  
 42 τε καὶ βάρβαροι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές. ὥστε εἰ  
 κακοὶ φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἔτι πρόθυμος  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρή ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς 190

Sparta. — βοηθήσαιτε: after this verb one may conveniently supply *if you should do so*. — διαμάχεσθαι: as in 4. 23.

40. ἀναφύγωσιν: see on 2. 3. 50. — ἐνθυμήθητε: the change in person (from τινές above) is made easy by the preceding ὑμῖν. — καὶ ιδιώταις καὶ πόλεσι: *i.e.* states as well as individuals. — ἐπικουρίαν

τῶν προπεπονημένων: lit. *an aid from their previous efforts*, *i.e.* in what their previous efforts have obtained for them.

41. κτήσασθαι: see on στρατεύειν 3. 5. 5. — συνεπίστανται: σύν-, uniting in this respect the contrasted subjects. — ἀμελές: *a matter of indifference*.

42. ὡς . . . γενήσεσθαι: see on

μᾶλλον ἢ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι· εἰ γάρ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι δοκοῦσι διατετελεκέναι ἐπαίνου μὲν 43 ὄρεγόμενοι, αἰσχυρῶν δὲ ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε. εἴ ποτε πάλιν ἔλθοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον 195 πιστεύσαιτε ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις; τίνας δὲ ἂν παραστάτας ἡδίων τούτων ποιήσασθε, ὧν γε καὶ οἱ ταχθέντες ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἅπαντες εἶλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι; πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὧν τε ἔνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες 200 ἀγαθοὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὧν ἐλπίς καὶ αὐθις γενέσθαι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέ- 44 χεσθαι; ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων συμμάχων αἰτοῦς ἔνεκα προθυμίαν ἐνδείξασθαι. εὐ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι οἵπερ τούτοις πιστοὶ διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι 205 καὶ ὑμῶν αἰσχύνοιντ' ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἰ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσαι, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσόμεθα αἰ βοηθού- 45 σαι αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν 210

2. 2. 2. In the present case the irregularity is particularly strange because there is no intervening clause to obscure the connection.

43. ὑπὸ βαρβάρων: on account of the passive idea in ἔλθοι κίνδυνος. — ἐπεισφρέσθαι: 2 aor. mid. inf. from ἐπεισφρέω (as though from ἐπεισπίφρημι), *to let in*. The allusion recalls, by contrast, the disloyalty of the Thebans at

that time. — ὧν ἔνεκα: as in 3. 13. ἔνεκα is to be supplied with the following ὧν also. — ὑμᾶς . . . ἡμᾶς: subjs. of παρέχεσθαι.

44. παρόντων . . . αὐτοῖς: the order of words as in § 33. — μὴ ἀποδιδόντες: conditional. — αἰ . . . ἐθέλουσαι: in apposition with the subj. implied in the verb. — αἰ βοηθοῦσαι: emphatic in contrast with αἰ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν κτέ. The



ἀκούων ἐξήλουν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπικουρίας ἤκουον τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀκούω, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἤδη παρὼν ὄρω Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους 215 φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τε ἤκουτας καὶ δεομένους αὐτῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι. ὄρω δὲ καὶ Θηβαίους, οἳ τότε οὐκ ἔπεισαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν δεομένους ὑμῶν περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους τοὺς σώσαντας ὑμᾶς. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων προγόνων καλὸν λέγεται, 220 ὅτε τοὺς Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ οὐκ εἶασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ὑμῖν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας Λακεδαιμονίων μῆτε ὑβρισ- 47 θῆναι μῆτε ἀπολέσθαι εἰάσαιτε. καλοῦ γε μὴν κάκεινου ὄντος, ὅτε σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ὑβριν διεσώσατε 225 τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνου τόδε

accession of Athens changes the situation in this respect also.

45. ἀκούων: placed first in emphatic contrast with παρὼν ὄρω, then repeated (ἤκουον) in the clause depending upon ἐξήλουν. — αὐ: in their turn.

46. τότε: this single, indefinite word recalls in the most effective way the well-remembered time. — οὐκ ἔπεισαν: did not succeed in persuading. — περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους: practically equivalent to ἀπολέσθαι εἰάσαιτε below. See on 3. 1. — τῶν . . . προγόνων: poss. gen. with the clause ὅτε . . . γενέ-

σθαι, which is also subj. of λέγεται, — your ancestors' deed in not allowing (lit. when they did not allow) . . . is told as a noble deed. Cp. on 4. 5. — τοὺς Ἀργείων κτέ.: after the defeat of the legendary expedition of the Seven against Thebes it was only by an Athenian army that the Thebans were compelled to permit the burial of their enemy's dead. Isocr. 4. 55.

47. σχόντες: checking. — τὴν Εὐρυσθέως κτέ.: the sons of Heracles, driven from Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, found protection and

κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισώσατε; πάντων δὲ κάλλιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὑμᾶς τότε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν ὑμεῖς σὺν ὄπλοις τε καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἐπικουρήσετε<sup>230</sup> 48 αὐτοῖς. ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ συναγορεύοντες βοηθῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἧ που ὑμῖν γε τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναῖα ἂν ταῦτα φανεῖν, εἰ πολλὰ τῶν καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμοι γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ ὧν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἢ ὧν εὖ ἐπά-<sup>235</sup> 49 48 θετε μνησθείητε καὶ χάριν ἀποδοίητε αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.

49 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ<sup>240</sup> 49 48 βοηθεῖν πανδημεί, καὶ Ἴφικράτην στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, πολλοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἴφικράτους ἐξελθεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἠγείτο μὲν ὁ Ἴφικράτης, οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλόν τι<sup>245</sup> 49 48 ἔργον ἠγήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβέ τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν· ὡς δ' ἐξήγαγέ ποτε, προθύμως

effective aid at Athens. — κάλλιον: sc. ἂν γένοιτο. — τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας: cp. 3. 6.

48. ὁπότε δὲ . . . ἀγαθοῖς: and when even we, who by word urge you to aid brave men, are proud of doing so. ὁπότε is practically causal, as 'when' often is in Eng.

§§ 49-52. The Athenians send an army under Iphicrates to aid the Spartans. The return of the Thebans, which Iphicrates fails to prevent.

49. ἐγένετο: as in 3. 5. 7. — Ἀκαδημεία: see on 2. 2. 8. — ποτέ: at length.

μὲν ἠκολούθουν ὅποι ἠγοῦτο, προθύμως δ', εἰ πρὸς  
 50 τείχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Λακεδαί- 250  
 μονι πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἥλείοι  
 πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἅτε ὄμοροι οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν  
 ἄγοντες οἱ δὲ φέροντες ὅ τι ἠρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι  
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοιο ἐκ  
 τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἐώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' 255  
 ἡμέραν γιγνομένην, τὰ δέ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνήλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ  
 ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν  
 51 ἦν, ὥστ' ἤδη πάντες ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοιο. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνοι  
 ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἴφι- 260  
 κράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπήγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς  
 Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν,  
 οὐ ψέγω· ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἅ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ἔπραξε,  
 πάντα εὐρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρως  
 πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ 265  
 τῷ Ὀνείῳ, ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε,

50. πολλοί: limiting all three nouns.— ἄγοντες . . . φέροντες: the former of animals, the latter of portable property.— χειμῶν: *i.e.* the latter part of the winter of 370-369 B.C.

51. ἀπεχώρουν: Xenophon omits all reference to the most important result of the Theban expedition, *viz.* the reestablishment of the independence of Messenia, which for centuries had been subject to Sparta. Epaminondas founded the city of Mes-

sene as a capital for the new state, and the descendants of exiled Messenians, gathered at his summons from all parts of the Greek world, were restored to their own. See *Introd.* pp. 27 and 31.— εἰς Κόρινθον: where in all probability Xenophon himself was living at this time. See *Introd.* p. 11 f.— τῷ Ὀνείῳ: a mountain range southeast of Corinth.— ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο κτέ.: in just this point Xenophon seems to have mistaken the intentions of Iphicrates. The great

παρέλιπεν ἀφύλακτον τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κεγχραιᾶς  
 52 πάροδον. μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἶεν  
 οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὀνειον ἔπεμψε σκοποὺς τοὺς τε Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίων ἅπαντας. καίτοι 270  
 ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἤττον ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν ἱκανοί· εἰ  
 δὲ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ῥᾶον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τοῖς  
 πολλοῖς καὶ ὁδοῦ εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν  
 ἀποχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ πολλοὺς τε προσάγειν καὶ ἤττονας  
 τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ δὴ 275  
 αἶτε ἐπὶ πολὺ παραταξάμενοι χωρίων οἱ ἰππεῖς διὰ τὸ  
 πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἔδει ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν  
 χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο· ὥστε οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπώλοντο  
 εἴκοσιν ἰππέων. καὶ τότε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβού-  
 λοντο ἀπῆλθον.

object of the Athenian expedition, viz. the rescue of Sparta, had already been accomplished, and Iphicrates was probably seeking to harass the Thebans rather than to block their homeward march. — **Κεγχραιᾶς**: the eastern port of Corinth, on the Saronic Gulf.

52. **σκοποὺς**: Xenophon's misunderstanding. See on § 51. — **ἰδεῖν**: in the emphatic position,

being contrasted with the following. — **εἰ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν**: a fut. less vivid protasis, the writer putting himself back in the past and considering the question as it then presented itself to Iphicrates. For **ῥᾶον** (*ἔστί*) . . . **τυχεῖν** in the apod., — equivalent to **ῥᾶον** (as adv.) *ἂν τύχοιεν*, — see on 3. 4. 18. — **οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . ἀπῆλθον**: in the spring of 369 B.C.

## BOOK VII

## THE THEBAN HEGEMONY. THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA.

369-362 B.C.

CHAPTERS 1-5.3. Athens and Sparta conclude a formal alliance. The Thebans invade Peloponnesus and capture Sicyon. The Spartans win a decisive victory over the Arcadians and Argives. An unsuccessful attempt by the Thebans to impose a new "King's Peace" upon the Greek states. The third Theban invasion of Peloponnesus.

A digression on the affairs of Phlius.

The career and death of Euphron, tyrant of Sicyon.

The Corinthians make peace with Thebes. War breaks out between the Arcadians and the Eleans, and a desperate battle is fought at Olympia during the progress of the games. Dissensions among the cities of the Arcadian confederacy.

Mantineia and some other Arcadian cities, as well as the Achaeans and Eleans, ally themselves with Athens and Sparta. 369-362 B.C.

- 4 Ἐν ὄσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξήγει, 5  
Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ Θετταλῶν πολ-  
λοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ.  
Φωκεῖς μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθηκαὶ  
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ἴοι, βοηθεῖν· ἐπ' 5

CHAPTER 5, §§ 4-8. *The fourth Theban invasion of Peloponnesus. Epaminondas' march to Tegea. His good generalship.* 362 B.C.

4. ταῦτα: the negotiations referred to in the above abstract.—Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξήγει: in order to support those Arcadians who had remained loyal to Thebes. See

abstract above.—Εὐβοᾶς: as in 370 B.C. (6. 5. 23).—Ἀλεξάνδρου: tyrant of Pherae, who had become a subject ally of Thebes.—τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ: i.e. Thessalian cities which the Thebans had recently liberated from the rule of Alexander.—σφίσιν αὐτοῖς: as an indir. reflexive.

5 ἄλλους δὲ στρατεύειν οὐκ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. ὁ  
 μέντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ  
 σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ  
 Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονούντας. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι  
 Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται καὶ Παλλαν- 10  
 τειεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραὶ τε εἶναι καὶ  
 6 ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. ἐξῆλθε μὲν δὴ  
 ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας διὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέᾳ,  
 ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παριόντας  
 λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἂν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς 15  
 μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρῶσαι αὐτούς,  
 τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ὡς δὲ  
 συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι Θηβαίοις ὅτι ἐλατ-  
 7 τοῦντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνῆ-  
 σαν πάντες οἱ ὁμοφρονούντες εἰς τὴν Μαντινείαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 μέντοι ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤκουσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν  
 κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέαι, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ  
 παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς διὰ Λακεδαίμονος βοηθήσοντας

5. σφίσιν: *i.e.* the Thebans. See on ἐαυτῶν I. 6. 36. — Μεσσηνίους: see on 6. 5. 51. — τὰ σφέτερα φρονούντας: see on 6. 3. 14. — Μεγαλοπολίται: Xenophon nowhere mentions the important fact of the founding of Megalopolis in 370 B.C. as a capital for the Arcadian confederacy. See *Introd.* p. 27 and note 3. — εἴ τινες: = αἰτινες. — ἠναγκάζοντο: *sc.* to side, like their neighbors, with the Thebans.

6. Νεμέα: see on 4. 2. 14. —

παριόντας: *i.e.* on their way to Arcadia, to join their allies. — ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν: *to put it briefly.* For the dat. see S. 1497; H.A. 771 b; B. 382; G. 1172, 2; Gl. 523 a; for the inf. see on 3. 5. 9. — πᾶν ἀγαθὸν . . . Ἀθηναῖοι: *that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans.* Note that ὅτι is cogn. acc.

7. οἱ ὁμοφρονούντες: *i.e.* the enemies of the Thebans. — παρασκευάζεσθαι: *sc.* πορεύεσθαι. — διὰ Λακεδαίμονος: *i.e.* that they in-

τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, οὕτω δὴ ἀφορμήσας ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας  
 8 ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. εὐτυχῆ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν 25  
 ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα  
 μέντοι προνοίας ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἐστίν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ  
 ἀνὴρ ἔλλιπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ  
 ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποιή-  
 σατο, ἐνθ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρω τε ἦν ἢ εἰ ἔξω ἐστρα- 30  
 τοπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἀδηλοτέρῳ ὅ τι  
 πράττειτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δέ, εἴ του ἐδεῖτο, ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει ὄντι εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν δ' ἐτέρων ἔξω στρα-  
 τοπεδευομένων ἐξῆν ὄραν, εἴτε τι ὀρθῶς ἐπράττετο εἴτε  
 τι ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντι- 35  
 πάλων εἶναι, ὅποτε ὀρώη χωρίοις πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐ-  
 9 τούς, οὐκ ἐξήγετο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὀρῶν δὲ οὔτε πόλιν  
 αὐτῷ προσχωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν τόν τε χρόνον προβαί-  
 νοντα, ἐνόμισε πρακτέον τι εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς  
 πρόσθεν εὐκλείας πολλὴν ἀδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ 40  
 οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπά-  
 λους πεφυλαγμένους, μεταπεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν  
 τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἦσθετο ἐξε-

tended to land in Laconia and march through that country to Arcadia.

8. εὐτυχῆ: made emphatic by its position. — γενέσθαι: *proved*. — ὅσα . . . ἔλλιπειν: the strongest words of praise which are found in the *Hellenica*, doubly significant because bestowed unwillingly upon an enemy of both Sparta and Athens. Cp. § 19 f. and see

Introd. p. 31. — αὐτοῦ: see on σου 6. 4. 5. — τῶν ἐτέρων: as in 4. 2. 15. — οἰόμενος: concessive. — κρείττων: Epaminondas' army seems to have been somewhat stronger numerically than that of the enemy. — χωρίοις: by places which they occupied, *i.e.* in position.

§§ 9-13. *Epaminondas invades Laconia.*

9. πεφυλαγμένους: *had taken*

στρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ  
 Πελλάγη, δειπνοποιήσασθαι παραγγείλας ἡγεῖτο τῷ<sup>45</sup>  
 10 στρατεύματι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σπάρτην. καὶ εἰ μὴ Κρής θεία  
 τινὶ μοίρᾳ προσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ προσιὸν  
 τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νεοττιὰν  
 παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι  
 προπυθόμενος ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἔφθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν<sup>50</sup>  
 ἀπελθὼν, διαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ  
 μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες· οἱ τε γὰρ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν  
 Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα  
 11 ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον ἔν τε ἰσοπέδῳ<sup>55</sup>  
 μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῆει  
 ταύτῃ, οὐδ' ὅπου γε μηδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες μαχεῖσθαι  
 τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες· ἔνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν  
 ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ

*up a strong position.* — Πελλάγη: a town in Laconia, some miles north of Sparta. — στρατεύματι: for the dat. see on στρατιᾶ 4. 2. 9.

10. Κρής: a Cretan deserter. Polyb. 9. 8. — τῶν ἀμυνομένων: *its defenders.* — ἀπελθὼν: from Pelene. — διαταξάμενοι: cp. 6. 5. 28. — καὶ μάλα: see on 2. 4. 2. — λόχων: a λόχος was half a μόρα. See on 2. 4. 31. — οἱ τρεῖς: for the article see on 1. 1. 18.

11. ἐν τῇ πόλει: *i.e.* within the city limits, while τὴν πόλιν below means the city in the narrower sense, the central, thickly settled portion. Cp. ἐν Θήβαις 5. 2. 25.

— ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον κτί.: *where they (the Thebans) would presumably fight, etc.* ὅπου anticipates ταύτη. — ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν: the house tops were covered with old men and boys. Diod. 15. 83. — οὐδ' ὅπου . . . ὄντες: *nor where they (sc. ἔμελλον) would fight with no advantage over the few, although they were many, i.e. where Epaminondas could not use his superior numbers to advantage.* μηδέν, because the clause is hypothetical. For πλέον ἔχοντες cp. 1. 4. 16; also πλεονεκτοῦντας § 8. — ἐνθεν: = ἀφ' οὗ χωρίου, anticipating the following antecedent. — κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ



- 12 ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τό γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον 60  
 ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς  
 ἀπονεοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠγείτο  
 Ἄρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβάς ὅπερ  
 ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες 65  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῶ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι  
 ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν  
 13 Ἄρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν  
 Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλό-  
 μενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν πορρωτέρω τοῦ και-  
 70 ροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσι· περιεγέγραπτο γάρ, ὡς  
 ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου μέχρι ὅσου νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς.  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄρχίδαμος τροπαίον τε ἴστατο ἔνθα  
 ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων  
 14 ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδου. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζό- 75

ἀνέβαινεν: *i.e.* Epaminondas chose as a starting point for his advance a spot which was higher than the city itself instead of lower. He actually gained possession, according to Polybius 9. 8, of that part of the city which lay toward the Eurotas River.

12. τὸ . . . γενόμενον: acc. of specification, instead of a gen. dependent upon αἰτιᾶσθαι. Cp. I. 7. 31. — τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι: *to hold the deity responsible, i.e.* to ascribe the issue to divine intervention. — ὅπερ . . . κώλυμα: *the very thing which seemed to present an obstacle*

to the enemy, *i.e.* a point behind which he would naturally have stayed and waited for the enemy's attack. The reference is manifestly to difficult ground of some sort. — οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες κτέ.: not the words of an unprejudiced historian. See *Intro.* p. 31. — τῶ παντί: as in 2. 3. 22. — ὑπερδέξια: here simply *higher*. Cp. on 4. 2. 14.

13. οἱ ἔνδοθεν: the Spartans. For the adv. see on ὄκοθεν I. 4. 10. — τοῦ καιροῦ: see on 2. 3. 24.

§§ 14-17. *The Thebans return to Arcadia. A cavalry battle near Mantinea.*

μενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἠτύχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε,<sup>80</sup> τοὺς δ' ἰππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς<sup>85</sup> οὐσσης. καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἰππεῖς ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ἐδειπνοποίησαντο μὲν ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, διελθόντες δὲ καὶ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύχχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν<sup>90</sup> Ἀθηναίων ἰππέων βοηθῆσαι, εἴ τι δύναιντο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι

14. οἱ Ἀρκάδες: *i.e.* such of them as were allied with Sparta. See abstract above, p. 336. — ὁμοῦ γενομένοις: referring only to Λακεδαιμονίοις, a part of whose army was away in Arcadia (§ 10). Similarly, ἠτύχηκόσι limits Λακεδαιμονίοις only. — τῶν δέ: *i.e.* the Thebans. — προσκαρτερῆσαι: *to endure this additional* (πρόσ-) *effort, i.e.* besides all their previous exertions. — εἰκὸς: *sc. ἐστί.*

15. ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος: whereas Epaminondas had been led to believe (§ 7) that the Athenians were coming by sea. — Κλεωνάς: a city about ten miles southwest of Corinth. — προσιόντες . . . καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι: *i.e.* some of them were already quartered in the city, while others were still coming up. — ἐργάτας: *i.e.* slaves. Cp. τῶν ἐλευθέρων below. — παῖδας . . . γεραιτέρους: the

- 16 ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ 95  
 τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; οἱ καὶ  
 πολὺν πλείους ὀρώντες τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ  
 δυστυχήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς ἱππεύσιν οὐδὲν τούτου  
 ὑπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς  
 τοῖς κρατίστοις ἱππεύσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μάχε-100  
 σθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενοι, εἰ παρόντες μηδὲν ὠφελήσειαν  
 τοὺς συμμαχούς, ὡς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους,  
 συνέρραξαν, ἐρώντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρίαν δόξαν.
- 17 καὶ μαχόμενοι αἴτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆ-  
 ναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, 105  
 καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιούτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ  
 οὕτω βραχὺ ὄπλον ἑκάτεροι εἶχον ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο  
 ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο,
- 18 τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὓς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν. ὁ δ'  
 αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἡμερῶν 110  
 ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν

men of military age having gone to the rescue of Sparta (§ 14).

16. τούτων αὖ: αὖ with reference to the above-described valor of the Spartans.—πλείους: *sc. ὄντας*.—δυστυχήματος: the circumstance alluded to is unknown.—τοῖς: connect with δοκοῦσιν.—αἰσχυνόμενοι εἰ: see on εἰ 2. 3. 53.—ἐρώντες: *eagerly desiring*.

17. αἴτιοι . . . σωθῆναι: see on μεταίτιος 2. 3. 32.—ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί: one of whom was Xenophon's own son. See Introd. p. 12.—ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο: rel. clause of

result. S. 2556; HA. 910; B. 597; G. 1445; Gl. 615.—προήκαντο: the rare 1 aor. mid. of προίημι.—ἦν οὓς: see on ἔστι . . . οὓς 2. 4. 6.

§§ 18–25. *The battle of Mantinea. The death of Epaminondas.*

18. ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας: the nom. is left without a verb, the sentence being ultimately continued in the changed form ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ. See Introd. IV. κ.—ἐξήκειν . . . τὸν χρόνον: it would seem that a definite time had been fixed for the length of the campaign, either

χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι ἐρήμους οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος,  
 ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσουντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ  
 λελυμασμένος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο,  
 ἡττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι σὺν πολλῶ ὀπλιτικῶ 115  
 ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἵππομαχίᾳ,  
 αἴτιος δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρα-  
 τείαν τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ  
 Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει  
 αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἀμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι 120  
 εἰ μὲν νικῶν, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι,  
 καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι πειρωμένῳ τῇ  
 19 πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου καταλιπεῖν. τὸ μὲν οὖν  
 αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνν μοι δοκεῖ θαυ-  
 μαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα δια- 125  
 νοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα παρεσκευακέναι ὡς  
 πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας,  
 κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τὰπιτήδεια  
 ἔχοντας ὁμως πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυ-  
 20 μαστότερα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγ- 130  
 γειλεν αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης,

by the Theban government or by  
 agreement with the allies. — πο-  
 λιορκήσουντο: as in 6. 4. 6. —  
 λελυμασμένος . . . ἔσοιτο: fut. perf.  
 mid. For the following dat. see  
 on 2. 3. 26. — αἴτιος . . . τοῦ συνε-  
 στάναι: see on μεταίτιος 2. 3. 32.  
 — παρελθεῖν: Epaminondas' home-  
 ward route led past Mantinea. —  
 λογιζομένῳ . . . ἡγήσατο: a slight  
 departure from exact parallelism.

— ἀναλύσοιτο: *he would make  
 good.* — εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι: Xeno-  
 phon's anticipation of the actual  
 fact rather than Epaminondas'  
 thought.

19. αὐτόν: intensive, as con-  
 trasted with τὸ στράτευμα. —  
 ἀνδρῶν: pred. gen., *sc.* ἐστίν. —  
 ὡς: = ὥστε. See Introd. IV. H.  
 — ἀποκάμνειν: *to flinch from.*

20. ὡς . . . ἐσομένης: as in 4.

προθύμως μὲν ἔλευκούντο οἱ ἰππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύ-  
 οντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων  
 ὀπλίται ρόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἠκονῶντο  
 καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπί-<sup>135</sup>  
 21 δας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν,  
 ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ,  
 ὥσπερ εἰκός, συνετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων σαφηνί-  
 ζειν ἐδόκει ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν  
 ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συν-<sup>140</sup>  
 τομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ  
 πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἠγείτο·  
 ὥστε δόξαν παρέιχε τοῖς πολεμίους μὴ ποιήσεσθαι  
 22 μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει  
 ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς<sup>145</sup>  
 ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδεομένῳ. τοῦτο  
 δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν  
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν  
 ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς

2. 18.—ἐλευκούντο: see on 2. 4.  
 25.—ἐπεγράφοντο . . . ρόπαλα: *painted clubs upon* their shields. The club, which was the weapon of the Theban national hero Hercules, seems to have been the Theban device. Cp. 3. 4. 17.—ὡς . . . ὄντες: *as though they were Thebans, i.e.* in order to deceive the enemy and profit by the great military reputation of the Thebans.

21. ἐξήγαγεν: from Tegea.—αὖ: contrasting the following notes on Epaminondas' tactics with the

preceding description of the spirit he had infused into his army.—καί: connecting πρὸς ἐσπέραν and ἀντιπέραν . . . Τεγέας. The cities of Mantinea and Tegea were about ten miles distant from one another, the intervening country being a plain bounded on east and west by mountains.—δόξαν . . . πολεμίοις: *he gave the enemy an impression.*—μή: although with the inf. in ind. disc. See on *μηδένα* 4. 5. 12.

22. ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα: as in 4. 5. 8.—ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν κτέ.: it

ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον ἰσχυρὸν <sup>150</sup>  
 ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβεῖν  
 παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἤγειτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ  
 πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν  
 ἠσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις,  
 οἱ δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλύουν, οἱ δὲ θώρα- <sup>155</sup>  
 κας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ  
<sup>23</sup> ποιήσουσιν ἐώκεσαν. ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρῳρον  
 ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλὼν δια-  
 κόψειε, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα.

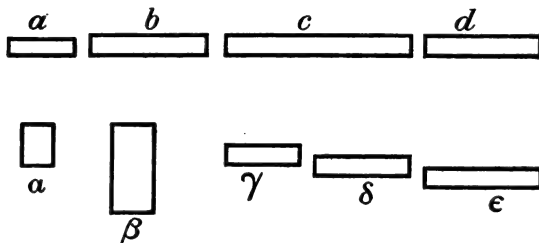
would seem that the entire army, marching to the mountain in a long column of even width, with Epaminondas and the Thebans at the head, faced about to the right upon reaching the mountain, thus forming a battle line (ἐξετάθη ἢ φάλαγξ) of even depth, with the Thebans on the left wing. Epaminondas, however, wished to increase—just as at Leuctra (see on 6. 4. 12)—the depth of the left wing. He therefore caused successive companies (λόχους) to face about again, and marched them along (παραγαγών) in column (ἐπὶ κέρως) behind the rest of the army to the left wing, there facing them about into line (εἰς μέτωπον). Thus he gave the left wing the desired depth, or, as Xenophon says, ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο . . . ἔμβολον, *made strong the beak-like formation around him.*

This ἔμβολον, or deep left wing, seems to have consisted entirely of Thebans; next to the right of the Thebans (according to Diod. 15. 85) were the Arcadians, then the contingents of the lesser allies, and on the right wing the Argives. On the right wing of the enemy, *i.e.* opposite the Thebans, were the Spartans and those Arcadians who were allied with them, on the left wing the Athenians. The commander-in-chief of the enemy's forces was probably a Mantinean, for the treaty between Mantinea and Sparta prescribed that each state should have the command within its own territory (§ 3). It would seem from § 9 that the Spartan contingent was commanded by Agesilaus.

23. ἀντίπρῳρον ὥσπερ τριήρη: *proton on, like a trireme*, with reference to the deep, comparatively

καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνί- 160  
 ζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρω ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς  
 ὅτι ἠττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,  
 ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἰππέας οἱ μὲν  
 πολέμοιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα  
 24 βάθος ἐφ' ἑξ καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· ὁ δ' Ἐπα- 165  
 μινῶνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίη-  
 σατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων

SKETCH PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA



*a.* Peloponnesian and Athenian cavalry. *b.* Spartans and Arcadians.  
*c.* Other Peloponnesian contingents. *d.* Athenians.

*α.* Theban cavalry. *β.* Theban infantry. *γ.* Arcadians. *δ.* Other  
 Theban allies. *ε.* Argives. *ζ.* Cavalry and hoplites to threaten the  
 Athenians (§ 24).

τὸ ἰππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενι-  
 κηκῶς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελή-  
 σουστας μένειν, ἐπειδάν τινας φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν 170  
 ὀρῶσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ

narrow attacking column of the  
 left wing. — πόρρω ἀπέστησεν: *i.e.*  
 far from the enemy. See on 6. 4.  
 12. — ἔρημον: agreeing grammatic-  
 ally with φάλαγγα, though logic-  
 ally with ἰππέας. — πεζῶν ἀμίππων:

light-armed foot soldiers inter-  
 mingled with the ranks of the  
 cavalry.

24. ἑαυτῶν: poss. gen. depend-  
 ing upon τῶν. — ὅπως μὴ . . . οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι: this provision against

τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰππέας καὶ ὀπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὡς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσονται αὐτοῖς. τὴν 175 μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποίησατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ἢ προσέβαλεν ὅλον 25 ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐκείνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρῆσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναντίας 180 φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο· φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἰππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἰππέας οὔθ' ὀπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἠττώμενοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. 185 καὶ μὴν οἱ ἄμπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συννευικηκότες τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

the Athenians on the enemy's left wing was a necessary corollary of Epaminondas' plan of battle; for his weak right wing was to be held back (§ 23), and thus the Athenians would be left unemployed. — ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον: *to those posted next to them, i.e. further on toward the right wing, where Epaminondas' attack was to fall.* — φόβον . . . παρέχειν: followed by a clause in ind. disc. instead of by μή, the phrase being prac-

tically equivalent to δόξαν παρείχε § 21. S. 2235; GMT. 371. — ἢ προσέβαλεν: *i.e. the enemy's right wing, where the Spartans and Arcadians were stationed.*

25. φυγούσης: concessive. — αὐτοῖς: dat. of advantage. — οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν: *i.e. in pursuit.* — οὐδ' οἱ ἰππεῖς: οὐδέ, no more than the hoplites. — διέπεσον: *slipped through, i.e. back through the enemy's lines, which they had broken.* — τοῦ εὐωνύμου: of the enemy.



26 Τοίτων δὲ πραχθέντων τούναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὐδὲν 190  
 ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνελθλυθίας  
 γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων,  
 οὐδὲς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾔετο, εἰ μάχη ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν  
 κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους  
 ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφοτέρω 195  
 μὲν τροπαῖον ὡς νενικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἰστα-  
 μένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλουν, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὲν ὡς  
 νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ ὡς  
 27 ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νενικηκέναι δὲ  
 φάσκοντες ἐκάτεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὔτ' ἀρχῇ 200  
 οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν  
 μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων  
 μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει.

§§ 26-27. *The results of the battle. Conclusion.*

26. ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος: for this, as Diodorus (15. 86) truly says, was the greatest battle ever fought by Greeks against Greeks. — ἀντιτεταγμένων: constr. according to sense, as though with ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

27. οὔτε χώρα . . . ἐφάνησαν: neither party was found to be any

better off (πλέον ἔχοντες) either by additional territory or city or sway.

The dats. denote the degree of difference. — A general peace was concluded shortly after the battle on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*; since this involved, however, the recognition of the independence of Messenia, the Spartans refused to be parties to the treaty.

## APPENDIX I

### THE LIFE OF XENOPHON

THE principal ancient authority on this subject is Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of the Philosophers*.<sup>1</sup> Occasional bits of information (or misinformation) are scattered here and there in other authors.<sup>2</sup> More important, however, and more trustworthy than this external testimony is that which is furnished by Xenophon himself in his own writings, particularly the *Anabasis*.

Scholars have held differing opinions with regard to (*a*) the date of Xenophon's birth, (*b*) the question whether he returned to Athens immediately after the expedition with Cyrus, (*c*) the date and cause of his banishment, and (*d*) the date of his death. On all these points the statements contained in the text of the Introduction are supported by a preponderance of authority, but it is deemed proper to indicate in each case the divergent view:

(*a*) Diogenes Laertius<sup>3</sup> and Strabo<sup>4</sup> agree in stating that Xenophon served as a cavalryman at the battle of Delium (424 B.C.), and that in the retreat his life was saved by Socrates. If this be true, Xenophon must have been born about 444 B.C. In all likelihood, however, the story is merely a careless or mistaken *replica* of the familiar story about Alcibiades and Socrates.<sup>5</sup> The more generally accepted view, that Xenophon was born about 430 B.C., rests mainly on the internal evidence furnished by the *Anabasis*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2. 6.    <sup>2</sup> Strabo 9. 403, Pseudo-Lucian, *Macrob.* 21, Athenaeus 216 d, Philostratus, *Vitae Soph.* 1. 12, Dio Chrysostom 8. 130, M, Pausanias 5. 6. 5 f., Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 18 and 20, *de Exilio* 603 and 605, Diodorus Siculus 15. 76, 15. 89, 13. 42, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* 4, Marcellinus, *Vita Thucyd.* 45.—The best modern treatise on the life of Xenophon is that of A. Roquette, *De Xenophontis Vita*; cp. H. G. Dakyns, *The Works of Xenophon* (introduction to Vol. I.), E. Lange, *Xenophon: Sein Leben, seine Geistesart und seine Werke*, and P. Boldt, *Xenophontis Vitae Specimen*    <sup>3</sup> 2. 5. 22.    <sup>4</sup> 9. 403.    <sup>5</sup> Plato, *Symp.* 220, 221.    <sup>6</sup> Cp. also Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 55 and Athen. 216 d.

(b) It is possible, although direct evidence is wanting, that Xenophon returned to Athens immediately after delivering over his troops to Thibron.<sup>1</sup> Yet (1) only a few months later he was certainly serving in Asia under Thibron's successor, Dercylidas; (2) that he served under Thibron also is made probable both by his personal dislike for that commander<sup>2</sup> and by his detailed account of his doings; (3) and most important, Xenophon's own words in *Anab.* 7. 7. 57 seem to imply that his intention of returning home at this time was frustrated.

(c) Many modern scholars (Grote and Roquette among others) have held that Xenophon was banished after Coronea and in consequence of the part he played there. It seems impossible, however, to draw such an inference either from the manifestly erroneous statement of Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 51 or from Xenophon's words in *Anab.* 5. 3. 7. All the other evidence<sup>3</sup> is distinctly adverse. Further, it is manifest that during all the experiences of *Anab.* 5-7 Xenophon recalled with apprehension the fear expressed by Socrates.<sup>4</sup> Writing many years later<sup>5</sup> he would hardly have mentioned that fear or indicated its abiding presence with him, if it had not been in effect realized. Lastly, our knowledge of Xenophon does not justify the off-hand assumption that he would have ranged himself against his own countrymen at Coronea while still an Athenian citizen.

(d) The statement of Stesicleides (in Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 56) that Xenophon died in 360-359 B.C. is completely disproved by *Hell.* 6. 4. 35-37.<sup>6</sup> Further, it is generally held, on the ground of internal evidence, that Xenophon wrote his treatise *De Vectigalibus* in 355 B.C.; and the allusion to his great age in Ps. Luc. *Macrob.* 21 seems to point to c. 354 B.C. as the date of his death.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Grote, *History of Greece*, 9. 174.   <sup>2</sup> Cp. *Hell.* 3. 1. 5-7 and 4. 8. 18-22.   <sup>3</sup> Particularly the unqualified statements cited in Introd. p. 10, note 5.   <sup>4</sup> See Introd. p. 11.   <sup>5</sup> See below, p. 359, note 1.   <sup>6</sup> See below, p. 358.   <sup>7</sup> Cp. also Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 56 (the statement of Demetrius Magnes) and Diod. Sic. 15. 76.

## APPENDIX II

## THE RELATION OF THE HELLENICA TO THUCYDIDES

THE *Hellenica* certainly begins at very nearly the precise point where Thucydides breaks off, and its opening sentences, unintelligible in themselves, are manifestly those of a historian who is carrying on the interrupted narrative of some predecessor. The natural inference, that the *Hellenica* was intended to be a continuation of Thucydides' history, was accepted by the ancients themselves without question. Thus Diodorus<sup>1</sup> says that *Xenophon and Theopompus began where Thucydides left off*; Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>2</sup> refers to Xenophon's *Hellenic history, both that which Thucydides left unfinished, etc.*; Marcellinus<sup>3</sup> states that *Thucydides died while writing the events of the twenty-first year (of the Peloponnesian War); . . . and the story of the other six years Theopompus and Xenophon completed.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 13. 42. *Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέλιπε Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποληγται.* <sup>2</sup> *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* 4. The Greek text is quoted in full below, p. 356, note 2. <sup>3</sup> *Vita Thucydidis* 45. The latter part of the Greek text is quoted below, p. 356, note 2. <sup>4</sup> Diogenes Laertius (2. 6. 57) preserves a tradition that Thucydides' history was first published by Xenophon, into whose hands the manuscript of it had somehow fallen. This tradition apparently gave rise to the belief, which Marcellinus (*op. cit.* 43) says was entertained by some ancient critics, that the eighth book of Thucydides was really the work of Xenophon. In fact, while the eighth book is manifestly unfinished and therefore differs in some respects from the preceding books, it was unquestionably written by Thucydides. In modern times the same tradition has been made the basis of a theory that along with the manuscript of Thucydides there also came into Xenophon's hands the material which Thucydides had collected for his account of the remaining years of the war; accordingly it is held that the first two books of the *Hellenica* consist simply of this material, imperfectly edited by Xenophon (so Herbst, *Die Schlacht bei den Arginusen* 23 and Fricke, *Über die Quellen des Plutarchos im Nikias und Alkibiades* 15), or at least that Xenophon made some use of his predecessor's unfinished notes (so Krüger, *Kritische Analekten* 1. 78). All such theories have been effectually refuted (especially by Büchschütz, *Philologus* 14 (1859) 508 f. and Breitenbach, *Rhein. Mus.* 27 (1872) 497 f.); but the citations from Diogenes and Marcellinus are still of interest as showing that the ancients assumed the existence of a close connection between Thucydides and Xenophon.

In modern times several facts have been observed or demonstrated which tend to corroborate the view that it was Xenophon's conscious purpose to supplement Thucydides. Dittenberger<sup>1</sup> and his followers have proved beyond reasonable doubt that that part of the *Hellenica* which covers the closing years of the Peloponnesian War was written much earlier than the succeeding part.<sup>2</sup> Further, in this first part of the *Hellenica* Xenophon is found to follow Thucydides' method of grouping events by years and seasons and indicating the beginning of each new year,<sup>3</sup> whereas in the later part he adopts the contrary method of grouping by topics and only seldom offers any chronological data.<sup>4</sup> Finally, it has been remarked<sup>5</sup> that in the first part of the *Hellenica* he likewise follows Thucydides in telling his story without personal comments or criticisms, which in the latter part appear with great frequency.<sup>6</sup>

In the light of such evidence, both internal and external, there can be no room for doubt or uncertainty regarding Xenophon's prime object in undertaking the *Hellenica*. Yet nothing is clearer than his entire failure in the opening sections of the *Hellenica* to carry on unbroken the various threads of Thucydides' narrative. Thus Thucydides<sup>7</sup> leaves the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets at Elaeus and Cyzicus respectively; the *Hellenica*<sup>8</sup> finds them at Abydus and Madytus. Thucydides<sup>9</sup> leaves Theramenes in Athens; the *Hellenica*<sup>10</sup> finds him arriving in the Hellespont from Macedonia. Dorieus, whom Thucydides<sup>11</sup> leaves at Miletus, appears in the *Hellenica*<sup>12</sup> as coming from Rhodes. Alcibiades is last mentioned by Thucydides<sup>13</sup> as returning to Samos; the *Hellenica*<sup>14</sup> brings him to the Hellespont, but without noting whence he comes or what he has meanwhile been doing. More puzzling than these inconsistencies are the opening words of the *Hellenica*: *And after this (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα), not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a*

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 357 and note 1.   <sup>2</sup> Cp. Introd. p. 22.   <sup>3</sup> See Introd. p. 23 f.   <sup>4</sup> The annalistic method is employed sometimes, yet infrequently, in the later part. Cp. Underhill's *Commentary on the Hellenica*, Introd. p. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> By Em. Müller, *De Xenophontis historiae graecae parte priore*.

<sup>6</sup> The further argument (advanced by Simon, *Xenophon-Studien* I. and Lange, *op. cit.*) that in the first part of the *Hellenica* Xenophon imitates Thucydidean peculiarities of style, seems to rest upon too slight evidence.   <sup>7</sup> 8. 107.

<sup>8</sup> 1. 1. 3-5.   <sup>9</sup> 8. 92.   <sup>10</sup> 1. 1. 12.   <sup>11</sup> 8. 84.   <sup>12</sup> 1. 1. 2.   <sup>13</sup> 8. 108.

<sup>14</sup> 1. 1. 5.

*few ships; and straightway the Lacedaemonians and Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas.* It is to be noted, in the first place, that the scene of this battle is not stated and cannot readily be inferred from Thucydides; secondly, the *ραῖρα* of the opening phrase can hardly refer to the last event mentioned by Thucydides, *viz.* the journey of Tissaphernes; thirdly, the words "another naval battle" imply a reference, which is not perfectly clear, to some preceding battle; and lastly, one is left in the dark regarding Agesandridas. Thucydides, it is true, mentions<sup>1</sup> the fact that after winning the battle off Euboea<sup>2</sup> (against the same Thymocharis whom he meets again in the *Hellenica*) he had been ordered to bring his fleet to the Hellespont to reënforce Mindarus, the Spartan admiral; but on the way, if the statement of Diodorus Siculus<sup>3</sup> is to be trusted, he was wrecked off Mt. Athos and lost all his ships.

It is no doubt possible to explain this manifest looseness of connection between Thucydides and the *Hellenica* by assuming (1) that something has been lost from the beginning of the *Hellenica*<sup>4</sup> or (2) from the end of Thucydides' history,<sup>5</sup> or (3) that Xenophon intended to prefix an introduction to the *Hellenica* but failed to do so.<sup>6</sup> Yet assumptions of this kind must always be regarded as a last resort, justifi-

<sup>1</sup> 8. 107.   <sup>2</sup> See *Introd.* p. 18.   <sup>3</sup> 13. 41.   <sup>4</sup> Cp. especially Nitsche, *Über die Abfassung von Xenophons Hellenika* and Riemann, *Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione Hellenicon Xenophontis textus constituendus sit*; among recent editors Büchschütz, Sorof, Manatt, and Blake accept this theory.   <sup>5</sup> Suggested as an alternative explanation by Riemann (*op. cit.*) and accepted as probable by Underhill and Edwards.   <sup>6</sup> Cp. Breitenbach (in his edition of the *Hellenica*, *Einl. zum ersten Bande*, §§ 64 and 112), who couples this theory with the contention that the *Hellenica* is an unfinished work. This may be true (as some other editors believe), though the defects which the *Hellenica* exhibits do not prove it (see *Introd.* p. 28 f.). It should be noted that the supposedly unfinished condition of the *Hellenica* cannot be adduced as an argument in support of either of the other two theories above mentioned. The view maintained by Peter (*Commentatio critica de Xen. Hell.* 14 f.) and Campe (*Neue Jahrb.* 105 (1872) 701 f.) that the *Hellenica* begins with a summary of the last chapters of Thucydides (so that the battle in *Hell.* 1. 1. 1 is identical with that in *Thuc.* 8. 95, etc.) is so lacking in all probability as barely to deserve notice. The same is true of the epitome theory, for which see *Introd.* p. 27 f. Cp. also Fabricius in *Philologus* 49 (1890) 574.

able only in case no other solution of the problem seems reasonable. In the present case, however, an examination of the *Hellenica* points the way to a wholly reasonable solution; for inconsistencies and omissions quite similar to those which break the continuity of the two histories are found in considerable numbers throughout the entire text of the *Hellenica* itself. This fact is so notorious that a few illustrations will suffice: (1) in 1. 1. 26 the Syracusan fleet is at Antandrus, but a little later (1. 1. 31) it is found at Miletus, — an unexplained change of position precisely analogous to those of the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets between the closing sections of Thucydides and the opening sections of the *Hellenica*; (2) in 1. 6. 16 Erasinides is blockaded at Mytilene, but in 1. 6. 29 he appears at Arginusae, — precisely as Dorieus and Theramenes shift their stations between Thucydides and the *Hellenica*; (3) in 1. 4. 2 “the Lacedaemonian ambassadors” are described as returning from Persia with their mission accomplished, although no previous reference has been made to them; (4) in 1. 3. 9 Calchedon is in the hands of the Peloponnesians, but when next mentioned (2. 2. 1) it is held by the Athenians; (5) the peace negotiations which followed the battle of Arginusae and (6) the loss of Nisaea by the Athenians are entirely passed over, though both are events of very considerable importance. Such cases as these, which are especially numerous in the first two books of the *Hellenica*,<sup>1</sup> show an habitual carelessness<sup>2</sup> on Xenophon’s part which seems to be far the best explanation of the puzzles contained in the opening sections of his history. It is simply characteristic carelessness that he does not note exactly where Thucydides has left the fleets and the leaders, and that his opening phrase — *μετὰ ταῦτα* — refers only loosely and in a general way to what has preceded. In the same loose way he speaks of “another naval battle,” having in mind the last *important* event described by Thucydides, *viz.* the battle of Cynossema. Finally, remembering Thucydides’ statement that Agesandridas was ordered to the Hellespont, he leaves it to the reader to assume that Agesandridas did in fact come to the Hellespont — whatever may have been his experiences on the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Breitenbach, *Einkl.* §§ 8 and 10, who enumerates no less than thirty similar instances. <sup>2</sup> This is not too strong a term even on the supposition that the *Hellenica* is an unfinished work. It does not mean that Xenophon is an untrustworthy or incompetent historian, but he is careless of completeness and consistency in details.

way<sup>1</sup>—and that the Hellespont, consequently, was the scene of the battle in which he figured.

It seems clear, therefore, that the omissions and inconsistencies between the final sections of Thucydides and the opening sections of the *Hellenica* are, at least, not materially greater than those which are found between many chapters, or even pages, of the *Hellenica* itself; in other words, that Xenophon has joined his work to Thucydides about as closely as he has joined the successive portions of his work to one another. While, therefore, the looseness of the connection between the two histories is a fact not to be gainsaid, it seems to be due to Xenophon's characteristically defective workmanship and not to the loss of any part, completed or contemplated, of either the *Hellenica* or Thucydides.

## APPENDIX III

### THE DIVISIONS OF THE HELLENICA

THE fact that the *Hellenica* was not a continuous composition has been long established.<sup>2</sup> There still remain differences of opinion regarding the precise location of the lines of division between its various

<sup>1</sup> It may be, despite the statement of Diodorus (see above, p. 353), that Agesandridas saved enough ships from the wreck of his large fleet to overcome the "few ships" of the Athenians; otherwise, he must somehow have obtained a new fleet. See note on 1. 1. 23. <sup>2</sup> The discussion of this question begins with Niebuhr (*Kl. histor. Schriften* 1. 464 f.), who divided the *Hellenica* into two parts, pointing out (see below, p. 357 (a)) that Books 1-2 must have been written much earlier than 3-7. Niebuhr's conclusion was accepted by Peter (*op. cit.*) and Weil (*Ztschr. f. Alt. W.* 9 (1842) 143 f.). Em. Müller (*op. cit.*) followed Niebuhr in assuming a division into two parts, but showed that the line of division should be placed between 2. 3. 10 and 2. 3. 11 rather than at the end of Book 2. Müller's view on this point has been adopted by almost all scholars except Breitenbach, who still holds to Niebuhr's conclusion, and Nitsche (*op. cit.*), who regards 1. 1. 1-5. 1. 36 as constituting the first part. That the *Hellenica* consists of three parts, instead of two, was first urged by Grosser (*Neue Jahrb.* 95 (1867) 737 f.), who accepted Müller's line of division at 2. 3. 10, but found a second also between 5. 3. 27 and 5. 4. 1. Nitsche, however, showed that this line of division should be placed between 5. 1. 36 and 5. 2. 1. In more recent times the conclusion thus finally reached (of a three part division) has been confirmed by other arguments based upon totally different grounds (see below, p. 357 and note 1).



parts and regarding the time of composition of the earlier parts; but the statements concerning these points which are contained in the Introduction are believed to rest upon ample evidence.

That Part I. ended with 2. 3. 10 and was written much earlier than the succeeding parts seems to be proved by the following considerations: (a) With 2. 3. 10 the history of the Peloponnesian War, which it was Xenophon's primary purpose to complete,<sup>1</sup> is finished. (b) This Supplement to Thucydides, as it may be called, appears to have been regarded by ancient authorities<sup>2</sup> as a complete work in itself, to be distinguished in some measure from the rest of the *Hellenica*. (c) In 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10 Xenophon follows<sup>3</sup> Thucydides' plan of chronicling events by years and marking (except in one case) the beginning of each successive year, but after 2. 3. 10 this method of treatment is abruptly dropped. (d) In 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10 the author never speaks in the first person,<sup>4</sup> by way of comment on the incidents which he is narrating, whereas almost immediately after 2. 3. 10 such comments begin to appear.<sup>5</sup> (e) One of Xenophon's most marked characteristics is his religious spirit, which is shown by repeated references to divine interposition, by his scrupulous recounting of all religious observances of every kind, etc. This characteristic is not once illustrated in 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10, but very frequently thereafter.<sup>6</sup> (f) In 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10 Xenophon usually states accurately the number of the forces engaged, of the slain, and of ships sunk or captured, while in the later parts he ordinarily reckons approximately, with an "about" or "few" or "many." (g) A minute study by various scholars of the stylistic peculiarities of

<sup>1</sup> See Introd. p. 19 f.    <sup>2</sup> Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 45 (cited above, p. 351): τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἐτῶν (of the Peloponnesian War) πράγματα ἀπαληροῖ δ τε Θεόπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν. Dionysius, *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* 4 (also cited above, p. 351): τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ ἣν κατέλιπεν ἀτελεῖ Θουκυδίδης (καὶ) ἐν ἣ καταλύονται τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθέλιον ἀθῆς ἀνίστανται. The text of the latter passage seems to be corrupt, but Dionysius is apparently distinguishing between a first and a second part of the *Hellenica*. Another bit of ancient evidence has been found in the citations of Harpocration, the grammarian, from the *Hellenica*, which prove that in his copy (apparently comprising nine books) the second book ended at 2. 3. 10, i.e. with the end of the Peloponnesian War. See Simon, *Xenophon-Studien* II.    <sup>3</sup> As already noted above, p. 352.    <sup>4</sup> See above, p. 352.    <sup>5</sup> First in 2. 3. 56.    <sup>6</sup> First in 2. 4. 14.

Xenophon, especially in the use of particles,<sup>1</sup> has revealed most marked differences between I. I. 1-2. 3. 10 and the later parts of the *Hellenica*, differences which may be said to prove conclusively that Part I. was written considerably earlier than Parts II. and III.<sup>2</sup>

Arguments which are no less definite and convincing establish the limits of Part II. (2. 3. 11-5. 1. 36, *i.e.* from 404 to 387 B.C.) and the fact that it was written many years before Part III.: (a) In 2. 4. 43,<sup>3</sup> where Xenophon is speaking of the final reconciliation between the opposing factions at Athens in 403 B.C., he says that "all parties still live together in harmony, and even to this day the commons abide by their oaths." Now, these words could not have been written *very much* later than the event described, *i.e.* than 403 B.C.; for in the changing political life of Athens and with the passing away of those who were concerned in the struggle of 404-403 B.C., the reconciliation which followed it would erelong have been forgotten, and it would be idle and meaningless for Xenophon to record the fact that the terms of the reconciliation were still observed. It is safe to say that "this day," *i.e.* the time when Xenophon wrote these words, was not more than twenty (or at most twenty-five) years after 403 B.C. But we shall find that much of Part III. was written considerably more than *forty* years<sup>4</sup> after 403 B.C., and much later, therefore, than Part II. (b) In 4. 3. 16 Xenophon says of the battle of Coronea that "no other battle of our time is to be compared with it." It seems clear that these words must have been written before the still more important battles of Leuctra (371 B.C.) and Mantinea (362 B.C.) were fought,—that is, a long time before Part III. was composed. (c) In 3. 5. 25 Pausanias, king of Sparta, being put upon trial for his life, is described as effecting his

<sup>1</sup> This method was first employed by Dittenberger (*Hermes* 16 (1881) 330 f.); after him by Roquette (*op. cit.*), Simon (*Xenophon-Studien* I. and IV.), Rosenstiel (*De Xen. historiae Gr. parte bis edita*), and Schanz (*Hermes* 21 (1886) 439 f.). The work of all these investigators is especially interesting and valuable because it furnishes independent confirmation of results previously obtained. Among other things, it seems to prove fully that the latter part of Book 2 (from 2. 3. 10 to the end) belongs with Part II. and not, as is sometimes maintained, with Part I. <sup>2</sup> Dittenberger and his followers are agreed that Part I. is the earliest of all Xenophon's works, excepting the *Cynegeticus*. <sup>3</sup> It was this passage which led Niebuhr to maintain that the *Hellenica* could not have been a continuous composition. See above, p. 355, note 2. <sup>4</sup> That is, later than 358 B.C. See below.

escape to Tegea (395 B.C.), "and there" Xenophon adds, "he died a natural death." Yet in 5. 2. 3-6 (*i.e.* at the very beginning of Part III.) Pausanias again appears on the stage (385 B.C.). The natural inference is that in the earlier passage Xenophon mentioned the king's death because at that time he had no intention of referring to him again, that is, no intention of continuing his history beyond 387 B.C. (*d*) The year 387 B.C. was made memorable by the Peace of Antalcidas, which marked an epoch in Greek history and, for a time, appeared likely to be permanent. This date, therefore, might well have seemed to Xenophon a natural stopping place. (*e*) After describing the negotiation of the Peace of Antalcidas Xenophon devotes two sections (5. 1. 35 and 36,—the last of Part II.) to setting forth the results of that peace, with general observations on the war which preceded it. The whole passage seems like the summing-up of a writer who has finished his task. (*f*) Careful studies of the style and language<sup>1</sup> of Part II. have shown that it belongs to the middle period of Xenophon's literary activity, and far antedates Part III.

Part III. (5. 2. 1—the end), covering the period from the Peace of Antalcidas to the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), is shown by its language and style to be one of the very latest of Xenophon's writings.<sup>2</sup> This fact tends to justify the very reasonable opinion<sup>3</sup> that it was not begun until the battle of Mantinea supplied the historian with a new impulse, as well as a new and manifestly proper stopping place.<sup>4</sup> In any event, Part III. was surely not finished until some years after Mantinea; for in 6. 4. 35-37,<sup>5</sup> in a digression upon Thessalian affairs, Xenophon describes the assassination of Alexander of Pherae, which took place in 358 or 357 B.C., and refers to the rule of his successor as continuing "up to the time when this narrative was written." Since Xenophon probably died about 354 B.C., the time of the composition of Part III. is thus fixed approximately.

The reasons for assigning Part I. to *c.* 393 B.C. are summarized in the Introduction.<sup>6</sup> It remains to consider the more difficult question of the probable date of Part II. It must have been written, as has

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 357 and note 1 thereon.    <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 357, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> First expressed by Nitsche (*op. cit.*).    <sup>4</sup> The importance of the battle of Mantinea was fully recognized by Xenophon. Cp. *Hell.* 7. 5. 26.    <sup>5</sup> This passage is important in its bearing upon the date of Xenophon's death. See above, p. 350.    <sup>6</sup> p. 22.

already been pointed out, not only before the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.) but within twenty (or at most twenty-five) years after the reconciliation or amnesty of 403 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Two other considerations appear to fix the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 357. Roquette (*op. cit.*) undertakes the difficult task of denying the soundness of these generally accepted inferences. His statistics of Xenophon's use of particles lead him to believe that Part II. was written after the *Anabasis*, and he thinks that the *Anabasis* was published after the historian's expulsion from Scillus, which took place in 371 B.C.; he concludes, therefore, that Part II. of the *Hellenica* was written still later at Corinth, whither Xenophon removed from Scillus. This seems impossible. Part II. of the *Hellenica* is the history of Sparta's triumph, achieved in the Peace of Antalcidas, of the reëstablishment of her unquestioned hegemony; it is hardly conceivable that it should have been published at just the time when the tremendous fact of Sparta's overthrow was the one thing which filled men's minds in every Greek state. It could hardly have been *written* in the hour of Sparta's calamity; its tone would have been different, and some reference would have betrayed the changed conditions of the later time. At that time also, when Leuctra had so manifestly begun a new chapter in Greek history, Xenophon could no longer have cherished the intention, which is evident in Part II., of concluding his story with the Peace of Antalcidas. Again, Roquette's premises do not support his conclusion; his statistics (which seem to the present editor wholly convincing) show that Part II. was written after the *Anabasis* was *written*, not after the *Anabasis* was *published*. The autobiographical matter in *Anab.* 5. 3 does, indeed, seem to prove that the work was not finally *published* until 371 B.C. or later; on the other hand, its language and style, its "youthful freshness," and the strong probability that its composition would not have been deferred until long after the great event described, furnish excellent grounds for the widely accepted conclusion that it was *written* long before 371 B.C.,—probably in the first decade after Xenophon's return to Greece in 394 B.C. The author would naturally defer the publication of a story in which he himself figures so prominently, until a time when it would appear as the work of a recognized man of letters, and not the self-praise of a successful general. During the long interval, then, between the composition and publication of the *Anabasis*, Part II. of the *Hellenica* was written and published,—a conclusion which settles at once the vexed question of Xenophon's reference in *Hell.* 3. 1. 2 to an *Anabasis* written by Themistogenes. The extremely improbable view that Xenophon is here referring to his own *Anabasis*, but is denying or concealing his authorship of it, has held the field simply because it was assumed that Book 3 of the *Hellenica* was published *after* the *Anabasis*. It seems clear, however, that Xenophon

time of its composition somewhat more definitely: (a) Xenophon chose 387 B.C. as an appropriate halting place because the Peace of Antalcidas, concluded in that year, was deemed a permanent settlement of the troubles which had vexed the Greek states; but when, in 379 B.C., war broke out again between Thebes and Sparta, it was seen that this treaty had by no means marked an enduring adjustment, but only a temporary cessation of hostilities. It seems likely, therefore, that Xenophon was not engaged upon Part II. as late as 379 B.C., for in that case he would hardly have concluded his story with the inconclusive Peace of Antalcidas. (b) In 4. 4. 15 Xenophon lauds the exemplary conduct of the Spartans toward Phlius, which had asked their protection and received a Spartan garrison. When the danger was past, the Spartans departed, gave back the town to its own inhabitants, and did not even ask, as a reward for their service, the restoration of a faction which had been exiled from Phlius for its pro-Spartan sympathies. All this took place in 391 B.C.; in 384 B.C. Sparta did ask and obtain the restoration of these exiles,<sup>1</sup> and in 379 B.C., for their sake, besieged and captured Phlius and treated its inhabitants with great severity.<sup>2</sup> It is held with much probability that 4. 4. 15 was written *after* 384 B.C., because the writer apparently has in mind the ultimate restoration of the exiles in that year, and, on the other hand, *before* 379 B.C., because he could hardly have praised the Spartans so generously after their harsh treatment of Phlius had effaced the memory of their former moderation. With this conclusion all the other above-mentioned indications agree, and, while certainty is not attainable, it is probable that the composition of Part II. should be assigned to the period between 385 and 380 B.C.

is referring to a real *Anabasis* of Themistogenes, and for the reason that his own had not yet been given to the world. For all the questions here considered cp. especially Nitsche (*op. cit.*), Simon (*Xenophon-Studien* I.), Bergk (*Griechische Literaturgeschichte* 4. 313), and Christ (in Müller's *Handbuch* 7. 299).

<sup>1</sup> *Hell.* 5. 2. 8-10.      <sup>2</sup> 5. 3. 10-17 and 21-25.

## APPENDIX IV

## THE INTERPOLATIONS IN PART I. OF THE HELLENICA

IN recent years most of the suspected passages in Part I. of the *Hellenica* have been generally and unhesitatingly condemned as spurious.<sup>1</sup> A few still remain questionable. It should be noted that a recently discovered papyrus fragment,<sup>2</sup> which probably dates from the third century A.D., contains the various interpolated phrases of 1. 3. 1 and 1. 2. 19; this fact, however, proves nothing more than that the interpolations in question were comparatively early.

**Chronological Data.** — It is unanimously agreed that the references in Part I. to the number of years elapsed since the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, to the eponymous magistrates, and to Olympiads are spurious.<sup>3</sup> Since this is so, some scholars<sup>4</sup> have been led to go further and maintain that the notices of the beginnings of new years are also interpolated. It is urged that only six of these notices are found instead of the required seven (for the years from 410 to 404 B.C. *inclusive*), that all appear in connection with admitted interpolations, and that one of them — at 1. 6. 1 — is misplaced.<sup>5</sup> These arguments, while not without force, are hardly convincing, and it must be regarded as probable<sup>6</sup> that the year notices are genuine, and that they have simply attracted to themselves the spurious data instead of being a part thereof. The one missing notice has been the subject of much discussion,<sup>7</sup> for the chro-

<sup>1</sup> The whole question of interpolations in Part I. has been exhaustively discussed by Brückner, *De notationibus annorum in histor. Gr. Xenophontis suspectis*; Em. Müller, *op. cit.*; Richter, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Interpolationen in den Schriften Xenophons*; Riemann, *op. cit.*; Unger, "Die historischen Glosseme in Xenophons Hellenika," *Sitzungsberichte der k. bayrischen Akademie*, 1882, 237 f.; Beloch, "Zur Chronologie der letzten Jahre des peloponnesischen Krieges," *Philologus* 43 (1884) 261 f.; Kruse, *Über Interpolationen in Xenophons Hellenika*; and Blake, in his edition of *Hellenica* 1-2, Appendix. <sup>2</sup> II, in the Imperial Library at Vienna. <sup>3</sup> See Introd. p. 24 f. <sup>4</sup> Brückner and Beloch (*op. cit.*), who have been followed by Blake and (apparently) Underhill. All alike suspect the five notices in 1. 2. 1, 1. 3. 1, 1. 6. 1, 2. 1. 10, and 2. 3. 1, not the ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔτους of 1. 4. 2. <sup>5</sup> See note on 1. 5. 16. <sup>6</sup> This is the opinion of all critics and editors except those above mentioned (note 4). In 1. 3. 1, however, τοῦ ἐπιόρτου ἔτους is probably an interpolation. See Introd. p. 25, note 3. <sup>7</sup> Begun by

nology of the years from 411 to 407 B.C. depends upon properly locating the place which it should have occupied. It is clear that the *Hellenica* begins with the late autumn of 411 B.C. and that the τῷ ἐπιόρτι ἔρα of I. 6. 1 is 406 B.C. In the intervening space only three — instead of four — notices of the beginnings of new years are found. The fourth has been variously located, but the arguments of Beloch<sup>1</sup> have proved beyond reasonable doubt that it should be placed at I. 1. 11. Here, therefore, begins the year 410 B.C., and the notices of I. 2. 1, I. 3. 1, and I. 4. 2 refer respectively to 409, 408, and 407 B.C. The fact that Xenophon begins almost at the very close of 411 B.C. makes it comparatively easy to understand why he omits to mark the beginning of the following year.

**Historical Interpolations.** — The references to events in Sicily (I. 1. 37, I. 5. 21, 2. 2. 24, and 2. 3. 5) and in the Persian Empire (I. 2. 19 and 2. 1. 8–9) are universally condemned,<sup>2</sup> and the single item in regard to affairs in Thessaly (2. 3. 4), while it has found some defense, is almost certainly spurious.<sup>3</sup> The allusions to eclipses (I. 6. 1 and 2. 3. 4) and to the destruction of two temples of Athena by fire (I. 3. 1 and I. 6. 1) stand on a different footing from the Persian and Sicilian notes, because they may, so far as we know, be accurate.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, allusions of a similar sort are not infrequent in Thucydides.<sup>5</sup> The latter, however, is carrying out a declared and reasonable purpose in recording such events, whereas the references to them in Part I. of the

Dodwell (*Annales Thucyd. et Xenophont.*) and Haacke (*De postremis belli peloponnesiaci annis*), whose diverging views have each found many supporters (see Underhill, *Introd.* xl). It is Dodwell's view which has been adopted by Beloch (see above).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Cp. also Mülleneisen, *Die Zeitrechnung bei Th. und bei Xen.* and Brownson, "The succession of Spartan nauarchs in Hellenica I.," *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.* 34 (1903) 33 f. <sup>2</sup> See *Introd.* p. 25 f., and cp. especially Brückner, Riemann, Unger, Beloch, and Kruse, whom Keller, Underhill, and Blake among recent editors have followed. <sup>3</sup> This item, suspected by Brückner and Riemann, has been defended by Unger, but Kruse (whom Keller inclines to follow) urges convincing arguments against its genuineness. Kruse and Richter (*op. cit.*) also regard I. 2. 14 and I. 2. 18 as interpolations, but apparently without good reason. <sup>4</sup> The allusions to eclipses (calculated to have occurred on April 15th, 406 and Sept. 3d, 404 B.C.) are certainly accurate; regarding the other events nothing whatever is known. <sup>5</sup> Thucydides speaks in his introduction (I. 23) of the frequent eclipses of the sun

*Hellenica* are wholly pointless. They are also closely connected in every case with spurious chronological or historical data. For these reasons they have been generally pronounced interpolations.<sup>1</sup>

The list of the Spartan ephors in 2 3. 9-10 is doubtless to be regarded as spurious.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, a list of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens (2. 3. 2), which precedes that of the ephors by only a few sections and, largely for that reason, has been suspected,<sup>3</sup> is in all probability genuine.

## APPENDIX V

### A. MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, AND AUXILIARIES

#### I. MANUSCRIPTS

The extant Mss. of the *Hellenica* are numerous, but all are of comparatively late date. Six are generally recognized as much superior to the others<sup>4</sup>:

- B. Parisinus 1738, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century.
- M. Ambrosianus A 4, at Milan, dated 1344.
- D. Parisinus 1642, in the National Library at Paris, of the fifteenth century.
- V. Marcianus 368, in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.
- C. Parisinus 2080, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

and the violent earthquakes which took place during the period of the Peloponnesian War, and he confirms this statement by mentioning from time to time in his narrative the occurrence of such phenomena. He also describes with some detail the burning of the temple of Hera at Argos (4. 133). In Parts II. and III. of the *Hellenica* no such incidents are referred to except where they immediately affect the course of events. Cp. 4. 3. 10 (an eclipse) and 3. 2. 24, 3. 3. 2, and 4. 7. 4 (earthquakes).

<sup>1</sup> By Brückner, Müller, Riemann, Unger, Beloch, and Kruse. <sup>2</sup> See Introd. p. 26. This opinion is well nigh universal, although Müller and Unger defend the passage after changing the erroneous *δκρω* of the Mss. to *επρά*. <sup>3</sup> By Richter, Beloch, and Kruse. <sup>4</sup> For fuller information see Keller, Ed. maj., praef., Underhill's *Commentary*, Introd. § 3, and Riemann, *Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione Hellenicon Xenophontis textus constituendus sit*.



F. Perizonianus 6, in the library of the University of Leyden, dated 1456.

Of these six Mss. B, M, D, and V are held to belong to a superior family, while C and F represent an inferior family.

B is universally regarded as far the best of all the Mss. In many instances it is quite alone in preserving the true reading.

M is a very carefully written Ms. and ranks next in excellence to B.

D and V, which are closely related to each other, were manifestly copied from a defective archetype, and in many cases the scribes have filled up the lacunae which they found with conjectures of their own. D is also full of minor mistakes and omissions, which show that it was never revised.

C is carelessly written and abounds in errors, yet occasionally it is the only one of the Mss. to preserve the true reading.

F is closely connected with C, but shows many readings which belong to the superior family only. Keller therefore supposes that the original from which it was copied had been corrected from a Ms. of the superior family.

In recent years two papyrus fragments have been discovered which contain small portions of the text included in these *Selections*:

Π, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, assigned to the early part of the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

π', among the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, assigned to the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Π contains fragments from the first book, beginning with 1. 2. 2-3 and ending with 1. 5. 7-8. It is carelessly written and full of obvious mistakes, yet it sometimes<sup>3</sup> confirms the readings of B against the other Mss. and sometimes preserves a correct spelling where all the Mss. are in error.

π' is a small and practically valueless fragment from the third book, 3. 1. 3-7.

## 2. PRINCIPAL EDITIONS

### a. *Complete Works of Xenophon*

JUNTA: Florence, 1516. *Editio Princeps*. By E. Boninus.

—: Florence, 1527. Second edition, per Haeredes P. Juntae.

<sup>1</sup> Published by K. Wessely, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyri Erzherzog Rainer* 6. 17 f.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I.

<sup>3</sup> See Critical Notes, *passim*.

- ALDUS: Venice, 1525. By F. Asulanus.
- EDITIO HALENSIS: Halle, 1540. Opera omnia in tres partes distincta. With preface by Philipp Melanchthon.
- EDITIO BRYLINGERIANA: Basle, 1545, apud Nicolaum Brylingerum. With Latin translation.
- CASTALIO, SEB.: Basle, 1548 (?), 2 vols.
- STEPHANUS, H.: Geneva, 1561, 2 vols. With Latin translation, notes, and index.
- : Geneva, 1581. Second edition.
- LEUNCLAVIUS, J.: Frankfort, 1594, 2 vols. With Latin translation and Ms. variants.
- WELLS, E.: Oxford, 1691–1703, 5 vols. With introduction, maps, and notes, and the *Annales Xenophontei* of H. Dodwell.
- THIEME, C. A.: Leipzig, 1763–4 (new edition, 1801–4), 6 vols. Ex recensione E. Wells, with dissertations and notes compiled by C. A. Thieme, preface by I. A. Ernesti, and Latin translation.
- SCHNEIDER, J. G.: Leipzig, 1790–1849, 6 vols. Edited by Schneider, F. A. Bornemann, and G. A. Sauppe.
- GAIL, J. B.: Paris, 1797–1814, 7 vols. With the Latin translation of Leunclavius, a French translation, critical notes, and Ms. variants.
- WEISKE, B.: Leipzig, 1798–1804, 6 vols. With commentary.
- DICKINSON, A.: Edinburgh, 1811, 10 vols. With Latin translation.
- SCHAEFER, G. H.: Leipzig, 1811–13 (new edition, 1869–73), 6 vols. Editio stereotypa Tauchnitiana.
- BORNEMANN, KÜHNER, AND BREITENBACH: Leipzig (Teubner), 1838–63, 4 vols. With Latin notes.
- DIDOT FRÈRES: Paris, 1839. With Latin translation and indices nomenclum et rerum.
- SAUPPE, G.: Leipzig (Tauchnitz), 1865–7 (new edition, 1867–70), 5 vols. The best critical edition of Xenophon's complete works.
- MARCHANT, E. C.: Oxford, 1900—, 5 vols., of which 3 have thus far appeared.

#### b. *Separate Editions of the Hellenica*

- ALDUS: Venice, 1502. *Editio Princeps* of the *Hellenica*.
- MORUS, S. F. N.: Leipzig, 1778. With index, notes, and the Latin translation of Leunclavius.
- DINDORF, L.: Leipzig, 1824 (and Berlin 1831 and 1847).

- DINDORF, L.: Oxford, 1853. Editio secunda auctior et emendatior. With introduction, indices, and full notes.
- : Leipzig, 1866. Editio tertia (Teubner text), with introduction and critical apparatus.
- COBET, C. G.: Amsterdam, 1862 (second edition, Leyden, 1880). With very bold and extensive conjectural emendations.
- BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, B.: Leipzig (Teubner), 1860-91, 2 vols. The best German school edition.
- KURZ, E.: Munich, 1873-4, 2 vols. A school edition, with German notes.
- BREITENBACH, L.: Berlin (Weidmann), 1873-84, 3 vols. With full introduction and notes, especially historical.
- ZURBORG, H.: Gotha (Perthes), 1882, Books I. II. With brief and excellent notes. Continued by
- GROSSER, R.: Books I.-VII., 1885-93, 3 vols. Continued by
- ZIEGLER, E.: Books III. IV., 1899.
- KELLER, O.: Leipzig (Teubner), 1890. Editio major, with critical preface and apparatus, and index verborum. By far the best critical edition of the *Hellenica*.
- : Editio minor (Teubner text), 1890-1901.
- SOROF, F. G.: Leipzig, 1899-1901. Selections. With excellent notes.
- HAILSTONE, H.: London, 1878-1903. Books I. II.
- UNDERHILL, G. E.: Oxford, 1888. Books I. II.
- MANATT, I. J.: Boston, 1888. Books I.-IV., on the basis of Büchschütz's edition.
- BENNETT, C. E.: Boston, 1892. Books V.-VII., on the basis of Büchschütz's edition.
- BLAKE, R. W.: Boston, 1894-6. An excellent edition of Books I. II.
- EDWARDS, G. M.: Cambridge, 1899. Books I. II.
- UNDERHILL, G. E.: Oxford, 1900. A Commentary on the *Hellenica* (to accompany the text of Marchant), with introduction and appendices. Complete and most valuable.

### 3. AUXILIARIES

(Abbreviations: JP. = Jahrbücher für Philologie; RM. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie; ZAW. = Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft; Ph. = Philologus; Hm. = Hermes.)

- BELOCH, J.: *Griechische Geschichte*, Vol. II., Strassburg, 1897.
- : *Die attische Politik seit Perikles*, Leipzig, 1884.

- BELOCH, J.: *Zur Chronologie der letzten Jahre des peloponnesischen Krieges*, Ph. 43 (1884) 261 f.
- BOERNER, A.: *De rebus a Graecis inde ab anno 410 usque ad annum 403 a. Chr. n. gestis quaestiones historicae*, Göttingen, 1894.
- BOLDT, P.: *Xenophontis vitae specimen*, Posen, 1885.
- BREITENBACH, L.: *Xenophons Hellenika Buch I., verglichen mit Diodor und Plutarch*, RM. 27 (1872) 497 f.
- : *Das Jahr der Rückkehr des Alkibiades*, JP. 105 (1872) 73 f.
- BRÜCKNER, C. A. F.: *De notationibus annorum in Hist. Graec. Xenophontis suspectis*, Schweidnitz, 1838.
- : *De Xen. Hell. lib. I. et II. animadversiones*, ZAW. 6 (1839) 394 f.
- BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, B.: *Xenophons Griechische Geschichte*, Ph. 14 (1859) 508 f.
- : *Xenophons Hellenika und Plutarchos*, JP. 103 (1871) 217 f.
- BUCHWALD, F.: *Ueber den Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in den Hellenika*, Görlitz, 1892.
- BUSOLT, G.: *Griechische Geschichte*, Vol. III. 1–2, Gotha, 1897–1904.
- COBET, C. G.: *Variae Lectiones*, Leyden, 1854 (2d ed., 1873).
- : *Novae Lectiones*, Leyden, 1858.
- CROISET, A.: *Xenophon. Son caractère et son talent*, Paris, 1873.
- DAKYNS, H. G.: *The Works of Xenophon* (translated), Vols. I.–II., London, 1890–92.
- : *Xenophon*, in E. Abbott's *Hellenica*, London, 1898.
- DITTENBERGER, W.: *Die Chronologie der Platonischen Dialoge*, Hm. 16 (1881) 321 f.
- DOBRÉE, P. P.: *Notae ad Xenophontem*, Cambridge, 1831.
- FABRICIUS, E.: *Die Befreiung Thebens*, RM. 48 (1893) 448 f.
- FABRICIUS, O.: *Zur religiösen Anschauungsweise des Xenophons*, Königsberg, 1870.
- FELLNER, T.: *Zu Xenophons Hellenika*, in *Historische Untersuchungen zu A. Schaefers Jubiläum*, Bonn, 1882.
- GEMÖLL, W.: *Schulwörterbuch zu Xenophons Anabasis, Hellenika, und Memorabilien*, Leipzig, 1901.
- GROSSER, R.: *Ueber den Anfang und die ursprüngliche Gestalt der Hellenika*, JP. 95 (1867) 737 f.
- : *Zur Charakteristik der Epitome von Xenophons Hellenika*, Barmen, 1873.

- HARTMAN, J. J.: *Analecta Xenophontea*, Leyden, 1887.  
 —: *Analecta Xenophontea Nova*, Leyden, 1889.
- HERBST, L.: *Die Schlacht bei den Arginusen*, Hamburg, 1855.
- HERTLEIN, F. K.: *Observationes criticae in Xen. Historiam Graecam*, I.-HI., Wertheim, 1836-45.  
 —: *Xenophontis Historia Graeca*, JP. 75 (1857) 694 f.  
 —: *Zur Litteratur des Xenophons*, JP. 95 (1867) 461 f.
- HERWERDEN, H. VAN: *Symbolae exegeticae et criticae ad Xen. Historiam Graecam*, Leyden, 1888.
- HOLWERDA, I. H.: *Observatio critica in Xen. Hellenica*, Amsterdam, 1866.
- JUDEICH, W.: *Kleinasiatische Studien*, Marburg, 1892.
- JUNGCLAUSSEN, W. T.: *De Campio et Büchschützi Xenophontis Hellenicorum interpretibus*, Meldorf, 1862.
- KRUSE, H.: *Ueber Interpolationen in Xenophons Hellenika*, Kiel, 1887.
- KURZ, E.: *Zu Xenophons Griech. Gesch. Kritisches und Exegetisches*, I. II, Munich, 1873-75.
- LANGE, E.: *Xenophon: Sein Leben, seine Geistesart und seine Werke*, Gütersloh, 1900.
- LAVES, A.: *Xenophons Hellenika, Buch I. II.*, Lyck, 1867.  
 —: *Kritische Beiträge zu Xenophons Hellenika*, Posen, 1882 and 1884.
- LIEBHOLD, K. J.: *Zu Xenophons Hellenika*, JP. 115 (1877) 158 f., 375 f., 725 f. and *ib.* 117 (1878) 593 f.
- LOHSE, H.: *Quaestiones chronologicae ad Xen. Hellenica pertinentes*, Leipzig, 1905.
- MADVIG, J. N.: *Adversaria critica ad scriptores Graecos*, Copenhagen, 1871.
- MEYER, E.: *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vols. IV.-V., Stuttgart, 1901-02.
- MÜLLENEISEN, J.: *Die Zeitrechnung bei Thukydides und bei Xenophon im ersten Theile der Hellenika*, Viersen, 1895.
- MULLER, E. H. O.: *De Xen. historiae Graecae parte priore*, Leipzig, 1856.
- NIEBUHR, B. G.: *Ueber Xenophons Hellenika*, Kleine historische und philologische Schriften I. 464 f., Bonn, 1828.
- NITSCHKE, W.: *Ueber die Abfassung von Xenophons Hellenika*, Berlin, 1871.
- OTTO, A.: *Zu Xenophons Hellenika*, JP. 135 (1887) 28 f.

- PETER, C.: *Commentatio critica de Xen. Hellenicis*, Halle, 1837.
- RICHARDS, H.: *The Hellenics of Xenophon*, *Classical Review* 15 (1901) 197 f.
- RICHTER, E. A.: *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Interpolationen in den Schriften Xenophons*, Leipzig, 1873.
- RIEMANN, O.: *Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione Hellenicon Xenophontis textus constituendus sit*, Paris, 1879.
- ROQUETTE, A.: *De Xenophontis vita*, Königsberg, 1884.
- SAUPPE, G.: *Lexilogus Xenophonticus*, Leipzig, 1869.
- SCHNEIDER, R.: *Quaestiones Xenophonticae*, Bonn, 1860.
- SCHULZE, C. P.: *Quaestiones grammaticae ad Xenophontem pertinentes*, Berlin, 1888.
- SCHWARTZ, E.: *Quellenuntersuchungen zur griechischen Geschichte*, RM. 44 (1889) 104 f.
- SIMON, J. A.: *Xenophon-Studien*, I.-IV., Düren, 1887-89.
- : *Zu Xenophons Hellenika*, Ph. 43 (1884) 725 f.
- : *Zu Xenophons Hellenika*, JP. 137 (1888) 812 f.
- STERN, E. VON: *Geschichte der spartanischen und thebanischen Hegemonie*, Dorpat, 1884.
- : *Xenophons Hellenika und die böotische Geschichtsüberlieferung*, Dorpat, 1887.
- SWOBODA, H.: *Zur Geschichte des Epameinondas*, RM. 55 (1900) 460 f.
- THIEMANN, K.: *Wörterbuch zu Xenophons Hellenika* (4th ed.), Leipzig, 1898.
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- WEIL, H.: *Zur Beurtheilung des Xenophons*, ZAW. 9 (1842) 143 f.
- WOLF, F. A.: *Epistola ad J. G. Schneiderum de Xenophontis Hellenicis*, Kleine Schriften I. 316 f., Halle, 1869.

## B. CRITICAL NOTES

## BOOK I

1. 2. τούτων: del. Keller after Kondos. — ἦνοιγε: Mss. ἦνυτε, Kel. after Kondos. Cp. ἦνοιξεν 5. 13 and ἦνοιγον 6. 21, which are similarly changed by Kel., after Riemann, to ἦνυσεν and ἦνυτον. In all these

cases the forms contained in the Mss. — ἦνοιγε for ἀνέωγε, etc. — are admittedly unusual, and no other instance is cited where the verb ἀνοίγω has a similar meaning. Such a meaning, however, it has in modern Greek, and the English nautical phrase to “open out” is nearly or quite parallel. The basic idea of the verb seems to be to get clear and going, whatever the actual or threatened hindrance may have been. This suits all three passages somewhat better than the interpretations proposed by Blass (*Neue Jahrb.* 137 (1888) 465 f.) and Schenkl (*Bursian's Jahresber.* 17 (1879) 10). It is self-evident that the three passages support one another strongly.

1. 5. ἀνταναγαγόμενοι: Kel. after Hertlein. ἀνταναγόμενοι, Mss. — ~~ἐξ ἰωθινοῦ~~: del. Kel. after Brückner, who pointed out that all the events described since the ἄμα ἡμέρα of § 2 must have filled more than a forenoon. But it is entirely easy, as many scholars have seen, to assume that the battle of § 5 took place on the day *after* the arrival of Dorieus.

1. 6. μέχρι: Kel. with Mss. μέχρι σου (= as far as), Grosser. But μέχρι alone, and therefore temporal, serves the purpose, for in this passage the temporal meaning necessarily involves the local.

1. 8. Θράσυλλος: Kel. after Dindorf. Θράσυλος or Θρασύλος, Mss. The form with λλ, however, is found in Π (3. 6) and is supported by inscriptional evidence.

1. 13. ἀθροῖαι: Kel. ἀθροῖαι, Mss. Cp. Kühner-Blass, 22. 10. Similarly ἠθροῖκει § 32, etc.

1. 16. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: Kel. with Mss. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, Cobet and Sauppe.

1. 23. κάλα: Kel. after Bergk. καλά, Mss.

1. 27, 28: printed as in the Mss. Dindorf, followed by Kel. and most editors, inserts μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσιν after παραγγελλόμενα, Schneider after ἀντ' ἐκείνων, while Kurz puts παρήνεσαν . . . παραγγελλόμενα after πόλιν. If the interpretation of the whole passage indicated in the notes be accepted, these proposed changes are both unnecessary and improper.

1. 31. κατηγορήσας . . . τριήρεις: del. Kel. after Brückner.

1. 33. γυμνάσιον: del. Kel. after Cobet. Cp. Kruse, *Über Interpolationen in Xenophons Hellenika*, p. 12.

1. 35. Δεκελείας: suspected by Kel. and other scholars from a mistaken impression that Piraeus cannot be seen from Decelea. λεηλασίας, Otto. — καὶ Κλέαρχον: Mss. Κλέαρχον, Kel. after Dindorf.

1. 36. Σηστόν: Mss. Ἄβυδον, Blake after Grote. Kel. keeps Ση-

στόν, noting, however, "corruptum videtur hoc nomen." The mistake is more probably Xenophon's than that of a copyist. Cp. App. II. p. 354.

1. 37: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25 and note on 2. 10.

2. 1.  $\varphi$  . . .  $\Xi$ κκήτῆμονος: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 24 f. — χρησόμενος: Kel. after Weiske.  $\epsilon$ σομένοις, Mss. Madvig emends the passage to read πεντακισχιλίοις τῶν ναυτῶν πέλτας ποιησάμενος ὡς ἄμα καὶ πελτασταῖς  $\epsilon$ σομένοις.

2. 5. βοηθησάντων: Kel. with Mss. βοηθήσας μετά, Madvig.

2. 6. εἰς Ἐφέσον βοηθεῖν: Mss. βοηθεῖν, Kel. after Hartman.

2. 8. Ἐφέσιοι: Kel. after Sauppe. σφίσιν, Mss. σὺν δὲ σφίσιν, Simon. — καὶ Σελινοσίται δύο: Kel. with Mss., although he deems the passage corrupt. Del. Büchschütz. καὶ αἱ Σελ., Riemann.

2. 10. ἀριστεία ἔδοσαν: Kel. after Cobet. ἀρ. ἔδωκαν, Mss. ἀριστεία, Madvig. — ἀτελεῖ: Kel. after Cobet. ἀτέλειαν ἔδοσαν, Mss. ἀτελεῖ ἔδοσαν, Madvig.

2. 11. ἐπὶ Λέσβου: Mss. εἰθὺ Λέσβου, Π.

2. 13. κατέλευσεν: Kel. with Mss. ἀπέλευσεν, Wolf. κατελεήσας ἀπέλευσεν, Feder. Π, however, agrees with the Mss.

2. 14 and 18: del. Richter and Kruse. Cp. App. IV. p. 362, note 3.

2. 19: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25.

3. 1. τοῦ . . . ἐμπροσόντος: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25, note 3 and App. IV. p. 362. — Παντακλίου . . . παρεληλυθόντων: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 24 f.

3. 5.  $\xi$ ω: Mss.  $\xi$ ωθεν, Π.

3. 7. συμμίξαι: Kel. and Π. συμμίξαι, Mss. Cp. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Gramm. der att. Inschr.* 67. 1.

3. 10. ἱππίας: Kel. and Π. ἱππεῖς (as frequently), Mss.

3. 13. Φιλοκύδης: Kel. after Dindorf. Φιλοδίκης, Mss. — πρόσβει: del. Kel. after Kurz, largely on the assumption that Pasippidas was at this time an exile; but see note *ad loc.* and, cp. Beloch, *Philologus* 43 (1884) 268 f. and Brownson, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.* 34 (1903) 33 f.

3. 17. ἄλλαι: Mss. ἄλλαι ἄλλη, Kel. after Schäfer. That this change is for the worse seems to be shown by the omission of the article with γαῖς. — καὶ ἐν Ἄντάνδρῳ: as in the Mss. Kel. follows Trieber in inserting the words after ὅπως.

3. 18. Βυζαντίων, Κύδων: Mss. Βυζαντίων (πρὸς ἔργον ἐτράποντο ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε.) Κύδων, Kel. after Hartman.



3. 19. εἰπὼν: Kel. with V. The other Mss. omit it. Π, ἀπολογούμενος. — ἀπολλυμένους: Kel. with B (and Π). ἀπολλυμένας, the other Mss.

3. 20. καλούμενον: Kel. after Dindorf. καλουμένας, Mss.

4. 1. Γορδίῳ: Kel. with Mss. Γορδείῳ, Π. Γορδειῳ, Dindorf.

4. 2. ὄνομα: del. Kel. after Holwerda. A manifest gloss on Βοιώτιος to indicate that it is the name of an individual. — ἄγγελοι: del. Kel. after Holwerda. — καὶ ἔλεγον: Mss. λέγοντες, Π. — πάντων ὧν δέονται: Mss. ὧν δέονται πάντων, Π.

4. 3. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον: Kel. with Mss. Del. Cobet and Dindorf.

4. 4. μὴν μάλιστα: Mss. μάλιστα μὲν, Kel. after Schneider.

4. 6. μέμψηται: CFMDV. μέμψησθε, Π.

4. 11. ἔχει: Mss. ἔχοι, Π.

4. 12. αὐτὸν ἤρημένους: Mss. except C. αὐτὸν ἤρημένον, Π.

4. 13. λέγοντες οἱ μὲν: Kel. after Schneider. λέγοντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν, Mss. — ἀπελογήθη (F has ἀπηγγέλθη) ὥς: del. Kel. after van den Es. ἀπλοήθης καὶ ὥς, Madvig. ἀήττητος καὶ ὥς, Grosser. Laves and Riemann assume a lacuna in the archetype. It seems clear that ἀπελογήθη ὥς cannot be right, whether the verb be taken in a middle or a passive sense (see Büchschütz's note); for manifestly this is not the defense that was offered either *by* or *for* Alcibiades in 411 B.C. The words may well have been a marginal note, indicating the subject of this and the following sections.

4. 16. τοιοῦτοις . . . οἰοισπερ: Morus. τοιούτος . . . οἰοσπερ, Mss. τοιούτοις . . . οἷσις περιμένειν μὲν, Kel. after Zurborg. τοιούτοις . . . οἷσις δύνασθαι ἀπολλύναι, Kurz. These changes appear to be for the worse.

4. 17. ὄντων: Kel. with Mss. μελλόντων, Liebhold. — κινδυνέουσι: Blake and H. Richards (*Class. Rev.* 15 (1901) 200). κινδυνεύσαι, Kel. with Mss.

4. 18. εὐθύς: Mss. εὐθύς, Π.

4. 19. αὐτοῦ (or αὐτοῦ): Mss. except C. ἐαυτοῦ, Kel., following C.

4. 20. πρότερον: Mss. πρῶτον, Kel. after Dindorf.

4. 21. τετάρτῳ: Kel. after Cobet. τρίτῳ, Mss. The change is shown to be necessary by the allusions in §§ 12 and 20; yet it may be that Xenophon himself thoughtlessly wrote τρίτῳ.

4. 22. χάρας: del. Kel. after Cobet.

5. 11. ἤκοντ' ἀποτειχίζειν: Kel. after Holwerda. ἤκοντα τειχίζειν, Mss. Phocaea, however, was in the hands of the Lacedaemonians (cp. 6. 33 and Thuc. 8. 31); hence we need a verb meaning 'to invest' rather than 'to fortify.'

5. 13. τότε δὴ καί: Mss. τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτός, Morus. τότε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, Grosser. Kel. following Hartman assumes a lacuna after δὴ. — ἤνοιξεν: Mss. ἤνυσεν, Kel. after Riemann. See on 1. 2.

5. 15. Ἡίωνα: Mss. Τέων, Kel. after Schneider, because Diod. (13. 76) records the capture of Delphinium and that of Teos in immediate succession. But assuming that Diod. is right, it is wholly impossible to infer therefrom that Xen. (or the text of Xen.) is wrong. Eion at one time figured prominently in the story of the war (Thuc. 4. 102 ff.), and, when last mentioned by Thuc. (5. 10), it was in the hands of the Athenians. That its capture should be recorded here is by no means surprising, considering Xenophon's references to the operations of Thrasybulus in the Thraceward region (1. 12, 4. 9) and his frequent allusions to events which are not connected with the main course of his narrative (1. 32, 2. 14, 2. 18).

5. 16. Δέοντα: Mss. Λυσίαν, Kel. after Zeune, because (1) Diod. (13. 74) names Lysias in place of Leon, and (2) Lysias, and not Leon, appears in the list of the generals who fought at Arginusae (6. 30). Yet Leon's name is mentioned again in 6. 16 and, furthermore, is attested by the Scholiast on Aristid. *Panath.* 162. 19. See note on 6. 30.

5. 20. ἀναγαγόμενος: Kel. after Hertlein. ἀναγόμενος, Mss. Cp. 1. 5.

5. 21: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* p. 25.

6. 1. φ̄ . . . Ἀθήνησιν: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* pp. 26 and 24. — καὶ . . . ἐτών: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* p. 24.

6. 2. οὐ . . . νῆες: del. Kel. after Cobet, but without sufficient reason.

6. 4. τῷ διαλλάττειν: Mss. τῷ αἰὲ διαλλάττειν, Kel. after Cobet. — πολλάκις . . . τοῦτο: the Ms. reading of this vexed passage is as follows: *πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι ξυνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστότεον οὐ γινωσκόντων ἀπίρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο.* That this is impossible is universally recognized; for ἀπίρους . . . ἐκεῖ simply repeats the preceding, and there is no conjunction to connect

παραπίπτοιεν and κινδυνεύοιεν. The text as printed adopts from Jacobs *ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων* for *ἀνεπιτηδείων*, from Cobet *εὖ* for *οὖ*, and from Laves the insertion of *τε* after *κινδυνεύοιεν*. This is a minimum of change. For, whatever the reading adopted (unless it be to delete the whole clause from *ἀπείρους* to *τούτο*), a conjunction must be inserted *somewhere*; and it is more likely that a *τε* should have fallen out before *τι* than any other conjunction in any other place. Aside from this insertion only two letters are changed from the Ms. reading. The first of these changes (from *ἀνεπιτηδείων* to *ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων*) is inevitable unless one deletes *ἀπείρους . . . ἐκεῖ*; and the second follows from the first. The sense of the text as printed seems better than that obtained by more violent emendations or by deletions. For the Lacedaemonians are said to make a great mistake "in changing their admirals," because often, as in the present case, the change is for the worse. We now expect some proof of this statement in the shape of a comparison between the man replaced and his successor, — all the more because the words are those, not of the enemies of Callicratidas, but of the friends of Lysander, who could hardly fail to have something to say in his praise. — Some of the other changes proposed are as follows: *ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων γενομένων καὶ ἀκριβοῦντων τ. ν. κ. ἀ. ὡς χρηστέον εὖ γιγνωσκόντων ἀπείρους τε θαλάττης π. κ. ἀ. τ. ἐ. καὶ κινδυνεύοιεν τι κτέ.*, Cobet; *ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἀντὶ ξυνιέντων . . . κινδυνεύοιεν τέ τι κτέ.*, Richter; *ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἄριστα . . . ἀπείρους τε θαλάττης . . . καὶ κινδυνεύοντάς τι κτέ.*, Liebhold; *ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἀρτίως . . . εὖ γιγνωσκόντων . . . ἐκεῖ καὶ κινδυνεύοιεν τι κτέ.*, Riemann; [*ἀπείρους . . . διὰ τούτο*], Em. Müller followed by Kel.; [*ἀπείρους . . . ἐκεῖ*], κινδυνεύοιεν τέ τι κτέ., Laves. — *τούτου δέ*: Mss. *τούτου δή*, Kel. after Liebhold.

6. 11. *δείξωμεν*: Mss. except V. *δείξομεν*, Kel., following V.

6. 13. *ἀλλ' ἔμφροῦρων ὄντων*: Mss. *ἀτ' ἔμφροουρόντων*, Cobet, from whom Kel. adopts the change from *ἀλλ'* to *ἀτ'*. It is to be noted, however, that *ἄτε* is not found in Part I. of the *Hell*.

6. 14. *οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων*: Mss. *οὐδέν' ἄν' Ἑ.*, Kel. after Naber. — *εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν*: edd. *εἰς τὸ κείνου* (or *'κείνου*) *δυνατόν*, Mss. Kel. brackets, following Kruse. The phrase may be, as Kruse thinks, a gloss on *ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος*. Yet *κείνου* (instead of *ἐκείνου*) hardly proves anything, for the forms of *ἐκείνος* are often carelessly written in the Mss. Thus in 2. 1. 13 all the Mss. have *κείνον* (which Kel. emends to *ἐκείνον*) and in 1. 3. 10 all but one have *κείνην*. For the

not infrequent use of the demonstrative instead of the reflexive see on I. 27.

6. 15. ὅπως . . . φόβοι: del. Kel. after Cobet. That the phrase is not absolutely necessary seems hardly a sufficient reason for condemning it.

6. 16. Δίον: MSS. Kel. suspects that the reading is corrupt. See, however, on 5. 16.

6. 21. ἤνοιγον: MSS. ἤνυτον, Kel. after Riemann. ἐτύγχανον, Zurborg. See on I. 2. — τὰς τε: Kel. with MSS. τὰς τε γάρ, Breitenbach and Kurz. — ἐγειρόμενοι: MSS. ἐπειγόμενοι. Kel. after Göller. But see note *ad loc.* After ἐγειρόμενοι Büchsenstschütz assumes a lacuna. — τυχόντες κτλ.: Kel. with MSS. οἱ δὲ τυχόντες . . . εἰσβάντες εἰδῶκον, H. Blass.

6. 26. ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης: del. Kel. after Krüger. The words are geographically impossible and have evidently been borrowed, through a copyist's error, from the following section.

6. 27. ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου . . . ἄκρα: del. Kel. after Krüger. ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου seems to be a gloss on ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης, while ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρα has been repeated by a careless copyist from the preceding section.

6. 32. οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται: Blake and Sorof. Cp. Kühner-Blass, 343, *s.v.* οἰκίζω. οἰκεῖται, MSS. οἰκήσει, Kel. ed. maj. (and Grosser) after Breitenbach. οὐδέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται, Kel. ed. min. after Liebhold and Nauck. οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται, A and Aldina, followed by Cobet, Kurz, and Zurborg. οἰκῆ, Riemann. διακέηται, H. Richards. οὐδὲν κάκιον οἰκεῖται, Büchsenstschütz.

6. 33. πλείστων δέ: MSS. πλείστων, τινῶν δέ, Kel. after Madvig. πλείστων, τῶν δέ, Blake.

6. 34. τῶν πασῶν: Kel. after Cobet. πασῶν, MSS. Cp. Büchsenstschütz *ad loc.*

6. 35. ἔδοξε δὲ καί: Kel. with MSS. ἔδοξε δέ, Schneider, whom some editors follow.

7. 2. διωβελίας: Kel. after Dindorf. διωκελίας or διωκελείας, MSS.

7. 10. δημεύσαι: Kel. after Riemann. δημοσιεῦσαι, MSS.

7. 13. κλήσιν: Kel. after Dobrée. ἐκκλησίαν, MSS.

7. 17. μετέπεισαν: Kel. after Brückner. ἔπεισαν, MSS. ἔπαυσαν, Goldhagen, followed by Kurz. None of the passages which have been adduced as showing *πείθειν* in the sense of *μεταπεῖθειν* is in any way parallel to this one.

7. 19. *πειθηθε*: Mss. *πίθηθε*, Kel. after Bisschop. But cp. Plato, *Rep.* 480 A and *Phaedo* 89 B, cited by Büchschütz. — *κἄν μίαν*: Kel. from schol. on Dem. *Olynth.* 2. 14 in Cod. Patm. *μίαν*, Mss.

7. 22. *εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε*: Kel. after Goldhagen. *εἰ βούλεσθε*, Mss.

7. 23. *διηρημένων*: Kel. after Leunclavius. *διηρημένης* or *διηρημένης*, Mss. — *ἐνὸς . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι*: del. Kel. after Nitsche. *διηρημένων . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι*, del. Blake, followed by Underhill. It can hardly be questioned (see note *ad loc.*) that *ἐνὸς . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι* is a later addition. The preceding clause, however, seems to be genuine. For a division of the trial day into three parts — for the reason indicated by the interpolator — is not only natural, but was probably not unusual in Athenian practice. It is in line with the regular allowance of a fixed time (cp. Dem. *de Fals. Leg.* 378 *διαμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν*, and Harpocration thereon) to prosecutor and defendant, and also with the procedure in cases involving blood-guiltiness, where the trial covered three days, allotted in much the way which is described here. Further, if Xenophon wrote only *τούτων . . . ἕκαστον*, it is almost impossible to find a reason for the addition of the following phrases.

7. 24. *οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀπολοῦνται*: Kel. after Leunclavius. *οὐκ ἀδικούντες ἄπ.*, Mss. *οὐχ ὡσπερ ἀδικούντες*, Stephanus. *οὐκ οὐδὲν ἀδικούντες*, Blake. *οὐκ ἀπολοῦνται*, Kurz. The Ms. error is most easily explained as due to the influence of *ἀδικούντες* (above), transforming *ἀδίκως*.

7. 27. *ἀποκτείναιτε· μεταμέλῃσαι*: Kel. after Peter. *ἀποκτείνητε* (*ἀποκτείνετε*), *μεταμέλῃσει* (*μεταμέλῃση*), Mss. — *ἡμαρτηκότας*: Kel. with BCMDV. *ἡμαρτηκότες*, F.

7. 29. *ὄντας*: Mss. *ὄντες*, Kel. after Peter and Hartman. — *ἀμφότερ' ἄν*: Stephanus. *ἀμφότερα*, Mss., followed by Kel., who, however, inserts *ἄν* in the similar passage in 6. 14, *οὐκ ἔφη . . . ἀνδραποδοσθήναι*. It seems, on the contrary, that the inf. after *οὐ φημι* may be justly treated as an obj. inf., with fut. meaning whether it be pres. or aor., whereas this is impossible if the neg. is wanting. See *Introd.* IV. 1 and *KG.* 389, *Ann.* 7.

7. 30. *τούτων καταλιπεῖν*: Kel. with Mss. *τούτων καταλιπεῖν ἔταξαν*, Weiske. *τούτων ἔδοξε καταλιπεῖν*, Blake.

7. 31. *τριπράχων*: del. Kel. after Breitenbach. There is no reason, however, for assuming that Thrasybulus and Theramenes were the *only* trierarchs left behind. — *τούτους*: edd. *τούτοις*, Mss. *τούτο*, Kel.

after Hartman. — τοὺς δὲ πρὸς: Kel. ed. maj. with Mss. τοὺς δὲ (τὰ) πρὸς, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.

7. 32. *παρισκινύσαντο*: Mss. except F. *παρεκελεύσαντο*, Kel. with F. — *ἤπερ . . . προσταχθέντα*: del. Kel. ed. maj. after Richter *et al.* In his ed. min. Kel. retains this phrase, but brackets, after Nauck, *καὶ . . . ἀναιρέσεως*. It is difficult, however, to find a reason for the insertion of *καὶ . . . ἀν.* by any commentator, whereas the *τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ* might well have seemed to demand an explanatory note such as is contained in *ἤπερ . . . προσταχθέντα*. If the latter phrase be retained, it must be held to refer to the failure of the generals to sail against the enemy; but the generals were on trial for their failure to rescue the shipwrecked, and *καὶ . . . ἀναιρέσεως* shows that this fact was clearly in the speaker's mind at this point of his argument.

7. 33. *ὄχ . . . προσταχθέντα*: del. Kel. after Brückner *et al.* The phrase is not only open to the objections urged against *ἤπερ . . . προσταχθέντα* above, but is rendered still more suspicious by the personal acc. (instead of the regular gen.) after *καταγνόντες*. To understand *ικανὸς γενομένους*, with Breitenbach, as the subj. of *ἀγνωμονεῖν* seems impossible in the absence of the article.

## BOOK II

1. 7. *ἐπὶν . . . παρεληλυθόντων*: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* p. 24.

1. 8 and 9: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* p. 25.

1. 10. *ἐπὶ . . . Ἀλεξίου*: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* p. 24 f.

1. 12. *πρὸς*: del. Kel. after Kurz. *ἦδη*, Grosser. *τὰ πρὸς*, conj. Marchant. The prep. is undoubtedly awkward, but is used with a somewhat similar meaning in § 17 and in 1. 6. 5. Breitenbach seems to be wholly wrong in assuming the loss at this point of an allusion to the reënforcement of the Athenian fleet by 30 ships. It is true that at Aegospotami the Athenians had a fleet of 180; but 130 of their ships survived the battle of Arginusae and to this number must be added Conon's 40 ships. The difference between 170 and 180 is too slight to be made the basis for any conjecture.

1. 14. *ὡς εἶχε*: Mss., Kel. ed. maj. *ἦς εἶχε*, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.

1. 15. *προσβολῆ*: del. Kel. after Dindorf. But the phrases *τῇ ὑστεραία ἐκκλησίᾳ*, Thuc. 5. 46. 1, and *τῇ ὑστεραία (μάχῃ)*, *ib.* 7. 11. 2, seem to parallel and justify *τῇ ὑστεραία προσβολῆ*.

1. 17. ἔπλει: Kel. after Dindorf. ἐκπλεῖ, Mss.
1. 18. ἡ γὰρ . . . ἦν: del. Kruse, who argues that in the light of the first sentence of § 16 the reason here given is no reason at all.—παρήσαν: Mss. παρήσαν, Kel. after Cobet.
1. 23. καὶ . . . ἦν: del. Kel. after Richter, who argues that this phrase, taken in connection with ταῦτα . . . ἡμέρας below, would imply that the Athenians kept up the proceeding here described for five *whole* days, and, therefore, that the battle took place late in the day, and not in the morning. It seems absolutely unnecessary, however, to interpret Xenophon's words so strictly.
1. 24. καὶ . . . ἐπανάγοντο: del. Kel. after Richter.
1. 25. πρὸς τε . . . πόλιν: del. Kel. after Kruse.
1. 29. ἀπαγγέλλουσα: BMDV. ἀπαγγέλουσα, CF. ἀπαγγελοῦσα, V corr., followed by Kel.
1. 32. ὅς . . . κατεκρήμνισε: del. Kel. after Cobet and Hartman. But see note *ad loc.*
2. 3. κρατήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ: del. Kruse *et al.* Kel. comments "nescio an recte."—Ἰστιαίᾳς: Kel. ed. min. after Cobet. Ἰστιαίᾳς, Kel. ed. maj. after Schneider. Ἰστιαίᾳς, BCMDV.
2. 8. τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ: del. F. A. Wolf. Kel. omits the words entirely. Xen. is not in the habit of describing or identifying the places which he mentions, and he could hardly have felt it necessary to do so in the case of a spot so well known as the Academy.—Ἀκαδημίᾳ: Kel. after Cobet. Ἀκαδημία, Mss. Cp. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, 15. 30.
2. 10. εἰ μή: Mss. τοῦ μή, one inferior Ms. [εἰ]μή, Kel. after Dindorf. τὸ μή, Hertlein. μή οὐ, Hartman. The Ms. reading is undoubtedly loose and inaccurate, but it is not *per se* bad Greek nor is the author's meaning obscure.
2. 13. πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς: del. Kel. after Cobet. See note *ad loc.* πλησίον (only) del. Köppen, followed by many edd. Supposing, however, that τῆς Λακωνικῆς is genuine, it is extremely difficult to understand the insertion of πλησίον.
2. 15. Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . ποιέσθαι: Mss. κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτέ., Kel. after Cobet. κράτιστον εἶναι del. Kurz.
2. 16. πλείω: Mss. πλέον, Kel. after Franke. πλείον, Dindorf. But see GS. 36.
2. 19: Kel., after Otto, assumes a lacuna before ἐρωτώμενοι.
2. 24: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25.

3. 1.  $\psi$  . . .  $\alpha\delta\epsilon$ : del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 24 f.
3. 2: del. Richter, Beloch, Kruse, Blake. Kel. retains the §, but brackets  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , after Nauck. Cp. App. IV. p. 363.
3. 4: del. Dindorf, Kruse. Kel. retains the §, but comments "nescio an recte interpolatum existiment." Cp. Introd. p. 25 and App. IV. p. 362.
3. 5: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25. —  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\omicron\nu$ : Kel. and most edd.  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\omicron\nu$ , the Ms. reading, is defended by Kühner-Gerth, 455, *Anm.* 3, Schulze, *Quaest. gram. ad Xen. pertinentes*, p. 8, et al.
3. 7.  $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ : del. Kel. after Brückner.
3. 8.  $\pi\lambda\eta\nu$   $\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ : del. Kel. after Kruse.
3. 9-10.  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\delta$  . . .  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ : del. Kel. Cp. Introd. pp. 24, 26 and App. IV. p. 363.
3. 14.  $\pi\alpha\rho\omega\theta\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ : Schäfer and Cobet insert  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .
3. 16.  $\omicron\sigma\iota$   $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ : Mss., followed by almost all edd.  $\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$  ( $\acute{\eta}$ )  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ , Kel. after G. Hermann.
3. 19.  $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ : Mss.  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ , Kel. after Zurborg and Hartman. —  $\tau\rho\iota\sigma\chi\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ : Mss.  $\tau\rho\iota\sigma\chi\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\iota$ ), Kel. after Hartman. Cobet inserts  $\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$   $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  after  $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , Grosser  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  before  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . The Ms. reading is defended by Dindorf, Schulze, et al.
3. 20.  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\alpha$ : Kan.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\alpha$ , Mss., which Kel. retains, though he comments on Kan's emendation "fortasse recte." Dindorf and Cobet suggest  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\alpha$ . Laves substitutes  $\delta\epsilon\iota\pi\nu\alpha$  for  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\alpha$ . The Ms. reading seems incapable of any rational explanation.
3. 28.  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ : Kel. after Brückner.  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , Mss.
3. 29.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$ : Kel. after Cobet.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$ , Mss.
3. 31.  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  . . .  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ : del. Kel. after Morus.
3. 34.  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota$ : Dindorf and Cobet.  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\eta$ , Mss., followed by Kel.
3. 36.  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ : Wolf.  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ , Mss.  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ , Kel. after Schmidt.  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\eta\kappa\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ , Wytttenbach.  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\nu\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ , Weidner.
3. 41.  $\gamma'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ : Kel. after Brückner and Cobet.  $\gamma\epsilon$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ , Mss.
3. 48.  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$  . . .  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ : Kel. after Dindorf.  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$  . . .  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , Mss. Cp. GMT. 702. —  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ : Kel. after Schmidt.  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , Mss.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , Wytttenbach. Cp. Richards, *Class. Rev.* 15 (1901) 201. —  $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ : Kel. after Dindorf.  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$  (or  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ ), Mss.



3. 49. ἰσχατότατα: BCFM. ἔσχατα, Kel. after V and Cobet.
3. 54. οἱ Ἰνδακα: del. Kel. after Naber. The redundancy, however, seems to be that common to legal formulas.
4. 6. ἕκαστος ἀπό: Kel. after Laves assumes a lacuna between these words.
4. 8. ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι: MSS., followed by Kel. *et al.* ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις, Hermann, accepted by many edd. ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις, Classen. τῶν Ἐλευσινίων, Laves. σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσι, Palmer.
4. 13. τοὺς φιλάτους . . . ἀπεσημαίνοντο: MSS. τὰ φίλτατα, Portus, Körppen. τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀπεσημαίνοντο καὶ τοὺς φιλάτους ἀπέκτεινον, Wytttenbach. Other emendations of similar purport are offered by Kyprianos, Otto, and van Herwerden. The difficulty which all these critics seek to avoid — of giving ἀπεσημαίνοντο a personal obj. — appears to be imaginary.
4. 18. πρὶν: Kel. after Dindorf. πρὶν ἄν, Mss. See on 3. 48.
4. 26. Διξωνίων: Kel. and all edd. after Palmer. ἔξω νέων, Mss.
4. 30. τὸ εὐώνυμον: Mss. τὸ εὐώνυμον (Ἐλευσῖνι), Kel. after van Herwerden.
4. 34. ἄλλων: Mss. ἄλλων, Kel. after Madvig.
4. 38. ὡς: om. V and some edd.
4. 39. ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν: inserted by Cobet, who is followed by Kel. and most edd.
4. 40. ἠδίκησεν: Mss. ἠδίκηκεν, Kel. and edd. after Dindorf. But cp. § 20, where (in almost the same phrase) the aor. is used in a *negatīve* clause, immediately followed by a series of perfs. in affirmative clauses.
4. 41. περιήλασθε: Geist, followed by Underhill and Blake. περιήλυθεν, most of the better Mss. περιείληφθε, Kel. after Laves. παραλέλυσθε, Dindorf. περιηλάθητε, Sauppe. παρελύθητε, Cobet, followed by many edd.

## BOOK III

1. 5. συνήγαγε μὲν: Mss. μὲν del. Kel. after Cobet. See note *ad loc.* — ὄρων Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικόν: Mss. ὀκνῶν, Büchsenschtz. ὄρωδων, Palmer. οὐχ ἰκανὸν ὄρων, Bake. τὸ ἰ. τὸ πολεμικόν, Schneider. τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἰ., Otto. ὁ. ©. πρὸς τὸ ἰ., van Herwerden, followed by Kel.
1. 6. συνέμειξαν: papyr. π'. συνέμειξαν, Mss. See on 1. 3. 7.
1. 8. πορευσομένου: Dindorf, Cobet. πορευομένου, Mss., followed by Kel.

3. 1. *ᾠσιώθησαν*: Kel. after Dindorf. *ᾠσειώθησαν*, C. *ὡς εἰώθησαν*, cet. MSS.

3. 2. *κα ᾠ*: Kel. after Jacobs. *καὶ ᾠ* (or *ψ*), MSS. — *ὄν τῶ*: Kel. after Dindorf. *ὄν τοι* or *ὄν τοι* or *ὄν τοι* or *οὐ τοι*, MSS. Büchschütz regards the Doric forms, which are inconsistently used and uncertain, as perhaps due to copyists.

3. 3. *χολεύσαι*: MSS. *χολεύσαι* (*τὴν βασιλείαν*), Kel. after Otto. *χολὸς βασιλεύσῃ*, Tell.

4. 3. *ᾠπον*: Kel. after Morus. *ᾠποι*, Dindorf. *ᾠσους*, MSS.

4. 4. *εἶπαν*: Kel. with B. *εἶπον*, cet. MSS. — *Γεραιστόν*: Kel. with BCFM. *Γεραιστόν*, DV.

4. 5: Kel. following Cobet and Hartman inserts after *ἀδόλως*: *ἐμὲ ταῦτα πράξειν. Καὶ σοὶ δέ, εἶφη, ἔξεστι παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως.* Dindorf after *πίστιν*: *δόντα καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστιν* (omitting *παρ' ἐμοῦ* before *πίστιν*). Madvig, Büchschütz, and Marchant also assume a lacuna. The essential thing, however, is to quiet the suspicions of Agesilaus, and it seems unnecessary to refer here to any pledge *from* him. If a truce is ultimately concluded, it goes without saying that it will necessarily be two-sided. And there is no serious difficulty in understanding in *τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς* the region of which the Spartans are *de facto* in possession; Tissaphernes does not mean to keep the truce anyway, and he loses nothing by employing this conciliatory phrase, taking his cue from Agesilaus' *τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν Ἑλλάδι*.

4. 6. *ἐπέμνει*: MSS. *ἐνέμνει*, Kel. after Cobet *et al.*, comparing *Ages.* 1. 11. See *Intro.* p. 13, note 2.

4. 8. *ἔμνη*: MSS. *ἔδακνε*, Übelen.

4. 12. *αὐτοῦ*: Kel. after Hertlein. *αὐτοῦ*, MSS. See on 2. 3. 5. — *ἀπαντάσας . . . τάς*: inserted by Valckenaer, whom Kel. and almost all edd. follow, from *Ages.* 1. 16.

4. 13. *αὐτοῦ*: Kel. with MSS. *αὐτῶ*, Köppen, followed by most edd.

4. 20. *ἄλλον*: Kel. with MSS. *Ἄδαϊον*, Tell, from *Plut. Ages.* 12; but see Schwabe, *Neue Jahrb.* 107 (1873) 381 f.

4. 22. *ὁ ἡγεμών*: inserted by most edd. from *Ages.* 1. 36. *εἶπε*, MSS., followed by Kel. The subject, however, cannot be Tissaphernes, for cp. § 25.

5. 2. *νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἔρχειν εἶναι*: Laves. *νομίζοντές τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι*, MSS., which Kel. retains, marking a lacuna. Other conjectures are: *νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσσεσθαι*, Liebhold; *αὐτῶν τὸ*

ἄρχειν, Sauppe after Schneider; νομίζοντές γε αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν κτήσεσθαι, Simon. It seems clear, as Kurz contends, that the participial clause should state the *reason* for the eagerness of the Athenians; and the conjecture of Laves has been adopted in the text merely because it offers a readable and simple version of that reason.

5. 3. τελέσαι: Kel. with Mss. ἐλάσαι, Schneider, on which Kel. comments "fortasse recte." λεηλατήσαι, Dindorf.

5. 4. ἤρξαντο: Kel. with Mss. ἤρξαν τοῦ, Cobet.

5. 5. ἐν Δικελείᾳ: Kel. with Mss. τῆς ἐκ λείας, Breitenbach.

5. 6. Μηλιάς: Kel. Μηλιέας, Mss.

5. 9. ἀπολώλατε: Kel. with Mss. ἀπολώλετε, Sauppe. ἀπωλώλειτε, Dindorf.

5. 15. οὐκ ἔχόντων: Kel. and all edd. after Orelli. οὐχ ἐκόντων, Mss.

5. 16. χάριτα . . . μείζονα: Kel. with Mss. χάριτας . . . μείζοντας (or χάριν . . . μείζονα), Cobet.

5. 19. ἐπέπεσον: Kel. and edd. after Stephanus. ἔπεσον, Mss.

5. 22. τό: Kel. with Mss. τῶν, Tillmanns.

5. 23. αὐτῶν: Kel. and most edd. αὐτῶν, Mss. See on 2. 3. 5.

5. 24. ἀποδοῖεν: Mss. except B. ὑποδοῖεν, Kel. with B.

#### BOOK IV

2. 3. ἀπιστερεῖτο: BMDV. ἀποστερεῖτο, F. ἀποστεροῖτο, C, followed by Kel. See, however, *Introd.* IV. E.

2. 6. ὅτι . . . εὐκρινεῖν: Kel. with Mss. εὐ κρίνειν, Otto. ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ διευκρινεῖν, Cobet. ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους μόνους δεῖ ἐγκρινεῖν, Madvig. ὅστις τοὺς στρατευομένους διευκρινεῖ, Kurz. If the Ms. reading be retained, the meaning of εὐκρινεῖν still remains uncertain. An essential difficulty, as Büchschütz notes, is the fact that the prizes are stated to have been offered for equipment, not for the personnel or discipline of the troops.

2. 13. τὴν ἀμφιάλον: Kel. with Mss. ἀγχίαλον or αἰγιαλόν, Geist. εἰς or ἐπὶ ἀμφιάλον (with ἐπήεσαν) Breitenbach. εἰς τὴν ἀμφιάλον, Grote, Kurz. τὴν ἐπ' αἰγιαλόν, Schneider. τὴν ἀμφὶ Ἄλεον, Herbst. τὴν Στυμφαλίαν or τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν, Jungclaussen. The view suggested in the note is based largely upon the reference to the Tegeans and Mantinians. Manifestly these were the only allies whom the Lacedaemonians had picked up at the time referred to in ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφιάλον; for

Xenophon's point is to show how completely the plan of taking the Lacedaemonians all alone had failed, and he would surely have mentioned more accessions to their ranks if there had been more at this time. It would seem, therefore, that τὴν ἀμφύλιον cannot refer to the isthmus or even to the neighborhood of Corinth. The Lacedaemonians would never have advanced so far before uniting their entire force. Secondly, the allies from Epidaurus, Troezen, and Hermion (cp. § 16) could hardly, unmolested by Argives or Corinthians, have joined the Lacedaemonians at Phlius or Sicyon. It is this fact which suggests the inference that the Lacedaemonians marched through Argolis on their way northward, *i.e.* in order to pick up these contingents. Thirdly, ἐξῆσαν (ἐξ, from Sparta) should refer to an early stage of the northward march, — a fact which condemns at once many of the conjectures above cited. Finally, the fact that ἀμφύλιος is an unusual word is in its favor, and the term may perfectly well have been applied to a road which was not actually "sea-girt." To quote the stock example, Rhode Island is not an island.

2. 15. ἀπελθόντες: Kel. with Mss. ἐπελθόντες, vulg. See, however, Grote, 9. 129.

2. 17. ἐπεὶ . . . παρήσαν: del. Kel. after Naber. — ἦν: Dindorf and Kel. assume a lacuna after the word.

3. 3. ἐφ': Kel. and edd. after Dindorf. ἀφ', Mss. — διαλλάξας: Kel. with Mss. διῆξας, Madvig. διελάσας, Otto.

3. 7. ἔφυγον, οἱ δ': Kel. with Mss. οὐδ', Schneider from *Ages.* 2. 3.

3. 8. ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει: Kel. after Breitenbach. ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν Ναρθακίῳ, Mss. except D. ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ, D (and *Ages.* 2. 4).

3. 9. ὑπερβάλων: Kel. after Hirschig. ὑπερβάλλον, Mss. (and *Ages.* 2. 5).

3. 13. νικῶν: Kel. after Hartman. νικώῃ, Mss.

3. 16. καὶ πῶς: Kel. with B. καὶ πῆ (πῆ), CFMDV. καὶ γάρ, *Ages.* 2. 9, followed by some edd. καὶ πως, Breitenbach.

3. 17. καὶ πάντες . . . ἐγένοντο: del. Breitenbach *et al.*

5. 1. Κορίνθου: Kel. after Sauppe. τῆς Κορ., C. τοῦ Κορ., BFMDV.

5. 10. κῶν: Kel. after Lennep. κλών, Mss. — ἀνήκει: Kel. after Schneider. ἀνήγει, Mss.

5. 11. ἔταξε: Kel. after Schneider. παρέταξε, Mss.

5. 13. ἄσπεως: Kel. with B. τοῦ ἄσπεως, CFMDV.

5. 14. προσκειμένους: Dobrée. προειρημένους, Kel. with Mss.

5. 18. διών: Kel. with MSS. ἀπιών, Cobet. — ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐτι σκοταῖος: Kel. with MSS. ἐτι σκοταῖος ἀναστὰς ὄρθρου, Campe. Büchschütz suggests πρὸ ὄρθρου. The difficulty is that Mantinea is seven or eight miles from Orchomenus. It seems possible, however, to understand ὄρθρου as referring to so early an hour that this distance could be covered before daylight.

5. 19. εἰς Δίχαιον: inserted by Kel. after van Herwerden.

8. 4. τις . . . φοβείται: Kel. after Dindorf. τισι . . . φανείται, MSS.

8. 5. Αἰγαί εἰσι: Kel. after Valckenaer. Αἰγεῖς or Αἰγαεῖς, MSS. — &: inserted by Kel. after Dindorf. — ἄν: inserted by Kel. after Schäfer.

8. 14. ἐπεθύμει: MSS. except B. πάλαι ἐπεθύμει, Kel. with B, but doubtfully. — βασιλεύς: Kel. after Morus. οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ βασιλεύς, MSS.

8. 15. λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν: Stephanus. λόγοις ταῦτ' ἦν, MSS. οὐ βουλομένοις, Kel. after Köppen. τοῖς δ' ἐναντία ταῦτ' ἦν, Kurz. τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοι λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν, Simon. τοῖς δ' ἐς ἀντιλογίαν, Grosser. — τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι: Kel. with C. εἶναι τὰς νήσους, the other MSS. — ὡς Ἄργος: Leunclavius. ὡστ' Ἄργος (Ἄργους) or ὡς τᾶργος, MSS. Del. Kel. after Liebhold.

## BOOK V

1. 27. καὶ πρὸς: Kel. after Cobet. καί, MSS. διά, Laves. καὶ ὑπό, Breitenbach. αὐτῶν καὶ βραδυνήτος, Liebhold.

1. 31. ταῦτα: MSS. ταῦτά, Kel. after Dindorf.

1. 32. δέξασθαι: Kel. with BCFMV. δέξεσθαι, D, followed by some edd. — εἶναι: MSS. ἴσεσθαι, some edd.

1. 34. αὐτῆς: BMV. ἐαυτῆς, Kel. with CFD. — ἰκόντες: MSS. ἄκοντες, Kel. after Grosser, from *Ages*. 2. 21.

1. 35. τῇ: MSS. except B. ἐν τῇ, Kel. with B.

2. 12. τῶν πόλεων: MSS. except D. τῶν πόλεων πολλάς, D, followed by some edd.

2. 13. παρεσόμεθα: Kel. with MSS. παρεσοίμεθα, Dindorf.

2. 14. ὀκτακοσίων: MSS. ὀκτακισχιλίων, Mitford. τετρακισχιλίων, Büchschütz. Cobet inserts δῖς (Grosser τρίς) before τοσοῦτοι. Cp. Diod. 15. 21, Dem. 19. 263.

2. 16. γιγνομένης: Kel. after Schneider. γενομένης, MSS. ἄν γενομένης, Hertlein. γενησομένης, Weiske.

2. 17. ὑπ' ἐκείνους: MSS. ὑπ' ἐκείνους, Kel. after Cobet. — γε μὴν: Kel. with CFV. μὴν, BMD.

2. 22. στρατιάν: MSS. στρατείαν, Kel. after Leunclavius.

2. 33. ἡμῶς: Mss. ὑμῖν, Kel. after Cobet.
2. 34. πότε ἀκούσεσθε: Kel. with Mss. μή ποτε ἀκούσηθε, Liebhold.
2. 35. συνεκαθίζετο: Kel. with BM. συνεκαθίζετο, D, followed by some edd.
4. 1. πρότερον: Wolf. πρώτον, Kel. with Mss. πρὸ τοῦ, Hertlein.
4. 2. Φιλίππας: Kel. with B. Φυλλίππας, MD and most edd. — τὰ περί: Kel. with B. τὴν περί, CFMDV. τὴν περί Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, Cobet.
4. 6. προταμίειον: Kel. with Mss. ταμίειον, Stephanus and most edd.
4. 7. ἀποκτείναντες: Mss. ἀπέκτειναν, Kel. after Cobet.
4. 8. ἀνάκειον: Kel. after Dindorf. ἀναγκαῖον, Mss. — τῶν πολεμάρχων: Kel. after Dindorf. πολεμάρχων, Mss.
4. 9. ἐπιβοήθουν: inserted by Kel. Different verbs are proposed by other editors and critics. All are agreed that the entire passage is corrupt.
4. 13. λέξουν: Kel. after Dobrée. λέξειαν, Mss.
4. 17. ἐξέπυσεν: Kel. after Weiske and Cobet. ἐξέπλευσεν, Mss. ἐξέπνευσεν, Dindorf.
4. 19. οἱ: Kel. with Mss. ὦ, most edd.
4. 20. ἐκπολεμώσει: Kel. after Dindorf. ἐκπολεμηώσει, Mss.
4. 21. οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ': Kel. after Voigtländer. οὐδὲ ταῦτ', Mss. οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν, Dindorf. οὐδ' αὐτός, Liebhold.
4. 35. ἀντειπεῖν: Mss. Kel. prefixes ἔχοι, after Hartman, although he admits the similar cases cited in note on 2. 2. 2. Dindorf drops ὅτι after εἰπῶν.
4. 36. γένοιτο: Mss. προσγένειτο, Kel. after Rinke.
4. 39. ἔτι: Kel. with Mss. ἄρτι, Courrier. ἤδη, Hartman, who also writes καταβαινόντων for ἀναβαινόντων, or recasts the passage as follows: τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβαινόντων, τῶν δὲ καταβεβηκότων. τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἔτι καταβαινόντων, Grosser. Laves puts ἔτι after τῶν δ' and reads καταβαινόντων for ἀναβαινόντων. These changes seem to be for the worse.
4. 41. ἴσω: Kel. with BMDV. εἴσω, CF.

## BOOK VI

3. 2. ποιῆσθαι: Kel. with B. ποιήσασθαι, the other Mss.
3. 3: After Λύκαιος the Mss. add ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλητήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. These words are

dropped, for manifest reasons, by almost all editors and critics. — **καὶ Καλλίστρατος**: Kel. and edd. after Köppen. **Καλλίστρατος**, Mss.

3. 4. **ἐγὼ ἔχω**: Kel. **ἔχω**, Fritzsche. **ἐγώ**, Mss.

3. 5. **ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν**: Mss. **ὁμογνωμονοῖεν**, Kel. after Kurz.

3. 6. **ἡμᾶς δέ**: Mss. **ἡμᾶς δή**, Kel. after Stephanus.

3. 7. **φατέ**: Kel. with Mss. except C. **φατέ ὡς**, C.

3. 10. **ἄνθρωποι**: Kel. with B. **ἄνθρωποι**, the other Mss.

3. 11. **ὡς . . . πόλεις**: Breitenbach, Hartman, Bennett. **ὡς . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Mss. **ὡς . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Kel. **ὡς . . . πόλεις**, Kurz. **ὡν . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Grosser. **ἐν ᾧ . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Marchant. **ἀφ' ὧν . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Sorof.

3. 13. **εὐδηλον ὅτι . . . ἡμῖν**: Kurz, Bennett. **εὐδηλον ὅτι εἰ . . . ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά**, Mss. Leunclavius, **ἡμῖν οὐδ' ὑμῖν**. Morus and Hartman, **ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν**. Stephanus, **ὑμῖν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡμῖν**. Breitenbach, **οὐκ ἄριστα** for **οὐκ ἀρεστά**, dropping **εἰ** and the second **ἀρεστά**. Sorof, **πράττουσιν, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά**. Underhill, **ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἀρεστά πράττουσιν**. The passage is manifestly corrupt, and, as Kel. says, "nondum sanatus." — **ἂ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν**: Mss. **ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔγνωτε**, Kel. after Hartman.

3. 16. **ἐπιτύχωσι**: margin of Leunclavius' ed. **ἀποτύχωσι**, Mss.

3. 17. **ὥστ' ἢ**: Kel. after Hirschig. **ὥστε**, Mss.

4. 3: After **ἀφίειεν τὰς πόλεις** the Mss. proceed: **ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἐπειδὴ ἐπέθετο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἡρώτα τί χρῆ ποιεῖν · οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφίειεν τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους; del. Kel. and all edd. after Pircheimer. — **ὡς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτόν**: Brodaeus. **ὡς ἀντετάττοντο πρὸς αὐτούς**, Mss. Del. Kel. after Dindorf.**

4. 5. **λέγεται**: Mss. **λέγει**, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.

4. 8. **ἐναντία**: Kel. after Madvig. **τᾶναντία**, Mss.

4. 11. **δοσιή**: Kel. after Dobrée. **δοίη**, Mss.

4. 14. **οἱ μὲν ἵππεῖς**: Stephanus. **οἱ μὲν ἵπποι**, Mss. **οἱ μένιπποι**, Kel. after Madvig. **οἱ μὲν ἄμπποι**, Hemsterhuys. Schenkl supposes that some Doric technical term is hidden in **μὲν ἵπποι**.

4. 15. **ὄντων ἐκεῖ**: Kel. after Hartman. **ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ**, Mss.

4. 16. **ἀγγελῶν**: Mss. **ἀγγέλλων**, Kel. after Cobet.

4. 17. **ταῖν**: Mss. **τοῖν**, Cobet. — **ἀπό**: Mss. **τοὺς ἀπό**, Tillmanns. — **ἐστράτευντο**: Kel. after Dindorf. **ἐστρατεύοντο**, Mss.

4. 18. **ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ**: Mss. **ἐκέλευεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ**, Kel. after Grosser.

4. 21. γοῦν: Kel. with Mss. except C. οὖν, C.
4. 23. τοῦ ζῆν: Kel. after Madvig. ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν, Mss. Del. Dindorf. ἔχεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν, Bake. ἔνεκά γε τοῦ ζῆν, Marchant. It seems not improbable that ἐκγενέσθαι might have come from ἐγένεσθε above.
4. 24. ἐπιλαθέσθαι: Mss. ἐξιάσασθαι, Kel. after Madvig. ἀναμάχεσθαι, Dindorf. ἐπαγάγεσθαι, Liebhold. ἐπαναθέσθαι, Tucker.
4. 25. καὶ οὗτοι: Kel. with Mss. καὶ οὕτως, Dobrée. αἰὶ οὗτοι, Hertlein. ἐκάτεροι, Dindorf.
5. 23. συνιδόμενοι: Kel. after Dindorf. συνηρόμενοι (συνουδόμενοι), Mss. σκοπούμενοι, Grosser. ἐννοούμενοι, Schneider. ταῦτα οὖν διηγούμενοι, Voigtländer.
5. 30. καταλείποντες: Kel. with BCMV. καταλιπόντες, D. — ἐτράποντο: CFMDV. ἐτράποντο, Kel. with B.
5. 34. κοινῶς: Kel. with B. κοινῇ (κοινή), the other Mss. — συμβουλομένων . . . συμβουλομένων: Kel. after Dindorf. συμβουλευομένων . . . συμβουλευομένων, Mss., except that in the first instance D has συμβουλομένων.
5. 35. σφίσι: Kel. after Dobrée. σφίσιν (σφίσιν), Mss.
5. 39. οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἄν: Kel. after Dindorf. οἱ σύμμαχοι ἄν, Mss. οἱ συμμαχοῖεν, Stephanus.
5. 42. ὡς: Kel. with Mss. Del. Cobet. πως, Grosser.
5. 43. πιστεύσατε: Kel. after Schneider. πιστεύσητε or πιστεύσατε, Mss. — ἐπισφείσθαι: Kel. after Cobet. ἐπισφείρεσθαι, Mss.
5. 44. αὐτοῖς (l. 1): Mss., Kel. ed. maj. Del. Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.
5. 46. ἔασατε: Kel. after Schneider. ἔασητε or ἔασοιτε, Mss.
5. 47. πῶς οὐ καί: Mss. except F, Kel. πῶς οὐκ, F.
5. 48. οἱ συναγορεύοντες: Mss. οἱ del. Kel. after Hertlein. The art., however, seems to be not only justified, but made necessary, by the contrasted τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι; for Procles is flattering the Athenians, just as in § 44 (see note), by representing them alone as able to lend real aid.

## BOOK VII

5. 4. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς: Mss. σφίσιν, Kel. after Cobet. σφίσιν σὺν αὐτοῖς, Breitenbach. The use of the compound form as an ind. reflex. is paralleled and supported in 3. 2. 6, 5. 2. 8, and 5. 3. 12.
5. 8. στρατοπεδουμένων: Kel. after Dindorf. στρατενομένων, Mss.



5. 9. **δειπνοποιήσασθαι**: Kel. after Hirschig. **δειπνοποιησάμενος καί**, MDV. **δειπνοποιησάμενος**, CF. (Ms. B breaks off at 7. 1. 38.)
5. 10. **ἀμνουμένων**: Kel. with FMDV. **ἀμνουμένων**, C.
5. 11. **πλέον ἔχοντες**: Kel. after Voigtländer. **πλέονες**, MDV. **πλείονες**, CF. **πλέον**, Leunclavius. — **καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινε**: del. Kel. after E. Curtius.
5. 13. **Ἐπαμειώνθου**: Kel. with C. **Ἐπαμειώνδα**, FMDV.
5. 14. **βοηθήσαιεν**: Kel. after Schneider. **βοηθήσαιεν**, Mss.
5. 15. **διελθόντες δὲ καὶ**: Kel. with MDV. **διελθ. δέ**, C. **διελθ. καί**, F.
5. 16. **τούτου**: Kel. with CFMD. **τούτων**, V. — **ὑπελογίσαντο**: Kel. after Schneider. **ἐπελογίσαντο**, Mss. — **ἰππέσιν**: Kel. with CF. **ἰππεύειν**, MDV.
5. 23. **ἐφ' ἧς**: Kel. after Rüstow. **ἐφεξῆς**, Mss.
5. 24. **βοηθήσαιεν**: Kel. with Mss. **βοηθήσαιεν**, Dindorf.
5. 25. **ἠττάμενοι**: Mss. **ἠττημένοι**, Kel. after Cobet.

## LIST OF PROPER NAMES

- Abarnis**, promontory near Lampsacous, 2. 1. 29.  
**Abydus**, city on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, 1. 1. 5. 6. 11, 2. 16; 2. 1. 18; 4. 8. 3. 5. 6; 5. 1. 25 f. **Abydenes**, the, 2. 1. 18; 4. 8. 3. 6.  
**Academy**, the, gymnasium near Athens, 2. 2. 8; 6. 5. 49.  
**Acanthus**, city in Chalcidice, 5. 2. 11. **Acanthians**, the, 5. 2. 12. 23.  
**Acarnanians**, the, inh. of Acarnania, district in central Greece, 4. 2. 17; 6. 5. 23.  
**Achaea**, district in northern Peloponnesus, 4. 8. 10. **Achaeans**, the, 3. 5. 12; 4. 2. 18; 6. 4. 18; 7. 5. 18. **Achaeans of Phthia** (Phthiotis), district in southern Thessaly, 1. 2. 18. **Achaean mountains of Phthia**, 4. 3. 9.  
**Acrorians**, the, inh. of Acroria, district in Elis, 4. 2. 16.  
**Adimantus**, Athenian general, 1. 4. 21, 7. 1; 2. 1. 30. 32.  
**Aegae**, town in Aeolis, 4. 8. 5.  
**Aegina**, island in the Saronic Gulf, 2. 2. 9; 5. 1. 29. **Aeginetans**, the, 2. 2. 3. 9. **Aeginetan obols**, 5. 2. 21.  
**Aegospotami**, stream in the Thracian Chersonese, 2. 1. 21. 23.  
**Aegosthena**, town in Megaris, 5. 4. 18; 6. 4. 26.  
**Aenesias**, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 9.  
**Aenianians**, the, people in southern Thessaly, 3. 5. 6; 4. 3. 15.
- Aeolians**, the, inh. of Aeolis, district in western Asia Minor, 3. 4. 11; 4. 3. 17.  
**Aeschines**, one of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, 2. 3. 2. 13.  
**Aexoneans**, the, inh. of the Attic deme Aexone, 2. 4. 26.  
**Agamemnon**, commander of the Greeks in the Trojan War, 3. 4. 3.  
**Agathinus**, Corinthian admiral, 4. 8. 10. 11.  
**Agessandridas**, Spartan naval commander, 1. 1. 1, 3. 17.  
**Agessilaus**, Spartan king, 3. 3. 1-7. 5. 10, frequently.  
**Agessipolis**, Spartan king, 4. 2. 9.  
**Agessistratus**, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
**Agis**, Spartan king, 1. 1. 33. 34. 35; 2. 2. 7. 11. 13, 3. 3; 3. 3. 1.  
**Agrigentum**, Greek city in Sicily, 1. 5. 21; 2. 2. 24.  
**Agrotera**, see Artemis.  
**Alcibiades**, Athenian general, 1. 1. 5-20, 2. 13-16, 3. 3-20, 4. 8-23, 5. 9-17; 2. 1. 25, 2. 1, 3. 42.  
**Alcibiades**, cousin of the preceding, 1. 2. 13.  
**Alea**, see Athena.  
**Alexander**, tyrant of Pherae and tagus of Thessaly, 7. 5. 4.  
**Alexias**, Athenian archon, 2. 1. 10.  
**Alexippidas**, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
**Amphemum**, the, sanctuary of Amphion at Thebes, 5. 4. 8.

- Amphidolians, the, inh. of Amphidoli, town in Elis, 4. 2. 16.
- Amphipolis, Greek city in Macedonia, 4. 3. 1.
- Amyclae, city in Laconia, 6. 5. 30. Amyclaeans, the, 4. 5. 11. 12.
- Amyntas, king of Macedonia, 5. 2. 12. 13.
- Anaetius, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Anaxicrates, Byzantine, 1. 3. 18.
- Anaxilaus, Byzantine, 1. 3. 18.
- Androclidas, Theban party leader, 3. 5. 1. 4; 5. 2. 31. 35.
- Andros, island southeast of Euboea, 1. 4. 21. 22, 5. 18. Andrians, the, 1. 4. 22; 2. 1. 31. 32.
- Angenidas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Antalcidas, Spartan admiral and statesman, 4. 8. 12-15; 5. 1. 25-36; 6. 3. 12.
- Antandrus, town in northwestern Asia Minor, 1. 1. 25. 26, 3. 17; 2. 1. 10.
- Antandrians, the, 1. 1. 26.
- Antigenes, Athenian archon, 1. 3. 1.
- Antiochus, Athenian, Alcibiades' pilot, 1. 5. 11. 12. 13.
- Antiphon, Athenian, 2. 3. 40.
- Anytus, Athenian, 2. 3. 42. 44.
- Apaturia, Athenian festival, 1. 7. 8.
- Aphrodisia, 5. 4. 4. See note.
- Apollo, 3. 3. 3, 5. 5; 6. 4. 2, 5. 27.
- Apollonia, city in Chalcidice, 5. 2. 11.
- Apollonians, the, 5. 2. 13.
- Aracus, Spartan admiral and statesman, 2. 1. 7, 3. 10; 6. 5. 33.
- Arcadia, district in Peloponnesus, 6. 5. 22. 51; 7. 5. 10. Arcadians, the, 3. 5. 12; 5. 2. 19; 6. 5. 22-50; 7. 5. 7-20. Arcadian league, the, 6. 5. 22.
- Archedemus, Athenian demagogue, 1. 7. 2.
- Archestratus, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16. Another, 2. 2. 15.
- Archias, Theban polemarch, 5. 4. 2. 6.
- Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, 6. 4. 18. 19. 26; 7. 5. 12. 13.
- Archytas, Spartan ephor, 2. 1. 10, 3. 10.
- Aresias, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Arginusae, islands between Lesbos and the Asiatic coast, 1. 6. 27. 28. 33. 38.
- Argos, chief city of Argolis, in Peloponnesus, 3. 5. 1; 4. 5. 1, 8. 13. 15. Argives, the, 1. 3. 13; 2. 2. 7; 3. 5. 11; 4. 2. 17. 22, 3. 15. 16. 17, 5. 1. 2, 8. 15; 5. 1. 29. 34. 36; 6. 5. 23. 46. 50; 7. 5. 5.
- Ariobarzanes, Persian satrap, 1. 4. 7; 5. 1. 28.
- Aristarchus, Athenian, one of the Four Hundred, 1. 7. 28; 2. 3. 46.
- Aristocles, Athenian, 6. 3. 2.
- Aristocrates, Athenian general, 1. 4. 21, 5. 16, 6. 29, 7. 2.
- Aristodemus, Spartan, guardian of Agesipolis, 4. 2. 9.
- Aristogenes, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16, 6. 30, 7. 1.
- Aristogenes, Syracusan, 1. 2. 8.
- Aristolochus, Spartan, 5. 4. 22.
- Ariston, Byzantine, 1. 3. 18.
- Aristophon, Athenian, 6. 3. 2.
- Aristoteles, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 2. 18, 3. 2. 13. 46.
- Arnapes, Persian, 1. 3. 12.
- Artaxerxes, Persian king, 5. 1. 31.
- Artemis, Agrotera, 4. 2. 20; of Ephesus, 1. 2. 6; 3. 4. 18; of Munichia, 2. 4. 11.
- Aseans, the, inh. of Asea, town in Arcadia, 7. 5. 5.
- Asia (*i.e.* Asia Minor), 2. 1. 18; 3. 1. 3. 5, 4. 2. 5. 11. 25, 5. 1. 5. 13; 4. 2. 4. 5. 6, 3. 1. 15, 8. 5. 14; 5. 1. 31.

- Astyoehus, Spartan admiral, 1. 1. 31.  
 Athens, 1. 1. 4, 3. 1, 4. 12, 6. 1; 2. 4. 39;  
 Alea, 6. 5. 27.  
 Athens, 1. 1. 1. 8. 23. 33, 2. 1. 13, 3. 21,  
 4. 10, 5. 19, 6. 1. 22, 7. 1. 2; 2. 1. 10.  
 29, 2. 1. 2. 3. 21, 3. 1, 4. 29. 38; 3. 1.  
 1, 5. 7; 4. 8. 9; 5. 1. 28. 35, 2. 31, 4. 2.  
 22. 34; 6. 3. 3, 4. 19. 20, 5. 33. 35.  
 Athenians, the, 1. 1. 1-7. 5. 25, fre-  
 quently.  
 Attica, 1. 7. 22; 5. 4. 19. 20. Attic, 1. 1.  
 36, 5. 4; 5. 1. 26.  
 Aulia, town on eastern coast of Boeotia,  
 3. 4. 3, 5. 5.  
 Autoboesaces, Persian prince, 2. 1. 8.  
 Autocles, Athenian, 6. 3. 2. 7.  
  
 Bagaeus, Persian commander, 3. 4. 13.  
 Bendideum, temple of Bendis, 2. 4. 11.  
 Bithynians, the, inh. of Bithynia, province  
 in northern Asia Minor, 1. 3. 2. 3.  
 Boeotia, district in central Greece, 3. 5. 17.  
 24; 5. 1. 33, 2. 16. 34; 6. 3. 1, 4. 3. 21.  
 22. Boeotians, the, 1. 3. 15; 2. 4. 30;  
 4. 2. 17. 18, 3. 3. 9. 15, 5. 6. 9, 8. 10.  
 13. 15; 5. 1. 32. 36, 2. 14, 4. 34; 6. 3.  
 19, 4. 4. 9, 5. 23. 51; 7. 5. 4.  
 Boeotius, Spartan, 1. 4. 2.  
 Brasidas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
 Byzantium, city on the Bosphorus, now  
 Constantinople, 1. 1. 35. 36, 3. 2. 10.  
 11. 14. 15. 17, 4. 1; 2. 2. 1. 2. Byzan-  
 tines, the, 1. 1. 35, 3. 16. 18. 19.  
  
 Cadmea, the, citadel of Thebes, 5. 2. 29.  
 31; 6. 3. 9. 11, 5. 46.  
 Cadusians, the, people on the western  
 coast of the Caspian Sea, 2. 1. 13.  
 Calchedon, city on the Asiatic coast of  
 the Bosphorus, 1. 1. 26. 35, 3. 2. 4. 8. 11.  
 12; 2. 2. 1. 2. Calchedonians, the, 1.  
 3. 2. 3. 7. 9; 5. 1. 25. Calchedonia, 1.  
 1. 22.  
 Callias, Athenian archon, 1. 6. 1.  
 Callias, Athenian general and statesman,  
 4. 5. 13. 14; 5. 4. 22; 6. 3. 2. 3.  
 Callibius, Spartan harmost at Athens, 2. 3.  
 14.  
 Callicratidas, Spartan admiral, 1. 6. 1-36.  
 Callimedon, Athenian, 4. 8. 13.  
 Callisthenes, Athenian, 4. 8. 13.  
 Callistratus, Athenian, 2. 4. 27.  
 Callistratus, Athenian statesman, 6. 3. 3. 10.  
 Callixinus, Athenian senator, 1. 7. 8-35.  
 Camarina, Greek city in Sicily, 2. 3. 5.  
 Cannonus, Athenian statesman, 1. 7. 20.  
 34.  
 Cardia, city on northern coast of the  
 Thracian Chersonese, 1. 1. 11.  
 Caria, province in southwestern Asia  
 Minor, 1. 1. 10, 4. 8; 2. 1. 15; 3. 1. 7.  
 8, 4. 11. 12. 21.  
 Carthaginians, the, 1. 1. 37, 5. 21; 2. 2.  
 24, 3. 5.  
 Caryae, town in northern Laconia, 6. 5.  
 25. 27.  
 Castolus, town and plain in Lydia, 1. 4. 3.  
 Catana, Greek city in Sicily, 2. 3. 5.  
 Cedraeae, city in Caria, 2. 1. 15.  
 Cenchraeae, eastern port of Corinth, 4. 5.  
 1; 6. 5. 51.  
 Cephisodotus, Athenian general, 2. 1. 16.  
 Cephisodotus, Athenian orator, 6. 3. 2.  
 Cephisophon, Athenian, 2. 4. 36.  
 Cephissus, river of Attica, 2. 4. 19; river  
 of Boeotia, 4. 3. 16.  
 Ceramic Gulf, in Caria, 1. 4. 8; 2. 1. 15.  
 Ceramicus, quarter of Athens, 2. 4. 33.  
 Chabrias, Athenian general, 5. 4. 14.  
 Chaereleus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2.  
 3. 2.  
 Chaerilas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.

- Chaeron, Spartan polemarch, 2. 4. 33.  
 Chalcidians, the, inh. of Chalcis, city in  
 Euboea, 4. 2. 17.  
 Charicles, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
 Charmides, Athenian, 2. 4. 19.  
 Charon, Theban, 5. 4. 3.  
 Chersonese, the Thracian, peninsula north  
 of the Hellespont, 1. 3. 8, 5. 17; 2. 1.  
 20. 27; 4. 2. 6, 8. 5. Chersonesians,  
 the, 1. 3. 10.  
 Chios, island off the Ionian coast, 1. 1.  
 32, 6. 3. 12. 18. 33. 37. 38; 2. 1. 1. 10.  
 17. Chians, the, 2. 1. 5. 6.  
 Chremon, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3.  
 2.  
 Chrysopolis, town on the Bosphorus, 1. 1.  
 22, 3. 12.  
 Cilicia, province in southern Asia Minor,  
 3. 1. 1.  
 Cithaeron, mountain range separating  
 Boeotia from Attica and Megaris, 5. 4.  
 36. 37. 38; 6. 4. 5. 25.  
 Cius, town in Mysia, on the Propontis,  
 1. 4. 7.  
 Clazomenae, city on the Ionian coast, 1.  
 1. 10. 11; 5. 1. 31.  
 Clearchus, Spartan harmost at Byzantium,  
 1. 1. 35, 3. 15. 17. 18. 19.  
 Cleas, Spartan, 5. 4. 39.  
 Cleocritus, Athenian, 2. 4. 20.  
 Cleombrotus, Spartan king, 5. 4. 14. 16.  
 18. 35; 6. 4. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 13.  
 Cleomedes, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2.  
 3. 2.  
 Cleonae, city in Argolis, 7. 5. 15.  
 Cleonymus, Spartan, 6. 4. 14.  
 Cleophon, Athenian demagogue, 1. 7. 35.  
 Cleosthenes, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
 Cleostratus, Argive, 1. 3. 13.  
 Cletorians, the, inh. of Cletor, town in  
 Arcadia, 5. 4. 36. 37.  
 Cligenes, Acanthian, 5. 2. 12.  
 Clinomachus, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
 Cliteles, Corinthian, 6. 5. 37.  
 Cnidus, city in Caria, 4. 3. 11. 12.  
 Coeratadas, Boeotian commander, 1. 3.  
 15. 17. 21. 22.  
 Collytian, the, see Thrasybulus.  
 Colophon, city in Ionia, 1. 2. 4. Colo-  
 phonians, the, 1. 2. 4.  
 Conon, Athenian general, 1. 4. 10, 5. 16.  
 18. 20, 6. 15. 16. 17. 19. 22. 38, 7. 1;  
 2. 1. 28. 29; 4. 3. 11. 12, 8. 1. 2. 3. 6.  
 7. 9. 12. 13.  
 Core (Persephone), daughter of Demeter,  
 6. 3. 6.  
 Coressus, mountain near Ephesus, 1. 2. 7.  
 9. 10.  
 Corinth, 3. 5. 1; 4. 3. 15, 5. 1. 12, 8. 13.  
 15; 5. 1. 29. 34. 36, 4. 19; 6. 4. 26, 5.  
 49. 51; 7. 5. 16. Corinthians, the, 2.  
 1. 31. 32, 2. 19, 4. 30; 3. 5. 5. 12. 17.  
 23; 4. 2. 11. 14. 17. 22. 23, 3. 15, 5. 2.  
 3. 11. 13. 19, 8. 8. 10. 11; 5. 1. 34; 6.  
 4. 18, 5. 29. 37. 52.  
 Coronea, town in Boeotia, 4. 3. 16.  
 Coryphasium (Pylos), promontory in  
 Messenia, 1. 2. 18.  
 Cos, island off the coast of Caria, 1. 5. 1.  
 Crannonians, the, inh. of Crannon, city in  
 Thessaly, 4. 3. 3.  
 Cratesippidas, Spartan admiral, 1. 1. 32,  
 5. 1.  
 Cretans, the, inh. of the island of Crete,  
 4. 2. 16; 7. 5. 10.  
 Creusis, Boeotian port on the Corinthian  
 Gulf, 4. 5. 10; 5. 4. 16. 17; 6. 4. 3.  
 25.  
 Critias, leader of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3.  
 2-56, 4. 8. 9. 19.  
 Crocinas, Thessalian, Olympic victor, 2.  
 3. 1.

- Crommyon, town on the Isthmus of Corinth, 4. 5. 19.
- Cydon, Byzantine, 1. 3. 18.
- Cylon, Argive, 3. 5. 1.
- Cyme, town in Aeolis, 3. 4. 27.
- Cynoscephalae, village in Boeotia, 5. 4. 15; 6. 4. 5.
- Cyprus, island south of Asia Minor, 2. 1. 29; 5. 1. 31.
- Cyrenaean, the, inh. of Cyrene, Greek city in northern Africa, 1. 2. 1.
- Cyrus, the Younger, Persian prince, 1. 4. 3. 4. 5. 7. 5. 1. 2. 3. 6. 8. 6. 6. 10. 18; 2. 1. 7. 8. 11. 13. 15, 3. 8; 3. 1. 1. 2. 3. 6, 4. 2. Cyreans, the, Cyrus' Greek troops, 3. 4. 20.
- Cythera, island (and city) south of Laconia, 4. 8. 8. Cytherians, the, 4. 8. 8. Cytheria, 4. 8. 7.
- Cyzicus, city on the Propontis, 1. 1. 11. 14. 16. 18, 3. 13; 3. 4. 10. Cyzicenes, the, 1. 1. 19. 20.
- Darius, Persian king, 1. 2. 19; 2. 1. 8. The variant form Dariaeus, 2. 1. 8. 9.
- Dascylium, city in Phrygia, near the Propontis, 3. 4. 13.
- Decelea, town in Attica, 1. 1. 33. 35, 2. 14, 3. 22; 2. 2. 7, 3. 3; 3. 5. 5.
- Delphi, town in Phocis, site of famous temple and oracle of Apollo, 3. 3. 1; 4. 3. 21.
- Delphinium, fortress on the island of Chios, 1. 5. 15.
- Demaeonetus, Athenian general, 5. 1. 26.
- Demaratus, Spartan king, 3. 1. 6.
- Demarchus, Syracusan general, 1. 1. 29.
- Demeter, 6. 3. 6.
- Demosthratus, Athenian, 6. 3. 2.
- Dercylidas, Spartan general, 3. 1. 8. 9, 4. 6; 4. 3. 1. 2, 3, 8. 3. 5.
- Diagoras, Rhodian, 1. 1. 2.
- Dinon, Spartan polemarch, 6. 4. 14.
- Diocles, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Diomedon, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16, 6. 22. 23. 29, 7. 2. 16. 29.
- Dion, Athenian, 4. 8. 13.
- Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, 2. 2. 24, 3. 5.
- Dionysius, Athenian general, 5. 1. 26.
- Diopithes, Spartan, 3. 3. 3.
- Dioscuri, 'sons of Zeus,' Castor and Polydeuces, 6. 3. 6. See also Tyndaridae.
- Diotimus, Athenian, 1. 3. 12; 5. 1. 25.
- Dorieus, Rhodian, 1. 1. 2. 4. 5. 19.
- Dorotheus, Athenian, 1. 3. 13.
- Dracontides, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Egyptian Larisa, see Larisa.
- Eion, port of Amphipolis, 1. 5. 15.
- Elaeus, city at southern extremity of the Thracian Chersonese, 2. 1. 20.
- Eleans, the, inh. of Elis, district in Peloponnesus, 1. 2. 1; 3. 5. 12; 4. 2. 16; 6. 5. 23. 30. 50; 7. 5. 18.
- Eleusis, city in Attica, 2. 4. 8. 24. 28. 29. 38. 43; 7. 5. 15. Eleusinians, the, 2. 4. 9.
- Eleutheræ, town in Boeotia, near the Attic border, 5. 4. 14.
- Endius, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 1. 10.
- Enyalios, god of war, 2. 4. 17.
- Epaminondas, Theban general, 7. 5. 4. 5. 6. 7. 11. 13. 14. 18. 24.
- Eperatus, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Ephesus, city in Ionia, 1. 2. 6. 7. 12, 5. 1. 10. 14, 6. 2; 2. 1. 6. 10. 16; 3. 1. 8, 4. 4. 7. 11. 16; 4. 8. 3. Ephesians, the, 1. 2. 8. 10, 5. 12. 15.
- Epiclydes, Syracusan, 1. 1. 29.
- Epicydidas, Spartan, 4. 2. 2; 5. 4. 39.
- Epidaurians, the, inh. of Epidaurus, city in Argolis, 4. 2. 16; 6. 5. 29.

- Epiclia**, town between Sicyon and Corinth, 4. 2. 14.  
**Erasinides**, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16, 6. 16. 29, 7. 2. 29.  
**Erasistratus**, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
**Eratosthenes**, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
**Eretrians**, the, inh. of Eretria, city in Euboea, 3. 1. 6.  
**Eteonicus**, Spartan harmost and vice-admiral, 1. 1. 32, 6. 26. 35. 36. 38; 2. 1. 1. 2. 4. 5. 10, 2. 5.  
**Etymocles**, Spartan, 5. 4. 22; 6. 5. 33.  
**Euagoras**, Elean, Olympic victor, 1. 2. 1.  
**Euagoras**, Cyprian prince, 2. 1. 29.  
**Euarchippus**, Spartan ephor, 1. 2. 1; 2. 3. 10.  
**Euboea**, island east of central Greece, 2. 3. 9; 4. 2. 17. Euboeans, the, 4. 3. 15; 6. 5. 23; 7. 5. 4.  
**Eubotas**, Cyrenaean, Olympic victor, 1. 2. 1.  
**Eucles**, Syracusan general, 1. 2. 8.  
**Euclides**, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
**Euctemon**, Athenian archon, 1. 2. 1.  
**Eudamidas**, Spartan general, 5. 2. 24. 25.  
**Eudicus**, Lacedaemonian, 5. 4. 39.  
**Eumachus**, Athenian general, 1. 1. 22.  
**Eumathes**, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
**Europe**, 4. 2. 6, 3. 15, 8. 5.  
**Eurotas**, river in Laconia, 6. 5. 27. 30.  
**Euryptolemus**, Athenian, 1. 3. 12. 13. Another, 1. 4. 19, 7. 12. 16. 34.  
**Eurysthenes**, descendant of King Demaratus, 3. 1. 6.  
**Eurystheus**, legendary king of Mycenae, 6. 5. 47.  
**Euxenus**, Spartan, 4. 2. 5.  
**Exarchus**, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Gaeaochus**, see Poseidon.  
**Galaxidorus**, Theban, 3. 5. 1.  
**Gambrium**, town in Ionia, 3. 1. 6.  
**Gaurium**, port in Andros, 1. 4. 22.  
**Gela**, Greek city in Sicily, 2. 3. 5.  
**Gerasta**, promontory and city at the southern extremity of Euboea, 3. 4. 4.  
**Glaucon**, Athenian, 2. 4. 19.  
**Gnosis**, Syracusan, 1. 1. 29.  
**Gongylus**, Eretrian, 3. 1. 6.  
**Gongylus**, descendant of the preceding, 3. 1. 6.  
**Gordium**, city in greater Phrygia, 1. 4. 1.  
**Gorgion**, descendant of Gongylus, 3. 1. 6.  
**Grynium**, town in Aeolis, 3. 1. 6.  
**Gylis**, Spartan polemarch, 4. 3. 21.  
**Gythium**, chief port of Laconia, 1. 4. 11; 6. 5. 32.
- Hagnon**, Athenian, 2. 3. 30.  
**Halae**, Attic deme, 2. 4. 34.  
**Haliars**, the, inh. of Haliae, town in Argolis, 4. 2. 16.  
**Haliartus**, town in Boeotia, 3. 5. 6. 17. 25.  
**Haliartians**, the, 3. 5. 18. 19.  
**Halipidon**, plain near Piraeus, 2. 4. 30.  
**Halisarna**, town in Aeolis, 3. 1. 6.  
**Hannibal**, Carthaginian general, 1. 1. 37.  
**Helicon**, mountain in Boeotia, 4. 3. 16. 17. 18. 19.  
**Helixus**, Megarian commander, 1. 3. 15. 17. 21.  
**Hellas**, 2. 2. 6. 20. 23; 3. 1. 3. 6, 4. 1. 5. 24, 5. 1. 5. 25; 4. 2. 1. 8, 8. 4; 5. 2. 12. 35; 6. 3. 12. 17, 5. 43. 48; 7. 5. 26. 27. Hellenes, the, 1. 5. 9, 6. 7. 14; 2. 1. 2. 32, 2. 3. 19; 3. 1. 2. 3, 4. 2. 11. 12. 13, 14. 22. 24; 4. 2. 5, 8. 2; 6. 5. 34. 38. 39. 41. Hellenic, 1. 1. 37; 2. 2. 20, 3. 24; 3. 1. 5; 4. 3. 11. 12. 15, 8. 4. 14; 5. 1. 31; 6. 4. 1.

- Hellespont**, strait between Europe and Asia, now the Dardanelles, 1. 1. 2. 8. 9. 22. 36, 2. 11, 3. 8. 17, 5. 11, 6. 20. 22, 7. 2; 2. 1. 17. 21, 2. 5; 3. 4. 10; 4. 2. 8, 3. 3, 8. 6. **Hellespontines**, the, 3. 4. 11; 4. 3. 17.
- Helos**, town in Laconia, 6. 5. 32.
- Helots**, the, serfs of the Spartans, 1. 2. 18; 3. 5. 12; 6. 5. 28.
- Heraclea**, the Trachinian, city in Malis, 1. 2. 18. **Heracleans**, the, 3. 5. 6; 6. 4. 9, 5. 23.
- Heracles**, Greek national hero, 3. 3. 3; 6. 3. 6, 4. 7, 5. 47.
- Heracleum**, sanctuary of Heracles, near Calchedon, 1. 3. 7; in Thebes, 6. 4. 7.
- Heraclides**, Syracusan general, 1. 2. 8.
- Heraea**, town in Arcadia, 3. 3. 1; 6. 5. 22. **Heraeans**, the, 6. 5. 22.
- Heraeum**, sanctuary of Hera, on the Isthmus of Corinth, 4. 5. 5. 6. 8.
- Herippidas**, Spartan commander, 3. 4. 6. 20; 4. 2. 8, 3. 15. 17, 8. 11.
- Hermionians**, the, inh. of Hermion, city in Argolis, 4. 2. 16.
- Hermocrates**, Syracusan general, 1. 1. 27. 30. 31, 3. 13.
- Hermocrates**, Syracusan, father of Dionysius, 2. 2. 24.
- Hermogenes**, Athenian, 4. 8. 13.
- Hermon**, Megarian, 1. 6. 32.
- Herodas**, Syracusan, 3. 4. 1.
- Hieramenes**, Persian, 2. 1. 9.
- Hieron**, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Hieron**, Spartan, 6. 4. 9.
- Himera**, Greek city in Sicily, 1. 1. 37.
- Hippeus**, Samian commander, 1. 6. 29.
- Hippocrates**, Spartan vice-admiral and harmost, 1. 1. 23, 3. 5. 6. 7.
- Hippodamus**, agora of, in Piraeus, 2. 4. 11.
- Hippolochus**, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Hippomachus**, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2, 4. 19.
- Hippon**, Syracusan, 1. 2. 8.
- Hipponicus**, Athenian, 4. 5. 13; 6. 3. 2.
- Histiaceans**, the, inh. of Histiaea, city in northern Euboea, 2. 2. 3.
- Hyacinthia**, Spartan festival, 4. 5. 11.
- Ida**, mountain in northwestern Asia Minor, 1. 1. 25.
- Ilarchus**, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Ilium**, Troy, ancient city near the Hellespont, 1. 1. 4.
- Imbros**, island in northern Aegean, 4. 8. 15; 5. 1. 31.
- Ionia**, district in western Asia Minor, 2. 1. 17; 5. 1. 28. **Ionians**, the, 3. 4. 11; 4. 3. 17. **Ionic**, 3. 1. 3.
- Iphicrates**, Athenian general, 4. 5. 3. 13. 14. 15. 19; 5. 1. 25; 6. 3. 3, 4. 1, 5. 49. 51.
- Isanor**, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Ischolaus**, Spartan commander, 6. 5. 24. 26.
- Isias**, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Ismenias**, Theban party leader, 3. 5. 1; 5. 2. 25. 30. 31. 32. 35.
- Isthmia**, the Isthmian games, 4. 5. 1. 2.
- Isthmus**, of Corinth, 4. 5. 1, 8. 8; 7. 5. 15.
- Italy**, 5. 1. 26.
- Jason**, tyrant of Pherae and tagus of Thessaly, 6. 4. 20. 22.
- Labotas**, Spartan harmost at Heraclea, 1. 2. 18.
- Lacedaemon**, referring to either Laconia or Sparta, 1. 1. 23-7. 5. 18, frequently.



- Lacedaemonians, the, 1. 1. 1-7. 5. 18, frequently.
- Laconia, 2. 2. 13; 4. 8. 8; 6. 5. 23. 24.
- Laconians, the, 1. 1. 32, 4. 22, 6. 34; 2. 2. 2, 3. 8, 4. 4. 10; 4. 5. 10, 8. 1.
- Lacrates, Spartan, Olympic victor, 2. 4. 33.
- Lampsacus, city on Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, 1. 2. 13. 15; 2. 1. 18. 20. 21. 29. 30, 2. 1. 2.
- Larisa, the Egyptian, city in Aeolis, 3. 1. 7. Larisaeans, the, 3. 1. 7.
- Larisaeans, the, inh. of Larisa, city in Thessaly, 2. 3. 4; 4. 3. 3.
- Lasionians, the, inh. of Lasion, town in Elis, 4. 2. 16.
- Lechaem, western port of Corinth, 4. 5. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 17. 18. 19, 8. 10; 5. 1. 29.
- Lemnos, island in northern Aegean, 4. 8. 15; 5. 1. 31.
- Leon, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16, 6. 16; 2. 3. 39.
- Leon, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Leontiades, Theban party leader, 5. 2. 25. 28. 29. 31. 32. 33. 36, 4. 7. 19.
- Leontichus, Athenian general, 5. 1. 26.
- Leontines, the, inh. of Leontini, Greek city in Sicily, 2. 3. 5.
- Leontis, Athenian tribe, 2. 4. 27.
- Leotychides, putative son of King Agis, 3. 3. 1. 2. 3.
- Lesbos, island off the Aeolian coast, 1. 2. 11. 12, 6. 12. 16. 26. 27; 2. 2. 5, 3. 32. 35.
- Letrinians, the, inh. of Letrini, town in Elis, 4. 2. 16.
- Leucolophides, Athenian, 1. 4. 21.
- Leuctra, town in Boeotia, 6. 4. 4, 5. 23.
- Leuctrum, town in southern Arcadia, 6. 5. 24.
- Libys, Spartan admiral, 2. 4. 28.
- Locris, the Opuntian, district in central Greece on the Euboean strait, 3. 5. 3. 4. 4. Locrians, the Opuntian, 3. 5. 3. 4; 4. 2. 17; the Ozolian, inh. of Ozolian Locris, district on northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, 4. 2. 17; both, 4. 3. 15; 6. 5. 23. 30.
- Lycaethus, Athenian, 6. 3. 2.
- Lycarius, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Lyceum, the, gymnasium near Athens, 1. 1. 33; 2. 4. 27.
- Lyciscus, Athenian, 1. 7. 13.
- Lycophron, Pheraean, 2. 3. 4.
- Lycurgus, Byzantine, 1. 3. 18.
- Lydia, province in western Asia Minor, 1. 2. 4.
- Lysander, Spartan admiral and general, 1. 5. 1-15, 6. 1-10; 2. 1. 6-32, 2. 2-23, 3. 3-13, 4. 28-36; 3. 3. 3, 4. 2-20, 5. 6-25.
- Lysias, Athenian general, 1. 6. 30, 7. 2.
- Lysimachus, Athenian hipparch, 2. 4. 8. 26.
- Macedonia, country north of Greece, 1. 1. 12; 4. 3. 3; 5. 2. 12. 13. Macedonians, the, 5. 2. 12.
- Madytus, city in the Thracian Chersonese, 1. 1. 3.
- Maeander, river in western Asia Minor, 3. 4. 12. 21.
- Malea, southern promontory of Laconia, 1. 2. 18.
- Malea, southern promontory of Lesbos, 1. 6. 26. 27.
- Maleatis, district in southern Arcadia, 6. 5. 24.
- Malians, the, inh. of Malis, district in northern Greece, on the Malian Gulf, 3. 5. 6; 4. 2. 17; 6. 5. 23.

- Mantinea, city in Arcadia, 4. 5. 18 ; 6. 5. 22 ; 7. 5. 7. 9. 14. 15. 18. Mantineans, the, 4. 2. 13, 5. 18 ; 6. 4. 18, 5. 36 ; 7. 5. 14. 15. 17.
- Mantitheus, Athenian, 1. 1. 10, 3. 13.
- Marganians, the, inh. of Margana, town in Elis, 4. 2. 16.
- Media, country in Asia, 2. 1. 13. Medes, the, 1. 2. 19.
- Megalopolitans, the, inh. of Megalopolis, city in Arcadia, 7. 5. 5.
- Megara, city on the Isthmus of Corinth, 1. 1. 36, 2. 14 ; 2. 4. 1 ; 5. 4. 41. Megarians, the, 1. 3. 15, 6. 32. Megaris, the district, 5. 4. 18 ; 6. 4. 26.
- Megillus, Spartan, 3. 4. 6.
- Melanopus, Athenian, 6. 3. 2.
- Melanthius, Athenian, one of the Four Hundred, 2. 3. 46.
- Meletus, Athenian, 2. 4. 36.
- Melobius, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Melon, Theban, 5. 4. 2. 3. 5. 7. 19.
- Melos, island east of Laconia, 4. 8. 7.
- Melians, the, 2. 2. 3. 9.
- Menander, Athenian general, 1. 2. 16 ; 2. 1. 16. 26.
- Menascus, Spartan, 4. 2. 8.
- Meneclis, Athenian, 1. 7. 34.
- Menecrates, Syracusan, 1. 1. 29.
- Messenians, the, inh. of Messenia, district in Peloponnesus, 6. 5. 33 ; 7. 5. 5.
- Methymna, city in northern Lesbos, 1. 2. 12, 6. 12. 38. Methymnaeans, the, 1. 6. 13. 14. 18.
- Miletus, city in southern Ionia, 1. 1. 31, 2. 2. 3, 5. 1, 6. 2. 7. Milesians, the, 1. 6. 8 ; 2. 1. 30.
- Mindarus, Spartan admiral, 1. 1. 4. 11. 14. 16. 18. 23, 3. 17.
- Misgollaidas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Mitraeus, Persian prince, 2. 1. 8.
- Mitrobates, Persian, 1. 3. 12.
- Mnesilochus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Mnesithides, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Munichia, hill on the Piraeus peninsula, 2. 4. 11. 37. Artemis of Munichia, 2. 4. 11.
- Mygdon, Spartan, 3. 4. 20.
- Myrina, town in Aeolis, 3. 1. 6.
- Myscon, Syracusan general, 1. 1. 29.
- Mysia, province in northwestern Asia Minor, 1. 4. 7.
- Mytilene, chief city of Lesbos, 1. 6. 16. 26. 27. 35. 38, 7. 29 ; 2. 2. 5. Mytilenaeans, the, 1. 6. 22.
- Narthacium, mountain and town in southern Thessaly, 4. 3. 8. 9.
- Narclidas, Spartan ephor, 2. 4. 36.
- Nemea, city in Argolis, 4. 2. 14 ; 7. 5. 6. 7.
- Niceratus, Athenian, 2. 3. 39.
- Nicias, Athenian general and statesman, 2. 3. 39.
- Nicolochus, Spartan vice-admiral, 5. 1. 25.
- Nicophemus, Athenian, 4. 8. 8.
- Nicostratus, Athenian, 2. 4. 6.
- Notium, port of Colophon, 1. 2. 4. 11, 5. 12. 13. 14 ; 2. 1. 6.
- Ocyllus, Spartan, 5. 4. 22 ; 6. 5. 33.
- Odeum, music hall at Athens, 2. 4. 9. 10. 24.
- Oenoe, Athenian fortress, on the Boeotian border, 1. 7. 28.
- Oenoe, Corinthian fortress, 4. 5. 5. 19.
- Oetaeans, the, people in northern Greece, about Mt. Oeta, 1. 2. 18 ; 3. 5. 6.
- Oeum, town in northern Laconia, 6. 5. 24. 25. Oeans, the, 6. 5. 26.

- Olontheus, Spartan, 6. 5. 33.  
 Olympiad, the Olympic year, 1. 2. 1; 2. 3. 1.  
 Olynthus, city in Chalcidice, 5. 2. 11. 12. 27. Olynthians, the, 5. 2. 13. 15. 17. 27. 34.  
 Oneum, mountain range near Corinth, 6. 5. 51. 52.  
 Onomacles, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
 Onomacles, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
 Onomantius, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
 Opuntian Locris, see Locris.  
 Orchomenus, city in Boeotia, 3. 5. 17; 4. 3. 15; 5. 1. 29. Orchomenians, the, 3. 5. 6; 4. 2. 17, 3. 15. 16. 18; 6. 4. 10.  
 Orchomenus, city in Arcadia, 4. 5. 18; 6. 5. 29. Orchomenians, the, 5. 4. 36. 37.  
 Orsippus, Spartan, 4. 2. 8.  
 Ozolian Locris, see Locris.  
 Pactolus, stream in Lydia, 3. 4. 22.  
 Palaegambrium, town in Aeolis, 3. 1. 6.  
 Pallantians, the, inh. of Pallantium, town in Arcadia, 7. 5. 5.  
 Pallene, western peninsula of Chalcidice, 5. 2. 15.  
 Pangaeum, mountain in western Thrace, 5. 2. 17.  
 Pantacles, Spartan ephor, 1. 3. 1; 2. 3. 10.  
 Paralus, Athenian state trireme, 2. 1. 28. 29, 2. 3.  
 Parium, city on the Propontis, 1. 1. 13.  
 Paros, one of the Cyclades, 1. 4. 11.  
 Pasippidas, Spartan admiral, 1. 1. 32, 3. 13. 17.  
 Patesiadas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.  
 Pausanias, Spartan king, 2. 2. 7, 4. 29-39; 3. 5. 6-25.  
 Pella, capital of Macedonia, 5. 2. 13.  
 Pellene, city in Laconia, 7. 5. 9.  
 Pelleneans, the, inh. of Pellene, city in Achaea, 4. 2. 20; 6. 5. 29.  
 Peloponnesus, southern peninsula of Greece, 3. 5. 17; 5. 2. 20; 6. 3. 6; 7. 5. 5. 18. Peloponnesians, the, 1. 1. 6. 7. 11. 17. 19. 24, 6. 33. 34; 2. 2. 7, 4. 21. 29. 41; 3. 1. 4. 5. 6. 14.  
 Percote, town on Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, 5. 1. 25.  
 Pergamus, city in Aeolis, 3. 1. 6.  
 Pericles, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16, 6. 29, 7. 2. 16. 21.  
 Perinthus, city on the Propontis, 1. 1. 20.  
 Perinthians, the, 1. 1. 21.  
 Persians, the, 1. 2. 5. 19; 3. 4. 10. 14. 22. 24. 25; 5. 2. 35.  
 Phaedrias, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
 Phantias, Athenian general, 5. 1. 26.  
 Phanosthenes, Athenian general, 1. 5. 18.  
 Pharax, Spartan, 4. 5. 6; 6. 5. 33.  
 Pharnabazus, Persian satrap, 1. 1. 6-31, 2. 16, 3. 5-17, 4. 1. 5. 6; 3. 1. 9, 4. 10. 13. 26; 4. 3. 11, 8. 1-10; 5. 1. 28.  
 Pharsalians, the, inh. of Pharsalus, city in Thessaly, 4. 3. 3. 8.  
 Pherae, town in southern Messenia, 4. 8. 7.  
 Pheraean, of Pherae, city in Thessaly, 2. 3. 4.  
 Phidon, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.  
 Philippus, Theban polemarch, 5. 4. 2.  
 Phillidas, Theban, 5. 4. 2. 4. 6. 7. 8.  
 Philocles, Athenian general, 1. 7. 1; 2. 1. 30. 31. 32.  
 Philocydes, Athenian, 1. 3. 13.  
 Phliasiens, the, inh. of Phlius, city in Argolis, 4. 2. 16; 6. 4. 9. 18, 5. 29. 38.  
 Phocaea, city in Ionia, 1. 3. 1, 5. 11, 6. 33.  
 Phocis, district in central Greece, 3. 5. 4.

- Phocians, the, 3. 5. 3. 4. 6. 17. 21; 4. 3. 15. 21; 5. 2. 33; 6. 3. 1, 4. 2. 3. 9. 17. 21, 5. 23. 30; 7. 5. 4.
- Phoebidas, Spartan commander, 5. 2. 24-32, 4. 41.
- Phoenicia, country on eastern coast of the Mediterranean, 3. 4. 1. Phoenician, 3. 4. 1; 4. 3. 11.
- Phoenicus, town in Cythera, 4. 8. 7.
- Phrygia, the greater, province in central Asia Minor, 1. 4. 1; the lesser, province in northwestern Asia Minor, 3. 4. 12. 26. 29.
- Phthia, district in southern Thessaly, 4. 3. 9.
- Phyle, Athenian fortress, near the Boeotian border, 2. 4. 2-12.
- Piraeum, peninsula on northwestern side of the Isthmus of Corinth, 4. 5. 1. 3. 5. 19.
- Piraeus, port of Athens, 1. 1. 35, 2. 14, 3. 22, 4. 12. 13, 7. 35; 2. 2. 2-23, 3. 8. 11, 4. 1-39; 3. 5. 5. 8. 16. 25; 4. 8. 9; 5. 2. 33, 4. 20. 22. 34.
- Pisander, Spartan admiral, 3. 4. 29; 4. 3. 10. 12. 13.
- Pisianax, Athenian, 1. 4. 19, 7. 12.
- Pison, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Pityas, Spartan ephor, 1. 6. 1; 2. 3. 10.
- Plataea, city in Boeotia, 5. 4. 10. 14; 6. 3. 5. Plataeans, the, 5. 4. 10; 6. 3. 1.
- Plistolas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Plynteria, Athenian festival, 1. 4. 12.
- Podanemus, Spartan admiral, 4. 8. 10.
- Pollis, Spartan vice-admiral, 4. 8. 11.
- Polyanthes, Corinthian, 3. 5. 1.
- Polychares, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Polycharmus, Pharsalian hipparch, 4. 3. 8.
- Polyxenus, Syracusan admiral, 5. 1. 26.
- Pontus, the Black Sea, 1. 1. 22; 2. 2. 1; 5. 1. 28.
- Poseidon, 4. 5. 1. 2. 4; Gaeoachus, 6. 5. 30.
- Potamis, Syracusan general, 1. 1. 29.
- Potidaea, city in Chalcidice, 5. 2. 15. 24.
- Pras, town in southern Thessaly, 4. 3. 9.
- Praxitas, Spartan polemarch, 4. 5. 19.
- Proaenus, Corinthian admiral, 4. 8. 11.
- Procles, descendant of King Demaratus, 3. 1. 6.
- Procles, Phliasian, 6. 5. 38.
- Proconnesus, island in the Propontis, 1. 1. 13. 18. 20, 3. 1; 5. 1. 26.
- Prometheus, Thessalian, 2. 3. 36.
- Prothous, Spartan, 6. 4. 2.
- Protomachus, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16, 6. 30. 33, 7. 1.
- Proxenus, Syracusan, 1. 3. 13.
- Proxenus, Tegean, 6. 5. 36.
- Pygela, town in Ionia, 1. 2. 2. Pygelans, the, 1. 2. 2.
- Pyrrolochus, Argive, 1. 3. 13.
- Pythodorus, Athenian archon, 2. 3. 1.
- Rhamphias, Spartan, 1. 1. 35.
- Rhathines, Persian commander, 3. 4. 13.
- Rhium, promontory in Aetolia, at the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, 4. 8. 11.
- Rhodes, island southwest of Asia Minor, 1. 1. 2, 5. 1. 19, 6. 3; 2. 1. 15. 17. Rhodian, 1. 5. 19; 3. 5. 1.
- Rhoeteum, town on Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, 1. 1. 2.
- Salamis, island off western coast of Attica, 2. 2. 9. Salaminian, 2. 3. 39.
- Samius, Spartan admiral, 3. 1. 1.
- Samos, island off the Ionian coast, 1. 2. 1, 4. 8. 11. 23, 5. 14. 15. 18. 20, 6. 2. 15.

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- Scionaeans, the, inh. of Scione, city in Chalcidice, 2. 2. 3.
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- Scotussaeans, the, inh. of Scotussa, city in Thessaly, 4. 3. 3.
- Scyros, island northeast of Euboea, 4. 8. 15; 5. 1. 31.
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- Selymbria, city on the Propontis, 1. 1. 20, 3. 10. Selymbrians, the, 1. 1. 21.
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- Sidus, town on the Isthmus of Corinth, 4. 5. 19.
- Sisyphus, nickname of Dercylidas, 3. 1. 8.
- Socrates, Athenian philosopher, 1. 7. 15.
- Sophocles, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Sophoniscus, Athenian, 1. 7. 15.
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- Spithridates, Persian, 3. 4. 10.
- Stages, Persian, 1. 2. 5.
- Stasippus, Tegean, 6. 4. 18, 5. 36.
- Sthenelaus, Spartan harmost of Byzantium and Calchedon, 2. 2. 2.
- Strombichides, Athenian, 6. 3. 2.
- Syennesis, ruler of Cilicia, 3. 1. 1.
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- Temnus, town in Aeolis, 4. 8. 5.
- Teuthrania, town in Aeolis, 3. 1. 6.
- Thamneria, town in Media, 2. 1. 13.
- Thasos, island in northern Aegean, 1. 1. 12. 32, 4. 9.
- Thebes, chief city of Boeotia, 2. 4. 1. 2; 3. 5. 1. 3; 5. 2. 25. 26. 27, 4. 1. 14. 19. 36; 6. 3. 2. 11; 7. 5. 4. Thebans, the, 1. 7. 28-7. 5. 20, frequently.
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- Theognis, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Theopompus, Milesian, 2. 1. 30.
- Theramenes, Athenian general, later one of the Thirty Tyrants, 1. 1. 12. 22, 6. 35, 7. 4. 5. 8. 17. 31; 2. 2. 16. 18. 19. 21. 22, 3. 2-55, 4. 1.
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- Thibron, Spartan commander, 3. 1. 4. 5. 7. 8.
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- Thorax, Spartan commander, 2. 1. 18. 28.
- Thoricus, town in southern Attica, 1. 2. 1.
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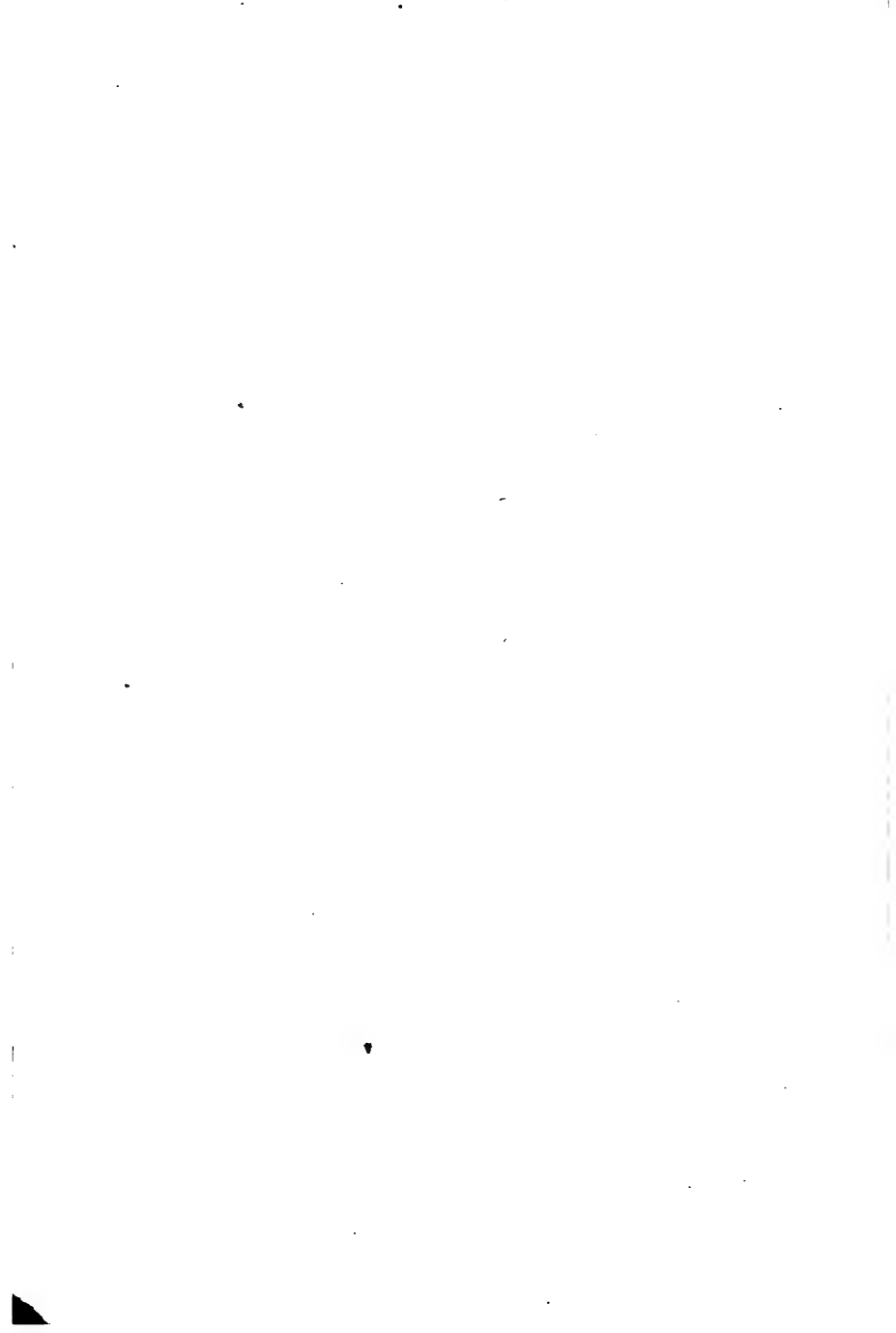


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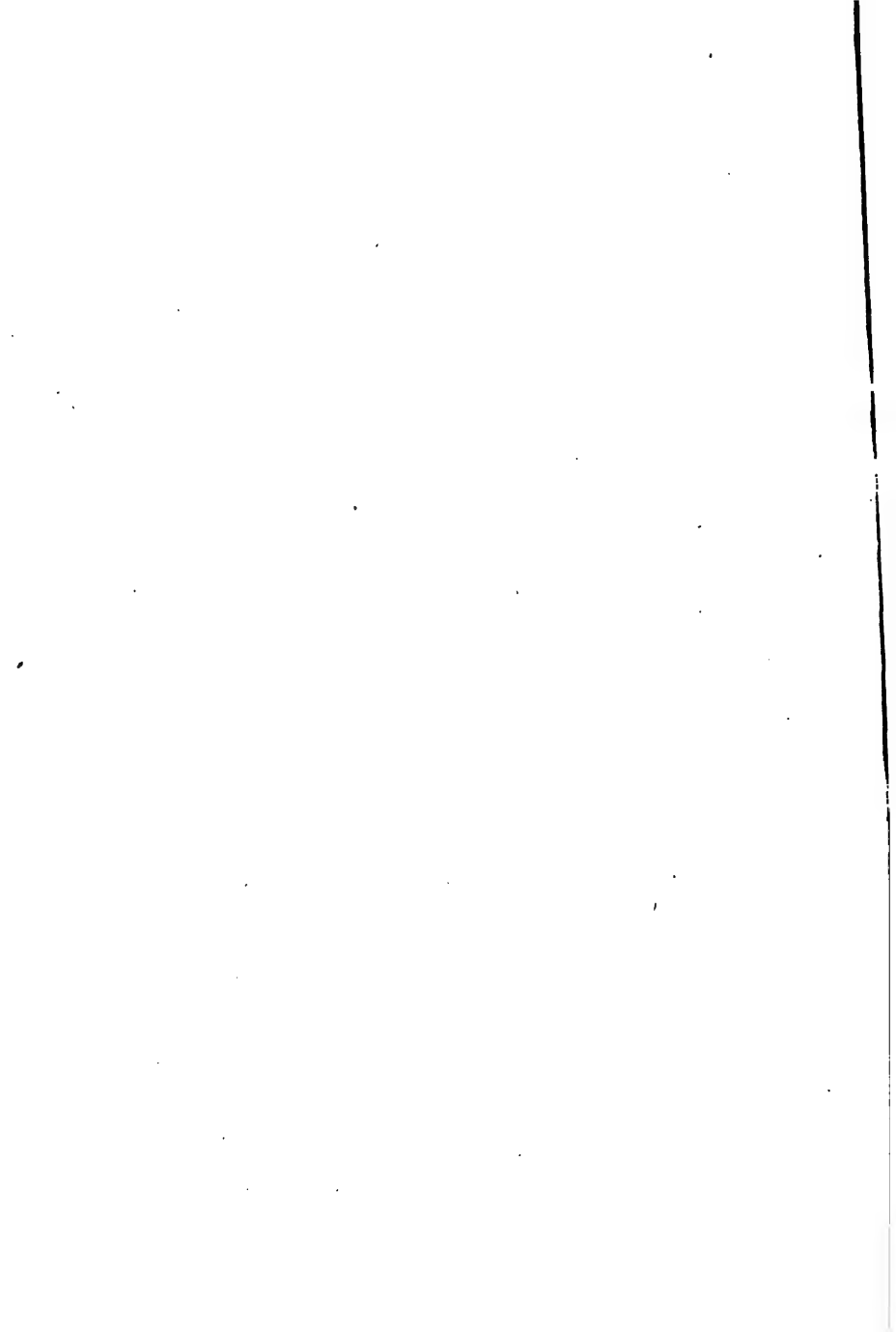
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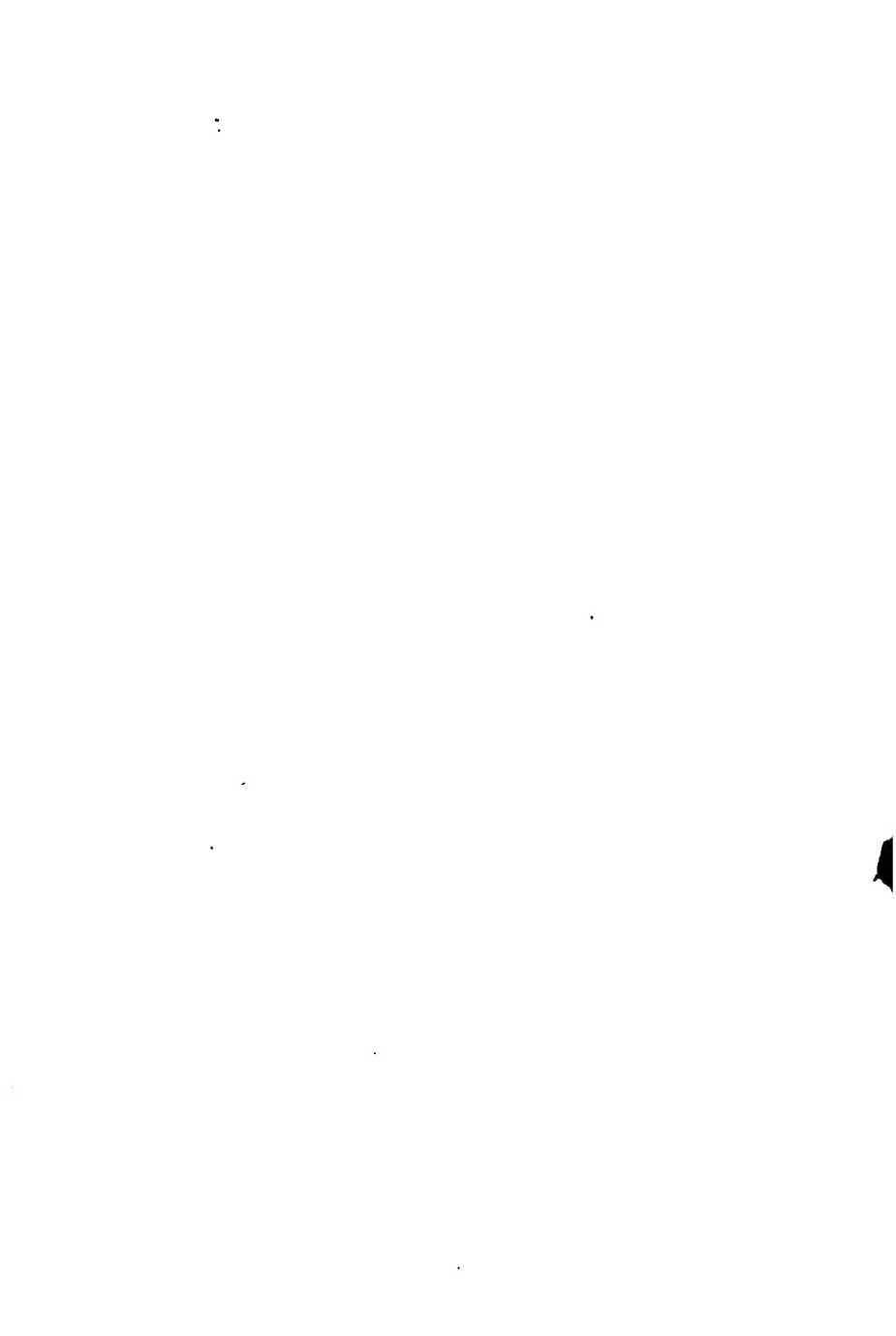
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