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BROWNSON. Hellenica.

W. P. I

TO VICKY IN MEMORIAM
ISAAC HAGG
1848-1931
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 Büchsenschütz, 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, 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 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. The consequent inference that Xenophon remained continuously in

1 A list of the authorities on this subject and a fuller discussion of some disputed points will be found in Appendix I.
2 See Appendix I. p. 349.
3 E.g. before the battle of Arginusae, Hellenica i. 6. 24.
4 Hell. I. i. 34 and i. 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 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 Aegosporotami, 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 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, 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 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, on account of his taking part in the expedition of Cyrus, the enemy of Athens, or on the ground of "Laconism," 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

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1 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 Aegosporotami).
2 Anab. 7. 8. 26, Hell. 3. 1. 6. See Appendix I. p. 350.
3 Cp. Hell. 3. 2. 7; but not after 395 B.C. in any event (Hell. 3. 4. 20).
5 Dio Chrysostom 8. 130, M, Pausanias 5. 6. 5, Diogenes Laertius 2. 6. 58.
6 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.” 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. The date of the decree of ban-
ishment cannot be fixed exactly; but Xenophon’s own statement
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.

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, and there his two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus,
were educated in the traditional Spartan training. About 387 B.C.
he was presented by the Spartans with an estate at Scillus, in Elis,
where he enjoyed the life of a country gentleman, “hunting and
entertaining his friends and writing his histories,” as his biographer
says, until 371 B.C. In this year, when the power of the Spartans
was broken by the battle of Leuctra, and Elis reclaimed the
territory of which she had been deprived by them, Xenophon was
forced to flee from Scillus and took refuge in Corinth. Good
fortune, however, followed close upon ill; for in 369 B.C., as it
seems, the Athenian decree of banishment against him was revoked.

1 Anab. 3. 1. 5.
2 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. 3 Anab. 7. 7. 57. 4 See Appendix I. p. 350.
5 This is inferred from the vividness and minuteness of his descriptions of these
campaigns in Hell. 4.
7 Anab. 5. 3. 7. Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 52. Paus. 5. 6. 5. 8 Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 52.
9 See below, p. 14. 10 Hell. 6. 5. 2. 11 Hell. 3. 2. 30. 12 Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 53.
13 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. In this service one son, Gryllus, lost his life, being killed in a skirmish which immediately preceded the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.). Xenophon himself died at Corinth about the year 354 B.C.

All the works which were ascribed to Xenophon in antiquity 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, is as follows:

- **Cynegeticus**, on hunting, 402 B.C.
- **Oeconomicus**, on household management, 386 (?).
- **Memorabilia**, between 384 and 380.
- **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.

1. Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 53.
2. Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 54 f., where the famous anecdote is told regarding Xenophon's reception of the news and his words, ήδειν θυτόν γεγεννηκώς, *I knew my child was mortal*; cp. also *Hell.* 7. 5. 15–17.
4. The complete list is given by Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 57.
5. These are taken, for the most part, from A. Roquette, *De Xenophontis Vita*.
6. See below, p. 21 f., for the divisions of the *Hellenica* and the reasons therefor.
7. 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\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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,

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1 It seems likely that the composition of the greater part of it should be placed considerably earlier. See Appendix III, p. 359, note \(x\).

2 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, 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
brought against him of profaning the Eleusinian mysteries, the most sacred of Athenian rites.¹ Alcibiades asserted his innocence and demanded an immediate trial; but his enemies succeeded in postponing the matter and, by compelling him to sail at once for Syracuse, left the charges still hanging over him. Not long, however, after the departure of the fleet, increasing popular excitement at Athens over these acts of sacrilege and a general fear that they were connected in some way with a plot to overthrow the democracy, led to the dispatch of a state trireme to Sicily with orders to bring Alcibiades home to stand trial. On the return voyage Alcibiades escaped, and made his way to Sparta, determined to revenge himself upon the Athenians. He advised the Spartans to go to the aid of Syracuse and to send an army into Attica which should establish a permanent camp there and prevent the Athenians from cultivating their farms. In pursuance of this advice the Spartans commissioned Gylippus, one of their best generals, to proceed to Syracuse with such forces as he could gather. His arrival infused new hope and energy in the Syracusans, who had meanwhile been valiantly defending themselves, under the able leadership of Hermocrates,² against the Athenian attack. In the end, although the Athenians received heavy reënforcements from home, they were defeated both by land and by sea, and their great armaments utterly annihilated (413 B.C.).

The Syracusan disaster, with the enormous loss of ships and men which it entailed, appeared to leave Athens entirely defenseless. Her allies everywhere prepared to revolt. The Spartans had already adopted Alcibiades' second suggestion and sent one of their kings, Agis, to fortify a permanent camp at Decelea,³ about fourteen miles from Athens. The Persian satraps in Asia Minor, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, hoping to win back the Greek cities in their dominions which Athenian power had kept independent, sent envoys to Sparta with offers of financial aid.

¹ Xenophon's account of Alcibiades' return to Athens (in Hell. i. 4. 13–20) is full of references to the events of these earlier days.
² Who appears again in the Hellenica (i. i. 27–31).
³ Cp. Hell. i. i. 33–35.
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. 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. 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; 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

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1 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).
2 Cp. Hell. i. i. 14.
3 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 Piraeus; but a more moderate party, headed by Theramenes, divined this treasonable purpose and pulled down the fort. At this moment a Peloponnesian fleet under Agesandridas appeared off Piraeus, 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.

1 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 Piraeus, 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, 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 or identification of the lead-

1 Cp. *Hell.* i. i. 9.
2 For a fuller treatment of this subject see Appendix II.  
3 See above, p. 14.
ing personages inevitably suggests such a conclusion; and this conclusion is confirmed by the explicit statements of several ancient writers.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) 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\(^4\) 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.\(^5\) 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

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\(^1\) Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Marcellinus. See Appendix II. p. 351.

\(^2\) See above, p. 13 f.

\(^3\) See below, p. 21 f.

\(^4\) See Appendix II. p. 352.

\(^5\) 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. 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. 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, 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.

1 Some typical examples are cited in Appendix II. p. 354. 2 See below, p. 27. 3 The division into seven books was apparently not the only one known in antiquity. See Appendix III. p. 356, note 2. 4 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 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.

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. From that time until 394 B.C. he was constantly engaged in military service, 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.

1 See above, p. 20. 2 See Appendix III. p. 357, note 2. 3 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. 4 See above, p. 10. 5 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,¹ 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 allusions² 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,³ 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.,⁴ 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.⁵ His year begins with the opening of spring and is divided into two parts, summer (θειρός) and winter (χειμών). 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

¹ See above, p. 14. ² E.g. 2. 4. 43, 3. 5. 25, 4. 3. 16. See Appendix III. p. 357 f. ³ See above, p. 14. ⁴ See above, p. 12. ⁵ Cp. Appendix II. p. 352. ⁶ For additional details see Appendix IV.
Thucydides\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) Furthermore, as in Thucydides, particular events are occasionally assigned to particular times within the year by such phrases as “at the beginning of winter,” \(^3\) “during the summer,” \(^4\) “when winter came on.” \(^5\) 

(b) In four cases\(^6\) the number of years elapsed since the beginning of the war is stated. 

(c) In five cases \(^7\) 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 \(^8\) 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\(^9\) 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,\(^10\) except on the theory that these insertions are the work of a careless interpolator. 

\(^1\) See above, p. 20.

\(^2\) Thus in I. 2. 1 \(\tau\dot{\iota}\) \(\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\nu\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\) (409 B.C.), in I. 3. 1 \(\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\) (408 B.C.), in I. 4. 2 \(\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\mu\acute{e}n\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\alpha\rho\omicron\) (407 B.C.), and in I. 6. 1, 2. 1. 10, and 2. 3. 1 \(\tau\dot{\iota}\) \(\epsilon\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\) (406, 405, and 404 B.C.).

\(^3\) I. 1. 2. \quad 4 \quad 2. 1. 1. \quad 5 \quad 2. 1. 1. \quad 6 \quad I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, 2. 1. 7, and 2. 3. 9.

\(^4\) I. 1. 2. \quad I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, 2. 1. 10, and 2. 3. 1.

\(^5\) I. 2. 1 and I. 3. 1.

\(^6\) I. 2. 1 and I. 3. 1.

\(^7\) 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 \(\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\mu\acute{e}n\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\alpha\rho\omicron\) and not, as elsewhere, of a formula with \(\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\) or \(\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\). 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
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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, \( (d)^{1} \) not only is one of the two Olympiads incorrectly placed,\(^{2} \) but we know\(^{2} \) 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.\(^{3} \)

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*\(^{4} \); 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,\(^{5} \) in the Persian Empire,\(^{6} \) and in Thessaly.\(^{7} \) 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).

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1 At I. 2. 1 (409 B.C.). The Olympiad in question fell in 408 B.C.
2 On the excellent authority of Polybius, 12. 12.
3 See Appendix IV p. 361. In I. 3. 1, however, \( \tau \omega \, \epsilon \pi \iota \omicron \omicron \nu \tau \omicron \omicron \sigma \) 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 \( \epsilon \pi \epsilon i \delta \chi \epsilon \mu \omega \nu \, \epsilon \chi \gamma \gamma \varepsilon \).
4 *E.g.* 1. 1. 27, 1. 1. 32, 1. 2. 18.
5 I. 1. 37, 1. 5. 21, 2. 2. 24, and 2. 3. 5.
6 I. 2. 19 and 2. 1. 8–9.
7 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,¹ — allusions which are wholly irrelevant, yet at least comparable with those found in Thucydides.²

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,³ and is manifestly copied in part from Thucydides.⁴

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 Lacedae-monians 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.

¹ I. 3. 1, I. 6. I. 2. 3. 4. ² See Appendix IV. p. 362.
³ Making it 28½ years instead of 27. ⁴ 2. 2.
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Mention has already been made\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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\(^3\); yet an entire chapter is devoted to the fortunes of the small town of Phlius.\(^4\)

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.\(^5\) This theory, besides

\(^1\) See above, p. 21.
\(^3\) 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.
\(^4\) 7. 2.
\(^5\) 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 (II\(\varepsilon\rho\iota\) τ\(\partial\varepsilon\nu\) Ἐλληνικων τοῦ Ἑλενοφωντος) 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.¹ 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,²
but also by the fact that each of the three Parts of the Hellenica
proves upon examination to be an organic whole, its various por-
tions clearly interrelated to one another;³ further, many passages⁴
show that Xenophon was consciously writing for publication and
not for himself alone. Other apologists⁵ for the Hellenica main-
tain that it is an unfinished work, perhaps published by strangers
after Xenophon’s death. This hypothesis can no more be dis-
proved 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

¹ Cp. especially Wyttenbach (Selecta princip. Histor., praef. p. x) and Büch-
² 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.
³ This is pointed out by Nitsche, op. cit.
⁴ E.g. 4. 2. 16, 4. 3. 16, 4. 8. 1, 5. 4. 1, 6. 4. 37, 7. 2. 1, 7. 5. 27.
⁵ Hertlein (Observationes criticæ in Xen. hist. Graec. II. p. 1) and Christ (in
Müller’s Handbuch 7. 301); among the editors, Breitenbach, Büchsenschütz, 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.¹ 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

¹ 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.\(^1\) The same lack of care is probably the rea-
son for many of his omissions.\(^2\) (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 eye-
witness are often described at disproportionate length.\(^3\) (3) Xeno-
phon 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;\(^4\) 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. Xenon-
phon'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.\(^5\) True, the Athenians had ban-

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1 See Appendix II. p. 354.
3 E.g. 1. 7 (the trial of the generals after Arginusae), 2. 3. 15-56 (the contest
between Critias and Tharamenes). 3. 1. 10-3. 2. 20. 3. 4. 4. 1. 4. 5 (campaigns with
Dercylidas and Agesilaus).
4 E.g. 3. 1. 10-28, 4. 1. 3-15. 5. 4. 25-33, 1. 6. 19-21, 6. 5. 17-19.
5 Especially by Niebuhr (Kl. hist. Schriften I. 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.\(^1\) Still more serious is the fact that he is guilty of ill-natured suggestions which reflect upon the Thebans,\(^2\) that he puts wrong constructions upon their acts,\(^3\) and too openly rejoices, when occasion offers, in their calamity.\(^4\) 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\(^5\) and even of Agesilaus,\(^6\) and in his frank recognition of the military talent of Epaminondas, the great Theban who brought ruin to Sparta.\(^7\) 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

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\(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) *E.g.* 4. 2. 18, 3. 5. 21, 5. 4. 20, 6. 5. 23–27.

\(^3\) *E.g.* 7. 1. 33–40, 4. 2. 18.

\(^4\) *E.g.* 3. 5. 21, 7. 5. 12.

\(^5\) *E.g.* 5. 4. 1, 3. 5. 12–13, 6. 3. 7–9.

\(^6\) *E.g.* 3. 4. 29, 5. 4. 24–34.

\(^7\) 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 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 Theopom- pus, 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. 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 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

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BROWNSON. HELLENICA — 3
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 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\(^1\) 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;

\(^1\) 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 . . . ἔσλεσαν εἰς Ἀθῆνας, i. 1. 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.* εἴρησετε σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτηκότας, i. 7. 19; so ἐαυτῶν (for ὑμῶν αὐτῶν), i. 7. 29 and αὐτοὺς (for ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς), i. 1. 28.

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

(2) Ἀμφι, also un-Attic in prose, is occasionally found with the accusative, instead of τετρα. *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. 1. 15, i. 1. 27, i. 1. 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. 1. 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) Ἐν υἱὸν 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) Ἔπεξ... 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. ὅρωντες . . . ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἤν (instead of ἐστὶ or εἶν), 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, βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἄν ἔξειη, 2. 3. 13.

(2) ὡς with the subjunctive, φυλάξασθαι . . . ὡς μὴ . . . δυνασθήν, 2. 3. 33.

(3) ὡς with the future optative, προεἰπέν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσωιτο, 2. 1. 22.

H. Result Clauses. — Xenophon departs from the regular usage of Attic prose writers in employing ὡς as well as ὃστε, 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 οὗ φημι and οὗμαι. 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, οὗ φημι = *I refuse*, and οὗμαι = *I expect*. E.g. οὗκ ἐφη 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 οὗ φαμένον πολυπραγμονεῖν, 1. 6. 3, refusing to intermeddle; οὗκ ἐφη . . . οὐδένα Ἐλλήνων . . . ἀνδραποδισθήναι, 1. 6. 14; οἶδ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶτας ἡμίτον (expected) ἀπιέναι, 4. 7. 4; οὖσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν, 5. 1. 15.

J. Participles.—The circumstantial participle with ὁς, most often in the genitive absolute, is employed with unusual frequency as the equivalent of a participle or clause in indirect discourse. E.g. ἐξῆγειλα τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις ὡς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνου τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζόμενον, 3. 4. 1, reported to the L. that the king and Tissaphernes were preparing this expedition; τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Δακεδαμονίων νικόντων, 4. 3. 14, in consequence of the report that the L. were victorious; τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἱσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, 1. 4. 14; προείπε . . . ὡς καὶ τούτους 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, 1Iter Teil (revised by Gerth), 1898–1904.

S. = Smyth’s Greek Grammar, 1908.
The Further Course of the Peloponnesian War. 411–406 B.C.

Chapter I, §§ 1–10. Naval warfare in the Hellespont. The battle of Abydus. Alcibiades is arrested by Tissaphernes, but escapes. 411 B.C.

1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἤλθεν εἰς Ἁθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὖθις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑγομένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ρόδου εἰς Ἑλλήσ-5 ποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χείμῶνος τέτταροι καὶ

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 αὖθις: 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 = ὀλίγῳ 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-
— τοῖς στρατηγοῖς: Thrasybulus and Thrasylus. Alcibiades, also one of the generals, had not yet reached the Hellespont. See § 5 and Thuc. 8. 108.— ἀνηγάγοντο: ἐξεκάθισαν. In nautical language ἀνά and κατά mean respectively ἐξεκάθισαν (to sea) and ἐκ(το) (to shore).— πρὸς τὴν γῆν: connect with φυγών.
— ὃς 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 ἀνεβιβάζε get with reference to the process,— as one after another of the ships got clear and was beached.— Ροίτειον: Rhoeiteum, on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, near its entrance.
3. ἐμάχοντο: the subject is the Peloponnnesians.— ἀνά 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 ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεσικά, 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 Abydus (opposite Madytus), where the main Peloponnnesian fleet lay, drawn up on the shore (hence
tás ēautōv trū̂reis ἀπέπλει, ὡπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ 5 Δωρεώς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἑναυμάχη-
σαν περὶ Ἀβυδον κατὰ τὴν ᾑονα μέχρι δείλης εἴς ἐωθινοῦ. 
καὶ τὰ μὲν νικώντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισ-
6 πλεῖ δυοῖν δεοῦσας εἰκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγῆ 20 
τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδον· καὶ ὁ 
Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθη, καὶ ἐπεισβᾷνων τῷ ἢππῳ εἰς 
τὴν θάλασσαν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἢ ν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις 
7 τοῖς αὐτοῖ ἢπευσί καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφρά
ξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξὰμενοι 25 
πρὸς τὴ γῆ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριά-
καθελκύσαι). — ἀναλάβοι: lit. pick up. It is often used, as here, of 
a general who unites to his com-
mand detached units.

5. κατὰ τὴν ᾑονα: along the strand. ᾑον is a poetic word. See Introd. IV. L. — εἴς ἐωθινοῦ: the morning of the day after Dorieus’ 
arrival. Diodorus (13. 45) runs together the two battles described 
in §§ 3 and 5. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ: at some points . . . at others. 
For the acc. see S. 1609; HA. 719; B. 336; G. 1060; Gl. 540. — Ἀλκιβιά-
δῆς: 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’ ar-
rrival decided the issue of the 
battle. — ἐπεισπλεῖ: εἰς in the com-
pound means into (the Hellespont), 
ἐπὶ besides, i.e. in addition to, or to
aid, the original force. Cp. § 12. — 
δυοῖν δεοῦσαι εἰκοσι: twenty lack-
ing two, as duodeviginti in Latin. Note 
that δεοῦσαι 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 
Introd. p. 19. — μέχρι: to be joined 
with the preceding, ἐπεισβαίνων 
κτλ.; as long as the depth of the 
water permitted. See critical note. 
— τοῖς ἄλλοις: explained more pre-
cisely 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 τῷ γῇ: hav-
κοντα ναύς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἂς αὐτοὶ 8 ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεύθεν πλὴν τετ-
ταράκοντα νεῶν ἀλλαὶ ἂλλῃ ὕχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν
ἐξω τοῦ 'Ελλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὄν τῶν 30
στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθῆνας ἐπέλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλὼν καὶ
9 στρατιῶν καὶ ναύς αἰτήσων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισαφέρ-
νης ἤλθεν εἰς 'Ελλησπόντον· ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν
μᾶ τριήρει Αλκιβιάδην ξένια τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλ-

ing marshaled themselves on the
shore.—κενάς: i.e. abandoned by
their crews. Cp. the opposite ex-
pression αὐτῶν ἀνδράς, men and
all, 2. 12 and often.—ἂς αὐτοῖς
ἀπώλεσαν: i.e. before the arrival of
Alcibiades, when they were at some
points defeated (§ 5). αὐτοῖ, to
indicate the recovery of their own
ships in contrast with the capture of
the enemy's.—Σηστόν: op-
posite Abydos.
8. ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν: Athens
had lost so many of her tributary
allies since the Sicilian disaster
that she was almost without reve-
 nues; her generals, therefore, were
continually occupied in raising
money for the support of their
fleets, by voluntary or involuntary
contributions from friends or ene-
mies. 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.—ἐξαγγέλων . . .
aἰτήσων: S. 2065; HA. 969 c;
B. 653, 5; G. 1563, 4; Gl. 583 b.
See note on ὃς μαχούμενος § 33.
9. Τισαφέρνης: 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, per-
suaded 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 Lacedaemo-
nians (Thuc. 8. 109), and he
welcomes the opportunity of ar-
resting 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, νῦς the active aid
of Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8. 47, 56,
81, 88).—ξένια τε καὶ δῶρα: the
former were ceremonial presents of meat and drink, the latter were 'keepsakes,' like the Homeric κε-μήλια.—Σάρδεσι: capital of Lydia.
—βασιλεά: 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. —άλόντος: an attributive participle. S. 2050 a; HA. 965; B. 650; G. 1559; Gl. 582. —εὐπορήσαντες . . . ἀπέδρα-σαν: 'construction according to sense,' although the grammatical subject is singular.

§§ 11-18. The Athenian-fleet is reunited and takes the offensive. The battle of Cyzicus. 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 αἰσθόμε-νοι. S. 2110; HA. 982; B. 661; G. 1588; Gl. 586 a. —εξήκοντα: according to Diodorus (13. 49) Mindarus had received considerable reinforcements. The Athenians have only forty ships (§ 8), — hence their secret retreat.—νυκτὸς ἀπέ-δρασαν: a rather careless repetition from the preceding section.—Καρ-δίαν: around the Chersonese, on its N.W. coast. Hence the περι-πλεῖν below.—σύν: 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 σύν (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.
12. ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν: for battle, equivalent to ὡς ναυμαχήσοντος. For the use of ὡς with a prepositional phrase denoting purpose 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 (ἀγνυρολογῶν) in § 8.  
— ἐπεισοπλεί: see on § 5. — Ἐπιστημένη: see Introd. p. 18. He had been sent from Athens with thirty ships to prevent the bridging of the straits of Chaleis, from Euboea to Boeotia. After failing in this attempt he employed his force in aiding King Archelaus of Macedonia, — 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 generals of its own choosing (Introd. p. 18), among whom Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Thrasyllyus 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 continued to choose its own generals, and kept always at its head Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Thrasyllus, and Theramenes. — Ἐπιστημόβουλος: who later became the liberator of Athens from the Thirty Tyrants. — Ἑραγυρολογηκότες: see on § 8.  
13. εἰπών: bidding. For the following 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 ἐπεισθαι, but to follow after him when they had made ready; for Alc. (ἅπτος) went on ahead. — ἔξελομένωι: . . . ἱστία: = ‘having cleared for action.’ A trireme regularly had two sails,
megála istoría autós ἐπλέουσεν εἰς Πάριον. ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἀπασαὶ ἐν Παρὶ ἦς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐπιουσίας νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἀλλή ἡμέρα Πέρι ἀρίστου ὄραν ἤκον εἰς Προκόπησον. ἐκεῖ δ’ ἐπώθοντο ὦτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶ δι καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταυτὴν μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμεναν, τῇ δὲ ὑπηρεσίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν πονήσας παρεκκλειστοὶ αὐτοῖς ὦτι ἀνάγκη εἰς καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τεχνομαχεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν, ἐφὶ, χρῆματα ἡμῶν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ βασι-15ν ἔως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὀφρύσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ’ ἑαυτῶν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξε τε, ὅς ἂν ἀλισκήται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, ὅσοι

the larger of which, with all its tackling, was removed when a battle was imminent. In action the trireme depended entirely on its oars. — ἦς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα: = 40 (§ 8) + 6 (§ 11) + 20 + 20 (§ 12). — νυκτὸς... ἡμέρα: respectively time within which and time when. S. 1444, 1539; HA. 759, 782; B. 359, 385; G. 1136, 1192; Gl. 515, 527 c. — ἀλλή: next, an unusual meaning of the word. — περὶ ἀρίστου ὄραν: about midday. 14. ἐν Κυζίκῳ: see on § 11. — αὐτοῖς: i.e. the soldiers gathered in the ἐκκλησία. — ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τεχνομαχεῖν: i.e. against Mindarus, Pharnabazus, and Cyzicus respectively. — χρῆματα: see on § 8. — ὀφρύσαντο: at Proconnessus. — πλοῖα: i.e. merchant vessels. — καὶ: even. — συνήθροισε: translate by the pluperf. Cp. Anab. 1. 1. 2 τῆς ἄρχης ἦς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, the province of which he had made him satrap. — ἐξαγγείλαι: for the mood see S. 2196; HA. 881; B. 590; G. 1385; Gl. 638 c. — τε: the postscript τε, connecting the two clauses. See Introd. IV. D. 1. — ἀλισκήται: a vivid future condition. 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.
In 16 B.C., 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).
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. αὐτὴν: i.e. the city.
20. ἀπέπλευσεν: ἀπὸ ἐπιστροφής, as frequently. — Πέρυνθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν: on the northern coast of the Propontis.
21. τὸ στρατόπεδον: see on § 3. — ὅ: 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. — Χρυσόπολις: on the eastern side of the Bosporus, 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 Bosporus as well as the Hellespont secured the route of the Athenian grain ships from the Black Sea (cp. § 35 and Introd. p. 19). — πλοῖαν: S. 1392; HA. 748; B. 362; G. 1117; Gl. 509. — καί: also, besides the necessary custom-
πλοῖων καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο δύναντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολέμιους. οί δ᾽ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν 'Ελλησποντον ᾤχοντο. 23 παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Δακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε. Ἐρρει τὰ κάλα. Μινδαρὸς ἀπεσ-100 24 σύα. πεινώντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρ-
nábaζός δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἄθυμείν ἐνεκα ξύλων, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἐὼς ἀν τὰ σώματα σῶα ἥ, ἰματίων τ' ἐδωκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον 105 δυσὶν μηνῶι, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναῦτας φύλακας κατέ- -25 στησε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευς ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν 'Αντάν- δρῳ ὅσας ἐκαστοι ἀπόλεσαν, χρήματά τε δίδους καὶ 110 26 ὑλῆν ἐκ τῆς Ἰδῆς κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγομένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἀμα τοῖς 'Αντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα. διὰ ταύτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτείᾳ Συρακόσιοι ἐν 'Αντάνδρῳ ἐστὶ. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταύτα διατάξας 115 εὐθύς εἰς Καλχηδόνα 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. ἐνεκα ξύλων: on the score of timber (cp. καλα above), in contemptuous contrast to τὰ σώματα. — ὡς: saying that. S. 2086; HA. 978; B. 656, 3; G. 1574; Gl. 593 c. — ἐὼς ἀν ... ἥ: so long as, etc. Connect with μὴ ἄθυμείν. For the subjunctive see S. 2401; HA. 916; B. 623; G. 1434; Gl. 631. — ἐφόδιον: subsistence.

25. τοῖς ... στρατηγοὺς: the generals from the various states of the Peloponnesian confederacy. — 'Αντάνδρῳ: 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. ναυπηγομένων: sc. αὐτῶν. S. 2072 α.; HA. 972 α.; B. 657, n. 1; G. 1568; Gl. 590 a. — ἀμα τοῖς 'Αντανδρίοις: together with the Antandrians. A personal dative with ἀμα is unusual. — εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτείᾳ: i.e. the title and privileges of benefactors and honorary citizens, not infrequently conferred, by a legislative act, upon individuals or states. — ἐστὶ: sing. because εὐεργεσία and πολιτείᾳ are conceived as a single notion.

27. Ἕν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἤγγελθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς οὕκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἀνατονὸν στρατιώτας Ἐρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἀνατονὸν συμφοράν, ὥς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἀπαντεῖ παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήγεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λουτά, ὡσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, ἔλεσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἄν ἀδίκων-28 ταί οἱ ἵρημένοι ἄντ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δὲ ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέ-125 λευν ἐκείνους ἀρχεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ Αθηναίοι ἐπεκέφαλον εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς πόλεως, ὡστε καὶ συνεχώς εἰσήμενοι αὐτῷ ἐνεργεῖν, ἐξ ὁστον ἦν αὐτῷ ἐνεπερῶντα; ἂν, μετά τουρκίας, τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπεμένειν καὶ ἀναβαλλόμενοι ἐκεί-125 οὖν ἔκειναι, καὶ μᾶλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ

The 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 spokes-

man.— 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 λουτά: in the future also. For the case see on τὰ μὲν § 5. — ἄνδρας... παραγγελ-

λόμενα: good men toward (i.e. in obeying) each successive order. — ἀδίκουνται: for the mood see S. 2401; HA. 921; B. 623; G. 1465; Gl. 631. — ἐκείνον: ἐκείνος 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. ἀρχεῖν: i.e. to remain in

The present has a perfect meaning; for as νικάν = 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
command. — τριήμαρχοι ... ἐπιβάται ... 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 oligarchical party in Syracuse. — στασιάζειν: i.e. by retaining the command. — τείς: of the Syracusan soldiers and sailors whom they were addressing. — ἐπικαλοίν: opt. in indir. disc. S. 2619; HA. 932, 2; B. 673; G. 1497, 2; Gl. 662. — λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι: they said that they (the soldiers) ought to give them (the generals) a hearing. Despite the previous manifestation of the good will of the soldiers, the generals assume an attitude of humility, in order to excite still further and surer sympathy. They do not ask for support or restoration to their command, only protection. That they give so great a reason (in the following 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 banishment. Cp. ὀμόσαντες ... κατάξειν αὐτοῖς κτὲ., having sworn that they would bring them back from exile, etc., § 29. The phrase λόγον διδόναι (which ordinarily means 'to render an account') is used as here in 5. 2. 20. — μεμνημένους: in agreement with the subj. of διδόναι, which refers to the soldiers. — τε: correlative with the following τε, not with καί. See Introd. IV. d. 2. — αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς: αὐτοὶ is used to strengthen the following reflexive (S. 1235; HA. 688; B. 473; G. 997) on account of the contrast with μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. Note that αὐτοῦς stands for the reflexive of the second person. See Introd. IV. b. and S. 1230; HA. 686 a; B. 471, n. 1; G. 995. — νευκήκατε: an abrupt change from indirect to direct discourse. The second person instead of the first because, in the spirit of the foregoing, the generals are not claiming credit for themselves.—μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων: i.e. with the Peloponnesians, while αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς refers to their campaigns at home, in Sicily. — ἀμετητοί γεγόνατε: have proved
vate ἡμῶν ἡγομένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διά τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν 29 καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαινιωμένου, δεομένων ἐμειναν ἔως ἀφίκοντο 135 οἱ ἀντί ἐκείνων στρατηγοῖ, Δήμαρχος τ' Ἐπικύδου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμος Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι κατάξειν αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συφακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅτι 30 ἐβούλουστο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες. ἵδια δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμο-140 κράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὅν γὰρ ἐγίνονοςκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἐκάστης ἢμέρας πρὶ καὶ πρὸς ἐστέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνήν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ 145

yourselves invincible. — τάξιν ... τὴν κρατίστην: the best (i.e. most honorable) post in the line of battle. E.g. in the battle of Abydus, according to Diod. 13. 45. — ἀρετὴν: skill. — ὑπάρχουσαν: exhibited. Connect with προθυμία. 29. δεομένων: see on ναυπηγομένων § 26. In this case the positive 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 Ἐπικύδου: cp. Δωριέως τ'Διαγόρου § 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. — κατάξιν: would bring them back-from-exile (κατά-).

30. ἱδία: in particular, in contrast 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. — ὅν ... ἐπιβατῶν: for the best of those whose acquaintance he made, both trierarchs and, etc. ὅν = ἐκείνων oīs. S. 2522, 2529; HA. 996 and a; B. 484, 486; G. 1031, 1032; Gl. 614. — συναλίζων: a poetic word. —
ἀνεκοινούτον τὸ τι ἐμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν, κἀκεῖνος ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων Ἐρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ηὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλευεῖν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγορῆσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μοι Ἐρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δοξᾶς τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζου, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήμερος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.


31. τὰ πολλὰ . . . ηὐδόξει: enjoyed the greatest reputation.—κατηγορῆσας 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. ἀπεπέμψατο 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.—Ἀστυόχος: 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.—ἡκον: 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 'Εν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον στάσεως γενόμενης ἐκπίπτοντοι οἱ λακωνισταί καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἀρμοστὴς Ἑτεώνικος. καταίηναις δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσα-φέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἐφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης. ἐπὶ 160 δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ ἐκείνος ἥθροικε ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.

33 περὶ δὲ τούτος τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἀγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομῆν ποιούμενός πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἥλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Θράσυλλος 165 δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντᾷ παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον 34 [γυμνάσιον] ὃς μαχοῦμενος, ἀν προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ

Greek text: see on § 27. — Θρασύλλος: cp. § 8. — Δεκελείας: where the Spartans, under King Agis, maintained a permanent camp in order to prevent the Athenians from cultivating their lands. See Introd. p. 16. — προνομῆν: a word used only by Xenophon and late writers. See Introd. IV. L. — τοὺς ἄλλους: i.e. non-citizens, viz.metics and strangers. — Λύκειον: the Lyceum was a gymnasiun outside the walls of Athens to the eastward, later famous as the place where Aristotle taught. — ὃς 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.

Athens. Clearchus is sent to Byzantium.

32. Θάσῳ: Thasos, originally an Athenian possession, had revolted to Sparta in 411 B.C. — κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον: see on § 27. — ἐκπίπτοντοι: = ἐκβάλλονται. Cp. φεύγοντες § 27. — ἀρμοστὴς: 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 τούτος τοὺς χρόνους:
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' αἱ γῆ: what he had come for. The phrase is used as an acc. of specification. — τε . . . δὲ . . . δὲ: the transition from the copulative to the adversative connection is not rare. S. 2981; HA. 1040 b; KG. 520, Anm. 3.

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

Πειραιὰ: the port of Athens. — καταβέντοια: 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 ἡδὴ χρόνον . . . εὑρεν: 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. — σχῆσιν: 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
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. δοξαντος τούτου: when this had been determined upon. — στρατωτίδων μάλλον ἢ ταξεῖων: transports rather than war ships. This explains why Clearchus was defeated by an inferior force (ἐννέα). — τὰ πλοία: 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 'Αθήνας § 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. — ο 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. — Ἀμβίβα: not the famous Hannibal. For the genitive form see S. 225; HA. 149; G. 188, 3.

Chapter 2. §§ 1–11. Thrasyl-clus’ expedition to Asia Minor. He defeats the Milesians and invades Lydia, but is repulsed with loss before Ephesus. 409 B.C.
1. ἄλλω: see on ἄλλη 1. 13. [φ... Ἐυκτήμονος]: 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.—φ: 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. — 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.—ἐντός: a noun depending upon ἐπὶ temporal is sometimes modified by a pres. part. S. 2053 a; KG. 438, 1. 2.—Θορίκον: 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 peltastis also. See on ὡς μαχούμενος 1. 33. ἀμα καὶ = a strengthened καὶ—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 reënforcements for the fleet in the Hellespont (1. 8), but since the Athenian victory at Cyzicus rendered such reënforcements unnecessary he turned his attention to the revolted cities of Asia Minor.

2. Πύγελα: a small town S.W.
tines tois Pugeléusis dieisparmemous ontoas twn 'Ath-

3 naivw tois psilous ediökow. Oi de peltaçtau kal twn
oplitow duo loçoi bothysantes pròs tois autow psilous
apékteunw apantaz tois ek Milhtov ektoús oligwv, kai 15
aspidaz elaçov os diakousias, kai tropaion esthsgan.

4tì de ústeraiç éplessan eis Nótoin, kai enteuthen parak-
skeusámenoi époreúnto eis Kolofòna. Kolofóvnoi
dè prosxórhsgan. Kai tìs épioúsgas vuktos enébalov
eis tìn Ludián akmáçontos tou sitou, kai kàmata te 20
pollas éneprhsgan kai chrímatà elaçov kai ãndrapoda
5 kai allhen leian pollhén. Stágyhs dé o Pérsos perì
tauta tà chwria òn, epiei oj 'Athanaioi ek tou stratopé-
dou dieaqeudasmévoi ësas kath tás Ídias leias, both-
ysántow ton ippeow ena mèn òvòn elaçev, épota dé 25
6 apékteine. Oraðullos dé meta tauta aptíçagien epi
thalattan òn stratiwv, òs eis 'Ephesou plenousomenos.
Tisasferphs dé aústhomenv to touto to épixeírmia, stra-
tiavn te synelegye pollhén kai ippeas apéstelle para-

of Ephesus.— dieisparmenous on-
tas: = simply dieisparmenous. The
combination of the two parts is rare, but comparable to the use
of the perf. part. with finite forms of einai. Cp. also 5. 5 einai
tas synthekas óuws échojias, where einai . . . échojia = echein.

3. bothysantes pròs: in a
friendly sense. pròs with the
acc. instead of the usual dat. (as in
§ 2) is due to the original idea of
motion in botheiv.— ektoús: = pluy.
Cp. the English 'outside of.'

4. Nótoin: the port of Colo-
phon.— akmáçontos tou sitou: in
June.— pollhén: in great quan-
tities.

5. Stágyhs: a lieutenant of Tis-
saphernes (Thuc. 8. 16). — kata
tás Ídias leias: for private plun-
der. — bothysántow ton ippeów: although the cavalry (of the Athe-
nians) came to the rescue.— òn
. . . éptà: of the plunderers, not the
cavalry.

6. òs . . . plenousomenos: see
on òs máchojmenos 1. 33.—
γέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς 'Εφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι. 30 7 Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐβιβάζε ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς 'Εφεσον ἐπελευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσόν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἵππεας καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς-35 8 ἤγε δύο στρατόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν 'Εφέσιοι οἱ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἱ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων ἐκκοσί νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἐτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἦκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέεως τε τοῦ Ἰππώνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου 40 τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσιων δύο. 9 οὖτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν
tῇ 'Αρτέμιδι: 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. εἰσβολὴν: i.e. into Lydia. — Κορησσόν: a mountain south of Ephesus. — ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα: on the opposite side. — ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ: see on 1. 2. — στρατόπεδα: see on 1. 3.

8. ἐβοήθησαν: its subjects (if the text be correct; see critical note) are οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 'Εφέσιοι, οἱ σύμμαχοι, Συρακόσιοι, and Σελινούσια. — 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 1. 18 and note, and 1. 25.— ἐτυχον παραγενόμεναι: S. 2096 a; HA. 984; B. 660, n.; G. 1586; Gl. 585 a. — Σελινούσιαι 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 ἐτυχον κτὲ.) 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 1. 18. These two ships, like those of the Syracusans, had evidently been replaced by new ones built at Antandrus.

9. πρῶς: in a hostile sense. Cp. the opposite use in § 3.—
Korhèsophiē boiôthiasan toutous de trephámenoi kai apokteínantes εξ αυτῶν ὦσει ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. 45 ἐφυγον δὲ κάκει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὄς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἑφέσιοι τροπαίοι ἑνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἔτερων πρὸς τῷ Κορησοφῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατιστοῖς γενομένοις ἀριστεῖα ἔδοσαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἴκειν ἀτελεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ μᾶς ἀδεί. Σελινουσίοις δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ 11 πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόδους ἀπολαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κάκει θάμαντες αὐτοὺς ἐπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησποντοῦ.

ὡσει: about, a rare equivalent for simple ὄς. — παρά: by.

10. πρὸς: at. — κρατιστοῖς γενομένοις: who had proved themselves very brave. Σρ. γεγόνατε 1. 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. — οἰκεῖν ἀτελεῖ: (permission) to dwell tax free (in Ephesus). οἰκεῖν is parallel with ἀριστεῖα. For the case of ἀτελεῖ see S. 1060; HA. 941; B. 631; G. 928, 1; Gl. 571 c. — τῷ βουλομένῳ ἂεί: to any one who at any time desired it. For the use of ἂεί with the part. cp. 1. 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 1. 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.

II. τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόδους ἀπολαβόντες: to ask for a truce in order to recover the bodies of the dead was regarded as an acknowledgment of defeat. — ἐπι: towards.

§§ 12–17. After capturing four Syracusan ships Thrasylus joins
12 ὁμοίωτας δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Δέσβου εἴδουν παρα-55 πλεούσας ἓξ 'Εφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ
eἰκοσί· καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέταρας μὲν ἔλα-
βον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ’ ἄλλας κατεδώξαν εἰς
13 'Εφέσου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Ὄρασυλ-
λὸς εἰς 'Αθῆνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ ἔδω
'Αθηναίων, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιον καὶ συμφυγάδα,
kατέλευσεν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπέλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστὸν
πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπασά ἡ στρατιά
14 ἀνεβή εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ χειμῶν ἐπήμει, ἐν ὧν oi αἰχμά-
λωτοι Συρακοσίων, εἴργμένου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομί-65
αὐς, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ὕσοντο
15 εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ
συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὦι πρότε-
ροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔβολυντο τοῖς μετὰ Ὄρασύλλου

Alcibiades in operations in the Hellespont.

12. τὴς Δέσβου: for the case see on Καλχηδόνις I. 22. — πέντε καὶ
eἰκοσί: cp. § 8. — αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι: men and all, lit. with (the) men
themselves. See S. 1525; HA. 774 a; B. 392, 3, N.; G. II91; Gl.
525 a. With this construction the omission of both σῶν and the
article is the rule.

13. Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . κατελευ-
σεν: not enough is known regarding 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.—
eἴργμένοι . . . εὐ λιθοτομίας: 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 δὲ:
and some (few). οἱ δὲ 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. ἔβολυντο, is conative.
S. 1878 and a; HA. 825; B. 523;
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 καίρον with the phrases employed in i. 27, i. 32, and i. 33. — Κοπρωσίον: 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...
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.—τούς ἐκ Μαλεάς: those of the Helots who had revolted and fled from Malea to Coryphasion. Cp. εἶδοσον εἰς Ἀθήνας 1. 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 ἑποίκους: 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 Heraclans, 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.—τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλέως: βασιλέως, referring to the Persian king, usually takes the article when modified by an adj. or a genitive. See on 1. 9.
Chapter 3, §§ 1–7. The Athenians lay siege to Calchedon. Pharnabazus aids the Calchedonians. 408 B.C.

1. [Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη προστήρος ἐμπεσόντος.] ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, [Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἀρχοντος δ’ Ἀντιγένος, ἕαρος ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότων,] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς 5

2 Προκόννησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ’ ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὄρμησαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύουσαν πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσίοντες αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἀπασάν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ᘃφακας ἀστυνείτονας ὄντας. 10

3 Ἀλκibiάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας, καὶ τάς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῆτει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα. εἰ 4 δὲ μῆ, πολεμήσεων ἐφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ’ ἐπεὶ ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν 15 ἔχων καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένοις, ἀπετείχες τὴν Καλχη-

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.—Θράκας: they had migrated from Thrace to Asia Minor.

3. ei δὲ μῆ: otherwise. S. 2346 d; HA. 906; B. 616, 3; G. 1417; Gl. 656 c.

4. πίστεις πεποιημένοις: i.e. πρὸς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς. — ἀπετείχε: 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 θαλάττῃς εἰς θάλατταν 5 καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁσον οἶον τ' ἦν κυλίνθει τείχει. ἐνταῦθα Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξηγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς μαχούμενος· οἱ 20 δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν περιτείχισμάτων προσεβοήθη στρατιῶ τε καὶ 6 ἰπποὺς πολλοῖς. Ἰπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἐράσυλλος ἐμάχοντο ἐκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον πολὺν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας 25 ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' 7 αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἐφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἃμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνά- βαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμεῖξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτείχισμά- των ἔγγος ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν 30 8 Καλχηδονίων, οὐ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ἄχετο εἰς τὸν Ἐλλησποντοῦ καὶ εἰς

— ἀπὸ θαλάττῃς εἰς θάλατταν: from the Bosporus to the Propontis. — ποταμοῦ: part. gen. depending on the clause ὁσον . . . 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. — Ἰπποκράτης: cp. 1. 23. — ὡς μαχούμενος: see on 1. 33. — ἔξω: the Athenians were inside the wall. — Ἰπποῖς: as in 2. 16.

6. Ἰπποκράτης μὲν οὖν: contrasted with ἃμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος.

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

7. συμμεῖξαι: this spelling, instead of συμμιξαὶ, 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.
8. χρήματα πράξων: see on 1. 8. — οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ: Thrasylus and Theramenes. — ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνου: i.e. in consideration of their sparing Calchedon. Connect with the following.—δοῦναι ... Φαρνάβαζου: 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 = ὄμοσαν. — τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα: i.e. the tribute unpaid since Calchedon revolted in 411 B.C. — παρὰ βα-

siλέως: 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. — ἔως ... ἔλθωσιν: connect with μὴ πολεμεῖν.

10. ἐκείνην ἔλων: through treason, according to Diodorus (13. 66) and Plutarch (Aul. 30). The latter gives a detailed account of the capture.

11. κάκεινον: him also, i.e. Alcibiades as well as the other generals. — μέχρι ἔλθου: until he should come. For the opt. see S. 2420; HA. 921; B. 677; G. 1502, 3; Gl.
12 οὐκ ἐφη ὀμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὀμείται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὁμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάτει, ὁ δὲ ἐν Καλχηδονί τοῖς παρ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ καὶ Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε 50 κοινὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλους πίστεις ἑποιήσαντο. 

13 Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ὁ ὕπηκνείτε, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾷν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμψθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοκύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν 55 δὲ τούτοις Ἀργείου Κλέοστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασίππιδας καὶ ἔτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἣδη φεύγων ἐκ

631. — οὐκ ἐφη: the subject is Alcibiades. — ὀμείται: see on σχῆσιν 1. 35.

12. οἷς: = ἐκείνους οὓς (see on ὅν 1. 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. ἀπαντᾷν . . . εἰς Κύζικον: i.e. to come to Cyzicus to meet him. — Μαντίθεος: see on 1. 10. — σὺν δὲ τούτοις . . . μετὰ δὲ τούτων: see Introd. IV. c. 1. — Ἀργείος: the Argives had been allies of Athens since 420 B.C. Cp. 2. 7 and Thuc. 5. 47. — Πασίππιδας: see on 1. 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 1. 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
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. ἤγεν: was conducting. The impf. because Pharnabazus remained for a time within reaching distance of the belligerents. See on § 17 below. — ἀκροβολισμούς καὶ προσβολᾶς: i.e. eminus et cominus.

15. Κλέαρχος: cp. i. 35 f. — Δακεδαιμόνιος: the Lacedaemonian, not to be connected with ἀρμοστής. So Μεγαρείς below. — ἀρμοστής: as harmost. So ἄρχων below. — περιοικῶν: the descendants of the original Achaean inhabitants of Laconia. They were free, but not citizens. — νεοδαμώδων: Helots who had been emancipated. — Μεγαρείς: 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' ἵσχυν: unusual for βίω 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
must have met the satrap. — eis to péran: as in I. 15. — kal vaîs . . . Ὄρακης: and to collect ships, (namely) what others were in the Hellespont . . . and at Antandrus, and what Agesandridas commanded on the coast of Thrace. ἀλλα, which is contrasted with ἀς Ἀ. εἰχὲν, is attracted into the relative clause and agrees in case with the relative. S. 2536; HA. 995; B. 485; G. 1037; Gl. 613 d. — Πασιπτίδου: see on § 13 and I. 32. — Ἀντάνδρα: cp. I. 25. — Ἀγεσανδρίδας: 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 . . . ναυπηγηθεῖσαν: parallel with the parts. of purpose ληφόμενος and συλλέξων. — ποιοῦσα: 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 ὃς ὑπαγόμενος . . . μοισίν Ἀκαδαμομοῦνος (§ 19); then it is resumed (in ἐπεὶ δὲ) 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 προδοτὴ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι, παίδας ὀρῶν καὶ γυναικάς λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὦν καὶ 85 οὐ Λακεδαίμονις· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σιτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ’ οὖν τοὺς πολέμιους ἐφη εἰςεσθαί, οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ 20 τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαίμονίους· ἔπει δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐθρίκιον καλοῦ-90 μενον εἰσῆγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἄλκιβιάδην. 21 ὥς ἔλύσω καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἔπει δὲ πάντη τοῖς πολέμιοι κατείχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὁ τι ποιήσαιεν, 22 παρέδωσαν σφάς αὐτοὺς. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπετέμφθησαν 95 εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας ἐν τῷ ὀχλῳ ἀποβαίνοντων ἐν Πειραιᾷ ἔλαβεν ἀποδράσας καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

HA. 745 b; B. 367, n.; G. 1133. — ὑστερον: probably after 405 B.C., when the Lacedaemonians regained possession of Byzantium (2. 2. 1.). — ἀπέφυγεν: was acquitted. Cp. the usual law-court terms διώκειν, to prosecute, ἀλήσκεσθαι, to be convicted, etc. — παίδας...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. — διδόναι: the pres. inf. in ind. disc. often represents an impf. S. 1866 a; HA. 853 a; B. 646; G. 1494; Gl. 577 a. — εἰςεσθαί: from εἰσῆγαμ. 20. αὐτοῖς: for the dat. see S. 1488; HA. 769; B. 380; G. 1186; Gl. 524 b. — παρεσκεύαστο: personal. S. 935; HA. 602 d; B. 305, n.; G. 1240, 2; Gl. 493 a. — Ἐθρίκιον: a square in Byzantium, described in Anab. 7. 1. 24.

21. κατείχον: were masters. — οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὁ 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.

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 καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν 4 Γορδίῳ οὖντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πε- ἔρχομενοι αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἱ τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος [ὀνόμα] καὶ οἱ 5 μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἐλεγον ὅτι Λακε- 
δαιμονίων πάντων ὃν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶν παρὰ 6 βασιλέως, καὶ Κύρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ

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

3. Κύρος: also a nom. to ἀπήν- 

tησαν. — ἄρξων: purpose. It de- 

pends — 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 . . . στρατάρχης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ 

Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει 

eis Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἄθροίζεσθαι. 

Cp. also Anab. 1. 1. 2. Castolus 

was the mustering place for all 

the inhabitants of Asia Minor
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. 1.—τοῖς κάτω: = τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη. —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. ἀκούντες . . . καὶ ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐδούν: part. and temporal clause are parallel, as fut. part. and ὅτες clause in 3. 17.—ἐβοῦλοντο 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 δὲ) is out of its logical place.

5. εἶπεν ἡ παραδοῦναι: see on εἴπον 1. 13.—μὴ οἰκάδε πω: = μὴ τω οἰκάδε,—a frequent separation.—τὰ πραττόμενα: the Persian alliance with Sparta.

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

7. ἐνιαυτῷ 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.
Κύρον ἀφείναι αὐτοὺς, φάσκων ὃμωμοκέναι ἀπάξεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ο δὲ άπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, οθὲν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἰκάδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἰκοσιν ἐπέλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἐκατόν τάλαντα 30 ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμου. Ὁρασύβουλος 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 (ἐδεύη τοῦ Κύρου) must have been presented to Cyrus before the latter went back to Persia in the summer of 405 B.C. (cp. 2. 1. 14). It follows that the ambassadors returned to the Athenian fleet shortly before the final battle of Aegospotami (c. August, 405 B.C.)—ἐπειδὴ οὖ: sc. ἄγεν ἔξειη. —πέμψαντες: i.e. Cyrus and Pharnabazus. —Ἀριοβαρζάνει: who later succeeded Pharnabazus as satrap. Cp. 5. 1. 28.

§§ 8-12. Alcibiades returns to Athens.

8. Ἀλκιβιάδης κτῆ.: 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).—εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου: straight for Samos. For Samos see on 2.1. —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 1. 22.

9. Ὁρασύβουλος: see on 1. 12. —σὺν: see on 1. 11 and cp. § 11
ναυσίν ἐπὶ Θράκης ὄχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέφατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Ὁράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς 35 Ἀθῆνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἤκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὺς εἶλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Ὁρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἰκοθ. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ’ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσίν εἰκόσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ 40 ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν τῶν τριήρων, ἀς 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. Ὁράσυλλος: 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 ἀνήγαγοντο 1. 2.—πρὶν ἤκειν: see on 1. 31.—στρατηγοὺς: 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 οἰκοθ.: = ἐκ τῶν οἰκολ. The influence of ἐκ determines the choice of the adverb by a kind of attraction analogous to that in 3. 9.

II. εὐθ.: = 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: πυθάνομαι, like ἄκοι ἄνω and αἰσθάνομαι, is followed by the
κοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὁπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς
αιτῶν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐώρα οντών εὐνοον οὗσαν καὶ στρα-
τηγῶν αὐτῶν ἕρημενας καὶ ἱδία μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα ἡ Πλυ-
τήρια ἤγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς
'Αθηνᾶς, ὦ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ
καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἁθηναίως γὰρ οὔδεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
οὐδενὸς σπουδαίον ἔργου τολμήσαι ἀν ἄφασθαι. κατα-
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 ὁπως . . . ἔχει,
how the city felt toward him (with
reference thereto). A case of
prolepsis. S. 2182; HA. 878;
B. 717, 18.
12. αὐτῶν: the use of αὐτῶς in
place of the indirect reflexive (cp.
ἐαντῷ above) is frequent. — ἕρημε-
νους: construction according to
sense, for τοὺς πολῖτας is easily
understood from ἡ πόλις (cp.
οὗσαν) above. — ἱδία: in contrast
with the public action of choosing
him general. — ἡμέρα ἡ: the dat.
without a prep. is used in definite
expressions of time when, ordina-
rily 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 con-
tained in its clause. — Πλυτήρια:
on this day, early in June, the cloth-
ing 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 preced-
ing statement, κατέπλευσεν . . .
'Αθηνᾶς. — 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.— ἔργον: for the gen. see S.
1345; HA. 738; B. 356; G. 1099;
Gl. 510 b.
§§ 13–19. His reception at Pi-
raeus, and the comments of his
friends and his enemies.
13. The vividness of the follow-
ing (§§ 13–19) description seems
to show that Xenophon himself
was one of the curious crowd which
gathered at Piraeus. See Introd.
πλέοντος δ' αυτοῦ ὁ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως ὀχλος ἡθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἰη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος [애플로고ήθη ὡς] οὐ δικαίως φύγων, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττον ἐκεῖνον 55 δυναμένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἱδιον κέρδος πολιτεύνοντων, ἐκεῖνον ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξοντος 14 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αὐτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἱσθηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλ-60

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.). — ἀστεως: Athens in distinction from Piraeus, as frequently. — θαυμάζοντες: construction according to sense, referring to ὀχλος. — οἱ μὲν: correlative with οἱ δὲ in § 17. — καὶ μόνος . . . πολιτεύνοντων: 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. — [애플로고ήθη ὡς]: see critical note. — ἐπιβουλευθεὶς: parallel with οὐ δικαίως, — 'not for just cause, but because,' etc. — ἐκεῖνον: see on 1. 27. — μοχθηρότερα λεγόντων: for political power at Athens depended very largely upon oratorical ability. — τε: see Introd. IV. D. 1. — ἐκεῖνον . . . δυνατοῦ: whereas he was always advancing the common weal, both from his own means and from the power of the state. — ἐκεῖνον is emphatic by contrast with the preceding τῶν . . . πολιτεύνοντων, as τὸ κοινὸν by contrast with τὸ ἱδιον 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. — ἔθελοντος . . . 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, δὲ connecting φύγου and ἐστήρησαν. — ὡς ἱσθηκότος: equivalent to a clause in ind. disc. See Introd.
λόμενοι οἱ ἑξοριοὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα
15 αὐτῶν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ὧν χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμη-
χανίας δουλεύων ἡναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεῦειν τοὺς ἑκθή-
στους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι·
tοὺς δὲ οἶκειοτάτους πολῖτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν 65
πόλιν ἀπασαν ὀρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως
16 ὀφελοῦν φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν ὦντων

IV. 1 and S. 2120; B. 661, n. 4; G. 1593, 2; Gl. 594.—τὸ δοκοῦντα
δίκαια εἶναι: i.e. an immediate
trial.

15. ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων: kept in the condition of a slave by
helplessness.—τοὺς ἑκθήστους: the
Spartans and the Persians.—κιν-
δυνεύων . . . ἀπολέσθαι: referring
to the sentence of death which was
passed upon Alcibiades at Sparta
and perhaps to his imprisonment
by Tissaphernes (1. 9); yet this
statement, like the preceding one
(ἡναγκάσθη κτέ.), contains a deal
of kindly exaggeration.—παρ’ ἑκά-
στην ἡμέραν: an exceedingly rare
substitute for the usual καθ’
ἑκάστην ἡμέραν.—τοὺς οἰκειο-
τάτους: in contrast with τοὺς ἑκθή-
στους and explained by the fol-
lowing 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 ὀφελοῦν: see
on 3. 21.

16. οὐκ . . . χρῆσθαι: and they
said it was not the part of those
who were such as he to desire revo-
lution or a change in government.
For under (lit. from) the democ-
racy it had been his fortune (ὑπάρ-
χειν) 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 Alcibi-
ades was exiled), but afterwards,
when they had gained power, to
slay the best men and, since they
alone were left, to be accepted (ἀγα-
πῶσθαι) by the citizens for this rea-
son only (αἰτῶ), 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 banish-
ment Alcibiades was accused of
being concerned, were supposed to
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.

17. οἱ δὲ: i.e. Alcibiades’ enemies, correlative with οἱ μὲν in § 13, from which λέγοντες is to be supplied. — ὅτι . . . ἐτη: the statement, though exaggerated (see on
κακῶν μόνος ἀντίος εἰ, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει 18 γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσοι ἡγεμῶν καταστήναι. Ἀλκibiάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὥρμοσθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ 80 παρείησαν. κατιδὼν δὲ Ἐυρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνειμόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβᾶς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἰ τις ἀπτοιτο, μὴ 20 ἐπιτρέπειν. εὖ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογή-85 σάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἡσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὃς ἡδίκηται, λεχθέντων 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 παροιχομένων κακῶν above. φοβερῶν ὄντων is about equivalent to ἀ ἐούκε or μέλλει, and hence takes the inf. (instead of μὴ γένηται or γένοτο), although the construction is very unusual. Cp. S. 2001; HA. 952; B. 641; G. 1521; Gl. 565 a.—κινδυνεύσοι: would likely, followed by καταστήναι. ἡγεμόν: synonymous with αὐτοῖς. — 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 ὥρμοσθεῖς. 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 1. 4.—Εὐρυπτόλεμον: not the one mentioned in 3. 13, who was still with Pharnabazus.—ἀπτοίτο: opt. in ind. disc., which is suggested by the purpose, i.e. thought, implied in παρεσκευασμένων. See on δύ-ναμοι 1. 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. ἡσεβήκει ... ἡδίκηται: the tenses of the dir. disc. are retained. Alcibiades' words were 'I had not (at the time of my
tò μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἄν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρήθεις ἀπάν-
tων ἠγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, ός οἶος τε ὧν σώσαι τὴν προ-
tέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια 90-
tῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἁγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, 
κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαντας· 
21 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὀπλίτας μὲν πεντα-
κοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατῶν, 
ναῦς δὲ ἐκατῶν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλοιον τετάρτῳ μηνὶ 95 ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἀνδρόν ἀφεστήκυιαν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ 
μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ἄρεικλοφι-
δου συνεπέμφθησαν ἤρημένου κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοῖ.

banishment) been guilty of im-
piety' and 'I have been wronged.' 
—ἀνασχέσθαι ἄν: representing the 
aor. ind. in the apodosis of an un-
real condition; hence ἄν. 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. — 
ἄν: on the ground that, in the 
thought that. See on i. 24.— 
σώσαι: here for ἀνασώσαι, to re-
cover. —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 mys-
terries, which took place annually 
in September-October, was a pro-
cession from Athens to the temple 
of Demeter, with whose worship 
the mysteries were connected, at 
Eleusis. In recent years the pro-
cession had gone by sea, because 
the presence of the Spartans at 
Decelea made the land route dan-
gerous. By now escorting the pro-
cession with his army Alcibiades 
accomplishes the twofold object of 
setting himself right with those 
who had suspected him of profan-
ing these very mysteries, and of 
displaying his military power in 
ostentatious defiance of the Spar-
tans.—ἀγόντων: impf. part. See on 
προσομιλοῦντες i. 30. — ἐποίησεν: 
caused to be conducted (ἀγεσθαι).
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. — ἤρημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοῖ:
22 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ ὅρατεμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύριον: ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέφοντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπε-κτείναν οὐ πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς Δάκωνας οὐ αὐτῶθι ἦσαν.

23 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τροπαίον τε ἐστήσε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὤλγας ᾑμέρας ἐπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν ὄρμωμενος ἐπολέμει.

1 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθών Ἀνδρίους ἐξεπεμψαν ναυαρχόν. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκείθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κόλῳ καὶ Μίλητον ἐπλευσεν, ἐκείθεν δὲ εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐμεινε ναῦς ἓχων ἐβδομῆκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κύρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο.

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

22. χώρας: for the gen. see on 1. 22. — ἐκβοηθήσαντας: i.e. from the city (cp. τὴν πόλιν below). — καὶ τοὺς Δάκωνας: loosely added at the end of the sentence, but parallel in construction to Ἀνδρίους. The reference is to the Lacedaemonian garrison.

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

Chapter 5, §§ 1–9. Lysander 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. — Κρατησιππίδα... παρεληλυθών: the admiral’s term of office was probably from midsummer to midsummer. Cratesippidas was admiral for the year 408–407 B.C. Cp. 1. 32. He has not been mentioned since his assumption of the command.

— ἐβδομῆκοντα: the first fleet of consequence which the Spartans had collected since the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C. (1. 18). Cp. 4. 11. — Κύρος... ἀφίκετο: cp. 4. 2–3.
2. *tois ... prôsbeiv*: probably the ambassadors mentioned in 4. 2. It would be natural for them to arrange for the meeting and to introduce Lysander to Cyrus.—*pêpoiêkhôs eîh*: see on 1. 9.—*prothumotatou*: pred. adj. after *gevêsthâi*, but attracted to the case of Kúroû. See on *átelêi* 2. 10. — *gevêsthâi*: 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.—*autôs*: for the case see S. 1973; HA. 940 b; B. 631; G. 927; Gl. 571.—*ôuk allê eînnokeînai*: had no other intention.—*katakôpsiêi*: 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).—*ékêthto*: the ‘objective’ impf., representing *káthma* 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. *tâiâi*: to fix upon.—* tô* *nàîttê*: 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.—*dramaînh ’Attikhôn*: = 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 *âpoleîψouvû* *tâs*
ναῦται ἀπολείψουσιν τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μεῖως χρήματα ἀνα-5 λώσει. ὦ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἐφή αὐτοῦς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατὸν 20 ὃ εἶναι παρ’ ἀ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχοῦσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκάστῃ νη τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὡσοσάν ἂν βούλων-6 ταί τρέφειν Δακεδαμόνιοι. ὦ δὲ Δύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δείπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιῶν ὃ 25 Κύρος ἦρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρὶζοντο ποιῶν, εἴπεν ὦτι Ἔι πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης. 7 ἐκ δὲ τούτων τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἤν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ τριῶβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προοφειλόμενον ἀπεδωκε καὶ
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; 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. — τι . . . ποιῶν: by doing what, i.e. by what act; the question is expressed by the part., as frequently. — ὃτι: 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 ὀβολοὶ: this increase had the desired (cp. § 4) effect. See on § 20 and Plut. Lys. 4. — τὸν προοφειλόμενον: arrears of pay.
ἔτι μῆνός προέδωκεν, ὡστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμὸ- 30
tερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως
μὲν εἰχον, ἐπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ
Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένων Τισσα-
φέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἀπερ αὐτῶς ἐποίει πεισθεῖς ὑπ' Ἄλκιβιάδον, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἐλλήνων μηδὲ οὐτίνες 35
ἰσχυροί ὡσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἁσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς
στασιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ
ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ
οὐσάς ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ
ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβου. 40
λοι ἐξ ὧν Ἐλλησπόντου ἥκοντ' ἀποτείχιζεν Φῶκαιαν διέ-

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

9. δεομένω: concessive. — λεγόντος: for its meaning and the construction which follows it see on εἰτὼν 1. 13.— ἀπερ αὐτῶς ἐποίει: explained by the clause σκοπεῖν ... στασιάζοντες. The impf. with reference to Tissaphernes' habitual policy, for which see Introd. p. 17.— ὅπως ... ὡσιν: in such object clauses the fut. ind. is more usual; but see S. 2214; HA. 885 b; B. 593, I; G. 1374, I; Gl. 638 c.— μηδὲ οὐτίνες: = μηδὲν οὐτίνες εἰς, none of the Greeks whatever.— αὐτῷ ἐν αὐτοῖς: see on αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς 1. 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 οὐσάς. — ἐνενήκοντα: note that Lysander had been reënforced by 20 ships since reaching Ephesus (cp. ἐβδομήκοντα § 1). It seems likely, comparing 1. 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. (ἀποτείχιζεν) 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.— ἀποτείχιζεν: as in 3. 4.— διέ-
πλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καταληπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλέον ἐπὶ τὰς Δυσάνδρον ναῦς. ο ὃ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὑτοῦ νηλ καὶ ἀλλή ἑκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλέουσας

12 Δυσάνδρον ναῦς. ο δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὑτοῦ νηλ καὶ ἀλλή ἑκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλέον ἐπὶ τὰς ναυσὶν τῶν Δυσάνδρον νεῶν παρέπλει. ο δὲ Δυσάνδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκυσας ἐδώκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείοσοι ναυσὶν, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπεπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκ τοῦ Νοτίου 50 καθελκυσαντες τὰς λουπάς τριήρεις ἀνήχησαν, ὡς ἐκα-14 στος ἤνοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐνανμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶ, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέοντας πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλεύστου ἔξεφυγον, οἱ δὲ ἔξωγρήθησαν. 55 Δυσάνδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαίον

πλευσέ: for the prep. see on 1. 15. — ἐπὶ: in command of. Cp. the use of ἐπὶ with the acc. in 1. 32. — τὸν . . . κυβερνήτην: the choice of Antiochus for so responsible a position 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 Θασῦβου- λον above.—παρ' αὐτᾶς: we should say 'right past.' Lysander's ships were drawn up on shore (cp. καθελκύσας below), prows seaward. 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 preceding ὀλίγας, 'every one he had.' — ἤνοιξεν: got clear and under way. See on 1. 2.

14. διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶ: with their ships scattered. Note the predicate position and use of the part. — τῶν ἀνδρῶν: first in its sentence, — the crews as contrasted with τριήρεις. — ἀναλαβὼν: having picked up, — used here with reference to the deserted or disabled ships of an enemy. Cp. 1. 4.
στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δὲ
15 Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔλθὼν
εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχη ταῖς ναυσίν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα
τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἰ τις ὄν
βούλουτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανή-
γαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττούσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν
εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ύστερον αἱροῦσι
16 Δελφίνοι καὶ Ἱλώνα. οἱ δὲ εὖ οἶκω Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ
ἡγεῖλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, 65
οἴκομενοι δὴ ἀμέλειαν τε καὶ ἄκρατειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι
τῶς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἰλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα,

15. τις: = French on or German man, i.e. they, the enemy.
Cp. I. 35. — βούλουτο: opt. in ind. disc. See on δύναμιν I. 22.—
πολλαῖς ναυσίν: 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 Ly-
sander's 90 (§ 10), — not 'many' more. It is possible that some of
Lysander's ships were disabled in the battle of Notium, or that Xeno-
phon 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. — Δελφίνοι: a fortress
on the island of Chios, established
by the Athenians in 412 B.C. as a
base of operations against the re-
volted Chians. — Ἱλώνα: the port
of Amphipolis, in Thrace.

§§ 16–20. Conon succeeds Alci-
biaes in command and reorgan-
izes the fleet.

16. ἀμέλειαν τε καὶ ἄκρατειαν:
neglect of duty and dissolute con-
duct, the latter resulting in the
former. — στρατηγοὺς εἰλοντο ἄλ-
lους: i.e. Alcibiades failed of
reélection. Apparently he was
permitted to serve out the unex-
pired portion (see below) of his
term as general, but was immedi-
ately deposed as general-in-chief
(cp. 4. 20), being succeeded by
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 Πασιπίδας 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-
λότους ἀπαντᾷς ἔδησαν Ἀθηναίοι, τόν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὅτα μὲν Ἀρτέμιδον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀρτέμιδον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεβησθησθεῖσαν ἐκ αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἔλεγον τοὺς αἴσθησαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξά-μενοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεί εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχων, συμπληρώσας τριή-ρεις ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἡ ἐκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἀλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων

Δωριέα: the same who appears in 1. 2.—ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀρτέμιδον: 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 = φεύγουτα. 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 Thuriens. The phrase is added to explain how Dorieus, a Rhodian exile, came to be in command of Thurian ships.—ἐλεγναντες ἀφεί-σαν: 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 ἔχων: cp. § 8. The subsequent defeat at Notium had naturally increased the despondency.—τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα κτῆ: the high pay which the Lacedae-monians 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 ἡ ἐκατόν: 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 ἐλήξετο. [καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐλήγεν, ἐν Ὀ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἶκοσι καὶ ἐκάτον τριήμερες καὶ πεζῆσ ἑπταεικῶν δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἶλον ἀκράγαντα λυμῷ, μάχη μὲν ἦττηθέντες, προσκαθεξόμενοι δὲ ἐπτὰ μῆνας.]

1 Ὁ τῷ δ’ ἐπιώντι ἔτει [, ἤ τε σελήνη ἐξέλυσεν ἐποπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἐνεπρήσθη, Πυτία μὲν ἐφορευόντος, ἀρχοντός δὲ Καλλίων Ἀθήνησιν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἡδη τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεταρτῶν καὶ εἰκοσίν ἐτῶν] ἐπεμύθαι ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. οτὲ δὲ παρεδι-

the year 407–406 B.C. See on §§ 16 and 18. — χώρας: partitive with ἀλλη. 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’ ἐπιώντι ἔτει: see on 5. 16. — [ὦ . . . ἐνεπρήσθη: these irrelevant allusions are probably spurious. Cp. 3. 1 and 2. 3. 4, and see Introd. p. 26. — ὃ: for the dat. see on ἡμέρα 4. 12. — ἐξελυσαν: cp. ἐκλευσα (e.g. 2. 3. 4), whence comes the English word. This eclipse occurred on April 15th (406 B.C.). — ὁ παλαιὸς . . . νεῶς: 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. — Πυτία . . . 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. — επῆ: 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.
For the following passage (§§ 2-11) see on 5. 3.—ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου: i.e. between Samos and the mainland.—οὐ...νῆσε: Xenophon’s own words, not quoted from Callicratidas,—hence the impf.

2. For the following passage (§§ 2-11) see on 5. 3.—ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου: i.e. between Samos and the mainland.—οὐ...νῆσε: Xenophon’s own words, not quoted from Callicratidas,—hence the impf.

3. οὐ φαμένον;...πολυπραγμονεῖν: refusing to intermeddle. See Introd. IV. i and KG. 389, Anm. 7. The middle forms of φημί are extremely rare in Attic prose. See Introd. IV. l.—πρὸς αἰσ...ναυσί: see on 5. 18.—τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκάτον: therefore Lysander 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 below.—ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος: see on 1. 33. In the Hell. the fut. part. with ὡς is particularly frequent after παρασκευάζομαι, where it is hardly distinguishable from an object infinitive.

4. καταμαθῶν: the nom. is left without a verb, the sentence being interrupted by numerous explanatory clauses and ultimately beginning anew with ἐκ τοῦτον δὲ. See on 3. 18 and Introd. IV. k.—τῶν Ἀυσάνδρου φίλων: Xenophon has omitted to mention Lysander’s activity in building up and reorganizing, in the interest of Sparta and of himself personally, the oligarchical clubs in the Asiatic cities (see on 2. 2. 5 and cp. 3. 4. 7). Their members, as he had intended, now show themselves his zealous friends.—καταστασιαζόμε-
στασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ύπηρετοῦντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροοῦντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁτι Δακεδαμὸς ἔνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀντ’ ἐπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἀρτι ἐξυνέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὡς χρηστεύον εὐγιγνωσκόντων ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἑκεί, κυνδυνεύοιεν τέ τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο. ἐκ 25 τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς Δακεδαμοῦνίων ἑκεῖ παρόντας ἐλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.

5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἄρκει οἶκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Δύσανδρος εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ’ ἑμὲ· ἐγὼ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπί τὰς 30 ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἄν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἵστε γὰρ αὐτὰ

νοσ: supplementing καταμαθῶν. See on μελλοντα I. ii. — μέγιστα παραπιπτοιεν: made the greatest mistake. — πολλακις ... εκει: 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 Callisthenes. — χρηστευον: sc. ἐστι. — τε: connecting παραπιπτοιεν and κυνδυνευοιεν. — τι παθειν: to come to grief.

5. βούλεταί: professes. — τὸ κατ’ ἑμὲ: 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.
§§ 6-11. Callicratidas' dealings with Cyrus and with the Milesians.

6. εἶπεῖν: to propose, — hence the following obj. insfs. πείθεσθαι and ποιεῖν. — ἐφ' ἃ ήκεί: obj. of ποιεῖν. See on i. 34. — εἰπε ... ἐπισχεῖν: see on i. 13.

7. ἀχθεσθεῖς ... ὀργισθεῖς: note the chiastic order of participles and datives. S. 3020; B. 717, 5; Gl. 682 a. — εἰπὼν ... εἶναι: the unusual inf. in ind. disc. after εἰπεῖν 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. — κολακεύοντων: toady to. — σωθῇ οἰκάδε: cp. εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν i. 36.

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

9. ἔξηγεῖσθαι: to lead the way,
σθαί τοὺς ἀλλοίς συμμάχουσ ὅπως ἄν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐως ἄν οἱ ἐκ Δακεγδαίμονος ἥκωσιν, οὕς ἐγὼ ἐπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας,

10 ἐπεί τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρω ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ ὄντα ὡς ὡς Κύρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἑκείνου ἀντὶ ὑπέρανετν ὢν ἑδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαν. ὑπηρεσία μαι δ’ ὢς ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ φ’ ἂν ἑκείνα προσδεχόμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώ-6ο σεὶν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖξωμεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἑκείνου θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.

12 Ἐπεί δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπεν, ἀνυστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ αὐτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδοίτες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον ἀντὶ χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἰδία. λαβὼν δὲ

i.e. set an example. — ὅπως ἄν . . . 

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 Δακεδαίμονος: see on 3. 9.

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


11. τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν κτ.: the good results we achieve during the time in which we are awaiting, etc. — φ’: the prep. expressed with the antecedent is not repeated with the rel. S. 1671; HA. 1007; B. 487, N.; G. 1025. — ἑκείνα: 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: proposed a grant of money. — ἰδία:
tauta ekeinos kai ek Xion pentedraخمían' ekasth tôn nav-
tôn ephodosamevnon epoleuse tis Léosbou eti Mηθυμνων
polémian ouvan. ou boulomevnon de tôn Mηθυμνών
prosxorévin, all' emphroúron ontow 'Athenaiow kai tôn 70
tà prágmatà ekonton antikuzontow, prosbalow aíreî
14 tivn polin kata kratos. ta mev oin xhrímatà panta
dyrrpasan ois stratwta, ta de andrapoda panta
swthrhousev ó Kalikratídías eis tihn ágorán, kai
kaleuontow t'ouv sýmmáxhov apodósthai kai toûs Mηθυ-75

muaious ouk ephè eautou ge arxontos oudeva 'Ellínwv eis
15 to ekeîoun dounaton andrapodiousthnai. tis ð' ústeraiâ
tous mev elenubérous afhike, tous de tôn 'Athenaiow frou-
in contrast with the public appro-
priation. Cp. 4. 12. — Léosbou: chorographic genitive. See on
I. 22.

13. prosxorévin: as in 2. 4. —
emphroúron ontow: = emphroouró-
tow, i.e. the adj. is employed in an
active, instead of the usual passive,
sense. — tôn t'ou prágmatà ekontow:
those who had control of the
government. — kata kratos : by storm.
See on 3. 16.

14. andrapoda: captives, i.e.
prisoners. — apodósthai: to sell,
into slavery. — kal toûs Mηθυμνα-
ous: the Methymnaeans also, as
well as the Athenians. See note
on § 15 below. — ouk eph... oudeva 'Ellínwv... andrapodious-
sthnai: refused to have any Greek
enslaved. andrapodiousthnai is obj.
inf. after ouk eph. See on § 3 and
Introd. IV. 1. oudeva is used in-
stead of µηδένα because it serves
simply to repeat the preceding ouk.
— eis to ekeîoun dounaton: 'if he
could help it'; literally, as in § 7,
so far as his power went. For the
use of ekeînos instead of the reflex-
ive see on 1. 27.

15. tous mev: the Methymnae-
ans. elenubérous is used predica-
tively after afhike. — tous de... frouroûs... ápeîðoto: an act appar-
ently inconsistent with Callicra-
tidas' 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 Methym-
naeans also. The phrasing of this
request shows clearly that both the
allies and Callicratidas himself
regarded the enslavement of the
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. — Κόνων: 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 lawful lord Callicratidas claims to be. μοιχῶν is one of the rarest of Xenophon's unusual words. See Introd. IV. 1. For the use of the participle see S. 2098; HA. 981; B. 660; G. 1580. — κατιδών: see on 1. 4. — ὑποτεμνόμενοι: conative. See on 2. 15. Callicratidas assumes that Conon will make for Samos, the Athenian base. Cp. § 2 and on 2. 1.

16. ταῖς ναυσίν εὖ πλεούσαις: with his ships going fast. For the pred. use of the part. cp. 5. 14. Note that πλείων 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 θείν. See on 1. 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 ἐκκλεξθαί (selected and transferred to) cp. ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας 1. 23. — ἐκκλεξθαί: for the more usual ἐξειλέχθαι. — τοὺς ἀρίστους: see on 5. 20. — Δέων καὶ
δής. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διότι καὶ ἔδομηκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἐφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθεὶς, ἡμαρχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπόλλεσεν ναῦς τριάκοντα. 90 οὐ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τεταράκοντα οὕτως, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε.

Kallikratidas de en tw λιμένι Δρυμάνισμενοι ἐπολιορκεῖ ὑπάνθα, τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ 95 στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἤλθεν. οὐ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σῖτων οὖδαμόθεν ἴνα εὐπορήσαι, οὐ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ εἰν τῇ πόλει ἴσων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουσιν διὰ τὸ μῆ πωθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας 100 τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἀριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἔξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέγεισ

'Ερασινίδης: cp. 5. 16 and see on §§ 29 and 30 below. — According to Lysias (21. 8) Archestratus also was with Conon at Mytilene, and died there. — ἐκατόν καὶ ἐβδομηκοντά: 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. κατακωλυθεὶς: i.e. from reaching the inner harbor and beaching his ships. See below. For the use of the part. see on παραγενόμενων 2. 8. — πρὸς τῷ λιμένι: at the mouth of the harbor, as in 1. 17. — οἱ ἄνδρες: see on τῶν ἄνδρων 5. 14.

18. καὶ (before ἐκ): also. — χρήματα . . . ἤλθεν: 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.
καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἔστειλεν ναῦν μεταβιβάζοντα καὶ τὰ
20 παράρυμα παραβαλῶν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὔτως
ἀνέίχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ ὁκότος εἰς, ἐξεβιβάζοντας
ζεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τὸς πολεμίως ταῦτα ποιοῦν
tας. πεμπτὴ δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσόθεμενοι σίτα μέτρια, ἐπεὶ
ηδὴ μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλυγώρως εἶχον
καὶ ἐνιού ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ
ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἐλληστόντων ὀρμησέν, ἢ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. 110
21 τῶν δὲ ἐφορμοῦντων ὡς ἐκαστοῖς ἡνοιγον, τάς τε ἀγκύρας

= ἐξῆν. — κολῆν ναῦν: the hollow (part of the) ship, i.e. the
hold. — μεταβιβάζον: the prep. in composition marks, as frequently,
a change; the natural place for the marines was on deck. — παράρυ-
ματα: curtains, hung along the sides of the ship, ordinarily serv-
ing for protection, here for concealment. — All the details of
Conon’s stratagem Xenophon des-
cribes with characteristic fullness. See on 5. 3 and Introd. p. 30.
20. οὔτως ἀνέίχον: continued thus, i.e. oarsmen on board, ma-
rines in the hold, etc.—εἰς τὴν
ἡσπέραν: at evening. — εἰς... ἐξε-
βιβάζειν: S. 2568; HA. 914. B. (2);
B. 625; G. 1431, 2; Gl. 627 fin.
The process was repeated for four
days.—ὡς... ποιοῦνται: so that
it might not be evident to the enemy
that they were doing this, i.e. dis-
embarking. Conon could not con-
ceal 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 vigi-
lant during the day. For ὡς in-
stead of the usual ὡςτε see
Introd. 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. 11.—εἰς
tὸ πέλαγος: to the (open) sea, i.e.
in a southerly and then south-
westerly direction, while the other
went northward.
21. ἐκαστοῖ: i.e. one after an-
other. The same idea is carried
out by the impf. ἡνοιγον and by
the pres. parts. which follow.
The order of words leads backward by successive steps, thus indicating climactically the complete lack of preparation in the blockading fleet. — ἡνοιγόν: for the meaning see on 1. 2. — ἐγειρό-

μενοι: cp. ἀνεπαύντο in the preceding section. — τυχόντες . . . ἀριστοποιοῦμενοι: added as an afterthought, to explain the haste and consequent confusion (τετα-

ραγμένοι). — εἰσβάντες δὲ: continuing the sentence with particular reference to the immediately preceding clause. — στρατόπεδον: see on 1. 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. — εὐριπόν: 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 εὐριπός. 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
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. εἰ τινες . . . οὖσαι: whatever ships they happened to have abroad, i.e. small detachments engaged in some special service. Cp. 1. 36 and on § 29.

26. ἀκούων . . . οὖσαν: see on 1. II and 4. II. — αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε: to maintain the blockade. — πεντήκοντα . . . ἐκκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν: 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. — Ἐτεόνικον: cp. 1. 32. — ταῖς ἐκκοσι κτῆ.: the remaining 120. See on 1. 18. — Μάλεα άκρα: the southernmost point of Lesbos.

27. ταῖς Ἀργυνούσαις: three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.
28. ἀνήγετο: the tense meaning of the impf. is made clear by the following sentence. — ὡς: see Introd. IV. f. — ἀνέσχεν: i.e. the rain.

29. ἀντανήγοντο ἐτὸς ἐνωνύμω: i.e. the left wing pushed out to sea, while the right remained near the land, thus forming a line of battle which faced about Ν.Β. — ἡγεῖτο: i.e. Aristocrates 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 Ἄριστοκράτει: was stationed behind Aristocrates. For this use of ἐπί (in composition) cp. ἐπὶ τῶν 1. 34. Pericles and Erasinides commanded the rear line of the left wing, which, like the front line, consisted of 30 ships. — Ἐρασινίδης: 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 confirmation 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 μᾶς: one deep, i.e. in single line, unlike the wings. See below.
HEN0 to the Samians. — тαξιάρχων: ten taxiaruchs, one from each Athenian tribe (фυλή), commanded the tribal divisions (τάξεις) of hoplites. They were subordinate to the generals.— καί: also, emphasized by the following αὐταί.
— επὶ 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 taxiaruchs, as επὶ μᾶς. 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 στρατηγὸς. 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 . . . συμμαχί-δεσ: whatever other ships there were (namely, ships) of the allies. 
30. Lysias: 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 Aristestratus, 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. \( \text{oútw: i.e. in double line, except} \) at some points of the center.

See on § 29. — \( \text{ivá µή διέκπλουν διδοίεν: so as not to give (the enemy) a chance of breaking-through-their-line.} \)

The διέκπλους, 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 \( \text{περίπλους} \) (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.

— \( \text{ἐπλεον: see on § 16. — ὡσ πρόσ: see on 1. 12.} \)

32. \( \text{ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον}: that it was well. For \( \text{εἴη ἔχον} \) as the equivalent of \( \text{ἔχω} \) see on 5. 5.— \( \text{αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις . . . ἥσαν: see on ὦ . . . ἥσες § 2. — πλείους: cp. §§ 25 and 26.—οὐδὲν µὴ κάκιον οἰκήται: would fare none the worse. For} \)

\( \text{οὐ µὴ} \) with the subjv. in an em-
33 ὥσιόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολὺν, πρότον μὲν ἄθροιαν, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβα-170 λούσης τής νεῶς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἥφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγῆ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν · οἱ δὲ Αθηναῖοι 34 πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργονόνας κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ ἱ75 τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆσες πέντε καὶ εἰκοσισ τοῦ ἀνδρά-σων ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχόμενων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δὲ ἀλλων συμμαχῶν πλείους η ἐξήκοντα. 35 ἐδοξεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπτὰ μὲν 180 καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ἄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων των πλεῖστον ἐπὶ phatic future denial see S. 1804; HA. 1032; B. 569, 2; G. 1360; Gl. 489 a.

33. τέ . . . τέ: connecting closely (see Introd. IV. d. 2) the two clauses which describe disaster to the Lacedaemonians on both the right and the left wings. — ἐμβαλοῦσθαι τής νεῶς: sc. τινί 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 ἡ ἐξήκοντα: Diodorus states (13. 100) that the Peloponnnesians 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. ἐδοξεὶ δὲ καὶ: and it was also resolved. καὶ 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:
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. — καταδεδυκώσας: disabled, in a sinking condition; not 'sunken,' as the following phrase clearly shows. — τὰς δὲ ἄλλας: sc. πλεῖν, whose subject is to be supplied from the τῶν στρατηγοῖς of the principal clause. — τὰς . . . ἐφορμοῦσας: cp. § 26.

36. ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης: the dispatch boat. See on 2. 1. 28. — έαυτῶν: plur. with reference to Eteonicus and his men. — στρατόπεδον: see on 1. 3. — βοώντας: 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. κατέπλεουν: for the meaning of the prep. see on 1. 2. — ἔθυε 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
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. — πλοΐα: to be distinguished from τριήρεις below. See on 1. 15. — δὲ: almost equivalent to γάρ, as frequently in Homer. — τὰς τριήρεις: supply ἀποπλεῖν.

38. εὐδαιμέρεις: 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.
γών Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ 'Αριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἔξεσθαι καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδαντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Αριστοκράτους καὶ Ὀρασύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προστηκόκες ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελώμενος Ἐρασινίδη ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἔξεσθαι Ἑλλησπόντου αυτῶν ἐξεν γάρ τοῦ δήμου τότε προστηκόκες: who was at that time a leader of the people. The term προστηκόκες (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 ἐπιμελώμενος: 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 embezelling 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. — ἔξεσθαι Ἑλλησπόντου ἔχειν χρήματα: probably the reference is to contributions levied in the Hellespontine region. Cp. 1. 8, 1. 20, etc. Apparently the charge of embezlement against Erasinides is mentioned by Xenophon because it was the exciting cause of the proceedings.
χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δῆμου· κατηγόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς
στρατηγίας. καὶ ἐδοθεὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τῶν Ἑρα-
3 σινίδην. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρα-
τηγοί περὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ
χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 15
χρή δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθήναι, ἡ βουλὴ
4 ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ἑ τῶν
στρατηγῶν κατηγόρων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ὑπαμένης μά-
λιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν διότι ὦν ἄνει-
against all the generals.— ἐδοθεὶ: as in 6. 35.
3. διηγοῦντο: the reference is
to a preliminary hearing before
the Senate. That body, finding
'probable cause' against the gen-
erals, and in view of the serious-
ness of their alleged offense, refers
the matter to the Assembly (see
eis τὸν δῆμον παραδοθήναι below)
for final decision.— Τιμοκράτους:
evidently a senator, but other-
wise unknown, as are most of
those who take an active part
against the generals in the follow-
ing proceedings, e.g. Callixinus
(§ 8), Lyciscus (§ 13), and Mene-
cles (§ 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 trea-
son (προδοσία). Persons charged
with so serious a crime might be
imprisoned, without bail, by the
Senate.

4. κατηγόρουν: followed by the
ind. disc. inf. εἶναι.— Ὑπαμένης:
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 in-
deed 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 be-
fore the Assembly, § 5) the gen-
erals had stated that Theramenes
and Thrasybulus were commis-
sioned to rescue the shipwrecked
crews. It is evident, however,
from § 6 that the generals do not
try to represent these officers as
blameworthy.— δικαίους εἶναι κτέ.: that they ought to render an ac-
count. For the personal con-
bstruction see S. 1982; HA. 944 a;
B. 634; G. 1527; Gl. 574 a.—
λοντο τους ναναγούς. οτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον ἃν ἐπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δήμον, 5 ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἐκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προντεθη σφίσι λόγοις κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγ-25 μένα διηγοῦντο, οτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναναγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν τριπλάρχων ἀνδράσιν ἰκανοὶ καὶ ἑστρατηγηκόσιν ἥδη, 6 Ὑπακούει καὶ Θρασύβουλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις καὶ εἰσπέρ γέ τινας δέουι, περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσις οὐδένα ἄλλον ἑχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτοις οἷς προστάχθην. καὶ οὖν οτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἐφασαν, ψευδόμεθα


ναναγοὺς: both living and dead. — οτι: to be connected with μαρτύριον. — ἄλλο οὐδέν αἰτιώμενοι: according to the statement of Euryptolemus in § 17 f. it was out of kindness to Theramenes and Thrasybulus that the generals made no reference to them and their unperformed mission in this official report.

5. ἀπελογήσατο: agreeing in number with the appositive ἐκαστος. — οὐ γὰρ... νόμον: the clause explains βραχέως. — σφίσι: for αὐτοῖς. The use of the indir. reflexive is exceptional, since the clause in which it stands is not dependent upon the preceding clause. See KG. 455, Anm. 9 — κατὰ τὸν νόμον: which allowed every accused person a definite time in which to make his defense. — πλέοιεν: were (in the act of) sailing. The pres. opt. represents the impf. indic. of the direct discourse. Cp. ἐπιλειν § 31 and see GMT. 673; S. 1862 a; HA. 935 b; B. 675, 1. n.; G. 1488; Gl. 624 b. fin. — τριπλάρχων: partitive. — ἰκανοὶ καὶ ἑστρατηγηκόσιν: see on 6. 35.

6. δέουι: sc. αἰτιάσασθαι, from the following clause. — αὐτοὺς: i.e. the generals. The nom., in agreement with οἱ στρατηγοὶ above, would be more regular. See on αὐτὸς 5. 3. — αἰτιάσασθαι: complementary to ἑχειν, which is equivalent in meaning to διώκειν. S. 2000 a; B. 638; Gl. 565 b. — ὅτι γε:
just because. — ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος . . . εἶναι: the inf. depends upon an affirmative (φάσκομεν) to be supplied from the preceding ψευδο-μέθα. See on 1. 29.

7. ἐπείθον: 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. — ἀν καθέωρων: potential indic. GMT. 245; S. 1784; HA. 858; B. 565; G. 1335; Gl. 461 b. — προβούλευσαν: 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.— εἰσενέγκειν: should bring in (to the Assembly) a proposal. Connect with ἔδοξε. — This resolution directing the Senate to report a method of procedure was apparently 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 understood 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 distinguish the upraised hands.— κρινοντο: the opt. represents an interrogative subjv. of the direct discourse. See on 3. 21.

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

8. ἐγύγνετο: was celebrated. — Ἄπατοῦρια: a family festival, held in the month of Pyanepsion (October-November), at which the
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.—σφισίν αὐτοῖς: for the reflexive as a reciprocal see on 2. 17.—παρεσκεύασαν: suborned. παρασκεύασιν 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 ἄνθρωπος (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 ἰμάτια . . . κεκαρμένους: the usual signs of mourning.—Καλλίξεινον: see on § 3.—ἐπείσαν: it is not unlikely that this word contains a suggestion similar to that in παρεσκεύασαν.

9. ἐνεδέθην: after the Apaturia and the meeting of the Senate.—γνώμην: proposal, i.e. προβούλευμα.—ἐπόνοος: εἰπεῖν in parliamentary language means to move. So γράψεων (of a motion put into writing) and συγγράφεων.—κατηγοροῦντων 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
κόσιν, διαψευσάσθαι Ἀθηναίων ἀπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θείναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλήν ἐκάστην δύο ύδρια· ἐφ’ ἐκάστῃ δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττεν, ὅτω δοκοῦσιν ἄδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυ-55 μαχῇ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτω δὲ μῆ, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν· ἄν δὲ δὸξωσιν ἄδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐνδέκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεῦσαι, τὸ δ’ ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι. παρηλθεί δὲ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπι-60 στέλλεω δ’ αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῆ, ἀπαγ-γείλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους. τὸν δὲ Καλ-

the sake of clearness. — διαψευσάσθαι: subj. of the conventional ἐδοξε (cp. the English ‘Resolved’) which introduced the προβούλευμα. S. 2013 B; HA. 957 a; B. 644 and N.; G. 1540. — ἄδικεῖν: to be guilty, a regular court use of the word.— τοὺς νικήσαντας: revealing in a signi-
ficant way the animosity of the προβούλευμα.— εἰς τὴν προτέραν κτῇ: in judicial proceedings Athen-
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 ἐνδέκα: 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. παρηλθεί δὲ 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-
στους: pred. adj. — γενομένους: as in 1. 28.
§§ 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' (γραφή 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 helastic 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. — συγγεγραφέαναι: see on εἴπόντος § 9. — Εὐρυπτόλεμος: cp. 4. 19.

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

14. τῶν πρυτάνεων: 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
to current business and presiding over the meetings of both the Senate and the Assembly. The chairman (ἐπουστάτης) of the Prytanes, who was chosen each day by lot, was also chairman of the Senate and the Assembly.—προθήσεις τὴν διαψήφισιν: put the question to vote. — παρὰ τὸν νόμον: see on παράνομα § 12.—κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτὰ: 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 δὲ: i.e. ὁ ὕχλος. —καλεῖν: see on προσεκαλέσαντο § 12.—τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας: those who refused. See on οὐ φαμένοι 6. 3.

15. Σωκράτους: the philosopher, who chanced to be ἐπουστάτης (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, Αφόλ. 32 B and Gorg. 474 A, Xen. Mem. 1. 1. 18 and 4. 4. 2.—οὐκ... ἄλλ' ἢ: not otherwise than. See L. and S. on ἄλλ' 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 ἀναγκαίον: this Pericles, son of the great Pericles and Aspasia,
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 kindliness (cp. φιλανθρωπίας § 18) of Pericles and Diomedon. — υμῖν: 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 Thrasybulus. Cp. § 4.

18. εἶτα νῦν ... ἁμαρτόντων: then have they (Pericles and Diomedon) now the blame in common (sc. with Theramenes and Thrasybulus), although it was those men alone (i.e. the latter) who blundered? ἁμαρτόντων refers to the failure of Theramenes and Thrasybulus to rescue the shipwrecked crews. κοινῷ associates the men who concealed (see § 17) this blunder with those who made it, while the contrasted ἵδια 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. — ἐκεῖνον: referring, as in the preceding line, to Theramenes and Thrasybulus.

19. οὐκ: no. For the accent see on 1. 21. — ἂν ... γε: at least if. — καὶ δὲν: = καὶ ταῦτα (ποιοῦντες) εξ ὑμ. — σφᾶς αὐτοῖς: = ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς. Cp. I. 28 and see Introd. IV. B. — ἡμαρτηκότας: sup-
μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ήμᾶς αὐτοὺς. συμβουλεύω δ' ἰσ. ὑμῶν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ήμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰδότες κολασθεῖς ἢ ἄν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ ἀμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἐνα έκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ κἂν μίαν ἢμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογηθεῖσθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ υμῶν αὐτοῖς. ίστε δὲ, ὁ ἀνδρὲς Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννονοῦ ψήφισμα ἔστιν ἱσχυρότατον, δ' κελεύει, έάν-τις τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπιοῦ δῆμον ἀδική, δεδεμέ-

plementary part. in ind. disc. See on 1. 11.—εἰς: towards, i.e. against.
—θεοὺς... ήμᾶς αὐτοὺς: corresponding respectively to ὁμα and δίκαιa above.—ἐν οἷς: in pursuance of which. The antecedent of οἷς is a cogn. acc. to be supplied with συμβουλεύω.—εἰδότες: with full knowledge.—ἀμα 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.—ἄλλα κἂν: yet at least. κἂν (= καὶ ἄν, i.e. έάν) 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, συμβουλεύω.

20. τὸ Καννονοῦ 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 Eupystolemus 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 Cannus because that decree, being ἱσχυρότατον (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.—ἀδική: is an offender
against, i.e. has wronged. For the pres. with pf. meaning see on
φεύγων 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 ex-
cuting the death sentence. Later, poisoning by hemlock became the
usual method of execution.

21. ἄν . . . γε: as in § 19.
22. ἐστὶν ἐπὶ: applies to. —
προδιδῷ . . . κλέπτη: the tense as
in ἀδικῇ § 20.— τὰ ἱερά: any articles
preserved in a temple and thereby consecrated. — μὴ ταφῆναι: assum-
ing the death sentence as a matter of course. For the inf., which re-
tains the actual language of the law, see on διαψιφώσασθαι § 9.

23. ὀπότέρω . . . τῷ νόμῳ: πότερος and ὀπότερος, like ὁτός,
regularly take the article when they stand in agreement with a
noun. KG. 465, 8.— κατὰ ἐνα
ἐκαστον: a vital point, here for the
first time directly stated, though already implied in the πρῶτον
Περικλέα of § 21. Eurypylemus
seeks (1) a trial for the generals,
and (2) a separate trial. See on
§§ 12 and 20.— διηρημένων . . .
mulèv èv φ' συλλέγεσθαι ύμᾶς δεί καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, εάν
τε ἀδίκειν δοκῶσιν εάν τε μή, έτέρου δ' εν φ' κατηγορή-
σαι, έτέρου δ' εν φ' ἀπολογήσασθαι]. τούτων δὲ γιν-120
gnōmēnων οἱ μεν ἀδίκοιντες τεύχονται τῆς μεγίστης
timēfēs, οἱ δ' ἀνάιτιοι ἑλευθερωθήσονται υφ' ύμῶν, δ' 25'
Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀπολούνται. ύμεῖς δὲ κατὰ
tὸν νόμον εὑσεβώντες καὶ εὐροκοῦντες κρίνετε καὶ οὐ
guμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς ἐκείνους ἐβδομ-125
κόντα ναύς ἀφελομένους καὶ νεικηκότας, τούτους ἀπολ-
λύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες
σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἥ μη οὕτως ὅσ τὸν βουλή-
τμῶν μερῶν: lit. three parts of the
day having been separated from
one another, i.e. the day being di-
vided 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 διαψηφ-
ίζεσθαι, two acts which would neces-
sarily come at opposite ends of the
day — and the Greek is faulty.—
εάν τε . . . εάν τε: manifestly in-
tended 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. ύμεῖς: emphatic. The
preceding section has described
the results to the accused, and the
speaker now lays stress upon the
results to their judges.—εὐροκοῦν-
tες: for each citizen was under
oath to obey and uphold the laws.
—τοὺς . . . ἀφελομένους: obj. of
ἀπολλύντες.—ἐκείνους: common
obj. of ἀφελομένους and νεικη-
κότας.—ἐβδομήκοντα: cp. 6. 34
and note thereon.—τούτως: re-
peating with emphasis τοὺς ἀφελο-
μένους καὶ νεικηκότας.

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 ποιών 5. 6.—οὕτως:
limiting σφόδρα.—ἡ: or, intro-
ducing a δεδίτε to be supplied from
the preceding δεδιότες. After a
general question ἡ often introduces
a particular inquiry, suggesting in itself the answer or explanation which seems to the questioner most likely. — ἄλλῃ οὐκ: sc. δὲ δέδοτε τοῦτο, but do not fear this, i.e. that your will may be thwarted. The clause introduced by ἄλλῃ οὐκ serves to emphasize the preceding thought by denying its opposite. — ἀν: sc. κρίνητε. — μιᾷ ψήφῳ: explaining παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

27. καὶ οὐκ αἰτίων ὄντα: who is actually (καὶ) innocent. καὶ, emphasizing the following, indicates the enormity of the crime that might be committed. — μεταμελησαί: subj. of ἐστί. — ἡ δὲ: in itself, i.e. in general, even when no great issue is at stake. — πρὸς δ' ἐτι: = προσέτι δὲ, and especially, in contrast with ἡ δὲ. — καὶ: emphasizing the following, as in καὶ οὐκ αἰτίων above. — ἡμαρτηκότας: agreeing with the (indefinite) subj. of μεταμελήσαι. For μεταμέλειαν used personally see L. and S.

28. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσατε, εἰ

... Αριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, εἰτα...
The pres. tense lays stress not so much upon the particular acts as upon the abiding depravity which prompted them. Cp. προδιδόντι and κλέπτη § 22.—ἡ: as, not referring to ἡμέραν for its antecedent. —τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων: these same (privileges).

29. μὴ ύμείς γε: sc. τούτο ποιήσητε.—ἐαυτῶν 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 ἐαυτῶν (= ὑμῶν αὐτῶν) cp. § 19 and on i. 28.—ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ: with καὶ — also — the speaker turns from the law to the facts. Here begins his defense of the generals. See on § 16.—γενέσθαι = πεποιήσθαι. 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 φάλαγγας 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. **doξάντων τούτων** if this should be decided upon.—καταληπτεῖν: in the mind of the writer the preceding ἔφη has passed into a verb of advising or urging, corresponding to ἐκέλευν above; hence the obj. inf. (not in ind. disc.) καταληπτεῖν. —συμμορίας: di-vision. Each general had commanded 15 ships. See 6. 29 and 30.—οκτώ: 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. ἐπλεον: impf. of attempted action. That the attempt failed is clear from 6. 35.—ικανῶς: adequately, with special reference to the provisions for saving the ship-wrecked.—τὰ . . . πραξθέντα: acc. of specification, instead of a gen. dependent upon ὑπέχειν λόγον. —μὴ: because of the conditional idea in πραξθέντα. Similarly μὴ ποιήσαντας below.—τοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν: sc. παρθένας. —διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο: connect with κρίνεσθαι. The supposition contained
32 κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ’ ἐχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ χειμῶν διεκάλυσε μηδὲν πράξαι δὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, δὲν εἰς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεῶς διασωθεῖ, δὲν κελεύοσι τῇ αὐτῇ 170 ψῆφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ·ε δεόμενον ἀναίρεσέως

33 [ὑπὲρ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα]. μὴ τοινυν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὀμοια ποιήσατε τοὺς ἤπημένους τε καὶ ἄτυχούσων, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαῖων ἀγνωμονεῦν δοξήτε, προδο-175 σίαν καταγνώτες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας [,οὐχ ἰκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πράξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα].

in μὴ ποιήσαντας is now stated as a fact.

32. ἀμφοτέρων: with reference to τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς 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. — ὃν: sc. ἐστίν. — εἰς τῶν ... στρατηγῶν: probably Lysias. Cp. Diod. 13. 99. — καταδύσης: see on καταδεδυκώσας 6. 35. — καὶ: = καὶ·περ. — [ὑπερ ... 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 ψῆφῳ — by some commentator who did not fully understand the situation and the argument. See critical note.

33. μὴ τοινυν κτ.: '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. — ἀγνωμονεῦν: 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
άλλα πολὺ δικαίοτερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικώντας ἣ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους. 34 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Ἐυρυπτολέμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ 180 Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας δίχα ἐκαστον. ἢ δὲ τῆς Βουλῆς ἥν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἀπαντᾷς κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονομένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκρίναν τὴν Ἐυρυπτολέμου. ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἐκρίναν τὴν τῆς Βουλῆς. 185 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρὸντες ἢ.

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 Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα: cp. § 20 and note thereon.—δίχα ἐκαστον: probably these words are not quoted from the decree of Cannonus, but are added by Euryptolemus in opposition to the μιᾷ ψήφῳ κρίνειν (see below) of the Senate’s proposal. Cp. § 23.—διαχειροτονομένων: 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.—ἐκρίναν: 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 Τιμοκράτος § 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.

—ὁκτὼ . . ἢ: cp. §§ 1 and 2.
35 καὶ οὖν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὑστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἴτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολας αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαν, ἐως ἀν 190 κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξειων τούτων. προβολήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὑστερον δὲ στάσεως τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾧ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὕτω, πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξειος δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἔστο ἄστυ, μισοῦμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

35. μετέμελε: this statement is confirmed by Diod. 13. 103 and Plato, Apol. 32 B. — ἐξηπάτησαν: translate by the plupf. — προβολάς: 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. — καταστήσαν: sc. αὐτοὺς (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. — ὑστερον: 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 1. 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 Ἑτεονίκου στρατιῶται ὄντες, ἐως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τῆς ώρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργα-ζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν. ἔπει δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφήν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνεσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὅς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθη-5 σόμενοι. οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρεν εἴδοκεν, ἦν ἀλλήλους μάθολεν ὁπόσοι εἶχαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἑτεονίκος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί χρώτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμήφορων· τὸ τε γὰρ

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

1. μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου: 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. 1. 6. 26 and 36-38. — στρατι-ωταὶ ὄντες: for the order of words see on 1. 1. 23. — ὄρας: = ὀραῖον, the produce of the season. — ἐργα-ζόμενοι: parallel in construction with ἀπὸ τῆς ώρας.—μισθοῦ: S. 1372; HA. 746; B. 353; G. 1133; Gl. 513.—χειμών: of 406-405 B.C.—γυμνοὶ: poorly clad, a sense in which this word is often used.—τε: see Introd. IV. D. 1.—ὁς . . . ἐπιθησόμενοι: see on 1. 1. 33.—τῇ Χίῳ: although a friendly city.—οἷς . . . ἀρέσκοι: for οἷς ἄν ἀρέσκη για τον dir. disc.—ἀλλή-λους: proleptic. See on 1. 4. II.

2. The detail with which Xenophon describes the following incident is characteristic. See Introd. p. 30.—σύνθημα: plot.—τί χρώτο τῷ πράγματι: how he should deal with the matter. τί is cogn. acc. For the optative see on 1. 3. 21.—τε . . . τε:
see Introd. IV. d. 2. — σφαλερόν: dangerous. Hence the following μή. Similarly δενόν...μή 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 ἀν κρατήσωσι. — συμμάχους: allied troops who were concerned in the plot. — μὴ...σχοίν: lest they (the Spartans) might incur harsh criticism among, etc. — σχοίν...ἀσίν: 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.—ἀεὶ ὃ ἀκούων: each one as he heard it, in partitive apposition with πάντες. For this use of ἀεὶ with a part. and its position see on τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀεὶ 1. 2. 10.
te καὶ παρήνει πολλά, ὃς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδὼς,
καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἑλλήνες,
εἰς Εφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπ
πειν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτα τε ἔρουντας καὶ
Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὗ φερόμενον παρὰ
τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε καὶ 35
7 τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν
πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτα λέγοντες
ἀγγελοί. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαίμονιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον
ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναυαρχὸν δὲ Ἀρακόν· οὗ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς
dῖς τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν 40
Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἡδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ
παρεληλυθότων].

8 [Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοι-

5. ὃς: as though. Cp. ὃς συγ-

6. ἐβουλεύσαντο ... πέμπειν:

7. σὺν: see Intro. IV. c. 1. —

taūta λέγοντες: with the same

message. For the occasional use

of the pres. part. where the fut.

(cip. ἐρούντας above) is more usual,

see S. 2065; HA. 969 c; B. 653,

5; GMT. 840. — ἐπιστολέα: see

on 1. 1. 23. — [ἐτῶν ... παρεληλυθό-

tων]: this incorrect statement is


p. 24.

[§§ 8–9. Cyrus commits a deed

do despotic arrogance.]

8. This section and the follow-

ing are probably spurious Cp. 1.

2. 19 and see Intro. p. 25; also
σάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, νιεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶν-45
tες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι
βασιλεῖ μόνον. ἢ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς, ἐν
9 ᾗ τὴν χειρὰ ἔχων οὐδὲν ἀν δύνατο ποιῆσαι. Ἰεραμέ-
νης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαίον δεινὸν
ἐναι εἰ περιώσηται τὴν λίαιν ύβριν τούτου. ὦ δὲ αὐτὸν 50
μεταπέμπτεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.]

10. Τῷ δ᾽ εἰπόντι ἔτει [,ἐπὶ Ἄρχυτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος,
ἀρχοντὸς δ᾽ ἐν Ἀθηναίω 'Αλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικό-
μενος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χιόν σὺν
ταῖς ναυσὶ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροις, εἰ πού 55
τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ᾽ εἰπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν 'Αντάν-

11. Δρῷ ἐνανυγείτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον 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 (κάνδυς). 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. Ιεραμένης: probably the father of Autoboeas and Mitraeus. — δεινὸν εἶναι εἶ: cp. 1. 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. 1. 1. 1 it was the real reason:

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

...ο δ' αυτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλομένα εἰη, καὶ ἔτι πλεῖώ πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὡσα ἐκαστὸς τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὁμώς δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος ὁ δρος τάργυριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τρυήρεις τρυηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοὺς ναύτας τῶν ὁφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκεύαζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὰ ναυτικὰν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

13 Κύρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ ἰδιὰν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἀγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἄρρωστῶν ἐκεῖνον καλοῖ, ὥς ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγύς Καδούσιων, ἐφ' οὕς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας. ἦκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἰς ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, εὰν μὴ πολλῷ πλεῖους ναῦς ἔχει, εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα τὸ πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐαυτῷ, ὡστε τούτων ἐνεκέν πολλὰς πληρῶν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ αὐτῷ ἰδιοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἰχὲ φιλίας πρὸς τε

11. ἔχοι: had received. See on πλέονειν 1. 7. 5. — ὁμώς δ' ἔδωκε: cp. 1. 5. 3.
12. ἐπὶ: as in § 6. — παρεσκεύαζοντο . . . πρὸς: were making preparations in reference to, i.e. about, upon. — στρατηγοὶ: Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles (1. 7. 1). — Σάμῳ: cp. 1. 6. 38 and on 1. 2. 1.
14. οὐκ εἰά: warned him not.— εἶναι: in indir. disc., depending upon a verb of saying suggested by οὐκ εἰά.— ὡστε . . . πληρῶν: translate with could or might; for the inf. expresses the result which the action ‘tends to produce,’ i.e. a possible result. — τοῦτον ἐνεκέν: as far as that (i.e. money) was concerned. — παρέδειξε: assigned. — τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα: ‘the balance on hand.’ — Blake. — ὡς εἰχὲ 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’ εἰχὲ cp. ἐκά—


15 Δύσανδρος δὲ, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κύρος πάντα παραδοῦσ᾽ τὰ αὐτοὺ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπτος ἀνέβαυνε, μισθὸν διαδόν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῇ Καρίᾳ εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρείας τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ προσβολῆ κατὰ κράτος αἴρεὶ καὶ ἐξηνυδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν δὲ μιξοβάρβαροι οἱ ἑώρικοντες. ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν

16 εἰς Ρόδον. οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὅρμῳ ἐντοίχων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἐφε-85 σον ἐπέπλευσεν, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντι προσεῖλοντο Μέναν-17 ὅρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισιόδοτον. Δύσανδρος δὲ ἐκ τῆς 'Ρόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐπέλει πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πρὸς τε

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

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

15. διάδοσις: see on § 5. — Καριας: for the case see on Καλχηδονίας 1. 1. 22. — Κεράμειον: cp. the variant form Κεραμίκον in 1. 4. 8. — τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ προσβολῆ: on the next day's attack. τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ is almost always used alone, with ἡμέρα understood.— ἐξηνυδραπόδισεν: this proceeding is explained and justified by the following clause. Contrast Ly-sander's treatment of Greek captives, § 19, and see on 1. 6. 15. Note the combination of the aor. with the historical pres.— δὲ: = γάρ, as in 1. 6. 37.

16. τῆς βασιλείας: sc. χώραν.— Χιόν... “Εφέσον: regular stations of the Spartan fleet.— τοῖς ὑπάρχοντι: see on § 12. — προσεῖλοντο: οἱ 'Ἀθηναίοι is still the subj., but is probably used in this case with reference to the Athenians at home.

17. πρὸς... τῶν ἔκπλουν: i.e. in order to close the Hellespont against the Athenian grain ships from the Black Sea. See on 1. 1.
130 ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. II, 1. [405 B.C.

τῶν πλοίων τῶν ἐκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀφεστηκνίαις αὐτῶν ἐπεὶ τῶν πόλεων. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι ὡς γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Δάμψακον σύμμαχον οὗσαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ Ἀβύδηνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν 19 πεζῷ ἤγετο δὲ Θεόραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιώται οὗσαν πλούσιαν καὶ οἶνον καὶ σῖτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἔλευθερα σώματα 20 πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὀρμίσαντο τῆς Χερονήσου ἐν Ἑλαιοῦντι ναυσίν ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιοῦμένοι αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Δάμψακον, καὶ 21 εὐθὺς ἀνῆχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπιστυγάμενοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Δάμψακον· διεἰχε δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτῃ σταδίους ὡς 105 22 and cp. a similar attempt made by Agis, 1. 1. 35.—αὐτῶν: the Lacedaemonians. Construe with ἀφεστηκνίαις.—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. Δάμψακον: which Alcibiades had fortified in 409 B.C. (1. 2. 15).


20. κατὰ πόδας: in their wake.

21. εὐθὺς ἐπιστυγάμενοι: as soon as they had provisioned. For the use of the adv. see S. 2081; HA. 976; B. 655; G. 1572; Gl. 592.—Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς: i.e. where ‘Goat’s Rivers’ empty into the Hellespont. —διεἰχε...σταδίους κτῆς: was about fifteen stadia wide. The impf. is sometimes found instead of the pres. when a still exist-
22 πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἑδειπνοποιοῦντο. Δύσαν-
дрος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ, ἔτει ὁδρός ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν
εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησάμενοι εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ
παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλή-
ματα παραβάλλων, προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσωτο ἐκ τῆς
23 τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἁμα τῷ ἥλιῳ
ἀνύσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς
ναυμαχίαν. ἔτει δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγγυα γέυσανδρός, καὶ
tῆς ἡμέρας ὡς ἦν ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Λίγος
24 ποταμοὺς. Δύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχύστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκεῖ
λευσεν ἐπεσθαί τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκβόσιν,
κατιδόντας ὃ τι ποιοῦσιν ἀποτελεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔξαγγει-
λαί. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἔξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν
αὕτα ἦκον. ταύτα δὲ ἐποίει τέταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ
25 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγγυντο. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν

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

22. ὁδρός: early dawn, regarded here as part of the night.  
Cp. Plato, Crito 43 A. — παρα-
σκευασάμενοι ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν: cp.  
παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν  
§ 16, and see on I. 1. 12. — παρα-
βλήματα: about the same as the  
παραρύματα of I. 6. 19. — προεῖπεν  
ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσωτο: verbs of com-
manding, like verbs of attention,  
care, and effort, are sometimes fol-
lowed 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 reg-
ular ὡς. See Introd. IV. G. 3,  
and cp. GMT. 351 and App. IV.

23. ἐπὶ = πρὸς in I. 6. 17. —  
λιμένι: of Lampacus. — ἐν με-
τώπῳ: in line, as contrasted with  
ἐπὶ κέρος (in column). See on  
I. 7. 29.

24. ἐκβόσι: sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. —  
κατιδόντας: constructio ad sensum,  
referring to the men on board τὰς  
tαχύστας. — ἔξεβίβασεν: sc. as obj.  
the sailors of the (main) Pelopon-
nesian fleet. — πρὶν . . . ἦκον:  
S. 2441; HA. 924; B. 627; G.  
1470; Gl. 644 a. — ἐπανήγγυντο:  
iterative.

25. κατιδῶν: see on I. 1. 4.
teix̂ων τοὺς μὲν 'Αθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιών- 
tας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολε-
μίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἤχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν
καλῷ ἐφή αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστὸν 125
παρῆνει πρὸς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν ὀδ οὖνες ναυμα-
χήσετε, ἐφη, ὡταν Βοῦλησθε. οἳ δὲ στρατηγοὶ, μάλιστα
dὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν. 26
27 αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνον. καὶ ὅ μὲν
ὣς τετ. Δύσανδρος δ', ἑπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι 130
τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις, εἰπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὰν
κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ
theid Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουσ πολύ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκά-
στῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τὰ τε συνά πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ κατα-
φρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Δυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὖν ἀντανήγειν, 135
ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπαλὶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἄσπιδα κατὰ
μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἳ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσαν.

— τειχών: cp. 1. 5. 17 and note thereon.—μὲν: correlative with
the de before πολεμίους.—πρὸς: as in 1. 3. 2.—τοὺς πολεμίους: sc.
ὅρμοῦντας.—μεθορμίσαι: for the force of the prep. see on 1. 6. 19.
—οὖ... ναυμαχήσετε: the change to dir. disc. as in 1. 1. 14.
26. αὐτὸι: for the case see on
αὐτός 1. 5. 3. The regular nom.
is retained despite the contrasted
acc. ἐκείνον.—στρατηγεῖν: see on
ἐῖναι § 14.
27. ἑπεὶ... Ἀθηναῖοι: 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... ἐπο-
μένοις: i.e. Lysander's scouts, who
regularly followed the Athenians
on their return voyage (§ 24).—δῇ:
ironical, as frequently in the Hell.,
implying that Lysander was not a
foe to be despised.—ἀποπλέοντας:
for the acc. see on ἐνθεμένους 1. 6.
37. —ἀραί ἄσπιδα: according to
Herodotus (6. 115) this method
of heliographing was employed at
the battle of Marathon. 490 B.C.
For the inf. see on 1. 1. 13.
28 Λύσανδρος δ’ εὐθὺς ἐσῆμηνε τὴν ταχῖστην πλεῖν, συμ- 
παρήει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν 
τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσῆμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κρά-
τος. διεσκέδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν, αἱ μὲν τῶν 
νεῶν δικροτοῦ ἤσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παυτελῶς 
κεναί· ἢ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἔπτα πλη-
ρεῖς ἄνηχθησαν ἄθροι καὶ ἢ Πάραλος, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας 
pάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους 145 
ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφυγον εἰς τὰ 
29 τειχύδρια. Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέας ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ 
ἔγινο τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατα-
σχῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἀκραν ἔλαβεν 
αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Λύσανδρον νεῶν ἰστία, καὶ 150 
αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ’ Ἐυαγόραν εἰς 
Κύπρον, ἢ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας ἀπαγγέλλουσα 
30 τὰ γεγονότα. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς

28. συμπαρήει: i.e. aboard the fleet. Lysander knew that what-
ever fighting might take place would be on shore.—eis tás naús: 
connect with βοηθεῖν. — δικροτοῦ: i.e. having only two of the three 
tiers of oars manned.—ἡ Πάραλος: this and the Salaminia were the 
state triremes, employed for reli-
gious missions, for conveying am-
bassadors, 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 cap-
tured Athenians.

29. τὰ πράγματα: as in § 2.— 
τὰ μεγάλα . . . ἰστία: left on shore 
by Lysander in preparation for 
battle. See on 1. 1. 13. Conon’s 
object was to delay the enemy’s 
pursuit. —Ἐυαγόραν: prince of Sa-
lamis in Cyprus.—ἀπαγγέλλουσα: 
with the tidings. For the pres. 
see on λέγοντες § 7.
30. **aiχμαλάτους**: according to Plutarch (*Lys. 11*) 3000 in number. — _άλλος 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 _πελάγιο _§ 17.

31. _δῆ_: **of course.** — _τῶν 'Αθηναίων_: obj. gen. — _ἄδη_ _παρενεμηκέσαν_: for the facts cp. 2. 3 below. For the tense of the verb see Introd. IV. E. — _κρατήσειαν_: for the opt. see on δύναντο I. 1. 22. — _τῇ_: _i.e._ the expected. — _τὴν_ _δεξιὰν χεῖρα_: according to Plutarch (*Lys. 9*) the right thumb, _ὅπως δόρυ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνωνται, κάτω τηρὰ_ _ἄδαινωσι_, _so that they could not carry the spear, but might still ply the oar._ — _ότι_ . . . _κατακρημνίσειαν_: parallel with the preceding relative clauses. _ότι_ is declarative (that), not causal. — _κατακρημνίσειαν_: _threw overboard._

32. **ἐπελάβετο**: attacked, _opposed_. For the following gen.
perи тης ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἦτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν προδοτῶν τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλωκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, δὲ τοὺς Ἄνδριους καὶ Κορυνθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἰη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

1 'Επεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἐπλεῖ ἐπὶ 2 τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τούς τῶν Ἄθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδότες Ἀλκιβιάδη τὸ Βυζάντιον τὸτε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὦστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθηναίας καὶ ἐγέ-5 νυντό Ἀθηναίοι. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰ τινά ποὺ ἀλλοι ἴδοι Ἀθηναίοι, ἀπέ-

see on ἔργον 1. 4. 12. — ἀποτομῆς: not used elsewhere in this sense. See Introd. IV. L. — ἦτιάθη μέντοι κτέ.: 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.— δὲ . . . κατεκρήμνισε: the offense restated in justification of the punishment.— ἀρξάμενος: ἀρχεῖν means to be the first to do something, ἀρχεῖσθαι 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.


1. τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ 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 προδότες: three years before. See 1. 3. 16-20. — Ἀθηναίοι: i.e. Athenian citizens.

2. εἰ τινά: render as equiva-
lent to ὄντων. — εἶδὼς ὅτι . . . ἐσεθαί: 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 ὅσφ . . . 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. — ὅσφ ἀν πλέουσι . . . θάττων: the more . . . the more quickly. With θάττων sc. τόσοντι. — Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνως: the possession of these two cities closed the Bosporus to Athenian grain ships from the Black Sea. See on i. 17 and i. 1. 22.

3. τῆς Παράλου: cp. i. 29. — ἔλεγετο: iterative, the news passing from mouth to mouth. — μακρῶν τειχῶν: connecting Athens and Piraeus. — ὁ ἐτερός: anacoluthon, as though πάντες ὕμωξον, instead of ὁμωγή, had preceded. The gen. abs. would be the regular construction. — πενθοῦντες: another case of anacoluthon, οὔδεὶς ἐκομιμῆθη being equivalent to πάντες ἐγγηγόρεσαν (οὐκ ἐκομιμηθησαν). For the affirmative to be supplied from a preceding negative see on δειμένων i. 1. 29. — αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦς: the strengthening intensive, as in i. 1. 28. — Μηλίους . . . Ἰστιαιᾶς
tes poliorckia, kal 'Istiaiaas kai Skiaoinous kai Tornvaitas kai allous polloous twv 'Ellh

4 ty' ysteraiia ekklhsiain epoiihsan, ev y eidoxe tous te limenous apochoiapi plhn evos kai ta teixh euptepizein kai phulakas efistanai kai talla panta ois eis polior-25 kian paraskeuazein ty'nu polin. Kai oudoi mewn peri
tauta hsgan.

5 Aysandros dy ek tou 'Ellhposontou nannoi diakosiasi
afikomeunos eis Leshbo kateoskevastato tais te allas

kx.: 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 allous polloous 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 Introd. p. 10.

4. limenas: 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 (Katharos) and one for merchantmen (eptorion). It was the last mentioned (eptorion) which was now left open. — aypo-

5. kateoskevastato = kateosty-
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 1. 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). — ἀλλας ... Μυτιλήνην: see on i. 30. Mytilene is especially mentioned because it was the principal city of the island and at last accounts (1. 6. 38) was in the hands of the Athenians. — ἐπὶ Θράκης: as in i. 3. 17.

6. γυνώριμων: notables, one of the various terms by which Xenophon designates the aristocratic, oligarchical faction. This faction was everywhere pro-Spartan.

7. ἐπεμψε: sent word. — Ἀγιν ... Δεκελέιαν: see on 1. 1. 33. — σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί: cp. with the simple dat. in § 5 and see on 1. 1. 11. — Ἀργείων: who remained faithful to their alliance with Athens. See on 1. 3. 13. — παραγγείλαντος: at the command of.

8. Ἀκαδημεία: a gymnasion 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 ... Ἀλυσιάταις:
see on § 3. — τῆς αὐτῶν: sc. πατρί-

dos. — πλοία: merchantmen, es-

cially grain ships. See on 1. 1.

15 and 1. 2. 1.

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

10. εἰ μὴ: except. The connec-
tion is not quite logical, for to suffer the pains which they had inflicted could not properly be called safety; but οὖνδειμαν σωτηρίαν may be understood to mean loosely ‘no way out of it,’ ‘nothing for it.’ — ἤ: construe with ἡδίκονν as well as ἐποίησαν. — οὐ τιμωρο-

μενοι: not in retaliation, with which is contrasted διὰ τὴν ὑβρίν. — ἡδίκονν = ἄδίκως ἐποίησαν, had inflicted unjustly; that is, ἡδίκονν repeats ἐποίησαν with an added adverbial idea which is justi-

fied by and supplements διὰ τὴν ὑβρίν. For the plupf. meaning of the impf. see on ἄδικη 1. 7. 20. — οὔδε ... μᾶ: not a single. οὔδε ... εἶς is regularly stronger than οὔδεις. Cp. none and not one in English. — ἐκείνοις: the Lacedae-
nomians. — 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 conse-

quently 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 citizen-

ship, and the oligarchical party
θυρσκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἡδή ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελούησε, ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ Ἀγίν, βουλὸμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίως ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐπὶ τούτως συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦς εἰς Λακεδαιμονία ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαιμονία. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς] καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἐφοροὶ αὐτῶν ἁ ἐλεγον, ὅτα διάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγίν, 65 αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἰ τι δέονται εἰρή-

14 νῆς, κάλλιον ἢκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἰκαδὲ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθύμια ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ἄντοι γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεται, καὶ ἦως ἄν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ 70 λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τείχῶν τῆς καθαρέσεως οὔδεις ἐβούλετο συμβουλέων. 'Αρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν was thus materially strengthened. — οὐ διελέγοντο: refused to make overtures. The impf. denotes 'resistance to pressure.' — σύμμαχοι εἶναι Δ. ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη κτλ.: 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 1. 14.

13. [πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς]: an interpolation. Sellasia was in Laconia, being a town near the northern frontier. — πρὸς Ἀγίν: sc. ἐλεγον. — αὐτόθεν: from that very spot, without coming any further. — εἰ τι δέονται εἰρήνης: note the ind., if they really had any desire for peace. — κάλλιον βουλευσαμένους: i.e. with a more reasonable proposal.

14. ἦως ἄν πέμπωσιν: while they should be sending. — τῷ λιμῷ: the (before-mentioned) famine. Contrast λιμῷ (without the art.) § 11.

15. συμβουλεύειν: to propose
en τῇ βοιλῇ Δακεδαμονίους κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τεῖχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἕκα-75 τέρον· ἐγένετο δὲ ψῆφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων ᾠραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτοῦν πέμψει παρὰ Λυσανδρόν, εἰδὼς ἦξει Δακεδαμονίους πότερον ἐξαιρετοδισοσθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν 80 ἣ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμβαίας δὲ διετριβὲ παρὰ Λυσανδρῷ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω, ἐπιτήρων ὡς ὁπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμελέλουν διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῶτον ἀπαντά ὃ τι τις λέγοι

any measure. — εἶναι: in ind. disc., depending upon εἰπών. See on I. 6. 7. — Δακεδαμονίους: construe with εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι. — ἐφ' οἷς: see on ἐπὶ τούτως § II. — προυκαλοῦντο δὲ κτῆ. : Sparta’s terms had evidently been made known to the Athenian ambassadors at Sellasia (§ 13). — μακρῶν τεῖχῶν: see on § 3. — ἐκατέρον: instead of ἐκάστον, because the reference is to each of two walls. The gen. is partitive, depending upon ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους, which serves as the obj. of καθελεῖν. See on πρὸς ἐπτακοῦσθος I. 2. 18. — ἐγένετο ψῆφισμα: 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. — Δυσανδρόν: 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 κτῆ. : from December, 405, to the last of March, 404 B.C. For Theramenes’ mission and conduct cp. Lys. 12. 68–70. — ἐπιτήρων ὡς ὁπότε: waiting for the time when. — ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῶτον: it seems from this that the statement in § 11 was an exaggeration. — ἀπαντά: anything and every-
thing; further explained by ὅ τι τις λέγοι.

17. κατέχοι, κελεύοι: representing the imperfects of the dir. disc. See on 1. 7. 5. — εἶτα: often used without δὲ when a μέν has preceded. — κύριοι . . . ἑφόρους: for the cases see on 1. 26. — ὅν: ὥστε κελεύων ἃ. — εἰς: because of the idea of motion contained in προσβεντήσῃς. — δέκατος αὐτός: with nine others. The phrase serves to designate Theramenes as the leader of the embassy.

18. μετ' ἀλλῶν Δακεδαιμονίων: with others, (namely) Lacedaemonians. See on 1. 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 . . . ἥκον: i.e. εἰς Σπάρτην. — ἀντέλεγον . . . μὴ σπευδέσθαι: for the redundant negative see on μηδὲν 1. 7. 32. For the facts as explained by the Thebans see 3. 5. 8. — ἔξαιρεῖν: sc. Ἀθηναίοι, from Ἀθηναίως.

20. οὐκ ἐφασαν . . . ἀνδραπο- δεῖν: the statement of Justin (5. 7) is familiar: negarunt Spartani se ex duobus Graeciae oculis alterum
eruteros, 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). —

21 ὑποί ἢγώντει. Ὑπαρμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανέφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσὶν αὐτῶν δ’ αὐτοῦς ὁχλος περιεχέτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἀπρακτοὶ ἥκοιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆγγελλον ἠ

that ἔχθρον and φίλον are pred. accs. and that Δακεδαμονίους depends upon τὸν αὐτὸν (S. 1500; HA. 773 a; B. 392, 2; G. 1175; Gl. 525 a). — ἐπεσθαί . . . ἢγώνται: 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.

22. ποιοῦντο: ind. disc. for the ἑποιοῦντο of § 20. — προηγόρει: as in 1. 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 1. 3. 4. — ύπό: to the music of. — ἀρχεῖν: was the beginning.

[§ 24. Notice of events in Sicily.]

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

The capture of Acragas has been already recorded in 1. 5. 21. — Ερμοκράτος: not the Hermocrates of 1. 1. 27 f. — ἐπιράννησε: became tyrant. See on ἑστώπησε 1. 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. [ὁ... ὁδὲ]: an interpolation. With the first clauses (Ὁ... ἀρχοντος) cp. Ὁ... Εὐκτήμονος 1. 2. 1, and see Introd. p. 24 f. The latter part of the passage (ὁν... ὁδὲ) depends upon the preceding, and must also be re-
ένικα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, διὸ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἤρεθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐναυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἑγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρ-χία ἀδε. ἐδοξεῖ τῷ δῆμῳ τριάκοντα ἀνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἷ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολι-
garded as spurious. For the case of φ (and ζ) see on 1. 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. ἐδοξεῖ 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 . . . συγ-

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and Diodorus it was one of the conditions of the peace of 404 B.C. that Athens should be governed according to the Thirty. — εκάστους: 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 ἐκλεψιμα: on September 3d. — ἀρξαί: the tense as in εὐτυπάννησε 2. 24.

5. Δευτέρων . . . συνοικοῦντες: they had been subjugated and compelled to remove to Syracuse.
Συρακοσίων συνοικούντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν 25 πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρήμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἵππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.]

6. Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολυρκούμενοι ὑπὸ Δυσανδροῦ πάντη, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὀμολογεῖν πρὸς βάλλειν ἥδη ἐμελλεν ὁ Δυσανδρός, ὀμολόγησαν ἐν ἰμάτιον ἔχων ἐκαστὸς ἀπιέναι τῶν ἔλευθέρων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα 7 παραδοῦναι καὶ οὕτως ἔξηλθον. Δυσανδρός δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδόσει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας [φρουρεῖν] 35 ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Δακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τά τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλῆν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὐσ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδία, καὶ ἀργυρίου τε-τρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο τῶν φόρων, οὐς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ 9 εἰ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα

— ἀπέστησαν εἰς: revolted and returned to. Cp. on i. 1. 23. — εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν: apparently to coöperate with traitors who had offered to surrender the city to Dionysius.


6. ὀμολογεῖν: 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. — πλῆν δώδεκα: cp. 2. 20. — ἰδία: in contrast with the public booty. — περιεγένοντο: for the agreement cp. i. 1. 23 and see Introd. IV. a.

— παρέδειξεν: as in 1. 14. — εἰ τι: see on εἰ τινα 2. 2.
Λακεδαμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους [, εἰς ὁ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὁκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτή τὸ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, 45 [ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδι ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἦρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἐτεὶ τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἀλώσων τριακονταετίδων σπουδῶν, 10 μετὰ δὲ τούτων οἴδι· Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστράτιδας, Ἑξάρχος, Ἀγγειόστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύ- 50 ἐπιπός, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλευνόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησίάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξίππιδας, Μισγολατίδας, Ἰοίας, Ἀρακος, Ἐυάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Ἐνδιὸς, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσαινδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρή- 55 μένα οἶκαδε κατεπλευσε[.]

11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἱρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ’ ὄτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ’ οὕστινας πολιτεύσουντο,

9, 10. [εἰς ὁ . . . κατεπλευσε[]: almost certainly an interpolation. See Introd. pp. 24, 26.— ἐξάμηνος: sc. χρόνος.— ὁκτὼ: an error for ἐπτά. The war lasted from 431 to 404 B.C.— οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι: i.e. the eponymous ephors.— πέμπτῳ . . . σπουδῶν: the Athenians reduced Euboea in 446 B.C., and in the following year concluded a thirty years’ truce with Sparta. Thuc. 1. 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 ἱρέθησαν: resuming the narrative of § 2. The Thirty were probably appointed in the early summer of 404 B.C.— ἐφ’ ὄτε συγγράψαι: see on ἐφ’ ὄτε 2. 20. In this case ἐφ’ ὄτε, indicating the terms on which, i.e. the powers with which, the Thirty were appointed, approaches very near to a meaning of purpose.— πολιτεύσουντο: opt. in implied ind. disc., suggested by ἐφ’ ὄτε. In the corresponding καθ’ οὕσ
τούτων μὲν ἄκε ἐμελλὼν συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύον ναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὁς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζώντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοις βαρεῖς οὕτως, συλλαμβάνοντες ύπῆγον θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἣδεως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἷς τε ἄλλοι, ὡσοι συνήδεσαν εαυτοῖς μὴ οὕτε τοιοῦτοι, 13 οὐδὲν ἥχθοντο. ἔπει δὲ ἥρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξεῖη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρησθαι ὅπως βουλουντο, ἐκ τοῦτον πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Δακεδαίμονα Ἀἰσχύνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπεισαγαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς 70

tolitevounoi of § 2 the ind. is retained. See GMT. 134, 574. — ἐμελλὼν: 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. — συκοφαντίας: 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. — ύπῆγον θανάτου: see on 1. 3. 19. — ἡ βουλὴ ... κατεψηφίζετο: for the Thirty had conferred upon their Senate judicial functions.

13. ὅπως ἂν ἐξεῖη: 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. — Ἀἰσχύνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην: both members of the Thirty (§ 2) and the latter apparently a friend of Lysander (2. 18). — φρουροὺς ... ἐλθεῖν: to
σφίςι συμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἐώς δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδών ποιησάμενοι καταστῆσαντο τὴν πολιτείαν. θρέ-14ψειν δὲ αυτοὶ ὑπισχυόντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοὺς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἔπει τὴν φρουράν ἐλαβον, τὸν μὲν 75 Καλλίβιον ἑθεράπευον πάση θεραπεία, ὡς πάντα ἐπαι-νοῦν ἄ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τοῦτον συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὐς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονη-ροὺς τε καὶ ὅλιγον ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὐς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθομένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι ἐπὶ-80 χειροῦντας πλείστους ἀν τοὺς συνεδέλοντας λαμβάνειν. 15 τῷ μὲν οὖν πρῶτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Ῥημαίνει ὀμο-aid them in securing the coming of a garrison. φρουροὺς is subj. of ἐλθεῖν, which is the obj. inf. after συμπράξαι, while σφίς depends upon σῶν in composition. — δὴ: ironical (forsooth), as in 1. 27, 1. 7. 8. It was not merely against τοὺς πονηροὺς that the Thirty had designs. — θρέψειν αὐτοὶ: that they would maintain it (the garrison) themselves, i.e. at their own expense. 14. φρουροὺς: 700 in number. — ἀρμοστὴν: 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 subj. of συμπέμποντος. — οὕς βούλοντο: the ones whom they wished (to arrest), as contrasted with those whom they had arrested in ex- pectation of the support of public opinion (§ 12). Note that whom-soever they wished would have been οὐς βούλοντο. — οὐς 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 Ῥημαίνει: leaders respectively of the extreme
oligarchs and the moderates (see on § 2). It was not strange, therefore, that they ultimately disagreed. — ἐπεὶ δὲ: 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. 1. 6. 4 and see Introd. IV. κ.—ἄτε: 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. — φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου: 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 1. 1. 27.—καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς: as in § 12.—ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ κτέ.: the change to dir. disc. as in 1. 25.

16. οἰκεῖος ἐχρῖτο: treated as a friend. — μὴ οὐκ: for the double neg. see S. 2745; HA. 1034; B. 434; G. 1616; Gl. 572 a.—ἐὶ δὲ κτέ.: a transition to dir. disc. as in the preceding §, but without the inserted ἐφη. Cp. νεικήκατε 1. 1. 28.—νῦν 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.
to the personal construction see on 1. 6. 20.
— τις: as in 1. 5. 15. — λήψετο: for this form of fut. cond. see on σχήσαι 1. 1. 35. It is frequently used, as here, in a threat or warning.
— τῶν πραγμάτων: the government, as in 1. 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 ήκιστα: = μάλιστα.
— τοὺς μεθέξοντας: = οἱ μεθέξοντοι.
— δὴ: ironical again. The Thirty had no intention of surrendering any part of their authority. Similarly, 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 government.

19. καὶ πρὸς ταύτα: in regard to this also. — τὸ πρῶτον μὲν: in the first place, correlative with ἐπείτα δὲ below. — Βουλομένους ...
— τρισχίλιοι: that, wishing to make the best of the citizens their associates, they made just three thousand (their associates). The words κοινωνία ποιήσασθαι do double duty. See KG. 597, 2 f. — ὁσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ... ἔχοντα: the acc. absolute, which is regular with the part. of an impersonal verb, is occasionally used with other verbs when ὁς or ὁσπερ introduces the absolute clause. S. 2078; HA. 974; B. 658, n.; G. 1570; Gl. 591 a; GMT. 853.
καὶ ἀγαθοὶς εἶναι, καὶ οὕτʼ ἐξω τοῦτων σπουδαῖοις οὕτʼ
ἐντὸς τοῦτων ποιηροῦς οἶον τε εἰὴ γενέσθαι: ἐπειτα δ’,
ἔφη, ὅρῳ ἐγγὺς δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔναντιότατα πράττοντας,
βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡπτονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατα-
σκευαζομένους. οὗ μὲν ταῦτʼ ἐλεγεν. οἱ δ’ ἐξέτασιν ποιή-
σαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ’ ἐξω τοῦ
καταλόγου ἄλλων ἄλλαχοῦ, ἐπειτα κελεύσαντες θέσθαι
tὰ ὁπλα, ἐν ὧν ἔκεινοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς
φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογενῶνας αὐτοῖς τὰ
ὁπλα πάντων πλήν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακο-
μίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

cτε.: must of necessity be, etc. For εἶναί see S. 2004; HA. 952; B.
641; G. 1521; Gl. 565. — οὕτʼ . . .
οἶον τε εἰὴ: (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 ὅσπερ ἄν
εἴ. Cp. ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες . . .,
ἐκεῖνοι δὲ . . . ήκοιεν I. 2. 15.
—βιαίαν τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . κατα-
sκευαζομένους: establishing a gov-
ernment of violence. Note the
pred. use of βιαίαν. — ἡπτονα τῶν
ἀρχομένων: weaker than the gov-
erned, i.e. those outside the 3000.
20. ἐξέτασιν: i.e. a review
under arms. — τῶν ἐξω τοῦ κατα-
lόγου: all the other citizens ex-
cept the 3000. With καταλόγου
cp. καταλέγουσι § 18. — ἄλλων
ἄλλαχοῦ: in different places, thus
dividing the disfranchised and pre-
sumably disaffected citizens into
small, easily manageable divisions.
— θέσθαι τὰ ὁπλα: to pile their
arms. — ἐν ὧν . . . ἀπεληλύθεσαν:
while they were away, i.e. from
the mustering places. The citi-
zens 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.—Aris-
totle (Const. Ath. 37. 2) puts the
disarming of the Athenians after
the execution of Theramenes. See
on § 13.

§§ 21–23. Arbitrary execu-
tions and confiscations by the
Thirty. Theramenes' continued
opposition leads them to plot against him.

21. ὡς ἐξὸν ἡδή: thinking that (ὡς) it was now possible. For the acc. abs. see on § 19. — τῶν μετοίκων: dependent upon ἐνα, 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. — ἐκαστὸν: of the Thirty.

22. ἐφη: the insertion of a superfluous ἐφη after an introduc-
that he was injuring the government, i.e. the oligarchy.

§§ 24–34. Critias' speech against Theramenes.

24. τοῦ καυροῦ: = ἕν καυρός ἔστι, than is fitting. — ἀνάγκη: sc. ἔστι, it is inevitable. — τοῖς ... μεθυστάται: sc. τὴν πολιτείαν. — πολυανθρωπότα-

την: the population of Athens and Piraeus at this time, after the great losses incurred in the Peloponnesian War, was probably about 100,000.

25. γυνότες μὲν ... γυνότες δὲ: believing ... knowing. Hence the former is followed by the inf., the latter by a ὅτι clause. — τοῖς οἷοι ἡμῖν τέ καὶ ὑμεῖς: = τοιούτοις οἷο ημεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσμεν. See on τῶν οἰων-

περ αὐτός 1. 4. 16. — δὲ δῆμος ... οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι: the democracy ... the aristocrats. See on καλοῖς κάγαθοις § 12. — γνώμῃ: approval.

26. ἐὰν ... αἰσθανόμεθα ... el ... λυμαλνεται: the first states the general principle, the second passes to the particular, actual case.
έναι, εἰ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτη τῇ καταστά-
σει, δίκην αὐτῶν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αὐτθανόμεθα Θηραμ-
μένην τουτούι οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν κατανοήτε, εὑρήσετε οὔτε ἰγνοῦτα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτούι τὰ παρόντα ὑπο-
σασθαί τῶν θημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοῖνοι εἰς ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγένουσακε, πολέμιοι μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ᾽ ἄν
δικαίως ἐνομίζετο. νῦν δὲ αὐτῶς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς
Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτῶς δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἰ60
dήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἰρω-
τοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἔπει
καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερῶς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγεν-
μεθα, οὐκέτι αὐτῷ τὰ γεννόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτῶς
μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην ἀναμε

— λυμαίνεται: here with the dat., in § 23 with the acc. The meaning of the verb is unchanged. — ταύτη τῇ καταστάσει: lit. this establishment, i.e. this (established) government. Cp. καθίσταμεν above.

27. toutou: here. S. 333 g; HA. 274; B. 147; G. 412; Gl. 210.
— ois δύναται: by what means he can.—ἀπολλύντα: conative pres.
— ὡς ταύτα ἀληθῆ: as proof that this is true.—τὰ παρόντα: the present proceedings.—εἰ... ταύτα ἐγένουσακε: if he had held these views.—πολέμιοι μὲν ἦν: withoutἂν, since the conclusion is stated as a past fact. On the other hand, ἄν ἐνομίζετο states what would be true in the present, assuming the reality of εἰ ἐγένουσακε. Note that the first apodosis is logically subordinate to the second,—although an enemy, still he would not, etc. Cp. 1. 7. 28.

28. νῦν δὲ: but as it is, turning from the unreal hypothesis to the actual fact. — αὐτῶς: 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. k. — ὑποσ: purpose, since οὔκετι αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει means not merely he disapproves, but he expresses his disapproval, he opposed.—αὖ: again, in the event
29 τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὡστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότη ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδό-ναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὁσὶ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανές τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ἐχθιον, ὁσὶ πολεμίους μὲν ἀνθρω-170 ποι καὶ σπέρνονται καὶ ἄδησ πιστοὶ γίγνονται, δὲν δ’ ἄν προδίδοντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ’ ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἦν δὲ εἰδήτε οτι οὐ κανὰ ταύτα οὕτως ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἔστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τοῦτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὕτως γὰρ ἐξ 175 ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἄγνωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μετα-στήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλον τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, of another change in the govern-
ment.

29. τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον . . . ὁσὶ χαλεπώτερον: as much more dreadful a thing than war, as it is harder. — τοσοῦτῳ δ’ ἐχθιον, ὁσὶ 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. — σπέρνονται: make peace.
— δὲ . . . λαμβάνωσι: whomever they catch playing the traitor, a pres. gen. protasis. The apod. is contained in the gnomic aorists ἐσπείσατο and ἐπίστευσε, which are equivalent to presents and parallel with σπέρνονται and πιστοὶ γίγνονται. — τοῦ λοιποῦ: for the future.

30. οτι . . . ποιεῖ: that these doings of his are nothing new. κανὰ is predicative. — τιμώμενος: concessive. — κατὰ . . . Ἄγνωνα: like his father, Hagnon. Connect with the following. — τοὺς τετρα-
κοσίους: for the history of the oligarchy 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. — ἀντίπαλον τι . . . συνιστάμενον: that some opposition to the oligarchy was gathering. The Athenian fleet re-
fused allegiance to the new government. — αὐ: changing sides again. — ἐκεῖνος: the Four Hundred.

31. δῆπον: of course. — ἐπικαλεῖται: is nicknamed. — [καὶ ... ἀμφοτέρων]: probably a marginal note, in explanation of the preceding, which has been incorporated in the text. The second clause appears to mean and he (i.e. Theramenes) faces both ways. — δεῖ ... οὐ προάγει κτλ.: ought not to be clever at leading his comrades into dangerous undertakings, etc. — ἐως ... καταστῶσιν: lit. until they come into a fair breeze, i.e. get a favoring, instead of an adverse, wind. — εἶ δὲ μὴ: other-wise, more fully explained by εἶ ... πλέονειν. See on 1. 3. 3. — τῶς ... ποτε: how in the world.

32. εἰς ἐν μὲν ... θανατηφόροι: logically subordinate to the following δέ clause. See on § 27. — δῆπον: as in § 31 above. — μεταίτιος εἰ ... ἀπολωλέναι: ἀδίκουs 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. — εἰς ὀλιγαρχίας = τῶν βελτιώνων, dependent upon πλείστοις. — τῶν βελτιώνων: cp. βέλτιστοι § 25. — καὶ = καίπερ. ταχθεῖς is there-


tous katadúntas 'Athenaión en tē peri Lésvou naumachía autòs ouk anelómenos ómws tōn strathegōn kathegorōn 195
33 apékteinei autòús, òna autòs perisowthei. òstis ge μὴν
fanerós esti toû mēn pleonektēiv òai ἐπιμελόμενος,
tou dé kalou kai tōn filow μηδὲν εὐτρεπόμενοι, pòs
toûnto χρή ponte feíasasthai; pòs dé ou phuláξasthai,
eidótas autǒ tās metaboλáς, ὡς μὴ kai ἡμᾶς tautō
200
dynasathē poiēsai; ἡμεῖς ouν toûnton ὑπάγομεν kai ὡς
eπιβουλεύοντα kai ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς te kai ἡμᾶς. ὡς
34 δὲ εἰκότα ποιούμεν, kai τάδ' ἐννοῆσατε. καλλίστη μὲν
γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκτὸ
ei dē
kai εἰσπερῆσετε τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς
205
πειθέσθαι ψέγειν te tēn ἁρχῆν kai ἐναντιοῦντα toῖς
prattoμένοις, ouk ἀν οἰεσθε αὐτῶν kai ὑπ' αὐτῶν
tōn ἐφόρων kai ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλής ἀπάσησ θόλεως τῆς μεγίστης
timorías alexobhēnai; kai ἡμεῖς ouν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, ou
toûnto ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν feisesthe, ὡς ouτοις σωβῆις μὲν
210
πολλοῖς ἀν μέγα φρονεῖν poiēssete tōn ἐναντία γιγνω-

fore concessive, being subordinate to ἀνελόμενος below.—καταδύν-
tas: see on καταδεδυκνις I. 6. 35. —ἐν τῇ... naumachía: of Ar-
ginusae. For the facts here re-
ferred to see I. 6. 35 and I. 7. 4 f.

33. ge μὴν: but indeed, in-
troducing the conclusion. See Introd. IV. d. 4.—πῶς...ou: as
in § 22.—ὡς μὴ... dynasathē: in-
stead of the regular ὅπος μὴ with the fut. indic. See Introd. IV. g.
2, and GMT. 351 and App. IV.—
ὡς...poioumen: see on ὡς ταύτα
ἀληθῆ § 27.

34. καλλίστη κτ.: Critias is said to have been the author of
a treatise on the Spartan con-
stitution. Athenaeus II. 463 e,
Pollux 7. 59. —τοῖς πλείοσι: i.e.
tōn ἐφόρων. —ἂν: connect with
alexobhēnai. —ὡς: causal. —τῶν...
...ὥμιν: of those who hold op-
posite views to yours, i.e. your
political opponents. Cp. ἐγίνωνω-
σκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω υποτέμοι ἄν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35 'Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο. Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεγεν. 'Αλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, δὲ ἄνδρες, δ' 215 τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκτείναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον δῆπον κατ' έκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑπ' έαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ π. ἱν. Δέσβων ναυμαχία. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος 220 ὃς διὰ τὸν χειμώνα οὐδὲ πλείν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναίρεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἤν, ἢδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' έαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γάρ οἴον τε εἶναι σώσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προεμενοί αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι ἀπο πλέοντες ὑπὸντο. οὐ μὲντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν 225 παρανενοηκέναι. ὧτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἤν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θεταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατε-

**σκέ** § 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 1. 7. 4), but the following statements are in direct contradiction of Xenophon's narrative (1. 7. 3-6) and must be regarded as wholly false. The generals never accused Theramenes of neglect of duty (see 1. 7. 6), and it was they, not he, who maintained (ib.) that the storm prevented the rescue. — δῆπον: putting this doubtful as-

assertion as though it were a matter of common knowledge. See on § 31. — προσταχθέν: acc. abs., concessive. From μοι supply ἔμε as subj. of ἀνελέσθαι. — ἀπολογούμενος: saying in my defense. — οὔδε... 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. — Θεταλία: where Critias had gone when banished from Athens. Cp. § 15 and Mem. 1. 2. 24. — δημοκρατίαν
σκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὁπλίζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας.

37 ὁν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἔκει ἐπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένουτο·

τάδε γε μὲν τοὺς ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτω, εἰ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τής ἁρχῆς

βουλεύσει παῦσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσεις ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον ἐνδεῖ τῆς μεγίστης αὐτῶν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μὲντοι ὁ ταῦτα πρᾶττων ἔστιν οὖσαν ἄν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τὰ τε πεπραγμένα

καὶ ἄνω πράττει ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὖκοιν 235

μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἁρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συνο-φάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγιγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ γε οὗτοι ἥρξαντο ἀνδρας καλοὺς τε κάγαθους συλλαμβανεῖν, ἐκ τούτου κάγῳ ἥρξάμην τάναντία τούτοις 240

γιγνώσκειν. ὃδεν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνῄσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος

κατεσκευάζε: quietly and artfully suggesting that he (Theramenes) was not the only political turncoat. — πενέστας: serfs.

37. μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένουτο: 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 ... ἔστιν: this is the all-important question. In his answer to it lies the strength of Theramenes' able defense. — ἄν ... κρίνειν: apod. of εἰ κατανοήσετε. S. 2356; HA. 901 a; B. 612, 1; G. 1421, 2. — ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν: Theramenes on the one hand, Critias and his following on the other.

38. καταστήναι . . . βουλεύον: came into your membership in the Senate. — πάντες: all of us, i.e. of the Thirty. — ἐγιγνώσκομεν: as in §§ 27, 34. — καλοὺς τε κάγαθους: not in the party sense. — κάγῳ: I also, i.e. as their attitude changed, so did mine toward them.

39. Λέοντος: general in 406-405 B.C. Cr. i. 5. 16, 6. 16. Socrates was detailed by the Thirty to arrest Leon, but refused obedience. Plato, Mpol. 32 c.
τοῦ Σαλαμίνου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἰκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ᾿ οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὁμοίοι τοῦτω φοβήσωντο, φοβοῦμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσωντο. ἐγύγνωσκον δὲ ὡς ὑπολαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, 245 καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τοῦτῳ ὁμοίοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσουντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφώντος ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὅς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις ἐδ’ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει 250 γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἐξοιεῖν. ἀντείπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἐνα ἐκαστὸν λαβεῖν ἐφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ 40 μέτοικοι ἁπάντες πολέμοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσωντο. ἀντείπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὀπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ 255 νομίζων χρῆναι ἄσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Δακεδαμονίους ἑώρων τοὺτον ἔνεκα βουλομένους περισσῶσαν ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ’ αὐτοὺς ὥφελεῖν· ἔξην γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ’ ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἐτί χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. 260

ἐκαίνοι: able. — οὐδὲ ἐν: see on οὐδὲ μᾶ 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. — Ἀντιφώντος: not the orator Antiphon, who was executed in 411 B.C. Thuc. 8. 68. — ὑπόπτως ... ἐξοιεῖν: in an active sense, would cherish suspicion. — ἐνα ἐκαστὸν: as in § 21.

41. τὰ ὀπλα ... παρηροῦντο: cp. § 20. — οὐδὲ: because the thought is ‘nor did the Lacedaemonians (any more than I) wish to make the city weak.’ — ἔξην: it was possible. For the omission of ἄν see S. 2313; HA. 897; B. 607; G. 1400; Gl. 460. — γε: emphasizing τοῦτον, if this had been what they wanted. — καὶ μηδένα: no one at all. — λιμῷ: note that it was Theramenes himself who was most responsible therefore. Cp. 2. 16.
42. φρουροῦσι μισθοῦσθαι: cp. § 13 f. — ἕως... κρατήσειν: '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. ἄλλα μὴν § 40, and see Introd. IV. D. 4. — Ὑπασύβουλον: 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 expulsion of the Thirty (cp. chap. 4).

— Ἀντιταόν: 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 τούτων γε § 41.

— τὸ ἀντιπαλον: the opposition, as the term is used in modern politics.

— ἵκανοι: as in § 39.

43. οὕτω... οὕτω: taking up with emphasis the preceding par-
οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὕτωι εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον 44 τοὺς φίλους ἄλλα καὶ ἑαυτοῦς δι’ αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γυνωστὸν οτὶ ἄληθή λέγω, οὐδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄντων καὶ τοὺς 280 ἄλλους φυγάδας ἀ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἀν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἂ οὕτω πράττουσιν; ἔγω μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστα εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἕμων εἴχε, χαλεπὸν ἄν ἤγεισθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι 285 45 τῆς χώρας. ἀ δ’ αὖ εἶπεν ὃς ἐγὼ εἰμὶ οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοησατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπορο τὸ δήμου ἐφηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὃς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάση πο- 46 λιτεία μᾶλλον ἄν ἡ δημοκρατία πιστεύσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γε 290 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίσεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ
45. ἀ δ’ αὖ εἶπεν: and again, as to his statement. — οἶος . . . μετα-βάλλεσθαι: 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 it- self 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. — εἴκεινοι: the Lacedaemonians. — οὐδὲν ἀνίσεσαν: did not relax their efforts at all in prosecuting the war. — οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ . . . Ἀρισταρχοῦ: i.e. the three who are named and their fellow generals. For ἀμφὶ
Mélanthion kai Ἀρισταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χῶματι ἔρυμα τεῖχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ύφ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐταῖροις τὴν πόλιν ποιῆσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ᾽ αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ 295 ἀνέκώλυσα, τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὃς ἀμφοτέροις πειράμενον ἀρμότειν. ὁστὶς δὲ μηδετέρους ἀρέσκει, τούτον ὦ πρὸς τῶν βεβων τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; οὗ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζον, ἐν δὲ τῇ 300 ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ δ᾽, ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὓ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἀν δημοκρατίαιν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δούλοι καὶ οἱ δ᾽ ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἀν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τούσδε γ᾽ αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος 305 εἰμὶ οὗ ὁνταὶ καλὴν ἀν ἐγγενεσθαι ὀλυγαρχίᾳ, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ᾽ ὀλίγων τυραννείς τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ᾽ ἱππῶν

see Introd. IV. c. 2. —στρατηγοῦντες: = στρατηγοὶ οἵτινες. —τῷ χῶματι: the peninsula (Eetionea), commanding Piraeus. —ἐταῖροι: members of the oligarchical clubs, which bore the name ἐταῖρια.

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 . . . ἀν 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 οὐνται 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. —τὸ: connect with διατάττειν. —τοῖς δυναμένοις . . .
καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἀριστον ἡγούμην ἐώς καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλω-310
μαλ. εἰ δ' ἐχεις εἰπεῖν, ὁ Κριτία, ὅπου ἔγω σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἡ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε κάγαθους ἀπο-
στερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκός,
ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθῶν ἀν δικαίως 315 ἀποθνῄσκειν.

50 Ὅσ δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δήλη ἐγέ-
νετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἄναφεὔ-
ξεις, καὶ τούτο ὦ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσέλθων 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 δυνα-
μένοις 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. ἔγω: emphatic, for Critias had been guilty, in Thessaly and Athens, of both the offenses here mentioned.—πράττων ἢ πρότερον κτι.: note the alliteration.—πάν-
των: see on 1. 2. 18.—ἐσχατώτατα: the superl. of a superl., ἐσχατος being the normal form.

§§ 50-56. The condemnation and execution of Theramenes.

50. δήλη . . . ἐπιθορυβήσασα: had shown its good will by applause.
— ἄναφεὔξειος: = ἀποθεύξειο, would escape.—οὗ βιωτόν: unen-
dialextheis ti tois triakonta exelthe, kal exwsthan ai ekelense tovs ta exheiriadia exontas fanerow tis boulh
51 ep tois drufaktois. palin de ieselthen ies ev. 'Egws, o boulh, nomizw proostato evragn einai oion dei, os an orow tois filous exapatoemousa mou epipterpy. kal 325 egw oin touto poiws. kal gar oide oi efesteikotes ou fason himw epiptereiws, ei anzhosuwen andra ton fanerow tis olymarchian lymainomenon. eis de en tois kainois nymous ton men ev tois triphulios onton mheina apothnsekew anev tis umeteras yphfou, ton 330 eixw tou katalologou kuriou einai tois triakonta thanatos. eixw oin, efh, Thearamenhn toutoni exaleipw ek tou katalo-
durable. — tois . . . exontas: see § 23. — fanerow tis boulh: in plain sight of the Senate. — tois drufaktois: the bar or railing, separating the Senate from the auditorium.

51. proostatow evragn einai . . ., ois an kte.: a blending of two constructions, (1) it is the duty of a leader of the right sort (oion dei) . . . not to allow, etc., and (2) he is a leader of the right sort who . . . does not allow, etc. For proostato see on 1. 7. 2. — oion: for the assimilation in case see on § 25 and 1. 4. 16. — touto: referring to the preceding. — kainois nymois: which the Thirty had been chosen to frame, § 11. — twn eixw tou katalologou: see on § 20. The gen. depends directly upon kuriou, which is further explained by the inf. thanatos. — Thearamenhn . . .

exaleipw: 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 eixw tou katalologou, 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 Thearamenhn . . .
you, συνδοκοῦν ἄπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τούτων, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς 52 θανατοῦμεν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν καὶ ἐπεν· 'Εγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἰκε-335 τεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομότατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι έξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν δν ἂν βουληταί, ἀλλ' ὀνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ 53 τούτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τούτω μέν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοοῦ, ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἀρκε-340 σει ὁ δε ο βωμός, ἀλλὰ βουλομαί καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἄνθρώπους ἀδικῶτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἁσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὡς ἄνδρες καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αυτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν 345 54 ὑπομα εὐεξάλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστον. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὃ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἐνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς 

έξαλείφω) 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 ἑστίαν: i.e. upon the steps of the altar of Hestia in the Senate chamber. — ἔφη: see on § 22. — τὰ . . . ἐννομώτατα: '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 κἀγαθοὶ: i.e. gentlemen, in the old English sense of that word. — εἰ: conditional in form (hence μη), but in sense = ὅτι. S. 2247; HA. 926; B. 598, 1; G. 1423; Gl. 654. — καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες: 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 ἐνδεκα: see on 1. 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.
υπηρέταις, ἦγομένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ βραστότου τε καὶ ἀναδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας. Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἐφη, Θηραμένη τουτούρι κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἐνδεκα
55 οὖ δὲι τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν,
εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ
ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὅσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοῦς
ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθοραν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἦ
dὲ βουλή ἠσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὀρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπο-
φάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἐμπροσθὲν τοῦ βουλευ-
τηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι
56 ἐγχειρίδια ἐξοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπῆγαγον τὸν
ἀνδρα διὰ τῆς ἁγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα
οία ἐπαγχεί. λέγεται δὲ ἐν ρῆμα καὶ τούτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς
εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξουτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπή-
ρετο. Ἀν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἀρ', ἐφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ
ἐπεῖ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κόψειν ἐπιέ, τὸ 365
λειπόμενον ἐφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἶπείν αὐτῶν.

εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας: anacoluthon, as though εἰκός
εἰσελθόντες had been in the gen. abs. See Introd.
IV. κ. — οὐ δει ... πράττετε: at the proper place (the prison) do
what follows from this, i.e. put
him to death.

55. ὁμοίους ... πλῆρες: pred.,
the supplementary parts. being
understood. — τὸ ἐμπροσθὲν: the
space before. — ἀγνοοῦντες: with
βουλῆ, 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. — οἰμώξουτο: would
suffer, would rue it. — σιωπήσειεν:
inceptive aor. — ἀρα: then. — τὸ
κόψειν: 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
The sound made by the hiss with a small band of exiles drops striking the basin was regarded as an augury of the success or failure of one's suit. Here 'Theramenes invokes and prophesies for Critias the destruction which was so soon to overtake him.' — τῷ καλῷ: my beloved, colloquial Attic. — ταύτα: subject. — ἀποφθέγματα: predicate. — ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω: here for the first time in the *Hell*. Xenophon speaks in the first person. See App. p. 356. — ἄνδρός: poss. gen. with ἐκεῖνο. — τὸ . . . ἀπολιπεῖν: in explanatory apposition with ἐκεῖνο. — τὸ φρόνιμον: Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 1. 40. 96) translates by animi aequitatem. — παγινώδες: playfulness.

Chapter 4, §§ 1-7. Further excesses of the Thirty. Thrasybulus and Aeschines lead the way in disobeying this order.
σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλῆν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἵσχυρόν.
οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθοιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεώς σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι καὶ μᾶλθ ἐνημερίας οὕσης. ἔπει δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺσ μὲν θρασυνόμενοι τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. Βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτείχίζειν, ὁπως ἐκπολιορκή-15 σειαν αὐτοῦς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νυφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, μᾶλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβάλον-4τες. γυνωσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατῆ-20 σοιειν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἐσοίτο, διαπέμποντις εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τούς τε Ἀλκωνικοὺς πλῆν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων δύο φυλάς. οὐτοὶ δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ 5 ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἐρασύβουλος, ἡδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς 25 τὴν Φυλήν περὶ ἐπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοῦς καταβάινει

with ἐβδομήκοντα. — Φυλῆν: a strong mountain fortress on the border between Attica and Boeotia. — ἰππεύσι: the cavalry was an aristocratic body and staunchly supported the Thirty. — καὶ μᾶλθ ἐνημερίας οὕσης: the weather being very fine indeed. An emphasizing καὶ is frequently prefixed to μᾶλα, while the latter adverb is as frequently connected with nouns which contain an adjective idea. — εὐθὺσ μὲν: μὲν is correlative with δὲ in § 3.

3. ἐκπολιορκήσειαν: 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. — ὅπω: because of the passive meaning of ἀποβαλόντες, which = ἀποστερηθέντες.

4. τὰς ἐσχατίας: 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 ἐπτακοσίους: the com-
6 στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἦσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἔπει δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἦν ἀνίσταντο ὅτι έδειτο ἑκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψηχοντες τοὺς ἵππους 30 ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὁπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἐστι μὲν οὐς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἐξ ἥ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλέον ἥ εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἵππεων Νικόστρατον τε τῶν 35 καλὸν ἑπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἐτι καταλαβόντες εν ταις ευναίς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαίων στησάμενοι καὶ συνεκενάσαμεν οἰπλα τε ὅσα ἠλαβον καὶ σκεῦς ἀπήλθουν ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ εἰς ἄστεως ἵππεως βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἐτι εἶδον, προσ-40 μείμαχτες δ' ἐως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλλυτο οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἁστυν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλή-

bination serves as a gen., with ὑνειλεγμένων. See on πρὸς ἐπτακοτίους 1. 2. 18. Note that some time has passed since §2 and that Thrasybulus' force has vastly increased.

6. πρὸς: towards. — ἀνίσταντο: sc. oι φρουροί, were getting up and going. That the verb is used in this free sense, implying motion, is clear from the following: — ὡποὶ . . . ἑκαστος: i.e. going about their several duties. — τῶν ὁπλῶν: the camp, strictly the place where the arms were piled. — ἐστὶ . . . οὗς: = εἴσον. S. 2513, 2514; HA. 998; B. 486, N.; G. 1029; Gl. 614 a. — ἑπικαλούμενον: see on 3. 31. — καλ . . . δὲ: and also, correlative with τε. See Introd. IV. D. 3.

7. τροπαίων στησάμενοι: in this phrase Xenophon generally employs the middle of ἁτάναυ, while classical writers use only the active. — ἐπι: as in 1. 2. 11.

§§ 8–9. The Thirty treacherously seize many Eleusinians and force the Three Thousand to condemn them to death.

8. τὰ πράγματα: as in 3. 17. —
θησαυ Ελευσίνα εξιδιώσασθαι, ὡστε εἶναι σφισι κατα-
φυγὴν, εἰ δεῖσσει. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἵππευσιν ἄλθουν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίασ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριά-
κοντα: ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵππευσι, φάσκοντες
eἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶναι καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσ-
δεήσουσιν, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας: τὸν δὲ
ἀπογραφάμενον ἄει διὰ τῆς πυλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν 50
ἐξείναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐνθεν καὶ
ἐνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δὲ ἐξίοντα ἄει οἱ υπηρέται συνε-
dον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Δυσίμαχον
tὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοῖς
9 τοῖς ἕδεκα. τῇ δὲ ὑπεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀώδειον παρεκάλεσαν 55
τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλύῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας.
ἀναστὸς δὲ Κριτίας ἐλέγεν: Ἦμεῖς, ἐφη, ὅ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν
ἡττον ὑμᾶς κατασκευάζομεν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς.
δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὡσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθὲξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν
ἀπογράφεσθαι: to register. — τὸν ἀπογραφάμενον ἄει: as ἄει ὁ ἄκοιμων
1. 4. So τὸν ἐξίοντα ἄει below. — πυλῆς: in the town wall. — ἀναγ-
γόντα: to Athens. — According to Lysias (12. 52) and Diodorus (14. 32) Salamis suffered in a similar way at the hands of the Thirty.
9. Ὀώδειον: a building designed for musical performances. The one which is here referred to was just outside the city to the southeast.
— ὡσπερ καὶ ... οὕτω καὶ: for the idiom see on 1. 7. 13. — καὶ τῶν
... μεθέξειν: a cardinal principle of government with the Thirty was,
as Socrates (Apol. 32c) says, 'to involve as many as possible in their misdeeds.' See on 3. 39. — Ἑλευσινῶν: for the gen. see on 1. 5. 19.
— ἵνα...φοβήσθη: that you may have the same hopes and fears as we. For the case of ἰmédia see on Λακεδαίμονιος 2. 20.— φανεράν: predicative. For the fact see on 1. 7. 9.


10. ἐν τῷ ἱμίσει...ἡσαν: 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. — περί...συνελεγμένους: who had now gathered to the number of about 1000. Thrasybulus' victory had quickly brought new recruits to his standard. — ἄναφέρονσαν: leading up, i.e. from the low plain between Athens and Piraeus. For the order of words see on 1. 1. 23.

11. ἐτὶ μὲν: for a while, i.e. until the time indicated by the correlative ἐπεὶ δὲ clause.— ἀνεναι αὐτοὺς: to let them come up. Cp. ἄναφέρονσαν above.— ὁ κύκλος: i.e. the line of the town wall of Piraeus on the land side. The wall itself had been destroyed
οὐςι, σωσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ 75
tοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶ-
tον μὲν σωστάζαντο, ὅστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν 
φέρει πρὸς τε ἄτο ὑμᾶς Ἱμυνιαῖ. Αρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ 
Βενδί-
δεῖον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἐλαττων ἢ ἐπὶ 
πεντήκοντα
12 ἀσπίδων. οὔτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐξάφορον ἀνω. οἱ 
δὲ 80
ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ
πλέον ἡ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι
ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψυλλὸν ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ 
δὲ 
tούτους οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὔτοι μέντοι συχνὸς ἦσαν· καὶ
γάρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ὧν δὲ προσήκαν οἱ 85
ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ᾽ αὐτὸν θέσαν κελεύσας
τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὀπλα ἔχων,
13 κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἐλεύθερος. Ἀνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς 
μὲν 
didáξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνήσατο ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰς 
tὸν 
προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξὶ ἐκντεῖνοι υἱὸς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν 90

(2. 20), but its ruins would still make a natural line of defense. —
οὕςι: agreeing with αὐτοῖς to be understood after ἐδόκει. —Μονι-
χίαν: the hill on the eastern side of the Piraeus peninsula. — Ἰππο-
δάμειον ἀγοράν: named after Hippodamus, a famous architect, who
laid out the town of Piraeus. —
Βενδίδειον: the temple of Bendis, the Thracian Artemis. — οὐκ ἐλα-
tον: οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐλαττώνων. Cp. μισθὸς πλέον (= πλεόνων) ἢ τριῶν 
μηνῶν, pay for more than three months, Anab. 1. 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 
μιᾶς 1. 6. 29.

12. ο咴 πλέον: see on οὐκ ἐλατ-
tον above. — εἷς: to the number of, practically equivalent to ἐπὶ above.
— αὐτόθεν: from the place itself, i.e. 
Piraeus. — θέσαι: to ground.

§§ 13-17. Thrasybulus' speech to his troops.

13. πολίται: Thrasybulus gives
his men the title of which the Thirty had deprived them. —
ἡμέραν πέμπτην: four days ago.
πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δὲ ἔπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἁδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκίων ἐξῆλαυνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὔποτε ὄντο,95
14 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ ἡνύχομεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἁδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὔ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδειωμέθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσιν. καὶ 100 γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρη, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν οὖν ἐναντίων ὁλίγοις οὗτοι 15 τροπαία ὕστασθαι διδόασι· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν δὲ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθίουν ἱέναι 105 δύναντ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξεξόμεθα τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλῶν

S. 1585; HA. 721; G. 1063.— ἐδιώξατε: cp. § 6. — οὗτοι δή: even these, although the fact seems too good to be true. — πόλεως . . . οἰκίων: note the rhetorical omission of the articles. — ἀπεσημαίνοντο: the verb regularly means, as in 3. 21, to confiscate. Thrasybulus 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. ὅπλα μὲν: as contrasted with their other helpers, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ. — ποτὲ: once, contrasted with νῦν below. — οἱ δὲ καὶ: see on 1. 2. 14. — οὐχ ὅτως . . . ἀλλ' οὔδε: not only not . . . but not even. S. 2763 c; HA. 1035 a; G. 1504. — χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν: cp. §§ 2, 3.

15. καὶ . . . δὲ: see on § 6. — βάλλειν: sc. δόρατα. — ὑπὲρ: over the heads of. — πρὸς ὀρθίουν: up hill. — δόρατα . . . ἀκόντια . . . πέτρους: referring to the three classes (§ 12) of troops under Thrasybulus. — αὐτῶν: for the gen. see S. 1350; HA. 739; B. 356; G. 1099; Gl. 510 d.
καὶ ἔτο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσεων τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἰσού μάχεσθαι· νῦν δὲ, ἃν ὤμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφιήτε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν ὀφείλει ὃν γε μεστῇ ἡ ὀδὸς, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύσουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἔξεται ὥσπερ τυφλοίς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἄν βουλᾶμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομε-νοὺς ἀνατρέπειν. ἀλλ', δ' ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις εαυτῷ συνείστηκι τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὁμ. 115 αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἃν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἶκους καὶ ἔλευθερίαν καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ παίδας, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας. δ' ἐμακαρίου δήτα, οὐ ἃν ἡμῖν νικήσαν-τες ἐπίδωσι τήν πασῶν ἡδιστήν ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἃν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ ὀφείλει οὕτω πλούσιοι 120 ὁν καλοῦ τεῦξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἃν καιρὸς ἢ παιάνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐννάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδῶν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

18 Ταῦτα δ' εἴπον καὶ μεταστραφείς πρὸς τοὺς ἐνάντιον ἡσυχίαν εἴξε· καὶ γὰρ ὃ μάντις παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ λοῦ. οὕτως is not infrequently separated for the sake of emphasis from the word which it limits.—παιάνα: the battle song, usually addressed to Apollo and invoking his aid. The paean was also a song of thanksgiving after victory.—Ἐννάλιον: the war god, Ares.

§§ 18–22. The Thirty are defeated and Critias is killed. Cleocratus' plea for a reconciliation.

18. ὁ μάντις: the article be-
cause seers were regularly attached to Greek armies. — πέσοи: for the opt. see S. 2449; HA. 937; B. 677; G. 1502, 3; Gl. 644 c. — ηγησόμεθα ἡμεῖς ... ύμῖν ἐπομένους: chiasmus. So νίκη ύμῖν ... ἐμοὶ θάνατος. See on 1. 6. 7.


— Κηφισοῦ: a small stream which crosses the road leading from Athens to Piraeus and empties into the bay of Phalerum. — τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ 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 ἐβδομήκοντα: 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 1. 4. 20. By virtue of the sacredness of his office Cleocritus was able to command attention. — κατασιωπησάμενος: causative, having obtained
taiv, ti ἡμᾶς ἐξελάυνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχῆκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ 145 ἐορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συνχορευταί καὶ συμφοιτη- ταί γεγενήμεθα καὶ συντρατιώτα, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἑλευθερίας.

21 πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶν καὶ μητρῶν καὶ συγγενείας καὶ 150 κηδεστίας καὶ ἐταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλους, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώ- πους παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἳ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν 155 ὀκτὼ μησίν ἡ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἐτη πολεμοῦν-

22·. ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχυστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστα- 160 σθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ύφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐστίν οὖς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

silence. — ἡμῶν: for its position see S. 1181; HA. 673 c; B. 458; G. 977, 2; Gl. 554, 553 a.

21. ἐταῖρια: comradship. — ὀλιγοῦ δεῖν: almost. S. 2012 d; HA. 956; B. 642, 1; G. 1534; Gl. 569. — πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν κτ.: 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. — ὀκτὼ μησίν: probably June, 404 B.C.—February, 403 B.C. See on 3. 11. — δέκα ἐτη: a round figure for the nine years from 413 B.C., when the Spartans formally re- newed the war by occupying Decelea, to 404 B.C.

22. ἀλλὰ ... μέντοι: but for all that. — τῶν ... ἀποθανόντων: part. gen. with ἐστίν οὖς, for which see on § 6. — πολλὰ: cogn. acc.,
 Ο μὲν τοιαύτα ἐλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαύτα προσακοῦεν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἁστυν. τῇ δ' ύστεραια οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ἑνενεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν δὲ τρισχυλῶν ὅπου ἔκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. όσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεπουήκεσαν τι βιαίοτερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντούς ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ κρείη καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιᾷ· όσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἥδικηκέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρὴναι πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καταπάυσαί, ἄλλους δὲ ἔλεσθαι. καὶ ἑνενεκάθηντο δέκα, ἕνα 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 . . . συνεκάθηντο: were naturally (δὴ) very greatly dejected, etc., when they held their session, etc. The adj. are pred. — τι βιαίοτερον: anything particularly violent. — μηδὲν ἥδικηκέναι: the inf. after πιστεύων, though in ind. disc., regularly takes μὴ. S. 2725; HA. 1024; G. 1496; Gl. 579 a; GMT. 685. — οὐδὲν δέοντο κτῆ.: '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
simply continued, however, the policy of the Thirty. Cp. Arist. 38. 1 f., Lys. 12. 54 f.—από φυλής: from each tribe. See on 1. 5. 4.

24. 'Ελευσινάδε: cp. § 8. — καὶ μάλα: as in § 2. — ἔξεκάθευδον . . . ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ: lit. slept out in the Odeum (see on § 9), i.e. they were put upon guard duty with quarters in the Odeum. ἔκκαθεύδαν 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:

25. πολλοί: pred. — παντοδαποῖ: cp. ξένοι below. — ὀπλα: shields, as in § 19. The democrats had been deprived of their arms (3. 20) and had to equip themselves as best they could. — ἔλευκοῦντο: probably in order to give themselves a ‘smart’ and soldierly appearance. — ἡμέρας δέκα: since the occupation of Piraeus.— καὶ εἶ: even if. — ἵσοτελείαν ἔσεθαι: dependent upon πιστὰ δόντες. The ἵσοτελεῖς 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
ταί, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππεῖς ὤσεὶ ἐβδομήκοντα· προνομᾶς δὲ ποιοῦμενοί, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ῥπόραν, ἐκάθενδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιᾷ.

26 τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἀλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὁπλοῖς ἐξῆλε, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστων ὶτε καὶ ληστᾶς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακοῦργον. περιετυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Δίξωνέων τισίν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄγροὺς 195 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἱππαρχὸς ἀπε ἐφαξε, πολλὰ λυτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν 27 χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱππεῶν. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιῶι τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐπ᾽ ἄγροι λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἡδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὄστε καὶ 200 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τῷ μῆχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὅς ἐπεὶ ἐγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δυκείου δρόμον μέλλονεν τᾶς μῆχα-

... πολλοὶ δὲ: in part. apposition to the subj. of ἐξῆλε. — ὦσεὶ: as in 1. 2. 9. — ἀπόραν: cp. ἀρας 1. 1.


27. ἀνταπέκτειναν: ἄντι, in retaliation. — ἱππεῶν: part. gen. with Καλλίστρατον. — ἐπ᾽ ἄγροι: in the country. — μέγα ἐφρόνουν: lit. thought large, i.e. were proud, confident. A following dat. with ἐπὶ gives the reason or occasion for one's pride or confidence. Cp. §§ 29, 40, 41. — εἰ δὲ καὶ κρίθη· 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 ταύτα 3. 45. — μηχανοποιοῦ: for the gen. see on ἄνδρός 3. 56. — τὸν ἐκ Δυκείου δρόμον: an open space between the Lyceum (for which see on 1. 1. 33) and the city wall.

§§ 28–30. The Thirty and the oligarchs in the city request aid from the Spartans. Lysander is


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. — οὗν τε ἐκ... ἐκπολιορκήσατε: practically equivalent to ἐκπολιορκήσευν ἢν, and hence serving as apod. to εἰ... ἀποκλεισθεὶσαν. GMT. 502; S. 2359. — συνέπραξεν: see on ἐλθεῖν 3. 13. — ἐκατόν 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 δανειοθήναι.

29. πάλιν αὖ: again (as in earlier days) in their turn (as contrasted with the Piraeus party, cp. § 27). — ἐπὶ: see on μέγα ἐφρόνουν § 27. — προχωροῦντων:
βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Αθηναῖος Λυσανδρῷ, εἰ κατεργασμένος ταύτα ἀμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἀμα δὲ ἱδίας ποιήσωτο τὰς Ἀθηναίονας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἔξαγει φρουράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων. οὖν δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐφρεκέων ἀν στρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ Αθηναίων μηδὲν παράσπομον ποιοῦντας ἐπραττόν δὲ ταύτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Αθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλομένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξίων ἔχων κέρας, Λυσανδρὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς μεσθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον. πέμπτων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ

see on τοιούτων ὄντων 2. 16. — εἶ: = 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 Lacedaemonian army.

30. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων: 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.). — εὐφρεκέων ἀν: 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 μηδὲν. — ἐγίγνωσκον: supposed. — Αλιπέδῳ: the plain between Athens and Piraeus. — Λυσανδρὸς: now subordinate 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
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. — ὁσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐνεκέν: lit. so far as concerned (doing it, — the attacking) only (ὁσον) by means of shouting, i.e. the attack was merely for appearance’ sake, a pretense. — δύο μόρας: the Spartan army consisted of six μόρας, 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. — παρηλθέν: along the line of the Piraeus wall. — καφὸν λιμένα: the still harbor, apparently the small inlet west of Eëtionea (3.46).

32. ἐλαύν: a rare form of the inf., instead of ἐλαυνέων.— ἐνέτασ: at full speed.— τὰ δέκα ἄφ’ ἡβης: with τὰ δέκα supply ἐτη in the sense of year-classes, each ‘year-class’ including those men who reached military age (ἡβη), 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 Πειραιῶν θέατρον: for Piraeus was now without walls. See on § 11.

33. οἱ ψιλοὶ: i.e. οἱ πελτασταί. — ἠκόντιζον κτ.: asyndeton is em-
ployed to lend vividness to the description. — ἵβαλλον: sc. πέτρους. Cr. πετροβόλου § 12. — ἐπὶ πόδα: backwards, i.e. still facing the enemy. — πολεμάρχος: πολέμαρχος: was the title of the commander of a Spartan μόρα. — τεθαμμένοι: see on τεθαπτα § 19. — Κεραμείκο: 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. — ἵπτ: ὀκτὼ: eight deep. — βαθείαν: as μεγάλη 3. 56. — εἰς χειρας 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. — ολα... λέγοντας: with what proposals. — τοὺς...
ἐπείθοντο. διότι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί, καὶ ἐκέλευεν πρὸς σφαῖς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγόμενους, 270 λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δεόνται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιᾷ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινὴ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαίμονίους φίλοις 36 εἶναι. ἦδεις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἐφορὸς ὧν συνήκουν· ὁσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συντρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὐτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, 275 ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἣ τῆς μετὰ Δυσάιδρον. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἐπεμπόν τούς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους σπονδάς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀστεῖ ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφώντα τε καὶ Μέλη. 37 τον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ἤρχοντο εἰς Λακεδαιμονα, ἐπεμπόν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεώς λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐφόροις: see § 36. — διότι: he divided. — ἐκέλευε: sc. those whom he won over to the cause of peace. — σφαῖς: i.e. himself and the ephors, as above. Cp. ἐαυτῶν 1. 6. 36. — οὐδὲν δεόνται: 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) Παυσανίου ὄντες, and (2) τῆς Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες. — ἐπεμπόν: sc. as subj. Pausanias and the ephors. — τοὺς τ' ἐκ κτέ.: both the envoys from Piraeus, having the proposals for peace with the Lacedaemonians, and the envoys from those in the city as individuals, viz. C. and M. ἰδιώτας 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 ἀστεώς: the authorities in the city, i.e. the government of the Ten. Contrast ἰδιώτας above. — αὐτοὶ: as contrasted with τοὺς ἐν Πειραιᾷ be-
μέν παραδιόμαστι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἐξουσί καὶ σφας αὐτῶν Ἀκεδαιμονίως χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλουνται ἀξιόων δ᾿ ἐφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιαῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασίν εἶναι Ἀκεδαιμονίως, παραδιόμαστι τὸν τε Πειραιαὶ καὶ τὴν Μονυχίαν.

38 ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοί, ἢ ἐπεμφανεν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅτι δύναιτο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ᾿ ὅτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς 290 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστὸν πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκά καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιαῖ ἀρξάμενοι.

low. — χρησθαὶ ὅ τι βούλουνται: a formula for unconditional surrender. χρησθαὶ denotes purpose. For ὅ 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 ἐκκλητοί: 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᾿ ὃτε: as ἐφ᾿ ὃ 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 ἑνδεκά: see 3.54 and note. — τῶν ἐν Πειραιαῖ ἀρξάτων 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 Piraeus, 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 Piraeus 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. —
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 just measure of thyself, which was inscribed in golden letters at the entrance to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. — επὶ τίνι: see on μέγα ἐφρόνων § 27. — σκέψασθε ὡς: instead of a clause with ἣ, correlative with πότερον above.

41. κρίσις: test. — ἣ ὡς: than
the way in which. — γνώμη: intelligence, judgment. — περιελήλασθε: have been worsted. — δῆ: to show contempt for this last of all possibilities. — πῶς: sc. ἐπὶ τούτων. — τοὺς: generic. — δάκνοντας κύνας ... παραδιδόσιν: 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 οὕτω with emphasis. Cp. I. 7. 25, 2. 3. 43. — τούτω: 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 (ἡδικημένως) and the opportunity (κλούω δήσαντες ... οἴχονται), might suggest to Thrasylus’ followers (ἐμᾶς) the thought of revenge. He therefore hastens to discountenance any such idea. — ὀμωμόκατε: see on § 38. — οὐδὲν: see on οὐδένα 1. 6. I. 4. — 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, πολίται.

— ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ: according to Aristotle (40. 4) two years later.
σαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσίνι, στρατευσά-μενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἔλθοντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαῖous ἐπεισαν συναλλαγήναι. καὶ 325 ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ μυησικακῆσεν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δήμος.

— 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. — μυησικακῆσεν: 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.

Chapter 1, §§ 1–2. The Lacedaemonians aid Cyrus in his expedition against Artaxerxes. 401 B.C.

1. Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηνᾶς στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἡζίου, οἶόσπερ αὐτὸς Δακεδαίμονίους ἤν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ Δακεδαίμονίους αὐτῷ γύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτῶν, Σαμῖῳ τῷ 5 τότε νανάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κῦρῳ, εἰ τι δέοιτο. κἀκεῖνος μὲντοι προθύμως ὀπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος ἐπραξέν· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κῦρον περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Συνέννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κῦρῳ 10 πολεμομένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. ὃς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στράτευμα τε συνέλεξε καὶ τούτ’ ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἄδελφόν, καὶ

when this fleet joined Cyrus at Issi, it was under the command of Pythagoras (Anab. 1. 4. 2), who had presumably succeeded Samius as nauarch. The Anab. mentions (1. 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. — διόντο: asked. — καὶ (ἐν κάκεινὸς) μέντοι: and in fact, indicating the actual performance of the duty laid upon Samius. — σὺν τῷ: sc. ναυτικῷ.
had afterwards done his best to prevent the escape of the Ten Thousand (ib. 2. 3-3. 5). — ὃν τε αὐτὸς . . . καὶ ὃν Κύρον: Tissaphernes had been satrap of Lydia and Ionia up to 407 B.C., when Cyrus was commissioned (see on I. 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. ὃν αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἤρχε), both the territories and the military authority which had belonged to Cyrus. — ὃτι Κύρον . . . ἦρμεναὶ 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.
Henofontos Ellhnika. III, 1. [400–399 B.C.

επιμεληθήναι καὶ σφών τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὡς 25 ἦ τε χώρα μὴ δηοῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶν. 4 ὦ δὲ Ἀκεδαμιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θἴβρωνα ἀρμο- στήν, δόντες στρατιῶτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμώδων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἦττή- σατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίων 30 ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτοὺς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἐπεμψαν 
tῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος 5 τῶ δήμω, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλαυσον. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς 
tὴν Ἀσίαν ἄφικοντο, συνήγαγε μὲν στρατιῶτας καὶ ἐκ 
tῶν ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε 35 
αἱ πόλεις ἐπείδοτο ὅ τι Λακεδαμιμόνιος ἄνηρ ἐπιτάττοι. 
καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁρῶν Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν 
eἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐ κατέβαινεν, ἡγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι

(Anab. 1. 1. 6). The latter's departure (401 B.C.) and subse-
quent death left them for the moment practically independent.
—επιμεληθήναι καὶ σφών: should undertake the protection of them 
also.

4. νεοδαμώδων: see on 1. 3. 15.
—ἐλς χιλίους: serving as an obj.
acc. See on 2. 4. 5. Upon this expression depends the part. gen.,
while στρατιῶτας is appositive. —
ητήσατο ... παρ' Ἀθηναίων: under the terms of the treaty of 2. 2. 20.
—τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάν-
tων: the Athenian horsemen had
made themselves odious as the
most zealous and unscrupulous
2. 4. 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 24, 26, 31. For
the gen. see on φρουρῶν 2. 3. 14.

5. εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄφικοντο: 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 δὲ
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 ἱππικὸν:
i.e. of the enemy. Greek armies
were almost always weak in cavalry.
—ἡγάπα: was satisfied. Xeno-
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 Κύρον: 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. — Γογγύλω: 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. μηδές. Cp. 1. 6. 10. — ἐφυγεν: was banished.

7. ἦν δὲ: see on ἐστι ὥς 2. 4. 6. — γε μὴν: see Introd. IV. D. 4. — τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλομένην: so called because Cyrus the Great
έλείν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὦρυτεν, ὡς ἀφαίρετον οὐδὲν τῷ αὐτῷ. ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνεβαλον εἰς τὸ ὀργυμα καὶ ἔυλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὐχελώνην ἐξιλήνην ἐπέστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδηραμώντες οἱ Λαρίσαιοι νῦκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. ἔδωκόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὦρυτεν, πέμπουσι οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἀπολυτόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

8 Εὐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἠδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευομένου, Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο ἰδίῳ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θιβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἰκάδε καὶ ἕμμιωθεῖς ἐφυγε· κατηγόρων γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὦρυτεν οἱ σύμμαχοι ὥς ἐφείη ἀρπάζειν τῷ στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στρατεύμα, γνών ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἄλληλοι τὸν Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸν Φάρνα-το βαζόν, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν settled there a number of captured Egyptians. Cyrop. 7. 1. 45.—φρεατίαν κτὲ.: 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 ἀφαίρησάμενος: see on ὡς μαχο-μένος 1. 1. 33.—τὸ ὀργυμα: i.e. τὴν φρεατίαν.—ἄδ: lit. in his turn, indicating an act which offsets or answers that of another. —χελώνην: = the Lat. testudo.—καὶ ταύτην μέντοι: this also, how- ever. καὶ... μέντοι = καὶ... δὲ.—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... δὲ: see on 2. 4. 6.—ἐπε-καλεῖτο: as in 2. 3. 31.—Σίσυφος: a Corinthian hero, famed for his cunning.—ἦμμιωθεῖς ἐφυγε: was condemned and banished.

9. ὑπόπτους... ἄλληλοι: just as they had been twelve years before (see Introd. p. 19); furthermore, Tissaphernes’ recent honors (§ 3) had increased his rival’s
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.
2 λαὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δεωτυχίδου· ἩΛΛ ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἂλλον θυὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ θυὸς ἄν μὴ τυχάνοι, ό ὁ ἀδελφός καὶ ὦς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε οἴντος; Ἔτι δὲν τὰ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἐφ᾽ οὐ τοιαῦτ’ ἔλεγον. Διοπείθης δὲ, μᾶλα χρησιμολόγος ἀνήρ, Δεωτυχίδη συναγορεύον εἶπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἰη φυλάξασθαί την 15 χωλὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάον ἀντείπεν ὡς οὐκ οὖντο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσππαίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ᾧν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παντάπασι γὰρ ἄν χωλὴν εἰναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁπότε μὴ οἱ 20 4 ἄφ᾽ Ἡρακλέως τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῦντο. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἡ Ἀγησιλαοῦν εἰλοντο βασιλεά.

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 ἀν.—ὁς: = οὖτως, in that case.—ἐμὲ ἂν... βασιλεύειν: after the preceding gen. abs. one might have expected here ἐφ᾽ ὦ Ἀγησίλαος; but this 'laconic' dialogue is made more effective by the omission of any such introducing phrases.—τῷ: = σὺ.

3. χρησμὸς: quoted in full by Plutarch, Ages. 3, Lys. 22.—φυλάξασθαι: to beware of.—χωλὴν 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... βασιλεύσει: lest one who was not of the royal stock should become king. As subj. supply τις from the preceding clause.—οἱ ἄφ᾽ Ἡρακλέους: see on § 1.
Chapter 4, §§ 1–4. Agesilaus is sent to Asia. His desire to sacrifice at Aulis, like Agamemnon, is frustrated by the Boetians.

1. metà de taúta Ἦρωδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκῃ ἄν μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τρυήρεις Φοινίσσας, τὰς μὲν καταπλεούσας ἀλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐτί κατασκευαζομένας, προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, 5 ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοίον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξῆγγελε τοῖς Δακεδαμιοῦνίως ὡς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τούτον παρασκευαζομένων. ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφῆ εἰδέναι. ἀνεπτερωμένων δὲ τῶν Δακεδαμιοῦνίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων ἱού καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέστεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενον ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαιον ὑποστήναι, ἄν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριάκοντα μὲν Ἐπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχίλιους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμῶν.

2. καὶ . . . καὶ: both . . . and, although in the second clause the expected τῷ πεζῷ is replaced by a different construction. — τὸ πεζὸν: prolepsis. Cp. on 1. 4. 11. — ὡς ἐσώθη . . . ἀναβάν: a proof of the weakness of Persia. — τριάκοντα Ἐπαρτιατῶν: 'as lieutenants and few coast states of the Persian empire, was the main source of its naval strength. — καταπλεούσας: see on ἀνγαγόμοντο ἱ. 1. 2. — προσακούσας . . . καὶ: see on 2. 4. 22. — εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα: connect with ἀναγόμενον. For the order of words see on 1. 1. 23. — ὡς . . . παρασκευαζομένων: see Introd. IV. J and on 1. 4. 14.— ὅποι: i.e. against whom.
δων, εἰς ἐξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρ- 
χίας τὰς κατασταθεῖσας ὑπ’ ἑκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οὗ τὰς πατρίους 20 
politēias παρῆγγελλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ’ Ἀγεσιλαοῦ. ἐπαγγελμαένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγεσιλάου τὴν στρα-
τεῖαιν, διδόσα τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσατε ἢτησε καὶ ἐξαμήνου σῶτον. ἔπει δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τάλλα 
καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν διαπέμψα 25 
ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἐκασταχόθεν πέμπε-
σθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θύσαι 
ἐν Ἀυλίδι, ἐνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ’ εἰς Τροίαν ἐπλει 
4 ἑθύνετο. ὥς δ’ ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιώταρχοι

advisers," says Plutarch (Ages. 6). 
— λογισμῷ: calculation, conclusion, viz. that there was every probabil-
ity of success. — αὐτὸς: i.e. on his own account. — δεκαρχίαι: see on 
2. 2. 5. — ἐκείνου: see on ἑκείνων 1. 1. 27. — διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους: who 
were jealous, as were the Spartan kings (cp. 2. 4. 29), of the promi-
nee and power of Lysander. — τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας: viz. democ-
racies. Cp. § 7. — μετ’ Ἀγεσι-
λάου: in whom Lysander hoped to 
find a pliant tool. See on 3. 3.

3. ἐξαμήνου: sc. χρόνου. — τὰ 
diabatήρια: the sacrifice to Zeus 
and Athena which was always

offered by a Spartan commander 
before crossing the Laconian fron-
tier. — 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. — θύσαι 
... ἐνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων: thereby 
Agesilaus wishes to mark his ex-
pedition as a national undertaking, 
like Agamemnon's.

4. βοιώταρχοι: the presiding 
officials of the Boeotian league.—
396 B.C.  

XENOFOHTOS ELLHNIKA. III, 4.  

οτι θυοι, πεμψαντες ἵππεας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἰπαν μὴ θύειν 30 
καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένους διέρρησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ 
βωμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὠργιζό-
μενος, ἀνάβας ἐπὶ τὴν τρυήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ 
ἐπὶ Τεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεὶ ὁσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ 
στρατεύματος πλείστον εἰς Ἐφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο. 35 

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισαφέρνης 
πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἤκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν 
αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὡσπερ καὶ 
tὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισ- 
σαφέρνης. Εἰ τούνων θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἐὼς ἂν ἐγὼ 40 
πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἴμαι ἂν σε ταῦτα διαπραξά-
μενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλων. Ἀλλὰ βουλοίμην ἂν, ἐφη, 
eἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἔγεστων, 
ἐφη, σοὶ τοῦτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἄδολως σοῦ πράτ-
tοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσειν ἐν 45 

τοῦ λοιποῦ: further, with θύειν.— 
ὄργιζόμενος: 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. ἐκεῖσε 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 1. 
7. 13. — εἶναι: sc. δεόμενος.—τῇ 
παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐλλάδι: our own Hellas, 
suggesting that the Asiatic coast 
was only an Eastern Hellas.— 

dιαπραξάμενον: containing the es-
sential part of the apod.—τούτων 
πίστιν: a guarantee on this point. 
tούτων refers back to ἐξαπατᾶσθαι, 
but is further explained by the 
following inf. clause.—πράττοντος 
tαῦτα: i.e. conclude a truce.— 
τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς: your domain, i.e. 
the coast region, with its Greek 
cities.—ἐν: during.
6. έπι τούτοις ῥηθείσι Ἡριππίδα καὶ Δερκυλίδα καὶ Μεγίλλῳ ἡ μὴν πράξεω σαφέστατα τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ 'Αγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνης ἡ μὴν ταύτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπουδὰς. 50 ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἣ ὦμοσεν εὔθυς ἐκείνοις. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἐχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ὧ εἴχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπτεν. 'Αγησιλαὸς δὲ, καὶ περ ἀισθανόμενος ταύτα, ὦμος ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπουδαῖς.

7. Ός δὲ ἦσυχιὰν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ 'Αγησιλαὸς διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἀτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἐτι οὔσης, ὀσπερ ἐπὶ ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὀσπερ ἐπὶ Δυσάνδρου, ἀτε γιγνώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρὸν, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἄξιοντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ’ ἐκ "Αγησιλάου δὲν ἑδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταύτα ἀεὶ παμπληθῆς όχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἥκολοῦθε, ὥστε ὁ μὲν 'Αγησιλαὸς ἵδωτης ἐφαίνετο, δὲ Δυσάνδρος βασιλεὺς. ὅτι μὲν ὄν ἔμην καὶ τὸν 'Αγησιλαὸν ταύτα ἐδήλωσεν ὦστερον οὐ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου ἕσ.
οὐκ ἔσυγον, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παρά
νομα ποιοίν Λύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὅγκροτερον
dιάγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἥξιατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγη-
σιλάῳ ὁ Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἶς γνοίν αὐτὸν συμπρά-
tοντά τι ἥττωμένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὡς δ' ἀεὶ τὰ ἐναντία 70
ἀεὶ ἐβούλεον ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λύσανδρῳ, ἔγνω δὴ τὸ γεγνό-
μενον· καὶ οὔτε ἐπεσθαί ἐαυτῷ ἐτὶ εἰά ὠχλον τοὺς τε
συμπράζαι τι δεομένοι σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐλαττον. 9 ἔξοιεν,
εἰ αὐτὸς παρεῖς. θαρεῖς δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτμίᾳ,
προσελθὼν ἔπεεν. "Ω Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύγε 75
tοὺς φίλους ἦπιστω. Ναι μὰ Δι', ἔφη, τοὺς γε βουλο-
μένους ἐμοὶ μείζους φαίνεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ γε αὐξοντας εἰ
μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν. καὶ ὁ
Λύσανδρος ἔπεεν. 'Αλλ' ἰσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ
ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἐπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ 80
χάρικαι, ὅπως ἂν μὴ τ' αἰσχύνωμαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ
μῆτ' ἐμποδῶν σοι δ, ἀπόστειλον ποί με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν
10 ὁ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοι εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα
ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ οὐτῳ ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει
αὐτὸν ἔφο 'Ελλησπόντου. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος αἰσθή-85

the Thirty, i.e. besides Lysander.
— τῆς βασιλείας: than royalty.
— ἥττωμένους: lit. defeated, i.e. of
their objects.—οὔτε . . . τε:=
neque . . . et.—ἐλαττον ἔξοιεν:
would fare worse.

9. ἀτμία: dat. of cause.—μὲν
ἄρα . . . ἦπιστω: 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, im-
plying that Agesilaus’ conduct was
exceptional. — καὶ: emphasizing
the following, perhaps it is indeed
true that, etc.—ποιεῖς . . . ἐπρατ-
tτον: without difference of mean-
ing.—ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ: lit. from
what is left, i.e. at least.—ὅπως ἂν:
see on 1. 6. 9.—ἐν καιρῷ: useful.
μενος Σπυριδάτην τόν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενον τι ύπο
Φαρναβάζου, διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πεῖθει ἀποστήναι
ἐχοντα τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν χρήματα καὶ
ἵππεας ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέληπεν ἐν
Κυζίκῳ, αὐτόν δὲ καὶ τὸν νῦν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἦκεν ὑπὸ
ἀγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ιδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦσθη
τε τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρνα-
βάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἄρχης.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἔπι τῷ κατα-
βάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προείπεν Ἀγησίλαῳ 95
πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμ-
μαχοι καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέν-
tes φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παρούσαν
ἐναι δύναμιν Ἀγησίλαῷ τῆς βασιλείας παρασκευής,
Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαίδρῳ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγέλλαι 100
Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν
αὐτῷ ἔχου, ὧτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολέμιους τοὺς

10. Σπυριδάτην: who probably held some official position under
Pharnabazus. Cp. Anab. 6. 5. 7.
— ἐλαττούμενον τι: had suffered a
(ti) slight. For the pres. with
perf. meaning see on φεύγονει 1.
1. 27. — περὶ αὐτόν: i.e. what he
had, as we say, 'about him.'
There was no time to turn real
estate into money. — ἀναβιβασάμε-
νος: sc. ἐπὶ ναῦν. The verb is used
as the causative of ἀναβαίνειν (cp.
§ 4). — χώρας . . . ἄρχης: respec-
tively geographical and political.

§§ 11-15. Tissaphernes, having
received reinforcements, declares
war openly. Agesilaus by a sud-
den march into Phrygia gains rich
booty, but an unsuccessful cavalry
skirmish leads him to take meas-
ures to improve his cavalry.

II. μέγα φρονήσας . . . ἐπὶ: see
on 2. 4. 27. The aor. is inceptive.
— τῷ . . . παρὰ βασιλέως: the order
of words as in § 1. So τὴν παρο-
ουσαν . . . Ἀγησίλαῳ below.—
στρατεύματι: for στράτευμα πολύ
. . . μετεπέμπετο § 6. — οἱ ἄλλοι
σύμμαχοι: see on 2. 2. 18. —
φαίδρῳ τῷ προσώπῳ: see on με-
396 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. III, 4. 205

θεούς ἐκτήσατο, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλησίου συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρῆγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατεύειν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἀς 105 ἀνάγκη ἢν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένως ἐπὶ Καρίαν προείπεν ἀγορᾶν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἰωσί καὶ Αἰολεύσι καὶ Ἐλλησποντίους πέμπειν πρὸς εαυτὸν 12 εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συνστρατευομένους. οἶ ὂ δὲ Τισσα-φέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἰππικόν οὐκ εἰχεν ὃ Ἀγησίλαος, ἦ δὲ 110 Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἠγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὅργιεςθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ δὲ οὐκ νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἄπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δὲ ἰππικόν εἰς τὸ Μαυάνδρου πεδίον περιῆγε, νομίζων ἵκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ 115 ἱππω τοὺς Ἐλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιστα ἀφικέσθαι. ὃ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἦν· εὐθὺς τάναντια ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τὰς τ᾽ ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἤγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως 120 13 παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον
gάλη τῇ φωνῇ 2. 3. 56. — ὡς εἰς στρατεύειν: see on I. 1. 12. — Καρία: Tissaphernes' own residence was in Caria (§ 12). — ἀγοράν: where the troops might buy provisions. — τοὺς συνστρατευομένους: see on 2. 3. 18.

12. ἦ δὲ Καρία . . . ἦν: parenthetical, indicating the point of the preceding clause; hence δὲ. — Cr. ἦν . . . οὐριον 1. 6. 37. — ἀπάτην: cp. § 6. — τῷ δοντι: connect with ὀρμήσειν. — διεβίβασεν: i.e. from Sardis due south across (διὰ in comp.) the mountains. The cavalry, however, he led around (περιῆγε) the mountains, making a long circuit to the eastward. — τάναντια: in the opposite direction. — Φρυγίας: the satrapy of Pharnabazus. — ἀναλαμβάνων: see on ἀναλάβοι 1. 1. 4. — ἀπροσδοκήτως: used actively, and limiting αὐτὰς to be supplied from πόλεις.
χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἵππεις ἡλαγον ἐπὶ λόφον των, ὡς προέδοεν τί ταμπροσθεν εἰη. κατὰ τύχην δὲ των καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἵππεις οἱ περὶ Ἡραίνην καὶ Βαγαίων τῶν νόθων ἀδελφῶν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἑλλησὶν ἄριθμον, περιβέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἡλαγον καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον έστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ἵππεις 130 ὀσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεθαμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρῶτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὠρμής 141 σαν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς δ' εἰς χειρας ἡλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλληνών ἔπαιρσαν τινας, πάντες συνετριψαν τὰ δόρατα, 135 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανείνα παλτα ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἵππεας, δυὸ δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἵππεις. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγνησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχάρων οἱ βάρβαροι, 145 καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκει. γενομενίς δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἰππομαχίας, θυμοένω τῷ Ἀγνησιλάῳ τῇ ύστεραι ἐπὶ προόδῳ ἀλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἰερά. τούτῳ μέντοι φανέρωσαν.

13. δῶτος: sc. αὐτοῦ, i.e. Agesilaus. — Δασκυλείου: where Pharnabazus had his residence. — αὐτοῦ: connect with προϊόντες. — ὡς: see Introd. IV. F. — καὶ οὕτω: repeating the subject and contrasting it with the Greek horsemen. — τούτων: for its position see on τοῦτων 2. 4. 41. — ἐπὶ τεττάρων: as in 2. 4. 11. — οὐ πλέον: = οίκ εἰς πλείους. — Cp. on οίκ ἔλαιον 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. έτράπησαν.

15. ἀλοβα γίγνεται: i.e. the liver of the victim was found to lack one of its lobes, — a most unfavorable sign, which forbade the
tos στρέψας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γιγνώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἵππικόν ικανὸν κτήσατο, οὐ δυνῆσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἠγνὸ τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεὶ πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξα· προειπών δὲ, ὡστος παρέχοιτο ἱππον καὶ ὀπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὔτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι 150 ὁσπερ ἀν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανοῦμενον προθύμως ζητοῖη.

16 Ἕκ δὲ τοῦτον ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἀπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσον· ἀσκήσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τε ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἦτοι 155 ἀριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς, ἦτοι κράτιστα ἰππεύοι. καὶ πελταστάις δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἄθλα προύθηκεν, ὡσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα. ἔργα φανεῖεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὅραν τα μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἄνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δὲ ἰππόδρομον τῶν ἱππα-160 ἵππων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστᾶς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελε-

proposed advance (προόδφ.)—ἐπὶ θάλατταν: i.e. to the Ionian coast.—ικανόν: adequate, both in numbers and in efficiency.—ἐγνω: 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.—ἀριστα 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...δὲ: and...also.— φανεῖεν: should prove themselves.
17 τῶντας. ἀξίων δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἦν ἦν θεάς ἐποίησεν· ἦ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστή παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ ὅπλων ὄνων, οἳ τε χάλκοτύποι καὶ οἳ τέκτονες καὶ οἳ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἳ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἳ ζωγράφοι. 165 πάντες πολεμικὰ ὁπλὰ κατεσκεύαζον, ὡστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως οἴεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον ἐστιν. ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἀν τυς καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδών, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὥστε γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβοντο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοίειν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῆσαι, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν.

19 ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι 175 τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὀρὼντες οὖν οἱ στρατιώται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἁπ' ὁχημάτων ἐστίν, ἐνόμισαν οὖν διοίκειν τὸν πόλεμον ἦ ἐγνατίζει δέου μάχεσθαι.

17. καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν: the entire city also, as well as the gymnasia, etc. — θέας: connect with ἀξίων. — παντοδαπῶν . . . ὄνων: both adj. limit both the nouns which they inclose. — ζωγράφοι: to paint the devices on the shields. — ὡστε . . . οἴεσθαι: sc. τινά, so that one might have thought. See on ὡστε πληροῦν 2. 1. 14.

18. ἐκεῖνο: referring to the following, as in 2. 3. 56. — Ἀρτέμιδι: see on 1. 2. 6. — σέβοντο . . . ἀσκοίειν . . . μελετῶν: opt. in a less vivid fut. protasis; for πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς . . . εἰναι = εἰκότως ἄν εἰναι. See GMT. 555; S. 2359 f.; B. 564.

19. ληστῶν: i.e. Greek raiding parties. — λευκοὺς: sc. αὐτοῖς 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. — ἦ: be-
cause of the comparative idea in διώσειν, the war would be no harder than, etc.

§§ 20–24. Hostilities are resumed. Agesilaus wins a victory at the Pactolus River.

20. ἀφ' οὗ: sc. χρόνον, since.
—οἱ περὶ Ἡριππίδαν: i.e. Herippidas was at the head of the second Thirty, as Lysander had been of the first. Cp. § 2. —ἐπὶ: see on 1. 1. 32. —τοὺς Κυρείους: i.e. the remnant of the Ten Thousand (cp. 1. 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 1. 1. 25. —τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας: the fertile and wealthy province of Lydia (cp. § 21). —ὅπως: connect with προείπεν. —αὐτόθεν: at once. —οὕτω...παρασκευάζων: lit. might so prepare...as men about to contend, i.e. might prepare...to contend. See on ὡς ἀπαντησόμενοι 1. 6. 3.

21. πάλιν: as before, § 12. —ἐμβαλείν: fut. —Σαρδιανὸν: of
Sardis, the capital of Lydia.—

22. ἐπεν: as in 1. 1. 13.—ὁ ἥγεμων: i.e. of the Persian horsemen, who are referred to in αὐτοῖς below. —αὐ: as in 1. 7.

23. τῶν παρεσκευασμένων: cp. τῆς παρασκευῆς § 11. Agesilaus had both hoplites and peltasts as well as cavalry.—τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ἡγεῖν: contrasted with παρ-

The orders to τὰ δέκα ἄφ᾽ ἡβης and to the peltasts are merely incidents of the movement described in τὴν φάλαγγα ἡγεῖν.—ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν: equivalent to a part. gen.—τὰ δέκα ἄφ᾽ ἡβης: see on 2. 4. 32.—ὁμός αὐτοῖς: to close quarters with them.—παρῆγγειλε: 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 δεινά: i.e. peltasts
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).— ἐφευγὼν: note the impf., fled on, i.e. after successfully crossing the river.— ἄλλα τε κτέ.: see on 2. 1. 30.— ηὔρε: brought.

— καὶ ... δὲ: 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 Περσῶς βασιλεὺς: see on 1. 2. 19.— τοῦ ... τὰ ἐαυτοῦ: 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 ὧτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσει ταῦτα ἀνευ τῶν οἰκοι τελῶν, Σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ, ἐως ἂν πῦθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἐφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἐως ἂν τοίνυν, ἐφη ὁ Ἀγησί-240 λαος, ἐκείσε πορεύσωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτή- 

deva. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης δίδωσι τριάκοντα 
tάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἤ̂ e ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυ- 
gίαν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται 
ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοι τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως 245 
γινόμενοι καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχου ὄντως αὐτὸς 
βούλοιτο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι του̇δε 
λογισμῷ, ὡς εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τὸ τε πεζὸν 
pολὺ ἄν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ' ἐν οὐσίᾳ τῆς ἱσχύς 
ἀμφοτέροις, τὸ τε ναυτικὸν, ἐπιφανεμένου τοῦ πεζοῦ 250 
28 ἔνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον 
μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ 
taῖς ἐπιθαλασσίωις τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὑπόσας ἑκάστη

26. τῶν . . . τελῶν: the authorities, especially the ephors. See on 2. 4. 29.—ἀλλὰ: at least.— 
tὴν 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.— 
tὴν Φαρνα- 

27. ἔρχεται . . . ἄρχειν: there 
came (an order) . . . to command. 
The construction is simply the pas-

sive of πέμποντοι οἱ ἐφοροι . . . 

στρατεύσθαι 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 γινόμενοι: 
as he might think best.—ὡς . . . 

ἂν . . . εἶναι: see on 61 . . . ἐπι-

σθαι 2. 2. 2.—καθ' ἐν . . . ἀμφοτέ-

ροις: the strength of both (lit. for 

both) being united.

Pd^ov 

4>pv-YCav: i.e. Lesser Phry-

gia, as distinguished from Greater Phrygia. See on 1. 3.
28. ἕγενοντο κανών, κτλ.: 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. Timotheus 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 χρόνο τοῖς πράγμασι: see on 2. 1. 2. — χρυσίων...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 προστηκόσιν: see on i. 7. 2. — ἐξοίσειν: for the tense see GMT. 113.— It should be noted
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. καὶ: = καίτερ. — 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 Ὄπουντίους: as contrasted with the Ozolian or Western Locrians.— ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου... τελέσαι: to levy money from the territory which was in dispute between the Phocians and them—
Δοκρίδα. καὶ οὖν ἑρεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' εὔθυς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα 4 ἔλαβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τῶν Ἀνδροκλείδων ταχὺ ἐπεισαγον τοὺς Ἡθβαίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Δοκροῖσι, ὃς οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβῆτησιμον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὀμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Δοκρίδα ἐμβεβηληκότων αὐτῶν. 30 ἔπει δὲ οἱ Ἡθβαίοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδήσαν τὴν χώραν, εὔθυς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἥξιον βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διδάσκοντες ὡς οὖν ἤρξαντο πολέμου, ἀλλ' ἀμνόμενοι ἠλθον ἐπὶ 5 τοὺς Δοκρούς. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαίμονοι ἀσμενοὶ ἔλαβον 35 πρόφασιν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡθβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι 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. Φωκεῖς and καντοῖς 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 ὀμολογουμένην . . . Δοκρίδα: 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, καμρόν 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.—Δεκελείᾳ: the Spartan headquarters. Introd. p. 16.—τοῦ . . . μὴ ἐθελή-
σαι ἀκολουθῆσαι. ἦτοι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι μὴ συνατρατεύειν. ἀνεμμυνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὦς 40 θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγγειλαον οὐκ εἶχον καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἵερα ὡς ἔρρυψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγγειλὰς συνεστράτευον. ἑλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναί τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παύσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑβριστι: τά τε γὰρ ἐν 45 τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς σφίσων ἑχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγγειλᾶον, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδi οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδὸν σφί- σει εἶναι. οὕτω δὲ γυνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Δακεδαμονίων φρούραν μὲν οἱ ἐφόροι ἐφιμον, Δύσαν- δρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τε 50 τοὺς Φωκέας ἁγοντα παρεῖναι καὶ Οἰταίοις καὶ Ἡρα- κλεώτας καὶ Μηλίας καὶ Λυκιάνας εἰς Ἀλιαρτον. ἐκείσε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας, ὅσπερ ἐμμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι εἰς ῥήτην ἡμέραν, ἑχὼν Δακε- δαμονίους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους. καὶ ὁ 55 μὲν Δύσανδρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελεύομενα ἐπραττε καὶ 7 προσέτι Ὀρχομενίων ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ Παυ- σαι . . . καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι: see 2. 4. 30 and note.—θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι κτῆ.: see 4. 4.—οὐδὲ: 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 γυνωσκούσης: being thus minded.—φρούραν . . . ἐφιμον: the regular phrase for calling out, summoning to arms, a Lacedaemonian army. Cp. ἐξάγει φρού- ραν 2. 4. 29.—Δύσανδρον: who had returned from Asia shortly before. Cp. 4. 20.—Οἰταίοις κτῆ.: peoples who lived in the region of the Maliōn Gulf.—Ἀλιαρτον: a town in Boeotia.—ἐμμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι: was to have chief command.— Ὀρχομενίων: Orchomenus was the second city of Boeotia.
σανίας, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῶ, καθεξόμενος ἐν Τεγέα τοὺς τε ἥπαγούς διέπεμπε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιουκίδων στρατιώτας περιέμενεν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν δῆλον ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥηβίαν ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοὶ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντας τοιάδε.

8 Οἱ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἀ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ψηφισμένοι χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέ-65 μου, οὐκ ὡρθῶς μέμφεσθε· οὔ γὰρ η ἑ ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλʼ εἰς ἀνήρ εἶπεν, ὅσ ἐπούχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος. ὡτε δὲ παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τότε ἀπάσα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο μὴ συστρατεύων αὐτοῖς. δὲ ἡμᾶς οὖν ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ἡκιστα ὅργιζομένων ἡμῖν τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πολεί ἡμῶν. 9 πολὺ δὲ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦμεν, ὥσοι τῶν ἐν ἀστεί ἐγένεσθε, προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἴναι. ἐκείνοι γὰρ καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς 75 ἐχθραν τῷ δήμῳ, ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ὑμῖν

7. διαβατήρια: see on 4. 3. — ἐγένετο: proved favorable. — ἥπαγούς: Spartan officers who raised and commanded the contingents of the allies. — περιουκίδων: sc. πόλεων, Laconian towns round about Sparta, the homes of the Perioeci (see on 1. 3. 15).


8. ἀ μὲν ... ψηφισμένων: 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. — χαλεπαί: viz. the destruction of Athens. See 2. 2. 19. — εἰς ἄνηρ: a certain Erianthus, according to Plut. Lys. 15. — εἰπέν: see on εἰσόντος 1. 7. 9. — ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις: in the assembly of the Lacedaemonian allies.

9. τῶν ἐν ἀστεί: the oligarchs in Athens as opposed to the democrats in Piraeus. Cp. 2. 4. 24, 26, etc. — ἀφικόμενοι: 2. 4. 28 f. —
σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ύμᾶς τῷ πλῆθει. ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνοις εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὦ δὲ δῆμος οὗτοι ὑμᾶς ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὦτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, βοῦλιοι ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβέειν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκῶς γενέσθαι ἢ εἴ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων ἀδικουμένωι βοηθοῖτε; ὦτι δὲ πολλῶν ἀρχονσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμοῦμενοι ὦτι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὗτοι πλείστων ἦρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. 

10 ἀλλ’ ἐως μὲν οὐκ εἰχον ὅποι ἀποσταῖειν, ἐκρυπτον τὴν πρὸς ύμᾶς ἐχθραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γε Γακεδαιμόνιοι προέστησαν, τότε ἐφηναν οἶα περὶ ύμῶν ἐγίγνωσκον. καὶ νῦν γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενόμεθα ἥμεις τε καὶ ύμεῖς συνασπισάμενοι, ἔναντι τοῖς Γακεδαιμόνιοις, εὗ ἰστε, ἀναφανὴς συντακταί πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς. ὅσ δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ἐὰν ἀναλογίσησθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ ἡδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὑμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν

παρέδοσαν: the same word which Thrasybulus uses in 2. 4. 41. — το ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνοις 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 ἀπολώλατε 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 ἐστι understood, appears to refer to the future; in fact it has no meaning of time whatever, the future idea being contained in εἰκῶς. — τοῦτο: because. Connect with φοβηθῆτε. — ἐως ... ἀποσταῖεν: so long as they had no one to whom (ὅποι, cp. 4. 1) to revolt. — προέστησαν: offered themselves as leaders. — ἐγίγνωσκον: see on § 6.

11. Ἀργεῖοι: see on § 1. Ar-
gos was the only Peloponnesian state which had not fought with Sparta against Athens. — ἀεὶ ποτὲ: a strengthened ἀεὶ.

12. γε μὴν: correlative with the preceding μὲν. See Introd. IV. D. 4. — νῦν ἐστερημένοι: as a result of the war described in Chap. 2. See abstract on p. 197. — ἔχθροι . . . 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. — εἰλικτάς ἀρμοστάς: almost certainly an exaggeration. — ἐπεὶ ηὔτυχησαν: 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 Lyssander'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
'Ασίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ’ αὐτοὺς συμβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρατήσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ 110
14. μεθ’ ὑμῶν κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς αὐτὸ προστήτε τῶν οὕτω φανερῶς ἄδικουμένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἡδη μεγίστους τῶν πῶποτε γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἠρχετε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μόνον δήπον ἡγείσθη: νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων 115 καὶ δὲν πρόσθεν ἠρχετε καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγί- στην δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. καίτοι ἡμεῖς πολλοῦ ἄξιοι καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε: νῦν δὲ γε εἰκὸς τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρως ὑμῖν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Λακεδαιμονίους. οὐδὲ γὰρ 120 υπέρ νησιωτῶν ἡ Συρακοσίων οὐδ’ υπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων, ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ’ υπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἄδικουμένων βοή- 15 θήσομεν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρὴ εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακε- δαιμονίων πλεονέξια πολὺ εὐκαταλυτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρχῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες 125 ναυτικὸν οὖκ ἔχοντων ἠρχετε, οὕτω δὲ ὄλγοι οὖντες πολλαπλασίων οὖντων καὶ οὐδὲν χείρον ὁπλισμένων πλεονεκτοῦσιν. ταῦτ’ οὖν λέγομεν ὑμεῖς· εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ἀνδρεῖ,' Αθηναίοι, 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 ... αὐτοὺς: a flattering suggestion that Sparta owed her success against Athens merely to Persian aid.

14. εἰκός ... γενέσθαι: as in § 10. — αὐ: in your turn, as contrasted with Λακεδαιμόνων πρεσσιστηρα § 10. — ἡδη: strengthening the following superl. — τῶν πῶποτε: of all the states that have ever been. — ἠρχετε: held sway. — πάντων: explained by the following appositives. — τῷ παντὶ: as in 2. 3. 22. — οὐδὲ: by no means, a strengthened οὐ.

15. καί ... μέντοι: as in 1. 7. — πλεονέξια: assumed dominion. Similarly πλεονεκτοῦσι below. —
μείζων αγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ύμᾶς τῇ υμετέρᾳ πόλει ἡ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.

16 Ὅ μὲν ταύτ’ εἶπὼν ἔπαυσατο. τῶν δ’ Ἀθηναίων πάμπολλοι μὲν συνήγορεν, πάντες δ’ ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Ὀρασύβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινόμενοι τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ ἔνεργος ὁ τότε Πειραιῶς οὖν ὃμως παρακινδυνεύσωσοι χάριτα αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἡ ἐλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἐφη, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ γε μὲθ’ ύμῶν

17 μαχούμεθα ἑκείνοις, ἂν ἰωσίν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἡθβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκεύαζοντο ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Δακεδαμονίοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Παυσανίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τὸ τε οἴκοθεν ἑχων στρατεύμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελωπονήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἱκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ο δὲ Δύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἑκείνα χώριν στρατεύμα, ἐβηθ ὑπὸ τῶν Παυσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενομένοι. ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἑχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ τῇ ... πόλει: dependent upon μείζων ἀγαθὰ.

§§ 16–20. The Athenians vote to aid the Thebans. Lysander, reaching Haliartus before Pausanias, is defeated and slain by the Thebans.

16. Ὅ μὲν: i.e. the spokesman of the embassy.—Θρασύβουλος: the liberator of Athens.—ἀποκρινόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα: giving them the decree for an answer. ψήφισμα is cogn. acc. —ἀτειχίστου ... Пеιραιῶς: cp. 2. 2. 20. —παρακινδυνεύσωσοι ... ἀποδοῦναι: would brave the danger of repaying.—χάριτα: an unusual (Ionic) form for χάριν. See Introd. IV. L.—ἡμεῖς ... μαχούμεθα: positive aid, as contrasted with the mere neutrality of the Thebans.

17. Κορίνθιοι: see on 4. 3.—κατ’ ἑκείνα: in that region.

18. οὐκέτι ... ἑχων ἀνέμενε: he no longer quietly awaited, i.e. οὐκέτι negatives the entire phrase.
Δακεδαίμονος στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὦς εἴχεν ἤει πρὸς τὸ τείχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπειθέν
150 αὐτῶν ἀφιστασθαι καὶ αὐτοῦμοις γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ῥηβαίων τινὲς ὤντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκόλυνον, προσέ-
19 βαλε πρὸς τὸ τείχος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥηβαίοι ὑδρόμω ἐβοήθουν οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς. ὁπότερα
μὲν οὖν, εἴτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ 155 εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας ὃς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν,
ἀδηλον· τούτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τείχος ἡ μάχη
ἔγενετο· καὶ τροπαίων ἐστικε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν
Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποδοκώντος Λυσανδρόν ἐφευγον
οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Ῥηβαίοι. 160
20 ὃς δὲ ἀνώ ἡδὴ ἡσαυ διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ
στενοπορία ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦς, ὑποστρέφαντες οἱ
ὀπλίται ἥκοντιζόν τε καὶ ἐβαλλον. ὃς δὲ ἐπεσον αὐτῶν

— ἐπειθέν· conative. — ἀφίστασθαι: from the Thebans.
19. οἱ Ῥηβαίοι . . . ἐβοήθουν: 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 Ῥηβαίοι. — 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. — ὃς κρατήσων: in the belief that he would be victorious. See on ὃς μαχούμενος 1. 1. 33.— δ' οὖν: at any rate. — πρὸς τὰς πύλας: the acc. because of the idea of motion in ἐστικε. — τὸ ὄρος: Mt. Helicon, south of Haliartus.
20. δυσχωρία . . . αὐτοῦς: 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. — ἐβαλλον: sc. βέλη, especially stones. Cp. πε-
δύο ἦ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἑπεκυλίνδουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐνέκειντο, 165 ἑτέρθησαν οἱ Θήβαιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντα ἵνα αὐτῶν πλείους ἡ διακόσιοι. ταύτη μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θήβαιοι ἡθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποιηκέναι· τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπεὶ ἠθυποτο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τοὺς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 170 ἀπαντας οὔκαδε ἐκάστους, ἕκ τούτου μείζον δὴ ἐφρόνων ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ’ αὖ ὁ Παυσανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὖ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἐφασαν συνάπτῃ τε καὶ ταπεινώτητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι 175 αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ ἑλθόντες συμπαρετάξαντο ὁ τε Παυσανίας οὐ προσήγειν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο, ἕκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θήβαιων πολὺ μείζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντάρχας ἐβουλεύετο πό-ερον μάχην 180 συνάπτων ἡ ὑπόσπουδον τὸν τε Λυσανδρον ἀναρώτο


§§ 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 . . . ἐφρόνων 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. — ἐφασαν: 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 position between τό and φρόνημα is most unusual. — πολεμάρχους: see on 2. 4. 33. — πεντηκοντάρχας: the Spartan μόρα (regiment) was divided into eight πεντηκοντάρχες (companies), each commanded by a πεντηκοντάρχηρ. — συνάπτων . . . ἀναρώτο: for the mood see on 1. 3. 21.
23. λογιζόμενος δὲ: the sentence here begun is left incomplete, the thought being resumed with the verb in the finite form ἔλογιζοντο. 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.—ἡκολούθουν: 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 ἰππικὸν: proleptic.—ἐκέντο: the objective impf., representing κέντος of dir. disc. See on ἐκάθητον 1. 5. 3.—οὐσί: conditional, in agreement with αὐτοῖς understood.—ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: ἀπό instead of ἐπὶ (ὑπὸν) because of the idea of an attack from the towers. Cp. note on 1. 3. 9.—ἐὴ: the opt. is due to indir. disc., not to ὅστε, which here equals simply καὶ δίᾳ τοῦτο. GMT. 605; S. 2255; HA. 927 a; G. 1454. Note that ἐὴ represents an ἔστι which in combination with τὰῖς amounts to a pot. opt. See on σέβοντο 4. 18.

24. εἰ μὴ ἐφὶ ὅτε: except on condition that.—ἀπίεναι: sc. as
καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆγαγέν ἐκ τῆς Βουτίας. 195
τούτων δὲ πραξάντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαίμονοι ἄθυμως ἀπῆγαγέν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μᾶλα υβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν
tις τῶν χωρίων τοῦ ἐπιβαίη, παύοντες έδώκον εἰς τὰς
όδους. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐτως ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαίμο-
25 νίών διελύθη. ὁ μέντοι Παυσανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἶκαδε, 200
ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου. κατηγορομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
ὅτι ὑστερήσειν εἰς Ἀλίαρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συν-
θεμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτῆν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι
ὑποσπόνδους ἄλλ᾽ οὐ μάχη ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναι-
ρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δήμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν 205
τῷ Πειραιᾷ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτους οὐ παρόντος ἐν
τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγ νώσθη· καὶ ἐφυγεν εἰς
Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι ἐκεὶ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν
οὖν τὴν 'Ελλάδα ταύτ' ἐπράχθη.

subj. αὐτοὺς, i.e. the Spartans. —
καὶ μικρὸν: even a little. — χωρίων: as in 2. 4. 1. — τοὺ: any one's.

25. ὑστερήσειν ... ἐπειρᾶτο
... ἀνῆκε: see on ἥκολονθουν
§ 23. — Λυσάνδρου: gen. after the
comparative in ὑστερήσειν. —
δήμον 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
Introd. p. 28 and App. p. 357 f.
BOOK IV

THE CORINTHIAN WAR. 395–387 B.C.

CHAPTER I. 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 Δακεδαι-2 μόνοι ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ἥσθοντο τὰ τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμω πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς, ἐν κυδώνι ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐνό-2 μισαν καὶ στρατεύειν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγήσαντο εἰναί. καὶ 5 αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ τάτα παρεσκενάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν Ἑπικυδίδαν. ὁ δ’ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, τὰ τε ἄλλα διηγεῖτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι 3 αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησί- λαος ἐπεὶ ἥκουσέ, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤγεγκεν, ἐνθυμοῦμενος καὶ 10 οἶων τιμῶν καὶ οἶων ἐλπίδων ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὁμως

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 Halia-2 tus (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. αὐτοὶ: contrasting the Spartans at home with Agesilaus in Asia.

3. οἶων ἐλπίδων: cp. ἐλπίδας . . . αἱρήσειν βασιλεὰ 3. 5. 1. At
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. —ἐκείνα: matters in Greece. —οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι: see on ὀἰκήται 1. 6. 32.

4. ἐδάκρυσαν: *inceptive.* —λαβόντες αὐτόν: *with him.*

5. διασώζειν: *to keep safe.* —Ἐλλήνας: *Greeks* (not the Greeks), who were fellow-countrymen and better fighters than the Persians. —ἀθλα προοθηκέ: as in 3. 4. 16. —προεῖπε . . . ὡς . . . δόσων: *proclaimed . . . that . . . he would give.* See *Introd.* IV. 1.
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. opposition to ἄθλα. — ἢςαν δὲ καὶ: and there were also. — οὐκ ἐλάττων . . . ταλάντων: cost not less than four talents, lit. were produced from (an outlay of) not less, etc. For ἐλάττων, equivalent to ἀπὸ ἐλάττονος, cp. 2. 4. 11; for the number of ἐγένοντο see Introd. IV. A.—παμπόλλων . . . ὀπλα: 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 τόλεως: 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. φρονάριν ἐφήναν: see on 3. 5. 6. — Ἀγησίπολις: son of the exiled Pausanias (3. 5. 25). — τοῦ
γένους οντα καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός, ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ ὀ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξήσαν μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμό-νοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἀν τὴν μάχην συμφορώτατα σφύσων αὐτοῖς ποιήσαντο. Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορώνθιος ἔλεξεν: 'Ἀλλ' ἐμὸι δοκεῖ, ἠφη, ὥς ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πράγμα οἶόντερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. 55 οἱ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς θηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι εἰσίν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι, ὅσῳ δ' ἀν πορρωτέρῳ γίγνονται, ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἐτεροὶ ποταμοὶ ἵσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ ἑβέμα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὤσαύτως, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐξέρχονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ ὁ παραλαμβάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ δυσμαχωτεροὶ γίγνονται. ὅρω δ' ἐγώγε, ἠφη, καὶ ὅποιοι σφήκας ἐξαιρεῖν βουλοῦνται, ἐάν μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς σφήκας πειρώνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τυπτομένους· ἐὰν δ' ἐτί ἐνδὸν οὐντον τὸ πῦρ προσφέροντι, πάσχοντας 65 μὲν οὐδὲν, χειρομενέους δὲ τοὺς σφήκας. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμομένους ἡγούμαι κράτιστον εἶναι μᾶλιστα μὲν ἐν

γένους: as in 3. 3. — τῇ στρατιᾷ: lit. for the army. Similarly ἡγεῖσθαι 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 ... οἶόντερ: like ... as. τοιούτων ... οἶόντερ, such ... as, would be more natural. — τὸ ... πράγμα: lit. the case of the Lacedaemonians. The phrase is merely a circumlocution for οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. — ὅσῳ: a corresponding τοσοῦτοι with ἵσχυρότερον is wanting, as in 2. 2. 2.

12. ἔνθεν: sc. ἐκεῖ, at the place whence. — τυπτομένους: agreeing with the anteced. of ὅποιοι; — ἔνδον: i.e. in their nests. — τὸ πῦρ: the article because πῦρ is the usual means of destroying wasps. — μᾶλιστα μὲν: see on 1.
autê, ei de μή, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τῆν ἀνάμεσαν ποιεῖσθαι. δοξαντὸς δ' εὗ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο τάυτα. ἐν δ' ἔπειρῃ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο 70 καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὄποσον δεό τάττεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας πολούμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχουσιν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντινέας ἔξηγον τὴν ἀμφίαλον. καὶ πορευόμεθα μενοί, σχεδὸν τι ἀμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπιείκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες

4. 4. — τὴν μάχην: the impending battle.

13. ἡγεμονίας: see on § 18.—eis ὄποσον: how many deep. eis, as in 2. 4. 12.—λιαν βαθείας: this would involve reducing the breadth of the front and therefore—κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχουσιν—give the enemy a chance of surrounding (by outflanking) them.—καὶ δὴ... παρειληφότες: having also picked up already.—τὴν ἀμφίαλον: sc. ὃδὸν, 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.—σχεδὸν τι ἀμα: 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 Σικυώνι).—ἐμβαλόντων: i.e. into the territory of the Corinthians.—αὐτῶν: the Spartans. For the gen. abs. despite the following αὐτοῦς cp. ψηφισμένων 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 τοξεύοντες μᾶλα κακῶς ἐποίουν οἱ γυμνῆτες 80
15 τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὡς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτη
προῆσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν
χώραν· καὶ οἱ έτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστράτοπε-
δεύσαντο, ἐμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ
dὲ προῖόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπεὶ- 85
χον τῶν πολεμίων, κάκεινοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
ήσυχιὰν εἶχον.
16 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατέρων. συνελέγησαν γὰρ
ὄπλιται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς ἐξακισχιλίους, Ἡλείων
dὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωρείων καὶ Λασιωνίων ἐγγὺς 90
τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἕπι-
δαύρων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἑρμοινέων καὶ Ἀλιέων
ἐγένοτο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
ἵππεῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἐξακοσίους, Κρήτες δὲ
tοξόται ἱκολούθουν ὡς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδονή-95
tαι Μαργανέων καὶ Δετρίων καὶ Αμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάτ-
tους τετρακοσίων. Φλειάσιοι μέντοι οὐκ ἱκολούθουν.

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.—
ὁπλίται: in apposition to the fol-
lowing numerals, but standing at
the beginning like a head-line or
caption,—as for hoplites.—els
ἐξακισχιλίους: = ὡς ἐξακισχιλίου.
So els and peri throughout the
following passage. See on πρὸς
ἐπτακόσιοις 1. 2. 18. —Τριφυλίων
. . . Λασιωνίων: peoples in Elis,
Ἡλείων referring only to the in-
habitants of the city of Elis.—
Ἐπιδαύρων . . . Ἀλιέων: in Ar-
golis.—Κρήτες τοξόται: who were
mercenaries.—καὶ μὴν: as in 3. 5.
10.—Μαργανέων . . . Αμφιδόλων:
also Eleans.—Φλειάσιοι: Phlius
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. — ἡθροισθῆ: lit. was gathered together, i.e. consisted of, amounted to. — Ὄρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν: for the reason see 3. 5. 6. — Εὔβοιας ... Δοκρῶν ... Μηλιεῖς ... Ἀκαρνάνες παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς. 110

18. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἐώς μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδὲν τι κατήπειγον while occupying the left wing the
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 . . . ἐσομένης: saying that there would be a battle. See on ὡς μαχούμενοι 1. 1. 33. — τοῦ εἰς ἐκκαίδεκα: the sixteen-deep (formation), which had evidently been agreed upon by the allied forces. Cp. § 13. — ἤγον 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 ὑπερέχουσιν. S. 1403; HA. 749; B. 364; G. 1120; Gl. 509 b. — ἡ μὴ διασπασθείσαν: 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 κυκλωθήναι. τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἡσθά
νοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολέμιων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον
tὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπαινίσαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ
eὐθὺς ἀντιπαρηγγείλαν ἀπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην.
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἐκάστους οἱ ἔναγοι ἐταξαν, παρηγγύησαν μὲν ἀκολούθειν τῷ ἡγούμενῳ,
ἥγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, καὶ οὗτο
πολὺ ὑπερέτευον τὸ κέρας, ὦστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν
ἐξ φυλαί κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ
τέτταρες κατὰ Τεγεάτας. οὐκἐτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων,
σφαγισάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὦστερ
νομίζεται, τὴν χύμαιραν, ἥγουντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους,
tὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέ-
μειξαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακέδαι-
μονίων ἑκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ
cατὰ Θεσπιᾶς γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ. 
21 ἐπιπτον ἐκατέρων. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε
κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι
τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀτε δὴ ὑπὲρ
κυκλωθήναι: see on στρατεύειν 3.
5. 5.
19. ἐπαινίσαν: see on 2.4.17. 
The aor. is inceptive. — ὡς εἶς
μάχην: see on 1.1.12. — ἔναγοι: 
see on 3.5.7. — ἀκολούθειν τῷ
ἡγούμενῳ: to follow the van, a
usual expression for advancing to
the attack. — οἱ ἔξ 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. Ἀγροτέρᾳ: a title of Arte-
mis as the goddess of hunting. —
tὴν χύμαιραν: see on τὸ πῦρ § 12.
— τὸ ὑπερέχον: sc. μέρος, the part
of their force which outflanked the
Athenians. — Πελληνεῖς . . . Θε-
σπιᾶς: Pellene and Thespiae were
towns in Achaea and Boeotia
respectively. — ἐν χώρᾳ: in their
places. — ἐκατέρων: added as an
afterthought and dependent upon
τῶν 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

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
- a. Achaeans in flight
- b. Pelleneans fighting ἐν χώρᾳ
- c, d. Boeotian allies in flight
- e. Corinthians returning from pursuit
- f. Argives returning from pursuit
- g. Four ϕυλαί of Athenians in pursuit
- h. Six ϕυλαί of Athenians in flight

ἀπαθεῖς ὄντες, συντεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέταρτας ϕυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναῖων 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-
ἐπαναχωρήσατι παρήλθον, ἀπεθανοῦν αὐτῶν
22 πλὴν εἰ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν· τοῖς δ’ Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Δακεδαμώνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρῶτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοήσασι παρεῖναι τοὺς πρῶτους. ὡς δὲ τούτ’ ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ παύοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορυνθίων ἀναχωροῦντων. ἔτι δ’ ἐπέτυχον οἱ Δακεδαμώνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισίν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνὸς αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἡπτώμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφευγον πρὸς τὰ τείχη. ἔπειτα δ’ εἰρξάντων Κορυνθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἄρχαῖον στρατό 155 πεδον. Δακεδαμώνιοι δ’ αὐτὸ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἐνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειζαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον. καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

1 'Ὁ δ’ Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθει· ὄντι δ’ αὐτῶ ἐν Ἀμφιτόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυλίδας ὅτι νικῶ ὑπὲρ τε αὐτὸ Δακεδαμώνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν gents of the opposing army (except the four tribes of Athenians) as the latter were returning from the pursuit.— αὐτῶν: see on ἐκατέρων § 20. — πλὴν εἰ τις: sc. ἀπέθανε.

22. Ἀργείοις: who had evidently been next in line to the Athenians.— εἰκ τοῦ ἐναντίου: in front.— παρεῖναι: from παρίστημι, to let the foremost pass by.— τὰ γυμνά: i.e. the unshielded side.

23. τείχη: of Corinth.— Κορμυθλῶν: i.e. the Spartan sympathizers among them.


1. 'Ὁ δ’ Ἀγησίλαος: resuming the narrative interrupted at 2. 8.— Ἀμφιτόλει: in eastern Macedonia.— Δερκυλίδας: Agesilaus’ predecessor in Asia (3. 1. 8), who had probably returned to Greece a year before (cp. 3. 4. 20).— νικῶν: for the tense see on φεύγουν 1. 1. 27.— αὖ: contrasting the victory of
the Nemea with the former defeat at Haliartus (3. 5. 19 f.). — τεθνάναι: changing from the ὅτι construction to the inf. in ind. disc. — ὅκτω κτέ.: according to Diodorus (14. 83) the Spartans and their allies lost 1100 men, the opposing army 2800.

2. ἐν καίρῳ: as in 3. 4. 9. — αἱ συμπέμπουσαι κτέ.: for the order of words see on 1. 1. 23. — εἰκὸς ...
3. διαλλάξας: having passed through, a most unusual meaning of the word. Introd. IV. L. — Δαρισαῖοι . . . 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 . . . δὲ: and indeed. — φυγάδες: it was the Spartan sympathizers who had
4 ἑτύγχανον, ἐκακούργοις αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὃ δὲ 20 τέως μὲν ἤγεν ἐν πλαίσιῷ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμῖνεσ μὲν ἐµπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡµῖνεσ δὲ ἐπὶ οὐρὰ ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυνον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπὶ οὐρὰν καὶ 5 τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικὸν πλήν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. ὃς 25 δὲ παρετάξαντο ἄλληλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νοµίζαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἰππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως 6 ἐπηκολούθουν. γνωσὶ δὲ ὁ Ἦγισήλαος ἃ ἐκάτεροι ἠµέρτανον, πέµπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτόν μάλα εὐρωστοὺς 30 ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δούναι αὐτοῖς 7 ἀναστροφὴν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὃς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφυγόν, οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ πειράµενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς 35 8 ἱπποὺς ἡλίσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψε τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν ἀποθνῄσκει. ὃς δὲ τοῦτ ἐγένετο, φυγή τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία γίγνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρὸ-40 9 σθεν, πρὶν ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὅρει ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε

been exiled.—ἐτύγχανον: sc. ὄντες.
4. ἐν πλαίσιῷ: the usual formation when an army was exposed to attacks from all sides.
6. παραγγέλλειν: sc. διώκειν.—αὐτοῖς: 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 ὅρει: added to distinguish the mountain Narthacium from the town of the same name.
μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαίον τ' ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμείνε, μάλα ἡδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ἑπτακικὴ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ὧ αὐτῶς συνέλεξεν ἱππικῷ. τῇ 45 ὦ υστεραίᾳ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὀρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοωτῶν ὄρια.

9. Πραντὸς: 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. — Πεισανδρὸς: cp. 3. 4. 29.

11. εἶναι κτ.: in ind. disc. suggested by the preceding clause. — Φωινίσσαι: see on 3. 4. 1. — Κόνωνα: whom Xenophon now mentions for the first time since his flight after Aegospotami (2. 1. 29). — τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν: manned by Greek mercenaries and volunteers; for Conon received no official support from any state of Greece.
καὶ πολὺ ἐλαττῶνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὐθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγεων, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμείζαντα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμβολάς ἔχουση τῇ τριήμερη πρὸς 60 τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθήναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναῦς σφίζοντα ὁπῃ δύναντο εἰς τὴν Κνίδον, αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νῆ ἐμαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγασίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρώτον χαλεπῶς ἤγεγεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι 65 τοῦ στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς αὐτῷ οἶνον ἁγαθῶν μὲν γυγνομένων ἡδέως μετέχεων, εἰ δὲ τι χαλεπὸν ὅραν, οὐκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἁγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Πεισάνδρος τετελευτηκός, νικῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. ἀμα δὲ ταύτα λέγων καὶ τὸ ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγελία καὶ πολλοῖς διέσεμπτο τῶν τεθυμένων· ὅτε ἀκροβολίσμου ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους

12. καὶ: as in 3. 5. 2. — πολὺ ἐλαττῶνων: 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. — ἐμβολάς: i.e. injuries inflicted by the rams (ἐμβολοῖ) of the enemy's ships. — μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν: cp. Xenophon's characterization of Pisan- der in 3. 4. 29.

13. αὐτῷ: as in § 12. — οἶνον ... μετέχειν: see on 2. 3. 45. — ἁγαθῶν γυγνομένων: gen. abs., conditional. Therefrom supply αὐτῶν, i.e. τῶν ἁγαθῶν, after μετέχειν. — εἶναι: changing to the inf., as in § 1. — μεταβαλὼν: sc. τὰ ἡγγέλμενα, the report. Cp. the similar procedure of Eteonicus, 1. 6. 36.

14. ἀμα ... λέγων: S. 2081; HA. 976; B. 655; G. 1572; Gl. 592. — ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγελία: offered a sacrifice as if for good news. Cp. 1. 6. 37 and note. — διέσεμπτε: διὰ 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
commonly eaten. — ὑμίσυ μόρας: without the usual attraction in gender. S. 1313; HA. 730 e; G. 1090. — ἔξοχομενοὶ: this mora had evidently been on garrison duty in Orchomenus since its revolt from Thebes (3. 5. 6). — οἱ . . . νεοδαμώδεις: the roll of the allies is the same as at the Nemea (2. 17) save for the substitution of Αἰναίνες (cp. 3. 5. 6) instead of Μηλιεῖς and 'Ακαρναίνες. 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. — ἔξοχομενοὶ: with a mora, and without the usual attraction in gender. S. 1313; HA. 730 e; G. 1090. — ἔξοχομενοὶ: this mora had evidently been on garrison duty in Orchomenus since its revolt from Thebes (3. 5. 6). — οἱ . . . νεοδαμώδεις: the roll of the allies is the same as at the Nemea (2. 17) save for the substitution of Αἰναίνες (cp. 3. 5. 6) instead of Μηλιεῖς and 'Ακαρναίνες. 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. — ἔξοχομενοὶ: with a mora, and without the usual attraction in gender. S. 1313; HA. 730 e; G. 1090. — ἔξοχομενοὶ: this mora had evidently been on garrison duty in Orchomenus since its revolt from Thebes (3. 5. 6). — οἱ . . . νεοδαμώδεις: the roll of the allies is the same as at the Nemea (2. 17) save for the substitution of Αἰναίνες (cp. 3. 5. 6) instead of Μηλιεῖς and 'Ακαρναίνες. 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.
but it is clear that they were about equal. Cp. Ages. 2. 7 and 9. — διηγήσομαι: Xenophon himself was present at the battle. See Introd. p. 10.— ἐγένετο (sc. τούτων) οία 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 Ὀθῆβαιοι: replacing the oi peri tois Korivthious 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.— Ὀθῆβαιο... δεξιοί: as at the Nemea (2. 18).— ἀπὸ: on the part of.— ὅσον: as in 2. 4. 4.— ἐφέροντο: rushed.— ὃς: about, with τριῶν.— ὅν: ἐκεῖνοι ὅν.— τῶν συν- εκδραμόντων: pred. part. gen.— εἰς δόρυ: within spear thrust. 18. ἐκεῖνοι: probably mercenaries (see on ἐκεῖνοι § 15), although the reference may be to the Asiatic
òti oi Θηβαιοι τοὺς Ὄρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱσ. σκευοφόροις εἶχαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἀν Θηβαιοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς Ἐλικώνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλομενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπεραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἔρρω-19 μένωσ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἁγησιλαον ἀνδρεῖων μὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητως· όu μέντοι εἰλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξόν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσαν τοὺς ὅπισθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε τούτο, ἀλλὰ ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοὺς Θηβαίους· καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐσωθεύτο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπ’—115 κτενων, ἀπέβησκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτονσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικώνα, πολλοὶ δ’ ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡ μὲν νίκη Ἁγησιλάον ἐγεγένητο, τετρωμένοι δ’ αὐτὸς προσενήνεκτο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντες τίνες τῶν ἵππεων λέγοντες αὐτῷ ὡς ὡς τοῖς πολεμιῶν ὡς ὁγδοῆκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῶν νεόν ἐσι, καὶ ἠρώτων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ, καίστερ πολλά τραύματα ἔχων, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἄλλ’ ἔαν τε ἀπιέναι ἦ βουλουστο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἦδη ὅψε, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἑκοιμήθησαν. πρὸ δὲ Γύλων τῶν πολέμαρχων παρατάξαι

Troops (§ 17). — ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις: hence in the rear of Agesilaus. — ἐξελύδας: having wheeled. — πρὸς Ἐλικώνι 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 κτῆ: the asyndeton helps to paint the fierceness of the contest. Cp. 2. 4. 33.

20. Ἁγησιλαον ἐγεγένητο: had fallen to Agesilaus. — τῶ νεόν: of Athena Ionia. — τοῦ θείου: the deity, i.e. Athena.

21. παρατάξαι κτῆ: a challenge
te ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαίον ἱστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὔλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι ἔτεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς 130 αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὗτω δὴ αἱ τε σπονδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δέλφους ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἐκατόν 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, Lechaeum. 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 Δακεδαίμονιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόν· 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 Doriants. — ὑποσπόνδους κτὲ.: see on 1. 2. II. — δεκάτην . . . ἀπέθυσεν: see on ἀποθύόσας 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
yielding its independence. See below. — πόλει: Corinth. — Πειραιῶ: a peninsula on the western side of the isthmus of Corinth. — καὶ τὸ τέτα: i.e. as in the previous year (see abstract). — Ισθμία: the Isthmian games, celebrated every two years in honor of Poseidon. — ὃς Ἀργοῦς . . . 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 . . . ὀδὸν: by the road (leading) to Cenchreae.

2. τῷ ἱερῷ: the sacred precinct of Poseidon. — εἰς ἄρχης πάλιν Ἰσθμία: all over again. — ἔστι μὲν . . . εὐκήθη: in some events individual contestants were beaten twice, i.e. having entered in both sets of games. — εἰκρύχθησαν: i.e. as victors.

3. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ: the minuteness of detail in the following narrative is doubtless due to the fact
that Xenophon himself accompanied Agesilaus on this campaign. See Introd. pp. 11 and 30. — ἄστυ: Corinth. — ὡς . . . τῆς πόλεως: as though the city (Corinth) was going to be betrayed to him. — μετεπέμψαντο: i.e. from Piraeum. — Ἰφικράτην: Iphicrates, the Athenian, 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 hoplite and a new, lighter kind of boots. He also increased their efficiency on the offensive by considerably lengthening both spear and sword. Troops thus equipped were almost as dangerous as hoplites, while still capable of much more rapid movement. Xenophon says (4. 17) that the Spartan allies stood in absolute terror of Iphicrates and his peltasts. See abstract of Chap. 4. — παρεληλυθότας: leaving Piraeum so much the weaker. — θερμά: hot springs.

4. μικρῷ, καιρῷ δὲ: a μέν would naturally be expected after μικρῷ. — πάνυ ἕφ’ ύψηλοι: the order of words as in μάλα σὺν πολλῷ § 1.
390 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. IV, 5. 247

...καὶ ἀνέβεβήκεσαν... σπειρία: parenthetical.—ολα δὴ... σπειρία: lit. light clothing such as naturally (δὴ) they had in sum-mer, i.e. since it was summer.— ἐλαττὸν δέκα: for the omission of ἂν see S. 1074; HA. 647; B. 426, N. 4; G. 1156.—ο νεῶς τοῦ Ποσειδώνος: cp. § 1.

5. "Ἡραίων: a temple of Hera at the western extremity of the Piraeeum peninsula. —ἐντευχισμένον: which had been fortified therein, i.e. in Piraeeum. —καὶ πάντες δὲ: and all in fact, not simply the mora just mentioned.—ἐν τῷ Ἡραιῷ καταπεφευγότες: see on πρὸς Ἑλικόν 3. 18.—γνῶναι: as in 3. 4. 15.—τῶν σφαγέων: i.e. those concerned in the massacre de-
6 φυγάσι, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πάντα πραθήματι. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ἐξήγει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἦραίου πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμαλώτα· προσβείαι δὲ ἄλλοις τε πολλαὶ παρῆσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιω-τῶν ἥκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἀν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν οὐδ’ ὥσ ὤραν ἐδόκει, καὶ περὶ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστη-κότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγάγοι· καθήμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην κυκλοτεροῦσι οἰκοδομήματος ἐδεώρει πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Δακεδαίμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουσι φύλακες τῶν 65 αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωροῦμεν· οἱ γὰρ εὑτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες ἂεὶ πως ἄξιοθέατοι
7 δοκοῦσιν εἴναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησίλαοι καὶ ἐοικότος ἀγαλλομένω τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεύς τις προσήλαυνος καὶ μάλα ἵσχυρῶς ἴδρωντι τῷ ἱππῳ. ὑπὸ τὸ πολλὰν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος δὴ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδεὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησίλαου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ προσδραμῶν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς ὄν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Δεχαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ’ ὡς
scribed in Chap. 4. See ab- struct.

6. προσβείαι: even before this time (390 B.C.) negotiations looking toward a general peace had been undertaken. Cp. 8. 12 f.— ἐφησόμενο: referring to the Boeotians only, and agreeing with a πρόσβειοι which in the writer’s thought is the subj. of ἥκον.— 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 οἰκοδο- 
μήματος is unknown.— τῶν Δακ- 
εδαίμονίων: sc. τινές.— τῶν ὀπλῶν: 
as in 2. 4. 6.

7. ἐοικότος ἀγαλλομένω: lit. seeming like one exulting. Xenophon emphasizes the pride that went before destruction. — Δε- 
χαίῳ: the principal port of Cor- 
inth.— τὸ . . . πάθος: for the art.
390 B.C.]
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. IV, 5. 249

Ηκουσεν, εὐθὺς τε ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀνεπίθησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντήρας καὶ ἔναγοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευν. ὥς δὲ συνέδραμον οὕτω, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἤμιστοποιήντο, ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὁ τι δύναντο ἦκεν τὴν ταχύστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίων ὑφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὀπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῆ, τοῦ μὲν ὑφηγούμενον, τῶν δὲ μετίοντων. ἦδη δ' ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Δεχαίου, προσελάσαντες ἵππεις τρεῖς ἀγγελλουσίων ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνηρρημένοι εἶχαν. ὁ δ' ἔπει τοῦτο ἡκουσε, θέσθαι 85 κελεύσας τὰ ὀπλα καὶ ὀλύγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραίον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθητο.

9. Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι ὅτι ἡκοῦν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι 90 ἐμέμνηντο, ἐιπὸν δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι κωλύοι βούλωντο εἰς ἀστυ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιῶτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐπιγελάσας· 'Ἀλλ' ὁιδα μὲν, ἑφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιῶτας

see on τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ 3. 10. The incident is narrated in §§ 11-17 below. — πεντηκοντήρας: see on 3. 5. 22. — ἔναγοὺς: see on 3. 5. 7. — κήρυκα: subj. of καλεῖν.

8. ἐμφαγοῦσιν: after swallowing. — τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίων: lit. those about the royal tent, i.e. his messmates. δαμοσίας is Doric for δημοσίαν. — οἱ δορυφόροι: probably referring to the king's bodyguard. — τοῦ μὲν: i.e. Ἀγασιλάου. — τῶν δὲ: i.e. τῶν περὶ δαμοσίων. — πλατύ: plain. — θέσθαι . . . τὰ ὀπλα: to ground arms. — τὸ στράτευμα: which had meanwhile over-taken him. — διετίθητο: exposed for sale.

§§ 9-17. Agesilaus returns to Corinth. The disaster to the Spartan mora described.

9. ὅτι: why, i.e. for what purpose. ὅτι represents the τί of the dir. question. — ἀστῦ: Corinth.
ιδείν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμενάτε οὖν, ἕφη· ἔγι γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἄντε γνώσεσθε ποιῶν τι τὸ γεγενημένον ἐστὶ. καὶ οὐκ ἐφεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ύποτέραϊα θυσάμενος ἤγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στρατεύμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἶ δὲ τι ὧν λοιπῶν δένδρου, κόπτων καὶ κάων ἐπεδείκνυεν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆι. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Δέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἀστυ οὐκ ἄνηκε, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεύσων ἀπέπεμψεν. ἀτε δὲ ἄγθους τοὺς Δακεδαμονίοις γεγενημένης τῆς τουαύτης συμφορᾶς, 105 πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Δακωνικὸν στρατεύμα, πλῆν ὅσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἣ νιοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοὶ· οὕτω δ’ ὁσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροί καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περιήγαν. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τοιῶδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι ἂεὶ ποτὲ ἀπέρχονται εἰς 110 τὰ 'Τακύνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παῖανα, ἐὰν τε στρατοπεδεύομεν τυγχάνωσιν εάν τε ἄλλως πῶς ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε μὲν Ἀγγείλαος ἐν Δεχαίῳ. ὁ δ’ ἐκεὶ φρουρῶν πολέ-110. τροπαῖον: commemorating the defeat of the mora. Trophies were held inviolable. — καὶ . . . μέντοι: and . . . indeed. — Κρεύσων: a Boeotian port on the Corinthian Gulf. — πλὴν ὅσων: except (among those) whose. — ἐν χώρᾳ: i.e. without taking to flight. See on 2. 20.

11. Ἀμυκλαῖοι: Amyclae was one of the larger towns of Laconia. — ἂεὶ ποτὲ: as in 3. 5. 11. — ἀπέρχονται: sc. οἰκαδε. — τὰ Ἰακύνθια: a yearly festival in honor of Apollo. — ἐπὶ τὸν παῖανα: for the paean, here simply the hymn to Apollo. Cp. on 2. 4. 17. — καὶ τότε δὴ: turning from the general ἂεὶ ποτὲ to the particular case. — κατέλιπε: i.e. before
μαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἵππεων μόρα, παρὰ τῇ τῶν πόλεων τῶν Κορινθίων

12 τοὺς Ἀμφικλαιεῖς παρῆγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπείχον ὀσοῦ εἰκοσιν ἥ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυώνος, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὖσιν ὡς ἐξακοσίους ἀπῆλεν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Δέραιον, τὸν δὲ ἰππαρμοστὴν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἵππεων μόρα, ἐπεὶ προσέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμφικλαιεῖς μέχρι ὀπόσου αὐτοῖς κελεύονες, μεταδιώκεις. καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται οὕδεν ἡγνώσαν κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἑμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἃν ἐπιχειρήσαι σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἰππονίκος, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἐφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἔρημους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἵππεων, ἐνόμισαν ἕνας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύοντο τῇ ὅδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἃν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ γυμνά ἀπόλλυσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦτον διώκειν, ραδίως ἃν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἔλαφροτάτοις τοὺς ὀπλίτας.

13 γνώντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγονοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέ-135 ταξεῖ τοὺς ὀπλίτας οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἐφικράτης

marching to Piraeum (§ 3). — ἔταξεν: detailed.

12. ἀπείχον πάλιν: started back again. — μεταδιώκειν: sc. αὐτόν, i.e. the polemarch. — κατεφρόνου: contemptuously thought; hence followed by the inf. in ind. disc. — μηδένα: exceptional for οὔδενα. S. 2723; HA. 1024; G. 1611; Gl. 564.

13. Ἐφικράτης: see on § 3. — τὰ γυμνά: see on 2. 22. Corinth was to the right of the Spartans as they marched past. — ἀποφυγεῖν: the subj. is Callias and Iphicrates. — γνώντες ταῦτα: having come to this conclusion.
λαβὼν τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Δακε- 
δαμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἤκοντίζοντο καὶ οἱ μὲν τις ἐτέρωτο, οἱ δὲ 
καὶ ἐπεττόκει, τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς 
ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Δέχαιον. καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς 140 
μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν. ο_den polémarχos ἐκέ- 
λευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ’ ἱβης ἀποδιώξαι τοὺς προσκεμένους.

15 ὂς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ἢρουν τε οὐδένα ἢξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς 
ὀπλίται ὄντες πελταστὰς. καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς 
ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ 145 
ἀνεχώρουν ἐσπαρμένου, ἀτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἐκα- 
στος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην. οὗ τε 
ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλων ἤκοντιζον καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου 
παραθέουσες εἰς τὰ γυμνά. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ 
διώξει κατηκόντιζον ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο 150 
16 ἐγένετο, πολὺ ἡδὴ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ 
κακῶς ἐσπαχχον, πάλων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν 

14. ὁ μὲν τίς: τίς marks ὁ μὲν as indefinite both in identity and 
in number. Trans. many a one. — 
τούτους: 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’ 
ἱβης: see on 2. 4. 32.

15. ἢρουν: caught. — τε: cor- 
relative with δὲ after ἐπεὶ. See on 
1. 1. 34. — ἢξ . . . βολῆς: starting 
from a spear’s throw away; for 
the peltasts had approached only 
near enough to reach the Spartans 
with their missiles. — ὀπλίται . . . 
pelταστὰς: since they were hoplites 
pursuing peltasts, a second reason 
for the failure of the pursuit. πελ- 
taστὰς stands in a loose apposition 
with οὐδένα. — ἐκέλευε: i.e. Iphicra- 
tes. — ἀνεχώρουν: i.e. the Spar- 
tans. — ἀτε κτὲ: explaining ἐσπα- 
ρμένου. — ὡς τάχους . . . εἶχεν: as 
swiftly as each one could. For the 
gen. τάχους see on σωμάτων 3. 4. 
16. — οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου . . . ἄλλοι: 
in part. apposition with οἱ περὶ τὸν 
Ἰφικράτην. — ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου . . . 
ἐκ πλαγίου: in front . . . on the 
flank.
390 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. IV, 5. 253

ta pentekeaideka af' ilden. anaqvarounves de eti pleious autow he to prwtov epesou. ilden de twv belpstovn apolwlotwn, oi ippeis autois paragignontai kai sun 155 toutois athis diazix epouhsanto. ws d' eneklinan oi peltaostai, ev toutw kakws oi ippeis epethvento. ou gar ews aptekteiavn tinas autow edwzan, alla sun toutis ekdrmouis isompetpoi kai edwkon kai epesstrefoi. pouounves de kai paschontes ta omia toutois kai athis, 160 autoi men aei elaptous te kai malakwteroi egignonton, oi de polemoi therasuteroi te kai aei pleious oi egxei 17 roounves. aporoounves dh' synistantai epi brraxwn tina glylofon, apexhonta tis men thalattis ws duo stadia, tou de Lekaion ws ex h epptakaideka stadia. aistho-165 mevoi d' oi apo tou Lekaion, eisbaantes eis plouaria parapelous, eows egenvonto kata ton glylofon. ou d' aporoounves ilden, oti epastchon men kakws kai apteuniskoiv, poieiv de ouden edvnanto, prdos toutois de orwntes kai tous oplitas epioanta, egklinoivos. kai oui men empi-170 ptousin auton eis twn thalattan, oligoi de tines metata touton ippewn eis Lekaion esowhson. ev pasaiai de taiai maxais kai tis fuyh apathanon peri peuntikonata kai 18 diakosioiws. kai taarta men outws epertapeto.

16. oi ippeis: the Spartan cavalry mentioned in §§ 11, 12.—
tois ekdrmouis: those of the Spartan hoplites who pursued.—tou-
tois: neuter.—kal athis: again and again.

17. ex h epptakaideka: sixteen or seventeen.—oi apo tou Lekaion: i.e. the garrison of Spartan allies (§ 11). — kat: opposite. — tous oplitas: i.e. Callias' troops (§ 14). — empiptousin ... eis twn thalattan: plunged into the sea, in order to reach the boats. — peuntikonata kai diakosioiws: this number does not represent the total loss, for all
'Εκ δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Ἀγγείλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλείσαν μόραν 175 ἔχων ἀπῆλε, ἀλλὰν δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Δεχαίῳ. διὸν 
δὲ ἐπ' οὐκ οὐ μὲν ἐδύνατο ὑμιᾶτα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς 
πόλεις, ὡς δ' ἐδύνατο πρωάιτα ἐξωρμᾶτο. παρὰ δὲ 
Μαντίνειαν ἐς Ὄρχωμενον ὀρθροῦ ἀναστὰς ἐτί σκοταῖος 
παρῆλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκοιν οἱ στρατιώται 180 
τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι θεάσα- 
19σθαί. ἐκ τοῦτον δὲ μάλα καὶ τὰλλα ἐπετύχανεν Ἰφι- 
κράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδοῦντι μὲν 
καὶ Κρομμυῶν ὑπὸ Πραξίτον, ὥστε ἐκεῖνος εἰλὲ ταῦτα 
tὰ τείχη, ἐν Οἴνοῃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγγειλάον, ὅτετερ τὸ 185 
Πείραιον ἐάλω, πάνθ' εἰλὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι 
Λέχαιον ἐφρούρον οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. 
οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορυνθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇ παριόντες ἐκ 
Σικυώνοις διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παρα- 

the wounded except the few men 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. σφαλείσαν: defeated. — διών ἐπ' οὐκ: as he passed along homeward, i.e. through (διὰ in comp.) the Peloponnesian towns. — Ὄρχωμενοι: in Arcadia. — ὀρθροῦ: 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. skotaíos see on πελάγιον 2. 1. 17. — ἀναστάς: setting out. See on ἀνάστασαν 2. 4. 6. — οὕτω χαλεπῶς κτλ.: so unwillingly, it seemed to him, would the soldiers behold, etc. For the personal constr. in ἐδόκοιν see S. 1983; HA. 944; B. 634; G. 1522, 2; Gl. 574 a. — τοὺς Μαντινιαίας: according to 4. 17 they had been ridiculed by the Spartans for their fear of Iphicrates' peltasts.

19. μάλα . . . ἐπετύχανεν: was very successful. — Σιδοῦντι . . . Κρομμυῶν: Corinthian towns on the isthmus. Their capture by Praxitas, a Spartan polemarch, is described in 4. 13. — Οἴνοῃ: see
 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 ὧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττη πόλεις γενόμεναι διηγήσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἀξιομνημονεύτων γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγου παρῆσον. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν Φαρ- 5 νάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Δακεδαιμο- νίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νῆσους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδίας πόλεις τοὺς τε Δακωνικοὺς ἀρμοστάς ἐξήλαυνον καὶ παρεμβοῦντο τὰς πόλεις ὡς οὔτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσοιεν ἐάσοιεν τε αὐτοῦνομοι. 10 οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἢδοντό τε καὶ ἐπήμων καὶ 2 εἴναι προθύμως ἐπεμπον τῷ Φαρνάβαζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὕτω μὲν

§ 5. — πράγματα εἰκὼν τε καὶ παρε- χοῦν: 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 Abydus and Sestus against them. 394 B.C.

1. ἐν ὧ: connect with τὰ... γενόμενα, — what happened. while, etc. — μή: because τὰς ἀξίας is indefinite, i.e. contains a conditional idea. — τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ: i.e. of Cnidus, 394 B.C. See 3. 11 f. — ἀρμοστάς: see on 3. 5. 13. — οὐτε... τε: as in 3. 4. 8.

2. οἱ δὲ: i.e. the people of the cities. — τῷ Φαρνάβαζῳ: who was in chief command; for the victorious fleet, although it included some Greek ships and sailors, was
of a Persian fleet. See on 3. 4. 1 and 4. 3. 11. — οἱ Ἑλληνες: i.e. the European Greeks. — συνταίνον: as against the national enemy, Persia.

3. εἰς Σηκτόν... ἀπαντάν: as in 1. 3. 13. — παρῆς ἐπὶ: 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 πολέμοι: 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. οὕτω: made virtually perf. by πρόσθεν. S. 1885; HA. 826; B. 522; G. 1258; Gl. 454 d.— εὐργήτας: i.e. more than mere φίλος. For the acc., after ὑμῖν, see on ἐνθεμένους 1. 6. 37. — φαίνεσθαι: the subj. is indef., as the following τινὲς shows.—ἐστὶ δὲ
έχον ὡς εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὗτέν ἀρα ἔτι ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήποτε, Ἀθηναίων ἄρχον
tων τῆς θαλάττης, ικανὴ ἐν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ
φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὡσὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αἱ 35
ἀλλαί πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, το-
σοῦτῳ ὁντως ἡ ἡμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανεῖ τι. εἰ
δὲ τις τούτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατ-
tαν ἐνθάδε πολυρκώμεθα, ἐννοεῖτω ὅτι Ἐλληνικὸν μὲν
οὐπω ναυτικὸν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ 40
ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχεων, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα
ἡ Ἐλλάς· ὡς τοῦ ἐαυτῆ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος
5 γενήσεται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντωσ
ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπείσθησαν· καὶ τούς μὲν ἱόντας ἀρ-
μοστάς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμποντο. 45
ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ χρήσιμοι
ἀνδρεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβᾶς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, καταντικρῦ
όντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλέον ὅκτω σταδίων,
ὁσοὶ τὲ διὰ Δακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἐσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ,
ἡθοιζέ, καὶ οὐσοί αὕ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων 50
ἀρμοστάλ ἐξεπίπτουν, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι
οὗτ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀδύμειν δεῖ, ἐννοοῦμένους ὧτι καὶ ἐν τῇ

... ὡς κτ.: but it is not this
day, that, etc. For ἐστὶ ... ἐχον see on εἶναι ἔχοντας 1. 5. 5.
— el ... ἐκρατήθημεν: Dercyllidas
avoids stating the fact directly, as
a cause. — οὗτέν ... ἐσμέν: we
are therefore (ἀρα) done for, lit.
no longer anything. — σῶν τῇ τύχῃ:
along with fortune. — Ἐλληνικὸν:
see on § 2. The adj. is made
emphatic by its position, as also
οἱ βάρβαροι below.

5. ἱόντας: who came, i.e. in
flight from their cities. — ὧσοι ... ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: see abstract of
Book 3, Chap. 2. — ἐσχον: obtained.
— οὗτ' ἐκεῖνοι ... δεῖ: they ought
not to be discouraged either. οὗτ'
ἐκεῖνοι is the negative form of
καὶ τούτουs (these also) above.
'Ασία, ἣ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστὶ, καὶ Τήμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ Αἰγαί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία ἃ δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκοοι οὐντες βασιλέως. καίτοι, 55 ἐφι, ποιον μὲν ἀν ἰσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον, ποιον δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ο καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζών δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσθαι. τούτους αὖ τοι-6 αὐτὰ λέγων ἐσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήξθαι. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἐτεὶ ήὔρε τὴν τε Ἀβυδον καὶ τὸν Σηστὸν οὖν ἐχοντα, 60 προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὁς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψουσιν τοὺς Ἀκαδαιμονίων, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἐτεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοῖς τὴν θάλατταν πλείν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδήσε τὴν τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώραν. ἐτεὶ δὲ οὖν ἐπέραυν πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφει 65 φεσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ οἶκον ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ' Ἑλλησποντον πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλείστοι ναυτικοῦ ἄθροισθείη. ὅργιόμενος γὰρ τοῖς Ἀκαδαιμονίοις ἀνθ' ὄν ἐπεσόνθει περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐλθεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ 70 τιμωρήσασθαι ὁ τι δύναιτο. καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις οὖντες διήγον ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλάς

Éξ ἀρχῆς: from all time.— ἐστὶ: for the pres. see on οὖν § 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.— ἐσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήξθαι: 'kept them from being panic-stricken.' Manatt.

6. πλείν: cp. τὸ ποταμίου ἐκπεπλήξθαι § 5. — ἐπ' οἴκου: to Dascylion (3. 4. 13). — εἰς τὸ ἔαρ: εἰς with the acc. sometimes means 'on the coming of' a given time. — ἀνθ' ὄν ἐπεσόνθει: from Dercylidas (3. 1) and Agesilaus (3. 4. 4. 1).

§§ 7–11. Pharnabazus ravages the Laconian coast, captures Cythera, and furnishes money to
7. συμπληρώσας καὶ ἔνικόν προσμισθωσάμενος ἐπελευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ νῆσων εἰς Μῆλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὄρμωμενοι εἰς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα. κατα-πλεῦσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φεράς ἐδήσωσε ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἐπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλασ-σίας ἐκακοῦργει ὁ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβοῦμενος δὲ τὴν τε ἀλμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν ἐπανοσιτίαν, ταχὺ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ἀρμίσθῃ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα. ἔπει δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοίπων ἐξέλισσον τὰ τείχη, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὕποσπόνιδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τείχος φρονοῦσ τε καὶ Νικόφημον

8. τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα.  ἔπει δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοίπων ἐξέλισσον τὰ τείχη, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὕποσπόνιδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τείχος φρονοῦσ τε καὶ Νικόφημον ὑπὲρ τῆς Κυθηρίας κατέλυπ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσας καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας καταπλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεί, κατα-λιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὡσα ἐίχεν, ὄχετο ἐπ᾽ οἰκον ἀπο-90

the allies at Corinth. Conon re-
builds the walls of Athens. 393 B.C.

7. συμπληρώσας: as in 1. 5. 20. — νῆσων: the Cyclades. In this sense νῆσοι often lacks the art., being treated as a proper name.— Μῆλον: the westernmost of the Cyclades.— Φεράς: a town on the Messenian Gulf.— τῆς παραθαλασ-σίας: 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. τήν πόλιν: the city bore the same name as the island. — ἀρμο-στὴν: this title is occasionally given by Xenophon to other than Spartan governors.— τοῖς συμμά-
χοις: the allies, i.e. the forces of the anti-Spartan league.— πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεί: 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 τού τόν Κόνωνος ὡς εἰ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἔχειν
tὸ ναυτικὸν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας
d' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσου τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχὴ τοῖς
'Αθηναῖοι καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος, οὗ εἰδέναι
ἔφη ὅτι Δακεδαιμονίους οὐδὲν ἄν βαρύτερον γένουτο, καὶ 95
tοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν 'Αθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος
ἐσεί, τοὺς δὲ Δακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ὃ γὰρ
πλεῖστα ἐπονήσαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιῆσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρ-
νάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως
eἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας, καὶ χρῆματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς 100
10 τὸν ἀνατείχισμόν. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους
ὡρθοςε, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι
καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδοῦσ, καὶ ἄλλο εἰ τι ἀναγκαῖον
ὁμί, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ᾧ καὶ αὐτοῖς 'Αθη-
ναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἔθελοντο συνετεῖ- 105
χισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἄφ' δὲν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
κατέλυπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγαθίνων
ναῦαρχον ἐπιστησάντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ
'Αχαίαν καὶ Δέξαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ

9. λέγοντος . . . καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη: an anacoluthon, the con-
struction of the part. in the gen.
abs. passing into that of the finite verb.—τὰ μακρὰ τείχῃ . . .
καὶ τὸ . . . τείχος: destroyed in
404 B.C. See 2. 2. 20–23.—τοῦτο: 
strictly a cogn. acc. Trans. there-
by.—κεχαρισμένοι ἐσει: 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 . . . ὡρθῳςε: thus opening
to Athens a new career; for the
city's naval strength depended
upon fortified connection with a
fortified port.—ἄλλο εἰ τι: instead
of the usual εἰ τι ἄλλο, for which
see on εἰ τινα 2. 2. 2.—ἡν . . . ἀ: 
see on ἦστε . . . οὐς 2. 4. 6.—
Βοιωτοὶ: who in 404 B.C. had urged
the total destruction of Athens.
See 2. 2. 19 and on 2 4. 30.—τῇ
Δακεδαμώνιοι ναύς, δ' Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 110
οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένη ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις
αὖ ἐπιστολεύσ ὁ' τρωθεὶς ἀπήλθεν, Ἡριππίδας ταύτας
ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναύς. Πρόαίνως μὲντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς
παρ' Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναύς ἐξέλιπε τὸ 'Ρίον.
Δακεδαμώνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο 115
Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡριππίδου ναύς ἦλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὖ
τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει.

12 Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαμώνιοι ἀκοῦοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ
τεῖχος τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων
ἀνορθοῦν, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφων 120
τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱππείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν
πόλεις 'Αθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταύτα διδά-
σκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὅντα στρατηγῶν, ἢ καὶ
ἀποστήσας ἀν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ἢ παῦσαί γ' ἀν
τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γυνόντες δὲ οὖσω, 125
πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστά-

... κόλπῳ: i.e. the Corinthian Gulf.

II. ἐπιστολεύσ: see on 1. 1.
23.—Ἡριππίδας: last mentioned in 3. 17.—τὸ 'Ρίον: a promon-
tory commanding the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf.—μετὰ τοῦτο: probably in 392 B.C.—Τελευτίας: according to 4. 19 a brother of Agesilaus.—ἐπὶ: as in 1. 1. 32.—
aὖ ... πάλιν: i.e. there was again (πάλιν) an undisputed master of
the gulf, but this time (αὖ) 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: suc-
cessor to Tissaphernes and Ti-
thraustes, hence Conon’s superior.
—καὶ ἀποστήσας ... παῦσαί γε: i.e. they might even (καὶ) accom-
plish the first-mentioned result,
but at least (γε) the second.—
γυνόντες οὖσω: as in 5. 13.


14. ἐκεῖ: i.e. at Sardis, Tiribazus' capital. — καὶ ταύτης: see on καὶ ταύτα 2. 3. 53.— οἰασπερ . . . 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 sacrifice 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 . . . βασιλεί: for the cases see S. 1409, 1523 b; HA. 739 a; B. 356, 392, 1; G. 1128; Gl. 510 d.— οὐδὲ: 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-
392–388 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. IV, 8. 263

εφοβούντο συνηθεῖσθαι αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι, μὴ Δῆμνου καὶ Ἰμβροῦ καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖν, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθείσαι αἵείναι τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οἳ τ’ Ἀργεῖοι, οὐ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἀν τὴν Κόρινθον δύνασθαι ὡς 150 Ἀργος ἔχειν τοιούτων συνθηκῶν καὶ σπουδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε ἐκαστος.

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.—Δήμνου . . . Ἰμβροῦ . . . 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.—οὗ: referring to τὴν Κόρινθον . . . ἔχειν.—ὁς Ἀργος: see 5. 1 and notes.
BOOK V
THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS. THEBES AND ATHENS AGAIN AT WAR WITH SPARTA. 389–375 B.C.

CHAPTER 1, 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 Ὅ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἔθελοιν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἦ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὡς δὲ ἦκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι εἰς Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ὕχετο εἰς Ἀβυδον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνῆγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὡς μεταπεμπόμενων τῶν Καλχηδονίων ὀρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν

CHAPTER 1, §§ 25–28. Antalcidas returns from Persia and makes himself master of the Hellespont. 387 B.C.

25. Ὅ 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. — Ἀθηναίοι 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. — ἦ 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 μεταπεμπόμενων: 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
had recovered to them two years before. — Περκώτη: on the Hellespont, a short distance from Abydus.

26. Δημαίνετον κτή.: Athenian generals who had been sent to the Hellespont to support Iphicrates. — τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοκόνησον: sc. ὅδον. — παρεπλευσαν: had sailed past Percote, expecting to find Antalcidas farther on the way to Calceldon. — τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν: sent by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, whom Sparta had befriended. — ὅπως: connect with ἀφίκετο. — ἀναλάβοι: as in i. 1. 4. — ὁ Κόλλυτεύς: 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. προσπληρωσασθαί κτή.: i.e. if any of the twelve captains were short of men, they were ordered to
draw upon the crews of the ships left behind. — καὶ ... βραδυτέρων: even by the slower Spartan ships. — ἡλισκόντο ... ἠλωσαν: impf. and aor. denote respectively the process and the result.

28. ἐπεὶ δὲ ... ὁ Ἀνταλκίδας: an anacoluthon. — τε ... δὲ καὶ: cp. τε ... καὶ δὲ in 2. 4. 6 and 3. 4. 24. In the present case the changed order (δὲ καὶ for καὶ ... δὲ) is due to the repetition of ἠλθον. — ὅσης: 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 ἐγνημὲ κτέ.: 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 ναύς Ἀθηναίων μὲν ἐκώλυνε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατή-29 γεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβοῦμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον κατα-40


29. πολλάς: sc. σῶσας. — ὡς πρότερον: at the close of the Peloponnesian War; for then also it was the Persian alliance with Sparta which had conquered
387 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. V, 1. 267

πολεμηθείσαν, συμμάχον Λακεδαίμονίοις βασιλέως γεγενημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἱσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαίμονίοι, φρούροῦντες μόρα μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόρα δὲ ἐν Ὄρχομενῷ, φυλάττοντες δὲ ἐτῶν πόλεις, αἰσ μὲν ἐπίστευν, μὴ ἀπόλοιπτο, αἰς δὲ ἡπίστου, μὴ ἀποσταίνειν, πράγματα δὲ ἔχουσι καὶ παρέχουσιν περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἐφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οἱ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφασ-μένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γυγνόσκουσιν ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν 50 ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὀφελήσει, καὶ οὕτωι εἰς τὴν 30 εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὦστ' ἔπει παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρείναι τοὺς Βουλομένους ὑπακούσαι ἣν βασιλέως εἰρήνην καταπέμπτοι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἔπει δὲ συνήλθον, ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ 55 βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγίγνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὅδε.

31 Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλέως νομίζει δίκαιον τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ

Athens.—πολιορκούμενοι: being beset. For the fact see abstract above.—διὰ ταῦτα μὲν: μὲν repeats the μὲν with οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, after διὰ ταῦτα has repeated and summed up the reasons which influenced them. —ἐν Δεξαίῳ: see 4. 5. 18. —ἐν Ὄρχομενῷ: see 4. 3. 15 and note. Two morae was a third of the whole Spartan army. See on 2. 4. 31.—πράγματα ἔχουσιν καὶ παρέχουσιν: cp. 4. 5. 19.—πολέμῳ: see on ἄτιμῳ 3. 4. 9.—φρουράν 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. ὑπακούσαι: the prep. in comp. suggests submission.—παρεγένοντο: probably at Sardis. —

31. Note that this so-called ‘Peace’ was rather an edict from
the Persian king than an agreement between equals. The terms which it prescribed were essentially 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 modification was to incline the Athenians to accept the treaty. — Кυπρον: 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. — ἕγω: note the change of person from Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς above. — μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων: 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 compulsion. 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 acknowledged as sovereign over all Boeotia. See on 4. 8. 15.—δὲ Ἀγνήσιλαος κτδ.: the following scene took place at a second congress, held in Sparta.—οὐκ ἔφη
δημυνώσων, ὡς περὶ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτο-
νόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ὑβαῖων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι ὦκ ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσιν ταῦτα εἴη. Ἡτα νῦν, ἐφὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτάτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσωσιν 75
33 ταῦτα, ἐκοπονδοὶ ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ όχιντο. ὁ δ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὑβαίους ἔχθραν ὦκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἑθύετο. ἐπεὶ δὴ ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέπεμπτε τῶν μὲν ἰππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύδοντας, διέπεμπτε δὲ καὶ ἐξαγούς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ αὐτῶν ὀρμηθήναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρῆσαν οἱ Ὑβαιοὶ λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφιᾶσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ οὔτω Ἀκεδαμομόνοι μὲν οὐκαδὲ ἀπηλθὼν, Ὑβαιοὶ δ' εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθὼν ἱναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες 85
34 τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ' αὐτῷ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμ-
pου τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος

dέξασθαι: see Introd. IV. 1. —
eῖναι: see on δωνάι 1. 3. 8.
33. τὴν πρὸς Ὑβαιοὺς ἔχθραν: see on 3. 4. 4 and cp. 4. 5. 6. —
ἐθύετο: i.e. the sacrifice preliminary to an expedition against the The-
bans. — ἐγένετο: as in 3. 5. 7. —
diαβατήρια: see on 3. 4. 3. —
ἐξαγούς: 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 pro-
vision of the king’s peace. Nom-
inally, indeed, the states of the Spartan confederacy had always been autonomous, and so the Spar-
tans 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 ἐξέπεμπτον: the impf. as in διελέγουντο 2. 2. 11.
καὶ τοὺτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργείους, τοῖς δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίστευεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἔξοισει πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμ-90 φοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς ἡ τῶν Κορυνθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγείς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοῖ γυνώτες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολίται ἐκώντες κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράξθη καὶ ὑμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεὺς, ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Δακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὑστερον 100 πόλεμον τῆς καθαρέσεως τῶν Ἀθηνησὶ τειχῶν αὐτὴ 36 πρώτη εἰρήνῃ ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον

— καὶ τούτοις: i.e. coercing them also, as well as the Thebans.— ἀπίστευεν: parallel with ἐκπέμψοιεν, i.e. ἀπεμι retains in the opt. its normal fut. meaning. — αὐτῇ 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 γυνώτες: of their own accord. — κατεδέχοντο: see on κατάξειν 1. 1. 29. — τοὺς . . . φεύγοντας: see on 4. 5. 1. §§ 35–36. The results of the peace. 386 B.C.

35. ὑμωμόκεσαν: 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. — καθαρέσεως: dependent upon ὑστερον, 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 κτε.: ‘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.
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.

which followed. — ἀντιρρότως . . . πράττοντες: cp. the frequent phrase εἴ ἐπάνω. For the tense of the part. see on προσομιλούντες 1. 1. 30.— τῆς . . . καλομενῆς: 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.

II. Ἀκάνθου . . . Ἀπολλωνίας . . . Ὀλυνθοῦ: cities on the peninsula.
of Chalcidice. — *τοὺς συμμάχους*: i.e. delegates from the allied states, sitting in joint session with the Spartan Assembly. See on i. 33.

12. πράγμα: danger. Cr. πράγματα παρέχειν.— *δι* μέν: μέν is not followed by a correlative δι, 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 i. 3. 17.— *τῶν πόλεων*: sc. τινάς. — προσηγαγόντο . . . προσέλαβον: thus forming the Olynthian league, which forty years later, in the time of Demostenes, bore an important part in the struggle against Philip of Macedon.— *ἐφ’ ωτε . . . χρῆσθαι*: see on 2. 2. 20.— *τῶν μειζόνων*: indicating that the earlier acquisitions were small cities.— *Ἀμύντου*: father of Philip and grandfather of Alexander the Great.

13. Πέλλαν: at that time capital of Macedonia. — *δόσον οὐκ*: all
λωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλυνθίου προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσό-14 μέθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς οἰεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὃ ἀνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοὺς πα-τρίους νόμοις χρήσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολίται εἶναι. εἰ μέντοι μὴ βοηθήσεις τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ’ ἐκείνων γίγνε-25 σθαι. καίτοι νῦν γ’ ἡδή αὐτοῖς εἰσών ὀπλῖται μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὀκτακοσίων, πελτασταί δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἡ τοσοῦτοι ἱππεῖς γε μέντοι, ἐὰν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν 15 γενώμεθα, ἐσονταί πλείους ἡ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἡδή αὐτόθι. 30 ἦκονομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἰς συμπέμπτεν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμ-μαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσγεννήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θῆβαιών ἵσχύ, ὀράτε, ἐφ’, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ 35 Ποσειδαῖαν ἐχόσων ἐπὶ τῷ ἵσθμῳ τῆς Παλλήνης οὖσαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἐσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ’ ἐτι ἐστώ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτο ὅτι ἱσχυ-ρῶς αὐταί αἱ πόλεις πεφοβηνται· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦ-

but, lit. only not. — οἰεν: the tense as in ἀποιεῖν 1. 34.

14. αὐτοπολίται εἶναι: as opposed to συμπολιτεύεν § 12. — τις: as in 1. 5. 15, instead of the direct ἡμεῖς. — 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. συμπέμπτεν: i.e. with the Athenian and Boeotian envoys. — ὀράτε: 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. — ἐκεῖνα: lit. those matters, referring rather indefinitely, but no less distinctly, to the Athenians and the Thebans.— Ποσειδαῖαν: an important city only a few miles distant from Olynthus.— ταύτης: i.e. Παλ-
οι τοὺς 'Ολυνθίους ὀμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν 40
16 προσβείαις πέμπετο παράκοιμος ταύτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ
καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκός ὡμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθήναι
ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν ἐιν, πολὺ δὲ μεῖζονος ἀθροιζομένης
dυνάμεως ἀμελήσατε, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὕσχυρᾶς γεγονομένης. τί γὰρ
5 δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ
τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστὶ, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν
λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων, πολυναθρωπία γε μην
17 διὰ τὴν πολυστίτιαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μην καὶ γείτονές γ'
eἰσίν αὐτοῖς Θρᾴκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσιν 50
μὲν καὶ νῦν ἑδῇ τοὺς 'Ολυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνους
ἐσονται, πολλή καὶ αὐτῇ δύναμις προσγένοιτα· ἀν αὐ-
tοῖς. τούτων γε μην ἀκολουθοῦντων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγ-
γαίῳ χρύσεια χείρα ἀν αὐτοῖς ἑδῇ ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων
λήγει. — δῶμοι 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 subor-
dinate to the second, as in 1. 7. 28. Trans. with while . . . , neverthe-
less, etc. — ἐπιμεληθήναι ὅπως μὴ
. . . εἰν: referring to Sparta's suc-
scessful attempt to break up the
Boeotian league by means of the
Peace of Antalcidas (5. 1. 32 f.).
Hence ἐπιμεληθήναι is secondary,
and the following obj. clause may
take the opt., for which see on
δωσιν 1. 5. 9. — καθ' ἐν: as in 3. 4.
27. Therewith corresponds ἀθροι-
ζομένης below. — καὶ ταύτης: as in
4. 8. 14. — οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον:
whereas Boeotia had never been
strong except κατὰ γῆν. — τί γὰρ
δὴ καὶ: for the force of καὶ in a
question see on 1. 7. 26. — γε μην:
see Introd. IV. d. 4.
17. ἀλλὰ μην: 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 πίλας 3. 5. 19. — πολλή . . .
dύναμις: predicate. — αὐτῇ: sub-
ject. — τὰ . . . χρύσεια: in later
days the wealth derived from
the gold mines of Mt. Pangaeum
383 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. V, 2. 275

ημεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὅ τι οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δὴ-55
μω μυρίολεκτῶν ἔστι. τὸ γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις
λέγοι; καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἵσως ἐποίησεν ἃμα τῷ δύνασθαι
καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὐξεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ημεῖς μὲν
οὖν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς Δακεδαμόνιοι τε καὶ σομμαχοί, ἐξαγγέλ-
λομεν ὅτι οὔτω τάκει ἔχει. ημεῖς δὲ βουλεύσατε, εἰ δοκεῖ ὡς
ἀξία ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δὲ γε μὴν ὡμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι,
ὡς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὔσαν, οὔτω δυσπά-
λιστός ἔστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολι-
teίας κοινονοῦσαι, ἀυταί, ἃν τι ἰδίωσιν ἀντίπαλον, ταχύ
ἀποστήσονται; εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται ταῖς τε εἰς
ἐπιγαμίας καὶ ἐγκτῆσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἃς ἐψηφισ-
μένοι εἰσί, καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων
ἐπεσθαί κερδαλέον ἔστώ, ὡσπερ Ἄρκαδες, ὅταν μὲθ'
ύμων ἰσαν, τὰ τε αὐτῶν σάξουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλοτρια
ἀρπάξουσιν, ἰσως οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὐλυτα ἔσται.

20 Δεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Δακεδαμόνιαι τοῖς
συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἑκέλευσαν συμβουλεύειν ὅ τι γνω-
νόσκει τῖς ἀριστον τῆς Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμ-
μάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοί μὲν συνηγόρευον

 aided Philip to make himself master of Greece.—ημεῖς: emphatic
in contrast with ἐν τῷ... δήμῳ.
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.
—οὔσαν: supplementary.
19. ἐπιγαμίας: the right of
intermarriage.—ἐγκτῆσεσι: 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,
στρατιάν ποιεῖ· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἐδοξεῖ πέμπτεν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριον τε ἀντ’ ἄνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι διδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Ἀιγυναίον κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἵππεας τε εἰ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων ὀπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν 80
τῷ ἵππει δίδοσθαι· εἰ δὲ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξεῖναι Δακεδαιμονίοις ἑπτάχρησι στατήρι 23 κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν εἰ ὁ τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δωνάτα ταχὺ περανθήναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἐφασαν εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ ἡ παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζετο, ὡς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἀρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Δακεδαιμονός τε, ὅση ἄν ταχὺ ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων· τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τὸς τε ὀπίσω προσκεχωρηκυίας πόλεις στήναι ἄν 90 24 καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας ἦττον ἄν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάτων

a hearing, as in 1. 1. 28. For the fact see on 1. 33.—στρατιάν 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 Ἀιγυναίον 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 1. 5. 4).—ἵππεας . . . 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 Δακεδαμίων Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ τῶν Σκιρτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. ὁ μέντοι Εὐδαμίδας ἔξιῶν Φοιβίδαν τὸν Ἀδελφὸν ἐδείχθη τῶν ἐφόρων 95 τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ προστεταγμένοις ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεως φρουρῶς ἐπέμπε, Ποτείδαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκοῦσαν, σύμμαχον ἡδὴ ἐκείνων οὖσαν, καὶ ἐντεύθευν ὀρμώμενος 100 ἐπολέμει ὅσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττων ἔχοντα δύναμιν.

25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἡθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπολειπθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύετο. ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν Θῆβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἐξὶ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον· στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θη-105 βαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἄρχηγὸς ἐκάτερος τῶν ἑταρίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μίσος τῶν Δακεδαμίων οὔδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδα. ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν, καὶ 110

26 ἐπεὶ εἰσφοιτεώθη, ἐλεγε τάδε· Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὁ Φοιβίδα, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι

24. Σκιρτῶν: a people who lived on the northern frontier of Laconia. — Φοιβίδαν: subj. of μετιέναι. — αὐτός: Eudamidas. — ἐκεῖνων: i.e. the Olynthians.


25. τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου: gen. of separation. — ἐν Θῆβαις: i.e. in the district of Thebes. — Νεμέα 4. 2. 14. — γυμνάσιον: probably the so-called Heracleum, 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. — Ἰσμηνίας: cp. 3. 5. 1. — ἑταρίων: political clubs. Cp. 2. 3. 46.
27. ἀποκεκήρυκται κτέ.: showing that the democratic party was now in control. Cp. also the fact mentioned in § 15.—μηδένα: a redundant negative. See on 1.7. 32.—ἡμεῖς: emphatic,—we, your friends.—"Ολυνθον . . . Θῆβαι: the chiastic arrangement emphasizes the contrast in thought.

28. προορμήσαι: i.e. in order to dispel any possible suspicion on the part of the Thebans.—ἐκέλευσεν: sc. ὁ Δεοντιάδης.—σοι: see on στρατεύ 4. 2. 9.

29. ἐν τῇ . . . στοὰ: instead of in the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, the usual place of meeting.—θεσμοφορίαζεν: the Thesmophoria was a festival in honor of Demeter, celebrated by women
383 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. V, 2. 279

ἐφι ὑποτο ο Λεοντιάδης ἀποστήρεσθε το τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἠγεῖται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καταστήσας δὲ 135 ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδόσει τὴν βαλανάγραφ εὐτῶ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν μηδένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὄντων μὴ αὐτὸς κελεύοι, 30 εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν Βουλήν. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἶπε τάδε: ʼΟτι μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες, Δακεδαιμόνιοι κατέχοντο τὴν ἀκρό- 140 πολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε: οὐδεὶς γάρ φασί πολέμιοι ἥκειν, ὡστε μὴ πολέμων ἐρᾶ: ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξεῖναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἰ τοις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τούτοις Ἰσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμωποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ- 145 τῶν τεταγμένοι, ἀνύστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες ἀπαγάγετε 31 τοῦτον ἐνθα εἰρηται. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πράγμα παρηγαγὸν τε καὶ ἐπείδοντο καὶ συνελάμβανον· τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδότων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἐξο τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ 150 ἀποθάνουν· οἱ δὲ καὶ οἱ καθεὶ πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργήσον τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν ἰσθόντο ἐν τῇ Κα- δμείᾳ, τότε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας οἱ ταῦτα γυνώσκοντες ἶνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἰσμηνία μάλιστα

only. — ἀποστρέψει: ἀπὸ in comp., back. — παριέναι: to let in, from parίμι.

30. λαμβάνω τούτοις Ἰσμηνίαν: the scene is precisely similar to that between Critias and Theramenes, 2. 3. 51 f. — πολεμοποιοῦντα: both in the past (cp. § 35) and by now befriending Sparta's enemies, the Olynthians (§§ 27, 34). — ἐνθα εἰρηται: to the place where you have been directed to take him. · So Critias uses the phrase οὗ δέ (2. 3. 54) instead of saying 'prison.'

31. οἱ ... γυνώσκοντες: as in 2. 3. 34. It includes both οἱ μὲν and οἱ δὲ. — ἶνδροκλείδα: his name is coupled with that of Ismenias in 3. 5. 1.
32 τριακόσιοι. ώς δὲ ταύτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν 155 ἀντὶ Ἰσμηνίου ἄλλον εἶλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ηὕρε δὲ ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρος καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδα, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτα ἐπεπράξει. οἱ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὦτι εἰ 160 μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πεπραχὺς εἰ, δίκαιος εἰς ἦς ἥμιονθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθά, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. αὐτὸ ὦν τοῦτ', ἐφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ γὰρ κακὰ ἐστὶ τὰ 33 πεπραγμένα. ἐπειτὰ μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς 165 τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγεν τοιάδε: Ἀνδρεῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ώς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἴχον ὑμῖν ὧν θεβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε: ἔωρατε γὰρ ἀεὶ τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχουν—

§§ 32–36. Leontiades 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 intense anger which was felt throughout the other states of Greece at the treacherous seizure of the Cadmea. 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 μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος: according to Plutarch (Ages. 23 f.) Agesilaus was suspected of being the real author of the plot which Phoebidas carried out. Diodorus (l.c.) even says that general instructions had been secretly given to Spartan commanders to seize the Cadmea if they found an opportunity. —δίκαιος εἶ: for the personal constr. see on 1. 7. 4.—αὐτὸ: nearly equal to μόνον. —ἀγαθὰ γὰρ κακὰ: from the point of view of policy, not of morality.

33. τοὺς ἐκκλήτους: see on 2. 4. 38.—ἔλεγετε: iterative. —δυσμενέσι: used substantively. —
In 383 B.C., the first = nonne, introducing both the following clauses; the second negatives ήθελαν only. Trans. did they not refuse . . . , and, etc. — ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν . . . δὴ-μον: see 2. 4. 30 and note. — Φωκεύσι . . . ἐπεστάτευον: see 3. 5. 4.

34. ἐποιοῦντο: conative impf., for it seems that the proposed alliance (§ 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 Spartan cipher dispatch. A narrow strip of leather was wound diagonally 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. — ἐκείθεν: from Thebes, i.e. by the Thebans.

35. ὡσπερ: used, as in § 28, of carrying out a course of action consistently with a beginning already made. — ἱσμηνία . . . ποιήσαι: lit. to make a trial for Ismenias, i.e.
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... εἴη: as stated in 3. 5. 1.—διὶ τῆς... ταραξῆς κτλ.: i.e. that he had been responsible for the Corinthian War. Here lay the real cause of Ismenias' condemnation.

36. τὸ μὴ οὐ... ἔναι: 'that he was not full of great and evil undertakings.' For the double neg. see on 2. 3. 16; for the unusual τὸ 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...
Ελληνικά καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὡς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμονίοι τε γὰρ οἱ ὀμόσαντες αὐτονόμους εάσεων τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θῆβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἄδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, προτερον οὔδ’ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς τῶν πῶπτων ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τοὺς τε τῶν πολιτῶν ἔσυγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουληθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν τῇν τούτων ἀρχήν ἐπτὰ μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἥρκεσαν καταλύσαι. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐγένετο ἐνηγύσωμαι.

2 Ἡν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχους, καὶ τάλα ὑπηρέτει, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἀριστα. ὃς: mention (cite) as proof that. 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 Introd. 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 κτ.: 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 πῶπτων ἀνθρώπων: see on 3. 5. 14. — κρατηθέντες: conquered,—not defeated, for the Spartans had in fact suffered defeats.—τοὺς ... ἔσυγαγόντας ... καὶ βουληθέντας: 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 τοῦτων ἀρχήν. — ὡστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν: as though ἐκεῖνοι 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 πολεμάρχους: there were probably three polemarchs, although Xenophon mentions only Archias and Philip by name.—τάλα: i.e. besides the duties which properly fell to
him as γραμματεύς.—καὶ πρόσθεν . . . ὅν: see on ὅνι 4. 8. 4.—τὸν . . . Ὑπαίτων: 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 Ἀρχιαν . . . 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 Φίλιππου is used in the second instead of the simple genitive.—γυνός: having found out.—μισοῦντα: Plutarch (l.c. 7) says that Phillidas had obtained the post of γραμματεύς for the express purpose of betraying the polemarchs.—μᾶλλον αὐτὸν: = μᾶλλον ἡ 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.—ἡνίκατερ . . . ὑπαίτατοι: sc. ἀπιόντες ἔλθον, at the time when the last returning laborers came in.
4. ὃ μὲν ὁδὸν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὥς Ὄφροδίσια ἀγούσων ἐπ' ἐξόθῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ 30 δὴ καὶ γυναίκας πάλαι ὑπισχυόμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τἀς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θῆβαις, τότε ἐφῇ ἄξειν. οἱ δὲ — ἢσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι — μάλα ἤδεις
5 προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἔπει δὲ ἐδείπησάν τε καὶ συμπροθύμουμένον ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι 35 κελευόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἑταίρας, ἐξελθὼν ἡγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ 6 ἄλλους ὡς θεραπαίνας. κακείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προταμείῳ τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἴπε τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν φασιν εἰσελθέων αἱ 40 γυναίκες, εἰ τις τῶν διακόνων ἐνδον ἐσοτερο. ἔνθεν οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξείναι, δὲ Φιλλίδας δοὺς οἴνον εἰς ἐνώς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἑταίρας δὴ, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἑκάστῳ. ἤν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ καθίζομοντο, παίειν ἐνθὺς 45

4. τὰ ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο: made the other arrangements. The acc. is cognate.— ὥς: here equal to ᾧτε.— Ἀφροδίσια: not a festival in honor of Aphrodite, but simply a farewell banquet.— καὶ δὴ καὶ: = καὶ δὲ.— πάλαι ὑπισχυόμενος: as próσθεν ὃν § 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 contained a full account of the plot against the polemarchs. Archias, however, put the letter aside with the remark Eis ἀὐριον τὰ στοιχεῖα, 'Serious matters for to-morrow.' — κελευόντων: see on 1. 1. 26.

6. προταμείον: an anteroom adjoining the treasury, hence a safe place.— εἰς ἐνῶς: s.c. οἶκον. S. 1302; HA. 730 a. The gen. dependent upon an omitted οἶκος or νεῶς (temple) is analogous to the English 'at Jackson's,' 'to St. Peter's.' — δὴ: ironical. See on 1. 7. 8.
7 ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοῦς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς καμαστάς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἁμφὶ Μέλωνα ἀποκτείναι τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλλίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἑπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Δεοντιάδος οἰκίαν. κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν 50 πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρίς κατακείμενος ἑτὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐρμοπροσα σαρκασμὸν παρεκάθητο. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείνantes, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσκόπησαν. ἐξίοντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλείσθαι· εἰ δὲ λήψονται ἀνεψυχέννην, ἡπείλησαν ἀποκτείναι ἀπαντάς 8 τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἔπει δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ ἐπε τῶ εἰργημοφόλουκαν ἢτο ἄνδρα ἄγων παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ὅν ἐίρξαί δέοι. ὡς δὲ ἄνέψεξε, τούτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπεκτείναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοάς ὅπλων καθελόντες ὑπλισαν, καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφείον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὅπλα.

7. ἁμφὶ: see Introd. IV. c. 2. — Δεοντιάδος: cp. 2.25 f. — χωρίς: 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. — ἀποκτείναι: for the tense see on δοῦναι 1. 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 στοάς ὅπλων: i.e. captured arms, which were hung in the stoa as trophies. — Ἀμφείον: the shrine of Amphion, a Theban hero. — θέσθαι . . . τὰ ὅπλα: to stand under arms, i.e. in readiness.
9 ek de tou'tou euθus ekhrūttou exiēnai pāntas. Θηβαῖους, ὡσ ἵππεας ὑπὸν τῶν τυράννων τεθνεῶτων. οἱ de polîtaî, ὡς μὲν νῦξ ἦν, ἀπυστοῦντες ἤσυχιάν εἶχον: ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡμέρα τ’ ἦν καὶ φανερὸν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχὺ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὅπλοι καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐξεβοήθουν. ἐπεμβαίναν δ’ ἵππεας οἱ κατεληλυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ὀρίους Ἀθηναίων δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ’ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ’ ὤ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐπεβοήθουν.

10 de μεντὸ ἐν τῇ ἀκροτόλει ἀρμοστής ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἐπεμβαίνει εἰς Πλαταίας καὶ Θεσπιᾶς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιὰς αἰσθθο-75 μενοι προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαῖων ἵππεῖς ἀπαντήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλέον ἡ εἰκοσις. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἦδη 11 παρῆσαν, προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡσ δὲ

9. εἰσίναι: i.e. from their houses. — ὡς: as in 1. 1. 24. — ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἦν: at daybreak, according to Plutarch (Pelop. 12 f.), the citizens gathered in assembly and elected Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon as Boeotarchs (cp. 3. 4. 4), thus asserting once more the claim to headship in Boeotia which the Peace of Antalcidas had forced Thebes to relinquish (1. 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, explaining 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 beforehand of the plot against the polemarchs and that they acted without orders from the Athenian government. — εἰδότες . . . ἐπεβοήθουν: knowing the thing (i.e. errand, purpose) for which they (the Thebans) had sent out the horsemen, came to their aid. The text, however, is very uncertain.

10. Πλαταίαι: Plataea, an ally of Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, had been captured and destroyed by the Spartans in 427 B.C., but rebuilt by them after the Peace of Antalcidas
in order to serve as a check upon the power of Thebes. Both Plataea and Thespiae were now occupied by Spartan garrisons.

11. ὁλίγοι 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 ἑώρων. See Introd. IV. d. i. — καὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων κτλ.: since also (καὶ) large prizes were offered to those who ascended the acropolis first, an additional reason for the προθυμία referred to. — ἐπὶ τούτως: on these terms, summing up the preceding.

12. ἔξιόντων: gen. abs. Cp. κελευόντων § 5. — ὄσοι: 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.

λέγων ὧτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἄφ’ ἡ βης εἰς, καὶ ὡςπέρ τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἰς τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἔξω στρατευεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεύσι τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. κάκεινος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ᾿ ἐνεκεν 100 κατέμενεν, ἀλλ᾿ εὖ εἰδὼς ὦτι εἰ στρατηγοῦ, λέξοιεν οἱ πολίται ὡς Ἂδησίλαος, ὡς βοηθήσει τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἰα οὖν αὐτοὺς βού-14 λεύσθαι ὑποίον τι βούλοιςτο περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ᾿ ἐφοροὶ διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Ἐιηβαις 105 σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶ-τον τότε ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμώνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι’ Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἐξων Ἀθηναίων πελτα-στάς ἐφύλαττεν· ο ὄ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιάς φέρουσαν. προιόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ 110 περιτυχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρω φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακεὶον λελυμένοις, ὥς περὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὖσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπαντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξεφυγεν, οἱ

— ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἄφ’ ἡ βης: see on 2. 4. 32. — τῆς ἑαυτῶν: sc. χώ-ρας. — οὕτω δὴ . . . ἀπεδείκνυε: an anacoluthon. One would expect this clause to be parallel with ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα . . . εἰς and to be followed by a principal verb agreeing with Ἀγγρίλαος above. — οὕτα: applied. — λέξοιεν οἱ πολί-ται: Agesilas had made enemies at Sparta by his extreme war policy, especially in support of pro-Spartan oligarchs — εἰὶα οὖν κτὲ.: 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 χειμώ-νος: see on μάλα εἰημερίας 2. 4. 2. — τὴν . . . δι’ Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν . . . τὴν ἐς Πλαταιάς: the first the eastern, the second the western route over Mt. Cithaeron. — οἱ πελτασταὶ: i.e. of Cleombrotus. — ἄκρω: of Mt. Cithaeron. — τοῖς . . . λελυμένοις: cp. § 8. — ὡς περὶ: about, i.e. the same meaning which either word alone would have.
the soldiers. For ποτέ in a question see on 2. 3. 47.

17. σημαίνειν: = σημειον εἶναι.
— τῶν μελλόντων: sc. γενήσεσθαι.
The reference is to Cleombrotus' defeat at Leuctra a few years later.
— τὸ καθήκον . . . ὁρὸς: a spur of Mt. Cithaeron.— αὐτοῖς σκεῦσι: baggage and all. For the idiom and constr. see on 1. 2. 12.— ὀπλα: i.e. shields.
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. — Ἰν . . . ἐνεβαλλόν: for the objective impf. see Introd. IV. E. — τῷ δύο στρατηγῷ: see § 9 and note. — στρατηγῷ, οἷς συνυπηρτάσθην: an extreme case of the not unusual mixture of dual and plural.

§§ 20–24. Sphodrias' raid into Attica. 378 B.C.

20. αὖ . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ: i.e. the Thebans as well as the Athenians (§ 19). — φοβοῦμενοι, εἰ μηδὲνες 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. τολεμήσοιεν is opt. in implied ind. disc. — πείθουσι κτέ.:
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 ύπωπτεύετο: referring to χρήματα δόντες only. — ἐν ἐκπολεμώσειε: the purpose of the Thebans, not of Sphodrias. — ἀπύλωτος ἤν: evidently the new fortifications of Piraeus, begun by Conon (4. 8. 10), had not been entirely completed. — καθανύσεν: sc. τῆν ὄδον, would finish the journey.


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). — οὖτω . . . ὡς: = οὖτω . . . ὁ ὀτέ. See Introd. IV. Η.
Sections 24–33. Sphodrias disobey the command to return to Sparta for trial, yet is nevertheless acquitted.

34. Τών μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βουωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν δῆμον ὦς οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι οὐχ ὀπως τιμωρήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανέσεσαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθηναιαῖς. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ναῦς τε ἐνανπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάση προθυμία ἐβοήθουν. οἰ δ᾿ αὖ Λακεδαίμονιοι

— καταλαμβανόμενον: conative, that an attempt was making to seize Piraeus.—καὶ ταῦτα: as in 2. 3. 53.
23. οὐδὲ: 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: ἐφάσαν εὖ εἰδέναι ὅτι πεύσουτο Σφοδρίαν ἀπολολότα. — μηδὲν: see on μηδένα 4. 5. 12.
24. ὕπηγον θανάτου: as in 1. 3. 19.

§§ 34–41. Athens aids the Thebans. Agesilaus' campaign against Thebes.

34. οὐχ ὀπως ... ἀλλὰ καὶ: see on οὐχ ὀπως 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-
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 en-
tirely passed over in the Hellenica,
except for the above vague allu-
sion. See Introd. p. 27.

35. σφίσι: for the dat. see on
στρατιά 4. 2. 9. — εἰπὼν δι... ἄν
... ἀντειπεῖν: see on ὅτι... ἔστε-
σθαι 2. 2. 2.

36. Κλητορίους... 'Ὀρχομε-
νίοις: Cletor and Orchomenus were
towns in Arcadia. — εἰ τι δεηθεῖ: sc. αὐτῷ, if he had any need of it.
37. πρῶτον: i.e. before doing
anything else.
μετ’ ἀριστον ἐξάγων ἐδήν τής χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τής τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμωι, ὅπως ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρήσαν αὐτῷ 39 ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι. καὶ ποτὲ ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἦδη τήν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς τέως ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἕξαιφῆς διὰ τῶν ὦδοποιημένων τοῦ χαρακώματος ἐξόδων ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἀπιόντων πρὸς δεῖπνον καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ’ ἵππεων τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ’ ἀναβαίνοντων, ἐπελαύνουσι· καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαιαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἑνα, Εὐδίκον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τῶν πολεμά-40 δυσι, οὕτω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππους. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἱ τε ἱππεῖς ἠλαυνοῦν ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεύσι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ’ ἥβης ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐφίκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι ποι ἐν 45

38. τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ κτέ.: the parts of the country on his side of the stockade and trench. χώρας is part. gen. with the entire following phrase; σταυρωμάτων and τάφρων depend upon πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ, which amounts to an adv. of place, e.g. ἐξω, outside.—γάρ: the following clause explains why Agesilaus kept to his own side of the stockade. —ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι: see on ὡς μαχούμενοι 1. 1. 33.

39. οἷα δὴ = ἀτε. —συσκευαζομένων: making their preparations, i.e. for going away.—ἔτι καταβεβηκότων: being still dismounted. The perf., of an accomplished 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 continuance, ἔτι.

40. οἱ ἱππεῖς: of the Spartans. —ἐφίκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι κτέ.: 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
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 εξικνούντο οὐ.—άναστρέφοντες . . . δάδεκα: a kind of inverse partitive apposition, i.e. άναστρέφοντες refers to the whole and δάδεκα to the part, yet it is the latter which is subj. of the verb. Note that άναστρέφοντες is concessive.—έκ τοσοῦτον: more than a spear’s throw.

41. καὶ οἱ πολεμιῶι: i.e. as well as Agesilaus himself, § 38.—δι’ ἑρμίας: i.e. supply πολεμίωι, as in δι’ ἑρμίας πολεμίωι 3. 4. 21.—ἐσω: 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.—ὑπερπαλῶν: 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 Oi de 'Athenaioi, ekpexitwokotatas meun drwntes ek tis 3 Boiotias Plataias, filous ontas, kal katapefenvotatas prois aitouvs, ikeutountas de Thespias mihe sfas pereidein apolidas genomenous, oukete epinonov tovs Thebaious, alla polemein meun aitouis ta meun yochynonto, ta de 5 asumforws exein elogizontos. koinwnein ge mihen aitouis dun eparrton oukete qtheleu, epei eowron stratetwontas

Chapter 3, §§ 1–3. The Athenians send envoys to Sparta to treat for peace. 371 B.C.

1. Plataias . . . Thespias: 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 Thespiae also was destroyed, and its population apparently scattered in villages. Diod. 15. 46. — filous ontas: for a century and a half the friendship between Athens and Plataea had been exceedingly close. See below. — mihe sfas . . . genomenous: not to look on and see them without a city. For the part. with pereidein see S. 2103; G. 1585; GMT. 148, 885. — meun . . . ge mihen: while . . . , still. See on 5. 2. 16. — ta meun . . . ta de: partly . . . partly. — koiwnein . . . aitouis: Thebes and Athens had been
te autous epi filous arxaious t' polei Phokeas, kai poleis pistoras t' en t' pro twn barbaron poleimw kai
2 filas eautois afanizontas. ek touton de ypsiwsawmenos o diemos eirhnyn poieidhamai, prwton men eis Thebas
presebeis epemph parakaloynetas akolouthein, eis bou-
louto, eis Lakedaimonia peri eirhnys. epeita de eze-
peymen kai autoi presebeis. he de toon aiirethnwn
Kalliias 'Ipponikou, Autokleis Stroumpthidou, Dem-15
stratos 'Aristofwntos, 'Aristokleis, Kephisodotos,
3 Melanwpos, Lukaithos. kai Kallasstratos de o deim-
goros parhn. ypotsxomenos gar 'Iphikratei, eis auton
afeih, h xrhymata pemfeiv t' nautikf h eirhnyn pou-
seiv, owtos 'Athynosi te hei kai eprratte peri eirhnys. 20
ephei de katosthesan epi tous ekklhtous te toon Laxe-
daimonivn kai tous summapoxous, prwton eilexein autwn

allies since 378 B.C. See 5. 4. 34
and note. — filous arxaious . . .
Phokeas: Phocis had been allied
with Sparta in the Peloponnesian
and Corinthian wars, but Thucy-
dides (3. 95) bears witness to
the friendly feeling of the Pho-
cians toward Athens. — poleis
pistoras: Plataea and Thespiae
had brilliantly distinguished them-
selves in the Persian wars. It was
the Plataeans alone who aided the
Athenians in the battle of Mar-
thon, and the Thespians alone
who fought to the death in com-
pany with the Spartans at Thers-
mopylae. 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. ek toouton: causal. — Kalli-
lias 'Ipponikou: for the omission
of o cp. 1. 1. 29 and note.
3. Kallasstratos: leader of
the party which favored peace
with Sparta. — ei auton afeih: Cal-
listratus had accompanied Iphi-
ocrates on the cruise mentioned in
the above abstract. — xrhymata pem-
fein: Iphocrates had been much
hampered by lack of money. —
ohtos: summing up the preceding,
as epi tooutos in 5. 4. 11. — he . . .
epratter: where the Eng. would
use the plupf. — ekklhtous: see on
Kallías ὁ δαδόχος. ἦν δ’ οὖτος οἰος μηδὲν ἦττον ἔδεσθαι ὑφ’ αὐτοῦ ἦ ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐπανούμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἥρξατο ὑδὲ πως.

4 Ὁ ἄνδρες Δακεδαμώνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὖκ ἐγὼ ἔχω μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρὸς πατὴρ πατρίδαν ἔχων παρεδίδον τῷ γένει. Βουλομαι δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὑμῖν δηλώσαι, ὡς ἔχουσα ἡ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκείνη γὰρ, ὅταν μὲν πόλεμος ἦ, στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀιρεῖται, ὅταν δὲ ἰσχυρίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐκτέμπει. κἀγὼ πρόσθεν διὸς ἰδὴ ἠλθὼν περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς προσβείαις διεπραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ τρίτων ἴκω, καὶ ἵγοιμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἄν διαλαλήσῃ τοιχεῖν. ὁρῶ γὰρ οὖκ ἀλλα μὲν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς τε ἀγαθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν τε καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντας χίλους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἡ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ σωφρόνων μὲν δῆπον ἐστὶ μηδὲ ἡμῖν

2. 4. 38. — ὁ δαδόχος: 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 ὁ δὲ ἔδεσθαι: see on 2. 3. 45. Note the accumulation of aspirated words in this clause, as well as the alliteration in ἦττον ἔδεσθαι. — καὶ τότε δὴ: indicating that in the following speech Callias was true to his character as above described.

§§ 4–6. The speech of Callias.

4. τὴν προξενίαν: cp. 5. 4. 22. — πατρὸς πατὴρ πατρίδαν: 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. — στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς: e.g. Callias, 4. 5. 13; Hipponicus, Thuc. 3. 91. — δις ἰδὴ: the occasions alluded to are uncertain.
5. μικρά: emphasized by contrast with a total absence of differences — ὀμογνωμονοίμεν. — εἰ: opt. because σωφρόνων ἐστὶ 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. — μηδὲ: i.e. not even to begin war, much less to continue it now. — λέγεται μὲν: καὶ . . . δὲ serves as correlative, instead of the expected λέγεται δὲ. — Τριπτόλεμος: 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 ἐξεῖναι: predicative. — Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγετῇ: see 3. 3. 3 and note. — Διοσκούροιν: Castor and Pollux, putative sons of King Tyndareus of Sparta. — ἦν ύμᾶς . . . ἡμᾶς τε: a slight irregularity, instead of ἦ . . . ἦ or τε . . . τε. — μὴ οὐχὶ: for the double neg. see S. 2745, 2746; HA. 1034 b; B. 434; G. 1617; Gl. 572 a. — ἡμᾶς: i.e. you and ourselves. — δὲ: then. For its use in an apodosis see S. 2837; HA. 1036 c; B.
σθαί μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, κατα-55
λύεσθαι ἃ δυνατὸν γάρ τάξιστα.

7 Μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀὐτοκλῆς, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφῆς εἶναι
ῥήτωρ, ὥδε ἡγόρευεν: Ἄνδρες Δακεδαμόνιοι, ὃτι μὲν
dὲ μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ
ἀγνῶ· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οὕτως βούλονται, ἢν ἂν ποιή-60
σωνται φιλίαι, ταύτην ὡς πλείστον χρόνον διαμένειν,
dιδακτέον εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἰτία τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς
dὲ ἀεὶ μὲν φατε· αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρη ἐκαί,
αὐτὸι δὲ ἑστὲ μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. ὑποτι-
θεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίας πόλεις τοῦτο 65
πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡγησθε. καίτοι τί
πρῶτον αὐτονομία προσήκει; ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ
ἀνακοινοῦμενοι τοῖς συμμάχους, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθε·
ὡστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τούς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται
στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ τὸ 70
πάντων ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομία, καθίστατε ἐνθα μὲν
δεκαρχίας, ἐνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας: καὶ τοῦτων τῶν
ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελείσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν,
ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωσαι βία κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις. ὡστ'
9 εούκατε τυραννίστι μᾶλλον ἡ πολιτείας ἡδόμενοι. καὶ 75 ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέτατεν αὐτονόμος τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, μάλα γιγνώσκοντες ἐφαίνεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἔσοψαν Οἰ. Ἡβαίοι ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν τε ἐαυτῆς καὶ οἷς ἀν βούληται νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὰ βασιλείως γράμματα. ἔπει δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Κα-80 δμείαν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Ἡβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμος εἶναι. δεὶ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἐσεσθαί οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἄξιον τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ὅπως ἄν πλεῖστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.

10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπήν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν, ἡδο-85 μένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις ἐποίησε. μετὰ τούτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν. 'Αλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὥς ἄνδρες Δακεδαίμονιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγενήται ἀμαρτήματα καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἕγω μὲν οὐκ ἄν ἔχεω μοι δοκῶ εἰπεῖν: οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γιγνώσκω ὃς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν 90

on ὃς τ. 3. 9. — γαίκατε ... ἡδό-μενοι: you manifestly delight. εούκα, like σύνοιδα, 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 προσέτατεν: i.e. in the Peace of Antalcidas. See note on 5.1. 31. — τῶν πόλεων: of Boeotia. See 5. 1. 32. — αὐτοὺς: intensive. — ὅπως: occasionally used with the superl. instead of ὃς. — πλεονεκτοῦντας: contrasted with τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, a little milder than ἀδικοῦντας. For the meaning of φαίνομαι with the part. see S. 2143; HA. 986; B. 661, N. 3; G. 1592, 1; Gl. 588 c. Cp. also note on εούκατε § 8.

§§ 10-17. The speech of Callistratus.

10. παρά: on the part of. So ἀπό (ἀφ' ἡμῶν) below. — τοὺς 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 ὃς, though
οὐδέποτε ἐτι χρηστέον. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἀναμάρτητον διατελοῦντα. δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι ἐνίοτε γίγνεσθαι ἀνθρωποὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες, ἀλλως τε καὶ ἔαν κολασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγογγε ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως πραξ-95 θέντα ἐστίν ὅτε πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα ὡς ἢ καὶ ἡ καταληφθεὶσα ἐν Θήβαις Καδμεία· νῦν γοῦν, ἃς ἐσπονδάσατε αὐτονόμους πόλις γενέσθαι, πᾶσαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἡδικήθησαν οἱ Θηβαιοί, ἐπ’ ἐκείνως γεγένηται. ὡστε πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀκερδές 100 ἐστὶ νῦν ἐλπίζω πάλιν μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλία ἑσεθαί. ἃ δὲ βουλόμενοι τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην διαβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ ϕιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ φοβούμενοι μὴ Ὅντας ἐλθῇ ἐχων παρὰ βασιλέως χρήματα, διὰ τοῦτο ἢκομεν, ἐνθυμηθητε ὡς 105 φλυαροῦσι. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δὴ πον ἔγραψε πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναί ν ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ λέγοντες τε καὶ πράττοντες τί ἀν ϕοβοῖ-μεθα βασιλέα· ἥ τοῦτο οἰεται τις, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι βοῦλεται

strictly the indir. form of a πῶς οὐ question (e.g. 2. 3. 22). S. 2668 c; GMT. 706. — ἀναμάρτητον διατε-λοῦντα: with omission of ὅντα, as in 4. 3. 3. — καὶ εὐπορώτεροι: even easier to deal with, as opposed to οὐδέποτε ἐτι χρηστέον.

11. ἀγνωμόνως: intentionally euphemistic and conciliatory. — ὡς: referring to τὰ ... πραξθέντα. — ἡμᾶς: as in § 6, continuing the conciliatory tone.

12. α... διαβάλλουσιν: see on α... ἐπεν 2. 3. 45. — μὴ Ἀνταλκί-δας ἐλθῇ: 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 προσ-έταττεν § 9. — ὡς ἐκεῖνοι βοῦλεται
χρήματα ἀναλώσας ἀλλοις μεγάλους ποιήσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἢ ἐγνώ ἀριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἕαυτῷ
er

εἰ. 13. εἰ. so much for that, a formula of transition. — ὁτι . . . οὐκ ἀποροῦντες: sc. ἥκομεν, that it is not because we are in straits. — τινὲς: i.e. the Thebans. — οὐκ ἀρεστά: οὐκ instead of μῆ, the regular neg. of the protasis, because it limits ἀρεστά only. — ὅν ἑνεκα := τοῦτων ἑνικά ὅτι, because. — περισσότερον 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. — ὁ ὀρθῶς ἐγνωμέν: 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. — εἰ. . . . καί: for the irregular correlation cp. on λέγεται μὲν § 6. — τὰ ἡμέρα . . . φρονοῦσαι: i.e. which side with you.

15. ἀλλὰ μέντοι: = at vero. — ὅτι μὲν . . . καί ὅτι ἡμεῖς: as in
οὴς ἡμεῖς, ἄν μὴ γων, ἀλλὰ ἄθις ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἐως ἣν ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἡ οὖν ὡς 130 τάχιστα πρῶν τι ἄνηκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὗτο οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔγγυε ἐπανώ  οὕτως ἀγωνισταί γενόμενοι καὶ νευκηκότες ἥδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονεικοῦσιν ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρῶν ἤττηθέντες τὴν ἀσκησιν καταλύσω-135 σιν, οὕτε γε τῶν κυβερτῶν οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐὰν ἐν τι ἐπιτύχωσιν, περὶ διπλασίων κυβερνητευσιν ὧρῷ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων τοὺς πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους.
17 ἀ χρῆ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπῆρωτας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγώνα μηδέποτε καταστήναι, ὥστε ἡ πάντα λαβεῖν ἡ πάντι ἀπο-140 βάλεῖν, ἐὼς δὲ καὶ ἔρρωμεθα καὶ εὐνυχοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι. οὐτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῷ ἄν δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δὶ ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα.
18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ 145 Δακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ὃ τοὺς τε ἅμοστας ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἔξαγεν, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεζικά, τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἐώς. εἰ δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, τὸν μὲν

§ 14.—ἀλλὰ: see on δὲ § 6.—μᾶλλον ή οὖχ: a blending of the two formulas μᾶλλον ή and ἀλλὰ οὐ; hence the neg. is untranslatable.

16. ἀλλὰ μὴν: as ἀλλὰ μέντοι § 15.—τὴν ἀσκησιν: their athletic training, i.e. their careers.—ἐπι-
tύχοσι: succeed, as in 4. 5. 19.
17. ὥστ' ... ἀποβάλειν: explaining τοιοῦτον.—ἀναστρεφομέθα: ἀναστρέφεσθαι, like the Lat. versari, is sometimes weakened to practical equivalence with εἶπαν.

§§ 18–20. Peace is concluded. The exclusion of the Thebans.
βουλόμενου βοηθείν ταις ἀδικομέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ 150
μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἐνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικον-
19 μένωις. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμ-
μαχοὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἔκαστοι. ἀπογραφάμενοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς
ὁμομοιώταις πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες 155
πάλιν τῇ ύστερᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μετα-
γράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοὺς ὀμομοκότας. ὁ δὲ
'Αγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μεταγράφει μὲν οὐδὲν ὅν τὸ

18. μὴ εἶναι ἐνορκον: 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. ὁμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτὲ: 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 Βοιωτοὺς: the Thebans were members of the Athenian confederacy under the name Θηβαῖω, not Βοιωτοῦ, and it was as members of that confederacy that they were present at the congress. Hence
they signed the treaty as Θηβαῖοι, 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 Θηβαῖοι be changed to Βοιωτοί. They felt strong enough now to insist upon what they had been forced to yield (cp. 5. 1. 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. — ὁμοσάν τε καὶ ἀπεγράφαντο: 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. ἐνρήην: concluded about midsummer, 371 B.C.—γνώμην: acc. of specification.—τὸ λεγόμενον: according to the common saying, in apposition with Θηβαῖοι... δεκατευθηναι. See on τὸ... ἐναντιώτατον § 8.—δεκατευθηναι: 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 1. 3. 8.

Chapter 4, §§ 1–3. Cleombrotus invades Boeotia.

1. τῶν πόλεων: referring espe-
καὶ ἵφικράτην καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμποντο, καὶ ὁσα ὑστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι γενομένους, πάντα ἡνάγκαιες ἀποδοῦναι. Λακεδαιμόνιει μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τοὺς τε ἁρμοστᾶς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπῆγαγον, Κλεόμβροτον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκεύσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα τὰ οἱκοί τέλη τὶ χρῆ ποιεῖν, Προθόνοι λέξαντος ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοῖ διαλύσαντας τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὁπόσον βούλοιτο ἐκάστη πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μή τις ἐφή αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσαντας ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βούλοιτο βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοῦς ἔναντιουμένους· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐφη οἴεσθαι τοὺς τε θεοὺς εὗμενεστάτους εἶναι 15 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἰκιστ' ἂν ἁχθεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἡγήσατο· ἦδη

cially to the cities which Iphicrates had recently captured. See abstract of Chap. 2 above.

2. Κλεόμβροτον κτὲν: an ana¬coluthon, the original plan of the sentence being lost in course of the long parenthesis which follows.—ἐν Φωκεύσι: Cleombrotus had been sent to Phocis, probably in the early part of this year, to protect it from Theban attack. Cp. 3. 1. —τὰ...τάλη: as in 3. 4. 26. —συμβαλέσθαι: i.e. funds for the war, the temple of Apollo at Delphi to be the treasury.—ὅσοι...βούλοιτο: 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 ἐσκε, τὸ δαμοῦνον ἤγεν· ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στρατεύμα, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς 20 πόλεις. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡσθετο ὡς ὅπως; τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ' οὔδε τὸ στρατεύμα διαλύοντας, ὡς ἀντιτάττοιτο πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτω δὴ ἤγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. καὶ Ἦ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλέιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τιν ἐφύλαττον οὐκ 25 ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθές ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεοῦς, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αἱρεῖ, 4 καὶ τριήμεροι τῶν Θηβαίων δώδεκα λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο εὖ Λεύκτρους τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι 30 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρῷ λόφῳ οὗ πολὺ διαλείποντες, οὖδένας ἐχόντες συμμάχους ἀλλ' Ἦ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι 5 προσίστοντες ἔλεγον· Ὁ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ 35 ἐσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθῆσονται γάρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλάς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν

吸入：i.e. the Spartans to their destruction. — ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ: resuming in a different form the sentence begun in § 2. — οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὔδε: as in 2. 4. 14. — ὡς ἀντιτάττοιτο: the purpose of οὔδε διαλύοντας. — διὰ Θισβῶν: i.e. by a more southern route than the Thebans had expected him to take. — Κρεοῦς: 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 ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὦτι τὸ στρατόπεδον . . . ἐπούσατο, I praise his pitching his camp. — εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλάς κτ.: see 5.
Θηβαίων ἐδήσσασα, καὶ ὅτε ὑστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τής ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγγειλάου ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. εἶπερ οὖν ἡ σαυτοῦ κῆσθῃ ἡ τῆς 4ο πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τουαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ ἐναντίον. Νῦν δὲ, ἐφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνήρ εἰ τῷ ὁντι κῆδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, 6 ὅσπερ λέγεται. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παραξύνετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν Θηβαίων οἱ προεστῶτες ἔλογιζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῦτο, ἀποστήσουσι νέων αἱ περιοκίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοῖς δὲ πολιορκήσουσι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξω ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τάπιτηδεια, ὦτι κινδυνεύσου καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἄτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν πολλοὶ 50 αὐτῶν ἐλογιζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθνῄσκοντο ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτους παρεθάρρυνε μέν τι αὐτοῦς καὶ ὁ Χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Δακεδαιμονίους ἔτηθῆναι ἐνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἢ μνῆμα, αἱ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὄρο 55 Δακεδαιμονίων τιων ἀποκτείναι ἐαντάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τούτο τὸ μνῆμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὡς οἱ τε νεφω 4. 15 f. — ὑστερον στρατεύων: see abstract of 5. 4. 42 f. — Ἀγγειλάου ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος: see 5. 4. 36 f. and abstract of 5. 4. 42 f. — τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς: i.e. do not wish to be exiled. — κῆδεται 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 προεστῶτες: the seven Boeotarchs, of whom Epaminondas was one. — αὐτῶν: gen. of separation. — πολιορκήσουσι: 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 ἀνεφγόντο, αὖ τε ἦρειαι λέγοιεν ὡς νῖκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἦρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ἐφασαν ἀφανῆ ἐίναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἦρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωριμημένου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες λέγουσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ᾗ τῶν προεστηκότων. εἰς δ’ οὖν τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Δακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἑναντία ἐγίγνετο, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρθοῦτο. ἦν μὲν ὅσ γὰρ μετ’ ἀριστον τὸ Κλεομβρότῳ ἡ τελευταία Βουλή περὶ τῆς μάχης. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπινόντων καὶ τῶν οἴνων παροδίζοιν τι αὐτοὺς ἐλεγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀπλίζοντο ἐκάτεροι καὶ πρόδηλον ἢδη ἦν ὅτε μάχη ἐσούτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπιέναι ὁρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ Βοωτίου στρατοῦ τεῦματος τῶν τὴν ἄγορὰν παρεσκευακότων καὶ σκευοφόρων τινῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ Βουλομένων μάχεσθαι, περιώντες κύκλῳ οἱ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος μισθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταί καὶ τῶν ἵππεων Ἦρακλεώται καὶ Φλειάσιοι ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἀπιόντων ἐπέστρεψάν τε 75 αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν

according to Pausanias (9. 13. 5), who describes the incident here referred to. — ἀνεφγόντο: were opening, the impl. retained from the dir. disc. — ἀφανῆ εἶναι: had disappeared. — τεχνάσματα: Ionic for τεχνῆματα. Introd. IV. L.

8. δ’ οὖν: but at any rate. — καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης: ὅπως as well as by their own efforts or merits. — ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ 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. ὁρμημένων: gen. abs. with the three following substantives. — ἄγοράν παρεσκευακότων: see on ἐπιτόροις 1. 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.

— Ἦρακλεώται: cp. 3. 5. 6 and
Βοιωτῶν· ὡστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μειζόν τε καὶ ἀδροφο-
τέρον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στράτευμα. ἔπειτα
de, ἀτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξὺ, προστάξαντο μὲν
tῆς ἐαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τους ἰππέας, 80
ἀντετάξαντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν. ἦν
dὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἰππικὸν μεμελετηκός διὰ τε τὸν
πρὸς Ὄρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπίας,
tοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιους κατ' ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον πονηρό-

11 τατον ἦν τὸ ἰππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἰπποὺς οἰς
πλουσίωτατον· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρονρα φανθείη, τότε ἦκεν ὁ
συντεταγμένοις· λαβὼν δ' ἀν τὸν ἰππον καὶ ὅπλα
ὀποία δοθείη αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἀν ἐστρατεύετο·
tῶν δ' αὐτῶν στρατιώτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι

12 καὶ ἦκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππῶν ἤσαν. τοιούτοις
μὲν οὖν τὸ ἰππικόν ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος
τους μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιους ἐφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν
ἀγεν· τούτο δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἦ εἰς

note.—πολὺ μὲν: μὲν repeats the
μὲν after πρώτον above.

10. πεδίου: pred.—τοῦ μεταξὺ:
sc. χωρίον.—πρὸς Ὅρχομενίους:
Orchomenus (see on 3. 5. 6) was
the only Boeotian city which still
remained independent, despite the
efforts of the Thebans to subju-
gate it.—πρὸς Θεσπίας: 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 ἀν... ἀν ἐστρα-
teυετο: for the impf. with ἀν, of
customary action, see S. 1790;

HA. 835; B. 568; G. 1296; Gl. 461
a; and for the repetition of ἀν 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 πεντηκοστὸς (com-
pany) 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.—τούτο...
371 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. VI, 4. 313

dódeka tò βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἠ ἔτη πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζό-95 μένοι ὡς εἰ νυκήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πάν 13 εὑχείρωτον ἔσοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμ- βροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατευμα ὅτι ἤγουτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἦττηντο οἱ τῶν 100 Δακεδαμονίων· ἑυγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοὺς ἑαυ- τῶν ὀπλίταυς, ἐτὶ δὲ ἑνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὄμως δὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεὶ τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἄν· οὗ γὰρ ἀν ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν ἄνελέσθαι καὶ ζώντα ἀπένεγ-105

tò 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 = ἔτη ἔλαττό-νων. — συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν: were massed together. In the battle of Leuctra Epaminondas employed for the first time his famous λοξῇ 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: = ἦδη, already, straightway. The following καὶ = also. — συνεβεβλήκεσαν . . . ἦττηντο . . . ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν: the plupf. sometimes denotes the immediate accomplishment of an action, 'it was all over with.' S. 1953; GMT. 52. — σαφεὶ . . . τεκμηρίῳ: pred. to τούτῳ, hence the absence of the article. Cp. 5. 2.
17. — γὰρ: as in 5. 4. 1. — ζώντα:
Cleombrotus was mortally wounded and died before the fight ended,—the first Spartan king since Leonidas to lose his life upon the battlefield.

14. πολέμαρχος: see on 2. 4. 33.—Σφοδριας: cp. 5. 4. 20 f.—τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν: see on 4. 5. 8.—καὶ οἱ μὲν ἵππεῖς: here begins the main clause, καὶ meaning also. The reference in ἵππεῖς is probably to the Spartan king’s bodyguard, a picked force of 300 men, who were really hoplites, though bearing the name ἵππεῖς. —συμφορεῖς: probably aides.—ἐτυχεν οὐσα: the trench, therefore, was not one which had been dug for purposes of defense.—πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ: for the order of words see on 4. 5. 4.—ιστάναι: see on 2. 4. 7.

15. Σπαρτιατῶν: i.e. full Spartans or peers (ὁμοιοί), while Δακεδαμονίῳς above includes also
16. Ενομενων δε τουτων, δ μεν εις την Δακεδαιμονα ἁγγελων το πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοταιδων τε ουσις της τελευταιας και του ἀνδρικου χορου ἐνδον οντος. οι 135 δε ἐφοροι ἐπει ήκουσαν το πάθος, ἐλυποῦντο μεν, ὠσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνάγκη τον μέντοι χορον οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνώσασθαι εἰων. καὶ τα μεν ὀνόματα πρὸς τους οἰκείους ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπέδοσαν· προείπαν δε ταῖς γυναιξὶ μη ποιεῖν κραυγήν, ἀλλὰ σιγὴ το 140 πάθος φέρειν. τη δ’ ύστεραια ἦν ὅραν, δευ μεν ἐτῆθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ φαινερῷ ἀναστρεφομένους, δευ δε ζώντες ἡγγελμένοι

Perioeci and Neodamodes. The Theban loss is reckoned by Dio-dorus (15. 56) at 300. — οὐδὲ ἄχθομένους: 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. γυμνοταιδιών: a Spartan festival, celebrated with singing, dancing, and gymnastic exhibitions. — τῆς τελευταίας: sc. ἡμέρας. — ἐνδον: i.e. ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. — διαγωνώσασθαι: to finish (διά-) its performance. — ἦν ὅραν κτῆ.: 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.
§§ 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 ἄφ’ ἡβης: the oldest men who were ever called upon for service abroad. Cp. 5. 4. 13 and see on 2. 4. 32. — τῶν ἔξω 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’ ἄρχαις: in public offices.

18. τῆς ἀσθενείας: described in 5. 4. 58. — ἔτι ἔξων: 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
371 B.C.] ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. VI, 4. 317

19 ὃν διευθυντο τὸ στρατεύμα διαβιβάζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄρχιδαμος ἔθυντο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἀμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἀμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἔξει Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὃν ἐπε-
20 ποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἔτυγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἔπει δὲ 170 ἠκούσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἦνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένων τῶν κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περὶ τε τῆς βοηθείας οὔδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο. καὶ Ἀθηναῖον μὲν οὕτω ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κήρυξ. πρὸς μὲντοι Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὄντα, ἔπεμπον σπουδὴ οἱ 175 Θηβαῖοι, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν, διαλογιζόμενοι τῷ τὸ 
21 μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς τρυφερὲς μὲν ἐπλήρου, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ θάλατταν, συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ τε ἕξιν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν ἰππέας, καὶ περ ἀκηρύκτω 
Pολέμῳ τῶν Φωκῶν χρωμένων, πεξῆ διεπορεύθη εἰς 180 

abstract of Book 5, Chap. 2. — διαβιβάζειν: i.e. across the Corinthian Gulf.


19. ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει: i.e. τὰ διαβατήρια (see on 3. 4. 3). — τάντων: gen. of cause. S. 1405; HA. 744; B. 366; G. 1126; Gl. 509 c.

20. ὁτι μὲν ... ἦνιάθησαν: a contrasted ὃ δε clause—‘but (although) they did not speak out their feelings’—is suggested, but left unexpressed. See on 5. 2. 12. — ἐπὶ ξένων: 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. ὃς βοηθήσων: this pretense (see on 1. 1. 33) put the Phocians, Jason’s enemies, off their guard.

— διεπορεύθη: i.e. through Phocis.
τὴν Βουωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρῶτον ὄφθεις ἢ ἀγγελθεῖς οὕτι πορεύοντο. πρὶν γοῦν συλλέγεσθαι τι πανταχόθεν ἐφθανε πόρρω γεγονόμενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ 22δέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βουωτίαν, λεγόντων τῶν Ἰθηβαίων ὡς καίρος εἰς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀνωθέν μὲν ἐκεῖνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλὸν ἔργον γεγενημένον οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἰς διακωδυνεύσαν, ὡστε ἢ ἐτί μείζων καταπράξας ἢ στηρηθῇ 23ναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης νίκης. οὕχ ὀρᾶτε, ἐφή, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, ἐκρατήσατε; οἰεσθαί οὖν χρὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν, εἰ ἀναγκάζοντο, τοῦ ζῆν ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δὲ, ὡς ἐοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγάλους τῶν 24ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰθηβαίους τοιαύτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τὸν διακωδυνεύσαν τοὺς δ' αὐ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδασκεν οἴον μὲν εἰς ἡττημένον στράτευμα, οἴον δὲ νεικηκός. εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι, ἐφή, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλεύω 200

— ἀγγελθεῖς: the pers. constr. is used for the sake of parallelism with ὄφθεις. — γοῦν: at any rate.

22. ἀνωθέν: 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.

— ὡστε: used precisely as in 3. 17.

23. ἀναγκάζοντο: i.e. should find themselves in a like position, as compared with ἐν ἀνάγκῃ above. — τοῦ ζῆν . . . διαμάχεσθαι: would fight it out (dia-) reckless of their lives, lit. having given up all thought of life.

24. ἐπιλαθέσθαι . . . πάθος: to forget the disaster which has be-fallen you, i.e. by winning in the future such a victory as shall enable you to forget it. The text,
however, is uncertain. For the acc. in πάθος (instead of the gen.) see S. 1358; HA. 742 b; G. 1108; Gl. 511 b fin. — οὐτως: summing up the preceding participles. — εἰς μάχην ἵναι: = μάχεσθαι, hence with the dat. — πατρὸς: perhaps Lycophron, who is mentioned in 2. 3. 4.

25. καλοῦτοι: apparently Xenophon has in mind others with whom Jason had pursued similar tactics. — ἐκείνοι: instead of the reflexive. See on ἐκείνων 1.

1. 27. — συνεσκενάθαι: to have their baggage packed and ready. See on κεκλείσθαι 5. 4. 7. — ἀφ' ἐσπέρας: lit. from (the beginning of) evening, i.e. at the fall of evening. — τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος: 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 λαθείν κτῆ: perhaps the Spartans remembered the incident described in 5. 4. 12.

26. οία δὴ: as in 5. 4. 39. —
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 Ἀρκάδαις, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ 5 ἡσθοντο διαλελυμένοι αὐτῷ τὸ στρατεύμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡθροσμένοι ἔτυγχανον, στρατεύοισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραιάς, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἦθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισβεβλήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδιαν μετὰ τῶν Λακε-

χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν: 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 Ἀρκάδαις: i.e. the Arcadians and their allies, viz. the Eleans and the Argives. Cp. § 23. Similarly, οἱ Θεβαῖοι below includes the Theban allies enumerated in § 23. — αὐτὸς δὲ: while they themselves. — Ἡραιάς: 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 ἐκποτοῦ τὰ δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες παρεῖναι ἐλέγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας καὶ συμμυγνύουσι τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ὡς δὲ ὁμοί ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσων θ' ἐχευ, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθηκέσσαν μὲν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἑώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπίεναι παρεσκευάζοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι ἐπειθοῦν αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες μὲν τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλήθος, ὑπερπαίνοντες δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Δεύκτροις νίκή. ἡκολούθουν δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκουν γεγενήμενοι καὶ Εὐβοῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ 20 Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀκαρνάνες καὶ Ἡρακλεώται καὶ Μηλεῖοι· ἡκολούθουν δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θεταλίας ἵππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἱκέτευον μηδα-

ἐνεπίμπρων: a most unusual form from ἐμπίπτρημι, 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. ἐπειθοῦν: conative, urged. — Φωκεῖς κτέ.: 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. — Ἡρακλεώται: 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. —

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μῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακε-25
24 δαιμονίων χώραν. οἱ δὲ Θῃβαῖοι ἦκονον μὲν ταῦτα,
ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἡ Λακωνικὴ
ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρᾶς δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς
εὐπροσοδωτάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχύλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῳ
τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμῶδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν 30
Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους.
ἡν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη
φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Θῃβαῖοι, ὡς καὶ
συνελθούσαν ἄν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύνα-
μιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἄν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἁμεινὸν ἦ ἐν τῇ
35 ἐαυτῶν. ἀ δὴ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάνω προπετεὶς
25 ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ιέναι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ μέντοι
ἡκὸν ἐκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ὑπωσχύνο-

πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν: the inf. with πρὶν after a negative sentence is unusual. See S. 2455 and d; GMT. 629; also note on 1. 1. 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 συνελθούσαν ἄν . . . καὶ μάχεσθαι ἄν κτ.: 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. 1. Note that in the second clause it is inconsistently replaced by the inf. in ind. disc. with αὐτοὺς, despite the introductory ὡς and the correla-
tion with καὶ . . . καὶ; also that δύναμιν is grammatically in apposition with τοῦτο.— οὗ πάνυ προ-
πετεῖς: 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 expedi-
tion rendered themselves liable to the penalty of death.

25. ἦκὸν ἐκ τε Καρυῶν . . . παρῆσαν δὲ: for the combination τε . . . δὲ see on 1. 1. 34. Caryae was a village in northern Laconia, east of Sciritis.— ἦκὸν . . . λέγον-
tes: sc. τινές. Cp. on ἔχων 2. 1. 8.
μενοι αὐτῷ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἃν τι ἐξαπατῶντες, φαίνονται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρῆσαν δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανεῖσαν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ περίοικοι ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν βοηθεῖν· πάντα ὅν ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ παρὰ πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, 45 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ 'Αρκάδες 26 κατὰ Οἴδην τῆς Σκιρίτιδος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ Ἰσχόλαος ὑφίστατο, οὔδένα ἀν ταύτη γ' ἔφασαν ἀναβῆναι· νῦν δὲ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Οἰάτας συμμάχους χρῆσθαι, ἐμείνεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· οἱ δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπληθεῖς 'Αρκάδες. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχόλαον ἐπεκράτουν· ἔπει δὲ καὶ ὁπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐπαινοῦν καὶ ἐβαλλον αὐτοὺς, ἐνταῦθα ὁ τε Ἰσχόλαος ἀποθυμήσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μὴ τις 55 27 ἀμφιγνωσθεὶς διεφυγε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ 'Αρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ ὑσθοῦντο τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αρκάδων, πολὺ δὴ θρασύτερον κατέβαων.

— φάσκοντες ... ἔλεγον δὲ: changing from part. to finite verb, as in 4. 8. 9. As a result the dependent structure of the ἐπεί clause is forgotten, and the thought is resumed in πάντα ... ἀκούοντες below as though an independent sentence had preceded. See Introd. IV. k. — els: in. See on πρὸς 3. 5. 19. — καὶ νῦν: even now, when invasion 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 δὲ: but in fact. Cp. on 2. 3. 28. — 'Αρκάδες: an appositive, — namely, the Arcadians. — ἀναβαίνοντες: an afterthought, climbing up thereon.
καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάσιαν εὐθὺς ἔκαον καὶ ἐπόρθουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾷ ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρουν διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας ἱερῷ ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοις οἱ ὀπλῖται· ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἔχοντες τὸν Ἔυρόταν παρῆσαν κάοντες καὶ πορθοῦντες πολλῶν 28 καγαθῶν μεστὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὅρωσαν ἡνείχοντο, ἀτε οὐδὲ ποτὲ ἴδοὺσαν πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ Ἐπαρτίαται ἀτείχησαν ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος ἄλλη διασταχθεὶς, μάλα οὐλιγοῖο καὶ οὔτε καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύλαττον. ἐδοξεὶ δὲ τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ προεπεῖν τοῖς Εἰλῶσιν, εἰ τις βούλωσιν ὅπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμπολεμήσανεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλέον ἡ ἔξακις-75 χιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὖ οὔτοι παρεῖχον συντεταγμένοι καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ ἤνω· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔμενον μὲν οἱ ἐξ Ὄρχομενοι μισθοφόροι, ἐβοήθησαν δὲ τοῖς Λακηδαμονίοις Φλείασιοι τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύρουι 29. 

28. ἀτείχιστον . . . τὴν πόλιν: an unwalled city. See on 2. 3. 56. — ἄλλος ἄλλη διαστάχθεις: a phrase which indicates to the eye the fewness of the Spartans. — λαμβάνειν (after πιστά): obj. of προεπεῖν. — ὡς . . . ἐσομένους: as ὡς συνελθοῦσαν ἃν § 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. — αὖ οὔτοι: i.e. as well as the enemy. — ἔμενον: remained true. — οἱ . . . μισθοφόροι: whom Agesilaus had brought home with him from Arcadia. See abstract above.
καὶ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἦδη καὶ 80
30 τούς ἀπογεγραμμένους ἦττον ὁρρόδουν. ὡς δὲ προϊόν
τὸ στρατεύμα ἐγένετο κατ᾽ Ἀμύκλας, ταυτή διέβαινον
τὸν Εὐράταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπε-
δεύοντο, εὐθὺς δὲν ἔκοπτον δένδρων κατέβαλλον πρὸ
τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ οὕτως ἐφυλάτ-85
τοντο· οἱ δὲ 'Αρκάδες τούτων τε οὕδεν ἐποίουν, κατα-
λείποντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα εἰς ἀρπαγήν ἔπι τὰς οἰκίας
ἐτρέποντο. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡ ἡμέρα τρίτη ἡ τετάρτη
προῆλθον οἱ οἰπεῖς εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον εἰς Γαυαόχον
κατὰ τάξεις, οἱ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ 90
ὁσοι Φωκέων ἡ Θέτταλών ἡ Λοκρῶν οἰπεῖς παρῆσαν.
31 οἱ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαμιώνιον οἰπεῖς, μᾶλα ὅλιγοι ψαύν-και τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβα-100

30. κατ᾽ Ἀμύκλας: opposite Amyclae, a city a few miles south of
Sparta.—τε ... δὲ: as in § 25.—
ἀρπαγήν: the Arcadians were no-
toriously fond of plundering. Cp. 5.
2. 19.—Γαυαόχον: Doric form of
the Homeric γαυάχος, a title of Po-
seidon. For the gen. see on ἐνῶς
5. 4. 6. The race-course was evi-
dently a part of the sanctuary of
Poseidon, who, according to tradi-
tion, was the creator of the horse.

31. οἰπησαντες: agreeing with
οἱ Δακεδαμίανοι, whose parts are
οὕτως and οἱ οἰπεῖς below.—ἐν τῇ
tῶν Τυνδαιδών: sc. οἰκία. For
the Tyndaridae see on 3. 6.—
ἐμενε: stood firm.

32. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ ... αὐτοὺς:
and that they would make no fur-
λείν ἂν ἐτι αὐτοὺς ἣδη τι ἐδόκει βαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι ἀπάραν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἑφ' Ἐλος καὶ Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπύμπρασαν, Γυθεῖω δὲ, ἐνθα τὰ νεώρια τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἂν ἦσαν δὲ τινὲς τῶν περιοίκων οἱ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θηβαίων.

33 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὃ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ Δακεδαμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλής. ἤτυχον δὲ παρόντες πρέσβεις Δακεδαμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐτὶ ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτῶν. ὄθεν δὴ οἱ Δακεδαμονίοι Ἀρακος καὶ Ὡκυλλὸς καὶ Φάραξ καὶ Ἑτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλονθέους σχέδον πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμησικόν τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὃς ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἄλληλοις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἠφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθηνηθεῖν,

ther (ἐτὶ) attempt upon the city.—

θαρραλεώτερον: more certain.—

Ἑλος καὶ Γύθειον: cities on the Laconian Gulf.—προσέβαλλον: it seems likely that the attack was successful, though the matter is uncertain.—ἐπέθεντο: sc. Γυθεῖος.


33. δόγμα βουλής: = προβοσκέλεωμα, for which see on 1. 7. 7.—

ἐτυχον 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.—δὴν: 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 Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτε αὐτὸι ἐποιλορκοῦντο ὑπὸ Μεσση-34νίων, προθύμως βοηθεῖν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅσ’ ἀγαθὰ εἶη,
ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφότεροι ἔπραττον, ὑπομυνήσκοντες μὲν 120
ώς τὸν βάρβαρον κοινῆ ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμυνή-
σκοντες δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναίοι τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠρέθησαν
ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων
φύλακες, τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συμβουλομένων,
αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ γῆν ὁμολογουμένως ὑφ’ ἀπάντων τῶν 125
Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες προκριθείσαν, συμβουλομένων αὖ
35 ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε πως εἶπεν·
Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅ ἀνδρεῖς, ὀμονοήσωμεν, νῦν
ἐλπὶς τὸ πᾶλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους:
οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναίοι οὐ πάνυ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θροῦσ τις 130
τοιοῦτοι διήλθεν ὡς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοντες, ὅτε δὲ ἐν ἔπρατ-
tον, ἐπέκειντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ
Δακεδαιμονίων ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἡνίκα κατεπολέμησαν
αὐτοὺς, Θηβαίων βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποιήσαι τὰς
cause Hippias was remembered merely as one of the Pisistratidae.
— ἐποιλορκοῦντο: i.e. in the Third Mesessian War, 464-455 B.C.

34. δὲ καί: correlative with τε
(after ἀνεμίμνησκον § 33), as in
2. 4. 6.—εἷς: representing an
impf., as is clear from the con-
text. See on ἥκολούθων 3. 5. 23.
— ἦρεθησαν ... προκριθείσαν: the variation in mood is not unusual.
See on ἥκολούθων 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
Confederation was first at Delos,
afterwards at Athens.—τῶν Δακέ-
δαιμονίων ... συμβουλομένων: an
exaggeration, to suit the present
purpose. The Spartans had found
themselves practically forced to
accept the situation.

35. Ἐλπὶς ... δεκατευθῆναι: see
on 3. 20.—διήλθεν: i.e. in the
Assembly.—δὲ ... ἡμῖν: chang-
ing to dir. disc.—ἐπέκειντο: were
hostile. — κατεπολέμησαν αὐτοὺς:
in 404 B.C.—Θηβαίων βουλομένων
κτέ.: for the fact, already often
36 'Aθήνας, οφεὶς ἐμποδῶν γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὁρκουσ βοηθεῖν δεόι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύοιεν οἱ 'Αρκάδες καὶ οἱ μεταυτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὥστε οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὁρκουσ ἐπιστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διεθεὶς οὖν καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν, ὥστε ὑπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.

37 Τούτων δὲ διορίζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἀλλὰ referred to, see 2. 2. 19.—οφείς: the Spartans.

36. ὁ πλεῖστος... 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 ὁρκουσ: see abstract above, p. 320.—οὗ γὰρ... ἐπιστρατεύοιεν: continuing the indir. quotation, although γὰρ gives the clause an independent form. S. 2629; GMT. 675.—ἀδικησάντων... βοηθησάντων: causal.—οφεὶς: referring to the Spartans, i.e. to the logical subject of the clause πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος.—ἐπιστρατεύοιεν: pres., since the invading army was at this moment in Laconia.

—οἱ 'Αρκάδες: particularly mentioned instead of the Thebans, because it was between the Arca- dians and the Spartans that the trouble began.—βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις κτ.: for the facts alluded to in the following see abstract above, p. 320.—θόρυβος... οἱ μὲν ἐφασαν κτ.: the freedom of talk and action here indicated was characteristic of the Athenian Assembly.—δικαῖος: limiting βοηθῆσαι, but placed early in its clause for emphasis.—τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον: cp. οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λακωνίζοντες 4. 18.


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, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑσοὶ ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν ἡμῶν δὲ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορήσαι ἣ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὥσ χρήματα τινῶν ἔλαβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆ 150 ἀλλοτριὰν ἐθηόσαμεν; ἄλλ' ὁμοὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἑλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῶν ἀδικομένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὁρκοὺς ποιήσετε; καὶ ταῦτα ὃν 155 αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὁρκῶν ὁπως πάσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἤμεις ὁμόσαμεν; ἐνταῦθα μὲντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβησαν 38 ὥς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλεετέλους. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτῳ ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλεάσιος καὶ εἶπεν. "Ὅτι μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδῶν γένοντο Δακε-160 δαμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρῶτος ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσασιν οἱ Θη- βαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἴμαι τοῦτο δῆλον εἶναι. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνοις ἂν ὑμᾶς οἴονται ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι 39 αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δ' οὕτως εἴχει, ἕγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Δακεδαμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἥγουμαι στρατεύσασας 165 βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυσμενεῖς οὐτας ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὄμορους οἰκοῦντας ἥγεμόνας γενε- σθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἴμαι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὅποτε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐίχετε. συμ-

38. Προκλῆς: a particular friend of Agesilaus (5. 3. 13). — τῶν ἄλλων: i.e. besides the Spartans. — τοῦ ἄρξαι: dependent upon ἐμποδῶν.

39. ἕγὼ μὲν: i.e. whatever others may think.—πόρρω: i.e. in
330 ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ. VI, 5. [370 B.C.

φοράτερον γε μεντάν ύμίν αυτοῖς βοηθήσαυτε ἐν ὑ ἔτι 170 εἰσιν οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἃν ἡ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι 40 ἀναγκάζοντες διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. εἰ δὲ τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἐὰν ύν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐτὶ ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχομην ύμίν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι σὺν ous ἃν εὐ ἀλλ’ οὐς ἃν κακῶς τίς ποιή φοβεῖσθαι 175 δεῖ μή ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε χρῆ, ὅτι κτάσθαι μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν ἐρρομενέστατοι ὡσιν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν, ἐὰν ποτ’ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν τῶν 41 προπεπονημένων. ύμίν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καίρος 180 παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμονίων, κτήσασθαι τούτοις εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅτι ἐπ’ ὀλίγων μοι δοκοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εὐ παθεῖν ύφ’ ύμῶν. ἀλλ’ εἰσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα ὅρωντες καὶ νῦν καὶ 185 εἰς ἀεί, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα οἱ το σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ πολέμοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀπαντεῖ Εὐληνές 42 τε καὶ βάρβαροι. οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές. ὥστε εἰ κακοὶ φανεῖσθαι περὶ ύμάς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἐτι πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρῆ ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς 190

Sparta.—βοηθήσαυτε: 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 ύμίν.—καὶ ἰδιώταις 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: σον-, uniting in this respect the contrasted subjects.—ἀμελές: a matter of indifference.

42. ὡς... γενήσεσθαι: see on
μᾶλλον ἡ κακοῦς αὐτοῦς γενήσεσθαι. εἰ γάρ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι δοκοῦσι διατετελεκέναι ἐπαίνου μὲν ὄρεγόμενοι, αἰσχρῶν δὲ ἕργων ἀπεχόμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτως ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε. εἰ ποτὲ πάλιν ἐλθοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τίνις ἄν μᾶλλον 195 πιστεύσαιτε ἡ Λακεδαίμονιοι; τίνας δὲ ἄν παραστάτας ἦδιον τούτων ποιήσασθε, δὲν γε καὶ οἱ ταχέωτες ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀπαντεῖς εἰλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ ξάντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι; πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον οὐ τε ἕνεκα ἔγένοντο ἄνδρες 200 άγαθοὶ μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ δὲν ἑλπίς καὶ αὐθίς γενέσθαι πᾶσαν προθυμιὰν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέ- 44 χεσθαι; ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα προθυμιάν ἐνδείξασθαι. εἰ γὰρ ἤστε ὅτι ὦτερ τούτως πιστοὶ διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι 205 καὶ ὑμῖν αἰσχύνουσιν ἀν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τῶν κινδύνου μετέχειν αὐτοῖς. ἐθέλουσαί, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι εἰ ἂν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσομεθα αἱ βοηθοῦσαι: 45 σαι αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, 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 ἐλθοι κίνδυνος.—ἐπεισφρέσθαι: 2 aor. mid. inf. from ἐπεισφρέω (as though from ἐπεισφιψμην), to let in. The allusion recalls, by contrast, the disloyalty of the Thebans at that time.—δὲν ἕνεκα: as in 3. 13. ἕνεκα is to be supplied with the following ὄν also.—ὑμᾶς . . . ἡμᾶς: subjs. of παρέχεσθαι.

44. παρόντων . . . αὐτοῖς: the order of words as in § 33.—μὴ ἀποδιδόντες: conditional.—αἱ . . . ἑθέλουσαί: in apposition with the subj. implied in the verb.—αἱ βοηθοῦσαί: emphatic in contrast with αἱ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν κτὲ. The
accession of Athens changes the situation in this respect also.

45. ἀκούων: placed first in emphatic contrast with παρὼν ὥρων, then repeated (ἣνον) in the clause depending upon ἐξῆλθον.
— αὖ: in their turn.

46. τότε: this single, indefinite word recalls in the most effective way the well-remembered time.— οὖκ ἐπεισαν: did not succeed in persuading.— περιδεῖν, ἀπολομένους: practically equivalent to ἀπολέσθαι εάσατε below. See on 3. 1.— τῶν . . . προγόνων: poss. gen. with the clause ὧτε . . . γενέ-

σθα, 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 Ἀργελῶν κτῆ.: 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 κτῆ.: the sons of Heracles, driven from Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, found protection and
κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισσώσετε; πάντων δὲ κάλλιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ύμᾶς τότε τῶν Ἀλεξανδρινῶν, νῦν ύμεῖς σὺν ὀπλοῖς τε καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἑπικουρήσετε.

48 αὐτοῖς. ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἴμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ συναγορεύοντες βοηθήσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἢ ποῦ ύμῶν γε τοῖς ἔργωσ δυναμένοις βοηθήσαι γενναία ἀν ταῦτα φανεῖν, εἰ πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι Δακεδαμινίοις μὴ δὲν ἔβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἢ δὲν εἰ ἐπά-θετε μνησθεῖτε καὶ χάρων ἀποδοῖτε αὐτοῖς μὴ ύπὲρ ύμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ύπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅσι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ύπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.

49 Ἔτερα ταύτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἴμεῖχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐφηφύσαντο δὲ βοηθεῖν πανδημεία, καὶ Ἰφικράτην στρατηγόν εὐλογον. ἔτει δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ παρῆγγελεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιείσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἰφικράτους ἐξελθέιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἴμεῖτο μὲν ὁ Ἰφικράτης, οἱ δὲ ἡκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἔπὶ καλὸν τι ἔργον ἴμησθαι. ἔτει δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβε τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτη τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἐφεγον αὐτῶν ὅσι δὲ ἐξήγαγε ποτε, προθύμως effective aid at Athens.—κάλλιον: sc. ἀν γένοιτο.—τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας: cp. 3. 6.

48. ὅποτε δὲ . . . ἀγαθοῖς: and when even we, who by word urge you to aid brave men, are proud of doing so. ὅποτε 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.—ποτὲ: at length.
μὲν ἡκολούθον ὁποι ἡγοῖτο, προθύμως δ', εἰ πρὸς 50 τεῖχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδαί-250 μονὶ πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἀτε ὁμοροι οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες οἱ δὲ φέροντες ὁ τι ἡρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπείναι ἐβούλοντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἐώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' 255 ἡμέραν γυνομενήν, τὰ δὲ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνήλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἔξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ' ἑτὶ καὶ χειμῶν 51 ἦν, ὥστε ἡδὴ πάντες ἀπίναι ἐβούλοντο. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαδαίμονος, οὔτω δὴ καὶ ᾧ Ἴφι-260 κράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἔστρατηγήσεν, οὐ ψέγω· ἔκεινα μέντοι ἃ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείστω ἐπραξε, πάντα εὐρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ 265 τῷ Ὀμείῳ, ὁπως μὴ δύναιντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθεῖν οἰκάδε,

50. πολλοὶ: limiting all three nouns.—ἀγοντες ... φεροντες: the former of animals, the latter of portable property.—χειμων: 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 reëstablishment of the independence of Messenia, which for centuries had been subject to Sparta. Epaminondas founded the city of Messene 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 Ὀμείῳ: a mountain range south-east of Corinth.—διαὶ μὴ δύναιντο κτέ.: in just this point Xenophon seems to have mistaken the intentions of Iphicrates. The great
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. — Κεγγρείας: 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 ῥᾶν (ἐστὶ) . . . τυχεῖν in the apod., — equivalent to ῥᾶν (as adv.) ἄν τύχοιεν, — see on 3. 4. 18. — Οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . ἀπήλθον: in the spring of 369 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.

Mantinea and some other Arcadian cities, as well as the Achaeans and Eleans, ally themselves with Athens and Sparta. 369–362 B.C.

4 'Εν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἑξῆς, 5 Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ Θεταλῶν πολ- λοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῶν. Φωκεῖς μέντοι οὐκ ἥκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθηκαὶ σφίσων αὐτοῖς εἰεν, εἰ τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ίοι, βοηθεῖν. ἐπὶ

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 ἑξῆς: 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 αὐτῶν: i.e. Thessalian cities which the Thebans had recently liberated from the rule of Alexander.— σφίσων αὐτοῖς: as an indir. reflexive.
5. αλλοις δὲ στρατεύεσθαι οὖκ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. οὐ μέντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔλογιζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφίσει ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἄρκαδῶν τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι Τεγεάται καὶ Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ Ἀσεάται καὶ Πάλλαν-10 τεῖς, καὶ εἰ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραί τε εἶναι καὶ 6 ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἡναγκαζόντο. ἐξήλθε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας διὰ ταχέων· ἔπει δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέα, ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν, ἐπιτίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρίόντας λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἀν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς 15 μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρώσασ αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἑνακτίους εἰς τὸ εἰς ἄθυμιαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ωσ ὃς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ἄγαθὸν εἶναι Θηβαίοις ὅ τι ἐλατ-7τοιντο Ἀθηναιοί. ἐν δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτη συνή- σαν πάντες οἱ ὀμοφρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἔπει 20 μέντοι ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἦκονσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς διὰ Ἀδελθάμονος βοηθήσοντας.

5. σφίσιν: i.e. the Thebans. See on χαῦτων 1. 6. 36. — Μεσσηνίους: see on 6. 5. 51. — τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας: 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: = αἱ τινες. — ἡναγκαζόντο: sc. to side, like their neighbors, with the Thebans.

6. Νεμέα: see on 4. 2. 14. — παρίόντας: i.e. on their way to Arcadia, to join their allies. — ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν: to put it briefly. For the dat. see S. 1497; HA. 771 b; B. 382; G. 1172, 2; Gl. 523 a; for the inf. see on 3. 5. 9. — πᾶν ἄγαθὸν . . . Ἀθηναίοι: that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans. Note that δὲ τὶ is cogn. acc.

7. οἱ ὀμοφρονοῦντες: i.e. the enemies of the Thebans. — παρασκευάζεσθαι: sc. πορεύεσθαι. — διὰ Δακεδαίμονος: i.e. that they in-
towards Argos, out of her demes of Nemea, 

and brought her troops to Tegae. ExtGNH μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄν 25 

they remained there, and the�� γενέσθαι. οὔσα 

she now induces them arrangements έργα καὶ τόλμης ἐστίν, υἱὲν 

and they arrange orders, and they, children, 

and Determined to land in Laconia and march through that country to Arcadia.

8. εὐτυχῆς: made emphatic by its position. — γενέσθαι: proved. 

— οὔσα . . . ἐλπιστι: 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. — αὐτῷ: see on σοῦ 

6. 4. 5. — τῶν έτέρων: as in 4. 2. 15. 

— ὀλόμενος: concessive. — κρείτων: Epaminondas’ army seems to have been somewhat stronger numerically than that of the enemy. 

— χωρίον: by places which they occupied, i.e. in position. 


9. πεφυλαγμένους: had taken
στρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ὄντα ἥδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δειπνοποιήσασθαι παραγγείλας ἥγειτο τῷ 45
στρατεύματι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σπάρτην. καὶ εἰ μὴ Κρῆς θεία
tινὶ μοίρα προσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ προσιὸν
tὸ στρατεύμα, ἐλαβεν ἃν τήν πόλιν ἠσπέρ νεοτιὰν
παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἔτει μέντοι
προπυθόμενοι ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἔφη ἐις τὴν πόλιν 50
ἀπελθῶν, διαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπάρτιάται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ
μάλα ὀλίγου ὄντες· οἱ τε γὰρ ἰσπεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν
Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἄπησαν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα
11 ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς. ἔτει δ' ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ
πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὃπου μὲν ἐμελλὼν ἐν τε ἴσοπέδῳ 55
μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ ἐισήγει
tαύτη, οὐδ' ὁποὺ γε μηδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες μαχεῖσθαι
tῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες· ἔνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἄν
ἐνόμιζε, τούτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ

up a strong position.—Πελλήνη: a town in Laconia, some miles
north of Sparta.—στρατεύµατι: for the dat. see on στρατιά 4. 2. 9.
10. Κρῆς: a Cretan deserter. Polyb. 9. 8.—τῶν ἀμυνομένων: ἵσ
defenders.—ἀπελθῶν: from Pel-
lene.—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 Θῆβαις 5. 2. 25.
—ὅπου μὲν ἐμελλὼν κτέ.: where they
(the Thebans) would presumably
fight, etc. ὁποὺ anticipates ταύτη.
—ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων: the house tops
were covered with old men and
boys. Diod. 15. 83.—οὐδ' ὁποὺ
. . . ὄντες: nor where they (sc.
ἐμελλὼν) would fight with no ad-
vantage over the few, although
they were many, i.e. where Epami-
nondas could not use his supe-
rior numbers to advantage. μηδέν,
because the clause is hypothetical.
For πλέον ἔχοντες cp. 1. 4. 16; also
πλεονεκτοῦντας § 8.—ἔνθεν: = ἀφ'
oὐ χωρίον, anticipating the follow-
ing antecedent.—κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ
12 ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἐξεστὶ μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιάσθαι, ἐξεστὶ δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοὺς ἀπονευομένους οὐδεὶς ἂν υποσταῖν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἴγγειτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἐκατόν ἔχων ἀνδρὰς, καὶ διαβάς ὡπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κῶλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὅρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πυνέοντες, οἱ νεικηκότες 65 τοὺς Λακεδαμιονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτου υπερδέξα χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλὰ ἐγκλίνοντι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθυήσκοντι· ἐπεὶ μὲντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἐνδοθεν πορρωτέρω τοῦ καὶ γοροῦ, οὕτω αὐτ ἀποθυήσκοντι περιεγέγραπτο γάρ, ὡς ἔσωσαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου μέχρι ὧν οὐκ ἐκέχοντο αὐτοῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τροπαῖον τε ἵστατο ἐνθα ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων 14 υποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδου. ὁ δὲ 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 αἰτιάσθαι. Cp. 1. 7. 31. — τὸ θείον αἰτιάσθαι: to hold the deity responsible, i.e. to ascribe the issue to divine intervention. — ὡπερ . . . κῶλυμα: 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 πυνέοντες κτἱ.: not the words of an unprejudiced historian. See Introd. p. 31. — τῷ παντὶ: as in 2. 3. 22. — ὑπερδέξα: here simply higher. Cp. on 4. 2. 14.

13. οἱ ἐνδοθεν: the Spartans. For the adv. see on οὐκοθεν 1. 4. 10. — τοῦ καίροῦ: see on 2. 3. 24. §§ 14–17. The Thebans return to Arcadia. A cavalry battle near Mantinea.
14. οἱ Ἀρκάδες: i.e. such of them as were allied with Sparta. See abstract above, p. 336. — ὁμοί

 γενομένοις: referring only to Λακεδαιμονίωις, a part of whose army was away in Arcadia (§ 10).

 Similarly, ηὐτυχηκόσι limits Λακεδαιμονίωις only. — τῶν δὲ: i.e. the Thebans. — προσκαρτηρήσαι: to endure this additional (πρόσ-) effort, i.e. besides all their previous exertions. — εἰκός: sc. ἔστι.

15. ὄρμηθέντες εἰς ἔλευσίνως: whereas Epaminondas had been led to believe (§ 7) that the Athenians were coming by sea. — Κλεωνᾶς: a city about ten miles southwest of Corinth. — προσιόν-

tes . . . καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι: i.e. some of them were already quartered in the city, while others were still coming up. — ἔργαται: i.e. slaves. Cp. τῶν ἐλευθέρων be-

low. — παιδάς . . . γεραιτέρους: the
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. δεντα.—δυστυχήματος: the circumstance alluded to is unknown.—τοῖς: connect with δοκούσιν.—αὐξηνόμενοι έλ: see on εἰ 2. 3. 53.—έρωτες: eagerly desiring.

17. αὐτοί... σωθηναι: see on μεταίσ 2. 3. 32.—άνδρες ἀγαθοί: one of whom was Xenophon's own son. See Introd. p. 12.—φ' οὖκ ἐξεικνούντο: rel. clause of result. S. 2556; HA. 910; B. 597; G. 1445; Gl. 615. —προήκαντο: the rare 1 aor. mid. of προημ. —ην οὖς: see on ἐστι... οὖς 2. 4. 6.


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.—ἔξηκεν... τὸν χρόνον: it would seem that a definite time had been fixed for the length of the campaign, either
χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλεύψαι ἐρήμους οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσουντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λελυμασμένοι τῇ έαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο, ἤττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ 115 ὑπ’ ὀλίγων, ἤττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἱππομαχίᾳ, αὐτὸς δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατεύειν τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιός καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους ὡστε οὐκ ἐδοκεῖ αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἀμαχεὶ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὦτι 120 εἰ μὲν νυκτὶ, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγῆσατο ἐσεθαί πειραμένῳ τῇ 19 πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοπόννησον καταλιπεῖν. τὸ μὲν ὦν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάντως μιο δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν εἶναι· φιλοτήμων γὰρ ἀνδρὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα δια- 125 νόματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα παρεσκευάζειν ὡς πόνων τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν μὴτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνια τε τάπιτηδεὶα ἐχοντας ὡμως πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτα μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρῆγ- 190 γείλεν αὐτοίς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης,

by the Theban government or by agreement with the allies.—πολιορκήσουντο: as in 6. 4. 6.—λελυμασμένος . . . ἔσοιτο: fut. perf. mid. For the following dat. see on 2. 3. 26.—αὐτὸς . . . τοῦ συνεστάναι: see on μεταίχιοσ 2. 3. 32.—παρελθεῖν: Epaminondas’ homeward route led past Mantinea.—λογιζομένῳ . . . ἡγῆσατο: a slight departure from exact parallelism. —ἀναλύσοιτο: he would make good.—εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι: Xenophon’s anticipation of the actual fact rather than Epaminondas’ thought.

19. αὐτὸν: intensive, as contrasted with τὸ στράτευμα.—ἀνδρῶν: pred. gen., sc. ἔστιν.—ὡς: = ὡστε. See Introd. IV. Η. —ἀποκάμνειν: to flinch from.

20. ὡς . . . ἐσομένης: as in 4.
προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἵππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύοντο ἐκεῖνον, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἱκουόντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ἑλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἄσπις.

21 δια. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὐτῷ κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπέρ εἰκός, συνετάττετο. τούτῳ δὲ πρᾶττοι σαφῆνες ἐδόκει ὦτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένον ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συν- τομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὖν ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὅρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας Ἦγειτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρεῖχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι.

22 μάχην ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὃς πρὸς τῷ οἴρῳ ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τῶν ψηλοῖς ἐθετο τὰ ὀπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευμένως. τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευῆν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεί γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς

2. 18. — ἐλευκοῦντο: see on 2. 4.
25. — ἐπεγράφοντο . . . ῥόπαλα: painted clubs upon their shields.

The club, which was the weapon of the Theban national hero Heracles, seems to have been the Theban device. Cp. 3. 4. 17. — ὃς . . . 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.— αὐ: contrasting the following notes on Epaminondas' tactics with the preceding description of the spirit he had infused into his army.— καὶ: 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 . . . πολεμίους: he gave the enemy an impression.— μὴ: although with the inf. in ind. disc. See on μὴδένα 4. 5. 12.

22. ἐθετο τὰ ὀπλα: as in 4. 5.
8. — ἐπεί γε μὴν παραγαγὼν κτὲ.: it
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 (ἐπιστάθη ἡ 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 (παραγγέλων) 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, ἵσχυρὸν ἐπωτῆσατο . . . ἐμβολον, made strong the beak-like formation around him. This ἐμβολον, 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. ἀντίπροφρον ὡσπερ τριήρη: prow on, like a trireme, with reference to the deep, comparatively
καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἵσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνί-160 ζεσθαί, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενεστατον πόρρω ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἦττηθέν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχω τοῖς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, ρώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἵππεας οἱ μὲν πολέμου ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὄσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα 24 βάθος ἐφ᾽ ἑξ καὶ ἐρημοὺν πεζῶν ἀμίππων. ὁ δὲ 'Επα-165 μεινώνδας αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἐμβολον ἱσχυρὸν ἐπούσσατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων

**Sketch Plan of the Battle of Mantinea**

![Sketch Plan](image)


τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψεις, ὅλον τὸ ἀντιπαλον νευτικῶς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπῶν εὑρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδὰν τινὰς 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. — ἐρημοῦ: agreeing grammatically with φάλαγγα, though logically with ἵππεας.—πεζῶν ἀμίππων: light-armed foot soldiers intermingled with the ranks of the cavalry.

24. ἑαυτῶν: poss. gen. depending upon τῶν.—ὅπως μὴ . . . οἱ 'Ἀθηναῖοι: this provision against
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. — φῶβον . . . παρέχειν: followed by a clause in ind. disc. instead of by μή, the phrase being practically equivalent to δόξαν παρέχει ἡ προσέβαλεν: i.e. the enemy’s right wing, where the Spartans andArcadians were stationed.

25. φυγούσης: concessive. — αὐτοίς: dat. of advantage. — οὔδένα ἀπέκτειναν: i.e. in pursuit. — οὔδε οἱ ἵππεῖς: οὔδε, 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. 

Τούτων δὲ πραξάθεντων τούναντίων ἐγεγένητο οὗτ' ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ ἐσεσθαί. ὑπεμεληθυῖας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδὲς ἦν ὡστὶς οὐκ ὤστο, εἰ μάχη ἔσοστο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξεν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόοις ἐσεσθαί. ο ὑ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὡστε ἀμφότεροι μὲν τροπαίοι ὡς νεικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ὑσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυν, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφότεροι μὲν ὡς νεικηκότες ὑποστόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ὡς ἰττημένοι ὑποστόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νεικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἐκάτεροι οὕτε χώρα οὕτε πόλει οὕτ' ἀρχὴν οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ή πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι. ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἡ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω. τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἰσως ἄλλως 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 τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

27. οὕτε 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. Occasional bits of information (or misinformation) are scattered here and there in other authors. 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 and Strabo 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. The more generally accepted view, that Xenophon was born about 430 B.C., rests mainly on the internal evidence furnished by the Anabasis.

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1 2. 6. 2 Strabo 9. 403, Pseudo-Lucian, Macrobr. 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. 8 2. 5. 22. 4 9. 403. 5 Plato, Symp. 220, 221. 6 Cp. also Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 55 and Athen. 216 d.

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(b) It is possible, although direct evidence is wanting, that Xenophon returned to Athens immediately after delivering over his troops to Thibron. 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 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 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. Writing many years later 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. 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.

1 Cp. Grote, History of Greece, 9. 174. 2 Cp. Hell. 3. 1. 5–7 and 4. 8. 18–22. 3 Particularly the unqualified statements cited in Introd. p. 10, note 5. 4 See Introd. p. 11. 5 See below, p. 359, note 1. 6 See below, p. 358. 7 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 \(^1\) says that Xenophon and Theopompos began where Thucydides left off; Dionysius of Halicarnassus \(^2\) refers to Xenophon's Hellenica history, both that which Thucydides left unfinished, etc.; Marcellinus \(^3\) 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 Theopompos and Xenophon completed.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) 13. 42. Ζενοφων δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἄρ' ἄν ἀπελεύσει Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἄρχην πεποιηματι.  
\(^2\) Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4. The Greek text is quoted in full below, p. 356, note 2.  
\(^3\) Vita Thucydidis 45. The latter part of the Greek text is quoted below, p. 356, note 2.  
\(^4\) 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 Büchsenschütz, 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. Dittenberger¹ 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.² 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,³ whereas in the later part he adopts the contrary method of grouping by topics and only seldom offers any chronological data.⁴ Finally, it has been remarked⁵ 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.⁶

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 Thucydides⁷ leaves the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets at Elaeus and Cyzicus respectively; the Hellenica⁸ finds them at Abydus and Madytus. Thucydides⁹ leaves Theramenes in Athens; the Hellenica¹⁰ finds him arriving in the Hellespont from Macedonia. Dorieus, whom Thucydides¹¹ leaves at Miletus, appears in the Hellenica¹² as coming from Rhodes. Alcibiades is last mentioned by Thucydides¹³ as returning to Samos; the Hellenica¹⁴ 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, Thymocharis came from Athens with a

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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 ταῦτα 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, mentions¹ the fact that after winning the battle off Euboea² (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 Siculus³ 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 Hellenica⁴ or (2) from the end of Thucydides' history,⁵ or (3) that Xenophon intended to prefix an introduction to the Hellenica but failed to do so.⁶ Yet assumptions of this kind must always be regarded as a last resort, justif-

¹ 8. 107. ² See Introd. p. 18. ³ 13. 41. ⁴ Cp. especially Nitsche, Über die Abfassung von Xenophons Hellenika and Riemann, Qua rei criticæ tractandaæ ratione Hellenicon Xenophontis textus constituendus sit; among recent editors Büchenschütz, Sorof, Manatt, and Blake accept this theory. ⁵ Suggested as an alternative explanation by Riemann (op. cit.) and accepted as probable by Underhill and Edwards. ⁶ 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.

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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 i. 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 i. 6. 16 Erasinides is blockaded at Mytilene, but in i. 6. 29 he appears at Arginusae,—precisely as Dorieus and Theramenes shift their stations between Thucydides and the *Hellenica*; (3) in i. 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 i. 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*, show an habitual carelessness 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 — ἕρα 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

1 Cp. Breitenbach, *Einl. §§ 8 and 10*, who enumerates no less than thirty similar instances. 2 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—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. There still remain differences of opinion regarding the precise location of the lines of division between its various parts.

1 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. 2 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 Jahrh.* 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, 1 is finished. (b) This Supp-
lement to Thucydidides, as it may be called, appears to have been
regarded by ancient authorities 2 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 3 Thucydidides’ 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, 4 by way of comment on the incidents which he is nar-
rating, whereas almost immediately after 2. 3. 10 such comments begin
to appear. 5 (e) One of Xenophon’s most marked characteristics is his
religious spirit, which is shown by repeated references to divine inter-
position, 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. 6 (f) In 1. 1. 1–2. 3. 10 Xeno-
phon usually states accurately the number of the forces engaged, of the
slain, and of ships sunk or captured, while in the later parts he ordi-
narily reckons approximately, with an “about” or “few” or “many.”
(g) A minute study by various scholars of the stylistic peculiarities of

1 See Introd. p. 19 f. 2 Marcellinus, Vita Thucydidis 45 (cited above, p. 351): τα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἕξ ἡτῶν (of the Peloponnesian War) πράγματα ἀναπληροῖ ὁ τε Θεόπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξενόφων, οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ελληνικὴν ιστορίαν. Dionysius, Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4 (also cited above, p. 351): τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ιστορίαν καὶ ἥν κατέλιπαν ἀτελὴ Θουκυδίδης (καὶ ἐν ἧν καταλύοντα τε ὁ τρίακοντα καὶ τὰ τεῖχὶ τῶν Αθηναίων ἀ τακεδαίμονι καθεῖλον αδησίς ἀνίσταν-
tαι. The text of the latter passage seems to be corrupt, but Dionysius is ap-
parently distinguishing between a first and a second part of the Hellenica. Another
bit of ancient evidence has been found in the citations of Harpocratian, the
grammarian, from the Hellenica, which prove that in his copy (apparently com-
prising nine books) the second book ended at 2. 3. 10, i.e. with the end of the
Peloponnesian War. See Simon, Xenophon-Studien II. 3 As already noted
above, p. 352. 4 See above, p. 352. 5 First in 2. 3. 56. 6 First in 2. 4. 14.
Xenophon, especially in the use of particles, has revealed most marked differences between 1. 1. 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.  

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, 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* 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

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1 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.  

2 Dittenberger and his followers are agreed that Part I. is the earliest of all Xenophon’s works, excepting the *Cynegeticus*.  

3 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.  

4 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 1 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. 2 This fact tends to justify the very reasonable opinion 3 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. 4 In any event, Part III. was surely not finished until some years after Mantinea; for in 6. 4. 35-37, 5 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. 6 It remains to consider the more difficult question of the probable date of Part II. It must have been written, as has

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1 See above, p. 357 and note 1 thereon.  
2 See above, p. 357, note 1.  
3 First expressed by Nitsche (op. cit.).  
4 The importance of the battle of Mantinea was fully recognized by Xenophon. Cp. Hell. 7. 5. 26.  
5 This passage is important in its bearing upon the date of Xenophon’s death. See above, p. 350.  
6 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.\(^1\) Two other considerations appear to fix the

\(^1\) 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,¹ and in 379 B.C., for their sake, besieged and captured Phlius and treated its inhabitants with great severity.² 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 Litteraturgeschichte 4. 313), and Christ (in Müller’s Handbuch 7. 299).

¹ Hell. 5. 2. 8-10. ² 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. A few still remain questionable. It should be noted that a recently discovered papyrus fragment, 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. Since this is so, some scholars 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. These arguments, while not without force, are hardly convincing, and it must be regarded as probable 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, for the chro-

1 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. 2 II, in the Imperial Library at Vienna. 3 See Introd. p. 24 f. 4 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 ἄρχομενον τοῦ ἔρας of 1. 4. 2. 5 See note on 1. 5. 16. 6 This is the opinion of all critics and editors except those above mentioned (note 4). In 1. 3. 1, however, τοῦ ἐπικατος ἔτους is probably an interpolation. See Introd. p. 25, note 3. 7 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 τῶ ἔπειτα ἔτει of 1. 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 ¹ have proved beyond reasonable doubt that it should be placed at 1. 1. II. Here, therefore, begins the year 410 B.C., and the notices of 1. 2. 1, 1. 3. 1, and 1. 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 (1. 1. 37, 1. 5. 21, 2. 2. 24, and 2. 3. 5) and in the Persian Empire (1. 2. 19 and 2. 1. 8–9) are universally condemned,² and the single item in regard to affairs in Thessaly (2. 3. 4), while it has found some defense, is almost certainly spurious.³ The allusions to eclipses (1. 6. 1 and 2. 3. 4) and to the destruction of two temples of Athena by fire (1. 3. 1 and 1. 6. 1) stand on a different footing from the Persian and Sicilian notes, because they may, so far as we know, be accurate.⁴ Furthermore, allusions of a similar sort are not infrequent in Thucydides.⁵ 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 Xenophon.) and Haacke (De postremis belli peloponnesiaciannis), whose diverging views have each found many supporters (see Underhill, Introd. xi). It is Dodwell's view which has been adopted by Beloch (see above).

¹ 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. ² See Introd. p. 25 f., and cp. especially Brückner, Riemann, Unger, Beloch, and Kruse, whom Keller, Underhill, and Blake among recent editors have followed. ³ 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 1. 2. 14 and 1. 2. 18 as interpolations, but apparently without good reason. ⁴ 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. ⁵ Thucydides speaks in his introduction (1. 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.¹

The list of the Spartan ephors in 2. 3. 9–10 is doubtless to be regarded as spurious.² 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,⁸ is in all probability genuine.

APPENDIX V

A. MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, AND AUXILIARIES

1. 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 ⁴:

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).

¹ By Brückner, Müller, Riemann, Unger, Beloch, and Kruse. ² See Introd. p. 26. This opinion is well nigh universal, although Müller and Unger defend the passage after changing the erroneous ἄρω of the Mss. to ἐπτα. ³ By Richter, Beloch, and Kruse. ⁴ For fuller information see Keller, Ed. maj., praef., Underhill's Commentary, Introd. § 3, and Riemann, Qua rei criticæ tractandæ 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:

II, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, assigned to the early part of the third century A.D.¹

π', among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, assigned to the second century A.D.²

II 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 sometimes³ 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


¹ Published by K. Wessely, Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyri Erzherzog Rainer 6. 17 f. ² Published by Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I. ³ See Critical Notes, passim.
APPENDIX V

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.


Editio stereotypa Tauchnitiana.


Marchant, E. C.: Oxford, 1900—, 5 vols., of which 3 have thus far appeared.

b. Separate Editions of the Hellenica


Dindorf, L.: Leipzig, 1824 (and Berlin 1831 and 1847).
—: Leipzig, 1866. Editio tertia (Teubner text), with introduction and critical apparatus.
ZURBORG, H.: Gotha (Perthes), 1882, Books I. II. With brief and excellent notes. Continued by
—: Editio minor. (Teubner text), 1890–1901.

3. AUXILIARIES

(Abbreviations: JP. = Jahrbücher für Philologie; RM. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie; ZAW. = Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft; Ph. = Philologus; Hm. = Hermes.)

—: Die attische Politik seit Perikles, Leipzig, 1884.
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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 historicæ, Göttingen, 1894.
Boldt, P.: Xenophontis vitae specimen, Posen, 1885.
Breitenbach, L.: Xenephonis Hellenika Buch I., verglichen mit Diodor und Plutarch, RM. 27 (1872) 497 f.
——: Das Jahr der Rückkehr des Alkibiades, JP. 105 (1872) 73 f.
Büchsenschütz, B.: Xenephonis Griechische Geschichte, Ph. 14 (1859) 508 f.
——: Xenephonis Hellenika und Plutarchos, JP. 103 (1871) 217 f.
——: Novae Lectiones, Leyden, 1858.
Dittenberger, W.: Die Chronologie der Platonischen Dialogue, Hm. 16 (1881) 321 f.
Fabricius, O.: Zur religiösen Anschauungsweise des Xenophons, Königsberg, 1870.
——: Zur Charakteristik der Epitome von Xenephons Hellenika, Barmen, 1873.
HARTMAN, J. J.: Analecta Xenophontea, Leyden, 1887.
—: Analecta Xenophontea Nova, Leyden, 1889.
—: Xenophontis Historia Graeca, JP. 75 (1857) 694 f.
—: Zur Litteratur des Xenophons, JP. 95 (1867) 461 f.
JUDEICH, W.: Kleinasiatische Studien, Marburg, 1892.
JUNGCLAUSSEN, W. T.: De Campio et Büchenschützio Xenophontis Hellenicorum interpretibus, Meldorf, 1862.
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.
MADVIG, J. N.: Adversaria critica ad scriptores Graecos, Copenhagen, 1871.
OTTO, A: Zu Xenophons Hellenika, JP. 135 (1887) 28 f.
APPENDIX V


Riemann, O.: Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione Hellenicon Xenophon textus constitutendus sit, Paris, 1879.
Roquette, A.: De Xenophontis vita, Königsberg, 1884.
Schneider, R.: Quaestiones Xenophontae, Bonn, 1860.
Schulze, C. P.: Quaestiones grammaticae ad Xenophonem pertinentes, Berlin, 1888.
Schwartz, E.: Quellenuntersuchungen zur griechischen Geschichte, RM. 44 (1889) 104 f.
——: 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.

B. CRITICAL NOTES

BOOK I

1. 2. τούτων: del. Keller after Kondos. — ἣνοιος: Mss. ἣνυτε, Kel. after Kondos. Cp. ἣνοιξεν 5. 13 and ἣνοιχθαν 6. 21, which are similarly changed by Kel., after Riemann, to ἤνυσεν and ἤνυθαν. In all these

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cases the forms contained in the Mss. — ἡνωγε for ἀνέωγε, etc. — are
admittedly unusual, and no other instance is cited where the verb ἀνοιγω
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. ἀνταναγομένων: Kel. after Hertlein. ἀνταναγομένων, Mss.—
ἐ ε ὑθυνόμενον: del. Kel. after Brückner, who pointed out that all the events
described since the ἡμέρα of § 2 must have filled more than a fore-
noon. 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 δόσου (= 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. Ὁράσυλλος: Kel. after Dindorf. Ὁράσυλλος or Ὁρασύλλος, Mss.
The form with λλ, however, is found in II (3.6) and is supported by
inscriptional evidence.

1.13. ἄθροι: Kel. ἄθροι, Mss. Cp. Kühner-Blass, 22.10. Similar-
yly ἡθροίκει § 32, etc.

1.16. ὑπ' ἀντού: Kel. with Mss. ὑπ' ἀντού, 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 μεμημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσαν after παραγγελλω-
μένα, Schneider after ἄντ' ἐκεῖνων, while Kurz puts παρῆνεσαν . . .
παραγγελλόμενα after πόλιν. If the interpretation of the whole passage
indicated in the notes be accepted, these proposed changes are both
unnecessary and improper.


ationen in Xenophon's Hellenika, p. 12.

1.35. Δέκελείας: suspected by Kel. and other scholars from a mis-
taken impression that Piraeus cannot be seen from Decelea. ληλασίας,
Otto.—καὶ Κλέαρχου: Mss. Κλέαρχου, Kel. after Dindorf.

1.36. Σηστόν: Mss. Ἀβύδων, 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.


2. 5. βοηθησάντων: Kel. with MSS. βοηθήσας μετά, Madvig.
2. 6. εἰς Ἐφεσόν βοηθεῖν: MSS. βοηθεῖν, Kel. after Hartman.

2. 10. ἀριστεία ἔδοσαν: Kel. after Cobet. ἀρ. ἐδώκαν, MSS. ἀριστεία, Madvig. — ἀτελεί: Kel. after Cobet. ἀτέλειαν ἔδοσαν, MSS. ἀτελεί ἔδοσαν, Madvig.

2. 11. ἐπὶ Δέσβον: MSS. εἰδὺ Δέσβον, II.
2. 13. κατέλευσεν: Kel. with MSS. ἀπέλυσεν, Wolf. κατελεύσας ἀπέλυσεν, Feder. II, however, agrees with the MSS.


3. 5. ἔξω: MSS. ἔξωθεν, II.
3. 10. ἵππεας: Kel. and II. ἵππεῖς (as frequently), MSS.
3. 13. Φιλοκόδης: Kel. after Dindorf. Φιλοδίκης, MSS. — πρέσβεις: 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. ἄλλα: MSS. ἄλλα ἄλλη, Kel. after Schäfer. That this change is for the worse seems to be shown by the omission of the article with ναῦς. — καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ: as in the MSS. Kel. follows Trieber in inserting the words after ἐπώς.

3. 18. Βυζαντίων, Κύδων: MSS. Βυζαντίων (πρὸς ἔργον ἐπράπτοντο... ἡσαν δὲ οἶδε;) Κύδων, Kel. after Hartman.
3. 19. *εἰπῶν*: Kel. with V. The other Mss. omit it. II, ἀπολογούμενος: Kel. with B (and II). ἀπολλυμένας, the other Mss.


4. 1. *Γορδίω*: Kel. with Mss. Γορδείω, II. Γορδείω, Dindorf.

4. 2. *δύναμι*: del. Kel. after Holwerda. A manifest gloss on Βοιώτιος to indicate that it is the name of an individual. — ἂγγελοι: del. Kel. after Holwerda. — καὶ ἔλεγον: Mss. λέγοντες, II. — πάντων ὃν δεόνται: Mss. ὃν δεόνται πάντων, II.

4. 3. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον: Kel. with Mss. Del. Cobet and Dindorf.

4. 4. *μὲν μάλιστα*: Mss. μάλιστα μὲν, Kel. after Schneider.

4. 6. *μέμψηται*: CFMDV. μέμψησθε, II.

4. 11. *ἐὰς*: Mss. ἔξοι, II.

4. 12. αὐτὸν ἢρμῆμον: Mss. except C. αὐτὸν ἢρμῆμον, II.

4. 13. λέγοντες οἱ μὲν: Kel. after Schneider. λέγοντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν, Mss. — ἀπελογήθη (F has ἀπηγγέλθη) ὡς: del. Kel. after van den Es. ἀπλογόθης καὶ ὡς, Madvig. ἀπήγγελτος καὶ ὡς, Grosser. Laves and Riemann assume a lacuna in the archetype. It seems clear that ἀπελογήθη ὡς cannot be right, whether the verb be taken in a middle or a passive sense (see Büchsenschütz’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. τοιούτως ... ὀλοσπερ: Morus. τοιοῦτος ... ὀλοσπερ, Mss. τοιούτως ... ὀλος περιμένειν μὲν, Kel. after Zurborg. τοιούτως ... ὀλος δύνασθαι ἀπολλύναι, Kurz. These changes appear to be for the worse.


4. 18. *εἰθέωσ*: Mss. εἰθεύς, II.

4. 19. αὐτοῦ (or αὐτοῖ): Mss. except C. ἐαυτοῦ, Kel., following C.


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.

5. 11. ἕκοντ' ἀποτείχειν: Kel. after Holwerda. ἕκοντα τείχειν, 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 δή καὶ: Mss. τότε δή καὶ αὐτός, Morus. τότε δή καὶ τάς ἄλλας, Grosser. Kel. following Hartman assumes a lacuna after δή.—ἡνοίζειν: Mss. ἡνοίζειν, Kel. after Riemann. See on 1. 2.

5. 15. Ἑιόνα: 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 Argothinae (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.


6. 2. οὖ... νῆς: del. Kel. after Cobet, but without sufficient reason.

6. 4. τῷ διαλλάττειν: Mss. τῷ ἅει διαλλάττειν, Kel. after Cobet.—πολλάκις... τοῦτο: the Ms. reading of this vexed passage is as follows: πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γεγυμένων καὶ ἄρτι ἐπινεύτων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁς χρηστῶν οὐ γεγυμωσκότων ἀπείρους θαλάττης περιποιησε καὶ ἀγνώτατος τοῦ ἐκεὶ κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο. That this is impossible is universally recognized; for ἀπείρους... ἐκεῖ simply repeats the preceding, and there is no conjunction to connect
παραπίπτονεν and κωνδυνεώτεν. The text as printed adopts from Jacobs ἀντ' ἐπιτηδεῖων for ἀνεπιτηδεῖων, from Cobet εἴ for οὐ, and from Laves the insertion of τε after κωνδυνεώτεν. This is a minimum of change. For, whatever the reading adopted (unless it be to delete the whole clause from ἀπείρους to τοῦτο), 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 ἀνεπιτηδεῖων to ἀντ' ἐπιτηδεῖων) is inevitable unless one deletes ἀπείρους . . . ἤκεῖ; 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 proposed changes are as follows: ἀντ' ἐπιτηδεῖων γενομένων καὶ ἀκριβοῦντων τ. ν. κ. ἀ. ὡς χρηστέον εὖ γιγνωσκόντων ἀπείρους τε θαλάττης π. κ. ἀ. τ. ἐ. καὶ κωνδυνεώτειν τι κτέ., Cobet; ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἀντὶ ἐννεάντων . . . κωνδυνεώτειν τε τι κτέ., Richter; ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἀριστα . . . ἀπείρους τε θαλάττης . . . καὶ κωνδυνεώντας τι κτέ., Liebhold; ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἄρτιώς . . . εὖ γιγνωσκόντων . . . ἤκεῖ καὶ κωνδυνεώτειν τι κτέ., Riemann; [ἀπείρους . . . διὰ τοῦτο], Em. Müller followed by Kel.; [ἀπείρους . . . ἤκεῖ], κωνδυνεώτειν τε τι κτέ., Laves. — τοῦτος δὲ: Mss. τοῦτον δὴ, Kel. after Liebhold.

6. 11. δείξωμεν: Mss. except V. δειξομεν, Kel., following V.
6. 13. ἄλλῃ ἐμφρούρων ὄντων: Mss. ἄτ' ἐμφρουροῦντων, Cobet, from whom Kel. adopts the change from ἄλλῃ to ἄτ'. It is to be noted, however, that ἄτε is not found in Part I. of the Hell.
6. 14. οὐδένα.Ελλήνων: Mss. . . οὐδέν' ἂν'Ε', Kel. after Naber. — εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖνον δυνατόν: edd. εἰς τὸ κεῖνον (or 'κεῖνον) δυνατόν, Mss. Kel. brackets, following Kruse. The phrase may be, as Kruse thinks, a gloss on ἐαυτῷ γε ἀρχοντός. Yet κεῖνον (instead of ἐκεῖνον) hardly proves anything, for the forms of ἐκεῖνος are often carelessly written in the Mss. Thus in 2. 1. 13 all the Mss. have κεῖνον (which Kel. emends to ἐκεῖνον) and in 1. 3. 10 all but one have κεῖνην. For the
not infrequent use of the demonstrative instead of the reflexive see on I. 27.

6. 15. ὅπως ... φυγοι: del. Kel. after Cobet. That the phrase is not absolutely necessary seems hardly a sufficient reason for condemning it.

6. 16. Δέων: MSS. Kel. suspects that the reading is corrupt. See, however, on 5. 16.


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 ... ἀκρα: del. Kel. after Krüger. ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου seems to be a gloss on ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης, while ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλάῳ ἀκρα has been repeated by a careless copyist from the preceding section.


6. 33. πλείστων δὲ: MSS. πλείστων, τινῶν δὲ, Kel. after Madvig. πλείστων, τῶν δὲ, Blake.

6. 34. τῶν πασῶν: Kel. after Cobet. πασῶν, MSS. Cp. Büchenschütz ad loc.

6. 35. ἔδωξε δὲ καὶ: Kel. with MSS. ἔδωξε δὲ, Schneider, whom some editors follow.

7. 2. διώβελιας: Kel. after Dindorf. διωκελίας or διωκελείας, MSS.

7. 10. δημεύοι: Kel. after Riemann. δημοσιεύοι, MSS.

7. 13. κλήσιν: Kel. after Dobrée. ἐκκλησίαν, MSS.

7. 17. μετέπειταν: Kel. after Brückner. ἐπευαν, MSS. ἐπαυαν, Goldhagen, followed by Kurz. None of the passages which have been adduced as showing πείθειν in the sense of μεταπείθειν is in any way parallel to this one.

7. 22. εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε: Kel. after Goldhagen. εἰ βούλεσθε, Mss.

7. 23. διηρημένων: Kel. after Leunclavius. διηρημένης or διηρημένης, Mss.—ἐνδ.. ἀπολογήσασθαι: del. Kel. after Nitsche. διηρημένων ... ἀπολογήσασθαι, del. Blake, followed by Underhill. It can hardly be questioned (see note ad loc.) that ἐνδ.. 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 Harpocratin 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 τοῦτων ... ἐκαστῶν, it is almost impossible to find a reason for the addition of the following phrases.

7. 24. οὐκ ἄδικως ἀπολούνται: Kel. after Leunclavius. οὐκ ἄδικοντες ἀπ., Mss. οὐχ ὀσπερ ἄδικοντες, Stephanus. οὐκ οἴδεν ἄδικοντες, Blake. οὐκ ἀπολούνται, Kurz. The Ms. error is most easily explained as due to the influence of ἄδικοντες (above), transforming ἄδικος.

7. 27. ἀποκτείνατε: μεταμελήσας: Kel. after Peter. ἀποκτείνετε (ἀποκτείνετε), μεταμελήσει (μεταμελήσει), Mss.—ἥμαρτικότας: Kel. with BCMMDV. ἥμαρτικότες, F.

7. 29. δόντας: Mss. δόντες, Kel. after Peter and Hartman.—αμφότερ' ἄν: Stephanus. ἀμφότερα, Mss., followed by Kel., who, however, inserts ἄν in the similar passage in 6. 14, οὐκ ἐφί... ἀνδραποδισθήναι. 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, Anm. 7.

7. 30. τοῦτων καταλιπεῖν: Kel. with Mss. τοῦτων καταλιπεῖν ἐταξαν, Weiske. τοῦτον ἐδόξε καταλιπεῖν, Blake.

7. 31. τριηράρχων: del. Kel. after Breitenbach. There is no reason, however, for assuming that Thrasylalus and Theramenes were the only trierarchs left behind. — τοῦτων: eedd. τοῦτοις, Mss. τοῦτοι, Kel.
after Hartman. — τοὺς δὲ πρός: Kel. ed. maj. with Mss. τοὺς δὲ (τὰ) πρός, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.

7. 32. παρεσκευάσαντο: Mss. except F. παρεκκελεύσαντο, Kel. with F. — ήπερ . . . 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 τῆς αὐτῆς ψήφῳ might well have seemed to demand an explanatory note such as is contained in ήπερ . . . 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. οὐχ . . . προσταχθέντα: del. Kel. after Brückner et al. The phrase is not only open to the objections urged against ήπερ . . . προσταχθέντα above, but is rendered still more suspicious by the personal acc. (instead of the regular gen.) after καταγενέτες. To understand ἰκανοὺς γενομένους, with Breitenbach, as the subj. of ἀγνωμονεῖν seems impossible in the absence of the article.

BOOK II

I. 12. πρός: del. Kel. after Kurz. ήδη, Grosser. τὰ πρός, 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.


I. 15. προσβολῆ: del. Kel. after Dindorf. But the phrases τῇ ὀστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Thuc. 5. 46. 1, and τῇ ὀστεραίᾳ (μάχῃ), ib. 7. 11. 2, seem to parallel and justify τῇ ὀστεραίᾳ προσβολῆ.
I. 17. ἐπλεί: Kel. after Dindorf. ἐκπλεῖ, Mss.
I. 18. ἣ 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.—παρῆσαν: Mss. παρῆσαν, Kel. after Cobet.
I. 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.
I. 29. ἀπαγγέλουσα: BMDV. ἀπαγγέλουσα, CF. ἀπαγγελοῦσα, V corr., followed by Kel.

2. 3. κρατήσαντες πολιωρκία: del. Kruse et al. Kel. comments "nescio an recte."—Ἅστιαίαι: Kel. ed. min. after Cobet. Ἅστιαίαι, Kel. ed. maj. after Schneider. Ἅστιαίαι, 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.—Ἅκαδημείᾳ: Kel. after Cobet. Ἅκαδημείᾳ, Mss. Cp. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, 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 Δακωνίκης: del. Kel. after Cobet. See note ad loc. πλησίον (only) del. Köppen, followed by many edd. Supposing, however, that τῆς Δακωνίκης is genuine, it is extremely difficult to understand the insertion of πλησίον.
2. 15. Δακεδαμονίων . . . ποιεῖσθαι: Mss. κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ’ οἷς Δακεδαμονίων κτῆ., Kel. after Cobet. κράτιστον εἶναι del. Kurz.
2. 16. πλεῖον: Mss. πλέον, Kel. after Franke. πλέον, Dindorf. But see GS. 36.
2. 19: Kel., after Otto, assumes a lacuna before ἐρωτῶμενοι.
APPENDIX V

3. 5: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25.—αὐτῶν: Kel. and most eed. αὐτῶν, the Ms. reading, is defended by Kühner-Gerth, 455, Anm. 3, Schulze, Quaest. gram. ad Xen. pertinentes, p. 8, et al.
3. 16. οἶει ὁσπερ: Mss., followed by almost all eed. οἶει ᾧ ὁσπερ, Kel. after G. Hermann.
3. 19. τὸ πρῶτον μὲν: Mss. πρῶτον μὲν τό, Kel. after Zurborg and Hartman.—προσχίλιον: Mss. προσχίλιον καταλέξειται, Kel. after Hartman. Cobet inserts εἶτα ποιήσασθαι after ποιήσασθαι, Grosser κοινωνεῖν before κοινωνοῦς. The Ms. reading is defended by Dindorf, Schulze, et al.
3. 20. θέωθαι τὰ ὀπλα: Kan. ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα, Mss., which Kel. retains, though he comments on Kan’s emendation “fortasse recte.” Dindorf and Cobet suggest κελεύσαντες ἀπείνα ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὀπλα. Laves substitutes δειπνα for ὀπλα. The Ms. reading seems incapable of any rational explanation.
3. 28. ύμας τοῖς: Kel. after Brückner. ῥμάς τοῖς, Mss.
3. 29. ἀνθρωποι: Kel. after Cobet. ἀνθρωποι, Mss.
3. 31. καὶ ... ἀμφοτέρων: del. Kel. after Morus.
3. 34. έκει: Dindorf and Cobet. έκείνη, Mss., followed by Kel.
3. 36. παρανενοηκέναι: Wolf. παρανενοηκέναι, Mss. παρανενοηκέναι, Kel. after Schmidt. παρακηκόειναι, Wytenbach. παρεγνωκέναι, Weidner.
3. 41. γ' ἐδεόντο: Kel. after Brückner and Cobet. γε δεόντο, Mss.
3. 48. πρὶν καὶ ... πρὶν εἰς: Kel. after Dindorf. πρὶν ἀν καὶ ... πρὶν ἀν εἰς, Mss. Cp. GMT. 702.—αὐτῆς: Kel. after Schmidt. δραχμῆς, Mss. ἄρχης, Wytenbach. Cp. Richards, Class. Rev. 15 (1901) 201.—διατάττειν: Kel. after Dindorf. διὰ τούτων (or διὰ τούτο), Mss.
3. 49. ἐσχατῶτα: BCFM. ἐσχατα, Kel. after V and Cobet.
3. 54. οἱ ἐνδεκα: del. Kel. after Naber. The redundancy, however, seems to be that common to legal formulas.
4. 6. ἐκαστὸς ἀπό: Kel. after Laves assumes a lacuna between these words.
4. 8. ἐν τοῖς ἵππευσι: MSS., followed by Kel. et al. ἐν τοῖς ὑπλοῖς, Hermann, accepted by many edd. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλευσινίως, Classen. τῶν Ἑλευσινίων, Laves. σὺν τοῖς ἵππευσι, Palmer.
4. 13. τοὺς φιλτάτους ... ἀπεσημαίνοντο: MSS. τὰ φιλτάτα, Portus, Köppen. τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀπεσημαίνοντο καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπέκτανον, Wyttenbach. 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. 26. Ἀλκωνέων: Kel. and all edd. after Palmer. ἔσω νέων, MSS.
4. 30. τὸ εὐώνυμον: MSS. τὸ εὐώνυμον (Ἑλευσίνη), Kel. after van Herwerden.
4. 34. ἀλλῶν: MSS. Ἀλῶν, Kel. after Madvig.
4. 39. ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν: inserted by Cobet, who is followed by Kel. and most edd.
4. 40. ἡδίκησεν: MSS. ἡδίκηκεν, Kel. and edd. after Dindorf. But cp. § 20, where (in almost the same phrase) the aor. is used in a negative clause, immediately followed by a series of perfs. in affirmative clauses.
4. 41. περιελήλασθε: Geist, followed by Underhill and Blake. περιελήλαθεν, most of the better MSS. περιελήφθε, Kel. after Laves. παραλέλυσθε, Dindorf. περιηλάθητε, Sauppe. παρελύθητε, Cobet, followed by many edd.

BOOK III
1. 6. συνέμειξαν: papyr. π’. συνέμειξαν, MSS. See on 1. 3. 7.
1. 8. πορευομένου: Dindorf, Cobet. πορευομένου, MSS., followed by Kel.
APPENDIX V


3.2. καὶ ὃς: Kel. after Jacobs. καὶ ὃ (or ὃ), Mss.—δν τό: Kel. after Dindorf. δν τοι or δν τοι or δν τοι or οὐ τοι, Mss. Büchsenschütz regards the Doric forms, which are inconsistently used and uncertain, as perhaps due to copyists.

3.3. χωλεύσαι: Mss. χωλεύσαι (τὴν βασιλείαν), Kel. after Otto. χωλίσας βασιλεύσῃ, Tell.

4. 3. ὑπόν: Kel. after Morus. ὑπόν, Dindorf. ὑσον, Mss.

4. 4. εἶπαν: Kel. with B. εἶπον, cet. Mss.—Γεραστόν: Kel. with BCFM. Γεραστόν, DV.

4. 5. Kel. following Cobet and Hartman inserts after ἀδόλως: ἐμὲ ταύτα πράξεων. Καὶ σοὶ δέ, ἐφή, ἐξεστὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως. Dindorf after πίστιν: δόντα καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ πίστιν (omitting παρ’ ἐμοῦ before πίστιν). Madvig, Büchsenschütz, 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 τὴς 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. 8. ἐμὴν: Mss. ἐδακνεί, Übelen.

4. 12. αὐτοῦ: Kel. after Hertlein. αὐτοῦ, Mss. See on 2. 3. 5.—ἀπαντῶσας... τάς: inserted by Valckenaer, whom Kel. and almost all edd. follow, from Ages. 1. 16.

4. 13. αὐτοῦ: Kel. with Mss. αὐτῷ, Köppen, followed by most edd.

4. 20. ἀλλον: Kel. with Mss. ἀλλόν, Tell, from Plut. Ages. 12; but see Schwabe, Neue Jahrb. 107 (1873) 381 f.

4. 22. ὁ ἡγεμῶν: 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 ἀρχεῖν ἐλναί: Laves. νομίζοντες τε αὐτῶν ἀρχεοῦσι, Mss., which Kel. retains, marking a lacuna. Other conjectures are: νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσεσθαι, Liebhold; αὐτῶν τὸ
άρχει, Sauppe after Schneider; νομίζοντές γε αὖ τὴν 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. τελεσαί: Kel. with Mss. ἐλάσα, Schneider, on which Kel. comments "fortasse recte." λεπλατήσα, Dindorf.
5.4. ἤρξαντο: Kel. with Mss. ἤρξαν τοῦ, Cobet.
5.5. ἐν Δεκέλειᾳ: Kel. with Mss. τῆς ἐκ λείας, Breitenbach.
5.6. Μηλίας: Kel. Μηλιάς, Mss.
5.9. ἀπολαλατε: Kel. with Mss. ἀπολὼλετε, Sauppe. ἀπωλω-λετε, Dindorf.
5.15. οὐκ ἐχόντων: Kel. and all edd. after Orelli. οὐχ ἐκόντων, Mss.
5.16. χάριτα ... μείζονα: Kel. with Mss. χάριτας ... μείζονας (or χάριν ... μείζονα), Cobet.
5.19. ἔπεσον: Kel. and edd. after Stephanus. ἔπεσον, Mss.
5.22. τὸ: Kel. with Mss. τῶν, Tillmanns.
5.23. αὐτῶν: Kel. and most edd. αὐτῶν, Mss. See on 2.3.5.
5.24. ἀποδοτείν: Mss. except B. ἀποδοτεῖν, Kel. with B.

BOOK IV

2.3. ἀποστερεῖτο: 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 στρατευσομένους δεὶ διευκρινεῖν, Cobet. ὅτι τοὺς στρατευσομένους μόνον δεὶ ἐγκρινεῖν, Madvig. ὅστις τοὺς στρατευσομένους διευκρινεῖ, Kurz. If the Ms. reading be retained, the meaning of εὐκρινεῖν still remains uncertain. An essential difficulty, as Büchsenschütz notes, is the fact that the prizes are stated to have been offered for equipment, not for the personnel or disciplīne of the troops.
2.13. τὴν ἀμφιάλον: Kel. with Mss. ἀγχίαλον or αἰγιαλόν, Geist. εἰς or ἐπὶ ἀμφιάλον (with ἐπίσεσαν) Breitenbach. εἰς τὴν ἀμφιάλον, Grote, Kurz. τὴν ἐπὶ αἰγιαλόν, Schneider. τὴν ἀμφί Ἀλέαν, Herbst. τὴν Στυμφαλῶν or τὴν Αἰγιαλῶν, Jungclaussen. The view suggested in the note is based largely upon the reference to the Tegeans and Mantineans. Manifestly these were the only allies whom the Lacedaemonians had picked up at the time referred to in ἑξῆσαν 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 ἀμφιάλον 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, ἕξισαν (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 ἀμφιάλος 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. επελθόντες, vulg. See, however, Grote, 9. 129.

2. 17. ἐπελ... παρῆσαν: del. Kel. after Naber. — ἠν: Dindorf and Kel. assume a lacuna after the word.

3. 3. ἐφ’: Kel. and edd. after Dindorf. ἀφ’, Mss.— διαλλάξας: Kel. with Mss. διαξεις, Madvig. διελάσας, Otto.

3. 7. έφυγον, 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. ὑπερβαλὼν: Kel. after Hirschig. ὑπερβάλλων, Mss. (and Ages. 2. 5).

3. 13. νικῶν: Kel. after Hartman. νικων, Mss.

3. 16. καὶ πῶς: Kel. with B. καὶ πῇ (πῇ), CFMDV. καὶ γάρ, Ages 2. 9, followed by some edd. καὶ πως, Breitenbach.

3. 17. καὶ πάντες... ἐγένοτο: del. Breitenbach et al.

5. 1. Κορίνθιον: Kel. after Sauppe. τῆς Κορ., C. τοῦ Κορ., BFMDV.

5. 10. κάων: Kel. after Lennep. κλῶν, Mss.—άνήκε: Kel. after Schneider. ἀνήγε, Mss.

5. 11. ἔταξε: Kel. after Schneider. παρέταξε, Mss.

5. 13. ἄστεως: Kel. with B. τοῦ ἄστεως, CFMDV.

5. 14. προσκειμένους: Dobrée. προσερημένους, Kel. with Mss.
5. 18. διών: Kel. with Mss. ἄπιών, Cobet.—ὅρθρον ἀναστᾶς ἐτι σκοταῖος: Kel. with Mss. ἰτι σκοταῖος ἀναστᾶς ὅρθρον, Campe. Büchenschütz suggests πρὸ ὅρθρον. The difficulty is that Mantinea is seven or eight miles from Orchomenus. It seems possible, however, to understand ὅρθρον as referring to so early an hour that this distance could be covered before daylight.

5. 19. εἰς Δέκαιον: inserted by Kel. after van Herwerden.

8. 4. τις ... φοβεῖται: Kel. after Dindorf. τις ... φανεῖται, Mss.
8. 5. Αἰγαί εἶσι: Kel. after Valckenaer. Αἰγεῖς or Αἰγαιῖς, Mss.—α: inserted by Kel. after Dindorf. —ἀν: inserted by Kel. after Schäfer.


8. 15. λόγου ταῦτ' ἂν: Stephanus. λόγους ταῦτ' ἂν, Mss. οὐ βουλο-μένοις, Kel. after Köppen. τοῖς δὲ ἐναντία ταῦτ' ἂν, Kurz. τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις λόγου ταῦτ' ἂν, Simon. τοῖς δὲ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν, Grosser.—τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νῆσους εἶναι: Kel. with C. εἶναι τὰς νῆσους, the other Mss.—ὡς Ἀργος: Leunclavius. ὅστ' Ἄργος ("Ἀργοὺς") or ὡς ταῦρος, Mss. Del. Kel. after Liebhold.

BOOK V

1. 27. καὶ πρὸς: Kel. after Cobet. καί, Mss. διά, Laves. καὶ ὑπό, Breitenbach. αὐτῶν καὶ βραδυτῆς, Liebhold.
1. 31. ταῦτα: Mss. ταὐτά, Kel. after Dindorf.
1. 32. δέξασθαι: Kel. with BCFMV. δέξασθαι, D, followed by some edd.—εἶναι: Mss. ἐσεσθαι, some edd.
1. 34. αὐτῆς: BMV. ἐαυτῆς, Kel. with CFD.—ἐκόντες: Mss. ἀκόντες, 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. παρασώμεθα, Dindorf.
2. 16. γενομένης: Kel. after Schneider. γενομένης, Mss. ἀν γενο-μένης, Hertlein. γενομομένης, 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. υμᾶς: Mss. υμῖν, Kel. after Cobet.
2. 34. πότε ἀκούσεσθε: Kel. with Mss. μὴ ποτε ἀκούσῃθε, Liebhold.
2. 35. συνεκαθεῖτο: Kel. with BM. συνεκαθεῖτο, D, followed by some eadd.

4. 1. πρότερον: Wolf. πρῶτον, Kel. with Mss. πρὸ τοῦ, Hertlein.
4. 2. Φυλλίδας: Kel. with B. Φυλλίδας, MD and most eadd. — τὰ περὶ: Kel. with B. τὴν περὶ, CFMDV. τὴν περὶ. Ἀρχιάν τε τὸν πολεμαρχόντα καὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, Cobet.
4. 6. προταμιέων: Kel. with Mss. ταμειῶν, Stephanus and most eadd.
4. 7. ἀποκτείναντες: Mss. ἀπέκτειναν, Kel. after Cobet.
4. 8. ἀνάκειον: Kel. after Dindorf. ἀναγκαῖον, Mss. — τὸν πολεμάρχων: Kel. after Dindorf. πολεμαρχῶν, Mss.
4. 9. ἐπεθοῆθον: inserted by Kel. Different verbs are proposed by other editors and critics. All are agreed that the entire passage is corrupt.
4. 13. λέξειν: Kel. after Dobrée. λέξειαν, Mss.
4. 17. ἐξέπεσεν: Kel. after Weiske and Cobet. ἐξέπλευσεν, Mss. ἐξέπνεωσεν, Dindorf.
4. 19. οἶ: Kel. with Mss. ὁ, most eadd.
4. 20. ἐκπολεμώσει: Kel. after Dindorf. ἐκπολεμήσει, Mss.
4. 35. ἀντιπείν: Mss. Kel. prefixes ἔχω, after Hartman, although he admits the similar cases cited in note on 2. 2. 2. Dindorf drops ὅτι after εἰπὼν.
4. 36. γένοιτο: Mss. προσγένοιτο, Kel. after Rinkes.
4. 39. ἔτι: Kel. with Mss. ἄρτι, Courier. ἦδη, 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. ἔσω: Kel. with BMDV. εἴσω, CF.

BOOK VI

3. 2. ποιεῖται: Kel. with B. ποιήσασθαι, the other Mss.
3. 3: After Δύκαθος the Mss. add ἔτει δὲ προσῆλθον ἔτι τοὺς ἐκκλητοὺς τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. These words are BROWNSON. HELLENICA — 25
dropped, for manifest reasons, by almost all editors and critics. — kal
Kallistratos: Kel. and edd. after Köppen. Kalлистратos, Mss.
3. 4. ἔγω ἔχω: Kel. ἔχω, Fritzsche. ἔγω, Mss.
3. 5. ὡμογνωμονοῦμεν: Mss. ὡμογνωμονοῦν, Kel. after Kurz.
3. 6. ἡμᾶς δὲ: Mss. ἡμᾶς δὴ, Kel. after Stephanus.
3. 7. φατὲ: Kel. with Mss. except C. φατὲ ὁς, C.
3. 10. ἀνθρωπίν: Kel. with B. ἀνθρωπος, the other Mss.
3. 11. ὃς ... πόλεις: Breitenbach, Hartman, Bennett. ὃς ... τὰς
πόλεις, Mss. ὃς ... τὰς πόλεις, Kel. ὃς ... πόλεις, Kurz. ὃν ...
tὰς πόλεις, Grosser. ἐν ὃ ... τὰς πόλεις, Marchant. ἀφ' ὁν ... τὰς
πόλεις, Sorof.
3. 13. εὐθηλὸν ὦτι ... ἡμῖν: Kurz, Bennett. εὐθηλὸν ὦτι εἰ ... ἡμῖν ἢ ἡμῖν ἀρεστά, Mss. Leunclavius, ἡμῖν οὐδ' ἡμῖν. Morus and
Hartman, ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμῖν. Stephanus, ἡμῖν ἅλλ' οὐδ' ἡμῖν. Breiten-
bach, οὐκ ἀριστα for οὐκ ἀρεστά, dropping εἰ and the second ἀρεστά.
Sorof, πράττονσαν, οὐδὲν τὸ μᾶλλον πράττονσαι ἡμῖν ἢ ἡμῖν ἀρεστά.
Underhill, ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἡμῖν ἀρεστὰ πράττονσαι. The passage is mani-
festly corrupt, and, as Kel. says, "nondum sanatus." — ἀ ὁρθῶς ἐγνωμὲν:
Mss. ὃς ὁρθῶς ἐγνωτε, Kel. after Hartman.
3. 16. ἐπιτυχῶσι: margin of Leunclavius' ed. ἀποτυχῶσι, Mss.
3. 17. ὁστ' ἦ: Kel. after Hirschig. ὠστε, Mss.
4. 3. After ἀφίουειν τὰς πόλεις the Mss. proceed: ὃ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος
ἐπέδη ἐπώθητο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἡρώτα
τῇ χρή ποιεῖν: οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ
ἀφίουειν τὰς Βοιωτίας ἀυτονόμους; del. Kel. and all edd. after
Pirckheimer. — ὃς ἀντιτάτων ἐπὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν: Brodaeus. ὃς ἀντετά-
τωντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς; Mss. Del. Kel. after Dindorf.
5. 4. λέγεια: Mss. λέγει, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.
4. 8. ἐναντία: Kel. after Madvig. τὰναντία, Mss.
4. 11. δοθεί: Kel. after Dobrée. δοθῇ, Mss.
4. 14. οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς: Stephanus. οἱ μὲν ἵπποι, Mss. οἱ μέν ἵπποι,
Kel. after Madvig. οἱ μὲν ἰμπόποι, 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. ἀγγέλων: Mss. ἀγγέλων, Kel. after Cobet.
4. 17. ταῖν: Mss. τοῖν, Cobet. — ἀπό: Mss. τοῖν ἀπό, Tillmanns.—
ἐστράτευστο: Kel. after Dindorf. ἐστρατεύτω, Mss.
4. 18. ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ: Mss. ἐκέλευεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, Kel. after Grosser.
APPENDIX V

4. 21. οὖν: Kel. with Mss. except C. οὖν, C.

4. 23. τοῦ ζήν: Kel. after Madvig. ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζήν, Mss. Del. Dindorf. ἐκεῖνος τοῦ ζήν, Bake. ἐνεκα γε τοῦ ζήν, Marchant. It seems not improbable that ἐκγενέσθαι might have come from ἐγένεσθε above.


4. 25. καὶ οὕτως: Kel. with Mss. καὶ οὕτως, Dobrée. οἷοί οὕτω, Hertlein. έπάτεροι, Dindorf.

5. 23. συνιδόμενοι: Kel. after Dindorf. συνηδόμενοι (συνιδόμενοι), Mss. σύνηδομενοι, Grosser. εννοούμενοι, Schneider. ταύτα οὖν διηγούμενοι, Voigtlander.

5. 30. καταλειπόντες: Kel. with BCMV. καταλιπόντες, D. — ἐπέποντο: CFMDV. ἐπέταποντο, Kel. with B.

5. 34. κοινῶς: Kel. with B. κοινή (κοινή), the other Mss. — συμβουλομένων . . . συμβουλομένων: Kel. after Dindorf. συμβουλομενων . . . συμβουλομενων, Mss., except that in the first instance D has συμβουλομένων.

5. 35. σφίσι: Kel. after Dobrée. σφίσιν (σφίσιον), Mss.

5. 39. οἱ συμμαχοίν ἄν: Kel. after Dindorf. οἱ συμμαχοί ἄν, Mss. οἱ συμμαχοίν, Stephanus.

5. 42. ὡς: Kel. with Mss. Del. Cobet. τῶς, Grosser.

5. 43. πιστεύσατε: Kel. after Schneider. πιστεύσατε οἷς πιστεύσατε, Mss. — ἐπεισφρέσθαι: Kel. after Cobet. ἐπεισφρέσθαι, Mss.


5. 46. ἐάσω: Kel. after Schneider. ἐάσωτε or ἐάσώτε, 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 ἐργῳ δυναμένους 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 οὖν 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. στρατοπεδευομένων: Kel. after Dindorf. στρατευομένων, Mss.
5. 9. δειπνοποιήσασθαί: Kel. after Hirschig. δειπνοποιησάμενον καί, MDV. δειπνοποιησάμενος, CF. (Ms. B breaks off at 7. 1. 38.)
5. 10. ἰμνομένων: Kel. with FMDV. ἰμνομένων, C.
5. 13. Ἐπαμεινάνδου: Kel. with C. Ἐπαμεινάνδα, FMDV.
5. 14. βοηθήσατεν: Kel. after Schneider. βοηθήσατεν, Mss.
5. 15. διελθόντες δὲ καὶ: Kel. with MDV. διελθ. δὲ, C. διελθ. καὶ, F.
5. 16. τούτων: Kel. with CFMD. τούτων, V. — ἕπελογίσαντο: Kel. after Schneider. ἕπελογίσαντο, Mss. — ἵππευσιν: Kel. with CF. ἵππευσιν, MDV.
5. 23. ἐφ' ἐξ: Kel. after Rüstow. ἐφεξῆς, Mss.
5. 24. βοηθήσατεν: Kel. with Mss. βοηθήσατεν, Dindorf.
5. 25. ἡττάμενοι: Mss. ἡτταμένοι, Kel. after Cobet.
LIST OF PROPER NAMES

Abarnis, promontory near Lampsacus, 2. 1. 29.
Abydus, city on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, I. 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, gymnasion near Athens, 2. 2. 8; 6. 5. 49.
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. Achaeans of Phthia, 4. 3. 9.
Acrorians, the, inh. of Acroria, district in Elis, 4. 2. 16.
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